

Clothed Upon: A Unique Aspect of Christian Antiquity

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Blake Ostler

Ancient texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nag Hammadi codices, the pseudepigrapha, and Rabbinic and early Christian literature have much to say about the ritual significance of sacred vestments. The symbolism of donning sacred vestments, of putting on a garment in a ritual context, assumes a plan of salvation that acknowledges certain conditions necessary to obtain certain blessings.

The ritual action of putting on a sacred *garment* is properly termed an “endowment.” The word garment is, in fact, representative of ordinances found in ancient texts. The Greek word ἔνδυμα that means “garment,” or ἐνδύομαι, “to clothe upon,” was used to represent sacramental, baptismal, and sealing ordinances in the *Clementine Recognitions*, an extremely important and ancient Christian (Ebionite) work.¹ The Latin *induere*, meaning “to clothe,” and *inducere*, “to lead or initiate,” are the roots for our English word *endowment*. All connote temple ordinances.²

The endowment, the complex of ordinances associated with the donning of sacred vestments, contained in ancient Judeo-Christian texts, provides a framework for symbolic interpretation. The doctrine of the preexistence, for example, appears frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the pseudepigrapha, and the Nag Hammadi texts.³ The soul must journey to the earth in order to prove itself as part of God’s plan set down before the foundation of the world.⁴ In order for the soul to return to the presence of God, certain ordinances are necessary. Among these ordinances are baptism, washings, anointings, special garments, and signs as seals and passwords to pass by the angels who guard the gate to God’s kingdom.⁵ In some accounts, one must be married in the Holy of Holies of the temple in order to obtain the highest of three degrees of glory.⁶ Thus, the plurality of the heavens is among the most universal of ancient doctrines, with special glories represented by the moon, stars, and sun.⁷ Those who could not receive all the necessary ordinances regarding the γῶσις, or required knowledge in this life, could receive them beyond the grave.⁸ The account of Christ’s *descensus ad infernos*, or his journey to the spirit world after his death to preach the gospel, is another doctrine common to many manuscripts.⁹ Christ does not go to the wicked, however; he goes to his former prophets to organize an *ecclesia*, after which they all receive the σφραγίς, or seal that

represents baptism for the dead, and they mount up to heaven together as resurrected beings.¹⁰ The preaching in the spirit world is left up to the Apostles, who also administer a vicarious baptism for the dead.¹¹ Although certain of these doctrines are specific to Gnostic Christianity or specific sects of the Jews around the first century C.E., the salvific framework presupposed in these texts is found in both.

The idea of the garment is completely at home throughout the ancient world, always in connection with ordinances of initiation related to the endowment. The garment is usually mentioned in relation with other ordinances, especially the anointing. In the *Slavonic Enoch*, for example, the Lord tells Michael, "Go, and take Enoch from out of his earthly garments and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory."¹² The *Testament of Levi*, a work closely related to the Dead Sea Scrolls, tells us that in a dream, Levi

saw seven men in white raiment saying unto me: "Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of the head, and the Ephod of prophecy." Then each of them brought forward a thing and put it on me, and said unto me: "From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, and thou and thy seed forever." And the first man anointed me with holy oil, and gave me a staff of judgment. The second washed me with pure water, fed me with bread and holy wine and clad me with a glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an Ephod. The fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple.¹³

The scene portrayed in the *Testament of Levi* recalls the investiture of the king and high priests at the temple on the occasion of Year-rites, which rites take us back to the earliest records of history.¹⁴ The anointing was not always the simple anointing of the head but often refers to a more complete anointing of all the various parts of the body. Cyril of Jerusalem, who initiated a revival of temple ordinances, albeit a specious and short-lived revival, told the newly initiated neophytes of the fourth century:

You have received the first anointing on your brow to deliver you from the shame of the first man for having transgressed the Law, and that you may reflect on the glory of Christ, the second on the ears, that you might hear and properly understand the divine mysteries. . . . The third [anointing] on the nostrils, that by so receiving the holy ordinances you say, "We are the sweet odor of Christ to the saved of God." After that you were anointed on the breast and clothed with a breastplate of righteousness.¹⁵

Cyril mentioned an anointing of "the five senses," i.e., eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and brow, while Theodore of Mopsuestia mentioned an anointing of the whole body that is "the sign that you will be clothed on with a garment of immortality."¹⁶ This ordinance of anointing bears a certain affinity with the Egyptian ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth.¹⁷

The reception of the garment became an ordinance *per se* closely associated with baptismal washings.¹⁸ Like baptism, putting on a new garment represented putting off the old man and being clothed in “Christ” and putting on a resurrected body after symbolic death. The early Christian or late Jewish *Odes of Solomon* abound in the symbolism of baptism and tie the garment to the baptismal ritual: “I stripped off sin and cast it from me, and the Lord renewed me in his raiment” (Ode 11. 9–10). “I put off darkness and clothed myself with light” (Ode 21. 2). “I have put on incorruption through His Name, I have put off corruption by his grace” (Ode 15. 6). “And I was clothed with the covering of thy spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin” (Ode 2S. 8). Ambrose of Milano states: “You have received white garments as evidence that you have been clothed again of the chaste veil of innocence . . . after being redressed in these garments by the bath of regeneration.”¹⁹ Theodore of Mopsuestia adds:

