

TEXTS AND STUDIES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

EDITED BY

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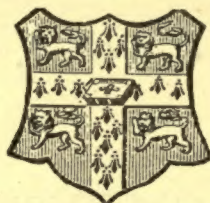
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THE FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEON

NEWLY EDITED FROM THE MSS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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THE MSS. OF ORIGEN'S COMMENTARIES ON S. JOHN.

OF the extant manuscripts of the Commentaries on S. John, three only have been used by the editors. So far as I have been able to discover, there are seven in existence. If we count Thorn-dike's transcription of the Bodleian Manuscript, there are eight. The existence of a ninth is doubtful, but this question will be more easily discussed later on. The three which seem to have been used by the editors are at Paris, Rome and Oxford. The similarity of the text contained in them and the fact that they all contained many common lacunae, pointed to their derivation from a near common ancestor. The following pages are an attempt to shew that this ancestor still exists, though unfortunately in a bad state of preservation, in the Library at Munich.

The Manuscripts are as follows:—

I. *Codex Monacensis*. In the Munich State Library, Graec. CXCI; thus described in the Catalogue, "Bombycinus charta obsoleta et laesa atramento flavescente literis minutis et elegantibus frequenti abbreviatione in folio, ff. 305, saec. XIII. foliorum ordine turbato male conservatus et inscriptus $\phi\nu\lambda. \rho\iota\beta'$, Origenis Comm. in Matt. et Jn."

Of the Commentaries on S. John it contains Bks. 1. 2. 6. 10. 13. 19. 20. 28. 32 (33 according to Hardt's Catalogue, but this is an error). Thus the MS. follows the true division of the Books. The Ferrarian division (that invented or adopted by Ambrosius Ferrarius in his translation) into 32 books is added in the margin by a later hand.

Minuscules are used, hanging from ruled lines, there being one column of 30 lines on each page, in the Commentaries on S. John.

The Commentaries on S. Matthew are in another hand and contain 36 lines on a page. In both red semi-capitals are often used at the beginning of sentences, but not uniformly. The MS. is stained at the top and bottom, and worm-eaten in many places. The order of the folios in S. Matthew is much confused, and one or two pages are wanting.

The title-page of the MS. has the following description :

“Origenis in D. Matt. Ev. tomus 11 init. mut. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. et in evang. Johann. tom. 1. 2. 6. 9. 13. 19. 20. 32.”

In the middle of the page are the arms, below which is written :

“Ex electorali Bibliotheca sereniss. utriusque Bavariae Ducum.”

This description is inaccurate. Most of Bk. x. of the Comm. in Matt. is there, and also Bk. xvii. And with regard to the Comm. in Joann. 9 is a mistake for 10, and 28 should have been inserted.

Huet mentions a MS. of the Commentaries on S. Matthew in his *Origeniana* III. iii. 12. “In Catalogo librorum ducis Bavariae notatur Tomus Undecimus initio quoque mutilus cum proxime sequentibus quinque.” And as to the Commentaries on S. John he was again misinformed. “Eosdem (i.e. 1. 2. 6. 10. 13. 19. 20. 28. 32) complectitur Tomos praeter decimum et vigesimum octavum memoratus liber in bibliothecae Bavaricae Catalogo” (III. iii. 14). The 10th and the 28th books are contained, as well as the rest, in the Manuscript. The Catalogue which he used must have had the same mistakes which occur on the title-page of the MS.

The Commentaries on S. John are preceded by a short preface stating that in the archetype of the MS. were several marginal notes drawing attention to Origen’s blasphemies, which, the scribe says, he has copied as he found them.

II. *Codex Venetus*. In the Bibliotheca Marciana at Venice, Graec. 32. The title as given in the MS. itself is

† ὠριγένους ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον καὶ κατ’ Ἰωάννην κτῆμα βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλ. τῶν Τόσκλων.

The MS. is dated 1374. It is written in minuscules hanging from ruled lines, with one column of 36 lines on a page, and about 60 letters in each line. It consists of ff. 330 of which ff. 1—117 contain the Comm. in Matt. Bks. 10—17 (inclusive). F. 118 contains a preface on Origen’s blasphemy, beginning πολλῶν μὲν and

ending *καὶ αὐθις ἀψώμεθα*. This preface has nothing to do with the preface in the Munich Codex concerning the marginal notes in its ancestor. The words *τοῦ βασιλέως* at the head of this preface point probably to some connexion with Constantinople. Ff. 112 (recto)—294 (verso) contain the Commentaries on S. John. So far the folios are numbered. The remainder, to 330, are left blank and unnumbered.

This MS. was used by Ambrosius Ferrarius, who in A.D. 1551 translated the Commentaries on S. John into Latin. They are divided in the MS. into 32 books. "A callido librario in Tomos triginta duos distributus fuit, hac arte lacunas et hiatus celare, et apud incautos dissimulare, et pro integro venditare volente," says Huet. The fraud is sufficiently patent; if conviction were necessary, we have only to look at the fragments quoted as from the fourth and fifth books of the Commentaries in the Philocalia. The divergences between the text of this MS. and Ferrarius's translation are not more than can be accounted for by the loose and paraphrastic character of translations of that time, or by the necessity of original composition to which he was sometimes reduced in consequence of his inability to understand the Greek, which is in some places too corrupt for conjecture.

At the end of the MS. the following note has been added :

"Fuit copiatuſ per Georgium Triphon^{ium} di
Maluasiae et finito ad X. Octobr. 1555."

To this we shall have occasion to refer when we are dealing with the seventh manuscript. The same scribe is known to have been working at Venice also in 1548 (see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, p. 322).

III. *Codex Regius*. Graec. CDLV. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; thus described in the manuscript itself :

† Ὀριγένους τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐξηγητικὰ τόμοι λβ'.

† τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Τόμοι εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεκάτου τόμου ἄνευ ἀρχῆς ὄντος μέχρι τοῦ ιζ'.

Codex Chartac. XVI. saec. scriptum quo continentur Origenis commentaria in Johannem et Matthaeum quae primus in lucem protulit Daniel Huetius.

In the early parts of the Commentaries on S. Matthew the folios are in wrong order and there are large lacunae. The Codex is written in minuscules hanging from ruled lines. This was the MS. on which Huet based his text, though his text is not identical with that of the MS., as Delarue seems often to have assumed. It was used by Perionius in his translation of the Commentaries on S. John.

IV. *Codex Bodleianus*. Misc. 58: used by Delarue. This MS. is described in the Bodleian Catalogue as being of the 17th Century. Its resemblance to II. is very close. It is now bound in three volumes of which the first contains ff. 183, the second 183, and the third 182. It contains only the Commentaries on S. John. In the margin it has two sets of emendations. The first are introduced by the word *τάχα* and are for the most part based on Ferrarius's Latin Version. The second, which are distinguished by the word *ἴσως*, are later and inferior. In the copy of Huet belonging to the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, Bentley has noted in the margin a great many readings from this MS., though apparently he did not make a full collation¹.

V. *Codex Barberinus I*. In the Barberini Library at Rome; of the 15th or 16th Century, in the opinion of the Librarian, M. l'Abbé Pieralisi. It contains the Commentaries on S. Matthew (beginning at Book x. *τότε ἀφεῖς τοὺς ὄχλους*, and ending *ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν*, Bk. xvii.) and the Commentaries on S. John, divided into 32 Books. It is bound up with a MS. (in the same hand, I think) of Philo *Περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωσέως*.

VI. *Codex Barberinus II*. Of the same date as the preceding. It contains the Commentaries on S. Matthew and S. John, but the former begin with the words *τῖνι δὲ λάμψουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις*, and there is no trace of a folio having been lost. This, as will be seen later on, is almost conclusive proof as to its origin.

VII. *Codex Matritensis*. In the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. This MS. I have not myself seen, and I am indebted to my friend Mr W. Gilchrist Clark of King's College, Cambridge, for the following information. It is numbered O. 32. It is a folio MS. written on paper, containing ff. 306, with 30 lines on a page, and

¹ He writes at the beginning of Huet's text "Collatus ad Cod. Mstum. Chartaceum ab Italo (ut videtur) scriptum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana Oxonii Num. E. 2. 6, 7, 8."

about 40 letters in a line. It contains the preface which is found in Codex Venetus, headed by the words + τοῦ βασιλέως +, beginning on the 2nd recto πολλῶν τὸν ὠριγένην αἰρετικὸν ὑπάρχειν ψηφισαμένων, and ending on the 2nd verso καὶ αὐθις ἀψώμεθα. The Commentaries begin on the 3rd recto with the title ὠριγένους τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐξηγητικῶν τόμος πρῶτος. It is divided into 32 books and is dated at the end: ἄ,ϕν̄ε ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστου κ̄.

After this follows the name of the scribe in cryptograph.

† κθ ϳθ ζεσ ϳζθ¹σ ψσ ψ ϳχφσν:
ἐζ ϳθφβ:

That is to say παρά Γεωργίῳ τῷ Τρύφων:
ἐγράφη.

The cryptograph used is the common one in which the scribe takes the Greek alphabet with the three letters F, G, and ϳ, thus getting 27 letters. These he divides into 3 parts of 9 letters each, and substitutes the first for the last, the 2nd for the last but one, and so on, in each group. Thus the middle letters of each 9 are unchanged, viz. ε, ν, and φ. It will thus be seen that the colophon exactly tallies with the note at the end of Codex Venetus, in date (1555) and name.

It may be as well to notice here, on account of its connexion in origin with the foregoing, a MS. of the Commentaries on S. Matthew, numbered O. 47. It is a folio, written on paper and containing ff. 226; it is in the same hand as O. 32 and a MS. of the Contra Celsum in the same Library. It contains the Commentaries on S. Matthew, beginning at the 10th (with the words τότε ἀφείς τοὺς ὄχλους) and ending at the 27th (ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτόν).

The MS. is dated α,ϕνε. ὀκτωβρίου β'. and signed ἐζ ϳθφβ · κθ ϳθ · ζεσ ϳζθσ · ψ ϳχφσν. After this it has on f. 225 the preface on Origen's blasphemies, with the same heading + τοῦ βασιλέως + as in O. 32. The scribe has thus copied this passage twice, at the end of S. Matthew and again at the beginning of S. John.

¹ The θ must be a mistake for ϳ which would represent ι.

VIII. The transcription of Codex Bodleianus (IV.) made by Herbert Thorndike needs no further description. It is now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (numbered B. 9. 11). It is not without value however, as the writer has inserted several conjectural emendations in the margin, and there are also three pages of critical notes at the beginning.

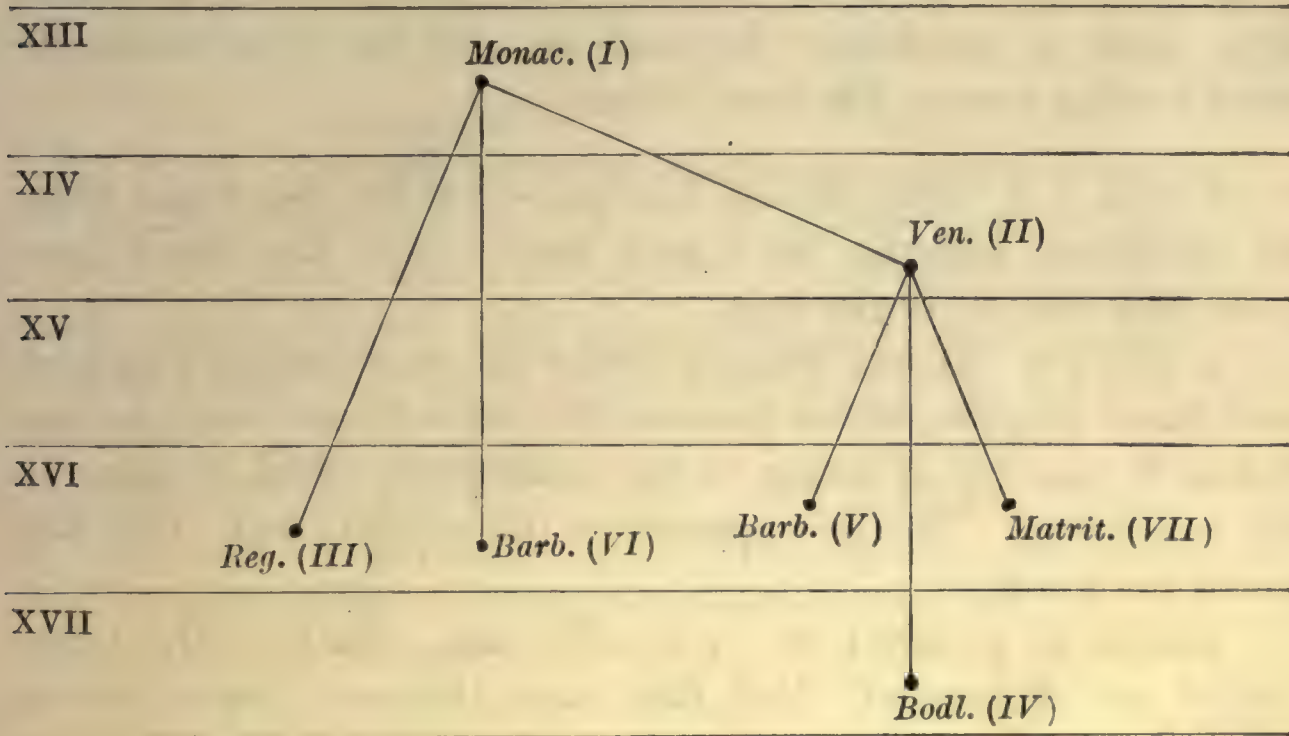
IX. The existence of a ninth MS. is doubtful. In Miller's Catalogue of the Escorial Library, pp. 305 ff., is given a list, found in one of the Escorial MSS. (x. i. 15), of the Greek Manuscripts which belonged to Cardinal Sirlet's Library, and passed into the possession of Cardinal Ottoboni (Alexander VIII.). Subsequently Benedict XIV. is said to have placed them in the Vatican. Among these is a MS. containing Origen's Commentaries on S. Matthew and S. John, and Philo *Περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ Μωσέως, Περὶ τοῦ βίου πολιτικοῦ* (Joseph), and *Περὶ νόμων ἀγράφων* (Abraham). In the Catalogue of the Ottobonian part of the Vatican Library, which has not yet been published, but exists in manuscript in the Vatican, I could find no trace of it. But the description answers very nearly to the MS. now in the Barberini, which I have numbered V. Is it possible that this MS. passed from the hands of any of its former owners into the possession of the Barberini? If not, we must suppose that this MS. has been lost, unless indeed the MS. Catalogue of the Ottobonian Manuscripts is incomplete. Delarue constantly refers to a 'Codex Barberinus,' and generally the readings he quotes from it would seem to be taken from No. V; but his citations are not always accurate. The existence of two manuscripts in the Barberini does not seem to have been known to any one.

The relations of these MSS. to one another must now be considered. For the sake of clearness I subjoin a diagram shewing what I conceive their relations to be. After this I propose to consider the relations (1) of the Munich Codex to those MSS. which seem to be directly copied from it, (2) of the Venice Codex to those which are, I believe, its descendants, and (3) of the Venice to the Munich MS.

1. (a) Let us then consider first the relation of the Paris Codex to that at Munich. The contents of the two are practically the same, so far as concerns the subject of our present enquiry.

(i) As pointed out above, the statement that the *Cod. Monac.* contains of the Comm. in Matt. Books XI. (mutilated) to XVI. is incorrect. It contains also most of Book x., and Book XVII. The

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mistake as to the latter point has arisen from the fact that Books XVI. and XVII. are not divided as the other books are. But the last words contained in this part of the MS. are *ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτόν*, the ending of Book XVII.; and a calculation of pages easily shews that both Books XVI. and XVII. are contained in the MS., for Book XV. begins on f. 62, Book XVI. on f. 77, and the Comm. in Matt. end on f. 110. Thus while Book XV. takes only ff. 15, what is called Book XVI. takes 33, though in Lommatzsch's edition Books XV. and XVI. cover very nearly the same number of pages each. In the Comm. in Joann. there is no difference of contents.

(ii) The first words which occur in the *Cod. Monac.* are *τίνι δὲ λάμψουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις* which occur towards the end of Book x. chap. 3 (Lomm. III. p. 15). In the Paris MS. the leaves are not in right order, but the first words which occur (they are on f. 255) are *πάλιν ὁμοία ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.* (Mt. xiii. 44) which begin chap. 4 of Book x. Thus the scribe seems to have begun his MS. with the first whole chapter contained in his exemplar. If then this MS. is copied from the Munich MS., the latter must already have lost its first leaf in the 16th century.

More direct proofs of copying are not wanting.

Lomm. I. p. 118, l. 22. *Cod. Monac.* has παραμεν...σξ the intervening space being worm-eaten, *Cod. Reg.* has παραμεμ..σαι leaving space for about four letters.

p. 152, l. 15. *Cod. Monac.* reads οὐθὲν, but the θὲν is hidden by a piece of parchment fastened on over it. *Reg.* omits the word leaving a space for three letters.

p. 177, l. 5. *Cod. Monac.* has ^ὁμονογενῆς ^{υἱός}θσ, the ὁ υἱός being an interlinear insertion by a later hand. *Cod. Reg.* has ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός θεός all in the text.

p. 272, l. 6. In the Munich Codex the words αὐτοῦ ἡ ἁμαρτία are almost illegible, either because the scribe turned over the page before it was dry, or owing to the subsequent effect of damp on the manuscript. The blot appears on the opposite leaf. *Cod. Reg.* omits the words.

Lomm. II. p. 108, l. 9. -μου οὐδὲν μέν-. In *Cod. Mon.* these letters are obliterated. *Cod. Reg.* omits the same letters, leaving space for them.

p. 108, l. 11. περὶ ἐτέρων. The same phenomenon occurs here with regard to the letters περὶ ἕτερ.

p. 117, l. 1. εἰσελθεῖν. *Cod. Reg.* omits the word. In *Cod. Monac.* the letters σελ are almost obliterated.

p. 127, l. 15. σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον. Here again we have an indication. Both manuscripts erroneously repeat the letters μαίνει γὰρ τὸ.

The proof may be completed by two passages from the text of the Commentaries on S. Matthew; Book XI. chap. ix.

Lomm. III. p. 91, l. 10. εἴ τις οὖν. The εἴ τις is stained and indistinct in *Cod. Mon.* *Cod. Reg.* omits the words, leaving a space.

l. 11. πενήτων. The first four letters are hardly legible in *Cod. Mon.* In *Cod. Reg.* we find a space for four letters followed by των.

The divergences of the two MSS. are numerous but not important. Most of them are due to ordinary transcriptional blunders. The rest may be explained by the supposition that the scribe of the Paris MS. was more than usually careless and ignorant.

I subjoin a list of their divergences (other than mere itacisms and cases of the addition or omission of *ν* ἐφελκυστικόν) which occur in the first 30 pages of Tom. XIII. of the *Comm. in Joann.* (Lommatzsch's edition).

	Monacensis	Regius
P. 1,	Title τὸν	τὸ
2,	l. 10 τὸ ζῶν	ζῶν
3,	14 ἓνα	ἓν
4,	3 λεβητῶν	λευιτῶν
	[M generally has the old form of β i.e. 'υ']	
	5 ἀπεκτεῖνα	ἀποκτεῖναι
	13 μωσῆς	μωουσῆς
	18 περὶ	παρὰ
5,	10 ομοίαν	ὁμοιον
	11 τό' ὅς ἂν	ὅς ἂν
	18 τὰ νοήματα	νοήματα
7,	11 διάλλεται	διάλληται
8,	8 δὲ τις εἶ	omit
	[both om. the clause τὴν δικαιοσύνην—εἶ τις]	
	15 σαμαρείτι	σαμαρείτιδι
9,	6 ποιεῖν	πιεῖν
	15 διψῆν	διψῶν
10,	3 τὸν κόσμον	omit
	20 ἀκούων	ἀκούω
11,	22 τοῦ πνεύματος	πνεύματος
13,	16 περὶ τὸ	περὶ τοῦ
	17 ὡς ἐτὸν	ὡς τὸν
15,	14 πῶς	πως
	23 παρατιθείσαν	παρατεθείσαν
	24 διελεγχθῆναι	διελεχθῆναι
18,	5 ἄτονον	ἄτονος
	8 τὰ θρέμματα	om. τὰ
	26 γινομένη	γενομένη
19,	1 ἔχει	ἔχειν
	18 διέρχωμαι	διέρχομαι
20,	24 Ἑρακλέωνι	Ἑρακλέων
21,	4 ἡ πνικὴ	πνικὴ
22,	1 καταλειφθέντας	καταλειφθέντος
	16 Ἰσάχαρ	Ἰσάχαρ
23,	4 σολομῶνος	σολομῶντος
	11 σαμαρεὺς	σαμαρεῖς
24,	17 ἐνθαδεράτευμα	ἐνθάδε ιεράτευμα
	22 ἔρχεται	ἔρχεσθαι
25,	7 φθάνοντας	φθάνοντα
26,	5 δι' ἄνοιαν	διάνοιαν

	Monacensis	Regius
26,	14 ἐ τ	περὶ
27,	6 ἐν	ἦν
	8 φ̄	ὡς
	9 Ἱεροσόλυμα	bis
	10 φ̄	omit
	11 ἐθνικοὶ	οἱ ἐθνικοὶ
	12 om. φ̄	ins. φ̄
	23 καὶ θειότερον	omit
28,	11 προαποδεδώκαμεν νοείσθω	προσαποδεδώκαμεν νοῆσθαι
29,	6 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι	Ἰουδαῖοι
30,	2 καθελὴν ᾧς	καθελεῖν ᾧς
	6 ἀγγέλλοις	ἀγγέλοις
	10 δεῖ	δὲ

(b) *Codex Barberinus II.* (VI). I can only speak from slight knowledge of this MS. The Barberini Library was closed during Vacation when I was in Rome in October, 1888, and it was only through the great kindness of the Librarian that I was allowed to work for two hours at the manuscripts which it contains. But I was fortunately able to obtain sufficient evidence to determine their relative places in the groups almost with certainty.

The first words of the Comm. in Matt. which this MS. contains are *τῖνι δὲ λάμψουσιν*. As these are the first words contained in *Cod. Monac.*, though they occur towards the end of a chapter and paragraph in the Commentaries, this is in itself almost conclusive proof of the origin of the MS. For, as has been stated above, *Cod. Monac.* has lost a leaf at the outset. The Barberini MS. also contains the true division of the Comm. in Joann. in red. The 'Ferrarian' divisions have been added in the margin, but are in the hand of the original scribe. It has also many, at any rate, of the same warnings against Origen's blasphemies, which are contained in *Cod. Monac.*, as for instance

Lomm. I. p. 96 (opposite *ὑπερεχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.*) *φλυαρεῖς ἴσος θεὸς γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρί.*

p. 108 (opposite *ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος...παρὰ τὸν λόγον*) *ὄρα φεῦγε βλασφημεῖ γάρ.*

The following readings, when contrasted with the corresponding variants of the Venice group, point to the same conclusion

I have designated *Codex Monacensis* as M, *Codex Regius* as P, *Codex Barberinus* as R.

Lomm. II. p. 6, l. 1 ἔκτυπον PMR.

p. 13, l. 16 περὶ τὸ MR.

p. 13, l. 17 ὡ ἐτόν MR.

p. 14, l. 1 ἐνδεινὰ τοῖς PMR.

p. 60, l. 12 λέγονται MR. ἔγονται P.

p. 60, l. 13 ἀποκλισθείσαις PMR.

p. 108, l. 9 -μου οὐδὲν μεν- om. PR.

(In M the words are worm-eaten.)

p. 108, l. 11 περὶ ἐτέρων om. R.

... .. ων P.

(In M the letters περὶ ἕτερ are damaged.)

p. 132 M has the following marginal note: καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ τέρατα χωρὶς τῶν σημείων εὔρηται ὡς ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ τῇ μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς ἀνατεθείση τῷ θεῷ θαυμαστός γὰρ φησὶν ἐνδόξως ποιῶν τέρατα.

(I have printed the contracted words in full.) R has the same note exactly: P has it, but has made two mistakes in copying, reading θαυμαστὰ for θαυμαστός and omitting ᾠδῇ τῇ.

p. 73, l. 1 M has ἀκ...οντα, the intervening letters being damaged.

R reads ἀκ...οντα, leaving a space corresponding to the dots.

P has hazarded a conjecture, and a very unfortunate one.

The only divergences from the Munich MS. which I was able to notice were

Lomm. II. p. 137, l. 9 M διαφθορὰς. R διαφθορὰν.

p. 137, l. 15. The erroneous repetition of μαίνει γὰρ τὸ found in M (and copied by P) is not followed by R.

p. 291, l. 13 MP κατέ. R κατέβη.

Thus *Codex Barberinus* must be copied either from *Codex Monacensis* or from a copy of that MS. The passages quoted prove conclusively that it is not a copy of *Codex Regius*. There are several omissions, with corresponding spaces left blank, in this MS. which do not occur in *Cod. Regius*. These, I imagine, are attributable to the worm-eaten and stained condition of *Cod. Monacensis*, and tend to shew that *Cod. Regius* must have been copied early in the 16th century, *Cod. Barberinus* late in the

same century, and that *Cod. Monac.*, wherever it was (I was unable to obtain any information as to its history at Munich), was neglected during this period.

2. (a) The relation of the Bodleian MS. to that at Venice is not hard to determine. Their divergences are very slight, being for the most part ordinary transcriptional blunders or corrections, and even of these there is only a very small number. The rest may be explained by the fact that the scribe of the Bodleian MS. knew Greek. Direct proofs of copying are afforded in some places.

Lomm. I. p. 117, l. 12 (in the first fragment of Heracleon). After the word *Οὐαλεντίνου* space is left for about nine letters. The same lacuna occurs in *Codex Venetus*, but in it there has been an erasure.

Lomm. II. p. 7, l. 2. After *εὐκινήτω* there has been an erasure in *Cod. Ven.* A corresponding lacuna is left in *Cod. Bodl.*

Lomm. II. p. 53, l. 7. *Codex Venetus* reads *ἀρχῆς*^{πηγῆς} (sic). *Cod. Bodl.* has *πηγῆς ἀρχῆς*.

(b) I was not able to notice any divergence of *Codex Barberinus I.* (V) from the Venice MS. except that in the passage mentioned above it leaves no space after *Οὐαλεντίνου*, from which of course no conclusion can be drawn. The fact that the Commentaries on S. Matthew begin at the beginning of the 10th Book (*τότε ἀφείς τοὺς ὄχλους*), considered in connexion with the date of the MS. (saec. XV. or XVI.), proves that it belongs to the Venice as opposed to the Munich group, and the division into 32 books points to the same conclusion. The following readings tend to prove the identity of its text with that of *Codex Venetus*.

Lomm. I. p. 117, l. 16 *διαφέροντα γὰρ φησὶ* Ven. Bar.

II. p. 9, l. 20 *ἔθη* Ven. Bar.

p. 13, l. 16 *παρὰ τὸ* Ven. Bar.

(*Codex Bodleianus* has *παρὰ τοῦ*.)

p. 14, l. 1 *ἐν δυνατοῖς* Ven. Bar.

p. 122, l. 1 *εἰ* Ven. Bar.

p. 122, l. 9 *τοὺς ἐνδεδυμένους* Ven. Bar.

p. 376, l. 4 τριακόστου πρώτου Ven. Bar.

p. 376, l. 6 τριακόστῳ δευτέρῳ Ven. Bar.

(Ven. has notes in the margin stating that its exemplar read 28th and 29th.)

Lomm. II. p. 73, l. 1, lacuna (room for 5 letters) before ὄντα Ven. Bar., see above, p. 11.

(c) The correspondence of the cryptograph in the MS. at Madrid with the note at the end of *Codex Venetus* is sufficient proof of the origin of the former. - And with this the information which I have received as to the text agrees. The lacunae in the text (Lommatzsch I. pp. 11, 14, 18, 36, 41, 43), which occur in the *Cod. Venetus* and which will be discussed more fully in the next section, are also found here. And in the case of p. 41, the suggestion found in *Cod. Ven.* in the margin (οἶμαι παρασχεῖν τὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ τὰ εἶδη) is put *in the margin* also in the Madrid MS. See also I. 23, Lomm. p. 44, l. 7 θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀβελτηρίαν τῶν πολλῶν. The word ἀβελτηρίαν is omitted in *Codex Monacensis*, and also in *Codex Venetus*, but in the latter it is added in the margin. In *Cod. Matritensis* it is also added in the margin.

It can easily be shewn that O. 47 is copied from the 1st part of the Venice MS. which contains the Commentaries on S. Matthew. Thus the colophons at Madrid exactly agree with the note in the Venice MS., except that the latter has October 10 instead of October 2. As we can hardly imagine that the preface (πολλῶν τὸν Ὀριγένην κ.τ.λ.) took 8 days to copy—it occurs in O. 47 after the colophon—we must leave this discrepancy unexplained.

3. Thus there seems to be no reasonable doubt as to the derivation of all the other manuscripts from *Cod. Monacensis* and *Codex Venetus*. The more extensive divergences of these two at first led me to suppose them to be independent of each other, but a closer examination disclosed convincing proof of the dependence of the latter on the former. Their divergences give us only too clear an insight into the freedom with which the text of an exemplar was handled, at any rate in the 14th century. An examination of the *Contra Celsum* manuscripts affords, I believe, an

instructive parallel¹. The relation of *Cod. Ven.* to *Cod. Monac.* remains to be considered in detail. Several lacunae caused in *Cod. Monac.* by damage done to the MS. by water, or in other ways, are matched in *Cod. Ven.* by corresponding places left blank by the scribe. These lacunae occur almost entirely in the first book. The chief instances are the following:

Bk. I. c. 4 (Lomm. p. 11) L. and Delarue read *γραφέντα καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν, οὐ μὴν τὸ εἰλικρινές τῶν ἐκ θείας ἐπιπνοίας λόγων*. After *γραφέντα* *Cod. Monac.* is illegible until the word *εἰλικρινές*, but between *ἐξουσίαν* and *οὐ μὴν* there must have been at least 17 more letters, of which some near the end were I think *ἀποστολικ.* *Cod. Ven.* leaves space between these two words for about 25 letters.

Bk. I. c. 6 (Lomm. p. 14) *τέλος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ*. These words are nearly illegible in *Cod. Monac.*, but there must have been about 14 more letters, and *Cod. Ven.* leaves space for 15 more letters after *Ἰωάννῃ*.

On the same page *εἰρηκῶς.....διδάσκειν* is similarly stained in *Cod. Monac.*, and *Cod. Ven.* omits the passage, except the word *εἰρηκῶς*, leaving a space.

Bk. I. c. 8, Lomm. p. 18. ...*καὶ ὅτι ὅλον*. In *Cod. Monac.* we find after *ὅλον, τὸ φίλ...μ.ζ(?)...ν(?) ὅτι*: then more than half a line illegible, the MS. being damaged as in the other cases.

Cod. Ven. has *ὅλον* (space 11)² *ὅταν γὰρ* (space $\frac{1}{2}$ line) *υἱοῦς κ.τ.λ.*

Bk. I. c. 9, Lomm. p. 20. *ἐστὶν ἐκλαμβάνειν...οὕτω Χριστιανὸς*. All this is damaged in *Cod. Monac.* and mostly illegible, but there is room for about 20 more letters than are contained in the words as they stand in Delarue and Lommatsch. *Cod. Ven.* contains all that is in the printed texts, and after *περιτετμημένος* leaves a space of about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a line, after which it has *οὕτω Χριστιανὸς κ.τ.λ.*

Bk. I. c. 17, Lomm. p. 36. Similar phenomena occur again here.

¹ Cf. an Article in the Journal of Philology Vol. xviii. No. 36, "On the text of Origen against Celsus," esp. pp. 294, 295.

² The numbers after the word 'space' refer in each instance to the (approximate) number of letters which the space left could contain.

Bk. I. c. 22, Lomm. p. 41. τοῖς οὖσι καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ.....λέγοντα.

This is all damaged in *Cod. Monac.*, but the following facts are discoverable.

(1) It omits οἶμαι and τὴν ὑπαρξιν.

(2) Between εἰ καὶ and εἰπεῖν there is room for about 23 more letters.

(3) ἐστὶν is, I think, not contained in it. The words are illegible, but the ink has to some extent stayed on the opposite leaf. Reading backwards, I thought I could trace somewhat as follows:

εἰ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν παχύτερον εἰπεῖν.

Cod. Ven. has τῇ ὕλῃ (space 20); then καὶ τὰ κ.τ.λ. to εἰ καὶ as in the texts; after which (space 23), εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ.

In the margin it has οἶμαι παρασχεῖν τὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ τὰ εἶδη.

Thus we get some valuable information by which to attempt a restoration of the text, and very sure indications of the relations of the two MSS.

Bk. I. c. 23, Lomm. p. 43. τίς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ λόγος...ἐπέρχεται σκοποῦντι. Damaged in *Cod. Monac.*, which has space for more. *Cod. Ven.* leaves a space of one line between ἐπέρχεται and σκοποῦντι.

Bk. XIII. c. 39, Lomm. Vol. II. p. 73, ἦτοι ὄντα.

Cod. Monac. has ἦτοι ἀκ (space 3 or 4) οντα, the letters intervening being damaged. *Cod. Ven.* has ἦτοι (space 5), then οντα.

Such evidence as this must hold good against much textual divergence; and it must be admitted that the scribe of *Cod. Ven.* has made rather free use of conjectural alteration. But a comparison of the readings of *Cod. Ven.* with those of *Cod. Monac.*, which are given at the end of the Introduction, will shew, I think, that this supposition will explain the facts better than any other theory.

Similar evidence may also be obtained from an investigation of the first parts of the MSS. which contain the Commentaries on S. Matthew. Perhaps a short statement on this part of the evidence may not be out of place. Here in Books X. and XI. the leaves of the Munich Codex have been bound up in wrong order, and two or three are wanting. In the Venice MS. the leaves are

in their right order, and nothing is missing; hence the displacement and the loss of leaves in *Cod. Monac.* is subsequent to 1374, the date of the Venice MS.

The Munich MS. has lost its first leaf; it now begins with the words *τίνι δὲ λάμπουσιν*, Bk. x. c. 3, Lomm. p. 15. These occur in *Cod. Ven.* on the 2nd recto, line 5.

We may first notice two omissions, due to homoioteleuton, in *Cod. Ven.* of words contained in *Cod. Mon.*; as indications of course, not as proofs.

Bk. XI. c. 18, Lomm. pp. 120, 121. *ὁ χωλὸς καὶ τρανὴ ἔσται—ὁ χωλός.* *Cod. Ven.* omits *καὶ τρανὴ—ὁ χωλός.*

Bk. XII. c. 1, Lomm. p. 127. *καὶ φαρισαῖοι. πρεσβεύουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν φαρισαῖοι.*

Cod. Ven. omits *πρεσβεύουσι—φαρισαῖοι.*

The following passage supplies clear proofs. (Bk. XII. c. 20.)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐνεδέχεται Ἦ προ-
φήτην ἀπο¹λέσθαι ἔξω Ἱε-
ρουσαλήμ, ἀπώλειαν ἀναλο-
γίαν ἔχουσαν πρὸς Ἦ τὸ ὁ
ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐ-
τοῦ ἔνεκεν ἐ¹μοῦ εὐρήσει
αὐτήν, διὰ τοῦτο ἔδει αὐτὸν
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπελθεῖν, ἵνα
Ἦ πολλὰ παθῶν ἐν¹ ἐκείνοις
κ.τ.λ.

Cod. Ven. τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπο-
τέλεσθαι.

Cod. Ven. omits, leaving space
(15).

Cod. Ven. omits, leaving space
(10).

The words between the signs Ἦ ¹ are in each case damaged in *Cod. Monac.*

Bk. XII. c. 24, Lomm. p. 170, *φέρε εἰπεῖν τὰ βασιλίδου ἦ*, damaged in *Cod. Monac.* *Cod. Ven.* omits *βασιλίδου*, leaving a space (7). And for *ἦ* it reads *καὶ*.

