

in the figure of P'an Ku.<sup>108</sup> He is represented as a dwarf clad in a bear-skin or in leaves; on his head he has two horns.<sup>109</sup> He proceeded from *yang* and *yin*, fashioned the chaos, and created heaven and earth. He was helped by four symbolic animals—the unicorn, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon.<sup>110</sup> He is also represented with the sun in one hand and the moon in the other. In another version he has a dragon's head and a snake's body. He changed himself into the earth with all its creatures and thus proved to be a real *homo maximus* and Anthropos. P'an Ku is of Taoist origin and nothing seems to be known of him before the fourth century A.D.<sup>111</sup> He reincarnated himself in Yüan-shih T'ien-tsun, the First Cause and the highest in heaven.<sup>112</sup> As the fount of truth he announces the secret teaching, which promises immortality, to every new age. After completing the work of creation he gave up his bodily form and found himself aimlessly floating in empty space. He therefore desired rebirth in visible form. At length he found a holy virgin, forty years old, who lived alone on a mountain, where she nourished herself on air and clouds. She was hermaphroditic, the embodiment of both *yang* and *yin*. Every day she collected the quintessence of sun and moon. P'an Ku was attracted by her virgin purity, and once, when she breathed in, he entered into her in the form of a ray of light, so that she became pregnant. The pregnancy lasted for twelve years, and the birth took place from the spinal column. From then on she was called T'ai-yüan Sheng-mu, "the Holy Mother of the First Cause."<sup>113</sup> The relatively late date of the legend leaves the possibility of Christian influence open. All the same, its analogy with Christian and Persian ideas does not prove its dependence on these sources.

574 The series of eight incarnations of the "true prophet" is distinguished by the special position of the eighth, namely Christ.

<sup>108</sup> *P'an* means 'egg-shell,' *Ku* 'firm, to make firm; 'undeveloped and unenlightened, i.e., the embryo' (Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 141a).

<sup>109</sup> Moses, too, is represented with horns.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. the Christian relation of the Anthropos to the tetramorph (angel, eagle, lion, ox). See *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 53.

<sup>111</sup> He is supposed to have been invented, so to speak, by the Taoist philosopher Ko Hung, 4th cent.

<sup>112</sup> He is an "increated" made of uncreated, incorruptible air.

<sup>113</sup> For these statements see Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, pp. 76ff. Krieg (*Chinesische Mythen und Legenden*, pp. 7ff.) gives a very fine recension of the P'an-Ku legend, in which he brings together a number of Taoist-alchemical motifs.

The eighth prophet is not merely the last in the series; he corresponds to the first and is at the same time the fulfilment of the seven, and signifies the entry into a new order. I have shown in *Psychology and Alchemy* (pars. 200ff.), with the help of a modern dream, that whereas the seven form an uninterrupted series, the step to the eighth involves hesitation or uncertainty and is a repetition of the same phenomenon that occurs with three and four (the Axiom of Maria). It is very remarkable that we meet it again in the Taoist series of "eight immortals" (*hsien-yên*): the seven are great sages or saints who dwell in heaven or on the earth, but the eighth is a *girl* who sweeps up the fallen flowers at the southern gate of heaven.<sup>114</sup> The parallel to this is Grimm's tale of the seven ravens: there the seven brothers have one sister.<sup>115</sup> One is reminded in this connection of Sophia, of whom Irenaeus says: "This mother they also call the Ogdoad, Sophia, Terra, Jerusalem, Holy Spirit, and, with a masculine reference, Lord."<sup>116</sup> She is "below and outside the Pleroma." The same thought occurs in connection with the seven planets in Celsus's description of the "diagram of the Ophites," attacked by Origen.<sup>117</sup> This diagram is what I would call a mandala—an ordering pattern or pattern of order which is either consciously devised or appears spontaneously as a product of unconscious processes.<sup>118</sup> The description Origen gives of the diagram is unfortunately not particularly clear, but at least we can make out that it consisted of ten circles, presumably concentric, since he speaks of a circumference and a centre.<sup>119</sup> The outermost circle was labelled "Leviathan" and the innermost "Behemoth," the two apparently coinciding, for "Leviathan" was the name for the centre as well as the circumference.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, "the

<sup>114</sup> Wilhelm, *The Chinese Fairy Book* (trans. by Martens), pp. 76ff.

<sup>115</sup> Grimm's *Fairy Tales* (trans. by Hunt and Stern), p. 137.