When you advance to the holy baptism you take off your clothes. Adam was born in the beginning without any reason to be ashamed, but after having transgressed the commandments and becoming mortal, he needed a garment. Just as you received the gift of the holy baptism to be born again to grace through Him and to become immortal as a figure, it is required to take off your clothes, the sign of mortality and evidence of the sentence that submits man to the need of the garment . . . but at the time you come up out of the water you will recover yourself with a shining garment. That is the sign of the radiant and glorious world. . . . When you resurrect you will recover yourself with immortality and incorruptibility; that garment . . . will then be necessary for you.²⁰

In the *Pistis Sophia*, a Gnostic text of great importance, the garment is marked with the sacred Name and with five mysteries.²¹ One symbolically puts on Christ, in Gnostic speculation, through receiving baptism and the garment.²²

The ancient garment was adorned with other marks besides the Name. E. Goodenough, in his study of Jewish symbolism, discovered that in Christian art the garment and robe were marked with signs at right angles, the gamma or square, or simply with a straight bar with prongs. He concluded that the marks had some religious significance or symbolic force.²³ It should be noted that the ancient garment bore the same tokens as the veil of the temple at Jerusalem. In the *Testament of Levi*, for example, the veil is the ἔνδυμα of the angel or the personified temple.²⁴ Many ancient texts confuse the garment with the veil of the temple, such as Ambrose of Milano’s *Tractate of the Mysteries* or the *Hebrew Book of Enoch* where “garment” and “veil” are used interchangeably.²⁵ Enoch is clothed with the veil in the *Hebrew Book of Enoch*:

The Holy One . . . made me a throne similar to the throne of glory. And He spread over me a curtain [veil] of splendour and brilliant appearance of

beauty, grace and mercy, similar to the curtain [veil] of the throne of glory; and on it were fixed all kinds of lights in the universe.²⁶

According to Hugo Odeberg, who translated the *Hebrew Enoch*, the veil was marked with “the secrets of the world’s creation and sustenance . . . in short, the innermost Divine secrets.”²⁷ The purpose of the marks on the garment and the veil was to initiate the recipient into the divine secrets of the universe. Enoch also received a garment that was marked with divine secrets: “The Holy One . . . made me a garment of glory on which were fixed all kinds of lights, and He clad me in it. And He made a robe of honour on which were fixed all kinds of beauty.”²⁸

Each step of progress in initiation was marked by some change of the garment or robes, and so the symbolism of the garment implied increased glory, moving from one existence to another. In the *Dialogue of the Savior*, Judas and Matthew ask Christ, “We wish to know with what kind of garments we will be clothed when we come forth from the corruption of this world.” The Lord replies, “since you are sons of truth, it is not with these temporary garments that you will clothe yourselves.”²⁹ In the *Gospel of Philip* the Lord adds that “it is necessary to rise in the flesh since everything exists in it. In this world those who put on garments are better than the garments. In the kingdom of heaven the garments are better than those who put them on.”³⁰

The garment also represented the preexistent purity of the initiate, and as such it represented blessings stored up in heaven to which the soul returns. In *The Pearl*, that all-important early Christian work, the soul is reared in its preexistent palace of glory but it must leave behind this glory in order to sojourn on the earth for a period of probation. Upon his leaving the preexistent palace, says the poet, “they removed from me the garment of light which they had made for me in love, they also removed my purple robe, made exactly to fit me.”³¹ The noted scholar Hoffman comments that “the garment represents the pre-existent glory of the candidate while the robe is the priesthood that is later added to it.”³² In order to return to the kingdom of God, represented in the poem by the palace of glory, the soul must be clothed in the garment. *The Pearl* continues:

And I saw the garment made like unto me. . . . And adorned myself with [it] . . . and in my royal robe excelling in beauty I arrayed myself wholly. And when I had put it on, I was lifted up unto the place of peace [salutation] and homage, and I bowed my head and worshipped the brightness of the Father which had sent it to me, for I had performed his commandments, and He likewise that which He had promised, and at the doors of his palace which was from the beginning I mingled among [his nobles], and He rejoiced over me and received me with Him into his palace.³³

A. F. J. Klijn states that the idea of preexistence comes from Judaism, where the idea of the heavenly robe “may be taken from the description of

Adam and Eve in paradise.³⁴ Of course, he refers to the tradition that Adam's nature was like bright light before the Fall, even as the garment is a garment of light, but after the Fall Adam lost his preexistent glory.³⁵ J. Rendel Harris points out that the *Odes of Solomon* also contain the ideas of "the pre-existent soul that has to leave heaven for earth, and that of the unfallen creation of God, whose environment is changed from a coat of light to a coat of skins." The "garment of skins" became the "garment of light" possibly because the Hebrew כְּתוּנֹת עוֹר (coat of skins) so closely resembles כְּתוּנֹת אֹר, meaning "coat of light."³⁶ Even so, the *Apocryphon of James* tells us that when the spirit returns to its heavenly treasure it will become "as you were first, having clothed yourself, you become the first who will strip himself, and you shall become as you were before removing the garment."³⁷

