

PISTIS SOPHIA

PISTIS SOPHIA

A GNOSTIC MISCELLANY : BEING FOR THE MOST PART EXTRACTS FROM THE BOOKS OF THE SAVIOUR, TO WHICH ARE ADDED EXCERPTS FROM A COGNATE LITERATURE.

ENGLISHED (WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY)

BY

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'THRICE-GREATEST HERMES,' 'FRAGMENTS OF A FAITH FORGOTTEN,'
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SUBSCRIPTION:

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PREFACE

IN the Introduction (pp. xxxv f.) to the first edition (1896), the translator wrote :

“ In presenting the following translation to the English-reading public, I may say that I should not have ventured on such an undertaking if any Coptic scholar had undertaken the task, or I had heard that such a task was contemplated. In a matter of so great difficulty every possible liability to error should be eliminated, and it stands to reason that the translation of a translation must needs be but an apology for a first-hand version. Nevertheless I am not without predecessors. The Coptic MS. itself is in the first place a translation, so that even Coptic scholars must give us the version of a translation. I am persuaded also that the anonymous and very imperfect French translation (1856) in the Appendix to Migne's *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* (vol. i.) is made from Schwartz's Latin version (1851) and not from the Coptic text. C. W. King in *The Gnostics and their Remains* (2nd ed., 1887) has also translated a number of pages of the Pistis Sophia from Schwartz. Some three or four years ago Mr. Nutt, King's publisher, sent out a notice proposing the publication of the whole of King's translation,

but the project fell through. Last year (1895) I offered to edit this translation of King's, but was informed that the literary legatee of the deceased scholar was of the opinion that it would be unfair to his memory to publish a MS. that was in so incomplete a condition.

“ In 1890 I had already translated Schwartz's Latin version into English and published pages 1 to 252, with comments, notes, etc., in magazine-form from April 1890 to April 1891. But I hesitated to put it forward in book-form, and should not have done so, but for the appearance of Amélineau's French translation in 1895. I then went over the whole again and checked it by Amélineau's version. I was further induced to venture on this undertaking, because the narrative, though dealing with mystical and therefore obscure subjects, is in itself exceedingly simple, and therefore mistakes cannot so readily creep in as into a difficult philosophical work. I, therefore, present my translation with all hesitation, but at the same time think that the English public, which is steadily increasing its interest in mysticism and allied subjects, will be better satisfied with half a loaf than with no bread.”

A quarter of a century has rolled away; much water has flowed under the bridges of scholarly research whence the general stream of Gnosticism has been surveyed with greater accuracy, and much good work been done on the special subject of the Coptic Gnostic documents. Though the first edition of this book was quickly exhausted and many requests were made for a second, I

had hitherto refused to accede to this demand, still hoping that some English Coptic scholar would take the matter in hand. Indeed, at one time I was in high expectation that this would be achieved. Shortly before the War a friend, whom I had interested in the work, completed a version of the fine Untitled Apocalypse of the Bruce Codex, and was next to have attempted a translation of the P.S. But pressing interests and activities of a totally different nature connected with the War and its aftermath have absorbed all my friend's energies, and the version of the P.S. has been definitely abandoned. Nor can I hear of any other project of translation. This being the case, and as the utility of even a translation of a translation is evidenced by the keen demand for the volume in the second-hand market, I have at last decided to repeat my venture.

Nevertheless a reprint of the first edition was not to be thought of. Introduction and translation needed revision in the light of twenty-five years' further study of the work of specialists. To this end the most valuable help, not to speak of his long labours on the allied documents, is afforded by Carl Schmidt's admirable German translation of the P.S. (1905).

Schwartz's Latin translation was good for its date (1851), and scholars still quote it to-day; Amélineau's French rendering (1895) was somewhat of an improvement; but Schmidt's version is unquestionably the best. I have therefore revised my prior Englishing from the former

two by the finer work of the latter. Schmidt is exceedingly careful throughout, and not only have I taken his decision where Schwartz and Amélineau differ, but have generally preferred him for consistency in phrasing. In my humble opinion it will be long before we have a better rendering than that of this ripe Coptic scholar.

But not only has the Translation been thoroughly revised; the Introduction has been entirely rewritten and the Annotated Bibliography corrected and brought up to date. The second edition is practically a new book.

The Schwartz-Petermann marginal pagination, which is the usual scheme of reference, and which in the first edition was shown in brackets in the text, is now indicated at the side of the page. I have also adopted Schmidt's division into chapters as an additional convenience for more general reference, and have numbered the verses of the Psalms and of the Odes of Solomon for easier comparison with the Repentances and Songs of Sophia. It should, of course, be understood that the detailed paragraphing does not exist in the original, which runs on for the most part monotonously without break.

G. R. S. M.

KENSINGTON,
July 1921.

INTRODUCTION

THE unique MS. of the Coptic Gnostic document commonly called 'Pistis Sophia' was bought by the British Museum in 1785 from the heirs of Dr. Askew, and is now catalogued as MS. Add. 5114. The title on the back of the modern binding is '*Piste Sophia Coptice.*' On top of the first page of the MS. is the signature 'A. Askew, M.D.' On the first page of the binding is the following note, probably in the hand of Woide, the most famous Coptic scholar of those days and Librarian of the Museum :

"Codex dialecti Superioris Ægypti, quam Sahidicam seu Thebaidicam vocant, cujus titulus exstat pagina 115: Pmeh snaou ñtomos ñtpiste Sophia—Tomos secundus fidelis Sapientice—deest pagina 337-344."

The title 'Piste Sophia' is incorrect. Nowhere is this form found in the very numerous instances of the name in the text, and the hastily suggested 'emendation' of Dulaurier and Renan to read 'Piste Sophia' throughout has perforce received no support.

Woide, in a letter to Michaelis (Bibliography, 4), says that Askew bought the MS. from a bookseller (apparently in London); its previous

history is unknown. Crum informs us in an official description (Bib. 46, p. 173) that at the end of a copy in the B.M. of the sale-catalogue of Askew's MSS. is the entry: 'Coptic MS. £10. 10. 0.,' and that this refers presumably to our Codex—a good bargain indeed!

The best descriptions of the MS. are by Schmidt (Introd. to his Trans., Bib. 45, pp. xi f.), and Crum (*l.c.*). The Codex is of parchment and contains 178 leaves=356 pages 4to ($8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.). The writing is in two columns of from 30 to 34 lines each. There are 23 quires in all; but the first has only 12 and the last 8 pages, of which the last page is left blank. It is, as a whole, in an exceptionally well-preserved state, only 8 leaves being missing (see ch. 143, end).

The Scripts.

The writing as a whole is the work of two scribes, whose entirely different hands are very clearly distinguishable. The first (MS. pp. 1-22, 196-354) wrote a fine, careful, old uncial, and the second (MS. pp. 23-195) in comparison a careless, clumsy hand with signs of shakiness which S. thinks might suggest the writing of an old man. They used different inks and different methods both of paging and correction, not to speak of other peculiarities. These scribes must have been contemporaries and divided the task of copying fairly equally between them. So far Crum and Schmidt are in complete agreement; they differ only as to the handwriting of a note on MS. p. 114, col. 2, of the superscription on p. 115 and of the last page (see pp. 105, 106 and 325 of Trans.).

From an external point of view the contents fall ^{The Con-} into 4 main Divisions, generally referred to as ^{tents.} Books i.-iv.

i. The first extends to the end of ch. 62, where in the MS. more than a column and a half has been left blank, and a short, but entirely irrelevant, extract has been copied on to the second column, presumably from some other book of the general allied literature.

There is no title, either superscription or subscription, to this Div. Why the second scribe left a blank here in his copying is a puzzle, for the text which follows on MS. p. 115 runs straight on without a break of subject or incident.

ii. The next page is headed 'The Second Book (or Section) of Pistis Sophia.' Crum assigns this superscription to the second hand, and the short extract on the second column of the preceding page to the first. But Schmidt thinks that both are later additions by another hand, and this is borne out both by the colour of the ink and also by the very important fact that the older Coptic MSS. have the title at the end and not at the beginning of a volume, conserving the habit of the ancient roll-form. And as a matter of fact we find at the bottom of MS. p. 233, col. 1, the subscription: 'A Portion of the Books (or Texts) of the Saviour' (see end of ch. 100).

iii. There follows a short piece on the Gnosis of the Ineffable (ch. 101), which is without any setting and entirely breaks the order of sequence of ideas and is the end of a larger whole. It is clearly an extract from another 'Book.'

After this again with ch. 102 we have a very distinct change of subject, though not of setting, from the ending of ii., so that, in my opinion, it is difficult to regard it as an immediate continuation. Later, at ch. 126, occurs another abrupt change of subject, though not of setting, preceded by a lacuna in the text. At the end of ch. 135 (bottom of MS. p. 318, col. 1) we have again the subscription: 'A Portion of the Books of the Saviour.'

iv. The last piece has no title, either superscription or subscription. From the change of setting in its introduction and the nature of its contents it is generally assigned to an earlier phase of the literature. Here again a complete change of subject occurs with ch. 144, after a lacuna of 8 leaves. Finally, on the last page is an appendix, somewhat in the style of the Mark-conclusion, beginning quite abruptly in the middle of a sentence and presumably part of a larger whole. The contents, measurements and writing make it almost certain that it formed no part of the original copy. At the very end two lines surrounded by ornamentation are erased. These may have contained the names of the owner or scribes, or possibly a general subscript title.

The Title.

From the above indications and from a detailed study of the contents it is evident that, though the episode of the adventures of Pistis Sophia, her repentances and songs and their solutions (chh. 30-64), occupy much space, it is by no means the principal theme of the collection; it is rather an incident. The blundering heading of a

later scribe, 'The Second Book of Pistis Sophia,' some two-thirds of the way through this episode, has misled earlier scholars and set up the bad habit of referring to the whole document as the 'Pistis Sophia'—a habit it is now too late to change. If there is any general title to be derived from the MS. itself, it should be rather 'A Portion' or 'Portions of the Books of the Saviour.' Whether this title can be made to cover Div. iv. is an open question. In any case we have before us extracts from a more extensive literature which belonged to the same group, and of which there were at least two strata. The contents of the Askew Codex are thus a collection or a miscellany, and not a single consistent work. It is very difficult, therefore, to distinguish the contents by any consistent nomenclature. I have followed the usual custom of calling the whole 'Pistis Sophia,' and let Divv. i. and ii. stand as Books i. and ii., as is usually done, though this is clearly improper, judged from the point of view of contents. Thereafter I have distinguished the extracts in Div. iii. as being from two different 'Books' (apart from the short insertion at the beginning), and again those in Div. iv. as being from two different 'Books,' these 'Books' meaning simply subdivisions of or excerpts from larger wholes.

It seems highly probable that our scribes did not do the extracting themselves, but found it already done in the copy which lay before them.

The date of our MS. is undecided, owing to the difficulty of making exact judgments in The Date of the MS.

Coptic paleography. The general view assigns it with Schmidt to the 5th century. It may be noted that Woide (Bib. 3) assigned it to the 4th, and Crum seems to agree with him. Hyvernat (Bib. 21) suggests the 6th, and Wright (Bib. 16) the 7th. Amélineau (Bib. 35) goes to a ridiculous extreme by placing it in the 9th or 10th century, but his too radical views have been severely criticized.

Translated
from the
Greek.

The Coptic of the P.S. is in pure Sahidic—that is, the dialect of Upper Egypt,—preserving many features of antiquity. It is, however, clearly not the original language in which the extracts were written. These, like the rest of the extant Coptic Gnostic documents, were originally composed in Greek. This is shown by the very large number of Greek words, not only names, but substantives, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and even conjunctions, left untranslated, on well-nigh every page, and this applies to the O.T. and N.T. quotations equally with the rest. The Schwartze-Petermann Latin version preserves every Greek word throughout untranslated, and Schmidt's German translation invariably adds them in brackets. In the P.S. a large number of abstract qualificative general names of exalted super-æonic orders is given, such as 'Unapproachables,' 'Uncontainables,' which could not possibly be native to Coptic diction. In a number of passages again, where the translator had difficulty, he slavishly follows the Greek construction. Frequently also he gives alternative renderings. The fact of translation from the Greek is well-nigh universally

acknowledged ; and indeed we now possess decisive objective proof, for one of the documents in the Berlin Codex, which presents identical linguistic phenomena, lay before Irenæus in its Greek original form (Bib. 47). Nevertheless Granger (Bib. 44) and Scott-Moncrieff (Bib. 56) have questioned this fact of translation, and quite recently Rendel Harris (Bib. 60), after accepting the general consensus of opinion (Bib. 49), has changed his mind and thinks that the matter should be reinvestigated. None of these scholars, however, has set forth any objective grounds for his opinion. It is difficult to believe that any one who has laboured through the versions line by line and word by word can have the slightest doubt on the matter. The whole style of the work is foreign to the Coptic idiom, as may be seen from Amélineau's Introduction to his French version (Bib. 35), where he writes (p. x): "Whoever has any knowledge of the Coptic language knows that this idiom is foreign to long sentences ; that it is a tongue eminently analytic and by no means synthetic ; that its sentences are composed of small clauses exceedingly precise, and almost independent of each other. Of course all Coptic authors are not equally easy, some of them are even exceedingly difficult to understand ; but this much is certain, that never under any circumstances in Coptic do we come across those periods with complicated incidental sentences, of three or four different clauses, whose elements are synthetically united together so that the sense of the entire sentence cannot be grasped

before we arrive at the last clause. Nevertheless, this is just what the reader meets with in this work. The sentences are so entangled with incidental and complicated propositions, that often, indeed very often, the Coptic translator has lost the thread, so to say, and made main propositions out of incidental clauses. . . . The one thing that it conclusively proves is that the book was originally written in a learned language."

Amélineau makes rather too much of the abstruse nature of the subject ; for, though many passages are transcendental or mystical, nevertheless the whole is conceived in a narrative or descriptive style. There is no attempt at philosophical argument, no really involved logical propositions. We may then take it as sufficiently established that Greek originals underlay the whole contents of the Askew Codex. It is on this basis at any rate that rests every methodical attempt which has hitherto been made to determine the most probable place and date of origin and to discover the school or circle to which the P.S. miscellany can be referred.

Originals
composed
in Egypt.

Amid much else that is uncertain no one has questioned that the immediate place of origin must be sought in an Egyptian environment. In other words, the ' Books ' of the miscellany were all composed or compiled in Egypt, though where precisely it is impossible to conjecture. But the clearly Egyptian elements are not the more numerous ; moreover, they do not seem to be the most fundamental, but are blended with, or

rather superimposed upon, others which clearly did not originate in Egypt.

The date of composition is a difficult problem, and is bound up with the more puzzling question of the sect to which the P.S. literature should be ascribed. There is as yet no certainty; it is a matter of cumulative probabilities at best.

