

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

INTERPRETED IN ITS RELATION
TO CONTEMPORANEOUS RELIGIOUS
CURRENTS IN PALESTINE AND THE
HELLENISTIC-ORIENTAL WORLD

BY

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To
The Most Rev. the Archbishop of Sweden
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*this book is dedicated
as a humble token of
gratitude*

PART I
THE DISCOURSES
OF
JOHN 1₁₉—12

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PREFACE.

The undertaking of the present investigation was suggested to the writer by his teacher, The Rev. Canon G. H. Box, D. D., Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London. It has also fallen in with his own inclinations.

The subject has been approached by the writer from an angle somewhat different from the usual. During his studies in early Jewish mysticism the writer found a strangely close correspondence between the Jewish mystical sources and certain strata of the Mandæan literature, a correspondence that was not restricted to similarity of ideas but included identity of technical terms and expressions. Whereas the early Jewish mysticism, of course, lives within the environment of Rabbinical Judaism, and uses the language and general phraseology of the latter, with respect to central or constitutive tenets again, it was found to stand on one side with Mandæism as against Rabbinism. To the writer it was obvious that Reitzenstein and Lidzbarski have been right in maintaining a Palestinian or near-Palestinian origin of Mandæism.

The case with the Fourth Gospel seemed to the writer to be the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as with early Jewish mysticism. On the one hand one detects, already at a superficial reading, passages, sentences and words revealing a terminology all but identical with the Rabbinic, on the other hand the import of the Jn-ine utterances thus expressed in the 'Rabbinic' terminology puts us in touch with a sphere of conceptions and ideas wholly removed from Rabbinic ones.

In his article '*The Jewish Environments of Early Christianity*' Professor Box, from his intimate and independent knowledge of Rabbinical literature in all its phases, suggested that the way to find a solution of the problems connected with the ideas and literary documents of early Christianity could only be found through recognizing that Rabbinism was not the exclusively and totally dominant religious sphere of the Jews of Palestine of the first centuries of our era, and hence, that early Christianity should be viewed in

relation not only to Rabbinical theology, but also to the many different religious currents by the side of Rabbinism. There should scarcely be any doubt but that the present trend of studies, at least of the Fourth Gospel, steadily moves in the direction of the principles laid down by Professor Box. As a fait accompli one may already behold the complete transference from West-Hellenistic to Oriental environment of the comparative studies with regard to the Fourth Gospel.

The modern writers, with whom, next to his teacher Professor Box, the author finds himself intrinsically best in accord, would perhaps be Professor Gerhard Kittel, on one hand¹, and Professor H. H. Schæder, in view of the position and method of investigation which the latter adopts in his study *Der Mensch im Prolog des IV. Evangeliums*², on the other. The author has besides derived especial profit from Merx, Grill, Burney, Vacher Burch, Büchsel, Lagrange, Nolloth and Archbishop Bernard.

The present study will be followed by (1) a study of Jn 13—20 (2) an investigation of the narrative portions of John and of the Prologue and Epilogue.

¹ In *Iranische Lehren* in R. Reitzenstein und H. H. Schæder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Greichenland*.

² *Die Probleme des pal. Spätjudentums* etc.

Hugo Odeberg.

Björklinge, Sweden, 1929.

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Note. The Mandæan sources are cited as follows:

- 1) *Ginza*: *Ginzā Yamina* as *GR* (= Ginza Right)
Ginzā S^mmālā as *GL* (= Ginza Left).

Number of tractate (book) and section of tractate are indicated by Roman and Arabic ciphers in italics; page and line in Lidzbarski's translation follow after number of tractate and section; page and line in Petermann's text, preceded by 'Pet.' are put within brackets.

Thus, *GL I 2* 437²¹ f. (*Pet* 19¹ f.) means: *Ginza S^mmālā*, First Book, second section, page 437 lines 21 f. in Lidzbarski's translation, page 19 line 1 f. in Petermann's edition.

- 2) *Mandæan Liturgies*: *M Li*, followed by *Qolasta* or *Oxf.* (= Oxford Liturgies) as the case may be, the number of book and liturgical piece in italics, and page and line in Lidzbarski's text.

- 3) *Mandæan Book of John* (*D'rāšā d'Yahyā*): *M Joh*, followed by number of chapter, and page and line in Lidzbarski's text.

The Mandæan script of Petermann's *Thesaurus* and Lidzbarski's *M Joh* has all through been transcribed in Hebrew square characters, with the use of the additional $\bar{\text{n}}$ and $\bar{\text{r}}$ (= Nöldeke's $\hat{\text{n}}$).

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- 2) Philon, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera Quæ Supersunt*, edd. L. Cohn, P. Wendland. Berlin. I 1896, II 1897, III 1898, IV 1902, V 1906, VI (coëd. S. Reiter) 1915, VII (*Indices*, comp. I. Leisegang) 1926—.

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Note. The names of the different tractates of the *Mišnā*, *Tosæftā*, and *Talmuḏim*, are abbreviated as follows: *B^er.* (B^erakōḇ), (*P^e’ā-Bikkurim* not abbreviated), *Šab* (Šabbaḇ), *’Er* (’Erubīn), *P^es* (P^esāḥīm), *Yōm* (Yōmā), *Suk.* (Sukkā), *Bēšā* (Bēšā, Yōm Tōb), *RhŠ* (Roš ha-s Šānā), *Ta’an* (Ta^aniḇ), *M^eg* (M^egillā), *Mo. Q* (Mo’ēd Qāṭān), *H^eg* (H^egigā), *Y^eb* (Y^ebāmōḇ), *K^ep* (K^epubbōḇ), *N^eḏ* (N^eḏārim), *Nāz* (Nāzir), *Giṭ* (Giṭṭin), *Soṭ* (Soṭā), *Qid* (Qiddušīn), *BQ* (Bābā Qammā), *BM* (Bābā M^ešā), *BB* (Bābā Bāḇ^erā), *Sanh.* (Sanhædīn), *Mak.* (Makkōḇ), *Š^ebu* (Š^ebu’ōḇ), *’Eḏ* (Eḏuyyōḇ), *’Aḇ. Z.* (’Aḇōḏā Zārā), *’Ab* or *Pirq^e ’Ab.* (’Abōḇ), *Hōr* (Hōrāyōḇ), *Z^eb* (Z^ebāḥīm), *M^en* (M^enāḥōḇ), *Hul.* (Hullīn), *B^ekōr.* (B^ekōrōḇ), *’Ar* (’A^arākīn), *T^em* (T^emūrā), *K^er* (K^erīpōḇ), *M^eilā* (M^eilā), *Tamiḏ*, *Midd.* (Middōḇ), *Qin* (Qinnim), (*Kēlm—Miquā’ōḇ* not abbreviated), *Nid* (Niddā), *Mākš.* (Maksīrīn), *Zaḇ* (Zābim), *T^eb Y* (T^ebūl Yōm), *Yāḏ* (Yāḏaim), *’Uqš* (’Uqšīn).

The *Mišnā* and *Tosæftā* are cited with name of tractate, numbers of *péræq* and section, the *Talmuḏim* with name of tractate, number of folio and letter of column. Thus: *M Yāḏ* 3 2 = *Mišna*, tractate ידיו, *péræq* 3, section 2 (Sulzbach II, vol. 12, fol. 171 b).

Tos BB 7 16 = *Tosæftā*, tractate בבא בתרא, *péræq* 7, section 16 (Zuckerman, p. 408).

TY Ta^an 64 c = Palestinian Talmud, tractate *Ta^aniḇ*, fol. 64, column c, in ed. Krotoschin (*g^emārā* to first *péræq* of *M Ta^an*).

BB ’Aḇ. Z 54 a = Babylonian Talmud, tractate *’Aḇōḏā Zārā*, fol. 54, col. a of the tractate (found in vol. 8 of Sulzbach II).

b) Midras.

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Sifr^e ספרי, edd. as preceding.

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B'rešit Rabbā (*Gen. R.* = *Miḏraš Rabbā* to Genesis).

Š'moḥ Rabbā (*Exod. R.*).

Uayyiqrā Rabbā (*Lev. R.*).

B'miḏbar Rabbā (*Num. R.*).

D'bārim Rabbā (*Deut. R.*).

Miḏraš 'Ēkā (*Lam. R.*).

Miḏraš Šir ha-šŠirim (*Cant. R.*).

Miḏraš Rūḥ (*Ruth R.*).

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All cited from the collective edition מדרש רבה, Varshava 1877, 5 voll., folio, 2 coll.

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Note. The *miḏrašim* called '*Rabbā*' or '*Rabbōḥ*' are cited with number of *pārāšim* and sections, *Yalqut* with number of volume and paragraph, the other *miḏrašim* acc. to folio and column.

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Abbreviations.

Ch. Q. R.: Church Quarterly Review.

E. Th. R.: Études Théologiques et Religieuses.

Exp. Ti.: The Expository Times.

H. Th. R.: Harvard Theological Review.

J: Jesus.

J. B. Lit.: Journal of Biblical Literature.

J. Th. St.: Journal of Theological Studies.

Jn: (John) the author of the Fourth Gospel.

Jn ine: Johannine.

N. T.: New Testament.

O. T.: Old Testament.

R. B.: Revue Biblique.

R. Hist. Ph. R.: Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses.

T. St.: Texts and Studies.

Th.: Theology, a Monthly Journal.

Th. St. K.: Theologische Studien und Kritiken.

Z. K. Th.: Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.

Z. Nt. W.: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

For abbreviations of sources *vide* above under Sources and Literature, esp. *F.* and *I.* 3).

151 ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεφύγῳτα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸν οἶδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. The allusion in this utterance to Gen 28¹² is immediately apparent and generally recognized. The OT passage in question had been the subject of much speculations in Jewish circles, both Palestinian and those of the Diaspora, long before Jn. It has been especially adaptable for mystical notions, and has indeed remained a favourite source of similes for mystical doctrines up to the present day. The picture of the »Jacob's-ladder» immediately appeals to a mystic mind as echoing a certain inner experience or conviction. The question here arises whether the Jn-ine passage links up consciously not merely with the OT-passage but with some particular or generally current speculations on or interpretations of Gen 28¹². A hint of the wide range of speculations attached by the Rabbinical teachers to Gen 28¹² may be found in *Gen R* 68¹⁸ (*Yalq.* nr 119) which runs as follows:

ר' חייא [רבה] ור' ינאי חד אמר עולים ויורדין בסולם והד
 אמר עולים ויורדים ביעקב [מ"ד עולים ויורדים בסולם נחא ומ"ד
 עולים ויורדים ביעקב] מעלים ומזרידים בו אפזים בו קפזים בו
 סונטיים בו (שנאמר) ישראל אשר בך אתפאר (Isa 49³) את הוא
 שאיקונך (שלך) הקוק(ה) למעלה עולין למעלה [ומוצאין] (זרואים)
 איקונין שלו ויורדין למטה ומוצאין אותו ישן משל למלך שהיה
 יושב ודן עולים לבסילקי ומוציאין אותו יושב ידן יורדין בפרווד
 ומוציאין אותו ישן. (ד"א למעלן כל מי שהוא אומר זכותו עולה
 הובתו יורד, למטן כל מי שהוא אומר זכותו יורד חובתו עולה.)
 ד"א עולים ויורדים בו, עולים אותם שליוו אותו בארץ ישראל
 יורדים אלו שליוו אותו בחוצה לאדן. ר' לוי בשם ר' שמואל בר
 נחמן אמר מלאכי השדת על ידי שגלו מסטירין שלהקב"ה נדהו
 ממחיצתן קל"ה שנה

R. Hiyya and R. Yannai (1st generation Palestinian Amoraim) interpreted the *bō* [= 'on it' or 'on him'] of Gen 28¹² differently; the one said: the angels ascended and descended on the ladder [i. e. *bō* = 'on it'], the other said: they ascended and descended on Jacob: they raised him up and put him down, they leapt on

him, ran on him, teased him; (as) it is written: (Isa 493) [Thou art my servant] o, Israel, in whom I will be glorified. 'Thou', that is said in the sense of 'thy image which is engraved on high'. They ascended on high and found (beheld) his image, they descended on earth and found him sleeping. This may be likened unto a king who is seated in judgement (sits and judges): they (= one) ascend to [his] βασιλική and find him seated in judgement, they descend into [his] antechamber [cabinet], and find him sleeping. Another tradition: Above on high every one who speaks in his favour ascends and [he who accuses him of] guilt descends; below one earth, every one who speaks in his favour descends and [he who accuses him of guilt] ascends.¹ Another tradition: . . . The ascending ones are those who accompanied him in Palestine, the descending ones are those who accompanied him outside Palestine. [The same angels did not associate themselves with Jacob outside Palestine as in Palestine. When he left Palestine, the former angels ascended the ladder, and other ones descended to accompany him during his sojourn outside Palestine.] R. Leṽi said in the name of R. Š^emu'el bar Nahman (3rd generation Palestinian Amoraim): »the ministering angels were driven out from their celestial abode (*m^ehiša*) for 138 years because they revealed the mysteri[es] (*mīšterin*, μυστήριον) of the Holy One«. Another manner of commenting upon Gen 28¹² is recorded in *Tanḥ 38a* which runs as follows: »R. Š^emu'el bar Nahman said: those (the angels ascending and descending) are the (angelic) princes of the idolatrous nations . . . the prince of Babel ascended seventy steps (=years) and descended, and that of Media fifty steps, and that of Greece hundred and descended, and that of Edom (= Rome) ascended and he did not know how many (steps). In that hour Jacob our father was frightened and said: will there then be no descent for this one? The Holy One said to him (Jerem. 30¹⁰): »Therefore fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith the Lord; neither be dismayed, O Israel!; even if it could be that thou shouldst see him ascend (as high as) to me, I would throw him down«. Another tradition has it that the Holy One showed Jacob the descent even of Greece and then invited Jacob to ascend. But Jacob feared, seeing that all the four preceding princes had descended. Then the Holy One answered

¹ This is explained as follows: on high every one who speaks in favour of Israel is exalted, the accuser of Israel, however, abased; on earth again, every one who accuses (and prosecutes) Israel gets a high position, his defender is abased *Matt^enōṣ K^ehunnā ad loc.*

him: if thou ascendest, there will be no descent for thee. But he did not believe and did not ascend. Then the Holy One, said to him: »If thou hadst ascended and believed, there would not have been any descent for thee. But since thou didst not believe, lo, thy children will be subdued under those four kingdoms in this world with tributes and annonas and capitation taxes». The passage ends with a dictum of consolation: »I will chastise thee with chastisements in this world in order to cleanse thee from thy iniquities in the time to come. Therefore it is said: and he slept.»

In this congeries of homiletical, allegorical, popular and mystical dicta so characteristic of the Midrash expositions of scriptural passages in general, there are embodied a few traditions that throw light on the present Johannine passage. Thus, to begin with, there is the record of the two variant interpretations put upon the ׀ of Gen 28¹², one taking it in the sense of 'on the ladder', the other in the sense of 'on Jacob'. Now Jn 15¹ evidently adopts or bases upon the latter sense (ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), in contrast to LXX which renders ׀ by ἐπ' αὐτῆς, 'on it', referring to the κλίμαξ (ladder). Burney¹ has pointed out that the Jn-ine interpretation presupposes a direct reference to the Hebrew original, and cannot be derived from the LXX. The value of the *GenR*-parallel may be said to be, that it shows the interpretation on which Jn bases to have been current (beside the usual one) also in Jewish circles. That the latter did not derive the interpretation in question from Jn or from Christian exegesis needs no demonstration.

Another part of the quoted exposition in *GenR* worth consideration in the present connexion, is the one betraying a mystical background in speaking of the *iqonin*, εἰκόνην, (image) of man on high in contraposition to and conjunction with man in his appearance on earth.² The Divine utterance 'I will be glorified in thee' [LXX: ἐν σοὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι] — so the dictum implies — does not refer to Israel as he is in his earthly appearance (i. e. as Jacob), but to his ideal counterpart in heaven, his celestial appearance (i. e. as Israel properly). The *contrast* obtaining between man's celestial and terrestrial appearance is thus emphasized by the dictum. In view of the simile used as illustration (the King in

¹ *A OFG* p. 115.

² Cf. Burney, *A OFG* pp. 116 f. note. The idea of εἰκόνην recurs in *PTarg* to Gen 28¹².

Judgement contrasted with the King in sleep) there is not doubt but that the celestial appearance is meant to be conveyed as the real man. Further, the 'sleep' is also, in all probability, taken in a mystical sense: the earthly man is, in regard to his real life, as one who sleeps.¹ Between the sleeping man, the earthly man unaware of his real life, and the celestial man, or 'image', there is, so far, no connecting bridge, except the identity in essence. Here, however, the ascending and descending angels step in. They symbolize the connexion of the earthly man with his celestial counterpart; this connecting up of the earthly man with the celestial man is frustrated in the case of man in general by his being engulfed in sleep. On the background of these mystical interpretations of the ascent and descent of the angels on man, some light may be thrown upon the meaning of Joh. 151: the disciples of Jesus will see the angels of God ascending and descending upon the son of man *i. e.* they will see the connexion being brought about between the celestial appearance, the Glory, δόξα, of Christ, and his appearance in the flesh; it implies the manifestation (φανέρωσις) of his δόξα (211) on earth. This agrees with the use of the term υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου which in Joh as Bauer² puts it means »the from heaven descended one (313) who will also be elevated thither again (314 662 828 1234) in order to receive the glorification (1223 1331)«, *i. e.* δοξασθῆναι, cf. the linking up by the mystical tradition referred to above of Gen 2812 with Isa 493 (of the glorification of God in the celestial man) and cf. this with 1331: νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ etc. (Now is the son of man glorified and God is glorified in him.)

Thus the unification of the celestial man and his appearance in the flesh is *eo ipso* a communion with the 'Father', under the aspect of the ἀνάβασις, and a revelation of the Father, under the aspect of the κατάβασις: ὁ ἑωρακῶς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα (149) ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔστιν (1410). The import of this will be more apparent if one considers the question: where is the fulfilment of the promise contained in 151 related by Jn? This question has been answered by Th. Zahn³, B. Weiss⁴, *a. o.*, to the effect, that the fulfilment begins already with the miracle of Kana, 21-11, where Jesus, acc.

¹ Cf. Eph. 514, Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erl. Myst.* pp. 6, 135.

² *JEv*⁹ p. 40. cf. Estlin Carpenter *JWr* pp. 365 f. and the discussion on the connotation of the υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου below on 1381.

³ *EvJohs*, 6 p. 145.

⁴ *JEv*⁹ p. 88.

to Jn, ἐφανέρωσεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. 15¹ is interpreted as the »announcement of the wonderful deeds of Jesus» and the narrative of 21-11 is by vs. 11 indicated as the explanation of 15¹. That may be possible but to the interpretation of 15¹ here vindicated, the answer would rather have to be formulated thus: the promise of 15¹, as contained in the ὄψεσθε, and even as connected with the μείζω τούτων ὄψη of 15⁰, does not refer to a particular object of vision, to a σημεῖον, or to an object of vision *quâ* object, but to a particular subjective faculty of the seer, which enables him to perceive — one might be tempted to add: permanently, and with increasing clearness — the δόξα of Christ: the union of the celestial with the terrestrial. Hence it may be urged, that Grill is right when observing¹: »in connection with the announcement by Jesus to Nathanael that he would henceforth behold 'greater things' than those perceived when being called (one cannot) think of the signs (miracle) that are dealt with in the following. To the elect firstlings of the disciples, which firstlings already at their calling had not needed any sign (miracle), (to them) what the sequel brings by way of signs cannot possibly be something greater.»

The φανέρωσις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ spoken of in 21¹ refers to a lower plane of perceiving faculty, yea, to a lower class of perceivers than that or those spoken of in 15^{0, 51}. And the fulfilment of the promise of 15^{0, 51} cannot be represented by the relation in the following context of *any* happening, or event, or σημεῖον.² If 15¹ is to be connected with any particular passage in the following, it should be not with 21¹ or 114⁰ but with such passages as 14 9, 10, 13, 19: ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα . . . ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ . . . ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ . . . ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ, ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με, ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε.

In fact, the verse contains a clear indication as to in what connexion the utterance should be brought with the sequel of the Gospel, viz. through the use here of the term υἱός τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. The occurrence of that term gives a special significance to the present utterance, in particular by pointing to a realm of truth

¹ *Unters.* ii 69.

² That the σημεῖα are conceived of as having their significance even in relation to the 'higher perceivers' is another matter; naturally *they* also, are to Jn, perceived in them the manifestation of the δόξα or, at the most, were strengthened through them in their belief or their vision, a vision that they, however, already possessed continually.

beyond the actual scope of the words. The general significance of the term *ὄψις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in Jn has already been touched upon and will be fully discussed below, in the excursus to Jn 13₃₁. Here, however, a preliminary question respecting the connotation of the term may be considered.

(1) Then it has first to be emphasized that 15¹, or, as one might also put it, the Jn-ine interpretation or use of the symbol of Gn 28¹² is *necessarily and essentially bound up with the »Son of Man«*. That is to say, there is no ascent and descent of the angels, no 'heaven opened', no union of the celestial man with the terrestrial *without the Son of Man*.¹

This might be contrasted with the representation of the Midrash given above. Israel-Jacob does not, in the Midrash passage, function as the unique and always present subject of the unification of celestial and terrestrial. There may be an underlying idea of exclusiveness, viz. that of the restriction of the Celestial converse with earthly man to the people of Israel; that exclusiveness is, however, not explicit. The main signification of Israel-Jacob is that of 'type'. At this point it may be apposite to contrast also the Philonic interpretations of Gen 28¹². The comments by Philo on that passage occurring in *De Somniis* I 12² and I 19³ do not concern us so much as those *ib.* I 22³, 23, where he maintains that the Jacobs-ladder has both a cosmical and a micro-cosmical (anthropical, sit venia verbo) symbolical connotation. Indeed it is the latter, the anthropical (the modern word 'psychological' would be misleading) that brings us nearest to both the Jn-ine and the Midrashic general sphere of conceptions. It is put forth by Philo as follows:

Philo *De Somniis* I 23: ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν κόσμῳ λεγομένη συμβολικῶς κλίμαξ τοιαύτη (i. e. as described in I 22) ἐστὶ, τὴν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις σκοποῦντες εὐρήσομεν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἧς βᾶσις μὲν τὸ ὤσανεὶ γαῶδες ἐστίν, αἰσθησις, κεφαλὴ δ' ὡς ἂν τὸ οὐράνιον, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς. ἄνω δὲ καὶ κάτω διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι χωροῦσιν ἀδια-

¹ To Jn the narrative of Jacob's dream would probably present itself as a prophecy of the real angelic ladder between heaven and earth in the son of man (cf. 5₃₉).

² Philo *De Somniis* I 12. οὐ γὰρ ἀξιῶν ὁ θεὸς εἰς αἰσθησὶν ἔρχεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποστέλλει. »God, not condescending to come (down) to the (earthly) sense(s) (perceiving faculty of earthly man) sends his λόγοι to take care of those who love virtue«, cf. Estlin Carpenter *JWr* p. 366.

³ Vide Grill, *Unters.* I, p. 128 f.

στάτως, ὁπότε μὲν ἀνέρχονται, συνανασπῶντες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ διαζευγνύοντες καὶ τὴν θεῶν ὧν ἄξιον ὄραν μόνων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὁπότε δὲ κατέρχονται, οὐ καταβάλλοντες — φῦτε γὰρ θεὸς φῦτε λόγος θεῖος ζημίας αἴτιος —, ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνοντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα καὶ συμμαχίας, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἔτι ὡσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ, τῷ σώματι, φορομένην ψυχὴν σωτήριον πνέοντες ἀναζωῶσι.

The Philonic passage explicitly refers to the Jacob's-ladder as a symbol of a spiritual process that may be brought about in ordinary man. Naturally, from the standpoint of the Philomi thought, the λόγος cannot be the 'object' of the ascent-descent of the λόγοι.

The only parallel in Jewish writings to this feature of Jn 15¹, is the mystical conception of Metatron as himself *being* the Jacobs-ladder of communication between heaven and earth, in the sense of the salvation-mysticism. But this conception is not attested in the early mystical writings.¹

The Mandæan parallels also contain no similar feature. (Vide below p. 42.)

(2) The connotation of the term ὁ. τ. ἀ. here is, however, not constitutively defined only by the *essentiality* of the Son of Man in the symbolical use of the picture of the Jacob's-ladder. Thus it would be wrong to deduce from this, that the symbol is applied *exclusively* to the Son of Man. *Exclusivity* is *not* the import of the term υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

That this is so will be apparent from a consideration of the following traits of the Jn-ine representation, viz.

(a) on one hand the δόξα, or celestial appearance, of the λόγος, is, acc. to 1¹⁴, beheld as a δόξα ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός (b) the δόξα of the υἱός is a δόξα that he possessed πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι (17⁵), but on the other hand (c) just as God is glorified in the Son of Man (13³¹) those who believe in him can say: ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν 1¹⁶ (d) so the Son is glorified in the believers (δεδοξασμαι ἐν αὐτοῖς 17¹⁰) and (e) through his glorification — his union of the celestial with the terrestrial — and thereby his unification of the terrestrial with the 'Father', the same process is brought about in the believers, so that the unity between the 'Father and Himself' should at last include the believers²: ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσιν, καθὼς σύ, πατήρ, ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ γὼ ἐν

¹ Vide the writer's 3 *En. Introd.* sect. 13, H 3.

² E. Carpenter, *JWr* p. 356.

σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὦσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύῃ ὅτι σὺ με ἀπέστειλας, that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me (17²¹).

There is, as will be repeatedly set forth in the following discourses, an *inclusive* connotation of the term υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in Jn. This inclusiveness refers on one side to the Father, on the other to the believers (or, in one vein, to the world), and, to use the expressions now familiar, is both that of an ἀνάβασις and that of a κατάβασις, i. e. may be seen both in the working of the Father, the Son's doing his Father's work, the Son's work being related to the believers (the world; cf. esp. 5¹⁷⁻²¹) and in the aspiration — the ascent in spiritual perception — of the believers to the Son, and in him, to the Father (cf. esp. 13^{6,7}).

It will be maintained in the course of the present discourses, that the inclusiveness of the δ. τ. ἀ.-term *applies to all the passages where it occurs*, and, moreover, that this inclusiveness is *intentionally* meant to be conveyed wherever the term is used.

Now it may be surmised, that also in 151 there is an intentional allusion to the said inclusive aspect, that is to say, that the promise contained in 151 really implies a *promise to the believers of a spiritual experience of the kind expressed in the terms of the ascent and descent of the angels from the open heaven on earthly man*. Or, in other words, that the perception (ὄψεσθε) of the glorification of the Son of Man implies the partaking of the spiritual communion with the heavenly world through the celestial hierarchy that is brought about in him. We have already had occasion to state, that the promise of the 'vision' does not refer to a particular happening as the object of the vision, but to the development of a specific subjective perceiving faculty in the believer. Suggestive is the choice of the verb ὄραω, which in Jn, as Abbott¹ has shown, always refers to the spiritual sight, the spiritual perception. The faculty of spiritual perception, again, in Jn, presupposes the entrance into the spiritual reality; the ὄψεσθε of 151 is most naturally connected in the preceding with 118 [θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε· μονογενὴς θεὸς . . . ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο] and in the sequel with 646 and 147.9 e. a. (Cf. 33 and 35 ἰδεῖν-εἰσελθεῖν).

[On the 'open heaven' of 151 *vide* below in the discourse on the 'Gate of Heaven' in excursus to 109.]

¹ *Joh. Voc.* pp. 110, 111: only the future ὄσομαι and the perfect ἑώρακα are used. Cf. Abbott's note *op. cit.* p. 111¹.

The nearest Mandæan parallels to the conception of 151 are perhaps the passages in *GR* treating of the communion that is promised the Messenger with his Celestial Home, when he is sent down from the House of Life to the Lower World.

Thus *GR III*, 68¹³⁻²⁵ (Pet. 724-14):

מאליל מאנדא דהייה ואמארלה למאנא רבא כאבירא, כוי
 באינאך למאן עהיזיא וכוי אכצאליא על מאן ניהויליא רוחצאנא
 תיראת דהואת מינאיכון על מאהו עסימכה מאליל מאנא בראבותא
 ולמאנדא דהייה דנימארלה אנאת מינאן לאתיפסיק ואנין לואתאך
 אנין כול דאנאת אמרית לקודאמאן תריץ ואנאת לואתאך
 מיתקאימית ומן לואתאך לאתיפסיק ואנין לואתאך אנין דהייה
 עלאך בטאבותא עתמלון ואדיאוריא נצאבלאך נצאבלאך עתריא
 ניהיא ומקאימיא עתריא ניהיא ומקאימיא דניהולאך אדיאוריא
 תוב נצאבולאך אדיאוריא עתריא ניהיא ומקאימיא דהינן
 ניתקאימון בנאך דהאתאם בנאך ניקרון קאלא דהייה

»Manda dHayye said to the Great mighty mānā: 'When I shall seek thee, whom shall I perceive? And when I shall be in distress, in whom shall I put my trust? My Inmost, that was with you, on what shall I support it? The Mānā answered in Greatness and said to Manda dHayye: *'Thou shalt not be severed from us; we shall be with thee; all that thou sayest is erected (stands firm) before us; thou art established with us and shalt not be severed from us. And we are with thee, for the Life is filled with favour towards thee. It procured (created) for thee Helpers, it created for thee quiet (mild) and firm Uthras¹, quiet and firm Uthras, that they might be Helpers for thee. Then it (the Life) created for thee Helpers, quiet and firm Uthras, that they might be established there (i. e. in the Lower World) as thy children. Thy children shall make heard the voice of the Life.*»

GR XV p. 316^{28 ff.} (Pet. 314^{11 ff.})

לאתיהוק ולא תיזחא ולא תיתאזהא ולא תיתארהאז מאנא דבאך
 ... ולא תימאר דבאלהודאי אנא עהאבילאך אדיאוריא דלושטא
 ... כוי כאברא עלאך בישותא קאלאך דילאך ניתיא עלאך ...
 כוי ראגזיא ברוגזא רבא ענגאר כושטא מן קודאמאך דילאך
 ניהיא עלאך נישאדארלאך אשגאנדא ואנין ניהוילאך נאטרא ...

¹ Uthras = angels.

(Pet. 3154) ניהוילון שרארא לתארמידאך דדאיריא בדאורא באטלא
 ניתריהצון ברוהצאנאך ומן שובא ניתפארקון ניתפארקון מן שובא
 וטאבותאן דילאן ודילאך ניליגטון נאצוראייא דשיהיא שיהיא
 אנאת הויבון סאהרא אנאת סאהרא הויבון ובהאילאך דילאך
 ניסקון לאחאר נהור

(The Life speaks to the Messenger *Sam-Ziua*.): »Do not tremble, and do not be afraid or affrighted and the Mana that is in thee may not be vexed . . . and do not say: 'I am alone'. I gave thee faithful Helpers (Helpers of *Kušṭa*) . . . When the Evil (the Wickedness) shall be heavy on thee, then *our voice will come to thee*¹ . . . when (the Evil Ones, or the 'Seven') shall be wrath with great wrath, then *a letter of *Kušṭa* may come from thy place to us*², and we shall send thee a messenger and we shall be for thee a guardian . . . Thy disciples shall receive firmness, (those who) abide in the transient (perishable, worthless) abode. They will have trust (security, faith) through thy trust and be delivered from the Seven (i. o. the Rulers of the World of Darkness = this world). They shall be delivered from the Seven and render us and thee gratitude for it (= the deliverance). For the Naṣoræans that are ardent be thou a witness, be thou a witness for them, and *through thy power they shall ascend to the Place of Light*.»

There is no parallel in Mandæan literature to the essentiality of the Son of Man, since there are there a plurality of messenger-saviours. It might, however, be maintained, that the *function* of, or the *Celestial Power inherent* in, every messenger from the 'Life' has that characteristic. On the other hand the Enoš-Saviour, the Original Man, as the 'representative sum' of all the Spirits, self-evidently in his communion with and ascent to the First Life includes the spirits who are saved in him. In the same vein the latter of the examples given above enunciates of the messenger *Sam-Ziua*: »*through thy power* they (the Believers) shall ascend to the Place of Light». Cf. quotations given below on 3¹³.

¹ = κατὰβασιν!

² = ἀνάβασιν!

2⁽²⁴⁾²⁵ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ χρείαν εἶχεν ἵνα τις μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγίνωσκεν τί ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, »because he knew¹ all men, and needed not that any should testify of man; for he knew what was in man». That Christ »knows the secrets of eternal life and shares the divine knowledge of what was in man»², that he »possesses supernatural, divine knowledge», is a fundamental idea of Jn, underlying the whole gospel, and playing an important part in the Johannine demonstration of Jesus as the celestial man and Divine being.³ The knowledge possessed by Christ may be seen under four aspects, viz.:

(1) *Prescience*, and this an unlimited one: he knows everything beforehand, in detail and 'from the beginning' (i. e. not partly nor by manner of a successive revelation). For the prescience of Jesus, *vide* esp. 2⁴ 7^{6,8} 13¹ (he knows his ὥρα, hour, or καιρός, time i. e. the time of his death and glorification⁴), 2^{19,21} (knows his death and resurrection), 3¹⁴ (»knows what 'being uplifted' means»¹), 6⁶⁴ (knew from the beginning who they were that believed not and who should betray him) 13³⁸ the threefold betrayal by Petrus); 13³⁶ (the future fate of Petrus: 'whither I go thou canst not follow me now; but thou shalt follow me afterwards') cf. 21^{18,19}; 21²² (the fate of the beloved disciple); 4^{21,23} (the future in general). For *prescience in detail*, »everything», *vide* 18⁴: Ἰησοῦς οὖν εἰδὼς πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτόν, knowing all things that should come upon him. For *prescience 'from the very beginning'*, *vide* 6⁶⁴: ἤδει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . .

(2) *Knowledge of 'all things'*, 'all secrets' *celestial and terrestrial*: 14^{8,50} 3¹² [notice especially the contraposition of τὰ ἐπίγεια and τὰ ἐπουράνια, 'earthly things and heavenly things'] 4^{16-18,29,50,52} 16³⁰ [οἶδας πάντα]; In his knowledge of the 'celestial things', the spiritual realities, the Divine truth, he is identified with that Divine truth: 14⁶ [ἐγὼ εἶμι . . . ἡ ἀλήθεια].

(3) *Knowledge of 'what is in man'*: 2²⁵, cf. 14² (of Simon) 14⁷ (of Nathanael: a true Israelite) 4¹⁻³¹ (of the Samaritan woman.

¹ *Vide* Abbott, *Joh. Voc.* p. 123 rendering: 'could understand'.

² E. Carpenter, *JWr* p. 354.

³ Grill *Unters.* ii 49.

⁴ Grill *Unters.* i 43, Bauer *JEv* p. 42.

the object of Jn being to show how J reads the woman's mind, *besides* knowing *about* her without having received earthly information, vs 17—19, 29) 5⁴² (ἐγνωνκα ὑμᾶς) 16⁶¹ (εἰδὼς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι γογγύζουσιν, knew im himself that his disciples murmured) 21¹⁷ (knows »what is in» Petrus, πάντα σὺ οἶδας, σὺ γινώσκεις ὅτι φιλῶ σε: thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee).

The omniscience of Jesus acc. to Jo will not be fully characterized until still another trait of the conception shall have been brought into light, viz.

(4) *his omniscience*, his knowledge, are *wholly derived from his Father* (in close conjunction with the derivation of all his *doings* from those of His Father); four passages illustrate the import of this aspect: ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐδίδαξέν με ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα λαλῶ 8²⁸; ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν; τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ· ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ 14¹⁰; νῦν οἴδαμεν ὅτι οἶδας πάντα... ἐν τούτῳ πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθες 16³⁰, ἃ ἐγὼ ἑώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ λαλῶ 8³⁸ cf. 7¹⁷ (As the Father taught me, I speak these things; the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works; now we are sure that *thou knowest all things*... *by this we believe that thou camest forth from God*; what I have beheld with my Father, that I speak).

In Rabbinical literature there is no parallel to the present passage: Billerbeck *ad locum* points out how acc. to *Mek* to Ex 16³² (20 a) seven things are hidden from the children of man. The passage runs

שבעה דברים מכוסין מבני אדם ואלו הן יום המיתה ויום
הנחמה ועומק הדין ואין אדם יודע כמה משתכר ואין אדם יודע
מה בלבו של חברו ומלכות בית דוד אימתי תחזור למקומה
ומלכות הייבת אימתי תעקר

(seven things are hidden...): (1) the day of death (2) the day of consolation, scil. in the future world, (3) the depth of the Judgement, and (4) no man knows his coming reward nor (5) *what is in the heart of his neighbour*, (6) and the Kingdom of the House of David, when it will be restored to its place, and (7) the guilty Kingdom (Rome) when it will be rooted up (i. e. destroyed cf. Zeph 24) *Gen. R.* 65 and *Eccl. R.* to 11⁵ give as scriptural support for man's not knowing what is in the heart of another the passage of Jer 17¹⁰: »I, the Lord, search the heart», thereby

indicating also, that the knowledge of what is in man is the exclusive prerogative of the Holy One¹ he alone being called, *T. B. Sanh 37 b*: *ha-yyōdē mah šābōp*: the knower of thoughts. Billerbeck remarks: »wird daher von Jesus Joh. 2²⁵ gesagt: ,αὐτός γὰρ ἐγίνωσκεν τί ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ' so wird er damit an Gottes Seite gerückt».

It may be noticed that all those different fields of knowledge enumerated in the Rabbinical dictum as excluded from the knowledge of man are, by Jn, attributed to Jesus: the time of death, the time of consolation (corresponding in Jn to glorification and Life) the judgement (5^{22, 27} 16^{8, 12}, — the *ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κέριται* is really = »the depth of Judgement» cf. 12³¹), the Messianic time the destruction of the world power (in Jn the *ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου* is, of course, taken in a different sense from the Rabbinic view of Rome; the conception of the invisible ruler called the 'Prince of Rome' in Jewish mystical literature, however, is quite closely related to the Johannine conception of the *ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, cf. below on 16¹¹).

Although Rabbinical literature knows of no being possessing the Divine faculty of seeing what is in man, there is an important and very close parallel to the present Johannine representation in the Jewish mystical conception of *Metatron*. Thus a chapter in *3 Enoch*, contains the following tradition which in all probability is not later than the second century, and partly earlier:

גלה לי הקב"ה מאז [מעין] כל סתרי תורה וכל רזי הכמה
 וכל עמקי תורה חמימה וכל מחשבות לבבות של בראות וכל רזי
 עולם וכל רזי בראשית גלויק לפני כדרך שגלויק לפני יוצר בראשית.
 וצפיתי מאוד להסתכל ברוזי עמוקה ובסוד מופלא קודם שיחשוב
 האדם במסתד אני רואה וקודם שיעשה אדם דבר אני רואה ואין
 דבר במרום ובעומק עולם נעלם ממני. (*3 Enoch 11*)

'The Holy one, blessed be He, revealed to me (Metatron) from that time (or better: from the beginning) all the mysteries of *Tora* and all the secrets of Wisdom and all the depths of the Perfect *Tora* (Ps. 19⁸); and all the thoughts of the hearts of the created (beings) and all the secrets of the universe and all the secrets of the Creation were revealed before me in the way in which they are revealed before the Maker of Creation. (And I watched in-

¹ Billerbeck ii 412. Cf. Act 15⁹ ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός (ib 1²⁴).

tently to behold the secrets of the depth and the wonderful mystery.) Before a man did think in secret, I saw (his thought) and before a man made a thing I beheld it. And there was no thing on high nor in the depth of the world hidden from me. (One Ms has: Before a man did think, I knew what was in his thought, and there was no thing on high nor below in the deep hidden from me.)

Here, thus, it is explicitly stated, that *Metatron knows 'what is in man'*, that he is a 'knower of thoughts' and 'a knower of hearts' (καρδιογνώστης).

The parallel between the cited representation of Metatron, who is called *the little Yahvé* (3 En 12⁵) but intentionally not '*Son of Man*', and the Johannine representation of the omniscience of Jesus is, however, to be pursued further.

(1) Apart from the remarkable assignment to Metatron of knowledge of 'what is in man', it is to be noticed (2) that Metatron, according to the original intent of the fragment, possesses his knowledge, and insight 'INΩ', = from of old, '*from the beginning*', just as Jesus, acc. to 6⁶⁴ knows ἐξ ἀρχῆς. The INΩ cf. 3 En 1 is most probably an allusion to Prov 8²² where Wisdom speaks of itself: YHWH qānāni rēšip darkō qāḏāem mif'ālāy mē'āz, 'the Lord begat me as the beginning of this way, the antecedent of His works, of old'¹, and is equivalent to the שׁרן ׀ of the targumic rendering.² The Metatron conception had from the very first been amalgamated with the Wisdom-speculation, although this amalgamation did not, as far we are able to detect from the earliest preserved sources, actually take the form of the assertion that Metatron *is* the Wisdom of God³; (3) Metatron has an *unlimited prescience*: he knows the thoughts and deeds of men *before* they are thought or done, and *nothing* is hidden from him; cf. above on the Johannine representation of the unlimited prescience of J. (4) The knowledge possessed by Metatron is repeatedly set forth in relation to the two realms of existence expressed by the terms '*celestial*'

¹ Burney's rendering in '*Christ as the APXH of Creation*', *JThSt* xxvii (1926) p. 168.

² Cf. *op. cit.* p. 169. That qānāni of Prov 8²² equals: 'created me' may be seen *Gen. R. 15*, and 'mē'āz' = 'from the beginning' *Gen. R. 11*.

³ The identification, or rather, submersion of the personified Wisdom into Metatron may be expressed somewhat as follows: the personified side of Wisdom, the hypostasis, '*created* in the beginning' was identified with the 'person' of Metatron; the Wisdom *qua* Wisdom '*possessed* in the Beginning' was then made a 'possession' of Metatron.

(Hebrew: 'ʿalyōn, 'ʿalyōnim) and 'terrestrial' (Hebrew: *taḥtōn, taḥtōnim*), the 'secrets of the celestial beings (i. e. world) and the terrestrial beings (i. e. world) = secrets of above and below: 3 En 10⁵ 11^{1,3} 48 C 4; cf. the Johannine contrast between 'above' and 'below', i. e. the heavenly or spiritual and the earthly or physical where τὰ ἐπίγεια and τὰ ἐπουράνια of 3¹² correspond with the *rāzē taḥtonim* and *rāzē 'alyonim* of 3 En 48 C 4 cf. further ἀνωθεν or ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ v. ἐκ τῆς γῆς: 3³¹ ἐκ τῶν ἕνω v. ἐκ τῶν κάτω, ἐκ τοῦτοῦ τοῦ κόσμου v. οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτοῦ: 8²³ and the repeated reference to Christ's *knowledge* of the 'things above', but also of the inner reasons and workings of 'this world', the fate of the prince of this world. (5) the wisdom, omniscience, prescience, knowledge of Metatron is *wholly derived from His Creator (qōnā)*; it is the Holy One who reveals all secrets to him; 3 En 11¹; at the same time Metatron possesses *all* the wisdom of his Creator: (*Qōnā*): the secrets 'were revealed unto me even as they are revealed unto the maker of Creation' (3 En 11¹), the Holy one says, acc. to 3 En 48 C 7: 'every secret did I reveal to him (scil. Metatron) *as a father*'; The characterization of the Johannine representation of the 'vollkommene Spiegelung des Bewusstseinsinhalts des Vaters in demjenigen des Sohns'¹ can thus be used as a characterization of the Jewish mystical representation of the relation between the Holy One and Metatron. One may even point to the accompanying feature of the functions, i. e. ἔργα, of Metatron as a reflexion of the ἔργα of the *Qādōš b. h.* appearing in 3 En 48 C 9¹⁰² (cf. especially vs. 10: 'every word that proceeds from the Holy One . . . Metatron carries it out').

