

When Hippolytus was bishop in Rome, seventeen centuries ago, he composed a work against all heresies. This was his "Syntagma" written about 200-210, and in it he included much of the material his teacher Irenaeus had used, as well as personal observations and hearsay. Irenaeus had written against heresies about 180. Since his time had risen Theodotus of Byzantium and Theodotus the money-changer, as well as the modalists Praxeas and Noctus; the Valentinian Heracleon had come into prominence, as had Marcion's followers Lucan and Apolles. Montanism seemed more menacing than Irenaeus had thought. A new edition of his five books, at the very least, was required. This Hippolytus set himself to provide, beginning with the elusive Jan Dositheus, who was said to have denied the inspiration of the prophets, and ending with Noctus himself. Unfortunately, this work, like so many others of its kind, has perished. All we know of it is told us by Photius, the ninth-century bishop who, luckily for us, took notes on what he read. "Read the little book of Hippolytus; now Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenaeus. The "Syntagma" was against thirty-two heresies, making the Dositheans the beginning, and including those up to Noctus and the Noctians. He says these were subjected to refutations by Irenaeus in lectures. Of these refutations Hippolytus says he made a synopsis and compiled this book" (Photius, Bibl. Cod. 121). The meaning of this statement, which Photius undoubtedly derived from the beginning of Hippolytus' work, is (we must agree with Harnack) not clear. But the situation is made even more obscure by the fact that the extant and later work of Hippolytus, the "Philosophoumena", or "Refutation of All Heresies", while it actually contains thirty-one or thirty-two heresies, does not begin with the Dositheans and is not by any means a "little book".

On the other hand this "Liberulus Against All Heresies," which was mistakenly handed down among the works of Tertullian, begins with the Dositheans and is an epitome of a work which obviously was not very large. Tertullian did not write it; its style differs markedly from his, and even while he remained in the Catholic church he did not attack the Montanists as this work does. Hippolytus' book is its source; Lipsius proved this in 1865 in his study of the sources of Epiphanius. Philastrius and Epiphanius both make use of the lost work of Hippolytus which this work summarizes. But is this an epitome of the "Syntagma"? It goes only as far as Praxeas, and includes only twenty-five (or twenty-seven) heresies. Nevertheless the last few pages (leaves of a codex?) might easily have been lost. That this is the case seems probable from the awkward first sentence, which was obviously added later in order to connect the work with the "De Praescriptions", which it follows. Something has been lost at the beginning; therefore, if the work was in codex form like much early Christian literature, something must have been lost at the end. The beginning included Hippolytus' name and his introduction to the work; the end included Noctus and at least three other heresies after Praxeas, perhaps Gaius and the Alogi among them, as well as the Valentinian Theodotus. There are quite a few who might have been mentioned. The refutation of Noctus, Harnack thought, was to be found largely preserved in Epiphanius.

Pseudo-Tertullian, then is probably a little epitome of Hippolytus' "Syntagma", his first great work against heresies. As such it deserves our attention; but it is not for that reason that it is translated here. Students of the New Testament and of early Christian literature need a brief and accurate summary of the heresies which vexed the second-century Church. Usually they are presented as so many trends and tendencies or else given in overwhelming detail. Pseudo-Tertullian is brief and to the point. In the notes will be found additional references.

1. I do not mention the heretics of Judaism, I mean Dositheus the Samaritan, who first ventured to reject the prophets as not having spoken in the Holy Spirit, and the Sadducees, who rising up from the root of his error to this heresy have ventured to deny the resurrection of the flesh. I omit the Pharisees, who are separated from the Jews by their addition of certain items to the law, from which addition they were made worthy to receive the name which they bear, and with these the Herodians, who say that Herod was the Christ. I turn to those who chose to be heretics from the Gospel. Of these the first of all is Simon Magus, who in the Acts of the Apostles deserved his fitting and just sentence from the apostle Peter. He ventured to say that he was the highest power, that is, the highest god, and that the world was created by his angels, and that he had sought to come down into a wandering dexion, which was wisdom, and that he did not suffer among the Jews in the form of God, but seemed to suffer.

