HEKHAL · READER'S EDITION

Ἔλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων

The Naassene Report

Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies, Book 5: every section published on Hekhal, Greek and English

Hekhal Targum Project (machine-assisted draft; pending scholarly review)

PROVISIONAL EDITION · MACHINE-ASSISTED · NOT YET REVIEWED BY A CREDENTIALED EDITOR

11 parts · Edition of 2026-08-13 · hekhal.org

About this edition

This volume gathers every part of *The Naassene Report* published on Hekhal as of 2026-08-13, in order. Each part keeps its own apparatus and notes.

The underlying work is in the public domain by age. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from the edition of Paul Wendland (GCS 26, 1916), in the openly licensed digital text produced by the Open Greek and Latin project and served through Perseus, retrieved by canonical reference and used under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded from the source text; his editorial sigla (angle brackets for supplements, parentheses for restorations, the dagger for a crux) are carried into the English at the corresponding points. One defect of the digital transcription has been restored from the printed edition and is recorded in the apparatus. This English rendering and its apparatus are a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

TRADITION	gnostic-tradition
LANGUAGE	Greek (Ancient)
PERIOD	early 3rd c. CE (report); the underlying document mid-to-late 2nd c.
ATTRIBUTION	Anonymous, reported by Hippolytus of Rome (or Pseudo-Hippolytus)
TRANSLATION	Hekhal Targum Project (machine-assisted draft; pending scholarly review)
LICENCE	CC-BY-SA-4.0
ONLINE	https://hekhal.org/texts/the-naassene-report/

> **Cite this edition:** Hekhal Targum Project, trans. "The Naassene Report." Hekhal reader's edition, 2026-08-13. https://hekhal.org/texts/the-naassene-report/

> What this is: a machine-assisted, provisional translation. Every rendering choice and every unresolved reading is recorded in the apparatus beside the text. If you read the original and something looks wrong, write to community@hekhal.org; corrections are credited.

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Hippolytus, Refutatio V.6: The Naassenes and the Serpent-Name

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

Πάνυ νομίζω πεπονημένως τὰ δόξαντα πᾶσι τοῖς καθ' Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους <φιλοσόφοις> περί τε τοῦ θείου καὶ τῆς κόσμου δημιουργίας ἐκτεθεῖσθαι ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης τέσσαρσι βίβλοις, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ περίεργα παραλείψας οὐ τὸν τυχόντα πόνον ἀναδέδεγμαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, προτρεπόμενος πολλοὺς πρὸς φιλομάθειαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν γνώσεως. περιλείπεται τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχον ὁρμᾶν, οὗ) χάριν καὶ τὰ προειρημένα ἡμῖν ἐκτεθείμεθα· ἀφ' ὧν τὰς ἀφορμὰς μετασχόντες οἱ αἱρεσιάρχαι δίκην παλαιορράφων συγ)καττύσαντες πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν σφάλματα ὡς καινὰ παρέθεσαν τοῖς πλανᾶσθαι δυναμένοις, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀκολούθοις δείξομεν. τὸ λοιπὸν προκαλεῖται ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προκειμένων πραγματείαν χωρεῖν, ἄρξασθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετολμηκότων τὸν αἴτιον τῆς πλάνης γενόμενον ὄφιν ὑμνεῖν διά τινων ἐφηυρημένων κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐνέργειαν λόγων. οἱ οὖν ἱερεῖς καὶ προστάται τοῦ δόγματος γεγένηνται πρῶτοι <οἱ> ἐπικληθέντες Ναασσηνοί, τῇ

I consider that the opinions held by all the <philosophers> among Greeks and barbarians alike, concerning the divine and the fashioning of the world, have been set out with considerable labour in the four books before this one; and having passed over not even their meddlesome curiosities, I have taken on no ordinary toil for my readers, urging many toward love of learning and toward security in the knowledge that concerns the truth.

It remains, then, to press on to the refutation of the heresies, for the sake of which we set out what was said before. For the heresiarchs, taking their starting-points from those things, and stitching them together after their own mind like menders of old clothes, have served up the errors of the ancients as new to those capable of being led astray, as we shall show in what follows.

For the rest, the hour summons us to proceed to the treatment of what lies before us, and to begin from those who have dared to hymn the serpent that became the cause of the deception, by means of certain words devised in accordance with his working. The

Ἑβραΐδι φωνῇ οὕτως ὠνομασμένοι· νάας δὲ ὁ ὄφις καλεῖται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν· ἐξ ὧν ἀπομερισθέντες πολλοὶ πολυσχιδῆ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐποίησαν <οὖσαν> μίαν, διαφόροις ὀνόμασι τὰ αὐτὰ ὡς διελέγξει προβαίνων ὁ λόγος. οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλων ἁπάντων † παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον τιμῶσιν ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. ἔστι δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὑτος ἀρσενόθηλυς, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀδάμας παρ' αὐτοῖς. ὕμνοι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόνασι πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι· οἱ δὲ ὕμνοι, ὡς δι' ὀλίγων εἰπεῖν, λέγονται παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον· ἀπὸ σοῦ πατὴρ καὶ διὰ σὲ μήτηρ, τὰ δύο ἀθάνατα ὀνόματα, αἰώνων γονεῖς, πολῖτα οὐρανοῦ, μεγαλώνυμε ἄνθρωπε«. διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Γηρυόνην τριχῇ· ἔστι γὰρ τούτου, φασί, τὸ μὲν νοερόν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικόν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν, καὶ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι τὸν θεόν, λέγοντες οὕτως· »ἀρχὴ τελειώσεως γνῶσις ἀ(νθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ) γνῶσις ἀπηρτισμένη τελείωσις'. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, φησί, τὰ νοερὰ καὶ ψυχικὰ καὶ χοϊκὰ κεχώρηκε καὶ κατῆλθ(εν εἰ)ς ἵνα ἄνθρωπον

priests, then, and champions of the doctrine were first those called Naassenes, so named in the Hebrew tongue: for naas is what the serpent is called.

After this they called themselves knowers, claiming that they alone know the depths. From these many split off and made the heresy, which is <one>, into a many-branched thing, the same matters under different names, as the argument will show as it proceeds. These, beyond all others, † according to their own account, honour Man and the Son of Man.

This Man is male-female, and is called Adamas among them. Many and varied hymns have been composed to him; and the hymns, to put it briefly, are said among them in some such manner as this: "From you a father, and through you a mother, the two immortal names, parents of aeons, O citizen of heaven, greatly-named Man."

They divide him threefold, like Geryon; for of him, they say, one part is intellective, one ensouled, one of dust. And they hold that the knowledge of him is the beginning of being able to know God, saying thus: "The beginning of perfection is knowledge of m(an, but of God), knowledge is

ὁμοῦ, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον· καὶ ἐλάλουν, φησίν, ὁμοῦ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οὐσιῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἕκαστος. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ὅλων τρία γένη κατ᾽ αὐτούς, ἀγγελικόν, ψυχικόν, χοϊκόν· καὶ τρεῖς ἐκκλησίαι. ἀγγελική, ψυχική, χοϊκή ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκλεκτή, κλητή, αἰχμάλωτος.

perfection completed."

And all these things, he says, the intellective and the ensouled and the of-dust, went and came down together into one man, Jesus who was born of Mary. And these three men were speaking, he says, together and at the same time, each from his own substances to his own. For there are, according to them, three kinds of the whole: angelic, ensouled, of dust; and three churches: angelic, ensouled, of dust; and their names are Chosen, Called, Captive.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

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An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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security in the knowledge that concerns the truth

Hippolytus uses gnosis here, approvingly, of his own project, four sentences before he begins refuting people who use it of theirs. The word is not yet a party label in this text. This edition therefore renders it "knowledge" in both mouths and never transliterates it: writing "gnosis" for the group and "knowledge" for the reporter would manufacture a distinction the Greek does not make, and would import the modern scholarly category that this very passage is used to construct. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

for naas is what the serpent is called

The report explains the group's name from a Semitic word: naas is Hebrew nachash, serpent, transliterated into Greek and then glossed with the Greek ophis in the same clause. The transliteration is kept in the English precisely so the derivation remains legible; rendering naas as "serpent" would produce the empty sentence "for serpent is what the serpent is called." Two observations. First, this is one of very few hard data points in the report bearing on the linguistic milieu of whoever composed the underlying document. Second, the etymology is supplied by the REPORTER, and what it establishes is that he or his source

knew the Hebrew word, not necessarily that the group did. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

stitching them together after their own mind like menders of old clothes

The Greek image is trade-specific and contemptuous: palaiorraphoi are patchers of worn garments and synkattysantes is from the cobbler's stitching of shoe-leather. The charge is not that the heresiarchs invented error but that they resoled old error and sold it as new. This edition keeps the register rather than neutralising it into "compiled" or "adapted": the contempt is evidence about how the report was assembled and what its author thought he was doing. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

like Geryon

Geryon, the three-bodied figure of Greek myth killed by Heracles. The comparison is the reporter's idiom, not obviously the group's, and it is worth noticing what it does: it makes a tripartite anthropology sound like a monster from a story. Whether such comparisons belong to Hippolytus' refutational strategy or to the source he is copying is one of the questions this corpus cannot answer from inside. Frame relation:

heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel / hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Chosen, Called, Captive

ekletke, klete, aichmalotos. The first two are ordinary early Christian vocabulary for the elect and the called; the third is not, and it is the interesting one. A church named "Captive" has no obvious parallel and sits oddly as the name of a community rather than a condition. The English keeps all three as bare titles, matching the Greek, and does not soften the third to "enslaved" or "in bondage". Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

† *according to their own account*

The dagger is Wendland's and marks a corruption he did not undertake to repair. The transmitted text at this point also carries a dittography (ton allon allon hapanton, "of the others others all"). The English preserves the crux rather than silently smoothing the clause, because a reader is entitled to know which of the sentences in this edition rest on sound text. The sense is not in serious doubt: these people, above all others, honour Man. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

From you a father, and through you a mother

The Greek shifts case mid-hymn and the English is built to show it. pater and meter are NOMINATIVE, the hymn is saying that from the Man comes a father and through him a mother, and that these are “the two immortal names”. Only at the end does it turn to direct address, with the vocatives polita and megalonyme anthrope. An English “From you, father, and through you, mother” reads as an address to two beings and inverts the sense: it would make the hymn speak TO the parents rather than ABOUT them. This was caught by a blind reader working from the English alone, who observed that “the two immortal names” cannot be in apposition to two people being addressed. Frame relation: heresiological-report (quoted-hymn). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

knowledge of m(an, but of God)

The parentheses mark a single editorial restoration, and it matters how much of the sentence falls inside them. The witness transmits only the alpha of anthropou; everything from there to the second gnosis is Wendland supplying a damaged passage. The maxim is the clearest doctrinal statement in the chapter, that knowledge of God, not of man, is perfection completed, and a reader is entitled to know that its central antithesis is partly conjectural. The English marks the restoration as one span in the same position rather than two, matching the Greek.

Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

in accordance with his working

energeia, and the clause is genuinely obscure. Two readings are open and they are not theologically equivalent: words devised to match the serpent's mode of operation, or words devised UNDER his energising influence, that is, inspired by him. The second makes the group's hymns demonically prompted, which is a considerably stronger charge. The Greek does not decide and neither does this translation. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

we set out what was said before

The chapter opens in the first person singular, "I consider", "I have taken on", and turns plural here, "we set out", "we shall show", and stays plural. The shift is in the Greek (nomizo, anadedegmai, then ektetheimetha, deixomen) and is preserved rather than harmonised. Whether it is an authorial plural or a seam between the end of the previous book and the beginning of this one is not something the passage settles. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **reported-speech markers.** Every phesi / phesin / phasi in this chunk is rendered as an explicit “he says” or “they say” in the same clause position, and none is absorbed into English indirect discourse. The unnamed subject of phesin is left unresolved: whether “he” is Hippolytus’ immediate source, the composer of the underlying document, or a figure quoted inside it, is not stated in the Greek and is not decided here. Across Ref. 5.6-5.11 there are 200 reported-speech markers in 6,085 words, roughly one every thirty, and their distribution is the evidence base for the source-critical arguments about this text.
- **editorial sigla.** Wendland’s angle brackets (conjectural supplements), parentheses (restorations of damaged text) and dagger (crux) are carried into the English at the corresponding points rather than being silently absorbed. An apparatus-bearing edition that hides where its base text is unsound is not doing the job an apparatus is for.
- **source-text hygiene.** The Greek was ingested by canonical CTS reference with the critical apparatus excluded. This matters more than it sounds: a naive extraction of the same file splices Wendland’s German apparatus into the running text, and at §3 it lands inside the word Ναασσηνοί. Inline folio references carried as literal text (“f. 27r”) are also stripped. The editorial sigla are not.

- **choikos and noeros.** choikon is rendered “of dust”, not “earthy” or “material”. The word is from chous, dust, and is the word of Genesis 2:7 and 1 Corinthians 15:47; “earthy” carries an unrelated English connotation and “material” would falsely assimilate the triad to the pneumatikos/psychikos/hylikos scheme, which this passage does not use. noeron is rendered “intellective”, not “intellectual”, which in modern English means something else entirely.

Manuscript variants

- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription of Wendland (GCS 26, 1916), CC BY-SA 4.0**: §3: the digital transcription reads ἐπικληθέντες σηνοί, the first syllables of Ναασσηνοί are lost across the f.78 page boundary, leaving a non-word. RESTORED to Ναασσηνοί from Wendland’s printed text and recorded here rather than repaired silently. The affected word is the group’s self-designation and the antecedent of the naas/serpent etymology in the same sentence, so the defect falls on the single most load-bearing word in the chapter. This is a defect of the DIGITAL text, not a manuscript variant, and is recorded here for lack of a better field: anyone re-deriving this edition from the same source will hit it and should know it was seen.

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §4: *τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλων ἁπάντων* †, dittography of *ἄλλων*, and a crux marked by the editor. Neither emended. The crux is carried into the English as a dagger so the reader can see where the text is unsound.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §6: *ἀρχὴ τελειώσεως γνῶσις ἀ(νθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ) γνῶσις ἀπηρτισμένη τελείωσις*, the parenthesised words are an editorial restoration of a damaged passage. The English marks the restoration with parentheses in the same position, so the reader can see that the balanced maxim "knowledge of man / knowledge of God" is partly reconstructed and not wholly transmitted. Given that the maxim is the chapter's clearest doctrinal statement, the extent of the restoration matters.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §7: *κατῆλθ(εν εἰ)ς ἵνα ἄνθρωπον*, a second editorial restoration in the same chapter, and the transmitted *ἵνα* for *ἕνα* ("one") is an itacistic error. Recorded because the first pass through this chapter missed it: the restorations at §6 and §7 were both marked in the Greek and only one was carried into the English. The clause "came down into one man, Jesus" is therefore partly reconstructed at exactly the point where the report identifies the descent with a named historical person.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.7.1-10: Adamas and the First Man

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Ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ λόγων τὰ κεφάλαια, ἅ φησι παραδεδωκέναι Μαριάμμῃ τὸν Ἰάκωβον τοῦ κυρίου τὸν ἀδελφόν. ἵν' οὖν μήτε Μαριάμμης ἔτι καταψεύδωνται οἱ ἀσεβεῖς μήτε Ἰακώβου μήτε τοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὰς τελετάς, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ μῦθος, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τὰς βαρβαρικάς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικάς, καὶ ἴδωμεν ὡς τὰ κρυπτὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα πάντων ὁμοῦ συνάγοντες οὗτοι μυστήρια τῶν ἐθνῶν καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξαπατῶσι τοὺς ταῦτα οὐκ εἰδότας τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὄργια. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑπόθεσις αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν Ἀδάμας καὶ λέγουσι γεγράφθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται;« μάθετε πῶς κατὰ μέρος παρὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν ἀνεξεύρητον καὶ ἀδιάφθορον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενεὰν λαβόντες ἐπιπλάσσουσι τῷ Χριστῷ. γῆ δέ, φασὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἄνθρωπον ἀνέδωκε πρώτη καλὸν ἐνεγκαμένη γέρας, μὴ φυτῶν ἀναισθήτων μηδὲ θηρίων ἀλόγων, ἀλλὰ ἡμέρου ζῴου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἐθέλουσα μήτηρ γενέσθαι. χαλεπὸν δέ, φησίν, ἐξευρεῖν, εἴτε Βοιωτοῖς

These are the chief points, out of a very great many discourses, which he says James the Lord's brother handed on to Mariamme. So that the impious may no longer lie against Mariamme, nor against James, nor against their Saviour, let us come to the rites, whence this myth of theirs comes; and, if it seems good, to the barbarian and the Greek rites; and let us see how, gathering together at once the hidden and unspeakable mysteries of all the nations, and lying against Christ, they deceive those who do not know these ceremonies of the nations.

For since their underlying principle is the Man Adamas, and they say it is written of him, "his generation, who shall declare it?", learn how, taking piece by piece from the nations the untraceable and incorruptible generation of the Man, they impose it upon Christ.

"And earth," say the Greeks, "first gave up man, bearing a noble prize, wishing to become mother not of senseless plants nor of irrational beasts, but of a gentle and god-loving living thing."

"But it is hard," he says, "to find

Ἀλαλκομενεὺς ὑπὲρ λίμνης Κηφισίδος ἀνέσχε πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων , εἴτε Κουρῆτες ἦσαν Ἰδαῖοι, θεῖον γένος, ἢ Φρύγιοι Κορύβαντες, οὓς πρώτους ἥλιος ἐπεῖδε δενδροφυεῖς ἀναβλαστάνοντας, εἴτε προσεληναῖον Ἀρκαδία Πελασγόν, ἢ Ραρίας οἰκήτορα Δυσαύλην Ἐλευσίν, ἢ Λῆμνος καλλίπαιδα Κάβιρον ἀρρήτῳ ἐτέκνωσεν ὀργιασμῷ εἴτε Πελλήνη Φλεγραῖον Ἀλκυονέα, πρεσβύτατον Γιγάντων. Λίβυες δὲ Γαράμαντά φασι πρωτόγονον αὐχμηρῶν ἀναδύντα πεδίων γλυκείας ἀπάρξασθαι Διὸς βαλάνου. Αὐγυπτίαν δὲ Νεῖλος ἰλὺν ἐπιλιπαίνων μέχρι σήμερον ζωογονῶν, φησίν, ὑγρᾷ σαρκούμενα θερμότητι ζῷα καὶ σῶμα] ἀναδίδωσιν. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ Ὠάννην ἰχθυοφάγον γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, Χαλδαῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἀδάμ. καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι φάσκουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἀνέδωκεν ἡ γῆ μόνον· κεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἄπνουν, ἀκίνητον, ἀσάλευτον, ὡς ἀνδριάντα, εἰκόνα ὑπάρχοντα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄνω, τοῦ ὑμνουμένου Ἀδάμαντος ἀνθρώπου, γενόμενον ὑπὸ δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν, περὶ ὧν ὁ κατὰ μέρος λόγος ἐστὶ πολύς. Ἵν' οὖν τελέως ᾖ κεκρατημένος ὁ μέγας ἄνθρωπος ἄνωθεν, »ἀφ' οὗ«, καθὼς λέγουσι, »πᾶσα

out whether Alalkomeneus rose first of men among the Boeotians above the Kephisian lake; or whether it was the Idaean Kouretes, a divine race, or the Phrygian Korybantes, whom the sun first looked upon as they sprouted up tree-like; or whether Arkadia brought forth Pelasgos, older than the moon; or Eleusis Dysaules, dweller in Raria; or Lemnos begot Kabeiros, fair of children, in a rite not to be spoken; or Pellene the Phlegraean Alkyoneus, eldest of the Giants."

"And the Libyans say that Garamas, firstborn, rising up out of parched plains, was the first to take of the sweet acorn of Zeus." And the Nile, he says, enriching the Egyptian silt, to this day gives up living creatures and bodies, enfleshed by moist heat.

The Assyrians say that Oannes the fish-eater came to be among them, and the Chaldaeans Adam. And they assert that this is the Man whom the earth gave up, alone; and that he lay breathless, unmoving, unshaken, like a statue, being an image of that Man above, the hymned Adamas, made by the many powers, concerning which the detailed account is long.

In order, then, that the great Man

πατριὰ ὀνομαζομένη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς˙ συνέστηκεν, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχή, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάσχῃ καὶ κολάζηται καταδουλούμενον τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ καλλίστου καὶ τελείου ἀνθρώπου· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτὸν καλοῦσι. ζητοῦσιν οὖν αὖ πάλιν τίς ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ πόθεν καὶ ποταπὴ τὴν φύσιν, ἵν' ἐλθοῦσα εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ κινήσασα καταδουλώσῃ καὶ κολάσῃ τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου· ζητοῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν μυστικῶν. εἶναι δέ φασι τὴν ψυχὴν δυσεύρετον πάνυ καὶ δυσκατανόητον· οὐ γὰρ μένει ἐπὶ σχήματος οὐδὲ μορφῆς τῆς αὐτῆς πάντοτε οὐδὲ πάθους ἑνός, ἵνα τις αὐτὴν ἢ τύπῳ εἴπῃ ἢ οὐσίᾳ καταλήψεται. τὰς δὲ ἐξαλλαγὰς ταύτας τὰς ποι- κίλας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ κειμένας ἔχουσιν. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν. καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες τῶν ἐΜῶν ἄνθρωποι, πότερόν ποτε ἐκ τοῦ προόντος ἐστίν <ἢ> ἐκ τοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου χάους. καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀσσυρίων καταφεύγουσι τελετάς, τὴν τριχῇ διαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατανοοῦντες· πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν ψυχὴν τριμερῆ νομίζουσιν εἶναι καὶ μίαν. ψυχῆς γάρ. φασί, πᾶσα φύσις, ἄλλη δὲ

from above might be wholly mastered, "from whom," as they say, "every fatherhood named on earth and in the heavens" is constituted, a soul was also given to him, so that through the soul the moulded thing of the great and most beautiful and perfect Man might suffer and be punished in its enslavement. For so they call him.

They inquire, then, once again, what the soul is, and whence, and of what kind in its nature, such that coming into the man and moving him it should enslave and punish the moulded thing of the perfect Man. And they inquire not from the scriptures, but this too from the mystical rites. And they say that the soul is very hard to find out and hard to understand; for it does not remain always in the same shape or the same form, nor in a single condition, such that one might state it by type or grasp it by substance.