In Mandæan literature the Messenger-Saviour is frequently represented as instructed in all the mysteries of the Celestial World by the Life, his Father, or by His 'Parents', and also occasionally in the secrets of the Lower World: cf. e.g. GR 381 (*Pet* 360), GR 74 (*Pet* 76). On the other hand, the Messenger-Saviour, reascended to the celestial worlds, possesses greater knowledge of the Lower Worlds than his Parents, the Life and its Image. Thus acc. to GR 164^{17 f.} (*Pet* 153^{18 f.}), Hibil-Ziua says to his parents: 'The mysteries that I have seen, I will reveal to you and instruct you in all of them! The Messenger is not particularly emphasized as καρδιογνώστης. Cf. GR XVI 4.

¹ Grill, *Unters.* i 86².

² *Vide* the writers 3 En pp. 169—171.

35 ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ ἔξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. What does the expression ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος mean? The question may here be put forth, whether the 'water' is necessarily to be taken as an allusion to baptism. To decide this, it will be well to begin by considering the context. Then it may be suggested that the import of the γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος can not be essentially different from the γεννηθῆναι ἐκ πνεύματος referred to in vs. 6. One may even venture the hypothesis, that γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος is identical in sense with the γεννηθῆναι ἐκ πνεύματος. The whole context, it may be furthered be considered, views the γεννηθῆναι ἐκ πνεύματος with a strong emphasis on the contrast between the two worlds of spirit and flesh, this contrast put on a par with the contrasts τὰ ἐπουράνια v. τὰ ἐπίγεια (vs. 12) ἄνω v. κάτω, the celestial-spiritual reality v. the terrestrial-physical reality, ὁ οὐρανός v. ὁ κόσμος. Thus the expression ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος should be put in contrast to its corresponding contrasting expression. The contrast from the terrestrial realm corresponding to the ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος is to be found in Nicodemus' reference to the terrestrial birth in speaking of the εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι. The words that here correspond to the ὕδωρ are εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν . . . δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν, for the right understanding of which it must be emphasized, that δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν does not mean 'return to', but 'enter a second time' i.e. the simile is not that of an involution, but of a repetition of the evolution of birth, or in other words, what is to enter a second time is not the child that has once been born, but the semen that is to give birth to the child. The argument of Nicodemus, acc. to Jn., is this: one must be born again from above, from the celestial world, you say; how can that be done in the case of one already born? how can the process be repeated and a man enter into his mother's womb again as a semen from above, as a celestial semen? The answer given is: verily, it is as you say, the process must be repeated, for that which is born from a sarcal semen remains sarcal, can never in itself become spirit, and that which is to become spirit must be born spiritually from a spiritual semen. This, it may be suggested, is the real sense of ἐξ ὕδατος

καὶ πνεύματος: the ὕδωρ is that which in the spiritual process corresponds to the semen in the sarcical process. From this interpretation the intent of what follows in vss. 8—12 becomes clear: μή θαυμάσης ὅτι εἶπόν σοι· δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν. τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει. οὕτως ἐστὶν πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, that is: marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again; the birth of the spirit is not a repetition of the sarcical process, where you know πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει; that which gives rise to the spiritual birth comes you know not whence, from a world, a reality, you do not know, and the birth itself does not take place in the terrestrial world but in the spiritual, celestial, world, a world you do not know (by own experience) but of which I can speak, for I know it and have seen it, having myself come from that world (ὁ οἶδαμεν λαλοῦμεν καὶ ὁ ἑώρακαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν cf. vs. 13 ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς). The section is concluded by the statement, that the whole matter of which has been spoken belongs to the ἐπουράνια, the heavenly things: εἰ τὰ ἐπίγεια εἶπον ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε, πῶς ἂν εἶπω ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια πιστεύσετε; the entire exposition of the section moves in the same sphere of ideas and uses the same contrasts as 1¹³: οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν (cf. 1 Cor. 15⁵⁰ σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται, οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ).

Is there any foundation for the interpretation of ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος as forming a contrast to semen and σὰρξ? Some illustrations bearing on this question may be brought from the Rabbinical and Jewish-mystical uses of the words טיפה 'drop', and מים 'water'. Classical are the following passages¹: *TB Nid* 16 b: הרש"ר' חנינא בר פפא איתו מלאך הממונה על ההריון לילה שמו ונוטל טיפה ומעמידה לפני הקב"ח ואומר לפניו רבש"ע טיפה זו מה תהא עליה גבור או הלש חכם או טיפש עשיר או עני ואלו רשע או צדיק לא קאמר כדרבי חנינא דאמר רבי חנינא הכל בידי שמים הויץ מיראת שמים.

»R. Hanina bar Pappa (3rd gen. Pal. Amor.) expounded: the angel that is appointed over the conception is called Laila and he takes the טיפה (semen) and brings it before the Holy one, and says before him: »Lord of the Universe! what shall arise out of this σπέρμα? a strong man or a weak man, a wise or a fool, a rich

¹ Cf. Levy s. v.

or a poor?» and if the words »a righteous or a wicked» are not included in the question, this is in accord with R. Hanina's opinion, for R. Hanina used to say: 'Everything is in the hands of Heaven except the fear of Heaven'» (*TB Ber.* 33 b, *Meg.* 25 a) The physical and intellectual properties of man and even his external fate are potentially extant already in the σπέρμα, whereas the moral, or spiritual, qualities are not given in the σπέρμα.

Pirqe 'Abot 3: 'Aqabya ben Mahalal'el (1st. gen. Tann., contemporary of R. Gamliel the elder, the teacher of Paulus) said: רוחה מטיפה טריפה טרוחה »Know whence thou camest: from a fetid drop (Ch. Taylor 56, 57)».

The dictum intends to convey the lowly, earthly, one may say 'sarcical', origin of man and approaches the Jn-ine »that which is born of flesh is flesh». By the side of this may be put *GenR* 46 2, where the reason why Abraham circumcized himself at the age of 99 years (with reference to Gen. 17²⁴) is given thus: ברי שיצא יצחק מטיפה קדושה: in order that Isaac should go forth from a holy טיפה. The last dictum, thus, affirms, that the quality of holiness may be inherent in the טיפה. This seems to imply a determination of the nature of the one who is to be born, in the sense »that which is born of a holy טיפה is holy» especially when considered in the light of *TB Nidda* 16 b cited above.¹

The earliest occurrence of טיפה in Jewish-mystical Hebrew texts is 3 En 6², in a context relating Enoch's elevation into the highest heaven and his transformation into a celestial being; the highest beings in the celestial hierarchy are there represented as objecting to Enoch's entrance into the highest heaven, with these words: »What smell [one reading has: what *spirit*] of a woman-born is this and what taste of a white drop² (drop of semen) that

¹ On the supposition that Nicodemus, or the particular kind of Jewish mind that Jn 3 has in view and which is represented by Nicodemus, moved in somewhat the same sphere of thoughts as those appearing in the Rabbinical dicta selected here, his arguments might be presented in approximately the following vein: we are taught that man's entering the kingdom of Heaven depends on his manner of living, whether he lives as a righteous or as a wicked (*TB Nidda* 16 b), but granted that you are right, in saying that one must be born from above in order to enter the Kingdom above, hence that no one who is not born of a holy semen can become holy, then there is no sense in your requesting us who are not, according to your word, born of a holy semen. to be born from on high; for how can we, who are already born, become a semen again and enter our mother's womb a second time?»

² *Cit.*: drop of white (liquid).

ascends to the high heavens?» There is a word-play in the latter clause, giving the double-meaning: »what is the reason that a white drop ascends to the high heavens?». [מה ריח ילוד אשה ומה מעם]. [מיפת לכן שהיא עולה למרום]. The idea is that one born of a woman and a drop of semen from the terrestrial world has no right to enter the highest realm of the celestial world: does not belong there. (The βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ corresponds with the ערבות רקיע of 3 Enoch). Cf. also 3 En. 48 D 7.¹ The term מים is connected with engendering functions already at an early time. 1 En. 54 8² has: »and all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heaven is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine». The upper waters, basing upon Gen. 1 7, are in Rabbinic termed מים עליונים and also מים זכרים (the celestial water, resp. the male water). The idea of fructification by the celestial water is of course applied to the fructifying properties of the rain; but the speculation upon the upper water is no more restricted to the literal meaning of the word than the Johannine πνεῦμα is restricted to the sense of 'wind' attested in 3 8. On the contrary, the mystical speculation used the literal meanings merely as illustrations for the spiritual laws they desired to convey, just as does Jn. 3 8 when speaking of the πνεῦμα = 'wind', to illustrate a property of the 'spirit'.

That this is so may be judged from *TY Ta'an.* 64 b, *GenR* 13 13, 14:

מה טעם תהום אל תהום קורא לקול צנוריד וגו': א"ר לוי המים העליונים זכרים והתחתונים נקבות והן אומרים אלו לאלו קבלו אותנו אתם בריותיו של הקב"ה ואנו שלוחיו מיד הם מקבלים אותן. ה"ד תפתח ארץ כנקבה זו שהיא פותחת לזכר ויפרו ישע שהן פריץ ורבין וצדקה יצמית יחד זו ירידת גשמים. אני ה' בראתיו לכך בראתיו לתקוני של עולם ולישיבו:

»What is the meaning of Ps. 48 7 'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of the waterspouts' etc.? R. Levi (3rd gen. Pal. Am.) said: '(this is the explanation:) The celestial waters are male and the lower waters are female'. The former said to the latter: 'receive us! you are creations of the Holy One, blessed be He, and we

¹ In the earliest Jewish mystical writings the birth, or 'creation' (rise of life) in the celestial world is spoken of in the terms of the Divine word creating (generating) out of the 'river of fire', the 'fire' being the celestial ὕλη. Vide 3 En 15, 35, 47.

² Vide R. H. Charles, 1 En², note *ad loc.*

than two or three fingers' breadth. For it is not written: 'and the Spirit of the Lord was blowing', but (and the spirit of the Lord was) 'brooding', i.e. as a bird that shakes its wings (so near to the water that) one moment they are touching (it) and the other moment they are not touching it.¹

In this dictum association between Spirit and Water may be noticed. The close proximity of the Upper and Lower Waters was most probably understood in the sense of the engendering function of the former in relation to the latter. The use of the simile of a 'bird' for the Spirit may have some significance (cf. Jn 13²).

There are also traces of a conception regarding the lower waters (or the תהום) as representing the evil, especially in association with 'darkness', in contrast to the upper waters as representing the seed of celestial nature, associated with light. Since the corresponding terms occur in Gen 1¹⁻⁸, these speculations were easily deduced from that scriptural section. In this connexion one may also notice the intermingling of or parallelism between the contrasts of cosmos and celestial world on the one hand and of evil (i.e. sarcal) and good (i.e. celestial or spiritual) in man. Hence the '*spirit associated with the celestial 'water'*' and 'moving upon' the lower water *represents* the salvation of man, or *the celestial in man*. In such contexts there enters, beside the antitheses Heaven v. Earth, Light v. Darkness, Good v. Evil, also the contrast Life v. Death.

GenR 25:

R. Šim'on ben Lāqīš (2nd gen. Pal. Am.) connected the words 'הרו' 'בהו' 'השך' and 'ההום' of Gen 1² midrashically with the four evil world powers. The dictum ends:

מה התהום הזה אין לו חקר אף הרשעים כן ורוח אלהים
מרחפת זה רוחו של מלך המשיח היאך מד"א ונהה עליו רוח ה'

¹ In *TY Hag 77 b* this is explained from Deut. 32¹¹: »As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, (spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings)«, where the word rendered »fluttereth« (רָחַף) is the same which is used in Gen 1² (רוח אלהים מרחפת). Just as the word in Deut 32¹¹ denotes the fluttering of the bird immediately above her nest, one moment touching it and another not touching it, so the word in Gen 1² must be interpreted as picturing a similar relation between the Spirit and the Water.

באיזו זכות ממשמשש ובאה המרהפת על פני המים בזכות התשובה שנמשלה כמים שנאמר ששכי כמים לבד.

»Just as this *l'hôm* is without reckoning so are also the wicked. 'And the spirit of God moved': this refers to the Spirit of King Messiah. By what reason did it approach and come down¹ (to the lower world)? (answer:) »moved upon the waters». By reason of the repentance (the returning to God); for repentance is likened unto water, as it is written (Lam 2¹⁹: pour out thine heart like water!).» *Ib* 24 and 27 Light v. חרו וברו [resp. Darkness] is identified with »the Deeds of the Righteous» v. »the Deeds of the Wicked». Cf. below on Jn 3¹⁹⁻²¹. *GenR* 22 in a dictum attributed to R. Y^huda bar Simon (4th gen. Pal. Am.). »The Earth is said to have been חרו וברו for the Celestial were *Living* but the Terrestrials were *Dead*.»³ (Cf. the dictum: man was made from the Celestial and the Terrestrial, *GenR* 8₁₁ 12₇ 14₃).

In the present connexion reference may be made to *TB Hag* 12 b, speaking of the contents of the 7th, or highest, heaven:

ערבות שבו צדק ומשפט וצדקה גנוי חייב וגנוי שלום וגנוי ברכה
ונשמתן של צדיקים ורוחות ונשמות שעתידי להיבראות וטל שעתידי
הקב"ה לההיות בו מתיב

»'Arābōp, [the highest heaven], in which are [contained, the meaning is: where is the source of] Right and Judgement and Mercy, the treasures of Life and the treasures of Peace and the treasures of blessing, and the spirits of the righteous and the souls and spirits that are to be created [in the future], and *the dew*⁴ by

¹ The commentary מתנות כהונה explains: 'כלו מקרבת ורוחשת ובא' בלו' הגאולה making 'the salvation' logical subject.

² *Yalqut* 4, reproducing the dictum of *GenR* 25, has an interesting addition: ד"א ורוח אלהים זה רוחו של אדם הראשון דכתיב אהור וקדם צרתי אהור 'and the spirit of God', that refers to *the spirit of the First Man*, as it is written 'thou hast formed me before and after', viz. 'after' the work of the second day and 'before' the work of the first day. The spirit of the First Man existing before the Creation is evidently the (Spirit of the) Original Man who is here associated with the Spirit of the Messiah, or the Saviour.

³ 'living' and 'dead' are probably to be taken in the sense of 'immortal' and 'mortal' *ἀθάνατοι* and *θνητοί*. For 'Life'='Eternal Life' and 'Death'='Mortality, Perishableness' vide below on 8⁶¹.

⁴ Cf. *Odes of Solomon* 4¹⁰: »Distil thy dews upon us; and open thy rich fountains . . .» (v. below on 4¹¹ ff. and R. Harris, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon* ii p. 227).

which the Holy one shall [in the future] make living the dead». As scriptural support for the conception Ps. 68 is given: »Thou, o God, didst send a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary».

Similarly *T.Y. Ta'ar* I 63 d:

כך אמר לו הקב"ה לאליהו לך והתר נדרו של טל שאין המתים חיים אלא בטללים ואני מוהיה בנה של צרפית. Thus said the Holy One to Elijah ('with reference to 1 Ki 17^{17, 21}) 'Go and absolve the vow of the dew' (that is Elijah's vow before Ahab: 'there shall not be dew nor rain these years' acc. to 1 Ki 17'), for the dead cannot be made living except by dews¹: then I will make the son of the widow of Zaraphath living. The same *TY* tractate in the following repeatedly refers to the המתים בתחיית המתים.

A *Bāraiḡā ib.* runs:

לא שאל בברכת השנים או שלא הזכיר גבורות גשמים בתחיית המתים.

Before proceeding to Non-Jewish parallels, it may be well to refer to two Philonic passages, bearing upon the present ideas:

Philo. *Leg. Alleg.* I 31 p. 49 on Gen 27 Διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη: ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήινος. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἄτε κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονώς φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλων γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος, ὁ δὲ γήινος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης, ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγη.

Philo *De Opif. Mundi* 134 p. 32 ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τοῦτου παρίστησιν, ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθης ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον. ὁ μὲν γάρ διαπλασθεὶς αἰσθητὸς ἦδη μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστώς, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, φύσει θνητός. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἰδέα τις ἢ γένος ἢ σφραγίς, νοητός, ἀσώματος, οὐτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, ἀφθαρτος φύσει.

For the use of the term 'water' to signify a certain engendering efflux of Life, appearing in the Mandaitic literature, the following passages may be considered characteristic.

¹ It need scarcely be said that the meaning is not that the physical dew was necessary to make the dead living. But the intent is to convey, that in the vow of the drying up of the dew and rain there must have been implied a vow as to the drying up of the spiritual or celestial dew. i. e. closing it up in heaven, preventing it from being applied to giving life to earthly man. At the same time the physical rain and dew are 'sympathetic' symbols of the spiritual or celestial forces named by the same words.

It may be noticed, that, of the passages given above, *TB Hag. 12 b* at least, belongs to a mystical context, and the 'making living the dead' mentioned there in all probability has the same sense as the vivification of the dead in *Jn 5²⁵* (*vide* below on that vs.).

MLi 62⁸ 63¹, Qolasta xxxiii:

מיא אנאתון הייא אנאתון מן אתרא דנפיש אחאתון ומן בית הייא עשהאפאתון
מיתא מיא הייא מן בית הייא ניתון טאביא וניטאבוון

»*Water of Life* you are, you have come from a sublime place and from the House of Life you have been poured out. With the coming of the Water of Life from the House of Life, the Good will come and be rendered good (receive good).»

MLi 35 Qolasta xxii, . . . אודין . . . בפיראויס כאנא דמיא הייא . . .
בשכונאצאר שאבון דמותא דבית הייא כהייא דאנאתון במאן גמאט סליק הוא סכא
קינא דמינא הוא ביופין יופאפין בנבאט ניבטא קאדמאיא צוריך הייא

»We confessed . . . Piryauis, the receptacle of the Water of Live, Škinaṣar, the founder of the image of the House of Life and the Life that fixed its eyes on the *Water*; it ascended, looked and beheld the nest from which it (had come forth), Yofin Yofafin Nbaṭ, the first sprout, the *efflux of life*.»

MLi 256 f., Oxf III 8

קרולא לשירשא דמיא הייא ושיהלויא לאיאר ושאדרווא . . . לשכונאתא דעותריא
כולהון ארהובה עותריא ובסום . . . שתון מינא ורואו . . . ושתופכאת בליבאיהון
נאצרות

»[the Life] called on the root of the *Water of Life*, and sent (for) the ether and missioned it . . . to the Škinas of all the Uthras: the Uthras smelled it and were filled with delight . . . they drank from it and exulted . . . and the *Nasruṭ* (the Naṣoraean faith, the Naṣoraean life) was infused in their hearts!» The מיא and איאר (air, ether) here may be compared with the ὕδωρ and πνεῦμα respectively of Jn 35. Further may be observed the function of מיא and איאר in giving rise to, infusing a new character, a new life (*Nasruṭ*) into the *Uthras*. This *Nasruṭ* may be said to be born of מיא הייא and איאר (corresponding in a certain degree to ὕδωρ and πνεῦμα).

GR 69^{18,19} (Pet 13^{8,9}) למיא ואסגון הייא ומינא למיא
תאהמא

»[The Uthras left . . . the House of Life . . . the Abode of splendour and Light] . . . they left the Jordan of *Water of Life* and went to the *Water of Chaos* [the *t'hōm* of Gen 1², also = the Lower Water].»

GR 77^{33,36} 787.⁸ (Pet 79^{4,6,10,11}) לאמיתמינא השוכא בנהורא . . .
. . . ומיא תאהמא לאראווא . . . באטליא בניה השוכא ומיתקאומיא בניה רורביא

Darkness is not reckoned with Light . . . and the *Water of Chaos* does not shine . . . the children of Darkness perish but the children of the mighty (Life) shall abide.¹»

GR 230⁶⁻⁸ (*Pet* 228²⁴⁻²⁶) שאחילון למיא תאהמיה ובראכוחא מישחבין . . . וראהמילה לרדנאגחא דחיביל ואמריא מינה לאנאפקנין ותיריל לאבאמלא

»They drink of the *Water of Chaos* and are taken captive by pride . . . they love the pleasure of the World (Tibil) and say: 'we will not leave it', and 'the Tibil will not perish'.

MLi 187, *Oxf I* 16, קאלאיון דמיא הייא דאפכין למיא תאהמיה
שאפין ונאסכין חוקנא אשדן וראמין דורדיא

»(It is) the voice of the *Water of Life* that transforms the *Water of Chaos*, it issues and assumes brightness (order?) it pours and throws away the dregs. [Cf. above p. 52 l. 7].

GR 15^{14, 15} (*Pet* 13^{2, 3}) 33^{20, 21} (*Pet* 33^{11, 12})

ניתון מיא הייא ונירבון במיא תאהמיה בריהה דמיא הייא ונירוואו כולא אלמא
»Water of Life may come and mix with Chaotic Water; in the fragrance of the *Water of Life* the whole world may exult (shine).»

Acc. to GR 103 the living fire mixes with the chaos-water and earth arises (*Ptahil* functions as demiurg).

GR XI 266³³⁻³⁷ (*Pet* 269⁸⁻¹¹) אמרילה הייא רביא למאנדה דהייא קום אנאת בריש מיא עויל ונגוד נגדה דמיא הייא גאמיניא וניחלון וניפלון במיא תאהמיה ומיא ניבוסמון ונישתון כניא אנאשא וניהון אכואת הייא רביא

»The Great Life said to Manda dHayye; arise, and go to the edge (*lit.* beginning) of the water; draw thither a thin draught of *Water of Life* that it may depart and fall into the *Water of Chaos* and the water (of Chaos) become fragrant (savoury) and the *children of men drink (of it) and become like the Great Life*».

GR XIII 285^{23, 24, 26-29} (*Pet* 288^{7, 10-12})

הייא קאשישיא מן מותא ונהורא קאשישיא מן השוכא . . . ונאצארוחא קאשישיא
מן יאהררותא עלאייא קאשישיא מן תיחאייא ויארדנא דמיא הייא קאשישיא מן מיא תאהמיה דאתאר השוך

»Life is older than Death, & Light is older than Darkness . . . and the Nasoræanism is older than Judaism, the (Beings) Above are

¹ 'Water of Chaos' represents the Lower World, Darkness, the 'Spirit's enslavement under the powers of the Lower World', mortality.

older than the (Beings) Below, and the *Jordan of Water of Life is older than the Water of Chaos of the Place of Darkness*. Taking to, or loving, the Water of Chaos is equivalent to leaving the Nasoræanism, the Right Faith, and the Life, and Light. Cf. also *GR* xiii 285^{34,35} xv 299^{9,10} 303³⁵.

Acc. to *GR* xv 3 307 the *Water of Life* is drawn to the earthly world, and Šilmad and Nidbai are put as its watchers: then the Water mourns because it has been brought to the evil, nether world. The Watchers console it by the information that it *will serve for the baptism of the Mandæans*.

Cf. *GL II* 458 4, 5 (*Pet* 41^{11,12}) מן רמאן במיני מרמאן דמיני מרמאן
מיני מרמאן

»Who threw me in the Water of Chaos from which the destroying ones are formed?» The question is equivalent to the question, »who threw me into the suffering of the world! Who suffered me to be born into this world» (the question is put by the spirit).

We may now turn to the earlier Hermetic writings and begin with *Corp. Herm. I (Poimandres)*. The man who speaks (the »I») in *Poimandres* tells of his vision of the 'beginnings of things'¹ (4, 5a): ὁρῶ θεάν ἀόριστον, φῶς [δὲ] πάντα γεγενημένα ἥδιόν (Scott: ἥπιόν) τε καὶ ἰλαρόν· καὶ ἡγάσθη (Sc) ἰδῶν· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον, σκότος κατωφερές ἦν ἐν μέρει τινὶ γεγενημένον, φοβερόν τε καὶ στυγρόν σκολιῶς πεπειραμένον εἶδον μεταβαλλόμενον τὸ σκότος εἰς ὕγρὰν τινα φύσιν ἀπάτως τεταραγμένην, καὶ καπνὸν ἀποδιδοῦσαν ὡς ἀπὸ πυρός. καὶ τινα ἤχον ἀποτελοῦσαν ἀνεκλάλητον γῶδην· (εἶτα) βοή γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀσύναρθρος ἐξεπέμπετο. (ὡς εἰκάσαι φωνὴν φωτός.) ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φωτός προσελθὼν λόγος ἄγιος ἐπέβη τῇ [ὕγρᾳ] φύσει, [ὡς εἰκάσαι με φωνὴν εἶναι τοῦ φωτός] — 5 b. Καὶ πῦρ ἄκρατον ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τῆς ὕγρας φύσεως ἄνω εἰς ὕψος· κουφὸν δὲ ἦν καὶ ὀξύ, δραστηκόν τε. ἅμα καὶ ὁ ἀήρ, ἐλαφρὸς ὢν, ἠκολούθησε τῷ πυρὶ (Reitzenstein; MSS I Turnebus: πνεύματι) ἀναβαίνων (τοσοῦτον) μέχρι τοῦ πυρός ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, ὡς δοκεῖν πρέμασθαι αὐτὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Thus in *Corp. Herm. I* 4, 5 the term ὕγρὰ φύσις 'watery substance' is used for the second stage of the ὕλη, the first stage being σκότος κατωφερές 'a downward-tending darkness'. The darkness and the watery substance, 'the chaos', correspond to the σκότος and ἄβυσσος of *Gen* 1. They also represent the evil principle.² The celestial principle is called Light (φῶς), from which

¹ Cf. Walter Scott, *Hermetica* II, pag. 1.

² Cf. אַרְבַּע // evil // darkness, in Rabbinic above p. 54, in Mandaitic above p. 57.

proceeds a holy Word (λόγος ἅγιος) which takes its stand upon the watery substance.¹ Then the watery substance, having received the Word, is fashioned into an ordered world (κοσμοποιήθαι; Scott: ἐκοσμοποιήθη).

Corp. Herm. I 17: The seven First Men, arising from the First (Divine, Celestial) Man and the φύσις (nature), consist of an immaterial (or perhaps better: celestial) and a material (or better: terrestrial, physical) part. In the formation of the *terrestrial* part three elements are at work, viz. water (ὔδωρ), earth (γῆ) and spirit (Scott: vital spirit, πνεῦμα). The *water* is the *male* and the *earth* the *female*: θηλυκὴ γῆ ἦν καὶ ὔδωρ ἀχευτικόν. The celestial part is made up of Spirit (νοῦς) and Soul (ψυχή), derived from the Light (φῶς) and Life (ζωή) of the First Man. There is no mention, however, of any polarity of male and female between φῶς and ζωή or νοῦς and ψυχή (Scott, *Herm.* ii 49). Neither does ὔδωρ play any part as a term for *Celestial* engendering efflux.

Scott³ quotes a »close parallel« to *Corp. Herm. I 17* from Hippolyt's *Refutatio omnium Hæresium* IV 43. »Hippolytus there gives a doctrine which he calls 'Egyptian'; it is rather the doctrine of some Stoicizing Pythagorean, but its author perhaps assumed that Pythagoras had learnt it in Egypt«. The doctrine spoken of regards God as an indivisible, self-generating μονάς, who generates (γεννᾷ) the succeeding numerical entities δυάς, τριάς etc. Then it proceeds to speak of the cogeneration of such numerical entities, until the process reaches the four elements of πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὔδωρ and γῆ. Of these four elements it makes the World (κόσμος) and arranges it in a polarity of male and female, dividing it in an *upper hemisphere* consisting of πνεῦμα and πῦρ, and a *lower hemisphere*, consisting of ὔδωρ and γῆ. The upper hemisphere is characterized as that of the monad, the »beneficent, upward-tending and male hemisphere.« The lower hemisphere is ascribed to the dyad, and called »downward-tending, female and maleficent«. Within these two hemispheres, again, there is a polarity πρὸς εὐκαρπίαν καὶ ἀξέησιν τῶν ὕλων. Thus in the upper hemisphere τὸ πῦρ is the male and τὸ πνεῦμα the female, in the lower hemisphere τὸ ὔδωρ

¹ Dependent upon the idea of Gen 1²: 'the Spirit of God moving upon the water', combined with the Divine Word of Gen 1₃ εἶπεν ὁ θεός); vide Scott, *Herm.* ii p. 23.

² Cf. *TY Ta'an 64 b*, *GenR* 13 13, 14 above p. 52 l. 7 (bringing in order); *MLi* 187 *GR* 15, 33 above pp. 57.

³ *Herm.* ii 50.

is the masculine and ἡ γῆ the feminine. That which is born in the upper hemisphere is born ἐκ πυρός καὶ πνεύματος, that which is born in the lower hemisphere is born ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς.

Another similar representation occurs in Hippol. *Refut. I 2*: Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἑβρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός φασὶ πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐλληλυθῆναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἅπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν, κοῦφον, ταχύ. τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρὺ, βραδύ. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος. εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φύσιν κατὰ μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν, διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον. καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς· εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ· τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος. θερμόν τοῦ ψυχροῦ. διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μαιίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχὴν· ἐστὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων. The narrative makes Pythagoras learn from Zarathuštra¹: »There are two original causes of things: the Father and the Mother, equivalent to Light and Darkness. And there are two daimones, a celestial one and a terrestrial, the terrestrial daimon bringing forth from the earth, being himself water; the celestial again being fire.» The *Corp. Herm. I* and the parallel representations attested in Hippol. thus, *while containing the doctrine of two worlds* and, in some sense, *of two births, or natures of generation, present the very contrast to Jn 35 with regard to the symbolical use of the term ὕδωρ.*

The so-called *Mithras-Liturgy* (ed. Dieterich-Weinreich 3, pp. 3 ff.), in an introductory prayer preserves the following characteristic expressions: Γένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως, . . . ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς πρώτη . . . πνεῦμα πνεύματος τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεύματος πρώτον . . . πῦρ τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κράσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδώρητον τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ πυρὸς πρώτον . . . ὕδωρ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὕδατος πρώτον . . . οὐσία γεώδης τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐσίας γεώδους πρώτη . . . σῶμα τέλειον ἐμοῦ . . . διαπεπλασμένον . . . ἐν ἀφωτίστῳ καὶ διαυγεί κόσμῳ ἐν τε ἀφύχῳ καὶ ἐψυχωμένῳ . . . ἐάν δὴ ὑμῖν δόξη . . . μεταπαρᾶδῶναί με τῇ ἀθανάτῳ γενέσει . . . ἵνα . . . ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθανάτον ἀρχὴν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι . . . τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι . . . τῷ στερεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀέρι . . . ἵνα

¹ »The representation of Pythagoras as learning from Zarathuštra indicates that the doctrine in question is a combination of Persian and Pythagorean elements.» Vide Bousset, *HG* p. 153 The Persian elements: Light—Darkness, the Pythagorean Male—Female.

νευματι μεταγεννηθῶ . . . ἵνα ἐνάρχωμαι καὶ πνεύση ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα . . . ἵνα θαυμάσω τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ . . . ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φρικτὸν ὕδωρ . . . καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζυγογ'νος καὶ περιεχυμένος αἰθήρ. This moves in the elemental conceptions; fire is evidently the Divine element in man; but there is also an immortal (or celestial) ὕδωρ contrasted with the terrestrial ὕδωρ.

Clem. again represent the fire as the evil principle. The fire as evil principle is connected with the fire of the sacrifices; as its contrast stands the water as the sacred element connected with the water of baptism (*Rec.* 148). The water is the *Divine World-Creating Principle* acc. to *Hom.* 11 24 (cf. *Rec.* 67-8) λογισάμενος ὅτι τὰ πάντα τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ πνεύματος κινήσεως τῆν γένεσιν λαμβάνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ τῆν ἀρχὴν ἔχει.¹

Acc. to Bousset the conceptions of *Clem.* are closely connected with the Elxaitic ideas and both point towards a connexion with religious groups living in the environments of the Jordan and also in Mesopotamia in the first century A.D. and probably earlier. With those religious group baptismal cults or ideas played an important rôle.²

A similar contraposition of water and fire is found in Eriphan. *Hær.* 193 »τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ εἶναι δεξιόν, πῦρ δὲ ἀλλότριον εἶναι φάσκων διὰ τούτων τῶν λέξεων· τέκνα, μὴ πρὸς τὸ εἶδος τοῦ πυρὸς πορεύεσθε, ὅτι πλανᾶσθε· πλάνη γάρ ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . πορεύεσθε δὲ μάλλον ἐπὶ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ὕδατος». *Hær* 53¹ »τετίμηται δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς θεὸν ἡγούνται σχεδὸν φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ τούτου». Here then Water is the male element, Fire the female. Life originates from the Water.

Act. Thom. 52: (The apostle speaks over a basin of water to consecrate it for healing): »Come ye waters from the living waters, that were sent unto us, the true from the true; the rest that was

¹ Bousset, *HG* pp. 151, 152.

² *NG* pp. 134-159 Bousset lays stress on the influence of Persian ideas upon the groups in question. Acc. to Bousset, they emphasized the celestial character of the water as against the lower evil nature of fire in conscious contrast to the Persian conception, which was of course, reverse. Typical of the ideas here in question is, acc. to Bousset, that of the Time (*zrwana akarana*) as Creator, as itself from the beginning, without origin or end, in the course of creation water and fire being brought forth, from the union of which Ormuzd arose. (Bousset, *HG* pp. 139, 140 quoting *Ulemâi Islam*, ed. Vullers pp. 44 ff.) The Persian heretic Mazdak speaks of three elements, water, fire and earth, from the mixing of which the Governor or the Good and the Governor of the Evil arose. Cf. the frequent conception in Rabbinic of creation from 'fire and water'.

sent to us from the rest, *the power of salvation* that cometh from that power which conquereth all things and subdueth them upto his own will: *come and dwell in these waters, that the gift of the Holy Ghost may be perfectly consummated in them*.¹ Here the idea of the living waters emanating from the celestial Realm, or from the Abode of Divine truth is clearly present. The similarity with the idea, attested in Rabbinic dicta quoted above, of a mystical connexion between this Divine efflux and the earthly water — so that the initiated can see and use the earthly water as a vehicle for the power inherent in the celestial water — is apparent. The healing power of this Divine efflux is merely an attenuation of its life-giving or generating power.

Lastly an important section from Hippolyt's description of the doctrines of the Naassenes may be quoted: *Ref. V* 8 pp. 110 f. (Naassenes) "Υδατα (of Ps 29 3) φησίν ἐστὶ πολλὰ ἢ πολυσχιδῆς τῶν θνητῶν γένεσις ἀνθρώπων, ἀφ' ἧς βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε πρὸς τὸν ἀχαρακτήριστον ἄνθρωπον . . . Ποταμούς (of Isa 43 2), φησί, λέγει τὴν ὑγρὰν τῆς γενέσεως οὐσίαν, πῦρ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ὀρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν . . . Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνόδου αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, ἵνα γένηται πνευματικός, οὐ σαρκικός, λέγει, φησίν, ἡ γραφή· (Ps 24 7, 9) Ἐρατε πύλας . . . καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης, τουτέστι, θαῦμα θαυμάτων . . . Ταύτην, φησί, τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ ταύτην τὴν πύλην εἶδεν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν πορευόμενος ὁ Ιακώβ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔφηβος ἤδη γινόμενος καὶ ἀνὴρ, 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 (Gen 28 17): ὡς φοβερός ὁ τόπος οὗτος . . . καὶ αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πύλη ἡ ἀληθινή (Jn 10 9, cf. Clem. *Homil.* 3 52) Ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου, φησίν, ἄνωθεν κεχαρακτηρισμένος τέλειος ἄνθρωπος. Οὐ δύναται οὖν, φησί, σωθῆναι ὁ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆ διὰ ταύτης εἰσελθὼν τῆς πύλης.

Important is here the connexion of *regeneration, ascent into heaven, water of generation* from the τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, and *spiritual birth*. This will again be touched upon in dealing with Jn 4.

From the different representations set forth above, it is evident, that the birth from 'water and πνεῦμα' occurs in a twofold connexion, viz. (1) in cosmological speculations, where both water and

¹ R. Harris, *ApNT* p. 389.

πνεῦμα play different and variant rôles, as elements or as creative principles both for the 'lower' and the 'higher' creation; Pythagorean, Stoic, Babylonian and Persian ideas all meet in assigning a cosmological function to the 'water'; essentially to the same sphere of notions belongs the idea of man as composed of the four elements; (2) in what may be termed 'mystical' connotations, frequently intermingled with cosmological language, yet clearly representing quite a different range of ideas, where 'water' stands for a certain efflux from the Celestial or Inner or Spiritual Origin of Life, by which efflux that Origin of Life creates or generates or gives Life; in particular, this efflux is viewed in the aspect of the generation of Life in the lower world, or the 'sending down' the seed of life into the terrestrial beings. In this sense the 'water' (or 'rain', 'dew', 'drop') may be used as equivalent of 'seed', σπέρμα.

The context of Jn 35, as was shown above, makes it clear, that the γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος is identical with γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν, 'from above'. It may safely be argued, then, that ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος primarily means ἐκ σπέρματος πνευματικῆς, from a spiritual seed, in contrast to earthly, or sarcical seed. Taken in this sense the expression receives a striking comment in 1 Jn 39: Πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει· καὶ οὐ δύνатаι ἁμαρτάνειν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται, compared also with 1 Petr 123 ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου.

The tedious investigation in the preceding setting forth various parallels of the use of the term water in connexion with ideas of creation, birth, regeneration etc., may be urged to have served to bring into clearer light the precise sphere of thoughts, or let us rather say, mystical representations that the Jn-ine teaching makes its basis or point of departure. Thus, negatively, it may be stated, that the passage takes no account of the various themes of creation — whether in physical-sarcical or in the celestial-spiritual world — through or from certain elements: it does not view the nature of the spiritual man from the aspect of a κρᾶσις¹ where πνεῦμα and ὕδωρ would be the component parts. Positively, again, it may be said, that the passage links up with a range of conceptions according to which 'water' is used as a term for celestial σπέρμα, viewed — and this is constitutive — as an efflux from

¹ Cf. The Inceptive Prayer of the so-called Mithras-Liturgy cited above and Dieterich-Weinreich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*², p. 58, note 2).

above, from God. To repeat: the expression wants to convey, that *the spiritual man*, or, which is the same, *the member* or citizen of the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ owes his existence as such to the procreative power of the efflux from God; the σπέρμα in the spirit.

The preceding investigation has, however, also shown, that this very idea of a Divine efflux under the term of 'water' was, in some circles, intimately connected with the baptismal cult. This is pronouncedly the case in *Mandaitic*. In the *Mysteries*, as is well known, there are instances of the connexion of the ideas of regeneration, Divine birth etc. with baptismal initiation ceremonies¹, although there the idea of 'water' as a Divine efflux is not attested. Of the *Gnostic* Menander and his circle Irenæus tells: Resurrectionem enim per id, quod est in eum baptisma, accipere eius discipulos, et ultra non posse mori sed perseverare non senescentes et immortales.² Here, also, the constitutive idea of the Divine efflux seems to be wanting.

Touching the Jn-ine position, the mention of the baptism of Jesus in the section immediately following, viz. 3²²—4² and the contraposition in 133 of the baptism of John ἐν ὕδατι and the baptism of Jesus ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ are suggestive.

This makes it necessary to put the question: is there, after all, in Jn 35, a conscious allusion to baptism, and in that case, to the essentiality of baptism, as a rite or sacrament, for or in connexion with the generation, the birth from above into the Kingdom of God.

The predominant view among the scholars of later time seems to be, that this question must be answered in the affirmative. It may be that this view largely rests upon the assumption, that 'water' here cannot possibly mean anything but water of baptism.³

¹ Tertullian, *De Baptism.* 5; Clem. Alex., *Strom.* V 411; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore Profan. Relig.* 2 (on the 'Egyptian' cult of the water). Vide Sängus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* pp. 81—83.

² Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I 23, 5. Cf. H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* p. 104.

³ Some characteristic comments in this vein may be quoted:

J. Grill, in his important *Untersuchungen* etc. 1902 i 43 says: »Sie (the new birth) kommt nur zu stand ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, mit anderen Worten durch den an das Sakraments-mysterium der christlichen Taufe gebundenen Empfang eines gedoppelten Heilsguts: der Vergebung der Sünden und des heiligen Geistes».

Th. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* p. 190: »... die Leser des 4. Ev. mussten durch 3⁵ an 1³⁸ zurückerinnert werden. Sie sollten es nicht anders

To answer the question in the affirmative presents great difficulties. The introduction of baptism as an essential element at this point of the discourse (35) breaks the whole continuity of the argument, which is concerned, not with contrasting the baptism

verstehen, als dass jedermann der Wassertaufe des Jo, der Taufe der Sinnesänderung und Sündenvergebung sich unterziehen und die Geistestaufe d. h. die uneigentlicher Weise als Taufe bezeichnete Mitteilung eines neuen heiligen Geistes seitens des kommenden Messias erleben müsse, um als ein neugeborener Mensch in Gottes Reich einzugehen».

C. Clemen, *Enst. Joh. Ev.* 1912, p. 93: »wenngleich durch die Taufe bewirkt, bleibt die Wiedergeburt doch unbegreiflich, und wenn das Wasser nachher nicht mehr erwähnt wird, so folgt daraus . . . nur, dass es auf diese Vermittlung des Geistes oder der Wiedergeburt nicht ankommt«. Clemen evidently recognises, that the idea of baptism cannot be an essential element in the idea of new birth in Jn 3⁵, and is lead to think it alluded to only through his assumption that the 'water' can only refer to baptism.

H. Weinel, *Bibl. Theol. d. N. T.*², 1913, p. 592: »Um zu sagen, was ihm die Taufe ist, lässt er Jesus dem Nikodemus gegenüber den Spruch von der Wiedergeburt vertiefen zu der Forderung einer Geburt von oben 3⁵ und erläutert das durch die Worte 'Geburt aus Wasser und Geist', den Weg anzeigend, wie solche übernatürliche Geburt stattfinden kann . . . das ganze Stück (lässt) in seiner tiefsinnigen und innigen Weise besser das Höchste ahnen . . . als irgend ein anderes Wort über die Taufe im Neuen Testament».

