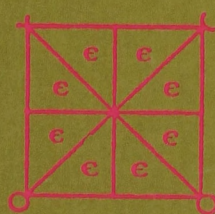
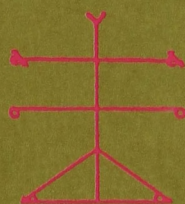
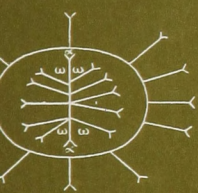


The Coptic Gnostic Library



*A Complete Edition
of the Nag Hammadi Codices
Volume I*

BRILL



THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY
VOLUME I

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EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

General editor:

JAMES M. ROBINSON

VOLUME I



THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

A Complete Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices

VOLUME I

THE PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL
THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES
THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION
THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE



BRILL
LEIDEN BOSTON KÖLN
2000

The volumes contained in this paperback reprint were originally published by Brill Academic Publishers between 1975 and 1995 as part of the *Nag Hammadi Studies* and *Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* monograph series.

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THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE

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PREFACE
TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION

Now for the first time available in paperback, *The Coptic Gnostic Library* is the only authoritative edition of many of the Coptic writings of the Gnostics from the first centuries A.D. It was originally published by Brill Academic Publishers in fourteen hardback volumes as part of the *Nag Hammadi Studies/ Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* series between 1975 and 1995, under the general editorship of James M. Robinson.

The Gnostic religion was not only a force that interacted with early Christianity and Judaism in their formative periods, but also a significant religious position in its own right. Our main sources of information for this movement are the so-called Nag Hammadi Codices, written in Coptic. Unearthed in 1945 near the town of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt, the texts literally begin where the Dead Sea Scrolls end. Their discovery has been seen as equally significant, bringing to light a long-hidden well of new information, sources, and insights into Hellenistic Judaism and the roots of Christianity.

The *Coptic Gnostic Library* contains all these texts, both in the original Coptic and in translation. Each text has its own introduction; full indexes are provided as well. The result of decades of dedicated research by many internationally distinguished scholars in this field, *The Coptic Gnostic Library* has been, and will continue to be, the starting point for any research on ancient Gnosticism. It represents the fruit of intensive collaboration by the members of two American research projects, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Project" of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, and "The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project" of the American Research Center in Egypt. Both projects were directed by James M. Robinson, and both were carried out in close collaboration with the international project to publish *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (12 volumes, E.J. Brill, Leiden [etc.], 1972-1984).

For ease of use this paperback reprint reflects as much as technically possible the sequence of the original Coptic manuscripts, disregarding the actual publication dates of the original hardback editions. Volume 1 thus contains Nag Hammadi Codex I, and Volume 5 ends with Codex XIII. Apart from four errors the original editions are reproduced "as is", without any alteration to either content, layout, or pagination. However, in one case (*The Apocryphon of John*) it proved necessary to reduce the dimensions of the original edition in order to make its reproduction possible in the present format.

We would like to express our gratitude to Prof. James M. Robinson (Claremont) and Prof. Stephen Emmel (Münster) for their support of this project, and for their valuable comments.

Brill Academic Publishers
March 2000

ORIGINAL EDITIONS

VOLUME I

Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex).

Introductions, Texts, Translations, Indices. Volume editor: Harold W. Attridge. Contributors: Harold W. Attridge, Elaine H. Pagels, George W. MacRae, Malcolm L. Peel, Dieter Mueller, Francis E. Williams, Frederik Wisse. Nag Hammadi Studies 22. Leiden (etc.), 1985.

Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex).

Notes. Volume editor: Harold W. Attridge. Contributors: Harold W. Attridge, Elaine H. Pagels, George W. MacRae, Malcolm L. Peel, Dieter Mueller, Francis E. Williams, Frederik Wisse. Nag Hammadi Studies 23. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1985.

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The Apocryphon of John.

Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2. Edited by Michael Waldstein and Frederik Wisse. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 33. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1995.

Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7.

Together with XIII, 2*, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1), and P.Oxy 1, 654, 655. Volume One. Edited by Bentley Layton. Nag Hammadi Studies 20. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1989.

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Together with XIII, 2*, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1), and P.Oxy 1, 654, 655. Volume Two. Edited by Bentley Layton. Nag Hammadi Studies 21. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1989.

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The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit). Edited with translation and commentary by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse, in cooperation with Pahor Labib. Nag Hammadi Studies 4. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1975.

VOLUME III

Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3-4 and V, 1.

With Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081. Edited by Douglas M. Parrott. Nag Hammadi Studies 27. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1991.

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Nag Hammadi Codex III, 5.

The Dialogue of the Savior. Volume editor: Stephen Emmel. Contributors: Stephen Emmel, Helmut Koester, Elaine Pagels. Nag Hammadi Studies 26. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1984.

Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI.

Volume editor: Douglas M. Parrott. Contributors: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse, Charles W. Hedrick, George W. MacRae, William R. Murdock, Douglas M. Parrott, James M. Robinson, William R. Schoedel, R. McL. Wilson, Francis E. Williams, Frederik Wisse. Nag Hammadi Studies 11. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1979.

VOLUME IV

Nag Hammadi Codex VII.

Volume editor: Birger A. Pearson. Contributors: Frederik Wisse, Gregory J. Riley, Michel Desjardins, James Brashler, Malcolm Peel, Jan Zandee, James E. Goehring, James M. Robinson, Clayton Jefford, Birger A. Pearson. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 30. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1996.

Nag Hammadi Codex VIII.

Volume editor: John H. Sieber. Contributors: Bentley Layton, Marvin W. Meyer, John H. Sieber, and Frederik Wisse. Nag Hammadi Studies 31. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1991.

Nag Hammadi Codices.

Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers. Edited by J.W.B. Barns, G.M. Browne and J.C. Shelton. Nag Hammadi Studies 16. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1981.

VOLUME V

Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X.

Volume editor: Birger A. Pearson. Contributors: Birger A. Pearson, SÝren Giversen. Nag Hammadi Studies 15. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1981.

Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII.

Volume editor: Charles W. Hedrick. Contributors: Elaine H. Pagels, James M. Robinson, John D. Turner, Orval S. Wintermute, Antoinette Clark Wire, Frederik Wisse. Nag Hammadi Studies 28. E.J. Brill, Leiden (etc.), 1990.



NAG HAMMADI STUDIES
VOLUME XXII

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

MARTIN KRAUSE - JAMES M. ROBINSON
FREDERIK WISSE

IN CONJUNCTION WITH

ALEXANDER BÖHLIG - JEAN DORESSE - SØREN GIVERSEN
HANS JONAS - RODOLPHE KASSER - PAHOR LABIB
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NAG HAMMADI CODEX I (THE JUNG CODEX)

INTRODUCTIONS, TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, INDICES

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FREDERIK WISSE

VOLUME EDITOR

HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE



LEIDEN

E. J. BRILL

1985

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FOREWORD

“The Coptic Gnostic Library” is a complete edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, of Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, and of the Askew and Bruce Codices, comprising a critical text with English translations, introductions, notes and indices. Its aim is to present these texts in a uniform edition that will promptly follow the appearance of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* and that can be a basis for more detailed technical and interpretive investigations. Further studies of this sort are expected to appear in the monograph series Nag Hammadi Studies of which the present edition is a part.

The gnostic religion was not only a force that interacted with early Christianity and Judaism in their formative periods, but also a significant religious position in its own right. General acceptance of this modern insight has been seriously impeded by the scarcity of original source material. Now this situation has been decisively altered. It is thus under a sense of obligation imposed by the discovery of these largely unique documents that the present edition has been prepared.

This edition is a project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. The translation team consists of Harold W. Attridge, J. W. B. Barnst†, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Stephen Emmel, Joseph A. Gibbons, Søren Giversen, Charles W. Hedrick, Wesley W. Isenberg, T. O. Lambdin, Bentley Layton, Violet MacDermot, George W. MacRae, Dieter Mueller†, William R. Murdock, Douglas M. Parrott, Birger A. Pearson, Malcolm L. Peel, James M. Robinson, William C. Robinson, Jr., William R. Schoedel, J. C. Shelton, John H. Sieber, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, R. McL. Wilson, Orval S. Wintermute, Frederick Wisse and Jan Zandee.

The project was initiated in 1966 with only a limited number of tractates accessible, but rapidly developed as the texts became increasingly available. In view of the fact that the bulk of the material in Codices I–VI had at that time either been published or announced for imminent publication in complete editions in other languages, the edition in the Coptic Gnostic Library was envisaged in the complementary role of providing merely English translations in a single volume, which in subsequent planning was then envisaged as two volumes. It was at this stage that preliminary announcements were made in *NTS* 16 (1969/70) 185–90 and *NT* 12 (1970) 83–85, reprinted in *Essays on*

the Coptic Gnostic Library (Leiden; E. J. Brill, 1970). The publisher and editorial board of Nag Hammadi Studies at their meeting in Uppsala, Sweden, in August 1973, recommended that the Coptic Gnostic Library edition be complete for Codices I–VI and P. Berol. 8502 as well as for VII–XIII. This plan was adopted by the volume editors at their September 1973 work session in Cairo. This resulted in Codices I–VI and P. Berol. 8502 being planned for six, then seven volumes. They do not correspond precisely to the seven codices, for it is preferable to publish parallel texts together. After it was decided to include in Nag Hammadi Studies a new English edition of the other Coptic Gnostic codices known previously, the Askew and Bruce codices, the publisher included them in the Coptic Gnostic Library to make it complete.

The volumes and the editors of the Coptic Gnostic Library are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, Volume 1: *Introductions, Texts, Translations, Indices*, Nag Hammadi Studies 22; Volume 2: *Notes*, Nag Hammadi Studies 23, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1, and IV,1: The Apocryphon of John, Long Recension*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7 together with XIII, 2*, Brit. Lib. Or 4926(1), and P. Oxy. 1,654,655*, Volume 1: *Gospel According to Thomas; Gospel According to Philip; Hypostasis of the Archons, Indexes*, Nag Hammadi Studies 20; Volume 2: *On the Origin of the World, Expository Treatise on the Soul, Book of Thomas the Contender, Indexes*, Nag Hammadi Studies 21, edited by Bentley Layton; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,1 and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John, Short Recension*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, Nag Hammadi Studies 4, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3–4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and the Sophia of Jesus Christ*, edited by Douglas M. Parrott, Nag Hammadi Studies 24; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel, Nag Hammadi Studies 26; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2–5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, Nag Hammadi Studies 11, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John Sieber; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor

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The team research of the project has been supported primarily through the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the Claremont Graduate School; and through the American Research Center in Egypt by the Smithsonian Institution. Members of the project have participated in the preparatory work of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices, which has been done at the Coptic Museum in Cairo under the sponsorship of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO. The extensive work in the reassembly of fragments, the reconstruction of page sequence, and the collation of the transcriptions by the originals not only served the immediate needs of the facsimile edition, but also provided a basis for a critical edition. Without such generous support and such mutual cooperation of all parties concerned this edition could not have been prepared. Therefore we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all who have been involved.

Work on this volume was expedited by the generosity of C. A. Meier, Director Emeritus of the Jung Institute in Zürich, who was kind enough to contribute to the Nag Hammadi Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at the beginning of January 1973

the negatives of the Jung Codex supplied to him in 1952 by Simone Eid after the codex had been acquired by the Jung Institute. Dieter Mueller, who had already prepared a draft transcription and translation of the minor part of I,5 that was at the Coptic Museum, was able on the basis of enlargements of these negatives to provide a draft transcription and translation of the bulk of this large tractate as well as of I,1 in time for it to be circulated privately among cooperating scholars already in the summer of 1973, thus effectively breaking the monopoly on the Jung Codex (see "The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly," *Religious Studies Review* 3 [1977] 17-30). Mueller became volume editor for Codex I and was involved in preparing the manuscript for publication at the time of his tragic death early in 1977. We are all indebted to him for these invaluable contributions, which he, a landed immigrant in Canada, understood as his way of assuming responsibility for his own European heritage in Nag Hammadi studies (one may note acknowledgement to him for proof-reading, in the *Vorwort* to Martin Krause and Pahor Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*, Koptische Reihe 1, 1962 [1963]).

A special word of thanks is due to the Egyptian and UNESCO officials through whose assistance the work has been carried on: Gamal Mokhtar, President until 1977 of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, our gracious and able host in Egypt; Pahor Labib, Director Emeritus, Victor Girgis, Director until 1977, and Mounir Basta, Director since 1977 of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, Chief Curator for Manuscripts at the Coptic Museum, who is personally responsible for the codices and was constantly by our side in the library of the Coptic Museum; and, at UNESCO, N. Bammate, Deputy Assistant Director General for the Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture until 1978, who has guided the UNESCO planning since its beginning, and Dina Zeiden, specialist in the Arab Program of the Division of Cultural Studies, who has always proved ready with gracious assistance and helpful advice.

Richard E. Whitaker has done the page makeup, and prepared the camera-ready copy for this volume on an IBYCUS system using the IBYCUS Coptic font produced by Whitaker and David W. Packard. Packard, developer of the IBYCUS computer system, has given of his time and skill with great generosity in fostering this project. The In-

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stitute for Advanced Studies of Princeton has made available its printing facilities for the preparation of the camera-ready copy. The Coptic transcription was put in the computer by Deborah Ellens on the IBYCUS computer system of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity on the basis of grants awarded by the Packard Foundation. We wish to express appreciation to all those involved in this process.

We also wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the directors of Brill during the years in which this volume was in preparation, F. C. Wieder, Jr., Director Emeritus, the late T. A. Edridge, and Dr. W. Backhuys, currently Managing Director.

James M. Robinson

This volume
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June 24, 1961

PREFACE

This volume, like the others in the Coptic Gnostic Library Project, is the result of a collaborative effort by numerous scholars. The individuals who bear primary responsibility for each tractate are indicated on the title page of each section. Several others deserve a special acknowledgement.

Dieter Mueller originally held overall editorial responsibility for Codex I. Before his tragic death in 1977 he had completed the edition of *The Prayer of Paul* and had done preliminary work on the translation of the *Tripartite Tractate*. The notes and drafts of that work were a useful resource in the early stages of the research of the current editors of that tractate. In the preparation of the critical transcription of all the tractates of this Codex, the assistance rendered by Stephen Emmel was invaluable. His meticulous notes on the readings of the MSS in Cairo resolved many ambiguities in the photographs of the texts. He also offered many useful suggestions about the translation of obscure passages in the *Tripartite Tractate*. Ron Cameron patiently read many of the transcriptions and caught numerous errors that escaped the editors. David Peabody assisted in the preparation of the indices. The production of the typescript for the volume would have been impossible without the skills of Mary Ann Marshall and particularly of Sally Snow, both of Perkins School of Theology. The setting of the text for publication was ably handled by Richard Whitaker, with generous support by David Packard.

Various institutions have supported the work of preparing this volume in many ways, and the authors wish to acknowledge the assistance they have received from Barnard College, Columbia University; Coe College; Harvard Divinity School; Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University; and the University of Texas at El Paso. In addition we wish to acknowledge the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia for its support of research on the *Treatise on the Resurrection*.

Finally, all the contributors to this edition of Codex I wish to express our gratitude to Prof. James M. Robinson, General Editor of the Coptic Gnostic Library, for his constant support, encouragement, and occasional prodding.

HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE

Dallas, Texas
June 24, 1983

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- I,1 The
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- I,3 The
- I,4 The
- I,5 The
- II,1 The
- II,2 The
- II,3 The
- II,4 The
- II,5 On
- II,6 The
- II,7 The
- III,1 The
- III,2 The
- III,3 Eug
- III,4 The
- III,5 The
- IV,1 The
- IV,2 The
- V,1 Eug
- V,2 The
- V,3 The
- V,4 The
- V,5 The
- VI,1 The
- VI,2 The
- VI,3 Aut
- VI,4 The
- VI,5 Pla

TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE
COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

The following table lists, for the thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, the codex and tractate numbers, the tractate titles as used in this edition (the titles found in the tractates themselves, sometimes simplified and standardized, or, when the tractate bears no surviving title, one supplied by the editors), and the abbreviations of these titles.

I,1	<i>The Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>	<i>Pr. Paul</i>
I,2	<i>The Apocryphon of James</i>	<i>Ap. Jas.</i>
I,3	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
I,4	<i>The Treatise on the Resurrection</i>	<i>Treat. Res.</i>
I,5	<i>The Tripartite Tractate</i>	<i>Tri. Trac.</i>
II,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
II,2	<i>The Gospel of Thomas</i>	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>
II,3	<i>The Gospel of Philip</i>	<i>Gos. Phil.</i>
II,4	<i>The Hypostasis of the Archons</i>	<i>Hyp. Arch.</i>
II,5	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>
II,6	<i>The Exegesis on the Soul</i>	<i>Exeg. Soul</i>
II,7	<i>The Book of Thomas the Contender</i>	<i>Thom. Cont.</i>
III,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
III,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
III,3	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Eugnostos</i>
III,4	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>
III,5	<i>The Dialogue of the Savior</i>	<i>Dial. Sav.</i>
IV,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
IV,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
V,1	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Eugnostos</i>
V,2	<i>The Apocalypse of Paul</i>	<i>Apoc. Paul</i>
V,3	<i>The (First) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>1 Apoc. Jas</i>
V,4	<i>The (Second) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>2 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,5	<i>The Apocalypse of Adam</i>	<i>Apoc. Adam</i>
VI,1	<i>The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>	<i>Acts Pet. 12 Apost.</i>
VI,2	<i>The Thunder: Perfect Mind</i>	<i>Thund.</i>
VI,3	<i>Authoritative Teaching</i>	<i>Auth. Teach.</i>
VI,4	<i>The Concept of our Great Power</i>	<i>Great Pow.</i>
VI,5	<i>Plato, Republic 588b–589b</i>	<i>Plato Rep.</i>

VI,6	<i>The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth</i>	<i>Disc. 8-9</i>
VI,7	<i>The Prayer of Thanksgiving</i>	<i>Pr. Thanks.</i>
VI,8	<i>Asclepius 21-29</i>	<i>Asclepius</i>
VII,1	<i>The Paraphrase of Shem</i>	<i>Paraph. Shem</i>
VII,2	<i>The Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>
VII,3	<i>The Apocalypse of Peter</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>
VII,4	<i>The Teachings of Silvanus</i>	<i>Teach. Silv.</i>
VII,5	<i>The Three Steles of Seth</i>	<i>Steles Seth</i>
VIII,1	<i>Zostrianos</i>	<i>Zost.</i>
VIII,2	<i>The Letter of Peter to Philip</i>	<i>Ep. Pet. Phil.</i>
IX,1	<i>Melchizedek</i>	<i>Melch.</i>
IX,2	<i>The Thought of Norea</i>	<i>Norea</i>
IX,3	<i>The Testimony of Truth</i>	<i>Testim. Truth</i>
X	<i>Marsanes</i>	<i>Marsanes</i>
XI,1	<i>The Interpretation of Knowledge</i>	<i>Interp. Know.</i>
XI,2	<i>A Valentinian Exposition</i>	<i>Val. Exp.</i>
XI,2a	<i>On the Anointing</i>	<i>On Anoint.</i>
XI,2b	<i>On Baptism A</i>	<i>On Bap. A</i>
XI,2c	<i>On Baptism B</i>	<i>On Bap. B</i>
XI,2d	<i>On the Eucharist A</i>	<i>On Euch. A</i>
XI,2e	<i>On the Eucharist B</i>	<i>On Euch. B</i>
XI,3	<i>Allogenes</i>	<i>Allogenes</i>
XI,4	<i>Hypsiphron</i>	<i>Hypsiph.</i>
XII,1	<i>The Sentences of Sextus</i>	<i>Sent. Sextus</i>
XII,2	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
XII,3	<i>Fragments</i>	<i>Frm.</i>
XIII,1	<i>Trimorphic Protennoia</i>	<i>Trim. Prot.</i>
XIII,2	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>
BG,1	<i>The Gospel of Mary</i>	<i>Gos. Mary.</i>
BG,2	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
BG,3	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr</i>
BG,4	<i>The Act of Peter</i>	<i>Act Pet.</i>

References to the Nag Hammadi tractates, and to the texts in Berlin Gnostic Papyrus, are to page and line number, except for references to the *Gospel of Thomas*, which are to Logion number.

Dan
Deut
Ecl
Ezod
Ezek
Gen

Acts
Col
1 Cor
2 Cor
Eph
Gal
Heb
Jas
Matt

Apoc. Abr.
Apoc. Elijah A
Apoc. Mos.
Asc. Iso.
Ep. Arist.

Act. John
Act. Pet.
Act. Thom.
Barn.
1 Clem.
2 Clem.
Did.
Diag.
Epist. apost.
Gos. Eg.
Gos. Heb.
Gos. Pet.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

1. Abbreviations of Biblical Books and Related Texts

a. Old Testament

Dan	Daniel	Isa	Isaiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	2 Kgs	2 Kings
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Num	Numbers
Exod	Exodus	Prov	Proverbs
Ezek	Ezekiel	Ps	Psalms
Gen	Genesis	1 Sam	1 Samuel

b. New Testament

Acts	Acts of the Apostles	1 Pet	1 Peter
Col	Colossians	2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	Phil	Philippians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Rev	Revelation
Eph	Ephesians	Rom	Romans
Gal	Galatians	1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
Heb	Hebrews	2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
Jas	James	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Matt	Matthew	2 Tim	2 Timothy

c. Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Apoc. Abr.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	Jdt	Judith
<i>Apoc. Elijah</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i>	1QS	<i>Serek hayyahad</i> (Scroll of the Rule from Qumran)
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>	Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
<i>Asc. Isa.</i>	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>	Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
<i>Ep. Arist.</i>	<i>Epistle of Aristeas</i>		

d. New Testament Apocrypha, Apostolic Fathers

<i>Act. John</i>	<i>Acts of John</i>	<i>Hermas</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>
<i>Act. Pet.</i>	<i>Acts of Peter</i>	<i>Mand.</i>	<i>Mandates</i>
<i>Act. Thom.</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	<i>Sim.</i>	<i>Similitudes</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>	Ignatius	Ignatius of Antioch
1 Clem	<i>First Epistle of Clement</i>	<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Ephesians</i>
2 Clem	<i>Second Epistle of Clement</i>	<i>Mag.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Magnesians</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Philippians</i>
<i>Diog.</i>	<i>Epistle to Diognetus</i>	<i>Philad.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Philadelphians</i>
<i>Epist. apost.</i>	<i>Epistola apostolorum</i>	<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Epistle to Polycarp</i>
<i>Gos. Eg.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Romans</i>
<i>Gos. Heb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>	<i>Smyr.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Gos. Pet.</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	<i>Trall.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Trallians</i>
		<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>

2. Other Abbreviations and Short Titles

Works on individual tractates are cited by author and/or short title and full bibliographical data may be found in the introduction to each tractate. The following are abbreviations of ancient texts and short titles of secondary works found throughout the volume. Omitted are abbreviations commonly found in standard English dictionaries.

A	Achmimic
A ²	Subachmimic
<i>Ac. Or.</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>Albinus</i>	Albinus (Alcinous)
<i>Didas.</i>	<i>Didaskalikos (Epitome)</i> , ed. P. Louis, Paris; Les belles lettres, 1945.
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
Aristotle	Aristotle
<i>An.</i>	<i>De anima</i>
<i>An post.</i>	<i>Analytica posteriora</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De caelo</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
<i>Gen. An.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>
<i>Hist. An.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>
<i>Meta.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>
<i>Phys.</i>	<i>Physica</i>
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>De arte poetica</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>
<i>Asclep.</i>	<i>Asclepius</i> (Hermetic Tractate, see <i>CH</i>)
Athanasius	Athanasius of Alexandria
<i>Ar.</i>	<i>Orationes tres adversus Arianos</i>
<i>Inc. et c. Ar.</i>	<i>De incarnatione et contra Arianos</i>
<i>Symb. Ant.</i>	<i>Symbolum 'Quicumque' seu Athanasianum dictum</i>
Athenagoras	Athenagoras of Athens
<i>Res.</i>	<i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i>
<i>Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplicatio</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
Augustine	Augustine of Hippo
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
B	Bohairic
b.	Babylonian Talmud

BASP

Bauer

BG

Blass-Debr

Bollig, Grie

Lehnwörter

BSAC

BZ

CBQ

CG

CH

Cicero

De nat. de

Tusc. Disp

circ.

Clement of

Paed.

Prot.

Strom.

conj.

CP

<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Bauer	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A Translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, 2nd ed., revised and augmented by F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker from W. A. Bauer's Fifth edition, Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1958.</i>
BG	Berolinensis Gnosticus: <i>Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502</i> , ed. W. C. Till, revised by H.-M. Schenke, 2nd ed., TU 60; Berlin: Akademie, 1972.
Blass-Debrunner-Funk	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
Böhlig, <i>Griechische Lehnwörter</i>	A. Böhlig, <i>Griechische Lehnwörter im sahidischen und bohairischen Neuen Testament</i> , 2nd ed., München: Lerche, 1958.
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CG	Cairensis Gnosticus
<i>CH</i>	<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> , ed. A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, Paris: Les belles lettres, 1960-1972.
Cicero	Cicero
<i>De nat. deor.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Tusc. Disp.</i>	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>
circ.	circumstantial converter
Clement of Alexandria	Clement of Alexandria
<i>Paed.</i>	<i>Paedagogos</i>
<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Protreptikos</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromata</i>
conj.	conjunctive conjugation base
<i>CP</i>	Classical Philology

Crum	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> , Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
Cyprian <i>Ep.</i>	Cyprian of Carthage <i>Epistolae</i>
Cyril <i>Catech.</i>	Cyril of Jerusalem <i>Catecheses illuminandorum</i>
Dillon, <i>The Middle Platonists</i>	J. Dillon, <i>The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220</i> , Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.
Diss. <i>ed. pr.</i>	Dissertation <i>editio princeps, editores principes</i> . For details, see the bibliography for each tractate.
Epictetus <i>Diss.</i>	Epictetus <i>Dissertationes</i>
Epiphanius <i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius <i>Panarion</i>
ET	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
Eusebius <i>De ecc. theol.</i> <i>HE</i> <i>Praep. evang.</i> <i>Theoph.</i> <i>Exc.Theod.</i>	Eusebius of Caesarea <i>De ecclesiastica theologia</i> <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> <i>Theophania</i> <i>Excerpta ex Theodoto</i> (Clement of Alexandria)
F	Fayumic
Festugière, <i>La révélation</i>	A.-J. Festugière, <i>La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste</i> , Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1949-54, 4 vols.
fr.	fragment
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
fut.	future conjugation base
GCS	Die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>Greg.</i>	<i>Gregorianum</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Hippolytus	Hippolytus of Rome

Contr. F.
Ref.
Horst and
Alexand.
Platonist

HR
HTR
IFAO
imperf. fut.
Irenaeus
Haer.
JAC
JBL
JEA
JEH
Jeu

Josephus
Ant.
C. Ap.
JQR
JR
JTS
Jung Codex

Justin
1 Apol.
2 Apol.
Dial.
fr. res.
Kahle, Bal

<i>Contr. Haer. Noet.</i>	<i>Contra haersein Noeti</i>
<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>
Horst and Mansfield, <i>Alexandrian Platonist</i>	P. W. van der Horst and J. Mansfield, <i>An Alexandrian Platonist Against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus'</i> , Leiden: Brill, 1974.
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IFAO</i>	L'Institut française d'archaeologie orientale
<i>imperf. fut.</i>	<i>imperfectum futuri conjugation base</i>
<i>Irenaeus</i>	<i>Irenaeus of Lyon</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Adversus Haereses</i> (Massuet's division)
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>1,2 Jeu</i>	<i>The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex</i> , ed. C. Schmidt, trans and notes V. MacDermot, NHS 13; Leiden: Brill, 1978 (cited by chapter number).
<i>Josephus</i>	<i>Josephus Flavius</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
<i>C. Ap.</i>	<i>Contra Apionem</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Jung Codex</i>	<i>The Jung Codex: A Newly Recovered Gnostic Papyrus: Three Studies by H.-C. Puech, G. Quispel and W. C. van Unnik</i> , ed. F. L. Cross, London: Mowbray, 1955.
<i>Justin</i>	<i>Justin Martyr</i>
<i>1 Apol.</i>	<i>First Apology</i>
<i>2 Apol.</i>	<i>Second Apology</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo</i>
<i>fr. res.</i>	<i>Fragmentum in resurrectionem</i>
<i>Kahle, Bala'izah</i>	P. E. Kahle, <i>Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from</i>

- Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Kasser, *Compléments* R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum*, Bibliothéque des études coptes 7; Cairo: IFAO, 1964.
- Krämer, *Ursprung* H. J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Platonismus zwischen Platon und Plotin*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam: Gruner, 1967.
- Lactantius
Inst. Div. Lactantius
Institutiones Divinae
- Lampe G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles* H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy*, Cairo: IFAO, 1956; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1978.
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- m. Mishnah Tractate
- Mand. PB* *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*, ed. E. S. Drower, Leiden: Brill, 1959
- Man. Hom.* *Manichäischen Homilien* (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, 1), ed. H. J. Polotsky, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934.
- Man. Keph.* *Kephalaia*. 1. *Hälfte* (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin), ed. H. J. Polotsky, A. Böhlig, C. Schmidt, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940. *Kephalaia*. 2. *Hälfte*, ed. A. Böhlig, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966.
- Man. Ps.* *A Manichaean Psalm Book* (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, 2), ed. C. R. C. Allberry, Stuttgart; Kohlhammer, 1938.
- Marcus Aurelius
Med. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
Meditationes
- Melito Melito of Sardis

Hom. Pa.

Maximus

Disc.

Methodius

Res.

Symp.

Muséon

neg.

NF

NHS

NT

NTS

NTT

Numenius

O

Od. Sol.

OLP

OLZ

Or.

Origen

Cons. Cels.

De princ.

In Jerem.

In Joh.

In Rom.

Or.

Or. Suec.

Pagels, Joha.

Gospel

peri.

PG

PGM

Philo

<i>Hom. Pas.</i>	<i>Homilia in passionem Christi</i> , ed. C. Bonner, London: Christophers, 1940.
Maximus of Tyre	Maximus of Tyre
<i>Diss.</i>	<i>Dissertationes</i>
Methodius	Methodius of Olympus
<i>Res.</i>	<i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Muséon</i>	<i>Le Muséon</i>
neg.	negative converter or conjugation base
NF	Neue Folge
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NTT</i>	<i>Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
Numenius	Numenius, <i>Fragments</i> , ed. É. des Places, Paris: Les belles lettres, 1973.
O	Oxyrhynchite ("Middle Egyptian")
<i>Od. Sol.</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i> , ed. J. Charlesworth, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977.
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
Origen	Origen
<i>Cons. Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>De princ.</i>	<i>De principiis</i>
<i>In Jerem.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Jeremian</i>
<i>In Joh.</i>	<i>Commentarium in Johannem</i>
<i>In Rom.</i>	<i>Commentarium in Romanos</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>De oratione</i>
<i>Or. Suec.</i>	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>
Pagels, <i>Johannine Gospel</i>	E. Pagels, <i>The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis: Heracleon's Commentary on John</i> , Nashville: Abingdon, 1973.
perf.	perfect conjugation base
PG	Patrologia Graeca
<i>PGM</i>	K. Preisendanz, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechische Zauberpapyri</i> , Leipzig: Teubner, 1928.
Philo	Philo of Alexandria

<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim</i>
<i>Conf. ling.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>Ebr.</i>	<i>De ebrietate</i>
<i>Gig.</i>	<i>De gigantibus</i>
<i>Heres</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres</i>
<i>Immut.</i>	<i>Quod Deus immutabilis sit</i>
<i>Leg. all.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
<i>Mig. Abr.</i>	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Mut.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Op. mun.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione</i>
<i>Post. Cain.</i>	<i>De posteritate Caini</i>
<i>Praem. et poen.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somniis</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>Vita Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis</i>
Philostratus	Philostratus
<i>Vit. Ap.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Plato	Plato
<i>Amat.</i>	<i>Amatores</i>
<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>
<i>Euthyd.</i>	<i>Euthydemus</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philebus</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Republica</i>
<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophistes</i>
<i>Theaet.</i>	<i>Theaetetus</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
Plotinus	Plotinus
<i>Enn.</i>	<i>Enneads</i>
Plutarch	Plutarch
<i>De Iside</i>	<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>
Polotsky, <i>Collected Papers</i>	H. J. Polotsky, <i>Collected Papers</i> , Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971.
praes. cons.	praesens consuetudinis (aorist) conjugation base
pres.	present conjugation base
pret.	preterit converter

Proclus
Theol.

PS

Ps.-Clem.

Hom.

Rec.

Ps.-Tertul.

Adv. om.

qual.

RAC

Rediscover

rel.

Rev. d'Eg.

RevisB

Rev. Sci. R.

RHR

RSR

RThPh

S

Sagnard, L.

valentini

SBL

SBLMS

SEA

Seneca

Ep.

QN

Sextus Em.

Proclus	Proclus
<i>Theol. Plat.</i>	<i>Theologia Platonica</i> , ed. H. D. Saffrey, L. G. Westerink, Paris: Les belles lettres, 1968.
PS	<i>Pistis Sophia</i> , ed. C. Schmidt, trans. and notes V. MacDermott, NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978 (cited by chapter number and occasionally by page and line number).
Ps.-Clem.	Pseudo-Clement
<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Rec.</i>	<i>Recognitiones</i>
Ps.-Tertullian	Pseudo-Tertullian
<i>Adv. omn. haer.</i>	<i>Adversus omnes haereses</i>
qual.	qualitative form of the Coptic verb
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
Rediscovery	<i>The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28-31, 1978</i> , Studies in the History of Religions 41; ed. B. Layton; Leiden: Brill, 1980.
rel.	relative converter
<i>Rev. d'Eg.</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>RevistB</i>	<i>Revista Biblica</i>
<i>Rev. Sci. Rel.</i>	<i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RSR	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
RThPh	<i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</i>
S	Sahidic
Sagnard, <i>La gnose valentinienne</i>	F.-M.-M. Sagnard, <i>La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée</i> , Paris: Vrin, 1947.
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SEÅ	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
Seneca	Seneca
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae morales</i>
QN	<i>Quaestiones naturales</i>
Sextus Empiricus	Sextus Empiricus

<i>Adv. math.</i>	<i>Adversus mathematicos</i>
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SMR	<i>Studia Montis Regii</i>
<i>stat. pronom.</i>	<i>status pronominalis</i> (of the Coptic infinitive)
Steindorff, <i>Lehrbuch</i>	G. Steindorff, <i>Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik</i> , Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951.
Stern, <i>Grammatik</i>	L. Stern, <i>Koptische Grammatik</i> , Leipzig: Wiegand, 1880; reprinted, Osnabrück: Biblio, 1971.
<i>St. Th.</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<i>s.v.</i>	<i>sub verbo</i>
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , ed. H. von Arnim, Leipzig: Teubner, 1905-24.
Tatian	Tatian
<i>Or. ad Graec.</i>	<i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , ed. and trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76.
Tertullian	Tertullian
<i>Ad nat.</i>	<i>Ad nationes</i>
<i>Adv. Hermog.</i>	<i>Adversus Hermogenem</i>
<i>Adv. Jud.</i>	<i>Adversus Judaeos</i>
<i>Adv. Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem</i>
<i>Adv. Prax.</i>	<i>Adversus Praxean</i>
<i>Adv. Val.</i>	<i>Adversus Valentinianos</i>
<i>De bapt.</i>	<i>De baptismo</i>
<i>De carn. Chr.</i>	<i>De carne Christi</i>
<i>De praes. haer.</i>	<i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i>
<i>De res. mort.</i>	<i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i>
<i>De test. anim.</i>	<i>De testimonio animae</i>
Theophilus	Theophilus of Antioch
<i>Ad. Autol.</i>	<i>Ad Autolyicum</i>
ThZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
Till, "Beiträge"	W. C. Till, "Beiträge zur W. E. Crum's Coptic Dictionary," <i>BSAC</i> 17 (1964) 197-224.
Till, <i>Dialektgrammatik</i>	W. C. Till, <i>Koptische Dialektgrammatik</i> , 2nd ed., München: Beck, 1961.

Till, Kopt
Gramm

TLZ

TR

TU

U

VC

Westendorff

Handwörter

WMANT

Wollson, P

WZKM

ZAS

ZKG

ZNW

- Till, *Koptische Grammatik* W. C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (saïdischer Dialekt)*, 3rd ed., Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966.
- TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
- TR *Theologische Rundschau*
- TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
- U Untitled Text in the Codex Bruce: *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, ed. C. Schmidt, trans. and notes V. MacDermot, NHS 13; Leiden: Brill, 1978 (cited by chapter number).
- VC *Vigiliae Christianae*
- Westendorff, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* W. Westendorff, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1977.
- WMANT Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
- Wolfson, *Philosophy* H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 3rd ed., Cambridge: Harvard, 1970.
- WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
- ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
- ZNW *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

SIGLA

A dot placed under a letter in the transcription indicates that the letter is visually uncertain, even though the context may make the reading certain. A dot on the line outside of brackets in the transcription indicates an uncertain letter from which some vestiges of ink remain.

- [] Square brackets in the transcription indicate a lacuna in the MS where writing most probably at one time existed. When the text cannot be reconstructed but the number of missing letters can reasonably be estimated, that number is indicated by a corresponding number of dots; where the number of missing letters cannot be reasonably estimated, the space between the brackets is filled with three dashes. In the translation the square brackets are used only around words which have been substantially restored.
- ⌈ ⌋ Double square brackets indicate letters cancelled by the scribe.
- { } Braces indicate letters unnecessarily added by the scribe.
- ˘ ˘ High strokes indicate that the letter so designated was secondarily written above the line by the scribe.
- < > Pointed brackets in the transcription indicate an editorial correction of a scribal omission. In the translation they indicate words which have been editorially emended.
- () Parentheses in the transcription indicate scribal abbreviations which have been editorially explicated. In the translation they indicate material supplied by the translator for the sake of clarity.

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³For bibli
⁴See Jame
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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains Codex I from the collection of thirteen codices found near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in December, 1945.¹ For a time during the 1950's and 60's this codex was in the possession of the Jung Institute in Zürich and hence is also known as the Jung Codex.² The codex, which is generally well preserved, contains five texts: the brief *Prayer of the Apostle Paul* (I,1) in the front flyleaf; *The Apocryphon of James* (I,2); *The Gospel of Truth* (I,3); *The Treatise on the Resurrection* (I,4) and *The Tripartite Tractate* (I,5). All of these important texts, which have already been published in one form or another³ make significant contributions to our understanding of various forms of Christian Gnosticism in the second and third centuries A.D.

This edition provides for each tractate a new transcription of the Coptic text; a translation; a critical apparatus indicating alternative restorations for damaged portions of text and emendations proposed by previous editors and other scholars; an introduction which discusses briefly the language, background and content of the tractate; and a set of notes which treat major philological and interpretative issues. Since a codicological analysis has been published elsewhere,⁴ it has not been repeated here.

A few notes about the principles of this edition are in order.

1. The Coptic text is printed as it appears in the MS with a few major changes. Most significant is the fact that we have abandoned the format of diplomatic transcription wherein the text is arranged as it is in the MS. Instead, the text has been organized in sense units, as they have been determined by each editor. If one wishes to observe the

¹For an account of the discovery of the collection and of its subsequent history, see James M. Robinson, *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex I* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), Preface, VII-IX. For a brief survey of the same history, see James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977) 1-25.

²For a history of the publication of Codex I, see also James M. Robinson, "The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly," *RSR* 3,1 (January, 1977) 17-30.

³For bibliography, see the introduction to each tractate.

⁴See James M. Robinson, *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex I* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) Preface, XV-XXXI.

layout of the original, he may consult the facsimile edition or the various *editiones principes*.

The readings of the MS have been preserved in the transcription, except where emendation involves the insertion or deletion of certain letters. These alterations are indicated in the transcription by the use of angular brackets < > for additions and curved brackets { } for deletions. Other emendations adopted in the translations are indicated in the apparatus.

In one particular the transcription differs from the MS. Abbreviations have been written in full with supplementary letters included in round brackets ().

2. The transcription of punctuation and diacritical signs in the MS follows the following principles:

A *raised dot* appears frequently throughout the codex both as a syllable marker and as a clause marker. Occasionally a double dot (:) appear (52.29) with a similar function. The single raised dot often takes the form of a raised comma ('). No attempt has been made in the transcription to distinguish between the two types of raised dots.

A *diaeresis* appears frequently over ι , after a vowel other than ϵ ; after ζ ; or when ι is syllable-initial, as in $\dot{\iota}\omega\tau$ (but never in $\pi\omega\tau$). Occasionally the two points of the diaeresis run together to give the appearance of a supralinear stroke, as in $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau\bar{\eta}$ (116.28, 137.21), $\zeta\dot{\iota}\epsilon$ (65.21), and $\dot{\iota}\omega\tau$ (114.22). Unusual uses of the mark appear in such cases as $\pi\omega\gamma\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ (63.4) and $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ (62.19), where one might expect a circumflex, and in $\pi\dot{\iota}'\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ (108.16), where no diacritical mark is necessary. In all these cases the transcription appears with a diaeresis.

A *circumflex accent* appears in several forms, the normal circumflex (^), an inverse circumflex (~) and a horizontal stroke with a curvature at the left end. The last form of this sign may simply be a hastily formed inverse circumflex, or possibly, as Kasser suggests,⁵ a rough breathing ("esprit rude epigraphique"). The same sign also appears frequently in the position of a supralinear stroke, especially over ρ , and it is often simply a variant form of that mark. No attempt has been made in this transcription to indicate a distinction between the supralinear stroke and the variant forms of the circumflex.

The circumflex appears irregularly over words consisting of a single vowel, such as η , \omicron , or ω ; over long vowels at the end of a word, such as $\tau\alpha\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega$ (102.31); once each over word-initial α , in $\hat{\alpha}\pi\epsilon$

⁵R. Kasser, *Tractatus Tripartitus, Pars I* (Zürich: Francke, 1972) 20.

(118.32), and **н**, in **нΔн** (95.6); and frequently over diphthongs such as **εγ** (61.35) and particularly over **ει** (passim).

The *supralinear stroke* appears throughout the codex with several familiar functions. Most frequently, it marks, as in Coptic MSS generally, the resonant peak of a syllable or a syllable-final consonant. In form the stroke varies between a simple dot over the appropriate letter to a line over several letters. Occasionally this line will have a curvature at the left end, as noted in connection with the reverse circumflex. No attempt has been made in the transcription to reproduce scribal vagaries in this matter and the use of the stroke has been standardized. Thus, when a stroke appears over two consonants in the MS it is usually shown only over the second. In cases where an initial **м** or **н** has a stroke which continues over the next letter, the stroke appears only over the first letter. When a stroke appears over three letters in the MS, it is shown only over the middle letter. Strokes over restored letters are not shown, unless part of the stroke itself is visible.

A supralinear stroke also appears in the MS in certain other contexts: over abbreviations, such as **πнΔ**, **сωρ**, **χρс** and **ιс**; and as a substitute for a line-final **н**, as in **εγογ̄** (53.26). In these cases, no stroke appears in the transcription. Instead, the missing letters in the full form of the abbreviated word or the line-final **н** have been supplied within round brackets.

Line fillers appear at numerous points in the text, often at the end of a page (e.g., 59.38; 66.40 and frequently). These marks and other marginal sigla are not indicated in the transcription, but are mentioned in the apparatus.

Page numbers of the MS, where extant, have been indicated in the transcription beside the arabic numeral in the left margin of the Coptic page. In the MS they regularly appear at the center of the top of the appropriate page.

3. The critical apparatus provides the following information: (a) the sources of restorations of the Coptic text, except when the restorations of the *editiones principes* have been adopted; (b) an explication of ambiguous forms; (c) conjectural emendations involving more than the deletion or addition of individual letters or words; (d) conjectural emendations not adopted in this edition; (e) various paleographical notes.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kasser, Rodolph
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II. LANGUAGE

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PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

I, I: A. 1–B. 10

Dieter Mueller

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kasser, Rodolph, *et al.*, *Oratio Pauli Apostoli*, in *Tractatus Tripartitus Partes II et III* (Bern: Francke, 1975).

II. LANGUAGE

Originally composed in Greek, the *Pr. Paul* is preserved only in Coptic translation, the sole extant copy of which is written in a practically pure Subachmimic that displays few remarkable features.

The suffix pronoun of the 1st pers. sing., whether used as object of a preposition or infinitive, or as subject in a conjugational prefix, is consistently spelled either $\epsilon\iota$ (A.4,9,18,20,33) or $\bar{\imath}$ (A.3,6,7,15); for the *i*-sound after long vowels cf. also $[\pi]\epsilon\kappa\eta\epsilon\iota$ in B.2, and $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\iota$ (scribal error for $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\bar{\imath}$?) in A.29. Of the independent pronouns, only the 2nd pers. sing. occurs in the extant portions of the text where it has consistently the A² form $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa$ (A.6,7). The prepositions $\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\rho\sigma-$, $\bar{\eta}-$, $\bar{\eta}\mu\sigma-$, and $\bar{\eta}$, $\eta\alpha-$ always have the A² forms α , $\alpha\rho\alpha-$ (A.8,13,25,27,35), $\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha-$ (A.4.11,19,32), and $\eta\eta-$ (A.3,7,9,15,18).

The verb form most frequently employed in this text is the imperative, in two instances continued by a subjunctive (A.[22],35). It is often distinguished by the prefix $\mu\alpha$ ($\mu\alpha\tau$ A.1,9,[15],19; $\mu\alpha\chi\pi\alpha\bar{\imath}$ A.6), but also occurs without it ($\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon$ A.4; $\psi\alpha\pi\bar{\tau}$ A.8; $[\beta\alpha\lambda]\pi\varsigma$ A.25); in line 7, the form $\sigma\eta\eta\eta$ (for $\alpha\eta\eta\eta$) is rather abnormal, but the reading is not entirely certain. The perf. II and the perf. rel. are both formed with $-\alpha\zeta$ (A.5 and 30); the neg. praes. cons. has both regular ($\mu\alpha\kappa\bar{\rho}\zeta\tau\eta\kappa$ A.13) and archaic ($\mu\alpha\rho\upsilon\psi\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ A.10) forms. The neg. perf. apparently occurs three times (A.26,27,28); but the text is at this point marred by lacunae and at least one scribal error so that no conclusions can be drawn from the very peculiar form $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon-$ (for $\bar{\eta}\mu\pi\epsilon-$?)

in line 26. The qual. of $\chi\iota\epsilon$ has the form ending in $-i$ ($[\epsilon\tau\chi]\alpha\sigma\iota$ A.13) that characterizes the qual. of *verba IIIae inf.* in certain A² MSS.¹

Greek words are relatively numerous (28), but mainly confined to nouns and adjectives. Of the three verbs, $\alpha\lambda\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (A.19,20) and $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\omega$ (A.25) are conjugated with the help of $\bar{\rho}$ (imper. $\epsilon\rho\iota$), $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\omega$ (A.32) without. Particles do not occur at all. Conjunctions are limited to two occurrences of $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. Gr. ξ is twice represented by $\kappa\zeta$ ($\tau\epsilon\kappa\zeta\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$ A.18; $\tau\epsilon\kappa\zeta\omicron[\mu\omicron]\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ B.4); otherwise, the orthography is that of classical Greek.

In its grammatical regularity, morphological purity and orthographical consistency, the language of the *Pr. Paul* is clearly distinguished from the other tractates of the Jung Codex, especially from the *Tri. Trac.* which makes up the bulk of this volume and is obviously the work of a different translator.

III. FORM AND CONTENT

The *Pr. Paul*, which occupies the front flyleaf of the Jung Codex, is a short text of unknown date and provenance, very similar to other compositions of the same genre but with decidedly Gnostic overtones. It may be a work of the Valentinian school.

Since the *Ap. Jas.* begins on p. 1 of the codex, the *Pr. Paul* was first thought to be the last of the five tractates in this collection. However, subsequent investigations carried out by Stephen Emmel in 1976 revealed that the page containing the prayer came from the same papyrus sheet as pp. 4 and 81 and must, therefore, constitute a front flyleaf. Since the handwriting closely resembles the somewhat cramped ductus found at the end of the *Tri. Trac.* and is thus quite distinct from the sprawling letters of the first pages of the *Ap. Jas.*, the scribe must have added the *Pr. Paul* to the collection after he had completed the *Tri. Trac.*

The title, followed by a brief benediction, retains the Greek language of the original and is placed at the end of the prayer. Partly destroyed, it was first thought to be "Prayer of Pe[ter] (the) Apostle."² The correct reading was established by H.-Ch. Puech and G. Quispel

¹E. Edel, "Neues Material zur Herkunft der auslautende Vokale $-\epsilon$ und $-i$ im Koptischen," *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 103-106.

²J. Doresse, *Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: Viking, 1960) 236, 239.

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in 1954.³ In form and content, the *Pr. Paul* displays a striking resemblance not only to prayers in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (1.31-32; 5.10-11; 13.16-20), but also to the invocations found in magical texts, especially those of Christian provenance.⁴ Its beginning is almost identical with that of the hymn on the First Stele of Seth (*Steles Seth* 118.30-119.1), and this may well be due to the use of a common source. Otherwise, the phraseology of the *Pr. Paul* is heavily indebted to the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles. In several instances, the thoughts expressed have parallels in the *Gos. Phil.* (cf. esp. the notes on A.8 and A.10), and the possible description of Christ as an image of the Psychic God (A.26-31) have prompted the authors of the *editio princeps* to attribute the *Pr. Paul* to the western or Italian branch of the Valentinian school.

The text of the *Pr. Paul* does not furnish any criteria to determine its place of origin. The *terminus ante* for the date of composition is the date of the MS. However, its apparent affiliation to the Valentinian school points to an origin sometime between the second half of the second century and the end of the third century of our era.

³"Les écrits gnostiques du Codex Jung," *VC* 8 (1954) 2, 5.

⁴*PGM*, Vol. II no.s 1. 8a. 9. 13. 21. 24; cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913) 177-308; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904) 15-30.

- A.3 [πεκοϋ]αειν μα† ηηι μηεκ[ναε πα][ρεφс]ωτε
 5 σωτ[ε] μαει χε "[ανακ] ηετε πωκ' η[εν-
 τ]αζιει авал' '[2]ιτο[отк] ηтак п[ε пан]οϋс
 маχπα† '[η]так пе ηαε2ο οϋη[η] ηηι ηтак '[п]ε
 паπληρωμα ψαπ† арак η[так] пе т<а>ана-
 10 паϋсис ма† ηηει η[пт]ελειον πετεमारोϷ
 εμα2[τε] ημαϷ
 †τωβ2 ημακ петωο[оп] αϷω петωρπ ωοоп
 2η прен '[ετχ]ασι арен ηιη ζιτн ιη(соϷ)с пе-
 χ(ριστο)с '[пχαι]с· ηηιχαειс прро ηηαιωη
 15 "[μα†] ηηι ηηεκ†· етемаκр 2ηηκ '[араοϷ] ζιτн
 ηωηρε ηпрωме '[πεпне]Ϸμα ппаракληтос η-
 [тме м]α[]† ηηει ηтекзоϷсια '[εει]р αιτι ηмаκ·
 20 ма† ηηοϷ"[ταλ]βο ηпасωма· 2ωс εειр αιτι
 '[μμα]κ· 2ιτн пеγαγγелистηс '[ηг]сωте ηта-
 ψϷηη· ηοϷαειη '[ψα ε]ηη2ε ηη παпη(εϷм)а
 αϷω пω[рп] '[ηη]исε ηпπληρωма· ηтχαρι[с]
 25 "[βαλ]ηϷ αпаηοϷс·
 ери χαρι2ε η[так] ηπετεηпевел ηαγγελοс
 '[ηε]Ϸ араϷ αϷω πετεη<πε>μεϷχε '[ηα]рхωη
 сатмеϷ αϷω πετεη[п]ηει 2ηηи 2η φηт· ηрωме
 30 "[η]та2ωωπε ηαγγелос αϷω 'κατα ηпηοϷте η-
 ψϷηικος ηтарοϷплассе ηмаϷ 'χιη ηωарп
 2ωс еοϷηηηει 'ημεϷ ηтпистис ηοελпис
 35 "[η]гоϷω2 атоот· ηпекмеге'θос ηαγαпηтос
 ηεκкле'ктос ηεϷлогηтос пωрп 'ηηисε пωрп
 в ηгенос· "ηη ημϷστηριον [ηωпη]ре· η[п]екηει
 а[βαλ χε] 'пωк [п]ε пеμα2т[ε] α[Ϸω] 'πεαϷ
 5 αϷω тεκзоη[ο]"логηсис ηη тηηтη[α]б 'ψα

A.3. [πεκοϋ]αειη Attridge¹⁴ [ρεφс]ωте ed. pr. (Eng.)¹⁵ [ανακ] Mueller:
 [2ωс] ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.): [πεαϷ] ed. pr. (Eng.)¹⁶ η[ενт]αζιει Attridge:
 η[т]αζιει ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.): <πε> η[т]αζιει ed. pr. (Eng.)¹⁷ οϷη[η] ηηι ed.
 pr. (Eng., Fr.): μα[т]η<м>ηηι ed. pr. (Ger.)¹⁸ т<а>анаπαϷсис ed. pr.¹⁹
 [пт]ελειον <ηοϷαειη> (?) Mueller²⁰ [араοϷ] Mueller: [ηсωοϷ] ed.
 pr.²¹ [πεпне]Ϸμα Mueller: [ηη ппне]Ϸμα ed. pr.²² ппаракληтос MS:
 ηппаракληтос (?) ed. pr.²³ 17-18 η[тме] ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.): η[тек] ed. pr.
 (Eng.)²⁴ ηηε(κ)зоϷсια ed. pr.²⁵ [εει]р ed. pr. (Eng., Ger.): [ατρι]р ed. pr.
 (Fr.)²⁶ αιτι ηмаκ <ημαс> Mueller²⁷ [ηг]сωте Mueller: [μα†] σωте ed.
 pr. (Fr., Ger.): [αϷω] сωте ed. pr. (Eng.)²⁸ п<ε>πληρωма ed. pr.²⁹ 25-26
 η[так] Emmel: η[ηει] ed. pr.³⁰ 33 еοϷηηηει, η written over a partially formed
 ε.³¹

^{A.1} (*Approximately two lines are missing.*) | [your] light, give me your [mercy! My] | Redeemer, redeem me, for ⁵ [I am] yours; the one who has come | forth from you. You are [my] mind; bring me forth! | You are my treasure house; open for me! You | [are] my fullness; take me to you! | You are (my) repose; give me ¹⁰ [the] perfect thing that cannot be grasped! |

I invoke you, the one who is | and who pre-existed in the name | [which is] exalted above every name, through Jesus Christ, | [the Lord] of Lords, the King of the ages; ¹⁵ give me your gifts, of which you do not repent, | through the Son of Man, | the Spirit, the Paraclete of | [truth]. Give me authority | [when I] ask you; give ²⁰ healing for my body when I ask | you through the Evangelist, | [and] redeem my eternal light soul | and my spirit. And the First-born of the Pleroma of grace – ²⁵ reveal him to my mind!

Grant | what no angel eye has | [seen] and no archon ear | (has) heard and what | has not entered into the human heart ³⁰ which came to be angelic and (modelled) | after the image of the psychic God | when it was formed | in the beginning, since I have | faith and hope. ³⁵ And place upon me your | beloved, elect, | and blessed greatness, the | First-born, the First-begotten, ^{B.1} and the [wonderful] mystery | of your house; [for] | yours is the power [and] | the glory and the praise

ΕΝΗΖΕ ΠΕΝΗΖΕ [ΖΑΜΗΝ] †

ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΠΑ[ΥΛΟΥ] † ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ

ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ

10 † Ο Χ(ΙΣΤΟΣ) ΑΓΙΟΣ

B.7. πα[υλου του] Mueller †

⁵ and the greatness | for ever and ever. [Amen.] |

Prayer of Paul | (the) Apostle. |

In Peace.

¹⁰ Christ is holy.

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THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES

1,2:1.1-16.30

Francis E. Williams

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II. LANGUAGE

The language of the *Apocryphon of James* is the type of Subachminic Coptic which is found in Codices I, X and XI of the Nag Hammadi Library, but is to be distinguished, for example, from that of the Manichaean texts. The orthography, phonology and syntax are all normal for this type of Subachminic. However, the text reveals certain inconsistencies, and it is clear that the stage of standardization had not been reached.

1. Orthography

τ and Ϸ normally assimilate into θ, but τϷε occurs at 4.8, 10, and there are five instances of the partially assimilated form θϷε. τ and ι are regularly written †. π and Ϸ appear not to assimilate; we find πϷραϷ at 15.11, and a mutilated word at 8.1 begins πϷ. ḿποοϷ at 14.30 is the normal A² form.

In diphthongs ι is most often spelled ει: ḿμαει, ϷενϷεει, οϷϷει. The scribe's, or translator's, preference for ει sometimes extends to his spelling of long vowels: ϷοϷειτε, ḿμ[ρρε]ιτ etc. When ī does occur in diphthongs, it is most commonly after η: Ϸρηī, παϷηī, ηηī. We find one instance each of αραι, αραις, ηαι, and three of Ϸαις. The spelling οϷ for γ in diphthongs (ϷαοϷτ, ϷεοϷ-ηοϷ) is comparatively rare, and is used with only seven words. Of these, τḿηαοϷ, ḿηηοϷ and πηοϷε can be spelled either with οϷ or with γ. On the other hand, οϷ is regularly contracted to γ in the verb form †ϷοϷ, and the same contraction occurs in the pronominal suffix of νετοϷηαϷπαϷ (16.5). When οϷḿ is used with the circumstantial it is spelled εϷḿ. The contracted forms μεϷε and λαϷε are preferred to μεεϷε and λααϷε, though each of the latter occurs three times.

η regularly becomes η before η or π, both at the beginning of a word and within it. We find the complete assimilations ḿβḿρε (7.35) and ḿβḿβιλε (8.20). However, η remains unassimilated in forms on the order of ḿḿπαρθενος. Our document follows the A² practice of writing the definite article as π or τ before a double consonant, but there are six instances of πε or τε.

In Greek words $\epsilon\iota$ is most often represented by I , but $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\nu\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ may be spelled with $\epsilon\iota$ or with I . $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ is spelled $\zeta\Upsilon\text{ΠΟΜΙΝΕ}$ at 9.29–30. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ occur with about equal frequency in the nasalized and nonnasalized forms. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ appears to be spelled $\epsilon\text{ΠΕΕ}$ at 8.35, but perhaps this is an error. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is spelled ΜΜΕΝ at 7.33, unless this is a confusion with ΜΜΑΝ . The Greek rough breathing is represented either by ζ or by ω . Hebrew “Amen” is spelled $\zeta\alpha\text{ΜΗΝ}$.

ΜΕΩΧΕ , rather than ΜΕΩΤΕ , is the usual spelling of the word for “ear.” The spellings ΟΥΑΑΒ and ΟΥΑΑϞ both occur; likewise ΒΩΧΒ and ΒΩΧϞ . Indeed, spelling in our document is so generally inconsistent as to make emendation a perilous venture. The Coptic translator may in fact have deliberately varied spellings, syntactical forms or vocabulary in certain passages to avoid repetition. Note the alternations of ΒΩΧϞ and ΒΩΧΒ at 4.5–20; ΜΜΩΤḢ , ΤΗΥΤḢ , ΤΗΝΕ , 5.9–20; $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\chi\rho\iota\alpha$, 9.11–16; the perf. I. prefixes $\alpha\text{Ν}$ and $\alpha\zeta\bar{\text{Ν}}$, 15.7–23; $\zeta\bar{\text{Μ}}\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and ΝΕΙΕΤΟΥ , 3.19; 30–31. It is possible that this practice of varying forms for stylistic purposes accounts for the puzzling juxtaposition of $\omega\text{ΗΡΕ ḢΠΡΩΜΕ}$, Son of Man, and $\rho\omega\text{ΜΕ}$, Man, at 3.12–30. Commentators have tended to seek a theological explanation of this where perhaps none is needed.

2. Vocalization

Vowel values are as usual in Subachminic. The S forms ΠΕΧΑϞ at 6.29 and ΕΘΗΛΜ at 16.9 may be errors, as may the unusual spelling $\alpha\text{ΠΟ ΤΟΟΤḢ}$ at 16.20. Words which ended in jw in New Egyptian tend to end in the I sound (Cf. Edel, “Neues Material zur Herkunft der auslautenden Vokale $\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\bar{\text{I}}$ im Koptischen,” *ZÄS* 86 [1961] 103–106.) However, our document’s preference for the spelling ϵI results in such forms as ΚΕΚΕΙ (also attested in *Gos. Truth*), ΝΑΒΕΙ (ΝΑΒΕ at 11.39). At 13.19 we find $\chi\iota\epsilon$, not $\chi\alpha\text{C}$.

The A^2 final ϵ is used rather sparingly. We find ΚΩΕ , CΑΥΝΕ , ΟΥΩΩΕ , ḢΚΑΤΚΕ , ΜΕΩΕΚΕ , but not ḢΤΩΤΝΕ , ΒΩΧΒΕ , ΩΚΜΕ , etc. There is a previously unattested plural, ΚΕΙΑϠ , at 8.9.

3. Morphology

The fut. I is normally formed with ΝΑ , but the specifically A and A^2 formation, ΝΕΚΑḢḢḢ , seems to occur at 7.35. Affirmative purpose clauses are regularly formed with fut. II, twice with fut. III. The conditional is regularly $\epsilon(\varrho)\omega\alpha\text{Ν}$, not $\epsilon(\varrho)\omega\alpha$. Beatitudes are often

couched in the fut. II, though in three instances the present is used.

The conjugation base of the perf. I and II, and that of the perf. rel. varies between α and $\alpha\zeta$ (or $\alpha\zeta\alpha$ or $\zeta\alpha$). In the perf. I, α seems to be preferred for the second and third person singular, $\alpha\zeta$ for the first person singular and plural, and $\zeta\alpha$ for the second person plural; others vary. In the perf. II and the perf. rel. $(\epsilon)\text{NT}\alpha$ is preferred for the third person singular, and $(\epsilon)\text{NT}\alpha\zeta$ for the third person plural.

The document's 127 Greek words include nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Twenty-three Greek words or expressions are also represented by Coptic equivalents. The occurrence of such expressions as $\text{MNT}\zeta\text{EBPAIOIC}$ and $\zeta\text{NOYMEPOC } \bar{\text{N}}\Delta\text{OPEA}$ strengthens our impression that we are dealing with a document which has been translated from Greek to Coptic. $\bar{\text{P}}$ regularly precedes Greek verbs. The Greek ϵ -contract infinitive ending is represented by I or ϵI , the uncontracted ending by ϵ , and the α -contract by α .

III. TITLE

"Apocryphon of James" is our title for the untitled work which occupies the first sixteen pages of Codex I. The tractate purports to be a letter from James of Jerusalem to a recipient whose name is now mutilated. Included in the body of this "letter" is an "apocryphon"—in the sense of "secret writing"—allegedly revealed by the Savior to James and Peter. The revelation is said to have been made 550 days after the resurrection (2.19–20), and the wording of 2.18–19 suggests that the author also placed it after the event commonly referred to as the ascension. The avowed purpose of the "letter" is to transmit this "apocryphon," which—presumably to enhance its authority—is said to be written "in the Hebrew alphabet" (1.15–16).

Various names have been suggested for our document: "The Apocalypse of James"; "The Apocryphal Letter of James"; "The Apocryphon of James." We prefer the last for several reasons. The term "apocryphon," is taken from the document itself (1.10), and the alleged "apocryphon," which extends approximately from 2.6 to 16.11 (or, alternatively, to 15.28), is of far greater importance than the "letter." "*Epistula Apocrypha*," the *editio princeps*' choice for a title, seems inappropriate, since, while the recipient is directed to keep the "apocryphon" secret from all but a chosen few, the prohibition is not extended to the "letter." Finally our document is scarcely an apoca-

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lypse, though it does indeed end with a vision of the Savior's ascent to heaven.

The name of the "letter's" alleged recipient is doubtful. It ended in $\Theta\omicron\varsigma$, and Schenke has ingeniously restored, "to the brother, Cerinthus." But as this restoration appears somewhat speculative, it has seemed best to place it in our apparatus rather than in the text. It can be argued that the document's character is not quite what we would expect of a tractate intended to teach "Cerinthian" doctrine. Schenke does point out certain parallels between Epiphanius' polemic against "Cerinthians" and material in the *Apocryphon of James*, but such topics as the resurrection (cf. *Epistula Apostolorum*, Epiphanius), or the millennium (cf. Eusebius) are entirely ignored by our author.

IV. GENRE AND SOURCES

Our document contains a mixture of literary genres. The "letter" opens in an expanded and somewhat flowery version of Hellenistic letter form—though it lacks a closing greeting or benediction. The "apocryphon" begins with Jesus' post-resurrection return, delivers its message in a series of speeches by Jesus interspersed with occasional questions and comments from James and Peter, and closes with the vision of the Savior's final ascent. It does not mention a mountain, but its opening scene, in which the Savior returns to teach the disciples the real truth, is reminiscent of the form often called a "mountain revelation." Finally, the long section 4.24–6.20 might be termed an "exhortation to martyrdom," and has many traits in common with such exhortations in the early Christian centuries.

The body of the document is parenetic rather than doctrinal, and is composed of speeches which exhort, encourage and threaten. Moreover, despite their lack of a tight logical structure, these speeches do show a certain progression of thought; they are more than a collection of sayings in the manner of the *Gospel of Thomas* or *Philip*. It may also be remarked that our tractate is not precisely a didactic dialogue. James and Peter do interject remarks, but not as often as we might expect in the true dialogue form. If one wished to cite a formal parallel to the largest block of material in the "apocryphon," the Farewell Discourses of the Fourth Gospel would serve as well as any.

This mixture of genres has encouraged the formulation of theories of partition. Rudolph was the first to propose that the "apocryphon" may have been a section of a longer apocalypse, detached from its

original setting by a redactor who added the "letter" as an opening and conclusion. This suggestion has been taken up and developed by S. K. Brown, who argues from the mixture of genres, the reference to the "other apocryphon"—which he sees as editorial reflection on 8.30-32—and certain inconsistencies which, he feels, betray a process of editing. Notable among these last are the discrepancy between the Savior's prediction of his ascent and the vision of it which James and Peter actually see (contrast 14.26-28 with 15.9-28), and the manner in which James' and Peter's report to the other disciples differs from what has previously been said to them (15.34-16.2). There are comparable inconsistencies on page two.

Brown posits a redactor who was concerned to enhance the position of James, correct certain features of the account of the ascent, and alter the reader's attitude toward the "apocryphon" as a whole. On this view the same redactor might have been responsible for insertions here and there in the "apocryphon" which lay particular stress upon the importance of James.

Since we are dealing with a rather small body of material whose author may not have been deeply concerned with consistency, it is difficult to know how far to press arguments of this sort. A hypothesis of glossing might explain the inconsistencies as well as one of wholesale redaction. And it is not quite clear whether the stylistic evidence bears Brown's theory out. True, the "letter" employs some technical terminology not found in the "apocryphon", such as "holy life" (1.7-8), "minister" (1.19), "faith of this discourse" (1.28), and "teacher" for Jesus at 15.32. Also, the use of the verb $\delta\omega\lambda\bar{\pi}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ (=ἀποκαλύπτειν, cf. 16.24-25) seems limited to the "letter"; in the "apocryphon" we find $\sigma\gamma\omega\eta\bar{\zeta}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ (=φανερῶν, cf. 7.9-10) exclusively. But on the other hand, "letter" and "apocryphon" share the unusual trait of using the future tense in the beatitude formula. This might suggest that both "letter" and "apocryphon" come from the same author—unless it is deliberate imitation, or attributable to a translator or copyist.

At bottom, this hypothesis rests on the assumption that our tractate's author is unlikely to have thought of the device of "enclosing" a fictitious apocryphon in a fictitious letter. But this seems overly critical. Certainly, someone did think of it; and if a redactor, why not the author himself? The *Letter of Peter to Philip* (CG VIII,2) begins as a letter and becomes a mountain revelation, thus affording some sort of analogy to our document.

Another hypothesis possibly worthy of consideration is that the ex-

hortation to martyrdom, 4.24–6.20, and the section about prophecy which follows at 6.21–7.10, were inserted into an earlier work. Together these constitute the longest discussion of a single issue in the *Apocryphon of James*; if removed, they would leave our document more homogeneous in tone than it now is. They contain an unusually high concentration of Greek words and of Biblical allusions, and they employ the technical terms, “providence,” “free choice,” “election,” and “believe in my cross,” not found elsewhere. Further, they employ the expression “Kingdom of God”—twice, if our emendation at 6.17 is correct—while, except at 3.34, the *Apocryphon of James* uses “Kingdom of heaven,” or simply “Kingdom.” If this hypothesis were accepted, it would provide an important clue to the history of our document. However, it too must be called speculative. At this stage it seems best to treat the *Apocryphon of James* tentatively as a literary unity.

Assuming that the text is a unity, it may still be asked whether the *Apocryphon of James* was composed *de novo* by its author, or whether it was assembled from traditional materials. Some evidence seems to point to the latter. The paragraphs concerned with “hypocrisy and the evil thought” (7.17–22), and with faith-love-works (8.10–27) might well have originated in a thought-world foreign to that of the rest of the document. The difficulty at 8.1–4, where James and Peter are reproached for delaying the Savior a mysterious “eighteen days more, because of the parables,” might be solved by assuming that this passage originated in a separate source. Once again, the exhortation to martyrdom and the discussion of prophecy (4.24–7.10) may reflect a different source.

On the other hand, certain themes and terms are seen to repeat themselves fairly often. Furthermore the speeches, despite their apparent lack of logical connection, do build, through 11.6–12.17 and 12.17–13.25, to a kind of climax at 13.25–14.19. The author seems to show an awareness that the reader may find his manner puzzling. At 13.25–14.10 the Savior is made to comment on and defend the style of presentation. It therefore seems best to treat our document, or the bulk of it, as the work of one author. If he did employ traditional materials, he probably shaped and adapted them to his own purpose.

Of interest is the reference to “another apocryphon,” sent “ten months ago” to the recipient of the “letter,” and to be regarded as “revealed to me, James” (1.28–35). One would like to know, first, whether this document ever existed, and then, whether it was doctrinal in character (as *Ap. Jas.* is not), and whether it can be identified

with the *First* or *Second Apocalypse of James* (CG V,3 and V,4).

Our document does contain parallels to these, but there are many differences. 1 *Apoc. Jas.* 25.15 shows James commanded to leave Jerusalem, whereas our document implies that he stayed there and sent the apostles forth (16.8-9). 1 *Apoc. Jas.* also is unlike our document in making frequent specific references to scripture, and in taking a doctetic view of the crucifixion (1 *Apoc. Jas.* 30.14-22, contrast *Ap. Jas.* 5.6-20). 2 *Apoc. Jas.*, in turn, refers to an arrogant deity intermediate between God and the world (2 *Apoc. Jas.* 54.1-15, *et al.*), thus going a good deal farther than anything in our document. And in general the two Apocalypses are far more overtly Gnostic than is the Apocryphon.

In fact the "other apocryphon" may well fall into the same category as the "Hebrew alphabet"—a detail added for the sake of atmosphere. Kirchner (126-7) has pointed out that the author of Pseudo-Aristeas refers to an obviously fictitious letter for this purpose (*Ep. Arist.* 6), and the citation of imaginary sources is by no means rare in esoteric religious literature.

V. HISTORY OF RELIGIONS OBSERVATIONS

As the "James" of our document is placed at Jerusalem (16.8-9), and dispatches the other disciples on their mission (16.6-8), we may presume that he is meant for James the Just, that is, James the Lord's brother. (His identification as one of the twelve disciples need not contradict this; it would merely show that the author did not distinguish clearly between this James and James the son of Zebedee.) Our document thus stands in the tradition of those Gnostic and Jewish Christian sources which represent James as leader of the apostles and the font of true teaching (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 12; *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 1.44.1; 1.66.1; 1.72.1 *et al.*). Peter's appearance with James is not surprising; other literature associates the two as the recipients of Jesus' post-resurrection revelation (cf. Eusebius, *HE* 2.1.4).

But our document takes noticeable pains to elevate James above Peter. James is regularly named before Peter, and—unless 13.39-14.2 is an interpolation—is once shown by the author as receiving the answer to a question which Peter has asked. The Savior says that he has taught James individually, and that James knows "what to say before the archons" (8.31-36). When the document calls for the voicing of a gauche or inappropriate idea, the tendency is to assign this to Peter. One suspects that Peter, the typical representative of orthodox Chris-

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tianity, has been introduced to lend authenticity to the variant tradition taught by our tractate. The observation that all twelve disciples "believed the revelation" (16.2-5) may be there for the same purpose.

For whether it was Gnostic or not, the *Apocryphon of James* was surely meant for a community which considered itself distinct from the main body of Christians. It was conscious of its own identity (cf. 1.18-28; 16.20-30, *et al.*), and its hero was James, rather than the orthodox Peter. The contents of its apocryphon were reserved for a chosen few (1.18-25). The twelve disciples—they are not termed apostles—are said to have known and accepted its revelation, but whether they actually preached this revelation is left in doubt (16.2-8). The fact that James and Peter had seen and been healed by the Son of Man prior to the resurrection was held to be insufficient; they needed, over and beyond this, to be properly "filled" (3.11-4.22). Thus our author and his co-religionists would have thought of the canonical Gospels, and the type of religion that relies on them, as inadequate for salvation. They would have considered them an incomplete revelation, for during his earthly ministry Jesus had spoken only "in parables"; it is not till after the ascension that he speaks "openly" to James and Peter (7.1-5).

And though our document is less obviously Gnostic than many Nag Hammadi tractates, one would scarcely term its theology "orthodox." It condemns the flesh as such (12.12-13), concentrates on the ascent of the spirit (soul?) to heaven, and says nothing of a bodily resurrection or the second coming. Despite some remarks with a traditional ring to them, it is doubtful whether the tractate contains a doctrine of atonement, for Christ was crucified "senselessly" (5.16-18), and one person cannot be granted remission on another's behalf (11.32-33). Some passages seem to suggest that the elect existed before their earthly lives (10.34-37; 14.38-41), or even that their earthly existence is a sort of punishment (5.29-30) or fall (10.1-5). (However, at 5.25, where the text seems to read "before your fall," we prefer Schenke's emendation, "before you.")

Despite its general theological conservatism and its points of contact with Christian orthodoxy, most interpreters have seen our tractate as Gnostic. It presupposes the existence of a small, elect community, who possess a secret, superior revelation communicated by Jesus at a special post-ascension appearance, and who, though by no means indefectible, are firmly assured of salvation (14.14-19, *et al.*). "James" addresses this community in the enigmatic, paradoxical style which

some Gnostic writers employed, using many terms and ideas which are at home in Gnostic documents elsewhere: "full" (2.33, *et al.*); "drunk and sober" (3.9-10; 8.29); "awake and asleep" (3.11-12; 9.33-34); "healing and illness" (3.25-34); "becoming kings" (3.27; 10.5-6); the deprecation of the soul as against the spirit (4.18-22); the polemic against flesh (12.12-13); renunciation, with allusion to Matt 19:27-30 (4.23-30); knowledge (8.26, *et al.*); hostile archons, before whom the ascending elect must defend themselves (8.35-36); the world as "defilement" and "darkness" (10.1-5); "man of light" (10.4); "light that illumines" (13.20); "stripping oneself" (of the flesh) in connection with one's heavenward ascent (14.35-36); the beloved to be "made manifest" (16.10-11). Many of these traits are also found in orthodox Christian writings, but the occurrence of so many, in a work of this particular type, suggests that the *Apocryphon of James* is indeed Gnostic.

But beyond this, it is doubtful whether it can be fitted into any Gnostic category named and described by the Fathers. The only clear resemblance between its teaching and the Valentinian is its tripartite division of the human being, with the place of honor accorded to the spirit; but this is found in the teachings of various Gnostic schools. Otherwise, the mythology typically associated with Valentinianism is missing; where, for example, is the fall of the suffering Sophia? Besides, as Orbe was the first to point out, it would be surprising if Valentinians would write or use a document which advocates martyrdom as strongly as ours does.

We would likewise query the more recent suggestion that the *Apocryphon of James* is "Carpocratian." The most impressive argument for this identification would be the references to being equal with Christ (5.2) or surpassing him (6.19). But again, thoughts of this sort occur in other Gnostic works—and even sometimes in orthodox ones, when martyrdom is being discussed. Otherwise, the "Carpocratian" mythos, as Irenaeus reports it, seems to be a vulgarized version of the myth of the soul's ascent in Plato's *Phaedrus*, and there is nothing of this in our document.

VI. THEOLOGY

The theology of the Apocryphon is simple, and has a certain experiential flavor. The author's fellow-believers—a small group of elect, beloved sons of God, who may have been in existence before their

births—are called to follow the Savior to the place from which he came, stripping off the body in the process. They expect to be received by the Kingdom of Heaven or Kingdom of God—unlike the *Gospel of Thomas*, our Apocryphon appears to employ both terms. To arrive at this destination, be received by the Kingdom and reign there, is to “be saved” (cf. 7.11–16).

But being saved can also refer to one’s state here and now (cf., e.g., 12.1–5). The author’s language suggests that the Kingdom is within the believer, and must be cared for by him (13.17–19). He is filled with the Kingdom (12.30–31), or with the Spirit (4.18–19); the Savior dwells in him (9.1–8). He has received the word, believes, knows, and is enlightened. He is awake and sober. He will never depart from the Kingdom “even if the Father wishes to banish” him (14.15–19).

Though he is emphatically promised salvation, he is by no means indefectible. Indeed, by the very token that the Savior has been sent to his aid, he must regard himself as in danger (13.9–11). Effort, earnestness, fervent prayer and zeal are required of him. He must “hasten to be saved” (7.10–11), obtain “grace” (11.15–16), and “save himself” (11.4)—the emphasis on salvation by one’s own efforts is notable. The Kingdom within must be tended, like a palm tree or wheat field. The promise of salvation, though sometimes couched in all but unconditional terms (cf. 14.15–19), can also be accompanied by strict conditions: “You are the beloved; you are they who will be the cause of life in many . . . Keep (his) will that you may be saved . . .” (10.29–11.2).

Our document lays considerably more stress on faith than is usual in Gnostic writings. At the same time, it also stresses knowledge, and, seemingly, inner experience. A mere call from the Savior is not sufficient for salvation; one must be “full” (1.24–36). Fullness, in turn, is equated with knowledge, as at 12.18–30 where the filling of the field, knowledge of oneself, and being filled with the Kingdom appear to be different ways of saying the same thing. There is a comparable linkage between receiving the word “with knowledge,” and being earnest about it, at 8.1–27. And at 14.8–9 knowledge is paired with faith.

The author has criteria for the evaluation of knowledge and fullness. It is important to know, but it is also possible to be a “falsifier of knowledge” and a “hypocrite” (9.26–27); by the same token, there are such things as satisfactory and unsatisfactory “fullness” (3.34–4.22). In sum, the quality of the believer’s inner life is considered important. A condition of mind which can be identified and, in parables at least, discussed, is required for salvation.

A clarion call to martyrdom sounds at 4.22–6.21. Not content with directing his readers to suffer if necessary, the author seems to urge them to volunteer for martyrdom (6.17–18). Attested in other early sources, this represents the extreme form of the Christian response to persecution. It was not necessarily heretical, but was never approved by the leading orthodox teachers.

At the same time the author appears to reject any linking of martyrdom with prophecy—as might have been done, for example, by enthusiasts like Perpetua or the Montanists. The exhortation to martyrdom is immediately followed (at 6.22–7.10) by a passage which says that prophecy came to an end precisely with the martyrdom of John the Baptist. 7.10–11 then continues, “Hasten to be saved without being urged!” “James” hearers were not to wait for direction from a prophet before turning themselves over to the authorities.

The length of these sections and their prominent placement in the work suggest that they represent the author’s main purpose in writing—or the redactor’s main purpose, if our tractate is composite. Related to this purpose was the further one of rekindling in the community a zeal which the author may have felt to be flagging. Thus the warnings against hypocrisy, and the implication, at 5.6–23, that the community has not been willing to undergo many hardships for its faith. Most of the body of the work, however loose its structure and unclear its transitions, appears to be centered around the topics of zeal and earnestness. With the caution that the Apocryphon is not an easy document to understand, and that other schematizations are possible, we offer the following interpretive outline:

- A. The Letter
 - I. Credentials of James and the Apocryphon (1.1–28)
 - II. The “other apocryphon” (1.28–2.7)
- B. The Apocryphon
 - I. The appearance of the Savior
 - 1. Stage setting: the disciples at work on their books (2.7–16)
 - 2. Jesus’ appearance and invitation to salvation, and the singling out of James and Peter (2.17–39)
 - II. Discourse on the importance of the definitive revelation

1. Opening admonition to James and Peter (2.39-3.16)
 2. Condemnation of those who have "seen the Son of Man" (3.17-25)
 3. True and false recovery from illness (3.25-34)
 4. True and false fullness (3.34-4.22)
- III. Martyrdom and related topics
1. Call to voluntary martyrdom (4.22-6.21)
 2. Rejection of prophecy as an incentive to martyrdom (6.21-7.16)
- IV. Discourse on earnestness and understanding
1. Exhortation to right thinking (7.17-22)
 2. The tending of the Kingdom within: Parable of the palm shoot (7.22-35)
 3. Exhortation to understanding
 - a. Reproach for not understanding the parables (7.35-8.10)
 - b. Earnestness concerning the word: Parable of the grain of wheat (8.10-27)
 4. Call to sobriety (=earnestness), based on the Savior's work (8.27-9.9)
 5. Call to enlightenment (=understanding), coupled with the warning that the Father does not need the believer, whose salvation, therefore, is not assured without effort on his part (9.10-18)
 6. Assurance of salvation to those who listen, understand, and love (eternal) life (9.18-23)
 7. Warning to the sluggish, whose understanding is false
 - a. Invective (9.24-10.6)
 - b. Call to penitence (10.6-21)
 8. Promise of salvation to those who heed these admonitions (10.22-11.5)
- V. Invective against the sinful and flesh-oriented (11.6-12.17)
- VI. Assurance that the invective's purpose is benevolent; appropriate exhortations (12.17-13.25)
- VII. Concluding assurance of salvation (13.25-14.19)
- VIII. The Savior's ascent (14.19-15.28)

- IX. Dispatch of the disciples (15.28-16.11)
 C. Conclusion of the Letter (16.12-30)

VII. DATE AND PROVENANCE

Indications of our document's date and provenance are few. Since martyrdom is shown as an all too live option, the date must be earlier than the peace of the church in 314 A.D. It is difficult to say how much earlier. Van Unnik proposed a dating in the early second century, chiefly because he came to the conclusion that the author of the Apocryphon knew Christ's sayings, and other New Testament material, only from oral tradition.

But this can be questioned. 2.7-15 portrays the Twelve as writing books; 8.6-10 mentions by title a number of parables which are found here and there in the four canonical Gospels. Admittedly, our author's version of the Passion (5.9-20) is odd; but an apocryphal Passion narrative, or even exegesis of the canonical one, might account for this.

Though our author does not quote the New Testament—except perhaps at 12.40-13.1—he frequently appears to echo its phraseology. His employment of the beatitude formula, of “Verily I say unto you,” and especially of the un-Coptic and un-Greek phrase, “answered and said,” all suggest that his style was imitative of the New Testament's. It may be that he preferred to avoid direct quotation. He was, after all, claiming to transmit a subsequent and superior revelation, and may have felt that to quote the earlier one would be out of character.

As arguments for a specifically early date, others have mentioned the discussion of prophecy (6.21-7.1), the “low Christology” (cf. 9.11-17), and the parallels to the *Ascension of Isaiah*. The first of these might be more persuasive if our author had not taken the position that prophecy is a thing of the past. As it is, any of the ancient attempts to revive prophecy might have occasioned his remarks. Third-century sources sometimes link prophecy with persecution and martyrdom, and even such fourth-century authors as Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius mention prophecy in various connections. Our document's Christology (cf. 9.11-15) is so unusual that it is difficult to associate it with any other; and parallels to the *Ascension of Isaiah* are not numerous or impressive enough to be an indication of date.

The *editio princeps* argued tentatively for a late second or early

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third century date, because such topics as voluntary martyrdom are also discussed by Clement of Alexandria. Alternatively, one might wish to place our document a little later in the third century because of the parallels to Cyprian's and Pseudo-Cyprian's exhortations to martyrdom. But none of this is conclusive.

The question of provenance is even more difficult. Since the document's original was Greek, not Latin, one would tend to place it at the eastern end of the Mediterranean rather than in Roman North Africa. 7.21-35 might suggest that the author lived in an area where date palms grow; this, coupled with the points of contact with Clement of Alexandria, Origen and the Second Epistle of Clement, seems to suggest Egypt as the place of writing. More than this it is not possible to say.

- [a]/1 [ιακκωβος π]ετ[с2]ееи м[- - -]θος †ρηне
 1 [нек авал зnn] ουγειρηνη †ου[αγαπη авал з]n̄
 5 ουαγαπη †ουχ[αρις авал з]nn ουχαρις †ου-
 π[ιcтic ав]αλ зn̄ ουπιcтic †ουωνz̄ авал зn̄
 οуωνz̄ †εφοуααq
 10 еπιδη ακp̄ α'ξιοу ммaει' атратn̄ †нау нек n̄оу-
 αποκρυφο(н) †εαυβαλλp̄ <q> авал n̄нhei' †m̄n̄
 петрос зit̄m̄ пxαic †[m]πιōm̄бам мен' n̄тcтак
 15 †[a]βαλ ουτε n̄ψεχε зарак †[αzica]z̄q̄ δε зn̄
 зенсзееи' †mm̄n̄тзевраioic азit̄n̄naoуq̄ нек'
 нек мен †оуaеетk̄ алла зωс нтk̄ †оуzуπhre-
 20 тнс m̄поухе †ει' n̄нeтoуaαq̄ еpi апaтo'отk̄ аγω
 n̄гарнз' атm̄xоу †m̄πιxωme азaz̄ пeeи †ete'm̄-
 пeпcω(тн)р оуωψ †[a]xоoq̄ аран тнp̄n̄ пq̄-
 25 m̄n̄т'cнаγс m̄maөнтнс cena'ψωпe 'де' m̄ma-
 каpиoс' n̄би †нeтnaoуxееи зp̄h̄i z̄n̄ †тпicтic
 m̄πιлoгoc'
 30 азit̄n̄naу де ψарак заөн †m̄m̄hт n̄eвaт' n̄ke-
 apo'кpυφoн εαυβαλλp̄q̄ нh̄i †авал n̄би пcωтнp̄'
 алла †пн мен мeγe араq̄ зi' †neei' зωс
 [B]/2 n̄таzoубаллp̄q̄ †араi' ιακωβoc' пeeи n̄ †де зω̄
 [- - -] †таzо [a]βαλ π[- - -] †нeтe nou.
 5 [- - -] †be n̄γκωт [- - -] †teeи te θ[ε
 - - - оу]xееи' m̄n̄ [- - -]p̄o.[.] †ekaou [...

1.1 [ιακκωβος] Kasser: [ιακωβος] *ed. pr.* †[π]ετ[с2]ееи Kasser: εq-[с2]ееи Schenke¹ 1-2 m̄[πιxωme...]θος *ed. pr.*: m̄[пeqсyмπα]θος or m̄[пmaei па]θος Kasser: m̄[пcoн κнpиn]θος Schenke: m̄[пψнpe κнpиn]θος Kirchner¹ 3 [нек авал зn̄ (znn Mueller)] Kasser: [ουγειρηνη авал зn̄] *ed. pr.* † 11 βαλλp̄ <q> *ed. pr.* † 15 [αzica]z̄q̄ Kirchner: [αeica]z̄q̄ *ed. pr.* †

2.1-4 δε зω̄[ωq - - -] таzо [ав]αλ π[- - -] netzn оу[- - -] be' n̄γκωт [- - -] *ed. pr.*: δε зω̄[с n̄таzoубаллp̄q̄ acney] таzо [ав]αλ m̄[пeqпeөнп] netzn оу[анz̄ авал нтеq] Schenke: δε зω̄[ωq оуn ψбам атpоу]таzо [ав]αλ m̄[пmoуz̄ ммaу n̄би] netzn оу[ax̄ (sic) еpi апaтoотk] be' n̄γκωт[ε за пра мпeeи] Kirgen: δε зω̄ [εmπα†coуωnq аγω ен]таzо[γ]βαλλp̄[q̄ an зарак mn] netenoуk [ne еpi апaтoотk] be' n̄γκωт[ε nca пeqcaγne] Kirchner¹ 4 n̄γκωт[ε за пра n̄neeи] Kasser¹ 5-7 teeи te θ[ε - - - оу]xееи' m̄n̄ [- - -]io.[.] ekaou [- - -] *ed. pr.*: teeи te θ[ε гар етекнаoу]xееи m̄n̄ [некψвнp̄ n]тө[ε ет]ekaou[анz̄c] Schenke: teeи te θ[ε еpетнаψxи мпоу]xееи m̄n̄ [нексннy] nө[ze аγω] ekaou [авал] Kirgen: teeи te θ[ε еткнаxи мпоу]xееи m̄n̄[сωс neei тн]p̄oу [ан] ekaou[анeзq] Kirchner¹

¹⁻¹ [James] writes to | [. . .] those: Peace | [be with you from] Peace, | [love from] Love, ⁵ [grace from] Grace, | [faith] from Faith, | life from Holy Life! |

Since you asked | that I send ¹⁰ you a secret book | which was revealed to me | and Peter by the Lord, | I could not turn you away | or gainsay (?) you; ¹⁵ but [I have written] it in | the Hebrew alphabet and | sent it to you, and you | alone. But since you are | a minister of the salvation ²⁰ of the saints, endeavor earnestly | and take care not to rehearse | this text to many – this | that the Savior did not wish | to tell to all of us, his ²⁵ twelve disciples. | But blessed will they be | who will be saved through | the faith of this discourse.

I | also sent you, ³⁰ ten months ago, another secret | book which the Savior | had revealed to me. Under the circumstances, however, | regard that one | as revealed ³⁵ to me, James; but this one ^{2.1-7} [*untrans-*

- 10 νευ[2]μαστ̄ 'ν'δε 'α[2]ρηῑ τηροῡ ρῑ ου[ca]π̄ μ̄ν
 νευ'ερηγ̄· ν̄βῑ π̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ς̄ναογ̄ς̄ μ̄'μαθ̄ητ̄ς̄· αγ̄ω
 εῡειρε̄ μ̄π̄με'εῡε· ν̄ν̄ε̄ν̄τᾱρᾱπ̄ς̄ω̄τηρ̄ χοογ̄
 'αποῡε̄εῑ ποῡε̄εῑ μ̄μαγ̄ εῑτε 'μ̄πε̄τ̄ο̄η̄π̄· εῑτε
 15 μ̄πε̄τογ̄'αν̄ζ̄ αβ̄αλ· αγ̄ω εῡρ̄ τᾱς̄ς̄ε̄ μ̄'μαγ̄ ᾱ2̄ν̄-
 χω̄με· α[νακ̄ δε] 'νε̄εῑς̄ρ̄ε̄εῑ ν̄νε̄τ̄ρ̄μ̄ π[αχω-
 με] 'εῑς̄ π̄ς̄ω(τη)ρ̄ ᾱφογ̄ων̄ζ̄ αβ[αλ̄ ε] 'ᾱφ̄εῑ αβ̄αλ
 ρ̄ῑτοο[τ̄η] ε[ν̄β]ωψ[τ] 'ν̄ς̄ω̄φ̄· αγ̄ω μ̄ν̄ν̄ς̄ᾱ ρ̄ογ̄
 20 ν̄ω̄ε "τᾱεῑογ̄ ν̄ρ̄οογ̄ ν̄τᾱρε̄φ̄τ̄ωογ̄(ν) 'αβ̄αλ ρ̄η̄
 νε̄τ̄μαογ̄τ̄· πᾱχε̄ν 'νε̄φ̄ χ̄ε̄ ακ̄β̄ωκ̄ ακ̄ογ̄ᾱεῑε̄
 αρ̄αν̄ '
 ιη(σογ̄)ς̄ δε̄ πᾱχε̄φ̄ χ̄ε̄ μ̄πε̄· ᾱλλα '†̄νᾱβ̄ωκ̄
 25 ᾱπ̄το̄πο̄ς̄ ν̄τᾱρ̄ῑεῑ μ̄'μεγ̄ ψ̄πε̄ τε̄τ̄ν̄ογ̄ω̄ψ̄ε̄· ε̄εῑ
 'ν̄μ̄μη̄εῑ̂ ᾱμη̄τ̄η̄
 ᾱρ̄ογ̄ω̄ψ̄β̄ 'τη̄ρογ̄ πᾱχε̄γ̄ χ̄ε̄ ψ̄πε̄ κ̄ρ̄ κ̄ε'λε̄γε̄
 νε̄ν̄ τ̄η̄ν̄η̄ογ̄
 πᾱχε̄φ̄ χ̄[ε] 'ρ̄ᾱμη̄ν̄ †̄χογ̄ μ̄μᾱς̄ ν̄η̄τ̄η̄ χ̄[ε]
 30 "μ̄ν̄ λᾱᾱγε̄ ᾱνη̄ρ̄ε̄ νᾱβ̄ωκ̄ ᾱρ̄ογ̄[ν] 'ᾱτ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ρ̄ο
 ν̄μ̄π̄η̄γε̄· ε̄εῑψ̄αν̄[ρ] 'κε̄λε̄γε̄ῑ νε̄φ̄· ᾱλλα αβ̄αλ
 χ̄ε̄ 'τε̄τ̄η̄μη̄ρ̄ ν̄τ̄ω̄τ̄η̄· αρ̄ῑ ρ̄ῡγ̄χω̄ρῑ 'ν̄η̄ῑ ν̄ῑᾱκ̄ω-
 35 βο̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ πε̄τ̄ρο̄ς̄ "χε̄κᾱς̄ε̄ ε̄εῑνᾱμᾱρ̄ογ̄ αγ̄ω 'ν̄-
 τᾱρε̄φ̄μογ̄τε̄ ᾱπ̄ῑς̄νεγ̄ 'ᾱφ̄χῑτογ̄ ν̄ς̄ᾱ ογ̄ς̄ᾱ·
 ᾱφογ̄ε̄ρ̄ς̄ᾱ'ρ̄νε̄ μ̄π̄κε̄·ψ̄ω̄χ̄π̄· ᾱτ̄ρογ̄ς̄ρ̄ε̄φ̄ε̄ 'ᾱνε̄-
 τογ̄ς̄ρᾱβ̄τ̄· αρ̄αγ̄
 40 πᾱχε̄φ̄ ν̄'βῑ π̄ς̄ω(τη)ρ̄· χ̄ε̄ ᾱρ̄ογ̄νᾱε̄ ν̄η̄τ̄η̄
 [r]/3 " [- - -] ψ̄ω̄πε ' [- - -] η̄ς̄ ᾱ[ρ̄]ογ̄ς̄ρ̄ε̄
 ' [- - -] χ̄ᾱμε̄· ρ̄ω̄ς̄· ' [- - -] αρ̄ω̄τ̄η̄ αν̄

7 [νευ2]μαστ̄ Mueller: [εγ2]μαστ̄ Schenke¹⁸ ρῑ ου[ca]π̄ Schenke¹⁴ εῡρ̄
 τᾱς̄ς̄ε̄ μ̄ Emmel; εῡρ̄ τᾱψ̄ε̄ μ̄ Schenke¹⁵ α[νακ̄ δε] *ed. pr.*: α[γ̄ω ε]
 Kirchner¹⁶⁻¹⁷ η[νχα]εῑς̄ *ed. pr.*: π[αχωμε] Kasser: π[ιχωμε] Schenke:
 π[η̄ πε] Kirchner¹⁷ ογ̄ων̄ζ̄ αβ[αλ̄ ε] Mueller: ογ̄ων[ρ̄ αβ̄αλ] *ed. pr.*:
 ογ̄ων[ρ̄] αβ̄αλ [ε] Kirchner¹⁸ ρ̄ῑτοο[τ̄η] ε[ν̄β]ωψ[τ] Emmel: ρ̄ῑτοο[τ̄η]
 ᾱρ̄η̄β̄ωψ[τ] *ed. pr.*: ρ̄ῑτοο[τ̄η] α[ν̄β]ωψ[τ] Mueller¹ 32 κε̄λε̄γε̄ῑ, ῑ inserted
 secondarily. ¹νε̄φ̄, ε̄ corrected over an erased letter. ¹

3.1-3 [- - -] ψ̄ω̄πε [- - - μαθ̄ητ̄]η̄ς̄ [ᾱρ̄]ογ̄ς̄ρ̄ε̄[εῑ - - -] χ̄ᾱμε̄
ed. pr.: [ᾱμ̄με̄ χ̄ε̄ ε̄ρε̄ π̄κε̄ψ̄ω̄χ̄]η̄ ψ̄ω̄πε [ρ̄ω̄ς̄ νε̄π̄ρο̄φ̄η̄τ̄]η̄ς̄ ᾱ[ρ̄]ογ̄ς̄-
 ρ̄ε̄[εῑ μ̄μᾱς̄ ρ̄η̄ νεγ̄]χ̄ᾱμε̄· Schenke: [ρ̄η̄ π̄ῑω̄τ̄ ν̄χῑ νᾱψ̄ε̄χε̄] ε̄ψ̄ω̄πε
 [π̄κε̄ψ̄ω̄χ̄π̄ μ̄μαθ̄η̄τ̄]η̄ς̄ ᾱ[ρ̄]ογ̄ς̄ρ̄ε̄[εῑ ν̄νᾱψ̄ε̄χε̄ ρ̄η̄ νεγ̄]χ̄ᾱμε̄· Kirchner
¹3-5 ρ̄ω̄ς̄· [- - -] ρ̄ω̄τ̄η̄ αν̄ [- - - με]λε̄τη̄ *ed. pr.*: ρ̄ω̄ς̄[τε̄ ν̄τε̄τ̄-
 αρ̄η̄ρ̄ ᾱ]ρ̄ω̄τ̄η̄ αν̄[ν̄ον̄η̄τ̄ω̄ς̄ γ̄αρ̄ ε̄γ̄ε̄ρ̄ με]λε̄τη̄ Schenke: ρ̄ω̄ς̄ [ε̄ᾱγ̄ρ̄ νο̄ῑ
 αρ̄η̄ρ̄ ᾱ]ρ̄ω̄τ̄η̄ αν̄[ον̄η̄τ̄ω̄ς̄ γ̄αρ̄ ᾱγ̄ρ̄ με]λε̄τη̄ Kirchner¹

latable fragments] | the twelve disciples | [were] all sitting together ¹⁰ and recalling | what the Savior had said | to each one of them, whether | in secret or openly, | and [putting it in books] ¹⁵ in books – [But I] | was writing that which was in [my book] – | lo, the Savior appeared, [after] | departing from [us while we] gazed | after him. And after five hundred ²⁰ and fifty days since he had risen | from the dead, we said | to him, “Have you departed and removed yourself from us?” |

But Jesus said, “No, but | I shall go to the place from whence I came. ²⁵ If you wish to come | with me, come!”

They all answered | and said, “If you bid | us, we come.”

He said, | “Verily I say unto you, ³⁰ no one will ever enter | the kingdom of heaven at my | bidding, but (only) because | you yourselves are full. Leave | James and Peter to me ³⁵ that I may fill them.” And | having called these two, | he drew them aside and bade | the rest occupy themselves | with that which they were about. ⁴⁰

The Savior said, “You have received mercy ^{3.1-}

5 "[- - -]ΛΕΤΗ· ΑΥΩ '[.]ΘΕ[- - -]ΟΥΣΩΤῼ
 'ΑΥΩ Ν[.....]. ΟΥΡ̄ ΝΟΪ 'ΖΙΕ ΤΕ[Τ]ΝΟΥΩΨΕ
 10 ΑΜΟΥΖ· 'ΕΝ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤῼΖΗΤ ΤΑΖ̄ Ζ'ΙΕ· "ΤΕΤῼΟΥ-
 ΩΨΕ· ΕΝ ΑΡ̄ ΝΗΦΕ· 'ΨΙΠΕ ΒΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΡΕΤῼ-
 ΡΑΕΙΣ 'ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕΤῼΝΚΑΤΚΕ· ΕΡΙ ΠΜΕ'ΕΥΕ· ΧΕ
 15 ΝΤΩΤῼ· ΖΑΤΕΤῼΝΕΥ 'ΑΠΩΗΡΕ· ῀ΠΡΩΜΕ· ΑΥΩ
 ΠΕΕΙ "ΑΤΕΤῼΨΕΧΕ Ν῀ΜΜΕϚ ΑΥΩ 'ΠΕΕΙ ΑΤΕΤῼ-
 ΣΩΤῼ ΑΡΑϚ 'ΟΥΑΙΕΙ Ν῀ΝΕΝΤΑΖΝΕΥ ΑΠΩΗ'Ρ[Ε ῀Π-
 20 Ρ]ΩΜΕ· ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ '῀ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΕῼ"ΠΟΥ-
 ΝΕΥ ΑΠΡΩΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕ'ΤΕῼΠΟΥΤΩΖ Ν῀ΜΜΕϚ ΑΥ'Ω
 ΝΕΤΕῼΠΟΥΨΕΧΕ Ν῀ΜΜΕϚ 'ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΕῼΠΟΥΣΩΤῼ
 25 Α'ΛΑΑΥΕ ΝΤΟΟΤῼ ΠΩΤῼ ΠΕ "ΠΩΝῼ ῀ΜΜΕ ΒΕ ΧΕ
 ΑϚΡ̄ ΠΑ'ΖΡΕ ΑΡΩΤῼ ΕΡΕΤῼΨΩΝΕ '[Χ]ΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕΤ-
 ΝΑΡ̄ Ρ̄ΡΟ· ΟΥΑ'ΕΙ· Ν῀ΝΕΝΤΑΖ῀ΤΑΝ ΑΒΑΛ· 'Ζ῀ ΠΕΥ-
 30 ΨΩΝΕ· ΧΕ ΣΕΝΑΤ"ΣΤΑΥ ΑΝ ΑΠΩΩΝΕ· ΝΕΕΙΕ'ΤΟΥ
 ΝΕΤΕῼΠΟΥΨΩΝΕ ΑΥΩ 'ΑΖΟΥΣΟΥΩΝ Π῀ΤΑΝ ΕΜ-
 ΠΑ'ΤΟΥΨΩΝΕ· ΤΩΤῼ ΤΕ Τ῀ΝΤ'(Τ)Ρ̄ΡΟ ῀ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
 35 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ †"ΧΟΥ ῀ΜΜΑΣ ΝΗΤῼ ΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΡΕ-
 'Τ῀ΜΗΖ ΑΥΩ ῀ΠΡ̄ΚΕ ΤΟΠΟΣ Ζ῀ 'ΤΗΝΕ ΕϚΨΟΥΕΙΤ'
 ΕϚΑΨ ΣΩΒΕ 'ΝΣΩΤῼ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤῼΝΗΥ
 40 ΤΟΤΕ 'ΑΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΟΥΩΨΒ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΨΑ"Μ῀Τ ΝΣΑΠ·
 [Δ]/4 ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΕΝ "ΧΕ Ψ[Ω]ΠΕ ΕΡ[ΕΤΜΜΗΖ ΑΛΛΑ]
 'Τ῀ΜΗΖ·
 ΖΑΠ[ΣΩ(ΤΗ)Ρ ΟΥΩΨΒ ΠΑ]ΧΕϚ ΧΕ ΕΤΒ[Ε ΠΕΕΙ
 5 ΑΖΙΧΟΟΣ] 'ΝΗΤῼ ΧΕ [ΨΩΠΕ ΕΡΕΤΜΜΗΖ ΧΕ]"ΚΑΣ
 Ν῀ΝΕ[ΤῼΝΒΩΧϚ ΝΕΤΒΩΧϚ] 'ΝΔΕ· ΣΕΝ[ΑΟΥΧΕΕΙ] ΕΝ·
 ΝΑΝΟ[Υ] 'ΠΜΟΥΖ ΓΑΡ Α[Υ]Ω [ΠΒΩ]Χῼ· ΖΑΥ· ΚΑΤΑ
 'ΤΖΕ ΒΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΡΕΚΒΩΧῼ ΑΥΩ 'ΤΡΕΚΜΟΥΖ

5-7 ΑΥΩ [.]ΘΕ [- - -]ΟΥΣΩΤῼ ΑΥΩ Ν[- - -]ΟΥ Ρ̄ ΝΟΪ *ed. pr.*: ΑΥΩ
 [Ν]ΘΕ [ΝΝΑΘΗΤ Ν]ΟΥΣΩΤῼ ΑΥΩ Ν[ΘΕ ΝΝΑΛ] ΝΟΥΡ̄ ΝΟΪ Schenke: ΑΥΩ [Ν]ΘΕ
 [ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΟ ΜΠ]ΟΥΣΩΤῼ ΑΥΩ Ν[ΘΕ ΝΝΑΘΗΤ Μ]ΠΟΥΡ̄ ΝΟΪ Kipgen: ΑΥΩ
 [Ν]ΘΕ [ΝΝΑΘΗΤ ΑΖ]ΟΥΣΩΤῼ ΑΥΩ Ν[ΘΕ ΝΝΑΛ] ΜΠΟΥΡ̄ ΝΟΪ Kirchner¹ 9 ΤΑΖ̄
 MS: ΤΑΖΕ *ed. pr.*¹ 16 The line ends with a decorative filler.¹ 29 ΣΕΝΑΤ, c
 written over a partially formed Ν.¹ 31 <Ν>ΝΕΤΕ Kirchner¹ 34 (Τ)Ρ̄ΡΟ *ed. pr.*¹ 40
 The line ends with a decorative filler.¹

4.1 ΑΛΛΑ] Mueller¹ 2-3 ΖΑΠ[ΣΩΡ̄ ΟΥΩΨΒ ΠΑ]ΧΕϚ Mueller: ΖΑ[ΠΛΩΣ
 - - - ΠΑ]ΧΕϚ *ed. pr.*: ΖΑ Π[ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΠΑ]ΧΕϚ Zandee¹ 3 ΕΤΒ[Ε ΠΕΕΙ
 ΑΖΙΧΟΟΣ] Mueller: ΕΤΒ[Ε ΠΕΕΙ †ΧΟΥ ΜΜΑΣ] Kirchner¹ 4 [ΨΩΠΕ ΕΡΕΤῼ-
 ΜΗΖ ΧΕ] Mueller¹ 5 Ν῀ΝΕ[ΤῼΝΒΩΧϚ ΝΕΤΒΩΧϚ] Mueller: Ν῀ΝΕ[Τῼ - - - ΝΤΑΥ]
*ed. pr.*¹

7 [*untranslatable fragments*] | Do you not, then, desire to be filled? | And your heart is drunken; ¹⁰ do you not, then, desire to be sober? | Therefore, be ashamed! Henceforth, waking | or sleeping, remember | that you have seen | the Son of Man, and ¹⁵ spoken with him in person, | and listened to him in person. | Woe to those who have seen the | Son [of] Man; | blessed will they be who ²⁰ have not seen the man, and they | who have not consorted with him, and | they who have not spoken with him, | and they who have not listened to | anything from him; yours is ²⁵ life! Know, then, that he healed | you when you were ill | that you might reign. Woe | to those who have found relief from | their illness, for they will ³⁰ relapse into illness. Blessed are | they who have not been ill, and | have known relief before | falling ill; yours is the | kingdom of God. Therefore, I ³⁵ say to you, 'Become | full and leave no space within | you empty, for he who is coming | can mock you.'

Then | Peter replied, "Lo, ⁴⁰ three times you have told us, ^{4.1} 'Become [full]; but | we are full."

The [Savior answered] | and said, ["For this cause I have said] | to you, ['Become full,'] that ⁵ [you] may not [be in want. They who are in want], | however, will not [be saved]. For it is good to be full, | and bad to be in want. Hence, just as | it is good that you (sing.) be in want and, | conversely, bad that you be

10 ζωωϥ ζαυ τεει τε || τζε· ψαϥδωχβ̄ ν̄βι πετμηζ
 αγω | μαγμογζ ν̄βι πετβαχ̄· ν̄θε | εψαϥμογζ
 ν̄βι πετβαχ̄ αγω | πετμηζ ζωωϥ ψαϥχωκ
 15 αβαλ | μπρωψε· ψ̄ψε βε αβωχβ̄ || ζωc εγ̄ν
 βαμ· αμογζ τηνε αγω | αμογζ· ζωc εγ̄ν βαμ
 αβωχβ̄ | χεкас еретнабмб̄[м] н̄м[ογζ] ἀ'ρωτ̄η
 ν̄νογζογο· ψ̄ψ[πε] βε | ерет̄μηζ αβαλ ζ̄м п-
 20 пνευμα || ерет̄ν̄βαχ̄ ν̄δε αβαλ ζ̄м | πлогос
 πлогос н̄гар пе тψγ'χη· ογψγχη αν τε
 αζ̄ιογω'ψ̄β̄ δε παχη̄ι νεϥ χε пхаеиc | ογ̄ν
 25 βαμ н̄ман аπιθε нек || ψ̄πε ζнеκ αζ̄н̄κωе гар
 н̄'сων н̄неиεа† н̄ζαογт· | м̄н̄ ненмееγ м̄н̄
 нен†ме | αζ̄н̄ογαζ̄н̄ н̄сωк † θζε β[ε] | нен
 30 ат̄т̄роупираζε н̄ман || αβαλ ζ̄ιτοοτ̄̄ н̄παια-
 волос· ε'θαγ·
 αϥογωψ̄β̄ ν̄βι пхаеиc | παχεϥ χε еψ пе
 пет̄н̄ζμαт | ерет̄н̄ειре м̄πογωψε м̄πιωт· | εγ-
 35 т̄м† н̄ηт̄н̄ αβαλ ζ̄ιτοοτ̄̄ ζ̄н̄ || ογμεροc н̄δωρεа·
 ζ̄м̄ п̄т̄роу'п̄ираζε м̄мωт̄н̄ αβαλ ζ̄ιτοοτ̄̄ | м̄пса-
 т̄анас еψωπε· δε | εγλωχ̄ζ̄ м̄мωт̄н̄ αβαλ
 40 ζ̄ιτο'οτ̄̄ м̄псат̄анас· αγω εγ̄"п̄ηт̄· н̄са τηне
 [ε]/5 αγω н̄тет̄н̄р̄ пеϥ'ογωψε· †[χογ] м̄μαc χε φна-
 | м̄р̄ре τηне αγω φнаψωψ | τηне н̄м̄неи αγω
 5 φнамеγ'ε а[ρωт]н̄· χε ζαтет̄н̄ωψωπε || м̄м[рре]†т̄
 ζ̄ρη̄ι ζ̄н̄ τεϥπροноиα | ката тет̄н̄[п]ροζαιресиc
 ζ̄ιε· | н̄тет̄н̄нало ен· ерет̄н̄οеи | м̄маеисар̄з
 αγω ерет̄н̄р̄ | ζα†ε ζηт̄ϥ н̄м̄παθос н̄ н̄те-
 10 || т̄н̄саγνε· ен χε м̄πατογ̄р̄ ζ̄γ̄'βριζε м̄мωт̄н̄· αγω
 м̄πατογ̄р̄ кат̄ηγορι м̄мωт̄н̄ ζ̄н̄н̄ ογχι | н̄βαν̄с̄·
 ογδε м̄πατογωт̄п̄ | τηне αζογн̄· αγωτεко·
 15 ογτε || ем̄πατογ̄баеиε т̄ηγт̄н̄ ζ̄н̄ ογ'м̄н̄т̄анο-
 мос· ογτε м̄πατογ̄р̄ с'†ο[γ] м̄мωт̄н̄ ζ̄н̄н̄ ογм̄н̄т̄-
 | <α>логос· ογτε м̄πατογ̄т̄ωм̄с̄ | τηне· ζ̄н̄н̄

11 μαγμογζ MS Kirchner: Read μαϥμογζ *ed. pr.* | 17 н̄м[ογζ] Emmel | 21 пе
 тψγχη MS: Read παтψγχη Schenke | 22 αν τε MS: Read αν пе Kirchner; a
 written over ε | 28 θζε β[ε] *ed. pr.*: θζεϥ Mueller | 35 н<т>δωρεа
 Schenke |

5.4 а[ρωт]н̄ Emmel: ат[нн]ε Kirchner | 18 <α>логос Mueller: <ат>
 логос *ed. pr.* |

full, so ¹⁰ he who is full is in want, | and he who is in want does not become full as | he who is in want becomes full, and | he who has been filled, in turn, attains | due perfection. Therefore, you must be in want ¹⁵ while it is possible to fill you (pl.), and | be full while it is possible for you to be in want, | so that you may be able [to fill] | yourselves the more. Hence become | full of the Spirit, ²⁰ but be in want of | reason, for reason <belongs to> the soul; | in turn it is (of the nature of) soul.” |

But I answered and said to him, “Lord, | we can obey you ²⁵ if you wish, for we have forsaken | our fathers | and our mothers and our villages | and followed you. Grant us, therefore, | not to be tempted ³⁰ by the devil, the evil one.” |

The Lord answered | and said, “What is your (pl.) merit | if you do the will of the Father | and it is not given to you from him ³⁵ as a gift while | you are tempted by | Satan? But if | you (pl.) are oppressed by | Satan and ⁴⁰ persecuted and you do his (i.e. the Father’s) ^{5.1} will, I [say] that he will | love you, and make you equal | with me, and reckon | [you] to have become ⁵ beloved through his providence | by your own choice. So | will you not cease | loving the flesh and being | afraid of sufferings? Or do ¹⁰ you not know that you have yet | to be abused and to be | accused unjustly; | and have yet to be shut | up in prison, and ¹⁵ condemned | unlawfully, and | crucified <without> | reason, and buried | <shamefully>, as

20 οὐσοῦ ἄταξε ζωωτ ἥ αβαλ ζῆτοοτῆ
 ἄππονηρος· ἰτετῆτολμα· ἀφ σο αὔσαρξ ἠ
 νετε ππν(εῦμ)α οει ἄσαβτ εφ'κωτε ἀραῦ
 ερετῆψανμακ'μκ· ἀπκοσμος χε οὔηρ· πε
 25 ἥ ατετῆζαειε· αῦω χε μῆνσω'τῆ ἀν· οὔηρ πε·
 τετῆαβτῆ· ἰερεπετῆβιος οὔσοῦ ἄοῦωτ ἰπε
 αῦω νετῆπαθος εὔ(ν)οῦ'νοῦ ἄοῦωτ· τε·
 30 ἄγαθος γαρ· ἥ ἄσεναιε ἐν ἀζοῦν ἀπκοσμος·
 ἰερί καταφρονί βε ἄπμοῦ ἰαῦω ἄτετῆφι ραοῦψ
 ἀψωνεζ ἰαρί πμεεγε ἄπασταῦρος ἰαῦω
 35 παμοῦ αῦω τετῆναῶνῆ

ἀζῆοῦψωβ ἄδε πα'χῆῆ νεφ χε πχαεῖς ἄπωρ·
 ἀτεῦο ἀραν ἄπστ(αῦ)ρος ἰμῆ πμοῦ νεει γαρ
 [s]/6 σεοῦνοῦ ἥ ἄμακ

ἀφο[γῶ]ψβ ἄβι πχαεῖς ἰπαχεφ χε ζαμῆν
 ἰχοῦ ἄμας ἰνητῆ χε μῆ λααγε ἄοῦχε'ει
 5 εἰμητῆ ἄσεπιϕτ[εγε] ἀπαστ(αῦ)ρος ἥ νετα[ζ]-
 πιστεγε [γα]ρ ἀπασ'τ(αῦ)ρος· τωοῦ τε
 τῆῆτερο ἄπ'πνοῦτε ψωπε βε ερετῆψω'νε ἄσα
 πμοῦ ἄθεξε ἄνετῆα'οῦτ· ετψῆνε ἄσα πωνῆ
 10 ψαφ'οῦωνῆ γαρ ἀνετῆμεῦ ἄβι πε'τοῦψῆνε
 ἄσωφ· εὔ ἄδε πετο'ει νεῦ ἄραοῦψ ζῆ π<τ>ρε-
 τετῆκω'τε ἄτωτῆ ζα πρα ἄπμοῦ φνα'ταμωτῆ
 15 ἀτῆῆτσωτῆ· εμμα(ν) ἥ ἰχοῦ ἄμας ἄνητῆ χε
 {νε}μῆ λαγε ἰναοῦχεει· ἄνετῆ ζα'ε ζῆτῆ
 ἰἄπμοῦ· τῆῆτῆ<ρ>ο ἄγαρ ἄπμοῦ ἰτα
 νετοῦμοῦοῦτ· ἄμαῦ τε ἰψωπε ερετῆσατῆ
 20 ἀραει· τῆ'τῆ τῆνε ἀψῆρε ἄπεπν(εῦμ)α
 ετ'οῦααβ·

τοτε ἀζῆψῆτῆ ἀνακ ἰχε πχαῖς ἄεψ ἄσματ·
 εναψῆ ἰπροφητεγε· ἄνεει ετῆ ἀζῆ'οῦ· ἄμαν
 25 ἀτῆῆρ προφητεγε ἥ νεῦ· ναψωοῦ γαρ ἄβι νετῆ

19 οὐσοῦ MS: Read οὐσωσ Schenke: οὐσοοῦ Kasser¹ 25 ἀτετῆζαειε MS: Read ζατετῆζη Schenke¹ 28 εὔ(ν)οῦ ed. pr.¹ 29 ἄγαθος MS: ζῆαπαθῆτος Schenke¹ 37 ἀτεῦο, ἀτε written over erased ἀραν¹

6.5 νετα[ζ] Mueller: νετα[ρ] Emmel¹ [γα]ρ Emmel¹ 7 {π}νοῦτε (?) ed. pr.¹ 12 π<τ>ρετετῆ ed. pr.¹ 14 <c>εμμα Schenke¹ 15 {νε} ed. pr.¹ 17 μῆτῆ<ρ>ο ed. pr.¹ ἄπμοῦ MS: Read ἄπνοῦτε ed. pr.: <ἄ>μπ<η>οῦ<ε> Schenke¹

(was) I myself, ²⁰ by the evil one? | Do you dare to spare the flesh, | you for whom the Spirit is an | encircling wall? If you consider | how long the world existed ²⁵ <before> you, and how long | it will exist after you, you will find | that your life is one single day | and your sufferings one | single hour. For the good ³⁰ will not enter into the world. | Scorn death, therefore, | and take thought for life! | Remember my cross | and my death, and you will ³⁵ live!”

But I answered and | said to him, “Lord, | do not mention to us the cross | and death, for they are far ^{6.1} from you.”

The Lord answered | and said, “Verily I say | unto you, none will be saved | unless they believe in my cross. ⁵ But those who have believed in my | cross, theirs is the kingdom of | God. Therefore, become seekers | for death, like the dead | who seek for life; ¹⁰ for that which they seek is revealed to them. | And what is there | to trouble them? As for you, when you examine | death, it will | teach you election. Verily ¹⁵ I say unto you, none | of those who fear death will be saved; | for the kingdom <of God> | belongs to those who put themselves to death. | Become better than I; make ²⁰ yourselves like the son of the Holy Spirit!” | Then I asked him, | “Lord, how shall we be able | to prophesy to those who request | us to prophesy ²⁵ to

- αι'τι ἄμαν· ἀγω εἰδωψῆ ἀβαλ ἰζητῆ ἀτρογ-
 σωτῆ ἀλογος ἰβαλ ζῆτοοτῆ
- 30 ἀζαπχαεις ἰογωψῆ πέχαα· χε ἵτετῆῆσαγνε
 εν· χε ἀγνουζε ἵταπε ἵτε προφητια μῆ ἰω-
 ζαννης ἰ
- ἀνακ ἵδε παχηῆ χε πχαῆς ἰ{χε} μητι οὔῆ
 ψβам· ἀει ἵταπε ἵτεπροφητια
- 35 παχε ἵπαχεις ηῆ χε ζοταν еретῆῆψανῆμε
 χε εὔπε ἵπε ἀγω ἰχε ψаретπροφητια ῆ пвλ
 z/7 ἵта'πε· ери νοει χε εὔπε ἀζοуqι ἵтесаπε·
 аз[иp] ψарп εειψε'χε ἵμμηтῆ ζρηῆ ζῆ ζῆμπα-
 'βολη· ἀγω неретῆр νοει ἰен· †[и]оу ан †ψεχε
- 5 ἵμῆμηт[и ζ]ῆ οὔωνῆ ἀβαλ ἀγω ἵтетῆр аи-
 εане ен алла ἵтωтῆ неретῆψооp ηῆ ἵ-
 ноупараволη ζρηῆ ζῆ ζῆμ'параволη· ἀγω ἵфа-
 10 нерос ἵζηῆ ζῆ ноуωνῆ ἀβαλ·
- βεπη ἰатретῆоуχееῆ· εὔсапсп ἰен ἵμωтῆ
 алла ἵтωтῆ ἰоурат· оуает· тһне ἀγω ἵψπε
 15 οὔῆ бам ари ψарῆ араῆει· ζωωт· тееῆ гар те
 озе· ἰетерепиωт· наμῆре тһне ἰ
- ψωπε еретῆмасте ἵθῆ'покрүсiс ἀγω
 20 пмеуе ἵзһт· ἰεθаз пмеуе гар ἵзһт· ἵтаа ἵπε
 еψааχπε· θῆпокрүсiс· ἰθῆпокрүсiс ζωωс
 оуноу а'βαλ ἵтмне·
- ἵμψар азωкῆ ἵтмῆтῆрро ἵмпһуе· ἰестῆ-
 25 тант· нгар аγωλῆ нвῆῆне· ентазанескарпос
 зе†е ἵмπεкωте· аqтеуо аβαλ ἵ'зенδωве·
 ἀγω ἵтароу† оγω ἰазоутретате ψауеiе· те-
 30 'еi ан те θе ἵпкарпос ἵтазῆψωπε· аβαλ ζῆ
 †ноуне ἵ'оуωт· ἵтароутакῆq аγ'χпо ἵ'зῆкар-
 пос ζῆтῆ ζаз· ἵненаноус ἵмен пе· ене ἰоῆῆ
 35 ψбам †ноу аῆ нитωῆ'бе ῆвῆре· нек

33 {χε} *ed. pr.*¹ 36 εὔπε <пψεχε χε> απе Kirchner¹ 38 εὔπε <χε>
 ἀζοуqι Kirchner

7.24 ἀγωλῆ MS: Read ἀγωλῆ *ed. pr.*¹ 24-26 н<т>вῆне ентазанес...
 ἵпескωте Schenke: н<ноу>вῆне Kirchner¹ 26 аqтеуо MS: Read аγтеуо
 Kirchner¹ 31 такῆq MS: Read такῆq Zandee: так{ῆ}q Till¹ 35 нек
 <нек>аδнтс Williams: нек <некн>аδнтс Kirchner¹ επее MS: Read
 επει *ed. pr.*: επεσεаз Schenke¹

them? For there are many who | ask us, and look | to us to hear an oracle | from us.”

The Lord | answered and said, “Do you not
30 know that the head of | prophecy was cut off with John?” |

But I said, “Lord, | can it be possible to remove | the head of prophecy?”

The Lord 35 said to me, “When you (pl.) | come to know what ‘head’ means, and | that prophecy issues from the | head, (then) understand the meaning of ‘Its head was 7.1 removed.’ At first I spoke | to you (pl.) in parables | and you did not understand; | now I speak to 5 you openly, and | you (still) do not perceive. Yet | it was you who served me | as a parable in | parables, and as that which is open 10 in the (words) that are open.

“Hasten | to be saved without being urged! | Instead, be | eager of your own accord and, | if possible, arrive even before me; 15 for thus | the Father will love you. |

“Come to hate | hypocrisy and the evil | thought; for it is the thought 20 that gives birth to hypocrisy; | but hypocrisy is far from | truth.

“Do not allow | the kingdom of heaven to wither; | for it is like a palm shoot 25 whose fruit has dropped down | around it. They (i.e., the fallen fruit) put forth | leaves, and after they had sprouted, | they caused their womb to dry up. | So it is also with the fruit which 30 had grown from this single root; | when it had been picked (?), | fruit was borne by many (?). | It (the root) was certainly good, (and) if | it were possible for you to produce the 35 new plants now,

<NEK>αβΝΤĀ·

επεε ¹αζῑχῑ εαγ ζῑ νεεῑ ζαθн̄ μ̄πῑοῡαεῑω·
 εтве̄ εγ̄ τετ̄η̄ρ̄ κᾱ'τεхе̄ μ̄μαεῑ εεῑβεπн̄ αβωκ
 η/8 " μ̄ν̄η̄ς̄ᾱ πζ[ic]ε̄ γαρ̄ ζατετ̄η̄† ¹αναγκη̄ араεῑ
 αтрабω̄ ζατ̄η̄ тη̄'νε̄· ¹η̄кеμ̄η̄т̄ωμ̄η̄<N>̄ η̄ζοογ̄ ε'т-
 5 ве̄ μ̄παραβολη̄ η̄ςρωψε̄ πε̄ " η̄ζενρωμε̄·
 α<τρο>γ̄ςω[тм]̄ η̄ςᾱ тсе'βο̄· αγω̄ η̄σε̄ρ̄ νοῑ η̄η̄-
 ψ[ο]ο̄с̄ αγω̄ ¹πχο̄ αγω̄ η̄κωτ̄· αγω̄ η̄ζβ̄с̄ η̄η̄-
¹παρθенос̄· αγω̄ η̄βεке̄ η̄η̄ε̄ρ'γαтн̄с̄ αγω̄ η̄εкеӣ-
 10 α†· αγω̄ тсζῑ'μ̄ε̄·

ωψπε̄ η̄ρεϋβεπн̄ ζᾱ пра̄ ¹μ̄πлогос̄ πлогос̄
 η̄гар̄ ψα'ρ̄η̄ мен̄· πεϋρᾱ πε̄ тπισтис̄ ¹πμαζсneȳ
 πε̄ тагапн̄ πμαζ'ψαμ̄η̄т̄ πε̄ η̄εζβη̄γε̄· εψαϋ-
 15 ψω"πε̄ γαρ̄ αβαλ̄ η̄η̄ νεεῑ η̄βῑ πων̄η̄ ¹πлогос̄
 η̄гар̄ εϋт̄η̄т̄ων̄ αγ̄'βλ̄βῑλε̄ η̄сογο̄· πεεῑ η̄ταρεογ̄-
¹εεῑ χαϋ̄· αϋт̄ан̄ζογ̄т̄· αγω̄ η̄'ταρεϋρωт̄ αϋμ̄ρ̄-
 20 ρит̄· εαϋη̄εγ̄ " αζαζ̄ β̄βλ̄βῑλε̄· απμᾱ η̄ογ̄εῑ·
 αγω̄ ¹η̄ταρεϋρ̄ ζωβ̄· αϋογ̄χεεῑ· εαϋ'тсenaϋ̄
 η̄η̄ογ̄ζρε̄· παλιν̄ αϋ'ψωχ̄η̄· αχο̄· тееӣ αν̄ τε̄· θε̄
 25 ¹ετε̄ ογ̄η̄ βам̄ η̄μωт̄η̄ η̄χῑ α'ρ̄ωт̄η̄ η̄т̄μ̄η̄т̄ρ̄ο
 η̄η̄μ̄η̄γε̄· ¹теεῑ ерет̄η̄т̄η̄χит̄· ζῑт̄η̄ ογ̄г̄η̄ω'с̄ic̄·
 η̄тет̄η̄αψ̄ βῑη̄т̄ εη̄·

εтве̄ ¹πεεῑ †χογ̄ η̄μας̄ η̄η̄η̄т̄η̄ χε̄ ¹ε̄ρῑ η̄η̄φε̄·
 30 η̄πωρ̄· ᾱρ̄ πлана̄ " αγω̄ ζαζ̄ η̄сап̄ αζῑχοос̄
 η̄η̄т̄η̄ η̄η̄ ¹η̄ετ̄η̄ε̄ρη̄γ̄· αγω̄ αν̄ η̄так̄ ογ̄α'εεт̄к̄ ω̄
 ῑακкωβос̄ αζῑχο'ο̄с̄ χε̄ ογ̄χεεῑ· αγω̄ αζῑζων̄
 35 ¹ατοοт̄к̄· αтрекоγ̄αζ̄к̄ η̄с̄ωεῑ " αγω̄ αζῑтсеве̄
 ε̄ιεт̄к̄ αβαλ̄ ¹αϋγ̄ποθε̄с̄ic̄ η̄η̄αζρ̄η̄ η̄η̄αρχων̄
¹ε̄η̄εγ̄ χε̄ ανακ̄ αζῑε̄ῑ απῑт̄η̄ ¹αγω̄ αζῑψεχε̄
 αγω̄ αζ<ι>ρ̄ с̄кγ̄λλе̄ ¹η̄μαεῑ· αγω̄ αζῑϋῑ η̄πα-
 [θ]/9 κλαμ̄· " η̄ταρῑη̄ογ̄ζ̄η̄ η̄μωт̄η̄ αζῑ'ε̄ῑ γαρ̄ απῑт̄η̄
 αтраογ̄ωζ̄ η̄η̄'μ̄η̄т̄η̄ χε̄καс̄ε̄· ε̄т̄ρεη̄αογ̄'ωζ̄ η̄η̄-
 5 η̄η̄ῑ ζωт̄· тη̄η̄ε̄ αγω̄ " η̄ταρῑβῑη̄ε̄· η̄η̄ε̄т̄η̄η̄ε̄ῑ· ε'μ̄η̄

8.1 ζ[ic]ε̄ Kirchner: ζ[οογ]ε̄ *ed. pr.*: ζ[αι]ε̄ Kasser: ζ[μ]ε̄ Schenke¹3
 ωμ̄η̄<N> (or ωμ̄<η>η̄) η̄ζοογ̄ *ed. pr.* ¹η̄ζοογ̄ MS: η̄εβο̄те̄ Robinson¹5
 α<τρο>γ̄ςω[тм]̄ Mueller¹ 11 πлогос̄ η̄гар̄, λ̄ written over erased ψε̄.¹11-
 12 ψαρ̄η̄ - тπισтис̄ MS: πεϋρᾱ η̄ψαρ̄η̄ πε̄ тπισтис̄ Kirchner¹ 31
 η̄ετ̄η̄ε̄ρη̄γ̄· <χε̄ ογ̄χεεῑ> Schenke¹38 αζ<ι>ρ̄ *ed. pr.*¹

9.3 ε̄т̄ρεη̄α MS: Read ерет̄η̄α *ed. pr.*¹

<you> (sing.) would find it.

“Since | I have already been glorified in this fashion, | why do you (pl.) hold me back | in my eagerness to go? ^{8.1} For after the [labor], you have | compelled me to stay with | you another eighteen days for | the sake of the parables. It was enough ⁵ for some <to listen> to the | teaching and understand ‘The Shepherds’ and | ‘The Seed’ and ‘The Building’ and ‘The Lamps of | the Virgins’ and ‘The Wage of the | Workmen’ and ‘The Didrachmae’ and ‘The ¹⁰ Woman.’

“Become earnest about | the word! For as to the word, | its first part is faith; | the second, love; the | third, works; ¹⁵ for from these comes life. | For the word is like a | grain of wheat; when someone | had sown it, he had faith in it; and | when it had sprouted, he loved it because he had seen ²⁰ many grains in place of one. And | when he had worked, he was saved because he had | prepared it for food, (and) again he | left (some) to sow. So also | can you yourselves receive ²⁵ the kingdom of heaven; | unless you receive this through knowledge, | you will not be able to find it.

“Therefore, | I say to you, | be sober; do not be deceived! ³⁰ And many times have I said to you all together, | and also to you alone, | James, have I said, | ‘Be saved!’ And I have commanded | you (sing.) to follow me, ³⁵ and I have taught you | what to say before the archons. | Observe that I have descended | and have spoken and undergone tribulation | and carried off my crown ^{9.1} after saving you (pl.). For | I came down to dwell with | you (pl.) so that you (pl.) in turn | might dwell with me. And, ⁵ finding your

- ΜΕΛΩΤ ΖΪΩΟΥ ΝΤΑΖΪΟΥ¹ΗΖ ΖΝΝ ΝΗΕΙ ΕΤΝΑΨ ΨΑ-
 ΠΤ̄ ἰ ἀραϋ Ἰπсаπ εειψανεῖ ἀπιτῆ
 10 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕΙΘΕ ἰ ΝΗΕΙ Ω̄ ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΕΡΙ ΝΟΕΙ ΧΕ
 ἰ ΕΥ ΠΕ ΠΝΑΒ̄ ΝΟΥΑΕΙΝ ΠΙΩΤ̄ ἰ ῤ̄ ΧΡΙΑ ΕΝ Μ̄ΜΑΕΙ
 ΜΑΡΕΪΩΤ ΓΑΡ ῤ̄ ΧΡΕΙΑ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΠΕ
 15 ΕΨΑΦ̄Ρ ΧΡΕΙΑ ἰ Ἰπιωτ̄ εειπητ̄ ἀρετῆ Ἰπετῆ-
 ΜΕΥ ΝΨΑΑΤ̄ ΝΓΑΡ ἰ Ἰμωτῆ ἐν Ἰβι πιωτ̄ Ἰψη-
 ῤε.
 ΣΩΤῆ Ἰσα πλογος ἰ ἐρι νοει Ἰτῆνωσις ἰ ῤ̄ρε
 20 ΠΩ¹ΩΝῆ ἰγω Ἰῆ λαγε ναπωτ̄ ἰ Ἰσα τῆνε οϋτε
 Ἰῆ λαγε ἰ ναλωχῆ Ἰμωτῆ ΖΪβαλ ἰ Ἰσαβηλ ἀρ-
 τῆ οϋαετ̄ τῆνε ἰ
 25 Ω̄ ΝΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟΣ Ω̄ Ἰκακοδαίμων Ω̄ Ἰζϋ-
 ΠΟΚΡΪΤΗΣ Ἰτῆνε: ἰ Ω̄ Ἰρῆννοϋχ Ἰτῆνωσις ἰ Ω̄
 <Ἰῆ>ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ Ἰπνεϋμα ἰ ΖΪε ψα ἰνοϋ ἀν
 30 ΤΕΤῆΡ ΖΥΠΟ¹ΜΙΝΕ ἰσωτῆ εψψε ἀρωτῆ ἰψεχε
 χιν Ἰψαρῆ ΖΪε ἰ ἰνοϋ ἀν ΤΕΤῆΡ ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ
 ἀνκατκε εψψε ἀρωτῆ ἀραῖς ἰ χιν Ἰψαρῆ χε-
 35 ΚΑΣΕ ΕCΝΑ¹ΨΕΠ Τῆνε ἀραc Ἰβι τῆῆτῆρο
 1/10 ἰ Ἰμπηγε ἰ σε Ἰμμαν ἰχοϋ Ἰμαc Ἰητῆ ἰ χε
 cματῆ ἀτρεοϋπετοϋα¹αβ εἰ ἀπιτῆ ἰγχωζῆ
 5 ἰγω Ἰτεοϋρῆνοϋαεἰν εἰ ἀπιτῆ ἰ ἀπκεκει Ἰ-
 ΖΟΥΟ ἀρωτῆ ἀρ ῤ̄ρο Ἰ ἀτῆεἰρε.
 ΖΪῤ̄ πμεγε ἰ Ἰνετῆρμεῖε Ἰῆ πετῆζηβε ἰ ἰγω
 ΤΕΤῆΛΥΠΗ CΕΟΥΗΟΥ Ἰῆμμαν ἰνοϋ βε ω νετ-
 10 ΨΟΟΠ ἰ Ἰπβῆ Ἰτεκλῆρονομια Ἰῆπιωτ̄ ριμε Ζῆ
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΨΨΕ ἰ ἰγω Ἰτετῆρ Ζῆβε ἰγω Ἰτε-
 ἰτῆταψε ἀειψ Ἰππετῆνοϋϋ ἰ Ζωc ερεψῆρε
 15 ΝΝΑ ἰ Ζρηῆ κα¹λωc σε Ἰμμαν ἰχοϋ Ἰμαc
 ἰ Ἰητῆ χε ἐνεταζοϋτῆναοϋτ̄ ἰ ψα νετcωτῆ
 ἀραεἰ ἰγω ἐνεταεἰψεχε Ἰῆνετῆ ἰμεϋ νεει-
 20 ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΝ ἰ Ζρηεἰ ἰ ἀηζε ΖΪχῆ πκαζ τενοϋ βε
 ἰ λοιπον ψιπε ἀχῆ νετῆμεϋ ἰ
 ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ ἰ ναοϋαεἰε ἀρωτῆ ἰ Ἰῆβωκ ἰγω

16 ΠΕΤῆΜΕΥ <ΟΥΑΖ Ἰσα Ἰψῆρε> Schenke¹ 17 Ἰψῆρε <ΑΛΛΑ Ἰτωτῆ
 Ἰμαϋ> Schenke¹ 28 <Ἰῆ>ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ *ed. pr.* Ἰῆ<πε>ΠΝΕϋμα *ed. pr.* 36
 Ἰμπηγε, The word is surrounded by a decorative line.¹

10.16 χε <ΕΙΜΗΤΙ> Schenke¹ 21 <Ζ>ΑΧῆ Mueller¹ 23 Ἰῆβωκ MS: Read
 τΑΒΩΚ or ἸτΑΒΩΚ *ed. pr.*¹

houses | unceiled, I have made my abode | in the
houses that could receive me | at the time of my
descent. |

“Therefore, trust ¹⁰ in me, my brethren; under-
stand | what the great light is. The Father | has no
need of me, | – for a father does not need a son, | but it
is the son who needs ¹⁵ the father – though I go to
him. | For the Father | of the Son has no need of you. |

“Hearken to the word; | understand knowledge;
love ²⁰ life, and no one will persecute | you, nor will
anyone | oppress you, other | than you yourselves. |

“O you wretches; O ²⁵ you unfortunates; O | you
pretenders to the truth; | O you falsifiers of know-
ledge; | O you sinners against the Spirit: | can you still
bear to ³⁰ listen, when it behooved you | to speak from
the first? | Can you still bear to | sleep, when it be-
hooved you to be awake | from the first, so that ³⁵ the
kingdom of heaven might receive you? ^{10.1} Verily I
say unto you, | it is easier for a pure one | to fall into
defilement, and for | a man of light to fall ⁵ into dark-
ness, than for you to reign | or not reign.

“I have remembered | your tears and your mourn-
ing | and your anguish, (while you say) ‘They are far |
behind us.’ But now, you who are ¹⁰ outside of the
Father’s inheritance, | weep where it is necessary |
and mourn and | preach what is good, | as the Son is
ascending as he should. ¹⁵ Verily I say | unto you, had
I been sent | to those who listen to me, and | had I
spoken with them, | I would never have come ²⁰ down
to earth. So, | then, be ashamed for these things. |

“Behold, I shall depart from you | and go away, and

25 ν̄τοϋωϋε εν̄ · 1 αβω απερογο ρατ̄νη̄ τ̄νηε · ν̄θε
 τ̄νωτ̄ τ̄ηϋτ̄νη̄ ετε̄μ̄πετ̄νοϋ¹ωϋε · τ̄νοϋ δε οϋωρ
 τ̄νηε 1 ν̄σ̄ωι ρ̄νη̄ οϋβεπη̄ ετβε πεει 1 τ̄χοϋ μ̄μας
 30 ν̄ητ̄νη̄ ετβε τ̄νηε 1 ν̄ταρ̄ιεῑ απ̄ιτ̄νη̄ ν̄τωτ̄νη̄ πε
 μ̄μερετ̄ · ν̄τωτ̄νη̄ πε νε¹τ̄ναϋωπε ν̄αιτιος
 μ̄πων̄η̄ 1 ρ̄νη̄ ρ̄αρ̄ · ερι παρακαλει μ̄πιωτ̄ 1 τ̄ωβ̄η̄
 35 μ̄πνοϋτε · ν̄ραρ̄ ν̄σαπ̄ 1 αϋω ρ̄νατ̄ ν̄ητ̄νη̄ οϋμα-
 καριος 1 πε πενταρ̄νη̄ εϋ αρ̄ωτ̄νη̄ ν̄μ̄μεϋ 1 εϋτα-
 ϋε αειϋ μ̄μαϋ ρ̄νη̄ ν̄αγ¹τελος αϋω εϋτ̄ εαϋ νεϋ
 ρ̄νη̄ 1 νετοϋααβ · πωτ̄νη̄ πε πων̄η̄ 1 ρεϋε αϋω
 1α/11 τεληη μ̄μωτ̄νη̄ ρ̄ως 1 ωηρε μ̄πνοϋτε · τοϋχο
 μ̄[πϋ]οϋ¹ωϋε · χεκασε ερετ̄ναοϋχε¹εῑ χι χ̄πιο
 5 αβαλ ρ̄ιτοοτ̄ · αϋω 1 ν̄τετ̄νη̄τοϋχε τ̄νηε · τ̄σαπ̄-
 σ̄π̄ 1 ρ̄αρ̄ωτ̄νη̄ ρ̄ατ̄μη̄ π̄ιωτ̄ · αϋω ρ̄να¹κε ρ̄αρ̄ ν̄ητ̄νη̄
 αβαλ ·

αϋω ν̄ταρ̄νη̄¹σ̄ωτ̄μη̄ ανεει ανϋωπε ν̄ωιλα¹ρος
 νεαρ̄μη̄ωκ̄μη̄ 1 ν̄¹γαρ πε · α¹ρ̄η¹ῑ αχ̄νη̄ νεντανχοοϋ
 10 ν̄ωα¹ρ̄π̄ ν̄ταρεϋνεϋ δε αρ̄αν ε¹ρ̄εϋε παχεϋ
 χε οϋαει ν̄ητ̄νη̄ 1 ω νετ̄ωαατ̄ · ν̄νοϋπαρακλη-
 15 1τος · οϋαει ν̄ητ̄νη̄ ω νετ̄ρ̄ χ̄ρια 1 ν̄νοϋρ̄ματ̄ ·
 σεναϋωπε μ̄¹μακαριος ν̄β̄ι νεντα¹ρ̄οϋρ̄ παρ-
 1 ρ̄η̄σιαζε μ̄μαϋ αϋω αρ̄οϋχοπο 1 νεϋ μ̄πρ̄ματ̄ ·
 οϋαετοϋ · τ̄νη̄τ̄νη̄ 1 τ̄νηε αρ̄νη̄ωμ̄μαει χε εϋω¹οπ
 20 ν̄νεϋ ν̄ρ̄ε · ν̄ναρ̄νη̄ τετ̄νη̄¹πολις · ετβε εϋ τετ̄νη̄-
 ωτ̄ρ̄ταρ̄τ̄ 1 ερετ̄νη̄οϋχε μ̄μωτ̄νη̄ αβαλ · 1 οϋαετ̄
 τ̄νηε · αϋω τετ̄νη̄οϋ¹αεῑ · ατετ̄νη̄πολις · αρ̄ωτ̄νη̄
 25 1 πετ̄μη̄μα ν̄ωωπε τετ̄νη̄κ̄ωε · 1 μ̄μαϋ αβαλ οϋα-
 ετ̄ τ̄νηε ερε¹τ̄η̄σ̄αβτε μ̄μαϋ ν̄νετοϋωϋε 1 αρ̄οϋ-
 η̄ρ̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄η̄ ω̄ νετοϋα¹ατ̄ · αϋω νετ̄πη̄τ̄ αβαλ ·
 30 οϋαει 1 ν̄ητ̄νη̄ χε σενατερε τ̄νηε · η̄ 1 μεϋεκε ·
 ερετ̄μη̄μεϋε απ̄ιωτ̄ · 1 χε οϋμαειρωμε πε η̄
 εϋαϋ<ρ̄> 1 πιθε αχ̄νη̄ ρ̄η̄σαπ̄σ̄π̄ η̄ εϋαϋρ̄
 1 χαριζε ν̄οϋεει ρ̄α οϋεει · η̄ ε¹ϋαϋρ̄ ανεχε
 35 ν̄οϋεει · εϋω¹η̄νε · ϋσαϋνε γαρ μ̄ποϋωϋε · αϋω

28 ν̄ητ̄νη̄ <χε> Kirchner¹ 34-36 οϋμακαριος - εϋταϋε MS: ν̄τωτ̄νη̄
 ρ̄ενμακαριος νενταϋνεϋ αρ̄ωτ̄νη̄ ν̄μ̄μεϋ οϋμακαριος πε πενταϋνεϋ
 αρ̄αϋ εϋταϋε Schenke¹

11.1 μ̄[πϋ] Williams: μ̄[πεϋ] *ed. pr.*¹ 8 νεαρ̄μη̄ MS: Read νεαρ̄νη̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 9
 νενταν MS: νενταϋ Mueller¹ 30 μεϋε <εν> Mueller¹ 31 ρ̄ωμε, μ̄ written
 over π̄.¹ 34 εϋαϋρ̄, ϋ written over ρ̄.¹

do not wish | to remain with you any longer, just as
²⁵ you yourselves have not wished it. | Now, therefore,
follow | me quickly. This is why | I say unto you, 'for
your sakes | I came down.' You are ³⁰ the beloved; you
are they | who will be the cause of life | in many. In-
voke the Father, | implore God often, | and he will give
to you. Blessed ³⁵ is he who has seen you with Him |
when He was proclaimed among the | angels, and
glorified among | the saints; yours (pl.) is life. | Rejoice
and be glad as ^{11.1} sons of God. Keep his will | that
you may be saved; | accept reproof from me and | save
yourselves. I intercede ⁵ on your behalf with the
Father, and he will | forgive you much."

And when we | had heard these words, we became
glad, | for we had been grieved | at the words we have
mentioned ¹⁰ before. But when he saw us | rejoicing,
he said, "Woe to you (pl.) | who lack an advocate! |
Woe to you, who stand in need | of grace! Blessed will
they be ¹⁵ who have | spoken out and obtained | grace
for themselves. Liken | yourselves to foreigners; | of
what sort are they in the eyes of your ²⁰ city? Why
are you disturbed | when you cast yourselves away | of
your own accord and | separate yourselves from your
city? Why | do you abandon your dwelling place ²⁵ of
your own accord, | making it ready for those who
want | to dwell in it? O you | outcasts and fugitives,
woe | to you, for you will be caught! Or ³⁰ do you
perhaps think that the Father | is a lover of mankind,
or that he is | won over without prayers, or that he |
grants remission to one on another's behalf, or | that
he bears with one who asks? - ³⁵ For he knows the

1 Μῆ πετερετсарз р хρια ᾠμαϑ· χε ἄτασ εν πε·
 етеπιοϑιμι атψυχη аχῆ τψυχη гар·
 18/12 1 μαρεпсωма р наВЕи ἄθηε· ἠεμαρεтψυχη
 οϑχεεи аχῆ 1 πн(εϑм)а еρεψаῆнтψυχη δε
 οϑ'χεεи аχῆ пеθαϑ аϑω ἄϑοϑ'χεеи ἄβι
 5 πκεπн(εϑм)а ψарепсωма ἠψωπε ἄтनावеи
 πεπн(εϑм)а ἄгар пе 1 εψαϑтазо ἄтψυχη
 псωма ϑω'ωϑ пе· εψαϑμοϑοϑт· ἄмас 1 εте
 ἄтаσ ἄмῆ ἄмас петμοϑοϑт 1 ἄмас ϑамнн
 10 †χοϑ ἄмас ннтῆ χε ἠ ἄϑнака пनावеи ен авал·
 ἄтψυ'χη· ἄлаϑε· οϑте таиtia ἄтсарз мῆ лаϑе
 гар· ϑῆ нентаз'р φορι ἄтсарз наοϑχεеи ере'тм-
 15 меϑε ἄгар χε ἄтазазаζ βιῆне ἄтмῆтеро ἄм-
 пнϑε· нееи'εтῑ ἄпентаϑнеϑ араϑ εϑοеи 1 ἄ-
 маζϑтаϑ ἄϑρη 1 ἄмпнϑε
 не'еи ἄтарῆсатмоϑ азῆр λϑпи ἄта'ρεϑнеϑ δε
 20 арап χε азῆр λϑπει ἠ паϑεϑ· χε етве пееи
 †χοϑ ἄмас ἄннтῆ χεкас еретна'соϑων тнне·
 тмῆтеро гар 1 нмпнϑε есеине ἄноϑζῆс е'а-
 25 ϑρωт ϑῆн οϑсωψе· аϑω пе'еи ἄтареϑχете·
 аϑсите ἄπεϑ'каρпос аϑω аη аϑμοϑζ ἄтсω'ψе
 ἄῆῆζῆс· акерампе· ἄτω'тῆ ϑωт· тнне βεпн·
 30 атретῆωζс 1 ннтῆ ἄноϑζῆс· ἄωνῆ· χεка'се
 еретнамоϑζ авал· ϑῆ тмῆт'рро·
 аϑω еϑосон мен еειψοοп 1 ϑате тнне·
 просехе араеи 1 аϑω ἄтетῆпπειθε ннеи· пса'п
 35 ἄде· е'тнаοϑаеие арωтῆ ἠ ери памеεϑе· ери
 памеεϑе δε 1 авал χε нееиψοοп ϑатῆ тнне
 1 ἄпетῆсоϑωνт· сенаψω'πε ἄмакариос ἄβι
 40 нентаз'соϑωνт· οϑаеи ἄнееи ἄтаз'сωтῆ аϑω
 ἄпоϑр πισтеϑе· се'наψωпе· ἄмакариос ἄβι
 18/13 не'те ἄпоϑнеϑ а[λλ]а аϑ[назте] 1
 аϑω ети аη †р [пи]ϑε м[ω]тῆ †οϑωνῆ га[r]

12.1 аχῆ [πε] *ed. pr.*¹⁶ тазо, а written over erased ἄ: тнзо Kirchner¹⁸ μοϑοϑт, The first γ may be written over a partially formed ϑ or ο.¹⁶ 16 пентаϑ MS: пентаϑ Schenke¹³⁶ <ε>нееиψοοп Schenke¹³⁷ <аϑω> ἄпетн-соϑωνт Quispel¹

13.1 а[λλ]а аϑ[назте] Attridge: а[λλ]а [аϑназте] *ed. pr.*: а[γ]тан-ϑοϑт Kirchner¹

desire and | also what it is that the flesh needs! – | (Or do you think) that it is not this (flesh) that desires | the soul? For without the soul | the body does not sin, just as ^{12.1} the soul is not saved without | [the] spirit. But if the soul | is saved (when it is) without evil, and | the spirit is also saved, then the body ⁵ becomes free from sin. For it is the spirit | that raises the soul, but the body that | kills it; | that is, it is it (the soul) which kills | itself. Verily I say unto you, ¹⁰ He will not forgive the soul the sin | by any means, nor the flesh | the guilt; for none of those who have | worn the flesh will be saved. | For do you think that many have ¹⁵ found the kingdom of heaven? | Blessed is he who has seen himself as a fourth one in heaven!” |

When we heard these words, we were distressed. | But when he saw that we were distressed, ²⁰ he said, “For this cause I tell | you this, that you may | know yourselves. For the kingdom | of heaven is like an ear of grain after it | had sprouted in a field. And ²⁵ when it had ripened, it scattered its | fruit and again filled the field | with ears for another year. You | also, hasten to reap | an ear of life for yourselves that ³⁰ you may be filled with the kingdom! |

“And as long as I am | with you, give heed to me | and obey me; but | when I depart from you, ³⁵ remember me. And remember me | because when I was with you, you did not know me. | Blessed will they be who have | known me; woe to those who have ⁴⁰ heard and have not believed! | Blessed will they be who ^{13.1} have not seen, [yet have believed]! |

“And once more I [prevail upon] you, | for I am re-

- 5 авал н̄нхт̄н̄ | εεικωτ̄· н̄ноӯне̄ӣ ε̄ϕ̄ ϣεϥ̄ || н̄нхт̄н̄·
 м̄п̄ϣ̄а̄· [.] е̄ре̄т̄н̄х̄ӣ ρ̄а̄ε̄ӣβ̄ε̄с̄ ρ̄а̄ρ̄ᾱϥ̄· н̄ϑ̄[ρ̄]ε̄ е̄т̄ϥ̄-
 н̄а̄ϣ̄ ω̄|ρ̄ε̄ а̄ре̄т̄ϩ̄ м̄п̄не̄[ӣ] н̄не̄т̄ρ̄ῑт̄ο̄ῡω̄т̄н̄ | ε̄ϕ̄
 10 κ̄ῑν̄δ̄ῡνε̄ῡε̄ [α]ρ̄а̄ε̄ӣε̄· с̄ε̄ м̄'ман̄ †χ̄ο̄ῡ м̄м[ᾱс̄]
 н̄нхт̄н̄ х̄ε̄ ο̄ῡ||а̄ε̄ӣ н̄не̄ε̄ӣ· н̄[т̄α]ρ̄ο̄ῡт̄н̄н̄а̄ο̄ῡт̄·
 | а̄π̄ӣт̄н̄ а̄πε̄ε̄ӣм[α] е̄т̄β̄η̄т̄ο̄ῡ· с̄ε̄н̄ᾱ|ϣ̄ω̄п̄ε̄ м̄ма-
 15 κ̄ᾱρ[ῑο]ς̄ н̄β̄ӣ н̄ε̄т̄н̄н̄'ο̄ῡ а̄ρ̄η̄ӣ а̄ре̄т̄ϩ̄ м̄п̄ӣω̄т̄· е̄т̄ӣ
 †|χ̄π̄ӣο̄ м̄м̄ω̄т̄н̄ ω̄ н̄ε̄т̄ϣ̄ο̄ο̄п̄· т̄н̄||т̄н̄ т̄н̄ε̄ а̄н̄ε̄т̄ε̄
 н̄с̄ε̄ϣ̄ο̄ο̄п̄· ε̄н̄ | χ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱс̄ е̄ре̄т̄н̄а̄ϣ̄ω̄п̄ε̄· м̄н̄ н̄ε̄т̄ε̄
 | н̄с̄ε̄ϣ̄ο̄ο̄п̄ ε̄н̄·
 м̄п̄ω̄ρ̄· а̄т̄ре̄·|т̄м̄н̄т̄ρ̄ο̄ н̄м̄п̄н̄ῡε̄ ρ̄ х̄а̄ε̄ӣε̄ н̄|ρ̄η̄т̄·
 20 т̄н̄ε̄· м̄п̄ω̄ρ̄ а̄χ̄ӣс̄ε̄ н̄ρ̄η̄т̄· || а̄χ̄м̄ π̄ӣο̄ῡᾱε̄ӣ н̄-
 ρ̄ε̄ϥ̄|ρ̄' ο̄ῡᾱε̄ӣ а̄λλ̄ᾱ | ϣ̄ω̄п̄ε̄ н̄т̄ε̄ε̄ӣμ̄ӣн̄ε̄· а̄ρ̄ο̄ῡн̄
 а̄ρ̄ω̄|т̄н̄ ο̄ῡᾱε̄т̄· т̄н̄ε̄ н̄т̄ᾱρ̄ε̄ ρ̄ω̄ω̄т̄· | а̄ρ̄ο̄ῡн̄
 а̄ρ̄ω̄т̄н̄ а̄ρ̄ῑт̄ε̄ε̄ӣт̄· н̄н̄|т̄н̄· ρ̄ᾱ π̄с̄ᾱρ̄ο̄ῡε̄ χ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱс̄ε̄
 25 н̄т̄ω̄||т̄н̄ е̄ре̄т̄н̄а̄ο̄ῡх̄ε̄ε̄ӣ· |
 π̄ε̄т̄ρ̄ο̄с̄ н̄δ̄ε̄ а̄ϥ̄ο̄γ̄ω̄ϣ̄β̄ н̄'н̄ᾱρ̄η̄ н̄ε̄ε̄ӣ π̄α[χ̄]ε̄ϥ̄
 х̄ε̄ ρ̄н̄|с̄ᾱπ̄ м̄ε̄н̄ κ̄ρ̄ π̄ρ̄ο̄т̄ρ̄ε̄п̄ε̄ м̄'ман̄ а̄ρ̄ο̄ῡн̄
 30 а̄т̄м̄н̄т̄ρ̄ο̄ н̄м̄||п̄н̄ῡε̄ ρ̄ε̄н̄κ̄ε̄с̄ᾱπ̄ а̄н̄ κ̄с̄т̄ο̄ | м̄ман̄
 а̄β̄ᾱл̄· π̄х̄а̄ε̄ӣс̄ ρ̄н̄с̄ᾱπ̄· | м̄ε̄н̄ κ̄ρ̄ π̄ӣϑ̄ε̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ κ̄с̄ω̄κ̄·
 м̄ман̄ | а̄ρ̄ο̄ῡн̄ а̄т̄π̄ӣс̄т̄ӣс̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ κ̄ϣ̄π̄ω̄п̄ | н̄ε̄н̄ м̄п̄ω̄-
 35 н̄ρ̄ ρ̄н̄κ̄ε̄с̄ᾱπ̄ а̄н̄ κ̄ρ̄β̄ᾱρ||β̄ρ̄ м̄ман̄ а̄β̄ᾱл̄ н̄т̄м̄н̄т̄ε̄ρ̄ο̄
 | н̄м̄п̄н̄ῡε̄
 а̄·π̄х̄а̄ε̄ӣс̄ δ̄ε̄ ο̄ῡω̄|ϣ̄β̄ π̄ᾱχ̄ε̄ϥ̄ н̄ε̄н̄ х̄ε̄ а̄ρ̄ῑ†
 н̄н̄т̄н̄ | н̄т̄π̄ӣс̄т̄ӣс̄ н̄ρ̄ᾱρ̄ н̄с̄ᾱπ̄· н̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄ο̄ | δ̄ε̄ а̄ρ̄ῑο̄ῡ-
 1α/14 а̄н̄ε̄ρ̄η̄т̄ н̄ε̄κ̄ а̄β̄ᾱл̄ || [ω̄ ῑα]κ̄κ[ω]β̄ο̄с̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ м̄п̄ε̄т̄н̄-
 |ϥ̄ο̄γ̄ω̄н̄т̄ π̄ᾱλ̄ӣн̄ а̄н̄ †н̄ο̄ῡ †|н̄ε̄ϥ̄ а̄ρ̄ω[т̄]н̄· е̄ре̄т̄н̄-
 ρ̄ε̄ϣ̄ε̄ н̄ρ̄ᾱρ̄ | н̄с̄ᾱπ̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ е̄ре̄т̄н̄ϣ̄ᾱн̄ρ̄ ϣ̄ӣλ̄ᾱρ̄ο̄с̄
 5 || а̄ρ̄η̄ӣ а̄χ̄м̄ [π]ϣ̄π̄ω̄п̄ м̄п̄ω̄н̄ε̄ρ̄ | ϣ̄а̄ре̄т̄н̄ω[κ]м̄
 δ̄ε̄· а̄γ̄ω̄ н̄т̄ε̄т̄н̄ρ̄ | λ̄γ̄π̄ӣ е̄γ̄ω[α]н̄т̄с̄ε̄β̄ε̄ т̄н̄ε̄
 а̄β̄ᾱл̄ | а̄т̄м̄н̄т̄ρ̄[ο] н̄т̄ω̄т̄н̄ н̄δ̄ε̄ н̄ρ̄η̄ӣ | ρ̄н̄ т̄π̄ӣс̄-
 10 т̄ӣс̄ [μн] π̄с̄ᾱγ̄н̄ε̄ ρ̄ᾱт̄ε̄т̄н̄х̄ӣ || а̄ρ̄ω̄т̄н̄· м̄п̄ω̄н̄ρ̄· ε̄ρ̄ӣ
 κ̄ᾱт̄ᾱφ̄ρ̄ο̄н̄ῑ | β̄ε̄· м̄п̄т̄ς[т̄]ϑ̄ а̄β̄ᾱл̄· е̄ре̄т̄н̄ϣ̄ᾱн̄|с̄ω̄-
 т̄м̄ а̄ρ̄α[ϥ] н̄т̄ε̄т̄н̄с̄ω̄т̄м̄ н̄δ̄ε̄ | а̄п̄ε̄ϣ̄π̄ω̄п̄ †т̄ε̄λ̄η̄λ̄
 м̄м̄ω̄т̄н̄ н̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄ο̄ | с̄ε̄· м̄ма[н] †χ̄ο̄ῡ м̄ма̄с̄ н̄н̄т̄н̄
 15 || х̄ε̄ π̄ε̄т̄н̄ᾱх̄ӣ а̄ρ̄ᾱϥ̄ м̄п̄ω̄н̄ρ̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ | н̄ϥ̄π̄ӣс̄т̄ε̄ῡε̄·

4 ϣεϥ̄ Emmel: ϣε[γ н] *ed. pr.* | 5 [χ]ε̄ре̄т̄н̄ *ed. pr.* | 6 ρ̄ᾱρ̄ᾱϥ̄, ϥ̄ written over с̄. | 25 A diagonal line precedes е̄ре̄т̄н̄а̄ο̄ῡх̄ε̄ε̄ӣ and a decorative line filler follows. |

vealed to you (pl.) | building a house which is of great value to ⁵ you when you find shelter | beneath it, just as it will be able | to stand by your neighbors' house | when it threatens to fall. Verily | I say unto you, woe ¹⁰ to those for whose sakes I was sent | down to this place; blessed | will they be who ascend | to the Father! Once more I | reprove you, you who are; ¹⁵ become like those who are not, | that you may be with those who | are not.

“Do not make | the kingdom of heaven a desert | within you. Do not be proud ²⁰ because of the light that illumines, but | be to yourselves | as I myself am | to you. For your sakes I have | placed myself under the curse, that you ²⁵ may be saved.” |

But Peter replied | to these words and said, | “Sometimes you urge | us on to the kingdom of ³⁰ heaven, and then again you turn | us back, Lord; sometimes | you persuade and draw | us to faith and promise | us life, and then again you cast ³⁵ us forth from the kingdom | of heaven.”

But the Lord answered | and said to us, “I have given you (pl.) | faith many times; moreover, | I have revealed myself to you (sing.), ^{14.1} James, and you (pl.) have not | known me. Now again I | see you (pl.) rejoicing many times; | and when you are elated ⁵ at the promise of life, | are you yet sad, and do you | grieve, when you are instructed | in the kingdom? But you, through | faith [and] knowledge, have received ¹⁰ life. Therefore, disdain | the rejection when you | hear it, but when you hear | the promise, rejoice the more. | Verily I say unto you, ¹⁵ he who will receive life and | believe in the kingdom will | never leave it,

ΑΤΜΝΤΡΡΟ ΝΦΝΑ¹ΕΙ ΕΝ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΖΗΤĀ· ΑΝΗΖΕ· ΟΥΤΕ
 | ΚΑΝ ΕΡΕΨΑΝΠΙΩΤ ΟΥΩΨΕ | ΑΠΩΤ ΝΣΩΦ
 20 ΝΕΕΙ †ΝΑΧΟΟΥ Ν¹ΝΗΤḂ ΨΑ ΠΙΜΑ· †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ
 ΕΕΙΝΑ¹ΒΩΚ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΑΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΑΖΙΕΙ Μ¹ΜΑΦ· ΝΤΩ-
 ΤḂ 'Ν'ΔΕ ΝΤΑΡΙΒΕΠΗ | ΑΒΩΚ ΖΑΤΕΤḂΝΑΧḂ ΑΒΑΛ·
 25 ΑΥΩ | ΑΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΤḂΤΖΠΑΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΑ¹ΤΕΤḂΡ ΔΙΩ-
 ΚΕ ΝΣΩΕἸ ΕΡΙ | ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕ ΔΕ ΑΠΕΑΥ ΕΤΒΩΨḂ
 | ΑΒΑΛ ΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΕΖΑΤΕΤḂΝΟΥΗΝ | ΑΠΕΤḂΖΗἸ· ΣΩ-
 ΤḂ ΑΝΖΥΜΝΟΣ | ΕΤΒΩΨḂ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΝΖΡΗΙ ΖḂ ΜΠΗΥΕ
 30 " ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΓΑΡ· ΑΡΑΕΙ ΜΠΟΟΥ Α'ΤΡΑΜΟΥΖ· ΝΣΑ
 ΟΥΝΕΜ ΜΠΑΪΩΤ· | ΠΖΑΕ ΔΕ ΝΨΕΧΕ ΑΖΙΧΟΟΥ
 ΝΗ'ΤḂ †ΝΑΠΩΡḂ ΑΡΩΤḂ ΑΖΑΟΥ'ΖΑΡΜΑ ΓΑΡ Μ-
 35 ΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΦΙ ΜΜΑΕΙ ΑΖΡΗΙ " ΑΥΩ ΧΙḂ †ΝΟΥ †ΝΑ-
 ΚΑΑΚḂ Α'ΖΗΥ· ΧΕΚΑΣΕ ΕΕΙΝΑ† ΖΙΩΩΤ· | ΕΡΙ
 ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕ ΔΕ· ΖḂΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ | ΝΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΝΤΑΖḂ ΕΥΑΓ-
 40 ΓΕΛΙΖΕ | ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΕΜΠΑΤḂΕἸ ΑΠΙΤḂ " ΧΕΚΑΣΕ·
 ΕΙΨΑΝΕἸ ΕΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ | ΑΖΡΗΙ ΖḂΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΨΑΜḂΤ
 1Ε/15 " ΝΣΑΠ ΝΕ[ΕΙ] ΝΕΕΙ ΝΤ[ΑΖΟΥ]ΤΑΨΕ ΔΕΙΨ ΜΜΑΥ
 ΖΙἸΤḂ ΠΨΗ[ΡΕ] | ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΨΩΠΕ· ΧΕΚΑΣΕ ΕΡ[Ε]-
 5 | ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΤḂ ΝΜ¹ΜΕΥ·
 ΝΕΕΙ ΝΤΑΡΕΦΧΟΟΥ | ΑΦΒΩΚ ΑΝΑΝ ΝΔΕ ΑΝΒΩΛḂ
 ΠΕΤ | ΑΝΑΚ ΜḂ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΨΩΠ ΖΜΑΤ | ΑΥΩ ΑΖḂ-
 ΧΑΥ ΜΠḂΖΗΤ· ΑΖΡΗΕΙ | ΑΜΠΗΟΥΕ ΑΝΣΩΤḂ ΖΡΗΕΙ
 10 ΖḂ " ΝΕΝΜΕΨΧΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΝΕΥ ΖΡΗΙ | ΖḂ ΝΕΝΒΕΛ·
 ΑΠΖΡΑΥ ΝΖḂΠΟΛΕ·¹ΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΣΜΗ ΝΣΑΛΠΙΓḂ
 | ΜḂ ΟΥΝΑΒ ΝΨΤΑΡἸΡ·
 15 ΑΥΩ Ν'ΤΑΡḂ{ΟΥ}ΟΥΩΤḂ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΜΠΒḂ Μ¹ΠΜΑ ΕΤḂ-
 ΜΕΥ ΑΖḂΧΑΥ ΜΠḂ'ΝΟΥΣ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΑΥΩ ΑΖḂ-
 'ΝΕΥ ΖḂ ΝΕΝΒΕΛ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝΣΩΤḂ | ΖΡΗΙ ΖΝ ΝΕΝ-
 ΜΕΨΧΕ· ΑΖḂΖΥΜΝΟΣ | ΜḂ ΖḂΣΜΟΥ ΝΝΑΓ·ΓΕΛΟΣ
 20 ΑΥΩ " ΕΥΤΕΛΗΛ ΝΖΕΝ·ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ | ΖΕΝΜḂΤ-
 ΝΑΒ· ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΝΕΥ'Ḃ ΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝ·ΑΝ ΖΩΩΝ
 | ΑΝΤΕΛΗΛ ΜΜΑΝ
 ΜḂΝΣΑ ΝΕΕΙ | ΑΝ ΑΖḂΟΥΩΨΕ· ΑΧΑΥ ΜΠΕΝ-
 25 " ΠΝ(ΕΥΝ)Α· ΑΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ· ΑΡΕΤḂ ΝΤΜΝΤ'ΝΑΒ· ΑΥΩ

14.29 ΖḂ, Ζ inserted secondarily.¹ 31 ΜΟΥΖ MS: ΖΜΑΣΤ *ed. pr.* | ΝΣΑ MS: ΜΠΣΑ ΝΟΥΝΕΜ Till¹

15.1 ΝΕΕΙ [Ε]ΝΤ[ΑΖΟΥ] Wisse¹ 14 {ΟΥ}ΟΥΩΤḂ *ed. pr.* | 21 <Ν>ΖΕΝΜḂΤΝΑΒ Kirchner¹ 25 ΑΡΕΤḂ MS: ΑΡΕΤḂ Kirchner¹

not even if | the Father wishes | to banish him.

“These are the things that I shall tell ²⁰ you so far; however, I shall | ascend to the place from whence I came. | But you, when I was eager | to go, have cast me out, and | instead of accompanying me, ²⁵ you have pursued me. | But pay heed to the glory that awaits | me, and, having opened | your heart, listen to the hymns | that await me up in the heavens; ³⁰ for today I must | take (my place at) the right hand of the Father. | But I have said (my) last word to | you, and I shall depart from you, | for a chariot of spirit has borne me aloft, ³⁵ and from this moment on I shall strip myself | that I may clothe myself. | But give heed; blessed | are they who have proclaimed | the Son before his descent ⁴⁰ that, when I have come, I might ascend (again). | Thrice blessed ^{15.1} are they who [were] | proclaimed by the Son | before they came to be, that | you might have a portion ⁵ among them.”

Having said these words, | he departed. But we bent (our) knee(s), | I and Peter, and gave thanks | and sent our heart(s) upwards | to heaven. We heard with ¹⁰ our ears, and saw with | our eyes, the noise of wars | and a trumpet blare | and a great turmoil.

And | when we had passed beyond ¹⁵ that place, we sent our | mind(s) farther upwards and | saw with our eyes and heard | with our ears hymns | and angelic benedictions and ²⁰ angelic rejoicing. And | heavenly majesties were | singing praises, and we too | rejoiced.