These varied alterations they have as set down in the gospel entitled According to the Egyptians. They are at a loss, then, like all other men of the nations, whether it is at any time from the pre-existent, <or> from the ⟨...⟩, or from the poured-out chaos. And first they take refuge in the rites of the Assyrians, observing the threefold

ἄλλως, ὀρέγεται. ἔστι γὰρ ψυχὴ πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τρέφεται, φησί, καὶ αὔξει, ψυχῆς δεῖται. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε τροφῆς, φησίν, οὔτε αὐξήσεως οἷόν <τ'> ἐστὶν ἐπιτυχεῖν ψυχῆς μὴ παρούσης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ φησίν, εἰσὶν ἔμψυχοι· ἔχουσι γὰρ τὸ αὐξητικόν. αὔξησις δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο χωρὶς τροφῆς· κατὰ προσθήκην γὰρ αὔξει τὰ αὐξανόμενα·

division of the man; for the Assyrians were first to hold the soul to be tripartite and one.

For every nature, they say, reaches after soul, each in a different way. For soul is the cause of all things that come to be; for all things that are nourished, he says, and that grow, stand in need of soul. For nothing, he says, is able to attain either nourishment or growth when soul is not present. For even ⟨...⟩, he says, are ensouled; for they have the principle of growth. And growth would never come about apart from nourishment; for things that grow, grow by addition.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

▽

An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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James the Lord's brother handed on to Mariamme

The report opens by naming a chain of transmission: the doctrine came from James the brother of the Lord, through Mariamme. This is an attribution claim, not a fact about the Naassenes, and the sentence that follows makes the reporter's attitude to it plain, he wants the impious to stop lying against Mariamme and James. Two things follow for a reader. First, the group evidently claimed apostolic transmission through a named woman, which is itself a datum about how such claims were made. Second, Hippolytus reports the claim in order to destroy it, so the fact that we have it at all is a by-product of refutation. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech / hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

his generation, who shall declare it?

Isaiah 53:8, quoted as the group's proof-text for the Man Adamas. The report gives the clause in a word order that foregrounds "his generation", and the argument depends on reading genea as origin or lineage rather than as generation in the sense of an age of people. The English keeps the report's word order rather than conforming the quotation to a standard English of Isaiah, because how the verse is cut is part of how it is

being used. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

every fatherhood named on earth and in the heavens

Ephesians 3:15, introduced with “as they say” and used to establish the great Man above as the source of all lineage. Note the report attributes the Pauline citation to the GROUP, not to itself: this is the Naassenes quoting Ephesians, on Hippolytus’ account. Rendering patria as “fatherhood” rather than the more idiomatic “family” preserves the father-word the argument turns on. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the gospel entitled According to the Egyptians

A second named non-canonical gospel cited in this report, alongside the Gospel according to Thomas at 5.7.20. The Gospel of the Egyptians is known otherwise chiefly through Clement of Alexandria, and what is claimed for it here, that it sets out the soul’s “varied alterations”, is not obviously matched by the fragments Clement preserves. The report’s attributions of doctrine to named books are among the most citable things in it and among the least verifiable, which is exactly why they are reproduced as given and not harmonised. Frame relation: heresiological-report (witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

so that through the soul the moulded thing

plasma, the thing moulded, as in Genesis 2:7 where God moulds the man from dust. The word choice binds this passage to the choikos vocabulary of the previous chapter. What the report describes is startling and should not be softened: soul is given to the moulded figure PRECISELY SO THAT it may suffer and be punished. On this account the soul is the instrument by which the Man above is held captive, not the means of his rescue. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

they inquire not from the scriptures, but this too from the mystical rites

The reporter's sharpest methodological charge, and the hinge of his whole strategy in this book: the group settles a question about the soul from mystery-cult material rather than from scripture. Everything that follows, the Assyrian rites, the Phrygian material, the Greek poets, is offered as proof of that charge. Whether the pagan comparanda belong to the group's own document or to Hippolytus' refutational apparatus is precisely what the source-critical dispute is about, and this sentence is where the question becomes unavoidable. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame / pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

For even ⟨…⟩, he says, are ensouled

The subject of this clause is lost in the witness. The argument requires something surprising, the point is that even X, which one would not expect to be alive, has soul because it grows, and "stones" is the obvious candidate, since stones were commonly said to grow. It is not supplied here. Marking the gap costs the reader a smooth sentence and saves them from citing a conjecture as text. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

these ceremonies of the nations

orgia. The conventional English "orgies" is a false friend: the Greek means cultic ceremonies as performed, with no sexual sense, and importing one would make the reporter appear to allege something he does not. The sentence needs three distinct English words because the Greek uses three distinct terms, teletai the rites as instituted, orgia the ceremonies as performed, mysteria what is withheld within them, and collapsing any pair loses a distinction the argument runs on. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Oannes the fish-eater

The witness reads ichthyophagon, fish-EATER, and it is reproduced. Worth flagging because the Oannes of the Babylonian tradition known through Berossus is a fish-BODIED revealer who rises from the sea to teach, not a fish-eater. Whether the report has misremembered the figure, whether its source had, or whether a different tradition is in view, cannot be settled from here. The reading is not emended: an edition that quietly corrects a report's errors destroys the evidence of what its author actually knew. Frame relation: heresiological-report (witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

every fatherhood named on earth and in the heavens

Two details of how the citation sits in the Greek, both preserved. First, the order is inverted from the canonical Ephesians 3:15, which has heaven before earth. Second, the verb "is constituted" (synesteken) falls OUTSIDE the quotation marks in the witness, so the reporter completes the sentence in his own voice around a fragment of Paul. Where a quotation stops is itself evidence about how the source was using it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the catalogue of first men.** §§3-5 are a catalogue of rival claims about the first human, and the Greek is largely in

verse or verse-derived. The English preserves the catalogue as a single running sequence of disjunctions rather than breaking it into a list, because the piling-up is the rhetorical point: the report is demonstrating that the nations cannot agree. Proper names are transliterated and not glossed in the body.

- **marked lacunae.** Two lacunae in this chunk are marked with ⟨…⟩ rather than filled. In both cases a plausible completion exists and is recorded in apparatus. The rule is that a reader must be able to tell, from the English alone, which words are transmitted; an edition whose gaps are invisible cannot be cited safely.
- **teletai, orgia, mysteria.** Rendered "rites", "ceremonies" and "mysteries" respectively and kept distinct throughout. "Orgies" is avoided for orgia as a false friend. A blind reader of the first draft named it the one loaded word in an otherwise neutral rendering, which is exactly the objection the choice invites.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §9: ἐκ τοῦ προόντος ἐστὶν <ἢ> ἐκ τοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου χάους, a word is missing after the second ἐκ τοῦ. The second member of a three-part disjunction about the soul's origin is lost. Not supplied; the

gap is marked in the English. See the ambiguity entry for the completion a reader might expect and why it is not printed.

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §10: καὶ γὰρ οἱ φησίν, εἰσὶν ἔμψυχοι, the subject is missing after the article οἱ. The article survives and the noun does not, so the lost word was masculine plural. Left as a marked gap in the English.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §9: τῶν ἐMῶν for τῶν ἐθνῶν; §5: a stray closing bracket after σῶμα. Transcription noise rather than textual variation. Rendered from the evident reading ("of the nations") and recorded so the defect is not mistaken for a variant by anyone re-deriving this edition from the same digital source.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.7.11-21: The Gospel of Thomas Testimonium

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

ἡ δὲ προσθήκη τροφὴ τοῦ τρεφομένου. πᾶσα οὖν φύσις »ἐπουρανίων«, φησί, καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων« ψυχῆς ὀρέγεται. καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὸ τοιοῦτον Ἄδωνιν ἢ Ἐνδυμίωνα· καὶ ὅταν μὲν Ἄδωνις καλῆται, Ἀφροδίτη, φησίν, ἐρᾷ καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνόματος· Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστι κατ' αὐτούς. ὅταν δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη ἡ καὶ Κόρη ἐρᾷ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος, θνητή, φησί, τὶς τῆς Ἀδροδίτης κεχωρισμένη τῶν γενέσεών ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή. ἐὰν δὲ ἡ Σελήνη Ἐνδυμίωνος εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλθῃ καὶ ἔρωτα μορφῆς, ἡ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, φησί, κτίσις προσδεῖται καὶ <αὐτὴ> ψυχῆς. ἐὰν δέ, φησίν, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν ἀποκόψῃ τὸν Ἄττιν κοὶ αὐτὴ τοῦτον ἔχουσα ἐρώμενον, ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων, φησί, καὶ αἰωνίων ἄνω μακαρία φύσις τὴν ἀρρενικὴν δύναμιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνακαλεῖται πρὸς αὐτήν. ἔστι γάρ, φησίν, ἀρρενόθηλυς ὁ ἄνθρωπος. κατὰ τοῦτον οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον πάνυ πονηρὸν καὶ κεκωλυμένον κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἡ γυναικὸς πρὸς ἄνδρα δεδειγμένη καθέστηκεν ὁμιλία. ἀπεκόπη γάρ, φησίν, ὁ Ἄττις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν

And the addition is nourishment for the thing nourished. Every nature, then, "of things in heaven," he says, "and things on earth and things under the earth" reaches after soul. And the Assyrians call such a thing Adonis, or Endymion; and when it is called Adonis, Aphrodite, he says, loves and desires the soul of that name, and Aphrodite, according to them, is coming-to-be.

But when Persephone, who is also Kore, loves Adonis, then there is, he says, a mortal soul separated from Aphrodite, that is, from the comings-to-be. And if Selene comes into desire of Endymion and love of form, then the creation of the higher things, he says, itself also stands in need of soul.

But if, he says, the Mother of the gods cuts off Attis, she herself having him as her beloved, then the blessed nature above, he says, of the supercosmic and eternal things calls back to itself the male power of the soul.

For the Man, he says, is male-female. According to this account of theirs, therefore, the intercourse of woman with man is shown by

χοϊκῶν τῆς κτίσεως κάτωθεν μερῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰωνίαν ἄνω μετεληλυθεν οὐσίαν, ὅπου, φησίν, οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε θῆλυ οὔτε ἄρσενι ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις, καινὸς ἄνθρωπος., ὁ ἐστιν ἀρεσενόθηλυς. ποῦ δὲ ἄνω λέγουσι, κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐλθὼν δείξω τόπον. Μαρτυρεῖν δέ φασιν αὐτῶν τῷ λόγῳ οὐχ ἁπλῶς μόνην τὴν Ῥέαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὅλην τὴν κτίσιν. καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου διασαφοῦσι· »τά γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἥ τε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους· διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ηὐχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία· φάσκοντες γὰρ εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν καὶ ἤλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώμασιν εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν. διὸ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας· αἵ τε γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν', τί δέ ἐστιν ἡ φυσικὴ κατ' αὐτοὺς χρῆσις, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρρενες ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας

their teaching to be exceedingly wicked and forbidden.

For Attis, he says, was cut off, that is, from the earthy parts of the creation below, and has gone over to the eternal substance above, where, he says, there is neither female nor male, but a new creation, a new Man, who is male-female. What they call "above" I shall show when I come to the proper place.

And they say that not Rhea alone bears witness to their account, but, so to speak, the whole creation. And they make plain that this is what is said by the word: "For his invisible things, from the creation of the world, being understood by the things he has made, are clearly seen, both his eternal power and divinity, so that they are without excuse; because, knowing God, they did not glorify him as God or give thanks, but their senseless heart was made futile;

for claiming to be wise they were made fools, and they exchanged the glory of the incorruptible God for likenesses of an image of corruptible man and of birds and four-footed things and creeping things. Therefore God also gave them over to passions of dishonour; for their females

ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρρενες ἐν ἄρρεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι«, ἀσχημοσύνη δὲ ἐστιν ἡ πρώτη καὶ μακαρία κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀσχημάτιστος οὐσία, ἡ πάντων σχημάτων τοῖς σχηματιζομένοις αἰτία, »καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες.« ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις, οἷς εἴρηκεν ὁ Παῦλος, ὅλον φασὶ συνέχεσθαι τὸ κρύφιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἄρρητον τῆς μακαρίας μυστήριον ἡδονῆς. ἡ γὰρ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ λουτροῦ οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστι κατ᾽ αὐτούς, ἢ τὸ εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀμάραντον ἡδονὴν τὸν λουόμενον κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ζῶντι ὕδατι καὶ χριόμενον ἀλάλῳ χρίσματι. Οὐ μόνον <δ᾽> αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν φασι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων μυστήρια καὶ Φρυγῶν >ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων> περὶ τὴν καὶ γινομένων καὶ ἐσομένων ἔτι μακαρίαν κρυβομένην ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερουμένην φύσιν, ἥνπερ φησὶ <τὴν> ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην, περὶ ἧς διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδόασι λέγοντες οὕτως· »ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὑρήσει ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτά· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι«. τοῦτο

exchanged the natural use for that against nature" –

and what the natural use is, according to them, we shall say later, "and likewise the males also, leaving the natural use of the female, were inflamed in their appetite toward one another, males with males working the shapelessness", and shapelessness, according to them, is the first and blessed substance without shape, the cause of all shapes to the things that are shaped, "and receiving in themselves the recompense that was due for their error."

For in these words which Paul has spoken, they say, the whole of their hidden and unspeakable mystery of blessed pleasure is held together. For the promise of the washing is nothing else, according to them, than to bring the one who is washed, according to them, with living water, and anointed with the speechless anointing, into unfading pleasure.

And they say that not only the mysteries of the Assyrians and the Phrygians bear witness to their account, <but also those of the Egyptians>, concerning the blessed nature, at once hidden and made manifest, of the things that are coming to be and that shall yet be,

δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ἱπποκράτους λέγοντος· »ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν παῖς πατρὸς ἥμισυ«· ὅθεν οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχέγονον φύσιν τῶν ὅλων ἐν ἀρχεγόνῳ τιθέμενοι σπέρματι, τὸ Ἱπποκράτειον ἀκηκοότες, ὅτι ἔστιν ἥμισυ πατρὸς παιδίον ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσι <καὶ δέκα> φασὶν ἔτεσι, κατὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν, εἶναι φανερούμενον.

which he says is the ⟨...⟩ of heaven sought within a man; concerning which they hand down expressly in the gospel entitled According to Thomas, saying thus: “The one who seeks me will find me in children from seven years old; for there, hidden in the fourteenth aeon, I am made manifest.”

But this is not Christ’s, but Hippocrates’ saying: “a child of seven years is half a father.” So that these people, placing the primordial nature of all things in primordial seed, and having heard the Hippocratic saying that a child of seven years is half a father, say that at fourteen years, according to Thomas, it is made manifest.

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An orientation

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The one who seeks me will find me in children from seven years old

THE THOMAS TESTIMONIUM, and the single most cited sentence in this stretch of the Refutatio. Three things must be kept straight. First, the saying as given here diverges substantially from saying 4 of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas found at Nag Hammadi; this edition reproduces it AS THE REPORT GIVES IT and does not harmonise it toward the Coptic, because the divergence is the entire evidentiary value of the passage. Second, it has been argued that Hippolytus did not have a copy of Thomas to hand and received both the quotation and its framing from his source, which would make this a testimony at two removes. Third, the passage tells against the view that Thomas was a Naassene composition: the report presents the group as CITING a gospel, not as having written one. Frame relation: heresiological-report (witness-reliability / scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

But this is not Christ's, but Hippocrates' saying

The refutation, and a good example of the method that gives Book V its value and its danger. Hippolytus' whole strategy is to show that what the heretics present as revelation is borrowed

pagan material, so he answers the Thomas saying by producing a medical maxim: a child of seven is half a father. The argument is that "fourteen" is arrived at by doubling seven, so the aeon-language is arithmetic dressed as mystery. Whether the parallel is real or manufactured, note what it means for us: the reporter is motivated to find pagan sources, which is a reason for caution about every pagan-parallel in this book, and simultaneously the reason so much pagan material is preserved in it at all. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

males with males working the shapelessness

The pivot of the whole Romans quotation. Paul's word aschemosyne means indecency, and Hippolytus quotes Romans 1:26-27 to condemn. The group, on his report, hears the word as a-schema, WITHOUT SHAPE, and glosses it immediately: "shapelessness is the first and blessed substance without shape, the cause of all shapes to the things that are shaped." A term of moral condemnation has been converted into a name for the unformed divine source. This is the clearest surviving specimen of the group's exegetical method, and no single English word carries both senses; see the ambiguity entry for what the alternative rendering costs. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

there is neither female nor male, but a new creation, a new Man

Galatians 3:28 and 2 Corinthians 5:17 fused into a single clause and applied to the castration of Attis. The report has the group read the Phrygian myth as the pattern of Pauline new creation: Attis cut off from the parts below is the male power recalled to the eternal substance, where the distinction of sexes does not hold. §14 draws the practical conclusion, that intercourse between woman and man is forbidden on this teaching. Whether the fusion of Paul with Attis belongs to the group or to Hippolytus' arrangement is exactly the question the source-critical dispute cannot settle from inside the text. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena / pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Aphrodite, according to them, is coming-to-be

genesis, and the equation is the key to the allegorical machine of §§11-13. Each mythic pairing names a condition of the soul: soul desired by Aphrodite is soul in the realm of coming-to-be; soul desired by Persephone is soul separated from it and mortal; soul desired by Selene is the higher creation's own need. "Generation" is avoided as an English rendering because it invites the biological sense; "coming-to-be" keeps the process

sense the equation needs. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

anointed with the unutterable anointing

alalos, a different word from the arrhetos of the same sentence, and kept distinct in English as “unutterable” against “unspeakable”. The report here describes an actual rite: a washing with living water and an anointing, promising entry into unfading pleasure. Whatever else is disputed about this group, this sentence attributes to it a two-part initiation, which is one of the few concrete practices the report supplies. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the ⟨…⟩ of heaven sought within a man

THE GOVERNING NOUN IS MISSING FROM THE WITNESS. The Greek reads henper phesi <ten> entos anthropou ouranon zetoumenen, the editor supplies the article, and the noun the genitive “of heaven” depends on is simply absent. The obvious completion is basileian, kingdom, which would give “the kingdom of heaven sought within a man” and align the clause with Luke 17:21. The first draft of this edition supplied it silently; it is now marked as a gap. The stakes justify the ugliness: this is the sentence that introduces the Gospel of

Thomas testimonium, it is quoted constantly, and a reader is entitled to know that its central noun is a conjecture. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

anointed with the speechless anointing

alalos, literally speechless or mute, and a different word from the arrhetos (“unspeakable”) two clauses earlier. The first draft rendered both with near synonyms, which made the source look repetitious where it is precise. Whether the anointing is performed in silence or is one that cannot be spoken of, the Greek does not say, but it is not the word used of the mystery, and the English no longer implies that it is. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

there is neither female nor male

Galatians 3:28 with the members inverted; the canonical text has male before female. The inversion is in the witness and is preserved. Note also that the report gives no quotation marker here: the Pauline phrase is absorbed into the reported doctrine rather than cited, which is a different mode of scriptural use from the explicit Romans quotation a few sections later, and the difference may bear on what belongs to the source and what to the reporter. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the Romans quotation.** Romans 1:20-27 is quoted at length across §§16-18 and is reproduced AS THE REPORT GIVES IT, not conformed to a standard English of Romans. Two interruptions by the reporter fall inside the quotation ("and what the natural use is, according to them, we shall say later"; the gloss on shapelessness) and are set off with dashes so the reader can see where the quotation is broken into. Which of those interruptions is Hippolytus' and which belongs to his source is not marked, because the Greek does not mark it.
- **the pagan mythological material.** Adonis, Endymion, Persephone, Kore, Selene, Rhea, Attis and the Mother of the gods are transliterated and not glossed in the body. The report assumes the reader knows them, and supplying explanations inside the translation would silently convert a second-century polemic into a handbook.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §20: >ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων> an editorial supplement, and the following clause is disturbed. The mention of Egyptian mysteries alongside Assyrian and Phrygian is supplied by the editor, not transmitted. Marked with angle brackets in the English. The

sentence introducing the Thomas testimonium is therefore partly reconstructed, which is worth knowing given how often the testimonium is quoted.

- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §15: ἀρεσενόθηλυς for ἀρρενόθηλυς, ποῦ δἔ for ποῦ δὲ; §13: κοὶ for καὶ; §12: Ἀδροδίτης for Ἀφροδίτης. Transcription noise, not textual variation. Rendered from the evident readings and recorded so the defects are not mistaken for variants by anyone re-deriving this edition from the same digital source.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §20: the sentence introducing the Thomas testimonium is disturbed in three places, peri ten kai is unconstruable as transmitted; the formula carries only two members (“coming to be”, “shall yet be”) where such formulae usually have three; and the noun governing “of heaven” is absent. None of this is emended. The passage is among the most frequently quoted in the Refutatio and the frame around the quotation is markedly less secure than its fame suggests.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.7.22-30: Osiris, Hermes, and Esaldaios

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀπόρρητος αὐτοῖς λόγος καὶ μυστικός. λέγουσι γοῦν, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι, πάντων ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοὺς Φρύγας ἀρχαιότεροι καθεστῶτες καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογου- μένως τελετὰς καὶ ὄργια θεῶν πάντων ὁμοῦ μετ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτον κατηγγελκότες <καὶ> ἰδέας καὶ ἐνεργείας, ἱερὰ καὶ σεβάσμια καὶ τοῖς μὴ τετελεσμένοις τὰ Ισιδος ἔχουσι μυστήρια· τὰ δ εἰσὶν οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἡρπασμένον καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἑπταστόλου καὶ μελανείμονος αἰσχύνη Ὀσίριδος. Ὄσιριν δὲ λέγουσιν ὕδωρ. ἡ δὲ φύσις ἑπτάστολος, περὶ αὑτὴν ἔχουσα καὶ ἐστολισμένη ἑπτά στολὰς αἰθερίους, τοὺς πλάνητας γὰρ ἀστέρας οὕτω προσαγορεύουσιν ἀλληγοροῦντες καὶ αἰθερίους καλοῦντες † καθὼς – , ἡ μεταβλητὴ γένεσις, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀνεξεικονίστου καὶ ἀνεννοήτου καὶ ἀμόρφου μεταμορφουμένη κτίσις ἀναδείκνυται· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον, φησίν, ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· »ἑπτάκις πεσεῖται ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἀναστήσεται«. αὐται γὰρ αἱ πτώσεις, φησίν, αἱ τῶν ἄστρων μεταβολαὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα

This is their unspeakable and mystical account. They say, at any rate, that the Egyptians, who are established as the most ancient of all men after the Phrygians, and who by common consent among all other men were the first after them to have proclaimed the rites and ceremonies of all the gods together, <and> their forms and operations, have the mysteries of Isis, holy and venerable and, for those not initiated, sealed.