P. Gardner, *Eph. Gosp.* 1916, p. 200: »So the Evangelist contrasts their (referring to the disciples of John the Baptist) baptism which was merely an external rite, with the Christian baptism, which accompanied an illumination of the whole being by means of the Spirit».

W. Bauer, *JEv*² 1925, pp. 50 f.: »Damit soll nicht die Geistestaufe des Messias neben die Wassertaufe des Johannes gestellt werden und beide als unbedingt nötig zum Heil erscheinen (cf. Zahn above): vielmehr tritt der Nur-Wasser-Taufe des Vorläufers eine andere gegenüber, die christliche, bei der sich Wasser und Geist . . . zu gemeinsamer Wirkung verbinden . . . Hier wie bei den Mysterienkulten vollzieht sich im Ritus die göttliche Zeugung . . . so kann . . . neben 1²⁶ u. 3²² ff. die Absicht wohl keine andere sein als die, den christlichen Brauch über alle sonstigen Taufzeremonien zu erhöhen, da ihm allein wirklicher Wert innewohne«. This argument could more easily be followed if it were formulated to the effect, that an interpolator, through the insertion of *ὕδατος καὶ*, had intended to give the Jn-ine passage such a meaning. To read a reference to the rite as an essential element of the new birth, or even, as that in which the birth is brought about, into the Jn-ine context, so that the baptism were the real *point of the argument*, is impossible without begging the question. — The usual reference to *Titus* 3⁵ e. a. is irrelevant, since the question clearly is not whether there was any connexion between baptism and new birth — that connexion needs no demonstration, — but whether the 'water' in Jn 3⁵ refers to baptism.

E. Carpenter, *JWr* 1927, p. 417: »According to the current text (of 3⁵, assuming that *ὕδατος καὶ* is original) the Evangelist recognized the partnership of both water and Spirit in bringing it (*scil.* the regeneration or rebirth) about».

of John with the baptism of Jesus, but with contrasting the birth from above as a condition for entering the Kingdom 'Above' (cf. vs. 13) as a *real* birth, with the birth from below (as a condition for entering the world below). The fact, that baptism is never mentioned or alluded to in the rest of the section, is also decisive, since it is characteristic for the Jn-ine discourses to be all through dominated by essential elements once introduced. The difficulties of assuming the authenticity of a primary and original reference to baptism here have lead various scholars to regard the words ὕδατος καὶ as additional¹, whereas others in examining the Gospel have reached the conclusion that Jn does not refer to the sacraments at all² or rejects their necessity for the true believers.³

R. H. Strachan, who shows a remarkable faculty of intuitive penetration (»Einfühlung«) into the mind of the Evangelist, although accepting the allusion to baptism assumes that the 'water' may also be some procreative symbol.⁴

¹ Dieffenbach, Pierson-Naber, Wendt, van Manen, Kirsopp Lake, von Dobshütz, Wellhausen, Andresen, Völter, Merx; vide Clemen, *Enst. Joh. Ev.* p. 92, Spitta, *JEv* p. xiv marks the words ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος as 'the Redactor's own reflexions'.

² B. Weiss, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff* p. 290 f. Also B. Weiss, *Joh Ev*⁹ 1902 (in Meyer's *Komm.*) p. 110: »V. 5 erklärt sich Jesus über das ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι näher indem er mit dem ἐκ (vgl. 1¹²) auf den ursächlichen Ausgangspunkt solchen Geborenwerdens in ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα hinweist. Die Artikellosigkeit der beiden Worte zeigt, dass *Wasser und Geist hier ihrem Wesen nach* gedacht sind ... und schliesst somit jede direkte Beziehung auf die Johannaufe ... oder gar auf die christliche Taufe ... aus. *Das Wasser* ist als *reinigender Faktor* gedacht, der die Sünde ... hinwegnimmt; *der Geist* als *wirkungskräftiges Prinzip eines neuen Lebens*, und der Gedanke ist, dass ohne Abthun des alten sündigen Wesens und ohne Erzeugung eines ganz neuen die V. 3 gemeinte Geburt nicht zu stande kommt.« Here the essential parity of water and spirit as terms for celestial principles or forces is rightly recognized. The interpretation of water as 'purifying factor' can, however, scarcely be upheld. There is no trace of the idea of purification as in any way dominating the section 3¹⁻²¹.

³ A. Thoma in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* 1876, p. 371.

⁴ R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel*², pp. 93 f.: »*Born of water and of the Spirit*. A difficult verse. What does he mean by 'water'? It is quite possible that in accordance with his style elsewhere the Evangelist gives a double meaning to the words.

1. He refers to Christian Baptism. Just as in the case of the Eucharist (chap. vi) the Evangelist has in view, in his interpretation of the conversation, a superstitious view of the sacrament of baptism. This he corrects by conjoining 'water' and 'spirit'. Submission to the rite of baptism by itself cannot effect the new birth. There must be present not only the life-giving principle of the Spirit, but conscious experience of it on the part of the believer... The

It may be concluded: the expression ἐξ ὕδατος in 35 contains no essential allusion to baptism. Nevertheless it shall be maintained that the sense of the term 'water' is not restricted to that of (spiritual) 'semen', but there are certainly, after Jn-ine fashion, allusions to other ideas, and, may it be said, a whole world of ideas. The ideas alluded to, moreover, are such as dominate the present and subsequent discourses in Jn. These ideas may be summed up, to begin with, in the nexus: Water as Divine Efflux — Celestial Waters — waters from above — Life-giving, Living Water — the Divine Gift coming down from on high — waters of Eternal Life — Waters of Eternal Truth.

It has already been shown that the parallel conception of the celestial generating principle under the term 'water' in Rabbinic and other related representations adduced above is constitutively linked up with the idea of the Divine Efflux. The mystic (*TBHag* 14 b) *ascends* and beholds the Celestial Waters. From Celestial Waters (מים עליונים) the Divine gifts come down, are 'sent down', to men as a blessing (ברכה), in which aspect they in the peculiar Rabbinic mode are often termed מטר or גשם. The Celestial or Divine Water coming down possesses, in particular, the

believer must first have 'seen the kingdom of God' in the person of Jesus. Thus the sacrament of baptism is psychologically conditioned, and is raised above the level of a magical, or quasi-physical communication of divine grace.

2. Water may also symbolise the fact of physical birth... As in viii 31 ff. Jesus is combating the idea that the child of Abraham is *ipso facto* the child of God. It will be noted that this interpretation suits very well the curiously allusive character of the Evangelist's thinking. The general thought of the passages alternates between the ideas of physical and spiritual birth.» It may be remarked here that a possible allusion to baptism in 3^b would not be very well suited to make the readers addressed understand the sacrament as 'psychologically conditioned' and to raise it, in their conception 'above the level of a magical, or quasi-physical communication of divine grace'. It may have that effect on a modern reader, who understands the word 'spiritual' to mean something beyond time and place, or ethical, rational or psychological, as the case may be. The 'spirit' both as Jn understands it and, evidently, presumes his readers to take it, has quite different associations. Thus it would not be so very far removed from the general keeping of the context of Jn 3¹⁻²¹ if a reader, interpreting the ἐξ ὕδατος as referring to the baptism, would see vindicated there a conception of the baptism as involving a birth within man of a pneumatical body, that is to say, taking the sacrament in a magical and quasi-physical sense. — Strachan sees the idea of water as the 'creative element in the womb' attested in 4 Ez 8^b. The conception occurring there is, however, not very closely related the Jn-ine conception; cf. Box's note *ad loc* in *Ezra-Apocalypse*.

power of Giving Life, the coming down of the מַטָּר is necessary for the $\text{תְּחִיית הַמֵּתִים}$, (cf. above p. 55).

In this complex of ideas the dominating notions of the present, preceding and following contexts are recognizable: the $\alpha\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, 'from above': 3 3, 7, 31, $\alpha\pi\delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$: 3 2, 13, 27, 31, the divine gift: 3 16, 27, 34, 35, the Eternal Life: 3 15, 16, 35. In the preceding the connexion is especially with the ideas of $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of 1 51, and in the following, again, very markedly with the discourse on the Living Water, the Divine Gift, 4 7 ff. The import of this complex of ideas will be further dwelt upon below on 4 7 ff.

Before finishing the present excursion some further questions must be dealt with. The first question concerns the nature of the spiritual birth spoken of in the section. From the interpretation arrived at in the preceding, according to which the birth from above is a *real* birth, contrasted with, but also, in a definite sense, analogous with, the physical birth, it follows, that the birth from above is not adequately defined as a moral change in man. The antithesis of sarcical and spiritual birth put side by side with the antithesis of terrestrial and celestial world makes it clear, that the meaning is: just as one must be born as a physical organism in order to enter the physical world, so one must be born as a spiritual organism in order to enter the celestial or Divine world. To quote E. F. Scott¹: »Thus it follows . . . that John involves himself in a view which may fairly be described as semi-physical. The true life is regarded as a kind of higher essence inherent in the divine nature, analogous to the life-principle in man, but different in quality, — spiritual instead of earthly. Ethical conceptions fall into a secondary place. Man requires to undergo a radical change not in heart merely, but in the very constitution of his nature. Until he possesses himself of the higher, diviner essence there can be no thought of his participating in the life of God.» It may be remarked, however, that such terms as 'semi-physical' are not quite appropriate. It may not be out of the way to draw into comparison current mystical notions of the time with regard to spiritual existence. Thus Jewish mystical notions, both in Rabbinic and extraneous circles, pictured spiritual or celestial beings as having form and appearance, and also possessing a body. Nevertheless one was quite definite about the fact, that the celestial body was not terrestrial, *i. e.* physical or material. It was con-

¹ *Fourth Gospel* p. 258. Cf. pp. 288 ff.

stituted by a celestial substance, usually expressed by some such terms as 'fire', 'light', 'splendour' or 'glory' in the use of which there was a conscious contrast to the terrestrial substance of 'flesh and blood' (בשר ודם). In order to enter the highest heaven, the Celestial Realm, the ascending human being must change into fire, take on a body of light, or, as it is also expressed, put on 'garments of light'. When Enoch was made into the Celestial Being, called Metatron, he was changed »from flesh into fire». ¹ The best illustration to this sphere of ideas may be brought from 1 Cor 15 40 ff.: καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια . . . εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν . . . καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανοῦ. Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται, οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ. Cf. 2 Cor 5 1-4. There is also in mystic notions from different times and places of origin a common idea of an inner, spiritual 'body' sometimes viewed as merely latent in earthly men and brought into life only in the hereafter, sometimes as the conscious possession even during earthly life of the twice-born, who as a consequence, are able to perceive and act both in the earthly world and the spiritual world. ²

That the birth into a spiritual organism is also a birth into a new life of moral values needs scarcely be said. The new realm entered is the realm of truth in contrast to falsehood, of light in contrast to darkness; the ethical aspect of the new life is clearly enunciated in the section in vss. 20, 21: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ φαῦλα πράσων μισεῖ τὸ φῶς καὶ οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐληγχθῆ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα φανερωθῆ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ὅτι ἐν θεῷ ἔστιν εἰργασμένα.

Another question that ought to be put is, whether the birth from above, acc. to Jn, takes place during the earthly life or in the hereafter. The answer to that question would seem to be self-evident: the new birth is something that comes during earthly life. No doubt Nicodemus is represented as understanding it in this sense, and the answers he receives do not seem to refute the notion. The interpretation of 3⁵ as referring to baptism necessarily implies the same. There is no doubt that Titus 3⁶ in speaking

¹ Vide 3 En 15.

² Not to be confused with the ψυχῆ-εἶδωλον, נשמה, *linga (sukṣma)-sarira* and similar conceptions of an inner body. It corresponds approximately to the Hindu *manasa-rupa* and the *surāḥ nēāmā* of the Zohar.

of the *παλιγγενεσία* and *ἀνακαίνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου* refers to the present life of the baptised, and similarly St. Paul in Rom 6²⁻¹⁴ enjoins a 'walking in newness of life' and admonishes the baptised, vs. 11: οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι νεκροὺς μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. The reference of 3^{20, 21} to the new life spoken of in the section would also seem to imply that the birth from above is to take place in man during his earthly life. The notion would seem to be genuinely Jn-ine that, just as the unbeliever is 'judged already' (3¹⁸) so the believer is born into eternal life already in this life.

There are, however, in the Gospel, some pervading features which do not allow the decision of the question quite so affirmatively. These will be dealt with in discussing the import of 6^{39 ff.} In the present connexion it may suffice preliminarily to suggest, that there is in the Jn-ine conception of the birth from above beside the self-evident connotation what may be termed an eschatological significance. Further, it must be allowed, that there is possibly an intentional duplicity of meaning in the expressions 'ἰδεῖν' or 'ἔισελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ'. A similar duplicity of sense adheres, it may be suggested, to the term *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*. The duplicity may be defined thus: there are two stages of entrance into the Kingdom of God, or of having eternal life. The first stage is that attained during the earthly life, the second that attained in the hereafter. It will be seen, once the attention has been fixed on this point, that this duplicity¹ is one of the central features of the Gospel. It applies also to the conceptions of *δόξα* or *δοξασθῆναι*, both of J himself and of the believers (*vide* below on 13³¹).

What constitutes the attainment of the first stage of new life is clearly stated in the section: it is the *πίστις*, repeatedly referred to. But in that very word there is included the idea of aspiration, of looking forward to, the second stage, or the full reality: 3^{12, 15, 16, 18}; similarly there is in the perception of the 'open heaven' 15¹ and the partaking in the communion with the Celestial World under the term of *ἀνάβασις* a dwelling on the first stage, the experience in this life, as against the *ἀνάβασις* of 3¹³ referring to the other-world experience. There is thus an allusion to the birth from above in the *ἀνάστασις ζωῆς* 5²⁹, and the *connexion* between

¹ The duplicity here maintained does not *a priori* imply the duplicity of elements of thought, »two lines of thinking», emphasized by Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, e. g. p. 367.

the new life begun here on earth through the belief on the »son of man lifted up» 3¹⁴ and the birth from above into the Kingdom of God in the second sense is expressed in the words μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν 5²⁴.

The sense of the birth from above as a condition for entrance into and perception of the Kingdom of God is further illustrated by vs. 11: ὁ οἶδαμεν λαλοῦμεν καὶ ὁ ἑώρακαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν. Here speaks the one, who is present in the Celestial World, who sees the Kingdom of God and knows its Realities, τὰ ἐπουράνια. The Spiritual Being, in all senses born from above, but born also into the earthly life (σὰρξ ἐγένετο), speaks to those, represented by Nicodemus, who are born only ἐκ τῆς σαρκός. The sentence intends to picture the reality of the Life in the Spiritual World, again in contrast and analogy with the terrestrial.

In vs. 1—12 there seems to be no definite reference to the essentiality of the Son of Man for the bringing about of what is termed the birth from above. This essentiality is, however, being introduced with vs. 12, there, to begin with, under the aspect of J as being the one who can bear testimony of the Celestial World, the entrance into which is conditioned by the birth from above. Clearly, however, the essential character of the Son of Man also in this connexion is brought forth from vs. 13 onwards. With vs. 13 the teaching is conveyed, that the birth from above in reality is necessarily bound of with the Son of Man.

313 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ]. This verse evidently is intended to refer to the preceding, and its sense, with reference taken to the foregoing context, is quite clear: no one has ascended into heaven, entered the Kingdom of God in heaven, except he who has come down from heaven, the Son of Man. That is: — in view of the inclusive connotation of the term Son of Man — the only possibility of being born from above, to ascend into or enter the Kingdom of God, is given in the Son of Man. The actual meaning of the ἀνάβασις and κατάβασις of the Son of Man, however, needs further investigation.

The wording οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν etc. immediately suggests, that there is a refutation here of some current notions of ascent into heaven. Such notions were, as is well known, frequent. Any longer exposition of the Jewish and Christian (-Gnostic) representation of the ascent into heaven will be unnecessary since such an exposition is given by Bousset.¹ Some characteristic quotations of relevant passages may however be apposite.

1 *En* 70²: »And it came to pass after this, that his (Enoch's) name was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth . . . 71¹ and it came to pass after this, that my spirit was translated and it ascended into the heavens, and I saw the holy sons of God.»²
 2 *En* 1—21 tell of Enoch's ascension into heaven, how he beholds the celestial things and receives revelations, 22 ff. relate how Enoch is transformed into a Celestial Being.³ Acc. to *Test Levi* 25 ff. the Patriarch Levi ascends to heaven while in sleep Similarly Baruch in 2 *Bar*⁴ and Isaiah in *Asc. Isa.*⁴ The ascension of St. Paul acc. to 2 *Cor* 12^{2,4} (»whether in the body or out of the body», he could not tell) is well known. 3 *En* 3—16, 48 C speak of Enoch's translation into heaven and transformation into Metatron the Unique Celestial Being. 3 *En* 1, 2. 42—48 A, narrate R. Ishma'el's ascension into the highest heaven and his visions there in a manner suggesting that such an ascension was the regular aspiration of the mystic of the circle. *Tos* and *TB Hag*

¹ *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* pp. 136 ff. Cf. Buonaiuti, *Gnostic Fragments* pp. 43 ff.

² Charles's text i *A* & *P*.

³ Charles, 2 *En*.

⁴ *A* & *P*. Cf. *Apocalypse of Abraham* (ed. G. H. Box) chh. 15—31.

† b preserve the well-known tradition of the four 'who entered Paradise' (R. 'Aqibā, R. 'Elišā' ben Abuya, Ben 'Azzai and Ben Zōmā) or, which is really the same, 'ascended on high'. The mystical experiences in question, hence also the aspirations to ascend on high (עלוה למרומים), were prominent with R. Yōh^onān ben Zakkai (about 40—80 A.D.) and his school. A regular requisite for the ascension is an angelic guide or χειραγωγός.¹ The stress seems in these earlier sources always to be on the *ascent* into heaven and the obtaining thereby of Divine revelations and experiences of the Celestial Realities. The mystical signification of the κατάβασις in connexion with pre-existence is scarcely traceable. Similarly in the Hermetic literature, the earliest part (I) is merely concerned with the ἀνάβασις:

Corp Herm. I 1 Ἐννοίας μοί ποτε γενομένης περὶ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ μετεωρισθείσης (μοι) [μεν] τῆς διανοίας σφόδρα, [ὑπνῳ] δὲ κατασχεθείσων μου τῶν σωματικῶν αἰσθήσεων, οὐ μέντοι καθάπερ [τ]οῖ[ς] (ὑπνῳ) βεβαρημένοι[ς] ἐκ κόρου τροφῆς ἢ ἐκ κόπου σώματος, ἔδοξα . . .

»Once on a time when I had begun to think about the things that are, and *my thought had soared high aloft*, while my bodily senses had been put under restraint [by *sleep*] — yet not such sleep as that of men weighed down by fullness of food or by bodily weariness.» (Scott.) The general frame of the first libellus resembles that of the Jewish writings quoted. The seer is taken up into celestial regions and there beholds the beginnings of things and receives revelation. — Quite different connotations of the descent and ascent are presented by libellus IV, which for its bearing upon the present Jn-ine passage and its typical salvation-doctrine may be quoted more fully:

Corp. Herm. IV 2 [ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργός] ἠθέλησε καὶ τὴν γῆν κοσμήσαι· κόσμον δὲ θεοῦ σώματος κατέπεμψε τὸν ἄνθρωπον [εἰκόνα] ζῶου ἀθανάτου ζῶον θνητόν. »And when the Creator had made the ordered universe, he willed to set in order the earth also, and so he *sent down* man, a mortal creature made in the image of an immortal being, to be an embellishment of the divine body (Scott: = the earth)».

Corp. Herm. IV 3, 6 τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον, ὃ Τάτ, (ἐν) πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμέρισε, τὸν δὲ νοῦν οὐκέτι, οὐ φθονῶν τισιν· ὁ γὰρ φθόνος οὐκ οὐρανόθεν ἄρχεται, κάτω δὲ συνίσταται ταῖς τῶν νοῦν μὴ ἔχόντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς . . . Κρατήρα μέγαν πληρώσας τούτου κατέπεμψε,

¹ Cf. the expression repeated in 3 *En* 42—48: הלכתי אצלו ופשוני בידיו ונארהו

δοὺς κήρυκα, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κηρύξαι ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίαις τὰδε: Βάπτισον σεαυτὴν ἢ δυναμένη εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κρατῆρα [γνωρίζουσα ἐπὶ τί γέγονας, καὶ] ἢ πιστεύουσα ὅτι ἀνελεύση πρὸς τὸν καταπέμφαντα τὸν κρατῆρα (ἢ γνωρίζουσα ἐπὶ τί γέγονας). ὅσοι μὲν οὖν συνῆκαν τοῦ κηρύγματος, καὶ ἐβάπτισαντο τοῦ νοός, οὗτοι μετέσχον τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ τέλειοι ἐγένοντο ἄνθρωποι, τὸν νοῦν δεξάμενοι. ὅσοι δὲ ἤμαρτον τοῦ κηρύγματος, οὗτοι [οἱ τὸν] μὲν λόγ(ικ)ον [ἔχοντες], τὸν [δὲ] νοῦν μὴ προσειληφότες, [καὶ οὗτοι μὲν], ἀγνοῦντες ἐπὶ τί γεγόνασι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος (αἱ δὲ αἰσθήσεις τούτων ταῖς τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων παραπλήσιαί καὶ ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ (τῆν) [καὶ ἀ]κρασίᾳ [συν]έχονται, (οὐ) θαυμάζοντες [τὰ] οὐ (τὰ) θέας ἄξια, ταῖς (δὲ) τῶν σωματῶν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ὀρέξεσι προσέχοντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι πιστεύοντες. ὅσοι δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεᾶς μετέσχον, οὗτοι, ὦ Τάτ, κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν ἐτέρων ἀθάνατοι ἀντι θνητῶν εἰσὶ. πάντα [γὰρ] ἐμπεριλαβόντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν νοί, τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ εἴ τί ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὐρανόν, τοσοῦτον ἑαυτοὺς ὑψώσαντες εἶδον τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ιδόντες, συμφορὰν ἠγγήσαντο τὴν ἐνθάδε διατριβὴν, [καὶ] καταφρονήσαντες πάντων τῶν σωματικῶν (καὶ ἀσωμάτων) ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ μόνον [ἀγαθόν] σπεύδουσιν. αὕτη, ὦ Τάτ, ἡ τοῦ νοῦ ἐστίν [ἐνέργεια], ἐπιστήμη[ς] τῶν θεῶν εὐπορία καὶ (ἡ) (τοῦ θεοῦ κατανοήσεως (θείου ὄντος τοῦ κρατῆρος).

*λόγος, ο Tat, [the Creator] imparted to all men, but not νοῦς (Spirit). Not that he grudged it to any; for the grudging temper does not start from heaven above, but comes into being here below, in the souls of those men who are devoid of νοῦς . . . [The Creator] filled a great basin with [νοῦς] and sent it down to earth¹; and he appointed a herald, and bade him make proclamation to the hearts of men: [Hearken, each human heart;] dip yourself in this basin, if you can, *recognising for what purpose you have been made*, and believing, that *you shall ascend to Him who sent the basin down*. (Scott: »Perhaps 'Him who sent you down to earth'».) Now those who gave heed to the proclamation, and dipped themselves in [the bath of] νοῦς, these men got a share of γνώσις; they received νοῦς, and so became complete men. But those who failed (to heed) the proclamation these are they who possess λόγος indeed but have not received νοῦς also. And these, inasmuch as they *know not* for what purpose they have been made, nor by whom they have been made, are held under constraint by anger and incontinence; they admire the things that are not worth looking at; they give heed only to their bodily pleasures and desires, and

¹ This may be compared with the idea of the Divine Efflux — δωρεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ treated of above on 3⁶ p. 67.

believe that man has been made for such things as these. But as many as have partaken of the *gift which God has sent*, these, my son, in comparison with the others, are as immortal [gods] to mortal [men]. They embrace in their own νοῦς all things that are, the things on earth and the things in heaven, and even what is above heaven, if there is aught [above heaven]; and *lifting themselves up* to that height, they see the Good; such, my son, is the work that νοῦς does; it throws open the way to knowledge of things divine, and enables us to apprehend God.»

Then Tat expresses the desire to be baptised in that manner, in the νοῦς, and receives the answer: »If you do not first hate your body, you cannot love yourself; but if you love yourself, you will have νοῦς, and having νοῦς, you will partake of knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) also . . . It is not possible to attach yourself both to things mortal and to things divine; . . . the choice of the better is glorious for the chooser; for it not only saves the man from perdition, but also shows him to be pious towards God . . . You see, my son, *through how many bodily things in succession we have to make our way, and through how many troops of demons and courses of stars that we may press on to the one and only God* . . . Let us then . . . make our way thither with all speed; for it is hard for us to forsake the familiar things around us, and *turn back to the old home whence we came* (ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖα ἀνακάμπτειν).

The 'libellus' ends: 'In these outlines, my son, I have drawn a likeness of God (τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκῶν); and if you gaze intently upon this likeness with the eyes of your heart (τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς). then my son, believe me, *you will find the upward path* (τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄνω ὁδόν); or rather, the sight (*codd.*: the likeness) itself will guide you on your way; for the [divine] (*codd.*: the sight) has a power peculiar to itself; it takes possession of those who have attained to the sight of it, and *draws them upward* (ἀνέλκει) even as men say the loadstone (ἡ μαγνήτις λίθος) draws the iron.

Special attention must be called to the Mandæan conceptions of the descent and ascent of the Messenger-Saviour and their import. It will be necessary here to make quotations from Mand. Literature at some length.

GR, Third Book, containing a relation of creation, composed of different fragments. The first two of these are dominated by the contrast between the [First] Life, [אריי קאדמאניי], and the Second Life, אריי חניאני. The First Life is opposed to the creation planned by three Uthras generated by the Second Life. To

frustrate this Manda dHayye is *sent down*. The narrative is continued by a new fragment relating Manda dHayye's fight with and victory over Ruha and her son Ur, the King of Darkness. After his victory Manda dHayye *ascends again* to the [First] Life. A fourth fragment speaks of the *descent* of Ptahil from the Second Life. Ptahil is commissioned with the creation: When Adam has been created and received his Spirit from the House of the First Life, the three Helpers Hibil, Šitil and Anoš are created(?) by the First Life and given the function of guarding the Spirit of Adam.¹ This short résumé of the contents of *GR III* may be deemed sufficient to illustrate the frame in which the following passages, speaking of the descent and ascent, occur.

GR III, 69⁸⁻¹³ (*Pet* 73²⁻⁵)

הוּת דִּשְׁבַּאק בֵּית הַיָּא וְאֹבְאָר אֲנַפְאִיוֹן לְאַתְאָר הַשּׁוֹךְ שִׁיבְקוֹ לְצֹאחָא דְהַיָּא
וְצֹאחָא דְהַשּׁוֹכָא רְהִים שִׁיבְקִיָּא לְאַתְרָא דְהַיָּא וְנְהוּרָא וְאוּלָּ רִיהֲמוּיָא לְדֹאֲרָא
בְּאַמְלָא

»(The Life speaks to Manda dHayye:) Thow sawest that they (*i. e.* the Uthras) left the House of Life and directed their face towards the place of Darkness; they abandoned the company of Life and loved the company of Darkness; they left the place of splendour and light and went (away and) loved the worthless abode.» Here the descent of the Uthras is viewed under the aspect of a fall.

GR III 70^{16 f., 23, 30 f.} (*Pet* 74^{1 f., 5, 8 f.})

כּוּי הָאֵזָא אֲמַאֲרְלִיא הַיָּא סִיגְדִית וְשֹׁאבִית לְרוּרְבִיא . . . עַל דְּקִאִימְנָא בְּאַתְאָר
כְּסִיא . . . מִן קוּדָאם דְּנִיהוֹן עוֹתְרִיא אֲנָא אֲסִגִּית לְאַתְאָר הַשּׁוֹךְ

»(Manda dHayye speaks:) When the Life said this to me I made obeisance and praised the Mighty (Life) . . . while I was standing in the hidden place (*i. e.* the House of Life, the Highest World) . . . before the Uthras were, I *went to the place of Darkness*.»

GR III 71^{33 f.} (*Pet* 75^{2 f.})

אֲנָא כּוּי הוֹאִיתִינוּן עֲהוּדְרִית לְבֵית אֲבוּ

»When I saw them (*i. e.* the rebels, the evil powers of the lower world) I *returned to (my) Father's house*.»

GR III 72^{7 f.} (*Pet* 75⁶⁻⁸)

אֲנָא הָאִיזִין עֵיאֲסִגִּיא לְהַאֲךְ רֹכְחָא לְאַתְרָא דְהַשּׁוֹכָא וּבְהַשּׁוֹךְ דְּעוּצְבָא דְנְהוּרָא
לִיחְבָּה

¹ Vide Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, pp. 63–65.

»(Manda dHayye speaks:) How shall I proceed to that place, to the place of darkness [and in darkness] in which there is no ray of light?»

GR 75¹⁰⁻¹² (Pet 77^{12f.})

כּוּ תִיאַל לְהֵאָךְ אַתְרָא חַפְרִישִׁינוּן לְרֵאחַמְאָךְ חַפְרִישִׁינוּן לְבַחֲרִיָּא וְדִקָּא

»(The Life speaks to Manda dHayye:) When thou goest (down) to that place, do thou teach thy friends, the Bhire Zidqa (men of dependable, tested faith, technical term for the believers).»

GR 79^{16, 23f.} (Pet 80^{5f., 8f.}); also GR 87^{34f.} (Pet 86^{10f.})

אוּיַל עַל מַאֲרִדִּיא דְּהִשּׁוּכָא ... מַאֲבָא בְּמַאֲבוּתָהּ נִיטַקַּן נִוְהוּיָא לְאַתְרָא נְהוּר

»(The Great Life speaks:) Go forth against the rebels of darkness ... *the good shall in (on account of) his goodness (virtue) ascend and behold the place of light.*»

GR 79³⁵⁻³⁷ (Pet 80^{14f.})

כּוּ הַאֲוִיָּן אַמַּרְלִיא רַבִּיא אַנָּא בְּהַאֲוִיָּהוֹן אַסְנִישׁ לְאַתְרָא הַשּׁוּךְ לְאַתְרָא דְּשֵׁרִיָּא בִּישִׁיא

»When the Great (Life) had spoken thus to me, I went away through his power to the place of darkness, to the place where the evil ones have their abode.»

GR 91¹¹⁻¹⁸ (Pet 88²⁴⁻⁸⁹⁴)

אַחִיא הָדָא בְּרָא רְהִימָא דִּמֵּן כַּנְפֵי דְּוִוּוּ עַצְמַאֲרָאָר עַצְמַאֲרָאָר מִן כַּנְפֵיָּא דְּוִוּוּ וְדַמּוּתָהּ מִנְּאֲטְרָא בְּאַתְרָהּ אַחִיא כַּעְרוּחָא דְּהִיָּא וּבְפַאקְאֲדָתָא דְּאַבְיָהּ פַּאקִיד אַחָא בְּלְבוּשָׁא דְּעִשְׂתָּתָא הַאֲיַתָּא וּמַאֲסַגְיָא עַל אַלְמַאָךְ

»(Manda dHayye speaks to the Evil One, Ur:) There comes (shall come) *one beloved son* who was formed out of the bosom of the splendour and whose *image* is preserved in its place; he comes with enlightning of life and with the command that his *father* commanded him; he comes in the garment of living fire and *descends to thy world.*»

GR III 94^{29-95 2, 6-15} (Pet 91^{14-17, 19-23})

כַּעְרוּחָא וְחוּשְׁבִיהֶתָּא אַסְנִישׁ עוֹלִית לְבֵית חוּרְכִיא בְּהַאֲדוּחָא דְּהַאֲרִינָא עֲשְׁחַאֲוִילוֹן לְחוּרְכִיא רַבִּיא הָדִין וְעַתְקֻאָוּאָם וְהַרְבּוּיָא מִן רִישׁ בְּרִישׁ הִיָּא לְגַאֲט מַאֲבוּחֵי וְאַנְפִּישׁוּיָא לְוִוּוּיָא עַל דְּעַתְלִיא ... הִיָּא בְּהַאֲדוּחֵן מַאֲלִיל לְעוּתְרִיא אַמְרִיא לְהַאֲוִילָא דְּנַאֲבְרָא שַׁאֲבָא דְּמִיָּא בְּנוּ נוּרָא לְהַאֲוִילָא דְּנַאֲבְרָא דְּשַׁאֲבָא דְּנוּרָא דְּדִילָהּ לְאַהֲטָתָא נוּרָא לְאַהֲטָתָאֲבָהּ עוּתְרָא בְּעַרְוּתָהּ כַּאֲרַ עוּתְרָא כַּאֲרַ בְּעַרְוּתָהּ וְדִירְכָא לְשַׁאֲלַמְאִנִּיא תְּרַאָךְ

»(Manda dHayye speaks of his return to the Highest World, the House of Life:) With enlightenment and praise I went and *ascended to the House of the Mighty (One)*: in the joy with which I rejoiced I conversed with the Mighty (One). The Great (Life) rejoiced and was confirmed, it rejoiced in me (on account of me) greatly greatly; the Life rendered me gratitude and increased my splendour... the Life in its delight spoke to the Uthras: praise ye the power of (this) man who (preserved?) water in (through?) fire; praise the power of that man, whose fire did not sin; the fire did not sin in him; the Uthra (= that man, Manda dHayye) shone in his enlightenment, the Uthra shone in his enlightenment and *he established a path for the perfect(ed) ones.*» It is apparent that the real subject of the section from which the above passages have been quoted, is a soteriological one. Manda dHayye *descends* in order to teach and strengthen the Bhire Zidqa and he *ascends* having established a path for the perfect ones, on which 'the good in virtue of his goodness shall ascend and behold the Place of Light'.

The fourth book of *GR* preserves fragmentary variants of the same idea. The central figure is here Hibil-Ziua, who is characterized as the *first-born son*, ברא בוכרא, of Mandā dHayye and the Great (Life) — *GR* 147 5 ff. (*Pet* 132 1 ff.) and who descends to the 'world(s) of darkness' by commission from his fathers.¹ The object of his descent is expressed by the following utterance by Hibil-Ziua at the end of the book:

GR 147 35—148 5 (*Pet* 133 5—10)

בושטא ניסבית ביאמינאי ואסגית לאלמא דהשוכא אבא דקאם בהאימאנוחא ועבא דנאפשׂה כאחאר ברור האשכיא האלין דקאם בהאימאנוחא סאלקיא האוילה לאחאר נחור האלין דלאקאם בהאימאנוחא מיסאף סאיפיה ליומא דסוף

I took Kuṣṭa in my right hand and went to the world of darkness; one (*i.e.* some) stood firm in faith, one (*i.e.* others) retained himself (themselves) in the world of darkness. Those who stood firm in faith shall ascend and behold the place of light, those who did not stand firm in faith will be brought to an end at the day of the End.

¹ *GR* 147 32 f. (*Pet* 133 2 f.) ולאכארבית וקאבלית דאנא שימית וקאבלית דאנא שימית וקאבלית דאנא שימית... »because I listened to and accepted and did not make vain what my fathers had commanded (lit. said) me», cf. Jn 12 49. 50.

The fifth book (first section) of *GR* treats of the same theme.¹ The time is, with the exception of the concluding lines, all through pre-Adamitic. The descending Saviour is Hibil-Ziua (or Hibil-Iauar), who speaks of the Highest Being Mānā and his feminine 'Image', רַמּוּחָה, in the terms of Father and Mother.² The Saviour's work is done in several descents and ascents through different worlds of darkness, and he is represented as having a number of Uthras as helpers among which are Šitil and Anoš. The Rulers of Darkness are Ruha, and, later, her son Ur, who, with the 'calling forth' of the earth evidently plays the rôle of the ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (Jn 12³¹ 14³⁰ 16¹¹).³ Although the descents of Hibil are pre-Adamitic, they nevertheless picture the descent of the Spiritual-Celestial-Human into the Lower World. The difference between the former and latter is really this, that whereas the Hibil-Ziua type, the 'Son', is not dominated by but dominates the powers of the lower world (cf. Jn 14³⁰, ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν), the human or earthly beings have been subjected to the domination of the Prince of Darkness. The Saviour's work is to free the enslaved human beings from this domination.

GR 152^{31 f} (*Pet* 136^{19 f}) ואמרוא עזיל עזיל בראן ודמותן
 דצארתה שאניא מן כולהון עיתריא אמינטול דאתרא דאנאת אזלאתלה
GR 153^{25 ff} [... דהשוכא ...]
 (*Pet* 137^{19 f}) [ואנא יאואר היביל עמרית הא בהאילאיטון דילכוון
 אבאהאתאי ובהאילה דראזא רבא ואדיאוריא דמינאי עהות
 השוכא ... [*GR* 163¹³ (*Pet* 152¹)] והאילאך אנא ואלמיא ודאריא
 דמינאי מאלוין ואמארנאלוין הדון ... דאבאדנין עסתאדראת האשתא
 קום ניסאק ניואל לזאת אבאהאתאן וניהזיא מאניא יאקריא וניהזינון
 למאנא ודמותה ולניטובהא ראבתיא דאנין מינה הואנין מאסגיני
 ואזלנין ... כזי מטאינין אלמא דבית מיצריא פתאחינון לבאביא
 דנהורא וקודב אב סליקנין והו מאנא ודמותה אלאנפאיאן נאשקיין

¹ Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 149, calls this book »das wichtigste Stück des mandäischen Schrifttums über den Abstieg des Erlösers in die Unterwelt«, and says: »Bei der Charakterisierung der finsternen Mächte, der Schilderung ihres Treibens und ihres Verhaltens dem überirdischen, fremden Manne gegenüber zeigt die Darstellung eine Höhe, die sonst in der mandäischen Literatur nicht erreicht ist».

² As in the fourth book also Mandā dHayye is the Saviour's father, (and at the same time called his 'brother' = equal). Cf. Lagrange, *Gnose Mandéenne*, *RBI* xxxvi p. 333.

³ Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 150.

ועניאנא קאריליא ואמריליא האינא אתיא היביל מאנא דנפיש זיוה מן
 כולהון עיתריא ... [GR 164¹³ (Pet 153¹⁴)] אנה קידם אב סאגדנא
 ואמארטלה אנת אב ברוכיה ומשאבית דהאז ערוחא עהאבתליא
 וניהחית להשוכא וסילקית לאלמיא דנהורא לואחאיכון אחית
 ובצאותאיכון יתיבנא... [Pet 154⁶] כוז האזא מאסגויא ואזילנא נאטית
 בית מיצריא דהשוכא... [Pet 155⁵] ושבאקתה וסילקית ועזלית לואת
 אבאדאתאי דהייא שיהלון והוית אלפא דשניא לואתאיכון וקאמית
 קודאמאיהון... ואנא אמארטלהון הא מאטיא זיבנא דבאיטא מאסגויא
 לאלמא האך דאנהון יאדיתון ואמריא הייא אבאהאתאי קום עזיל בראך
 בוכראן דמסאדארלון לכולהון אלמיא... [Pet 156¹⁸] אנה לקודם
 אבאהאתאי סילקית... [Pet 157¹⁰] ואמארנאלון להייא ולמאנא ודמותה
 מאן דהאילה כבאר וצאוחא דילכון דשאניא וטאבירא האילא דאנאהון
 עהאבתוליא ואדיאוריא דאנאתון נעאבתוליא מן מאהו דאהילנא. וכיסיא
 דאנאתון כסאיתונאן אנה לאהאייקנא מינאיהון.. ברוהצאנא דילכון
 אלמא ליותה המאטיה וואחבית ועשתאיייה מינאיהון כוז הדא מינאיהון
 ... [Pet 157²⁰] אנאתון בערוחא ומאדיתא ונאלווחא דגלעיא בעצראיכון
 קריתוליא ואמארטוליא ואפרישתון ונעאבתון להאנאתא השוכא
 שאדארטון לדיליא מן קודם דתיהווא עמה ואבויא דעור ומן קודאם
 דאבאהאתון ניהון אהאדתינן לכולהון באביא ושאניתינן לכולהון
 סוכריא דלואת האדיא לאזליא

»And (Hibil-Ziua's father) said: Go, go, our son and image whose splendour transcends that of all the Uthras! For the place to which thou shalt go, a long time you will have to wait in those worlds of darkness... I, Iauar-Hibil said: 'Lo! By your power, my parents, and by the power of the Great Mystery and (with) the helpers that are with me I shall descend (to) the Darkness... [follows narrative of Hibils descent and subsequent ascent through the various worlds of darkness, those of (a) Ruha, (b) Zartai-Zartanai, (c) Hag and Mag (= Gog and Magog), (d) Gaf and Gafan, (e) Anatan and Qin, (f) Šdum, (g) Krun; until Hibil-Ziua and his helpers arrive at the upper boundaries of the lower world; then the text continues:]... I and the worlds and æons that were attached to me (accompanied me), and (*sic*) I said to them: 'Rejoice'... what we have done (our work) is put in order. Now, arise, let us ascend and go to our parents and behold the glorious manas and behold Mana and his image and the great Niṭubta from whom

we are (come forth). We ascended and proceeded; when we reached the world of the house of boundary, we opened the gates of light and ascended before the Father, and he, Mana and his image, came to meet us, and, calling me, addressed me and said to me: 'Lo, here he comes, Hibil-mana, whose splendour transcends that of all the Uthras! »... I [Hibil-Ziua] prostrated myself before [my] Father and said to him: 'Thou, ô Father, blessed and praised be thou that thou hast given me this enlightenment; (and) *I have descended* to the Darkness and *have ascended* [again] to the worlds of Light, I have come to you and am now sitting in your company'... [Then follows a second descent:] After this I [Hibil-Ziua] proceeded and went [down] and reached the House of boundary of the Darkness... [whereupon there is again an ascent:] and I left her [*i.e.* Ruha, the female ruler of the Darkness] and ascended to my father(s), namely the Life, [who] had sent [me] down, and remained with him (them) thousand (of) years and stood before him (them)... and then I said to him (them): 'Lo, the time has arrived that I shall proceed and go down (again) to the world that thou knowest'; thereupon Manda dHayye my Father, said: '*arise, go [down], our first-born son*, who puts all worlds in order. [Follow the third descent-and ascent:]... I ascended [to and stood] before my Parents. [The 'Parents' tell him, that they have been anxious lest he should loose his celestial power, his 'Mana' or 'Inmost', while dwelling in the lower world; Hibil-Ziua relates:] I said to the Life and to Mana and his image: 'He whose power is strong [*scil.* does not fear; and such a one I am]; because of your splendour, so great and strong, [and] the power that you gave me and the helpers that you procured for me, whom should I fear? Because of the concealment in which you did hide me, I was not afraid of them. In your trust (*i.e.* trusting you, *scil.* I remaind secure) until I reached [that place] and seated myself with them and was made [in appearance] as one of them... In your enlightenment and knowledge and the revelation which you revealed in your mind, you have created me; you have spoken to me and taught [me] and planted [me]; you sent me to that Darkness before the father and mother of Ur were, and before their parents were; I shut and closed all the gates and barred them all, so that they cannot go to each other.» In all, seven descents are narrated. At the fourth Ur, as the Prince of Darkness, is born, at the sixth he is put in fetters by Hibil 'till the time of Abathur', *i.e.* till the creation of the earth, which latter

is viewed as a fall of the Light; at the seventh descent Adam is created, with a body from the seven Planets and a Spirit from the First World, the House of Life. This, as being typical, may be quoted here:

GR VI 176³¹—177⁵ (Pet 172¹⁰):

עֲתֵרֵי־שָׂבִיבִית אֲנִי יֹאדָר אֲמַרְנָא עֲבָד אֲדָם . קִרְאֲלוֹן לְשִׁבְיָאֵיהִיא
וְאֲמַרְנָאֲלוֹן שְׂאוּן דְּמוּחָא דְּפִגְרִיָּה וְשְׂאוּן כִּי דְּאֲמַרְלִיֹּן וְאֲנִי אִיתִיחָה לְנִישְׁמִיחָא
מִן גִּנְוֵאִיהוֹן דְּהֵיִיא רוּבִיָּא דְּהוּא כְּאִסְיָא בֵּית נִשְׁוּפְחָא דְּרִכְכָת בְּתַנְנָא וּרְמִיחִיבָה
בְּנֵאוֹה דְּפִאגְרָא דְּאֲדָם וְאֲבֵאֲדִילָהּ הָוּא וְאוֹה וְנַעֲתִיאֲדָר וְנַעֲתִרְאוּם אֲלֵמָא
הָוִין וְאֲנִי עָהוּיָא חֲאֲנְנָרָא דְּנִישְׁמַחָא דְּהֵאֲכָא מִתִּיֲאֲדֵלָא וְלֵהִיל מִתְקִירִיא
עוֹתִרְיָא וְסֵאֲלִקְיָא הָוִילָהּ לֵאֲדָר בְּאֲרִיאָא וְלֵאֲחֲרָא דְּמִינָה עֲתִינְצִיב וְאֲלֵמָא דְּשִׁלִּים
כְּעֵלָה דְּאֲלֵמָא הָוִין וְסֵאֲלִקְיָא הָוִילָהּ לֵאֲבוּהוֹן קִאֲדִמְאִיא הֵיִיא לֵאֲנְטִיא מֵאֲבוּחָא
דְּמֵאֲנָרָא דְּהֵיִיא וְדְּהִיבִיל בְּרָה דְּהוּ מִסְאֲדֵאֲרִלוֹן סִדְרֵאִיהוֹן לְהֵיִיא לְרוּבִיָּא עִקְאָרָא

»I, Iauar, planned and said: 'I will make Adam'. He [I: I] called the seven planets and said to them: 'Form ye (the image of) his body'. And they formed [it] as I had said to them. And I brought forth from the treasur[i]es of the mighty Life the Spirit... which was hidden in the house of Niṭufta and grew (or had grown) in Tanna and I threw it into the body of Adam; and I made for him Hauua, his wife, in order that this world might be enlightened and lifted up. I shall be the procurer of the spirits who are born here and are called Uthras there [in the world of Light] and who shall ascend [and] behold the outer 'Ayar [= ether] and the place from which they were created (or brought forth). And until the measur[ed time] of this world shall have been completed and they shall ascend and behold their First Father, the Life pays gratitude to Manda dHayye and his son Hibil who arranges the orders for the Mighty [and] Glorious Life.»