The earlier view ascribed the P.S. to Valentinus, who died probably about the middle of the 2nd century, or a decade later, or alternatively to an adherent of the Valentinian school. We may call it the 2nd-century theory. A succession of scholars were of this opinion, among whom may be mentioned Woide, Jablonski, La Croze, Dulaurier, Schwartz, Renan, Révillout, Usener and Amélineau. This earlier view can hardly be said to have been supported by any great show of detailed argument, except by the French Egyptologist and Coptic scholar Amélineau, who was its most stalwart supporter. Seven years prior to his translation of P.S. in 1895, Amélineau devoted 156 pp. of a voluminous essay (Bib. 19), in which he sought to prove the Egyptian origins of Gnosticism—a general thesis which can hardly be maintained in the light of more recent research,—to a comparison of the system of Valentinus with that of the P.S.

Meantime in Germany, shortly after the appearance of Schwartz's Latin version in 1851, the careful analysis of the system of the P.S. by Köstlin in 1854 gave rise to or confirmed another view. It abandoned the Valentinian origin, and pronounced generally in favour of what may be

Date: The
2nd-century
Theory.

The
3rd-century
Theory.

called an 'Ophitic' derivation. Köstlin placed the date of the P.S. in the 1st half of the 3rd century, and Lipsius (Bib. 15) and Jacobi (Bib. 17) accepted his finding. We may call this alternative general view the 3rd-century theory.

In 1891 Harnack, accepting Köstlin's analysis of the system, attacked the problem from another point of view, basing himself chiefly on the use of scripture, as shown in the quotations from the O.T. and N.T., and on the place of the doctrinal ideas and stage of the sacramental practices in the general history of the development of Christian dogma and rites. He pointed out also one or two other vague indications, such as a reference to persecution, from which he concluded that it was written at a date when the Christians were 'lawfully' persecuted. These considerations led him to assign the most probable date of composition to the 2nd half of the 3rd century. Schmidt in 1892 accepted this judgment, with the modification, however, that Div. iv. belonged to an older stratum of the literature, and should therefore be placed in the 1st half of the century. This general view has been widely adopted as the more probable. In Germany it has been accepted by such well-known specialists as Bousset, Preuschen and Liechtenhan; and in France by De Faye. Among English scholars may be mentioned chiefly E. F. Scott, Scott-Moncrieff and Moffat.

The only recent attempt to return to the earlier 2nd-century view is that of Legge in 1915 (Bib. 57), who roundly plumps for Valentinus as the author. In order to do this he thinks it necessary first of

all to get out of the way Harnack's parallels in P.S. with the fourth gospel. They may just as well, he contends, be compilations from the synoptics. One clear parallel only can be adduced, and this may be due to a common source. I am not convinced by this criticism; nor do I think it germane to Legge's general contention, for it is precisely in Valentinian circles that the fourth gospel first emerges in history. In the Introduction to the first edition of the present work I registered my adhesion to the Valentinian hypothesis, but, as I now think, somewhat too precipitously. On general grounds the 3rd-century theory seems to me now the more probable; but, even if Harnack's arguments as a whole hold, I see no decisive reason why the P.S. may not equally well fall within the 1st half as within the 2nd half of the century.

The question of the sect or even grouping to which the P.S. literature should be assigned is still more difficult. To call it 'Ophitic' is nebulous at best. Ophitism in Gnosticism is ill-defined, if not chaotic, owing to the confusing indications of the Church Fathers. They called Ophitic or classed as Ophitic very different sects who never used the name for themselves. It ought to mean people either who worshipped the serpent or in whose symbolism or mythology the serpent played the most characteristic or dominant rôle. But most of what we are told of the views and doctrines of circles directly referred to under this opprobrious designation (as it is clearly intended to be by the heresiologists) and

The
'Ophitic'
Background.

of those brought into close connection with them, has not the slightest reference to what by hypothesis should have been their chief cult-symbol. *Sed et serpens* is conspicuous by its absence. All that we can legitimately say is that along this confused line of heredity we have to push back our researches in any endeavour to discover the earliest developments of Gnosticism in Christian circles. These took place unquestionably first on Syrian ground, and doubtless had already a long heredity behind them, former phases of syncretism, blendings of Babylonian, Persian, Semitic and other elements. The 'Ophitic' elements in P.S. are of Syrian origin, but developed on Egyptian soil. If there is also a slight Hellenistic tinging, it is not of a philosophizing nature.

Three vague
Pointers.

Can we, however, find any indications in the P.S. which might be thought to direct us whither to search in the jumble of sects which the chief heresiological Fathers bring into an 'Ophitic' connection? There are three vague pointers: (1) Philip is declared pre-eminently (chh. 22, 42) to be the scribe of all the deeds and discourses of the Saviour, but with him are associated Thomas and Matthew (ch. 43); (2) in Div. iii. Mary Magdalene stands forth as the chief questioner, no less than 39 of the 42 questions being put in her mouth; (3) in Div. iv. a foul act of obscene sorcery is condemned as the most heinous of all sins (ch. 147).

Now, Epiphanius (writing about 374-377 A.D.) groups together certain sects under the names

Nicolaïtans, Gnostics, Ophites, Cainites, Sethians and Archontics; these possessed a rich apocalyptic literature. Among the titles of their books reference is made to a *Gospel of Philip* (*Hæc.* xxvi. 13) and *Questions of Mary*, both *The Great* and *The Little* (*ib.* 8). A quotation is given from the former, and several from the latter. But in both cases they are of an obscene nature and have clearly nothing whatever to do with P.S. in any way. It is true that the more abundant quotations are from *The Great Questions*, and this has led Harnack and others to assume that *The Little Questions* may have been of a different and even ascetic character. But Epiphanius classes the two writings together without distinction; and even if the title *Questions of Mary* could be legitimately given to part of the contents of P.S., surely these would be more appropriately styled *The Great* and not *The Little Questions*? Finally, the document from which Epiphanius quotes belongs to a different type of setting. Mary questions apart, is alone with Jesus. She is not with the rest of the disciples, as in the P.S.

The liber-
tivist Secta
of Epi-
phanus.

In describing these sects Epiphanius repeatedly dwells on certain unspeakably foul rites and practices which he would have us believe were widely spread among them. P.S. condemns with even greater severity a similar obscene abomination, introducing this stern reprobation with the solemn words, the only instance of such an outbreak in the whole narrative: "Jesus was wroth with the world in that hour and said unto

Thomas : ' Amēn, I say unto you : This sin is more heinous than all sins and all iniquities.' ” There is, however, no indication that in the experience of the writers of the P.S. such a practice was widespread ; on the contrary, it would seem for them to have been a rare occurrence—indeed, the most horrible thing of which they had ever heard. If Epiphanius is to be relied on here, it is vain to look for the Gnostics of the P.S. in such an environment. But Epiphanius has no great reputation for accuracy in general, and it is very difficult to believe in such widespread iniquity of so loathsome a nature. In any case he is writing at a later date. Liechtenhan's hypothesis (Bib. 41), that a certain common body of literature was rewritten—on the one hand to serve libertine propensities, and on the other in the interest of ascetic tendencies,—though more or less accepted by Harnack, seems to me to be too facile a generalization to meet the special difficulty with which we are confronted. Epiphanius in his youth had certain unfortunate experiences with the adherents of a libertine sect in Egypt, and the moral shock it gave him seems to have warped his judgment as a historian in this part of his work ; it led him to collect every scrap of evidence of obscenity he could lay hands on and every gross scandal that had come to his ears, and freely to generalize therefrom.

The
Severians.

Into relation with the above-mentioned Epiphanian group of names Schmidt brings the ascetic Severians ; these, according to our heresiologist (xlv.), still in his own day maintained a

miserable existence in the upper Thebaid. To them S. would specifically refer the P.S. But, in my opinion, it is very difficult indeed to fit in what Epiphanius tells us so sketchily of these people, however skilfully it is analyzed, with the main doctrines and practices in the P.S.

With nothing but Patristic indications before us, no matter what pains are taken to submit them to microscopic critical inspection, it seems impossible to place the P.S. precisely. But our Codex does not stand in isolation as the only directly known Christian Gnostic document—that is to say, as coming straight from the hands of the Gnostics themselves, though by way of translation. We have first of all the two MSS. of the Bruce Codex in the Bodleian, Oxford. One of these, *The Book of the Great Logos according to the Mystery*, is closely connected with the literature from which the P.S. miscellany is excerpted, especially with Div. iv. We can say with a high degree of confidence that it belonged to the same tradition, though whether to an earlier or later stratum is not quite decided. There are, however, no indications in it which will further help us as to date or name of sect. The second MS., a lofty apocalypse, which unfortunately bears no title, is of another line of tradition or type of interest. Schmidt, in the Introduction to his translation (p. xxvi, Bib. 45), thinks he can refer it with certainty to the Sethian-Archontic group, placing it in the 1st half of the 3rd century, instead of, as previously (Bib. 28), in the last quarter of the 2nd. His reason for this change

of view may be seen from the following observations, which introduce us to the third extant, but unpublished, collection of Coptic Gnostic works.

The Berlin
Codex.

On July 16, 1896, Schmidt surprised and delighted students of Gnosticism by reporting, at a sitting of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, on the contents of a precious Coptic Gnostic Codex which had in January of the same year been procured by Dr Reinhardt at Cairo from a dealer in antiquities from Akhmīm, and is now in the safe custody of the Berlin Egyptian Museum (*Sitzungsberichte d. k. p. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin*, xxxvi). This notice and a more detailed study of one of the treatises by S. in 1907 (Bib. 47) give us all the information we possess so far concerning this very important Codex. In 1900 I summarized S.'s first notice in the first edition of my *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten* (pp. 579-592). The Codex consists mainly of three original Greek Gnostic works in Coptic translation: (1) *The Gospel of Mary*; (2) *The Apocryphon of John*; (3) *The Wisdom of Jesus Christ*. At the end there is an extract from *The Acts of Peter*, which are also of Gnostic origin, setting forth an episode from the healing wonders of the Apostle.

The Gospel of Mary relates visions of John and Mary Magdalene, but Schmidt gives us none of their contents. He is equally reserved as to the contents of *The Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, giving only the introduction. After the resurrection the twelve disciples and seven women-disciples

of Jesus go into Galilee to a certain mountain (as in Div. iv. of P.S.). To them Jesus appears as a great angel of light and bids them lay all their questions before him. The disciples bring forward their questions and receive the desired replies. Schmidt must have told Harnack more about the contents, for in an appendix to the report, the latter ventures on the suggestion that it may possibly be found that this treatise is the lost book of Valentinus referred to under the title of *Wisdom*.

It is the second treatise, *The Apocryphon of John*, to which S. devotes most of his attention in both the papers to which we are referring, the titles of which are respectively, 'A Pre-irenæic Gnostic Original Work in Coptic' and 'Irenæus and his Source in *Adv. Hæc.* i. 29,' S. proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the Greek original of this Gnostic apocryphon lay before Irenæus (c. 190 A.D.), and that the Church Father's method of quotation and summarizing is, to say the least of it, misleading, for it practically makes nonsense of what is by no means absurd. The treatise tells us much of interest concerning the part played by Barbêlô, 'the perfect Power,' 'the Æon perfect in glory'; the system is of the philosophized type and by no means inconsistent. Hitherto the clumsy treatment of it by Irenæus has been generally referred to as descriptive of the tenets of the Barbêlô-Gnostics, and to them Scott (Bib. 54) and Moffat (Bib. 58) have sought variously to ascribe the P.S. These Gnostics are brought by Irenæus into a confused relationship with

The so-called Barbêlô-Gnostics.

some of the sects of the group on which Epiphanius two centuries later animadverted so severely.

The Sethians.

Schmidt, however, has shown that the document in question belongs immediately to the literature of the Sethians, to whom also he now ascribes the Untitled Apocalypse of the Bruce Codex. *The Apocryphon of John* is clearly imbued with a very similar spirit of philosophizing to that of the Valentinian school, and Schmidt promises to compare the two systems in detail, so as to determine their relationship, when he publishes his translation of these new documents, which are of so great importance for the history of the Christianized Gnosis.

The present Position of the Enquiry.

What precise light the publication of Schmidt's labours will throw, directly or indirectly, on the puzzling question of the exact placing of the P.S. literature, we must wait to see; it is highly probable, however, that it will throw some light on its problems. But from what we glean so far from the above indications it may be again suggested that, though the Valentinian hypothesis will have to be definitely abandoned, there seems nothing to compel us to lean to the 2nd rather than to the 1st half of the 3rd century for the date. Here the view of Lipsius (Bib. 20) and Bousset (Bib. 48), that similar features in the P.S. and the religion of Mani are in a more primitive form in the former than in the latter, has to be considered. Manichæism emerged somewhere about 265 A.D., but it is very difficult to say what was its precise original form. The similarities in the

two systems may of course be due to their coming from a common source.

What is certain is that we have in the contents of the Askew, Bruce and Berlin Codices a rich material which hands on to us valuable direct information concerning what I have called 'The Gnosis according to its Friends,' in distinction from what previously used to be our only sources, the polemical writings of the heresiological Fathers, which set forth 'The Gnosis according to its Foes.' We have thus at last a new standpoint from which to review the subject, and therewith the opportunity of revising our impressions in a number of respects; a considerably different angle of vision must needs change the perspective of no little in the picture.

The new
and the old
Perspective
in Gnostic
Studies.

The chief business or interest of the orthodox Fathers was to select and stress what appeared to them to be the most bizarre points and elements, all that was most absurd in their judgment, in the many Gnostic systems, and of course, and rightly, everything that could be thought to be ethically reprehensible. Good, bad and indifferent were only too frequently lumped together. It was of no interest to this polemic to mention similarities in belief and practice between the heretics and their opponents, to dwell on the lofty faith of numbers of these Gnostics in the transcendent excellence and overmastering glory of the Saviour, or on many signs of spiritual inwardness, and especially of high virtue, in which they were at the least not less scrupulous than their critics. Doubtless there were sects and groups whose tenets

were absurd at any valuation, and some whose laxity of ethics demanded severe reprobation. But the majority could not be accused on the score of moral delinquency, indeed no few were rigidly ascetic; and some of their speculations again have a sublimity of their own, and in a number of cases anticipated Catholic dogma. If we turn to our direct sources in Coptic translation, we find that the ethic is admirable, even if we are averse from over-asceticism in the religious life, and that their whole-souled devotion to and worship of the Saviour is unbounded.

It is no part of the plan of this translation to attempt anything in the nature of a commentary. That would mean a second volume, and would in any case be an unsatisfactory performance; for much would still remain obscure, even if every ray of light shed on this or that special point by those who have most deeply studied the subject, were gathered together. One or two very general remarks, however, may be ventured.

The Ministry
of the First
Mystery.

In the P.S. Jesus is everywhere pre-eminent and central. He is here revealed as Saviour and First Mystery, who knows all and unveils all, infinite in compassion. As such he is pre-existent from eternity, and his ministry is not only earthly, but cosmic and supercosmic; indeed, it is the chief feature in the divine economy. Yet nowhere is he called the Christ. If this is intentional, no reason seems to be assignable for such an abstention. There is no sign of antagonism to Judaism or to the G.T. On the contrary, the psalms and other utterances which are quoted,

are validated by the theory that it was the Power of the Saviour which so prophesied of old through the mouth of a David, a Solomon, or an Isaiah.