Thus there can be no doubt that the Venice MS. is derived from that at Munich. On this MS. therefore we are entirely dependent for the text of the Commentaries on S. John. Unfortunately its present condition at the bottom and top of several leaves is such that the lacunae in these places cannot for the most part be filled up; though in some cases hints as to length and individual words can be obtained, which may serve as useful

guides for conjectural restoration. The Venice Codex is our best authority for this group of the MSS. of the Comm. in Matt. in the places where *Cod. Monacensis* is now defective, as the other direct copies of this MS. have apparently been made since its mutilation. The alterations introduced by the scribe of *Cod. Ven.* frequently deserve consideration, and are not seldom obviously right.

The marginal notes on blasphemy suggest the possibility of the suppression of some passages on account of the doctrine contained in them. But all the lacunae—and there are several in *Cod. Monac.* due to its original, besides those due to the damage done to the MS. itself—cannot be explained by this hypothesis: of this Bk. XIII. c. 32 will serve as an example. But while much must be given up as no longer recoverable, a good deal of light may be thrown on the text of many passages in the Commentaries by the use of *Cod. Monac.* With a view to further work on them I made a collation in September 1889 of the Commentaries on S. John.

Huet knew of the Manuscript, but does not seem to have used it. He occasionally agrees with it against the Paris MS. on which his text was based, but such readings are probably emendations of his own, or were suggested by the versions. Through the version of Ferrarius he became acquainted with a text like that of the Venice MS.

Delarue's wider knowledge—whether he had examined any MSS. himself I cannot discover—is marred by inaccuracy of statement as to the readings contained in MSS. In particular he seems to have taken it for granted that any reading adopted by Huet in his text was necessarily that contained in the Paris Codex. The undue influence of this Codex, which it has exercised owing to its relation to Huet's text, must be set aside. But when all has been done that is possible by the ordinary methods of textual criticism, a large sphere will remain in which conjectural emendation alone can be of any avail.

The notes of Th. Mangey preserved in the British Museum (MSS. Add. 6428) do not contain fresh material. Those on the Commentaries on S. John appear to be a partial collation of Huet's text with something of the type of *Cod. Venetus*, not the

Bodleian MS. which is at times mentioned separately. Possibly he was working with the *Codex Barberinus* of that type. But whatever his source was, it contains nothing helpful which is not otherwise known.

It may be worth while to bring together here some examples from *Cod. Monac.* of important New Testament Readings of an ancient type, which have been subsequently brought into conformity with the ordinary Syrian text, either by its correctors or in its descendants. These will be sufficient to shew that it may throw some further light on the problem of the text of the New Testament used by Origen, while they will serve to illustrate the manner in which the text of quotations from the New Testament has been handled in the MSS. of the Fathers.

In the following list of some pre-Syrian readings supported by *Cod. Monac.* I have added in a few cases interesting readings from the other MSS. In these cases the MS. authority is added in brackets.

Lomm. I.

- p. 177. Jn. i. 15. ὁ εἰπὼν. See Tisch. (Or.⁴⁻¹⁰²)
 Jn. i. 18. μονογενῆς θεός. (See above, p. 8.)
 ὁ ὢν om. Heracleon (?)
 210. Jn. i. 24. ἀπεσταλμένοι. See Tisch. (Or.⁴⁻¹²³)
 211. Mt. iii. 10. ἤδη δὲ καὶ (Ven.)
 214f. Mk. i. 2. om. ἔμπροσθέν σου. See Tisch. (Or.⁴⁻¹²⁵)
 222. Jn. i. 26. ἔστηκεν
 Jn. i. 27. αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ om.
 (but in Or. vi. 23 Mon. ins. ὁ). See Tisch. (Or.⁴⁻¹³⁰)
 234. Jn. i. 26. στήκει (Heracleon)
 εἰστήκει (Bodl. Ven. Cf. Eusebius)
 [292. Mk. i. 27. ἐθαμβήθησαν. See Tisch. (Or.⁴⁻¹⁷⁰)]
 [293. Luke iv. 40. ἐθεράπευεν (Paris. Ven. Monac.)
 ἐθεράπευσεν (Bodl.)]

Lomm. II.

- p. 5. 1 Cor. iv. 11. γυμνιτεύομεν (Par. Bodl. Mon. Ven.)
 9. Jn. iv. 16. σου τὸν ἄνδρα (Bodl. Ven.)
 18. Jn. iv. 14. οὐ διψήσει (Ven.)
 οὐ μὴ διψήσει (Bodl.)
 οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ (Par. Mon.)
 See Tisch. (Or.⁴⁻²²⁰)
 57. Jn. iv. 31. ἐν τῷ μεταξύ δὲ (Bodl. Ven.)
 68. Jn. xiv. 28. ὁ πατήρ ὁ πέμψας με
 om. ὁ πατήρ (Bodl. Ven.)

92. Mt. xii. 42. Σολομῶνος (Par. Mon.)
 104. Jn. iv. 42. οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς (Bod. Ven.)
 106. 1 Cor. ix. 1. ἐόρακα (Par. Mon.)
 109. Jn. iv. 44. αὐτὸς ὁ ἰσ̄ sec. loc. (Ven. Bodl.)
 „ „ tert. loc. (Bod. Mon.)
 110. „ „ (Ven. Bodl.)
 114. Jn. ii. 15. ἀνέστρεψεν (Par. Mon.)
 See Tisch. (Or.^{4.270} ed.)
 115. Jn. ii. 16. μὴ ποιῆτε (Par. and ? Mon.)
 Jn. ii. 23. ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐν τῷ πάσχα (Bodl.)
 ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα (Ven.)
 123. Mt. x. 28. ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα (Monac. Ven.)
 130. Mt. viii. 8. ὁ παῖς μου om. (Par. Mon.)
 248. Mt. v. 28. ὁς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ (Mon.)
 264. Jn. viii. 44. οὐκ ἔστηκεν (Par. Mon.)

N.B. It will be seen that in the above list I have given some examples of readings not pre-Syrian. These are cases of attestation where further examination of the Manuscripts of Origen has corrected or supplemented Delarue's information, on which of course Tischendorf depended. The references to Tischendorf are to his critical digest *in locc.* His references to Origen (e.g. Or^{4.220}) refer to the volume and page in Delarue's edition.

It only remains to say a few words about Catenae on S. John. At Munich there are two fragments attributed to Origen in a Catena of the xith century (Gr. 437). At Rome there are several in the Catenae *Vat.* 1423, *Regin.* 9. The larger fragment in the Munich Catena occurred also with considerable variations in *Regin.* 9. I was unable at Rome to do more than glance at these fragments. The fragments pointed to the same conclusions as may be drawn from an examination of those published by Cordeus from an Antwerp MS. Most of them at any rate might have come from Origen's pen, so far as opinions are concerned. But in the comparatively few instances where they cover common ground with the extant Commentaries, the text and even the contents are either wholly different or widely divergent. Some of them have the appearance of being taken from Homilies, others from ἐπισημειώσεις. The nearest agreement with the extant Commentaries was in the case of two fragments in *Regin.* 9, where the text of Orig. *Comm. in Joann.* xxxii. 11 σημειώση δὲ τίνα τρόπον—σημαινομένῳ and 13 ἐπεὶ οὖν—ψεκτόν (Lomm. p. 435 and p. 449) occurred almost exactly, but in each case the rest of

the fragment was different from the text of the Commentaries. Nor was the result of a closer examination of two Catenae, XXVII (saec. X.) and XXVIII (saec. XI.), at Venice different. Of these the former contains more matter, though occasionally the fragments in the latter have pieces omitted in *Cod.* XXVII. On the whole, however, *Cod.* XXVIII. is much more curtailed. The greater part of what is contained in Corderius is in *Cod.* XXVII.; sometimes he gives the fullest text, and sometimes the Venice MS. is fuller. There is also a good deal at Venice which is not found in his edition. There is, I think, a close connexion between *Ven.* XXVII. and *Regin.* 9 at Rome, but I did not bring away enough information from Rome to determine this. I was able at Venice to copy all the fragments attributed to Origen in the Catena on S. John in *Cod.* XXVII. Much more must be done elsewhere before they can be made serviceable, but there is promise of considerable addition to the published writings of Origen from this Catena alone, though the critic's knife is not unneeded.

The textual results are the same as might be gathered from the MSS. at Munich and Rome. The sense of lost parts of the Commentaries may be recovered, but not much of the actual text. This of course was to be expected. I can only conclude with the hope that I may be able to bring to light some of this buried matter if I am allowed to continue working at the text of Origen's Commentaries on S. John.

As I intend to quote in the *apparatus criticus* readings from the Munich MS. only, I subjoin a full collation of the first 30 pages of Tom. XIII. of the Commentaries on S. John, in the edition of Lommatzsch, with *Codd. Monacensis* (M), *Venetus* (V), *Regius* (P), and *Bodleianus* (B). The quotations of differences of accent or breathing, of obvious itacistic blunders and ν ἐφέλικυστικά are not exhaustive, but I have endeavoured to make the collation of *Cod. Monac.* as complete as I could. The readings marked by (†) are readings of the Bodleian, where it differs from Huet, which Bentley has not noticed in the margin of the copy in Trinity College Library. In a few cases, where I knew them, I have given the readings of the Barberini Codices under the symbols R_1 (= V) and R_2 (= VI). The left column gives the text of Lommatzsch.

P. 1, Title	τὸ	τὸν M
1. 1	ἀν ἔδοξε	ἀνέδειξε P ἀνέδοξεν M
	1 φιλοθεώτατε	φιλοθεότατε V
	4 τρισκαιδεκάτω	τρειςκαιδεκάτω M
	10 τρισκαιδεκάτου	τρειςκαιδεκάτου M
P. 2, 1. 1	ἡμῶν	om. VB
9, 10	ἐπὶ τὸ	ἐπὶ τῷ P
	10 τὸ ζῶν	ζῶν P
	10 ἐπὶ	ἐπεὶ P
	11 οὐδὲν	om. MP
	11 ἀλλ'	ἀλλὰ MV
	15 ἐστι	ἐστὶν M
	18 ὡς αὐτὸς	ὁ σαυτὸς MP
P. 3, 1. 4	αἰτῆσαι	αἰτησαι M
	9 βαθέως	† βαθεος MVB βαθεως P
	11 ἐκ τοῦ	bis V
	12 Ἔστι	ἐστὶν M
	13 διψῆν	δειψῆν MP
	14 ἐν	ἐνα M
	15 τοῦ	τούτου MP
	16 ἐπιλιπόντος	ἐπιλείποντος MP
	16 καθ' ὃ	καθὸ VB
	18 διψῆν	δειψῆν MP
	18 γε	† om. VB
	21 διεγόγγυζε	διεγόγγυζεν M
P. 4, 1. 3	λεβήτων	λεβητῶν M λειυτῶν P
	3 ἡσθίωμεν	† ἡσθίωμεν VB
	4 ἐξηγάγετε	† ἐξηγάγεται B
	5 ἀποκτεῖναι	καὶ ἀπέκτεινε VB ἀπέκτεινα M
	6 Εἶπε	εἶπεν MP
	6 ὑμῖν	ὑμεῖν M
	9 εἰ	ἢ MP
	9 πεινώντων	† πεινόντων B
	11 γογγυσμὸν ἐποιοῦν οἱ λόγοι	ἐπὶ οἱ λόγοι MP
	12 Μωϋσέως	Μωυσηῆ M
	13 πιόμεθα	† πιώμεθα B πιωμεθα V
	13 ante ὅτε	† ins. λέγοντες VB
	13 ἐβόησε	ἐβόησεν MP
	13 Μωυσῆς	Μωυσηῆς MVB

	16	Ραφιδεῖν	† ραφιδῆν VB
	18	παρὰ	περὶ M
P. 5,	1.	1 διψῶμεν	δειψῶμεν M
		1 γυμνητεύομεν	† γυμνιτεύομεν MVPB
		2 post πρῶτον	ins. τὸ VB
		2 διψῆν	δείψην M δειψῆν P
		2 γίνεται	γίνεται M
		3 ὑγιαίνουνσι σώμασι	ὑγιαίνουνσιν σώμασιν M
		3 πενομένοις	παινομένοις MP
		4 ζητητέον	ζητηταῖον MP
		4 πίνων	πείνων M
		5 διψήσει	δειψήσει M
		7 εἰ	ἦ MVPB : B mg. ἴσως εἰ
		7 καὶ τάχα	B mg. και σαφα
		10 τουτέστι	τουτέστιν M
		10 διψήσει	δειψήσει M
		10 ὅμοιον	ὁμοίαν MVB
		11 post οὖν	† ins. τὸ MVB
		12 πηγῇ	πηγῇ M
		16 φησὶ βάθους	οὐ φησι βάθος MP
		17 ἀνιμώμενα	ἀνειμώμενα M ἀνειμόμενα P
		18 τὰ	† om. VBP
		19 post ὅσοις	lac. (3) MP
P. 6,	1.	1 post ἐπανεπαύσατο	lac. (6) M (4) PB (7) V
		1 ταρανῆν	τέραν ἦν VR ₁ B : B mg. τάχα ἀπο- ρίαν ἐτέραν
		1 ἐκτυπῶν	ἔκτυπον MR ₂ P
		4 συγκαθῆται	† συγκαταθῆται MVP συγκαταθῆται B
		6 ἦν περιείχεν	ἦν περιείχεν MP
			† ἦνπερ καὶ εἶχε VB
		8 πώματος	πώματος V
		11 ἀναβλυσθάνειν	ἀναβλύζειν VB
		11 ἄνω πηδῶντων	ἀναπηδῶντων VB
P. 7,	1.	1 διπταμένης	διειπταμένης M
		2 εὐκινήτω	εὐκινείτω P
		2 post εὐκινήτω	lac. (10) VBR ₁ : null. lac. MP
		3 φέροντος	φέροντι MP
		4 post οἶον	lac. (10) MR ₂ P (12) V null. lac. B

	7	ὁ	om. MP
	10	ἐπὶ	ἐπεὶ M
	11	διάλλεται	διάλληται P
	11	ὀνομαζομένας	ὀνομαζομένους MP
	13	ἄλλεται	ἀλλετη P
	16	<i>ad fin. cap. 3</i>	V in mg. ὄρα ὁ ἀναγινώσκων P in mg. ὄρα ὁ ἀναγο...βλασφη- μίαν Τικρισ M in mg. ὄρα ὁ ἀναγινώσκων βλασ- φημίαν τικρὺς
P. 8,	1.	3 post φησὶν	ins. ὁ MP
		5 post ἐπεὶ	† ins. τὸ VB
		5 πεινῆσαι	πεινήσαι M
		5 διψῆσαι	διψήσαι M
		6 τὴν δικαιοσύνην, χορτασ- θῆναι ἐστὶν, εἴ τις	δέ τις εἰ MR ₂ : om. omnino P
		7 ποιήσειεν	om. MP
		8 ἐμποιητέον	ἐνποιητέον M
		post πεινῆν καὶ εἵπωμεν	ins. τὸ V εἵπομεν P
		12 τὸ πρόσωπον	τὸ προσώπω P † τῷ προσώπω MVB
		13 ἔστι	ἐστὶν M
		14 λέγοντα	† λέγοντες VB
		15 Σαμαρείτιδι	Σαμαρείτι M
P. 9,	1.	3 τι	om. P
		4 ἐκ	ἀπὸ VB
		5 οὐτ' ἂν	ὅτ' ἂν MP
		6 πιεῖν	ποιεῖν M
		6 παρατηρητέον	παρατηρηταῖον M
		7 οἰονεῖ	οἶον εἰ MP
		8 ἐπαγγέλλετο	ἐπηγγέλλετο VB
		8 post παρέξειν	† ins. αὐτῇ VB
		8 ἐν	γὰρ MP
9,	10	τὸν ἄνδρα σου	σου τὸν ἄνδρα VB
		11 ἐπιστήσομεν	ἐπιστήσομεν MP
		15 τὸν	τῶν P
		15 διψῶν	διψῶν P
		17 ἴσχειν	ἴσχει MVP: B mg. τάχα ἔχειν
		17 ἀλλομένου	ἀλλομένου M
		20 οὖν	μὲν VB

	20 ἦθη	† ἔθη VBR ₁ : B mg. τάχα θεία
P. 10, 1.	1 ἦ	† ἦδὲ B ἦ δὲ V
	1 ἔστι	ἐστὶν M
	3 τὸν κόσμον	om. P
	4 ἑπτὰ	ζ' MP
	5 post γράφειν	ins. ὁ V
	7 ἦν	ἦ MP ἦ ἕξον VB
	9 Ἄ	B mg. τάχα εἰ
	10 φησὶν	om. VB
	11 ἐλαχίστας	† B mg. τάχα ἐλάχιστα
	12 f. νοηθῶσιν	† ν ^ο ηθῶσιν B
	14 ἐπιέ	ἐπιεν MV
	15 ἔχουσι	ἔχουσιν M
	16 πεπόκασι	πεπόκασιν M πεπόκασι V
	18 πᾶσι	πᾶσιν M
	20 ἀκούων	ἀκούω P
	20 χαλεπώτερα	χάλαιπώτερά MP
P. 11, 1.	1 τὰ	† τὸ MVPB
	9 λελαλήκασι	λελαλήκασιν M
	10 οὖς	οὖς M
	12 ἔστι	ἔστιν M
	19 τ'	τε MV
	20 λαλεῖν	καλεῖν MP
	21 φθάνοντας	† φθάνοντα VB
	22 διδακτὰ	† διδακτικὰ VB
	22 ante πνεύματος	† ins. τοῦ MVB
	22 ἄλλομένου	ἄλλομένου M
P. 12, 1.	1 πηγῆς	πηγῆν VB
	4, 5 ἐξ αὐτῆς	† om. VB
	6 Σαμαρείτις	Σαμαρείτις M
	7 ἔπινε	ἔπινεν M
10, 11	Σαμαρείτις	Σαμαρείτις M
	13 ἀκερέστεροι	† ἀκαιρέστεροι VB
	14 τὰ	om. VB
	17 Σαμαρείτις	Σαμαρείτις M
	17 ἔπινε	ἔπινεν MVB
	19 διέρχωμαι	ἔρχωμαι VB
	21 Σαμαρείτις	Σαμαρείτις M
	22 ἔστι	ἐστὶν M
	23 ἐπιποθεῖ	ἔτι αἰτεῖ B mg.

	23 ζῶν	om. B
P. 13, l.	1 αὐτῆς	αὐτῇ MVBP
	1 ante νῦν	ins. καὶ VB (V intra lin.)
	3 ἀλλομένου	ἀλλομένου M
	4 σὶ	σοὶ MP
	5 δῆλον ὅτι	δηλονότι V
	6 ἔλαβε	ἔλαβεν M
	9 δυνηθῆ	δυνηθῆναι MP
11, 12	ἀλλομένου	ἀλλομένου M
	13 ἀπὸ	ἀπ' V
	15 ὑπὸ	ἐκ VB
	16 περὶ τοῦ	περὶ τὸ MR ₂ : παρὰ τὸ VR ₁
		παρὰ τοῦ B
	17 ὡς τὸν	ὡς ὁ αἰτῶν VB (sed in V σ ὁ αἰ seriori, ut videtur, manu sunt scripta) ὡ ἐτὸν MR ₂
P. 14, l.	1 ἐνδεῖνὰ τοῖς	† ἐν δυνατοῖς VR ₁ B: ἐνδεῖνα τοῖς M
	1, 2 ἐγγεγυμνασμένοις	ἐγγεγυμνασμένοις M
	7 ante τοῦ	ins. τὸ VB
	9 λέγοντος	λέγοντες MVPB: B mg. λέγοντος
	10 γινώσκουσι	γινώσκουσιν M
P. 15, l.	1 Εἶτ' εὐθέως	εἰτευθέσεως MP
	2 ἔλεγε	ἔλεγεν M
	5 οἶονεῖ	† οἶον ἢ BV οἶον εἰ M
10, 12	ἀπέθανε—ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ	om. VB
	14 πως	πῶς MVB
	19 Σαμαρείτις	Σαμαρείτις M
	21 καθ' ὃν	καθὸν
	22 καὶ	om. MP
	23 παρατεθείσαν	† παρατιθείσαν MVB
	24 διελεχθῆναι	διελεχθῆναι P
P. 16, l.	2, 3 ἀλλ' αἰδίῳ μενοῦντι	ἀλλὰ ἰδίῳ μὲν οὖν τι MP
	5 ὃ	† ὦ B
	6 ἀπέθανε	ἀπέθανεν M
	6 ὃ	† ὦ B
	11 ἤρνητο	† ἤρνείτο VB
	16 ἔδωκε	ἔδωκεν M
P. 17, l.	1 οἶμαι	οἶναι M εἶναι P (sed ser. man. οἶναι)
	3 ante τοὺς	ins. πρὸς VB: B mg. τάχα πρώτους

	4	καθεκάστην	καθ' ἑκάστην M
	5	ἔχειν	ἴσχειν MVPB
	5	ὠμιληκέναι	ὠμειληκέναι M
	7	καὶ πνευματικῶν	† πνευματικῶ VB
	10	πέντε	ἕ MP
	11	ἕως ἄν γε	ὡς γε MP
	15	ὅτι	om. V
	18	ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰρημένων	εἰρημένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς VB
	25	ἐπιε	ἐπιεν M
P. 18, 1.	1	πεπωκέναι	† πεποκέναι VB
	5	ἄτονον	ἄτονος P
	8	post τοῦ	† ins. τὰ MVB
	9	πεπωκέναι	πεποκέναι VB
	10	ἐλάβανε	ἐλάβανεν MV
14, 15		ἐνεκαλέσαμεν	† ἐνεκαλέσαμεν VB
	18	μή	om. V
	18	διψήσει	διψήσῃ MP
	22	ἦ	om. VB
	24, 5	διδούς εἶναι ζωὴν	εἶναι διδούς ζωὴν B: ζωὴν εἶναι διδούς V
	25	ἔλεγε	ἔλεγεν M
	26	περαιορέσει	† περαιορήσει VB
	26	γυνομένην	γυνομένη P: γυνομένη MVB
P. 19, 1.	1	ἔχειν	ἔχει M
	1	ἐκεῖνα	ἐκεῖνων VB: ἐκεῖνα M
	6	Σαμαρείτιν	Σαμαρείτιν M
	6	ἀνενδειξαμένην	ἀν ἐνδειξαμένην VB
	9	αἰνιττόμενος	ἐνιττόμενος M
	11	τῆς	† om. B
	12	πᾶσι	πᾶσιν M
	16	ἐμίσησε	ἐμίσησεν M
	17	Ἰακῶβ φρέατος	ζώντος ὕδατος MP
	18	διψῶ	δείψω M
	18	μηδὲ	μηδὲ VB
	18	διέρχωμαι	διέρχομαι P
P. 20, 1.	1	τὰ	τὸ MVPB
	3	τὸν ἄνδρα σου	σου τὸν ἄνδρα B
	6	κομίσεσθαι	κομίσασθαι MP
	8	αὐτῆς	αὐτῆς V
	9	ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ	om. VB

10	εἶχε	εἶχεν M
14	φωνητέον	φωνηταῖον MP
21	ἔχεις	† ἔχω VB
22	Σαμαρεῖτις	Σαμαρείτις M
23	ἄνδρας	† γὰρ VB
24	Ἡρακλέωνι	Ἡρακλέων P
26	ἦ	ἦ M
P. 21, 1.	1 ἐπλησίαζεν	ἐπλησίαζε VB
	4 ante πνευματικῆ	ins. ἦ MVB
	8 μυθοποιίας	μυθοποιείας MP
9, 10	καὶ ἀγαθὸν...καρπούς	om. MVR ₁ R ₂ PB
	10 Σαμαρεῖτις	Σαμαρείτης M
	13 ἐπόρνευσε	ἐπόρνευσεν MVB
14, 5	προφήτης	προφήτις P
	16 λέγετε	λέγεται P
	16 ἐστὶν	ἔσται MP
17, 8	Σαμαρεῖτις	Σαμαρείτις M
	23 διελεγχθέντων	διελεγχθεντ MR ₂ (hic laesus est <i>Codex Monac.</i>)
	23 αὐτῆς	αὐτοῖς VBR ₁ : om. αὐτῆς R ₂ (lac. relicta)
P. 22, 1.	1 καταλειφθέντος	καταλειφθέντος PB: καταλειφθέν- τας MV
	3 ιδεῖν προφήτην εἶναι	προφήτην εἶναι ιδεῖν VB
	5 τοσοῦτον	τόσον VB
	7 εἰς τοῦτο	εἰς τὸ τὸ MVPB
	12 Μωσῆς	Μωυσῆς VB
	16 Ἰσαχάρ	Ἰσσαχαρ M
	16 Βενιαμείν	Βενιαμην V
	17 Γαιβάλ	γεβάλ VB
	17 Ρουβὴν	ρουβὶμ VB
P. 23, 1.	1 Σιῶν	Σειῶν MP
	4 ὠκοδομηῆσθαι	ὠκοδομείσθαι VB
	4 Σολομῶντος	Σολομῶνος MVB
	5 λέγουσι	λέγουσιν M
	7 νενόμικε	νενόμικεν M
	7 post τῶδε	ins. ἦ τῶδε PM τῶ VB
	9 συγκατέβαινον	συνκατέβαιναν M
	11 Σαμαρεὺς	Σαμαρεῖς P
	13 τούτῳ	τοῦτο P

14 λέγετε	λέγεται MP
21 διατομῆς	διανομῆς VB
23 τοῦ	om. VB
23, 4 δικασμὸς	δεκασμὸς VB: B mg. διχασμὸς
24 Σιών	Σειῶν P Σειων M
25 ἐπαπορήσειν	ἐπαπόρησιν M
P. 24, 1. 3, 4 τὸ μὲν τῆς	τὸ μὲν ^{τῆς} (sic) P: P mg. τῆς
11 προσκυνήσουσι	προσκυνήσουσιν MP
12 Σιών	Σειῶν M
13 ἐστι	ἐστὶν M
13 ἄπερ	ἄπερ M
14 post ὑπὸ	om. τοῦ VB
16 ἡ ἡ	ἡ ἡ M
17 ἐνθάδε ιεράτευμα	ἐνθα ιεράτευμα VB: ἐνθαδεράτευμα M
18 προσφέρονται	προσάγονται VB
19 νόμον;	νόμον MVP
21 ante ἀληθινὴν	ins. τὴν MVPB
26 ἔρχεται	ἔρχεσθαι P
27 ἐστί	ἐστὶν M
29 ἐστί	ἐστὶν M
29 οἶμαι	οἶμαι M
P. 25, 1. 3, 4 προκοπήν	προσκόπτειν MP
7 φθάνοντας	φθάνοντα P
7, 8 νομιζόμεθα	νομιζόμεθα M
8 γοῦν	οὖν VB
10 προσκυνήσετε	προσκυνήσεται P
13, 4 Σαμαρείτις	Σαμαρείτις M
14 φησί	φησὶν M
16 ἐπιε	ἐπιεν M
17 τὸ	om. VB
20 Σαμαρείτιν	Σαμαρείτιν
21 αὐτήν	αὐτήν MVP
25 κὰν προφητεύομεν	κὰν προφητεύομεν MVB
26 γινώσκωμεν	γινώσκωμεν MVB
26 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα	μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ VB
P. 26, 1. 1 αὐτῆς φύσει	αὐτῆς φαύσει MP: αὐτῆς φύσει V
5 δι' ἄγνοιαν	διάνοιαν P: δι' εὐγνοιαν B B mg. δι' ἄγνοιαν
7 ἐν	ἐκ M

12	ἔοικε	ἔοικεν M
14	προστίθησι	προστίθησιν M
14	περὶ	τὲ BV $\frac{\epsilon}{\tau}$ M
15	post τίνι	ins. τρόπῳ VB
17	τὰ	τὸ MVPB
18	εὐέλεγκτα	ευελεγκατα M
19	*	nul. lac. MP : ins. δῆλον VB
19	ἀπαλλαγείη	ἀπαλλαγείῃ M
23	προσκυνήσετε	προσκυνήσεται P
23	ἔδοξε	ἔδοξεν M
P. 27, 1.	3, 4 ἐπεθόλωσε	ἐπεθόλωσεν M
4	ὄρος	ὄρος M
6	ἐν	ἐν M : ἦν P
7	ὄρος	ὄρος M
8	ὡς	ὡς P
9	Ἱεροσόλυμα	Ἱεροσόλυμα bis P
10	ὧς	om. P
10	ὄρος	ὄρος M
11	οἱ	om. M
12	ὧς	om. M
12	οἱ	om. VB
14	προσκυνήσετε	προσκυνήσεται P
15	συνπαραλαμβάνει	συνπαραλαμβάνει M
16	ἤδη	ἤδει VB
19, 20	ὑπολαμβάνομεν	ὑπολαμβάνόμενον MVPB
21	δὲ	δημιουργὸν P sed ser. man. in δὲ correctum est
23	θεωρητικώτερον	θεωρητηκώτερον B
23	post σαφέστερον	ins. καὶ θειότερον MVB
P. 28, 1.	3, 4 προσκυνούσι	προσκυνούσιν M
4	κρείττονως	κρείττον ὡς MVB
6	εἰσάγγελοι	εἰσάγγελοι MP
8	συνπεριφέρονται	συνπεριφέρονται VB: συνπεριφέ- ρονται M
9	τοῖς	om. VB
10	κερδήσωσιν	κερδήσουσιν MP
10, 11	νοείσθω	νοῆσθαι P
11	προσαποδεδώκαμεν	προαποδεδώκαμεν M
15, 6	προσκυνήσετε	προσκυνήσαι MP
20	ἐστί	ἐστὶν M

	22 ῥητῶ	ῥρει VB: ὁ ῥητῶ P sed ser. man. deletur ὁ
P. 29, 1.	3 κυρίου	χ ^ω ν MP
	4 ἀκολουθίαν	ἀκολουθείαν M
	6 Ἰουδαῖοι	οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι MB
	6 ἐστι	ἐστὶν V
	7 Σαμαρείτιν	Σαμαρείτιν M
	7, 8 Σαμαρείτιν	Σαμαρείτιν M: Σαμαρείτην V
	9 προσκύνουσι	προσκυνοῦσιν MVB
	10 οὐ	καὶ MP
	13 post πολὺ δὲ	ins. κάλλιον VB
	16 post αὐτὰ	ins. καὶ B
	17 μικτὸν	μεικτὸν M
P. 30, 1.	2 καθ' Ἑλληνας	καθελὴν ᾧς M: καθελείν ᾧς P: καθ' ἔλληνας V
	5 μόνοι οἰόμενοι	μόνοις ἰόμενοι MP
	6 ἀγγέλοις	ἀγγέλλοις M
	10 δὲ	δεῖ M
	12 ἔστρεψε	ἔστρεψεν M
	13 post οἶδα	ins. δὲ MVPB

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF HERACLEON.

OF the personal history of Heracleon hardly anything is known. Clement of Alexandria, quoting his comment on a passage of S. Luke, calls him the most famous of the Valentinian School¹. Origen prefaces his first citation from Heracleon's Commentary on the Gospel of S. John with the information that he was said to have been a pupil (or, perhaps, an acquaintance) of Valentinus². He is mentioned once by Irenaeus in conjunction with Ptolemaeus, and possibly with Valentinus, who is at any rate mentioned several times by name shortly before, as the chief

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9, p. 595 (ed. Potter), ὁ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς δοκιμώτατος.

² Origen, *Comm. in Joann.* ii. 8, τὸν Οὐαλεντίνου λεγόμενον εἶναι γνώριμον. It seems probable that Origen here uses the word γνώριμος in the sense of 'pupil,' a meaning which it often bears. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11, τοῦτο ἄρα βούλεται καὶ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ ἢ πενταετίας σιωπῇ ἦν τοῖς γνωρίμοις παρεγγυᾶ, and *Ibid.* ii. 4. Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, i. 13, Δημόκριτος δὲ Λευκίππου γίνεται γνώριμος. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 32, δν (sc. πῶλον) ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τότε τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 8. 3, ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γνώριμος δὲ ἦν οὗτος Ἡλία καὶ διάδοχος. Philo i. 201. 6 (ed. Mangey), ὁπότε γὰρ πατὴρ υἱὸν τύπτει σωφρονίζων ἢ διδάσκαλος γνώριμον, and i. 208. 4. Plutarch, 2. 448 E (Francofurt. 1620), ἀντὶ γνωρίμων καὶ μαθητῶν ἐρασταὶ καλούμενοι καὶ ὄντες (of the gradual growth of the pupil's affection for his master). Cf. also Strabo 1. 1. 11. Philostratus 529 (2. 41. 9 ed. Teubner), 578 (2. 84. 13), and 583 (2. 88. 4), and Suidas *sub voce*. The growth of the meaning may be traced in such passages as Xen. *Mem.* 2. 3. 1, ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἀλλήλοις, ἑαυτῷ (sc. Σωκράτει) δὲ γνωρίμω.

At the same time the word would hardly be used of one who had joined a school after the death of the Master. Its use is not compatible with any great difference of date between Valentinus and his pupil.

exponent of the opinions under discussion¹. Tertullian also refers to him once as having developed the Valentinian teaching on the lines suggested by Ptolemaeus². The author of the *Refutatio*³ mentions him and Ptolemaeus as the chief exponents of the Italic school of Valentinianism. In the preface at the beginning of the sixth book he is placed after Ptolemaeus. Theodoret⁴ mentions him after Secundus, in quite general terms, with Cossianus, Theodotus, Ptolemaeus, Marcus. He is also once referred to by Photius⁵.

Praedestinatus⁶ is certainly wrong in telling a story of him which connects his name with the Roman episcopate of Alexander (c. 110 A.D.). 'Hic in partibus Siciliae inchoavit docere: contra hunc susceperunt episcopi Siculorum, Eustachius Lilybaeorum et Panormeorum Theodorus, quique omnium per Siciliam erant episcoporum synodum exorantes gestis eum audire decreuerunt et uniuersas adsertiones eius dirigentes ad sanctum Alexandrum urbis episcopum rogauerunt, ut ad eum confutandum aliquid ordinaret. Tunc sanctus Alexander ad singula quaeque capita hydri singulos gladios dei uerbi de uagina diuinae legis eiciens librum contra Heracleonem ordinans, feruentissimum ingenio Sabinianum presbyterum destinauit, qui et scriptis episcopi et adsertione sua ita eum confutaret, ut nocte media nauis praesidio fugeret, et ultra ubinam deuenisset penitus nullus sciret.' The date is impossible, and the heretical views on baptism attributed to him in the same account (*nihil obesse baptizatis peccata memorabat*) have no greater claims to be accepted as part of his teaching.

That he had a school of followers we know from Praedestinatus, 'Sextadecima haeresis Heracleonitarum ab Heracleone adinuenta

¹ Irenaeus II. 4. 1, Honorificentius reliquis aeonibus ipsius (?) Ptolemaei et Heracleonis et reliquis omnibus qui eadem opinantur.

² Tertullian, *adv. Valentinianos* c. 4, Deduxit et Heracleon inde tramites quosdam et Secundus et magus Marcus.

³ Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omn. Haeres.*, VI. 35.

⁴ Theodoret, *Haeret. Compend.* I. 8, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ μύριοι ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεφύησαν αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγοί, Κοσσιανὸς, Θεόδωτος, Ἡρακλέων, Πτολεμαῖος, Μάρκος, διάφορα προεπινοήσαντες δόγματα.

⁵ Photius, *Ep.* 134 (ed. Ric. Montacutius).

⁶ Praedestinatus, *Haer.* 16.

est': from Augustine¹ (c. 16) 'Heracleonitae ab Heracleone': from Eriphanius (*Haer.* xxxvi.) 'Ηρακλέων καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 'Ηρακλεωνῖται: and from Origen (*passim*), e.g. οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οἴχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς μυθοποιίας, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ.

The fact that a school of his disciples was in existence when Origen wrote his Commentaries on S. John (of which parts at any rate were written before A.D. 228²), does not necessitate any earlier date for Heracleon than the end of the second century. The exact meaning of Origen's description of him (*Comm. in Joann.* II. 8) is uncertain, but the phrase used (*γνώριμος*) would hardly be natural, unless Heracleon had been a prominent member of the school during the lifetime of Valentinus. And we cannot lay much stress on the fact that Origen admits that his account is only from hearsay (*λεγόμενον*). In the absence of more direct evidence we have no reason to distrust this tradition. On the other hand, stress has been laid on the probability that the heads of the Western or Italic School of Valentinians were contemporary, or nearly so, with those of the Anatolic School to whom they are opposed in the *Refutatio*. But as there is nothing to tell us how quickly the two schools respectively developed, or whether those who were regarded by a later age as most representative of them were those who stood at the head at the same time, such an argument is very precarious. The constant connexion of the names of Ptolemaeus and Heracleon, not always in the same order, is our only guide. As the order is never necessarily chronological, its variation does not prove that they were absolutely contemporary, but it certainly gives a high probability to the supposition that they were nearly so. All we know for certain is, that Heracleon's Commentary on S. John was in existence before 228, and that a comment of his on Luke xii. 8—11 was quoted by Clement as early as 193. Clement's silence as to the Commentaries on S. John affords no evidence of a later date than this for their composition. Lipsius points out the probability that Irenaeus had heard of him when he came to Rome about 176 or 177: and at any rate the school of Ptolemaeus was well

¹ Augustine, *De haeresibus liber*, c. 16 (ed. Migne, vol. viii. p. 27).