Examples of other celestial Figures spoken of in terms of descent and ascent are (1) the 'Youthful Child, the Great Righteous Unique (or Only Begotten) One', רֵאֲבִיא מְאֲלִיא לִיהֲדִיאָא רְבָא וְאֲדִיקָא, *GR IX, 236³⁰ (Pet 235²¹)*. The Youthful Child is also identified with Hibil, son of Adam, although not of the terrestrial Man, but of the Celestial Adam¹, *i. e.* he is the Celestial Son of Man: *GR X 243 (Pet 242)*. (2) Hibil, Šitil and Anoš together, as the

¹ 'He was not begotten of 'an [earthly] man's semen' says *GR 243²³* (*Pet 243^{11, 12}*) לֵאֲעוֹדְרָא דְּגֵאֲבִירָא דְּבֵאֲוִירָא מְאֲלִיא רֵאֲבִיא מְאֲלִיא. It is quite in keeping with this, when Hibil is elsewhere called the Son of Manda dHayye, or even of the Life.

'three messengers' or 'helpers'; especially prominent in *MLi.* (cg. 133 19¹¹ 20¹ 103¹² also *GR* 109 e. a.). (3) Anoš-Enoš alone, the stress being laid on the significance of 'Man'; important references: *GR* 29 and 47, XV 295 ff., already referred to, and *MʿFoh* sectt. 74 and 76. (4) the Watchers or Guardians of the different ages; as such are mentioned Anoš, Hibil, Sam-Ziua (*GR XV* cf. *MʿFoh*, sectt. 25 and 49), and, in general, the various messengers from the World of Light¹, especially prominent in the fifteenth and sixteenth books of *GR*. (5) Adakas, called also Adakas-Ziua, Adakas-Mana and Adakas-Malala.

A quotation of a hymn representing the category of messengers mentioned under (4) above may be apposite here. Thus in *GR XVI* 389²¹—390⁹ (*Pet* 366¹⁸—367³) an anonymous² messenger is introduced, speaking as follows:

מִן אַתְרָא דְנְהוּרָא נִפְקִית מִנְאֲךְ דְאוּרָא תֵאקְנָא מִיגֵאשׁ לִילְבֵיא אַחִינָא לְהֶאנְרוּחִיא
 וּלְנֵאסִוּיָא עוּצְרִיא כּוֹלְהוֹן מוֹהוּיָא בְלִיבָה דְמֵאנּוּ אִיחָאן וְעַל מֵאנּוּ שְׂרִינְאֵלָה עַל
 עוּצְרָה דְרֵאנִיבֵיא רְנִיבָה דְאֶדְכָר שׁוּמַאי עִיאֶדְכָר שׁוּמָה דְבֵאִילָא לְבוֹתָיא מִן
 חִיבִיל אֲנָא עֵבִיִיא לְבוֹתָה מִן אַתְרָא אֲנְהוּרָא דְבֵאִיִיא בּוֹתָיא וְחוֹשְׁבִיהֶתָיא אֲנָא
 עֵבִיִיא דְנֵאפְשָׁא וּכְאֶבִירָא עֵלָה אֶתִית וְאִשְׁכִּיחִינוּן עַל לִילְבֵיא כְּשִׁיטָא וְחֶדְאִימְנֵיא
 כִּי אֲנָא לְאוּרִית בִּינְאֶחְאִיחוֹן שׁוּמַאי עַל פּוּמְאוּהוֹן רְמִיא לִיגְשִׁית וְאִסְקִיחִינוּן
 לוֹאֶת עוֹתְרִיא דְיֹכְבָאֶר קְרָא וְאִמְאֶרְנָלוֹן שְׂאֵלְמָנֵיא בְּאִסִּים רִיהֶאֱיֹכוֹן
 וּבִינְאֶחְאִיכוֹן זִוּיא שְׂרִיא

»From the place of Light I have come forth; from thee, o glorious abode; to feel the hearts I come, to measure and test all inclinations (or minds); to see in whose heart I am, and in whose mind I dwell; he who thinks on me, on him do I think, he who mentions my name, his name shall I mention; he who prays my prayer from Tibil (the earth), his prayer I shall pray from the place of light; he who prays my prayer and (utters) my praise, for him I shall pray opulently and greatly; I have come and have found the true and faithful hearts; when I was not among them [before I was in their midst] my name lay on their mouth; I took [them] and lifted them up to the Uthras [which] Yokabar has created; and I said to them! O, Perfect ones! Your scent is fragrant and splendour rests among you.»

In such a connexion as this the function of the messenger is

¹ These are sometimes termed Mana, sometimes Uthra, sometimes they carry other names or are anonymous.

² A preceding hymn gives Manda dHayye or, more properly, his 'Voice', as the speaker, but the situation is different from that of the present section.

to bring a message to those mortals, who in their Spirit preserve a sensibility for the World of Light, who carry within them a longing for their eternal home — and to take them with him up to the abodes of the Uthras.

A peculiar character adheres to Adakas. This name, acc. to Lidzbarski¹, is shortened for *Adam kasja*, the hidden Adam. Adakas represents the inner man, the celestial or Divine essence in him, that part which belongs to, has emanated from, the world of light. To express the essential unity of all that has emanated from the Celestial World, or the unity of the individual spirits in the Spirit, he is also represented as the original father of all the spirits, or as the head of all the generations.²

Behind this there is the conception of the spirit in the individual man as reaching, or being combined, at least potentially, with the First or Highest or Original Spirit, who is also the First Celestial Man; that is to say, the same idea that was traced above as underlying Jn 15¹. This idea is also expressed by the use of the word 'Mana' both for the Inmost in man, and for the Highest Being. The essential or constitutive trait of Adakas is, however, that he took up earthly, bodily existence, entered the bodily Adam³, אָדָם דִּפְאַנְרִיָא⁴, 'became flesh'.

Some passages from *GR* and one liturgical piece from *GL* may be quoted, in order to show the various ideas inherent in the Adakas-conception. The aspect of descent and ascent is prominent also here, but it has a different colouring from that of the Messenger-Saviour-traditions hitherto under consideration.

It may be appropriate to begin with a passage where Adakas is represented as giving account of himself:

¹ *Ginza* p. 486, note 2.

² Cf. the characterization of Adakas by Reitzenstein in *Iran. Erlös. Myst.* pp. 48, 49: 'Bezeichnet Adam nun auch die sichtbare Erscheinung des ersten Menschen, so kann man sein unsichtbares Teil, die eigentliche Persönlichkeit, den verborgenen Adam, nennen und diese Benennung wird so häufig, dass sich für sie eine eigene Abkürzung bildet, Adakas... [dann] begreift man sofort, dass auch Adakas für den göttlichen Boten eintreten muss; er ist der verborgene Mana, der aus seinem Ort gekommen ist, die Seele, das Wort, aber auch das Gesetz und das Haupt, nämlich das Haupt der Generationen;... es ist der Stamm der Seelen, der vor der Schöpfung der Welt zusammen mit der ersten Seele geschaffen ist und bis zum Ende der Welt besteht, weil ohne ihn die Welt nicht bestehen kann.'

³ This seems not to have been sufficiently emphasized by Reitzenstein and Lidzbarski.

⁴ *GR* 247^o (*Pet* 246¹⁵).

GR X 246¹⁻¹⁵ (Pet 245¹³⁻²³)

שום דיליא רישא אדאכאס מאנא כאסיה דמן אתרהּ אתא ניכטא שומאן
ואלמא דנימוסא קאריליא נישמתא קאריליא מאנא מכאנאליא פאריא פאריאתא
קאריליא נהורא קאריליא ניהמתא הייא שומאן ותאנא שומאן ועשאתא האיחא
שומאן ונא שומאי כאסיה דמן בית הייא ואדאכאס אנה זיוא דמן אתרא כאסיה
אתא ואחיוויא אהיא עותריא בניה נהורא... עשתאדאר עלאי ואתיון וכאנפאו
קנאסליא מוחא מן דאורא דפאגריא דרביתיבהּ אלבשון זיוא וכאסיון נהורא
דמן האם עשתאדאר עלאי מן בית הייא... ואפקון לבית הייא.

»[Adakas speaks:] 'My name is the *Head*¹, *Adakas*, the *hidden Mana*, who has come from his place; *Nibṭa* is our name, the *world of Law* they call me; *Spirit* they call me, the epithet of *Mana* they give me, the redeemer of redemption they call me, the *Light* they call me, *Life's Groan*² is our name, and *Tanna* is our name and the *Living Fire* is our name. I am my hidden Name [or: I, my name is hidden], for *I come from the House of Life*, and *Adakas* I am, the *Splendour*, (*Ziua*), who has come from the hidden place; and *my brethren, the Uthras, brought me here*... they were sent to me and they brought me here. *They decreed on me* [the punishment of] *death*³ from the abode of corpses [terrestrial bodily existence] in which I grew up; they *clad me in splendour*⁴ and covered me with light that was sent down on me from there, from the House of Life... and they brought me to the house of Life'.

GR III 112³⁶ ff. (Pet 104⁴ ff.)

נישאבא לאדאכאס זיוא לאבא דמינהּ הוא... שאבא לאבויא אדאכאס זיוא
למאנא דמינהּ עתינציב... [Pet 104¹⁸] כוי שאלימלהּ בעלהּ מאסיק האריצלהּ

¹ Cf. GR 117^{32f}, Pet 107^{22f}) הוא קאדמאיתא אדאכאס זיוא הוא
»at the head of the first generation was Adakas Ziua», and the references in passages quoted below to Adakas as the one who created Adam, or brought spiritual human life into Adam and Haṣṣa, or 'sowed the seed' into the earthly womb. Adakas is the First Spirit to enter terrestrial life, and in him all the spirits who have taken earthly bodies are inherent; in reality they are all begotten by him, and hence, carries his Mana, or the Mana, in them.

² »Life's Groan» most probably refers to the longing of the Spirit [who has come down from its home in the House of Life to the earthly existence] for its eternal origin. The powers of the earthly world are felt by the awakened spirit as a heavy burden under which it groans.

³ This clearly shows that the connexion with a mortal body is essential in the conception of Adakas. Adakas is the Mana in so far as it has 'become flesh and blood'.

⁴ *i. e.* after the death of the earthly body. As Adakas ascends to the house of Life so shall the awakened Spirits of his tribe or generation also ascend.

בבינה תאריצלה כאתאר נהור לואת אבויה אדאכאס זיוא ומשאויה עותרא
כאתאר נהור.

»May he [Adam] praise Adakas Ziua, the Father, from whom he is [come forth] . . . *He [Adam] praised Adakas Ziua, the Mana, from which he had been created*¹ . . . when his [Adam's] measure will be completed, he [the messenger] will *cause him to ascend* and will establish him in his edifice, establish him in *the place of Light with his father Adakas Ziua* and *make him an Uthra in the place of Light.*»

GR III 110²⁵ (Pet 102¹⁸)

כזי מאמלילבה זיוא דהייה אדאכאס זיוא לאתדה סליק

When the *Splendour of Life spoke in him [Adam]*, then *Adakas Ziua ascended to his place.*²

GL II 18; 486¹⁸—487⁴ (Pet 61¹³—62¹).

יא אדאס כאסיה מן בית הייה מאן אתיאך . . . מאן שאדאר
אשריאך בנו תיביל ובית כילדבאבאך מאן איחבאך . . . או עדא
עלאך רורביא או עדא עלאך רביא מן בינאתאיון לאפאקדוך . . .
מאליל אדאס כאסיה דנימארלה לגאברא דשאיילה אב מידא יאדא
עלא רביא . . . על אלמא דעתיתה לאעשכא דליבאטלה.

»[An Uthra, messenger from the Life, says to Adam Kasja:]
'O, thou hidden Adam [Adam kasja = Adakas], who brought thee from the House of Life? . . . who sent [thee] and caused thee to dwell in Tibil and to sit in the house of thy enemies? If the Mighty One had known of thee, if the Great One had known of thee, he would not have commissioned thee from with him! . . . Adam kasja spoke and said to the man who had asked him: *'Verily, o, Father, the Great One knows of me . . . but the world to which I have come [down] cannot be made nought.*'³

¹ Adam is created from Adakas, Adakas is the Father of Adam, in the sense that Adam, properly speaking, did not exist as a human being, 'with spirit in him', until Adakas descended into him. By Adakas' descent into Adam, Adam's individual spirit was born. This spirit ascends to the House of Life and dwells with its father, Adakas Ziua.

² That the splendour of Life speaks in Adam means that he has been wakened up to a recognition of his celestial nature and spiritual home. Thereby the communion with his spiritual home is established: Adakas Ziua ascends to his place.

³ Again the close conjunction of Adakas with the earthly human existence is involved.

GR X 245¹⁰⁻¹² (Pet 244¹³⁻¹⁵)

מינאי דיליא עשתארהאב שורבאתא כתיכיל והוית דזירא זארא
במארבא דנשיא

»[Adakas speaks:] 'From Me the generations [tribes] were spread in Tibil, and it was *I who sowed the seed* in the womb of the women.»¹

GR 244¹⁴⁻³⁹ (Pet 243^{8-244 6})

אדאכאס מאנא דמן אתרא כאסיא אתא ונפאלבה באדאס והאוא
זאיה ואקמה לאדאס ולהאוא זאיה על ליגראיהון ואנהאר אינאיהון
למיהזיא... והאילאך הינון שובא שיביאהיא... אמריא דלאנישמון
שותא דגאברא נוכראיא דאסניא לכא ומן יולפאנה לאנילפון ומן
קבאל דאנין שאוינא לאדאס ניקום ונישתמאלאן לדילאן ולפתאהיל
אבוהן ושורבאתא דאדאס ניקמון וניפליהונאן לדילאן ולפתאהיל
אביהאן ורהים גאברא נוכראיא דשותה נוכראיתא דמנאכריא
מינה מין אלמא ושרא מאנדא דהייא בעוצר ליבה דאדאס
וכאדאכאס מאנא דאתא ונפאלבה

»*Adakas Mana* who came from the hidden place and fell into Adam and *Hauua*, his wife, and raised Adam and *Hauua*, his wife, on their feet², and enlightened their eyes in order to see... and then those seven planets... said: 'They (Adam and *Hauua*) shall not listen to the words of the strange man [Adakas] who has come here, and shall not learn [accept] his teaching; and since it is we who have created Adam, he shall arise and listen to us and to Ptahil, our father, and the tribes [generations] of Adam shall arise and worship [serve] us and Ptahil, our father. But now he loves the strange man whose words are strange and estranged from the world³, and *Manda dHayye* dwells in the

¹ Adakas represents the inception of spiritual existence in bodies of flesh and blood.

² The descent of the Spirit from the Celestial World into mortal bodies is a 'fall'. This fall has, however, probably no moral import. Before Adakas' fall Adam and *Hauua* were not human (-spiritual) beings: they belonged wholly to the world of the 'Seven'.

³ The contrast here between the lower world and its beings, to which men also, by force of their bodily nature, belong, and the celestial world, to which men belong when recognizing, or waking up to, their spiritual relation to this world which latter is 'strange' to the beings of this world, may be compared with the Jn-ine expressions: ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γέ... καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ

treasury of Adam's heart and in Adakas Mana who came and fell into him.»¹

The quotations from Mandæan literature given above will have tended to show quite clearly what import and connotation are attached to the descent and ascent between the Celestial and Terrestrial worlds. The central ideas are: (1) the spirits of men do not belong to this world, but have their home in the world of Light, (2) from the world of Light the spirits have come down to this world by a descent, (3) this descent is comprehended in the descent of the First Man, or the Hidden Man, Adakas, (4) the salvation consists in the ascent of the First Spirit and the individual spirits to their home, (5) this ascent can only be brought about through the descent from the world of light of a messenger-saviour, who makes the voice of Life heard to the spirits, *i. e.* wakes them up to recollect their celestial origin, and through the ascent of this messenger, by which ascent he prepares a path for the awakened spirits. (6) there are several messenger-saviours, the plurality in some contexts being traceable to a connexion with æon-conceptions; frequently the messenger is called 'son', 'the firstborn son', 'the Unique One', (7) the Power inherent in all the messengers is identical as is also their function; (8) since the different messengers in the *same* tradition are termed 'Unique' or 'Son' or 'Firstborn', it is evident, that it is really the Function of or Power inherent in — or given by the Mana or Life to — the messenger, that is intended by the said terms. (Cf. *Corp. Herm. I 22* quoted below on 3¹⁶.)

From this it follows, that Jn 3¹³ οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς could be applied with perfect adequacy to the Mandæan lore. Even the sequel, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, could, by substituting the corresponding Mandæan conception, be maintained to fall in naturally with the ideas referred to.

No parallel to the emphasis on exclusiveness appearing in Jn 3¹³ is, however, to be found in Mandæan literature. When read against the background of Mandæan representations, the exclusive tendency of Jn 3¹³ becomes especially striking, and can scarcely

ἔγω (1¹⁰), ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγω (17²⁰), ὑμεῖς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ἐστέ, ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (8²⁰); εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε, ὁ κόσμος ἂν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει. ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἐστέ... διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος. Ptahil here appears as the 'prince of this world'.

¹ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlös. Myst.*, p. 54 (commenting upon *GL* 113¹²):

«Weil Manda d'Haije der Urmensch ist, ist die aufsteigende Seele, der ἔσω ἄνθρωπος (Adakas), sein Abbild und er ihr Abbild. Erst in der Vereinigung mit 'hr kehrt er selbst wie zum Himmel zurück».

be interpreted otherwise than as a strong refutation of some current and prominent doctrine or belief of the time concerning the possibility of ascent into heaven. The doctrine in view cannot, however, have been any lore of the kind represented by the Mandæan salvation-mystery; in that case the formulation would have been quite different. The teaching addressed can evidently not have had for its tenets the pre-existence of spirit, his descent from heaven into earthly life, and, in particular not the inclusion of the individual spirits in the First Spirit or First Man.

For the connexions implied by the assumption of such a refutation being intended by Jn 3¹³ some other current ideas must be called attention to.

In the first place, then, it may be well to exhibit a few Rabbinic dicta relating to the descent and ascent of the Š^{*}kinā, *i.e.* the metonym for the Divine Presence.

Billerbeck¹ adduces as a parallel to the present Jn-ine passage a dictum by R. Yose ben Halafta (about 150 A. D.): *TB Sukka* 5a:

מעולם לא ירדה שכינה למטה ולא עלה משה ואליהו למרום שנא' השמים שמים לה' והארץ נתן לבני אדם ולא ירדה שכינה למטה והכתוב וירד ה' על הר סיני למעלה מעשרה טפחים והכתוב ועמדו רגליו ביום ההוא על הר הזיתים. למעלה מעשרה טפחים. ולא עלה משה ואליהו למרום והא כתוב ומשה עלה אל האלהים למטה מעשרה והכתוב ויעל אליהו בסערה השמימה למטה מעשרה והכתוב מאהו פני כסא פרשו עליו ענני ואמר ר' הנהוב מלמד שפירש שדי מזיו שכינתו וענני עליו מכל מקום

»Never did Š^{*}kinā descend on earth nor did Moses and Elijah ascend on high, as it is written (Ps 115¹⁶): »The heavens are heavens for YHWH, but the earth he hath given to the children of men». ² [How can it be maintained that] Š^{*}kina never descended on earth? Is it not written (Exod 19²⁰): 'And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai'? [Answer:] There was a distance of ten fingers' breadth [between Š^{*}kinā and the mount]. But is it not written (Zech. 14 4): 'And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives'? [Answer:] Nevertheless it is to be understood that he remains at a distance of ten fingers' breadth. [How can it be maintained that] Moses and Elijah did not ascend to heaven? And,

¹ ii 425.

² Billerbeck quotes only as far.

lo, it is written (Exod 19 3): 'And Moses went up unto God'. There was a distance of ten fingers' breadth. But, lo, it is written (2 Ki 2 11): 'And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven'. Even here it is to be understood that he did not ascend higher than that there was a distance of three fingers' breadth. For, lo, it is written (Hiob 26 9): 'He holdeth back the face of his throne, and spreadeth his cloud upon it'. R. Tanḥum said: this teaches us, that the Holy One spreads of the splendour of his Š*kinā and clouds it round about. »

Since Š*kinā means the Divine Presence among the terrestrials, a dictum implying that Š*kinā never descended on earth is impossible. It is also apparent, that the intention of the passage here quoted is simply to convey that the Divine Glory can never be fused into or amalgamated with the terrestrial world. The traditions concerning the descent and ascent of Š*kinā are further illustrated by the following passages:

'Āb. d^eR. Nāḥ. 34:

עשר ירידות ירדה שכינה על העולם אחת בגן עדן שנאמר וישמעו את קול יי' אלהים מתהלך בגן ואחת בדור המגדל שנא' וירד יי' לראות את העיר ואת המגדל ואחת בסדום שנא' ארדה נה ואראה הכצקתה הבאה לי ואחת במצרי' שנ' וארד להצילו מיד המצרים ואחת על הים שנ' ויט שמי' וירד ואחת בסניני שנ' וירד יי' על הר סיני לעיני כל העם ואחת במקדש שנ' ויאמר יי' השער הזה יהי' סגור ולא יפתח וגו' כי יי' אלהי ישראל בא בו ואחת בעמוד הענן שנאמר וירד יי' בענן ואחת שעתידה להיות בימי גוג ומגוג שנאמר ועמדו רגליו ביום ההוא על הר הזיתים: עשרה מעלות נסתלקה שכינה ממקום למקום מכפורת לכרוב ומכרוב למפתח הבית וממפתח הבית לשני כרובים ומשני כרובים לגג ההיכל ומגג ההיכל להומת עזרה ומחומת עזרה למזבה וממזבה לעיר ומעיר להר הבית ומחר הבית למדבר. ומדבר נסתלקה כלפי מעלה

»There are ten descents of the Š*kinā to the world: (1) to the garden of Eden *Gen* 3⁸ (2) to the generation of the Tower of Babel, *Gen* 11⁵ (3) to Sodom, *Gen* 18²¹ (4) to Egypt *Exod* 3⁸ (5) on the sea *Ps* 189 (6) on Sinai *Exod* 19²⁰ (7) on the temple, *Ezek* 44² (8) in the pillar of the cloud, *Num* 11²⁵, (10) in the future Š*kinā will descend in the time of Gog and Māgog, *Zech* 4¹⁴ [the ninth descent is missing in the text]; in ten stages the

Š*kinā ascended, from one place to the other, viz. from the mercy-seat to the k*rub and from the k*rub successively to the threshold of the Temple, the two k*rubim, the roof of the Hall, the wall of the Court, the altar, the town, the Mount of the Temple, the Desert, and from the desert the Š*kinā ascended on high. The ascent refers to the Š*kinā departing from the Temple destined to be destroyed.

ExR 2:

א"ר שמואל בר נהמן עד שלא הר' ב"ה היתה שכינה שורה בתוכו... ומשחרב ב"ה נסתלקה השכינה'... ר' אלעזר אומר לא זזה השכינה מתוך ההיכל... א"ר אהא לעולם אין השכינה זזה מכותל מערבי... א"ר ינאי אע"פ ששכינתו בשמים עיניו יחזו עפעפיו יבחנו בני אדם... אע"פ שהוא נראה כמסלק שכינתו מב"ה עיניו יחזו עפעפיו יבחנו בני אדם

»R Š*mu'el bar Nahmān (*3rd gen. Pal. Am.*) said: until the destruction of the Temple Š*kinā rested in the midst of it... and with the destruction of the Temple the Š*kinā ascended... R 'El'āzār said: The Š*kinā did not move from the Temple... R 'Aḥa said: the Š*kinā did certainly not move from the Western Wall... R Yannai said: even if His Š*kinā is in heaven, 'his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men' (*Ps 114*)... even it seems as if he had removed his Š*kinā from the Holy Temple, 'his eyes behold, his eyelid try, the children of men'.»

TB Bābā Bāḫrā 25 a:

רבי אושעיא סבר שכינה בכל מקום דא"ר הושעיא מנין שהשכינה בכ"מ שנאמר אתה הוא ה' לבדך אתה עשית את השמים ונ' שלוהיך לא כשלוהי בשר ודם שלוהי ב"ו ממקום שמשתלחין לשם מחזירין שליחותם אבל שלוהיך למקום שמשתלחין שם מחזירין שליחותן שנאמר התשלח ברקים וילכו ויאמרו לך הננו יבאו ויאמרו לא נאמר אלא וילכו ויאמרו מלמד שהשכינה בכ"מ. ואף ר' ישמעאל סבר שהשכינה בכ"מ התנא דבי ר' ישמעאל מנין ששכינה בכ"מ שנא' והנה המלאך הדובר בי יוצא ומלאך אחר יוצא לקראתו אחריו לא נאמר אלא לקראתו מלמד שהשכינה בכ"מ

»R. Hōšā'yā (*1st gen. Pal. Amora*) held that Š*kinā is every-where; for thus says R. Hōšā'yā: whence do we know that the Š*kinā

is everywhere present? It is written (*Nehem* 9⁶): 'Thou, even thou, art Lord alone: thou hast made heaven etc.' Thy messengers are not like the messengers of earthly men. The messengers of earthly men bring back their message to the place from which they are sent out. But thy messengers bring back their message (report at) the place to which they were sent. As it is written (*Job* 38³⁵) 'Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?' It is not written 'that they may come (back) and say' but 'that they may go and say', which shows that the Š[°]kīnā is everywhere present. And R. Išma'el also held that the Š[°]kīnā is everywhere present; for there is a Bāraiḅā from the school of R. Išma'el [running as follows]: Whence do we know that the Š[°]kīnā is in every place? From [*Zech* 2³]: 'and, behold, the angel that talked with me went forth and another angel went out to meet him'. 'After him' is not written here but 'to meet him', teaching that the Š[°]kīnā is everywhere.»

Pesiq. 1 b, *GenR* 19¹³, *CantR* on 5¹

א"ר אבא בר כהנא מהלך אב"ב אלא מתהלך מקפץ ועולה עיקר שכינה בתחתונים היתה. ביון שחטא אדה"ר נסתלקה שכינה לרקיע הראשון חטא קין נסתלקה לרקיע השני. דור אנוש לג' דור המבול לד' דור הפלגה לה' סדומיים לו' ומצרים בימי אברהם לז'. וכנגדן עמדו ז' צדיקים. ואלו הן אברהם יצחק ויעקב לוי קהת עמרם משה. עמד אברהם הורידה לז'. עמד יצחק והורידה מן הו' לה' עמד יעקב והורידה מן הה' לד' עמד לוי והורידה מן הד' לג' עמד קהת והורידה מן הג' לב' עמד עמרם והורידה מן הב' לא' עמד משה והורידה מלמעלה למטה... הרשעים לא השכינו שכינה בארץ.

»R. Abbā bar Kāh^anā (*3rd gen. Pal. Am.*, disciple of R. Yōh^a-nān) said [with reference to *Gen* 3⁸]: It is not written here *m'hal-lēk* (walking) but *miphallēk*, in order to convey the sense: he was about to ascend (*lit.*: leapt and ascended). Originally Š[°]kīnā was among the terrestrials. As soon as the First Man sinned, Š[°]kīnā retired to the first heaven; with the sin of Qain it removed to the second heaven, with that of the generation of Enoš to the third, of the generation of the deluge to the fourth, of the generation of the confusion of tongues to the fifth, of the Sodomites to the sixth, of Egypt in the time of Abraham to the seventh.

Corresponding to those [sinners] there arose seven righteous men: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Qehath, Amram and Moses. When Abraham arose, he caused it [the Š^okīnā] to descend to the sixth heaven, Isaac to the fifth, Jacob to the fourth, Levi to the third, Qehath to the second, Amram to the first, [at last] Moses arose and caused it to descend from above to below [*i.e.* to the terrestrial world again, as in the beginning]... The wicked do not cause the Š^okīnā to dwell on the earth.*

The ideas of the descent and ascent of the Š^okīnā in Rabbinic are inextricably interwoven with those of the righteousness and sinfulness of men. The ascent of the Š^okīnā is a symbol of Man's severance from the Divine through his sin.¹ A generation of men, or the people of Israel, or individuals, enjoy communion with the Deity in measure as they are good, pure, righteous and humble.²

The ascent and the descent of Š^okīnā are in such connexions as these also viewed as the ascent from and descent to earthly men of Celestial Nature and Eternal Life. Thus, when acc. to the dictum quoted above the Š^okīnā ascends from on earth to the first heaven with the sin of the first Adam, this is to be put in relation to the wide-reaching speculations on the Celestial Nature of the First Adam before his sin. These speculations show traces of a conception of the 'First Adam' אדם הראשון as being the Celestial Original Man, in many features resembling the conception of Adakas-Ziua of Mandæan literature. Thus Ādām hā-Rišōn is co-extensive with the whole world³, possesses celestial Splendour, *Ziū*, celestial Light, 'Orā⁴, and also [celestial?] strength or Power (*Tōqæf*).⁵ With Adam's sin these are removed from

¹ On this cf. Abelson, *Immanence of God in Rabbin. Lit.* pp. 135—142.

² *TB Qid.* 70 b, *Šab* 92 a, *Ned.* 38 a. For »Š^okīnā dwelling with an individual (or Israel)» vide *TB Sota* 3 b for »ascending from an individual (Ester)» vide *TB Megilla* 15 b, adducing *Ps* 22¹.

³ *TB Hag* 12 a.

⁴ *GenR* 12 s.

⁵ *GenR* 21 s.

ר'סימון פתח תתקפה לנצח ויהלך משנה פניו ותשלחהו חוקף שנתן הקב"ה לאדה"ר לנצח לעולם היה ויהלך כיון שהגיה דעתו של הקב"ה והלך אחר דעתו של נחש משנה פניו ותשלחהו

»R Simon (*3rd gen. Pal. Am.*) opened [his discourse with reference to *Hiob* 14²⁰:] 'Thou made him strong for ever and he went (away); thou didst change his countenance and send him away'. The strength (power) which the Holy gave the First Man was for ever, *i.e.* it was intended to be his eternal possession

him, or, as it is explicitly stated, taken up to heaven by the Holy One to be preserved for the righteous in the world to come. The idea of the descent and ascent of Š^ʿkīnā is here so prominent as to exclude any representation of the descent and ascent of the Celestial or First Man. Thus it is interesting to notice that the attainment of salvation and eternal Life is viewed primarily from the point of view of the Š^ʿkīnā's coming down among earthly men.¹

It is evident, that Jn 3¹³ cannot primarily be directed against the Jewish conceptions of the descent and ascent of Š^ʿkīnā. It is true that Jn sees the Š^ʿkīnā embodied in the Son of Man; the conception of Jn could, no doubt, be expressed thus: there is no descent of the Š^ʿkīnā except in the Son of Man: Jn 1^{14, 18}. Nevertheless the formulation of Jn 3¹³ shows that it is directed not against the theory of the descent of the Divine among men, but against some theory of an ascent or ascents into heaven. It was shown above, that the theory thus rejected cannot be the conception of the Saviour-Messenger's or the Spirit's ascents into heaven as contained in the salvation-mystery. Hence there is only one conception known that can possibly be intended in the controversial utterance, viz. that assuming that certain especially gifted or saintly men had ascended or could ascend on high while still on earth. The particular bearing of the theory rejected can be conjectured from the context of Jn 3¹³. The preceding context contains two ideas connected with the ascent into heaven; viz. the vision of (or entrance into) the Kingdom of God, the highest realm of the celestial world [3 3] and the knowledge of the Celestial realities [τὰ ἐπουράνια; 3 12]. Now the vision of the heavens, especially the highest heaven, the Divine Abode, and the knowledge concerning Divine Secrets of Past, Present and Future derived

As soon as he abandoned the knowledge of the Holy One and went after the knowledge of the Serpent, then 'thou didst change his countenance and send him away'. [The same view R Simon supports by a reference to *Hiob* 12¹⁹].*

¹ *Tanh Hay. Bem.* 20:

לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא בְּשִׂיחָהּ שְׂכִינְתִי לְצִיּוֹן אֲנִי נֹגֵלָה בְּכַבְדִּי עַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְרוֹאִים אוֹתִי
וְהַיִּים לְעוֹלָם

*In the time to come, when I shall bring my Š^ʿkīnā back to Šion then I shall be revealed in my glory to all Israel and they shall then see me and *live eternally*. Similarly, acc. to *TB Ber* 17 a, the righteous in the world to come will enjoy the *splendour of Š^ʿkīnā* which was taken away from the first generation Cf. *J En* 4–6.

therefrom, are precisely the central features of the ideas in Jewish Apocalyptic and, at the time of Jn, also in some of the Merkaba-ecstatic circles. The ideas of the former are too well-known to need any special résumé here. With regard to the Merkaba-mysticism, a distinction must be made between the esoteric, or Merkaba-experiences proper — which really were a salvation-mysticism — and the popular or coarsened theories about the Merkaba-mysticism¹ dwelling upon the external form of the Merkaba-traditions. The controversial formulation of Jn 3 13 would, no doubt, best apply to the latter, coarser form. In this connexion also such typical representations of the ascent of the spirit as those of the so-called *Mithras-Liturgy* and *Corp. Herm. I* must be taken into consideration.² Further the utterance of Jn 3 13 must be put in relation 2 Cor 12²⁻⁴.

Before concluding the question on the controversial bearings of Jn 3 13 it will be necessary to investigate into the positive bearing of the passage. In view of the background for its teaching suggested above, it is apparent, that the passage, in common with preceding passages referring to the Son of Man, conveys the *essentiality of the Son of Man*. This essentiality may here be expressed thus: *There is no ascent into heaven apart from the Son of Man*.

The essentiality of the Son of Man does not, however, imply an exclusiveness. The literal meaning of the passage, which seems indeed to imply such exclusiveness, is impossible. The whole context revolves on the idea of entrance into the Celestial World; and the subject is the question how a man can enter the Kingdom of God, which is answered to the effect, that if a man be born from above, he enters the highest celestial realm. In relation to the context the intent of Jn 3 13 is simply to bring out the *essentiality of the Son of Man for man's generation from above: there is no birth from above apart from the Son of Man*.

¹ Cf. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 33—39, ctr. pp. 40 ff. The difference between the two is very marked, and, strangely enough, obtains down to mediæval times. The popular or coarse Merkaba speculations and trainings revolve on the three themes of ecstasis, magic and abstruse revelations.

² These may be said to be representative. It is of no avail to reproduce here again the various representations in Greek and Hellenistic literature and Gnostic systems of the ascent of the spirit. For conspectuses of these representations reference may be made to Dieterich-Weinreich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*⁸ pp. 170—212, Lietzmann, *Komm. 2 Cor*, Exkurs. on 12^{2ff}, Windisch, *id.*, pp. 374 ff. G. P. Wetter, *SG* pp. 101 ff. SAngus, *Myst. R. and Chr.* pp. 103, 107, 140.

This import, necessarily, brings with it the *inclusive* aspect: no man can enter the Kingdom of God without the Son of Man, but *with or in the Son of Man it is possible to ascend to heaven*. This idea is in keeping with Jn-ine thought, cf. 14^{2-4,6,23} etc.

At this point it will be possible to decide in what relation Jn § 13 stands to 2 Cor 12²⁻⁴. Although Jn, as will be further dwelt upon later, does not seem at all to uphold any ecstatic views with regard to the way of communion with the Divine, it will appear that Jn § 13 cannot be controversially directed against 2 Cor 12²⁻⁴, since both have one essential idea in common, viz. that the ascent to heaven is made in the Son of Man (Paul: in Christ); the man who can in reality ascend to the Celestial world is 'a man in Christ' (οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ . . . ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ). This is clearly brought forth also by 2 Cor 12⁹: ἵνα ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Paul always, whether in heaven or on earth, moves in Christ: Christ's Š*kinā dwells with him [ἐπισκηνώσῃ].

Jn § 13 naturally recalls also *Rm* 10⁶ ff. and *Eph.* 4⁶ ff. In *Rm* 10⁶ ff. Paul says: ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει. μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν· ἢ· τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγει; ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν.

Here the ἀνάβασις of an individual is midrashically connected with the κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ of Christ; the implication alluded to as associated with the main intent of the passage is that an ἀνάβασις with the object of Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν is no longer necessary: although ascended, Christ is present with the man who carries the belief in him in his heart, Christ's power dwells with him (2 Cor 12⁹). It may not be out of the way to compare with this the predominance of the idea of the Š*kinā's descent over that of man's ascent in certain Rabbinic conceptions.¹ With the latter part of the Pauline passage the idea of Christ's descent to [and ascent from] the world of the dead is touched upon (cf. 1 Pet 3^{19 f.}). For this must be referred to the discussion below or Jn 5²⁵.

Eph 4⁷ ff. introduces the terms of ἀνάβασις καὶ κατάβασις in a connexion nearer to the central ideas behind Jn § 13: '὘ν δὲ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

¹ Above page 94.

διὸ λέγει [quoting, Ps 68 19] ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος ἤχημαλώτευσεν αἰχμάλωσίαν, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς; ὁ καταβάς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα. The first thesis here may be said to be that the reference in *Ps* 68 19 to the ἀνάβασις is an adumbration of the ἀνάβασις of Christ. The second thesis is identical with that of *Jn* 3 13: the ἀνάβασις presupposes the κατάβασις and both are properly applied to the one man and son of God: Christ. Thirdly, however, the ἀνάβασις and κατάβασις of Christ are brought in connexion with the believers; the gift (δωρεά) of Christ from above to the believers is that of their growing into him, becoming part of him, thereby partaking also of his Life or very being. This is brought out in vss. 13—16: μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . ἀληθεύοντες δὲ ἐν ἀγάπῃ αὐξήσωμεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ὅς ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ, Χριστός, ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον . . . This, it will be observed, is congenial with the interpretation of *Jn* 3 13 as including in the υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου also the believers. The simile is parallel to that of *Jn* 15 1 ff., conveying the same sense: vs. 5 ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα . . . χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν.

The bearing of this essential-inclusive import of *Jn* 3 13 on the preceding context may now be summed up as follows: no one has ever entered or can ever enter the Kingdom of God, nor ascend to the highest realm of the celestial world, without being united [through faith] with the Son of Man; but in order so to enter the Kingdom of God one must become a new being: be born from above from the Divine Efflux in the spirit; *this Divine Efflux, the Celestial Life-generating outflow, is infused by the Son of Man, who descended from heaven. The teaching of Jn 3 13 is hence directed against the theories maintaining that man earthly can ascend to heaven without the Son of Man and obtain knowledge independently of him.* The theory addressed is probably in the first place Jewish to judge from the context where the controversy is with a Jew. Thus *Jn* 3 13 seems to imply the rejection of the traditions of ascensions into heaven made by the great saints, patriarchs and prophets of old (ἀναβέβηκεν, has ascended), such as Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Isaiah, and also of the views of those who at the time maintained that they could ascend to heaven

and obtain knowledge of Divine Things and therefore had no need of the Son of Man. It might not be deemed impossible, indeed it is highly *probable*, that *Jewish opponents would argue against the essentiality of the Son of Man by pointing to the traditions of the experiences of the patriarchs and prophets*, just as they are represented as pointing to them in other similar controversies (cf. especially Jn 8).