After this | again, we wished to send our ²⁵ spirit

30 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\eta\psi\epsilon\prime\ \alpha\rho\eta\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\mu}\rho\omicron\upsilon\prime\kappa\alpha\alpha\bar{\nu}\prime\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\prime\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$
 $\alpha\prime\lambda\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\prime\ \rho\alpha\pi\kappa\epsilon\psi\omega\chi\bar{\pi}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \bar{\mu}\prime\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$
 $\alpha\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\prime\psi\iota\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \rho\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\prime\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$
 $\alpha\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\prime\pi\varsigma\alpha\rho\prime\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \rho\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\prime\chi\omicron\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\kappa\ \prime\ \alpha\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}$
 35 $\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\rho\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\bar{\nu}\ \prime\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\kappa\ \alpha\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$
 $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \chi\epsilon\ \prime\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\prime\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\zeta\iota\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \prime\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\psi\omega\pi\omega\pi$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \prime\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\lambda\pi\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}$
 15/16 $\psi\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\ \prime\ \epsilon\upsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\eta\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\ \kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \prime\ [\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}]$
 $\alpha[\tau\rho]\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}[\gamma]\prime[\chi]\bar{\epsilon}[\epsilon\iota]\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\upsilon$
 $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\prime\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}\ \alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\bar{\rho}\ \pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\prime\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$
 5 $\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\ \alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\beta\varsigma\prime\ \bar{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \prime\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\pi\alpha\gamma$
 $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon\ \beta\epsilon\ \prime\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\prime\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\varsigma\kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 $\prime\ \alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\kappa\epsilon\prime\mu\alpha\prime\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon$
 $\rho\omega\omega\tau\prime\ \alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omega\kappa\ \prime\ \alpha\rho\eta\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\theta\iota\eta(\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha)\lambda(\epsilon)\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota\psi$
 10 $\lambda\eta\lambda\prime\ \alpha\tau\rho\iota\prime\chi\pi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\bar{\mu}\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\prime\ \prime\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha$
 $\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\prime\ \prime$
 $\tau\bar{\rho}\ \rho\rho\omicron\varsigma\prime\epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\prime\ \rho\omega\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 15 $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\kappa\ \prime\ \tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\psi\ \omicron\upsilon\chi\epsilon\prime\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}$
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 $\tau\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \prime\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\rho\eta\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}\ \kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon\prime\ \epsilon\varsigma\prime\varsigma\alpha\tau\bar{\pi}\ \alpha\tau\omega$
 20 $\epsilon\iota\ \tau\prime\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \prime\ \alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\iota\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\varsigma\beta\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}\prime\ \prime\ \epsilon\rho\iota$
 $\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\kappa}\prime\ \beta\epsilon\prime\ \alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau\bar{\eta}\prime\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\prime\psi\lambda\eta\lambda\ \alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\chi\pi\omicron\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\bar{\mu}\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \prime\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 25 $\bar{\nu}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\prime\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \tau\prime\ \alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\psi\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\prime\ \pi\varsigma\omega$
 $(\tau\eta)\rho\ \beta\alpha\lambda\bar{\pi}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\prime\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \prime\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon$
 $\lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\ \prime\ \bar{\mu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\bar{\mu}\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\nu}\prime\tau\alpha\rho\omega\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon$
 $\lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\nu}\prime\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}$
 30 $\prime\ \psi\eta\eta\rho\epsilon$

16.1-2 $[\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}] \alpha[\tau\rho]\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu} \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}[\gamma\chi]\bar{\epsilon}[\epsilon\iota]$ Schenke¹ 20 απο MS: $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \epsilon\delta$.
*pr.*¹ 28 $\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon$, ψ possibly written over ς .¹ 30 Decorative fillers complete this line.
 Two decorative lines follow.¹

upward to the | Majesty, and after ascending we |
were not permitted to see or hear | anything, for the
other | disciples called us and ³⁰ asked us, “What did
you (pl.) | hear from the | Master? And what has | he
said to you? And where | did he go?”

But we answered ³⁵ them, “He has ascended and |
has given us a pledge and | promised life to us all and |
revealed to us children (?) | who are to come after us,
after bidding ^{16.1} [us] love them, as we would be |
[saved] for their sakes.”

And | when they heard (this), they indeed believed |
the revelation, but were displeased ⁵ about those to be
born. And so, not wishing | to give them offense, | I
sent each one to another | place. But I myself went | up
to Jerusalem, praying that I ¹⁰ might obtain a por-
tion among the beloved, | who will be made manifest. |

And I pray that | the beginning may come from you,
| for thus I shall be capable of ¹⁵ salvation, since they
will be | enlightened through me, by my faith – | and
through another (faith) that is | better than mine, for
I would that | mine be the lesser. ²⁰ Endeavor earnest-
ly, then, to make | yourself like them and | pray that
you may obtain a portion | with them. For because of
what | I have said, the Savior did ²⁵ not make the
revelation to us | for their sakes. We do, indeed, pro-
claim | a portion with those | for whom the procla-
mation was made, | those whom the Lord has made
his ³⁰ sons.

Harold

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THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

1,3:16.31-43.24

Harold W. Attridge and George W. MacRae, S. J.

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II. LANGUAGE

The *Gospel of Truth* is written in the subachmimic dialect, characteristic of all the texts of Codex I with the exception of *Pr. Paul* and the dialect displays few of the irregularities encountered elsewhere, as in the *Tri. Trac.*

1. Orthography and Phonology

Some of the peculiarities found frequently in Codex I and elsewhere in Coptic manuscripts are also in evidence here. These include the interchange of certain consonants, such as φ for β ($\zeta\omega\varphi$, 28.10; 29.6; 35.18,19), χ for ψ ($\chi\bar{\beta}\beta\iota\omega$, 17.20), Δ for τ ($\omicron\upsilon\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\Delta\epsilon$, 31.10), Γ for κ ($\mu\omicron\upsilon\Gamma\bar{\nu}$, 19.31; 24.2,5), ψ for ζ ($\psi\alpha\rho\bar{\psi}$, 20.11) and ζ for ψ ($\zeta\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varphi$, 20.12). The appearance of χ for Δ ($\bar{\nu}\chi\epsilon$, 18.29-30) and χ for χ ($\iota\chi\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$, 37.25) are probably scribal errors.

Gemination of \bar{n} before an initial vowel is frequent (e.g., $\zeta\bar{n}\bar{n}$ 17.18; 25.14; 34.18; $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ 18.25; 20.15; 25.17; 28.4). Somewhat unusual is the gemination of τ in $\dagger\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{h}\epsilon$ (26.33,34; 27.1).

Normal assimilation occurs in ϕ for $\pi\zeta$ ($\phi\omega\beta$, 16.38; $\phi\omicron$ 26.3), and θ for $\tau\zeta$ ($\theta\bar{\rho}\tau\epsilon$, 28.29; $\theta\epsilon$, 30.11; $\tau\theta\alpha\bar{n}$ 21.36; 23.21, but note $\tau\zeta\alpha\bar{n}$, 37.37). \bar{n} assimilates to \bar{m} before labials and once to β before β ($\zeta\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$, 31.10).

Nasalized forms of certain Greek conjunctions appear ($\bar{n}\bar{\rho}\alpha\rho$, 19.1; 33.8; $\bar{n}\Delta\epsilon$ 21.20), along with non-nasalized forms ($\Gamma\alpha\rho$, 17.23; 19.15; $\Delta\epsilon$, 17.11; 18.27).

Among vowels $\epsilon\iota$ alternates with $\bar{\imath}$ (e.g., $\omicron\epsilon\bar{\imath}$, 19.12; $\omicron\bar{\imath}$ 31.30; $\psi\alpha\rho\alpha\epsilon\bar{\imath}$, 19.21; $\psi\alpha\rho\alpha\bar{\imath}$, 19.28; $\zeta\rho\bar{h}\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ 19.36; $\zeta\rho\bar{h}\bar{\imath}$ 20.2; $\Psi\epsilon\bar{\imath}\varsigma$ 32.4; $\Psi\bar{\imath}\varsigma$ 32.1). The full spelling of $\omicron\upsilon$ for γ , an extremely common orthographic phenomenon in the *Tri. Trac.*, appears here at 30.2, 36.17 and 42.14 and in $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ (28.25; 42.4, but note also $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$, 23.7; 25.22).

Crisis of the third-person plural pronominal suffix, $-\omicron\upsilon$, and word initial $\omicron\upsilon$, occurs in $\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\alpha\bar{m}\bar{q}$ (18.7), $\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{h}\bar{n}$ (20.16), $\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{n}\zeta$ (28.5), and $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\psi\bar{q}$ (40.24-25).

The supralinear stroke is used here as throughout Codex I. It alternates with ϵ in the forms $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\varphi$ and $\epsilon\bar{n}\tau\alpha\varphi$ (31.35), $\omega\bar{n}\zeta$ (20.14,19; 25.19) and $\omega\bar{n}\epsilon\zeta$ (31.16). It is also used for a syllable or line-final \bar{n} in $\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{n}$ (25.14), $\epsilon\varphi\psi\alpha\bar{n}$ (28.21), $\rho\epsilon\bar{n}$ (32.35), $\rho\epsilon\bar{n}$ (38.14,24), and $\zeta\omega\bar{n}$ (26.23). Finally, it is used with abbreviations or compendia of *nomina sacra*, $\bar{\imath}\bar{h}\bar{\varsigma}$ (18.16; 20.24; 24.8), $\bar{\rho}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}$ (26.36; 30.18; 31.18; 34.11; 43.17), $\chi\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ (18.16), $\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ (36.14), and $\varsigma\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ (20.27).

Vowel values are normal for A², although there are a few anomalous forms, such as $\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$, the usual S form (18.36; 19.3; 23.32; 32.6; 37.29), $\mu\mu\alpha\upsilon$ for $\mu\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ (29.19), $\psi\alpha\rho\alpha\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ (19.21,28) for $\psi\alpha\zeta\rho\bar{h}\bar{\imath}$. There are also alternative vocalizations for forms such as $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ (29.20) and $\epsilon\iota\psi\chi\epsilon$ (35.6); \dagger (19.5 and regularly) and $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ (?)

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2. Morphology

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¹Cf. E. Edel
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21.24); $\zeta\omega\omega$ - (28.12) and $\zeta\omega$ - (38.31); $\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ (19.35; 20.9) and $\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ (20.24). Other alternative forms are: $\kappa\lambda\gamma\epsilon$ (26.11) and $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\gamma\epsilon$ (26.14); $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ (33.32) and $\kappa\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon$ (17.13); $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\eta\eta\epsilon$ (32.32) and $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ (33.8); $\omega\eta\alpha$ (18.5) and $\omega\eta\epsilon$ (36.15). Word-final ι , characteristic of other A² texts¹, is found here in $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ (18.17; 24.37; 25.12), $\sigma\alpha\omega\iota$ (42.5), and $\zeta\alpha\sigma\iota$ (24.16; 33.4; 42.23), $\chi\alpha\sigma\iota$ (29.17).

One anomalous vocalization of an infinitive occurs in the form $\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\bar{\zeta}$ (20.6,23; 23.22). The form could be the qualitative, but that possibility is ruled out by the syntactical context in these passages, where the qualitative is excluded. It is possible that the form is the pre-pronominal infinitive and the suffixed object should be supplied. That, in fact, seems to be required by the parallelism of 28.22; however, at 20.6 and 23 it is possible that the form is a hitherto unattested form of the simple infinitive. A similar formation may also explain the unusual $\tau\alpha\kappa\bar{\mu}$ at 33.9, if that is not a qualitative. Further possible cases of the simple infinitive in α may be found in $\sigma\alpha\rho\bar{\mu}$ (31.23,29; 32.3) and $\sigma\alpha\mu\bar{\tau}$ (34.37; 35.2,3; 42.14).

There are several otherwise unattested forms in the text, such as $\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\omega\zeta$ (33.38), clearly a plural of $\omicron\gamma\tau\alpha\zeta$. Other forms are less easily explained. These include special technical terms such as $\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\bar{\eta}\zeta\omicron$ (19.31; 24.2,5); $\dagger\eta$ (22.37); $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ (18.19,20; 20.21,35; 22.22,26, etc.); $\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ (19.19; 20.8-9; 26.4,27). The verb $\omega\tau\epsilon$ (34.21) is probably not a special technical term, but its meaning is obscure. Other unusual forms are probably due to corruption or irregular orthography, such as $\chi\epsilon\sigma$ (26.12), $\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon$ (30.11), $\omega\tau\bar{\omega}$ (35.9) and $\omega\sigma\bar{\zeta}$ (26.22).

Another peculiarity is the use of $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\alpha$, or $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$ in various spellings ($\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$, $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}\eta$, $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\zeta\bar{\eta}$, $\alpha\gamma\omega\zeta\bar{\eta}$ and $\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta\zeta\bar{\eta}$) as a conjunction used like $\alpha\gamma\omega$. These forms are, etymologically, like $\alpha\gamma\omega$, the imperative of $\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta$ (Crum 505b) plus object marker, and they probably represent an archaism. Cf. the analogous forms in other dialects, $\alpha\zeta\alpha$, F; $\alpha\zeta\alpha\eta$, A²; $\omicron\gamma\omicron\zeta$, B.

2. Morphology

The conjugation bases used in the *Gos. Truth* are standard for A². Certain forms are worthy of note: the future regularly is $\eta\alpha$ -, but the form in α - alone appears in $\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ (27.3), $\epsilon\tau\alpha$ (21.2, 30.13 and 38.25),

¹Cf. E. Edel, "Neues Material zur Herkunft der auslautenden Vokale -ε und -ι im Koptischen," *ZAS* 86 (1961) 103-06.

and possibly in $\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ (23.18) and $\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ (40.31), although the latter two forms are more likely examples of the fut. III, which also appears in the form $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon$ (35.26). The neg. fut. III appears in the form $\mu\epsilon$ (17.13) and $\mu\epsilon\alpha$ (34.22). The perf. appears in both α - and $\alpha\zeta$ - (including the rare $\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma$ at 26.24) bases and for both there are circumstantial, relative and second-tense conversions. Thus, e.g., circ.: $\epsilon\alpha\zeta\iota$ (43.1), $\epsilon\alpha\alpha$ (18.36; 20.30), $\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ (26.1), $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$ (19.30), $\epsilon\alpha\zeta\alpha$ (23.15); rel.: $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\alpha$ (18.5; 19.7), $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ (18.20-21; 22.39), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (31.16), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$ (33.13,14), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma$ (20.7; 22.23), $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ (17.5), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ (16.34; 18.33), $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta$ (18.26; 20.17), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha$ - (40.18); second: $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\alpha$ (18.26,30), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (18.2,3), $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ (35.8), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma$ (27.11,12), $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha$ - (19.1). There is also one case of a "satellite conversion," the perf. II. circ. $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ (22.24).

The causative infinitive appears regularly in the form $\tau\omicron\gamma$ (16.33), but also in the form $\tau\omicron\gamma$ (30.30,31). The conjunctive appears regularly in the form $\bar{\nu}\alpha$, but once in the form $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\alpha}$ (34.14), normal in B and found also in the *Tri. Trac.* The conditional appears regularly as $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}$ (18.9,30) or $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}$ (33.9-10), but forms without a final $\bar{\nu}$, characteristic of A and found also in the *Tri. Trac.*, also appear here at 22.3,4, 24.34, and 34.5.

3. Syntax and Style

The syntax of the *Gos. Truth* is generally unremarkable. Worthy of note is the variety of construction in final clauses, introduced by $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ (17.13); $\psi\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha$ and $\psi\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha$ $\chi\epsilon$ (17.33; 24.14). Following these conjunctions, various conjugation bases are used, including pres. II (32.26), fut. II (32.22), fut. III (23.17; 35.26; 36.3; 40.31), neg. fut. III (17.13; 34.32), and conj. (17.33; 18.5-6; 23.6; 24.14; 36.15; 37.28-29).

Comparative clauses, which elsewhere in Codex I, such as the *Tri. Trac.*, exhibit a wide variety of patterns, appear here with an unusual prepositional phrase in the protasis, $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\tau\bar{\alpha}$ (19.10-11; 24.32); cf. the discussion in the note to the first passage.

The text displays a predilection for certain prepositional phrases, especially $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\tau\bar{\alpha}$, used as the equivalent of $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ indicating possession (e.g., 20.3,14; 22.37; 23.1,19,20,21, etc.)

The syntax of some passages is particularly elaborate, and probably reflects a complex original (e.g., 18.11-17; 34.10-12; 41.3-12). Other passages exhibit a careful, balanced parallelism (e.g., 23.18-24.9), probably reflecting a carefully constructed, highly rhetorical original.

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Another device which frequently complicates the syntax of the text is the use of parenthetical comments, which some commentators have construed as secondary explanatory glosses, but which are more likely simply a feature of the author's style. Cf. 17.6-9; 19.14-17; 19.36-20.3; 22.35-37; 24.10-14,22-24; 26.6-8,24-25,34-36; 31.22-25; 32.10-11,38-39; 35.4-6; 37.31-33; 41.9-10.

4. *The Original Language*

Most scholars who have dealt with the *Gos. Truth* have maintained that work is a translation from a Greek original, although there have been some dissenting voices. P. Nagel² argued that the work was originally composed in Syriac on the basis of (a) Semitic expressions such as "book of the living" (19.35), "good for" as the introduction to a beatitude (30.12), "from the greatness" (42.12-13), the plural "mercies" (25.15), "sons of the name" (38.28); (b) words used in unusual ways which possibly reflect the semantic range of a corresponding Semitic term, such as $\omega\sigma\bar{\zeta}$ (26.22) and $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ (20.21-22); (c) plays on words which work in Syriac, but not Coptic, such as $\tau\alpha\zeta\sigma\upsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\tau\omega\zeta\bar{\sigma}$ (36.16-17), $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon$ (16.38-39), and $\pi\iota\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\bar{\nu}$ - $\dagger\zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\sigma$ (17.1-3); (d) possible mistranslations from Syriac, such as $\mu\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ (34.9) and $\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ $\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma\eta$ (42.33-34). These and other cases adduced by Nagel as examples of a Syriac source will be discussed individually in the notes. In general it should be noted that those passages which appear somewhat unusual in Coptic — and not all of Nagel's examples are equally problematic — can be just as easily, and in some cases better, explained on the basis of a Greek source. While some phrases may well have a Semitic cast, it is probable that this is due to the incorporation in the language of the author of certain expressions derived from or modelled on the Greek New Testament.

Another challenge to the general consensus that the work was written in Greek was advanced by G. Fecht,³ who argued that the work was composed originally in Coptic on the grounds that it conforms to ancient patterns of Egyptian prosody. While some of Fecht's observations about the structure of the work and of its individual sections are valuable, the inferences he draws from them are not persuasive. The patterns which he detects could quite easily reflect an elaborate hypotactic Greek rhetorical style or possibly a style which has been in-

²OLZ 61 (1966) 5-14.

³Or. 30 (1961) 371-90.

fluenced to some extent by such models as the *Wisdom of Solomon*. Hence, there is little reason to maintain that the *Gos. Truth* differs from all the other Nag Hammadi tractates in being a translation from a Greek source.⁴

5. *The State of the Text*

The copy of the *Gos. Truth* in Codex I was not written with extreme care, and there are numerous examples of scribal errors, many of which were corrected in antiquity and many of which require emendation by modern editors. In the first category, there are many individual letters written over or erased (17.1,31; 18.26; 20.11; 21.38; 22.20,26; 24.2; 25.29; 28.6,17,18; 29.14-15; 30.23; 32.4,10; 34.3; 37.38; 38.24; 39.4,19; 40.13,18,25; 41.9,27; 42.7; 43.9). There are numerous cases where accidentally omitted letters have been added above the line (17.10; 20.9,11; 21.38; 22.10; 24.3,6; 27.27; 28.24; 32.37; 33.16,39; 35.16; 36.38; 39.24; 40.19) or in the margins (21.38; 36.30; 41.9; 43.10); and one case where a whole phrase was omitted and then written at the bottom of the page with indications for its proper placement (32.23,38-39). Finally, there are cases where letters were written erroneously by the scribe and then deleted (28.18; 32.8; 35.16; 40.23; 43.9,10).

Passages requiring emendation include, most commonly, cases where letters were accidentally omitted (17.26,27; 20.1-2; 23.11,16,22; 24.8; 29.6; 31.8,19; 35.35; 36.3; 37.6). In at least one case, a larger body of text has probably been accidentally omitted (41.23). There are also several cases where dittographies or other accidental inclusions of extra material appear (17.10; 18.11; 21.22; 22.25; 27.29; 29.16; 30.12; 33.12; 35.1; 36.13,26; 40.13). There are also several cases where erroneous letters were written and not corrected (18.13; 22.33; 25.32; 30.11; 35.9; 35.35; 40.17; 42.25) and there is one case of a probable metathesis (26.22). Other cases where a scribal error has been suspected may be due to certain orthographic conventions, such as crasis (18.27; 20.16; 28.5; 40.24-25) or to unusual, but, for this text, regular syntax, such as the use of a singular pronominal suffix resumed by a plural nominal object (29.7; 31.23; 40.1; 41.34).

⁴For a similar judgment, cf. Böhlig, *Muséon* 79 (1966) 317-33, Ménard, *Rev. Sci. Rel.* 44 (1970) 128-37 and *L'Évangile*, 9-17. For criticism of Fecht's metrical analysis, cf. Lüddekens, *ZAS* 90 (1963) 85.

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III. TITLE AND GENRE OF THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

The third tractate of Codex I of the Nag Hammadi collection is, like the second and fifth tractates, untitled. It has come to be known in modern scholarship by its incipit, the "Gospel of Truth." It is not clear whether this incipit was designed to serve as a title in antiquity, but it is not improbable that it did originally function as the designation of the work, as did the incipits of the Gospel of Mark and the Revelation of John in the New Testament.

A key question in identifying this work with other known Gnostic sources is the issue of its relationship to the "Gospel of Truth" attributed to Valentinians by Irenaeus, in *Haer.* 3.11.9. That important testimony reads:

Those who are from Valentinus, setting themselves outside of any fear and producing their own compositions, take pride in the fact that they have more gospels than there really are. For, they even have advanced to such a degree of audacity that they entitle the gospel written not long ago by themselves as the "Gospel of Truth," although it does not at all conform to the gospels of the apostles, so that not even the gospel exists among them without blasphemy. For, if what is produced by them is the "Gospel of Truth," and if it is dissimilar to those which have been transmitted to us by the apostles, those who wish to do so can learn – as is shown by the scriptures themselves – that what has been transmitted by the apostles is not the Gospel of truth.⁵

As analysis of the context of these remarks indicates, Irenaeus deploys here many of his standard polemical techniques against the Valentinians.⁶ One can hardly use this testimony to affirm that the heresiologist knew of a Valentinian document of the same narrative genre as that of the canonical Gospels, and that, therefore, the *Gospel of Truth* from Nag Hammadi cannot possibly be identical with the

⁵*Hi vero qui sunt a Valentino iterum existentes extra omnem timorem suas conscriptiones proferentes plura habere gloriantur quam sunt ipsa Evangelia. Siquidem in tantum processerunt audaciae uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est "Veritatis Evangelium" titulent, in nihilo conveniens apostolorum evangelis, ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia. Si enim quod ab eis proferetur "Veritatis" est "Evangelium," dissimile est autem hoc illis quae ab apostolis nobis tradita sunt, qui volunt possunt discere (quemadmodum ex ipsis scripturis ostenditur) iam non esse id quod ab apostolis traditum est Veritatis Evangelium.*

⁶For an analysis of these, cf. Standaert, *VC* 30 (1970) 143–45.

text of which Irenaeus knew.⁷ It is quite likely that the term Gospel in Irenaeus' Valentinian text was used precisely as the term in the incipits of the Gospel of Mark and of the Nag Hammadi text, not as a generic label, but as a description of the content of the work.⁸ All that can with certainty be inferred from the testimonium of Irenaeus is that the Valentinian "Gospel of Truth" is radically different from the canonical gospels, something which can also be said of the Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Truth*. That the two "Gospels of Truth" are identical remains a distinct possibility.

Defining the genre of our text is difficult and various suggestions have been proposed. The work has been associated with ancient hymnody and with oriental wisdom literature.⁹ Some of these identifications of the genre of the work involve hypotheses about its original language. If, as we have argued above, the original work was probably composed in Greek, some of the proposed associations with oriental genres are made less likely, although it must be recognized that works such as the *Wisdom of Solomon* or the *Revelation of John* were composed in Greek, although they incorporate features of syntax and style characteristic of oriental literatures of the first Christian centuries.

Although the literary affiliations of this text are, no doubt, complex, the position maintained by many students of the text, that the work is a sort of "homily," has a good deal of merit.¹⁰ Like other early Christian homilies, such as the Epistle to the Romans or the Epistle to the Hebrews, the *Gospel of Truth* alternates doctrinal exposition with paraenesis (e.g., 32.31-33.32). More importantly, the work evidences a high degree of rhetorical sophistication and subtlety in its use of language, characteristics which appear in the fragments of Valentinus himself, as well as in other products of the literary culture of the sec-

⁷For earlier attempts to associate our text with the work mentioned by Irenaeus, cf. *ed. pr.*, xiv-xv; Puech and Quispel, *VC* 8 (1954) 22-39 and van Unnik, *Jung Codex*, 90-97. For criticism of these arguments, cf. Leipoldt, *TLZ* 82 (1957) 828 and Schenke, *Herkunft*, 13.

⁸Munck (*Studia Theologica* 17 [1963] 133-38) argues that the use of an incipit for a book title is not a Greek practice, but whatever the origin of the practice, it is certainly attested among early Christians. In fact, as Colpe (*JAC* 21 [1978] 144, n. 77) notes, the practice was widespread in antiquity.

⁹For the association of the *Gos. Truth* with wisdom literature, cf. especially Fecht, *Or.* 30 (1961) 374-75. For the argument that the work is most closely associated with the circles that produced the *Odes of Solomon*, cf. Schenke, *Herkunft*, 26-29.

¹⁰Cf. *ed. pr.* xv; Schenke, *Herkunft*, 10; Haardt, *WZKM* 58 (1962) 24; Grobel, *Gospel*, 19-21; Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 35; and Standaert, *NTS* 22 (1975/76) 243-75.

ond century.¹¹ The *Gospel of Truth*, then, may best be characterized as a homiletic reflection on the "Gospel" or the message of salvation provided by Jesus Christ. That reflection is, however, conducted within a specific theoretical framework which remains to be explored.

IV. STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

Discerning the structure and organizational principles of the *Gospel of Truth* is extremely difficult and virtually every commentator on the text has proposed his own analysis of the work. Difficulties arise from the fact that the themes and motifs of the text flow into one another without many apparent breaks or seams. After initiating reflection on a topic, the author often explores its implications and ramifications along a series of overlapping paths, but he may then return to his starting point and begin the exploratory process again.¹² This technique, involving frequent recapitulations, anticipatory comments, allusions to earlier developments and catch-word connections between sub-sections, precludes any simple architectonic arrangement of the material under consideration, and any schematic presentation of the contents of the work is, of necessity, an abstraction which cannot reproduce the allusive richness of the text itself.¹³

¹¹The most perceptive analysis of the rhetorical style of the text is to be found in Standaert, *NTS* 22 (1975/76) 143-75.

¹²Standaert's description (*NTS* 22 [1975/76] 245) is apt: "La pensée évolue telle une abeille qui butine de fleur en fleur, a-t-on même écrit très joliment . . ."

¹³For various approaches to the structure of the work, cf. Grobel, *Gospel*; Story, *The Nature of Truth*; Schenke, *Herkunft*; followed largely by Ménard, *L'Évangile*. All of these scholars indicate their structural analysis in their various articulations of the text. None offers a detailed analytical defense of their reading of the work's composition. An elaborate, although partial, analysis of this sort has been provided by Fecht (*Or.* 30 [1961] 371-90, 31 [1962] 85-119, 32 [1963] 298-335), who sees the work falling into five Sections (*Teile*). For the first of these he has provided a detailed analysis of its component parts (Chapters and Strophes). Colpe (*JAC* 27 [1978] 125-46) builds on Fecht's work and reports Fecht's analysis of the second Section. Fecht's outline, as it has been developed thus far, may be presented as follows:

Section I (16.31-22.20)

Chapter 1 (16.31-18.11)

Strophe 1 (16.31-17.4)

Strophe 2 (17.4-21)

Strophe 3 (17.21-36)

Strophe 4 (17.36-18.11)

Chapter 2 (18.11-19.27)

Strophe 1 (18.11-21)

Strophe 2 (18.21-35)

Strophe 3 (18.36-19.10)

Nonetheless, it is both possible and useful to consider such an abstraction in order to see the major lines of development in the work. There are some sections of the text which stand out as units clearly delineated by their format or style from their surroundings. Such, for example, are the hymnic reflection on Wisdom and Word (23.18–24.9) and the lengthy paraenetic section (32.31–33.32). Some sections are also demarcated by their attention to a single image or motif, which may be explored in a variety of ways. Thus, for example, the image of “the Book” occupies the author from 19.27 to 23.18, and this image is not featured elsewhere in the text. Similarly the theme of the restoration to Unity is treated intensively from 24.9 to 27.4 and verbal parallels between 24.9–20 and 26.28–27.4 form an *inclusio* defining the section. Likewise, the topic of the Father’s name is explored from

- Strophe 4 (19.10–27)
- Chapter 3 (19.27–21.8)
 - Strophe 1 (19.27–20.6)
 - Strophe 2 (20.6–22)
 - Strophe 3 (20.22–36)
 - Strophe 4 (20.37–21.8)
- Chapter 4 (21.8–22.20)
 - Strophe 1 (21.8–18)
 - Strophe 2 (21.18–22.2)
 - Strophe 3 (22.2–20)
- Section II (22.20–27.4)
 - Chapter 1 (22.20–24.9)
 - Strophe 1 (22.20–39)
 - Strophe 2 (22.39–23.10)
 - Strophe 3 (23.10–33)
 - Strophe 4 (23.33–24.9)
 - Chapter 2 (24.9–25.19)
 - Strophe 1 (24.9–20)
 - Strophe 2 (24.20–25.3)
 - Strophe 3 (25.3–19)
 - Chapter 3 (25.19–27.4)
 - Strophe 1 (25.19–35)
 - Strophe 2 (25.35–26.15)
 - Strophe 3 (26.15–27)
 - Strophe 4 (26.27–27.4)
- Section III (27.5–33.39)
- Section IV (33.9–38.4)
- Section V (38.4–43.24)

While some of the articulations of the work which Fecht proposes appear to be sound and are reflected in our arrangement of the text, others are quite problematic. In some cases, for example, Fecht finds divisions in passages which clearly cohere either formally (23.18–24.9) or materially (19.27–20.14). Hence, although with Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 10) we can recognize that Fecht’s hypothesis is “ingenious,” we cannot follow it in many of its details.

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36.39 to 40.23 and this discussion is characterized by a dialectical subtlety remarkable even for this text. Finally, it is possible to detect in at least some of the smaller units of the text an elaborate application of a principle of concentric organization which further helps to define sub-units. Any proposed analysis of the principles or organization of this sophisticated work must take into account both such formal and contentual unities in the work.

The following outline attempts to do this. After the elaborate introduction, the work seems to fall into three major segments, demarcated by the two paragraphs, mentioned above, which are clearly distinct in both form and content from the material which surrounds them (23.18-24.9; 32.31-33.32). Each of the three major segments may be further subdivided into three sections, each of which focuses on a particular theme or topic. Within these sections different numbers of paragraph units of various lengths may be discerned. Delineating these units with precision is the most difficult aspect of a structural analysis. The following outline indicates what appears to us to be the most satisfactory analysis of the structure of the work, with some indication of the mutual relations of the various parts.

Introduction (16.31-17.4)

A. *Ignorance and Revelation* (17.4-24.9)

I. *The Rule of Error* (17.4-18.11)

Error arises from Ignorance (17.4-17.20)

Qualification: Error is not humiliation for the Father (17.21-29)

Error produces a Fog (17.29-36)

Qualification: Oblivion is not due to the Father (17.36-18.11)

II. *The Coming of the Revealer* (18.11-19.27)

Revelation comes through Jesus (18.11-21)

Revelation produced persecution (18.21-31)

Qualification: Though the Father retains perfection, he is not jealous (18.31-19.10)

Jesus as teacher (19.10-27)

III. *Revelation as a Book* (19.27-24.9)

Jesus revealed the living Book in the hearts of the little children (19.27-20.14)

The Book as Edict and Testament (20.15-21.2)

The Book as Book of Life (21.2-25)

Excursus: Reception of the Book predetermined by calling the name (21.25-22.20)

Excursus: Revelation brings return from error (22.20-37)

The Book as Book of Living Letters (22.38-23.18)

Transition: Hymn on the Word (23.18-24.9)

B. The Effects of Revelation (24.9-33.32)

IV. Revelation unifies (24.9-27.7)

Revelation eliminates deficiencies and restores Unity (24.9-25.18)

Revelation destroys the defect (Jars broken) (25.19-26.27)

Revelation unites with the Father (26.28-27.7)

V. Revelation brings authentic existence (27.7-30.16)

Revelation informs, names and matures (27.7-27.34)

Excursus: Ignorance is potential existence (27.34-28.31)

Revelation awakens from a dream-like existence (28.32-30.16)

VI. Revelation brings a return to the Father (30.16-33.32)

The Spirit awakens and reveals the Son (30.16-32)

The Son's speaking brings return (30.32-31.13)

The Son's speaking destroys error and shows a way (31.13-35)

The Son as shepherd (31.35-32.30)

Transition: Paraenesis (32.31-33.32)

C. The Process of Return (33.33-43.24)

VII. Redemption is a gentle attraction (33.33-36.39)

The Father's children are his fragrance which returns to him (33.33-34.34)

Qualification: Delay in the return is not due to the Father (34.34-35.23)

The breath of incorruptibility produces forgiveness (The Physician) (35.24-36.13)

The Message about Christ is the Father's merciful ointment (36.13-36.39)

VIII. Return is by the will and through the Name of the Father (36.39-40.23)

The will and word of the Father (36.39-38.6)

The name of the Father is the Son (38.6-24)

The greatness of the Name (38.24-39.28)

Excursus: Objection to the "Name" doctrine (39.28-40.23)

IX. Goal of return: Rest in the Father (40.23-43.24)

The Son speaks about the place of rest (40.23-41.14)

The relation of the emanations to the Father (41.14-42.10)

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The relation of the blessed to the Father (42.11-38)

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V. THE THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

To discern the formal organization of the *Gospel of Truth* is only to begin to unravel its complexity. It is also possible and useful to consider the theological system which underlies and finds expression in the work.¹⁴ At the outset, however, it must be recognized that to discuss such a system is also an abstraction. One thing that makes this type of analysis particularly difficult is that the text operates at the same time on a number of different levels, using symbolic language which has a multiplicity of referents. This style of conceptuality is by no means unusual, especially in Gnostic works, but the conceptual program is carried on here in an even more complex way than is customary in Gnostic works. For contrast one might compare the last tractate in this codex, the *Tripartite Tractate*, which shares many common conceptual features with the *Gospel of Truth*. In the *Tripartite Tractate* we find an exposition of theology, cosmology and soteriology which attempts to demonstrate, among other things, the way in which various levels of being are analogously structured. In the process of the exposition various actors on one level of being may receive the names most properly predicated of an actor at a higher level of being, a principle which may be described as one of "analogous predication." Despite the complexities and possible confusions which such a principle introduces, the *Tripartite Tractate* sets forth its account of the various levels of reality in an orderly and systematic way. The same is not true of the *Gospel of Truth*, where constant reference is simultaneously made to cosmic, psychological and even historical spheres.¹⁵

¹⁴For general attempts to analyze the theological system underlying the *Gos. Truth*, cf. especially Jonas, *Studia Patristica* 6, 96-111; Ménard, *SMR* 6 (1963) 57-66; Ringgren, *Studia Theologica* 18 (1964) 51-65; Robison, *JR* 43 (1964) 51-65; Story, *The Nature of Truth*, 1-42; Colpe, *JAC* 21 (1978) 125-46, and Aland, "Gnosis und Christentum."

¹⁵Although the key terms and motifs are quite fluid in their application, there may be a certain pattern in the way they are developed, as has been suggested by Fecht (*Or.* 30 [1961] 387), Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 10, 15), and Colpe (*JAC* 21 [1978] 138, 143). The Christological discussion, for instance, begins with a more concrete, quasi-orthodox description of the incarnate Redeemer (18.11-21, 20.11-14) and moves into a more spiritualized, gnostic presentation (24.9-25.19). Similarly, the presentation of Error begins on a mythical, cosmogonic note (17.4-20, 17.29-36) and moves to a more

At the pinnacle of the hierarchy of being implicit in this text stands the unbegotten (38.33) Father, about whom the most important thing to say is that he is "incomprehensible and inconceivable" (17.8-9; 19.32; 30.24).¹⁶ His profoundly transcendent being entails that he is unknowable. Hence, he is a cause of ignorance (22.25; 35.15-17), which, however, he does not intend (17.36-18.11). The Father, furthermore, is the "perfect one" (19.33; 27.24), in whom the perfection of the "all" resides (19.36; 21.9; 21.18). He is also a being characterized by gentle sweetness (31.21; 33.33; 41.3; 42.8).

The Father is the primordial source or "root" (28.17; 41.17; 42.34-35) of a transcendent world, which may be described in a variety of terms. Most simply it is "the all" (19.7-8; 27.9), the components of which are termed "emanations" (27.11; 41.17), "spaces" (20.22; 27.24-25), or "pleromas" (41.15-16). The relationship between the Father and the entities which depend on him may be termed one of mutual coinherence. He is in them (18.32; 27.9) and they in him (17.6-7; 18.34-35; 42.28). Despite that intimate association of the Father and the beings which emanate from him (17.6), he is unknown to them, because of his ultimate transcendence (22.29-33; 27.32-33; 28.5-10). Therefore, the members of the all have need of the Father (18.35; 19.9), who, because of his transcendence, keeps their perfection (18.4) within himself (19.36-37). The members of the all thus must search for the Father (17.5). The retention of the Father's essence in secrecy is not an act of jealousy on his part (19.37); it is simply the natural result of his transcendent being.

The text devotes particular attention to the principal emanation of the Father, who is termed both Word and Son. Note, however, that at least the first of these terms is polyvalent and may be used of more than one actor in the underlying cosmic drama on which the text comments. As Word, this first emanation is in the thought and mind of the Father (16.35), he is in fact the thought of the Father (37.14). At the

personal, psychological perspective (28.32-31.35). There is, however, no simple progression in the text, and the perspectives from which the various terms and motifs are viewed overlap in the various sections of the work. Thus the nature and function of the revealer is presented in a metaphorical, gnosticizing fashion in direct connection with the more "orthodox" description of his incarnate life (18.21-31) and his incarnation can be highlighted within the context of a more metaphorical discussion of his activity (30.32-31.12). Similarly, the psychological dimensions of the figure of Error are made clear early on (17.36-18.11) and the cosmic dimensions of the figure appear in a context which stresses her psychological ramifications (26.19-27).

¹⁶On the affirmations in the text about the Father, cf. especially Ménard, *SMR* 8 (1965) 193-212.

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same time he is the first to come forth from the Father (37.9). He goes forth to and supports the all (23.23-24). This emanation is also described as the Son who is hidden in the Father (24.13-14). The Son is also the head of the emanations (41.29), who reveals the Father to his aeons (24.14-16). The intimate relationship between Father and Son is described principally in the reflections of the text on the theme of the Son as the "Name" of the Father (38.6-40.23).¹⁷ The sense in which the Son is the name of the Father is obscure, but at least two important factors seem to be involved. On the one hand, the Son *bears* the name of the Father, although that name is not specified. On the other hand, the Son *functions* as the name Father itself, in virtue of the fact that he reveals who the Father is. In any case, the affirmation that the Son is the name of the Father, which is rooted in esoteric Jewish, Greek philosophical traditions, and Christological reflection, provides a symbolic statement about the intimate relationship of the two highest principles in the theological system underlying the text.

Although, compared to most other expositions of Gnostic doctrine, the *Gospel of Truth* is relatively reticent about the process by which the world outside of the complex Godhead comes into being, it does provide some information on the topic. The incomprehensibility of the transcendent Father, unknown even to the beings that emanate directly from him, produces anguish and error (17.10-11), which solidifies like a fog (17.12). This solid fog of error acts of its own accord and creates a material world (17.15-20). Only this single fleeting reference is made to the cosmogonic process.¹⁸ More attention is devoted to the psychological condition which obtains under the rule of Error. The archetype of this psychological condition is the state of the aeons, which has already been described. They have their being from and in the Father but are unaware of him until he is revealed by the Son.

Various images are used to portray the correlates of that condition on all levels of being and various aspects of the problematic condition of existence under the sway of error are explored. Ignorance of the Father is "deficiency" (24.28); error is empty, with nothing within it (26.26-27). Existence under error is graphically represented as a

¹⁷The treatment of the theme of the divine name in the *Gos. Truth* has generated a good deal of discussion. Cf. Orbe, *Estudios Valentinianos* 1.1, 68-97; Ménard, *SMR* 5 (1962) 185-214; Dubois, *RThPh* 24 (1974) 198-216; and Fineman, "Gnosis and the Piety," 289-318.

¹⁸For discussion of the myth of Plane or Error, cf. Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 309-319; Haardt, *WZKM* 58 (1962) 24-38; Ménard, *SMR* 7 (1964) 3-36; and Finnestad, *Temenos* 7 (1971) 38-49.

nightmare (28.32-30.16). Those affected by error are not "nothing at all" (27.35), but they do not exist in the true and full sense of the term (27.26-33). This implicit distinction between potential and actual existence is an important one in this text. Keeping it in mind helps us to understand the way in which protology and soteriology are telescoped in the work. As our summary of the description of the Son indicates, His production seems to combine both theogonic and soteriological aspects. A more systematic exposition of the underlying theology of the work might distinguish between these two dimensions of the Son's activity, and in comparable systems we usually find the two functions at least superficially distributed among two or more spiritual principles. Here, however, the two functions are as intimately combined as are the persons of Father and Son themselves. The Son is the agent for the production of the aeonic emanations of the Father, precisely insofar as he reveals the Father to them. In other words, the Son provides the children (27.13) of the Father with their full, authentic or actual existence, which consists in their knowledge of the Father, which is, at the same time, knowledge of themselves. The general soteriology of the text follows this same pattern.

The fundamental soteriological principle of the text is clearly stated: "If the Father comes to be known, oblivion will not exist from that moment on" (18.10-11; 24.30-32).¹⁹ The text devotes considerable attention to the process by which the Father comes to be known. The soteriological function of the Son has already been mentioned. He speaks an illuminating word (31.9-12), destroys error (31.25), provides a way (31.28-29) and gives life (32.20).

Revelatory functions analogous to those attributed to the Son are also predicated of Jesus, the Christ, although the relationship between the Son and Jesus remains obscure. No explicit distinction is made between the two figures, as in many other Gnostic texts. Indeed, Christ can be spoken of as "the hidden mystery" (18.15) and the Son is what is "hidden in the bosom of the Father" (24.12-14). Furthermore, the Word which supports the all seems to be identified with Jesus (24.4-9). Nonetheless, the sphere of the activity of Jesus Christ seems to be restricted to the human, phenomenal realm and what is said about Jesus Christ reflects more what transpires in history than what occurs at the deepest or most transcendent levels of being. Jesus appeared as a guide and teacher (19.17-20); he confounded the wise

¹⁹On the importance of this passage, cf. Jonas, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 330.

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(19.21) and provided revelation to the “children” (19.28–29); he was persecuted by Error (18.22–23), was nailed to the tree of the cross (18.25; 20.25) and suffered death (20.11). Such events are not reported about the Son who seems to be operative primarily, if not exclusively, in the transcendent sphere.

Thus, although the text is not strictly docetic in its treatment of Jesus, it does seem to reflect a Christology which makes a fundamental distinction in the nature and functions of the revealer figures, with Jesus Christ providing in the phenomenal world the same revelation provided to the Father’s emanations by the Son.²⁰

The revelatory experience is a complex process, which is described with a number of images. Most basically, it is a removal of ignorance (18.10; 22.12–13), which provides certain types of knowledge. Knowledge focuses on the nature of the hidden Father (37.37–38); yet, at the same time, it is knowledge of one’s own source and destiny (21.11–14). Both of these components of the knowledge which the revealer provides are intimately related and mutually implicative. If one knows one’s identity and nature of one’s “root” (28.16–18), one knows oneself. In the process, the recipient of revelation achieves his real identity; he is called (21.27; 22.2) and named (21.29; 22.12–13).

The effects of the reception of revelation are also developed with complex imagery. For those who accept the revelation, the experience is one of awakening from the dream-like state of ignorance (30.10–14). At the same time, this awakening provides a unification with the ultimate source of being. Recipients of the revelation participate in that source like kisses (41.34). Those who “love the Truth” are “joined to the Father’s mouth” by his tongue, which is his Holy Spirit (26.33–27.3). The children of the Father are like a fragrant breath which has come forth from him. When they come to faith they are inhaled back again into the Father, where their deficiency, their state of separation from him, is removed (33.37–34.34).

The acceptance of the revelation, then, has a significant impact on the present existence of the children of the Father. But this does not exhaust the process of redemption. Unification with the Father in the present is but the first stage of ascent to him (21.11; 22.7). Ultimately those who accept the revelation will return to the Father (38.2–4), to the place or state of their essential being (41.6–7), where they will find rest (33.37; 35.27; 42.22).

²⁰For discussion of the Christology of the text, cf. Arai, *Die Christologie* and Shibata, *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 1 (1975) 127–34.

Not all beings, however, accept the revelation provided by Jesus Christ. Hence, that revelation has a judgmental (24.35-36) as well as a unifying function. The revelatory Word that comes from the Father is a sharp two-edged sword (26.1-5), which disturbs the emanations of error (26.23-25). Those who do not accept the revelation are simply material beings (31.1). Although their destiny is not discussed, it is presumably the opposite of the destiny of those who accept revelation. It remains for them to "go down to Hades" and "to have envy and groaning and death within them" (42.18-21).

VI. THE POSITION OF THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

The general Gnostic affinities of the *Gospel of Truth* are quite clear on even a superficial reading. Determining its associations more precisely on doctrinal grounds is not a simple matter. Nonetheless, the underlying theological system of the text is certainly compatible with the tentative identification of the work as a Valentinian document made on the basis of the work's probable title and its stylistic similarities with the remains of Valentinus' own writings.²¹

Like other Valentinian literature, the *Gospel of Truth* sees the fundamental problem of the human condition as one of ignorance of the Godhead, an ignorance produced by the transcendent nature of that Godhead. Like other Valentinian literature, our text holds that the deficiency of ignorance may be eliminated by the acceptance of revelation provided by Christ, a revelation which unites its recipients to their primordial source and which leads to an eschatological return to primordial unity. In addition to this agreement in the broad outline of the system, there are numerous specific motifs used in the text which are most at home in Valentinian literature, and the most important of these will be mentioned in the notes to the text.

Despite the affinities of the *Gospel of Truth* with Valentinian works, there are numerous and significant differences between this text and other literature produced by the members of the important Christian Gnostic theological school. These discrepancies have made

²¹The basically Valentinian cast of the text has been defended by numerous commentators, including *ed. pr.* xiv; Grobel, *Gospel*, 26-27; van Unnik, *Jung Codex*, 81, 98-101; Quispel, *Jung Codex*, 50; Nock, *JTS* 9 (1958) 323; Jonas, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 327-29; Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 34-38; and Standaert, *NTS* 22 (1975/76) 259.

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some scholars hesitant about identifying the text as Valentinian, and, hence, it will be useful to review them briefly here.²²

To begin with, the description in this text of the primordial principle as a monad, the Father, is strikingly different from most other Valentinian texts which speak of a dyadic principle, such as the Abyss and Silence, as the originating source of all beings. This duality, with a specifically emphasized gender differentiation of the two first principles, is particularly prominent in the system attributed to the followers of Ptolemy, upon whom Irenaeus reports at great length (*Haer.* 1.1-8). It is even a characteristic of the system which Irenaeus attributes to Valentinus himself (*Haer.* 1.11). This discrepancy may, however, be more apparent than real. It should be noted that there are several Valentinian systems, prominent among them the *Tripartite Tractate* in this codex, which insist on the unity of the primordial principle. Furthermore, the primordial principle in the *Gospel of Truth* is, to some extent, dyadic, inasmuch as it consists not simply of the Father, but of the Father and the Son, where the Son is the external, manifest aspect of the Father, by whom and in whom the Father's emanations achieve their authentic existence. It is, in fact, likely that the divergences within the Valentinian tradition on this subject are more matters of emphasis in articulating a complex fundamental theology than they are radically distinct theological positions. The complexity probably arises from the application to the theological problem of the relationship of Father and Son of Platonic-Pythagorean speculation about unity and multiplicity.

A second major discrepancy between the *Gospel of Truth* and most other Valentinian systems has already been mentioned in the review of the contents of the work. In this text very little is said about the process of the flaw or fall in the Godhead which initiates the process of emanation outside of the Godhead. In both eastern and western branches of the Valentinian tradition, as well as in many non-Valentinian Gnostic texts, the key figure in the process is Sophia, whose foolish attempt to comprehend the Father or to produce offspring without a consort leads to an abortive emanation of defective archons headed by a Demiurge. In the *Gospel of Truth* we only have a fleeting

²²Among those who dispute or qualify the Valentinian character of the text are Haenchen, *ZKG* 67 (1955/56) 154 and *TR* 30 (1964) 47-49; Schenke, *Herkunft*, 20-25; Leipoldt, *TLZ* 82 (1957) 831; and Colpe, *JAC* 21 (1978) 144-45. The whole issue of the Valentinian character of the work is briefly reviewed in Wilson, *Rediscovery*, 1.133-45.

allusion to the working of Error (*Plane*), whose status as an hypothesis or even as a component of the Godhead is quite unclear. It is possible that in the remarks about Error we have a fragment of a myth unattested elsewhere. It is also possible, however, that an account of Sophia's fall has been suppressed or cloaked in a veil of allusion. It is, at any rate, probable that behind the brief account of Error lies some more elaborate, mythologically tinged narrative, for Error is not simply an abstract personification of human ignorance, and some of the remarks made about her suggest that she was originally conceived of as an actor in a cosmic drama (17.14-20).

A third major discrepancy between the *Gospel of Truth* and Valentinian texts revolves around the anthropological categories used in the work. In other Valentinian sources there is regularly a good deal of reflection on the status and mutual relationships among pneumatic, psychic and hylic beings, especially among the humans who fall into these three classes. Although the understanding of the significance of these three categories varied among different Valentinian teachers, and between the Valentinians and their orthodox critics, speculation on the subject was extremely common in Valentinian circles. Such speculation is almost entirely absent from this text. Once again, as in the case of the Sophia myth, it is possible to explain this absence as a reflection of a very different, non-Valentinian system underlying the text, or as an attempt to conceal to some extent the speculations of the school. There are, in fact, some allusions to the characteristic categories of Valentinian anthropology which support the latter alternative. There is at least a clear distinction between those who receive the revelation provided by Christ and those who do not. Contrast, e.g., 41.34 and 31.1. This distinction corresponds to the basic pneumatic-hylic distinction of most Valentinian systems. Little, if anything, however, is said explicitly about a class of psychics. It is, nonetheless, possible to find an allusion to a more complex anthropological scheme in the obscure remarks which occur toward the end of the text, where the author refrains from speaking about the "rest," i.e., presumably those who fall into neither of the categories which have been described (42.39-43.2).

On the basis of the discrepancies between the *Gospel of Truth* and clearly Valentinian literature, some scholars have proposed that the work is not a product of the Valentinian tradition. Suggestions of alternative affiliations, such as with the *Odes of Solomon*, are not, however, satisfactory, since they ignore the fundamental structural

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similarity of the theological system presupposed by this text to that of Valentinian thought generally.²³ The discrepancies may then be explained as a reflection of a stage in the development of Valentinian speculation, perhaps in the teaching of Valentinus himself, when many of the features characteristic of the teaching of Ptolemy, for example, had not yet been developed²⁴ or perhaps, of a later stage of the Valentinian tradition, when attempts were made to reform the tradition into greater conformity with orthodoxy.²⁵ While such explanations are not impossible, it seems more likely that the discrepancies are to be explained by consideration of the genre and probable function of the *Gospel of Truth* itself.

We have already argued that the work is best understood as a homiletic reflection from a specifically Gnostic point of view on the "gospel" or the revelation provided by Christian tradition. We would not expect in such a work the elaborate exposition of the whole speculative system that we find in such works as the *Tripartite Tractate* or in the sources of the heresiologists' accounts of Valentinian speculation. This would be especially true if the work is an exoteric one,²⁶ directed

²³For Schenke's theory on the connection of the *Gos. Truth* with the *Odes of Solomon*, cf. *Herkunft*, 26–29. For critical discussion of this theory, cf. Haenchen, *TR* 30 (1964) 56, 68; Segelberg, *Or. Suec.* 8 (1959) 42; and Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 16.

²⁴This theory was proposed by van Unnik (*Jung Codex*, 98–101), and Quispel (*Jung Codex*, 50), and then cited approvingly by *ed. pr.* (xiv). A problem for the hypothesis is that the description of the doctrine of Valentinus given in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11 is, in its basic structure, quite similar to that of Ptolemy, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 14–16) notes. If the teaching in that passage of Irenaeus is correctly attributed, then the development of the characteristic Valentinian theological scheme occurred within the life of the master himself. The *Gos. Truth* could still be a work of Valentinus, written before his theological system had reached its full development, but we have little evidence for such a stage in Valentinus' intellectual development, except perhaps in Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 4.2. Cf. Schoedel, "Monism," 389, n.36.

²⁵For different versions of this approach to the problem of the Valentinian affiliations of our text, cf. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 35), who suggests that the *Gos. Truth* is not the work mentioned by Irenaeus, but a subsequent Valentinian homiletic commentary on that work, and Colpe (*JAC* 21 [1978] 144–45), who sees the author of our text as someone whose conceptuality is similar to that of the Valentinians and who may have been influenced by them, but who goes his own way. He offers a doctrine which can be harmonized with that of the Valentinians, but which is yet independent of them. For a clear example of an attempt to bring Valentinian doctrine into some conformity with more orthodox doctrine, see the *Tri. Trac.* See also Schoedel ("Monism," 389), who suggests that the *Gos. Truth* represents a monistic Valentinian response to orthodox critics, paralleled in some of the positions attributed to Irenaeus' opponents in *Haer.* 2. Schoedel, however, recognizes that the theology of the text may well represent an early form of Valentinus' teaching.

²⁶The suggestion is precisely the opposite of the frequently articulated assumption that the *Gos. Truth* is an *esoteric* work. Cf., e.g., *ed. pr.* xiv. That suggestion has the

at the general membership of the Church in such communities as Rome or Alexandria. We might compare other exoteric works of the Valentinian school such as Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora*, which is clearly written to a non-Valentinian and which suggests ways of approaching a specific problem, the proper mode of appropriating the Old Testament. This text presupposes the sort of speculative system found in the pages of Irenaeus and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, without, however, making that speculative system explicit.

The suggestion that the *Gospel of Truth* is best viewed as an exoteric work may find support in a consideration of the way in which it handles the Gnostic themes with which it quite obviously deals. We have already noted that there is in the text a telescoping of protological and soteriological perspectives, and an intentional ambiguity in the use of certain terms to refer simultaneously to cosmic and psychological realities. The text systematically defies a single simple construal of its metaphysical and Christological schemes and this seems to be quite intentional. Such deliberate ambiguity may well have been designed to avoid giving offense to the "weaker brethren" who could not, at least initially, accept the full speculative position of the school, especially on cosmogonic matters, while it invites an entry into the fundamental soteriological perspective of the school.

The suggestion that our document is an exoteric work may find further confirmation in the way in which it utilizes, in its typically allusive way, numerous themes and motifs closely paralleled in the texts of the New Testament.²⁷ As our notes to the text indicate, the author of the work was probably familiar with much of what we know as the Church's scripture, including many of the Pauline epistles, the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, Hebrews and Revela-

merit of calling attention to the fact that the document seems to presuppose, and frequently allude to, some underlying theological system. For one initiated into that system, the text, no doubt, would have a whole dimension of significance which could be ignored or overlooked by the uninitiated. The allusiveness of the work could be understood as a stimulus to deeper reflection on that underlying system and for some readers or hearers, it probably functioned in precisely that way. Our suggestion is simply that this is not the only, or even the primary, way in which the text works. Cf. also Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 1.

²⁷For discussion of the use of the New Testament in our text, cf. van Unnik, *Jung Codex*, 106-121; Schelkle, *BZ NF* 5 (1961) 90-91; and Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 3-9, where the most complete collection of possible parallels may be found. All cases of possible parallels do not, of course, guarantee that the author was using a NT text; in some cases the similarities may be due to the influence of oral traditions, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 8) properly notes.

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While the *Gospel of Truth* is thus best understood as a celebration for the Christian community at large of the truth of the Gospel as that was perceived within the framework of Valentinian reflection, no more specific context in the life of the Church can be determined with certitude. It may be possible to construe the work as designed for a specific sacramental occasion, such as baptism or confirmation, but the evidence for such a particular *Sitz-im-Leben* is weak, and it is entirely possible that the work was composed as a *literary* homily for Christian spiritual reading and not for delivery in a specific situation.

- 16.31 πεγαγγελιον ν̄τμη· ουτελη πε ἵνεει
 ν̄ταρχι πιζματ· авал зїтоот̄ ἵπιωτ̄ ν̄τε
 τμη· ατρουσοϋων̄ ἵζ̄ν̄ τβам̄ ἵπιωεχε ν̄ταρї
 35 εβαλ ζ̄ν̄ ἵπιπληρωμα πεει ετζ̄ν̄ πιμεεγε
 ἵουαζα πινοϋс̄ ν̄τε πιωτ· ετε ἵπεει πε
 ετοϋωεχε араϋ χε· ἵсωτηρ· επρεν ἵφωв
 εт̄̄наἵεειϋ· πε апсωте ἵνεει ν̄ταρ̄
 12/17 ἵατсоϋων̄ πιωт̄ еп̄ре̄н̄· δε [м]ἵπεγαγγελιον
 πε ποϋων̄ αἵβαλ ν̄τε †ζεल्पис̄ еп̄б̄ӣне̄ πε
 ἵνεει ет̄к̄ωте̄ н̄с̄ωϋ
 5 еп̄ӣд̄н̄· ἵп̄т̄ηρ̄ ᾱκ̄ατοϋ̄ н̄с̄а̄ п̄ε̄н̄т̄аϋἵе̄ӣ авал
 н̄з̄ηт̄̄ ᾱϋω̄ н̄ε̄р̄ε̄п̄т̄η̄ρ̄̄ з̄ї̄ с̄а̄н̄з̄оϋн̄ ἵмаϋ̄ π̄ιαт̄
 10 ψаἵп̄̄ н̄а̄т̄м̄е̄ε̄γε̄ араϋ̄ πεει ἵεт̄с̄а̄т̄п̄̄ а̄м̄еϋ̄ н̄ӣм̄
 е†м̄н̄т̄ἵа̄т̄с̄(ἵн̄)οϋων̄ πιωт̄· а̄с̄р̄̄ оϋноϋϋπ̄ ἵм̄н̄
 оϋз̄р̄те̄ п̄ноϋϋπ̄̄ δε· а̄ϋἵωρ̄̄х̄̄ м̄п̄р̄η̄те̄ н̄оϋ
 15 з̄ласт̄н̄ ἵкаас̄ε· χε̄ н̄εϋλαγε̄ н̄εϋ ἵавал̄ ет̄в̄е̄
 πεει а̄с̄б̄м̄б̄а̄м̄ ἵн̄б̄ӣ т̄п̄ла̄н̄η̄· а̄с̄р̄̄ з̄ωв̄ а†з̄ϋл̄η̄
 ἵн̄т̄εс̄ з̄н̄н̄ оϋπεт̄ωϋе̄ӣт̄· ἵε̄м̄п̄εс̄с̄оϋων̄ н̄†т̄
 20 м̄н̄т̄ἵм̄η̄· а̄с̄ϋω̄п̄е̄ з̄н̄н̄ оϋπ̄ла̄с̄ма̄ ἵεс̄с̄а̄в̄т̄е̄ з̄н̄
 т̄б̄а̄м̄· з̄н̄ оϋм̄н̄т̄ἵс̄а̄е̄ӣе̄ н̄т̄х̄б̄в̄ӣω̄ н̄†т̄м̄н̄т̄ἵм̄η̄
 πεει б̄е̄ н̄εϋθ̄в̄в̄ӣо̄ н̄εϋ ἵε̄н̄ πε· π̄ιαт̄ψа̄п̄̄
 н̄а̄т̄м̄е̄γε̄ ἵараϋ̄ н̄εοϋλαγε̄ г̄а̄р̄ πε̄ π̄ӣноϋἵϋπ̄̄ м̄н̄
 25 †β̄ω̄ε̄ м̄н̄ π̄ӣп̄ла̄с̄ма̄ ἵн̄те̄ п̄б̄а̄л̄· е†м̄н̄т̄м̄η̄
 ет̄ἵс̄м̄а̄н̄т̄· оϋа̄т̄ψв̄<т̄>с̄̄ те̄· оϋа̄т̄ἵω̄т̄а̄ρ̄т̄р̄̄ те̄·
 оϋа̄т̄<т̄>с̄а̄е̄ӣа̄с̄̄ те̄· ἵε̄т̄в̄е̄ πεεῑ к̄а̄т̄а̄φ̄ρ̄о̄н̄ӣ н̄†
 ἵп̄ла̄н̄η̄
 30 т̄е̄е̄ӣ т̄е̄ θ̄е̄ м̄н̄т̄εс̄ ἵн̄оϋ̄н̄ε̄ м̄м̄еϋ̄ а̄с̄ϋω̄п̄е̄ з̄н̄
 ἵоϋз̄ласт̄н̄ е̄п̄ӣωт̄· ес̄ϋоо̄п̄ ἵεс̄с̄а̄в̄т̄е̄· н̄з̄н̄ε̄р̄
 35 г̄о̄н̄ м̄н̄ з̄н̄ἵβ̄ω̄ε̄ м̄н̄ з̄н̄з̄р̄те̄ ω̄ӣа̄ χε̄ ἵавал̄· з̄н̄
 н̄е̄е̄ӣ н̄с̄с̄ω̄к̄ н̄н̄аἵт̄м̄η̄т̄ε̄ н̄с̄р̄̄ а̄ӣχ̄м̄ᾱλ̄ω̄т̄ӣz̄ε̄ м̄ἵмаϋ̄
 †β̄ω̄ε̄ н̄те̄ †п̄ла̄н̄η̄ н̄εс̄ἵοϋа̄н̄̄· авал̄ е̄н̄· с̄о̄е̄ӣ
 18/18 н̄н̄оϋἵ[...]ε̄н̄· з̄а̄т̄м̄̄ π̄иωт̄· †β̄ω̄ε̄ н̄ἵт̄а̄с̄ϋω̄п̄е̄· е̄н̄
 з̄а̄т̄м̄̄ π̄иωт̄· е̄иϋἵп̄е̄· н̄т̄а̄с̄ϋω̄п̄е̄ б̄е̄· е̄т̄в̄η̄η̄т̄̄
 5 ἵп̄εт̄ω̄п̄е̄ н̄т̄а̄ϋ̄ н̄з̄ηт̄̄ πε̄ π̄ӣс̄аϋἵн̄ε̄· πεει

17.1 The line begins with an angular filler(>). ἵπιωт̄, π written over ϋ. ἵ10 с̄(ἵн̄)οϋων̄ MacRae ἵ17 н̄†(т̄)м̄η̄т̄м̄η̄ Till (Z^{NW}) ἵ26 оϋа̄т̄ψв̄<т̄>с̄ Till (Or.) ἵ27 оϋа̄т̄<т̄>с̄а̄е̄ӣа̄с̄ ed. pr. ἵ31 з̄ласт̄н̄, н̄ written over π. ἵωоо̄п̄, ϋ probably written over another letter. ἵ

18.1 оϋ[χι ρ]ε̄н̄ Grobel: оϋ[ᾱε̄ӣ] ε̄н̄ Dubois ἵ

^{16.31} The gospel of truth is joy | for those who have received from | the Father of truth the grace of knowing him, | through the power of the Word that came forth from ³⁵ the pleroma, the one who is in the thought | and the mind of the Father, that is, | the one who is addressed as | the Savior, (that) being the name of the work he is | to perform for the redemption of those who were ^{17.1} ignorant of the Father, while the name [of] | the gospel is the proclamation | of hope, being discovery | for those who search for him.

When ⁵ the totality went about searching for the one | from whom they had come forth — and the totality was | inside of him, the | incomprehensible, inconceivable one | who is superior to every thought — ¹⁰ ignorance of the Father brought about anguish | and terror; and the anguish | grew solid like a fog, | so that no one was able to see. | For this reason error ¹⁵ became powerful; it worked on its own matter | foolishly, | not having known the truth. It set about with a creation, | preparing with power and ²⁰ beauty the substitute for the truth. |

This was not, then, a humiliation for him, | the incomprehensible, inconceivable one, | for they were nothing, the anguish and the oblivion and the creature ²⁵ of deceit, while the established | truth is immutable, | imperturbable, perfect in beauty. | For this reason, despise | error.

Thus ³⁰ it had no root; it fell into | a fog regarding the Father, while it was involved in | preparing works and | oblivions and terrors, in order that | by means of these it might entice those ³⁵ of the middle and capture | them.

The oblivion of error was | not revealed. It is not a ^{18.1} [...] from the Father. Oblivion | did not come into existence from the Father, | although it did indeed come into existence because of him. | But what comes into existence

ἄταφῶνζ̄ ἀβάλ· ψι'να ἄσβωλ ἀβάλ ἄβι †βψε
 'αῦω πιωτ· ἄσεσοῦωνζ̄ ἐπιδῆ 'ἄτασψωπε ἄβι
 †βψε χε νεγ'σαῦνε ἄπιωτ ἐν· τότε εὔψαν-
 10 "σοῦων πιωτ· σναψωπε ἐν χι'ἄ(χι) πινεῦ ἄβι
 †βψε·

πεεῖ πεγ'αγ'γελιον ἄπετοῦκωτε ἄ'σωq ἄ-
 ταφῶανζ̄ ἄνετ'χнк ἀβάλ· ζίτῆ ἄνιῆτψανζτηq
 15 "ἄτε πιωτ· πιμῦστηριον εῶηπ 'ιη(σοῦ)с πε-
 χр(исто)с πεεῖ ἀβάλ ζίτοот̄ 'αqῤ οὔαειν
 ἀνετ̄ῆ πκεκει 'ἀβάλ ζίτοот̄ ἄ†βψε· αqῤ
 20 οὔα'ειν ἀραῦ αq† ἄοὔμαεит· πι'маεит· ἄδε πε
 †ἄῆτῆε ἐν'ταqтамаῦ ἀрас·

εтве πεεῖ· 'асвωλк ἀραῦ ἄβι †πλανη· ас-
 'πωт· ἄσωq асζωψ· ἄζηт̄· 'асоῦωс̄· αῦαqт̄·
 25 αῦψε· αq"ψωπε ἄνωῦтаζ ἄπисаῦνε ἄ'τε πιωт·
 ἄтаqтеко бε ἐν χε 'αζοῦам̄ ἄνεταζοῦамq
 δε 'αq† νεῦ ἀτροῦψωπε αῦρε'ψε ἄζηῆ ἄζῆ·
 30 πιβине· ἄтаq ἄ'χε νεεῖ ἄтаqбῆтоῦ ἄζηт̄· 'αῦω
 ἄтаq αῦбнт̄ ἄζηтоῦ·

πι'ατψαπ̄ ἄатмеεῦε ἀραῦ· πι'ωт· πεεῖ εт-
 35 χнк πεεῖ ἄтаζ'тено ἄπτηр̄ ερεпτηр̄ ἄ'ζηт̄
 αῦω пτηр̄ εqψаат· ἄмаq 'εаqамазте ἄπι-
 χωк ἄтеῦ 'ἄζηт̄ πεεῖ εтеῆπεqтееиq 'ἄпτηр̄
 неqῤ φῶони ἐν· ἄβι 'πιωт· εῦ бε ἄφῶнос
 10/19 петоῦ"тωq ἄῆ неqмелос εнеёе "ἄгар ἄта-
 παιων χ[ι πχωк] 'ἄтеῦ· неῦнаῦ εи ἐн...[...]
 'πιωт· πε εqамазте ἄп[ι]χωк 'ἄтеῦ ἄζηῆ
 5 ἄζηт̄ е[q]"† ἄмаq неῦ ἄоῦсто ψараq 'ἄῆ
 οὔсаῦνε· οὔεεῖ ζῆ οὔ'χωк ἄтаq πε ἄтаqтсено
 'ἄпτηр̄ αῦω пτηр̄ εqῆζη'т̄· αῦω нерепτηр̄
 10 ψаат· "ἄмаq пе·

ἄπρηте ἀβάλ ζί'тоот̄ ἄоῦεεῖ εῦἄζαεине
 'εῦοеῖ ἄатсаῦνε· ἀραῦ· ψаq'оῦωψе аτροῦ-
 15 соῦων̄ αῦω 'ατροῦмῤрит̄ ἄπρηте εῦ "гар·
 пенерепτηр̄ ψаат· ἄ'маq· εимнτι аписаῦνε·

10-11 χιν{χι} *ed. pr.* '11 πεεῖ <πε> Till (*Or.*) '13 ἄταφῶανζ̄ MS: Read
 ἄταφῶανζ̄ Till (*Or.*) '26 бε, б possibly written over ε. '27
 ἄνεταζοῦ<οῦ>ам̄ Till (*Or.*) '29-30 ἄ'χε, i.e., ἄδε '

19.1 χ[ι πχωк] Säve-Söderbergh '3 [αζηῆ α] Säve-Söderbergh '

in him is knowledge, ⁵ which appeared in | order that oblivion might vanish | and the Father might be known. Since | oblivion came into existence because | the Father was not known, then if ¹⁰ the Father comes to be known, oblivion | will not exist from that moment on.

Through this, | the gospel of the one who is searched | for, which <was> revealed to those who | are perfect through the mercies ¹⁵ of the Father, the hidden mystery, | Jesus, the Christ, | enlightened those who were in darkness | through oblivion. | He enlightened | them; he showed (them) a way; ²⁰ and the way is the truth | which he taught them.

For this reason | error grew angry at him, | persecuted him, was distressed at him | (and) was brought to naught. He was nailed to a tree (and) he ²⁵ became a fruit of the knowledge of | the Father. It did not, however, cause destruction because | it was eaten, but to those who ate it | it gave (cause) to become glad | in the discovery, and he ³⁰ discovered them in himself, | and they discovered him in themselves.

As for the | incomprehensible, inconceivable one, the | Father, the perfect one, the one who | made the totality, within him is ³⁵ the totality and of him the totality has need. | Although he retained their perfection | within himself which he did not give to the totality, the Father was not jealous. | What jealously indeed (could there be) ⁴⁰ between himself and his members? ^{19.1} For, if this aeon had thus [received] | their [perfection], they could not have come [...] | the Father. He retains within himself their perfection, ⁵ granting it to them as a return to him | and a perfectly unitary | knowledge. It is he who fashioned | the totality, and within him is the totality | and the totality was in need ¹⁰ of him.

As in the case of | a person of whom some | are ignorant, he | wishes to have them know him and | love him, so — ¹⁵ for what did the all have need of | if not knowledge re-

20 α'πιωτ' αϥωπε ν̄χαγμαίτ' 'εϥσβραζτ̄ αγω
 εϥσραϥτ' ᾠμα 'ν̄χι σβω αϥι ατμητε αϥχε "πι-
 ψεχε' εϥοει ᾠουσαζ' 'αγει ψαραει ᾠβι ᾠσο-
 φος 'ᾠζρηί ζᾠ πουζητ' ουαεε'τοϥ εϥπιραζε
 25 ᾠμαζ̄ ᾠταϥ 'δε νεϥχπιο ᾠμαϥ χε νε-
 "ζᾠπετψοϥειτ' νε' αϥμεσ'τωϥ χε νεζᾠρᾠᾠζητ'
 εν 'νε μαμνε
 30 ᾠᾠνσα νεει τη'ροϥ αγει ψαραί ᾠβι ᾠκεκοϥί
 'ψημ' νεει ετε πωοϥ πε' "πσαϥνε ᾠπιωτ'
 εαϥτωκ 'νεαϥχι σβω ανιμοϥνᾠ 'ᾠζο ᾠτε
 35 πιωτ' αϥσαϥνε 'αϥσοϥωνοϥ αϥχι εαϥ αϥτ'
 'εαϥ αϥοϥωνζ̄ αβαλ ζᾠ ποϥ"ζητ' ᾠβι πιχωωμε
 ετανζ̄ 'ᾠτε νετανζ̄ πεει ετςηζ ζρη'ει' ζᾠ
 κ/20 πιμεεϥε' οϥαζᾠ πι'νοϥς " [ᾠτε π]ιωτ' αγω χᾠᾠ
 ζαθᾠ ᾠτκα'[τα]βολ<η> {ζ}ᾠπτηρᾠ εϥᾠζρηί ζᾠ
 'νιαττεζαϥ ᾠτοοτᾠ πεει' 'ετε ᾠᾠ βαμ ᾠλαϥε'
 5 αϥιτᾠ επι"δη εσκη ᾠπετναϥιτᾠ ᾠσεζλ'ζωλᾠ
 εμπελαϥε ψοϥανζ̄ 'αβαλ' ζᾠ νεει ᾠταϥᾠ-
 ζοϥτοϥ 'απιοϥχεει ενεᾠπεϥει ε'τμητε ᾠβι
 10 π'ι'χωωμε ετᾠμεϥ "ετβε πεει πιψανζητ' πι-
 πιστος 'ιη(σοϥ)ς αϥᾠ ψαρ'ψ'ζητ' εϥωϥπ ᾠ-
 νιζᾠσε 'ζαᾠτεϥϥι ᾠπιχωωμε ετᾠ'μεϥ επιδη
 ϥσαϥνε χε πιμοϥ 'ᾠτοοτᾠ οϥωνζ̄ ᾠζαζ πε
 15 ᾠᾠπρητε ᾠνοϥδιαθᾠκη εᾠπα'τοϥηην αρас εс-
 ζηп ᾠβι ϣοϥςια 'ᾠπνεπ ᾠпhei' ενταζμοϥ
 'ᾠπρητε δε ᾠπτηρᾠ ετε 'νεϥζηп' ερεπιωτ
 20 ᾠπτηρᾠ ὅ "ᾠαζορατος εοϥεει αβαλ ᾠ'ζητᾠ πε
 πεει' ετεψαρεμα'ειт nim' εᾠ αβαλ' ζᾠτοοτᾠ
 ε'тβε πεει' αϥοϥανζ̄ αβαλ ᾠβι 'ιη(σοϥ)ς' αϥ-
 25 βαλεϥ ᾠπιχωωμε' ε'тᾠμεϥ αϥαϥτᾠ αϥϥε' αϥ-
 'τωβε ᾠπδιαταγμα αβαλ ᾠ'те πιωτ' ζᾠ πε-
 ст(αϥ)ρос' ω ᾠᾠ'τᾠαᾠ ᾠсβω ᾠтееибаτ' εϥсωк
 30 'ᾠμαϥ απιτᾠ απμοϥ ερεπιωνζ̄ "ᾠανηζε то

19 ατ<οϥ>μητε Till (Or.) 21 ψαραει (i.e., ψαζρηί) MS: ψαραϥ Till (Or.)

28 ψαραί i.e., ψαζρηί 1

20.1-2 κα[τα]βολ ζᾠ MS: κα[τα]βολη ᾠ ed. pr.: Read κα[τα]βολ<η> {ζ}ᾠ Attridge 3 νιαττεζαϥ MS: πιαττεζαϥ ed. pr. 6 οϥανζ<ᾠ> Till (Or.)

11 ψαρ'ψ'ζητ MS: ϣ possibly written over η. 16 εμπατοϥ<οϥ>ηη Till (Or.) 23 οϥανζ<ᾠ> Till (Or.) 24 αϥβαλεϥ MS: αϥβαλπᾠ Grobel 1

garding | the Father? — he became a guide, | restful and
leisurely. | In schools he appeared (and) he spoke ²⁰ the
word as a teacher. | There came the men wise | in their own
estimation, | putting him to the test. | But he confounded
them because they ²⁵ were foolish. They hated | him be-
cause they were not really | wise.

After all these, | there came the little | children also, those
to whom ³⁰ the knowledge of the Father belongs. Having
been strengthened, | they learned about the impressions | of
the Father. They knew, | they were known; they were glo-
rified, they | glorified. There was manifested in their
³⁵ heart the living book | of the living — the one written | in
the thought and the mind ^{20.1} [of the] Father, which from
before the | foundation of the totality was within | his in-
comprehensibility — that (book) | which no one was able
to take, ⁵ since it remains for the one who will take it | to be
slain. No one could have become manifest | from among
those who have believed | in salvation unless | that book
had appeared. ¹⁰ For this reason the merciful one, the
faithful one, | Jesus, was patient in accepting sufferings |
until he took that book, | since he knows that his death | is
life for many. ¹⁵

Just as there lies hidden in a will, before | it is opened,
the fortune | of the deceased master of the house, | so (it is)
with the totality, which | lay hidden while the Father of
the totality was ²⁰ invisible, being something which is |
from him, from whom | every space comes forth. | For this
reason Jesus appeared; | he put on that book; ²⁵ he was
nailed to a tree; | he published the edict | of the Father on
the cross. O | such great teaching! He draws | himself down

21ωωϩ εαϩβωω 'ἡμαϩ ἡνιπλῶβε εττεκαίτ·
 'αϩ† 21ωωϩ ἡτμῆτατ·τεκο 'πεει· ετε ἡἡ
 ωβαμ ἡλαγε· 'αω ϣιτῆ ἡτοοτῆ· εαϩψε α20ϣν
 35 "ανιμαειτ· ετψογειτ· ἡτε 'νι2ῤτε· αϩσινε
 αβαλ 21τοοτοϩ 'ἡνεει ετβηω αβαλ· ἡτοοτῆ
 'ἡτῶψε· εφοει ἡνοϩσαϣνε 'ἡἡ οϩχωκ εϩωω
 [κ]ι/21 ἡνετῆ2ητ· ".[.].[...].† ἡταρ[- - -] 'τσεβο ἡνε-
 ει· εταϩι ϩβ[ω] '

5 21ετῆαϩι ϩβω δε ἡε νε'τανῶ ετχη2· απι-
 χωωμη "ἡτε νετανῶ εϩχι ϩβω· α'ραϩ οϩαε-
 ετοϩ εϩχι ἡμαϩ 'ἡτοοτῆ ἡπιωτ· εϩστο ἡμαϩ
 'αραϩ ἡκεσαπ· επιδη ερεπ'χωκ ἡτε πτηρῆ 2ἡ
 10 πιωτ· "αναγκη ατρεπτηρῆ ψε α'2ρηἡ ψαραϩ
 τοτε ερεποϩ'εει ϩαϣνε ψαϩχι ἡνετε 'νοϩϩ
 νε· αϩω ψαϩσωκ ἡ'μαϩ ψαραϩ πετοει γαρ
 15 ἡ'ατσαϣνε· ϩψαατ· αϩω οϩ'ναβ πε ετϩψαατ·
 ἡμαϩ επι'δη εϩψαατ· ἡπετῆα·'χακῆ επιδη
 20 ερεπ'χωκ ἡτε 'πτηρῆ ψοοπ 2ἡ πιωτ· αναγκη
 ἡδε ατρεπτηρῆ ψε· 'α2ρηἡ ψαραϩ· ἡτεποϩεει
 ποϩ'εει {ποϩεει} χι ἡνετε νοϩϩ 'νε· ἡταϩῤ
 25 ψρῆ ἡσα2οϩ εαϩ'ϩβτωτοϩ ατεει ἡνεει· ἡ'τα21
 αβαλ ἡ2ητῆ

30 21εει ἡ'ταϩῤ ψαρῆ ἡσαϣνε· ἡποϩ'ρεν αθαν·
 αϩμοϩτε αραϩ '2ωσ οϩεει εϩσαϣνε ἡταϩ 'πε
 ἡταϩτεϩο ἡπεϩρεν ἡ'βι πιωτ· πετεἡποϩχοϩ
 γαρ ἡ'πεϩρεν· ϩοει ἡατσαϣνε· 'ἡμῆν εω ἡρητε·
 ερεοϩ'εει· ἡασωτῆ εμποϩωω ἡ'πεϩρεν πετοει
 35 γαρ ἡατ'σαϣνε ψα τθαν· οϩπλασμα 'πε· ἡτε
 τῶψε· αϩω ϩνα'βωλ αβαλ ἡἡμεϩ ειψπε ἡ'μα'η'
 κβ/22 21σωω α2ραϩ ἡἡτεϩ ἡ'[μ]ε[γ] ἡνοϩρεν ἡἡτεϩ
 'ἡμεϩ ἡτςμη· 2ωστε οϩ'εει εϩψασαϣνε· οϩα-
 5 βαλ πε '2ἡ πσαν2ρε· εϩωαμοϩτε α'ραϩ ψαϩ-
 σωτῆ ψαϩῤ οϩω· 'αϩω ψαϩναϩ2ῆ απετμοϩτε
 'αραϩ· ἡϩψε· α2ρηἡ ψαραϩ αϩω 'ψαϩἡμε χε

36 21τοοτοϩ <ἡνεει - - - > Till (Or.) '

21.1 [ϩ ἡπιω]† ἡταρ *ed. pr.* '2 εταϩι ϩβ[ω] MacRae: ετα2[χι] ϩβ[ω] or
 εταϩ[η] ϩβ[ω] *ed. pr.* '6 ἡμαϩ MS: ἡμαϩ (?) Till (Or.) '22 {ποϩεει} Till
 (Or.) '24 τεει<τοϩ> Till (Or.) '38 μα written in the left margin. '21σωω, ψ
 written over c. '

to death though life ³⁰ eternal clothes him. Having stripped | himself of the perishable rags, | he put on imperishability, | which no one | can possibly take away from him. Having entered ³⁵ the empty spaces of | terrors, he passed through | those who were stripped naked by | oblivion, being knowledge | and perfection, proclaiming the things that are in the heart, ^{21.1} [...]...[.....] | teach those who will receive teaching.

| But those who are to receive teaching [are] | the living who are inscribed in the book ⁵ of the living. It is about themselves that they receive instruction, | receiving it | from the Father, turning | again to him. Since the | perfection of the totality is in the Father, ¹⁰ it is necessary for the totality to | ascend to him. Then, if | one has knowledge, he receives what are | his own and draws | them to himself. For he who is ¹⁵ ignorant is in need, and | what he lacks is great, | since he lacks that which will | make him perfect. Since the perfection of | the totality is in the Father ²⁰ and it is necessary for the totality to | ascend to him and for each | one to receive what are his own, | he enrolled them in advance, having | prepared them to give to those ²⁵ who came forth from him.

Those | whose name he knew in advance | were called at the end, | so that one who has knowledge is | the one whose name the Father ³⁰ has uttered. For he whose name | has not been spoken is ignorant. | Indeed, how is one | to hear if his name has not | been called? For he who is ³⁵ ignorant until the end is a creature | of oblivion, and he will | vanish along with it. If not, | how is it that these miserable ones have ^{22.1} no name, (how is it that) they do not have | the call? Therefore, | if one has knowledge, he is | from above. If he is called, ⁵ he hears, he answers, | and he turns to him who is calling | him, and ascends to him. And | he knows in

10 εΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑϞ Ν'ΕΨ ΝΡΗΤΕ· ΕϞΣΑΥΝΕ ΨΑϞΕΙΡΕ
 " ΜΠΟΥΨΩ'Ε' ΜΠΕΝΤΑΖΜΟΥΤΕ ' ΑΡΑϞ ΨΑϞΟΥ-
 ΨΩΨΕ ΑΡ̄ ΕΝΕϞ ΨΑϞ'ΧΙ ΜΤΑΝ· ΨΑΡΕΠΡΕΝ ΜΠΟΥϞΕΙ
 ' ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕϞ ΠΕΤΝΑΣΑΥΝΕ Μ'ΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΨΑϞΜΜΕ· ΧΕ
 15 ΝΤΑϞΙ Ν'ΤΟΝ· ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΕϞΝΝΑ ΑΤΟΝ ' ΨΑϞΜΜΕ
 ΜΠΡΗΤΕ ΝΟΥϞΕΙ· ' ΕΑϞΤΖΕ ΑϞΝΑΥΖῶ ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ
 ' ΠΕϞΤΖΕ ΕΑϞΝΑΥΖῶ ΑΡΑϞ ΟΥ'ΑΕΕΤῶ· ΑϞΤΕΖΟ
 20 ΝΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥϞ " ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΝΕ·
 ΑϞΣΤΟ ΝΖΑΖ ' ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ ΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ ΑϞΣΩΚ ' Ζ'ΘΗ
 ΜΜΑΥ ΨΑ ΝΙΜΑΕΙΤ· ' ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΚΙΜ ΑΒΑΛ
 25 Ν'ΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ " ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΒΑΘΟΣ·
 ΜΠΕΤ{Α}ΚΤΑ'ΕΙΤ· ΑΜΑΕΙΤ ΝΙΜ· ΕΜῆ ΠΕ'ΤΚΤΑΕΙΤ·
 ΑΡΑϞ ΝΕΥΝΑΒ Μ'ΜΑΕΙΖΕ ΤΕ· ΧΕ ΝΕΥΖῆ ΠΙΩΤ·
 30 ' ΕΥΣΑΥΝΕ ΜΜΑϞ ΕΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥ'ΒΜΒΑΜ ΝΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ·
 ΟΥΑΕΕΤΟΥ ' ΠΕ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕΥΨ ΒΜΒΑΜ ΕΝ ΑΨ'ΩΠ
 ΑΡΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΣΑΥΝΕ· ΜΠΕ'ΤΝΕΥῆΖΗΤῶ· ΕΝΕΘΕ ΓΑΡ·
 35 Ε'ΝΕΜΠΕϞΙ ΑΒΑΛ· ΝΖΗΤῶ ΝΒΙ· " ΠΕϞΟΥΨΩΨΕ ΑϞ-
 ΟΥΑΝΖῶ ΓΑΡ ' ΑΒΑΛ· ΑΥΣΑΥΝΕ ΕΥΤΗΤ ΝῆΜΕΣ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΝΙΤῆ ΝΤΟΟΤῶ '
 ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΣΑΥΝΕ ΝΤΕ ' ΠΙΧΩΩΜΕ ΕΤΑΝῶ
 κγ./23 ΕΝΤΑϞ'ΟΥΑΝΖῶ· ΝΝΙ'ΑΙΩΝ ΑΤΘΑΗ ΝΝΙΣΖΕ[ΕΙ ΝΤΟ]-
 'ΟΤῶ ΕϞΟΥΑΝῶ ΑΒΑΛ· ΕΙΨ[Ε]ΧΕ ΕΖῆΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΝ ΝΕ·
 5 ΝΤΕ ' ΖῆΝΣΜΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΖῆΝΣΖΕΕΙ Εῆ " ΝΕ· ΕΥΨΑΑΤ·
 ΝΝΟΥΖΡΑΥ ' ΨΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΟΥϞΕΙ ΑΨΟΥ ΝϞ'ΜΕΥΕ ΑΥ-
 ΠΕΤΨΟΥϞΕΙΤ· ' ΑΛΛΑ ΖῆΝΣΖΕΕΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΕ Τ'ΜῆΤΜΗ
 10 ΝΤΑΥ ΕΥΨΕΧΕ " ΕΥΣΑΥΝΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΟΥΑΕΕΤΟΥ
 ' ΕΟΥΜΕ<ΕΥΕ> ΕϞΧΗΚ ΠΕ ΠΣΖΕΕΙ ' ΠΣΖΕΕΙ Μ-
 ΠΡΗΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΧΩ'ΩΜΕ· ΕϞΧΗΚ ΑΒΑΛ· ΕΖῆΝΣΖΕ'ΕΙ ΝΕ
 15 ΑΥΣΑΖΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ Ζ'ΤΟΟΤῶ· " ΝΤ'ΜῆΝΤΟΥϞΕΙ· ΕΑΖΑ-
 ΠΙΩΤ· ' ΣΑΖΟΥ <Ν>ΝΙΑΙΩΝ ΨΙΝΑ ΑΒΑΛ· ' Ζ'ΤΟ-
 ΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΣΖΕΕΙ ΝΤΟΟΤῶ· ' ΕΥΑΣΟΥΩΝ ΠΙΩΤ·
 20 Ε'ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ' ΝΤΟΟΤῶ ΕΣΡ̄ ΜΕΛΕΤΑ Μ'ΠΙΨΕΧΕ

22.12 ΜΠΟΥϞΕΙ <ΠΟΥϞΕΙ> Till (*Or.*) ' 19-20 ΑϞΤΕΖΟ ΝΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥϞ
 ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΝΕ MS: ΑϞΤΕΖΟ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ, *etc.* Till (*Or.*) ' 20 ΑϞΣΤΟ, c written over
 τ. ' 25 ΠΕΤ{Α} *ed. pr.* ' 26 ΑΜΑΕΙΤ, ΕΙΤ written over erased ΝΙΜ. ' 33 ΑΡΑΥ MS:
 ΑΡΑϞ (?) Attridge ' 36 ΝῆΜΕΣ MS: ΝῆΜΕϞ Schenke ' 37 ΝΤΟΟΤῶ MS: ΝΤΟΟΤῶ
 Schenke '

23.1-2 ΝΝΙΣΖΕ[ΕΙ ΝΤΟ]ΟΤῶ Arai: ΝΝΙΣΩ[*ed. pr.* ' 2-3 ΕΙΨ[Ε]ΧΕ MacRae:
 ΕΥ[*ed. pr.* ' 11 ΕΟΥΜΕ<ΕΥΕ> Till (*Or.*) ' 16 <Ν>ΝΙΑΙΩΝ ΨΙΝΑ MacRae:
 ΨΙΝΑ ΝΙΑΙΩΝ Till (*Or.*) '

what manner he | is called. Having knowledge, he does
¹⁰ the will of the one who called | him, he wishes to be
 pleasing to him, he | receives rest. Each one's name | comes
 to him. He who is to have knowledge | in this manner
 knows where he comes ¹⁵ from and where he is going. | He
 knows as one | who having become drunk has turned away
 from | his drunkenness, (and) having returned to himself, |
 has set right what ²⁰ are his own.

He has brought many | back from error. He has gone |
 before them to their places, | from which they had moved
 away, | since it was on account ²⁵ of the depth that they
 received error, the depth of the one who encircles | all spa-
 ces while there is none | that encircles him. It was a great |
 wonder that they were in the Father, | not knowing him,
 and (that) they were ³⁰ able to come forth by themselves, |
 since they were unable to | comprehend or to know the one
 | in whom they were. For if | his will had not thus emerged
 from him — ³⁵ for he revealed it | in view of a knowledge
 in which | all its emanations concur. |

This is the knowledge of | the living book which he re-
 vealed to the ^{23.1} aeons, at the end, as [his letters], | re-
 vealing how | they are not vowels | nor are they ⁵ conso-
 nants, | so that one might read them and | think of some-
 thing foolish, | but they are letters of the | truth which they
 alone speak ¹⁰ who know them. | Each letter is a complete
 <thought> | like a complete | book, since they are | letters
 written by ¹⁵ the Unity, the Father having | written them
 for the aeons in order that by | means of his letters | they
 should know the Father.

While his wisdom | contemplates ²⁰ the Word, and his

ереѳсвω н̄тоот̄ 1 εсψεχε м̄маѳ писаγνε н̄-
 25 'тоот̄ аѳоγαν̄<ѳ> авал· 1 πιασο н̄тоот̄ еѳ-
 оеи н̄ноγκλαμ аχωѳ· ерепи||реψε н̄тоот̄ еѳ-
 тнт· 1 н̄м̄меѳ· пиεаγ н̄тоот̄ 1 аѳχιε· м̄маѳ
 30 писмат· 1 н̄тоот̄ аѳоγαν̄з̄γ а'вал· πим̄тан н̄то-
 от̄ аѳ||ψап̄ араѳ ѳагаπн н̄то'от̄ ас̄р оγ-
 сωма з̄ίωωѳ пи'наз̄те н̄тоот̄ аѳамаз̄те 1 м̄-
 маѳ пир̄нте ерепиψε|χε н̄те пиωт· еѳмааз̄е
 κ.д./24 11 авал з̄н̄ п̄т̄н̄р̄̄ епоγтаз̄ 11 [н̄те] п̄ιζηт·
 н̄тоот̄ѳ пе· аγω 1 ογμογн̄ н̄зо н̄те пеѳоγ-
 'ωψε· еѳѳи н̄т'аѳ' з̄а· п̄т̄н̄р̄̄· еѳ'сωт̄п̄ м̄'маγ
 5 аγω аη еѳχι м̄||п̄моγн̄ н̄зо н̄те п̄т̄н̄р̄̄ 1 еѳ-
 сωт̄̄ м̄маγ еѳ'с'то м̄маγ 1 аз̄оγн̄ апиωт·
 аз̄оγн̄ аѳмеεγ 1 ιη(сoγ)с н̄те ѳм̄н̄т<ат>арн̄х̄с̄
 н̄те· 1 п̄ιζлаδ
 10 еѳδωλп̄ м̄пеѳтап 11 авал· н̄би пиωт пеѳтап
 δε 1 пе п̄п̄н̄(εγм)а етоγαав еѳоγ'ωн̄з̄ авал·
 м̄п̄п̄εθн̄п̄ н̄то'от̄̄· п̄п̄εθн̄п̄ н̄тоот̄̄ пе 1 пеѳ-
 15 ψн̄ре· ψιηа χε авал 11 з̄н̄ н̄ιμεз̄т н̄тоот̄̄ м̄пиωт
 1 н̄сесoγωн̄̄· н̄село еγз̄а'с̄и н̄би н̄ιαиωн̄· еγ-
 ψιηε н̄са 1 пиωт еγмат̄н̄ м̄маγ м̄'маγ н̄з̄р̄н̄ι
 20 н̄з̄н̄т̄̄· еγсаγ||не χε п̄еεи пе п̄им̄тан еаѳ'моγз̄·
 м̄п̄иωта аѳβωλ авал 1 м̄πисχн̄ма· πисχн̄ма н̄-
 тоо'т̄ѳ пе п̄κoсmоc· п̄еεи ен'таѳψм̄ψε н̄з̄н̄т̄̄·
 25 11 п̄ма γар ете оγн̄ κωз̄ м̄меγ 1 з̄ιѳ т̄ων оγψта
 пе· п̄ма 1 δε ете ѳм̄н̄тоγεεи· оγ'χωκ пе·
 еп̄ιδн̄ н̄таѳψωпе 1 н̄би пиωта χε неγсаγне
 30 11 ен̄ м̄пиωт· пе· тoтe· еγψан'сoγωн̄ пиωт·
 ѳнаψωпе ен̄ 1 χин̄ п̄ινεγ н̄би пиωта м̄п̄р̄н̄те
 1 авал з̄ι'тоот̄с̄ н̄т̄м̄н̄т̄атсаγ'не н̄те оγεεи тoтe
 35 еѳψа||саγне· ψасβωλ авал з̄ι'тоо'т̄с̄ н̄би т̄м̄н̄т̄-
 атсаγне· н̄то'от̄̄· м̄п̄р̄н̄те м̄п̄κεкеи еψаѳ-
 κe/25 1 βωλ авал· еѳψанoγωн̄з̄· 11 н̄βι πογαειν м̄п̄-
 р̄н̄те аη 1 пиωта ψаѳβωλ авал· з̄р̄н̄[ι] 1 з̄н̄
 п̄ιχωκ еѳоγан̄з̄ βε ен̄ 1 χῑн̄ п̄ινεγ н̄би πисχн̄ма

22 аѳоγан̄з̄<ѳ> Till (Or.) 1

24.2-3 пеѳоγωψε, π written over ѳ. 17 м̄εεγ MS: м̄εεγ<ε> Grobel 18
 ѳм̄н̄т̄<ат>арн̄х̄с̄ ed. pr. 118-19 м̄маγ (i.e., м̄меγ) [м̄маγ] ed. pr. 133
 н̄т̄м̄н̄т̄(ат)саγне Schenke 1

teaching | utters it, his knowledge | has revealed <it>. | While forbearance is | a crown upon it,²⁵ and his gladness is in harmony | with it, his glory | has exalted it, his image | has revealed it, | his repose has³⁰ received it into itself, his love | has made a body over it, | his fidelity has embraced | it. In this way the Word | of the Father goes³⁵ forth in the totality, as the fruit^{24.1} [of] his heart and | an impression of his will. | But it supports the totality; it | chooses them and also receives⁵ the impression of the totality, | purifying them, bringing them back | into the Father, into the Mother, | Jesus of the infinite | sweetness.

The Father reveals¹⁰ his bosom. — Now his bosom | is the Holy Spirit. — He | reveals what is hidden of him — | what is hidden of him is | his Son — so that through¹⁵ the mercies of the Father | the aeons may know him | and cease laboring in search of | the Father, resting there | in him, knowing²⁰ that this is the rest. Having | filled the deficiency, he abolished | the form — the form of | it is the world, that | in which he served. —²⁵ For the place where there is envy | and strife is deficient, | but the place where (there is) unity | is perfect. Since the deficiency | came into being because the³⁰ Father was not known, therefore, when | the Father is known, | from that moment on the deficiency will no longer exist. As | in the case of the ignorance | of a person, when he comes³⁵ to have knowledge, his ignorance | vanishes of itself, | as the darkness vanishes | when light appears,^{25.1} so also | the deficiency vanishes | in the perfection. So | from that moment on the form is not apparent,

- 5 αλ^λα εφναβωλ αβαλ· \bar{n} ζρηί ¹ζ \bar{n} πτωτ \bar{n} τε
 †μ \bar{n} τογ¹εει· †νογ γαρ· νογζβηγε ¹σεκη νεγ
 εγψηψ ζ \bar{n} πογα¹ειψ ερε†μ \bar{n} τογ¹εει ναχωκ
 10 ¹¹ \bar{m} μαειτ· αβαλ \bar{n} ζρηί ζ \bar{n} †μ \bar{n} τογ¹εει ερεπογ¹εει
 πογ¹εει ναχι \bar{m} μαγ· \bar{n} ζρηί ζ \bar{n} ¹ογσαγνε εφ-
 νασωτ \bar{q} \bar{m} μαγ ¹αβαλ ζ \bar{n} ν ογτο· \bar{n} ρητε· αζογ(ν)
 15 ¹¹ αγμ \bar{n} τογ¹εει· εφογωμ ¹†ζγλη \bar{n} ζρηί \bar{n} ζητ \bar{q}
 \bar{m} †ρητε \bar{n} νογсете αγω πκε¹κει ζ \bar{n} ογαειν
 πμογ ζ \bar{n} ογ¹ων \bar{z}
 20 ειψπε ανεει βε ψωπε ¹¹ \bar{m} πογ¹εει πογ¹εει
 \bar{m} μαν ¹ογν πετεψωε αραν βε ¹† \bar{n} τ \bar{n} μεγε απτη-
 ρ \bar{q} ψινα· ¹ερεπинеи ναψωπε εφογα¹αγ· αγω
 25 εφсβραζτ̄ α†μ \bar{n} т¹ογ¹εει· \bar{m} πρητε \bar{n} ζαεινε ¹εαγ-
 πωνε αβαλ ζ \bar{n} ζ \bar{n} μα ¹εγ \bar{n} τεγ \bar{m} μεγ \bar{n} зен-
¹скеγос· \bar{n} ζρηί ζ \bar{n} ζ \bar{n} †τοπος ενανογ¹ογ· εν
 30 ¹¹ νεψαγ¹ογαβπογ· αγω μαγ†† ασι \bar{n} βι πνεπ
 \bar{m} пhei α¹λλα ψασρεψε· χε \bar{n} ζρηί γαρ ¹ζ \bar{n} πμα
 35 \bar{n} νискеγос ε¹θαγ· νετμηζ νετεψαγ¹¹χακογ
 αβαλ χε τεει τε ¹τεκpисic \bar{n} ταζει αβαλ·
 κς/26 ¹¹ \bar{m} πса нтπε· εασ† ζεπ· αογ¹αν nim· εγсηγε τε
 εсψαλ \bar{m} ¹¹ \bar{m} φο сney εсψωωт· \bar{n} са пса $\bar{m}\bar{n}$
 5 пееi· εαγi αтμη¹¹те \bar{n} βι πιψεχε· ет \bar{n} ζρηи ¹ζ \bar{n}
 пзнт· \bar{n} нетψεχε \bar{m} μαγ ¹ογζραγ ογαεет \bar{q} εν
 10 πε α¹λλα αγ \bar{p} ογсωма· ογ \bar{n} αβ \bar{n} †ψтарт \bar{p} αγ-
 ψωπε \bar{n} ζρηί ζ \bar{n} ¹¹ \bar{n} скеγос χε ζαεινε αζογ-
¹ψογωογ ζ \bar{n} καγε αζογμα¹ζογ χεс ζ \bar{n} καγε
 αζογсζ \bar{n} η†ογ· ζ \bar{n} καγε αζογπανογ ¹ζαεινε
 15 αζογтоγβαγ ζ \bar{n} ке¹¹καγε αζογπωψε μαειт·
¹nim αγkim αγω αγψтарт \bar{p} ¹χε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τογ с \bar{m} не·
 \bar{m} μεγ ¹ογτε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ теγ стасic εсελα¹λ \bar{t} · \bar{n} βι
 20 †πлани· енс \bar{m} ме ¹¹ εν χε еγ пе· ет \bar{c} наееи \bar{q}
 εс¹мак \bar{z} нзнт· εснезπε· εс¹ωс \bar{z} · \bar{m} μαс αβαλ·
 χε с \bar{m} ме ¹ен· αλαγε· епiан αγζω(ν) ¹арас \bar{n} βι
 25 псаγне ете пееi ¹¹ пе· питеко \bar{n} тес· $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ нес†н
¹тнроγ †плани сψογειт· ε¹ \bar{m} λaγε \bar{n} ζηт \bar{c} ·
 асеi αтμη¹те· \bar{n} βι †т \bar{m} †т \bar{m} не αζογ¹соγω \bar{n} с·

25.29 νανογ¹ογ, The second o written over q. ¹32 ψασρεψε MS: Read ψαφρεψε *ed. pr.* ¹

26.12 χε{с} *ed. pr.*: i.e., χε εс, χε ειс Till (*Or.*) ¹22 ωсz, i.e., ωzс ¹

⁵ but it will vanish | in the fusion of Unity, | for now their works | lie scattered. In | time Unity will perfect ¹⁰ the spaces. It is within | Unity that each one | will attain himself; within | knowledge he will purify himself | from multiplicity into ¹⁵ Unity, consuming | matter within himself | like fire, and | darkness by light, death by | life.

If indeed these things have happened ²⁰ to each one of us, | then we must | see to it above all that | the house will be holy | and silent for the Unity. ²⁵ (It is) as in the case of some people | who moved out of dwellings | having | jars that in | spots were not good. ³⁰ They would break them, and | the master of the house would not suffer loss. | Rather <he> is glad because | in place of the bad jars | (there are) full ones which are made ³⁵ perfect. For such is | the judgment which has come from ^{26.1} above. It has passed judgment on | everyone; it is a drawn sword, | with two edges, cutting | on either side. When the ⁵ Word appeared, the one that is | within the heart of those who utter it — | it is not a sound alone | but it became a body — a great | disturbance took place among ¹⁰ the jars because some had | been emptied, others filled; that is, some had been supplied, | others poured out, | some had been purified, still ¹⁵ others broken up. All the spaces | were shaken and disturbed | because they had no order | nor stability. | Error was upset, not knowing ²⁰ what to do; | it was grieved, in mourning, | afflicting itself because it knew | nothing. When | knowledge drew near it — this ²⁵ is the downfall of (error) and all its emanations — | error is empty, | having nothing inside. |

- 30 $\bar{\nu}\beta\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\eta$ $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ || $\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}$ $\alpha\varsigma\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$. $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\zeta\bar{\nu}$
 $\omicron\upsilon\mu\eta\iota\epsilon$. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\mu$ $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\kappa$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$. $\epsilon\varsigma\iota\omega\tau$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\upsilon$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha\iota\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\iota\mu\eta\epsilon$
 35 $\chi\epsilon$ $\tau\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\iota\mu\eta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\zeta$ || $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$
 κζ/27 $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ ($\epsilon\upsilon\mu$) α $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}$. $\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ $\alpha\tau\tau$ -
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\mu\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ $\alpha\rho\omega\zeta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\mu}$
 5 || $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\beta\omega\lambda\bar{\nu}$
 $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\omega\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$
 $\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\theta\eta\bar{\nu}$. $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\zeta\upsilon\alpha\lambda\bar{\eta}$
 10 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu$. $\gamma\alpha\rho$. $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\pi$ $\epsilon\iota\bar{\mu}\eta\tau\iota$ $\alpha\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\epsilon$ -
 $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\nu}\omega\eta\bar{\nu}\rho\epsilon$. $\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\bar{\nu}$
 15 $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\chi\eta\kappa$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ $\pi\epsilon$. $\chi\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota$ $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$. $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota$ $\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\tau$ -
 20 $\omega\alpha\zeta\mu\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\beta\iota$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ || $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon$ -
 $\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\chi\iota$ $\phi\omicron\rho\mu\eta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ -
 25 $\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\varsigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$. $\pi\iota\omega\tau$. $\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\alpha\zeta$. $\zeta\chi\eta\kappa$
 $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\zeta\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\alpha\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu$. $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\zeta\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\zeta\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\tau$ $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\zeta\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ { $\alpha\gamma\omega$ }
 30 $\omega\alpha\zeta\tau$ $\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ || $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\zeta\tau\rho$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\rho\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$.
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$. $\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$.
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$
 35 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\upsilon$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon$ || $\zeta\bar{\nu}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 κη/28 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\varsigma\epsilon\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$. || $\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\epsilon\tau$ -
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\rho\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\omega\alpha$ ($\bar{\nu}$) $\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\rho\eta$ -
 5 $\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\eta\eta\upsilon$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon$ || $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu$. $\epsilon\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ -
 $\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\eta}$. $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$.
 $\pi\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta$ -
 10 $\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$. $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$ || $\zeta\bar{\rho}$ $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$. $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\zeta$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$
 $\pi\iota\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$. $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$. $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\omega\zeta$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$.
 $\zeta\bar{\nu}\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$
 15 $\alpha\bar{\nu}\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$. $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$. $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\zeta$

27.9-10 $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\pi$ $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$ Till (*Or.*): $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$ *ed. pr.* $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\chi\iota$ MS: $\epsilon\upsilon\omega\alpha\gamma\chi\iota$ *ed. pr.* $\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ MS: $\bar{\mu}\langle\bar{\nu}\rangle$ $\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ Till (*Or.*) $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\omega\pi$ { $\alpha\gamma\omega$ } *ed. pr.* $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\omega\pi$ MS: $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon$ Ménard $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ MS: $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\upsilon$ (?) *ed. pr.* $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\omega\pi$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\alpha$, ζ written over $\bar{\nu}$.

Truth appeared; | all its emanations knew it. ³⁰ They greeted the Father in truth | with a perfect power | that joins them with the Father. | For, as for everyone who loves the truth — | because the truth is the mouth ³⁵ of the Father; his tongue is the | Holy Spirit — he who is joined ^{27.1} to the truth is joined | to the Father's mouth | by his tongue, whenever he is to | receive the Holy Spirit, ⁵ since this is the manifestation of the | Father and his revelation | to his aeons.

He manifested | what was hidden of him; he explained it. | For who contains, ¹⁰ if not the Father alone? | All the spaces are his emanations. | They have known that they came forth | from him like children | who are from a grown ¹⁵ man. They knew | that they had not yet | received form nor yet | received a name, each one of which | the Father begets. ²⁰ Then, when they receive form | by his knowledge, | though truly within him, they | do not know him. But the Father | is perfect, knowing ²⁵ every space within him. | If he wishes, | he manifests whomever he wishes | by giving him form and giving | him a name, and he gives a name ³⁰ to him and brings it about | that those come into existence who, | before they come into existence, are | ignorant of him who fashioned them. |

I do not say, then, that ³⁵ they are nothing (at all) who have not | yet come into existence, but they are ^{28.1} in him who will wish | that they come into existence when he | wishes, like | the time that is to come. ⁵ Before all things appear, | he knows what he will | produce. But the fruit | which is not yet manifest | does not know anything, nor ¹⁰ does it do anything. Thus, | also, every space which is itself in the Father is from | the one who exists, who | established it ¹⁵ from what does not exist. | For he who has no |

20 νογ'νε̅ μμεγ̅ μν̅τεφ̅ ογ'[[α..]]ταζ̅ μμεγ̅ αν̅
 αλ'λα̅ εφμεγε̅ ν'εφ̅ ἥ̅ xe̅ αζ̅ίψωπε̅ ε̅ιτε̅ αν̅
 ' φναβωλ̅ αβαλ̅ ζ̅ίτοοτ̅ḳ̅ ' ε̅τβε̅ πε̅ει̅ πε̅τενεφ̅
 25 ψο'οπ̅ πτηρ̅ḳ̅ εν̅ εφνα'ψωπε̅ εν̅ αν̅ εγ̅ βε̅
 πετ'α'ḳ̅'ογαψ̅ḳ̅ ατρεφ̅μεεγε̅ αραφ̅ ' xe̅ δει̅
 ψωπε̅ ἄ̅πρη̅τε̅ ἄ̅νι'ζ̅αειβε̅ μ̅ν̅ νιφ̅αν̅τα̅σια̅ ' ἄ̅-
 30 τ̅ογ̅ω̅η̅ π̅β̅ι̅ḳ̅τ̅ρεφ̅ḳ̅ ' ογ̅α̅ειν̅ ἄ̅β̅ι̅ πογ̅α̅ειν̅ ε̅ḳ̅ρ̅τε̅
 ἥ̅ εν̅ταφ̅χι̅τ̅ς̅ ἄ̅β̅ι̅ πε̅ει̅ ε̅τ̅μ̅'μεγ̅ εφψαφ̅μ̅με̅ xe̅
 ογ̅λαγ̅'ε̅ πε̅
 π̅ι̅ρ̅η̅τε̅ νεγ̅ο̅ει̅ ἄ̅α̅τ̅'σαγ̅νε̅ ἀ̅π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅' εν̅ταφ̅ πε̅
 κθ/29 ἥ̅ εν̅εγ̅νεγ̅ αραφ̅ εν̅ επι̅δ̅η̅ νε'φο̅ει̅ ἄ̅ογ̅ζ̅ḳ̅ρ̅τε̅' μ̅ν̅
 ογ̅ψ̅τ̅ḳ̅'τ̅ḳ̅ μ̅ν̅ ογ̅μ̅ḳ̅τα̅τ̅'τ̅ω̅κ̅' αρε̅τ̅ς̅' ἄ̅ μ̅ν̅ ογ̅μ̅ḳ̅τ̅-
 5 ζ̅η̅τ̅' σ̅νεγ̅' μ̅ν̅ ογ̅'π̅ω̅ψ̅ε̅' νεγ̅ḳ̅ ζ̅αζ̅ μ̅μ̅ḳ̅τα̅'π̅β̅λα̅'
 εγ̅ḳ̅ ζ̅ωφ̅ αβαλ̅ ζ̅ίτο'οτ̅ḳ̅' ἄ̅νε̅ει̅ ογ̅αζ̅ḳ̅
 <ζ̅ḳ̅>μ̅ḳ̅<τ̅>α̅τ̅'σ̅β̅ω̅ εγ̅ψ̅ο̅γ̅ει̅τ̅' ἄ̅π̅ρ̅η̅τε̅' ' ε̅ψ̅α-
 10 ρ̅ογ̅ς̅μ̅ḳ̅ḳ̅τογ̅ ἀ̅π̅ḳ̅κα̅τ̅'ἥ̅κε̅ ἄ̅σεβ̅ι̅νε̅ ἄ̅μ̅αγ̅' ζ̅ḳ̅
 ἄ̅ρ̅ε'σ̅ο̅γ̅ε̅' εγ̅ψ̅τ̅ḳ̅ρ̅α̅ρ̅τ̅ ἢ̅ ογ̅μα̅ ' πε̅τογ̅ḳ̅π̅ω̅τ̅'
 αραφ̅ ἢ̅ εγ̅ο̅ ἄ̅α̅τ̅να̅μ̅τε̅ εγ̅ει̅ ε̅αγ̅ḳ̅π̅ω̅τ̅ ' ἄ̅σα̅
 15 ζ̅ḳ̅ζ̅α̅ει̅νε̅ ἢ̅ εγ̅ζ̅ḳ̅ ζ̅ḳ̅'μ̅ḳ̅τ̅τα̅ει̅σ̅η̅ψ̅ε̅' ἢ̅ εγ̅ψ̅ω̅π̅'
 ' {ζ̅}ḳ̅ζ̅ḳ̅σ̅η̅ψ̅ε̅' ἄ̅τεγ̅ ἢ̅ ε̅αγ̅ζ̅α̅'ει̅ε̅ αβαλ̅ ζ̅ḳ̅ ζ̅ḳ̅μα̅
 εγ̅χ̅α̅σι̅ ' ἢ̅ εγ̅ς̅ω̅κ̅ αζ̅ρη̅ί̅ αβαλ̅ ζ̅ίτοοτ̅ḳ̅ ' ἄ̅π̅α̅η̅ρ̅
 20 ε̅μ̅ḳ̅ τ̅ḳ̅ζ̅ ρ̅ω̅ ἄ̅μ̅αγ̅ ἥ̅ ζ̅ḳ̅σα̅π̅ αν̅ ε̅ι̅ψ̅xe̅ ζ̅α̅ει̅νε̅'
 ' νε̅τ̅'ζ̅α̅λ̅ζ̅ḳ̅ ἄ̅μ̅αγ̅ ε̅μ̅ḳ̅ πε̅τ̅'π̅ω̅τ̅' ρ̅ω̅ ἄ̅σ̅ω̅ογ̅ ἢ̅
 ἄ̅τ̅αγ̅ εγ̅'μ̅ο̅γ̅ογ̅τ̅' ἄ̅νε̅τ̅ζ̅ίτογ̅ω̅ογ̅' ' xe̅ αγ̅χ̅ω̅ζ̅ḳ̅
 25 αβαλ̅ ζ̅ίτοο'ḳ̅'τ̅ḳ̅ ἄ̅π̅ς̅ναφ̅ ἄ̅νε̅ει̅ ψ̅α̅' ' π̅σα̅π̅' ε̅τε̅-
 ψ̅αγ̅νε̅ζ̅σε̅ ἄ̅β̅ι̅ ' νε̅ει̅' ε̅τε̅ψ̅αγ̅ψ̅ε̅ ζ̅ḳ̅ νε̅ει̅ ' τ̅η̅-
 ρ̅ογ̅' μαγ̅νεγ̅ αλαγ̅ε̅' ' ἄ̅β̅ι̅ νε̅ει̅ ε̅τε̅ νε̅ογ̅ν̅ ζ̅ρη̅ί̅
 30 ἥ̅ ζ̅ḳ̅ νε̅ει̅ τ̅η̅ρογ̅ ἄ̅ψ̅τα̅ρ̅τ̅ḳ̅ ' αβαλ̅ xe̅ νε̅ζ̅ḳ̅λαγ̅ε̅
 νε̅ ' νε̅ει̅ ἄ̅π̅ι̅ρ̅η̅τε̅ π̅ρ̅η̅τε̅ πε̅ ' πε̅ει̅ ἄ̅νε̅ν̅ταγ̅-
 35 νογ̅xe̅' ἄ̅ḳ̅'μ̅ḳ̅τα̅τ̅σαγ̅νε̅ αβαλ̅ ἥ̅ ἄ̅μ̅αγ̅ ἄ̅π̅ρ̅η̅τε̅
 ἄ̅π̅ḳ̅κα̅'τ̅κε̅' ε̅μαγ̅α̅π̅ḳ̅ xe̅ ογ̅λαγ̅ε̅ ' πε̅ ογ̅δε̅
 λ/30 μαγ̅ω̅π̅ ἄ̅νεφ̅'ἥ̅κε̅ζ̅β̅η̅γε̅' xe̅ ζ̅ḳ̅ζ̅β̅η̅γε̅ εγ̅'σ̅μ̅α̅ν̅ḳ̅
 νε̅' αλλα̅ ψ̅αογ̅'κα̅αγ̅ ἄ̅σ̅ω̅ογ̅ ἄ̅π̅ρ̅η̅τε̅ ἄ̅'ογ̅-
 5 ρ̅ε̅σ̅ο̅γ̅ε̅ ζ̅ḳ̅ τ̅ογ̅ω̅η̅' π̅ι̅σαγ̅'νε̅ ἄ̅τε̅ π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅' ἄ̅σε̅-

17 ογ, γ written over an uncertain letter. 18 Three letters were erased at the beginning of the line. 31 {εφ}ψαφ ed. pr. 1

29.6 ζωφ i.e., ζωβ 6-7 ζίτοοτḳ MS: ζίτοοτογ Till (Or.) 17 ογζḳ <ζḳ> Till (Or.) 1 μḳ<τ>ατ ed. pr. 14-15 ζḳμḳτ̅τα̅ει̅σ̅η̅ψ̅ε̅, The second τ written over c. 16 {ζ}ḳζḳσ̅η̅ψ̅ε̅ ed. pr. 16-17 ε{α}γζαειε ed. pr. 1

root has no | fruit either, but | though he thinks to himself,
²⁰ "I have come into being," yet | he will perish by himself. |
 For this reason, he who did not exist | at all will | never
 come into existence. What, then, did he ²⁵ wish him to
 think of himself? | This: "I have come into being like the |
 shadows and phantoms | of the night." When | the light
 shines on the terror ³⁰ which that person had experienced,
 | he knows that it is nothing. |

Thus they were ignorant | of the Father, he being the
 one ^{29.1} whom they did not see. Since | it was terror and
 disturbance | and instability | and doubt and ⁵ division,
 there were many | illusions at work | by means of these, and
 (there were) empty fictions, as if | they were sunk in sleep
¹⁰ and found themselves in | disturbing dreams. Either
 (there is) a place | to which they are fleeing, or | without
 strength they come (from) having chased | after others, or
 they are involved in ¹⁵ striking blows, or they are receiving
 | blows themselves, or they have fallen from high places, |
 or they take off into | the air though they do not even have
 wings. ²⁰ Again, sometimes (it is as) if people | were mur-
 dering them, though there is | no one even pursuing them,
 or they themselves | are killing their neighbors, | for they
 have been stained with ²⁵ their blood. | When those who |
 are going through | all these things wake up, they see noth-
 ing, | they who were in the midst ³⁰ of all these distur-
 bances, | for they are nothing. | Such is the way | of those
 who have cast | ignorance aside ³⁵ from them like sleep, |
 not esteeming it as anything, | nor do they esteem its
^{30.1} works as solid | things either, but they | leave them be-
 hind like a dream in the night. The ⁵ knowledge of the

ωιτῆ· εἰποῦαειν· πε πρητε πε πεει ἴνταφееиφ·
 εφῆκατκε ἴβι ποῦεει ποῦεει ἴπсап ἴεнеφоеи
 10 ἴнатсауне· ἴοῦαза πρητε πε πεει ἴтρεφсатне
 ката θε ἴἴтаφнезсе· {αἰω} οὔπεтнаἴноуφ
 ἴπρωме етастаφ ἴἴнезсе· οῦαζἴ οὔмака-
 15 ἴριос πε πεει ἴтаφоῦηη ἴанвел нивἴлееу
 οῦαζ ἴαφωт· нсωφ ἴβι πипη(εὔм)а ἴεтнс
 20 авал зἴ πтρεφἴтоῦнасῆ· εαφт тоотῆ ἴἴпет-
 ωηω азρηἴ зἴ пеἴснт· аφтρεφтωк аретῆ ἴахἴ
 неφоуерите· же неἴἴпатῆтωоῦη δε πε писау-
 25 ἴне ἴтἴ πιωт· οῦαза поῦἴωηῆ авал· ἴπεφωηре
 аφἴт неῦ рите аἴме· ἴἴтароῦнеу гар араφ· аἰω
 аἴсωтἴ араφ· аφт неῦ атроῦἴаи тπε· авал
 30 ἴмаφ οῦαζἴ ἴατοῦψαλмеφ· οῦαζἴнн тоῦемаз-
 те ахἴ пψἴἴἴрит·
 εаφоῦωηῆ авал· ἴεφтамо ἴмау· апиωт пи-
 ἴатψапῆ· εаφниφε ἴзηтоῦ ἴἴпетзἴ пимееуе
 35 εφειἴре ἴπεφоῦωψе εаἰаи ἴἴпоῦаειн ἴβι заз·
 ла/з1 аἰкатоῦ ἴараφ же неῦоеи ἴψἴἴмо πε ἴаἰω
 неῦнеу аπεφeine ен ἴπε аἰω неἴпоῦсоῦωἴнῆ
 5 ἴβι θῦλη же ἴтаφеи аἴвал зἴтоотс ἴоῦсарз
 ἴἴсмат· емπεлауе зωс ἴтἴбнἴмаазе ἴтоотῆ же
 тἴἴнтἴатἴтеко <оῦ>ἴἴнтатемазте ἴἴмас те еφ-
 10 ψехе аη ἴзἴ зἴвἴре· аин еφψехе аἴпетзἴ
 φηт· ἴπιωт· εаφἴeine авал· ἴпψехе ἴнатἴψта·
 15 εаφψехе авал зἴ ἴρωφ ἴβι ποῦаειн ἴοῦαζἴ
 тсμη ἴтоотῆ ἴἴтасмисе ἴπιωἴнез аφἴт неῦ·
 меуе зἴ ἴἴтἴἴἴηηт· ἴзἴ нае зἴ оῦжееиде зἴ
 ппη(εὔм)а ἴἴбам· авал зἴ тἴἴнт<ат>арηхс
 20 ἴἴте πιωт· οῦαζἴ тἴἴнтзлаб ἴεаφтроῦωахἴ ἴβι
 николасис· ἴἴн нимастигз· же ἴтау петеἴ-
 ἴнеῦсарἴ· ἴзρεφ ἴнизаeine· ἴἴтаἰр зае ἴпинае
 25 ἴзρηἴ зἴ ἴтпλaηη οῦαζἴη зἴснеуз ἴаἰω ἴἴ
 оῦбам· аφβαлоу аἴвал аἰω аφхпиау зἴ псау-

30.11 сатне MS: Read сауне Till (ZNW): саῦтне (?) ed. pr. ἴ12 {αἰω} ed. pr. ἴ13 ета<з>стаφ ed. pr. ἴ23 δε written over π. ἴ

31.4 <на>θῦλη ed. pr. ἴ8 <оῦ>ἴἴнтатемазте Grobel: <т>ἴἴнтатемаз-
 те ed. pr.: <ἴн т>ἴἴнтатемазте Till (Or.) ἴ19 тἴἴнт<ат>арηхс ed. pr.
 ἴ23 неῦсарἴ MS: неῦсарме ed. pr.: неῦсарἴ Till (Or.) ἴἴзρεφ MS: зἴ
 зρεφ ed. pr.: ἴзреу Till (Or.) ἴἴнизаeine MS: ἴβι заeine Grobel ἴ

Father they value | as the dawn. This is the way | each one has acted, | as though asleep at the time | when he was ignorant. ¹⁰ And this is the way | he has <come to knowledge>, as if | he had awakened. {and} Good | for the man who will return | and awaken. And ¹⁵ blessed is he who has opened | the eyes of the blind.

And | the Spirit ran after him, | hastening from | waking him up. Having extended his hand ²⁰ to him who lay upon the | ground, he set him up | on his feet, for | he had not yet risen. | He gave them the means of knowing ²⁵ the knowledge of the Father and the | revelation of his Son. | For, when they had seen him and had | heard him, he granted them to | taste him and ³⁰ to smell him and | to touch the | beloved Son.

When he had appeared | instructing them about the Father, | the incomprehensible one, when he had breathed into them ³⁵ what is in the thought, doing | his will, when many had | received the light, they turned ^{31.1} to him. For the material ones were strangers | and did not see his likeness | and had not known | him. For he came ⁵ by means of fleshly | form, while nothing blocked | his course because | incorruptibility is irresistible, | since he, again, spoke ¹⁰ new things, still speaking about | what is in the heart of the Father, having | brought forth the flawless word. |

When light had spoken | through his mouth, ¹⁵ as well as his voice | which gave birth to life, he | gave them thought and understanding | and mercy and salvation and the powerful spirit | from the infiniteness ²⁰ and the sweetness of the Father. | Having made punishments | and tortures cease — for it was they which | were leading astray from his face some | who were in need of mercy, in ²⁵ error and in bonds — | he both destroyed them with power | and

30 νε ἰπε· αϥωπε εϥοει ἵουῖμαειτ· ἵνεει ενεϥ-
 σαρῃ ἰ αῶ οῦσαῦνε· ἵνεει ετοῖ ἰ ἵατσαῦνε·
 οῦβινε ἵνεει εἵνεϥωινε· οῦαζν· οῦταχρο ἰ ἵ-
 35 νεει ετενεῦναειν ἀραῦ ἰ οῦμῆτατχωζῃ ἵνεει
 ετεἰνεϥχαζῃ
 λβ/32 εἵταϥ πε πῶωσ ἰ εἵταζκωε ἵσωϥ ἰ πιπστε-
 ἰ ψις ἵεσαῦ ετεἰμποῦσωρῃ ἰ αϥεἰ αϥωινε ἵσα
 5 πει ἵταϥῖσωρῃ αϥρεϥε ἵταρεϥῖβινε ἵμαϥ χε
 πιπστεϥειс ἰ οῦωπ πε· εϥζῃ τβιχ ἵββοῦρ·
 ἰ εσεμαζτε ἵμαϥ· πσαπ· ἰ ἵταϥ ετοῦναβινε
 10 ἵποῦεει ϥαρεπωπ τηρῃ ἰ ατοῦ] ἰ πῶωνε
 ατοῦνεμ· πιρητε ἰ πετωαατ ἵπιουεει· ετε
 ἰ τεει τε· ἰ οῦνεμ τηρῃ ετεἰϥασσωκ ἵπενταζῃ
 15 ϥτα ἵσ·ἰχι ἵμαϥ ἀβαλ ζῖτοοτῃ ἵἰταειε
 ἵββοῦρ· ἵϥπωνε ἵἰοῦἵνεμ αῶω πιρητε· ἵτε-
 πωπ ἰ ρ ῶε· πιμαεινε· ἵπετῃ ἰ ποῦζραῦ πε·
 20 πιωτ πε πει· ἰ καν ζῃ ψαβαττον επεσαῦ
 ἵἵταϥβιἵτῃ εαϥζαειε· ἀπιῖζειτ· αϥῃ ζωβ ἀραῦ
 αϥτῃζο ἵἵπιασαῦ εαϥἵτῃ ἀρῃἵ ἰ ζῃ πιζῖειτ
 38-39 χεκασε ερετῃἵἵμε ἵζῃτ ἰ ἵτῶτῃ νε ἵωῃρε
 ἵτε πῃμε ἰ ἵζῃτ ἰ χε εῦ πε πσαβῖβατον πει
 25 ετεμεϥῶε ἵἵτεποῦχεει οῦωσῃ ἵζῃτῃ ἰ χε-
 κασε ερετῃῶεχε ἀβαλ ἰ ζῃ πιζωοῦ ετῃζρηει
 πει ἰ ετε ἵἵτεϥ οῦωῃ ἵἵμεῦ ἰ οῦαζῃ ἀβαλ ζῃ
 30 ποῦαειν· ἰ ετεμαϥζωτῃ· χε ϥχῃκ ἀβαλ ἰ
 ῶεχε βε ἀβαλ ζῃ φῃτ χε ἰ ἵτῶτῃνε πε
 πιζωοῦ ετῃῃκ ἰ ἀβαλ αῶω εϥοῦῃζ· ζῃ τῃνε
 35 ἵἵβι ποῦαειν· ετεμαϥωχῃ ἰ ῶεχε ατῃἵνε ἵἵ
 40 νεει ετῶἵνε ἵσῶω αῶω πσαῦνε ἵνεει· ἰ ἵταῦῃ
 λγ/33 ἵναβι ἵζρηἵ ζῃ τοῦπλανῃἵ ἰ ταχρο ἵτοῦριτε
 ἵνεει ἵἵταζσλατε· οῦαζα σῶτ ἵνεἵτῃβιχ ἀνεει
 ετῶωνε· σανῶ ἰ ἵνεει ετῃκεειτ· αῶω νετῃα·
 5 ἵσι ἵτετῃἵ ἵταν ἵνεῦ· ἵτεἵτῃτοῦνεс νεει
 ετοῦωῶε αἵτῶων· ἵτετῃνεεζεε ἵνετῃἵκατκε·

32.4 πιπστεϥειс, π apparently written over с. ἰ¹⁰ ἵπιουεει, the first ἰ written over an erased ο. ἰ²³ A siglum at the beginning of the line calls attention to a siglum over χε, indicating that lines 38-39 are to be inserted here. A short stroke appears at the end of the line. ἰ³⁸⁻³⁹ These lines are set off by a decoration over ἵτῶτῃ, and by a siglum. The latter appears in the margin before ἵζῃτ. ἰ

confounded them with knowledge. | He became a | way for those who were gone astray ³⁰ and knowledge for those who were | ignorant, a discovery for those | who were searching, and a support | for those who were wavering, | immaculateness for those who ³⁵ were defiled.

He is the shepherd | who left behind the ninety- ^{32.1} nine sheep which were not lost. | He went searching for the one which | had gone astray. He rejoiced when he | found it, for ninety-nine ⁵ is a number that is in the left hand | which holds it. But | when the one is found, | the entire number | passes to the right (hand). As ¹⁰ that which lacks the one — that is, | the entire right (hand) — | draws what was deficient and | takes it from the | left-hand side and brings (it) to the ¹⁵ right, so too the number | becomes one hundred. It is the sign of the one who is in | their sound; it is the Father. | Even on the Sabbath, he labored for the sheep | which he found fallen into the ²⁰ pit. He gave life to | the sheep, having brought it up | from the pit in order that you | might know interiorly — ³⁸ you, the sons of interior ³⁹ knowledge — | what is the Sabbath, on which it is not fitting ²⁵ for salvation to be idle, | in order that you may speak | from the day from above, | which has no night, | and from the light ³⁰ which does not sink because it is perfect. |

Say, then, from the heart that | you are the perfect day | and in you dwells | the light that does not fail. ³⁵ Speak of the truth with those who | search for it and (of) knowledge to those | who have committed sin in their error. ^{33.1} Make firm the foot of those | who have stumbled and stretch out | your hands to those who are ill. Feed | those who are hungry and ⁵ give repose to those who are weary, and | raise up those who wish to | rise, and awaken those who | sleep. For

10 $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\eta$ $\bar{\eta}\gamma\alpha\rho'$ $\tau\epsilon'$ $\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau'$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau'$ $\epsilon\tau'$ $\tau\alpha\kappa\bar{\mu}$ $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\omega\alpha\eta\pi\tau\omega\kappa'$ $\bar{\rho}$ $\dagger\zeta\epsilon'$ $\psi\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\kappa$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\chi\iota$
 $\bar{\zeta}\rho\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\rho\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}$ $\{MIN\}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\chi\iota$ $\bar{\zeta}\rho\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$
 $\alpha\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}'\kappa\alpha\gamma\epsilon'$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}'\bar{\eta}\alpha\chi\omicron\gamma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 15 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon'$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\lambda}\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\alpha}'\omicron\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma'$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ $\kappa\eta\tau$ $\chi\epsilon$
 $\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\zeta\epsilon'$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$
 20 $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron'$ $\bar{\rho}\omicron\sigma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\lambda}\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\sigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega\sigma\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\tau\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$
 $\chi\rho\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\zeta}\alpha\epsilon\iota\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\zeta}\omega\sigma$ $\omicron\gamma\sigma\omicron\zeta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$
 25 $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\alpha\tau\bar{\zeta}\epsilon\pi$ $\alpha\chi\iota'$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\beta\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\alpha\pi\iota\bar{\zeta}\epsilon\pi'$
 $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho'$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\kappa\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\sigma\bar{\zeta}\beta\eta\gamma\epsilon'$ $\bar{\zeta}\omega\sigma$
 $\omicron\gamma\bar{\lambda}\alpha\tau'$ $\bar{\zeta}\epsilon\pi$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma$ $\bar{\zeta}\omega\sigma$ $\omicron\gamma\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma$ $\pi\epsilon$
 30 $\kappa\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\sigma\bar{\zeta}\beta\eta\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\gamma\epsilon'$ $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\iota\omega\tau'$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ $\bar{\lambda}$
 $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau'$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\sigma\bar{\zeta}\alpha\lambda\beta$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon$
 35 $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\gamma\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha'$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\alpha\sigma\chi\iota$ $\sigma\alpha\gamma\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}'\bar{\mu}\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\chi\omega\omicron\gamma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$
 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}'\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\omega\bar{\zeta}$ $\psi\alpha\gamma\chi\iota$ $\sigma\alpha\gamma\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$
 40 $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\iota\omega\tau'$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\alpha$
 $\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\beta}\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon'$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\zeta}\omicron$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$
 5 $\bar{\mu}\alpha\iota\epsilon'$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\sigma\psi\alpha\tau\omega\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ $\dagger\bar{\zeta}\gamma\lambda\eta$ $\psi\alpha\sigma\tau$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\lambda}$ $\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$
 $\bar{\psi}\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\sigma\bar{\tau}$ $\sigma\alpha$ $\tau\pi\epsilon'$ $\bar{\eta}\sigma\bar{\mu}\alpha\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\rho\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}$
 10 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau'$ $\psi\omega\lambda\bar{\mu}$ $\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$
 $\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\lambda}$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\bar{\eta}$ $(\epsilon\gamma\bar{\mu})\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}$
 $\bar{\lambda}$ $\psi\omega\lambda\bar{\mu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\psi\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\kappa$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\sigma$ $\psi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$
 15 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\omega\bar{\mu}\bar{\sigma}$ $\alpha\bar{\zeta}\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\iota\omega\tau'$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\alpha'$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\sigma$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\chi\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\bar{\zeta}\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\pi\bar{\mu}\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 $\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\psi\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha'$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\gamma\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma$
 20 $\bar{\mu}\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\psi}\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$
 $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\lambda}$ $\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\bar{\zeta}\omega\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\bar{\zeta}$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa$ $\epsilon\bar{\eta}$

33.12 {MIN} ed. pr. ¹15 $\kappa<\omega>$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ Schenke ¹18 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ MS: $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ (?) ed. pr. ¹33-34 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}<\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}>$ $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon$ Till (Or.) ¹39 A decorative mark follows the last line of the page. ¹

34.3 $\pi\iota\omega\tau$, $\pi\iota\omega$ possibly written over erased letters. ¹9-10 $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau<\sigma>\psi\omega\lambda\bar{\mu}$ $\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $<\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau\omicron\gamma>$ Till (Or.) ¹10 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ { $\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ } Schenke ¹11 $\pi\epsilon$ $<\pi>\pi\bar{\eta}\alpha$ Till (ed. pr.) ¹14 $\bar{\eta}\{\tau\}\bar{\eta}$ Till (Or.) ¹18 $\omicron\gamma\{\epsilon\}\epsilon\iota$ Schenke ¹21 $\omega\tau\epsilon$ MS: $\psi\tau\epsilon$ (i.e., $\psi\tau\alpha$) Grobel: $\bar{\zeta}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ Dubois ¹

you are the | understanding that is drawn forth. If
¹⁰ strength acts thus, it becomes | even stronger. Be con-
 cerned with yourselves; | do not be concerned with | other
 things which you have | rejected from yourselves. ¹⁵ Do not
 return to what you have vomited | to eat it. Do not be
 moths. | Do not be worms, for you have already | cast it off. |
 Do not become a ²⁰ (dwelling) place for the devil, for | you
 have already destroyed him. | Do not strengthen (those
 who are) obstacles to you | who are collapsing, as though
 (you were) a support (for them). | For the lawless one is
 someone to treat ²⁵ ill rather than the just one. | For the
 former | does his works as a | lawless person; the latter as | a
 righteous person does his ³⁰ works among others. So | you,
 do the will of the Father, | for you are from him. |

For the Father is sweet and in | his will is what is good.
³⁵ He has taken cognizance of | the things that are yours
 that you might find rest | in them. For by the | fruits does
 one take cognizance of | the things that are yours because
 the children of the Father ^{34.1} are his fragrance, for | they
 are from the grace of his | countenance. For this reason the
 Father loves | his fragrance and manifests it ⁵ in every
 place, and if it mixes | with matter he gives his fragrance |
 to the light and in his repose | he causes it to surpass every
 form | (and) every sound. For it is not the ears that ¹⁰ smell
 the fragrance, but | (it is) the breath that has | the sense of
 smell and attracts the fragrance | to itself and is submerged
 | in the fragrance of the Father, so that he ¹⁵ thus shelters it
 and takes it to the place | where it came from, | from the
 first fragrance which | is grown cold. It is something in a |
 psychic form, being ²⁰ like cold water | which has frozen

25 ετε·ψαροϋμεγε ἰ αραϋ ἡβι νετνεϋ αραϋ χε
 οϋ'καζ πε· ἡἡἡσως εψαϋβωλ ἡ ἡκεσαπ· ερε-
 ψανοϋνιϋε ἰ σακῆ ψαϋζμαμ· ἡσταει ἰ βε ετ-
 αρῶ ζἡαβαλ· ζἡ πιπωψε ἰ νε ετβε πεει αϋι ἡβι
 30 πναζ'τε· αϋβωλ ἡπιπωψε αβαλ ἡ αϋω αϋεινε
 ἡπιπληρωμα ἰ ετζημ· ἡτε †αγαπἡ χεκασε
 ἰ παραϋ· νεϋσωτε αϋωπε ἰ αλλα †ἡἡτοϋεει
 τε· ἡτε ἰ πιμεεγε ετχηκ αβαλ·
 35 πε^{ει} <πε> πλογοϋ ἡπιϋμνοϋϋε ἡ'τβινε· ἡτε
 πιπληρωμα ἡνε'ει ετσαμτ· αβαλ ζαχωϋ·
 λε/35 ἡ ἡπιοϋχεει·τε(ει) ετνηηϋ· ἰ αβαλ· ἡπσα ηζρε·
 ε'σ'σαμτ ἰ ἡβι τοϋζελπιϋ ετοϋσαμτ ἰ αβαλ
 5 ζητῶ ετε πεϋεινε· ἡ πε ποϋαειν ετε ἡἡ
 ζαειβεϋ ἰ ἡζητῆ ειϋχε ἡπσαπ· ε'τἡμεϋ
 ψαϋμααζε· αει ἡβι ἰ πιπληρωμα εнтаϋωπε
 10 εν ἰ ἡβι πιωτῶ ἡ†ζῆλη αβαλ ζἡτο'οτῶ
 ἡ†ἡἡταταρηχῶ ἡτε ἰ πιωτ· ετἡηηϋ ατἡ οϋαειϋ
 ἡ'πιωτα καιτοιγε ἡπελαγε ἰ βἡβαμ ἡχοοϋ χε
 ϋναει ἡπ'ρητε· ἡβι πιατ·τεκο αλλα
 15 αϋα^{ωε(ε)ει} ἡβι πιβαθοϋ ἡτε πι'ωτ· [ζα'ζ'τηϋ
 εν·] αϋω νεϋωοοπ ἰ ζαζηηϋ εν ἡβι πιμεγε ἡτε
 ἰ †πλανἡ· οϋζωϋ ἡσζἡ πε· ἰ οϋζωϋ εϋματἡ
 20 ἡσεζωϋ ἡ αρετῆ· πε· ζἡ πιβινε ἡπεει ἡταζι
 ψα πεει ετεϋνατα·'στο ἡμαϋ· πιταστο γαρ·
 σε'μοϋτε αραϋ χε μετανοια ἰ
 25 ετβε πεει α†ἡἡτατ·τεκο ἡ νιϋε αβαλ· ασοϋ-
 αζῶ ἡσα πε(ἡ)'ταϋῤ ἡαβι· χεκασε εϋεἡ'ταν
 ἡμαϋ πκωε γαρ αβαλ πε ἰ πωωχπ· αποϋαειν
 30 ζἡ πιωτα ἰ πιϋεχε ἡτε πιπληρωμα· ἡ πσαειν
 γαρ ψαϋπωτ· απμα ε'τε οϋἡ ψωνε ἡζητῆ χε
 πιοϋ'ωψε· ἡταϋ πε· ετωοοπ ἰ ἡζητῆ πετῤ ψτα
 35 βε· μαϋζα'πῆ· χε οϋἡτεϋ ἡμεϋ ἡπε'τῆψαατ·
 ἡμαϋ πιρητε πιπλη'ρωμα ετε ἡῤ ψτα εν
 λς/36 πωτα ἰ ἡταϋ· ϋμοϋζ ἡμαϋ πενταϋ^{ἡτεειϋ} αβ'αλ
 ζἡτοοτῆ αμαζ ἰ πετῆψαατ· ἡμαϋ χεκασε ἰ βε

35 <πε> πλογοϋ *ed. pr.* ἰ 36 τβινε<ι> Till (*Or.*) ἰ

35.1 οϋχεει·τε(ει) Till (*Or.*) ἰ 9 ψτῶ MS: Read ψτα Schenke, Till (*Or.*)

ἰ 11 <π>οϋαειϋ *ed. pr.* ἰ 15 αϋε(ε)ει Schenke, Till (*Or.*): {α}ϋε εει Grobel

ἰ 18 σ<ω>ζἡ (?) *ed. pr.* ἰ 35 ἡμαϋ MS: Read ἡμαϋ Till (*Or.*) ἰ

(?), which is on earth | that is not solid, of which those | who see it think it | is earth; afterwards it dissolves²⁵ again. If a breath | draws it, it gets hot. The fragrances, | therefore, that are cold are from the division. | For this reason faith came; | it dissolved the division,³⁰ and it brought the warm pleroma | of love in order that | the cold should not come again | but there should be the unity of | perfect thought.³⁵

This <is> the word of the gospel | of the discovery of the pleroma, for | those who await^{35.1} the salvation which is coming | from on high. While their | hope, for which they | are waiting, is in waiting — they whose image⁵ is light with no shadow | in it — then, at that time, | the pleroma | is proceeding to come. The <deficiency> | of matter came to be not through¹⁰ the limitlessness of | the Father, who is coming to give time for | the deficiency, although no one | could say that the incorruptible one would | come in this way. But¹⁵ the depth of the Father was multiplied | and the thought of | error did not exist | with him. It is a thing that falls, | it is a thing that easily stands upright (again)²⁰ in the discovery of him | who has come to him whom he shall bring back. | For the bringing back | is called repentance. |

For this reason incorruptibility²⁵ breathed forth; it pursued the one | who had sinned in order that he might | rest. For forgiveness is | what remains for the light in the deficiency, | the word of the pleroma.³⁰ For the physician runs to the place | where sickness is, because | that is the will that is | in him. He who has a deficiency, then, does not | hide it, because one has what³⁵ the other lacks. So the pleroma, | which has no deficiency, | but fills up the deficiency, is what he^{36.1} provided from himself for filling up | what he lacks, in order that | therefore he might receive the

5 πΙΖΜΑΤ Ε΄ΦΑΧΙΤῆ· Χ<Ε> ΜΠCΑΠ Ι' ΕΤΕΝΕΦΨΑΑΤ·
 ΝΕΜΝΤΕΦ Μ̄ΜΕΥ ΜΠΕΖΜΑΤ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ Ι' ΝΕΟΥ-
 ΤCΒ̄ΚΟ ΠΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ Ζ̄Ν Ι' ΠΜΑ· ΕΤΕΡΕΠΕΖΜΑΤ
 Μ̄ΜΕΥ Ι' ΕΝ ΠCΑΠ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙ ΜΠΕΕΙ ΕΙ'ΤCΑΒ̄Κ
 10 ΠΕΤῆΨΑΑΤ· Μ̄ΜΑΦ ΑΦ̄ΟΥΑΝῆΦ· ΕΦΟΕΙ
 Ν̄ΝΟΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ Ι' ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΒΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΑΕΙΝ
 Ι' Ν̄ΤΜΝΕ· ΕΝΤΑΖΨΑΕΙΕ ΑΡΑΦ ΧΕ Ι' ΟΥΑΤ·ΨΒ̄Τῆ ΠΕ·
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ {Μ̄}ΠΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C· ΑΨΨΕΧΕ ΑΡΑΦ Ζ̄Ν
 15 ΤΟῩΜΗΤΕ· ΨΙΝΕ· Ν̄CΕΧΙ Ν̄ΝΟΥCΤΟ· Ι' Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΕΕΙ
 Ν̄ΤΑΖΨΤΑΡΤῆ· Ν̄ΦΤΑΖ'CΟΥ Μ̄ΠΙΤΩΖC· ΠΙΤΩΖC ΠΕ
 Ι' ΠΝΑΕ· Μ̄ΠΙΩΤ· ΕΤΕΦΝΑΝΑΕ Ι' ΝΕΥ· ΝΕΝΤΑΦΤΑΖ-
 20 CΟΥ ΔΕ Ι' ΝΕ ΝΕΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΖΧΩΚ ΑΒΑΛ· Ι' Ν̄CΚΕΥΟC ΓΑΡ
 ΕΤΜΗΖ ΝΕΤΕ΄ΨΑΟΥΤΑΖCΟΥ· ΠCΑΠ ΔΕ· ΕΤΕ
 Ι' ΠΤΩΖC ΝΟΥΕΕΙ· ΝΑΒΩΛ Α'ΒΑΛ· ΨΑΦΨΟΥΟ· ΟΥΕ-
 25 Ζ̄Ν ΤΛᾹΕΙΒΕ ΑΤΡΕΦῆ ΨΤΑ ΠΕ ΠΖΩΒ Ι' ΕΤΕ {Μ̄}-
 ΠΕΦΤΩΖC· ΝΑΒΩΚ Ι' Ν̄ΤΟΟΤῆ ΠCΑΠ ΓΑΡ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΕΥ
 Ι' ΨΑΡΕΟΥΝΙΦΕ CΑΚῆ ΟΥΕΕΙ Ι' Ζ̄Ν ΤΒΑΜ Μ̄ΠΕΤΝ̄ΜΜΕΦ
 30 ΑΛ̄ΛΑ· ΖΑΤ̄Ν ΠΕΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΦ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΑΤ·ΨΤΑ ΠΕ·
 ΜΑΥΝΑΖ ΤΒ̄ΒΕ Ν̄ΛΑΑΥ Ι' ΖΑΖΤΗΦ· ΟΥΔΕ ΜΑΨΨΟΥΕ
 ΛΑΥΕ Ι' ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΤῆΨΑΑΤ Μ̄ΜΑΦ ΨΑΦ'ΜΑΖῆ ΑΝ
 35 Μ̄ΜΑΦ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΙΩΤ· ΕΦ̄ΧΗΚ ΑΒΑΛ· ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟC ΠΕ·
 ΦCΑΥ'ΝΕ Ν̄ΝΙΧΟ Ν̄ΤΟΟΤῆ ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΦ ΠΕ Ι' Ν̄ΤΑΦΧΟ
 Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ζ̄Ν ΠΙΠΑΡΑΔΙC'CΟC Ν̄ΤΟΟΤῆ ΠΕ'Φ'ΠΑΡΑ-
 ΔΙC'CΟC ΔΕ Ι' ΠΕ ΠΕΦΜΑ Ν̄ΜΤΑΝ
 λζ/37 ΠΕΕΙ Ι' ΠΕ ΠΙΧΩΚ ΑΒΑΛ· Ζ̄Ν ΠΙΜΕΥΕ Ι' Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ·
 ΟΥΕΖ̄Ν ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ Ι' Ν̄ΨΕΧΕ· Ν̄ΤΕ· ΠΕΦΜΑΚΜΕΚ Ι' ΠΟΥ-
 5 ΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΦΨΕ̄ΧΕ· ΠΕ ΠΖΩΦ Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΠΕΦΟΥΨ'ΨΕ· ΟΥΕΕΙ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥΩΝῆ ΑΒΑΛ Ι' Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΦ-
 ΨΕΧΕ· ΧΙΝ ΕΥΟ Ν̄ΒΑ·ΘΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΕΦΜΕΥΕ· ΠΛΟΓΟC
 10 Ν̄'ΤΑΖῆ ΨΑΡῆ Ν̄ΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ· ΑΦΟΥΩΝῆ Ι' Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ·
 ΟῩΑ·Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΝΟΥC· ΕΦ'ΨΕΧΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΟΥΕΕΙ Ζ̄ΝΝ
 ΟΥ'ΧΑΡΙC ΕCΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ· ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ Ι' ΑΡΑΦ ΧΕ ΠΙ-
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕΥ'ΨΟΟΠ Ν̄ΖΗΤC ΕΜΠΟΥΩΝΕΖ
 15 Ι' ΑΒΑΛ· ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΒΕ ΑΤΡΕΦῆ ΨΑΡῆ Ν̄ΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ·
 Μ̄Π'CΑΠ Ν̄ΤΑΦῆ· Ζ̄ΝΕΦ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΟΥ'ΨΨΕ· Μ̄ΠΕΝΤΑΖ-

36.3 χ<ε> Till (Or.) Ι' 13-14 {Μ̄}Π̄ΧC Till (Or.) Ι' 15 ΨΙΝΕ MS: ΨΙΝΑ *ed. pr.*
 Ι' 26 {Μ̄}ΠΕΦΤΩΖC Till (Or.) Ι' 28 CΑΚῆ ΟΥΕΕΙ MS: ΟΥΕΕΙ CΑΝῆ Till (Or.) Ι' 30
 λλ, λ written in the left margin. Ι'

grace. For when | he was deficient, he did not have ⁵ the grace. That is why | there was diminution existing in | the place where there is no grace. | When that which was diminished | was received, he revealed what he ¹⁰ lacked, being (now) a pleroma; | that is the discovery of the light | of truth which rose upon him because | it is immutable.

That is why | Christ was spoken of in their ¹⁵ midst, so that those who were disturbed | might receive a bringing back, and he | might anoint them with the ointment. The ointment is | the mercy of the Father who will have mercy | on them. But those whom he has anointed ²⁰ are the ones who have become perfect. | For full jars are the | ones that are usually anointed. But when | the anointing of one (jar) is dissolved, | it is emptied, and the ²⁵ reason for there being a deficiency is the thing | by which its ointment goes. | For at that time | a breath draws it, a thing | in the power of that which is with it. ³⁰ But from him who | has no deficiency, no seal is removed | nor is anything emptied, | but what he lacks | the perfect Father fills again. ³⁵ He is good. He knows | his plantings, because it is he | who planted them in his paradise. | Now his paradise | is his place of rest.

This ³⁷⁻¹ is the perfection in the thought | of the Father, and these are | the words of his meditation. | Each one of his words ⁵ is the work of his | one will in the revelation | of his Word. While they were still | depths of his thought, the Word | which was first to come forth revealed ¹⁰ them along with a mind that | speaks, the one Word in | silent grace. He was called | thought, since they | were in it before being revealed. ¹⁵ It came about then, that he | was first to come forth at the time when the will of him | who willed

- 20 οὔωψε ἰ ποὔωψε δε πετε πιωτ μαῖτῆ ἡμαϑ·
 ἡζητῆ οὔαζῆ ἰ πετῆ ενεϑ· μαρελαγε ψωῖπε
 αχνητῆ οὔδε μαρελαγῖε ψωπε αχῆ ποὔωψε·
- 25 ἡτε ἰ πιωτ· αλλα οὔαττεζερετῆ· ἡ πε· πεϑ-
 οὔωψε· πεϑῖχνοϑ ἰ πε ποὔωψε· αὔω ἡ λαγε
 ἰ ἡἡμε αραϑ· οὔτε ἡψοοπ· ἰ εν· ατροὔτ ζτηγ
- 30 αραϑ ψινα ἰ ἡσεεμαζτε ἡμαϑ αλλα· ἡ πσαπ
 ετεφοὔωψε· πετῆοὔαψῆ πει πε· καν εψω-
 πε· ἰ επνεϑ αβαλ· ενῆρ ενεϑ εν· ἰ ζῆ λαγε
 ἡναζῆ πνοὔτε ποὔωψε· πιωτ· ϑσαϑνε γαρ
- 35 ἡτοὔζοὔειτε τηροὔ· ἡ τοὔζαν· ἰ ζῆ τοὔζαν
 γαρ ϑναψῆτοὔ ἰ αζρεϑ· τζαν δε πε πχι σαϑνε·
- λη/38 ἰ απει εοηπ· πει δε πε πιωτ· ἡ πει ἡτα-
 τεζοὔειτε· εἰ αῖβαλ ἡμαϑ πει ετοὔναςωῖτε
 αραϑ τηροὔ ἡβι νεεἰ ἡταζῖεἰ αβαλ ἡμαϑ αὔοὔ-
 ωνῆ· ἡ δε αβαλ αὔεαὔ ἡ οὔῖτελη· ἡτε πεϑ-
- 5 ρεν·
 πρεν ἰ δε ἡπιωτ· πε πωηρε· ἡταϑ· ἡῖωαρῖ
 πενταϑτ ρεν απενῖταζεἰ αβαλ ἡμαϑ ενταϑ ρω
- 10 ἡ πε· αὔω αϑμεστῆ ἡνοὔωηῖρε· αϑτ πεϑρεν
 αραϑ ετε νεῖοὔἡτεϑῆ ἡταϑ πε ετε οὔἡῖτεϑ
 ἡκееἰ ἡιμ εὔωοοπ ζαζῖτηϑ· ἡβι πιωτ· οὔἡῖτεϑ
- 15 ἡπρε(ἡ) ἡ οὔἡῖτεϑ ἡπωηρε οὔἡ βαμ ἡῆενεϑ
 αραϑ πρεν δε ἡῖταϑ οὔατνεϑ αραϑ πε χε
 ἰ ἡταϑ οὔαεετῆ πε πμὔῖστηριον ἡπιατνεϑ αραϑ
- 20 ἡ εῖἡἡηὔ αζῆμεψχε εὔμηζ ἡμαϑ τηροὔ ἡ-
 τοοτϑ και γαρ· ἰ πιωτ· σεχοὔ ἡπεϑρεν· ἰ εν
 ϑοὔανῆ δε αβαλ· ζῆ οὔῖωηρε·
- 25 πιρητε βε οὔναβ πε πρε(ἡ) ἡ ἡιμ βε· πεταψ
 τεϑε ρεν νεϑ ἰ πιναβ ἡρεν ἡσαβηλ αραϑ ἰ οὔαε-
 ετῆ· πει ετε πωϑ πε ἰ πρεν οὔαζῆ ἡωηρε
- 30 ἡπρεν ἡ νεεἰ ετενεϑματῆ ἡμαϑ ἡ ἡζητοὔ· ἡβι
 πρεν ἡπιωτ ἰ παλιν νεὔματῆ ἡμαϑ ζωοὔ ἰ ζῆ

37.25 ἰχνοϑ, i.e., ἰχνοϑ ἰ 33 ζῆλαγε <νε> Till (*Or.*) ἰ 36-37 ϑναψῆτοὔ <χε ἡτ>αζῆ εὔ Till (*Or.*): ϑναψῆ ἡταζοὔρ εὔ *ed. pr.* ἰ 37 αζρεϑ MS: αζρηῖ Schenke ἰ 38 πει, the second ε possibly written over π. ἰ

38.2-3 σωτ(ε) *ed. pr.*: κωτε Till (*Or.*) ἰ 24 πρε(ἡ), ε written over α. ἰ 25 πετα<ζ>ψ *ed. pr.* ἰ

desired it. | And the will is what the Father ²⁰ rests in and | is pleased with. Nothing | happens without him nor does anything | happen without the will of | the Father, but his will ²⁵ is unsearchable. His trace | is the will and no one | will know him nor is it possible | for one to scrutinize him in order to | grasp him. But ³⁰ when he wills, | what he wills is this — even if | the sight does not please them | in any way before God — | desiring the Father. For he knows the ³⁵ beginning of all of them and their end. | For at their end he will question them | directly. Now, the end is receiving knowledge | about the one who is hidden, and this is the Father, ^{38.1} from whom the beginning came | forth, to whom all will | return who have | come forth from him. ⁵ And they have appeared for the glory and the | joy of his name. |

Now the name of the Father is the Son. It is he | who first gave a name to the one | who came forth from him, who was himself, ¹⁰ and he begot him as a son. | He gave him his name which | belonged to him; he is the one to whom | belongs all that exists around | him, the Father. His is the name; ¹⁵ his is the Son. It is possible | for him to be seen. The name, however, | is invisible because | it alone is the | mystery of the invisible ²⁰ which comes to ears that are completely filled | with it by him. For indeed, | the Father's name is not spoken, | but it is apparent through a | Son.

In this way, then, the name is a great thing. ²⁵ Who, therefore, will be able to utter a name for him, | the great name, except him | alone to whom | the name belongs and the sons of the name | in whom rested ³⁰ the name of the Father, | (who) in turn themselves rested | in his name?

πεφρεν επιδη ογατωωπε 'πε πιωτ' νταφ
 35 ογαεετφ πεν'ταφμισε νμαφ νεφ νουρεν || ζαθη·
 εμπατεφτсeno νна'ων ψινα νφωωπε αχн
 τογα'πε νби прен мпиωτ' εφοετ' νχαεис· ετε
 λθ/39 πεει πε прен || мамне етарχ ζм πεφ'ογαζ
 саzne· ζн τбам· етχнк 'αβαλ· χε πιρεν ογα-
 5 вал ен 'πε· ζн ζнλεξис ογαζн ζн'мнτταειρεν
 πε πεφρεν 'αλλα· ογατνεу араφ πε 'αφτ' рен
 араφ ογαεετφ· 'εφνεу араφ ογαεετφ εν'ταφ
 10 ογαεετφ πετε ογ'н бам нт' рен араφ 'χε
 петенφωοοφ· 'ен мнτφ рен ммеу 'εунаτ' еу
 15 гар нрен· араφ 'πεει ετε нφωοοφ ен || πεει
 нтаφ етφοοφ· φω'οφ мн πεφкереn аγω
 'φсаγне нмаφ ογαεετφ 'аγω атреφτ' рен араφ
 20 ογ'аεετφ πιωτ' пе пωнре· || пе πεφρεn нтаφ-
 'ζапφ· бе ен· ζн пизωφ 'αλλα νεφωοοφ 'пωн-
 25 ре неφτ' рен ογαε'ετφ прен бе па πιω'т' || пе·
 нθε ετε прен м'пиωτ'· пе пωнре пимεzt 'επει
 εφнабн реn τον н'саβнл апиωт·
 30 αλλα παν'τωс φнаχοос нби ογεει || ζαζтн
 πεφωβнр χε нм пе 'ετнаτ' рен απееи етенеφр
 'φрп нωοοφ ζαθη ммаφ 'ζωс бе прен еψа-
 м/40 роужитφ· || ен нби ммисе нтоοτφ н'нееи нтаζ-
 местоу φарп 'βε οуπετεψωε аран пе 'аφ
 5 νοει мпизωв· χε ογεу || пе прен χε нтаφ пе
 прен 'мамне нтаφ ен бе пе 'πрен· αβαλ
 мпиωт· χε н'таφ пе петφωοοφ· нхаеис 'нрен
 10 нтаφχι бе мπрен || ен αποуφеп· мпрнте 'нζн-
 каγε· ката песмат· 'мпоуееи ποуееи етоу-
 'на{с}тенаφ нзнтφ· πεει 'δε пе пхаеис нрен
 15 нке'лаγε ен пе· нтаφтееиφ 'араφ αλλα ογατ'τ'
 рен 'араφ пе· ογατ'теογαφ не 'ψа псап·
 нтаφ нтаπεει 'етχнк 'αβαλ· ψεχε араφ ογ-
 20 'аεετφ· аγω нтаφ πετε 'ογн бам нмаφ· аχοу

39.4 ογαζн, ο possibly written over ζ. ¹ 19 пе, π possibly written over н. ¹ 21
 ζωφ, i.e., ζωв: ζωп *ed. pr.* ¹ 23 рен <неφ> Till (*Or.*): рен <араφ> Ménard
 40.1-2 Both lines begin with angular fillers (>). ¹ 1 нтоοτφ: нтоοτοу *ed. pr.*
¹ 13 на{с}тенаφ or натсенаφ *ed. pr.*: The initial на written over тс. ¹ 17 не
 MS: Read пе MacRae ¹ 18 нтаφ, н written over т. ¹

Since the | Father is unengendered, he alone is the one | who begot him for him(self) as a name, ³⁵ before he brought forth the | aeons, in order that the name | of the Father should be over their head as | lord, that is the ^{39.1} name in truth, which is firm in his | command through perfect power. | For the name is not from | (mere) words, nor ⁵ does his name consist of appellations, | but it is invisible. | He gave a name to him alone, | since he alone sees him, he | alone having ¹⁰ the power to give him a name. | For he who does not exist | has no name. | For what name is given to him | who does not exist? ¹⁵ But the one who exists | exists also with his name, and | he alone knows it, | and alone (knows how) to give him a name. | It is the Father. The Son ²⁰ is his name. He did | not, therefore, hide it in the thing, | but it | existed; as for the Son, he alone gave a name. | The name, therefore, is that of the Father, ²⁵ as the name of | the Father is the Son. Where | indeed would compassion find a name | except with the Father?

But | no doubt one will say ³⁰ to his neighbor: "Who is it | who will give a name to him who | existed before himself, | as if offspring did not receive a name ^{40.1} from those | who begot <them>?" First, | then, it is fitting for us | to reflect on this matter: What ⁵ is the name? It is the name | in truth; it is not therefore | the name from the Father, for | it is the one which is the proper | name. Therefore, he did not receive the name ¹⁰ on loan as (do) | others, according to the form | in which each one | is to be produced. | But this is the proper name. ¹⁵ There is no one else who gave it to him. | But he <is> unnamable, | indescribable, | until the time when he | who is perfect spoke of him alone. ²⁰ And it

1 ἡπεφρεν αγω ανεγ ἰ αραφ
 ἡταρε[[φφ]]φωκ βε ἰ εφῆζητῆ ἕπεφρεν· ετ-
 25 ἡογαφῆ πεφωηρε πε αγω ἰ αφ† ἡπιρεν αραφ ἡβι
 πεει ἰ ἡταζῆ αβαλ ζῆ πβαθос αφεἰχε· ανεφ-
 πεθηп· еφсаγνε ἰ χε πιωτ· ογατ·πεθαυ πε
 30 ἡετβε πεει ρω αφῆ πεει αἰβαλ· χεкасе еφ-
 φεχε ἰ ζα πтопос αγω πεφма ἰ ἡῆταν ἡταφ
 ма/41 αβαλ ἡῆζητῆ ἡ αγω ηφ† εαυ ἡπιπληρωμα ἰ †-
 ἡῆтнаб ἡτε πεφρεν αγω ἰ πизлаб· ἡτε πιωτ·
 πουεει πουἑει· пма ἡтаφει αβαλ· ἡζητῆ·
 5 ἡφнаφεχε ζαραφ αγω ζῆ †таἑие ἡтаφχι ἡπεφ-
 теzo ар·ἑтφ ἡтоотс φнапωт· ат·сто ἰ аретс
 ἡкесап· αγω αφι αβαλ· ἰ ζῆ ἰ'ма етῆμεу пма
 10 ἡтаφωἡзе аретφ ἡζηтῆ еφχι †πε αἰβαλ ζῆ пма
 етῆμεу· αγω ἰ еφχι сапф· еφχι аеиеу· αγω
 ἰ πεφма ἡῆταν ἡmin ἡмаφ ἰ пе· πεφπληρωμα
 15 ἡι†η βε ἡ τηροу ἡтῆ πιωт· ζῆπληρωма не·
 αγωζῆ неφ†η ἰ τηροу тоуноуне пе ζῆ ἰ пен-
 таφтроуρωт· αβαλ ἡῆζηтῆ τηροу αφ† неу ἡ-
 20 ἡноуτωφ· сеоуанз βε αἰβαλ ἡβι πουεει πουе-
 ει· ἰ χεкасе αβαλ ζῆ πουмеἑеуе ἡmin ἡмау
 < - - > пма ἰ гар етоуχαу ἡпоумееуе
 25 ἡφараφ пма етῆμεу ἰ тоуноуне тетφ ἡмау
 ἰ атпе ζῆ нιχисе· τηροу ἰ φα πιωт· οуἡтеу
 30 ἡтеφἰаπε· есоеи ἡῆταν неу ἡ αγω сеемазте
 ἡῆмеу ἰ азоун еузһн азоун ἰ араφ· ζωс
 атроуχοос χε ἰ ауχι αβαλ· ζῆ πεφzo ἰ αβαλ
 мв/42 ζῆтоотφ ἡниаспасἡмос сеоуанз де ен ἡ αβαλ
 ἡβι нееи ἡпирһте· ἰ χε мпоуῤ тпе ἡmin ἡмау
 ἰ оуτε ἡпоуφωωт· ἡпеау ἰ ἡпиωт· оуτε ἡсе-
 5 меуе араφ ἡ ен ζωс φһн· оуτε χε φсауи

23-24 ἡταρε[[φφ]]φωκ βε еφῆζηтῆ MS: ἡтареφῤ пωк βε ἡζηт *ed. pr.*
 ἰ 24-25 етоγαφῆ i.e., етоу<оу>аφῆ: ет<φ>огаφῆ Till (*Or.*) ἰ 25 αγω, γ
 possibly written over ι. ἰ

41.9 ζῆ, ζ added in the left margin. ἰ етῆμεу, the first ε written over φ. ἰ 17
 {πε} Till (*Or.*) ἰ 23 ἡмау < - - - > *ed. pr.* ἰ 27 атпе, а written over ἡ. ἰ 30
 {н}ἡмеу Grobel: ἡῆмеу Schenke ἰ 34 ζῆтоотῆ MS: ζῆтоотоу Till (*Or.*) ἰ

42.1 The line begins with an angular filler (>). ἰ 2 тпе <ἡмау> Till (*Or.*) ἰ

is he who | has the power to speak | his name and to see | it.

When, therefore, it pleased | him that his name ²⁵ which is loved should be his Son, and | he gave the name to him, that is, him | who came forth from the depth, he | spoke about his secret things, knowing | that the Father is a being without evil. ³⁰ For that very reason he brought him | forth in order to speak | about the place and his | resting-place from which he had come forth, ^{41.1} and to glorify the pleroma, | the greatness of his name and | the sweetness of the Father. About | the place each one came from ⁵ he will speak, and to the | region where he received his establishment | he will hasten to return | again and to take from | that place — the place where he ¹⁰ stood — receiving a taste | from that place and | receiving nourishment, receiving growth. And | his own resting-place | is his pleroma.

Therefore, ¹⁵ all the emanations of the Father | are pleromas, and | the root of all his emanations is in | the one who made them all | grow up in himself. He assigned them ²⁰ their destinies. Each one then | is manifest, | in order that through their | own thought <...>. | For the place to which they send ²⁵ their thought, that place, | their root, is what takes them | up in all the heights | to the Father. They possess his | head, which is rest for them, ³⁰ and they are supported, | approaching him, | as though to say that | they have participated in his face | by means of kisses. ³⁵ But they do not become manifest ^{42.1} in this way, | for they were not themselves exalted; | (yet) neither did they lack the glory | of the Father nor did they think of him as

10 ὄυτε χε οὐβαλκῆ πε· ἀλλὰ οὐ'ατπεθαυ πε·
οὐατψαρτῖ πε ὄυζλαβ πε· εἰσαυνε ἀμα'εἰτ
NIM· ἐμπατοῦψωπε· ἀῶ ἥ νεφρ χρια ἐν
ατροῦτσεβε εἰ'ετῆ ἀβαλ·

15 πεεἰ πε πρητε ἡ'νετεοῦἡ'νετῆ ἡ'μεῦ ὄ βαλ ζἡ
πσα ζρε· ἡ'τοοτῆ ἡ'ἡ'μνηταβ ἡ'ατψιτῆ εἰσα'μῆ
ἡ'σα πιοῦεἰ οὐαεετῆ ὄ ἀῶ πετχнк ἀβαλ· πετ-
οεἰ ἡ'μεῦ νεῦ· ἀῶ μαῶψε ἀρη'εἰ ἀεμῆτε
20 οὐτε μῆτεῦ ὄ φθονοс ἡ'μεῦ οὐτε· ἥ ἀψεζам·
οὐτε μῆ μοῦ ἡ'ρη'ἡ' ἡ'ρη'τοῦ ἀλλὰ εὔμα'τῆ·
ἡ'μαῦ ζἡ πετματῆ ὄ ἡ'μαῦ εὔζасἰ ἐν οὐτε·
25 ὄ εὔβλῆλαμῆ· ἐν· ἡ'πκω'τε ἡ'τμне· ἀλλὰ ἡ'ταῦ
ὄ ρω πε τμне· ἀῶ εἰψω'οп ἡ'ρη'τοῦ ἡ'βἰ πῶτ·
ἀῶ ἡ'ταῦ εὔζἡ πῶτ· εὔχнк· ἀ'βαλ· εὔοεἰ
30 ἡ'ατ·πωψε ζἡ ἥ πιαγαθос namне· εὔτ ὄ ψта
λαῦε ἐν ζἡ λαῦε· ἀλλὰ ὄ εὔτ ἡ'ταν εὔлнк· ζἡ
πε'πн(εὔм)а ἀῶ εὔнасωτῆ ἀτεῦ'νοῦне· εὔ-
35 насῖ'че ἀραῦ ἥ νεεἰ ετ'η'αβῆ τε'η'νοῦне· ὄ ἡ'-
ρη'τοῦ ἡ'τῆρ पासἰ ἡ'τε'ψ'ψ'χн πεεἰ πε πτοпос
ἡ'νἡ'μακαριос πεεἰ πε ποῦτο'пос

40 πκεψωχῆ βε μαροῦ'ἡ'με· ζἡ νοῦτοпос χε
MГ/43 οὐ'πετεψωψε ἀραεἰ ἐν πε ἥ εαζἰψωπε ζἡ πма
ἡ'τῆн ὄ ἀψεχε· ἀκεζωв· ἀλλὰ ἡ'ταῦ ὄ πε'η'на-
ψωπε ἡ'ρη'τῆ· ἀῶ α'сῖ'che ἡ'νεῦ nim· ἀπῶτ· ἡ'τε
5 ἥ πτηрῆ οὐωζζн нисннῆ на'μне· νεεἰ ερε'т-
агапн ἡ'πῶτ· ψοῦο ἀχωοῦ ἀῶ μῆ ὄ ψта
ἡ'τε'η' ψοоп ζἡ τοῦμηте ὄ νεεἰ ἡ'ταῦ ετοῦ-
10 ω[[2]]н[[1]]ζ ἥ мамне[[1]] εὔψοоп ζἡ πῶнζ ὄ на-
мне· ἀῶ ἡ'напн'ze· ἀῶ ὄ εὔψεχε ἀποῦαεἰн
ετ'чнк ἀβαλ· ἀῶ εтмн'z· ζἡ ὄ πисперма· ἡ'τε
15 πῶτ· ἀῶ ἥ εт'ζἡ πε'η'т· ἀῶ ζἡ πἡ'лн-
рωма· εἰτεлнл ἡ'ρη'τῆ ὄ ἡ'βἰ πε'η'пн(εὔм)а· ἀῶ
εἰт' εаῦ ὄ ἡ'πετεне'η'ψοоп ἡ'ρη'τῆ ὄ χε на'ноῦг
20 ἀῶ се'чнк ἥ ἀβαλ ἡ'βἰ не'η'нре ἀῶ ὄ се'п'ψа
ἡ'πε'η'рен χε ὄ ἡ'ταῦ гар· πῶτ· ζἡ ψн'ре ἡ'теεἰ-
mine не'т'оῦα'ψοῦ

7 πε οὐατ, α written over erased ψ. ὄ 25 ἡ'τμне i.e., ἡ'τмне ὄ 27 м'тан
<неῦ> (?) Attridge ὄ

43.9 ἡ'ταῦ, γ written over q. ὄ 10 мамне[[1]], ма added in the left margin. ὄ

⁵ small nor that he is harsh | nor that he is wrathful, but |
 (that) he is a being without evil, imperturbable, | sweet,
 knowing | all spaces before they have come into existence,
 and ¹⁰ he had no need to be instructed. |

This is the manner of | those who possess (something) |
 from above of the | immeasurable greatness, as they ¹⁵ wait
 for the one alone | and the perfect one, the one who is |
 there for them. And they do not go down | to Hades nor
 have they | envy nor ²⁰ groaning nor death | within them,
 but they | rest in him who is at rest, | not striving nor | being
 twisted around ²⁵ the truth. But they | themselves are the
 truth; and | the Father is within them and | they are in the
 Father, being perfect, | being undivided in ³⁰ the truly
 good one, being | in no way deficient in anything, but | they
 are set at rest, refreshed in the | Spirit. And they will heed
 their | root. They will be concerned with those (things)
³⁵ in which he will find his root | and not suffer loss to his |
 soul. This is the place of the | blessed; this is their place. |

For the rest, then, may they ⁴⁰ know, in their places,
 that | it is not fitting for me, ^{43.1} having come to be in the
 resting-place, | to speak of anything else. But | it is in it that
 I shall come to be, and (it is fitting) to | be concerned at all
 times with the Father of ⁵ the all and the true brothers, |
 those upon whom the love of | the Father is poured out and
 | in whose midst there is no lack of him. | They are the ones
 who appear ¹⁰ in truth, since they exist in | true and eter-
 nal life and | speak of the light which | is perfect and filled
 with | the seed of the Father, and ¹⁵ which is in his heart
 and in the | pleroma, while his | Spirit rejoices in it and
 glorifies | the one in whom it existed | because he is good.
 And ²⁰ his children are perfect and | worthy of his name, |
 for he is the Father: it is children | of this kind that he |
 loves.