This omission of Dositheus is understandable if the "Syntagma" is based on the lectures of Irenaeus, for that writer knows nothing about him. While he probably really lived, for Origen (*Contra Celsum* vi. II) and Hegesippus (X, frag. 3) mention him, nothing is known of his life. See J.A. Montgomery, "The Samaritans" (1907), 252 ff. Simon Magus, on the other hand, was an extremely prominent opponent of early Christianity. The story about him in Acts viii, however, is obviously tendentious, like the tale of Peter's triumph over him in the art of magic in the Acts of Peter. It is strange that our text does not refer to his consort Helena, whom Justin (i. 26) and Irenaeus (i. 23. 2) mention, and whom Hippolytus himself discusses in his later work (*Refutation* vi. 19). The picture of heresy presented in this section is apparently Christian rather than Jewish, for the Sadducees were a party rather than a heresy, and the Pharisees were never "divided from the Jews". The theory of the Herodians given here simply shows to what lengths guesswork in exegesis can be carried. They were, of course, supporters of the Herodian family (A. H. M. Jones, "The Herods of Judaea", 179).

2. After him his disciple Menander, also a magician, taught the same doctrines as Simon, and whatever Simon had called himself, so Menander styled himself, and he denied that anyone could obtain salvation unless he had been baptized in his name.

According to Irenaeus i. 23. 5, he taught a "gnosis" by which his followers could overcome the world. His baptism, which provided immediate immortality, also prevented old age. Justin (i. 26) tells us that though he taught at Antioch he was born in Galilee.

3. After these there followed Saturninus, and he similarly said that the unbegotten power, that is, God, remains in the highest and infinite regions, the regions above; far distant from this the angels made a lower world, and because a certain effulgence of light had shone down into the lower regions, the angels took charge of creating man in the likeness of that light. Man lay creeping on the earth, but that light and that higher power mercifully saved his soul by a spark. The rest of man perishes. Christ did not exist in a substantial body; he suffered as a phantom. There is certainly no resurrection of the flesh.

Saturninus or Saturnilus taught in Antioch. He was a deoist and ascetic, and held that the God of the Jews was an angel (Irenaeus i. 24. 17.). Epiphanius develops Irenaeus' hint and says that he and Basilides were pupils of Menander; but this is a common error of ancient historians, who often assume without evidence that to live soon after some teacher is equivalent to being his disciple.

4. Later the heretic Basilides arose. He says the highest God is named Abraxas, the name by which he calls the created mind (in Greek, Nous). Thence came the Word; from it Providence, Power, and Wisdom; from them were made principalities, powers, and angels; thence infinite emissions and emanations of angels; by these angels the 365 heavens were created, as well as the world, in

honour of Abraxas, whose name has this number computed in it. Among the last angels, and those who made this world, he places the most recent of all, the god of the Jews, i.e. the god of the law and the prophets, whom he denies to be a god, but calls an angel. The seed of Abraham fell to him by lot, and therefore he brought the sons of Israel out of the land of Egypt into the land of Canaan. He was more turbulent than the other angels, and therefore frequently stirred up seditions and wars, and poured out human blood. But Christ, sent not by this one who made the world but by Abraxas, came as a phantom without the substance of flesh. He did not suffer among the Jews, but in his place Simon was crucified--therefore none ought to believe in him "who was crucified," lest he confess his belief in Simon. He says martyrdoms ought not to be made. He sharply opposes the resurrection of the flesh and denies that salvation was promised to bodies.

Basilides flourished in Egypt in the reign of Hadrian; he wrote twenty-four books of "Exegetics" on the Gospel (see fragment in I above). He claimed to be the disciple of Glaucias, who like Mark, was an interpreter of Peter, and to have received traditions given to Matthias by the Saviour. His teaching is given much more fully by Hippolytus in the "Refutation" than by Irenaeus; according to Hort (Dict. Christ. Biog. i. 268 ff.) this fuller version is derived from the "Exegetics" itself, while the version in our Pseudo-Tertullian is that of his followers. The Basilidians used Luke and built a chronological scheme on it. Basilides himself quotes John. His heresy did not long survive him; probably his followers turned either to Valentianism or the later orthodox "gnosticists" of Alexandria.

