

THE JEWISH BACKGROUND OF THE Gnostic SOPHIA MYTH

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Some of the literature on Gnosticism seems to assume without discussion that the Sophia figure, from whose descent or "fall" from the Pleroma the creation of the material world ultimately results, is a Gnostic adaptation of the personified Wisdom of Jewish apocalyptic and Wisdom literature¹). This assumption is well founded, but it has not always gone unchallenged. For example, W. BOUSSET argued expressly against it, holding that the Gnostic sources were in respect to Sophia influenced by a much more ancient myth of broader Near Eastern origin²). U. WILCKENS, following BOUSSET in this regard, concluded his survey of the Wisdom myth in Judaism and Gnosticism with the theory that both have the same *religionsgeschichtlich* background but are essentially independent traditions: in the Hellenistic period there was some Gnostic influence on the late Jewish stream, but the Jewish Wisdom tradition had no influence on the Gnostic Sophia myth³). In view of the sharply opposing views on this question—one which has an obvious bearing upon the larger problem of the Jewish factor in the origins of Gnosticism—this article will attempt in summary fashion to review some of the points of contact between Jewish Wisdom and the Gnostic Sophia and to show how the latter may have developed from the former. No effort will be made here to account for the origin of the concept of personal Wisdom within Judaism itself, but I may simply state that I believe its origin to

¹) E.g. F.-M.-M. SAGNAUD, *La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée* (Paris 1947), pp. 593-598. R. M. GRANT, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, rev. ed. (New York 1966), pp. 80-85, seeks to demonstrate the origin of the Simonian "First Thought" in Jewish tradition.

²) Cf. *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen 1907), pp. 260-273 and 335.

³) *Weisheit und Torheit* (Tübingen 1959), summary on pp. 193-197. In a later essay WILCKENS modified this view enough to admit the possibility of reciprocal contact between the Jewish and Gnostic streams of development; cf. article *αφλα*, *TIVNT*, vol. VII, p. 514.

lie in a combination of the late Jewish tendency toward the hypostatization of divine attributes¹) and the widespread ancient myths of the female deity, especially the Isis myths²).

In a recent article G. C. STEAD has analyzed the Sophia myth in Valentinianism, tracing its inner development and suggesting an origin in currents of thought best represented by Philo³). The present article will not go over the same ground again, although, as will become apparent, I should give a somewhat different account of the Jewish elements in the myth. For the most part, I wish to draw on the Gnostic Sophia myth as it is found in the Coptic Gnostic writings from Nag Hammadi and to concentrate more on what we may for convenience call the Sethian-Ophite type of Gnosticism than on the Valentinian. It is clear that in some form a common myth of Sophia underlies both systems. Though it is not the purpose of this article to argue the relationship between the two types, continued analysis of the new Gnostic sources may demonstrate the more original character of the Sethian-Ophite type by virtue of its occurrence in non-Christian Gnostic contexts.

The picture of personified Wisdom in the Jewish sources is too well known to need summarizing here⁴), and especially since BULTMANN's essay on the Johannine Prologue in the *GUNKEL Festschrift*, the particular Jewish myth of the descent and ascent of Wisdom is also familiar⁵). Likewise it is not necessary to cite at length the Gnostic form of the myth, which occurs very frequently, with many variations, in the patristic as well as the Coptic sources. Instead, this article will first discuss a list of specific similarities between Jewish Sophia and Gnostic Sophia in the Sethian-Ophite cosmogonies, secondly present some brief reflections on

¹) Cf. especially W. SCHENCKE, *Die Chokma (Sophia) in der jüdischen Hypostasenspekulation* (Kristiania 1913) and H. RINGGREN, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund 1947).

²) See the references in H. CONZELMANN, "Die Mutter der Weisheit", *Zeit und Geschichte*, BULTMANN *Festschrift* (Tübingen 1964), p. 225.

³) "The Valentinian Myth of Sophia", *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1969), pp. 75-104.

⁴) See especially Prv. viii: 12-36; Sir. xxiv: 1-22; Wis. vi-x; LXX Bar. iii: 9-iv: 4.

⁵) "Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium", *EYXAPIETHPION*, vol. II (Göttingen 1923), pp. 3-26. See also WILCKENS, *Weisheit und Torheit*, pp. 97-197. The principal passages are 1 Enoch xlii; xciv: 5; 4 Ezra v: 10-11; Syr. Bar. xlvi: 36; Prv. i: 20-23 and those in preceding footnote.

the Valentinian Sophia, and finally develop an argument for the Jewish origin.