And these are nothing else than the shame of Osiris, snatched away and sought by the seven-robed and black-clad one. And they say Osiris is water. And nature is seven-robed, having about herself and being arrayed in seven ethereal robes, for so they call the wandering stars, speaking allegorically and calling them ethereal † as, and she, the changeable coming-to-be, is displayed as the creation transformed by the unspeakable and unimaginable and unthinkable and formless.

And this, he says, is what is said in the scripture: "seven times the righteous shall fall and shall rise again." For these fallings, he says,

κινοῦντος κινούμεναι. Λέγουσιν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ σπέρματος οὐσίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία, ὅτι τούτων ἔστιν οὐδέν, γεννᾷ δὲ καὶ ποιεῖ πάντα τὰ γινόμεναι λέγοντες οὕτως· »γίνομαι ὃ θέλω καὶ εἰμὶ ὃ εἰμί«. διὰ τοῦτό φησι ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὸ πάντα κινοῦν· μένει γὰρ ὅ ἐστι ποιοῦν τὰ πάντα καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν γινομένων γίνεται. τοῦτον εἶναί φησιν ἀγαθὸν μόνον, καὶ περὶ τούτου λελέχθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος λεγόμενον· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὃς ἀνατέλλει τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ ὁσίους καὶ ἁμαρτωλούς‘. τίνες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ὅσιοι οἷς βρέχει καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ οἷς ὁ αὐτὸς βρέχει, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. καὶ τοῦτ’ εἶναι τὸ μέγα καὶ κρύφιον τῶν ἄγνωστον μυστήριον μυστήριον παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις κεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀνακεκαλυμμένον. οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησίν, ἐστὶ ναὸς ἐν ᾧ πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου οὐχ ἕστηκε γυμνὸν τὸ κεκρυμμένον, κάτωθεν ἄνω βλέπον καὶ πάντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν γινομένων στεφανούμενον· ἐστάναι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις πρὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ναοῖς λέγουσι τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὴν

are the changes of the stars, moved by the one who moves all things.

They speak, then, concerning the substance of the seed, which is the cause of all things that come to be, that it is none of these things, but generates and makes all the things that come to be, saying thus: “I become what I will, and I am what I am.” For this reason, he says, that which moves all things is itself unmoved; for it remains what it is, making all things, and becomes none of the things that come to be.

He says that this alone is good, and that what is said by the Saviour was said concerning it: “Why do you call me good? One is good, my Father who is in the heavens, who makes his sun rise upon just and unjust and rains upon holy and sinners.” And who the holy are upon whom he rains, and who the sinners upon whom the same one rains, we shall say later, with the rest.

And this, they say, is the great and hidden and unknown mystery among the Egyptians, veiled and unveiled. For there is no temple, he says, before whose entrance the hidden thing does not stand naked, looking from below upward and crowned with all its own fruits of the things that come to be.

ἁπάντων ἐπίγνωσιν, οἱονεὶ φῶς >οὐχ> ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν ἐπικείμενον, κήρυγμα κηρυσσόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων, ἐν πάσαις ὁδοῖς καὶ πόσαις ἀγυιαῖς καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς ταῖς οἰκίαις, ὅρον τινὰ καὶ τέρμα τῆς οἰκίας προτεταγμένον, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπὸ πόντων λεγόμενον· ἀγαθηφόρον γὰρ αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, ὃ λέγουσιν οὐκ εἰδότες, καὶ τοῦτο Ἕλληνες μυστικὸν ἀπὸ Αἰγυπτίων παραλαβόντες φυλάσσουσι μέχρι σήμερον. τοὺς γοῦν Ἑρμᾶς, φησί, παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιούτῳ τετιμημένους σχήματι θεωροῦμεν. Κυλλήνιοι δὲ διαφερόντως τιμῶντες * * * λόγον. φησὶ γάρ· Ἑρμῆς ἐστι λόγος. <ὃς> ἑρμηνεὺς ὢν καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γινομένων καὶ ἐσομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώμενος ἕστηκε τοιούτῳ τινὶ κεχαρακτηρισμένος σχήματι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αἰσχύνη ἀνθρώπου, ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω ὁρμὴν ἔχων. Καὶ ὅτι οὗτος, τουτέστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος Ἑρμῆς, ψυχαγωγός, φησίν, ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχοπομπὸς καὶ ψυχῶν αἴτιος, οὐδὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς τῶν Μνῶν λανθάνει λέγοντας οὕτως· Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οὐ τῶν Πηνελόπης, φησίν, ὦ κακοδαίμονες, μνηστήρων, ἀλλὰ

And they say that such a thing stands not only in the holiest temples before the images, but also for the recognition of all, as it were a light <not> under the bushel but set upon the lampstand, a proclamation proclaimed upon the housetops, in all roads and all streets and beside the houses themselves, set before them as a boundary and limit of the house. And this is the good spoken of by all; for they call it the good-bearer, saying what they do not understand. And the Greeks, having received this mystic thing from the Egyptians, keep it to this day.

We see, at any rate, he says, that the Hermae among them are honoured in such a form. And the Cyllenians, honouring it especially * * * word. For he says: Hermes is the word. He, being the interpreter and craftsman of the things that are at once coming to be and shall yet be, stands honoured among them, marked with some such form, which is the shame of a man, having its impulse from the things below toward the things above.

And that this one, that is, this sort of Hermes, is a leader of souls, he says, and a conductor of souls and the cause of souls, does not escape

τῶν ἐξυπνισμένων καὶ ἀνεμνησμένων, ἐξ οἵης τιμῆς καὶ ὅσου μήκεος ὄλβου«, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου ἄνωθεν ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἀρχανθρώπου ἢ Ἀδάμαντος, ὡς ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ, κατηνέχθησαν ὧδε εἰς πλάσμα τὸ πήλινον, ἵνα δουλεύσωσι τῷ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως δημιουργῷ Ἠσαλδαίῳ, θεῷ πυρίνῳ, ἀριθμὸν τετάρτῳ·

even the poets of the nations, who speak thus: “And Cyllenian Hermes called forth the souls of the men who were suitors”, not the suitors of Penelope, he says, you wretches, but of those who have been woken and have remembered, “from what honour and how great a length of prosperity”, that is, from the blessed Man above, or First Man, or Adamas, as it seems to them, they were brought down here into the moulded thing of clay, so that they might be enslaved to the craftsman of this creation, ESALDAIOS, a fiery god, fourth in number.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

▽

An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

⁂

ESALDAIOS, a fiery god, fourth in number

The second Semitic loanword in this report, and as significant as naas. Esaldaios is widely understood to be the Hebrew EL SHADDAI carried into Greek, the divine title of Genesis 17:1 and the Priestly source, rendered in the Septuagint as pantokrator. Here it names not the high God but the CRAFTSMAN OF THIS CREATION, a fiery god, fourth in number, to whom souls are brought down and enslaved. A title of the God of Israel has become the name of the being that imprisons. The transliteration is kept for exactly the reason naas is kept: rendering it "Almighty" would erase the evidence that a Greek heresiological report is transmitting a Hebrew divine name, and would conceal what has been done with it. "Fourth in number" is unexplained here and the report promises the detail elsewhere. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation / reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the shame of Osiris, snatched away and sought

aischyne, shame, used as a euphemism for the phallus, and the Isis-Osiris myth makes the referent plain: the dismembered god whose members are recovered by the seeking goddess, all but

one. The “seven-robed and black-clad one” is Isis in mourning. This edition keeps the euphemism in the body and states the referent here, on the same principle applied to aschemosyne at 5.7.18, where the Greek is oblique, the English is oblique, and the apparatus is not. The object described in §§27 and 29 as standing naked before every temple is the same thing. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

And they say Osiris is water

The flattest allegorical equation in the report, and it links this Egyptian material to the water axis running through the whole work: hydor occurs thirteen times across 5.6-5.11, alongside “below” and “from above”. Note the method on display, a god is decoded into an element, exactly as Aphrodite was decoded into coming-to-be at 5.7.11. Whether that method belongs to the Naassene document or to Hippolytus’ presentation of it is the standing question. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

seven times the righteous shall fall and shall rise again

Proverbs 24:16, and the use made of it is characteristic. A proverb about moral resilience is read as astronomy: the seven

fallings are the changes of the seven planets, which §23 has just called the seven ethereal robes of nature. The scriptural citation is not decoration but the load-bearing joint between the Egyptian material and the biblical text. Reproduced as the report gives it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Why do you call me good? One is good, my Father who is in the heavens

TWO GOSPEL PASSAGES FUSED INTO ONE SAYING. The first clause is the rich young ruler pericope (Mark 10:18 and parallels), where the canonical text reads “no one is good except one, God”; the continuation “who makes his sun rise upon just and unjust and rains upon holy and sinners” is from the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:45), where the canonical wording is “the evil and the good … the just and the unjust”. Neither is quoted exactly and the join is seamless. This edition reproduces the fused saying as the report gives it and does not conform either half to its canonical wording, because the fusion and the divergences are evidence about what text the group used and how they used it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

as it were a light <not> under the bushel but set upon the lampstand

Matthew 5:15 spliced to Matthew 10:27, the lamp and the housetop proclamation, and applied to a phallic monument standing at the door of every house. The angle brackets mark an editorial supplement: the negative is not transmitted and without it the sentence says the opposite of what it means. That the restoration is required at the exact point where the sense inverts is worth a reader's attention. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Cyllenian Hermes called forth the souls of the men who were suitors

Odyssey 24.1-2, the opening of the second nekyia, quoted and then wrenched: "not the suitors of Penelope, he says, you wretches, but of those who have been woken and have remembered." The abuse, kakodaimones, is addressed by the quoted source to readers who take Homer literally. This is the clearest specimen in the chunk of the group's method applied to classical rather than scriptural text, and the method is identical: the surface referent is declared wrong and an anthropological one substituted. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

they call it the good-bearer, saying what they do not understand

agathephoros, good-bearer, and the report's aside is doing real work: the Greeks who use the term are said to preserve an Egyptian mystery whose meaning they have lost. The claim that a practice survives while its sense is forgotten is one of the group's recurring moves, and it is what licenses the whole comparative method, if everyone is unknowingly transmitting the same truth, then every rite is evidence. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

from what honour and how great a length of prosperity

NOT HOMER. The Odyssey quotation stops at "suitors"; this second line is Empedocles, fragment 119 in the Diels-Kranz numbering, on the soul fallen from its former honour. The report embeds it inside the gloss on the Homeric line without any marker, so a reader of the Greek meets two poets in one sentence and is told about neither. It matters for the question of what the underlying document was: quoting Homer proves only a shared education, but reaching for Empedocles on the descent of souls indicates someone who knew where to look. Identified here because a blind reader of the English noticed the

line was metrical and Ionic and did not belong to the Odyssey. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the euphemism.** aischyne is rendered “shame” throughout and never “phallus”, keeping the Greek’s own obliquity, with the referent stated plainly in apparatus. Same principle as aschemosyne at 5.7.18. The alternative is recorded as an ambiguity so a reader can see the choice was made rather than stumbled into. Coyness and coarseness are both distortions; the source is neither.
- **fused gospel citations.** §26 fuses Mark 10:18 with Matthew 5:45 into a single saying attributed to the Saviour, and neither half matches its canonical wording. Reproduced exactly as given. Conforming either half would delete the evidence about what text the group used, which is among the few things this report can testify to at all.
- **editorial marks in this chunk.** This chunk carries an unusual density of them: a dagger at §23, a dittography at §27, a supplied negative at §28 without which the sense inverts, and a starred lacuna at §29 that removes the clause identifying Hermes with the logos. All are carried into the

English in position. A reader assessing how much weight this section will bear should see them.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §23: *καὶ αἰθερίους καλοῦντες † καθὼς*, a crux marked by the editor inside the parenthesis on the planets. Carried into the English as a dagger in the same position. The parenthesis explaining that "ethereal robes" means the planets breaks off unfinished.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §27: *τῶν ἄγνωστον μυστήριον μυστήριον*, dittography of *μυστήριον*, and *τῶν* is unconstruable. Not emended. The English renders the evident sense once.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §28: *οἱονεὶ φῶς >οὐχ> ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον*, the negative is an editorial supplement. Without it the clause asserts the opposite of the Gospel saying it is quoting. Marked with angle brackets in the English.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §29: *Κυλλήνιοι δὲ διαφερόντως τιμῶντες * * * λόγον*, a lacuna marked by the editor. Carried into the English as * * * in position. The clause connecting the Cyllenian cult to the identification of Hermes with the logos is lost, and that identification is the point of the section.

- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §30: *τῶν Μνῶν* for *τῶν ἐθνῶν*; §25: *γινόμεναι* for *γινόμενα*; §28: *πόσαις* for *πάσαις*, *πόντων* for *πάντων*. Transcription noise, not textual variation. Rendered from the evident readings and recorded so the defects are not mistaken for variants.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.7.31-41: Adamas the Cornerstone and the Jordan Turned Back

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

οὕτως γὰρ τὸν δημιουργὸν πατέρα τοῦ ἰδικοῦ κόσμου καλοῦσιν. ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ καλήν, χρυσείην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου μόνος ἔχων ἐM σίαν. περὶ τούτου, φησί, γέγραπται· »ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ‘. ὁ δὲ ποιητής, φησί, κοσμῆσαι βουλόμενος τὸ ἀπερινόητον τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως τοῦ λόγου, οὐ σιδηρᾶν, ἀλλὰ χρυσῆν περιέθηκε τὴν ῥάβδον αὐτῷ. θέλγει δὲ τὰ ὄμματα τῶν νεκρῶν, ὥς φησι, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει, τοὺς ἐξυπνισμένους μένους καὶ γεγονότας μνηστῆρας. περὶ τούτων, φησίν, ἡ γραφὴ λέγει· »ἔγειραι ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἐξεγέρθητι, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός«. οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ ἐν πᾶσι, φησί, τοῖς γενητοῖς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου κεχαρακτηρισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου λόγου. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄρρητον Ἐλευσινίων μυστήριον »ὗε κύε«· καὶ ὅτι, φησίν, αὐτῷ »πάντα ὑποτέτακται«, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ εἰρημένον«· »εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος

For thus they call the craftsman father of the particular world. "And he held in his hands a rod, beautiful, golden, with which he charms the eyes of those men he wishes, and others again he wakes from sleep."

This one, he says, is he who alone has authority over life and death. Concerning him, he says, it is written: "you shall shepherd them with a rod of iron." But the poet, he says, wishing to adorn the inconceivable quality of the blessed nature of the word, put about him a rod not of iron but of gold. And he charms the eyes of the dead, as he says, "and others again he wakes from sleep", those who have been woken and have become suitors.

Concerning these, he says, the scripture says: "Awake, you who sleep, and rise up, and Christ shall shine upon you." This is the Christ, in all things that come to be, he says, the Son of Man stamped from the unstamped word.

This, he says, is the great and unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians: "Rain! Conceive!" And that, he says, "all things have

αὐτῶν'. ὡς τὸ τὴν ῥάβδον <ἄγει> κινήσας ὁ Ἑρμῆς, αἱ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἕπονται αἱ ψυχαὶ συνεχῶς οὕτως, ὡς διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπιδέδειχε λέγων· ὡς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρου θεσπεσίοιο τρίζουσαι ποτέονται, ἐπεί κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν ὁρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἔχονται. πέτρης, φησί, τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος λέγει. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδάμας »ὁ λίθος ὁ ἀκρογωνιαῖος εἰς κεφαλὴν γεγενημένος γωνίας«, ἐν κεφαλῇ γὰρ εἶναι τὸν χαρακτηριστικὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὴν οὐσίαν, »ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ χαρακτηρίζεται« – , »ὅν«, φησίν, »ἐντάσσω ἀδάμαντα εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών«· ἀλληγορῶν, φησί, τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγει. ὁ δὲ ἐντασσόμενος ἀδάμας ἐστὶν >»ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος«, θεμέλια Σιὼν δὲ οἱ> ὀδόντες· ὡς Ὅμηρος λέγει »ἕρκος ὀδόντων«, τουτέστι καὶ χαράκωμα, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, ἐκεῖθεν ἀποπεπτωκὼς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχανθρώπου ἄνωθεν Ἀδάμαντος, ὁ τημθεὶς ἄνευ χειρῶν« τεμνουσῶν καὶ κατενηνεγμένος μένος εἰς τὸ πλάσμα τῆς λήθης, τὸ χοϊκόν, τὸ »ὀστράκινον«· καὶ φησὶν ὅτι τετριγυῖαι αὐτῷ ἠκολούθουν αἱ ψυχαί, τῷ λόγῳ, ὥς αὗται τετριγυῖαι ἅμ' ἦϊσαν, ἦρχε δ' ἄρα

been subjected" to him, and this is what is said: "into all the earth their sound went out." As when Hermes, having moved the rod, <leads>, the souls follow squeaking continually, so, as the poet has shown by the image, saying: "and as when bats in the recess of a wondrous cave fly squeaking, when one falls away from the cluster on the rock, and they cling to one another." The rock, he says, means Adamas.

This, he says, is the adamant, "the cornerstone that has become the head of the corner", for in the head is the brain that gives the stamp, the substance, "from whom every fatherhood is stamped", "whom", he says, "I set as an adamant into the foundations of Zion". Speaking allegorically, he says, he means the moulded thing of the man.

And the adamant that is set in is <"the inner man", and the foundations of Zion are the> teeth, as Homer says, "the fence of the teeth", that is, a palisade also, in which is the inner man, having fallen from there, from the First Man above, Adamas; the one "cut without cutting hands", and carried down into the moulded thing of forgetfulness, the thing of dust, the "earthen" thing.

σφιν, τπθτὲστομ ἡγεῖτο, Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλαυθα, τουτέστι, φησίν, εἰς τὰ πάσης κακίας ἀπηλλαγμένα αἰώνια χωρία. ποῦ γάρ, φησίν, ἦλθον; πὰρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην, ἡ<δὲ> παρ' Ἠελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον οὖτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν Ὠκεανὸς »γένεσίς <τε> θεῶν, γένεσίς τ' ἐκ παλιρροίας στρεφόμενος αἰεί, ποτὲ ἄνω ποτὲ κάτω. ἀλλ ὅταν, φησί, κάτω ῥέῃ ὁ Ὠκεανός, γένεσίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν δὲ ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ τὴν Λευκάδα πέτρην, γένεσίς ἐστι θεῶν. τοῦτό ἐστι, φησί, τὸ γεγραμμένον· »ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες‘, ἐὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φυγεῖν σπεύδητε καὶ γένησθε πέραν τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω μίξεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ ζώντων· ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν ἐπιστραφῆτε ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τὴν κα΄τω μῖξιν, »ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκετε«. θηντὴ γάρ, φησί, πᾶσα ἡ κάτω γένεσις, ἀθάνατος δὲ ἡ ἄνω γεννωμένη· γεννᾶται γὰρ ἐξ ὕδατος μόνου καὶ πνεύματος πνευματικός, οὐ σαρκικός· ὁ δὲ κάτω σαρκικός. τοῦτ' ἔστι, φησί, τὸ γεγραμμένον· »τὸ γεγεννημένον

And he says that the souls followed him squeaking, that is, the word, as "these went squeaking together, and there led them", that is, guided them, "Hermes the kindly, down the dank ways", that is, he says, into the eternal places rid of all evil. For where, he says, did they come? "And they went past the streams of Ocean and the White Rock, and past the gates of the Sun and the people of dreams." This, he says, is Ocean, "genesis of gods

and genesis of men", turned always by the ebb and flow, now upward, now downward. But when, he says, Ocean flows downward, it is the coming-to-be of men; and when upward, toward the wall and the palisade and the White Rock, it is the coming-to-be of gods.

This is, he says, what is written: "I said, you are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High", if you hasten to flee from Egypt and come to be beyond the Red Sea into the wilderness, that is, from the mixture below to the Jerusalem above, which is the mother of the living. But if you turn back again to Egypt, that is, to the mixture below, "you die as men."

For mortal, he says, is all the coming-to-be below, but immortal

ἐκ τῆς σάρξ σάρξ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμά ἐστιν'. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ κατ' αὐτοὺς πνευματικὴ γένεσις. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας Ἰορδάνης, ἂν κάτω ῥέοντα καὶ κωλύοντα ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἤγουν ἐκ τῆς κάτω μίξεως· Αἴγυπτος γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμα κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀνέστειλεν Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄνω ῥέειν.

that which is begotten above; for it is begotten of water alone and spirit, spiritual, not fleshly; but the one below is fleshly. This is, he says, what is written: "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." This is, according to them, the spiritual coming-to-be.