The whole setting is post-resurrectional. In Divv. i.-iii. Jesus has already, for eleven years after the crucifixion, been instructing his disciples, men and women, in the Gnosis. The scene now depicts the disciples as gathered round the Saviour on the Mount of Olives on earth. The range and scope of this prior teaching may be seen in Div. iv., where the introductory words speak of it as taking place simply after the crucifixion. In this stratum the scene is different. The sacramental rite is solemnized on earth; it takes place, however, on the Mount of Galilee and not on the Mount of Olives. But the scene is not confined to earth only, for the disciples are also taken into some of the regions of the invisible world, above and below, have vision there conferred upon them, and are instructed on its meaning. Now in Divv. i.-iii. Jesus promises to take the disciples into the spheres and heavens for the direct showing of their nature and quality and inhabitants, but there is no fulfilment of this promise in the excerpts we have from 'The Books of the Saviour.' It is not to be supposed, however, that Div. iv. is part of the fulfilment of the high promise made in the prior extracts; for in it we move in an earlier phase of the instruction and in an atmosphere of lesser mysteries than those indicated in the preceding part.

Divv. i.-iii. throughout proclaim the revelation of higher mysteries. This is only now made

The post-resurrectional Setting.

The higher
Revelation
within this
Setting.

possible by the supremely joyous fact that in the twelfth year of the inner-teaching-ministry a great, if not supreme, moment in the life of the Saviour has been accomplished: his earthly ministry is now achieved, and he is invested with the full radiance of his triple robe of glory, which embraces the whole powers of the universe. He ascends into heaven in dazzling light which blinds the disciples. After thirty hours he returns again, and in compassion withdraws his blinding splendour, so as to give his final teaching to his faithful in his familiar form. This means that 'The Books of the Saviour' purport to contain not only a post-resurrectional teaching, and therefore a Gnostic revelation supplementary to the public preaching before the crucifixion, but also a still higher and more intimate unveiling within the post-resurrectional instruction already current in the tradition. If there had been apocalyptic elements and visions in the prior literature, there were to be still more transcendental revelations now on the completion of the ministry. Until the investiture, or rather reinvestiture, had taken place according to the divine command, it had not been possible for the Saviour to speak in utter openness face to face on all things; now it is possible. Such is the convention.

The Æon-lore.

In Divv. i.-iii. there is presupposed throughout a system of æons and the rest, which is already highly complex and shows manifest signs of consisting of stages once severally at the summit of earlier systems, but now successively subordin-

ated. It is clear then that, if still loftier hierarchies are to be brought on to the stage, it can only be by again reducing what had previously been regarded as 'the end of all ends' to a subordinate position. This is the method adopted, and we lose ourselves in the recital of the designations and attributes of ever more transcendental beings and spaces and mysteries.

In all of this, however, there is no sign of interest in metaphysical speculation; there is no philosophizing. It is then not any element of Hellenic thought proper in the æonology, which is said to have been so strongly the case with the teaching of Valentinus himself, that has led so many to conjecture a Valentinian derivation. It is rather the long episode of the sorrowing Sophia which has influenced them. This episode reflects on a lower level of the cosmic scale somewhat of the *motif* of the 'tragic myth' of the world-soul, the invention of which is generally ascribed to Valentinus himself, though he may possibly have transformed or worked up already existing materials or notions. It is this long Sophia episode and its skilfully inverted mystical exegesis and allegorical interpretation, following the methods developed by Alexandrine contemplatives, which has produced the impression on many that it was of fundamental importance for the system of the P.S.

It is certainly an indication of the deep interest of the circle in repentance and the penitential psalms. But the interest is here ethical rather than cosmological. Pistis Sophia would seem to

The Sophia
Episode.

The ethical
Interest.

be intended to represent the type of the faithful repentant individual soul. Throughout, the chief interest is in salvation and redemption. This is to be acquired by repentance and by renunciation of the world, its lures and cares, but above all by faith in the Saviour, the Divine Light, and his mysteries. The first requisite is sincere repentance. The chief topic round which all the ethical teaching naturally centres, is sin, its cause and its purification, and the revelation of the mystery of the forgiveness of sins and of the infinite compassion of the First Mystery. Though there is very much also concerning the complex schematology of the invisible worlds and the hierarchies of being, much concerning the soul and its origin, of how it comes to birth and departs from earth-life, much of the light-power, the spiritual element in man,—all is subordinated to the ethical interest in the first place, and in the second to the efficacy of the high mysteries of salvation.

The Mys-
teries.

The whole is set forth in terms of these mysteries, which are now conceived in a far more vital way than was apparently the case in the earlier literature. On the lower side the mysteries still in some respects keep in touch with the tradition of words-of-power, authentic and incorruptible names, and so forth, though there is little of this specifically in Divv. i.-iii. But it is evidently intended that the higher mysteries should now be conceived in the light of the fact that the Saviour himself is in himself concretely the First Mystery and indeed the Last Mystery, and that

the mysteries are not so much spiritual powers as substantive beings of transcendent excellence. The light-robe is a mystery of mysteries, and they who have received of the high mysteries become light-streams in passing from the body. The mysteries are closely intertwined with the lore of the glory and its modes.

One of the main elements in the lower schematology is the ancient astral lore, those ground-conceptions of sidereal religion which dominated the thought of the times and upheld their sway directly and indirectly for long centuries after. But here again our Gnostics, while retaining the schematology for certain purposes, placed it low in the scale. Moreover, while not denying that previously there was truth even in the astrological art, they reduced the chances of the horoscope-casters to zero, by declaring that the Saviour in the accomplishment of his cosmic ministry had now drastically changed the revolution of the spheres, so that henceforth no calculations could be counted on; these were now of no more value than the spinning of a coin.

Our Gnostics were also transmigratationists; ^{The astral Lore.} transcorporation formed an integral part of their system. They found no difficulty in fitting it into their plan of salvation, which shows no sign of the expectation of an immediate end of all things—that prime article of faith of the earliest days. So far from thinking that reincarnation is alien to gospel-teaching, they elaborately interpret certain of the most striking sayings in this sense, and give graphic details of how Jesus, as the First ^{Trans-corporation.}

Mystery, brought to rebirth the souls of John the Baptizer and of the disciples, and supervized the economy of his own incarnation. In this respect the P.S. offers richer material for those interested in this ancient and widespread doctrine than can be found in any other old-world document in the West.

The magical
Element.

A far more distressingly puzzling immixture is the element of magic. In Div. iv. especially there are invocations and many names which resemble those found in the Greek magical papyri and other scattered sources. But no one has so far thrown any clear light on this most difficult subject of research in general, much less on its relation to the P.S. It is evident that the writers of Div. iv. and of the first treatise of the Bruce Codex set a high value on such formulæ and on authentic names; nor are these entirely absent from the excerpts from 'The Books of the Saviour,' as witness the five words written on the light-robe. Our Gnostics unquestionably believed in a high magic, and were not averse from finding in what was presumably its most reputable tradition, material which they considered to be germane to their purpose. In this tradition there must have been a supreme personage possessing characteristics that could be brought into close connection with their ideal of the Saviour, for they equate a certain Aberamenthō with him. The name occurs once or twice elsewhere; but who or what it suggested, we do not know. In any case, as they utilized and attempted to sublimate so much else which was considered by many in those

days to be most venerable, in order that they might the more extend and exalt the glory of the Saviour and take up into it what they considered the best of everything, so did they with what was presumably the highest they could find in the hoary tradition of magical power, which had enjoyed empery for so long in the antique world and still continued to maintain itself even in religio-philosophical circles, where we should, from the modern standpoint, least expect to find it.

As to the setting of the narrative,—if we had not such an abundance of instances of pseudo-historic and pseudo-epigraphic scripture-writing, if this were not, so to speak, the commonplace, not only of apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, but also of no little that falls within the borders of canonical sanction, we might be more surprized than we are at the form in which the composers or compilers have framed their work. It is clear that they loved and worshipped Jesus with an ecstasy of devotion and exaltation; they do not fall short in this of the greatest of his lovers. What sort of authority, then, could they have supposed they had for conceiving the setting of their narrative in the way they have?

Objective physical history, in the rigid sense in which we understand it to-day, was of secondary interest to them, to say the least; indeed, it was apparently of little moment to the Gnostics of any school, and their opponents were not infrequently rowing in the same boat. The Gnostics were, however, less disingenuous; they strenuously declared their belief in continued

History
and psychic
Story.

revelation, they delighted in apocalyptic and in psychic story. The belief in a post-resurrectional teaching had doubtless existed for long in many forms in Gnostic circles. It must have been widespread; for, as shown by Schmidt quite recently (Bib. 59), a Catholic writer in Asia Minor found himself compelled to steal the fire of the Gnostics and adopt the same convention in an orthodox document that was intended to be a polemic against Gnostic ideas, somewhere in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. However they arrived at their conviction, it seems highly probable that the writers of the P.S. must have sincerely believed they had high authority for their proceeding, and were in some way emboldened by 'inspiration' to carry out their task. As far as they were concerned, they do not by any means seem conscious of belonging to a decadent movement or of deterioration in the quality of the ideas they were attempting to set forth, as so many modern critics would have it. On the contrary, they thought they were depositories or recipients of profound mysteries never hitherto revealed, and that by a knowledge of these mysteries they could the more efficiently evangelize the world.

The P.S. a
reserved
Document.

It is evident, however, that the P.S. was never intended to be circulated as a public gospel. Certain things are to be preached or proclaimed to the world, but only certain things. Certain mysteries, again, the recipients were to bestow under certain conditions, but others were to be reserved. The 'Books of the Saviour' are, there-

fore, to be regarded as apocrypha in the original sense of the word—that is, ‘withdrawn’ or ‘reserved’ writings. As such they fell within the proscriptions of artificial secrecy common to all the initiatory institutions of the time and of all time. And artificial secrecy can with difficulty, if ever, avoid the moral and intellectual hazard of its innate obscurations. The P.S. was intended for already initiated disciples, for chosen learners, though no pledge of secrecy is mentioned. It was intended, above all, for would-be apostles, for those who should go forth to proclaim what was for them the best of good news; it is clearly the inner instruction of a zealously propagandist sect.

If ‘The Books of the Saviour’ in their full original form—for in the extant P.S. we have but selections from them and the formulæ of the higher mysteries are omitted,—and if what is given of the lower mysteries in Div. iv. were held back from public perusal owing partly at least to the fear of the unworthy making improper use of them, } there is little danger to-day on this score, for this part of the miscellany remains so far the most securely incomprehensible. And indeed no little else remains obscure, even when we are of those who have made a protracted study of the psychical elements in mysticism and of the general psychology of religious experience. But there is much also in our Codex which has a charm of its own. There are things of rare, if exotic, beauty, things of profound ethical significance, things of delicate spiritual texture.

Its general
Value.

In any case, however all these very various elements and features in the syncretism be judged and evaluated, the Pistis Sophia is unquestionably a document of the first importance, not only for the history of Christianized Gnosticism, but also for the history of the development of religion in the West.

A Skeleton
of the
Scheme of
the System.

In conclusion, a skeleton of the scheme underlying the P.S. is added. It may prove of service generally to assist the reader in the maze of details.

The Ineffable.

The Limbs of the Ineffable.

- I. The Highest Light-world or Realm of Light.
 - i. The First Space of the Ineffable.
 - ii. The Second Space of the Ineffable,
or The First Space of the First
Mystery.
 - iii. The Third Space of the Ineffable, or
The Second Space of the First
Mystery.

- II. The Higher (or Middle) Light-world.
 - i. The Treasury of the Light.
 1. The Emanations of the Light.
 2. The Orders of the Orders.
 - ii. The Region of the Right.
 - iii. The Region of the Midst.

- III. The Lower Light or Æon-world, or The
Mixture of Light and Matter.
 - i. The Region of the Left.
 1. The Thirteenth Æon.
 2. The Twelve Æons.

3. The Fate.
4. The Sphere.
5. The Rulers of the Ways of the
(Lower) Midst.¹
6. The Firmament.
- ii. The World (Kosmos), especially
Mankind.
- iii. The Under-world.
 1. The Amente.
 2. The Chaos.
 3. The Outer Darkness.

Finally, the bibliography which follows is not simply a list of authors' names and of the titles of their contributions to the subject, but is furnished with notes which may serve briefly to indicate the chief moments in the development of the literature and in the history of opinion. There doubtless are a few articles hidden away in the back numbers of periodicals which should be added fully to complete the list; but they cannot be of any importance, or they would have been referred to by some one or other of the subsequent writers.

¹ I have printed this without a capital in the text to distinguish it from the higher Midst above.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. 1770. Art. in *Brittische theol. Magazin* (?); see Köstlin below, 13.
2. 1773. Woide (C. G.). Art. in *Journal des Savants* (Paris).
3. 1778. Woide (C. G.). Art. in J. A. Cramer's *Beyträge zur Beförderung theologischer und anderer wichtigen Kenntnisse* (Kiel u. Hamburg), iii. 82 ff.

It was by W. that the New Testament, according to the text of the famous Codex Alexandrinus, was edited, in uncial types cast to imitate those of the MS., in 1786. In an Appendix to this great undertaking, in 1799 (see below, 5), he added certain fragments of the New Testament in the Thebaico-Coptic dialect, together with a dissertation on the Coptic version of the New Testament. The date of the C.A. is generally assigned to the 5th cent., and, with the exception of the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus, which are sometimes assigned to the 4th cent., is the oldest extant MS. of the New Testament. This being the case, it is of interest to quote from the *Beiträge* W.'s opinion on the date of the MS. of P.S., which was lent to this careful scholar by Dr. Askew and which he copied from the first word to the last :

"It [P.S.] is a very old MS. in 4to on parchment in Greek uncial characters, which are *not so round* as those in the Alexandrine MS. in London, and in the Claromontain MS. in Paris [Codex Regius Parisiensis, also an Alexandrine text]. The characters of the MS. [P.S.] are somewhat longer and more angular, so that I take them to be *older* than both the latter MSS., in which the letters eta, theta, omicron, rho and sigma are much rounder."

Thus W. would date the MS. towards the end of the 4th cent.

4. 1794. Buhle (J. G.). *Literarischer Briefwechsel von Johann David Michaelis* (Leipzig), 3 vols., 1794-96, iii. 69.

Under date 1773 there is a letter from Woide to Michaelis, in which the former says in reference to the P.S. Codex that Askew had picked it up by chance in a book-shop. There follows a description of the MS.

5. 1799. Woide (C. G.). *Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci e Codice MS. Alexandrino . . . cum Dissertatione de Versione Bibliorum Ægyptiaca quibus subjicitur Codicis Vaticani Collatio* (Oxford), p. 137.

W. gives the date of the P.S. Codex as about the 4th cent., and considers the writer of the Greek original to have been Valentinus.