A. Sophia in Jewish and in Gnostic Sources

In the following list of parallels only one or two references are provided for each even where others could be cited. Discussion is furnished where the point of the parallelism needs some clarification.

(1) Sophia is personal: *passim* in both literatures. Generally the Gnostic writings have a much more exaggerated tendency to hypostatize than do the Jewish.

(2) Sophia is joined in intimate union with God: she is his breath, emanation, reflection, image (Wis. vii: 25-26); the first of his creatures (Prv. viii: 22); his companion (Prv. viii: 30). In the Gnostic sources we should expect Sophia to be linked with the inferior God of the OT, the Demiurge Ialdabaoth and/or his offspring Sabaoth, also derived from the God of the OT. But characteristically of the Gnostic effort to demean the creator-God, it is not he who brings Sophia into being, but she him. She is nevertheless a "breath of the power of God," for Sophia breathing power into creation is a favorite theme of the Gnostic cosmogonies. In *On the Origin of the World*¹⁾, for example, the result of Sophia's abortive effort to emanate is a shapeless, lifeless mass "with no πνεῦμα in it" until she breathes upon it to give it the form of the Demiurge; her breath binds him and expels him to the underworld; and finally, she breathes life into Adam²⁾.

But on the other hand, there is also a sense in which the Gnostic Sophia is, at least originally, linked with the supreme Aeon, the Father, even though she appears in some versions of the myth to be the lowest of the Aeons, as distant as possible from the Father in the Pleroma. In some works, such as the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, there is no hierarchy of Aeons; only Sophia is mentioned. In others, such as the *Apocryphon of John*, Sophia is a

¹⁾ Adopting H.-M. SCHENKE's proposed title for the untitled fifth treatise of Nag Hammadi Codex II. In the references that follow, the Nag Hammadi works (CG) and Berlin Codex 8502 (BG) are cited by page and line (and plate number where appropriate). For the standard editions see J. M. ROBINSON, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today", *New Testament Studies* 14 (1968), pp. 380-401.

²⁾ On each point respectively see CG II, 99:8-100:10 (pl. 147-148); 102:32-35 (pl. 150; cf. *Hypostasis of the Archons*, CG II, 95:8-13, pl. 143); 115:11-23 (pl. 163).

lower Aeon, but a female figure such as Barbelo stands next to the Father as his first emanation. G. QUISPÉL believes that it is this higher female "deity" or Aeon who corresponds most immediately to the Jewish Wisdom³⁾. And H.-M. SCHENKE has claimed that behind the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* and the *Apocryphon of John* there is a hierarchy of three supreme Aeons, the Father, Sophia and the Son⁴⁾. The reluctance to attribute the fall with its consequences of material creation to such a lofty Aeon—or the reluctance to admit a split within the deity itself—took two different forms. Either Sophia was placed at the bottom of the scale of Aeons, as in *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, or two female figures, both derived from Wisdom, were postulated, as in the *Apocryphon of John* (compare Sophia and Achamoth in Valentinianism).

(3) Sophia was brought forth from or in the beginning (Prv. viii: 22 ff.; Sir. i:4; xxiv:9). Not only does the Gnostic myth necessarily presuppose some form of pre-existence for Sophia, but in *Sophia of Jesus Christ* the Sophia called "the great" is said to be joined in syzygy to the second Aeon, the Father, "from the beginning"—apparently an allusion to Prv. viii: 22 ff.⁵⁾.

(4) Sophia dwells in the clouds (Sir. xxiv:4; LXX Bar. iii:29). In the scene of the enthronement of Sabaoth in *On the Origin of the World*, we read: "And no one was with him (Sabaoth) in the cloud except Sophia Pistis"⁶⁾. In a similar image though in a different context in the *Apocryphon of John*, Sophia conceals her monster offspring Ialdabaoth in a cloud of light⁷⁾. In this instance "the Holy Spirit who is called the mother of the living" is within the cloud, but as we shall see this figure too may be an allusion to Sophia.

(5) Sophia attends God's throne or is herself enthroned (Wis. ix:4; 1 Enoch lxxxiv:3; Sir. xxiv:4). This image is closely bound up with the preceding in Gnostic as well as Jewish literature. In both Gnostic passages just mentioned Sophia attends the throne of the OT God; in *On the Origin of the World* there is a (possibly inter-

¹⁾ "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965), pp. 73-75.

²⁾ "Nag-Hamadi Studien III", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 14 (1962), pp. 352-361.

³⁾ BG 95, 1-3; cf. SCHENKE, "Nag-Hamadi Studien II", *ibid.*, p. 274.

⁴⁾ CG II, 106, 5-6 (pl. 154).