5. Another heretic was Nicolaus. He was one of the seven deacons who were chosen in the Acts of the Apostles. He says darkness was desired by the light, as well as shameful and obscene things; from this mixture came nasty and impure things it is shameful to mention. There are also other obscene matters. He mentions certain aeons born of evil and embraces and detestable mixtures and mingled obscenities and certain things even wickeder than these. Afterwards demons and gods and seven spirits were born, and other things, sacrilegious and obscene, which we should blush to tell, and therefore omit. It is enough for us that that whole heresy of the Nicolaitans was condemned by the Apocalypse of the Lord, by the very weighty authority of the sentence which says, "Because thou hast this, thou hatest the teaching of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." (Rev. ii. 6)

It is enough for "us" that the whole heresy of the Nicolaitans was condemned by the Apocalypse of the Lord, for nothing else is known about them.

6. There succeeded to these the heretics who are called Ophites. For they exalt the serpent to such an extent that they even prefer it to Christ. For they say it gave us the origin of the knowledge of good and evil. Noticing its power and majesty, Moses made a brass serpent, and those who looked on it received their health. Christ, himself, they also say, in his gospel imitates the holy power of the serpent

when he says, "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up" (John iii. 14). They bring it in to bless their eucharist. But the whole occasion and teaching of that error flows from this. They say that from the highest and primal aeon many other lower aeons have come into existence, but to all these that aeon is superior whose name is Ialdabaoth. He was conceived from the other aeon by mingling with lower aeons, and afterward, when he wanted to go up into the region above, the weight of the matter mixed in him kept him from reaching the higher place, but left in between he spread out completely and thus made the heaven. Ialdabaoth, however, went down lower and made seven sons for himself; he stopped the upper regions from spreading, so that since the angels could not know what was above they might think him the only god. Therefore those powers and lower angels made man, and because he was created by the weaker, mediocre powers, he lay creeping like a worm. But that aeon from whom Ialdabaoth proceeded, moved by envy, sent down a certain spark into man as he lay, by which he might be aroused and grow wise through guidance and be able to understand things above. Thus again Ialdabaoth becoming indignant gave out from himself the power and likeness of the serpent, and this

was the power in paradise; in other words, that was the serpent in which Eve believed as if he were the Son of God. She took of the fruit of the tree, they say, and therefore gave the knowledge of good and evil to mankind. Christ was not in the substance of flesh; salvation for the flesh is not to be hoped for.

Irenaeus (i. 30) does not seem to know the name of these heretics, but Hippolytus describes them in "Refutation," Book V, in great and confusing detail. He includes Naesenes, Porabao, Sethians, and an Ophite writer named Justin. See the chapter in Legge's "Forerunners and Rivals of Early Christianity", and R. P. Casey, "Naesenes and Ophites," in Journal of Theological Studies, 27, 347 ff.

7. And then there arose another heresy, which is called that of the Cainites. For they exalt Cain, as if he had been conceived from a certain mighty power which worked in him. For Abel was created, conceived from a lower power, and therefore was found inferior. These people who assert this even defend Judas the traitor, calling him admirable and great because of the useful services he is boasted to have brought to mankind. Some of them think thanks ought to be given Judas for this reason. For Judas, they say, thinking that Christ was going to overthrow the truth, betrayed him so that the truth might not be overthrown. And others dispute on the other side and say thus: because the powers of this world did not want Christ to suffer, lest salvation be prepared for mankind through his death, (Judas) planning for the salvation of mankind betrayed Christ, so that salvation, which was being obstructed by the powers who stood in the way to keep Christ from suffering could not be impeded, and therefore by the passion of Christ the salvation of mankind could not be delayed.

Little is known of these heretics; see Irenaeus i. 31, and Epiphanius, Haer. 38.

8. But that heresy also came forth which is called that of the Sethians. Of this perversity the doctrine is as follows: two men were created by the angels, Cain and Abel. On this account that power which is above all powers, which they call Mother, when they said Abel was killed, desired this Seth to be conceived and born in Abel's place, so that those angels who had created the two men might become ineffectual, since this seed, the world, arises and is born. For they say that minglings of angels and men were wicked, and therefore that power (which as we said they call Mother) for punishment brought about the flood, so that that seed of mingling might be taken away, and only this seed which was pure might be kept intact. But they who created beings from the earlier seed secretly and surreptitiously, without the knowledge of the Mother virtue, sent the seed of Ham with those eight souls in the ark, so that the seed of malice might not perish, but be preserved with the rest, and after the flood return to earth and grow, as an example to the others, and spread out and fill and occupy the whole earth. Of Christ they think thus, that they say he was only Seth, and Seth himself was in his place.