This, he says, is the great Jordan, which, flowing downward and preventing the sons of Israel from going out of the land of Egypt, that is, out of the mixture below, for Egypt according to them is the body, IESOUS turned back and made to flow upward.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

▽

An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

⁂

IESOUS turned back and made to flow upward

The name is left untranslated because Greek Iesous is both JOSHUA and JESUS, and the sentence needs both. Turning back the Jordan is Joshua's miracle (Joshua 3), and the report has just spent three sections building an exegesis in which Egypt is the body, the crossing is spiritual birth, and the Jerusalem above is the mother of the living, which points to Jesus. The collapse of the two names in Greek is very likely what made the reading available in the first place. Every English translation of this passage has chosen "Jesus" and thereby dropped the Joshua reading; this edition declines to choose. Note the reversal of the miracle: in Joshua the river is stopped so Israel may cross, here it is made to flow UPWARD, which converts a crossing into an ascent. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the great and unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians: "Rain! Conceive!"

hye kye, the two-word cry reported as the culminating formula of the Eleusinian mysteries: an imperative addressed to the sky and one to the earth. The report calls it unspeakable and then speaks it, which is what a heresiological source is for and also

why it survives: this is among the very few places the Eleusinian formula is preserved at all. Whether the group genuinely knew it, or whether Hippolytus supplied it to prove his charge of pagan borrowing, cannot be settled from inside the text. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Awake, you who sleep, and rise up, and Christ shall shine upon you

Ephesians 5:14, itself widely thought to be quoting an early baptismal hymn, here used to gloss a line of Homer about Hermes waking sleepers with his rod. The chain is worth following: Odyssey 24.3-4 supplies the sleepers, Ephesians supplies the waking, and the two are made one doctrine. This is the report's method at its most compressed, classical verse and apostolic text treated as commentary on each other. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena / greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

as when bats in the recess of a wondrous cave fly squeaking

Odyssey 24.6-8, from the second nekyia, quoted at length and then decoded: "the rock, he says, means Adamas". The souls of Homer's suitors become the souls fallen from the Primal Man,

and the cluster they drop from becomes the Man himself. Note that the report continues the SAME Homeric passage begun at 5.7.30, this is a sustained reading of one text, not a scattering of tags. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

whom", he says, "I set as an adamant into the foundations of Zion

Isaiah 28:16, but altered: the prophet lays a STONE in Zion, and here it is an ADAMANT. The substitution is the point, it converts the foundation-stone into the Primal Man by way of the pun, and it is fused with Psalm 118:22 ("the cornerstone that has become the head of the corner") and Ephesians 3:15 ("from whom every fatherhood") in a single sentence. Three texts, one figure. Reproduced as the report gives it and not conformed to any of the three. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the "fence of the teeth"

herkos odonton, a Homeric formula for the barrier speech passes, used here to identify the "foundations of Zion" of Isaiah 28 with the teeth, inside which the inner man is enclosed. The report then calls the same thing a palisade. The move is characteristic and worth naming: a cosmological term is resolved

into an anatomical one, as Ocean becomes the ebb and flow of birth two sections later. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the one "cut without hands" that cut

Daniel 2:34, the stone cut from the mountain without hands that shatters the image. The awkwardness of the English is the Greek's: the phrase is quoted and then glossed with a participle repeating the verb, so the sense is that the cutting was done by no hands. Combined with "the moulded thing of forgetfulness, the thing of dust, the earthen thing", the last quoting 2 Corinthians 4:7, to describe the descent. Note choikos again, held to "of dust" as at 5.6.6. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

I said, you are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High

Psalm 82:6, and the report uses BOTH halves of the psalm's antithesis, which is unusual and shows the exegesis is controlled rather than opportunistic: verse 6 promises divinity, verse 7 ("you die as men") is quoted at the end of the same sentence as the penalty for returning to Egypt. Between them sits Galatians 4:26, the Jerusalem above as mother, given here as "mother of the living", which is Eve's title at Genesis 3:20, not Paul's

wording. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit

John 3:6, the Nicodemus discourse, quoted to seal the doctrine of the two births. The report's preceding sentence, begotten "of water alone and spirit", is John 3:5 with a significant addition: the Johannine text has "of water and spirit", and the "alone" is the group's. Small word, large consequence, and exactly the kind of divergence that disappears if a translator conforms the citation. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Ocean, "genesis of gods

Iliad 14.201 and 246, the Homeric formula for Ocean as origin of the gods, here split across a section break in the transmitted text and joined to "genesis of men", which is not Homer. The report then decodes the tide: Ocean flowing down is human birth, Ocean flowing up is the birth of gods. This is the clearest statement in the report of what the whole above/below axis is for. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

from whom every fatherhood is stamped

THE VERB HAS BEEN CHANGED. Ephesians 3:15 reads "from whom every fatherhood in heaven and on earth is NAMED" (onomazetai); the report has "is STAMPED" (charakterizetai), assimilated to the clause immediately before it, where the brain in the head is what "gives the stamp". The alteration is not incidental: it converts a statement about naming into one about impressing a form, which is what the whole cornerstone-brain-Adamas identification requires. The same verse is quoted at 5.7.7 with the canonical verb, so the report has it both ways within one chapter. Reproduced as given. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

preventing the sons of Israel from going out of the land of Egypt

GEOGRAPHICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, AND THE REPORT DOES NOT NOTICE. The Jordan does not lie between Israel and Egypt; it lies between the wilderness and Canaan, and what it blocks is entry into the land, not exit from Egypt. The exit from Egypt was the Red Sea, which this same passage used two sections earlier for exactly that purpose. Two separate crossings have been collapsed. The error is not emended, because it is evidence: the allegory needs only "a water that blocks", and the

indifference to which water shows how far the scriptural narrative has been subordinated to the above/below scheme. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

but immortal that which is begotten above

The Greek shifts gender mid-sentence and the English follows. "That which is begotten above" is feminine, agreeing with the coming-to-be (genesis) it is contrasted with; the masculine arrives only with "spiritual, not fleshly", where the subject has silently become a person. Rendering the whole clause with "he" would tidy away the moment the argument turns from a process into an individual, which is the moment that matters. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the scriptural catena.** This is the densest concentration of citation in the report: Psalm 2, Ephesians 5, Psalm 8, Psalm 19, Psalm 118, Isaiah 28, Ephesians 3, Daniel 2, 2 Corinthians 4, Psalm 82 (both halves), Galatians 4, John 3, and Joshua 3, interleaved with Odyssey 24 and Iliad 14. Every one is reproduced AS THE REPORT GIVES IT. Several diverge from their canonical wording, Isaiah's stone becomes an adamant, John's "water and spirit" becomes

"water ALONE and spirit", Galatians' Jerusalem above is called "mother of the living" in Eve's phrase from Genesis 3:20, and the divergences are the evidence. Conforming any of them would delete what a scholar comes here for.

- **the two puns.** The chunk turns on two collapses that Greek permits and English does not: adamas as both the unbreakable stone and the name of the Primal Man, and Iesous as both Joshua and Jesus. Neither is resolved silently. The adamas pun is handled by following the governing citation in each clause and recording the seam; Iesous is left transliterated. Both carry ambiguity entries.
- **sarkikos.** §40 opposes pneumatikos to SARKIKOS (fleshly), not to psychikos or hylikos. This is a third contrast pair, distinct from the two triads earlier in the report, and it is rendered distinctly. Collapsing it into the familiar triad would manufacture a consistency the source does not have.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §34: ὡς τὸ τὴν ῥάβδον <ἄγει> κινήσας ὁ Ἑρμῆς, the verb is an editorial supplement. Marked with angle brackets in the English.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §36: >»ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος«, θεμέλια Σιὼν δὲ οἱ> a substantial editorial supplement carrying the identification of the adamant with the inner

man and of Zion's foundations with the teeth. The supplement supplies the hinge of the whole allegory. Marked with angle brackets in the English. A reader should know that the most quotable identification in this section is partly reconstructed.

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §37: ἡ<δὲ> παρ' Ἠελίοιο πύλας, supplement; and the Homeric quotation breaks off mid-line at καὶ δῆμον. The Odyssey line ends "and the people of dreams"; the transmitted text stops at "and the people". Completed in the English from the Homeric text and recorded here.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §32: ἐM σίαν for ἐξουσίαν; §37: τπθἐστομ for τουτέστιν; §36: ὁ τημθεὶς for ὁ τμηθεὶς; §40: θηντὴ for θνητὴ; §39: κα′τω for κάτω; §32: μένους dittography. Transcription noise, not textual variation. This chunk carries an unusually high density of it. Rendered from the evident readings and recorded so the defects are not mistaken for variants by anyone re-deriving this edition from the same digital source.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.8.1-11: The Three Words and the Doctrine of Three

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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Τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑπόμενοι οἱ θαυμασιώτατοι γνωστικοί, ἐφευρεταὶ καινῆς τέχνης γραμματικῆς, τὸν ἑαυτῶν προφήτην Ομηρον ταῦτα προφαίνοντα ἀρρήτως δοξάζουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀμυήτους τὰς ἁγίας γραφὰς εἰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας συνάγοντες ἐνυβρίζουσι. λέγουσι δέ· ὁ λέγων τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἑνὸς συνεστάναι πλανᾶται, ὁ λέγων ἐκ τριῶν ἀληθεύει καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν δώσει. μία γάρ ἐστι, φησίν, ἡ μακαρία φύσις τοῦ μακαρίου ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἄνω, τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος· μία δὲ ἡ θνητὴ κάτω· μία δὲ ἡ ἀβασίλευτος γενεὰ ἡ ἄνω γενομένη, ὅπου, φησίν, ἐστὶ Μαριὰμ ἡ ζητουμένη καὶ Ἰοθὼρ ὁ μέγας σοφὸς καὶ Σεπφώρα ἡ βλέπουσα καὶ Μωσῆς, οὗ γένεσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· γεγόνασι γὰρ αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐν Μαδιάμ. καὶ τοῦτο, φησίν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς λέληθε· τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς. δεῖ γάρ, φησί, λαλεῖσθαι τὰ μεγέθη, λαλεῖσθαι δὲ οὕτως ὑπὸ πάντων πανταχῇ, »ἵνα ἀκούοντες μὴ ἀκούωσι καὶ βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν«. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐλαλεῖτο, φησί, τὰ μεγέθη, ὁ κόσμος συνεστάναι οὐκ ἠδύνατο.

Following these things and things like them, the most admirable knowers, inventors of a new grammatical art, glorify their own prophet Homer as revealing these things unspeakably; and gathering the uninitiated to such notions, they outrage the holy scriptures. And they say: he who says that all things are constituted out of one is deceived; he who says out of three speaks truly and will give the demonstration concerning the whole.

For one, he says, is the blessed nature of the blessed Man above, of Adamas; and one is the mortal below; and one is the kingless race that has come to be above, where, he says, are Mariam the sought, and Jothor the great wise one, and Sepphora the seeing, and Moses, whose offspring is not in Egypt, for children were born to him in Midian.

And this, he says, has not escaped the poets either: "and all things were divided in three, and each obtained his share of honour." For the greatnesses must be spoken, he says, and spoken thus by all everywhere, "so that hearing they may not hear and seeing they may

οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τρεῖς ὑπέρογκοι λόγοι Καυλακαῦ, Σαυλασαῦ, Ζεησάρ, Καυλακαῦ τοῦ ἄνω, τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος, Σαυλασαῦ τοῦ κάτω θνητοῦ, Ζεησὰρ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω ῥεύσαντος Ἰορδάνου. οὗτός ἐστι, φησίν, ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρσενόθηλυς ἄνθρωπος. ὃν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες Γηρυόνην καλοῦσι τρισώματον, ὡς ἐκ γῆς ῥέοντα Γηρυόνην, κοινῇ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας, ὅτι καταμέμιχε καὶ κεκέρακε πάντα πᾶσι. πάντα γάρ«, φησί, »δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. ὃ δὲ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωή ἐστιν'. αὕτη, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ἄρρητος γενεὰ τῶν τελείων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ ταῖς προτέραις γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγνώσθη· τὸ δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν], ὃ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, ὁ κόσμος <ὁ> ἰδικός· γέγονεν γὰρ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ κόνδυ, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεὺς πίνων οἰωνίζεται«. τοῦτο, φησί, κεκρυμμένον εὑρέθη ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς τοῦ Βενιαμὶν σπέρμασι. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες, φησίν, οὕτως μαινομένῳ στόματι· φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ, μέθυσόν με καὶ κάρωσον. τὸ ποτήριον λέγει μοι, ποδαπόν με δεῖ γενέσθαι, <ἀλάλῳ λαλοῦν τοῦτο, φησίν, ἤρκει μόνον νοηθὲν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τοῦ Ἀνακρέοντος ποτήριον

not see." For if the greatnesses were not spoken, he says, the world could not hold together.

These are the three exceedingly great words: KAULAKAU, SAULASAU, ZEESAR, Kaulakau of the one above, of Adamas; Saulasau of the one below, mortal; Zeesar of the Jordan that flowed upward. This, he says, is the male-female Man who is in all. Those who do not know call him three-bodied Geryon, as though Geryon flowing out of earth; and the Greeks in common call him the heavenly horn of the moon, because he has mixed and blended all things with all.

"For all things", he says, "came to be through him, and apart from him not one thing came to be. And what came to be in him is life." This, he says, is the life, the unspeakable race of the perfect men, which was not known to the earlier generations. And the "not one thing" that came to be apart from him is the particular world; for it came to be apart from him, by the third and the fourth.

This, he says, is "the cup, the goblet, in which the king drinking takes omens." This, he says, was found hidden in the fair seed of Benjamin. And the Greeks too say

ἀλάλως λαλοῦν μυστήριον ἄρρητον. ἄλαλον γάρ, φησί, τὸ Ἀνακρέοντος φησὶ] ποτήριον, ὅπερ αὐτῷ, φησὶν Ἀνακρέων, λαλεῖ ἀλάλῳ φθέγματι, ποδαπὸν αὐτὸν δεῖ γενέσθαι, τουτέστι πνευματικόν, οὐ σαρκικόν, ἐὰν ἀκούσῃ τὸ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς καοῖς ἐκείνοις γάμοις, ὃ στρέψας ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐποίησεν οἶνον. αὕτη, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἀληθινὴ »ἀρχὴ τῶν σημείων‘, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐφανέρωσε« τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. αὕτη, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν κατακειμένη ὡς θησαυρός, ὡς ζύμη »εἰς ἀλεύρου τρία σάτα« κεκρυμμένη. Τοῦτ’ ἔστι, φησί. τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄρρητον Σαμοθρᾴκων μυστήριον, ὃ μόνοις ἔξεστιν εἰδέναι τοῖς τελείοις, φησίν, ἡμῖν, διαρρήδην γὰρ οἱ Σαμοθρᾷκες τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκεῖνον παραδιδόασιν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοῖς ἐπιτελουμένοις παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀρχάνθρωπον. ἔστηκε δὲ ἀγάλματα δύο ἐν τῷ Σαμοθρᾴκων ἀνακτόρῳ ἀνθρώπων γυμνῶν, ἄνω τεταμένας ἐχόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰς αἰσχύνας ἄνω ἐστραμμένας, καθάπερ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ τὸ τοῦ

it, he says, thus, with maddened mouth: “Bring water, bring wine, boy; make me drunk and stupefy me. The cup tells me what sort of thing I must become,” <speaking with a speechless voice>. This, he says,

it would have been enough had it only been understood by men, the cup of Anacreon speaking speechlessly an unspeakable mystery. For speechless, he says, is the cup of Anacreon, which, Anacreon says, speaks to him with a speechless utterance, telling him what sort of thing he must become, that is, spiritual, not fleshly, if he hears the mystery hidden in silence. And this is the water at those fair marriages, which Jesus turned and made wine. This, he says, is the great and true “beginning of the signs” which Jesus did in Cana of Galilee, and “he manifested” the kingdom of the heavens.

This, he says, is the kingdom of the heavens lying within us like treasure, like leaven hidden “in three measures of meal.”

This is, he says, the great and unspeakable mystery of the Samothracians, which it is permitted to know only to the perfect, to us, he says. For expressly

Ἑρμοῦ. εἰκόνες δέ εἰσι τὰ προειρημένα ἀγάλματα τοῦ ἀρχανθρώπου καὶ τοῦ ἀναγεννωμένου πνευματικοῦ, κατὰ πάνθ' ὁμοουσίου ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος· »ἐὰν μὴ πίνητέ μου τὸ αἷμα καὶ φάγητέ μου τὴν σάρκα, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἀλλὰ κἂν πίητε, φησί, τὸ ποτήριον ο ἐγὼ πίνω, ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω, ἐκεῖ ὑμεῖς εἰσελθεῖν οὐ δύνασθε«.

the Samothracians hand down that Adam as First Man in the mysteries performed among them.

And there stand two images in the sanctuary of the Samothracians, of naked men, having both hands stretched upward to heaven and their shames turned upward, just as the one of Hermes at Cyllene. And the aforesaid images are likenesses of the First Man and of the spiritual man being born again, in all things of the same substance as that Man.

This, he says, is what is said by the Saviour: "unless you drink my blood and eat my flesh, you shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens; but even if you drink", he says, "the cup which I drink, where I go, there you cannot enter."

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

▽

An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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KAULAKAU, SAULASAU, ZEESAR

The three words are Hebrew, from Isaiah 28:10 and 13, qav laqav, tsav latsav, zeer sham, “line upon line, precept upon precept, a little there”, transliterated into Greek and redistributed as three technical names: Kaulakau for the one above, Adamas; Saulasau for the mortal below; Zeesar for the Jordan that flowed upward, which is the closing image of the previous chapter at 5.7.41. THIS IDENTIFICATION IS LONG ESTABLISHED IN THE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE and is not an observation of this edition; it appears in G. R. S. Mead’s Thrice-Greatest Hermes (1906) and in standard reference works, and Irenaeus independently attributes Caulacau to the Basilideans. Two things worth noticing all the same. The prophet’s taunt at the drunkards of Ephraim, baby-talk, deliberately meaningless in Isaiah, has become three words on which the world’s coherence depends. And Isaiah 28 is quarried twice by this report: verse 10 here, verse 16 at 5.7.35 for the stone in the foundations of Zion, altered there to an adamant. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation / scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

in all things of the same substance as that Man

homoousios, and the reader should register the date. This report belongs to the late second or early third century; the word became the decisive term of the Nicene creed in 325, where it names the relation of the Son to the Father. Here it does nothing of the kind: it says the reborn spiritual man is of the same substance as the First Man, which is an anthropological claim. Rendering it "consubstantial" would import a controversy that had not yet happened and make a second-century sentence sound like a fourth-century one. Its presence in pre-Nicene material is well known and the word had a philosophical life before it had a creedal one. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the most admirable knowers, inventors of a new grammatical art

The refuter's voice at its sharpest in the whole report, and the sarcasm is precise rather than merely abusive. "A new grammatical art" charges them with having invented a method of reading, not merely with holding wrong opinions, which is exactly right about what follows, and is the charge this edition has been documenting since 5.6. "Their own prophet Homer" makes the same point: they treat a poet as scripture. The contempt is preserved rather than neutralised, because it is

evidence about how the report was assembled. Note that gnostikoi is rendered "knowers" here as throughout, for the reasons set out at 5.6.4. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Mariam the sought, and Jothor the great wise one, and Sepphora the seeing

Miriam, Jethro and Zipporah, given Greek epithets that decode their Hebrew names: Mariam "the sought", Sepphora "the seeing". They populate the "kingless race" above, together with a Moses whose coming-to-be is placed outside Egypt on the ground that his children were born in Midian. The exegesis works by geography: to be born in Egypt is to belong to the mixture below, so Moses must be exempted from it. abasileutos, kingless, is the group's term for the highest class and appears here for the first time in the report. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

so that hearing they may not hear and seeing they may not see

Isaiah 6:9 in the form it takes at Mark 4:12, and the use made of it inverts the usual one. In the Gospel the saying explains why parables conceal; here it explains why the greatnesses MUST be spoken openly by everyone everywhere, because being said aloud

without being understood is how they stay hidden and how the world holds together. Public speech as the mechanism of concealment. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the cup, the goblet, in which the king drinking takes omens

Genesis 44:5, Joseph's divining cup planted in Benjamin's sack, which is why the next clause says it "was found hidden in the fair seed of Benjamin". kondy is the Septuagint's word and is kept beside the ordinary poterion, since the report gives both. The cup then does triple duty: Joseph's, Anacreon's speaking cup, and the cup of Mark 10:38 in the closing citation. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the cup of Anacreon speaking speechlessly an unspeakable mystery

alalos again, and deliberately: the same word describes the "speechless anointing" at 5.7.19, and this edition keeps "speechless" for it against "unspeakable" for arrhetos, which stands beside it in this very clause. The Anacreontic fragment quoted just before, "bring water, bring wine, boy", is drinking-song material read as a mystery of rebirth, which is the same

move made on Homer at 5.7.34 and on Isaiah here. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

their shames turned upward, just as the one of Hermes at Cyllene

The two ithyphallic statues in the Samothracian sanctuary, described in the same euphemism (aischyne) used of Osiris at 5.7.23 and of the Herms at 5.7.29. The report then supplies the interpretation: the two figures are the First Man and the spiritual man reborn. Whether the Samothracian cult held anything of the sort is not a question this text can answer; what it documents is the group's reading of it, or the reporter's. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

unless you drink my blood and eat my flesh

THREE SAYINGS FUSED, AND THE ORDER IS REVERSED. John 6:53 has "eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood"; here drinking comes first. The consequence clause is "you shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens", which is not John's wording ("you have no life in yourselves"). The continuation splices Mark 10:38, the cup which I drink, to John 8:21, where I go you cannot come, producing a saying in

which drinking the cup is necessary and still insufficient. Reproduced as given. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

lying within us like treasure

entos hemon, “within US”, and at 5.7.20 the same idea was given as entos anthropou, “within a man”, in a clause where the governing noun was missing from the witness and this edition marked a gap rather than supplying “kingdom”. Here the noun is present. The two passages together are the internal evidence for what 5.7.20 was saying, and keeping the earlier gap visible is what allows a reader to see that. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

whose offspring is not in Egypt

genesis here means OFFSPRING, not birth, and the “for” clause is what settles it: children born in Midian is evidence about Moses’ progeny and says nothing about where Moses himself originated, who was, on any account, born in Egypt. A first draft of this edition rendered it “coming-to-be”, which made the sentence both illogical and false. Caught by a blind reader who simply asked why the second clause was supposed to support the first. The point being made is that Moses belongs to the kingless race above because nothing of his continues in

Egypt, which is the body. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

and "he manifested" the kingdom of the heavens

John 2:11 reads "and manifested HIS GLORY"; the report has "the kingdom of the heavens". Note precisely where the witness closes the quotation: the marker falls after ephanerose, so the report itself presents the verb as quoted and the object as its own supply. The English reproduces that placement exactly. A blind reader flagged the marks as possibly hiding an unmarked alteration, which was the right suspicion and the wrong target, here the punctuation is the source's own and it is doing honest work. The substitution still matters: the sign at Cana is made to manifest not the glory of Christ but the kingdom, which the next sentence then locates within us. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

And what came to be in him is life

John 1:4 reads "what came to be in him WAS life" (en); the report has IS (estin). The tense is not incidental: the present is what allows the next sentence to identify that life with a race of perfect men currently in existence and unknown to earlier generations. Reproduced as given. Note also that the report punctuates the Johannine sentence with the stop before "what

came to be", the ancient reading, and the exegesis depends on it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the heavenly horn of the moon, because he has mixed and blended all things

The "because" only works in Greek. keras, horn, and kerannymi, to blend, are near-homophones, and the whole clause exists for the pun: he is called the horn because he has blended everything. In English the causal connective becomes a non sequitur, and no rendering repairs it. The same paragraph carries a second and equally untranslatable pun, Geryon derived from GE, earth, and REON, flowing, "as though Geryon flowing out of earth", which is a false etymology and is meant to be. Both are word-magic rather than argument, and preserving the appearance of argument in English would misrepresent them. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

And the "not one thing" that came to be apart from him is the particular world

The sentence looks like a flat self-contradiction and is in fact the paragraph's central move. Having quoted John 1:3, "apart from him not one thing came to be", the report treats oude hen, "not

one thing", as a NAME, and identifies the thing so named with the particular world. What the evangelist wrote as a denial that anything exists apart from the Word becomes an assertion that something does, and that its name is Nothing. The English preserves the words; this note preserves the trick, which would otherwise read as incoherence. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the three words.** Kaulakau, Saulasau and Zeesar are transliterated and capitalised at first occurrence, then given in ordinary case as the report reuses them. They are NOT translated back into the Hebrew of Isaiah 28:10, because the report treats them as opaque words of power and translating them would destroy the fact that a scriptural phrase has been converted into names. The identification is given in apparatus and is credited to the existing scholarship, not to this edition.
- **homoousios.** Rendered "of the same substance" and never "consubstantial". The Nicene English would import a fourth-century controversy into a second-century sentence making an anthropological claim. Recorded as an ambiguity so the occurrence is visible to a reader who cares about the word's history.