6. 1812. Münter (F.). *Odeæ Gnosticæ Salomoni Tributæ, Thebaicæ et Latine, Prefatione et Adnotationibus philologicis illustratæ* (Hafniæ).

Bishop Münter, a learned Dane, probably got his text from Woide's copy. His brief pamphlet is of no particular importance; nevertheless it was solely upon these few selections, the five Odes of Solomon, that, with the exception of Dulaurier, scholars formed their opinion of the P.S. up to the time of the publication of Schwartz's translation in 1851. Münter believed that the original treatise belonged to the 2nd cent. For Odes of Solomon see below, 49, 53 and 60.

7. 1838. Dulaurier (É.). Art. in *Le Moniteur* (sept. 27).
 8. 1843. Matter (J.). *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme et de son Influence sur les Sectes religieuses et philosophiques des six premiers Siècles de l'Ère chrétienne* (Paris), 2nd ed., ii. 41 ff., 350 ff. The first edition appeared in 1828 and contains no reference to P.S. In Dörner's German translation the references are ii. 69 ff. and 163 ff.

M. rejects the authorship of Valentinus, though he bases himself otherwise entirely on Woide. He vaguely places the date of the original treatise between the end of the 2nd and the end of the 5th cent., but gives no opinion as to the school to which it belongs (p. 352).

9. 1847. Dulaurier (É.). Art. in the *Journal Asiatique*, 4^e série, tom. ix., juin, pp. 534-548, 'Notice sur le *Manuscript copte-thébain*, intitulé *La Fidèle Sagesse*; et sur la Publication projetée du Texte et de la Traduction française de ce *Manuscript*.'

D. had prepared a translation of the P.S. He writes: "The translation of the Pistis Sophia and the glossary which forms a complement to it are finished, and will be sent to the printers, when I have convinced myself that I have fulfilled the requirements that this task imposes, taking into consideration the present state of science and my own capabilities. The MS. from which I have made my translation is a copy which I have taken from the original, during my stay in England in 1838-1840, when I was charged by MM. de

Salvandy and Villemain, successive ministers of public instruction, with the commission of proceeding to London to study this curious monument" (p. 542). D., however, did not publish his labours, nor have I as yet come across any record of the fate of his MS. He ascribes the treatise to Valentinus.

10. 1851. Schwartz (M. G.). *Pistis Sophia, Opus Gnosticum Valentino adjudicatum, e Codice Manuscripto Coptico Londinensi descriptum*. Latine vertit M. G. Schwartz, edidit J. H. Petermann (Berlin).

In 1848 Schwartz made a copy of the Codex in London, but unfortunately died before the completion of his labours on the P.S., and the MS. translation he left behind contained a number of blanks and passages which he intended to fill up and correct. His friend Petermann confined himself in his notes strictly to verbal corrections and suggestions as to *varia lectiones*. The consequence is that we have a translation without the notes of the translator and without a word of introduction. P. says the task of editing was so severe that he frequently suffered from fits of giddiness. In spite of numerous blemishes this first edition is said to be 'an outstanding achievement.' S. considers the original treatise, as we see from the title of his work, to have been written by Valentinus; but P. is of the opinion that it is the work of an Ophite, and promises to set forth his reasons at length in a treatise, which has unfortunately never seen the light. A review of S.'s work appeared in the *Journal des Savants* of 1852 (p. 333).

11. 1852. Bunsen (C. C. J.). *Hippolytus und seine Zeit, Anfänge und Aussichten des Christenthums und der Menschheit* (Leipzig), i. 47, 48. *Hippolytus and his Age* (London, 1852), i. 61, 62.

"Great, therefore, were my hopes in 1842, that the ancient Coptic manuscript of the British Museum, inscribed Sophia, might be a translation, or at least an extract, from that lost text-book of Gnosticism [the work quoted by Hippolytus, *sub Valent.*]: but unfortunately the accurate and trustworthy labours of that patient and conscientious Coptic scholar, Dr. Schwartz, so early taken away from us, have proved to me (for I have seen and perused his manuscript, which I hope will soon appear), that this Coptic treatise is a most worthless (I trust, purely Coptic) offshoot of the Marcosian heresy, of the latest and stupidest mysticism about letters, sounds and words."

B.'s Marcosian theory has been partially revived by Legge (below, 57), but is supported by no one else, and we doubt whether B. could have read Schwartz's MS. with any great care.

12. 1853. Baur (F. C.). *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen), notes on pp. 185, 186, and 205, 206.

B. evidently added these notes at the last moment before publication. On page 206 he leans to the idea of an Ophite origin.

13. 1854. Köstlin (K. R.). Two arts. in Baur and Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher* (Tübingen), xiii. 1-104 and 137-196, 'Das gnostische System des Buches Pistis Sophia.'

K. was the first to make an exhaustive analysis of the contents of the treatise, with the special object of setting forth the system of P.S., and his labours were used later by Lipsius in his art. in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (below, 20). He assigns its date to the first half of the 3rd cent., and thinks that it is of Ophite origin. In a note to page 1, K. writes :

"The MS. from which the work is published belongs to the collection of MSS. collected by Dr. Askew of London during his travels in Italy and Greece, of which *The British Theological Magazine* (*Das Britische theol. Magazin*) for the year 1770 (vol. i. part 4, p. 223) gives more particulars."

We know nothing of these travels, and there is no such magazine in the catalogue of the British Museum. *The Theological Repository* for 1770 contains no information on the subject; and no permutation of names solves the mystery. There were very few magazines published at that early date, so that the choice is limited.

14. 1856. An Anonymous Translation in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, tom. i. app. part. ii. coll. 1181-1286; this tome forms vol. xxiii. of his third *Encyclopédie Théologique*.

The translation is a sorry piece of work, more frequently a mere paraphrase from Schwartz's version than translation; there are also frequent omissions, sometimes as many as 40 pages of Schwartz's text; e.g. pp. 18, 19, 36 ff., 50, 51, 72, 73, 86-90, 108-135, 139, 157-160, 162, 171, 179, 180, 184-186, 221-243, 245-255, 281-320, 324-342. These are some of the omissions; but there are many more. It is, therefore, entirely useless to the student. The anonymous

writer vaguely suggests a late date for the treatise because of the complicated nature of the system.

15. 1860. Lipsius (R. A.). Art. 'Gnosticismus,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, separately published at Leipzig, 1860, pp. 95 ff. and 157 ff.

L. considers P.S. an Egypto-Ophite treatise, and with Köstlin assigns its date to the first half of the 3rd cent. See his Art. in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* (1887).

16. 1875-1883. *The Palæographical Society, Facsimiles of MSS. and Inscriptions*, Oriental Series, ed. by William Wright (London).

Plate xlii. The editor says that the original is later than Valentinus, and places the MS. in the 7th cent. There is a careful analysis of the text from the technical standpoint, and the facsimile is of f. 11 a.

17. 1877. Jacobi (H.). Art. 'Gnosis,' in Herzog's *Theolog. Real Encyclopädie* (Leipzig), 2nd ed., 1888; Translation (New York), 1882, 1883.

J. believes in an Ophite origin.

18. 1887. King (C. W.). *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediæval* (London), 2nd ed. The first ed. appeared in 1864, but contains no reference to P.S.

K. regards the P.S. as the most precious relic of Gnosticism. Besides many references scattered throughout the volume, there are translations from Schwartze of pages 227-239, 242-244, 247-248, 255-259, 261-263, 282-292, 298-308, 341, 342, 358, 375. K. does not venture an opinion on either the date or author.

19. 1887. Amélineau (E.). *Essai sur le Gnosticisme égyptien, ses Développements et son Origine égyptienne*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Paris), xiv.

See the third part for system of Valentinus and of P.S., pp. 166-322.

20. 1887. Lipsius (R. A.). Art. 'Pistis Sophia,' in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* (London), iv. 405-415.

A still valuable study. "We may regard ourselves as justified in assigning (with Petermann and Köstlin) the book Pistis Sophia to one of the large groups of Ophite sects, though nevertheless the system it contains is not identical with any one of the other Ophite systems known to us." Of importance is L.'s suggestion that P.S. may be indirectly one of the sources of the Manichæan religion. In any case,

"it may be assumed as probable that the book *Pistis Sophia* was written before the time of the Manichæan system, and therefore before A.D. 270. Moreover, as the system contained in it is evidently more recent than the other Ophitic systems known to us, we shall have, with Kœstlin, to assign its composition to the first half of the 3rd cent." (p. 414b).

21. 1888. Hyvernat (H.). *Album de Paléographie Copte* (Paris-Rome).

Pl. ii. is a reproduction of a page of our *Codex*, showing the work of the second scribe. H. dates it "about the end of the 6th cent.," but without a word of justification for this ascription.

22. 1889. Harnack (A.). Crit. of Amélineau's *Essai* (above, 19), in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), viii. 199-211.

23. 1890. Amélineau (E.). Art. 'Les *Traitées gnostiques d'Oxford*; *Étude critique*,' in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), xxi. no. 2. 178-260.

Practically the Introduction to his publication of the Text and Translation of the Bruce Codex (24, below). In it A. sets forth the results of "the researches and studies, the hypotheses and convictions of seven years" of labour (p. 4 offprint).

24. 1891. Amélineau (E.). *Notice sur le Papyrus gnostique Bruce, Texte et Traduction*, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Autres Bibliothèques* (Paris), xxix. pt. i. 65-305.

These views have been severely criticized, especially by Schmidt (below, 28; also 25-27).

24a. 1891. Harnack (A.). *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia* (Leipzig). (*Texte u. Untersuch.* vii. 2.)

A study (144 pp.) of the first importance, in which this high authority on the history and chronology of early Christian literature and the history of the development of dogma submits the contents of the Latin version of Schwartz to a careful analysis, and gives 8/9 reasons for placing the P.S. in the second half of the 3rd cent. H. is mainly valuable in his analysis of the Biblical references in the P.S., especially the uses it makes of the N.T., and in his estimate of the stage of development of the general Christian and Catholic elements in P.S. H. thinks that Div. iii. should be called 'Questions of Mary' (pp. 94, 108). Unknown to H., Renan (*Marc Aurèle*, p. 120) had already hazarded the suggestion that the whole P.S. might be identical with the *Little Questions*

of *Mary*, mentioned by Epiphanius. But R. shows (p. 145) that he has no direct acquaintance with the subject. H. assigns the P.S. to an 'Ophitic' sect, but not the 'Ophites' in the narrower meaning, for here, as elsewhere often in the use of the name, no sign of the worship of the serpent is found (p. 110). He brings the P.S. sect into close connection with the Syrian Ophitic group, which had offshoots in Egypt, and opens up those investigations into the statements of Epiphanius which Schmidt has surveyed in greater detail in his edition of the Codex Brucianus (below, 28). In fact these two scholars have been in close touch with one another in their work on the P.S. as to its origin, date and place. The concluding remark of H. on the general religious status of the P.S.—that is to say, its bearing on Early Christian and Catholic religion, in other words its place within the general history of Christianity—is noteworthy. He writes (p. 114): "In this respect the P.S. is a document of first rank, for we possess no second work which brings before our eyes so clearly the previous history of Catholic sacramentism. What we meet with here more sharply brought out and at one stroke among the Gnostics of the end of the third century, was accomplished by the Catholic Church toilsomely and gradually in the following century. This Gnosticism is not the father of Catholicism, but rather an elder brother who gained by assault what the younger brother attained subsequently amid a thousand exigencies."

25. 1891. Schmidt (C.). *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen), Nr. xvii. 640-675.

A very damaging review of Amélineau's edition of the Bruce Codex (above, 23).

26. 1891. Amélineau (E.). Art. 'Le Papyrus Bruce: Réponse aux Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen,' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), xxiv. no. 3. 376-380.

A.'s reply to Schmidt's criticisms.

27. 1892. Schmidt (C.). *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen), Nr. 6. 201-202.

S.'s further rejoinder to A.

28. 1892. Schmidt (C.). *Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus* (Leipzig), 692 pp. (T. u. U. viii.)

S.'s masterly edition entirely supersedes that of Amélineau, who worked on Woide's copy of the confused heap of leaves preserved in the Bodleian. His minute examination of the

original discovered that the chaos could first of all be sorted out into two totally different MSS. The larger work is entitled *The Book of the Great Logos according to the Mystery*. The contents fall naturally into two divisions, which S. calls respectively 'The First' and 'The Second Book of Jeû.' The system is closely related to that of the P.S. miscellany. S. devotes pp. 334-538 to a penetrating study of this relationship, in which he makes a most valuable contribution to the analysis of the contents of the P.S. His labours here are practically an Introduction to his subsequent translation of the P.S. in 1905 (below, 45). Among much else of the greatest value he gives us a minutely detailed investigation of the system of the P.S., which supersedes Köstlin's painstaking pioneer effort (1854). S. is rightly of opinion that P.S. is a more or less happy compilation from other works (p. 318), as Köstlin had already pointed out (p. 344). He seems to think little of the possible objection that, whereas the 'Two Books of Yew,' mentioned twice in the P.S., are said to have been dictated to Enoch by Jesus before the Flood and hidden away, the contents of the first document of the C.B. are revealed by Jesus himself to the disciples (p. 343). The statement in the P.S. is in keeping with common apocalyptic claims, and in any case the sect as a matter of fact did possess two Yew Books, and the contents of C.B. I. are what we should expect from the references in the P.S., while the intimate relationship between P.S. Div. iv. and C.B. I. b is patent to the most casual reader. He agrees with Harnack as to the date of the P.S.—namely, the latter half of the 3rd cent. for Divv. i.-iii., and a few decades earlier for Div. iv. C.B. I. is thus to be placed in the first half of the 3rd cent. (pp. 540, 598). C.B. II. is a work without a title, the contents of which have roused S. to enthusiasm (pp. 34, 35). It is plainly of an earlier date, and so S. here conjectures for it about 160-200 A.D. (p. 542); but he has subsequently changed his view as to date (see 47, below).

After a close methodical investigation, in which in particular he submits the statements of Epiphanius to a searching criticism, S. thinks that everything points to the Severians as being most probably the sect to which the writings contained in P.S. and C.B. I. can be attributed (p. 596). C.B. II., he concludes, may be assigned to Sethian-Archontics (p. 659). But the whole question bristles with difficulties when precise names are in question. It is to be noted that in his researches

S. lays under contribution as very pertinent to the inquiry his prior labours on the puzzling problem of the Gnostics of Plotinus, in his treatise *Plotin's Stellung zum Gnosticismus und kirchlichen Christentum* (Leipzig), 1900, 168 pp. (*T. u. U. N.F.* v. 4.). There is much criticism of Amélineau's work and views scattered throughout this C.B. volume.

29. 1892. Schmidt (C.). *De Codice Bruciano seu de Libris gnosticis qui in Lingua coptica extant Commentatio* (Leipzig), Pars i., 30 pp.

No other part has been published, and there is nothing in it, as far as I am aware, which has not appeared in C.'s larger works.