⁵⁾ CG II, 10, 14-18.

olated) passage in which Sophia is enthroned with Sabaoth on her right and Ialdabaoth on her left ¹⁾.

(6) Sophia is identified with a (Holy) Spirit (Wis. vii: 7; vii: 22-23; cf. ix: 17). The Gnostics were prone to such an identification in part because of their fascination for the fact that $\eta\omega\eta$ in Hebrew is feminine. They specifically identified Sophia and the Spirit of God by interpreting Gen. i 2b (the Spirit moving over the waters) as the repentance of Sophia for her fall. The *Apocryphon of John* provides an excellent example: in a "corrective" exegesis of the verse, ἐπιπέσει is the repentant movement of Sophia ²⁾. O. BERZ has drawn attention to the passage in the *Megale Apophasis* which explicitly interprets Gen. i 2b by means of Prv. viii: 22 ff., thus identifying the Simonian ἐβδόμη δύναμις as Wisdom ³⁾.

(7) Sophia was at least instrumental in the creation of the world (Prv. iii: 19, viii: 27-30, etc.). In the Gnostic sources, this theme is the whole raison d'être of the Sophia myth. One should note in addition that neither in the Wisdom literature nor in Gnosticism is Sophia actually the creator, although in *On the Origin of the World* she is said to create man ⁴⁾, a statement that may have its Jewish prototype in 2 Enoch xxx: 8 or Wis. ix: 2. Both Wis. ix: 2 and the Gnostic passage mention man's lordship over other creatures (Gen. i: 26, 28) ⁵⁾.

(8) Sophia communicates wisdom and revelation to men (Wis. *passim*). The parallel in the Gnostic sources is obvious in the fact that it is Sophia who is responsible for the element of light that is in man ⁶⁾. One might further compare Sophia's bringing light into creation to the statement of Wis. vii 26-27 about Wisdom as the ἀπαύγασμα φωτός αἰδίου . . . καὶ κατὰ γενεάς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαλνούσα. One must bear in mind that Sophia is an ambivalent figure in Gnosticism: through her fall she is blamed for the existence of evil matter, but because she belongs to the world of light as an

¹⁾ CG II, 106:11-18 (pl. 154).

²⁾ CG II, 13:13-23. See A. ORBE, "Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas", *Gregorianum* 44 (1963), pp. 691-730.

³⁾ "Was am Anfang geschah", *Abraham unser Vater*, MICHEL Festschrift (Leiden 1963), pp. 38-39.

⁴⁾ CG II, 113:12-114:15 (pl. 161-162). But in *Apocalypse of James I*, discussed below, the lower Wisdom, Achamoth, appears to create material being.

⁵⁾ CG II, 113:35; 114:19-20 (pl. 161-162).

⁶⁾ E.g. *Hypostasis of the Archons*, CG II, 94:29-31 (pl. 142).

Aeon of the Father and is sometimes in the myth reinstated to it, she is credited with the presence of the divine or of revelation in man. Creation and revelation are moral opposites for the Gnostic, the one a tragedy, the other the saving gesture. Only in an ambivalent or split personality can they be regarded as the work of a single agent ¹⁾. The ambivalence of Sophia—and consequently the ambivalent attitude of Gnostics toward Judaism—may be seen clearly in her role as revealer in the system described by Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I. 30. Here Sophia acts in opposition to Ialdabaoth and his powers by speaking through the prophets about the world above. One should compare the very common motif in which it is the voice of Sophia or Zoe which rebukes the arrogant Demiurge for his boast "I am God and there is no other" ²⁾.

But there is another basis for associating the revealing function of Wisdom with Gnosticism, namely the various female figures, such as Ennoia, Epinoia, Pronoia, who on the one hand bring gnosis to men and on the other behave very much like the descending and reascending Wisdom of 1 Enoch xlii and other Jewish sources. An excellent instance is found in the hymnic ending attached to the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John*, in which "the perfect πρόνοια of the All, the richness of the light, the thought of the Pleroma, etc." describes her triple descent into the world to awaken man from his deep sleep by communicating gnosis to him ³⁾. This figure is not explicitly identified with Sophia, but the resemblance by way of the myth of Wisdom's descent is very striking.

(9) Sophia descends into the world of men (1 Enoch xlii: 2; LXX Bar. iii: 37). This is a fixed element of the Sophia myth in all its Gnostic variations. In Irenaeus 1:30 Sophia, and in *Apocryphon of John* Pronoia, descends in order to bring revelation to men.

¹⁾ On the ambivalence of Sophia in Valentinianism see Stead, "The Valentinian Myth of Sophia", pp. 92-93, where five distinct concepts of Sophia are detected.