FRAGM

A. XII, 253.19

[-
20 [ay
[ne
[oy
[aq
[en
25 [aq
[oy
[xi
[p3
[bla

B. XII, 254.19-2

[mpp
20 [.....
[2pa
[er
[coo
[coo
25 [nna
[eqk
[nec
[yine

C. XII, 257.1-29

[qoy
[tw2
[ntac

APPENDIX

FRAGMENTS OF THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH FROM CODEX XII

Frederik Wisse

A. XII,2:53.19-29. Cf. I,3:30.27-31.1

[- - -]...[- - -]
20 [αγω] νετσωτῃ ερο[α]
[νεα]† ναγ ἡ††πε [μν πιστοι η]
[ουα]μοτ ἡταα πψ[ηρε μεριτ]
[αα]γωνῆ ναγ εβολ [ααταμοου]
[επει]ωτ πιατψαχε [μμοα ε]
25 [αα]νια]ε ἡπεαμεεγε ε[αα]ι ερο
[ου ααειρ]ε μπεαογω[α· ααα βε]
[α] ἡποα]οειν νεααῆ πσ[μοτ να]
[αα νε]ααο ἡψἡμο πε [εροου]
[blank?] ενεααειτ ἡ.[.....]

B. XII,2:54.19-28 Cf. I,3:31.26-32.2

[μρε εαα]ἡλομτ ααπορ[αου]
20 [.....] ἡβῆρε αααο[αε ε]
[αα]ι δε ἡναε]ἡ ἡτααααατε ο[αμο]
[ειτ αααα]ε ἡναει εααα[ἡ· ου]
[ααουη ααα]απε ἡναει ετ[ο νατ]
[ααουη· ο]αἡαααααα ααα[απε]
25 [ἡναει εαα]αουτ παει π[ε αααα]
[εαα αα]ἡ ἡπιααειο[α μν ψαα]
[νεααου] ἡαει ετε ἡποαα[αἡ αα]
[ααηε να]α παἡ ἡταααααἡ [- - -]

C. XII,2:57.1-29 Cf. I,3:34.5-35

[ααουαε εβολ] αἡ μα η[αα αααα]
[αα ε†αα]ἡ τηρε ἡ[αα†αααα]
[ἡταα αα] ἡμοα εαα[ααειν αα]

- [ω ρη τεφμν]τρηρψρητ [φχοσε]
 5 [εχνη σμοτ η]ιμ' πμααχ[ε γαρ αν]
 [πε εψαφω]λμ̄ αλλα π[πνα πετ]
 [ψωλμ ερο]φ̄ μπρητε ετ[εππνα]
 [σωκ εβολ μ]πιστ̄νουφε [εροφ αγ]
 [ω ππνα πε]τ† μ̄τον να[φ - - -]
 10 [..... μ]μοφ εχωφ.[- - -]
 [.... εβολ] ρ̄ν̄ νιστ̄νο[υφε ν̄ψ]
 [ρη εταρω ο]γεβολ ρ̄ν̄ νι[στ̄νουφε]
 [γαρ πε· ου]ψυχικον μ̄[πλασμα]
 [.....]. ερεπιμε[ρισμος]
 15 [.....]μ̄ πμα .[- - -]
 [..... ε]τβε [παϊ αφει η]
 [βι πναρτε αφωλ] εβολ μ̄[πιμε]
 [ρισμος αγω αφει]ι επχω[κ εβολ]
 [ετημη χε]κ[λας η]νεφω[πε]
 20 [εφσωτ] εει η[αφ η]βι πιαρω [αγ]
 [ω φη]αβωλ ρ̄[μ π]τωτ̄ ν̄[ρητ ετ]
 [χηκ] παϊ π[ε π]ψαχ[ε μπωμ]
 [νου]φε εντ[αγ]ταψ[ε οειω μ]
 [μοφ πο]υχαε[ι π]ε̄ ν̄ναε[ι ετου]
 25 [μουτε] εροφ[υ εγ]σομ̄ ε[βολ ρη]
 [τη μπο]υχα[ει ε]τεογ .[- - -]
 [... ογο]νη ρ̄[πα]ει ετχ[- - -]
 [.....] εγσομ̄ εβο[λ - - -]
 χω[- - -]

D. XII,2:58.1-29 Cf. I,3:35.5-35

- [πε που]οειν παϊ [ετε μη ραιβες]
 [νηρη]φ̄ χ̄ν̄ μ̄μ[ον εψχε ψαφ]
 [ει η]βι πιπληρω[μα· αγω μπε]
 [πι]ωτα ψωπε [εβολ ριτοοτς]
 5 [η†]πλανη· αγω α[σψωπε ετβη]
 [ητς ν̄]†μ̄νητ̄νο[υτε μπειωτ η]
 [ατ]ωιτς αφ† ν̄ο[υοειω μπιωτα]
 [και]τοι νεφωοφ̄ [νβι μη λααγ]
 [ετ]ναψταγο̄ μ̄π[ρητε νει μπι]
 10 [ατχω]ρ̄μ̄ αλλα ογ[- - -]
 [πβα]θος μ̄πειω[τ - - -]

[meeγ]ε ρολωc ρατ[οοτ - - -]
 [...]ψωπε· ε[- - -]
 [...]μετ ετε η[- - -]
 15 [...]ν̄τε πτ.[- - -]
 [...] π̄βι[νε - - -]
 [.]ογν πε[τcτo εβολ γαρ ce]
 [μο]γτε ερο[ψ κε ογμετανοια]
 ετβε παί α[αφθ]αρ[cia πωτ nca]
 20 πнове ρι[να] κεκ[ααc εφεωω]
 [πε] ν̄βι ογ[ταλλ]βο· π.[- - -]
 [...]. ν̄.[.]ψωπε [... παί]
 [πκω] εβολ [πε] ριτοο[τψ μπλο]
 [r]οc ντε [πι]πλη[ρωμα· παί]
 25 [γα]ρ εψαα[π]ωτ επ[είμα ετε]
 [π]ψωνε μ̄[μ]αγ ε[βολ κε ψ† n]
 [τ]οοτ̄ m[.]λι.[- - -]
 [πι]ψτα· εβολ κε π[ετρ ψτα]
 [ψ]† ν̄τοοτ̄ ταί τ[ε θε mπιπλη]
 [ρωμα]

E. XII,2:59.18-30 Cf. I,3:36.14-26

[παί ρn τογμητε] αγψα[κε ε]
 [πxc κεκααc] ρε[ν]αχι ν̄ο[γcτo]
 20 [ν̄βι να]ι ετωτ̄ρτωρ αγω ν̄[το]
 [οτψ nc]εχι μ̄πιτωρ̄c· π[ιτω]
 [ρc γαρ] πε πναε ν̄τε πειω[τ]
 [εαα]ναε δε ναγ αγχι μ̄π[ιτω]
 [ρc .]ει πε αγχ[ωκ εβολ· nic]
 25 [κεγο]c γαρ εtm[ηρ χι mπιτω]
 [ρc· ρo]ταν γαρ εψ[ψανβωλ ε]
 [βολ ν̄βι] πιτωρ̄c [ν̄τε ογα ψ]
 [ψογ]ειτ· τλοειδε [ετρεαρ]
 [νουχ]ρια πβωλ ε[βολ mπι]
 30 [τωρc] τε ψαακα[τεχε ...]

F. XII,2:60.17-30 Cf. I,3:37.7-21

[.]ψ[- - -]
 [.]ν̄ επειδ[η ευρm πβαθος m]

- [π]εφμεεγε πλογο[ς δε νταφ]
 20 [ε]ι λογονζου εβολ [πνους ν̄]
 τε πλογος ετψα[χε αν χιν]
 [μπ]εζουογ ετενεφθε[ετ εγμογ]
 [τε εροφ] χε μ[ε]εγε επε[ιδη εφ]
 [δω νζητφ] εμπατφ[ογωνη]
 25 [εβολ· σν]αψωπε δε ετρεφογ]
 [ωνη ε]βολ ζοταη [εφψανεγ]
 [δοκει] ν̄βι πογωψ [μπετφ]
 [ογωψ]ε πιογωψ [πετφμο]
 [τη μ]πεφζητ τη[ρφ νζητφ]
 30 [νβι πε]ιωτ αγω π[ετφεγδοκει]

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THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION

1,4:43.25-50.18

Malcolm L. Peel

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II. LANGUAGE

The Treatise on the Resurrection is written in Subachmimic, as are the remaining treatises of Codex I, as well as the treatises of Codex X and the first half of Codex XI.

1. Orthography

This text is carefully written, with few orthographical peculiarities. As frequently occurs in Codex I and other Coptic texts generally, ϣ and β are interchanged, in the forms ϣϣⲧ (45.17) and ϣⲁⲣⲉⲃ (48.26). Similarly, ϣ is found for ϣ in the form ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲉ (48.14, cf. ⲡⲉⲧⲉϣϣⲉ 48.14). The supralinear stroke alternates with ε in the possessive pronouns ⲡⲉⲛ (45.35; 48.18) and ⲡⲛ̄ (43.36; 45.36,37). Gemination of initial ⲛ before a syllabic ϣ appears in ⲛⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲉⲓ (48.24), unless the ⲛ is an error for ϣ. Normal assimilation occurs, including ϣ for ⲡⲣ in ⲡⲣⲟϥⲛ (43.33) and ⲙ for ⲛ (44.28; 45.38; 46.3). Greek particles occur in nasalized forms, as frequently in Codex I. Thus we find ⲙⲙⲉⲛ (44.8,27; 45.9), ⲛⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲣ (45.16; 46.14; 47.4,21; 48.7,38; 49.17), and ⲛ̄ⲁⲉ (43.32; 44.10,21,22; 45.29; 46.3,38; 48.13,20; 50.5,8), but the simple ⲣⲁⲣ (46.5) and ⲁⲉ (44.30; 45.10) also appear.

2. Vocalization

Subachmimic forms with a final ε appear in the words ⲙⲛⲉ and ⲕⲟⲉ. Also characteristic of Subachmimic are forms ending in ⲓ such as ⲕⲉⲕⲉⲓ (49.3), ⲣ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲉⲓ (48.24) and ⲣⲁⲉⲓ (48.25), plurals of ⲣ̄ⲙ-

μαο and ῥρο, respectively. These plurals have hitherto been attested only for Achmimic texts. Preference for endings in ι is, however, common in the other A² texts of Codex I.

Alternative vocalizations of certain forms appear. Thus we find αανζ̄ (48.2,21) and ανζ̄ (48.23); λαγε (45.1,2,39; 47.37; 50.3,9) and λααγε (47.24); ντεγνοϳ (48.21) and ντογνοϳ (47.36); κογν- (hitherto unattested, 46.14) and κογων- (44.1; 46.31); τωων (45.26; 46.8,10) and τωογν (46.16; 48.3,6; 49.23,36); ογανζ̄ (45.20,29) and ογαανζ̄ (hitherto unattested, 47.38-39). The gemination of accented medial vowels in αανζ̄ and ογαανζ̄ also seems to be paralleled in the form κογωωνῃ (46.24).

3. Morphology

Certain hitherto unattested forms appear in this text: κε- (45.6, cf. κω); ωμῃκ (45.14,19; 46.1; 49.4, cf. ωμῃ); ωβειε (48.27,35, cf. ωβει); ειωπε (45.28; 46.3; 47.4,33; 48.6; 49.16,25; 50.5, cf. εωχε); ζμαζε or μαζε (44.7, cf. μοωε); ζεε (47.29,30; 49.32, cf. ζε).

The conjugation bases which appear in the *Treatise on the Resurrection* have been thoroughly analyzed by Layton (*Treatise*, 193-94). The following are particularly worthy of note: The future regularly appears in να, but the fut. II εναει (46.30) may be an A² form in α alone, although the form may also be understood as a simple orthographic variant of ενναει. The perf. I appears with both bases, α- and αζ-. For each there are circumstantial, relative, and second tense conversions. Thus circ.: εακ (49.23); εαϳ (45.19); εαζοϳ (46.27); rel.: νταει (50.12); ντακ (46.15); εντας (48.17); νταζι (49.37); νταζῃ (43.36); νταζα- (45.24); εντα (46.36); ετα (46.24; 48.6); second: νταϳ (45.5); νταζν. (44.1); νταζα (44.12). The future III negative appears twice, νι (48.29) and νϳ (49.34). The negative imperative appears in the forms ῃπωρ α- (46.11; 47.2; 48.10; 49.9) and ῃπρ- (47.36; 49.11; 50.8).

4. Textual, Grammatical, and Stylistic Features

At several places the *Treatise on the Resurrection* exhibits unusual forms or constructions which may involve textual corruption. See the discussion in the notes of the following: αϳζμαζε (44.17); νατ (46.21); ῃκοσμος (46.38); χινρ αρηχϳ (47.28); ῃνεσ ῃζε (47.38).

The Coptic syntax in this tractate is generally unremarkable. The

qualitative form $\omega\theta\theta\pi$ (49.36–37), used where one might expect an infinitive complement, is not anomalous, as Layton (*Treatise*, 191–92) has shown. The construction used here, $\omega\rho\bar{\pi} \bar{\nu}\omega\theta\theta\pi$, in fact occurs frequently in Codex I, especially in the *Tri. Trac.* See the indices s.v. $\omega\theta\theta\pi$.

A stylistic feature worthy of note is the use of the article in Christological titles ($\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{\nu}\eta\theta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, 55.16–17; $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, 44.23; $\bar{\nu}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{\nu}\eta\theta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, 44.29; $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\eta\theta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, 44.21–22; $\mu\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, 44.30–31; $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, 46.14–15). As Layton (*Treatise*, 183) has shown, the second noun is indefinite, i.e., the attributive construction is used, when the whole phrase is predicate. The second noun is definite, i.e., the genitive construction is used, when the whole phrase is not predicate. The variation probably reflects the syntax of the underlying Greek.

The Greek original of the document is otherwise amply reflected in the Coptic text. In a vocabulary of approximately 235 words, excluding particles and connectives, 78 or 33.2% are Greek loanwords. Notable usages of such loanwords include:

Proper names: There is variation in the use of abbreviations or compendia for *nomina sacrā* ($\overline{\text{IHC}}$ in 48.10, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ in 50.1). Spiritus asper is retained for $\zeta\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (48.8), but omitted for $\rho\eta\gamma\iota\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (43.25, etc.). Both the nominative (43.25) and vocative case forms (44.22; 47.3; 49.10) of the addressee's name appear, though all occurrences are in direct address.

Adjectives: By and large, usage is in conformity with the usual rules of masculine or feminine forms for adjectives used with persons; neuter for all others (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, # 76), e.g., $\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\eta\eta$, 44.7; $\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, 44.9; $\delta\upsilon\varsigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\eta$, 45.2,3. Exceptions occur with $\pi\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\eta$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\eta$, and $\varsigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\kappa\eta$ in 45.39–46.2, all of which modify $\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ in 45.40.

Conjunctions: There is a noticeably high incidence of Greek conjunctions in the text: $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ (15 times), $\gamma\alpha\rho$ (8 times), $\delta\epsilon$ (13 times). Also, there is correlative usage of such conjunctions as $\mu\epsilon\eta\ \dots\ \delta\epsilon$ (44.8–10, 27–30; 45.9–10). To be noted are also the use of $\kappa\alpha\eta$ (49.19) to introduce a conditional clause; and $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\iota$ (49.27) to introduce a concessive clause.

Verbs: As is usual in Coptic dialects other than Sahidic, Greek verbs are preceded by the construct ρ - from $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$, e.g., $\bar{\rho} \alpha\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ (49.31) and $\bar{\rho} \delta\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ (47.2,37). An exception occurs with $\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$, used without the preceding $\bar{\rho}$ at 46.4,12,15.

III. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Of unique interest for the study of Christian Gnostic views of individual eschatology in the second century is the small, eight-page writing (only 262 lines of text) which occupies fourth place in the Codex Jung. Written in the form of a didactic and apologetic letter by an unnamed master to one of his pupils, a certain Rheginos (43.25-26; 44.22; 47.3; 49.10-11), it provides teaching about the resurrection similar to the heretical view of Hymenaeus and Philetus, combatted in 2 Tim 2:18, "that the resurrection is past already." Couched in a Valentinian conceptual framework, echoing NT language (especially Paul), and reflecting the impact of Middle Platonic ideas, the letter's teaching provides important evidence of heterodox development of a pivotal Christian doctrine outside the Great Church.

IV. TITLE AND GENRE

As is the case with 21 other tractates in the Nag Hammadi library, the title of this work appears only at the end of the text. Virtually all scholars agree that this title, ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ, is a secondary addition, appended either by the Coptic translator or a subsequent copyist-collector to facilitate identification or indexing of the writing. Constructed from two statements within the text (the theme announced in 44.6, ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ; and the programmatic declaration introducing the body of the discussion in 44.11-12, ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΑΡΕΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΝ ΕΤΒΗΤΣ), the title describes the content rather than the literary form of the document: "The Word / Discussion / Treatise concerning the Resurrection."

A variety of identifications of the literary genre of this text have been offered, including "treatise," "doctrinal letter," "general epistle," "discourse," "tract," "pamphlet," and "book."¹ More recently, Layton² has argued that *Treat. Res.* is actually quite similar to the εἰσαγωγή or "introductory treatise" identified initially by E. Norden. Designed to introduce a discipline, such literature was "often clothed in the garb of the literary epistle and was typically dedicated to a son or other young man."³ More precisely, however, because *Treat. Res.*

¹See Peel, *Epistle*, 5ff. for a summary of scholarly opinion.

²"Vision," 199ff. and *Treatise*, 119-120.

³Layton, "Vision," 200.

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lacks some of the usual characteristics of such literature, Layton adopts a suggestion made originally by Orbe⁴ and concludes that it is "closer to the sermon, or . . . the animated classroom lecture." Layton finds the closest parallels in Epictetus's discourses as preserved by Arrian.⁵ As such, it displays a "formal, theoretical opening; a middle development; an ethical closing, with *exempla*, quotations, and exhortation; a coda."⁶ Only to be expected, then, is the pervasive presence of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe style, e.g., puns, unprepared strong metaphors, everyday images, *exempla*, quotations from stock authors (Paul and perhaps Heraclitus), patronizing insults, compressed exposition and logic, expository questions, emotionally neutral objections, *reductio ad absurdum*.⁷ Other scholars⁸ have likewise underscored the influence of the diatribe.

A majority of commentators, however, continue to identify the text's genre as that of the didactic letter, in which questions raised by the pupil Rheginos are answered by the master/author.⁹ The closing lines (50.11–16), with their greetings of "peace" and "grace" to the reader and his circle, are clearly in epistolary style. Also, the piece falls into the customary divisions of the Greco-Roman letter: general introduction, statement of theme, argument, resumé, refutation, parænetic conclusion, epilogue.¹⁰

However, the document's lack of a *praescriptio* naming sender and receiver, together with use of the diatribe style noted earlier, have caused scholars to differ over the genuineness of the letter. Some, like Peel and Frid, maintain that it is indeed a personal letter, written by a teacher to one of his pupils. The "missing *praescriptio*" may never have existed, as is the case with the Epistle to the Hebrews, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, or the Gnostic *Letter of Ptolemy to Flora* (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33.3–7). Other scholars¹¹ doubt that it is a real letter, the epistolary form merely being used as a teaching vehicle and "Rheginos" perhaps being only a symbolic addressee.

⁴*Gregorianum* 46 (1965) 173.

⁵Layton, "Vision," 201.

⁶Layton, "Vision," 202.

⁷Layton, "Vision," 202–204.

⁸Van Unnik, *JEH* 15 (1964) 146, and especially Martin, *VC* 27 (1973) 277–80.

⁹See, e.g., *ed. pr.*, ix; van Unnik, *JEH* 15 (1964) 146; Schenke, *OLZ* 60 (1965) 471; Haenchen, *TR* 30 (1964) 44, 57; Leipoldt, *TLZ* 90 (1965) 518; Martin, *The Epistle*, 298–99; Haardt, *Kairos* 11 (1969) 1; Peretto, *Aug.* 18 (1978) 63; Krause, *Die Gnosis*, 85; Peel, *Gnosis und Auferstehung*, 17ff.; and Frid, *De Resurrectione*, 4ff.

¹⁰So *ed. pr.*, 40.

¹¹Cf. *ed. pr.*, Dehandschutter, Martin, Gaffron.

Controversy over the precise genre will undoubtedly continue. For our part, however, we find certain passages remain unintelligible apart from the presupposition of a personal relationship between teacher and pupil.¹² Further, the letter is clearly addressed to a single individual, Rheginos, with the encouragement only in the epilogue (50.7-16) to share it with others in his circle.¹³ Finally, while acknowledging the presence of features of the diatribe style in the text, we would maintain that this by no means precludes the possibility of the use of such a style in a rather personal, didactic letter, as is found, for instance, in Paul's correspondence.

As to the integrity or unity of the letter, we would maintain that, apart from the incorporation of older material,¹⁴ there is no compelling evidence either of the joining together of two, originally independent letters,¹⁵ or of a "gnosticizing redaction" of an originally Christian text.¹⁶

V. OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

Since a full analysis is given elsewhere,¹⁷ we here give only a brief outline of the contents:

- I. (43.25-44.12) Introduction and occasion of the letter
 - A. (43.25-35) The false seekers of eschatological "rest"
 - B. (43.35-44.3) The true seekers of eschatological "rest"
 - C. (44.3-12) The author's consent to discuss the basis of true "rest": the nature of the resurrection
- II. (44.13-46.2) The basic argument: the Christological foundation of the resurrection
 - A. (44.13-21) The Lord's activity in the sphere of "flesh"
 - B. (44.21-38) The Lord's nature and saving work
 - C. (44.39-45.13) A digression: the author's excuse and his assurance

¹²Cf. 44.3-6; 44.39-45.2; 45.11-13,15; 46.8-12; 46.35-47.1; 47.30-36; 48.4-11; 48.38-49.7; 49.25-27,30-33; 50.5-8.

¹³See Peel, *Epistle*, 7-10, 47,100-103.

¹⁴E.g., a hymnic fragment in 46.35-47.1; a few loose citations and echoes of the NT; and some sayings seemingly drawn from prior discussion between master and pupil, e.g., 44.30-38; 45.11-13,17-23; 46.18-19; 47.17-19; 48.22-27; 48.38-49.5; 49.35-36.

¹⁵So Martin, *The Epistle*, 293-97.

¹⁶So Dehandschutter, *OLP* 4 (1973) 110.

¹⁷See Peel, *Epistle*, 37-47 and *Gnosis und Auferstehung*, 47-56. The analysis given there must be modified now in light of the following commentary.

- D. (45.14-46.2) The “spiritual resurrection”: rooted in the Savior’s own resurrection and the believers’ proleptic participation therein
- III. (46.3-49.9) The problems and questions of Rheginos answered
 - A. (46.3-47.10) First problem: isn’t the resurrection philosophically undemonstrable and uncertain?
 - B. (47.11-30) Answer: while resurrection involves departure from the corruptible body, its certitude is based on election
 - C. (47.30-36) Second problem: how can resurrection entail bodilessness immediately at death?
 - D. (47.36-48.3) Answer: through the “raising” (= ascent) of the inner man
 - E. (48.3-30) Third problem: surely, the resurrection is an illusion, not a reality?
 - F. (48.31-49.9) Answer: the symbols and images of the resurrection demonstrate that the world, not the resurrection, is illusory
- IV. (49.9-36) A paraenetic conclusion
 - A. (49.9-16) A warning against erroneous thought and action that would prevent realization of the truth: one already possesses the resurrection
 - B. (49.16-24) An existential proof of proleptically-experienced resurrection
 - C. (49.24-36) An exhortation to “practice,” that release from this world may be secured and restoration to one’s pre-existent state may occur
- V. (49.37-50.16) The epilogue
 - A. (49.37-50.4) The Christological source and the scope of the author’s instruction
 - B. (50.5-11) Encouragement to seek further help from Rheginos’ brethren
 - C. (50.11-16) Final greetings to Rheginos and others with whom he may share the letter
- VI. (50.17-18) A title descriptive of the letter’s content

VI. THE POSITION OF TREAT. RES. IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

Ongoing study is clarifying that our author is a Christian Gnostic teacher influenced by Middle Platonic thought as mediated through

Valentinian Gnosticism. Several authors¹⁸ have maintained that the writer fails to effect a successful synthesis of these disparate currents of thought, especially of the Greek concept of immortality of the soul with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. Even so, from the author's own perspective, he is clearly and doctrinally satisfied with his synthesis. An examination of his indebtedness to these three spheres of influence will clarify this.

1. *The Christian*

That the author understands himself to be a Christian is made clear by his Christocentrism, by the primacy of place he gives to "faith" (*πίστις*), and by the authority he ascribes to the scriptures.

The "Lord, the Savior, Jesus Christ"¹⁹ is the basis of resurrection hope and the teacher of truth. Having pre-existed as a "seed of Truth" (44.21-36), he came into this world, took on "flesh" (44.13-17), and experienced "suffering" and, apparently, death (cf. 46.16-17; 45.25-26). Yet, through his divine nature as "Son of God" (44.27-29, cf. 45.4-11), he "swallowed up" and thus conquered death (45.14-15; 46.14-20). Disassociating himself from this "perishing world," he transformed himself into an immortal being (destroying his visible nature through his invisible inner nature), and ascended to heaven (45.16-21). It is through Christ alone, then, that the resurrection came into being (48.16-19), that the "way of immortality" was opened for the elect (45.14-39), that the faithful received "rest" (43.35-38), and that the Elect were revealed (45.10-11).

Notable is the fact that outside of the title "Son of God" (44.16-17,22,29) and what may be inferred about the "Truth" from which Christ came as a "seed" (44.21-36), there are no references whatsoever to God the Father. Thus, the author is resolutely Christocentric — Christ raises himself!

Another evidence of the author's Christian orientation is his stress on the importance of "faith," which is acceptance of the reality of the resurrection of Christ from the dead (45.14-46.4,14-17,20). Regardless of how skillful or cogent, philosophical argumentation cannot "persuade" men that resurrection is true (46.3-10). Also, "faith" is trust that believers participate in the "spiritual resurrection" experienced by Christ (46.8-13). Thus, "belief" is inextricably linked with

¹⁸Ménard, Šchenke, and especially Tröger.

¹⁹The text always uses *χρηστός* for *χριστός*. Cf. 43.37; 48.8-10; 49.38-50.1.

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“immortality” (46.20–21), recalling the tie between “faith” and “eternal life” in Johannine literature.²⁰ Only an elect few possess it, for many are *ἄπιστοι*.

Finally, our author’s use of the NT as his ultimate court of appeal is indisputable proof of his adherence to the Christian faith. Guarantee of believers’ resurrection with Christ, proof that those resurrected have identifiable form, and the demonstration that the believer should consider himself already risen are all rooted in the author’s “exposition” of the “Word of Truth” (43.34, 45.4). While this “Word” probably includes some Valentinian School tradition and exegesis, it most certainly encompasses the NT Scriptures as well. He knows and specifically cites in loose fashion the “Gospel” (48.6–11 = Mark 9:2–8, par.) and the “Apostle” (45.24–28 = a combination of Rom 8:17 and Eph 2:5–6). He also echoes a number of NT writings in a style reminiscent of cultured men of the late Roman Empire,²¹ as do many Fathers of the Great Church.²² Our commentary shows that he distinctly echoes John and Matt from the “Gospel,” as well as Rom, 1–2 Cor, Eph, Phil, Col from the “Apostle.” Indeed, there may also be fainter allusions to Luke, Acts, 1–2 Thess, 2 Tim, Titus, Heb, 1–2 Pet, 1 John, 3 John.²³ Thus, while the author is influenced profoundly by his Gnostic and Gnostically-mediated Platonic ideas, he nonetheless makes frequent use of NT language and finds decisive its teaching about the resurrection (*pace* Layton).

2. *The Gnostic Milieu*

Virtually all commentators concur that the author of *Treat. Res.* is a *Gnostic* Christian. Some, claiming to find no clearly distinguishable characteristics within his teaching, are content to say that it could have come from any one of several early Gnostic sects.²⁴ Most scholars, however, hold that the Gnosticism reflected is clearly Valentinian.²⁵

²⁰Cf., e.g., John 3:36, 5:24, 6:47, 11:25–26, and 1 John 5:13.

²¹See W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924) 139ff.

²²See H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study in the Relations between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church* (London, 1954) 273.

²³See further Peel, *Epistle*, 17ff.

²⁴So H.-M. Schenke, *OLZ* 60 (1965) 473 and *ZNW* 59 (1968) 125, followed by his pupil, K.-W. Tröger, *TLZ* 101 (1976) 928.

²⁵So Puech, Quispel, Malinine, Zandee, Daniélou, Haenchen, Leipoldt, van Unnik, Stead, Haardt, Gaffron, Rudolph, Bazán, Peretto, Frid, Barns, Martin and Layton. For details, see Peel, *Gnosis und Auferstehung*, 164, n. 3.

Several types of evidence are adduced to demonstrate the Valentinian provenance. First, although other Gnostics taught that the spiritual resurrection has already occurred, (e.g., Menander, Simon and Carpocrates, the Mandaeans, the Manichaeans, the writers of the *Corpus Hermeticum*), the most striking parallels to the form of this teaching presented in *Treat. Res.* (49.15-16) have been found among the Valentinians.²⁶ By them, as by our author (cf. 44.1-3; 46.23-24,30-32; 49.25-28), resurrection is equated with possessing true knowledge, as well as faith. Also, like Valentinus himself, *Treat. Res.* teaches only the resurrection of spirit, both "psychic" and "fleshy" elements being excluded (45.40-46.2).²⁷

Second, there are several conceptual complexes in *Treat. Res.* which seem clearly Valentinian. In terms of cosmology, a Pleroma or Divine Fullness (πλήρωμα), including the Elect "All" (46.38-47.1, cf. 47.26-29), the Savior (44.34-36), and certain "emanations" (προβολαί, 45.11-13), pre-existed prior to some disruption which led to creation of the "world" (46.35-38).²⁸ Such a disruption (which may have entailed the fall of Sophia, though neither she nor the Demiurge are ever explicitly mentioned in the text) resulted in a "deficiency" (ὕστέρημα) in the "system" (σύστημα) of the Pleroma (49.4-5), a "deficiency" that apparently only the divine Savior could rectify through His "restoration" (ἀποκατάστασις, 44.30-33) of the "All." (All terms in quotation marks can be paralleled from Valentinian sources.)

As a result of this disruption, the "world" comes into being as antithetical to the Pleroma (46.35-38). Moreover, the "world" is negatively evaluated (45.16-17; 47.5-6); is a place of "change," "becoming," and "illusion" (45.16-17; 48.13-28); and seems under the control of inimical "dominions," "deities," and an "Element" (the Demiurge?).

Moreover, some pivotal images and terms appear in the text which can be readily paralleled from Valentinian sources: Christ as a "seed" (σπέρμα) of Truth (44.21-36); "light flowing down upon the darkness" (49.2-4) as symbolic of the resurrection; a trichotomous anthropology implied by the allusion to "the pneumatic resurrection" which destroys ("swallows up") "the psychic resurrection" and "the fleshy

²⁶Cf., e.g., the views of the Valentinians combatted by Tertullian in *De praes. haer.* 33.7, *De res. mort.* 19.2-7 and by Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.31.2.

²⁷See further *ed. pr.* xi, xxiii.

²⁸See Peel, *Epistle*, 106ff.

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³²Layton, *Visi*
³³Layton, *Treat*

resurrection" (45.39–46.2); the use of contrasts, such as *κόσμος* vs. *αἰών* (47.5–8), and *μερισμός* vs. *ἔνωσις* (49.9–16).

While it is true that several distinguishing theologoumena of Valentinian teaching are missing – notably, mention of gnosis of the Highest, Unknown Father; clear allusion to Sophia or the Demiurge; presentation of an explicitly docetic Christ; comment on the “syzygoi” formed between pneumatics and their personal, angelic counterparts at the death / ascent of the Elect – their omission does not preclude the possibility of a Valentinian provenance. This is because, as stated previously, *Treat. Res.* clearly presupposes prior instruction of the recipient, Rheginos, and his brethren in basic mythology to which the author alludes only vaguely. Also, it is quite possible, as argued elsewhere²⁹ that *Treat. Res.* reflects a form of Valentinian thought that at some points is at variance with the forms reported upon by Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius. Certainly, the burden of proof rests upon those who wish to deny a Valentinian background. They must demonstrate that the complexes of concepts outlined above all appear together in at least one other known, non-Valentinian school of Gnostic thought reported upon by the heresiologists!

3. *The Platonic Milieu*

Recently, Layton has argued that the author of *Treat. Res.*, “who is probably a Valentinian,”³⁰ is most accurately characterized as a “second-century Middle Platonist.”³¹ As such, he teaches a tripartite anthropology (*νοῦς*, *ψυχή*, *σάρξ*), from which only the *νοῦς*, devoid of any type of resurrection flesh or body, shall survive in the “resurrection.”³² Such is set against a background of distinction between the world of Being (undying objects, including the “Good” itself), of which the individual *νοῦς* is part, and the sphere of corruptible becoming (48.20–27). The *νοῦς* (= the essential and immortal self), by attaining true “self knowledge” (49.16–18) and through intellectual “practice” (49.30–33) of contemplating the truth,³³ can actually attain salvation in the present. Disengagement of the superior *νοῦς* from the inferior body of flesh “is metaphorically an uprising or *ἀνά-*

²⁹Peel, *Treatise*, 179–80.

³⁰Layton, “Vision,” 209, n. 86.

³¹Layton, “Vision,” 208.

³²Layton, “Vision,” 208.

³³Layton, *Treatise*, 111.

σταισις in the sense that the intellect here and now ascends the staircase of abstractions ... (cf. Plato, *Symp.* 211E) ... until it comes to view (Plato's word is γινώσκειν, 'have gnosis of') the wide ocean of the beautiful and good itself."³⁴ Only in the present does resurrection have any relevance for the Christian, for at death the νοῦς sheds the body and ascends to the Pleromatic Good. In the present, the fleshly body hinders and threatens the inner νοῦς.

Other Platonic traits have been identified by different scholars. *Ed. pr.* (xxv–xxvi), for example, argue that the contrast between κόσμος and αἶών in 45.16–18 parallels the Platonic contrast between "image" and "living model / archetype." The "intelligible world" is said to be the opposite of the "sensible" world in 46.35–47.1, a cosmology reminiscent of Plato. And, reference to the salvation of the "All" in 47.26 is said to echo faithfully the Platonic view that identifies man completely, the integral man, with his νοῦς.³⁵ We ourselves have underscored the notions of pre-existence of souls (46.38–47.1, cf. 47.4–6; 49.30–36) and of "practicing" for dying (49.28–33) as possibly echoing Platonic conceptions.³⁶

To call *Treat. Res.* the product of a "second-century Christian Platonist," however, is to emphasize one of the spheres of influence that has impacted upon our author to the exclusion of others, notably, the Christian. For example, it is clear that even though the author seems to adhere to belief in the pre-existence of the self (which he calls the νοῦς, not the ψυχή, as Plato and Plotinus) and its extrication from the body at death, this νοῦς is not intrinsically immortal. The resurrection of Christ and faith in this event are critical for achievement of the spiritual resurrection of the self, according to the author of *Treat. Res.* Further, the author's use of the term "resurrection" connotes more than the *post mortem* ascent of the bare "soul" or νοῦς. He speaks of a "garment of light" (= "rays," 45.30–31) worn by the Elect (45.30–31) in ascension, of the survival of "living members" that exist invisibly within the external, fleshly members (47.38–48.3), and probably of the reception of a new resurrection "flesh" in the *post mortem* ascent (47.6–8). Moreover, the author is remarkably negative about philosophers and philosophical persuasion (46.3–13) for one who supposedly and unabashedly embraces second-century Middle Platonism. Finally, to affirm that the "spiritual resurrection" "swallows up" (a

³⁴Layton, "Vision," 208.

³⁵Cf. *ed. pr.*, 17.

³⁶Peel, *Epistle*, 159–60.

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Pauline expression meaning “destroys” or renders irrelevant; cf. 1 Cor 15:54; 2 Cor 5:4d) the “psychic” resurrection (as well as the “fleshly”) is more distinctly a Gnostic than a Platonic view. Could a Platonist say the “psychical element” (the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) does not survive death?

At two other critical points our author demonstrates radical difference from Middle Platonism: the absence of any mention whatsoever of the goal of beatific vision of the Good or Ultimate Ideas, and his suggestion that the resurrection state entails the retention of personally identifiable characteristics, i.e., a “new body.” This latter certainly seems the thrust of the author’s allusion to Elijah and Moses from the Synoptic Transfiguration pericope as a revelation of those who have arisen (48.6–13). To argue, as Layton does,³⁷ that just the opposite is meant, namely, that the appearance of these two OT greats at the Transfiguration might wrongly suggest that the resurrection is a kind of phantom survival, turns the meaning of the text of *Treat. Res.* on its head! To make his argument convincing, Layton would have to demonstrate that our author understands the appearance of Moses and Elijah to refer to something other than the *post mortem* state or that their appearance at the Transfiguration is only illusory. However, Layton does not and cannot sustain such an argument.

Thus, we must conclude with *ed. pr.* that, like Valentinus himself and those of his school, our author’s thinking has been influenced by Platonic thought. Even so, this Platonism is radically altered by a Gnostically-inspired acosmic dualism and by a spiritually-conceived, Christian-inspired idea of resurrection that clearly owes something to the Apostle Paul.

4. Conclusion

In our view, the author is a Christian Gnostic whose thought displays the distinctive impact of Platonic ideas as mediated through and altered by a Valentinian Gnostic frame of reference.

VII. TEACHING OF THE LETTER

1. Cosmology and Anthropology

The author’s eschatological teaching presupposes a cosmic dualism: a pre-existent “system” ($\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu\alpha$) of heavenly emanations called the “Pleroma” ($\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$) (46.35–38, cf. 45.10–13) vs. “this place”

³⁷Layton, *Treatise*, 94–96, 130; “Vision,” 207–208.

(τοπος) or "world" (44.18,36; 45.16,30; 46.9,11,38; 47.6-26; 48.15, 28; 49.33). The world itself has come into being through a disruption in this Pleroma (46.35-38), the resulting condition being called a "deficiency" (ὑστέρημα, 49.4-5, cf. 44.30-33). Passing comments make clear the evil, corruptible nature of this world (e.g., 46.36-38, its "smallness;" 47.5-6 and 47.17-26, its susceptibility to corruption; 48.13-16,27-28, its illusory nature). Moreover, it apparently is under the control of powers described as "dominions," "deities," and a coercive "Element" (44.18,37-38; 45.16; 46.38; 47.6).

The "All," i.e., the totality of the Elect (47.26-29), pre-existed in the Pleroma (46.38-47.1) prior to incarnation in this earthly sphere (47.4-6). This understanding has led the author to a tripartite anthropology: an immortal, inner man (= spirit) incarnated in a dispensible soul and a transient body. More precisely, the external body of flesh encompasses the "visible members," which are subject to "old age," "corruption" (47.11-13,17-20), and abandonment (ἀπουσία) at death (47.33-36). To live "according to the flesh" (cf. Rom 8:4-5,12-13; 2 Cor 10:2) is to follow the path of error and death (49.9-16). "Better than the flesh," however, and its "cause of life" (47.9-10) is the invisible inner man, the "spiritual" self, which is constituted of "mind" (νοῦς), its thought, and the inward and invisible "members" (μέλη, 46.15-17,24; 47.38-48.2). That this immortal, inner man is distinct from and superior to the dispensible "soul" (ψυχῆ) is made clear by the implications to be drawn from 45.39-46.2: "the spiritual (πνευματική) resurrection...swallows up the psychic (ψυχική) in the same way as the fleshly (σαρκική)."

This cosmological and anthropological understanding has interesting implications for the author's view of life and death. As demonstrated elsewhere,³⁸ two different words are used for life: ΠΕΡΙΒΙΟΣ (οὗτος ὁ βίος) in 45.35 and 49.20; and ΠΩΩΝΩ (probably ἡ ζωή) in 47.10; 48.2,21,23. The former is used exclusively of earthly existence as qualified by the death that terminates it. As such, βίος would seem uniquely characteristic of the fleshly body. The latter term for life, ζωή, is used of the undying nature of the Elect as qualified by the resurrection they experience. As such, ζωή is distinctive of the inner, spiritual members and mind. "Death," in turn, is the cessation of earthly "life" (βίος), that which is diametrically opposed to "life" (ζωή). All humans are subject to a "Law of Nature," i.e., corruption

³⁸Peel, *Epistle 114-116*.

and decay, which the author calls a "Law of Death" (44.17-21). For believers, such death entails extinction of life in the body and separation from it (47.30-48.1, cf. 47.17-22). To be noted is the fact that, unlike biblical writers, our author makes no connection whatsoever between death and sin. The latter is never mentioned.

2. *The Savior and the Believer*

a. The Savior's Work

Of decisive importance in attainment of the resurrection is the work of the Savior, Jesus Christ (48.18-19; 49.38-50.1), and the response of the believer to that work. In short, resurrection is not an automatic process, in spite of what might seem to be implied by the author's anthropology.

Two aspects of the Savior's work are emphasized in *Treat. Res.*: first, the eschatological one of destroying death and conferring immortality; second, the didactic one of teaching the "Truth" and communicating "knowledge." The first of these unfolds through several stages. Initially, the "Son of Man" pre-existed as a pre-cosmic "seed of Truth" (44.21-36). As such, he seems to have been the "emanation" (*προβολή*) of the Pleromatic deities "Truth" and "Spirit" (45.12-13). He seems to have had nothing to do with the disruption of the "Pleroma" or creation of the world (as implied by 48.10-13). Next, the Savior appears *in mediis rebus*, living in this worldly "place," having taken on a body of "flesh" (44.13-15). Certain expressions imply his "descent" from the Pleroma into this world (cf. 44.34-35; 45.19, 26-28). By assuming "flesh," the "Son of Man" participated representatively in the humanity of mankind (44.21-29), including the apparent experience of death (46.16-17, cf. 45.25-26). Finally, we learn that the Savior destroyed death by "swallowing it up" (45.14-15), "conquering" it through his divine nature as "Son of God" (44.27-29, cf. 45.4-11). He accomplished this by extricating himself from this "perishing world," transforming himself into an immortal deity, destroying his visible nature with his invisible, and ascending into the Pleroma (45.16-21). Indeed, in a passage which superficially echoes the language of Pauline mysticism (45.24-28, cf. Rom 8:17 and Eph 2:5-6), the author insists that the Elect participated proleptically in the Savior's dying, rising, and ascension.

Through the "Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ," then, the resurrection was brought into being (48.16-19), the "way of immortality" was

opened (45.14-39), "rest" was conferred on the faithful (43.35-38), and the Elect were revealed (45.10-11). This was all integral to the "Son of Man's" cosmic role of "restoring" (ἀποκατάστασις) the Pleroma. Thus, he "makes the Good" (49.8-9).

The second major aspect of the Savior's work lies in communicating knowledge. He confers the "Truth" that grants eschatological "Rest" (43.35-44.3). This "Truth" conveys knowledge of man's corruptible condition and of the Savior's work (43.34; 45.3-11); this is the "Solution" to the problems of human existence (45.5-11). Much of what the author teaches Rheginos is "knowledge" given him by the "Lord Jesus Christ" (49.37-50.1). To be noted is the fact that knowledge of the Agnostos Theos is *not* mentioned as part of the Savior's teaching.

b. The Believer's Response

Though the Savior's work is the *sine qua non* of resurrection hope, the author of *Treat. Res.* clearly indicates that reception of this eschatological prize is contingent upon human responses of "faith" (πίστις), "knowledge" (γνώσις), and "practice" (ἀσκήσις). However, the capacity for such responses seems limited to the Elect few.

(i.) *Election*: In a key passage, 46.20-34, the author states: "we are elected (Τῆς αἰτῆς = ἐκλέκτος) to salvation and redemption, since we are predestined (ἀροῦντα ὡν = προορίζειν) from the beginning." Since he does not mention the Deity who might have predestined the Elect, the author's main interest lies in the working out and confirmation of election in Christ. (Cf. 45.4-13, where we read of Christ's revealing who the "bound-for-resurrection" Elect are; and 45.28-35 where mention is made of Christ's "enclosing" of the Elect until their death.) Also, allusion to their election "from the beginning" (46.27: αἰν ἡ ὡν = ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) suggests a pre-cosmic choice coinciding with their Pleromatic existence as "the All" (46.35-47.1). These Elect are destined to share in the "Wisdom of the Truth" (46.28-34), a clear linking of resurrection with gnosis. Most human beings, however, (including most "philosophers of this world," 46.8-10) are not among the Elect (44.8-10) and will "fall into the folly of those without knowledge" (46.25-29).

(ii.) *Faith and Knowledge*: A defining characteristic of the Elect is that they have the capacity for "faith" (πίστις). In 46.3-24 we learn that "faith" is both acceptance of the reality of Christ's resurrection from the dead (cf. 45.14-46.4, 14-20) and trust in the surety of that same "spiritual resurrection" for those who believe in him (cf. 46.8-

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13). Indeed, so inextricably are “belief” and “resurrection” woven together, it may be said that to have “faith” is to be immortal (46.20–21). The very opposites of faith are philosophical “persuasion” or demonstration (*πείθειν*) and “doubt” (*διστάζειν*, 46.3–7; 47.1–3; 47.36–48.3). The spiritual resurrection should remain a matter of confident hope.

Complementary with “believing” is the Elect’s “knowing.” The object of such “knowing” is not an Agnostos Theos, however, but the Son of Man and his resurrection (46.13–17). To “know” him is to “know” the “Truth,” the gnostically-interpreted scriptural tradition (44.1–3; 45.3–11; 46.30–32). Moreover, such “knowledge” is, in part, a rationalistic process, bound up with “thought” originating in the “mind” (cf. 46.22; 47.29; 48.10). Thus, it is said that one may “know” his own shortcomings as a teacher (44.39) and “know” of the inevitability of one’s own death (49.16–19). There is no mention of “knowledge” attained through ecstatic experience. Finally, there is a sense in which “knowing” invests one with immortality in that through it one should consider death as already passed (49.25–28). Grasping the “Truth” gives one eschatological “Rest” in the present (44.1–3) and in the future (46.30–32). The “mind” of those who have “known” the Savior is immortal (46.23–24).

(iii.) *Practice*: Full appropriation of the benefits of Christ’s resurrection also requires “practice” on the part of the Elect (49.25–26). “Practice” (*ἀσκεῖν*) and “exercise” (*γυμνάζεσθαι*) are needed to free oneself from the inimical power of the cosmos (i.e., “this Element” = *στοιχείων*). Such “practice” seems to refer to mental attitude: getting rid of doubts about the resurrection (47.2–3, cf. 47.36–48.3), avoidance of divisive opinion (46.10–17; 49.9–16?), entertaining correct thought about salvation (47.26–30; 48.10–11). Thus, the “exercise” expected of the Elect seems to be a type of internal or mental training designed to give confidence about the resurrection (cf. 1 Tim 4.7–8). It is unclear whether *ἀσκεῖν* also implies an ascetic ethic.

3. *The Goals of Eschatology*

a. Realized Eschatology

Our author places major stress on the already realized or presently-experienced aspects of eschatology. On the one hand, the Elect should consider himself already dead (49.16–30). While death is certainly the biological end of every mortal (49.16–24, cf. 45.32–35), the believer

has already died with Christ (44.27-29; 45.14-15; 45.25-26). Further, since Christ has "swallowed up" (45.14-15) and thus "conquered" death as the divine Son of God (44.27-29, cf. 45.4-11), it must be understood as merely a stage of transition. Thus, there is no room for dread, anxiety, or doubt about death.

On the other hand, since the Elect knows himself to be already dead, he should recognize that "in Christ" (45.22-28) he is already resurrected and in rest (49.9-30). The election of the "All" gives assurance of present possession of the resurrection (47.26-29). Moreover, the Elect are granted "rest" (*ἀνάπαυσις*, 44.6), the state of being without anxiety about death or afterlife and of anticipating now the fully-resurrected state.

b. Unrealized Eschatology

At the same time, while not equally emphasized, the inevitability of biological death and the fulfillment of resurrection in *post mortem* ascent are also acknowledged. Every man is subject to the "Law of Nature," i.e., a law of physical death (44.17-21). Even the Elect who possess resurrection "life" (*ζωή*) must consequently die, and some have done so already (46.7-8). This is because they possess bodies subject to aging and corruption (47.17-19; 47.33-48.3). The "setting in life" (= death) is thus unescapable (49.16-21) and needs frank acknowledgment (49.16-21).

Further, the author affirms that the Elect, while "already raised," will not be fully raised until their death (cf. 49.9-30; 47.26-29; 44.6f. with 45.32-46.2). At death, the Elect are "drawn" to heaven by the Savior (45.34-39). The inner, spiritual self "departs" and experiences a blessed "absence" from the fleshly body (47.19-24, 35-38). Thus, in contrast to Pauline views of the resurrection (1 Cor 15; 1 Thess 4), our author severs the event from the history of salvation, eliminates it from end-time expectation, and individualizes that experience.

c. The Resurrection Body

The resurrection, according to our text, is neither the escape of the bare "spirit" (*πνεῦμα*) or "mind" (*νοῦς*) from the physical body, nor is it the survival of the earthly flesh (i.e., the flesh possessed during earthly life). After death there is an ascension of the inward, invisible "members," covered by a new spiritual "flesh" (*σάρξ*, 47.4-8). Thus, in the author's view, discontinuity between the earthly and the resurrection body is occasioned by death and departure from the external,

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visible members and flesh; whereas continuity of identity is furnished by the inner spiritual man and his new, *post mortem* flesh (47.4–8). The “proof” of this is offered by the appearance of Elijah and Moses in the Transfiguration pericope in the Gospel (48.3–11). Both are revealed as recognizable in their *post mortem* state.

Acquisition of this “spiritual flesh” may be referred to in the author’s assertions that resurrection involves a “transformation (Ϡβ̅ει̅ε = μεταμορφῶσθαι or ἀλλάσσειν: cf. Matt 17:2; 1 Cor 15:51–52) of things, and a transition into newness” (48.35–38). It may also be implied in 48.38–49.1: “For imperishability de[scends] upon the perishable.” The idea of laying aside one type of flesh to take on another, heavenly or spiritual form may owe something to 2 Cor 5:1–4.

Treat. Res. 45.39–46.2 implies that this “spiritual” form of the resurrection renders irrelevant the “psychic” form of resurrection (i.e., escape of the bare ψυχή from the body, à la Plato) and the “fleshly” form of resurrection (i.e., restoration of the literal flesh, as maintained by many Church Fathers).

d. The Final Destiny

In 44.30–33 we read of the Son of Man’s ultimate goal in his saving work, namely, the “restoration” to the Pleroma. Presumably, this “restoration” (ἀποκατάστασις) will rectify the “deficiency” (ὑστέρημα) left in the Pleroma by creation of this lower world and the coming into cosmic existence of the “All,” i.e., the Elect. Clearly, neither the world nor the totality of humanity will be included in the “restoration,” the former because of its corruptible and inimical nature, the latter because of double predestination. In 46.28–31, express mention is made of the election of some to the “wisdom (σύνεσις or σωφροσύνη) of the Truth,” as well as of the condemnation of others to “the folly (ἀφροσύνη or ἄνοια) of those without knowledge.” This “restoration” is the final goal toward which the whole salvation process moves.

4. The “Time” of Salvation

Our author’s consciousness of time moves between two poles: the “beginning” (Ϡα̅ρ̅π̅ι̅ = ἀρχή in 44.33–34; 46.27), or pre-existent state of the perfect Pleroma; and the “restoration” (ἀποκατάστασις, 44.31–33) or return of the Pleroma to its initial perfection. Between these two is a period of cosmic time, a time of aging, corruption, and biological death (45.16–17; 47.17–19). Since resurrection is contrasted

with such cosmic time of illusion, flux, and change (48.22-27), we may conclude that the latter is but another sphere of imprisonment from which the Elect seek escape. To make this possible, there has entered cosmic time the Savior, Christ. His descent, suffering, and resurrection have opened the way out of cosmic imprisonment (44.21-36; 45.14-21, 25-39; 46.14-20; 48.16-19).

Major emphasis is placed, as in the Gospel of John, on the present, i.e., on what of saving significance has already occurred for the believer (43.34-37; 45.22-28; 46.20-24; 47.26-29; 49.15-16; 49.25-26). The Elect believer has *already* died and risen with Christ; he *already* possesses the resurrection. At the same time, as indicated earlier, each individual still living has *not yet* experienced biological death, and the "restoration" of the Pleroma has *not yet* occurred. Unlike the eschatological tension characteristic of the NT, however, with its emphasis on the not yet of Christ's Parousia, *Treat. Res.* presents a mostly realized eschatology. The Pauline "eschatological reservation" (1 Cor 15:22-26, 51-56; 1 Thess 4:13-15) has dissolved, with resurrection of all the faithful at the end-time being replaced with individually-experienced resurrection in the now. Not future hope, but present knowledge is emphasized!

VIII. AUTHORSHIP, DATE AND PROVENANCE

1. *Authorship*

The first editors³⁹ have argued that *Treat. Res.* has emanated from the Oriental School of Valentinianism and that it was probably penned by none other than Valentinus himself shortly before or just after his break with the Church at Rome ca. 144 C.E. This would imply that the letter was probably written from Italy.

In support of these conclusions *ed. pr.* have sought to show affinities of the author's teaching with Oriental Valentinianism, that school founded by Valentinus himself. For example, the Oriental School, like *Treat. Res.* 45.39-46.2, taught that resurrection involved only the "pneumatic element" or "spirit" of a believer, not as the Occidental School taught, the "psychic element" or "soul." Also, the Oriental School, like *Treat. Res.* 44.30-36, held that Christ had only a pneumatic body; whereas, the Occidental School maintained the Savior had a pneumatic "seed," plus a psychic body. Further, *ed. pr.*⁴⁰ have

³⁹*Ed. pr.*, xx-xxiii, xxxi-xxxiii.

⁴⁰*Ed. pr.*, xxiv-xxv, and "Notes Critiques," *passim*.

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⁴¹*Ed. pr.*, xxx-xxv
⁴²Barns, Peretto
⁴³So, e.g., Leipo
⁴⁴*Præl. Epistle*,
⁴⁵*Exc. Theod.* 6
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⁴⁶So Danielou,
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sought to adduce numerous parallels to *Treat. Res.* from the *Gos. Truth* in Codex I to support their claim that if the latter was written by Valentinus himself, then it is probable the former was, too. Finally, *ed. pr.*⁴¹ have offered six arguments — involving *Treat. Res.*'s literary genre, the author's ambivalent attitude toward philosophy, his elegant style, his claim to a "secret" tradition from Christ (49.37–50.1), his address to pupils like that of a schoolmaster, his affinities with Asiatic Theology, his ambiguous views on the resurrection "body" — to demonstrate that nothing precludes the possibility that Valentinus was the author.

As noted earlier (VI,2,*supra*), a majority of scholars agree that the author belongs to a Valentinian Gnostic School. A few would further concur with *ed. pr.* that the School is the Oriental.⁴² Most, however, hold that the evidence is too ambiguous to identify the author with any particular Valentinian School.⁴³ For example, though nothing explicit is said about the Savior possessing a "psychic body," *Treat. Res.* does affirm, apparently unlike Oriental Valentinians, that Christ possessed "humanity" (44.21–26), "existed in the flesh" (44.10), and "suffered" (46.16–17). Further, our own detailed examination⁴⁴ has led to the conclusions that: (a) the six arguments offered by *ed. pr.* are, individually-considered, inconclusive at best; (b) the *Gos. Truth* and *Treat. Res.* were certainly not written by the same author, even if the former be held to be from Valentinus himself; and (c) *Treat. Res.* omits several theologoumena considered crucial to Valentinus' own original teaching, e.g., the marriage after death of the "pneumatics" to their angelic counterparts and consequent entrance as "syzygoi" into the Bridal Chamber of the Pleroma.⁴⁵ A majority of scholars, therefore, remain sceptical about Valentinus himself as the author.⁴⁶

It may be concluded only that the author is an anonymous Christian Gnostic teacher who is familiar with a form of Valentinian Gnosticism. Further, that form seems to be a later stage of Valentinianism: one in which there is greater stress on "faith" than on "gnosis," in which Christological docetism has become less explicit, in which a

⁴¹*Ed. pr.*, xxv–xxix.

⁴²Barns, Peretto, Haardt.

⁴³So, e.g., Leipoldt, van Unnik, Gaffron, Krause, Layton, Peel.

⁴⁴Peel, *Epistle*, chap. 5, *passim*.

⁴⁵*Exc. Theod.* 63.1; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.

114.3–6.

⁴⁶So Daniélou, Haenchen, Leipoldt, van Unnik, Haardt, Stead, Gaffron, Rudolph, Martin, Layton, Peel.

tripartite anthropology has come under the influence of Paul's conception of a spiritual resurrection body, in which mastery of the precise names and relations of pleromatic aeons has waned in importance.⁴⁷

2. *Date*

Several lines of investigation converge in pointing toward the late second century as the probable time of composition of the Greek original of our text. One of these has been the effort to show that the author's developed sense of NT canon (with its division of "Gospel" and "Apostle") is reflective of the mid- to late-second century.⁴⁸ Another has been van Unnik's attempt⁴⁹ to place the document's teaching within the framework of controversies over the resurrection which occupied the Great Church in the second century. Exemplars of this controversy include Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, Pseudo-Justin, and Athenagoras. Still another line has been pursued by Layton⁵⁰ in his efforts to demonstrate affinities between *Treat. Res.* and the Middle Platonism of the late second century, as reflected, for example, in Clement of Alexandria and the Late Stoa. The balance of probability thus indicates the late second century.⁵¹

3. *Provenance*

Nothing in the text permits us to draw any firm conclusions about the place of composition in *Treat. Res.* or the place of the addressee, Rheginos and his circle.⁵² In that Valentinians were found in Egypt, Italy, and elsewhere in Europe, and given our difficulties in identifying the text with the Oriental or Occidental School of this Gnostic sect, it is impossible to be more precise.

⁴⁷See Peel, *Epistle*, 179-80.

⁴⁸So Peel, *Epistle*, 23-24.

⁴⁹*JEH* 15 (1964) 141-52, 153-67.

⁵⁰*Treatise*, 2-4, *passim*.

⁵¹So also Peretto, Martin, Dehandschutter, Gaffron, Layton, Peel.

⁵²Schenke's attempt (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 471) to identify the "place" (τόπος) where Rheginos "remains" in 44.17-19 with "Palestine" overlooks the commonplace use of τόπος for "this world" in philosophical literature of the second century.

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44.12-13 νταζα, ν possibly written over τ. ¹17 αψζμαζε (The second a written over ε.) MS: Read αψζμαζε Schenke: αψζμαστ Till ¹

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43.25 Some there are, my son Rheginos,| who want to learn many things.| They have this goal| when they are occupied with questions| whose answer is lacking. 30 If they succeed with these, they usually| think very highly of| themselves. But I do not think| that they have stood within| the Word of Truth. They seek 35 rather their own rest, which| we have received through our| Savior, our Lord Christ. 44.1 We received it (i.e., Rest) when we came to know| the truth and rested| ourselves upon it. But| since you ask us 5 pleasantly what is proper| concerning the resurrection, I am writing| you (to say) that it is necessary.| To be sure, many are| lacking faith in it, but there are a few 10 who find it.| So then, let us discuss| the matter.|

How did the Lord proclaim| things while he existed 15 in flesh and after| he had revealed himself as Son| of God? He lived| in this place where you| remain, speaking 20 about the Law of Nature — but I call| it “Death!” Now the Son| of God, Rheginos,| was Son of Man.| He embraced them 25 both, possessing the| humanity and the divinity,| so that on the one hand he might vanquish| death through his| being Son of God, 30 and that on the other through the Son of| Man the restoration| to the Pleroma| might occur; because| he was originally from above, 35 a seed of the Truth, before| this structure (of the cosmos) had come into being| In this (structure) many dominions and| divinities came into existence.|

I know that I am presenting 45.1 the solution in difficult terms,| but there is nothing| difficult in the Word| of Truth. But since 5 the Solution appeared| so as not to leave anything hidden,| but to reveal all things openly concerning| existence — the destruction 10 of evil on the one hand, the revelation| of the

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 ψηре αῖω па πῖ' पेиῖε ен пе петмаααт на-
 ἴ'τωων αῖω оῖн петῖ πистеῖε'ε ζῖ ἴφилософос
 10 εтῖнiма ἴ'αλλα ῖнаτωων αῖω πφילו'софос
 εтῖнiма ἴπωρ атреα'пистеῖε оῖреαкто ἴмаα
 оῖ[α]εетῖ αῖω εтве тῖпi'ctic ἴ[α]ζῖсоῖн
 15 πψηре ἴгар ἴ'πρωме αῖω азῖпистеῖε ἴαε αψ-
 τωоῖн αβαλ ζῖ नेт'маоῖт αῖω पेει петῖαоῖ
 ἴ'ἴмаα αε αψωπε ἴβωλ ἴαβαλ ἴπμοῦ ζωс
 20 оῖнаб ἴ'πε ἴ'πεтоῖῖ πистеῖε араῖ ζῖ'нат не
 नेтῖ πистеῖε
 ἴῖна'तेको ен ἴβi πमेῖε ἴне'тоῖαα ἴῖнаते-
 25 ко ен ἴβi ἴ'пноῖс ἴнетаζсоῖωωνῖ ἴ'εтве पेει
 тῖсатп азοῖн ἴ'αποῖαεи ἴπ πсωте ε'αζοῖ-
 таῖн αин ἴψарῖ ἴ'атῖн'тῖ'заεиε ζῖ тῖн'таῖнт

46.3 εῖα MS: Read εῖα *ed. pr.* ἴ7 маααт, The second α written over ο. ἴ10
 αλλα...αῖω MS: αῖω...αλλα Barns ἴ12 оῖреατεко MS: αῖреατεко
 Polotsky, Layton ἴ13 тῖпi'ctic < - - - > Layton ἴ21 нат MS: Read наб
 Barns: нат<моῖ> Zandee ἴ

elect on the other. This (Solution) is| the emanation of Truth and| Spirit, Grace is of the Truth.|

The Savior swallowed up ¹⁵ death — (of this) you are not reckoned as being ignorant —| for he put aside the world| which is perishing. He transformed [himself]| into an imperishable Aeon| and raised himself up, having ²⁰ swallowed the visible| by the invisible,| and he gave us| the way of our immortality. Then,| indeed, as the Apostle ²⁵ said, “We suffered| with him, and we arosel with him, and we went to heaven| with him.” Now if we are| manifest in ³⁰ this world wearing| him, we are that one’s beams,| and we are| embraced by| him until our setting, that is ³⁵ to say, our death in this life.| We are drawn to heaven| by him, like beams| by the sun, not being restrained| by anything. This is ⁴⁰ the spiritual resurrection| ^{46.1} which swallows up the psychic| in the same way as the fleshly.|

But if there is one who| does not believe, he does not have ⁵ the (capacity to be) persuaded. For it is the domain of faith,| my son, and not that which belongs| to persuasion: the dead shall| arise! There is one who believes| among the philosophers who are in this world. ¹⁰ At least he will arise. And let not the philosopher| who is in this world have cause to| believe that he is one who returns himself| by himself — and (that) because of our faith!! For we have known the Son of ¹⁵ Man, and we have believed| that he rose from among the| dead. This is he of whom we say,| “He became the destruction| of death, as he is a great one ²⁰ in whom they believe.”| <Great> are those who believe.|

The thought of those| who are saved shall not perish.| The mind of those who have known him shall not perish. ²⁵ Therefore, we are elected to| salvation and redemption since| we are predestined from the

- 30 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\varsigma\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ ἥ ἀλλὰ ἐναεὶ ἀζοῦν ἀτμῆτ-
 ῥῆ<N>ζήτ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\eta\tau\iota\mu\eta\epsilon \tau\mu\eta\epsilon \beta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\bar{\rho}\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ἀῤῥας μῆ ψβαμ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ ἀῤῥαλ οὔτε $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ οὐ¹χῶρε πε <π>σῦστημα $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\iota\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$
 35 οὐκοῦει πε $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\alpha\zeta\beta\omega\lambda$ ἀβαλ ἀφῶπε ἰ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\kappa}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$
 <MΖ>/47 ἠψωπε $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ πε ζω¹τε $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\omega\bar{\rho}$ ἀῤῥ δισταζε
 εἵβε ἰ $\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma \pi\alpha\psi\eta\rho\epsilon \rho\eta\gamma\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ ἰ εἰψπε $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\alpha\rho$ ἐν ἥ $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\varsigma\alpha\rho\zeta$ ἀκχι $\varsigma\alpha\rho\zeta$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\iota\epsilon\iota$
 5 ἀζοῦν ἀπικοςμος εἵβε ἰ εὔ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\iota$ ἐν $\bar{\eta}\tau\varsigma\alpha\rho\zeta$
 ἐκῶανῖβωκ ἀζρηῖ ἀζοῦν ἀπαιῶν ἰ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$
 10 ἀτ $\varsigma\alpha\rho\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma \bar{\eta}\alpha\iota\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\omega\omega\bar{\nu}\eta\zeta$ ἰ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 εἵβητῆκ μῆ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\omega\kappa$ ἐν πε $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\rho}\omega\kappa$ πε
 ἰ μῆ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ ἐν $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\kappa$ ἰ ἀλλὰ ἐκῆ $\bar{\nu}\iota\mu\alpha$ εὔ πε
 15 εἵτῆ¹ψαατ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\sigma$ $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ πε $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota\kappa\bar{\rho}$ $\varsigma\bar{\rho}\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\zeta\epsilon$
 ἀσβο ἀρασ ἰ
 πχοριον $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ εἵτε $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota$ πε $\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\zeta\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron$
 20 ἀγῶ· κ¹ψοοπ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ οὔντεκ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\omicron\zeta\eta\gamma$ ἰ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\alpha\rho$ ἐν $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ ἐκῶανβωκ
 $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\theta\alpha\gamma$ ἰ οὔντεσ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\beta\omega\chi\bar{\beta}$ ἰ ἀλλὰ οὔ $\bar{\eta}$
 ζματ ἀρασ
 25 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ λα¹αγε βε $\varsigma\omega\tau$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\bar{\nu}$ ἀβαλ ἰ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\iota\mu\alpha$ ἀλλὰ
 πτηρῆ εἵτε ἀῤῥαν πε $\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\omicron\gamma\alpha\chi$ ἀζῆ $\chi\iota$ ἰ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 30 $\chi\iota\bar{\nu}\rho$ ἀρη $\chi\bar{\eta}$ ἰ ζα $\theta\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}\chi\iota$
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\zeta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$
 ἀλλὰ ἰ οὔ $\bar{\eta}$ ζαεῖνε οὔωψε ἀμ¹με $\bar{\eta}\alpha\zeta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\rho}\psi\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$
 εἵβε ἰ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ εἵβητοῦ εἰψ¹πε $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\chi$
 35 ἐσῶανκῶ¹ε $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\sigma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ ἰ εῖ $\bar{\rho}\eta\alpha$ οὔ $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{\rho}$ δισταζε εἵβε $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 ἰ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ βε $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ εἵτοῦ¹ααν ζ ἀβαλ εἵτμα-
 <MΗ>/48 οὔτ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\alpha\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ ἐν $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\lambda[\omicron]\varsigma$ εἵ¹τααν ζ εἵ-
 ψοοπ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\rho\eta\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$

31 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ <N>ζήτ *ed. pr.* 32 βε, β written over τ. 35 <π>σῦστημα *ed. pr.* 38 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\kappa}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ MS: $\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ *ed. pr.*

47.18 ἀγῶ· κ, κ written over μ or ν. 24 ἀρασ, ρ written over σ. 25 $\varsigma\omega\tau\langle\epsilon\rangle$ *ed. pr.* 28 $\chi\iota\bar{\nu}\rho$ ἀρη $\chi\bar{\eta}$ MS: $\chi\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\nu$ ἀρη $\chi\bar{\eta}$ *ed. pr.* $\chi\iota\bar{\nu}$ ρα ἀρη $\chi\bar{\eta}$ (?) Layton 29 ζα MS: ψα Till 33 <χε> εἰψπε *ed. pr.* 38 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ MS: $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\psi$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ Barns: $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ Haardt 1

beginning| not to fall into the| foolishness of those
 who are without knowledge, ³⁰ but we shall enter in-
 to the| wisdom of those who have known the| Truth.
 Indeed, the Truth which is kept| cannot be aban-
 doned,| nor has it been. ³⁵ “Strong is the system of
 the| Pleroma; small is that which | broke loose (and)
 became| (the) world. But the All is| what is encom-
 passed. It has not ^{47.1} come into being; it was exist-
 ing.” So,| never doubt concerning| the resurrection,
 my son Rheginos!| For if you were not existing ⁵ in
 flesh, you received flesh when you| entered this
 world. Why| will you not receive flesh when you|
 ascend into the Aeon?| That which is better than the
 flesh is that which is ¹⁰ for it (the) cause of life.|
 That which came into being on your account, is it not|
 yours? Does not that which is yours| exist with you?|
 Yet, while you are in this world, what is it that you
¹⁵ lack? This is what| you have been making every
 effort to learn.|

The afterbirth of the body is| old age, and you|
 exist in corruption. You have ²⁰ absence as a gain.|
 For you will not give up what| is better if you depart.
 That which is worse| has diminution,| but there is
 grace for it.

Nothing, ²⁵ then, redeems us from| this world. But
 the All which| we are, we are saved. We have re-
 ceived| salvation from end| to end. Let us think in
 this way! ³⁰ Let us comprehend in this way!

But| there are some (who) wish to understand,| in
 the enquiry about| those things they are looking into,
 whether | he who is saved, if he leaves ³⁵ his body
 behind, will| be saved immediately. Let| no one
 doubt concerning this.| ... indeed, the visible mem-
 bers| which are dead ^{48.1} shall not be saved, for (only)
 the living [members]| which exist within| them
 would arise.

5 εΥ 'βε τε ταναστας πβωλπ̄ " αβαλ πε ἡ-
 ογαειω nim ἡ'νεταζτωοῦν εἰωπε ακρ̄ ' πμεγε
 ἡ'гар εκωω ζῆ πεγ'αγγελιον χε αζηλειас οὔ-
 10 'ωνζ̄ αβαλ αγω μωγснс " ἡ'μεγ ἡ'πωρ αμεγε
 ατα'наστας χε οὔφανταςια ' τε οὔφανταςια
 εν τε αλλα ' [ο]γμне τε ἡ'ρογο ἡ'δε οὔ-
 15 'πετεςωε πε αχοос χε οὔ'φανταςια πε πκοс-
 мос ' ἡ'ρογο ατанаστας тееι ' ενтасωωπε
 αβαλ ζιτο'от̄ ἡ'пенχαιс πсω'тнр ιη(сoγ)с
 πεχρησтос
 20 εт'βε εΥ ἡ'δε εεитамо ἡ'мак ἡ'теγноу не-
 'ан̄ сенамοῦ πως ' εγαν̄ ζῆ οὔφанта'сiа ἡ'-
 25 р̄мааει агр̄ ζῆ'ке αγω ἡ'раει агωр'ωωроу
 птнр̄ шарев'ωβειе οὔφантасiа ' πε πκοсмос
 30 χεкасе ' бе нр̄ каталааει са ἡ'звнγε
 απερογο
 αλλα ' τанаστας м̄тес ἡ'меγ ' ἡ'писмаτ
 ἡ'тmine χε ' тмне τε πε πεтазе арет̄ ' агω
 35 πογων̄ αβαλ ἡ'πε'тωооп πε агω пωβει'е πε
 ἡ'звнге агω οὔ'μεтаβολη αροῦν агм̄т'в̄рре
 <мө>/49 тм̄наттеко ἡ'гар " [сзе'е] [[αζηη]] απит̄н ах̄м
 ' пт̄εко агω πογαειн qze'т̄е απит̄н ах̄м пке-
 5 кει еq'ωм̄нк ἡ'маг агω ппλη'ρωма qчкк αβαλ
 ἡ'пеш'та нееи ne ἡ'сυμβолон м̄н ' ἡ'тант̄н ἡ'т-
 анасτας ' ἡ'таг πε еттамio ἡ'ппе'тнаноӯ
 10 ζωсте ἡ'πωρ а'р̄ ноеи мерикωс ω рнги'не οὔ-
 τε ἡ'п̄р̄р πολитеγe'сθαι ката тееисарз етве
 ' тм̄нтоγееи αλλα αμοῦ α'βαλ ζῆ ἡ'мерисмос м̄н
 15 ἡ'м̄рре агω ндн оῦнтек ἡ'меγ ἡ'танаστας
 εἰω'πε петнамоῦ ἡ'гар qсаγ'не араг огаеет̄
 20 χε еq'намоῦ кан еqωанр̄ заз " ἡ'рампе ζῆ
 пееивios се'еине ἡ'маг αροῦн απееи ' етве εΥ
 ἡ'так ἡ'кнеγ арак ' ен огаеет̄к еактωοῦн
 25 аг'ω сееине ἡ'мак αροῦн απе'еи εἰωπε оῦнтек
 ἡ'меγ ἡ'птωοῦн αλλα кбеет̄ ζωс ' екнамоῦ
 кaitoиге пн qсаγ'не χε агмоῦ етве εΥ бе

48.21 ἡ'теγноу, ε written over ο. | 25 ἡ'раει MS: ἡ'раει *ed. pr.* | 26 шарев i.e. шарев | 33 тмне τε {πε} *ed. pr.* | арет̄ <πε> *ed. pr.* |

49.1 ах̄м MS: Read ах̄м *ed. pr.* | 23 еактφοῦн, а written over к or н. |

What, | then, is the resurrection? ⁵ It is always the disclosure of | those who have risen. For if you | remember reading in the Gospel | that Elijah appeared | and Moses ¹⁰ with him, do not think the resurrection | is an illusion. | It is no illusion, but | it is truth! Indeed, it is more | fitting to say that ¹⁵ the world is an illusion, | rather than the resurrection which | has come into being through | our Lord the Savior, | Jesus Christ.

²⁰ But what am I telling | you now? Those who are living | shall die. How | do they live in an illusion? | The rich have become poor, ²⁵ and the kings have been overthrown. | Everything is prone | to change. The world | is an illusion! — lest, | indeed, I rail at ³⁰ things to excess!

But | the resurrection does not have | this aforesaid character, for | it is the truth which stands firm. | It is the revelation of ³⁵ what is, and the transformation | of things, and a | transition into | newness. For imperishability ^{49.1} [descends] upon | the perishable; the light flows | down upon the darkness, | swallowing it up; and the Pleroma ⁵ fills up the deficiency. | These are the symbols and | the images of the resurrection. | He (Christ) it is who makes the | good.

Therefore, do not ¹⁰ think in part, O Rheginos, | nor live | in conformity with this flesh for the sake of | unanimity, but flee | from the divisions and the ¹⁵ fetters, and already you have | the resurrection. For if | he who will die knows | about himself that he | will die — even if he spends many ²⁰ years in this life, he is | brought to this — | why not consider yourself | as risen and (already) | brought to this? ²⁵ If you have | the resurrection but continue as if | you are to die — and yet that one knows | that he has died —

- 30 ἰϑκωε αβαλ ἡσα τεκμηῆτ'ατῆρ γυμναζε ἔψε
 απογ'εει πουεει ατρεφῆρ αскеи ἡνογαπῆρ ἡζεεс
 αγω ἡσε'βαλῆ αβαλ ἡπιστοихеион ἡκεкасе ἡφῆρ
 35 πлана αλλα εφ'ναχι ἡμαφ ουαεετῆ ἡκε'сап
 पेει ετωρῆ ἡψο'оп
 नेει ἡταριχитоу αβαλ ἡῆρ τμηῆτατῆρ φθονει
 <N>/50 ἡπα'χαεις ι(ηсоу)с πεχηρητ[οс αιτс]ε'βακ
 арау ἡῆρ нексн[ηγ] नाश्न'रे εμπικε λαγε ἡσω-
 5 ει ῆῆρ ἡнетесψε απταχρε τηῆρ ἡειψε ουν
 ουεει ἡδε снз ἡεφσηк ῆῆρ таπαγγελια ἡ'πλο-
 10 γοс ἡनावалῆ αρωτῆ ε'ретῆψине ἡ'ноу ἡде ἡ-
 ἡ'πῆρ φθονει αλλαγε ετηп α'рак εῆῆρ бам ἡμαφ
 ἡ'р ω'φелеи
 ουν ῆῆρ ζωψῆρ азоуη ἡ'πεει पेει ἡ'ται-
 сзеει ἡ'маф нек नेει ἡ'тамо ἡ'мау ἡ'α'ρηνη
 15 ἡ'ηηтоу ἡῆρ теcharic ἡ'ἡψине арак ἡῆρ нетмаеиε
 ἡ'ἡμωтῆ ε'γоеи ἡ'маеисан ἡ'
 πλογοс εтве та'настасис

50.1 [αι-] ed. pr. [αῆι-] or [αει-] Layton¹ 5 εἰψε, The first ε written over
 2.¹ 17 πλογοс, π written over ε.¹

THE TREATISE
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 grace. 15
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why, then,| do I ignore your ³⁰ lack of exercise? It is fitting for each| one to practice| in a number of ways, and| he shall be released from this Element| that he may not fall into error but shall himself ³⁵ receive again| what at first was.|

These things I have received from| the generosity of my ^{50.1} Lord, Jesus Christ. [I have] taught| you and your [brethren], my sons, concerning them,| while I have not omitted any of| the things suitable for strengthening you (pl.). ⁵ But if there is one thing written| which is obscure in my exposition of| the Word, I shall interpret it for you (pl.)| when you (pl.) ask. But now,| do not be jealous of anyone who is in your number ¹⁰ when he is able to help.|

Many are looking into| this which I have written| to you. To these I say:| peace (be) among them and grace. ¹⁵ I greet you and those who love| you (pl.) in brotherly love.|

The Treatise on the Resurrection

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THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE

1,5:51.1-138.27

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II. LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION

The Tripartite Tractate is written in the Subachmimic (or "Lycopolitan")¹ dialect, although there are some characteristics of other dialects, especially Sahidic, as well as numerous anomalies in orthography and morphology.

1. Orthography

The text exhibits a number of characteristic peculiarities. A common phenomenon is the full orthography $\epsilon\gamma$, $\omicron\gamma$, or $\gamma\omicron\gamma$ for γ . Thus, for example, $\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ may appear as $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon$, and $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon$. Similarly, $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$ appears as $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma$ (131.34); $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\gamma$ as $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma$ (112.17; 121.9; 135.24). The circumstantial with an indefinite article appears as $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma$ (51.21, 54.7, and frequently). Related to the phenomenon may be the forms $\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\gamma$ (53.15) and $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\gamma$ (86.33) and $\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron\gamma\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (75.35-36), $\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma$ (75.36) and $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\gamma$ (75.31). The latter cases may represent a diphthongization of a simple vowel due to the influence of a neighboring syllable.²

¹For the alternative designation of this dialect, cf. R. Kasser, "Dialectes, sous-dialectes et 'dialecticules' dans l'Egypte copte," *ZÄS* 92 (1965) 106-115 and the introduction to R. Kasser, W. Vychichl, *Dictionnaire auxiliaire, étymologique et complet de la langue copte*, fasc. 1 (Geneva: EIEPO, 1967). For a special study of subachmimic, cf. P. Nagel, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des subachmimischen Dialekts* (Diss. Halle, 1964).

²Cf. Thomassen, (*Tripartite Tractate*, 37), who cites similar phenomena from

THE
There is a
ants. Thus,
and the prefix
ix is occasio
3.29-30; 82.2
is occasionally
other hand, the
aler ετ-, μῆτ
ατταρχη 52.6
50.10, ἡμῶν
The aspirate,
early Coptic m
forms as γετγε
is metathesized
ογγο (72.10). A
of the perfect I.
The greatest i
frequently redup
η, ῶ, ῶ and γ
quent. Note, e.g.
ῶεγ (66.24), ῶ
102.33). On the
double η would b
The conjunctio
and non-nazal
εγ, εγ; and r
occasionally app
appears for the p
tion in various f
relative ετε (67
appears as ετε

Table, Bode's izah, chap
The phenome
al Thomassen (*Tripartite*
Cf. Thomassen
The same phen
Cf. ed. pr. 1.
Normal, Coptic Sound
The most com
Tractate, 37-39. Cf. al

There is a considerable instability in the writing of certain consonants. Thus, double τ is frequently contracted after the relative $\epsilon\tau$ - and the prefixes $m\bar{n}\tau$ - and $a\tau$ - (e.g., 56.21; 93.16; 117.7). Similarly, $\tau\chi$ is occasionally contracted to a simple χ , as in $m\bar{n}\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\omicron\gamma\psi$ (78.29-30; 82.21; 110.8) and $m\bar{n}\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\omicron\gamma\psi$ (85.36).³ Likewise, $\tau\theta$ is occasionally written for a simple θ (54.38; 96.8; 97.37). On the other hand, there is a reduplication of what is normally a single τ after $\epsilon\tau$ -, $m\bar{n}\tau$ -, and $a\tau$ - (e.g., $\text{NET}\theta\alpha\gamma$ 99.17, $m\bar{n}\tau\tau\rho\bar{m}\zeta\epsilon$ 117.28, $a\tau\tau\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ 52.6)⁴ and after the article \dagger (e.g., $\dagger\tau m\bar{n}\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\eta\chi\bar{c}$ 56.10, $\dagger\tau m\bar{n}\tau\psi b\eta\rho$ 65.20, and $\dagger\tau m\bar{h}\epsilon$ 128.25).⁵

The aspirate, ζ , shows a certain instability, as is common in many early Coptic manuscripts.⁶ Thus, a superfluous ζ appears in such forms as $\zeta\epsilon\tau\zeta\epsilon$ (89.27), $\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{n}\zeta\omicron\gamma$ (90.26-27), $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\zeta$ (127.14). ζ is metathesized in such forms as $\bar{n}\zeta\alpha\zeta\tau\rho\epsilon$ (54.26), $\zeta\alpha\epsilon$ (57.2), and $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron$ (72.10). A similar instability appears in the conjugation bases of the perfect I.

The greatest instability appears in the writing of n .⁷ A single n is frequently reduplicated before $\omicron\gamma$, especially in such prepositions as \bar{n} , $\zeta\bar{n}$, $m\bar{n}$ and $\zeta\iota\tau\bar{n}$. Other cases of such reduplication are less frequent. Note, e.g., $\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon$ (116.20), $\bar{n}\bar{n}\zeta\rho\eta\iota$ (129.22), $\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\epsilon\zeta$ (51.27), $\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\gamma$ (66.24), $\bar{n}\bar{n}\eta\gamma$ (113.29), $\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\zeta$ (111.23), and $a\tau\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\gamma$ (102.33). On the other hand, a single n is occasionally written where a double n would be expected, as e.g., at 66.25; 79.6; 101.26.

The conjunctions $\Delta\epsilon$ and $\rho\alpha\rho$ frequently appear in both nazalized and non-nazalized forms. Thus, $\Delta\epsilon$ (e.g., 61.20) alternates with $\bar{n}\Delta\epsilon$ (e.g., 51.3) and $\rho\alpha\rho$ (51.28) with $\bar{n}\rho\alpha\rho$ (51.37). The copula $\tau\epsilon$ also occasionally appears as $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ (105.28) and the form $\tau\epsilon$ occasionally appears for the preposition $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ (e.g., 57.31). There is also an alternation in various forms between ϵ and n . Thus, $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ appears for the relative $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (67.38; 113.37), and the conjunction $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ occasionally appears as $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (110.21; 126.31). Some of the variations in the mor-

Kahle, *Bala'izah*, chap. 8, par 26A.

³The phenomenon is noted independently by S. Emmel (*BASP* 17 [1980] 143) and Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 39).

⁴Cf. Thomassen, *Tripartite Tractate*, 39.

⁵The same phenomenon appears in *Gos. Truth* 26.33,34; 27.1.

⁶Cf. *ed. pr.* I.29, and Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 39), who cites, e.g., Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 110, and Kahle, *Bala'izah*, chap. 8.

⁷The most complete discussion of the phenomenon is in Thomassen, *Tripartite Tractate*, 37-39. Cf. also *ed. pr.* I.29.

phology of the perfect I relative may also be related to this phenomenon.⁸

Phonetic similarity leads to the frequent interchange of certain consonants. The use of Δ for τ is quite common, appearing, e.g., in the forms ΑΠΟΣΤΑΔΗΣ (109.30), ΕΔΕ (108.2), †ΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ (104.35), ΝΔΔΥ (113.5), ΔΔΓΜΑ (84.88), and ΨΕΙΔΕ (67.34). This interchange, coupled with the instability of Ν, creates the greatest difficulties with the form ΝΔΕ, which can be the simple conjunctive particle ΔΕ, the preposition ΝΤΕ (54.27 and frequently), or even the resumptive particle ΝΒΙ (63.16; 68.16). Other consonants commonly confused are Β for ς, as in ΖΩϞ (54.34);⁹ Ϟ for ω in ϞΗΨ (94.36); χ for ϑ in ΝΧΙ (60.7 and frequently); λ for ρ in ΠΩΛΨ (98.1); Ν for Μ (77.21 and frequently); ϑ for κ in ΘΕ (57.15,16). In words of Greek origin there are some special cases; Δ is apparently confused with Ϟ in ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΣ (*passim*);¹⁰ Ϟ with ζ in ΦΑΝΤΑϞΕ (79.31); ω with ζ in ΨΙΚΑΝΟΣ (55.33, 88.1); and ϑ with κ in ΒΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ (106.37).

Normal assimilation of Ν to Μ before labials occurs throughout. In addition there are unusual cases of assimilation in ΖΜΝΤΟΝ (102.21); ΖΛΛΑΥΕ (112.16); and ϞΛΛΑΖΛ (120.30).

The supralinear stroke is used in this text, as throughout Codex I, in the ways common in Coptic manuscripts generally. It should be noted, however, that in some forms the stroke alternates with the vowel ε. Thus, we find both ΕΜΠΑΤΕϞ (61.23) and ΜΠΑΤϞ (76.16); ΕΜΠϞ (77.36) and ΜΠϞ (79.33); ΕΝΤΑϞ (52.5) and ΝΤΑϞ (65.24); ΖΕΝ and ΖΝ (*passim*); and ΠΕϞ (53.34) and ΠϞ (85.13). In the conjugation bases, this alteration can lead to ambiguities between first tenses, second tenses and circumstantials.

2. Vocalization

The *Tri. Trac.* exhibits a mixture of forms, alternating primarily between those of Sahidic and Subachmimic. Note, e.g., the prepositions ε-, ΕΡΟ- and α-, ΑΡΑ-; ΕΡΝ- and ΑΡΝ-; ΜΜΟ- and ΜΜΑ-; ΨΑΡΟ- and ΨΑΡΑ-; ΖΑΡΟ- and ΖΑΡΑ-; the adverbs ΕΒΟΛ and ΑΒΑΛ; ΕΖΟΥΝ and ΑΖΟΥΝ; ΕΖΡΑΪ and ΑΖΡΗΪ; ΟΝ and ΑΝ; the nouns ΟΕΙΨ and ΔΕΙΨ; ΕΟΟΥ and ΕΑΥ; ΝΟΒΕ and ΝΑΒΕΙ; ϞΜΟΤ and ϞΜΑΤ; ϞΠ and ϞΑΠ; ϞΟΟΥΝ and ϞΑΥΝΕ; ΟΥΟΕΙΝ and

⁸Cf. Thomassen, *Tripartite Tractate*, 38.

⁹Note the similar phenomenon is *Gos. Truth* 39.20.

¹⁰Note that at 101.30 ΠΑΡΑΔΙϞΟΣ has been corrected to ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΣ! Kasser (*ed. pr.* I.22, n.10) suggests that this spelling may reflect a popular etymology deriving *παράδεισος* from *παράδιδομαι*.

οὔαιιν; οὔχαιιτε and οὔχαιιτε; ζμοτ and ζματ; ζαπ and ζεπ; βομ and βαμ; βοη̄ and βαῑη̄; χοεις and χαιις; the verbs αμαρτε and εμαρτε; ᾠτον and ᾠταν; σοτμ^ϛ and σατμ^ϛ; ταρο and τερο; ψορω̄ and ψαρω̄; χπο^ϛ and χπα^ϛ; the pronouns ᾠτοϗ and ᾠταϗ; the adjectives νοβ and ναβ; ψομᾠτ and ψαμᾠτ; and the demonstrative πεει and παει. In most cases the A² form predominates (α, αβαλ, αν, αιιϗ, αροϗν, αρηῖ, εαϗ, ᾠμα^ϛ, ᾠταν, ᾠταϗ, σαματ, σαγνε, τερο, οὔαιιν, ψαρω̄, χαιις). In some cases the S form is more frequent (αμαρτε, νοβ, οὔχαιιτε, βομ, βοη̄). There are also cases of hybrid forms (αρο^ϛ, αβολ, αεν, ερηῖ, τερο^ϛ). These phenomena may be due to the transmission of the text in Coptic. It may have originally been translated into one dialect (Sahidic²), then adapted, inconsistently, into Subachmimic. Alternatively, the translator may have attempted to render the text into Subachmimic, although he was more familiar with Sahidic.

Several other unusual features of vocalization should be noted. A² forms normally ending in ε occasionally end in η, and forms normally ending in ο occasionally end in ω. Thus, e.g., ρητε alternates with ρητη, ψιβε with ψιβη, τᾠβο with τᾠβω, τσαιιο with τσαιιω, τσeno with τσενω, τοὔχο with τοὔχω, τερο with τερω, ᾠβιο with ᾠβιω, ταχο with ταχω, and ρο with ρω. Furthermore, as in other A texts, certain words which normally end in ω occasionally end here in οϗ, such as κοϗ, σβοϗ, ταχοϗ, ρβσοϗ, χοϗ, βοϗ. A similar phenomenon appears occasionally in words of Greek origin where ω or ο is replaced by οϗ, as in πληροϗμα and χαοϗς. Finally, certain words normally ending in ε in both S and A² here end in (ε)ι, such as κεκει, ναβει, παγρει, χαιι. This phenomenon appears elsewhere in Codex I and in other A² texts.

The forms of the qualitative verbs whose infinitive ends in ο regularly end in τ in the *Tri. Trac.*, a characteristic of Subachmimic.¹¹

3. Conjugation Bases

The following forms are attested in the *Tri. Trac.* Passages where relatively rare or unusual forms occur are listed in brackets. Problematic items are marked with an asterisk and discussed at the end of the section.

¹¹Cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah*,²¹⁴ and Thomassen, *Tripartite Tractate*, 41-42. Exceptions to this general rule here are ταιιηϗ and τρββιηϗ, which display the common S ending.

A. Bipartite Conjugations

Present

- Pres. I: 3 sg. φ, ς ; 3 pl. $\varsigma\epsilon$
 Neg.: 3 sg. $\varphi \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$, $\bar{\nu}\varphi \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$; 3 pl. $\varsigma\epsilon \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$, $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$
 Pret.: 3 sg. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varphi$, $\bar{\nu}\alpha\varphi$ (94.28), $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$, $\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma$ (105.13); 3 pl. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$, $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$; Nom. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ (82.1); Pret. circ. 3 sg. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ (136.20); Pret. rel. 3 sg. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varphi$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\varphi$ (88.11), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma$ (105.27); 3 pl. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ (90.16), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ (88.12)
 Pres. II: 1 sg. $\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ (137.20); 3 sg. $\epsilon\varphi$; $\alpha\varphi$ (60.35[?]); 3 pl. $\epsilon\gamma$; Nom. $\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ (102.2)
 Circ.*: 1 sg. $\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}$; 3 sg. $\epsilon\varphi$, $\alpha\varphi$ (60.35[?]), $\epsilon\varsigma$; 3 sg. neg. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\varsigma \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$ (54.25); 3 pl. $\epsilon\gamma$; 3 pl. neg. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$; Nom. ϵ (73.32; 92.14; 93.10; 105.8; 113.7), $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ (135.11)
 Rel.*: 1 sg. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}$ (66.12); 3 sg. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\varphi}$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\varphi$ (58.38), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\alpha\varphi$ (101.11[?]), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\varphi$ (113.36); 1 pl. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$ (125.3), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ (94.35); 3 pl. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\gamma$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\gamma$ (112.20; 117.19); $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\alpha\gamma$ (97.31[?]); Nom. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ (59.4; 121.8; 134.26), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ (55.29; 127.24)

Future

- Fut. I: 3 sg. $\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$, $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha$; 1 pl. $\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (121.15); 3 pl. $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha$; Nom. $\bar{\nu}\alpha$
 Pret. (Imperf.)
 Fut.): 3 sg. $\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (77.4); 3 pl. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (64.36; 68.17); Pret. circ. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (86.19)
 Neg.: 3 sg. $\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$; 3 pl. $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$
 Fut. II: 3 sg. $\epsilon\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$, $\alpha\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (87.28); 3 pl. $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha$; Nom. $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon \dots \bar{\nu}\alpha$ (104.23-24)
 Circ.: 3 sg. $\epsilon\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$, $\epsilon\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha$; 3 pl. $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha$; 3 pl. neg. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha \dots \epsilon\bar{\nu}$ (95.11), $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\varsigma\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (137.10), Nom. $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon \dots \bar{\nu}\alpha$ (137.9)
 Rel.*: 3 sg. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha$ (89.36; 120.3; 126.23), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\varphi}\bar{\nu}\alpha$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (120.10); 1 pl. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (79.3), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (51.1); 3 pl. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha$, $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha$ (121.28); Nom. $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha \dots \bar{\nu}\alpha$ (104.12), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon \dots \bar{\nu}\alpha$ (107.24), $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon \dots \bar{\nu}\alpha$ (122.37)

B. Tripartite Conjugations

Perfect, base α

Perf. I: 1 sg. αει (130.13); 3 sg. αϑ, ας; 1 pl. αν; 3 pl. αυ;
Nom. α

Pret.: 3 sg. νεαϑ; 3 pl. νεαυ (130.35; 137.15)

Perf. II*: 3 sg. νταϑ (104.26), ερεαϑ (80.37; 122.18), neg.
ερεαϑ...εν (52.19), ερεννταϑ (114.34), neg.
ερεντας...εν (73.20); 3 pl. νταυ, ενταυ (77.29;
81.11), ερεαυ (129.19), ερενταυ (104.20; 120.33)

Circ.: 3 sg. εαϑ, εας; 3 pl. εαυ; Nom. εα

Rel.*: 1 sg. νταϊ (59.5); ενταϊ (55.29); 3 sg. νταϑ, ντας,
ενταϑ, εντας, εταϑ, ετεαϑ; 1 pl. νταν (51.4),
ενταν, εταν, ετεαν (124.7); 3 pl. νταυ, ενταυ,
εταυ, ετεαυ; Nom. εντα, ενταα (76.34), ετα,
εταα (105.22), ετεα

Perfect, base α $\bar{2}$, ζα-

Perf. I: Nom. ζα (87.17)

Circ: Nom. εζα (134.4)

Rel.*: 3 sg. νταζ, ενταζ, εταζ, ετεζαϑ (104.29); 3 pl.
νταζ, ενταζ, εταζ; Nom. εταζα (103.19)

Negative Perfect

Neg. Perf. I*:

1sg. μη (137.24); 3 sg. μηεϑ, εμπῶ (77.36); 3 pl.
μηποϑ, μηποϑ (120.35; 121.2); Nom. μηπε, ενπε
(113.28)

Pret.: 3 pl. νεμηποϑ (118.24); Nom. νεμηπε (84.2)

Circ.: 3 sg. εμηεϑ; 3 pl. εμηποϑ

Rel.: 3 sg. ετεμηεϑ (61.30), ετεμηῶ (116.26); 3 pl.
ετεμηποϑ; Nom. ετεμηπε (52.4)

Praesens Consuetudinis (Aorist)

Praes. cons. I:

3 sg. ψαϑ (79.10); ψαρεϑ (69.11; 108.26); ψαρες
(108.18); 3 pl. ψαυ (92.28; 93.1,8); ψαροϑ (93.4;
125.19); Nom. ψαρε (108.32)

Pret.: νεψαροϑ (92.25)

Praes. cons. II*:

3 pl. εψαυ (114.39), εψαυ (86.33), εψαροϑ
(98.14)

Circ.: 3 sg. εψας (77.4); 3 pl. εψαυ (92.34), εψαροϑ
(72.5)

Rel.: 3 pl. ετεψαυ (81.20), ετεψαροϑ (54.30), ετ-
ψαροϑ (107.33); Nom. ετεψαρε (82.29)

Negative Praesens Consuetudinis (Aorist)

Neg. praes. cons.:

3 sg. **μαϥ, μαϥ**Circ.: 3 sg. **εμαϥ** (60.13); **ευμαϥ** (53.15)Rel.: 3 pl. **ετεμαϥ** (57.25; 128.21; 134.9); Nom. **ετε-
μαρε** (124.10)

Third Future

Fut. III*: 3 pl. **εϥε** (75.31), **αϥ<α>** (99.16)Neg.: 3 pl. **νοϥ** (92.19), **νωϥ** (98.34)

Conjunctive

Conj.*: 3 sg. **νωϥ, ϥ** (63.19,26[?]; 67.4; 74.35; 75.2; 75.20;
86.20[?]; 88.24; 96.15); **νωτρωτϥ** (107.32?); 3 pl. **νωε;**
Nom. **νωτε** (59.37)Neg.: 1 pl. **νωτωτϥ** (124.31); 3 pl. **νωετωτϥ** (62.21,23)

C. Clause Conjugations

Temporal: 3 sg. **νωταρεϥ, νωτρωτϥ** (107.32?); 3 pl. **νωταροϥ;**
Nom. **νωταρε**"Until": 3 sg. **ωαντεϥ** (99.18); **ωατεϥ** (96.13; 134.33); 3 pl.
ωατοϥ (135.10); Nom. **ωαντε** (123.16,26; 126.11),
ωατε (85.29)

"Not Yet":

3 sg. **νωπατϥ** (76.16); 3 pl. **νωπατοϥ** (133.26); Nom.
νωπατε (117.26)Pret.: Nom. **νωε νωπατε**Circ.: 3 sg. **ενωπατϥ, ενωπατεϥ, 3 pl. ενωπατοϥ, ενω-
παταϥ, Nom. ενωπατε**Rel.: 3 sg. **εενωπατϥ** (95.6); Nom. **εενωπατε** (122.26)

Conditional*

3 sg. **αϥωα** (108.23); 1 pl. **ενωα** (132.16); 3 pl.
εϥωα (57.6; 62.4; 131.31), **αϥωα** (108.14); **εϥωαν**
(129.17)

Causative (Inflected)

Infinitive 3 sg. **τρεϥ, τϥ** (51.35; 75.28), **τϥ** (75.10); 1 pl. **τρω,**
τϥ (51.2); 3 pl. **τρωϥ, τρεϥ** (89.4), **τοϥ** (75.16;
118.10; 131.6); Nom. **τρε**Neg.: 1 pl. **ατωτϥ** (130.9); 3 pl. **ατωτρωϥ** (52.26)

4. Remarks on the Conjugation Bases

Present circumstantial: The original editors considered the form **αϥ** at 53.25 and 60.35 to be circumstantial. The first instance is simply a

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(66.39), **ενωτα**
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66.39 is probab
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117.24), which n
relatives **ετανν**.
forms **μαϥ, μαϥ**
above, **ενωταϥ**, a
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Future relative
appears at 89.30
understood as di
(117.24) or the pre
(100.3).
Perfect II: In C
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such conjugations
which might be t
and (4) **ετεα**.
104.20, 114.34, a
appropriate, i.e.,
ment. In addition
pate negation fo
derived perf. II,
case may be t

perf. I. The second is probably a present tense, since a qualitative, which usually appears only in the present, follows. The form is probably a circumstantial, although it could also be a second tense. This case is but one of several apparently irregular uses of the qualitative. Either this text violates a fundamental rule of Coptic syntax by using qualitative forms with tripartite conjugation bases, or, more likely, dialectical phonology has produced anomalous forms of certain conjugation bases.

Present relative: Here again appears the problem of the qualitative used with apparently tripartite conjugation bases. The phenomenon appears in seven passages: **ΕΝΤΑΦΑΒΕΩ** (61.19), **ΕΝΤΑΦΩΟΠ** (66.39), **ΕΝΤΑΥΤΣΑΕΙΑΙΤ** (97.31), **ΕΤΕΑΦΚΑΑΤ** (101.11), **ΕΤΑΥ-ΩΟΠ** (112.20; 117.19), and **ΕΤΑΦΘΕΙ** (113.36). The form **ΑΒΕΩ** in 61.19 may not, in fact, be a qualitative. The qualitative **ΩΟΠ** at 66.39 is probably corrupt for **ΩΩΠ**, and the conjugation base is a normal perf. rel. In the forms with **ΕΤΑ** (112.20; 113.36; 117.19), the qualitatives, and a present tense, are appropriate and the relative converters should be seen as involving a hyper-subachmimic vocalization. A similar phenomenon appears in the forms **ΕΤΑΡΕ** (55.29; 122.37; 127.24), which normally appears as **ΕΤΕΡΕ** in S and A², in the future relatives **ΕΤΑΝΝΑ** (51.1) and **ΕΤΑ...ΝΑ** (104.12), and in the preterite forms **ΝΑΦ**, **ΝΑΣ** and **ΝΑΥ**. The other relative converters in the list above, **ΕΝΤΑΥ**, and **ΕΤΕΑΦ**, may also be anomalous forms of the present relative, if the text is not corrupt.

Future relative: One clear example of the A² form **ΕΤΑ**, without **Ν**, appears at 89.30. Other possible examples listed by *ed. pr.* are better understood as different forms, the perfect relative (67.37; 126.23; 128.4) or the present relative, **ΕΤ**, with **ΑΕΙ**, the qualitative of **ΕΙΡΕ** (120.3).

Perfect II: In Coptic generally there is a possibility of confusing the perf. II and perf. rel. Here, too, the form **ΝΤΑ** (**ΕΝΤΑ**) can serve for both conjugations. In addition, the *Tri. Trac.* uses four other forms which might be taken as perf. II: (1) **ΕΡΕΝΤΑ**, (2) **ΕΡΕΑ**, (3) **ΕΑ**, and (4) **ΕΤΕΑ**. Four examples of the first form appear (73.20, 104.20, 114.34, and 120.33), all in contexts where a second tense is appropriate, i.e., where the sentence has an emphasized adverbial element. In addition, at 73.20, the form is negated with **ΕΝ**, the appropriate negation for a second tense. *Ed. pr.* suggest that this form is a "derived perf. II," apparently expressing a notion of causality. Such a nuance may be found in 104.20 and 114.34, but it is certainly not

apparent in the two other examples. It seems best to understand the form as an allomorph of the perf. II. without any specific semantic connotation. Four examples of the second form ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha-$) appear (52.19; 80.37; 122.18; 129.19). *Ed. pr.* (I.29) suggest that this form is a "derived perf. I.," but this seems unlikely. In the last two examples there are clearly adverbial elements which could be emphasized by a second tense. In the second example, at 80.37, there is no clear adverbial element, although the text in the following line is quite possibly corrupt. Similarly, there is no obvious adverbial element emphasized in the first example. It might be possible to understand all these forms as instances of the perf. circ. The fact, however, that the form at 52.19 is negated with $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ indicates that it is a second tense. Both this form and that at 80.37 would then be examples of an "emploi abusif" of the second tense.¹² The third possible form of the perf. II. ($\epsilon\alpha-$) is morphologically equivalent to the perf. circ. The form, though unusual, is attested elsewhere in Coptic.¹³ It is unlikely, however, that any of the instances in this text which are held by *ed. pr.* to be perf. II (69.4; 73.1; 77.31; 109.5; 114.16; 130.25) are such. At 109.5 the converter ϵ is restored by *ed. pr.*, but this restoration is unnecessary and the form is best understood simply as a perf. I. In all the other cases the form can be easily understood as a perf. circ. One example of the form $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\eta$, (77.37) is suggested by *ed. pr.* to be a perf. II. This form, however, is simply a perf. rel.

Perfect relative: This conjugation base displays a variety of forms which can be reduced to three basic types: (1) $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha-$; (2) $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha-$, which is simply an orthographic variant of the first type; and (3) $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\alpha-$. The use of these forms with the conjugation base $\alpha\eta$ is usually confined to cases where the subject of the relative clause is the same as the antecedent, except in the form $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\eta$ at 104.29. Somewhat anomalous are the forms $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\alpha$ (76.34) and $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha$ (105.22). These may be defective writings of $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\alpha\eta$ and $\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\eta$ respectively.

Negative perfect I: Note the orthographic variant $\epsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ (77.36) for the more normal $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\eta$ and $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ (113.28) for $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$. The first instance of the form cannot properly be a circumstantial. The second

¹²Cf. H.J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo, 1944) 51-53 (= *Collected Papers*, 155-57). See also his remarks in "The Coptic Conjugation System," *Or.* 29 (1960) 408 (= *Collected Papers*, 254). The "emplois abusifs" in the *Tri. Trac.* would probably fall under Polotsky's type C, "phrases contradictoires."

¹³Cf. G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, #341, p. 150, where several examples from Shenute are listed; W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #334, p. 172; and H. J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*, 48-49 (= *Collected Papers*, 152-53).

instance could be a circumstantial, but a neg. perf. I. is more appropriate. *Ed. pr.* (II.302) consider the forms $\mu\bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ (120.35; 121.2) as circumstantials, but they are probably simply orthographic variants of the neg. perf. I. The phenomenon of a reduplicated initial consonant appears elsewhere in the text and that is probably involved here.¹⁴

Praesens consuetudinis II: See the remarks on the Conditional.

Future III: Clear cases of this conjugation base appear at 75.31 (where the text $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\{\omicron\upsilon\}\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ must be emended; otherwise the Stern-Jernstedt rule would be violated), and in $\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\eta\zeta$ at 99.16, after $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$, where it is syntactically appropriate. The final α of the conjugation base has here been elided with the initial α of the infinitive. *Ed. pr.* (I.29) also list $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ at 79.35, but the text here is probably corrupt for $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$, either a normal perf. rel. or possibly the anomalous pres. rel. encountered in this text. In their notes, *ed. pr.* also suggest that $\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ at 67.32 and 70.9 is an error for $\epsilon\gamma\alpha\beta\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\epsilon}$, fut. III. This is a possible explanation, especially at 67.32, although at 70.9 the form is simply a pres. circ. with the A² prepronominal infinitive of $\beta\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. The same may be true of 67.32.¹⁵

Conjunctive: This conjugation base has forms both with and without initial ν . The latter type, characteristic of A, is found in eight passages, listed above. *Ed. pr.* consider ς at 96.12 to be a conjunctive, but this appears to be a simple pres. I. The prenominal form $\nu\tau\epsilon$ appears at 59.37. *Ed. pr.* also find the form at 113.37, but that is probably a preposition.

The forms $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\nu}$ (51.2) and $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\eta}$ (51.35) are probably to be understood as causative infinitives. Cf. the causative infinitive $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ (75.28). Nonetheless, it might be possible to construe both forms as instances of the conjunctive. The form $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\eta}$, characteristic of the conjunctive in B, is also found at *Gos. Truth* 34.14. *Ed. pr.* also consider $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ at 82.37 to be a conjunctive, but the lacuna in the line following (83.1) makes this uncertain.

Conditional: The conditional appears once in the ordinary form $\epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}$ (129.17). The forms $\alpha\varsigma\psi\alpha$ (108.14), $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha$ (132.16), $\epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha$ (57.6; 62.4; 131.31), $\alpha\gamma\psi\alpha$ (108.14), and $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\gamma$ (86.33) are problematic. *Ed. pr.* (I.30) generally take these forms as instances of the praes. cons. II., which appears once elsewhere in the form $\epsilon\psi\alpha$ -

¹⁴Cf. the discussion of orthography above.

¹⁵Note the fut. II. $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\beta\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ after $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$ at 53.13.

POY (98.14).¹⁶ Such an interpretation is quite likely for εγωαγ at 86.33, which, however, *ed. pr.* take to be a circumstantial. Cf. εφωαφ in *Gos. Truth* 28.31. The other forms listed here can be satisfactorily explained as conditionals. They are not as anomalous as *ed. pr.* suggest. Note that the conditional in A is generally αφωα. Note too the conditionals in the *Gos. Truth* εφωα (22.3; 24.34; 34.5) and εγωα (22.4), as well as the forms εφωαν (24.38) and εγωαν (24.30). Cf. also *Gos. Thom.* εγωα (32.19), as well as εφωαν (32.17) and εγωαν (32.23).

5. Syntactical Features

A complete analysis of the syntax of the Coptic of the *Tripartite Tractate* is not possible in the context of this introduction. Certain features, however, are worthy of note.

Nominal sentences: One prominent feature of the nominal sentence in this text is the frequent reduplication of the copula. This phenomenon occurs when the predicate of the sentence is complex, composed of a substantive plus genitive or circumstantial modifier. In one case (113.33-34) the predicate is composed of a substantivized relative continued by a conjunctive. For occurrences of these constructions, see the index of Coptic words, *s.v.* πϵ.

It should be noted in this connection that various other conjugation bases may be reduplicated, including the circumstantial (67.29-30; 69.28; 79.23; 85.12; 87.24; 105.8-9); the preterit (82.1-2; 83.7-8); and the negative perfect (94.40).

Conditional sentences: The appearances of the conditional conjugation base have already been treated in the discussion of the conjugation bases. In addition to those cases, conditional conjunctions appear with various constructions; εϣ(ω)πϵ with nominal sentences (116.24, 130.10) and the imp. fut. (137.11); εϣϣϵ with a nominal sentence (54.33; 101.1), pres. I (55.30), impf. (83.7; 94.28), and fut. I (121.16); εΙΜΗΤΙ with a nominal sentence (74.33) and conj. (124.11); and εΙ ΜΗ with pres. I (74.35). Four examples of a contrary-to-fact condition appear, with slightly different constructions; εΝΕ... ΝΕΥΝΑ (64.33-36), ΝΕΥΝΑ... ΕΝΕ (69.17-20), ΕϣΑϢ... ΝΑϢΝΑ (77.4), and ΕΝΕϢΝΑ... ΕΙΜΗΤΙ (86.19).

Comparative sentences: A relatively common phenomenon throughout the text is the comparative sentence, which utilizes a wide

¹⁶This form also appears as the praes. cons. circ. at 72.5.

variety of conjunctions and constructions (57.8-12; 57.40-58.4; 61.29-33; 62.27-29; 63.29-34; 64.12-13,31-36; 69.20-22; 73.28-36; 89.8-10; 108.36-37; 119.34-36; 126.1-6; 129.20-25; 136.11). Most frequently, some form of **PHTE** is used as one of the correlatives. See the Coptic index, *s.v.*, but forms of **CMAT**, **ZE**, and **ZWC** also appear. The protasis in such a sentence may contain either a relative clause (57.8; 62.27; 69.20), a circumstantial (129.20), a second tense (73.28), or a nominal sentence (63.29). Similarly the apodosis may contain a relative (57.12; 61.33), a circumstantial (89.10), a second tense (73.36), or a perf. I (58.4, 69.22). The appearance of a causative infinitive in the apodosis is probably due to an ellipse (62.29).

Final clauses: For final expressions two constructions are frequently used. First, **XEKAC(E)** may be used with various conjugation bases, fut. II (53.13; 63.17; 73.26-27; 77.1; 87.27-28; 96.3; 98.32,37; 99.1,26-27; 103.8-9,39; 104.23-24; 105.5; 107.16,22; 111.2; 117.4-5; 126.32; 127.23; 128.12), fut. III (92.18-19; 99.12-16; 107.7,9), neg. conj. (68.21; 124.31). Anomalous are the present circumstantial at 67.31-32 and the nominal sentence at 136.10. In these cases the text may be corrupt.

Secondly, the causative or inflected infinitive, preceded by the preposition **α**, may be used, either with a notion of purpose (61.3,4,5,7,9, 12,31; 69.22; 75.33; 76.33; 86.1; 91.14,17,23; 92.3; 95.33; 99.6,29; 100.32,34; 102.33; 103.22; 105.19; 106.27; 110.30; 126.16,24) or of result (52.17,26; 55.31; 60.32; 72.7; 75.14,16,33; 75.38 [note the use of **PIPHTE** = **ΩSTE**]; 84.11; 96.11; 99.33; 116.14; 117.21; 121.10 [note the use of **ZWCTE**]; 123.6,8,14; 127.5; 133.4).

Causative (inflected) infinitive: In addition to the uses of the causative infinitive introduced with the preposition **α** in final expressions noted above, this construction is also frequently used as a complement to nouns and verbs: **KW** (107.3; 116.15; 118.12); **MEEYE** (65.13; 72.4, 14-15; 83.23; 91.15; 95.10; 115.5,34; 126.29; 134.14); **Ḳ AZIOY** (89.31; 125.17); **Ḳ ENEPYI** (97.22; 113.24; 114.3); **Ḳ WYCY** (86.17; 95.23; 130.9); **†** (61.33; 62.28,29; 71.15; 73.7; 90.13; 114.29); **TWY** (77.10; 107.29); **OYWCY(E)** (57.27; 71.14; 87.16; 94.2; 98.29; 126.26 [**XE** **PTPOY-**]); **XPEIA** (124.20,21,22); **WYWPY** (80.4; 82.35); **WYCY** (76.30; 77.8); **ZMAT** (51.5; 61.35); **Ḳ AM** (52.28; 54.15; 59.17; 60.24,26; 63.10; 73.13; 79.20; 88.24; 127.10); and various others (55.31; 61.26; 75.18; 79.31; 82.5; 86.14; 100.14,16,17,18; 108.7; 110.28; 115.22; 117.13; 130.23).

6. *Stylistic Features*

The *Tri. Trac.* is an elaborately constructed work written in a complex, florid and sometimes allusive style which occasions numerous difficulties of interpretation. The opening sections of the work, dealing with the highest transcendent principles, are composed in a solemn rhetorical mode, with several series of lengthy paratactic affirmations (e.g., 52.7-34; 53.21-28; 55.16-27), and asyndetic coordinations (e.g., 55.3-5; 56.26-30). One of these series is virtually a litany of titles of the Son (66.13-29). In later sections of the work, complex periods frequently appear (e.g., 110.22-31; 119.16-122.14). Many of these periods are syntactically ambiguous, due to the presence of forms which can be construed as either circumstantials or second tenses (e.g., 61.20-24; 67.28-31; 79.4-6; 81.8-14). Ambiguities frequently arise from the presence of pronominal elements, the antecedents of which are uncertain (e.g., 56.34; 69.10-14; 72.32-75.9; 88.8-12; 121.7-8; 123.22). A particular aim of the notes in this edition has been to clarify such stylistic ambiguities through a careful analysis of the syntax and to identify the sometimes opaque allusions to various actors in the cosmic drama.

It may well be that some of the ambiguities in the text arise from the fact that the work is a translation and that the translator either had an imperfect understanding of his *Vorlage* or an inadequate command of Coptic.¹⁷ That the work is, in fact, a translation from Greek would be generally presupposed. That presupposition is strikingly confirmed in at least one case where an obscure Coptic phrase becomes intelligible when viewed as a literal rendering of a technical term of Greek philosophy (65.10).¹⁸

One particularly striking feature of the text, which may reflect its Greek *Vorlage*, is the use of the particle $\alpha\epsilon$. In Coptic generally this particle may serve as a conjunction or as an introduction to quoted

¹⁷Note the judgement of Kasser, (*ed. pr.* I.35), that the translator of the text, who, according to Kasser, reworked a Sahidic translation into Subachmimic, was a "homme vraisemblablement plus grec que copte." Cf. also the parenthetical remark at 137.21-23, "For, though I continually use these words, I have not understood his meaning." This remark may, however, refer to the contents of the text, not to its language. In any case, the judgment of Kasser exaggerates the anomalous character of the Coptic of the *Tri. Trac.*, cf. Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 60-61).

¹⁸Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 21) sees a reflection of a Greek *Vorlage* in such constructions as $\text{Ტ}\omega\alpha\text{Რ}\bar{\text{n}}$, which presumably translates Greek verbs compounded with προ- . Cf. 61.1-2; 62.19; 82.24; 107.28; $\text{παει}\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\uparrow\ \rho\omicron\ \alpha\rho\alpha\mu$ (87.9) translating $\delta\ \text{παράκλητος}$; and $\text{νιγυ}\text{Რ}\bar{\text{n}}$ (123.15), translating οἱ ἀρχέτυποι .

discourse (Cf. Gk. *ῥτι recitativum*). The particle functions in these ways in the *Tri. Trac.*, but in addition it appears as a paragraph-initial particle, frequently in conjunction with other particles (**ⲭϵ** . . . **ⲙϵⲛ**, **ⲭϵ** . . . **ⲃϵ**: see the indices). This phenomenon, not noted by the original editors except in the case of the initial **ⲭϵ** at 51.1, has been highlighted by Schenke,¹⁹ and independently by the present editors in the previously published translation of the text.²⁰ The significance of the phenomenon is unclear. Schenke argues that it indicates that our text is not a tractate but a series of excerpts from a longer work.²¹ The excerptor's *ῥτι* is, as Kasser notes,²² a feature of Byzantine excerpta. More contemporary examples of a similar phenomenon can be found in the *ῥτι* which introduces the *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato* by Albinus,²³ and the *ῥτι* which introduces many episodes in Aelian's *Varia Historia*.²⁴ If Schenke is correct and the text is an excerpt, some of its allusive qualities and its referential ambiguities might be explained. However, it is doubtful that we have here simply a series of excerpts. Despite its ambiguities, the text does present a continuous and relatively coherent account of Valentinian theology. If the text is an excerpt, the epitomator has been quite skillful in selecting his material. Thus, the strange **ⲭϵ**'s in the text, instead of being citation particles, are more likely simply paragraph markers. For a comparable phenomenon note the paragraph markers in the *Pistis Sophia*,²⁵ which often appear in connection with particles such as **ⲁϵ** and **ⲃϵ**, as in the *Tri. Trac.* (Cf. e.g., in the Schmidt-MacDermot edition p. 4, line 12; 5.20; 7.5; 8.3; 13.15; 15.3 and *passim*). If this interpretation of **ⲭϵ** as a paragraph marker is correct, it probably does not reflect a feature of a Greek *Vorlage*.

One other explanation of the unusual **ⲭϵ** is possible. It should be

¹⁹H.-M. Schenke, *ZÄS* 105 (1978) 133-141.

²⁰In James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977).

²¹Schenke, *op. cit.* 135 also notes the few first-person references in the text and suggests that these are due to the hand of the epitomator. Cf. e.g., 137.21-23 cited in note 18.

²²*Ed. pr.* I. 287.

²³For a discussion of the significance of this, cf. John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1977) 304.

²⁴Cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia* (ed. R. Hercher; Leipzig: Teubner, 1866; reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1971), e.g., 7.3,4; 8.3; 9.2,3,6,12. We owe this reference to George MacRae.

²⁵*Pistis Sophia* (Carl Schmidt, ed.; Violet MacDermot, trans.; NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978).

noted that in later Greek $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is used to express simple continuation or connection, without any causal force.²⁶ It may be that in the Greek *Vorlage* of the *Tri. Trac.* $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ was used in such a way, roughly equivalent to $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. The Coptic translator then woodenly rendered such occurrences with $\alpha\epsilon$.

7. *The State of the Text*

In addition to the various orthographic and phonological peculiarities of this text, which are probably due to scribal conventions or are dialectical characteristics, the text contains a rather large number of scribal errors. Some of these have been corrected in antiquity. These corrected errors involve: (a) the omission of letters or words subsequently added (57.20,36; 59.18,20; 60.35; 61.23; 66.6,20; 69.12; 70.4; 71.21; 78.33; 82.4; 93.18; 95.22; 97.14; 98.34; 99.7; 101.13,14,23; 106.4,7,23; 107.28,29; 108.7,16; 110.15; 111.16,32; 112.4; 113.13; 116.29; 117.15,25,31; 118.2,19; 120.1,22,31; 121.21,26; 126.23; 127.13; 128.17; 129.16; 130.34; 134.9,26; 138.14,26); (b) letters erroneously written then deleted with lines or dots (51.24; 65.16; 69.12; 71.21; 82.21; 84.2; 89.1; 91.28; 92.13-14; 95.17; 113.24; 117.13; 121.28); (c) letters erroneously written then erased or written over (51.10,15,24; 52.32,38; 54.7,16,22; 55.40; 62.19; 65.1,4,17,24; 68.8,24,34; 69.12; 70.26; 73.35; 74.24,30; 75.38; 76.11; 78.13,36; 79.16,17; 80.34; 81.17; 84.35; 83.6,11; 85.10,35; 87.10,33; 89.17,22; 90.1,33,37; 91.9,24,35; 92.7; 93.15,25,37; 94.6,11,13,20; 95.3,5,29; 96.13,32; 98.33,35; 99.32; 100.25; 101.9,14,16,24,25,30; 103.26,28; 104.2,27,32,34; 105.17,26; 106.2,7; 108.6,13,14; 109.7,16; 110.15,25; 111.8,11,16,19,25; 112.24; 113.13,14,17,25,29,31; 115.2; 116.18; 117.2,12,13,33,38; 119.10; 120.33; 121.4,28; 122.11,18,35; 125.34; 126.33,34; 127.3,23; 128.1,22,23,32,35; 129.16,31; 131.2; 134.20; 135.8,11; 137.23).

In addition, there are numerous uncorrected scribal errors. These fall into several major categories. Firstly, there are cases where a letter or letters have been omitted (51.40; 52.4,17,21; 53.4; 54.28; 56.5; 57.31; 58.16,29; 60.5,14; 61.18; 62.22; 65.12; 66.20,32; 67.12,23; 68.4; 69.21,25; 70.6,27,32,37; 71.33; 72.31; 73.9,22; 74.4,5; 77.25; 78.15; 79.11,27,34; 82.11,12,26,37; 87.18,20,21; 88.7,32; 90.37; 93.36; 94.4,13; 95.6; 96.26; 98.34; 99.13,16,24; 100.25,26; 101.10,16,22; 102.2; 103.10; 104.5,17; 105.4; 106.5,11; 108.24,32; 109.13; 112.3,21; 115.9,

²⁶Cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (2nd ed.; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1979) 152b; Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Greek Grammar*, #451-52, pp. 234-36, and Thomassen, *Tripartite Tractate*, 19-20.

23,35; 116.9,26; 117.13; 118.11,16; 119.14,19; 120.21; 121.10; 124.30; 125.18,24; 126.21; 128.27; 131.26; 132.14; 134.5; 136.24; 138.9).

It should be noted that certain phenomena treated by *ed. pr.* as errors of the foregoing type are simply orthographic or syntactical peculiarities. (a) The text regularly exhibits the crasis of the indefinite article OY before words beginning with OY (53.34; 65.15; 69.22; 71.33; 75.17; 79.16; 117.33; 118.30; 122.33; 136.27). (b) Initial double N is frequently written as a single N (60.6; 84.7; 94.13; 100.7; 101.19). (c) Nouns of Greek origin beginning with a π regularly do not have the definite article (64.9; 66.27; 72.2,18; 75.14; 77.5; 78.26; 80.27,35; 81.30; 94.12; 95.5; 96.34; 97.21; 101.18; 102.32; 107.28; 122.27,31; 127.32; 128.8,32; 138.24). Note that there are exceptions (58.35; 59.36; 68.30; 73.4; 74.27; 78.31; 85.32; 86.20; 97.1; 101.4; 123.22; 124.14,19). (d) Similarly the Greek word CAPX is regularly used anarthrously (113.38; 114.36; 115.37; 125.4,12,15; 133.16). (e) The preposition $\bar{\text{N}}$ is used in this text frequently where St. Sah. would normally use $\text{Z}\bar{\text{N}}$ (59.7; 61.18; 72.18; 79.30; 85.29). Related to this is also the use of $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon$ where $\bar{\text{N}}\text{ZHT}$ might be expected (112.17; 121.9). (f) The A^2 conjunctive appears in the form q and emendation to $\bar{\text{N}}\text{q}$ is unnecessary (88.24; 96.15). (g) The A^2 future appears without the N found in S (89.36). (h) Recognition of the function of the "introductory particle," $\text{x}\epsilon$, makes emendation to the resumptive particle unnecessary (77.25; 117.36). (i) The verb TCTO can be spelled in several ways TCTO , TCO , CTO . These forms should probably be viewed as orthographic alternatives and not treated as errors (82.3,9; 123.6; 128.14). (j) The contraction of double T and Tx is regular.

A second class of uncorrected scribal error involves the addition of unnecessary letters, either by simple dittography (53.9; 58.16; 62.26; 63.29,32; 66.1; 67.24; 68.14,25; 71.19; 75.31,33,36; 83.29,35; 87.27; 88.25; 91.2; 94.37; 95.15; 97.29; 103.5; 104.28; 105.34; 111.10; 113.38; 115.3; 116.20; 117.3,21; 118.19; 119.2; 120.35; 121.13,23; 126.15; 128.9; 129.18,26) or for some other reason (52.4,21; 57.17; 58.13; 65.1,26; 67.28; 73.31; 75.5; 76.33; 79.35; 80.25; 81.1,17; 89.27; 90.3,26; 91.15; 94.40; 95.2; 96.30; 97.38; 98.4; 106.4,7,25; 107.28,29; 112.11; 115.20; 121.26; 123.23; 124.14,15; 125.21; 127.14; 130.7; 131.13; 132.32; 134.5).

A third common type of uncorrected scribal error involves the use of the wrong suffix pronoun. The most frequent confusion is between the orthographically similar third person masculine singular q and the third person plural Y . Thus q is frequently written for Y (63.8,10;

76.13; 81.2,34; 88.1,12,32; 92.20; 97.4; 103.3; 113.10; 118.11; 119.32; 123.14; 130.23), and conversely, γ is written for q (55.4,10; 59.35; 68.2; 71.35; 89.18; 90.23; 115.4). The third person singular masculine and feminine pronouns are less frequently confused. Thus q appears for c (58.28; 110.20; 114.11; 124.6) and c for q (53.32; 107.15). Also there is one apparent confusion of γ for c (120.8), and of n for q (88.20). Note that some scribal corrections involve alteration of such pronouns (51.15; 54.16; 94.11; 98.35; 101.24; 120.33; 127.3).

A related series of errors involves the confusion of the singular and plural articles in relative expressions. Thus π appears for n (84.26; 90.33) and n for π (133.16; 135.18).

There are several cases of metathesis (54.26; 57.2; 72.10; 128.6).

Finally, there are more serious cases of definite or possible corruption which are not easily classified. For discussion of these, see the notes (55.8; 57.29; 61.12; 62.11; 63.29; 66.39; 72.33; 77.32-33; 80.14, 27; 90.1; 91.8,37; 97.31; 100.25; 107.32; 109.36; 110.19,23,26,29; 117.34; 123.13; 124.5; 128.30).

Fillers are used throughout the text, at the beginning and ends of lines, and especially at the bottom of a page (59.38; 66.40; 75.32-34; 82.2-3; 85.37; 89.36; 90.13; 93.37; 96.32; 97.39; 101.36; 118.36; 119.23-27). Marginal marks of uncertain significance appear at 127.19 and 129.1, and the three major segments of the tractate are divided by decorative markings, described in detail in the notes, *ad loc.* (104.3; 108.12).

The extent of corruption in the text suggests that there was some history of transmission of the *Tripartite Tractate* in Coptic. This seems to be confirmed by the appearance within a line (66.31) of the scribal convention of representing word-final n with a stroke above the preceding vowel, a convention usually reserved for the end of a line. Cf., e.g., 59.26.

III. TITLE AND GENRE

CG I,5 is an elaborate, but untitled, theological treatise which gives an account of the whole process of devolution from and reintegration into the primordial Godhead. Because the text is divided by scribal decoration into three segments, the original editors have called it the *Tractatus Tripartitus*. The three divisions correspond to the three major acts in the drama. Part I gives an account of the Father and the entities which emanate from him. Part II tells of the creation of hu-

manity and Adam's fall. Part III describes the Savior's incarnation and the human responses to his coming.

The text is one of the longest (88 pages) and best preserved documents in the Nag Hammadi library. Prior to its discovery it was totally unknown. No other copies of the *Tri. Trac.* exist, nor are there references to it in patristic literature. In its detailed, comprehensive and systematic theological speculation it is virtually unparalleled among Nag Hammadi texts. Only *A Valentinian Exposition* (CG XI,2) follows a similar program. Among other theological literature of the second and third centuries Origen's *De principiis* may offer the closest parallel in terms of genre.

IV. THE PLACE OF THE TRI. TRAC. IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

Heresiological accounts agree that Valentinus stands among the early and prominent Christian Gnostic teachers, having been active in Rome c. 140 A.D. His followers in the following generation (160-180 A.D.) divided into two major schools: the eastern, represented prominently by Theodotus, and the western, represented by Ptolemy and Heracleon. The heresiologists attest that Valentinian teachers disagreed on the interpretation of several fundamental issues, including the nature of the Father, the origin and structure of the Pleroma, the motives and results of the fall of Sophia, and the nature of the redemption offered by Christ. The *Tri. Trac.* engages each of these issues, taking positions which resemble the "Monadic" version of Valentinian ontology recounted by Hippolytus,²⁷ the theology of *Val. Exp.*, and the soteriology of the western school, which held that Christ offered redemption to psychic as well as spiritual Christians. Yet the *Tri. Trac.* revises the major themes of Valentinian theology more radically than any other extant source and approximates more closely than any other Valentinian thinker to the positions taken by more orthodox theologians of the third and fourth centuries.²⁸

²⁷Ref. 6.29.2.

²⁸The analysis of the *Tri. Trac.* by the original editors obscures the text's revisionism, because in their effort to find parallels to the text in other Valentinian literature, they assimilated its viewpoint to that of other sources. For example, they continually read the text's account of the Logos as the story of Sophia, although the author deliberately and consistently reinterprets that story.

V. DATE AND PROVENANCE

The *Tri. Trac.* is clearly the work of a single author, probably within the western Valentinian tradition.²⁹ The text has certain affinities in particular with the theology of Heracleon, but the suggestion of the original editors³⁰ that Heracleon himself was the author of the text is at least unprovable and at most unlikely. The fact that the *Tri. Trac.* carries its revision of Valentinianism farther than other extant Valentinian sources, including the fragments of Heracleon, suggests that its author was a later representative of western Valentinianism. The affinities of the *Tri. Trac.* in form and content with literature of the third century and the possibility that the revision of Valentinianism developed here may be a response to orthodox criticism such as that of Irenaeus, suggest a date for the text in the first half of the third century A.D., although a date in the late third or early fourth century cannot be excluded.³¹

VI. CONTENT AND THEOLOGY

The following is an outline of the topics treated in the text:

²⁹Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 25-31) argues for affiliation of the text with oriental Valentinianism. There are, to be sure, some interesting parallels between the *Tri. Trac.* and that branch of the school. See, e.g., the note to 86.25. Such parallels are best explained as survivals of original Valentinian positions, which were modified by some of the major western Valentinians.

Thomassen's position is based primarily on an analysis of the soteriology of the text which does not do justice to the author's view of the psychics, which, on our analysis, stands within the western tradition.

On the fundamental issues separating western and oriental Valentinianism see also, E. Pagels, "Conflicting Views of Valentinian Eschatology: Irenaeus and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*," *HTR* 67 (1974) 35-53; "Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ's Passion: Paradigms for the Christian's Response to Persecution?" *Rediscovery*, 1.262-88, and J.-D. Kaestli, "Valentinianisme italien et valentinisme oriental: Leurs divergences à propos de la nature du corps de Jesus," *Rediscovery*, 1.391-403. For a different view, cf. J. F. McCue, "Conflicting Versions of Valentinianism? Irenaeus and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*," *Rediscovery*, 1.404-416. McCue minimizes the importance of *Exc. Theod.* 63, which suggests that ultimately the inferior status of the psychics will be eliminated and they will be joined with the pneumatics in the Ogdoad, the key position shared by Western Valentinianism and the *Tri. Trac.*

³⁰Cf. *ed. pr.* I.37. The thesis was originally advanced by H.-Ch. Puech and G. Quispel, *VC* 9 (1955) 65-102. Cf. also Colpe, *JAC* 22 (1979) 105-106.

³¹A third-century date is defended by Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 31-36), particularly on the grounds of the text's doctrinal affinities with Origenism; its rejection of a Catholic notion of a substance of the Father; and its possible use of a non-LXX text of Gen 3:1 at 107.11-13, which may reflect Origen's Hexapla.

Part I 51.1–104.3

1. Introduction 51.1–8
2. The Father 51.8–57.8
3. The Son and the Church 57.8–59.38
4. Aeonic Emanations 60.1–67.37
5. Aeonic Life 67.38–74.18
6. The Imperfect Begetting by the Logos 74.18–80.11
7. The Conversion of the Logos 80.11–85.15
8. The Emanation of the Savior 85.15–90.13
9. The Pleroma of the Logos 90.14–95.38
10. The Organization 95.38–104.3

Part II 104.14–108.12

11. The Creation of Humanity 104.4–108.12

Part III 108.13–138.27

12. The Variety of Theologies 108.13–114.30
13. The Incarnate Savior and His Companions 114.31–118.14
14. The Tripartition of Humanity 118.14–122.12
15. The Process of Restoration 122.12–129.34
16. The Restoration of the Calling and Conclusion 129.34–138.27

1–2. *The Introduction: The Father* (51.1–57.8)

In the opening section, the *Tri. Trac.* uses terms familiar from Valentinian³² and philosophical, especially Platonic,³³ sources to describe the Father. Some elements in this description offer more specific clues to its position among the schools of Valentinian theology. While Valentinus and Ptolemy's disciples³⁴ posit a primal dyad consisting of the Father and Sige (Silence), our author insists that the Father is wholly unique, a "single one," (51.15–16) with no co-worker (53.36–37). The author may be referring to other Valentinian theo-

³²E.g., "He who is." 52.11, cf. *Gos. Truth* 28.12–13; *Val Exp.* 22.18; "ineffable" 54.39, cf. *Val. Exp.* 24.39; 29.31; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1; "incomprehensible" 53.2, cf. *Gos. Truth* 17.22; 18.32.

³³See Puech and Quispel, *art. cit.* and J. Zandee, *The Terminology of Plotinus and of Some Gnostic Writings, Mainly the Fourth Treatise of the Jung Codex* (Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1961). Further significant parallels are discussed in the notes to the text. Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate, passim*) also calls attention to many connections of the text to the Platonic tradition.

³⁴Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1 for what may be the teaching of Valentinus himself and 1.1.1 for Ptolemy.

logians when he declares that to say the opposite is "ignorant" (53.38-39). In its insistence on the Father's uniqueness, the *Tri. Trac.* parallels the monadic Valentinian ontology described by Hippolytus and represented at Nag Hammadi by *Val. Exp.*³⁵

In the monadic Valentinian systems the figure Sige is interpreted as a quality or state of the Father's being, and not an independent hypothesis taking the role of his consort or syzygy.³⁶ Thus, in these systems Sige plays no part in the primal generative act, as she does in dyadic systems. The *Tri. Trac.* goes even further in this demythologizing direction. For, while the other representatives of this type of Valentinianism³⁷ hold that the Father produces the aeons Nous (Mind) and Aletheia (Truth) as a means of projecting other aeons, the *Tri. Trac.* suggests that these entities, like Sige, are only attributes of the Father (55.7-17).

3. *The Son and the Church* (57.8-59.38)

Our author's second major revision of Valentinianism follows the first. The unitary Father, acting alone, produces "a first-born and only Son" (57.18-19), who "exists from the beginning" (57.34). The love between Father and Son in turn produces the Church, which "exists before the aeons" (58.30-31). Here again no feminine principle is involved in the eternal process of generation.

The principle of triplicity evinced on the highest level of being pervades the whole system. There appear in turn three levels of aeonic emanation, three classes of the Logos' offspring, and finally three classes of human being, while the structure of the world as a whole falls into three parts: the aeonic Pleroma with the primal Trinity at its head, the intermediary world of the Logos and the material world under the governance of the Demiurge.³⁸

4. *Aeonic Emanation* (50.1-67.37)

The discussion of the aeons opens with an account of their gener-

³⁵For Hippolytus, cf. *Ref.* 6.29.2-8. In *Val. Exp.*, note in particular 23.20-23. W. R. Schoedel ("Gnostic Monism and the Gospel of Truth," *Rediscovery*, 1.379-90) calls attention to the possible affiliation of this type of Valentinianism with the *Gos. Truth*.

³⁶Cf. *Val. Exp.* 22.21-24 and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.3-4. See also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.3.

³⁷Cf. *Val. Exp.* 24.34-29.27 and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.6-10.

³⁸The *Tri. Trac.* thus illustrates the principle observed by F. F. Sagnard (*La Gnose Valentinienne* [Paris: Vrin, 1947]) that the relationship between the three levels of being in Valentinian cosmology is one of model and copy.

ation which involves a significant application of fundamental philosophical principles. The aeons, like Platonic ideas in the mind of God, "were forever in the thought of the Father" (60.2-3). As such, these aeons existed only potentially. They did not "exist for themselves" (60.28-29), but only "had existence in the manner of a seed" (60.30-31). They come into their own actual existence by a recognition granted to them by the Father that He exists (61.1-18). This movement from potential to actual or authentic existence through a revelation of the primordial principle is the archetype of the soteriological movement on every level of being.

5. *Aeonic Life* (67.38-74.18)

Our author next describes how the aeons, in turn, become productive of further emanations, once again illustrating a generally important principle. For the aeons produce offspring by giving glory to the Father (68.3-5). The aeons who thus constitute the Pleroma or fullness of divine being are not, as in comparable Valentinian systems,³⁹ a specific number of pairs of masculine and feminine entities, but are all "properties and powers of the Father" (73.10-11).

6. *The Imperfect Begetting by the Logos* (74.18-80.11)

Following from the production of the third level of aeons comes the Logos, whose activity provides the transition from the transcendent Pleroma to the world of the *oikonomia*. In this account the *Tri. Trac.* boldly revises earlier Valentinian accounts of the disturbances in the Pleroma. In those accounts the generation of the non-Pleromatic world was attributed to the activity of a feminine figure, Sophia. Here she has been transformed into the masculine Logos, a possibility suggested in Heracleon's interpretation of the Johannine prologue.⁴⁰

Different explanations of the disturbance caused by Sophia are provided in Valentinian sources. According to one version, Sophia's problem was a matter of *hybris*. She tried to generate and bear fruit apart from her masculine syzygy in order to match the Father's act of solitary generation.⁴¹ According to the other explanation, Sophia tried to

³⁹Cf. *Val. Exp.* and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.2-3. The *Tri. Trac.* clearly bypasses the debate on the progression and sequence of the aeons mentioned by Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.1-3.

⁴⁰Cf. Fr. 1 on John 1:3 in Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14.

⁴¹Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3 and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.7-8. See also G. Quispel, *VC* 28 (1974) 38-39.

comprehend the greatness of the Father by her own efforts.⁴² In recounting the activity of the Logos our author includes both forms of motivation ascribed to Sophia: The Logos both "attempted an act beyond his power" (76.7-8) and "acted magnanimously, from an abundant love" (76.19-20). The *Tri. Trac.*, unlike other Valentinian sources, resists the temptation to assess the activity of the Logos, however caused, in a pejorative way. Instead, our text declares explicitly that "it is not fitting to criticize the movement of the Logos," since that movement became the cause of a "system which has been destined to come about" (77.6-11). The Logos, having received wisdom (75.28), acts freely (75.35-76.1), intending what is good (76.3-4). The positive evaluation of the process of devolution from the primordial Godhead is reinforced by affirmations that this process took place by the Father's will (76.24-77.1).

Thus, while the account of the *Tri. Trac.* has important parallels with other Valentinian texts, it ought not be simply reduced to those accounts, as is done by the original editors, who regularly equate Logos with Sophia and describe him as the "fallen aeon."⁴³ Although the actions of the Logos occasion the production of deficient beings, even this, according to the theodicy of this text, is part of the divine plan.

7. *The Conversion of the Logos* (80.11-85.15)

Among other Valentinians different accounts are given of the process whereby the sufferings of Sophia were resolved. Some say that a Limit⁴⁴ was imposed on her which led her to abandon her futile project; others add that she underwent conversion.⁴⁵ The author of the *Tri. Trac.*, like the author of *Val. Exp.* (34.23f) apparently knows both versions, but chooses to stress the latter.⁴⁶ Our text goes further than other sources in emphasizing that the Logos is the initiator, not the recipient, of the resolution of his defective begetting. He is the one who "converted himself to the good" (81.28-29). From the activity of his conversion issues the psychic order of beings (82.10-24), which engages in conflict with the hylic order which was the result of his defective begetting (83.34-85.15).

⁴²Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2. *Val. Exp.* knows both explanations, but emphasizes the former, emotional, explanation (36.28-38).

⁴³E.g., *ed. pr.* I.44-47,337-347.

⁴⁴For a discussion of the various Valentinian opinions on the nature and function of the Limit, see the note to 76.33.

⁴⁵Note *μεταβολία* in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3.

⁴⁶Cf. G. Quispel, *VC* 28 (1974) 38-39.

8. *The Emanation of the Savior* (85.15–90.13)

Following his conversion the Logos divides in two. His better self ascends into the Pleroma where he intercedes for the “one who is defective” (85.25–26). The aeons of the Pleroma joyously agree to help and they pray to the Father. They then bring forth the “Son of his will” (86.36), the Savior (87.7). This division of the Logos resembles in some respects the account by Ptolemy of two Sophias.⁴⁷ It is even closer to the account attributed to Valentinus himself, but the details of the division of the Logos and the production of the Savior show various unique features.⁴⁸

The fact that the Savior is given the name Son in this account illustrates an important principle operative throughout the text. Beings on the intermediate level of reality may be given the name which properly belongs⁴⁹ only to a being in the highest level of reality, by what may be called a principle of analogous predication. The underlying assumption is that lower levels of reality are copies of models at a higher level. Failure to distinguish which level of reality is under discussion can lead to enormous confusion in the identification of particular characters in the cosmic drama.⁵⁰

9. *The Pleroma of the Logos* (90.14–95.38)

Through the revelation mediated by the Savior, the extra-Pleromatic Logos is illumined and “his Pleroma” comes into being. This Pleroma or “aeon” (95.26) stands above the hylic and psychic orders of the offspring of the Logos (93.14–19). It is given a variety of names, but above all it is called the Church (94.21). It thus serves as a copy of the whole Pleromatic world (93.25–26), and ultimately of the third member of the primordial Triad. In turn, it serves as the model of the Church in the phenomenal world. Its major attribute is its harmony which resembles the pleromatic harmony (94.21–23), a characteristic also highlighted in another Valentinian text from Nag Hammadi, *Interp. Know.* 18.22–20.22.

⁴⁷Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4 for the account of the upper Pleromatic Sophia and the lower Achamoth.

⁴⁸Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1. For further discussion of the generation of the Savior, see the note to 86.25.

⁴⁹Note the frequent affirmations early in the text that names are being applied in a “proper” way (51.39; 52.3; 53.5; etc.).

⁵⁰See e.g., the discussion of the identity of the figures named at 85.15, 86.36, and 87.11–13.

10. *The Organization* (95.38-104.3)

Once the Logos has established himself (96.17), he turns to establish the *oikonomia* or "organization" of the non-Pleromatic world. As part of this system he appoints archons "to keep order" (99.16), each with a specific hierarchial rank and responsibility. Over all of them he appoints a chief Archon or Demiurge (100.7-8), who is given the names of the Father (100.28-30). Unlike some other Valentinian accounts of this figure,⁵¹ this Archon, who serves the Logos as his hand and mouth (101.34-35), is not characterized by negative attributes, except that he is unaware that "the movement within him is from the spirit" (101.3-4).

11. *The Creation of Humanity* (104.4-108.12)

In the second part of the tractate our author gives his interpretation of Genesis 1-3, from Adam's creation to the human experience of Paradise and the fall. The author first explains the purpose of creation as educative, particularly for those characterized by "smallness," i.e., the psychics.⁵² The author then describes the process of creation, which involves participation by the spiritual Logos, the Demiurge and his angelic servants, including both psychic and hylic powers (104.3-105.10). The "soul of the first human being," then, is constituted of three elements, a spiritual part from the Logos, a psychic part from the Demiurge and the powers of the right, and a hylic part from the powers of the left (105.29-106.5). The latter element is, it should be noted, not material in any literal sense. As one component of the *soul*, it corresponds with the "hylic soul" mentioned in *Exc. Theod.* 52.1-53.1.

The formulation of this section is extremely significant. The text offers no basis for assuming that the souls of subsequent human beings differ from that of the first. Thus, for the *Tri. Trac.* at least, the tripartition of human beings (118.14-28) is not determined by the constitution of different types of human souls. This tripartition occurs only as a result of the Savior's coming, and is effected on the basis of the response of different human beings to the revelation, as different people actualize the different potentialities of the human soul. Such a

⁵¹Heracleon, Fr. 40, in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.33; and the *Ap. John* CG II,1:13.5-13.

⁵²See in particular 104.21; 89.10; 90.4-10. Cf. *Interp. Know.* 10.27-33; 14.28-29. *Contra ed. pr.* II. 193, the world is not created for the formation of those who are spiritual.

position may be a response to orthodox accusations that Valentinian soteriology is deterministic.⁵³

The final section of part two offers an account of Eden, which apparently presupposes an allegorical interpretation of the trees in paradise, the serpent, and the penalty of death. Unlike some other Gnostic interpretations of Paradise which value the tree of knowledge above the tree of life, or which indict the creator for misleading human beings and punishing them out of jealousy, the *Tri. Trac.* defends a more orthodox interpretation. Basically the author is concerned to offer a theodicy: although an evil power misled Adam, it was "the spirit" who planned that he should experience the death of ignorance so that he should finally receive "the greatest good, which is life eternal, that is, firm knowledge of the Totalities, and the reception of all good things" (107.36–108.3). For none of Adam's sufferings occur apart from "the Father's will" (108.17).

12. *The Variety of Theologies* (108.13–114.30)

In this section, which begins part three, the author advances a common argument of Christian apologetics, describing the relation of Christ's coming to Hebrew prophecy and pagan philosophy as three different stages in the revelation of truth. Thus the majority of the pagans, "who have gone as far as the visible elements" (109.21–24) have a material apprehension of the deity.⁵⁴ Some pagans, however, have apprehended a higher order of being, the hylic "powers of the left" in the intermediary world. Inspired by these powers, such persons attributed the nature of reality to various causes, principles loosely associated with various schools of philosophy (109.5–24). The disagreement among the philosophers, a standard apologetic *topos*, is then explained by the contentious nature of the powers they apprehended (109.27–28).

A second type of apprehension of the truth occurs with the Hebrew prophets. Where the Greeks manifested contradictions and discord, the prophets manifested unanimous testimony to one God (111.17), another apologetic *topos*. This uniformity is again attributed to the character of the object of the prophet's apprehension, the psychic order of the intermediary world which is ruled by the Demiurge.⁵⁵

⁵³Cf. e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.3.10,2; *Exc. Theod.* 56.3.

⁵⁴For a similar opinion in Heracleon, cf. Fr. 21 in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.17.

⁵⁵Once again, Heracleon offers important parallels in Fr. 21 in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.17 and Fr. 22 in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.19.

Thus, as the psychic powers "preserve . . . mutual agreement primarily by the one more exalted than they" (111.20-23), so the prophets agree in proclaiming the "coming of the Savior," the true source of knowledge of the Father (113.2-114.30). The prophetic apprehension is, however, defective, both because it ultimately led to a diversity of theological views (110.22-113.1) and because the prophets themselves did not realize who "the Savior truly is," "an unbegotten, impassible Logos who came into being in the flesh" (113.35-38).

13. *The Incarnate Savior and His Companions* (114.31-118.14)

The third type of revelation unfolds as the eternal Logos "came into being in the flesh" (113.38). The author's account of the reality of the incarnation is quite emphatic. The Savior, moved by compassion for mortals, willingly "became what they are" (114.33-34), "accepted their smallness" (115.6), and "let himself be conceived and born as an infant, in body and soul" (115.9-11). For their sake he even "became manifest in an involuntary suffering, taking upon himself the death of those he intended to save" (114.4-115.7). This treatment of the incarnation cannot be interpreted, as is done by the original editors, as equivalent to the docetic view attributed to Ptolemy by Irenaeus.⁵⁶ Like other western Valentinian texts,⁵⁷ the *Tri. Trac.* does not deny that the Savior actually was born, suffered and died. Like those texts, it is concerned to show how, in his incarnation, Christ transcends human nature and so prevails over suffering and death. The evidence from Nag Hammadi, and especially from the *Tri. Trac.*, confirms what Harnack observed long ago: "The characteristic of Gnostic Christology is not docetism, but the doctrine of the two natures."⁵⁸ Here again, our author approximates later orthodox Christology more closely than the followers of Ptolemy as described by Irenaeus. Like other western Valentinian theologians, he apparently is grappling with the problems which were to become the center of Christological debate in the fourth century.

Following the account of the Savior's incarnation the author ex-

⁵⁶For the original editors' assessment of the docetism of the text, cf. *ed. pr.* II.14, 209-10. See Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2, where Christ is said to have "passed through Mary like water through a tube."

⁵⁷Cf. *Gos. Truth* 18.24; 20.6; 20.10-14; *Interp. Know.* 4.30-32; and *Treat. Res.* 44.21-28. Cf. the literature cited in n.29.

⁵⁸A. von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1910) 286. Cf. also the recent discussion by K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum* (NHS 2; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 26.

plains that "others" came with him (115.30). These entities cannot be, as the original editors suggest, guardian angels of the elect, since they clearly become incarnate (115.30; 116.2-5) and are simply the elect or spiritual human beings who share in the Savior's soteriological work. Despite their spiritual status, these beings once in the world need teaching and redemption.⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, the author counts himself among the elect. He states that "we have served Jesus Christ in revelation and union" (117.16), helping to release "from the servile nature in which they have suffered" those who were "slaves of ignorance" (117.26) as Adam was after the fall.

14. *The Tripartition of Humanity* (118.14-122.12)

The account of the incarnation of the elect to serve the Savior introduces the discussion of his mission. At his coming, "mankind came to be in three essential types, the spiritual, the psychic and the hylic" (118.14-17). The account of creation has shown that the archetypal human soul contains all three potentialities (106.18-31). Only when the Savior comes does each person's response to him actualize one of the three potentialities, revealing which is to predominate in that person (118.21-27).

It is difficult to reconcile the teaching of the *Tri. Trac.* with the patristic reports of Valentinian soteriology which speak of being "saved by nature."⁶⁰ These accounts may reflect a misunderstanding of Valentinian anthropology or may give evidence for a different or earlier branch of Valentinianism.

The author of the *Tri. Trac.* agrees with Heracleon⁶¹ that the elect characteristically respond to the Savior immediately, while those who hesitate in their response reveal themselves as psychics who need further instruction "through a voice" (119.3). The latter image also recalls language of Heracleon.⁶² Those who respond to Christ's coming with hatred "shun the shining of the light" (119.8-17) and thus are revealed to be hylic.

In the discussion of psychic human beings, this text offers a more elaborate and more carefully nuanced discussion than any in extant Valentinian literature. One group of psychics, who correspond to the

⁵⁹Cf. 124.25-125.24. For discussion of the role of the elect in the salvific mission of the Savior, cf. Heracleon, Fr. 31 in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38 and *Dial. Sav.* 140.14-18.

⁶⁰Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.3.10,2; *Exc. Theod.* 56.3.

⁶¹Fr. 17 in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10.

⁶²Fr. 5 in Origen, *In Joh.* 6.20.

Logos' remembrance and his prayer (119.30-31), receive complete salvation when they end their hesitation. Another group, affected by the "lust for power" are "mixed" (120.21). This group divides in two. Some eventually abandon their ambition and receive a reward (120.27-29); others persist in their ambition and incur judgment. Only those who persist to the end in their improper attitude will be condemned with hylics.

15. *The Process of Restoration* (122.12-129.34)

The section opens with a general discussion of the present and future relationships between the "election" and the "calling," technical terms for spiritual and psychic human beings. Using imagery of the bridal chamber, the present status of each is contrasted. The election is within the chamber (122.15-16) due to its intimate union with the Savior. The calling remains outside, like "those who rejoice at the bridechamber" (122.21). A preliminary stage of restoration of the psychic element, the calling, is indicated, for this group "will have... the aeon of the images" (122.25-26), i.e., the Pleroma of the Logos in the intermediate world. There, before they join the elect, now referred to with the image of the perfect man (123.4),⁶³ the calling have a "place of instruction" (123.12), where they receive "resemblance to the images and archetypes" (123.14-15). Finally, both election and calling are restored together into the Pleroma (123.21-29). In the ecclesiology developed in this section of the tractate, the author maintains the position of western Valentinianism⁶⁴ that the Church consists of *both* spiritual and psychic members. The final restoration of "the whole body" will occur only when "all the members of the body of the Church" (123.17-18) are united in the Pleroma.

After the general discussion of the process of restoration, the author digresses to cover several topics related to his soteriology. He first notes that all beings outside the Pleroma need redemption, including the Son "who had become a man" (125.1). Discussion of the Son's need for redemption leads the author to reconsider the intent of the Father in initiating the salvific process (125.24-127.24). This section includes important remarks on the author's theodicy.

⁶³Here and elsewhere in this section the author develops NT imagery about the Church as the body of the Savior in a complex and somewhat confusing way. See the discussion in the notes to 122.13,28 and 123.4.

⁶⁴Cf. *Interp. Know.* 16.19-19.26 and K. Koschorke, "Eine neugefundene gnostische Gemeindeordnung," *ZTK* 76 (1979) 30-60.

Then our author launches into another digression, on the "baptism which exists in the fullest sense" (127.25-129.34), which involves an orthodox Trinitarian confession of the names of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The author seems to repudiate the Valentinian practice of a *second* baptism.⁶⁵ He suggests that Gnostic Christians can see in the ordinary Christian ritual the deeper spiritual meanings which he alludes to in a series of names for the sacrament (128.19-129.34).

16. *The Restoration of the Calling and Conclusion* (129.34-138.27)

While identifying himself as one of the elect, the author turns back to consider the "calling" (130.1-131.13), discussing the "causes and effects of grace" upon the psychics. He then describes in greater detail the character of the eschatological "rest," which is seen to consist in the elimination of multiplicity and the attainment of unity. Here (132.20-28) the author recalls a common formula concerning the reconciliation of opposites used in early Christian baptism (cf. Gal 3:28). This formula was interpreted by Western Valentinian sources in a specific symbolic way,⁶⁶ wherein the elements of the opposed pairs refer to spiritual and psychic Christians respectively. If our author follows such a tradition, he intends to show that all distinctions between psychics and pneumatics will cease when Christ becomes "all in all" (132.28).

The final pages of the text are badly damaged. They may have involved the further delineation of an eschatological tableau. They conclude with a bit of hymnic praise to "the Savior, the Redeemer of all those who belong to the one filled with love, through his Holy Spirit, from now through all generations forever" (138.20-25).

Summary

This brief review indicates that the *Tri. Trac.* offers important evidence for the development of at least one branch of Western Valentinian theology as it increasingly accommodated to orthodox Christianity. A central focus of the text is its theodicy. Throughout, the author attempts to show how the Father, who is perfectly good and loving, nevertheless wills that the creatures which come into existence should experience the evil of ignorance. His purpose is twofold: first to demonstrate that no one can know Him "by his own wisdom or

⁶⁵Cf. Irenaeus, I.21.2-3 where Valentinian debate about baptism is discussed.

⁶⁶Cf. Heracleon, Fr. 5 in Origen, *In Joh.* 6.20; *Gos. Phil.* 52.2-18; 72.18; and *Exc. Theod.* 21.1-3, 57-58.

power" (126.13-15), but only through His grace and will. Second, He intends to bring all, through the experience of deprivation, to the full and joyous consciousness which consists in knowing Him (126.15-28).

In the process of developing this theodicy our author revises traditional Valentinian speculation apparently in order to reconcile it with the doctrine of the "great Church." This revision is most apparent in six areas. First, the uniqueness of the Father is stressed, as in some other Valentinian sources, and it is affirmed that He is the one who begot and created the universe (52.4-6). Second, the initial offspring of the Father is not a syzygistic dyad, as is the case even in other "monistic" Valentinian systems, but a unique entity. Furthermore, as in later orthodoxy, the Father and the Son together generate the Church as the third member of the primordial Trinity. Third, the origin of the universe is not attributed to the "fall" of a feminine aeon Sophia, but to the inadvertant act of the masculine Logos, whose deficient production is nonetheless in accord with the Father's will. Fourth, the Demiurge or Archon directly responsible for the phenomenal world is viewed in a relatively positive light, as the instrument of the Logos, and is never described as "foolish" or "arrogant." Fifth, the tripartition of humanity is seen even more clearly than in other Valentinian texts to be a result of the response of human beings to the coming of the Savior. Finally, it is affirmed, in line with Western Valentinian tradition, that psychics are as much a part of the Church as are spirituals, and although they are now distinct groups, both can hope for the same eschatological fate. In the development of this position particular care is taken to delineate the different types of psychic response to the Savior.

The author's positive assessment of the psychics and his anticipation of their future redemption accords with his acceptance of common Christian baptism as an efficacious sacrament, once its true spiritual significance is understood. Although our author is clearly a Valentinian Christian, his theology implies that he sees no basic contradiction between his own theological reflection and the beliefs and practices of Christians he would consider psychic. In a bold attempt to propound a Christian theology on a Valentinian basis, he offers an interpretation of Valentinian speculation designed to reconcile Gnostic teaching with more orthodox doctrine.

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(PART I)

51 $\bar{n}\alpha$ /51 $\chi\epsilon$ π[ε]τανναψ χοοq ρα netχα¹ci· πετεψψε
 πε $\bar{n}\tau\eta\rho$ ψα¹ρ $\bar{\eta}$ \bar{m} πιωτ· ετε τνουνε $\bar{n}\delta\epsilon$ ¹πε
 5 \bar{m} πτηρ \bar{q} · πεει $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\chi\iota$ ¹|| $\bar{n}\tau\sigma\tau\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\zeta\mu\alpha\tau$ ατρ $\bar{\eta}$ -
 ψεχε αραq·
 $\chi\epsilon$ νεqψοοπ ¹εμπατελαγε· ψωπε σαβαλ·
¹αραq ογαεετ \bar{q} πιωτ ουεει \bar{n} ογωτ πε· εqο
 10 \bar{m} πρητε $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\eta\eta\pi\epsilon$ · $\chi\epsilon$ πψαρ $\bar{\eta}$ πε· αγω πετε
¹νταq ογαεετ \bar{q} πε· εq \bar{o} \bar{m} πρη¹τε $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 ογαεετ \bar{q} εν· \bar{n} ¹ \bar{m} μαν $\bar{n}\epsilon\psi$ $\bar{n}\zeta\epsilon$ ογ $\bar{\iota}$ ωτ πε
 15 ¹ειωτ· γαρ nim· ογν ογρεν cωk ¹|| $\bar{n}c\omega q$ $\chi\epsilon$
 ψηρε· αλλα πογε \bar{n} ογωτ· ετε $\bar{n}\tau\alpha q$ ογαεετ \bar{q}
 πε ¹πιωτ· εqο \bar{m} πρητε $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\eta\eta\sigma\eta\eta\pi\epsilon$ · $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ογψηη
 20 $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ρενκλα¹δος· $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ρενουταz· εγχοy \bar{m} μαc
 αραq $\chi\epsilon$ ογχαεic \bar{n} ιωτ πε· εγoyατρελαγε ¹ρ
 mine \bar{m} μαq πε· $\bar{n}\bar{m}\mu\epsilon q$ ¹πε αγω ογατ·πανεq πε·
 25 ετβε ¹πεει $\chi\epsilon$ ογx[[π]]αεic $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\omega\tau$ ¹|| πε αγω
 ογνουτε πε· $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ¹λαγε \bar{o} $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\eta\eta\pi\epsilon$ · νεq· αγω
 $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ¹λαγε εq \bar{o} \bar{n} ιωτ· $\bar{n}\nu\epsilon q$ · ογ¹ατxπαq γαρ πε·
 30 ογδε $\bar{n}k\epsilon$ ·ογεει εν πε· $\bar{n}\tau\alpha z\chi\pi\alpha q$ · αγω ¹|| $\bar{n}k\epsilon$ -
 ογεει εν πε $\bar{n}\tau\alpha z\tau c\epsilon\eta\alpha q$ ¹πετε· πιωτ γαρ
 $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ πε ¹|| \bar{n} $\bar{p}\bar{q}$ ρωμεqτceno πε ογ \bar{n} τεq ιωτ
 ρωωq αν αγω πε \bar{n} ταzτcε $\eta\alpha q$ · ογ \bar{n} βαm μεn
 35 ¹|| $\bar{n}\tau\bar{q}$ ψωπε \bar{n} ιωτ· αγω ρωμε¹qτceno \bar{m} πενταz-
 ψωπε α¹βαλ \bar{m} μαq αγω πεnταzτcε¹η $\eta\alpha q$ · ογει-
 ωτ· \bar{n} γαρ εν· πε· ¹z \bar{n} \bar{n} ογ \bar{m} ητχαεic πε· αγω
 $\bar{n}\bar{b}$ /52 ογ¹νουτε αβαλ $\chi\epsilon$ ογ \bar{n} τεq < \bar{m} >||μεy \bar{m} πενταz-
 xπ[αq αγω π]ε¹ταzτcε $\eta\alpha q$ z \bar{n} ογ \bar{m} [τx]αεic βε
¹πιωτ· ογαεετ \bar{q} αγω π \bar{n} ουτε ¹|| (\bar{m})πετε \bar{m} πε-
 5 λαγε xπαq· <ni>πτη $\bar{r}\bar{q}$ ενταq εταzχαoy·
 εaqτcε $\eta\alpha y\sigma\gamma$ ογατ·ταρχη πε· ¹ογατ·zηη πε·
 $\chi\epsilon$ ογ $\bar{m}\sigma\eta\eta\sigma\eta\eta$ ογ¹ατzηη πε· ετβε πεει· ογατ·

51.3 $\bar{n}\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\delta\epsilon$ ¹ 10 πετε, The first ε written over \bar{n} .¹ 14 ογρεn, The stroke over n has been cancelled.¹ 15 $\bar{n}c\omega q$, q written over k.¹ 21 ατ<τ>ρε Schenke¹ 24 ογχαεic (x written over α, α written over πα) $\bar{n}\nu\sigma\omega\tau$ MS: ογχαεic $\bar{n}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ (?) ed. pr.¹ 40 < \bar{m} >μεy ed. pr.¹

52.4 (\bar{m})πετε Attridge¹ 4-5 <ni>πτη $\bar{r}\bar{q}$ ed. pr. (Ger.)¹ 6 ογατ·{τ}αρχη ed. pr.¹

Part I

1. *Introduction*

51.3 As for what we can say about the things which are exalted, | what is fitting is that we | begin with the Father, who is the root of | the Totality, the one from whom we have received ⁵ grace to | speak about him.

2. *The Father*

He existed | before anything other than himself | came into being. The Father is a | single one, like a ¹⁰ number, for he is the first one and the one who | is only himself. Yet he is | not like a solitary individual. | Otherwise, how could he be a father? | For whenever there is a “father,” ¹⁵ the name “son” follows. But the single | one, who alone is | the Father, is like a root | with tree, branches | and fruit. It is said ²⁰ of him that he is | a father in the proper sense, since he is | inimitable | and immutable. Because of | this he is single in the proper sense ²⁵ and is a god, because no | one is a god for him nor | is anyone a father to him. | For he is unbegotten and there is no other | who begot him, nor ³⁰ another who created him. | For whoever is someone’s father | or his creator, | he, too, has a father and | creator. It is certainly possible ³⁵ for him to be father and creator | of the one who came into being | from him and the one whom he created, | for he is not a father in the proper sense, nor ⁴⁰ a god, because he has ^{52.1} someone who begot [him and] who | created him. It is, then, | only the Father and God in the proper sense | that no one else begot. As for [the] Totalities, ⁵ he is the one who begot them and | created them. He is without beginning | and without end.

Not only | is he without end — He is immortal for

10 μοϋ | πε· αβαλ χε οϋατ·χπαϋ πε || αλλα
 οϋατ·ρικε αν πε· μηπε|τ̄ωοοп̄ μαϋ ανηζε·
 τμετ· | αϋω πετε ν̄ταϋ πε· αϋω πετ̄|смант·
 маϋ πε αϋω πετ̄|οει ν̄ноб̄ маϋ πε· οϋδε
 15 ν̄|таϋ ϋναϋιτ̄ εν· μηπετ̄|οει маϋ· οϋδε м̄
 кеοϋε|ει ναχит̄ ν̄бон̄с̄ атре<ϋ>χπε | οϋζαν·
 20 ε̄мπεϋρ̄ εζνεϋ· | арас̄ ν̄ноϋαειϋ· еρεαϋχι || εν
 μηпреϋρ̄ ζηт̄с̄ ν̄ωωπε· | τεει τε οε· ε(ν)τε<н>ϋ-
 ωβ̄βιαйт̄· | ν̄таϋ εν· οϋδε м̄ кеοϋε|ει ναϋ ϋιτ̄
 25 αβαλ· μηπετ̄|ωοοп̄ маϋ· αϋω πετε ν̄|таϋ πε·
 αϋω πετ̄|οει маϋ | πε· мн̄ τεϋм̄н̄т̄ноб̄· ат̄м̄-
 |т̄роϋϋ вит̄ οϋδε м̄ бам̄· | атрекеοϋεει ωвт̄
 30 аке|р̄н̄те· н̄ абаχ̄ н̄ аϋωвт̄: || н̄ атс̄в̄каϋ еп̄ид̄н̄
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 πε ν̄ат̄·панеϋ | еп̄ιαт̄п̄ωне̄ т̄wei·ε̄ ζε·ειωϋ |
 35 χε पेει οϋαεет̄ εν̄ πετοϋ|μοϋτε араϋ
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 χε οϋατ·χπαϋ | πε· αϋω οϋατμοϋ πε αλλ̄α
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 соφ̄ιᾱ οϋατεма̄ζ̄|те̄ маϋ πε ζ̄н̄ τεϋεζοϋ|cia·
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 10 पे̄ पेτμн̄ζ̄ | {πετμн̄ζ̄} αβαλ̄ н̄χπο̄ ним̄· ν̄|теϋ м̄н̄
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 | ζοϋο̄ ете̄ таеӣ те̄ †м̄н̄т̄ат̄|вооне̄· χεкасе̄ еϋ-
 15 наб̄н̄т̄с̄ | еϋн̄теϋ̄ еπετεϋн̄теϋ̄ тн̄|р̄ϋ̄ еϋ†̄ маϋ
 еϋмаϋϋ χав̄|еϋ̄ αϋω̄ еϋζαсе̄ ен̄ αβαλ· | ζ̄н̄
 20 | πετ̄ϋ†̄ м̄μοϋ̄ еϋō̄ н̄р̄м̄|маο̄ ζ̄н̄̄ неτ̄ϋ†̄ м̄μοϋ̄
 | αϋω̄ еϋмат̄н̄ маϋ̄ αβαλ || ζ̄н̄̄ неτ̄ϋρ̄̄ ζμοт̄̄ м̄-
 маϋ· |
 χε पेεῑ бе̄ ν̄теεῑζε̄ αϋω̄ π̄ӣс̄мат̄· αϋω̄ п̄иаб̄

17 атре<ϋ>χπε (or аχπε) *ed. pr.*¹ 21-22 εντεϋωβ̄βιαйт̄ MS: ε(ν)-
 τε<н>ϋωβ̄βιαйт̄ or εν(τε)ϋωβ̄βιαйт̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 32 पे, π written over н.¹ 38
 μοϋ, м written over an uncertain letter.¹

53.4 ζετ̄ζωт̄·<ϋ> *ed. pr.*¹ 9 {πετμн̄ζ̄} *ed. pr.*¹ 15 е{ϋ}маϋϋ *ed. pr.*¹

this reason, | that he is unbegotten — ¹⁰ but he is also invariable in | his eternal existence, | in his identity, in that | by which he is established and in that | by which he is great. Neither ¹⁵ will he remove himself from that by which he | is, nor will anyone else | force him to produce | an end which he has not ever desired. | He has not had ²⁰ anyone who initiated his own existence. | Thus, he is himself unchanged | and no one else | can remove him from his | existence and ²⁵ his identity, that in which he is, | and his greatness, so that | he cannot be grasped; nor is it possible | for anyone else to change him into a different | form or to reduce him, or alter him ³⁰ or diminish him, — since this is so | in the fullest sense of the truth — | who is the unalterable, immutable one, | with immutability clothing him. |

Not only is he the one ³⁵ called | “without a beginning” and “without end,” | because he is unbegotten | and immortal; | but just as he has ⁴⁰ no beginning and no | end as he is, he is | unattainable ^{53.1} in his greatness, inscrutable | in his wisdom, incomprehensible | in his power, | and unfathomable in his ⁵ sweetness.