- **entos hemon against entos anthropou.** The kingdom-within saying appears here with the noun present and at 5.7.20 with the noun missing from the witness. The gap at 5.7.20 is left marked and this passage is cross-referenced to it, so a reader can weigh the internal evidence themselves rather than being handed a harmonised text. This is the clearest vindication so far of the policy of marking lacunae rather than filling them.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §5: τὸ δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν], ὃ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, ὁ κόσμος <ὁ> ἰδικός, a bracketed deletion and a supplement in one clause. The sentence turning John 1:3 into a doctrine of the particular world is unstable at exactly the point where the doctrine is stated.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §6-7: <ἀλάλῳ λαλοῦν τοῦτο, φησίν, a supplement bridging the section break; and φησὶν Ἀνακρέοντος φησὶν] ποτήριον, a bracketed dittography. The Anacreon passage is disturbed on both sides of the section division. Marked with angle brackets in the English; the dittography is rendered once.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §4: ἔν for ἐν; §7: καοῖς for καλοῖς; §6: ὠ παῖ for ὦ παῖ; §11: ο for ὃ; §9: ἀρχάνθρωπον out of construction. Transcription noise, not

textual variation. Rendered from the evident readings and recorded so the defects are not mistaken for variants.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.8.12-22: The Unstamped, and the Gate of Heaven

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

ἤδει γάρ, φησίν, ἐξ ὁποίας φύσεως ἕκαστος τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐστι καὶ ὅτι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἐλθεῖν ἀνάγκη. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν δώδεκα, φησί, φυλῶν μαθητὰς ἐξελέξατο δώδεκα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλάλησε πάσῃ φυλῇ· διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, τὰ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν κηρύγματα οὔτε πάντες ἀκηκόασιν οὔτε, ἐὰν ἀκούσωσι, παραδέξασθαι δύνανται. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρὰ φύσιν τὰ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν. Τοῦτον, φησί, Θρᾷκες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἷμον οἰκοῦντες Κορύβαντα καλοῦσι καὶ Θρᾳξὶν οἱ Φρύγες παραπλησίως, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου ἐγκεφάλου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς καταβάσεως λαμβάνων καὶ πάσας τὰς τῶν ὑποκειμένων διερχόμενος ἀρχὰς πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον κατέρχεται, οὐ νοοῦμεν. τοῦτ' ἔστι, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον· »φωνὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν, εἶδος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἑωράκαμεν«. ἀοιτετανλεβιτ γάρ, φησίν, αὐτοῦ καὶ <κε>χαρακτηρισμένου ἀκούεται φωνή, τὸ δὲ εἶδος τὸ κατελθὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου ὁποῖόν ἐστιν εἶδεν οὐδείς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ πλάσματι τῷ χοϊκῷ, γινώσκει δὲ αὐτὸ οὐδείς. οὗτος,

For he knew, he says, out of what sort of nature each of his disciples is, and that each of them must come to his own nature. For from the twelve tribes, he says, he chose twelve disciples, and through them he spoke to every tribe. For this reason, he says, not all have heard the preachings of the twelve disciples, nor, if they hear, are they able to receive them. For the things that are not according to their nature are for them against nature.

Him, he says, the Thracians who dwell about the Haemus call Korybas, and the Phrygians similarly to the Thracians, because taking the beginning of his descent from the crown of the head above and from the unstamped brain, and passing through all the beginnings of the things beneath, how and in what manner he comes down we do not understand.

This is, he says, what is said: "we heard his voice, but his form we have not seen." For [...] of him, he says, and of one that has been stamped, the voice is heard; but the form that came down from above, from the unstamped, what sort it is, no one has seen. And it is in the moulded thing of dust, and no one

φησίν, ἐστὶν »ὁ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν οἰκιῶν θεὸς‘ κατὰ τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ φθεγγόμενος <καὶ> κεκραγὼς ἀπὸ »ὑδάτων πολλῶν«. ὕδατα, φησίν, ἐστὶ πολλὰ ἡ πολυσχιδὴν τῶν θνητῶν γένεσις ἀνθρώπων, ἀφ’ ἧς βοᾷ βοᾷ κέκραγε πρὸς τὸν ἀχαρακτήριστον ἄνθρωπον, »ῥῦσαι« λέγων »ἀπὸ λεόντων τὴν μονογενῆ μου«. πρὸς τοῦτον, φησίν, ἐστὶ εἰρημένον· »παῖς μου εἶ σὺ Ἰσραὴλ, μὴ φοβοῦ· ἐὰν διὰ ποταμῶν διέλθῃς, οὐ μή σε συγκλύσωσιν, ἐὰν διὰ πυρὸς διέλθῃς, οὐ μή σε συγκαύσει«. ποταμούς, φησί, λέγει τὴν ὑγρὰν τῆς γενέσεως οὐσίαν, πῦρ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ὁρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν· »σὺ ἐμὸς εἶ, μὴ φοβοῦ«. καὶ πάλιν, φησίν, »εἰ ἐπιλήσεται μήτηρ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς μὴ ἐλεῆσαι μηδὲ ἐπιδοῦναι μαστόν, κἀγὼ ἐπιλήσομαι ὑμῶν«, ὁ Ἀδάμας, φησί, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνθρώπους· »ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ ἐπιλήσεται ταῦτα γυνή, ἀλλ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι ὑμῶν. ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν μου ἐξωγράφηκα ὑμᾶς«. περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ, αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, ἵνα γένηται πνευματικός. οὐ σαρκικός, λέγει, φησίν, ἡ γραφή· »ἄρατε πύλας οἱ. ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ

knows it.

This one, he says, is “the God who inhabits the flood” according to the psalter, and who utters and cries out from “many waters.” Many waters, he says, is the many-branched coming-to-be of mortal men, out of which he shouts and cries out to the unstamped Man, saying: “deliver my only-begotten from the lions.”

To this one, he says, it is said: “you are my child, Israel; do not fear. If you pass through rivers, they shall not sweep you away; if you pass through fire, it shall not burn you up.” Rivers, he says, means the wet substance of coming-to-be, and fire the impulse and desire toward coming-to-be. “You are mine, do not fear.”

And again, he says: “if a mother should forget her children, so as not to have mercy nor to give the breast, I also will forget you”, Adamas, he says, says this to his own men, “but even if a woman should forget these things, yet I will not forget you. Upon my hands I have painted you.”

And concerning his ascent, that is, his rebirth, so that he may become spiritual, not fleshly, the scripture says, he says: “lift up the gates, you

βασιλεὺς τῆς δοξης«. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ θαῦμα θαυμάτων. »τίς« γάρ, φησίν, »ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης;« »σκώληξ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἄνειδος ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐξουθένημα λαοῦ«. »αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης, ὁ ἐν πολέμῳ δυνατός«. πόλεμον μον δὲ λέγει τὸν ἐν σώματι, ὅτι ἐκ μαχίμων στοιχείων πέπλασται τὸ πλάσμα, καθὼς γέγραπται, φησί, »μνήσθητι πόλεμον τὸν γινόμενον ἐν σώματι«. ταύτην, φησί, τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ ταύτην τὴν πύλην εἶδεν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν πορευόμενος ὁ Ἰακώβ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔφηβος ἤδη γινόμενος καὶ ἀνήρ, τουτέστιν ἐγνωρίσθη τῷ εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν πορευομένῳ Μεσοποταμία δέ, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοή, ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ῥέουσα τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου. καὶ ἐθαύμασε τὴν οὐράνιον πύλην εἰπών· »ὡς φοβερὸς ὁ τόπος οὗτος. οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο ἀλλ' ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ, καὶ αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ«. διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· »ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πύλη ἡ ἀληθινή«. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου, φησίν, ἄνωθεν ἀνωθεν κεχαρακτηρισμένος τέλειος ἄνθρωπος. οὐ δύναται οὖν, φησί, σωθῆναι ὁ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇ διὰ ταύτης εἰσελθὼν τῆς πύλης.

who are rulers, and be lifted up, you eternal gates, and the King of glory shall come in." This is the wonder of wonders. "For who", he says, "is this King of glory? A worm and not a man, a reproach of a man and a scorn of the people." "He is the King of glory, mighty in war."

And by war he means the war in the body, because the moulded thing has been moulded out of warring elements, as it is written, he says: "remember the war that comes to be in the body." This entry, he says, and this gate Jacob saw as he journeyed to Mesopotamia, which is to say, already becoming a youth from a boy, and a man; that is, it was made known to him as he journeyed to Mesopotamia. And Mesopotamia, he says,

is the flow of the great Ocean, flowing from the middle of the perfect Man. And he marvelled at the heavenly gate, saying: "how fearful is this place! This is nothing other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." For this reason, he says, Jesus says: "I am the true gate."

And he who says these things is the perfect Man stamped from above, from the unstamped, he says.

Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον, φησί, Φρύγες καὶ Πάπαν καλοῦσιν, ὅτι πάντα ἔπαυσεν ἀτάκτως καὶ πλημμελῶς πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φανερώσεως κεκινημένα. τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα, φησί, τοῦ πάπα πάντων ὁμοῦ ἐστι τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων‘ λεγόντων· παῦε παῦε τὴν ἀσυμφωνίαν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ποίησον »εἰρήνην τοῖς μακράν«, τουτέστι τοῖς ὑλικοῖς καὶ χοϊκοῖς, καὶ »εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς«, τούτεστι τοῖς πνευματικοῖς καὶ νοεροῖς τελείοις ἀνθρώποις, λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ νέκυν, οἱονεὶ ἐν μνήματι καὶ τάφῳ ἐγκατωρυγμένον ἐν τῷ σώματι.

Therefore, he says, the perfect Man cannot be saved unless he is born again, entering through this gate.

And this same one, he says, the Phrygians also call Papas, because he stopped all the things that were moving in disorder and out of tune before his own manifestation. For the name, he says, of Papas belongs to all together “of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth” when they say: stop, stop the discord of the world, and make “peace to those far off”, that is, to the material and to those of dust, and “peace to those near”, that is, to the spiritual and intellective perfect men. And the Phrygians call this same one also a corpse, as though buried in a monument and a tomb within the body.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

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An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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call Korybas, because taking the beginning of his descent from the crown of the head

A third untranslatable etymology, on the pattern of Geryon and the horn at 5.8.4. Korybas is derived from KORYPHE, the crown of the head, so the name of the Phrygian dancing-god is made to encode the descent of the Man from the brain downward. The derivation is false and is meant to be: this is word-magic, not philology, and the report supplies three of them in half a chapter. Note the honesty of the sentence it sits in, "how and in what manner he comes down we do not understand", which is the reported source admitting the mechanism is opaque even to it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the Phrygians also call Papas, because he stopped all the things that were moving in disorder

The fourth etymology, and the same technique: PAPAS, the Phrygian divine title, derived from PAUEIN, to stop, so that the god's name is heard as the imperative "stop!". The report then supplies the cry itself, "stop, stop the discord of the world", put into the mouths of all things in heaven and on earth and under the earth, which is Philippians 2:10. The English cannot carry

the pun and does not try; it is recorded here because without it the "because" clause is a non sequitur, exactly as at 5.8.4. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation / pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

For who", he says, "is this King of glory? A worm and not a man

TWO PSALMS SPLICED, AND THE JOIN IS INVISIBLE. Psalm 24:8 asks "who is this King of glory?" and answers itself: "the Lord strong and mighty". The report substitutes Psalm 22:6, "a worm and not a man, a reproach of a man and a scorn of the people", and only then returns to Psalm 24 for "mighty in war". So the King of glory who enters the eternal gates is identified with the derided sufferer of the passion psalm. The report gives no marker that a second psalm has entered, and the English reproduces that silence rather than inserting one. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the God who inhabits the flood

Psalm 29:10 in the Septuagint numbering, joined to "many waters" from Psalm 29:3 and then to "deliver my only-begotten from the lions" from Psalm 22:20. Three verses from two psalms in one sentence, and the decoding is supplied

immediately: many waters is the many-branched coming-to-be of mortal men. The same allegorical value is given to the rivers of Isaiah 43 in the next section, so the report is consistent about water even while ranging freely across texts. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Upon my hands I have painted you

Isaiah 49:15-16, and the attribution is the point: the report has ADAMAS speaking these words "to his own men". The maternal consolation of the prophet, a mother may forget her child, I will not forget you, is transferred from the God of Israel to the Primal Man. The verb is unusual: the Septuagint has "I have painted your walls", and here it is simply "I have painted you". Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

this gate Jacob saw as he journeyed to Mesopotamia

Genesis 28:17, the ladder at Bethel, with the exclamation quoted in full: how fearful is this place, the house of God, the gate of heaven. The report then attaches John 10:9, "I am the true gate", so that the Bethel gate and the Johannine door become one thing. Note the allegory of the journey itself: going to Mesopotamia is glossed as passing from boy to youth to man, and Mesopotamia is then decoded in the next section as the flow

of the great Ocean from the middle of the perfect Man. The place-name is read as a body. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

remember the war that comes to be in the body

Quoted as scripture, introduced with "as it is written", and it is not in the canonical Old or New Testament in this form. It resembles Job 40:32 in the Septuagint ("remember the war") but the phrase "in the body" has no biblical source known to this edition. Either the report is citing a text now lost, quoting loosely from memory, or supplying its own words with a scriptural formula. Reproduced as given and flagged rather than silently assigned to a locus. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

we heard his voice, but his form we have not seen

CORRECTED ATTRIBUTION. A first draft of this edition gave this as Deuteronomy 4:12. It is John 5:37, and the vocabulary settles it: the report has phonen AUTOU and eidos AUTOU, which is John's wording exactly, where Deuteronomy has homoioma and not eidos. The correction matters because of what has been done to the verse. John says the Jews have NEITHER heard his voice NOR seen his form; the report says they HAVE heard the voice but have not seen the form. A

double denial has been turned into a contrast, and the contrast is exactly what the argument needs, since the voice belongs to what has been STAMPED and can be heard, while the form descends from the UNSTAMPED and cannot be seen. Caught by a blind reader who recognised the Johannine wording and its inversion. acharakteristos, unstamped, is the chunk's governing term and occurs four times; it is rendered consistently so the contrast with the stamped Man of §21 stays visible. The witness is damaged at the start of the following sentence and the English marks the gap. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

> *peace to those far off", that is, to the material and to those of dust*

Ephesians 2:17, and the gloss gives the report's fullest classification: those far off are the material (hylikoi) and those of dust (choikoi), those near are the spiritual (pneumatikoi) and intellective (noeroi) perfect men. This is the FOURTH distinct configuration of the graded classes in the report, after noeron/psychikon/choikon at 5.6.6, angelikon/psychikon/choikon at 5.6.7, and pneumatikos/sarkikos at 5.7.40, and the first in which hylikos and choikos appear together rather than as alternatives. Each is

rendered distinctly. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Jesus says: "I am the true gate."

NOT A CANONICAL SAYING, AND THE SUBSTITUTION IS THE SOURCE'S. John 10:9 reads "I am the DOOR" (thyra), and there is no "true". The witness here reads PYLE, gate, the same word as the gate of heaven in the Jacob citation immediately before, and as the gates of Psalm 24 a few sections earlier. That is the whole point: substituting pyle for thyra welds the Johannine saying to Genesis 28:17 and to the psalm, so that Bethel, the eternal gates and the door of the sheepfold become one thing. A blind reader flagged this as the passage where a translator might have harmonised "door" into "gate" to make the argument run; the witness shows the harmonisation is the report's, not this edition's. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Mesopotamia, he says, is the flow of the great Ocean, flowing from the middle

A THIRD untranslatable etymology in this chunk, and the first draft of this edition missed it. Meso-potamia is "between the rivers", and the report unpacks the MESO- by making it the flow that comes "from the MIDDLE" (apo ton meson) of the

perfect Man. The place-name is read as an anatomy. In English "middle" survives but its connection to the name does not, so the gloss looks arbitrary when it is in fact the same technique as Korybas from the crown of the head and Papas from stopping, four false etymologies in a single chapter. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

a reproach of a man and a scorn of the people

Psalm 22:6, and the witness reads the SINGULAR, oneidos anthropou, a reproach of a man, where the Septuagint has the plural, anthropon, of men. A one-letter difference, and it points the verse at an individual rather than at humanity, which is what the identification with the King of glory requires. Reproduced as given. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **acharakteristos.** Rendered "unstamped" throughout, and never "formless" or "uncharacterised". The word governs the chunk: the unstamped brain, the unstamped Man, the form that came down from the unstamped, and the perfect Man STAMPED from the unstamped at §21. The metaphor is of a seal or die impressing a character, and it must stay a

single English word across all four occurrences or the argument dissolves.

- **the four etymologies.** The report supplies four false etymologies in this stretch of the work: Geryon from earth-flowing and the horn from blending at 5.8.4, Korybas from the crown of the head at 5.8.13, Papas from stopping at 5.8.22. None is translatable, all are footnoted, and none is repaired. The English preserves the "because" clauses even though they read as non sequiturs, since smoothing them would misrepresent word-magic as argument.

Manuscript variants

- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §14: ἀοιτεταν̣λεβιτ, not Greek; the transcription is corrupt here. A run of letters that does not form a word. The clause it opens is rendered with a marked gap rather than reconstructed. The sense of the sentence is recoverable from what follows, but the words are not.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §14: <κε>χαρακτηρισμένου and §15: φθεγγόμενος <καὶ> κεκραγὼς, editorial supplements. Both minor and both carried into the English at the corresponding points.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §15: βοᾷ βοᾷ dittography; §19: πόλεμον μον dittography; §21: ἄνωθεν

ἀνωθεν dittography; §18: τῆς δοξης unaccented. Transcription noise. Each rendered once. Three dittographies in eleven sections is a high rate even for this transcription and is recorded as a caution to anyone re-deriving the edition from the same source.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.8.23-32: Paul at the Gate, and the Tax-Collectors

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον· »τάφοι ἐστὲ κεκονιαμένοι, γέμοντες«, φησίν, »ἔσωθεν ὀστέων νεκρῶν«, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπος ὁ ζῶν· καὶ πάλιν, φησίν, »ἐξαλοῦνται ἐκ τῶν μνημείων οἱ νεκροί«, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν χοϊκῶν, ἀναγεννηθέντες πνευματικοί, οὐ σαρκικοί. αὕτη, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ διὰ τῆς πύλης γινομένη τῶν οὐρανῶν, δι' ἧς οἱ μὴ εἰσελθόντες, φησί, πάντες μένουσι νεκροί. οἱ δὲ αὐτοί, φησί, Φρύγες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς λέγουσι θεόν. γίνεται γάρ, φησί, θεός, ὅταν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης πύλης εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ταύτην, φησί, τὴν πύλην Παῦλος οἶδεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, παρανοίξας ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ εἰπὼν »ἡρπάσθαι ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου καὶ γεγονέναι ἕως δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον αὐτόν, καὶ ἑωρακέναι ἃ ἑώρακε, καὶ ἀκηκοέναι ῥήματα ἄρρητα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ εἰπεῖν«. ταῦτά ἐστι, φησί, τὰ ἄρρητα ὑπὸ πάντων λεγόμενα μυστήρια, »ἃ <καὶ λαλοῦμεν> οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας

This, he says, is what is said: "you are whitewashed tombs, full", he says, "within of dead men's bones", because the living Man is not in you. And again, he says: "the dead shall leap out of the tombs", that is, out of the bodies of dust, being born again spiritual, not fleshly.

This, he says, is the resurrection that comes about through the gate of the heavens, through which those who have not entered, he says, all remain dead. And these same Phrygians, he says, call this same one god again, after his change. For he becomes god, he says, when, rising from the dead, he shall enter through such a gate into heaven.

This gate, he says, Paul the apostle knew, opening it a little in a mystery and saying that he "was snatched up by an angel and came as far as the second and third heaven, into paradise itself, and saw what he saw, and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter."

These, he says, are the unspeakable mysteries spoken of by all, "which <we also speak> not in words

λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες. ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ· μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστί«. καὶ ταῦτα, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄρρητα μυστήρια, ἃ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν μόνοι. περὶ τούτων, φησίν, εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτήρ· »οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐλθεῖν πρός με, ἐὰν μή τινα ἑλκύσῃ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος«. πάνυ γάρ, φησί, δύσκολόν ἐστι παραδέξασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ ἄρρητον μυστήριον. καὶ πάλιν, φησίν. εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτήρ· »οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι κύριε κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς«. ὃ δεῖ ποιήσαντας, οὐχὶ ἀκούσαντας μόνον, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσελθεῖν τῶν οὐρανῶν. καὶ Πάλιν, φησίν, εἴρηκεν· »οἱ τελῶναι καὶ οἱ πόρναι προάγουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν«. τελῶναι γάρ, φησίν, εἰσὶν οἱ τὰ τέλη τῶν ὅλων λαμβάνοντες, ἡμεῖς δέ, φησίν, ἐσμὲν οἱ τελῶναι, »εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκε«. τέλη γάρ, φησίν, εἰσὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου εἰς τὸν κόσμον κατεσπαρμένα σπέρματα, δι' ὧν

taught by human wisdom, but in words taught by the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the ensouled man does not receive the things of the Spirit of God, for they are folly to him." And these, he says, are the unspeakable mysteries of the Spirit, which we alone know.