²⁾ E.g. *Hypostasis of the Archons*, CG II, 95:5-8 (pl. 143). Cf. SCHENKE, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Göttingen 1962), pp. 87-93; A. ORBE, "El pecado de los Arcontes," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 43 (1968), pp. 354-357; G. W. MACRAE, "The Ego-Proclamation in Gnostic Sources", *The Trial of Jesus*, ed. E. Bammel (London 1970), pp. 122-134.

³⁾ CG II, 30:11-31:25. Cf. G. W. MACRAE, "Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts", *Le origini dello gnosticismo*, ed. U. Bianchi (Leiden 1967), pp. 496-507. There is an extensive and close parallel to this passage in the work entitled "The Triple Protennoia" in CG XIII.

More usually, Sophia's descent is her fall from which the world results; unlike the Jewish myths, in which the descent is either unmotivated (1 Enoch xlii) or is motivated by God's providence (Sir. xxiv; LXX Bar. iii-iv), the Gnostic sources assign a motive for the descent which places it in the order of cosmic catastrophe. How the Gnostics could regard the descent as a fall must be discussed below.

(10) Sophia reascends to her celestial home (1 Enoch xlii:2). In the Wisdom literature the theme of reascent is generally absent, since the Jewish Wisdom writers wished to claim that Wisdom finds her home in Israel, sometimes by the (undoubtedly secondary) identification of Wisdom and the Law ¹⁾. In the longer ending of the *Apocryphon of John* the Pronoia is explicitly said to reascend. In the *Hypostasis of the Archons* Sophia merely reascends to her light ²⁾, but in many other works such as the *Apocryphon of John* (body of the work) her reascent is narrated in terms of her repentance and eventual (at least implicit) rehabilitation into the Pleroma. ³⁾ The latter has its nearest parallel in the theme of Sophia's repentance in Valentinianism; but we need not deal here with the element of delay in some middle region before complete rehabilitation and thus complete reascent is possible.

(11) Sophia protected, delivered and strengthened Adam (Wis. x: 1-2). We have mentioned above in no. 7 the role of Sophia in the creation of Adam in *On the Origin of the World*. One may also compare the role of the Epinoia of light in protecting Adam and "delivering him from his transgression" by enlightening him about his origin and his destiny, in the *Apocryphon of John* ⁴⁾. It is of course uncertain whether one can simply identify the Epinoia and Sophia ⁵⁾, but no doubt both are inspired by the same source.

(12) Sophia is referred to as a "sister" (Prv. vii: 4). In the *Apocryphon of John* there are several instances in which the expression "our sister Sophia" appears. These are remarkable in that they

¹⁾ E.g. Sir. xxiv; cf. WILCKENS, *Weisheit und Torheit*, pp. 164-169. But for traces of the reascent motif in Jewish literature see Prv. i 20-23; Job xxviii 12-28.

²⁾ CG II, 94:32-33 (pl. 142).

³⁾ CG II, 13:36-14:13.

⁴⁾ CG II, 20:25-28.

⁵⁾ Earlier in CG II, 9:25, however, we read: $\tau\epsilon\omicron\phi\iota\alpha \delta\epsilon \tilde{\eta}\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\alpha \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\iota \tilde{\eta}\alpha\lambda\mu\eta$. . .

occur in different contexts in the longer and shorter versions ¹⁾, and they do not appear to reflect any significant relationship between Aeons in the narrative. Nor is it likely that the plural "our" indicates merely the narrator, Christ, who usually uses the singular when speaking in his own person. Thus apparently this title of Sophia comes to the Gnostic author as a traditional element for which no fixed place can be found in the story. In Irenaeus I. 30.11-12 Sophia is referred to as the sister of the Aeon Christ, however.

(13) Sophia is associated with a sevenfold cosmic structure (Prv. ix: 1). It is disputed whether or not there is any cosmic reference in the seven-pillared house of Wisdom in Prv. ix: 1, and it is not our purpose to discuss the question ²⁾. A Gnostic reader would certainly have discovered it there. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 47:1 cites Prv. ix: 1 in reference to Sophia's creative role. ³⁾ In the cosmogonic works it is conceivable that the seven Archons or planetary deities resulting from Sophia's fall are an application of the image in Prv. ix: 1, although the passage is certainly not the primary source of the idea of a sevenfold Demiurge.