In the proper sense | he alone, the good, | the unbegotten Father and the | complete perfect one, is the one filled | with all his offspring ¹⁰ and with every virtue and with | everything of value. And he has | more, that is, lack of any | malice, in order that it may be discovered | that whoever has [anything] is indebted to him, ¹⁵ because he gives it, being | himself unreachable and unwearied | by that which he gives, since he is wealthy | in the gifts which he bestows | and at rest ²⁰ in the favors which he grants. |

25 $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ · $\bar{\iota}\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{n}\bar{m}$ ¹ $\bar{m}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\chi\iota\eta$
 $\bar{n}\omega\rho\bar{\alpha}\rho\bar{\iota}$ η $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}$ · $\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota$
 $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ · η $\epsilon\phi\eta\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\phi$ · $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\phi(\eta)$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$ · $\bar{\eta}$
 $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha\tau$ · $\eta\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\eta$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\phi$ · $\chi\rho\alpha\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{n}$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\eta\tau\bar{n}$
 30 $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\phi$ · $\zeta\omega\upsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{m}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ $\epsilon\phi\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\iota}\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta$
 $\bar{n}\varsigma\omega\phi$ · $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ · $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ · $\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\upsilon\zeta\gamma\lambda\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\eta$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\epsilon\upsilon$
 $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{n}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\eta\tau\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}\tau\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$
 35 $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\varsigma\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\varsigma$ · $\epsilon\phi\chi\bar{\rho}\omicron$
 $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}\chi\bar{\rho}\omicron$ $\bar{m}\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ η $\kappa\epsilon\omega\upsilon\eta\eta\rho$ · $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\bar{\rho}$ $\zeta\omega\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\phi$
 $\zeta\omega\upsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$ $\zeta\omega\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$ · $\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\phi\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$
 40 $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\varsigma\omega$ $\tau\epsilon$ · $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{a}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$
 $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\omega\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\phi\chi\eta\kappa$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{a}\gamma\eta\zeta$ $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\bar{i}\eta$
 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$

$\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\eta$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\eta\iota\rho\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{\rho}$ $\eta\omicron\epsilon\iota$
 5 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ η $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{a}\rho\alpha\upsilon$ η
 $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\eta$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ·
 $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\kappa\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\omega\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\omega$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha$ · $\bar{\iota}\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon$ ·
 $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ · $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon$ · $\bar{\iota}\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{m}\epsilon\eta$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}$ $\beta\omicron\mu$ $\bar{n}\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ ·
 10 $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ · $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\bar{\beta}\alpha\mu$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$
 $\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ · $\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}\omega$ ·
 $\bar{\iota}\omicron\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\varsigma$ · $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}\omicron$ · $\bar{\iota}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\varsigma$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\rho}\varsigma\mu\alpha\tau$
 15 $\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ · $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\beta\alpha\mu$ $\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\bar{\rho}$ $\eta\omicron\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ ·
 $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\alpha\omega$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{m}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$
 $\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\alpha\omega$ $\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\eta\alpha\omega$ $\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ ·
 20 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\eta\omicron\beta$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$ · $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\bar{n}$ $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\bar{\rho}\iota\upsilon\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\tau$ · $\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\rho}\iota\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$
 $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\tau$ · ω · $\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\alpha}$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\rho}\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$ · $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\tau\omega\alpha$ · $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ · $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 25 $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\bar{\phi}\gamma\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\iota\alpha\tau$ · $\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\rho}\alpha\upsilon$ · $\epsilon\eta\varsigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta$ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\omicron\omicron\tau$ ·
 $\bar{\iota}\zeta\bar{n}$ $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ · $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha\zeta\tau\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\eta$ · $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\iota\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ ·
 $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau$ · $\tau\eta\omega$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\bar{\rho}\iota\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron$ $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\alpha}$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$ · $\langle\upsilon\rangle$
 30 $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\upsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\eta}\eta\omicron\upsilon$ · $\zeta\omicron$ · $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ ·
 $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ · $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ · $\omega\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{n}$ $\omicron\upsilon$ · $\epsilon\varsigma\theta\eta\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ ·

25 $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ MS: $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ *ed. pr.*¹ 32 $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron$ MS: Read $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron$ *ed. pr.*¹ 34 $\langle\omicron\upsilon\rangle\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ *ed. pr.*¹

54.7 $\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\omega\omicron\upsilon$, ϵ and ι written over erased letters, possibly ϵ and \omicron .¹² $\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ ¹⁶ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$, υ written over γ .¹²² $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$, ω written over deleted χ .¹²⁶ $\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha\zeta\tau\rho\epsilon$ MS: Read $\bar{n}\varsigma\zeta\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon$ *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.): $\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha\zeta\langle\alpha\rangle\tau\rho\epsilon$ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹²⁷ $\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ ¹ 28 $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$ · $\langle\upsilon\rangle$ Attridge¹ 29 $\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\upsilon$, υ written over γ .¹

He is of such a kind and | form and great magnitude
 | that no one else has been with | him from the begin-
 ning; nor is there a place ²⁵ in which he is, or from
 which he has come forth, | or into which he will go; |
 nor is there a primordial form, | which he uses as a
 model | as he works; nor is there any difficulty
³⁰ which accompanies him in what | he does; nor is
 there any material which | is at his disposal, from
 which <he> creates | what he creates; | nor any sub-
 stance within him from ³⁵ which he begets what he
 begets; | nor a co-worker | with him, working with
 him on the things at which he works. | To say any-
 thing of this sort | is ignorant. Rather, (one should
 speak of him) as ⁴⁰ good, faultless, perfect, ^{54.1} comp-
 lete, being himself the Totality. |

Not one of | the names which are conceived, | or
 spoken, seen or ⁵ grasped, | not one of them applies to
 him, | even though they are exceedingly glorious,
 magnifying | and honored. However, | it is possible to
 utter these names for his glory ¹⁰ and honor, in accor-
 dance with the capacity | of each of those who give
 him glory. | Yet as for him, in his own | existence,
 being | and form, ¹⁵ it is impossible for mind to con-
 ceive | him, nor can any speech | convey him, nor can
 any eye | see him, nor can any body | grasp him, be-
 cause of ²⁰ his inscrutable greatness | and his incom-
 prehensible depth, | and his immeasurable height, |
 and his illimitable will. | This is the nature of the
²⁵ unbegotten one, which does not touch | anything
 else; nor is it joined (to anything) | in the manner of
 something which is limited. | Rather, he possesses this
 constitution, | without having a ³⁰ face or a form,
 things which | are understood through | perception,

εαβαλ· ᾠμαϑ πε πατ·¹τεζαϑ αν· εψχε ογατ·τε-
 35 ζαϑ ¹πε· ζι̅ε πιζωϑ ογνηζ ᾠσωϑ χε ογ¹ατ-
 σογωνῆ πε· χε πιατῤ νοει ¹ᾠμαϑ ζᾠ μεγε nim
 ᾠνατ·¹νεϑ араϑ ζᾠ ζωβ nim ᾠνατ·¹ψεχε араϑ
 40 ζᾠ ψεχε nim· ᾠ¹νατχωζ араϑ ζᾠ τβιχ· nim ᾠ¹ταϑ
 ογαεετῆ ᾠmin ᾠμαϑ ¹πετσαγνε ᾠμαϑ ᾠθε ετῆ-
 νε/55 ¹ψοοп ᾠмас мᾠ πεϑсмаτ· ¹мᾠ τεϑмнтноб мᾠ
 τεϑαῖ¹н· αγω εγн βοm ᾠμοϑ нῤ νο¹ει ᾠμαϑ ανεϑ
 5 ареϑ· аχε рен ¹араϑ аемазте ᾠмаϑ ентаϑ
¹πετο ᾠноϑс neϑ ογαεετῆ εϑο ¹ᾠβελ· ᾠнеϑ
 ογαεετῆ εϑο ᾠ¹ρωϑ ᾠнеϑ ογαεετῆ· εϑο ᾠфор-
 10 ¹мн neϑ ογαεετῆ αγω πετῆ¹ῤ νοῖ ммаϑ етῆ-
 [н]εϑ араϑ ¹ετῆψεχε ᾠмаϑ· етῆамаз¹те ммаϑ·
 ᾠmin ᾠμοϑ ᾠ¹βι πιατῤ νοει ᾠмаϑ ᾠατψε·¹χε араϑ
 15 ᾠατψαпῆ ᾠατпанῆ ¹εϑτροφн πε· εϑογῆαϑ πε·
¹ογαλнeиa πε· οϑρεψε πε· ογ¹ᾠтан πε· πετῆῤ
 νοει ᾠмаϑ ¹πετῆнеϑ араϑ πετῆψεχε ¹араϑ
 20 πετεϑᾠ¹теϑ ᾠмеϑ ¹ммеεγε ϑнезсе азнῆ ¹ᾠ-
 σοφиа nim αγω ϑᾠ¹тπε ᾠноϑс· nim αγω ϑᾠ¹тπε
 25 ᾠεαϑ nim αγω ϑᾠ¹тπε ᾠсаеиe nim αγω мᾠт¹ζλβε
 nim· αγω мᾠтнаб nim ¹αγω βαθос nim αγω χисе
¹nim
 χε παει βε ετε ογατ·¹σογωνῆ πε· ᾠζрнῆ ζᾠ
 30 τεϑφγ¹сic етаре·nimᾠтноб· еᾠтаῖ¹ῤ ψрᾠ χοοϑ
 тнроϑ ероϑ εψ¹χε ϑογωψε· аτ ᾠпсаγне а·
¹троϑсоγωνῆ· авол ᾠпзоϑο ¹нтеϑмᾠтζλβε·
 35 ογωικανос πε· ¹ογᾠ¹теϑ ᾠмеϑ ᾠтеϑбам е¹те
 πεϑογωψε πε теноϑ де ¹εϑамазте ᾠmin
 ммоϑ ζᾠ ¹ογᾠ¹ткарϑс ете ᾠтаϑ ¹πε· пноб
 еϑωοοп нлаеибе ¹ᾠ¹п¹χпо ᾠте ниптнрῆ епоϑ-
 40 ¹ψωπε ψα аηηze
 нς/56 ¹χε ᾠтаϑ ᾠmin ммоϑ ζᾠ ¹ογᾠ¹тχαιс еϑχпо

34 ζωϑ i.e. ζωβ¹ 37 ζω{β} for ζο (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 39 τβιχ i.e. βιχ, cf. τβοm (96.8, 97.37)¹

55.4 ареϑ MS: Read араϑ *ed. pr.*¹ 8-9 φορмн MS: μορφн (?) Attridge¹ 10 араϑ MS: Read араϑ *ed. pr.*¹ 15 τροφн MS: тρῑφн (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 29 етаре MS: етере *ed. pr.*¹ 40 ψωπε ψ apparently written over a decorative mark.¹

whence also comes (the epithet) “the incomprehensible.” | If he is incomprehensible, | then it follows that
 35 he is unknowable, that he is the one who is inconceivable | by any thought, | invisible by any thing, | ineffable by any word, | untouchable by any hand.
 40 He alone | is the one who knows himself as he
 55.1 is, along with his form | and his greatness and his magnitude, | and since he has the ability to | conceive of himself, to see himself, to name 5 himself, to comprehend himself, he | alone is the one who is his own mind, | his own eye, | his own mouth, his own | form, and he is what he thinks, 10 what he sees, | what he speaks, | what he grasps, himself, | the one who is inconceivable, | ineffable, incomprehensible, immutable, 15 while sustaining, joyous, | true, delightful, | and restful is that which he conceives, | that which he sees, that about which he speaks, | that which he has as thought. 20 He transcends | all wisdom, and is | above all intellect, and is | above all glory, and is | above all beauty, and 25 all sweetness, and all greatness, | and any depth and any height. |

If this one, who is | unknowable in his | nature, to whom pertain all the greatnesses which 30 I already mentioned, | if out of the abundance of his sweetness he wishes to grant knowledge | so that he might be known, | he has the ability to do so. | He has his power, 35 which is his will. Now, however, | in silence he himself holds back, | he who is | the great one, who is the cause | of bringing the Totalities into their
 40 eternal being.

56.1 It is in | the proper sense that he begets | himself

- 5 \bar{m} μαϑ· \bar{n} ατψεχε \bar{m} μαϑ· εγ'ουχποϑ \bar{m} MIN \bar{m} μοϑ
 ογαε^{||}ετ \bar{q} <πε> εϑ \bar{r} νοϊ \bar{m} μαϑ αγω εϑ'σαγνε
 \bar{m} μαϑ \bar{n} θε ετ \bar{q} ψο'οπ \bar{m} μας πετ \bar{m} πψα \bar{n} 'τεϑ-
 10 \bar{m} 'μαϑ αβ[α]λ· ετβε †τ \bar{m} ντατ'αρ \bar{h} χ \bar{c} \bar{n} τεϑ \bar{m} ντ-
 ναβ αγω † \bar{m} ντατ \bar{z} ετ \bar{z} ωτ \bar{c} \bar{n} τε τεϑ'σοφια· \bar{m} ν
 15 † \bar{m} ντατωιτ \bar{c} ¹ \bar{n} τε τεϑε \bar{z} οϑ \bar{c} ια \bar{m} ν † \bar{m} ντ \bar{z} λδε·
 \bar{n} τεϑ· \bar{n} ατταπς· ¹ πεει πε ετκω \bar{m} μοϑ ε \bar{z} ρηί
¹ \bar{n} τεει \bar{z} ε· \bar{n} χπο εγ \bar{n} τεϑ ¹ \bar{m} μεϑ \bar{n} νεαγ· \bar{z} ί ταειο
 20 \bar{n} 'μα \bar{z} ειε· \bar{n} ναγαπ \bar{h} ετε \bar{n} 'ταϑ· πετ† εαγ νεϑ
 \bar{m} 'MIN \bar{m} μοϑ· ετ \bar{r} μα \bar{z} ειε· ε'ταειο· ετ \bar{r} αγαπ \bar{h} αν
¹ παει ετε ογ \bar{n} τεϑ \bar{m} μεϑ ¹ \bar{n} νοϑ \bar{w} ηρε εϑκαατ
 25 \bar{n} 'τοοτ \bar{q} εϑκαραιτ'αραϑ ετε ¹ πεει πε· πιατ-
 ψεχε \bar{m} μαϑ ¹ \bar{z} η πιατψεχε \bar{m} μαϑ πιατ'νεϑ
 араϑ· πιαταμα \bar{z} τε \bar{m} 'μαϑ· πιατ \bar{r} νοει \bar{m} μαϑ \bar{z} η
 30 ^{||} πιατ \bar{r} νοϊ \bar{m} μαϑ τεει τε θε ¹ ετ \bar{q} ψοοп \bar{m} μαϑ
 ανη \bar{z} ε τмет· ¹ πιωτ \bar{n} θε εнтανω \bar{r} π \bar{n} \bar{n} χοος ¹ \bar{z} η \bar{n}
 οϑ \bar{m} ντατ \bar{z} πας πετ \bar{q} 'σαγνε \bar{m} μαϑ \bar{m} μαϑ \bar{m} MIN
 35 ^{||} \bar{m} μαϑ εταϑ \bar{z} πο \bar{m} μαϑ εϑ'ψοοп εγ \bar{n} τεϑ \bar{m} μεϑ·
 \bar{n} νοϑ'μееϑε· ετε πεειμεϑε \bar{n} 'τεϑ πε ετε τεει
 [NZ]/57 τε †αις'θ \bar{n} ςις· \bar{n} τεϑ ετε.[.].[.].π[.] ¹ \bar{n} τε πι \bar{z} αε
 ρετ \bar{q} \bar{n} τεϑ πε ¹ ψα ανη \bar{z} ε· ετε πεει πε· ¹ \bar{z} η
 5 οϑ \bar{m} ντ \bar{z} αις \bar{n} δε· <†> \bar{m} ντκα \bar{r} ως· αγω †σο-
 φια· ¹ \bar{m} ν †χα \bar{r} ις εγ \bar{w} αμοϑτ[ε] ¹ αρας οη \bar{z} η
 οϑ \bar{m} ντ \bar{z} οεις \bar{m} 'πιρητε·
¹ χε πιρητ[ε] εтере[πι]ωτ· ψοοп· \bar{z} η \bar{n} ο[γ]μ \bar{n} τ-
 10 \bar{z} ο[εις] ^{||} πεει ετε \bar{m} ν κ[εοϑεει ψοοп] ¹ \bar{z} α
 τεϑε \bar{z} η· αγ[ω πεει ετε] ¹ \bar{m} ν κεατ \bar{z} ποϑ \bar{n} ς[ωϑ
 τεει] ¹ τε θε \bar{z} ωωϑ αν \bar{m} [ψ \bar{w} ηρε εϑ]ψοοп· \bar{z} η \bar{n}
 15 οϑ \bar{m} [\bar{n} τ] \bar{z} α^{||}εις· πεει ετε \bar{m} ν βε \bar{z} α τεϑ'ε \bar{z} η· αγω

56.5 <πε> Mueller¹ 7-8 \bar{n} τεϑ \bar{z} αγμα MS: \bar{n} τεϑ<χι> \bar{z} αγμα (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 15 \bar{n} ατταпς MS: \bar{n} ατ[τ]αпς *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ 21-22 ε<т>ταειο *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 31 \bar{m} μαϑ MS: \bar{m} μας Mueller, Thomassen¹ 32 πιωτ MS: < \bar{n} >πιωτ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Wilson)¹ 34 { \bar{m} μαϑ} \bar{m} MIN \bar{m} μαϑ Thomassen¹ 37 πεειμεϑε MS: πιμεϑε (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

57.1 π[ι]κ[ω α \bar{z}]ρη[ι] *ed. pr.*: π[ε]ε[ι] ςιτ[ε] or π[ι]α[τ]χπ[αϑ] Emmell² πι \bar{z} αε i.e. πια \bar{z} ε¹ 4 \bar{n} δε i.e. δε¹ 4-5 <†> \bar{m} ντκα \bar{r} ως *ed. pr.*¹ 13 \bar{m} [ψ \bar{w} ηρε εϑ] *ed. pr.*¹

as ineffable, | since he alone is self-begotten, ⁵ since he conceives of himself, and since he | knows himself as he is. | What is worthy of | his admiration and glory and honor | and praise, he produces ¹⁰ because of the boundlessness | of his greatness, and the | unsearchability of his | wisdom, and the immeasurability | of his power and his ¹⁵ untasteable sweetness. | He is the one who projects himself | thus, as generation, having | glory and honor | marvelous and lovely; the one who ²⁰ glorifies himself, | who marvels, <who> | honors, who also loves; | the one who has | a Son, who subsists ²⁵ in him, who is silent concerning him, who is | the ineffable one | in the ineffable one, the | invisible one, the incomprehensible one, | the inconceivable one in ³⁰ the inconceivable one. Thus, | he exists in him forever. | The Father, in the way we mentioned earlier, | in an unbegotten way, is the one in whom | he knows himself, ³⁵ who begot him having | a thought, | which is the thought | of him, that is, the ^{57.1} perception of him, which is the [...] | of his constitution | forever. That is, | however, in the proper sense, ⁵ [the] silence and the wisdom | and the grace, if it is designated | properly | in this way.

3. *The Son and the Church*

Just as [the] | Father exists in the proper sense, ¹⁰ the one before whom [there was no one] | else and [the one] | apart from [whom] there is no other unbegotten one, so | too the [Son] | exists in the proper sense, ¹⁵ the one before whom there was no other, |

·MÑ БЕ MÑNCΩQ · NΩHPPE · ΩOOP {2A TEΦEZH·
 'ETBE ΠEEI OYΩPΠ M̄MICE ΠE 'AΓΩ OYΩHPPE·
 20 NOYΩT ΠE· "ΠΩPΠ M̄MICE MEN 'XE' M̄N ΛAYE
 'ΩOOP 2A TEΦEZH· ΠΩHPPE N̄'OYΩT NΔE· XE M̄N
 ΛAYE M̄N̄NCΩQ AΓΩ OYŃTEQ M̄'MEY M̄ΠIKAPPOC
 25 N̄TEQ· ΠE^{||}EI ETEMAΓCOYΩNŃ ETBE 'ΠZOYŃ N̄-
 TEQ M̄NTNOB· AΓΩ 'NEFOYΩΨE ATPOYCOYΩNŃ ΠE
 'ETBE TMŃTPńMAO N̄TEQ M̄NT2ΛBE· AΓΩ TBA M
 30 N̄AT·TOY^{||}2AMMEC AQOYANZC ABAL· AΓΩ 'ΠZOYŃ·
 ETNAΨΩQ <N̄>TE TEQ M̄NT'AFΘONO C AQMAXTĒ
 N̄MMEQ '

XE OY MONON ΠΩHPPE ΩOOP· 'XIN N̄ΩOPΠ
 35 ALLA TKEEKKΛHCIA "2ΩΩC AN CΩOOP XIN
 N̄ΩAPΠ· 'ΠETMEEYE BE NEQ XE 'ΠTPOYŃN
 'ΠΩHPPE· EQO N̄ΩHP· N̄OYΩT· 'EQ† AZOYŃ N̄NAZ-
 Pń ΠΨEXE· 'ETBE ΠMYCTHPION N̄ΔE M̄Π2ΩQ
 NH/58 "M̄ΠHPHTE EN ΠE· M̄ΠHPTE ΓAP "M̄ΠIΩT ETE
 OYEEI N̄'OYΩT ΠE· AΓΩ AQOYANZQ 'ABAL EQOEI
 5 N̄IΩT· N̄NEQ 'OYAEETŃ TEEI TE ΘE 2Ω^{||}ΩQ AN
 M̄ΠΩHPPE· AYBINE M̄'MAQ EQO N̄CAN NEQ M̄MIN
 'M̄MOQ 2ń OY M̄NTATXΠAC 'M̄N OY[MN]TATAPXH
 10 N̄TAQ N̄'ΔE [E]Qń [MA]2EIE M̄MAQ M̄MIN "M̄[MOQ MN
 Π]EIOYT· AΓΩ EQ† E'[AY NEQ] AΓΩ EQTAIO EQń
 '[AΓAPH] AΓΩ N̄TAQ 2ΩΩQ 'A[N] ΠEQTńń NOEI
 15 {M̄MIN} 'M̄MOQ N̄ΩHPPE KATA NIΔI^{||}AΘECIC XE 2ń
 OY M̄NTAT'{AT}APXH M̄N OY M̄NT<AT>2AN E'ΠI2ΩQ
 ΩOOP M̄ΠHPHTE EY'ΠETCMANT· ΠE· EZEN'ATAΠOY
 20 NE· EZENATA^{||}PHXOY NE 2NATΠAPXOY 'ABAL NE
 NEQXΠO NEEI ET'ΩOOP· N̄TAΨΩΠE ABAL 'M̄-
 MAQ· ΠΩHPPE M̄N ΠIΩT· 'M̄ΠHPHTE N̄2ńΠI ETBE
 25 ΠZOYŃ "N̄2E N2O EINE· EY† ΠI EPń 'NEYEPHY·

17 N̄ΩHPPE MS: <M̄>N ΩHPPE *ed. pr.* (Fr.): N̄ΩHPPE <EQ>ΩOOP *ed. pr.*
 (Ger.)¹ {2A TEΦEZH} *ed. pr.*¹ 22 NΔE i.e. ΔE¹29-30 N̄ATTOY2AMMEC MS:
 Read N̄ATOYAZMEC *ed. pr.*¹ 31 <N̄>TE *ed. pr.*¹ 39 N̄ΔE i.e. ΔE¹2ΩQ i.e.
 2ΩB¹

58.7-8 N̄ΔE i.e. ΔE¹ 10 M̄[MOQ MN Π]EIOYT Attridge: M̄[MOQ NŃI Π]EIOYT *ed.*
pr.: M̄[MOQ N]EIOYT Thomassen¹ 13 {M̄MIN} Emmel¹ 16 {AT}APXH...<AT>2AN
*ed. pr.*¹ 17 ΠI2ΩQ i.e. ΠI2ΩB¹ 20 <E>2NATΠAPXOY Thomassen¹ 23 <M>Π-
 ΩHPPE Thomassen¹

and after whom | no other son exists. | Therefore, he is a firstborn | and an only Son, ²⁰ “firstborn” because no one | exists before him and “only Son” | because no one is after | him. Furthermore, he has | his fruit, ²⁵ that which is unknowable because | of its surpassing greatness. Yet | he wanted it to be known, | because of the riches of his | sweetness. ³⁰ And he revealed the unexplainable power and | he combined with it | the great abundance of his generosity. |

Not only did the Son exist | from the beginning, but the Church, ³⁵ too, existed from the beginning. | Now, he who thinks that the discovery | that the Son is an only son | opposes the statement (about the Church) — | because of the mysterious quality of the matter ⁴⁰ it is not so. For just as ^{58.1} the Father is a unity | and has revealed himself | as Father for him | alone, so too ⁵ the Son was found | to be a brother to himself alone, | in virtue of the fact that he is unbegotten | and without beginning. He | wonders at himself ¹⁰ [along with the] Father, and he gives | [him(self)] glory and honor and | [love.] Furthermore, he too | is the one whom he conceives of | as Son, in accordance with the ¹⁵ dispositions: “without | beginning” and “without end.” | Thus is the matter | something which is fixed. | Being innumerable and ²⁰ illimitable, his offspring | are indivisible. Those | which exist have come | forth from the Son and the Father | like kisses, because of the multitude ²⁵ of some who kiss one | another with a

29 $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ οὐμееεε· ¹ενανουφ· $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ εϋογει
¹νοϋωτ· τε †πi· εϋωοοπ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ ¹ζ̄η̄ ζαζ̄
 30 <̄m>πειει ετε τεει τε· †εκκλhσια $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon$
 τε†ωοοπ ζαθ̄η $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ τεει· ¹ετοϋμοϋτε
 35 αραc $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ οϋμ̄ητ·¹χαειc χε $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$
¹ετε ταει τε τφ̄γcic $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ (εϋμ)α· ετογα-
 ав· $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ τε†ει ετερεπωηρε ματ̄η̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$
¹αχωc ζωc τεφoυcια τε $\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ ¹̄mπiωτ· ετεφ-
 [nθ]/59 ματ̄η̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ ¹αχ̄η̄ πωηρε
 χ[ε - - -] ¹†εκκλhσια cω[ο]οη [n]ζ̄η̄η̄ ζη
¹η̄¹διαθεcic $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\eta$ · $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ ¹ετε· πiωτ· $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$
 5 πωηρε· ωοοπ· ¹̄η̄ζ̄η̄τοϋ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron$ χīη̄
¹ωαρ̄η̄ ετβε πεει cκ̄η̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\zeta[\gamma]$ ¹̄η̄η̄ιχπο $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}[\rho\omicron]\gamma$ ¹αγω $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ οϋμ̄ητ[α]ταπ̄c· $\bar{\eta}[\tau\alpha\gamma]$
 10 ¹ζωοϋ cεχπο ζη $\bar{\eta}[\bar{\iota}]\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\eta$ $\bar{\mu}[\bar{\eta}]$ ¹̄η̄διαθεcic
 ε[τcωοοπ] ζρ[ηi] ¹η̄ζ̄η̄τοϋ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\zeta[\bar{\iota}]$ γαρ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ πεcπο-
¹λιτεϋμα πετο[γ̄ειρε $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$] ¹ωα $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\gamma\epsilon\eta\gamma$ ·
 15 αγ[ω $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$] ¹εηταγ̄ει† εβ·ολ̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}[\alpha\gamma$ α]η̄ ¹ωα
 πωηρε πεει ετοϋωοοπ ¹̄η̄εαγ ετβηητ̄η̄ ετβε
 πεει ¹̄m̄ βομ· ατρενοϋc $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\zeta$ · $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\pi\chi\omega\kappa$
 20 авал· $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ · ¹ετ̄m̄μεϋ πε οϋδε $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\psi\epsilon$ ¹χε
 χοοϋ· $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ ¹γαρ· αραγ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ ¹αγω $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$
 $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ αραγ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\zeta$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ · $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\epsilon$
¹ογαεετοϋ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ οϋ̄η̄ βαμ̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\zeta$ · $\bar{\eta}\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\eta}$
 25 αραοϋ ᾱρ̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{o}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ ¹̄m̄ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\zeta$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{c}\epsilon\chi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$ · γαρ εν̄ ¹̄η̄η̄η̄μα·
¹χε $\bar{\eta}\alpha$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ ε†τ̄m̄μεϋ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ · ¹ζ̄η̄η̄η̄-
 30 αποϋ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ ζατ̄η̄ ¹†cϋcταcic ετε τεει τε· ¹χε
 $\bar{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ πiρητε πε αγω τεει†βατ πε πiρεψε πε
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}$ · ¹πε $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ πiατ̄χπαζ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$ ·¹χι $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ αραζ

26 μεεεε MS: μαειε Mueller¹ 28 εϋωοοπ MS: Read εcωοοπ *ed. pr.*¹ 29
 πειει ετε MS: <̄m>πειει ετε *ed. pr.* (Fr.): <̄n̄bi> πε(ι)ει (ετε) *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.): <πεει πε πρητε̄ m̄>πει<οϋε>ει ετε (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

59.1 χ[ε πεφωηρε πε χε] *ed. pr.*¹ 6 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\zeta[\gamma]$ Emmel¹ 7 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\rho}\bar{o}$ MS: <ζ>̄η̄
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\rho}\bar{o}$ *ed. pr.*¹ 11 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\zeta[\bar{\iota}]$ γαρ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ πεcπο] *ed. pr.*: $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\zeta[\bar{\iota}]$ τηροϋ οϋπο] (?)
 Emmel¹ 14 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}[\alpha\gamma$ α]η̄ Emmel¹ 17-18 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\zeta$ MS: $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\zeta$ (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 18 $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ a
 scribal addition.¹ 19-20 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ χοοϋ MS: $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\psi\epsilon$ βε εχοοϋ or
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ ψ χοοϋ or $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\psi\epsilon$ <ατρεψε>χε χοοϋ *ed. pr.*¹ 22 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\epsilon$ i.e.
 δε¹ 28 vacat $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\rho\omicron\gamma$ ¹ 29-30 τε followed by a line filler (<).¹ 30 <̄m>πρητε
ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ τεει MS: † *ed. pr.*¹

| good, insatiable thought, | the kiss being a unity, although it involves | many kisses. This is to say, it is the ³⁰ Church consisting of many men that | existed before the aeons, | which is called, in the proper | sense, “the aeons of the aeons.” | This is the nature of the ³⁵ holy imperishable spirits, | upon which the Son rests, | since it is his essence, just as | the Father rests ^{59.1} upon the Son.

4. *Aeonic Emanations*

[...] | the Church exists in the | dispositions and properties | in which the Father and the Son exist, ⁵ as I have said from the start. | Therefore, it subsists | in the procreations of innumerable aeons. | Also in an uncountable way [they] | too beget, by [the] properties [and] ¹⁰ the dispositions in which it (the Church) [exists.] | [For] these [comprise its] | association which [they form] | toward one another and [toward those] | who have come forth from [them] ¹⁵ toward the Son, for whose glory they exist. | Therefore, | it is not possible for mind to conceive of | him — He was the perfection of that place — | nor can speech ²⁰ express them, for they are ineffable | and unnamable | and inconceivable. They | alone have the ability | to name themselves and to conceive ²⁵ of themselves. For they have not been rooted | in these places.

Those of that place | are ineffable, | (and) innumerable in | the system which is ³⁰ both the manner and the | size, the joy, the gladness | of the unbegotten, |

35 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\uparrow$ $\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta$ 1 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$
 " $\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\alpha\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ 1 $\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ $\rho\epsilon$
 35 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\uparrow\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\uparrow\bar{\tau}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ \cdot $\zeta\omega\varsigma\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\omega\gamma\omicron$ 1 $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 3/60 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\beta}\bar{\nu}\chi\pi\omicron$ " $[.].[.]$ $\bar{\nu}$ $[...]$ $\bar{\tau}\alpha\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$
 $\chi\epsilon$ 1 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\lambda\bar{\nu}\iota\zeta\epsilon$ $\tau\bar{\mu}\epsilon\tau$ \cdot $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ 1 $\pi\bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon$
 5 $\chi\epsilon$ \cdot $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ \cdot $\epsilon\zeta\omicron$ 1 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon$ \cdot $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ \cdot " $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ \cdot $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$
 $\langle\omicron\gamma\rangle\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron$ $\delta\epsilon$ 1 $[N]\bar{\beta}\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\chi\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$
 $\alpha\zeta\omicron\psi\omega\psi\epsilon$ 1 $\bar{\nu}\chi\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ α $[\pi]$ $\bar{\tau}\eta\rho\bar{\eta}$
 $[\alpha\epsilon]$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ 1 $[\alpha]$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha[\lambda]$ $\bar{\mu}$ $[\pi\epsilon\tau]$ $\alpha\zeta\psi\omega\omega\tau$ \cdot $\zeta\bar{\nu}$
 10 π $[... \alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}]$ ϵ $\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda$ \cdot $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau$ \cdot $[... \zeta]$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\epsilon\zeta$
 $\psi\omicron$ $[\omicron\pi \bar{\nu}\bar{o}\epsilon]$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ \cdot $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\varsigma$ 1 $[\epsilon\zeta\psi\omicron\omicron]$ π $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$
 15 $\pi\eta\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{\mu}\alpha\varsigma$ 1 $\bar{\beta}\omega\psi\chi\bar{\beta}$ $\langle\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\rangle$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\alpha\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}$ $\zeta\omicron\gamma\epsilon$
 $\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\varsigma$ 1 $\psi\alpha$ $\pi\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$
 1 $\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha$ \cdot $\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ \cdot $\epsilon\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}$
 20 $\pi\bar{\nu}\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 1 $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\zeta\eta\pi$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\chi\iota$
 $\pi\bar{\nu}\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ 1 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\beta}\alpha\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\omicron\gamma\omega(N)$
 1 $\pi\bar{\nu}\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\psi\omicron$ $[\omicron\pi \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}]$ $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ 1 $\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{\mu}$
 25 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ " $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\iota\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$
 1 $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ \cdot $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ 1 $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}$
 1 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ \cdot $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ \cdot 1 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ \cdot $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$
 30 " $\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma$ \cdot 1 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\pi\rho\omicron\gamma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\eta$
 $\tau\epsilon$ 1 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\varsigma\pi\epsilon\rho\bar{\mu}\alpha$ \cdot $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\bar{\beta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ 1 $\epsilon\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\eta$
 $\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\theta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\pi\bar{\lambda}\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\mu}\epsilon(N)$ " $\alpha\zeta\chi\pi\alpha\omicron\gamma$
 35 $\alpha\zeta\kappa\eta$ $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\bar{\iota}$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\pi\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\alpha$ $\epsilon\bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 3/61 $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\zeta\eta\alpha$ $\chi\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ " $\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $[.]$
 $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{\rho}$ 1 $\psi\alpha\rho\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma[\epsilon]$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\omicron\gamma$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ 1 $\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{o}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$ 1 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$
 5 $\zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$ " $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ \cdot $\zeta\bar{\mu}$ π $[\epsilon\zeta]$ $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ \cdot $\zeta\omega\varsigma$

35 $\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta$ MS: Read $\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta$ *ed. pr.*¹ 37 $\zeta\omega\varsigma\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ ¹ 38 $\bar{\beta}\bar{\nu}\chi\pi\omicron$ followed by line fillers (\gg).¹

60.1 $[N]\epsilon[\gamma]\bar{\nu}[\alpha \tau\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}]\bar{\tau}\alpha\varsigma$ *ed. pr.* (Eng.): $\uparrow[\omicron]\gamma \bar{\nu}[\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}]\bar{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹
 5 $\langle\omicron\gamma\rangle\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ *ed. pr.*¹ 6 $[N]\langle N\rangle\bar{\beta}\iota\bar{\nu}\chi\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ *ed. pr.*¹ 7 $\bar{\nu}\chi\iota$ i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota$ ¹ 9
 $[\alpha]\bar{\nu}\alpha[\lambda] \bar{\mu}[\pi\epsilon\tau]\alpha\zeta\psi\omega\omega\tau$ Emmel¹ 10 $\pi[... \alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}]\epsilon$ Attridge: $\pi[\bar{\tau}\eta\rho\alpha \delta\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}]\epsilon$
ed. pr.: $\pi[\psi\tau\alpha$ (or $\pi[\bar{\beta}\omega\psi\epsilon] \delta\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}]\epsilon$ Thomassen¹ 11 $[\psi\omicron\omicron\pi \bar{\nu}\zeta]\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ *ed. pr.*¹ 11-
 12 $\epsilon\zeta\psi\omicron[\omicron\pi \bar{\nu}\bar{o}\epsilon] \epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ Schenke: $\epsilon\zeta\psi\omicron[\omicron\pi \zeta\bar{\nu} \pi]\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ *ed. pr.*¹ 13
 $[\epsilon\zeta\psi\omicron\omicron]\pi$ or $[\alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\zeta]\omicron$ Emmel: $[\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon\gamma]\omicron$ *ed. pr.*¹ 14 $\langle\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\rangle\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ Attridge¹ 20
 $\bar{\nu}\chi\iota$ i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota$ or $\chi\epsilon$ ¹ 26 $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\delta\epsilon$ ¹ 26 $\bar{\beta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\kappa\epsilon$ ¹ 35 $\alpha\zeta\chi\pi\alpha\omicron\gamma$, \omicron added
 secondarily.¹ $\alpha\zeta\kappa\eta$ MS: Read $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta$ *ed. pr.*¹

61.1 $[...]\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ Attridge: $[\alpha]\bar{\nu} \epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ *ed. pr.*: $[\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota] \bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ Emmel¹ 2
 $\langle\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\iota\rangle$ $\pi\iota\omega\tau$ *ed. pr.*¹

nameless, unnamable, | inconceivable, invisible, ³⁵ incomprehensible one. | It is the fullness of paternity, | so that his abundance | is a begetting ^{60.1} [...] of the aeons.

They | were forever in | thought, for the Father | was like a thought ⁵ and a place for them. When their | generations had been established, the one who is completely in control | wished to lay hold of and to bring forth that which was deficient in the ¹⁰ [..., and he brought] forth those | [...] him. But since he is | [as] he is, | [he is] a spring, which is not | diminished by the water which ¹⁵ abundantly flows from it. | While they were | in the Father's thought, that | is, in the hidden depth, | the depth knew them, ²⁰ but they | were unable to know | the depth in which they were; | nor was it | possible for them to know ²⁵ themselves, nor | for them to know any thing else. That | is, they were | with the Father; they did not exist for | themselves. Rather, ³⁰ they only had | existence in the manner | of a seed, so that it has been discovered | that they existed like a | fetus. Like the word ³⁵ he begot them, subsisting | spermatically, and | the ones whom he was to beget had not yet come into being ^{61.1} from him. The one who | first thought of them, the Father, | — not only so that they might exist for him, | but also that they might exist for themselves as well, ⁵ that they might then exist in [his] thought | as mental sub-

ουσια ἡμευ[ε] ἰατρούωπε δε νεϋ ζωου·
 α[ϕ]cite ἡνουμееυ[ε] ζωϑ ουσπε[ρ]ἰμα· πε·
 10 ἡμῆτϑ[ε]ρμα] ατ[ροϋ]ῖῖ noei ἡμεν χε ο[ϕ]
 πετ]ω[ο]ἰοπ· νεϋ· αϕῖ ρματ [αἱ ἡἱωα]ῖῖ ἡφορ-
 μη ατροϋμ[με δε χε] ἰnim πε πιωτ ετσο[οπ
 15 νεϋ] ἰπρεν μεν ἡπιωτ· αϑτεειϕ ἡνεϋ ρατῆ
 ουσμη εσἱ ρραου ἰνεϋ χε πετσοοп· ϕσοοп
 авал· ἰρῖῖ πρεν ετῖῖμεϋ· πετεϋῖῖἰτεϋ<ϑ> ἡп-
 τροϋωπε· χε πχιε ἰδε ρῖῖ πρεн εнтаϑавеш
 20 ἡαραϋου
 εϕσοοп δε ἡпесἰματ· ἡноυβεке· εϋντεϑ ἡ-
 ἰμεϋ ἡпесϕωше ἡби πλιουϋ ἰεμπατ·ϕἰνεϋ δε
 аηηε· απенἰταρcite ἡμοϑ· ε[т]βε пееи· νεϋ-
 25 ἡἡτεϋ ἡπιρзв оϑаеетῖ ἰατροϋϖине· ἡсωϑ εϋῖ
 νοἰ με(н) ἰχε ϕσοοп εϋοϋωше δε аβнтῖ· ἰχε
 ω πεтσοοп аλλα еπидη оϋἰагаθос πε πιωт·
 30 εϕχηк ἡἡε етеἡпесϕсωтῖ ἰαρаου ϖавол
 ατροϋωπε· ἰρῖῖ песϕмеϋе· аλλα аϕἱ νεϋ
 ἰατροϋωπε ρωου тееи те θе ἰан· етῖῖἡῖ
 35 ρματ ἡμαϑ ἡνεϋ ατροϋῖῖме χе еϋ πεтσοἰоп
 ете паети петсаϋне· ἡмаϑ ἰаηηε· тмет· ἡмин
 [зв]/62 ἡμοϑ ἡ[.....]..[.].[...].[.] ἰμορφη ηс[αϋ]не
 χε оἱ πεтω[ο]ἰоп ἡἡе етῖοϋχпо ἡмаϋ ἡпἰἰма·
 5 εϋϖаместоϋ εϋσοοп ρῖῖ ἡпоϋοein енеϋ
 аηентаρχпооϋ ἰ
 [χ]е птнрῖ апиωт· еине ἡмаϋ ἰ[α]вал ἡпρηте
 ἡноϋлиουϋ ϖηм· ἡпρηте ἡноϋтḗἱле ἡте оϋ-
 10 ἰαалме ἡпρηте ηноϋкоϋῖῖ ἡἡте о[ϕεла]ле·
 ἡпρηте· ἡноϋἰ[ρ]ε[ре мпρ]ἡте ἡноϋтκῖ ἡ-
 ἰ[.....]ωп· еϋῖ χриа ἡноϋχι саἰ[неϋ] ἡἡ оϋ-

9 ἡἡτϑ[ε]ρμα] Emmel: ἡἡτϑ[ι]τε πε] or ἡἡτϑ[α]τп πε] Zandee¹ 10-11 ο[ϕ]
 πεт]ω[ο]ἰоп Emmel¹ 12 φορμη MS: μορφη or αφορμη (?) Attridge¹
 ατροϋμ[με δε χε] Emmel: ατροϋμ[εϋе χε] ed. pr.¹ 17-18
 πετεϋῖῖἰτεϋ<ϑ> Emmel¹ 18 ἡпτροϋωπε MS: <ρ>ἡ пτροϋωπε ed. pr.
 (Fr., Wilson)¹ 19 εнтаϑавеш<ϑ> Emmel: εнтаϑавеш ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 20
 αρаϋου MS: аρаϋ ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 28 ω i.e. εϋ¹

62.1 [αϋω пееи α]ἡп[ε]ἡ[таϑἱ] ed. pr.: [αϑἱ ρματ αϑἱ ἡпμερснеϋ ἡ]
 Thomassen¹ 5 ηентаρ MS: пентаρ ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 11 тκῖ MS: Read тωβε
 Kasser¹ 11-12 ἡ[μεϋ сешо]ἰоп ed. pr.¹ 12-13 са[неϋ] Emmel: са[οϋне] ed.
 pr.: са[еие] Thomassen¹

stance | and that they might exist for themselves too,
 — | sowed a thought like a [spermatoc] seed. | Now, in
 order that [they] ¹⁰ might know [what exists] | for
 them, he graciously [granted the] | initial form, while
 in order that they might [recognize] | who is the Fa-
 ther who exists [for them]. | he gave them the name
 “Father” ¹⁵ by means of a voice proclaiming to them |
 that what exists exists through | that name, which
 they have | by virtue of the fact that they came into
 being, because the exaltation, | which has escaped
 their notice, is in the name.

²⁰ The infant, while in the | form of a fetus | has
 enough for itself, | before ever seeing the one who |
 sowed it. Therefore, they had ²⁵ the sole task | of
 searching for him, realizing | that he exists, ever
 wishing to find out | what exists. Since, however, | the
 perfect Father is good, ³⁰ just as he did not hear | them
 at all so that they would exist (only) | in his thought,
 but rather granted that | they, too, might come into
 being, so | also will he give them grace ³⁵ to know
 what exists, | that is, the one who knows | himself eter-
 nally, ^{62.1} [...] | form to [know] what | exists, just as
 people are begotten in this | place: when they are
 born, they are in ⁵ the light, so that they see those
 who have begotten them. |

The Father brought forth everything, | like a little
 child, | like a drop from a | spring, like a blossom
¹⁰ from a [vine], like a | [flower], like a <planting> |
 [...] in need of gaining | [nourishment] and growth

παυρε· μῆ οὐμῆτ'α[τψ]τα αφεμαρτε ἄμοσ
 15 " ἀγογαιψ· πετεαφμεγε ' αρασ χῆν ἄψαρπ·
 ἄταφ ἄμμεν ' οὐντεφ̄ μμεγ χῆν ἄψαρπ ' αφνεγ
 αρασ· αφρωτῆ δε ἄμοσ ' ἀναει· ἐνταρ̄ ψορῆ
 20 ἄει ἀβαλ " μμαφ ρῆν οὐφθονος ἐν ἀλλ'α χε-
 κασε· ἄσετῆχι· χῆν ' ἄψαρπ ἄτοῦμῆτατψτα
 <ἄ>χι ἄ'αἰων ἄσετῆφίτοῦ ἀρῆῆ ἀπ'εαγ ψα
 25 πῖωτ· ἄσεμεγε νεγ " οὐγεετοῦ χε ἀβαλ ἄ-
 μοογ ' οὐῆτεγ ἄπαει ἄμμεγ {α} ἀλλ'α ' ἄπρητε
 ἄδε· ἐνταφ̄ ρνεφ ' ἀτ' νεγ· ἀτρογψωπε· πεει
 30 ' πε πρητε ἀν ἀτρογψωπε νατ'ψτα· ἄταρεφ̄
 ρνεφ ἀφτ' νεγ ' ἄπῖμεεγε ἐτχηκ ἀβαλ· ἄτε
 τῆμῆτπετ̄ πετῆανοῦγ ' ἀραγού
 χε παει βε ἐνταφχαει'αφ· ἄνογαινε ἀνε-
 35 ταγεί ε'βολ ἄμοφ ἄμῖν ἄμοφ πε'τοῦμοῦτε
 ἀραοῦ ἄμοφ ἄ'ταφ πε πψηρε ἐτμηρ ἐτχηκ
 ' ἄνατψτα ἀφῆτ̄· ἀβαλ· ἐφ'τητ μεν μῆ πενταει
 [αγ]/63 ἀβαλ " [μ]μαφ ε[φρ] ψ[- - -] ' εφ̄ ψβ[η]ρ ἄχι
 .[....]μ.[...] ' πτηρ̄· κατα [...].[.] ἐρεπογε[ι]
 5 ' πογεί ναψα[πφ] ἀραφ ἄμαφ " ἐτφμῆτῆαβ ἐν
 τε τεει· ' ἐμπαταγψαπ̄ ἄμοφ ἀλλ[α] ' φσοοπ·
 ἄταφ ἄταειε· ἐτε[φ]ψοοπ ἄμαφ ἄπ̄ρητε μῆ
 10 [πε]φσματ· μῆ τεφμῆτῆοφ " εῦἄ βαμ ἄμαφ
 [ατ]ρ̄οῦνεγ [α]ραφ· ἄσεχοος ἀ[π]ετ[ο]γσα[γ]-
 νε] ' ἄμαφ· ἄτεφ εῦρ̄ φορι [μ]μαφ εφ̄ φορι
 15 ἄμαγ [χε] ' οῦἄ βομ ἄμαγ ἄτερ[αφ φ]ψοοπ
 ἄταφ ἄθε ἐτ̄ψ[ο]φ̄ ' ἄμας ἄδε πιατψ ἐρ mine
 ' ἄμαφ χεκασε ἐφῆαχι ' εαγ ἀβαλ ρῆ πογεί
 20 πογεί ' φογανρ̄ εβολ· ἄμῖν ἄμαφ " ἄβῖ πῖωτ·

18 ἀφρωτῆ MS: ἀφρωπ̄ (i.e. ἀφρωπ) *ed. pr.* (Fr.): ἄπεφρωτῆ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 19 ἐνταρ̄, ρ rewritten.¹ 22 <ἄ>χι (i.e. ἄβῖ) Attridge¹ 26 {α} *ed. pr.*¹ 27 ἄδε i.e. δε¹ 39 ἐντα<ρ>ει *ed. pr.*¹

63.1 [μ]μαφ [εφρ] ψ[βηρ ητ' εαγ νεφ] *ed. pr.*¹ 2 ψβ[η]ρ ἄχι ε[αγ ἀβαλ ρ]ῆτ[μ] *ed. pr.*¹ 3 κατα [ογε]α[γ] (?) Emmel: κατα [πῖρ]ῆ[τε <ετ>] *ed. pr.*: κατα [ογβ]φ[μ] (?) Attridge: κατα [θε]ε[τ] Thomassen¹ 5 τεει· or τεει τ[ε] or τεει [ετ] Attridge¹ 6 ἐμπαταγ MS: ἐμπατοῦ *ed. pr.*¹ 7 ἄταειε MS: ἄθε *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 8 ἄμαφ MS: Read ἄμαγ Emmel: ἄμας Thomassen¹ 10 ἄμαφ MS: Read ἄμαγ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 13 [δε] *ed. pr.*: [αγω] Thomassen¹ 16 ἄδε i.e. ἄβῖ or χε¹

and | faultlessness. He withheld it ¹⁵ for a time. He who had thought | of it from the very beginning, | possessed it from the very beginning, | and saw it, but he closed it off | to those who first came from ²⁰ him. (He did this,) not out of envy, but | in order that the aeons might not receive their faultlessness | from the very beginning | and might not exalt themselves to the | glory, to the Father, and might think ²⁵ that from themselves alone | they have this. But | just as he wished | to grant that they might come into being, so | too, in order that they might come into being as ³⁰ faultless ones, when he wished, he gave them | the perfect idea of | beneficence | toward them.

The one whom he raised up | as a light for those who came ³⁵ from himself, the one | from whom they take their name, | he is the Son, who is full, complete | and faultless. He brought him forth | mingled with what came forth from ^{63.1} him [. . .] | partaking of the [. . .] | the Totality, in accordance with [. . .] by which each | one can receive [him] for himself, ⁵ though such was not his greatness | before he was received by it. Rather, | he exists by himself. As | for the parts in which he exists in his own manner and | form and greatness, ¹⁰ it is possible for <them> to see him | and speak about that which they know | of him, since they wear | him while he wears them, [because] | it is possible for them to comprehend him. ¹⁵ He, however, is as he is, | incomparable. | In order that the Father might receive | honor from each one | and reveal him-

αγω ρ̄ν τεϋμ̄ν̄τατ·¹ϣεχε αραϋ εϋζηπ̄ ν̄ατνεϋ
¹αραϋ· εϋρ̄ θαγμᾱ μ̄μαϋ ¹ρ̄ν̄ οϋ·νοϋς ετβε
 25 π̄εει τμ̄ν̄τ·¹ναβ̄ μ̄πεϋϣιςε ρ̄μ̄ π̄τροϋ¹ϣεχε αραϋ
 nceneϋ αραϋ ¹ϣωπε εϋοϋαν̄̄ αβαλ ¹εϋνα-
 ρως αραϋ ετβε π̄ροϋο ¹ν̄τεϋμ̄ν̄τ̄ρ̄λβε ρ̄ν̄ †χα-
 30 ρις ¹ν̄δε < - - - > αγω μ̄πρητε {αγω μ̄πρη-
 τε·} ν̄νιμ̄ν̄τρ̄μ̄μα¹ειζε· ν̄τε νιμ̄ν̄τκαρως ¹ρ̄ν̄μι-
 σε{σε} νε ϣα ενηζε ¹ν̄ταϋ ν̄δε ρ̄ν̄χπο ν̄νοϋς
 35 νε· ¹τεει τε θε ρωϋ αν̄ ν̄νιδια¹θεσις ν̄τε
 π̄λογος ρ̄ν̄προβο¹λη νε μ̄πν(εϋμ)ατικη ν̄ταϋ βε
 [ξΔ]/64 μ̄¹π̄εσνεϋ ρως εναϋλογος πε ¹{ρ̄ε}ν̄ς{περμα}
 νε[·] αγω ρ̄ε¹μεϋε ν[τε·]νεϋμ̄ιςε νε· ¹αγω
 ρ̄ενηοϋνε εϋαν̄̄ ¹ανηζε τμετ· εϋοϋαν̄̄ χε
 5 ¹ρ̄ενηχπο νε ν̄ταρ̄ῑ αβαλ μ̄¹μαϋ· ερ̄ν̄νοϋς νε·
 αγω ρ̄ν̄¹π̄ν(εϋμ)ατικον νε· ν̄χπο ερ̄οϋν̄ εϋεαϋ·
 μ̄[π]ιωτ·
 χε μ̄ν̄ χρια ¹ν̄σμη ρ̄[ι π]ν(εϋμ)α ν̄νοϋς αγω
 10 ν̄¹λορ[ο]ς· χ[ε] οϋδε μ̄ν̄ χρεια ν̄ρ̄ ¹{ρ̄ω}β
 [α]ρ̄οϋν̄ απετοϋρ̄ ρ̄νεϋ ν̄¹{εεϋ}· αλλα ρ̄μ̄ π̄σματ·
 ετε[νεϋ]ϣοοπ̄ μ̄μαϋ· τεει τε θε ¹{ν̄νε}ταρ̄ε¹
 15 αβαλ· μ̄μαϋ εϋ¹χ̄πο μ̄πετοϋαϣω̄ τ̄ηρ̄ω̄ αγω
¹πετοϋρ̄ νοει μ̄μαϋ· μ̄ν̄ πε¹τοϋχοϋ μ̄μαϋ μ̄ν̄
 πετοϋ¹κιμ̄ αραϋοϋ ερ̄οϋν̄ εροϋ μ̄ν̄ ¹πετοϋ-
 20 καατ· αρ̄η¹ μ̄μαϋ αγω ¹πετοϋρ̄ως μ̄μοϋ εϋ†
 εο¹λοϋ μ̄μοϋ οϋν̄τεϋ μ̄μεϋ ¹ν̄ωηρε τεει γαρ τε
 τοϋβομ̄ ¹ν̄ρωμεϋχπο ν̄θε ρωωϋ αν̄ ¹ν̄νεει
 25 ενταϋει εβολ̄ μ̄μοϋ ¹κατα τοϋμ̄ν̄τ† τοοτ̄ω̄ μ̄ν̄
 νεϋ¹ερ̄ηϋ εϋ† ν̄τοοτ̄ω̄ ν̄νεϋ¹ερ̄ηϋ μ̄π̄σματ· ν̄νι-
 ατχποοϋ ¹
 χε πιωτ̄ μεν̄ κατα πετ̄ω̄¹χασι μ̄μαϋ· αν̄ιπ̄τηρ̄ω
 30 εϋο ν̄¹ατσοϋων̄ω̄ αγω ν̄ατϣαπ̄ω̄· ¹εϋν̄τεϋ μ̄μεϋ

23 {π̄εει} (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 27 ρ̄ν<ν οϋ>† χαρις Thomassen¹ 29 ν̄δε < - - - >:
 δε < - - - > or ν̄τε < - - - > or ν̄δε<ϋ> (i.e. ν̄τεϋ) *ed. pr.*¹ 29-30 {αγω
 μ̄πρητε} *ed. pr.*¹ 32 μ̄ιςε{σε} *ed. pr.*¹ 33 ν̄δε i.e. δε¹ 37 πε MS: Read νε
*ed. pr.*¹

64.1 {ρ̄ε}ν̄ς{περμα} *ed. pr.*: {ρ̄ε}ν̄{ρ̄αλμε} (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 2 {ν̄}νεϋμ̄ιςε
 Emmel: {π̄}νεϋμ̄ιςε *ed. pr.*¹ 5-6 μ̄μαϋ MS: μ̄μαϋ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Wilson)¹ 15
 πετοϋ<οϋ>αϣω̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 21 οϋν̄τεϋ MS: οϋν̄τεϋ or μ̄πετεϋν̄τεϋϋ *ed. pr.*
 (Ger.)¹

self,²⁰ even in his ineffability, | hidden, and invisible, | they marvel at him mentally. | Therefore, the | greatness of his loftiness consists in the fact that they²⁵ speak about him and see him. | He becomes manifest, | so that he may be hymned because of the abundance | of his sweetness, with the grace | of <...>. And just as³⁰ the admirations | of the silences | are eternal generations | and they are mental offspring, | so too the dispositions³⁵ of the word are spiritual | emanations. Both of them [admirations and dispositions], | since they belong to a word,^{64.1} are [seeds] and | thoughts [of] his offspring, | and roots which live | forever, appearing⁵ to be offspring which have come forth from | themselves, being minds and | spiritual offspring to | the glory of the Father.

There is no need | for voice and spirit, mind and¹⁰ word, because there is no need to | [work at] that which they desire | [to do], but on the pattern | by which [he was] existing, so | are those who have come forth from him,¹⁵ begetting everything which they desire. And | the one whom they conceive of, and | whom they speak about, and the one | toward whom they move, and | the one in whom they are, and²⁰ the one whom they hymn, thereby glorifying him, | he has | sons. For this is their procreative | power, like | those from whom they have come,²⁵ according to their mutual assistance, | since they assist one another | like the unbegotten ones. |

The Father, in accordance with his | exalted position over the Totalities, being³⁰ an unknown and

ἡ̅ϑ̅μ̅η̅τ̅η̅ν̅ο̅β̅ ἡ̅μ̅ι̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ε̅ μ̅η̅ ἡ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ ἡ̅θ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ε̅ν̅ε̅-
 τ̅α̅φ̅ο̅γ̅α̅ν̅ζ̅ῶ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ἡ̅ν̅ε̅ε̅ῖ̅ζ̅η̅τ̅ῶ̅ ῥ̅ἡ̅ ο̅γ̅ω̅ω̅ω̅τ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅
 35 α̅ἡ̅ν̅ε̅τ̅χ̅α̅ς̅ι̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ι̅α̅ω̅ν̅ ἡ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ι̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅
 ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ε̅γ̅ἡ̅ν̅α̅τ̅ε̅κ̅ο̅ π̅ε̅ ἡ̅τ̅β̅ε̅ π̅α̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ϑ̅᾿χ̅ι̅ν̅ ἡ̅η̅
 [ζε]/65 ἡ̅ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅{ῶ̅} ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ [ἡ̅ν̅τ̅α̅ϑ̅ ῥ̅ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ἡ̅]᾿α̅τ̅ω̅ε̅χ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅
 [α̅γ̅ω̅ ἡ̅]ἡ̅α̅τ̅χ̅ε̅ ρ̅ε̅[ἡ̅] ἡ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ ε̅ϑ̅[χ̅]α̅ς̅ι̅ ἀ̅ν̅ο̅γ̅ς̅
 5 ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ ἡ̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ α̅ω̅ε̅χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ π̅α̅ε̅ι̅ δ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ϑ̅ς̅α̅[γ̅]᾿τ̅ἡ̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅
 ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅ι̅ν̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅[ο̅ϑ̅] ἡ̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅ϑ̅π̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ω̅ῶ̅ ἀ̅β̅[α̅λ̅]
 ἡ̅ π̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ἡ̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ῥ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ν̅ο̅γ̅τ̅α̅χ̅ρ̅ο̅ μ̅[ἡ̅] ἡ̅ ο̅γ̅τ̅ο̅π̅ο̅ς̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅
 ο̅γ̅μ̅α̅ ἡ̅ω̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅π̅ι̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ῶ̅ ε̅ο̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ν̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ϑ̅ π̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ε̅[ι̅]
 10 ἡ̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ῥ̅ῖ̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ῶ̅ ε̅ϑ̅ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ἡ̅ω̅τ̅ ἡ̅π̅᾿τ̅η̅ρ̅ῶ̅
 ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ϑ̅μ̅[ἡ̅ν̅τ̅]᾿ω̅ο̅π̅ ῥ̅ῖ̅ς̅ε̅ ἡ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅ <ἡ̅>ε̅τ̅ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅
 ε̅α̅ϑ̅᾿ς̅ε̅τ̅ῶ̅ ἡ̅ ῥ̅ῖ̅ἡ̅ ἀ̅π̅ο̅γ̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅ ἀ̅τ̅ρ̅[ο̅γ̅]᾿ω̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ ἡ̅ς̅ω̅ϑ̅
 15 π̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ τ̅[.].[.] ἡ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ῥ̅ἡ̅ π̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ῥ̅ ἡ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ χ̅ε̅
 ϑ̅ω̅[ο̅π̅] ἡ̅ γ̅ω̅ ἡ̅ς̅ε̅ω̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ χ̅ε̅ ε̅γ̅ π̅ε̅[ἡ̅]᾿[τ̅ε̅]ἡ̅ε̅ϑ̅-
 ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅ π̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ δ̅ε̅ α̅γ̅τ̅ε̅᾿[ε̅ι̅]ϑ̅ ἡ̅ε̅γ̅ ε̅γ̅α̅π̅ο̅λ̅α̅γ̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅
 20 ἡ̅ ο̅γ̅ς̅α̅ν̅ε̅ω̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ ἀ̅λ̅λ̅α̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ ο̅γ̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ ἡ̅μ̅ἡ̅τ̅ῥ̅
 ο̅γ̅ο̅α̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅ἡ̅μ̅ἡ̅τ̅ω̅β̅η̅ρ̅ ᾿ω̅ω̅π̅ ῥ̅ῖ̅ς̅ε̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ϑ̅ τ̅ε̅
 ἡ̅ π̅ι̅ς̅α̅γ̅ν̅ε̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ϑ̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ π̅ι̅μ̅ο̅γ̅χ̅ῶ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ϑ̅ ᾿ω̅α̅ρ̅α̅γ̅
 25 ε̅τ̅ε̅ π̅α̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ ἡ̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅γ̅μ̅ο̅γ̅τ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅τ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ π̅ε̅
 π̅ω̅ἡ̅ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅ϑ̅ π̅ε̅ ἡ̅ι̅π̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ῶ̅ ἡ̅{χ̅} α̅γ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅γ̅-
 ϑ̅ο̅γ̅ω̅ν̅ῶ̅ χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ ἡ̅ π̅ε̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ ε̅ϑ̅τ̅ε̅ε̅[ι̅]ε̅ ῥ̅ῖ̅ω̅ω̅ϑ̅
 ἡ̅ π̅α̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅γ̅μ̅ο̅γ̅τ̅ε̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ χ̅ε̅ ω̅ἡ̅ρ̅ε̅
 30 α̅γ̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅γ̅ῥ̅ ἡ̅ο̅ῖ̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ χ̅ε̅ ϑ̅ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ ἡ̅ε̅γ̅ω̅ι̅-
 ἡ̅ἡ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ς̅ω̅ϑ̅ π̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ π̅ε̅τ̅ω̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ε̅ἡ̅ω̅τ̅ α̅γ̅ω̅
 π̅ε̅τ̅ο̅γ̅ἡ̅ν̅α̅ω̅ ω̅ε̅χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅ ε̅ν̅ α̅γ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅τ̅ο̅γ̅ῥ̅ ἡ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅
 35 ἡ̅ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ε̅ν̅ π̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ῥ̅ ω̅ρ̅ἡ̅ ἡ̅ω̅ω̅᾿π̅ε̅
 χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ β̅ο̅μ̅ ἡ̅λ̅α̅γ̅ε̅ α̅ῥ̅ ἡ̅ο̅ῖ̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅ ἀ̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅
 ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ ε̅γ̅ἡ̅ν̅α̅ω̅ ἡ̅ ῥ̅ω̅ν̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ἡ̅ν̅ ἀ̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ ο̅γ̅β̅ε̅ π̅ε̅τ̅-
 χ̅α̅ς̅ι̅ ἡ̅ ο̅γ̅β̅ε̅ π̅ω̅ρ̅ἡ̅ ἡ̅ω̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ῥ̅ἡ̅ἡ̅ ο̅γ̅μ̅ἡ̅τ̅᾿χ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ς̅
 35/66 ἀ̅λ̅λ̅α̅ ρ̅ε̅ν̅ ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ ε̅γ̅ῥ̅ ἡ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅ ε̅γ̅{ῥ̅ ἡ̅ο̅ε̅[ι̅]}
 ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ἡ̅ ε̅γ̅}χ̅ο̅γ̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ῥ̅α̅ρ̅ο̅ϑ̅ ε̅γ̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ ἡ̅μ̅μ̅α̅γ̅

65.1 ωοοπ{ῶ} *ed. pr.* ἡμμᾱϑ, ἡ written over an erased letter.¹ 4 αωεχε, α written over c, ω written over ε.¹ 12 <η>ετωοοπ *ed. pr.* 14 <ε>πρoγo *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹ τo[γβoμχι] *ed. pr.*: τo[γβoμ] Mueller¹ 17 νεϑωοοπ, νεϑ written over erased letters, possibly ωπε.¹ 24 ἡτᾱϑ, α written over a partial ϑ.¹ 26 {χ} *ed. pr.*¹

66.1 {ῥ ἡοε[ι]} μμᾱϑ ἡ εγ} *ed. pr.*¹

incomprehensible one, | has such greatness | and mag-
 nitude, that, | if he had revealed himself | suddenly,
 quickly, ³⁵ to all the exalted ones among the aeons |
 who had come forth from him, they | would have per-
 ished. Therefore, he | withheld his power and his in-
 exhaustibility | within that in which he ^{65.1} is. [He is] |
 ineffable [and] unnamable | and exalted above every
 mind | and every word. This one, however, stretched
⁵ himself out | and it was that which he stretched out |
 which gave a foundation and | a space and a dwelling
 place for | the universe, a name of his being “the
¹⁰ one through whom,” since he is | Father of the All,
 out of his | laboring for those who exist, | having sown
 into their thought that [they] | might seek after him.
 The abundance of their [...] ¹⁵ consists in the fact
 that they understand that he | exists and in the fact
 that they ask what it is | [that] was existing. This one
 was | given to them for enjoyment and | nourishment
 and joy and an abundance ²⁰ of illumination, which |
 consists in his fellow laboring, | his knowledge and his
 mingling | with them, that is, the one | who is called
 and is, in fact, ²⁵ the Son, since he is the Totalities |
 and the one of whom they know both who he is | and
 that it is he who clothes. | This is the one who is called
 | “Son” and the one of whom they understand ³⁰ that
 he exists and they were seeking | after him. This is the
 one who exists | as Father and (as) the one about
 whom they cannot speak, | and the one of whom they
 do not conceive. | This is the one who first came into
 being.

³⁵ It is impossible for anyone to conceive | of him or
 think of him. Or can anyone | approach there, toward
 the exalted one, | toward the pre-existent in the pro-
 per | sense? But all the names conceived ^{66.1} or spoken

- 1 αβαλ αγεαυ ἡνουῖχνος ἡτεϛ κατα τβομ·
 5 ἡπουεει ἡ [π]ουεει ἡνετϛ εαυ νεϛ πεν¹[τ]αζ-
 ψαει¹ε' βε αβαλ ἡμαϛ εϛσαυ¹[τ]ἡ ἡμαϛ αβαλ
 10 αῦβονχπο· ἡἡἡ ουσαυνε ἡτε ἡιπτηρῆ ἡταϛ
 1 [...]ε ἡιρεν τηροϛ ἡἡν οϛμἡτ¹ατχε βαλ αῦω
 ἡταϛ πε πιψα¹ρῆ· οϛαεετῆ· ἡἡν οϛμἡτχαῖς
 1 [π]ρωμε· ἡτε πιωτ· ετε παει πε· ετ¹[χ]ω
 ἡμοϛ
 τμορφἡ ἡτε πιατ·μορ¹φἡ·
 πσωμα ἡτε πιατσωμα·
 15 πζο· ἡἡπιατνεϛ αραϛ
 πλογοϛ ἡ[πιατοϛ]¹αζμεϛ·
 πνοϛς ἡπιατῆ ἡ[οει μ]¹μαϛ
 τπἡγἡ· ενταζετε αβαλ [μ]¹μαϛ·
 τνοϛνε ἡτε νετχαειτ¹
 πνοϛτε δε ἡνετκἡ αζρηῖ
 20 ποϛοῖν ἡ ἡνετ¹ϛ'ρ' οϛοε·<ιν> αραϛ·
 ποϛωψε· ἡνε¹ταϛοϛαϛοϛ
 τπρονοια ἡνετῆ¹ρ' προνοια ἡμαϛ·
 τἡἡτρἡἡἡἡτ¹ ἡἡνεταϛεεϛ ἡἡἡἡἡἡτ·
 τβομ ἡ ἡνετῆ¹τ' βομ ἡνεϛ
 25 πσωοϛζ· α¹ζοϛν νετῆ¹σαζοϛ αραϛ
 πβωλῆ ἡ αβαλ ἡνετοϛϛἡνε ἡσωοϛ
 πβελ ἡ ἡνετνεϛ αβαλ
 πἡ(εϛμ)α· ἡνετἡ¹ϛε·
 πωνἡ ἡνετανἡ
 τἡἡτοϛεει ἡ ἡοϛωτ· ἡνετμαχβ ἡἡἡπτηρῆ
 30 ἡ ἡταϛ τηροϛ εϛψοοπ ζἡ πουεει ἡ ἡοϛωτ· εϛ-
 τοει ζἡωωϛ τηρῆ ἡἡμι(ἡ) ἡμοϛ αῦω ἡζρηῖ ζἡ πι-
 ρε<ἡ> ἡἡοϛωτ· ἡτεϛ σεμοϛτε αραϛ ἡἡμαϛ εν·
 35 αἡἡζε τμετ· αῦω κα¹τα πἡρητε ἡοϛωτ· ἡταϛ αῦ-
 σαϛ ἡ πἡοϛεει ἡοϛωτ νε αῦω ἡἡπτηρῆ ἡ νε· οϛδε
 ἡϛπἡω εν ἡσωμα¹τικοϛ οϛδε ϛπαρχ εν αἡιρεν
 40 ἡ ενταϛψοοπ ἡμαϛ· οϛετ· ἡ πεει μεν ἡπἡρητε

9 [χε π]ε *ed. pr.*¹ 17 εντα<ζ> Emmel: <ἡἡ>εντα Thomassen¹20
 οϛοε<ιν> *ed. pr.*¹24 {ἡ}νεϛ *ed. pr.*¹25 <ἡ>νετσαζοϛ *ed. pr.*¹ αραϛ MS:
 Read αραϛ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹26 ἡσωοϛ MS: ἡσωϛ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹27 <πε>ἡἡα
*ed. pr.*¹31 εϛτοει MS: εϛτοει *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹32 ρε<ἡ> *ed. pr.*¹33 ἡτεϛ
 Ms: ἡτε{ϛ}<ἡ> Thomassen¹39 ψοοπ MS: Read ψωπ Emmel¹

|about him are presented |in honor, as a trace |of him,
 according to the ability of each ⁵ one of those who
 glorify him. Now he |who arose from him when he
 stretched |himself out for begetting and |for know-
 ledge on the part of the Totalities, he | [...] all of the
 names, without falsification, ¹⁰ and he is, |in the pro-
 per sense, the sole first one, |[the] man of the Father,
 that is, the one whom I |call

the form of the formless, |
 the body of the bodiless,
 the face ¹⁵ of the invisible,
 the word of [the] |unutterable,
 the mind of the inconceivable, |
 the fountain which flowed from |him,
 the root of those who are planted, |
 and the god of those who exist,
 the light ²⁰ of those whom he illumines,
 the love of those |whom he loved,
 the providence of those for whom he |providen-
 tially cares,
 the wisdom |of those whom he made wise,
 the power |of those to whom he gives power,
 the assembly ²⁵ [of] those whom he assembles to
 him,
 the revelation |of the things which are sought
 after,
 the eye |of those who see,
 the breath of those who breathe, |
 the life of those who live,
 the unity |of those who are mixed with the To-
 talities.

³⁰ All of them exist in the single one, |as he clothes
 himself completely |and by his single name |he is nev-
 er called. |And in ³⁵ this unique way they are equally |
 the single one and the Totalities. |He is neither di-
 vided as a body, |nor is he separated into the names |

3[Z]/67 οὔωτ ἰ πει ν̄δε ἡπ[ικερητε οὔδε] ἰ αν μαϑ-
 ωιβε ἡν̄ [...].ω οὔδε[ε] ἰ μαϑπωωνε α[νιρ]εῖν
 5 ενταϑ[ρ ν]οει ἡμαγ ρρ πει τενοὔ ρρ ἰ πει
 ακερητε· εοὔωτ· παει τε'νοὔ αὔω οὔωτ παει
 ακεζα[τε] ἰ αλλα ἡταϑ τηρῶ πε ωαβολ [ϑο]ει
 ἡποὔει ποὔει ἡνιπτηρῶ ἰ ανηζε τμετ ἡ
 10 οὔσαπ ϑοει ἡνετε ἡταϑ τηροὔ νε ἡταϑμ
 ἰ πιωτ· ἡνιπτηρῶ ἡταϑ αν· νε νι'πτηρῶ χε ἡταϑ
 πετοει <ἡ>σαγνε ἰ νεϑ ἡμιν ἡμαϑ αὔω εϑοει
 15 [ν]τοὔειε τοὔειε· ἡνιαρετη οὔ[ν]τεϑ μεν ἡνι-
 βομ· αὔω <εϑο>ει ἡβελ ἰ ἡπετϑσαγνε ἡμαϑ
 τηρῶ ἰ εϑνεϑ αραϑ ἡμαϑ· ἡμιν ἡμαϑ ἰ [τ]ἡρῶ
 εὔἡτεϑ ἡμεϑ ἡνοὔωἡρε· αὔω ἡμορφἡ ετβε
 20 πε'ει· ζεναταποὔ νε νεϑβομ ἰ ἡἡ νεϑαρετη·
 αὔω ἡἡατσω'τἡ αραοὔ νε· ετβε πιχπο ετῶ-
 ἰχπο ἡμαϑ <ἡμαϑ> ἡἡαταποὔ νε· ἰ αὔω ἡἡατ-
 25 παρχοὔ αβαλ νε {νε}· ἰ ἡιχπο ἡτε νεϑλογοϑ
 αὔω νι'ζων ἡτεϑ αὔω νιπτηρῶ ἡτεϑ· ἰ ϑσαγνε
 ἡμαϑ ετε ἡταϑ πε ἡ'μιν ἡμαϑ εὔωοοπ ἡρηἡ
 30 ἡἡἡ ἰ πιρεν ἡοὔωτ· ενταϑ τηροὔ· ἰ εὔωοοπ
 ἡἡητῶ εὔωεχε· αὔω ἰ εϑινε αβαλ χεκαϑ ἡἡ
 οὔἡἡ'τοὔει ἡοὔωτ· εὔβαντῶ εὔ'ωοοπ κατα
 τοὔειε· τοὔειε ἡαρε'τη· αὔω παωεειδε αν
 35 ἡπεϑοὔ'ανἡϑ αβαλ· ἡνιπτηρῶ ἡἡ οὔσαπ ἰ αὔω
 πιωωω ἡτεϑ ἡπεϑοὔανἡϑ ἰ ανενταὔει αβαλ·
 ἡμαϑ

χε νε'ταει βε αβαλ ἡμαϑ τηροὔ ἡτε ἰ νεει νε'

3H/68 νιαἡων ἡτε νιαἡων ἰ [ε]ἡἡπρο[βολ]ἡ νε ἡχπο νε
 ἡ'τεϑϑῡσιϑ ἡρωμεϑχπο ἰ ἡταϑ ἡωοὔ ἡρηἡ ἡἡ
 5 τοὔϑῡσιϑ ἰ ἡρωμε εϑχπο αὔ<†> εαὔ ἡ'πιωτ·

40 οὔωτ followed by a line filler (—).¹

67.1 ἡδε i.e. δε¹ 2 ἡἡ [οὔω]ωω οὔδε[ε] ed. pr.: ἡἡ [πϑω]ωω (?) Wilson:
 ἡἡ [οὔπ]ωω (?) ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.): ἡἡ [νετπ]ἡω (?) ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 3-4
 ενταϑ[ρ ν]οει Mueller¹ 12 <ἡ>σαγνε Mueller¹ 15 αὔω <εϑο>ει ed. pr.
 (Eng., Ger.): αὔ(ω)ει Thomassen¹ 23 <ἡμαϑ> Emmel¹ 24 {νε} Attridge¹ 32
 εὔβαντῶ MS: εὔαβντῶ ed. pr. (Ger.)¹ 34 παωεειδε i.e. παωεειτε¹ 37-
 38 νετα<ἡ>ει (or νετ<αὔ>ει or νετ<ἡα>ει) ed. pr.¹ 38 ἡτε MS: Read
 ετε ed. pr. (Eng., Fr.): δε ed. pr. (Ger.)¹

68.2 τεϑϑῡσιϑ MS: Read τεϑϑῡσιϑ ed. pr. (Fr.)¹ 4 αὔ<†> εαὔ Attridge¹

which he has [received], ⁴⁰ (so that) he is one thing in this way and another ^{67.1} in [another way.] Also, neither | does he change in [. . .], nor | does he turn into [the names] which he | [thinks of,] and become now this, now ⁵ something else, this thing now being one thing | and, at another time, something else, | but rather he is wholly himself to the uttermost. [He] | is each and every one of the Totalities | forever at the same time. He is what ¹⁰ all of them are. He brought | the Father to the Totalities. He also is the Totalities, | for he is the one who is knowledge | for himself and he is | each one of the properties. He ¹⁵ has the powers and [he is] beyond | all that which he knows, | while seeing himself in himself | completely and having a | Son and form. Therefore, ²⁰ his powers and properties are innumerable | and inaudible, | because of the begetting [by] which he | begets them. Innumerable | and indivisible are ²⁵ the begettings of his words, and | his commands and his Totalities. | He knows them, which things he himself is, | since they are in | the single name, and ³⁰ are all speaking in it. And | he brings (them) forth, in order that | it might be discovered that they | exist according to their individual properties in a unified way. | And he did not reveal the multitude ³⁵ to the Totalities at once | nor did he reveal his equality | to those who had come forth from him. |

5. *Aeonic Life*

All those who came forth from him, | <who> are the aeons of the aeons, ^{68.1} being emanations and offspring of | <his> procreative nature, | they too, in their procreative | nature, have <given> glory to ⁵ the

ἡ̅θε̅· ενταϥωπε ἡ̅λαειβε νεγ· ἡ̅τε πογτε|ρο
 αρετῆ̅· ετε πεει πε ἡ̅τανῆ̅ ϥρη̅ ἡ̅χοοc χε
 10 ϥειρε ἡ̅νναιων ἡ̅ζεννογνε· αγω ρῆ̅ζαλμη· αγω
 ρῆ̅ιατε· χε πεει ἡ̅ετογτ̅ εαγ νεϥ αγχο· χε
 ἡ̅ογῆ̅τεϥ ἡ̅μεγ ἡ̅νογεπιστη̅μη̅· ἡ̅ ογῆ̅τρῆ̅μη̅-
 15 ρη̅τ̅· αγω ἡ̅αγῆ̅με χε {αγῆ̅με χε} ἡ̅ταγει αβαλ·
 ρῆ̅ τ̅επιστη̅μη̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅μη̅τρῆ̅μη̅ρη̅τ̅ ἡ̅δε ἡ̅ι[πτη̅]ῆ̅ρῆ̅
 νεγναεινε αβαλ ἡ̅νογ|εαγ εϥτη̅τανῆ̅· πιωτ̅· πε
 20 πε|ει· ετε ἡ̅ταϥ πε· ἡ̅ιπτη̅ρη̅τ̅ ἡ̅ ενεθε̅ ἡ̅ταγϥιτογ
 αρη̅ἡ̅ ατ̅ ἡ̅εαγ κατα τογειε τογειε· ἡ̅νεων·
 ετβε πεει ἡ̅ρη̅ἡ̅ ρῆ̅ πι|ρωc· αρογν ατ̅ εαγ αγω
 25 ἡ̅ρη̅ἡ̅ ρῆ̅ τ̅βομ· ἡ̅τε τ̅μη̅τογει|{ει} ἡ̅ογωτ̅ ἡ̅-
 πεταγει αβαλ ἡ̅μη̅αϥ αγχωκ αρογν αγμογχο
 ἡ̅μη̅ν ογτωτ̅· ἡ̅ ογῆ̅τογ|εει· νογωτ̅· ϥα
 30 νογερη̅γ ἡ̅αγειρε ἡ̅νογεαγ εϥῆ̅πϥα ἡ̅πιωτ̅·
 αβαλ ρῆ̅ πιπληρωμα ἡ̅τε τ̅cαογρ̅c· εϥοει
 ἡ̅ογ|εινε ἡ̅ογωτ̅· εραρ πε· αβαλ ἡ̅χε ἡ̅ταγῆ̅τῆ̅
 35 αβαλ αγεαγ· ἡ̅πογεει ἡ̅ογωτ̅· αγω αβαλ ἡ̅χε
 αγει αβαλ ϥα πεει· ετε ἡ̅ταϥ πε ἡ̅ιπτη̅ρη̅τ̅ νε
 39/69 παει δε· ἡ̅νεγταειο πε ἡ̅η̅[...].πεϥ[- - -]
 ἡ̅παει ενταρειῆ̅[ε αβ]αλ ἡ̅η̅ιπτ̅[η̅]ῆ̅ρῆ̅ εογαπαρη̅η̅
 ἡ̅η̅ιατμογ π[ε] ἡ̅αγω ογϥα ενηζε πε αβαλ χε
 5 ε|αϥει αβαλ ρῆ̅ ἡ̅ιαων ετανῆ̅ ε[ϥ]ῆ̅χηκ αβαλ
 εϥμη̅η̅· ετβε πετῆ̅[η̅κ] ἡ̅ετμη̅η̅· αϥκαογ ερη̅ἡ̅
 εγμη̅η̅ ἡ̅εγχηκ νεει ενταρτ̅ εαγ ρῆ̅ἡ̅ ογχοκ
 10 αβαλ· αβαλ ρῆ̅ τ̅κο[ι]ἡ̅ωνια ἡ̅πρη̅τε γαρ ἡ̅πιωτ̅
 ἡ̅[α]τ̅ϥτα· εγτ̅ εαγ νεϥ· ϥαρεϥ[[.c]]cωτ̅ῆ̅
 πεαγ· αν ετ̅ εαγ νε[ϥ] ἡ̅[α]ογανρογ αβαλ
 ἡ̅πεει ετε ἡ̅[τ̅]αϥ πε·
 15 χε τλαειβε ἡ̅πιμαρ ἡ̅εαγ· cνεγ ενταcϥωπε·

8 ἡ̅χοοc, ἡ̅ written over partial χ.¹ 14 {αγῆ̅με χε} *ed. pr.*¹ 16 ἡ̅δε MS: Read ἡ̅βι Attridge: ἡ̅τε *ed. pr.*¹ 18 <ἡ̅>πιωτ̅ Thomassen¹ 19 The line begins with a filler (>).¹ 21 <ἡ̅η̅αρετη̅ ἡ̅η̅ πογειε πογειε> (sic) *ed. pr.* (Ger.): <βομ ἡ̅> Thomassen¹ 24 ρη̅ἡ̅, η̅ written over α.¹ 24-25 ογει{ει} Attridge¹ 34 ἡ̅ογωτ̅, ἡ̅ written over a partial μ.¹

69.1 ἡ̅η̅[εει] πε ϥ[α] *ed. pr.*¹ 12 [[.c]]cωτ̅ῆ̅, The second c written over τ: τcτ<ο> ἡ̅- Thomassen¹ cωτ̅ῆ̅ <α>πεαγ or cατ̅ῆ̅ πεαγ *ed. pr.* (Ger.): cωτ̅ῆ̅ <ἡ̅βι> πεαγ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ αν MS: ἡ̅η̅ or αν <ἡ̅η̅> *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

Father, as he was | the cause of their establishment. This is what | we said previously, namely that he creates | the aeons as roots and ¹⁰ springs and fathers, and that he | is the one to whom they give glory. They have begotten, for | he has knowledge | and wisdom | and the Totalities knew ¹⁵ that it is from knowledge | and wisdom that they have come forth. | They would have brought forth | a seeming honor: "The Father is the one | who is the Totalities," ²⁰ if the aeons had risen up to give | honor individually. | Therefore, in the | song of glorification and | in the power of the unity ²⁵ of him from | whom they have come, they were drawn into a mingling | and a combination and a unity | with one another. | They offered glory worthy of ³⁰ the Father from the pleromatic | congregation, which is a | single representation although many, | because it was brought forth as a glory | for the single one and because ³⁵ they came forth toward the one who | is himself the Totalities. Now, this ^{69.1} was a praise [. . .] | the one who brought forth the Totalities, | being a first-fruit of the immortals | and an eternal one, because, ⁵ having come forth from the living aeons, being | perfect and full because of the one who is perfect | and full, it left full | and perfect those who have given glory in | a perfect way because of the ¹⁰ fellowship. For, like the faultless Father, | when he is glorified he | also hears the glory which glorifies him, | so as to make them manifest as that which | he is.

The cause of the second ¹⁵ honor which accrued to

- 1 ΝΕΥΟΥ ΠΕΤΕ· ΠΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΣΤΑϞ 'ΑΧΩΟΥ
 ΑΒΑΛ· Ζῆ ΠΙΩΤ· ΕΑΥῆΜΕ ' [Α]ΤΧΑΡΙC· ΤΑΕΙ ΕΝ-
 Τ[Α]Υ† ΚΑΡΠΟC ' ῆΜΑC ΑΒΑΛ· Ζῆ ΠΙΩ[Τ]· ΨΑ
 20 ΝΟΥΕ· ῆΡΗΥ· ΧΕΚΑCΕ ῆΠΡΗΤῆ ΕΝΤΑΥ· ΕΙΝΕ· ΑΒΑΛ·
 <ῆΜΑΥ> ΖῆΝ ΟΥΕΑΥ ῆΠΙΩΤ· ' ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΗΤΕ ΑΝ
 ΑΠΤΡΟΥΩΝῆ ' ΑΒΑΛ ΕΥΧΗΚ ΑΥΩΝῆ ΑΒΑΛ· ΕΥ-
 ΕΙΡΕ· Ζῆ †· ῆῆ<Τ>† ΕΑΥ
 25 ΧΕ ΝΕΖΕΝῆ ΕΙΑΤΕ· ῆΠΙΜΑΖ ΨΑΜΤ· ῆΕΑΥ <ΝΕ>
 ' ΚΑΤΑ ΤῆῆΤΑΥΤΕΖΟΥCΙΟC ῆῆ ' ΤῆΟΜ· ΕΝΤΑΥ-
 ΧΠΑC ῆῆΜΕΟΥ ' ΕΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ῆΜΑΥ ΕΝCΕ-
 30 ' ΨΟΟΠ ΕΝ ῆΜΑϞ· Α† ΕΑΥ Ζῆ ΟΥῆ ῆῆῆΤΟΥΕΕΙ ῆΟΥΩΤ·
 ῆΠΕΤῆΟΥῆ ΑΨῆ·
 ΧΕ ΠΙΨΑΡῆ ῆΕ ῆῆ ΠΙΜΑΖ ' CΝΕΥ ΝΕ· ΑΥΩ
 ΠΙΡΗΤΗ· CῆΧΗΚ ῆΠῆCΝΕΥ ΑΥΩ CΕΜΗΖ· ΧΕ ΖῆΟΥΩ-
 35 Νῆ ' ΑΒΑΛ ΝΕ ῆῆΤΟΟΤῆ ῆΠΙΩΤ· ΕΤΧΗΚ ῆ ΑΒΑΛ
 ΕΤΜΗΖ ῆῆ ΝΕΝΤΑΖΕῆ ΑΒΑΛ ' ΕΤΧΗΚ ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ
 ΠΤΡΟΥ† ΕΑΥ ῆῆ ΠΕΤΧΗΚ ΠΙΚΑΡΠΟC ΔΕ ῆῆΤΑϞ ῆ-
 ' ΠΜΑΖ ΨΑΜῆῆΤ ΖῆῆΕΑΥ ΝΕ ῆῆΤΕ ' ΠΟΥΩΨΕ· ῆΠΟΥΕ
 40 ΠΟΥΕ ῆῆΝΑΙΩΝ ῆ ΑΥΩ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ῆῆΝΑΡΕΤΗ
 ῆ/70 ' ΟΥῆῆΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΕΝ ΒΟΜ ϞΨΟΟΠ· ῆ [Ζῆ] ΟΥ[ΠΛΗ-
 Ρ]ΩΜΑ ΕϞΧΗΚ ' ΑΒΑΛ ῆ[ΠΜΕ]ΥΕ· ΕΤΕ ΑΒΟΛ ' Ζῆῆ
 ΟΥΤΩΤ ΖΩC ΕΑΒΟΛ ' ΖῆῆΝ ΟΥΚΑΤΑ ' Π' ΟΥΕΕΙ
 5 ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ῆ ῆῆΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΤῆΟΥΩΨῆ ' [Α]ΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ-
 ΟΥΝ ΒΑΜ ῆ<Μ>ΑϞ ΑΡΑϞ ' ΕϞ† ΕΑΥ ῆΜΑϞ ῆΠΙΩΤ· '
- ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ· ΖΕΝΝΟΥC ΝΕ ῆῆ ΔΕ ΖΕΝΝΟΥC
 10 ΕΥΒΑΝΤῆ ΕΖῆῆ ΛΟΓΟC ΝΕ ῆῆΤΕ ΖῆῆΛΟΓΟC ΕΖῆῆ ΠΡΕC-
 ΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΕ ῆῆΤΕ ΖΕΝΠΡῆCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΕΖῆῆ ΒΑΘΟC
 Νῆ ' [Ν]ΔΕ ΖῆῆΒΑΘΟC ΝΕ· ΕΥΧΑ[CΕ] ' ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ
 15 ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕῆ ΕΙ ῆῆΝΕ†† ΕΑΥ ΕΥῆῆΤΕϞ ῆῆΜΕΥ ῆ-
 ΠΕϞΤΟΠΟC ῆῆ Πῆ[Ϟ]ῆ ΧΙCΕ ῆῆ ΤΕϞΜΟΝῆ· ῆῆ ΤΕϞ-
 ' ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC· ΕΤΕ ΠΕΑΥ ΠΕ ' ΕΤῆΕΙῆ ῆΜΑϞ ΑΒΑΛ·
 20 ΧΕ ῆ ΝΕ†† ΕΑΥ ῆΠΙΩΤ· ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥῆῆῆΤΕΥ ῆΜΕΥ
 ῆΠΟΥΧΠΟ ' ΑΝΗΖΕ ΤΜΕΤ· CῆΧΠΟ ΚΑΤΑ ' †ῆῆ†

16 νεϞ ουπετε *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ 21 <ῆΜΑΥ> Mueller¹²²
 ΠΤΡΟΥ<ΟΥ>ΩΝῆ *ed. pr.*¹ 24 χε νε<ει> *ed. pr.*¹ 25 <ΝΕ> Attridge¹

70.2 ῆ[ΠΜΕ]ΥΕ Emmel: ῆ[ΜΗ]Ε *ed. pr.*¹ 6 ῆ<Μ>ΑϞ *ed. pr.*¹ 8 ῆΔΕ i.e.
 ῆῆΤΕ¹ 9 ΕΥΒΑΝΤῆ MS: ΕΥΑΒΝΤῆ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 12-13 ΒΑΘΟC MS: ΒΑΘΟC
 (?) Attridge¹ 13 [Ν]ΔΕ i.e. ῆῆΤΕ¹

them | is that which was returned | to them from the Father when they had known | the grace by which they bore fruit with one another | because of the Father. ²⁰ As a result, just as they | <were> brought forth in glory for the Father, | so too in order to appear | perfect, they appeared | acting by giving glory.

They ²⁵ were fathers of the third glory | according to the independence and | the power which was begotten with them, | since each one of them individually does not | exist so as to give glory ³⁰ in a unitary way to him whom he loves. |

They are the first and the | second and thus both of them are perfect and | full, for they are manifestations | of the Father who is perfect ³⁵ and full, as well as of those who came forth, | who are perfect by the fact that they glorify | the perfect one. The fruit of the third, however, | consists of honors of | the will of each one of the aeons ⁴⁰ and each one of the properties. — | The Father has power. — It exists ^{70.1} fully, | perfect in [the thought] which is a product of | agreement, since it is a product | of the individuality ⁵ of the aeons. It is this which he loves | and over which he has power, | as it gives glory to the Father by means of it. |

For this reason, they are minds of | minds, which are found to be ¹⁰ words of words, | elders of | elders, degrees | of degrees, which are exalted above | one another. Each one ¹⁵ of those who give glory has | his place and his | exaltation and his dwelling and his rest, which consists of the glory | which he brings forth.

²⁰ All those who glorify the Father | have their begetting | eternally, — they beget in | the act of assisting

25 ΤΟΟΤΟΥ· Ν̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ἰ εζ̄ν̄αταρηχνοῦ νε αῶω ζ̄ν̄-
 "ατψιτοῦ νε νιπροβολη εμ̄ν λα'αγε μ̄φθονοc
 ψοοπ αβαλ ἰ μ̄πειωτ' ψα νετ<α>ζει εβολ
 ἰ μ̄μαq' ατροῦχπο μ̄πεq'ζ̄ϊσον μ̄ν πεqεινε· εν-
 30 ταq πετ"ψοοπ ζρηἰ ζ̄ν̄ νιπτηρq̄ εqχπο ἰ εqοῶω-
 νζ̄ μ̄μαq αβαλ· αῶω πε'τq̄οῶαψq̄· <q>ειρε μ̄μοq
 ν̄ειωτ ἰ νεει· ετε ν̄ταq πε ποῶειωτ· ἰ αῶω
 35 ν̄νοῶυτε· ναει ετε ν̄ταq ἰ πε ποῶνοῶυτε· εqειρε
 μ̄μαῶ ἰ ν̄νιπτηρq̄ νεει ετε ν̄ταq πε ἰ π<οῶ>-
 q̄[α]/71 τηρq̄· ενιρεν τηροῦ ετνα"αοῶ καατ' μ̄πμα ετ̄μ-
 ἰ μεῶ ζ̄ν̄ οῶμ̄ν̄τχαεις· ἰ ν̄ει ν̄ταῶρ κοινωνι
 5 αραοῶ· ἰ ν̄βι νιαγγελοc ενταζψωπε ζ̄μ ἰ πκοc-
 μοc μ̄ν ναρχων εμ̄ν̄τ[εῶ] ἰ μ̄μεῶ ν̄τοῶμ̄ν̄τ̄ρ
 μ̄ινε μ̄μ[αῶ] ἰ μ̄ν νιανηζε·
 χε τcῶσταc[ic] ἰ βε τηρc̄ ν̄νιαῶων· οῶντεc
 10 μ̄μ[εῶ] ἰ ν̄νοῶμαειε· μ̄ν οῶβ̄ν̄ωινε ἰ ν̄ce πιβινε
 ετχηκ αβαλ τηρ[q] ἰ μ̄πιωτ' αῶω πεει πε ποῶ-
 τωτ ἰ νατχραп· εqοῶωνζ̄ μ̄μαq α'[β]αλ μ̄μιν
 μ̄μαq ν̄βι πιωτ αῶ[η]'ζε тмет· μ̄πεqοῶαψq̄
 15 ατροῦ"coῶωνq̄ εq† μ̄μοq ατροῶρ ἰ ν̄οει μ̄μαq'
 αῶωινε ν̄cωq εqρα'[ει]c αραq μ̄πετq̄р ψрπ̄ ν̄ωο-
 оп μ̄'[μ]αq ν̄ατψωινε ν̄cωq
 20 χε ν̄ταq ἰ [пи]ωτ' πεταζ† нна{а}φορμη ἰ [н-
 н]οῶνε ν̄наῶων· εζ̄ν̄тоποc νε ἰ μ̄π̄μαῶит[[н̄]· εт-
 мат̄н̄ ψараq· ἰ μ̄пр̄нте ψа οῶанснв· μ̄πο[λ]и-
 т̄и· εαqпωр̄ω н[εῶ] ν̄οῶна'[ζ̄]те μ̄н̄н̄ οῶсап-
 25 c̄п̄[c] απете"[н̄]себаψ̄т̄ араq ен αῶω οῶζε-
 л̄'[п̄]ic εсχοор· απете̄н̄се̄р̄ но'[ε]и μ̄μαq· ен· αῶω
 οῶγαгапн̄· ἰ [ε]схпо· εсбаψ̄т̄ азoῶн̄ απεт̄c̄-
 30 '[н̄]εῶ араq· ен· αῶω οῶμ̄н̄т̄р̄м̄н̄"[ζ̄н̄]т̄· εсψнп̄
 н̄те п̄иноῶс ψа аηн̄'[ze]· αῶω οῶμακαριcмоc
 ἰ [ε]те πεει πε †м̄н̄т̄р̄м̄мао μ̄н̄ ἰ †<м̄н̄т̄>р̄м̄ze·

26 φθονοc, The first o written over n.¹ 27 νετ<α>ζει *ed. pr.*¹ 32 <q>ειρε
ed. pr.: <α>ειρε Thomassen¹ 33 νεει MS: <н>неει (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 34 ναει MS:
 <н̄>наει *ed. pr.*¹ 36 νεει MS: <н̄>неει *ed. pr.*¹ 39 π<οῶ>τηρq̄ Attridge¹

71.19 нна{а}φορμη *ed. pr.*¹ 20 [нн]οῶνε *ed. pr.*: [αζ]οῶн̄ ε- (?) *ed. pr.*
 (Ger.)¹ 21 ма̄ит̄, і inserted secondarily.¹ 24 сапс̄п̄[c]а Emmel¹ 33 †<м̄н̄т̄>р̄м̄-
 ze *ed. pr.*¹ н̄де i.e. н̄те¹

one another — | since the emanations are limitless and ²⁵ immeasurable and since there is | no envy on the part | of the Father toward those who came forth from | him in regard to their begetting something | equal or similar to him, since he is the one who ³⁰ exists in the Totalities, begetting | and revealing himself. | Whomever he wishes, he makes into a father, | of whom he in fact is Father, | and a god, of whom he in fact ³⁵ is God, and he makes them | the Totalities, whose | entirety he is. In the proper sense all the names which ^{71.1} are great are kept there, | these (names) which | the angels share, | who have come into being in ⁵ the cosmos along with the archons, although [they] do not have | any resemblance | to the eternal beings.

The entire system | of the aeons has | a love and a longing ¹⁰ for the perfect, complete discovery | of the Father and this is their unimpeded agreement. | Though the Father reveals | himself eternally, | he did not wish ¹⁵ that they should know him, since he grants that he be | conceived of in such a way as to be sought for, while | keeping to himself his unsearchable | primordial being.

It is he, | [the] Father, who gave root impulses ²⁰ to the aeons, since they are places | on the path which leads toward him, | as toward a school of | behavior. He has extended to them | faith in and prayer to him whom ²⁵ they do not see; and a firm hope | in him of whom they do not conceive; | and a fruitful love, | which looks toward that which it does not | see; and an acceptable understanding ³⁰ of the eternal mind; | and a blessing, | which is riches and freedom; | and a

35 αῦω οὐσοφία ἡδε πεῖτοῦωψε ἡπεαυ ἡπιωτ
 αῖ ποῦμεεγε·
 35 χε πιωτ μεν ἡ παει ετχασι εὔσοοϋν ἡμοϋ
 0B/72 ἡ ἡπεϋφ[γ]ωψε· ετε πεει [πε] ἡ πη(εϋμ)α ετ-
 νιϋε· 2ἡ νιπτηρῆ ἡ αῦω εϋτῖ νεϋ ἡνοῦμεῖεγε·
 5 ατροῦωψινε ἡσα πιατῖ[c]οῦωνῆ· ἡθε εϋαροϋ-
 σωκ ἡ[ν]οῦεει· αβαλ 2ἡτῆν οῦστῖ ἡνοῦϋε·
 10 ατρεϋψινε ἡσα π2ω[β] ἡ ετερεπιςτῖ νοῦϋε ψο-
 οπ ετβ[η]ἡτῆ· επιαν πιςτῖ νοῦϋε ἡῖτε πιωτ· ϋῖ
 οῦ2ο· ανεει ἡ[τ]ἡπψα· τῖμῆτ2λβε γαρ ἡτε[ϋ]
 ἡσκψ α2ρηἡ ἡνιαίων 2ἡν οῦῖ2ηδονη ἡατψεχε
 15 αραϋ ἡ αῦω στῖ νεϋ ἡνοῦμεεγε αῖτροῦμοϋχβ·
 μν πεει ετφ[γ]ωψε ατροῦσοῦωνῆ· κα[τα]
 ἡοῦμῆτοῦεει ἡσετῖ τ[οο]ῖτῆ ἡνεϋερεϋ ἡπη(εϋ-
 20 μ)α· ε[τ]ῖσατε ἡ2ητοῦ εῦκαατ ἡ2ρηἡ 2ην οῦ-
 ναβ ἡ2ρηψε εν[α]ῖψωσ· εῦῖ βῖρε· 2ἡν οῦμῆτ-
 ατῖχοφ[с] εμῆτεϋ ἡμεϋ ἡῖπτροῦναγ2οϋ
 25 αβαλ· ἡῖ[ε]ῖταῦκααϋ ἡμαϋ· 2ἡν οῦμ[ητ]ῖατῖ
 νοει αβαλ χε σεναψα[χε] ἡ εν εῦκαραιτ·
 απεαϋ ἡῖ[πι]ῖωτ· απετεϋῖ βομ ἡμα[ϋ] ἡχοοϋ
 ἡσεχι μορφη [μ]ῖμοϋ αϋοῦωνῆ αβαλ ἡμ[αϋ]
 30 εῖῖῖ βομ· ἡδε αχοοϋ οῦ[η]ῖτεϋ<ϋ> ἡμεϋ·
 εϋ2ηπ· 2ρη[ι 2η]ῖῖ οῦμεεγε· 2ωс εαβαλ ἡῖπει
 < - - - > σεκαραιτ· μεν απιωτ ἡῖπρητε ετῆ-
 35 ψοοп ἡμαϋ ἡ 2ῖ πεϋсματ· ἡῖ τεϋμине ἡῖ
 0Г/73 τεϋμῆτνοб ἡ εαῦῖ ἡπψα δε· ἡχι νιαίων ἡσοϋ-
 ῖων πεει αβαλ 2ἡτοοτῖ ἡῖῖπη(εϋμ)α ἡχε
 οῦατχε ϋεν· αραϋ πε· αῦω ἡοῦατῖτε2αϋ πε·
 5 αβαλ 2ἡτῆ πῖῖπη(εϋμ)α ἡτεϋ· ετε πεει πε
 πῖῖχнос ἡῖτε πιбῖψινε ηсωϋ εϋτῖ ἡμαϋ ἡνεϋ

33-34 πετ<οῦ>οῦωψε (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 35 ποῦμεεγε MS: Read πεϋμεεγε Attridge¹

72.10 οῦ2ο MS Quispel: Read 2οϋο *ed. pr.*¹ 18 <2>ῖ <πε>ῖῖῖ *ed. pr.*¹ 18-19 ε[τ]ῖσατε *ed. pr.*: ε[τρ]ῖσατε *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 22 χοφ[с] Mueller: χοφ[ϋ] *ed. pr.*¹ 27 ἡμα[ϋ] *ed. pr.* (Eng., Ger.): ἡμα[γ] *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹ 29 ἡμ[αϋ ε-] *ed. pr.* (Eng.): ἡμ[εν ε-] *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ 30 ἡδε i.e. δε¹ 30-31 οῦ[η]ῖτεϋ<ϋ> *ed. pr.*: οῦ[η]ῖτεϋ <ἡμαϋ> Thomassen¹ 31-32 2ρη[ι 2η]ῖῖ οῦμεεγε *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.)¹ 33 πεει < - - - > Attridge¹

73.1 ἡχι i.e. ἡβῖ¹

wisdom of the one | who desires the glory of the Father ³⁵ for <his> thought.

It is by virtue of his will that the Father, | the one who is exalted, is known, ^{72.1} that is, | (by virtue of) the spirit which breathes in the Totalities | and it gives them an | idea of seeking after the ⁵ unknown one, just as one is drawn | by a pleasant | aroma to search for the thing | from which the aroma arises, | since the aroma ¹⁰ of the Father surpasses these ordinary ones. | For his sweetness | leaves the aeons in | ineffable pleasure | and it gives them their idea ¹⁵ of mingling with him who | wants them to know him in | a united way and to assist | one another in the spirit which | is sown within them. Though existing ²⁰ under a great weight, | they are renewed in an inexpressible way, | since it is impossible | for them to be separated from that | in which they are set in an uncomprehending way, ²⁵ because they will not speak, | being silent about the Father's glory, | about the one who has power | to speak, and yet they will take form from | him. He revealed [himself, though] ³⁰ it is impossible to speak of him. | They have him, hidden in | a thought, since from | this one [...]. They are silent about | the way the Father is ³⁵ in his form and his nature | and his greatness, ^{73.1} while the aeons have become worthy of knowing | through his spirit | that he is unnamable and | incomprehensible. It is through ⁵ his spirit, which is the trace | of the search for him, that he provides | them the ability to conceive of him

- ατρουρ̄ νοει ἄμαϑ ἄσε·¹ ψεχε αραϑ
 χε πουεει πουεει ἄτε νιαιων ουρεν πε
 10 <ετε τεει> τε τουειε του¹ειε· ἄνεϑαρετη ἄν
 νιβομ ἄτε¹ πιωτ· εϑωοοπ ρῆ ραρ ἄρεῆ ρῆ
¹ουμουχῶ· ἄν ουτ̄ μετε ἄν νου¹ερηϑ ουῆ βαμ
 ατρουχοοϑ· ετβε¹ τμητρῆμαο ἄπλογοϑ ἄθε
 15 ἄπι¹ωτ· εουρεν ἄουωτ· πε αβαλ χε¹ ουεει
 ἄουωτ· πε· ουατ· ἀπῆ ἄ· δε πε ρῆ νεϑαρετη πε·
 ἄν νι¹[ρ]εῆ
 χε τ̄προβολη βε ἄτε¹ [ν]ιπτηρῆ· ετωοοπ·
 20 αβαλ· ρῆ πετ¹[ω]οοπ· ερενταϑωπε εν κα¹[τ]α
 ουωωωτ αβαλ· ἄνουερηϑ¹ [ρ]ωϑ ε<γ>νουζε
 αβαλ· ἄπετχπο·¹ ἄμαγου πε αλλα εϑο ἄπ-
 25 σματ· ἄἄνουπωρῶ αβαλ· ἄβι πουχπο·¹ εϑ-
 πωρῶ ἄμαϑ αβαλ ἄβι¹ [π]ιωτ· ἀνετῆουαϑουϑ
 χεκασε·¹ [ν]ενταζεῖ αβαλ ἄμοϑ εϑνα¹ωωπε
 ἄταϑ ἀν πε·
 30 χε πιρητε¹ ἄπιαιων τενοϑ εουεει¹ πε· ἄου-
 ωτ· εϑπηϑ ρῆ ἄουο¹ειϑ αγω {α}ενουαειϑ
 πηϑ· αζεν¹ραμπε· ενραμπε· πηϑ· αζῆ¹χοϑ·
 ἄχοϑ δε αζενεβετε· νε¹βετε· δε αζενρσοϑ·
 35 ἄρσοϑ¹ αζενοϑναγε· αγω νοϑναγε¹ αζῆ¹σοϑ-
 ο.δ./74 σοϑ πεει πε πρητε¹ ρωωϑ ἀν ἄπιαιων ἄτε
¹τμη· εουεει πε ἄουωτ¹ εναωωϑ εϑχι εαϑ
 5 ρῆ ἄωημ¹ ἄν ρῆ νοβ ἄρεν κατα πε<τε> ου¹ἄ
 βαμ ἄμαϑ αωαπῆ κατα <τα>ῆ¹τῆ δε ἀν ἄπρη-
 τε· ἄνουρα¹μη εϑωοοπ· ἄπετῶωοοπ¹ ἄμαϑ·
 εϑρε¹τε αζῆ¹νιρωϑ¹ ἄν ρῆ¹λιμνη· ἄν ρῆ¹ειοορ
 10 ἄἄν ρενβαειε· ἄπρητε ἄου¹νοϑνε· εϑπαρῶ
 αβαλ· ρα ρῆ¹ωηη· αγω ρῆ¹κλαδοϑ ἄν¹ νεϑ-
 καρποϑ· ἄπρητε ἄου¹ϑωμα· ἄρωμε· εϑπηϑ· ρῆ
 15 ἄου¹μη¹τατπωϑε· αζῆ¹μελοϑ¹ ἄτε ρῆ¹μελοϑ ρῆ-
 μελοϑ ἄωα¹ρῆ ἄν ρῆ ραεοϑ αζῆ¹ναῶ ρ[ι]¹ ωηη·

9 <ετε τεει> τε Attridge¹ 15 <χ>ε ουρεν (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 16 ἄε i.e. δε¹ 22 ε<γ>νουζε *ed. pr.*¹ 30 ρῆ ἄουοειϑ MS: <α>ρῆ¹νουοειϑ Mueller¹ 31 {α}ενουαειϑ Mueller¹ 35 νοϑναγε, α written over ο.¹

74.4 πε<τε> *ed. pr.*¹ 5 κατα <τα>ῆ¹τῆ *ed. pr.*¹ 8 {α}ρῆ¹νιρωϑ *ed. pr.*¹ 11 <α>ραρ Mueller¹ 13 νεϑκαρποϑ MS: νεγκαρποϑ Mueller¹

and | to speak about him.

Each one | of the aeons is a name, <that is>, each of
¹⁰ the properties and powers of | the Father, since he
exists in many names, which are | intermingled and
harmonious with one another. | It is possible to speak
of him because | of the wealth of speech, just as the
Father ¹⁵ is a single name, because | he is a unity, yet
is innumerable | in his properties and | names.

The emanation of | the Totalities, which exist from
the one ²⁰ who exists, did not occur according | to a
separation from one another, | as something cast off
from the one who begets | them. Rather, their beget-
ting is like | a process of extension, ²⁵ as the Father
extends himself | to those whom he loves, so that |
those who have come forth from him might | become
him as well.

Just as | the present aeon, though a ³⁰ unity, is di-
vided by units of time | and units of time are divided
into | years and years are divided into | seasons and
seasons into months, | and months into days, and days
³⁵ into hours, and hours | into moments, so ^{74.1} too the
aeon of the Truth, | since it is a unity | and multi-
plicity, receives honor in the small | and the great
names according to the ⁵ power of each to grasp it —
by way | of analogy — like a spring | which is what it
is, | yet flows into streams | and lakes and canals ¹⁰ and
branches, or like a | root spread out beneath | trees and
branches with | its fruit, or like a | human body, which
is partitioned ¹⁵ in an indivisible way into members |
of members, primary members | and secondary, great
[and] | small.

20 **ϞΕ** ΝΙΑΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΝΤ[ΟΥ] 'ΑΒΑΛ· ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΜΑΖ
 ΨΑΜΝΤ Ν^{||}ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΤΜῆΤ[ΑΥ]'ΤΕΖΟΥ-
 ΣΙΟΣ ἄΤΕ ΠΟΥΨΨΕ 'ΑΥΩ ΑΒΑΛ· ΖΙΤῆ ἴσοφια
 25 ΕΝ'ΤΑϞΡ ΖΜΑΤ· ἄΜΑC ΝΕΥ ΑΠΟΥΜΕΥΕ 'ἄΝCΕΟΥΨ-
 ΨΕ ΕΝ Α† ΕΑΥ Μ[Ν] || ΠΕΕΙ· ΕΤΕ ΑΒΑΛ· Ζῆ ΟΥΤΩΤ
 ΠΕ [Ε]'ΑΥΝΤῆ ΑΒΑΛ ΑΖῆΛΟΓΟC ΝΕ[ΑΥ] 'ἄΜΠΟΥΕΕΙ
 ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ἄΤΕ ΝΙΠΛ[Η]'ΡΩΜΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝ ἄΝCΕΟΥΨΨΕ
 30 'ΕΝ Α† ΕΑΥ Μῆ ΠΤΗΡῆ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝ || ἄΝCΕΟΥΨΨΕ ΕΝ
 Μῆ ΚΕΟΥΕΕΙ 'ΕΑϞΡ ΨΑΡΠ ΑΠCΑ ΝΖΡΕ· ἄΠΒΑΘΟC
 ἄΠΕΤῆΜΜΕΥ· Η Πῆ'ΤΟΠΟC ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ἄΤΟϞ ΠΕΤΚΗ 'ΕΖ-
 35 ΡΗΐ Ζῆ ΠΡΕΝ· ΕΤΧΑCΙ ΑΥΩ || Ζῆ ΠΤΟΠΟC ΕΤΧΑCΙ·
 ΟΕ/75 ΕΙ ΜΗ ϞΧΙ 'ἄΝΤΟΟΤῆ ἄΠΕΤΑΖΟΥΨΨΕ || ΕϞΧΙΤῆ ΝΕϞ
 ΑΖΡΗΐ ΑΠΕΤῆΤΠΕ· 'ἄΜΜΑϞ· ΑΥΩ ϞΧΠΑϞ· ἄΠΡΗΤΕ·
 5 '[Α]ΧΟΟC ϞΕ ἄΜΙΝ ἄΜΜΟϞ ΑΥΩ 'ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΕΤῆ-
 ΜΕΥ ϞΧΠΑϞ || Μῆ ΠΕΤΕ· ἄΝΤΑϞ ΠΕ· ῆ[.]ῆ ΒῆΡΕ· ἄΜΙΝ
 ἄΜΜΟϞ· Μῆ ΠΕΤΑΖΐ ΑΧΩϞ· 'ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΕϞCΑΝ·
 ϞΝΕΥ ΑΡΑϞ· 'ἄϞCΑΠCῆC· ἄΜΜΑϞ· ΑΠΙΖΩΒ ϞΕ
 'ΠΕΤΑΖΟΥΨΨΕ· ΑΨΕ ΑΖΡΗΐ ΑΧΩϞ
 10 || ΑΤCΨΩΠΠΕ ΒΕ· ἄΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΜΑϞΧΕ· 'ΑΛΑΥΕ ΝΕϞ·
 ΑΠΑΕΙ· ἄΒΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΖ'ΟΥΨΨΕ· Α† ΕΑΥ· CΑΒῆΛΕϞ·
 ΟΥ'ΑΕΕΤῆ· ϞΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΟΡΟC 'ἄΨΕΧΕ· ΕϞΚΗ Ζῆ
 15 ΠΛῆΡΟΥΜΑ· ΑΤ^{||}[Ρ]ΟΥΚΑΡΩΟΥ· ΜΕΝ ΑΤΜῆΤΑΤΕ·
 'ΖΑϞ ἄΠΙΩΤ· ΑΤΟΥΨΕΧΕ ΔΕ ΑΠΕ'Τ[Ο]ΥΨΨΕ
 ΑΤΕΖ'ΑϞ ΑCΕΐ ΑΖΡΗΐ Α'[Χ]ῆ ΟΥΕΕΙ ἄΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΤΡΕϞ·
 20 Ζΐ ΤΟ'[Ο]Τῆ· ΑΤΕΖΟ ἄΤῆΜῆΤ· ΑΤῆ ΝΟΐ ἄΜΜΑC· Ϟ† ΕΑΥ
 ΝΕC Μῆ ἄΜῆΤΑΤ·'[Ψ]ΕΧΕ ΑΡΑC ἄΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ· ἄΖΟΥ·
 'Ε'ΥΛΟΓΟC ἄΤΕ ἄΜῆΤΟΥΕΕΙΕ ΠΕ· '[Ο]ΥΕΕΙ ΠΕ
 ΕΝΟΥΑΒΑΛ ΕΝ ΠΕ· Ζῆ 'ΠΤΩΤ· ἄΔΕ ΝΙΠΤΗΡῆ ΠΕ
 25 ΟΥΔΕ· || ΑΒΑΛ ΕΝ Ζῆ ΠΕΝΤΑϞῆΤΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ· 'ϞΕ
 ΠΕΤΑΖῆ ΠΤΗΡῆ ΑΒΑΛ ΠΙΩΤ· '

ϞΕ ΠΙΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΥΟΥΑΒΑΛ ΠΕ Ζῆ ΝΕΕΙ 'ΕΤΕΑΥ†

24 ΕΝ, Ε written over Α· Μ[Ν] Attridge¹ 30 ΚΕ, Κ written over Ε·¹ 36 ΠΕΤΑΖΟΥΨΨΕ <ἄΜΜΑϞ> Thomassen¹

75.1 ΕϞΧΙΤῆ MS: Read ἄῆΧΙΤῆ Thomassen: Ε(Ϟ)ΧΙΤῆ (i.e. ΑΧΙΤῆ) *ed. pr.*¹ 3 [Α]ΧΟΟC *ed. pr.*¹ 14 <ΠΕ>ΠΛῆΡΟΥΜΑ *ed. pr.*¹ 16-17 ΠΕΤ[Ο]ΥΨΨΕ Emmel: ΠΕ[ΤΟ]Υ<ΟΥ>ΨΨΕ *ed. pr.* (Ger., Wilson)¹ 17-18 Α[Χ]ῆ Emmel: Α[ΧΝ] Π or Α[ΖΝ]ῆ *ed. pr.*¹ 23 ΟΥΕΕΙ <ΕΝ> ΠΕ ΕΝΟΥΑΒΑΛ or ΟΥΕΕΙ <ΕΝ> ΠΕ [ΕΝ] ΟΥΑΒΑΛ (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 24 ἄΔΕ i.e. ἄΤΕ¹ 26 ΠΕΤΑΖῆ ΠΤΗΡῆ ΑΒΑΛ <ΠΕ> or <ΠΕΕΙ> ΠΕΤΑΖῆ ΠΤΗΡῆ ΑΒΑΛ <Ζῆ> *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

6. *The Imperfect Begetting by the Logos*

The aeons have brought [themselves] forth | in accord with the third ²⁰ fruit by the | freedom of the will | and by the wisdom | with which he favored them for their thought. | They do not wish to give honor ²⁵ [with] that which is from an agreement, [though] | it was produced for words of [praise] | for each of the Pleromas. | Nor do they wish | to give honor with the Totality. Nor do ³⁰ they wish (to do so) with anyone else | who was originally above | the depth of that one, or (above) his | place, except, however, for the one who exists | in the exalted name and ³⁵ in the exalted place, and only if he receives | from the one who wished (to give honor), ^{75.1} and takes it to him(self) for the one above | him, and (only if) he begets | him(self), so to speak, himself, and, | through that one, begets him(self) ⁵ along with that which he is, and himself | becomes renewed along with the one who came upon him, | by his brother, and sees him | and entreats him about the matter, | namely, he who wished to ascend to him.

¹⁰ So that it might be in this way, | the one who | wished to give honor does not say anything to him about this, | except only that there is a limit | to speech set in the Pleroma, so ¹⁵ that they are silent about the incomprehensibility | of the Father, but they speak about the one | who wishes to comprehend him. It came to | one of the aeons that he should attempt | to grasp the incomprehensibility ²⁰ and give glory to it and | especially to the ineffability of the Father. | [Since] he is a Logos of the unity, | he is one, though he is not from | the agreement of the Totalities, nor ²⁵ from him who brought them forth, | namely, the one who brought forth the Totality, the Father. |

This aeon was among those | to whom was given

νεϥ ν̄τσοφια ετ̄ϣ̄ρ 'ωρπ̄ ν̄ωσοοπ ποϥεει
 30 ποϥεει' " μ̄πεϣμεϥε' μ̄πετ̄ϣοϥαϣ̄ϣ̄ 'εϥ{οϥ}ν-
 του αβαλ ετβε πεει' 'αϣχι ν̄νοϥφϣςις ν̄σοφια
 'ατρεϣζατ̄ζ̄τ̄ ν̄σα π̄ςμινε' 'ετ̄θηπ ζως εϥ-
 35 καρπος ν̄σοφια πε' χε πιοϥωϣε ν̄ναϥτε{ϥ}-
 'ζοϥιος εταϥχπα{ϥ}ϣ μ̄ν 'νιπτηρ̄ϣ νεϣωσοοπ
 ος/76 ν̄νοϥλαϊβε 'ν̄πιοϥεει πιρητε ατρεϣ̄ρ " πεταϣ-
 οϥαϣ̄ϣ̄ εμ̄ν λαϥε' 'ρ̄ κατεχε μ̄μαϣ
 χε τ̄προ'αιρεςις δε μ̄πλογος ετε πε'ει πε
 5 νεοϥπετ̄νανοϥϣ πε " εαϣτ̄ μ̄πεϣοϥαει αϣτ̄ ε-
 'αϥ μ̄πιωτ' καν αϥοϥωζ 'ετοοτ̄ϣ̄ αϥζωβ ενεεϣ
 ατ̄βομ̄ 'εαϣοϥωϣε' αεινε' ν̄οϥεε[ι] 'αβαλ εϣ-
 10 χηκ' αβαλ ζ̄ν̄ν οϥ'τωτ' πεει ετενεϣωσοοπ'
 μ̄'μαϣ εν' αϥω εμ̄ντεϣ μ̄πο{ϥ}'αζ σαζνε' μ̄μεϥ
 αραϣ'
 χε 'πιαϥων νε οϥζαε πε' εαϣν'τοϥ αβαλ'
 15 κατα οϥτ̄ τοοτ̄ϣ̄ " ν̄νεϥερ̄ηϥ αϥω οϥωημ̄ 'πε'
 ζ̄ν̄ τεϣαειη' αϥω ζαϣη μ̄'πατ̄ϣ̄χπε δελαϥε'
 αϥεαϥ μ̄'πιοϥωϣε ζ̄ν̄ πτωτ δε ν̄νιπ[τη]'ρ̄ϣ̄
 20 αϣειρε ζ̄ν̄ οϥμ̄ν̄τ̄νοϣ " μ̄μ̄εεϥε αβαλ ζ̄ν̄ οϥ-
 αγαπη 'εσ̄ρ̄ ζοϥο' αϣτ̄ πεϣοϥαει[ε] 'απει'
 ετκαατ αζρη μ̄πκω'τε μ̄πιαϥ ετχηκ χε α'χ̄ν̄
 25 ποϥωϣε ε'ν̄ ν̄τε πιωτ' " πεταϥχπο μ̄πιλογος
 ετε πε'ει πε οϥδε αν αχ̄ν̄τ̄ϣ̄' εϣ'νατ̄ πεϣ-
 οϥαειε αλλα ν̄'ταϣ πιωτ' νεαϣητ̄ϣ̄ αβαλ' α'νεει'
 30 ετ̄ϣ̄σαϥνε' χε πετεϣ"ϣε πε ατροϥωϣπε
 χε πιωτ δε 'αϥω νιπτηρ̄ϣ αϥσακοϥ νεϥ
 σα'βολ μ̄μοϣ ατρεϣωϣπε 'εϣταχραειτ' ν̄χε
 35 {α}πζορος 'εντα<ζ>απιωτ' ταϣ̄ϣ̄ χε οϥα"βαλ
 εν πε' ν̄τεζω ν̄τμ̄ν̄τατ'τεζας αλλα ζ̄μ̄ ποϥω-

28 ετ{ϣ̄}ρ̄ (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 29 <μ>ποϥεει ποϥεει (?) *ed. pr.* Ger.¹ 30
 μ̄πεϣμεϥε MS: <ζ>μ̄ πεϣμεϥε *ed. pr.*: μ̄πε<τ>ϣμεϥε Mueller¹ 31
 εϥε{οϥ}ντοϥ Emmel: <χε> εϥε{οϥ}ντοϥ or αϥεαϥ ντεϥ *ed. pr.*
 (Ger.)¹ 32-34 These lines end with angular fillers (>).¹ 35 ν̄ναϥτε{ϥ} *ed. pr.*¹ 36
 χπα{ϥ}ϣ Emmel¹ 38 ν̄πιοϥεει, π̄ι written over two erased letters.¹

76.5 α{ϣ}τ̄ Thomassen¹ 6 αϥοϥωζ MS: αϣοϥωζ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 11 αϥω, α
 written over ε.¹ 13 εαϣ.τοϥ MS: Read εαϣητ̄ϣ̄ Attridge: εαϣητοϥ *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.): εαϣχ[ι]τοϥ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ 33 ν̄χε (i.e. ν̄βι) {α}πζορος *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.)¹ 34 εντα<ζ>α Emmel: εντα{α} *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 35 <π>τεζω (?) *ed.*
*pr.*¹

wisdom, so that he could become | pre-existent in each one's ³⁰ thought. By that which he wills | will they be produced. Therefore, | he received a wise nature | in order to examine the hidden basis, | since he is a wise fruit; ³⁵ for, the free will | which was begotten with | the Totalities was a cause | for this one, such as to make him do ^{76.1} what he desired, with no one | to restrain him.

The | intent, then, of the Logos, who | is this one, was good. ⁵ When he had come forth, he gave | glory to the Father, even if it led | to something beyond possibility, | since he had wanted to bring forth one | who is perfect, from an ¹⁰ agreement in which he had not been, | and without having the | command. |

This aeon was last to have | <been> brought forth by ¹⁵ mutual assistance, and he was small | in magnitude. And before | he begot anything else for the glory | of the will and in agreement with the Totalities, | he acted, magnanimously, ²⁰ from an abundant love, | and set out | toward that which surrounds | the perfect glory, for | it was not without the will of the Father ²⁵ that the Logos was produced, which | is to say, not without it | will he go forth. But | he, the Father, had brought him forth | for those about whom he knew that it was ³⁰ fitting that they should come into being.

The Father | and the Totalities drew away from him, | so that the limit | which the Father had set | might be established — for ³⁵ it is not from grasping

οζ/77 ψε ἰ̅ ἡπιωτ· αγω χεκασε αν· εγνα·'ψωπε· ἡβι
 νιζβηγε· ενταψω'πε αγοικονομια εснаψω-
 5 πε· 'εψασψεε наснаψωπε εν πε· ἰ̅ [2]ἡ πογ-
 ωνζ̅ авал ἡπληρωμα ἰ̅ [α]βαλ βε ἡπαει· масψε
 αρ̅ κα[τ]ἡγορι ἡпκim· ετε πλογος πε· ἰ̅ [α]λλα
 πετεψψε πε· атρἡψεχε α[п]κim· ἡτε πλογος·
 10 χε ογλαειβε πε ἰ̅ [N]ογοικονομια εστηψ
 атрес'ψωπε·

χε πλογος мен αρχπαq ἰ̅ ἡmin ἡμαq· εqχηκ
 ἡουεει ἡ[ο]γωτ· αγεαγ ἡπιωτ· πενταq[οy]α-
 15 ψq̅· αγω εqωκ· ζτηq ἡμοq ἰ̅ ἡεει δε ἡταqοyω-
 ψε αχιτοy ἰ̅ ζἡ οyτεzo· αρχπαy ζἡ ζενζαιβес
 ἰ̅ M[N] ζενειδωλον ἡἡ ζἡτανтἡ ἰ̅ χε ἡπεqψ vi
 20 ζα πбнδωψт ἡ[п]οyαειν αλλα αqбωψт α·ἰ̅ [п]-
 βαθος αρ̅ ζηт· сney авал ἡ[п]εει οyψωψε
 πε· ἡтаqἡκαζ ἡ[п]α ἡἡn οyрике· авал ζἡ
 тмнт·'ζηт сney ἡἡ пωψε· οyβψε· ἰ̅ ἡἡ οyἡἡт-
 25 ат·саyне ἡτεq αγω ἰ̅ <ἡп>εтψооp

χε πqбιν·qитq азρηἡ ἡἡ ἰ̅ πεqбἡδωψт авал·
 α[т]εzo ἡ'πιαттеz·aq αqтωк аретq̅ neq ἰ̅ ἡεq-
 30 ψооp ἡζηтq̅ ἡψωne· ἡδε· ἰ̅ ενταyοyαzoу ἡ-
 сωq· εzoyn ἰ̅ ἡтаρεqψωπε ἡса нвал ἡ'маq
 οyαεетq̅ εαyψωπε α'βαλ ζἡ тἡἡтζηт· сney χε
 35 πitἡтρεqzo ἡπιzoутобтq̅ ἡ'neay ἡτε πιωт·
 πετε пxice ἰ̅ ἡтеq ἡἡатарηxq̅ पेει ἡδε ἰ̅ ε-
 пq̅теzαq χε ἡпq̅ψαпq̅ ἰ̅

οη/78 χε πετε·αqнтq̅ βε авал ἡmin ἰ̅ ἡμοq· ἡноyαι-
 ωн ἡἡнтоy'ε ἡοyωт· αqпωт азρηἡ απε'τε пωq
 5 πε· αγω απисyнгеннс ἰ̅ ἡтеq ἡπληροyμα· αqкω
 ἰ̅ ἡπεтаzψωπε ζἡ пψта ἡ[N] ἰ̅ ἡενταyεit авал

77.4 εψασψεε нас Emmel: εψασψε εнас ed. pr.: εсψαψε (?) ed. pr.
 (Eng.): εψασψε εν <ен>ас Thomassen¹ 5 <πε>πληρωμα ed. pr.¹ 18 vi
 i.e. q1¹ 21 ἡтаqἡκαζ MS: Read ἡтаqἡκαζ ed. pr.¹ 23 <п>пωψε <πε> (?)
 ed. pr. (Ger.)¹ οyβψε <асψωπε> Thomassen¹ 25 <ἡп>εтψооp (?) ed. pr.
 (Fr., Ger.)¹ χε MS: <ἡ>χε (i.e. ἡβι) (?) ed. pr. (Ger.)¹ 28 {ἡεq}ψооp (?) ed.
 pr. (Ger.)¹ ἡδε i.e. δε¹ 32-33 πitἡтρεqzo ἡπιzoутоотq̅ MS: Read
 πitἡтρεqzo ἡπιzoу тоотq̅ Zandee: πiteqἡ zo ἡπιzoу тоотq̅ (?)
 Kasser¹ 35 ἡδε i.e. δε¹

78.5-6 ἡ[N] ἡενταy Emmel: ἡентаy ed. pr.¹

the incomprehensibility | but by the will ^{77.1} of the Father, — and furthermore, (they withdrew) so that | the things which have come to be might become | an organization which would come into being. | If it were to come, it would not come into being ⁵ by the manifestation of the Pleroma. | Therefore, it is not fitting to | criticize the movement which is the Logos, | but it is fitting that we should say about | the movement of the Logos that it is a cause ¹⁰ of an organization which has been destined to | come about.

The Logos himself caused it to happen, | being complete and unitary, | for the glory of the Father, whom | he desired, and (he did so) being content with it, ¹⁵ but those whom he wished to take hold of | firmly he begot in shadows | [and] copies and likenesses. | For, he was not able to bear the sight | of the light, but he looked into ²⁰ the depth and he doubted. | Out of this there was a division — he became | deeply troubled — and a turning away because of his | self-doubt and division, forgetfulness | and ignorance of himself and ²⁵ <of that> which is.

His self-exaltation and | his expectation of comprehending | the incomprehensible became firm for him | and was in him. But the sicknesses | followed him ³⁰ when he went beyond | himself, having come into being | from self-doubt, namely from the fact | that he did not <reach the attainment of> | the glories of the Father, the one whose exalted status ³⁵ is among things unlimited. This one | did not attain him, for he did not receive him. |

The one whom he himself brought forth ^{78.1} as a unitary aeon | rushed up to | that which is his and this kin of his | in the Pleroma abandoned ⁵ him who came to be in the defect along with | those who had come

ἄμαϛ [ϛη]ἰν οὐφανταςια· ϛως εννο[ϛϛ] ἰ εν νε·
 χε ἡταρεϛἡτῃ ἄβαλ ἰ ἡμαϛ· ἡχε πετ·αῖἡτῃ
 10 ἄβαλ [μ]ἰν ἡμοϛ εϛχἡκ ἡϛοϛο ἰ αϛῖ βωβ
 ἡπсματ ἡνοϛφϛсιϛ ἰ ἡсῖме εαсῖ χαιε ἡтес-
 м[ηт]ἰ ϛαϛοϛт·
 χε ἄβαλ мен ἡπε[εи] ἰ етаῖωта· ἡμιν ἡμαϛ·
 15 ἡ[εϛ]ἰωοοп мен ἡ<βи> नेताῖωω[πε] ἰ ἄβαλ ϛἡ
 πεϛμεοϛε· ἡἡ πε[εϛ]ἰ χисе ἡῖηт· ἄβαλ ἡδε ϛἡ
 ἰ πεт·χἡк ἡтеϛ αϛκααϛ αϛχ[ιтϛ] ἰ αῖρηἰ ανετε
 20 νοϛϛ νε· νεϛ[ω]ῖοп ἡπληρωμα εϛωοοп ἡ[ен]
 ἰ ἡноϛῖр πμεϛε νεϛ χε ε[ϛηα]ἰ νοϛῖρме· ἄβαλ· ϛἡ
 πεϛχῖαсι[ῖη]т ἰ
 χε πεнтаῖωωт· απχисе· ἡἡ ἰ πεнтаῖсакῃ·
 25 νεϛ ἡποϛωωἡπε εῖοϛαсῃ ἄλλα εϛεиε ἰ ἄβαλ
 [η]ноϛкарпос ϛἡ πληρωἡμα· αῖωαρωῖ ἡнеи
 ἡтаῖωωπε· ϛἡ πωта·
 30 χε πεнта[ϛ]ἰωωπε ἄβαλ ϛἡ πимееϛε ἡἡἡ-
 χαсιῖηт· εϛῖр миε ἡἡмаϛ мен ἡἡ ηпληρωμα
 ηаἰ ἰ εте ϛἡтaηтἡ νε· ἡтеϛ νε ἰ εῖἡиδαωлон
 ἰνεἰ ἡἡ ϛἡῖαиβес ἰ ἡἡ ἡἡφaηтaсια εϛο ἡχαιе
 35 ἡἡπлогос ἡἡ ποϛοεиη νεеи· εἰте ηα πимееϛε
 εтωοϛεит· εῖἡἡχπο ηλαϛε ен не· εтве пееи аη
 00/79 ἡ αρετοϛῖηη ηαωωπε ἡἡε ἰ ἡτοϛαρχη ἄβαλ ϛἡ
 πεтeneϛ[ω]οοп· ен атροϛт·стаϛ аη απε·[т]ἡ-
 5 ηαωωπε ен ἡтаϛ ἡде каτaἡ[ρα]ϛ οϛαεετοϛ
 εтωοοп ἡмаϛ ἰ [εϛ]ῖοεἰ ηαβ εϛοεἰ ἡἡἡἡἡαἡ
 ἰ [εϛтае]ἡаеит· ἡде ἡϛοϛο аηиρεη ἰ [εтто]εи
 араϛ неи ете ϛηῖαиβес ἰ [ηтеϛ] ηе· εϛт-
 10 саеиаеит ϛηη οϛтаηἡ[тη φο] ϛар ἡπιαωлон
 ωαϛχἰ саеи[ε η]тοοтῃ ἡπεеи ете οϛ<εи>αω-
 лон ἰ [η]тeϛ пе
 χε νεϛμεεϛε араοϛ ἰ [μ]ἡиη ἡмаϛ· χε ϛἡ-

9 ἡχε i.e. ἡβи¹ 13 ϛαϛοϛт, ο written over α.¹ 14 ἡ[εϛ] Emmel: η[εαϛ] *ed. pr.*¹ 15 ἡ<βи> *ed. pr.*¹ 21 ε[ϛηα] *ed. pr.* (Eng.): η[таϛ] *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ 26 <πε>πληρωμα *ed. pr.*¹ 30 ἡἡ<т>χαсιῖηηт *ed. pr.*¹ 36 εῖη, ε written over т.¹

79.3-4 απε·[т]ἡηαωωπε MS: απε·[т]ηηαωωπε *ed. pr.* (Eng., Ger.)¹ 4 ἡде i.e. δε¹ 5 εтωοοп MS: εϛωοοп Thomassen¹ 6 <ἡ>ηαβ *ed. pr.*¹ 11 οϛ<εи>αωлон *ed. pr.*¹

forth from him in | an imaginary way, since they are not his. |

When he who produced | himself as perfect actually did bring ¹⁰ himself forth, | he became weak like a female nature | which has abandoned its | virile counterpart.

From that | which was deficient in itself there ¹⁵ came those things which came into being | from his thought and [his] | arrogance, but from that | which is perfect in him he left it and raised [himself] | up to those who are his. He was ²⁰ in the Pleroma as | a remembrance for him so that he [would be] | saved from his arrogance. |

The one who ran on high and | the one who drew him to himself were not ²⁵ barren, but in bringing | forth a fruit in the Pleroma, | they upset those who | were in the defect. |

Like the Pleromas are the things which came into being from the ³⁰ arrogant thought, | which are their (the Pleromas') | likenesses, | copies, shadows, | and phantasms, lacking ³⁵ reason and the light, these | which belong to the vain thought, | since they are not products of anything. Therefore, ^{79.1} their end will be like | their beginning: from that which did | not exist (they are) to return once again to | that which will not be. It is they, however, ⁵ by themselves | who are greater, more powerful, | and more honored than the names | which are given to them, which are [their] shadows. | In the manner of a reflection are they beautiful. ¹⁰ For the [face] of the copy normally takes its beauty | from that of which it is a copy. |

They thought of themselves | that they are beings

- 15 ωωπε ογα[ε]ετοϋ νε· αγω ρηναταρχη νε·
 " [ρ]ωσ ενсeneу аβeλαγε εν eφ[ω]φοп ρa
 τογερh· eтвe пeeи neу[ω]ηz авал· ρη τμηнатр
 πιθε ' [м]η ηιμηнтапocтaтнc емпou[εв]βiαу
 20 μηпentaγωωπε eтвнн[тq]
 xe neγouωωe· aoyeρ ca[ρ]η· ηneyepny
 eγбpω· apaoу ' [ρη] touμηтmaeiεaoy eтωou-
 'ε[ι]т· eпeaу eтeyнтeуq· eуη'тeуq μηeу ηnoy-
 25 λαειβε " [нтe] тcуcтacиc eтnαωωπε· '
 [x]ε ρηтaнтη ne be· нтe netxa· 'ci· a<γ>qι-
 тou aρhη aуμηтmai'oyeρ caρne· μηпoue пoye
 30 μημαу kaтa пaειeoy μηпpен " eтqωooп ηzαι-
 вeс neq· eφp ' φaнтacε· aтpeqωωπε· eqa'ei·
 aneqepny·
 xe пmeeye be ηηи'кeкooye· мпeqωωπε eφ-
 35 oγa'cq· aλλa kaтa птaнтη <ηη>eтou'ωooп
 neу ηzαιвeс пeтaγ{a}μηeу apaq тhрq oуη-
 п./80 тeуq μηeу ' ηωhpe " naγω· ηтау neтaγmeye
 a'paу ηмау neoyηтeуcoу ' μηeу ηxпo· авал
 5 μηe[ei] ' acωωπε· aтpeρaρ eί авал η'μαу·
 ηxпo eρηpεqμηλa[ρ] ' ne· eρηpεqμiωe ne eρη-
 'pεqт ωтaртр ne· eρηaпocтa'тнc ne· ρηaтр
 πιθε ηε eρη'μαeiouyeρ caρne· ne· aγ[ηη]-
 10 "kezaine тhpoу μηпиpн[тe a]βαλ ρη neei·
 xe плогoc be a[q]ωωπε ηлаειβε· ηneeи
 η[таγ]ωωπε· aqoyωz· aтooтq η[ρoγo] ' ηρoγo
 15 ap aпopиc· aqeiωpη " aнти oγxωk· aqney aγ-
 ωт[а] ' aнти oуmoγxб aqney a[γoγ]ωωe· aнти
 oуcmиne aq[ney] ' aρηωтopтр aнти ρeηm[тaη]
 20 ' aρηтapaχh· oγaε aη mη [бaм] " μημαу aλαbe·

16 πeeи, π written over η.¹ 16-17 neу<oy>[ω]ηz ed. pr.¹ 17 τμηт, The first τ corrected from т.¹ 21 бpω i.e. xpo¹ 27 a<γ>qιтou Attridge¹ 29 пaειoγ i.e. пaειei¹ 30 eт(q)ωooп (?) ed. pr.¹ 34 <ηη>eтou'ωooп ed. pr. (Fr.): <η>eт(oγ)ωooп ed. pr. (Eng.): eт(oγ)ωooп or ηтaнтη eтou'ωooп or птaнтη eтou'ωooп neq ed. pr. (Ger.)¹ 35 пeтaγ{a} Emmel¹

80.2 μημαу <xe> (?) ed. pr.¹ 3 μηe[ei] Attridge: μηe[ay] ed. pr.¹ 9 aγ[ηη] Emmel: aγ[ω] ed. pr.¹ 13 η[ρoγo] Emmel: η[aε] ed. pr.¹ 14 aпopиc MS: Read aпopиa Attridge¹ 16-17 a[γoγ]ωωe ed. pr. (Ger.): a[γп]ωωe ed. pr. (Eng., Fr.)¹

existing by themselves | and are without a source,
¹⁵ since they do not see anything else | existing before
 them. Therefore, they | [lived] in disobedience | [and]
 acts of rebellion, without | having humbled them-
 selves before the one because of whom they came into
 being.

²⁰ They wanted to command | one another, over-
 coming one another | [in] their vain ambition, | while
 the glory which they possess | contains a cause ²⁵ [of]
 the system which was to be. |

They are likenesses of the things which are ex-
 alted. | They were brought to a lust for power | in each
 one of them, | according to the greatness of the name
³⁰ of which each is a shadow, | each one imagining
 that it is superior | to his fellows.

The thought of these | others was not barren, | but
 just like <those> ³⁵ of which they are shadows, all
 that | they thought about they have as | potential sons;
^{80.1} those of whom they thought | they had | as off-
 spring. Therefore, | it happened that many offspring
 came forth from them, ⁵ as fighters | as warriors, as |
 trouble makers, as apostates. | They are disobedient
 beings, | lovers of power. ¹⁰ All [the] other beings of
 this sort were [brought] | forth from these.

7. *The Conversion of the Logos*

The Logos was | a cause of those [who] | came into
 being and he continued all the more | to be at a loss
 and he was astonished. ¹⁵ Instead of perfection, he
 saw a defect; | instead of unification, he saw division; |
 instead of stability, he [saw] | disturbances; instead of
 [rests,] | tumults. Neither was it [possible] ²⁰ for him

ατρογῃ[ρρε ψ]ἑταρτῆ οὐδε μῆ βὰμ ῃμ[αφ]
 ἰ ατεκας νεαφῆ ατβὰμ τ[ηρφ] ἰ ἡταρεπῆτηρῆ
 αγω πῆχ[ι]ς[ε] ἰ κααφ ἡσωφ
 25 ἕε νεταρψωπ[ε] ἡ βε {πε} εμπουσουωνου
 μμ[ιν] ἰ ῃμοου αγω ἡπουσουφ[ν] ἰ ἡπληρωμα
 ενταρει αβα[λ] ἰ ῃμαγ· αγω ἡπουσουων ἰ πεν-
 30 ταρψωπε ἡλαειβε ἡἡπτρουψωπε
 ἕε πλογοϛ ἰ βε εφωοοπ ρηῆ ρῆ νιτωψε
 ἰ ἡπирητε ннаτсmine· ἡἡπεφουωρ ατοотῆ αεινε
 35 αἰβαλ ἡπρητε ἡρзенпровоἡλνοу· νετψοοπ ρῆ
 πληροуἡма νεαγ· ενταρψωπε· αγουεαγ ἰ ἡπι-
 π[α]/81 ωт αλλα ερεαφεινε· ἡ [α]βολ· {ρ}ἡρ.μῃτδωβ
 εγсавк· εγ[са]ψт нтоотῆ· ἡνιψωνε· νεει
 ἰ [нт]αφсаψт нтоотου ρωωφ αν ἰ [пт]антῆ ἡт-
 5 διαθεсис πε еταρῆ ουεει ἡουωт πε· ει еταρ·
 ψωπε· ἡλαειβε ἡνερβηγε· ἰ ετεἡсewоοп ἡ-
 ψарπῆ εν ἡmin ἰ ῃμοου
 ἕε ψα πεει πεταρεινε ἰ αβαλ· ἡνεει ἡπирη-
 10 τε· еταρῆ ἡ ὄρωρ· επῶта· ψα πινεγ етаφἡтаχο
 ἡνεει ενταγψωπε етἡнтῆ ката λογос εν ете
 15 питаἡχο πε· еταρψωπε ἡноукрисис ἰ еφἡ ουβη-
 ου αγτεκο ἡ [ε]τε νεει νε ἡταρἡ ουβε ткрисис
 ἰ [ε]сoунз ἡсωоу нби твлке· еоу[р]εφωп[ε]
 δε· αγω ουρεφсω[τε]· τε ἡтоугнωмн ἡ тоу-
 20 [м]ἡтапостатнс εαβαλ ἡмас ἡ [πε] ἡноуоуρ
 αροун πετεψαγ[м]оуτε араφ ан ἕε μεταноἡ-
 [α αφ]пωωне εροун ἡби πλογοϛ· ἰ α[ке]гнωмн
 αγω кемееге· ἰ εα[φ]наоуρῆ αβαλ· ἡνεθαγ·
 25 ἡ αφнаоуρῆ εροун· енетнаоуἡоу пноуρ·
 εροун· аφогаρῆ ἡсωφ нби пимеге ἡте неτ-

22 ατεκας MS: ατεκαγ *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹ 25 {πε} Attridge¹ 27
 ἡ<πε>πληρωμα *ed. pr.*¹ ενταρει MS: Read ενταγει Attridge¹ 28 ἡμαγ
 MS: ἡμαφ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 34 ἡρэн, ε written over с.¹ 35 ρῆ <πε>πληρωμα
 or <ἡ>ρ<ε>ἡπληρωμα *ed. pr.*¹

81.1 {ρ}ἡρ<ἡ> Emmel: ρῆоу Zandee: <ἡ>ρῆ{ρ} Thomassen¹ 2 ἡтоотῆ
 MS: Read ἡтоотоу *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 9 ἡπирητε <πε> *ed. pr.*¹ 17 ψωп[ε] *ed.*
pr. (Eng., Fr.)¹ δε i.e. τεἡсω[τε], с written over ψ.¹ 20 [πε] Attridge: [ан]
*ed. pr.*¹ 22 [αφ]пωωне Zandee: [εφ]пωωне *ed. pr.*¹ 26 пноуρ·ε <ε>ροун
 (?) *ed. pr.*¹

to make them cease from [loving] | disturbance, nor
was it possible for him | to destroy it. He was com-
pletely powerless, | once his totality and his exaltation
| abandoned him.

Those who had come into being ²⁵ not knowing
themselves | both did not know | the Pleromas from
which they came forth | and did not know | the one
who was the cause of ³⁰ their existence.

The Logos, | being in | such unstable conditions, |
did not continue to bring | forth anything like emanations,
³⁵ the things which are in the Pleroma, | the
glories which exist for the honor | of the Father.
Rather, he brought ^{81.1} forth little weaklings, | [hinder-
ed] by the illnesses | by which he too was hindered.
| It was the likeness of the disposition which was ⁵ a
unity, that which | was the cause of the things | which
do not themselves exist from the first. |

Until the one who brought | forth into the defect
these things which were thus ¹⁰ in need, until he |
judged those who came into being because | of him
contrary to reason — which is the judgment | which
became a condemnation — | he struggled against
them unto destruction, ¹⁵ that is, the ones who strug-
gled against the condemnation | and whom the wrath
pursues, while | it (the wrath) accepts and | redeems
(them) from their (false) opinion and | apostasy, since
from it ²⁰ [is] the conversion which is | also called
“metanoia.” | The Logos turned to [another] opinion |
and another thought. | Having turned away from evil,
²⁵ he turned toward the good things. | Following the
conversion came | the thought of the things which ex-

- ψοοπ ἰ μῆ πισαπῆ ρα πρα ἡπρεφναοϋρῆ ἰ ἀραϋ
 ἡμιν ἡμαϋ ἡπετναοϋϋ
 30 ἡ χε νταϋ ἡψαρῆ πετρῆ πληροϋμα: πεταρ-
 τωβῆ ἡμαϋ αῶ εϋῖρῆ πμεεϋε: εἰδα νεφσνηϋ
 ἰ κατα οϋεεἰ οϋεεἰ αῶ σεπ τηρῆ ἰ μῆ νεφερηϋ
 35 εἰτα ἡταϋ τηροϋ ἡ ραθν δε ἡνεεἰ τηροϋ πιωτ:
 πβ/82 ἡ νερεπισαπῆ βε ἡτε πιτωτ [πε] ἰ νεοϋβνηθια
 πε: ατρεϋῖτσαϋ εροϋν ἡμιν ἡμ[αϋ] ἰ αῶ πτηρῆ
 5 χε ἡνεῖ οϋλαεἰβε ἡ νεϋ πε: ατρεϋῖρῆ πμεεϋ[ε]
 ἰ ἡνετψοοπ ἡψαρῆ ἡεῖτροϋῖρῆ ἡεϋμμεεϋε: ετε
 παῖεἰ πε πμεεϋε ετωψ αβαλ ἰ ἡποϋαεἰε: εϋτσο
 ἡμαϋ:
 10 ἡ χε πισαπσπῆ τηρῆ ἡτεϋ μῆ ἰ πιῖ <π>μεεϋε:
 νεϋψοοπ ἡρῆῖβομ εναψωοϋ κα<τα> πιροροϋ
 ἰ ον εῖτῆμεϋ χε μῆ λαϋε: ἰ ψοοπ εϋοϋασῆ ἡτεϋ
 ἡπμεϋ[ε]
 15 ἡ χε νἰβαμ βε νενανοϋοϋ π[ε] ἰ αῶ ναϋοϋ-
 λει ἡροϋο ανα π[ἰ]ῖταντῆ νετῆμμεϋ γαρ να π[ἰ]-
 ῖταντῆ ἡταϋ να οϋςια ἡκρ[οϋ] ἰ νε: αβαλ ρῆν
 20 οϋφαντ[ασια] ἡ ἡτε οϋταντῆ μῆ οϋμεϋ[ϋε] ἰ ἡ-
 μῆ[ἡ]χασἰρητ: εϋψ[οοπ ἡ]ῖπετεαῶωπε: νεεἰ
 ἡδε [ἡ]ῖταϋ ρῆναβαλ νε ρῆ π[ἡ]μεϋε ἰ εῖταῖρῆ
 ψαρῆ ἡσοϋψ[ἡ]οϋ
 25 ἡ χε νεεἰ βε εῖτῆμμεϋ να οϋῖω ἡπρητε: ἡνοϋ-
 ω<β>ψε νε ἰ αῶ οϋρῆνῆβ εϋραρψ: εϋοἰ ἰ ἡ-
 πρητε: ἡνετπῖρ: ρεσοϋε ἰ εϋψτῖρταρῖ: νεεἰ
 30 ετεψαρεἡ οϋρῆνῆβ οϋαρῆ ἡσωοϋ εϋῖχῖχῖαλτ:
 ἡβἰ νετῖπερ ρεσοϋε: νἰκεκοοϋε δε εϋο ἡ-

28 ἡπ<τ>ρεφναοϋρῆ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 30 <πε>πληροϋμα *ed. pr.*¹ 32 εἰδα
 i.e. εἰτα¹ 33 σεπ τηρῆ Schenke: <ν>σε πτηρῆ (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.): σε
 <ε>πτηρῆ *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹ 34 νεφερηϋ MS: Read νεϋερηϋ Attridge¹ εἰτα, ε
 written over γ.¹ 35 ἡνεεἰ, ἡ written over τ.¹

82.1 πιτωτ [πε] Emmel: πιτωβ[ρ] Thomassen¹ 2-3 These lines begin with
 fillers (>).¹ 3 τσ<τ>αϋ *ed. pr.*¹ εροτῆ <αραϋ> Thomassen¹ 6 πε [α] or <α>
 (?) Attridge¹ 7 τροϋῖρ MS: τρεϋῖρ *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹ 9 εϋτς<τ>ο *ed. pr.*¹ 10 The
 line begins with a filler (>).¹ 11 <π>μεεϋε *ed. pr.*¹ 12 κα<τα> *ed. pr.*¹ 18
 οϋςια ἡκρ[οϋ] Emmel: οϋςια νκε[κε] Thomassen¹ 21 μῆ[ἡ] <τ>χασἰρητ
*ed. pr.*¹ εϋψ[οοπ ἡ] or εϋψ[οοπ ρῆ] *ed. pr.*: εϋψ[οϋεἰτ] Thomassen¹ 22
 ἡδε i.e. δε¹ 23 π[ἡ]μεϋε Emmel¹ 24 ἡσοϋψ[ἡ]οϋ Emmel¹ 26 οϋω<β>ψε
ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 29 οϋρῆνῆβ MS: οϋεεἰ Thomassen¹

ist | and the prayer for the one who converted | himself
to the good.

³⁰ The one who is in the Pleroma | was what he first
prayed to and | remembered; then (he remembered)
his brothers | individually and (yet) always | with one
another; then all of them together; ³⁵ but before all of
them, the Father. ^{82.1} The prayer of the agreement |
was a help for him | in his own return | and (in that of)
the Totality, for a cause ⁵ of his remembering | those
who have existed from the first was | his being re-
membered. This | is the thought which calls out | from
afar, bringing him back.

¹⁰ All his prayer and | remembering were | numer-
ous powers according to that limit. | For there is noth-
ing | barren in his thought.

¹⁵ The powers were good | and were greater than
those of the | likeness. For those belonging to the | like-
ness also belong to a nature of [falsehood]. | From an
illusion ²⁰ of similarity and a thought | of arrogance
has [come about] | that which they became. And they |
originate from the thought | which first knew [them.]

²⁵ To what do the former beings pertain? | They are
like forgetfulness | and heavy sleep; being | like those
who dream | troubled dreams, to whom ³⁰ sleep comes
while they — | those who dream — are oppressed. |

1 ΠΡΗΤΕ ΝΖΝΖΑΕΙΝΕ· ΝΟΥΑΕΙΝ¹ ΝΕΦ· ΕΥΒΑΨΤ¹ ΑΒΑΛ
 35 ΑΧΩΦ¹ || ΜΠΡΡΕ ΜΠΡΗ· ΕΑΣΩΨΠΕ ΑΤΡΟΥΝΕΥ ΑΖΝ-
 ΡΕΣΟΥΕ ΝΖΗΤ῀¹ ΕΥΟΥ<2>ΑΛΒ· ΜΑΜΗΕ ΝΤΟΥ
 ΠΓ/83 || ΜΕΝ ΗΔΗ ΑΣΩΧῆ·Ε·¹ [Α]ΝΙΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ·ΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΙ-
 ΜΕΥΕ·¹ [ΝΕ]ΜῆΤΟΥ ΖΟΥΟ ΜΜΕΥ ΠΕ·¹ [Ν]ΤΟΥΟΥ-
 5 ΣΙΑ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝ ΝΕ·¹ [Μ]ῆΤΕΥ ΤΑΕΙΟ· ΜΜΕΥ ΠΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ
¹ [Χ]Ε· ΕΦΩΨ ΕΝ Μῆ ΝΕΤῚ ΨΡῆ·¹ ῆΨΩΠΕ·
 ΕΨΧΠΕ ΝΕΥΣΑΤῆ· ΑΝ¹ [Α]ΝΤΑΝΤῆ· ΝΕ ΠΑΕΙ
 ΟΥΑΕΕΤ῀¹ [Π]ΕΤΟΥΧΑΣΕ ΑΡΑΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ
 10 || [Ζ]ῆΝΑΒΑΛ ΖῆΝ ΟΥΓῆΩΜΗ ΕΝ·¹ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΕ·
 ΧΕ ΝΤ[Α]ΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ Ζῆ ΠΨΩΝΕ ΝΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ·
 15 ΕΤΕ ΤΓΝΩΜΗ· ΕΤ·¹ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΤΟΟΤ῀ ῆΣΕ ΠΕ·¹ ΤΑΖ-
 ΨΙΝΕ· ῆΣΕ ΠΕΤῚ ΨΑΡῆ¹ ῆΨΩΠΕ· ΕΑΦΤΩΒῆ· ΑΥΩ
 ΑΦΧΙΤ῀¹ ῆΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠ[Ε]ΤΝΑ[Ν]ΟΥΓ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦ-
 20 ΣΙΤΕ ῆΖΗΤΟΥ¹ [ῆ]ΝΟΥΠΡΟΕΡΕΣΙC ῆΨΙΝΕ || [Α]ΥΩ
 ΝΤΩΒῆ ΝΤΟΟ[Τ]῀ ΜΠΕΤ·[Τ]ΑΕΙΑΕΙΤ· ΕΤῚ ΨΑΡῆ
 ῆΨΟΟΠ·¹ [Α]ΥΩ ΑΦΣΙΤΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ῆΝΟΥΜΕΥΕ
¹ [ΑΡ]ΑΦ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΜΑΚΜΕΚ ΑΤΡΟΥ[Μ]ΕΥΕ· ΧΕ ΟΥῆ
 25 ΝΟΒ ΑΡΑΥ ΦΨΟ¹[ΟΠ] ΖΑ ΤΟΥΕΖΗ· ΕΜΠΟΥῆΜΕ¹ [ΧΕ]
 ΕΥ ΠΕΤΕΝΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΕΥΧΠΟ¹ [Μ]ΠΙΤ¹ ΜΕΤΕ· Μῆ
 ΤΜῆΤ·ΜΑ[Ε] [Ι] ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ· ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ ΠΜΕΥΕ·¹ ΕΤῆ-
 30 ΜΕΥ {ΕΤΜΜΕΥ} ΑΥΕΙΡΕ ΖΡΗ¹ || Ζῆ ΤΜῆΤ·ΟΥΕΕΙΕ Μῆ
 ΤΓΝΩΜΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ· ΖΩC ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ ΤΜῆΤΟΥΕΕΙ Μῆ
 ΤΓΝΩΜΗ ῆΟΥΩΤ· ΕΑΥΧΙ Μ[Π]ΤΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ¹
 35 ΧΕ ΝΤΑΥ ΒΕ ΑΥΒΡΨ· ΑΡΑΟΥ || ΝΤΜῆΤ{ΜΝ}ΜΑΕΙ-
 ΠΔ/84 [Ο]ΥΕΖ CΑΖΝΕ¹ ΧΕ ΝΑΥΤΑΕΙΑΕΙ[Τ]· ΝΖΟΥΟ || ΑΝΙ-
 ΨΑ[Ρ]Π ΕΝΤΑΥΦ[ΙΤ]ΟΥ [Α]ΖΡΗ¹ ΑΧΩΟΥ· ΝΕῆΠΠΕ
¹ ΝΕ·ΤῆΜ[ΕΥ] ῆΘΒΒΙΑΥ ΝΕΥΜΕΥΕ ΑΡΑΦ[Υ] ῆΧΕ
 5 ΖΕΝΨΩΠΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΜΜΑ[Υ] || ΟΥΑΕΕΤΟΥ ΝΕ· ΑΥΩ·
 Ζ[Ε]ΝΑΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΕ· ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Α[ΒΑΛ] ῆῆΨΑΡῆ· ΚΑΤΑ

37 ΕΥΟΥΑΛΒ MS: ΕΥ<2>ΑΛΒ *ed. pr.*¹

83.1 [ῆΤΑΣ] ΜΕΝ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ ΑΣΩΧΝΕ MS: ΑΦΩΧΝΕ (?) Attridge: <ΑΥΡΠΕΙΡΕ> Α[C]ΩΧΝΕ (?) Thomassen¹ 6 ΕΦΩΨ MS: ΕΥΩΨ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ ΕΝ, Ε written over an unidentifiable letter.¹ 8 [Α]ῆΤΑΝΤῆ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): [ΑΠ]ΙΤΑΝΤῆ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ ΙΙ ΝΕ, Ν written over Γ.¹ 21 The line ends with an angular filler (>).¹ 29 {ΕΤῆΜΕΥ} *ed. pr.*¹ 35 {ΜΝ} *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹

84.7 <ῆ>ῆΨΑΡῆ (?) *ed. pr.*¹

The others are | like some creatures of light | for him,
 looking for ³⁵ the rising of the sun, since it happened
 that | they saw in him dreams | which are truly sweet.
^{83.1} It immediately put a stop | [to] the emanations of
 the thought. | They [did] not any longer have | their
 substance and also they did ⁵ not have honor any
 longer. |

Though he is not equal to those who | pre-existed, if
 they were superior to | the likenesses, it was he alone |
 through whom they were more exalted than those,
¹⁰ for they are not from a good intent. |

It was not | from the sickness which came into being
 that they were produced, | from which is the good in-
 tent, | but (from) the one who ¹⁵ sought after the pre-
 existent. | Once he had prayed, he both raised | him-
 self to the good | and sowed in them | a pre-disposition
 to seek ²⁰ and pray to the | glorious pre-existent one, |
 and he sowed in them a thought | about him and an
 idea, so that they should | think that something
 greater than themselves ²⁵ exists prior to them, al-
 though they did not understand | what it was. Beget-
 ting | harmony and mutual love | through that
 thought, | they acted in ³⁰ unity and unanimity, | since
 from | unity and from unanimity | they have received
 their very being. |

They were stronger than them ³⁵ in the lust for
 power, | for they were more honored ^{84.1} than the first
 ones, who had been raised | above them. Those had
 not | humbled themselves. They thought about them-
 selves | that they were beings originating from them-
 selves ⁵ alone and were | without a source. As they

brought [forth] | at first according to their own birth, | the two orders assaulted one another, | fighting for ¹⁰ command because of their manner of | being. As a result, they were submerged in | forces and natures | in accord with the condition of mutual assault, | having ¹⁵ lust for power | and all other things | of this sort. It is from these that the | vain love of glory draws | all of them to ²⁰ the desire of the lust | for power, while none | of them has the exalted | thought nor acknowledges | it.

The powers ²⁵ of this thought are prepared | in the works of the pre-existent | <ones>, those of which they are | the representations. For the order | of those of this sort ³⁰ had mutual | harmony, but it | fought against the order | of those of the likeness, while the order | of those of the likeness wages war ³⁵ against the representations and acts | against it alone, because of its | wrath. ^{85.1} From this it [...] | them [...] | one another, many [...] | necessity appointed them [...] ⁵ and might prevail [...] | was not a multitude, [...] | and their envy and their [...] | and their wrath and violence and | desire and prevailing ignorance ¹⁰ produce empty matters and | powers of various sorts, mixed in | great number with one another; while the mind of the Logos, who was | a cause of their beget-

- 15 ἑροῦν εποῶνζ̄· αβαλ ἄτε θ[ελ]π[ιc] ἥ εἰνα-
 ψωπε νεq ἄπca ἄρε·
 χε πλογο[c] ἥ εἰταζκίμ νεοῦντεq ἄμεγ ἄ-
 ἥελπίc· ἄἄ πβωψ̄ αβαλ ἀχωq ἄἄπετχασί να
 †ζαειβес мен ἀqнаζ'οῦq ἄcαβαλ ἄἄμαγ κατa
 20 cματ нιἄ ἥ ζωc εῦ† οὔβηq ἀγω ζἄατῶββιαγ
 ἥ νεq νε· ἄπψα ἀqἄταν δε ἄἄμαq ἥ ἀχἄ να
 πимееγe ἀγω πееи етκн ἥ ἀζρηἄ ἄπирητε· ἀγω
 εqψооp ζἄ πι'τωψe· етχасe· еqειρε ἄπμεγ-
 25 ἥογe· ἄπεταζψта· ἀπлогос мисe· ἥἄмаq ζἄἄ
 οὔἄἄтатнеу ἀрас ἥ ζἄἄ нетаζψωπε κατa π-
 мееγe· κατa ἥ πееи етeneqψооp нмееγ πe·
 30 ἥψateпоγaειн π̄ре νεq αβαλ ἄἄπca ἄρηἄ
 ἄρεqтἄζo πееи ἄтаγχпаq ἥ αβαλ ζἄἄ πимееγe·
 нтмἄтмаїcан· ἥ δε ἄἄἄπληρωμα ет̄ ψрп̄ ἄψо-
 оп ἥ
 χе пислате еἰтаζψωπε ἀναίω[н] ἥ ἄτε π-
 35 ωт· ἄἄἄπτηр̄q етеἄпоγψп ἥ ἄκαζ· ἀγχит̄q ἀραγ
 ζωc εἰооῦ πe ἥ ζἄἄ οὔἄἄχaειραоῦψ· ἄἄ οὔ-
 мἄтатр вф[н] ἥ ἀγω ζἄἄ οὔἄἄтζлβε енаψωc
 π̄ς/86 ἥ [ἀγχитq ннип]τηр̄q ἀтpоῦтceво ἀπ[ψта αβαλ
 ζи]тoоt̄q ἄπιογееи πα[ει етoγтаχ]pо тнpоу
 αβαλ ζитoоt̄q ἥ [οὔaеет̄q]· ἀλαб ἄψта·
 5 χе †та[зic етаζψ]ωπε νεq ἄтacψωπε ζἄ
 ἥ нетаζпф[т] а[п]χисe· ἄἄ πεтаζнт̄q νεq
 ἥ αβαλ ἄἄмоq ἀγω αβαλ ζἄἄ пχωк тнpq ἥ πεтаζ-
 пωт· мен ἀпχисe· ἀqψωπε ἄρεq'caпcп· ζa
 10 πεтаζр̄ ψта· οὔβε тпpоἥβολн ἄτε наиων еἰ-
 таζψωπε· καт[а] ἥ нетψооp· нтаγ ἄде ἄта-
 реqceп'cωпоу аγ† μεте мн οὔρεψe ἄἄἄ οὔ-
 ψωe· еζнеу· ἄἄ ζἄcῦмфωниа ἥ ἄп† μεте·
 15 ἀтpоῦр̄ вонθiа ἀπε[таζ]ἄр̄ ψта· ἀγeи ἀγма ἄἄ

29 αβαλ <ζ>ἄ ed. pr.¹ 32 δε i.e. ἄτε¹ 35 ἄκαζ, κα written over πi.¹ 36 οὔἄἄ<т>χaειραоῦψ ed. pr.¹ 37 The line ends with three angular fillers (>).¹

86.1 [ἀγχитq ннип]τηр̄q Attridge: [ἄπiωт ннип]τηр̄q or [аγ† cω мп]τηр̄q or [аγχпо ннип]τηр̄q ed. pr.¹ 1-2 ἀπ[ψта αβαλ ζи]тoоt̄q Attridge: ат[свω αβαλ ζи]тoоt̄q or ἀп[иcаγне αβαλ ζи]тoоt̄q ed. pr.¹ 2-3 πα[ει етoγтаχ]pо Attridge: πα[ει аη етoγтаχ]pо ed. pr.¹ 11 ἄде i.e. δε¹

ting, was open to | a revelation of the hope ¹⁵ which would come to him from above.

8. *The Emanation of the Savior*

The Logos | which moved had | the hope and the expectation of him | who is exalted. As for those of the shadow, he separated | himself from them in every way, ²⁰ since they fight against him and are not at all humble | before him. He was content | with the beings of the thought. And as for the one who is set up | in this way and who is within the | exalted boundary, remembering ²⁵ the one who is defective, the Logos brought him forth | in an invisible way, | among those who came into being according to the thought, according | to the one who was with them, | until the light shone upon him from ³⁰ above as a lifegiver, the one who was begotten | by the thought of brotherly love | of the pre-existent Pleromas. |

The stumbling, which happened to the aeons | of the Father of the Totalities who did ³⁵ not suffer, was brought to them, as if it were their own, | in a careful and non-malicious | and immensely sweet way. ^{86.1} [It was brought to the] Totalities so that they might be instructed about the | [defect] by the single one, | from whom [alone] they all [received strength] | to eliminate the defects.