<sup>116</sup> *Adv. haer.*, I, v. 3. (trans. by Roberts and Rambaut, I, p. 22).

<sup>117</sup> *Contra Celsum* VI, 24 (trans. by Chadwick, p. 337).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. "A Study in the Process of Individuation" and "Concerning Mandala Symbolism."

<sup>119</sup> "It contained a drawing of ten circles, which were separated from one another and held together by a single circle, which was said to be the soul of the universe and was called Leviathan." \* (*Contra Celsum*, VI, 25, p. 340.)

<sup>120</sup> The passage runs: "We also found that Behemoth is mentioned in it as if it were some being fixed below the lowest circle. The inventor of this horrible diagram depicted Leviathan upon the circumference of the circle and at its centre, putting in the name twice." \* (*Ibid.*)

impious diagram said that the Leviathan . . . is the soul that has permeated the universe." <sup>121</sup>

575 Origen had got hold of a diagram like the one used by Celsus and discovered in it the names of the seven angels Celsus alludes to. The prince of these angels was called the "accursed God," and they themselves were called sometimes gods of light and sometimes "archons." The "accursed God" refers to the Judaeo-Christian world-creator, as Origen duly notes. Yahweh appears here obviously as the prince and father of the seven archons.<sup>122</sup> The first of them had a "lion's form" and was named Michael; the second was a bull and was named Suriel, the bull-formed; the third, Raphael, had the form of a snake; the fourth, named Gabriel, the form of an eagle; the fifth, Thauthabaoth, the form of a bear; the sixth, Erataoth, the form of a dog; and the seventh had the form of an ass and was called Onoël or Taphabaoth or Tharthataoth.<sup>123</sup>

576 It is to be presumed that these names were distributed among the eight inner circles. The seven archons correspond to the seven planets and represent so many spheres with doors which the celebrant has to pass through on his ascent. Here, says Origen, is the origin of the Ogdoad, which, clearly, must consist of the seven and their father Yahweh. At this point Origen mentions, as the "first and seventh," Ialdabaoth, of whom we have not heard before. This supreme archon, as we know from other sources too, is lion-headed or lion-like.<sup>124</sup> He would therefore correspond to Michael in the Ophitic diagram, the first in the list of archons. "Ialdabaoth" means "child of chaos"; thus he is the first-born of a new order that supersedes the original state of chaos. As the first son, he is the last of the series,<sup>125</sup> a feature he shares with Adam and also with Leviathan, who, as we have seen, is both circumference and centre. These analogies suggest that the diagram showed a series of concentric circles.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.\* <sup>122</sup> Ibid., VI, 27, pp. 342f.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., VI, 30, p. 346.

<sup>124</sup> ". . . and they say that the star Saturn is in sympathy with the lion-like Archon" (VI, 31, p. 347). \* Cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 351ff.

<sup>125</sup> In the prayer to Ialdabaoth the celebrant addresses him thus: "And thou, Ialdabaoth, first and seventh . . . a perfect work for Son and Father." \* (Origen, VI, 31, p. 347.)

<sup>126</sup> Leisegang (*Die Gnosis*, p. 169) gives a different reconstruction but does not take account of the seven spheres of the archons.

The old world-picture, with the earth as the centre of the universe, consisted of various "heavens"—spherical layers or spheres—arranged concentrically round the centre and named after the planets. The outermost planetary sphere or archon was Saturn. Outside this would be the sphere of the fixed stars (corresponding to Leviathan as the tenth circle in the diagram), unless we postulated some place for the demiurge or for the father or mother of the archons. It is evident from the text that an Ogdoad is meant,<sup>127</sup> as in the system of Ptolemy reported by Irenaeus.<sup>128</sup> There the eighth sphere was called Achamoth (Sophia, Sapi-entia),<sup>129</sup> and was of feminine nature, just as in Damascius the hebdomad was attributed to Kronos and the ogdoad to Rhea.<sup>130</sup> In our text the virgin Prunicus is connected with the mandala of seven circles: <sup>131</sup> "They have further added on top of one another sayings of the prophets, circles included in circles . . . and a power flowing from a certain Prunicus, a virgin, a living soul." <sup>132</sup>

577 The "circles included in circles" point decisively to a concentric arrangement, as we find it, significantly enough, in Herodotus's description<sup>133</sup> of the seven circular walls of Ec-batana.<sup>134</sup> The ramparts of these walls were all painted in different colours; of the two innermost and highest walls one was silvered and the other gilded. The walls obviously represented the concentric circles of the planets, each characterized by a special colour.