30. 1893. Crum (W. E.). *Coptic Manuscripts brought from the Fayyum by W. M. Flinders Petrie* (London).

C. seems almost to allow that the copy of P.S. might have been made in the 4th cent. (p. 24).

31. 1893. Legge (G. F.). Art. 'Some Heretic Gospels' in *The Scottish Review* (London), xxii. 133-162.

Pp. 134-157 are devoted to P.S., the rest to the documents of the Bruce Codex. L.'s *Forerunners* (1915) gives his maturer views (see below, 57).

32. 1893. Harnack (A.). *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig), I. i. 171 f.

A summary description of the contents of the P.S. and Cod. Bruc. from his important study, *Über d. gnost. Buch P.S.* (above, 24a), based on Schwartz's Latin version.

33. 1894. Preuschen (E.). Rev. of Schmidt's *Gnostische Schriften in k. S. aus d. Cod. Bruc.* (1892), in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), Nr. vii. 183-187.

P.'s main criticism is that S.'s identification of the two parts of the first treatise of the Bruce Codex with 'The Books of Yew' mentioned in P.S. is mistaken.

34. 1894. Schmidt (C.). 'Die in dem koptisch-gnostischen Codex Brucianus enthaltenen "Beide Bücher Jeû" in ihrem Verhältnis zu der Pistis Sophia,' in *Zeitschr. f. wissenschaft. Theolog.* (Leipzig), xxxvii. 555-585.

S.'s reply to P.'s criticism.

35. 1895. Amélineau (E.). *Pistis-Sophia, Ouvrage gnostique de Valentin, traduit du copte en français, avec une Introduction* (Paris), xxxii + 204 pp.

A. advocates strongly the Valentinian origin of the treatise,

and leans almost exclusively to an Egyptian origin of the ideas. These views have been severely criticized, especially by Schmidt. The MS. itself, however, A. places very late, writing on page xi of his Introduction as follows:—"After an examination of the enormous faults which the scribe has committed, I cannot attribute to the MS. which has preserved the Pistis-Sophia to us, a date later than the ninth or tenth century, and that too the minimum. For this I have several reasons. Firstly, the MS. is written on parchment, and parchment was hardly ever commonly used in Egypt before the sixth or seventh century. Secondly, the writing, which is uncial, though passable in the first pages of the MS., becomes bastard in a large number of leaves, when the scribe's hand is fatigued; no longer is it the beautiful writing of the Egyptian scribes of the great periods, but slack, inconsistent, almost round and hurried. Thirdly, the faults of orthography in the use of Greek words evidently show that the scribe belonged to a period when Greek was almost no longer known."

In a footnote Amélineau says that he is perfectly aware that this opinion of his will 'raise a tempest,' and begs for a suspension of judgment till he has published his reasons, especially as to the late use of parchment, at greater length. The storm broke, and no one has accepted A.'s arguments. Among other things he failed to notice that in the first place the Askew Codex is the work of two scribes, and not of one, and that the various portions of their common task can be unquestionably assigned to each. The parchment argument has never seen the light, as far as I am aware.

36. 1896. Mead (G. R. S.). *Pistis Sophia: A Gnostic Gospel (with Extracts from the Books of the Saviour appended), originally translated from Greek into Coptic and now for the first time Englished from Schwartze's Latin Version of the only known Coptic MS. and checked by Amélineau's French Version* (London).

The first edition of the present work.

37. 1898. Schmidt (C.). *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen), Nr. vi. 436-444.

A severely critical review of Amélineau's Introduction to his Translation of P.S. (above, 35).

38. 1899. Crum (W. E.). *Egyptian Exploration Fund, Archaeological Reports, 1897/1898* (London), p. 62.

Description of MS. of P.S., which is, however, improved upon below (46).

39. 1900. Mead (G. R. S.). *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten: Some Short Sketches among the Gnostics* (London), 1st ed. (2nd ed. 1906), 'The Gnosis according to its Friends,' pp. 451-602.

'The Askew and Bruce Codices' (pp. 453-458); 'Summary of the Contents of the So-called Pistis Sophia Treatise' (pp. 459-506); 'Summary of the Extracts from the Books of the Saviour' (pp. 507-517); 'Selections from the Untitled Apocalypse of the Codex Bruceanus' (pp. 547-566); 'Notes on the Contents of the Bruce and Askew Codices' (pp. 567-578); 'The Akhmim Codex' [now called the Berlin Codex] (pp. 579-592).

40. 1901. Rahlfs (A.). *Die Berliner Handschrift des sahidischen Psalters* (Berlin). *Abhandl. d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaft zu Göttingen. Philol. hist. Kl. N.F. Bd. iv. Nr. 4.*

On p. 7 R. calls attention to a remarkable difference in the versions of the Psalms quoted in the P.S. While the citations in pp. 53-82 and 111-181 (Schw.-Pet. ed.) vary relatively only slightly from the usual Sahidic version, those in pp. 86-110 are so totally different that they must be an independent translation from the Greek. If this is so, we are confronted by the high probability that Repentances 8-13 are a later addition, and that there were thus originally only 7 Repentances. If this hypothesis stands, it is of great importance for the internal analysis of the literature. R.'s view is criticized by Rendel Harris (below, 60).

41. 1901. Liechtenhan (R.). '*Untersuchungen zur koptisch-gnostischen Literatur,*' in *Zeitschr. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie*, Bd. xliv. H. ii. 236-253.

In his analysis of the composition of the P.S., L. introduces a novelty. He thinks that pp. 128 (ch. 64)-175 (end of ch. 80), subsequent to the thirteen Repentances, are a later insertion in the Sophia-episode, and regards the opening lines of ch. 81 ("It came to pass after all this") as a redactor's connecting paragraph.

With regard to the appropriateness of the suggested title, 'The Questions of Mary,' for Div. iii., and of 'The Gospel of Philip' (P.S. ch. 42) as a possible title for Divv. i. and ii.,—he tries to get over the difficulty that those two titles are mentioned by Epiphanius among the books of a group of sects to which the Church Father ascribes the most filthy, blasphemous and obscene rites, in the following conjecture (p. 242):—"A Gnostic sect in Egypt possessed a rich, apo-

calyptic literature, among which was to be found a *Gospel of Philip* and *Questions of Mary*. This sect was divided into an ascetic and a libertinist branch, and each group worked over the sacred literature which had come down to them." Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi.) got hold of the libertinist redaction; the ascetic is preserved for us in P.S., Divv. i.-iii. Div. iv. is an earlier stratum. 'The Books of Yew' mentioned in P.S. are said to have been revealed to Enoch; accordingly, like Preuschen, he thinks that these cannot be the treatise of the Bruce Codex to which Schmidt has assigned this title, for the latter is revealed to the Disciples (p. 251).

42. 1904. Harnack (A.). *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig), II. ii. 193-195, 'Die Pistis Sophia und die in Papyrus Brucianus Sæc. V. vel. VI. enthaltenen gnostischen Schriften.'

H. repeats, from his detailed study (above, 24a), his reasons for assigning the contents of P.S. Divv. i.-iii. to the latter half of 3rd cent. He says that Liechtenhan's final opinion (above, 41) on 'The Questions of Mary' problem is not far from his own view. Why H. assigns the treatises of the Bruce Codex to the 5th or 6th cent. (!) is not set forth.

43. 1904. Liechtenhan (R.). Art. 'Ophiten,' in *Schaff-Herzog's Real-encycl. f. protest. Theologie*, 3rd ed., vol. xiv.

L. (p. 405) includes the P.S. among a score of sects which he brings together under this too general heading of 'Ophites.'

(A shortened form of the above appears in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge* (New York), 1910, vol. viii.)

44. 1904. Granger (F.). Art. 'The Poemandres of Hermes Trismegistus,' in *The Journal of Theological Studies* (London), v. 395-412.

G. (p. 401) questions whether the P.S. is a translation from the Greek; but the only reason he advances is the hazardous statement that: "The Egyptian Gnostic writings of the third century exhibit the same qualities of style as the Coptic biographies and apocalypses of the fourth and following centuries."

45. 1905. Schmidt (C.). *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*. Bd. I. *Die Pistis Sophia. Die beiden Bücher des Jeû. Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk* (Leipzig), xxvii + 410 pp.

Bd. II. is to contain the three unpublished works of the Berlin Codex entitled: (1) *The Gospel of Mary*; (2) *The Apocryphon of John*; (3) *The Wisdom of Jesus Christ*. (See

my *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, 2nd ed., London, 1906, pp. 579-592, for a summary of Schmidt's notice of the Codex, published in *Sitzungsber. der Königl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissensch.*, Berlin, 1896 pp. 839 ff., entitled '*Ein vorirenaeisches gnostisches Original-werk in koptischer Sprache.*') This long-expected second volume has not yet seen the light. The contents are of great value, for *The Apocryphon of John*, in its original Greek form, lay before Irenæus, and in an appendix to Schmidt's notice Harnack ventures the query: Can *The Wisdom (Sophia) of Jesus Christ* possibly be the lost famous writing of Valentinus so entitled?

In the Introduction (pp. ix-xviii) S. sums up the results of his prior studies. The Translation of the P.S. occupies pp. 1-254, and is deserving of the highest praise.

46. 1905. Crum (W. E.). *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum* (London), p. 173.

The B.M. official description of the Askew Codex.

47. 1907. Schmidt (C.). Art. '*Irenäus und seine Quelle in Adv. Hær. I. 29.*' in *Philotesia. Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag dargebracht von Adolf Harnack, u.s.w.*, pp. 317-336.

This is a very important study, in which S. again treats of *The Apocryphon of John* in the unpublished Coptic Gnostic Berlin Codex, on which he had already specially dwelt in reporting for the first time the contents of the Codex to the Prussian Academy in 1896. The Greek original is early, and a copy of it lay before Irenæus. We are thus in a position to estimate the nature of the Church Father's method of quotation and summarizing, and it is clearly proved to be unreliable. S. definitely assigns this special document to a Sethian circle in Egypt, and brings its æon-lore into close touch with Valentinian ideas. He says nothing, unfortunately, of how this document and the other two of the Codex—namely, *The Gospel of Mary* and *The Wisdom of Jesus Christ*—bear on the line of descent of the doctrines of the P.S. Doubtless he is reserving his treatment of the subject for his long-expected edition of the whole Berlin Codex, which for the first time will give us first-hand knowledge of second-century Gnosticism, and, judging by what little S. has already disclosed to us, throw a brilliant light on some of the most puzzling obscurities in the history of the development of Gnostic doctrine.

48. 1907. Bousset (W.). *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen), 398 pp.

This is a study of the greatest value from the comparative

standpoint. Though Lipsius (above, 20) had already drawn attention to the point, B. goes further by showing in detail the close connection between some main notions of the Manichæan religion and some features of the P.S., whereas Schmidt (1892, pp. 375, 404, 417, 564) had previously drawn attention to isolated parallels only. In dealing with the system of the P.S. (pp. 346-350) B. writes: "There can be no doubt at all on the affinity between the two systems. The only possible question which remains is whether in the P.S. and II. Jeû direct dependence on the Manichæan system comes up for discussion, or whether a common source underlies both systems. The latter appears to me provisionally to be the more probable hypothesis. Many of the kindred ideas appear in the P.S. in their more original and purer form, the figure of the Virgin of Light has in the P.S. meaning and great importance, whereas in the Manichæan system she is a shadowy form by the side of the Third Envoy. If the latter supposition proves correct, Mani would have far less right of claim to originality for his system than has hitherto seemed to be the case."

49. 1909. Rendel Harris (J.). *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, now first published from the Syriac Version* (Cambridge). The *editio princeps* of the now recovered 42 Odes; previously only the five in the P.S. were known.

R. H. devotes pp. 16-35 to treating of the use of the Odes in the P.S. On p. 35 he writes: "The *Pistis Sophia*, in which the Odes are imbedded, dates from the third century, and the author of the *Pistis* had, as we have shown, the Odes bound up with his Canonical Psalter; at the time intimated there was no Coptic [Thebaic] Bible from which the extracts could have been made; so we may be sure the Odes were taken from a Greek Bible, and, with almost equal certainty, that the *Pistis Sophia* itself was a Greek book."

For R. H.'s change of opinion see below, 60.

50. 1909. Arendzen (J. P.). Art. 'Gnosticism,' in *The Catholic Encyclopædia* (New York), vol. vi.

P. S. is summarily and inadequately dealt with on p. 600.

51. 1910. Bousset (W.). Art. 'Gnosticism,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (London), 11th ed.

B., following the prevailing German view, assigns P.S. to the 2nd half of 3rd cent.; he, however, thinks that both treatises of the Bruce Codex are later than P.S., but does not argue this important question.

52. 1912. Bousset (W.). Arts. 'Gnosis' and 'Gnostiker,' in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. Wissowa-Kroll, Berlin).

B. here, in § 10, treats of the P.S. and the C.B. as belonging to the period when Gnosticism had got out of hand or was running wild ('*Die Verwilderung der Gnosis*'). He does not, however, repeat his view of the later date of C.B., and says that the eschatology of the P.S. is strongly reminiscent of Valentinian speculations.

53. 1912. Worrell (W. H.). Art. 'The Odes of Solomon and the Pistis Sophia,' in *The Journal of Theological Studies* (London), xiii. 29-46.

An interesting study. Gives translations of the five Odes from the Coptic and Syriac and seems to blame R. Harris for using Schwartze's Latin version instead of Schmidt's more modern rendering in his quotations from the P.S.

54. 1913. Scott (E. F.). Art. 'Gnosticism,' in *Hastings' Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics* (Edinburgh), vi. 231-242.

"There can be little doubt that the Coptic writings (*Pistis Sophia*, etc.) present a variety of the Barbelo-Gnosis" (p. 239a). P.S. was written in Egypt at close of 3rd cent. (p. 241b). This is by no means certain; we must wait for Schmidt's full translation and commentary on *The Apocryphon of John* before any definite conclusion can be reached.

55. 1913. De Faye (E.). *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme : Étude critique des Documents du Gnosticisme chrétien aux II^e et III^e Siècles* (Paris). Pt. iii. 'Écrits gnostiques en Langue copte,' pp. 247-311.

D. F. agrees with Harnack and Schmidt as to the most probable date being the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. (p. 254). He thinks that Div. iii. is the lost *Little Questions of Mary*, favouring Harnack against Schmidt, whom he blames (p. 266) for abandoning this view in the Introduction (p. xviii) to his Translation (above, 45), after first adopting it in his earlier work. He thinks that Schmidt has made out his case for the two Jeû Books against the reservations of Preuschen and Liechtenhan (p. 291). D. F. is strongly opposed to the hypothesis of a Valentinian origin (p. 251); he is also very critical of the general Ophite theory (p. 327) and of the special Severian theory of Schmidt (p. 355). He has no precise view of his own as to origin; but, in keeping with his general thesis, which would make most, if not all, of the anonymous and pseudonymous systems later and degenerate

forms of the more metaphysical views of a Basilides, a Valentinus and a Marcion, he is content to leave the P.S. to a later period of degeneration. His general metaphysical test can hardly be said to be a criterion for history. Metaphysic does not come first; philosophizing is a secondary stage, and this is certainly the case in the general development of the Gnosis which starts in a strongly mythological and apocalyptic circle of ideas.