(14) Sophia is identified with life (Prv. viii: 35; LXX Bar. ix: 14 etc.). In the Gnostic cosmogonies Sophia is intimately linked with Zoe, the celestial counterpart of Eve. In the *Hypostasis of the Archons* and *On the Origin of the World* Zoe is usually the daughter of Sophia, but in some passages of the latter we find Sophia called Sophia Zoe ⁴⁾. The background is Gen. iii: 20, but it is possible that the linking of Wisdom and life in the Wisdom literature facilitated the identification. We shall return below to the parallelism between the Sophia myth and the story of Eve.

(15) Sophia is a tree of life (Prv. iii: 18; cf. 1 Enoch xxxii: 3-6). In Jewish, Christian and Gnostic literature the theme of the tree(s) in Paradise is very common, but very frequently the picture is confused. In *On the Origin of the World* both the tree of life and the tree of knowledge are good (from the Gnostic viewpoint!) ⁵⁾, but in

¹⁾ E.g. CG II, 23:20-21; CG III, 14:9-10; 25:20-21.

²⁾ For references, see R. N. WHYBRAY, *Wisdom in Proverbs* (London 1965), pp. 90-91.

³⁾ See the notes *ad loc.* in the edition of F.-M.-M. SAGNARD, *Clément d'Alexandrie: Extraits de Théodote* (Paris 1948), pp. 156-158.

⁴⁾ CG II, 115:12; 121:27 (pl. 163, 169).

⁵⁾ E.g. CG II, 110:7-29 (pl. 158).

the *Apocryphon of John* the tree of life is the evil instrument of the Archons¹⁾. In the latter work, however, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is identified with the Epinoia of light whom we have associated with Sophia above in no. 11²⁾.

Cumulatively, this long list of parallels between the Jewish Wisdom and the Gnostic Sophia makes it virtually impossible to rule out all influence of the former on the latter, and makes it at least probable that some kind of (no doubt perverse) use of the Jewish Wisdom figure lies at the source of the Gnostic myth.

B. Sophia in Valentinianism and the Planē Myth

Many of the preceding statements about Sophia in the works that I have lumped together as Sethian-Ophite can also be made with reference to the various strains of Valentinianism. There is no need here to sketch the Valentinian Sophia myth but merely to point out certain peculiarities. It is characteristic of Valentinianism that there are two Sophia figures, a higher and a lower, and the motivation of the fall of Sophia is sometimes different. Whereas in the other forms of the myth Sophia desired to imitate the Father by producing an emanation without the knowledge or consent of her consort, the Father himself or another Aeon, in some elaborations of Valentinianism her "fault" consisted of seeking to comprehend the Father perfectly³⁾. When Sophia fell from her rank her desire (Epithymia or Achamoth) was expelled from the Pleroma and brought about the creation of the material world through her offspring the Demiurge⁴⁾. The double Sophia functions as a device for further insulating the pleromatic world of Aeons from the sordid world of material creation.

A number of the Valentinian works from Nag Hammadi serve to corroborate the details of the myth and perhaps help understand its orientation⁵⁾. In the *Apocalypse of James I*, for example, there is a (somewhat fragmentary) version of Valentinian teaching

¹⁾ CG III, 27:11-28:6; cf. CG II, 21:24-26.

²⁾ E.g. CG II, 22:4-5; 23:28-29.

³⁾ Cf. STEAD, "The Valentinian Myth of Sophia", p. 78.

⁴⁾ See IRENAEUS' account of the system of Ptolemaeus, *Adv. haer.* I. 1-8.

⁵⁾ One of the most important works is yet to be published, the Fourth Treatise of the Jung Codex (CG I). For details of its Sophia figure see J. ZANDEE, "Gnostic Ideas on the Fall and Salvation", *Numen* 11 (1964), pp. 13-74, especially pp. 23-27; "Die Person der Sophia in der viernten Schrift des Codex Jung", *Le origini dello gnosticismo*, pp. 203-212.

which provides an important independent witness for certain Valentinian formulas in Irenaeus, I. 21.5¹⁾. Here the higher Sophia is portrayed as the revealer-redeemer of spiritual men, through the gnosis communicated by Christ, and the lower as the author of evil:

"But I shall call out to the imperishable gnosis, which is the Sophia who is with the Father, who is the mother of Achamoth"²⁾.

Elsewhere it is explicitly said that Achamoth is translated Sophia³⁾. The process seems clear enough: it is God's Wisdom that is first hypostatized, then split, lest God's transcendence be compromised by the evil world. In the *Apocalypse of James I* there seems to be a distinction between those who are followers of the higher Sophia (the Gnostics) and those who adhere to Achamoth, and one is led to wonder whether the Hebrew name is not used to suggest that it is the Jews who are the victims of the inadequate Wisdom. But in the *Gospel of Philip*, which also has close affinities with Valentinianism, there is a distinction between the two Sophia figures in which both are called by Hebrew names:

"Echamoth is one and Echmoth is another. Echamoth is simply (ἀκλῶς) Sophia, but Echmoth is the Sophia of death, she being the one who knows death. She is the one who is called the little Sophia"⁴⁾.