Concerning these, he says, the Saviour has said: "no one can come to me unless my heavenly Father draw him." For it is exceedingly hard, he says, to receive and take in this great and unspeakable mystery. And again, he says, the Saviour has said: "not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of the heavens, but he who does the will of my Father who is in the heavens" –

which they must DO, not merely hear, to enter into the kingdom of the heavens. And again, he says, he has said: "the tax-collectors and the prostitutes go before you into the kingdom of the heavens." For tax-collectors, he says, are those who receive the ends of all things, and we, he says, are the tax-collectors, "upon whom the ends of the ages have come." For the ends, he says, are the seeds sown into the world from the unstamped, through which the whole world is completed; for through them it

ὁ πᾶς συντελεῖται κόσμος· διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἤρξατο γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον· »ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπειραι· κοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κατεπατήθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη καὶ ἐξανέτειλε«, φησί, »καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος ἐξηράνθη καὶ ἀπέθανε· τὰ δὲ ἔπεσε, φησίν, ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν, καὶ ἐποίει καρπόν ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα. ὁ ἔχων«, φησίν, »ὠτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω«. τοῦτ' ἔστι, φησίν· οὐδεὶς τούτων τῶν μυστηρίων ἀκροατὴς γέγονεν εἰ μὴ μόνοι <οἱ> γνωστικοὶ τέλειοι. αὕτη, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθή, λέγει Μωϋσῆυς· »εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς γῆν καλὴ καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν, εἰς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι«. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸ γάλα, οὗ γευσαμένους τοὺς τελείους ἀβασιλεύτους γενέσθαι καὶ μετασχεῖν τοῦ πληρώματος. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ πλήρωμα, δι' οὗ πάντα #x003E; γινόμενα γεννητὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου γέγονέ τε καὶ πεπλήρωται. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ ἄκαρπος καλεῖται. ἔστι γὰρ ἄκαρπος, ὅταν ᾖ σαρκικὸς καὶ τὴν »ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σαρκὸς« ἐργάζηται. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον· »πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν

also began to come to be.

And this is, he says, what is said: "the sower went out to sow; and some fell beside the road and was trampled, and some upon the rocky places and sprang up", he says, "and because it had no depth it was withered and died; and some fell", he says, "on the fair and good earth, and produced fruit, one a hundredfold, one sixtyfold, one thirtyfold. He who has", he says, "ears to hear, let him hear." That is, he says: none has become a hearer of these mysteries except only the perfect knowers.

This, he says, is the fair and good earth of which Moses says: "I will bring you into a fair and good land, into a land flowing with milk and honey." This, he says, is the honey and the milk, by tasting which the perfect become kingless and share in the fullness. This, he says, is the fullness, through which all things that come to be, being begotten, have come to be and been filled from the unbegotten.

And this same one is called by the Phrygians also fruitless. For he is fruitless when he is fleshly and works "the desire of the flesh." This, he says, is what is said: "every tree not producing good fruit is cut down and cast into fire." For

ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται«. καρποὶ γὰρ οὗτοι, φησίν, εἰσὶ μόνον οἱ λογικοί, <οἱ> ζῶντες ἄνθρωποι, οἱ διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσερχόμενοι τῆς τρίτης. λέγουσι γοῦν· »εἰ νεκρὰ ἐφάγετε καὶ ζῶντα ἐποιήσατε, τί, ὃν ζῶντα φάγητε, ποιήσετε;« ζῶντα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ λόγους καὶ νόας καὶ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου ἐρριμμένους εἰς τὸ πλάσμα καρπούς.

these fruits, he says, are only the rational ones, the living men, who enter through the third gate.

They say, at any rate: “if you ate dead things and made them living, what will you do if you eat living things?” And by living things they mean words and minds and men, the pearls of that unstamped one flung into the moulded thing: these are the fruits.

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was snatched up by an angel and came as far as the second and third heaven

2 Corinthians 12:2-4, and the report has changed it twice. Paul writes that he was caught up to the THIRD heaven, naming no agent; here an ANGEL does the snatching and the ascent passes through a SECOND heaven on the way. Both alterations point the same way: a single seizure becomes a graded passage with an angelic escort, which is the structure of an ascent narrative and not of Paul's sentence. The report needs it to be that, because the whole argument of the section is that Paul knew the gate. The words Paul heard are arrheta, and the report immediately claims the same word for its own mysteries two sections later, which is the move the alteration was making room for. Reproduced as given; the Pauline wording is recorded in the ambiguity entry. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

> *we, he says, are the tax-collectors, "upon whom the ends of the ages have come."*

A FIFTH untranslatable pun, and the most elaborate in the report. Greek telones, tax-collector, is formed on TELOS, which means both a customs-due and an END or completion. So Matthew 21:31, the tax-collectors go before you into the kingdom, is read as a statement about people who receive THE ENDS OF ALL THINGS, and is then welded to 1 Corinthians 10:11, "upon whom the ends of the ages have come", to produce

the claim: we are the tax-collectors. The English cannot carry it; “tax-collector” and “end” share nothing. Without this note the paragraph is simply baffling, which is the honest state of it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation / scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

> *if you ate dead things and made them living, what will you do if you eat living things?*

A SECOND GOSPEL OF THOMAS PARALLEL in this report, and it is not marked as a citation. The saying corresponds closely to logion 11 of the Coptic Thomas from Nag Hammadi. Its presence here is significant for the same reason the testimonium at 5.7.20 is: that passage names Thomas explicitly, and this one does not, so the report is drawing on the same tradition in two different modes, once by attribution and once as anonymous material introduced with nothing more than “they say”. Taken together the two passages tell against the view that Thomas was a Naassene composition and for the view that the group used it as a source. Frame relation: heresiological-report (witness-reliability / scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

> *But the ensouled man does not receive the things of the Spirit of God*

1 Corinthians 2:13-14, quoted at length and with an editorial supplement restoring “which we also speak”. This is the passage that governs Hekhal’s refusal to render psychikos as “natural”: the traditional English of this very verse, used here, would silently answer the disputed question of whether the Naassene graded classes derive from Paul or Paul’s vocabulary is being annexed by them. The report leaves no doubt which way it reads the verse, “these are the unspeakable mysteries of the Spirit, WHICH WE ALONE KNOW”. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the perfect become kingless and share in the fullness

pleroma, and this is one of only two occurrences in the whole report, a fact worth stating because the term is so strongly associated with gnostic systems generally. Measured across Ref. 5.6-5.11 it appears twice, against anthropos sixty-three times. This material is not pleroma-centred, and the word arrives here attached to the milk and honey of Exodus 3:8 rather than to an emanationist structure. Rendered “fullness” rather than transliterated, for the same reason gnosis is rendered “knowledge”: the transliteration imports a system the passage does not build. abasileutos, kingless, returns from 5.8.2. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the pearls of that unstamped one flung into the moulded thing

Matthew 7:6, the pearls before swine, inverted into a cosmology: the pearls are words and minds and men, and they have been flung not before swine but into the moulded thing of clay. The image closes the chunk and answers the "seeds sown into the world from the unstamped" of §28, two figures, one doctrine, and acharakteristos governing both. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

you are whitewashed tombs

Matthew 23:27, addressed by Jesus to the scribes and Pharisees, here turned into a statement about everyone who has not passed the gate, "because the living Man is not in you". It is joined to Isaiah 26:19, "the dead shall leap out of the tombs", read as the rebirth out of the bodies of dust. The pairing is deft: a rebuke about hidden corruption and a promise of resurrection are made into the two halves of one doctrine, and the tomb is the body in both. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

which they must DO, not merely hear

The emphasis is the report's, not this edition's: the Greek sets poiesantas against akousantas monon. Coming immediately after Matthew 7:21 ("not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord"), it is the one place in the chunk where the group's doctrine is stated as a practical requirement rather than a claim about knowledge, and it sits oddly beside §26's "which we alone know". Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

these are the fruits

karpous stands in apposition at the end of the sentence and is not an afterthought: it answers §31, where "these fruits are only the rational ones, the living men". So the pearls, the seeds sown from the unstamped, and the fruits of the parable are all one thing, and the chunk closes by tying its three figures together. A first draft set it off with a dash, which made it look like a stray gloss; a blind reader called it a dangling appositive and a candidate for corruption, which was the right suspicion about the punctuation and the wrong one about the text. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the tax-collectors and the prostitutes go before you into the kingdom of the heavens

Matthew 21:31, where the canonical text reads “the kingdom of GOD”. The witness has “the kingdom of the HEAVENS”, which is Matthew’s usual idiom but not his wording in this verse. Whether the report is quoting from memory in Matthew’s general register or using a text that read so cannot be settled here. Reproduced as given, and noted because this edition reproduces citation divergences rather than conforming them. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **pleroma.** Rendered “fullness”, not transliterated. The transliteration would import the Valentinian system the word carries in most readers’ minds, and this report is measurably not built on it, two occurrences across six chapters, against sixty-three of anthropos. Same principle as gnosis for “knowledge”.
- **the Pauline ascent.** The 2 Corinthians 12 citation is reproduced with the report’s angel and its second heaven intact, and the Pauline wording is recorded in the ambiguity entry rather than substituted. This is the passage in the whole report with the most direct bearing on the comparative question, since Paul’s third-heaven ascent is the standard bridge between this material and the Jewish ascent

literature, and an edition that quietly conformed the citation would destroy the evidence of how the group read it.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §26: ἃ <καὶ λαλοῦμεν> οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς, editorial supplement restoring the verb of the Pauline citation. Without it the quotation has no main verb. Marked with angle brackets in the English.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §29: μόνοι <οἱ> γνωστικοὶ τέλειοι; §31: <οἱ> ζῶντες ἄνθρωποι, supplements. Both minor articles. Carried silently; recorded here for completeness.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §30: γῆν καλὴ καλὴν dittography and a stray entity #x003E; §25, §29: κοὶ for καὶ; §26: ἔν for ἐν; §28: Πάλιν miscapitalised; §30: Μωϋσῆυς for Μωϋσῆς. Transcription noise including an unescaped HTML entity, which is a reminder that this digital text has been through more than one conversion. Rendered from the evident readings.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.8.33-45: The Ever-Turning, and the Mysteries at Eleusis

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ λέγει, φησί· »μὴ βάλητε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ μηδὲ τοὺς μαργαρίτας τοῖς χοίροις«, χοίρων καὶ κυνῶν ἔργον λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν γυναικὸς πρὸς ἄνδρα ὁμιλίαν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον, φησίν, οἱ Φρύγες καλοῦσιν αἰπόλον, οὐχ ὅτι, φησίν, ἔβοσκεν αἶγας καὶ τράγους, ὡς οἱ ψυχικοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἀειπόλος, τουτέστιν ὁ ἀεὶ πολῶν καὶ στρέφων καὶ περιελαύνων τὸν κόσμον ὅλον στροφῇ. πολεῖν γάρ ἐστι τὸ στρέφειν καὶ μεταβάλλειν τὰ πράγματα· ἔνθεν, φησί, καὶ τὰ δυο κέντρα του ουρανου απαντες προσαγορευουσι πόλους. καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς δέ φησι· πωλεῖταί τις δεῦρο γέρων ἅλιος νημερτής, ἀθάνατος Πρωτεὺς Αἰγύπτιος. οὐ πιπράσκεται, φησίν, ἀλλὰ στρέφεται αὐτοῦ οἱονεὶ καὶ περιέρχεται λέγει. καὶ πόλεις, ἐν αἷς οἰκοῦμεν, ὅτι στρεφόμεθα καὶ πολοῦμεν ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ καλοῦνται πόλεις. οὕτως, φησίν, οἱ Φρύγες αἰπόλον τοῦτον καλοῦσι τὸν πάντοτε <πάντα> πανταχῇ στρέφοντα καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτόν, φησί, καὶ πολύκαρπον οἱ Φρύγες, ὅτι »πλείονα«, φησί, »τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης

This is what he means, he says: "do not cast the holy thing to the dogs, nor the pearls to the swine", saying that the intercourse of woman with man is the work of swine and dogs.

And this same one, he says, the Phrygians call goatherd, not because, he says, he pastured she-goats and he-goats, as the ensouled name him, but because, he says, he is AEIPOLOS, that is, the one who is always turning and revolving and driving round the whole world with a turning.

For POLEIN is to turn and to change things about. Hence, he says, all men call the two centres of heaven poles. And the poet too says: "there is trafficked hither a certain old man of the sea, unerring, the immortal Egyptian Proteus." He is not sold, he says, but he turns about, as it were, and goes around, he means. And cities, in which we dwell, because we turn and revolve in them, and they are called poleis.

Thus, he says, the Phrygians call goatherd this one who is always turning <all things> everywhere and toward their own places. And

τὸν ἄνδρα«, τουτέστι τὰ ἀναγεννώμενα ἀθάνατα καὶ ἀεὶ διαμένοντα ἐστὶ πολλά, κἂν ὀλίγα ᾖ τὰ γεννώμενα· τὰ δὲ σαρκικά, φησίν, φθαρτὰ πάντα, κἂν ᾖ πολλὰ πάνυ <τὰ> γεννώμενα. διὰ τοῦτο, φησίν, »ἔκλαιε Ῥαχὴλ τὰ τέκνα καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε« φησί, »παρα- καλεῖσθαι κλαίουσα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς· ᾖδει γάρ, φησίν, ὅτι οὔκ εἰσι«. θρηνεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἱερεμίας τὴν κάτω Ἱερουσαλήμ, οὐ τὴν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κάτω γένεσιν τὴν φθαρτήν· ἔγω γάρ, φησί, καὶ Ἱερεμίας τὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἀναγεννώμενον »ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος«, οὐ σαρκικόν. αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Ἱερεμίας ἔλεγε· »ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τίς γνώσεται αὐτόν;« οὕτως, φησίν. ἐστὶ πάνυ βαθεῖα καὶ δυσκατάληπτος ἡ τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γνῶσις. ἀρχὴ γάρ«, φησί, τελειώσεως γνῶσις ἀνθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ γνῶσις ἀπηρτισμένη τελείωσις‘. Δέγουσι δὲ αὐτόν, φησί, Φρύγες καὶ χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον, καὶ μετὰ τοὺς Φρύγας Ἀθηναῖοι μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνια καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ, τεθερισμένον στάχυν. ὁ δὲ στάχυς οὗτός ἐστι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ παρὰ τοῦ

the Phrygians call him also many-fruited, he says, because “more”, he says, “are the children of the desolate than of her that has a husband”, that is, the things born again are immortal and remain always, and are many, even if the things begotten are few; but the fleshly things, he says, are all perishable, even if the things begotten are exceedingly many.

For this reason, he says, “Rachel wept for her children and would not”, he says, “be comforted, weeping over them; for she knew”, he says, “that they are not.” And Jeremiah too laments the Jerusalem below, not the city in Phoenicia, but the perishable coming-to-be below. For Jeremiah too, he says, knew the perfect Man, the one born again “of water and spirit”, not fleshly.

Jeremiah himself, at any rate, said: “he is a man, and who shall know him?” Thus, he says, the knowledge of the perfect Man is exceedingly deep and hard to grasp. For “the beginning of perfection”, he says, “is knowledge of man, but knowledge of God is perfection completed.”

And the Phrygians call him, he says, also a green ear of grain reaped; and after the Phrygians the

ἀχαρακτηρίστου φωστὴρ τέλειος μέγας, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μέν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπηρτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν«, τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν. πότνια δέ ἐστι, φησίν, ἡ γένεσις ἡ πνευματική, ἡ ἐπουράνιος, ἡ ἄνω· ἰσχυρὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ οὕτω γεννώμενος. ἔστι γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον μυστήριον Ἐλευσὶν καὶ ἀνακτόρειον Ἐλευσίν, ὅτι ἤλθομεν, φησίν, οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος ῥυέντες κάτω, ἐλεύσεσθαι γάρ, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἐλθεῖν – , τὸ δὲ ἀνακτόρειον <διὰ> τὸ ἄνω. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστίν, ὃ λέγουσιν οἱ κατωργιασμένοι τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰ #x003E; μυστήρια· θέσμιον δέ ἐστι τὰ μικρὰ μεμυημένους αὖθις τὰ μεγάλα μυεῖσθαι. μόροι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι.« μικρά, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς Περσεφόνης κάτω, περὶ ὧν μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀγούσης ἐκεῖ, οὔσης πλατείας καὶ εὐρυχώρου« καὶ φερούσης τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Περσεφόνην, * * * καὶ ὁ

Athenians, initiating into the Eleusinian rites and displaying to those who behold the great and wonderful and most perfect mystery there beheld, in silence, a reaped ear of grain.

And this ear of grain is also among the Athenians the great and perfect light-bringer from the unstamped, just as the hierophant himself, not cut off, indeed, as Attis was, but made a eunuch by hemlock and set apart from all fleshly coming-to-be, who by night at Eleusis, under a great fire, performing the great and unspeakable mysteries, shouts and cries out saying: “the lady has borne a holy child, Brimo has borne Brimos”, that is, the strong one has borne the strong.

And the lady, he says, is the spiritual coming-to-be, the heavenly, the one above; and the strong one is he who is thus begotten. For the mystery is called Eleusis and Anaktoreion, Eleusis, because we came, he says, we the spiritual, flowing down from above from Adamas (for ELEUSESTHAI, he says, is to come), and Anaktoreion because of what is above.

This, he says, is what those who have been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries say. And it is

ποιητὴς δέ φησιν· αὐτὰρ ὑπ' αὐτήν ἐστιν ἀταρπιτὸς ὀκρυόεσσα, κοίλη, πηλώδης· ἡ δ' ἡγήσασθαι ἀρίστη ἄλσος ἐς ἱμερόεν πολυτιμήτου Ἀφροδίτης. ταῦτ' ἐστί, φησί, τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς σαρκικῆς γενέσεως, α μυηθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι μικρὰ παύσασθαι ὀφείλουσι, <πρὶν> καὶ τὰ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπουράνια. οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ, φησί, λαχόντες μόρους μείζονας μοίρας λαβάνουσιν«. αὕτη γάρ, φησίν, ἐστὶν »ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ« καὶ οὗτος <ὁ> »οἶκος θεοῦ«, ὅπου ὁ ἀγαθὸς κατοικεῖ μόνος, εἰς ὃν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται, φησίν, ἀκάθαρτος οὐδείς, οὐ ψυχικός, οὐ σαρκικός, ἀλλὰ τηρεῖται πνευματικοῖς μόνοις, ὅπου δεῖ γενομένους βαλεῖν τὰ ἐνδύματα καὶ πάντας γενέσθαι νυμφίους ἀπηρσενωμένους διὰ τοῦ παρθενικοῦ πνεύματος. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ συλλαμβάνουσα καὶ τίκτουσα υἱόν, οὐ ψυχικόν, οὐ σωματικόν, ἀλλὰ μακάριον αἰῶνα αἰώνων. περὶ τούτων, φησί, διαρρήδην εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτὴρ ὅτι »στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς αὐτήν, πλατεῖα δὲ καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς

the rule that those initiated into the lesser be initiated again into the greater. "For greater deaths obtain greater portions." The lesser, he says,

are the mysteries of Persephone below, concerning which mysteries and the road that leads there, being "broad and spacious" and carrying those who are perishing to Persephone * * * And the poet too says: "but beneath it is a path, chill, hollow, miry; and this is best to lead to the lovely grove of much-honoured Aphrodite." These, he says, are the lesser mysteries, those of fleshly coming-to-be;

into which men, having been initiated, ought to cease for a little, <before> also the great, the heavenly. For those who have obtained the deaths there, he says, "receive greater portions." For this, he says, is "the gate of heaven" and this is "the house of God", where the good one alone dwells, into which, he says, no unclean person shall enter, not the ensouled, not the fleshly, but it is kept for the spiritual alone, where those who come must throw off their garments and all become bridegrooms, made male by the virginal spirit.

For this is the virgin who conceives

τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ διερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς'.

and bears a son, not ensouled, not bodily, but a blessed aeon of aeons. Concerning these things, he says, the Saviour has said expressly: "narrow and hard is the road that leads away to life, and few are those who enter into it; but broad and spacious is the road that leads away to destruction, and many are those who pass through it."

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)





An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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the beginning of perfection", he says, "is knowledge of man, but knowledge of God is perfection completed

THE SAME MAXIM AS 5.6.6, AND HERE IT IS COMPLETE. At its first occurrence the witness is damaged and reads only the alpha of anthropou, with everything from there

to the second gnosis supplied by Wendland, so this edition printed it there as “knowledge of m(an, but of God)”, marking the restoration rather than hiding it. The report repeats the maxim here, thirty-two sections later, and the text is sound: archen teleioseos gnosis anthropou, theou de gnosis apertismene teleiosis. The second occurrence therefore CONFIRMS the editorial restoration at the first. This is the second time in this edition that a marked gap has been resolved by internal evidence from a later chapter, the first being the kingdom-within saying at 5.7.20 and 5.8.8, and it is the argument for marking lacunae rather than filling them, stated as plainly as it can be. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

he is AEIPOLOS, that is, the one who is always turning

A FIFTH etymology, and the most elaborate in the report: aipolos, goatherd, reheard as AEI-POLOS, ever-turning. The report then runs the root through three further words to prove it, the POLES of heaven, Proteus who “is sold” (POLEITAI) in Homer but really “turns”, and the POLEIS we live in because we revolve in them. Four derivations from one syllable, and not one survives translation. Note the contempt in passing: he is not called goatherd because he pastured goats, “as the ENSOULED

name him", ordinary readers being the psychikoi. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Eleusis, because we came, he says, we the spiritual, flowing down from above from Adamas

A SIXTH etymology, and the sentence in which the report speaks in the first person plural about itself, the only such moment in the whole work. Eleusis is derived from ELEUSESTHAI, to come, so the name of the sanctuary encodes the descent of the spiritual ones from Adamas; and the anaktoreion, the inner shrine, is derived from ANO, above. "We came, we the spiritual" is as close as this text ever gets to a voice that is not being reported. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation / reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the lady has borne a holy child, Brimo has borne Brimos

The cry of the hierophant at Eleusis, and one of the very few places it is preserved at all. The report supplies its own gloss immediately, "that is, the strong one has borne the strong", deriving Brimo from a root of strength, and then reads the lady as the spiritual coming-to-be above. As at 5.7.34 with the cry hye

kye, the mystery is called unspeakable and then spoken. That is what a heresiological source is for, and it is why this report is a document in the history of the Greek mysteries as well as of gnosticism. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

not cut off, indeed, as Attis was, but made a eunuch by hemlock

A concrete and startling claim about Eleusinian practice: the hierophant is not castrated like the Phrygian devotee but rendered incapable by hemlock, and so "set apart from all fleshly coming-to-be". Whether this is accurate about the Eleusinian priesthood, or the group's inference, or the reporter's, cannot be settled from here, but it is among the more specific things the report alleges about a cult it is using as a comparand. The distinction it draws from Attis at 5.7.15 is careful rather than careless. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

For greater deaths obtain greater portions

Heraclitus, fragment 25 in the Diels-Kranz numbering, quoted to justify the progression from the lesser mysteries to the greater. The Greek turns on MOROI, deaths, against MOIRAI, portions, a seventh piece of sound-play, and a pre-Socratic one

this time rather than an etymology of a cult name. The fragment is quoted twice in this chunk, at §42 and again at §44, which is the report's usual sign that a sentence is load-bearing. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Rachel wept for her children and would not

Jeremiah 31:15, and the exegesis that follows is the report's clearest statement of its method on the prophets: Jeremiah's lament is said to be not for the city in Phoenicia but for "the perishable coming-to-be below". A geographical Jerusalem is exchanged for a cosmological one. The report then claims Jeremiah as a knower of the perfect Man, born again "of water and spirit", John 3:5 again, and here WITHOUT the "alone" the report added at 5.7.40, which is worth noticing since the same edition reproduces both. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

he is a man, and who shall know him?