The question arises, however, whether the controversial position of Jn 3¹³ implies the rejection altogether of the spiritual experiences of those saints of the Old Testament. The answer will be that such a rejection is not implied. The issue is with the theories of opponents basing upon the said tradition, not with the celestial character and experiences of the patriarchs and prophets.¹ The Jn-ine retort to those opponents would be formulated to the effect that even the saints and prophets could do nothing without the Son of Man; if they ascended to heaven it was in the Son of Man, in union and communion with him. This is indeed alluded to by Jn 8⁵⁶ ff. Ἄβραάμ, ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλίασατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμήν, καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη . . . πρὶν Ἄβραάμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί. The rejection of current gnostic and similar representations of ecstatic ascensions into heaven, was, on the other hand, no doubt, unqualified, in so far as they would imply the possibility of such ascensions with the help of each their own χειραγωγός. It may be suggested, however, that the conceptions here in view, were rather those of the more popular, rude form, than, for instance, a representation of the kind found in *Corp. Herm.* IV reproduced above²; with the latter Jn really has very much in common; and his possible arguments against that kind of speculations take a different form. The very best survey of the various forms of the popular, rude notions to be considered is given by Wetter³, and to that survey must be referred here.

It has been shown that the import of Jn 3¹³ is organically connected with the preceding passage and that the same sphere of ideas underlies the whole context. It will only be natural to surmise that the same connexion of thought applies to the following context. In particular, it may be suggested, this general sphere of ideas must be brought in relation to 3^{14, 15} καὶ καθὼς Μοῦσης ὄψασεν τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὄψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀν-

¹ Cf. Box, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, pp. 55 ff. *Test. of Abraham*, p. xviii.

² pp. 73—75, *Corp. Herm.* I 30, 32.

³ Wetter, *Sohn Gottes* pp. 101—113.

θρώπου, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων, ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον. The question to be decided is: what is the *primary* connotation of the ὑψωθῆναι. It is universally recognized that the ὑψωθῆναι has the double significance of referring to »the future elevation» of Jesus »on the cross» and his »glorification; the elevation on the Cross being» for him »the pathway to his restoration to his pristine glory». ¹ There can, so it seems, be no doubt that the said double significance applies to the passage. The primary significance, however, might be arrived at by the application of the methodical rules hitherto used for the Jn-ine dicta. Thus, it may be maintained, there is here the usual essential-inclusive connotation of the term Son of Man, and, further, the ideas intended to be conveyed are in keeping with those of the context.

The inclusive connotation of the Son of Man here must be seen in the unity of the believers with Him, adequately described by *Eph* as a unity of body where the Son of Man is the Head. Hence the ὑψωθῆναι may be referred not only, nor even primarily, to the future elevation of the Son of Man to his pristine glory — that is the second or final stage — but to an experience or a happening in the present with the Son of Man in relation to the believers. This experience, further, is connected with the πιστεύειν, and this again with the act of gazing upward, directing one's [spiritual] perception on high, to the Son of Man, [through the simile of the serpent of *Nu* 21^{8,9}]. The hypothesis then may be put forth, that the ὑψωθῆναι refers to a spiritual experience with the believer, in which the Son of Man as united with him and abiding in him, is elevated in the believer's experience, to his spiritual gaze, so that the believer is saved, *ascends*, in aspiring ever upwards, towards the δόξα, the 'image' of the Celestial Son of Man; the experience here intended is identical with that described by Jn 6:44: οὐδεὶς δύναται ἔλθειν πρὸς με ἐὰν μὴ ὁ πατήρ ὁ πέμψας με ἐλκύσῃ αὐτόν. But also the second or final stage is inclusive for the Son of Man and his body: the believers; in this sense the ὑψωθῆναι relates to the glorification of the Son of Man in its 'final' sense, viz., through and after his death on the Cross.

¹ E. Carpenter, *JWr* p. 366, cf. 348 and 398. Similarly Bauer, *JEv*, p. 53 »auch dieser [der Begriff des ὑψοῦσθαι,] (ist) einer der bei Jn beliebten doppeldeutigen Ausdrücke. Zunächst nämlich besagt er . . . die Erhöhung zur Herrlichkeit; d. h. in den Himmel . . . Daneben aber umfasst er auch jene Erhöhung, welche die Voraussetzung der Erhebung in den Himmel ist, die Erhöhung ans Kreuz 12²⁸ 8²⁸. Cf. Loisy, *Le quatrième Évangile*² p. 166.

Correspondingly there is a final ascent of the believers, when they definitely and in the complete sense of the expression will be 'born from above', 'have eternal Life' (3¹⁴); this is expressed in the passage adduced, Jn 6⁴⁴, by the words: *καὶ γὰρ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἑσχατῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. Cf. below *ad loc.*

This interpretation is confirmed by Jn 12³²: *καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ὀψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἔλκυσσω πρὸς ἑμαυτόν*.

It is strange to note that the ideas and expressions occurring in Jn 3¹⁴ compared with those of the context and of 6⁴⁴ and 12³² appear in almost identical form in *Corp. Herm.* IV 5 and 11 b quoted above.¹ Here those who have partaken of the Divine Gift (corresponding to the ὕδωρ of 3⁵, cf. 4¹⁰ and ἔδωκεν of 3¹⁶) are said to lift themselves up as far as to the highest heaven or above heaven [ἐαυτοὺς ὑψώσαντες] to behold the Good. The upward path is found by gazing intently upon the likeness of God² with the eyes of one's heart; the likeness, then, will guide the aspirant on his way, the sight will take possession of him and draw him upward (ἀνέλκει).

The constitutive difference is this, that according to the basical thesis of Jn the likeness of God is contained only in the Son of Man. No other object of vision can draw the perceiver upwards.

It is apparent, that, as Jn 3¹⁴ naturally connects with 3¹³ in its essential-inclusive use of the Son of Man, and thereby also with the idea of birth from above, it no less links up with 1⁵¹ and 1¹⁴. The ideas meeting here are those of vision, aspiration, and ascent. Those who perceive the glory of the Son of Man as the glory of the only begotten of the Father, they are drawn upwards towards him in his celestial aspect; again, their upwards-tending aspiration, their believing in him (3¹⁵) is met by Him through his conferring upon them the Divine Gift, the Divine Efflux, which gives them power to become children of God (1¹²), to be born into the spiritual world, to ascend to heaven, to enter and behold the Kingdom of God.³

¹ p. 75.

² = the teaching imparted by Hermes.

³ Cf. J. Kreyenbühl, *Evangelium der Wahrheit*, p. 448 [independent of the general research on the 4th Gospel]: »Wenn der Mensch *ἐπουράνια* erkennen will, so kann das nur dadurch geschehen, dass er selbst aus einem *ἐπίγειος* ein *ἐπουράνιος* wird. Was ist aber das höchste *ἐπουράνιον* im Sinne der Mystik und Gnosis anders, als das ewige Leben, die Erkenntnis des allein wahren Gottes und des Gottesgesandten, der den wahren Gott verherrlicht und sein Werk vollbracht hat (17⁹). Auch dieser höchste Inhalt himmlischer Erkenntnis kam von

Before proceeding to the further development in 3¹⁶⁻²¹ of the import of the organism of conceptions contained in 3¹⁻¹⁵ it will be necessary to consider the question relating to the use in 3¹⁴ of the *symbol of the serpent* of Nu 2^{8,9}.

From Jewish point of view the 'serpent' could not possibly be connected with the idea of salvation. The Rabbinic dicta on the serpent, שׂוֹרֵק, show that one was much too preoccupied with the speculations on the evil import of the serpent figuring in the story of the Fall, Gen 3, to be able to use the word in any other symbolical sense. The technical term for the Serpent of the Fall is נִחַשׁ הַקְדָּמוֹנִי, the Original [or First] Serpent. He is the symbol of envy [he envied the first Man his glory: *TB Sanh* 29 a], he introduced unclean or evil *σπέρμα* into mankind [*TB 'Ab. Z.* 22 b attr. to *R. Yoḥ^anān*], he 'broke down the fence of the world' [*TB Ta^aniḥ* 8 a], it was in reality the serpent who first fell into sin and introduced evil into the world [*TB Sanh* 39 b], the serpent is the symbol of the evil inclination, יצר הרע [*Tanḥ. Ber.* 7]. The passage adduced by Billerbeck *ad loc.* is indeed representative of the general Rabbinic attitude to the symbol. Did that serpent [of Nu 2¹⁸] kill or give life? [No, it is to be understood thus:] »When Israel gazed upwards and subjected their hearts to their Father in heaven, then they were healed; if not, they perished«. (Cf. below.) That is to say, to the Rabbinic interpreters the 'serpent' of Nu 2⁸ in itself had no symbolical meaning, the only import of the 'setting up' of the serpent was to direct the eyes, *and hearts*, of the obedient Israelites *towards heaven*.

Also in Mandaitic the Serpent, *ḥiḥiā*, is the symbol of evil. Thus *GR XV 4* (*Pet* 313¹⁶) speaks of *ḥiḥiā rabbā d'hu 'Ur mārā*

dem gewöhnlichen fleischlichen Menschen nicht erfasst werden, sondern der Mensch muss über dieses sein Wesen hinaus erhöht werden (ὁψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). Wie die von Mose erhöhte Schlange für die Israeliten das σύμβολον σωτηρίας war, in dem die von Schlangen Gebissenen Heil und Rettung fanden, so liegt Heil und Rettung für den Christen nur in der Erhebung über den fleischlichen Menschen mit seinen Erfahrungen von Gericht, Tod, Verderben zum Glauben an das ewige Leben. Der Mensch muss erhöht werden, damit er als Erhöhter in sich selbst den Glauben habe an das ewige Leben. Das ὁψωθῆναι des Menschensohnes ist also dasselbe Bild wie das ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, wie das ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι (3⁷ = 1¹⁸), und wie die Jakobsleiter und das μείζω τούτων in 15^o f. Nur der in seinem Wesen himmlisch, geistig, göttlich gewordene Mensch versteht das Himmlische, Geistige, Göttliche, und nur der über seine irdische Daseinsform hinaus erhöhte Mensch hat in sich selbst das Wesen und Prinzip des neuen, christlichen Geistes, das ewige Leben.»

d'hašōkā šumeh, the great serpent whose name is Ur, the Lord of the Darkness. (Cf. *GR III* 86¹⁰ 88¹⁷.)

Against this stands the well-known use of the Serpent, ὄφις, in the mysteries, and especially in Gnosticism, where the appropriation of the OT narrative of Nu 21⁶⁻⁹ meant the application of allegorical interpretations to the שׂוֹפֵי mentioned there. Thus Hippolyt reproduces the speculations of the Ophitic sect, called Peratæ: »The gods of destruction . . . are the stars which bring upon those coming into being the necessity of mutable generation. These . . . Moses called the Serpents of the desert which bite and cause to perish those who think they have crossed the Red Sea (the water of destruction). Therefore . . . to those sons of Israel who were bitten in the desert, Moses displayed the *true and perfect serpent*, those who believed on which were not bitten in the desert, that is, by the Powers. None then . . . can save and set free those brought forth from the land of Egypt, that is, from the body and from this world, save only the *perfect serpent*, the full of the full [ὁ τέλειος, ὁ πλήρης τῶν πληρῶν ὄφις]. He who *hopes* on this . . . is not destroyed by the serpents of the desert, that is, by the gods of generation . . . He it is who in the last days appeared in Man's shape in the time of Herod . . . This . . . is the saying 'And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up' Jn 3¹⁴. After his likeness was the brazen serpent in the desert which Moses set up. The similitude of this alone is always seen in the heaven in light. This . . . is the mighty beginning about which it is written. About this . . . is the saying: 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him and without Him nothing was. That which was in Him was life' (Jn 1¹⁻⁴) . . . And if the eyes of any are blessed . . . he will see when he *looks upward to heaven* the fair image of the serpent in the great summit (or beginning) of heaven turning about and becoming the source of all movement of all present things. And (the beholder) will know that without him there is nothing framed of heavenly or of earthly things or of things below the earth . . . In this . . . is the great wonder beheld in the heavens by those who can see.» Further, in V 17: »According to them [the Peratæ] the universe is Father, Son and Matter. Of these three every one contains within himself boundless powers. Now midway between Matter and the Father sits *the Son, the Word, the Serpent*, ever moving himself towards the immovable Father and towards

Matter (which itself is) moved. And sometimes he turns himself towards the Father and receives the powers in his own person, and when he has thus received them he turns towards Matter; and Matter being without quality and formless takes pattern from the forms which the Son has taken as patterns from the Father [ἡ ὅλη ἄποιος οὐσα καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος ἐκτυποῦται τὰς ἰδέας ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἃς ὁ υἱὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτυπώσατο] . . . All things that are here are therefore the Father's types and nothing else. For if any one . . . has strength enough to comprehend from the things here that he is a *type from the Father on high transferred hither* and made into a body, . . . *he becomes . . . wholly of one substance with the Father who is in the heavens, and returns thither.* But if he does not light upon this doctrine, nor discover the necessity of birth, like an abortion brought forth in a night, he perishes in a night. Therefore . . . when the Saviour speaks of 'Your Father who is in heaven' he means him from whom the Son takes the types and transfers them hither. And when He says 'Your father is a manslayer from the beginning' (Jn 8⁴⁴) he means the Ruler and Fashioner of Matter who receiving the types distributed by the Son has produced children here. Who is a manslayer from the beginning because his work makes for corruption and death. *None, therefore, can be saved nor return (on high) save by the Son who is the Serpent.* For as he brought from on high the Father's types, so he again carries up from here those of them who have been awakened and have become types of the Father, transferring them thither from here as hypostasized from the Unhypostatized One. This, . . . is the saying 'I am the Door' (Jn 10⁷). But he transfers them . . . to those whose eyelids are closed (*i.e.* to the celestial world), as the naphtha *draws* everywhere the fire to itself — or rather as the magnet the iron but nothing else . . . Thus . . . the *perfect and consubstantial race* which has been made the image but nought else *is again led from the world by the Serpent, just as it was sent down here by him.*¹

It has been necessary to quote Hippolyt's reproduction of the views of the Peratæ at length, since the prominence of the symbol of the serpent in Ophitic gnosticism, within which the doctrines of the Peratæ fall, has probably been suggestive for the attempts to read a typological use of the word 'serpent' for Saviour — Logos — Son of God, into Jn 3¹⁴. But for the Ophitic representations nobody would probably have thought of connecting

¹ Hippol., *Refut.* V 16, 17. F. Legge, *Phil.*, pp. 154—159.

Jn 3¹⁴ with the various representations in the mysteries of the function of the 'serpent'. When, *e. g.*, J. Grill¹ finds in Jn 3¹⁴ a typological allusion to (Dionysos-)Sabazios, on the ground that the cult of the 'holy serpent' has a central significance in the Phrygian »Sabazios-religion«, and as a support of this compares the »lifting up of Jesus« in Jn 3¹⁴ as a means of obtaining eternal life with the initiation ceremonies of the Sabazior-mysteries² as realizing the regeneration, this, it may be allowed, is rather far-fetched. The parallel lacks all significance unless it be assumed that Jn 3¹⁴ implies a typological use of the serpent as the symbol of Saviour. But precisely this assumption was to be demonstrated. On the other hand the said parallel lacks the most prominent feature of Jn 3¹⁴, *viz.* the *elevation* of the serpent.

The speculation of the Peratæ quoted above would, however, be of importance for the decision of the present question, if it could be demonstrated that there was an older, pre-Johannine, stratum of traditions, interpreting *Num* 21^{8,9} and other O. T. passages in such a sense, that Jn could allude to those traditions in order to make clear what he intended by referring to the O. T. passage in question.

Now there need scarcely be any doubt that most of the interpretations of the O. T.-passages given in the former part of the quotation above (p. 102 ll. 10—18) are independent of Jn 3. Similarly it is quite certain that the interpretations given later in the exposition (above p. 102 ll. 19 ff.) are dependent upon the Fourth Gospel.³ Some uncertainty, however, adheres to the interpretation of *Num* 21^{8,9} occurring in the earlier part (p. 102 l. 14) Δακνομένοις οὖν φησίν, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐπέδειξε Μωϋσῆς τὸν ἀληθινὸν ὄφιν τὸν τέλειον, εἰς ὃν οἱ πιστεύοντες οὐκ ἐδάκνοντο ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τοὔτεστιν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνάμεων. The introduction here of the expression εἰς ὃν πιστεύοντες recalling the πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων of Jn 3¹⁴ would

¹ *Untersuchungen*, ii, pp. 218, 219, note 653, and p. 293.

² Grill, *Untersuchungen*, ii p. 219 note 653: »Die bei der Einweihung in die Sabaziosmysterien den Mysten durch den Schoss gezogene goldene Schlange ... vergegenwärtigte den Akt der Vermählung des Gottes mit dem dabei als der weibliche Teil vorgestellten Gläubigen und zugleich der Zeugung eines neuen Menschen, eines gottverwandten Wesens im Mysten«. Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, ii 16, 2, Firmic. Matern., *De Error. Prof. Rel.* 10, cf. H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, p. 111, Hast. *ERE*, vol. xi, p. 406 v. *Serpents in the mysteries*.

³ This is apparent not only from the quotation of Jn 3¹⁴ but also by the quotation of Jn 1¹⁻⁴, 8⁴⁴ and the evident familiarity with the whole ideology of Jn 3.

suggest a dependence on Jn. But then it is possible that the wordings of the source used by Hippolyt might have been influenced by the later adaptations to the Jn-ine language¹ even in those parts which were, originally, pre-Johannine or pre-Christian. And it is not probable that the Gnostics in question, when trying to re-interpret the O. T. in the light of their doctrines, could have passed by *Num* 21^{8,9} or any passage containing the word עָרָב, 'serpent'. Hence it must be concluded that probably there existed a Gnostic interpretation — of pre-Johannine origin — of *Num* 21^{8,9} reading in that passage a reference to the »true and perfect serpent who was also the Mediator, the Son, the λόγος».

The typological use of the ὄφεις of Moses for the λόγος, the good and true, is found in the wellknown allegorical interpretation of *Num* 21^{7,8} in Philo's *Leg. Alleg.* ii 20 79: πῶς οὖν γίνεται ἴσασις τοῦ πάθους; ὅταν ἕτερος ὄφεις κατασκευασθῆ τῷ τῆς Εὔας ἐναντίος, ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος . . . (81) ὃν ἂν οὖν δάκη ὄφεις, πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται· πάνυ ἀληθῶς· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς δηχθεῖς ἡδονῇ, τῷ τῆς Εὔας ὄφει, ἰσχύσει κατιδεῖν ψυχικῶς τὸ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, τὸν Μωϋσέως ὄφιν, καὶ διὰ τούτου τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ζήσεται· μόνον ἰδέτω καὶ κατανοησάτω. Notable are the parallel antitheses: the Serpent of Eve v. the Serpent of Moses, the ἡδονή v. σωφροσύνη, the coporeal (σῶμα) v. the spiritual (νοῦς); Philo here moves in a sphere of conceptions quite different both from Jn and the Ophitic Gnosis; yet the similarity with the latter is striking, in so far as Philo sees in the serpent of Moses a symbol of the λόγος.

Next attention must be called to the way in which Justin makes a symbolical use of *Num* 21^{8,9}. Thus we find in Justin, *I Apol.* 60 the following: Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς Μωσέως γραφαῖς ἀναγγελλεται ὡς κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἰσραηλίται, καὶ γεγονάσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἀπήνητησαν αὐτοῖς ἰοβόλα θηρία, ἔχιδναι τε καὶ ἀσπίδες, καὶ ὄφειων πᾶν γένος, ὁ ἐθανάτου τὸν λαόν· καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην, λαβεῖν τὸν Μωσέα χαλκόν, καὶ ποιῆσαι τύπον σταυροῦ, καὶ τοῦτον στῆσαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ σκηνῇ, καὶ εἰπεῖν τῷ λαῷ: Ἐὰν προσβλέπητε τῷ τύπῳ τουτοῦ, καὶ πιστεύητε, ἐν αὐτῷ σωθήσεσθε. Here Justin evades the word ὄφεις totally, and sees in the object of vision set up by Moses a τύπος of the Cross. Striking are Justin's insertion in the travested quotation of *Num* 21⁸ of καὶ πιστεύητε (as in Jn 3¹⁴ and in Hippolyt's reproduction of the speculations of the Perataë) and the use of the term σωθήσεσθε (cf. Jn 3¹⁷ and *Wisdom of Solomon* 16 below).

¹ Cf., however, the similar introduction of πιστεύειν by Justin below.

In *Dial* 94, again, Justin maintains that the 'serpent' of *Num* 21^{8,9} was a symbol of the Original Serpent, the Evil One, and his being put on the 'sign' [Ὁ σημεῖον] (*i.e.* the 'pole', which to Justin was a cross) was to adumbrate the coming salvation — by Him who was to suffer on that sign, the Cross — from the δήγματα (bitings) of the Serpent, the δήγματα τοῦ ὄφως being the evil doings, the sins. Μυστήριον γὰρ διὰ τούτου . . . ἐκήρυσσε, δι' οὐ καταλείβειν μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὄφως τοῦ καὶ τὴν παράβασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ γενέσθαι ἐργασασμένου ἐκήρυσσε· σωτηρίαν δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου, τουτέστι τὸν σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντα, ἀπὸ τῶν δηγμάτων τοῦ ὄφως, ἅπερ εἰσὶν αἱ κακαὶ πράξεις, εἰδωλοατρεῖαι, καὶ ἄλλαι ἀδικίαι. To Justin, then, the *serpent* was in no way a τύπος of the Saviour, but, on the contrary, of the evil inclinations; what Justin saw symbolised by the serpent set up on the cross might be approximately expressed by Paul's word in *Gal* 5²⁴: οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

In *Dial.* 112 Justin fiercely rejects the thought that the saving object of vision in *Num* 21^{8,9} could be the serpent: It must be the 'sign', which refers to the crucified Jesus: οἱ δ' ἐσώζοντο εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέποντες. Ὁ ὄφις ἄρα νοηθήσεται σεσωκέναι τὸν λαὸν τότε, δν . . . κατηράσατο ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἀνείλε διὰ τῆς μεγάλης μαχαίρας, ὡς Ἡσαΐας βοᾷ (*Isa* 27¹); καὶ οὕτως ἀφρόνως παραδεξόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν (the Jewish teachers) φασι, καὶ οὐ σύμβολα; οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνοίσωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ τὸ σημεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωϋσῆς διὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν σὺν τῷ ἐπικληθέντι Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι [*i.e.* Joshua], καὶ νικᾶν τὸν λαὸν ὑμῶν εἰργάζοντο (*Exod* 17⁸⁻¹³).

Now, although Justin puts his symbolical interpretation of *Num* 21^{8,9} against a supposed literal interpretation from the Jewish teachers, it may be observed here, that his interpretation — save for the reference to the crucified Christ — approaches very nearly that of two so different Jewish sources as *Wisdom of Solomon* on one hand and the official *Mišna* on the other. Thus *Wisdom of Solomon* 16⁵⁻⁸ runs: καὶ γὰρ ὅτε αὐτοῖς δεινὸς ἐπῆλθεν θηρίων θυμός, δήγμασιν τε σκολιῶν διεφθείροντο ὄφωσιν, οὐ μέχρι τέλους ἔμεινεν ἡ ὀργή σου· εἰς νοθεσίαν δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐταράχθησαν, σύμβολον ἔχοντες σωτηρίας, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐντολῆς νόμου σου· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστραφεὶς οὐ διὰ τὸ θεωρούμενον ἐσώζετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ σέ, τὸν πάντων σωτήρα. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἔπεισας τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ρύόμενος ἐκ παντὸς κακοῦ . . . and it continues 16¹⁰ τοὺς δὲ υἱούς

σου οὐδὲ ἰοβόλων δρακόντων ἐνίκησαν ὀδόντες, τὸ ἔλεος γὰρ σου ἀντιπαρήλαθεν καὶ ἴασατο αὐτούς and 16¹²: καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βοτάνη οὔτε μάλαγμα ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ὁ σός, κύριε, λόγος ὁ πάντα ἰώμενος.

Mišna RhŠ iii 8, again, referring both to the power of the outstretched hand of Moses and to the Serpent of *Num* 21^{8,9} — just as Justin in *Dial* 112 cited above¹ — says:

והיה כאשר ירים משה ידו וגברו ישראל וגו' וכי ידיו של משה עושות מלחמה או שוברות מלחמה אלא לומר לך כל זמן שהיו ישראל מסתכלין כלפי מעלה ומש(ה)עבדין את לבם לאביהם שבשמים היו מתגברים ואם לאו היו נופלים כיוצא בדבר אהה אומר עשה לך שרף ושים אותו על נס והיה כל הגשוף וראה אותו והי וכי נחש ממית או נחש מהיה אלא בזמן שישראל מסתכלין כלפי מעלה ומשעבדין את לבם לאביהן שבשמים היו מתרפאין ואם לאו היו נימוקים

»'And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed [*Exod* 17¹¹]. Does that mean that the hands of Moses made wars or ended wars? No, the [scripture wants] to teach you that as soon as the Israelites *direct their gaze on high* [towards the Holy One] and make their heart subservient to their Father who is in heaven, then they are victorious (strong) and if not, they succumb, just as with regard to the word that you read [in *Num* 21⁸]: 'make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole' [נֹס; sign]; and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live, 'this does not mean that the serpent kills or makes alive, but that every time that Israel direct their gaze on high and make their heart subservient to their Father who is in heaven, they are healed and if not, they are destroyed.»

The well-known passage *Barn.* 12⁵⁻⁷ in adducing the second of the 'testimonies' in question has no objection in referring the Serpent to Jesus. Just as the serpent of brass, although lifeless, 'dead', can make living those who are dead, if they 'believing hope' that he can do so, so Jesus, who died on the Cross, can make living those who believe in and put his hope on him. (Cf. Tertull. *Adv. Marc* iii 18.)

¹ The two passages and their application to the Cross are, as is well-known, regarded as belonging to the 'Testimonies'.

What is *common* to all the adduced instances of interpretations of *Num* 21^{8,9} from Wisdom of Solomon to Justin and the Ophitic doctrine of the Perataë, including the Rabbinic Mišna, is the importance attached to the 'directing one's heart, one's gaze' 'beholding' 'believing' 'hoping', in general that attitude of the soul which is perhaps best expressed by the later, untranslatable, Jewish word *קִנְיָה*. (Cf. *M Joh* XIII quoted below on 3¹⁶.)

It may be allowed to quote some instances of later Jewish mystical symbolical uses of *Num* 21^{8,9}, showing the peculiar developments of earlier speculations characteristic for that mysticism. 'Thus *Zoh.* iii 165 a runs:

והיה כל הנשוד וראה אותו והי אמאי אלא כד סליק עינוי והמי
 דיוקנא דההוא הנשוד קא הוי דחיל וצלי קדם ה'

»'And it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live'. Why? (= What does it mean?). Only this: when he lifts up his eyes and sees the image of the one who bites (= the evil one, the evil inclination) then he fears and prays before YHÜH.»

Midr. ha-nNæ'äläm, paraša חקת, end.

הוא דמלת' דהאי נהש הנחושת הוא רוא דיצ"הר ומשום הכי שתי'
 מר"עה על נס והיה כל הנשוד והביט אליו והי. למרמו דמאן דלא
 אההני מיצ"הר אלא כד קיום הנפש מלב' דלחכי רמיז ביה הבטה
 דלא מההני ביה אלא בהבטה בעלמא והי ומאי דאתהני טפי מכדי
 חיותו לאו איהו הי אלא מת

»The mystical connotation of the word (relating to) this brazen serpent is the mystery of the evil inclination, and the reason why Moses our teacher, (on him be peace!), put it on a sign¹ and every one who was bitten and looked on it lived, is to convey a mystical symbol, viz. that he who makes use of the evil inclination only so far as is necessary for the preservation of his earthly life², he is here symbolised by the 'looking' for he does not enjoy (or make use of) the evil inclination more than as a looking into (= a passing

¹ Thus נס is usually interpreted; not as 'pole'.

² Already acc. to Rabbinic teachings the evil inclination is that which brings about and sustains the life in this world; a man who has entered life earthly must needs use the evil inclination in order merely to live and act in this world.

visit into) the world¹, and he will live', but he who enjoys more than is necessary for the preservation of life, he will not live, but will die.»

YR iv 38 a

ויאמר ה' אל משה עשה לך יש ללמוד תחיית המתים מק"ל מנה' הנהש' ומה נהש הנהשת שהטילו מיתה עשה בו הקב"ה חיים שני' והביט אל הנהש וחי תחיית המתים שטילו הי"ל עא"כו

»'And the Lord said unto Moses, make thee etc.' This is to give a teaching with regard to the quickening of the dead from the principle of a *minori ad majus*. When, with regard to the brazen serpent, who symbolizes the (serpent's) throwing forth death, (it is said that) the Lord made (the Israelites) living through the brazen serpent, as it is written 'when he beheld the serpent of brass he lived', how much the more (shall the Lord make living at the time of) the quickening of the dead, when all is life.»

Cf. *Zohar Ber.* i col. 83, *YH, Mal.* no. 46

מטה משה שנהפך ממטה לנהש וכן איפכא הוא מטטרון אם זכו ישראל מטה כלפי חסד לימינא ואם לא זכו מטה כלפי חובא דתמן נהש אל אחר דהבני דמא לשפוך

»The rod of Moses that was changed from a rod into a serpent and vice versā refers to Metatron. If Israel are worthy (pure, righteous) he is a rod (= a support, a helper) corresponding to Mercy on the right side, if they are not worthy, he is a rod corresponding to guilt (and judgement) [on the side] where is the serpent, the אלה אחר (other God), who lusts after the shedding of blood.» Cf. Jn 8:44: ὁμοίως ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν θέλετε ποιεῖν: ἐκείνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.

The result of the investigation into the various interpretations of *Num* 21^{8,9} of the time may be summed up as follows: (1) there were interpretations current which applied a typological sense to the word 'serpent' as the symbol of the 'Saviour' or the λόγος, (2) other interpretations viewed the 'serpent' as well in *Num* 21 as elsewhere as the symbol of the evil, and the נח or also the Divine

¹ The sense is approximately that of the Pauline: οἱ χαίροντες ὡς μὴ χαίροντες, καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες, καὶ οἱ γράμμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταγρῶμενοι. (1 Cor 7^{80,81}).

Word as the symbol of or as that which was to bring salvation from that evil, (3) a third category of interpretations, especially those of Jewish origin, ignored the reference to the serpent and emphasized the obedience to the Divine Word, or the faith and aspiration towards God as the real object of symbolisation. Common to all was, however, as has just been pointed out, the emphasis put on the words (*Num* 21^{8,9}) $\text{הָרָא} \text{וְ} \text{לֵבְנֵי} \text{וְ} \text{לֵבְנֵי}$ (*idōn*) or עָרַבְתִּי (*ēpēblēphēn*) especially in the sense of 'gazing upwards' and $\text{וְ} \text{לֵבְנֵי}$ (*zēsētai*). Further it is notable, that the term 'gazing upwards', was early associated with those of 'hoping' and 'believing' and the word *Life* (*ζωή*) similarly connected with the idea of *salvation* (*σωτηρία*); this is prominent even in the pronouncedly Ophitic speculations of the Peratæ; it is especially significant that the Peratic reference to Jn 3¹⁴ evidently sees the central idea of that passage in the beatific vision — 'in the great summit of heaven'¹ — of Him 'without whom there is nothing framed of heavenly or of earthly things or of things below the earth', with explicit reference to Jn 13, this vision being attainable only by those whose eyes are 'blessed' (*μακάριοι*) 'who are able to see' (*οἱ δυνάμενοι ἰδεῖν*), *i.e.* who are capable of spiritual perception.

If Jn 3¹⁴ be put in relation to what has thus been shown to be the main tendencies of the current interpretations of *Num* 21^{8,9} and, at the same time, in relation to the context, it will appear that also in Jn the aspects of 'believing' and 'life' occupy a central position, and that 'life' also here is connected with the conception of 'salvation'. The reference to the 'serpent' falls into a secondary plane. It may be deemed significant that Jn 3¹⁴ omits all reference to the 'looking on the serpent' as a means of life contained in *Num* 21^{8,9}, although the sentence *ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον* in the latter half of the verse would seem to have required a parallel corresponding to the *πᾶς ὁ . . . ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται* of *Num* 21^{8,9}.² This omission would seem to suggest that Jn, in common with the Jewish interpreters, rejects all symbolical significance of the 'serpent of Moses' quā serpent. In fact, the symbolical significance is transferred from the *ὄφης* to the *ὄφωθῆναι*; hence, it may be concluded, although the elevation

¹ Thus framed on account of the genuine astrological basis of the section in question. Cf. Hippol. *Refut* V 15, 16 end, 17, and H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* p. 150.

² *Ctr.* Hippol. *Ref.* V 16 *ἐπέδειξε Μωϋσῆς τὸν ἀληθινὸν ὄφιν, εἰς ὃν οἱ πιστεύοντες οὐκ ἐδάκνυον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.*

of the serpent is paralleled with the elevation of the Son of Man, *the serpent itself is not paralleled with the Son of Man*. The result is: there are four central conceptions in Jn 3^{14,15}: (1) the ὑψωθῆναι, (2) the πιστεύειν, (3) the ζωὴ αἰώνιος = σωτηρία and (4) the οἶδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

There is, however, another pointed omission in Jn's symbolical use of *Num* 22^{8,9}, viz. that of any reference to the ⲓ σημεῖον; it is known what an important part the ⲓ played in the Christian use of *Num* 22^{8,9} as an adumbration of the Cross (cf. the above quotations of *Barn.* and *Fustin, IApol.* and *Dial.*); this omission, bearing all the marks of being intentional, would seem to convey that the primary significance of the ὑψωθῆναι should not be sought in the σταυρωθῆναι.

At this point it will, however, be apparent what the ὑψωθῆναι connected with *Num* 22^{8,9}, acc. to Jn 3^{14,15}, positively signifies. The adumbration found in *Num* 22^{8,9} is the connexion between the ὑψωθῆναι and the πλοῦς of believers as consisting in a lifting up of their hearts on high. Jn 3^{14,15}, thus, gives a hint of the way of *spiritual experience, by which eternal life is to be found*. It is the *quomodo* of the birth into the world of the Spirit from the point of view of beginning spiritual aspiration and experience. It is also the *quomodo* of the ascent (ἀνάβασις) into the spiritual world, which is necessary for, or equivalent with, being born from above. Hence Jn 3^{14,15} must be regarded as the natural continuation of the whole preceding exposition. In 34-9 the subject is the entrance into the spiritual world as conditioned by a real birth of a spiritual organism through the spiritual generating power of the Divine Efflux from above, in 3¹⁰⁻¹³ the teaching is: no one can mediate this Divine Efflux except the Son of Man, who descends from the spiritual world, and lives in the spiritual world¹ and no one can ascend without him; this is really an introduction to 3^{14,15} treating of *the spiritual experience tending towards the spiritual birth, the beginning ascent into heaven; and this spiritual experience is described as an elevation of the Son of Man, scil. by earthly man, and a directing of man's spiritual gaze towards that lifted-up Son of Man by believing in him*. In him (ἐν αὐτῷ), then, the believer attains eternal life.

It might be observed, that the three divisions in the exposition of 34^{ff.} just pointed out, are each dominated by a peculiar

¹ Hence, acc. to this interpretation, the concluding words of vs. 13 ὁ ὄν ἐν τῷ ὀρόρανῳ, are not contradictory with the rest of the vs.

term of their own for the spiritual life in the spiritual world. Thus the first division speaks of the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ with the epithet 'above' or 'on high', the second of the οὐρανός, the third of the ζωὴ αἰώνιος. The intention is, no doubt, to lay stress on them as referring to the same spiritual reality. The identification of the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ with the οὐρανός (in its spiritual sense) is of similar import as the utterance in 18³⁶ ἡ βασιλεία ἣ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου . . . νῦν δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἣ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν. The connexion of οὐρανός with ζωὴ αἰώνιος evidently has the object of assigning the final realisation of the ζωὴ αἰώνιος to the οὐρανός. It is a spiritual life in the spiritual world of the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. The mediation of the eternal life to earthly man is hence necessarily viewed all through under the aspects of descent and ascent. *The germ of eternal life must be given from above through the Son of Man, and the attainment of the full realisation of this eternal life is conditioned by the ascent of the Son of Man, by his being lifted up in the experience of earthly man, believing in Him.*¹

With this the significance of πιστεύειν is also brought into light. It is a spiritual attitude or faculty or activity that arises in man when the Son of Man has been lifted up to his spiritual sight.² It is to be noticed that πιστεύειν is not, or not only, conceived of as the condition or cause of the ὑψωθῆναι, but is contained in the object of the ὑψωθῆναι: ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων. Again it may be suggested that πιστεύειν has an implication of upwards-tending aspiration, caused by the spiritual vision of the Son of Man lifted up (cf. 6⁴⁰ ἵνα πᾶς ὁ θεωρῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον). There is, as has already been suggested, in the lifted up Son of Man to the experience of the earthly man, something that *draws him upwards to that Son of Man*, and with the Son of Man ascending, ultimately makes the believer ascend into heaven, into eternal life: καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν (Jn 12³²).

If thus the primary connotation of ὑψωθῆναι in 3^{14, 15} is a mystical one, in referring to the elevation of the Son of Man to the spiritual vision of the believer, it must needs be emphasized that this 'lifting up' is *not* merely a *psychological experience*, or an *ecstatic vision* still less an *intellectual process*; with ch 3 the notion that the earthly mind, (the psychical processes), could see or know of the world in which this lifting up is enacted, has definitely been

¹ Cf. Lindblom, *Das ewige Leben*, p. 277.

² Cf. Gyllenberg, *Pistis* ii p. 43.

rejected. The ὑψωθῆναι belongs to the spiritual world, a world of realities altogether different from the world of psycho-physical phenomena. A mind that would remain in the latter world, could never experience a single fact of the spiritual world, could not receive the gift from above. The conclusion is that there must be something in man, latent perhaps, but nevertheless there, in which the birth from above can be brought about. This elusive something is hinted at by the word 'πιστεύειν'. Πιστεῦσαι is the first step on the Jacob's-ladder between heaven and earth. With the 'πιστεύειν' man has, in reality, stepped out from the ἐπίγεια into the ἐπουράνια as descended in the Son of Man. But this is, at the same time, the beginning of the ascent in the Spirit, where man is drawn upwards towards the ever ascending, the continually elevated Son of Man. And this ascent is *not an ascent in ecstatic vision* but a *real ascent*, the ultimate goal of which is the final glorification of the Son of Man, and in him, of the believer. Here the inclusive connotation of the Son of Man in relation to the believers is most emphatically brought out.

In vs. 16 the other aspect of this inclusiveness is expressed, viz. that relating to the Father. οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν [αὐτοῦ] τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν. The Father gave his son to the world. Whereas it has been intimated before that the Son of Man brings down the Divine Efflux, the Divine Gift, to earthly man, it is here enunciated that the Son himself is the Divine Gift.

By this also a third aspect of inclusiveness is introduced. The Son comprises all that is sent down from the highest spiritual world in such a manner that he can be identified with it. It is evident that this is one of the central doctrines of Jn, and that Jn in this aspect sees one of the fundamental laws of the spiritual world, in which that world essentially differs from the terrestrial world. Whereas the terrestrial world appears as a world of differentiation, of separation, of things existing by the side of each other, the spiritual world on the other hand is a world of all-inclusiveness of realities existing in each other, penetrating each other, mutually identical. The essential mark of membership of the spiritual, Divine world, is, from this point of view, to be expressed by the word 'unity'. Typical illustrations of this teaching are: ἐγὼ εἰμι· ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ (Jn 14⁶), ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς (6^{35, 48}), ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (6⁴¹), ἐγὼ εἰμι:

ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς (6¹¹), ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἔν ἐσμεν (10³⁰), ἵνα ὧσιν ἐν καθῶς ἡμεῖς (17¹¹), ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσιν, καθῶς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ γὰρ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν [ἐν] ὧσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ, ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας . . . καὶ ἡγάπησας αὐτούς καθῶς ἐμὲ ἡγάπησας (17^{21—23}).

It remains to point out that just as the spiritual organism is a real organism, in a quasi-physical (in the want of a more exact word) sense, the spiritual world itself is not thought of as something beyond space and time; it must be admitted that the spiritual world, acc. to Jn, is manifested in some kind of space, allowing the application to it of spatial terms in a literal sense. The ascent of the spirit, even within the spiritual world, is a *real* ascent. The difference between existence in spiritual space and in earthly space is probably to be characterised by the universal unity and all-inclusiveness referred to above. This will account for the seemingly contradictory views e. g. of the relation between the descended Son of Man and his spiritual home, his abode with His Father, perhaps most strikingly illustrated by a comparison of 14¹⁰ with 14¹² (. . . ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐστίν . . . ὁ δὲ πατήρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτός ν. ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πορευομαι.) or by 3¹³ — if, as is probable, the last part is original — οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. The 'journey to the Father' (14¹²), the ascent and descent, are evidently intended to be taken quite realistically, and not as figures of speech. And yet, it is implied, there is no *separation* between the Father and the Son. The spiritual space is an extension without separation; and the centre of that space is the Father's abode, a centre which from every other point, if such a description may be allowed, is perceived or felt as being 'the above', the ἄνω, ἐπάνω πάντων.

Whereas the preceding has thus strongly emphasized the *reality* (or substantiality) of the spiritual world, the last section of the discourse (Jn 3^{1—21}) turns to the constitutive attributes of the spiritual world and the Divine Gift, contrasting it with the qualities and characteristics of the terrestrial world. The attributes of the spiritual world, the World of the Father, are expressed by the conceptions of *Love* and *Light*. The Divine Gift is a gift emanating from the Father out of his love for the world. Love is the essence of that gift itself. Thirdly, Love is the constitutive quality of the Eternal Life, conferred by the Divine Gift.

Some illustrations for comparison with vs. 3¹⁶ may be adduced here.

In Rabbinical Literature the nearest approach to the doctrine of God's love of the world as a whole is perhaps to be found in *GenR* 94, where, commenting upon the words of *Gen* 1³¹ 'and God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold; it was very good', the two contemporary Palestinian 1st generation Amoras RR. Ḥ^anina bar Ḥama¹ and R. Yōnāḇān ben 'Āl'āzār are reported as picturing God's concern for his world in similar words:

רחב"ח אמר משל למלך שבנה פלטין ראה אותה וערבה לו אמר פלטין הלאו תהא מעלת חן לפני בכל עת כשם שהעלית חן לפני בשעה זו כך אמר הקב"ה לעולמו עולמי הלאו תהא מעלת חן לפני בכל עת כשם שהעלית חן לפני בשעה זו.