² See the Article 'Origen' in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* vol. iv. p. 114.

established at that time¹. We may perhaps go a little further. It may be reasonably assumed that the lectures of Irenaeus, on which, according to the most probable interpretation of Photius², the Compendium of Hippolytus was founded, were delivered not later than 177³, and we know that in this Compendium the heresy of Heracleon was described. This can be gathered, almost with certainty, from the place assigned to him in the Minor Heresiologists. This evidence is independent of the disputed question of the date of the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus. Thus we have no evidence which necessitates an earlier date than 170 for the appearance of Heracleon as a Heresiarch, but on the other hand there is a considerable probability, if we allow to the expression of Origen the full force of its most natural interpretation, that the true date is somewhat earlier, and in closer proximity to the death of Valentinus. Heinrici⁴ has made use of the reference to Heracleon in Clement's *Eclogae Propheticae*⁵, which he regards as a very early work of the Alexandrine Father, to press the earlier date; but, if we take the more common view that these formed part of the lost books of the *Hypotyposes*⁶, this argument has of course no weight.

The only other possibly available evidence is such as might be deduced from the character of the Valentinian doctrine dealt with in the *Refutatio*, supposing that we ought to regard this doctrine as Heracleonic. It is always allowed to be of a later type than that represented in Irenaeus, and thus its contents might possibly give us some clue to Heracleon's date; but with this question we are not yet in a position to deal. Suffice it to say here that the chronological difference need not be great, and that the *Refutatio*, if it has any connexion with Heracleon, represents in all probability a stage of Heracleonism more developed than the teaching of the Master himself. Here then we must leave, at any rate for the present, the question of Heracleon's date.

¹ Lipsius in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1867, p. 81.

² Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome* (2nd ed.), vol. II. p. 414.

³ *Ibid.* p. 423.

⁴ *Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die Heilige Schrift*, p. 13.

⁵ See Fragment 49.

⁶ See *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* vol. I. p. 564 'Clement.'

We know from Origen's direct statement, as well as from the fragments cited by him, that Heracleon was the author of *ὑπομνήματα*¹. These included Commentaries on at any rate large portions of the Gospel according to S. John, and probably also on that according to S. Luke. This follows from Clement's statement on Luke xii. 8—11, *τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον ὁ Ἡρακλέων, κ.τ.λ.* Whether he also wrote on S. Matthew is uncertain². That he used it as authoritative follows from his citation³ of Matt. viii. 12, *οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξελεύσονται* (Text. Rec. *ἐκβληθήσονται*), to prove the destruction of the men of the Demiurge.

The place of Heracleon among the Valentinians is given differently by different heresiologists. Philaster and Pseudo-Tertullian place him next to Secundus; Epiphanius and Augustine after Colarbasus. We do not possess sufficient information, either in the fragments of his own writings which remain, or in the very scanty references of other writers, to clear away the obscurity which shrouds his system. The statement of Ps.-Tertullian, 'Qui cum Valentino paria sentit sed nouitate quadam pronuntiationis uult uideri alia sentire,' is perhaps unfair in its imputation, but it comes as near the truth as we can get. The information given by the Minor Heresiologists is but scanty.

PHILASTRIUS.

Dicens principium esse unum quem dominum appellat, deinde de hoc natum aliud, deque his duobus generationem multorum adserit principiorum.

PS.-TERTULLIANUS.

Introducitur enim in primis illud fuisse quod...pronuntiat, et deinde ex illa monade duo ac deinde reliquos aëones. Deinde introducitur totum Valentinum.

What word is to be supplied to fill up the lacuna in the account of Ps.-Tertullian, has been sufficiently discussed by others⁴. The phrase 'ex illa monade' just below certainly suggests that 'monadem' is the only natural reading. Thus we get *Μονὰς* as the starting point of the Heracleonic system, according to the

¹ Origen, *Comm. in Joann.* vi. 8 *ἐν οἷς καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήμασιν.*

² See Fragment 51 (note).

³ Origen, *Comm. in Joann.* xiii. 59.

⁴ Cf. Lipsius, *Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, p. 170.

Syntagma of Hippolytus, the almost certain source of the accounts which we are considering. And this agrees exactly with the account given by Hippolytus in the *Refutatio*, where the system described under the section devoted to Valentinus starts from a *μονὰς ἀγέννητος, ἀφθαρτος κ.τ.λ.* (see Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Haeres.* vi. 29). Combining this with the direct statements of Irenaeus (i. xi. 1) with regard to the tenets of Valentinus himself, we may regard it as most probable that, whereas Valentinus's system starts with an original Dyad, his more Pythagoreanising pupil Heracleon referred the origin of all things to an eternal Monad. Other more distinctly Pythagoreanising tendencies of Heracleon and his school will come under notice later on.

The next step is more obscure. The most natural explanation of the facts recorded by the Minor Heresiologists is that Heracleon spoke of his second principle indifferently as one, or as a Dyad, of which the two principles were not very clearly distinguished. It must correspond to the Valentinian *Νοῦς* and *Ἀλήθεια*: and very possibly he may have often referred to it as *ἀλήθεια*: compare the use in the Fragments of the term *τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας*. The exact agreement of this with the account given in the *Refutatio* must be noted. We need only quote vi. 29, *προέβαλεν οὖν καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ, ὡσπερ ἦν μόνος, νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν τουτέστι δυάδα*. The next clause also agrees well enough with the rest of Ps.-Tertullian and Philaster: *ἥτις κυρία καὶ ἀρχὴ γέγονε καὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς πληρώματος καταριθμουμένων αἰώνων*. This combines the 'deinde reliquos aeonos' of Ps.-Tertullian, and Philaster's 'deque his duobus generationem multorum adserit principiorum.'

But here a digression is necessary. Harnack in an interesting note¹ has suggested that the 'alius clarus magister' of Irenaeus

¹ *Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus*, p. 62 n. He further suggests that Tertullian, in his copy of Irenaeus, may have found Heracleon's name in this place (Irenaeus, i. xi. 3). But Lipsius (*Die Quellen der ältesten Ketzer-geschichte*, p. 67 n.) has shewn that Tertullian reproduces this section of Irenaeus almost *verbatim*, subsequently to his mention of Heracleon, without connecting it with Heracleon's name (Tert. *adv. Valent.* c. 37). Harnack also sees in the words of Irenaeus ii. 4. 1, 'honorificentius...reliquis aeonibus ipsius Ptolemaei et Hera- cleonis,' a hint that Ptolemaeus and Heracleon agreed in prefixing to the ordinary series of Valentinian Aeonos, projected by the Father, a series of higher beings.

(I. xi. 3) should perhaps be identified with Heracleon. But it has been pointed out that exactly the same teaching, with regard to Μονότης, Ἐνότης, Μονὰς and Ἐν, is attributed to Marcus, with a reference apparently to this passage, by means of the words καθ' ἃ προείρηται (Irenaeus I. xv. 1)¹. We may also compare the words with which Marcus is introduced in c. xiii. 1 (the Greek is not available, as Epiphanius has here epitomised the words of Irenaeus); 'alius uero quidam ex iis, qui sunt apud eos, magistri emendatorem se esse glorians; Marcus est autem illi nomen.' We may therefore conclude that the section I. xi. 3 refers to Marcus and not to Heracleon. But Lipsius is inclined² to regard the description of Heracleon, which Hippolytus gives in the *Syntagma*, as based on this passage of Irenaeus. If this is right, it follows of course that the information to be found in the *Syntagma* about Heracleon is open to grave suspicion. But, in his article on Valentinus, Lipsius has shewn that Hippolytus cannot have derived his statements as to the pupils of Valentinus (Secundus, Ptolemaeus and Heracleon) from the account of Irenaeus (I. xi. xii.) alone, but must have used some other source as well, if indeed he used this passage at all: and that the particular doctrines assigned by Irenaeus to Secundus and Ptolemaeus, those of the τετραὸς δεξιὰ and ἀριστερὰ, and the two σύζυγοι respectively, are not so attributed by Hippolytus, while the distinction of the two Σοφίαι, assigned by Irenaeus to Secundus (I. xi. 2), is in Hippolytus assigned to them both. The connexion then is so very loose that, when we find that Hippolytus (see Ps.-Tertullian, quoted above) makes Heracleon's first principle to be Μονὰς, we need hardly assume that he derived this from Irenaeus I. xi. 3, where the first principle of the 'clarus magister'

But the 'ipsius' will hardly bear out this; and as no mention has been made in the chapter at all of Ptolemaeus, the 'ipsius' is in any case strange. It would refer much more naturally to Valentinus, who alone has been mentioned so far. Perhaps we should insert an 'et' after 'ipsius,' reading 'ipsius et Ptolemaei.'

¹ See Neander, *Genetische Entwicklung der gnostischen Systeme*, p. 169: with this must be compared Dr Salmon's article on 'Epiphanes,' *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* vol. II.

² See his article on 'Irenaeus,' *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* vol. III. p. 261. But we should also compare *Die Quellen der ält. Ketzergeschichte*, pp. 169, 170; and his article on 'Valentinus,' *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* vol. IV. p. 1084.

is *Μονότης*. There would seem then to be no valid reason for rejecting the information afforded by Hippolytus on the ground of its derivation from this passage of Irenaeus, which refers to another teacher. Whence Philaster derived his statement that Heracleon called his first principle 'Dominum' is not known. It is quite possible that he may have used the term *Κύριος* (cf. *κυρία*, Hipp. *Refut.* VI. 29); but of this we know nothing.

The only other information afforded by the Minor Heresiologists is 'Deinde introducit totum Valentinum,' which is probably true enough. With the probable exceptions already considered there is no reason to suppose that Heracleon materially altered the system of his master, or that he laid any particular stress on the details of the system. His interest seems to have been more in the general theological and philosophical teaching of Valentinianism, and the interpretation by it of the Canonical Books which he regarded as authoritative, and especially of the Gospel according to S. John.

The patchwork of Epiphanius¹ need not detain us long. His points of contact with Philaster and Ps.-Tertullian betray the use of the *Syntagma*; and most of the rest consists so obviously of gleanings from Irenaeus that it is unnecessary to look further for his authority. The choice of Marcosian sources for his investigations was the natural consequence of the relative positions he assigns to Marcus, Colarbasus and Heracleon. At the same time the teaching of Heracleon on the two *υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπου* (Frag. 35) lends plausibility to the supposition that the *ἄλλοι* of Irenaeus I. xii. 4 may have some connexion with Heracleon, and that he did call the Father of All *ἄνθρωπος*. But, as a Commentator like Heracleon was bound to make use of the Evangelic phrase *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, the identification is precarious. For the rest we should perhaps notice the parallelism of *μήτε ἄρρεν μήτε θῆλυ* with Hipp. *Ref.* VI. 30 (*ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ, φησὶν, ἐστὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς γεννητοῖς, τὸ μὲν θῆλυ...τὸ δὲ ἄρρεν*), because of the *φησὶ*, with which we must deal later on. The description of the *δευτέρα μήτηρ* is a natural description of what formed part of every Valentinian system. Epiphanius might easily have added it himself, without deriving it from any particular source. The

¹ Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxvi.

words βούλεται δὲ πλείονα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὗτος λέγειν, when compared with the statement of Ps.-Tertullian quoted above, point to the existence of some such accusation in the *Syntagma*.

We know from the *Refutatio* that Heracleon belonged to the Italic school of Valentinians; but beyond this no further information as to his teaching has come down to us, apart from his own writings; unless indeed the account of Valentinianism given by Hippolytus in the *Refutatio* is to be connected with the name of Heracleon. This question can only be settled by an examination of the points of contact between the two in matter and language; and this it will be better to reserve for the notes on the Fragments. It will not be out of place here, however, to trace shortly the illustrations which the Fragments offer of those passages of the *Refutatio*, which are confessedly derived from a document quoted, noticing also again the parts of such passages which shew similarity to the account of Heracleon given in the *Syntagma*. The first of these passages (*Ref.* VI. 29), ἦν ὅλως, φησὶ, γεννητὸν οὐδὲν, πατήρ δὲ ἦν μόνος ἀγέννητος, οὐ τόπον ἔχων, οὐ χρόνον, οὐ σύμβουλον, οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ κατ' οὐδένα τῶν τρόπων νοηθῆναι δυναμένην οὐσίαν, is in thorough harmony with the account in the *Syntagma*. The description of ἀγάπη, though worthy of the author of the Fragment (50) on ὁμολογία, offers no point of contact with the Fragments. The agreement of the next sentence, προέβαλεν οὖν...τουτέστι δυνάδα, κ.τ.λ., with the *Syntagma* has been pointed out, but it is not directly attributed to the document. The next sentence so attributed, τούτου γὰρ, φησὶ, τελειότερον ἀριθμοῦ κ.τ.λ., is in harmony with the Pythagorean tendency to dwell on numbers, which is seen in Fragments 16, 18, 40, where Heracleon explains the significance of the 46 years occupied by the building of the Temple, the six husbands (according to his text) of the woman of Samaria, and the seventh hour when the son of the βασιλικὸς was healed. With the sentence ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ, φησὶν, κ.τ.λ. we have dealt before. With the following αὕτη ἐστὶ, φησὶν, ἡ ἀγαθὴ, ἡ ἐπουράνιος Ἱερουσαλήμ, εἰς ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ θεὸς εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, must be compared the Ἱερουσαλήμ of Fragment 13, of which the ψυχικὸς τόπος, typified in John ii. 13 by Ἱεροσόλυμα, is an εἰκὼν. (Cf. the note *in loc.*)

In chapter 32, after the explanation of ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου (Prov. i. 7), attributed by the use of φησὶ to the same document, we find a long passage, which it will be necessary to quote in full. Ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης, φησὶν, ἡ ψυχικὴ οὐσία, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ τόπος [μεσότητος] ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβδομάς καὶ παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν· καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα λέγουσι περὶ τούτου, ταῦτα εἶναι τοῦ ψυχικοῦ, ὃν φασιν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργόν· ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης. λέγει, φησὶ, καὶ Μωυσῆς· Κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου πῦρ ἐστὶ φλέγον καὶ καταναλίσκον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο οὕτως γεγράφθαι θέλει. διπλῆ δὲ τίς ἐστι, φησὶν, ἡ δύναμις τοῦ πυρός· ἔστι γὰρ πῦρ παμφάγον, κατασβεσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενον...κατὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ μέρος θνητῆ τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, μεσότης τις οὐσα· ἔστι γὰρ ἐβδομάς καὶ κατάπαυσις. ὑποκάτω γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ὀγδοάδος, ὅπου ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία, ἡμέρα μεμορφωμένη, ὑπεράνω δὲ τῆς ὕλης, ἧς ἐστὶ δημιουργός. εἰάν οὖν ἐξομοιωθῆ τοῖς ἄνω, τῇ ὀγδοάδι, ἀθάνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ὀγδοάδα, ἧτις ἐστὶ, φησὶν, Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐπουράνιος· εἰάν δὲ ἐξομοιωθῆ τῇ ὕλῃ, τουτέστι τοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς ὑλικοῖς, φθαρτὴ ἔσται καὶ ἀπόλετο [? ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπόλλυται]. It is impossible to determine how much of this passage is actually quoted from the document in question: but the τόπος [μεσότητος] reminds us of Frag. 13, τὸν ψυχικὸν τόπον, Frag. 40, τῷ ὑποβιβηκότι μέρει τῆς μεσότητος, and Frag. 35, ὑπὲρ τὸν τόπον. And the account of ψυχικὴ οὐσία as ἐβδομάς, and of the conditions under which it may become ἀθάνατος, vividly recalls the description of ψυχὴ in Fragment 40.

In chapter 34 (*sub fin.*), apart from the quotation from 1 Cor. ii. 14, all that is necessarily taken from the document is μωρία δὲ, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. On the agreement, or disagreement, of the next sentence, μωρὸς γὰρ ἦν, κ.τ.λ., with Fragment 2, see the note *in loc.*

The rest of the quotations from the document, and there are practically only two more, offer no points of comparison or of contrast. But this examination reveals a very decided similarity between such parts of his system as can be discovered from the Fragments of Heracleon, and the passages of the *Refutatio* where by the use of φησὶ Hippolytus shews that he is quoting a particular Gnostic document¹. It has never been proved that Valentinus

¹ The researches of Stähelin (Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen* vi. 3) do not

cannot have been the author of this document. But if the view, that the Pythagoreanising element was chiefly developed by Heracleon¹, is true, the Valentinian authorship is highly improbable. The similarity of its contents to the Fragments of Heracleon do not prove that he was the author, but they render such a supposition very probable indeed. The more detailed comparison of the rest of the account in Hippolytus with the Fragments proves, I think, that the system on which the account is based is Heracleonic; while certain differences lead us to attribute it rather to the school of Heracleon, than to the founder of the school himself. I speak of course of the system on which Hippolytus bases his account: divergent systems and opinions are frequently mentioned.

Thus no certain evidence for Heracleon's date can be gained from the *Refutatio*. The Pythagoreanising tendency, and the absence of a *σύζυγος* of the Father, which we may attribute with probability, though not with certainty, to Heracleon, are not necessarily late elements. The details of the system, which are generally regarded as of a later type, may or may not be his.

Of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* it is not necessary to speak at length here. The chief illustrations of the Fragments afforded by them will be referred to in the notes. Considerable verbal similarities exist, but we are not yet, if indeed we ever can be, in a position to deal certainly with the 'Quellenkritik' of the *Excerpta*.

We must now turn to the surer ground of the Fragments themselves, and conclude with a short summary of the teaching of Heracleon, as it can be derived from his own writings.

The nature of God is in itself unspotted, pure, invisible. He is Spirit, and can only be worshipped duly by those who are of the same nature as Himself, and whose worship is spiritual, not carnal (Fr. 24). Elsewhere he is called *ὁ πατήρ τῆς ἀληθείας* (Fr. 20). We hear in Fr. 16 of a *τετράς, ἡ ἀπρόσπλοκος*, which is probably the highest Tetrad of the Valentinian system, i.e. the four highest male Aeons. The next highest Aeon of whom we

affect the question under discussion. He admits the trustworthiness of Hippolytus's authority in this section of the *Refutatio*.

¹ See also Lipsius, *Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, p. 170.

read is perhaps the ἄνω Χριστός, who, according to the Hippolytean account, sent the κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπὸς to Sophia; but the interpretation of Fr. 35 is uncertain. The λόγος of Heracleon is not a member of the original Pleroma, or Aeon, according to Heracleon's usage of the term. The inhabitants of the Aeon came into being before him (Fr. 1). His position seems to correspond to that of the κοινὸς καρπὸς in the *Refutatio*. All things, with the exception of the Aeon and its inhabitants, came into being through him; that is to say, according to Heracleon's strange interpretation of διὰ, he was the cause of the creation of the world by the Demiurge (παρασχεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου τῷ δ.). Through his indwelling activity the Demiurge worked. The πνευματικοὶ were in a stricter sense created by him, αὐτὸς γὰρ τὴν πρώτην μόρφωσιν τὴν κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῖς παρέσχε, τὰ ὑπ' ἄλλου σπαρέντα εἰς μορφήν καὶ εἰς φωτισμὸν καὶ περιγραφὴν ἰδίαν ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἀναδείξας. He is the true Creator, and is also called Χριστός (Fr. 22). He is further identified with the Saviour (Fr. 5), and it is probably he, to whom reference is made in the words ὁ ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντες (Fr. 22), as is shewn by what follows: ἐξῆλθεν...ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην. We hear of the Holy Spirit as driving out evil (Fr. 13), but nothing further is said on the subject.

Sophia is never mentioned in the Fragments, but her history is the archetype of that of the redemption of the πνευματικοὶ, which is represented as the true meaning of the story of the Samaritan Woman, and it is not possible to separate archetype from copy in Heracleon's interpretation of the story.

The Demiurge is frequently mentioned. Though in one sense the world came into being through the λόγος, the Demiurge, inspired by him, is its immediate creator (Fr. 1). He it was, in all probability, who sowed, unconsciously, the pneumatic seeds which were formed and fostered by the Word (Fr. 3). He is typified by John the Baptist, who, when he professed his unworthiness to loose the latchet of Christ's shoe, is represented by Heracleon as speaking in the person of the Demiurge, who is thus made to confess his inferiority to the Christ (Fr. 8). He is

the Creator whom the Jews worshipped, and is represented by Jerusalem, the seat of the imperfect worship which was soon to pass away (Fr. 20). The worship offered to him by all his worshippers was carnal and mistaken (Fr. 22). He is again represented by the βασιλικὸς of John iv. 46. He is, as it were, a petty king (Fr. 40), set over a small kingdom by the Great King. His kingdom is the τόπος μεσότητος, in the inferior part of which, represented by Capernaum, his son lies sick. His nature is psychic, as is that of his son, which is represented by the number seven. This nature is capable of salvation by being assimilated to the higher spiritual nature, but the destruction of those who remain his 'men,' and are not thus assimilated, is assured by the words of Christ in Matt. viii. 12. His nature is such that it requires signs and wonders before it can believe: it cannot λόγῳ πιστεύειν. Yet he is easily persuaded of the superior power of the Saviour. He has his angels, here represented as slaves, who report to him on the well-being of his subjects, and the progress which they are making in consequence of the Saviour's advent. 'He and his house' represent his whole angelic order, and those men who are more nearly akin to his own nature. Such can be saved, though the salvation of some of the angels is doubtful, and the destruction of those men, who are merely 'men of the Demiurge,' is certain. Once more, according to one interpretation of ἔστιν ὁ ζητῶν καὶ κρίνων the Judge is the Demiurge, the Saviour's minister, who performs the will of Him to whom all judgment has been committed.

The διάβολος comes next in importance in Heracleon's teaching. He is represented by the Mountain of Samaria (Fr. 20), which is one part of the whole mountain of evil, the κόσμος worshipped by all before the Law, and since the Law by the Nations of the Gentiles. He cannot stand in the truth, because his nature is not of the truth, but of its opposite, of error and ignorance. Falsehood is his own by nature; he is physically incapable of speaking truth. His nature (for so Heracleon interprets ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ) is composed of error and falsehood (Fr. 47). His substance is different in kind from the λογικὴ οὐσία of the Saints (Fr. 45). He has desires but no will (Fr. 46).

The *χοικοὶ* are his children by nature, of the same substance as he.

Corresponding to *λόγος*, *δημιουργὸς*, *διάβολος*, we find the usual triple division of men into *πνευματικοί*, *ψυχικοί*, *χοικοὶ* or *σαρκικοί* (cf. Fr. 44, *ἑτέρας οὐσίας τυγχάνοντι παρ' οὓς καλοῦσι ψυχικοὺς ἢ πνευματικούς*). The *πνευματικοὶ* are in some sense identical with the *λόγος*, who imparted to them their form and personality (Fr. 2). The Holy of Holies, into which the High Priest alone enters, symbolises the place of their final destination (Fr. 13). The spiritual seed has been sown in the *ἐμφύσημα*, which is apparently the psychical part of those men who possess it (Fr. 16). Before the coming of Christ their spiritual nature was imprisoned in matter, corrupted by adulterous and irrational intercourse with hylic wickedness. Their former life was weak, temporal, deficient, because it was cosmic. When they are rescued by the Saviour, the life which He gives them is eternal and incorruptible (Fr. 17). Through ignorance of God and the true worship which should be offered to Him, they lived in former times no true life (Fr. 19). Yet the spiritual nature was not wholly dormant; the Church awaited Christ, and was persuaded that He knew all things, and was thus prepared to receive Him (Fr. 25). But their rescue depends in no way on themselves; the spiritual nature is *φύσει σωζόμενον*, and incorruptible (Fr. 37). Faith corresponds to their true nature, and henceforth they offer to the Father of Truth that spiritual worship which is their rational service (Fr. 24). This they can do, because they are of the same nature as God. Rescued themselves, they are instrumental in the salvation of others, especially of those *ψυχικοί* who are capable of salvation. They pour forth what has been given them, unto the eternal life of others (*ἕτεροι*). So Heracleon interprets the *ἀλλομένου* of John iv. 14 (Fr. 17). It is through and by the pneumatic that the psychic is brought to the Saviour (Fr. 27).

The *πνευματικοὶ* are consubstantial with God, and are destined to salvation. With the *ψυχικοί* it is not so. They are the children of the Demiurge and share his nature. They are represented by the Jews, who worshipped the Creator, the Demiurge, instead of the Father of Truth (Fr. 19), who thought they knew

God, but knew Him not, worshipping angels and months and moons (Fr. 21)¹. They can be saved, but cannot enter the Pleroma: the *προναὸς*, the sphere of the Levites' service, is the true symbol of their destined home. They are many in number, and form the *κλήσις*, in contrast to the small number of the spiritual *ἐκλογή*. But we learn most about their nature in Fragment 40. Like the *πνευματικοὶ* they are entangled in *ῥύλη*: and they are sick, sick unto death. But their case is not hopeless; the psychic nature possesses fitness for salvation (*ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσιν*); it is the corruptible which puts on incorruption. Its nature is symbolised by the number seven. The Hebdomad, we learn from Hippolytus, is the abode of the Demiurge, having affinities both with the Ogdoad above, and the Hyle (whose number is six) below. The psychic can rise to salvation or sink to destruction. There would seem then to be a freedom of choice. The *ψυχικοὶ* are the mean between the necessarily saved and the hopelessly lost. But whether the freedom of choice is real or only apparent, it is hard to say.

The *χοικοὶ* are by nature the sons of the Devil. The *ψυχικοὶ* can, by doing his works, become sons of the Devil *θέσει* or *ἀξία*, but only the *χοικοὶ* are such by nature (Fr. 46). They are of the same substance with the Devil, and thus differ in kind from the other classes of men. Though it is nowhere expressly so stated, it follows from the position which they hold in the system that their destruction is inevitable.

To set free the *πνευματικοὶ*, and to save those *ψυχικοὶ* who were capable of salvation, was the work of the Saviour on earth. The exact nature of the Saviour who appeared on earth is nowhere explicitly stated. But we learn that the Christ, who, as we saw, probably corresponds to the *κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπὸς* of the Hippolytean account, came down from the *μέγεθος*, and took flesh as an *ὑπόδημα* (Fr. 8). As we learn this from a fragment which is dealing with the words of the Baptist, *μέσος ὑμῶν στήκει, κ.τ.λ.*, and as in Fr. 10 a distinction is made between the *σῶμα* and that which dwells in it, we may assume that Heracleon's 'Italic' position is confirmed by

¹ On Heracleon's use of the Preaching of Peter, see Fr. 21 (note), and Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra Canon. receptum*, iv. p. 64.

the Fragments (see Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 35). We do not know whether he commented on John i. 14 or not. The flesh which Christ took was imperfect and fitly represented by the Lamb. 'He who taketh away the sin of the world' is the Higher Being, who dwells in the body. Traces of Docetism are to be found in the account of His healing of the son of the βασιλικὸς (Fr. 40, καταβὰς πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα καὶ ἰασάμενος αὐτόν), and in the description of His food as the performance of the Father's will. The interpretation of His journeys as typifying His passing from the hylic to the psychic sphere, or His appearing in the world, of course proves nothing, and the symbolical interpretation does not exclude the historical. On the other hand the expressions used with regard to the Passion are surprisingly literal for a Gnostic. Not only does the Passion divide the two periods of the Saviour's sojourn on earth (Fr. 38), but the slaying of the lamb at the Great Feast is typical of the Passion of the Saviour, as again the eating of it symbolises the Marriage Feast of the future (Fr. 12).

He appears publicly on earth first, apparently, at the time of the Baptism. His presence is declared to the people by the Baptist. Through his representative the Baptist, the Demiurge acknowledges the superiority of the Saviour. His journey to Capernaum symbolises His descent into the hylic portions of the world: but the nature of this place is unsuitable, He can here neither do nor say anything. The journey to Jerusalem represents His ascent to the psychic sphere; He cleanses the Holy of Holies, the home of the pneumatic, and also, apparently, the Levites' court, which belongs to the psychic. The powers of evil are driven out by the might of the Holy Spirit, and the Ecclesia becomes again the House of His Father. He goes down to Samaria to rescue the spiritual Church from the entanglements of matter, and the adulterous intercourse in which she had lived with her six husbands (Fr. 17); to restore her to her true husband above, and, for the present, to teach her the worship of the Father, 'in spirit and in truth.' By her means, and later by His own words, the higher class of ψυχικοί are also rescued, and leave their former cosmic life. Thus the spiritual Church is rescued; He gathers it in as a reaper, and sends forth His angels, represented here on

earth by the Disciples, each one to his own partner: the final consummation is not till the *πνευματικοὶ* are given as brides to the angels, and enter the Pleroma for the great Marriage Feast. He is said to have come to Samaria, in some sense, for the sake of the Disciples. Perhaps this may mean to rescue for the angels, whom they represent, their spiritual brides. The Saviour's own work for the *ψυχικοὶ* is more fully described in Heracleon's interpretation of the miracle of the healing of the son of the *βασιλικὸς*, which has been considered already.

His work was not ended by the Passion. After the Resurrection, no doubt, of the psychic Christ, the Saviour again appeared among His disciples and converted many more to faith than during the first period of His work. At length He was parted from them. The period between the Resurrection and the Ascension was probably regarded by Heracleon as considerably longer than forty days. This opinion was also held by other Gnostics: cf. Irenaeus I. iii. 2, *μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δεκαοκτῶ μηνὶ λέγειν διατετριφέναι αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς*, and I. xxx. 14, 'remoratum autem eum post resurrectionem XVIII mensibus.'

Of the Eschatology of the system we do not hear much. The *ύλικοὶ* are obviously doomed to destruction, and so are such of the *ψυχικοὶ* who are not raised and assimilated to what is higher; the rest go to their own place of salvation, which we learn is without the Pleroma. The *πνευματικοὶ*, as we may reasonably conjecture from what is said, are given as brides to the angels of the Saviour, and enter into the Pleroma to partake of the eternal rest of the Marriage Feast and the highest worship of the Father 'in spirit and in truth.'

Enough examples have been given to shew the general character of Heracleon as a Commentator, but so far we have seen his worst side. He is seen at his best in the description of True Confession, in Life and not in Word only (Fr. 50). This whole fragment is of great interest and surprising excellence. At times in his Commentary on S. John he is an acute and accurate observer. He has seen rightly that the passage beginning, *οὐδεὶς τὸν θεὸν ἑώρακεν πώποτε* (Jn. i. 18), is not part of the Baptist's speech,

but is added by the Evangelist himself (Fr. 3). His interpretation of *ἀλλομένον* (Jn. iv. 14) is fanciful, but striking. What he says of the Will of the Father in Fr. 31 certainly does not deserve the censure it receives from Origen. He has interpreted rightly the simplicity of the disciples in asking *Μή τις ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν*; and the self-satisfied stupidity of the Jews in their suggestion of *Μήτι ἀποκτενεῖ ἑαυτόν*; Indeed he is often at his best in those places where Origen complains of his want of spiritual insight and servile adherence to the letter. But his explanatory remarks are often strangely unfortunate. We may cite as examples his account of Christ's inability to teach or work miracles at Capernaum (Fr. 11); his remark on the objections raised by the Pharisees to John's baptism (Fr. 6); and his distinction of what the Saviour said about John himself, from what He said about the things concerning him (Fr. 5). And his whole system of metaphorical interpretation is the most arbitrary attempt to read into the Fourth Gospel the details and teaching of the system in which he had been brought up. At the same time we must remember that, though the application is more arbitrary, the general method is exactly the same as that of Origen himself. Both extract the meaning they desire from the words on which they are commenting by a violent system of metaphorical distortion. But whereas Origen applies his method more consistently, and endeavours to find a meaning which is based on a system formed from the study of the Fourth Gospel as a whole and of other books whose teaching is not alien to that of this Gospel, Heracleon attempts, very often with excessive wildness, to discover in the Gospel a system which has only a superficial and verbal connexion with it. Yet, on the whole, though we cannot but feel that the author of Fragment 50 might have employed his ability in a more fruitful manner than he has sometimes done, there is much interesting matter, apart from the historical investigation of Valentinianism, to repay a careful study of the earliest Commentary on the Gospel of S. John.

The bearing of Heracleon's Commentary on questions connected with the authorship and acceptance of the Fourth Gospel does not come within the scope of this book. A list of passages of Scripture quoted, or referred to by him, will be found at the end.

In it I have omitted one or two of those generally cited, where the quotation or reference is probably made by Origen and not by Heracleon himself. The Index of Words will supply further assistance for the study of his vocabulary and his teaching.

THE EXTANT FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEON.

1. Orig. *Comm. in Ioann.* ii. 8 (R. IV. 66; L. I. 117).

Jo. i. 3. Βιαίως δὲ οἶμαι καὶ χωρὶς μαρτυρίου τὸν Οὐαλεντίνου λεγόμενον εἶναι γνώριμον Ἑρακλέωνα, διηγούμενον τὸ Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ἐξειληφέναι Πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐκκλείοντα τῶν Πάντων, τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποθέσει αὐτοῦ, τὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διαφέροντα. φησὶ γάρ 5

1. 3. The exclusion of τὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διαφέροντα from the πάντα is noticeable. Contrast Irenaeus I. viii. 5 πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν αἰῶσι μορφῆς καὶ γενέσεως αἴτιος ὁ λόγος ἐγένετο. The Valentinians generally deduced from the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel the origin of the Pleroma and its inhabitants. Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* §6. The teaching of Heracleon is more nearly allied to that of Irenaeus, who frequently insists on the inclusion of the κόσμος in πάντα, as against the ordinary Valentinian interpretation of the passage. Heracleon's supposition that τὰ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι came into being before the Λόγος gives us a clue to his views with regard to the Λόγος, who must be identified with the Λόγος who, according to the Italic school, represented by Ptolemaeus and Heracleon, descended on the Son of Mary at the Baptism, ὁ λόγος ὁ τῆς μητρὸς

ἄνωθεν τῆς σοφίας (Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 35). In the account given by Hippolytus we hear of seventy λόγοι projected by Sophia and her σύζυγος, the κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπός. Probably Heracleon's Λόγος corresponds to the σύζυγος of Sophia. At any rate he occupies a position below the αἰὼν and above the Demiurge. The Λόγος who appeared to Valentinus in the form of a new-born babe (Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 42) cannot be assigned definitely to any place in the system, but is most probably to be regarded as the σύζυγος of Ζωή. Except therefore that the term (Λόγος) owes its origin to the Prologue to St John's Gospel, it has no connexion with the Λόγος of Heracleon.