The garment also represents the treasure laid up in heaven awaiting the soul's return, and, in this context, the glory of the resurrected body.³⁸ An ancient Christian writing known as the *Ascension of Isaiah* states, "The saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are now stored up in the seventh heaven, with the Lord will come those whose spirits are clothed upon."³⁹ The *Book of Enoch* is replete with references to garments. In connection with the resurrection the *Book of Enoch* says, "And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth, and ceased to be downcast in countenance. And they shall be clothed with garments of glory, and they shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits."⁴⁰ *The Manual of Discipline*, found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, contains a concept very similar to that of the *Book of Enoch*:

And as for the visitation of all who walk in this spirit [of truth] it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness, together with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light.⁴¹

Evidently, the Qumran Covenantors believed that the righteous become priests and kings together with everlasting progeny or eternal families. E. Goodenough states that "the Essenes gave a white robe of holiness to each new member to mark his entry into the order—that is, upon his initiation, and thereafter he wore white always."⁴² The throne and crown are often mentioned in relation to garments because the rites involved are properly a type of coronation where every initiate is anointed and blessed to become "a priest and king to the Most High God."⁴³ The concept of a garment received in the resurrection is found in the Book of Mormon. "The spirit and the body shall be restored to itself again. . . . And the righteous shall have a perfect knowledge of their enjoyment, and their righteousness, being clothed with purity, even with a robe of righteousness."⁴⁴

The idea of the garment is very ancient indeed. Ancient texts place it in the context of the pre-earth council where God the Father commanded all

creatures to recognize Adam's glory because he was created in the image and likeness of God. Adam was placed on a throne and given a crown of glory and a sceptre. Satan refused to acknowledge Adam, saying, "It is he who should worship me! I existed before he existed."⁴⁵ Satan claimed to be the first-born, and for such arrogance God commanded the angels of the council in heaven to "take the writings from his hand, remove his kingly garments and armor and cast him to earth."⁴⁶ When Adam sinned, he too lost his garment of light, but God gave solace to Adam, saying, "Of my mercy I did not turn thee into darkness, but I made for thee thy body of flesh, over which I spread this skin for thy protection."⁴⁷ Protection from the elements is one of the main purposes of clothing, but this garment represented the armor of protection against Satan.⁴⁸ In the *Paraphrase of Shem*, "after [Shem's] stay on earth he received honour from his amazing garments, which provided both protection and glory."⁴⁹

The saga of the stolen garment is an indication of the importance attributed to the garment in ancient thought. Upon leaving the garden, Adam was given a garment of the skins of animals that represented his mortality but was a reminder also of his preexistent glory.⁵⁰ Satan, wanting his preexistent glory back, continually tried to deceive others by appearing as an angel of light. Thus, while Adam was praying to heaven one day for extended light and knowledge, Satan appeared as an angel of light so "that Adam would think within himself that it was a heavenly light, and that Satan's hosts were angels."⁵¹ In the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the evil God appears to Adam, claiming to be the only God, the God who created Adam himself.⁵² In the later account, when Satan appears, Adam prays, "O Lord, is there another God beside thee in the world?"⁵³ Upon his inquiry, three angels appear in order to teach him of the holy baptism.⁵⁴ The angels cast Satan out, informing Adam, "Adam, fear not! This is Satan and his host. He wishes to deceive you as he deceived you at first. The first time he was hidden in the serpent, this time he has transformed himself into an angel of light."⁵⁵ The messengers tell Adam further, "Adam, he wished to take from you this earthly garment of sheepskin, to destroy it, and not let you be covered with it."⁵⁶ In the *Manual of Discipline*, the instructor משיכר tells the story of the Creation and Fall to teach the new initiates to distinguish between the evil spirit of darkness and the good spirit of light by "their different signs of differentiating tokens."⁵⁷

The story of the stolen garment is recapitulated many times in ancient literature. According to Ginzberg, Adam's garment was given to Enoch.⁵⁸ From Enoch the garment went to Methuselah and then to Noah. Ham stole Noah's garment from him while Noah was sleeping. Upon awaking, Noah blessed his two sons but cursed Ham because Ham had stolen the garment.⁵⁹ Abraham also had to deal with garment robbers. In the *Apocalypse*

of Abraham, when Satan appears to Abraham, God tells the angel Jaol, "Go Jaol and strengthen him. "Jaol greets Abraham, "I have been sent to thee to strengthen thee and bless thee in the name of God." Abraham asks about the presence of Satan, "What is this my Lord?" And the angel replies, "This is ungodliness, this is Azazel!" And the angel says to it, "Depart from this man!" The angel casts Satan out, saying, "The vesture which in heaven was formerly thine hath been set aside for [Abraham]." ⁶⁰ According to the Rabbis, Abraham received the priesthood after the order of Adam and along with it "a garment of skin which God gave Adam." This same skin had been handed down as the "high-priestly robe" directly from Seth to Methuselah, from Noah to Japeth and Shem, and from them to Abraham. ⁶¹

In the *Pistis Sophia*, the glorious garment of Christ is given to the Twelve Apostles, who are said to have been preexistent. On the garment which Christ received from his Father, the name of the mysteries was written. The scene is evidently that of Christ giving the mysteries of the kingdom to his disciples immediately before his ascension into heaven. ⁶² After having taught all the necessary mysteries, Christ put on his garment and "arose on high to the door of the firmament. . . . The doors melted and opened before Him simultaneously. When the ἀρχωνῶν-arconts and powers and angels saw the light of the garment they were overcome. They saw my shining and resplendent garment that I had put on, they saw the mystery on which was written their name, and they were much disturbed." ⁶³ The garment here is a means to pass by the angels stationed to block the way to the gate of heaven.