»R. Ḥ^anina bar Ḥama said: It may be likened unto a king who built a palace; he looked at it, and it pleased him; he said: 'Palace! Palace! O that you might always obtain favour before me (= please me) as you obtain favour before me in this hour; so the Holy One, blessed be He, said to his world: O my world! my world! would that thou mayest always obtain favour before me as thou obtainest favour before me in this hour.« (R. Yōnāḇān has the same dictum attached to another similitude.) The underlying idea is that the Holy One loves his newly created world, and wishes that it would remain in such a state, that it could always find favour in his sight. The implication is that with man's sin the whole world is defiled. Yet it always remains his world, the object of his concern. The world in such sayings as that quoted is the world as planned and created by the Holy One, and the attention is fixed on the human element in it: it is almost equivalent with 'the human world'. It should also be remembered that almost without exception, when the terms עולם, עולמך, עולמי, עולמו, [ὁ κόσμος], alone, or עולמו, are used, the sense is the one just mentioned. The world is then pictured as God's possession, sinful and fallen, no doubt, like a way-ward child, yet not rejected or accounted essentially evil, nor viewed as the antithesis of the Holiness of God. It is the world of imperfection, of blindness, that will some time become perfect, the worthy

¹ Some texts have 'R. Ḥama bar Ḥanina', i.e. the son of R. Ḥanina bar Ḥama.

² Cf. Schlatter, *SH 4 Ev.* p. 46: »...die Formel: seine (Gottes) Welt, עולמי, wird bei den Palästinensern stabil«.

abode of the Šēkīnā. The relation of the Holy One to 'his world' is, as far as we know, never expressed by the term 'love' (אהבה, חבה). The following may be cited as characteristic expressions of this relationship:

GenR 12 15:

כך אמר הקב"ה אם בורא אני את העולם במדת הרחמים הוי חטייה סניאין במדת הדין היאך העולם יכול לעמוד אלא הרי אני בורא אותו במדת הדין ובמדת הרחמים והלאוי יעמוד.

»Thus said the Holy One: If I create the world in (by) the attribute of mercy [alone], their sins will be exceeding[ly great]; [if] by the attribute of justice [alone], how shall the world be able to subsist? No, behold, I will create it by the attribute of justice and by the attribute of mercy together, and I will that it may subsist», *i.e.* not become so corrupt that even God's mercy cannot save it from the destruction which his Justice must decree on it. The *Divine attitude toward the world is thus characterized as one of Mercy and will to see it saved.*¹

God's attitude towards man quā man is expressed by the term of love in the wellknown dictum by R. 'Aqiba recorded in *Pirqe 'Āboṣ* 3 21:

הוא היה אומר הכיב אדם שנברא בצלם

»He (R. 'Aqiba) used to say, Beloved is man [by God], that he was created in [his] image.»

With this may be contrasted the frequent dicta relating to God's love for Israel or for the righteous, e.g. in the sequel to the dictum just quoted from *Pirqe 'Āboṣ*. Cf. *Sifre*, 60 d *GenR* 32₂ (Israel says to the nations of the world: 'you have no part in him [God]', ref. to *Cant.* 63).

The inherent evil aspect of the 'world' is usually attached to the term הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה (= ὁ κόσμος οὗτος), especially in contrast to עוֹלָם הַבָּא, (the future world). To this term can be applied, with equal exactitude, the features that are maintained by Bauer² as

¹ Cf. however, the benedictions in the liturgy referred to as 'ahābāp 'ōlam' and 'ahābā rabbā (I Elbogen, *Jüd. Gottesdienst*² p. 20) *TB Ber* 11 b.

² *J. Ev.*³ p. 18: »Er (the κόσμος) erscheint als der Gegensatz zu Gott... als die Finsternis... ja das Gottfeindliche, die ganz und gar vom Satan beherrschte Sphäre. Er hat weder Verständnis für den Logos (substitute: 'God' or 'the Šēkīnā'), noch Sympathie für seine Anhänger. Vielmehr hasst er alles, was nicht von seiner Art ist und wird deshalb ausdrücklich vom Kreise derer ausgeschlossen, für die Christus bittet. *Für die abschätzige Bewertung des Kos-*

specially characteristic for the Jn-ine conception of $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ($\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$). The Jn-ine $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is no doubt the literal translation of the Hebrew עולם הוה (Aramic: עלמא דין or דני עלמא).¹ Hence there is no greater difficulty in the seemingly contradictory conceptions of the world e.g. in Jn 3^{16,17} compared with 8²³ or 12³¹. The corresponding variant use of the term 'world' is found in the Rabbinic עולמין , God's created world, compared with עולם הוה viewed as the very antithesis to the Divine world.

The nearest parallels in Hermetic writings to the ideas of the Jn-ine passage under discussion are perhaps best summed up in the following references:

(1) *Corp Herm I*₂ (acc. to Scott) $\delta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\delta\ \omega\nu\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \varphi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omega\ \delta\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\ \omega\varsigma\ \iota\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \eta\gamma$, $\tau\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\delta\ \epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\alpha\ \epsilon\chi\omega\nu$. $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \iota\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\rho\varphi\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omega\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ »But Noûs the Father of all, he who is Life and Light, gave birth to a Man, a Being like to Himself. And He took delight in Man, as being His own offspring; for Man was very goodly to look on, bearing the likeness of his Father. With good reason then did God take delight in Man; for it was God's own form that God took delight in: And God delivered over to Man all things that had been made.» The reference is here to the First, Celestial Man. The passage is strikingly similar to 'Aqiba's dictum in *Pirqe 'Abōth* quoted above. To show its bearing on the conceptions of Jn 3¹⁶ we must refer to the sequel of *Corp Herm I*. The Celestial Man descends into the physical world, the $\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$; from his 'marriage' with $\varphi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, i.e. his entrance into the physical world, seven terrestrial men are brought forth, i.e. as physical organisms, from whom, subsequently, the human terrestrial beings are generated. Earthly man may, however, have something of the Celestial Noûs in him; to him the Divine message is delivered: »And let the man that has $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in him recognize that he is immortal, and that the cause of death is carnal desire. And he who has recognized himself enters into

mos ist es bezeichnend, dass er „diese“ Welt heisst und so in Gegensatz zu einer anderen tritt», as if the Rabbinical term 'this world' in a technical sense had never existed! On references *vide* below on 9²⁸.

¹ $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is indeed a more literal translation than the synoptic $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\nu\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$. It is to be noticed, that in עולם הוה the sense of $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is present, as well as that of $\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\nu$, and frequently the *emphasis* is on the former sense. $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\nu\ \delta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ is = לעתיד לבא .

the Good.» (καὶ ἀναγνωρισάτω ὁ ἕννοους ἄνθρωπος ἐχυτὸν ὄντα ἀθάνατον, καὶ τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου ἔρωτα ὄντα. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωρίσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν χωρεῖ. *Corp Herm* I 18.) The question 'Why is it that he who has recognized himself enters into the Good?' is answered thus: 'It is because the Father of all consists of Light and Life and from him Man has sprung . . . If then, *being made of Life and Light, you learn to know that you are made of them, you will go back into Life and Light*. ('Ὅτι ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ ζωῆς συνέστηκεν ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὄλων, ἐξ οὗ γέγονεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος . . . ἐάν οὖν ἐκ ζωῆς καὶ φωτὸς ᾖν, μάθῃς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐκ τούτων τυγχάνεις, εἰς ζωὴν καὶ φῶς πάλιν χωρήσεις. *Corp Herm* I 21.) The *Saviour*, coming from the Father, the Νοῦς, and also called Νοῦς, relates of his function thus: 'I, even Νοῦς, come to those men who are holy and good and pure and merciful; and my coming is a succour to them, and forthwith they recognize all things, and win the Father's grace by loving worship, and give thanks to him, praising and hymning him with hearts uplifted to him in filial affection' (παράγινομαι ἐγὼ ὁ νοῦς τοῖς ὁσίοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ καθαροῖς καὶ ἐλεήμοσι, καὶ ἡ παρουσία μου γίνεται αὐτοῖς βοήθεια, καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ πάντα γνωρίζουσι, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἰλάσκονται ἀγαπητικῶς, καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν εὐλογοῦντες καὶ ἠμνοῦντες, τεταγμένοι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ στοργῇ. *Corp Herm*. I 22).

The conception of the supreme God as taking delight in the archetypal man is, of course, really identical with that of God as loving mankind, since the archetypal man includes in himself the whole human world; similarly I 22 implies a volition on the part of the Supreme God towards the salvation of the spiritual (noetical) in man; it is, however, apparent, that the idea of 'love' does not play any constitutive rôle. On the other hand, the prominence given to the conceptions of Life and Light, and also of truth, forms an actual parallel to Jn 3¹⁶⁻²¹.

The most noteworthy parallel is, however, that referring to the relation between the full attainment of Life and Light, and the inception of spiritual existence in earthly life. This inception is caused by the entrance into the worthy of the succouring Νοῦς, the counterpart to a certain degree of the Celestial Power-Messenger in Mandæan mysticism. By this they are awakened to recognize (γνωρίζειν, ἀναγνωρίζειν) their celestial origin. The real entrance into Life and Light, the Spirit's ascent, does not take place, it would seem, until after the death of the physical body (I 24 ff.), yet it is begun already by the said recognition; a new life is

attained which is viewed under the aspect of aspiration, of motion upwards, in which the attainment of 'Life and Light' is somehow inherent. Now, by the speaker in *Corp. Herm.* I 26 this stage is expressed by the words: διὸ πιστεύω καὶ μαρτυρῶ ὅτι εἰς ζωὴν καὶ φῶς χωρῶ. The πιστεύειν here follows, not on thinking, but on an inner experience: it is itself directed towards the Life and the Light; one might perhaps say that πιστεύειν itself is a motion towards the final goal, it is a spiritual force which makes itself felt as a realization of the Life and Light inherent in that experience, and as a confident aspiration towards a future complete possession of that same Life and Light. A similar connotation adheres to πιστεύειν in *Corp. Herm.* IV 4, quoted above p. 74, »believing that you shall ascend . . .» In *Corp. Herm.* IX 10, again, πιστεύειν seems to refer to an intellectual process.

(2) God's relation to the κόσμος is variously described in the *Hermetica*. Acc. to *Corp. Herm.* VIII κόσμος is the second God (δεύτερος θεός); κόσμος »has been made, and is maintained in being, by the first God»; God is called the Father of the κόσμος, since »it has been made by God in his image» (κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος); man has been made in the image of the Kosmos, and feels himself to be a part of the κόσμος, but he also apprehends — by ἔγνοια — the first God. »In his account of the relation between God and the Kosmos the writer is dependent on the *Timæus* of Plato.»¹ Special attention may be called to the passage acc. to which the Father, having generated the κόσμος, took delight in it.² Acc. to *Corp. Herm.* VI 2 b the »Kosmos is good, in that it makes all things», (being the »proximate maker of individual organisms», whereas »God is the supreme Maker of all things»³), »but in all other aspects the Kosmos is not good». Acc. to *Corp. Herm.* X 12, »the Kosmos is not-good, as being subject to movement; but it is not-evil, as being immortal», and *ib* 14: »There are these three then, — God, Kosmos, Man. The Kosmos is contained by God, and man is contained by the Kosmos. The Kosmos is son of God; man is son of the Kosmos, and grandson, so to speak, of God.» *Corp. Herm.* XII 15, again, enunciates: ὁ δὲ σύμπας κόσμος οὗτος, ὁ μέγας θεός, καὶ τοῦ μείζονος εἰκῶν, καὶ ἠγνωμένος ἐκείνῳ, καὶ σώζων τὴν τάξιν κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν τοῦ

¹ W. Scott, *Hermetica* ii 189.

² W. Scott, *ib.* ii 37 f. Plato, *Timæus* 37 C. Wellknown is the passage in Philo, *De Ebr* 8 where ὅδε ὁ κόσμος is called ὁ μόνος καὶ ἀγαπητὸς αἰσθητὸς οὐτός.

³ W. Scott, *a. a. O.* pp. 175 f.

πατρός, πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς ζωῆς, »This whole Kosmos — which is a great god, and an image of him who is greater, and is united with Him, and maintains its order in accordance with the Father's will, — is fulness of life», »There is not, and has never been, and never will be in the Kosmos anything that is dead. For it was the Father's will that the Kosmos, as long as it exist, should be a living being; and therefore it must needs be a god also.»

(3) The expression 'God loves' is applied to τὸ καλόν and τὸ ἀγαθόν in the pronouncedly Platonic *Libellus* VI of *Corp. Herm.* (ὦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐρᾷ VI 4).

(4) *Love* (ἔρωσ) as a celestial principle occurs in *Corp. Herm.* XVIII 14 b: οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν ἐκείσε πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορά, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἐκείσε, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐν φρονοῦσι, μία δὲ πάντων πρόγνωσις, εἰς αὐτοῖς νοῦς (ὁ πατήρ), μία αἴσθησις δι' αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένη τὸ [γάρ] εἰς ἀλλήλους φίλτρον ἔρωσ ὁ αὐτός, μίαν ἐργαζόμενος ἀρμονίαν τῶν πάντων. (Reitz.)

It may be suggested that the nearest parallels, within the Hermetic writings, to the thoughts contained in Jn 3^{16—21} are found in *Libellus* I, which we have here ventured to assume is the earliest part of *Corp. Herm.*¹

The greater part of these parallels are closely related to Rabbinic conceptions quoted above. Only one important expression remains, which probably does not go back on Jewish teachings, viz. I 32, διὸ πιστεύω καὶ μαρτυρῶ. The connotation of πιστεύειν analysed above is evidently almost congruent with that of πιστεύειν in Jn 3^{15, 16, 18}. Suggestive, again, is the juxtaposition of μαρτυρεῖν, also an important term in Johannine language. Apart from μαρτυρεῖν used of the μαρτυρία of J, and of the Father's μαρτυρία on J, it is used in a technical sense of a testimony concerning the Divine power of J, emanating from a personal experience of that power. This technical sense can be recognized already in the testimony by the people in Jn 12^{17, 18}: ἐμαρτύρει οὖν ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ὦν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε τὸν Λάζαρον ἐφώνησεν ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ

¹ This *Libellus* is very closely related to Rabbinic conceptions, especially those of the Palestinian *Gen R.* The notions of the bisexual Ἄνθρωπος (Adam), the archetypal man, as a Celestial Being possessing Life and Light, the obscuring of the conception of the descent of the Spirit (mentioned I 14 in the form of the marriage of the Celestial Man with Nature, resembling the Jewish mystical interpretation of *Gen* 6² as referring to the entrance of the Celestial into mere physical beings), the stress being laid on the ascent (I 24 ff.) resemble the Rabbinic (and Philonic) speculations on the First Man, 'ādām hā-rīšōn. Cf. the characterization of the doctrine of *Corp. I* given by Scott (*Hermetica* ii pp. 7, 8).

νεκρῶν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὄχλος. The people's μαρτυρία is not a mere 'bearing record' (A. V.), but a testimony to the fact, that they had seen a σημεῖον, and through this σημεῖον recognized in J a God-sent man, a prophet, who possessed a Divine power. They had obtained an experience of the higher life inherent in J, even if that experience was a very superficial one. Similarly the Baptist's testimony refers to the Divine-spiritual οὐσία of J: as the Light (who has come into the world) 1^{8,9}, as the one who ἔμπροσθεν μου γέγονεν ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν 1¹⁵ on whom the Spirit descended 1³², who is the son of God 1³⁴. The Baptist's testimony is thus characterized: μεμαρτύρηκεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ 5³³. The same significance attaches to the testimony which the disciples, acc. to 15^{26,27} will be able to give in conjunction with the testimony of the Spirit of truth. Exactly identical language is used by 1 Jn: ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη, καὶ ἐώρακαμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἣτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν (1 Jn 1²) ἡμεῖς τεθεάμεθα καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτήρα τοῦ κόσμου (1 Jn 4¹⁴). The μαρτυρία refers both to the Eternal Life sent from the Father, revealed to the believers, and to their experience of that Life as the Saviour. The inference is that although the μαρτυρία is based on what has been 'seen', only he who has seen and *believed* can give this testimony. Only he who has believed and experienced the higher, spiritual, divine, life of J has really 'seen' in such a way as to be able to testify. One may compare 1 Jn 5¹⁰: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχει τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐν αὐτῷ. Evidently the μαρτυρία of the speaker in *Corp. Herm.* 1³² is likewise technically connected with his newly obtained experience of the higher life.

The identity of general connotation of πιστεύειν and μαρτυρεῖν in Jn and *Corp. Herm.* I at the same time serves to underline the constitutive difference. Whereas *Corp. Herm.* refers the πίστις and μαρτυρία to the experience of the Eternal Life *per se*, to Jn πιστεύειν and μαρτυρεῖν can only have one object: the Son of Man. Whatever experiences of the Divine and Celestial may be given a man, they can only be given in and by the Son of Man. 'In Him' (ἐν αὐτῷ) the believer has eternal Life. Of him the believer testifies that *he* is the Light and the Life. All Divine gifts that are sent down to the World, are sent down in Him. The words ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν, stand forth as the central thought of 3¹⁶. It is the thought that may be said to be repeated, ex-

pressly or covertly, in every Jn-ine sentence: the essentiality and all-comprehensiveness of the Son of Man.

When turning to the conceptions of the *Odes of Solomon* we meet with a similar duplicity in the use of the term 'world' or 'worlds', **לְעוֹלָם**, **לְעוֹלָמִים**, and in the representations of the relations between the Divine and the world as in Rabbinic and the Hermetic writings. This may be illustrated by the following quotations.

*Od. Sol. XII*¹: »3... Because the Mouth of the Lord is the true *Word* (**דְבַר**), and the door of His *light*; 4. And the *Most High* hath given Him to His *Worlds*. (Worlds) which are the *interpreters of His own beauty*. . . 6. Never (doth the Word) fall, but ever it standeth; His descent and His way are incomprehensible. 7. For as His Work is, so is His limit; For *He is the light* and the dawn of thought. 8. And *by Him the worlds spake one to the other*: and those that were silent acquired speech: 9. And *from Him came love* and concord . . . 10. And *they (the Worlds) were stimulated by the Word*, And they knew Him that made them, Because they came into concord . . . 12. *For the dwelling-place of the Word is man, and His truth is love.*»

The expression in vs. 3, »the Most High hath given Him to His worlds» compares very closely with the Jn-ine τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν. In that Divine Word the Divine Love is inherent and is brought into the worlds: »from Him came *love*, and concord» (cf. *Corp. Herm.* XVIII 14 b, above p. 120), which comes very near to saying that the motive of the gift of the word was God's love, especially when compared with the Jn-ine conception of the Divine Love as inherent in the son and in the believers (Jn 15^{9, 10}, 17²⁶). The worlds are the universe as God's creation (»the interpreters of his own beauty»), but the attention is really focused on man, the ideal man, as the »dwelling-place of the Word». To man as the representative of the world the Divine gift of the true Word has been sent down, and »His truth is love».

*Od. Sol. X*²: »1. The Lord hath directed my mouth by His *Word* (**דְבַר**); and He hath opened my heart by His *Light*. 2. And He hath *caused to dwell in me His deathless life*; and gave me to speak the fruit of His peace; 3. To convert the souls of those who are *willing to come to Him*; and to lead captive a good captivity for freedom. 4. (Christ speaks:) I was strengthened and made

¹ Rendel Harris, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ii pp. 272 f.

² *Ib.* ii pp. 203 f.

mighty and *took the world captive*; And (the captivity) became to me for the praise of the Most High and of God my Father. 5. And the *Gentiles* were gathered together . . . 6. And the *traces of the light* were set upon their hearts; and they *walked in my life* and were *saved* . . .¹

Here the world is clearly the »world of man«. It is used to express the universality of the Divine intention with regard to the human world. Those who accept the Divine gift receive Life and Light and *are saved*. *Od. Sol.* XII and X together reveal a close proximity in diction and conception to Jn 3¹⁶⁻²¹.

Od. Sol. XIX²: »4. And the Holy Spirit opened His bosom, and mingled the milk of the two breasts of the Father, 5. And *gave the mixture to the world* without their knowing; And *those who take (it) are in the fulness of the right hand* (of the Father).

Here likewise the 'world' is used to express the universal object of the Divine Gift. The 'world' refers to the totality of human beings.

Od. Sol. VII³: »11. For He (the 'Father of Knowledge') it is that is incorrupt; the *perfection of the worlds and the Father of them*«. *Od. Sol.* XVI⁴: »19. And the Worlds were made by His *Word*, and by the thought of His heart«. The Father is the Father of the Worlds in their ideal aspect, when viewed as His creation.

Od. Sol. XX⁵: »3. For His thought is not *like* (the thought of) the *world*, Nor (like the thought of) *the flesh*; Nor like them that serve carnally«. *Od. Sol.* XXII⁶: »11. Thy way was without corruption and thy face; thou didst bring *thy world to corruption*; that everything might be *dissolved and renewed*«. This strikes another note. Here the worlds are viewed in their aspect of the abode of corruption, of the flesh, *i.e.* humanity as separated from the Divine Light. God's relation to the world of corruption is expressed by his will to destroy the corruption and renew the world and restore it into its ideal state.

In Mandæan literature the lower world, the κόσμος, as an antithesis to the House of Life and the Worlds of Light is as a rule viewed under the aspect of Evil. The entirety of the lower

¹ Rendel Harris, *O and Ps of Sol.*, ii pp. 203 f.

² *Ib.* ii pp. 298 f.

³ *Ib.* ii p. 241.

⁴ *Ib.* ii p. 284.

⁵ *Ib.* ii p. 312.

⁶ *Ib.* ii p. 326.

world, comprising several worlds (*GR V*¹) or domains of evil, is termed 'the Place of Darkness'², 'that region, the place of Darkness... in which there is no ray of Light'.³ But even with explicit reference to the world of earthly men — 'alma or tibil' — such expressions are used as: 'the world of Darkness, the mughouse of Death'⁴, 'the Naşoræans, who are left behind in the world of Darkness and in the Black Water'⁵, 'behold, the earth is black water!'⁶. This world is under the dominion and is the possession of, the Evil Ones: 'the world of the Evil Ones'⁷ 'I brought Adam out from the World of the Evil Ones'⁸; 'the abode, that is the abode of the Evil Ones, the place that consists wholly of sinners, the world of Darkness, of Envy and Discord, the world in which the Planets abide'⁹, 'the world of impediments (תיקילארא), full of delusion, deceit and fraud (ביהרארא, ויפא וכארבא)'¹⁰, 'the world of Falsehood'¹¹. 'The whole world is something that is nothing (worthless), and (a thing of) trust there is not in it (nothing in which to put ones trust, no security)'¹². The Great Life addresses the world on account of its sins: »O, thou foolish world!... O, thou world, thou wild beast, that dost not know ,from left to right'.»¹³ Tibil, in common with the mortal body, is called 'the house ready to

¹ Quoted above on 3¹³.

² *GR* 70⁸¹ (*Pet* 74^a) אחר השוך

³ *GR* 727.⁸ (*Pet* 756,7): האך דוכתא אתרא דהשוכא... דעוצבא דנהורא ליחבה

⁴ *GR* 183^{27,28} (*Pet* 1805,6): אלמא דהשוכא מאריבא דמוחא

⁵ *GR* 2387.⁸ (*Pet* 2379.10):

נאצוראייא דשביקיא באלמא דהשוכא ומיא סיאויא

⁶ *GR* 265²⁸ (*Pet* 2685,6): הא ארקא מיה סיאויא

⁷ *GR* 263⁸¹ (*Pet* 264¹⁰): אלמא האילין דבישיא

⁸ *GL III* 530¹⁸ (*Pet* 92⁸): מן אלמא דבישיא אפיקתה לאראם

⁹ *GL III* 511¹²⁻¹⁶ (*Pet* 78²⁰⁻²²):

דאורא דדור בישיא אתרא דבולה האמיא אלמא דהשוכא דסינא קינא ופלוניא דאורא דדאורינא שיביאהינא

¹⁰ *GL III* 510¹⁻⁶ (*Pet* 77^{19,20}), cf. *MLi Qolasta* 161⁹.

¹¹ *MLi Qolasta* 143^{8,9}: אלמא דשיקרא

¹² *GL III* 550¹²⁻¹⁵ (*Pet* 106^{23,24}, 107¹):

אלמא בולה מנדאם דלאו מנדאם... ורוחצאנא ליחבה

¹³ *GL III* 585¹, 585^{11,12} (*Pet* 129²¹, 130²):

יח אלמא סאבלא... יח אלמא היחא באלא דמן סמיל לואמין לאערא
probably = dost not even know that which is between thy left and thy right [hand].

fall'¹, 'the worthless abode'². The Evil Ones call the world: 'this our own world'³. With this might be compared the frequent references to the 'King of Darkness', the 'Prince of this world'⁴.

The relation between the World(s) of Light and this world is, however, not viewed exclusively under the aspect of antithesis, or eternal contrast. It is also expressed in terms of the relative *power* of the two realities. Thus, to quote *GR III* 75²³—76¹⁹ (*Pet* 77¹⁸—78⁵):

מיא מן השוכא מקאשאשיא... עותריא מן השוכא מקאשאשיא
 עותריא מקאשאשיא מן השוכא וקאשישיא מן דאיאריא דבה
 קאשישיא טאבותא מן בישוחא דאתאר השוך קאשישיא עשאתא
 האיחא מן עשאתא עכילתא דאתאר השוך קאשישיא תושביהחא [78]
 מן הארשיא ופודריא דבנא דבישא (ד)אבדיא קאשישיא יארדנא
 תליתאיא מן מיא אכליא דאתאר השוך קאשישיא סיברותא מן
 דא ודא דבישיא אבדיא דאתאר השוך קאלא דעותריא קאשישי מן
 בישיא רורביא דאתאר השוך

»The Water is earlier than the Darkness... the Uthras are earlier than the Darkness, the Uthras are earlier than the Darkness and older than the inhabitants in it; the good(ness) is older than the evil of the place of darkness; the living fire is older than the consuming fire of the place of darkness, the praise is older than the magic and sorceries that the evil ones are doing, the third Jordan is older than the consuming water of the place of darkness, the wisdom is older than whatever the evil ones of the place of darkness are doing, the voice of the Uthras is older than the Mighty Evil Ones of the place of Darkness.» This impressive picture needs no comment. [Cf. above p. 57.]

¹ *GL III* 531²⁰ (*Pet* 95¹⁸): באיחא נאפלא, *lit.*: 'the falling house', cf. *GL III* 585¹⁰ (*Pet* 130⁴⁹): אלמא דנפיל לאניקום: 'the world that falls (and) does not rise (again)'.

² *GL III* 535²⁴ (*Pet* 96¹⁸): דאורא באמלא

³ *GR XI* 263^{23, 24} (*Pet* 265^{8, 9}):

הינן להדאדיא אמריא באלמא דנאפישאן קאלא דהייא לאניקרון דניהויא דילן
 »They (the Evil Ones) speak to each other: 'In our own world they shall not voice the call of the Life, for it shall be our possession'». Cf. *GR XI* 267⁶ (*Pet* 269^{15, 16}): 'the angels (demons) of this world' דאלמא האזין

⁴ For references *vide* below on Jn 12²¹.

The Celestial World and the 'Life' is mightier than the Lower World. When the Life enters into relation with this world, it is victorious. This entrance into relation with the lower world is done through a Son or Messenger who carries the Life, or the Mana, within him; and in as far as he does carry the Life within him, he dominates the powers of this world, and cannot be overcome by them. The 'Prince of the whole world' says to Namrus, 'the mother of this world': »The man (*i.e.* the Messenger, Manda dHayye) is greater than all the world; I beheld the image of his face, and I did not rise to the whole height of his stature; I did not rise to the whole height of his stature, for he is greater than all the worlds»¹ (*i.e.* I was no match for him.) This idea is also expressed by frequent representations of the Messenger as the 'Strange Man', who eludes all the plottings of the Evil Ones. They cannot get at him. From this point of view »the lower world is represented as destined to perish»² and the object of the Messenger's work in regard to the believers is to take them away from this world, to make them 'strangers' to the world of Darkness.³ The Spirit ascending after death to its

¹ *GR III* 86^{24, 25} (*Pet* 85¹¹⁻¹⁶):

מארא דכולה אלמא מאליל דימארלה לנאמרום. עמא דהאווין אלמא גאברא דהאווין אבארליא נפיש מן כולה אלמא דמותא דאנפיה הוית ועל כולה קומחה לאקאמית לאקאמית על כולה קומחה אמינטול דנפיש מן כולהון אלמא

Cf. GR III 82⁵⁻¹² (*Pet* 82²⁻⁵):

רוהא לברה תימאר ותאודא למליך הישובא עבא דראב מינאך והאילה מואתאר מן כולהון אלמאך עבא אלמא דנפיש מן דילאך דרורביא בגאואיהון יאהביא
»Ruha speaks to her son, and teaches the King of Darkness: 'There is one who is greater than thou, and whose power surpasses all thy worlds. There is a world that is greater than thine, and mighty ones are housed in it'.»

² *GR II* 62^{9, 10} (*Pet* 67¹⁷⁻¹⁹):

האימינובה במאראיכון מאלכא ראמא דנתורא אמינטול דאלמא האווין שאלים ובאטיל
»Believe in your Lord, the Great King of Light, for this world terminates and perishes.»

GR III 78^{6, 7} (*Pet* 79¹⁰):

כולהון עביראתה באטלא באטליא בני הישוכא
»All the work(s) of the darkness perish, perish do the children of darkness.»

³ *GR X* 241³⁰⁻³² (*Pet* 240^{11, 12}):

דינקרון קאלא דהייה דשאנאי מינה מן אלמא וינאברון נאפשאיהון מן אלמא דהישוכא
»(Manda dHayye speaks: 'The Life procured for me tribes from the tribe of the Life,) that they might voice the call of Life, that is more wonderful than the world, and that they may estrange themselves from the World of Darkness'.»

original abode is enjoined: »Bless thy ancestral home and curse this place!«¹

Since, however, the Messenger from the Life comes to this world to bring Life and Light to the incarnated spirits dwelling in it, the relation between »the Life« and the World can be represented in a different manner, without any real contradiction. *The Beloved Son* comes to the world from the abode of Light, and through him, Love (or Goodness, *ṭabuta*) enters this world. (*Vide* the quotation from *GR III* 91¹¹⁻¹⁸ given above p. 77).² The love or goodness is connected with the rise of the world of human beings. The 'three Uthras' (cf. above p. 83 l. 1), the helpers of the Beloved Son, come and guard the spirit, cause the voice of Life to be heard, and *enlighten the House ready to fall* (*i.e.* this world). The Uthras bring *Water*, and create a Jordan in the world, and spread out splendour over it. (*GR III* 92, *Pet* 89). The first-born son puts all worlds in order (cf. quotation from *GR V* 165, *Pet* 155, above p. 81 l. 20 f.). Hence it can be said that the *world* was awakened'³, with reference to the human world, or to the spirits of the tribe of the Celestial Adam. In a similar nexus of thought Adam himself is referred to as a beloved Son (*Bra rahima*), and as the *King of this World*⁴, although then also the Good that has entered the World eludes the Evil rulers: »the Masters of the House do not know that this world has a Master«.⁵ It remains, that 'this world' may be used in a good sense, as the world in which good has entered, essentially in the sense of the ideal human world. To this human world in the World of Darkness the »Life« stands in a relation that might be expressed as 'Friendship' and 'Mercy', actually even

¹ *GL III* 51133-35 (*Pet* 79⁸):

בורכה לבית אנאשאך ולומה להאזין אתרא

² Cf. *GR III* 114¹⁷⁻¹⁹ (*Pet* 105⁹⁻¹¹):

כוי עתהאשאב בישואן אנא עתהאשביה על טאבתא דעבאד טאבותא
באלמא

»When the Evil Ones planned (evil things) in their evilness, I planned a good thing, that I might perform goodness in the world.«

³ *GR XI* 261⁵ (*Pet* 262⁶): עתיאיר אלמא

⁴ *GR III* 107^{13, 14, 31, 32} (*Pet* 100^{8, 9, 23, 24}):

עתיח דענצאב כרא רהומא ... אראם כראי דיליא הו מאלבא דהאזין אלמא

⁵ *GR III* 106^{8, 9} (*Pet* 99⁶):

לאיאדיא מארא דבאיחא דעתלה מארא להאזין אלמא

as 'Love'. From the human world of believers, again, Love is tended towards the Life.

GR V 2 1823-10 (Pet 178 15-20):

אנן על הייא עתירהנינן ועל הייא הואלאן רהצאנא וכושטא
הואלאן בילואיתאן ועתראוריביא בראבות מאנדאך וקאם הייא
לראהמאיכון בראהמותא דִּכושטא וזידקא כוישיריאנא רבא דִּארקא
דִּאיאר אלבישתינכון וכאסאיתניכון זידקא בראהמותא דִּרהימותון
למאנדא דִּהייא הריין ברישאיכון זאכאתא

»We trusted in the Life and in the Life we put trust and Kušṭa was with us. And we waxed great in the Greatness of thy knowledge. And the Life arose to love you (or: have mercy upon you). Because of the Love of Kušṭa (Truth) and Righteousness, I clad you and covered you with righteousness as with a great coat of mail from the earth of ether. Because of the Love, with which you loved Manda dHayye, victory is put upon your head.»

GR XII 271 20, 21 (Pet 274 10):

אחא בטאב כושטא נהורא דִּמאסגיא לבית ראהמה

»Come with goodness, Kušṭa, o Light that descendest to the house of its friends.»

There is a mutual relation of Love between the Life and the believers dwelling in this world. The believers form the good world κατ' ἐξοχήν in the lower world.

For typical examples relating to the entrance of Good into the Lower world one may refer to the passages quoted above, pp. 57 (*MLi* 187, *GR* 15, 33, 103, 266) and 87 (*GR* 241), »In the fragrance of the Water of Life the whole world may exult (shine)«. The 'Water of Chaos', representing the lower world as the world of Darkness and Evil, is transformed by the Water of Life. The Good thus existing in and forming an element of, the world, is seen mainly as the spiritual essence inherent in the human world; but of this spiritual element even the world itself, as the abode of the human beings, partakes to a certain degree (*GR* 176, p. 82, l. 20 above, *GR* 103, p. 57 above). This idea is, however, always accompanied by the strongly emphasized notion that the Good, the element of Life, of Mana, which has thus entered the World, does not really belong there. Hence the scintillation between two opposite views on the demiurg: sometimes regarded as good

and 'holy', sometimes as 'evil'¹, or fallen. Hence also the relation of Life to the world as containing elements of the spiritual may be represented as one of Love, but only in the sense of a will to save the human beings from the Darkness and to cause them to return to the world of Life and Light.

From the parallels in Jewish, Hermetic and Mandæan language and in the *Od. Sol.* adduced above it is evident that Jn is merely adopting the language of the times in his use of the word 'κόσμος'. Hence there is in the Jn-ine use of the word no indication of the meeting of two incompatible lines of thought as peculiar to Jn. He simply adopts, and finds appropriate, the duplicity in the current use of the word.

Further it is noticeable that the Jn-ine use of the word best corresponds to the Jewish one. Apart from the technical term בַּח הָעוֹלָם (Jn 19, ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον) κόσμος is used with reference to the created world, the 'totality of creation' (Jn 1¹⁰, 6¹⁴, 13¹, 17⁵ cf. above p. 115 f., 123) to the human world (Jn 1²⁹, 3¹⁷, 4⁴², 12^{19,47}, 14¹⁹, 17^{6,10}), especially in the sense of receiver of the Divine gifts (3¹⁶, 4⁴²; 6^{33,51}) although these are accepted only by some, the believers (1¹⁰, 3¹⁹) — this is also attested in *Corp. Herm., Od. Sol.* and *Mand.* — but also with reference to the world as the domain of evil and darkness, especially, — and this is an originally Jewish usage — in the expression 'this world', ὁ κόσμος οὗτος εἶναι ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ κόσμου, (cf. above p. 116 f.). With the current Jewish notions on the relation of the Holy One to the world Jn, however, joins issue, in so far as they were apt to emphasize Gods' love for *Israel*, as the children of Abraham², or as the accepters of the Tora of Moses, with the double meaning of the Law and the Scripture.³ Against this Jewish restriction Jn emphasizes that God's Love, the Divine Gift and the Salvation have for their

¹ This applies to all the celestial figures represented as demiurges: *Yošamin*, *Abatur* (vide Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* pp. xxvii ff.), the 'second' and 'third Life', *Plahil* (sometimes represented as the son of Abatur, as the 'fourth Life': Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 601, *sub voce*). The underlying thought is that, although 'this world has been made to shine through the demiurg', the work of the demiurg in bringing down the Celestial into the region of Darkness is itself a crime. It means the rise of a strife (cf. *M Joh* 9) between the Good and the Evil; the human beings, carriers of the Mana, are led astray into love of the darkness, they 'drink the Water of Chaos', become like the Beings of Darkness, themselves children of Darkness (cf. above p. 57).

² Jn 8³⁹ ff., cf. pp. 116, 139.

³ Jn 5⁴⁵ f., 6⁵², 7²², 9^{28,29}, cf. *Sifre*, *qezop ha-lleraḳā*, 60 c, dī.

object the whole human world: Jn 1²⁹, 3^{16, 17, 19}, 4⁴², 6^{33, 51}. The universality of the Divine Love, therefore, is one specific point of the teaching.

A second specific point is that expressed by the words ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν. As has already been maintained, these words are intended to stress the truth, that the Son is God's gift to the world, and, moreover, is *the* gift. There are no Divine gifts apart from or outside the one-born son. Just as everything is given to him by the Father (Jn 133), so no gift from above can be given to men except by the son. Cf. 6^{32, 33, 35}: ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν, ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ζῶν διδοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ . . . ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς. Just as the teaching 'there is no ascent to heaven apart from the Son of Man' is stressed in intentional contrast to (Jewish) notions of the possibility of ascent into heaven, so this evidently implies an issue with Jewish reliance on certain Divine gifts obtained by Israel. Against this Jn wants to convey that all Divine gifts in the past were really given by the Father through the son, and should have as their object the directing of the hearts of the receivers (πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων) towards the *one* perfect and true gift, the Son.

The third specific point is that of the concluding words of 3¹⁶: μὴ ἀπόλῃσαι, ἀλλ' ἔχη ζῶν αἰώνιον. The antithesis of perdition and eternal life introduced here dominates the whole of the following part of the section, 3^{17—21}. Corresponding to the antithesis in the preceding portion between two worlds and two existences, the part that follows exhibits the contrast between the attributes or qualities of and the laws obtaining in, those two worlds and the existence in them. This contrast is expressed in the terms of eternal life — salvation — light — truth — works performed in God, on one side, and on the other: perdition — judgement — darkness — evil deeds — estrangement from God — hatred of the Light.

Some parallels to the ideas of this section may be adduced.

GR V₂ 182^{27—32} (Pet 179^{8—13})

הוא קאלא בכול ארקא אראב ויזא בכול מדינחא ואחגליא מאנרא דהיזא לכולהון
בנאח אנאשא ומפאריקלון מן השוכא לנהורא ומן האבארא לנהור היזא פוק
מינה מן דבאר צאריא ואטאר וארון נאפשאכון מן ויפא והרארא דהאון אלמא

»The call was [voiced] on all the earth, the splendour arose in every city, and Manda dHayye is revealed to all the children of

man and separates (saves) them from Darkness into Light, from obscurity into the light of Life: 'Go out from the empty desert and estrange yourselves and keep away from the falsehood and delusion of this world'.» Cf. *GR III* 506²⁷—507⁶⁰.

GR XV 296^{27, 28} (*Pet* 299^{23—24})

אפרישינן לנישמאחא דלאנימיהא ולא ניוודא ולאניסתאכרא בהשוכא האשכא
[The Life speaks to the Messenger Anoš:] »Teach the spirits that they may not die nor perish nor be confined in the gloomy darkness!» Cf. *GR IV* 147³⁵—148⁵ quoted above p. 78.

GR II 3 60^{16—25} (*Pet* 66^{4—9})

מן יומא דהואינאך ומן יומא דשוהאך שמאנין מן יומא דהואינאך ליבאן ניהא
עתמליא האימאנובאך טאכא הזאינא לנהוראך ולאנישיאך לאנישיאך כולהון
יומאן ושיחא הרא מן ליבאן לאנישיבאך אמינטול דליבאן לאנעואר והאלין
נישמאחא לאניסתאכראן

[Those awakened by the voice of the Messenger speak:] »From the day that we beheld thee, and from the day that we heard thy words, from the day that we beheld thee, our heart was filled with Peace. They (*l: we*) believed in thee, O Good one, we beheld thy Light and we shall not forget thee; we shall not forget thee all our days and we shall not let thee out from our heart for one hour; for our heart shall not be blinded and these [our] spirits shall not be confined [kept back in, shut in by the Darkness].»

Cf. the frequent saying: »the children of Darkness perish but the children of the mighty Life shall abide» (*e. g.* *GR* 77, 78 quoted above, p. 57 l. 2, 3).

GR V 2 180^{5—15} (*Pet* 175²⁴ 176^{1—9})

קאל הייא מן פיריא ומאל ואדיקיא מן נהורא קאלאיהון דבהיריא זידקא מן
שכינתא תיחאיתא דבשומא דהייא משאבין ואמריא אנן מוחא עדאנין כתיביל
מן יומא דהייא רהימנין ומוחא סנאינין עלאואיכון דילכון הייא עתרהיצנין ועל
שומאיכון הייא כתיביל עתראדאפנין דהול ושאכא בהיריא זידקא להייא והייא
עלאואיכון שכיניא ואנאתון בהיריא זידקא ניהא תריציתון בתריצותא קום קודאמאי
נהאר ונאהר נהורא דיליא עלאואיכון נירניא

»The voice of the Life from the Fruits¹ and the Word of the righteous from the Light; the voices of the *Bhirē Zidqā*² from

¹ *Pire*, plural of *Pira*; on the conception *vide* Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* § 12 and *Mandäische Schriften*, pp. 125 f.

² »The men of tested righteousness», a technical term for the believers, confer the Jewish 'anše hā-ʾəmuna' and 'benē mōhāmnuḥā'. Cf. Odeberg, 3 *En*, ii p. 179.

the lower Škinas, who praise the name of the Life saying: 'We knew the Death in Tibil. From the day that *we loved the Life and hated the Death, we put our trust on thee, o Life*, and on account of thy Name, o Life, we were persecuted in Tibil! Fear the Life and praise the Life, O Bhirē Zidqā, and the Life will dwell¹ on you, and you, O Bhirē Zidqā will be established (erected, lifted up); stand erect before me! Shine and cause to shine! My own Light shall ascend on you.»

Cf. the passages on the separation of Life from Death, Light from Darkness, Good from Evil, Truth from Falsehood, worked by the Judge of all Spirits, quoted by R. Bultmann and W. Bauer² (*MLi* 128, *GR II* 56); cf. also the similar saying in *GR VI* 206²²⁻²⁷ (*Pet* 205⁸⁻¹²).