5. διαφέροντα. φησὶ γάρ] An unfortunate transposition of γάρ and φησὶ in *Cod. Ven.* has misled Ferrarius into translating this passage, 'Per sermonem inquit non insignia non seculum etc.' Huet's translation of ἐκκλείοντα κ.τ.λ. 'excluden-

Οὐ τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι γεγρονέναι διὰ τοῦ
 λόγου, ἄτινα οἶεται πρὸ τοῦ λόγου γεγρονέναι. ἀναιδέστερον
 δὲ ἰστάμενος πρὸς τὸ Καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἔν, μηδὲ Jo. i. 3.
 εὐλαβούμενος τὸ Μὴ προσθῆς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐλέγξῃ Pr. xxx. 6
 10 σε καὶ ψευδῆς γένῃ, προστίθῃσι τῷ οὐδὲ ἔν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (xxiv. 29).
 καὶ τῇ κτίσει. καὶ ἐπεὶ προφανῆ ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λε-
 γόμενα σφόδρα βεβιασμένα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν ἐπαγ-
 γελλόμενα, εἰ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ θεῖα ἐκκλείεται τῶν Πάντων,
 τὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐκεῖνος οἶεται, παντελῶς φθειρόμενα κυρίως Πάντα
 15 καλεῖται, οὐκ ἐπιδιατριπτέον τῇ ἀνατροπῇ τῶν αὐτόθεν τὴν
 ἀτοπίαν ἐμφαινόντων· οἶον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης
 Χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἔν προστιθέντα αὐτὸν ἄνευ παρα-
 μυθίας τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς τὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ
 τῇ κτίσει μηδὲ μετὰ πιθανότητος ἀποφαίνεσθαι, πιστεύεσθαι
 20 ἀξιούντα ὁμοίως προφήταις ἢ ἀποστόλοις τοῖς μετ' ἐξουσίας
 καὶ ἀνυπευθύνως καταλείπουσι τοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μεθ'
 αὐτοὺς σωτήρια γράμματα. ἔτι δὲ ἰδίως καὶ τοῦ Πάντα
 δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἐξήκουσε, φάσκων Τὸν τὴν αἰτίαν παρα-
 σχόντα τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου τῷ δημιουργῷ, τὸν
 25 λόγον ὄντα, εἶναι οὐ τὸν ἀφ' οὗ ἢ ὑφ' οὗ, ἀλλὰ τὸν

8 μηδὲ] μὴ.

12 ἐνάργειαν] ἐνέργειαν.^a

tem quantum ipsius fert hypothesis
 ex omnibus praestantissima quaeque
 mundi et eorum quae ipso continen-
 tur' is unintelligible in connexion
 with the context. The 'things more
 excellent than the world and its con-
 tents' are of course, as is explain-
 ed in the following words, the αἰὼν
 and its contents: By explaining
 πάντα to be the world and its con-
 tents, he excludes from πάντα all
 that is of a higher nature.

6. αἰῶνι] For this sense of αἰὼν,
 derived no doubt originally from the
Timaeus (38A), cf. Frag. 18, ἦν γὰρ
 αὐτῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι, and Frag.
 22, ὁ ἐν αἰῶνι.

16. τὸ τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης] Hil-
 genfeld, omitting λεγούσης, which

is not found in Delarue's text, the
 word being omitted in *Cod. Bodlei-
 anus*, plausibly substitutes τῷ for τὸ.
 But it is not necessary to alter the
 attested reading: τὸ may be taken
 with ἀποφαίνεσθαι, and though the
 construction is awkward it is not im-
 possible, and not more awkward than
 that which would be obtained by
 reading τῷ, viz. οἶον.....προστιθέντα
ἀποφαίνεσθαι. But the οἶον δὲ is
 unsatisfactory, and it has been well
 suggested that we should probably
 here read οἶον δὴ. For one who recog-
 nizes the authority of Scripture, to
 make unwarrantable additions to it
 without any attempt to justify them,
 is a fair example of τῶν αὐτόθεν τὴν
 ἀτοπίαν ἐμφαινόντων.

δι' οὗ, παρὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ φράσιν ἐκδεχόμενος τὸ γεγραμμένον. εἰ γὰρ ὡς νοεῖ ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν, ἔδει διὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γεγράφθαι πάντα γεγονέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν τῇ δι' οὗ χρησάμενοι ἀκολουθῶς 30 τῇ συνηθείᾳ, οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον τὴν ἐκδοχὴν ἀφήκαμεν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ, πρὸς τῷ μὴ παραμεμυθῆσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραμμάτων τὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν νοῦν, φαίνεται καὶ ὑποπτέυσας τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ ἀναιδῶς αὐτῷ ἀντιβλέψας· φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι Οὐχ ὡς ὑπ' ἄλλου ἐνεργούντος αὐτὸς ἐποίει ὁ λόγος, ἴν' οὕτω νοηθῇ 35

26 παρὰ τὴν] περὶ ὧν. Cod. Bodl. in mg. τάχα τῶν.

26. παρὰ τὴν] The reading of *Cod. Monac.* περὶ ὧν, which is reproduced in all its copies, is impossible. Ferrarius's translation, 'exponens id quod scriptum est phrasin esse consuetam,' is not helpful. It is not easy to see how he got it from the Greek which was before him, and in the context in which the words occur it gives no intelligible sense. Hilgenfeld's conjecture περιττὴν is hardly more helpful. How is it to be translated? The conjectural emendation which most obviously suggests itself is παρὰ τὴν. The confusion of παρὰ and περὶ is one of the commonest characteristics of *Cod. Monac.*, as also, it may be added, of its descendants. And when once παρὰ was changed to περὶ, τὴν may have become τῶν, which might easily be corrupted to ὧν. Possibly the original reading may have been παρὰ τὴν τῶν, which accounts more easily for the corruption, if the construction thus given to φράσιν is possible. Either of these readings will give the required contrast to Origen's position stated just below, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀκολουθῶς τῇ συνηθείᾳ κ.τ.λ. We may compare such passages as xiii. 17, ὄρα δὲ εἰ μὴ ἰδίως καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ῥητῶν ἐκδεξάμενος κ.τ.λ. This sugges-

tion is independent of Heinrici, whose note (*Die Val. Gnosis*, p. 135) I had not seen when I first made it.

32. πρὸς τῷ μὴ παραμεμυθῆσθαι] On the bearing of this passage as it stands in *Codex Regius* on the relation of that ms. to *Cod. Monacensis* see Introduction p. 8. Delarue's obviously right conjecture of τῷ for τὸ is now substantiated by the evidence of *Cod. Monacensis*. Unfortunately the same error (τὸ for τῷ) was made independently by the scribes of *Codd. Reg.* and *Bodl.*

35. ὁ λόγος] The position of the Λόγος here is exactly that given to Sophia in Hippolytus (*Refut.* vi. 33), ἀγνοοῦντι αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ δημιουργῷ) ἡ σοφία ἐνήργησε, which corresponds to Heracleon's αὐτοῦ ἐνεργούντος ἕτερος ἐποίει, where the ἕτερος is obviously the Demiurge. It may be noticed that in this passage Hippolytus gives a general reference, using λέγουσιν and not φησὶν. We should also compare the account of Irenaeus (I. v. i.), especially the words μάλλον δὲ τὸν Σωτῆρα δι' αὐτῆς; and shortly before, (of the Demiurge) λεληθότως κινούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός. Heracleon may have assumed some similar relation between Λόγος and Σοφία, at any rate it would have been easy for him to

τὸ Δί' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἕτερος ἐποίει.
οὐ τοῦ παρόντος δὲ καιροῦ ἐστὶν ἐλέγξαι τὸ μὴ τὸν δημι-
ουργὸν ὑπηρέτην τοῦ λόγου γεγεννημένον τὸν κόσμον πεποιη-
κέναι, καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι ὅτι ὑπηρέτης τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γενόμενος
40 ὁ λόγος τὸν κόσμον κατεσκεύασε. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν προφήτην
Δαβίδ' Ὁ θεὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐγενήθησαν· ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. Ps. cxlviii.
ἐνετείλατο γὰρ ὁ ἀγέννητος θεὸς τῇ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, Col. i. 15.
καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν, οὐ μόνον ὁ κόσμος, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κγριότητες εἴτε ἄρχαι Col. i. 16,
45 εἴτε ἔζογίαι· πάντα γὰρ Δί' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκτίσται, καὶ αὐτός¹⁷
ἐστι πρὸ πάντων.

2. *Ibid.* ii. 15 (R. iv. 73; L. i. 130).

Πάνυ δὲ βιαίως κατὰ τὸν τόπον γενόμενος ὁ Ἡρακλέων
τό Ὅ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν ἐξείληφεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Jo. i. 4.
Εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πνευματικούς, οἷονεὶ ταῦτὸν
νομίσας εἶναι τὸν λόγον καὶ τοὺς πνευματικούς, εἰ καὶ μὴ
5 σαφῶς ταῦτ' εἶρηκε· καὶ ὡσπερὲι αἰτιολογῶν φησὶν Αὐτὸς

modify the system sufficiently to obtain the necessary adaptation to the Prologue of St John. The same relation, however, between Sophia and the Demiurge is assumed in the second part of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (c. 49, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν κ.τ.λ.). It was probably part of the original system of Valentinus, and is therefore not available as a means of differentiating the systems of his pupils.

41. The LXX. in this passage reads αὐτὸς instead of ὁ θεός, and repeats the αὐτὸς before ἐνετείλατο.

2. 5. Two explanations of this passage are possible. The ἄλλος whose sowing the Λόγος completed may be the κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπός, in which case cf. Hippolytus, *Refutat.* vi. 34, λόγοι ἄνωθεν κατεσπαρμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινού τοῦ πληρώ-

ματος καρποῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον: and also the interpretation of ἄλλος ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θερίζων given by Heracleon (*Frag.* 35). But it is more probable that the ἄλλος is the Demiurge, the work of the Λόγος being that which is described in the passage quoted from Hippolytus as a sowing. This suits better the description τὴν πρώτην μόρφωσιν τὴν κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν, and gives to the action its natural place (chronologically) in the history of Creation. Much closer parallels, however, to this passage are found in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*. Cf. § 57, γίνεται οὖν...μόρφωσις τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, and § 48, διακρίνας δὲ ὁ δημιουργὸς τὰ καθαρὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβριθοῦς ὡς ἂν ἐνιδῶν τὴν ἑκατέρου φύσιν φῶς ἐποίησεν, τουτέστιν ἐφάνέρωσεν καὶ εἰς φῶς καὶ ἰδέαν προσήγαγεν, which is

γὰρ τὴν πρώτην μόρφωσιν τὴν κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῖς παρέσχε, τὰ ὑπ' ἄλλου σπαρέντα εἰς μορφήν καὶ εἰς φωτισμὸν καὶ περιγραφὴν ἰδίαν ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἀναδείξας. οὐ παρετήρησε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ λεγόμενον, ὅτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς ἀπεσιώ- 10
 1 Cor. ii. πησε· Ὑγχικὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ
 14, 15. θεοῦ, μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει πάντα. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐ μάτην αὐτὸν φάμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μὴ προστεθεικέναι τὸ ἄνθρωπος. κρεῖττον γὰρ ἢ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματικὸς, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἤτοι ἐν ψυχῇ ἢ ἐν σώματι ἢ ἐν 15
 συναμφοτέροις χαρακτηριζομένου, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τούτων
 θειοτέρῳ πνεύματι, οὗ κατὰ μετοχὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν χρηματί-
 ζει ὁ πνευματικὸς. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως
 χωρὶς καὶ ἀποφαινομένης ἀποδείξεως ἀποφαίνεται, οὐδὲ
 μέχρι τῆς τυχούσης πιθανότητος φθάσαι εἰς τὸν περὶ τούτων 20
 δυνηθεὶς λόγον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐκείνου.

8 περιγραφὴν] παραγραφὴν.

3. *Ibid.* vi. 2 (R. IV. 102; L. I. 177).

Jo. i. 19. Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἰωάννου. δευτέρα αὕτη
 ἀναγεγραμμένη Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρ-
 Jo. i. 15. τυρία, τῆς προτέρας ἀρξαμένης ἀπὸ τοῦ Οὔτος ἦν ὁ εἰπὼν Ὁ
 ὀπίσω μοι ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ληγούσης εἰς τὸ Μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ

ὃν εἶπον
 3 ὁ εἰπὼν (sic).

ὁ
 4 μονογενὴς θεὸς (sic).

qualified in the next section by the words ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργούσαν. It is tempting to restore our text on the lines of the passage quoted from the *Excerpta*, and read καὶ ἰδέαν. But the phrase περιγραφὴν ἰδίαν is not intrinsically objectionable.

12. The transposition of ἐστὶν and αὐτῷ in Huet and the other editions is due to an error of the scribe of *Cod. Regius*. The right order is preserved in the other mss.

3. 4. The interlinear insertions in *Cod. Monac.*, which are by a later

hand, afford instructive examples in the history of the transmission of Patristic quotations (see Introduction, pp. 8, 18); and the curious conflation of *Codex Regius* (ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς θεοῦ) which is quoted in Tischendorf's critical digest is thus traced to its origin.

This is not the only case where Origen complains of Heracleon's interpretation of a passage, where the latter is probably right. (See Westcott's Commentary on St John, *in loc.*)

5 ὧν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. οὐχ ὑγίως Jo. i. 18.
 δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων ὑπολαμβάνει Οὐδεὶς τὸν θεὸν, εἰ ρακεν πώποτε
 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς φάσκων εἰρήσθαι Οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ
 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ μαθητοῦ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τό 'Εκ τοῦ Jo. i. 16,
 πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν, καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος, 17.
 10 ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωυσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἴρηται, πῶς οὐκ ἀκόλου-
 θον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰληφότα καὶ χάριν
 δευτέραν ἐπὶ προτέρας χάριτος, ὁμολογοῦντά τε διὰ Μωυσέως
 15 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγονέναι, ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος εἰς
 αὐτὸν ἐληλυθότων νενοηκένας, πῶς Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν
 πώποτε καὶ τό τὸν μονογενῆ εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὄντα τοῦ πατρὸς
 τὴν ἐξήγησιν αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος εἰληφόσι
 παραδεδωκένας; οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον ἐξηγήσατο <Ὁ ὧν> εἰς
 20 τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς οὐδένοσ ἐπιτηδείου πρότερον γεγεννη-
 μένου λαβεῖν ἀ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διηγήσατο, εἶγε Πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ Jo. viii. 58.
 γενέσθαι ὧν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἠγαλλιᾶσθαι ἵνα Jo. viii. 56.
 ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ γεγονέναι.

7, 8 βαπτιστοῦ...μαθητοῦ] cod. Sed literis αβδγ seriori manu inter lineas insertis transponuntur βαπτιστοῦ et μαθητοῦ. 8 κατ' αὐτὸν] κατὰ ταυτον.
 19 ὁ ὧν] om.

4. *Ibid.* vi. 8 (R. IV. 117; L. I. 200).

Οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἠκρίβουν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς Jo. i. 20,
 καὶ ὁ προφήτης, οἱ διστάζοντες περὶ Ἰωάννου, μήποτε αὐτὸς 21.
 Χριστὸς ἦν· ἀκόλουθον γὰρ τῷ περὶ τούτου δισταγμῷ τὸ
 ἀγνοεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν προφήτην. ἔλαθε

19. The insertion of ὁ ὧν by *Cod. Venetus*, followed by Ferrarius in his translation 'Non enim nunc primum enarravit, Qui est ad sinum Patris, perinde quasi nullus etc.,' is the simplest emendation of the corrupt text of its exemplar. These words (ὁ ὧν) are indeed omitted by the first hand of *Cod. Sinaiticus* (Σ), and *Cod. Vercellensis* (a) of the Old

Latin, which represents the εἰς by 'solus,' but the omission leaves no suitable sense in the present context.

4. 1. Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ προφήτης] Ferrarius has rightly suggested the article, which was absent from the ms. which he used, translating 'Christus et ille Propheta.' In the Munich ms. the article is not wanting.

δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ διαφορὰ τοῦ ὁ προφήτης καὶ προφήτης, ὡς 5
καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα, ὅστις αὐταῖς λέξεσιν φησιν ὡς ἄρα
Ἰωάννης ὁμολόγησε μὴ εἶναι ὁ χριστός, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ
προφήτης, μὴδὲ Ἡλίας. καὶ δέον αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐκλαβόντα
ἐξετάσαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, πότερον ἀληθεύει λέγων μὴ
εἶναι προφήτης, μὴδὲ Ἡλίας, ἢ οὐ· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστήσας τοῖς 10
τόποις, ἐν οἷς καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήμασιν ἀνεξετάστως παρε-
λήλυθε τὰ τηλικαῦτα, σφόδρα ὀλίγα καὶ μὴ βεβασανισμένα
ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς εἰπὼν, περὶ ὧν εὐθέως ἐροῦμεν.

6 ἄρα] ἄρ' εἰ.

9 λέγων] ἢ λέγων.

5. *Ibid.* vi. 12 (R. iv. 120; L. i. 206).

Jo. i. 23.
Cf. Is. xl.
3.

Δύναται μέντοι γε τό Ἐγὼ φωνῆ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς ἴσον εἶναι τῷ Ἐγὼ εἶμι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται
φωνῆ βοῶντος, ὡς βοῶντα εἶναι τὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ τούτου τὴν
φωνὴν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βοᾶν Εὔθῆνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου. δυσφη-
μότερον δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων περὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν 5
διαλαμβάνων, φησὶν ὅτι Ὁ λόγος μὲν ὁ Σωτήρ ἐστίν,
φωνὴ δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἢ διὰ Ἰωάννου διανοουμένη,

9. The only alteration necessary is the omission of ἢ before λέγων (H after εἰ). The οὐ must qualify ἀληθεύει, not λέγων. Huet follows the reading of *Codex Regius* which contains the ἢ and omits the ὁ, thus joining the two sentences and producing an unintelligible statement.

10. Hilgenfeld, in his critical note, is misled by a misstatement of Delarue's reproduced by Lommatzsch. The μὴ (after ὁ δὲ) is not wanting in the Bodleian.

5. 3. ὡς] It is remarkable that while *Codex Venetus* omits the ὡς, its copy *Codex Bodleianus* inserts it. But the scribe of the latter may very well have inserted it from the Latin of Ferrarius, 'ut clamante Iohanne': the want of some such insertion for grammar's sake would be quite ob-

vious. For the construction we may compare a fragment of Origen in an unpublished *Catena* at Venice (*Bibl. Marciana Graec.* xxvii.) ὅρα δὲ εἰ δύνασαι πᾶσαν τὴν γραφὴν...διηγούμενος εἰπεῖν συνεστηκέναι...ὡς εἶναι τὸ πᾶν γράμμα τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν γραφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦδε πληοῦ, ᾧ καὶ χρῆσαι δεῖ τοὺς τῶν μὴ βλέπόντων ὀφθαλμούς.

7. διανοουμένη] Heracleon twice uses νοεῖσθαι, as he here uses διανοεῖσθαι, of a higher power symbolised, represented, made intelligible, so to speak, (as far as is possible), on earth by an earthly being. Cf. *Frag.* 8 (*Orig. Comm. in Ioann.* vi. 23) περὶ τοῦ προσώπου τούτου (?) διὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου νοουμένου, and *Frag.* 35 (*Orig. Ibid.* xiii. 48) θεριστὰς πέμπει τοὺς διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν νοουμένους ἀγγέλους.

ἦχος δὲ πᾶσα προφητικὴ τάξις. λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν,
 ὅτι ὡσπερ Ἐὰν ἄδηλον κάλλιπζ φωνῆν δᾷ οὐδεὶς παρα- 1 Cor. xiv.
 10 σκεγάζεται εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ὁ χωρὶς ἀγάπης ἔχων γνῶσιν 8.
 μυστηρίων ἢ προφητείαν γέγονε χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον Cf. 1 Cor.
 ἀλαλάζον, οὕτως εἰ μηδὲν ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἢ ἦχος ἢ προφητικὴ xiii. 1, 2.
 φωνή, πῶς ἀναπέμπων ἡμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Σωτὴρ Ἐρευνάτε, Jo. v. 39.
 φησὶ, τὰς γραφὰς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον
 15 ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι· καὶ εἰ ἐπιστεύετε Μωσεῖ, Jo. v. 46.
 ἐπιστεύετε ἂν ἐμοὶ, περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε· καὶ Καλῶς Mt. xv. 7,
 ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας, λέγων Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς 8.
 χεῖλεσί με τιμᾷ; οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ εἰ τὸν ἄσημον ἦχον παραδέξεταιί Cf. Is.
 τις εὐλόγως ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαινέισθαι, ἢ ἔνεστι παρα- xxix. 13.
 20 σκευάσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ὡς ἀπὸ φωνῆς κάλλιπζος
 ἐφ' ἧς ἀναπεμπόμεθα, εἰς τὸν πρὸς τὰς ἀντικειμένας
 ἐνεργείας πόλεμον, ἀδήλου φωνῆς ἡχοῦ τυγχανούσης. τίνα
 δὲ τρόπον, εἰ μὴ ἀγάπην εἶχον οἱ προφήται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 χαλκὸς ἦσαν ἡχοῦντες, ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον, ἐπὶ τὸν ἦχον
 25 αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι εἰλήφασιν, ἀναπέμπει ὁ κύριος ὠφεληθη-
 σομένους; οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὅπως χωρὶς πάσης κατασκευῆς ἀπο-
 φαίνεται τὴν φωνὴν οἰκειοτέραν οὖσαν τῷ λόγῳ λόγον
 γίνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς ἄνδρα μετατίθεσθαι.

The usage may well have sprung from Rom. i. 20 τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται. We may compare also Origen's own use, *Comm. in Ioann.* xx. 12, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τροπικῶς νοούμενος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐπεδήμει τῷ βίῳ, and *Ibid.* xx. 29, μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα νοουμένου ἀνθρώπου ἀρχήθεν ἦν φωνή.

8. ἦχος] With the implied disparagement of the Prophets may be compared Hippolytus, *Refut.* vi. 35, πάντες οὖν οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, μωροῦ λέγει θεοῦ μωροὶ οὐδὲν εἰδότες. Heracleon's explanation of λόγος, φωνή, ἦχος, and the possibility of a change from one to the other, is obscure. It may point to some theory of a gradual revelation culminating in

that of the Σωτῆρ (cf. Irenaeus, i. vii. 3). All the Valentinian sects recognized to some extent the revelation of the Old Testament: possibly Heracleon did so to a greater extent than most. Cf. Frag. 20, where the Jews are placed above πάντες οἱ πρὸ νόμου καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοί.

28. μετατίθεσθαι] The 'Vermännlichung' of the female was taught in the Anatolic School. Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, § 21, τὰ οὖν ἀρρενικὰ μετὰ τοῦ λόγου συνεστάλη, τὰ θηλυκὰ δὲ ἀπανδρωθέντα ἐνοῦται τοῖς ἀγγέλοις καὶ εἰς πλήρωμα χωρεῖ· διὰ τοῦτο ἡ γυνή εἰς ἄνδρα μετατίθεσθαι λέγεται, καὶ ἡ ἐνταῦθα ἐκκλησία εἰς ἀγγέλους, where by λέγεται are introduced words very similar to those of Heracleon.

We should also compare with δού-

καὶ ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων τοῦ δογματίζειν καὶ πιστεῦεσθαι καὶ
 προκόπτειν, τῷ ἤχῳ φησὶν ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς φωνὴν μετα- 30
 βολήν, μαθητοῦ μὲν χώραν διδοῦς τῇ μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς
 λόγον φωνῇ, δούλου δὲ τῇ ἀπὸ ἤχου εἰς φωνήν· καὶ εἰ μὲν
 ὅπως ποτὲ πιθανότητα ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὰ κατασκευάσαι,
 κἂν ἠγωνισάμεθα περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀνατροπῆς, ἀρκεῖ δὲ εἰς
 ἀνατροπὴν ἢ ἀπαραμύθητος ἀπόφασις. ὕπερ δὲ ὑπερεθέ- 35
 μεθα ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐξετάσαι, πῶς κεκίνηται, νῦν φέρε
 διαλάβωμεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σωτῆρ, κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα,
 φησὶν αὐτὸν καὶ προφήτην καὶ Ἡλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάτερον
 τούτων ἀρνεῖται. καὶ προφήτην μὲν καὶ Ἡλίαν ὁ Σωτῆρ
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν λέγει, οὐκ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, φησὶ, 40
 διδάσκει, ὅταν δὲ μείζονα προφητῶν καὶ ἐν γεννητοῖς
 γυναικῶν, τότε αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰωάννην χαρακτηρίζει.
 αὐτὸς δὲ, φησὶ, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐρωτώμενος ἀποκρίνεται
 ὁ Ἰωάννης, οὐ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν· ὅσην δὲ βάσανον ἡμεῖς
 περὶ τούτων κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν πεποιήμεθα, οὐδὲν ἀπαρα- 45
 μύθητον ἐῶντες τῶν λεγομένων ὄρων συγκρίναι τοῖς ὑπὸ
 Ἡρακλέωνος, ἅτε οὐκ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας τοῦ λέγειν ὃ βούλεται,
 ἀποφανθεῖσι. πῶς γὰρ ὅτι περὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν ἐστι τὸ

32 φωνῇ] φωνὴν ἢ.

34 ἠγωνισάμεθα] ἠγωνισόμεθα.

λου δὲ κ.τ.λ. a passage in the *Excerpta*,
 § 57, τοῦ μὲν, μόρφωσις τοῦ πνευματι-
 κοῦ, τοῦ δὲ, μετάθεσις τοῦ ψυχικοῦ ἐκ
 δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν. In the pre-
 ceding section the allegory of Gal. iv.
 is interpreted by making Israel repre-
 sent ὁ πνευματικός, and (apparently)
 the children of the bondwoman cor-
 respond to the ψυχικοί (cf. ὅταν οὖν
 τὰ ψυχικὰ ἐγκεντρίσθη). Thus the
 φωνῇ here may represent the πνευμα-
 τικοί who are given as νύμφαι to the
 angels, while ἤχος corresponds to the
 ψυχικοί. But it is dangerous to pur-
 sue such hints at interpretation into
 too great detail. The *Excerpta* offer
 yet another parallel in § 79, "Ἔως οὖν
 ἀμόρφωτον, φασίν, ἔτι τὸ σπέρμα,
 θηλείας ἐστὶ τέκνον· μορφωθὲν δὲ μετε-
 τέθη εἰς ἀνδρα.

32. φωνῇ] The φωνὴν ἢ of the

ms. is impossible. The alteration of
Cod. Venetus φωνῇ ἢ is so far right
 that it gives the required dative.
 But the conjecture contained in the
 margin of *Cod. Bodleianus* is right,
 τάχα τὸ Ἡ παρέλκει. We may with-
 out hesitation adopt the reading
 φωνῇ.

48. περὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν] The
 omission of τῶν περὶ in the Editicns
 is due to its erroneous omission in
Cod. Regius, where however a later
 hand has inserted τὰ περὶ *inter lineas*.
 The words are necessary to the con-
 text, as Heracleon has shortly before
 classed the assertions τὸ Ἡλίαν αὐτόν
 καὶ προφήτην εἶναι among the τὰ περὶ
 αὐτοῦ as opposed to those by which
 αὐτόν τὸν Ἰωάννην χαρακτηρίζει. The
 περὶ τῶν is perhaps awkward, but it is
 exactly parallel to the succeeding περὶ

ΗΛΙΑΝ αὐτὸν καὶ προφήτην εἶναι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ
 50 ΦΩΝΗΝ αὐτὸν εἶναι ΒΟΩΝΤΟΣ ἘΝ Τῇ ἔΡΗΜῳ, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ
 τυχὸν πειράται ἀποδεικνύναι· ἀλλὰ χρῆται παραδείγματι,
 ὅτι Τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν οἶονεὶ ἐνδύματα ἦν ἕτερα αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐρωτηθεῖς περὶ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων, εἰ αὐτὸς
 εἶη τὰ ἐνδύματα, ἀπεκρίθη ἂν τὸ Ναί. πῶς γὰρ
 55 ἐνδύματα τὸ εἶναι τὸν Ἡλίαν τὸν μέλλοντα ἔρχεσθαι ἔστιν Mt. xi. 14.
 Ἰωάννου, οὐ πάνυ τι κατ' αὐτὸν θεωρῶ· τάχα καθ' ἡμᾶς,
 ὡς δεδυνήμεθα διηγησαμένους τὸ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Lc. i. 17.
 Ἡλίου, δυναμένου πῶς λέγεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα Ἡλίου
 ἐν δυνάμει εἶναι τῆς Ἰωάννου ψυχῆς. θέλων δ' ἔτι παρα-

59 θέλων δ' ἔτι] θέλοντες.

αὐτοῦ. Ferrarius had the true text before him in *Cod. Venetus*, but he has missed the point of the passage by putting the following 'Vox clamantis' in the same class as 'Propheta.'

55. The absence of ἔστιν in the Editions is due to another error in *Cod. Regius*.

59. ἐν δυνάμει εἶναι] It is hard to get any satisfactory meaning out of these words, or to see how they can be an interpretation of ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου. Thorndike conjectures ἐνδυμα εἶναι. This suits very well the context in which the words stand.

θέλων δ' ἔτι] The reading θέλοντες, which is found in *Cod. Monacensis*, is corrupt, and the insertion of δὲ by *Cod. Venetus* does not restore the true text. The subsequent λέγει τό cannot be right. For a similarly impossible optative which has been allowed to remain, cf. Origen *Comm. in Ioann.* xiii. 59, εἶη φύσις τῆς λάσεως γενομένη τῷ οικείῳ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως ἀριθμῷ. The scribe of *Cod. Regius* has probably stumbled by an itacism on the right reading, λέγει τό. If this be so, a nominative singular participle and a connecting particle

are required, and θέλων δὲ, or more probably θέλων δ' ἔτι, would seem best to fulfil the required conditions. The introduction of a fresh stricture by means of ἔτι δὲ is characteristic of Origen; δὲ alone is hardly strong enough to suit the context; cf. ii. 8, xiii. 51, and just below, ἔτι δὲ οὐ μόνος Ἡρακλέων κ.τ.λ. And the following sentence οὐ κακῶς μὲν...οὐ πάνυ δὲ ἐξητασμένως is so thoroughly in the style of Origen's criticisms of his opponent, that the passage must surely contain a piece of Heracleon's Commentary. For the exact phrase compare Origen *c. Celsum* iv. 88 (*Philocalia* xx. L. xxv. 150) θέλων δ' ἔτι διὰ πλειόνων...ἀποφῆναι, where Origen states the argument of Celsus before he proceeds to refute it. If the Ω of ΘΕΛΩΝΔΕΤΙ was corrupted by itacism to Ο, the letters ΟΝΔΕΤΙ might easily become ΟΝΤΕC in the hands of a scribe who did not pay great heed to the context. Hilgenfeld has naturally omitted the passage in his collection of the Fragments, but there were not the same reasons for omitting the next sentence καὶ πάλιν κ.τ.λ. where the λέγει can only refer to Heracleon. The proposed alterations restore the

στῆσαι, διὰ τί ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται οἱ ἐπερωτῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν 60
 Ἰουδαίων πεμφθέντες εἰσὶν, οὐ κακῶς μὲν λέγει τό "Οτι
 τούτοις προσῆκον ἦν περὶ τούτων πολυπραγμονεῖν
 καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι, τοῖς τῷ θεῷ προσκαρτεροῦσιν, οὐ
 πάνυ δὲ ἐξητασμένως τό "Οτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Λευϊτικῆς
 φυλῆς ἦν, ὥσπερ προαποροῦντες ἡμεῖς ἐξητάσαμεν, ὅτι εἰ 65
 ἤδεισαν τὸν Ἰωάννην οἱ πεμφθέντες καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ,
 πῶς χώραν εἶχον πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τοῦ εἰ αὐτὸς Ἡλίας
 ἐστίν; καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ὁ προφήτης εἶ ἰσὺς, μὴδὲν
 ἐξαίρετον οἰόμενος σημαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ
 ἄρθρου, λέγει ὅτι Ἐπηρώτησαν εἰ προφήτης εἶη, τὸ 70
 κοινότερον βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν. ἔτι δὲ οὐ μόνος Ἡρα-
 κλέων, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἑτερόδοξοι,
 εὐτελῆ ἀμφιβολίαν διαστείλασθαι μὴ δεδυνημένοι, μείζονα
 Ἡλίου καὶ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπειλήφασι

Jo. i. 21.

Le. vii. 28.
 Cf. Mt. xi.
 11.

διὰ τό Μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν Ἰωάννου οὐδεὶς ἐστίν, 75
 οὐχ ὁρῶντες ὅτι ἀληθὲς τό Οὐδεὶς μείζων Ἰωάννου ἐν γεννη-
 τοῖς γυναικῶν διχῶς γίνεται, οὐ μόνον τῷ αὐτὸν εἶναι πάντων
 μείζονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἴσους αὐτῷ εἶναι τινὰς· ἀληθὲς γὰρ,
 ἴσων ὄντων αὐτῷ πολλῶν προφητῶν, κατὰ τὴν δεδομένην
 αὐτῷ χάριν τὸ Μηδένα τούτου μείζονα εἶναι. οἶεται δέ κατα- 80
 σκευάζεσθαι τὸ μείζονα τῷ προφητεύεσθαι ὑπὸ

61 πεμφθέντες] Hic male laesus est codex, videtur autem plus x litteras habuisse; Cod. Ven. habet οἱ πεμφθ. λέγει τό] λέγοι τὸ. 80, 81 κατασκευάζεσθαι] τὸ κατασκευάζεσθαι. τῷ] om. codex; addito, ut videtur, in mg. εἶναι.

grammar of the sentence, and make the passage a continuous and consistent whole.

61. πεμφθέντες] Whether *Cod. Monac.* read οἱ πεμφθέντες or not is uncertain, but in any case the article can hardly be retained.

75. μείζων] It is uncertain whether Heracleon omitted the προφήτης of the Received Text as well as Origen, or not; but the subsequent mention of Josiah in Origen's refutation of Heracleon's Comment makes it highly probable that he did so.

80. Delarue, reading οἶεται δὲ τὸ κατασκευάζεσθαι τὸ μείζονα εἶναι προφητεύεσθαι, remarks, 'nos sanam restituimus lectionem e codice Bodleiano'; but his text seems hardly satisfactory. After making the conjecture which has been introduced into the text, I find that the same has been proposed by Thorndike in the margin of his transcript of *Cod. Bodleianus*. The insertion or omission of εἶναι, which appears to have been added in the margin of *Cod. Monacensis*, is a matter of no importance.

Ἡσαΐου, ὡς μηδενὸς ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἠξιωμένου ὑπὸ
 θεοῦ τῶν πώποτε προφητευσάντων. ἀληθῶς δ' ὡς
 καταφρονῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς χρηματιζούσης διαθήκης, καὶ μὴ
 85 τηρήσας καὶ αὐτὸν Ἡλίαν προφητευόμενον, τοῦτ' ἀπετόλμη-
 σεν εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ Ἡλίας προφητεύεται ὑπὸ Μαλαχίου
 λέγοντος Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ἡμῖν Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην, ὃς ἀπο- Mal. iii.
 καταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς γίον.....καὶ ταῦτα δὲ εἰς 23(iv.4 f.).
 ἔλεγχον τῆς προπετείας τοῦ ἀποφνηαμένου Μηδένα πλὴν
 90 Ἰωάννου προφητεύεσθαι εἰρήσθω, ταῦτα εἰρηκότος ἐν τῷ
 θέλειν αὐτὸν διηγείσθαι τί τό Ἐγὼ φωνῆ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ Jo. i. 23.
 ἐρήμῳ.

89 προπετείας] ex coniectura Ruaei; cod. habet προφητείας.

6. *Ibid.* vi. 13 (R. iv. 125; L. i. 213).

Χριστὸς οὖν ἐν ὕδατι οὐ βαπτίζει, ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, Jo. iv. 2.
 ἑαυτῷ δὲ τηρεῖ τὸ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι βαπτίζειν καὶ περὶ Cf. Mt. iii.
 παραδεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων τὸν τῶν Φαρισαίων λόγον, 11;
 ὡς ὑγιῶς εἰρημένον περὶ τοῦ ὀφείλεσθαι τὸ βαπτίζειν Χριστῷ Le. iii. 16.
 5 καὶ Ἡλίᾳ καὶ παντὶ προφήτῃ, αὐταῖς λέξεσι φησιν Οἷς
 μόνοις ὀφείλεται τὸ βαπτίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων
 μὲν ἡμῖν ἑναγχος ἐλεγχόμενος, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι κοινότερον
 τὸν προφήτην νενόηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δεῖξαί τινα τῶν προ-
 φητῶν βαπτίσαντα. οὐκ ἀπιθάνως δὲ φησι πυνθάνεσθαι
 10 τοὺς Φαρισαίους κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν πανουργίαν, οὐχὶ ὡς
 μαθεῖν θέλοντας.

7 ὅτι] ὅτε.