578 In the introduction to his diagram Celsus reports on the idea, found among the Persians and in the Mithraic mysteries, of a

<sup>127</sup> VI, 31, p. 347.

<sup>128</sup> *Adv. haer.* I, ivff. (trans. by Roberts and Rambaut, I, pp. 16ff.)

<sup>129</sup> The demiurge is the hebdomad, but Achamoth is the ogdoad. (Leisegang, p. 317.)

<sup>130</sup> Damascius, *De Principiis* (ed. Ruelle), § 266 (II, pp. 132f.)\*

<sup>131</sup> *Contra Celsum*, p. 350.\* The Gnostics, Origen remarks, likened this Prunicus to the "woman with the bloody flux," who was thus afflicted for twelve years. T'ai-yüan, "the Holy Mother of the First Cause," had a pregnancy lasting for twelve years. (See *supra*, par. 573.)

<sup>132</sup> Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* I, iv, 2) says that, according to the Valentinians, "the whole soul of the world and of the creator of the world" proceeded from Sophia's longing for the life-giver (Christ). (Cf. *Writings*, I, p. 17.)

<sup>133</sup> *The Histories*, I, 98 (trans. by de Selincourt, pp. 54f.)

<sup>134</sup> Concerning the mandala as the plan of a primitive settlement see my "Psychology of the Transference," pars. 433ff.

stairway with seven doors and an eighth door at the top. The first door was Saturn and was correlated with lead, and so on. The seventh door was gold and signified the sun. The colours are also mentioned.<sup>135</sup> The stairway represents the "passage of the soul" (*animae transitus*). The eighth door corresponds to the sphere of the fixed stars.

579 The archetype of the seven appears again in the division of the week and the naming of its days, and in the musical octave, where the last note is always the beginning of a new cycle. This may be a cogent reason why the eighth is feminine: it is the *mother* of a new series. In Clement's line of prophets the eighth is Christ. As the first and second Adam he rounds off the series of seven, just as, according to Gregory the Great, he, "coming in the flesh, joined the Pleiades, for he had within himself, at once and for ever, the works of the sevenfold Holy Spirit."<sup>136</sup> These references should suffice to show the special nature of the eighth and its tendency to be feminine in Christian gnosis.

580 Adam's dual nature reappears in Christ: he is male-female. Boehme expresses this by saying that Christ was a "virgin in mind."<sup>137</sup> She is "an image of the holy number Three,"<sup>138</sup> "eternally uncreated and ungenerated."<sup>139</sup> Where the "Word" is, there is the virgin, for the "Word" is in her.<sup>140</sup> She is the "woman's seed,"<sup>141</sup> which shall bruise the head of the serpent (Gen. 3 : 15).<sup>142</sup> He who shall tread on its head is Christ, who thus appears identical with the seed of the woman or with the virgin. In Boehme the virgin has the character of an anima, for "she is given to be a companion to thee in thy soul,"<sup>143</sup> and at the same time, as divine power and wisdom, she is in heaven and in paradise.<sup>144</sup> God took her to him to be his "spouse."<sup>145</sup> She

<sup>135</sup> "For these two metals recall the colours of the sun and moon." \* (Cf. *Contra Celsum*, p. 334.)

<sup>136</sup> *Moralia in Job*, cap. 38, bk. 29, chap. 31 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 76, col. 519).\*

<sup>137</sup> *Three Principles of the Divine Essence* (*Works*, I), XVIII, 20, p. 170.

<sup>138</sup> *A High and Deep Search concerning the Threefold Life of Man* (*Works*, II), V, 41, p. 47.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 12, p. 110. Cf. the increatum of Paracelsus and the alchemists (*Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 430f.). <sup>140</sup> *A High and Deep Search*, VI, 77-8, p. 67.

<sup>141</sup> *Zweyte Apologie wider Balthasar Tilken* (Amsterdam edn., 1682), II, 227, p. 306.

<sup>142</sup> *Mysterium Magnum* (*Works*, III), IX, 11, p. 36; XXIII, 38, p. 104.

<sup>143</sup> *Three Principles* (*Works*, I), XVII, 78, p. 159.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 9, p. 94.