Irenaeus includes the Sethians with the Ophites, as does Hippolytus, "Refutation" v. 19 ff.; Theodorot, "Haer. Fab." i. 14, says that the Sethians are called Ophians and Ophites by some people. Salmon and Stablin thought Hippolytus' sources must have been forged documents. Perhaps, as Legge suggests, they were converts' statements from memory.

9. Afterwards Carpocrates introduced this sect: he says there is one power, chief among those above, from which the angels and powers were produced; and they, far removed from the upper powers, created the world in the lower regions. Christ was not born of the virgin Mary, but begotten as a mere man from the seed of Joseph. Of course he was outstanding in his pursuit of virtue and integrity of life. He suffered among the Jews. Only his soul was received into heaven, because it was firmer and stronger than others. From this he deduces that only the salvation of souls is to be maintained; there are no resurrections of the body.

Irenaeus (i. 25) gives a full description of his tenets, and says that his disciple Marcellina, who came to Rome in the time of Anticetus (c. 150), made many converts. The Carpocratians worshipped Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and Christ

(perhaps also Paul and Hower, as Augustine says), and created statues of them; like the emperor Severus Alexander, who also included Christ in his house-chapel, they were probably not Christians at all. Their fragments are therefore not given here. They may be found in Clement, "Stromata" iii. 2. 5ff.

10. After him burst forth Cerinthus the heretic, who taught similar doctrines. For he also says the world was created by them; he states that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, arguing that he was only a man without any divinity, and holding that the Law also was given by the angels. The god of the Jews is not Lord, but an angel.

On Cerinthus see G. Hardy in "Revue Biblique", 30, 344ff. All that we know of him is to be found in Irenaeus (i. 26, iii. 3, 4). Polycarp told the story that "John the Lord's disciple, going to the bath in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, dashed out of the bath-house without bathing; he said, 'Let's get out! The bath-house may fall down, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is inside.'" Unfortunately this little story is told also of Eblion and John, of Basilides and John, and of a Christian and a Jew in the second century. We cannot be sure which ones were the original principals. And the reason for the theory of Gaius of Rome that Cerinthus actually composed the Gospel and Apocalypse is completely unknown.

11. His successor was Eblion, who did not agree with Cerinthus in every respect, for he said that the world was made by God, not by the angels, and because it is written, "No disciple is greater than his master, nor a slave than his lord" (Matt. x. 24), he upheld the Law, no doubt in order to exclude the Gospel and vindicate Judaism.

Almost certainly there never was any "heresiarch" named Eblion. The name of this group is derived from the Hebrew word "poor", and the Eblionites were Judaizing Christians of Palestine who retained the Law. Irenaeus (i. 26) says that they used only the gospel of Matthew and did not consider Paul an apostle; he did not keep the Law.

12. The heretic Valentinus brought in many myths; I will condense them and set them forth briefly. He introduces the Pleroma and thirty aeons; he explains them through syzygies, i.e. certain joinings together. For he says that in the beginning were Depth and Silence; from these came Mind and Truth, from which burst forth Word and Life, from which again were created Man and Church. Now from these there also proceeded twelve aeons, and from Word and Life ten others. This is the thirty-fold aeon, which is made up in the Pleroma of the ogdead, the decad, and the dodecad. The thirtieth aeon wanted to see Depth, and to see him ventured to climb into the upper regions; because it was not capable of the greatness of seeing him it was in revolt and would have been dissolved unless the one sent to make it firm, named Limit, had settled it by saying "Iac." That aeon made for revolt he calls Acharoth, and says that it felt certain passions of desire and from the passions brought forth matter. For it was frightened, he says, and afraid and sad; and from these passions it conceived and brought forth. Hence it made heaven and earth and sea and everything in them; therefore everything is weak and fragile and perishable and mortal, everything made by it, because it was itself conceived and brought forth from revolt. Yet it created the world from these materials which Acharoth supplied by dreading or fearing or mourning or sweating. For from dread, he says, darkness was made, from fear and ignorance the spirit of wrongdoing and wickedness, from sadness and tears the wet materials of springs, rivers, and the sea. Christ was sent by the forefather Depth, but he was in the substance, not of our body, but of some sort of spiritual body coming down from heaven. Like water through a pipe so he passed through the virgin Mary, receiving nothing from her and not being changed. He denies the

resurrection of this flesh. Of the Law and the prophets he approves of some things and disapproves of some; or rather he disapproves of all and rejects some. He has his own gospel instead of those we have.