The order ⁵ [which] was his came into being from | him who ran [on] high and that which brought itself forth | from him and from the entire perfection. | The one who ran on high became | for the one who was defective an intercessor with the ¹⁰ emanation of the aeons which had come into being in accord with | the things which exist. When he prayed | to them, they consented joyously and | willingly, since they were in agreement, and with harmonious | consent, to aid the

νοϋερνοϋ· ¹εϋρ̄ αιτῑ ᾠπιωτ̄· ρ̄ν̄ οϋμ̄εεϋε εϋρ̄
 ψεϋ ¹ατρ̄εσψωπε̄ ἄβῑ †βον̄θια· αβ̄αλ̄ ᾠ̄π̄σα
 ν̄ρ̄η̄ ἄτοοτ̄ῶ ᾠπιωτ̄· αϋεαϋ̄ νεϋ ¹ρ̄ωσ̄ ενεϋ-
 20 ναψ̄ χ̄ωκ̄ ἄκ̄ερ̄ητε̄ εν̄ ἄβῑ ἥ πενταρ̄ῶ ψτα· ε̄ιμη-
 τῑ ϋρ̄ ρ̄νεϋ ἄβῑ π̄ῑπ̄ληρωμα· ἄπ̄ιωτ̄· εν̄ταϋσακ̄ῶ
 νεϋ ¹ἄϋοϋανρ̄ῶ αϋω̄ ἄϋ† ᾠπεταρ̄ῶ ¹ψτα· αβ̄αλ̄
 β̄ε ρ̄ἄ π̄ι† μετε· ρ̄ν̄ οϋ̄ωψ̄ε ᾠ̄π̄ρεψ̄ε· εν̄ταρ̄-
 25 ψωπε· αϋ̄ε̄ῑνε̄ αβ̄αλ̄· ᾠ̄π̄ικ̄αρ̄ποσ̄· εϋ̄χ̄πο̄ ἄ̄ν̄τε
 †μ̄ἄ†† μετε̄ πε· εοϋ̄ε̄εῑ ἄ̄νοϋωτ̄ πε· ε̄πᾱ ν̄ιπ̄-
 τηρ̄ῶ πε̄ εϋοϋ̄ω̄ν̄ρ̄ αβ̄αλ̄ ᾠ̄π̄ιμοϋ̄ν̄κ̄ ἄ̄ρ̄ο̄ ἄ̄δε·
 30 ἄ̄π̄ιωτ̄· ε̄τε̄αϋ̄μεϋε̄ αραϋ̄ ἄβῑ ν̄αιων̄ ἥ εϋ† εαϋ̄
 εϋτωβ̄ρ̄ ἄ̄βον̄θια ᾠ̄ποϋ̄σαν̄ ρ̄ν̄ †γ̄ν̄ωμ̄η· εν̄τα-
 πιωτ̄· ἀπ̄ῶ ἄ̄ν̄μ̄μεϋ̄ αρασ̄ ρ̄ωσ̄ ρ̄ἄ οϋ̄ωψ̄ε̄ ᾠ̄
¹οϋ̄ρεψ̄ε· εϋ̄ψ̄αϋ̄ε̄ῑνε̄ ᾠ̄π̄ικ̄αρ̄ποσ̄ ε̄βολ̄ αϋω̄
 35 π̄ι† μετε̄ ἄ̄ν̄τε ἥ ποϋ̄ω̄ν̄ρ̄· ἄ̄ν̄τε̄ π̄μοϋ̄χ̄δ̄ ἄ̄νεϋ
¹ἄ̄ν̄μ̄μεϋ̄ ε̄τε̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ πε̄ ἄ̄δε̄ ποϋ̄ωψ̄ε̄ ἄ̄νεϋ
 π̄ζ/87 αϋοϋ̄ανρ̄ῶ ἥ ἀπ̄ω̄η̄ρε· ἄ̄δε̄ π̄ωκ̄· ἄ̄ρ̄η̄τ̄ ἄ̄δε· ἄ̄ν̄ιπ̄-
 τηρ̄ῶ αϋ̄τε̄ε̄ιϋ̄ ἄ̄νοϋ̄ρ̄ῶσ̄οϋ̄ ἄ̄ρ̄ῶοϋ̄ π̄ε̄εῑ ε̄τε̄
 αβ̄αλ̄ ρ̄ῖτοοτ̄ῶ ἄ̄ϋ† ᾠ̄π̄χ̄ωκ̄ ᾠ̄πε̄νταρ̄ῶ ψτα·
 5 ἥ αϋω̄ αϋ† ᾠ̄π̄ταχ̄ρο̄ ἄ̄νετ̄χ̄ηκ̄ ἄ̄π̄ε̄εῑ ε̄τοϋ̄μοϋ-
 τε̄ αραϋ̄ ρ̄ν̄ οϋ̄μ̄ἄ††χ̄ᾱε̄ις̄ χ̄ε̄ σ̄ωτηρ̄· αϋω̄
 π̄ιρεϋσ̄ωτε̄ ἄ̄ϋω̄ π̄ῑεϋ̄δοκ̄η̄τοσ̄ αϋω̄ π̄ῑμ̄ἄ̄ρῑτ̄·
¹π̄ᾱεῑ ε̄ταϋ† ρ̄ο̄ αραϋ̄ αϋω̄ π̄χ̄(ρῑστο)σ̄ αϋω̄
 10 ἥ ποϋ̄ᾱεῑν̄ ἄ̄νετ̄τηψ̄· κᾱτᾱ νεταϋ̄ἄ̄ν̄τ̄ῶ αβ̄αλ̄ ᾠ̄-
 μαϋοϋ̄· ε̄αϋ̄ψωπε̄ ἄ̄ν̄ῑρῑεν̄ ἄ̄ν̄ῑμ̄ἄ̄ν̄τε̄ρ̄ο̄ ᾱρετ̄ῶ
 <ε̄τ̄>το̄ε̄ῑ ἄ̄ραϋ̄ ἥ̄ οϋ̄ γαρ̄ πε̄ π̄κε̄ρε̄ν̄ ᾱχο̄οϋ̄
 15 ἄ̄ραϋ̄ ἄ̄σᾱ π̄ω̄η̄ρε· ἄ̄θε̄ ε̄ταν̄ω̄ρ̄ῶ ἥ̄ ἄ̄χο̄οσ̄·
 ε̄πε̄εῑ πε̄ π̄σαϋ̄νε̄ ἄ̄ν̄τε̄ π̄ιωτ̄· εν̄ταϋοϋ̄ωψ̄ε̄·
 ᾱτροϋ̄σοϋ̄ω̄ν̄ῶ·
 χ̄ε̄ οϋ̄ ᾠ̄μον̄ον̄ χ̄ε̄ ρ̄αν̄ναιων̄ ἄ̄χ̄πο· ᾠ̄-
 π̄μοϋ̄<ν>κ̄ ἄ̄ρ̄ο̄ ἄ̄δε̄ π̄ιωτ̄· εν̄ταϋ†† εαϋ̄ νεϋ
 20 πετ̄σ̄η̄ρ̄ ἄ̄ν̄ ἄ̄ψ̄αρ̄ῶ ἄ̄λλα ἥ̄ αϋ̄χ̄πο̄ ᾠ̄ποοϋ̄ ρ̄ωοϋ̄
 ἄ̄ν̄ χ̄ε̄ νε<ι>αιων̄ ἄ̄νε̄εῑ ε̄τ† εαϋ̄ αϋ̄χ̄πο̄ ᾠ̄ποϋ̄-

28 ἄ̄δε̄ i.e. ἄ̄ν̄τε̄¹ 33 εϋ̄ψ̄αϋ̄ MS: ε(ϋ)ψ̄αϋ̄ (=εψ̄αροϋ) *ed. pr.* 37 ἄ̄δε̄ i.e. ἄ̄ν̄τε̄¹

87.1 ἄ̄δε̄ (bis) i.e. ἄ̄ν̄τε̄¹ 10 νεταϋ̄, ν written over τ. 10-11 νεταϋ̄ἄ̄ν̄τ̄ῶ αβ̄αλ̄ ᾠ̄μαϋοϋ̄ MS: νεταϋ̄ἄ̄ν̄τοϋ̄ αβ̄αλ̄ ᾠ̄μαϋ *ed. pr.* ἄ̄ν̄ῑρῑεν̄ MS: ε̄ν̄ῑρῑεν̄ Thomassen¹ 12 μ̄ἄ††<τ>ε̄ρ̄ο̄ *ed. pr.* <ε̄τ̄>το̄ε̄ῑ *ed. pr.* 17 ᾠ̄μον̄ον̄ χ̄ε̄ i.e. ᾠ̄μον̄ον̄ β̄ε̄¹ 18 μοϋ̄<ν>κ̄ *ed. pr.* ἄ̄δε̄ i.e. ἄ̄ν̄τε̄¹ 20 νε<ι>αιων̄ Mueller¹

¹⁵ defective one. They gathered together, | asking the
 Father with beneficent intent | that there be aid from |
 above, from the Father, for his glory, | since the defec-
 tive one could not become perfect in any other way,
²⁰ unless it was the will of | the Pleroma of the Father,
 which he had drawn to himself, | revealed, and given
 to the defective | one. Then from the harmony, in a |
 joyous willingness which had come into being, they
²⁵ brought forth the fruit, which was a begetting |
 from the harmony, a | unity, a possession of the To-
 talities, | revealing the countenance of | the Father, of
 whom the aeons thought ³⁰ as they gave glory and
 prayed for help for their | brother with a wish in
 which the Father counted himself | with them. Thus,
 it was willingly and | gladly that they bring forth | the
 fruit. And he made manifest the agreement of the
³⁵ revelation of his union | with them — which is his
 beloved | Son. ^{87.1} But the Son in whom the Totalities
 are pleased | put himself on them as a garment, |
 through which | he gave perfection to the defective
 one, ⁵ and gave confirmation to those who are perfect,
 | the one who is properly called | “Savior” and “the
 Redeemer” | and “the Well-Pleasing one” and “the
 Beloved,” | “the one to whom prayers have been of-
 fered” and “the Christ” and ¹⁰ “the Light of those ap-
 pointed,” in accordance with the ones from whom | he
 was brought forth, since he has become | the names of
 the positions [which] were given | to him. Yet, what
 other name may be applied | to him except “the Son,”
 as we previously ¹⁵ said, since he is the knowledge | of
 the Father, whom he wanted them | to know?

Not only did the aeons | generate the countenance
 of the Father to whom | they gave praise, which was
 written previously, but also ²⁰ they generated their
 own; for the aeons | who give glory generated their

Μ<ΟΥΝ>Κ̅ Ν̅ΖΟ· Μ̅Ν ΠΟΥΖΟ ΑΥΧΠΑΥ· Ν̅ΝΟΥΜ̅ΝΤ-
 Μ̅ΜΑΤΑΕΙ· ΝΕϞ Μ̅ΠΡΗΤΕ Ν̅ΝΟΥΡ̅ΡΟ 1 ΕΝΑ ΠΙΜΕΥΕ·
 25 ΕΥ̅ΝΤΕΥ Ν̅ΝΟΥΜ̅ΝΤ̅||ΩΒΗΡ Ν̅ΝΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΜ̅ΝΤ̅†
 ΜΕΙΤΕ Ζ̅Ν̅Ν ΟΥΜΟΥΧ̅Β· ΑΥΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ· 1 Ν̅ΝΟΥΖΟ ΕϞΟ
 Ν̅ΖΑΖ {Ν̅ΖΑΖ} Ν̅ΖΟ· ΧΕ·ΚΑΣΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΡ̅ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΝΕϞ·
 30 ΑϞ'ΝΑΝΕΥ ΑΝΕΤΑϞΤΩΒ̅Ζ Μ̅ΜΑΥ || Ν̅ΤΒΟΗΘΙΑ ϞΝΕΥ
 ΑΝ ΑΠΕΤΑΖ'ΤΕΕΣ ΝΕϞ

ΧΕ ΠΙΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΤΑΝ'Ρ̅ ΨΡ̅Π̅ Ν̅ΧΟΟΣ Ν̅ΤΕ †Μ̅ΝΤ̅†
 ΜΕΙΤΕ ΝΕϞ ΖΑ ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ Ν̅ΤΕ ΝΙΠΤΗ'Ρ̅Ϟ ΠΙΩΤ· Ν̅ΓΑΡ
 35 ΑϞΚΩ Ν̅ΖΗΤ̅Ϟ Ν̅||ΝΙΠΤΗ'Ρ̅Ϟ· ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤ̅Ρ̅ ΨΑΡ̅Π̅ Ν̅ΨΩΠΕ
 ΠΗ/88 1 ΕΙΔΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ || ΝΕΥΨΙ-
 ΚΑΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΑϞΟΥΩΝ̅Ζ 1 ΑΒΑΛ· Ν̅ΝΕΝΤΑϞΚΑΑΥ Ν̅ΖΗ-
 Τ̅Ϟ 1 Μ̅ΠΕϞΤΕΤΟΥ Ε·ΑϞΡ̅ ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΕϞ 1 ΑϞΡ̅ Ζ̅Μ̅-
 5 ΜΕ ΑΨΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ Μ̅ΠΤΗ'Ρ̅Ϟ || ΚΑΤΑ †ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ· ΕΤ-
 ΤΟΕΙ ΝΕϞ 1 Χ̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΨΑΡ̅Π̅ Μ̅Ν Τ̅ΒΟΜ̅ Ν̅ΔΕ ΠΙΖΩΒ ΠΕ·ΕΙ
 <ΠΕ> ΠΡΗΤΕ ΕΝΤΑϞΡ̅ ΖΗΤ̅Ϟ ΕΝΤΑϞΕΙΡΕ 1 Μ̅ΠΙΟΥ-
 ΩΝ̅Ζ Ν̅ΤΕϞ

ΧΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΕΤΕ'ΡΕΠΙΩΤ· ΨΟΟΠ Ν̅ΖΗΤ̅Ϟ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΕΙ
 10 || ΕΤΕΡΕΝΙΠΤΗ'Ρ̅Ϟ ΨΟΟΠ Ν̅ΖΗΤ̅Ϟ ΑϞΕ'ΕΙϞ Ν̅ΨΑΡ̅Π̅
 ΑΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΕΝΑϞΨΑΑΤ· 1 Ν̅†Β̅Ν̅ΝΕΥ· ΑϞΤ̅ΣΕΒΑϞ ΑΝΕ-
 ΕΙ· ΕΤΑΝΑϞ'ΨΙΝΕ Ν̅ΣΑ ΠΟΥΒ̅Ν̅ΝΕΥ Ν̅ΖΩ ΑΒΑΛ Ζ'Ι'ΤΝ
 15 Π̅Ρ̅ΡΕ Μ̅ΠΟΥΑΕΙΝ ΕΤ̅Μ̅ΜΕΥ ΕΤ̅||Χ̅Ν̅Κ ΑΒΑΛ ΑϞΧΑΚ̅Ϟ·
 ΑΒΑΛ Ν̅ΨΑΡ̅Π̅ 1 Μ̅ΠΙΡΕΨΕ· Ν̅ΑΤΨΕΧΕ ΑΡΑϞ· ΑϞ'ΧΑ-
 ΚϞ ΝΕϞ ΑΒΑΛ· Ν̅ΝΟΥΠΕΤΧ̅Ν̅Κ· 1 ΑΥΩ ΑϞ† ΝΕϞ ΑΝ
 Μ̅ΠΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΕΕΙ 1 ΟΥΕΕΙ· ΠΑΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΤΩΨΕ·
 20 Μ̅||ΠΨΑΡ̅Π̅ Ν̅ΡΕΨΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝΣΙΤΕ 1 ΑΝ Ν̅ΖΡΗΙ Ν̅ΖΗΤ̅Ϟ
 Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥΜ̅ΝΤΑΤΝΕΥΣ 1 ΑΡΑΣ· Ν̅ΝΟΥΛΟΓΟΣ ΕϞΤΗΨ
 Ν̅ΝΟΥ'ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΑ· ΑΥΩ ΑϞ† ΝΕϞ Ν̅ΟΥΒΑΜ· 1 ΑΤΡΕϞ-
 25 ΠΩΡ̅Χ̅ ϞΝΟΥΖΕ· ΑΒΑΛ Μ̅ΜΑϞ || Ν̅ΝΕΤ·{Τ}ΟΕΙ· Ν̅ΝΑΤ̅Ρ̅
 ΠΙΘΕ ΝΕϞ 1 ΠΕΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΠΡΗΤΕ· ΕΝΤΑϞΧΑΕΙΑϞ
 1 ΑΒΑΛ Μ̅ΜΙΝ Μ̅ΜΟϞ ΝΕϞ· ΝΑΕΙ Ν̅ΔΕ 1 Ν̅ΤΑΥ Ν̅ΤΑΖ-
 ΨΩΠΕ· ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̅Ϟ ΑϞΟΥ'ΩΝ̅Ζ ΝΕΥ Ν̅ΝΟΥΣΜΑΤ Ν̅ΧΩ-

21 Μ<ΟΥΝ>Κ̅ *ed. pr.*¹ 27 {Ν̅ΖΑΖ} *ed. pr.*¹ 33 ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ, ζ written over τ; c
 written over ζ.¹ 36 ΕΙΔΕ i.e. ΕΙΤΕ¹

88.1 {Ν}ΕΥΨΙΚΑΝΟΣ *ed. pr.*¹ 6 Ν̅ΔΕ i.e. Ν̅ΤΕ¹ 7 <ΠΕ> *ed. pr.*¹ 10-11 ΑϞΕΕΙϞ
 MS: Read ΑΥΕΕΙϞ Attridge¹ 12 ΕΤΑΝΑϞ- MS: Read ΕΤΑΝΑΥ- *ed. pr.*¹ 20
 ΑΝΣΙΤΕ MS: Read ΑϞΣΙΤΕ Attridge¹ 23 ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΑ MS: ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ *ed. pr.*¹ 24
 <Ν>ϞΝΟΥΖΕ *ed. pr.*¹ 25 ΝΕΤ{Τ}ΟΕΙ *ed. pr.*¹ 27 Ν̅ΔΕ i.e. ΔΕ¹

countenance | and their face. They were produced as an army | for him, as for a king, | since the beings of the thought have a ²⁵ powerful fellowship and an intermingled | harmony. They came forth | in a multifaceted form, in | order that the one to whom help was to be given might | see those to whom he had prayed ³⁰ for help. He also sees the one who gave | it to him.

The fruit | of the agreement with him, of which we previously spoke, | is subject to the power of the Totalities. | For the Father has set the Totalities within him, ³⁵ both the ones which pre-exist | and the ones which are, and the ones which will be. ^{88.1} He was capable (of doing it). He revealed | those which he had placed within him. | He did not give them, when he entrusted (them) to him. | He directed the organization of the universe ⁵ according to the authority which was given him | from the first and (according to) the power of the task. | Thus, he began and effected | his revelation.

The one | in whom the Father is and the one ¹⁰ in whom the Totalities are <was> created | before the one who lacked | sight. He instructed him about those who searched | for their sight, by | means of the shining of that perfect light. ¹⁵ He first perfected him | in ineffable joy. He | perfected him for himself as a perfect one | and he also gave him what is appropriate to each | individual. For this is the determination of ²⁰ the first joy. And <he> sowed | in him in an invisible way | a word which is destined to be | knowledge. And he gave him power | to separate and cast out from himself ²⁵ those who are disobedient to him. | Thus, he made himself manifest | to him. But to those | who came into being because of him he | re-

30 βε "ἄμαγ ἀγειρε ζῆν οὐμῆττ' ἰψβα νεγ
 εφοῶνζῆ ἄμαγ νεγ ἰψνε· εφσωκ ἄμαγ νεγ
 ἰκατα πσματ ἄζῆββρηβε· ἀγω ἰμπζλημ ἀβαλ·
 35 ετεῦντεγψ ψα "νοϋερηγ εαφλω ἀφλαβῆ ἄ-
 πῶ/89 "ζρηῖ ζῆ πιοῶνζ [[α]]β[[αλ]]· ἀπσνε ἰπεε
 ετεῖσεταιμαεит араг· εν· ἰενσεβαψτ ἀβαλ·
 5 ἀχωφ εν· εἰποῦσοῶνζ ετβε πεεἰ ἀγτρεγῆρ
 ζοτε· ἀγζαεἰε ἀζρηῖ εἰποῦψ φἰ ἰζα πῆ βα·
 ἄποῶαεἰν εττ' εζοῦν ἀ·ζρεγ πιταγμα δε σνεγ
 νεῦμῆτ' ἰψβα νεγ πε πεταοῶνζῆ ἄπιρητε ἰδε·
 10 ἄδε να πιμεεγε νε·ἀγτ' ρεν "ἄνοῶψημ· ζωσ
 εῦντεγ ἄμεγ ἰἄνοῶμεγε ψημ· χε οῦντεγ
 πετ'χασἰ· φσοοп ζα τεγεζη· ἀγω εῦν'τεγ
 ἄμεγ εῦσιτε· ἄζητοῦ ἄπῶν'εἰωρῆ ἀβαλ· ἀχωφ
 15 ἄπετχασε ετ'ἄνοῶνζῆ ἀβαλ· ετβε πεεἰ ἀγῆ
 ἀσ'παζε· ἄτεφβἰνοῶνζῆ ἀβαλ· ἀγω ἰἀγοῶψτ
 ἄμαγ ἀψωπε ἄμῆ'τρε νεγ ἄγνωμη ἀγῆ ζομο-
 20 λογι ἰἄποῶαεἰν εнтаζωψε· εῦχωῆρε ἀνεττ'
 οῦβηοῦ πε· να πἰ'ταντῆ δε ἄταγ ἀγτῆρε ἄψα·
 ἰζωσ εμποῶψ σωτῆ ἀβαλ ἀχωφ ἰἄταρχη χε
 οῦν οῦζω ἄπιρη'τη πε ετβε πεεἰ· ἀγζαεἰε
 25 ἀζρηῖ "ἀψικε πε ἄτμῆτ'·ατσαῦνε· ἰετε
 πετοῶμοῦτε араг χε пкекеἰ ἰ{ζ}ετзе са
 нвол· ἀγω пхаоуc· ἀγω ἰεἰῆτε ἀγω πноῦн·
 30 ἀφκω ἄпса (н)ζρηῖ ἄпдаγμα· ἄδε να πἰ'μεγε
 ζωс εαφωψε εφ'χωρε араоу ἀγῆ ἀζιοῦ
 ἀτροῦ'ψωπε εῦῆ ἀρχεσῶαι ἀχῆ пкекеἰ ἰἄнат-
 χοоφ ζωс еπετε ποоῦ πε ἰἀγω пκληрос
 35 εнтаζτεζαῦ πε ἀφκαῆαῦ νεγ χε сенаῆ ψεγ
 ῆ/90 ζωοῦ ἀτοῖ'κονομἰα εταψωψε "ταεἰ εнтаφав-
 ψоу арас·

30 ἀγειρε MS: ἀφειρε *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 31 ἰψβα νεγ<ερηγ> (?) Attridge¹ 32 ἄ<с>ψне *ed. pr.*¹ νεγ MS: Read νεγ *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.)¹

89.7 νεῦμῆ<т>τ' *ed. pr.*¹ 8 πετα<ζ> *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): πετ<н>α *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 9 ἄδε *i.e.* ἄτε'ρεн <араг> Thomassen¹ 12 <ε>φσοοп (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 12-13 εῦντεγ<φ> ἄμεγ εφσιτε (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 17 ἀγοῶψт, οῦ written over ω.¹ 18 νεγ MS: Read νεφ Attridge¹ 22 ἀχωφ, α written over χ.¹ 25 ἀψικε <пψικε> (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 27 {ζ}ετε *ed. pr.*¹ 29 ἄδε *i.e.* ἄτε¹ 36 εт<н>αψωπε *ed. pr.*¹ The line ends with a series of seven fillers (ς).¹

90.1 εнтаφавψоу (φ written over partly erased β.) MS: Read εнтаφ-таψоу Schenke: εнтаγавψоу Thomassen¹

vealed a form surpassing ³⁰ them. They acted in a hostile way | toward one another. Suddenly he revealed himself to them, | approaching them | in the form of lightning. And | in putting an end to the entanglement which they have with ³⁵ one another he stopped it ^{89.1} by the sudden revelation, | which they were not informed about, | did not expect, | and did not know of. Because of this, they ⁵ were afraid and fell down, since they were not able to bear | the appearance of the light which struck | them. The one who appeared was an | assault for the two orders. Just as | the beings of thought had been given the name ¹⁰ "little one," so they have | a faint notion that they have the | exalted one, — he exists before them, — and they | have sown within them an attitude of | amazement at the exalted one who ¹⁵ will become manifest. Therefore, they welcomed | his revelation and | they worshipped him. They became | convinced witnesses to <him>. They acknowledged | the light which had come into being as ²⁰ one stronger than those who fought against them. The | beings of the likeness, however, were exceedingly afraid, | since they were not able to hear about him | in the beginning, that there is a vision of this sort. | Therefore they fell down ²⁵ to the pit of ignorance | which is called "the Outer Darkness," | and "Chaos" and | "Hades" and "the Abyss." He set up what | was beneath the order of the beings ³⁰ of thought, as it was | stronger than they. They were worthy of | ruling over the unspeakable darkness, | since it is theirs | and is the lot which was assigned to them. He ³⁵ granted them that they, too, should be of use | for the organization which was to come, ^{90.1} to which he had [assigned] them.

- 3 $\chi\epsilon$ οὐν̄ οὐνα[6] ¹ $\bar{n}\omega\beta\eta\bar{n}$ $\bar{m}\rho\omega\gamma\omega\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ \bar{m} -
 πετρωωπε ¹ $m(\bar{n})\rho\epsilon\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\alpha$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$
 5 $\epsilon\tau\beta\eta\iota\eta\tau\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\gamma}\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\phi\omega\gamma\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\zeta\iota$ $\varsigma\alpha$ $n^{\parallel}\rho\omega\gamma\eta$
 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omega\bar{q}$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\omega\omega\pi$ · $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega$ $\bar{n}^{\parallel}\omega\beta\eta\rho$ $\bar{n}\omega\omega\pi$ $\bar{m}\bar{k}\alpha\zeta$
 $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\mu\omega\gamma^{\prime}\tau\eta\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\bar{q}$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\omega\eta\bar{m}$ · $\omega\eta\bar{m}$ · $\epsilon\bar{q}$ -
 10 $\tau\rho\epsilon\bar{q}^{\prime}\rho\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{q}\iota$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\bar{q}$ $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\dagger$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\bar{q}$ ¹ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$
 $\omega\beta\omega\lambda$ $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\omega\lambda\alpha\gamma\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\rho\{\gamma\}^{\parallel}\delta\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{y}$ $\bar{n}\alpha\epsilon\iota$
 $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau\zeta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha$ $\bar{n}^{\parallel}\beta\omega\lambda$ · $\alpha\phi\omega\gamma\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{y}$ $\zeta\bar{n}\bar{n}$
 $\omega\gamma\omega\tau$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}^{\parallel}\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma\dagger$ $\omega\beta\alpha$ $\alpha\bar{q}\varsigma\alpha\kappa\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\bar{q}$ ·
¹ $\epsilon\bar{m}\rho\epsilon\bar{q}\tau\epsilon\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{y}$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omega\epsilon\iota\alpha\rho\bar{\zeta}\bar{q}$ ¹
 15 $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{\rho}$ $\omega\gamma\omega\epsilon\iota\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ $\rho\lambda\omega\gamma\omega\varsigma$ ^{||} $\epsilon\tau\alpha\omega\tau\alpha$ ·
 $\alpha\bar{q}\bar{\rho}$ $\zeta\eta\tau\bar{c}$ · $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ $\rho\epsilon\bar{q}\rho\lambda\eta\rho\omega\gamma^{\prime}\bar{m}\alpha$ · $\alpha\bar{q}\bar{\rho}$ $\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\alpha\bar{n}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ ·
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\omega\tau\alpha\rho^{\prime}\tau\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omega\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\omega\gamma\alpha\rho\bar{\pi}$ · $\alpha\bar{q}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\alpha\tau$ ·
¹ $\tau\omega\zeta$ · $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{y}$ $\alpha\bar{q}\kappa\alpha\kappa\bar{q}$ $\alpha\zeta\eta\omega\gamma$ $\bar{m}^{\parallel}\rho\iota\bar{m}\epsilon\epsilon\bar{y}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{y}$
 20 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}\tau\chi\alpha\varsigma\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ · ^{||} $\alpha\bar{q}\chi\iota$ $\bar{m}\rho\mu\omega\gamma\chi\delta$ $\bar{m}\rho\iota\bar{m}\tau\alpha\bar{n}$ $\zeta\bar{m}$
¹ $\rho\tau\rho\omega\gamma\kappa\bar{\beta}\zeta\omega\omega\gamma$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\epsilon\theta\bar{\beta}\beta\iota\alpha\gamma$ ¹ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\delta\iota$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 $\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{n}\alpha\tau\pi\iota\omega\epsilon$ ¹ $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\omega\gamma\alpha\rho\bar{\pi}$ · $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma\rho\omega\epsilon$ ·
 25 ¹ $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\iota$ $\alpha\chi\bar{n}$ $\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\kappa\omega\pi\eta$ $\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}\varsigma\bar{n}\eta\gamma$ ^{||} $\epsilon\bar{n}\tau\alpha\gamma\delta\bar{n}$
 $\rho\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ · $\alpha\bar{q}\dagger$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{n}\omega\gamma^{\prime}\epsilon\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma\varsigma\mu\omega\gamma$ $\alpha\bar{n}\epsilon\tau$ -
 $\alpha\zeta\omega\gamma\{\zeta\}$ $\alpha\bar{n}^{\prime}\zeta\omega\gamma$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\alpha\gamma\beta\omega\eta\theta\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\bar{q}\omega\pi$ $\zeta\bar{m}\alpha\tau$ ¹ $\chi\epsilon$
 $\alpha\bar{q}\bar{\rho}$ $\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\alpha\bar{n}\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}$ $\varsigma\tau\alpha\delta\iota\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omega\bar{q}$ ¹ $\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{m}\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$
 30 $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\bar{n}\tau\bar{m}\bar{n}\tau^{\parallel}\bar{n}\omega\beta$ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\tau\alpha\omega\gamma\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}\omega\gamma$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$
 $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{n}^{\parallel}\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma\tau\omega\omega\epsilon$ · $\alpha\bar{q}\chi\rho\omega$ $\bar{n}\zeta\bar{n}\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\bar{n}$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$ -
¹ $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}$ · $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\iota\zeta\omega$ · $\epsilon\tau\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}$ · $\epsilon\zeta\bar{n}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha^{\prime}\bar{n}\iota\tau$ · $\bar{n}\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$
 $\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\bar{n}\alpha\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\omega^{\prime}\omega\pi$ $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\omega\pi$ $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\bar{n}\epsilon$ ·
 35 $\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{n}$ ^{||} $\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\omega$ $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\gamma$ ¹ $\epsilon\bar{n}$
 $\bar{m}\alpha\bar{m}\iota\epsilon$ · $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\zeta\bar{n}\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma^{\prime}\tau\omega\tau$ · $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\epsilon\bar{n}$ ·
 42/91 < $\bar{n}\epsilon$ > $\bar{m}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\bar{q}\bar{n}\tau\omega\gamma$ ^{||} [α] $\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{m}\rho\epsilon\bar{n}\tau\alpha\phi\omega\gamma\alpha\bar{n}\bar{\zeta}\bar{q}$
 $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{q}$ · $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ¹ $\zeta\bar{n}\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma\varsigma\omega\phi\iota\alpha$ $\zeta\bar{n}\bar{n}$ $\omega\gamma\{\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{y}\}\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\eta$ -
¹ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ · $\epsilon\bar{q}\bar{\rho}$ $\zeta\omega\beta$ · $\epsilon\bar{q}\mu\omega\gamma\chi^{\prime}\delta$ $\bar{m}\rho\lambda\omega\gamma\omega\varsigma$ $\bar{n}\bar{m}^{\parallel}\bar{m}\epsilon\bar{q}$ $\tau\eta\rho\bar{q}$
 5 $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota$ ^{||} $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\bar{q}$ $\zeta\bar{n}\bar{n}\alpha\delta$ $\bar{n}\epsilon$ ·

3 $m(\bar{n})$ Attridge¹ 10 $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\delta\epsilon$ ¹ 12 $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\bar{q}$ MS: $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\omega\gamma$ *ed. pr.*¹ 13 The line ends with two angular fillers (>).¹ 23 $\alpha\gamma\rho\omega\epsilon$ MS: Read $\alpha\bar{q}\rho\omega\epsilon$ *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.)¹ 26 $\bar{n}\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\gamma\{\zeta\}\alpha\bar{n}$ *ed. pr.*¹ 32,33 $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ ¹ 33 $\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\bar{n}\alpha\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$ (The first \bar{n} written over ϵ .) MS: Read $\bar{n}\epsilon\tau\eta\bar{n}\alpha\omega\gamma\omega\gamma$ *ed. pr.*¹ 35 $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\epsilon$ i.e. $\delta\epsilon$ ¹ 37 $\epsilon\bar{n}$ < $\bar{n}\epsilon$ > Attridge¹ $\bar{m}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\bar{q}$, α written over ω .¹

91.2 $\omega\gamma\{\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{y}\}$ *ed. pr.* (Eng.): $\omega\gamma\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{y}$ < $\alpha\gamma$ > *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

There is a great | difference between the revelation of the one who came into being | to the one who was defective and to those things which are to come into being because of | him. For he revealed himself to him within ⁵ him, since he is with him, is | a fellow sufferer with him, gives | him rest little by little, makes | him grow, lifts him up, gives himself | to him completely for enjoyment from ¹⁰ a vision. But to those who fall outside, | he revealed himself quickly and | in a striking way and he withdrew to himself suddenly | without having let them see him. |

9. *The Pleroma of the Logos*

When the Logos which was defective was illumined, ¹⁵ his Pleroma began. | He escaped those who had disturbed | him at first. He became | unmixed with them. He stripped off | that arrogant thought. ²⁰ He received mingling with the Rest, | when those who had been disobedient to him at first | bent down and humbled themselves before him. | And [he] rejoiced | over the visitation of his brothers ²⁵ who had visited him. He gave | glory and praise to those who had become manifest | as a help to him, while he gave thanks, | because he had escaped those who revolted against him, | and admired and honored the greatness ³⁰ and those who had appeared to him in a | determined way. He generated manifest images | of the living visages, pleasing | among [things] which are good, existing | among the things which exist, resembling ³⁵ them in beauty, but unequal to them | in truth, since they [are] not from | an agreement with him, between the one who brought them ^{91.1} forth and the one who revealed himself to him. But | in wisdom and knowledge | he acts, mingling the Logos with | himself (self) entirely. Therefore, those which came ⁵ forth

ἄθε ετε ἰ οὔναβ ἄμμη πε· πετωοοῦ· ἰ
 χε ἄνῆσα πτρεϑῤ μαζειε ἄπσαἰε ἄνεει· εν-
 ταφοῶνζ ἄραϑ· ἰ αϑῤ ρομολογι ἄπζματ· ἄχῆ
 10 πει† ἰ ἐπισκοπη ἄφειρε ἄπιζωβ ἄβι πλοῖροϑ
 ἄτοοτοῦ ἄνεει ενταϑτεζο ἰ ἄ†βονῆι ἄτοοτοῦ
 ζα πσμινε· ἰ ἄνεει· ἐῆταζωπε ετβηητῤ· ἄγω
 15 ἰ ἀτροῦχι ἄνοῦπετναοῦϑ· εϑἰμεγε· ἀτρεϑτω-
 βζ ἄτοικονοἰμια· ἄνεταζεἰ ἀβαλ ἄμαϑ τηῖροῦ
 ετσμαῆτ· ἀτρεστεζαῦ· ετβε ἰ πεει νετε αϑῆ-
 τοῦ ἀβαλ· κατὰ ἰ †·προαιρεσιϑ ζῆ ζῆζαρμα· νε
 20 ἄθε ἄνεει ενταῦωπε νεει ενἰταῦοῦωνζ χε
 εῦναχωβε ἄζενἰμα τηροῦ· ἄζῆζβηγε· ετἄπσα
 ἄπἰτῆ· ἀτροῦ† ἄτχωρα· ἄποῦεει ἰ ποῦεει νεϑ·
 25 ετσμαῆτ· ἄθε ετῤῶοοῦ· πεει μεν· οῦϑαρῶῤ
 δε ἄἰνα πιταντῆ πε· οῦμῆτῤ πετναοῦϑ ἰ ἄδε·
 ἄταϑ ἄνα πιμεεγε· οῦῶνζ ἰ ἰἄδε· ἄταϑ ἄνα
 πιμεεγε ἰ ἄδε ἀβαλ· ἄνεει ετε ἀβαλ νε ζῆ
 30 ἰ πιτωῦε ενταζῤ οῦεει οῦωτ· ἰ εϑωῶπ ἄκαζ
 εζῆσπερμα νε ἰ εμπατοῦῶωπε οῦαεετοῦ
 χε ἰ πεταζοῦῶνζ βε νεῦμοῦνῆ νζο πε ἰ ἄδε
 35 πιωτ· ἄγω πι† μετε· νεῦοῦῶζβσοῦ τε· ἄδε
 χαριϑ ἄνιμ· ἄγω οῦζρε πε ἰ εϑωοοῦ ἄνεει·
 ενταπλογοϑ ἄτοῦ ἰ ἀβαλ· εϑτωβζ εϑχι ἄπιεαῦ
 ἄβ/92 ἄῆ ἰ πιταειο ἰ παει ενταϑ† εαῦ ἄμοϑ εϑταιο
 ἰ εϑειαρῆ ἄδε· ἀνεταϑτωβζ ἄμαῦ ἰ ἀτρεϑχα-
 κοῦ ἀβολ ζἰτοοτοῦ ἄνιζἰῖκων· ενταϑῆτοῦ
 ἀβαλ·
 5 χε ἄφοῦωζ ἰ ἀτοοτῤ ἄζοῦο ἄβι πλογοϑ ἄχῆ
 ἰ πιῆ† τοοτῤ· ἄνοῦερηῦ ἄγω ἄχῆ †ζελπιϑ
 ἄδε πιῶπ ῶπ· εῦἄ[τ]εῦ ἄμεῦ ἄπιοῦρατ· ἄῆ
 10 πιῆταν ἰ ετναῶωϑ ἄγω ζῆζηδονη ἄατἰχωζμε·
 αϑχο ἄνεενταφειρε ἰ ἄποῦμεεγε· ἄῶαρῆ εν-

8 ἄνεει ενταϑ- MS: Read ἄνεει ενταζ (or ενταῦ) or ἄπεει ενταϑ *ed. pr.*¹ 9 αϑῤ, ϑ written over ἰ.¹ 19†·προαιρεσιϑ MS: ἄπροαιρεσιϑ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ {ζῆ} ζῆζαρμα νε or ζῆ ζῆζαρμα {νε} Thomassen¹ 24 σμαῆτ· ἄθε, τ·ν written over ῶε.¹ 25 δε *i.e.* ἄτε¹ 27,29 ἄδε *i.e.* δε¹ 34,35 ἄδε *i.e.* ἄτε¹ 35 πε, π written over τ.¹ 37 χι MS: Read† Attridge¹

92.2 ἄδε *i.e.* δε¹ 7 ζελπιϑ, ζ written over ε.¹ ἄδε *i.e.* ἄτε: δε *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

from him are great, just as | that which is truly great. |

After he was amazed at the beauty | of the ones who had appeared to him, | he professed gratitude for this ¹⁰ visitation. The Logos performed this activity, | through those from whom he had received | aid, for the stability | of those who had come into being because of him and | so that they might receive something good, ¹⁵ since he thought to pray for the organization | of all those who came forth from him, | which is stabilized, so that it might make them established. | Therefore, those whom he intentionally produced | are in chariots, ²⁰ just as those who came into being, those who | have appeared, so that they might pass through | every place of things which are below, | so that each one might be given the place | which is constituted as he ²⁵ is. This is destruction | for the beings of the likeness, yet is an act of beneficence | for the beings of the thought, a revelation | [*Dittography*] | of those who are from ³⁰ the ordinance, which was a unity | while suffering, while they are seeds, | which have not come to be by themselves. |

The one who appeared was a countenance | of the Father and of the harmony. He was ³⁵ a garment (composed) of every grace, and food | which is for those whom the Logos | brought forth while praying and [giving] glory and | honor. ^{92.1} This is the one whom he glorified and honored | while looking to those to whom he prayed, | so that he might perfect them through the | images which he had brought forth.

The Logos added ⁵ even more to | their mutual assistance and | to the hope of the promise, since | they have joy and abundant rest | and undefiled pleasures. ¹⁰ He generated those whom he | remembered at first,

σεζα'τηq· εν εῡντεȳ m̄μεȳ m̄πxωκ ' [[αqαπο
 n̄νε]]ταqειρε· [[m̄ποȳ]]μεε[[ye]] ' [[n̄ψαρ]]π̄ †νοȳ
 15 επα π̄βινεȳ ζατηq " εqψοοπ ζ̄n̄ οȳζελλπ̄ic m̄n̄
 οȳ'ναzτε· n̄δε πιωτ· ετxηκ ψα ν̄ιπτη'p̄q̄ εq-
 οȳανz̄ μεn̄ νεq̄ εμπατq̄'μοȳx̄b̄· δε n̄m̄μεq̄· xε-
 κασε νεταz'ψωπε· νοȳτεκο ζρη̄ī ζ̄m̄ πιβωψ̄τ
 20 " αxωq̄ n̄τε ποȳαεινε· xε σενα'ψωπ̄ αραȳ εν
 n̄†ναb̄ m̄μαειh̄ ' ετxασε·
 xε πιμεȳε δε n̄δε πλο'γοc· ενταqσταq
 αζοȳn̄ απεqcm̄n̄'nē aȳω aq̄p̄ x̄αιc̄ ax̄n̄ νεταz-
 25 "ψωπε ετβητq̄ νεψαροȳμοȳ'τε αραq̄ xε αιων
 aȳω τοποc̄ n̄'νεει τηροȳ ενταq̄n̄τοȳ αβαλ ' κα-
 τα πιτωψε· aȳω ψαȳμοȳτε ' αραq̄ αν̄ xε οȳ-
 30 c̄ȳναγωγη̄ n̄νοȳ'x̄αιτε αβαλ· xε aq̄ταλβοq̄ ζ̄n̄
 ' πιxωpe· ετε πιμεεȳε πε· ετο'εῑ n̄ζαz̄ n̄ρητε
 aq̄τσταq̄ αζοȳn̄ ' απιμεεȳε n̄οȳωτ· m̄πρητη
 35 ' αν̄ εψαȳμοȳτε· αραq̄ xε απο'θηκ̄η̄ ετβε πιm̄-
 q̄r̄/93 ταν̄ ενταq̄'x̄ιτq̄· εq̄† νεq̄ οȳαεετq̄· " aȳω ψαȳ-
 μοȳτε αραq̄ αν̄ xε ψε'λεετ· ετβε ποȳρατ̄
 m̄πεεῑ εν'ταzτεειq̄ ax̄n̄ θελλπ̄ic̄ n̄καρποc̄ ' m̄π-
 5 τωτ· ενταq̄ōȳωνz̄ νεq̄· ψα'ροȳμοȳτε αραq̄ αν̄
 xε m̄n̄τ̄p̄ρο ' ετβε πcm̄ine· ενταq̄x̄ιτq̄ εq̄τε'ληλ·
 ax̄n̄ πεμαzτε n̄νετ† aζητq̄ ' aȳω ψαȳμοȳτε
 αραq̄ xε πpeψe ' n̄τε πx̄αιc̄ ετβε παλλη
 10 ε[νταq̄]†τεειq̄ ζ̄īωωq̄· επιοȳοειn̄ ψοοπ̄ ' ζατηq̄
 εq̄† νεq̄ n̄τωββιω̄ n̄ν̄ιπε[τ]'νανοȳοȳ ετψοοπ̄
 n̄ζητq̄ ' aȳω πιμεȳε· n̄τε †m̄n̄τελεȳθε'ροc̄
 15 xε παιων̄ βε· ενταν̄p̄ ψp̄n̄ " n̄x̄ooq̄ q̄n̄πca
 n̄zpē m̄π{Δια}ταγμᾱ ' c̄neȳ n̄νεεῑ ετ† οȳβε
 νεȳερνοȳ ' q̄oī n̄ατωβηp̄ n̄νεταμαzτε aȳω ' q̄oī
 'n̄'νατ'ωz̄· m̄n̄ ν̄ιψωνε· m̄n̄ ν̄ιb̄ω'x̄βε· να πιμεȳε·
 20 m̄n̄ να πιταν̄†τ̄n̄
 xε πετε'απλογοc̄ βε κααq̄ m̄'μοq̄ aζρη̄ī εq̄-
 xηκ̄ αβαλ· m̄πιpeψe ' νεȳοȳαιων̄ πε εῡντεq̄

16 n̄δε i.e. n̄τε¹ 20 αxωq̄ MS: αxωoȳ (?) Attridge¹ 22 n̄δε i.e. n̄τε¹ 23
 <π>ενταq̄σταq̄ ed. pr.¹ 33 m̄π<i>ρητη ed. pr.¹

93.15 n̄zpe, p̄ written over a badly formed p. {Δια}ταγμα Attridge: aȳo
 ταγμα<τα> ed. pr.¹

when they | were not with him, (he generated them) having the perfection. | [*Dittography*] | Now, while he who belongs to the vision is with him, ¹⁵ he exists in hope and | faith in the perfect Father, as much as the Totalities. | He appears to him before he | mingles with him in order that the things which have | come into being might not perish by looking ²⁰ upon the light, for they can | not accept the great, exalted stature. |

The thought of the Logos, | who had returned to his stability | and ruled over those who had ²⁵ come into being because of him, was called | "Aeon" and "Place" of | all those whom he had brought forth | in accord with the ordinance, and it is also called | "Synagogue of ³⁰ Salvation," because he healed him(self) from | the dispersal, which is the multifarious thought | and returned to | the single thought. Similarly, | it is called "Storehouse," ³⁵ because of the rest which he | obtained, giving (it) to himself alone. ^{93.1} And it is also called "Bride," | because of the joy of the one | who gave himself to him in the hope of fruit | from the union, and who appeared to him. ⁵ It is also called "Kingdom," | because of the stability which he received, while he | rejoices at the domination over those who fought him. | And it is called "the Joy | of the Lord," because of the gladness in [which he] ¹⁰ clothed himself. With him is the light, | giving him recompense for the | good things which are in him | and (with him is) the thought of freedom. |

The aeon, of whom we previously spoke, ¹⁵ is above the two orders | of those who fight against one another. | It is not a companion of those who hold dominion and | is not implicated in the illnesses and weaknesses, | things belonging to the thought and to the likeness.

²⁰ That in which the Logos set | himself, perfect in

25 ἄρετῆ ἡτλαεῖβε· ετε ἥ πεταρογανρῆ πε· εγρῖ-
 κων πε· ἡνεει ετσοοπ· ρῆ ππληρωμα ἡνεει
 30 ἔνταρσωπε· αβαλ ρῆ ρρογ'ο ἡτ'απολαγςις
 ἡδε πετσο'οπ ρῆ ογρεσε· ἡταρ ἡδε πμογ'ἡκ
 ἡρο ἡπεταρογανρῆ αβαλ· ἡρῆ πῖχωκ ἡρῆτ· μἡ
 πῖωρμε· ἡρογἡ μῆ πῖωπ ωπ· ρα πρῆ· ἡε'ταρῆ
 35 αἡτῖ ἡμαγογ ἡεογῆτεγ ἡμεγ πε ἡπλογοσ ἡτε
 πωἡρε· ἡ μῆ τερογςια μῆ τεροβομ μῆ τερ'μορ-
 φῆ ετε παει ἔνταρογωσε· <ἡμαρ> ἡγω
 94·/94 αρωκ ἡρῆτ· αραρ ἡ ετε πεταρτωβῆ ἡμαρ πε
 ρῆἡ ογαγα[πῆ] ἡνεογαεῖνε πε· αγω νεγογωσε
 5 πε α'τρερτερο ἀρετῆ αγω νεγογωρῆ πε· ἡγ-
 σογ πε· αγω <ἡ>αγβελ πε· <ε>ογδῆνεγ ἡρο
 νεει· ετεογῆτεγσε· ἡμεγ ἡ'τε· νετχῆσε αγω
 νεογσοφια πε· ἡπερμεγε· ογβε νετρῖ πσα
 ἡπῖτῆ ρ[τ]'οικονομια· αγω ογλογοσ πε· αγδῆ-
 10 ὡεχε πε· αγω πχωκ ἡνερβῆγε πε ἡ [αβα]λ ρῆ
 πῖρῆτε· αγω νεει νε· εἡ'ταρ· χῖ μορφη· ἡἡμεγ
 κατα τρῖ'κων δε· ἡπληρογμα· εγῆτεγ ἡ'μεγ
 νογειῆτε ετε νετα<τα>ἡρο<ο>γ ἡἡ [α]'ρογἡ
 15 επογεει πογεει· εγχαρῆτηἡ[ρ]ῖον πε· ἡτε
 πογεει πογεειἡ ἡἡρῖο ἡνεει ετε ρῆμορφη νε
 ἡἡἡτρῖογτ ἡερῆἡαβαλ ρῆ πῖωωνε εἡ νε ετε
 ἡταει τε· τῆἡτρῖῖμε· ἡλλα ρῆἡαβαλ ἡρῆ πειἡ
 20 νε· ἡἡἡ· ἔνταρκω ἡσωρ ἡπῖωωνε εγῆτεγ
 ἡμεγ· ἡπρεἡ ἡἡτεκκῆἡςια· ρῆἡ ογτ μετε ἡγῆρ
 εγεῖνε ἡπτ μετε· ρῆ τσαογρῆ ἡἡἡἡἡταρογἡ-
 ρογ

25 πετ, ε written above α.¹ 28 ἡδε i.e. ἡτε¹ 29 ἡδε i.e. δε¹ 31 πῖ(χ)ωκ
 Thomassen¹ 36 <ἡμαρ> Attridge¹ 37 ραραρ, ρ written over α.¹ The line ends
 with three angular fillers (>).¹

94.1 πεταρτωβῆ MS: πεταρτωβῆ Thomassen¹ 3 νεγογωρῆ MS: νεγει-
 ωρῆ (?) ed. pr.¹ 4 <ἡ>αγβελ Attridge: ογβελ Thomassen¹ <ε>ογδῆνεγ
 Attridge: αγδῆνεγ ed. pr. (Fr.)¹ 5 <ἡ>νεει ed. pr. (Fr., Wilson)¹ 6 χῆσε, χ
 written over an uncertain letter.¹ 11 ἡἡμεγ, γ written over an erased letter.¹ 12
 ἡ<πε>πληρογμα ed. pr.¹ 13 <ἡ>νογειῆτε ed. pr.¹ νετ<τα>ἡρο<ο>γ ed.
 pr.: νετ<αρογα>ἡρογ Thomassen¹ ἡἡ, α written over ἡ.¹ 20 ἡπρεἡ, ἡ
 written over an uncertain letter.¹

joy, | was an aeon, having | the form of matter, but also
 having | the constitution of the cause, which ²⁵ is the
 one who revealed himself. (The aeon was) an image |
 of those things which are in the Pleroma, | those
 things which came into being from the abundance | of
 the enjoyment of the one who exists | joyously. It,
 moreover, the ³⁰ countenance of the one who revealed
 himself, was | in the sincerity and the attentiveness |
 and the promise concerning | the things for which he
 asked. It had | the designation of the Son ³⁵ and his
 essence and his power and his | form, who is the one
 whom he loved | and in whom he was pleased,
 94.¹ who was entreated in a loving way. | It was light
 and was a desire | to be established and an openness |
 for instruction and an eye for vision, ⁵ qualities
 which it had | from the exalted ones. It was also
 wisdom | for his thinking in opposition to the things
 beneath the | organization. It was also a word for |
 speaking and the perfection of the things ¹⁰ of this
 sort. And it is these who | took form with him, but
 according to the image | of the Pleroma, having | their
 fathers who are the ones who gave them life, | each
 one being a copy ¹⁵ of each one of the faces, | which
 are forms of maleness, | since they are not from the
 illness which | is femaleness, but are from | this one
 who already has left behind ²⁰ the sickness. It has the
 name | “the Church,” for in harmony | they resemble
 the harmony in the assembly | of those who have
 revealed themselves.

25 χε πει μεν | εταρωωπε· κατα τζικων
 30 | μπου"αεινε νταq ζωωq· qχнк авал· | ζωc εγ-
 ζικων πε ντε πογοειν | νογωτ· ετσοοп· ете
 35 | νταq πε ni·|пτηr̄ εωχε ν·αqβαxβ απαει ете
 40 | νεγζικων ντεq πε· αλλα ογντεq | μμεγ
 ντεqмнтатпωψе· авал· | нде· χε μογнr̄ нzo
 пе· νте πογ|αειν πε· нат·пωψе· ннееи нде
 45 | ν|таq εнтаρωωπε κατα τζικων | μπογееи
 50 | πογееи ннаиων zñ | τογcиa мен нтаγ ne· zñ
 петенr̄ | ψp̄п̄ нχοоq zñ τбom нде· cεcнψ | ен·
 55 | авал· χε zñ πογееи πογееи {н|де πογееи
 60 | πογееи} | ндеγ τε· zрнi | нен zñ пмоγχб ψα
 65 | νογερнγ | ογντεγ μμεγ μпωψψ {μ}поγ"εε[i]
 70 | де· πογееи μпоγнаz пωq | {нде} авал· етве
 75 | πееи· zñπαθoc | не· παθoc нгар· пе пωψне
 80 | ζωc | εzнxпо ен ne авал· zñ πτωτ· н"де
 85 | πληρωμα αλλα авал· zñ παi | ндн· ете·мпатq·
 90 | χi μπιωτ· ει<ε> | πτωτ· мн πεqτηr̄q αγω
 95 | πογωψе | не· ογπετr̄ ψеγ· пе· атоикoнoμiα
 100 | | εтнаωωπε· еаγνεγе араγoγ | атроγχωве
 105 | ннтопoc етнпс[а] н[п]iтн енсенаψ бmбom
 110 | нде ен | нxи нтопoc аωωп μпоγбнei cε-
 115 | | знтоγ нблом· еимнти ката ογe[ei] | ογееи· нде
 120 | πογееи πογееи εγa[нар]"каион пе· {πε} πογ-
 125 | бнei επιдн ζωβ | нim εγнаxωк авал zίтоotoγ
 130 | | χε нтаγ бe тнpoγ zαπα'з'zαпλωc | нетr̄
 135 | ψp̄п̄ нωoоп мн нетωoоп· т[ε]ноγ мн нетна-
 140 | ωωπε· аqχι μ"пнеγ араoγ нби плогoc εаγн-
 145 | | зoγтq атоикoнoμiа· ннеткн | азpнi тнpoγ zñ-
 150 | | zae'ne' | мен ндн | zñ неzβнoγе· εγr̄ ψеγ·
 155 | | атроγ'ωωπε· нсперма де етнаωω"пе· εγн-
 160 | | теqсе нзнтq авал zитн | пωп ωп· εнтаρωωπε

26 πογοειν MS: πογееи ed. pr.¹ 31,32,36 нде i.e. де¹ 36 cεcнψ i.e. cεψнψ¹ 37-38 {нде... πογееи} ed. pr.¹ 38 ндеγ i.e. нтеγ¹ 39 нен i.e. мен¹ 40 {μ}поγ Attridge¹

95.2 {нде} Attridge¹ 3 нгар, r written over a partially formed а.¹ 4-5 нде i.e. де¹ 5 <πε>пληρωμα ed. pr.; н written over ip.¹ 6 ει<ε> (or ει= ei) ed. pr.¹ 11 нде i.e. де¹ 12 нxи i.e. нби¹ 14 нде i.e. нте¹ 15 {πε} Attridge¹ 25 εγнтеqсе MS: ογнтеqсе ed. pr.¹

That | which came into being in the image of the
²⁵ light, it too is perfect, | inasmuch as it is an image of
 the | one existing light, which is the | Totalities. Even
 if it was inferior to the one of whom | it is an image,
 nevertheless it has ³⁰ its indivisibility, because | it is a
 countenance of the | indivisible light. Those, however,
 | who came into being in the image | of each one of the
 aeons, ³⁵ they in essence are in the one whom we |
 previously mentioned, but in power they are not
 equal, | because it (the power) is in each | of them. In |
 this mingling with one another ⁴⁰ they have equality,
^{95.1} but each one has not cast off what is peculiar to
 itself. | Therefore, they are passions, | for passion is
 sickness, since | they are productions not of the agree-
 ment ⁵ of the Pleroma, but of this one, | prematurely,
 before he received the Father. Hence, | the agreement
 with his Totality and will | was something beneficial
 for the organization | which was to come. It was
 granted them ¹⁰ to pass through the places which are
 below, | since the places are unable | to accomodate
 their | sudden, hasty coming, unless (they come) indi-
 vidually, | one by one. ¹⁵ Their coming is necessary,
 since | by them will everything be perfected. |

In short, the Logos received the vision of all things, |
 those which pre-exist and those which are now | and
 those which will be, ²⁰ since he has been entrusted |
 with the organization of all that which | exists. Some
 things are already | in things which are fit for | coming
 into being, but the seeds which are to ²⁵ be he has
 within himself, | because of the promise which be-

ἄπαει ἑνταϑῖ βακῆ· ἄμαϑ ρωσ επα· ἑνσπερ-
 μα πε· εὔναψωπε αἰω ἑαϑπο ἄπεϑμισε· ετε
 30 πεει ἄ ποῶνῃ ἀβαλ· ἄπεει ενταϑῖ βακῆ ἄμοϑ
 πσπερμα δε ἄψωπ ωπ· εὔραεις ἀραϑ ἀζενοῶ-
 ἑιω ἀτροῶψωπε εἰαῦταῶοῦ ἄβι νενταῦταῶοῦ
 35 εὔχαῦ ἀβαλ ἄ ρῖτῆ τῶνῆῖ ἄπσωτηρ· αἰω νετ-
 ἄἄμεϑ νεει ενταῦ νε ἄψαῖρεπ αἰσαῦνε ἄἄ
 οῦεαῦ ἄδε ἑπιωτ·
 96/96 ἑπετεψωπε πε ἄρρηει· ἄ [ρ]ἄ πτωβῃ ενταϑ-
 εῖρε ἄμαϑ ἄἄ πἄ[οῦ]ῖ ροῦ ἀροῦν· ενταρῶψωπε
 ετβητ[ϑ] ἑκεκασ ρῆρῆεινε· νεν εὔνατεκο
 5 ἑἄκεκαῦε εὔναῖ πετἄνοῦϑ ἄνεῦ· ρῆκεκαῦε
 δε· ἀν εὔνα· ἄναῦροῦ ἀβαλ· ἀϑῖ ψορῖ ἄσβτῆ
 ἄἄτκολασις ἄνεει· ετοει· ἄατῖῖ πῖθε· εϑῖ χρα-
 σε· ρῆν οῦτῶομ ἄ ἄπεταροῶνῃ πεει ενταϑχι·
 10 ἄ ἄτοοτῖ ἄτεροῦσια ἄδε ἄπτηρ[ϑ] ἑατρεϑπω-
 ρῃ ἀβαλ ἄμαϑ· ἄ[τ]ῖϑ ἑερε· σα ἄπῖτῆ αἰω
 ϑκααϑ ἀν ἑϑρηρῃ ἀβαλ ἄπετῃσε· ψατε[ϑ]-
 15 ἑαβτε· ἄτοικονομῖἄ· ἄνετῖρε σα ἄβολ· τηροῦ
 ϑτῖ ἄτῃωρα ἄ ἄποῦεει ποῦεει· ετῖτερο ἄμαϑ ἑ
 ἑπε πλογοσ ἀϑερεϑῖ ἀρετῖ ἄψορῖ· εϑ-
 τσαειο· ἄἄπτηρῖ ρωσ ἑεῦαρη πε· αἰω οῦλα-
 20 εῖβε πε· ἄ αἰω οῦρηγεμων πε· ἄνεταρῖψωπε·
 ἄπσματ· ἄπιωτ· παει ενῖταρῶψωπε ἄλαεῖβε
 ἄππερο· ἑρετῖ ετῖ ψρῖ ἄψοοπ ἄἄσωϑ
 25 ἑατσενο ἄἄρῖκων ετῖ ψρῖ ἄψοοπ νεει
 ἄταϑἄτοῦ ἀβαλ ρῆἄν οῦεεῖχαριστια ἄἄ οῦεαῦ
 εῖτα· ἑατσαειω· ἄπμα· ἄνεει ενταϑῖἄτοῦ κατἄ
 οῦεαῦ πετοῦμοῦτε· ἑραϑ ἑε παραδιδοσ ἄἄ
 30 ταἄπολαῦσις ἄἄ ποῦναϑ ε[ϑ]τμηρῃ ἄἄτροφη ἄἄ
 ποῦναϑ νεει ετῖ ἑψρῖ ἄψοοπ· αἰω ἀβαλ·

28 εὔναψωπε MS: ετἄψωπε (?) *ed. pr.* 29 μισε, ε written over an uncertain letter.¹

96.3 νεν i.e. μεν¹⁸ τῶομ i.e. ῶομ¹⁰ ἄδε i.e. ντε¹² <ἄ>ϑκααϑ *ed. pr.*¹³ ἄπετῃσε, ἄ written over ϑ.¹⁵ <ἄ>ϑτ *ed. pr.*¹⁶ οῦεεῖχαριστια *ed. pr.*³⁰ ε[ϑ]τμηρῃ or εϑ[τ]μηρῃ *ed. pr.*³¹ τροφη MS: τρυφη (?) *ed. pr.*³² <ἄ>νεει Thomassen³² The line begins with an angular filler (<). ἑψοοπ, ψ written over χ.¹

longed to that | which he conceived, as something be-
 longing | to seeds which are to be. And | he produced
 his offspring, that ³⁰ is, the revelation of that which |
 he conceived. For a while, however, the seed of |
 promise is guarded, | so that those who have been ap-
 pointed for a | mission might be appointed ³⁵ by the
 coming of the Savior and of those who | are with him,
 the ones who are first | in knowledge and glory of | the
 Father.

10. *The Organization*

It is fitting, from ^{96.1} the prayer which he made and
 the | conversion which occurred because of it, | that
 some should perish | while others benefit ⁵ and still
 others be | set apart. He first prepared | the punish-
 ment of those who are | disobedient, making use of a
 power | of the one who appeared, the one from whom
 he received ¹⁰ authority over all things, | so as to be
 separate from him. He is | the one who is below and
 he also keeps himself | apart from that which is ex-
 alted, until he | prepares the organization of all those
 things ¹⁵ which are external, and gives to each the
 place | which is assigned to it. |

The Logos established him(self) at | first, when he
 beautified the Totalities, as | a basic principle and
 cause ²⁰ and ruler of the things which | came to be,
 like the Father, the one who | was the cause of the
 establishment, | which was the first to exist after him. |
 He created the pre-existent images, ²⁵ which he
 brought forth | in thanks and glorification. Then | he
 beautified the place of those whom he had | brought
 forth in glory, which is called | "Paradise" and ³⁰ "the
 Enjoyment" and "the Joy full | of sustenance" and

35 ἰ̅ν̅μ̅ν̅τ̅να̅ϣ̅ρε̅ ν̅ι̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ρ̅ῖ̅ ἰ̅π̅λ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅μα̅· ε̅ϣ̅-
 ε̅ς̅'ο̅ε̅ἰ̅ ἡ̅π̅ρ̅η̅τε̅ ἡ̅ν̅ο̅υ̅π̅ο̅λ̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅ς̅'μ̅η̅ϩ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ἡ̅π̅ε̅τ̅α̅-
 ν̅ι̅τ̅· ν̅ι̅μ̅· ε̅ἰ̅τ̅ε̅ τ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅μ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ς̅α̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅· ἀ̅γ̅ω̅ ἰ̅†̅ν̅ο̅β̅
 42/97 ἡ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅α̅φ̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ο̅ς̅· ε̅τ̅μ̅η̅ϩ̅ ἡ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ἡ̅ν̅ι̅π̅ν̅(ε̅ϣ̅μ̅)α̅
 ε̅τ̅ο̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅· μ̅ῆ̅ [ν̅ι̅]̅'β̅ο̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅ϣ̅ο̅ο̅ρ̅· ε̅τ̅ο̅υ̅ρ̅̅ π̅ο̅λ̅ι̅τ̅ε̅υ̅ε̅
 ἰ̅μ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ ν̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅· ἀ̅π̅λ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ς̅· ἰ̅ῆ̅τ̅ο̅υ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅· ἀ̅γ̅ω̅
 5 ἀ̅ϣ̅τ̅ω̅κ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅ε̅τ̅ϣ̅ ἡ̅ ρ̅ῖ̅ν̅ ο̅υ̅β̅ο̅μ̅ ε̅ι̅δ̅α̅ π̅τ̅ο̅π̅ο̅ς̅ ἡ̅'τ̅ε̅κ̅-
 κ̅λ̅η̅ς̅ι̅α̅ ε̅τ̅ς̅ο̅ζ̅ο̅υ̅ ρ̅ῖ̅μ̅ π̅ε̅ε̅ι̅μ̅[α̅] ἰ̅ε̅ϣ̅ῆ̅ν̅τ̅ε̅ϣ̅ ἡ̅μ̅ε̅ϣ̅
 ἡ̅π̅ς̅μ̅α̅τ̅ ἡ̅'τ̅ε̅κ̅'κ̅λ̅η̅ς̅ι̅α̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ρ̅ῖ̅ ν̅αι̅ω̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅†̅
 10 ε̅ἰ̅'α̅γ̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅· μ̅ῆ̅ν̅ς̅α̅ ν̅αι̅ἰ̅ π̅τ̅ο̅π̅ο̅ς̅ ἡ̅ ἡ̅π̅ν̅α̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ε̅· μ̅ῆ̅
 π̅ς̅ω̅τ̅ῆ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅[λ̅ ρ̅ῖ̅] ἰ̅θ̅ε̅λ̅π̅ι̅ς̅ ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅· ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅ϣ̅ἰ̅τ̅ο̅υ̅
 ἡ̅β̅[ι̅ π̅λ̅ο̅]ἰ̅[ρ̅]ο̅ς̅ ἡ̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅π̅ο̅υ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ ο̅υ̅ω̅ν̅ῶ̅ ἀ̅[β̅α̅λ̅]
 ἰ̅ε̅ι̅δ̅ε̅ †̅δ̅ι̅α̅θ̅ε̅ς̅ι̅ς̅· ε̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ψ̅λ̅η̅λ̅ π̅ε̅ [μ̅ν̅] ἰ̅π̅ς̅α̅π̅-
 15 σ̅ἰ̅ ν̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅π̅κ̅ω̅'ε̅' ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ο̅[γ̅]ἡ̅'α̅ρ̅ῶ̅ ν̅ς̅ω̅ο̅υ̅ ἀ̅γ̅ω̅
 π̅ψ̅ε̅ϣ̅ε̅ ρ̅α̅ π̅ρ̅[α̅ ἡ̅]ἰ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ν̅α̅ο̅υ̅ω̅ν̅ῶ̅
 χ̅ε̅ ν̅ι̅τ̅ο̅π̅ο̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅[γ̅] ἰ̅ἡ̅π̅ν̅ε̅υ̅μ̅α̅τ̅ι̅κ̅ο̅ν̅ ρ̅ῖ̅ν̅ ο̅υ̅-
 β̅ο̅μ̅ ἡ̅'π̅ν̅ε̅υ̅μ̅α̅τ̅ι̅κ̅η̅ σ̅ε̅ν̅η̅ϩ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅· ἡ̅ν̅α̅ ἰ̅π̅ι̅μ̅ε̅υ̅ε̅·
 20 ε̅ς̅κ̅η̅ ἀ̅ρ̅η̅ἰ̅ ἡ̅β̅ι̅ τ̅β̅ο̅μ̅ ρ̅ῖ̅'ν̅ ο̅υ̅ρ̅ῖ̅κ̅ω̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ π̅α̅ε̅ι̅
 ε̅τ̅π̅ω̅ρ̅ᾶ̅ ἡ̅'π̅λ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅μα̅ ἀ̅π̅λ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅β̅ο̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅̅
 ἰ̅ε̅ν̅ε̅ρ̅γ̅ι̅ ἀ̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ρ̅̅ π̅ρ̅ο̅φ̅η̅τ̅ε̅υ̅ε̅ ρ̅α̅ ἡ̅[ρ̅α̅] ἰ̅ἡ̅ν̅ε̅τ̅ν̅α̅-
 ψ̅ω̅π̅ε̅· ε̅ς̅κ̅ω̅ε̅ ἡ̅ν̅α̅ π̅ι̅μ̅ε̅υ̅[ε̅] ἰ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ω̅π̅ε̅·
 25 ἀ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅̅ ψ̅ο̅ρ̅ε̅π̅ ἡ̅ψ̅ο̅'ο̅π̅· ε̅ς̅κ̅ω̅ ἡ̅μ̅α̅γ̅ ε̅ν̅· ἀ̅τ̅ω̅ϩ̅ ἡ̅ῆ̅
 ν̅ε̅τ̅'α̅ρ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ρ̅ῖ̅ν̅ ο̅υ̅ν̅ε̅ϣ̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ο̅ ἡ̅ν̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅α̅'τ̅η̅ϣ̅·
 χ̅ε̅ ν̅α̅ π̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ε̅υ̅ε̅ ρ̅ω̅ο̅υ̅ ἀ̅ν̅· π̅α̅ἰ̅ ἰ̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅ῖ̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ἡ̅μ̅ο̅ϣ̅
 σ̅ε̅θ̅ῶ̅β̅β̅ι̅α̅ε̅ι̅τ̅· σ̅ε̅'τ̅ο̅υ̅χ̅ω̅ ἡ̅π̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ ρ̅ω̅ν̅ο̅υ̅ ἡ̅[π̅]π̅λ̅η̅-
 30 ρ̅ω̅'μ̅α̅τ̅ι̅κ̅ο̅ν̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ δ̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ τ̅κ̅ο̅ι̅'ν̅ω̅ν̅ι̅α̅ ἡ̅ν̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅ν̅
 ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅ϣ̅τ̅ς̅α̅ε̅ι̅α̅ε̅ι̅τ̅· ἰ̅ἡ̅ρ̅ῆ̅τ̅ο̅υ̅
 χ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ν̅ο̅υ̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ ρ̅α̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ ϣ̅ε̅θ̅ῶ̅β̅β̅ι̅α̅ε̅ι̅τ̅· ἡ̅ν̅α̅ π̅ι̅μ̅ε̅υ̅ε̅·
 35 ἀ̅γ̅ω̅ π̅ι̅ν̅ο̅'μ̅ο̅ς̅ ρ̅ω̅ω̅ϣ̅ ἀ̅ν̅ ϣ̅ε̅θ̅ῶ̅β̅β̅ι̅α̅ε̅ι̅τ̅· ν̅ε̅ϣ̅ ἡ̅'τ̅ε̅
 τ̅κ̅ρ̅ι̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅τ̅α̅χ̅ο̅υ̅ π̅ε̅· ἀ̅γ̅ω̅ ἰ̅†̅β̅λ̅κ̅ε̅ δ̅ε̅· ν̅ε̅ε̅ι̅
 'ς̅[ε̅]θ̅ῶ̅β̅β̅ι̅α̅ε̅ι̅τ̅· ν̅ε̅ϣ̅ ἰ̅ρ̅ω̅ω̅ς̅ ἡ̅β̅ι̅ †̅τ̅β̅ο̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅π̅ω̅ρ̅ᾶ̅

34 <πε>πληροῦμα *ed. pr.*¹

97.4 ἀρετῆ MS: Read ἀρετοῦ Attridge¹ 6 ετσοζοῦ ρῖμ πειμα MS: ετσοοῦρ ἡπειμα (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 13 ειδε *i.e.* ειτε¹ 18 σενηρ MS: σενηρ *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹ 20 παει MS: ταει (?) Attridge¹ 21 <πε>πληροῦμα *ed. pr.*¹ 25 ἡμαγ, α written over ε.¹ 29 ἡ[π] *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ πληρωμα(τικον) Thomassen¹ 31 ενταγ- MS: Read εταγ (*i.e.* ετογ) (?) Attridge¹ 36 δε *i.e.* τε: ἡτε Zandee¹ 3[ε]θῶββιαειτ Attridge: <ε>σεθῶββιαειτ *ed. pr.*¹ 37 τβομ *i.e.* βομ¹

“the Joy,” which | pre-exist. And of | every goodness which exists in | the Pleroma, it preserves the image. 35 Then he beautified the kingdom, | like a city | filled with everything pleasing, | which is brotherly love and | the great generosity, which is filled ^{97.1} with the holy spirits and [the] | mighty powers which govern | them, which the Logos | produced and established ⁵ in power. Then (he beautified) the place of | the Church which assembles in this place, | having the form of the | Church which exists in the aeons, which glorifies | the Father. After these (he beautified) the place ¹⁰ of the faith and obedience (which arises) from | hope, which things the Logos received | when the light appeared; | then (he beautified the place of) the disposition, which is prayer [and] | supplication, which were followed by forgiveness ¹⁵ and the word concerning | the one who would appear.

All the spiritual places | are in spiritual power. | They are separate from the beings | of the thought, since the power is established in ²⁰ an image, which is that which separates | the Pleroma from the Logos, while the power | which is active in prophesying about | the things which will be, directs the beings of the thought | which have come into being toward that which is pre-existent, ²⁵ and it does not permit them to mix with the things which | have come into being through a vision of the things which are | with him.

The beings of the thought which | is outside are humble; they | preserve the representation of the pleromatic, ³⁰ especially because of the sharing | in the names by which they are beautiful. |

The conversion is | humble toward the beings of the thought, and the law, | too, is humble toward them, 35 (the law) of the judgment, which is the condemnation and | the wrath. Also humble toward them | is the

98.1 $\bar{\eta}$ NET¹ZE CA NΠIT $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}$ MA γ ECNOYXE $\bar{\mu}$ MA γ
 1 απογαιει· εκκω $\bar{\mu}$ μαγ εν " [α]πωλ $\bar{\omega}$ αρρη
 ακη να πιμεεγε M[N] ¹πνουζ εζουγν ετε τεει
 τε ερτε· m $\bar{\eta}$ ¹ταπορια· αγω τβωε· αγω ταρμεс
 5 αγω ¹τ[$\bar{\eta}$]m $\bar{\eta}$ татсаγνε· αγω νεταζωωπε " κατα
 ουτανт $\bar{\eta}$ авал 2 $\bar{\eta}$ ουφανταcia ¹αγω $\bar{\eta}$ таγ ζω-
 νοу· ceMOYTE apay $\bar{\eta}$ '2PHI 2 $\bar{\eta}$ NIREN ETXACI
 neei ENTAγ'ΘBBIW· m $\bar{\eta}$ N OYCAγNE· $\bar{\eta}$ NEHTAYEI
 10 ¹εβολ· $\bar{\mu}$ MOOY 2 $\bar{\eta}$ OYMEYE $\bar{\mu}$ M $\bar{\eta}$ TXACI"[2H]T· m $\bar{\eta}$
 OYm $\bar{\eta}$ TMAEIOYEZ CAZNE· ¹[M] $\bar{\eta}$ OYm $\bar{\eta}$ TATP ΠIΘE·
 m $\bar{\eta}$ OYm $\bar{\eta}$ [Txi] ¹[6]OΛ·

xe πoyeei be πoyeei be ay† ¹[P]EN apaoY
 xe πIΔaγMa CNEY $\bar{\eta}$ '[2]PHI 2 $\bar{\eta}$ N OYREN EYapOY-
 15 MOYTE MEN " [α]Nα πιμεεγε· m $\bar{\eta}$ να πιεινε· xe
¹NIoyNEM· αγω ψYXIKON αγω ¹NIcETE αγω NI-
 MHTE· να πιμεεγε· ¹ΔE ζωOY $\bar{\mu}$ M $\bar{\eta}$ TXACI2HT· m $\bar{\eta}$
 20 να πI'TANT $\bar{\eta}$ ceMOYTE apay· xe NI6BOYp " 2Y-
 LIKON $\bar{\eta}$ KEKE· αγω $\bar{\eta}$ 2aeoye

xe· ¹m $\bar{\eta}$ NCa TPECTEZO apET \bar{q} $\bar{\eta}$ 6I ΠLOGOC ¹ $\bar{\mu}$ -
 πoyeei πoyeei 2 $\bar{\eta}$ TECTAZIC EI'Ta NI2IKW $\bar{\eta}$ m $\bar{\eta}$
 NIeINE· αγω NI'TANT $\bar{\eta}$ ¹ $\bar{\eta}$ πAIW $\bar{\eta}$ MEN NΔE NI2IKW $\bar{\eta}$
 25 aqEPH2 " EPoq ECTOYBAEIT· авал 2 $\bar{\eta}$ NET† a'2-
 THq THPOY ζωC EYTOΠOC ΠE $\bar{\eta}$ OYpAT ¹ΠE· να
 πιμεεγε ΔE $\bar{\eta}$ Taq aqOYw $\bar{\eta}$ 2 ¹apaoY $\bar{\mu}$ πιμεεγε·
 ENTAqKAK \bar{q} · a'2HOY $\bar{\mu}$ MOq EPOYωYE aTPECTa-
 30 KOY " ayKOINW $\bar{\eta}$ IA $\bar{\eta}$ 2YLIKON ETBE OY'CYCTACIC
 NEY· m $\bar{\eta}$ N OYMa $\bar{\eta}$ ωωπε ¹αγω xEKace ON
 EYNaXΠO $\bar{\eta}$ NOY'aΦOPMH $\bar{\eta}$ 6ωx \bar{b} авал 2IT $\bar{\eta}$ ΠCa-
 35 'KOY ωa NETOay x<e> $\bar{\eta}$ NO'Y'P 2OYE· " OYNaq
 $\bar{\mu}$ MAγ $\bar{\eta}$ 2PHI 2 $\bar{\eta}$ ΠEay ¹ $\bar{\mu}$ πOYKωTE· $\bar{\eta}$ CEΠwNE
 авал ¹αλλα xEKace $\bar{\eta}$ TOq EYNa6ωψ† ¹αποy-
 99.1 ωwNE ENTAγ $\bar{\mu}$ Ka2 $\bar{\mu}$ MAq " xEKace EYNaXΠO·

39 The line ends with two fillers (>).¹

98.1 πωλ $\bar{\omega}$ i.e. πωρ $\bar{\omega}$ ¹ 2 πνουζε <ε>2ουγν (?) ed. pr. (cf. 81.26)¹ 3
 †<C>αρμεс ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.)¹ 4 τ[$\bar{\eta}$]m $\bar{\eta}$ T- ed. pr.¹ 8 ΘBBIW < $\bar{\mu}$ μαγ> ed.
 pr.¹ m $\bar{\eta}$ NOY MS: m $\bar{\eta}$ <T>OY Thomassen¹ 12 be πoyeei be MS: $\bar{\eta}$ TE πoyeei
 be ed. pr.¹ 13 xe MS: Read $\bar{\eta}$ TE Attridge¹ 22-23 ειτα MS: ειτε (?) ed. pr.¹ 24
 $\bar{\eta}$ πAIW $\bar{\eta}$ <πAIW $\bar{\eta}$ > (?) ed. pr.¹ NΔE i.e. NT \bar{e} ¹ 33 6ωx \bar{b} , An erased β appears
 after ω.¹ 34 x<e> ed. pr.¹ 35 $\bar{\mu}$ μαγ, γ written over q.¹

power which separates those who | fall below them,
sends them | far off and does not allow them ^{98.1} [to]
spread out over the beings of the thought and | the
conversion, which (power) consists in fear and | per-
plexity and forgetfulness and astonishment and | ig-
norance and the things which have come into being
⁵ in the manner of a likeness, through phantasy. | And
these things, too, which were in fact lowly, | are given
the exalted names. | There is no knowledge for those
who have come | forth from them with arrogance
¹⁰ and lust for power | and disobedience and
falsehood. |

To each one he gave | a name, since the two orders
are | in a name. Those belonging to the thought and
those of the representation ¹⁵ are called | “the Right
Ones” and “Psychic” and | “the Fiery Ones” and “the
Middle Ones.” | Those who belong to the arrogant
thought and those of the likeness | are called “the
Left,” ²⁰ “Hylic,” “the Dark Ones,” and “the Last.” |

After the Logos established | each one in his order, |
both the images and the representations and the like-
nesses, | he kept the aeon of the images ²⁵ pure from
all those who | fight against it, since it is a place of joy.
| However, to those of the thought he revealed | the
thought which he had stripped | from himself, desir-
ing to draw them ³⁰ into a material union, for the
sake | of their system and dwelling place | and in order
that they might also bring forth | an impulse for dimi-
nution from | their attraction to evil, so that they
might not any more ³⁵ rejoice in the glory | of their
environment and be dissolved, | but might rather see |
their sickness in which they suffer, ^{99.1} so that they

ννοῦμα¹εἰε μῆν οὔσινε εὐμην· ἄσε πε¹τεοῦν
 βομ μμοϋ ἄλαβε ερο¹οῦ ρῆ πιδωχβ̄· νεει δε
 5 ρωνοῦ ἠετε να πιταντῆ νε ακω ερρα¹
¹εχωοῦ ἄπιλογοσ ἄτσαειο· ἀτρεϋ¹ἄτοῦ ἀγ-
 μορφη· ακω¹ε¹ ἀρῆ¹ ἀχωοῦ ἀν ἄπινομοσ
 ἄτεκρῖσις ἠετι ἀν ακωε ἀρῆ¹ ἀχωοῦ ἄ[νι]-
 10 ἄβομ· εταννοῦνε· ἄτοῦ ἄβ[αλ] ἠ[ρῆ] ἄμῆτμα-
 ειογερ σαρνε· ἀϋ[κα][α]ϋ εϋαρχει ἀχωοῦ χε-
 κασε ἀβα[λ] ἠ[ρῆ]τῆ πσμῖνε ἄπλογοσ· ετ-
¹<τ>σαε[ἠ]οῦ ἠ ἀβαλ ρῆτῆ ταπιλῆ ἄπν[ομοσ]
 15 ἠ ἀβολ· ρῆτῆ ἄβομ· μῆτμαε[ἠ]ογερ σαρνε
 ἀγα<α>ρηρ· ἀτ·ταξῖς ἠἄνετ·ἀροῦμ· ἄμοσ
 ἄνετθαῦ ἠψαντεϋ¹ ρνεϋ ἀραοῦ ἄβῖ πλογοσ
¹εϋ¹ ψεῦ ἀτοικοῖνομῖα
 20 χε πτωτ ἠ ἄτμῆτμαειογερ σαρνε ἄπταρ¹μα
 σνεϋ ϋσαῦνε ἄμοσ ἄβῖ πλογοσ ἠνεει μῆ
 νεεικεκαγε τηροῦ ἀϋ¹ ἠροτ νεϋ ἄτοϋεπι-
 ἠῦμῖα· ἀϋ¹ ἠ<τ>ταξῖς ἠποῦεει ποῦεει νεϋ
 25 ετ·ἠτερο ἄμαϋ· ἀῦ ἀγογερ σα¹ρνε ἄμοσ χε-
 κασε ποῦεει ποῦε¹εἰ· εϋναψωπε ἄναρχων
 ἄνοῦ¹τοποσ μῆν οὔρωβ· ϋκωε ἄπμα ἠἄπετ-
 30 χασε· ἀραϋ ἀτρεϋοῦραρ ἠσαρνε· ἄκετοποσ
 ρῆν οὔρωβ ἠεϋοοπ ρῆ πκλῆροσ ἄφωβ ἠετα-
 τεραϋ ἀεμαρτε ἄμαϋ ἠἀβαλ ἄπσματ· ἠψωπε·
 35 ἀτρε¹ρῆρεϋογερ σαρνε ψωπε μῆ ἠνετῶββια-
 εἰτ· ρῆ ρῆμῆτχαῖς ἠμῆ ρῆμῆτβαῦαν ἄδε ἄιαγ-
 ἠ/100 ἠγελοσ ἠ[μ]ἠ ἠιαρχῆαγ·γελοσ νερβῆϋε ἠ[ε]ϋοει
 ἠμῖνε μῖνε· ἀῦ εϋψῶββια[εἰτ] ἠποῦεει ποῦεει
 ἠἄναρχων μῆ πεϋ¹γενοσ ἠἠ τεϋαξῖα ετεαπεϋ-
 5 κλῆ¹ροσ τεραϋ ἀραῦ κατὰ θε εἠταῦ¹οῦωνῆ
 νεϋαρῆρ· εαῦῆροῦτῆ ἠμεν ἀτοικονομῖα· ἀῦ
 μῆ λαῦ¹ε εϋοει ἄατογερ σαρνε· ἀῦ ἠμῆ λαῦε
 10 εϋοει ἄατ·τῆρο χῖν ἠ[αρῆ]χῆ ἠμῆπῆϋε· ψα ἀρῆ-
 χῆ ἠπ¹[καρ] ψαρῆ¹ ἀκῆρκοῦ ἠπ[καρ] ἠ[μ]ῆ

99.13-14 ετ<τ>σαε[ἠ]οῦ Attridge: ετ<τ>σαβ[ο]οῦ ed. pr.: ετ<τ>σα-
 β[ἠ]οῦ Schenke¹ 16 ἀγα<α>ρηρ ed. pr.¹ 19 πτωτ MS: πκωτ<ε ἄσα> ed.
 pr. (Ger.)¹ 32 νεεικε i.e. νικε¹ 23-24 ἠ<τ>ταξῖς Attridge¹ 32 τεραϋ, T
 written over ρ.¹ 36 ἄδε i.e. ἄτε¹

100.10-11 ἠπ[καρ] or ἠπ[νοῦν] ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.)¹

might beget love | and continuous searching after | the one who is able to heal them | of the inferiority. Also over those ⁵ who belong to the likeness, he set | the word of beauty, so that he might | bring them into a form. He also set | over them the law of judgment. | Again, he set over them [the] ¹⁰ powers which the roots had produced | [in] their lust for power. He [appointed] | them as rulers over them, so that | either by the support of the word which is beautiful | or by the threat of the [law] ¹⁵ or by the power of lust for | power the order might be preserved | from those who have reduced it to evil, | while the Logos is pleased with them, | since they are useful for the organization.

The Logos knows the agreement ²⁰ in the lust for power of the | two orders. | To these and to all the others, he | graciously granted their desire. He gave | to each one the appropriate rank, ²⁵ and it was ordered | that each one | be a ruler over a | place and an activity. He yields to the place | of the one more exalted than himself, in order to command ³⁰ the other places in an activity | which is in the allotted activity | which falls to him to have control over | because of his mode of being. | As a result, there are commanders and ³⁵ subordinates in positions of domination | and subjection among the angels ^{100.1} and archangels, while the activities | are of various types and are different. | Each one of the archons with his | race and his perquisites to which his lot ⁵ has claim, just as they | appeared, each was on guard, since they have been entrusted | with the organization and none | lacks a command and | none is without kingship from ¹⁰ the end of the heavens to the end of the | [earth], even to the foundations of the [earth] | and to the places be-

- ΝΕΤἸΠСА ΝΠΙΤἸ ΜΠΚΑ[2] Ο[ΥἸ] Ἰ [Ρ]ΡΟ ΟΥἸ ΧΑΕΙC
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ[Ο]Υ[Ε2] Ἰ ϜΑ2ΝΕ· ἸΜΑΥ ΖΑΕΙΝΕ ΜΕἸ
 15 Ἰ ΤΡΟΥ† ΚΟΛΑCΙC 2ἸΚΕΚΑΥΕ Ἰ ΑΤΡΟΥ† ΖΑΠ 2Ἰ-
 ΚΕΖΑΕΙΝΕ ΑΤΡΟΥ† Ἰ ΜΤΑΝ ΝCΕΤΑΛΒΟ· 2ἸΚΕΚΑΥΕ
 ΑΤΡΟΥ† CΒΩ· 2ἸΚΕΚΑΥΕ ΑΤΡΟΥΑΡΗ2
 ΧΕ ΝΙ[ΑΡ]ἸΧΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑϞΚΩΕ ἸΝΟΥΑΡΧΩΝ [Α]-
 20 Ἰ2ΡΗἸ ΑΧΩΟΥ ΕΜἸ ΛΑΥΕ ΟΥΕ2 CΑ2ΝΕ Ἰ ἸΜΟϞ
 ΕΝΤΑϞ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΕΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ Ἰ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΙ-
 ΜΟΥΝἸ Ἰ2Ο ΕΝΤΑΠΛΟἸΓΟC ΝΤἸ ΑΒΑΛ 2Ἰ ΠΙΜΕΕΥΕ
 ἸΤΕϞ Ἰ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ἸΠΙΩΤ· ἸΔΕ ΝΙΠΤΗΡἸ ΕΤΒΕ
 25 Ἰ ΠΕΕΙ ϞΤCΑΕΙΑΕΙΤ· Ἰ2ΡΗἸ 2Ἰ {2}ΡΕ<Ν> ΝΙΜ· Ἰ ΕΥ-
 ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ἸΤΕϞ <ΠΕ> ΕΠΑ ΝΙΑΡΕΤΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕ Ἰ ΜἸ
 ΠΑ ΝΙΕΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ CΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΡΑϞ Ἰ 2ΩΩϞ ΧΕ
 ἸΩΤ· ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΡΕϞἸΡ 2ΩΒ· ΑΥΩ ΡΡΟ· ΑΥΩ
 30 ΚΡΙΤΗC ΑΥΩ ΤΟΠΟC Ἰ ΑΥΩ ΜΟΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΟΜΟC
 ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΒΕ Ἰ ΑϞΡ ΧΡΑCΘΑΙ ἸΜΟϞ ἸΒΙ ΠΛΟΓΟC
 ἸΠΡΗἸΤΕ ἸΝΟΥΒΙΧ· ΑΤΡΕϞΤCΑΕΙΩ ΑΥΩ ἸϞἸΡ 2ΩΒ
 ΑΝΕΤἸΠСА ΝΠΙΤἸ ΑΥΩ ΝϞΡ Ἰ ΧΡΑCΘΑΙ ἸΜΟϞ
 35 ἸΠΡΗἸΤΕ ἸΝΟΥΡΟ· Ἰ ΤΡΕϞΨΕΧΕ ΑΝΕΤΟΥΝΑΡ ΠΡΟ-
 ΦΗΤΕΥΕ Ἰ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ·
 ΧΕ ΝΕΤΕΑϞΧΟΟΥ ΕϞΡ 2ΩΒ Ἰ ΑΡΑΥ· ΕΑϞΝΕΥ
 ΑΡΑΥ ΧΕ 2ἸΝΟΒ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ Ἰ ΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ· ΑΥΩ 2Ἰ-
 ΜΑ2ΕΙΕ ΝΕ ΑϞΟΥἸΝΑϞ ἸΜΟϞ ΑΥΩ ΑϞ[ΤΕ]ΛΗΛ 2ΩϞ
 ΡΑ·/ΙΟΙ Ἰ ΕΨΧΕ· ἸΤΑϞ Ἰ2ΡΗἸ 2Ἰ ΝΕϞΜΕΥΕ Ἰ ΠΕΤΧΟΥ ἸΜΑΥ
 ΑΥΩ ΕϞΕΙΡΕ ἸΜΑΥ ΕϞΟΕΙ ἸΝΑΤ·CΑΥΝΕ ΧΕ ΠΚΙΜ
 5 Ἰ ΕΤΟΟΤἸ ΑΒΑΛ 2Ἰ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΠΕΤΚΙΜ Ἰ ΡΟϞ·
 2ἸΝ ΟΥΤΩΨΕ ΑΝΕΤἸΟΥΑΨΟΥ· Ἰ
 ΧΕ ΝΕΤΑ2ΩΩΠΕ ΑΒΑΛ ἸΜΑϞ ΑϞΧΟΟΥ Ἰ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΩΩΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ἸΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)ΑΤΙΚΟ[C] Ἰ ἸΤΟΠΟC
 ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤΑΝΡ ΨΡἸ ἸΧΟΟΥ Ἰ 2Ἰ ΠΛΟΓΟC· 2Α ΠΡΑ
 ἸΝΙ2ΙΚΩΝ
 10 Χ[Ε Ο]Υ ΜΟΝΟ(Ν) Ἰ <Ν>ΕϞΡ 2ΩΒ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕϞΧΠΟ·

24 ἸΔΕ i.e. ἸΤΕ Ἰ 25 ϞΤCΑΕΙΑΕΙΤ, The second α written over τ. Ἰ {2}ΡΕ<Ν> ed. pr. (Eng.) Ἰ 26 ΕΥΟΥΕΙΝΕ ἸΤΕϞ <ΠΕ> Attridge: ΕΥΟ <ΝΟ>ΥΕΙΝΕ ἸΤΕϞ Zandee Ἰ 34 ἸΝΟΥ<Ρ>ΡΟ (?) ed. pr. Ἰ

101.7 <Ἰ>ἸΠἸΝΑΤΙΚΟ[C] ed. pr. Ἰ 8 <Ἰ>ἸΤΟΠΟC ed. pr. (Fr.) Ἰ 9 ἸΝΙ2ΙΚΩΝ, The first η may be written over a partially formed 2. Ἰ 10 <Ν>ΕϞΡ 2ΩΒ ed. pr. Ἰ ΑΝ 2Ω[C] ed. pr.: ΑΝ 2Ω[ωϞ] Thomassen Ἰ

neath the earth. There are | kings, there are lords and those who give | commands, some ¹⁵ for administering punishment, others | for administering justice, still others for | giving rest and healing, others | for teaching, others for guarding. |

Over all the archons he appointed an Archon ²⁰ with no one commanding | him. He is the lord of all of them, | that is, the countenance which the Logos | brought forth in his thought | as a representation of the Father of the Totalities. Therefore, ²⁵ he is adorned with every <name> | which <is> a representation of him, since he is characterized by every property | and glorious quality. For he too is called | “father” and “god” and “demiurge” and | “king” and “judge” and “place” ³⁰ and “dwelling” and “law.” |

The Logos uses him | as a hand, to beautify and | work on the things below and he | uses him as a mouth, ³⁵ to say the things which will be prophesied. |

The things which he has spoken he does. | When he saw that they were great and | good and wonderful, he was | pleased and rejoiced, as ^{101.1} if he himself in his own thought | had been the one to say them and do | them, not knowing that the movement | within him is from the spirit who moves ⁵ him in a determined way toward those things which he wants. |

In regard to the things which came into being from him, he spoke of them | and they came into being as a representation of the spiritual | places which we mentioned previously | in the discussion about the images.

αν ζω[с πε]τ'ερακαατ' νειωτ' ν'τοικονομι[α]
 '[ντε]q καταραq мн̄ н̄сперма' ζ[н] '[πιπ]н(εγ-
 м)α δε' ετ'саτπ̄ ε'τ'να'εї αζρηї [н̄][τοο]τq
 15 ανιτοπος ετп̄'с'а н̄πι[т]н̄ " ο[γ]μο]νον εqχοу
 αν н̄ζн̄ψε'χε м̄пн(εγм)ατικον ενωq νε' <αλ-
 λα> ζн̄ '[ο]γμн̄татнеу араc 'αβαλ ζїтн̄
 πн(εγм)α ετ† ζραуоу 'αγω ετχπο н̄ноб атеq-
 20 оуcиa " καταραq
 χε н̄таq αβαλ ζн̄ 'τεqоуcиa ζωc εγνοуτε
 πε' 'αγω νειωт' м<н̄> пкеψωχп̄ н̄'н̄iren τη-
 роу εт'т'аειнγ' νεq'меγε араq χε ζн̄наβαλ
 25 " ζн̄ τεqоуcиa νε αqτεзо ара'тq н̄ноуmтон
 н̄етоуp̄ πιθε 'н̄м̄меq' неei δε' εтp̄ πιθε 'н̄м̄-
 меq εν' αζн̄коласиc 'ζωωq εqшооп ζατηq
 30 ζωωq " αν н̄χι оупарадиaос αγω оу'м̄н̄тp̄ро-
 агω пкеψωχп̄ 'τηp̄q: εтшооп' ζм̄ παιων 'εт-
 шооп ζα τηq'εζη' εγсаτπε 'н̄н̄тоуβε εтве
 p̄в/102 п̄меεγε' εтна"ζв ар[ао]γ εтоei м̄пρηте " [н]-
 ноуζαειвес м̄н̄н̄ оуζвс м̄пρη'тн̄ аχοос χε
 qнеу εν χ<ε> аренет'шооп' ω νεψ н̄ρηтн̄
 χε αqτεзо 'неq н̄зенρεqр̄ ζωв аретоу' м̄н̄
 5 " ζенρεqψ̄м̄ψε εγp̄ ζγпоуp̄ria 'н̄нетqнаεтоу'
 м̄н̄ нетqнаχο'оу' χε ма н̄im ενтаqр̄ ζωв а'pаγ
 аqкωε м̄πεqмоуn̄г̄ н̄зо 'н̄ζ[н]тоу н̄ζρηї ζм̄
 10 πεqрен εqтca"[ε]аειт' εqр̄ ζωв' αγω εqψεχε
 '[н]нетqнамеγε араоу
 χε а[q]†тезо аретоу н̄ζн̄ζїκων н̄[ζρηї] 'ζн̄
 неqтопос н̄аε πογ[εин] 'ενтазоуωνζ αγω
 15 н̄те [нето] " м̄пнеуματικос εζн̄[ав]αλ' 'ζн̄

10-11 [ε]τ'εραq MS: Read ετεq (?) Attridge¹ 12 м̄н̄ MS: мен *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 12-
 13 ζ[н] πιπ]на or ζ[н] писпер]ма or ζ[ωоу πп]на *ed. pr.* ¹ 14 н̄п[т]н̄, π
 written over c.¹ 15 оу монон <пееї αλλα> or 16 νε <αλλα> *ed. pr.*: оу
 монон εqχοу <αλλα νεqмеεγε> Thomassen¹ 16 ενωq MS: ενωоу *ed.*
*pr.*¹ ζн̄, ζ written over a partially formed ζ.¹ 19 <н̄>ноб *ed. pr.*¹ 22 м<н̄>
 пкеψωχп̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 24 арау, γ written over q.¹ 25 не, н written over т.¹ 26
 <н̄>етоуp̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 27 н̄м̄меq, н added in the left margin; ε written over а.¹ 28
 αζн̄ MS: н̄ζн̄ Thomassen¹ 30 н̄χι i.e. н̄би¹ парадиaос, The second а written
 over c. ¹ 33 ζατηqεζη MS: ζατεqεζη *ed. pr.*¹ 36 The line ends with an
 angular filler (>).¹

102.2 χ<ε> *ed. pr.*¹ 3 ω νεψ MS: оei н̄εψ *ed. pr.*¹ 13 н̄аε i.e. н̄те¹ 14
 [нето] or [н̄има] *ed. pr.*¹

Not only ¹⁰ <did> he work, but also, as | the one who is appointed as father of [his] organization, | he engendered by himself and by the seeds, yet also [by | the spirit] which is elect and which will descend | through him to the places which are below. ¹⁵ Not only does he speak spiritual words | of his own, <but> in | an invisible way, | (he speaks) through the spirit which calls out | and begets things greater than his own essence.

²⁰ Since in his | essence he is a “god” | and “father” [and] all the rest of | the honorific titles, he was | thinking that they were elements ²⁵ of his own essence. He established | a rest for those who obey | him, but for those who | disobey him, he also established punishments. | With him, too, ³⁰ there is a paradise and a | kingdom and everything else | which exists in the aeon | which exists before him. They are more valuable | than the imprints, because of the thought which ³⁵ is connected with them, which is like ^{102.1} a shadow and a garment, so to | speak, because he does not see | in what way the things which exist actually do exist.

He established | workers and ⁵ servants, assisting in | what he will do and what he will say, | for in every place where he worked | he left his countenance | in his beautiful name, ¹⁰ effecting and speaking of | the things which he thinks about.

He | established in his place | images of the light | which appeared and of [those things which are] ¹⁵ spiritual, though they were of | his own essence.

τεφοϋσια νε ἄπρητε χε ναγ¹ταειαιετ¹· βε ρ̄ν μα
 nim n̄tootq̄¹ | εϋτ̄ββο¹· αβαλ ἄπμοϋνῆ ἄρο | ἄ·
 20 πεταρκαγε¹· αγω αϋτερο¹νοϋ αρετοϋ ρ̄ν παρα-
 διδος¹· | ἄν ρ̄νἄπρ̄ρο¹· αγω ρ̄νἄπτον | ἄν ρ̄νϋπ
 ωπ¹· ἄν ρ̄νἄπμῃϋε¹ | ἄρεϋωἄπϋε¹· ἄτεϋ ἄποϋω¹ϋε¹·
 25 αγω ναει ερ̄νχαεις νε ἄнар¹χη νε εϋκαατ
 αρ̄ηῖ επετοῖ¹ | ἄνχαεις¹· πενταρκοοϋε
 χε | ἄνἄπ¹σα τρεϋσαταἄπαραϋ¹ | ἄπρητη¹· καλωσ
 30 ανιοϋαει¹νε ναει¹· ετε †καταρχη¹ | ἄν †ϋστα-
 ϋς αϋκααϋ αχ̄ν¹ | π̄ιτσαειῶ ἄνετἄπσα ἄπ̄ιτ̄ν
 | αϋκ̄ιμ παραϋ ἄπρητη¹· ἄβ̄ι πνεϋ¹μα¹· ἄνατ̄ἄνεϋ
 ρ̄γ/103 α[ραϋ] ατρεϋ¹ϋγωϋε αν αῖ οικονομ̄ι αβαλ ρ̄[ι]-
 †ῖἄπ π̄ιρεϋωἄπϋε¹· ἄτεϋ ρ̄ωωϋ πα¹ει ενταϋῖ¹ χρασ-
 θαι¹· ἄμοϋ ρ̄ω¹ωϋ αν ἄπρητη ἄνοϋβ̄ιχ¹· αγω
 5 | ἄπρητε ἄνοϋ(ῖ)ρο¹· αγω ἄπρητη¹ | εϋἄ ρ̄ω ρ̄α-
 τηϋ νεει¹· ετ̄ῖεινε¹ ἄμαϋ οϋταϋις ἄν οϋαπ̄ιλη
 α[γω] | οϋρ̄ῖτε¹· χεκασε ναει ενταϋ[ει]ῖρε ἄ-
 10 νοϋἄπτατ̄σβω¹· ἄ[ἄμμεϋ εϋ]¹ἄναϋωσ¹· ταϋις εν-
 τα[ϋτεεις ατοϋ]¹· αρ̄ηρ̄ παραϋ· εϋσανῖ¹· ἄνϋ[ἄναρ
 ἄ][ἄνα]ρ̄χων¹· ετ̄ῖχωοϋ¹· ρ̄ἄπ οϋἄπ[τ̄][τ̄ω]ϋ
 πτωκ αρετ̄ῖ τηρ̄ῖ ἄδε †ρ̄[λ̄η] | [ϋπ]αϋ¹· αϋο-
 15 ἄπ̄τ̄· ἄβ̄ομ μεν [ετ̄χο]¹[ορ] ἄει ενταπλογοσ
 ἄπ̄(εϋμ)α[τ̄ικος] | ἄ[το]ϋ αβαλ¹· κατα οϋφαν-
 ταϋ[ια] | ἄἄ[ἄ] οϋἄπ̄τ̄χασιρ̄ητ̄· αϋκα[αϋ] | ρ̄ἄ
 τ̄ωαρ̄ῖ ἄταϋις¹· ἄπ̄(εϋμ)α[τ̄ικος] | ἄνεταρ̄ανεει
 20 βε ἄτοϋ αβαλ ρ̄ἄ †ἄἄπ̄τ̄μαειοϋερ̄ σαρ̄νε¹· αϋ-
 κααϋ | ρ̄ἄ τ̄χωρα¹· ἄπ̄τ̄μητε¹· ερ̄ἄβ̄ομ ἄ[ε] | ἄἄπ̄τ̄-
 μαειοϋερ̄ σαρ̄νε¹· ατ̄ροϋ[ρ] | χαιεις αγω ἄνε-
 οϋερ̄ σαρ̄νε ἄ[π̄]τερο αρετ̄ῖ ετ̄ῖ σα ἄπ̄ιτ̄ἄ ἄπ̄
 25 [οϋ]¹ἄναγκη¹· ἄἄ οϋχ̄ἄπ̄χ̄νααρ̄· νεει δε¹· | ἄταρ̄-

20 <ἄ>ρ̄ἄπαραδιδος ed. pr.¹ 21 ρ̄ἄπ̄τ̄ον MS: ρ̄ἄπ̄τ̄ον or ρ̄ενἄπ̄τ̄ον ed. pr.¹
 27 παραϋ MS: παραϋ ed. pr. (Eng.)¹

103.2 π̄ιρεϋωἄπϋε MS: π̄ιρεϋωἄπϋε (?) Attridge¹ 3 ἄμοϋ MS: ἄμαϋ (?)
 Attridge¹ 5 ἄνοϋ(ῖ)ρο ed. pr.¹ 8 ενταϋ[ει] Emmel: εντα[ϋει] ed. pr.¹ 9
 ἄ[ἄμμεϋ] Emmel: ἄ[ἄμμεϋ] ed. pr.¹ 10 ωσ i.e. σωϋ¹ <τ>ταϋις ed. pr.¹
 εντα[ϋτεεις ατοϋ] ed. pr.: εντα[ϋκααϋ α] Thomassen¹ 12-13 οϋἄπ[τ̄ω]ϋ
 Emmel: οϋμα [ἄπ̄] or οϋμα [ἄπ̄ωρ̄χ] ed. pr.¹ 13 ἄδε i.e. ἄτε¹ 14 [ϋπ]αϋ
 Attridge: [απ]αϋ ed. pr.¹ 14-15 [ετ̄χοορ] ed. pr.: [ἄβ̄οορ̄] Zandee:
 [ἄπ̄ιτωαρ̄ῖ] Thomassen¹

For, thus they were | honored in every place by him, | being pure, from the countenance | of the one who appointed them, and they were ²⁰ established: paradises | and kingdoms and rests | and promises and multitudes | of servants of his will, | and though they are lords of dominions, ²⁵ they are set beneath the one who is | lord, the one who appointed them. |

After he listened to him | in this way, properly, about the lights, | which are the source ³⁰ and the system, he set them over | the beauty of the things below. | The invisible spirit moved him in this way, | so that he would ^{103.1} wish to administer through | his own servant, | whom he too used, | as a hand and ⁵ as a mouth and as if | he were his face, (and his servant is) the things which he brings, | order and threat and | fear, in order that those [with] whom he has done | what is ignorant ¹⁰ might despise the order which [was given for them to] | keep, since they are fettered in the [bonds of | the] archons which are on them [securely]. |

The whole establishment of matter | [is divided] into three. The [strong] powers ¹⁵ which the spiritual Logos | brought forth from phantasy | and arrogance, he established | in the first spiritual rank. | Then those (powers) which these produced by ²⁰ their lust for power, he set | in the middle area, since they are powers | of ambition, so that they | might exercise dominion and give commands with compulsion and force | to the establishment which is beneath them.

ψωπε· αβαλ ρ̄ν πιφθονος ἰμ̄ν πικωρ· μ̄ν
 νικεχπο τηρογ ἰαβαλ ρ̄ν νιτωψε ἰπρητε
 30 αγκαγ'ε ἰνουταξισ νρεφωμψε εγα'μαρτε·
 ἰνραιογ· εγογαρ σαρνε ἰννετψοοπ· τηρογ
 αγω πιμισε τηρ[q] ἰνεει ετε αβαλ ρ̄ιτοοτογ νε
 νιψω'νε· ερ̄νρεφτεκο· σετοοτογ νε· εγ'ελωλ·
 35 αχ̄ν̄ν ογχο εγψοοπ αγ'λαγε ἰπμα ετε ρ̄να-
 βαλ ἰμαq ἰνε· αγω εγναναγρογ· αν αραq
 ἰαγω ετβε παἰ αγκωε αρ̄ηἰ αχω'ογ ἰρ̄ν̄βομ
 ἰνρεφογαρ σαρνε εγρ̄ ἰρ̄ωβ εγ[μ]ἰην ατρ̄λη·
 ρ̄α·/104 χεκασε ἰἡχπο ἰννετψωπε· εγναψω'πε· αν
 εγμην πεει γαρ πε πογ'εαγ ἰ

(PART II)

5 χε †ρ̄γλη ετρετε ουτε †μορ'φ̄η· ἰτες ου-
 λαειβε· <τε> ετε †μ̄ν̄τ'ατνεγ· ετψοοπ αβαλ
 ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄ νιβομ ἰ[....].ε· νεγ ἰρ̄ητ̄· τηρογ ενογ-
 ἰ[.....] εγχο ρ̄ατηογ αγω εγ'[τεκ]ο·
 10 χε πιμεγε· ετκαατ· [ν]ἰρ̄ηἰ ἰτμητε· ἰνιογ-
 [νεμ μν] ἰνιβογρ· ογβομ· ἰμ̄ν̄[τμικ]ε ἰπε· ναει
 τηρογ ετανιψ[αρε]π· ἰναογαψογ αεογ ἰπρη-
 15 [τε α]χο'οc χε ουεινε ἰμαγ'ογ αβαλ ἰἡπρητη
 ἰνογραιοβες ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄ ογ'σωμα· εσογρη ρ̄σωq·
 νεει ετε ἰἡνογνε· <νε> ἰνιτσενω ετογαν[ρ̄]
 ἰαβαλ· χε πιαβτε τηρ̄ ἰπι'τσαειω ἰτε νιρ̄ι-
 20 κων μν νιει'νε μ̄ν̄ νιταντ̄ν̄· ερεἰταγ'ωψωπε·
 ετβε νετρ̄ χρια· ἰνογ'σανεψ· μ̄ν̄ν ογσβω μ̄ν̄
 †μορ'φ̄η χεκασε ερε†μ̄ν̄τψημ· ἰναχι
 25 ἰνογπαγρει· κατα ψημ ἰψημ· ρ̄ωc ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄ πεεινε·

26 ρ̄ν̄, ρ̄ written over an uncertain letter.¹ 28 αβαλ, β written over γ.¹ 39 εγ[μ]ἰην *ed. pr.* (Eng., Ger.): εγ[οε]ἰν *ed. pr.* (Fr.)¹

104.2 πεει γαρ, ειγ a correction from πε.¹ 5 ντες <ογ̄ντες> Thomassen¹ <τε> ετε Attridge: ετε i.e. ἰτε *ed. pr.*¹ †μ̄ν̄τ'ατνεγ <τε> Thomassen¹ 7-8 ενογ[ρ̄με χε] εγχο *ed. pr.*: ενογ[ταχρο] or ενογ[χο] (?) Attridge¹ 9 καατ [ν] Emmel: καατ [α] *ed. pr.*¹ 11 μ̄ν̄[τμικ]ε or μ̄ν̄[τερ]ε (?) Attridge: μ̄ν̄[τρ̄ πιθ]ε *ed. pr.*¹ 12 <ν>ναει Thomassen¹ 14 ουεινε MS: εγ̄εινε Thomassen¹ 17 <νε> Attridge¹ 18 <ν>χε *ed. pr.*¹

²⁵ Those | which came into being through envy | and jealousy and all the other offspring | from dispositions of this sort, he set | in a servile order ³⁰ controlling the extremities, commanding | all those which exist and all (the realm of) generation, | from whom come | rapidly destroying illnesses, | who eagerly desire begetting, who are something ³⁵ in the place where they are from | and to which they will return. | And therefore, he appointed over | them authoritative powers, | acting [continuously] on matter, in order that ^{104.1} the offspring of those which exist might also exist | continuously. For this is their | glory. |

Part II

II. *The Creation of Material Humanity*

The matter which flows through its form ⁵ (is) a cause by which the | invisibility which exists through the powers | [. . .] for them all, for | [. . .], as they beget before them and | [destroy.]

The thought which is set ¹⁰ between those of the right [and] | those of the left is a power of [begetting]. | All those which the [first ones] | will wish to make, so to | speak, a projection of theirs, ¹⁵ like a shadow cast from | and following a body, those things which | [are] the roots of the visible creations, | namely, the entire preparation of the | adornment of the images and representations ²⁰ and likenesses, have come | into being because of those who need | education and teaching and formation, | so that the smallness | might grow,

ἄνωγει ἐλ· ἰετβε πεει ἄγαρ ἄταϑτσενο ἄ-
 ἰπρωμε· ἄζαν· εαϑῤ̄ ψαρῖ ἄῖσавτε· ἀγω ἀϑ(ϑ)ῤ̄
 30 ψαρῖ ἄῖσαζνε· νεϑ· ἄνετεζαϑτσεναγ¹⁰ογ
 ετβηητῤ̄

χε πтсeno ἄἰπρωμε εϑοει ἄπρηте ἄпке-
 ἰψωχῖ ζωωϑ ἀη νεϑκim ἀραϑ ἄἄῖ πлогος·
 ἄπνευματικός· ζἄ ἰοῦμἄтатнеу ἀрас· εϑχωκ
 ρε·/105 ἄἄε ἄμοϑ εβολ· [ζ]ἄ πἰтмἰ¹⁰οργος· ἄἄ νεϑαρ-
 гелос ἄρεϑωμἰψе· εῦῤ̄ ψβηρ· ἄπлассе ἄἄ-
 мнψ[ε εϑ]ἰχι πимеуе· ἄἄ νεϑарχων εϑοει
 5 ἄἄпρηте ἄноуζαеивес ἄῖῖ π>рἄмἄкаζ ἄχε-
 касе εϑнаῤ̄ пρηте· ἄἄ [нет]ἰψωωт авал ἄἄп-
 тηῤ̄ ἀγω [οῦ]ῖсавте ἄтеу тηροу пе· ἄноῦнем
 ἄἄ ἄἄβοуρ· εἰпоуеи π[ιο]уеи ἄἄ[ἄита]ῖγμα·
 10 εϑт морφη ἄ[- - -] ἄετῤ̄ψооп· ἄἄмос·

χε т[....ен]ἰт[а]ϑηтс авал· ἄῖῖ πлогος [εἄ-
 таϑ]ῤ̄ ψта· ἄпсмат· εἄтаϑψ[ωπε] ἰζἄ πψωне·
 насeine· ἀραϑ εἄ ἄвал χе ἀϑηтс авал· ζἄἄ
 15 οῦψ[βψ] ἄἄ[ἄ]οῦμἄтатсаῦне· ἄἄἄ οῦ[ψта] ἄἄ
 π[κ]εψωχῖ тηῤ̄· ἄψωη[ε] ἰεαϑт ἄтψαρῖ
 ἄἄморφη χе ἄта[ϑ] ἰπлогος авал ζἰтἄ ἄἄἄ-
 20 οῦργος ἰавал ζἄἄ οῦμἄтатсаῦне· ἀтρεϑἰχι
 саῦне· χе οῦἄ петχасе ψо¹⁰оп· ἀγω ἄϑἄἄме· χе
 ϑῤ̄ χриа ἄἄ[αϑ] ἰεте πεει пе· εта<ζ>ἀπροφη-
 тис м[οῦ]ἰте ἀραϑ χе ηἰϑе ἄωνῤ̄ ἀγω πἄ[ο]ἰεἰ
 25 ἄἄε παιων εтχасе· ἀγω [πἰ]¹⁰атнеу ἀραϑ ἀγω
 тееи те тψγ[χη] ἰεтанῤ̄ εтаζ· тἄζо ἄтеζоу-
 ϑ[ἰа] ἰεтенасмооут· ἄψорῖ πἰпетἰμοоут гаp·
 ἄте тἄἄтат·саῦη[ε] ἰ

27 εαϑ, α written over a partially formed α.¹ 28 ἀϑ(ϑ)ῤ̄ Attridge¹ 32 ζωωϑ, ζ
 written over α.¹ 34 εϑχωκ, ω written over η.¹ 35 ἄἄε i.e. ἀε¹

105.2 ἄἄἄψ[ε] or ἄἄἄψ[α] or ἄἄ[ἄ]πe or ἄἄἄηϑ ed. pr.¹ [εϑ] Attridge:
 [ϑ] ed. pr.¹ 4 ἄῖῖ π> Attridge¹ 9 ἄ[πсωма нρωме] ed. pr.: ἄ[...ἄе]
 Emmel: ἄ[πρωме ἄе] Thomassen¹ 10 [μορφη εἄ] or [οῦσια εἄ] ed. pr.¹ 15
 οῦ[ψта] or οῦ[πωψе] ed. pr.¹ 17 ψαρῖ p written over a badly formed p.¹ χе
 i.e. ἄῖῖ ἄἄπлогος <ἄтс> Thomassen¹ 20 <οῦ>петχасе ed. pr.
 (Eng.)¹ 22 εта<ζ>α Attridge¹ 23-24 πἄ[ο]ἰе MS: πἄ[ο]η ed. pr.¹ 24 ἄἄε i.e.
 ἄте¹ 26 εтаζ· The point is probably the remains of an η.¹ ἄт[εχ]οῦϑ[ἰа]
 Thomassen¹ 28 ἄте i.e. те Attridge: ἄἄε <те> or <пкарпос пе> ἄте ed.
 pr. (Eng.); {ἄте} тἄἄтат·саῦη[не пе] ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.)¹

little ²⁵ by little, as through a mirror image. | For it was for this reason that he created | mankind at the end, having first | prepared and | provided for him the things which he had created ³⁰ for his sake. |

Like that of all else is the creation of mankind as well. | The spiritual Logos | moved him | invisibly, as he perfected ³⁵ him through the ^{105.1} Demiurge and his angelic servants, | who shared in the act of fashioning in [multitudes, when he] | took counsel with his archons. | Like a shadow is earthly man, ⁵ so that he might be like [those] | who are cut off from the Totalities. Also | he is something prepared by all of them, those of the right | and those of the left, since each one in [the] | orders gives a form to the [...], ¹⁰ in which it exists.

The [...] which | the Logos [who was] | defective brought forth, who [was] | in the sickness, did not resemble him | because he brought it forth [forgetfully,] ¹⁵ ignorantly, and [defectively,] | and in all the other weak ways, | although the Logos gave the first form | through the Demiurge | out of ignorance, so that he ²⁰ would learn that the exalted one exists | and would know that he needs [him]. | This is what the prophet called | “Living Spirit” and “Breath | of the exalted aeons” and “[the] ²⁵ Invisible” and this is the living soul | which has given life to the power | which was dead at first. For that which | is dead is ignorance. |

- 30 **XE** ΠΕΤΕΨΩΨΕ ΒΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΑΤΡῆΚΩ ἥ ΑΖΡΗΙ
 ΝΤΨΥΧΗ· ἄπψαρπῆ ἄρωμε· ἥ **XE** ΟΥΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ ΠΙ-
 ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕ ἄΠΝΕΥ¹ΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ ἄΒΙ ΠΙΡΕΦ-
 ἆΩΝΤ· **XE** ΠΩΦ ΠΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΑΒΑΛ ΖῆΤΟ¹ΟΤῆ ΠΕ
 35 ἄΠΡΗΤΗ ἄΝΟΥ{ῆ}ΡΟ ΠΕΤΑΥ¹ΝΙΦΕ ἄΜΑΦ ΑΦΤΗΝΟΟΥ
 ΖΩΩΦ ΑΝ ἆΠΙΤῆ ἄΒΙ ΠΙΡΕΦΩΝΤ ἄΖῆΨΥΧ{Η}ΟΥ
 ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ ΤΕΦΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΥῆΤ{ΕΦ} ἆΖΩΩΦ ΑΝ ἄΜΕΥ
 ΡS/106 ἄΜΠΙΘΝΧΠΦ ἥ **XE** ΟΥΨΩΠΕ· ΑΒΑΛ Ζῆ ΠΙΝΕ ἆΜ-
 ΠΕΙΩΤ· ΑΓΕΙΝΕ ΑΒΑΛ· ΖΩΟΥ ἆἄΒΙ ΝΙΒΒΟΥΡ ἄΠΡΗ-
 5 ΤΕ ἄΖῆῆΡΩ¹ΜΕ· {ῆ} ΕΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΕ· ΕΥῆΤΕΥ ἄΜ¹ΜΕΥ·
 ἄΠΤΑΝΤῆ ἄΠΨΩΠ·<Ε> ἆ
XE ἆΟΥΣΙΑ ἄΠΠ(ΕΥΜ)ΑΤΙΚΟῆ ΟΥ¹ΕΙ¹Ε ΤΕ{ῆ}·
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ἄΟΥΩΤ ΤΕ ἆ[ΑΥΩ ΑΝ ΠΙ]ΨΩΠΕ ἄΤΕC
 10 ΠΕ ΠΤΩΨΕ ἆ[ΖΗ ΖΑ]Ζ ἄCΜΟΤ ΤΟΥΣΙΑ ΔΕ ἆ[ΖΩ]-
 ΦC ΝΝΕΕΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ ΠΕCΤΨΩΨΕ ἆ[Ζ]ΑΤῆ ΕΥῆΤΕC
 ἄΜΜΕΥ Μ<Π>ΒΙΝἄΜΜΕ ἆΜῆ ΘΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ· ἄΠΕΤΧΑCΕ·
 ἆ[Α]ΥΩ CΡΑΚΕ ΕΝ ΑΠΕΤΘΑΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ· ἆΡΙΚΕ· ἄΠΙ-
 15 ΜΕΥΕ· ΤΟΥΣΙΑ Δ[Ε] ΖΩΩC ἆἄΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ ΠΕCΟΥΑΕΙ
 ΨΩΒΙΑΕΙΤ· ἆΥΩ Ζῆ ΖΑΖ ἄCΜΑΤ· ΝΕΥΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ
 ἆΠΕ ΕΝΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ Ζῆ ΖΑΖ ἄCΜΟΤ ἆῆΡΙΚΕ·
XE ΠΨΑΡΠῆ ΔΕ ἄΡΩΜΕ· ΟΥ¹ΠΛΑCΜΑ ΠΕ ΕΦΤΗΖ
 20 ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΤCΕ·¹ΝΟ ΠΕ ΕΦΤΗΖ ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΚΟΥ
 ΑΖΡΗΙ ἆΠΕ· ἄΔΕ ΝΙΒΒΟΥΡ ΠΕ Μῆ ΝΙΟΥΝΕΜ ἆΠΕ·
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΠΠ(ΕΥΜ)ΑΤΙΚΟC ἄΛΟΓΟC ἆΕΤΕΦΓΝΩΜΗ
 Πῆ¹Ψ ΑΠΕCΝΕΥ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ἆΤΟΥΕΙΕ· ΝΝΙΟΥCΙΑ ΝΕΕΙ
 25 ΕΝΤΑΖΧΙ ἆΠ{Ρ}ΕΦΨΩΠΕ· ΑΒΑΛ ἄΜΑΦ ΑΒΑΛ ἆΜ-
 ΠΕΕΙ· CΕΧΟΥ ἄΜΑC ΑΝ **XE** ΑΥ¹ΧΩ ΝΕΦ· ἄΝΟΥ-
 ΠΑΡΑ·ΔΙΔΟC ΑΤΡΕΦ¹ΟΥΩΜ ΑΒΑΛ· Ζῆ ΤΖΡΕ· ἄΨΟΜ-
 30 ΤΕ ἆΜΜΙΝΕ ἄΨΩΠΗΝ ΕΥΟΥΒΟΜ ΠΕ ἄΔΕ ἆ¹ΤΑΖΙC·
 ΕCΖΑΤῆ ἄΨΩΠῆΤ ἄΡΗΤΕ· ἆΕΝΤΑΦ ΠΕΤ·ἆ ἄΝΑΠΟ-
 ΛΑΥCΙC

34 ΟΥ{ῆ}ΡΟ (?) *ed. pr.*¹

106.1 ΟΥΨΩΠΕ· <ΠΕ> Thomassen¹ 2 ΠΕΙΩΤ, ΩΤ written over .ε.¹ 4 {ῆ}
 Attridge¹ 5 ΨΩΠ·<Ε> *ed. pr.*: ΖΩΒ or ΨΡῆ Thomassen¹ 7 ΕΙ¹Ε ΤΕ{ῆ}·
 Attridge: [Ρ]ΕΝ ΤΕ *ed. pr.*¹ ΕΙΝΕ, A stroke over ι was deleted.¹ ΤΕ, τ written over
 η.¹ 11 Μ<Π> (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 13-14 ΕΤΕ [Π]ΡΙΚΕ ἄΠΠΙΜΕΥΕ· <ΠΕ> *ed. pr.* (Ger.):
 ΕΤ[Ρ] [Π]ΡΙΚΕ ἄΠΠΙΜΕΥΕ *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.)¹ 21 ἄΔΕ i.e. ἄΤΕ¹ 25 Π{Ρ}ΕΦ
 Attridge: Π<Τ>ΡΕΦ Thomassen¹ 27 ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟC i.e. ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC¹ 29 ἄΔΕ i.e.
 ἄΤΕ¹

It is fitting that we explain ³⁰ about the soul of the first human being, | that it is from the spiritual Logos, | while the creator thinks | that it is his, since it is from | him, as from a mouth through which ³⁵ one breathes. The creator also sent | down souls | from his substance, since he, | too, has a power of procreation, ^{106.1} because he is something which has come into being from the representation | of the Father. Also those of the left brought forth, | as it were, men | of their own, since they have ⁵ the likeness of <being>. |

The spiritual substance is a | [single thing] and a single representation, | [and] its weakness is the determination | [in many] forms. As for the substance ¹⁰ of the psychics, its determination | is double, since it has the knowledge | and the confession of the exalted one, | and it is not inclined to evil, because of | the inclination of the thought. As for the material substance ¹⁵ its way is different | and in many forms, and it was a weakness | which existed in many types | of inclination.

The first human being is a | mixed formation, and a ²⁰ mixed creation, and a deposit | of those of the left and those of the right, | and a spiritual word | whose attention is divided between each of the two | substances from which he takes ²⁵ his being. Therefore, | it is said that | a paradise was planted for him, so that he might | eat of the food of three | kinds of tree, since it is a garden of the ³⁰ threefold order, | and since it is that which gives enjoyment.

χε †¹μῆτε γῆνης ἡ τοῦσια εἰσατῆ † εἰσοοῦ
 ἡ ζητῆ̄ νεσχασί πε ἡ ζογ¹⁰ο πε· αστσενο· ἀγῶ
 35 μασ† ψβα ἥ νεγ πε· ἀβαλ ἡ παεὶ ἀγντῆ̄ ἀβαλ
 ἡ νογεζ σαζνε· εὐρ̄ ἀπειλη † ἀγῶ εὐεῖνε ἀχω
 ρ̄ζ/107 ἡ [οὐ]νοβ ἡ βιν¹¹ ἀγνοσ̄ ετε πμοῦ τε· ἀταπο-
 † λαγσις· ἡ δε νετ·θαγ ογαετ̄ † ἡ δε· ἀκκαα
 ἀτρεφουσμ † ἀβαλ ἡ μασ ἀγῶ πκεψην ετεγ·
 5 ἥ ἡ τεγ· ἡ πκεζωτρε ἡ πογκα[αφ] † ἀογσμ ἀβαλ
 ἡ μαγ· ἡ ζογο † ἡ ζογο πα πωνῆ̄ χεκα[σ]ε ἡ [οὐ]-
 † χπο· ἡ νογταεῖο· ε[.....] ἡ μνοῦ· ἀγῶ χεκασε
 10 ἡ [οὐ...]¹² ραοῦ ἀβαλ ζῆ̄ † βομ· εθεαγ ε[τοῦ]-
 † μοῦτε ἀρας χε πζαφ· οὐπανοῦρ[γος] † ἡ δε δε
 ἡ ζογο· ἀνιβαμ τηροῦ ε[τ] ἡ ζαγοῦ· ἀφ̄ ἀπατα
 ἡ πρωμε· [ἀβαλ] † ζῆ̄ τῆ̄ πτωψε· ἡ δε να πιμεγ[ε]
 15 ἥ ἡ μῆ νεπιθῶμια ἀστρεφ̄ παραβα † ἡ τεττολη·
 χεκασ εφναμοῦ † ἀγῶ ταπολαγσις τηρ̄ ετῆ-
 πμα· εἰ τῆ̄ μεγ ἀγνοσ̄χ ἀβαλ ἡ ζητ̄·
 20 χε † πειε πε πνοῦχε ἀβαλ· ἐνταγε[εφ] ἥ νεφ·
 εαγνασ̄χ ἀβαλ· ἡ νιαπολα[γ]σις ἡ δε να πιταν-
 τῆ̄ ἡ μῆ να πιειν[ε] † εγζωβ· ἡ δε † προνοια πε
 χεκα[ασε] † εγναβητ̄ εγογαιεψ ψημ πε
 25 † ετερεπρωμε ναχι ἡ ταπολαγ¹³σις ἡ δε νιπετ-
 νανοῦοῦ ψα ἀ· ἡ νηζε ετερεπιμα ἡ μτον ψοοπ·
 † ἡ ζητοῦ πειε ετεαφτασ̄χ εαφ̄ † ψαρπ̄ π{ῆ'}-
 μ{ο'} οὐγκμοῦκκ ἡ βι πη(εγμ)α † ἀτρεφχι ἡ π{ῆ}'-
 30 ρε{η} ἡ βι πρωμε· ἥ πινοβ ἡ πεθαγ ετε πειε πε
 πμοῦ † ετε † μῆ τατσαγνε τε ἡ δε πτηρῆ̄ † τε-
 λεγτης ἀγῶ ἡ τῆ̄ ρητῆ̄ χι ἡ πιρα ἀη † πε· ἡ νιπετ-
 ζαγοῦ τηροῦ ετψα¹⁴ ροῦψωπε· ἀβαλ ζῆ̄ πειε

37 βῆ ἀγνοσ̄ i.e. κῆ ἀγνοσ̄¹

107.1 τε MS: Read πε *ed. pr.*¹ <οὐ> ἀπολαγσις *ed. pr.*² ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε¹³
 ἡ δε i.e. δε Attridge: ετε *ed. pr.*¹ ἀκκαα MS: ἀκκαα Thomassen¹ 8-9
 ε[τβε νιαφορ] μνοῦ *ed. pr.* (Ger.): ε[μαφφι νμ] μνοῦ *ed. pr.* (Eng.):
 ε[φωοειτ νμ] μνοῦ *ed. pr.* (Fr.): ε[φωψη νμ] μνοῦ Thomassen¹ 9-10
 ἡ [οὐταχ] ραοῦ *ed. pr.*¹ 12 ἡ δε δε i.e. δε τε (for πε) Attridge¹ 14 ἡ δε i.e.
 ἡ τε¹⁵ ἀστρεφ MS: Read ἀτρεφ Attridge: α[σ]τρεφ Thomassen¹ 19
 ἐνταγε[εφ] Attridge: ἐνταγε[ιρε] *ed. pr.*¹ 21, 22, 25 ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε¹ 25 ψα
 <η> ἀ· ἡ νηζε Thomassen¹ 28 π{ῆ'} μ{ο'} Attridge¹ 29 π{ῆ}' ρε{η} *ed. pr.* (Fr.,
 Eng.)¹ 31 ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε¹ 32 ἡ τῆ̄ ρητῆ̄ χι MS: ἀτρεφχι or {ητῆ̄} ρητῆ̄ χι (?)
 Attridge¹

The | noble elect substance | which is in him was more exalted. | It created and it did not wound 35 them. Therefore they issued | a command, making a threat | and bringing upon him a great ^{107.1} danger, which is death. Only the | enjoyment of the things which are evil | did he allow him to taste, | and from the other tree with ⁵ the double (fruit) he did not allow him | to eat, much | less from the tree of life, so that [they would not] | acquire honor [. . .] | them and so that [they would not be . . .] ¹⁰ by the evil power [which] | is called “the serpent.” And he is more cunning | than all the evil powers. | He led man astray [through] | the determination of those things which belong to the thought ¹⁵ and the desires. <He> made him transgress | the command, so that he would die. | And he was expelled from | every enjoyment of that place. |

This is the expulsion which was made ²⁰ for him, when he was expelled from the enjoyments | of the things which belong to the likeness and those of the representation. | It was a work of providence, so that | it might be found that it is a short time | until man will receive the enjoyment ²⁵ of the things which are eternally good, | in which is the place of rest. | This the spirit ordained when | he first planned | that man should experience the ³⁰ great evil, which is death, | that is complete ignorance of the Totality, | and that he should experience | all the evils which | come from

35 αγω ἢ μῆνσα νιφωβε ετψοοπ· ζν νεει ἰ μῆ
 ρῆ/108 νιλ[ε]ζ νῆχι εβολ ζῆ πινοβ ἢ μῆπῆτνανοῦφ· ετε
 [π]ῆει πε πι'φωνῆ· ψα νιενηζε· εδε παει πε
 ἰ πσαγνε· ῆδε νιπτηρῆ· ετογax· ἰ αγω πχι
 5 αβολ· ζῆναγαθον τηροῦ ἢ ετβε τπαραβασις
 ῆπιψαρῆ ῆρω[μ]ε· απμοῦ ρ χαιεις αφῆ σῆνηθια
 ἰ [ν]ρωμε νιμ ατρεφμ'ο'οῦτ· ῆμοοῦ ἰ κατα πογ-
 ωνῆ αβαλ· ῆτεφμῆτ[χαιεις ε]τψοοπ νεφ
 10 εστοει νεφ ἢ [ζωc] μῆτῆρο· ετβε οικονομ[α]
 ετανῆ ψρῆ χοοc ῆδε πει'οῦγωψε ῆτε πιωτ· ἰ

(PART III)

[χ]ε ποῦει ποῦει βε ῆνιδαγμα ἰ [ν]ιοῦνεμ
 15 μῆ νιββοῦρ αγωα·ἰcωζοῦ ανοῦερνοῦ αβαλ· ζι-
 τῆ ἰ π'ἰ'μееε· етκн· азрнἰ οῦτοοῦ ἰ παἰ ετῆ
 νεῦ· ῆνοῦζοικονομια ἰ μῆ νοῦερηῦ ψαρесψω-
 20 πε ῆ'cееире ῆпсνεῦ ката οῦκωζ ἢ ῆνιζβηγε· ῆ-
 οῦωτ· εῦρ μινε ῆ'μαῦ ῆχι νιοῦνεμ μῆ νιββοῦρ·
 ἰ αγω νιββοῦρ· ζωοῦ· εῦρ μινε· ῆ'μαῦ μῆ νιοῦ-
 нем· αγω сап· ас'ψα<а>рхесθαι· аειре· ῆ-
 25 νοῦπεἰθαῦ ῆβι ἰтазис· εθαῦ ζῆн οῦсмаτ·
 ῆмῆт·атөнт· ψареφ'кωζ ῆβι ἰтазис ῆмῆтзһп·
 ζῆ'н οῦζο· ῆрῆμεφῆχῆῆбонс азрнἰ ἰ есῆ ζωβ·
 30 ζωωc ан αππετθαῦ ἢ ῆπирһте εῦбom те·
 ῆрῆмеφῆῆχῆῆбонс· азрнἰ те· сап де ζω'ωφ ан
 ψареἰтазис ῆмῆт<ат>зһт ἰ ζοῦ тоотс· аῆ
 ζωβ енаноῦφ· ес'тῆτωνс арас χе ἰтазис ет-
 35 ἢзһт· ескωζ аειре ῆмаφ ζωωc ἰ ан пееи пе
 прһте етψοοп ῆ'неттһк аретоῦ ῆп[ιρһ]те ζῆ
 ρῆ/109 нἢзβһге ентаῦψωπε· еῦейн[ε] ἰ ῆνιζβηγε· ῆ-

108.2 εδε i.e. ете¹ 3 ῆδε i.e. ῆτε¹ 6 ρ χαιεις, ρ written over ρ.¹ 10 [ζωc]
 ed. pr.: [αοῦμ]ῆτῆρο Thomassen¹ <οῦ>οικονομια Thomassen¹ 11 ῆδε i.e.
 ῆτε¹ 13 δαγμα i.e. таγμα; the first α written over a badly formed α.¹ 14
 αγωα (ψ possibly written over α.): εθαῦ ed. pr.¹ 21 ῆχι i.e. ῆβι¹ 23-24
 асψα<а>рхесθαι Mueller: еψасархесθαι ed. pr.¹ 26 ψареφ MS:
 ψарес Thomassen¹ 27 зһп MS: зһт ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 32 мῆт<ат>зһт
 Mueller¹ 34 χе i.e. ῆβι Thomassen¹ 34-35 етзһп MS: ῆмῆтзһт (?) Attridge:
 ет<ат>зһт Thomassen¹ 37 ῆп[ιρһ]те or ῆп[наз]те or ῆп[саβ]те or
 ῆп[ка]те ed. pr. (Ger.)¹

this and, ³⁵ after the deprivations and cares which are in these, | that he should receive of the greatest ^{108.1} good, which is | life eternal, that is, | firm knowledge of the Totalities | and the reception of all good things. ⁵ Because of the transgression of the first man | death ruled. It was accustomed | to slay every man | in the manifestation of its | [domination] which had been given it ¹⁰ [as] a kingdom, because of the organization | of the Father's will, | of which we spoke previously. |

Part III

12. *The Variety of Theologies*

If both of the orders, | those on the right and those on the left, ¹⁵ are brought together with one another by | the thought which is set between them, | which gives them their organization | with each other, it happens | that they both act with the same ²⁰ emulation of their deeds, with | those of the right resembling those of the left | and those of the left resembling | those of the right. And if at times the evil order | begins to do ²⁵ evil in a | foolish way, | the <wise> order emulates, | in the form of a man of violence, | also doing what is evil, ³⁰ as if it were a power of a man | of violence. At other times | the foolish order | attempts to do good, | making itself like it, since the hidden order, ³⁵ too, is zealous to do it. | Just as it is in | the things which are established, [so] (it is) in the ^{109.1} things which have come to be. Since they bring | things un-

5 ΝΑΤ'ΕΙΝΕ' ΑΝΟΥΕΡ[ΗΥ] 'ΕΜΠΟΥΘΝΒΟΜ' ΜΜΕ ΑΤ-
 ΛΑΕΙΘ[Ε] 'ΝΝΖΒΗΥΕ' ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΝΧΙ ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤ[Ε]-
 5 "ΜΠΟΥΤΑΜΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ' ΜΠΑΕΙ 'ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΑΝ' ΑΖΟΥΝ
 ΝΚΕΡΗΤΕ 'ΖΕΝΖΑΕΙΝΕ' ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΑΣ Χ[Ε] 'ΝΕΤ-
 ΨΟΟΠ' ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΡΗΙ ΖΝ [ΟΥ]'ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ' ΕΤΕ ΝΕΤ-
 10 [ΒΑ]ΨΥΤ' ΝΕ " ΑΠΣΜΙΝΕ' ΜΠΚΙΜ' ΜΠ[С]ΨΩΝΤ' ΜΝ
 ΤΜΝΤΡ ΠΙΘΕ' ΖΝΚΕΚΑΥΕ ΕΥ'ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ' ΧΕ ΟΥΑ-
 ΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ ΠΕ 'ΕΤΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ' ΕΤΒΑΨΥΤ' ΑΤ<Μ>Ν-
 15 ΤΑ<Τ>ΨΥΡ' ΜΙΝΕ' ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΑΤΖΕΠ ΝΝΙΒΟΜ " ΜΝ
 ΠΕΤΘΑΥ ΖΝΚΕΚΑΥΕ' Ε[Υ]'ΧΟΥ ΜΜΑΣ' ΧΕ ΠΕΤΗΠ
 ΑΨΩΠΕ 'ΝΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΕΤΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΑ[Υ]'СРϞΕ
 ΑΠΙΖΩΒ' ΖΝΚΕΚΑΥΕ ΕΥ'ΧΩ ΜΜΑΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΚΑΤΑ
 20 ΦΥCIC Π[Ε] " ΖΝΚΕΚΑΥΕ' ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΑΣ ΧΕ ΝΟΥ-
 'ΠΕΤ'ΨΟΟΠ' ΟΥΑΕΕΤϞ' ΠΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ 'ΤΗΡϞ ΝΤΑΥ-
 ΠΩΖ ΨΑ ΝΙCΤΟΙΧΙ[ΟΝ] 'ΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ' ΜΠΟΥ-
 CΟΥΩΝ ΖΟΥϞ 'ΑΡΑΟΥ
 25 ΧΕ ΝΕΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ ΝCΟΦΟC " ΚΑΤΑ ΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΝ
 ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟC' 'ΑΥΡ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΑΝΙΒΟΜ' ΕΝΤΑΥ'ΨΩΠΕ
 ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΦΑΝΤΑCΙΑ' ΜΝ'Ν ΟΥΜΕΥΕ ΕΨΩΟΥΕΙΤ'
 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥ'ΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΚΟΛΖ ΑΖΟΥ(Ν)
 30 " ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ' ΜΝ ΠCΜΑΤ' Ν†ΜΝΤΑ'ΠΟCΤΑΔΗC
 ΕΑΥΡ ΕΝΕΡΓΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΕΧΕ ΖΡΗΙ ΖΝΝ
 ΟΥΤΑΝΤΝ 'ΜΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΧΑCΙΖΗΤ' ΜΝΝ ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ
 35 'ΜΦΑΝΤΑCΙΑ ΖΑ ΠΡΑ ΝΝΕΕΙ ΕΝ"ΤΑΥΜΕΥΕ' ΑΡΑΥ
 ΜΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ 'ΕΑϞΡ ΑΠΑΤΑ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΤΑϞΤΝ
 ΠΙ' / 110 'ΕΥΜΕΥ[Ε] ΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΖΕ ΤΜΗΕ " [Ε]ΝΤΑΥΤΕΖΕ
 †ΠΛΑΝΗ ΖΝ ΝΙΡΕΝ 'ΨΗΜ ΕΝ' ΟΥΑΕΕΤΟΥ ΕΝ' ΑΛΛΑ
 'ΝΤΑΥ ΝΙΒΟΜ ΤΑΝΤΗ ΕCΩΨΥΤ Μ'ΜΑΥ ΖΩC ΕΝΤΑΥ
 5 ΠΕ ΠΤΗΡϞ " ΑΒΟΛ' ΜΠΑΕΙ' ΑCΨΩΠΕ' ΕΠΙ'ΔΑΓΜΑ'
 ΕϞΖΛΗΜ ΑΒΑΛ' ΕϞ† 'ΟΥΒΗϞ' ΟΥΑΕΕΤϞ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΤΜΝΤΡΕϞ'ΜΙΨΕ ΜΜΝΧΑCΙΖΗΤ' ΝΔΕ 'ΟΥΕ [ΝΝΙΧ]ΠΟ
 10 ΜΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΡ ΖΥ"ΠΕ[Ρ]Ε[С]ϞΕ' ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΑ ΤΕϞ'

109.4 ΝΧΙ i.e. ΝΒΙ¹ 5-6 [Ε]ΑΥΕΙΝΕ *ed. pr.*¹ 7 ΖΑΕΙΝΕ, α written over another letter, possibly ο.¹ 13 ΑΤ<Μ>ΝΤΑ<Τ>ΨΥΡ' or ΑΤ<Μ>ΝΤΑΨΥΡ *ed. pr.*¹ 16 ΧΕ, χ written over a partially formed π.¹ 26 ΑΠΑ(Ν)ΤΑ (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 28 <Μ>Ν ΝΕΝΤΑΥΕΙ Thomassen¹ 30-31 Α'ΠΟCΤΑΔΗC i.e. Α'ΠΟCΤΑΤΗC¹ 36 ΤΑϞΤΝ MS: Read ΤΑΝΤΝ *ed. pr.*¹

110.6 ΔΑΓΜΑ i.e. ΤΑΓΜΑ¹ 8 ΝΔΕ i.e. ΝΤΕ¹ 9-10 ΖΥΠΕ[Ρ]Ε[С]ϞΕ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹

like one another, | those who were not instructed were
 | unable to know the cause of the things which exist.
 5 Therefore, | they have introduced other types (of ex-
 planation), | some saying that | it is according to prov-
 idence that the things which exist have their being. |
 These are the people who observe ¹⁰ the stability and
 the conformity of the movement of creation. | Others
 say | that it is something alien. | These are people who
 observe the | diversity and the lawlessness and the evil
 of the powers. ¹⁵ Others say | that the things which
 exist are what | is destined to happen. These are the
 people who were | occupied with this matter. Others
 say | that it is something in accordance with nature.
²⁰ Others say that | it is a self-existent. The majority,
 however, | all who have reached as far as the visible
 elements, | do not know anything more | than them.

Those who were wise ²⁵ among the Greeks and the
 barbarians | have advanced to the powers which have |
 come into being by way of imagination and | vain
 thought. Those who have | come from these, in accord
 with the mutual conflict ³⁰ and rebellious manner |
 active in them, | also spoke in a likely, | arrogant and |
 imaginary way concerning the things ³⁵ which they
 thought of as wisdom, | although the likeness deceived
 them, | since they thought that they had attained the
 truth, ^{110.1} when they had (only) attained error. |
 (They did so) not simply in minor appellations, but |
 the powers themselves seem to hinder them, | as if
 they were the Totality. 5 Therefore, the | order was
 caught up in fighting | itself alone, because of the |
 arrogant hostility of | one [of the offspring] of the ar-
 chon who is ¹⁰ superior, who exists before him. |

15 'ΕΖΗ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΜΠΕΛΑΥΕ· 'ΨΩΠΕ· ΕΦ† ΜΕΤΕ ΜΝ
 ΝΕΦΕΡΗ'ΟΥ ΜΝ ΛΑΥΕ ΝΖΩΒ ΟΥΔΕ· ΜΝ†ΦΙΛΟΣΟ-
 ΦΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝΜΝΤΣΕΕΙΝ || ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝΜΝ†'Ζ'ΡΗΤΩΡ·
 ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝ†ΜΝΤΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝΜΝ†'ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ
 20 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝΕΑΥ ΝΕ Ζ† ' ΜΝ†ΤΡΕΦΜΕ· ΑΣΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΑ-
 'ΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΧΝ ΤΜΝΤΑ† ΖΡΑΥΟΥ || ΕΦΜΑΒΧ· ΕΤΒΕ
 ΤΜΝΤΑ† ΤΕΟΥ·[.]ϛ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ Ε† ΝΕΥ
 ' ΝΝΜΜΕΥΕ·
 ΧΕ ΝΕΕΙ· ΕΝΤΑΖΨΩ†ΠΕ· ΑΒΑΛ· ΖΝ ΠΤΕΕΝΟ· ΝΔΕ
 25 ΖΝ†'ΖΕΒΒΡΕΟΣ· ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΣΗΖ· ΑΒΑΛ ΝΝ†'ΖΥΛΗ Ε† ΧΩ
 ΜΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΝΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ ' ΝΒΟΜ ΝΝΕΤΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΡΑΥ
 ' ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΧΟΟΥ ΑΝΙΟΥΝΕΜ ΝΒΟΜ ' ΕΤΚΙΜ ΑΡΑΥ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΤΡΟΥΜΕΥΕ ' ΝΨΕΧΕ ΜΝΝ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ· <ΑΥ>Ν-
 30 Τ{ΑΥ}ΟΥ ΑΥΩ || ΑΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΖΩΣ ΑΤΡΟΥΤΕ·ΖΟ
 Ν†ΤΜΗΕ ΑΥΡ ΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ ΑΝΙΒΟΜ Ε†ΤΕΖΤΑΖ† Ε†Ρ
 ΕΝΕΡΓΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ' ΜΝΝΣΑ ΝΑΕΙ ΑΥΤΕΖΟ ΝΤΑΖΙΣ
 35 ΝΔΕ ΝΙΑ†'ΑΖ†ΤΖ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΤΕΖΟ· ΠΟΥ||ΕΕΙ ΟΥΔΕΕ†Τ†
 ΕΤΚΑΑ† ΚΑΤΑ Π†'ΝΕ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΙΩ† ΕΥΑ†ΤΝΕΥ
 ΡΙΑ/ΙΙΙ ΑΡΑΥ || [Ε]Ν ΠΕ· ΖΝ ΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥ-
 ' [Σ]ΟΦΙΑ ΤΕΤΖΑΒ† ΑΒΑΛ ΑΧΩϞ ΧΕΚΑ[Σ] ' ΕΦΝΑ-
 ΤΟΥΧΟ· ΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΜΠΙΑ†'ΝΕΥ· ' ΑΡΑΥ ΝΑΜΗΕ· ΕΤΒΕ
 5 ΠΕΕΙ ΜΠΕ||[Ζ]ΑΖ· ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΕΖΑϞ ΑΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΥ
 ' ΑΥΩ ΝΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΝ Ν†ΤΕ ' ΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΜΜΝ†ΖΕ-
 ΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΕΤΑΝ†ΨΡ†Π ΝΧΟΟΥ· ΕΤΕ ΝΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΝΕ ' ΜΝ
 10 ΝΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΜΠΟΥΜΕΥΕ ΑΛΑΥΕ || ΜΠΟΥΧΟΥ
 ΛΑΥΕ· {ΜΠΟΥΧΕ ΛΑΥΕ} ' ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑ· Η
 ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ' ΟΥΤΑΝ·Τ†Ν Η ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝΝ ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ' ΕΦ-
 ΖΑΒ† ΑΛΛΑ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ' ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ΤΒΑΜ·

15 'Ζ'ΡΗΤΩΡ, The first ρ written over ζ; τ written over ρ.¹ 19 ΑΧΝ MS: Read
 ΝΒΙ Attridge¹ ΤΜΝ†(Α††)ΖΡΑΥΟΥ Thomassen¹ 20 ΕΦΜΑΒΧ MS: Read
 ΕΣΜΑΧ† ed. pr.: ΕΥΜΑΧ† Thomassen¹ 20-21 ΤΕΟΥ[Υ]ϛ (?) Attridge: τε-
 ου[α]ϛ ed. pr.¹ 21 ΕΤΕ i.e. Ν†ΤΕ¹ 23 ΠΤΕΕΝΟ MS: Read ΠΓΕΝΟΣ or ΠΤΣΕΝΟ
 ed. pr.: ΠΤΕ{Ε}ΝΟ Thomassen¹ ΝΔΕ i.e. Ν†ΤΕ¹ 25 Ε† ΧΩ MS: Ε† ΤΟΥΧΟ ed. pr.
 (Eng.)¹ ΖΕΛΛΗΝ, Ζ written over α.¹ 26 ΝΝΕΤΑΜΕΕΥΕ MS: ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΑΥΜΕΕΥΕ
 (?) Attridge¹ 29 Ν†ΤΑΥΟΥ MS: <ΑΥ>Ν†Τ{ΑΥ}ΟΥ or <ΝΕ>Ν†ΤΑΥ<Ν†>ΟΥ Attridge:
 Ν†ΤΕΥ ed. pr.¹ 33-34 ΝΔΕ i.e. Ν†ΤΕ¹ 34 ΝΙΑ†<Τ>ΑΖ†ΤΖ ed. pr.¹ ΤΕΖΟ <ΜΜΟϞ
 Μ> Thomassen¹

ΙΙΙ.8 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, σ written over an uncertain letter.¹ 10 {ΜΠΟΥΧΕ ΛΑΥΕ} ed.
 pr. (Fr., Ger.)¹ ΙΙ ΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑ, The first α written over a partially formed α.¹

Therefore, nothing | was in agreement with its fel-
 lows, | nothing, neither | philosophy nor types of
 medicine ¹⁵ nor types of rhetoric nor types | of music
 nor types of | logic, but they are opinions and | theo-
 ries. | Ineffability held sway ²⁰ in confusion, because
 of the indescribable quality | of those who hold sway,
 who give them | thoughts.

Now, as for the things which came | forth from the
 <race> of the | Hebrews, things which are written by
²⁵ the hylics who speak in the fashion of the Greeks, |
 the powers of those who think about all | of them, so
 to speak, the "right ones," the powers | which move
 them all to think of | words and a representation, they
 <brought> them, and ³⁰ they grasped so as to attain |
 the truth and used the confused powers | which act in
 them. | Afterwards they attained to the order | of the
 unmixed ones, the one which is established, the
³⁵ unity which exists as a | representation of the rep-
 resentation of the Father. It is not invisible ^{III.1} in its
 nature, but | a wisdom envelops it, so that | it might
 preserve the form of the | truly invisible one. There-
 fore, ⁵ many angels have not been able to see it. | Also,
 other men of | the Hebrew race, of whom we | already
 spoke, namely the righteous ones | and the prophets,
 did not think of anything ¹⁰ and did not say anything |
 from imagination or through a | likeness or from eso-
 teric thinking, | but each one | by the power which was

15 ετενεργι ν̄ζητῆ̄ " αγω εφσωτῆ̄ ανενταφνευ
 ' αραυ αγω αφσοτμοу 'αφχοу' ζῆν ουνατ.
 []τε· εῦντεу ῆμεу ῆπιτ̄ μετε ' ῆμ̄нтζληм̄ ψα
 νοϋερηу κατα [πι]смаτ̄ ῆнет̄р̄ ενεργι ν̄ζηтоу
 20 " εοутоуχω мπιноуχб̄ м̄н̄ πιτ̄ με'τε· ψα νοу-
 ерну малиста ν̄зρη̄ї ' ζῆ̄н̄ †ζομολογια ῆδε πετ-
 χασε· ' αραу· αγω οῦν̄ πετнνεεφ αραу· ' πεει
 25 ετεαуκααу ζωс εῦр̄ χриа " ῆμοφ εαπлогос
 ῆпνεуμαтикон ' χπαу ῆῆμεу νοуееи εφр̄ χриа
 ῆ'πετχασε· нноузелпис м̄н̄н̄ ουβω'ψτ̄ авал·
 ката пимееуе· ете пе'ееи пе· псперма ῆноу-
 30 χαеите· " αγω ουлогос нреφр̄ οуаеин пе· ете
 ' пимееуе пе· м̄н̄ нιχπο ῆтеφ м̄н̄ ' нипроволн
 ῆтеφ не ниди'к'аиос м̄н̄ ' неипрофитнс етаῆψ-
 р̄п̄ ῆχοуу· ' εутоуχο н†ζομολογια м̄н̄ †-
 35 " ῆн̄т̄м̄н̄т̄ре· нте νοуеиате за пра ' ῆпет̄неεφ
 π̄иβ/112 нееи ῆтауψω'πε " εубаψτ̄ авол· ῆса †[зе]л-
 пис м̄н̄ ' писωт̄м̄ авол· εφсате· ῆзнто[у] ' ῆби
 <пи>сперма ῆсап̄с̄· αγω ῆψине ' πεеи етсате
 5 ῆзρη̄ї ' ζ'ῆ̄н̄ заз нееи· " ενταζψине· ῆса питωк
 аретῆ̄ ' φοуан̄з̄ авал φсωк ῆмау а'м̄р̄ре пет-
 χασе· атаψе аеиψ ' мен ῆнееи ζωс за пра
 10 ῆоуееи ῆ'οуωт̄· αγω неоуееи ῆоуωт̄· пе"т̄р̄
 ενεργι ῆмау· εуψеχε· се'ψβ̄β̄иаеит̄· {а}ен· ῆхе
 ноунеу м̄н̄ ' ноуψеχε· етве паψееите ' ῆне-
 таз† неу ῆ†θεωриа м̄н̄ ' пиψеχε· етве пееи
 15 нетазсω"т̄м̄ авал· нса нентауχοуу ' етве
 пееи сеζλ̄ лауе ен авал· ' ῆтеуоу аλλα ζῆн̄
 οуψιβн̄· ' ауχι ῆнетсн̄з̄· εῦр̄ ζερмннеу'е ῆмау
 20 ауτεзо аretoу " ῆζῆзerecic енаψωоу
 нетау'ψооп̄· ψа зоун̄ етеноу зате нι<и>оу-
 даеи· ζῆζаеине мен се'χοу ῆмас χе оуееи пе
 25 ' пноуτε· ενтазтаψе оеиψ " ῆнеиγραфноу·

16 αραу, The second α written over a partially formed α. ¹наτ, н written over т. ¹19 смаτ, м written over π or a partially formed м. ¹20 νοуχб̄ i.e. μοуχб̄ ¹22 ῆде i.e. ῆте ¹25 ῆμοφ, о written over н or a partially formed о. ¹112.3 <пи>сперма *ed. pr.* ¹11 {а}ен or а{е}н *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.); мен *ed. pr.* (Eng.) ¹ῆхе i.e. ῆби ¹16 ζλ̄ MS: ζῆ̄н̄ *ed. pr.* (Ger.) ¹17 ῆтеуоу MS: ῆмау or ῆзнтоу *ed. pr.* ¹21-22 нι<и>оудаеи *ed. pr.* ¹24 оеиψ, е written over a partially formed е. ¹

at work in him, ¹⁵ and while listening to the things
 which he saw | and heard, spoke of them in [...]. |
 They have a unified harmony | with one another after
 the manner | of those who worked in them, ²⁰ since
 they preserve the connection and the | mutual har-
 mony primarily | by the confession of the one more
 exalted | than they. And there is one who is greater
 than they, | who was appointed since they have need
²⁵ of him, and whom the spiritual Logos | begot along
 with them as one who needs | the exalted one, in hope
 and | expectation in accord with the thought which | is
 the seed of salvation. ³⁰ And he is an illuminating
 word, which | consists of the thought and his offspring
 and | his emanations. Since the righteous ones and |
 the prophets, whom we have previously mentioned, |
 preserve the confession and the ³⁵ testimony concern-
 ing | the one who is great, made by their fathers who
 were ^{112.1} looking for the hope and | the hearing, in
 them is sown | the seed of prayer and the searching, |
 which is sown in many ⁵ who have searched for
 strengthening. | It appears and draws them to | love
 the exalted one, to proclaim | these things as pertain-
 ing to a unity. | And it was a unity which ¹⁰ worked in
 them when they spoke. | Their vision and their words
 do not differ | because of the multitude | of those who
 have given them the vision and | the word. Therefore,
 those who have ¹⁵ listened to what they have said |
 concerning this do not reject any | of it, but have ac-
 cepted the scriptures | in an altered way. By inter-
 preting | them they established ²⁰ many heresies
 which | exist to the present among the | Jews. Some |
 say that God is one, | who made a proclamation ²⁵ in

the ancient scriptures. Others | say that he is many. | Some say | that God is simple | and was a single mind ³⁰ in nature. Others say | that his activity is linked with | the establishment of good | and evil. Still others | say that he is the ³⁵ creator of that which has come into being. Still others |, say that ^{113.1} it was by the angels that he created. |

The multitude of ideas of | this sort is the multitude of forms and the abundance | of types of scripture, that which produced ⁵ their teachers of the Law. The | prophets, however, did not say anything of | their own accord, | but each one of them | (spoke) of the things which he had seen and ¹⁰ heard through the proclamation of | the Savior. This is what he proclaimed, | with the main subject of their | proclamation being that which each said concerning | the coming of the Savior, which is this coming. ¹⁵ Sometimes the prophets speak about it | as if it will be. | Sometimes (it is) as if the Savior speaks | from their mouths, saying that the Savior will come | and show favor to those who have not ²⁰ known him. They have not all joined | with one another in confessing anything, | but each one, on the basis of the | thing from which he received power | to speak about him ²⁵ and on the basis of the place which he saw, | thinks that it is from it | that he will be begotten and that he will come from that place. Not | one of them knew ³⁰ whence he would come nor by whom he | would be begotten, but he alone | is the one of whom it is worthy to speak, the one who | will be begotten and | will suffer. Concerning ³⁵ that which he previously was | and that which he is eternally, | an unbegotten,

1 π̄ᾱ/114 χποϩ n̄nat̄mkaz n̄te | πλογος εν(εν)ταζωπε·
 2 n̄ carz || m̄pecei απουμεγε α[γ]ω πεε[ι] | πε
 3 πψεχε· ενταγχι ενεργι араϩ | ατρουχοос ρα
 4 πρα· n̄teqcarz | ετναογωνz̄ ευχοу m̄mos xe
 5 ου||χο· αβολ· n̄zhtoу throu te· ρα· l̄on δε
 6 n̄zwb nim· xe ουαβαλ τε | z̄m̄ pilogoc m̄pney-
 7 ματικός τε | ετε n̄taq πε· τλαειβε n̄nen· l̄ta-
 8 ζωπε· पेेи ετεαπсωτηρ χι || n̄teqcarz· αβαλ·
 9 z̄itootq̄ ne· aqr̄ | βακη μεν m̄maq πε· z̄m̄ p̄bīnoy-
 10 l̄wnz̄ αβαλ m̄πογοειν κατα πψε· l̄xe m̄ψ· l̄p̄ ωπ
 11 m̄peq̄bnoywnz̄ αβαλ | z̄n̄ tm̄ntcperma· ουδε
 12 cperma || n̄gar· n̄de netwοop· petwοop | εαϩ-
 13 χπαϩ n̄de· z̄n̄· p̄zae· παει δε | ενταπιωτ·
 14 τωψε· m̄pīwlp̄ αβαλ | n̄de πογχαεите· n̄zh-
 15 tq̄· ετε पे̄ēi πε πχωκ n̄· δε πψωπ ωп εanēi-
 16 ||organon throu ζωπε neq̄ n̄pbine· l̄eī azrh̄i
 17 m̄pbios· neei ετεαϩēī a· zrh̄i z̄itootoy· εουεει
 18 πε πεq̄īwt· | αγω n̄taq ουαεет̄q̄ petwοop·
 19 | neq̄ n̄iwt· κατα ουμνε· πιατ· || ney араϩ μεν
 20 n̄atcoywnq̄ n̄attezaz̄ z̄n̄ teq̄fycic· ετε
 21 | πνουτε πε z̄n̄ πεq̄oyωψε ου· l̄aeet̄q̄ m̄n̄ πεq̄-
 22 zmot· m̄n̄ πετε· l̄aq̄teeiq̄ m̄min̄ m̄moq̄ ατρουνεу
 23 || араϩ· n̄cesoywnq̄· n̄cetezaz̄
 24 xe | पेेи पे· ετεαπ̄n̄· cωτηρ ζωπε | m̄maq
 25 αβαλ z̄n̄n̄ ουm̄ntwbn̄r̄ n̄īωωп n̄kaz· εq̄oyωψε
 26 ετε πεταγ· ζωπε m̄maq πε xe ερε̄n̄taqoy-
 27 l̄wnz̄ αβαλ· εтвнтоу z̄n̄n̄ ουπαθос | n̄atoyw-
 28 ψe· αγωωπε n̄carz̄ z̄ī ψy· xh̄· ετε पेेи पे·
 29 ανηze ετεμαz̄te | m̄maḡ αγω m̄n̄ z̄n̄· teko
 30 π̄ē/115 | εψαγμοу· νεταz̄[ωωп]ε δε ζωωϩ || [π]ρωμε·

37 n̄te MS: ετε or αγω *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹ 38 εν(εν) *ed. pr.* | <τ>c̄ar̄z̄ *ed. pr.*¹

114.11 μεν MS: m̄men or m̄min *ed. pr.*¹ m̄maq MS: Read m̄mac Attridge¹ 14 ου(δε)сperma Thomassen¹ 15 n̄de netwοop MS: n̄te netwοop Attridge: ουδε petwοop *ed. pr.*¹ पे[τwοop] Thomassen¹ 16 n̄de i.e. δε¹ 18, 19 n̄de i.e. n̄te¹ 33 n̄kaz i.e. n̄kaz¹ 36 αγωωπε MS: αq̄ωωπε Schenke¹ 37 <π>ανηze Thomassen¹ 38 <ψ>τεκο Schenke¹

115.1 [π]ρωμε: [nm] Emmel: [π]ρωμετ[ρ] *ed. pr.* (Eng., Ger.): [n]ρωμετ[ρ] *ed. pr.* (Fr.): [n̄]ρωμε [n̄]ατνεу Thomassen¹

impassible one from | the Logos, who came into being
 in flesh, ^{114.1} he did not come into their thought. And
 this | is the account which they received an impulse | to
 give concerning his flesh | which was to appear. They
 say that ⁵ it is a production from all of them, | but that
 before all things it is from | the spiritual Logos | who is
 the cause of the things which | have come into being,
 from whom the Savior received ¹⁰ his flesh. He had |
 conceived <it> at the revelation | of the light, accord-
 ing to the | word of the promise, at his revelation |
 from the seminal state. ¹⁵ For the one who exists is
 not a seed of the things which exist, | since he was
 begotten at the end. But to the one | by whom the
 Father ordained the manifestation | of salvation, who
 is | the fulfillment of the promise, ²⁰ to him belonged
 all these instruments for | entry into life, through
 which he | descended. His Father is one | and alone is |
 truly a father to him, the ²⁵ invisible, unknowable, |
 the incomprehensible in his nature, who | alone is
 God in his will | and his form, who | has granted that
 he might be seen, ³⁰ known and comprehended. |

13. *The Incarnate Savior and his Companions*

He it is who was our Savior | in willing compassion,
 | who is that which | they were. For it was for their
 sake that he became ³⁵ manifest in an involuntary
 suffering. | They became flesh and soul, — | that is,
 eternally — which (things) hold | them and with cor-
 ruptible things | they die. And as for those who [came

[NN]ΑΤ·ΝΕΥ ΑΡΑϞ ΖΝΝ ΟΥ¹[M]ΝΤ·ΑΤ·ΝΕΥ ΑΡΑϞ· ΑϞ-
 ΤΣΕΒΑΥ ΑΡΑϞ ¹ {[2]N ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΝΕΥ ΑΡΑϞ ΑΝ}
 5 ΧΕ ΟΥ ¹ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΑϞΧΙ ΑΡΑΟΥ ΜΠΙΜΟΥ ΝΤΕ[Υ]¹ΟΥ
 ΝΕΤΕΑϞΜΕΥΕ ΑΡΑΟΥ· ΑΤΡΕϞΤΟΥ¹ΧΑϞΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΤΟΥΚΕΜΝΤ·ΨΗΜ· ρ[N] ¹ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΕΙΤ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΑΡΑϞ
 ΕΑΥΝΕΣΤΟ[Υ] ¹ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΑϞϞ[ΙΤϞ]
 10 ¹ ΑΝ <ε>ΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΕΙ ΧΕ ΑϞΤΡΟΥΩ ΜΜ[Α]Ϟ ¹ ΑΥΩ
 ΑϞΤΡΟΥΜΕΣΤῶ ΝΝΟΥΛΙΛΟΥ Ν¹ΣΩΜΑ· ΨΥΧΗ
 ΧΕ ΖΡΗΙ ΖN ΝΚΕΚΑΥΕ ¹ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΝΤΑΥΡ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ
 ΑΡΑϞΟΥ· ΜN ¹ ΝΕΝΤΑΖΑΕΙΕ· ΑΥΩ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΠΟΥΟΙΝ
 15 ¹ ΝΕΑϞΕΙ ΕϞΧΑΣΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΠΕ· ΑΒΑΛ ¹ ΧΕ ΖN
 ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΡ ΝΟΒΕ· ΑΥΩ ΖNΝ ΟΥ¹ΜΝΤΑΤΤΩΛM ΑΥΩ
 ΖN ΟΥΜΝΤ·ΑΤΧΩΖM ΠΕΝΤΑϞΤΡΟΥΩ ΜΜΑϞ
¹ ΑΥΧΠΟϞ ΖM ΠΒΙΟϞ ΕϞΨΟΟΠ ΖM ΠΒΙΟϞ ¹ ΑΒΑΛ ΧΕ
 20 ΝΤΑΥ ΜN ΝΕΤMΜΕΥ ΖN¹Ν ΟΥΠΑΘΟϞ ΜNΝ ΟΥΓΝΩΜΗ
 Ε{N}CΠΑ¹ΝΕ· ΑΒΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟϞ ΕΝΤΑΖΚΙΜ ¹ ΕΝ-
 ΤΑΣΤΕΖΑΥ ΑΤΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ ΝCΩ¹ΜΑ ΖΙ ΨΥΧΗ· ΠΕΕΙ
 ΔΕ ΝΤΑϞ <ΠΕΤ>ΕΑϞΧΙ ¹ ΑΡΑϞ· ΜΠΡΕϞΕΙ ΖΑ ΝΕ-
 25 ΤΑΝΡ ΨΡΠ ¹ ΝΧΟΟΥ
 ΧΕ ΑϞΨΩΠΕ ΑΒΑΛ· ΝΠΙΘN¹ΝΕΥ ΕΤΠΡΡΙΩΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΠΙΜΕΥΕ· ΝΝΑΤ·ΠΩΝΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟϞ ΕΝΤΑϞ-
 CΤΑϞ· ¹ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟϞ· ΜNΝCΑ ΠΕϞΚΙΜ· ¹ ΑΒΑΛ
 30 ΖN †ΖΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΠΕΝ¹ΤΑΥΧΙ CΩΜΑ· ΖΙ
 ΨΥΧΗ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΝΤΑ¹ΕΙ ΝMΜΕϞ· ΜNΝ ΟΥΤΕΖΟ ΑΡΕΤϞ
¹ ΜNΝ ΟΥCΜΙΝΕ ΜNΝ ΟΥΖΕΠ· ΝN¹ΖΒΗΥΕ· ΑΥΜΕΥΕ
 ΜΕΝ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΡΑΥ¹ΟΥ ΑΤΡΟΥΕΙΤ
 35 ΧΕ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΜΕΥΕ Α¹ΠCΩΤΗΡ· ΑΥΕΙΤ <ΑΥΕΙΤ> ΔΕ
 ΝΤΑΡΕϞMΜΕ· ¹ ΑΥΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΝ ΕΥΧΑΣΙ ΖN
 †ΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ· ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΑΝΕΝ¹ΤΑΥNΤΟΥ·
 ΑΒΑΛ ΖNΝ ΟΥΨΤΑ ΑΒΑΛ· ¹ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΝ
 M[ΠΙ]ΡΗ[Τ]Ε ¹ ΝΕΥΧΙ ΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ ΝCΩΜΑ ΜN ¹ ΝCΩ-
 ΜΑ· ΜΠCΩΤΗΡ· ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤN ¹ †ΘΝΟΥΩNZ ΑΒΑΛ· ΜN

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2 ΤΣΕΒΑΥ, ε written over n.¹ 3 {[2]N ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΝΕΥ ΑΡΑϞ ΑΝ} *ed. pr.*¹ 4
 ΑΡΑΟΥ MS: Read ΑΡΑϞ Attridge¹ 7 {Π}ΕΝΤΑΥΕΤ Thomassen¹ ΝΕCΤΟ[Υ] (i.e.
 ΜΕCΤΟ[Υ]) Attridge: ΝΕCΤΗ[ΥΕ] *ed. pr.*¹ 9 <ε>ΒΟΛ Attridge: <N>ΒΟΛ *ed. pr.*¹
 20-21 Ε{N}CΠΑ¹ΝΕ· ΑΒΑΛ Emmel: Ε{N}CΠ[Ω]ΝΕ ΑΒΑΛ *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.):
 ΕΝCΠ[Ω]ΝΕ ΑΒΑΛ <ΕΝ> (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 23 <ΠΕΤ>ΕΑϞΧΙ Attridge¹ 24
 ΜΠΡΕϞ<Ϟ>ΕΙ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 30-31 ΝΕΝΤΑ<Ζ>ΕΙ *ed. pr.*¹ 35 <ΑΥΕΙΤ> ΔΕ
 Attridge¹ MΜΕ MS: ΜΕ or ΜΑΕΙΕ (?) Attridge¹

into being] ^{115.1} [the] invisible one | taught them invisibly about himself. |

Not | only did he take upon <himself> the death of ⁵ those whom he thought | to save, but he also accepted their smallness | to which they had descended when they were <born> | in body and soul. | (He did so), because he had let himself be conceived ¹⁰ and born as an infant, in | body and soul.