<sup>145</sup> *Menschwerdung Christi*, Part I, ch. 11, 10.

expresses all the profundity and infinity of the Godhead,<sup>146</sup> thus corresponding to the Indian Shakti.<sup>147</sup> The androgynous unity of Shiva and Shakti is depicted in Tantric iconography as permanent cohabitation.<sup>148</sup>

581 Boehme's ideas had a strong influence on Franz von Baader, who asserted that God gave Adam a helpmeet (*adjutor*) through whom Adam "was to have brought forth without an external woman," as Mary did without a man. But Adam "fell for" <sup>149</sup> the bestial act of copulation and was in danger of himself sinking to the level of a beast. God, recognizing this possibility, thereupon created Eve as a "salutary counter-institution [*ret-tende Gegenanstalt*], to prevent an otherwise unavoidable and deeper descent of man . . . into animal nature."<sup>150</sup> When Adam threatened to sink into it nevertheless, his divine androgyny departed from him, but was preserved in Eve as the "woman's seed," with the help of which man would free himself from the "seed of the serpent." For "he who was born in the Virgin Mary is the same who had to depart from Adam on account of his fall."<sup>151</sup>

582 The presence of a divine pair or androgyne in the human soul is touched upon by Origen: "They say that as the sun and moon stand as the two great lights in the firmament of heaven, so in us Christ and the Church."<sup>152</sup> And thus, too, Adam and Eve are in each of us, as Gregory the Great says; Adam standing for the spirit, Eve for the flesh.<sup>153</sup>

583 Origen, like Clement of Rome, credits Adam with the gift of prophecy, "for he prophesied a great mystery in Christ and the Church, saying, 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.'"<sup>154</sup> (Gen. 2 : 24; cf. Matt. 19 : 5 and Mark 10 : 7.)

<sup>146</sup> *A High and Deep Search* (*Works*, II), V, 56, p. 48.

<sup>147</sup> Avalon, *The Serpent Power*.

<sup>148</sup> For this motif see *Symbols of Transformation*, pars. 306, 349, 620.

<sup>149</sup> Lit., "vergaßte sich." This expression derives from Paracelsus. See *Liber Azoth* (ed. Sudhoff, vol. XIV) p. 574.

<sup>150</sup> von Baader, *Werke*, VII, p. 229.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>152</sup> *In Genesim Hom.*, I, 7 (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 12, col. 151).

<sup>153</sup> "Every man has in himself both Adam and Eve. For as in that first transgression of man, the serpent suggested, Eve delighted, and Adam consented, so we see every day that when the devil suggests, the flesh delights, and the spirit consents." \* *In Septem Psalmos poenitentiales*, V, § 8 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 79, col. 608).

<sup>154</sup> *In Cant. hom.* II (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 13, cols. 47ff.).

584 I shall end this account of the excellent equipment of the first man with an Arabian legend, which is not without a deeper meaning. When Adam left Paradise, God sent the angel Gabriel to him with an offer of three gifts of which he should choose one: modesty, intelligence, and religion. Without hesitation Adam chose intelligence. Thereupon Gabriel commanded modesty and religion to return at once to heaven. But they refused, invoking God's own command never to part from intelligence, wherever it might be found. For the Prophet had said: "Never submit to one who has no trace of intelligence."<sup>155</sup>

#### 4. THE POLARITY OF ADAM

585 There has always existed a widely felt need to think of the first man as having a "light" nature; hence the frequent comparison with the sun. The alchemists did not insist on this aspect, so I need say only a few words about it here. Usually, however, in the non-alchemical literature Adam is a "light" figure whose splendour even outshines that of the sun. He lost his radiance owing to the Fall.<sup>156</sup> Here we have a hint of his dual nature: on the one hand shining and perfect, on the other dark and earthy. Haggadic interpretation derives his name from *adamah*, earth.<sup>157</sup>

586 His dual nature is confirmed by Origen: one Adam was made out of earth, the other "after the image and likeness of God. He is our inner man, invisible, incorporeal, unspotted, and immortal."<sup>158</sup> Similar views are expressed by Philo.<sup>159</sup> It is worth noting that in Colossians 1 : 15 Christ is this "image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature."

<sup>155</sup> "Le Livre des Balances," in Berthelot, *Chimie au moyen âge*, III, p. 140.

<sup>156</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, I, 30, 9; Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 198; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 3; Kohut, "Adamssage," pp. 72 and 87; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. Adam; Wünsche, "Schöpfung und Sündenfall des ersten Menschenpaares," p. 11.