56. 1913. Scott-Moncrieff (P. D.). *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (Cambridge), pp. 148-182, ch. vii., 'Some Aspects of Gnosticism: Pistis Sophia.'

After a review of contents and literature, with regard to place of origin the author writes (p. 175): "But if of Syrian origin the scheme betrays here and there marked signs of Egyptian influence, and the fact that the work was sufficiently important to be translated into the native tongue shows without doubt that the sect which inspired it was an Egyptian branch who dwelt in Egypt." This is of course generally evident. S.-M. thinks, however, that the question of translation may be pressed too much. Without attempting any justification of his opinion, he asserts that "the Coptic text is at the earliest a fifth-century work when Gnosticism was fast dying out and could only be practised furtively." Surely the author is here confusing the probable date of the Askew Codex copy with the question of date of the original?

57. 1915. Legge (G. F.). *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity: Being Studies in Religious History from 330 B.C. to 330 A.D.* (Cambridge), 2 vols., ii. 134-202, ch. x., 'The System of the Pistis Sophia and its Related Texts.'

Divv. i. and ii. presuppose belief in a system resembling those of the Ophites and of Valentinus (p. 135). Divv. iii. and iv. are probably Marcosian in origin (p. 173), in any case later (!) than Divv. i. and ii. (p. 184). In this L. partially revives Bunsen's rejected theory (above, 11). He accepts translation from a Greek original, and continues (p. 177): "We must . . . look for an author who, though an Egyptian and acquainted with the native Egyptian religion, would naturally have written in Greek; and on the whole there is no one who fulfils these requirements so well as Valentinus himself. The fact that the author never quotes from the Gospel according to St. John indicates that it had not come to his knowledge." L.'s criticism (pp. 161 f.) of Harnack's parallels from this Gospel (above, 24a), however, does not seem

to me satisfactory. The first commentary on the Fourth Gospel was made by a Valentinian. L.'s view of authorship of the P.S. revives the Valentinian hypothesis in its most radical form. The two books of the Bruce Codex, which Schmidt calls 'The Books of Jeû,' are not the books referred to in the P.S. "which therefore remains the parent document" (p. 194).

58. 1918. Moffat (J.). Art. 'Pistis Sophia,' in *Hastings' Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics* (Edinburgh), x. 45-48.

This is a useful, if brief, summary of contents and prior opinions. M. takes up a moderate position when he says that, though the P.S. is to be assigned to some Gnostic circles in Egypt, its particular type of Gnosticism cannot be identified. He thinks, however, on the whole that the occurrence of the name Barbelo assigns our miscellany "to some circle more or less allied to the pious theosophists of the 2nd cent. whom we know as the Ophites collectively, and as the Nicolaitans, Simonians and Barbelo-Gnostics specifically." H. thinks the Yew Books mentioned in the P.S. can hardly be the books of C.B. I.

59. 1919. Schmidt (C.). *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung. Ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts nach einem koptischen Papyrus des Institut de la Mission Archéolog. Française au Caire, unter Mitarbeit von Herrn Pierre Lacau . . . General Director d. Ägypt. Mus. Übersetzung des äthiopischen Texts von Dr Isaak Wajenberg* (Leipzig). (T. u. U. Bd. xliii.)

The external form of this interesting and important document is an Epistle, resembling that of the Catholic Epistles of the N.T. But within, it passes into the form of an apocalypse, and that too of Discourses between Jesus and his Disciples after the Resurrection. This latter characteristic is otherwise not found in Catholic documents; it is a Gnostic peculiarity, of which the P.S. is a classical example, the other instances being what Schmidt calls the 'Two Books of Jeû' of the Bruce Codex and of *The Gospel of Mary* and of *The Wisdom of Jesus Christ* of the Berlin Codex. *The Questions of Mary, The Great* and *The Little*, of Epiphanius' 'Gnostici' were also of this post-resurrectional type of discourses (p. 206).

S. does not re-discuss the question of date of the P.S. by the light of this new find, but it is clearly of importance, seeing that with regard to the new document he concludes

(p. 402): "The *Epistola Apostolorum* is written by a representative of the Catholic Church with the intention of attacking the Gnostic heresies, especially Docetism. The country of origin is Asia Minor, and the date is the second half of the second century, more precisely 160-170 A.D."

60. 1920. Rendel Harris (J.) and Mingana (A.). *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, re-edited for the Governors of the John Rylands Library (Manchester), 2 vols. Text, 1912; Tr. and Notes, 1920.

Here R. H. entirely changes his view of P.S. being a translation from the Greek. He now thinks that (p. 117): "Unless . . . the P.S. has substituted the Sahidic [Bible] version for some other version which lay before the author, of which he has avoided the trouble of making a fresh translation, there is a strong presumption that the P.S. is a genuine Coptic book, and not a rendering of some other work (Greek or Syriac) into Coptic." He rejects (p. 183) Worrell's theory (above, 53) of a Gnostic Hymn- and Psalm-book, and criticizes (pp. 186 f.) Rahlfs' discovery of two versions of the Psalms (above, 40). He is accordingly opposed to the general view of translation from the Greek, and suggests (p. 186) that the matter needs some further elucidation. It cannot, however, be said that his argument is in any way convincing.

As to the Odes of Solomon themselves, which have produced so large and instructive a literature since the first edition was published, their lucky discoverer and able editor, in reviewing the whole question, thinks we cannot go far wrong if we conclude that they were written at Antioch in the 1st century (p. 69).

[THE FIRST BOOK OF] PISTIS SOPHIA

It came to pass, when Jesus had risen from the dead, that he passed eleven years discoursing

CHAP. 1.

with his disciples, and instructing them only up to the regions of the First Commandment and up to the regions of the First Mystery, that within the Veil, within the First Commandment, which is the four-and-twentieth mystery without and below—those [four-and-twenty] which are in the second space of the First Mystery which is before all mysteries,—the Father in the form of a dove.

1.
Jesus
hitherto
instructeth
his disciples
only up to
the regions
of the First
Mystery.

And Jesus said to his disciples : “ I am come forth out of that First Mystery, which is the last mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery.”

What the
First Mys-
tery sur-
roundeth.

And his disciples have not known nor understood that anything existeth within that mystery ; but they thought of that mystery, that it is the head of the universe and the head of all existence ; and they thought it is the completion of all completions, because Jesus had said to them concerning that mystery, that it surroundeth the First Commandment and the five Impressions and the great Light | and the five Helpers and the whole Treasury of the Light.

And moreover Jesus had not told his disciples

The regions
of the great
Invisible.

the total expansion of all the regions of the great Invisible and of the three triple-powers and of the four-and-twenty invisibles, and all their regions and their æons and their orders, how they are extended—those which are the emanations of the great Invisible—and their ungenerated and their self-generated and their generated and their light-givers and their unpaired and their rulers and their authorities and their lords and their archangels and their angels and their decans and their servitors and all the houses of their spheres and all the orders of every one of them.

The Treas-
ury of the
Light.

And Jesus had not told his disciples the total expansion of the emanations of the Treasury, nor their orders, how they are extended ; nor had he told them their saviours, according to the order of every one, how they are ; nor had he told them what guard is at every [gate] of the Treasury of the Light ; nor had he told them the region of the Twin-saviour, who is the Child of the Child ; nor had he told them the regions of the three Amēns, in what regions they are expanded ; nor had he told them into what region the five Trees are expanded ; nor as to the seven Amēns, that is the seven Voices, what is their region, how they are expanded.

3.

The Light-
world.

And Jesus had not told his disciples of what type are the five Helpers, nor into what region they are brought ; nor had he told them how the great Light hath expanded itself, nor into what region it hath been brought ; nor had he told them of the five Impressions, nor as to the First Commandment, into what region they have been brought. But he had discoursed with them generally, teaching that they exist, but he had not told

them their expansion and the order of their regions, how they are. For this cause they have not known that there were also other regions within that mystery.

And he had not told his disciples: "I have gone forth out of such and such regions until I entered into that mystery, and until I went forth out of it"; but, in teaching them, he said to them: "I am come forth from that mystery." For this cause then they thought of that mystery, that it is the completion | of completions, and that it is ⁴ the head of the universe and that it is the total Fulness. For Jesus had said to his disciples: "That mystery surroundeth that universe of which I have spoken unto you from the day when I met with you even unto this day." For this cause then the disciples thought there is nothing within that mystery.

It came to pass then, when the disciples were sitting together on the Mount of Olives, speaking of these words and rejoicing in great joy, and exulting exceedingly and saying one to another: "Blessed are we before all men who are on the earth, because the Saviour hath revealed this unto us, and we have received the Fulness and the total completion,"—they said this to one another, while Jesus sat a little removed from them.

And it came to pass then, on the fifteenth day of the moon in the month Tybi, which is the day on which the moon is full, on that day then, when the sun had come forth in his going, that there came forth behind him a great light-power shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure to the light conjoined with it. For it came out of the Light of lights, and it came out of the

CHAP. 2.
Jesus and his disciples are seated on the Mount of Olives.

A great light-power descendeth on Jesus.

5. last mystery, which is the four-and-twentieth | mystery, from within without,—those which are in the orders of the second space of the First Mystery. And that light-power came down over Jesus and surrounded him entirely, while he was seated removed from his disciples, and he had shone most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was on him.

It surround-
eth him en-
tirely.

And the disciples had not seen Jesus because of the great light in which he was, or which was about him ; for their eyes were darkened because of the great light in which he was. But they saw only the light, which shot forth many light-rays. And the light-rays were not like one another, but the light was of divers kind, and it was of divers type, from below upwards, one [ray] more excellent than the other, . . . , in one great immeasurable glory of light ; it stretched from under the earth right up to heaven.—And when the disciples saw that light, they fell into great fear and great agitation. |

6.
CHAP. 3.
Jesus as-
cendeth
into heaven.

It came to pass then, when that light-power had come down over Jesus, that it gradually surrounded him entirely. Then Jesus ascended or soared into the height, shining most exceedingly in an immeasurable light. And the disciples gazed after him and none of them spake, until he had reached unto heaven ; but they all kept in deep silence. This then came to pass on the fifteenth day of the moon, on the day on which it is full in the month Tybi.

The confu-
sion of the
powers and
the great
earthquake.

It came to pass then, when Jesus had reached the heaven, after three hours, that all the powers of the heaven fell into agitation, and all were set in motion one against the other, they and all their

æons and all their regions and all their orders, and the whole earth was agitated and all they who dwell thereon. And all men who are in the world fell into agitation, and also the disciples, and all thought: Peradventure the world will be rolled up.

And all the powers in the heavens ceased not from their agitation, they and the whole world, and all were moved one against the other, from the third hour of the fifteenth day of the moon of Tybi until the ninth hour of the morrow. And all the angels and their archangels and all the powers of the height, all sang praises to the interiors of the | interiors, so that the whole world ⁷ heard their voices, without their ceasing till the ninth hour of the morrow.

But the disciples sat together in fear and were **CHAP. 4.** in exceedingly great agitation and were afraid because of the great earthquake which took place, and they wept together, saying: "What will then be? Peradventure the Saviour will destroy all regions?" Thus saying, they wept together.

While they then said this and wept together, Jesus descendeth again. then, on the ninth hour of the morrow, the heavens opened, and they saw Jesus descend, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for his light in which he was. For he shone more [radiantly] than at the hour when he had ascended to the heavens, so that men in the world cannot describe the light which was on him; and it shot forth light-rays in great abundance, and there was no measure for its rays, and its light was not alike together, but it was of divers kind and of divers type, some [rays] being more excellent than others . . . ; and the whole light consisted to-

The nature
of his glory.

gether. It was of threefold kind, and the one [kind] was more excellent than the other. . . . The second, that in the midst, was more excellent than the first which was below, and the third, which was above them all, was more excellent than the two which were below. And the first glory, which was placed below them all, was like to the light which had come over Jesus before he had ascended | into the heavens, and was like only itself in its light. And the three light-modes were of divers light-kinds, and they were of divers type, one being more excellent than the other. . . .

8.

CHAP. 5.

Jesus ad-
dresseth
them.

And it came to pass then, when the disciples saw this, that they feared exceedingly, and were in agitation. Then Jesus, the compassionate and tender-hearted, when he saw his disciples, that they were in great agitation, spake with them, saying: "Take courage. It is I, be not afraid."

CHAP. 6.

It came to pass then, when the disciples had heard this word, that they said: "Lord, if it be thou, withdraw thy light-glory into thyself that we may be able to stand; otherwise our eyes are darkened, and we are agitated, and the whole world also is in agitation because of the great light which is about thee."

He draweth
his light
unto him-
self.

Then Jesus drew to himself the glory of his light; and when this was done, all the disciples took courage, stepped forward to Jesus, fell down all together, adored him, rejoicing in great joy, and said unto him: "Rabbi, whither hast thou gone, or what was thy ministry on which thou hast gone, or wherefor rather were all these confusions and all the earth-quakings which have taken place?"

Then Jesus, the compassionate, said unto them : He promiseth to tell them all things.
 “ Rejoice and exult from this hour on, for I have gone to the regions out of which I had come forth. From this day on then will I discourse with you in openness, | from the beginning of the Truth ^a unto its completion ; and I will discourse with you face to face without similitude. From this hour on will I not hide anything from you of the [mystery] of the height and of that of the region of Truth. For authority hath been given me through the Ineffable and through the First Mystery of all mysteries to speak with you, from the Beginning right up to the Fulness, both from within without and from without within. Hearken, therefore, that I may tell you all things.

“ It came to pass, when I sat a little removed from you on the Mount of Olives, that I thought on the order of the ministry for the sake of which I was sent, that it was completed, and that the last mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery from within without,—those which are in the second space of the First Mystery, in the orders of that space,—had not yet sent me my Vesture. It came to pass then, when I had known that the order of the ministry for the sake of which I had come, was completed, and that that mystery had not yet sent me my Vesture, which I had left behind in it, until its time was completed,—thinking then this, I sat on the Mount of Olives a little removed from you.

“ It came to pass, when the sun rose in the east, **CHAP. 7.** thereafter then through the First Mystery, which existed from the beginning, on account of which the universe hath arisen, | out of which also I am ¹⁰ myself now come, not in the time before my

How the
Vesture of
Light was
sent unto
him.

crucifixion, but now,—it came to pass, through the command of that mystery, that there should be sent me my Light-vesture, which it had given me from the beginning, and which I had left behind in the last mystery, that is the four-and-twentieth mystery from within without,—those which are in the orders of the second space of the First Mystery. That Vesture then I left behind in the last mystery, until the time should be completed to put it on, and I should begin to discourse with the race of men and reveal unto them all from the beginning of the Truth to its completion, and discourse with them from the interiors of the interiors to the exteriors of the exteriors and from the exteriors of the exteriors to the interiors of the interiors. Rejoice then and exult and rejoice more and more greatly, for to you it is given that I speak first with you from the beginning of the Truth to its completion.