6. 7. κοινότερον] By failing to notice the distinction between ὁ προφήτης and προφήτης. Cf. Frag. 4, ἔλαθε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ διαφορὰ...ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα, and Frag. 5, μηδὲν ἐξαί-

ρετον οἰόμενος σημαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ ἄρθρου. Heracleon, in the words which follow this last passage, seems to use the word κοινότερον in a different sense.

7. *Ibid.* vi. 15 (R. IV. 130; L. I. 222).Jo. i. 26,
27.

Ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγων Ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι· μέσος [δὲ] ὕμῶν ἔστηκεν ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε, [αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ] ὁπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, [οὗ] οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος. ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλέων οἶεται, ὅτι Ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Ἰωάννης τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων πεμφθεῖσιν, οὐ 5 πρὸς ὃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπηρώτων, ἀλλ' ὃ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, ἑαυτὸν λανθάνων ὅτι κατηγορεῖ τοῦ προφήτου ἀμαθίας, εἴ γε ἄλλο ἐρωτώμενος περὶ ἄλλου ἀποκρίνεται· χρὴ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο φυλάττεσθαι ὡς ἐν κοινολογίᾳ ἀμάρτημα τύγχανον. ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμεν ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς ἔπος ἐστὶν ἢ ἀπόκρισις· πρὸς 10

Jo. i. 25.

γὰρ τό τί οὐ βαπτίζεις, εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ χριστός; τί ἄλλο ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, ἢ τὸ ἴδιον παραστήσαι βάπτισμα σωματικώτερον τυγχάνον; Ἐγὼ γὰρ, φησὶν, βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν πρὸς τό τί οὐ βαπτίζεις; πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον, Εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ χριστός, δοξολογίαν περὶ τῆς προηγουμένης οὐσίας Χριστοῦ 15 διηγεῖται, ὅτι δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχει, ὡς καὶ ἀόρατος εἶναι τῇ θειότητι αὐτοῦ, παρὼν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, παντὶ δὲ καὶ ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ συμπαρακτεινόμενος· ὕπερ δηλοῦται διὰ τοῦ Μέσος ὕμῶν ἔστηκεν.

2 δὲ] ins. intra lineas.
pr. man.

αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ] om. in txt. sed in mg. add.

3 οὗ] ins. intra lineas.

7 λανθάνων] *μανθάνων*.

11 τί οὐ] ins. intra lineas.

τί ἄλλο ἐχρῆν] τί ἄλλοις χρῆν (sic).

12 τὸ] ^{τὸ} τὲ (sic).

7. 1. ἀπεκρίνατο] There is other authority for this reading, L^Tb^U and some cursives (vid. Tischendorf, *in loc.*). I have retained the δὲ and the αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ, as they are added apparently *prima manu*. But when other similar phenomena in this ms. are taken into consideration it appears more than probable that they were not in the ms. from which

it was copied. Thus one of the three references to Origen in Tischendorf's critical note must in all probability be omitted, as also one of those quoted in support of the insertion of δὲ.

12. The τὲ τὸ of the Editions is due to the scribe of *Cod. Regius*, who inserted both the error and its correction which he found in his exemplar.

8. *Ibid.* vi. 23 (R. IV. 138; L. I. 234).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τό Μένος ἡμῶν στήκει φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ Jo. i. 26.
 Ἦδη πάρεστι καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ
 καὶ ἐμφανῆς ἔστιν ἡδη πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. διὰ τούτων δὲ
 περιαιρεῖ τὸ παρασταθὲν περὶ τοῦ διαπεφοιτηκέσαι αὐτὸν δι'
 5 ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου. λεκτέον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν· πότε γὰρ οὐ
 πάρεστιν; πότε δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ
 εὐαγγελίου λέγοντος Ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ Jo. i. 10.
 ἐγένετο. καὶ διὰ τούτου καὶ οὗτοι, πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος ὁ ὄν Jo. i. 26.
 ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδατε, οὐκ οἶδασιν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ κόσμου
 10 ἐξεληλύθασιν, Ὁ δὲ κόσμος αὐτόν οὐκ ἔγνω. ποῖον δὲ χρόνον Jo. i. 10.
 διέλειπε τοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι; ἢ οὐκ ἐν Ἡσαία ἦν, λέγουσι
 Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὐκ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισε με· καὶ Ἐμφανῆς Is. lxi. 1.
 ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ζητοῦσι; λεγέτωσαν δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐν Is. lxx. 1.
 Δαβὶδ ἦν, οὐκ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσι Ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς Cf. Ro. x.
 15 ἢ π' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ προσώπου 20.
 Χριστοῦ ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀναγέγραπται. καὶ τί με δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον Ps. ii. 6.
 ἀποδεικνύειν δυσεξαριθμητὸν ὄντως, παραστήσαι ἐναργῶς
 δυνάμενον, ὅτι αἰεὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἦν, πρὸς τὸ ἐλέγξαι οὐχ ὑγιῶς
 εἰρημένον τό Ἦδη πάρεστι καὶ ἔστιν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν
 20 ἀνθρώπῳ εἰς διήγησιν παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλέωνι τοῦ Μένος ἡμῶν Jo. i. 26.
 ἔστηκεν; οὐκ ἀπιθάνως δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ λέγεται ὅτι τό Ὀπίσω
 μοῦ ἐρχόμενος τὸ πρόδρομον εἶναι τὸν Ἰωάννην τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ δηλοῖ· ἀληθῶς γὰρ ὡσπερὶ οἰκέτης ἐστὶ προ-
 τρέχων τοῦ κυρίου. πολὺ δὲ ἀπλούστερον τό Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιός Jo. i. 27.
 25 ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος ἐξείληφεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ
 τῆς ἀτιμοτάτης ὑπηρεσίας τῆς πρὸς Χριστὸν ἄξιός
 εἶναι διὰ τούτων ὁ βαπτιστῆς ὁμολογεῖ. πλὴν μετὰ

18 δυνάμενον] δυναμένω.

8. 12, 13. ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην] The quotation does not agree exactly with the LXX., which has Ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθη τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὐρέθη τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ζητοῦσιν. In Romans the clauses are transposed, and S. Paul has ἐγενόμην. The exact form is found in two Latin mss. (d, e) and in

Hilary and Ambrosiaster.

17. δυσεξαριθμητὸν ὄντως] An awkward phrase, but the correction in *Cod. Venetus* δυσεξαριθμητοῦ ὄντος is no better. It has been plausibly suggested that we should read *δυσεξαριθμητῶν ὄντων τῶν παραστήσαι ἐναργῶς δυναμένων*.

ταύτην τὴν ἐκδοχὴν οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ὑποβέβληκε τό Οὐκ ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς, ἵνα δι' ἐμὲ κατέλθῃ ἀπὸ μεγέθους καὶ σάρκα λάβῃ ὡς ὑπόδημα, περὶ ἧς ἐγὼ λόγον ἀπο- 30 δοῦναι οὐ δύναμαι, οὐδὲ διηγῆσασθαι, ἢ ἐπιλύσαι τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς οἰκονομίαν· ἀδρότερον δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφυέστερον ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡρακλέων κόσμον τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκδεξάμενος, μετέστη ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσεβέστερον ἀποφήνασθαι ταῦτα πάντα δεῖν ἀκούεσθαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ προσώπου 35 τούτου διὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου νοουμένου. οἶεται γάρ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλάττονα ὄντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν διὰ τούτων τῶν λέξεων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πάντων ἀσεβέστατον· ὁ γὰρ πέμψας αὐτὸν πατὴρ, ὁ τῶν ζώντων θεός, ὡς αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς μαρτυρεῖ, τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοῦ 40 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὁ διὰ τούτου κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ, οὗτος καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός, καὶ μείζων τοῦ πεμφθέντος· εἰ δὲ καὶ, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἀδρότερον νενόηται καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος ὑπόδημα εἶναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Ἡρακλέωνι, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαι δεῖν συγκατατίθεσθαι. 45

35 προσώπου] Cod. Bodleianus habet in margine τάχα λείπει τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, post quod, alia manu, καλῶς ἔχει. 43 προειρήκαμεν] προσειρήκαμεν.

29. κατέλθῃ] This passage agrees with Heracleon's Italic position. Cf. Hippolytus *Refut.* vi. 35, ψυχικὸν φασὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ διὰ τούτου ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιστερὰ κατελήλυθε. For μέγεθος cf. Irenaeus i. xiii. 3.

30. ὑπόδημα] May we see in the interpretation of ὑπόδημα as κόσμος, a groping after the idea of the Lord having taken 'humanity' upon Himself, though only as a ὑπόδημα which the Λόγος laid aside?

35. The suggestion of the margin of the Bodleian deserves attention. But τούτου is unnecessary, and perhaps τοῦ δημιουργοῦ should be substituted for it; or should we read τοῦ θεοῦ instead of it? In this case we must suppose that Origen wrote θεοῦ

where we should have expected δημιουργοῦ, which was probably what Heracleon's *ipsissima verba* contained, in order to emphasize the impiety (ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσεβέστερον) of Heracleon's interpretation. But τούτου is not impossible.

36. νοουμένου] See Frag. 5 (note).

37. ἐλάττονα ὄντα] We may perhaps compare Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 36, ἔγνω (ὁ δημιουργὸς) διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς σοφίας τὸν κρείττονα, though there the reference is to the Father Himself. In the fulness of time the Demiurge is made to confess before men his superior; hitherto he has kept secret the mystery of the aeons revealed to him by Sophia. Cf. also Frag. 40 (Orig. xiii. 59) ὅτι εὐπιστος ὁ δημιουργός.

Mt. xxii. 32.

Cf. Lc. xviii. 19. Jo. xiv. 28.

9. *Ibid.* vi. 24 (R. IV. 140; L. I. 237).

Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ὅπου ἦν Jo. i. 28.
 Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων. ὅτι μὲν σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντι-
 γράφοις κεῖται Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν, καὶ
 5 εἶκει τοῦτο καὶ ἔτι πρότερον γεγονέναι· καὶ παρὰ Ἡρακλέωνι
 5 γοῦν Βηθανίαν ἀνέγνωμεν.

1 Βηθαβαρᾷ] Βηθαρά. ἐγένετο] bis.

10. *Ibid.* vi. 38 (R. IV. 159; L. I. 271).

Πάλιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὁ Ἡρακλέων γενόμενος, χωρὶς πάσης
 κατασκευῆς καὶ παραθέσεως μαρτυρίων ἀποφαίνεται, ὅτι τὸ
 μὲν Ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς προφῆτης φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης, Jo. i. 29.
 τὸ δὲ Ὁ αἰρᾶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου ὡς περιεσσότερον Lc. vii. 26.
 5 προφήτου. καὶ οἶεται τὸ μὲν πρότερον περὶ τοῦ σώ-
 ματος αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ
 σώματι, τῷ τὸν ἀμνὸν ἀτελῆ εἶναι ἐν τῷ τῶν προ-
 βάτων γένει, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα παραθέσει τοῦ
 ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτῷ. τὸ δὲ τέλειον εἰ ἐβούλετο, φησὶ,
 10 τῷ σώματι μαρτυρῆσαι, κριὸν εἶπεν ἂν τὸ μέλλον
 θύεσθαι. οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δὲ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον μετὰ τηλι-

10 σώματι] σῶμα τὸ. εἶπεν ἂν τὸ] εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ.

9. 1. Since *Cod. Monac.* a few lines lower down reads Βηθαβαρᾷ, we must probably conclude that Βηθαρά is due to the scribe's error, arising from the omission of βα between two very similar syllables. At the same time it should be noticed that the reading Βηθαρά is found in a Syriac ms. (See Tischendorf *in loc.* (syr. p. *assem.* 2 Or. 4 140, 142, 280).

As bearing on Tischendorf's note it may be well to state that while *Cod. Monac.* reads Βηθαβαρᾷ in the second instance where the word occurs on p. 140 (of Delarue's fourth

volume, as quoted by Tischendorf), *Codd. Ven. et Bodl.* read Βηθαρά in both places. On p. 142 *Cod. Monac.* reads Βηθαβαρᾷ, on p. 280 (*Comm. in Ioann.* xiii. 60) Βηθαρά. On Heracleon's Biblical text, see the note on p. 74 (Frag. 18, Jo. iv. 17).

10. 6, 7. τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι] This in conjunction with Frag. 8 establishes Heracleon's 'Italic' position, which otherwise could not be very clearly proved from the Fragments. Cf. Hippolytus (*Refut.* vi. 35), γέγονε τῷ ψυχικῷ, κ.τ.λ.

καύτας γεγενημένας ἐξετάσεις τευτάζειν περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὰ εὐτελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος εἰρημένα· μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἐπισημειωτέον, ὅτι ὡσπερ μόγις
Ph. ii. 7. ἐχώρησεν ὁ κόσμος τὸν κενώσαντα ἑαγτόν, οὕτως ἀμνοῦ καὶ 15 οὐ κριοῦ ἐδεήθη, ἵνα ἄρθῃ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἁμαρτία.

13 ἀγωνιζόμενος] ἀγωνιζόμενος.

11. *Ibid.* x. 9 (R. IV. 170; L. I. 291).

Jo. ii. 12. Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων τό Μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοῦμ ἀγτός διηγούμενος Ἄλλης πάλιν οἰκονομίας ἀρχὴν, φησὶ, δηλοῦσθαι, οὐκ ἀργῶς τοῦ Κατέβη εἰρημένου καὶ φησι τὴν Καφαρναοῦμ σημαίνειν ταῦτα τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ κόσμου, ταῦτα τὰ ὑλικά εἰς ἃ κατῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τὸ 5 ἀνοίκειον, φησὶν, εἶναι τὸν τόπον, οὐδὲ πεποιηκῶς τι λέγεται ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ λελαληκῶς. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐαγγελίοις πεποιηκῶς τι ἢ λελαληκῶς ἐν τῇ Καφαρναοῦμ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἀνεγέγραπτο, τάχα ἂν ἐδιστάξαμεν περὶ τοῦ παραδέξασθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ 10
Mt. iv. 13, 17. μὲν Ματθαῖος Καταλιπόντα φησὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν τὴν Ναζαρά, ἐλθόντα κατωκικέναι εἰς Καφαρναοῦμ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύσσειν πεποιῆσθαι λέγοντα Μετανοεῖτε, ἡγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.....ταῦτα δὲ πάντα περὶ τῶν ἐν Καφαρναοῦμ τῷ Σωτῆρι εἰρημένων καὶ πε- 15πραγμένων παρεστήσαμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐλέγξαι τὴν Ἡρακλέωνος ἐρμηνείαν, λέγοντος Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πεποιηκῶς τι λέγεται ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ λελαληκῶς. ἢ γὰρ δύο ἐπινοίας

10 παραδέξασθαι] περιδέξασθαι.

12. τευτάζειν] The *τευ* being hard to decipher, the scribe of *Cod. Ven.* conjectured *ταυτίζειν*, while the scribe of *Cod. Regius* contented himself with leaving a small lacuna before *τάζειν*. On the bearing of this, and the omission of *αὐτοῦ ἢ ἁμαρτία*, on the origin of *Cod. Regius*, see Introduction, p. 8.

11. 1 ff. For the interpretation of

Capernaum cf. Frag. 40 (*Orig. Comm. in Ioann.* xiii. 59), τὸν δὲ ἐν Καφαρναοῦμ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διηγείται τὸν ἐν τῷ ὑποβεβηκότι μέρει τῆς μεσότητος, τῷ πρὸς θάλασσαν, τουτέστι τῷ συνημμένῳ τῇ ὕλῃ. The whole passage there quoted is hardly consistent with the οὐδὲ πεποιηκῶς of the text: cf. a little further on, λέγει δὲ ὅτι καταβὰς πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα.

διδότω καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς Καφαρναοῦμ καὶ παριστάτω καὶ πει-
 20 σάτω ποίας, ἢ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀφιστάσθω τοῦ
 λέγειν τὸν Σωτῆρα μάτην τινὶ τόπῳ ἐπιδεδημηκένοι· καὶ
 ἡμεῖς δὲ, θεοῦ διδόντος, γενόμενοι κατὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα χωρία τῆς
 συναναγνώσεως, ὅπου δόξαι ἂν μηδὲν ἠνυκένοι ἐπιδημήσας
 25 αὐτοῦ τρανώσαι.

21 τινὶ] τινὶ τῷ.

23 ὅπου...ἠνυκένοι] τοῦ δόξεαν μηδὲν ἂν ἦν υκένοι (sic).

12. *Ibid.* x. 14 (R. IV. 179; L. I. 309).

Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων Αὔτη, φησὶν, ἡ μεγάλη ἑορτή· Cf. Jo. ii.
 τοῦ γὰρ πάθους τοῦ Σωτῆρος τύπος ἦν, ὅτε οὐ μόνον ^{13.}
 ἀνηρεῖτο τὸ πρόβατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν παρεῖχεν
 ἐσθιόμενον, καὶ θυόμενον τὸ πάθος τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ
 5 ἐν κόσμῳ ἐσήμαιεν, ἐσθιόμενον δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν
 τὴν ἐν γάμῳ. παρεθέμεθα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν λέξιν, ἵνα τὸ ὡς
 ἐν τηλικούτοις ἀναστρέφειν τὸν ἄνδρα παρερριμμένως καὶ
 ὑδαρῶς μετὰ μηδενὸς κατασκευαστικοῦ θεωρήσαντες, μᾶλλον
 αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσωμεν.

4 τὸ πάθος] τοῦ πάθους.

5 ἐσήμαιεν] ἐσήμαινον.

23. ὅπου κ.τ.λ.] The reading of the ms. is corrupt, and the conjecture in *Cod. Venetus* ποῦ δοξάσης μηδὲν ἂν ἠνυκένοι is not helpful. The reading given in the text is the slightest alteration which will restore any sense.

12. 4. τὸ πάθος] a necessary correction of the ms. reading, which was made also by the scribe of *Cod. Venetus*.

5. τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 63, ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπαυσις ἐν κυριακῇ ἐν ὀγδοάδι... εἶτα τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν γάμων. *Irenaeus* I. vii. 1, τοὺς δὲ πνευματικούς... ἐν τῷ πληρώματι εἰσελθόντας νόμφας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν

Σωτῆρα ἀγγέλοις.

Unfortunately Hippolytus has said nothing about the eschatology of the system which he describes. Perhaps it did not come within his scope: his main object seems to have been to establish a case of Hellenising against each of the heretics whom he refutes. But no doubt some analogous γάμος completed the system: as the διόρθωσις of the πάθη of Sophia was accomplished by means of her marriage with the κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπός, so the πνευματικοὶ would naturally receive the final διόρθωσις by γάμοι, no doubt with the λόγοι projected by Sophia and her σύζυγος.

13. *Ibid.* x. 19 (R. IV. 194; L. I. 338).

- Jo. ii. 14. Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλέωνος, ὅς φησι τὴν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνοδὸν σημαίνειν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑλικῶν εἰς τὸν ψυχικὸν τόπον, τυγχάνοντα εἰκόνα τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀνάβασιν τοῦ κυρίου. τὸ δὲ Εἶπεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ οὐχὶ προνάφ, οἴεται εἰρηῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν κλήσιν 5 μόνην νοηθῆναι τὴν χωρὶς πνεύματος βοηθεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεῖται γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων
- Heb. ix. 7. εἶναι τὸ ἱερόν, εἰς ἃ μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσίοι, ἔνθα οἶμαι αὐτὸν λέγειν τοὺς πνευματικούς χωρεῖν τὰ δὲ τοῦ προνάου, ὅπου καὶ οἱ Λευῖται, σύμβολον εἶναι τῶν 10 ἔξω τοῦ πληρώματος ψυχικῶν εὐρισκομένων ἐν
- Jo. ii. 14. σωτηρίᾳ. Πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς εὐρισκόμενους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πωλοῦντας βόας καὶ πρόβατα καὶ περριστεράς, καὶ τοὺς καθημένους κερματιστάς ἐξεδέξατο λέγεσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν μηδὲν χάριτι διδόντων, ἀλλ' ἐμπο- 15

1 εἰς] om.

2 σημαίνειν] σημαίνει.

5 προνάφ] τῶν ἄνω.

13. 1. εἰς has been rightly supplied by *Cod. Bodleianus*.

τὴν εἰς κ.τ.λ.] This sentence can only mean that the Lord's journey from Galilee to Jerusalem symbolises the journey from the ὑλικὰ (cf. *Fragg.* 12 and 40) to the ψυχικὸς τόπος, which τόπος is an εἰκὼν or image of the Jerusalem above. Cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 59. If we compare this with Hippolytus we may deduce as a reasonable conjecture that Heracleon spoke of the Hebdomad, the abode of the Demiurge, as an εἰκὼν of the Ogdoad which was the abode of Sophia, or from another point of view was Sophia herself. This will account for the distinction between Ἱερουσαλήμ and Ἱεροσόλυμα which the mss. have faithfully preserved. Cf. Bishop Lightfoot's note on Gal. iv. 26. Perhaps in l. 3 we should read τῆς ἄνω Ἱερου-

σαλήμ.

5. προνάφ] The τῶν ἄνω of the mss. is impossible. Neander's conjecture τῷ ναῷ is in the right direction, but should we not read προνάφ (cf. l. 9, τὰ δὲ τοῦ προνάου)? Otherwise we must suppose, either that the meanings of ναὸς and ἱερόν had been practically reversed by Heracleon's time, or that he was ignorant of their usage. And even then the change to προνάου in l. 9 would be awkward.

5, 6. The distinction of κλήσις μόνη ἢ χωρὶς πνεύματος agrees with the division of men in *Hipp. Refut.* vi. 34, κατοικητήριον ποτὲ μὲν ψυχῆς μόνης... ποτὲ δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ λόγων. See also *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 58, δυνάμει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ τὸ κλητὸν, τὸ μὲν παρὰ τῆς τεκούσης τὸ πνευματικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ ψυχικόν.

ρίαν καὶ κέρδος τὴν τῶν ξένων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἴσοδον νομιζόντων, τοῦ ἰδίου κέρδους καὶ φιλαργυρίας ἔνεκεν τὰς εἰς τὴν λατρείαν τοῦ θεοῦ θυσίας χορηγούντων. καὶ τὸ φραγέλλιον δὲ πεποιῆσθαι ἐκ σχοινίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Jo. ii. 15.

20 Ἰησοῦ, οὐχὶ παρ' ἄλλου λαβόντος, ἰδιοτρόπως ἀπαγγέλλει, λέγων τὸ φραγέλλιον εἰκόνα τυγχάνειν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐκφυσῶντος τοὺς χείρους· καὶ φησι Τὸ φραγέλλιον καὶ τὸ λίνον καὶ τὴν σινδόνα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα εἰκόνα τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ

25 τῆς ἐνεργείας εἶναι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἔπειτα ἑαυτῷ προσεῖληφε τὸ μὴ γεγραμμένον, ὡς ἄρα εἰς ξύλον ἐδέδετο τὸ φραγέλλιον, ὅπερ ξύλον τύπον ἐκλαβὼν εἶναι τοῦ σταυροῦ, φησί Τούτῳ τῷ ξύλῳ ἀνηλωσθαι καὶ ἠφανίσθαι τοὺς κυβευτὰς ἐκπόρους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν

30 κακίαν. καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως φλυαρῶν φησιν ἐκ δύο τούτων πραγμάτων φραγέλλιον κατασκευάζεσθαι, ζητῶν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γενόμενον. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ δέρματος, φησὶ, νεκροῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ, ἵνα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευάσῃ οὐκέτι ληστῶν καὶ ἐμπόρων σπήλαιον, ἀλλὰ Mt. xxi. 13.

35 οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· λεκτέον δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον Cf. Jer. vii. 11.

περὶ τῆς θεότητος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ῥητῶν τούτων πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς φησιν εἶναι ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν εἰς δόξαν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν γέγονε, πῶς οὐκ ἀντικρυσ διδασκόμεθα

40 μὴ ἑτέρου τινὸς νομίζειν υἱὸν εἶναι παρὰ τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ;

14. *Ibid.* x. 19 (R. IV. 196; L. I. 342).

Σφόδρα δὲ ἀπαραιτήτως ὁ Ἡρακλέων οἶεται τὸ Ὁ Ζῆλος Jo. ii. 17.
τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεται με ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἐκβλη- Ps. lxxix.
θέντων καὶ ἀναλωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος δυνάμεων (lxxviii.) 10.

14. 2. καταφάγεται] There is a difference of reading in the LXX. here. NB read καταφάγεται, A κατέφαγε. Cf. Origen *Comm. in Ioann.* x. 19 (L. I. 341).

3. δυνάμεων] Cf. the *δαίμονες* of Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 34. For the use of

the masc. with *δυνάμεων* we may compare *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. i. § 9, τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς πόλεως ἐξουσιῶν, and *ibid.* § 30, παραπεμπόντων τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξουσιῶν.

λέγεσθαι, μὴ δυνάμενος τὸν εἰρμὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ προφη-
 τείας τηρῆσαι, νοούμενον ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἐκβληθέντων καὶ 5
 ἀναλωθέντων δυνάμεων λέγεσθαι. ἀκόλουθον δέ ἐστι κατ'
 Ps. lxi. αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ Ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολήν ἀπ' ἐκείνων
 (lxviii.)²². λέγεσθαι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναγεγραμμένον ψαλμῷ ἄλλ' ὡς εἰκὸς
 ἐτάραξεν αὐτὸν τὸ καταφάγεται με ὡς μὴ δυνάμενον ὑπὸ
 Χριστοῦ ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι, οὐχ ὀρώντα τὸ ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρωπο- 10
 παθῶν περὶ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ λόγων.

10 οὐχ ὀρώντα] οὐ χορώντα.

15. *Ibid.* x. 21 (R. IV. 199 ; L. I. 351).

Jo. ii. 19. Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων τὸ Ἐν τρισίν φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐν
 τρίτῃ, μὴ ἐρευνήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπιστήσας τῷ Ἐν τρισίν,
 πῶς ἐν τρισὶν ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐνεργεῖται ἡμέραις. ἔτι δὲ καὶ
 τὴν τρίτην φησὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἣ ὀίονται
 δηλοῦσθαι τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνάστασιν. τούτων δὲ 5
 ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι πρώτην λέγειν εἶναι τὴν χοϊκὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ
 τὴν δευτέραν τὴν ψυχικὴν, οὐ γεγενημένης τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐν αὐταῖς.

6 χοϊκὴν] χωικὴν.

5. νοούμενον] We should expect this word to introduce what Origen considered to be the true 'spiritual' meaning of the passage under discussion, and not a repetition of Heracleon's 'obstinate' interpretation. And the agreement of νοούμενον with εἰρμὸν is very awkward. As it stands the passage can only mean that Heracleon's interpretation fails because he cannot grasp the general drift of the prophecy, which he interprets as being spoken by the δυνάμεις. But the text is unsatisfactory, and I am inclined to suspect that the words νοούμενον—λέγεσθαι

may possibly be a marginal note made by the reader of some ancestor of *Cod. Monacensis*, which has crept into the text. For a possibly similar phenomenon we may compare Frag. 40, εἴη φύσις κ.τ.λ.

10. ἔθος] Does this mean simply 'custom, usage,' or should we compare Origen's use of τὸ ἐν ἔθει λεγόμενον, *tropicè*, and perhaps τὰ ἔθη *Orig. Comm. in Ioann.* xiii. 5?

οὐχ ὀρώντα] The reading of all the mss. Huet apparently conjectured οὐ χωροῦντα, which is the probable source of Delarue's note 'Reg. (quem H. sequitur) οὐ χωροῦντα.'

16. *Ibid.* x. 22 (R. IV. 201; L. I. 356).

"Εοικε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ πολλή τις ἀκατα- Cf. 1 Macc.
 στασία γεγονέναι περὶ τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα i. 22 ff.
 εἰ τότε ἀνωκοδομήθη τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσιν ὁ ναός. ὁ μέντοι γε
 Ἑρακλέων, μηδὲ ἐπιστήσας τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, φησί Τὸν Σολο- Cf. Jo. ii.
 5 μῶντα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσι κατεσκευακέναι τὸν 20.
 ναὸν, εἰκόνα τυγχάνοντα τοῦ Σωτήρος, καὶ τὸν 5'
 ἀριθμὸν εἰς τὴν ὕλην, τουτέστι τὸ πλάσμα, ἀναφέρει·
 τὸν δὲ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα, ὃ τετράς ἐστι, φησὶν, ἢ
 ἀπρόσπλοκος, εἰς τὸ ἐμφύσημα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἐμφυσή-
 10 ματι σπέρμα. ὅρα δὲ εἰ δυνατὸν, τὸν μὲν μ' διὰ τὰ τέσσαρα
 τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα ἐν τοῖς ἡγωνισμένοις εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐγ-
 κατατασσόμενα λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ 5' διὰ τὸ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
 γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

11 ἡγωνισμένοις] ἀγωνισμένοις.

16. 6, 7. τὸν 5' ἀριθμὸν] Cf. Frag. 18, Heracleon's interpretation of the six (as he read) husbands of the Samaritan woman. With the whole fragment we must compare *Excerpta ex Theodoto* § 50, λαβὼν χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς... ψυχὴν γεώδη καὶ ὑλικὴν ἐτεκτήνατο... ὃ δὲ καθ' ὁμολοσίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὃν εἰς τοῦτον ἐνεφύσησέν τε καὶ ἐνέσπειρεν ὁμοιούσιόν τι αὐτῷ δι' ἀγγέλων ἐνθελίς. And § 53, ἔσχε δὲ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀδήλως αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἐνσπαρὲν τὸ σπέρμα τὸ πνευματικὸν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, διαταγείς, φησί, δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου... Πρῶτον οὖν σπέρμα πνευματικὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ προέβαλεν ἢ σοφία ἵνα ἦ τὸ ὄστούν ἢ λογικὴ καὶ οὐρανία ψυχὴ μὴ κενὴ ἀλλὰ μυελοῦ γέμουσα πνευματικοῦ, which is more closely parallel. See also Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 34, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον...καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, and for the τὸ ἐν τῷ ἐμφυσήματι σπέρμα,

ibid. vi. 34, κατοικητήριον...ποτὲ δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ λόγων, οἷτινές εἰσι λόγοι ἄνωθεν κατεσπαρμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινού τοῦ πληρώματος καρποῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, κατοικοῦντες ἐν σώματι χοϊκῷ μετὰ ψυχῆς.

The agreement of this passage, with the fragment of Valentinus preserved in Clement (*Strom.* iv. 13), and his explanation of it, will be more conveniently considered in an additional note.

8, 9. τετράς ἢ ἀπρόσπλοκος] The reference is probably in the first instance to the original τετρακτύς of the Valentinian system (i.e. probably the four male aeons of the Ogdoad), and then more generally to the spiritual nature which is incapable of real union with any lower nature. Cf. Irenaeus i. vii. 4 (where he is speaking of the Demiurge's various views as to prophecy) ἢ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἢ τὴν προσπλοκὴν τῶν χειρόνων (MS. χειρών, Lat. pejorum).

17. *Ibid.* xiii. 10 (R. IV. 220; L. II. 18).

Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλέωνος εἰς τοὺς τόπους, ὅστις φησὶν Ἄττονον καὶ πρόσκαιρον καὶ ἐπιλείπουσαν ἐκείνην γεγονέναι τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὴν δόξαν· κοσμικὴ γὰρ, φησὶν, ἦν· καὶ οἴεται τοῦ κοσμικὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν φέρειν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ θρέμματα τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐξ αὐτῆς πεπωκέναι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄττονον καὶ πρόσκαιρον καὶ ἐπιλείπουσαν ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἐκ μέρους γνῶσιν, ἥτοι τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν συγκρίσει τῶν ἀρρήτων ῥημάτων, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλήσαι, πᾶσαν τὴν νῦν δι' ἐσόπτρου καὶ αἰνίγματος γινομένην γνῶσιν, καταργουμένην ὅταν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ ἐνεκαλέσαμεν. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τὰ παλαιὰ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἐγκλητέος ἂν εἴη. Ὁ δὲ δίδωσιν ὕδωρ ὁ Σωτὴρ, φησὶν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, οὐ ψευδόμενος· καὶ εἰς τό Οὐ μὴ διψῆσῃ δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀποδέδωκεν αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτως, Αἰώνιος γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδέποτε φθειρομένη, ὡς καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἡ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος, ἀλλὰ μένουσα· ἀναφαίρετος γὰρ ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ ἀναλισκομένη μηδὲ φθειρομένη ἐν τῷ μετέχοντι αὐτῆς. φθειρομένην δὲ τὴν πρώτην διδούσιν εἶναι ζωὴν, εἰ μὲν τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἔλεγε, ζητῶν τὴν τῇ περιαιρέσει τοῦ καλύμματος γινομένην κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ εὐρίσκων, ὑγιῶς ἂν ἔλεγεν. εἰ δὲ πάντῃ φθορὰν κατηγορεῖ τῶν παλαιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ ὡς μὴ ὁρῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῶν

11 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ.

21 τὴν] om.

22 γινομένην] γινομένη ἢ.

17. 19, 20. μετέχοντι] There is no difference of reading here in the mss. Delarue's note, 'Regius (quem H. sequitur) μετασχόντι,' is due to Huet and not to *Cod. Regius*. Huet very likely conjectured *μετασχόντι* from Ferrarius ('particeps fuerit').

21. ζητῶν] With this comment of Origen we may compare Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 35, ὅτε τέλος ἔλαβεν ἡ κτίσις ...τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν ἐγκεκαλυμμένην ...καὶ εἶχε κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν·

ὁπότε οὖν ἔδει ἀρθῆναι τὸ κάλυμμα.

τὴν τῇ] Hilgenfeld plausibly alters the τῇ of the mss. to τὴν. Perhaps it is better to insert both articles (cf. Frag. 1). At any rate the ἢ in the next line cannot be right. We may reasonably suppose that after *γινομένην* had been corrupted to *γινομένη* (dative because of the preceding *περαιρέσει*), the τὴν may have dropped out.

25 ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΩΝ ἔχειν ἐκεῖνα τὴν σκιάν. οὐκ ἀπιθάνως δὲ τὸ
 Ἄλλομένου διηγήσατο Καὶ τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας τοῦ
 ἄνωθεν ἐπιχορηγομένου πλουσίως, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ-
 βλύσαι εἰς τὴν ἐτέρων αἰώνιον ζωὴν τὰ ἐπικεχορη-
 γημένα αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὴν Σαμαρείτιν ὡσάν
 30 ἐνδειξαμένην τὴν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ κατάλληλον τῇ
 φύσει ἑαυτῆς πίστιν, μὴ διακριθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἔλεγεν
 αὐτῇ. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπεδέχετο, μηδὲν περὶ
 φύσεως αἰνιττόμενος ὡς διαφερούσης, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν συγκατε-
 θέμεθα· εἰ δὲ τῇ φυσικῇ κατασκευῇ ἀναφέρει τὴν τῆς συγκατα-
 35 θέσεως αἰτίαν, ὡς οὐ πᾶσι ταύτης παρούσης, ἀνατρεπτέον
 αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ πῶς ὁ Ἡρακλέων τὸ μὴ
 γεγραμμένον ἐκλαβὼν φησι πρὸς τὸ Δός μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἕδωρ Jo. iv. 15.
 ὡς ἄρα Βραχέα διανυχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐμίσησε
 λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνου τοῦ λεγομένου ζῶντος
 40 ὕδατος. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Δός μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἕδωρ ἵνα μὴ
 διψῶ μηδὲ διέρχωμαι ἐνθάδε ἀντλεῖν φησὶν ὅτι Ταῦτα λέγει
 ἡ γυνὴ ἐμφαίνουσα τὸ ἐπίμοχθον καὶ δυσπόριστον
 καὶ ἄτροφον ἐκείνου τοῦ ὕδατος· πόθεν γὰρ δεικνύναι
 ἔχει ἄτροφον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Ἰακῶβ ὕδωρ ;

25 ἔχειν] ἔχει.

18. *Ibid.* xiii. 11 (R. IV. 221 ; L. II. 20).

Ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων πρὸς τὸ λέγει αὐτῇ φησὶ Δῆλον ὅτι Jo. iv. 16.
 τοιοῦτό τι λέγων· Εἰ θέλεις λαβεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ,
 ἕπαγε, ΦΩΝΗΣΟΝ Τὸν ἄνδρα σου· καὶ οἴεται τῆς Σαμα-
 ρείτιδος τὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἄνδρα τὸ

25. The text, even after ἔχειν has been substituted for the impossible ἔχει, is unsatisfactory. The omission of τὰ ἀγαθὰ would make it simpler, and it is possible that these words may be a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text.

27, 28. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκβλύσαι] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 58, τὸ ψυχικόν, ὃ ἀνέσωσεν καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν ἅπερ ἀνέλαβε,

καὶ δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὁμοιοῦντα.

33. φύσεως] Cf. *Fragg.* 19, 44. Origen's criticism of the doctrine of φύσεως διαφορά is one of the most important parts of his refutation of Heracleonism, as this was the deepest and most characteristic fault of the system, and indeed of gnosticism in general.

πλήρωμα εἶναι αὐτῆς, ἵνα σὺν ἐκείνῳ γενομένη πρὸς 5
τὸν Σωτῆρα κομίσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀνάκρασιν τὴν πρὸς τὸ πλήρωμα
αὐτῆς δυνηθῆ· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀνδρὸς, φησὶ, κοσμικοῦ
ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ ἵνα καλέσῃ, ἐπεὶπερ οὐκ ἠγνόει ὅτι οὐκ
εἶχε νόμιμον ἄνδρα. προδήλως δὲ ἐνταῦθα βιάζεται, λέγων 10
αὐτῇ τὸν Σωτῆρα εἰρηκέναι ΦΩΝΗΣΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΤΟΝ ἄΝΔΡΑ
καὶ ἐλθέ ἐνθάδε, δηλοῦντα τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος
σύζυγον· εἶπερ γὰρ τοῦθ' οὕτως εἶχεν, ἐχρήν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
τίνα τρόπον φωνητέον ἔσται αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ
γένηται πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ, ὡς ὁ Ἡρακλέων 15
φησὶ, κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον ἠγνόει τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ
ἀπλοῦν ἠσχύνετο εἰπεῖν ὅτι μοιχὸν οὐχὶ δὲ ἄνδρα εἶχε, πῶς
οὐχὶ μάτην ἔσται προστάσσων ὁ λέγων ὙΠΑΓΕ ΦΩΝΗΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ
ἄΝΔΡΑ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΘΕ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ; εἶτα πρὸς τοῦτο Ἀληθὲς εἶρηκας
ὅτι ἄνδρα οὐκ ἔχεις, φησὶν Ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ οὐκ εἶχεν 20
ἄνδρα ἢ Σαμαρεῖτις, ἣν γὰρ αὐτῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι.
ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνέγνωμεν Πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχε· παρὰ δὲ τῷ

14 εἰπεῖν] om.

21 Σαμαρεῖτις] Σαμαρείτης.

18. 6. κομίσασθαι] Grabe suggests κομίζεσθαι, which is followed by Hilgenfeld. But there is no need to alter the ms. reading, which is in itself preferable.

7. τὴν ἔνωσιν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. *Excerpt. ex Theod.* § 22, ἐγειρόμεθα οὖν ἡμεῖς ἰσάγγελοι τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἀποκατασταθέντες...εἰς ἔνωσιν, and § 64, κομιζόμενα καὶ αὐτὰ τοὺς νυμφίους τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἑαυτῶν, εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα ἐντὸς τοῦ ὅρου εἰσίασι.....εἰς τοὺς νοερούς καὶ αἰωνίους γάμους τῆς συζυγίας.

πλήρωμα] On Heracleon's use of πλήρωμα and αἰών, see additional note p. 105.

14. Hilgenfeld's substitution of εἰπεῖν for ἔσται is possible, but it is simpler to suppose with Huet that εἰπεῖν, or perhaps δηλώσαι, has fallen out after αὐτόν.

20. ἔχεις] Heracleon, or Origen,

here follows the Western text. As Origen has twice quoted the words with the reading ἔχω shortly before, this passage may reasonably be supposed to represent Heracleon's text. At the same time the retention in *Cod. Monacensis* of a less well-known reading in only one of several passages would not be unparalleled. Other interesting variants in Heracleon's text are found in (1) Fr. 9, Βηθανία. See the note *in loc.* (2) Fr. 18, ἐξ ἀνδρας, a reading otherwise unknown. (3) Fr. 40, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα. Mt. x. 28. (4) Fr. 40, ἐξελεύσονται (εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον), a Western variant for ἐκβληθήσονται. So far as we can tell he used a text of a Western type, but we have not much material from which we can form a judgment.

Ἡρακλέωνι εὔρομεν Ἐξ ἀνδρας ἔσχεσ. καὶ ἐρμηνεύει γε
 τὴν ὑλικὴν πᾶσαν κακίαν δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐξ
 25 ἀνδρῶν, ἣ συνεπέπλεκτο καὶ ἐπλησίαζεν παρὰ λόγον
 πορνεύουσα, καὶ ἐνυβριζομένη καὶ ἀθετουμένη καὶ
 ἐγκαταλειπομένη ὑπ' αὐτῶν· λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ὅτι εἶπερ ἐπόρνευεν ἢ πνευματικῆ, ἢ μάρτανεν ἢ πνευμα-
 τική· εἰ δὲ ἢ μάρτανεν ἢ πνευματικῆ, Δένδρον ἀγαθὸν οὐκ
 30 ἦν ἢ πνευματικῆ· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Οὐ δύναται Mt. vii. 18.
 δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποῦς πονηροῦς ἐνεγκεῖν. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι
 οἴχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς μυθοποιίας. εἰ δὲ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὸ
 ἀγαθὸν δένδρον φέρειν πονηροῦς καρποῦς καὶ ἀγαθὸν δένδρον
 ἢ Σαμαρεῖτις, ἅτε πνευματικῆ τυγχάνουσα, ἀκόλουθον αὐτῷ
 35 λέγειν ἐστίν, ὅτι ἦτοι οὐκ ἦν ἀμαρτία ἢ πορνεία αὐτῆς, ἢ οὐκ
 αὐτὴ ἐπόρνευσεν.

19. *Ibid.* xiii. 15 (R. IV. 224; L. II. 25).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ῥήματα λέγει Εὐσχημόνως Cf. Jo. iv.
 ὁμολογηκένοι τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς 19.
 αὐτὴν εἰρημένα· Προφήτου γὰρ μόνου, φησὶν, ἐστὶν
 εἰδένοι τὰ πάντα, ψευδόμενος ἑκατέρως· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄγγε-
 5 λοι τὰ τοιαῦτα δύνανται εἰδένοι, καὶ ὁ προφήτης οὐ πάντα
 οἶδεν, Ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν, 1 Cor. xiii.
 καὶ προφητεύομεν ἢ γινώσκωμεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαινεῖ 9.
 ὡς πρεπόντως τῇ αὐτῆς φύσει ποιήσασαν τὴν Σαμα-
 ρεῖτιν, καὶ μήτε ψευσαμένην μήτε ἄντικρυς ὁμολο-
 10 γήσασαν τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσχημοσύνην, πεπεισμένην τέ
 φησιν αὐτὴν, ὅτι προφήτης εἶη, ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν, ἅμα
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμφαίνουσιν δι' ἣν ἐξεπόρνευσεν, ὅτι δι'
 ἄγνοιαν θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν θεὸν λατρείας ἀμελή-

8 αὐτῆς φύσει] αὐτῆς φαύσει.

19. 3. προφήτου κ.τ.λ.] Contrast Heracleon's views on the prophets in Fragment 5.

4. Hilgenfeld alters τὰ πάντα into καὶ ταῦτα, an alteration which, besides having no ms. authority, deprives Origen's criticism ὁ προφή-

της οὐ πάντα οἶδεν of its point.

12—14. ὅτι...ἀμελήσασαν is strange but may possibly be explained as an extension of such usages as δῆλον ὅτι. Hilgenfeld plausibly suggests ἅτε.

σασαν καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτῆ ἀναγκαίων
καὶ ἄλλως ἀεὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τυγχάνουσαν· οὐ γὰρ ¹⁵
ἀν, φησὶν, αὐτῆ ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως
τυγχάνον. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ πῶς ἐνόμισεν ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὴν
αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐκπεπορνευκέναι, ἢ ἄγνοιαν αἰτίαν γεγυ-
ναι ἐπὶ τῶν πλημμελημάτων καὶ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν λατρείας.
ἀλλ' ἔοικε ταῦτα ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐσχεδιακέναι, χωρὶς πάσης πιθα- ²⁰
νότητος. προστίθησί τε τούτοις ὅτι Βουλομένη μαθεῖν
πῶς καὶ τίνι εὐαρεστήσασα καὶ θεῷ προσκυνήσασα
Jo. iv. 20. ἀπαλλαγείη τοῦ πορνεύειν, λέγει τό Οἱ πάτερες ἡμῶν
ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦτῳ προσεκύνησαν καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς. σφόδρα
δέ ἐστὶν εὐελεγκτὰ τὰ εἰρημένα· πόθεν γὰρ ὅτι βούλεται ²⁵
μαθεῖν, τίνι εὐαρεστήσασα ἀπαλλαγείη τοῦ πορνεύειν ;

15 τῶν ἐν] τὴν ἐκ.

25 εὐελεγκτὰ] εὐελεγκτα.

20. *Ibid.* xiii. 16 (R. IV. 225 ; L. II. 26).

Jo. iv. 21. Λέγει αὐτῆ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Πίστεγέ μοι, γύναι, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα, ὅτε
οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦτῳ οὔτε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσκυνήσετε τῷ
πατρὶ. ὅτε ἔδοξε πιθανώτατα τετηρηκέναι ὁ Ἡρακλέων ἐν
τούτοις τό Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων μὴ εἰρῆσθαι αὐτῆ
Πίστεγέ μοι γύναι, νῦν δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῆ προστετάχθαι, ⁵
τότε ἐπεθόλωσε τὸ μὴ ἀπίθανον παρατήρημα, εἰπὼν Ὅρος
μὲν τὸν διάβολον λέγεσθαι, ἢ τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ,

15. Grabe's alteration of τὴν into τῶν is the only satisfactory emendation here. But this is not enough. Massuet's insertion of ἀποτυγχάνουσαν after ἀναγκαίων balances the sentence better, but then ἄλλως τυγχάνουσαν becomes an awkward anticlimax. Two simple emendations suggest themselves, either (i) to place ἀμελήσασαν after ἀναγκαίων, or (ii) to omit the καὶ after ἀμελήσασαν. But it is doubtful if even then a possible sense can be obtained.

19. καὶ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν λατρείας] Ignorance can hardly be said to have

been the cause of her λατρεία, though Heracleon probably put it forward as the cause of the errors in her service. Origen seems to have misunderstood the words which he quotes.

21. τε] The περι of the Editions is another interesting example of the influence of the mistakes made by the scribe of *Cod. Regius*. *Cod. Monac.* has τ̄ (sic) which he has mistaken for περι.

22. τίνι] *Cod. Venetus* inserts τρόπῳ, but it is more natural that the expression here should be similar to that in l. 26.

ἐπείπερ μέρος ἐν ὃ διάβολος ὅλης τῆς ὕλης, φησὶν, ἦν,
 ὁ δὲ κόσμος τὸ σύμπαν τῆς κακίας ὄρος, ἔρημον οἰκη-
 10 τήριον θηρίων, ᾧ προσεκύνουν πάντες οἱ πρὸ νόμου
 καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοί· Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἢ τὸν κτίστην
 ᾧ προσεκύνουν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρως Ὅρος
 μὲν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι τὴν κτίσιν ἢ οἱ ἐθνικοί προσεκύνουν
 Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ τὸν κτίστην, ᾧ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐλάτρευον.
 15 ὑμεῖς οὖν, φησὶν, οἰοεὶ οἱ πνευματικοί, οὔτε τῇ κτίσει,
 οὔτε τῷ δημιουργῷ προσκυνήσετε, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς
 ἀληθείας· καὶ συμπαραλαμβάνει γε, φησὶν, αὐτὴν ὡς
 ἤδη πιστὴν, καὶ συναριθμουμένην τοῖς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν
 προσκυνηταῖς.

13 οἱ] om.

14 ᾧ] om.

21. *Ibid.* xiii. 17 (R. IV. 226; L. II. 28).

Ἑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε ὃ οὐκ οἶδατε, ἡμεῖς προσκυνούμεν ὃ Jo. iv. 22.
 οἶδαμεν, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν. τὸ Ἑμεῖς, ὅσον
 ἐπὶ τῇ λέξει, οἱ Σαμαρεῖς· ὅσον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγωγῇ, οἱ περὶ
 τὰς γραφὰς ἑτερόδοξοι. τὸ δὲ Ἡμεῖς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ῥητῷ, οἱ
 5 Ἰουδαῖοι· ὅσον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ, ἐγὼ ὁ λόγος, καὶ οἱ κατ'
 ἐμὲ μεμορφωμένοι, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν
 λόγων· τὸ γὰρ φανερωθὲν νῦν μυστήριον πεφανέρωται διὰ τε Rom. xvi.
 26.

20. 8. With the description of ὁ
 διάβολος as μέρος ἐν ὅλης τῆς ὕλης cf.
 the cosmogony of Hippolytus *Refut.*
 vi. 32—34, ἐκ τῆς ὑλικῆς οὐσίας καὶ
 διαβολικῆς ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα, and ἐκ τῆς ὑλικῆς
 γέγονεν (as must be supplied, see Hil-
 genfeld *Ketzergeschichte*, p. 468) εἰκῶν
 διάβολος, and τὴν δὲ ἀπορίαν δαιμόνων.

See also Irenaeus I. v. 4, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
 λύπης τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας...
 ὄθεν τὸν διάβολον.

9. ὁ δὲ κόσμος] Here regarded as
 the world of the Devil, cf. Irenaeus,
loc. cit. ὃν καὶ κοσμοκράτορα καλοῦσι,
 and Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 33, διάβολος

ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.

9, 10. οἰκητήριον θηρίων] Cf. Hipp.
Refut. vi. 34, κατοικητήριον... ὅταν
 δαίμονες μὴ συνοικῶσι τῇ ψυχῇ, and
 Valentinus ap. Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii.
 20, ἡ καρδία... πολλῶν οὔσα δαιμόνων
 οἰκητήριον. These passages shew that
 the phrase of the master was remem-
 bered by his pupils, and applied in
 different ways.

11. κτίσιν] i.e. the world of the
 Demiurge. The distinction between
 the nations and the Jews may be
 compared with the description (Hipp.
Refut. vi. 34) of the children of Abra-
 ham, as the children of the Demiurge.

- 2 Tim. i. 10. γραφῶν προφητικῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ὄρα δὲ εἰ μὴ ἰδίως καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ῥητῶν ὁ Ἡρακλέων ἐκδεξάμενος τὸ Ὑμεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ Οἱ 10 Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐθνικοὶ, διηγήσατο. οἶον δέ ἐστι πρὸς τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν λέγεσθαι, ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἢ πρὸς Σαμαρεῖτιν, ὑμεῖς οἱ ἐθνικοί; ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδασί γε οἱ ἑτερόδοξοι ὃ προσκυνοῦσιν, ὅτι πλάσμα ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια, καὶ μῦθος καὶ οὐ μυστήρια. ὁ δὲ προσκυνῶν τὸν δημιουργόν, μάλιστα κατὰ 15 τὸν ἐν κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖον, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς πνευματικούς Ἰουδαϊκοὺς, οὗτος ὃ οἶδε προσκυνεῖ. πολὺ δέ ἐστι νῦν παρατίθεσθαι τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος τὰ ῥητὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Πέτρου κηρύγματος παραλαμβάνόμενα καὶ ἴστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐξετάζοντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου, πότερον ποτε γνήσιόν 20 ἐστὶν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν· διόπερ ἐκόντες ὑπερτιθέμεθα, ταῦτα μόνον ἐπισημειούμενοι φέρειν αὐτὸν, ὡς Πέτρου διδάξαντος, Μὴ δεῖν καθ' Ἑλληνας προσκυνεῖν, τὰ τῆς ὕλης πράγ-

8 Κυρίου] Χοῦ.

15 οὐ] om.

23 καθ' Ἑλληνας] καθελεῖν ἄς.

21. 12. πρὸς Σαμαρεῖτιν] This is strange but possible. The definite article in the first clause restricts the application to the particular subject of the story, while in the second clause it is general. But *Cod. Venetus* has, either intentionally or by itacism, improved the text, reading *Σαμαρεῖτην*; the preceding *Σαμαρεῖτιν* would easily account for the change, and the more general application suggested by the masculine is intrinsically far more suitable.

15. οὐ] This correction (found in *Cod. Ven.*) is necessary, whether we retain the *καὶ* or not.

17. πολὺ δὲ] The scribe of *Cod. Venetus* fell into the natural transcriptional slip of inserting *κάλλιον*, thus getting a more familiar phrase. But intrinsic and transcriptional probability alike forbid us to follow Hilgenfeld in retaining the insertion. It would make the follow-

ing *διόπερ ἐκόντες ὑπερτιθέμεθα* meaningless.

23. καθ' Ἑλληνας] The reading of the Munich ms. explains the strange production of its copy (*Cod. Reg. καθελεῖν ἄς*) which Huet had to follow, and which led him to conjecture *κατ' ἐθνικούς*. The passage from the Preaching of Peter is quoted at greater length in Clement (*Strom.* vi. 5) where the last sentence stands *καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γινώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ*.

Origen expresses a decided opinion on the Preaching of Peter in the *De Principiis*, Praef. 8 (interp. Rufino) 'Respondendum quoniam ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur; et ostendendum quia neque Petri est ipsa scriptura, neque alterius cuiusquam qui spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus.'

ματα ἀποδεχομένους, καὶ λατρεύοντας ξύλοις καὶ
 25 λίθοις, μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβειν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπεὶ περ
 καὶ αὐτοὶ μόνοι οἰόμενοι ἐπίστασθαι θεὸν, ἀγνοοῦσιν
 αὐτὸν, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ.

24 λατρεύοντας] λατρεύοντες. 25 μηδὲ] μήτε.

26 μόνοι οἰόμενοι] μόνοις ἰομενοι.

22. *Ibid.* xiii. 19 (R. IV. 229; L. II. 33).

Τὸ μέντοι γε Ἡμεῖς προσκγνοῦμεν ὁ Ἡρακλέων οἶεται εἶναι Jo. iv. 22.
 Ὁ ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντες· οὗτοι γὰρ, φησὶν,
 ἤδεσαν τίνι προσκυνοῦσι, κατὰ ἀλήθειαν προσκυν-
 νοῦντες. ἀλλὰ καὶ τό' Ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν,
 5 ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, φησὶν, ἐγενήθη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς
 —οὐ γὰρ εἰς πάντας αὐτοὺς εὔδόκησε—καὶ ὅτι ἐξ Cf. 1 Cor.
 ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξῆλθεν ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ὁ λόγος x. 5.
 εἰς τὴν οἰκογμένην· κατὰ δὲ τὸ νοούμενον ἐκ τῶν Ἰου- Cf. Ps. xix.
 δαίων τὴν σωτηρίαν διηγεῖται γεγονέναι, ἐπεὶ περ εἰ- (xviii.) 5.
 10 κόνες οὗτοι τῶν ἐν τῷ πληρώματι αὐτῷ εἶναι νομί- Rom. x.
 ζονται. ἐχρῆν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν 18.
 τῇ λατρείᾳ δεικνύναι, πῶς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τῶν ἐν τῷ πληρώματι,
 εἶ γε μὴ μόνον φωνῇ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ
 φρονοῦσιν αὐτό. πρὸς τούτοις τό ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ Jo. iv. 24.
 15 προσκγνεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενος, λέγει ὅτι Οἱ πρότερον
 προσκυνηταὶ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ πλάνῃ προσεκύουν τῷ
 μὴ πατρὶ, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτὸν πεπλανῆσθαι πάντας τοὺς
 προσκεκυνηκότας τῷ δημιουργῷ, καὶ ἐπιφέρει γε ὁ Ἡρα-
 κλέων, ὅτι Ἐλάτρεγον τῇ κτίσει, καὶ οὐ τῷ κατ' ἀλήθειαν Cf. Rom.
 i. 25.

11 ἕκαστον] ἐκάστων.

24. λατρεύοντας] The ms. read-
 ing is probably due to the following
 λατρεύοντες.

22. 2. ὁ ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλ-
 θόντες] These may be naturally iden-
 tified with the κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος
 καρπὸς and the 70 λόγοι projected by
 him and Sophia: and, in the account
 given by Irenaeus, with the Soter and
 his angels. Cf. also *Exc. ex Theod.*

§ 44, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας ἀγγέλους τοὺς σὺν
 αὐτῷ ἐκπεμφθέντας. And see also
 Frag. 40, οἱ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄγγελοι.

15. ἡγούμενος] We may perhaps
 accept Huet's suggestion 'scribas
 διηγούμενος.'

19. κτίσει] Heracleon probably
 refers to the second interpretation
 given in Frag. 20, which is no doubt
 founded on Rom. i. 25.

Jo. i. 3. κτίστη, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς, εἶ γε Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, 20
καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν.

23. *Ibid.* xiii. 20 (R. IV. 229; L. II. 33).

Jo. iv. 23. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοιοῦτος ζητεῖ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτόν·
εἰ ζητεῖ ὁ πατὴρ, διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ζητεῖ, τοῦ ἐληλυθότος ζητῆσαι
Lc. xix. 10. καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός, οὐστὶνας καθαίρων καὶ παιδεύων τῷ
Cf. Ez. xxxiv. 16. λόγῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑγιέσι δόγμασι, κατασκευάζει ἀληθινούς προσ-
κυνητάς. Ἀπολωλέναι δέ φησιν ὁ Ἡρακλέων ἐν τῇ βα- 5
θείᾳ ὕλη τῆς πλάνης τὸ οἰκεῖον τῷ πατρὶ, ὅπερ
ζητεῖται ἵνα ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων προσκυνῆται.
Cf. Lc. xv. 4, 11. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑώρα τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν προβάτων λόγον,
καὶ τοῦ ἀποπεσόντος τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς υἱοῦ, κὰν ἀπεδεξάμεθα
αὐτοῦ τὴν διήγησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μυθοποιοῦντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς γνώ- 10
μης αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τί ποτε τρανώς παριστᾶσι περὶ τῆς
ἀπολωλυίας πνευματικῆς φύσεως, οὐδὲν σαφὲς διδά-
σκοντες ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀπωλείας αὐτῆς χρόνων
ἢ αἰώνων· οὐδὲ γὰρ τρανοῦν δύνανται ἑαυτῶν τὸν λόγον. διὰ
τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐκόντες παραπεμφόμεθα, τοσοῦτον ἐπαπορή- 15
σαντες.

4 ἀληθινούς] ἀληθοὺς τοὺς. 9 υἱοῦ] υἱοί. Cod. Bodleianus habet in
margine τάχα υἱοῦ, sed in txt. habet υἱόν.

20. Χριστὸς] In the *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 45, the section describing the creative work of the Soter, *εἰς οὐσίαν ἠγαγεν αὐτά τε καὶ [τὰ] τῆς δευτέρας διαθέσεως*, is similarly closed with the words *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

23. 4. ἀληθινούς] This correction in *Cod. Venetus* restores the grammar of the sentence; *οὐστὶνας καθαίρων* can of course be separated off as a complete relative sentence, but as *οὐστὶνας*, *τὸ ἀπολωλός*, and *προσκυνητάς*

must refer to the same, the tertiary predicate (contained in *ἀληθ. τοὺς προσκ.*) would be very awkward.

5. ἀπολωλέναι] There is of course no necessary reference here to a commentary of Heracleon's on S. Luke, though we know from Clement that he commented on some part of it (see *Frag.* 50; *Clem. Al. Strom.* iv. 9. 73). Here however he only appears to have explained Luke xix. 10 in illustration of S. John's words.

24. *Ibid.* xiii. 25 (R. IV. 234; L. II. 43).

Εἰς μέντοι γε τό Πνεῦμα ὁ θεός ὁ Ἡρακλέων φησὶν Jo. iv. 24.
 Ἄχραντος γὰρ καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀόρατος ἡ θεία φύ-
 σις αὐτοῦ. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς, ταῦτα ἐπειπὼν,
 πῶς ὁ θεός πνεῦμά ἐστι. τὸ δὲ τοῦς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν πνεύ-
 5 ματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν σαφηνίζειν νομίζων, φησὶν
 Ἄξιως τοῦ προσκυνουμένου πνευματικῶς οὐ σαρκι-
 κῶς· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὄντες τῷ πατρὶ
 πνεῦμα εἰσὶν, οἵτινες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐ κατὰ
 πλάνην προσκυνοῦσι, καθὰ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει
 10 λέγων ΛΟΓΙΚΗΝ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΝ τὴν τοιαύτην θεοσέβειαν.
 ἐπιστήσωμεν δὲ εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐστὶν ἀσεβὲς ὁμοουσίου τῆ
 ἀγεννήτῳ φύσει καὶ παμμακαρία λέγειν εἶναι τοὺς προσκυ-
 νοῦντας ἐν πνεύματι τῷ θεῷ, οὓς πρὸ βραχέος εἶπεν αὐτὸς
 ὁ Ἡρακλέων ἐκπεπτωκότας, τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν λέγων
 15 πνευματικῆς φύσεως οὐσαν ἐκπεπορνευκένας. ἀλλ'
 οὐχ ὁρῶσιν [οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες,] ὅτι [πάν τὸ ὁμοούσιον]
 καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικόν. εἰ δὲ ἐδέξατο τὸ πορνεῦσαι ἢ πνευ-
 ματικὴ φύσις, ὁμοούσιος οὐσα [τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ], ἀνόσια καὶ ἄθεα
 καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς περὶ θεοῦ· οὐδὲ
 20 φαντασιωθῆναι ἀκίνδυνόν ἐστιν ἀλλήλοις.

2 ἡ] καὶ. 11 ὁμοουσίου] ὁμοούσιον. 16 οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες] om.
 lac. 13 circa litterarum relicta: Codex Bodleianus in margine οἱ ταῦτα λέ-
 γοντες. πάν τὸ ὁμοούσιον] παντός, post hoc verbum relinquitur lacuna (12
 circa litt.) in Codice. Cod. Bodl. in margine ἴσως τῶν ἐναντίων. 18 φύσις]
 φύσεις. τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ] om. lacuna (12 litt.) relicta: Cod. Bodl. in mar-
 gine τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ. 20 ἀλλήλοις] ἀλλήλους.

24. 2. ἡ θεία] There being no article in his exemplar the scribe of *Cod. Venetus* removed the difficulty by altering the last καὶ into ἡ.

10. λογικὴν λατρείαν] Corresponding to their nature. Cf. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὄντες, and Frag. 45 τὴν τῶν ἀγίων λογικῶν οὐσίαν.

16. οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες] Some such

nominative is required and the marginal conjecture in *Cod. Bodleianus* fulfils the required conditions.

πάν τὸ ὁμοούσιον] On this conjecture see Additional Note C.

18. τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ] A conjecture probably derived from Ferrarius, which admirably suits the requirements of the passage.

25. *Ibid.* xiii. 27 (R. IV. 237; L. II. 49).

“Ορα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα τί φησὶν· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι Προσεδέχετο ἢ ἐκκλησία τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἐπέπειστο περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὰ πάντα μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐπίσταται.

26. *Ibid.* xiii. 28 (R. IV. 238; L. II. 51).

- Jo. iv. 26. Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων δὲ φησι πρὸς τὸ Ἐγὼ εἶμι, ὁ λαλῶν σοι ὅτι Εἶπερ ἐπέπειστο ἢ Σαμαρεῖτις περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἄρα ἐλθὼν πάντα ἀπαγγελεῖ αὐτῇ, φησὶ Γίνωσκε ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ὃν προσδοκᾶς, ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ λαλῶν σοι· καὶ ὅτε ὠμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν τὸν προσδοκώμενον ἐληλυ- 5
 Jo. iv. 27. θέναι, ἦλθον, φησὶν, οἱ μαθηταὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, δι’ οὓς ἐληλύθει εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν. πῶς δὲ διὰ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐληλύθει εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, οἵτινες καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ συνῆσαν;

1 σοι] post σοι relinquitur lacuna (4 vel 5 litt.).

27. *Ibid.* xiii. 30 (R. IV. 241; L. II. 56).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τὴν ὑδρίαν τὴν δεκτικὴν ζωῆς ὑπολαμβάνει εἶναι διάθεσιν καὶ ἔννοιαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἣντινα καταλείπουσα, φησὶ, παρ’ αὐτῷ, τουτέστιν ἔχουσα παρὰ τῷ Σωτῆρι τὸ τοιοῦτον σκεῦος, ἐν ᾧ ἐληλύθει λαβεῖν τὸ ζῶν ὕδωρ, 5

4 παρὰ] περὶ.

25. 2. ἢ ἐκκλησία] i.e. οἱ πνευματικοί. Cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 41.

27. 2. καὶ] The καὶ before τῆς δυνάμεως is probably right. The ὑδρία is the διάθεσις and ἔννοια which is δεκτικὴ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. Hilgenfeld’s omission of the καὶ, which makes δυνάμεως dependent on ἔννοια, gives an unnatural meaning

to the latter word. It must mean thought, conception, or the like, not power of thinking or conceiving the δύναμις. Below (l. 13) Ferrarius refuses to take τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς δυνάμεως together. Probably we should there read, as here, καὶ ἔννοιαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως.

ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελιζομένη τῇ κλήσει τὴν Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος προσάγεται ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ Σωτῆρι. κατανόησον δὴ, εἰ δύναται ἐπαινουμένη τυγχάνειν ἡ
 10 ὑδρία αὕτη πάντῃ ἀφιεμένη· Ἀφῆκε γὰρ, φησὶ, τὴν ἕδραν Jo. iv. 28.
 αὐτῆς ἢ γυνῆ· οὐ γὰρ πρόσκειται ὅτι ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν παρὰ τῷ Σωτῆρι. πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀπίθανον καταλείπουσαν αὐτὴν τὴν δεκτικὴν τῆς ζωῆς διάθεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς
 15 δυνάμεως τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, καὶ τὸ σκεῦος ἐν ᾧ ἐληλύθει λαβεῖν τὸ ζῶν ὕδωρ, ἀπεληλυθέναι εἰς τὸν κόσμον χωρὶς τούτων, εὐαγγελίσασθαι τῇ κλήσει τὴν Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν; πῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ μετὰ
 τοσοῦτους λόγους οὐ πέπεισται σαφῶς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ φησὶ Μὴ τι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός; καὶ τό Ἐξῆλθον Jo. iv. 29,
 20 δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διηγῆσατο ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐκ τῆς προτέρας 30.
 αὐτῶν ἀναστροφῆς, οὔσης κοσμικῆς· καὶ ἦρχοντο διὰ τῆς πίστεως, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα. λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· πῶς μένει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς δύο ἡμέρας; οὐ γὰρ τετήρηκεν ὃ προπαρεθέμεθα ἡμεῖς περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 25 αὐτὸν ἀναγεγράφθαι μεμενηκέναι τὰς δύο ἡμέρας.

19 μὴ τι οὗτός] μὴ τοιοῦτος.

25 ἀναγεγράφθαι] Cod. Bodleianus in margine τάχα λείπει μὴ.

28. *Ibid.* xiii. 32 (R. IV. 242; L. II. 60).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων φησὶν ὅτι Ἐβούλουτο κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν ἀγοράσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείας κέκομί-

6. κλήσις] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 58, τὸ κλητὸν...τὸ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ ψυχικὸν and the words προσάγεται ἡ ψυχὴ which occurs in this passage (l. 8). The woman herself was a representation of the ἐκλογή.

21. κοσμικῆς] Cf. Frag. 17 (the account of the woman's former life), κοσμικὴ γὰρ ἦν, and Frag. 20, where the κόσμος is the kingdom of the διάβολος. Heracleon seems also to have used the word as almost equivalent to 'humanity,' see Frag. 8.

24. A negative is obviously necessary: cf. *Orig. Comm. in Joann.* xiii. 29. We can either place μὴ before ἀναγεγράφθαι with the margin of the Bodleian, or before ἐν τῇ πόλει.

28. 1. The general sense of the fragment is recoverable, but it is hopelessly corrupt. The third sentence may possibly have run πῶς δὲ, οἶμαι, οἱ μαθηταὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχειν λέγονται. And in line 8 it would be natural to alter ποτοῦ into ἐλαίου, for we can hardly justify it on the strength of

Cf. Matt.
xxv. 1.
κείσαν. τάδε φησὶν ἵνα τινὰ * * * αἱ πέντε μωραὶ παρθένοι
* * * ἀπὸ τοῦ νυμφίου. πῶς δὲ οἶμαι * * * τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχειν * * *
λέγονται * * * ταῖς ἀποκλεισθείσαις μωραῖς παρθένοις, ἄξιον 5
ἰδεῖν κατηγορίαν περιέχοντα τῶν μαθητῶν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κοιμω-
μένων ταῖς μωραῖς παρθένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνόμοιον τοῦ
φωτὸς πρὸς τροφήν, καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ πρὸς τὰ βρώματα. * * * *
* * * σαντας αἰτιάσασθαι τὴν ἐκδοχὴν, καίπερ κατὰ τι δυνά-
μενον σαφῆ ποιῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν διὰ πλειόνων 10
παραμυθῆσασθαι, κατασκευάζοντα τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκδοχὴν.

3 post τινὰ lacuna (6 circa litt.). post παρθένοι lacuna (45). 4 post
οἶμαι lacuna (8). post ἔχειν lacuna (6). 5 post λέγονται lacuna (10).
8 post βρώματα lacuna (19). 9 καίπερ] κείπερ. κατὰ] ins. intra lineas.

29. *Ibid.* xiii. 34 (R. IV. 245 ; L. II. 65).

Jo. iv. 32. Ἐγὼ βρώσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν, ἣν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἶδατε..... οὐδὲν
δὲ εἰς τὴν λέξιν εἶπεν ὁ Ἡρακλέων.

30. *Ibid.* xiii. 35 (R. IV. 245 ; L. II. 65).

Jo. iv. 33. Ἐλεγον οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μή τις ἤνεγκεν ἀγτῶ
φαγεῖν; εἰ καὶ σαρκικῶς ὑπολαμβάνει ταῦτα λέγεσθαι ὁ
Ἡρακλέων ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν, ὡς ἔτι ταπεινότερον δια-
νοουμένων καὶ τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν μιμουμένων λέγουσαν
Jo. iv. 11. Οὔτε ἄνητλημα ἔχεις, καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ βαθύ· ἄξιον ἡμᾶς 5
ἰδεῖν, μὴ ποτε βλέποντές τι θειότερον οἱ μαθηταὶ φασὶ πρὸς
ἀλλήλους Μή τις ἤνεγκεν ἀγτῶ φαγεῖν; τάχα γὰρ ὑπενόουν
ἀγγελικὴν τινα δύναμιν ἐνηνοχέειν αὐτῶ φαγεῖν.

31. *Ibid.* xiii. 38 (R. IV. 248 ; L. II. 70).

Jo. iv. 34. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων διὰ τοῦ Ἐμὸν βρώμα ἐστὶν ἵνα ποιήσω τὸ
θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με φησὶ διηγεῖσθαι τὸν Σωτῆρα
τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὅτι τοῦτο ὁ συνεζήτει μετὰ τῆς γυναι-

πότης λύχνος, and to fill up part of the gaps by reading κατηγορήσαντας, and in l. 9 καίτοι γε for καίπερ. But small patches in large rents are labour wasted.