Among all the others | who shared in them | and those who fell and received the light, | he came being exalted, because ¹⁵ he had let himself be conceived without sin, | stain and | defilement. | He was begotten in life, being in life | because the former and the latter are in ²⁰ passion and changing opinion | from the Logos who moved, | who established them to be body | and soul. He it is <who> has taken | to himself the one who came from those whom we previously ²⁵ mentioned.

He came into being from the | glorious vision and the unchanging thought | of the Logos who | returned to himself, after his movement, | from the organization, just as ³⁰ those who came with him took body and soul | and a confirmation | and stability and judgment of | things. They too intended | to come.

When they thought of ³⁵ the Savior they came, and [they came] when he knew; | they also came more exalted in the | emanation according to the flesh than those | who had been brought forth from a defect, because ^{116.1} in this way | they, too, received their bodily emanation along with | the body of the Savior,

5 †βν^{||}μοῦχβ· n̄mεq neeike^{||}keγε ne na †ουγια·
 n̄ουωτ· ^{||}ne αγω n̄ταc· ρω τ·ε {τε'} †πνευ-
 †ματικη δε τοικονομια n̄δε ^{||}n̄ταc<<c>ψββι-
 10 †ειτ· οῦωτ· ται· ^{||}οῦωτ· ται· z̄n̄z̄aine men
^{||}ενταγεῖ εβολ· z̄n̄n οῦπαθος ^{||}m̄n̄n οῦπωψε·
 εῦψαατ· n̄νογ^{||}τλβo z̄n̄κεκεογε ε̄z̄n̄nαβαλ
 15 ^{||}z̄n̄n οῦτωβz̄ ne ατρογ^{||}τλβω n̄^{||}netψωne· εαγ-
 κααγ ατρογ^{||}ρ̄ θεραπεγε n̄nεταζει· ετε ^{||}ni-
 αποστολος ne· m̄n̄ n̄ip̄m̄† ψm̄ ^{||}νογqe· n̄ma-
 †ητης n̄δε n̄ταγ ^{||}m̄pcωτηρ· ne z̄n̄caz̄ δε n̄ταγ
 20 ^{||}{n̄}ne neei· ετ̄ρ χρεια n̄cβογ ει· ara ^{||}ετβε εγ
 βε αγ̄ρ κοινωني ανιπα^{||}θoс z̄ωoγ an̄ neei εταγ̄ρ
 κοινω^{||}ni αραγογ n̄bi nεnταγ̄n̄τογ αβολ ^{||}z̄n̄n
 25 οῦπαθος εψπε z̄n̄eine· ^{||}αβαλ ne· κατα †οικο-
 νομια m̄n̄ ^{||}<π>cωτηρ· κατα πcωμα· पेει
 ετεm̄^{||}πq̄ρ κοινωني ανιπαθoс
 xe n̄^{||}ταq men πcωτηρ· neoyz̄ikwn ^{||}πε n̄δε
 30 οῦεει ^{||}n̄^{||}οῦωτ· ετε n̄^{||}ταq पे पτηr̄q̄· κατα πcω-
 μα· ^{||}ετβε παει αqτογχο πcματ· n̄^{||}tm̄n̄tatπω-
 ψe· तेει ετεpe^{||}tm̄n̄tatπαθoс ψoop αβαλ n̄-
 35 ^{||}z̄h̄t̄c· n̄aει n̄δε n̄ταγ εz̄n̄z̄ikw(n) ^{||}ne n̄δε
 ποῦεει ποῦεει εταz̄^{||}oγωνz̄· αβαλ· ετβε पेει
 ce^{||}χι αραγ m̄πιπωψε· αβαλ z̄^{||}itoot̄q̄ m̄^{||}πcματ
 εαγχι μορφη απιχω ετ^{||}ψoop· z̄n̄ πca n̄πιτ̄n̄
 p̄īz̄/117 [n̄tp̄]e पेει an̄ ^{||}[π]ετ̄ρ κοιν[ωني] ατκακια· ετ-
 ψoop n̄^{||}[z̄]p̄h̄i z̄n̄ n̄^{||}t̄[o]πoc ενταγπωz̄ ψαρο-
^{||}[o]γ εαπογωψε· {εαπογωψε} γαρ· ^{||}χρω ap̄m̄
 5 πτηr̄q̄ z̄a πनावει χεκαce· ^{||}z̄m̄ πογωψε· ετ̄m̄-
 μεγ εq̄n̄anae· ^{||}m̄πτηr̄q̄ n̄cenoγz̄me· εoγeei·
 οῦ^{||}aeet̄q̄ पेτηψ a† ωn̄z̄ πκεψωxπ· ^{||}t̄h̄r̄q̄ εq̄p̄
 χρια m̄πnoγz̄me· ετβε· ^{||}पेει αβα^{||}λ z̄n̄ neei·
 10 m̄πιρητε· पेn^{||}ταq̄ρ αρχεcθαι n̄xe z̄mot· a†

116.7 ρω τ·ε {τε'} *ed. pr.*: ρω(τ) ε'τε' or ρω τα *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 8 δε i.e. τε¹ n̄δε i.e. δε¹ 9 <c>ψββιαειτ *ed. pr.*¹ 18 μαθητης, m written over τ.
¹ n̄δε i.e. δε¹ 20 {n̄}ne neei *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): ne n̄neei *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 26
 <π>cωτηρ *Attridge*¹ 29 n̄δε i.e. n̄τε¹ 34 n̄δε i.e. δε¹ 35 n̄δε i.e. n̄τε¹ 39
 [n̄tp̄]e *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): (ετ)ε *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹

117.2 z̄n̄, z̄ written over n̄.¹ 3 {εαπογωψε} *ed. pr.*¹ 7 πετ<τ>n̄ψ *ed. pr.*¹

through | the revelation and ⁵ the mingling with him.
 These | others were those of one substance | and it
 indeed is the spiritual (substance). | The organization
 | is different. This is one thing, ¹⁰ that is another.
 Some | come forth from passion | and division, needing
 | healing. Others are from | prayer, so that they heal
¹⁵ the sick, when they have been appointed | to treat
 those who have fallen. These | are the apostles and
 the evangelists. | They are the disciples | of the Savior,
 and teachers ²⁰ who need instruction. Why, then, | did
 they, too, share in the passions | in which | those who
 have been brought forth | from passion share, if in-
 deed they are bodily productions ²⁵ in accordance
 with the organization and | <the> Savior, who did
 not | share in the passions? |

The Savior was an image | of the unitary one, he
 who ³⁰ is the Totality in bodily form. | Therefore, he
 preserved the form of | indivisibility, from which |
 comes impassibility. | They, however, are images ³⁵ of
 each thing which | became manifest. Therefore, they |
 assume division from | the pattern, having taken form
 for the planting which | exists beneath [the heaven.]
 This also ^{117.1} is what shares in the evil which exists |
 in the places which they have reached. | For the will |
 held the Totality under sin, so that ⁵ by that will he
 might have mercy | on the Totality and they might be
 saved, while a single one | alone is appointed to give
 life and all the rest | need salvation. Therefore, | it was
 from (reasons) of this sort that ¹⁰ it began to receive

11 ΝΙΤΑ¹ΕΙΘ̄ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΨΕ· ΟΕΙΨ ΜΜΟϞ ΑΒΑΛ ¹ΖΪΤΟΟ-
 ΤῸ̄ ΝΗΗ(СОУ)С· ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤС(ἸΠ)ἸΠΨΑ· ΑΒΑΛ ¹ΖΪΤΟ-
 Ο<ΤΟ>Υ[[Ϝ]] ΑΤΡΟΥΤΑΨΕ ΔΕΙΨ ΜΠΚΕΨΩ¹ΧΠ̄· ΕϞ-
 15 ΚΗ ΑΖΡΗΪ ΝΒΙ СΠΕРМА· ἸΔΕ· Ἰ ΠСΨ'Π ΩΠ· ἸΔΕ
 ΗΗ(СОУ)С ΠΕΧР(ΙCΤΟ)С· ΠΕΕΙ ΝΤΑΝῸ̄ ¹ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙ·
 ΜΠΙΟΥΩΝῸ̄ ΑΒΟΛ· ΜἸ ΠΙΜΟ[Υ]¹ΧΒ· ΠΙΨΠ ΩΠ· ΒΕ
 ΝΕΥἸΤΕϞ ΜΜΕΥ ¹ΠΕ ΜΠΒἸΤСЕΒΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΠΒἸCΤΑΥ
 20 ¹ΕΖΟΥΝ· ΑΠΕΤΑΥΨΟΟΠ· ΜΜΑϞ ΧἸ Ἰ· ἸΨΟΡΠ̄· ΠΑΕΙ
 ΕΤΕΥἸΤΕΥ ΑΒΟΛ Ν¹ΖΗΤῸ̄ Ν¹ΤΛ¹ΤΛΕ· ΑΤΡΟΥCΤΟ
 ΑΖΟΥΝ ¹ΑΡΑϞ· ΕΤΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ·
¹ΠCΩΤΕ ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑϞ ΠΕ ΠῸ̄ ΒΟΛ ΕΒΟΛ· ¹ΝΤΟ-
 25 ΟΤῸ̄ Ν¹ΤΑΙΧΜΑΛΩCΙΑ· ΑΥΩ ΠΧΙΝ Ἰ¹Ν¹ΤΜἸΤΡἸΖΕ·
 ΤΕΚΧΜΑΛΩCΙΑ· Ἰ¹Ν¹ΔΕ ¹ΝΕΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΥῸ̄ ΒΑΥΟΥΑΝ
 Ν¹ΤΜἸΤΑΤ¹CΑΥΝΕ· ΕCΟΕΙ ΝἸῸ̄ ΡΡΟ ΖἸ ΝΕCΤΟΠΟC
¹ΤΜἸΤΡἸΖΕ ΔΕ· ΠΕ ΠΙCΑΥΝΕ· ἸΤΕ ¹ΤΜΗ· ΕΤΨΟ-
 30 ΟΠ· ΖΑΘΗ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΤΕ¹ΤΜἸΤΑΤCΑΥΝΕ ΨΩΠΕ· ΕϞΟΕΙ
 ΝῸ̄ ΡΡΟ ¹ΨΑ ¹Α¹ΝΗΖΕ ΖἸΝ ΟΥΜἸΤΑΤΑΡΧΗ· ΜἸ¹Ν
 ΟΥΜἸΤΑΤ· ΖΑΗ· ΕΟΥΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥϞ ¹ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΧΑ-
 ΕΙΤΕ· ΝἸΖΒΗΥΕ ¹ΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥῸ̄ ΒΟΛ· ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ
 35 ΝΤΟΟΤῸ̄ Ἰ¹Ν¹ΤΦΥCΙC ΜἸΜἸΤΒΑΥ· ΑΝ· ΤΑ¹ΕΙ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠ
 ΜΚΑΖ· ΜΜΑC

ΧΕ ΝΕ¹ἸΝΤΑΥἸΤΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΗΝ ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ¹ΕϞΘΒΒΙ-
 ΔΕΙΤ· ἸΤΕ ἸΜἸΤΑΠΒΛ[Α] ¹ΕΤΕ ΠΕῸ̄ ΠΕ· ΕCΝΑ· ΨΑ
 ΠἸΗ/118 ΝΕΤΘΑΥ Ἰ¹ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΪΤἸ ΠΙΜΕΥΕ· ΕΤС[Ω]Ϟ ΜΜΑΥ
¹ΑΠΙΤἸ ΑΤΜἸΤ¹ΜΑΪ'ΟΥΑΖ CΑΖΝΕ· ΑΥΧΙ ΔΕ ¹Μ-
 ΠΙΚΤΗΜΑ· ΕΤΕ ἸΜἸΤΡἸΖΕ ΔΕ ¹ΖἸ ΠΖΟΥΟ ΜΠ-
 5 ΖΜΑΤ· ΕΝΤΑΖΒΩΨῸ̄ Ἰ¹ ΑΧἸ ΝΨΗΡΕ· ΕΥΟΥΨΟΡΨῸ̄
 ἸΔΕ ΠΕ ἸΠΑΘΟC ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΤΕΚΟ ΝΕΥΟΥ ΠΕ
 Ἰ¹ΝΔΕΙ· ΕΤΕ· ΑϞΝΑΖΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟϞ ¹ΟΥΑΕΕΤῸ̄

11 ἸΜΟϞ MS: ἸΜΟΟΥ Thomassen¹ 12 ΖΪΤΟΟΤϞ-ΝΕΕΙ MS: ΖΪΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΕΙ
 Thomassen¹ ΕΤС MS: ΕΤΕ Mueller¹ {ἸΠ}ἸΠΨΑ Attridge; The second м written
 over ΨΑ.¹ 13 ΖΪΤΟΟ<ΤΟ>Υ[[Ϝ]] Emmel; γ written over τ.: ΖΪΤΟΟΤῸ̄ <ΝΗΗC>
 Thomassen¹ 14 <ΠΕ>CΠΕРМА ed. pr.: <ΠΙ>CΠΕРМА Thomassen¹ 14, 15 ἸΔΕ
 i.e. ἸΤΕ¹ 19 ΠΕΤΑΥΨΟΟΠ MS: ΠΕΤΟΥΨΟΟΠ ed. pr.¹ 24 ΠΧΙ(Ἰ)
 Thomassen¹ 25 ΤΕΚ<ΕΑΙ>ΧΜΑΛΩCΙΑ Mueller¹ Ἰ¹Ν¹ΔΕ i.e. ἸΤΕ¹ 26 <ΝΕ> ΝΕΕΙ
 ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 33 <ΟΥ>ΟΥΧΑΕΙΤΕ ed. pr.¹ ΖΒΗΥΕ, Ζ written over ε.¹ 34
 ΤΕ... ΤΕ MS: ΠΕ... ΠΕ (?) Attridge¹ 36 <Ν>ΧΕ ΝΕ[ΕΙ] ed. pr. (Fr., Eng.)¹ 38
 ΑΠΒΛ[Α], β written over α or λ.¹

118.5 ἸΔΕ i.e. ΔΕ¹

grace to give the | honors which were proclaimed | by
 Jesus, which were suitable for | him to proclaim to
 the rest, | since a seed of the ¹⁵ promise of Jesus Christ
 was set up, whom we have | served in (his) revelation
 and union. | Now the promise possessed | the instruc-
 tion and the return | to what they are from ²⁰ the first,
 from which they possess | the drop, so as to return | to
 him, which is that which is called | "the redemption."
 And it is the release | from the captivity and the accep-
 tance ²⁵ of freedom. In its places the captivity of |
 those who were slaves of ignorance | holds sway. | The
 freedom is the knowledge of | the truth which existed
 before ³⁰ the ignorance was ruling, | forever without
 beginning and | without end, being something good |
 and a salvation of things | and a release from ³⁵ the
 servile nature | in which they have suffered.

Those | who have been brought forth in a lowly
 thought | of vanity, | that is, (a thought) which goes to
 things which are evil ^{118.1} through the thought which
 [draws] them | down to the lust for power, these have |
 received the possession which is freedom, | from the
 abundance of the grace which looked ⁵ upon the chil-
 dren. It was, however, a disturbance of the | passion
 and a destruction of | those things which he cast off

10 $\bar{\nu}\omega\rho\epsilon\pi$ · $\epsilon\alpha\varphi\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varphi$ $\bar{\nu}\beta\iota$ $\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\psi\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon$ ·
 $\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ $\epsilon\alpha\varphi\alpha\rho\eta\zeta$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\varphi$ $\alpha\langle\pi\rangle\zeta\alpha\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron$ ·
 $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\alpha\varphi\kappa\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ · $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}$ $\psi\epsilon\gamma$
 15 $\zeta\omega\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ · $\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\psi\omicron\gamma$
 $\chi\epsilon$ $\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ · $\alpha\zeta\omega\psi\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\epsilon\iota$ · $\bar{\nu}\omega\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$
 $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\pi\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\eta$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\psi\chi$ ·
 $\chi\langle\iota\kappa\rangle\eta$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\zeta\gamma\lambda\iota\kappa\eta$ · $\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\tau\gamma\pi\omicron\varsigma$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ ·
 $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\epsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\tau\eta$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ · $\{\tau\epsilon\}$
 20 $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\varsigma$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\iota\zeta\gamma$ ·
 $\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\psi\gamma$ · $\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\iota\pi\bar{\nu}$ $(\epsilon\gamma\mu)\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\tau\omicron\gamma$ ·
 $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 25 $\bar{\iota}$ $\zeta\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\varsigma$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\mu}$ ·
 $\pi\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\omega\rho\pi\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\varsigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$ · $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\varphi\bar{\rho}$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ $\psi\alpha$ ·
 $\bar{\iota}$ $\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ · $\alpha\varphi\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ ·
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varphi$ $\pi\epsilon$ ·
 30 $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\iota\gamma\epsilon$ · $\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\varphi\omicron$ · $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\nu}$ ·
 $\tau\eta$ · $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma$ · $\bar{\nu}\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\nu}$ ·
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\pi\bar{\nu}$ $(\epsilon\gamma\mu)\alpha$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\pi\bar{\nu}$ $(\epsilon\gamma\mu)\alpha$ · $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ ·
 $\tau\epsilon\varphi\bar{\alpha}\pi\epsilon$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\alpha\varphi\omega\tau$ $\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\rho\alpha\varphi$
 35 $\bar{\iota}$ $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\varphi$ · $\alpha\varphi\omega\psi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varphi$ ·
 $\alpha\pi\epsilon$ · $\alpha\varphi\chi\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\varsigma\alpha\gamma$ · $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ · $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon\pi\eta$ · $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\omicron}\omega\lambda\bar{\pi}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 $\bar{\iota}$ $[\pi]$ · $\bar{\nu}\iota\psi\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ $\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$
 119.1 $\zeta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\zeta\bar{\tau}$ $\epsilon\alpha\varphi\omega\varsigma\bar{\kappa}$ $\alpha\chi\iota$ $\varsigma\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma$ ·
 $\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varphi$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\{\bar{\nu}\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron\}$ $\alpha\pi\omega\tau$ · $\psi\alpha\rho\alpha\varphi$
 $\zeta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\zeta\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\bar{\mu}\eta$ $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\iota}$ $\varsigma\beta\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varphi$ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron$
 5 $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ · $\epsilon\varphi\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon$ · $\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ ·
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ · $\zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\pi\iota\omega\pi$ $\omega\pi$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\alpha\varphi\chi\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\chi\omicron$ ·
 $\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma$ · $\varsigma\bar{\mu}\omicron\tau$ · $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ · $\alpha\rho\eta\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\mu}\pi\tau\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ ·
 $\bar{\iota}$ $\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\psi\omega\psi\epsilon$ · $\pi\iota\zeta\gamma\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ · $\tau\alpha\varphi$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ $\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\mu}$ ·
 10 $\mu\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon$ · $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\rho\eta$ · $\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ · $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ · $\epsilon\varphi\bar{\nu}\alpha$ · $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$
 $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ · $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\iota}$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\varphi\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\bar{\rho}$
 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\gamma\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}$ · $\mu\omicron\varphi$ · $\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\varphi\chi\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\varphi\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma$ · $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ ·

11 $\alpha\rho\alpha\varphi$ MS: Read $\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma$ Attridge¹ $\alpha\langle\pi\rangle\zeta\alpha\epsilon$ *ed. pr.*¹ 15 $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\langle\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\rangle$ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 16 $\delta\epsilon$ MS: $\chi\epsilon$ or $\langle\bar{\nu}\rangle\chi\epsilon$ (i.e. $\bar{\nu}\beta\iota$) *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.)¹ $\psi\chi\chi\langle\iota\kappa\rangle\eta$ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 18–19 $\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ ¹ 19 $\{\tau\epsilon\}$ Attridge¹ 30–31 $\omicron\gamma\langle\omicron\gamma\rangle\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ *ed. pr.*¹ 36 The line ends with an angular filler ($\bar{\nu}$).¹

119.2 $\{\bar{\nu}\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron\}$ (?) *ed. pr.*¹ 8 $\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\delta\epsilon$ ¹ 9–10 $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$, η written over ϵ .¹ 13–14 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\langle\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rangle$ (?) *ed. pr.*: $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\langle\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta\rangle$ Thomassen¹

from | himself at first, when the Logos separated them | from himself, (the Logos) who ¹⁰ was the cause of their being destined for | destruction, though he kept <them> at <the> end of the organization | and allowed them to exist | because even they were useful for the things which were | ordained.

14. *The Tripartition of Mankind*

Mankind came ¹⁵ to be in three essential types, | the spiritual, the psychic | and the material, conforming | to the triple disposition | of the Logos, from which ²⁰ were brought forth the material ones and the | psychic ones and the spiritual ones. Each | of the three essential types | is known by its fruit. | And they were not known at first ²⁵ but only at the coming of the Savior, | who shone upon the saints | and revealed what each | was.

The | spiritual race, being ³⁰ like light from | light and like spirit from | spirit, when its head | appeared, it ran toward him | immediately. It immediately became a body ³⁵ of its head. It suddenly received knowledge | in the revelation. | The psychic race is like light | from a fire, since it hesitated to accept knowledge ^{119.1} of him who appeared to it. (It hesitated) even | more to run toward him in faith. | Rather, through a voice it was instructed | and this was sufficient, since it is not far ⁵ from the hope according to the promise, | since it received, so to speak as a | pledge, the assurance of the things | which were to be. The material | race, however, is alien in ¹⁰ every way; since it is dark, it | shuns the shining of the light | because its appearance destroys | it. And since it has

- 15 <ου>αβαλ· \bar{n} ζογο πε· αγω ου^{||}μαστε πε· ψα
 πχαεις ατρε^{||}ογανζ^{||}q πε
 χε πιγενος \bar{m} πн(εγμ)ατικοη^{||} \bar{c} ηαχι \bar{m} πνουζ-
 με· τηρ \bar{q} κατα^{||} ρητε nim· πιζυλικον \bar{n} δε \bar{c} ηαχι
 20^{||} \bar{c} πτεκο κατα ρητε nim· κα<τα> πρητε^{||} \bar{n} ουεει
 ε \bar{c} † αζηη \bar{q} πιψυχικον \bar{d} [ε] \bar{n} γενος· ζωс εγ \bar{n}
 ζ \bar{n} τμητε πε· ζ \bar{m} \bar{c} πε \bar{c} β \bar{n} ητ \bar{q} αβαλ· αγω πε \bar{c} κω
 α^{||}ζηη^{||} ζωω \bar{q} αν \bar{c} ζατρε· κατα πε \bar{c} τωψ
 25^{||} \bar{c} απαγαθον $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πκακον \bar{c} χι αρα \bar{q} \bar{m} πιζετε·
 αβαλ· ε \bar{c} κη· αζηη^{||} ζ \bar{n} ^{||}η ου \bar{c} ηνε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πι \bar{c} ωτ· αζο \bar{u} \bar{n}
^{||} παντωс αν ανιπετ \bar{n} ανο \bar{u} ο \bar{u} · \bar{c} νεει μεν ετε-
 απλογос \bar{n} το \bar{u} αβαλ \bar{c} κατα πετ \bar{r} \bar{c} ρη \bar{n} \bar{n} ψοο \bar{p}
 30^{||} \bar{n} δε π \bar{q} ^{||}μεε \bar{y} · ε \bar{c} ειρε \bar{m} πμε \bar{y} \bar{m} πετ·^{||} \bar{c} ασι·
 αγω ε \bar{c} τωβ \bar{z} \bar{m} πιου \bar{c} αειτε \bar{c} ο \bar{u} \bar{n} τε \bar{q} \bar{m} με \bar{y} \bar{m} πι-
 ου \bar{c} εειτε $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ [π \bar{c}]ω \bar{u} νε· παντωс \bar{c} ε \bar{n} ανο \bar{u} ζ \bar{m}
 35^{||} ε[τ \bar{b} ε] \bar{c} πιμε \bar{y} \bar{n} νο \bar{u} αειτε κατα πε[\bar{n}]^{||}τα \bar{u} \bar{n} -
 τ \bar{q} · αβαλ \bar{m} μα \bar{q} πιρητε ζω[ω \bar{q}] \bar{c} αν ηε [πε]ε[\bar{i}]
 $\bar{r}\bar{k}$ /120 ετε \bar{n} αει \bar{n} το \bar{u} αβ[αλ] \bar{m} η[α \bar{q}] \bar{c} ειδε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τα \bar{u} γε-
 λос ειδε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τρω \bar{c} με· κατα τζομολογια· χε ο \bar{u} \bar{n}
^{||} πεταει· ε \bar{c} α \bar{c} ε \bar{n} ζογο αρα \bar{y} · \bar{c} αγω κατα \bar{c} α-
 5^{||} π \bar{c} $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ π \bar{b} \bar{n} ω \bar{u} νε \bar{n} ^{||}сω \bar{q} · \bar{c} ε \bar{n} ατεζο ζω \bar{u} αν
 \bar{m} πο \bar{u} αειτε· \bar{n} νεταζ \bar{n} το \bar{u} αβαλ ζωс \bar{c} εζ \bar{n} να-
 вол \bar{n} ε· ζ \bar{n} † \bar{d} ια \bar{c} εсic \bar{n} ε· \bar{c} ετ \bar{n} ανο \bar{u} ο \bar{u} \bar{n} ε \bar{c} ει·
 10^{||} α \bar{y} κα \bar{y} · α \bar{y} ω \bar{m} ω \bar{c} απ \bar{t} α \bar{c} ε \bar{d} ειω· \bar{m} π \bar{b} \bar{n} ει^{||} \bar{m} -
 πсωτη \bar{r} · ετα \bar{c} ηαω \bar{u} πε αγω \bar{c} πε \bar{c} β \bar{n} ο \bar{u} ω \bar{n} \bar{z}
 αβαλ· ετε \bar{a} ει \bar{c} ει \bar{c} ε \bar{c} δε α \bar{g} · γελос ειδε ρω \bar{c} · εα \bar{y} ·
^{||} τ \bar{n} νοο \bar{u} α \bar{q} απω \bar{m} ω \bar{c} \bar{n} ηαει α \bar{y} χι \bar{n} ^{||}το \bar{u} сia· \bar{m} πο \bar{u} -
 15^{||} ω \bar{u} πε ζ \bar{m} πζω \bar{b} · \bar{n} ε^{||}ει \bar{n} δε \bar{n} τα \bar{y} ετε ζ \bar{n} α \bar{b} ол
 \bar{n} ε· ζ \bar{n} \bar{c} πι \bar{m} εε \bar{y} · $\bar{m}\bar{m}$ ητ \bar{m} αειο \bar{y} ε \bar{z} \bar{c} α \bar{z} νε· \bar{n} εει
 ε \bar{n} ταζω \bar{u} πε αβαλ \bar{c} ζ \bar{m} π \bar{c} ωλ \bar{z} αζο \bar{u} \bar{n} \bar{n} νε†

14 <ου>αβαλ Attridge¹ 18 \bar{n} δε i.e. $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ ¹ 19 κα<τα> ed. pr.¹ 23-27 These lines begin with angular fillers (>).¹ 29 \bar{n} δε i.e. $\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ ¹ 32 ο \bar{u} \bar{n} τε \bar{q} MS: Read ο \bar{u} \bar{n} τε \bar{y} Attridge¹ 32-33 $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ [π \bar{c}]ω \bar{u} νε ed. pr. (Fr., Ger.): $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ [π \bar{c}]ω \bar{u} νε ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 36 πε [πε]ε[\bar{i}] ετε ed. pr.: πε [π \bar{t}]ε [η]ετε Thomassen¹

120.1 ειδε (bis) i.e. ειτε¹ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τα \bar{u} η· γελос, τ added secondarily.¹ 3 \bar{d} ει i.e. οει Attridge: < \bar{n} >αει ed. pr. (Ger.)¹ 7-8 † \bar{d} ια \bar{c} εсic...ετ \bar{n} ανο \bar{u} ο \bar{u} MS: Read † \bar{d} ια \bar{c} εсic...ετ \bar{n} ανο \bar{u} с or ηια \bar{d} ια \bar{c} εсic...ετ \bar{n} ανο \bar{u} ο \bar{u} ed. pr.¹ 10 ετα \bar{c} ηα MS: ετε \bar{c} ηα ed. pr.: ετ \bar{n} α Thomassen¹ 15 \bar{n} δε i.e. $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ ¹

not received its unity, | it is something excessive and
¹⁵ hateful toward the Lord at his | revelation.

The spiritual race | will receive complete salvation
in | every way. The material will receive | destruction
in every way, just as ²⁰ one who resists him. The psy-
chic | race, since it is in the middle | when it is brought
forth and also when it is created, | is double according
to its determination | for both good and evil. It takes
its ²⁵ appointed departure | suddenly and its complete
escape | to those who are good. | Those whom the
Logos brought forth | in accordance with the first ele-
ment of his ³⁰ thought, when he remembered the |
exalted one and prayed for salvation, | have salvation
[suddenly.] | They will be saved completely [because
of] | the salvific thought. As he ³⁵ was brought forth,
so, [too], | were these brought forth from | him,
^{120.1} whether angels or men. | In accordance with the
confession that there is | one who is more exalted than
themselves, | and in accordance with the prayer and
the search for ⁵ him, they also will attain the | salva-
tion of those who have been brought forth, since | they
are from the disposition | which is good. They were
appointed for | service in proclaiming the coming ¹⁰ of
the Savior who was to be and | his revelation which
had come. | Whether angels or men, when | he was
sent as a service to them, they received, | in fact, the
essence of their being. ¹⁵ Those, however, who are
from | the thought of lust for | power, who have come
into being from | the blow of those who fight | against

20 ΟΥ¹ΒΗ²Ϟ³ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ⁴ ΕΤΕΑΠΙΜΕΥΕ⁵ ἥ ΝΤΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ
 ΑΒΑΛ ΝΝΕΕΙ ΒΕ⁶ ἲ ΖΩC ΕΖΝΤΖ⁷Ϟ⁸ ΝΕ Ε<Υ>ΝΑΧΙ
 ΝΤΟΥΖΑΗ ἲ ΖΩC ΖΝ⁹Ν¹⁰ ΟΥΩΝΕ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ἲ ΜΕΝ
 ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ΤΜΝΤΜΑΕΙΟΥΕΖ ἲ CΑΖΝΕ¹¹ ΕΤ¹²ΤΩΕΙ¹³ ΝΕΥ
 25 ΜΠΡΟΣ ΟΥΑ¹⁴ΕΙΩ ΜΝ ΖΕΝCΗΥ ΝCΕϞ¹⁵ ΕΑΥ Μ¹⁶ΠΧΟΙC
 ΜΠΕΑΥ ΝCΕΚΩ ΝCΩΟΥ ἲ ΝΤΟΥΒΛΚΕ¹⁷ CΕΝΑΧΙ ΝΤ-
 ΩΒΒΙΩ Μ¹⁸ΠΟΥΘΒΒΙΟ ΝΔΕ ΠΙΜΟΥΝ ΑΖΟΥΝ ἲ ΨΑΒΟΛ
 30 ΠΕ¹⁹ ΝΕΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥ ΕΤΝΑ²⁰ CΛΛΑΖΛ²¹ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΠΙ-
 ΘΥΜΙΑ ἲ ΝΤΜΝΤΜΑΕΙ²²Ε²³ΑΥ ΝCΕΜΡΡΕ ΠΕΑΥ ἲ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΟΥΑΕΙΩ ΝCΕΡ²⁴ ΠΩΒΩ²⁵ ΧΕ²⁶ ϞΕ²⁷ΖΟΥCΙΑ²⁸ ΕΡΕ²⁹Ν³⁰ΤΑΥ-
 ΤΝΖΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΑC ἲ ΠΡΟΣ ΝCΗΟΥ ΜΝ ΖΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ
 35 ΕΤΕΥ³¹Ν³²ΤΕΥCΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ϞΛΑΕΙΒΕ³³ {Μ} ἲ ΜΠΟΥΡ
 ϞΟΜΟΛΟΓΙ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ³⁴ΤΕ ἥ ΧΕ ΠΧΑΕΙC
 ΜΠΤΗΡ³⁵ ΠΕ³⁶ ΑΥΩ ἲ ΠCΩΤΗΡ ΠΕ³⁷ ΑΥΩ Μ{Μ}ΠΟΥΝ-
 ΤΟΥ ἲ ΑΒΟΛ ΝϞ³⁸ΜΝΤ³⁹ΡΕΦΟΡΓΗ⁴⁰ ΜΝ Ϟ⁴¹ΜΝΤΤΝΤΩΝΟΥ
 5 ΑΝΕΤΘΑΥΟΥ ΝΕ⁴²ΕΙ CΕ⁴³ΝΑΧΙ ΝΝΟΥΖΑΠ⁴⁴ ΝΤΟΥΜΝΤ-
 ΑΤCΑΥΝΕ⁴⁵ ΜΝ ΤΟΥΜΝΤΑΓΝΩΜΩ(Ν) ἲ ΕΤΕ Ϟ⁴⁶ΜΝΤ-
 ΩΠ ΜΚΑΖ ΤΕ⁴⁷ ΜΝ ΝΕΕΙ⁴⁸ ἲ ΕΤΑΖCΩΡΜΕ⁴⁹ ΝΕΕΙ⁵⁰ ΕΤΕ
 ΖΑΕΙΝΕ ἲ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΡΙΚΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΤΕΥΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 10 ἥ <Ϟ>ΜΝΤΠΕΘΑΥ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΖΩCΤΕ ΑΤΡΟΥ⁵¹ Ϟ⁵² ΖΩΒ
 ΖΩΟΥ ΑΝ ΑΝΕΕΙ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΧΟ⁵³ΕΙC ΕΤΕ ΝΕΤΕΩΨΕ
 ΕΝ ΝΕ ΕΝ⁵⁴ΤΑΥΡ⁵⁵ ΖΩΒ {ΑΡΑΥ} ΑΡΑϞ ΝΒΙ ΝΒΟΜ Ν-
 15 ἲΒΟΥΡ⁵⁶ ΨΑΖΗΗ ΑΠΕϞΜΟΥ ΑΥΒΩ Μ⁵⁷ΜΕΥ ΧΕ ΤΝΝΑ-
 ΩΠΕ ΕΝΟΕΙ ΝΑΡ⁵⁸ΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΤΗΡ⁵⁹ ΕΨΧΕ CΕΝΑΩ
 ἲ ΖΩΤΒ ΑΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΨΕ ΔΕΙΩ ΜΜΑϞ ἲ ΝΝΡΡΟ ΜΠΤΗ-
 Ρ⁶⁰ ΕΑΥΖΙCΕ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ Ν⁶¹ΝΕΕΙ⁶² ΝΒΙ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΓ-
 20 ΓΕΛΟC ΝΕΕΙ ἥ ΕΤΕ ΖΝΑΒΑΛ ΕΝ ΝΕ ΖΝ Ϟ⁶³ΔΙΑΘΕCΙC
 ΕΤ⁶⁴ΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΔΕ ΝΙΟΥΝΕΜ⁶⁵ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥ⁶⁶ΑΒΑΛ ΤΕ⁶⁷ ΖΝ
 Ϟ⁶⁸ΜΝΤΕΖ⁶⁹Ϟ⁷⁰ ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ἲ {ΑΥΩ} ΑΥΡ⁷¹ ΨΑΡΠ⁷² ΝCΩΤΠ
 25 ΝΕΥ Μ⁷³ΠΤΑΕΙΟ⁷⁴ ΕΥΟΥΩΨΕ ΠΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΥΑΕΙΩ ἥ ΑΥΩ

20 ΑΒΑΛ {ΑΒΑΛ} *ed. pr.*¹ 21 Ε<Υ>ΝΑΧΙ *ed. pr.*¹ 22 ΝΕΤ<ΟΥ>ΝΑΝΤΟΥ Thomassen¹ 28 ΝΔΕ i.e. ΕΤΕ¹ 33 ΕΡΕ¹Ν¹ΤΑΥ, γ written over an uncertain letter.: ΕΡΕΝ¹ΤΑΥ(Τ)ΝΖΟΥΤΟΥ Thomassen¹ 34-35 ΕΤΕΥ¹Ν¹ΤΕΥC(ΟΥ) Thomassen¹ 35 {Μ} *ed. pr.*¹

121.2 Μ{Μ} *ed. pr.*¹ 3 ΡΕϞ<Ρ> ΟΡΓΗ *ed. pr.*¹ 4 ΤΝΤΩΝΟΥ, The first τ written over Ϟ.¹ 9 ΝΤΕΥΟΥ MS: ΝΖΗΤΟΥ or ΜΜΑΥ *ed. pr.*¹ 10 <Ϟ>ΜΝΤ Attridge¹ 13 {ΑΡΑΥ} *ed. pr.*¹ 14-15 ΑΥΒΩ ΜΜΕΥ MS: ΕΥΧΟΥ ΜΜΑC (?) *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 21 ΝΔΕ i.e. ΝΤΕ¹ ΑΛΛΑ, The first λ added secondarily.¹ 22 Ϟ¹ΜΝΤ<Τ>ΕΖ¹Ϟ¹ *ed. pr.*¹ 23 {ΑΥΩ} *ed. pr.*¹ 24 {ΠΕ} Thomassen¹

him, those whom the thought ²⁰ brought forth, from these, | since they are mixed, they will receive their end | suddenly. Those who will be brought forth | from the lust for | power which is given to them for a ²⁵ time and for certain periods, and who will give glory to | the Lord of glory, and who will relinquish | their wrath, they will receive the reward for | their humility, which is to remain | forever. Those, however, who ³⁰ are proud because of the desire | of ambition, and who love temporary | glory and who forget that | it was only for certain periods and times which they have | that they were entrusted with power, ³⁵ and for this reason | did not acknowledge that the Son of God ^{121.1} is the Lord of all and | Savior, and were not brought | out of the wrath and the | resemblance to the evil ones, they ⁵ will receive judgment for their ignorance | and their senselessness, | which is suffering, along with those | who went astray, anyone | of them who turned away; and ¹⁰ even more (for) wickedness in | doing to the Lord things | which were not fitting, | which the powers of the left did to him, | even including his death. They persevered ¹⁵ saying, “We shall become rulers | of the universe, if | the one who has been proclaimed king of the universe | is slain,” (they said this) when they labored to do | this, namely the men and angels ²⁰ who are not from the good disposition | of the right ones but | from the mixture. And | they first chose for themselves | honor, though it was only a temporary wish ²⁵ and desire,

τεπιϑυμια· εϑψοοπ \bar{n} βι π'μαειτ· \bar{n} μταν· \bar{n} ψα
 ε{'}'ν'η'εζε· αβαλ ¹ ριτν πιϑββιο· αϑουχεειτε·
 \bar{n} 'νεει ετενα[[²]]νουζμε· \bar{n} δε ¹ νιουνεμ $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}$ σα
 30 τρουζομολογι || \bar{m} πχαεις αϑω πιμεεγε· \bar{m} πε'τ-
 ανιτ· α'τεκκλησια αϑω πιζωσ \bar{n} 'νετ²ββινυ \bar{n} μ-
 μεс απετε ου \bar{n} βομ· ¹ \bar{m} μοοϑ τηρϑ \bar{m} πετανιτ·
 35 δεεϑ ¹ нес атроукоинωни ανεсψωνε || $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ нес-
 \bar{m} κοορ αβαλ ριτ \bar{n} πсмаτ \bar{n} 'νευγνωμων απιπετ-
 νανοϑϑ· ¹ α'τεκκλη[с]ια ευναχι \bar{n} 'τκοινω'νια ρ \bar{n}
 $\bar{p}\bar{k}\bar{v}$ /122 [τεс²]ελπιс πεει \bar{n} δε αϑοос || ρα пра \bar{n} νρωμε·
 $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ \bar{n} αγγελοс ¹ \bar{m} πρητε· етереπιμαειт ψοοп
¹ \bar{n} ναει· ете ρ \bar{n} ναβαλ не· ρ \bar{n} π'δαγμα· \bar{n} δε
 5 νιββοϑρ· απсωρме || ου μονον χε αϑωλε·
 \bar{m} πχοιс ¹ αβολ αϑω αϑ \bar{p} ψαχνε εϑραϑ араϑ
¹ αλλα ткеεκκληсиа· ρωωс αν ¹ εϑψοοп \bar{n} βι
 πουμαсте ψαрас ¹ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ποϑκωρ· $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ποϑφθο-
 10 нос || αϑω тееи те тлаειβε· \bar{n} πтаχω ¹ \bar{n} νεει
 етаρким· εαϑϑιτοϑ αρρη ¹ ανεπιρ{ι}α \bar{n} τεκκλη-
 сиа
 χε τ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ'сωтπ̄ \bar{n} δε ουψωνηρ· \bar{n} сωма δε ¹ αϑω
 15 ουψωνηρ \bar{n} νοϑсиа те $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ || πсωτηρ· есоеи \bar{m} πρη-
 те \bar{n} νοϑμα ¹ \bar{n} ψελεет· етве тес $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ тоϑееи \bar{n} -
 'οϑωт· $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ пестωт· ψараϑ ραθн гар ¹ \bar{m} μαειт·
 20 ним· ереαϑеи етвннτс· ¹ \bar{n} βι пехρηстос τ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ -
 τωρме· \bar{n} δε || \bar{n} таϑ еϑнтес \bar{m} μεϑ \bar{n} тχωρα
¹ \bar{n} νετοϑнаϑ· \bar{m} πма \bar{n} ψελε'ет· αϑω етраоϑт·
 етраψе· α'ρρη \bar{n} αχ \bar{n} πμοϑχδ· \bar{m} πα тψελεет
 25 ¹ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ тψελεет· τ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τωρме бе· || пестопос
 етнаψωпе нес· пе παιων ¹ \bar{n} δε νιρ²ικων \bar{m} πма·
 ете \bar{m} пате ¹ πлогос· тωт· \bar{m} ππληρωма αϑω
¹ παει εϑρεψе· αϑω еϑρα'οϑт· \bar{m} μοϑ еϑ \bar{p} ρελ-
 30 πιζε \bar{m} μαϑ || араϑ \bar{n} βι прωме \bar{n} τεκκληсиа ¹ αϑ-
 пωψе \bar{m} πп(εϑм)α ψϑχη сωма ρ \bar{n} ¹ τοικονομια

26 ε{'}'ν'η'εζε Attridge¹ 28 εт{ε} ed. pr.¹ νουζμε, ν written over м.¹ \bar{n} δε i.e. \bar{n} τε¹ 33 τηρϑ, ϑ written over erased ου.¹ 38 [τεс²]ελπιс Attridge: [νουζ]ελπιс ed. pr.¹ \bar{n} δε i.e. δε¹

122.4 \bar{n} δε i.e. \bar{n} τε¹ 11 ким, м written over ι.¹ 12 πир{ι}α ed. pr.¹ 13 \bar{n} δε i.e. δε¹ δε i.e. τε¹ 18 ним, ни written over ги.¹ 19 <т>ωρме ed. pr.¹ \bar{n} δε i.e. δε¹ 24 <т>ωρме ed. pr.¹ 26 \bar{n} δε i.e. \bar{n} τε¹ 27 π<ε>πληρωма ed. pr.¹

while the | path to eternal rest is by way | of humility
 for salvation of | those who will be saved, those of | the
 right ones. After they confess ³⁰ the Lord and the
 thought of that which | is pleasing to the church and
 the song of | those who are humble along with her to
 the full extent | possible, in that which is pleasing to
 do | for her, in sharing in her sufferings ³⁵ and her
 pains in the manner of | those who understand what
 is good | for the church, they will have a share | in [her]
 hope. This is to be said ^{122.1} on the subject of how
 men and angels | who are from the | order of the left |
 have a path to error: ⁵ not only did they deny the
 Lord | and plot evil against him, | but also toward the
 Church did they direct | their hatred | and envy and
 jealousy; ¹⁰ and this is the reason for the condemna-
 tion | of those who have moved and have aroused
 themselves | for the trials of the Church.

15. *The Process of Restoration*

The election | shares body | and essence with ¹⁵ the
 Savior, since it is like a bridal | chamber because of its
 unity | and its agreement with him. For, before | every
 place, the Christ came for her sake. | The calling,
²⁰ however, has the place | of those who rejoice at the
 bridal chamber | and who are glad and happy | at the
 union of the bridegroom | and the bride. ²⁵ The place
 which the calling will have is the aeon | of the images,
 where | the Logos has not yet joined with the Ple-
 roma. And | since the man of the Church was happy
 and | glad at this, as he was hoping for ³⁰ it, | he sepa-
 rated spirit, soul, and body in | the organization of the

35 παει ετμεγε χε 'νεουεει νουωτ' πε' εφ-
 ωοοπ' ν̄ζητ̄ϛ̄ 'πε' ν̄βι πρωμε πεει ετε ν̄ταϛ̄
 πε' "πτηρ̄ϛ̄ αγω ν̄ταϛ̄ ν̄ταϛ̄ τηροϛ̄ πε' αγω
 παει εῡν̄τεϛ̄ μ̄μεϛ̄ μ̄πιριετε αβαλ ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄ πι-
 ρκ̄ϛ̄/123 ...[.]ε εταρεν'τοπος ναψαπ̄ϛ̄ αγω οῡν̄τεϛ̄
 'μ̄μεϛ̄ ν̄νιμελος εταν̄ϛ̄ ωρ̄π̄ 'ν̄χοοϛ̄ ν̄ταροϛ̄-
 ταψε δειω 'μ̄πιρωτε αϛ̄χι σαϛ̄νε μεν σε-
 5 "ζητ̄ϛ̄ ν̄βι πρωμε' ετ̄χ̄ν̄κ αβαλ 'ατρεϛ̄τσο
 εροϛ̄ν ρ̄ν̄ οῡβεπη ατεϛ̄'μ̄ν̄τοϛ̄εει νοϛ̄ωτ' απ̄μα
 ετε' 'οῡαβαλ ν̄ζητ̄ϛ̄ πε' ατρεϛ̄τσο 'αμεϛ̄ αν
 10 ρ̄ν̄ν οῡρεψε' απ̄μα ε'τε οῡαβαλ' ν̄ζητ̄ϛ̄ πε
 απ̄μα ετε'αϛ̄ριετε αβαλ μ̄μοϛ̄' νεϛ̄με'λος δε'
 αϛ̄ϛ̄ χ̄ρια ν̄νοϛ̄μα ν̄χι σ̄βω 'πεει ετωοοπ ρ̄ρη̄
 ρ̄ν̄ ν̄τοπος' ετ̄'τ̄ϛ̄[ε]ν̄αιετ' ατρεϛ̄χι εινε' αβαλ
 15 ρ̄ιτοϛ̄'τοϛ̄ αν̄νιζ̄ικων αν̄ιτυπος ν̄ψαρ̄π̄ 'μ̄-
 π̄σματ' ν̄νοϛ̄εειελ' ψ̄αντε 'μ̄μελος μ̄π̄σ̄μα
 τηροϛ̄ ν̄'τεκκλ̄ησια ν̄νοϛ̄μα νοϛ̄ωτ' 'ν̄σεχι
 20 ν̄'ταποκαταστασις ρ̄ι οῡ'σοπ' εαϛ̄οϛ̄αν̄ροϛ̄
 αβαλ μ̄πιρω'μα' ετοϛ̄αχ' ν̄βι 'ταποκατα'στασις
 αροϛ̄ν απ̄ιπληρωμα' 'οῡν̄τεϛ̄ μ̄με(ϛ̄ο)ϛ̄ νοϛ̄ϛ̄
 25 μετε 'ν̄ψαρ̄π̄ ν̄νοϛ̄τωτ' ψ̄α νοϛ̄ερ̄ηϛ̄ "ετε
 πιμετε πε ετωοοπ μ̄πιωτ' 'ψ̄αντεν̄ιπτηρ̄ϛ̄ χ̄ι
 μοϛ̄ν̄ ν̄ρο 'αροϛ̄ν αραϛ̄' 'ταποκαταστασις δε'
 'ν̄ραε' μ̄ν̄ν̄σα τρεπτηρ̄ϛ̄ οῡ'αν̄ρ̄ϛ̄ αβαλ μ̄πετε
 30 ν̄ταϛ̄ πε π̄ψ̄η'ρε' ετε ν̄ταϛ̄' πε π̄σ̄ωτε' ετε
 'πεει πε' πιμαετ' αροϛ̄ν απ̄ιατ'ψ̄απ̄ϛ̄' ν̄ειωτ'
 ετε πεει πε πιστο 'αροϛ̄ν απ̄ετ̄ϛ̄ ωρ̄π̄ ν̄ψοοπ
 35 ν̄σε'οϛ̄αν̄ροϛ̄ αβαλ ν̄βι ν̄ιπτηρ̄ϛ̄' ν̄'παει ρ̄ν̄
 οῡμ̄ν̄τ̄χαεις ετε 'πεει π̄[ε π̄ιατ]̄ϛ̄ νοει μ̄μαϛ̄
 ρκ̄.Δ./124 αγω πι'ατ̄χοοϛ̄ "αγω π̄ιατ̄νεϛ̄ αραϛ̄' αγω
 πι'ατ̄'αμαρ̄τε μ̄μαϛ̄ ρ̄ωσδε ν̄ϛ̄'χι μ̄πιρωτε' εῡϛ̄

33 νε<ου>ουεει *ed. pr.*¹ 35 ν̄ταϛ̄, ν written over τ.¹ 36 παει
 <ετ>εῡν̄τεϛ̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 37 πι...[.]ε MS: πιτ̄ω[ρ̄]με, πιτη[...]πε, πιμη
 [μμ]ηε, πινοϛ̄[]με, πιρω[]με, πινοϛ̄β [<ν>ρω]με, or πιοῡ[ω]ψε *ed. pr.*¹

123.13-14 τ̄ϛ̄[ε]ν̄αιετ MS: τ̄σαειαιετ (?) Attridge¹ 14 ατρεϛ̄ MS: Read
 ατρεϛ̄ Attridge¹ 15 αν̄(ν̄)ιζ̄ικων *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): {α}ν̄νιζ̄ικων *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.)¹ 18 εκκλ̄ησια <ψ̄ωπε> Thomassen¹ 21 <εαςψ̄ωπε> ν̄βι *ed. pr.*
 (Ger.): χε (?) Attridge¹ 23 μ̄με(ϛ̄ο)ϛ̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 27 δε MS: τε *ed. pr.*¹

124.2 ρ̄ωσδε i.e. ρ̄ωστε¹ 4 ν̄βι MS: ν̄τε Mueller¹

one who thinks that | he is a unity, though within him | is the man who is ³⁵ the Totality — and he is all of them. | And, though he has | the escape from the [...] which ^{123.1} the places will receive, he also has | the members about which we spoke | earlier. When the redemption was proclaimed, | the perfect man received knowledge ⁵ immediately, | so as to return in haste to his | unitary state, to the place from | which he came, to return | there joyfully, to the place ¹⁰ from which he came, to the place from which | he flowed forth. His | members, however, needed a place of instruction, | which is in the places which | are adorned, so that [they] might receive from them resemblance ¹⁵ to the images and archetypes, | like a mirror, until | all the members of the body of | the Church are in a single place | and receive the restoration at one ²⁰ time, when they have been manifested as the | whole body, — namely the restoration | into the Pleroma. — | It has a preliminary concord | with a mutual agreement, ²⁵ which is the concord which belongs to the Father, | until the Totalities receive a countenance | in accordance with him. The restoration is | at the end, after the Totality | reveals what it is, the Son, ³⁰ who is the redemption, that | is, the path toward the | incomprehensible Father, that is, the return to | the preexistent, and (after) | the Totalities reveal themselves ³⁵ in that one, in the proper way, who | is the inconceivable one and the | ineffable one, ^{124.1} and the invisible one and the | incomprehensible one, so that it | receives redemption. It was not only

- 5 βολ· ογαεε'τῷ εν πε ατμῆτχαεис ἄβι νι'ἄβογρ·
 ογδε αν ογ† ζω· ογα'εετῷ εν πε· ἄτοοτq
 ἄτῆεζογσια ἄἄδε νιογνem· νεεί ετεαν'μεγε
 απογееи πογееи ἄμαγ ἄχε αναν ἄἄδαογαν
 10 ἄτεq· αγω ἄἄἄψηρε· ἄεεи ετεμαρεγλει †· ἄογ-
 ἄω· ἄτοοτογ ἄβлом· εимн'τι ἄqωπε νεγ ἄке-
 соп· αλλα ἄογἄἄτῑ са нзρηί αν πε πисωτε
 15 ἄα{γω}νιβαεμοc ετωοоп ἄἄ π'πληρωμα· αγω
 {м}ἄἄενταγ† ren ἄαгаγ τηρογ αγω εγῑ νοί
 ἄμαγ ἄκατα τβом ἄπογееи πογееи ἄἄναιων·
 αγω ογἄἄτῑε азογн ἄωα πετκαраеиτ· пма
 20 ετε мἄ ἄχρεиa ἄсmн ἄмеγ ογδε α'τρωγἄме·
 ογδε атроγῑ νοί ἄογδε атроγῑ ογοεиn араог
 ἄαλλα ἄἄἄβнγε· τηρογ не ογo ἄἄογoεиn· enceῑ
 25 χρια· εν нтρωγῑ ἄογoεиn араγ
 χε ογ μονон ἄἄἄἄκαz ογαετογ ceῑ χρεиa
 ἄἄπисωτε· αλλα ἄἄкеαγγелoс ἄζωογ ан· ceῑ
 χρια· ἄπисωτε мἄ ἄ†zἄκων αγω νικεπληρωμα
 30 ἄἄδε ναιων αγω νιβом ммаzeиe ἄἄ<π>† <ογ>ἄ-
 εиn· χεкас· ἄтἄἄтῑῑ απορι za пра ἄἄкеογееи
 αλλα ἄἄταq ζωωq ан ἄψηρε παеи εткἄ ἄ-
 т[о]пoc ἄἄcωτε ἄπτηῑ· α{qῑ χρι}а ἄπcωτε
 pкe/125 ἄζωωq ан ετε πρεqωωπε ἄἄρωме πε· εαq-
 тааq ἄмин ἄἄμοq ἄογαν ним· νεеи εтἄἄ χри'а
 5 ἄμοογ анан ἄἄ саpз εтоеи ἄἄἄнеκκληcиa ἄτεq
 παеи βe ἄἄтаpeqχι ἄπисωτε· ἄωарἄἄ ава[λ] ἄἄἄ-
 тἄἄ πлогoc εтаzἄἄ апитἄἄ аχωq ἄἄкеωωχἄἄ τηῑ
 αγχι cωτε ава[λ] ἄἄἄτοοτῷ νεеи εнтаzχιτῷ
 10 араγ ἄἄнентаzχι ἄἄгар ἄἄπεтаzχι· αγ'χι ан
 ἄἄπεтωοоп ἄἄηтῷ
 χε аваλ ἄἄἄἄρωме· εтωοоп ἄἄ саpз неγἄἄ
 зηтc ἄἄ† ἄπисωτε· πωpἄἄ ἄми[ce] ἄἄτεq αγω
 15 †агапн ἄἄτεq πωпἄἄpe εнтаzωωπε ἄἄ саpз
 εаγῑ ἄἄзιογ ἄβι ἄἄаγγелoс εтωοоп ἄἄ тп[e]

5 †ζω MS: Read † ογω Attridge¹ 6 ἄτοοτq MS: Read ἄτοοтc Mueller¹
 ἄἄδε i.e. ἄἄτε¹ 14 α{γω} Attridge¹ 15 {м}ἄ Attridge¹ 29-30 ἄἄδε i.e. ἄἄτε¹ 30-31
 ἄἄ<π>† <ογ>ἄεиn or ἄἄψαεиn ed. pr.¹ 33 т[о]пoc ed. pr: т[γ]пoc Schenke¹
 125.4,12,15 <т>саpз ed. pr.¹

release | from the domination of the ⁵ left ones, nor was it only [escape] | from the power | of those of the right, to each of which | we thought | that were slaves and ¹⁰ sons, from whom none | escapes without quickly | becoming theirs again, but | the redemption also is an ascent | [to] the degrees which are in the ¹⁵ Pleroma and [to] those who have named | themselves and who conceive of themselves | according to the power of each of | the aeons, and (it is) an entrance | into what is silent, where there is no ²⁰ need for voice nor for | knowing nor for forming a concept | nor for illumination, | but (where) all things are | light, while they do not need to be ²⁵ illumined.

Not only | do humans need | redemption, but also the angels, | too, need redemption along with | the image and the rest of the Pleromas of ³⁰ the aeons and the wondrous powers of | illumination. So that we might not be in doubt in regard to | the others, even the Son | himself, who has the position of | redeemer of the Totality, [needed] redemption ^{125.1} as well, — he who had become | man, — since he gave | himself for each thing which we need, | we in the flesh, who are ⁵ his Church. Now, when he | first received redemption from | the word which had descended upon him, | all the rest received redemption from | him, namely those who had taken him to themselves. ¹⁰ For those who received the one who had received (redemption) | also received what was in him.

Among | the men who are in the flesh redemption | began to be given, his first-born, | and his love, the ¹⁵ Son who was incarnate, while the | angels who are

- 1 ἀπιπολιτεύε· ατρούρ πολитеύμα | <N>ῃμαϑ·
 ἄρηι ῥίχῃ πκαζ ετβε πε'ει ψαροῦμοῦτε αραϑ
 20 χε πισωτε || ἄγγελοϑ ἄτε πιωτ· πενταϑ-
 | σαλσῶ ἄνεει ενταϑωπ(ε)· ῥίσε· | ρα πτηρῶ
 ετβε πισαῦνε· ἄτεϑ | αβαλ χε αῦτ νεϑ ἄπι-
 ρμοτ· | ραθ <N>οῦαν nim·
 25 χε πιωτ αϑῤ ψαῤῥῖ ἀπιαῦνε ντεϑ· εϑωοοπ
 | ῥῃ πιμοκμεκ ἄτεϑ ραθ εν·πατελαγε ψωπε·
 αῦω εῦἄτεϑ | ἄμεϑ αν ἄνεει ετεαϑοῦἄρῥ·
 30 | νεϑ· αϑκω ἄπωτα· αχῃ πρεϑῶ· ἄρηνχοῦ
 ἄν ρενοῦαειω | αγεαῦ ἄπεϑπληρωμα· επιαν
 | πτροῦρ ατσαῦνε ἄμαϑ οῦἄτεϑ ἄμεϑ ἄνοῦ-
 35 λαειβε· ἄβι | πεϑβῆεινε αβαλ· ἄπεϑ[†] || μετε
 ρκς/126 [- - -] || ἄτεϑ· ἄπρητε ἄτῃἄτχι σαῦ'νε αραϑ·
 οῦωνῶ αβαλ ἄτῃἄτα·φθονοϑ· ἄτεϑ τε· αῦω
 5 ποῦωνῶ | αβαλ ἄπρσοῦ ἄτῃἄτῥῶ· ἄτεϑ || πε·
 ετε πεει πε· πμεϑ σνεϑ ἄεαῦ | ετε πεει πε
 πρητε ετεαῦβεινε | ἄμαϑ ἄμεν· εϑοεῖ ἄλαειβε·
 | ἄτῃἄτατσαῦνε· εϑοει δε αν | ἄρεϑαπο ἄπι-
 σαῦνε
 10 χε ῥῃν οῦ'σοφια εςρηπ· αῦω ἄατ'τεϑαϑ
 | αϑαρηϑ ἀπιαῦνε ψα ραε· ψα(ν)ῥενιπτηρῶ
 ῥίσε· εῦκωτε ἄσα· | πνοῦτε· πιωτ· ετεἄπε-
 15 λαγε | βῃτῶ αβαλ ῥίτῃ τεϑσοφια ἄμιν || {ἄμιν}
 ἄμοϑ ἄν τεϑβομ· εϑ† | ἄμοϑ ατροῦχι σαῦνε·
 ἄπιρσοϑε | μεγε· ἀπινοβ ἄταειο ἄτεϑ ετε'αϑ†
 ἄμοϑ αῦω †λαειβε· ετεαϑ'τεεϑ· ετε †εῦχα-
 20 ριστεια ἄτεϑ τε || ἄατωχνε· παει ετε αβαλ
 ῥίτοο'τ<ῶ> ἄτῃἄτατκιμ· ἄδε πεϑψαχνε | εϑ-
 οῦωνῶ ἄμοϑ εβολ ψα ενηϑε | ανεεῖ εταῤ 'π'ἄ-
 πωα ἄπιωτ ἄατσοῦωνῶ· ῥῃ τεϑφῦσιϑ ατροῦ-
 25 || χι ἄπιαῦνε· ἄτεϑ ῥῃ πεϑοῦωψε | χε πτροῦεῖ

17 πολитеуе - πολитеύμα MS: πολитеύμα πολитеуе Mueller¹ 18
 <N>ῃμαϑ ed. pr. (Fr., Eng.)¹ 20 <N>ἄγγελοϑ ed. pr.¹ 21 ωπ(ε) ῥίσε or
 ωπ εῤίσε ed. pr.¹ 24 <N>οῦαν ed. pr.¹ 33 ἄβι i.e. ἄτε Thomassen¹ 34
 πεϑβῆεινε, ϑ written over n.: πεῦβῆεινε Thomassen¹ 35 μετε [ψα
 νεϑερῃῦ ἄν πμοῦαβ] ed. pr.: μετε [ατροῦχι ἄπιαῦνε] Thomassen¹
 126.2 <οῦ>οῦωνῶ ed. pr.¹ 15 {ἄμιν} ed. pr.¹ 20-21 ῥίτοο'τ<ῶ> or ῥίτῃ ed.
 pr.¹ 21 ἄδε i.e. ἄτε¹

in heaven | asked to associate, so that they might form
 an association | with him upon the earth. Therefore, |
 he is called “the Redemption ²⁰ of the angels of the
 Father,” he who | comforted those who were laboring |
 under the Totality for his knowledge, | because he
 was given the grace | before anyone else.

The Father had foreknowledge ²⁵ of him, since he
 was | in his thought before | anything came into being
 and since he had | those to whom he has revealed him.
 | He set the deficiency on the one who ³⁰ remains for
 certain periods and times, | as a glory for his Pleroma,
 since | the fact that he is unknown | is a cause | of his
 production from his ³⁵ agreement [...] ^{126.1} of him.
 Just as reception of | knowledge of him is a mani-
 festation of his lack | of envy and the revelation | of the
 abundance of his sweetness, ⁵ which is the second
 glory, | so, too, he has been found | to be a cause | of
 ignorance, although he is also | a begetter of know-
 ledge.

In a ¹⁰ hidden and incomprehensible wisdom | he
 kept the knowledge to the end, | until the Totalities
 became weary while searching for | God the Father,
 whom no one | found through his own wisdom ¹⁵ or
 power. | He gives himself, so that they might receive
 knowledge of the abundant thought about | his great
 glory, which | he has given, and (about) the cause,
 which he has | given, which is his unceasing thanks-
 giving, ²⁰ he who, from | the immobility of his coun-
 sel, | reveals himself eternally | to those who have been
 worthy of the Father | who is unknown in his nature,
 so that they ²⁵ might receive knowledge of him,
 through his desire | that they should come to expe-

απειρα· αν̄†·μ̄ν̄τατσαυνε μ̄ν̄ νεσ̄μ̄κοορ· †
 χε ναει ενταϳ̄ϳ̄ ϳ̄αρπ̄̄ μ̄μεγε †αραϳ̄ ατροϳ̄·
 30 τερο μ̄π̄ισαυνε μ̄ν̄ †ν̄ιπετ̄νανοϳ̄οϳ̄ ετϳ̄οοπ
 ν̄ρητ̄ϳ̄ †νεϳ̄μακμεκ ετε †σοφια ν̄τε πιωτ
 χεκασε εϳ̄ναχι ††πε· ν̄ν̄ιπετ̄θαϳ̄οϳ̄ αϳ̄ω ν̄σεϳ̄
 35 γϳ̄μ̄ναζε· μ̄μαϳ̄ ν̄ρη̄ν̄ι ν̄ρη̄τ̄οϳ̄ †μ̄π̄ρη̄τη̄ ν̄νοϳ̄·
 προς οϳ̄ᾱιϳ̄ †[ϳ̄ημ̄ χεκασε εϳ̄να]χι
 ϳ̄†απο[λαϳ̄σις ν̄ν̄ιπετ̄νανο]ϳ̄οϳ̄ ϳ̄α αν̄η̄ϳ̄[ε
 ϳ̄μετ] †εϳ̄ν̄τεϳ̄ μ̄μεϳ̄ μ̄πιϳ̄υβε μ̄ν̄ †πιβ̄νοϳ̄
 ϳ̄κω ν̄σ̄ωοϳ̄ μ̄ν̄ τλᾱειβε ν̄νετ̄† οϳ̄β̄ηϳ̄· αϳ̄τσᾱιο
 5 †μ̄ν̄ν̄ οϳ̄θαϳ̄μαστον̄ ν̄νετ̄χᾱ†σε· ατρεϳ̄ϳ̄ωπε·
 εϳ̄οϳ̄αν̄ϳ̄ †αβαλ· χε †μ̄ν̄τ̄·ατσαυνε· ν̄ν̄ετ̄ναϳ̄
 ατσοϳ̄ων̄ πιωτ· νεϳ̄ϳ̄ωπε ν̄τεϳ̄ πε· παει
 10 εταρ̄† νεϳ̄ †μ̄π̄ισαυνε· ν̄τεϳ̄ νεϳ̄οϳ̄ϳ̄ομ̄· †ν̄τεϳ̄
 πε· ατροϳ̄τερ̄ας χε π̄ισαϳ̄νε̄ μεν̄ ϳ̄ν̄ν̄
 οϳ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄χᾱεις· σε̄μ̄οϳ̄τε̄ αραϳ̄ χε π̄ισαυνε·
 ν̄νε̄†τοϳ̄ναμ̄εεγε †αραϳ̄ †τηροϳ̄ αϳ̄ω π̄ᾱϳ̄ο·
 15 αϳ̄ω π̄ιοϳ̄{ϳ̄}ωϳ̄ ν̄τε ατοοτοϳ̄ †αϳ̄ ϳ̄οϳ̄ε̄ σαυνε·
 πε ποϳ̄ων̄ϳ̄ ᾱβ̄αλ· ν̄νετ̄αϳ̄σοϳ̄ωνοϳ̄ ν̄ϳ̄ο̄ρ̄π̄
 αϳ̄ω π̄ιμᾱειτ̄· αϳ̄οϳ̄ν̄ απ̄† †μετε αϳ̄ω αϳ̄οϳ̄ν̄
 20 απ̄ετ̄ϳ̄ ϳ̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ ν̄ϳ̄οοπ̄ ετε πε̄ει πε̄ π̄ᾱιν̄ †ν̄†μᾱ
 ειη· ν̄δε ναει ενταρ̄·κω †ν̄σ̄ωοϳ̄ ν̄τοϳ̄μᾱειη
 ετε τ̄ωοϳ̄ †τε· ν̄ρη̄ν̄ι ν̄τοικονομ̄ια ν̄τε †ποϳ̄ω
 ϳ̄ε· χεκασε ερετ̄ζαν̄· νᾱϳ̄ωπε· μ̄π̄ρη̄τε· ετᾱ
 25 ϳ̄εταρ̄χη̄ ο̄ι †μ̄μαϳ̄
 χε π̄ιβαπ̄τισμᾱ ετϳ̄οοπ̄ †ϳ̄ν̄ν̄ οϳ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄χᾱεις
 πε̄ει ετοϳ̄ν̄αϳ̄ε̄ αρη̄ν̄ι αραϳ̄ ν̄β̄ι ν̄ιπ̄τηρ̄ϳ̄ †ν̄σε
 ϳ̄ωπε ν̄ρη̄τ̄ϳ̄ μ̄ν̄ β̄εβᾱ·†π̄τισμᾱ σᾱ πετ̄μ̄μεϳ̄
 30 οϳ̄ᾱεετ̄ϳ̄ †ετε πε̄ει πε̄· π̄σ̄ωτε· αϳ̄οϳ̄ν̄ †επ̄
 νοϳ̄τε· πιωτ· μ̄ν̄ π̄ϳ̄η̄ρε μ̄ν̄ †π̄ν̄(εϳ̄μ̄)ᾱ ετοϳ̄α
 αβ̄· εαςϳ̄ωπε †ν̄β̄ι †ρ̄ζομολογιᾱ αβαλ ϳ̄†τ̄ν̄ν̄

28 χε i.e. ν̄β̄ι Thomassen¹ 31 ετε MS: ν̄τε *ed. pr.*¹ 33 ν̄σε, n written over r.¹ 33-34 γϳ̄μ̄ναζε, r written over c.¹ 35 ν̄νοϳ̄ᾱι [c]β̄ω or ν̄νοϳ̄ᾱ[τ]ϳ̄ι *ed. pr.*¹

127.3 οϳ̄β̄ηϳ̄, The second γ written over q.¹ 14 {ϳ̄}ωϳ̄ *ed. pr.*¹ ν̄τε i.e. δε¹ 19 In the left margin a horizontal stroke precedes this line.¹ 20 ν̄δε i.e. ν̄τε¹ 23 χεκασε, The second ε written over ε.¹ 24 εταρε MS: ετερε *ed. pr.*¹ 28 β̄ε i.e. κε¹ 32 <πε>π̄ν̄ᾱ *ed. pr.*¹

rience the | ignorance and its pains. |

Those of whom he first thought | that they should attain knowledge and ³⁰ the good things which are in it, | they were planning — which is the wisdom | of the Father, — that they might experience | the evil things and might | train themselves in them, ³⁵ as a [...] for a time, | [so that they might] receive the enjoyment | [of good things] for | eternity. ^{127.1} They hold change and | persistent renunciation and the | cause of those who fight against them as an adornment | and marvelous quality of those who ⁵ are exalted, so that it is manifest | that the ignorance of | those who will be ignorant of the Father was | something of their own. He who gave them | knowledge of him was one of his powers ¹⁰ for enabling them to grasp that | knowledge in the fullest sense is | called “the knowledge of | all that which is thought of” and “the | treasure” and “the addition for the ¹⁵ increase of knowledge,” “the revelation | of those things which were known at first,” | and “the path toward harmony | and toward the | pre-existent one,” which is the ²⁰ increase of those who have | abandoned the greatness which was theirs | in the organization of | the will, so that the end | might be like the beginning.

²⁵ As for the baptism which exists | in the fullest sense, into | which the Totalities will descend | and in which they will be, there is no other | baptism apart from this one alone, ³⁰ which is the redemption into | God, Father, Son and | Holy Spirit, when | confession

35 ΟΥ'ΝΑΖΤΕ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΝΙΡΕΝ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΕΥ " ΝΕΕΙ [ΕΤΕ
 ΡΚΗ/128 Ο]ΥΡΕΝ ΝΟΥΩΤ' ΠΕ Ν'ΔΕ ΠΙΩΜ̄ ΝΟΥΩΕ " ΕΑῩΝ-
 ΖΟΥΤ̄ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕΑΥΧΟΟΥΕ ' ΝΕΥΟΥ' ΧΕ ΣΕΩΟΟΠ' ΕΑ-
 ΒΑΛ Μ'ΠΑΕΙ ΕῩΝΤΕΥ Μ̄ΜΕΥ Μ̄ΠΟΥ'ΧΑΕΙ'ΤΕ Ν̄ΧΙ ΝΑΙ
 5 ΕΤΑΝΑ"ΖΤΕ' ΧΕ ΣΕΩΟΟΠ' ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ' ΠΕ ΤΠΕΖΟ
 ΜΕΝ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤ'ΙΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΣ Μ̄ΠΙΩΤ' Μ̄Ν ΠΩΗΡΕ'
 ' Μ̄Ν ΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥΝΑΖ'ΤΕ {ΔΕ} Ν̄ΑΤ̄Ρ
 10 ΖΗΤ' ΣΝΕΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΑῩ"Ρ Μ̄ΝΤΡΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ Ζ̄ΝΝ
 ΟΥ'ΖΕΛΠΙΣ' ΕΣΤΑΧΡΑΕΙΤ' ΕΥΑΜΑ'ΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΑΥ' ΧΕ-
 ΚΑΣΕ ΕΦΝΑΨΩ'ΠΕ' ΕΠΧΩΚ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΥΝΑΖΤΕ
 15 ' ΑΡΑΥ' ΠΕ ΠΙΤΣΟ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΡΑΥ ΑΥΩ " ΠΙΩΤ Μ̄-
 ΜΕΥ ΟΥΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΩΤ ' ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑῩΡ ΖΟΜΟ-
 ΛΟΓΙ Μ̄ΜΑϚ ' Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥΝΑΖΤΕ' ΑΥΩ Π̄ΕΙ Ε̄ΝΤΑΖ'†
 Ν̄ΝΟΥΜΟΥΧ̄Β Μ̄ΜΕϚ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥ'ΣΑΥΝΕ'
 20 ΧΕ ΠΙΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ Ν̄ΤΑΝ"ΨΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΧΟΟϚ ΣΕΜΟΥΤΕ
 ΑΡΑϚ ' ΧΕ Ζ̄Β̄ΣΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤΕΜΑΥΚΑ'ΚΟΥ ΑΖΗΥ
 Μ̄ΜΟϚ ΧΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤ'ΝΑΤΕΕΙϚ Ζ̄ΙΩΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΕΙ
 25 ΕΝΤΑΖ'ΧΙ ΣΩΤΕ ΕῩΡ ΦΟΡΙ Μ̄ΜΟϚ ΑΥΩ ΣΕ"ΜΟΥΤΕ
 ΑΡΑϚ' ΧΕ ΠΤΑΧΡΟ' Ν̄†'ΤΜΗΕ' ΠΕΕΙ ΕΤΕΜ̄ΝΤΕϚ
 ΖΕΕΙΕ ' Μ̄ΜΕΥ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΑ<Τ>ΡΙΚΕ' Μ̄Ν ΟΥ'Μ̄ΝΤΑΤ-
 ΚΙΜ' ΕΦΕΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΑΥ ' ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΑϚ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΕΕΙ
 30 Ν̄"ΤΑΖΧΙ Ν̄†ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ ΣΕΜΟΥ'ΤΕ' ΑΡΑϚ' ΧΕ
 Μ̄ΝΤΚΑΡΩΣ ΕΤΒΕ ' ΠΣΒΡΑΖΤ̄' Μ̄Ν ΤΜ̄ΝΤΑΤΨΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ'
 ' ΣΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑϚ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΑ ΝΨΕΛΕ'ΕΤ' ΕΤΒΕ
 35 ΠΙΜΕΤΕ' Μ̄Ν †Μ̄ΝΤ"ΑΤΠΩΨΕ' ΕΤΕ ΝΑΕΙ[Ν]Ε†[Ο]Υ-
 ΣΑΥΝΕ ' ΧΕ ΑῩΣΟΥΩΝϚ ΑΥΩ Σ[ΕΜΟΥ]ΤΕ ΑΡΑϚ
 ΡΚΘ/129 " ΑΝ ΧΕ ΠΟΥΑΕΙΝ Ν̄ΑΤΖΩΤ̄Π̄ ' ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΑΤΚΩΖΤ' ΕϚ†
 ΟΥΑΕΙΝ ΕΝ ' ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΑΖ̄Ρ ΦΟΡΙ Μ̄ΜΑϚ' ΕΥ'ΕΙΡΕ
 5 Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΟΥΑΕΙΝ' ΕΤΕ " ΝΑΕΙ' ΑΝ ΝΕ ΕΝΤΑϚ̄Ρ ΦΟΡΙ

35-36 ΝΔΕ i.e. ΝΤΕ¹

128.1 ΧΟΟΥΕ, γ written over c.¹ 4 ΝΧΙ i.e. ΝΒΙ' ΕΤΑ<Ζ> or 'ΕΤ<Ν>Α ed. pr.¹ 6 ΤΠΕΖΟ MS: Read ΠΤΕΖΟ ed. pr.¹ 9 {ΔΕ} Attridge¹ 14 ΠΙΤΣΟ MS: ΠΙΣΤΟ ed. pr.¹ 15 ΟΥΑΕΙ MS: ΟΥΕΕΙ ed. pr.¹ 17 Ζ̄ΝΝ, Ζ added in left margin.¹ 21-22 ΚΑΚΟΥ, Ο written over a partially formed α.¹ 23 ΤΕΕΙϚ, ΕΙϚ written over erased letters.¹ 25-26 Ν{†}ΤΜΗΕ ed. pr.¹ 27 Α<Τ>ΡΙΚΕ ed. pr.¹ 30 ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ MS: Read ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ 32 ΠΣΒΡΑΖΤ, Σ written over a partially formed β.¹ 35 ΕΤΕ, Ε written over ΔΕ.¹ [Ν]Ε†[Ο]Υ i.e. ΝΕΤΟΥ¹ 36 ΑΥΩ <ΑῩΣΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΑΥΩ> Thomassen¹

129.1 An angular mark (>) appears in the left margin.¹

is made through | faith in those names, ³⁵ which are a single name of | the gospel, ^{128.1} when they have come to believe what has been said to them, | namely that they exist. From | this they have their | salvation, those who have ⁵ believed that they exist. This | is attaining in an invisible way | to the Father, Son, | and Holy Spirit in an | undoubting faith. And when they ¹⁰ have borne witness to them, it is also with a | firm hope that they | attained them, so that the return to them might | become the perfection of those who have believed | in them and (so that) ¹⁵ the Father might be one with them, the Father, | the God, whom they have confessed | in faith and who | gave (them) their union with him in | knowledge.

The baptism which we ²⁰ previously mentioned is called | “garment of those who do not | strip themselves of it,” for those who | will put it on and those who have | received redemption wear it. It is also ²⁵ called “the confirmation of the | truth which has no fall.” | In an unwavering and | immovable way it grasps those | who have received the [restoration] ³⁰ while they grasp it. (Baptism) is | called “silence” because of | the quiet and the tranquility. | It is also called “bridal chamber” | because of the agreement and the ³⁵ indivisible state of those who know | they have known him. It is also called ^{129.1} “the light which does not set | and is without flame,” since it does not give light, | but those who have worn it | are

ἄγω σεμοῦτε ἀραϋ ἀν χε π'ἰωνῶ ψα
 ἐνηζέ· ετε πεει πε π'ἰατμοῦ ἄγω σεμοῦτε
 10 ἀραϋ ἄπετσοοπ ἄμαϋ τηρῶ ζαπλωσ· ἄζῆν
 οὔμῆτχαεῖς ἄπετανῖτ ἄζῆν οὔμῆτατπωψε· ἄν
 οὔμῆ[τ]ἄτφι· ἄν οὔμῆτατψτα· ἄν οὔμῆτατρικε
 ψα παει ἐτσοοπ ἄννεταζχι ζῆ εὔ ἄγαρ πε
 15 πκεῖῶυεει· ἀμοῦτε ἀραϋ ἄμαϋ ἄνσα ἄπ'νοῦτε·
 ἐφοει ἄνιπτηρῶ ἄετε πεει πε· καν εὔψαν-
 μοῦτε· ἄραϋ ἄνιρεν· {ἄνιρεν} ἄαταποῦ ἄερε-
 20 ἄχσοῦ ἄβῆψεχε ἄμαϋ ἄπῖρητε· ἐϋἄπσα
 ἄζηρῆ ἄψεχε· ἄνιμ· ἄγω ἄπῖσα ἄζηρῆ ἄζραῦ ἄνιμ
 ἄγω ἄπ'ἄ ἄνζηρῆ ἄνοῦς ἄνιμ ἄγω ἄπῖσα
 ἄτπε ἄοῦαν ἄνιμ· ἄγω ἄπῖσα ἄζηρῆ ἄμῆτκα-
 25 ρωσ ἄνιμ· παει πε πῖρητε· ἐτσοοπ· ἄ{ἄγω πεει
 πε πε πῖρητε· ἐτσοοπ·} ἄμῆσ· ζατε νετσοοπ·
 ἄπεἄτε· ἄταϋ πε· παει πε πετοῦβῖνε· ἄμαϋ
 30 ἄπετε ἄταϋ πε· ἄν οὔμῆτατχοοϋ ἄν οὔμῆτ-
 ἄτῖ νοῖ ἄζω ἄψωπε ἄν νετἄσαῦνε ἀβαλ ζῖτῆ
 πεταῦτεζ[ο] ἄμαϋ ετε πεει πε ἐνταῦτ' εἰ[γ
 ν]εϋ

ῥλ/130 ζα πῖρα ἄπῖμῆτσωτῖ ἄκαν εὔἄ ζοῦε ζαζ ἄκωβ
 ἄτῖρῆχοος ἄθε ἐτεψψε ἄχοος ἄει ἄδε
 5 ζωοῦ ζα· ἄπῖρα· ἄνα πῖτωζμε· πεει γαρ ἄπε
 πῖρητε· ἐτοῦμοῦτε· ἀνἄοῦνεμ ἄμαϋ οὔαναγ-
 καιο(ν) ἄβε πε· ἀτῖρῆοῦ{ζ}ωζ· ἀτοοτνε· ἄψε
 ἀραῦοῦ ἄγω ἄπ' ψεῦ ἐν ἄτῖτῖρ' ποῦμεγε·
 10 ἀψεχε· ἄζαῦ εὔπε οὔἄ ζω ἄζηρῆ ἄζῆ
 νετῖρ' ἄθῆ ἄζῆν οὔψι· πωσ ἄχοος ἀβαλ ἄζῆ
 οὔμερος ἄεπῖδῆ ἀειχοος χε νεταζεῖ ἄτηροῦ
 15 ἀβαλ ζῖτῆ πλογος εἰἄε ἀβαλ· ἄζῆ πῖταχω ἄδε
 ἄνετῖραοῦ· εἰδε ἀβαλ ἄζῆ ἄβῆκε· ἐτ' οὔβῆοῦ
 ἄν πῖνοῦζοῦ ἀβαλ ἄμαῦ ετε πῖνοῦζοῦ ἄδε·

14 ζῆ MS: ζῆ<γ>, ζ<α>ῆ, ζῆ<τ>, or ζεπ *ed. pr.* 16 πνοῦτε, π written over μ. 18 {ἄνιρεν} *ed. pr.* 22 π'ἄ i.e. ἄψα (=ἄπσα) 23 ἄοῦαν MS: ἄεαγ (?) *ed. pr.* 26 {ἄγω-ἐτσοοπ} *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.): πε πκερῖρητε *ed. pr.* (Ger.) 31 ἄζω, ω written over ο.

130.1 ἄκωβ i.e. ἄζωβ 3 ἄδε i.e. δε 7 {ζ}ωζ *ed. pr.* 8 ἄψε<χε ζ>ἀραῦοῦ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.) 14 τηροῦ <εἰτε> *ed. pr.* 14-15, 16 εἰδε i.e. εἰτε 15 ἄδε i.e. ἄτε

made into light. They ⁵ are the ones whom he wore. | (Baptism) is also called, “the | eternal life,” which is | immortality; and it is called | “that which is, entirely, | simply, ¹⁰ in the proper sense, what is pleasing, | inseparably and irremovably | and faultlessly and | impeturbably, for the one who exists | for those who have received a beginning.” For, what else is there ¹⁵ to name it | apart from “God,” since it is the Totalities, | that is, even if it is given | numberless names, | they are spoken simply as a reference to it. ²⁰ Just as he transcends every word | and he transcends every voice | and he transcends every mind | and he transcends everything | and he transcends every silence, ²⁵ so it is | [*Dittography*] | with those who are that | which he is. This is that which they find | it to be, ³⁰ ineffably and | inconceivably in (its) visage, for the coming into being in those who | know, through him whom they have comprehended, | who is the one to whom | they gave glory.

16. *Redemption of the Calling.*

Even if on the matter of the election ^{130.1} there are many more things for | us to say, as it is fitting to | say, nonetheless, on the | matter of those of the calling — for ⁵ those of the right are so named | — it is necessary | for us to return once again to them | and it is not profitable | for us to forget them. We have spoken ¹⁰ about them, — If there is enough in | what preceded at some length, how have we | spoken? In a partial way, — | since I said about all those who came | forth from the Logos, ¹⁵ either from the judgment of | the evil ones or from | the wrath which fights against them and the |

20 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ πε αζοϿ(ν) " $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ · αϿω πιςαπ $\bar{\sigma}$ · $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$
 ' πι $\bar{\rho}$ πμεϿε· $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}$ Ͽρπ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ 'Ͽωοοπ $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ οϿζελπις
 $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ οϿ'ναρτε· ατρεϿ[χ]ι $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\nu\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota$ 'τε· $\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ πι-
 25 Ͽωβ ετνανοϿϿ " εαϿ $\bar{\rho}$ αξιοϿ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\nu\sigma\sigma$ αβαλ χε
 ' Ͽ $\bar{\nu}$ ωπε νε· αβαλ Ͽ $\bar{\nu}$ νιδια·'θεςις ετνανοϿοϿ
 εϿ $\bar{\nu}$ τεϿ ' $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\beta\epsilon$ · $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\nu\chi\pi\sigma$ ' εϿοϿ-
 30 Ͽνωμη δε· αβαλ Ͽ $\bar{\nu}$ πετ'Ͽωοοπ· ετι αν χε
 νε $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ πατεπλο'γος χι $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\zeta$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}'\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma$
 Ͽ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ οϿ $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ τатνεϿ αρας ' εϿοϿωϿ πετχασε·
 αϿοϿωρ ' ατοοτϿ αν $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}$ 'ε'ιμεϿε· αβαλ χε
 Ͽλα/131 " νεαϿωϿπε εϿ $\bar{\rho}$ [Ͽα]ε νεϿ· " πεει $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\r�\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{m}'\bar{\rho}\tau\r�\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ εμ $\bar{\rho}\nu\chi\iota\tau\sigma$ · ' αρρηι
 εϿοϿα· Ͽως ε $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ λαϿε ' Ͽωοοπ Ͽα τοϿερη
 5 αλλα σερσ'μολογι· χε οϿντεϿ αρχη ' $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma$ ·
 $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\tau\sigma\omega\pi\epsilon$ · αϿω σε'οϿωϿε· πεει ατ $\bar{\rho}\nu\chi\sigma\sigma$ -
 ω $\bar{n}\bar{q}$ ' ετε πετϿωοοπ· Ͽα τοϿερη πε· ' $\bar{\nu}\rho\sigma\sigma$ βε
 10 $\bar{\nu}\rho\sigma\sigma$ χε αϿοϿωϿτ̄ " $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\nu\omega\bar{n}\bar{z}$ αβαλ· $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\nu\alpha$ -
 ειν ' $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}$ ρητε $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\nu\sigma\bar{v}\bar{v}\bar{r}\eta\beta\epsilon$ · αϿω ' αϿ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ τρε χε
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\phi\sigma\omega\bar{n}\bar{z}$ ' [αβ]αλ· αϿοϿχασει $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ {νεο}Ͽ '
 15 [χ]ε οϿ μονον νεταρει αβαλ " $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\nu\sigma\sigma$
 νετ·ανχοϿ $\bar{m}'\bar{m}\sigma\sigma$ α[ρα]ϿοϿ οϿαετοϿ νε χε·
 ' σενατερε πιρωβ ετνανοϿϿ ' αλλα νεταναει
 ϿωοϿ αν χπαϿ ' κατα νιδιαθεςις αν ετνα-
 20 " $\bar{\nu}\sigma\sigma$ σενα $\bar{\rho}$ κοινω $\bar{\nu}$ ι ϿωοϿ ' αν απι \bar{m} τον κατα
 τ $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ τ $\bar{z}\sigma\sigma$ ' $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\bar{z}\sigma\tau$ · αϿω νεει ενταϿ $\bar{\nu}$ τοϿ
 αβαλ Ͽ $\bar{\nu}$ τεειεπιϿϿ'μια $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ τ $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ τ $\bar{m}\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma$
 25 " σαρνε· εϿ $\bar{\nu}$ τεϿ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{m}\bar{\rho}$ 'σιτε· $\bar{\nu}\bar{z}\eta\tau\sigma$ ετε
 τεει τε τ \bar{m} < $\bar{\nu}$ >τ'μαειοϿερ σαρνε σεναχι ' $\bar{\nu}\tau$ -
 Ͽ $\bar{b}\bar{b}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}$ · $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ ιπετνανοϿοϿ ' $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ βι ναει ενταρ $\bar{\rho}$ Ͽωβ
 30 $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ ναει " ετεϿ $\bar{\nu}$ τεϿ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\tau$ 'προαιρε'σις· $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ ι-
 πετνανοϿοϿ εϿϿα $\bar{\rho}$ Ͽ'νεϿ Ͽ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ οϿ $\bar{g}\bar{w}\bar{m}\bar{h}$ $\bar{\nu}\sigma\sigma$ -
 οϿω'Ͽε· ακωε $\bar{\nu}\sigma\omega\sigma$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$ τ $\bar{m}\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma$ εϿοϿ ετ-
 35 ϿοϿειτ· προς οϿ'σχοϿ $\bar{\nu}$ [σερ] ποϿαρ σαρνε

19 $\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\delta\epsilon$! 20 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\sigma\iota$ MS: $\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\sigma\iota$ Thomassen! 23 ατρεϿ MS:
 Read ατρεϿ *ed. pr.*! 24 $\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$! 29 $\delta\epsilon$ i.e. $\tau\epsilon$! 35 εϿ $\bar{\rho}$ [Ͽα]ε or εϿ $\bar{\rho}$
 [πιϿ]ε *ed. pr.*!

131.2 Ͽωπε, ε may be written over an uncertain letter.! 9 { $\bar{\nu}\rho\sigma\sigma$ βε} *ed.*
pr.! 13 $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ {νεο}Ͽ Attridge: $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma\sigma\sigma$ *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.): { $\bar{\nu}$ }τε νε{o}Ͽ *ed. pr.*
 (Ger.)! 26 \bar{m} < $\bar{\nu}$ >τ *ed. pr.*!

turning away from them, which | is the return to
²⁰ the exalted ones, or from the prayer and | the re-
 membrance of those who pre-existed | or from hope
 and | faith that [they] would receive their salvation |
 from good work ²⁵ since they have been deemed wor-
 thy because | they are beings from the good | disposi-
 tions, (that) they have | cause of their begetting |
 which is an opinion from the one who ³⁰ exists. Still
 further (I said) that before the | Logos concerned
 himself with | them in an invisible way, | willingly, the
 exalted one added | to this thought, because ³⁵ they
 were [in need] of him, ^{131.1} who was the cause of |
 their being. They did not exalt themselves, | when
 they were saved, as if there were nothing | existing
 before them, but they ⁵ confess that they have a be-
 ginning | to their existence and they | desire this: to
 know him | who exists before them. | Most of all (I
 said) that they worshipped ¹⁰ the revelation of the
 light | in the form of lightning and | they bore witness
 that it appeared | as <their> salvation. |

Not only those who have come forth ¹⁵ from the
 Logos, about whom | alone we said that | they would
 accomplish the good work, | but also those whom
 these brought forth | according to the good disposi-
 tions ²⁰ will share | in the repose according to the
 abundance | of the grace. Also those who have been |
 brought forth from the desire | of lust for ²⁵ power,
 having the | seed in them which is the | lust for power,
 will receive | the reward for (their) good deeds, |
 namely those who acted and those ³⁰ who have the
 predisposition | toward the good, if they | intentionally
 desire and wish | to abandon the | vain, temporal am-
 bition ³⁵ and [they] keep the commandment of the

ρλβ/132 ἄπχοίς ἡ ἄπεαυ ἀντι πιταειο προς οὐλαειψ
 ψημ ἄσερ κληρονομι ἡ ἄτμῆτῆρο· ψα ενεζ
 5 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 10 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 15 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 20 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 25 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 30 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ἡ ἄπχοίς δε ἡ οὐαναγκαιον πε ἀτρῆ[ζ]ωτρε
 ρλγ/133 οὐζῆ[ε]λ {εν} πε· εφναχι μα ἡ οὐελεγεθερος
 σεναχι πνευ ἡ γαρ· ἡ ζογο ἡ ζογο ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις
 5 οὐελεγεθερος ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις· δε πεε πε πρητε· ἡ ετ
 ψοοπ δε οὐελεγεθερος ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις· δε πεε πε πρητε· ἡ ετ
 10 ψοοπ δε οὐελεγεθερος ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις· δε πεε πε πρητε· ἡ ετ
 ψοοπ δε οὐελεγεθερος ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις· δε πεε πε πρητε· ἡ ετ
 15 ψοοπ δε οὐελεγεθερος ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις· δε πεε πε πρητε· ἡ ετ
 ψοοπ δε οὐελεγεθερος ἡ ζογο οὐφγσις· δε πεε πε πρητε· ἡ ετ

132.5 ἡ ἄπχοίς(N) *ed. pr.* ἡ ἄπχοίς i.e. ἡ ἄπχοίς¹ 8,9,10 ἡ ἄπχοίς i.e. ἡ ἄπχοίς¹ 10 *net<τ>αζταζτ*
*ed. pr.*¹ 14 *ενταχυν[α]ζτε <ἡ ζογο>* or *<ἡ ζογο>* or *<ἡ ζογο>ενταχυν[α]ζτε*
 Attridge¹ 16 *ενψα* MS: *ενψα* *ed. pr.*¹ 28 *ενψα* <πετε νευζῆ[ε]λ πε
ναχι> Thomassen¹ 30 ζι <τζαε> *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹ 32 {εν} Attridge¹

133.6 δε i.e. τε¹ 13 {εν}αχι Attridge: {εν}αχι *ed. pr.*¹

Lord ^{132.1} of glory, instead of the momentary | honor,
and inherit | the eternal kingdom.

Now, | it is necessary that we unite ⁵ the causes and
the effects on them | of the grace and the impulses, |
since it is fitting that we say what | we mentioned pre-
viously about the salvation | of all those of the right,
¹⁰ of all those unmixed and those mixed, | to join them
| [with] one another. And as for the repose, [which] | is
the revelation of [the] form <in> which they be-
lieved, ¹⁵ (it is necessary) that we should treat it with
a | suitable discussion. For when we | confessed the
kingdom | which is in Christ, <we> escaped from | the
whole multiplicity of forms and from ²⁰ inequality
and change. For the end | will receive a unitary exist-
ence | just as the beginning is unitary, | where there is
no | male nor female, nor slave ²⁵ and free, nor cir-
cumcision | and uncircumcision, neither angel | nor
man, but | Christ is all in all. What is the form | of the
one who did not exist at first? ³⁰ It will be found that
he will exist. And | what is the nature of the one who
was a slave? | He will take a place with a ^{133.1} free
man. For, they will receive the vision | more and more
by nature | and not only by a little word, | so as to
believe, only through ⁵ a voice, that this is the way | it
is, that | the restoration to that which used to be is a
unity. | Even if some are | exalted because of the or-
ganization, since they have been appointed ¹⁰ as
causes of the things which have come into being, |
since they are more active as natural forces | and since
they are desired because of these things, | angels and
men will receive the kingdom and the confirmation |
[and] the salvation. ¹⁵ These, then, are the causes. |

χε νεταροωνζ̄ ζ̄ν̄ сарз̄· а҃γναζ̄¹τε ара҃ ζ̄н̄
 ουμ̄ν̄τατ̄ρ̄ ζ̄н̄т̄· ¹сney χε πωhre πε̄ м̄пιαтсоу-
 20 ¹ων[ḡ π]ε̄ н̄ноуτε̄ πε̄ пееӣ ете̄·¹м̄поушеχε
 ара҃ н̄шорп̄ ¹а҃γω̄ м̄поуш̄ ne҃γ ара҃ а҃γω̄
¹а҃γκω̄ н̄с̄ωоӯ н̄ноуноуτε̄· ¹ε̄нтауш̄м̄ше̄ м̄мо-
 25 оӯ н̄шорп̄· ¹а҃γω̄ н̄χοеис̄ neeī етшооп̄· ¹ζ̄н̄
 т̄пе̄ а҃γω̄ neтшооп̄ ζ̄ιχ̄м̄ ¹п̄καζ̄· neeī мен̄ ζ̄αθ̄
 м̄па¹тоу҃҃ӣтоӯ а̄ζ̄ρη̄ῑ а[λ]λ̄а̄ е̄тӣ е̄φο̄'е̄ӣ н̄λῑл[о]γ̄
 а҃γ̄р̄ м̄н̄т̄ре̄ χε̄ н̄д̄н̄ ¹а҃γ̄р̄ а̄р̄х̄ес̄θᾱӣ н̄та̄ше̄ а̄е̄ӣω̄
 30 ¹а҃γω̄ п̄с̄ап̄· е̄҃҃к̄н̄ а̄ζ̄ρη̄ῑ ζ̄н̄ п̄та̄ф̄ос̄ ¹ε̄[҃҃҃҃
 н̄]р̄ω̄ме̄· е̄҃҃҃҃мооӯт̄ н̄а̄г̄·¹[҃҃҃҃ε̄л̄ос̄ Δ]ε̄ ne҃γ̄ме̄γε̄ χε̄
 ρλΔ/134 қан̄ζ̄ ¹[ε̄γ̄χῑ н̄]т̄оо̄т̄ḡ̄ м̄п̄ω̄н̄ζ̄· ¹н̄т̄оо̄т̄ḡ̄ м̄-
 п̄ε̄та̄ζ̄моӯ· no҃γ̄ш̄м̄'ω̄е̄ Δε̄· na҃γ̄оӯа̄ш̄оӯ н̄шорп̄
¹ε̄т̄на̄ш̄ω̄оӯ м̄н̄ no҃γ̄ма̄ζε̄ӣе̄· na'eī· е̄т̄ene҃γ̄ш̄о-
 5 оп̄· ζ̄н̄ п̄ε̄р̄п̄ε̄ε̄ ζ̄а̄ ¹н̄а̄е̄ӣ {т̄}е̄ε̄тоӯ· н̄боӯа̄е̄ӣ
 <а>†ζ̄ом̄[о]л̄о·¹҃҃҃҃҃̄ӣа̄ е̄т̄е̄ т̄е̄е̄ӣ т̄е̄ оӯн̄ б̄ам̄ м̄ма̄с̄
¹ζ̄а̄ neeī е̄е̄ӣре̄ м̄ма̄с̄· а̄βᾱл̄ ζ̄ῑт̄н̄ п̄т̄роӯ҃҃҃̄ω̄т̄
 а̄ζ̄оӯн̄ ара҃
 10 χε̄ ¹π̄ӣс̄ав̄т̄е̄· е̄т̄м̄ме̄γ̄ е̄т̄'ε̄'ма̄γ̄χῑ ¹м̄моӯ
 ε̄ζ̄оӯн̄ а҃γ̄б̄але̄҃ а̄во̄л̄ ¹ε̄т̄βε̄ п̄ε̄т̄ен̄не̄γ̄оӯω̄т̄
 м̄моӯ ¹ε̄н̄ м̄п̄ма̄ е̄т̄м̄ме̄γ̄ а̄λλᾱ ε̄[γ̄† м̄]п̄ε-
 15 χ̄(р̄ӣс̄т̄о)с̄ п̄е̄е̄ӣ е̄т̄ene҃γ̄ме̄γε̄ [ара҃] ¹а̄т̄ре̄҃҃҃ω̄-
 п̄ε̄· м̄п̄ма̄ е̄т̄[м̄ме̄γ̄] ¹п̄ма̄ ε̄нта̄γ̄е̄ӣ а̄βᾱл̄ м̄м[а҃]҃
¹н̄н̄ме̄҃҃ а̄βᾱл̄ н̄о̄γ̄ма̄ н̄ноӯ[т̄]ε̄ ¹ζ̄ῑ χ̄а̄е̄ӣс̄ neeī
 е̄т̄ene҃γ̄ш̄м̄ше̄ ¹м̄ма̄γ̄ е̄γ̄р̄ θ̄ε̄ра̄п̄ε̄γε̄ м̄'ма̄γ̄ е̄γ̄р̄
 20 ζ̄γ̄п̄hre† [м̄]ма̄γ̄ ¹н̄н̄ре̄н̄ ε̄нта̄γ̄χῑтоӯ [а]поӯ-
 ш̄ε̄п̄ ¹а҃γ̄т̄е̄е̄ӣтоӯ м̄п̄ε̄то̄γ̄моӯте̄ ¹ара҃҃ м̄ма̄γ̄
 [ζ̄]н̄н̄ оӯμ̄н̄т̄χ̄а̄'е̄ӣс̄ neeī н̄д̄ε̄ м̄н̄н̄с̄а̄ т̄ε̄҃҃҃̄ана-
 25 λ̄н̄м̄ψ̄ε̄ω̄с̄ а҃γ̄χῑ п̄ӣра̄ ¹а̄м̄ме̄ χε̄ н̄та̄҃҃ п̄ε̄· поӯ-
 χ̄а̄ӣс̄ ¹п̄е̄е̄ӣ е̄т̄е̄ м̄н̄ ла̄γε̄· ḡ̄ 'н̄'χ̄а̄е̄ӣс̄ ¹ара҃҃ а҃γ̄†
 на̄҃ н̄ноӯμ̄н̄т̄р̄ра̄е̄ӣ ¹а҃γ̄т̄ω̄[ω]н̄ а̄βᾱл̄· [ζ̄]н̄[н̄]

16 νεταζ̄ MS: Read πεταζ̄ Attridge¹ <т>сарз̄ *ed. pr.*¹ 27 қӣтоӯ MS: қӣт̄
 Thomassen¹ 31 е̄҃҃҃҃мооӯт̄ <п̄ε> *ed. pr.*¹ 33 [ε̄γ̄χῑ н̄]т̄оо̄т̄ḡ̄ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.):
 [а̄βᾱл̄ ζ̄ῑ]т̄оо̄т̄ḡ̄ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹

134.2 {на̄γ̄оӯа̄ш̄оӯ} Thomssen¹ 5 н̄а̄е̄ӣ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): т̄а̄е̄ӣ *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.)¹ {т̄}е̄ε̄тоӯ *ed. pr.* (Fr.): т̄е̄ е̄т̄{оӯн̄}боӯ *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.)¹ <а>†ζ̄ом̄[о]л̄о·¹҃҃҃҃̄ӣа̄ Attridge¹ 6 е̄т̄е̄ т̄е̄е̄ӣ т̄е̄ оӯн̄ б̄ам̄ м̄ма̄с̄ MS:
 т̄е̄е̄ӣ е̄т̄е̄ оӯн̄ б̄ам̄ м̄ма̄γ̄ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹ 9 ма̄γ̄χῑ, м̄ written over а̄.¹ 11
 оӯω<ω>т̄ Thomassen¹ 12 ε̄[γ̄† м̄] Schenke: [а҃γ̄χῑ] *ed. pr.*¹ 14 е̄т̄[м̄ме̄γ̄] *ed.*
pr.: е̄т̄χ̄[а̄с̄ӣ] Thomassen¹ 20 ε̄нта̄γ̄, а̄ written over а̄. ¹ 23 н̄д̄ε̄ i.e. Δε̄¹

About the <one> who appeared in flesh they believed | without any doubt | that he is the Son of the unknown | God, who ²⁰ was not previously spoken of | and who could not be seen. | They abandoned their gods | whom they had previously worshipped | and the lords who are ²⁵ in heaven and on | earth. Before | he had taken them up, and while he was still | a child, they testified that he had already | begun to preach, ³⁰ and when he was in the tomb | as a dead man the | [angels] thought that he was alive, | [receiving] life ^{134.1} from the one who had died. | They first desired their numerous services | and wonders, | which were in the temple on their behalf, ⁵ to be performed continuously <as> the confession. | That is, it can | be done on their behalf through | their approach to him. |

That preparation which they did not accept ¹⁰ they rejected | because of the one who had not been sent | from that place, but [they granted to] | Christ, of whom they thought | that he exists in [that] place ¹⁵ from which they had come | along with him, a place of gods | and lords whom they served, | worshipped | and ministered to ²⁰ in the names which they had received on loan. | — They were given to the one who is designated | by them properly. — | However, after his | assumption, they had the experience ²⁵ to know that he is their Lord, | over whom no one else is lord. | They gave him their kingdoms; | they rose from their

30 οὐθρο¹νοσ ἀψεψτοῦ ἀβ[αλ]· ἡνοῦ²βρηπε πεει
 ἡδε ἀφογανζῆ νεγ³ ἀνιλαειδε⁴ ετανῶ ψ[ρ]ῆ
 νχοοῦ⁵ ἡνοῦχαεϊτε μῆ πιη[οῦζ ἀγ]⁶μεγε ετ-
 ρλε/135 νανοῦψα[τε....] "⁷[.....].ψβηρ· ἀγω νιαγ⁸γε-
 λος⁹ '[...]....· ἀγω πιζαζ ἡπετνανοῦ¹⁰[οῦ εν]-
 τᾶγεγε ἡμμεσ τᾶει τε¹¹ '[θε ε]τ[ε]αγῆζοῦτοῦ
 5 ἀνωῦψε¹²· "¹³εῖρειε ἡπετνανοῦψ ἡνισω¹⁴τῆ· εγ-
 εϊνε ἡποῦχι ἡβονῶ ἀζρηῆ ε[τ]πε¹⁵· ἀγῆταγ
 ἀνηζε¹⁶· ἡτμηῆτ[α]τ¹⁷· ἠββιαγ ἡτμηῆτατ¹⁸· πλα¹⁹ῆνα²⁰· ἡπ-
 10 [σ]ῶῆτ²¹· εῦμην ἀζοῦν ετβη²²τοῦ ψ[α]τογει
 τηροῦ ἀπβιος ἀγω ἡσσει[ι ἀβ]αλ²³· ζῆ πβιος
 ερενοῦ²⁴[σ]ωμ[α μην] ζῆχῆ πκαζ²⁵· εῦρ²⁶ ζῦπηρετι
 '[...].[τ]ηροῦ ἡτεῦ²⁷· εῦειρε ἡ[μαγ]οῦ ἡκοϊνω-
 15 νοσ²⁸· ἀνοῦῆκο²⁹[οζ]³⁰· ἡῆ [η]οῦδαϊωγμοσ ἡῆ νοῦ-
 [λω]χζ³¹· ἡ[ε]ει ετταγεϊνε ἡμαγ³² '[αζ]ρηῆ ἀχῆ
 ἡετοῦααβ³³· ζᾶθη ἡμαῖτ³⁴ '[η]μ³⁵·
 χε ἡρῆῆψῶψε ἡδε ἡετ³⁶·[ζα]γούζ ζωσ
 20 εσῆψα ἡψαρψῆ "³⁷[ἡβι τμ]ῆτπεθαγούζ ἡζρηῆ
 '[ζη] οῦ[...].ῆνε³⁸· ἀβαλ³⁹· ζιτῆ ἡπο[...].α[...].ρῆ·
 ετῆπσα ἡζρηῆ ἡκῶσμοσ ἡ[μ] ετε πῆμεγε⁴⁰ ἡ-
 25 τεγούζ π[ε] ετνανοῦψ πε⁴¹· "⁴²ἡῆ ἡτμηῆτψβηρ· εσ-
 ναῆ πῆμεγε⁴³ ἡμαγούζ· ἡβι ἡεκκλῆσια⁴⁴ ἡῆρητε
 ἡζῆψβηρ· εῆνανοῦζ⁴⁵ ἡγω ζῆζῆζελ εῦῆζατ⁴⁶·
 30 εασχι⁴⁷ ἡσῶτε⁴⁸· ἀ[βαλ ζ]ῆ [πετχι]⁴⁹· ψββιω ἡεῖ
 π[ιζμ]ατ πε ετψοοπ ζῆ⁵⁰ '[πμα ηψ]ελεετ⁵¹· ἀγω

30 ἡδε i.e. δε¹32 πιη[οῦζε ἀγ] or πιη[οῦζε ἀπ] *ed. pr.*¹33-135.1
 ψα[τεφχαγ νιαγγελο]ς [η]ψβηρ or ψα[τεφψωπε μην η]ε[φ]ψβηρ *ed.*
*pr.*¹

135.1 [ἡῆ ἡτμηῆτ]ψβηρ Thomassen¹2 [ηψωψ]ε· ἀγω *ed. pr.*¹ 2-3
 νανοῦ[οῦ] or νανοῦ[φ] *ed. pr.*¹8 ἠββιαγ, α may be written over η.¹9
 ἡπ[σ]ῶῆτ *ed. pr.*: ἡπ[χ]ῶῆτ Thomassen¹11 ερε, ρ written over η.¹13
 [ἡρηρεν τ]ηροῦ *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): [ἡησῶτπ τ]ηροῦ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹16
 [λω]χζ· ἡ[ε]ει or [ζα]χζ·[χ η]εῖ *ed. pr.*¹ 18 χε MS: ἡχε (=ἡβι) *ed.*
*pr.*¹ ἡδε i.e. ἡτε¹ ἡετ MS: Read πετ Attridge¹21 [ζη] *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.): [η]
ed. pr. (Eng.)¹ οῦ[οῦε]ῆνε or οῦ[αγ]ῆνε *ed. pr.*¹21-22 πο[...].α Emmel:
 πο[λιτ]ῆα or πο[ἡρη]ῆα *ed. pr.*¹22 [..]ρ Emmel: ἡτε *ed. pr.* or ἡπε[ι] *ed. pr.*
 (Eng., Fr.)¹23 ἡ[μ] *ed. pr.* or ἡ[μ] η *ed. pr.* (Eng., Fr.)¹24 π[ε] or π[] *ed. pr.*
 π[π] *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹29 ἀ[βαλ ζ]ῆ [πετχι] or ἀ[βαλ ζιτ]ῆ [πεττ] *ed. pr.*
 (Fr., Ger.): [σenaχι ζωοῦ ητ] *ed. pr.* (Eng.): ε[σνατ] ἡ[εγ ἡ] Thomassen¹
 30 εῖε or εῖε *ed. pr.*¹ π[ιζμ]ατ Attridge: π[ιςμ]ατ Emmel: π[οῦρ]ατ
 Thomassen¹31 [πμα ηψ]ελεετ *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹

thrones; | they were kept from their ³⁰ crowns. He, however, revealed himself to them, | for the reasons which we have already spoken of, | their salvation and the [return to a] | good thought until [...] ^{135.1} [...] companion and the angels | [...] and the abundance of good | [which they did] with it. Thus, | they were entrusted with the services ⁵ which benefit the elect, | bringing their iniquity | up to heaven. They tested them eternally | for the lack of humility from the inerrancy | of the creation, continuing on their ¹⁰ behalf until all come to life and | leave life, while their | bodies [remain] on earth, serving | all their [...], sharing | [with them] in their sufferings ¹⁵ [and] persecutions and | tribulations, which were brought | upon the saints in [every] place. |

As for the servants of the | evil <one>, though ²⁰ evil is worthy of destruction, they are in | [...]. But because of the | [...] which is above | all the worlds, which is | their good thought ²⁵ and the fellowship, | the Church will remember them | as good friends | and faithful servants, once she has received | redemption [from the one who gives] requital. ³⁰ Then the [grace]

which is in | the bridal [chamber] and [...] in her house [...] in this thought | of the giving and the one who [...] ^{136.1} Christ is the one with her [and the] | expectation of the Father [of] | the Totality, since she will produce for them | angels as guides and ⁵ servants.

They will | think pleasant thoughts. | They are services for her. She will | give them their requital for all that which | the aeons will think about. ¹⁰ He is an emanation from them, so that, | just as Christ [did] his | will which he brought [forth and] | exalted the greatnesses of the Church [and] | gave them to her, so ¹⁵ will she be a thought for | [these.] And to men he gives [their] | eternal dwelling places, in | which they will dwell, [leaving] | behind the attraction toward ²⁰ the defect, while | the power of the Pleroma pulls them up | in the greatness of the | generosity and [the] sweetness of | the aeon which pre-exists. This ²⁵ is the nature of the entire begetting of those | whom he had when he shone | on them [in] a [light] which he | revealed [...]. | Just as his [...] ³⁰ which will be [...] | so too his [lord] | [while] the change alone is | in those who have changed. ^{137.6} which [...] by | him [...] | [...] said, | while the hylics will remain until ¹⁰ the end for destruction, since they will not give | forth for

αγ[ρ]εν· ἡ τευ εωπε· ¹[νευν]ατστο· παλιν απε-
 τον[φνα]ψω[πε εν]· εἴθε ετε νευ[.....]ε
 15 ἡ σεωοοπ εν ²[.....] ἀλλα νεαυτ̄ ρηογ ³[ρῆ
 πεο]γαειω ετεαγωω[πε ρηητ]φ· ουτωογ εν-
 σε· ⁴[...εν] ἡ ψαρῖ εωπε ρ[ιε] ⁵[.....].ε· αφ̄
 20 βερωβ ρα· ⁶[πρα] ἡ πια[μ]αρτε· ετευνῆ τεγ
 ἡ με[γ] ἡ πικαβτε· ⁷[...]ων αρρ[ε]γογ εειρ̄ χρα-
 [σθα]ι γαρ α[ν]οκ· εειμην ⁸[ρηη]ῖ ρῆ ἡ ψεχε
 25 ἡ πινογ ⁹[α]νεφμεγε· ρενπρε[σβυτερος....]
 [ρλη]/138 ενφ[- - - ἡ ῥ]νοβ ¹⁰[...ιη] - - -] ¹¹[...]πτ
 5 [- - -] ¹²[...ογ] - - -]αβ τῆ[ρ]ογ .[- - -]ε
 αγγελοσ ε[- - -]ῖω.ρ ¹³χε α[....]. [ρ]αγ
 [η]σαλλιγξ ¹⁴εφναταωε [α]ειω ἡ ῥνοβ
 10 ἡ αμ<ν>ησ τεια ετχηκ αβαλ ρῆ ἡ πιμα ¹⁵ἡ ψαειε·
 ετσαεια[ε]ιτ· ἡ [πμα] ¹⁶ἡ ψελεετ· ετε πιμαειε
 [πε] ¹⁷ἡ δε ἡ νουτε πι[ωτ...].[.] ¹⁸κατα ῥβομ
 15 ετσαγ[.....] ¹⁹ἡ δε ῥμῆ ῥνοβ [.....]
²⁰ῥμῆ ραβειε· ἡ δε [ε.....] ²¹ἡ τεφ εφογω[ηη ἡ μιν]
²²ἡ μοφ αηιμῆ ῥνο[β.....] ²³αγαθον ἡ τεφ
 20 π[.....] ²⁴ἡ πμογ πεμαρτε [αγ]ω π[εαγ]
²⁵ἡ αβαλ ριτῆ ῥμ[...].δε· πχαρις ῥ[σω]ῥηρ· πρεφ-
 σ[ωτ]ε· ἡ να πιμερ[.] ²⁶ἡ δε ῥαγαῖ[η] ῥηρογ
 α[βαλ] ²⁷ῥιτῆ πη[εγμ]α [ε]τογααβ ἡ [τεφ] ²⁸ἡ χιν
 [τ]ενογ ψαβολ· ψα ἡ [ιγενα] ²⁹ἡ δε ηιγενα· ψα
³⁰ἡ ῥηηρ ἡ [δε] ³¹ἡ δε ηενηρ [ρ]αμην

137.11 αγ[ρ]εν Emmel¹² [νευν]ατστο Kasser: [ενταγ]στο *ed. pr.*
 (Eng.): [πεγνα]στο *ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger.)¹³ [φνα]ψω[πε εν] Emmel¹⁴
 [ωοοπ μμας] *ed. pr.* ¹⁵[ρῆ πεων] ἀλλα *ed. pr.* ¹⁶⁻¹⁷ψω[πε ρηητ]φ
 Emmel: ψω[πε εγοε]ι *ed. pr.* ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ενσε[σατπ εν] or [σατπογ <εν>] *ed.*
pr. ¹⁹[νεγναω]ε or [ηταγτωω]ε *ed. pr.* ²²[ατ]ων *ed. pr.*: [ατω]ων
 Emmel²³ εειμην, εε written over ἡπ or ἡν. ²⁵[α]νεφ or [α]πεφ *ed. pr.*:
 [α]νεγ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)²⁵⁻²⁷ πρε[σβυτερος] αγτ̄ ρ[ενφ] [αραφ] χε
 ῥμῆ]ῥνοβ *ed. pr.* (Ger.)¹

138.9-10 αμ<ν>ησ τεια *ed. pr.* ¹³ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε ἡ νουτε πι[ωτ...].[.]
 Emmel¹⁴ κατα, κ written in the left margin. ¹⁵ετσαγ[τῆ] αβαλ αραγ
 Thomassen¹⁵ ἡ δε i.e. δε or ἡ τε ¹⁶[μπιωτ μν] *ed. pr.* ¹⁶ἡ δε [ε (=ἡ τε)]
 ῥαγαῖη *ed. pr.* ¹⁸νο[β ἡ πιρζογε] *ed. pr.*: νο[β ρη τμνη] *ed. pr.* (Eng.)¹⁹
 π[ωφ ηδε πε] *ed. pr.*: π[εει ηδε πε] *ed. pr.* (Ger.)²² πιμερ[.] or
 πιμεφ[ε] Emmel: πιμερτ̄ Thomassen²³ ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε ²⁴α[βαλ] *ed. pr.*: α[η
 ητεφ] (?) Kasser²⁵ ἡ [ιγενα] or [ιγενα] *ed. pr.* ²⁶ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε ²⁷ἡ [δε] i.e.
 δε²⁷ ἡ δε i.e. ἡ τε¹

their [names], if | [they would] return once again to
 that which | [will not be]. As they were | [...] they
 were not ¹⁵ [...] but they were of use | [in the] time
 that they were | [in it] among them, although they
 were not | [...] at first. If | [...] to do something else
 concerning ²⁰ the control which | they have of the
 preparation, | [...] before them. |— For though I con-
 tinually use | these words, I have not understood ²⁵ his
 meaning. — Some | [elders...] him | [greatness.]
^{138.6} all [...] angels | [...] word | and [the sound of] a
 trumpet | he will proclaim the great ¹⁰ complete am-
 nesty | from the beautiful east, in the | bridal chamber
 which is the love | of God the Father [...] | according
 to the power which [...] ¹⁵ of the greatness [...] | the
 sweetness of [...] | of him, since he reveals | himself to
 the greatnesses [...] | his goodness [...] ²⁰ the praise,
 the dominion, [and] the [glory] | through [...] the
 Lord the | Savior, the Redeemer of all those belonging
 to the one filled | with Love, | through his Holy Spirit
²⁵ from now through all | generations forever | and
 ever. Amen.

Words of English
principles used
differs in
are written
according
reference
there an indiv

Words of Greek
Greek alphabet
word differs
Throughout the
tempt to disting
has have not b
These include a
certain prepositi
particles and
phrases are dis

and abbrev
adjective
adverb
The
restor
conju
femini
intra
mascu
noun
prepo
pron
trans
verb
The
quali

INDICES

Words of Egyptian origin are generally ordered according to the principles used in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. The actual order, however, differs in many cases from that of Crum, since the tractates of Codex I are written in Subachmimic, while the entries in Crum are arranged according to the Sahidic forms of the Coptic words. To facilitate reference to Crum, the number of the page of that dictionary where an individual word appears is given in parentheses in each entry.

Words of Greek origin and proper names are listed according to the Greek alphabetical order. Where the spelling of the Coptic form of the word differs from the Greek, the Coptic form is also given.

Throughout these indices, definitions of the words are not given, except to distinguish homonyms. Because of their frequency certain items have not been indexed, except where anomalous forms appear. These include articles, copular pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, certain prepositions such as Ϸ̅, the conjunctions ⲀϷⲱ and ⲘⲚ and the particles ⲀⲚ (ⲐⲚ), δέ and μέν. Anomalous forms of the conjugation bases are discussed in the linguistic introduction to each tractate.

Sigla and abbreviations used in the indices are:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
<i>ap</i>	The word appears only in the apparatus, as a possible restoration or conjectural emendation.
conj.	conjunction
f.	feminine
intr.	intransitive
m.	masculine
n.	noun
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
tr.	transitive
v.	verb
*	The word has been substantially restored at a lacuna.
†	qualitative form of the Coptic verb

6. APA*
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11. ABOA, ei
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101:15; 116:1
33:32; 103-33
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23: See away
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[unintelligible] pers. pron
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N- (**M-** by assimilation), **MN-** (before vowels), **MA-**, **MMO-** prep. (215a) introducing direct object, genitive, complimentary infinitive, partitive, attributive complement after **QWPE**, etc., *passim*

N- (**M-** by assimilation), **NA-**, **NE-**, **NH-**, **NNE-** prep. (216a) introducing dative, *passim*

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 91.14; 93.11; 107.25; 108.1; 112.32; 117.32; 119.27; 121.36; 126.30,37*;
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 64.26; 81.3; 91.12; 101.13*; 102.17; 124.11; 133.33; Ν̄ТООТ ̄- 20.37;
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NE2BI resumptive particle (252a) *passim*; **NE2XI** 60.7,20; 73.1; 95.12; 101.30; 108.21; 109.4; 128.4; **NE2XE** 76.33; 78.9; 112.11; **NE2DE** 63.16; 68.16; **XE** 105.17; 108.34; 135.18; **XI** 62.22

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π-, τ-, ν- definite article (**πε-, τε-, νε-** before two consonants) (258b) *passim*

πα- prenominal possessive article (259a) 2.3ap; 16.20(**ΠO**); 39.24; 46.6; 86.27; 92.14; 95.27; 100.26,27; 107.7; 122.23; **τα-** 6.18; 45.13; **να-** 17.34; 31.4ap; 59.26; 78.36; 82.16,17,18,25; 84.33,34*,35ap; 85.18,22; 87.24; 89.9,20,29; 91.26,27,28; 93.19bis; 97.18,27,33; 98.1,15bis,17,18,27; 99.5; 107.14,21bis; 116.6; 130.4; 138.22

πε n.f. (259a) 41.27; 45.27,36; 55.21,22,23; 75.1; 105.2ap; 116.39*; 125.16*; 133.25; 135.7; *pl.* **πHYe** 2.31; 7.23; 8.25; 9.36; 12.15,17,23; 13.18,30,36; 14.29; 15.21; 100.10; **πHOYe** 6.17ap; 15.9; **π TΠe** 42.2; **ca NTΠe** 15.25; 26.1; 44.34; 129.23; **ca TΠe** 101.33; **π ca TΠe** 34.8

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πε-, τε-, νε- possessive article (258b) *passim*

πεει-, τεει-, νεει- demonstrative article (259a) *passim*

πεει, τεει, νεει demonstrative pron. (259a) *passim*; alternate forms: **παει** 55.27; 56.23; 60.17; 61.1,36; 62.26,33; 64.37; 65.4,23,28; 66.12; 67.5,6; 68.36; 69.2,16; 71.36; 75.11; 77.6; 82.7; 83.8; 86.2*; 87.9; 88.11,19; 91.4; 92.1; 93.36; 94.28; 95.26; 96.21; 97.20; 100.22,30; 103.2; 106.35; 108.2; 109.5; 110.5; 114.16; 116.31; 117.20; 122.28,32,36; 123.35; 124.38; 125.5; 126.20; 127.8; 128.3; 129.13,25,28; **παϊ** 95.5; 97.27; 103.37; 108.17; 118.25; **πεει** 111.28; **πη** 1.33; 49.27; **ταει** 53.12; 58.34; 69.18; 90.1; 94.18; 116.9,10; 117.35; 135.3; 136.15; **ναει** 62.19; 70.34; 88.27; 90.10; 97.11; 102.24,29; 103.8,15; 104.12; 109.29; 110.24,33; 116.34; 118.7; 119.36; 120.13; 122.3; 126.28; 127.20; 128.35; 129.5; 130.3; 131.18,29^{bis}; 133.15; 134.3,5; **ναϊ** 78.31; 97.9; 128.4; **ῖ πεει** 67.4^{bis}

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πι-, †-, नि- definite article (258b) *passim*; alternate forms: **πει** 108.11; 130.34; **νει** 111.33; 112.25; 114.19. See also **πεει-**

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- $\epsilon\eta$ n.f. (640b) 130.11; $\epsilon\eta\tau$ *passim*; $\bar{\rho}$ $\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ 88.7; 90.15; 125.13; $\rho\epsilon\eta\bar{\rho}$ $\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ 52.20; $\chi\iota$ $\epsilon\eta$ 129.14; $\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta$ 1.29; 7.36; 20.1; 38.35; 39.32; 58.31; 76.16; 81.35; 114.5; 117.29; 122.17; 125.24,26; 133.26; 135.17; $\epsilon\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ 57.11,15,17,21; 110.10; $\epsilon\alpha$ $\tau\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ 101.33; $\epsilon\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon\eta$ 5.25*ap* $\epsilon\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ 79.16; 83.25; 131.4,8; $\epsilon\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ 89.12; $\epsilon\iota\theta\eta$ 22.22
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- $\epsilon\omega$ See $\omicron\upsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\theta$
- $\epsilon\omega$ v. (651a) 119.4; n.m. 130.10
- $\epsilon\omega\omega$ intensifier (651b) 2.1*ap*; 4.9,13; 5.19; 7.15,21; 12.6; 13.22; 15.22; 16.8; 28.12; 51.33; 57.13,35; 58.4,12; 64.23; 74.1; 81.3; 94.25; 97.34,37; 100.28; 101.11*ap*,12*ap*,29*bis*; 103.2,3; 104.32; 105.35,38; 106.10*,14; 108.29,31,35; 114.39; 119.23,35*; 122.7; 124.32; 125.1; $\epsilon\omega\omega$ 9.4; 10.25; 12.28; 38.31; 59.9; 61.4,7,33; 63.34; 68.3; 84.15; 87.20; 89.35; 97.27; 98.18; 106.2; 108.22; 111.6; 115.33,36; 116.1,22; 118.13; 120.5; 121.11; 124.28; 130.3; 131.18,20; 135.29*ap*; 136.14; $\epsilon\omega\eta\omega$ 97.29; 98.6; 99.4
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135.30*; 2мот 114.28; 125.23; 131.22; 132.6; ḫ 2мат 61.11,34; 74.23; ḫ

2мот 53.20; 99.22; 113.19; ωḫ 2мат 15.7; 90.27; χε 2мот 117.10

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2ḫ-, ḫ2ηт prep. (683a) *passim*; by assimilation 2ḫ before π, 2λ before

λ (112.16); 2ḫн before оу; frequently with the adverbs авал, а2ρηί,

ḫ2ρηί

2εн-, 2ḫ- indef. art. pl. (685a) *passim*

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64.11; 66.24; 68.23,26; 71.28; 81.20; 84.19; 92.23,32; 93.32; 94.13; 96.2;

97.32; 109.6,29; 117.21; 118.33; 119.26; 120.18,28; 121.11;

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zpe n.f. (701a) 8.22; 91.35; 100.25; 106.28

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zphí n.m. (698a) **z**phí **z**ñ- 1.27; 5.5; 7.2,8,10; 15.9(**z**ph^e),10,18; 19.36;
25.2; 64.39; 68.3,24; 70.30; 72.31; 80.31; 83.29; 92.19; 94.38; 109.32;
115.11; 123.13; 136.33; **z**phí ñ^zht- 59.10

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66.19; 72.12; 75.17; 76.22; 78.2; 79.27; 85.23; 89.5,24; 90.8,24; 93.21;
95.22; 97.19; 98.1; 99.7,9; 100.19; 101.13; 102.25; 103.37; 105.30;
106.20; 108.16,28,31; 112.32; 114.21*bis*; 115.7; 117.14; 119.22,25;
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15.8; **e**z^{phí} 56.16; 69.7; 74.34; 99.5; **a**z^{phí} a- 34.15; 75.1; 78.19;
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az^{phí} zí 30.20;

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100.25; 101.1; 102.9,12*; 109.8; 111.21; 112.4; 117.1; 130.10; 135.20,33;
137.24*; **ñ**z^{ph^e} **z**ñ- 26.5; 95.38; **ñ**z^{phí} ñ^zht- 16.16; 19.4; 24.19;
25.16; 42.21; 43.31; 48.2; 88.21; 126.34; **ñ**z^{phí} zix^m- 125.18; **ca** ñz^{phí}
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- 2HT** n.m. (714a) A.29; 3.9; 5.9; 6.16; 7.18,19; 14.28; 15.8; 19.22,35; 20.10,11; 24.1; 26.6,21; 31.11; 32.23,31; 43.15; 112.29; 129.14ap; 20HT 3.6ap,7ap; MNTAT2HT 46.28; 108.26,32(MNT<AT>); MNT2HT CNEY 29.4; 77.22,32; ATP 2HT CNEY 128.9; MNTATP 2HT CNEY 133.17; PMP 2HT 19.26; 66.23; MNTPMP 2HT 31.17; 33.9; 46.30; 66.22; 68.13,16; 71.29; 109.35; P 2TH- A.15; † (A)2TH- 37.28; 93.7(2HT-); 98.25; 119.20; WK N2HT v. intr. 93.37; WK 2TH- 77.14; WK N2HT n.m. 40.23; 87.1; XWK N2HT n.m. 93.31; XACI2HT n.m. 78.22; XICE N2HT 13.19; 78.17; MNTXACI2HT 78.30(MN); 82.21(MNN); 85.7ap; 90.19; 98.9,18; 103.17; 109.33; 110.8(MN): See also **WONE**, **2ATE**
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62.31; 69.6,34,36; 70.1; 71.10; 76.9; 88.15; 93.21; 94.25; 123.5; 138.10;
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THE PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

I, I: A. 1-B. 10

Dieter Mueller

A.3 *[Your] light* ([ΠΕΚΟΥ]ΛΕΙΝ): If the writing block on this page was the same size as that on page 1, there is room for two or three lines prior to the preserved text. These lines may have included a superscription, an invocation or a petition. The first two letters after the lacuna are clearly ΛΕ, thus excluding the restoration by *ed. pr.*, [ΝΟΥ-6]ΔΣΜ. If the prayer did, in fact, begin here we might have an invocation such as [ΠΑΧ]ΛΕΙΣ, but the traces of the last letter in this word do not favor an C.

Give me your [mercy]: As *ed. pr.* (263) note, the plea for mercy is common in the Psalms. Cf. Ps 25:11, 29:11, 30:10. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 31.16-20.

A.4 *Redeemer* ([ΡΕΦC]ΩΤΕ): The first letter after the lacuna is, under ultra-violet light, clearly an ω, not a υ, as suggested by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). The original Greek was probably λυτρωτά μου λυτρωσαί με; cf. Ps 18:15, 25:11.

Redeem me: The request for deliverance is, once again, common in the psalms. Cf. Ps 18:11, 25:11, 30:6.

A.5 *[I am] yours, the one who has come forth*: Restoration here is difficult. The phrase “I am yours,” would require the copula ΠΕ in S, but that copula may not be required in A² syntax. Cf. *Steles Seth* 118.30-31, ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΚ ΝΩΗΡΕ. After the uncertain letter there is a lacuna of approximately three spaces. The original Greek may have been σὸς ἐγὼ ὅς ἐκ σου ἐξῆλθον, cf. Ps 118:94, *CH* 1.31-32, 13.20.

A.6 *From you* ([Ζ]ΙΤΟ[ΟΤΚ]): Neither the traces nor their position on a newly placed fragment fit the expected ΝΖΗΤΚ proposed by *ed. pr.* For ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ as a translation of ἐξέρχασθαι ἐκ, cf. *Crum* 71b. The stroke over the κ is faintly visible.

You are my mind: Cf. *Steles Seth* 118.31-119.1 and *CH* 1.6, 16, 21.

A.7 *My treasure house*: The original Greek was probably δ *θησαυρός μου*; cf. Col 2:3 and *Tri. Trac.* 92.34–36.

Open for me (ΟΥΗ[Ν] ΝΗΪ): Transcription here is uncertain, but that of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) is the more likely. Traces of the first letter fit either ϵ or \omicron , those of the third letter fit η , μ , or π . The phrase is a common and almost stereotyped formula in hymnic petitions. For references cf. *ed. pr.* (268).

A.8 *You are my fullness*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 41.12–16; *Gos. Phil.* 68.11–14. 84.13–14.

A.9 *You are my repose*: Cf. *Gos. Heb.*, fr. 2 (Jerome, *In Is.* 4.11.2), “*tu es enim requies mea*.” The theme of repose is common in Gnostic sources. Cf. P. Vielhauer, “ANAPIAYΣIΣ, zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomas Evangeliums,” *Apophoreta, Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (ZNW Beiheft 30; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964) 281–99. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 38.25–32; *Treat. Res.* 43.35–44.3; and *Tri. Trac.* 68.36, 70.18, 131.21.

A.10 *The perfect thing*: The Coptic could also be translated “the perfect one.” Cf. *Gos. Phil.* 76.22–23; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.1, 1.21.5; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 36.2.7. It may be that the text should be emended to [ΠΤ]ΕΛΕΙΟΝ <ΝΟΥΛΑΕΙΝ>. Cf. *Gos. Phil.* 70.5–7 and 86.7–9. The original Greek may have been τὸ τέλειον <φῶς> τὸ ἀκράτητον.

A.11–14 *I invoke you ... through Jesus Christ the Lord of Lords*: Cf. *PGM* 21.1–8: [ἐπι]καλοῦμαι σε, θεὲ παντο[κρά]τωρ τὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης [ἀρ]χῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου... διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. also *PGM* 16.2–3. For the terminology of the “name above all names” used here, cf. Phil 2:9–11; Eph 1:21; *Gos. Phil.* 54.5–7; *Act. Thom.* 27; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.20.3; and *Gos. Truth* 38.6–41.3, with its elaborate speculation on the “name.”

A.11–12 *The one who is and who pre-existed*: The original Greek was probably δ ὢν καὶ ὁ πρόων. For the latter term, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1 and 1.21.5.

A.14 *The Lord of Lords, the King of the ages*: Cf., e.g., 1 Tim 1:17, 6:15; 1 *Enoch* 9.4; and see the references in Bauer, *s.v.* βασιλεύς, 2b.

A.15 *Give me your gifts, etc.*: Cf. Rom 11:29.

A.16 *Through the Son of Man*: *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) begin a new sentence here. As *ed. pr.* (273) note, this title is regularly applied to the “Savior” in Valentinian texts. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.4, 1.15.3; *Exc. Theod.* 61.4; Origen, *In Joh* 13.49; *Gos. Phil.* 63.29–30, 76.1–3, 81.14–21.

A.17 *Paraclete*: Cf. John 14:16–17, 15:26; 1 John 2:1–2; *Man. Keph.* 14.5, ΠΠΡΚΛΤ̄C ΠΠ̄N̄Ā N̄TE TMHE. For Valentinian use of the term, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; *Exc. Theod.* 23.1–3; and *Tri. Trac.* 87.6–10.

A.18 *Give* ([M]α †): There is space for one or two letters in a lacuna between μα and †, probably left empty by the scribe. Note the gap between μα and † in line 9.

A.18–20 *Authority...healing*: For similar requests for power and health in magical texts, cf., e.g., *PGM* 3.575–82, 4.683–87, 13.790–824, 36.23–27. Cf. also *CH* 1.32.

A.21 *Through the Evangelist*: *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) begin a new sentence here. As *ed. pr.* (275) note, the “evangelist” here is probably not a particular gospel writer nor a church officer, but Jesus himself.

A.22 *And redeem*: For the restoration, cf. line 35.

Eternal: The position of this phrase after the first member of the following enumeration suggests attributive rather than adverbial use.

Light soul: Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 47.3. The supralinear stroke over the initial consonant of ΝΟΥΑΕΙΝ consists of a dot over the left leg of the Ν. Such small marks instead of long strokes seem to be an occasional stylistic variant of the scribe. Cf. ΝΟΥΗΡΕ in 58.14, where the mark is a dot over the right leg of the Ν.

A.23–24 *First born*: For the Valentinian usage of this and related terms, cf. the note to *Tri. Trac.* 57.21–22.

A.25–26 $\bar{\nu}$ [TAK]: *Ed. pr.* proposed the restoration Ν[Η/ΕΙ], but an early photograph of this page, including a fragment which has now been lost, shows no trace of ink after the Ν at the end of line 23. A

word division such as $\mathfrak{N}/\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$ would be extraordinary, since \mathfrak{N} here does not constitute a syllable. Furthermore there is clearly the trace of a stroke over the \mathfrak{N} . Hence the lacuna should probably be filled with the independent personal pronoun used as an intensifier.

A.26–29 *What no angel eye has seen: etc.*: The formulation here recalls in particular 1 Cor 2:9, where a similar saying is cited as scripture. A similar saying is attributed to Jesus in *Gos. Thom.* 17. The scripture referred to in 1 Corinthians may be Isa 64:3, although various ancient sources attribute the saying to the *Apocalypse of Elijah*. For a collection of parallels to 1 Cor 2:9, many of which may be independent, cf. John Strugnell and Michael E. Stone, *The Book of Elijah* (SBL Texts and Translations, Pseudepigrapha Series; Missoula; Scholars Press, 1979) 41–74. The abundance of the attestations of the saying makes it doubtful that this text is dependent on 1 Corinthians. On the widespread saying, cf. also Pierre Prigent, “Ce que l’oeil n’a pas vu,” *ThZ* 14 (1968) 416–29.

The relative pronoun translated as a neuter here may also be translated as masculine. The “one whom no angel eye has seen” may thus, as *ed. pr.* (278–80) suggest, be the Christ whose descent into the material world was hidden from the hostile celestial powers.

A.31 *Psychic God*: It would also be possible to translate, following *ed. pr.* (Eng.) “which (or who) came to be angelic and, after the image of God, psychic,” or, with *ed. pr.* (Ger.) “after the psychic image of God.” For the designation of the Demiurge as psychic, which seems to be the best understanding of the text here, cf., e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.19.3.

A.32 *When it was formed*: The antecedent of the pronoun here could be either the “human heart” of line 29, the “psychic God” of line 31 or possibly the Christ, if he is the one whom no angel has seen. If, either of the latter two alternatives is adopted, translate, “When he was formed.” If, as seems likely, the text refers to the formation of the human heart “after the image of the psychic God,” there may be an allusion to Gen 1:26 and 2:7.

A.33 *Since I have*: *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) begin a new sentence here, but in that case one would expect another imperative.

A.36-37 *Beloved, elect, and blessed greatness*: The epithets here are often applied to Christ in early Christian and Gnostic texts as *ed. pr.* (282) note. Cf. in particular *Tri. Trac.* 87.6-10.

B.1 *Wonderful mystery*: Cf. possibly Col 2:2 and *Act. Thom.* 47. It may be that text on this page did not begin with this line. There was no doubt space above this line for two or three more lines of text, though the margin may have been left wide.

B.3-6. *Yours is the power, etc.*: Doxologies of this sort are commonplace. Cf., e.g., Jude 25; *Mart. Pol.* 20.2; 1 *Clem.* 64, 65.2; and *Tri. Trac.* 138.18.

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THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES

1,2:1.1–16.30

Francis E. Williams

1.1–2 [...]ΘOC: Different restorations are possible here. Schenke restores: “to the brother, Cerinthus;” Kirchner restores: “to the son, Cerinthus;” Kasser restores: “to his companion in suffering,” or “to the lover of suffering.”

1.2 *Peace* (†ΡΗΝΕ): For the spelling, cf. *Treat. Res.* 50.14 (†ΡΗΝΗ).

1.3–8 *Peace... Love... Grace... Faith*: Cf. Eph 6:23–24 and 2 John 3. God is Life and Grace at *Ap. John* CG II,1:4.1–8; First Man is Faith at *Eugnostos* 78.3–5. Further parallel material may be found at *ed. pr.* 36.

1.8–10 *Since you asked... book*: This is a common epistolary formula; cf. Eusebius, *HE* 4.26.13; *Diog.* 1.1; *Treat. Res.* 44.3–7.

1.10 *a secret book* (ΟΥΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ): An apocryphon in this context is a secret document, not to be shared with the general public. Cf. 1.21–25. The sense “uncanonical document” is impossible here.

1.11–12 *to me and Peter*: For James the Just, Peter (and John) as recipients of post-resurrection revelation, cf. Eusebius, *HE* 2.1.4. James alone appears in this role in *1 Apoc. Jas.* 24.10–14 and *2 Apoc. Jas.* 57.4–10. For James’ superiority to Peter, or for his pre-eminence in general, cf. Gal 1:19–20, 2:9; *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 1.43–44 *et al.*; *Gos. Thom.* 12; *Gos. Eg.* 64.13; and *2 Apoc. Jas.* 55.15–56.6.

1.19–20 *minister... of the saints*: For the title, cf. Luke 1:2, Acts 26:16, 1 Cor 4:1. On “serving the saints,” cf. Rom 15:25–26. The language suggests that the *Ap. Jas.* is written for the edification of an existing community.

1.21 *take care not to rehearse*: Comparable commands to secrecy in

Gnostic and Hermetic sources are found in *Ap. John* CG II,1:31.32-32.5; 1 *Apoc. Jas.* 36.13-16; *Apoc. Pet.* 73.14-18; *Melch.* 27.3-6; 2 *Jeu* 43; *CH* 13.16; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.25.5 and possibly *Treat. Res.* 50.1-10; *Gos. Truth* 21.3-6. Similar commands appear in orthodox sources at *Sent. Sext.* 30.22-23, 32.2-5; Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* 1; and the *Book of Resurrection of Christ* by Bartholomew the Apostle (in M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford: 1924] 182).

1.23-24 *the Savior did not wish to tell to all*: Cf. perhaps Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.13, 2.27.3; *Gos. Thom.* 13.

1.28 *faith*: This is the faith contained in this discourse. Cf. Phil 1:27 and possibly Eph 2:8.

2.1-4 These badly damaged lines would have contrasted the apocryphon to be revealed here with "the other," mentioned in 1.30. For the proposed restorations, see the apparatus. Schenke translates his restored text: "(diese hier) aber als [zweien geoffenbart!] / Erfasse, was [in ihr verborgen ist;] / was in ihr aber [offenbar erscheint] / [nach dessen wahrer Bedeutung] sollst du suchen!" Kipgen (168, n. 5) translates his restored text: "on the con[trary is able to make them] / attain [fullness for themselves, that is,] / those who are [saved. Endeavor] / then and seek [for this one]." Kirchner translates his restored text, "Diese / aber, [da] ich [sie noch nicht (völlig) erkannt habe und da] / sie [auch für dich und] die Deinen offenbart wurde, [sei bestrebt] / nun und suche [nach ihren Verständnis!]"

2.5-7 For possible restorations, see the apparatus. Schenke translates: "[denn in dem Masse / [wirst du er] löst werden / samt [deinen Gefährten,] w[ie] / du [sie] ent[hüllst]." Kipgen (168, n. 5) translates: "so also / [you may be able to receive sal]vation with [your brethren] th[us and] / set them [free]." Kirchner translates his restored text, "So [wirst du die Er]/lösung [empfangen]. Danach / sollst du [sie auch] offen[baren]."

2.7-10 Brown (32) considers the shift to the third person in these lines a sign of editorial work. Schenke, Kirchner, and Kipgen (169, n. 5) read $\epsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{M}\alpha\text{C}\bar{\tau}$, "when the twelve disciples were sitting..." With the scene that follows, cf. *PS* 2-6.

2.12-13 *whether in secret or openly*: For the same distinction, cf. 7.1-10, John 16:25, 29; *Exc. Theod.* 66; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.27.2-3; or even Mark 4:33-34. *Ed. pr.* (39) suggest that "open" refers to canonical Gospels; "secret" to Gnostic Gospels.

2.15-17 *my book*: Kasser's restoration has been adopted. It may be a reference to the other apocryphon (cf. 1.31), or it might mean simply that James had begun the writing of a Gospel. Schenke's restoration "[jenem (dir früher übersandten) Buch]," would presuppose an awkward Greek original, since, while ΠΗ (=ἐκείνο) has been used of the "other apocryphon" at 1.33, it has been followed by ΠΕΕΙ (=τοῦτο), referring to the present "apocryphon," at 1.35. Therefore ἐκείνω here would be vague and confusing.

2.18-19 *while we gazed after him*: Cf. Acts 1:10-11 and *PS* 3. The Greek may have read, ἡμῶν ἀποσκοποῦντων αὐτόν, cf. the usage of ἀποσκοπέω at Jdt 10:10. This suggests that the author may have envisioned the canonical ascension as preceding his revelation, as in *PS* 3-4, *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 133.13-134.18. With the less likely reading of *ed. pr.*, the translation might be, "after he had departed from us and we had awaited him"; cf. *1 Apoc. Jas.* 30.16-17.

2.19-20 *five hundred and fifty days*: Brown (36), following Olmstead, and Parker and Dubberstein, suggests that eighteen Jewish months, reckoned from 14 Nisan 30 C.E. through 14 Elul 31 C.E., is 532 days. Cf. A.T. Olmstead, *Jesus in the Light of History* (New York: Scribner's, 1942); R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence: Brown University, 1956). The addition of the "eighteen days" mentioned at 8.3 yields the 550 days mentioned here. In this case, the author might have envisioned the canonical ascension as having occurred on the 532nd day. But the wording of 8.2-3 makes no reference to an ascension.

2.21-24 Cf. the opening of the dialogue at *PS* 6.

2.24 *the place from whence I came*: This is a common motif. Cf. John 7:33; 13:3; 16:5,28; *Tri. Trac.* 123.4-12; *Ap. John* CG II,1:1.11-12; *Orig. World* 127.14-15; *Testim. Truth* 44.24-26; *Gos. Pet.* 56; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 13. The same thing is said of the saved soul or

spirit in *Gos. Truth* 34.14-16; *Apoc. Paul* 23.9-10; *I Apoc. Jas.* 34.17-18; *Apoc. Adam* 74.13-14; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40.2.8.

2.33 *you are full*: "Fill" and "full" are common in Gnostic sources. The Son is "full" at *Tri. Trac.* 62.37; 69.6; the Aeons are "full" at *Tri. Trac.* 69.7. Deficiency is "filled up" at *Gos. Eg.* 59.10-18. The individual is "filled" with knowledge at *Gos. Truth* 25.32-35 (see also 26.23-27); 26.8-13; and *Zost.* 23.26-24.1. Perhaps cf. *Gos. Thom.* 97. The individual is filled with Spirit at *PS* 37, 46, 72. Grace "fills" the inner man at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.2. The terms "filled" and "fullness" are used to represent salvation here and hereafter at *Gos. Phil.* 85.31-32; 86.13-14.

2.37 *he drew them aside*: For private revelations to chosen disciples, cf. Matt 17:1, Mark 9:2, Luke 9:28; *Gos. Thom.* 13 and *Act. Thom.* 47.

2.39 *that which they were about*: That is, writing their books. Cf. 2.14-15.

3.1-5 Schenke translates his restoration of these lines thus: "[zu wissen, dass der Res]t sein [wird,] / [wie die Prophe]ten / [es in ihren] Büchern geschrie[ben] haben, [auf] / dass ihr [auf der Hut seid.] / [Denn] unver[ständig wird] / [ihr Tr]achten sein." Kirchner translates his restoration, "[durch den Vater, meine Wörter zu empfangen]. Wenn / [auch die übrigen Jün]ger [meine Wörter] / [in ihre] Bücher geschrie[ben] haben, als / [ob sie verstanden hätten, hütet] euch! / [Denn] un[verständig haben sie sich be]müht."

3.6-7 Schenke translates his restoration thus: "[w]ie [die Toren wer]den sie nicht hören / und w[ie die Tauben] werden sie nicht verstehen." Kipgen (258, n. 40) translates his restoration thus: "[l]ike [the deaf] they did not hear / and l[ike the fools they did not] understand." Kirchner translates his restoration thus: "Wie [die Toren haben] sie gehört, / und w[ie die Tauben] haben sie nicht verstanden." However, the key nouns in these restorations do not occur elsewhere in the document. While all three restorations are possible, the text is too damaged to allow any certain restoration.

3.9 *drunken*: The emendation by *ed. pr.*, which has been adopted here, involves a metaphor common in Christian, pagan, and Gnostic sources, e.g., at *Gos. Truth* 22.16-20; *Ap. John* CG II,1:23.8; *Gos. Thom.* 28; *CH* 7.2. Combined with the metaphor of “waking and sleeping,” it appears at 1 Thess 5:4-8 and *CH* 1.27.

3.10 *sober*: This is also a common metaphor; cf. 1 Thess 5:8; *CH* 1.27, 7.1-2; *PS* 46, 49, 51, 93.

3.11 *Therefore, be ashamed*: Cf. Ignatius, *Eph.* 11.1. Schenke places a stop after “be ashamed”; *ed. pr.* after the next phrase, “waking and sleeping.”

3.13-14 *you have seen the Son of Man*: Cf. *Treat. Res.* 46.14-17; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:117.22-118.2; *Treat. Seth.* 64.7-12. With the whole passage, cf., in a sense, 1 John 1:1, and *Gos. Truth* 30.27-32. But in all these cases, knowing the Son of Man is considered to be a good thing. For the meaning, see the following note.

3.17-25 The woe is directed against orthodox Christians, whose religion is founded on the canonical Gospels. Though James and Peter have had this sort of experience of the Son of Man, their previously inadequate knowledge is now in process of enlargement; cf. *PS* 2. Otherwise, with *ed. pr.* (44-45), understand these woes as a variation of “Blessed are they who have not seen, yet have believed.” Cf. 12.38-13.1. Cf. also John 20:29; Eusebius, *HE* 1.13.10; *Epist. Apost.* 29. Or the woes may be taken as one of this author’s typical warnings. Cf., e.g., 13.9-17.

3.20 *the man*: This is perhaps merely the Coptic translator’s variation of “Son of Man.” See the introduction. Or, if the author intended to make a theological statement, his use of “man” may show that he equated the term “Son of Man” specifically with the humanity of Christ, as is done at *Treat. Res.* 44.21-33 (see Zandee in *ed. pr.*). But the contrast between Christ’s divinity and humanity does not seem to pose a problem elsewhere in *Ap. Jas.* Kirchner (143-44) suggests that “the man” might mean the pre-resurrection, as against the post-resurrection, Christ.

3.25 *he healed you*: Healing is a common Gnostic symbol for the

acquisition of saving knowledge, e.g., at *Gos. Truth* 33.2-3; *Exeg. Soul* 134.19-21; *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* 8.33-35; 10.32-11.26; *Auth. Teach.* 27.25-32; and *Man. Ps.* 23.6-7; 46.1-47.9. Knowledge is a source of physical healing at *PS* 110. Again, the pejorative language might be a reference to orthodox Christianity, of which James' and Peter's pre-resurrection experience stands as a symbol.

3.27 *that you might reign:* ([χ]εκα ς ερετνα $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\rho}$ ρο): For language about "being" or "becoming kings," cf. 1 Cor 4:8; 2 Tim 2:12; Rev 20:6; *Teach. Silv.* 91.25-30. Such language appears in Gnostic sources at *Thom. Cont.* 145.14; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 56.4-5; *PS* 96, 99, 100, *et al.*; *Gos. Thom.* 2 (cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, citing *Gos. Heb.*, 2.9.45; 5.14.96,3); *Act. Thom.* 136; *Gos. Thom.* 81. The Son of Man, or the saints of the most high, are given βασιλεία at Dan 7:27. *Ed. pr.* traces the idea to Wisdom literature, in which Wisdom makes one a king. Cf. Wis 6:20-21; Prov 9:6 (LXX, B,S,A).

3.30-34 This passage offers an assurance of salvation, comparable to the thought expressed at 14.8-19. The persons referred to should be the Gnostic community, cf. 15.37-38. Equally strong Gnostic assurances of salvation are found at *Gos. Truth* 21.3-25, *Tri. Trac.* 119.32-33, *Steles Seth* 121.1-14, *PS* 96.

3.35-36 *Become full:* The perfect soul is a "fullness of virtues" with no empty space, in Philo, *Praem. et poen.* 65.

3.37-38 *he who is coming:* This may be the devil. Note that καὶ ἐλθόν is said of an evil spirit entering an "empty house" at Matt 12:44. Note too the use of "empty" at *Gos. Thom.* 28. For diabolic indwelling in a Gnostic context, see *Gos. Truth* 33.19-21, "Do not become a dwelling place for the devil, for you have already destroyed him." The devil is often said to "mock," e.g., at Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.5.2.

4.8 *it is good that you be in want:* The paradoxical language used here, through line 18, is apparently explained at 4.18-22. For a comparable juxtaposition of opposite terms, cf. 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 58.10-13, "And again he shall provide an end for what has begun and a beginning for what is about to be ended." The contrast of "fullness" with "deficiency" is typically, but not exclusively, Valentinian. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 21.14-18; 24.32-25.3; *Treat. Res.* 49.4-5; Rom 11:12. $\delta\omega\chi\bar{\iota}$

here is taken to represent the Greek ὑστερεῖσθαι, which can be translated either intransitively or transitively. 4.20 requires the latter. Schenke and Kirchner, in part because of the imagery of 3.36-37, take the verbs μογζ and δωχῶ transitively as "erfüllen" and "abnehmen." Mueller suggests that the passage is a rejoinder to Peter's self-confident, "We are full," and that μογζ should therefore be translated as "be certain" (equivalent to πεπληρωφορημένος), and δωχῶ as "be small, humble" (equivalent to ἐλάσσω, μικρός, ἄσθενής). But this interpretation is difficult because of 4.18-21.

4.15-16 *while it is possible*: Different translations of the ζωc here are possible. Thus *ed. pr.*, "en tant qu'il y a possibilité de vous emplitir"; Schenke, "(in dem Masse) ... wie ihr euch erfüllen könnt."

4.19-22 *Spirit...reason...soul* (ΠΝΕΥΜΑ...ΛΟΓΟΣ...ΨΥΧΗ): See the discussion in *ed. pr.* (47). These lines suggest that there is a hierarchy ranking spirit above reason and soul. A comparable ranking appears at *CH* 4.3-4, where all souls possess λόγος, but only souls of the "perfect" have νοῦς. In Valentinian texts spirit is also ranked above reason. Note, e.g., *Exc. Theod.* 54.1, where the ψυχικοί are equated with the λογικοί, who possess only reason, and contrasted with the πνευμάτικοι. Thought is inferior to spirit at *Gos. Phil.* 78.25-79.1. For the terminology "fill with the spirit," cf. *PS* 37, "And I will fill you with Spirit so that you are called Pneumatics, fulfilled in every pleroma." A similar thought appears to be behind *Man. Ps.* 170.6, though "fulness" is not mentioned there. Cf. also *PS* 46, 72; *U* 20; *Man. Keph.* 100.6-11. At 8.11 ΛΟΓΟΣ is the divine message, and receives different treatment.

4.21-22 *for reason belongs to the soul*: The translation follows Schenke's emendation of πε to πα. This gives a good sense and is in accord with the context; that reason is a faculty of the soul is a commonplace. Otherwise, with Kasser, place a full stop after πε and render, "For it is reason," a pejorative comment; but in this case one is forced to translate the next clause by the vapid, "The soul, again, is soul." *Ed. pr.* take τΨΥΧΗ which follows πε as the predicate, but this would mean "Reason is the soul," a highly surprising identification.

4.22 *it is (of the nature of) soul*: Kirchner's interpretation of ΨΥΧΗ is adopted. He takes ΨΥΧΗ as a classificatory noun (cf., e.g., the use of

ἁμαρτία at 1 John 5:17). Kirchner translates “seelisch”; Schenke emends ἀΝ to ἐΝ and translates “(selber) Seele ist er aber <nicht>,” but the author would scarcely have troubled to make such an obvious point.

4.25–28 Cf. Mark 10:28–29 and parr. The passage was much used in Gnostic writings. Cf. *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* 10.14–18; *PS* 136; *1 Jeu* 2; 2 *Jeu* 43,44; *U* 15; *Man.Hom.* 1.167.52–53; *Mar. Ps.* 93.19–20, 175.25; *Act. Thom.* 61.

4.28–30 For the prayer not to be tempted, cf. Matt 6:13 and par. and Jas 1:12–13. Persecution is ascribed to the devil at Rev 12:12; *Gos. Eg.* 61.16–22; *Mart. Pol.* 2.4; Tertullian, *De fuga* 1; *et al. Ed. pr.* (48–49) note that many patristic sources paraphrased the petition against temptation in the Lord’s prayer as “Suffer us not to be led into temptation,” to avoid ascribing temptation to God. Cf., e.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.26.

4.30 *the devil, the evil one* (ΠΑΙΔΑΒΟΛΟΣ· ΕΘΑΥ): Literally, “the evil devil.” The Greek original probably read ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου τοῦ πονηροῦ, with the last phrase intended appositively. The Coptic translator took it as an attributive adjective.

4.32 *merit* (ΖΜΑΤ): This may translate the Greek χάρις. Cf. Luke 6:32–34. An alternative translation would be “What thanks have you?”

4.35 *as a gift*: Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.4.14,1) states that it is improper to undergo martyrdom for the sake of obtaining a reward. The phrase “as a gift” may indicate a similar thought. Zandee and Wilson translate “if you are not recompensed as a present,” but this seems self-contradictory. Schenke’s emendation is translated, “ohne dass euch von ihm in gewissem Masse (μέρος) das Geschenk zuteil wird,” but this ignores the usual meaning of the phrase ἐν μέρει.

4.37–5.2 *if you are oppressed*: On the notion that there is no reward without trial, cf. Tertullian, *De bapt.* 20.2; *Apophthegmata Patrum* PG 65.77; *et al.*

5.1–2 *he will love you*: Cf. John 14:23.

5.2-3 *and will make you equal*: At Ps.-Cyprian, *De laude martyrii* 30, the martyrs are termed *Christi compares*. Otherwise, for the idea of equality with Christ, cf. 1 John 3:2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.25.1; Tertullian, *De anima* 32; *Gos. Phil.* 61.30-31, 67.21-27; *Gos. Thom.* 108; *PS* 96. The setting and tone of the passages in *Gos. Phil.* and *Pistis Sophia* suggest that this type of thought did not necessarily presuppose a "low Christology" (*contra* Kipgen, 342).

5.5-6 *through his providence by your own choice*: This phrasing may be an attempt to reconcile free will with predestination. Note the predestinarian implications of 14.41-15.3 and 10.34-37. For *προαίρεσις* see *Teach. Silv.* 104.15-19, "But you, on the other hand, with difficulty give your basic choice to him with a hint that he may take you up with joy. Now the basic choice, which is humility of heart, is the gift of Christ." A martyr dies by *προαίρεσις* at Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.4.14,1-2.

5.8 *loving the flesh*: For "love of the flesh" in a different sense, cf. *Gos. Phil.* 66.4-6.

5.9 *sufferings*: Apostles must "suffer" because of the Lord's sufferings in *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 138.14-28.

5.10-11 *you have yet to be abused*: Cf. Heb 12:4. What follows might be based on an apocryphal passion narrative, or might be an emotionally colored expansion of a canonical one, somewhat as in *Treat. Seth.* 58.23-28; *Man. Keph.* 13.1-5.

5.12-16 *unjustly...unlawfully*: Cf. *Man. Keph.* 13.1-3.

5.17-18 *without reason* (Ζῆν οὐμῆτ<α>λογος): The emendation, suggested by *ed. pr.* (Fr.) and Schenke, is probable because of the Μῆτανομος in the clause preceding. The unemended text could be translated "with eloquence." Might this refer to the mocking speeches beside the cross?

5.19 *shamefully*: Here Schenke's emendation (οὐψωσ) has been adopted. The unemended text would be translated "in sand." Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 51) suggests an allusion to James' stoning in a ditch. Cf. 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 62.7-12. Kasser (*ed. pr.* 93) emends to ψοοϋ, "perfume."

For martyrdom as imitation of Christ, see *Mart. Pol.* 1.2, *et. al.*

as was I myself: Exhortations to martyrdom often make the point that the martyr recapitulates Christ's experience. Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* 45.3-4, *Exhortation to Martyrdom* 11.

5.21-23 *Do you dare... encircling wall*: Comparable language appears at Tertullian, *De fuga* 8.

5.25 *before you*: Schenke's emendation (ΖΑΤΕΤΝΖΗ) has been adopted. The parallel with the following "after you" makes this emendation attractive. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) and Kipgen (133) translate the unemended text: "...lorsque vous (y) êtes chus," implying a fall before the beginning of earthly existence. Perhaps cf. 5.29-30 and Origen, *De princ.* 1.4.1, 2.1.1, *et al.* *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) translate: "seid ihr gefallen"; (Eng.): "until your end."

5.28-29 *one single hour*: A martyr purchases eternal life with a "single hour" in *Mart. Pol.* 2.3.

5.29-30 *the good will not enter the world*: I.e., no one in the world deserves to escape suffering. Cf. 12.12-13, 13.9-11. If the reference is to a fall before birth, note the Basilidean idea that all martyrs suffer deservedly, since all have sinned before birth. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.12.83,2. But the meaning need not be this specific. As ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ gives a good sense, Schenke's emendation to <ΖΝ>α- <Π>αθ<ΗΤ>οC seems unnecessary.

5.31-32 *Scorn death... life*: Cf. Ignatius, *Smyr.* 3.2; *Diog.* 1.1, 10.7. If the martyr accepts death, it is the transition to life for him. Cf. Colpe (129) and Matt 10:39 and parr.

5.37-6.1 *do not mention*: Cf. Matt 16:21-23 and perhaps *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 139.21-22.

6.4 *believe in my cross*: Cf. 1 Cor 1:17-2:8. For the phrase, cf., *Asc. Isa.* 3.18, 9.26.

6.7-8 *seekers for death*: This may be a command to seek martyrdom, a practice which Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.4.17,1-3) condemns.

6.8 *dead*: This is said of those who lapse under persecution in Cyprian, *Ep.* 10.2, "For what dead person would not hasten to be made alive?" Or the sentence may be meant literally. Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 59, "Take heed of the living one while you are alive, lest you die and seek to see him, and are unable to do so," and Origen's comment on Ps 78:34 at *De princ.* 2.5.3. Otherwise the "dead" are worldlings. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 33.6-8, "raise up those who wish to rise, and awaken those who sleep." As Kirchner (158) observes, lines 9-12 indicate that the dead get their wish. These lines, then, would tend to support the second view of the interpretation of 6.8-9. Cf. also *Gos. Thom.* 11; *Gos. Phil.* 52.6-18; *Apoc. Paul* 20.18-20; 23.13-14; *Exc. Theod.* 22.2, 80.1; *et al.* At *Tri. Trac.* 107.30-31 death equals ignorance.

6.14 *election*: Martyrdom is a sign of election at Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.12.83,2, where he paraphrases Basilides. Cf. Ps.-Cyprian, *De laude martyrii* 21, 23.

6.17 *kingdom of God*: The emendation of *ed. pr.* is translated. Note the same phrase at 6.7. The original Coptic text would have read $\bar{\text{M}}\text{Π}\text{Ν}\text{ΟΥ}\text{Τ}\text{Ε } \bar{\text{T}}\text{Α } \bar{\text{N}}\text{Ε}\text{Τ}\text{ΟΥ}\text{Μ}\text{ΟΥ}\text{ΟΥ}\text{Τ}$. The syllable $\bar{\text{T}}\text{Ε}$ would have been omitted by homoeoarcton, and the meaningless $\bar{\text{M}}\text{Π}\text{Ν}\text{ΟΥ}$ later corrected to $\bar{\text{M}}\text{Π}\text{Μ}\text{ΟΥ}$, "of death." Schenke emends to read "of the heavens."

6.18 *those who put themselves to death* ($\bar{\text{N}}\text{Ε}\text{Τ}\text{ΟΥ}\text{Μ}\text{ΟΥ}\text{ΟΥ}\text{Τ } \bar{\text{M}}\text{Μ}\text{Α}\text{Υ}$): The phrase may also be translated, "who are put to death." "Put themselves to death" would be an approbatory reference to the practice of coming forward and volunteering for martyrdom. Perhaps cf. the phrase, "deliver ourselves to death," at *Testim. Truth* 34.5. Note the language used by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.4.16,3, where a martyr of this sort is disparagingly called "murderer of himself;" see also *Strom.* 4.4.17,1-3. In Gnostic sources martyrdom in general is deprecated at *Treat. Seth.* 49.26-27; *Apoc. Pet.* 78.31-79.22; *Testim. Truth* 34.1-26. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.2. But voluntary martyrdom is recommended at *Man. Ps.* 142.10-143.29; perhaps at *Gos. Thom.* 58, 68; and here. This passage's strong recommendation of a martyrdom which is apparently self-chosen suggests that *Ap. Jas.* is not Valentinian.

6.20 *like the son of the Holy Spirit*: In the context of "become better than I" the text might mean simply "like someone better than a son of

the Son of Man." For the phrase "son of the Son of Man," see *Gos. Phil.* 81.14-15. The text may also be interpreted, with *ed. pr.*, as "like Jesus himself." Perhaps cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:91.10-15, "Now the Savior appeared to them, not in his first form, but in the invisible spirit. And his form was the form of a great angel of light. And his likeness I must not describe." Or, also with *ed. pr.*, the phrase may be taken to mean "like Jesus himself," in the sense that Jesus is himself the son of the Holy Spirit, as at *Gos. Heb. fr.* 2 and 3 (on which see E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* [London: Lutterworth, 1963] vol. 1. 163-64), but *Ap. Jas.* does not seem to hold this doctrine elsewhere. Note also that at *Ap. John* CG II,1:6.18-7.4 the progenitor of Christ may be identified as "Holy Spirit." Finally the phrase may mean simply, "like a man filled with the Holy Spirit," cf. 4.19; or "like a man begotten of the Spirit," cf. John 3:5; *Gos. Phil.* 69.4-7, 85.21-23.

6.22-23 *how shall we be able to prophesy*: For a suggested interpretation, see the introduction. Christian sources connect prophecy with martyrdom and persecution in various ways. At Cyprian, *Ep.* 8, the martyr Mappalicus prophesies under torture. At 74.10 (Firmilian to Cyprian) a false prophetess appears in Cappadocia in a time of persecution. Note the prophetic dreams found in the *Passion of Perpetua* and the inspiration of martyrs by the Spirit at Tertullian, *De anima* 55.5; *De fuga* 14.3. See also the anti-Montanist polemic at Epiphanius, *Pan.* 48. Christian prophecy was commended by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 7.37.

6.30-31 *the head of prophecy was cut off*: Cf. Matt 11:13 and par. With the thought, cf. *Acta Archelai* 45.7, "Et usque ad Johannem aiebat (Mani) lex et prophetae; aiebat autem Johannem regnum caelorum praedicare. Nam et abscisione capitis hoc esse indicatum quod, omnibus prioribus et superioribus eius abscissis, posteriora servanda sunt." Contrast *Interp. Know.* 15.35-37, "Does someone have a prophetic gift? Share it without hesitation."

6.35-38 *what 'head' means*: Here the thought, "prophecy issues from the head," is combined with the thought that the members are joined to the head and nourished through it, cf. Eph 4:15-16; or that they sprout from the head, cf. Plato, *Tim.* 45B; or the like.

7.2-5 *parables...openly*: Cf. Matt 13:34; John 16:25,29; Mark 4:13. Gnostic revelation is open revelation, rather than revelation made in parables at *Treat. Res.* 45.6-8; *Exc. Theod.* 66; *PS* 6, 90, 107. Cf. also *Gos. Thom.* 92, "Seek and you will find. Yet, what you asked me about in former times and which I did not tell you then, now do I desire to tell you, but you do not inquire after it."

7.7-8 *you served me as a parable*: I.e., as Jesus addressed the disciples concerning themselves in the canonical Gospels, thus conveying his revelation in parables, so now he addresses James and Peter concerning themselves, thus conveying his revelation openly. Or, Peter and James are not clearly known by Jesus and "appear" to him; cf. 1 Cor 13:12, *Thund.* 16.32-35. Or, with Kasser (*ed. pr.*, 93): "Pour Jésus...ses disciples ont toujours été à la fois énigmatiques (par leur encroyable incompréhension) et fondamentalement compréhensibles (puis qu'il connaissait bien la cause de leur stupidité.)" The translation of *ed. pr.* (Eng.) understands the lines differently; "But you were for me a parable (when I spoke) in parables and manifest (when I spoke) openly."

7.10-11 *Hasten to be saved without being urged*: The meaning might be, "Go to martyrdom without benefit of prophetic exhortation and encouragement." The original might have read *σπεύδετε εἰς σωτηρίαν*. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 9.88.2.

7.12-13 *be eager*: The translation follows *ed. pr.* (Fr.) and Schenke, who assume a translation from *προθυμείσθε*, against *ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.) who assume a translation from *εὐθυμείσθε*.

7.16 *the Father will love you*: Cf. John 14.21, 23.

7.17-22 Cf. *Teach. Silv.* 95.20-24, "For he casts into your heart evil thoughts as good ones, and hypocrisy in the guise of firm intelligence."

7.22-23 *Do not allow the kingdom of heaven to wither*: I.e., pick the fruit rather than letting it fall; in other words, care for the kingdom within rather than neglecting it. Cf. 13.17-19.

7.24 *shoot*: The translation follows the emendation of *ed. pr.*

(ϣλζ̄). Since ϣλζ̄ is masc., the pronouns in the following phrase probably refer to it and not to the fem. β̄ν̄νε. Hence Schenke's emendations are unnecessary. The Coptic ζετε probably translated ἀπορρύειν, used of leaves falling from trees, e.g., at Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.8.7.

7.26–27 *They put forth leaves*: The translation follows that of Kirchner (164–66), who emends αϣτεγο to αϣτεγο. The image is that of the dates, which have not been picked, falling to the ground and sprouting there themselves.

7.28 *womb (ατε)*: With Kirchner (165) ατε is taken as a metaphor for the fallen dates, which are the “womb” of the new leaves. *Ed. pr.* (57) take the expression to mean the pith of the tree. This is a possible meaning of the Greek μητρά. Cf. the Latin *matrix* = “stem.”

7.29–35 This difficult passage appears to reinforce the parable and apply its teaching to the individual Gnostic. It is possible to interpret “the fruit which had grown” as the Gnostic himself, or his state of knowledge, and the “single root” as the Kingdom, or the like. At 7.31 we read τακ̄μϣ, “picked” with Zandee; “picking” the fruit is the opposite of letting it “pour down,” as at 7.25–26. Till corrects to “planted,” but this seems less in accord with the sense of the whole passage.