Of the souls
of the disci-
ples and
their incar-
nation.
11.

“ For this cause have I chosen you verily from the beginning through the First Mystery. Rejoice then and exult, for when I set out for the world, | I brought from the beginning with me twelve powers, as I have told you from the beginning, which I have taken from the twelve saviours of the Treasury of the Light, according to the command of the First Mystery. These then I cast into the womb of your mothers, when I came into the world, that is those which are in your bodies to-day. For these powers have been given unto you before the whole world, because ye are they who will save the whole world, and that ye may be able to endure the threat of the rulers of the world and the pains of the world and its dangers and all its persecutions, which the rulers of the height will

bring upon you. For many times have I said unto you that I have brought the power in you out of the twelve saviours who are in the Treasury of the Light. For which cause I have said unto you indeed from the beginning that ye are not of the world. I also am not of it. For all men who are in the world have gotten their souls out of [the power of] the rulers of the æons. But the power which is in you is from me ; your souls belong to the height. I have brought twelve powers of the twelve saviours of the Treasury of the Light, taking them out of the portion of my power which I did first receive. And ¹² when I had set forth for the world, I came into the midst of the rulers of the sphere and had the form of Gabriël the angel of the æons ; and the rulers of the æons did not know me, but they thought that I was the angel Gabriël.

“ It came to pass then, when I had come into the midst of the rulers of the æons, that I looked down on the world of mankind, by command of the First Mystery. I found Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptizer, before she had conceived him, and I sowed into her a power which I had received from the little Iaō, the Good, who is in the Midst, that he might be able to make proclamation before me and make ready my way, and baptize with the water of the forgiveness of sins. That power then is in the body of John.

Of the incarnation of John the Baptizer.

“ Moreover in place of the soul of the rulers which he was appointed to receive, I found the soul of the prophet Elias in the æons of the sphere ; and I took him thence, and took his soul and brought it to the Virgin of Light, and

That John was Elias in a former birth.

13.

she gave it over to her receivers ; they brought it to the sphere of the rulers and cast it into the womb of Elizabeth. So the power of the little Iaō, who is in the Midst, and the soul of the prophet Elias, they were bound into the body of John the Baptizer. For this cause then were ye in doubt aforetime, | when I said unto you : ‘ John said : I am not the Christ,’ and ye said unto me : ‘ It standeth written in the scripture : When the Christ shall come, Elias cometh before him and maketh ready his way.’ But when ye said this unto me, I said unto you : ‘ Elias verily is come and hath made ready all things, as it standeth written, and they have done unto him as they would.’ And when I knew that ye had not understood that I had discoursed with you concerning the soul of Elias which is bound into John the Baptizer, I answered you in the discourse in openness face to face : ‘ If ye like to accept John the Baptizer : he is Elias, of whom I have said that he will come.’ ”

CHAP. 8.

Of his own
incarnation
through
Mary.

14.

And Jesus continued again in the discourse and said : “ It came to pass then thereafter, that at the command of the First Mystery I looked down on the world of mankind and found Mary, who is called ‘ my mother ’ according to the body of matter. I spake with her in the type of Gabriēl, and when she had turned herself to the height towards me, I cast thence into her the first power which I had received from Barbēlō—that is the body which I have borne in the height. And instead of the soul I cast into her the power which I | have received from the great Sabaōth, the Good, who is in the region of the Right.

“ And the twelve powers of the twelve saviours

of the Treasury of the Light which I had received from the twelve ministers of the Midst, I cast into the sphere of the rulers. And the decans of the rulers and their servitors thought that they were souls of the rulers; and the servitors brought them, they bound them into the body of your mothers. And when your time was completed, ye were born in the world without souls of the rulers in you. And ye have received your portion out of the power which the last Helper hath breathed into the Mixture, that [power] which is blended with all the invisibles and all rulers and all æons,—in a word, which is blended with the world of destruction which is the Mixture. This [power], which from the beginning I brought out of myself, I have cast into the First Commandment, and the First Commandment cast a portion thereof into the great Light, and the great Light cast a portion of that which it had received, into the five Helpers, and the last Helper took a portion of that which it received, and cast it into the Mixture. And [this portion] is in all who are in the Mixture, | as I have just said unto you.”

More concerning the light-powers in the disciples.

15.

This then Jesus said to his disciples on the Mount of Olives. Jesus continued again in the discourse with his disciples [and said]: “Rejoice and exult and add joy to your joy, for the times are completed for me to put on my Vesture, which hath been prepared for me from the beginning, which I left behind in the last mystery until the time of its completion. Now the time of its completion is the time when I shall be commanded through the First Mystery to discourse with you from the beginning of the Truth to the

Why they should rejoice that the time of his investiture had come.

completion thereof, and from the interiors of the interiors [to the exteriors of the exteriors], for the world will be saved through you. Rejoice then and exult, for ye are blessed before all men who are on the earth. It is ye who will save the whole world."

CHAP. 9.

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words to his disciples, that he continued again in the discourse, and said unto them: "Lo, I have then put on my Vesture, and all authority hath been given me through the First Mystery. Yet a little while and I will tell you the mystery of the universe and the fulness of the universe; and I will hide nothing from you from this hour on, but in fulness will I perfect you in all fulness and | in all perfection and in all mysteries, which are the perfection of all perfections and the fulness of all fulnesses and the gnosis of all gnosises,—those which are in my Vesture. I will tell you all mysteries from the exteriors of the exteriors to the interiors of the interiors. But hearken that I may tell you all things which have befallen me.

16.

CHAP. 10.

The mystery of the five words on the vesture.

"It came to pass then, when the sun had risen in the east, that a great light-power came down, in which was my Vesture, which I had left behind in the four-and-twentieth mystery, as I have said unto you. And I found a mystery in my Vesture, written in five words of those from the height: *zama zama ōzza rachama ōzai*,—whose solution is this:

The solution thereof.

"O Mystery, which is without in the world, for whose sake the universe hath arisen,—this is the total outgoing and the total ascent, which hath emanated all emanations and all that is

therein and for whose sake all mysteries and all their regions have arisen,—come hither unto us, for we are thy fellow-members. We are all with thyself; we are one and the same. Thou art the First Mystery, | which existed from ¹⁷ the beginning in the Ineffable before it came forth; and the name thereof are we all. Now, therefore, are we all come to meet thee at the last limit, which also is the last mystery from within; itself is a portion of us. Now, therefore, have we sent thee thy Vesture, which hath belonged to thee from the beginning, which thou hast left behind in the last limit, which also is the last mystery from within, until its time should be completed, according to the commandment of the First Mystery. Lo, its time is completed; put it on [thee].

“ ‘ Come unto us, for we all draw nigh to thee to clothe thee with the First Mystery and all his glory, by commandment of himself, in that the First Mystery hath given us it, consisting of two vestures, to clothe thee therewith, besides the one which we have sent thee, for thou art worthy of them, since thou art prior to us, and existeth before us. For this cause, therefore, hath the First Mystery sent thee through us the mystery of all his glory, consisting of two vestures. The three robes of light.

“ ‘ In the first is the whole glory of all the names of all mysteries and all emanations of the orders | of the spaces of the Ineffable. The first vesture. 18.

“ ‘ And in the second vesture is the whole glory of the name of all mysteries and all emanations which are in the orders of the two spaces of the First Mystery. The second vesture.

“ ‘ And in this [third] vesture, which we have

The third
vesture.

just sent thee, is the glory of the name of the mystery of the Revealer, which is the First Commandment, and of the mystery of the five Impressions, and of the mystery of the great Envoy of the Ineffable, who is the great Light, and of the mystery of the five Leaders, who are the five Helpers. There is further in this vesture the glory of the name of the mystery of all orders of the emanations of the Treasury of the Light and of their saviours, and [of the mystery] of the orders of the orders, which are the seven Amēns and the seven Voices and the five Trees and the three Amēns and the Twin-saviour, that is the Child of the Child, and of the mystery of the nine guards of the three gates of the Treasury of the Light. There is further therein the whole glory of the name [of all those] which are in the Right, and of all those which are in the Midst. And further there is therein the whole glory of the name of the great Invisible, | which is the great Forefather, and the mystery of the three triple-powers and the mystery of their whole region and the mystery of all their invisibles and of all those who are in the thirteenth æon, and the name of the twelve æons and of all their rulers and all their archangels and all their angels and of all those who are in the twelve æons, and the whole mystery of the name of all those who are in the Fate and in all the heavens, and the whole mystery of the name of all those who are in the sphere, and of its firmaments and of all who are in them, and of all their regions.

19.

“ ‘ Lo, therefore, we have sent thee this vesture, which no one knew from the First Command-

ment downwards, for the glory of its light was hidden in it, and the spheres and all regions from the First Commandment downwards [have not known it]. Haste thee, therefore, clothe thyself with this vesture and come unto us. For we draw nigh unto thee, to clothe thee by command of the First Mystery with thy two vestures [other] which existed for thee from the beginning with the First Mystery until the time appointed by the Ineffable is completed. | Come, therefore, to us quickly, that we may put them on thee, until thou hast fulfilled the total ministry of the perfection of the First Mystery which is appointed by the Ineffable. Come, therefore, to us quickly, in order that we may clothe thee with them, according to the command of the First Mystery. For yet a little while, a very little while, and thou shalt come unto us and leave the world. Come, therefore, quickly, that thou mayest receive thy whole glory, that is the glory of the First Mystery.'

The day of
'Come unto
us.'

20.

"It came to pass then, when I saw the mystery of all these words in the vesture which was sent me, that straightway I clothed myself therewith, and I shone most exceedingly and soared into the height.

CHAP. 11.

Jesus
putteth on
his vesture.

"I came before the [first] gate of the firmament, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me, and the gates of the firmament were shaken one over against another and all opened at once.

He enter-
eth the
firmament.

"And all rulers and all authorities and all angels therein were thrown all together into agitation because of the great light which was on me. And they gazed at the radiant vesture of

The powers
of the firma-
ment are
amazed and
fall down
and adore
him.

21.

light with which I was clad, and they saw the mystery which contains their names, | and they feared most exceedingly. And all their bonds with which they were bound, were unloosed and every one left his order, and they all fell down before me, adored and said: 'How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing?' And they all sang praises together to the interiors of the interiors; but me they saw not, but they saw only the light. And they were in great fear and were exceedingly agitated and sang praises to the interiors of the interiors.

CHAP. 12.

He entereth
the first
sphere.

"And I left that region behind me and ascended to the first sphere, shining most exceedingly, forty-and-nine-times more brightly than I had shone in the firmament. It came to pass then, when I had reached the gate of the first sphere, that its gates were shaken and opened of themselves at once.

The powers
of the first
sphere are
amazed and
fall down
and adore
him.

"I entered into the houses of the sphere, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure to the light that was about me. And all the rulers and all those who are in that sphere, fell into agitation one against another. And they saw the great light that was about me, and they gazed upon my vesture and saw thereon the mystery of their name. And they fell into still greater agitation, and were in great fear, saying: 'How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing?' |
22. And all their bonds were unloosed and their regions and their orders; and every one left his order, and they fell down all together, adored before me, or before my vesture, and all sang

praises together to the interiors of the interiors, being in great fear and great agitation.

“ And I left that region behind me and came to the gate of the second sphere, which is the Fate. Then were all its gates thrown into agitation and opened of themselves. And I entered into the houses of the Fate, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light that was about me, for I shone in the Fate forty-and-nine times more than in the [first] sphere. CHAP. 13.
He entereth
the second
sphere.

“ And all the rulers and all those who are in the Fate, were thrown into agitation and fell on one another and were in exceeding great fear on seeing the great light that was about me. And they gazed on my vesture of light and saw the mystery of their name on my vesture and fell into still greater agitation; and they were in great fear, saying: ‘ How hath the lord of the universe passed through us without our knowing?’ And all the bonds of their regions and of their orders and of their houses were unloosed; they all came at once, fell down, adored before me and sang praises all together | to the interiors 23. of the interiors, being in great fear and great agitation. The powers
of the sec-
ond sphere
are amazed
and fall
down and
adore
him.

“ And I left that region behind me and ascended to the great æons of the rulers and came before their veils and their gates, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me. It came to pass then, when I arrived at the twelve æons, that their veils and their gates were shaken one over against the other. Their veils drew themselves apart of their own accord, and their gates opened one CHAP. 14.
He entereth
the æons.

over against the other. And I entered into the æons, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light that was about me, forty-and-nine times more than the light with which I shone in the houses of the Fate.

The powers
of the æons
are amazed
and fall
down and
adore him.

“ And all the angels of the æons and their archangels and their rulers and their gods and their lords and their authorities and their tyrants and their powers and their light-sparks and their light-givers and their unpaired and their invisibles and their forefathers and their triple-powers saw me, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me. And they were thrown into agitation the one over against the other and great fear fell upon them, when they saw the great light that was about me. And in their great agitation and their great fear they withdrew as far as |
24. the region of the great invisible Forefather, and of the three great triple-powers. And because of the great fear of their agitation, the great Forefather, he and the three triple-powers, kept on running hither and thither in his region, and they could not close all their regions because of the great fear in which they were. And they agitated all their æons together and all their spheres and all their orders, fearing and being greatly agitated because of the great light which was about me—not of the former quality that it was about me when I was on the earth of mankind, when the light-vesture came over me,—for the world could not bear the light such as it was in its truth, else would the world at once be destroyed and all upon it,—but the light which was about me in the twelve æons was

eight-thousand-and-seven-hundred-myriad times greater than that which was about me in the world among you.

“ It came to pass then, when all those who are in the twelve æons saw the great light which was about me, that they were all thrown into agitation one over against the other, and ran hither and thither in the æons. And all æons and all heavens and their whole ordering were agitated one over against the other | on account of the great fear which was on them, for they knew not the mystery which had taken place. And Adamas, the great Tyrant, and all the tyrants in all the æons began to fight in vain against the light, and they knew not against whom they fought, because they saw nothing but the overmastering light.

CHAP. 15.
Adamas
and the
tyrants
fight
against the
light.

25.

“ It came to pass then, when they fought against the light, that they were weakened all together one with another, were dashed down in the æons and became as the inhabitants of the earth, dead and without breath of life.

“ And I took from all a third of their power, that they should no more be active in their evil doings, and that, if the men who are in the world, invoke them in their mysteries—those which the angels who transgressed have brought down, that is their sorceries,—in order that, therefore, if they invoke them in their evil doings, they may not be able to accomplish them.

He taketh
from them
a third of
their power.

“ And the Fate and the sphere over which they rule, I have changed and brought it to pass that they spend six months turned to the left and accomplish their influences, and that six months they face to the right and accomplish

He
changeth
the motion
of their
spheres.