κὸς, βρῶμα ἴδιον λέγων τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς· τοῦτο
 5 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τροφή καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ δύναμις ἦν. θέ-
 λημα δὲ πατρὸς ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸ γινῶναι ἀνθρώπους τὸν
 πατέρα, καὶ σωθῆναι, ὕπερ ἦν ἔργον τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ
 ἔνεκα τούτου ἀπεσταλμένου εἰς Σαμάρειαν, τουτέστιν
 10 τὴν μετὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος συζήτησιν, ὅπερ νομίζω σαφῶς
 παντί τῳ ὀραῖσθαι καὶ ταπεινῶς ἐξειλῆφθαι καὶ βεβιασμένως.
 πῶς δὲ τροφή τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς, σαφῶς οὐ
 παρέστησεν· πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ;
 λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἀλλαχοῦ, ὡς οὐ παντὸς τοῦ πατρικοῦ
 15 θελήματος ἀναπαύσεως αὐτοῦ ὄντος, Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατὸν, Mt. xxvi.
 παρελθάτω τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· πλὴν οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλὰ τί 39.
 σὺ. πόθεν δὲ καὶ ὅτι δύναμις τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ θέλημα τοῦ
 θεοῦ ;

9 αὐτὸ] αὐτὸν. Cod. Bodl. in margine τάχα αὐτὸ.
 in margine τάχα τὸ καὶ παρέλκει.

10 τῆς] τὴν.

καὶ] Cod. Bodl.
 17 σὺ] σοί.

32. *Ibid.* xiii. 41 (R. IV. 251 ; L. II. 79).

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων μέντοιγε ὁμοίως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς
 λέξεως ἔμεινε, μὴ οἰόμενος αὐτὴν ἀνάγεσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι
 Τὸν τῶν γεννημάτων λέγει θερισμὸν, ὡς τούτου μὲν ἔστι
 διωρίαν ἔχοντος τετράμηνον, τοῦ δὲ θερισμοῦ, οὗ αὐτὸς
 5 ἔλεγεν, ἤδη ἐνεστῶτος· καὶ τὸν θερισμὸν δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
 ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξείληφε τῶν πιστευόντων, λέγων ὅτι
 "Ἦδη ἀκμαῖοι καὶ ἔτοιμοί εἰσι πρὸς θερισμὸν καὶ ἐπι-

3 τὸν] τὸ.

γεννημάτων] γεννημάτων.

31. 6. τὸ γινῶναι κ.τ.λ.] Cp. Hipp.
Refut. vi. 36. As the διόρθωσις of
 the Hebdomad was effected by im-
 parting to the Demiurge the know-
 ledge of the Father, so it is natural
 that the διόρθωσις τῶν ἐνθάδε should
 be accomplished by analogous means.

9. αὐτὸ] The marginal sugges-
 tion of the Bodleian seems on the
 whole to be the best reading; it
 restores consistency to the passage.

Origen complains first of the inter-
 pretation of τὸ θέλημα as βρῶμα καὶ
 τὴν...συζήτησιν, then as τροφή, then
 as ἀνάπαυσις, and lastly as δύναμις.

15. πάτερ] The omission of μου
 and ἐστὶ is found in other authorities,
 especially among the Valentinians.
 But this position of ἀπ' ἐμοῦ is not
 found elsewhere, nor is the τί sup-
 ported by other authority. See Tis-
 chendorf *in loc.*

- τήδειοι πρὸς τὸ συναχθῆναι εἰς ἀποθήκην, τουτέστι διὰ πίστεως εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν, ὅσαι γε ἔτοιμοι, οὐ γὰρ πᾶσαι· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, φησὶν, αἱ δὲ ἔμελλον, αἱ δὲ μέλλουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπισπείρονται ἤδη. ταῦτα
 Jo. iv. 35. μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν. πῶς δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ ἐπιείροντες τοῦς ὀφθαλμοῦς δύνανται βλέπειν τὰς ψυχὰς ἤδη ἐπιτηδείους οὔσας πρὸς τὸ, ὡς οἶεται, εἰς ἀποθήκην εἰσαχθῆναι, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ δύναται παραστῆσαι. καὶ ἔτι γε πῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν 15
 Jo. iv. 37, ἀληθὲς τό' Ἄλλος ὁ σπείρων, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θερίζων καὶ Ἀπέστειλα ἡμᾶς θερίζειν ὃ οὐχ ἡμεῖς κεκοπιάκατε; τινὰ δὲ τρόπον τό' Ἄλλοι κεκοπιάκασι καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν εἰσεληλύθατε δυνατόν ἐστι παραδέξασθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς;

16 ὁ θερίζων] θερίζων.

33. *Ibid.* xiii. 44 (R. IV. 255; L. II. 85).

- Καὶ ἐρεῖ γε ὁ Ἡρακλέων, τάχα δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν ταύτην συμπεριφερόμενός τις καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς,
 Mt. ix. 37. ὅτι τῷ κατὰ τὸ Ὁ θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἔργαται ὀλίγοι σημαυνομένῳ ὁμοίως ταῦτα εἴρηται, τῷ ἐτοίμους πρὸς θερισμὸν καὶ ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς τὸ ἤδη συναχθῆναι 5 εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην διὰ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιτηδείους πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ παραδοχὴν τοῦ λόγου· κατὰ μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλέωνα διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν φύσιν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν διὰ τινὰ εὐτρεπισμὸν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, ἐτοίμου πρὸς τελείωσιν, ἵνα καὶ 10 θερισθῇ. λεκτέον οὖν πρὸς τοὺς οὕτως ἐκδεξαμένους, εἰ βούλονται παραδέξασθαι μὴ ποτε γεγονέναι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίας θερισμὸν παραπλήσιον τῷ οὕτως ἂν ἐλπισθέντι ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος;

32. 10. αἱ δὲ] The repetition of αἱ δὲ offended the ear of the scribe of *Cod. Venetus*, so that he substituted καὶ αἱ μὲν for the second αἱ δὲ. But the reading of his exemplar is right.

33. 5. ἐπιτηδείους] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, § 46, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιτηδειότητα ἐνεποίησεν, which also illustrates διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν... καὶ τὴν φύσιν.

34. *Ibid.* xiii. 46 (R. IV. 256 ; L. II. 87).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τὸ Ὁ θερίζων μισθὸν λαμβάνει εἰρήσθαι Jo. iv. 36.
 νομίζει, Ἐπεὶ θεριστὴν ἑαυτὸν λέγει, φησὶν, ὁ Σωτὴρ,
 καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ὑπολαμβάνει εἶναι τὴν
 τῶν θεριζομένων σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν τῷ
 5 ἀναπαύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· τὸ δὲ καὶ σὺνάγει καρπὸν
 εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον φησὶν εἰρήσθαι, ἢ ὅτι τὸ συναγόμενον
 καρπὸς ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ ζωὴ αἰώ-
 νιος. ἀλλὰ αὐτόθεν νομίζω βίαιον εἶναι τὴν διήγησιν αὐτοῦ,
 φάσκοντος τὸν Σωτῆρα μισθὸν λαμβάνειν, καὶ συνεχέοντος τὸν
 10 μισθὸν καὶ τὴν σὺναγωγὴν τοῦ καρποῦ εἰς ἓν, ἀντικρυς τῆς
 γραφῆς δύο πράγματα παριστάσης, ὡς προδιηγησάμεθα.

2 νομίζει] νομίζειν.

7 ἢ ὅτι] ον.

35. *Ibid.* xiii. 48 (R. IV. 260 ; L. II. 95).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τὸ Ἴνα ὁ σπείρων ὁμοῦ χαίρη καὶ ὁ θερί- Jo. iv. 36.
 ζων οὕτω διηγήσατο· Χαίρει μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ σπείρων
 ὅτι σπείρει, καὶ ὅτι ἤδη τινὰ τῶν σπερμάτων αὐτοῦ
 συνάγεται, ἐλπίδα ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν
 5 λοιπῶν· ὁ δὲ θερίζων ὁμοίως τι καὶ θερίσει. ἀλλ' ὁ
 μὲν πρῶτος ἤρξατο σπείρων, ὁ δεύτερος θερίζων.
 οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐδύναντο ἀμφότεροι ἄρξασθαι·
 ἔδει γὰρ πρῶτον σπαρῆναι, εἴθ' ὕστερον θερισθῆναι.
 παυσαμένου μέντοιγε τοῦ σπείροντος σπείρειν, ἔτι

34. 7. Delarue's emendation ἢ ὅτι is by no means 'absque causa' (see Lommatzsch). Whence Huet derived ὅ I do not know. It is the reading of no ms. and suits neither grammar nor sense. We must assume that a corruption of ΟΤΙ to ΟΝ led to the omission of the ἢ.

35. 3. ἢδη] *Cod. Venetus* has altered ἢδη to εἶδη, but the original reading is preferable. Different kinds or classes of seeds are not insisted upon, nor do they, so far as we know, form

part of the Heracleonic doctrine. The sowing of this *vidēs ἀνθρώπου*, whoever he was, must refer to the sowing by a higher power of the pneumatic seeds in the creatures of the Demiurge, and the *πνευματικοὶ* are not divided into different classes, so far as is known. The ἢδη is also forcible. He rejoices in that he is *already* gathering in the earnest of the rest. For a similar confusion of *η* and *ει* in *Cod. Venetus*, cf. *Frag.* 20, ὡς ἦδει πιστήν for ὡς ἦδη πιστήν.

θεριεῖ ὁ θερίζων. ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ παρόντος ἀμφότεροι 10
τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον ἐνεργοῦντες ὁμοῦ χαίρουσι, κοινήν
χαρὰν τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων τελειότητα ἡγούμενοι.

Jo. iv. 37. ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς τό 'ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤῳ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ἀληθινός, ὅτι ἄλλος
ἔστιν ὁ σπείρων, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θερίζων φησὶν 'Ο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ
τὸν τόπον υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου σπείρει· ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ὧν καὶ 15
αὐτὸς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου θερίζει, καὶ θεριστὰς πέμπει
τοὺς διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν νοουμένους ἀγγέλους, ἕκαστον
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν· οὐ πάνυ δὲ σαφῶς ἐξέθετο τοὺς
δύο υἱοὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τίνες εἰσὶν, ὧν ὁ εἰς σπείρει καὶ ὁ εἰς
θερίζει.

10 ἐπι] ἐπει. · 15 υἱὸς] υἱόν.

36. *Ibid.* xiii. 49 (R. IV. 263 ; L. II. 99).

Εἰ δὲ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοί εἰσιν οἱ τὰς λοιπὰς μερίδας παρὰ τὴν
ἐκλεκτὴν εἰληχότες καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διασπορᾶς τῶν ψυχῶν τετα-
Jo. iv. 36. γμένοι, οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄτοπον τὸν σπείροντα ὁμοῦ χαίρειν καὶ τὸν
θερίζοντα μετὰ τὸν θερισμόν. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλέων φησὶν ὅτι
Οὐ δι' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐσπάρη ταῦτα τὰ σπέρ- 5
ματα, φησὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οἱ δὲ κεκοπιακότες

5 οὐ δι' αὐτῶν] οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν.

15, 16. As Origen says, the two 'sons of man' are not clearly explained. Probably they answer to the two beings whose temporary union in Jesus of Nazareth Irenaeus criticises so strongly. The 'Son of man' who is ὑπὲρ τὸν τόπον may be identified with Sophia's husband: or the two 'sons' may be the Christ whose flight Sophia mourned, and the Jesus whom the Christ entreated the Father to send to her, διορθῶσαι τὰ πάθη αὐτῆς, and who became her σύζυγος. The last will suit best the interpretation of ὁ ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντες (Frag. 22). But the data are insufficient, and such identifica-

tion must be pure conjecture. For τόπος cf. Frag. 40. It must be the τόπος μεσότητος or ἐβδομάς which is described by Hippolytus as ὑποκάτω τῆς ὀγδοάδος where Sophia and her σύζυγος dwell. For the sowing compare Hippolytus *Refut.* vi. 34.

17, 18. ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 64, τὰ πνευματικὰ...κομιζόμενα καὶ αὐτὰ τοὺς νυμφίους τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα ἐντὸς τοῦ ὄρου εἰσίσαι. ψυχὴ is here probably used in its wider sense. See also Irenaeus i. vii. 1, νύμφας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀγγέλοις.

εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄγγελοι, δι' ὧν ὡς μεσιτῶν Cf. Gal. iii.
 ἐσπάρη καὶ ἀνετράφη. εἰς δὲ τό 'Υμεῖς εἰς τὸν κόπον 19.
 αὐτῶν εἰσεληλύθατε ταῦτα ἐξέθετο. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κόπος Jo. iv. 38.
 10 σπειρόντων καὶ θερίζοντων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κρύει καὶ
 ὕδατι καὶ κόπῳ τὴν γῆν σκάπτουτες σπείρουσι, καὶ
 δι' ὅλου χειμῶνος τημελοῦσι σκάλλοντες καὶ τὰς
 ὕλας ἐκλέγοντες· οἱ δὲ εἰς ἔτοιμον καρπὸν εἰσελθόντες
 15 θέρους εὐφραϊνόμενοι θερίζουσιν. ἔξεσται δὲ συγκρί-
 νοντι τάδε ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένα τῷ ἐντυγχάνοντι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος, ὅραν ὁποῖα τῶν διηγήσεων ἐπιτετεῦχθαι
 δύναται.

7 οἱ] ὁ.

9 κόπος] σκοπὸς.

37. *Ibid.* xiii. 50 (R. IV. 263; L. II. 101).

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων τὸ μὲν Ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐκ τοῦ Jo. iv. 39.
 κόσμου ἐξείληφε· τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς γυναικὸς τουτ-
 ἔστι διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐκκλησίας. καὶ ἐπισημαί-
 νεταιί γε τό πολλοὶ ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων ψυχικῶν· τὴν δὲ
 5 μίαν λέγει τὴν ἀφθαρτον τῆς ἐκλογῆς φύσιν, καὶ μονο-
 ειδῆ, καὶ ἐνικήν. ἔστημεν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω, ὡς οἶόν τε
 ἦν, πρὸς ταῦτα.

1 τὸ] τοῖς.

6 οἶόν τε] οἰονται.

36. 7. οἱ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄγγελοι] Compare the 70 λόγοι projected by Sophia and her σύζυγος.

7, 8. δι' ὧν ὡς μεσιτῶν ἐσπάρη] There is a very close parallel to this in *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 53, ἔσχεν... ὑπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἐνσπαρὲν τὸ σπέρμα τὸ πνευματικὸν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, διαταγείς, φησὶ, δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου... δι' ἀγγέλων οὖν τῶν ἀρρένων τὰ σπέρματα ὑπηρετεῖται τὰ εἰς γένεσιν προβληθέντα. For διαταγείς Heinrici proposes διαταγέν (*Die Val. Gn.* p. 118), but we may regard it as a quotation.

9. κόπος] The description which follows is of the method, not the aim of the work: σκοπὸς therefore would not give the required sense.

12. τημελοῦσι] The reading of

Cod. Monacensis τῇ μέλουσιν may account for Huet's τῇ μέλλουσι (*ad marg.* τημελοῦσι) which Delarue, following his general custom, attributes to *Codex Regius*.

37. 2. ἐξείληφε] The following double constructions are found with ἐκλαμβάνειν: (1) accusative followed by ἐπὶ with the genitive, τὸν θερισμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξείληφε τῶν πιστευόντων (Fr. 32), (2) accusative followed by ἀντὶ τοῦ or τουτέστι as in this fragment, (3) accusative or quoted nominative followed by accusative, ἐξείληφε πάντα τὸν κόσμον κ.τ.λ. (Fr. 1), cf. also Fr. 47.

4. πολλοὶ] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 56, οὐ πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ψυχικοὶ, σπάνιοι δὲ οἱ πνευματικοί.

38. *Ibid.* xiii. 51 (R. IV. 265; L. II. 103).

Jo. iv. 40.

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέων εἰς τοὺς τόπους ταῦτά φησιν, Παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔμεινε καὶ οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς· καὶ δύο ἡμέρας, ἧτοι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα αἰῶνα, καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τὸν ἐν γάμῳ, ἢ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ χρόνον, καὶ τὸν μετὰ τὸ πάθος, ὃν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσας, πολλῶ πλείονας διὰ 5 τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιστρέψας εἰς πίστιν, ἐχωρίσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν αὐτοῦ παρατήρησιν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, ὅτι

Mt. xxviii. 20.

ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τό Ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν Ἐν ὑμῖν εἰμι. ἔτι δὲ λέγων τὰς δύο 10 ἡμέρας ἧτοι τοῦτον τὸν αἰῶνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, ἢ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὸν μετὰ τὸ πάθος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐπερχομένους αἰῶνας μετὰ τὸν μέλλοντα νενόηκεν, περὶ ὧν

Eph. ii. 7.

φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἴνα ἐνδείξηται ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς ἐπερχομένοις· οὔτε ὁρᾷ ὅτι οὐ μόνον Πρὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ Μετὰ 15 τὸ πάθος σύνεστι τοῖς ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οὐ χωρίζεται. αἰεὶ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐστι, μηδεπώποτε καταλείπων αὐτούς, ὥστε καὶ

Gal. ii. 20.

λέγειν αὐτούς Ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός.

5 ὄν] ὁ.

12 τὸν μετὰ τὸ πάθος] om. τὸν.

13 μέλλοντα] μέλλον.

17 ἀλλὰ] om.

οὐ] om.

38. 15, 16. καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος] The ἀλλὰ, which is absent from both *Cod. Monacensis* and *Cod. Venetus*, but has been independently inserted before these words by each of their descendants *Regius* and *Bodleianus*, has been accepted by the editors, including *Hilgenfeld*. But though after οὐ μόνον an ἀλλὰ is required, this is not the right place for it. *Heracleon* has admitted that Christ is with them πρὸ τοῦ πάθους and μετὰ τὸ πάθος also, but has not seen that even after this there has been no χωρισμός, for (*Origen* says)

αἰεὶ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐστίν. The ἀλλὰ must therefore be inserted before καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο. *Hilgenfeld's* insertion of οὐ before χωρίζεται is of course necessary, unless indeed we can regard the words μετὰ τοῦτο χωρίζεται as a continuation of the quotation of *Heracleon's* words, and so negatived by the οὐ μόνον, but the sentence would then be very awkward. This is not the only instance where a negative has probably dropped out. Cf. [μὴ] ἐν τῇ πόλει (*Frag.* 27).

39. *Ibid.* xiii. 52 (R. IV. 267 ; L. II. 108).

Ἡρακλέων δὲ ἀπλούστερον ἐκλαβὼν τὸ Οὐκέτι διὰ τὴν Jo. iv. 42.
 CΗΝ ΛΑΛΙΑΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΜΕΝ ΦΗΣΙ ΛΕΪΠΕΙΝ Τὸ ΜΟΝΗΝ· ἔτι μὲν γὰρ
 πρὸς τὸ Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκηκόαμεν, καὶ οἶδαμεν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ
 Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου φησὶν Οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 5 ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὀδηγούμενοι πιστεύουσι τῷ Σωτῆρι,
 ἐπὶ δὲ ἐντύχῳσι τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, οὗτοι οὐκέτι
 διὰ μόνην ἀνθρωπίνην μαρτυρίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν πιστεύουσιν.

40. *Ibid.* xiii. 59 (R. IV. 274 ; L. II. 123).

Ἔοικε δὲ βασιλικὸν ὁ Ἡρακλέων λέγειν τὸν Δημιουργὸν,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν· διὰ δὲ
 τὸ μικρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόσκαιρον εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν,
 φησὶ, βασιλικὸς ὠνομάσθη, οἷονεὶ μικρὸς τις βασιλεὺς
 5 ὑπὸ καθολικοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένος ἐπὶ μικρᾶς
 βασιλείας· τὸν δὲ ἐν Καφαρναοῦμ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διηγεῖται
 τὸν ἐν τῷ ὑποβεβηκότι μέρει τῆς μεσότητος τῷ πρὸς
 θάλασσαν, τουτέστι τῷ συνημμένῳ τῇ ὕλῃ, καὶ λέγει ὅτι
 Ὁ ἴδιος αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἀσθενῶν, τουτέστιν οὐ κατὰ
 10 φύσιν ἔχων, ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἁμαρτήμασιν ἦν· εἶτα τό

4 φησὶ] φησὶν τὴν βασιλείαν.

10 ἀγνοία] ἀγνοία.

39. 3. ὅτι οὗτος] For the omission of ἀληθῶς see Tischendorf *in loc.*

5. With the idea of human mediation suggested here, cf. *Exc. ex Theod.* § 58, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὁμοιοῦντα.

40. 4. φησὶ] The error of *Cod. Monac.* in repeating τὴν βασιλείαν after φησὶ led to the omission of φησὶ in *Cod. Regius*, and consequently in the Editions. It is also independently omitted in *Cod. Bodelianus*, for *Cod. Venetus* has retained it.

5. καθολικός] Cf. *Excerpt. ex Theod.* § 47, where ὁ Σωτὴρ is described as δημιουργὸς καθολικός.

7. μεσότητος] The μεσότης here is clearly the same as the τόπος [μεσότητος] of Hippolytus, *Refut.* vi. 32, called also ἐβδομάς. In the lower part of this, which is most deeply involved in ὕλη, here represented by Capernaum, the ἴδιος υἱός lies. In connexion with Origen's interpretation of the βασιλικός as representing Abraham, it is interesting to notice Hippolytus, *Refut.* vi. 34, προέβαλε καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς ψυχᾶς· αὕτη γὰρ οὐσία ψυχῶν· οὗτός ἐστι κατ' αὐτοῦς Ἄβρααμ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἄβρααμ τὰ τέκνα. Heracleon might have accepted Origen's interpretation of the βασιλικός and his son.

- Jo. iv. 54. Ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν
 Jo. iv. 47. Ἰουδαίας. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ ὅπως εἰς τὸ Ἡμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν
 κινηθεὶς οἶεται ἀνατρέπεσθαι τὰ δόγματα τῶν ὑποτι-
 θεμένων ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμ-
 Mt. x. 28. βάλλεσθαι ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὸ Ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπόλλυσθαι 15
 ἐν γέννη. καὶ οὐκ ἀθάνατόν γε εἶναι ἠγεῖται τὴν ψυχὴν
 ὁ Ἡρακλέων, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχουσαν πρὸς σωτηρίαν,
 1 Cor. xv. αὐτὴν λέγων εἶναι τὸ ἐνδύομενον ἀφθαρσίαν φθαρτόν,
 53, 54. καὶ ἀθανασίαν θνητόν, ὅταν καταποθῆ ὁ θάνατος αὐτῆς
 Cf. Is. xxv. εἰς νίκος. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὸ Ἐὰν μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα 20
 8. ἴδητε οὐ μὴ πιστεύχητε λέγεσθαι φησὶν οἰκείως πρὸς τὸ
 Jo. iv. 48. τοιοῦτον πρόσωπον, δι' ἔργων φύσιν ἔχον καὶ δι' αἰ-
 σθήσεως πείθεσθαι, καὶ οὐχὶ λόγῳ πιστεύειν. τὸ δέ
 Jo. iv. 49. Κατάβηθι, πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν τὸ παιδίον μου διὰ τὸ τέλος εἶναι
 Cf. Rom. τοῦ νόμου τὸν θάνατον εἰρῆσθαι νομίζει, ἀναιροῦντος 25
 vi. 21. διὰ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν πρὶν τελέως οὔν, φησὶ, θανατωθῆναι
 κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, δεῖται ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ μόνου Σω-

20 νίκος] νείκος.

11, 12. ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν Ἰουδαίας] *Cod. Monac.* has the true reading τῆς, though all its descendants have erred. For the phrase, cf. *Frag.* 13, where the ψυχικός τόπος, represented by Ἱεροσόλυμα, is said to be an εἰκὼν of Ἱερουσαλήμ, i.e. ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ. See also *Hipp. Refut.* vi. 32, where the Ogdoad is called Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπουράνιος.

15, 16. The text is the reading of *Monac.* and *Ven.* The Syrian reading has been adopted by the descendants.

16 ff. Heracleon's language with regard to the immortality of the soul vividly recalls *Hipp. Refut.* vi. 32, θνητὴ τις ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, μεσότης τις οὔσα· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἑβδομάς καὶ κατάπανσις..... Ἐὰν οὖν ἐξομοιωθῆ τοῖς ἄνω, τῇ ὀγδοάδι, ἀθάνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ὀγδοάδα, ἣτις ἐστὶ, φησὶν, Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπουράνιος, ἐὰν δὲ ἐξομοιωθῆ τῇ ὕλῃ, τουτέστι τοῖς πάθεσι

τοῖς ὑλικοῖς, φθαρτὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπόλλυται (MS. ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπώλετο). It should be noticed that this is one of the passages where by the use of φησὶ and λέγει Hippolytus shews that he is quoting from a single document. Cf. also *Excerpt. ex Theod.* 56, τὸ δὲ ψυχικόν, ἀντεξούσιον ὃν ἐπιτηδειότητα ἔχει πρὸς τὴν πίστιν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν καὶ φθοράν.

22, 23. It may be well, in view of the extremely difficult criticisms of Origen on Heracleon's interpretation of this whole passage, to state what appears to be Heracleon's position so far as it can be gathered. He seems to have affirmed that ψυχὴ is τὸ φθαρτόν τὸ ἐνδύομενον ἀφθαρσίαν. Its death comes διὰ τὸ τέλος εἶναι τοῦ νόμου τὸν θάνατον, ἀναιροῦντος διὰ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, for of course the children of the Demiurge are under the Law.

τῆρος, ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ υἱῷ, τουτέστι τῇ τοιαῦδε φύσει.
 πρὸς τούτοις τό 'Ο γίός σου ζη κατὰ ἀτυφίαν εἰρῆσθαι Jo. iv. 50.
 30 τῷ Σωτῆρι ἐξείληφεν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶπε Ζήτω οὐδὲ ἐνέφηγεν
 αὐτὸς παρεσχῆσθαι τὴν ζωὴν. λέγει δὲ ὅτι Καταβάς
 πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα καὶ ἰασάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς νόσου,
 τουτέστι τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀφέσεως ζωο-
 ποιήσας εἶπεν 'Ο γίός σου ζη· καὶ ἐπιλέγει πρὸς τό 'Επί- Jo. iv. 53.
 35 στεγσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· ὅτι Εὐπιστος καὶ ὁ Δημιουργός
 ἐστιν, ὅτι δύναται ὁ Σωτῆρ καὶ μὴ παρὼν θεραπεύειν.
 Δούλοϋς δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐξείληφε τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ
 Δημιουργοῦ, ἀπαγγέλλοντας ἐν τῷ 'Ο παῖς σου ζη
 ὅτι οἰκείως καὶ κατὰ τρόπον ἔχει, πράσσων μηκέτι
 40 τὰ ἀνοίκεια. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νομίζει ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ
 βασιλικῷ τοὺς δούλους τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ σωτη-
 ρίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρῶτους οἴεται βλέπειν τὰς πράξεις
 τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀγγέλους, εἰ ἐρρω-
 μένως καὶ εἰλικρινῶς πολιτεύοιντο ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ
 45 Σωτῆρος ἐπιδημίας. ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἑβδομὴν ὥραν λέγει
 ὅτι Διὰ τῆς ὥρας χαρακτηρίζεται ἡ φύσις τοῦ ἰαθέν-
 τος. ἐπὶ πᾶσι τό 'Επίστεγσεν αὐτός καὶ ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ὅλη
 διηγῆσατο ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς εἰρῆσθαι τάξεως, καὶ
 ἀνθρώπων τῶν οἰκειοτέρων αὐτῷ. ζητεῖσθαι δὲ φησι
 50 περὶ τινῶν ἀγγέλων, εἰ σωθήσονται, τῶν κατελθόντων
 ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θυγατέρας. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων Gen. vi. 2.
 δὲ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν δηλοῦσθαι νομίζει
 ἐν τῷ Οἱ γιοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξελεύσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐζώ- Mt. viii.
 12.
 55 τερων. καὶ περὶ τούτων τὸν 'ΗΣαΐαν προφητεύειν τό
 Υἱός ἐγέννησα καὶ ἴψωσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν, οὐστinas γίους Is. i. 2.
 Cf. Is. i. 4.
 ἀλλοτρίους καὶ σπέρμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἄνομον καλεῖ καὶ
 ἀμπελῶνα ἀκάνθας ποιήσαντα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ 'Ηρα- Cf. Is. v.
 1, 2.
 κλέωνος, ἄπερ τολμηρότερον καὶ ἀσεβέστερον εἰρημένα ἐχρῆν
 μετὰ πολλῆς κατασκευῆς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, εἴπερ ἦν ἀληθῆ. οὐκ
 60 οἶδα δὲ πῶς καὶ περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς ἀπιστεῖ, μὴ ἐκλαβῶν

39 ἔχει] ἔχειν.

51 ἀνθρώπων] bis.

59 ἀποδεδεῖχθαι] ἀποδεδεχθαι.

35. εὐπιστος] On this point the
 Valentinians seem to have been
 agreed. See Hipp. Refut. vi. 36;

Irenaeus i. vii. 4.

37. For the angels of the Demi-
 urge cf. Excerpt. ex Theod. § 47.

πόσα σημαίνεται ἐκ τῆς θάνατος φωνῆς. καθορῶντα γὰρ ἔδει τὸ σημαινόμενον μετ' ἐπισκέψεως καὶ ἀκριβείας ἰδεῖν εἰ κατὰ πάντα τὰ σημαινόμενα θνητὴ ἐστίν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι δεκτικὴ ἁμαρτίας, ψυχὴ δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτάνουσα αὐτὴ ἀποθανεῖται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐροῦμεν αὐτὴν θνητὴν. εἰ δὲ τὴν παντελεῆ διάλυσιν 65 καὶ ἐξαφανισμόν αὐτῆς θάνατον νομίζει, ἡμεῖς οὐ προσησόμεθα, οὐδὲ μέχρι ἐπινοίας ἰδεῖν δυνάμενοι οὐσίαν θνητὴν μεταβάλλουσαν εἰς ἀθάνατον καὶ φύσιν φθαρτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀφθαρτον· ὅμοιον γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ λέγειν μεταβάλλειν τι ἀπὸ σώματος εἰς ἀσώματον, ὡς ὑποκειμένου τινὸς κοινού τῆς τῶν 70 σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων φύσεως, ὅπερ μένει ὡσπερ μένειν φασὶ τὸ ὑλικὸν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ, τῶν ποιοτήτων μεταβαλλουσῶν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν. οὐ ταῦτόν δέ ἐστι τὴν φθαρτὴν φύσιν ἐνδύεσθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ τὴν φθαρτὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλειν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς θνητῆς 75 λεκτέον, οὐ μεταβαλλούσης μὲν εἰς ἀθανασίαν, ἐνδύομένης δὲ αὐτὴν. ἔτι ἐπέειπερ τὴν ψυχικὴν φύσιν ὥθη δι' ἔργων καὶ αἰσθήσεως πείθεσθαι οὐχὶ δὲ λόγων, πευσόμεθα αὐτοῦ περὶ Παύλου ποίας φύσεως ἦν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πνευματικῆς, πῶς διὰ τῆς τεραστίου ἐπιφανείας πεπίστευκεν; εἰ δ' 80 οὐκ ἄλλως ἐδύνατο πιστεύειν ἢ διὰ τῆς τεραστίου ἐπιφανείας ἀκολουθεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι ψυχικόν. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἀσεβὲς τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ θεωρεῖν τὸ ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὸ εἰλικρινὲς τῆς πολιτείας τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος βελτιωθέντων, καὶ παρὰ 85 τὸ ἐναργὲς τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ λόγου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν γραφὴν τὴν λέγουσαν Εἰ κρυβήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐν κρυφάοις

61 καθορῶντα] καθαραντα. 79, 80 πνευματικῆς] πνευματικῆ. πῶς] ὅπως.
80, 81 τεραστίου] τεραστείου. 83 οὐκ] καὶ.

61. καθορῶντα] Though the following criticisms of Origen contain no new matter of Heracleon, the whole chapter must be examined together. I have therefore thought it better to print it in full. The criticisms are not easy to follow. So far as he has stated Heracleon's views, the confutation of μεταβάλλειν εἰς ἀθανασίαν is not to the point, for

Heracleon has only made use of such expressions as ἐνδύεσθαι ἀθανασίαν κ.τ.λ. which Origen allows to be οὐ ταῦτόν. For Origen's argument with regard to μεταβάλλειν see Aristotle, *Met.* A. 2 (1069 b), οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία μεταβάλλει. ἔτι τὸ μὲν ὑπομένει, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον οὐχ ὑπομένει· ἔστιν ἄρα τι τρίτον παρὰ τὰ ἐναντία, ἡ ὕλη.

Ez. xviii.
4.

Jer. xxiii.
24.

καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ὄψομαι αὐτόν; καὶ Κύριος ἐτάζων νεφροῦς καὶ καρδίας, Ps. vii. 10.
καὶ Κύριος γινώσκων τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Ps. xciii.
90 ὡς μάταιοι; πῶς δὲ σώσει καὶ τὸ Ὅ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν (xciv.) 11.
γενέσεως αὐτῶν; ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον † ἢ φύσις χαρακτηρί- Hist.
ζεται τοῦ ἰαθέντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῆς ὥρας εἴη Susann.
φύσις τῆς ἰάσεως γινομένη † τῷ οἰκείῳ τῇ ἀναπαύσει ἀριθ- 42.
μῷ. τὸ δὲ διαφθορὰς εἶναι ψυχικῶν, ἐπὶ τέλει ὧν ἐξεθέ-
95 μεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένων ἀναγεγραμμένον, ὁμωνυμία χρω-
μένου ἐστὶ, καὶ ἑτέραν φύσιν εἰσάγοντος τετάρτην, ὅπερ οὐ
βούλεται.

41. *Ibid.* xix. 3 (R. IV. 296; L. II. 167).

Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων, ἐκθέμενος τὴν περὶ τοῦ γαζο- Cf. Jo.
φυλακίου λέξιν, οὐδὲν εἶπεν εἰς αὐτήν. εἰς δὲ τὸ Ὅποῦ ἐγὼ viii. 12 ff.
ἵπᾳ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν φησί Πῶς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ Jo. viii. 21.
ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ ἀμαρτήμασιν ὄντες ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ δύνα-
5 ται γενέσθαι; μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ κατακούων ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ γὰρ οἱ
ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ ἀμαρτήμασιν ὄντες ἐν

3 φησί] φησι γὰρ.

91. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον. Heracleon's own remark on the hour is simple and obvious, when compared with Hippolytus, *Refut.* (ψυχὴ) ἐστὶν ἑβδομαὶ καὶ κατάπανσις. τοῦ ἰαθέντος is equivalent to τοῦ ψυχικοῦ. Whether Origen understood this or not is uncertain, as his criticism is obscured by hopeless corruption in the text. Delarue's *ei ἢ φύσις χαρακτηρίζεται* comes from *Cod. Ven.*, but leaves the sentence impossible and unintelligible. It is tempting to suppose that a good deal of the sentence may have been erroneously inserted from the statement of Heracleon's view above, and that Origen may have written some simple sentence such as *ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ φύσις χαρακτηρίζεται τοῦ ἰαθέντος, τῷ οἰκείῳ τῇ*

ἀναπαύσει ἀριθμῷ, but the stages of corruption could not be traced. All is dark, and we can scarcely hope for light.

96. *ἑτέραν φύσιν*] A reference probably to Origen's argument with regard to *μεταβάλλειν*. Heracleon would recognize three *φύσεις*, *πνευματικὴ*, *ψυχικὴ*, *ὕλική*. The *διαφθορὰ ψυχικοῦ* cannot take place unless we assume *ἕτερον ὑποκείμενον* which remains while the *ποιότητες* change. This would be to introduce a fourth *φύσις*.

41. 4. *ἀπιστία*] Cf. *Excerpt. ex Theod.* § 56, quoted above, p. 92.

6. *ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ*] Hilgenfeld's statement that these words are omitted in *Cod. Regius* appears to originate in the fact that in line 7 it omits

ἀφθαρσία οὐ δύνανται γενέσθαι, πῶς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν ἀγνοία ποτὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπιστία καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γινόμενοι ἐν ἀφθαρσία γέγονασι; δύνανται οὖν οἱ ἐν ἀγνοία καὶ ἐν ἀπιστία καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γινόμενοι γενέσθαι ἐν 10 ἀφθαρσία, εἰ μεταβάλλοιεν, δυνατόν αὐτοὺς μεταβαλεῖν.