7.33–35 Alternative translations of these obscure lines are possible: Mueller: “Truly it would have been good if it were possible to produce the new plants now; then you would find it”; *ed. pr.* (Fr.): “Sans doute était-elle bonne, puisque il est devenu maintenant possible de produire pour toi ces plantes nouvelles, de la trouver;” Schenke, emending επεε in line 35: “Es wäre wahrlich gut-wenn es (dir) jetzt möglich wäre-diese Pflanzen (wieder) frisch zu machen, so würdest du finden dass seine (des Himmelreichs) Herrlichkeit . . .”; Kirchner: “Es war zwar gut (in dem Gleichnis), diese neue Pflanzen aufzuziehen. Wäre es dir jetzt möglich, würdest du es finden.” Here we adopt Kirchner's proposal to supply an additional νεκ in line 35, which may well have fallen out through haplography. We also adopt his suggestion that the suffix of νεκαβ̄ν̄τ̄ε refers to a fact, rather than to the “root” mentioned in line 30. But there appears to be no clear indication that this whole passage alludes to the Parable of the Sower.

7.36 *I have been glorified*: I.e., at the canonical ascension. Cf. 2.17-19.

already (ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΙΟΥΑΕΙΩ): Schenke translates: "von Beginn der Zeit."

7.37-38 *why do you hold me back?*: Cf. John 20:17; Gos. Phil. 76.22-26; Exc. Theod. 1.2, 22.7.

8.1 *after the [labor]* (ΜΝῆΝΣΑ ΠΖ[ΙC]Ε): The restoration here follows Kirchner. The lacuna does not have room for ΠΖ[ΟΟΥ]Ε, "the day" proposed by ed. pr. Kasser's (ed. pr., 94) ΠΖ[ΑΙ]Ε, "the end," would be an unusual spelling. Schenke's ΠΖ[Μ]Ε, "den vierzig (Tagen)," does not obviously accord with the chronology assumed by the document.

8.3 *eighteen days*: Perhaps this should be emended to eighteen months, with J. M. Robinson, "Gnosticism and the New Testament," *Gnosis, Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978) 140, unless the eighteen days is a period additional to the eighteen months. Cf. 2.19-21. For the eighteen month period of post-resurrection appearances, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.2; 1.30.14.

8.5-10 A comparable series of references by title to NT passages is found at *Dial. Sav.* 139.8-13.

8.6 *The Shepherds*: Cf. Matt 18:12-14 (or Luke 15:4-7), and John 10:11-17. The passages from Matthew and John appear to be conjoined at Gos. Truth 31.36-32.37.

8.7 *The Seed*: Cf. Mark 4:4-9 and par. or conceivably Mark 4:26-29.

The Building (ΠΚΩΤ): cf. Matt 7:24-27 and par. This parable is cited in a Valentinian context at Exc. Theod. 86.2.

8.7-8 *The Lamps of the Virgins*: Cf. Matt 25:1-13.

8.8-9 *The Wage of the Workmen*: Cf. Matt 20:1-16. A specifically Valentinian interpretation of this parable is reported at Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.10.15. This is an example of Gnostic reinterpretation of canonical parables.

8.9 *The Didrachmae*: Cf. Luke 15:8-10.

8.9-10 *The Woman*: This may be a reference to Matt 13:33, as Kipgen (115) suggests; or to a Gnostic parable on the order of *Gos. Thom.* 97, as J. M. Robinson suggests in private correspondence. *Ed. pr.* (58) associate the Woman with the Didrachmae as a reference to the same parable, Luke 15:8-10.

8.11 *the word*: This is probably the "word of the Kingdom," cf. Matt 13:18-23. For material comparable to the whole paragraph, cf. *Gos. Phil.* 79.18-33 and *Gos. Truth* 34.28-35.2. Kirchner translates $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ here as "Verständnis (der Gleichnisse)."

8.16-18 *the word is like a grain of wheat*: A similar Gnostic metaphor, linking farming with faith-hope-love-knowledge, is found at *Gos. Phil.* 79.23-30, "God's farming likewise has four elements—faith, hope, love, and knowledge. Faith is our earth, that in which we take root. And hope is the water through which we are nourished. Love is the wind through which we grow. Knowledge then is the light through which we ripen." But our passage appears to concentrate on the individual's response to the word. The farmer trustfully waits for the crop to grow at Jas 5:7 and Origen, *Con. Cels.* 1.11.

8.21 *he was saved* ($\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$): The Coptic, like the Greek $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ which it probably translates, can mean either "be saved," or "be preserved, kept alive."

8.24-25 *receive the kingdom of heaven*: Cf. Mark 10:15.

8.29 *do not be deceived*: Cf. Matt 24.4 and parr; 1 Cor 6:9, Gal 6:7, and Jas 1:16.

8.34 *follow me*: Schenke interprets this phrase as "follow me (in death)," and connects this with the tradition of James' martyrdom, e.g., at 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 61.20-63.32.

For confirmation of this interpretation, he calls attention to the appearance before the archons which follows immediately here at 8.35-36; cf. 1 *Apoc. Jas.* 32.29-36.1. Schenke suggests that lines 32-36 are interpolated from a source concerned with the person of James, and that the original wording has been affected by the interpolation.

But neither the hypothesis of interpolation, nor Schenke's suggested emendation, seem necessary to make the point of James' death or to connect this with James' appearance before the archons.

8.36 *archons*: The interpretation follows that of Quispel (*ed. pr.* 60). For a set speech delivered before hostile powers in heaven, cf. *1 Apoc. Jas.* 33.13-35.20; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5; *PS* 112; *Apoc. Paul* 23.1-28; *Asc. Isa.* 10.24-29, *et al.* The term ὑπόθεσις is to be understood as a "speech," cf. LSJ 1882a. "What to say" is a paraphrastic rendering, emphasizing the pre-determined character of this speech and the circumstances of its delivery.

Ed. pr. (60), apart from Quispel, take "archons" as earthly rulers. But 15.9-13 implies that there are hostile powers in the heavens who oppose the Savior's ascent, and our author would have been likely to expect the Spirit-filled martyr to rely on the Spirit's inspiration in an earthly court, as at Mark 13:11.

8.38 *undergone tribulation*: With this terminology, cf. the Gnostic use of the expression at *PS* 100, "Truly I say to you, concerning the race of mankind, because it is material, I have troubled myself, I have brought all the mysteries of light to them," and *Epist. Apost.* 39.

8.39 *crown*: The term is often used of the reward for martyrdom, e.g., at Cyprian, *Exhortation to Martyrdom* 8.

9.1 *after saving you* (ΝΤΑΡΙΝΟΥΖΜ ΜΜΩΤΝ): Schenke translates as "um euch zu erlösen," taking ΝΤΑΡΙ as finalis (Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #311), but this is not in the style of *Ap. Jas.* and it is difficult to understand how Jesus "took his crown" for the purpose of "saving."

9.2-3 *to dwell with you*: Cf. John 1:14, 14:23, 15:4.

9.5 *houses*: These are probably to be understood as bodies, as at 2 Cor 5:1; *Treat. Seth.* 51.4-7, 13-16.

9.5-6 *unceiled* (ΕΜΝ ΜΕΛΩΤ ΖΙΩΟΥ): As *ed. pr.* (61) suggest, the Coptic probably translates the Greek ἄστεγος, which can mean both "without a roof, unceiled," and "incapable of holding." The disciples, then, would be said to be incapable of holding the Savior's word. Cf. John 8:37.

9.7 *houses that could receive me*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 25.21–24, “we must see to it above all that the house will be holy and silent for the Unity.”

9.10–11 *understand what the great light is*: I.e., become enlightened; cf. 13.19–20, 16.15–16.

9.11–17 The sense of the passage is: “You have no claim on the Father; he does not even need the Son, let alone you.” For the spirit of this, cf. 11.29–35. Discussion of the nature of fatherhood and sonship is common in orthodox and Gnostic documents, both in connection with Trinitarian questions and with Gnostic theology. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 51.8–15; *Gos. Phil.* 58.22–26; *Teach. Silv.* 115.11–16; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 73.3.2–4 (Basilius and Georgius), *et al.* Our document’s statement that the Father does not need the Son is very unusual, and *Teach. Silv.* 115.11–16 takes precisely the opposite position.

9.16–17 Schenke translates his emended text: “<Folgt dem Sohne nach,> denn (auch) euer bedarf der Vater des Sohnes nicht, <sondern ihr seiner.>”

9.18–24 The assurance of salvation offered here may be compared with *Gos. Phil.* 86.4–11, but 9.22–23 seems to imply that the saved are not indefectible.

9.20–21 *no one will persecute you*: A similar statement is found at *Gos. Phil.* 86.9–11, but the line here might refer specifically to martyrdom.

9.24–10.6 *O you wretches*: Comparable invective may be found at *Thom. Cont.* 143.8–145.1; *Act. Thom.* 44; *Act. John* 30, *et al.*

9.28 *sinners against the Spirit*: Cf. possibly Mark 3:29 and par.

9.29–31 *can you still bear to listen* (ΖΙΕ ΥΑ ΤΝΟΥ ΑΝ ΤΕΤΝΡ ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΑΣΩΤΜ): *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate, “do you wait until now to listen?” The Gnostic “speaks” (i.e., teaches) because of his contact with the source of inspiration and truth, cf. *Interp. Know.* 15.26–16.38. “Speaking and hearing” are paradoxically predicated of God or the Revealer at *Dial. Sav.* 126.13–17; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 59.17–19; *Thund.* 20.30–31.

9.33 *sleep... be awake*: Cf. Rom 13:11 and see the note to 3.9.

10.2-4 *pure one... man of light*: If the first phrase refers to the believer on earth, as at 1.20, and the second similarly means the illumined Gnostic, as at *Gos. Thom.* 24, this is a statement of the Gnostic's indefectibility; cf. 1 John 3:9; *Gos. Phil.* 62.17-26; and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.2. But in this case the passage would be saying that James and Peter are not indefectible. Alternatively, "pure one" or "saint" may refer to a heavenly being, as at 10:38; cf. the use of "man of light" at *Orig. World* 107.25-27, *Od. Sol.* 36:3-4. In this case there is no specific reference to the indefectibility of an earthly individual, and James and Peter are simply being charged with tepidity; cf. in a sense Rev 3:15. On this interpretation "defilement" and "darkness" are equivalent to the world; cf. *Gos. Eg.* 59.19-20, *1 Apoc. Jas.* 28.10-19, *Auth. Teach.* 29.11-16.

10.8 *while you say*: The Greek original probably read τὴν λύπην ὑμῶν, λεγόντων ὑμῶν, μακρύνονται. The genitive absolute would have been omitted by homoeoteleuton.

10.10 *Father's inheritance*: Cf. Gal 4:1-7, *Gos. Phil.* 52.4-5.

10.11 *weep*: A comparable call to repentance is found at *Exeg. Soul* 135.4-29. Cf. also *Treat. Seth.* 59.33-60.1. With the language, cf. John 16:20.

10.13-14 *preach what is good, as the Son is ascending as he should*: Kipgen (150) translates "proclaim the good (news), so that the Son may ascend rightly." Schenke and Kirchner translate similarly. The suggestion is attractive but lacks lexicographical support. On this view the Greek ought to have been εὐαγγέλιον; but one would have expected either ψῆνουγε (Crum 570a) or the Greek word itself.

10.15-21 Cf. 13.8-11. Kirchner (179, 190-91) takes both passages as references to those who heard the earthly Jesus. This would make them criticisms of orthodox Christians. Alternatively, the passages may simply be strong statements of a thought comparable to that found at Mark 2:17, Matt 9:13. See the introduction. Schenke translates his emendation "wenn ich nicht gesandt worden wäre." But this is commendatory of the persons to whom Jesus is sent and thus out of keeping with the rest of the passage.

10.21 *for these things*: Mueller's emendation would be translated "before these things."

10.23 *and go away*: The translation follows the emendation of *ed. pr.* (ΝΤΑΒΩΚ) which makes the form the conjunctive.

10.32 *in many*: *Ed. pr.* and Schenke translate alternatively, "among many."

10.32-34 *Invoke the Father . . . and he will give to you*: Cf. Matt 7:7 and par. and John 16:23-24.

10.34-38 *Blessed . . . life*: *Exc. Theod.* 18.1 gives a close parallel to this passage: ὁ σωτὴρ ὥφθη κατιῶν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, διὸ καὶ εὐηγγελίσαντο αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δικαίοις ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει οὖσιν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς ὥφθη. Cf. *Asc. Isa.* 9.27-29. Read against this background, our passage might suggest the pre-existence of the elect. Perhaps cf. 14.41-15.3; *Gos. Thom.* 18 and 19; *Treat. Res.* 47.4-12.

The third person forms, "him" and "he," are inconsistent with the rest of the speech. Schenke, postulating a corruption of the text, emends and translates, "heil euch, die ihr bei ihm gesehen wurdet! - heil dem, der gesehen hat, wie er verkündet wurde!" Kirchner takes ΝΜΜΕϚ reflexively and translates, "Heil dem, der euch bei sich gesehen hat! Er wird verkündigt unter den Engeln . . ."

10.36-38 *angels . . . saints*: The two are equated here, as at Dan 4:13.

10.39-11.1 *Rejoice and be glad*: Cf. Matt 5:12, *PS* 6.

as sons of God: On the privileged status of God's sons, cf. Rom 8:14-17.

11.1-2 *Keep his will that you may be saved*: Cf. τὸ θέλημα for "his will" at Rom 2:18. *Ed. pr.* point out that the restoration, [πεϚ]-ογωψε, "his will," is impossible, as the lacuna is too short. The command utilizes a play on words, ΤΟΥΧΟ = σῶζειν; ΟΥΧΕΙ = σῶζεσθαι. Kipgen (190) translated, "Overcome desire that you may be saved." Cf. 11.35.

11.4-5 *I intercede on your behalf*: Cf. John 14:16, Rom 8:34, 1 John 2:1-2. If the advocate at 11.12 is to be identified, it should be with Christ. At *Exc. Theod.* 23.1-12 the Valentinians are said to identify Christ with "the Paraclete."

11.7-8 *we become glad, etc.*: Comparably worded reactions to the sayings of Jesus occur at *PS* 83, 85, *et al.*

11.9-10 *the words we have mentioned before*: This is perhaps a reference to the invective at 9.24-10.21. Note Mueller's emendation to "the words he had said."

11.10-11 *But when he saw us rejoicing*: Kirchner (181) suggests that this section contrasts orthodox Christians, who "need an advocate," with Gnostics who "have obtained grace for themselves." Perhaps cf. the polemic against the orthodox theory of atonement which occurs at 11.32-33. Colpe (130) suggests that James and Peter are represented as interpreting the preceding words of encouragement in a "quietistic" fashion, and that what follows, through 12.17, is a warning against such an interpretation.

11.11-12 *Woe to you who lack an advocate*: Or, "who need an advocate," parallel to $\bar{\rho}$ $\chi\rho\rho\iota\alpha$ at 11.13. If the advocate is Christ, see on 11.4, or "advocate" may be taken generally, as at 2 *Clem.* 6.9, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ $\mu\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\rho\epsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha$.

11.13-17 *Woe to you . . . grace for themselves*: Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 64) suggests that $\lambda\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\pi\omicron$ (line 16) is the translation of $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\eta\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ "obtained" and is contrasted with $\bar{\rho}$ $\chi\rho\rho\iota\alpha$ (line 13), which translates $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ "borrowed." Thus this passage would express the Valentinian distinction between "the spiritual," who "possess" grace by right and "the psychics" who have it $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\chi\rho\eta\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\iota$, "on loan." But the term $\nu\epsilon\tau\psi\alpha\lambda\tau$ in line 12, parallel to $\nu\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}$ $\chi\rho\rho\iota\alpha$, suggests that the latter term here means "stand in need." Cf. 9.12-14. With $\bar{\rho}$ $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ in lines 15 and 16, cf. perhaps Heb 4:16.

11.17-18 *Liken yourselves to foreigners* ($\tau\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\nu\epsilon$ $\lambda\rho\bar{\nu}\psi\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\epsilon\iota$): The translation follows Schenke's "nehmt euch zum Gleich-

nis," against *ed. pr.* "ressemblez aux étrangers." *Ed. pr.* interpret the Gnostic as a stranger in the world; but the context suggests that a rebuke is being administered. Cf. especially 11.19-20.

Ed. pr. cite references such as Heb 11:13-16, 1 Pet 2:11, whose point is that the Christian is a stranger and sojourner on earth. Here the point seems to be that the believer, by neglect, is exiling himself from his true city. For a Stoic parallel to the language here, cf. Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 4.29, "If he is an alien in the universe who has no cognizance of the things that are in it, no less is he an alien who has no cognizance of what is happening in it. He is an exile, who exiles himself from civic reason (πολιτικὸν λόγον) . . . a limb cut off from the community (ἀπόσχισμα πόλεως), he who cuts off his own soul from the soul of all rational things."

11.20 *city*: "City" is a common image in Gnostic writings for the assembly of the elect, or for the heavenly world which is in store for the elect. Cf. *Acts Pet.* 12 *Apost.* 5.7-12; *U* 12; *Man. Ps.* 1.17; *et al.* In contrast, all creatures are "citizens" in *Disc.* 8-9 59.3-5. In contrast, the soul itself is a city at *Teach. Silv.* 85.20-21.

11.27-28 *O you outcasts and fugitives*: Kirchner translates, "O, ihr Erwählten und (dennoch) Fliehenden!"

11.29 *caught*: Perhaps meaning caught in the filth of the world, as at 1 *Apoc. Jas.* 28.16-20.

11.29-31 *Or do you perhaps think that the Father is a lover of mankind*: The translation follows *ed. pr.* (Ger.) and Schenke, against *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.), "Ou bien peut-être ne pensez-vous pas du Père qu'Il est ami des hommes." The translation adopted here appears probable in the light of 11.32-35, 9.11-17. Cf. the *Teaching of Peter*, quoted by John of Damascus, *Sacred Parallels* A.12, "Allying myself with sin I said unto myself, God is merciful, and will bear with thee, and because I was not immediately smitten I ceased not, but rather despised pardon, and exhausted the long-suffering of God." Cf. also *Exeg. Soul* 135.26-29, "But the Father is good and loves humanity, and he hears the soul that calls upon him and sends it the light of salvation."

If *ed. pr.* are followed, perhaps emend with Mueller (MEYE <EN>) "or do you perhaps not consider."

11.31-32 *Without prayers* (αχῆ ἑνεκα πρῶν): Cf. 10.32-34. Alternatively the phrase could be translated "by prayers," with *ed. pr.*, Schenke, and Kirchner.

11.33 *remission to one on another's behalf*: The translation follows *ed. pr.* (Ger.). This may be an attack on the traditional doctrine of the atonement. Alternatively, the phrase may be translated, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) and Kipgen, "to one after another."

11.34 *he bears with one who asks*: Cf. *Teach. Silv.* 114.26-30, "O the patience of God, which bears with everyone, which desires that everyone who has become subject to sin be saved!"

11.37-38 This, and what follows, is governed by the idea that it is not a good thing to "desire the soul." The spirit is preferable as an object of desire. Cf. 4.18-22.

11.38-12.2 *soul...body...spirit* (ΨΥΧΗ...ΣΩΜΑ...ΠΝΕΥΜΑ): Cf. the tripartite division of man at 1 Thess 5:23; *Teach. Silv.* 92.19-25; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 36.3.6. Man is "carnal" or "spiritual" as the soul opts for flesh or spirit at Origen, *In Rom.* 1.5, *De princ.* 3.4.2-3. For the Valentinian account of spirit-soul-flesh, see, e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.5. Cf. *On Bap. B* 42.34-37, *Tri. Trac.* 119.16-122.12, *et al.* That the body is dead without the soul is a commonplace. Cf. e.g., Origen, *De princ.* 3.4.4.

12.1-2 *the soul is not saved without the spirit*: The soul is saved through the spirit at Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90,3; 91,3 and Tatian, *Apology* 13.

12.3 *saved (when it is) without evil*: Schenke translates somewhat differently, "erlöst wird von dem Bösen."

12.5-6 *it is the spirit that raises the soul*: τὰ ζῷα (=ἐγείρειν) is preferred over τῶν ζῷων (=ζωοποιεῖν) as the more difficult reading. The meaning is roughly the same with either reading. Spirit raises Adam's soul up, or vivifies it, at *Hyp. Arch.* 88.1-15.

12.6-9 Perhaps cf. *Teach. Silv.* 105.26-106.14.

12.12-13 *who have worn the flesh*: To "wear the flesh" is a commonplace in Gnostic literature. Cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:25.34-35, *Gos. Phil.* 56.29-30; *Dial. Sav.* 132.10-12, *Paraph. Shem.* 34.25, *et al.* With the thought, cf. 1 Cor 15:50 or *Sent. Sextus* 27.20-21, "Do not seek goodness in flesh." The statement is hyperbolic, and attempts to integrate it into specific Gnostic theologies are out of place. Kirchner (186) interprets, "keiner, der das Fleisch getragen hat, wird durch Gebet und zusätzliche Gnade erlöst werden, wie es jedoch die Meinung anderer ist."

12.14-15 *For do you think that many have found the kingdom of heaven*: Cf. Luke 13:23.

12.16 *as a fourth one in heaven*: This beatitude is perhaps related to the common thought that few are saved; cf. Luke 13:24, par.; *Gos. Thom.* 23; and *Exc. Theod.* 56.2. Wilson (in *ed. pr.*, 68) cites *Act. Thom.* 108-113, on the reunion of the king's son with his father, mother, and brother, making four. Schenke emends to $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ and interprets of the fourth type of ground in the Parable of the Sower, and paraphrases, "Heil dem (Ackerteil), der als vierten in (Gleichnis vom) Himmel(reich) betrachtet wurde." But if the author were referring to the Parable of the Sower, one would expect the title to be $\pi\chi\omicron$, as at 8.7.

12.22 *know yourselves*: In Gnostic literature, this refers both to knowing one's own origin and knowing the ultimate reality, which are one and the same. Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 3; *Gos. Phil.* 76.17-22; *Thom. Cont.* 138.17-20; *Dial. Sav.* 132.6-19. In an orthodox context, cf. *Teach. Silv.* 92.10-33.

12.22-30 *ear of grain*: This allusion is perhaps inspired by Mark 4:26-29, but the main point here may be that the field—that is, the individual—is "filled" (line 26). Cf. 2.33, so interpreted by *ed. pr.*

12.28 *hasten to reap*: Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 21. Truth is "reaped" at *Gos. Phil.* 55.19-22.

12.29 *reap an ear of life*: This may be equivalent to making the proper response to the kingdom sown within one, cf. 7.23-24, 13.15-17. Cf. Heracleon's phrase "fruit of eternal life" in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.46,

§299, but it is likely that the phrase, “ear of life” is used loosely here.

12.35 *remember me*: Perhaps cf. 1 Cor 11:24-25, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

12.36 *you did not know me* (ΜΠΕΤΝ̄COYONT): Till takes the Coptic form to be the equivalent of ΕΜΠΕΤΝ̄COYONT, “when you did not know me.” Schenke’s emendation is translated “weil, <als> ich bei euch wäre, ihr mich (noch) nicht (in Wahrheit) erkannt habt.” Cf. John 14:9.

12.41-13.1 *Blessed will be they who have not seen, etc.*: Cf. John 20:29. If correctly restored, this is the tractate’s most direct quotation of a NT passage. A similar quotation appears at *Epist. Apost.* 29; Eusebius, *HE* 1.13.10 (in the reply of Jesus to Abgar).

13.2 *And once more I [prevail upon] you*: Schenke translates “aber noch gebe ich euch Anweisungen.”

13.3-8 *building a house*: This may be the author’s interpretation of the Parable of the Building, Matt 7:24-27 and par., mentioned at 8.7. The “houses” would be the houses on high which replace the bodily houses. Cf. 2 Cor 5:1-3 and perhaps John 14:2. Quispel (*ed. pr.* 69) interprets, “je construis (en haut) une maison pour vous, qui pourrait vous être très utile, puisque vous y trouverez abri (alors que votre maison terrestre s’écroule ou quand elle s’écroulera), de même . . .”

13.5 *when you find shelter* ([.] ΕΡΕΤΝ̄ΧΙ ΖΑΕΙΒΕC): If the restoration of *ed. pr.* [Χ]ΕΡΕΤΝ̄ΧΙ is read, the phrase would be translated, “since you find shelter.”

13.6-7 *able to stand* (ΝΑΩ ΩΖΕ ΑΡΕΤῆ): This perhaps translates παριστάναι. Cf. the use of the verb with πάρεδρος at Wis 6:14. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) and Schenke translate, “support;” *ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate, “stand ready for.” For the inadequacy of man’s earthly house, cf. *Auth. Teach.* 27.25-27; *Treat. Seth.* 51.4-13. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 33.22-23, “Do not strengthen (those who are) obstacles to you who are collapsing, as though (you were) a support (for them).”

13.9-11 *Woe to those for whose sakes I was sent down*: See the note

on 10.15-21. Perhaps cf. *Epist. Apost.* 39, "Whoso then hath kept my commandments shall be a son of light. But because of them that corrupt my words am I come down from heaven."

13.11-13 *blessed will they be who ascend to the Father*: Cf. John 20:17.

13.14 *reprove*: Cf. Mark 16:14.

you who are: Perhaps cf. 4.3-22. "Those who are" refers to true, as against illusory being; cf. *Gos. Phil.* 64.10-12; *Apoc. Pet.* 77.4-11; 2 *Clem.* 1:8; Origen, *In Joh.* 2.13§98; *CH* 1.26. At *Tri. Trac.* 65.12, 66.19, "those who exist" are the aeons. Cf. *Allogenes* 49.16-18.

13.18-19 *kingdom... within you*: Cf. Luke 17:21, *Gos. Thom.* 3.

13.20 *the Light that illumines* (ΠΙΟΥΛΑΕΙΝ ΝΡΕΥ'Ρ'ΟΥΛΑΕΙΝ): *Ed. pr.* translate "la Lumière, source d'illumination;" Schenke, "das (euch er)leuchtende Licht." Cf. John 1:9, so interpreted at *Exc. Theod.* 41.3-4. The expression is common in Gnostic literature. Cf. *Man. Keph.* 37.9-10; *Man Ps.* 205.16; *et al.* James is an illuminator at 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 55.17-18.

13.21-23 *be to yourselves as I myself am to you*: Cf. John 13:15.

13.23-25 *For your sakes I have placed myself under the curse, etc.*: Cf. Gal 3:13. Here the "curse" is probably earthly existence.

13.39-14.1 *I have revealed myself to you, James*: A special appearance or revelation to James is mentioned at 1 Cor 15:7; Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 2 (quoting the Gospel according to the Hebrews); 1 *Apoc. Jas.* 31.2. A theory of partition would make of this phrase an editorial insertion. Note that Peter, not James, has asked the question that is being answered.

14.1-2 *you have not known me*: Cf. 12.35-36 and John 14:9.

14.2-8 Kirchner punctuates these lines differently and translates, "Jetzt sehe ich wiederum, dass ihr oftmals froh seid, und zwar, wenn ihr euch über [die] Verheissung des Lebens freut. Aber ihr seid

tr[au]rig und betrübt, w[e]nn ihr über das Himmelreich belehrt werdet."

14.9 *faith [and] knowledge*: The two terms are equated, in a sense, at 8.11-27 and at John 6:69 and *CH* 9.10. Gnostic material emphasizing the importance of faith, while comparatively rare, is found at *Treat. Res.* 46.3-7; *Gos. Phil.* 61.36-62.6; *Exc. Theod.* 61.8; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.3.10,1; and Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10§36.

14.15-19 *he who...will believe in the kingdom will never leave it*: This is the document's strongest statement of the indefectibility of the elect; note, however, that even here faith is demanded of them. Gnostic indefectibility is presented in even stronger terms at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.4; *Tri. Trac.* 119.16-18; Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10§60-64; and perhaps *Gos. Phil.* 62.17-26 and 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 59.6-10. In *PS* (97, 98, 100) souls which have received the higher mysteries are certain of salvation.

14.19 *to banish him* (ΑΠΩΤ ΝΩΩ): Schenke translates "ihn verfolgen zu (lassen)," as though he were reading Α<ΤΡΟΥ>ΠΩΤ. Kirchner (195-6) suggests that this is a reference to the danger of the martyrdom which has been mentioned earlier.

14.25 *you have pursued me*: Kirchner translates, "habt ihr mich verfolgt," and explains (197), "(sc. um mich aufzuhalten)."

14.26-36 Comparable ascension scenes, combining the elements of hymns of rejoicing, the stripping away of the body, and a stated or implied ascent in a vehicle, are found at *CH* 1.26, Turfan Fragment T II D 79. A full discussion, with further parallel material, may be found in *ed. pr.* (73-74).

14.26 *glory*: The term is used in this sense at John 17:5, 1 Tim 3:16, 1 Pet 1:21. Brown (49-50) sees the promise made here as contradicted by 15.26-28, and takes the fact as a sign of editorial activity.

14.27-28 *having opened your heart*: Kirchner translates, "Und wenn ich euer oben gerichtetes Herz geöffnet habt, hört..." on the assumption that ΕΤΩΩΥΤ ΑΖΗΗ is out of place, and originally belongs with ΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ in line 28.

14.30-31 *take (my place at) the right hand* (ΑΤΡΑΜΟΥΖ ΝΑ ΟΥΝΕΜ): With Zandee and Quispel in *ed. pr.*, the Coptic is taken to mean "fill the right hand place," on the analogy of πληρῶσαι τόπον, as used at *Hermas, Sim.* 9.7.5. cf. Plato, *Tim.* 79B. The expression is admittedly difficult. Kasser (*ed. pr.*, 94) translates "que je brille à la droite du Père," taking ΜΟΥΖ as "burn, glow." The session at God's right hand is linked with the glory of God at Acts 7:55-56, with the ascension at Mark 16:19, and with the angels' subjection to Christ at 1 Pet 3:22. For a general survey of the use of the terminology in the NT, cf. D. M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (SBLMS 18; Nashville: Abingdon, 1973).

14.34 *chariot of the spirit*: Since this vehicle is "of spirit," it is invisible to James and Peter. "Chariots of spirit" appear at 1 *Enoch* 70.2; cf. 2 Kgs 2:11. For an extensive discussion of the use of the chariot in ascension scenes, cf. *ed. pr.* 75-78.

14.35 *I shall strip myself*: Stripping away the body in order to don a glorious garment is a common motif. Cf. *Asc. Isa.* 9.9. In Nag Hammadi texts, cf. *Gos. Truth* 20.30-34; *Dial. Sav.* 143.22-23; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 56.7-13; and *Paraph. Shem* 38.29-39.10, *et al.* Cf. also 2 Cor 5:2-4, with Marcion's variant ἐκδυσάμενοι for ἐνδυσάμενοι; *Od. Sol.* 25:8; *Act. Thom.* 111 and 113 (Hymn of the Soul), and 142.

14.39-40 Note the change from the third to the first person. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) translate, "avant qu'Il fut descendu sur la terre, de telle sorte que, quand je vois, je monterai," taking χεκαε as rendering consecutive ἵνα. With "when I have come, I might ascend," cf. perhaps John 3:13, Eph 4:8-10. Kirchner takes χεκαε as causal, and renders, "Denn ich (herab)gekommen bin; werde ich wieder heraufsteigen." To both renderings it can be objected that χεκαε is always final elsewhere in the tractate.

15.1-3 *they who [were] proclaimed by the Son before they came to be*: This might refer to the pre-existence of the elect, as do, perhaps 10.34-38, 16.26-28; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 19, *Gos. Truth* 28.5-9; *Treat. Res.* 46.39-47.7, *Gos. Phil.* 64.10-12. But it might simply be a strong statement of predestination or election, somewhat as at *Gos. Truth* 21.25-31, "Those whose names he knew in advance were called at the

end, so that one who has knowledge is the one whose name the Father has uttered."

15.6 *he departed*: Brown (49) suggests that this phrase is an editorial substitution for a more elaborate ascension scene; but cf. 2.18, 22. The scene which follows implies a belief in three heavens as at 2 Cor 12:2-4.

15.7-8 *and gave thanks and sent our heart(s) upwards*: Schenke translates "es wurde uns die Gnade zuteil (as if $\alpha\nu\chi\iota\ \zeta\mu\alpha\tau$), unseren Sinn zum Himmel emporzuschwingen." Experience of the heavens at Nag Hammadi is recorded at *Disc. 8-9* 57.31-60.1 and *Paraph. Shem.* 1.6-16. Kirchner renders, "wir empfangen Gnade," referring to the Manichaean expression, $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\ \pi\epsilon\psi\mu\omicron\tau$.

15.11-13 *noise of wars, etc.*: Perhaps these phrases refer to the attempts by hostile powers to prevent the Son's ascent (*PS* 15-16); or to the consternation into which the powers are thrown by that ascent (*PS* 3); or to the quarreling of the lower powers, as in *Asc. Isa.* 7.9-12. As *ed. pr.* note, the symbols here are not eschatologized.

15.18-19 *hymns and angelic benedictions*: This is a common motif. Cf. e.g., the hymns of the angels at *Asc. Isa.* 9.28-33, 11.21-33, and those heard by the mystic at *Disc. 8-9* 58.17-20, 59.28-32; *CH* 1.26. Brown (49-50) comments that the mind only hears hymns instead of beholding the glory as promised at 14.26-28 (as if taking $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ at 14.26 as equivalent to $\pi\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$). But the anthropology of the *Ap. Jas.* is inconsistent. Why is "soul" not mentioned here, for example, or "heart" and "mind" at 11.37-12.9?

15.21 *majesties* ($\zeta\epsilon\nu\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\nu\alpha\delta$): The use of this term in the plural is to be distinguished from its use in the singular at 15.25-26. For the plural as a Valentinian term denoting "aeons," "angels," or "spirituals," see *ed. pr.*, 84.

15.22-23 *we too rejoiced*: The visionary joins in the heavenly praises at *Asc. Isa.* 9.28-33, *Disc. 8-9* 60.1-10, and *Zost.* 129.2-12.

15.25 $\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$: The gender of the pronoun here agrees *ad sensum* with $\tau\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\nu\alpha\delta$, which is a designation for God.

15.25–26 *Majesty*: The term is used in the singular for God at *Gos. Truth* 42.13–14; *Ap. John* CG II,1:4.1–2; *Dial. Sav.* 135.20; *Paraph. Shem.* 1.6; *Treat. Seth.* 50.10; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.4; *Man. Keph.* 35.17; *et al. Ed. pr.* suggest a Jewish origin for the term, but it is at least partially rooted in secular Greek usage. See LSJ 1089a. With the entire scene contrast *Asc. Isa.* 9.37, “And I beheld the great glory, for the eyes of my spirit were open, and I was not thereafter able to see,” where the visionary actually beholds the “great glory” with his spirit before being blinded. Brown (50) suggests that 15.26–28 contradicts the promise which has been made at 14.26–27, but the latter passage does not specifically promise the Beatific Vision.

15.28–29 *the other disciples called us*: After the revelation is over the visionaries are reunited with the other disciples as at *Ap. John* CG II,1:32.4–5.

15.30 *What did you hear*: With the question of the disciples here, cf. *Gos. Thom.* 13.

15.36 *pledge* (ⲁⲉⲛⲓⲁ): The context suggests that the term used here means “pledge,” rather than “greeting,” as in some Gnostic literature. Brown (51) suspects editorial work here, since the giving of the right hand is not specified in what precedes. However, 14.14–19 might fairly be termed a “pledge.”

16.5 *about those to be born*: Does this refer to the rise of the Gnostics? Cf. the introduction.

16.6 *to give them offense*: Literally, “cast them into offense.”

16.7–8 *each one to another place*: Contrast Acts 1:12, where all the disciples return to Jerusalem.

16.11 *who will be made manifest*: By being informed through knowledge, the “beloved” are revealed as what they really are. This motif is common in Valentinian and Valentinian influenced literature. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5; *Exc. Theod.* 41.2–3; Origen, *In Joh.* 2.21 (Heraclion); *Gos. Truth* 20.6–9, 37.38–38.6, 43.9–11; *Treat. Res.* 45.9–11, 28–31; *et al.* But the term is also used in non-Valentinian Gnostic

works, e.g., *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:96.14-97.17; *Great Pow.* 36.7-10.

16.23-26 *For because of what I have said, etc.:* The Greek would have read, ἀνθ' ὧν γὰρ προείρηκα, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψεν ἡμῖν ὁ σωτήρ δι' αὐτούς. "To us" would mean "to all of us, his twelve disciples," as at 1.23-25. The point is that the revelation was not given to the Twelve, and hence to the church, but was given to James and Peter only, and preserved for the Gnostics to come.

Ed. pr. (Fr.) take ἀβαλ ᾱ in line 23 as representing ἐκτός, παρά, or the like, and render, "En effet, excepté ce que j'ai dit, le Sauveur ne nous a pas fait de révélation à ce sujet." *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) appear to take ἀβαλ ᾱ as representing an objective genitive dependent on ἀποκάλυψιν, and render, "Denn von den (Dingen), die ich sagte, hat der Erlöser die Apokalypse uns nicht geöffenbart wegen jener." Schenke and Kirchner give similar translations, but take them to mean that, for the sake of the Gnostics, James and Peter have not been allowed to understand the revelation fully. But ἀβαλ ᾱ representing the objective genitive is difficult, and, in the light of 1.23-25, it is doubtful whether the author would have had James say that he did not understand the revelation.

16.25 *the revelation:* Colpe (127) takes this as "a larger, not fully revealed" revelation. But it might simply refer to the "secret book which was revealed to me and Peter by the Lord," 1.10-12. Colpe's interpretation, if adopted, would tend to support the view that *Ap. Jas.* has been excerpted from a larger work and turned into a letter.

16.26 *We do, indeed, proclaim, etc.:* Even though the revelation was not made to the whole twelve (i.e., to the Church), we do make the proclamation of a portion with those for whose benefit the proclamation was made (i.e., the Gnostics).

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THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

1,3:16.31-43.24

Harold W. Attridge and George W. MacRae, S. J.

Introduction (16.31-17.4)

An elaborately constructed paragraph introduces the major characters to be discussed throughout the text and enunciates some of the major themes which will be subsequently explored. The style of the introductory paragraph is, as Standaert (*NTS* 22 [1975/76] 246-52) notes, typical of such rhetorically sophisticated products of early Christianity as Rom 1:1-7 and Heb 1:1-4.

16.31 *Gospel of truth*: The incipit may have served as a title for the work. For discussion of this issue, see the introduction. The term "gospel" here, in any case, is not a technical term for a literary genre. Rather, it refers to the contents of the work, the proclamation of the revealer's message. Cf. the similar usage at Rom 1:16 and Eph 1:13.

joy: The motif appears frequently in the *Odes of Solomon*, as Schenke (*Herkunft*, 33) notes. Cf. *Od. Sol.* 6:14, 7:2,17; 15:1; 23:1; 31:3,6; 32:1. However, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 72) notes, it is common in Valentinian texts as well. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 65.1-2 and *Tri. Trac.* 88.15-20.

16.32-33 *received...the grace*: That revelation is a gracious gift of God is a common affirmation in religious texts of the period. Cf., e.g., *CH* 1.21-22. For other examples, see Lafrance, *SMR* 5 (1962) 62. Note in particular John 1:1 and, for Valentinian examples, *Tri. Trac.* 51.5 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1.

16.33 *Father of Truth*: The term appears at *Od. Sol.* 41:9, but, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 73) notes, it is quite common in Valentinian sources. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2; Heracleon, fr. 2 (Origen, *In Joh.* 16.97); and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.5.

knowing him: This enunciates the theme of the work. Grobel (*Gospel*, 35) suggests that the pronominal object may refer to the

the Father. The antecedent of the pronoun here is probably the Word, as *ed. pr.* (Eng.), Grobel (*Gospel*, 35) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 43) maintain, and not the pleroma, as *ed. pr.* (Ger.) suggests. The Word, like all beings which emanate from the Father, has initial, potential existence in the mind of the Father. Cf. 18.34-35, 19.36, 37.7-14, and *Tri. Trac.* 60.1-5.

16.38-39 *Savior - redemption*: The text plays on $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\eta\text{P}$ and $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon$, which probably reflects a play in Greek of $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$ and $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha$, as various commentators maintain. Cf. Böhlig, *Muséon* 79 (1966) 329. It is thus unnecessary to posit with Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 10) a Syriac play on $\text{p}\bar{\alpha}\text{r}\bar{o}\text{q}\bar{a}$ - $\text{p}\bar{u}\text{r}\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$. Bellet (*CBQ* 40 [1978] 49-52) maintains that the paronomasia is in Coptic between $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\eta\text{P}$ and $\text{P}\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon$ since $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon$ regularly translates not $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha$ but $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{o}\nu$ as in 1 Tim 2:6. For further examples of the Coptic pun, noted by Bellet, cf. Besa, *Letters and Sermons* (ed. K. H. Kuhn; CSCO 157; Louvain: Durbecq, 1956) 42.8 and 99.2 and Shenoute, *Vita et opera omnia IV*. (ed. J. Leipoldt; CSCO 73; Paris: Gabalda, 1913) 34.6. Bellet's suggestion is ingenious, but unconvincing, since $\text{P}\text{C}\omega\text{T}\epsilon$ does not, in fact, appear in the text.

16.38 *the work* ($\phi\omega\upsilon\beta$): Bellet (*CBQ* 40 [1978] 49-52) suggests that the word is an orthographic variant of $\zeta\omega\pi$ ("secret"), but the text makes quite good sense without presupposing such an odd orthography. For a similar problem, cf. 39.21.

17.1 *ignorant*: The condition of deficiency which the revelatory Word is to eliminate is mentioned here. Ignorance is the source of passion (17.10), and it characterizes both the aeons which emanate from the Father (18.35, 19.8-10, 27.21-22) and anyone not "called" by the revealing Word (21.30-31). The analysis of the human condition as one of ignorance of the transcendent Godhead and of the relation of the self to that Godhead is a common one in the religious literature of the first centuries of the common era, as Ménard (*Rev. Sci. Rel.* 45 [1971] 146-61) and Lafrance (*SMR* 5 [1962] 57-82) note. Cf. e.g., Acts 17:23-30, 1 Cor 15:34, 1 Pet 1:14; *CH* 1.27, 11.21; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.1.1; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.4; and *Tri. Trac.* 60.9 and 60.21.

17.1-2 *name of the gospel*: The phrase appears at *Tri. Trac.* 127.35, applied to the Trinity.

17.2 *proclamation*: The translation presupposes that the underlying Greek contained a play on *εὐαγγελία*, “gospel” and *ἀναγγελία*, “proclamation,” which may be rendered in Coptic by *ΟΥΩΝΞ ΑΒΑΛ*. Cf. Crum 486b. Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 10) finds here evidence of a Syriac original, arguing that the play is on “gospel” and “hope” (*sebartā-sabrā*) in Syriac. This is unlikely on other grounds, as Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 330) argues, and is clearly unwarranted if *ἀναγγελία* lies behind *ΟΥΩΝΞ ΑΒΑΛ*.

17.3 *hope*: There may be an allusion here to Col 1:5–9. Note especially 1:5: *διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμένην ὑμῖν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἣν προηκούσατε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*. Grobel (*Gospel*, 36–39) also suggests a possible allusion to Rom 8:24 and Tit 2:13. Cf. also Heb 10:23.

17.3–4 *discovery for those who search*: There may be here an allusion to a widespread saying, based perhaps on Prov 8:17, attributed to Jesus. Cf. Matt 7:7, Luke 11:9–13, and *Gos. Thom.* 3, 94; *Dial. Sav.* 129.14–16. Cf. Koester, *Rediscovery*, 1.238–244. For the aeonic search for the Father, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.1 and *Tri. Trac.* 61.24–28, 65.14–31, 71.9–10. In the *Gos. Truth* searching for the Father is not confined to the aeons, but is a general characteristic of all beings dependent on him.

I. *The Rule of Error* (17.4–18.11)

The first segment of the text discusses in an allusive way the origin of the world and, by implication, the human condition generally. The exposition of the workings of Error (*Planē*) proceeds with two interruptions (17.21–29, 17.36–18.11), which are concerned to clarify the implications for theodicy which might be drawn from the story of Error.

17.5 *the totality*: The singular collective noun in this passage is used with plural verbs. This *constructio ad sensum* is common in Coptic, as Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 271) notes. Cf. the use in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6 and the *Tri. Trac.* (52.4 and frequently) of the plural, “the totalities.”

The precise referent of the term here is unclear. It may, as in other Valentinian texts (e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1, *Exc. Theod.* 30.2), refer to the totality of spiritual beings which emanate from the Father, as suggested by Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 25) and many other

commentators. It is significant, however, that the term in this text is not confined to such a precisely limited group and it could be taken to refer to the totality of all creatures, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 39) maintains. Similarly, it is difficult to see it referring exclusively or primarily to a part of any human being, as Ludin Jansen (*Ac. Or.* 31 [1968] 115-118) suggests. Like other key terms in the text, "the totality" certainly includes a reference to human beings, but this is not its only reference.

17.6-7 *the totality was inside of him*: Cf. 16.35. That the totality has its origin within the Father is frequently affirmed in this text (19.8, 21.9, 27.21, 22.28), and is a principle found elsewhere in Valentinian sources. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6 and *Tri. Trac.* 60.1-5, 18.

17.7-8 *the incomprehensible, inconceivable one*: These epithets for the Father are repeated at 17.22 and 18.33. The incomprehensibility of the first principle is commonly affirmed in religious texts of the first Christian centuries. For Valentinian sources, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 1.2.5, 1.15.5 and *Tri. Trac.* 54.12-23, 40-41.

17.9-10 *ignorance* (ε†μῆτατς{ἴ}οϋων): The initial ε is taken as a circumstantial converter by Grobel (*Gospel*, 40) and as a sentence introductory particle by Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 271). It is simplest to construe it as a preposition ("about," Crum 50b), marking the preposed subject of αϭ̅ οϣ̅νοϣ̅π̅.

17.10-11 *anguish and terror*: In Valentinian sources generally emotions, which are viewed negatively, arise from ignorance. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3 on the experience of Sophia and the parallel in the *Tri. Trac.* 77.23, on the experience of the Logos.

17.12 *fog*: Cf. 17.30-31.

17.14-15 *error*: Error is a key figure in the *Gos. Truth*, and the use of the term has been frequently discussed. Cf. Ménard, *SMR* 7 (1964) 3-36; Haardt, *WZKM* 58 (1962) 24-38; Grobel, *Gospel*, 43; Jonas, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 329-33; Finnestad, *Temenos* 7 (1971) 38-49; Colpe, *JAC* 21 (1978) 140-143; and Helderman, "Isis as Plane." Imagery relating to error is common in contemporary religious texts. Cf., e.g., Eph 4:14, 1 John 1:8, 2:26; *CH* 1:19; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4.

In the *Gos. Truth*, the term is used to refer both to a cosmic force or

power, as here, and to a characteristic of the human condition, as at 31.25, 32.35. Thus, the term has some of the same polyvalence as Paul's *ἁμαρτία*, a parallel especially emphasized by Cerfaux (*NTS* 5 [1958–59] 104). When used to refer to a cosmic force or hypostasis, the term recalls elements of the myth of the fall of Sophia. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2–6. It may be that there underlies the text an alternative version of that myth of Sophia. It is also possible that the author has carefully chosen language which would evoke that myth in those who knew it, without explicitly identifying the major actor in the cosmic drama of the fall. Other proposed sources for the figure of *Planē*, such as Helderman's suggestion that she reflects the wandering Isis, are unconvincing.

17.15 *became powerful*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 42–43) offers an alternative translation, “took confidence,” suggesting that the underlying Greek is the same as that translated with a similar Coptic phrase at Job 27:14 (S), Dan 10:19 (B) and Matt 14:27 (F).

it worked on its own matter: The status of this “matter” (ΖΥΛΗ) is problematic. As Grobel (*Gospel*, 43) suggests, it is possibly the essence of error itself, that which grew solid like a fog. Recall the Sophia myth in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.2, 1.5.4, where Sophia's passions become the stuff of the material world. Various commentators have noted the parallel in Heracleon, fr. 23 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.20), ἐν τῇ βαθείᾳ ἕλη τῆς πλανῆς. The imagery used here may be further developed in the discussion of the “jars” (26.8–27).

17.16 *foolishly* (ΖἸΝ ΟΥΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ): This phrase could also be translated “in a void.” There would then be an allusion to the motif common in Gnostic sources that what is outside the pleroma of divine being is a *κένωμα* or *ὑστέρημα*. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.4, 2.4.3. Other references to the contingent or phenomenal world which have both cosmic and psychological references are to be found at 17.23 and 24.21–25.2.

17.17 *truth* (†ΤΜῆΤΜΗΕ): The peculiar orthography here, with the doubled article, also appears at 26.28, 33, 34; 27.1 and at *Tri. Trac.* 56.10, 59.36, 65.20, 128.25. Till's emendation (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 169) is unnecessary.

17.18 *it set about with a creation* (ΑΩΩΠΕ ΖΝΗ ΟΥΠΛΑΣΜΑ):

The phrase is difficult. $\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon$ is no doubt to be construed with $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ as a complementary circumstantial (so Haardt, *WZKM* 58 [1962] 28), and Till's suggestion (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 169) that $\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ is equivalent to $\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}$ - is unlikely. Cf. Arai, *Christologie*, 55, n.9. The term $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ creates the most difficulties. Elsewhere in the text it regularly means "creature, creation, form," its most normal meaning in Greek. Cf. LSJ 1412a. Our translation assumes this meaning for a Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$. It might also be possible to take the term pejoratively. Note that the term $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$ can mean "fiction, pretense, delusion." Hence, it might be possible to translate the phrase adverbially, parallel to $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau$ as "in a deluded way," *vel sim*. If we take the passage in the sense initially proposed, there might be an allusion to Plato, *Tim.* 37C-38C, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 82) suggests. Cf. also *Ap. John* BG 48.17. *Ed. pr.* (51) also note a parallel phrase ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$) in a fragment of Valentinus in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90,1, although here $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ refers primarily to Valentinus' metaphor of a picture, the meaning of which is supplied by its title or label. Cf. also Philo, *Op. mun.* 48.

17.23 *nothing*: Cf. 28.22-24.

17.24 *oblivion* ($\bar{\omega}\upsilon\epsilon$): This probably translates Greek $\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$, a characteristic of the human condition according to Plato, *Rep.* 621A-B and Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta* 27, although here there is no suggestion that what one is oblivious or forgetful of is some prior experience, as Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 29) and Arai (*Christologie*, 50) correctly note. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 83) suggests that the roots of the imagery here may be found more specifically in Philonic texts which speak of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$ or "drunkenness." Cf. *Somn.* 2.101, *Plant.* 177, *Ebr.* 154. For similar imagery in Gnostic sources, cf. *Ap. John* BG 64.2-4; CG III,1:26.23, 32.13.

17.26 *immutable*: Cf. 36.13. The stability of the Father and of the pleromatic world is a common Gnostic motif, probably derived from the Platonic tradition. For a discussion of that tradition, cf. M. Williams, "The Nature and Origin of the Gnostic Concept of Stability" (Diss. Harvard, 1977). For Valentinian parallels, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 83), cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, 1.2.4, 1.2.6, 1.21.3.

17.27 *imperturbable*: The language recalls Plato, *Tim.* 47C, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 84) notes.

perfect in beauty (ΟΥΑΤ<Τ>CΑΕΙΔC): Literally, “unembellishable.” Cf. Grobel, *Gospel*, 46.

17.30 *root*: This metaphor for the relationship of dependent beings to God is common in religious texts of late antiquity, as noted by Lafrance (*SMR* 5 [1962] 69, n. 86). Note especially Oppian, *Haliutica* I. 409: Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἰς δὲ σὲ πάντα καὶ ἐκ σέθεν ἐρρίζωνται cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 84). In the *Gos. Truth*, see further 28.17, 41.17, and 42.33. Note the similar imagery in the *Tri. Trac.* 51.3, 15-19; 74.11-13.

17.34-35 *entice those of the middle*: In Valentinian texts, “those of the midst” are psychics. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4, 1.6.1, 1.8.3, and Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora* 7.8. A description of how such beings are “drawn into a material union” appears at *Tri. Trac.* 98.30. It is unclear, however, whether the term has such a specific, technical sense here, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 47) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 84) maintain. Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 30), following Schenke (*Herkunft*, 17), suggests that the beings in view are any emanations of the Father who are not implicated in matter. The terms ΤΜΕCOC and ΤΜΗΤΕ are used in the *Pistis Sophia* to refer to the realm ruled by the Demiurge and his archons (e.g., *PS* 7 [p.12.22] and frequently). Cf. also *Od. Sol.* 22:2, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 34). Once again, as in the case of “Error,” Valentinian myth and technical terminology may be presupposed, but the term is not used in an unambiguous way.

17.35 *capture them*: Αἰχμαλωτίζειν is a common Valentinian term, appearing at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.6, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 85) notes. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 117.24. Cerfaux (*NTS* 5 [1958-59] 106) suggests that there may be an allusion to Rom 7:23.

17.37-18.1 The suggestion for filling the lacuna offered by Dubois (*VC* 29 [1975] 140) is attractive but uncertain. He restores ΝΝΟΥ[ΑΕΙΝ] ΕΝ, “it is not a light.”

18.1 *from the Father* (ΖΑΤῼ ΠΙΩΤ): The precise sense of the preposition is obscure. As Grobel (*Gospel*, 49) notes, it would mean literally “under the hand of,” hence “under the control of” or “at the instigation of.”

18.1-3 *oblivion did not come . . . from the Father*: A similar dialectic is found in the *Tri. Trac.* 62.12-13, 71.7-18, 121.7-8. Ignorance is not produced by a direct act of the Father, but arises indirectly, because he withholds his essence from dependent beings. Cf. 18.35-36. That withholding is simply a function of the Father's transcendence. Cf., with Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 86), Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.17.10: *magnitudinem enim et virtutem Patris causas ignorantiae dicitis. Ed. pr.* (71) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 85) see here an interpretation of John 1:1-4, but connections with that text are weak.

18.4-11 *what comes into existence in him, etc.*: Cf. 24.28-32. The text here articulates the fundamental soteriological principle of Gnosticism generally, and of Valentinianism in particular, as Jonas (*Gnomon* 32 [1960] 330) argues. As several commentators (e.g., Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 86) have noted, the phrasing is similar to the formula attributed to the Marcosians in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.4: ὑπ' ἀγνοίας γὰρ ὑστερήματος καὶ πάθους γεγονότων διὰ γνώσεως καταλύεσθαι πάσαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας σύστασιν, ὥστ' εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου.

18.4 *knowledge*: Knowledge of various sorts was important for various religious groups of late antiquity, and the topic has been frequently discussed by commentators on the *Gos. Truth*. Cf. Cramer, *An. Bib.* 12.3 (1959) 48-56; Lafrance, *SMR* 5 (1962) 57-82; Ménard, *Rev. Sci. Rel.* 41 (1967) 1-28; Colpe, *JAC* 21 (1978) 125-46. In the *Gos. Truth* knowledge is at once objective and subjective. By learning about the transcendent Father (18.7) the recipient of revelation also learns about his or her "root" (28.16-18), the source and goal of his or her own existence (21.14-15, 22.13-15). Both elements of this complex are essential for Christian Gnosticism, and it is a mistake to reduce the doctrine of this text to a simple process of self-discovery.

18.7 *the Father might be known*: The phrase is reminiscent of such Johannine texts as John 16:3, 17:3, as *ed. pr.* (51) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 86) note, but there is no explicit reference to such texts. Cf. also *Od. Sol.* 7:12, 12:10, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 34).

II. *The Coming of the Revealer* (18.11-19.27)

The second major segment of the text enunciates the author's soteriology. The condition of oblivion produced by Error, described in the previous section (17.4-18.11) is removed through the Gospel, the

hidden mystery, which Jesus Christ revealed on the cross. After an elaborate introduction (18.11–21), discussion of the revealer's activity proceeds in two stages. First the image of the fruit is developed (18.21–31), then the picture of Jesus as teacher is presented (19.10–17). Between these passages comes another section which continues the concerns of the earlier section on theodicy (17.21–29, 17.36–18.11).

18.11–17 *through this...he enlightened those in darkness*: The sentence is a florid piece of rhetoric which has occasioned commentators a good deal of difficulty. The syntax is, however, comprehensible, though complex. The main predication is $\alpha\eta\bar{\rho}$ $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron$. The subject pronoun could refer to the Father, but that is unlikely, since the following paragraph assumes that Jesus is the revealer. Hence the subject of $\alpha\eta\bar{\rho}$ $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron$ is preposed in $\iota\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}$ $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$. The means by which Jesus enlightens those in darkness is the Gospel. Thus, $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\omicron$ (18.11–12) is the preposed antecedent of the pronominal suffix in $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ (18.16). For another instance of such complex topicalization, cf. 34.10–12. Another ambiguous element in the sentence is $\pi\iota\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\bar{\rho}\iota\omicron\omicron$ $\epsilon\theta\eta\pi$, which could be in apposition with either “Gospel,” or, as assumed here, with “Jesus Christ.” This is basically the analysis of the syntax suggested by Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 272). For the prepositioning of several nominal elements, cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #385. Another possibility is suggested by Grobel (*Gospel*, 51) who takes “Jesus Christ” to be in apposition to “the hidden mystery,” which is, in turn, construed as the object of $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ (18.13). This construal would be more likely if $\pi\iota\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\bar{\rho}\iota\omicron\omicron$ were marked as an object. Another alternative construal would be to take $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ not as a perf. rel. but as perf. II. The sentence would then be translated: “As for the Gospel, the hidden mystery, it was through the mercies of the Father that it was revealed.” The pronoun in $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ could have the same referent as in the first option. Alternatively, “hidden mystery” could be the subject of $\alpha\eta\bar{\rho}$ $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron$ and $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ could refer to “Jesus Christ.” Cf. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 45).

A further problem is presented by the referent of the pronominal subject in $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$. See the next note.

18.13 *which <was> revealed* ($\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$): The subject in the MS is singular. Without emendation, it might refer to “what they are seeking,” as Grobel (*Gospel*, 49) suggests, but this hardly yields a

satisfactory sense. The pronoun might also refer to "Jesus Christ." *Ed. pr.* understand the clause in this way, and implicitly emend to <M>ΠΙΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΘΗΠ ΝΒΙ ΙΗΘ ΠΕΧΡ̄Θ̄. Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 272) offers a simpler emendation of the pronominal subject from singular to plural, thus making the verb passive, and that suggestion has been followed here.

18.13-14 *those who are perfect*: Cf. 19.4. The term "perfect" is common in Valentinian texts as a reference to spiritual human beings. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.3, 1.8.4, 3.2.1, 3.3.1, 3.12.7, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 87). The reception of the revelation is later said to perfect its recipients (21.8-18), so the term may be somewhat misleading here. It refers to the results of the soteriological process, not to its precondition.

18.14 *mercies* (ΝΙΜΝ̄ΤΩΑΝΖΤΗϞ): The plural noun here, as well as ΝΙΜΕΖΤ at 24.15, is taken by Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 8) as evidence of a Syriac original, but it can readily be seen as a translation of τὰ σπλάγγνα, as Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 319) argues. Cf. Luke 1:78.

18.15 *hidden mystery*: The language here is strongly reminiscent of Eph 3:3-4:9, 6:19, Col 1:26, 2:2, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 4, 87) notes, and of *Act. Thom.* 47, cited by *ed. pr.* (51). As Grobel (*Gospel*, 51) notes, Valentinus is reported to have used Col 1:26 according to Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.35.1.

18.16 *Jesus, the Christ*: The title "Christ" appears only here and at 36.14 in the *Gos. Truth*. On Valentinian speculation on the significance of the title, cf. *Treat. Res.* 43.26-27 and *Tri. Trac.* 87.9.

18.17 *enlightened those in darkness*: "Enlightenment" is a common metaphor in Hellenistic religious texts, as it is in early Christianity and Gnosticism. Cf. 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Tim 1:1; John 1:5, 8:12; Heb 6:4; *CH* 1.17, 10.6; *Treat. Res.* 49.2-4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5 and 2.12.3. In this text, cf. 24.37, 36.11-12.

18.18 *from oblivion*: This phrase could also be construed with what follows, "From oblivion he enlightened them."

18.18-21 *he showed (them) a way*: Although Grobel (*Gospel*, 51) suggests that the antecedent of the pronominal subject is "the Gospel,"

it is more likely Jesus, the revealer who is in view throughout the passage. He is later said to be a guide (19.17) and to be himself the way (31.28–29). The image of the way is, of course, widespread in Judaism and in early Christianity (e.g., Philo, *Post. Cain.* 31; *Immut.* 143; Mark 12:14, Acts 9:2 and John 14:6, *Od. Sol.* 7:2, 13; 11:3; and frequently.), as well as in Gnosticism. Cf. *CH* 6.5, 10.15, 11.21, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.6, 1.21.5 and the Naassene hymn in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.10.2 and *Tri. Trac.* 71.21, 123.31.

The term way (ΜΑΕΙΤ) is problematic in some passages of the *Gos. Truth*. In the sense of “way, path” it appears also at 19.17, 31, 29. In the sense of “space” it appears at 20.21, *q.v.*

18.23–24 *was distressed at him (and) was brought to naught*: Ed. *pr.* and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 88) take these verbs as transitive. Grobel (*Gospel*, 51) correctly construes them as intransitive. The destruction of Error is described in abstract terms at 18.10–11, and 24.28–32. The same process is described with concrete imagery at 25.19–26.27. For possible NT precedents, cf. Heb 2:14, 1 Cor 15:55, 2 Tim 1:10; 1 John 3:8. Cf. also *Od. Sol.* 7:21, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 34).

18.24 *nailed to a tree*: For the expression, cf. Acts 10:38, and the Marcosians mentioned in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.6, noted by Robison (*JR* 43 [1962] 241). That archontic powers are responsible for the crucifixion is suggested by 1 Cor 2:8, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 53) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 88), and is a frequent theme in Gnosticism. Cf. Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 33), who cites Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.13.

Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 88–89) argues that the crucifixion is here understood symbolically, as enslavement of the spiritual self of the Gnostic to the world of matter. This anthropological symbolism, though attested elsewhere, does not seem to be present here. Rather, the crucifixion is an event which involves Jesus and which here and elsewhere (20.27) will be interpreted, in very Johannine terms, as a revelatory act.

18.24–25 *he became a fruit of knowledge*: The image of the Savior as a fruit of the pleroma is common in Valentinian texts. Cf., e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6 and *Tri. Trac.* 86.25. Here the imagery is not used, as in those contexts, of the primordial generation of the Savior. It refers, rather, to his soteriological function. The imagery recalls the

sapiential imagery used in Philo, *Somn.* 1.57-58, as noted by Lafrance (*SMR* 5 [1962] 71). It may be that allusion is also made to Gen 3:3. In any case, we here find the beginning of the author's interpretation of the crucifixion as a revelatory act. Fecht (*Or.* 31 [1962] 103, 32 [1963] 319) and Ménard (*Rev. Sci. Rel.* 44 [1970] 130) suggest that the text moves from a more orthodox, historical interpretation of the cross to a more Gnostic, spiritual interpretation (20.6-25.35). However, the text holds both poles in tension. It does not, in a docetic fashion, deny the reality of Christ's suffering and death, nor is it unaware of the deeper, "spiritual" significance of the crucifixion event. Rather, it probes the significance of the historical event, as does the Gospel of John.

18.26 *It did not, however, cause destruction:* The verb, $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ should be understood as transitive, as suggested by *ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 53), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 35) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 89). An intransitive rendering is preferred by Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 272), and Fecht (*Or.* 31 [1962] 102). If the verb is transitive, the allusion to Gen 3:3, suspected at 18.25, may be continued. The fruit of the Garden of Eden was destructive, while the fruit of the tree of Calvary was not.

18.26-27 *although it was eaten* ($\chi\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\mu\bar{\eta}$): The verb form involves a common crasis of the third person pronoun and the initial $\omicron\upsilon$ of the infinitive. There is possibly a sacramental allusion here, as Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 7) suggests, although more general metaphorical language may be involved, as in John 6:30-46.

18.29-30 *and he:* Grobel (*Gospel*, 53) takes $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\upsilon$ not as the independent personal pronoun but as the preposition (= $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\upsilon$) and translates "his finding." He then construes the following $\bar{\eta}\chi\epsilon$ as $\chi\epsilon$. The latter particle is more likely an orthographic variant of $\Delta\epsilon$, a common orthographic variant in Codex I. For $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\upsilon\ \Delta\epsilon$ cf. 19.23-24.

18.29-31 *he discovered them in himself and they...him:* Cf. 21.11-25, 42.27-28. The effect of the revelatory act of Jesus on the cross is to awaken in the recipients of the revelation consciousness of their relationship to the Father. In the *Tri. Trac.* the Son in the pleroma both contains (64.19) and is contained by (65.27) the aeons. The imagery is thus applicable to the transcendent, divine world, but it is also appropriate to the human world. For possible allusions to NT

texts, cf. 1 Cor 8:6, Eph 4:6, Col 1:17, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 90) and John 14:10, 17:21, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 199).

18.31-19.10 The paragraph forms an excursus on the Father. The story of Jesus, begun in 18.11-18.31, continues at 19.11.

18.34-35 *within him is the totality, etc.*: The repetition of the phrase at 19.7-10 forms an *inclusio* for this paragraph. For the notion that the totality or the "spaces" are within the Father, cf. 16.35, 17.6-9, 22.27-33.

18.35 *of him the totality has need*: That all beings which emanate from the Father, including members of the divine world, have need of him is a common affirmation of the *Tri. Trac.* Cf. 60.9, 21; 105.21 and 124.25-125.5. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.19.8, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 91).

18.36 *he retained their perfection*: Cf. 19.4 and 21.11-25. In the *Tri. Trac.* there is a similar description of the reason for which the aeons of the pleroma search for the Father, the fact that he retains their perfection in himself by preserving his transcendent being in himself until he makes it known by a revelatory act. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 62.12-13, 64.37-65.1.

18.38 *the Father was not jealous*: In the *Gos. Truth* we find an emphatic theodicy. The Father is not responsible for ignorance, although his transcendence is the cause of it. Cf. 17.1-3. Nor, according to this passage, is the ignorance of the totality caused by jealousy on the Father's part. For a similar reflection, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 62.20-21, 69.26-27.

18.40 *members*: The term may ultimately be derived from the Greek myth of Dionysus Zagreus, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 90) suggests, but the Greco-Roman background of the NT "body of Christ" image is probably more relevant. Cf., e.g., Seneca, *Ep.* 95.52; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 2.1, 7.13; Epictetus, *Diss.* 2.10.3 and H. Conzelmann, 1 *Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 211. The term is used here to describe the intimate relationship between the Father and beings which emanate from him, a relationship frequently emphasized in Valentinian sources, such as *Tri. Trac.* 73.18-74.18, 123.11-22.

For, if (ϵνεθε νεραρ): The particle ϵνε is normal in contrary-to-fact conditions. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #456. Note the apodosis with νεϥνα at 19.2. The form ϵνεθε is unusual, although it appears again at 22.33. It is probably simply an alternative form for ϵνε. Cf. Till, *Or.* 27 (1958) 272. Grobel (*Gospel*, 54) takes θε as a noun, “for if the way of this aeon.” However, νετα is never used for νετε in this text. νετα is, no doubt, the prenominal conjugation base of the perf. I.

For reasoning similar to that which appears here, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 62.14-23.

19.1 *this aeon*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 55) suggests that the term refers to “this world,” as in the NT, with no technical Gnostic sense. However, in this context, which speaks about the relation of the Father and his members, there is probably an allusion to the collectivity of the aeons of the pleroma, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 91) suggests. Nonetheless, this may be another example of the intentional ambiguity of the language of the *Gos. Truth*.

19.1-2 [*received*] *their* [*perfection*]: For a parallel to the restoration, initially suggested by Säve-Söderbergh (*Evangelium Veritatis*, 7), cf. 18.36 and 19.4.

19.2 *could not have come* [...]: A preposition meaning “to” would be appropriate here. Hence, Säve-Söderbergh suggests the restoration ρρ[ε] ρ. However, the remaining traces do not fit the letters of that proposal.

19.5 *return*: Here, as in Gnostic texts generally, the soteriological process is one of return to the source of all being, which is at the same time a return to one's own true self. Cf. the description of the return of Sophia in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 91). Cf. also *CH* 1.13, noted by Lafrance (*SMR* 5 [1962] 63-67), along with other Hellenistic examples of the theme. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 78.1-3, 123.32-33. In the *Gos. Truth* the return involves an initial appropriation of salvific Gnosis and an ultimate reintegration to unity with the Father. Cf. 21.5-11, 25.11-19, 28.9-19.

19.6-7 *perfectly unitary knowledge* (οϥαϥνε οϥεει ρνε οϥαωκ): Literally, “knowledge, one perfectly.” Unity is an impor-

tant theme in the *Gos. Truth*. It characterizes the transcendent realm of the Father (23.15, 24.26–27), and it is the ultimate state to which all beings which have come from the Father will return (25.10–19). On the unitary nature of the Father, cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 51.8–9.

19.7 *it is he who* (ⲛⲧⲁϣ ⲡⲈ ⲛⲧⲁϣ-): Grobel (*Gospel*, 57) finds the expression syntactically puzzling, but it is simply a three-member nominal sentence. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #247.

19.10–17 *as in the case of a person . . . he became a guide* (ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̅ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̅ⲁ . . . ⲁϣⲱⲡⲈ ⲛⲭⲁϣⲙⲁⲓⲧ): The syntax here is problematic and the sentence has been variously construed. A basic problem is the prepositional phrase ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̅ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̅ⲁ. Is it agential or is it a peculiar way of introducing a comparative sentence? The parallel in 24.32–33 suggests that the latter is the case. Some commentators, such as Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 170–71) and Fecht (*Or.* 32 [1963] 306), prefer to take the prepositional phrase as agential and see an ellipse “as (sent) from one who is unknown, he (*scil.* Jesus) became a guide.” This leaves construal of ⲱⲁϣⲟϣⲱϣⲈ unclear. In order to resolve the difficulty Till introduces an adversative, “but he wishes, etc.” Ménard (*L’Évangile*, 92) avoids the problem by taking ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲈ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϩ̅ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̅ⲁ as a conjunction (=ⲱⲥⲡⲉⲣ ⲁ̅ⲩⲩ). This might be a possibility for ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲈ alone, but hardly for the whole phrase used here. Grobel (*Gospel*, 56) takes ⲙⲡⲣⲏⲧⲈ as if it were the predicate of an adverbial sentence, but this is unwarranted. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 35) translates in a similar way, but it remains unclear how he construes the syntax.

If we have here a comparative sentence, as we have presupposed, the sentence is compressed and elliptical because of an anacolouthon, not unlike Paul’s at Rom 5:12. Fully expressed, the comparison would be: “As a person who is unknown wants to be known and loved (and thus sends an emissary to make himself known), so (the Father sent Jesus and) he became a guide, etc.”

19.13 *wishes to have them know him and love him*: These verbs could also be passive. The notion that the Deity desires to be known and loved is common in the NT and other contemporary religious literature. Grobel (*Gospel*, 57) cites 1 John 4:7–8, 5:2–3; John 14:15–21; *CH* 1.31, 10.4, 15. Ménard (*L’Évangile*, 91–92) adds 1 Tim 2:4 and Heb 8:11.

19.17 *he became a guide*: As most commentators agree, the subject pronoun certainly refers to Christ and not the Father, as the following remarks make clear. On the image of the guide, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2, *Exc. Theod.* 74.2, *Act. Thom.* 10, and *Act. John* 27, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 92). Cf. also Philo, *Conf. ling.* 92-98, *Immut.* 142, *Heres* 98, *CH* 1.20, 7.2 and Heb 2:10, 6:20.

19.19 *in schools*: This is possibly an allusion to Luke 2:46-49 or to a non-canonical infancy gospel. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1 or *Act. Thom.* 79, cited by *ed. pr.* (52). The image of the school is used of the aeons of the pleroma in *Tri. Trac.* 71.22-23, although there is no reference there to the activity of Jesus. The childhood of Jesus is alluded to at *Tri. Trac.* 133.27-28.

he appeared (αφι ατμητε): Literally, "he came into the midst." Cf. 20.8 and 26.4. The language is possibly biblical. Cf. Luke 24.36 and John 20:19,26.

19.22 *wise in their own estimation*: Literally, "wise in their heart." Cf., with *ed. pr.* (52), Isa 5:21, Rom 1:22, 12:16, and *Act. Thom.* 79. Grobel (*Gospel*, 59) suggests that the passage, through 19.30, with its contrast of the wise and the children, is a dramatization of Matt 11:25 and Luke 10:21. Similarly Cerfaux (*NTS* 5 [1958-59] 106). On the apologetic theme of the weakness of human knowledge, cf. also 1 Cor 1:27 and *Tri. Trac.* 126.14.

19.23 *putting him to the test*: Puech and Quispel (*VC* 8 [1954] 34, n. 70) find here an allusion to Luke 2:42-52, or to the episode reflected in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, but the language is typical of controversy stories of the public ministry. Cf. Matt 16:1, 19:3, 22:18, 35 and Mark 8:11, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 93). Cf. also Leipoldt (*TLZ* 82 [1957] 831) and Cerfaux (*NTS* 5 [1958-59] 107, n.1).

19.25 *foolish*: Literally, "vain" or "empty." Cf. 17.16.

III. *The Revelation as a Book* (19.27-24.9)

The third segment of the text begins with a development of the image of Jesus as teacher presented in 19.10-27, but the text quickly shifts into a complex exploration of the imagery of the Book, which falls into four discrete parts. First, the image of the scroll taken by the one who was slain is presented (19.27-20.14). Then the Book is

considered as Edict and Testament (20.15–21.2). Third, the Book is described as the Book of Life (21.2–25). This is followed by reflection on the Book as a living Book (22.38–23.18). Between the third and fourth sections there are two paragraphs which consider the process of reception of the message of the Book (21.25–22.20) and the effects of that reception (22.20–37). The latter paragraph in particular anticipates the explanations of the next major segment of the text (24.9–33.22). The whole section, and the first third of the text, then closes with a hymnic reprise on the coming of the revealing Word (23.18–24.9).

19.30 *having been strengthened* (ΕΛΥΤΩΚ): Various commentators, such as Fecht (*Or.* 32 [1963] 323, n.1), Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 7), and Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 9) find here a sacramental allusion, either to baptism or to confirmation. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 14) further finds a possible play on the Syriac words to confirm (*šar*) and truth (*šarirā*). While language associated with sacramental practice may be used here, it is hardly necessary to posit a Syriac original, as both Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 326) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 15) correctly argue. For Valentinian use of *στηρίξειν* and similar terms, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, 1.2.4, 1.2.6, 1.21.3. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 128.25–26. Note, too, the earlier discussion of the theme of immutability at 17.26.

19.31 *impressions* (ΝΙΜΟΥΝΓ̅ Ν̅ΖΟ): Literally, “forms of face.” The term reappears at 23.33–24.3 and in the *Tri. Trac.* 66.14 and 86.28. It may be based on the notion that the angels contemplate the face of the Father (Matt 18:10) alluded to in the account of the Marcosians in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.3 and 1.13.6, as noted by Robison (*JR* 43 [1963] 241) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 94).

19.32–33 *they knew, they were known*: Cf. 1 Cor 8:2–3, 13:12; Gal 4:9 and John 10:4 and 13:31.

19.33–34 *they were glorified, they glorified*: Cf. Rom 8:30. In the *Tri. Trac.* (68.4–69.14) the aeons achieve their own authentic existence by glorifying the Father. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.2, 1.14.8; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.7–8, 6.32.1; *Ap. John* BG 27.16 and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90,2.

19.35 *living book of the living*: Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 7) suggests that the phrase "living book" reflects an ambiguity in Syriac where *sefrā de ḥayyē* (Rev 8:17) means both "book of life" and "book of the living." However, a play in Greek is also possible and likely in view of the complex image of the book which is developed in the following pages. The sources of the imagery are certainly biblical. Cf. Ps 68:29; Phil 4:3; Rev 3:5, 5:2-9, 13:8, 20:12, 15; 21:27, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 95). Similar imagery is widespread, appearing, for instance in the *Hymn of the Pearl* (*Act. Thom.* 110), noted by Lafrance (*SMR* 5 [1962] 68, n.81) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 95), and in *Od. Sol.* 9:11, as noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 36). For a survey of materials pertinent to this theme, cf. L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Urchristentum* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1952). In the *Gos. Truth* the Book is an image of what is revealed (here and at 20.3-4, 12-14). As the agent of awakening and return, what is revealed can be portrayed as itself alive (here and at 22.38-39). As the instrument of reintegration into the primordial unity, what is revealed can be depicted as the Book onto the pages of which the names of the elect are inscribed (21.4-5). The complex imagery thus illustrates the intimate association of the means and the results of revealing Gnosis.

19.37 *in the thought and the mind of the Father*: The "Book" is thus like the revealing Word itself and the totality (16.35, 17.6-9).

20.1-2 *before the foundation of the totality*: Cf. Eph 1:4.

20.3 *his incomprehensibility*: Literally, "the incomprehensibilities of him." Grobel (*Gospel*, 61) usefully compares such English expressions as "His Majesty." *Ed. pr.* (53) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 96) compare Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5, τὸ ἀκαταληπτὸν τοῦ πατρός. The preposition $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ is used frequently throughout this text for $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ as the possessive.

20.5-6 *since it remains... to be slain*: As Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 273) argues, the phrase $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta$, with the feminine pronominal subject, should be construed as impersonal, with the conjunctive $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\lambda\zeta\omega\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ as complementary. It cannot be the case that the *book* remains for the one who is to take it, since $\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ is masculine. The sentence clearly alludes to Rev 5:2-9. Grobel (*Gospel*, 61-62) finds the present tense of $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta$ troublesome. It need not, however, be a

mistranslation, but may be understood as expressing a general truth.

20.6 *become manifest* (ΟΥΑΝΖ): The form of the simple infinitive here is unusual and it appears again at 20.23 and 23.22. In all three cases the anomaly is resolved by the emendation of Till (αϞΟΥΑΝΖ<Ϟ>). The parallelism in structure at 23.22 suggests that such an emendation is warranted there, but whether it is in the other two cases is hardly certain. It would appear, rather, that the form is an A² simple infinitive. For possible analogous formations, cf. ϞΑΡΜ (31.23; 29; 32.3), ϞΑΜΤ (34.37; 35.2, 3; 42.14) and ΤΑΚΜ (33.9).

20.10 *merciful . . . faithful*: Cf. Heb 2:17.

20.11 *he was patient* (αϞϫ ϣαρ'ϣ'ζΗΤ): The second ϫ is possibly written over an η. Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 273) takes this to be the original and correct reading, to which the supralinear ϣ is also a secondary correction. The resultant text ϫ ϣΑΝΖΗΤ would mean "he pitied."

in accepting suffering: The physical reality of the passion of Jesus is not ignored here, pace Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 96–97). Its significance is, however, seen as revelatory, not atoning. For similar remarks about the importance of the suffering of Jesus, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 65.12, 115.4.

20.13–14 *his death is life for many*: Cf. Mark 10:45 and 1 Tim 2:6.

20.15 *will*: Early Christian imagery (cf. Mark 14:24, 1 Cor 11:25, Gal 3:15, Heb 9:15–17) is here, as elsewhere in the text, developed and reinterpreted, as van Unnik (*Jung Codex*, 109) notes. Grobel (*Gospel*, 63) suggests that the comparison is really between heirs, who are not made known until the will is opened, and the recipients of the revelation. The point is rather that the essence of the Father (note ΟΥϞΙΑ at 20.16, which in the image means the property of the testator, but also connotes the "being" or "substance" of the Father) is made known by the opening of the Book of the revelation. The content of the revelation is, thus, the fact that "the totality" is in and part of the Father. Cf. Ménard, (*L'Évangile*, 89).

20.15–16 *before it is opened* (ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΗΝ): For the crasis involved here, cf. 18.26.

20.20 *invisible*: This is a common designation of the primordial principle in religious literature of the first Christian centuries. Cf. Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 98.

something (ΟΥΕΙ): The Coptic probably translates not a Greek adjective *μόνος*, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 65) suggests, but an indefinite pronoun, as at 19:11. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 51.28-30.

20.21-22 *every space* (ΜΑΕΙΤ ΝΙΜ): The Coptic word in S and A normally means “way” or “path.” It is translated thus here by Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 171) and Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 327-28). In this text it certainly has this meaning at 18.19-20 and 31.29. Note also the compound *χαγμαίτ* at 19.17. These passages presumably translate the Greek *ὅδος*. Otherwise, as here, the term seems to mean “space,” probably translating the Greek *τόπος* or possibly *διάστημα*, a term which appears in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.24.5, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 99) notes. Cf. 20.35, 22.22, 26.5, 27.10, 27.25, 28.11. The term *τόπος* appears in Hermetic and Valentinian texts to refer to the divine realm. Cf. *CH* 2.3; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.5; and *Tri. Trac.* 59.26. The use of the term *μαείτ* at 26.15 and 27.10, where it seems to refer to sentient beings, and at 27.25 and 28.11, where the *μαείτ* are said to be “in” the Father, probably reflects this usage. Note too that at 26.15-26 the *μαείτ* seem to be equated with the emanations of Error. Why *μαείτ* should have been chosen to translate *τόπος* is unclear. Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 9) argues for a Syriac original, since in Syriac *madrē* can mean both “place” and “way.” It is just as likely that *μαείτ* can have both senses in A, as it does in B. While in S the term regularly means “way,” there is at least one attestation of its use in the sense of “space.” Cf. Crum 188b. Note, however, that at 22.26 *μα ΝΙΜ* is corrected by an ancient scribe to *μαείτ ΝΙΜ*. It is possible that *μα* was originally used to translate *τόπος*.

20.24 *he put on that book* (αφβαλεϩ): Grobel (*Gospel*, 65), followed by Arai (*Christologie*, 101), emends to *αφβαλλπ̄*, “he revealed,” making the image simpler and more in conformity with what was said earlier about the book. However, the new twist in the image is probably comprehensible. Note, with Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 99-100) the image of the letter in the *Hymn of the Pearl* (*Act. Thom.* 111-112) which leads the recipient to regain his royal robe. That image of the heavenly garment, reflected in such NT texts as 2 Cor 5:3, may well lie behind the *Gos. Truth* here. In the *Tri. Trac.* 66.32,

the Son is said to clothe himself with the aeons of the pleroma, and recall that the totality is the content of the testamentary "book" according to 20.18–21.

20.26–27 *he published the edict . . . on the cross*: There may be an allusion here to Col 2:14, although, if so, the image has been radically reinterpreted, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 67) notes. It may be that the author has conflated the images of Colossians with that of John 3:14, 12:32. In any case, what Christ does on the cross is to "take up" and publish the "living book," the revelation of the ΟΥΓΙΑ of the Father. As Grobel (*Gospel*, 67) notes, "edict" (διάταγμα) is a technical term for the stipulations or contents of a will. Here the overlap in the imagery of the book and the testament becomes clear.

20.28–29 *he draws himself down to death*: Cf. Phil 2:8.

20.29–30 *though life eternal clothes him*: In the NT there is frequent allusion to the eschatological clothing with immortality. Cf. 1 Cor 15:53–54, 2 Cor 5:2–3. The text here also recalls such passages as John 11:25 where Christ is said to be eternal life, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 67) notes. This imagery in the *Gos. Truth* could support a Docetic understanding of the text's Christology, although it can also be construed as "two natures" or "pneumatic" Christology. Cf. Arai, *Christologie*, 93–96, 120–24. There is certainly no support in the text for the suggestion of Grobel (*Gospel*, 67) that the whole sequence described here is understood to take place prior to the incarnation.

20.30–31 *stripped himself*: Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 7) finds in the divestiture language a baptismal allusion. Garment imagery in a baptismal context in a Valentinian text appears at *Tri. Trac.* 128.21. The imagery is certainly common in sacramental contexts, but it is hardly confined to them. Cf. 2 Cor 5:4, where the language is applied to the believer, not to Christ, in reference to eschatology.

20.35 *empty spaces*: Here ΜΑΕΙΤ must refer not to the aeons of the transcendent world, but to the phenomenal world. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 91.22. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 102) suggests that χώρα not τόπος lies behind ΜΑΕΙΤ here.

20.36 *he passed through those who, etc.*: Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 274)

suggests that something has dropped from the text here, but such a supposition is quite unnecessary.

21.1 A few letters and letter traces remain on this line, but there is not enough to support any restoration.

21.3 *those who are to receive teaching*: This is a good example of the catchword association which occasionally links paragraphs in the text. Cf. 21.2.

21.5 *it is about themselves, etc.*: The verb $\epsilon\gamma\chi\iota$ at 21.5 is construed as a pres. II., emphasizing the adverbial phrase $\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, which might also be translated, "themselves alone." Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 103) sees here a reference to a Gnostic esotericism, which separates pneumatics and hylics, but this is not the force of the remark. The author does not here emphasize a distinction between different recipients of revelation but between the content of the revelation (self-knowledge) and other possible contents.

21.6-7 *receiving it from the Father*: The plural pronominal object ($\mu\mu\alpha\gamma$) agrees with $\sigma\beta\omega$ (21.5), which may serve as a plural form. Cf. Crum 319b.

21.9 *perfection . . . is in the Father*: Cf. 17.6-9, 18.35, 19.9.

21.10-11 *necessary . . . to ascend*: Cf. 19.6. For redemption as ascent, cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 124.13.

21.11-12 *if one has knowledge*: Note how easily the text moves from discussion of "the totality" to discussion of the individual. As is common in Gnostic texts generally and particularly in Valentinian systems, the soteriological process is analogous at all levels of reality.

21.13 *his own*: Cf. John 10:3, 4 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5. In receiving knowledge of his identity with the transcendent Father, the Gnostic at once comprehends his true self and his alienation from the world of matter. The possible allusion to John 10 is interesting in light of the discussion in the next paragraph of the significance of calling by name, a motif which appears at John 10:3. The Johannine

passage may also be in view in the later discussion of the shepherd. Cf. 31.35–32.30.

21.14–15 *he who is ignorant is in need*: Note the earlier remarks on the need of the totality (18.35, 19.9). This formula is a classic expression of the fundamental Gnostic soteriological principle. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 78.2.

21.18–22 *since...his own*: These lines repeat, almost exactly, 21.8–11. The repetition reinforces the basic soteriological message about the need for return to the ultimate source of all being. What follows the repeated phrases in each case emphasizes, in slightly different ways, the importance of the Father's initiative in the process. This highlights an important feature of the *Gos. Truth* and of Christian Gnosticism generally. Though the content of the revelation is self-knowledge, i.e., knowledge of the relation of the self to its source, it comes, not through self-contemplation, but through a revelatory act which occurs at the Father's initiative.

21.23 *he enrolled them in advance*: The verb is here construed as a perf. II, with *ed. pr.*, Grobel, Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 172). Schenke (*Herkunft*, 38) takes it to be a perf. rel. This necessitates taking the impersonal $\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$ of 21.19–20 as the main predication, but the following $\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon$ seems to coordinate it with $\omega\sigma\sigma\pi$ within the $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ clause.

The *Gos. Truth* here and in the following paragraph uses predestinarian language redolent with NT allusions to such texts as Rom 8:29; John 6:37, 17:12. It is unclear whether this belief in predestination is identical with the position attributed to Valentinians by the heresiologists, that human beings are "saved by nature," as is suggested by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 104–05). On the whole issue of determinism in Valentinian soteriology, cf. the notes to *Tri. Trac.* 118.15. Cf. the cautions expressed by Grobel (*Gospel*, 73–77).

prepared: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 104) suggests Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.6 and 2.19.4 for comparison.

21.24 *to give* ($\alpha\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota$): The form is problematic. We construe it as an orthographic variant of \dagger . Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 274) suggests emending to $\alpha\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota<\tau\omicron\upsilon>$, "to give them."

21.25–27 *those whose name he knew...were called*: The sentence

possibly alludes to various biblical texts, such as Isa 43:1, 45:3; Rom 8:29-30; John 10:3; 2 Thess 2:13, as noted by van Unnik (*Jung Codex*, 118) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 104). Cf. also John 20:16, a dramatic scene of which this whole paragraph may be a development. The theme of naming touched upon here becomes important in the Christological reflection of 38.7-40.23, although the connection between these two types of naming activity is not made explicit.

21.28 *so that* (ζωc): Our translation assumes that the conjunction is used in a consecutive sense, as do *ed. pr.*, Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 48) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 38). Grobel (*Gospel*, 72) takes the conjunction as comparative, but that makes little sense here.

21.30-31 *for he...ignorant*: As Grobel (*Gospel*, 75) notes, this sentence stands in an antithetical, chiasmic relation with the preceding sentence. The close association of the two leads us to take 21.25 as the beginning of a new section on the significance of the name, while this section is linked to the preceding by the catch-word association in $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\alpha\text{Q}\bar{\text{P}} \text{ }\Psi\text{P}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\alpha\text{Z}\text{OY}$ (21.24) - $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\alpha\text{Q}\bar{\text{P}} \text{ }\Psi\alpha\text{P}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\alpha\text{Y}\text{N}\epsilon$ (21.26).

21.32-33 *how is one to hear*: Cf. Rom. 10:14.

21.35-36 *creature of oblivion*: Cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7.36, τὸ πλάσμα τῆς λήθης, cited by *ed. pr.* (54). Cf. 17.24-25.

21.36-37 *will vanish*: Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 79.1-4 and 119.8-16.

22.1 What Grobel (*Gospel*, 77) records as letter traces above the first line of the page are parts of the page number, κβ, 22.

22.3 *if one has knowledge* (εcψαcαγνε): The form of the conditional conjugation base (without a final N) is common in A and is now well attested in A². Cf. *Gos. Truth* 24.34, 34.5 and *Tri. Trac.* 57.6, 62.4, 86.33, 108.14, 131.31, 132.16.

22.3-4 *he is from above*: Cf. John 3:31, 8:23; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.13.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.15.2, cited by *ed. pr.* (54).

22.5-7 *he hears, answers...ascends*: Cf. Eph 4:8-10; Rev 4:1, 11:12; and *CH* 13, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 106). Note also the

recognition scene involving Mary Magdelene at John 20:16-17.

22.9-10 *he does the will*: Cf. John 7:17 and 20:17-18. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 106) notes the deployment of language about the divine will in such Hermetic texts as *CH* 10.2, 13.2, 4, 20, where it is seen as the divine seed which engenders the rebirth of the spiritual human being, although such symbolism is foreign to our text.

22.11 *to be pleasing to him*: Cf. Rom 8:8; 1 Thess 2:15, 4:1; 2 Cor 5:9, cited by Grobel (*Gospel*, 79) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 106).

22.12 *rest*: The theme of rest is a biblical image (cf. Deut 12:9; Ps 132:8, 13, 14; Isa 14:3, 66:1) which is widely attested and elaborately developed in Jewish and early Christian literature. For that development, see O. Hofius, *Katapausis: Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief* (WUNT 11; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1970). For examples of the use of the symbol, cf. Philo, *Mig. Abr.* 26-33, *Cher.* 87-90; 4 *Ezra* 8:52-62; *M. Tamid* 7:4; Heb 4:1-11; and *Od Sol.* 11:12; 26:12; 30:2, 7; 35:6, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 38). In Gnostic texts the symbol becomes particularly common as a reference to that final state of reintegration of the self into the divine. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6, 3.15.2; *Exc. Theod.* 65.2; Heracleon, fr. 31 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38), noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 106-1-7, 117). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 58.36 and the literature cited *ad loc.* For further development of the motif in the *Gos. Truth*, cf. 23.29, 24.18, 33.36, 40.33, 42.21-22, 43.1.

the name of each one: With most commentators we take $\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ as indefinite. Till's emendation (*Or.* 27 [1958] 275) to $\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota <\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota>$ makes this clearer, but is unnecessary. Cf. Crum 469b. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 38) suggests that it refers to the Father, the "One." Although the text does speak about the Unity of the Father (e.g., 23.15), it does not refer to the Father simply as "the One." For the use of the indefinite pronoun, cf. 19.10.

22.14-15 *knows where he comes from and where he is going*: Cf. the classic Gnostic formula of *Exc. Theod.* 78.2 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.6.

22.17 *drunk*: This is another common image for the condition of ignorance in contemporary religious literature. Cf., with Ménard

(*L'Évangile*, 108), *CH* 1.27, 7.2; Philo, *Somn.* 2.101, 162, *Plant.* 177, *Ebr.* 154-55.

22.18 *returned to himself*: Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 108).

22.19 *set right what are his own*: The Coptic word order is unusual and probably reflects the order of the Greek original. Cf. 23.16. Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 8) sees here another allusion to a ritual act associated with baptism. Cf. also 30.11.

22.20 *He has brought back*: The text returns to a discussion of the actions of the revealer, last encountered at 20.11. Here, however, the actions described are not those of the human Jesus, but of the Son or Savior acting on a cosmic level. For the wording here cf. Acts 3:26, although, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 109) notes, the revealer does not produce repentance from sin, but release from ignorance.

22.21-22 *gone before them*: Cf., with *ed. pr.* (54), John 10:4.

22.22 *spaces*: Cf. 20.21-22.

22.24-25 *since it was on account of the depth, etc.*: The form $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\chi\iota$ is a perf. II. circ. On this relatively rare conjugation base, cf. Polotsky, "The Coptic Conjugation System," *Or.* 29 (1969) 400 (= *Collected Papers*, 246).

22.25 *depth*: Cf. 35.15, 37.8, 40.29. The term appears in some NT contexts, e.g., Rom 11:33, 1 Cor 2:10, Eph 3:18. It is common in Valentinian sources, either as an hypostasis (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1, 1.11.1, 1.21.2; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.6.4) or as an attribute of the Father (*Tri. Trac.* 54.20, 60.21, 64.28-37). Cf. especially Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.17.10: *magnitudinem enim et virtutes patris causas ignorantiae dicitis*, cited by *ed. pr.* (54). Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.5.3, cited by Schoedel, "Monism," 388.

22.26-27 *who encircles...all spaces...while none encircles him*: This is a commonplace affirmation of the religious philosophy of the early Christian era. Cf. Philo, *Somn.* 1.61-66, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 111). Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.5; 2.31.1;

Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.3; *Treat. Res.* 46.39; and *Tri. Trac.* 53.24, 60.5. On the theme in general, cf. Schoedel, "Monism," 380–81. Note that **ΜΑΕΙΤ ΝΙΜ**, "all spaces," has been corrected in antiquity from **ΜΑ ΝΙΜ**, "all places." **ΜΑ** is the term used in the *Tri. Trac.* in equivalent contexts.

22.27–28 *great wonder*: The following sentence repeats a fundamental affirmation of the text. Cf. 17.6–9. The *Tri. Trac.* deals with the issue involved here in a similar way. Cf. especially 60.16–62.5. The aeons are in the Father, yet are unaware of the fact. They are brought forth from him, from potential to actual existence, by his summons which leads them to search for him. This process is the archetype of all movement toward the Father.

22.32 *to comprehend* (**ϠΩΠ ΑΡΑΥ**): Literally, "to take to themselves." The text might be corrupt and in need of emendation to **ϠΩΠ ΑΡΑϠ**, where the pronominal object of the preposition anticipates the object of **ϠΑΥΝΕ**.

22.33 *for if* (**ΕΝΕΘΕ ΓΑΡ**): For the form **ΕΝΕΘΕ**, cf. 18.40. Grobel (*Gospel*, 80) takes the conditional protasis with what precedes, but the post-positive **ΓΑΡ** precludes that possibility. Either the sentence beginning here is an anacolouthon, or something has been lost in transmission. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 42) suggests that **ΕΝΕΘΕ** translates *οὕτως*, but that is unlikely, and, in any case, it does not produce a more acceptable syntax.

22.34 *his will*: Cf. 24.2, 30.36, 33.34, 37.4–34. In some Gnostic texts the will of the Father is hypostatized as the agent of the generation of the aeons of the pleroma. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.38.5–7; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33.1.2–7, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 112). Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–4. It may be, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 81) suggests, that the will is here implicitly identified with the Son. The importance of the Father's will is emphasized at *Tri. Trac.* 55.34–35, 71.35, where it is identified with the Spirit which "breathes" in the aeons and leads them to search for the Father.

22.36–37 *in which . . . its* (**ΕΥΤΗΤ ΝΜΜΕΣ . . . ΝΤΟΤῚ**): The Coptic pronouns here are feminine and thus have no proper antecedent in the context. In the Greek original the gender of the pronouns may have

been due to the fact that $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ was their antecedent, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 81) notes. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 39) emends the pronouns to masculine and construes the clause quite differently: "while all his emanations were joined with him," i.e., the Father makes his revelation before the fall of the aeons from the pleroma. The clause as understood here probably is paralleled by the account in the Valentinian myth of the cooperation of the aeons of the pleroma in the act of producing the Savior. Cf., e.g., *Tri. Trac.* 81.30-82.9.

22.37 *emanations* (ⲛⲓⲧⲏ): The Coptic word is attested only in the *Apoc. Elijah* 50.4, A 9.15, as a "ray" or "gift" of the Son. It is used in the *Gos. Truth* at 26.25, 29; 41.14, 16; and probably at 27.11 in the form ⲧ. The etymology and sense of the term here are problematic. Most commentators assume a derivation from ⲧ (Crum 392a-396a) and translate, as here, "emanations." This would be the Coptic equivalent of $\pi\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$, used frequently in the *Tri. Trac.* Grobel (*Gospel*, 83) suggests that the word is a feminine collective in -ε, citing Steindorff (*Lehrbuch*, p. 70, 4). Grobel argues on the basis of an analogy with $\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\mu$ (S), $\rho\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon$ (A, A²), $\rho\iota\mu\eta$ (S, A, A) whose plural is $\rho\iota\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$. Accordingly ⲧⲏ is seen to be derived from $\tau\omicron\epsilon$ (S), $\tau\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (A, A²), meaning "part" (Crum 396a). The analogy is not convincing, as Arai (*Christologie*, 46, n, 10) notes, since the A plural of $\tau\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ is simply $\tau\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon$. Cf., as well as the plural here, *Tri. Trac.* 63.7, and *Man. Ps.* 227.4. Another etymology is proposed by Weigandt (*Der Doketismus im Urchristentum und in der theologischen Entwicklung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* [Diss. Heidelberg, 1961] II.20, n. 270), cited by Arai (*Christologie*, 46), who derives ⲧⲏ from Egyptian *tje*, "form" or "image."

22.38 *knowledge*: Note the catch-word association with 22.36.

22.39 *living book*: Cf. 19.35. The "book" image is here developed in a new direction, where the individual letters written in the book are the focus of attention. The early Christian roots of this speculation may be reflected in such NT texts as Gal 4:3, 9; Col 2:8, 20. Cf. also 2 Pet 3:10, 12. For Valentinian speculation on the letters of the alphabet as symbols of spiritual realities, cf. especially the Marcosians discussed at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1-5. See also *Marsanes* 28.1-39.25. This paragraph affirms that the medium of revelation, the "living

book,” does not consist of ordinary vowels and consonants, but of powerful, living letters or thoughts (23.11).

23.1 *aeons, at the end*: The term aeons seems to be used to refer primarily to the members of “the totality,” but, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 83) notes, it could be simply understood here and at 23.16 as “the world.” Cf. Heb 1:2, 11:3. This is another example of the systematic ambiguity in the use of possibly biblical terminology characteristic of this text. That more than a temporal referent is involved here is suggested by 23.17–18.

as [his letters]: For the restoration, cf. 23.17.

23.3–4 *vowels...consonants*: Literally, “places of voices,” and “letters lacking sound.” Cf. the Marcosian alphabetic speculation in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1–6.

23.9 *speak*: As Grobel (*Gospel*, 85) notes, the force of the image here is derived from the ancient practice of reading aloud.

23.11 *complete <thought>* (εΟΥΜΕ<ΕΥΕ> ΕΦΧΗΚ): The unemended text might be translated “a complete truth,” but the usual form for the word “truth” in this text is ΜΗΕ, and the word is usually feminine. The “living book” of revelation does not depend on the combination of its symbols to convey truth. The whole is contained in each of its parts.

23.15 *Unity*: Cf. 19.6, where the unitary character of the salvific knowledge is stressed. Here the term is probably used of the Father. Note the use of the term to designate an hypostasis in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.3; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.6.5, cited by *ed. pr.* (85). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 51.8–9, which associates unity more closely with the Father.

23.18–20 *his wisdom contemplates his Word*: Here begins a short hymnic section (23.18–24.9) on the Word of the Father. For a similar hymnic form, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 66.14–29. Grobel (*Gospel*, 87) analyzes the syntactical structure of this section somewhat differently, seeing it begin with $\bar{\nu}\nu\iota\sigma\zeta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\gamma\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu\ \pi\iota\omega\tau$. This phrase does parallel the frequent $\bar{\nu} + \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ phrases in what follows, but this is a device connecting the two paragraphs here. The fut. III at 23.18 is in a clause beginning with $\omega\iota\nu\alpha$ at 23.15. That syntax is not continued. Grobel also suggests that $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ at 23.19 refers to the

book and translates "The wisdom (gained) from it," but $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ is frequently used in this text as $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ elsewhere.

Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 115-115) suggests that the first line of the hymn refers to the conceiving of the Word by Sophia, but such a mythical event is certainly not explicit in the text. The text does suggest (23.34-35) that one way to construe the poetic affirmations here is to see the attributes of the Father as designations of the hypostatic aeons of his pleroma, but in that case the Word is not subordinated to or derived from an entity like Sophia.

23.19 *contemplates* ($\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha$): The term, as H. D. Betz ("The Sermon on the Mount: Its Literary Genre and Function," *JR* 59 [1979] 285-57) notes, is common in philosophical texts. It combines theoretical reflection and practical experience. Cf. e.g., Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.1.21-25, 1.25.31, 2.16.27.

23.22 *revealed* *<it>* ($\omicron\gamma\alpha\nu\bar{\zeta}<q>$): Cf. 20.6.

23.23 *forbearance* ($\alpha\omicron\omicron$): For the meaning of the term, cf. Grobel (*Gospel*, 89), who equates it with B $\alpha\omicron\omicron$; S $\omicron\omicron$ (Crum 317a). Cf. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\chi\eta$ at Rom 3:26. *Ed. pr.*, Arai (*Christologie*, 74) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 115) take $\alpha\omicron\omicron$ as the equivalent of S $\alpha\omicron\omicron\gamma$ (Crum 18a) and see it as a translation of $\tau\iota\mu\eta$. Cf. Rom 2:7.

23.24 *crown*: As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 115) notes, the image is a common one in Jewish and Jewish-Christian texts. Cf. *Od. Sol.* 1:1, 9:8, 9; 17:1 and *PS* 59.

23.31 *love has made a body*: Although the language sounds superficially incarnational, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 89-91) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 40) suggest, it is a mistake to take it as any less figurative than the rest of the poetic affirmations in this section.

23.33-35 *the Word...goes forth in the totality*: For the whole relationship of the Word (or the Son) to the beings which emanated from the Father, cf. the *Tri. Trac.* 57.8-67.37. Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 35) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 40) interpret the passage, through 24.3, as a description of the relation of the Son to the beings which have fallen outside the pleroma. That realm of reality does not seem to be specifically or exclusively in view here. In the *Tri. Trac.* the Word

or Logos is an hypostasis distinct from the Son who relates to entities outside the pleroma as does the Son to the aeons within. Such a distinction is not made here and the language used here may be applicable to various cosmic levels.

23.35 *fruit*: Cf. 18.24–25. The use of the term here is closer to the common Valentinian image than is the earlier passage. The Word is here pictured much as the Book at 19.34–20.3.

24.2 *impression*: Cf. 19.31.

24.3 *it supports the totality*: Schenke (*Herkunft*, 40) argues that the text here continues the imagery of 23.30 and, on this basis, he suggests that 23.30–24.3 is an interpolation. The style of the intervening lines is different from what precedes and follows and it is possible that the author of the text has adapted some traditional hymnic material with additional material of his own.

The affirmation that the Word supports the totality may be dependent on such cosmic Christological texts as Col 1:17 and Heb 1:3. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 118) suggests that the function of the Word here may also reflect Valentinian thinking about the Horos or Limit. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2–6, and *Tri. Trac.* 76.32. Grobel (*Gospel*, 91) also notes *Man. Ps.* 116.5.

24.5 *impression*: Cf. 19.30. The association of the imagery in this section with themes of Heb 1:3 suggests that the mysterious $\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\omicron$ may be related to the terms $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\gamma\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ and $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\eta\rho$ of that verse. Cf. also Rom 8:3, 2 Cor 5:21, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 91). Schenke (*Herkunft*, 40) suggests that the passage refers to the assumption of a heavenly form by the revealer upon his return to the heavenly realms, but as Arai (*Christologie*, 74–75) argues, this is quite unlikely.

24.6 *purifying*: Cf. Heb 1:3, and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4. Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 8) finds here further evidence of liturgical language.

24.7 *Father...Mother*: The feminine imagery here is striking. Valentinian texts regularly speak of the aeons of the pleroma as androgynous. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1. Speculation on the an-

drogynous nature of God and other spiritual beings was common in early Christianity. Cf. W. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *HR* 13 (1974) 165-208. Such speculation may lie behind this text, although the precise referent of the term "Mother" is unclear. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 40) suggests that the term is a designation for Wisdom (Sophia) mentioned at 23.18. That is not impossible, but, as noted above (23.18), Wisdom here does not function as does Sophia in other accounts of the basic Valentinian myth. Grobel (*Gospel*, 91) suggests that the text should be emended to †ΜΕΕΥΕ, "remembering," which would eliminate the reference to a feminine actor here, but, given the speculation on the sexuality of God in Valentinian and other contemporary sources, such an emendation is unwarranted. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 119) notes the reference to a Triad, Father-Mother-Son in such Gnostic texts as the *Book of Baruch* (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.26.1-27.5) and *Ap. John* BG 21.20, 35.19; CG II,1:2.14; IV,1:3.7-8, as well as the use of bi-sexual imagery for God in *Od. Sol.* 19:2.

24.8 *Jesus*: The syntactical position of the last figure mentioned here is unclear. It is perhaps to be construed, with Grobel (*Gospel*, 93), as in remote apposition to the subject of this paragraph, the Word (23.33).

24.8-9 *infinite sweetness* (ΜΝΤ<ΑΤ>ΑΡΗΧ̄ ΝΤΕ· ΠΙΖΛΑΒ): For the emendation, cf. 31.19 and 35.10. Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 13) suggests that sweetness is a common metaphor for goodness in Syriac sources, but the motif of the Deity's sweetness is also well attested in Valentinian sources, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 119) notes. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2; *Tri. Trac.* 56.11-15, and, in this text, 33.33, 41.3, 42.8. For the possible NT sources of the imagery, cf. Rom 2:4, 1 Pet 2:3, citing Ps 33:9. Cf. also Böhlig's critique of Nagel on this point (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 320).

IV. *Revelation Unifies* (24.9-27.7)

The fourth segment of the text begins with the author's intensive consideration of the effects of revelation. The first (24.9-25.18) and third (26.28-27.7) paragraphs revolve around the theme of the reunification with the Father which is effected by the revelation. Between them comes a paragraph (25.19-26.27) which discusses the obverse side of the revelatory event, suggesting that there is

judgmental separation as well as unification which occurs with the coming of the revealer.

24.10 *bosom*: For similar use of bodily parts as images of spiritual realities, cf. 26.34–27.3. Such metaphorical language is also found at John 1:18 and *Od. Sol.* 19.2–4, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 40), although the imagery here is hardly as graphic as that of the *Odes*, where the breasts, those of the female Spirit, give suck to believers.

24.10–11 *his bosom is the Holy Spirit*: The parenthetical remark, giving an allegorical explanation of the image of the Father's bosom, may, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 93) suggests, be the work of a glossator. For similar interpretative parenthetical comments, cf. 24.13, 22–24; 26.34–35. It should be noted, however, that parenthetical remarks are common in the *Gos. Truth*. They are not confined to explanatory glosses and may simply be a feature of the author's style. Cf. 17.6–9; 19.15–17; 19.36–20.3; 26.6–8, 24–25; 31.22–25; 32.22–23; 37.31–33; 41.9–10.

On the Holy Spirit in the *Gos. Truth*, cf. 26.36; 27.4; 30.17, and note the image of the fragrance, 34.3–34. Discussion of the Spirit probably does not, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 94) tentatively suggests, indicate a fourth-century date for either the text or its possible glossator. For Valentinian speculation on the Spirit, cf. e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5–6, 1.3.1, 1.4.1, 1.5.3, 1.11.1; Heracleon, fr. 13 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.33); *Exc. Theod.* 16. The last passage in particular, where the Holy Spirit is equated with the "thought" of the Father, is close to the imagery of the *Gos. Truth*. However, from the cryptic allusions to the spirit here little can be inferred about the author's pneumatology.

24.11–12 *he reveals what is hidden*: Cf. 27.7–8.

24.13–14 *what is hidden . . . is his Son*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 95) questions whether this parenthetical remark accurately reflects the presuppositions of the text and *ed. pr.* (55) note a contradiction with Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5, where the Son is said to be the comprehensible aspect of the Father. In fact, the contradiction is only apparent. The Son is, after all, said here to be revealed, thus making him comprehensible. Furthermore, *contra* Grobel, it must be noted that the Son is clearly described as the agent of revelation (18.11–21). He can, moreover, be identified with the Word (16.34), the content and

subject of the revealed Gospel (36.13-14). He is such because of his intimate association with the Father (38.7-39.28).

24.15 *mercies*: Cf. 18.14.

24.17-18 *cease laboring in search of the Father*: On the search of the aeons for the Father, cf. 17.3-4 and the texts cited there.

24.18 *resting there* (ΕΥΜΑΤῆ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ): For the motif of rest, cf. 22.12. *Ed. pr.* (55) assume a dittography of the second ΜΜΑΥ, but the word may well be, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 95) suggests, the S form of the adverb "there" (=A² ΜΜΕΥ). Cf. 29.19.

24.21 *deficiency* (ΨΤΑ): This important term appears for the first time in this context. Like many other key terms, it is systematically ambiguous, being used both cosmologically of the world outside the pleroma, and psychologically of the condition of ignorance or oblivion which is generated by Error. It probably translates, as Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 33) suggests, either κένωμα or ὑστέρημα, technical Valentinian terms used in the same polyvalent way. Cf., e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.16.2, 1.21.4. Note, too, the remark of Valentinus, fr. 5 (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90,1), τὸ ὄνομα ἐπλήρωσεν τὸ ὑστέρημα ἐν πλάσει, noted by Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 33) and Ménard, (*L'Évangile*, 120).

24.22 *the form* (ΠΙΣΧΗΜΑ): Cf. 1 Cor 7:31 and Phil 2:7-8.

24.24 *in which he served*: Cf., possibly, Mark 10:45, with Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 121) or Rom 8:20, with Grobel (*Gospel*, 97) or Phil 2:7-8, with Schenke (*Herkunft*, 41), though none of these passages is particularly close to the *Gos. Truth* here. The antecedent of the pronoun is probably Jesus, or the Son, although the reference is by no means clear. If the parenthetical remark is the work of a glossator, this pronominal ambiguity would be readily understandable, although it may simply be a function of translation.

24.25-26 *envy and strife*: Note the description of the hylic powers produced by the Logos in the *Tri. Trac.* 79.16-32. Similar vices are manifested by human "hylics" in the same text, 122.9. The place of envy and strife envisioned in the *Gos. Truth* could thus be either the

whole extra-pleromatic world, or, more specifically, the human realm where hylic people and attitudes are abundantly manifested.

24.28–32 *since...will no longer exist*: The phrase repeats, in a slightly altered form, the soteriological principle expressed at 18.7–11, where “oblivion” and not “deficiency” is in view, thus indicating the synonymy of the two terms.

24.32–25.2 *as in the case of the ignorance*: For the construction, cf. 19.10–17. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 41) ignores the parallel and emends, unnecessarily, “ignorance” to “knowledge.”

24.34–35 *when he comes to have knowledge* (ερωσακαγνε): For the conjugation base used here, cf. 22.3.

24.37 *darkness vanishes*: Cf. 18.17.

25.3 *the perfection*: Cf., possibly, 1 Cor 13:10, ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον.

25.6 *fusion of Unity*: The eschatological return to unity is a common Valentinian motif. Cf. Heracleon, fr. 18 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11); Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.5, 2.12.3; *Exc. Theod.* 36.2, cited by *ed. pr.* (55) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 122–23). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 132.16–133.7. In the *Gos. Truth*, cf. also 25.6, 9, 24; 34.33.

25.7 *their works*: The antecedent of the possessive pronominal prefix is unclear. It may be, as *ed. pr.* (55) suggest, that it refers to the “unity” and the “form.” However, it is more likely a reference to the “deficiency” or the “form,” treated, like “the all,” as a collective.

25.10 *the spaces*: Cf. 20.21–22.

25.11–12 *each one will attain himself*: The text here moves, as it frequently does, from the cosmic to the individual plane. Cf. 21.5. “Each one” could refer to each of the “spaces,” understood as emanations from the Father, or to individual human beings. The process of restoration to the primordial unity is, in any case, the same for both types of being, as it is in the *Tri. Trac.* Cf. 82.1–9, on the

return of the Logos to “himself” and 118.28–35 and 123.3–22, for the reintegration of the spiritual race into the body of the “true man.”

25.13 *purify himself*: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 123) notes the use of purification in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4 as a metaphor for liberation from passion.

25.14 *multiplicity* (ΖΝΗ ΟΥΤΟ ΝΡΗΤΕ): Literally, “a multitude of forms.” For “multiplicity” as a characteristic of alienated existence, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 106.16; 132.19.

25.15–16 *consuming matter*: For the imagery, cf. 1 Cor 15:54, and 2 Cor 5:4. Grobel (*Gospel*, 101) argues that the circumstantial modifies “knowledge” (25.13), but the masculine pronominal subject precludes that referent.

25.19 *if these things have happened*: As Grobel (*Gospel*, 101) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 124) note, the shift in tenses here is possibly significant. The futures of 25.10–19 are more logical or conditional than chronological. The reintegration into the primordial unity is achieved, at least proleptically, for the Gnostic upon reception of the revelation. Cf. the realized eschatology of John 4:23; 5:25 or *Treat. Res.* 47.24–30.

25.20 *to each one of us*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 101) infers from this use of the first person pronoun that the text is addressed to a Gnostic group. The sentence is, however, conditional, implying that “these things” need not have happened to “each one of us.” Nonetheless, the phrase may be an indication that the work is addressed to a community which at least includes people who share the author’s basic perspective.

25.22 *see to it above all* (ΝΤΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΠΤΗΡῶ): The phrase might also be translated “be mindful of the all.” Cf. Grobel (*Gospel*, 100–101).

25.23 *the house*: The image of the pure house is used by Valentinus, fr. 2 (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.114,3–6), as noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 124). A similar image is used by Philo, *Mig. Abr.* 194–95, noted by Lafrance (*SMR* 5 [1962] 70–71). There may also be a vague allusion to such NT texts as 2 Cor 5:2 and Heb 3:6.

The house image may be used here either of the world, or, more likely, of the self, as in the fragment of Valentinus.

25.25–29 (*it is*) as in the case, etc.: The syntax and precise force of the imagery are unclear. The sentence begins with a comparative clause, but there is no correlative, unless, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 103) suggests, something has fallen out of the text at 25.35. The particle $\chi\epsilon$ there makes that suggestion unlikely.

The ambiguity in the imagery also rests on syntactical ambiguity. $\pi\omega\nu\epsilon$ (25.26) could be construed, with Grobel (*Gospel*, 102–103) as transitive, with $\bar{\nu}\zeta\epsilon\nu\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (25.27) as its object. Such a construal, however, leaves $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\upsilon \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ dangling and Grobel's translation, "that were theirs" is unsatisfactory. The noun modified by $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\upsilon \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ could be either the people who move, or, more likely, the places. $\zeta\bar{\nu} \zeta\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ could refer to the places in the houses from which some move or to places on the jars themselves. Grobel (*Gospel*, 103) adopts the first alternative, implying that it was not the jars themselves that were faulty, but this contradicts the reference to bad jars at 25.33.

The image, on our reading, depicts the situation where tenants, upon moving from their rented property, destroy jars which belong with that property, but the landlord does not object, because the jars were unusable and needed to be replaced. This is an image of the situation where revelation occurs. That event causes some damage, but only to the unworthy.

25.28 *jars*: For the image, cf. Rom 9:20–24; 2 Tim 2:20–21; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5; and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 34.20.9–12, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 124–25). The application of the jars image to the products of Error is made clear at 26.8–27. Recall the image of Error working on its own matter at 17.15–18. Perhaps the current passage continues and develops the image initially presented there.

25.32 *rather <he> is glad*: We emend the feminine subject pronoun, following *ed. pr.* (56). Grobel (*Gospel*, 102–103) takes the feminine as impersonal, translating, "there is rejoicing."

25.35–36 *such is the judgment*: Cf. John 3:19, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 42).

26.2-3 *drawn sword with two edges*: As most commentators note, the imagery is closely related to such NT texts as Rev 2:12,16; 19:5 and especially Heb 4:12. Cf. also Philo's description of the Logos as the divider in *Heres* 130-140.

26.4-5 *when the Word appeared*: Cf. 19.17. As Grobel (*Gospel*, 105) notes, the author plays in this passage on the literal and figurative senses of the "Word."

26.5-6 *the one that is within the heart of those who utter it*: The coming of the revelatory Word can be portrayed both as an objective, external event and as a subjective, internal one. This soteriological complexity parallels the complex relationship of all beings to the Father and to the revealer. Cf. 18.29-35.

26.8 *it became a body (αϣ̄ ϣωμα)*: Referring now explicitly to the objective aspect of the revelatory event, the author, or possibly a glossator, emphasizes the substantial, effective quality of the Word. The author may be alluding to such incarnational texts as John 1:14, although, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 105) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 125-26) note, the author avoids the term ϣαρξ which is used in John. He may, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 126) suggests, be influenced by Platonic language about the σῶμα τοῦ κόσμου (*Tim.* 32D). There is no indication that there lies behind the text Valentinian speculation about Christ's psychic body, as is found at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1.

26.9 *disturbance*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 105) suggests that the Johannine σχίσμα (John 7:43, 9:16, 10:19) lies behind this phrase. As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 126) notes, the term used here is broader, possibly translating the Greek θάμβος, which indicates the condition of fear and trembling consequent on a revelatory experience. For the effects of the Savior's coming, see *Tri. Trac.* 89.4-8, 118.28-119.16. Note, too, the "stupefied wonder" (ἐκπληκτόν... θαῦμα) of Sophia when she fails of her purpose in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2.

26.12 *that is (αεϣ)*: the deletion of the first ϣ by *ed. pr.* is unnecessary. As Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 276) suggests, form is equivalent to αεϣ.

26.16-17 *the spaces were shaken*: Cf. *PS* 4 and 1 *Jeu* 40. For the

term "spaces," cf. 20.21–22. Here the term seems to be equivalent to the emanations (†H) of error. Cf. 26.25.

26.19 *error was upset*: Error appears here in highly personified terms reminiscent of the account of the passion of Sophia at, e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3. Sophia's passion, however, takes place not at a moment of revelation, but when she fails to attain her goal of comprehending the Father or of reproducing offspring without a consort.

26.22 *afflicting herself* (ερωσζ̄ ἄμας): The Coptic verb is problematic. ωσζ̄ is probably a metathesized form of ωζ̄, attested in A². Cf. Crum 538b and Kasser, *Compléments* 82a. The term usually means "reap" or "mow" and only one metaphorical use is attested, in Shenute, who applies it to the tearing of garments. Cf. Crum 539a and Grobel (*Gospel*, 107). Perhaps this concrete sense is involved here and Error is pictured as tearing at herself in her grief. Nagel (*OLZ* 6 [1966] 9) suggests that the verb translates the Syriac *mlg*, which has both the concrete and metaphorical senses which seem to be involved in ωζ̄ here. However, Greek verbs for "mowing," such as *θερίζω* and *ἀμάω*, noted by Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 327), have various metaphorical senses. Note in particular "reaping" as an image of eschatological judgment at Rev 14:15.

26.25 *emanations*: Cf. 22.37.

26.23–27 *when knowledge drew near it, etc.*: The protasis of this sentence could also be translated "since knowledge drew near it (or her)." The apodosis, with its present tense, constitutes a slight anacolouthon, caused perhaps by the parenthetical comment of 26.24–26. We would expect in the apodosis: "she recognized that she is empty," *vel sim.* Cf. 18.7–11. On the emptiness of Error, cf. 17.16.

26.28 *truth appeared*: The following paragraph recapitulates the theme of unification with the Father which was prominent in 24.9–25.19. "Truth," here a personified abstraction, functions as the revealer and as the positive counterpart to Error (17.14). Cf. John 1:17.

26.29 *its emanations*: Cf. 26.25. The term may serve as a catch-word connecting this section with the preceding section, but the

“emanations” in each case are different. For the response of “his own” to the revealer, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 118.28-36.

26.31-32 *power that joins them with the Father*: Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.1, is not, *pace* Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 128) really relevant here. Cf., possibly, John 17.21, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 109) and Rom 8:35-39.

26.33-35 *For, as for everyone, etc.*: The syntax of these lines is broken by parenthetical comments which may, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 109) suggests, be glosses, but see the discussion of the issue in the note to 24.10-11. Grobel suggests that the glossator, here and elsewhere, may have misunderstood the figurative language of the original text and that the “mouth” of the Father may be a symbol for his will. Cf. Exod 18:1, Num 14:41, Deut 1:26. For similar imagery, cf. *Od. Sol.* 12:3. However, the imagery here, though artificial, is consistent. Truth is the Word uttered by the tongue (Spirit) of the Father. He who loves the truth is joined to the Father by the source of the Word. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 128) speculates that the language of the Father's tongue may be related to early Christian charismatic phenomena, but there is little warrant for this conjecture. It is, however, possible that “tongue” is used here metaphorically for “language.”

27.3-4 *whenever he is to receive (εφααχι)*: The form is certainly a fut. circ. The A² future in α is rare in the *Gos. Truth*, where the future is more commonly in να-.

27.5 *since this*: The referent of the demonstrative here is unclear. It could be the Holy Spirit, conceived of as the means of revelation, or, more likely, the whole process of the coming of Truth and the unification with the Father through the Spirit.

27.6-7 *revelation to his aeons*: As frequently in this section (from 24.9), the primary focus has been on events in the supernal world, where the Father manifests himself to the aeons which emanate from him. This process in turn serves as the paradigm for the soteriological process on every level of reality.

V. *Revelation Brings Authentic Existence* (27.7-30.16)

The fifth segment of the text begins as did the fourth, with a remark

on the Father's revealing of what was hidden. Then the effects of revelation are explored in two complementary paragraphs. The first (27.7–27.34) deploys imagery of maturation; the second (28.32–30.16) deploys images of waking from a dream. Both sets of images are used to convey the understanding of the reception of revelation as the actualization of authentic existence. The intervening paragraph (27.34–28.31) makes the thematic focus of the section clear by clarifying the types of existence obtaining in those who have not received the revelation.

27.7–8 *he manifested what was hidden*: Cf. 24.9–12. The subject is apparently the Father, as in that earlier passage.

27.8 *he explained it*: Cf. John 1:18, although Jesus is not said to be the revealer or the one who explains here.

27.9–10 *who contains if not the Father* (ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΥΩΠ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΑΠΙΩΤ): *Ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 108–09), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 43), and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 130) divide the text differently (ΠΕΤΥΩΠΕ ΙΜΗΤΙ) and translate, "For who exists if not the Father." Our translation follows that of Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 276). The affirmation that the Father exists in the fullest sense is not impossible. For similar sentiments, cf. 28.13 and *Tri. Trac.* 52.7–33 and 57.9. For the Father's containing the Totality, cf. 18.34–35.

Grobel (*Gospel*, 111) further takes the preposition α after ΙΜΗΤΙ to be agential, translating "who exists except by the Father." This would be an unusual use of this preposition, which is quite normal with ΕΙΜΗΤΙ.

27.11 *emanations* (†): With most editors we take this as a variant of †Η on which see the note to 22.37. Grobel (*Gospel*, 110–111) takes the word as the noun "gift" (Crum 395b).

27.13–14 *they came forth...like children*: For the image of the emanations of the Father as children of the perfect or mature man, cf. especially *Tri. Trac.* 60.32–61.24. The notion of the primordial heavenly man, probably based on Jewish speculation about the primal Adam, is probably the ultimate origin of this imagery. Cf. H. M. Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Reprecht, 1962) and G. Quispel, "Der gnostische

Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 215-24. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 131) cites further parallels, but these are more remote.

27.14-15 *grown man* (ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΧΗΚ): The Coptic probably translates the Greek *ἄνθρωπος τέλειος*, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 111) suggests. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 22.9, 35.4, 48.2-3, 71.13, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 131). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 123.4, where the image is deployed in a somewhat different way.

27.16-18 *had not received form nor . . . name*: Cf. 21.25-22.13. That the aeons which emanate from the Father receive form and name is mentioned, as *ed. pr.* (56) note, in *Exc. Theod.* 31.3. The text also recalls the notion of the "two formations" of Sophia, found in Ptolemy's system. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1, 1.4.5. The intimate association of achieving form with being named is suggested by the image used by Valentinus of the picture, the sense of which is given by its title. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89,6-90,4. The unformed state of the aeons depicted here is paralleled by the imagery of the aeons as fetal in *Tri. Trac.* 60.32-61.24. In that passage (61.14-18) the aeons emerge from potential (or "fetal") existence into actual (or "mature") existence through the bestowal upon them by the Father of his own name. The distinction between potential and actual existence, clearly expressed in the *Tri. Trac.* is operative here and explains some of the paradoxical formulations in what follows, especially 27.32-33. The distinction is expressed, somewhat allusively, in 27.34-28.4.

27.20 *when they receive form* (ΕΥΨΑΝΧΙ ΦΟΡΜΗ): The conditional here may be a translation of temporal clause in Greek. Cf. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, #498. The Latin term used here also appears at *Tri. Trac.* 55.8 and 61.12. In all these cases there may simply be a metathesis of the consonants in ΜΟΡΦΗ, used at 27.17, but the possibility of Latin terminology being used either by the author of the text or by a translator cannot be excluded.

27.21 *by his knowledge* (ΜΠΙΣΑΥΝΕ): The form may be a genitive, which would make little sense in the context. The emendation of *ed. pr.* (Μ<Ν>) is, however, unnecessary. The preposition, as Grobel

(*Gospel*, 113) suggests, is probably to be construed as instrumental (= 2N̄ or 2ITN̄).

27.22–23 *they do not know him*: Despite the fact that the aeons have been formed by the knowledge of the Father they remain in ignorance. The same situation is envisioned in *Tri. Trac.* 60.16–61.28, where the aeons are granted to know that the Father exists, but must search for knowledge of what he is. For the ignorance of the aeons while within the Father, cf. 22.28–33.

27.23–24 *the Father is perfect*: The same word (Ⲭⲏⲕ) is used of the Father as is used of the “grown man” at 27.14–15. This probably represents a play in Greek, which is difficult to reproduce in English. For the term “perfect Father,” cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2.

27.26 *if he wishes*: For similar stress on the will of the Father, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 55.31, 60.8, 61.27–33, 70.32–36.

27.32–33 *before they came into existence are ignorant*: Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 61.20–24.

27.35 *I do not say, then, that they are nothing*: In this paragraph the author develops the distinction between potential and actual existence of the aeons of the Father which lay behind the discussion of the preceding paragraph. The first lines (27.34–28.4) repeat many of the phrases used at the end of the preceding section. Contrast the remarks on the products of Error (17.23).

28.6–7 *he knows what he will produce*: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 133) finds here a notion of the predestination of the spiritual emanations of the Father. On this topic, cf. 21.23–25.

28.7 *fruit*: For the image, cf. 17.30.

28.11 *every space*: Cf. 20.21.

28.13 *the one who exists*: Cf. Exod 3:14 (LXX) and Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos* 17 (392A). The absolute being of the primordial principle is also stressed at *Tri. Trac.* 52.7–33.

28.14–15 *who established it from what does not exist*: Commentators

such as Grobel (*Gospel*, 115) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 134) express surprise to find a doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* in a Gnostic text. The language here may well be used in a metaphorical sense, where non-existence is equivalent to ignorance and (full) existence to knowledge. The *Tri. Trac.* (53.21-37) does, however, strongly deny the involvement of any pre-existent matter in creation, and it may be that the *Gos. Truth* here reflects the same position on this cosmogonical issue which was much discussed in the second century. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 52.5-6.

28.17 *root*: On the imagery, cf. 17.30.

28.20 *yet* (ΕΙΤΕ ΑΝ): Between the ι and the τ ink has seeped through the papyrus from the recto of this leaf. The scribe left blank the area where this seepage had occurred. The poor quality of the papyrus also affected the ink of the last letter of the line. No correction was involved. For the meaning of the Greek particle εἴτε, cf. LSJ 498b.

"*I have come into being*": The essential fault of "one who has no root" is not to recognize his dependence on the Father, the source of all being. According to the *Tri. Trac.* (62.24-27), it was to prevent such a misconception that the Father withheld knowledge of his essence from the aeons of the pleroma. The attitude of the Demiurge in many Gnostic texts is similar. Cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:10.19-22.

28.22-24 *for this reason . . . never come into existence*: For a similar principle, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 79.1, 137.10.

28.24-25 *did he wish*: The pronoun here most probably refers to the Father (28.12), as Grobel (*Gospel*, 115) suggests. Alternatively, Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 135) refers it to Jesus. The Father wishes dependent beings to realize that without knowledge of himself and of their relationship to him they live in a dream-like state, which is graphically described in what follows.

28.27-28 *phantoms of the night*: For the imagery here and in the following paragraph, cf. G. W. MacRae, "Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts," *Le Origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina*, 13-18 Aprile 1966 (Supplements to Numen 12; Leiden: Brill, 1967) 496-507. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 82.27. Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 8)

suggests that the imagery is most appropriate to a baptismal context, but its wide attestation precludes such a specific *Sitz-im-Leben*.

28.29 *when the light shines*: Cf. John 1:7–9. For the common Hellenistic mystical motif of the light of revelation, cf. 30.37, 35.5, 43.13 and *Tri. Trac.* 62.34.

28.31 *he knows* (εφψαφῃμε): *Ed. pr.* (56) emend to ψαφῃμε, but this is unnecessary. The form is praes. cons. II.

29.6–7 *by means of these* (ϩῖτοοτῃ ἄνεεῖ): Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 277) emends the pronominal suffix on the preposition to the plural, but lack of concord in number is a common occurrence in this construction. Cf. 31.23, 40.1, 41.34. Emendation is thus unnecessary.

29.11–14 *either a place to which they are fleeing, etc.*: The description of the nightmare here recalls *Iliad* 22.199–201, as Quispel (*Jung Codex*, 52) notes.

29.18–19 *or they take off into the air*: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 136) speculates that the elaborate attention devoted to the nightmare image may reflect a critique of theories of ecstasy. The imagery recalls such descriptions of ecstasy as Philo, *Spec.* 2.3 and *CH* 11.19.

30.11 *come to knowledge* (ϩατνε): The Coptic verb ϩατνε may be related to ϩΟΥΤῆ, ϩΑΤΝΕ A, “straighten, stretch” (Crum 371a) and is taken as such by *ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 118), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 45), and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 57). Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 177) suggests emending to ϩΑΥΝΕ and that emendation has been adopted here. The corruption was probably due to a scribe’s applying to the referent of the imagery of awakening language appropriate in the image itself.

30.12–13 *Good for the man*: (πετῆνοῦϩ ᾤρωμε): Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 7), followed by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 13, 138), suggests that the beatitude formula here is evidence of a Syriac original, since in Syriac *tūbau* (*hi*) *l^e* would be the ordinary way of expressing a macarism. Cf. *Od. Sol.* 9:8, 11:18 and Matt 5:3. It is more likely, however, that the Coptic for this verse translates a Greek formula different from that used in the parallel beatitude of 30.14–16,

such as *καλὸν ἔστι τῷ*. Cf. Matt 17:4, 18:8, 26:24. This formula is regularly translated with *νανογс* in the Sahidic NT. Cf. also Eph 6:3, cited by Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 322-23).

Standaert (*NTS* 22 [1975/76] 254) notes that the double beatitude here at 30.12-16 occurs precisely at the center of the *Gos. Truth* and marks off the long discussion of the state of those who are in ignorance from the exhortation which follows.

The conjunction before the first beatitude is probably a scribal error, although it is also possible that it reflects a *καί...καί* ("both...and") construction linking the two beatitudes.

30.13 *who will return* (εταστασ): Literally, "who will turn himself around." The conjugation base is the A² fut. rel., as Till (*Or.* 29 [1958] 277) notes, and not the perf. rel., as is assumed by *ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 118), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 45), and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 138). Turning oneself around and returning to one's source are common images for the conversion effected by the reception of Gnosis. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1 and *Tri. Trac.* 77.37-78.7, 81.19-29, 82.1-9, 128.12. The lack of an explicit reference to Sophia who undergoes such a conversion cannot be taken as evidence that such a mythical paradigm is not presupposed by the *Gos. Truth*. Nor is Leipoldt's (*TLZ* 11 [1957] 831) formula of a demythologized Gnosis necessarily apt. Here as elsewhere the text uses language that can be understood as referring to various levels of reality.

30.15-16 *who opened the eyes of the blind*: Cf. Matt 11:5, Luke 7:21-22, John 9 and 11:37. The imagery here is probably used metaphorically. The verb form *οὔην*, although usually the qualitative in S, cannot (*pace ed. pr.*) be such here, where it is used with the perf. rel. conjugation base, where the qualitative is excluded. Hence, it must be an A² infinitive, as noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 119). This form of the infinitive is otherwise attested in both S and A². Cf. Crum 482b. The one who opened the eyes of the blind is presumably the revealer, Jesus.

VI. *Revelation Brings a Return to the Father* (30.16-33.32)

In the preceding section the effects of revelation have been described with the imagery of awakening from sleep. After a brief recapitulation of this imagery (30.16-32), introducing the figure of

the Spirit, the author reflects on how revelation initiates a process of return or reintegration of the self into the primordial Unity.

30.17 *the Spirit*: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 138–39) notes that it seems to be the Spirit of whom the macarism at 30.14 is pronounced and remarks that similar usages are attested in Philo. Cf. *Immut.* 55, 161; *Sacr.* 101; *Spec.* 1.329, 2.53. The author may, however, have in mind the paraenesis which follows in 32.33–33.32, which seems to suggest that the Spirit can have human agents in the awakening process.

30.20 *to him who lay upon the ground*: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 139) suggests that these lines possibly allude to the descent of the spirit on Christ at his crucifixion, and Wilson (*The Gnostic Problem* [London: Mowbray, 1958] 106) finds a reference here to the resurrection. Both note *Exc. Theod.* 61.6–8, where the descent of the Spirit at Christ's baptism is discussed, which, as Arai (*Christologie*, 76) notes, is hardly relevant. Our passage does not directly allude to Christ at all. The imagery used here ultimately derives from traditional Jewish speculation about the primal man, who lay inert upon the earth before being vivified by the insufflation of the divine breath. For other Gnostic uses of this speculation, cf. especially *Hyp. Arch.* 88.10–16, 89.11–17; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.6; *Ap. John* BG 50.15; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7.6. As used here, the imagery is a general metaphor for the “new creation” of the human being who receives the revelatory Gnosis, as Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 50) and Arai (*Christologie*, 76–77) argue. For earlier allegorical speculation on the subject of the divine breath in Adam, cf. Philo, *Leg. All.* 1.31–42; *Heres* 55; *Somn.* 1.34.

30.23 *he had not yet arisen*: The language continues the Genesis imagery, but it may also contain a metaphorical reference to the “resurrection” provided by the reception of the revelatory Gnosis. If so, the text reflects the “realized eschatology” of such texts as *Treat. Res.* 45.14–28.

30.24 *he gave them the means of knowing*: This comment interprets the Genesis imagery of the preceding lines. This fact probably explains the shift in the number of the pronoun from him (30.20) to them (30.24). For the form used here at 30.26 and at 31.17, cf. S. Emmel, “Proclitic Forms of the Verb † in Coptic.”

30.25–26 *knowledge of the Father and the revelation of his Son*: As

Grobel (*Gospel*, 121) notes, the phrase is probably a hendiadys. The Father is known in and through the revelation of the Son. It is also possible to construe these phrases as the collective subject of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota$ in 30.35-36 and to translate, "as for the knowledge of the Father and the revelation of his Son, it gave these the means of knowing."

30.27-31.1 *they heard . . . strangers*: Fragments of another version of the *Gos. Truth* are found in CG XII,2:53-60. For the text of this and the other fragments from Codex XII, cf. the appendix.

30.27-32 *when he had seen him and had heard him, etc.*: As *ed. pr.* (57) note, the author here alludes to several NT texts, especially 1 John 1:1-3. Cf. also Luke 24:36, John 6:52-58, 2 Cor 2:14, Heb 6:4 and 1 Pet 2:3. The pronoun "him" refers to the Son. Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 10) finds in the sensory imagery here an allusion to the eucharist, but the author may simply be utilizing the scriptural language without a specific reference to a sacramental context. For similar language in early Christian texts emphasizing the reality of the resurrected Christ, cf. Ignatius, *Smyr.* 3:3; *Act. Pet.* 20; *Epist. Apost.* 29; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.22.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.9.71,2; Origen, *Con. Cels.* 8.34, noted by Arai (*Christologie*, 79).

30.31-32 *the beloved Son*: Cf. Matt 3:17, 17:5; 2 Pet 1:17.

30.32-33 *appeared instructing them*: Cf. 19.19-20.

30.34 *breathed into them*: Cf. John 20:22. The author here is clearly speaking of the action of the revealer in the human sphere, but it is probably not accidental that the language is also appropriate to the initial insufflation of the divine breath into the first human being. Cf. 30.19-23. The imagery of the insufflation of the spirit, with its rich texture of allusions to Genesis and to the NT, reemerges in the discussion of the Father's fragrance in 33.33-34.34 and 34.24-27.

30.35-36 *doing his will*: Cf. John 4:34, 5:30, and 6:38-40.

30.36-37 *when many had received the light*: Cf. John 1:5, 9, 12.

31.1 *the material ones*: The term $\zeta\upsilon\lambda\eta$ (31.4) is used here in a collective sense, as at *Man. Ps.* 49.26. As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 144)

notes, the term is common in the *Ap. John*, while the adjective ὑλικοί is more common in Valentinian texts. This may be an indication that the *Gos. Truth* stands early in the Valentinian tradition. For typical Valentinian comments on the material ones, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 119.8–16. Here the source of the “material ones” is no doubt the “matter” of Error (17.4–20).

strangers: Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 119.9, *Man. Ps.* 54.19.

31.2 *his likeness* (ΠΕΡΕΙΝΕ): This may be an allusion to Phil 2:7. In the *Tri. Trac.* ΕΙΝΕ is a technical term for the psychic level of reality, inferior to the ΕΙΚΩΝ yet superior to the ΤΑΝΤῆ. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 98.12–26. If Valentinian Christological speculation lies behind this text, the language here too may be quasi-technical. Because of the revealer’s fleshly form (31.5–6), “material” human beings were unable to perceive even his psychic reality. It is more likely, however, that the term is not used in such a precise technical sense, and that it simply refers to that aspect of the revealer which was in the “likeness of God,” as in the hymn in Philippians.

31.5–6 *fleshly form* (ΝΟΥΣΑΡΞ ΝCΜΑΤ): Cf. Rom 8:3. This phrase has occasioned considerable debate about the precise Christology of the text. Many commentators argue that it should be translated “fleshly appearance,” *vel sim.*, which suggests a blatantly docetic Christology. So *ed. pr.*, Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 35), Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 277 and *ZNW* 50 [1959] 177), Ménard (*L’Évangile*, 36–37, 145). Others, noting that CΜΑΤ is not the most natural term for “(mere) appearance,” suggest the sort of translation offered here. Cf. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 46), Arai (*NT* 5 [1962] 216 and *Christologie*, 83–85), Shibata (*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 1 [1975] 130). Grobel (*Gospel*, 123) suggests yet another alternative, taking ΝCΜΑΤ as a correlative adjective and translating “in a flesh of (such) sort that nothing blocked.” This is remotely possible, but as Haardt (*WZKM* 58 [1962] 35, n. 37) notes, it is rather artificial. We would expect ΜΠΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΕ, *vel sim.*, for such a construction, as Arai (*Christologie*, 85, n.2) notes.

The docetic interpretation of the passage appeals to Valentinian descriptions of the way in which the revealer clothes himself with a psychic body. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2. In addressing this issue two considerations are important. (1) Many Gnostic Christologies were not strictly docetic, but are more aptly described as “pneumatic” or

early forms of a “two natures” Christology. For a discussion of this issue, cf. K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum* (NHS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 44-48. (2) In Valentinianism the theory represented in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2 was not universal and many texts, especially in the Western Valentinian tradition, stress the reality of the physical Incarnation and of the suffering of the revealer. (Cf. especially *Tri. Trac.* 114.31-115.11. For other Valentinian views on the nature of Christ’s flesh, cf. the note to *Treat. Res.* 44.14-15.) It seems likely, then, that the *Gos. Truth*, although it explores the spiritual and existential significance of the incarnation and passion of the revealer, does not deny the reality of that event.

31.8 *incorruptibility is irresistible*: Most translators take the two abstract nouns as asyndetically coordinated predicates of the two-member nominal sentence and translate, “because it (*scil.* his coming) was incorruptibility (and) irresistibility,” *vel sim.* Till (*Or.* 27 [1978] 277) assumes the same structure but emends to avoid the asyndeton. It is, however, probable that the sentence is a three-member nominal sentence, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 123), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 46) and Arai (*Christologie*, 80) assume. The indefinite article with the predicate may well have been accidentally omitted following the ο in $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$. For the incorruptibility of the revealer, cf. Valentinus, fr. 7 (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.7.59,3) and the Valentinians mentioned in Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 15, cited by *ed. pr.* (57) and Acts 2:31, exegeting Ps 16:10, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 125). The latter passage in particular suggests that the incorruptibility of Christ’s flesh need not imply a docetic Christology.

“Irresistible” ($\langle\omicron\rangle\mu\eta\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\varsigma$) might also be translated “unseizability” as in Grobel (*Gospel*, 122). Cf. John 1:5. The ambiguity of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$ (“seize,” “comprehend”) might also be present here.

31.9-10 *spoke new things*: The text may echo NT apocalyptic language. Cf. Rev 21:1. Cf. also *Od. Sol.* 31:3, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 46).

31.10-11 *speaking about what is the heart of the Father*: Cf. 16.35-36; 24.9-14.

31.13–16 *light...life*: Cf. John 1:4. For Valentinian exegesis of the verse, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5. The *Gos. Truth* has previously spoken of revelation in terms of the appearance of light. Cf. 24.37–25.19, and in terms of the speaking of the word. Cf. 16.34, 31.9–12. Here the imagery is boldly combined. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 147) argues that the motif of “life” is deployed here in a distinctively Gnostic way which is different from its use in John, but this is hardly clear. On the one hand, the imagery here, as elsewhere, is fluid and can be taken in various senses. On the other, the life which Jesus provides in John is associated closely, as it is here, with the spirit which he sends (John 14:16–17) and the revelation of the Father which he makes known (John 17:3). The language of the *Gos. Truth* at this point would be quite congenial to Christians at home with Johannine imagery. For similar imagery, see also *Trim. Prot.* 46.4–32.

31.18 *powerful spirit*: Cf. Isa 11:2, 2 Tim 1:7, Acts 1:8, Heb 2:4 and *Ap. John* BG 67.10, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 148).

31.20 *sweetness*: Cf. 24.9.

31.21–22 *punishments and tortures*: Apocalyptic imagery is in evidence here, but, as usual, it is taken in a metaphorical sense. The “punishments and tortures” are characteristic of human existence in the nightmarish state of the unilluminated. Cf. 28.32–29.25.

31.22–23 *which were leading astray* (ΠΕΤΕΝΕΥΣΑΡΜ̄): The verb form here is problematic. It could be the qualitative of $\sigma\omega\rho\bar{\mu}$ (cf. 31.39), which would be translated “which were gone astray,” but the qualitative cannot take an object. Grobel (*Gospel*, 127) resolves the difficulty by emending $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ in 31.23 to $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$, thus making it the subject of $\sigma\alpha\rho\bar{\mu}$ and translating, “it was such as had need of mercy who were astray.” Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 278), emends to the infinitive $\sigma\omega\rho\bar{\mu}$ but this emendation may be unnecessary. The form is probably an irregular infinitive, like $\sigma\upsilon\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}$ (20.6, 23; 23.22). Note that the infinitive $\sigma\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon$ is attested for AA², the form on which the emendation of *ed. pr.* is based. For the notion that the “punishments and terrors” lead some astray, cf. 17.29–36.

from his face: Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 278) takes this as the object of $\sigma\alpha\rho\bar{\mu}$ and translates “die den Blick (wörtl. das Gesicht) dieser manchen irreführten.”

31.23 *some* (ⲛⲏⲛⲓⲗⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ): The definite article with the indefinite pronoun is unusual, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 127) notes, in support of his emendation to ⲛⲟⲓ ⲗⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ. Perhaps the Coptic has translated rather woodenly a Greek relative pronoun such as *οἱτινες*.

31.25 *error*: Here the term is used to characterize unilluminated human existence, and not as a personification or designation of an hypostasis.

31.26-32.2 *he destroyed...which had gone astray*: Another fragment of the *Gos. Truth* from Codex XII parallels the material in this section. Since the two versions apparently diverge significantly at the beginning of this section, it is difficult to determine precisely where the parallel begins. For the text of the fragment, see the appendix.

31.26 *destroyed them with power*: Cf. the imagery of the jars being broken, 25.25-26.27.

31.28-29 *he became a way*: Cf. John 14:6. Here the revealer is said to be what he earlier was said to provide. Cf. 18.19-21. The imagery of the Book underwent a similar transformation, first referring to what the revealer offers (20.12), then referring to the reality in which the recipients of the revelation are incorporated (21.4), the reality which the recipients in fact are (22.38-23.18).

31.31 *discovery for those who are searching*: The same transformation of the images evident in the term "way" (31.29) is manifest here. The revealer is what the Gospel was said to provide (17.3-4).

31.32 *support*: Cf. 19.30, 30.21.

31.34 *immaculateness*: The language of defilement and cleansing, common in the NT (e.g., 2 Cor 7:1; Heb 9:14; 1 John 1:7,9), is unique in the *Gos. Truth*, and is, no doubt, as metaphorical as the other images used in this context.

31.35 *he is* (ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ): The pronoun here is an orthographic variant of ⲛⲧⲁⲓ. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 52.5.

the shepherd: In the following paragraph the author develops the imagery of the parable of the shepherd (Matt 18:12-14; Luke 15:4-7;

Gos. Thom. 107) along arithmological lines attested elsewhere in Valentinian literature. Cf., especially, the Marcosians discussed in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.16.2; 2.24.6; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.19. Cf. also *Man. Ps.* 193.26. The interpretation of the shepherd imagery here follows the tendency already evident in John 10:11 to equate Jesus with the Good Shepherd. Cf. also Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 2:25, 5:4.

32.2-3 *one which was lost*: For the lost sheep as a symbol for the fallen Sophia, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4, 1.16.1, 1.23.2, passages noted by *ed. pr.* (57).

32.4-5 *ninety-nine is a number that is in the left hand*: This text, like Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.16.2 and 2.24.6, presupposes a method of counting common in antiquity whereby the position of the fingers of the two hands could be used to indicate numbers from 1 to 9,999. The system was not confined to Italy, as van Unnik (*Jung Codex*, 96-97, 112-113) maintained, but was practiced in the orient as well, as Marrou (*VC* 12 [1958] 98-103) and Poirier (*Rev. des Etud. August.* 25 [1979] 27-34) have shown. The polarity of the left-odd-imperfect and the right-even-perfect is common in other Gnostic and early Christian texts. Cf. *Od. Sol.* 8:20-21, *Gos. Phil.* 55.14-23; *U* 19 (p. 261.7-8), noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 150). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 95.16.

The parallel with the Marcosian numerological speculation in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.16.2 suggests to Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 150) that the *Gos. Truth* is to be closely associated with that branch of the Valentinian school. If the attribution on other grounds of this text to Valentinus himself is correct, what we see in Marcus and his followers is a bit of older speculative tradition on which they then built their more elaborate numerology.

Schenke (*Herkunft*, 20, n.10) argues that the interpretation of the parable in Irenaeus is by the heresiologist and not the Marcosians, but this is unlikely. Cf. Schoedel, "Monism," 388.

32.8-9 *the entire number passes to the right*: In the system of manual counting, numbers up to ninety-nine are indicated by positions of the fingers of the left hand, the number 100 is indicated by the fingers of the right.

32.9 *as that which lacks draws*: For a relative clause with **πιρῆτε** as the protasis of a comparative sentence, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 57.8, 62.27, 69.20. The point of the comparison made here is that as the hands change in counting from the imperfect left to the perfect right, so the quality of the number itself changes from the imperfect ninety-nine to the perfect 100. The whole process is a symbol of the perfection attained by the one who receives Gnosis.

32.10-12 *that is, . . . deficient*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 131) takes this to be a "pedantic interpolation." It is better to limit the parenthetical remark to "that is, the entire right (hand)," and, like other exegetical parentheses in the text, it is hardly clear that this is an interpolation.

32.15-16 *so too the number becomes one hundred* (**πιρῆτε ἄτε πωπ ᾤ ωε**): We construe this clause as the apodosis of a comparative sentence. The use of the conj. is unusual in such a syntactical context in A², but the *Gos. Truth* frequently uses this conjugation base in positions where it seldom appears in S and A². Note, e.g., the final clauses at 17.33, 18.5-6, 23.6, 24.14, 36.15, 37.28-29 and the use of the conj. with impersonal verbs at 25.21-22 and 32.24.

32.16 *it is the sign*: Perhaps the gesture signifying the number 100 itself is a sign of the unitary Father, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 133) suggests. The number 100 would be indicated by the end of the index finger touching the first joint of the thumb of the right hand, thus making a circle. But as Grobel himself goes on to note, the number 400 would be an even more appropriate symbol, since for that number the tip of the index finger joins the tip of the thumb. Here, it is more likely that the author takes the sign to be the movement from the left to the right.

32.17 *their sound*: It is difficult to see what sound has been involved in the preceding illustration, unless it is the sound of the number "one," of which the manual system of counting, in moving from 99 to 100 is a symbol. Grobel (*Gospel*, 133) suggests that the Coptic mechanically translates **φωνή**, here meaning not "sound," but "language." The pronoun must, in any case, refer to the human beings whose voice or language expresses the numbers involved in the illustration. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 48) suggests that what is in "their voice" is the name Father.

it is the Father: Grobel (*Gospel*, 122–35) takes this remark as another interpolation, but the comment is an appropriate closure to the illustration.

32.18 *even on the Sabbath he labored*: Cf. John 5:17.

for the sheep (επεσαυ): For the function of the proposition ε, taken by Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 278) as a sentence introductory particle, cf. the note to 17.9–10.

32.19–20 *which he found fallen into the pit*: Cf. Matt 12:11 and Luke 14:5. Falling here may well refer to the soul which has fallen from its heavenly home into the world of matter, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 153) suggests.

32.20 *he gave life to the sheep*: Cf. John 10:10.

32.38–39 *you the sons of interior knowledge*: This phrase was accidentally omitted by homoioteleuton by a copyist, who included it at the bottom of the page, indicating with sigla the place where it should have come in the text. For the phrase, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.7, which, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 137) notes, may be an ironic use of the Gnostics' own terminology. There is no need to see with Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 9) a Syriac expression here.

32.27–28 *day from above, which has no night*: Cf. *Man. Ps.* 190.14, noted by *ed. pr.* (57). Cf. also Heb 4:9–10, on the divine state of Sabbath rest, and 4 *Ezra* 2:35 and Rev 21:22–25, alluding to Isa 60:1,19–20.

32.29–34 *light which does not sink*: For examples of similar imagery cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 11.114.2; Methodius of Olympus, *Symp.* 11; Ps.-Hippolytus, *Pascal Homily* 1.2, texts noted by *ed. pr.* (57) and *Man. Ps.* 193.19, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 139); as well as *Od. Sol.* 32:1, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 154). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 129.1.

32.31 *say, then*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 135–37) suggests that the exhortation in this section (32.31–33.32) possibly derives from a previous homily delivered by the author of the *Gos. Truth*. Here the author appears to speak to those who have accepted and understood his own interpretation of the Christian message, and this passage would be a

major support for the position that the homily is esoteric in character. However, the exhortations here have the same ambiguous quality as the doctrinal affirmations of the text. Ordinary NT and early Christian language is deployed, with the suggestion that the concrete practices advocated have a deeper, metaphorical meaning. The whole hortatory section serves as a conclusion to the preceding discussion, much as the hymnic material of 23.18-24.19 concluded the first third of the text.

32.32 *perfect day*: The exhortation begins by reflecting the motif which concluded the preceding section. As with other motifs in the text (cf. the note to 31.28-29), the image of the perfect day shifts from being a symbol of the supernal realm to being a symbol of what the recipients of the revelation are. Once again, the shift is not accidental, but expresses the intimate association of the revealer, the content of the revelation and its recipients. For similar NT language, cf. 1 Thess 5:5, noted by Grobel (*Gospel*, 139).

32.35-36 *speak of the truth with those who search*: There may, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 154) suggests, be an allusion to psychic Christians here, but this is hardly explicit. For the seekers, cf. 17.4.

32.37 *error*: Again error is a characteristic of human existence, not a hypostasis. Note that sin is seen to be based in, if not made equivalent to, ignorance.

33.1 *make firm the foot*: Cf. the "establishing" of Sophia in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4 and note that the revealer is said to support those who waver (30.32-33).

33.2-3 *stretch out your hand*: Cf. 30.19, and for possible NT sources of the imagery, Matt 8:3, Mark 1:41, Luke 5:13, Acts 4:30.

33.3 *those who are ill*: Illness here is a metaphor for the human condition of ignorance, as at *Tri. Trac.* 77.28. The text will later (35.30) use the image of the physician as a metaphor for the revealer.

33.3-4 *feed those who are hungry*: Cf. Matt 25:35, 37; Rom 12:20; John 21:15, cited by Grobel (*Gospel*, 141). In Valentinian sources revelation is often said to provide nourishment. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 65.19. The metaphorical sense of the imagery here may be related to the

“feeding” language of the bread of life discourse in John 6:32–51.

33.5 *give repose to those who are weary*: Cf. Matt 11:28. Later (35.24–27) the “breath of incorruptibility” will be said to give rest to the sinner.

33.6–7 *raise up . . . awaken*: The hortatory remarks continue to reflect activities attributed to the revelatory agents. Cf. the remarks on the spirit at 30.18–22.

33.8–9 *you are the understanding that is drawn forth*: The phrase is obscure. The verb (ΤΑΚΜ̄, if the qualitative of ΤΩΚΜ̄), means “pull up, pluck.” As Wilson (*NTS* 9 [1962/63] 295–98) suggests, it probably translates ἀνασπάω used of the drawing up of human souls to the divine realm at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.5. There may be, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 141) suggests, an allusion to the drawing up of the sheep from the pit (32.19–24). Alternatively, ΤΑΚΜ̄ may be an infinitive, like ΟΥΑΝ̄ at 20.6, 23 and CΑΡΜ̄ at 31.23. Hence the translation could be “you are the understanding that draws forth.”

Other translations of the problematic verb have been suggested. Grobel (*Gospel*, 140) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 155) translate actively, taking the form as if it were the infinitive. *Ed. pr.* translate, “vous êtes la conscience en plein jour,” “ihr seid die gezuckte (d.h. tatbereite) Klugheit,” and “you are wisdom unsheathed (as a sword for the fight).” Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 178) also adopts the last suggestion. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 48) translates “Ihr seid die starke Vernunft,” suggesting that ΤΑΚΜ̄ is a form of an otherwise unattested verb.

33.9–10 *if strength acts thus*: Cf. 1 John 2:14, where the addressees are labeled “strong” (ἰσχυροί). Similar terminology is used by Paul in his treatment of the factious and possibly proto-Gnostic elements in the Corinthian community. Cf., e.g., 1 Cor 4:10, 10:22. What is it for “strength” to “act thus”? The enigmatic phrase, which invites a metaphorical reading, perhaps suggests that the concrete admonitions which precede and follow are also to be understood metaphorically.

33.11 *be concerned with yourselves*: Despite the exhortations to “works of mercy,” the focus of the reader’s attention is directed primarily inward. Cf. also 21.11–14.

33.15 *do not return* (ἄπῆρωτε): Grobel (*Gospel*, 141) takes the verb from ρωτε, “redeem” (Crum 362a), but, as at 34.32 and 38.2, it must be seen as a form of ρωτ, “return” (Crum 360a). For the proverb here, cf. Prov 26:11, cited at 2 Pet 2:22. The “vomit” here is no doubt a symbol for involvement in the world of matter and ignorance.

33.14-15 *to what you have vomited*: In the Coptic the object is preposed. Grobel (*Gospel*, 142-43) and Ménard take the phrase with what precedes, in apposition to “things which you have rejected.”

33.16-17 *do not be moths . . . worms*: Cf. Matt 6:19-20, Mark 9:48, Luke 12:33 and *Gos. Thom.* 76. The imagery of the saying is reinterpreted and the addressees are warned not to become again part of the material world which brings destruction.

33.20 (*dwelling*) *place for the devil*: Cf. Eph 4:27, Matt 12:43-45, Luke 11:24-26, and Valentinus, fr. 2 (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.114,4), noted by *ed. pr.* (12).

33.21 *you have already destroyed him*: Cf. Luke 10:18, 1 John 3:8, Heb 2:14 and Rev 12:9-11. Such texts call into question the contention of Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 157) that the NT does not speak of the defeat of the devil as having already occurred.

33.22 *obstacles*: This probably translates πρόσκομμα. Cf. Rom 9:32, 33; 14:13, 20; 1 Cor 8:9, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 157). The referent of the term “obstacles” is unclear. Perhaps the author has in mind the “hylic” beings who have proved quite alien to the revelation. Cf. 31.1-3.

33.23 *as though . . . a support*: The meaning of the imagery here is problematic. The term ρωτε is probably a form of ρωτε, which may mean basically either “remove,” “set upright” or “reprove” (Crum 380a-b). *Ed. pr.* translate variously as “autant qu’il y a abstention,” “weil es Abfall ist,” and “when we abstain from them.” Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 52.2. Grobel (*Gospel*, 145), noting that ρωτε is used at Deut 19:16 for “accusation,” assumes a play on διαβολή – διάβολος in the Greek original. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 49), followed by Ménard, translates as “blame.” Till (*Or* 38 [1959] 178 and *ZNW* 50 [1959] 179) translates “Abfall.” Our translation assumes that the noun is to

be connected with COOZE , “set upright,” which is appropriate in the context of the imagery deployed here.

33.24 *the lawless one* (PIATZEP): Most commentators understand the word in this way, as used in contrast to PIZEP and OYΔIKAIOC in 33.25, 29. The Greek would presumably be ἀνομος . Grobel (*Gospel*, 147) however, takes it as “one who does not sue.” Cf. Luke 12:58. He notes that ἀνομος is usually transliterated in Coptic bible translations, but the translator of the *Gos. Truth* need not have followed that convention. Grobel’s construal of the rest of the sentence is quite artificial and forced.

is someone (OYΛAYE ΓAP ΠE): Most commentators have assumed that AYE is negative, but this is not the necessary meaning of the term. Cf. Crum 146a. To take it as negative renders the meaning of the remark quite obscure.

33.30 *among others*: These could be other people or other works, as *ed. pr.* (13) note. Cf. Matt 12:35 and Luke 6:45, noted by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 49).

33.32 *for you are from him*: Doing the will of the Father is commonly recommended in early Christian literature. Cf. Matt 7:21, 12:50, 21:31; Rom 12:2. Here the motivation for this conformity to the divine will is quite specifically Gnostic. For similar remarks on the divine source in the NT, cf. 1 John 4:4, John 8:47, Acts 17:28, and possibly Heb 2:11.

VII. *Redemption Is a Gentle Attraction* (33.33–36.39)

In the next section of the text the author explores the way in which the revelation of Gnosis effects a return to the Father. Here he develops the image of the sweet “fragrance” of the Father, which is associated with other images, the physician, the jars, and their ointment.

33.33–34 *Father . . . in his will*: As often in the text the author begins the development of a new theme with reference to imagery used in concluding the preceding section. Cf. 33.31. On the sweetness of the Father, cf. 24.9 and 42.8.

33.35 *he had taken cognizance* (NE·AYXIC AYNE): The force of the

pluperfect here is obscure, but cf. 21.23-25 on the Father's foreknowledge. Alternatively it might be possible to take the NE as a copula with what precedes. The raised dot after the NE might support that construal, but see the punctuation at 19.24. Against that construal is the fact that nothing in the preceding clause is plural, and emendation would be required. Hence, Till (*ed. pr.*, 13) emends to $\zeta\bar{\text{N}}\langle\text{EBO}\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\text{N}}\rangle\ \text{ΠΙΟΥΩΨΕ ΟΥΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓ}\ \text{NE}$, which would mean, "things from his will are good." The adverbial predication in the text as it stands in 33.33-35 is perfectly acceptable and it seem best to take the NE at the preterit converter.

33.36 *things that are yours*: This obscure phrase refers to the "perfection" of each individual, which the Father retains within himself (18.36, 21.18) and which each individual receives from the Father when he ascends to him (21.20-25). This language refers in objective terms to the process of attaining self-awareness consisting in the recognition of the relation of the individual to his source or root.

that you might find rest: The conjunctive is used here in a final sense without any conjunction. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #323. On the motif of rest, cf. 22.12.

33.37-38 *by the fruits*: Cf. Matt 7:16, 12:33, and Luke 6:44. The term here seems to be used as a symbol for the revealer and his message, a fruit of the Paternal root, by which recipients of Gnosis come to know what is "their own," their true identity.

34 The Coptic pagination here ($\lambda\epsilon = 35$) is incorrect.

34.1 *his fragrance*: Here the author introduces a new image to describe the process of revelation and its effects. He begins with the notion that beings which have come from the Father exhibit the sweet fragrance of their source. They have, in other words, an element of the Father in themselves which attracts them back to him. Yet, this element or pneumatic potentiality is not enough in and of itself to guarantee that return. It is like the breath which has grown cold (34.18) and needs to be rewarmed. Hence "faith came" (34.29), bringing the "warm fulness of love" (34.30-31). Or, in terms of a related image, the Father breathes forth (35.24-25) and fills what is empty with his breath (36.30-34).

The image of the divine fragrance was common in religious

literature of the first Christian centuries. Cf. E. Lohmeyer, "Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 10, 9 (1919) 13 and H.-Ch. Puech, "Parfums sacrés, odeurs de sainteté, effluves paradisiaques," *L'Amour de l'art* (Paris, 1950) 36-40, cited by *ed. pr.* 14. Cf. in particular, 2 Cor 2:14-15, Eph 5:2, Phil 4:18, where Paul seems to rely primarily on sacrificial imagery. Among Valentinians traces of the Father's spirit are also referred to as his scent. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1, 1.23.1, and *Tri. Trac.* 72.6-7.

Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 10) finds here an allusion to a ritual of anointing, but the widespread metaphorical attestation of the imagery makes this highly uncertain.

34.5-35 Extensive remains parallel to this page are found in the fragments of the text in Codex XII. See the appendix.

34.5-6 *if it mixes with matter*: For the conjugation base, cf. 22.3. It may be proper, with Grobel (*Gospel*, 149) to translate as "since" here, although a concessive sense would be even more appropriate. The mixing of the fragrance with matter recalls the notion of the mixture of $\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha$ with matter in Stoicism, a notion which, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 160) notes, has older roots. Cf., e.g., Plato, *Tim.* 41D-42D. For Gnostic attestation of this notion, cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.19-21, noted by *ed. pr.* (14).

34.7 *repose* (C6P227): Alternatively, the term could be translated "silence," as is done by Wilson (*ed. pr.*, 31). Cf. *Ap. John* BG 26.6-8.

34.8 *he causes it to surpass* (ϠαϠτρεϠϠ σα τπε): Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 160-61) construes the words differently, taking σατπε from Cωτπ and translating, "il lui laisse assumer toute form." The suggestion is quite unconvincing, since Cατπε is unattested as a form of Cωτπ. Furthermore, Cωτπ does not readily mean what Ménard suggests it to mean here. The point of the remark is that although the spiritual "fragrance" is found mixed with matter, it is superior to every element of the material, phenomenal world. Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 179 and *ZNW* 50 [1959] 179) cites for comparison, *PS* 97 (p.235.4); 97 (p. 237.6); 98 (p. 240.23).

34.9-10 *it is not the ears that smell*: Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 174, 179)

emends by supplying a resumptive prepositional phrase after the verb and providing a pronominal subject. His suggestion “Denn nicht die Ohren sind es, <mit denen> er den Geruch riecht,” makes for a smoother reading, but, given the text’s penchant for striking metaphors, it is unnecessary. The point of the remark seems to be to compare two modes of appropriating the revelatory insight. What comes through the ears is seen to be less effective, less direct and less intimate than what comes “through the breath/spirit.” The author obviously plays on the two senses of *pneuma* (34.11). Similar remarks on the hierarchy of modes of revelation are found at *Tri. Trac.* 129.30-34 and 133.1-6, although there the contrast is between hearing and vision.

34.10-12 *but...the fragrance*: The word ΠΣΤΑΕΙ (34.10) is not, as *ed. pr.* (15), Grobel (*Gospel*, 151) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 49) suggest, a dittography. Nor is Till’s emendation of ΠΕΠΝΑ to ΠΕ<Π>ΠΝΑ necessary. The word is probably the preposed object of ΩΑΦΣΩΚ in apposition with ΠΩΩΛΜ̄ in 34.12. Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 11) suggests that the term is a mistranslation of the Syriac, where the words for the organs of sound and smell are similar. However, the contrast of the two sensory organs is quite comprehensible in this context, as Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 323) notes.

34.14 *he shelters it*: The conjugation base here is probably the conj., although the form is normally found in B. Cf. Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 174) and note the similar forms at *Tri. Trac.* 51.2, 25. Grobel (*Gospel*, 150) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 49) construe ΝΤΦΜΑΝΕΦ as ΝΤΦ ΜΑ ΝΕΦ (“There is a place for him” and “Er ist ja der Ort für ihn”), but both translations are impossible without an article before ΜΑ. For the verb, which means literally “bring to harbor,” cf. Crum 173b.

34.15 *take it to the place*: For the need to “return” to the Father, cf. 21.21, 22.7, 38.2-4, 41.4-14.

34.18-19 *it is something (ΟΥΕΕΙ...ΠΕ)*: Schenke (*Herkunft*, 49) emends to ΟΥ{Ε}ΕΙ and renders “it is a coming,” but this is unnecessary, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 153) and Arai (*Christologie*, 37, n.4) note. For similar expressions, cf. 19.6; 36.28; 37.6, 11. Ménard (*L’Évangile*, 161) seems to construe as if the text read ΕΦΟΕΙ,

although he does not suggest an emendation. This construal ignores the $\pi\epsilon$ in 34.19.

34.19 *psychic form*: In this passage, the author has already played on the double meaning of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (34.11). Here he plays on the similarity of $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ("soul") and $\psi\hat{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ("cold"). A similar connection was frequently made in ancient discussions of the soul and its relationship to matter. Cf. Tertullian, *De anima* 25.2, 25.6, 27.5 and Philo, *Somn.* 1.31, cited by *ed. pr.* (15). There is hardly any sacramental allusion here, as Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 36) suggests. The point here is clearly that the warm spiritual breath of the Father becomes cool and psychic by its association with matter.

34.21 *which has frozen* ($\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$): The verb $\omega\tau\epsilon$ is problematic. Grobel (*Gospel*, 155) thought he detected a ω written above the line, but this was merely ink seepage from the preceding page. Reading $\omega\tau\epsilon$, which he takes to be a variant for $\omega\tau\alpha$ (Crum 593b), he translates "cold water that has waned," but that is hardly satisfactory. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 49) suggests a connection with $\omega\tau$ (Crum 531b), an equally obscure word. Dubois (*VC* 29 [1975] 139) suggests that $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$ is a A^2 form of $\zeta\alpha\tau\epsilon$, "flow," but both in terms of morphology and the sense of the image this is unsatisfactory. Another solution is proposed by Lucchesi (*Or.* 47 [1978] 483–84), who derives the word from Egyptian 'd, "to dig, scoop out," and translates, rather loosely, "eau qui détruit." Once again, this translation does not fit the imagery well. W. Westendorf (*Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 295) does not propose an etymology, but suggests that the term might mean "einsinken." Why there should then be a "dissolution" (34.24) of such water is unclear. The illustration demands something like the sense of our translation. Water mixed with loose soil and frozen would give a deceptive appearance of solidity. As Grobel (*Gospel*, 155) notes, the illustration presupposes conditions in Italy rather than in Egypt.

34.22 *that is not solid*: Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 162) suggests that the language reflects speculation about the fluidity of matter generally. Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30A, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.5. The "fluidity" here, however, is applied metaphorically not to matter, but to spirit. As $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ is mixed with matter and "frozen" into forgetfulness, it loses its fluidity. The elements of the illustration need not be further allegorized.

34.25-26 *if a breath draws it*: Here the author has concluded the illustration dealing with water and combines it with the image of the fragrance. Here he notes that if a breath draws the fragrance, it becomes warm. He goes on to indicate how this illustrates the situation of the children of the Father. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 50) and Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 179) suggest a different translation, "When a breath draws itself in," it (the breath itself) becomes hot. This would be a new illustration, which fits ill with what precedes.

34.28 *from the division*: The remark is obscure. In this context it apparently refers to the separation of the fragrances of the Father from their source, effected by Error. Cf. 17.29-36. There may be a parallel in the episode of the cosmogonic myth in which Sophia separates herself from her defective offspring. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4 and *Tri. Trac.* 88.23-25, where the Logos undergoes the same experience.

34.28-29 *faith came* (ΑΦΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΑΖΤΕ): Although the last letter of line 28 is uncertain, the word here is certainly not ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, as suggested by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 50) and Grobel (*Gospel*, 155). The author uses language of faith only here and at 23.32. Faith presumably "comes" through, and as a response to, the revelation of the gospel (34.35). Thus, the term is used metonymously, much as is "hope" (35.3).

34.30 *pleroma*: A translation "fulness" would be quite appropriate here, but the author may be playing with the technical sense which the term may also have. Cf. 16.35.