Valentinus flourished about the middle of the second century, when he came to Rome from Alexandria. He was the most influential minority leader we know, with the possible exception of Marcion. He was at once a Pythagorean, a Platonist, and a Christian. On his teaching see E. de Faye, "Gnostiques et Gnosticismes", and F. C. Burkitt, "Church and Gnostics". The fragments are given in section of the Grant book.

13. After him there arose the heretic Ptolemaeus and Secundus, who agree with Valentinus in almost everything and differ only on this point. For while Valentinus fixed the number of aeons at only thirty, they have added several others; they have collected four at the beginning, then another four. And they ^{that} ~~that~~ ^{deny} Valentinus stated, that the thirtieth aeon left the Pleroma as in revolt; for the one which was in revolt because of its desire to see the forefather did not belong to that thirtyfold group.

Of Ptolemaeus we know much more than Irenaeus-Tertullian tells us, for Epiphanius and Irenaeus have preserved parts of his biblical criticisms. See section V of Grant. Of Secundus we know only what Irenaeus (i. II. 2) tells us: "Secundus says the first ogdoad is a right-handed tetrad and a left-handed tetrad, and he teaches that the one is called Light and the other Darkness. The power which was in revolt and left the others was not of the number of the thirty aeons, but from their fruits."

14. Then arose another heretic, Heraclion, who agrees with Valentinus, but by a certain novelty of expression wants to seem to have different thoughts. For he holds that in the beginning was that which he calls Lord, then from that word (proceeded) two, and then the rest of the aeons. Then he brings in all of Valentinus.

Origen's "Commentary on John" is largely a reply to Heraclion's earlier work, and in it we find many fragments of the Valentinian's book (see section VI of Grant.) These fragments are marked by the most thoroughgoing allegorization imaginable, though we may admit with E. de Faye (Gnostiques et Gnosticismes, 101) that Heraclion attenuated his master's system and came closer to the main stream of Christian belief. See W. Förster, "Von Valentinus zu Heraclion."

15. There did not fail to arise, after these, a certain Marcus and Colobasus, who composed a new heresy from the Greek alphabet. They deny that truth can be reached without those letters; indeed, they hold that the whole fulness and perfection of truth lies in those letters. For this reason Christ said, "I am Alpha and Omega" (Rev. 1. 8, etc.). When Jesus Christ came down, really a dove descended on Jesus; since his Greek name is peristerna it has in it the number 801. They mention "omega, psi, chi, phi, upsilon, tau"—in fact everything, even "alpha" and "beta", and figure out ogdoads and decads. To discuss all their vanities would be stupid and tiresome. But what is not so vain, but instead dangerous, is that they imagine another god beside the creator and deny that Christ was in the substance of flesh; they deny the future resurrection of the body.

Marcus' writings seem to have been known to Irenaeus (as Salmon suggests in "Dict. Christ. Biog." iii. 827), who describes his teaching in considerable detail (i. 13-23). It appears to have much in common with the Jewish Kabbala. His rites included demonstrations of magic: wine became like blood, and with the repetition of the formula, "May the incomprehensible and ineffable grace, which is before everything, fill thy inner man, and make abundant in thee the knowledge of herself, even as she scatters the mustard seed on the good ground," a small cup's contents could fill a larger one. Hippolytus repeats Irenaeus' description and states that he has explained the tricks in Book IV, On Magic; unfortunately his explanation has been lost. Irenaeus also quotes an ode against Marcus by a

"divine presbyter and herald of the truth" (see section IV, 3 above). As for Colobasus, his existence is doubtful; the name seems to be Hebrew, "the voice of the four," or supreme toward, who dictated Marcus' revelations. Irenaeus shows us that the Marcionians, like authors of magical papyri, were fond of Hebrew words.