The necessity of royal garments to pass through the gates and into the presence of God is another very ancient concept. Hugo Odeberg has characterized the garment of glory as

the light substance in which the inhabitants of heaven appear; the "glory" is light, splendour, probably conceived of as a reflection, outflow of the Divine Glory, the splendour of the Shekina. The putting on "the raiment of glory" is a necessary condition of entering the highest heavens, God's abode of light. Hence, the garment is also a mark of the holy, celestial nature of its bearer. ⁶⁴

In Egypt, the changing of robes had long been a very significant concept. For example, in the very old *Pyramid Texts* the garment was given to those entering the presence of the gods: "O, N., Take thy garment of light, take the veil upon thee! . . . That it might gain respect among the gods." ⁶⁵ In the Sumerian myth of Inanna, the goddess is arrayed in seven ordinances. She covers her body with the "pala-garment," the garment of Queenship. She then descends to the gate of the netherworld where she is met by the typical question-response of the gatekeeper, "Who art thou? . . . Why hast thou come?" The gatekeeper checks her for each of her seven ordinances separately. Inanna enters the netherworld to be judged and

then to be confined for three days and three nights. After receiving “the food of life and the water of life,” she is sprinkled with water and ascends from the netherworld in a manner reminiscent of the early Christian accounts of Christ’s *descensus ad infernos* and his subsequent ascension.⁶⁶

In the much later Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, the garment is a protection against evil.⁶⁷ The rubric accompanying chapter 125 reports that “this chapter is said by the deceased when he is cleansed and purified, and is arrayed in linen garments and shod with sandals of white, and his eyes are anointed with antimony, and his body anointed with oil.” The candidate announces, “I am pure! My breast is purified by libations, my hind parts have been dipped in the lake of truth. . . . I have washed myself.” The initiate is then introduced at the door: “Let thyself advance!” Again the typical question-response occurs as the gatekeepers ask, “Who art thou?,” They say to me, ‘What is your name?’” The reply is a code name. The gatekeepers reply, “We will not allow thee to enter unless thou tellest us our names.” When the initiate announces the names of the seven gates, they reply, “Thou knowest us, pass therefore by us.” At the seventh and last gate the ordinance is a bit more elaborate. The doorkeeper announces, “Thou shalt be announced [to the god of the gate].” The initiate is asked, “For what purpose hast thou come?” To this he replies, “I have come and journeyed hither that my name may be announced to the god!” The guide-psychopomp asks, “In what condition art thou?” “I am purified from evil defects and wholly free from the curses.” Thoth replies, “Therefore thy name shall be announced to the god.” The keeper asks, “What is that?” The initiate replies, “He is Osiris [the great Egyptian god].” Thoth says, “That is correct. Advance now.”⁶⁸

The ancient texts make it perfectly clear that the candidate must be properly clothed and possess the $\gamma\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, or the name of God, in order to pass through the last barrier to the presence of God. In many documents the prophet passes through seven heavens and must receive a garment of glory to enter into the highest heaven where God dwells. The garment becomes brighter as the prophet passes through each successive heaven. The prophet must also possess the proper identification or sign in order to enter each heaven.⁶⁹ In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, for instance, Paul passes through seven heavens and comes to the gate guarded by “principalities and authorities.” The spirit, his guide, tells Paul, “Give him the sign that you have, and he will open to you. And I gave him the sign,” and the seventh heaven opened.⁷⁰ The quasi-canonical *Pastor of Hermas* is a good illustration of the necessity of both the garment and the name:

No man shall enter into the kingdom of heaven except he shall take upon him the name of the “son of God.” . . . The gate is the Son of God, who is the only way of coming to God No man can enter into the kingdom of God except

these [virgins] clothe him with their garment. It availeth nothing to take up the name of the "Son of God" unless thou shalt receive the garment. . . . A man shall in vain bear his name unless he is endowed with his powers.⁷¹

Christ is also represented as the door to the kingdom of heaven in the *Odes of Solomon*. "He gave me the way of His precepts and I opened the doors that were closed. . . . Nothing appeared closed to me: Because I am the door of everything" (Ode 17. 8, 10). Since *the gate is Christ*, the scene at the gate is often one of intimate union with Christ, as in the *Apocryphon of James*. After the spirit is clothed again with its garment, Christ tells the Apostle,

Behold, I shall reveal everything to you, my beloved. Know that you come forth just as I am. Behold, I shall reveal to you Him who is hidden. Now stretch out your hand. Now take hold of me. . . . Those who wish to enter and seek to walk in the way that is before the door, open the door through you.⁷²

The Book of Mormon also refers to the straight way before the gate and identifies the Holy One of Israel with the gatekeeper.