<sup>157</sup> Gruenbaum, *Jüdisch-deutsche Chrestomathie*, p. 180. *Adamah* is also related to Hebrew *dam*, 'blood.' "Adam" would therefore mean "made of red earth."

<sup>158</sup> *In Genesim Hom.*, I, 13.\*

<sup>159</sup> Philo distinguishes between the mortal Adam made of earth and the Adam created after the image of God and says of the latter: "He that was created after the [divine] image was an idea, or genus, or imprint, or object of thought, incorporeal, neither male nor female, by nature incorruptible" \* ("On the Account of the World's Creation given by Moses," §134, *Works*, I, pp. 106f., mod.).



587 Adam's dual nature is reflected in his hermaphroditism. Thus Dorn says that the "fiery and perfect Mercurius" is the "true hermaphroditic Adam."<sup>160</sup> This idea occurs among the Naassenes. "These men," says Hippolytus, "worship as the beginning of all things, according to their own statement, a Man and a Son of Man. But this Man is masculo-feminine [*ἀρσενόθηλος*] and is called by them Adamas; and hymns to him are many and various." He quotes as an example: "From thee the father, through thee the mother, the two immortal names, parents of the Aeons, O citizen of heaven, O Man of the Great Name!"<sup>161</sup> Adam is masculo-feminine also in Jewish tradition. In *Midrash Rabbah* VIII, 1<sup>162</sup> he is an androgyne, or a man and woman grown into one body with two faces. God sawed the body in two and made each half a back.<sup>163</sup> Through his androgyny Adam has affinities with Plato's sphere-shaped Original Being as well as with the Persian Gayomart. This idea has left a few traces in alchemy. For instance, Glauber attributes the sign of the circle to Adam and the square to Eve.<sup>164</sup> The circle is usually the sign for gold and sun. It is found in the latter sense in the "Book of the Cave of Treasures": "Then God made Adam. . . . And when the angels saw his glorious appearance, they were moved by the beauty of the sight; for they saw the form of his countenance, while it was enkindled, in shining splendour like to the ball of the sun, and the light of his eyes like to the sun, and the form of his body like to the light of a crystal."<sup>165</sup> An Arabic Hermes-text on the creation of Adam relates that, when the virgin (Eve) came to power, the angel Harus (Horus) arose from

<sup>160</sup> "Congeries Paracelsicae," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 578.

<sup>161</sup> *Elenchos*, V, 6, 4f (Legge, I, p. 120).

<sup>162</sup> Ed. Freedman and Simon, II, p. 54. Cf. also Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum*, p. 217, and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 198.

<sup>163</sup> Adam's back is of significance. An Islamic legend says: "Then God also made a covenant with the descendants of Adam: for he touched his back, and lo, all men who will be born until the end of the world crept forth from his back, in stature no greater than ants, and ranged themselves to his right hand and to his left." (Weil, *Biblische Legende der Muselmänner*, p. 34.) Then God sent these little souls back into Adam's backbone, where they died and were changed into a single spirit. (Ghazali, *Die kostbare Perle im Wissen des Jenseits*, ed. Brugsch, p. 7.) Citations from Aptowitzer, "Arabisch-jüdische Schöpfungstheorien," p. 216.

<sup>164</sup> *De Signatura salium, metallorum et planetarum*, p. 12.

<sup>165</sup> Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 3.



the unanimous will of the planets. This Harus took sixty spirits from the planets, eighty-three from the zodiac, ninety from the highest heaven, one hundred and twenty-seven from the earth, three hundred and sixty spirits in all, mixed them together and created out of them Adamanus, the first man, "after the form of the highest heaven."<sup>166</sup> The number 360 and the "form of heaven" both indicate his circular shape.