The nomenclature is obviously not in harmony with other Valentinian sources, but the distinction is clearly the same. The "Sophia of death" may be a deliberate contrast to the association of Wisdom and life in the Wisdom literature.

In the *Gospel of Truth*, which is also generally thought to be Valentinian in character, though here the case is by no means so clear, the personified Sophia does not appear at all⁵⁾. Nevertheless essentially the same Sophia myth is in the background, although, characteristically of the work, it is recounted in terms of somewhat personified abstractions rather than in terms of the mythological personalities we have seen elsewhere. The relevant passage is the

¹⁾ See the edition of A. BÖHLIG, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi* (Halle 1963), pp. 32-33.

²⁾ CG V, 35:5-9.

³⁾ CG V, 36:5-6.

⁴⁾ CG II, 60:10-18 (pl. 108; omitting a dittography in line 13). See the commentary of J.-E. MÉNARD, *L'Évangile selon Philippe* (Paris 1967), pp. 155-156.

⁵⁾ Σοφία is mentioned in CG I, 23:18, but this is very probably not a reference to the celestial Aeon.

account of the origins of the human predicament at the beginning of the *Gospel*:

"Indeed (ἐπειδὴ) the all went about searching for the one from whom it (pl.) had come forth, and the all was inside of him, the incomprehensible, inconceivable one, who is superior to every thought. Ignorance of the Father brought about anguish and terror. And anguish grew solid like a fog ¹⁾ so that no one was able to see. For this reason Planē became powerful; she fashioned her own matter (ὄλη) in emptiness, not having known the truth. She set about making a creature (κλάσμα), virtually preparing, in beauty, a substitute for the truth" ²⁾.

The motivation of the process here is essentially the same as in one of the types of Valentinianism: a disordered attempt to comprehend the Father from which ignorance results. Here no individual Aeon is said to fall, but the process of a fall is set in motion, enabling Planē (Error)—of whose origin nothing is clearly stated—to counterfeit a world of matter superficially resembling the true world of the Pleroma. Thus although neither Sophia nor the Demiurge is mentioned, the Sophia myth seems to underlie this account, and Planē, as BETZ has remarked ³⁾, seems to do double duty for both Sophia and the Demiurge.

Because this account is of itself not readily intelligible without a knowledge of the Sophia myth, one may conclude that the *Gospel of Truth* is a later formulation which presupposes the earlier, perhaps less sophisticated, myth ⁴⁾. It is difficult to decide on internal grounds whether Planē is merely a personification of error in the abstract or is a mythological personality ⁵⁾. But the supposition that the Sophia myth underlies this account may provide an indication of the author's intention. He does not abandon the myth; he merely tries to express it in rather more "philosophical" terms. His effort results in an emphasis on the opposition truth-error which more clearly than the original myth poses the conflict between the spiritual and the material worlds. But in introducing a personification, Planē, whose origin is left unexplained, the systematic background of the *Gospel of Truth* is more frankly

¹⁾ The role of the fog here (Coptic ρῥᾶστυ = Greek ὁμίχλη) may be an allusion to the sort of self-assertion of Wisdom we find in Sir. xxiv: 3: ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος ὕψιστου ἐξῆλθον καὶ ὡς ὁμίχλη κατεκάλυψα γῆν.

²⁾ CG I, 17:4-20.

³⁾ "Was am Anfang geschah", p. 42.

⁴⁾ See H. JONAS, *The Gnostic Religion*, 2nd ed. (Boston 1963), pp. 313-319.

⁵⁾ See R. HAARDT, "Zur Struktur des Plane-Mythos im Evangelium Veritatis des Codex Jung", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 58 (1962), pp. 24-38.

dualistic than even the extravagant mythology of the Sethian-Ophite cosmogonies ¹⁾.

To adopt a mythological interpretation of the *Gospel of Truth* does not mean to turn a blind eye to its effort to relate the cosmic drama to human experience of truth, error, anguish, fear, hope and the other attitudes mentioned in the work. At the bottom of the Gnostic myth itself is the projection of the human predicament onto a "pleromatic" scale in a sense that differs fundamentally from the Jewish Wisdom speculation. No doubt some of the Gnostic writers lose sight of the motivation of Gnosticism itself in their preoccupation with myth-making. The genius of the author of the *Gospel of Truth* was to return to this motivation without abandoning the mythic structure, but by restating it in other terms.