. . . the way for man is narrow, but it lieth in a straight course before Him, and the keeper of the gate is the Holy One of Israel, and He employeth no servant there, and there is no way save it be by the gate, for He cannot be deceived, for the Lord God is His name.⁷³

The doctrine of the Name of God as a key word runs like red ribbon through the history of revealed religion. Thus, if the *Pistis Sophia* proclaims, "Thou art the key, O Savior, which opens the door of all things and shuts the door of all,"⁷⁴ the author is merely citing Isaiah 22, "I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle. . . . And the key of the House of David will I lay upon His shoulders, so He shall open and none shall shut, and none shall open. And I will fasten Him as a nail in a sure place."⁷⁵ One is immediately reminded of the *Pistis Sophia*, where one communicates knowledge to God through certain passwords and signs:

And they shall test the soul to find their signs in it, as well as their seals and their baptisms and their anointings [χρίσμα] and the virgin of light will seal that soul and the assistant [παρολέπτεις] will baptize that soul and give it a spiritual anointing. Then the assistant send the soul to the glorious Saboath the Good, [the Gnostic God] who is at the gate of life, who is called Father and who gives His seals to the soul. At the gate the soul cries, "Father!" and the soul gives his seals and responses, with the seal of each degree [τάξις] in the right hand, and the soul communicates knowledge with the right hand of every order [τόπος] with hymns of glory. . . . And Melchizedek will seal that soul and lead it to the treasury of light [that is within the veil].⁷⁶

The seal here is a sign of recognition. *The Odes of Solomon* tell us that "God's seal is known, and thy creatures know it, and the heavenly angels possess it, and the elect archangels are clothed with it."⁷⁷ In *2 Jeu*, Christ

tells the Apostles, “This is the name: ζωξαεζωζ. Pronounce it once, holding in your hand the seal. Then the guards of the gate and the veil will withdraw and you may reach the place of their Father, who will give you His name and His seal, and then you will pass the door inside to His treasure,”⁷⁸ One important point is stressed in *2 Jeu*, and indeed by several of the texts dealing with these sacred ordinances: The name and ordinances are of the utmost secrecy.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Documents cited from all over the Near East, and ranging from 2000 B.C. to A.D. 400, all tell a story pregnant with meaning to Latter-day Saints. The story is an organic unity that can be traced back to the oldest rites known to man, all of which cluster around the idea of the temple. The ancient symbolic meaning of the garment itself outlines a rather familiar story: (1) the ancient garment represented the preexistent glory that was laid aside while (2) we put on another garment that represented our mortality as a consequence of the Fall; (3) the ancient garment was not only a reminder but also a protection against the evil one as we sojourned here in the lonely world; (4) it also represented the glory of the resurrected body, and (5) an added robe represented the added righteousness procured for entrance into the kingdom of God and for passing by the angels posted there; (6) when one donned the garment, one also took upon himself a name for passing through the gate, the name of Jesus Christ, with whom ultimate unity became possible through these ancient ordinances.

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1. “Indueremus puram vestem nuptialem, quae est baptisma, quod in remissionem fit peccatorum vestrorum. . . . Si vultis itaque ut fiat vestimentum divini spiritus.” καθαρὸν ἔνδυμα γάμου περιζαλεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βάρτισμα, ὃ εἰς ἄφεσιν γίνεται τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑμῖν κακῶν, . . . Ἐνδυμα οὖν εἰ βούλεσθε γενέσθαι θεοῦ Πνεύματος (*Clementine Homilies* 8. 22–23, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Graecae*, 161 vols. [Paris: J. P. Migne, 1857–1868], 2:239–40 [hereafter cited as *PG*]; cd. *Clementine Recognitions* 4. 36 [Migne, *PG* 1. 1331]; and *Apostolic Constitutions* 8. 6 [Migne, *PG* 1. 1073].)

2. See Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “clothe” and “endowment.” Cf. Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Papyri* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), p. 281.

3. Note the following two examples of the notion of the preexistence in the Dead Sea Scrolls: “Before things came into existence He determined the plan of them” (*The Manual of Discipline* [IQS] 3. 15–17, as quoted in Theodore H. Gaster, ed. and trans., *The Dead Sea Scriptures* [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976], p. 48); and “By wisdom of thy knowledge thou didst establish their destiny before they came into existence” (*Thanksgiving Hymns* [IQH], in Herbert G. May, “Cosmological Reference in Qumran

and the Old Testament,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82 [1963], p. 32n). For similar references in the pseudepigrapha, see 2 *Enoch* 23. 4–5: “All the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them from eternity for all souls are prepared from eternity before the foundation of the world” (as translated in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. [London: Oxford, 1913], 2:444, and *The Testament of Naphtali* 2. 2–4). The abode for preexistent souls is the *promptuarium animarum*, according to 2 *Baruch* 23. 5. The preexistence of Moses is indicated in the *Assumption of Moses* 1. 13–14. Abraham saw the “[divine] world counsel . . . [wherein] whatever I had determined to be was already planned beforehand in this [picture], and it stood before me ere it was created.” He also saw “they whom I [God] have ordained to be born of thee and to be called My People” (as quoted in G. H. Box, ed. and trans., *The Apocalypse of Abraham* [London: SPCK, 1919], pp. 68–69). The idea is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls via the Essenes, according to Marc Philonenko in *Les Interpolations Chretiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), p. 39. For references in Rabbinical literature, see *Tenachuma Pikkude* 3; *Chagiga* 12b; *Bereshit Rabbah* 100. 8; 3 *Enoch* 43. 3; and *Wisdom* 8. 19–20. For examples in Gnostic literature, see the *Gospel of Thomas*, Logia 49 (“Blessed are the lonely and the elect, for you will find the kingdom. It is from there that you have come and there you will return again.”); Logia 84 (“When you see your images [ἑικόν] that came into existence before you, which neither die nor are manifested, how much you then will bear!”); and the *Gospel of Truth* 18—all located in Mario Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* (Torino, Italy: Marietti Editori, 1976), pp. 271, 278, and 526.