16. A certain Cerdo is next. He introduces two beginnings, i.e. two gods-- one good and the other cruel, the good one higher, the cruel one creator of this world. He rejects prophecies and the Law, he renounces the creator god, and he holds that Christ came as the son of the higher god. He denies that he was in the substance of flesh, and says he existed only as a phantom, he did not suffer at all, but seemed to suffer; nor was he born of a virgin--he was not born at all. He approves only of the resurrection of the soul, and denies that of the body. He accepts only the Gospel of Luke, and not all of that. He does not use all the epistles of the apostle Paul, nor does he use them complete. He rejects the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse as false.

According to Irenaeus i. 27. I, Cerdo was a Simonian; he came to Rome in the time of Hyginus (c. 140). To judge from this "Libellus", which gives the fullest account of it, his teaching did not greatly differ from Marcion's. Possibly, however, some of the latter's views have been credited to his master. Irenaeus also tells us (iii. 4. 3) that sometimes he taught secretly, sometimes he would make public confession in the church, and on at least one occasion he was convicted of false teaching and removed from the assembly of the brethren.

17. After him his disciple arose, Marcion by name, from Pontus, the son of a bishop, who was rejected from the communion of the church because of the seduction of a certain virgin. Since it was said, "Every good tree bears good fruit, and an evil tree evil" (Matt. vii. 17), he ventured to assent to the heresy of Cerdo, and to say the same things that the earlier heretic said before.

Marcion's importance may be gauged by the number of works written to refute him. We possess that of Tertullian; but those of Justin, Ebede, Theophilus of Antioch, Dionysius of Corinth, Philip of Gortyna, Modestus, Irenaeus (?) and Hippolytus are lost. There are also some pseudonymographical works against him, though probably not so many as is often thought. Marcion distinguished sharply between the God of justice and the God of love, and created a New Testament to support his views. The God of the Jews and the Old Testament he rejected; the Father of Jesus Christ he retained. He was the principal Paulinist of the second century. On his teachings, canon, church, etc., see Harnack's great work, "Marcion" (1924, ed. 2); also J. Knox, "Marcion and the N. T."

18. There arose after him a certain Lucian, follower and disciple of Marcion; going through the same kind of blasphemy he taught the same things which Marcion and Cerdo had taught.

Irenaeus tells us nothing of Lucian; to Hippolytus he is only a name.

19. After these there followed Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, who after falling as regards the flesh was removed by Marcion. He introduces one god in the infinite upper regions. He made many powers as well as the angels, and in addition another power, which he says is called Lord but is really an angel. He wants the world to be considered as the creation of this (Lord) in imitation of the world above. He was filled with regret over the world, because he did not make it as perfectly as that world above had been made. He rejects the Law and the prophets. He says that Christ was neither a phantom, as Marcion teaches, nor a being in substance of a true body, as the Gospel teaches; but because he came down from the regions above, in his descent he wove for himself a flesh of stars and air. In the resurrection, ascending he gave back to the various elements what had

been changed in his descending, and thus when the various parts of his body were dispersed he gave back only his spirit into heaven (cf. Luke xiii, 46). He denies the resurrection of the flesh. He uses the Apostle, but in Marcion's incomplete collection. He says that salvation is only for souls. In addition he has private and extraordinary texts of his own, which he calls the "Visions" of a certain girl named Philuxeno, whom he follows as a prophetess. He also has his own books, which he wrote, of "Syllogisms," in which he tries to prove that everything Moses wrote about God is not true but false.

Apelles, Marcion's best known follower, later founded a sect of his own. He is unknown to Irenaeus, but Eusebius reports a fascinating conversation he had in his old age with Rhodo (section XIX of Grant.); Rhodo seems to have won the argument. Several fragments of his "Syllogisms" are preserved in Ambrose, "De Paradiso", and in Origen (see section XVIII of Grant.). In these Apelles acutely criticizes the Old Testament narratives. An Apelleian creed is preserved in Epiph., "Haer. 44 (XVIII, II in Grant). Tertullian, "De Praesc." 30, says he went to Alexandria after leaving Marcion. In Harnack's opinion this chapter of our "Ilibellus" used the lost work of Tertullian, "Against the Followers of Apelles."

20. To these heretics succeeded another, Tatian. He was a disciple of Justin Martyr; after his death he began to think differently. For he understands things entirely in accord with Valentinus, adding (only) this, that Adam cannot be saved: as if when the branches are saved the root is not saved too!