C. The Jewish Origin of the Sophia Myth

The Jewish contribution to the myth is already clear from the large number of points of contact between the two traditions, especially when these are considered in the larger context of the numerous Jewish elements scattered throughout the Gnostic mythologies. But can the Jewish background explain the basic spirit of the Gnostic myth? The Jewish attitude was one of confidence in Wisdom, resulting from the conviction that God had made his Wisdom dwell in Israel. How then explain the Gnostic hostility, or at least ambivalence, toward the personified Wisdom? Although in some accounts Sophia is both the good revealer and the hapless originator of material creation, in others she is frankly despised as the source of all that is evil. She falls, repents and is readmitted to the Pleroma in some accounts, and in others her place is simply taken by error or deception.

The answer to the question must lie in the realization that the essence of the Gnostic attitude, as has often been stated, is one of revolt, and it is a revolt against Judaism itself ²⁾. Yet somehow it must be conceived as a revolt *within* Judaism. The poignancy

¹⁾ The radical dualism of the *Gospel of Truth* is emphasized by MÉNARD, "La pléoné dans l'Évangile de Vérité", *Studia Montis Regii* 7 (1964), pp. 3-36; but MÉNARD offers a very different interpretation of the passage in question.

²⁾ E.g. see H. JONAS, "Response to G. Quispel's 'Gnosticism and the New Testament'", *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. P. HYATT (New York 1966), pp. 286-293. JONAS stresses the aspect of revolt, but for him it is not a revolt *within* Judaism.

of the expression of it indicates this: the Wisdom of Yahweh has been a deception ¹⁾. Moreover, the familiarity which Gnostic sources show toward details of Jewish thought is hardly one that we could expect non-Jews to have. In this notion of the deception, the disillusionment, that Jewish Wisdom proved to be, lies in my opinion the key to the Gnostic attitude toward Judaism. There is still place for a foreign element—indeed without it the whole phenomenon is inexplicable—and that is the fundamental attitude of antic cosmicism, the loss of confidence in the created world. Whence the latter comes is still an unsolved problem, and it is not my intention to discuss it here. Whether of Orphic or Neo-Platonist or Iranian or other origin, it must arise from the confrontation of religious and philosophical ideas in the syncretistic process. But whatever the precise origin of this antic cosmicism, it is a foreign element that intrudes upon a form of Jewish thought and expression to drive it toward what we know as Gnosticism ²⁾.

But there is a further question yet to be answered. If the Jewish Wisdom can offer a satisfactory medium for explaining the *descent* of Sophia from above, can the Jewish sources explain the notion of a *fall* of Sophia? Here we must stress the complexity of the notional background of the Gnostic myth. No single form of Jewish tradition can account for the pre-cosmic fall, nor indeed can any single line of non-Jewish thought account for it. BETZ has formulated the difficulty and enumerated some of the elements from various Jewish traditions which conspire to make possible the theme of the fall of Sophia ³⁾, but I believe he stops short of the principal link in the chain. Some of these elements of Jewish speculation (not all enumerated by BETZ) are the following. First, the fact that the Jewish tradition had already associated Wisdom with the act of creation and had already "put Sophia into the Genesis *Urgeschichte*" in the exegesis of Gen. i:1 and even of Gen. i:2b ⁴⁾. Second, the fact that Sophia in the myth of I Enoch xlii and of the Wisdom literature is represented as descending into the world; it is a short,

¹⁾ ZANDEE, "Gnostic Ideas on the Fall and Salvation", pp. 23-25, interprets the myth as a revolt against the wisdom of "the philosophers".

²⁾ On the question of the origin of the Gnostic spirit, see *Le origini dello gnosticismo, passim*, and my report on the Messina Colloquium, "Gnosis in Messina", *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966), pp. 322-333.

³⁾ "Was am Anfang geschah", pp. 38-42.

⁴⁾ BETZ, p. 39, calls attention to Wis. i: 6-7, from which the role of Sophia in Gen. i: 2b could easily be deduced.

though vital, step to having the world result from this descent once the descent itself is placed before the world came into being. Third, the idea of the fall of celestial beings is well known in Jewish apocalyptic literature as the result of interpretation of Gen. vi 1-4; moreover, the view of this event reflected in apocalyptic literature is that it caused the evil upon the earth ¹⁾. All of these elements may be said to enter into the Gnostic myth of the fall of Sophia, but they do not yet suffice to account for it.