4. Angelo Rappoport, *Myth and Legend of Ancient Israel*, 8 vols. (London: Gresham Pub. Co, 1928), 8:21; *Ben Sirach* 16. 26–29; 1 *Enoch* 23. 11; *Apocryphon of Abraham*, in Box, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, p. 68; *Odes of Solomon* 7. 7–10; and *Gospel of Philip* 114. 7–20, in R. M. Wilson, ed. and trans., *The Gospel of Philip* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 125.

5. Steven E. Robinson, “The Apocalypse of Adam,” *BYU Studies* 17 (Winter 1977): 132–33. A complete list of seals and passwords is included in Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, pp. 318ff., and in E. Testa, *Il Simbolismo dei Gudeo-Cristiani* (Jerusalem: n.p., 1962), pp. 115ff.

6. Eric Segelberg, “The Coptic Gnostic Gospel according to Philip and Its Sacramental System,” *Numen* 7 (1960): 198–99; “The Holy of Holy Ones Is the Bridal Chamber” (*Gospel of Philip* 117. 24–25). “The Woman is united to her husband in the Bridal Chamber. But those who have united in the Bridal Chamber will no longer be separated” (*Gospel of Philip* 118. 17–29). Cf. *Gospel of Phillip*. 4–8 and 124. 6ff.

7. Charles, *Pseudepigrapham*, pp. 530ff. Cf. 3 *Baruch*, *Ascension of Isaiah*, *Chagigah* 12, 1 *Enoch*, 2 *Enoch*, *Testament of Abraham*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and *Testament of Levi*. See also K. Kohler, “The Apocalypse of Abraham and Its Kindred,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1895), p. 597, who maintains that the exegetes fail to understand the words of the Apostle Paul in 1 *Corinthians* 15:40 ff., where Paul speaks of σῶματα ἑπουράνια in contrast to σῶματα ἐπίγεια, and who says, “Different is the δόξα of the sun from that of the moon and that of the stars. . . . The Apostle alludes to the different classes of the just in paradise, ranking in degrees of light. “The origin of the “sun, moon, stars” symbolism is common to Arda Viraf and other Zoroastrian sources. The early Christian emphasis was on three heavens. (See DeJonge, *The Testament of the XII Patriarchs* (Assen, Netherlands: n.p., 1953), p. 46; and A. T. Lincoln, “Paul the Visionary,” *New Testament Studies* 2 (1979): 212–18.)

8. Those who did not know the ordinances will be placed with another, still in the body, who will accomplish the ordinances for them. See *Apocryphon of John* 2. 1 in

James Robinson, the *Nag Hammadi Library* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 113–14; *Pistis Sophia* 98. 43–93; 108. 1ff.; 128 1ff.; and 147. 39ff. in Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, pp. 468, 479, 494–95, and 514; and 2 *Jeu* 42, in Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 336.

9. *Gospel of Peter* 10. 41–42; Justin Martyr *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judeo* 82. 4; Irenaeus *Predicatione Apost.* 78; *Adversus Haereses* 4. 22; 3. 20. 4; *Odes of Solomon* 17;22. 1–12; 42. 11–20; *Ascension of Isaiah* 9.13–18; 4. 21–22; 11. 19; 10. 8–16; and Pastor of Hermas, *Similitudes* 9. 4–6, 16. 1–7. Cf. Jean Danielou, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplement, Tome 6 (Paris: n.p., n.d.), pp. 680ff.; and W. Bieder, *Die Vorstellung von der Holfahrt Jesu Christi* (Zurich: n.p., 1949), p. 179. See also *Apocryphon of John* CJ 3 and 4; *Epistle of the Apostles* 26–27; *Testament of Levi* 4. 1; and *Acts of Thomas* 10.

10. The “ecclesia” is indicated in Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 658; *Odes of Solomon* 42. 17; and Cazelles, “Descente du Christ aux Entfers,” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: n.p., 1960), cols. 395–430. Baptism for the dead is indicated in *Ode* 42 18; Pastor of Hermas, *Similitudes* 9; *Apocryphon of John*, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Librari*, p. 116; Jean Danielou, *The Doctrine of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1958), p. 248; and *Epistle of the Apostles* 27, in Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 658. In the *Apocryphon of John*, the seal (σφραγίζειν) is on the five senses recalling the anointing.

11. Pastor of Hermas, *Similitude* 9, 16 (in Migne, *PG* 2. 995): “They therefore being dead, were nevertheless sealed with the seal of the Son of God, and so entered into the kingdom of God. . . . Now the seal is the water of baptism. . . . [T]hese Apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, dying after they had received his faith and power, preached to them who were dead before; and they gave this seal to them. They went down therefore into the water with them, and again came up. But these went down whilst they were alive and came up again alive: whereas those were before dead, went down dead, but came up alive.” (Cf. *Gospel of Nicodemus* 15–20; and Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 2, 4.)