26. their influences. For by command of the First Commandment and by command of the First Mystery | Yew, the Overseer of the Light, had set them facing the left at every time and accomplishing their influences and their deeds.

CHAP. 16. "It came to pass then, when I came into their region, that they mutinied and fought against the light. And I took the third of their power, in order that they should not be able to accomplish their evil deeds. And the Fate and the sphere, over which they rule, I have changed, and set them facing the left six months and accomplishing their influences, and I have set them turned another six months to the right and accomplishing their influences."

CHAP. 17. When then he had said this to his disciples, he said unto them: "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."

It came to pass then, when Mary had heard the Saviour say these words, that she gazed fixedly into the air for the space of an hour. She said: "My Lord, give commandment unto me to speak in openness."

Mary
Magdalene
asketh and
receiveth
permission
to speak.

And Jesus, the compassionate, answered and said unto Mary: "Mary, thou blessed one, whom I will perfect in all mysteries of those of the height, discourse in openness, thou, whose heart is raised to the kingdom of heaven more than all thy brethren."

CHAP. 18. Then said Mary to the Saviour: "My Lord, the word which thou hast spoken unto us: 'Who | hath ears to hear, let him hear,' thou sayest in order that we may understand the word which thou hast spoken. Hearken, therefore, my Lord, that I may discourse in openness.

27.

“ The word which thou hast spoken : ‘ I have taken a third from the power of the rulers of all the æons, and changed their Fate and their sphere over which they rule, in order that, if the race of men invoke them in the mysteries—those which the angels who transgressed have taught them for the accomplishing of their evil and lawless deeds in the mystery of their sorcery,’ —in order then that they may no more from this hour accomplish their lawless deeds, because thou hast taken their power from them and from their horoscope-casters and their consulters and from those who declare to the men in the world all things which shall come to pass, in order that they should no more from this hour know how to declare unto them any thing at all which will come to pass (for thou hast changed their spheres, and hast made them spend six months turned to the left and accomplishing their influences, and another six months facing the right and accomplishing their influences),—concerning this word then, my Lord, the power which was in the prophet Isaiah, hath spoken thus and proclaimed aforetime in a spiritual similitude, discoursing on the ‘ Vision about Egypt ’ : ‘ Where then, O Egypt, where are thy consulters and horoscope-casters and those who cry | out ^{28.} of the earth and those who cry out of their belly ? Let them then declare unto thee from now on the deeds which the lord Sabaōth will do ! ’

“ The power then which was in the prophet Isaiah, prophesied before thou didst come, that thou wouldst take away the power of the rulers of the æons and wouldst change their sphere and their Fate, in order that they might

Mary interpreteth the discourse from the words of Isaiah.

know nothing from now on. For this cause it hath said also : ' Ye shall then know not of what the lord Sabaōth will do ' ; that is, none of the rulers will know what thou wilt do from now on,—for they are ' Egypt,' because they are matter. The power then which was in Isaiah, prophesied concerning thee aforetime, saying : ' From now on ye shall then know not what the lord Sabaōth will do.' Because of the light-power which thou didst receive from Sabaōth, the Good, who is in the region of the Right, and which is in thy material body to-day, for this cause then, my Lord Jesus, thou hast said unto us : ' Who hath ears to hear, let him hear,'—in order that thou mightest know whose heart is ardently raised to the kingdom of heaven."

CHAP. 19.

It came to pass then, when Mary had finished saying these words, that he said : " Well said, Mary, for thou art blessed before all women on the earth, because thou shalt be the fulness of all fulnesses and the perfection of all perfections."

29.

Jesus commendeth Mary. She further questioneth him on the changing of the spheres.

Now when Mary had heard the Saviour speak these words, she exulted greatly, and she came before Jesus, fell down before him, adored his feet and said unto him : " My Lord, hearken unto me, that I may question thee on this word, before that thou discoursedst with us about the regions whither thou didst go."

Jesus answered and said unto Mary : " Discourse in openness and fear not ; all things on which thou questionest, I will reveal unto thee."

CHAP. 20.

She said : " My Lord, will all the men who know the mystery of the magic of all the rulers of all the æons of the Fate and of those of the sphere, in the way in which the angels who transgressed

have taught them, if they invoke them in their mysteries, that is in their evil magic, to the hindering of good deeds,—will they accomplish them henceforth from now on or not ? ”

Jesus answered and said unto Mary : “ They will not accomplish them as they accomplished them from the beginning, because I have taken away a third of their power ; but they will raise a loan from those who know the mysteries of the magic of the thirteenth æon. And if they invoke the mysteries of the magic of those who are in the thirteenth æon, | they will accomplish them 30. well and surely, because I have not taken away power from that region, according to the command of the First Mystery.”

Jesus explaineth further the conversion of the spheres.

And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished saying these words, that Mary continued again and said : “ My Lord, will not then the horoscope-casters and consulters from now on declare unto men what will come to pass for them ? ”

CHAP. 21.

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary : “ If the horoscope-casters find the Fate and the sphere turned towards the left, according to their first extension, their words will come to pass, and they will say what is to take place. But if they chance on the Fate or the sphere turned to the right, they are bound to say nothing true, for I have changed their influences and their squares and their triangles and their octagons ; seeing that their influences from the beginning onwards were continuously turned to the left and their squares and their triangles and their octagons. But now I have made them spend six months turned to the left and six months turned to the right. He who then shall find their

31.

reckoning from the time when I changed them, setting them so as to spend six months facing towards their left and six months facing their right paths,—he who then shall observe them in this wise, | will know their influences surely and will declare all things which they will do. In like manner also the consulters, if they invoke the names of the rulers and chance on them facing the left, will tell [men] with accuracy all things concerning which they shall ask their decans. On the contrary, if the consulters invoke their names when they face to the right, they will not give ear unto them, because they are facing in another form compared with their former position in which Yew had established them; seeing that other are their names when they are turned to the left and other their names when they are turned to the right. And if they invoke them when they are turned to the right, they will not tell them the truth, but they will confound them with confusion and threaten them with threatening. Those then who do not know their path, when they are turned to the right, and their triangles and their squares and all their figures, will find nothing true, but will be confounded in great confusion and will find themselves in great delusion, because I have now changed the works which they effected aforetime in their squares, when turned to the left, and in their triangles and in their octagons, in which they were busied continuously turned to the left; and I have made them spend six months forming all their configurations turned to the right, in order that they may be confounded in confusion in their whole range. | And moreover

32.

I have made them spend six months turned to the left and accomplishing the works of their influences and all their configurations, in order that the rulers who are in the æons and in their spheres and in their heavens and in all their regions, may be confounded in confusion and deluded in delusion, so that they may not understand their own paths."

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words, while Philip sat and wrote all the words that Jesus spake,—thereafter then it came to pass that Philip came forward, fell down and adored the feet of Jesus, saying: "My Lord and Saviour, grant me authority to discourse before thee and to question thee on this word, before thou discourest with us concerning the regions whither thou didst go because of thy ministry."

CHAP. 22.

Philip
questioneth
Jesus.

And the compassionate Saviour answered and said unto Philip: "Authority is given thee to bring forward the word which thou willest."

And Philip answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, on account of what mystery hast thou changed the binding of the rulers and their æons and their Fate and their sphere and all their regions, and made them confounded in confusion on their path and deluded in their course? Hast thou then done this unto them for the salvation of the world or hast thou not?"

And Jesus answered and said unto Philip and to all the disciples together: "I have changed their path for the salvation of all souls. Amên, amên, I say unto you: If I had not changed their path, a host of souls would have been destroyed, and they would have spent a long time, if the rulers of the æons and the rulers of

CHAP. 23.

33.
Why the
path of the
æons was
changed

the Fate and of the sphere and of all their regions and all their heavens and all their æons had not been brought to naught; and the souls would have continued a long time here outside, and the completion of the number of perfect souls would have been delayed, which [souls] shall be counted in the Inheritance of the Height through the mysteries and shall be in the Treasury of the Light. For this cause then I have changed their path, that they might be deluded and fall into agitation and yield up the power which is in the matter of their world and which they fashion into souls, in order that those who shall be saved, might be quickly purified and raised on high, they and the whole power, and that those who shall not be saved, might be quickly destroyed."

CHAP. 24.
Mary ques-
tioneth him
again.

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Mary, the fair in her discourse and the blessed one, came forward, fell at the feet of Jesus and said: "My Lord, suffer me that I speak before thee, and | be not wroth with me, if oft I give thee trouble questioning thee."

34.

The Saviour, full of compassion, answered and said unto Mary: "Speak the word which thou willest, and I will reveal it to thee in all openness."

Mary answered and said unto Jesus: "My Lord, in what way will the souls have delayed themselves here outside, and in what type will they be quickly purified?"

CHAP. 25.

And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Well said, Mary; thou questionest finely with thy excellent question, and thou throwest light on all things with surety and precision. Now,

therefore, from now on will I hide nothing from you, but I will reveal unto you all things with surety and openness. Hearken then, Mary, and give ear, all ye disciples: Before I made proclamation to all the rulers of the æons and to all the rulers of the Fate and of the sphere, they were all bound in their bonds and in their spheres and in their seals, as Yew, the Overseer of the Light, had bound them from the beginning; and every one of them remained in his order, and every one journeyed according to his course, as Yew, the Overseer of the Light, had established them. And when the time of the number of Melchisedec, the great Receiver of the Light, came, he was wont to come into the midst of the æons and of all the rulers | who are bound in the sphere and in the Fate, and he carried away the purification of the light from all the rulers of the æons and from all the rulers of the Fate and from those of the sphere—for he carried away then that which brings them into agitation—and he set in motion the hastener who is over them, and made them turn their circles swiftly, and he [*sc.* the hastener] carried away their power which was in them and the breath of their mouth and the tears [*lit.* waters] of their eyes and the sweat of their bodies.

“ And Melchisedec, the Receiver of the Light, purifieth those powers and carrieth their light into the Treasury of the Light, while the servitors of all the rulers gather together all matter from them all; and the servitors of all the rulers of the Fate and the servitors of the sphere which is below the æons, take it and fashion it into souls of men and cattle and reptiles and wild-beasts and birds,

The coming
of Melchise-
dec.

35.

Of the
fashioning
of the souls
of men.

and send them down into the world of mankind. And further the receivers of the sun and the receivers of the moon, if they look above and see the configurations of the paths of the æons and the configurations of the Fate and those of the sphere, then they take from them the light-power; and the receivers of the sun get it ready and deposit it, until they hand it over to the receivers of Melchisedec, the Light-purifier. And their material refuse they bring to the sphere which is below the æons, and fashion it into [souls of] men, and fashion it also into souls of reptiles and of cattle and of wild-beasts and of birds, according to the circle of the rulers of that sphere and according to all the configurations of its revolution, and they cast them into this world of mankind, and they become souls in this region, as I have just said unto you.

36.
CHAP. 26.

“ This then they accomplished continuously before their power was diminished in them and they waned and became exhausted, or powerless. It came to pass then, when they became powerless, that their power began to cease in them, so that they became exhausted in their power, and their light, which was in their region, ceased and their kingdom was destroyed, and the universe became quickly raised up.

“ It came to pass then, when they had perceived this at the time, and when the number of the cipher of Melchisedec, the Receiver [of the Light], happened, then had he to come out again and enter into the midst of the rulers of all the æons and into the midst of all the rulers of the Fate and of those of the sphere; and he threw them into agitation, and made them quickly abandon

their circles. And forthwith they were constrained, and cast forth the power out of themselves, out of the breath of their mouth and the | tears of their eyes and the sweat of their 37. bodies.

“ And Melchisedec, the Receiver of the Light, purifieth them, as he doth continually ; he carrieth their light into the Treasury of the Light. And all the rulers of the æons and the rulers of the Fate and those of the sphere turn to the matter of their refuse ; they devour it and do not let it go and become souls in the world. They devour then their matter, so that they may not become powerless and exhausted and their power cease in them and their kingdom become destroyed, but in order that they may delay and linger a long time until the completion of the number of the perfect souls who shall be in the Treasury of the Light. .

The rulers devour their matter so that souls may not be fashioned.

“ It came to pass then, when the rulers of the æons and those of the Fate and those of the sphere continued to carry out this type,—turning on themselves, devouring the refuse of their matter, and not allowing souls to be born into the world of mankind, in order that they might delay in being rulers, and that the powers which are in their powers, that is the souls, might spend a long time here outside,—they then persisted doing this continually for two circles. CHAP. 27.

“ It came to pass then, when I wished to ascend for the ministry for the sake of which I was called | by command of the First Mystery, that 38. I came up into the midst of the tyrants of the rulers of the twelve æons, with my light-vesture

about me, shining most exceedingly, and there was no measure for the light which was about me.

Adamas and the tyrants fight against the light-vesture.

“ It came to pass then, when those tyrants saw the great light which was about me, that the great Adamas, the Tyrant, and all the tyrants of the twelve æons, all together began to fight against the light of my vesture, desiring to hold it fast among them, in order to delay in their rulership. This then they did, not knowing against whom they fought.

Jesus taketh from them a third of their power and changeth their course.

“ When then they mutinied and fought against the light, thereon by command of the First Mystery I changed the paths and the courses of their æons and the paths of their Fate and of their sphere. I made them face six months towards the triangles on the left and towards the squares and towards those in their aspect and towards their octagons, just as they had formerly been. But their manner of turning, or facing, I changed to another order, and made them other six months face towards the works of their influences in the squares on the right and in their triangles and in those in their aspect and in their octagons. And I made them to be confounded in great confusion and deluded in great delusion | —the rulers of the æons and all the rulers of the Fate and those of the sphere ; and I set them in great agitation, and thence on they were no longer able to turn towards the refuse of their matter to devour it, in order that their regions may continue to delay and they [themselves] may spend a long time as rulers.

39.

“ But when I had taken away a third of their power, I changed their spheres, so that they spend a time facing to the left and another time

facing to the right. I have changed their whole path and their whole course, and I have made the path of their course to hurry, so that they may be quickly purified and raised up quickly. And I have shortened their circles, and made their path more speedy, and it will be exceedingly hurried. And they were thrown into confusion in their path, and from then on were no more able to devour the matter of the refuse of the purification of their light. And moreover I have shortened their times and their periods, so that the perfect number of souls who shall receive the mysteries and be in the Treasury of the Light, shall be quickly completed. For had I not changed their courses, and had I not shortened their periods, they would not have let any soul come into the world, because of the matter of their refuse | which they devoured, and they would 40. have destroyed many souls. For this cause I said unto you aforetime: 'I have shortened the times because of my elect; otherwise no soul would have been able to be saved.' And I have shortened the times and the periods because of the perfect number of the souls who shall receive the mysteries, that is to say, the 'elect'; and had I not shortened their periods, no material soul would have been saved, but they would have perished in the fire which is in the flesh of the rulers. This then is the word on which thou dost question me with precision."

They no more have the power of devouring their matter.

It came to pass then, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that they fell down all together, adored him and said to him: "Blessed are we before all men, for unto us thou hast revealed these great exploits."