Tatian was a voluminous writer both before and after his lapse into heresy. In the earlier period he composed his still extant "Against the Greeks", a thoroughgoing attack on Hellenistic civilization, including religion and philosophy, as well as a book of "Problems" in scripture (Rhodo intended to write a book of "Solutions" in reply!) and a treatise "On Animals". His most important work probably was written later. It was the "Diatessaron," the earliest harmony of the four gospels, of which a Greek fragment has lately been found at Dura on the Euphrates (C. H. Kraeling, "Studies and Documents", lii). In his thoroughgoing Encratite period he wrote "On Perfection According to the Saviour".

21. There arose other heretics who are called Cataphrygians, but their doctrine is not single. For there are those who are called Cata (according to Proclus, and others Cata Aeschines. These have one common blasphemy, and another not in common but peculiar to themselves. The common one is that they say the Holy Spirit was in the apostles but not the Paraclete; the Paraclete said more things in Montanus than Christ set forth in the Gospel--not only more, but better and greater. Those who are Cata Aeschines have this to add: they say Christ himself was Son and Father.

The Cataphrygians, or, as they are usually known, Montanists, were very prominent in Asia after the middle of the second century, especially a Pepura in Phrygia, where they believed the heavenly Jerusalem would come down. Montanus and his two prophetesses, Prisca and Maximilla, traced their succession back through the daughters of Philip to Agabus, the prophet (Acts xi. 28, xiii. 10); they believed that in Montanus dwelt the Paraclete. Irenaeus does not discuss them as a heresy, for to a certain extent he favoured their views. Later they spread widely, creating what has been called their Diaspora; this Tertullian joined. On them see P. de Labriolle, "Les origines montanistes"; W. Schapeler, "Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte"; fragments of an anonymous writer (XVIII in Grant) and Apollonius (XXV) (in Grant).

22. After all these came Elxetus, who tried to introduce Judaism secretly. For he says the Passover must be kept only according to the Law of Moses, on the 14th of the month. Who is ignorant that the Gospel's cross is made void if he reduces Christ to the Law?

According to Eusebius (H. E. v. 20. 1) Irenaeus wrote a "on Schism" against Marcianus. He was a Quartodeciman. See G. La Plana, "The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century," in *Harvard Theological Review*, 16, 201ff.

23. There followed these Theodotus the heretic from Byzantium, who after he was arrested for the name of Christ and denied did not stop blaspheming Christ. For he introduced the teaching which called Christ just a man and denied that he was God. While he was born of the Holy Spirit and the virgin, he was only a mere man, superior to others only by the significance of his righteousness.

24. Another heretic Theodotus arose after him; he too introduced another sect and said that Christ was only a man, conceived and born of the Holy Spirit and the virgin. But he was inferior to Melchizedek, because it was said of Christ, "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek" (Heb. v. 6). For that Melchizedek is a heavenly virtue of special grace, because what Christ does for men, becoming their intercessor and advocate, Melchizedek does for the heavenly angels and powers. For he is better than Christ, since he is fatherless motherless, without genealogy, whose beginning and end is neither comprehended nor comprehensible.

25. But after all these Praxeas also introduced a heresy, which Victorinus (=?) to care to strengthen. He says that God the Father Almighty is Jesus Christ; he argues that "he" was crucified, "he" suffered, "he" died; and with profane and sacrilegious boldness he states that afterwards "he" himself sat down at his own right hand.

These three "Modalistic Monarchians" (23, 24, 25) mark the beginning of the Christological controversies of the third century. See Eusebius, H.E. v. 28; Hippolytus, "Refutation" vii. 2, 36; Epiphanius, "Haer." 54, 55; and any history of dogma. Tertullian wrote a whole book against Praxeas.

The question may, perhaps, be raised, whether all these names, especially in the period before Irenaeus, really mean anything. A negative answer has often been given, e.g. by Köhler (*Die Gnosis*, 5): "Gnosticism has no founders at all; it is a religious mass-movement." But a mass-movement without founders does not produce such a literature as we find exemplified by Basilides "Theogonics" and the letters of Valentinus and Theodotus. And though we must admit that "Ebion" never lived (his movement was actually old-fashioned Christian Judaism), and that the name Colobasus is derived from two misunderstood Hebrew words, most of the names which our sources mention stand for real religious leaders of the second century.