12. 2 *Enoch* 22. 8.

13. *Testament of Levi* 8. 14–22.

14. H. Ludin Jansen, “The Consecration of *Testamentum Levi*,” in E. J. Brill, ed., *La Regalia Sacra* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1955), pp. 356–65. See also Georg Widengren, “Royal Ideology and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in P. F. Bruce, ed., *Essays in Honor of S. H. Hooke—The Fulfulment* (Edinburgh: T. T. Clarke, 1963), pp. 202–12.

15. A. Hamman, *L’Initiation Chretienne* (Paris: Bernard Grasset Editeur, 1963), pp. 46–47, also in Migne, *PG* 33. 1092. The anointing is studied at length by Leonel L. Mitchell in *Baptismal Anointing* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966).

16. Hamman, *L’Initiation Chretienne*, p. 126.

17. Nibley, *Joseph Smith Papyri*, pp. 106ff. According to the *Clementine Recognitions*, all prophets must be anointed (see A. C. Coxe, *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 8. 90).

18. Danielou, *Jewish Christianity*, p. 327.

19. Hamman, “Traite des Mysteres,” in *L’Initiation Chretienne*, p. 74.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 125. Cf. *Catechesis Mystagogica*, in Migne, *PG* 33. 1080–81.

21. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, pp. 400–401; *Pistis Sophia* 8–10.

22. Gilles Quispel, “Qumran, John and Jewish Christianity,” in James H. Charlesworth and Raymond E. Brown, eds. *John and Qumran* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Publisher, 1972), pp. 152–54. Cf. J. MacDonald, ed., *Memar Marqah* (Berlin: n.p., 1963), pp. 4, 32, 80, 139, 158, and 194.

23. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols the Greco-Roman Period* 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books 1953), 9:164.

24. Marinus DeJonge, *The Testament of the XII Patriarchs*, p. 124. Consider also M. Philonenko, *Les Interpolations Chretiennes*, p. 18: "Le temple est ici considere comme une personne, et le voile du Temple comme le vetement du Sanctuaire personifie. τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ναοῦ.

25. Nibley, *Joseph Smith Papyri*, p. 246.

26. Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch*; or *The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (1928; reprinted., New York: Ktav Publications, 1973), p. 32. Bracketed words added by author as another possible translation of the word.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

29. *Dialogue of the Savior* 143, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library* p. 235: "The Lord said '... You will clothe yourselves with the light and enter into the bridal chamber.' Judas said 'How will our garments be brought to us?' The Lord said, 'Some will bring [them] to you and [others will receive them], for they are, [the ones who bring] you, your garments. Who [can] reach that place which is the reward? But they gave the garments of life to the man, for he knows the way on which he will go.'"

30. *Gospel of Philip* 57, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 135.

31. Albertus F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), pp. 120–25, lines 9–10.

32. G. Hoffman, *Zeitschrift der Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft* 4 (1903): 278–83.

33. Klijn, *Acts of Thomas*, lines 98–102.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

35. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publishing Society, 1909–1938), 1:79, 135, 139; and 5:103.

36. J. Rendel Harris, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), pp. 67–68.

37. *Apocryphon of James*, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 253.

38. R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. 34. Cf. 4 *Ezra* 2. 39, 45; and Pastor of Hermas, *Similitudes* 8. 2.

39. *Ascension of Isaiah* 4. 6. Cf. 8. 26, 9. 13, and 9. 24–25.

40. 1 *Enoch* 62. 14–16, in R. H. Charles *The Book of Enoch* (London: SPCK, 1917), p. 83.

41. Geza Vermes, ed. and trans., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 76.

42. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 9:168–69.

43. *Ascension of Isaiah* 7. 22 explains that each recipient of the garment also receives a crown and a throne: "For above all the heavens and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see. "Again, in 8. 14: "When from the body by the will of God thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest, and likewise other numbered garments laid up [there] thou wilt see, and then thou wilt become equal to the angels of the seventh heaven." Finally, in 9. 12–13: "How is it that they have received the garments, but have not the thrones and crowns? And He said unto me: 'Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend.'" (See also *Testament of Levi* 8. 5–9; Pastor of Hermas *Similitudes* 8. ii, 1–4; *Odes of Solomon* 1 1–2; and *IQS* 4. 7–8).

44. 2 *Nephi* 9:13–14.

45. Rappoport, *Myth and Legend in Ancient Israel*, 8:165; *Discourse on the Abbaton* in Erbetta, "L'investitura di Abbaton," 1:475; *Vita Adae et Evae* in Charles Pseudepigrapha, 2:137; and *Genesis Rabba* 8.

46. *Discourse on the Abbaton* p. 476. See also *Vita Adae et Evae* 15. 1–16. 1; *Genesis Rabba* 8 in Ginzberg *Legends of the Jews*, 1:165. The real problem was over the plan to create man. In the *Genesis Rabba*, God consults with the heavenly council about his plan of creation. They divide into two camps, and those against God's plan to create man are cast out. In the *Discourse on the Abbaton*, when God tells the heavenly council of his plans they are unsure. Therefore, Adam's body lay without a spirit of life for forty days. At that point, Christ interceded: "Father, give him the spirit, I will be his advocate." After this the Father said, "If I give him the spirit, My Beloved Son, you will be constrained to descend into the world and suffer great pains for his sake, in order to redeem him and bring him back to his original state one more time." The Son then replied, "Give him the spirit; I will be his advocate, I will descend to the world to fulfill your will." (Erбетта, *Gli Apocrifi*, 1:475, my translation).