588 Aside, however, from his androgyny there is a fundamental polarity in Adam which is based on the contradiction between his physical and spiritual nature. This was felt very early, and is expressed in the view of Rabbi Jeremiah ben Eleazar that Adam must have had two faces, in accordance with his interpretation of Psalm 139 : 5: "Thou hast beset me behind and before";<sup>167</sup> and in the Islamic view that Adam's soul was created thousands of years before his body and then refused to enter the figure made of clay, so that God had to put it in by force.<sup>168</sup>

589 According to a Rabbinic view Adam even had a tail.<sup>169</sup> His condition at first was altogether most inauspicious. As he lay, still inanimate, on the ground, he was of a greenish hue, with thousands of impure spirits fluttering round who all wanted to get into him. But God shooed them away till only one remained, Lilith, the "mistress of spirits," who succeeded in so attaching herself to Adam's body that she became pregnant by him. Only when Eve appeared did she fly away again.<sup>170</sup> The daemonic Lilith seems to be a certain aspect of Adam, for the legend says that she was created with him from the same earth.<sup>171</sup> It throws a bad light on Adam's nature when we are told that countless demons and spooks arose from his nocturnal emissions (*ex nocturno seminis fluxu*). This happened during the one hundred and thirty years which he had to spend apart from Eve, banished from the heavenly court "under the anathema of excommunication."<sup>172</sup> In Gnosticism the original man Adamas, who is noth-

<sup>166</sup> Reitzenstein and Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, p. 114.

<sup>167</sup> *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. Adam.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> *Zohar* I, 34 (trans. by Sperling and Simon, I, p. 129), and III, 19 (IV, p. 359).

<sup>171</sup> According to Ben Sira. Cf. van Dale, *Dissertationes de origine ac progressu Idololatriae et Superstitionum*, p. 112.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., pp. 111.

ing but a paraphrase of Adam,<sup>173</sup> was equated with the ithyphallic Hermes and with Korybas, the pederastic seducer of Dionysus,<sup>174</sup> as well as with the ithyphallic Cabiri.<sup>175</sup> In the *Pistis Sophia* we meet a Sabaoth Adamas, the ruler (τύραννος) of the Aeons, who fights against the light of Pistis Sophia<sup>176</sup> and is thus wholly on the side of evil. According to the teachings of the Bogomils, Adam was created by Satanaël, God's first son and the fallen angel, out of mud. But Satanaël was unable to bring him to life, so God did it for him.<sup>177</sup> Adam's inner connection with Satan is likewise suggested in Rabbinic tradition, where Adam will one day sit on Satan's throne.<sup>178</sup>

590 As the first man, Adam is the *homo maximus*, the Anthropos, from whom the macrocosm arose, or who is the macrocosm. He is not only the prima materia but a universal soul which is also the soul of all men.<sup>179</sup> According to the Mandaeans he is the

<sup>173</sup> According to the teaching of the Barbeliots (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 29, 2f.; *Writings*, I, p. 102), the Autogenes, who was sent forth by Ennoia and the Logos, created "the perfect and true man, who is called Adamas."

<sup>174</sup> Cf. *Scholia in Lucianum*, "De dea Syria," 28 (ed. Rabe, p. 187), and Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. κόρυβος, col. 1392 b.

<sup>175</sup> Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, V, 8, 9ff. (Legge trans., I, pp. 133ff.).

<sup>176</sup> *Pistis Sophia* (trans. by Mead), pp. 19 and 30. For Adam as "head of the Aeon" see Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, p. 93, line 4.

<sup>177</sup> Euthymios Zigabenos, *Panoplia Dogmatica* (Migne, P.G., vol. 130).

<sup>178</sup> Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, p. 23.

<sup>179</sup> For a comprehensive survey of the Adam material see Murmelstein, "Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre." Concerning the universal soul see *ibid.*, XXXV, p. 269, and XXXVI, p. 52; also Aptowitzer, "Arabisch-jüdische Schöpfungstheorien," p. 214: "While Adam lay there a lifeless body, God showed him all the righteous who would one day issue from him. These have their origin in the separate parts of Adam's body: one from his head, the other from his hair, and others from his forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, ear and jawbone. Proof of this can be found in Job 38 : 4, where [as interpreted by the midrash] God says to Job: 'Tell me how thou art made, from what part of Adam's body thou comest; if thou canst tell me this, then mayest thou contend with me.'" "The first Adam was as great as the world from one end to the other, therefore the angels would have cried 'Holy!' before him, but God made him small by taking away pieces of his limbs, which then lay round about Adam. Adam said to God: 'Wherefore dost thou rob me?' God answered him: 'I will recompense thine injuries many times, for it hath been said, The son of David shall not come until all the souls in thy body are become earth. Take these pieces and carry them into all regions of the earth; wherever thou dost cast them, they will be turned to dust, and there shall the earth be inhabited by thy descendants. The places which thou shalt appoint for Israel shall belong to Israel, and the places which thou shalt appoint for the other peoples