The principal source of the fall, I suggest, is the Genesis account of the fall of Eve. One would miss an essential insight into the Gnostic myths if he failed to realize that a close correspondence is intended there between the celestial world of the Pleroma and the material world of men. The Gnostic revelations of the higher world are after all projections of human knowledge and experience onto another plane, and the primary source of this knowledge in the Gnostic works we have been dealing with is the Genesis story. In a sense we may say that the very intention of the Gnostic myth is to provide a "true," esoteric explanation of the Genesis story itself ²⁾. Therefore, if the events of earth are held to be but shadowy copies of the realities above, we must expect to find at least some of the characters and actions of Genesis translated to the pleromatic level. We may not be able to recognize them easily, but that is merely a consequence of the esoteric intentions and often inept craftsmanship of the Gnostic mythologizers. As examples of this correspondence one might mention the First Man as a name for God, or in more Christian contexts the Aeon Christ over against the human Jesus.

Jewish tradition from biblical times onward had a keen sense of the disorder in the world resulting from the fall of the first couple from the state in which they had originally been constituted. Now the Gnostic, who began with the more radical notion that the world itself was disorder, would seek to explain this situation by postulating a fall in the Pleroma of which the fall of man is but an

¹⁾ See I Enoch vi-xvi; BETZ, p. 40. On the direct Gnostic use of this theme see Y. JANSSENS, "Le thème de la fornication des anges," *Le origini dello gnosticismo*, pp. 488-494.

²⁾ "Die werdende Gnosis wollte nicht mehr und nicht weniger sein als richtige Auslegung des Alten Testaments", D. GEORGI, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil. 2, 6-11", *Zeit und Geschichte*, p. 269. See also BETZ, pp. 24-28; S. GIVERSEN, "The Apocryphon of John and Genesis", *Studia Theologica* 17 (1963), pp. 74-76.

inferior copy. But the correspondence is not quite as straightforward as this statement implies, for often the Gnostic "midrash" perverts the whole intention of the biblical story, as it does in this instance in the *Apocryphon of John* and other works, by showing that the fall of man from Paradise was actually beneficial for man, at least in its intent, since it was an attempt to liberate him from the power of the Archons. Man could only begin to rise to the supreme God when he had left the clutches of the Jewish creator-God.

What internal evidence is there for suggesting that the fall of man in Gen. iii is, partially at least, the real prototype for the fall of Sophia? First of all, there is the fact that the sin in Gen. iii is primarily that of the woman. Adam may bear the weight of responsibility in Jewish and Christian theology (e.g. the Epistle to the Romans), but in the myth of Genesis it is the woman who initiates the wrong and transmits it to her husband¹⁾. And in the Gnostic myth it is likewise a female Aeon Sophia whose disgrace initiates the creation process. Secondly, the motivation of the fall in Gen. iii 5 is to "be like God" and this is precisely how we must understand the motivation of Sophia's fall²⁾. In the Sethian-Ophite form of the myth she seeks to emanate another being without the collaboration of her male partner-Aeon, or merely "alone," and this is the divine prerogative. In a form of the Valentinian myth she seeks to comprehend the unknowable God, and this too is not granted to lower Aeons. Thirdly, as already mentioned above, there is in many forms of the Sophia myth a close association of Sophia and "her daughter" Zoe, i.e. Eve; sometimes the two are even identified in the name Sophia-Zoe. This shows the correspondence of Eve and the celestial being of which she is a copy, in this case Sophia or some other Aeon closely linked with her. Lastly, there is an explicit allusion to the sin of Eve in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* in the context of the fall of Sophia. There it is said that the cosmic veil came into existence so that, among other reasons, "the fault of the woman should live and she should combat error"³⁾.

¹⁾ Even within Jewish-Christian tradition, however, there are instances of attributing the sin to Eve; cf. E. PETERSON, "La libération d'Adam de l'Ανάγκη", *Revue Biblique* 55 (1948), p. 210.

²⁾ BETZ, p. 40, alludes to this correspondence but does not draw the conclusion from it.

³⁾ BG 118:15-17.

In the context this can only refer to Sophia and the phrase "the woman" strongly suggest Gen. iii 15, interpreted gnostically.

These details may not establish a perfect parallelism between the fall of Sophia and the sin of Eve, but they are enough to suggest that the Jewish myth of the descent of Wisdom could be transformed by the Gnostic into a cosmic catastrophe when combined with the mythical precedent for the fall of Eve. But once more it must be stressed that this explanation is meant to account only for the materials out of which the myth was made, not for the basic anticosmic attitude that inspired the making of it. That at least was an element for which nothing within Judaism itself can adequately account.