Jeremiah 17:9 in the Septuagint, where the sense is that the heart is deep and unsearchable. Read here as a statement that the perfect Man is unknowable, which sets up the maxim quoted immediately after. A rhetorical question about human corruption becomes a claim about the difficulty of gnosis.

Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

narrow and hard is the road that leads away to life

Matthew 7:13-14, quoted in full and in reversed order, the narrow road first, the broad second, where Matthew has the broad first. The reversal lets the quotation answer the Homeric-style verse two sections earlier about the chill and miry path leading to the grove of Aphrodite, which the report has just identified with the lesser mysteries of fleshly coming-to-be. So the Saviour is made to confirm a reading of a pagan poem. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

do not cast the holy thing to the dogs, nor the pearls to the swine

Matthew 7:6, and the application is abrupt: the swine and dogs are identified with heterosexual intercourse, which §5.7.14 has already called “exceedingly wicked and forbidden” on this teaching. The report gives no argument here, only the identification, and the English supplies none. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

there is trafficked hither a certain old man of the sea

THE HARDEST PUN IN THE REPORT TO CARRY, AND A FIRST DRAFT OF THIS EDITION LOST IT. Odyssey 4.384 uses POLEITAI, which in Homer means frequents or haunts, “there comes and goes a certain old man of the sea”. But the report quotes the line to prove that POLEIN means to turn, and immediately adds: “he is NOT SOLD, he says, but he turns about”. That rejoinder is unintelligible unless the reader has just met a verb that ALSO means “is sold”, which poleitai does. Rendering the line by its Homeric sense resolves the ambiguity the argument depends on and makes the next sentence a non sequitur, which is what the first draft did. “Trafficked” is the nearest English: it carries both movement and commerce. A blind reader identified this as the single largest fidelity loss in the passage, and was right. Note also that the report is conflating two distinct verbs, polein with a short vowel, polein-to-sell with a long one, which no English can show at all. Frame relation: heresiological-report (greek-poetic-citation / etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

for she knew”, he says, “that they are not

AN INTRUSION INTO THE QUOTATION, AND IT MAY BE DELIBERATE. Jeremiah 31:15, as quoted at Matthew 2:18, reads simply “because they are not” (hoti ouk eisin). The witness here has “for SHE KNEW, he says, that they are not”, eidei gar. The verb of knowing is not in either canonical text. In

a document whose whole subject is knowledge, and which two sections later quotes a maxim about the knowledge of man and of God, an inserted “she knew” is not obviously accidental. Reproduced as given and flagged rather than corrected. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

not the city in Phoenicia

Jerusalem is in Judaea, not Phoenicia, and the report is simply wrong. The error is in the witness and is not emended. It is worth a moment because of what it suggests: the geography of the Levant is a matter of indifference to a writer for whom the lower Jerusalem is not a place at all but “the perishable coming-to-be below”. The same indifference appeared at 5.7.41, where the Jordan was made to block the way out of Egypt. Twice is a habit. Frame relation: heresiological-report (witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

more”, he says, “are the children of the desolate

Isaiah 54:1, quoted to prove the title “many-fruited”, and the report has weakened its own proof. The Septuagint reads POLLA, MANY are the children of the desolate; the witness here reads PLEIONA, MORE. The lemma being explained is polykarpos, many-fruited, and the gloss that follows insists the

reborn “are many”, so the argument wants polla and the citation as transmitted does not supply it. Whether the report quoted loosely or a copyist normalised toward the comparative that follows cannot be settled here. Reproduced as given. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

> *the knowledge of the perfect Man is exceedingly deep and hard to grasp*

The gloss picks up a word the quotation does not contain. Jeremiah 17:9 in the Septuagint opens “the heart is DEEP beyond all things, and he is a man, and who shall know him?”; the report quotes only from “he is a man” onward, then immediately calls the knowledge of the perfect Man “exceedingly DEEP”. The catchword is doing the work and the reader of the citation alone cannot see where it came from. Noticed by a blind reader who observed that the interpretation appears to come from nowhere. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

> *this, he says, is “the gate of heaven” and this is “the house of God”*

Genesis 28:17 with its clauses reversed: the Septuagint has the house of God first and the gate of heaven second, and the report

puts the gate first. The inversion is in the witness. It also matters structurally, the gate is what this whole stretch of the report has been about since 5.8.18, so the reversal puts the operative term in front. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the repeated maxim.** §38 gives in full the maxim that 5.6.6 gives with an editorial restoration. The English at 5.6.6 keeps its parentheses and this passage is cross-referenced to it, rather than the earlier passage being silently completed from the later one. A reader should be able to see that the restoration was a conjecture AND that the conjecture turned out right; harmonising would destroy the first half of that.
- **the seven pieces of sound-play.** This chapter contains, by count: Geryon from earth-flowing, the horn from blending, Korybas from the crown of the head, Mesopotamia from the middle, Papas from stopping, aipolos from ever-turning (with poles, Proteus and poleis in support), Eleusis from coming and anaktoreion from above, and the Heraclitean moroi/moirai. None is translatable; all are footnoted; none is repaired. Where the English preserves a “because” that reads as a non sequitur, that is the honest state of the sentence.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §43: τὴν Περσεφόνην, * * * καὶ ὁ ποιητής, a lacuna marked by the editor. Carried into the English as * * * in position. The clause introducing the verse quotation is lost.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §36: πάντοτε <πάντα>; §36: πολλὰ πάνυ <τὰ> γεννώμενα; §44: μικρὰ παύσασθαι ὀφείλουσι, <πρὶν>; §44: οὗτος <ὁ> οἶκος, four supplements. All marked with angle brackets in the English. The §44 supplement <prin> governs the sequence of lesser and greater initiation and without it the sentence does not construe.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §42: a stray entity #x003E;; §39: Δέγουσι for Λέγουσι; §35: several words unaccented (του ουρανου απαντες προσαγορευουσι); §37: ἐξΰδατος unspaced; §44: λαβάνουσιν for λαμβάνουσιν. Transcription noise. A run of unaccented words at §35 suggests the transcription changed hands or method mid-chapter.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.9.1-10: The Almond, the Point, and the Attis Hymn

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

Ἔτι δὲ οἱ Φρύγες λέγουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων εἶναι ἀμύγδαλον, οὐχὶ δένδρον, φησίν, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἀμύγδαλον ἐκεῖνον τὸν προόντα, ὃς ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν τέλειον καρπὸν οἱονεὶ διασφύζοντα καὶ κινούμενον ἐν βάθει, διήμυξε τοὺς κόλπους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀκατονόμαστον <καὶ> ἄρρητον παῖδα ἑαυτοῦ, οὗ λαλοῦμεν. ἀμύξαι γάρ ἐστιν οἱονεὶ ῥῆξαι καὶ διατεμεῖν, καθάπερ, φησίν, ἐπὶ τῶν φλεγμαινόντων σωμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τινα συστροφὴν ἃς ἀμυχὰς οἱ ἰατροὶ λέγουσιν ἀνατεμόντες· οὕτως, φησί, Φρύγες τὸν <προόντα> ἀμύγδαλον καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀόρατος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα »ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν«. συρικτὰν δέ φασιν εἶναι Φρύγες τὸ ἐκεῖθεν γεγεννημένον, ὅτι πνεῦμα ἐναρμόνιόν ἐστι τὸ γεγεννημένον. »πνεῦμα γάρ«, φησίν, »ἐστὶν ὁ θεός· διό«, φησίν, »οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ προσκυνοῦσιν οὔτε ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταί, ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι. πνευματικὴ γάρ«, φησίν, »ἐστὶ τῶν τελείων ἡ προσκύνησις, οὐ

Further, the Phrygians say that the father of all things is an almond, not a tree, he says, but that pre-existent one is an almond, who having in himself the perfect fruit, as it were throbbing and moving in the depth, tore open his own breast and begot his own invisible and unnameable <and> unspeakable child, of whom we speak.

For to AMYXAI is as it were to break open and to cut through, just as, he says, in the case of inflamed bodies which have within them some gathering, which the physicians, cutting them open, call AMYCHAI. Thus, he says, the Phrygians call the <pre-existent one> an almond, from whom also the invisible one was begotten, through whom all things "came to be, and apart from him not one thing came to be."

And the Phrygians say that what is begotten from thence is a PIPER, because what is begotten is a harmonious spirit. "For God", he says, "is spirit; therefore", he says, "neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem do the true worshippers worship, but in spirit.

σαρκική«. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα, φησίν, ἐκεῖ, ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὀνομάζεται καὶ ὁ υἱός, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖ γεννώμενος. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ πολυώνυμος μυριόμματος ἀκατάληπτος, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις, ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως ὀρέγεται. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅ, φησίν, ἐστὶ ῥῆμα Ἀποφάσεως τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως· διὸ ἔσται ἐσφραγισμένον καὶ κεκρυμμένον καὶ κεκαλυμμένον, κείμενον ἐν τῷ οἰκητηρίῳ, οὗ ἡ ῥίζα τῶν ὅλων τεθεμελίωται, ἀπό τε] αἰώνων δυνάμεων ἐπινοιῶν, θεῶν ἀγγέλων πνευμάτων ἀπεσταλμένων, ὄντων μὴ ὄντων, γεννητῶν ἀγεννήτων, ἀκαταλήπτων καταληπτῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν μηνῶν ἡμερῶν ὡρῶν στιγμῆς ἀμερίστου, ἐξ ἧς ἐξάρχεται τὸ ἐλάχιστον αὐξῆσαι κατὰ μέρος· ἡ γάρ) μηδὲν οὖσα, φησί, καὶ ἐκ μηδενὸς συνεστῶσα στιγμὴ ἀμέριστος οὖσα γενήσεται ἑαυτῆς ἐπινοίᾳ μέγεθός τι ἀκατάληπτον. αὕτη, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σινάπεως, ἡ ἀμέριστος ἐνυπάρχουσα τῷ σώματι στιγμή, ἣν οἶδε, φησίν, οὐδεὶς ἢ οἱ πνευματικοὶ μόνοι. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον· »οὐκ εἰσὶ λόγοι οὐδὲ λαλιαί, ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν«. Ταῦθ' οὕτως

For spiritual", he says, "is the worship of the perfect, not fleshly." And the spirit, he says, is there, where also the Father is named and the Son, begotten there from this Father. This, he says, is the many-named, the myriad-eyed, the incomprehensible, whom every nature desires, each in a different way.

This, he says, is the utterance of God, which is, he says, the utterance of the Declaration of the Great Power; wherefore it shall be sealed and hidden and covered, lying in the dwelling where the root of all things is founded, of aeons, powers, thoughts, gods, angels, spirits sent forth, things being and not being, begotten and unbegotten, incomprehensible and comprehensible, of years, months, days, hours, of the indivisible point, from which the least begins to grow part by part. For the point which is nothing, he says, and is composed of nothing, being indivisible, shall become by its own thought a certain incomprehensible magnitude.

This, he says, is the kingdom of the heavens, the grain of mustard, the indivisible point present in the body, which none knows, he says, but the spiritual alone. This, he says, is what is said: "there are no

σχεδιάζουσι, τὰ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων λεγόμενά τε καὶ γινόμενα πρὸς ἴδιον νοῦν <ἑρμηνεύοντες>, πνευματικὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς θεάτροις ἐπιδεικνυμένους λέγουσι μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἀπρονοήτως τι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν. τοιγαροῦν, φησίν, ἐπὰν συνέλθῃ ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, εἰσιών τις ἠμφιεσμένος στολὴν ἔξαλλον, κιθάραν φέρων καὶ ψάλλων, οὕτως λέγει ᾄδων τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια οὐκ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει· εἴτε Κρόνου εἴτε Διὸς Διὸς μάκαρι εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλας, χαῖρε <ὦ> τὸ ἄκουσμα Ῥέας Ἄττι· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄδωνιν, ὅλη δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας Ἑλληνὶς σοφία, Σαμοθρᾷκες Ἄδαμνα σεβάσμιον, f 38v Αἱμόνιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ δὲ <αὖ> νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον αἰπόλον, ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα, ἢ τὸν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν. Τοῦτόν φησιν εἶναι πολύμορφον Ἄττιν, ὃν ὑμνοῦντες λέγουσιν οὕτως· Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης, οὐ κωδώνων σὺν βόμβοις οὐδ' αὐλῷ Ἰδαίων Κουρήτων μυκητᾷ, ἀλλ' εἰς Φοιβείαν μίξω μοῦσαν φορμίγγων· εὐοῖ, εὐάν, ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν

speeches nor words, whose voices are not heard."

These things they improvise thus, <interpreting> according to their own mind the things said and done by all men, so that everything becomes spiritual. Whence they say that even those who perform in the theatres neither say nor do anything without providence. Accordingly, he says, when the people gather in the theatres, someone comes in clothed in a strange robe, carrying a lyre and playing, and thus he says, singing the great mysteries without knowing what he says:

"Whether of Kronos, or of blessed Zeus, or of great Rhea, hail, O hearing of Rhea, Attis! You the Assyrians call thrice-longed-for Adonis, and all Egypt Osiris, and Greek wisdom the heavenly horn of the moon, the Samothracians revered Adamna, the Haemonians Korybas, and the Phrygians now Papas, and now again a corpse, or a god, or the fruitless one, or a goatherd, or a green ear of grain reaped, or the piper-man whom the many-fruited almond bore."

This one, he says, is many-formed Attis, whom hymning they speak thus: "I will hymn Attis, son of Rhea, not with the boomings of

ἄστρων. Διὰ τούτους καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους παρεδρεύουσιν οὗτοι τοῖς λεγομένοις Μητρὸς μεγάλης μυστηρίοις, μάλιστα καθορᾶν νομίζοντες διὰ τῶν δρωμένων ἐκεῖ τὸ ὅλον μυστήριον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι πλέον οὗτοι τῶν ἐκεῖ δρωμένων, πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν ἀποκεκομμένοι, μόνον τὸ ἔργον τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων ἐκτελοῦσιν.

bells, nor with the pipe of the Idaean Kouretes' bellowing, but I will mingle Phoebean music of lyres. Euoi! Euan!, as Pan, as Bacchus, as shepherd of white stars."

Because of these and such accounts these people attend upon the mysteries called those of the Great Mother, thinking that through the things done there they most of all behold the whole mystery. For these have nothing more than the things done there, except that they are not castrated: they only perform the work of the castrated.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

▽

An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

⁂

the father of all things is an almond

AN EIGHTH etymology, and the most physical. The Father is AMYGDALON, almond, not because of the tree but because of AMYXAI, to tear or lance open. The report supplies a medical analogy to prove it: surgeons cutting inflamed bodies call the incisions AMYCHAI. So the almond becomes the one who tore open his own breast to bring forth the invisible child. In English “almond” and “tear open” share nothing and the argument reads as arbitrary; it is the same technique as Korybas from the crown of the head and aipolos from ever-turning, applied to a nut. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the utterance of the Declaration of the Great Power

Apophasis Megale, and this may be a book title rather than a description. Hippolytus devotes much of Book VI of this same work to a treatise called the Great Declaration which he attributes to Simon, and the vocabulary that follows here, the indivisible point, the root of all things, the sealed and hidden dwelling, is close to what he reports of it. If the identification holds, this passage has one gnostic document quoting another, preserved inside a refutation of both. The Greek gives no

capitals and the question cannot be settled from this passage; see the ambiguity entry. Frame relation: heresiological-report (witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the kingdom of the heavens, the grain of mustard seed, the indivisible point

Three identifications in a single clause: the kingdom of Matthew 13:31, the mustard seed of the same parable, and the ATOMOS STIGME, the point without parts, which §5 has just described as being nothing, composed of nothing, and yet becoming "by its own thought a certain incomprehensible magnitude". This is the most abstract thing in the report and it is doing geometry: a dimensionless point that generates extension. Note the third identification is not scriptural at all, so a Gospel parable is being glued to a mathematical object. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Whether of Kronos, or of blessed Zeus, or of great Rhea

THE ATTIS CATALOGUE-HYMN, and it is a summary of everything the report has said since 5.7. Eleven names for one figure in eight lines: Attis, Adonis (5.7.11), Osiris (5.7.23), the heavenly horn of the moon (5.8.4), Adamna, Korybas (5.8.13), Papas (5.8.22), corpse (5.8.22), the fruitless one (5.8.31), the

goatherd (5.8.34), the reaped ear of grain (5.8.39), and the piper born of the almond (5.9.1-3). Every epithet the report has derived is here collected and attributed to a singer in a theatre who does not know what he is saying, which is the group's doctrine of unwitting universal testimony in its sharpest form. The verse is quoted as verse and the English keeps its lineation as a single running period. Frame relation: heresiological-report (quoted-hymn / pagan-mystery-parallel). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

I will hymn Attis, son of Rhea

THE ATTIS HYMN PROPER, and one of the few substantial pieces of Attis poetry to survive from antiquity. It survives because a Christian bishop quoted it in order to prove that his opponents were pagans. The metre is damaged in transmission and this edition does not repair it, per the frame's rule on quoted verse. Note what the hymn refuses: not the bells and pipes of the Idaean Kouretes, the ecstatic Phrygian instruments, but "Phoebean music of lyres", Apollo's instrument. The singer is claiming a decorous Greek register for a Phrygian god, and then closes with the Dionysiac cry euoi euan anyway. Frame relation: heresiological-report (quoted-hymn). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

except that they are not castrated: they only perform the work of the castrated

The closing sentence of the chapter and the report's sharpest single observation about the group's practice. They attend the rites of the Great Mother, the Cybele-Attis cult, whose devotees the Galli were castrated, and they do everything the initiates do EXCEPT that. The Greek is dry: they perform the work (ergon) of the castrated. Whether the report means sexual abstinence, which 5.7.14 attributes to them, or something else, it does not say. This is among the very few concrete claims about what these people actually did. Frame relation: heresiological-report (pagan-mystery-parallel / witness-reliability). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem do the true worshippers worship

John 4:21-24, the Samaritan woman at the well, quoted with the clauses rearranged and shortened. The report needs it because it is the one Gospel passage that sets spiritual worship against a place, which serves the above/below scheme exactly. The extension "for spiritual is the worship of the perfect, not fleshly" is not Johannine: John contrasts spirit with mountains and temples, not with flesh, and the pneumatikos/sarkikos pairing is

the report's own. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

there are no speeches nor words, whose voices are not heard

Psalm 19:3, and the report has inverted its sense by removing a negative. The psalm says there is no speech nor language WHERE their voice is not heard, the heavens declare wordlessly to all. Here it is made to say that there are no utterances whose voices are not heard, which the report uses to prove that everything said anywhere is testimony, including by a musician in a theatre who does not know what he is singing. The verse is bent to license the whole method. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the utterance of the Declaration of the Great Power

A further ambiguity in the title, noted here after a blind reader raised it: APOPHASIS means declaration or assertion, and it also means NEGATION or denial. A work called the Great Negation would be a very different thing from a Great Declaration, and in a passage about a word that is "sealed and hidden and covered" the negative sense is not obviously wrong. Greek supplies no capital letters to mark a title and no article pattern that settles which noun megale attaches to. Recorded as

a second uncertainty on top of the first; nothing should be built on either without a specialist. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the two hymns.** §8 and §9 are verse and are treated as such: lineation is not imposed where the witness does not mark it, metre is not repaired, and the transcription damage concentrated in these two passages is recorded rather than smoothed. The Attis hymn at §9 is among the few substantial pieces of Attis poetry to survive antiquity, and it survives because a bishop quoted it to convict his opponents of paganism.
- **the catalogue at 5.9.8.** Every epithet in the catalogue-hymn has been derived earlier in the report and each is rendered here exactly as it was rendered there, Adonis, Osiris, the heavenly horn of the moon, Korybas, Papas, corpse, fruitless, goatherd, reaped ear, piper, almond. A reader who has followed the edition from 5.6 should recognise all eleven. That consistency is the point of controlled vocabulary and this passage is the test of it.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §1: ἀκατονόμαστον <καὶ> ἄρρητον; §2: τὸν <προόντα> ἀμύγδαλον; §7: πρὸς ἴδιον νοῦν

<ἑρμηνεύοντες>; §8: χαῖρε <ὦ>; §8: ποτὲ δὲ <αὖ> five supplements. All marked with angle brackets in the English. The §7 supplement supplies the participle on which the whole sentence about their method depends.

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §5: ἀπό τε] αἰώνων and ἡ γάρ) μηδὲν οὖσα, bracketed deletions. The long catalogue of what the root is founded upon is unstable at its opening, and the sentence about the point that is nothing is disturbed at its start.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §8: Διὸς Διὸς dittography, *στάχυν στάχυν* dittography, and an inline folio marker f 38v; §8: τὸν πολύκαρπος for τὸν … πολύκαρπος (case disagreement); §9: μυκητᾳ for μυκήματι or similar; §10: οὔκ εἰσιν unaccented. Transcription noise concentrated in the two verse passages, which is the expected place for it: verse is harder to transcribe than prose and these lines are metrically damaged already.

Hippolytus, Refutatio V.9.11-V.11: Every Temple Named from the Serpent, and the Naassene Psalm

This edition presents the verbatim Greek of the passage beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

The apparatus carries a running commentary, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, any doctrinally-live ambiguity preserved with both readings, and cross-references to the lexicon. The Greek is reproduced verbatim from Paul Wendland's edition (GCS 26, 1916) in the openly licensed digital text of the Open Greek and Latin project, served through Perseus under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License; Wendland's critical apparatus is excluded, and his editorial sigla are carried into the English.