Other passages illustrating the connexion of the belief in the Life or more especially, in the Messenger, with the attainment of Life are:

GR XI 253²⁰⁻³² (*Pet* 252⁵⁻¹⁷)

מאנרא דהייה האיוון אמארלון לאלמיה כולהון דניהון ואמאר כול נישמאחא דהאחאם רמיבה ביהשוכא ומוחא האנאחה לאחאיוון יומא באחראויא אלמא תיהון לרואהא דנישמאחא דבתיריא וידקא דשומא קאלא דהייה דקראלהון והאימנובה ועחקאימבה במאנרא דהייה והאימין בשוחא דגובריא חלאחא ... (252¹³) דאשכא ואנאחון ניהייה ו(מית)קאימיתון כוי בתיריא וידקא ויוא לכישיא ונהורא מבאסין וארין עלאויאיוון וסאלקיא לאחרא רבא דנהורא ואנאחון האיוויתון כוי שכיניחון בהשוכא דאלמא האיוון ועל נאפשאיכון תיחראחמיתון

»⁵-Manda dHayye spoke to all the beings³ who shall be⁴ and he said⁻⁵: 'O, all you Spirits, who are thrown thither into darkness and death: when that *last day* shall be with you, why will you behold the comfort of the spirits of the *Bhirē Zidqā*⁶ who listened to the voice of the Life, that he made heard to them, and who *believed in*, and became established in *Manda dHayye*, and who *believed in* the words of the three men⁷ ... for you will have

¹ שכיניא.

² R. Bultmann, *D. Bedeut. der neuersch. mand. u. manich. Quellen etc.* (*ZNTW* xxiv) p. 111, W. Bauer, *JEv*² p. 56.

³ lit. 'worlds'.

⁴ *i.e.* who are to be born into this world.

⁵⁻⁵ This is probably a later insertion.

⁶ *i.e.* why should you live in such a way as to be excluded at the last day from the comfort of the righteous.

⁷ *i.e.* Hibil, Šitil and Anoš, cf. above p. 82.

to stand [apart, below] when the Bhirē Zidqā clad in splendour and covered with light pass by you and ascend to the great place of Light and you shall behold this when dwelling in the darkness of this world and you shall pity yourselves.» — In the sequel the non-believers are pictured as thrown into the evil Darkness, where their eyes do not see the light, daily undergoing *punishment*, trial and judgement. And it is said: »Every Naṣoræan who forsakes the way of Life and walks in the way of Darkness, shall fare likewise»¹.

GR XI 255²²—256⁷ (Pet 254²³—255²²)

חום יומא האנארה דסאיפא עשומיא וארקא דתוא ארקא ושומיא באחאיכון
דשיביאהיא [255] סאניבון נאפליא כולהון . . . [255⁵] ואבאתאר מותא אוליתון
בהשוכא נאפליחון ואנא קריתילכון על הייא דשומא דמוחא ליחבהון קריתילון
על נהורא דהשוכא ליחבה קריתילכון דאנאתון לביש זיוא ועחבאסון נהורא ופוק
בעהרא דהייא ועיאפקינכון בשבילא דשומא דמוחא ליחבה ושומא דהשוכא
ליחבה ואנאתון לעלאי דילאי לאשמאתונאן ושוחא דעותריא לאביסמאת עלאואיכון
ואף בניא אנאשא דמן שורבא דאדאם והאוא דפאגראוהון דקאלא דהייא שומא
והאימינבה ועחאפראשבה ושומא קאלא דגובריא עלין תלאהא ושארתיכבה
בשותאיהון סנן מוחא והייא רהים סנן השוכא ונהורא רהים לבאשיון זיוא
ועחבאסון נהורא סאלקיא בעהרא ראבתיא דהייא ואתון ואשכונן הייא אף הינן
קרין קאלא דהייא בעודנאיכון ואנאתון לאשמאתון . . . [255²¹] האשתא עהרא
דאנאתון רהימחונה אריתוכבה לואת אלאהאכון דאשישינכון

»Further, on the day, when heaven and earth take an end, — which heaven and earth were your houses, in which the planets run their course: they all shall fall². . . and after [your] death you shall go forth and fall into the Darkness. Yet I called you to *the Life*, in which the name of death is not, I called you to *the*

¹ GR XI 254²⁴⁻²⁷ (Pet 253¹⁹⁻²¹)

כול נאצוראויא . . . דעוהרא דהייא שאביק ובעוהרא דהשוכא אוליא ואף הינן
האיוין האויאלון

² The passage is in reality directed against the Christian teaching. »Ruha and Christ say: 'I will make you ascend to Paradise. When you leave your body, you shall go there and find Grace'.» (GR 255¹²⁻¹⁴.) But »Ruha and Mšiha (the Christian Messiah) and the Sun and the Moon and the Planets all take an end. Also the children of man who confessed Ruha, Mšiha and the God shall take an end together with Ruha.» Mšiha's promises to his believers of a spiritual, eternal Life will after their death be found out to have been a fraud. The import is: Mšiha was not a genuine Messenger from the Life.

Light, in which *Darkness* is not, I called you [saying]: 'Clothe yourselves in splendour and cover yourselves in light and go out on the way of the *Life*'. And I will cause you to go out (= lead you) on the path on which the name of Death is not, and the name of Darkness is not!' But you did not listen to me, and the words of the Uthras did not please you. Also the children of man, of the tribe of the corporeal¹ Adam and Hauua, who listened to the voice of the Life and *believed* in it and were taught by it, and heard the voice of these three men² and divulged (in) their words, who *hated the Death* and *loved the Life*, who *hated the Darkness* and *loved the Light*, clad themselves in splendour and covered themselves with light, *ascended* on the great way of the Life and came and *found the Life* — they also made the voice of the Life to be heard in your ears but you did not listen ... now, on the way that you loved, you arrive to your gods who led you astray.»

M Joh XIII 57 (T 524—535)

נצבויא לאשגאנרא ועל רדא ד־דאריא שאדויא קראבֶּה בכאלווא בגאוה ד־מארגנוש אלמא על קאלא ד־שגאנרא אדאם ד־שאכִיב עחאר אדאם עחאר ד־שכִיב אל־אנפֶּה ד־שגאנרא נפֶּאק ... כולהון למאב עדיכרוך ולדיליא ניצבון ושאררין עלאך עתית עיאפרישאך אדאם ד־עפארקאך מינֶה ד־האווין אלמא צות וישומא [53] ועחאפראש וסאק בואכותא לאחאר נהור אדאם שומא ועתהאימאן טובֶה למאן ד־שומא והאימאן מן אבאתראך אדאם נסיב כושמא טובֶה למאן ד־נסיב כושמא מן אבאתראך אדאם סכא וסליק טובֶה למאן ד־ניסאק מן אבאתראך

»They created the Messenger and sent him to the Head of the Generations i.e. Adam. He called with a heavenly voice³ into the turbulence of the words. At the voice of the Messenger, Adam who lay (in sleep⁴) *awoke*. Adam who lay in sleep awoke, and went out to meet the Messenger. [Adam welcomes the Messenger, as having come from his Fathers house. The Messenger speaks to Adam:] 'All remembered thee for good and procured me and sent me to thee. I have come, I will teach thee, O Adam, and *deliver thee from this world*. Listen and hear and take teaching and ascend victorious to the Place of Light!' Adam heard and

¹ v. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. 316.

² cf. above, p. 132, n. 7.

³ thus Lidzbarski (»mit himmlischer Stimme«).

⁴ cf. above, p. 36.

became *believing*; — blessed is he who *believes* after thee! — Adam took possession of Kuṣṭa (*truth*); blessed is he who, after thee, takes possession of Kuṣṭa! — Adam *looked on high with hope*¹ and ascended; happy is he, who ascends after thee.»

GR XI 256²⁴ ff. (*Pet* 256¹² ff.). The Original, First One who originated from himself (*qadimē qadmāyā dmineh huā*) instructs his *beloved Son* and the three Uthras to *acquit from judgement* the spirits dwelling in the World of Darkness, who listen to the words of the Life and are established through Manda dHayye. Hibil, the eldest brother, is given the function of being the »judge over the judges of this world«. This forms a parallel to Jn 3¹⁸: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν οὐ κρινεται.

GR XI 257¹⁴⁻²⁰ (*Pet* 257¹⁶⁻²²)

כול נישמאתא דהאימאנוכהון בהיריא וירקא ניתקאימון לואתאיכון בהא שכניחא האזא ראבתיא דהייא וענדרונא דשאילכון דהייא רביא ניהתקאימנכון מאנרא דהייא בה בשכינתא האזא נאסקינכון לבית הייא אף כול נישמאתא דגדיל ביסרא וזמא דקאלא דהייא שאמין והאימין לאנפא ניהוילוך לבית הייא

»All the spirits who *believed in (the Life)* shall be established with you² as Bhire Zidqā, in this great Škina of the Life and in the room of the Great Life, which I have arranged for you. Manda dHayye will establish you in this Škina and make you ascend to the House of Life. Also all spirits of [those] formed out of (*or*: as) flesh and blood, who listen to the voice of the Life and *believe*, shall dwell before the Presence, in the House of Life.»

The idea of escape from judgement for 'those who believe', is also attested in other contexts.

GR II 3 60²⁶⁻⁴¹ (*Pet* 66⁹⁻¹⁶)

מאללית דעמארלון כול מאן דתאיוב על נאפשה נישמה גיורא ליכא ולאייח דמארא אגוזר עלה הינעלא בישיא הינון כאדאביא מאגזיריא על נאפשייתהון דמהאילון ולארהאזין וקארילון ולאשאמון ולאמהאימניא בישיא בצוביאנון נאפלייא ביאמא רבא דסוף מישתיכניא בהשוכא ובאלאלון טורא האשכא אלמא ליומא יום דינא ואלמא לשיחא שאייה דפורקאנא אנן דמשאבינין מאראן האמאיין והאובאן תישבוקלאן

¹ סכא combines the sense of 'gaze, look' with that of 'hope'. What is meant here is really the בונה, mentioned above pp. 108 and 110.

² referring to the three Uthras.

»I spoke and said to them: 'Everyone who returns (to the Life), on his spirit *there shall be no decree (of judgement)* nor shall it be that the Lord shall decree (punishment) on him; but the *wicked*, they, the liars, they decree on [= bring judgement upon, *condemn*] *themselves*; for one shows them and they do not see, and one calls unto them, and they do not listen nor do they believe; *the wicked fall through their [own] will* into the great sea of the Suf; they are made to dwell in the Darkness, and the dark mountain swallows them up, until 'the day', the day of judgement and until the hour, the hours of deliverance.' We who praise [thee,] our Lord, our sins and our guilt thou wilt remit for us.» Here, then, the escape from judgement for the believers is conjoined with the *self-judgement* of the wicked, as in Jn 3¹⁸.

GL III 4 512²²⁻³¹ (Pet 79¹⁵⁻²⁰) MLi Qolasta XCII 1577—11

אלמיה כנפיה לדינא ודינא מינאיהון מיתמאר דינא מיתמאר מינאיהון דלאבאר
 עובאדיא דנבאר כשיט אנאח בלהודאך בהירא דאכיא מאנא סקולא דסקולת
 דלאולית לבית דינא ודינא מינאך לאמיתמאר לאמיתמאר דינא מינאך דאבאר
 עובאדיא דנבאר כשיט

»The worlds gather for judgement, and judgement is delivered on them, judgement is delivered on them because they have not done the works of a truthful man. Thou, alone, O elect [and] pure one, thou shining Mana, who doth shine¹, *shalt not go to the assize*², and *judgement shall not be delivered on thee*, not on thee shall judgement be delivered since thou hast done the works of a truthful man!« Here the notions of the judgement to be executed on the wicked are within the traditional bounds.

A clear enunciation of the self-judgement of the wicked is, however, found in GR V 2 183^{11f.} (Pet 180¹):

כמהיחא דנאפשיהון נתימחון ומתיחא דיליא לאתיהויא עלאואיהון

»By their own blow[s] they shall be stricken and my blow shall not (need to) come upon them.«

The idea of the self-condemnation of the Wicked by their love of the Darkness and their evil deeds is also expressed in

¹ The spirit of the believer is meant.

² בית דינא, cf. the Jewish בית דין.

M Joh L 179^{18—21} (*T 182*^{11—13})

דְּבַעְדָּהּ אֹאֵר אֵינָהּ מֵאֵן הָאוּלָּהָ אַסְיָא דְּבַקְאָרְנָהּ פֵּאֵיט עֹוהֲרָהּ
מֵאֵן הָאוּלָּהָ אַרְדִּיכְלָא

»He who by his [own] hand blinds his eye, who shall be for him a healer; he who with his own horn destroys his road, who shall be for him a roadmender?»¹

It is remarkable that there exists a very close parallel between the Mandæan conception of the self-judgement of the wicked and a Rabbinic dictum conveying the same idea. Fire being of old the symbol of the punishment, or the means of punishment, the self-judgement could be symbolized by the fire as quelling forth from within a wicked man and devouring him. Thus *GR V*₃ 183 (*Pet 179/180*) referred to above has: »Fire will blaze out from their [own] face, it will destroy the spot between their shoulders [the seat of the Mana] and punish them for their pride». Similarly *Gen R*, 6₁₀ runs:

ר' ינאי ור"ש תרווליהו אמרין אין גיהנם אלא יום שהוא מלהט את הרשעים. מה טעם הנה יום בא בוער כתנור וגו'. רבנן אמרי יש גיהנם. שנאמר נאם ה' אשר אור לו בציון וגו'. ר' יהודה בר אלעי אומר לא יום ולא גיהנם אלא אש שהיא יוצאה מגופן של רשעים ומלהטת אותן מ"ש דכתיב תהרו חשש תלדו קש רוחכם אש האכלכם.

»R. Yannai and R. Šim'on both said: 'There is no Gehenna; it is [the] 'day' that burns the wicked. Why? (Because it is written in *Mal.* 4¹): For behold, the day cometh that shall burn as an oven etc.' Our teachers say: 'There is a Gehenna; for it is written (*Isa* 31⁹): Sayth the Lord; who has a fire in Sion [and a furnace in Jerusalem]'. R. Y^hudā bar 'Æl'ay [of the school R. 'Aqibā] said: 'Not a day nor Gehenna [are the means of punishment], but a fire that goes forth from the body of the wicked and burns them. Why? Because it is written (*Isa* 33¹¹): 'Ye shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble; your breath as a fire shall devour you'»²

The background of *Jn* 3^{16—21}, as has already been said, is formed

¹ Quoted by Bultmann, *Neuerschl. Mand. u. Man. Qu.* p. 111 as illustrating: »Aber nicht alle wollen das Licht sehen».

² The opinion was of course heterodox. It is significant that the commentary, *Mattēnoṣ K^hunnā*, passes R. Y^hudā's words in silence.

by the ideas centering in the antithesis between the two spheres of realities: one that of Faith — Freedom of Judgement and Death — Salvation — attainment of Life — Love of Light — Works of Truth 'wrought in God', the other that of refusal to believe — Judgement and Death — Perdition — Darkness — Evil Deeds. To this general nexus of ideas there are frequent parallels in Rabbinic:

Mek 13 d 14 a

ויאמינו בה' ובמשה עבדו. אם במשה האמינו ק"ו בה' בא זה ללמדך שכל מי שמאמין ברועה נאמן כאלו מאמין במאמר מי שאמר והיה העולם. כיוצא בדבר אתה אומר וידבר העם באלהים ובמשה אם באלהים דברו ק"ו במשה אוב"ל שכל מי שמדבר ברועה נאמן כאלו מדבר במי שאמר והיה העולם. גדולה האמונה שהאמינו ישראל במי שאמר והיה העולם שבשכר שהאמינו ישראל בה' שרתה עליהם רה"ק ויאמרו שירה שנ' ויאמינו בה' ובמשה [14 a] עבדו ונ' אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל וכן אתה מוצא שלא ירש אברהם אבינו העולם הזה והעולם הבא אלא בזכות אמונה שהאמין בה' שנ' והאמין בה' ויחשבהו לו צדקה. . . . ר' נחמיה אומר כל המקבל עליו מצוה אחת באמונה כדאי הוא שתשרה עליו רה"ק שכן מצינו . . . במשה וברוד ובדבורה שאמרו שירה ושרת עליהם רה"ק וכן את מוצא שלא ננאלו ישראל ממצר' אלא בשכר האמונה שנ' ויאמין העם וכה"א אמונים נוצר ה' מזכיר אמונות אבות ואהרן יחור חמכו ביהם זה השער לה' צדיקים יבאו בו בבעלי אמונה מהו אומר ויבא גוי צדיק שומר אמונים שער זה כל בעלי אמונה נכנסין בו טוב להודות . . . ואמונתך בלילות . . . כי שמחתני ה' בפעליך במעשה ידיך ארנן מי גרם לבא לידי שמחה זו שכר אמנ' שהאמינו אבותינו בעולם הזה שכלו לילה שכן נאמר להגיד בבקר חסדך ואמונתך בלילות.

»'And [the people] believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses (Exod 14:31).' If they *believed* in Moses, it follows that they believed in the Lord. [Why, then, are both mentioned?] It is to teach you, that *every one who believes in a faithful shepherd* [is regarded] *as if he believed in the word of him who spoke, and the world was* [i.e. who created the world by his word]. It is the same with the word you read [in Num 21:5]: 'And the people spake against God and against Moses'. If they spoke against God, naturally they spoke against Moses! But the word comes to teach you that

everyone who speaks against a faithful shepherd [is considered] as if he had spoken against him who spoke, and the world was. Great is the faith, with which Israel believed in him who spoke and the world was, for by recompense of their believing in the Lord *the Holy Spirit remained (dwelled) on them*¹ and they sang a song² as is written: 'and believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses' and 'then sang Moses and the children of Israel (*Exod 15*¹)'. And likewise you find that Abraham our father did not inherit this world and the world to come except by virtue of the faith with which he believed in the Lord, as it is said (*Gen 15*⁶): 'And he believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness'.³ R. N^ohæmyā said: Every one who takes upon himself one commandment in faith is worthy that the Holy Spirit rest upon him... And so we find with regard to Moses and David and Debora that they sang a song, the Holy Spirit remaining upon them; and likewise you find that *Israel were not saved out of Egypt except by virtue (recompense) of the faith*, as it is said: '[Thus the Lord saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians]... and the people... believed'. (*Exod 14*^{29f.}). And thus it is said (*Ps 31*²³): 'The Lord preserveth the faithful'. [And similarly the Scripture] remembers the faith of the fathers, [as it is said, *Exod 17*¹²): 'and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, [the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were faithful⁴]; similarly (*Ps 118*²⁰): 'This is the *gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter*'.⁵ What does it say with reference to the men of faith? 'Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the faith may enter in' (*Isa 26*²). *Through this gate all the men of faith enter*. [Further it is said, *Ps 92*¹⁻⁴): 'It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord... to shew forth... thy faith in the nights... For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work: I will rejoice in the works of thy hands.' What was it that caused him to come into this joy? The recompense of *the faith with which our fathers believed in this world which is wholly night*, for thus it is said: 'to shew forth thy lovingkindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night'. Here, in this way, are represented the ideas of faith in God

¹ Cf. Jn 1³⁸.

² by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

³ Cf. Rm 4.3.9.

⁴ thus to be rendered acc. to the context.

⁵ Cf. Jn 10⁹ cfd with 3¹⁶.

and his Messenger — salvation — righteousness (= works of truth) contrasted with rejection of God and his Messenger, — this world — night — darkness.

The deeds of the righteous are connected with Light and the deeds of the wicked with Darkness:

Gen R 3 10

א"ר ינאי מתהלת ברייתו של עולם צפה הקב"ה מעשיהן של צדיקים ומעשיהן של רשעים והארץ היתה תהי אלו מעשיהן של רשעים ויאמר אלהים יהי אור אלו מעשיהן של צדיקים ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החושך בין מעשיהן של צדיקים למעשיהן של רשעים ויקרא אלהים לאור יום אלו מעשיהן של צדיקים ולחושך קרא לילה אלו מעשיהן של רשעים ויהי ערב אלו מעשיהן של רשעים ויהי בקר אלו מעשיהן של צדיקים

»R. Yannai said: 'From the beginning of the creation of the world the Holy One, blessed be He, beheld the *works of the righteous* and the *works of the wicked*; and the earth was without form and void (*Gen 1²*), this is the works of the wicked; and God said, Let there be *light* (*Gen 13*)', this refers to the *works of the righteous*; and God divided the light from the darkness (*ib.*), *i.e.* the works of the righteous from the works of the wicked; 'And God called the *light Day* (*Gen 15*)', this refers to the *works of the righteous*; and the *darkness* he called *Night* (*ib.*), this is the *works of the wicked*; and it was evening (*Gen 18*)', this is the works of the wicked; and it was morning' (*ib.*), this is the works of the righteous'.¹

Lev R 27 1

ר' יהודה ב"ר אמר... כך אמר הב"ה גיהנם חשך דכתיב יהי דרכם חשך וחלקלקו ותהום חשך שנאמר וחשך על פני תהום והרשעים חשך שנאמר והיה במחשך מעשיהם יבא חשך ויכסו חשך שנאמר כי כהכל בא ובחשך ילך ובחשך שמו יכוסה

»R. Y^hudā b. 'Æl'ay, in the name of an anonymous Rabbi, said: ... thus saith the Holy one: Gehenna is Darkness, as it is written: 'Let their way be dark and slippery, [and let the angel of the

¹ Cf. the similar passage, *Gen R 18*, quoted by Schoettgen, *HHetT*, p. 332, and Billerbeck, ii p. 427, and *Gen R 27*, quoted by Billerbeck, *ib.* pp. 427, 428, cf. also *Gen R 24*.

Lord, *i.e.* the angel of death persecute them *Ps* 35⁶] and the *T'hōm* is Darkness as it is said: 'and darkness was upon the face of *T'hōm* (the deep; *Gen* 1²)' and the Wicked are Darkness, as it is said: 'And their works are in the dark (*Isa* 29¹⁵)', and darkness shall come and cover him (the wicked), as is written: 'For he cometh in with vanity, and departeth in darkness and his name shall be covered with darkness (*Eccl* 6.4).

Gen R 6 14

ולמשול ביום ובלילה וגו' א"ר אילפא אם לענין המאורות הלא כבר נאמר את המאור הגדול לממשלת חיום וגו' ומה ח"ל ולמשול ביום ובלילה אלא אלו הצדיקים שהן שולטין כמה שנברא להאיר ביום ובמה שנברא להאיר בלילה הה"ד וירם השמש וירח עמד עד יקם גוי אויביו

»And to rule over the day and over the night etc. [*Gen* 1¹⁸] *R. Ilfa* (2nd *gen. Pal. Amor.*) said: 'Do these words refer to the lights (*scil* of *Gen* 1¹⁶)? Has not the scripture just said (*Gen* 1¹⁶): 'the greater light to rule the day etc.'? And why does the scripture say [in the present verse]: 'and to rule over the day and over the night?' Answer: the latter are the righteous who rule over that which has been created to give light in the day and over that which has been created to give light in the night. For it is said (*Jos* 10¹³): 'And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies'.

The acceptance of the Divine word gives Life, exempts from Death and Condemnation symbolized by the Angel of Death. On the other hand the angel of death is the ruler of this world, the world of darkness and evil deeds. Through evil doings, which are essentially to be regarded as a deviation from God and his world, man merges himself into the World of Darkness:

Lev R 18 3

א"ר יוחנן בשם ר' אליעזר בנו של ר' יוסי הגלילי בשעה שעמדו ישראל על הר סיני ואמרו כל אשר דבר יי' נעשה ונשמע באותה שעה קרא הקב"ה למלאך המות ואמר לו אעפ"י שעשיתי אותך קוזמוקרטר על הבריות אין לך עסק באומה זו למה שהן בני הה"ד בני בני אדם לה' אלהים ואומר ויהי כשמעכם את הקול מתוך החשך וכו' יש השך למעלה והבתיב ונהורא עמה שרא אלא ה מלאך המות שקרוי חשך הה"ד והלוהות מעשה אלהים המה וגו' אל תקרי חרות אלא חירות . . . ר' יהודה אמר חירות ממלאך המות

»R. Yoh^anān said in the name of R. ʾĒlīʿāzær, the son of R. Yose the Galilean: In the hour when Israel stood on the mount of Sinai and said: 'All the words which the Lord hath said will we do and be obedient (*Exod 24¹*)', in that hour the Holy One called the *Angel of Death* and said to him: 'Although I have made thee a *κοσμοκράτωρ* (*world-ruler*) over the created beings, *thou shall [henceforth] have no business with this people*, for they are my sons (children). This is the meaning of the word: 'Ye are *children of the Lord God*'. And he said: 'And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness (*Deut. 5²³*)'. Is there then *darkness* on high? Is it not written (*Dan 2²²*): 'and the light dwelleth with him'? Answer: [*the darkness refers to] the angel of death who is called Darkness*. This is what is written (*Exod 52¹⁶*): 'And the tables [of the testimony] were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven [חרות, *hārūṣ*] upon the tables'. Do not read חרות [*hārūṣ*, 'graven'] but חירות [*hērūṣ*, 'freedom'] . . . R. Y^huḏā said: that is, *freedom from the angel of death*.' The children of God, of Light, are freed from judgement and death.

TB K^ᵑṣubbōṣ 111 a

א"ר אלעזר עמי הארצות אינן חיים שנ' מתים בל יהיו וגו' תניא נמי הכי מתים בל יהיו יכול לכל ת"ל רפאים בל יקומו במרפה עצמו מדברי תורה הכתוב מדבר א"ל ר' יוחנן לא ניחא למדיניהו דאמרת להו הכי הוא במרפה עצמו לע"א הוא דכתיב א"ל מקרא אחר אני דורש דכתיב כי טל אורות טליך וארץ רפאים תפיל כל המשתמש באור תורה אור תורה מחייהו וכל שאין משתמש באור תורה אין אור תורה מחייהו

»R. ʾĒlīʿāzār said: the profane people are not living: as it is written (*Isa 26¹⁴*): 'They are dead, they shall not live etc.' There is Bā-raiṣā also here: 'they are dead, they shall not live': possibly to all? [=if these words had been written alone, they could have been interpreted as referring to all mankind]. The scripture [,however, continues and] says: 'The R^ᵑfā'im shall not rise'; the scripture speaks of the one who separates (*m^ᵑrappæ*)¹ himself from the words of the Tora'. R. Yoh^anān said: . . . it refers to those who turn to idolatry . . . He said to him: another passage I will [adduce

¹ playing upon the similarity between רפאים (*rᵑfā'im*) and מרפה (*m^ᵑrappæ*).

and] expound: 'thy dew¹ is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the r^ofā'im': *every one who makes use of the Light of the Tora, him the Light of the Tora makes living, and every one who does not make use of the Tora, to him the Light of the Tora does not give Life*'.

TB 'Ab Zārā 8 a

מיום שסרחתי עולם חשוך בערי

»(Adam says): From the day when I sinned, the world was darkened for me.»

Cf. the dictum: when Adam turned away from the knowledge (*i.e.* laws, or world) of God to that of the serpent, the Light was taken from Him. Works done לרעתו של הקב"ה compares with Jn 3²¹: ὅτι ἐν θεῷ ἔστιν εἰργασμένα.

TB P^sah. 30 a

והיה ביום ההוא לא יהיה אור יקרד' וקיפאון מאי יקרדות וקיפאון א"ר אלעזר זה אור שיקר בעולם הזה וקיפוי לעולם הבא ... ור' יהושע בן לוי אמר אלו בני אדם שיקרין הן בעולם הזה וקפויין הן לעולם הבא .

»'And it shall come to pass in that day that the light shall not be clear nor dark (*Zech* 14⁶).' To what do the words 'clear' and 'dark' refer? R. 'Æl'āzār said: This is the light that is clear in this world but dark in the world to come . . . and R. Y^ohošū^{ac} C. Leui said: the words refer to those children of men who are glorious in this world but dark in the world to come'.²

TB P^sah. 2 b: This world resembles the night, the world to come resembles the day³, *ib.* 2 a: the sun will rise for the righteous in the world to come.⁴

¹ interpreted in the sense of the Dew of Life, of Vivification, cf. above p. 54 f.

² the wicked; cf. *Lc* 6^{24ff.} 16²⁵.

³ TB P^sah. 2 b

ואומר אך חשך ישופנו ולילה אור בערני (*Ps* 139¹¹) אלמא אור יממא הוא החם הכי קאמר דוד אני אמרתי אך חשך ישופנו לעולם הבא שהוא דומה ליום עכשיו העולם הזה שהוא דומה ללילה אור בערני

⁴ TB P^sah. 2 a

ובאור בקר יזרח שמש (*2 Sam* 23⁴) אלמא אור יממא הוא מי כתיב אור בקר ובאור בקר כתיב והבי קאמר וכאור בקר כעולם הזה בעין וריחת שמש לצדיקים לעולם הבא

For the expression 'loved the darkness' (Jn 3¹⁹) reference may be made to *Num R* 96 (also *Tanh Nissā* 5) quoted by Schœttgen¹ and Billerbeck²: 'She (referring to an adulteress) loved the darkness [אפילה]'. Perhaps this passage does not use the word אפילה in the same technical sense in which the Rabbinic dicta quoted above, and Jn 3^{19—21}, use the words השך and σκοτος respectively.

For ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, Hebrew: עושה אמת, Aramaic: עביר קושטא *vide Yalq. N^o 14*, quoted by Schœttgen³, and *Targ* to *Hos* 4¹, quoted by Billerbeck⁴ and cf. the corresponding expression, עבר שקרא (do the lie), in Targum passages quoted by Schœttgen.⁵

Another aspect of the relation between Light and Darkness is touched

TB Tāmīd (31 b) 32 a

ה' דבריו שאל אלכסנדרוס מוקדן את זקני הנגב . . . אמר להן אור נברא תחילה או הושך אמרו לו מילתא דא אין להתפתר . . . אמר להן מה יעבד איניש ויחיה אמרו ליה ימית עצמו מה יעביר איניש וימות יחיה את עצמו אמר להן מה יעביר איניש ויתקבל על ברייתא אמרו יסני מלכו ושלטן

»Ten questions did Alexander of Macedonia ask the Elders of southern Palestine. [Among the questions was this:] Which was created first, Light or Darkness? They answered: That subject is not to be explained (*i.e.* must not be entered upon publicly).» The Rabbinic teachers regarded this question as belonging to the subjects which were apt to lead into heretical, probably dualistic views. This is also hinted at in the sequel where it is stated, that the Elders feared that Alexander, if obtaining an answer, would have entered upon the speculations of the things 'above, below, before and after' which were not permissible. The dictum should be compared with the Mandaitic passages quoted above p. 125 (»the Light is older than the Darkness etc.«). The notions expressed there were evidently not unknown to the Rabbis. Cf. *GenR* 1 21.

¹ *op. cit.* p. 333.

² *op. cit.* ii, p. 428.

³ *op. cit.* p. 334, 1: כל שעושה אמת מקיים

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 429.

⁵ *op. cit.* pp. 334, 335, *Targ* to *Lev* 19³⁶, *Deut* 25¹⁶, *Jerem* 8¹⁰, *Ps* 53¹⁵, 99³, 125⁵, 141⁴, *Hiob* 31⁸, 34²².

For the notion of the 'Son (= Messiah) not judging but saving' reference must be made to the discussion on 5²⁷ and 12³¹.

The Rabbinic conceptions of the Light of the Messiah, as »the Light which surrounds the Messiah and which he mediates to the righteous, often identified with the original Light which God detracted from the world on account of man's sins and preserved for the righteous»¹ are set forth exhaustively by Billerbeck.²

Similarly it suffices to refer to Billerbeck³ for a résumé of the Rabbinic use of the expression 'Light of the World' or 'the Light that comes to the world'. As 'the Light of the World' (נרו של עולם or אורו של עולם) are represented: (1) The Holy One: *Tanh. B^hha^aloṣṣ^hkā* 4, ii 61 b, (2) The first man: *TY Šab* 5 b, cf. *TB Šab* 31 b, (3) Israel *Cant R* 14, fol. 5 a (to *Cant* 13)⁴, (4) Tora and the Temple *TB Bab. Bāḥ. 4 a*, (5) Jerusalem *GenR* 59 8, (6) eminent saints and teachers, e.g. Yoh^anan bæn Zakkai: 'Aḥ. *R. Nāḥ. 25*.

For an investigation into the specific connotations of the term φῶς — an investigation which must needs be based on Wetter's fundamental treatise on the subject⁵ — reference must be made to the discussion on Jn 12^{35,36}.

With a background of the widely ramified current ideas related to Jn 3^{16—21} of which some examples have been given above, it may be possible to determine the exact bearing of Jn 3^{16—21} on the preceding context. This bearing may be summed up as follows:

(1) The κόσμος, in the sense of the 'human world', does not by nature and necessity belong to the ἐπίγεια, the lower, 'physical' realities, in which it lives, or with which it has identified itself.

(2) God loves the world, and because of this love, he wills that the world should not remain identified with the ἐπίγεια but be 'saved'.

(3) God has made an act of love, viz. sent as a Divine gift to the world his only-begotten Son who in himself comprises all Divine gifts and all Divine Efflux from the Divine world to the earthly world. He is Life and Light and Truth.

¹ Billerbeck ii 428.

² Billerbeck i 151, 161 quoting *Fesig R* 36³ and *Fesig* 149 a ii 348.

³ Billerbeck i 236—238.

⁴ מזה השמן הזה מביא אור לעולם כך ישראל אור לעולם

⁵ G. P. Wetter, *Phōs* (ΦΩΣ), Upsala and Leipzig 1915.

(4) The human world, not being of one essence with the earthly world, has in itself something latent which makes it possible for the human beings to receive the Divine gift.

(5) This latent something is the true nature of man; the human world in its ideal state belongs to the Divine world; its object is to return to the Divine, to the Light.

(6) Why is it, that only a part of the human world is saved, receives the Divine gift? The reason is, that only a few human beings actuate the spiritual element in themselves. This activation is termed 'do the truth', 'to do works in God'.

(7) To 'do the truth' is the preparation and condition for the first step from the terrestrial existence into the spiritual existence, *i.e.* it is also the preparation and condition for 'believing'; only in those who 'do the truth' can faith arise.

(8) The rise of faith in those who do the truth is connected with the arrival of the Light in the World; when the Light arrives into the world, those who do the truth recognize the Light, and 'come to the Light'.

(9) The Light coming into the World, or the Light of the World, is the Son of Man. This fact, however, is not here the main object of the teaching; one may ask, why the conception of the Light of the World is introduced here at all. The question is not answered merely by referring to the doctrine of the Prologue 14, 5, 9. The object seems to be twofold: (a) the antithesis of light and darkness being intimately bound up with the antithesis of righteousness and wickedness, of good deeds and evils deeds, the terms 'light' and 'darkness' are used here in order to emphasize the ethical aspect of human allegiance to one or the other of the two kinds of life, of existence, of realities: the spiritual and the terrestrial; men hate the Light and love the Darkness because their deeds are evil; the evil-doers do not come to the Light, they tend in the opposite direction, away from the Light. By this it is enunciated, that an evil-doer can never come to the Light, or believe, or enter the spiritual world.

(b) The Light is used to express that spiritual force or that spiritual activity from the Godhead through the Son, which can reach men and be recognized by them, even before they have begun their spiritual ascent or been born anew.

(10) The arrival of the Light into the Worlds entails a judgement, a κρίσις, יוֹם הַדִּין. On this point Jn rejects the notion, which was frequently expressed in Rabbinic arguments respecting

the relation between God's mercy and justice, or love and judgement, that the *object* of the son's arrival was the judgement of the world. Indeed, in this connexion Jn is best understood, if Jewish terms and conceptions be applied. Those who have actuated the truth in them, come to the Light, and eo ipso, go in under the Divine Mercy and Love [רחמים or חסד], and escape the judgement; those who are carnally minded, the evil-doers, identify themselves with the world of Darkness, and thereby reject God's Love and enter under the Judgement. In the use of the term judgement the threefold sense of discrimination (division, 'sifting'¹), verdict and condemnation is present.² This threefold sense, of course, attaches both to the Greek κρίσις and the Rabbinic דין. The words οὐ κρίνεται of Jn 3¹⁸, however, probably link with the Jewish לא נידון in the sense of 'is not the object of the attribute of judgement, מרתה הרין'. This is corroborated by the fact that the Son, who has not come to judge the world, is at the same time the judge of the world, not merely as the one by their attitude to whom men were immediately judged, but also as the one who 'executes judgement' (Jn 5²⁷ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσαι ποιεῖν). This duplicity of 'escape from judgement in judgement' corresponds very well with the Jewish usage of the דין, according to which the דין, 'judgement' executed by the Holy One is defined as consisting in two Divine relations to man: that of דין or משפט, 'judgement' or 'justice', and רחמים or חסד, 'love' or 'mercy', in which

¹ E. Carpenter, *JWr* p. 442: »The language of Jesus had the immediate effect of dividing his hearers into two opposite classes, those who acknowledge his claims and those who rejected them. This process of 'sifting' was itself judgment. Believers needed it not; unbelievers had experienced it already; they had placed themselves in the ranks of the condemned (iii 16—18).»

ib. p. 443: »When the truth entered the world it began immediately to separate the seeing from the blind (with reference to Jn 9³⁹). Those whose eyes were opened recognised it at once, like the first disciples when they found the Messiah. Judgement of this kind was a natural *discrimination*. By their own characters men were self-allotted to one of two opposing groups. Thus though the Son was not sent into the world to judge it but to save it, he immediately became the ground of its moral partition.»

² Cf. A. Loisy, *Le Quatrième Évangile*² p. 168: »L'auteur ne se lasse pas de jouer sur les mots car il entend 'juger' et 'judgement' au triple sense de discernement, décision judiciaire et condamnation.»

Cf. W. Bauer, *JEv*² pp. 55 f.: »Dabei ist zu beachten, dass auch κρίσις und κρίνεται 17—19 doppelsinnige Ausdrücke sind: 1. = Gericht, Verurteilung; 2. = Scheidung, Sonderung . . .»

also אמת, 'truth' figures prominently.¹ He who by his attitude towards God, by 'belief' אמונה² or obedience, has put himself under the attribute of אמת is not judged. This Jewish usage, it may be surmised, is here adopted and applied to man's attitude towards the Light.

(II) It is significant that the contrast to 'doing evil' is not 'doing good' but 'doing truth', and the contrast to the laying bare of the former as 'evil' is not the making the latter manifest as 'good' but as 'wrought in God'. It is not because of good deeds — nor indeed from the wish of having their good deeds made manifest and publicly known and appreciated either by God or men — that men 'come to the Light'. 'Doing the truth' is not equivalent with 'performing good deeds' but, as we have already tried to express, with actuating one's true being or that residue of spiritual essence that tends towards the realisation of one's true being. In this actuation, when met by the Light, there is an aspiration upwards, an aspiration towards communion with God. The goal is: »that his deeds may be made manifest as wrought in God.»

To understand what is meant by the expression ἐν θεῷ ἐργασμένα it suffices to recall the passages which speak of J as doing the Father's works and of the believers as doing, through him, God's works also: ὁ δὲ πατήρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτός (14¹⁰); ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται καὶ γὰρ ἐργάζομαι (5¹⁷); ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πέμψαντός με (9⁴); τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου (10²⁵); τί ποιῶμεν ἵνα ἐργαζώμεθα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ; (6²⁸) πιστεύετε μοι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ . . . ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ, καὶ κείνος ποιήσει (14^{11, 12}). The works done 'in God' are the works done in devotion to the Divine Will, in unity with God, by him who has entered the spiritual world and become a spiritual being. He who 'doeth the truth' comes to the Light, the Son, believes in Him, is made free by the Truth (8³²) from the bondage of the ἐπίγεια, the lower world, the darkness, and attains to the Divine world, where all activity is an activity 'in God'.³ Hence

¹ Cf. 3 *En* 31¹² and Box, *Ezra Apocalypse* p. 122 note on 7³⁴.

² Cf. above p. 138 f.

³ Cf. P. Gardner, *The Ephesian Gospel*, pp. 271 ff.: »There are certain aspects in which religious and spiritual truth presents itself to the Evangelist. . . In the first place, the acceptance of truth seems to him an escape from bondage into a glorious liberty. »The truth shall make you free»: that is, union with

vs. 21, from 'doeth the truth' to 'deeds . . . wrought in God', pictures the whole process of spiritual attainment treated of in 33—20, from the initial actuation of the Divine spark in man, the response to the Light, the belief in the Son of Man, the aspiration upwards met by the Son's drawing man upwards with and in himself, the ascent to the spiritual world, the birth into the Kingdom of Heaven, the attainment of Eternal Life and the glorious fulfilment in a life consisting in an activity wholly in devotion and unity with the Divine Will, with God. Thus Jn 33—21 may rightly be considered as comprising the fundamental elements of the whole Jn-ine representation of the teaching of J.¹

For an understanding of the dialogue of Jn 47—26 between J and the Samaritan woman there are three different aspects to be considered namely (1) the teaching on the living water (2) the discourse on the true form of worship (3) the controversy between the doctrine of J and the specific kind of religious belief represented by the Samaritan woman, with a side-view on the Jewish religion.

The teaching on the living water begins with vs. 10: . . . εἰ ἤθεῖς τὴν ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοι· ὁδὸς μοὶ π(ι)εῖν, σὸ ἂν ἤτησας αὐτόν, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἂν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν. It is introduced by a reference to the 'gift of God'. We have already, in treating of Jn 33—21, shown what an essential element the conception of the Divine gift forms in the Jn-ine salvation-doctrine, and that it belongs to the class of conceptions which are viewed

Christ shall set you free from the bondage of sin and death . . . Another teaching of the Evangelist, . . . which runs, indeed, like a golden thread through all Christian teaching, is devotion to the Divine Will. »I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me» is an expression of the spirit of the Master's life which is seen not only in the acts of the historic Jesus, but in the lives of all His true followers, from that day to this. Cf. *ib.* pp. 268, 269: »It is clear that in such passages as these (Jn 8⁸² 18⁸⁷ 14¹⁷ 14⁹) the reference is not to any verbal teaching, however lofty, but to the faith which unites the disciples to the Master, and makes of the two one mystical body . . . This is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and Him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ (17⁸). To know in this passages is clearly not to be aware of, or to be convinced of, the existence of God and Christ, but to have communion with them through the Spirit.» This is more in accordance with the interpretation arrived at above than e.g. that of Bauer, *JEv*² p. 57 acc. to which the 'doing the truth' of 3²¹ means »ein Wirken, wie es die wahre Gotteserkenntnis eingiebt».

¹ Cf. W. Bauer, *JEv*² p. 59: »Am richtigsten fasst man die Perikope als ein Programm der gesamten Verkündigung des Evangelisten mit ihren teils lehrhaften, teils apologetisch-polemischen Zielen auf».

under the aspect of *κατάβασις*. Here the conception is represented as a notion familiar to the Samaritan woman, the right knowledge and understanding of which, however, she lacked. The use of the *δωρεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* as a technical term is presupposed.