42. *Ibid.* xix. 4 (R. IV. 302; L. II. 180).

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων μέντοιγε ὡς ἀπλούστερον εἰρημένου τοῦ
 Jo. viii. 22. Μῆτι ἀποκτενεῖ ἐλάτῳ φησὶν ὅτι Πονηρῶς διαλογιζόμενοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ταῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ μείζονας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποφαινόμενοι τοῦ Σωτῆρος, καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπελεύσονται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν 5 αἰώνιον, ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ εἰς φθορὰν καὶ εἰς θάνατον, ἑαυτὸν διαχειρισάμενος, ὅπου ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἐλογίζοντο ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι φησὶν ὅτι Ὡντο λέγειν τὸν Σωτῆρα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἑμαυτὸν διαχειρισάμενος εἰς φθορὰν μέλλω πορεύεσθαι, ὅπου ὑμεῖς 10 οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ πῶς κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα
 Jo. viii. 12. Ἐγὼ εἶμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ἣν λέγειν ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἑμαυτὸν διαχειρισάμενος εἰς φθορὰν μέλλω πορεύεσθαι. ἐὰν δέ τις λέγῃ μὴ τὸν Σωτῆρα ταῦτα εἰρηκέσαι τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους αὐτὸ ὑπονενοηκέσαι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐρεῖ τοὺς Ἰου- 15 δαίους πεφρονηκέσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι φθείρονται οἱ ἑαυτοὺς διαχειρισάμενοι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐποίει ταῦτα πιστεύων φθαρήσεσθαι καὶ κολασθήθεσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν κατὰ πάντα ἡλίθιον.

15 αὐτὸ] αὐτῶ.

18, 19 κατὰ πάντα ἡλίθιον] κατηλίθιον.

the ἐν of ἐν ἀγνοία, a fact which Delarue notices.

The importance of this fragment consists in the fact that Heracleon's interpretation depends on his fundamental error as to φύσις and κατασκευή (see Frag. 17), to which Origen so often rightly takes exception (cf. Fragments 17, 33).

42. 1. ἀπλούστερον] This is not the only case in which Origen's love of

ἀναγωγή has led him into a captious criticism of Heracleon. Cf. Fr. 30, ἀγγελικὴν τινα δύναμιν κ.τ.λ.

5. ἀνάπαυσις] For the doctrine of ἀνάπαυσις cf. Irenaeus i. 7. 1; *Excerpt. ex Theod.* §§ 63, 86.

18, 19. κατὰ πάντα ἡλίθιον] As there is no authority for the form κατηλίθιον, I have retained the conjecture of *Cod. Venetus*.

43. *Ibid.* xx. 8 (R. IV. 316; L. II. 211).

Πυνθανοίμεθα δ' ἂν τῶν τὰς φύσεις εἰσαγόντων, καὶ εἰς
 τό Ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόντων κατὰ Jo. viii. 37.
 Ἑρακλέωνα ὅτι Διὰ τοῦτο οὐ χωρεῖ, ὅτι ἀνεπιτήδαιοι,
 ἦτοι κατ' οὐσίαν, ἢ κατὰ γνώμην, πῶς οἱ ἀνεπιτήδαιοι
 5 κατ' οὐσίαν ἤκουσαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς; ἀλλὰ καὶ πότερον Jo. viii. 38.
 ποτε πρόβατα οὗτοι ἦσαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ ἀλλότριοι ὑπῆρχον
 αὐτοῦ; εἰ δὲ ἦσαν ἀλλότριοι, πῶς ἤκουσαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς,
 σαφῶς, ὡς οἴονται, λεγομένου πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ὅτι Διὰ Jo. viii. 47.
 τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀκούετε, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τῶν Jo. x. 26.
 10 ἐμῶν; εἰ μὴ ἄρα θλιβόμενοι ἐτέρῳ ἀτόπῳ ἑαυτοὺς περι-
 βάλλουσι, λέγοντες παρὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκηκοέναι τοὺς
 ἀλλοτρίους, μὴ ἀκούειν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους παρὰ τοῦ
 Σωτῆρος. εἰ δ' οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἦσαν καὶ τῆς μακαρίας
 φύσεως, πῶς ἐζητοῦν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι; καὶ πῶς ὁ τοῦ Σω-
 15 τῆρος λόγος οὐκ ἐχώρει ἐν αὐτοῖς;

10 ἑαυτοὺς] ^ῶ ἑαυτοὺς (sic).

12 παρὰ] περι.

44. *Ibid.* xx. 18 (R. IV. 332; L. II. 240).

Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἑρακλέων ὑπολαμβάνει Αἰτίαν ἀποδίδο-
 σθαι τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἀκούειν τὸν Ἰησοῦ λόγον, Jo. viii. 43.
 μηδὲ γινώσκειν αὐτοῦ τὴν λαλίαν ἐν τῷ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ
 πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὲ. αὐταῖς γοῦν λέξεσι φησι Δι-
 5 ατί δὲ οὐ δύνασθε ἀκούειν τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμὸν; ἢ ὅτι
 ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐκ Jo. viii. 44.
 τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ διαβόλου; φανερῶν αὐτοῖς λοιπὸν

2 Ἰησοῦ] Ἰν.

43. 4. κατὰ γνώμην] See below, Frag. 46.

8, 9. The words Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀκούετε are quoted in Tischendorf's digest on John x. 26 from this passage: there is no other authority for them, as forming part of the text of

that verse.

44. 5, 6. There are traces of corruption. Probably λέγει has dropped out somewhere, in consequence of the φησι, without it the ἀντὶ τοῦ can hardly stand.

τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ προελέγξας αὐτούς, ὅτι οὔτε τοῦ Ἀβραάμ εἰσι τέκνα, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐμίσουν αὐτόν, οὔτε τοῦ θεοῦ, διὸ οὐκ ἠγάπων αὐτόν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τό 10 Ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὲ ἐξεδέξατο ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω διηγησάμεθα, καὶ ἔλεγε Διὰ τὸ ἔτι ὑμᾶς εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου, Οὐ δύνασθε ἀκοῦειν τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμὸν, κἂν παρεδεξάμεθα αὐτοῦ τὴν διήγησιν. νυνὶ δὲ δῆλός ἐστιν ὁμοουσίους τινὰς τῷ διαβόλῳ λέγων ἀνθρώπους, ἐτέρας, ὡς οἴονται οἱ 15 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐσίας τυγχάνοντι παρ' οὓς καλοῦσι ψυχικοὺς ἢ πνευματικοὺς.

10 οὔτε] οὐδὲ.

13, 14 παρεδεξάμεθα] παραδεξάμεθα.

15 οἴονται] οιοντε.

45. *Ibid.* xx. 20 (R. IV. 337; L. II. 250).

Εἰς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων φησὶ Πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ διαβόλου ἦσαν, ὡς ἐτέρας οὔσης τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου οὐσίας παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀγίων λογικῶν οὐσίαν. ὅμοιον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μοι πεπονθέναι φαίνεται τῷ ἐτέραν οὐσίαν φάσκοντι ὀφθαλμοῦ παρορῶντος καὶ ἐτέραν ὀρῶντος. 5

46. *Ibid.* xx. 20 (R. IV. 339; L. II. 253).

Jo. viii. 44. Τοσαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέωνος λόγον εἰπόντος τό Ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ

10. οὐδὲ must probably be altered to οὔτε.

45. 1, 2. ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ διαβόλου] With this and the preceding fragment we must compare Hipp. *Refut.* vi. 34, ἐκ τῆς ὑλικῆς οὖν καὶ διαβολικῆς ἐποίησεν ὁ Δημιουργὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα, and ὁ ὑλικὸς, φθαρτὸς, ἀτέλειος, ἐκ τῆς διαβολικῆς οὐσίας πεπλασμένος. The close connection of ὑλικῆ and διαβολικῆ is exactly reproduced in these fragments of Heracleon, where the διαβολικῆ is contrasted with the πνευματικῆ and ψυχικῆ, as a third

class, different in kind. It thus takes the place usually assigned to the ὑλικῆ. See also Irenaeus, and *Excerpta ex Theod.* 48.

3. λογικῶν οὐσίαν] Cf. Hippolytus's account of the projection of the 70 λόγοι. It is not necessary to alter the ms. reading, but it is very probably an error of assimilation (due to the preceding genitive), for λογικῆν.

46. 2, 3. τοῦ διαβόλου] This seems the only reading that will make sense. The τοῦ πατρὸς of the ms. is doubtless due to the preceding ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς.

διαβόλου εἰρήσθω. πάλιν εἰς τό τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἡμῶν θέλετε ποιεῖν διαστέλλεται, λέγων Τὸν διάβολον μὴ
 5 ἔχειν θέλημα, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίας. καὶ ἐμφαίνεται αὐτόθεν
 τὸ ἀδιανόητον τοῦ λόγου· θέλειν γὰρ τὰ πονηρὰ πᾶς ἂν τις
 ὁμολογήσαι ἐκείνον. συνάξεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 παρόντος ἐν προχείρῳ οὐκ ἔχομεν παραθέσθαι, εἴ που ἐν τῇ
 γραφῇ τὸ θέλειν ἐπὶ τοῦ διαβόλου τέτακται. Μετὰ ταῦτά
 10 φησιν ὁ Ἡρακλέων ὡς ἄρα Ταῦτα εἴρηται οὐ πρὸς τοὺς
 φύσει τοῦ διαβόλου υἱοὺς τοὺς χοϊκοὺς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 τοὺς ψυχικοὺς, θέσει υἱοὺς διαβόλου γινομένους, ἀφ'
 ὧν τῇ φύσει δύνανται τινες καὶ θέσει υἱοὶ θεοῦ χρη-
 ματίσαι. καὶ φησί γε ὅτι Παρὰ τὸ ἡγαπηκένας τὰς
 15 ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ ποιεῖν τέκνα οὗτοι τοῦ
 διαβόλου γίνονται, οὐ φύσει τοιοῦτοι ὄντες. καὶ δια-
 στέλλεται ὡς ἄρα Τριχῶς δεῖ ἀκούειν τῆς κατὰ τέκνα
 ὀνομασίας, πρῶτον φύσει, δεῦτερον γνώμη, τρίτον
 ἀξία. καὶ φύσει μὲν, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ὑπὸ τινος
 20 γεννητοῦ, ὃ καὶ κυρίως τέκνον καλεῖται· γνώμη δὲ,
 ὅτε τὸ θέλημά τις ποιῶν τινος διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην,
 τέκνον ἐκείνου οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ θέλημα καλεῖται· ἀξία
 δὲ καθ' ὃ λέγονται τινες Γεέννης τέκνα καὶ σκότους Cf. Mt.
 καὶ ἀνομίας, καὶ ὄφρων καὶ ἐχιδνῶν Γεννήματα· οὐ xxiii. 15,
 25 γὰρ γεννᾷ, φησὶ, ταῦτα τινὰ τῇ ἑαυτῶν φύσει· φθορο-
 ποιὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀναλίσκοντα τοὺς ἐμβληθέντας εἰς
 αὐτὰ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔπραξαν τὰ ἐκείνων ἔργα τέκνα αὐ-
 τῶν εἴρηται. τοιαύτην δὲ διαστολὴν δεδωκῶς οὐδὲ καθ'
 ὅποσον ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν παρεμυθήσατο τὴν ἰδίαν διήγησιν.
 30 εἴπομεν δ' ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι εἰ μὴ φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀξία Γεέν-
 νης τέκνα ὀνομάζεται καὶ σκότους καὶ ἀνομίας, φθορο-

2, 3 τοῦ διαβόλου] τοῦ πατρὸς. 6 ἀδιανόητον] διανόητον. 8 ἔχομεν]
 ἔσχομεν (ut videtur). 23 λέγονται] λέγεται. 28, 29 καθ' ὅποσον] κατὰ
 τὸ πόσον. 30 ἀξία] ἀξίας.

6. ἀδιανόητον] This necessary cor-
 rection of his exemplar was made by
 the scribe of *Cod. Venetus*. *Cod.*
Regius retains the mistake.

23. λέγονται] Here again the scribe
 of *Cod. Ven.* has made a necessary
 alteration.

25. ταῦτα τινὰ] ταῦτα of course is
 subject, τινὰ object. Cf. below οὐχ
 ὅτι γεννᾷ τινὰς ὁ διάβολος. The in-
 scription of τοιαῦτα (*Cod. Venetus* after
 ταῦτα) is not necessary, though per-
 haps it simplifies the sentence.

- ποιὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἀναλίσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢπερ συνι-
 Eph. ii. 3. στάντα, πῶς ὁ Παῦλος φησί που τό "Ἡμεθα φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς
 ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ; ἢ λεγέτωσαν ἡμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναλωτικὸν
 καὶ μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν φθοροποιὸν ἢ ὀργῇ, ἧς τέκνα ἡμε- 35
 θα. πάλιν φησὶν ὅτι Τέκνα τοῦ διαβόλου νῦν λέγει
 τούτους, οὐχ ὅτι γεννᾷ τινὰς ὁ διάβολος, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου ποιοῦντες ὁμοιώθησαν αὐτῷ.
 πόσῳ δὲ βέλτιον περὶ πάντων τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου τέκνων
 Jo. viii. 41. τοῦτο ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ὡς ὁμοιουμένων αὐτῷ τῷ Ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα 40
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν
 χωρὶς ἔργων τέκνων διαβόλου χρηματιζόντων;

32, 33 συνιστάντα] συνισ^σ τα (sic).

35 ἢ ὀργῇ ἧς] ἢ ὀργης.

47. *Ibid.* xx. 22 (R. IV. 345; L. II. 264).

- Jo. viii. 44. 'Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τοῦ 'Εν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἔστηκεν ἀκούομεν
 οὐχ ὡς φύσιν τοιαύτην ἐμφαίνοντος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀδύνατον περὶ
 τοῦ ἔστηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ παριστάντες. ὁ δὲ 'Ηρα-
 κλέων εἰς ταῦτά φησι τό Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ φύσις
 ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἐκ 5
 πλάνης καὶ ἀγνοίας. διὸ, φησὶν, οὔτε στηῆναι ἐν ἀλη-
 θείᾳ οὔτε σχεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀλήθειαν δύναται, ἐκ τῆς
 αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἴδιον ἔχων τὸ ψεῦδος, φυσικῶς μὴ
 δυνάμενός ποτε ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν. λέγει δ' ὅτι Οὐ μόνος
 αὐτὸς ψεύστης ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἰδίως 10
 πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐκλαμβάνων τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶπερ
 ἐκ πλάνης καὶ ψεύσματος συνέστη. ταῦτα δὲ ὅλα
 ῥύεται τὸν διάβολον παντὸς ψόγου καὶ ἐγκλήματος καὶ
 μέμψεως· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εὐλόγως ἂν ψέξαι ἢ ἐγκαλέσαι ἢ μέμ-
 ψαιτο τῷ μὴ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα. ἀτυχῆς οὖν 15
 μᾶλλον ἢ ψεκτὸς ὁ διάβολος κατὰ τὸν 'Ηρακλέωνά ἐστιν.

2 οὐδὲ] οὔτε.
 (ut videtur).

14, 15 μέμψαιτο] μέμψαιτε τὸ.

16 ψεκτὸς] ψευκτὸς

35. ἢ ὀργῇ ἧς] This emendation satisfies the requirement of the context best, while it involves least al-

teration of the ms. reading.

41. κατασκευὴν] Cf. Frag. 33.

48. *Ibid.* xx. 30 (R. IV. 359 ; L. II. 290).

Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων τό "Ἐστιν ὁ ζητῶν καὶ κρίνων Jo. viii. 50.
 οὐκ ἀναφέρει ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα, τοιαῦτα λέγων· Ὁ ζητῶν καὶ
 κρίνων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκδικῶν με, ὁ ὑπηρέτης ὁ εἰς τοῦτο
 τεταγμένος, ὁ μὴ εἰκῆ τὴν μάχαιραν φορῶν, ὁ ἔκδικος Rom. xiii.
 5 τοῦ βασιλέως. Μωσῆς δέ ἐστὶν οὗτος, καθὰ προεί-^{4.}
 ρηκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων Εἰς ὃν ἕμεῖς ἠλπίζατε. εἶτ' ἐπι- Jo. v. 45.
 φέρει ὅτι Ὁ κρίνων καὶ κολάζων ἐστὶ Μωσῆς, του-
 τέστιν αὐτὸς ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐπαπορεῖ ὁ Ἡρακλέων λέγων· Πῶς οὖν οὐ λέγει τὴν
 10 κρίσιν πάσαν παραδεδόσθαι αὐτῷ; καὶ νομίζων λύειν
 τὴν ἀνθυποφορὰν ταῦτά φησι· Καλῶς λέγει, ὁ γὰρ κριτῆς
 ὡς ὑπηρέτης τὸ θέλημα τούτου ποιῶν κρίνει, ὡσπερ
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαίνεται γινόμενον. πῶς δὲ
 ἄλλω τινὶ ἀνατίθησι τὴν κρίσιν ὡς ὑποδεεστέρω τοῦ Σωτῆρος,
 15 καθ' ὃ νομίζει, τῷ Δημιουργῷ, οὐδ' οὕτω ἀποδείξαι δύναται,
 σαφῶς γεγραμμένου τοῦ Οὐδέ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ κρίνει οὐδένα ἀλλὰ Jo. v. 22.
 τὴν κρίσιν πάσαν δέδωκε τῷ γίῳ, καὶ τοῦ Ἐξοχίας ἐδωκεν Jo. v. 27.
 αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν, ὅτι γίος ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν.

5 οὗτος] οὕτως.

49. CLEM. ALEX. *Eclog. Prophet.* § 25, p. 995 (ed. Potter).

Ὁ Ἰωάννης φησὶν ὅτι Ἐγὼ μὲν ἕμας ἕδατι βαπτίζω, ἔρχεται Cf. Mt. iii.
 δέ μοι ὁπίσω ὁ βαπτίζων ἕμας ἐν πνεύματι καὶ πυρὶ. πυρὶ δὲ ^{11.}
 οὐδένα ἐβάπτισεν. ἔνιοι δὲ, ὡς φησὶν Ἡρακλέων, πυρὶ τὰ Le. iii. 16.
 ὄτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημήναντο, οὕτως ἀκούσαντες
 5 τὸ ἀποστολικόν.

4 κατεσημήναντο] κατεσημηνατο.

48. 6. ἠλπίζατε] No authority for the aorist in the text of S. John is quoted by Tischendorf.

15. τῷ Δημιουργῷ] Apparently Heracleon must have spoken of Moses as a type of the Demiurge. Origen has refuted more of Heracleon's comments, than he has quoted: unless,

indeed, we may see a reference to this identification in the words αὐτὸς ὁ νομοθέτης.

49. 1. It is not easy to determine how much of Heracleon is embodied in this section of Clement. It seems however probable that we should only assume a reference to a practice

50. CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* IV. 9, p. 595 (ed. Potter).Cf. Lc. xii.
8—11.

Τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον Ἡρακλέων, ὁ τῆς Οὐαλεν-
τίνου σχολῆς δοκιμώτατος, κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν Ὁμολογίαν
εἶναι τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πολιτείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν
φωνῇ. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐν φωνῇ ὁμολογία καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξου-
σιῶν γίνεται, ἢν μόνην, φησὶν, ὁμολογίαν ἡγοῦνται 5
εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, οὐχ ὑγιῶς. δύνανται δὲ ταύτην τὴν
ὁμολογίαν καὶ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ὁμολογεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδ'
εὐρεθήσεται οὗτος ὁ λόγος καθολικῶς εἰρημένος· οὐ
γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς
φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν καὶ ἐξῆλθον, ἐξ ὧν Ματθαῖος, Φί- 10
λιππος, Θωμᾶς, Λευὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. καὶ ἔστιν
ἢ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογία οὐ καθολικὴ, ἀλλὰ μερικὴ·
καθολικὴ δὲ, ἢν νῦν λέγει, τὴν ἐν ἔργοις καὶ πράξεσι
καταλλήλοις τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως. ἔπεται δὲ ταύτη
τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ ἢ μερικὴ ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν, ἐὰν δέη 15
καὶ ὁ λόγος αἰρῆ. ὁμολογήσει γὰρ οὗτος καὶ τῇ φωνῇ,
ὀρθῶς προομολογήσας πρότερον τῇ διαθέσει. καὶ
καλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογούντων, ἘΝ ἔμοι εἶπεν, ἐπὶ δὲ

1 τόπον] τρόπον.

mentioned by Heracleon. If not, the sentence which immediately follows in the *Eclogae* must be his citation of a divergent version of Matt. iii. 10. On the whole however it seems more natural to refer it to Clement himself, as also the remainder of the section, though it might possibly be regarded as containing Heracleonic doctrine. We can hardly therefore quote the continuation of this passage as proof that Heracleon read *διακαθάραι*.

For the text of Fragments 49 and 50 I have collated the Florence ms. of Clement's *Stromateis* and *Eclogae*, and noted its variants in the digest.

50. 1. Clement, after quoting this passage, expresses his approval of it, only remarking that Heracleon has

overlooked the fact that a confession which involves the penalty of death is a sufficient test of sincerity. The history of North Africa however may possibly justify Heracleon's opinion.

It may be well to state that we have no evidence, besides that contained in the words *τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον*, as to whether Heracleon wrote a Commentary on S. Luke. The ms. reading *τρόπον* is interesting, but, as in Clement a long quotation immediately precedes the words, it must be merely a scribe's error for *τόπον*.

11. Λευὶς] For the early distinction of Levi from Matthew, cf. Origen *c. Celsum* i. 62, unless indeed the reading mentioned there by Origen is a variant for *Θαδδαῖον* (Mc. iii. 18).

τῶν ἀρνούμενων, τό' Ἐμέ προσέθηκεν. οὔτοι γὰρ κἂν
 20 τῇ φωνῇ ὁμολογήσωσιν αὐτὸν, ἀρνοῦνται αὐτὸν τῇ
 πράξει μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες. μόνοι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμολο-
 γοῦσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁμολογία καὶ πράξει
 βιοῦντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐνειλημμένος
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχόμενος ὑπὸ τούτων. διόπερ ἀρνήσασθαι 2 Tim. ii.
 25 ἐλαττόν οὐδέποτε δύναται· ἀρνοῦνται δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὴ 13.
 ὄντες ἐν αὐτῷ. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν Ὁς ἀρνήσεται ἐν ἐμοὶ
 ἀλλ' Ἐμέ. οὐδεὶς γάρ ποτε ὦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀρνεῖται
 αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ Ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν σω-
 ζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐθνικῶν δὲ ὁμοίως, παρ' οἷς μὲν καὶ
 30 τῇ πολιτείᾳ, παρ' οἷς δὲ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ. διόπερ ἀρνή-
 σασθαι αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε δύναται, ἀρνοῦνται δὲ αὐτὸν
 οἱ μὴ ὄντες ἐν αὐτῷ. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλέων.

24 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς.

51. PHOTIUS *Ep.* 134 (ed. Rich. Montacutius), Ἰωάννη
 πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ τὸ ἐπίκλην Χρυσο-
 κέρη (*Ep.* 60, ed. Baletta).

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐφ' ὕβρει καὶ διαβολῇ τοῦ νόμου τό' Ἡ χάρις Jo. i. 17.
 δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια δι' Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς
 θεσμοῖς περιήρμωσεν. Ἡρακλέων γὰρ ἂν οὕτως εἴποι καὶ
 οἱ παῖδες Ἡρακλέωνος.

51. 1. I have given the full title, as πρωτοσπαθάριος is not sufficiently distinctive as a description of the recipient of an Epistle from Photius. The same letter is also found in his *Amphilochia*, 246.

3. This reference to Heraclion is

interesting, as extreme antagonism to the law does not seem to have been characteristic of him (see *Frag.* 20). Perhaps his followers may have developed this line of Gnosticism more than their master.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A. HERACLEON AND VALENTINUS.

The extant Fragments of Valentinus offer some points of comparison with those of Heracleon, especially with regard to language and terminology, which can be most conveniently discussed in an Additional Note. I follow the order in which these Fragments are given in Hilgenfeld's collection (*Ketzergeschichte*, p. 293), and have adopted his text where I quote from them. I have also given references to the pages of Potter's edition of Clement of Alexandria.

1. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II. 8, p. 448. Valentinus is speaking of the terror which came upon the Angels (of the Demiurge) at the utterances of the man whom they had created (*ἐκείνου τοῦ πλάσματος*). These were due to Him who had placed in man the seed of the higher essence (*διὰ τὸν ἀοράτως ἐν αὐτῷ σπέρμα δεδωκότα τῆς ἄνωθεν οὐσίας*). Compare Heracleon's explanation of the 'forty and six years' (Frag. 16), *τὴν ὕλην τουτέστι τὸ πλάσμα...τὸ ἐν τῷ ἐμφυσήματι σπέρμα*. Heracleon has retained the terminology of his master. With the Angels compare Frag. 36, *οἱ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄγγελοι, δι' ὧν ὡς μεσιτῶν ἐσπάρη καὶ ἀνετράφη*. Valentinus goes on to speak of an Ἄνθρωπος in whose name Adam was formed; this may perhaps throw some light on the important position assigned to Ἄνθρωπος in Heracleon's account of the two *υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (Frag. 35).

2. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II. 20, p. 488. The expulsion of 'every evil spirit' from the heart of man reminds us of Heracleon's interpretation of the words *Ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεται με* as being spoken *ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἐκβληθέντων καὶ ἀναλωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος δυνάμεων* (Frag. 14): and with the words *ἐνυβριζόντων ἐπιθυμίαις* compare Heracleon's description of the former life of the Samaritan woman, *ἐνυβριζομένη καὶ ἀθετουμένη καὶ ἐγκαταλειπομένη* (Frag. 18). On *πολλῶν δαιμόνων οἰκητήριον* see the note on Frag. 20 (p. 77).

3. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 7, p. 538. The Docetism of this Fragment should be compared with Heracleon's teaching on the *βρῶμα ἴδιον* of the Lord (Frag. 31), and the healing of the Ruler's son (Frag. 40); but the question of Heracleon's Docetism has been discussed in the Introduction (p. 46).

4. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. 13, p. 603. With *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* and the victory of its children over *φθορά*, compare Frag. 17 *αἰώνιος γὰρ ἢ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδέποτε φθειρομένη*. The distinction between *κόσμος* and *κτίσις* in the last sentence of Valentinus, *ὅταν γὰρ τὸν μὲν κόσμον λύητε, αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ καταλύησθε, κυριεύετε τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπάσης*, is explained by Frag. 20, where Heracleon speaks of the *κόσμος* as the world of the Devil, and connects *κτίσις* with the *κτίστης* or Demiurge, whom the Jews worshipped.

5. Clem. Alex. *ibid.* As this is the most important Fragment of Valentinus in the present connexion, it may be well to quote his words in full.

Ὅποσον ἐλάττων ἢ εἰκὼν τοῦ ζῶντος προσώπου, τοσοῦτον ἦσων ὁ κόσμος τοῦ ζῶντος αἰῶνος. τίς οὖν αἰτία τῆς εἰκόνης; μεγαλωσύνη τοῦ προσώπου παρεσχημένου τῷ ζωγράφῳ τὸν τύπον, ἵνα τιμηθῇ δι' ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἀύθεντικῶς εὐρέθη μορφή, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπλήρωσεν τὸ ὑστερήσαν ἐν πλάσει. συνεργεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀόρατον εἰς πίστιν τοῦ πεπλασμένου.

Here ὁ κόσμος is used in its wider sense. The meaning of the Fragment must be that as the likeness is inferior to the living person, so is the world (created by the Demiurge) less than the living Aeon. The greatness of the archetype is the cause of the copy; and the 'name' of the archetype supplies what is deficient in the copy. The use of αἰὼν, contrasted with κόσμος, recalls Heracleon's usage of the word, as equivalent to the Pleroma, or more generally, the spiritual sphere; see Fragg. 1, 18 and 22. Compare especially the phrases in 22, ὁ ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντες and ἐπεὶ περ εἰκόνας οὗτοι (sc. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) τῶν ἐν τῷ πληρώματι αὐτῷ εἶναι νομίζονται.

The terminology which Clement uses in his explanation of this Fragment of Valentinus is of more importance. His interpretation of it appears to be as follows; ἡ εἰκὼν = the Demiurge, Sophia's πλάσμα created to give glory to the Father: τὸ ζῶν πρόσωπον = the Father, the True God: ζωγράφος = Sophia. [As the Demiurge is inferior to the Father, so is the κόσμος to the living Aeon.] The Demiurge is an εἰκὼν (of the Father) as being ἀπὸ ἐνός, the production of Sophia. The offspring of a συζυγία are not εἰκόνας but πληρώματα (cf. *Excerpta ex Theod.* § 32). The next sentence is hardly intelligible. But the words τὸ ἐμφύσημα τοῦ διαφέροντος πνεύματος, ἡ ἐκ μεσότητος ψυχῆ, and ὁ ἐμπνεῖται τῇ ψυχῇ, shew great similarity of substance with the teaching of Frag. 16; and the use of πλήρωμα immediately recalls Heracleon's use of it to represent the 'husband' of the Samaritan woman (Frag. 18). It is impossible to tell whether Clement has made use of the writings of Valentinus in his explanation of that part of them which he quotes, and apparently misunderstands. But if it is so, some of Heracleon's most peculiar terminology was derived from his master.

6. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 6, p. 767. Beyond the implied restriction of ἡ ἐκκλησία to the πνευματικοί (cf. Frag. 25 etc.) this Fragment offers no further points for comparison, and the same is the case with the remaining Fragments of Valentinus.

Thus a detailed comparison of the language used by Heracleon and Valentinus reveals linguistic affinities which thoroughly agree with the supposition adopted in the Introduction (p. 38) that Heracleon did not materially alter the system of Valentinus.

B. THE EXCERPTA EX THEODOTO.

When I was in Florence last December (1890), I made use of the opportunity to collate the two Fragments of Heracleon which are contained in the *Stromateis* and *Eclogae Propheticae* of Clement, and also the whole of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*. As I have had occasion to quote the *Excerpta* frequently in my notes I have thought it worth while to append in an additional note the few variants which Dindorf has

not noticed in his digest. But he has either adopted in his text or noticed practically all the variants from Migne's text which are of any value.

Dindorf, vol. III. p. 425 l. 15	μετὰ τὴν ἅ τῆς	ins. ἐκ intra lin.
426 l. 10	τοῦ	τοῖς
429 l. 11	ἀπειληφότων	ἀπειληφότωνά (sic)
434 l. 3	Οὐαλεντινιανοὶ	Οὐαλεντινιανου
436 l. 8	ὀρᾶται	ὀρᾶτε
441 l. 19	χωρίσας	χωρήσας (? corr.)
445 l. 22	διαπνεῦσαν	διαπνεῦσαι
450 l. 30	μορφωθέντες	μορφωθέντας
452 l. 20	ἐστι	σ eras.
453 l. 13	τῷ	τὸ
453 l. 14	ὀλίγου	ὀλίγον

C. ON THE TEXT OF FRAGMENT 24.

To judge from the conjectural emendations which have been suggested, the text of the latter part of this fragment offers a problem of great difficulty. The attested text of the sentence beginning 'ΑΛΛ' οὐχ ὀρώσιν is as follows :

'ΑΛΛ' οὐχ ὀρώσιν (12) ὅτι παντὸς (13) καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικόν.

It is important to start from this, as all conjectural restorations seem to have been based upon the words τῶν ἐναντίων, which have no manuscript authority whatever, and are only a guess of the "emendator" in the margin of the Bodleian, who introduces his suggestions with the word *ισως*, and is certainly later than the other emendator, who uses the word *τάχα*.

Origen's argument seems to be as follows. Is it not *ἀσεβές* to call the spiritual worshippers, whom *Heracleon* has just called *adulterers* (in that he has just said that the Samaritan woman *πνευματικῆς φύσεως οὔσα* has committed adultery), *ὁμοούσιοι* with God? *Heracleon* and his followers do not see that, etc. But if the *πνευματικὴ φύσις* being *ὁμοούσιος* with God could commit adultery, impious deductions follow from their argument concerning God. The impious deduction is clearly something equivalent to *δέχεται ὁ θεὸς τὸ πορνεῦσαι*. Origen refutes the position of *Heracleon*, that God and the *πνευματικοὶ* are *ὁμοούσιοι* by a *reductio ad absurdum* through two syllogisms :

- (1) major. (?)
 minor. God and the *πνευματικὴ φύσις* are *ὁμοούσια* :
 ∴ God and the *πν. φύσις* are τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικά.
- (2) major. God and the *πν. φύσις* are τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικά :
 minor. The *πν. φύσις* ἐδέξατο τὸ πορνεῦσαι :
 ∴ God δέχεται τὸ πορνεῦσαι : (for if the *πν. φύσ.* ἐδέξατο, then it is δεκτικὸν of that which it ἐδέξατο).

This seems to be the strict argument, though of course it is stated more concisely in Origen, some of the terms being suppressed.

The only major which will suit the 1st syllogism seems to be τὰ ὁμοούσια τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικά. I would therefore propose to read, Πᾶν τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικόν. This preserves the τῶν αὐτῶν which is attested by all the MSS., τῶν ἐναντίων having, as was noticed before, no MS. authority.

Ferrarius gave up the sentence as hopeless, and does not translate it (see Huet's edition: Delarue has here apparently introduced his own translation into that of Ferrarius). His (?) translation of the following words (εἰ δὲ ἐδέξατο...θεοῦ) 'Quod si [Heracleon ac sui sequaces] admiserint spiritualem naturam quae sit eiusdem essentiae [cum divina et undequaque beata natura ut ipsi tradunt] meretricari, profana et impia et irreligiosa sequuntur rationem ipsorum,' gives the sense of the sentence, but can hardly be intended for a literal translation. Thus no help is to be got from him. Delarue's note may be quoted as an example (perhaps not a fair one, as it is worse than most) of the treatment which the text has received at his hands:—

"Codd. Bodl. et Barb. ἐκπεπορνευκέναι. Regius πεπορνευκέναι. Mox Codex Bodleianus habet "Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὀρώσω οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὅτι παντὸς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικόν. Εἰ δὲ ἐδέξατο τὸ πορνεῦσαι ἢ πνευματικὴ φύσις, ὁμοούσιος οὔσα τῇ ἀγεννήτῳ ἀνόσια &c. sicque sanitati omnia restituuntur. Modo pro καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν legas καὶ τὸ αὐτό."

Codex Regius reads ἐκπεπορνευκέναι. All the marginal suggestions of the Bodleian MS. are set down as if they occurred in its original text.

How 'omnia sanitati restituuntur' by reading τὸ αὐτὸ for τῶν αὐτῶν I cannot see. God and the πνευματικὴ φύσις would hardly even by the impious Heracleon be called τὸ αὐτό. The point is *not* that τὸ αὐτὸ is δεκτικὸν τῶν ἐναντίων. The only deduction from this and the following sentence would be that God being (?) identical with the πνευματικὴ φύσις is capable of contrary things to what it is capable of, i.e. I suppose τὸ μὴ πορνεῦσαι, which deduction is not ἀνόσιον. The point is rather that God and the πν. φύσις, *being* ὁμοούσια, are τῶν αὐτῶν δεκτικά. Sense can be extracted from Grabe's conjecture, adopted by Hilgenfeld, ὅτι παντὸς καλοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐ δεκτικόν. The argument would then be I suppose somewhat as follows. Τὸ πνεῦμα is not δεκτικὸν of good and evil at the same time. The πνευματικὴ φύσις ἐδέξατο τὸ κακόν: therefore it cannot δέχεσθαι τὸ καλόν: and therefore God, being ὁμοούσιος with it, is not δεκτικὸς τοῦ καλοῦ, and is therefore δεκτικὸς τῶν ἐναντίων i.e. of evil. But the objections to it are insuperable: (a) It makes Origen guilty of unparalleled obscurity. (β) It has no support whatever from the MSS. (γ) It is based on the unfortunate conjecture τῶν ἐναντίων. (δ) It would require τοῦ ἐναντίου. (ε) It makes τὸ πνεῦμα = ἡ πνευματικὴ φύσις.

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