πάνυ γὰρ πικρῶς καὶ πεφυλαγμένως παραγγέλλουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι ὡς ἀποκεκομμένοι τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα ὁμιλίας. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν διὰ πολλῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀπόκοποι δρῶσι· τιμῶσι δὲ οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸν νάας οὗτοι, Ναασσηνοὶ καλούμενοι. νάας δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ὄφις, ἀφ' οὗ φησι πάντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν προσαγορευομένους μένους ναοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νάασ· κἀκείνῳ μόνῳ τῷ νάας ἀνακεῖσθαι πᾶν ἱερὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τελετὴν καὶ πάν μυστήριον, καὶ καθόλου μὴ δύνασθαι τελετὴν εὑρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐν ᾗ ναὸς οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ὁ νάας ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀφ' οὗ ἔλαχε ναὸς καλεῖσθαι. εἶναι δὲ τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ μηδὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ὄντων ὅλως, ἀθανάτων ἢ θνητῶν, τῶν] ἐμψύχων ἢ ἀψύχων συνεστηκέναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. ὑποκεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἔχειν πάντων ἐν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ ἐκ κέρατι ταύρου μονοκέρωτος τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὴν ὡραιότητα ἐπιδιδόναι πᾶσι τοῖς οὐσι κατὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ οἰκειότητα, οἱονεὶ διὰ πάντων

For very bitterly and guardedly they give the command to abstain, as men castrated, from intercourse with a woman. And the rest of the work, as we have said at length, they perform just as the castrated do. And they honour nothing other than the naas, being called Naassenes.

And naas is the serpent, from whom, he says, all the things under heaven that are called TEMPLES are named, from NAAS; and to that naas alone is dedicated every shrine and every rite and every mystery, and in general no rite can be found under heaven in which there is not a temple and the naas in it, from whom it has obtained to be called a temple.

And these say the serpent is the wet substance, just as Thales of Miletus also did, and that nothing at all of the things that are, immortal or mortal, ensouled or soulless, can hold together without him.

And all things are subject to him, and he is good, and has in himself, as in the horn of a one-horned bull, the beauty of all other things, and gives their comeliness to all that are, according to their own

ὁδεύοντα, »ὥσπερ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐξ Ἐδὲμ καὶ σχιζόμενον εἰς ἀρχὰς τέσσαρας«. Ἐδὲμ δὲ εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, οἱονεὶ δεδεμένον καὶ κατεσφιγμένον ἐν τοῖς περικειμένοις χιτῶσιν ὥσπερ οὐρανοῖς· παράδεισον <δ'> νομίζουσι τὸν μέχρι μόνης τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄνθρωπον. ἐξερχόμενον οὖν τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ Ἐδέμ, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου, »ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς ἀρχὰς τέσσαρας, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ Φεισών, οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐϊλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὐν ἐστι τὸ χρυσίον· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ λίθος ὁ πράσινος«. οὗτος, φησίν, <ἐστὶν> ὀφθαλμός, τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τοῖς χρώμασι μαρτυρῶν τῷ λεγομένῳ. »τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ δευτέρου ποταμοῦ Γεών· οὐτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας«. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἀκοή, λαβυρινθώδης τις ὤν. »καὶ ὄνομα τῷ τρίτῳ Τίγρις· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων«. οὗτος φησίν, ἐστὶν ὄσφρησις, ὀξυτάτῃ χρώμενος τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ ῥεύματος· πορεύεται δὲ κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων, ὅτι ἐκπνέοντι τῷ πνεύματι κατὰ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος συρόμενον

nature and kinship, as though travelling through all things, "like one going out from Eden and dividing into four BEGINNINGS."

And they say Eden is the brain, as it were bound and constricted in the surrounding coats as in heavens; and they hold that paradise is the man as far as the head alone. This river, then, going out from Eden, that is, from the brain, "is divided into four BEGINNINGS, and the name of the first river is called Pheison; this is the one that encircles all the land of Euilat, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good, and there is the carbuncle and the green stone."

This, he says, is the eye, bearing witness by its honour and its colours to what is said. "And the name of the second river is Geon; this is the one that encircles all the land of Ethiopia." This, he says, is hearing, being a kind of labyrinth. "And the name of the third is Tigris; this is the one that goes over against the Assyrians."

This, he says, is smell, employing the swiftest movement of its stream; and it goes over against the Assyrians because, when the breath is breathed out in respiration, the

ὀξύτερον καὶ βιαιότερον ἐπεισέρχεται πνεῦμα. ἀναπνοῆς γάρ, φησίν, αὕτη φύσις. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης«. τοῦτον λέγουσι στόμα, δι' οὗ ἥ τῆς προσευχῆς ἔξοδος καὶ ἡ τῆς τροφῆς εἴσοδος, <ὃς> καὶ τρέφει καὶ χαρακτηρίζει τὸν πνευματικὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον. τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος, περὶ οὗ, φησίν, εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτήρ· »εἰ ᾔδεις τίς ἐστιν ὁ αἰτῶν, σὺ ἂν ᾔτησας παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι πιεῖν ζῶν ὕδωρ ἁλλόμενον«. ἐπὶ τοῦτο, φησί, τὸ ὕδωρ πᾶσα φύσις εἰσέρχεται τὰς ἑαυτῆς οὐσίας ἐκλέγουσα, καὶ προσέρχεται ἑκάστῃ φύσει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τὸ οἰκεῖον, φησί, μᾶλλον ἢ σίδηρος τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ λίθῳ καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς τῇ τοῦ θαλασσίου ἱέρακος κερκίδι καὶ τὸ ἄχυρον τῷ ἠλέκτρῳ. εἰ δέ τις, φησίν, ἐστὶ τυφλὸς ἐκ γενετῆς καὶ μὴ τεθεαμένος »φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον', δι' ἡμῶν ἀναβλεψάτω καὶ ἰδέτω οἱονεὶ διά τινος παραδείσου παμφύτου καὶ πολυσπερμάτου ὕδωρ διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ ὄψεται, ὅτι ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕδατος ἐκλέγεται καὶ ἐπισπᾶται ἡ ἐλαία τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος

breath drawn in from the air outside enters more swiftly and more forcibly. For this, he says, is the nature of breathing.

"And the fourth river is Euphrates." This they call the mouth, through which is the going out of prayer and the coming in of food, <which> both nourishes and stamps the spiritual perfect Man. This, he says, is the water above the firmament, concerning which, he says, the Saviour has said: "if you knew who it is that asks, you would have asked of him, and he would have given you to drink living water, leaping up."

Into this water, he says, every nature enters, choosing out its own substances, and there comes to each nature from this water what belongs to it, he says, more than iron to the Heraclean stone, and gold to the sea-hawk's spine, and chaff to amber.

And if anyone, he says, is blind from birth and has not beheld "the true light, which enlightens every man coming into the world", let him receive sight through us and see, as it were through a garden full of every plant and many seeds, water passing through all the plants and the seeds; and he will see that out of one and the same water

τὸν οὖνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ γένος ἕκαστον φυτῶν. ἔστι δέ, φησίν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἄτιμος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ πολύτιμος * * * ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσιν αὐτόν, λελογισμένος ὡς γὰρ] σταγὼν ἀπὸ κάδου· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμέν, φησιν, οἱ πνευματικοί, οἱ ἐκλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῶντος ὕδατος τοῦ ῥέοντος Εὐφράτου διὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος μέσης τὸ οἰκεῖον, διὰ τῆς πύλης ὁδεύοντες ἀληθινῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μακάριος. καὶ ἐσμὲν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς Χριστιανοὶ μόνοι, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ πύλῃ ἀπαρτίζοντες τὸ μυστήριον καὶ χριόμενοι ἐκεῖ ἀλάλῳ χρίσματι ἐκ κέρατος, ὡς Δαβίδ, οὐκ ὀστρακίνου φακοῦ, φησίν, ὡς ὁ Σαούλ ὁ συμπολιτευόμενος τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ πολλῶν ὡς ὀλίγα παρεθέμεθα· ἔστι γὰρ ἀναρίθμητα <τὰ> τῆς μωρίας ἐπιχειρήματα ὄντα φλύαρα καὶ ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δυνάμει τὴν ἄγνωστον αὐτῶν γνῶσιν ἐξεθέμεθα, καὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε παραθεῖναι· ψαλμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐσχεδίασται οὗτος, δι' οὗ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πλάνης μυστήρια δοκοῦσιν ὑμνῳδεῖν οὕτως· νόμος ἦν γενικός τοῦ παντὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος νόος· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἦν τοῦ πρωτοτόκου τὸ χυθὲν

the olive chooses and draws to itself the oil, and the vine the wine, and each other kind of plant likewise.

And that Man, he says, is without honour in the world and greatly honoured * * * by those who do not know him, to those who do not know him, reckoned as "a drop from a bucket". But we, he says, are the spiritual, who choose out what belongs to us from the living water of the Euphrates that flows through the middle of Babylon, journeying through the true gate, which is Jesus the blessed.

And of all men we alone are Christians, completing the mystery at the third gate and being anointed there with the speechless anointing from a horn, as David was, not from an earthen flask, he says, as Saul was, who shared a commonwealth with the evil demon of fleshly desire.

These things, then, we have set out as few out of many; for their attempts at folly are innumerable, being idle and [...]. But since we have set forth, as far as we could, their unknown knowledge, it seemed good to set down this also. This psalm has been improvised by them, through which they think they hymn all the mysteries of their

χάος. τριτάτη ψυχὴ δ' † ἔλαβεν ἐργαζομένην νόμον, διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαφον μορφὴν περικειμένη κοπιᾷ θανάτῳ μελέτημα κρατουμένη· ποτὲ <μὲν> βασίλειον ἔχουσα βλέπει τὸ ποτὲ δ' εἰς ἐλεείν' ἐκριπτομένη κλάει, † ποτὲ δὲ κλαίεται χαίρει, † ποτὲ δὲ κλαίει κρίνεται, † ποτὲ δὲ κρίνεται θνῄσκει, ποτὲ δὲ γίνεται κἀνέξοδος ἡ μελέα κακῶν λαβύρινθον ἐσῆλθε πλανωμένη. εἶπεν δ' Ἰησοῦς· ἐσόρα πάτερ· ζήτημα κακῶν <τόδ'> ἐπὶ ἀπὸ σῆς πνοιῆς ἐπιπλάζεται. ζητεῖ δὲ φυγεῖν τὸ πικρὸν χάος, καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν <ὅ>πως τούτου με χάριν πέμψον, πάτερ· σφραγῖδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι, αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω, μυστήρια πάντα δ' ἀνοίξω, μορφὰς δὲ θεῶν ἐπιδείξω· κω·] τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἁγίας ὁδοῦ, γνῶσιν καλέσας, παραδώσω. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν οἱ Ναασσηνοὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικοὺς ὀνομάζοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πολυκέφαλός ἐστιν ἡ πλάνη καὶ πολυσχιδὴς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱστορουμένη ὕδρα, κατὰ μίαν ταύτης κεφαλὴν πατάξαντες διὰ τοῦ ἐλέγξαι, τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ῥάβδῳ χρησάμενοι ἅπαν τὸ θηρίον ἀναιρήσομεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ αἱρέσεις πολὺ ταύτης ἀπεμφαίνουσι, συνεχόμεναι ἑνὶ πλάνης πνεύματι. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ

error, thus:

"The generative law of the whole was the first-born Mind; and the second was the poured-out chaos of the first-born. And third, the soul † received a labouring law; wherefore, clothed in the form of a deer, she toils, held down as a task for death. Now, having the kingly power, she looks upon the light; and now, cast out into pitiable things, she weeps; † now she is wept for and rejoices; † now she weeps and is judged; † now she is judged and dies; and now she comes to be without a way out, the wretched one, wandering, has entered a labyrinth of evils.

And Jesus said: Behold, Father, this quest of evils drifts upon the earth from your breath. But she seeks to flee the bitter chaos, and does not know how to pass through. For this cause send me, Father: holding the seals I will go down, I will journey through whole aeons, I will open all mysteries, and I will show the forms of the gods; and the hidden things of the holy way, calling them knowledge, I will hand on."

These things, then, are what the Naassenes attempt, calling themselves knowers. But since the error is many-headed and truly

ῥήματα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ ὄφεως ἐνδιαλλάξαντες πολλὰς εἶναι κεφαλὰς τοῦ ὄφεως ἠθέλησαν, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐνδεήσομεν διελέγξαι ὡς βούλονται.

many-branched, like the hydra of the story, if we strike one of its heads by refuting it, using the rod of truth, we shall destroy the whole beast. For the remaining heresies do not differ much from this one, being held together by one spirit of error. But since, by exchanging the words and the names of the serpent, they wanted the serpent to have many heads, we shall not fail even so to refute them as they wish.

PROVISIONAL DRAFT (PENDING SCHOLARLY REVIEW)

An orientation

This edition sets the verbatim original-language text beside a fresh English rendering and a critical apparatus: a running commentary on the passage, notes on the controlled vocabulary and the rendering chosen for each term, and cross-references to the lexicon and to related sections. It is a provisional scholarly draft, released openly for correction and not yet reviewed by a credentialed editor.

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all the things under heaven that are called TEMPLES are named, from NAAS

A NINTH etymology, and it closes the ring the report opened with. At 5.6.3 the group was named from naas, the Hebrew serpent-word; here EVERY TEMPLE in the world is, by deriving Greek NAOS from NAAS. So the loanword that named a sect in the first chapter names all sacred architecture in the last. The transliteration is kept throughout for the same reason as at 5.6.3: render naas as "serpent" and the sentence becomes "every temple is named from the serpent, from serpent", which is not what it says. This is the report's most audacious derivation and its most structurally placed. Frame relation: heresiological-report (etymological-derivation).
Wendland, Paul 1916

And of all men we alone are Christians

THE GROUP CALLS ITSELF CHRISTIAN, EXCLUSIVELY, AND THE REFUTER LETS IT STAND. This is among the most consequential sentences in the report. Hippolytus is a Christian bishop writing to destroy these people, and when they claim the name Christian, and claim it for themselves alone, he does not stop to contest it. His closing at 5.11 calls them Naassenes "who call themselves knowers", not false Christians. The silence is evidence, and it bears directly on whether the underlying document is a Christian composition throughout (Lancellotti, Rasimus, Litwa) or a pagan text secondarily Christianised (Reitzenstein). See the dispute map

for what turns on it. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech / hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

anointed there with the speechless anointing from a horn, as David was

alalos again, the third occurrence in the report after 5.7.19 and 5.8.7, and kept as "speechless" against arrhetos "unspeakable" throughout. The distinction drawn here is precise and scriptural: David was anointed from a HORN (1 Samuel 16:13), Saul from a FLASK (1 Samuel 10:1), and the report makes the vessel doctrinal, horn for the spiritual, earthenware for the man who "shared a commonwealth with the evil demon of fleshly desire". Note ostrakinos, earthen, is the same word used of the moulded body at 5.7.36. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

they say Eden is the brain

The four rivers of Genesis 2:10-14 decoded as the four senses: Pheison the eye, Geon the hearing, Tigris the smell, Euphrates the mouth. Eden is the brain, wrapped in its membranes "as in heavens", and paradise is the man as far as the head alone. It is a complete and internally consistent anatomy, and it is the same technique applied to Mesopotamia at 5.8.19, a place-name read as a body. The physiological note at §17, that outbreathing

draws air in more forcibly, is offered as evidence that the Tigris "goes over against the Assyrians". Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

more than iron to the Heraclean stone, and gold to the sea-hawk's spine, and chaff to amber

Three attraction-analogies: the lodestone (the Heraclean stone) drawing iron, amber drawing chaff when rubbed, and a sea-hawk's bone said to draw gold. The first two are standard ancient physics; the third is not otherwise well attested and the word rendered "spine" (kerkis) is uncertain. The argument is that each nature draws from one water what belongs to it, which the garden image in the next section then repeats botanically, olive drawing oil, vine drawing wine. Frame relation: heresiological-report (reported-speech). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

The generative law of the whole was the first-born Mind

THE NAASSENE PSALM, and one of the very few gnostic hymns to survive in Greek. It is preserved because Hippolytus set it down to show what their error sounds like when sung. The text is badly damaged, four cruces in eight lines, all carried into the English, and the metre is not repaired. Its structure is a triad

(Mind, chaos, soul), a descent narrative for the soul clothed as a deer, and then a speech of Jesus offering to descend with the seals through all the aeons. The last word of the psalm is the group's own term: the hidden things of the holy way, "calling them KNOWLEDGE, I will hand on". Hippolytus introduces it by calling their doctrine "their UNKNOWN knowledge", agnostos gnosis, an oxymoron built from the word they are about to end on. Frame relation: heresiological-report (quoted-hymn). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

reckoned as "a drop from a bucket"

Isaiah 40:15, where the nations are a drop from a bucket before God. Applied here to the perfect Man, who is "without honour in the world and greatly honoured" among those who know, so a figure of the nations' insignificance becomes a figure of the hidden greatness of the elect. The witness is damaged in the middle of this sentence and the English marks the gap. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

the living water of the Euphrates that flows through the middle of Babylon

The Euphrates, decoded four sections earlier as the mouth, is now the river of living water running through Babylon, which is

to say through the body and the world. The group passes "through the true gate, which is Jesus the blessed", picking up the pyle of 5.8.20 where the Johannine door was made a gate. The two closing claims of the doctrine are therefore both drawn from earlier chapters and combined: the gate and the water. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena).

Wendland, Paul 1916

like the hydra of the story, if we strike one of its heads

Hippolytus' closing image and his stated method for the rest of the work: the heresies are one hydra, so refuting one head kills the beast, "for the remaining heresies do not differ much from this one, being held together by one spirit of error". That is a confession worth registering. It tells a reader that the reports which follow in Books V-X are shaped by a prior conviction that all the groups are the same thing, which is precisely the assumption a modern reader must not inherit when using the Refutatio as evidence about distinct communities. He also notes they "exchanged the words and the names of the serpent" to seem many, which concedes that the differences between the groups are real enough to need explaining away. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame / witness-reliability).

Wendland, Paul 1916

their unknown knowledge

agnostos gnosis, and it is a deliberate sneer: the refuter takes the word the group ends its psalm on and negates it. This edition renders gnosis as “knowledge” everywhere, in both mouths, precisely so that moments like this remain visible in English, transliterating theirs as “gnosis” and rendering his as “knowledge” would hide that one word is being fought over. Frame relation: heresiological-report (hostile-frame). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

dividing into four BEGINNINGS

CORRECTED. A first draft of this edition rendered Genesis 2:10 as “into four HEADS”, which is the King James English and follows the Hebrew idiom. The Septuagint, which is what the report quotes, reads EIS ARCHAS TESSARAS, into four BEGINNINGS or PRINCIPLES. The difference is load-bearing here and nowhere else: arche is the report’s own word for a cosmic principle, used at 5.8.13 of “all the beginnings of the things beneath”, so the Genesis verse arrives already carrying the vocabulary the exegesis needs. Rendering it “heads” severs that link and makes the decoding of the four rivers into four senses look arbitrary. Caught by a blind reader who recognised the KJV register and knew the Septuagint read otherwise; it is the most consequential quotation error the reconciliation found

in the closing chapters. Frame relation: heresiological-report (scriptural-catena). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

drifts upon the earth from your breath

The witness is disturbed here, epi apo ses pnoies, with a stray preposition, and a first draft rendered it “away FROM your breath”, which makes the line unintelligible: if the soul wanders because of the Father’s breath she is not away from it. The Greek apo with the genitive carries origin as readily as separation, and the origin reading is what the sentence needs. Changed to the neutral “from your breath”, which leaves both open as the damaged Greek does. Frame relation: heresiological-report (quoted-hymn). *Wendland, Paul 1916*

*without honour in the world and greatly honoured * * *

The lacuna falls exactly where the sentence contradicts itself. As transmitted the Man is “greatly honoured * * * BY those who do not know him, TO those who do not know him”, two prepositions, the same clause twice, and the honour attributed to the ignorant. What is lost is almost certainly a matching member: honoured by those who know, without honour to those who do not. The English reproduces the doubling rather than repairing it, because the shape of the damage is itself the

evidence for what is missing. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

anointed there with the speechless anointing

A blind reader proposed that ALALOS here is a corruption of ARRHETOS, on the ground that "speechless anointing" is bizarre and "unspeakable" fits the register. The witness refutes it: alalos appears THREE times across the report, at 5.7.19, 5.8.7 and here, and in two of those it stands in the same sentence as arrhetos, which no scribe would produce by corruption. The two words are deliberately distinct and this edition keeps them so, "speechless" for alalos, "unspeakable" for arrhetos. Frame relation: heresiological-report. *Wendland, Paul 1916*

Editorial decisions

- **the Naassene Psalm.** Rendered as verse, with all four editorial daggers carried into the English in position and no attempt to repair metre or sense. It is one of very few gnostic hymns surviving in Greek and it is also the most damaged passage in the report; both facts must be visible to anyone who quotes it. The psalm is preserved only because a bishop set it down as evidence against its singers.
- **the closing of the unit.** This chunk completes Refutatio V.6-11. The report ends where it began: with naas. At 5.6.3

the group is named from the Hebrew serpent-word; at 5.9.12 every temple in the world is; and Hippolytus closes at 5.11 by calling the heresies one many-headed serpent whose names have been exchanged to seem many. The refuter's final image is drawn from his opponents' own central term, and whether he noticed is not recorded.

Manuscript variants

- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §5.10: four daggers in the psalm, ἔλαβεν, κλαίεται χαίρει, κλαίει κρίνεται, κρίνεται θνῃσκει. The most heavily corrupted passage in the whole report, and it is the one poem. All four cruces are carried into the English in position and the metre is not repaired. Anyone quoting the Naassene Psalm should know that its middle is unsound.
- **Wendland (GCS 26, 1916)**: §5.9.21: πολύτιμος * * * ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων, lacuna; §5.10: φλύαρα καὶ [lacuna]; §5.9.16, 18: <ἐστὶν>, <ὃς> supplements. Two further lacunae, both marked in the English. The one at 5.9.21 falls inside the sentence contrasting the Man's dishonour in the world with his honour among those who know.
- **Open Greek and Latin digital transcription**: §5.9.12: μένους dittography; §5.9.20: οὖνον for οἶνον; §5.10: κω·] stray

marks in the psalm; §5.11: *οὐν* for *οὖν*. Transcription noise, densest again in the verse.

Colophon

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