The Rabbinic comments upon the OT references to God as the giver of various gifts, especially attached to passages where God occurs as the subject of the verb נתן (give), evolve the conception of the מתנה, pl. מתנות, of God. The gift, or act of giving, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, is the Tora, or the Divine promulgation of the Tora. For this the specific term מתן הורה, the giving of the Tora, is developed.

As typical passages the following may be quoted.

GenR 67:

א"ר יוחנן ג' דברים נתנו מתנה לעולם ואלו הן התורה והמאורות והגשמים התורה מנין שנא' ויתן אל משה וגו' המאורות מנין שנא' ויתן אותם אלהים ברקיע השמים גשמים מנין שנא' ונתתי גשמיכם בעתם. ר' עזריה בשם ר' יהודה ב"ר סימון אומר אף השלום שנא' ונתתי שלום בארץ ר' יהושע ב"ר נהמי' אמר אף הישועה שנא' ונתת לי מגן ישעך ר' תנחומא אמר אף ארץ ישראל שנא' ויתן להם ארצות גוים וגו' ור"א אף הנקמה באדם שנא' ונתתי נקמתי באדם וגו' רבנן אמרו אף הרחמים שנא' ויתן אותם לרחמים לפני כל שוביהם ר' יצחק בר מריון אומר אף הפרשת הים הגדול שנא' כה אמר ה' הנותן בים דרך וגו'.

»R. Yohⁿnān said: Three things were given to the world as a gift, and they are these: *Tora*, the *Lights* and the *Rain*... R. 'Azaryā, in the name of R. Y^huḏā after R. Simon said: '*Peace* also [was given as a gift]'. ... R. Y^hoṣū^a, in the name of R. N^hæmyā said: '*Even Salvation*'... R. Tanḥuma said: '*Even the land of Israel*'. ... And some say: '*Even vengeance on Rome*'... Our teachers say: '*Even Mercy*'. ... R. Iḡhāq bar Miryon said: '*Even the division of the Great Sea*' (referring to Exod. 14^{16, 21, 22}).

TB B^rrākōḥḥ 5 a; a Bārāiḡā:

תניא ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אומר ג' מתנות טובות נתן הקב"ה לישראל וכולן לא נתקן אלא על ידי יסורין אלו הן תורה וארץ ישראל והעולם הבא.

Mek 27 c (*Iḥprō* 10):

ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אומר הביביר' יסודר' ששלש מתנות טובות נתנו לישראל ואומות העולם מתאווין להם ולא נתנו אלא בייסורין ואלו הן תורה וארץ ישראל ועולם הבא.

»R. Šim'on bæn Iohai said: [Precious are the afflictions, for] three good gifts are given to Israel [— and the nations of the world desire them greatly —] and they are given only together with tribulations; and these they are: *Tora*, the *land of Israel* and the *future world*.»

Sifre 35 d 36 a § 42, *Midr. Tann.* 35:

ונתת מטה ארצכם בעתו יורה ומלקוש ונתתו אני לא על ידי מלאך ולא על ידי השליח... ומניין שניתנה ברכה אהת לישראל שכל הברכות כלולות בה שנ' אוהב כסף לא ישבע כסף.

»And I will give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain (*Deut.* 11¹⁴); 'And I will give unto you': that is, *I myself not through an angel and not through the messenger* ... And whence do we know that one blessing was given to Israel, in which all the blessings were included (comprehended) (*i.e.* so that nothing else could be desired or so that nothing was felt as wanting). [Answer: From a consideration of the words of *Ecc.* 5¹⁰, where] it is said: 'He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver'.» The idea is that the Divine gift, which is a gift coming directly from God, implies complete and permanent satisfaction, in contrast to other gifts and blessings which leave the receiver unsatisfied. Cf. Jn 4^{13, 14}: πᾶς ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψήσει πάλιν. ὅς δ' ἂν πίη ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

TY Qidd 65 c *Sanh.* 23 d:

שלש מתנות טובות נתן הקב"ה לישראל רחמינין ובויישנין וגומלין חסדיים.

»Three good gifts did the Holy One give to Israel: [*viz.* to be] compassionate, humble (modest) and charitable.» These moral gifts are really considered as inherent in the gift of the *Tora*, since accruing from the observance of the *Tora*.

It is noticeable that the Divine gifts are thought of as tending to Israel exclusively. It would seem that the very term, 'gift',

implied the notion of a special favour bestowed on Israel only. The Divine gift may originally have been offered to the whole world, to all nations, but Israel alone accepted it.

For the conception of 'the gift (*δωρεά*) which God has sent' in *Corp. Herm.* IV 5, cf. above p. 74 l. 13 and p. 75 l. 2, where it refers to the *νοῦς* sent down from heaven to the human world.¹

The right knowledge of the Divine Gift is at once identified with the knowledge of J.: *καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοι . . .* The true Divine Gift, acc. to Jn, is mediated only by J as the Messiah (4²⁶) and the Messenger (4³⁴). Cf. the Rabbinic refutation of the idea of mediation of the Divine gift either by a celestial being (angel) or by *the* Messenger, above p. 151.

The import of the passage: *εἰ ἤδεις τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοι . . .* is really identical with that of Jn 3¹⁶. It may also be surmised that the discourse on the Divine gift in Jn 3²⁷⁻³⁶, attributed to John the Baptist, relates to the present utterance. »A man (*ἄνθρωπος*) can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven (3²¹)»; only *one* man (*ἄνθρωπος*), however, has received from heaven, namely Messiah (3²⁸), the Messenger (3²⁴), the Son (3³⁵); and he, on the other hand, has received *all* gifts: »The Father loveth the Son, and hath *given all things* into his hand.» (3³⁵, cf. 133.) The Son comprises in himself all the divine gifts, hence no-one can receive any gift from heaven except through him. But he who comes to the Son and believes in him, receives that which gives access to all Divine gifts: the Eternal (Celestial, Divine) Life (3³⁶). Probably in the background, behind each reference, there lies also the idea that the mediator and the gifts in the last instance are one, a thought clearly expressed in Jn 3¹⁶ and 6^{35, 41, 48, 53} ff.

The Divine gift given by the Messiah is here viewed as the '*Living Water*'. The living water is put in contrast to the water from the well with which the Samaritan woman was concerned. The features that seem to convey some intentional meaning are: (1) the well of the Samaritan woman is Jacob's well, *i.e.* the well given to the Samaritans by their 'father Jacob', (2) the well is deep, (3) its water does not give lasting satisfaction to those who draw from it, (4) the living water that J confers gives lasting satisfaction, (5) he who receives the gift of the living water receives also a

¹ The passage is called attention to in annexion with Jn 4¹⁰ also by Bauer, *J Ev*² p. 64.

well of water, but this is a well within himself, (6) this well and its water become the sources of eternal life.

For the conceptions of the 'water' and the 'well or fountain or spring of water' in a symbolical sense, and of the 'drinking' of the water or the 'drawing' from the 'well', the following parallel passages may be deemed important.

1 En 48¹ »And in that place (heaven) I saw the *fountain of righteousness* which was *inexhaustible*: and around it were many *fountains of wisdom*; and all the *thirsty drank of them*, and were *filled with wisdom*.» The water seems here in the first place to be righteousness, *i.e.* right living. This is, however, really identical with wisdom, since wisdom is contained in righteousness and righteousness in wisdom.

1 En 49 (describing »the power and wisdom of the Elect One«): »For *wisdom is poured out like water* . . . because the *Elect One* standeth before the Lord of Spirits . . . and *in him dwells the spirit of wisdom*.» Here water is clearly set forth as a symbol of wisdom. Important is the parallel of the wisdom as inherent in the Elect One, who is thought of as the one who mediates to men what Divine attributes he has received.

1 En 96⁶ »Woe to you who drink *water from every fountain*. For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away, because ye have *forsaken the fountain of life*. (Moral life, right religion).» Here the fountain of life, implying right living and faith, is contrasted with fountains giving water which represents false knowledge and evil deeds and leads to destruction.

1 En 65^{11 f.} »(Enoch tells Noah:) »but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure . . . and He has destined thy name to be among the holy, and will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth, . . . and *from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever*.» The fountain here symbolises the procreation of generations of righteous and holy men »for ever», *i.e.* into eternity. The expression recalls Jn β¹⁴: τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ, γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Cf. below p. 168.

1 En 229 In the Šeol or the Place of the spirits of the deceased, Enoch beholds the division »made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is *the bright spring of water*». The spring of water here represents the eternal effluence of life enjoyed by the spirits of the righteous in the hereafter. 'But there is a counterpart in the water of punishment: those who have on earth drunk of the

water of sensual pleasures shall in the spiritual state see this water changed into a consuning water of punishment.

1 En 67⁸ »Those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body but for the punishment of the spirit» cf. 67^{11, 13}.

[1 En 174 »And they (the angels) took me to the living waters» (variant: »the waters of life»), refers to the cosmical water.]

In the so-called *Ṣadoqite Fragments*, emanating from a certain Jewish circle in Damascus 'the well of waters of life' or 'the spring of living water' is also a fixed term. The well is explicitly identified with the Tora, but Tora is also here connected with (Eternal) Life and with Knowledge, Understanding or Wisdom. Further the conception of the 'well' is brought into relation with that of the »Teacher of Righteousness in the end of days», *i.e.* the Messiah who when he comes »will tell us all things (Jn 4²⁵)».

Zad. Fragm. 9²⁸ (rec. B):

וכמשפט הזה לכל המאס במצות אל ויעזבם ויפנו בשרירות לבם
 כן כל האנשים אשר באו בבית החדשה בארץ דמשק ושבו ויבגדו
 ויסורו מבאר מים החיים.¹

»And such [will be] the case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart. So are all the men who entered into the new covenant in the land of Damascus and yet turned backward and acted treacherously and *departed from the spring of living waters.*»

Zad. Fragm. 51, 3²:

ובמחזיקי במצות אל אשר נותרו מהם הקים אל את בריתו לישראל
 עד עולם... ויחפרו באר למים רבים ומיאסיהם לא יהיה.

»But with them that held fast by the commandments of God [who were left of them] God confirmed the covenant of Israel for ever... and they digged a *well of many waters*: and he that despises them *shall not live.*»

¹ Schechter, *Fragm. Jew. Sect.* i, p. 19 ll. 32—34, Charles, *Ap. and Pseudep.* ii, p. 820.

² Schechter, *Fragm. Jew. Sect.* i, p. 3 ll. 12 f., 16 f., Charles, *Ap. and Pseudep.* ii, p. 806.

Zad. Fragm. 83-10¹:

ויזכר אל ברית ראשנים ויקח מאהרן נבונים ומישראל חכמים וישמעם ויחפורו אה הבאר באר הפורה שרים כרות נדיביו העם במחוקק הבאר הוא התורה והופירה הם שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה ויגורו בארץ דמשק אשר קרא אל את כולם שרים כי דרשוהו ולא הושבה פאתם בפי אחד והמהוקק הוא מרש התורה אשר אמר ישעיה מוציא בלי למעשיהו ונדיביו העם הם הבאים לברות את הבאר במחוקקות אשר הקק המחוקק להתהלך במה בכל קץ הרשיע וזולתם לא ישיגו עד עמד יורה הצדק באחרית הימים.

»But God remembered the *covenant* with the forefathers: and he raised up from Aaron men of *understanding*, and from Israel wise men: and he made them to hearken and they digged the *well*. 'A well the princes digged, the nobles of the people delved it by the order of the law giver (*Num* 21¹⁸).' *The well is the Tora* and they who digged it are the captivity of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called princes. For they sought him and their bough was not turned back in the mouth of one. And the Law-giver is he who interprets the Law, concerning whom Isaiah said: 'He bringeth forth an instrument for his work (*Isa* 54¹⁶)'. And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well, by the precepts in the which the Lawgiver ordained that they should walk throughout the full period of the wicked[ness]. And save them they shall get nothing until there arises the *Teacher of Righteousness* in the end of the days.»

The same complex — wisdom—knowledge—Tora — in connexion with the symbol of water is found in *Sir.* 15¹⁻³ (»How Wisdom is to be attained.») 1. ὁ φοβούμενος κύριον ποιήσει αὐτό, καὶ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ νόμου καταλήμψεται αὐτήν. 2. καὶ ὑπαντήσεται αὐτῷ ὡς μήτηρ, καὶ ὡς γυνὴ παρθεναίας προσδέξεται αὐτόν· 3. ψωμίει αὐτὸν ἄρτον συνέσεως, καὶ ὕδωρ σοφίας ποτίσει αὐτόν. »For he that feareth the Lord doeth this (*scil.* meditates on Wisdom, etc. as set forth in *Sir.* 14²⁰⁻²⁷), and he that *taketh hold of the Law findeth her*. And she will meet him as a mother, and as a youthful wife will she receive him; and *she will feed him with the bread of understanding*, and will *give him the water of knowledge to drink*.» Cf. the 'bread of life' in *In* 6^{35 ff.} closely related to the 'water' of life.

¹ Schechter, *op. cit.* ii, p. 6, Charles, *op. cit.* ii, p. 812.

In *Wisdom of Sol.* 7²⁵: σοφία is called: ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής, »a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty».

It is well-known that the symbolism of the 'fountain' and the 'water' plays an important rôle in the *Odes of Salomon*.¹: *Od. Sol.* VI². »8. For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad: it swept away everything, and broke up and carried away³ the Temple. 9. And the restraints [made] by men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose [business it is to] restrain water. 10. For it spread over the face of the whole earth, and it filled everything. 11. *All the thirsty upon earth were given to drink* [of it]: *all thirst was done away and quenched*: 12. For from the Most High the draught was given. 13. Blessed then are the ministers of that draught, who have been entrusted with that water of His: 14. They have assuaged the dry lips, and the will that had fainted they have raised up: 15. *And souls that were near departing they have held back from death*: 16. And limbs that had fallen they have straightened and set up: 17. They gave strength to their coming and light to their eyes. 18. For every one knew them in the Lord, and *they lived by the water an eternal life* (أَسْعَى حَيَاتًا مَعَ الرَّبِّ).»

Od. Sol. XI »5. And I was established upon the rock of truth, where he had set me up. 6. And speaking waters (عَيْنٌ قَدِيمَةٌ) drew near my lips from the fountain of the Lord (مَنْعَتُهُ وَمَنْعَتُهُ) plenteously. 7. And I drank and was inebriated with living water that doth not die (عَيْنٌ مِثْلُهَا لَا تَمُوتُ) and my inebriation was not one without knowledge, but I forsook vanity and turned to the Most High my God. 14. My eyes were enlightened, and my face received the dew (الْبَلَّ).»

Od. Sol. XXX⁴ »1. Fill ye water for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord (مَنْعَتُهُ وَمَنْعَتُهُ) for it has been opened to you: 2. And come all ye Thirsty and take a draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord. 3. For fair it is and pure; and it gives rest to the soul. 4. Much sweeter is its water than honey;

¹ Vide G. Bert, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* pp. 85, 86: »das Wasser als Bild der erquickenden, der belebenden Kraft der Wahrheit des Wortes».

² R. Harris *Od. and Ps. of Sol.* ii p. 233 (i pp. 12, 13).

³ Another rendering: 'and brought (everything) to'. Cf. R. Harris, *op. cit.* ii p. 234, J. H. Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* pp. 55, 57.

⁴ Rendel Harris, *Od. and Ps. of Sol.* i p. 73, ii p. 366.

and the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it. 5. For it flows from the lips of the Lord, and from the heart of the Lord is its name. 6. And it came unlimited and invisible; and until it was set in the midst they did not know it. 7. Blessed are they who have drunk therefrom; and rested thereby.»

(R. Harris says: »It is abundantly clear that the flowing stream of which the Ode speaks is the knowledge of the Lord, as it has been equally recognized in Ode vi«.)

The emphasis on 'rest' in this ode deserves notice. It might not be too far-fetched to compare the allusion in Jn 4⁶ to the giving rest to the wearied as one of the functions of the true well.

Od. Sol. XXVIII »15. . . I was carrying water in my right hand, and their bitterness I endured by my sweetness.« The possession of the 'water' expresses the consciousness of peace and of being guarded which is enjoyed by him who has attained to communion with the eternal life. Cf. Jn 14²⁷ 16³³.

As regards the symbolical use of 'water' in Rabbinical literature to be taken into account in relation to Jn 4, Billerbeck *ad* 4¹⁰ is exhaustive. He points out that the Rabbinic teachers seldom explained in an allegorical, symbolical sense the expression מים חיים (living water) occurring in OT. On the other hand, מים (water) alone frequently received an allegorical interpretation, sometimes being referred to the *Holy Spirit*, most often to the *Tora*.

The *H^alakot* contained in the third book of the Tora are likened unto living water acc. to *Gen R* 64 7.¹ The words of the Tora are like a well of living water, acc. to *Targ. on Cant* 4¹⁵, *Cant R* 4 30.²

With reference to the House of Libation (בית השואבה, lit., house of drawing scil. of water) R. Y^ohošu^a b. Leui says: it is called thus, because from there they drew the Holy Spirit (*TY Sukka* 55 a, *Gen R* 70 8, *P^esig. R* 1). *Gen* 29²: 'for out of that well they watered the flocks' is an allusion to the drawing of the Holy Spirit

¹ »Gen 16¹⁰: 'And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water', refers to the third book of the Tora, Leviticus, because this book is full of great *H^alakot* » ויקרא ס' כנגד ס' ויקרא

שהוא מלא הלכות רבות

א"ר יוחנן מ"ה פעמים כחוב בתורה באר באר כנגד מ"ה דברים שנתנה

בם התורה. [cf. *Pirge 'Aḥōp*, *Peraq R. Me'ir*, 66 ff.] הה"ד מעין גנים באר מים

היים ונזולים מן לבנון

acc. to R. Hama bar H^anina (*Gen R* 70 8). The OT simile of the outpouring of water for the outpouring of the Spirit are retained in the Rabbinic interpretations, e.g. *Targ* to *Isa* 44 3.

The manner in which water is used symbolically for the *Tora* forms an important parallel to ideas in Jn 4. Classical is the passage in *Sifre*, *pārāšā 'Eqab*, 37 c d¹:

נמשלו דברי תורה למים מה מיים היים לעולם אף דברי תורה
 היים לעולם שנאמר כי היים הם למוצאיהם ולכלל בשרו מרפא למה
 מים מעלים את הטמא מטומאתו כך דברי תורה מעלים את האדם
 מדרך רעה לדרך טובה שנאמר תורת ה' תמימה משיבת נפש ומה
 מים הינם לעולם אף דברי תורה הינם לעולם שנאמר הוי כל צמא
 לכו למים ומה מים שאין להם דמים אף דברי תורה אין להם דמים
 שנ' יקרה היא מפנינים וכל הפצים לא ישוו בה אי מה מים אין
 משמחים לכו של אדם אף דברי תורה אין משמחים תלמוד לו" כי
 טובים דודיק מייך

»The words of the Tora are likened unto water. Just as water (is) life to the world, so the words of the Tora are life to the world, as it is written (*Prov.* 4²²): 'For they (my words) are life unto those that find them and health to all their flesh'. And just as water brings the unclean out of his impurity², so the words of the Tora bring man from the evil way to the good way, as it is written (*Ps* 197): »The Tora of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul (*i.e.* causing it to turn into the good way). Just as water (is given) freely to the world so the words of the Tora (are given) freely to the world, as it written (*Isa* 55¹): »Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, [and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and eat, yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price]. Just as water is priceless so the words of the Tora are priceless. And just as [one may say:] does not water make the heart of man glad, so [one may say:] do not the words of the Tora make [the heart] glad? The scripture says (*Cant* 1²): 'for thy love is better than wine'.»

¹ Translated Billerbeck, ii p. 435.

² Here should perhaps be inserted with *Yalq ha-mMāk.*, *Ps* 19³⁰ and *Isa* 55¹, *Midrāš Tannā'im*, p. 42: »so the words of the Tora bring the unclean out of their impurity; as it is written (*Ps* 119¹⁴⁰): 'Thy word is very pure. Just as water makes man's soul return (*i.e.* restores, refreshes it), as it is written (*Prov.* 25³⁰): 'As cold waters to a thirsty soul', so the words of the Tora make man's soul return, etc.»

Another feature appears in *TB Ta'aniḥ* 7^a 1

אמר ר' חנינא בר אידי למה נמשלו דברי תורה למים דב' הוי כל צמא לכו למים לומר לך מה מים מניחין מקום גבוה והולך למקום נמוך אף דברי תורה אין מתקיימין אלא במי שדעתו שפלה

»R. H^anina bar 'Idi said: 'Why are the words of the Tora likened unto water, as it is written (*Isa* 55¹): 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters!' [Answer:] In order to teach you that just as the water leaves a high place and goes to a low place so the words of the Tora remain only with one whose mind is low (humble)», *i.e.* one who does not compare himself with, or fix his attention on, those below him, but fixes his attention on what is above him, *viz.* the Holy one, and recognizes that the Tora is a gift from on high.

Since 'water' in general, or in its good sense, symbolises the true teaching, knowledge, wisdom, which is the Tora, false doctrine may be symbolized by 'evil water' or 'other water'. To the passages quoted by Billerbeck the following may be added:

ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אומר שחה מים מבורך שחה ממים שבבורך ואל תשחה עכורים ותמשך עם דברי מינים

»R. Šim'on bæn Yohai said: 'Drink waters out of thine own cistern [and running waters out of thine own well] (*Prov* 5¹⁵): 'that is, drink of the waters that are in thy cistern and do not drink impure waters and be attracted by the words of the Minim.» The original² meaning of this dictum is, no doubt, that a man cannot receive the truth, or the right doctrine, unless he have received the Light from within, unless he have a well of living water within him.

There is a variant, or an addition, to this passage, recorded in *Miḏraš Tannū'im* p. 42³

ר' שמעון בן מנסיא אומר שחה מים מבורך שחה ממים של בוראך

»R. Šim'on bæn Mⁿasya said: 'Drink waters out of thine own cistern (*bōræḥā*):' that is, — drink of the waters of thy Creator (*bōræḥā*).»

¹ Translated Billerbeck, ii p. 435.

² It has been interpreted as meaning: 'drink of the water that is with thee in thy town, *i.e.* go first to the teacher of thy native place, then you may study anywhere you like'.

³ Cf. Friedmann's *Sifre*, *pisgā* 48.

Cant R. 17

א"ר חנינא [משל] לבאר עמוקה מלאה מים [והיו מימיה] צוננין מתוקים וטובים ולא היתה בריה יכולה לשתות ממנה בא אדם אחד [וקשר] [ויספק לה] חבל בחבל [נימה בנימה] משיחה במשיחה ודלה ממנה [בדלה ושתה] התחילו הכל דולין ושתין כך מדבר לדבר ממשל למשל עמד. שלמה על סודה של תורה דכתיב משלי שלמה בן דוד מלך ישראל [ע"י משלותיו של שלמה עמד על דברי תורה]

»R. H^anina said; there is a likeness: a well, deep and containing water cool and sweet and good, and no creature was able to drink out of it [until there] came a man who knitted rope to rope and cord to cord and drew (water) from it, and then everybody began to draw and drink. So [it is with the Tora, which is also likened to a well:] from word to word, and from likeness to likeness Solomon [proceeded and was able to] stand upon (*i.e.* to reveal) the secret of the Tora as it is written: 'the similitudes of Solomon, the king of Israel' (*Prov.* 1¹) [for through his similitudes Solomon stood upon the words of the Tora].»

Yalq, ii § 480 (*P^siq R*)

מה המים נתנים מלמעלה אף דברי תורה נתנים מלמעלה מן השמים דברתי עמכם... מה המים יורדים שיפים ונעשים נחלים נחלים כך ד"ת שתי הלכות היום ושתי הלכות למחר עד שנעשה כמעין נובע

»Just as the waters are *given from above* so the *words of the Tora are given from above*, [as it is written, *Exod.* 20] 'From heaven I did talk with you'... Just as the waters descend in drops and are made into numerous rivers, so the words of the Tora, (are received) 'two H^alakoḥ to-day and two H^alakoḥ to-morrow', until it (the Tora) becomes like a *springing fountain*.» (Cf. Jn 4¹⁷.)

With regard to the Mandaitic use of the term 'water' it was shown above, pp. 55-58, that 'water of Life' or 'living water' symbolises the engendering effluence from the Spiritual World, the House of Life. Some other instances of the use of 'water' and 'living water' may be adduced here.

The Great King of Light is the 'Sender of the living water'. An 'olive rod' of living water is given to the Messenger by the Father, the Life², and the Messenger in his turn gives to the faithful 'swords'

¹ GR II 2 56²⁷ (*Pet* 63⁷⁸) משאדראנון דמיא הייא

² GR IV I 83¹² (*Pet* 82^{20,21}) מארגנא דמיא הייא דאבאהאחאי עהאבלויא

and 'spears' of living water¹, with which to overcome the inimical powers of the lower world. The demiurg receives 'water and living fire' from the Father, in order to be able to create a world of his own², the 'water' being thought of not as a mere cosmical element but as the principle of creative life emanating from the source of Life. The Life 'creates a son and puts him in the Jordan of Living Water that came from the Life'.³ From the original Light the great Jordan of Living Water is poured out upon the First world, and from this living water a second Jordan emanates and is poured out upon the second World.⁴ From the Living Water of the Jordans the beings of the world in question arise.⁵

The assimilation or reception of the water of life is naturally expressed as a 'drinking'. 'Of that water you shall drink when thirsty'⁶; »the efflux from the Living Water on Tibil will serve thee as water».

The term '*fountain*' or '*well*' of life is frequent. This term is connected with the conception of the right faith or teaching: the '*doctrine of Life*'.⁷ Important as a parallel to Jn 3¹⁴ is the passage: 'This is the fountain of life which sprang up from the place

¹ GR XV 6 319^{17,18}. (Pet 316^{13,14}) סיפיא דמא היא עצטמומא, ספיא דמא היא

² GR X, 241¹⁸ (Pet 239^{23,24}).

³ GR X, 240^{24,25} (Pet 239⁹⁻¹⁰)

האלאך קרא ברא ושאויא צאוחא לנאפשה ואקמה ביארדנא דמא היא דמן
היא הון

⁴ GR III 69⁷⁻²⁶ (Pet 69, 70).

⁵ *ib.* and GR IX 2 235 (Pet 234¹⁵⁻²⁰)

האון הוא רוא וסידרא דיוא דיאקיד בנו מאנא דמינה הון שאמביכיא דיוא
ומינה הון יארדניא גאואיאי ומינאיהון (ו)מן האנאחון יארדניא הוא יארדנא ראב
כולהון יארדניא מן האנאה יארדנא פירשאת וניפקאת ניטובחא ראכתיא
כאסיתא קארמאיתא... דמינה הוא להוראייא ברא ואדיקא דמינה הון בניא
פרישאיא דהיא קארמאייא דקאימא בתושביהחא סאגריא ומשאכיא להאך
מאנא רבא כאברא

⁶ GR III 89, 92

⁷ GR X 240⁹⁻¹² (Pet 238¹¹⁻¹⁵)

קאיים היא נאפשיהון בנו מאמבוגיא דמא דמינאיהון דילון עשחפון... ועתיב
בוואיהון שום שוחא היתחא דעתלאכאשבה

»The Life placed itself in the midst of the fountains of water that were poured out from it; and in its splendour dwelled (*lit.*: sat) the name of the living doctrine (*or.*: words, speech), in which it clad itself.»

of Life, that we might drink of this fountain of life'.¹ In this passage the fountain of life is identified with the Messenger: »the Good one, the Founder of the Original Secret, the Life that arose from the Life, the Kuṣṭa that was from the beginning in the beginning». ² In another passage the believers praise the Son, the Messenger, for the life and the teaching given them from the Life, saying: »Thou didst descend and made us dwell by the fountains of life. Thou pouredst out into us and filled us with thy Wisdom, thy Knowledge and thy Goodness. Thou shewedst us the way on which thou camest from the House of Life». ³ In Mandaitic, thus, whatever secondary symbolical connotations may inhere in the term, »living water» ⁴ primarily denotes the efflux of life from the World of Life into the lower world. Hence it is quite natural that the 'living water' is identified with the upper water of *Gen 1* (cf. above pp. 55—58), and put in juxtaposition to *Light, Living Fire, Spirit and Mana*.⁵

¹ *MLi* 77¹⁻² (*Qolastā* 45)

האזין הו מאמבוהא דהייה דנבא מן אתרא דהייה דנישתא מינה מן האזין
מאמבונא דהייה

Notice the word נבא, corresponding to the Hebrew נבע (cf. above p. 160 l. 19) which corresponds to the Greek ἀλλομαι (LXX *Pr* 18⁴: ἀναπηδύε).

² *MLi* 76⁹⁻¹⁰ 77¹ (*Qolastā* 45)

מאבא שאכין ראוא קארמאיה הייה דהון מן הייה וכושמא דהוא מן קודאם
ברישא

³ *MLi* 38²⁻⁴ (*Qolastā* 24)

נהיח ושכנתניאן במאמבונא דהייה שפאכת ומליחינאן מן היכומתאך ומן
סיכרותאך ומן שאכותאך האויחינאן עוהרא דאנאת עתיחבה מן בית הייה
Cf. *GL III* 36 564^{24, 26} (*Pet* 116¹⁷)

»where is the Jordan
of Living Water from which I took (received) victory?»

In *MLi* there occur references to several fountains of life or fountains of light, e.g. three fountains *MLi* 148, three fountains and seven fountains *MLi* 265.

⁴ Also the expression »white water» occurs, but this is probably later, and evolved as an antithesis to the »black water» (*GR* 12¹⁶ 32⁸⁹).

⁵ *M Joh XIII*, 56¹⁸⁻²⁰ (*T* 51¹¹⁻¹⁵)

אתניון למיא הייה ורמונן במיא תאהמיה אתיויה לנהורא דנאהור ורימיויה
כהשובא האשכא ... אתיויה על נורא האיחא ורימיויה בנורא אכלא אתיויה
לנישימתחא מאנא דאכיה ורימיויה אבפאגרא באטלא

»They brought living water and threw it into the chaotic water; they brought shining light and threw it into the dark darkness ... they brought the living fire and threw it into the consuming fire; they brought the spirit, the pure Mana, and threw it into the worthless body.»

The Living Water also in Mandæan literature has as its anti-thesis 'water' belonging to the realm of darkness and evil, the lower world. This latter is identified with the Lower Water or the *T'hom* of *Genesis* 12,7.¹ From the Hebrew *t'hom* the attributive *tahem, tahma, tahme* (here translated 'chaotic' or 'of Chaos') is evolved. A synonym for 'the chaotic water' is 'the black water'. Instances of the use of these terms are already given above, pp. 55—58, 82, 128. The 'fountains of living water' have their counterpart in the 'fountains of black water'.² The 'fountain of black water is 'deep'.³ For the expression 'drink of the chaotic water' cf. above p. 57; and on its significance cf. above pp. 58 ll. 2 ff., 129 n. 1.

In *GR* V 3 there is a relation of the condition of the spirits of the Christian believers, kept in the Watchhouse of Christ. This passage is important, since it shows familiarity with and dependence upon thoughts and expressions occurring in the Fourth Gospel. Thus there are allusions to Christ as the shepherd and his followers as the herd (Jn 10^{11, 14}), as the giver (or, at least, promiser) of 'water' to the thirsty (Jn 4^{10, 14}, 7^{31, 38}), as the one, who said: 'all has been given into my hands' (Jn 3³⁵, 6³⁷ *e. a.*), to the words of Jn 3⁴, possibly also to Jn 2¹⁹ ('three days') and 10^{1, 2, 9}. The context in which these allusions occur shows, further, that the Fourth Gospel with which the Mandæans were confronted belonged to the holy scriptures of the Christian circles to which they were in opposition.⁴

¹ Cf. the quotation from *Lev. R* 27: above pp. 140 f.

² *GR* V, 154²⁰, 158^{20, 21}.

³ *GR* V, 161³⁵ ff.

⁴ *GR* 187¹—188²² (*Pet* 184⁸—187¹⁰)

שאלית ואמריליא מאבאטבה בהואא מאמארתחא כול מאן דבהויא כאפאר
ובמשיהא אודיא ... [184¹²] דאמיא האניך נישמאחא לאקנא דנאפשא וסאניא
קודאם משיהא דהו משיהא ליה נאסגנין ועל יאמא נאקמינן ומיא נישילונה
וליהיא גאדארא דיאמא מדיליא ומיא דיאמא אמוקיא באיין מיא למישחיא
וליתלון אמרילה נישמאחא למשיהא משיהא מאראן כוי הואינן בהאנאחא אלמא
לבושיא אלבישנין ובסוייא כאסינן ופרוקיא פארוקנין וזידקא ומאבוחא עהאבנין
האשחא אלמא באינין מיא למישחיא וליתלאן ... [185¹²] אמארלה נישמאחא
למשיהא משיהא מאראן כוי הואינן בהאך אלמא לאו אנאת אמארלתלאן דראב
וגאביר מינאי לאיית אנא הו אלאהא אליהין מאריא מאריואן אנא הוא מאלכא
דכולהון אלמיא אנא הו רישאיון דכולהון עובאדיא ... [186¹ 185²⁴] אמרילה
נישמאחא למשיהא משיהא מאראן אכמאר רמינאן בפאגראיאן יומיא תלאחא

Important for determining the connexions of Jn 45-14 are three passages from Hippolyt's description of the tenets of the

ניזאבוניא בול דעתלאן ונינהית ליארדנא וניצטבא על שום האוזן גאברא דארא
עלאך אמארלן משיהא לנישמאחא יא כשיליא דעתאכשאל כיו הואיתון
בתאנאחא אלמא מיהואיתון יאנקא דנפאק מן כראם עמא ועהדאר בעמא
אילויה דאנא עהדאר בפאגראיבון ערמינבון יומיא תלאהא.

The Spirit of the true believer, ascending after death to its celestial home, relates how it passes the various watch-houses (*maṭṭarata*) where the erring spirits are kept. The spirit is represented as asking and receiving informations from its guides concerning the inhabitants of each *maṭṭarta*. When arriving at the watchhouse of Christ, so the spirit tells, »I asked, and they said to me: 'In this watchhouse are fettered all those who deny the Life and confess Mšiha ...'. Those spirits resemble a great and numerous herd [of sheep] before Mšiha. He, Mšiha, leads them to the sea and places them [there]. They ask him [to give them] *water*, but the shore of the sea is high and the *water* of the sea is *deep* (Jn 4^{10,11}). They desire to drink water, but they get none. Then the spirits say to Mšiha: 'Mšiha, our Lord! When we were in that world we clad (the naked) with clothes, and covered them with raiments (cf. *Mt* 25 35^{ff.}), we redeemed [the imprisoned], we gave alms and gifts, why, then, do we now ask for water to drink and get none?'» Mšiha answers them to the effect that they have arrived to the world of those in whose name they did all this, Ešū (Ἰησοῦς) Mšiha, the Holy Spirit, the God of the Naṣarenes and the Virgin, the Daughter of her Father (*i.e.* the Virgin Mary). After this there is in the text a relation of how Mšiha pays obeisance to the man of tested fait, *gabra bhir zidqa*, [probably = the Messenger from the Life, *i.e.* the true Son], when he passes the *Maṭṭarta* of Mšiha. When the spirits see this, they ask Mšiha the reason, saying: »Mšiha, our Lord, when we were in that world, didst thou not say: There is none greater and mightier than I. I am the God of the gods, the Lord of the Lords, the King of all worlds, the head of all works (Jn 5⁸⁶, 6²⁸ etc.; the allusion is, of course, also to current Christian representation of J).» Why, then, didst thou pay obeisance to him? Mšiha answers that the man of tested faith is superior to him, since he has not confessed the name of the beings above and below, the name of the Holy Spirit (*Ruḥa dQuḏša*), Mšiha, the God of the Nazarenes and the Virgin. Then »the spirits say to Mšiha: 'Mšiha, our Lord, put us again into our body for three days (Jn 2), that we may sell all that we have, go down to Jordan, and be baptized in the name of that man who passed by thee!' But Mšiha answers the Spirits: 'Oh, ye stumbling ones! When you were in that world, did you ever see a child go out from its mother's womb and then made to return into its mother again, so that I could throw you again into your bodies for three days' [Jn 34].» It is immediately apparent that the Jn-ine passages are travestated or turned into a sense opposite to the original, but it is no less clear, that this is intentional and studied. The remainder of the passage may here be given in Lidzbarski's translation: »Christus sprach ferner zu den Seelen: 'Wisset ihr nicht, ihr Gestrauchelten, die ihr gestrauchelt seid? Ich bin der nichtige Messias, gerieben für die Bedrängnis, weise zum Bösen, der die Pforten des Schlafes verändert, die Werke des Geistes verdreht, die frommen Männer betört und sie in die gewaltigen Nebelwolken der Finsternis wirft. Als

Naassenes, the Sethians and Justin the Gnostic respectively. It will be well to begin with the reference to Justin: Hippol., *Refut.* V 27: Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁμολογήσῃ τοῦτον τὸν ὄρκον, εἰσερχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ βλέπει, ὅσα ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, καὶ πίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῶντος ὕδατος, ὅπερ ἔστι λουτρὸν αὐτοῖς, ὡς νομίζουσι, πηγὴ ζῶντος ὕδατος ἀλλομένου. Διακεχώρισται γάρ, φησίν, ἀνά μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ἔστιν ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος τῆς πονηρᾶς κτίσεως, ἐν ᾧ λοβούνται οἱ χοϊκοὶ καὶ ψυχικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὕδωρ ἔστιν ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζῶν, ἐν ᾧ λοβούνται οἱ πνευματικοὶ ζῶντες ἄνθρωποι, ἐν ᾧ ἐλούσατο Ἐλωεὶμ καὶ λουσάμενος οὐ μετεμελήθη.

»When he (*i.e.* the initiated) has sworn that oath he enters into the presence of the Good One and sees 'what eye hath not seen nor ear heard and it has not entered into the heart of man, (*Isa 12*)' and he *drinks* from the *living water* which is their font, as they think, the *well of living, springing water*. For there is a distinction, he says, between water and water; and there is the *water below the firmament* of the bad creation wherein are washed the earthly and psychical men, and there is the *living water above the firmament* of the Good One in which Elohim did bathe and having cleansed himself did not repent.»

Next comes an excerpt from the representation or quotation of the doctrines of the Sethians:

Hipp., *Refut.* V 19 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι, φησίν, ἀρκετὸν τὸ εἰσεληλυθέναι τὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον, λόγον, εἰς μήτραν παρθένου καὶ λύσαι τὰς ὠδίνους τὰς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ σκότει· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ [εἰς] τὰ ἐν μήτρᾳ μυστήρια μυσερὰ εἰσελθεῖν ἀπελούσατο καὶ ἔπιε τὸ ποτήριον ζῶντος ὕδατος ἀλλομένου, ὃ δεῖ πάντως πειεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἀποδιδύσκεσθαι τὴν δουλικὴν μορφὴν καὶ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἔνδυμα οὐράνιον.

»But it is not enough, he says, that the Perfect Man, the Word, has entered into the womb of a virgin and has loosed the pangs which were in that darkness. But in truth after entering into the foul mysteries of the womb, he was washed and *drank of the cup of living, springing water*, which he must needs drink who was about to do off the slave-like form and do on a heavenly garment.»

From the section on the Naassenes, again, the following may be cited:

ich euch Pföcke und Schlüssel zeigte, betörte ich euch und machte euch gierig. Gold und Silber schenkte ich euch, damit ihr mir in der Finsternis, in jenem Orte, an dem wir stehen, Gesellschaft leistet.» It might be questioned whether there be not here a covert allusion also to Jn 10^{12, 20}.

Hippol. *Refut.* V 9 'Ο δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης. Τοῦτον λέγουσι, στόμα, δι' οὗ ἡ τῆς προσευχῆς ἔξοδος καὶ ἡ τῆς τροφῆς εἴσοδος, (ἦ) [δς] εὐφραίνει καὶ τρέφει καὶ χαρακτηρίζει τὸν πνευματικὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον. Τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος, περὶ οὗ, φησὶν, εἴρηκεν ὁ σωτὴρ· εἰ ἤθεις τίς ἐστὶν ὁ αἰτῶν, οὐ ἂν ἤτησας παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἂν σοι πίνειν ζῶν ὕδωρ ἀλλόμενον. Ἐπὶ τοῦτο, φησὶ, τὸ ὕδωρ πᾶσα φύσις [εἰσ]έρχεται τὰς ἑαυτῆς οὐσίας ἐκλέγουσα, καὶ προσέρχεται ἐκάστη φύσει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τὸ οἰκεῖον, φησὶ, μᾶλλον ἢ σίδηρος τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ λίθῳ, καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς τῇ τοῦ θαλασσοῦ ἐέρακος κερκιδι, καὶ τὸ ἄχυρον τῷ ἠλέκτρῳ. Εἰ δέ τις, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τυφλὸς ἐκ γενετῆς καὶ μὴ τεθεαμένος φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, δι' ἡμῶν ἀναβλεψάτω καὶ ἰδέτω οἶνονε διὰ τινος παραδείσου παμφύτου καὶ πολυσπερμάτου ὕδωρ διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν σπερμάτων, καὶ ὄψεται, ὅτι ἐξ ἐνός καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕδατος ἐκλέγεται καὶ ἐπισπάται ἡ ἐλαία τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος τὸν οἶνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ γένος ἕκαστον φυτῶν. Ἔστι δέ, φησὶν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἄτιμος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ πολῦτιμος [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, προδεδομένος] ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ εἰδῶτων τοῖς οὐκ εἰδῶσιν αὐτόν, λελογισμένος ὡς σταγῶν ἀπὸ κάδου· ἡμεῖς δ' εὐσμέν, φησὶν, οἱ πνευματικοί, οἱ ἐκλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ζώντος ὕδατος τοῦ βέοντος Εὐφράτου διὰ τῆς βαβυλωνῶνος μέσης τὸ οἰκεῖον, διὰ τῆς πύλης ὀδεύοντες ἀληθινῆς, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μακάριος. Καὶ ἐσμέν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς χριστιανοὶ μόνοι . . .

»'And the fourth river is Euphrates (*Gen 2¹⁴*)'. This, they say, is the mouth, which is the seat of prayer and the entrance of food, which gladdens and nourishes and stamps the spiritual, perfect man. This, he says, is the *water above the firmament* concerning which, he says, the Saviour speaks: '*If thou knewest who it is that asks thou would have asked of him, and he would have given thee to drink living, springing water*'. To this water, he says, comes every nature to choose its own substances, and *from this water goes forth to every nature that which is proper to it*, he says, more (certainly) than iron to the magnet, gold to the spine of the sea-falcon and husks to amber. But if anyone, he says, is blind from birth, and has not beheld the *true light which lightens every man who cometh into the world* (Jn 1⁹), let him recover his sight again through us, and behold how as it were through some Paradise full of all plants and seeds, the water flows among them. Let him see, too, that *from one and the same water* the olive-tree chooses and draws to itself oil, and the vine wine, and each of the other plants [that which is] according to its kind. But that