47. *The Combat of Adam and Eve* 13. 1–7, 27. 12–14, in J. P. Migne, *Encyclopedie Theologique: Dictionnaire des Apocryphe* 2 vols. (Paris: Barriere, 1856), 1:302 and 307. Cf. Rappoport, *Myth and Legend in Ancient Israel* 8:165.

48. Wayne Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (New Testament Supplement Studies, a series of two books), pp. 276–77. Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* 9:143–44.

49. Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p.312: "I put on my garment which [is] the garment of the light of the Majesty which I am."

50. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, p. 169; *Genesis* 3:21; *Combat of Adam and Eve* 23. 7, 50. 5–6, and 51. 3–7.

51. *Combat of Adam and Eve* 27. 2–4 10; cf. 60. 1–3, in Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphe* 1.177: "Satan came to the cave clad in a garment of light and girt about him a bright girdle. . . . He transformed himself in order to deceive Adam."

52. *Apocalypse of Adam* 4, in Erбетта, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 208. Cf. Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 135.

53. *Combat of Adam and Eve* 24. 10, in Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphe* 1. 305.

54. *Apocalypse of Adam* 3–5, in Erбетта, *Gli Apocrifi* p. 135.

55. *Combat of Adam and Eve* 27. 12, in Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphe* 1. 307.

56. *Ibid.*, 51. 8, in Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphe* 1. 319.

57. Alfred Robert C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1966), pp. 143, 145, and 147.

58. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1:79, 135, and 139.

59. Hugh Nibley, *The World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1952), p. 162.

60. Box, *Apocalypse of Abraham* pp. 45–53: "Azazel had thus lost his garment of immortality and become mortal, while Abraham gained it."

61. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), pp. 70 and 78.

62. *Pistis Sophia* 1. 1 arid 8. 1–2, in Erбетта, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 396.

63. *Ibid.*, 11. 1–10, in Erбетта, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 402.

64. Odeberg, *Hebrew Book of Enoch*. p. 32.

65. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 9:143–44.

66. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 53–55.

67. E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (New York: n.p., 1913), p. 586.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 589ff.

69. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 9:145. Cf. *Ascension of Isaiah* 7. 25; *1 Enoch*; *2 Enoch*; *3 Enoch*; *Testament of Levi*; *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *Ascension of Moses*; *Jubilees*; *Testament of Abraham*; and *4 Ezra*.

70. *Apocalypse of Paul* 23, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 241.

71. Pastor of Hermas *Similitude* 9. 113, 117, 121–22.

72. *The Second Apocryphon of James* 55 and 57, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 252–53. A similar ordinance is found in Odes 37. 1–3, 42. 14, and in *The Pearl* lines 98–101.

73. 2 Nephi 9:41.

74. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 492.

75. Isaiah 22:21–23.

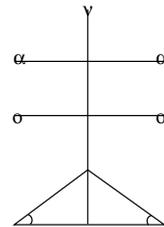
76. Author’s translation from Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi*, p. 484. For another translation, see Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 291:

And the virgin of the Light and the seven other Virgins of the light all examine that soul, and they all find their signs within it, and their seals and their baptisms and their inunctions [i.e., anointings.] And the virgin of the Light seals that soul. And the Paralemptai [i.e., assistant] of the light baptise that soul and give it the spiritual inunction. And each of the virgins of the light seals it with their seals. And also the paralemptai of the light give it into the hands of the Great Sabaoth, the Good, who is above the gate of life in the place of the right, who is called Father. And that soul gives him the glory of his songs of praise and his seals and his defences. And Sabaoth the Great and Good seals it with his seals, and the soul gives its knowledge and the glory of the songs of praise and the seals of the whole place of those of the right. They all seal it with their seals, and Melchisedek the great paralempetes of the light who is in the place of the right, seals the soul. And the paralempetes of Melchisedek seal that soul and take it to the treasury of the Light . . . the place of inheritance.

77. *Odes of Solomon* 4. 8.

78. Author’s translation from Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi* p. 351. For a different translation of 2 *Jeu* 33, see Carl Schmidt, ed., and Violet MacDermot, trans., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 83:

“When you come to this *place*, seal yourselves with this *seal*: This is its name: [ζαίτωχαζ] while the *cipher* . . . is in your hand. Furthermore say this name [αατωεωαζ] three times, and the *watchers* and the *veils* are drawn back, until you go to the *place* of their Father and he gives (you his seal and his name) and you cross over, (the gate into his treasury). This now is the placing of this *treasury*.”



79. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi* p. 334: “Behold, I have told you the name that I promised from the first to reveal to you, so that the places of the treasure withdraw and you could come to the place of the true God. . . . Thus I have told it to you, preserve and hide it don’t repeat it. . . . Now I have told you the name that you asked me to, hide it in your heart.” (Cf. *Testament of Levi* 3. 30 and *The Apocalypse of John* 31.)