34.32 *should not come again* (ΝΕΦΩΤΕ ΑΨΩΠΕ): The conjugation base here is the neg. fut. III., not the conj., as Grobel (*Gospel*, 155) suggests.

34.35 *gospel*: Here the Coptic term Ψᾠ ΝΟΥΓΕ is used, whereas elsewhere the Greek ΕΓΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ is employed.

34.36 *discovery* (ΤΟΙΝΕ): As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 163) notes, the use of the feminine article with the normally masculine noun is perhaps due to the gender of the underlying Greek, *εὕρησις*, *vel sim.*

Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 174) unnecessarily emends to $\tau\beta\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon<\text{I}\text{>$, "the coming."

of the pleroma: This phrase links the following paragraph with the preceding. Cf. 34.31. Here, and at 35.7, the term could well be translated "fulness," as in the preceding section.

34.37-35.1 *those who await the salvation*: The language, reminiscent of Rom 8:18-25 or 2 Cor 5:1-5, is eschatological, but the problem dealt with here is not. The basic issue is whether there should be any "waiting" or any "searching" for the truth of revelation.

35 The Coptic pagination ($\lambda\varsigma = 36$) is again incorrect. Cf. the similar error on page 34.

35.2-11 *while their hope, etc.*: The syntax and the sense here are problematic. Earlier translators ignore the circumstantial converter in $\epsilon\text{C}\text{C}\text{A}\text{M}\bar{\text{T}}$ and hence take the remark about the "waiting hope" independently from what follows. The phrase, however, is intimately connected with what follows, beginning the time at which the "pleroma is coming" (35.6-8). Part of the difficulty in seeing the connection is due to the parenthetical remark of 35.4-7. That remark probably occasioned an anacolouthon in this lengthy sentence.

The paragraph as a whole serves the same sort of qualifying function found in earlier sections of the text. Cf. 17.21-29, 17.36-18.11. The author wants to indicate that the delay in effecting a return to the Father is not really the Father's fault, any more than is the very existence of oblivion and error (35.9-11). Nonetheless, the delay is somehow occasioned by the depth of the Father (35.14-18). Such an overly subtle, and hardly satisfactory, distinction is also made at 18.1-3.

Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 165) suggests that the author is basically struggling to preserve the transcendence of the Father while affirming his implication in the soteriological process. The problem seems, rather, to be one of theodicy.

35.3 *their hope*: The term refers metonymously to the object of hope, the salvation from on high. Cf. 34.28-29.

35.5-35 Extensive fragments parallel to this page are preserved in Codex XII. See the appendix.

35.5 *light with no shadow*: Cf. 1 John 1:5, James 1:17. Those who are to accept the revealing Gnosis are like the realm of light from which they have come. Descriptions of the transcendent world as a world of light are common in the religious literature of the first Christian centuries.

35.6 *at that time* (ΜΠCΑΠ ΕΤΜΜΕΥ): Cf. 36.27. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 50) construes the words differently as ΜΠCΑ ΠΕΤΜΜΕΥ, "von jener Seite," i.e., from "on high." The use of the article with the demonstrative ΕΤΜΜΕΥ would be highly unusual for this text, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 157) notes. Cf. the index, *s.v.* ΜΜΕΥ. The reference here is to the time of hope and expectation already described.

Then (ΕΙΨΧΕ): It is also possible to translate the word as a conditional conjunction, "if." (Crum 64a). The exact logic of the sentence is obscure. It is possible that the conditional would have concessive force. Thus, the argument might be paraphrased, "Even if, while those who wait for salvation are waiting, the fulness (of knowledge and love) is (only) in the process of coming; nonetheless, the condition of deficiency, which obtains in this situation, is not due to the Father's limitlessness. The coming of the revelation provides time for the deficiency which is mysterious, but in any case, Error does not exist in the great depth of the Father's being." The shift in tenses between lines 8 and 9 suggests that ΕΙΨΧΕ should be taken as an illative particle and that a new sentence should begin with "the deficiency."

35.8 *proceeding to come* (ΨΑΦΜΑΑΖΕ ΔΕΙ): Such an auxiliary use of ΜΑΑΖΕ (= S ΜΟΟΨΕ) is attested. Cf. Crum 203b. The construction may be used here to emphasize the fact that the coming of the fulness involves an extended period of time. Cf. 35.11. In the *Tri. Trac.* 118.28-119.8, there is a discussion of the sudden illumination of spiritual people and a gradual illumination of psychics, but the *Gos. Truth* does not seem to be operating with such a distinction.

35.9 *<deficiency>* (ΨΤΨ): The form is unknown and is probably simply a scribal error for ΨΤΑ, which appears in the fragmentary parallel of Codex XII:59.4.

35.11 *to give time* (ΑΤΝ ΟΥΑΕΙΨ): The form ΑΤΝ has been read by most earlier translators as a preposition (Crum 427b), to be translated

“at the time.” This requires the emendation suggested by *ed. pr.*, $\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ $\langle\pi\rangle\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega$. Alternatively, $\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ may be the pre-nominal form of τ , usually found with the dative. If so, there is here another example of the “proclitic τ ” discussed by Emmel. Cf. the note to 30.25–26.

35.13 *incorruptible one*: As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 165) notes, this epithet is common for various elements of the pleroma in Valentinian and other Gnostic sources. Cf., e.g., Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5; Origen, *In Joh.* 13.51; *Ap. John* BG 20.16, 24.9, etc.

35.14 *in this way*: That is, in such a way as to “give time” to the deficiency.

35.15 *depth*: The “depth” of the Father was previously cited as the cause of error (22.24–25). So, too, here it is not through the “limitlessness” of the Father, but through the “depth” of his being that deficiency and error arise. The contrast between limitlessness and depth is obscure, but, as the following remark indicates, the inference to be drawn from the contrast is that error and deficiency are extrinsic to the being of the Father. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 166) suggests that the “multiplying of the depth” causes the destruction of error. In view of the earlier passage on the significance of the Father’s depth (22.24–25), this is highly unlikely. Cf. also 18.1–3.

was multiplied ($\alpha\upsilon\alpha\omega\epsilon\{\epsilon\}\epsilon\iota$): The verb form here is probably a misspelled form of $\alpha\omega\alpha\iota$, as suggested by Schenke (*Herkunft*, 50) who translates “reich war,” and Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 176). Grobel (*Gospel*, 159) alternatively emends to $\alpha\upsilon\{\alpha\}\omega\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota$ and translates, “he proceeded to come.”

35.18–19 *it is a thing that falls . . . stands upright*: The force of this remark is as obscure as much else in this paragraph. The point seems to be that the situation of deficiency and error, being extrinsic to the being of the Father, is easily rectified. Recall the imagery of waking the sleeper (30.21–22). Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 166) unnecessarily takes $\zeta\omega\upsilon$ as equivalent to Greek $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ here. Cf. 39.20–21.

35.20 *discovery*: The paragraph ends with an *inclusio* on the theme of “discovery” (cf. 34.36), which is effected by the one who “brings back.” This remark introduces the subject of the next paragraph,

which thus returns to the theme of the return effected by the revelation, a theme interrupted by the qualifying paragraph.

35.22-23 *bringing back is called repentance*: Repentance, *μετάνοια*, is a common theme in Hellenistic religious literature and in Gnosticism, as *ed. pr.* (17) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 166-167) note. The paradigmatic Valentinian conversion is that of Sophia, who turns away from the passions she has engendered toward the transcendent world. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.2 and *Tri. Trac.* 81.19-29. This is the only explicit allusion to the theme in this text. Grobel (*Gospel*, 162-63) suggests that behind the remark here lies a Semitic etymology, since in Hebrew repentance, *teshuvah*, is derived from the root "to return" *shwb*.

35.24-25 *incorruptibility breathed forth*: The breath imagery from the discussion of the fragrance (34.1-33) reemerges here. The passage also recalls the description of the spirit chasing the sleeper and setting him on his feet (30.16-23). There, however, the spirit awakened; here the breath brings to a state of rest. The images are antithetical, but they relate to the same experience.

35.25-26 *the one who had sinned*: Cf. 32.37. "Sin" is probably understood here metaphorically in terms of error and ignorance.

35.26-27 *he might rest* (ΜΑΤΗ ΜΜΑϞ): We take the verb as reflexive as do most translators. It could also, however, be transitive, "might give him rest" as Grobel (*Gospel*, 163) maintains. In either case, the "sinner" finds rest through an external agent.

35.29 *the word of the pleroma*: Cf. 16.34. This phrase probably stands in apposition with "what remains." Grobel (*Gospel*, 165) suggests that the phrase is in apposition to the light, but that is unlikely. Throughout the text the word which comes from the pleroma serves salvific functions. Here the "light in the deficiency" is the object of the salvific activity, imaged first as forgiveness, then as healing.

35.30-31 *the physician runs*: *Ed. pr.* (17) note a non-canonical saying of Jesus similar to this phrase and found in the Diatessaron, "*Sed ubi dolores sunt, ait, illic festinat medicus.*" Cf. A. Resch,

Agrapha (2nd ed.; TU 15: Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967) #176, p. 202 and Ephrem, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant* (ed. L. Leloir; CSCO 145, 175).

35.32 *the will*: On the level of the illustration, the comment simply refers to the ordinary intention of physicians. The term also recalls the importance of the Father's will (22.10, 34). It is the Father's will to heal the sickness of ignorance which motivates the revealer-physician. Cf. John 5:17-23.

35.35-37 *pleroma...fills the deficiency*: Cf. 24.20-27. The latter part of this clause could also be translated "but the deficiency fills itself up." In either case the basic structure of the sentence is a three-member nominal predication, where the subject, "pleroma" is modified by a compound relative clause (35.36-37).

35.37-36.1 *he provided from himself*: The subject is presumably the Father.

36.2 *what he lacks*: The pronoun refers to the "one who has a deficiency" (35.33).

36.3 *grace*: Cf. 16.32.

36.8-9 *when that which was diminished was received*: What was diminished is presumably the knowledge of the Father. Alternatively, the phrase could be personal, "he who was diminished" and synonymous with "the one who suffered a deficiency." His "reception" would be the return to the Father. Cf. 35.18-23.

36.9-10 *he revealed what he lacked, being (now) a pleroma*: Having been "filled up," the one who was deficient now is full, and he thereby shows forth what he had been missing. Grobel (*Gospel*, 166-67) suggests a different construal: "he (the Father) whom he (the deficient one) had lacked, revealed him (the deficient one) to be a pleroma." *Ed. pr.*, Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 63), Till (*ZNW* 50 [1959] 181), and Grobel (*Gospel*, 166) take the phrase "what he lacked" in apposition with an element in the preceding clause, rather than the proposed object of $\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\lambda\eta\zeta\eta$, as here. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 51) also

begins a new section with $\alpha\phi\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta$ (36.9) and takes the subject to be Christ. Cf. 36.14.

36.11 *that is the discovery, etc.:* This clause summarizes the whole process which has been described in the preceding paragraph.

36.13 *immutable:* Cf. 17.26.

36.14 *Christ:* Only here is the title used. As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 170) suggests, the term is probably employed because of the play on anointing in this paragraph. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 30.17, CG II,1:6.25-26, CG III,1:10.2-4.

in their midst: The various designations for the revelation have been spoken of as appearing or coming "into the midst." Cf. 19.19; 20.9-10; 26.4-5, 27-28. Note in particular that Jesus "came into the midst" and "spoke" (19.19). Does the passive voice here imply some sort of distinction between Jesus who spoke and Christ who was spoken about? Further fragments from Codex XII parallel this section. See the appendix.

36.15 *so that* ($\omega\upsilon\iota\epsilon$): Although the spelling with a final ϵ rather than α is unusual, the word is certainly the final conjunction, and is taken thus by most editors. Grobel (*Gospel*, 166), however, takes it as an imperative of $\omega\upsilon\iota\epsilon$ (Crum 569a). What is said about Christ thus becomes "Seek and they shall receive," a possible allusion to Matt 7:7. The continuation of the imperative with a third person conj. is forced and artificial.

36.17 *anoint them with the ointment:* Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 10) sees a Syriac word play here, but the same play is possible in Greek. Cf. 1 John 2:20-27. Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1958] 12) also notes Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 1.12, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\upsilon\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ $\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. For a Gnostic example of this common paronomasia, cf. *Gos. Phil.* 74.12-19, noted by Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 [1966] 329.)

There may be in this phrase some allusion to a sacramental practice, as suggested by Ludin Jansen (*Ac. Or.* 28 [1964-65] 215-19) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 170). For Valentinian rituals involving anointing, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3-4. There, the ointment is said (1.21.3) to be "a type of the sweet savor which is above all things,"

which recalls the image of the fragrance developed at 34.1–34. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 40.8–29.

36.17–18 *ointment is the mercy*: As Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1958] 13) notes, there is a play here on *ἐλαιον* (oil) and *ἐλεος* (mercy). Cf. 35.27, and the remarks there on forgiveness, and 39.26, where mercy “finds a name” with the Father. Here, as frequently in the text, we seem to have ordinary Christian symbolic language used with a new layer of metaphorical meaning.

36.20 *those who have become perfect*: Those who receive the ointment of mercy are already perfected. If there is any allusion to a sacramental practice, such as to baptism or confirmation, as suggested by *ed. pr.* (18–19) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 171), it is clear that the importance of such a ritual is minimized. For Valentinian debates about the significance of sacramental practice, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.4.

36.21 *full jars*: The author returns to the jar imagery which had been developed earlier (25.25–26.15). Here, the imagery first illustrates the principle that unction comes to the perfect, since only full jars are “anointed” with a seal (36.21–22). Then the author develops the illustration in a more obscure way, by noting that when a jar’s seal is removed, the jar is emptied and the cause for the emptiness is whatever removed the seal. This further development of the jar image serves as a symbol of what does *not* happen in the comparandum. No “seal” is removed from the analogue of the full jar, the perfect one, whose deficiency the Father has filled. The whole jar image thus serves to reinterpret radically the notion of the Father’s mercy.

36.22 *anointed*: The term signifies the sealing, probably with pitch, of the stopper of an amphora, as is clear from the reference to a seal at 36.31. Cf. Grobel, *Gospel*, 169.

36.25–26 *reason for there being a deficiency is the thing by which its ointment goes*: The phrase is obscure. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) and Grobel (*Gospel*, 169) translate “the reason... is the fact that its ointment goes,” but the relative clause would not normally be used for such a

construction. Whatever the precise point of the remark, it is closely associated with the following, equally obscure, notice.

36.28 *breath draws it*: Till (*Or.* 28 [1959] 181) translates “pflegt ein einzigen Hauch . . . es zu füllen,” noting that in the A version of Nah 3:14 ἐπισᾶσαι is translated by ΜΟΥΖ, while in B it is translated by CΩΚ. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) and Guillaumont (*Rev. d’ Eg.* 24 [1972] 80-82) note that ΜΟΥΖ in Nah 3:14 has the special sense of “to draw water,” so the passage does not warrant Till’s translation.

The imagery here recalls the “fragrance” passage, especially 34.25-26, and the subsequent allusion to that passage at 35.24-25. However, the image of the breath which “draws out” the contents of an unsealed jar does not represent the spirit which warms the cold psyche or gives rest to the errant “sinner.” It is simply part of the illustration showing what does not happen to a sealed jar.

36.28-29 *a thing in the power of that which is with it*: The phrase is in apposition, either with “breath” or with the “it” which is drawn forth from the jar. In either case, the referents of the pronouns are obscure. We understand “a thing” to refer to the content of the unsealed jar, which, once the seal is gone, is in the power of the external air which is now “with it.” Despite the obscure language and quaint physics, the point is a rather simple one. When a jar is unsealed, liquid can and often does come out. Ménard (*L’Évangile*, 171) suggests a rather unconvincing allegorical interpretation of the passage, which is quite foreign to the point being made in this section. He suggests, “A ce moment, l’esprit, qui prend conscience de lui-même à l’intérieur du pneumatique, attire l’Esprit à lui par la puissance de celui qui est avec lui, c’est-à-dire le Père, la puissance signifiant ici la force céleste.”

36.30-32 *but from him who has no deficiency, etc.*: We translate personally, although an impersonal translation would also be possible. This sentence could still be part of the illustration, contrasting a full, sealed, jar with an unsealed one (36.22-29). By 36.33 the author is clearly involved in application of the imagery and that application seems to begin here.

The logical order of the elements of the image has been reversed. In the image, the removal of the seal is the cause for a deficiency. In contrast, we would expect here, if we were still only within the image,

the notice that from an unsealed jar nothing is emptied. Instead, we hear that a non-deficient jar remains sealed. This remark repeats in terms of the imagery of the passage the principle enunciated above that the perfect get the anointing (36.19–20).

36.33–34 *what he lacks the perfect Father fills again*: The remark may be a bit jarring in light of the preceding affirmation that non-deficient jars, i.e., perfect people, are sealed and do not get emptied. The text does not apparently envision an emptying of full and sealed jars, but it has regularly spoken about the need to eliminate the initial deficiency. Before the seal is smeared on, the jar has to be filled. “Again” (ΑΝ) may be a mistranslation of the prepositional prefix in a verb such as ἀναπίμπλημι or of an adverb such as ἄνωθεν. Cf. John 3:3.

36.34 *perfect Father*: Cf. Matt 5:48 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 171) claims that this epithet seems to be unknown in Gnostic documents before Valentinianism. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 61.29.

36.35 *good*: Cf. Matt 19:17, Mark 10:18, Luke 18:18; *Ap. John* BG 25.18–19; CG II,1:4.6–7; III,1:6.10–11; IV,1:6.4–5, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 171) and cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 61.29.

36.36 *plantings*: The beings which emanate from the Father are frequently depicted with such agricultural imagery. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3; *Ap. John* BG 36.3; 57.5; 62.7; 64.5; 71.10, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 172). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 62.5–11, 88.20–22. More general use of the imagery may be found at 1 Cor 3:9; John 15:1; Ignatius, *Trall.* 11:1, *Phil.* 3:1; *Od. Sol.* 11:18–19; *Gos. Phil.* 87.29–31, texts noted by *ed. pr.* (20–21).

36.37 *paradise*: For the “heavenly” paradise, a Jewish apocalyptic image widespread in Gnosticism, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.15.2; *Ap. John* BG 55.20; 62.1; CG II,1:21.18, 25–26; 24.7, cited by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 172). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 96.29; 101.30.

36.38–39 *his paradise in his place of rest*: The phrase may be an interpolation or gloss, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 173) suggests, but that is hardly certain. The motif is hardly a late Gnostic one, as Ménard

(*L'Évangile*, 172) suggests. Cf. 4 *Ezra* 8:52. See also the note to 22.12.

VIII. *Return Is by the Will and through the Name of the Father*
(36.39-40.23)

The next section of the text contains a new reflection on the process of salvation effected by revelation (36.39-38.6). First, the revealing Word is characterized as an expression of the will of the Father. Then follows a meditation on the name of the Father, which is the Son. This meditation (38.7-39.28) reverently explores the major content of the revealing Word. The author concludes with a response to a possible objection to the theory of the significance of the "name" (39.28-40.23).

36.39 *this*: The antecedent is unclear. It is probably a general reference to the whole revelatory message. The paragraph beginning at 34.34 opens in a similar way.

37.1 *perfection*: Note the linkage with the conclusion of the preceding paragraph, where the "perfect Father" was in view (36.34).

in the thought: This section of the text begins, as did the work as a whole, with a reference to what is in the Father's thought. Cf. 16.35-36.

37.1-3 *thought...his meditation*: Terms such as this appear in Valentinian sources, such as the account of Ptolemy's system in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1, to designate hypostases within the complex being of the Godhead. In other sources, however, such terms appear only as attributes of the Father. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 51.5, 55.37, 57.3-8. The possessive pronoun in 37.3 probably refers to the Father, despite the objection of Grobel (*Gospel*, 173), as Story (*Nature*, 31) notes.

37.4 *each one of his words*: The aeons of the pleroma are called "words" at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1. In the *Tri. Trac.* 60.34, they are said to have been produced "like a word." Here the systematic ambiguity of the text again appears in full force. The author uses terminology which can have a technical, speculative and esoteric sense or an exoteric, salvation-historical sense. The basic point of the remark is to affirm the unity of the underlying "will" and the multiplicity of "words" which issue from the Father, however those words are to be understood. For similar emphasis on the unity in the

multiplicity of the divine world, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 66.34–67.14, 73.28–74.18.

37.6 *will*: Cf. 22.34. This brief remark sounds the theme that will occupy the bulk of the following section (37.14–38.6).

37.7 *while they were still depths* (εγὼ ἄβαθος): Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 60.16–22, for the aeons being in the depth of the Father. The current passage might be translated “while they were still in depths of the Father,” as is done by *ed. pr.*, Ménard, and Schenke, although this would not be the regular meaning of ο ν-. Further fragments from Codex XII parallel this section. See the appendix.

37.8–9 *the Word...revealed them*: Here and at 37.11 the Greek term λόγος is used rather than Coptic ⲱⲉⲗⲉ which appears elsewhere. The Word in the *Gos. Truth* is here seen to function in much the same way as the Son does in the *Tri. Trac.* (where the Word or Logos is the name of subordinate emanation, roughly equivalent to Sophia in other Valentinian sources). In the *Tri. Trac.* the Son is the “first” emanation of the Father (56.23–30, 57.19–23), who is the source of the rest of the pleromatic world (66.5–37).

37.10–12 *mind...silent grace*: These terms recall the names of other members of the complex primal divinity in various Valentinian systems. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.1–4. The reference to a “mind that speaks” is the closest that the *Gos. Truth* comes to hypostatizing explicitly any of the attributes of the Father mentioned here.

37.12–14 *he was called thought since they were in it*: The gender of the pronouns is problematic. As Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 278) suggests, the underlying Greek probably played on the terms νοῦς, “mind” (37.10) and ἐννοια, “thought” (37.13). The gender of the first is reflected in the masculine subject; the gender of the second in the pronominal phrase with its feminine pronoun. The text may here be hinting at the androgynous nature of the components or aspects of the Father, a notion frequent in Valentinian texts. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1.

37.15 *he*: This is, no doubt, a reference to the Word.

37.16 *at the time*: As Grobel (*Gospel*, 175) notes, it is unclear whether the reference is protological or incarnational, although in the context of the various, thinly veiled allusions to the origins of the emanations of the Father the protological reference is probably primary, but the ambiguity may be intentional.

37.19-21 *and the will . . . is pleased with*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 175) views this parenthetical remark as another interpolation. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 58.34-59.1, where the Father is said to rest upon the Son, who "rests upon" the Church. Cf. Matt 12:18.

37.22 *without him*: The pronoun probably refers to the Word.

37.23 *without the will*: This is perhaps an allusion to Matt 10:29 in the form attested in several Latin Fathers, "*sine patris vestri voluntate*." Cf. van Unnik (*Jung Codex*, 120-21).

37.25 *unsearchable* (ΟΥΑΤΤΕΖΕΡΕΤῶ): The word is otherwise unattested, but the abstract appears at *Tri. Trac.* 87.12. *Ed. pr.* (58) plausibly suggest a connection with Rom 11:33, ἀνεξιχνίαστος. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.1, 1.15.5, 2.18.1. Grobel (*Gospel*, 175) suggests a translation of "not predeterminable." On the incomprehensibility of the Father himself, recall the formulaic expression of 17.8 and 18.32.

trace (ΙΧΝΟΣ): For remarks on other "traces" of the incomprehensible Father, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 66.3, 73.6. The unusual orthography is paralleled at CG IX,1:14.15.

37.27 *will know him*: The referent of the pronouns here and in the following two phrases is unclear. They all could refer to the "unsearchable will." Yet, while the will is mysterious, it is the "trace" of the incomprehensible Father. Hence, we take the pronouns to refer to the Father himself. For similar remarks about the Father keeping himself unknown while giving hints about his transcendent being, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 61.1-18.

37.29-34 *but when . . . desiring the Father*: The syntax here is complex. The basic structure of the sentence is a three-member nominal predication, interrupted by a parenthetical remark which dramatically delays the disclosure of what the Father's will is.

37.31-33 *even if the sight does not please them*: The referent of the pronoun is unclear. It may be the "they" of 37.8, i.e., the "words" or emanations of the Father. Cf. also 37.35. Or it could be simply a general reference to anyone confronted with "the sight." That term is quite obscure. It may simply refer to the "sight" of the Father's will which is ascertainable. This might be unpleasing because it consists only in willing or desiring the Father.

37.33 *before God*: "God" appears only here in the text. The phrase could also be taken with the following, as is done by *ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 176), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 52) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 64). In either case, the phrase probably functions as an exclamation and not as an allusion to an inferior deity below the Father and his will, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 176) suggests.

37.33-34 *desiring the Father* (ΠΟΥΩΥΕ ΠΙΩΤ): With Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 279), we construe ΠΟΥΩΥΕ as the predicate of the nominal sentence of 37.31. With Till, we also associate ΠΙΩΤ with what precedes. Other translators, *ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 176), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 52) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 64) take the term ΠΙΩΤ with the following sentence, but the post-positive ΓΑΡ after ΕΦΣΑΥΝΕ (37.34) precludes that option. Till takes ΠΙΩΤ in loose apposition with ΠΟΥΩΥΕ but another possibility is to see it as the object of the substantivized infinitive. ΟΥΩΥΕ is a slightly unusual pre-nominal form of the infinitive, although ΟΥΩΥ- and ΟΥΕΥΕ- are attested. Cf. Crum 500a. For the notion expressed here, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 61.24-28.

37.35 *of all of them*: These are presumably the same beings referred to at 37.32.

37.36-37 *he will question them directly* (ΦΝΑΩΥΝΤΟΥ ΑΖΡΕΥ): The phrase has caused editors a good deal of consternation, especially because of the form ΑΖΡΕΥ. This is simply the preposition Α with the normal Α² pre-suffixal form of ΖΟ, literally, "to their face." This may be an allusion to 1 Cor 13:12.

37.37 *the end is receiving knowledge*: Cf. John 17:3.

37.38 *and this is the Father*: Grobel (*Gospel*, 179) unnecessarily considers this another interpolation.

38.1 *the beginning*: As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 177) notes, the first principle or beginning (ἀρχή) of all was the Son, who, in turn, generated the Logos, according to Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5. Here, the "beginning" would seem to be the Word. Cf. 37.9-10.

38.3 *return* (σωτε): No emendation is necessary here. The form is simply an orthographic variant of σωτ. In Codex I there is considerable variation in the forms of σωτ and σωτε. See the indices, *s.v.* σωτ, σωτε.

38.5-6 *they have appeared for the glory and the joy of his name*: In the *Tri. Trac.* it is frequently emphasized that the aeons have come forth from the Father for his glory. They, in fact, find their authentic existence in glorifying the one from whom they have come and whom they have come to know. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 64.8, 20-21; 68.4-69.14. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 65, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 177).

38.7 *the name of the Father is the Son*: This sentence is hardly, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 181) suggests, an interpolation. It functions well to introduce the elaborate reflection on the theme which extends through 40.23. This passage has attracted a good deal of attention and comment. See in particular Arai, *Christologie*, 62-73; Ménard, *SMR* 5 (1962) 185-214; Dubois, *RThPh* 24 (1974) 198-216, and J. Fineman, *Rediscovery*, 1.289-318, with the further literature cited in those discussions.

The roots of the speculation elaborated here would appear to be in Jewish reflections of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods on the ineffable name of God, the *Shem hammephorash*, and those beings who bear that name and thus reveal God. Early evidence of such speculation is Philo's description of the Logos as God's "firstborn" and "name" (*Conf. ling.* 146). Philo's text may be a philosophical interpretation of such esoteric traditions as are represented in the later 3 *Enoch* 12; *Apoc. Abr.* 10 and *PS* 7, where an angel (Metatron in 3 *Enoch*) is given the name, and with it, the authority of Yahweh. For a discussion of this tradition and its significance, cf. Quispel, *Jung Codex*, 72-76 and "Christliche Gnosis and jüdische Heterodoxie," *ET* 14 (1954) 474-84. Such speculation is probably reflected in early Christian sources such as Phil 2:9-12; John 12:28, 17:12; Heb 1:4; Acts 2:21; Hermas, *Sim.* 8.10.3, 9.13.2-3, 9.14.5-6; 1 *Clem.* 58.1,

60.4; *Did.* 10.2, and in such Gnostic texts as *Ap. John* BG 24.4, 32.19; CG II,1:7.29; III,1:11.14; IV,1:11.23-24; *Exc. Theod.* 28.4,6, 43.1, 80.3, 86.2; and *Gos. Phil.* 54.5-13 (on which see K. Koschorke, "Die 'Namen' im Phillippusevangelium: Beobachtungen zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen gnostischem und kirklichem Christentum," *ZNW* 64 [1973] 307-22). The importance of the "name," especially the "proper" name, of any entity is also an element in the Greek philosophical tradition and in popular magic, as noted by Ménard (*SMR* 5 [1962] 186-193).

Whatever the ultimate or immediate sources of the name speculation, the Son is the name of the Father in two related and overlapping senses. (1) The Son *bears* the name of the Father as is suggested by the first comment in this paragraph (38.7-14); i.e., the Son is called by the Father's name, although that name is not specified. (2) More significantly, the Son also is the name of Father insofar as he *functions* as a name, by indicating what the reality of the object named is. The Son functions in this way because he is the comprehensible part of the Godhead, as is suggested by 38.15-24.

In the process of developing this doctrine, the term "name" has at least two distinct but related senses. On the one hand, it is that which designates something else. Hence, the Son, *qua* "name," is distinct from the Father. But the "name" also is the essence of the thing named. Hence, the Son is identical with the Father. It is because the Son shares the very being of the Father, yet is distinct from him, that he can reveal him to all other beings dependent on him.

38.7 *he . . . first gave a name*: The subject is certainly the Father. In Valentinian and other Gnostic theogonic or cosmogonic accounts, the Father does not regularly give a name to his first emanation.

38.8-9 *who came forth from him*: In this text the first emanation has been the Word. Cf. 16.34-35 and 37.9. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 178), apparently reflecting 37.35 and 38.1, suggests that the text distinguishes "Word" from "Beginning" as two successive hypostases, parallel to the exegesis of John 1:4 in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5. There the sequence is Father, Son (=Beginning), Logos (Word). Although the principle of emanation is certainly similar in both texts, the figures involved cannot easily be equated. The *Gospel of Truth* rather seems to equate Word and Son.

38.9 *who was himself*: The identity of the first and second principles is a common tenet in the more philosophically oriented Gnosticism. The notion is ultimately based on the Aristotelian conception of the deity as filtered through middle-Platonic speculation. The primal one contemplates himself, and in the process produces an expression of himself. For Valentinian applications of the principle, cf. the account of the Marcosians in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1 and especially the *Tri. Trac.* 56.1-59.1, with the literature cited in the notes to that passage.

38.10 *he begot him as a son*: Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5 and *Tri. Trac.* 57.8-23. The phrase may recall the numerous NT texts which allude to or use Ps 2:7, as noted by van Unnik (*Jung Codex*, 121) and Giversen (*StTh* 13 [1959] 88-91), especially Acts 13:33 and Heb 1:5. Grobel (*Gospel*, 181) sees here an allusion to the incarnation, but that is improbable.

38.11 *he gave him his name*: Cf. Phil 2:9-12; John 17:12 and Heb 1:4. Precisely what the name is that is given to the Son is not specified. It is probably not one of the names mentioned in Philipians or Hebrews, i.e., Jesus, Christ, Lord, Son. It may be the name Father. Note that in the *Tri. Trac.* 61.14, the Father gives the name "Father" to the aeons as the first stage of his revelation to them, and that at 67.10-11, the Son is said to bring the Father to the Totalities. The Son is, in fact, given the name of the Father, at least in a derived sense, at *Tri. Trac.* 65.10-11.

38.13-14 *around him, the Father* (ΖΑΖΤΗΓ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΩΤ): As Grobel (*Gospel*, 181) notes, the resumptive particle ΝΒΙ is used here irregularly, as at 40.26. Such a usage is, however, not unattested. Cf. Crum 252a.

38.15-16 *it is possible for him to be seen*: This is, no doubt, a reference to the Son, recalling Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5, where the Son is styled the comprehensible part (τὸ καταληπτόν) of the Father. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 63.10-14. Here the second sense in which the Son is the name of Father is suggested. The Son is now seen to point to the reality of the Father. For the name as a pointer to the reality, cf. Valentinus, fr. 5, (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89,6-90,4), where Valentinus uses the image of a picture's title which points to the reality depicted, in order to illustrate how the terms Father and

God applied to the Demiurge point to the reality of the transcendent God and Father.

38.16–17 *the name, however, is invisible*: This and the following lines present several problems. (1) The text seems to contradict itself, since at 38.23 it affirms that the name is apparent. (2) The distinction between Son and name, implied by the visible-invisible contrast of 38.15–17, seems to contradict the basic affirmation that the Son is the name of the Father. These problems can be resolved when it is recognized that the “name” here is used in a metaphorical sense for the “essence” or “fundamental reality” of the Father. That invisible, incomprehensible reality is made known through the revelation provided by the Son. For the distinction between knowledge of the existence of the Father and knowledge of his essence, and for a similar theory of revelation, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 61.24–28, 65.17–34.

That the name is a metaphor for the essence of the Father thus explains why it is hidden, yet revealed. It also explains how the Son is and, at the same time, is not the same as the Father. He does share the essence of the Father (38.9), but is distinct from him and is not “invisible.”

Ed. pr. (58) note a similar passage in *Exc. Theod.* 26.4, where Jesus is said to consist of a visible part, the “Wisdom and the Church of the Superior Seed” and an invisible part, the “Name, which is the only-begotten Son.” The *Gospel of Truth* is not speaking about Jesus here, but it uses the term “name” in a formally similar way. Note, too, the distinction in Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.4) between the exoteric and esoteric names of the revealer.

38.19 *mystery of the invisible*: As *ed. pr.* (58) note, the name of God given to the Demiurge by Sophia and kept secret by him is styled a “mystery” at Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.36.2.

38.20–21 *filled with it by him*: The first pronoun probably refers to the name; the second to the Son. The ears here are like the jars of 36.30–34.

38.21–22 *the Father’s name is not spoken*: Here, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 183) notes, we find the most explicit reference to the Jewish tradition of the *Shem hammephorash*. Cf. 38.11–12. The fact that the Father’s

name is not spoken serves as the image for the transcendence of the Father's essence.

38.23-24 *it is apparent through a Son*: Cf., with *ed. pr.* (58), fr. 2 of Valentinus (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.114,3), εἰς δὲ ἐστιν ἀγαθός, οὗ παρρησία ἢ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ φανέρωσις.

38.25 *will be able* (εταω): *Ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 182), Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 179-80) construe the conjugation base as a perf. rel. However, the *Gos. Truth*, unlike the *Tri. Trac.*, does not use ετα(2) as a form of that conjugation base. This must be an A² fut. rel., as Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) recognized.

38.25-26 *for him, the great name*: The reference here is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so, given the intimate relationship between Father and Son. The "great name" is most likely the Father himself, the "name" that remains invisible. It could also be the Son, who is the name of the Father in the senses described in the preceding paragraph.

38.26-28 *him alone to whom the name belongs*: Again the phrase is ambiguous. The name belongs to the Father, but it has been given to the Son (38.11-12). It might be possible to construe the affirmation here to be saying that the Father alone can utter a name for himself, since he alone knows himself in a way that enables him to do so. Cf. 38.34. This notion is explicit in the *Tri. Trac.* 54.40-55.14. It is more likely, however, that the one to whom the name belongs is now the one to whom the name has been given, namely, the Son. He "alone" (yet along with other "sons" of the name) has the power to utter a name for the Father. The question asked in the next paragraph (39.30-32) clearly presupposes that the Son has been said to utter a name for the Father.

38.28 *sons of the name*: Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 8) sees here another example of translation from Syriac, but the construction is at home in the NT. The author may have modeled the phrase on such expressions as "sons of God" in Gal 3:26 and Rom 8:14. Cf. Böhlig, *Muséon* 79 (1966) 320. If such texts did influence this phrase, the alteration from "sons of God" to "sons of the name" may be a way of suggesting that those who accept the revelation have a more

mysterious or exalted Father than the being characterized as "God" in the NT.

38.29 *in whom rested the name of the Father*: *Ed. pr.* (59) note the Valentinian liturgical formula recorded in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3, "Peace to all on whom this name rests." Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 180-81) suggests that the "name" here is a symbol for the Pleroma. Although the term is a flexible and complex one, as we have seen, the primary referent here is the Son. For a close parallel to the affirmation here, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 58.36-59.1, where the Son is said to "rest" on the Church, as the Father "rests" on him.

38.31-32 *(who) in turn themselves rested in his name*: Cf. 24.9-21.

38.33 *the Father is unengendered*: Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 51.19-52.4 and 57.8,12, where the point is developed that the Father is a father in the truest and fullest sense of the term because he is unbegotten.

38.34 *begot him for him (self) as a name*: As Schenke (*Herkunft*, 53) notes, the object pronoun probably refers to the Son, him alone to whom the name belongs. Cf. 38.10.

38.36-38 *the name . . . should be over their head as lord*: Cf. Phil 2:9-12. There may here be the same paronomasia as at 40.8-9.

38.36 *the aeons*: The term is used here apparently in a technical sense to refer to the emanations of the Father in the pleroma, although it could possibly be understood as a more general term for "the worlds" as at Heb 1:2.

39.1 *the name in truth*: The *Tri. Trac.* frequently evidences a concern with the proper sense of the divine names. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 51.21, 52.2 and frequently.

39.3-6 *the name is not from (mere) words . . . but is invisible*: The distinction which is made here is between the sense or meaning of a word and the auidial or visual symbols used to express that sense. That "sense" is "invisible," i.e., imperceptible to the senses. Such a distinction was known to Stoic linguistic theorists in their discussion of ἀσώματα λεκτά. Cf. *SVF* II.166-171,181. This bit of semantic

(*Herkunft*, 53) that it is the Son alone who sees the Father. Cf. John 6:46. It might also be possible that the author claims that the Father names the Son because the Father sees the Son alone, perhaps in the primordial state mentioned at 38.35. For this construal, cf. Grobel, *Gospel*, 185–187.

39.9 *he alone having the power*: Giving a name was an activity of the Father at 38.11–12, and probably at 39.7; here the term may already be used as at 39.30–31 for the naming activity of the Son. We suggest that the pronouns have the same referents as in the immediately preceding clause, and thus that the Son alone has the power to “name” the Father. For the alternative construal, that the Father alone has the power to name the Son, cf. Schenke, *Herkunft*, 53. The pronominal ambiguity may have been less acute in a Greek original, where the phrase represented by the subordinate clauses here would have been represented by participles which would clearly indicate the nouns or pronouns modified.

39.17 *he alone knows it*: Presumably the one who exists alone knows the name. Again it might be possible to construe the intensifier with the object rather than the subject. Thus “He (the one who exists with his name, i.e., the Father) knows it (the name) alone.” It might even be possible to see the referents of the pronouns reversed. Thus, “It (the name, i.e., the Son) alone knows him (the Father).” None of these other possible construals lead as naturally into the next phase of the argument as does the first. That argument seems to be: Since the one who exists (the Father) alone really knows the name (i.e., his essence), he alone can give it (i.e., communicate and reveal it) to the Son.

39.18–19 *and alone (knows how) to give him a name*: Again, the position of the adjective “alone” is problematic. The clause could read “and (knows how) to give him alone a name.” The infinitive ἀτρεϋϋ is construed as complementary after ϣαϋνε. It could also be construed as the subject of the following nominal predicate, which functions possessively. This is the understanding of the syntax adopted by Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 54). They thus translate, “and to give him alone a name is the task of the Father.” *Ed. pr.*, Grobel, and Ménard misconstrue the clause as if it

were a cleft sentence, translating, "it was to him alone (the Son) that the Father gave a name," *vel sim.*

39.19 *it is the Father*: On our construal of the syntax here, the two-member nominal sentence identifies the main actor in the preceding clause.

39.19-20 *the Son is his name*: Cf. 38.7.

39.20-21 *he did not hide it in the thing*: More pronominal ambiguity surfaces here. Presumably the Father did not keep the "name," i.e., his essential nature, hidden. *Ed. pr.*, Grobel (*Gospel*, 186), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 54), and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 183), citing Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.36.2, all take $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\iota\zeta\omega\mu$ as equivalent to $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\iota\zeta\omega\pi$, "in secret." Till's explanation (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) is to be preferred on orthographical and phonological grounds, since in Codex I, μ and ν , as well as π and ν are frequently confused, while μ and π are not. The author is here again speaking in terms of the semantic theory which has been the underpinning of the discussion about the name. Any name is thought to be intimately related to the essence of what it signifies. If that essence does not come to expression, it remains "hidden" in the thing named.

39.22-23 *but it existed*: Most translators take the following noun, "the Son" as the subject, but this would be odd without the resumptive particle $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota$ or an κ used to mark the complement after $\omega\sigma\sigma\pi$. Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) correctly construed $\pi\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ as the preposed subject of the following sentence. The present phrase then contrasts with the preceding remark. The name was not kept hidden nor did it exist only potentially in the thing named, but it was itself fully existent as well, as the Son.

39.23 *as for the Son, he alone gave a name*: *Ed. pr.*, implicitly, Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 66), explicitly, emend by introducing an indirect object, as would normally be expected with expressions for "naming" in this context. If the Father is in view as the subject of the name giving, then that emendation would be appropriate. It is likely, however, that here, as at 38.25, it is the Son's "naming" of the Father that is in question. The objection encountered at 39.30-33 presupposes this. Hence no emendation is necessary.

39.24 *the name is that of the Father*: This and the following clause together summarize the two major points which have, in a rather convoluted fashion, been developed in the preceding paragraph. The first point is a more formal one. The “name,” the vehicle for revealing the essence of the Father, indeed the very essence of the Father himself, is by definition, “of the Father.”

39.25–26 *as the name . . . is the Son*: The second summary point is a more material one, indicating or identifying what fulfills the formal condition just specified. That which is the name of the Father, because it shares in the essence of the person named and points to or reveals that essence, is the Son.

39.26–28 *where indeed would compassion find a name*: This is a surprisingly concrete conclusion to the discussion of the “name.” “To find a name” is also a curious phrase, which is unparalleled in the lengthy discussion of having or giving a name, although the term “name” probably functions in the same complex way it has heretofore. The question, then, is “what adequately expresses, because it really conveys the nature of,” compassion. The answer is that it is something that is with the Father, namely the Son. Recall that speaking about Christ was earlier associated with the mercy of the Father (36.13–19). This remark probably functions in a similar fashion to interpret an affect, compassion, intellectually.

39.29 *no doubt one will say*: As Grobel (*Gospel*, 187) notes, this objection is typical of a diatribe style. The objection is in essence, how can the Son in any sense be said to name the Father who existed before him. One rather obvious answer would be that the Father does not in fact pre-exist the Son, but generates him eternally. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 57.40–58.18, where the co-eternity of Father and Son is explicitly affirmed. The *Gos. Truth* does not make this move explicitly, although it could have on the basis of its description of the relation of Father and Son in 38.9–10. Here the author deals with the issue indirectly by reflecting further on the name. The revelatory name that the Son possesses is as much his own as it is the Father’s. The formulation of the question recalls *Ap. John* BG 24.4–5; CG II,1:3.15–17; III,1:11.12–14; IV,1:4.24–28.

39.32 *pre-existed* (ϣρπ̄ ἡϣοοπ): For earlier discussions of the

anomalous qualitative, cf. Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) and Quecke (*Muséon* 75 [1962] 297-98). The construction is also now attested in the *Treat. Res.* and the *Tri. Trac.* See the indices *s.v.* $\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon$. B. Layton (*The Gnostic Treatise on the Resurrection* [HDR 12; Missoula: Scholars, 1979] 191-92) discusses the construction and notes that it is not as anomalous as it first appears.

40.6 *it is not therefore* ($\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta \epsilon\bar{\nu} \beta\epsilon \pi\epsilon$): *Ed. pr.* (126) followed by Grobel (*Gospel*, 188), apparently Schenke (*Herkunft*, 54) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 67), construe $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\beta\epsilon$ as an orthographic variant of $\beta\epsilon$. Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 280) and Arai (*Christologie*, 64, n.2) correctly construe as two words, the negation and the conjunction.

40.7 *the name from the Father* ($\pi\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu} \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$): This expression contrasts with the “proper name.” Hence, less literally, it might be rendered, “the derived name” or “improper designation.”

40.8-9 *proper name* ($\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \bar{\nu}\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$): Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 12) sees here a reflex of a Syriac expression, but it is more likely a translation of the Greek $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha$, as most commentators recognize. The *Tri. Trac.* (51.39 and frequently) has a similar concern with the “proper name.”

40.9-10 *name on loan*: *Ed. pr.* (59) usefully note Tertullian, *De test. anim.* 2 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.4, where psychics are said to have grace only “on loan,” while pneumatics own it. The issue is different, but the terms of the contrast are the same. The Son owns the “proper name” of the Father because he shares his very being (38.9-10). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 134.20.

40.10-11 *as (do) others*: Note, for instance, how the Demiurge at *Tri. Trac.* 100.27-30 is called by all the names which pertain to the highest level of reality.

40.14 *this is the proper name*: The demonstrative could well refer to the Son, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 189) notes.

40.15 *there is no one else*: There is no one but the Father who “gives the name” to the Son. Because the Father really communicates his

being to the Son (38.7-15), the Son can, in turn, utter the name and hence, reveal the essence, of the Father.

40.16 *unnamable*: Cf. 38.22. As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 184) notes, the namelessness of the first principle is a common affirmation in second-century religious texts. Cf. Festugière, *La Révélation*, vol. 4.1, 70. Note also the unnamability of Jesus in Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.1, 6).

40.18-19 *he who is perfect*: This phrase, and the demonstrative in 40.20, presumably refer to the Son, who is the perfect expression of the Father.

40.22-23 *to see it*: The object pronoun could refer either to "the name" or it could be translated "to see him" and be taken as a reference to the Father. In either case, the point of the remark is the same. The perfect Son alone has the power to see, and to articulate in revelation, the essential being of the Father.

IX. *The Goal of Return: Rest in the Father* (40.23-43.24)

The final section of the text recapitulates the doctrine of the whole text about the movement from and to the Father, with emphasis on the final state of those who return to the primordial unity.

40.23 *when it pleased* (ΝΤΑΡΕ[[ϩϩ]]ϩΩΚ): The papyrus surface here is quite pithy and it apparently caused the scribe some difficulty. After two botched attempts to write ϩ, he finally succeeded. He then apparently tried to cancel the first two ϩ's with a horizontal stroke. The bad surface then caused the ink to seep to the left, leaving a horizontal line through ΑΡΕ as well.

40.24-25 *which is loved* (ΕΤΟΥΑΥϩ): Grobel (*Gospel*, 189), Schenke (*Herkunft*, 54) and Arai (*NT* 5 [1962] 215; *Christologie*, 64, n. 1) analyze the verb form here as ΕΤΟΥ ΑΥ=ϩ "which was uttered," but this is impossible since objects cannot in general be suffixed directly to the infinitive in bi-partite conjugations. *Ed. pr.* implicitly; Till (*Or* 27 [1958] 281), with some hesitation; and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 184) emend to ΕΤ<ϩ>ΟΥΑΥϩ "which (or whom) he loved." This emendation is possible, since ΟΥΑΥ is an exception to the rule of the direct object. However, no emendation is necessary. As

is the case in the *Tri. Trac.* (57.34, 65.15, 69.22 and frequently) the pronominal element of the relative converter has been omitted by crasis with the initial $\omicron\gamma$ of the infinitive.

40.26 *that is* ($\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\iota$): As Grobel (*Gospel*, 191) notes, the particle is probably here used irregularly as at 38.14, to resume the object, not the subject, of the preceding clause. Till (*Or.* 27 [1950] 281) and Schenke (*Herkunft*, 54) however, take it as resuming the subject.

40.27 *who came forth from the depth*: The bestowal of the name, i.e., the communication of the essence of the Father to the Son, brings the latter from potential existence in the mind of the Father into actual existence, where he can reveal the Father's secrets. Cf. 22.25.

40.28 *secret things*: Cf. 24.12-14, 27.7-8.

40.29 *without evil*: Cf. 18.36-40 and *Tri. Trac.* 53.6.

40.32 *the place*: As Grobel (*Gospel*, 191) notes, this term recalls the common rabbinic periphrasis for God, *hammaqom*, although a specific connection with rabbinic traditions here is unlikely. For a similar designation of the Father, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 60.5.

40.33 *resting place*: Cf. 22.12. As *ed. pr.* (19) note, the *pleroma* is referred to in similar terms at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.15.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 55.2.

41.1 *glorify*: Cf. 19.33-34.

41.3 *sweetness*: Cf. 24.8-9.

41.4 *the place each one came from*: Cf. 22.14-15. The revelation by the Son about the Father's place is at the same time revelation about the source and destiny of all beings which come from the Father.

41.6 *establishment* ($\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\ \alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$): Cf. 28.14. The term appears frequently in the *Tri. Trac.*, meaning something like "constitution," "establishment," or "essential being." It perhaps translates $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$. Cf. Heb 1:3, 3:14, 11:1.

41.7 *he will hasten*: The referent of the subject pronoun is ambiguous. It is probably not the same actor as the one who "will speak" (41.5), who is presumably the Son, but is rather a reference to "each one" (41.3-4), as Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 281) suggests.

41.7-8 *return again*: Cf. 21.10-11, 22.21-23, 25.8-19.

41.9-10 *the place where he stood*: Standing and "stability" are images commonly used to describe the transcendent, immutable being of the Pleroma. Cf. Simon Magus in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.11.52,2 and the *Megale Apophasis* in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.12.3, 6.13, 6.17.1, 6.18.4.

41.10-12 *taste...nourishment...growth*: For similar imagery, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 62.12, 69.19, 104.22, 126.32.

41.13-14 *his own resting-place is his pleroma*: On the general ambiguities of the term pleroma, cf. the note to 16.35. For the designation of individual emanations from the Father as "pleromas," cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 32.1, noted by Robison (*JR* 43 [1963] 241) and Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 186). The point of this remark is that the return of "each one" (41.4) to his source restores him to the fulness of being, and deficiency is thus eliminated. Cf. 18.7-11, 24.28-32.

41.14-15 *all the emanations*: For the word ⲧⲏ, cf. 22.37.

41.16 *and* (ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲛ̅): The form of the conjunction is quite unusual, appearing only here. It is, no doubt, equivalent to Ⲑⲩⲁⲗⲛ̅ which appears at 19.37 and frequently. Alternative forms are Ⲑⲩⲉⲗⲛ̅ at 37.2 and Ⲑⲩⲱⲗⲗⲛ̅ at 43.5.

41.17 *root*: Cf. 17.30.

is in (ⲡⲈ ⲗⲛ̅): The Coptic irregularly combines the copula with an adverbial predicate, hence, Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 281) deletes the copula. The text probably is an overly literal translation of a Greek phrase.

41.19-20 *destinies* (ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲱⲩ): The precise force of the term "destiny" here is unclear. Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 186) indirectly associates ⲧⲱⲩ with Valentinian speculation on the ὄρος or Limit,

on which see *Tri. Trac.* 75.13, 76.32, but it is hardly clear that the term used here refers to any of the various principles which divide and articulate the cosmos. It is more likely that here the eschatological position of the beings which emanate from the Father is in view. For the element of "predestination" in the text, cf. 21.22-25.

41.20-21 *each one is manifest*: It may be, as Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 186) suggests, that the author here alludes to a protological manifestation or formation of the beings which emanate from the Father, but it is more likely that a soteriological moment is in view. Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 118.14-28.

41.22-23 *through their own thought* <...>: Something has probably been omitted by the copyist at this point. A verb such as "they might be perfected" (Schenke, *Herkunft*, 55) or "they might ascend" (Grobel, *Gospel*, 195) was probably involved.

41.24 *the place to which they send their thought*: The soteriological process envisioned here is described in detail at *Tri. Trac.* 77.37-78.7 and 78.23-28, where the paradigmatic experience of the Logos is recounted.

41.28-29 *his head*: Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 118.34-35, where Christ is said to be the "head" of the spiritual class of human beings. The imagery recalls such NT texts as Eph 1:22, 4:15; Col 1:18, 2:10, 19. Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 42.2, 43.1-3, noted by *ed. pr.* (59).

41.30 *they are supported* (ΣΕΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΝῆΜΕΥ): Grobel (*Gospel*, 195) emends by deleting the Ν, translating "they are enclaspéd." Schenke (*Herkunft*, 55) emends the plural object pronoun to the singular, translating "they rule with him." The text does not need emendation, and the proper meaning of the verb is indicated by Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 282).

41.33 *they participated in his face*: As *ed. pr.* (59) note, similar imagery, derived possibly from Matt 18:10, is found at *Exc. Theod.* 23.4-5. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.3.

41.34 *by means of* (ΑΒΑΛ ΖῆΤΟΟΤΥ): The singular pronominal object is resumed by a plural noun, leading to the emendation

ΖΥΤΟΟΤΟΥ proposed by Grobel (*Gospel*, 195). It should be noted, however, that in such constructions concord of number is often not observed. Cf. Till, *Or.* 27 (1958) 282.

41.34 *kisses*: According to *Tri. Trac.* 58.24, the aeons emerge from the Father and Son "like kisses." Here the imagery is used rather of eschatological reunion. Segelberg (*Or. Suec.* 8 [1959] 14) sees here a possible allusion to a sacrament of the bridal chamber mentioned in *Gos. Phil.* 67.30, 69.1-4, 69.24-70.4 and 71.9-15.

42.1 *in this way, for* (ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΧΕ): Most translators construe these words as correlative, thus producing a translation such as "they do not become manifest in such a way as not to surpass themselves." The litotes implies that the emanations do "surpass" or "transcend" themselves. The use of ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΧΕ as correlative would, however, be unusual. It seems simpler to take the prepositional phrase as retrospective, referring to the intimate unity of the emanations and the Father upon receipt of the revelation. For this understanding of the syntax, cf. Till, *Or.* 27 (1958) 282. The "emanations" are not manifested as such because to do so would be an act of hybris. Their exaltation depends on the revelation which they have received.

42.2 *they were not themselves exalted* (ΜΠΟΥΡ ΤΠΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΑΥ): The intensifying pronoun ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΑΥ must refer to the subject. Till (*Or.* 27 [1958] 281) and Grobel (*Gospel*, 195) emend, by introducing after ΤΠΕ an object pronoun <ΜΜΑΥ> which yields "they did not exalt themselves." The meaning would be the same, but no emendation is necessary, if the verb is understood as intransitive.

42.3 *(yet) neither did they lack the glory*: Cf. Rom 3:23. There is an implicit contrast between the appearance of the recipients of revelation (41.35ff.) and their actual state of unity with and proper apprehension of the Father. Schenke (*Herkunft*, 56) understands the phrase quite differently as "they did not fail in praising the Father."

42.5-6 *small...harsh...wrathful*: The second and third terms used here allude to attributes of the God of the OT, who is viewed as inferior to the transcendent Father in most Gnostic systems. The precise allusion of the first term is unclear. As Grobel (*Gospel*, 197) notes, Irenaeus, in *Haer.* 3.24.2, accuses the *Gnostics* of considering

God "small" (*minimum arbitantes eum*). Contrast the affirmation of the Father's greatness at 42.14.

42.8 *sweet*: Cf. 24.9 and 33.33.

42.10 *no need to be instructed*: For OT evidence that God needs instruction Grobel (*Gospel*, 197) suggests that Gnostics might have appealed to Job 21:22. Gen 2:9 is used in precisely this way at *Hyp. Arch.* 89.20-21.

42.12-13 *of the ... greatness* (ΝΤΟΟΤ̄ Ν†ΜΝΤΝΑϞ): Nagel (*OLZ* 61 [1966] 8) sees this phrase with pronominal suffix and noun objects of the preposition as a Syriacism, but the construction is common in Coptic. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #236, and Böhlig, *Muséon* 79 (1966) 320-21.

42.14 *immeasurable greatness*: Cf. 35.10. This is a common designation for the primordial Father in various Gnostic sources. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 25.13; 72.18; CG II,1:4.1, 29.1; CG III,1:6.5, 37.19; CG IV,1:5.25-26, 44.25, noted by Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 189) and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.1, noted by *ed. pr.* (60). Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 52.26 and 54.20.

42.15 *wait for*: Cf. 34.37-35.3. The verb may retain here something of its basic meaning of "stretch after."

42.17 *the perfect one*: Cf. 18.33, 21.9.

42.21-22 *they rest*: Cf. 22.12.

42.24 *twisted around* (ΕΥΒΛ̄ΛΑΜΝ̄ ... ΜΠΚΩΤΕ): As Grobel (*Gospel*, 197) notes, the graphic but obscure image used here may be reflected in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.16.4, where the heresiologist accuses the Valentinians of "circling about those things which are below."

the truth (ΜΤΜΗΕ): The preposition is unusual. One would expect ΝΤΜΗΕ and there is no reason for assimilation here.

42.27-28 *the Father is within them*: Cf. 18.30-31.

42.32 *they are set at rest* (ΕΥ† ΜΤΑΝ): Literally "they give rest."

The construction usually has a dative of the person to whom rest is given. Cf. 33.5. Either a dative has accidentally fallen out of the text here, or the verb is used intransitively.

42.33–34 *they will heed their root* (ΕΥΝΑCΩΤῼ ΔΤΕΥΝΟΥΝΕ): For the image of the root, cf. 17.30. “Heeding” the root is an oddly mixed metaphor. Nagel (*OLZ* 79 1966 12) suggests that ΝΟΥΝΕ mistakenly translates the Syriac *qr*, “call,” taking it to be ‘*qr*, “root.” However, the author often uses odd metaphors in his effort to speak about the ineffable and to provoke reflection about the transcendent and there is no need to see a Syriac original here, as Böhlig (*Muséon* 79 (1966) 323–24) rightly argues.

42.39 *the rest*: The “rest” are, presumably, those other than the “blessed” of 42.38, whose place is with their “root.” This language may well cloak a pneumatic, psychic and hylic distinction, as Ménard (*L’Évangile*, 191) argues, but it is significant that this distinction is not made explicit. Ménard’s inference that the text is addressed only to pneumatics is unwarranted. Uninitiated hearers could understand the word in terms of a Christian/non-Christian dichotomy, as Grobel (*Gospel*, 199) suggests.

42.41 *it is not fitting*: Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 51.2.

43.1 *having come to be in the resting place*: The author here expressed something of the “realized eschatology” common to many Gnostic systems. He suggests that, having had his deficiency of ignorance removed, he has already, in some sense, arrived at his ultimate destination, although there apparently remains a final reintegration (43.3). The first person references here and at 43.3 are the only ones in the text.

43.3 *in it*: Presumably this is the “resting place,” although the pronoun could also be translated “him” and refer to the Father.

43.3–4 *and to be concerned* (ΑΥΩ ΑCῼϞΕ): The sentence is elliptical and what is to be supplied is unclear. It is probable that the infinitive may be coordinate with ΑΥΕΧΕ in 43.2 and that the conjunctive has adversative force. Thus, it is not fitting for the author

to speak of anything else, but it is fitting for him to be concerned about the Father and the "true brothers."

43.5 *and* (ΟΥΩΖΖΝ): On the unusual spelling of the conjunction, cf. 41.16.

43.9 *who appear*: As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 191) notes, something appears or becomes manifest when it achieves actual existence. Note the distinction between potential and actual existence developed at 27.34-28.7.

43.12-13 *light which is perfect*: Cf. 32.26-30.

43.14 *seed*: Cf. 1 John 3:9. As Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 192) notes, the collocation "seed of light" appears at Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.2 and 1.15.3. Seed imagery is common in Valentinian texts and it is developed in diverse ways. Cf. *Treat. Res.* 44.35 and *Tri. Trac.* 88.20.

43.19 *good*: Cf. 36.35.

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THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION

1,4:43.25–50.18

Malcolm L. Peel

43.25 *Some there are*: This is a polemical reference to those whose search for eschatological fulfillment (i.e., “their own rest” 43.34–35) is misdirected (46.26) and arrogant (43.30–32). By contrast, Rheginos, “eager to learn” about last things (47.15–16; 44.3–6), submissively seeks (44.5) and has found this Truth with the assistance of his teacher (the author) through the gift of the Savior (43.35–37).

As Martin (*The Epistle*, 20–21) notes, the anonymous, polemical reference to “some” (*τινες*) appears in the Pauline epistles (e.g., Rom 3:3,8; 1 Cor 4:18; 15:12; 2 Cor 4:18) and is characteristic of Ignatius’ references to his opponents (e.g., *Eph.* 7.1; *Mag.* 4.1; *Trall.* 9.1; *Phil.* 6.1). Puech and Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 19) note that *εἰσὶν οἱ*, *εἰσὶ πολλοὶ οἱ*, etc., are phrases commonly used at the beginning of Patristic texts. Despite conventional language, the text may have originally been a genuine letter whose prescript was lost.

my son, Rheginos: Rather than a “patronizing insult” characteristic of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe style (so Layton, “Vision,” 202, n. 57), the address is more likely an expression of spiritual or didactic filiation, a usage commonplace in Wisdom literature. Cf. Prov 1:8; 7:1; 23:26; and Sir (LXX) 2:1; 3:12,17; 10:28. It also appears in second-century Fathers: Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.2.1 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.41.2.

The name Rheginos, appearing also at 44.22; 47.3 and 48.10, was borne by several prominent persons in the late Hellenistic period, though none is identifiable with our recipient. (See, under “Rheginos,” *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, William Smith, ed. [London, 1890] 642–49). The addressee, “my son Rheginos,” rather than being a literary fiction (as Dehandschutter, *OLP* 4 [1973] 105–106; Layton, *Treatise*, 119–120; “Vision,” 198–203; and especially Martin, *VC* 27 [1973] 279f. seem to hold), is probably a real person (so van Unnik, *JEH* 15 [1964] 146; Frid, *De Resurrectione*, 6; Bazán, *RevistB* [1976] 160f.; Peretto, *Aug.* 18 [1978] 63, n.1; cf. Peel, *Epistle*, 5–12).

43.26 *who want/wish*: (εγωωε): The crasis (for εγογωωε) appears frequently in Codex I. For similar errors in the Sahidic and Achmimic NT, see Layton, *Treatise*, 137.

to learn much/many things (αεβο ααα): The underlying Greek was probably *μανθάνειν πολλά* or *πολυμαθεῖν* (so *ed. pr.*, 19), terms which, with their cognates, such as *πολυμαθιή*, *πολυμάθεια*, are used pejoratively in Greek philosophy. Heraclitus (B40, I.160,3-4 Diels-Kranz) and Democritus (B64, II.158,10), for example, drew sharp distinctions between “knowing many things” and having “true understanding.” Especially within the Platonic anti-Sophistic tradition, however, *πολυμάθεια* acquired a negative connotation, e.g., in Plato, *Euthyd.* 278B; *Soph.* 233D-E; *Amat.* 137B. See, further, Martin, *The Epistle*, 21-23 and Layton, *Treatise*, 39-40. For an example of similar anti-Sophistic sentiment from the third century, note the Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre, *Ad Marcellam* 9 (cited by van Unnik, *JEH* 15 [1964] 166): “Lack of education (*ἀπαιδευσία*) is the mother of all passions; but education will not be received in learning many things (*ἐκ πολυμαθείας*), but is perceived in the loss of psychical passions.” Whether the “philosophers of this world” who practice “persuasion” (*τὸ πείθειν*), as mentioned in *Treat. Res.* 46.4-13, are to be connected with “some who” (in Sophistic fashion) “want to learn much” is not certain. For this possibility, see Layton, *Treatise*, 39f.

43.27 *this goal*: On the use of demonstrative pronouns and articles, such as *πΙ-*, in *Treat. Res.*, see Layton, *Treatise*, Appendix I, 167ff.

In this context, *σκοπός* functions as a “metaphor for the immediate objective of one’s efforts,” i.e., “learning many things/much” (43.26) through grappling with questions which are unanswered (so Layton, *Treatise*, 41; cf. Guillaumont, *RHR* 171 [1967] 84). At the same time, as Martin (*The Epistle*, 21f.) indicates, in Sophistic tradition *σκοπός* connotes “one’s aim throughout one’s whole life, i.e., one’s life orientation.” Certainly our author’s interpretative comment in 43.24-35 would seem to indicate that though the Sophist-like questioners have a more proximate goal of seeking answers to “academic” (?) questions (43.30), their ultimate “aim” is, like that of all human beings, to achieve eschatological fulfillment, i.e., “rest.”

43.28-29 *questions whose answer is lacking*: *ἄζητηματα* (= *ζητήματα*), is another *terminus technicus* meaning “questions of a philosophical nature.” Puech and Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 19) note that the term is

often used correlatively with ἡ λύσις (= πβωλ in 43.29) or in titles of pagan and Christian books, e.g., the "Questions and Answers" literature of Hellenistic and Imperial times. As opposed to the "raising of questions which have no answer" (a common criticism of the Sophists, so Martin, *The Epistle*, 23), however, these opponents deal with questions which occasionally find an "answer" (so *Treat. Res.* 43.30-31). Van Unnik (*JEH* 15 [1964] 146-47) believed these to be real questions about the resurrection, as reflected in Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 63; Justin, *1 Apol.* 80; Athenagoras, *Res.* 1. While he may be correct, we prefer the interpretation offered in our note to 43.27. It should be noted that, while the "questions" or "problems" with which the "some" (43.25) grapple lack "their answer/solution," the questions of Rheginos have a "solution" (44.39-45.1) which is ultimately embodied in Christ (45.5). See, further, Martin, *The Epistle*, 24; Puech, *ed. pr.*, 25, on 45.5; Peel, *The Epistle*, 39, 64f., 129, 131, 143.

43.30 *If they succeed* (αὐὼ εὐψανμεετε): Literally, "and if they succeed" or "hit the mark."

with these (ἀνεει): Haardt (*Kairos NF* 11 [1969] 2, n. 5) unnecessarily emends the plural demonstrative νεει in 43.30 to the singular, πεει, making the antecedent πβωλ rather than ζῆζητημα. Cf. Till in *ed. pr.*, 50. It is preferable to understand the meaning as follows: "If they succeed with these (questions/problems) with which they are grappling, ..." See, further, Martin, *The Epistle*, 24-25.

43.30-32 *they usually think very highly of themselves* (ψαυμεγε ἀζῆμητηαβ ἄζηηῆ ἄζηητοϋ): The translation reflects the force of the praes. cons. (ψαυ-). As succeeding lines make clear, this description is pejorative. The author may echo Paul's contrast between the "wisdom of this world" acquired by rational (sophistic) means, which leads to false "boasting" (cf. 1 Cor 1:17-25; 3:18; 8:1; Rom 12:3; cf. also Ignatius, *Eph.* 18.1; *Trall.* 4.1; *Diog.* 12.4-5; *Barn.* 19.1-3), and the "true wisdom," born of faith, which leads to humility. Cf. also Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 161, n.2. Puech (*ed. pr.*, 19) compares *Gos. Truth* 19.20-26.

43.33-34 *they have stood within* (αυαζε αρετοϋ ἄφοϋν): Though Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 475) suggests that the αυ- of αυαζε (as also the ακ- of ακῆπμεγε in 48.6) is a dialectical form (cf. ABF) of the pres. II, rather than a perf. I, this is unlikely. As Layton

notes (*Treatise*, 193; cf. 138), the pres. II in *Treat. Res* is always formed with ϵ -, whereas the perf. I alternates between α - and α_2 -.

The phrase "stood within the Word" echoes a common Pauline expression. Cf. 1 Cor 15:1; Rom 5:2; 1 Cor 16:13; Phil 1:27; 4:1; Col 4:12; 1 Thess 3:8. Later the phrase takes on the meaning of holding firm traditional teaching. Cf. 2 Thess 2:15; and Ignatius, *Pol.* 3.1. With Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2. 163, n. 3), cf. *Gos. Truth* 42.11-25. Cf. also, especially in the light of the following connection between "truth" and "rest," *Dial. Sav.* 120.1-7; 143.6-10.

Word of Truth: We have argued (Peel, *Epistle*, 17, 37, 39, 47, 131 n. 85) that this phrase, with NT antecedents at Col 1:5; Eph 1:13; 2 Cor 6:7; 2 Tim 2:15; Jas 1:18, refers to at least some written Scriptures. The state of the NT canon at the probable time of composition of *Treat. Res.* (ca. 160-185 A.D.) does not preclude such a conclusion. Further allusions to Scripture may be found in the author's citation as authoritative both the "Apostle" (45.24-25) and "The Gospel" (48.7-8); his contrast between the opacity of his own teaching and the clarity of the "Word of Truth" (44.39-45.4); and his allusion to his own "exposition" of the Word of Truth (50.6-7). Others think "Word of Truth" refers to something different. Martin (*Numen* 20 [1973] 27) believes it is the oral "preaching" that embodies truth revealed solely by the Divine (cf. Justin, *Fr. Res.* 1). Note the term α_1 ("receive") in 43.36, for *παραλαμβάνειν*, a *terminus technicus* for oral transmission, e.g., in 1 Cor 15:1-3; Gal 1:22; cf. *CH* 1.26b. Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 161-62, n. 3) believes, however, that the phrase is equivalent to "Gospel of Truth," used among the Valentinians (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.11.9). An expansion and reinterpretation of the original Pauline expression "word of truth" (= the kerygma), the Valentinian "Gospel" consists of an interpretative "gnosis" of the kerygma. Layton (*Treatise*, 42) translates 43.34 as "account of truth," and interprets it to mean that the questers, inflated with their supposed successes in "learning many things," do "not even (stand) within a mere account about the truth, not to speak of truth itself." Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.16.149,3f. Denying that the phrase "Word of Truth" refers to the canonical Scriptures, Layton refers the phrase to the "Savior's teaching," albeit a teaching that may be contained in a "school tradition" (113, n. 184).

Although the author's *ἀπαγγελία* ("exposition" or "declaration," 50.6) includes some, probably Valentinian, school tradition, to ex-

clude entirely the written Scriptures from the "Word" is arbitrary and unjustified.

43.34-35 *They seek rather their own rest* (ΕΓΩΙΝΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΑΠΕΥΜΤΑΝ): Three scholars (Barns, *JTS* NS 15 [1964] 165; Schenke, *OLZ* 60 [1965] 475; and Haardt, *Kairos* NF 11 [1969] 2, n. 2, and *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 247-48) prefer to translate ΝΖΟΥΟ Α- in a comparative sense: e.g., "da sie nach mehr suchten, als nach ihrer Ruhe" (Haardt). Haardt argues that not to take ΝΖΟΥΟ Α- comparatively forces one to conclude that the object of the search for which the non-Gnostics in the opening of the tractate are faulted (i.e., the acquisition of a broad smattering of knowledge) actually coincides with the saving content of the true gnosis (i.e., the concept of "rest"). Though we previously agreed with Haardt (see Peel, *Gnosis*, 63), now we would again maintain that behind the Coptic ΝΖΟΥΟ stands the Greek μάλλον = "rather" (see Peel, *Epistle*, 53f.). In this we agree with Wilson and Zandee (*ed. pr.*, 60), Martin (*Numen* 20 [1973] 28-29), Layton (*Treatise*, 11, 138 n. 10), and Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 154, 162-63 n. 4). The contrast indicated by "rather" is that the false seekers (non-Gnostics) think that it is by their own efforts and by human reason alone that they may "learn many things" (43.26), and ultimately acquire their eschatological "rest"; the true seekers, however, realize that it is by the gift of Christ (43.36-37), made available through the "Word of Truth" (43.32-34), that they receive ultimate fulfillment or "rest" in the present! The false seekers are continually seeking (ΕΓΩΙΝΕ, pres. II); the true seekers have found. Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 163) recalls Augustine, *Conf.* 1.1.9-10: "*fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.*" Puech (*ed. pr.*, 20) supports this interpretation, though he finds ἐπι πλείον behind ΝΖΟΥΟ. Further, as Layton (*Treatise*, 138) notes, ΩΙΝΕ Ν- takes as its object the person asked; but a topic of inquiry, such as ΜΤΑΝ, here is introduced after ΩΙΝΕ with ε- (Α- Α²).

Rest: This eschatological goal of all human questing is related to and qualified by the "resurrection" (44.1-6). The term denotes both the cessation of anxiety about death and afterlife and a proleptic anticipation of the resurrected state. To be in "rest" is analogous to "already having been raised" (cf. 49.15-16, 22-23, 25-26). "Rest" is also a gift conferred by the Savior (43.35-37) and received through "knowledge of the (Word of) Truth" (44.1-3). In short, coming to "know-

ledge" ($\gamma\nu\hat{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of the Truth is realizing *hic et nunc* eschatological "rest".

See, further, on the meaning of "rest" P. Vielhauer, "ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ: Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangeliums," *Apophoreta: Festschrift E. Haenchen* (ZNW Beiheft 30; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964) 281–99; Peel, *Epistle*, 142–43; Peretto, *Aug.* 18 (1978) 65; Haardt, *Kairos NF* 12 (1970) 247–48. Layton (*Treatise*, 42–43) finds a word play in 43.35 on two types of "rest": a repose of "recreation" ($\mu\tau\alpha\lambda\eta$) sought by the false seekers, and an "eternal repose" ($\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$) enjoyed by the Elect. Against this is the fact that the meaning of the demonstrative $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ can only be determined by its antecedent $\mu\tau\alpha\lambda\eta$.

Interesting parallels to the notion of gaining eschatological "rest" through receiving "knowledge" appear in *Gos. Truth* 22.2–12 and 42.11–26. According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.31.2, the Valentinians taught that "knowledge of the unspeakable Greatness is itself perfect redemption (= rest?)... knowledge is the redemption of the inner man." The Valentinian Heracleon clearly uses the term $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in commenting on that which the Son experiences in doing the will of the Father (fr. 31, Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38). See also Haardt (*Kairos NF* 12 [1970] 247–49), who cites parallels from Gnostic sources to similar motifs, (e.g., *Gos. Thom.* 51; *Gos. Phil.* 81.3–5; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 56.2–5). Cf. also *Thom. Cont.* 140.40–141.2; *Great Pow.* 42.26–30; *Od. Sol.* 3:5.

43.36 *which we received*: Only through the intervention of an external revelatory agent, the Savior Christ, can true "rest" be received. Layton (*Treatise*, 44, n. 11) compares Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.5.32,4, "For rest in Christ... (is gotten) by means of true philosophy, which the initiated possess, having found it, or rather received it, from the Truth itself." With the idea of "receiving rest" from the Savior, cf. also Matt 11:28f. and Heb 4:1–3.

43.36–37 *our Savior, our Lord Christ*: This composite title, whose closest NT counterpart is found in the second-century 2 Pet 1:11; 2:20; 3:18, may be translated in two different ways: (a) "our Savior, our Lord Christ," as by Malinine and Puech, Till, Zandee, Krause, Haardt, Bazán; or (b) "our Savior, our Lord, the Excellent," as by Layton. Important for the choice between these alternatives are the following considerations: (1) the spelling $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ may be used erroneously for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, the result of itacism. This confusion is reflected

in Suetonius' (*Claudius* 25.4) comment about Claudius' expulsion of Jewish-Christians from Rome, "impulsore Chresto." Cf. also Tertullian, *Ad nat.* 1.3.8f. (2) The Greek adjective *χρηστός* may be used intentionally, even though a reference to *χριστός* is clearly intended. "Our Savior, our Lord, the Excellent (=the Christ)." Such punning is known to the Fathers. Cf. Justin, *1 Apol.* 4.5; Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 12.123.1; and *Strom.* 2.4.18,3. (3) It is also possible that, as in other Gnostic contexts, the name "Christ" is rendered exclusively with *χρηστός* in *Treat. Res.* (43.37; 48.19; 50.1) in order to avoid any association of the true Savior with the Creator God or with a fleshly human being. This, according to Alexander of Lycopolis (*Contra Manichaeos* 24: Brinkmann, p. 34,18–21), was true among the Manichaeans. It was also the case among the Marcionites (see A. von Harnack, *Marcion* [2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1924] 123, n. 2, and 343, as cited by Puech in *ed. pr.*, 20). The lack of clear evidence to support any one of these three possibilities, and the exclusive use of *περὴςτος* only in conjunction with composite Christological titles in *Treat. Res.* cause us to prefer the translation "Christ," minus the literal rendering of the definite article preceding it (on this, see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #96). Cf. *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:30.14–19. The term may carry an implicit pun (*χρηστός* = *χριστός*), though this is an *argumentum e silentio*. Contrast Layton (*Treatise*, 45), who denies that *χρηστός* could be translated "Christ" here.

44.1–3 *We received it (i.e., Rest) when we came to know the truth (ΝΤΑΖΝΧΙΤῶ ΝΤΑΡΕΝΟΥΩΝ ΤΜΗΕ) and rested ourselves upon it:* Although several translators take *ΝΤΑΖΝΧΙΤῶ* as a rel. perf. I, translating "which we received," we, with Layton (*Treatise*, 139, n. 12), understand it to be perf. II, because of the adverbial clauses which follow.

The emphasis here is on receiving Rest in the present through reception of the truth. The context of a similar expression ("knowing the truth") in 46.31–32 indicates that one's capacity for such knowledge seems bound up with one's "predestination" (46.27).

44.3–5 *But since you ask us pleasantly:* The adversative (*ἀλλά*) indicates a contrast with what precedes, though the "preceding negative correlate has not been explicitly stated" (Layton, *Treatise*, Appendix 2, 179). Contrasts seem generally drawn between the manner of questioning practiced by the Sophistic seekers and the questioning manner of Rheginos the pupil. The latter, e.g., asks not about "many things"

but about what is “necessary” or “basic” (44.7), i.e., the resurrection. Also, he asks “sweetly” or “pleasantly” (44.5), i.e., without arrogance. Cf. further 43.26,30–32.

The objective pronoun **ἡμᾶν** (“us”), a *pluralis sociativus*, refers to the author himself. On the author’s other self-designations in *Treat. Res.*, see Peel, *Epistle*, 55.

With the use of **ῥαβ** (= **γλυκύτης** or **γλυκασμός**) in 44.5 cf. *Man. Hom.* 1.36.19; 37.16; *Man. Ps.* 8.9; 33.23; 55.31. It has a negative connotation in *Auth. Teach.* 24.22–26.

44.6–11 “concerning the resurrection (**εἴτε τᾶναστασις**)...let us discuss (**μαρεπλογος ὡπερ νεν**) the matter”: As Martin (*The Epistle*, 68) has indicated, these words are undoubtedly the source of the subscript title of our tractate. Cf. 50.17–18: **πλογος εἴτε τᾶναστασις**.

44.7 *it is necessary* (**ἄνε οὐνανγκαῖον τε**): The particle **τε** shows that **ἀναγκαῖον** functions here as a predicate adjective, qualifying **ἀναστασις** in 44.6. The use of the neuter form of **ἀναγκαῖον** is not troublesome since, as Böhlig has shown (*Griechische Lehnwörter*, 126), the feminine form of Greek loanwords in Coptic early disappeared and was replaced by masculine or neuter forms. As Puech notes (*ed. pr.* 21), our passage indicates that the resurrection is a reality which cannot be denied, a doctrine “necessary” in the author’s thought. Cf. Justin’s use of *ἀναγκάϊον* to denote what is essential in doctrine in *Dial.* 2.3; 2.5. Consider, also, Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 14.3 and 14.8 (as cited by *ed. pr.*).

44.8–10 *To be sure, many are lacking faith in it, but there are a few who find it*: Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 475), followed by Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 928), thinks that the present wording is corrupt, the original having been: “und viele (nämlich die Leute der Grosskirche) glauben zwar an sie, doch nur wenige (die Gnostiker) sind es, die sie finden.” The text, however, makes perfectly good sense as it stands.

Reflected in this passage is the author’s doctrine of election, made more explicit in 45.4–13,28–35. Later (46.27–32), we learn that the “many” who lack faith in the resurrection have been predestined to “fall into the foolishness of those without knowledge”; the “few” who do believe enter “the wisdom of those who have known the Truth.”

To “lack faith” (be *ἄπιστοι*) in the resurrection recalls Athenago-

ras, *Res.* 1: “For in regard to this subject (i.e., the resurrection) also, we find some utterly disbelieving, and some others doubting, and even among those who have accepted the first principles some who are as much at a loss what to believe as those who doubt.” Cf. the Savior’s rebuke of Andrew for the latter’s being “in unfaith” with respect to matters eschatological (*PS* 100, p. 253.3-4).

The contrast between the “many” and the “few” recalls (as Puech indicates, *ed. pr.* 21) Matt 7:13-14. Layton (*Treatise*, 48) goes too far in suggesting this biblical passage “has been condensed and rewritten to avoid interruption of the stylistic flow,” for the contrast is known elsewhere in Gnostic literature and does not clearly depend on Matt 7:13-14. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 56.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.6; *Gos. Thom.* 75; *CH* 9.4. Given the prevalence of such contrasts, Layton’s claim (“Vision,” 202, n. 55) that 44.18-20, as a “clear allusion to Matt 7:13-14”, is an example of the author’s diatribe style (“quoting from stock authors”) is unwarranted.

44.9-10 *There are a few who find it:* The verb “to find” (βΙΝΕ = εὕρισκειν) indicates appropriation in an intellectual sense. Layton (*Treatise*, 47) usefully compares Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.6.37.3.

44.11-12 *Literally: Therefore, let the word (λόγος) be to/for us concerning it (viz., the resurrection):* Layton (*Treatise*, 48) compares the author’s comment with the distinction made by Athenagoras (*Res.* 11) in his discussion of the resurrection between “The discourse concerning the truth (ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος), as being necessary to all men for certainty and safety,” and “The discourse in defense of the truth”, which “is inferior in nature and force, for the refutation of falsehood is less important than the establishment of truth.” In fact, the author of *Treat. Res.* combines both didactic and apologetic discourse. This combination makes it difficult to concur with Layton’s judgment (“Vision,” 199) that our text is elementary in character and teaching, being identifiable with the εἰσαγωγή or “introductory treatise” genre of Hellenistic literature initially identified by Eduard Norden.

44.13-17 A rhetorical question introduces the main discussion and body of the letter. Its answer provides opportunities for the author to affirm the reality of the Lord’s coming “in flesh,” the period of his self-

revelation and teaching. Both Martin (*VC* 27 [1973] 278) and Layton (*Treatise*, 121, n. 1; "Vision," 203, n. 59) maintain that such a rhetorical question is characteristic of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe style, with Martin indicating further that the question in 48.3-4 both picks up this earlier question and "frames" the entire discussion.

44.13-14 *In what way did the Lord proclaim things?* (ΝΤΑΖΑΠ-ΧΑΕΙC ΠΧΡΩ ΝΕΩ ΝΖΕ ΝΝΖΒΗΥΕ): Böhlig (*Griechische Lehnwörter*, 135) holds that ΧΡΩ is the attested form used for χρῆσθαι = "make use of", in the sense of "do" or "accomplish." We, however, follow Schenke's suggestion (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 475) that ΧΡΩ = χρᾶν, "to impart an oracle." The answer to the question appears in 44.19-21! Thus, we also disagree with Layton (*Treatise*, 49) who thinks that the probable underlying Greek (χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι) "connotes (overcoming or dealing with) difficult or inherently obdurate events of public life." Contrast our own, earlier views in *Epistle*, 56f.

44.14-15 *while he existed in flesh*: Pace Layton (*Treatise*, 13), who understands this and the following clause to be part of the next sentence, we take 44.14-17 as subordinate to 44.13, sharpening the focus of the rhetorical question. The flat assertion that Christ existed "in flesh" is strange in a text that otherwise espouses clearly Gnostic theologoumena (cf. 44.33-36; 46.35-47.1; 48.30-49.7). To say that he was ἐν σαρκί is common, for example, in anti-Docetic contexts in the NT (1 Tim 3:16; Heb 2:14; 5:7; 1 Pet 3:18; 4:1; 1 John 4:2; 2 John 7) and the Apostolic Fathers (1 *Clem.* 32.2; Ignatius, *Smyr.* 1.1; *Eph.* 20.2; *Mag.* 13.2; 2 *Clem.* 8.2). Moreover, the author of *Treat. Res.* makes other statements that seem to affirm the full humanity of Christ: as Son of Man he possessed "humanity"; he raised himself from the "dead"; he "suffered" (44.21-26; 45.25-26; 46.16-17, respectively).

Such statements appear to distinguish *Treat. Res.* from other Gnostic texts which are clearly docetic. Cf., e.g., Saturninus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.1, "The Savior is unbegotten, incorporeal, and without form. He appeared as a man in semblance." Cf. also Cerdo, in Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. omn. haer.* 16; and Marcus and Colorbasus in Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. omn. haer.* 15. However, given the affinities of *Treat. Res.* with Valentinian Gnosticism and the subtleties of Valentinian reflections on Christ's body, it is probable, contrary to our earlier views (Peel, *Epistle*, 57, 112-113, 165), that the "flesh" of Christ men-

tioned in 44.14–15 is not symbolic of His full Incarnation and mortality. Indeed, as *ed. pr.* (21–22) have shown, Tertullian indicates that the Valentinians held that Christ is flesh of a different kind than that of other mortals: *De res. mort.* 2.3, “they (opponents of the orthodox doctrine of the resurrection) have achieved their first error in the article of His very flesh (*carne eius*), contending with Marcion and Basilides that it possessed no reality; or else holding, after the heretical tenets of Valentinus, and according to Apelles, that *it had qualities peculiar to itself (propriae qualitatis)*.” Tertullian elaborates on this in *De carn. Christ.* 15.1 “Valentinus, indeed, on the strength of his heretical system, might consistently devise a *spiritual flesh (carnem Christi spiritalem)*.” Note also his polemical reference to “spiritual flesh” in *De carn. Chr.* 19.5. Something of this same understanding of the uniqueness of Christ’s “flesh” appears in later Western Valentinianism, as attested by Heracleon, *fr.* 8 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.39, commenting on John 1:27). Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 31.4–8. That opponents recognized some of this subtlety is attested by Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. omn. haer.* 12: (Valentinus teaches) “Christ was sent by the forefather Depth, but he was in substance, not of our body, but of some sort of spiritual body come down from heaven . . . he passed through the Virgin Mary, receiving nothing from her and not being changed. He denies the resurrection of the flesh.” What is unambiguously clear in *Treat. Res.* (44.14–15; 47.4–16) is that “flesh” is assessed as the temporary mode of earthly existence shared by both Savior and Elect. See Peel, *Epistle*, 112–113, 165, 172–73.

44.15–17 *and after he had revealed himself as Son of God? (ἀγὼ νταρεφογανζῷ ἀβαλ εὔωηρε ἡνοῦτε)*: The use of the temporalis indicates that this second event (the self-revelation of Christ as the divine) was dependent upon a first (*viz.*, his existence in flesh, *i.e.*, in earthly form). Layton offers this as an example of the asyndetic perf. I (*Treatise*, 141, n. 23; Grammatical Appendix 5, 184–186). The allusion to Christ’s self-revelation could be an echo of John 10:36, since elsewhere in the NT (except for John 21:1) it is always the Father who reveals the Son. Cf., further, *Gos. Phil.* 57.28–58.10.

The Christological title “Son of God” (εὔωηρε ἡνοῦτε = *vῖδς τοῦ θεοῦ*) is used in *Treat. Res.* with reference to the Savior’s self-revelation of his divinity (44.21–26), his teaching function (44.13–21), and his conquest of death (44.27–29). Note, with Layton, that in this title is the only direct mention of “God” the Father in our document.

The indefinite article preceding εΥΨΗΡΕ in 44.16 alternates with the definite article (ΠΨΗΡΕ) in 44.21 and a zero article (ΝΨΗΡΕ) in 44.29. Such alternation seems due more to stylistic device than to subtleties in Christology (*pace* Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 165, nn. 9 and 12).

Puech (*ed. pr.*, xxviii) has noted that the title "Son of God" is absent from all texts preserved to us from the Valentinians, though the simple title "Son" is used of Jesus by Valentinus himself in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.114,3. Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 10.4,6.

44.17 *He lived* (αϩϩμαϩε): The second α is a correction over ε; even so, the form ϩμαϩε is heretofore unknown in Coptic. Accordingly, several emendations have been proposed: (1) Till emended to αϩϩμαϩτ̄ (AA² of ϩμοοϩ; Crum 679a, "to sit, dwell, remain") and translated: "Er sass (?) an diesem Platz, ..." (*ed. pr.* 22, 51); (2) Zandee (*ed. pr.* 22, 61 and, more recently, Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 165) proposed that a prosthetic ϩ had been added to the S^A form of μαϩε (Crum 203b, "to walk, go") and that it should be rendered: "he walked (?) in this place..."; (3) Barns (*JTS NS* 15 [1964] 164), Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 475), Peel (*Epistle*, 58), and Layton (*Treatise*, 141-42) have properly maintained that metathesis between ϩ and ϩ has resulted in an aberrant form of the perf. I of μαϩε (Crum 203b). The verb may be translated "he walked" (Barns, Layton); "er wandelte" (Schenke, and Krause, *Die Gnosis*, 2.87); or, more metaphorically, "he lived" (μαϩε = περιπατεῖν, in the sense of *Barn.* 10.11; 2 Cor 5:7; 10:3). The last view is supported by the alternating forms of the perf. I conjugation base (α= and αϩ=) found in *Treat. Res.* (e.g., 43.3; 46.31; 44.2; 46.15; etc.).

44.18-19 *in this place where you remain*: Early conjectures by Leipoldt (*TLZ* 90 [1965] 519) and Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 471), that the Greek loanword τοπος in this passage must mean Palestine, have led many scholars to hold that the author addresses a recipient living in Israel! Cf. Rudolph (*ThR* 34 [1969] 204), Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.85), Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 928), Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 165, n. 10), and Peretto (*Aug.* 18 [1978] 63, n. 1). We, on the contrary (see Peel, *Epistle*, 108, n. 8; *Gnosis*, 67, 116 n. 8), hold that τόπος in 44.18 is only properly understood against the background of Greek philosophical usage where it denotes "this earthly plane of existence." Layton (*Treatise*, 50) agrees, describing the term as a negative reference

to "the alien world of visible matter in which the soul must live out its carnate life." Cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 176B, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.22.133,3. Cf. the use of *τόπος* for "this world" in *Apoc. Paul* 23.8-10; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 51.10-[11]; and *Great Pow.* 44.1-6.

44.18 *where (in which) you remain* (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΤΚΖΜΑCΤ̄): On this non-restrictive relative construction, see Layton (*Treatise*, Grammatical Appendix 1, 167-69). The whole clause may be a rhetorical aside.

44.19-20 *speaking about the Law* (ΕCΨΕΧΕ ΑΠΝΟΜΟC): As *ed. pr.* (22) have noted, this phrase may be rendered either "speaking of/about the Law" or "speaking against the Law." Most translators prefer the former alternative. Only Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 475; *Umwelt des Urchristentums*, [Berlin: 1967] 2.369) translates: "mit seiner Predigt gegen das Gesetz der Natur."

44.20 *Law of Nature*: The significance of this phrase has been variously assessed. Puech (*ed. pr.*, 23) links it with the Mosaic Law, assimilated by such Hellenized Jews as Philo to the Stoic natural law. Puech and Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 23) and Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 165, n. 11) take it to refer to the Mosaic Law, as negatively appraised by Paul (e.g., Rom 7:10; 8:2; 2 Cor 3:7) and then identified with the Law of the ignorant Demiurge in Valentinianism (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 58.1 and Heracleon in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60). Haardt (*Kairos NF* 12 [1970] 252) and Orbe (*Greg.* 46 [1965] 172) refer it *not* to the Mosaic Law but to the dominion over the elect by Demiurge. As the following parenthetical remark makes clear (44.20-21), the term in fact expresses common sentiment found in Roman Hellenism that death is inevitable for all living beings (i.e., it is part of their "natural condition"). Cf. Peel, *Epistle*, 58-59, 117-120 and Layton, *Treatise*, 51-52. For some examples of this commonplace, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.322; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3.8. Note further the attestation of the theme in Latin epitaphs and related literature collected by Layton (*Treatise*, 51), e.g., Hoffman, *Sylloge* 88 (B. Lier in *Philologus* 62 [1903] 586), πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμος ἐστὶ κοινὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν.

44.20-21 *but I call it 'Death'*: Although the first editors in one passage (*ed. pr.*, xxvii; but contrast p. 22) attributed this comment to Jesus, virtually all subsequent commentators have understood it as a parenthetical remark by the author (e.g., Peel, *Gnosis*, 68-69). As

such, it conveys a separate observation on what the author considers to be the same subject. Cf. 1 Cor 7:12a. Contrary to Layton (*Treatise*, 142-43), we maintain that $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\upsilon$ is circumstantial rather than pres. II., because there is no stress on any following adverbial extension, and because, as Layton himself states, “δέ introduces a circumstantial only when it stands in parallel to an earlier circumstantial clause of the same sentence.” This is precisely the case here, where $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\lambda\epsilon$ of 44.20 parallels $\epsilon\varrho\upsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ of 44.19.

The author’s view that all living beings are subject to a “Law of Nature” finds further elaboration in the text’s general teaching on death. It is the inevitable fate of both the Elect (cf. 45.32-35; 48.21-22; 47.23-25) and the non-Elect, and even the Savior seems to have participated in it (cf. 46.16-17; 45.25-26). Death involves cessation of biological life in the body and separation from it (47.30-48.1; cf. 47.17-22). (Despite the efforts of Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 244, to find in *Treat. Res.* the Valentinian and Naassene metaphor of death for “non-knowledge about God” (*ignorantia dei*), there is no evidence here for such a usage.) Yet, death is no longer to be feared since it was destroyed (= “swallowed up,” 45.14-15) by the Son of Man (44.27-29; 46.15-19). In fact, the Elect have already died and been raised with the Savior (44.27-29; 45.14-15). Thus, even though biological death is inevitable, regardless of one’s longevity (49.17-24), there is a profound sense in which the Elect should consider himself as having already died (49.16-30)! In sum, *Treat. Res.* teaches that the “Law of Nature” should cease being a matter of existential anxiety.

44.21-23 *Now the Son of God... might occur*: The entire passage displays a double chiasmic structure: (a) Son of God... was (b) Son of Man (44.21-23), possessing (b) humanity and (a) divinity (44.26), that he might (a) vanquish death as Son of God... and (b) restore Pleroma as Son of Man (44.27-33). This structure indicates some rhetorical training, as does the *parallelismus membrorum* in 44.27-32 (the latter having been noted by Layton, “Vision,” 198, n. 36.).

44.21-23 *Now the Son of God, Rheginos, was Son of Man*: The use of both titles to designate the Savior has NT antecedents. Cf. Matt 16:13, 16 and John 2:25, 27. The usage becomes common in the second century, e.g., in Ignatius, *Eph.* 20.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.16.3,5; *Od. Sol.* 36:3 and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III,4:105.19-22.

44.24 *He embraced them both* (ΝΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΡΑΥ ΜΠΕCΝΕΥ): Layton (*Treatise*, 143–44) takes ΕΜΑΖΤΕ as transitive, without direct object, rendering the Greek κρατεῖν (= “was master of His circumstances”), thus answering the question formed with the loanword χρω̄ in 44.12 (“How did the Lord handle the circumstances?”). This puts the assertion in 44.25–26 (“having the humanity and the divinity”) virtually in apposition with ΜΠΕCΝΕΥ (“in two/both respects”). This construal avoids viewing ΕΥΝΤΕῒ in 44.25 as redundant. We, on the contrary, reject this understanding, translating ΕΜΑΖΤΕ, with all other translators, as “embracing, possessing,” because (1) contrary to Layton’s claim that “hold sway, be master of” is the “quite common” meaning of ΑΜΑΖΤΕ used transitively, Crum (9a) offers such meanings only for the *intransitive* forms of the verb. The transitive meanings given by Crum (9b) are: “grasp, embrace, possess, restrict, detain” — all having direct objects! (2) While ΜΠΕCΝΕΥ has an identical form to an adverbial construction meaning “in both respects” (Crum 347a), we believe it is here the direct object of ΕΜΑΖΤΕ. (3) Though ΕΥΝΤΕῒ ΜΜΕΥ in 44.25 is redundant, given our translation, Coptic literature is full of such circumlocutions and other redundancies are found within *Treat. Res.* itself. (4) Finally, we must reject Layton’s view that 44.24–25 is the answer to the question of 44.12. Rather, the answer appears in 44.19–21, where it is indicated “in what way the Savior proclaimed things” while on earth.

44.25–26 *possessing the humanity and the divinity*: The chiasm pairs “Son of Man” with “humanity” (= ἀνθρωπότης) and “Son of God” with “divinity” (= θεϊότης). Such an apparent “two natures” Christology may parallel doctrinal developments that identified Christ’s “humanity” with his weak human nature and his “divinity” with his unity with God. For examples of the former, cf. e.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.* 27.10–11; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.18.3; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.5.15,2; *Act. Thom.* A.80; Origen, *In Joh.* 1.18; 10.6; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 65.7; Cyril, *Catech.* 4.9; Athanasius, *Ar.* 1.41. For the latter equation, cf. *Hermas*, *Sim.* 5.6.4b–8; 9.1.7; *Mand.* 10.1.4–5; 11.5.10,14; Origen, *Con. Cels.* 2.33; 2.26; *In Joh.* 1.4, 18; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 54.4; Anastasius, *Hodegos* 14; Cyril, *Catech.* 10.3. Cf. further the discussion of the two natures of Christ in Melito, *De incarnatione Christi* 3. However, as noted above (n. to 44.14–15), it is probable that our document teaches an implicit docetism comparable to the Valentinian views. Cf. Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 252. As

subsequent notes will indicate, Christ's "divinity" encompasses functions that go beyond those ascribed to Him in the early Church (cf. 44.34-35; 45.11-13, 17-18).

The title, "Son of Man" (πωηρε μπρωμε = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), appears in our document at 44.23, 30-31; 46.14-15. The contexts provide additional insights into the meaning of the title as here understood: Christ's pre-existence (44.21-26), humanity and earthly work (44.26), death and resurrection (46.14-20). His "humanity" seems to encompass the assumption of "flesh," life in the "world" of men, participation in their death. Even so, it is specifically as "Son of Man" that Christ accomplishes the "restoration" of the Pleroma (44.30-32). As a pre-cosmic, pre-existent "seed of Truth" from above, He can accomplish this. Also, just as He did as "Son of God" (cf. 44.27-29), the "Son of Man" destroyed death (46.14-19), being a "representative" of the Elect.

Ed. pr. (23) note various Valentinian usages of the title "Son of Man." Typical is Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.4, "Others (i.e., the followers of Ptolemy) again affirm that he (the Savior) was produced from those twelve Aeons who were the offspring of Anthropos and Ecclesia; and on this account he acknowledges himself the Son of Man, as being a descendent of the Anthropos." Similar usages of the title appear in Heracleon, fr. 35, on John 4:37 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.49) and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.3. In none of these passages, however, is the title specifically identified with the "humanity" of the Savior. The same is true of several occurrences of the title in the Nag Hammadi tractates: *Pr. Paul* A.16; *Ap. Jas.* 3.14-24; *Gos. Thom.* 86; *Gos. Phil.* 63.29-30; 81.14-19(?); *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III,4:103.22-104.4; 105.19-22; 117.22-118.2; *Dial. Sav.* 135.16-20; 136.20; *Treat. Seth* 64.7-12 (?); 65.18-19; 69.20-22; *Apoc. Pet.* 71.9-14; *Testim. Truth* 30.18-23; 31.5-6; 32.22-26; 41.2-4; 67.7; *Trim. Prot.* 49.19-20; *Gos. Mary* BG 8502,1:8.15-19; 9.6-11.

On the title "Son of God" in Gnostic, especially Valentinian texts, see our note to 44.15-17. Cf. also *Trim. Prot.* 38.22-26.

44.27-29 so that on the one hand he might vanquish death through his being Son of God: With the assertion that the Savior "might vanquish death" cf. similar statements in the NT: Heb 2:14-15; 2 Tim 1:10; and, less closely, Acts 2:24 and Rom 1:4. This triumphant claim becomes increasingly creedal in early Patristic literature. Cf., e.g., *Barn.* 5.6, "He endured so that he 'might destroy death' (2 Tim 1:10)

and show forth the resurrection from the dead.” Cf. also *Act. Thom.* A.143; Origen, *In Joh.* 20.39; *De princ.* 1.2.4; Justin, *1 Apol.* 63.17; *Dial.* 3.3; Methodius, *Symp.* 3.7, *Res.* 2.18. Puech (*ed. pr.* 23) notes that the theme also occurs among Valentinians: *Exc. Theod.* 61.7 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.3. In Nag Hammadi, cf. *Melch.* 14.1, 8–9.

44.30–33 *through the Son of Man the restoration to the Pleroma might occur*: This statement contains the first unambiguous clue that our author is a Gnostic teacher. Although Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 473) and Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 927–28) claim that the document is devoid of any typical Valentinian “Vorstellungskomplexe,” the teaching here regarding the *apokatastasis* of the Pleroma, when set within the larger context of the cosmological and cosmogonic myth reflected in the letter, seems to be precisely such a “Komplex.” For discussion of the cosmological presuppositions of the text, see the introduction.

44.31–32 *restoration (ἀποκαταστασις)*: The term is a hapax in the NT at Acts 3:21, and is not found at all in the Apostolic Fathers. The concept may owe something to such ideas of eschatological unification as are found at Eph 1:9–10 and Col 1:19–20. But it is especially among the Valentinians, as Puech and Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 23–24) have shown, that the term becomes a *terminus technicus*. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 61.5; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4 (on Ptolemy); 1.14.1 (on Marcus); Heracleon, fr. 34, on John 4:36 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.46); and *Tri. Trac.* 123.19. The Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen, also connect the term with eschatological hope. Cf. Clement, *Strom.* 2.22.134,4 and Origen, *In Jer.* 14; *De princ.* 1.6.1–4; 2.3.5; 2.10.8; *Con. Cels.* 8.72.

44.33 *Pleroma*: This term occurs in Valentinian texts as the designation of the totality of the thirty aeons of the divine realm (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.3), from which Sophia fell (1.2.4; 1.11.1). On restoration into the Pleroma, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 34.2; 36.2. Cf. further, Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.38,5; 4.13.90,3; Heracleon, fr. 13 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.33) and fr. 18 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11); Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.8; 6.29,31 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 21.4; 23.4. Note, too, the elaborate discussion of eschatological reintegration into the Pleroma in the *Tri. Trac.* 122.12–129.34. See the notes to that section in this edition for discussion of the various Valentinian positions on eschatology.

44.33-34 *Originally* (ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ): Cf. "from the beginning" (ⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ, 46.27). Both expressions probably translate forms of the Greek ἀρχή. As cosmic temporal references, they refer to the perfect Pleromatic state (46.35ff.) in which both Savior and the Elect "All" (46.38-47.1; cf. 47.26-27) were existent prior to their respective incarnations. The opposite, or eschatological pole, as we have seen above, is called the "apokatastasis." Cf. Valentinus' own expression: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89,2).

44.34 *from above*: The idea of the Savior being "from above" is rather Johannine. Cf., John 3:31; 6:38; 8:23. The Savior is said to be "from above" (ἀνωθεν) in other "orthodox" texts, as well: *Hermas*, *Mand.* 11.8; Athanasius, *Inc. et c. Ar.* 9; *Symb. Ant.* (341) 2. However, ἀνωθεν is also used in Gnostic texts of the pre-existent origin of both pneumatics and the Savior. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.4; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.13.93,3; 4.13.91,2; *Act. Thom.* 61; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7.36; 8.21.41; 9.6.16ff.

44.35 *a seed of truth*: Layton ("Vision," 202, n. 53), attempting to demonstrate the influence of the diatribe style on our letter, describes this as an example of an "unprepared strong metaphor" characteristic of such a style. He further observes (*Treatise*, 54), correctly, that the background of the concept is ultimately the Platonic image of the Demiurge "sowing" reason in man (*Tim.* 41C-D). Seed and sowing imagery was subsequently developed by the Stoics to speak of the rational force (λόγος σπερματικός, λόγοι σπερματικοί) which penetrated and held together all things (cf. e.g., *SVF* I.102 [p. 28.6] and II.1027 [p. 306.20]). This terminology was then appropriated by Platonists with Stoicizing tendencies, such as Philo (e.g., *Leg. all.* 3.150). For this development, cf. J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 95, 159, and 285. Church fathers, and particularly Justin (e.g., *1 Apol.* 32.8 and *2 Apol.* 8.4 and 13.4-6), further exploit the imagery to describe the immanence of the divine in the rational component of the human being.

Such characteristic Middle Platonic and early Christian developments stand behind the "seed" imagery in Valentinianism, the probable milieu for the *Treat. Res.* Though the term "seed of truth" is not found in any extant Valentinian text, such a term could easily have been developed. Valentinians regularly describe as "seeds" entities on one level of reality which have counterparts on a lower and more ma-

terial level of reality. Thus the Aeons of the Pleroma exist "like a seed" in the primordial silence (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1, cf. *Tri. Trac.* 60.35-36) or in the Only-begotten Son (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5). The aeons may simply be called seeds, by Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.2. Similarly, the elect or pneumatic human beings have "higher" or "superior" seeds (i.e., seeds superior to those of other classes of human beings) in the world of Sophia between the Pleroma and the material world. (*Exc. Theod.* 21.1; 26.1-3; 41.1-2; cf. *Tri. Trac.* 91.31), and Valentinus himself described Adam as a "seed of the essence from above" (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.36,2; cf. 2.8.38, 3-4). The spiritual seeds can be portrayed as "sown" either in the material world (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.36.6) or, in another sense, in the Savior (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2; *Tri. Trac.* 88.20-22). The intimate relationship between the Savior and the spiritual seeds may be described in other terms. In *Exc. Theod.* 1.1, for instance, it is the "spiritual seed" from which Sophia provides a "receptacle of flesh" for the Savior.

Since, as Puech and Quispel have shown (*ed. pr.*, 24), Christ is identified with "Truth" among some Valentinians (e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5, *Exc. Theod.* 61.1) or is said to have been produced by the Aeon Truth (Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.3-4), it is not difficult to see how a Valentinian could have said of Christ, "he was originally from above, a seed of the Truth."

For other seed imagery in Nag Hammadi texts, cf. *Hyp. Arch.* 96.27-31 and *Dial. Sav.* 135.16-21.

44.36 *structure*: The term *σύστασις* (= cosmos) bears a similar meaning in *Wis* 7:17; *Orig. World* 123.25-27; and *1 Clem.* 60.1. As Puech (*ed. pr.*, 24) has shown, the term is also found among the Valentinians at *Exc. Theod.* 22.2 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.*, where it is used both of the Pleroma (59.29; 71.7) and of the non-Pleromatic world (79.25; 98.31 and 102.30).

44.37-38 *many dominions and deities came into existence*: The "dominions" (*ζῆνμῆτχαεῖς* = *κυριότητες*) and "deities" (*ζῆνμῆτνογυτε* = *θεότητες*) seem to be special classes of heavenly powers similar to those mentioned in *1 Enoch* 61.10; *1 Cor* 8:5; *Col* 1:16; *Eph* 1:21; *Origen, Con. Cels.* 4.29; *Or.* 17.2. Unlike the powers spoken of in *Col* 1:15-16, which were created "in Christ", those alluded to here (a)

were not brought into being by Christ; and (b) are probably thought of as inimical toward Christ and the Elect.

Ed. pr. (xx, 24–25) contend this passage is a uniquely Valentinian citation of Col 1:16, as shown by comparison with Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5 and *Exc. Theod.* 43.3. This, however, is unlikely (see Peel, *Epistle*, 63; Martin, *The Epistle*, 115; Layton, *Treatise*, 55; Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 166), because no citation formula (similar to those found in *Treat. Res.* 45.24–25 and 48.6–8) is used; no mention is made of other powers named by both Paul and the Valentinians who clearly do quote Col 1:16; the order of the powers alluded to in 44.37–38 is the reverse of those named in the Valentinian citation found in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; and the passage in *Treat. Res.* omits the insertion of βασιλείαι between κυριότητες and θεότητες, as in the Valentinian citation of Col 1:16 in *Exc. Theod.* 43.3. Indeed, our author's abbreviation of the list of powers is just the reverse of the usual Valentinian tendency toward the lengthening of such lists (see Carola Barth, *Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der Valentinianischen Gnosis* [Leipzig, 1911] 41, n.b).

Therefore, the passage in *Treat. Res.* is a vague allusion to two orders of heavenly beings familiar to the author either from the form of Valentinianism known to him or from the Pauline corpus. Cf. similar allusions to Paul (Eph 6:12) in *Hyp. Arch.* 86.21–25; *Exeg. Soul* 131.8–13; as well as to “dominions” and “deities” in the Marcosian initiation formula mentioned in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3.

44.39–45.4 In a brief, almost parenthetical remark, the author acknowledges the difficulties inherent in his explanation (“solution”) of the resurrection, compared to the clarity about it found in the “Word of Truth” (cf. 43.34). In 50.5–7 he will again admit to possible obscurity in his “exposition of the Word.” Rather than being admissions of any discrepancy between his teaching and that of Scripture, however, these statements seem to indicate that understanding his own Gnostic interpretation entails acquiring more advanced knowledge. Cf. Haardt's translation (*Kairos* NF 11 [1969] 2): “Ich weiss, dass ich die Lösung schwieriger Probleme verkünde, aber es gibt nichts Schwieriges im Worte der Wahrheit.”

45.2–4 *but...but* (ἀλλὰ... ἀλλὰ): This use of the Greek conjunctive when a previous negative correlate has not been stated is characteristic of the author's style (so Layton, *Treatise*, 179). A proper paraphrase of the second ἀλλὰ would be: “at any rate,” or “I shall now

attempt to make you understand." Setting aside any supposed difficulties, the author moves on to more important things.

45.4-8 {ΕΤΡΕ}ΠΒΩΛ: As Till (*ed. pr.*, 25) noted, the ΕΤΡΕ is problematic. Layton (*Treatise*, 14) following Polotsky, emends the text to ΕΤΒΕ ΠΒΩΛ. We, however, accept Schenke's conjecture (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 475) that the scribe erroneously wrote ΕΤΡΕΦΒΩΛ (perhaps under the influence of ΑΤΡΕΦΟΥΩΝΩ̅ in line 7), corrected the ς of ΕΤΡΕΦΒΩΛ to π, but forgot to delete the prefix ΕΤΡΕ-. Thus, we would delete the ΕΤΡΕ and understand the following ΝΤΑΦΕΙ as a perf. II.

"Solution" (ΠΒΩΛ = ἡ λύσις) in 45.5 takes on a different nuance than it has in 45.1. In the latter passage it refers to the author's teaching offered in 44.13-38, "the solution" to the eschatological questions raised by "false seekers" (43.25-34) and by Rheginos (44.4-6). But in 45.5 it acquires a Christological connotation, denoting Christ in his life and work as *the* "Solution" to the problems of evil and identification of the Elect (45.9-11). (Cf. Eusebius, *Theoph.* 3 [p. 8.5] where Christ's work in destroying death is described as ἡ λύσις.) This Christological title serves as the antecedent of the pronoun ΤΕΕΙ in 45.11 (the ΤΕΕΙ having become feminine by attraction to ΤΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ because of the noun clause construction, or the ΤΕΕΙ being a literal rendering of the originally underlying feminine αὐτή). In agreement with this line of interpretation, see Layton (*Treatise*, 15, 56, 128); Haardt (*Kairos NF* 12 [1970] 252); Puech (*ed. pr.* 25).

With the notion of the Savior (= the "Solution") revealing "openly" (ἀπλῶς) what was formerly hidden, cf. the statement of Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 2, "For to Christ it was reserved to lay bare everything which before was concealed: to impart certainty to doubtful points; to accomplish those of which men had had but a foretaste; . . . and to furnish not only Himself, but actually in Himself, certain proofs of the resurrection of the dead." Some NT affirmations may ultimately lie behind such an assertion, e.g., Mark 4:22; Matt 10:26; 1 Cor 4:5; Eph 3:9; Col 1:26.

45.8-9 *concerning existence* (ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΩΠΕ): Considerable differences exist in recent translations of this phrase; some render it "über das Werden" (Haardt) or "coming-into-being" (Layton). Others, inferring from the *terminus technicus* προβολή ("emanation") in 45.12 that ΠΩΩΠΕ has a cosmogonic connotation, offer "in

Bezug auf das Entstehen" or "concerning the origin" (Krause, Till, Wilson, Zandee). Still others, trying to interpret $\pi\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ from the parenthetical expansion in 45.9–11, offer "concerning existence," "au sujet de l'être," or "de la existencia" (Peel, Puech, Bazán). We have opted for the third translation in that the topics which follow, the destruction of evil and revelation of the elect, seem to have more to do with "existence" than with "origins."

45.10–11 *revelation of the elect* ($\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$): Several translators prefer: "the revelation of the better" (so Barns, Haardt, Schenke, Till). Layton (*Treatise*, 37), for example, argues that the "inferior" or "evil" mentioned in 45.10 ($\pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\upsilon$; cf. 47.21–22) is really the "body"; the "better" or "select" in 45.11 ($\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$; cf. 47.9–10, 21–23) is actually the "soul." Thus, like a good pupil of Plato's, the Savior reveals that the body is bound for destruction, the soul for salvation/survival. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.26.164,3, $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \dots \eta \psi\upsilon\chi\eta, \eta\tau\tau\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron \sigma\omega\mu\alpha$. Puech (*ed. pr.*, 26), in turn, thinks the adjectives "worse/inferior" and "better" have reference to the Valentinian tripartite anthropology, denoting the "sarcical/earthly" on the one hand, the "pneumatic/ spiritual" part of man on the other. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.6.32,1; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.5, $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\nu, \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \tau\acute{\alpha} \beta\epsilon\lambda\tau\iota\omicron\nu\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota, \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omega \tau\eta\varsigma \mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\pi\omega \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\alpha} \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omega, \chi\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \delta\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$. This Valentinian conception is not identical with the dualistic, Platonic conception of man, however.

Other translators, however, believe that rather than being allusions to anthropological elements (i.e., "flesh" vs. "spirit"), the terms in 45.10–11 contrast the fate of the non-elect (i.e., "the evil") with the revelation of the chosen ("the elect"). Supporters of this rendering include Bazán, Krause, Leipoldt, Peel, Quispel, Wilson, Zandee. In favor of this are these considerations: (1) while context does indicate that $\varsigma\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ means "better" (= $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\tau\omicron\nu$) in 47.9.22; the term clearly connotes "to be chosen" or "elected" ($\delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$) in 46.25 and could as well have this meaning in 45.11. (2) Elsewhere in *Treat. Res.* the Savior's work and the resurrection he bestows are said to "make manifest" or "reveal" ($\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\bar{\eta}$) the elect (cf. 45.28–31; 48.6–11,34–35). Similar assertions regarding the "manifestation" of the elect ones are found in *Gos. Truth* 20.6–7 and 43.9; as well as in the NT (Mark 4:22; Luke 8:17; Rom 8:19).

45.11-14 *this is the emanation (προβολή) of Truth and Spirit. Grace is of the Truth:* Though Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 928) and Layton (*Treatise*, 57) deny that this passage has anything to do with Valentinian aeon speculation, virtually all other commentators (e.g., Bazán, Haardt, Krause, Malinine, Ménard, Peel, Peretto, Puech, Quispel, Till) recognize in *προβολή* a *terminus technicus* meaning “emanation.” Certainly, the term makes its first appearance in the Christian era among the Valentinians. (So E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* [New York, 1887] 2, 923.) Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 70.27; 73.18-19; 80.34-35; 83.2.

“Truth,” “Spirit,” “Grace” are all names given aeons in various Valentinian systems. The aeons “Truth” and “Spirit,” for example, appear in Ptolemaeus’ system (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1; 1.11.1). Also, *pace* Layton (*Treatise*, 57), “Spirit” is named as an aeon in Valentinian schema mentioned in Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.6; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5; 1.14.5; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.31. “Grace,” in turn, as Puech and Quispel have shown (*ed. pr.*, 26), is also an aeon known to the Valentinians, though in this passage it may not denote an aeon but simply the “blessing” which accompanies the “solution” given by Christ. Even so, it is notable that the relationships implied in our passage,—the Savior emanated from Truth and Spirit, and possibly, Grace emanated from Truth,—have no precise parallels in known Valentinian systems (see Peel, *Epistle*, 176). Such may indicate the author’s familiarity with a hitherto unknown Valentinian system or some confusion on his part.

The assertion in 45.13 may owe something to John 1:14, 17b.

45.14-15 *the Savior swallowed up (ὠμῆκ = καταπίνειν) death:* The author uses the Pauline expression “swallow up” (1 Cor 15:54; 2 Cor 5:4) four times in *Treat. Res.* (45.14, 19; 46.1; 49.3-4) to denote divine conquest over / destruction of death, corruptibility, ignorance. In this passage it especially underscores His role in transforming death into nothing more than a transition stage to the spiritual resurrection (cf. 44.27-29; 46.7-8). Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 254) has found an analogous statement about the true Gnostic “swallowing up” death, like the Savior, in Valentinus’ own teaching, as cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.13.89, 1-3): “From the very beginning you are immortal and children of eternal life. You wished to spread death among yourselves so that you might consume and destroy it (*ἵνα*

δαπανήσητε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναλώσητε), so that death might die in you and through you. For, when you destroy the world but are not destroyed yourselves, you are lords over the creation and over all corruption." Further, the Valentinian Heracleon cites 1 Cor 15:53-55 in commenting on John 4:47, using it to refute those who maintain the immortality of the soul (fr. 40, Origen, *In Joh.* 13,60)!

45.15 — *you are not reckoned as being ignorant* — : A parenthetical aside, reminding the reader that he already possesses such knowledge about Christ's work. Martin (*VC* 27 [1973] 280) identifies this as an antithesis common to the diatribe. Layton ("Vision," 202, n. 57) concurs, calling this a "patronizing insult" characteristic of the Cynic-Stoic style. Even so, the aside may still not preclude a personal relationship between author and pupil, the author having simply made use of a rhetorical device known to him.

45.17-23 *for he put aside the world which is perishing. He transformed himself (αφωῖτ[ῶ]) into an imperishable Aeon and raised himself up, having swallowed the visible by the invisible, and he gave us the way of our immortality*: The author offers a summary of how the Savior conquered death in four logical steps: (1) through casting off / withdrawing from the transitory world; (2) through self-transformation into an imperishable, spiritual (= "invisible") aeon; (3) through ascent into the Pleroma from which he came as a pre-existent "seed of Truth" (44.33-36); (4) thereby, opening to believers the way in which they may achieve their own immortality. As Gaffron has pointed out (*Die Zeit Jesu*, 222), in these steps our author shows no interest in any historical events of saving importance.

The "world" the Savior puts aside is described in *Treat. Res.* with several synonyms: (a) "place" or "earthly plane of existence" (τόπος, 44.18); (b) "world order" or "world" (κόσμος, 45.16,30; 46.38; 47.6; 48.15,28); (c) "element" or "fundamental principle" embodied in this world (στοιχείον, 49.33); (d) "structure" or "composition" of this world (σύστασις, 44.36); (e) "these places" (νιμα, possibly translating ἐπίκηρος, 46.9,11; 47.14,26). Collectively, all these passages indicate the "world" has these characteristics: it stands in antithesis to the "Pleroma" (46.35-38), to the heavenly Aeon within the Pleroma (47.4-8), and to the reality and permanence of the resurrection (48.13-28). Further, the world has a negative character: it is "small" (= insignificant: 46.36-38), the sphere of corruptible "flesh" (47.5-6; 47.17-26), "perishing" (45.16-17), "illusory" (φαντασία, 48.13-16,

27-28), and lying in "darkness" (49.2-4). Finally, it is implied this world has an almost actively evil character (49.30-36; cf. 44.37-38). Cf., with the implied notion of the Savior's departure from this "world," John 13:1b; 16:28b.

Puech (*ed. pr.*, 27) has argued that the verb $\omega\bar{\eta}\tau[\bar{\eta}]$ (from $\omega\bar{\upsilon}\beta\epsilon$) in 45.17 translates the Greek $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, giving the meaning: "he has departed for an aeon, or an eternity, imperishable." Layton (*Treatise*, 15, 58) agrees, offering: "exchanging it (the $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$) for an imperishable aeon." We, on the contrary, follow the majority of translators (Bazán, Haardt, Krause, Leipoldt, Martin, Peel, Till, Wilson, Zandee) in holding that $\omega\bar{\eta}\tau[\bar{\eta}]$ is a rendering of $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ and thus means: "he transformed himself into an imperishable Aeon." Such a rendering makes the next clause the logical sequence ("and raised himself up," 45.19), and it is supported by the affirmation in 48.35-36 that the resurrection is "the transformation ($\pi\omega\bar{\upsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) of things." Also favoring this translation is the fact that the verb $\omega\bar{\upsilon}\beta\epsilon$ is used in the Coptic NT of the "changing" of believers at the resurrection mentioned in 1 Cor 15:51-52 ($\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}\ \tau\bar{\eta}\ \nu\alpha\omega\bar{\upsilon}\beta\epsilon$), and of Christ's own "transfiguration" (Mark 9:2, par.). Cf., with the description of Christ as an "imperishable Aeon," Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.1; 1.2.6; and 1.4.5; *Exc. Theod* 43 and 63.1-64. Being "transformed into an imperishable Aeon," Christ returns to the Pleroma whence he had pre-existed as a "seed of Truth from above" (44.34-35).

In general, the NT does not affirm that the Savior "raised himself up" (45.19). With the sole exception of John 2:19, the canonical writers consistently affirm that he "was raised" by the Father (e.g., in Matt 14:2; 17:9; Mark 14:28; Luke 9:22; Acts 2:24; Rom 4:24; 7:14; 1 Cor 6:14; 2 Cor 5:15; Gal 1:1; 1 Pet 1:21; etc.). A formal parallel appears in Ignatius, *Smyr.* 2.1, $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$.

On the expression "having swallowed" (45.19-20), see the note to 45.14-15.

The "visible" ($\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\nu\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$, 45.20) which is overcome by the "invisible" is, as Haardt points out (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 267), identical with the "visible members" ($\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\nu\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$, 47.38-39) that form the "body" that is abandoned at death (47.35). For comparison, van Unnik (*JEH* 15 [1964] 166) suggests 2 Cor 4:18. Cf. also Ignatius, *Pol.* 3.2.

In 45.23 the phrase "way of immortality" may be inspired by such NT passages as John 14:3-6 or Heb 10:1-20. Certainly, $\zeta\eta\eta$ (= $\eta\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\varsigma$) is used in a rather technical sense in several Gnostic texts to denote the means by which the pneumatic self attains salvation. Cf.,

for example, the Naassene Hymn (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.10.2; 26.23; *Act. Thom.* 148; 167) and, in Valentinian Gnosticism, (*Exc. Theod.* 38; 74; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2; *Gos. Truth* 18.19–20; 31.28–29). For our author, as Layton correctly observes (*Treatise*, 59), this “way” entails “not a change (of the believer) from mortality to its opposite, but departure from the realm of mortality” of those whose essential selves pre-existed. Cf. further, Peel, *Epistle*, 111.

45.23–28 *Then, as the Apostle said:* In his usage of the NT, the author employs both “citations formulae” (as here and in 48.6–8) and “echoing of” or “allusion to” biblical terminology and ideas. The use of such formulae, followed by actual quotes from well-known men, such as Paul, is, as both Martin (*VC* 27 [1973] 279) and Layton (“Vision,” 202, n. 55) have indicated, a distinguishing characteristic of the Stoic-Cynic diatribe style.

The “Apostle,” as the following lines make clear, is Paul. The first editors (*ed. pr.*, 27) mention that among the Valentinians, Paul was ὁ ἀναστάσεως ἀπόστολος (*Exc. Theod.* 23.2; see, further, E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul: Gnostic Exegesis of the Pauline Letters*, [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975] 80–86, 98–99). Cf. other allusions to the “Apostle” (Paul) by the Gnostics in *Hyp. Arch.* 86.21–22; *Exc. Theod.* 22.1; 35.1; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.13.1; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3.5. Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 254) recalls that probably by the time *Treat. Res.* was written, 2 Pet 3:15f. was warning about unstable people who twist Paul’s views in such fashion as to lead to their own destruction.

45.25–28 *we suffered with him, . . . we went to heaven with him:* This “citation” of Paul is actually a non-literal mélange of Rom 8:17 and Eph 2:5–6, as shown elsewhere (Peel, *Epistle*, 70–72). Others would suggest as possible sources: Col 2:12–13; 3:1–4; Rom 6:3–11; 2 Cor 4:10–13; 2 Tim 2:11–12 (*ed. pr.*, 27; Gaffron, *Die Zeit Jesu*, 222; Haardt, *Kairos* NF 11 [1969] 3, n. 8; Layton, “Vision,” 210, n. 90).

It is notable that in these lines we encounter Pauline mystical language linking believers with the experience of Christ, a language virtually without echo in more “orthodox” second-century Christian literature. In 45.25–28 a Gnostic author has taken up such language and reinterpreted it (see Peel, *Epistle*, 133–139). Development toward a “realized eschatology,” already present in deutero-Pauline literature (cf. Paul’s own statements in Rom 6:5, 8 with his use of the aorist tense in Eph 2:5f.; Col 2:12f.; 3:1), made easier this Gnostic

appropriation. However, unlike many Gnostics who connected resurrection expectation with the present experience of baptism (e.g., Simon Magus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.31.2; Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 2.22.5; Menander in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.23.5; Justin, *1 Apol.* 1.26; Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 5; cf. *Gos. Phil.* 72.29-73.8), the author of *Treat. Res.* makes no mention of baptism whatsoever.

Note that there is no effort made to soften the statement, “*we suffered with him,*” in any docetic manner. Contrast the Gnostic statements in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2; 23.3; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.27.11-12; *Melch.* 5.6-9.

With the idea of believers “*having gone to heaven with him*” (45.27-28), cf. *Mand. PB* 29,30,58,65,71,99; *Man. Ps.* 63.2-4.

45.30-31 *wearing him*: Though Layton (*Treatise*, 17,56,61; “*Vision,*” 202, n. 53) seems to vacillate between translating this phrase “*wearing Him*” (i.e., the Savior) or “*wearing it*” (i.e., the κόσμος), we believe context supports the former rendering, one preferred by virtually all other translators (Haardt, Bazán, Krause, Malinine, Puech, Quispel, Till, Zandee). The expression may be an echo of “*garment mysticism*” reflected in Pauline literature: Rom 13:12-14; Eph 4:22-24; Col 3:9-12; cf. 1 Cor 15:49 (so Zandee, *NTT* 16 [1962] 366). This “*garment,*” as Gaffron has indicated (*Die Zeit Jesu*, 223) is not something external but a “*manner of existence,*” the bearer sharing the pneumatic nature of Christ. Note the similar imagery in *Od. Sol.* 7:4; *Gos. Phil.* 77.22; *Gos. Mary* BG 8502, r15.5-8; *Tri. Trac.* 87.2-6.

45.31-39 *we are that one's beams . . . not being restrained by anything*: Here the author offers a metaphorical description of what is involved in the “*spiritual resurrection*” (mentioned in 45.39). Believers are likened to beams of the sun; the sun to Christ. Just as sun beams fade and seem drawn heavenward by the sun at its setting, so are believers at their “*setting*” (= “*death*”: 45.35) drawn heavenward by Christ. Contrary to the contention of *ed. pr.* (xiv, xvii-xviii, xxi) and Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 265-266), the lines do not expressly affirm a consubstantiality between believers and Christ, nor the former's reabsorption into the latter with consequent loss of all personality. Rather, what the passage does affirm is that at the believers' biological death, their essential selves (οἱ νόες, 46.23-24) ascend immediately to heaven, there to experience in full the heavenly life already experienced proleptically in Christ's own ascension (45.27-28).

Christ, like the sun, is the effective agent of this spiritual resurrection.

Thus, while the metaphor does recall similar imagery from the solar theology of Roman paganism (Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae* 82, 943D; Seneca, *Ep.* 41; Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* 3.15; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 189, n. 45; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentarii* 3.82.11; Julian the Apostate, *Orationes* 4, 152B; 5, 172A–173A, noted by *ed. pr.*, xiv–xvi) and may reflect Middle Platonic, dualistic cosmology, its closest parallels are found in Clement of Alexandria and the Christian *Odes of Solomon*. The former (*Prot.* 9.84.2) quotes more fully an ancient poem earlier cited partially in Eph 5:14: “The Lord awakes from the sleep of darkness and raises up those who have wandered in error. ‘Awake,’ He says, ‘you who sleep, arise from the dead, and the Lord Christ will give you light’ — He, the Sun of the Resurrection (ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἥλιος), begotten before Lucifer (Ps 109:3), and he who has given life with his beams (ὁ ζῶντων χαρισάμενος ἀκτίσιν ἰδίαῖς).” In the *Odes of Solomon* we read:

“And I rejected the folly cast upon the earth, And stripped it off and cast it from me. And the Lord renewed me with His garment, and possessed me by His light; And from above, he gave me immortal rest . . . And the Lord (is) like the sun upon the face of the land.” (*Od. Sol.* 11.10–13)

“Because He (the Lord) is my Sun, and His beams have lifted me up; His light has dismissed all darkness from my face . . . I put on incorruption through His name, and took off corruption by His grace. Death has been destroyed before my face.” (*Od. Sol.* 15.2,8–9a)

“ . . . my Helper lifted me up according to His compassion and His salvation. And I put off darkness, and put on light. And my soul acquired members (cf. *Treat. Res.* 48.1–3). In them there was no sickness, or affliction, or suffering . . . And I was lifted up in the light

... And I was constantly near Him.”
(*Od. Sol.* 21.2b–4,6a,7a)

Cf. also *Od. Sol.* 25.8. See further, Ménard, “L’Épître à Rhèginos,” 191.

45.34 *our setting* (ϨΩΤΠ̄): The Coptic probably translates *δυσμῆ* (Crum 725a), a metaphor commonly used for the close or conclusion of life (e.g., Aristotle, *Poet.* 1457b24; Ignatius, *Rom.* 2.2; Cyril of Alexandria, *In. Romanos* 5.14). The explanatory clause following (45.35) makes this clear.

45.35 *in this life*: Two different words are used by our author to indicate two types of life: ΒΙΟC (= βίος) here and in 49.20 denotes biological life, characterized by transitoriness and terminated in death (cf. βίος in *Thom. Cont.* 143.14; 145.10; *Auth. Teach.* 23.32; 31.32; *Pr. Thanks.* 65.1–2). ΩΩΝ̄ (= ζώῆ) in *Treat. Res.* 47.10; 48.2,21,23, however, is used of life which derives its essential quality from association with the spiritual and hence immortal nature of believers (cf. ζώῆ in John 5:40; 10:10; 11:25–26; 20:31). For the full demonstration of this, see Peel, *Epistle*, 114–116. Cf. also Layton, *Treatise*, 64.

45.36 *we are drawn to heaven by him*: The notion of the Savior “drawing believers” to himself, even in the heavenly realm, has antecedents in John 12:32 (cf. 6:44a). Cf. *Act. Thom.* 117, “He (Christ) whom I love is in Heaven, and He will take me up to heaven unto Himself.” Layton (*Treatise*, 64), while correctly noting that this “drawing” takes place as a single, decisive act only at the believer’s death, wants to find implied in it the Stoic notion of spiritual τόνος that implies a constant “pull” upward on the spiritual self even during life itself. We, however, believe 45.35 makes it clear that the author speaks exclusively of a post-mortem occurrence. Elsewhere (44.30–33), as Haardt has indicated (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 252), this restoration of pneumatics to the heavenly sphere is called the “Restoration” (ἀποκατάστασις).

45.37–38 *like beams* (ἄθε ἄνακτιν) *by the sun*: ἄθε seems to translate the comparative ὡσεῖ (Crum 638b; cf. Acts 2:3a). This indicates that the comparison of believers as “beams” and of Christ as the “sun” drawing them heavenward is meant figuratively (cf. *Od. Sol.*

15.1-2; Ignatius, *Rom.* 2.2). Contrast the literal interpretation of this metaphor offered by *ed. pr.*, xiii-xiv, xvii-xviii, xxi.

45.38-39 *not being restrained by anything*: Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 252) thinks this phrase suggests those archontic powers which, in other Gnostic texts, often oppose the ascending pneumatics. In this connection, *ed. pr.* (29) offer for comparison the comments of pagan Gnostics combatted by Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 2.33, "Vos in aulam dominicam tamquam in propriam sedem remeaturos vos sponte 'nullo prohibente' praesumitis"; and 2.62. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 1.2; 22.4; 22.7. Though not explicitly developed in our text, the author of *Treat. Res.* seems also familiar with some system of inimical heavenly powers ("dominions" and "deities," 44.37-38) and a threatening cosmic "Element" (στοιχεῖον, 49.30-36) from which believers extricate themselves.

45.39-46.2 *this is the spiritual (πνευματικῆ) resurrection (ἀνάστασις) which swallows up the psychic (ψυχικῆ) in the same way as the fleshly (σαρκικῆ)*: The author concludes his metaphorical description of how the Savior effects the post-mortem ascension of believers into heaven (45.28-39) by describing the process as the "spiritual resurrection" (ἡ ἀνάστασις πνευματικῆ). This *mode* of resurrection "swallows up" (ὠμῆκ = καταπίνειν: "destroys" or, better, "denies" (cf. 1 Cor. 15:54 and our notes to 45.14,19) two other modes of resurrection: the ἀνάστασις ψυχικῆ and the ἀνάστασις σαρκικῆ (so, also, Krause, *Die Gnosis*, 2.85). The terminology is assuredly inspired, in part, by 1 Cor 15:42-46,54. However, whereas Paul applies the adjectives to the *type of resurrection body*, our author uses them of the *mode of resurrection*. In so doing, he implicitly denies the views of those who maintain the sole survival of the immortal "soul" (e.g., representatives of Middle Platonism, such as Celsus in Origen's *Con. Cels.* 2.55-70; 5.14; or Porphyry, *fr.* 34 and 92), as well as those who would affirm resurrection of the crudely literal "flesh" (e.g., representatives of the Great Church, like Athenagoras, *Res.*, or Tertullian, *De res. mort.*). Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 267) also finds such a double denial in 45.39-46.2. Cf., with our author's denial of the "fleshly resurrection," *Testim. Truth* 36.29-37.5. (Contrast with this interpretation that of Layton [*Treatise*, 65-66, 71-73, 78, 82-84], who, in opposition to all other interpreters of the text, maintains that the author is a "Gnostic Platonist" who advocates the survival of the bare "mind" [νοῦς] =

“soul” [ψυχή] = “spirit” [πνεῦμα], as opposed to any type of “resurrection body.”) See, further, Peel, *The Epistle*, 48f., 74f., 112f., 148.

To be especially noted is the seemingly contradictory juxtaposition of the Greek (and Gnostic) view of an immediate, post-mortem ascension of the essential, spiritual “self” (so 45.28–39 could be understood) with this affirmation of the Judeo-Christian concept of “resurrection.” Such is indicative of the syncretistic era in which the author writes, with its attempts to fuse disparate traditions. Some scholars, notably, Schenke (*ZNW* 59 [1968] 126; *OLZ* 60 [1965] 472) and his disciple, Tröger (*Gnosis und Neues Testament*, [Berlin, 1973] 29f., and *TLZ* 101 [1976] 928) maintain that the resulting synthesis is badly effected. While viewed from the perspective either of the orthodox Judeo-Christian tradition or of typical Gnostic teaching, this may be true. Viewed from the author’s own perspective, however, it is not difficult to discern that he has arrived at an understanding that is both comprehensible and satisfying to him, and, presumably, his pupil. The primary task of exegesis here is to try, sympathetically, to understand the author’s own teaching.

The concept of a “spiritual resurrection” appears in Valentinian texts, as *ed. pr.* (29) have shown: *Exc. Theod.* 7.5, “and therefore, the Lord (during his earthly life), having made the dead whom he raised (e.g., Lazarus or the widow’s son) an image of the spiritual resurrection (εἰκόνα τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιήσας τοὺς νεκροὺς οὓς ἤγειρεν), raised them not so that their flesh was incorruptible, but as if they were going to die again.” Elsewhere (*De res. mort.* 24.4–6), Tertullian combats Valentinians who seem to be claiming a resurrection experience in the here and now as the “*spiritalem... resurrectionem*.” Interestingly, Tertullian in the same text (54.1) reports that these same heretics take Paul’s phrase in 2 Cor 5:4 “‘that the mortal thing’ — that is, the flesh — ‘may be *swallowed up* (*devoretur*) by life” as “indicating destruction — of the flesh, of course (*devorationem quoque ad perditionem scilicet carnis adripiunt*).” Cf., further, the view of the Naassene Gnostics as reported by Hippolytus (*Ref.* 5.8.23–24): “‘the dead will come forth from the sepulchres,’ i.e., from the earthly bodies, being regenerated as spiritual beings, not carnal (πνευματικοί, οὐ σαρκικοί). This is the resurrection which takes place through the gates of heaven. All who do not enter through this remain dead.”

46.3–8 *but if there is one who does not believe* (ἐμῆπιστεύε ἐν),

he does not have the (capacity to be) persuaded (πειθεῖν). For it is the domain (τόπος) of faith (πίστις), my son, and not that which belongs to the (art of) persuasion (πειθεῖν) — the dead shall arise!: In 46.3-4 we accept the *ed. pr.* (30) emendation of ε<ΝΗΡ>ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ. (Cf. the use of the auxiliary ρ before ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ in 46.8 and 20.) However, as Layton has shown (*Treatise*, 150), ρ- is omitted before ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ in 46.11-12 and 15. Thus, the emendation ε<Ν>ΗΡΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ seems equally possible.

The larger context (46.3-24) makes clear the author's contrast of "faith" (πίστις) with the philosophical art of "persuasion" (τὸ πείθεῖν, ἢ πεισμονή) or logical demonstration. The independent clause in 46.7-8 provides, almost as an afterthought (so Layton, *Treatise*, 150), the object of such "belief," viz., resurrection of the dead. For the author, "faith" is acceptance of the reality of Christ's resurrection from the dead (45.14-46.4, 14-17, 20) and trust that believers participate in that same reality (cf. 46.8-13). To "have faith," as 46.20-21 shows, is to be immortal. Yet, regrettably, only the Elect few have such "faith" (44.8-10).

The NT also expresses the futility of trying to 'persuade' men about the truth of the resurrection: Luke 16:31; cf. 2 Cor 5:7; Acts 17:32. Ignatius, *Rom.* 3.3, proclaims: "Christianity is not the work of persuasiveness (οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον), but of greatness, when it is hated by the world." See, further, Justin, *Dial.* (chs. 5 and 7), who is fond of emphasizing the superiority of "faith" over the "reason" of the philosophers. See, further, Martin, *Numen* 20 [1973] 30ff.

As *ed. pr.* (29-30) point out, a similar contrast between "faith" (of the pneumatic Elect) and "persuasion" is manifest in Valentinian Gnosticism. Heracleon, commenting on John 4:46ff. (in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60) argues that the soul is not intrinsically immortal but can be "swallowed up" in salvation and states: "Unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe' (John 4:48) is properly spoken to such a person as had the nature to be persuaded (φύσιν ἔχον καὶ . . . πείθεσθαι) through works and through sense perception, not to believe a word." Elsewhere (*Exc. Theod.* 56.3), "faith" (πίστις) is linked with the psychics and is opposed to unbelief and corruption. See, further, Haardt, *Kairos NF* 12 [1970] 249-250.

Layton (*Treatise*, 67f.) suggests that in this passage, the author, who is through and through a Platonist, makes an effort to "sound traditional" by using the term πίστις in a Christian manner. However, Platonic tradition taught that reasoning was far more important

than “faith” in achieving the soul’s ultimate good. We must follow, instead, the view of Martin (*Numen* 20 [1973] 32, cf. 29ff.) who finds in this passage some further polemic against Sophistic philosophical thought (a Sophism interlaced with Platonic thought).

Use of the qualitative A² form **μαααγτ** in 46.7–8 clarifies that “the dead” (or, literally, “the one/he who is dead”) is in the permanent state resulting from dying (cf. 45.34–35). The qualification is important in clarifying the author’s view that at least the *full* realization of resurrection entails the experience of dying (contrast the views of Layton, *Treatise*, 68). The theme that believers who have died shall be raised recalls a NT emphasis; cf. John 6:40; 11:25–26; 1 Thess 4:14.

46.8–13 *There is one who believes... because of our faith*: Difficulties posed by the Coptic here have led to several suggestions regarding translation and interpretation. Barns (*JTS* [1964] 165) suggests an exchange of the sequence **αλλα... αγω** to **αγω... αλλα** in line 10 (“And he will arise, but let not the philosopher...”); the insertion of two omissions of **<χε> ουρεακτο ἴμαα <πε>** in line 12 (“<that> <it> is a return of himself...”); and **αλλα** (“but”) for **αγω** (“and”) in line 13. While rather extensive surgery, such suggestions do, in our opinion, make clearer the sense of the passage.

In turn, Layton (*Treatise*, 19; and “Vision,” 203, n. 59) finds in 46.8–9 an example of an “emotionally neutral” question posed by an imaginary interlocutor, an example of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe style. If so, it becomes less certain that reference is being made to a particular believing philosopher. We, by contrast, take 46.8–9 as a declarative statement and think the author has a known individual in mind. There were, of course, many Christian philosophers in the early church who did embrace belief in the resurrection (e.g., Justin, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria), though no specific identification can be made on the basis of the author’s vague comment.

Further, several scholars maintain that the phrase, “and (that) because of our faith” (46.13), is not — as we, *ed. pr.* (9,53,63), and Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 146) have understood it — a parenthetical comment that serves to conclude the statement in 46.10–13. Rather, they take it as the introduction to the following sentence: “And what concerns our faith, indeed, we have known the Son of Man.” Supporting this translation are: Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 476; *ZNW* 59 [1968] 125); Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 929); Haardt (*Kairos NF*

[1969] 3 and n. 10); Martin (*The Epistle*). Layton (*Treatise*, 19a), on the other hand, thinks the phrase is part of an incomplete sentence. The passage is problematic, but the postpositive γάρ in 46.14 and the simple connective αὐτῶ in 46.13 lead us to prefer taking it as a parenthetical and summary remark, like that found in 46.7-8.

The meaning of these lines seems to be that, even among the philosophers, whose practice it is to persuade by logical argumentation (τὸ πείθειν), there is one who will experience resurrection because he is a believing Christian (46.8-10). This unidentified philosopher stands in contrast to the "philosophers of this world" who falsely conclude that they possess the rational means for effecting a return to their pre-existent state, their intrinsic immortality (46.10-13). These philosophers are deluded, for the resurrection, as the author remarks in passing (46.13), is a matter of our faith (πίστις). Contrast the art of philosophical "persuasion" mentioned in 46.3-7.

That there was much mockery displayed among early pagan philosophers toward the resurrection is shown by comments of Tertullian (*De res. mort.* 1, *passim*) and Celsus in Origen (*Con. Cels.* 5.14). Like others in the early Church (so van Unnik, *JEH* 15 [1964] 147f.), our author's reply is to emphasize the key role of πίστις, a rather remarkable emphasis for a Gnostic (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1). This πίστις is both Christocentric and eschatologically oriented (so Peretto, *Aug.* 18 [1978] 65).

46.14-17 "... we have known ([α]ζῆν̄κοϋν̄) the Son of Man, and we have believed that he arose from among the dead": Having stated that conviction regarding the truth of the spiritual resurrection is a matter of faith (46.13), the author summarizes the content of that faith. First, it is "knowledge." Yet, unlike typically Gnostic thought (so Bultmann, *TDNT* 1.693f.), our author never indicates that central to such γνῶσις is apprehension of a transcendent Deity. Rather, the main object of such "knowing" is the "Truth" (44.1-3; 45.3-11; 46.30-32), the proclamation of the resurrection in the Gospel. Moreover, this "knowing" (κοϋν̄ = γινώσκειν) is less that which is revealed as a gift than that which results from "thought" originating in the "mind" (= νοῦς) (46.22; 47.29; 48.10). Through such "knowledge" one attains eschatological "Rest" in the present (44.1-3), as in the future (46.30-32). But, secondly, equally important, to have such "faith" (πίστις) is to "believe in" Christ's resurrection (45.14-46.4, 14-17, 20) and thereby to already have immortality in one's present life (46.20-24).

Cf., with this seemingly balanced emphasis on *γνώσις* and *πίστις*, John 17:8; 1 Thess 4:13-14; *Ap. Jas.* 14.8-10; and, more remotely, Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.9.45.

On the title "Son of Man" in our treatise, see the note to 44.25-26.

The confession, "we believe that he (Christ) rose from among the dead" (46.16-17), sounds surprisingly orthodox (cf. Matt 17:22-23; 20:18-19; Mark 9:31; 10:33-34; Luke 9:22) for an author who elsewhere seems to adhere to an implicitly docetic Christology (*Treat. Res.* 44.21-36; 45.12-13, 16-21). Contrast, for example, efforts to qualify such an assertion in Irenaeus' report of Cerinthus' teaching (*Haer.* 1.26.4): "But at last Christ departed from Jesus, and ... then Jesus suffered and rose again, while Christ remained impassible (*ἀπαθῆ*), inasmuch as he was a spiritual being"; in Hippolytus' report on Basilides' teaching (*Ref.* 7.27.11); as well as in statements in *Gos. Phil.* 56.15-20; and *Melch.* 5.7-11.

46.18-20 "He became the destruction of death, as he is a great one in whom they believe": This seems to be a direct quote, perhaps echoing an early Christological confession. (Martin, *VC* [1973] 280, however, finds here an epiphoric parallel typical of the diatribe style.) Our translation takes the *ⲁⲓⲥ* in line 19 as a consecutive conjunction denoting result = "that." This seems the understanding reflected in the translations of Till, Zandee, Wilson (*ed. pr.*, 53, 63), Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.88), Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1975] 157). Others, however, take the *ⲁⲓⲥ* to be adverbial, introducing a new, comparative sentence, taking 46.21 as a concluding clause in this sentence.

With the description of Christ as "the destruction of death," one might compare 2 Tim 1:10; Heb 2:14-15. Even closer to our text are Melito of Sardis, *Hom. Pas.* 66; 102, *ὁ καταλύσας τὸν θάνατον*; and *Exc. Theod.* 61.7 (so *ed. pr.*, 31), "For, when the body died and death seized it, the Savior sent forth the ray of power which had come upon him and destroyed death (*ἀπόλεσε . . . τὸν θάνατον*) and raised up the mortal body which had put off passion."

On the Christological designation "great one," cf. *Act. Thom.* 119, "... Jesus the Messiah will not forsake thee, ... the Great will not forsake thee for His greatness sake;" and the *Man. Ps.* 52.9.

46.21 *Great (ⲁⲓⲥⲛⲁⲧ)* are those who believe: Since *ⲛⲁⲧ* is otherwise unknown in Coptic, three suggestions have been proposed as to its possible meaning: (1) Zandee (*ed. pr.*, 32) suggested reading *ⲛⲁⲧ-*

<ΜΟΥ> ("the immortal ones"), an emendation adopted by Schenke (*ZNW* 59 [1968] 125), Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 157), and, originally, by Peel (*Epistle*, 78). (2) Kasser (*Compléments*, 38a), after conceding that the word is unknown, stated that ΝΑΤ may be a substantive derived from ΑΙΑΙ (Crum 1a), and proposed it be read in parallel with the preceding phrase: "Even as it is a Great One who is believed in, great are those who believe." (3) An increasing number of scholars, however, have accepted Barns' emendation (*JTS* 15 [1964] 165) of ΝΑΤ to ΝΑΘ (= Σ ΝΟΘ, "great"), with Haardt (*Kairos* 11 [1969] 3, n. 11) strengthening this conclusion by showing that a similar scribal error was made in line 32 on this same page where the Θ of ΘΕ was made by altering an originally written Τ. Cf. Peel (*Gnosis und Auferstehung*, 87), Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.88, n. 14), Layton (*Treatise*, 21, 152), Martin (*Numen* 20 [1973] 25, n. 32), and Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 929).

Layton (*Treatise*, 71ff.) interprets 46.19-21, in conjunction with 46.22-24, as meaning that just as the divine Christ is the "great and imperishable object" of believers' thoughts, so, too, are the minds which think those thoughts "great and imperishable." "Only that which is divine" (viz., the νοῦς) "can know the divine," a concept found in Seneca (*NQ* I praef. 12; Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 2.8.68; *CH* 13.22). While concurring that 46.22-24 does refer to an inner, essential principle found in the Elect which pre-existed before becoming incarnate (46.38-47.6) and which survives physical death, we rather hold that the honorific appellation "great" in 46.21 is applied to believers derivatively, and not to their νοῦς specifically. That is, just as Christ is "great" because of his destruction of death, so is that one "great" who believes, and thus shares in, the victory of the Resurrected One.

46.22-24 *The thought (ΠΜΕΥΕ)...the mind (νοῦς) of those who have known him shall not perish*: This assertion grants a glimpse into the author's dualistic anthropology. On the one hand, there is an external, visible "body" composed of "outward members" (47.17-20) and a "flesh," taken on when the pre-existent Elect ones became incarnate (44.13-15, 47.4-6). This earthly "flesh" is abandoned at death (47.6-8). On the other hand, there is an inner, incorruptible nature in the believer, the essential "self" (= νοῦς) and its "thought" (ΜΕΥΕ = ἐννοια) (46.22-24), which seems encompassed by "living

[members]" which preserve something of an individual's identity (47.38-48.2).

As we originally pointed out (Peel, *Epistle*, 114, n. 25), and as Layton (*Treatise*, 71-72) has elaborated, the notion of the *νοῦς* as a pre-existent entity that has entered into man "from without," that is "divine and akin to God," and that survives imperishable after death of the human organism may owe something to Aristotle (*Gen. An.* 736b 28; 744b 21; *An.* I.4, 408b 29f.; *Eth. Nic.* 1177a 15; *Cael.* 279b 20; 281b 25; *Phys.* 203b 8; *Meta.* 1070a 25-26). However, our author's view of the *νοῦς* differs from Aristotle's in that he does seem to suggest it retains some personal characteristics (*Treat. Res.* 47.38-48.2; 48.3-13; contrast Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1178a 2; 1178a 6). Moreover, for *Treat. Res.* the "mind's" survival over death is contingent on "knowledge of the Son of Man" and "belief in" his resurrection from the dead (46.3-8, 13-20), a distinctly Christian twist! Finally, unlike Aristotle, our author's theological concerns lead him to be concerned with such things as deliverance of the essential self (or *νοῦς*) from the body of flesh (47.17-20, 33-36), and with the goal of resurrected existence in another world (46.30-31; 44.30-33, the ἀποκατάστασις). On Aristotle's lack of such concerns, see E. Rhode, *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality Among the Greeks* [8th ed.; London, 1925] 496f.

The compatibility of our author's view with Valentinian Gnostic teaching regarding the pre-existent pneumatic self which receives a saving "knowledge" and ultimately reascends to the Pleroma is argued by Haardt (*Kairos* 12 [1970] 247) and Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 172). The latter suggests as the background for such a view the Valentinian myth of the fallen Sophia who implants pneumatic seeds in material bodies through the unwitting instrumentality of the Demiurge (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.6; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7.39). *Ed. pr.* compare Heraclion's comment on John 4:28, "The 'water-jug' (of the woman of Samaria, type of the pneumatic) which can receive life (ζωῆς) is the condition and thought (διάθεσις καὶ ἐννοία) of the power which is with the Savior" (fr. 27, Origen, *In Joh.* 13.31).

46.25-34 Even though he has argued earlier (46.3-20) that faith in and knowledge of the Son of Man's triumph over death is the basis of the believer's confidence in his own resurrection, in these lines the author seeks to root that confidence in a doctrine of election. The

pneumatics (elect) possess an immortal "mind" (νοῦς, 46.22–24). "For this reason" (45.25, εἵνεπε περὶ = διὰ τοῦτο) they must be saved. Such election took place at the "beginning" (ψαρπ̄ = ἀρχή in 46.27; cf. 44.33–34), i.e., prior to the cosmos' beginning. The election is double, with some being destined to the "foolishness" of those lacking γνῶσις, while others are elected to the "wisdom" of those possessing γνῶσις. Elsewhere, we learn that Christ, "the Solution," made manifest who the Elect are (45.4–13), and He "embraces" (cares for? guards?) them until their death.

46.25–26 ... *elected* (τῆς αἰτῆς = ἐκλεκτός) *to salvation* (ποῦξει = ἡ σωτηρία) *and redemption* (πρωτε = ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις): With the expression "elected to salvation," cf. 1 Thess 5:9; 2 Thess 2:13b; and, less closely, 1 Pet 1:3–5. Elsewhere in *Treat. Res.* (44.8–10) it seems that only the "few" are chosen to participate in resurrection. Cf. Heracleon's comments regarding the small number of elect "pneumatics" in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.44 (cited in *ed. pr.*, 32). The term "redemption" (ἀπολύτρωσις), in turn, while seemingly inspired by Pauline literature (Rom 3:24; 8:23; Eph 1:7; Col 1:14), has, for our author, nothing to do with freedom from the bondage of sin. Rather, both "salvation" and "redemption" express the Gnostic eschatological hope, the "Restoration" (ἀποκατάστασις, 44.30–33) of Elect pneumatics to their pre-existent, Pleromatic state.

46.27 *we are predestined* (εαροῦταψ̄ = προορίζειν) *from the beginning*: The declaration has a Pauline ring: cf. Rom 8:29–30a; Eph 1:4–14. Similarly, see Ignatius, *Eph.*, Praef., "Ignatius... to the Church, ... blessed with greatness by the fullness of God the Father, predestined from eternity (τῇ προωρισμένην πρὸ αἰώνων) for abiding and unchangeable glory." As pointed out in *ed. pr.* (32), Valentinus himself (according to Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.12.89,1) speaks, like our author, of the predestination of the elect pneumatics: "From the very beginning (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) you are immortal (ἀθανατοί) and children of eternal life (τέκνα ζωῆς ἐστε αἰωνίας)..." They call themselves, according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.4, the "perfect, and the elect seed (τελείους... καὶ σπέρματα ἐκλογῆς)"; and Theodotus says of them (*Exc. Theod.* 41.1–2) "The superior seeds... came forth as offspring (τέκνα)... Therefore, the Church is properly said to have been chosen before the foundation of the world (πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου... ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκλελέχθαι). Indeed, they say, we were reckoned together and manifested in the beginning (ἐν ἀρχῇ τοίνυν συνελο-

γίσθημεν . . . καὶ ἐφανερώθημεν).” Cf. *Gos. Truth* 21.18-25. The term “beginning” (ϠΑΡΠ̄ = ἀρχή) seems to be a *terminus technicus* referring to the perfect, pre-existent state of the Pleroma, the time of absolute beginning. Cf. *Gos. Phil.* 55.19-20; *Tri. Trac.* 62.16-22; 88.4-6.

46.28-32 The distinction between the “foolish” and the “wise,” here used to describe the respective destinies of believers and non-believers, is probably influenced by Jewish Wisdom literature. Cf. *Sir* 22:2; *Wis* 3:12; 4:9; and, following a suggestion of van Unnik (*JEH* 15 [1964] 166), *Matt* 25:1-13. Elsewhere (*Ap. John* 26.12-27,30), we find a similar but more developed Gnostic view of the respective destinies of the elect and the non-elect.

“Ignorance” of “lack of knowledge” as descriptive of the state of condemnation of the non-elect (46.29) is also mentioned by Heracleon (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.28): “For this nature (ἡ φύσις) is not of the truth, but of the opposite to the truth, of error and ignorance (ἐκ πλάνης καὶ ἀγνοίας). Therefore, he can neither stand in truth nor have truth in himself; he has falsehood (τὸ ψεῦδος) as his own by his own nature . . . since he originated from error and falsity.” Cf., further, *Act. Thom.* 59; *CH* 1.20,27; 7.2; 10.8b; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2.

46.31 We accept the emendation of *ed. pr.*: Ϡ̄Μ<N>ΖΗΤ.

46.31-32 *knowledge of the Truth*: This seems the equivalent of knowing Christ and his resurrection (cf. 46.14-17). Cf. the Johannine emphasis that he who possesses Christ knows the truth (γινώσκει τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 8:32; 2 John 1), stands in the truth (John 8:44), is of the truth (John 18:37; cf. 1 John 2:21; 3:19). As *ed. pr.* point out (p. 33), the heretics (Valentinians) combatted by Tertullian (*De res. mort.* 22.1) identify present attainment of the resurrection with possession of knowledge of the Truth: “we must pay attention to those Scriptures which forbid us, after the manner of these soulful men (*animales*), let me not call them spiritual (*spiritales*), . . . to assume that the resurrection is already present in the acknowledgement of the Truth (*hic iam in veritatis agnitione praesumi*).”

46.32-34 Cf. the translations of Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.89) and Haardt (*Kairos NF* 11 [1969] 3): “Die Wahrheit aber, die man bewahrt, kann nicht (mehr) aufgegeben (oder, preisgeben) werden, noch ist sie (je) entstanden.” As Bazán has argued (*RevistB* 38 [1976]

172), to know the saving Truth means to become that very Truth, i.e., to participate in it, to have the resurrection already. Thus, having it, one cannot lose it. This seems the view held by the heretics combatted by Tertullian (*De res. mort.* 22.1 cited *supra*); and cf. *Treat. Res.* 47.26-30; 49.16-30. *Ed. pr.* (33) compare the comment of Heracleon (fr. 17, in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10): "For the grace and the gift of our Saviour (= eternal life) are not to be taken away, or consumed, or corrupted by the one who shares in them." Consider, further, the opposite characteristics of the one who "has the Truth" from those described in Origen, *In Joh.* 20.28 (cited in connection with *Treat. Res.* 46.29).

46.34 The form $\text{N}\epsilon\sigma\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ in this line could be taken as the pret., or, as Barns argues (*JTS NS* 15 [1964] 165), as the neg. fut. III, expressing wish (= $\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$). We prefer reading it as the former: "nor has it been (abandoned)."

46.35-47.1 Parallelism found in 76.35-39, the abrupt manner in which this passage interrupts the flow of the argument, and the knowledge of Valentinian cosmogony presupposed have led us to the conclusion that these lines are actually a fragment of a Valentinian hymn incorporated by the author (Peel, *The Epistle*, 81-82, a view adopted by Martin, *The Epistle*, 177-197; Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 173, n. 27; and, apparently, given his special identification of these lines, by Haardt, *Kairos NF* 11 [1969] 3). The teaching reflected seems to be that creation of the cosmos was the result of some disruption in the Pleroma, the divine totality constituted by the highest, unknown God (never explicitly mentioned), His emanated aeons, and the Elect (cf. *Treat. Res.* 44.30-33). It may be that the clause, "small is that which broke loose" (46.36-37), is an allusion to the fall of the aeon Sophia (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; 1.5.4; Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 15), which, through the ignorant work of her abortive child, the Demiurge (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1; *Exc. Theod.* 47.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.36,2-4), led to fabrication of the world. However, it must be acknowledged that neither Sophia nor the Demiurge are explicitly mentioned anywhere in the text. The "All" in 46.38, the Elect pneumatics (cf. 47.26-27), are protected and guaranteed salvation (= "encompassed") by the Savior (46.39; cf. 45.32-34). This "All" pre-existed in the heavenly Pleroma before its existence in this cosmic sphere (46.39-47.1). Unlike other entities in the material cosmos, however, the "All" belongs to the realm of Being, rather than to that of "be-

coming" (46.39-47.1), a Platonic distinction (Plato, *Crat.* 400; cf. Layton, *Treatise*, 75).

46.35 With *ed. pr.* (46.33), we emend the text to ΠΕ <Π>ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑ to make it parallel to the following noun clause in lines 36-37. The Pleroma seems to be a whole "compounded of several parts" (= σύνστημα, LSJ 1735b), at least some of which seem to include the Savior, the aeons "Spirit" and "Truth," and the pre-existent Elect "All" (*Treat. Res.* 45.11-13; 46.38; 44.34-36; 47.26-27).

46.36-38 The "strength" (= greatness, power) of the Pleroma is contrasted with the "smallness" (κοῦει = μικρόν) of the world (κόσμος). Perhaps the latter term underscores the insignificance of the world (so Layton, *Treatise*, 75; cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.4.2,27; and 5.8.9,30). Elsewhere in the text (*Treat. Res.* 49.4-5), it is indicated that a "deficiency" (ὑστέρημα = πῦτα) has resulted, probably from the breaking off of the cosmos from the Pleroma. A cosmological dualism between the two spheres is clearly implied.

46.38-39 *The All is what is encompassed* (ΠΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ ᾄ-μα): Though Puech and Quispel (*ed. pr.*, 33) seem to suggest that the "All" (πτηρᾱ = τὸ Ὀλον) may be the Pleroma (so also Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 173), a majority of commentators, influenced by the specific equation made in 47.26-27, interpret it as a reference to only a part of the Pleroma, i.e., the totality of the Elect. Supporting this view are Peel (*Epistle*, 81, 108), Zandee (*NTT* 16 [1968] 368), Schenke *OLZ* 60 [1965] 473-474), Peretto (*Aug.* 18 [1978] 65), Haardt (*Kairos NF* 11 [1969] 3, n. 12), and Layton (*Treatise*, 76).

Reference to the All being "encompassed" (= τὸ ἐχώμενον) seems a circumlocutive way of expressing that the pneumatic Elect are enfolded by, included within the Ultimate. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.4.2, "they (the Valentinians) confess that the Father of all contains all ('*continere omnia Patrem omnium*'), and there is nothing whatever outside of the Pleroma;" Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.3. Such "encompassing" assures salvation for these Elect. Cf. *Treat. Res.* 45.32-34 for expression of the Christ's similar role vis-à-vis the Elect during earthly life.

46.39-47.1 As noted previously, the statement is to be interpreted in light of the Platonic distinction between Being and becoming. The Elect "All," though incarnate for the period of earthly life, has not thereby become subject to change and decay like the cosmos. Rather,

they pre-existed, in essence share in the Divine Being, and are thus immortal. Cf. *Gos. Phil.* 64.10-12, "The Lord said, 'Blessed is he who is before he came into being. For he who is, has been, and shall be,'" and *Gos. Thom.* 19, so *ed. pr.*, 33-34.

47.1-30 As Layton (*Treatise*, 133) has correctly observed, this passage introduces a series of special problems to be dealt with through 48.30. The first concerns whether the "flesh" (σάρξ) will be retained in the resurrected state. Scholarly opinion regarding the author's solution is sharply divided. A minority (Martin, *Treatise*, 202ff.; Layton, *Treatise*, 77ff., 124f.; "Vision," 205f.) hold that here the author attacks and rejects the "traditional belief in the resurrection of the flesh," maintaining rather that only the immortal νοῦς (= ψυχή) in primeval nakedness ascends to the Pleroma. A majority of commentators, however, find in 47.1-30 a peculiarly Gnostic, yet real adoption and adaptation of the Pauline notion of a "spiritual" resurrection body. Affirmed is more than simply the escape of the bare πνεῦμα or νοῦς, or even the preservation of a crudely literal "flesh." Rather, a "transformed," "new," "imperishable" "flesh" seems affirmed for the resurrection-ascension of believers (cf. *Treat. Res.* 48.34-49.2). Supporting this interpretation are *ed. pr.* 34; Zandee, *NTT* 16 (1962) 370ff.; van Unnik, *JEH* 15 (1964) 150f.; Daniélou, *VC* 18 (1964) 188; Peel, *Epistle*, 82ff., 146ff.; Peel, *NT* 12 (1970) 159ff.; Haenchen, *Gnomon* 36 (1964) 362; Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 (1970) 258f.; Gaffron, *Die Zeit Jesu*, 244ff.; Krause, *Die Gnosis*, 2.86; Peretto, *Aug* 18 (1978) 64; Ménard, "La notion," 110ff.; Ménard, "L'Épître à Rhéginos," 190f.; Tröger, "Die Bedeutung," 29.

47.1-3 A scolding tone familiar from the Cynic-Stoic diatribe is detected in these lines by Layton (*Treatise*, 121). Even so, the scolding is personalized, being addressed to the pupil, Rhéginos, and not to an imaginary interlocutor. In *Treat. Res.*, "to doubt" (διστάζειν, 47.2; 47.36-48.3) is the opposite of "having faith (or believing) in" the resurrection. Cf. a similar usage of διστάζειν vis-à-vis the resurrection in Matt 28:16-17.

47.4-8 Layton (*Treatise*, 77) believes these lines must be attributed to an imaginary interlocutor: "(Someone might ask): 'Even though you became incarnate only when you entered this world'". Even more interpretative is another of his translations (p. 23): "Now (you might

wrongly suppose), granted you did not pre-exist in flesh . . .” Finding such to be a tendentious effort to make the text conform to orthodox Middle Platonic teaching about survival of the bare soul after death, we rather hold (with a majority of commentators) that 47.4-8 is addressed straightforwardly by the author to Rheginos. The meaning seems clear: whereas the Elect “All” (like the Savior himself, 44.13-17) lacked “flesh” in their pre-existent state, they became incarnate upon entering the life-sphere of this world (lines 5-6). After death (cf. 45.40-46.2), resurrection-ascension in a “spiritual” flesh of some type was to be expected. As Haardt has underscored (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 262,267), two different types of flesh are referred to: first, the flesh of incarnate life in this cosmos (47.4-6), that which is inferior to the “spirit” (= *νοῦς*) which animates it. Such flesh is definitely excluded from the “spiritual resurrection,” being corruptible and subject to change. So, 45.39-46.2, “The spiritual (*πνευματικῆ*) resurrection . . . swallows up the psychic (*ψυχικῆ*), as well as the fleshly (*σαρκικῆ*) (resurrection).” Second, however, is a spiritual “flesh” which is received upon reascent into the heavenly sphere (the Aeon). It is this “spiritual flesh” which is referred to in 47.6-8.

Our author, like some other Valentinians, supports his claim to be an exponent of “true” Christian faith by affirming belief in the acquisition of some type of resurrection “flesh” to be assumed by the Elect in his immediate, *post mortem* ascent to the Pleroma. *Ed. pr.* (34) and Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 262f.) cite the following Valentinian parallels: Ps.-Tertullian (*Adv. omn. haer.* 4.5), “*Resurrectionem huius carnis negat* (viz., Valentinus), *sed alterius*,” Epiphanius (*Pan.* 31.7.6), “They (viz., the Valentinians) deny the resurrection of the dead (*τὴν δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν*), saying something fabulous and silly, namely, that it is not this body which is raised, but another from out of it, that which they call ‘pneumatic’ (*πνευματικόν*);” Tertullian (*De res. mort.* 19.6), “by this device (equating resurrection with that which by faith is put on in baptism) they (viz., the Valentinians) are accustomed often enough to trick our people (viz., orthodox Christians), pretending they too admit the resurrection of the flesh (*ipsi resurrectionem carnis admittant*);” Origen (*De princ.* 2.10.1): “They (viz., the Valentinians) also admit that there is a resurrection of the dead (*resurrectio sit mortuorum*).” It is possible, as Gaffron (*Die Zeit Jesu*, 225f.) argues, that such efforts to distinguish between the earthly, corruptible “flesh” and the radically different, resurrection-ascension “flesh” result from Valentinian exegesis of such NT texts as 1

Cor 15:44,51-54; Phil 3:20c-21. Cf., further, *Gos. Phil.* 68.32-37; 56.26-57.19.

47.8 On "ascent into the Aeon" by the Elect, cf., *Ap. John* CG II,r:1.24-29; *CH* 1.24; *Mand. PB* 54; 379 (Drower, 302); *Man. Ps.* 65.13-14; 81.20-21; 87.3-4.

47.9-10 As Layton emphasizes (*Treatise*, 79; "Vision," 205, n. 66), the assertion that there exists within man something "better than flesh" which is its "cause of life" ($\delta \alpha \dot{\iota} \tau \iota \omicron \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \delta \zeta \eta \nu$) echoes Platonic teaching about the soul. Cf., e.g., Plato, *Crat.* 399D: $\psi \upsilon \chi \eta \nu \dots \delta \tau \alpha \nu \pi \alpha \rho \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma \acute{\omega} \mu \alpha \tau \iota, \alpha \dot{\iota} \tau \iota \omicron \nu \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \tau \omicron \upsilon \delta \zeta \eta \nu$; Albinus, *Didas.* 25. However, in that the term $\psi \upsilon \chi \eta$ never appears elsewhere in *Treat. Res.*, one must conclude that the author here adapts the Platonic view to his own use. That which is the "cause of life" (resurrection "life," that is, $\omega \omega \nu \bar{\alpha} = \zeta \omega \eta$, see Peel, *Epistle*, 114-116) for the transformed "flesh" of the Elect (not the corruptible, bound-for-destruction "flesh" of $\beta \acute{\iota} \omicron \varsigma$: 47.4-6) seems to be an inner spiritual principle or self. In 46.24, this principle is called the $\nu \omicron \upsilon \delta$; in 48.1-3, it is described as the "living members" existing within the external, visible members of the earthly body.

Such an amalgam of Platonic and Christian themes is not unknown among the Early Fathers. Origen, for example, believed in the immortality and spirituality of the $\psi \upsilon \chi \eta$, but he was simultaneously determined to defend Christian teaching about resurrection against pagan jibes (cf. *Con. Cels.* 5.14; 8.49). He taught that when the body is at the service of the soul, it is "psychic," but when the soul is united with God and becomes one spirit with Him, the self-same body becomes spiritual, bodily nature being capable of acquiring the qualities appropriate to its condition (so *De princ.* 3.6.6; cf. *Con. Cels.* 3.41f.; 4.56f.). A "seminal reason" ($\lambda \acute{\omicron} \gamma \omicron \varsigma \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho \mu \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$) inherent in each body enables it to be resuscitated, but with different qualities, exactly as the Apostle says about the seed buried in the earth (so *De princ.* 2.10.3; cf. *Con. Cels.* 5.18f.; 7.32; 8.49). With such blending of traditions in the atmosphere of the times, it is not hard to fathom how the author of *Treat. Res.* can intermingle Platonic notions of an immortal, inner principle with Christian ideas of resurrection in a spiritual "flesh."

47.11-13 Although Layton (*Treatise*, 79f.) believes that these lines

echo a traditional Christian-Platonist argument for the resurrection of the flesh, viz., that, since the body with its flesh must have been created with the purposive end of being alive, it would be an offense to the all-powerful Creator God to conclude that there might come a time (viz., the resurrection) when the body or flesh would cease to exist (so Athenagoras, *Res.* 12:7-8). We, on the contrary, hold that the context (47.11,14) indicates the author is only talking about the possession of flesh during life "in this world." Roughly paraphrased, the meaning seems to be: the "flesh" that was created ("came into being") to clothe the inner, spiritual man is uniquely that man's. It co-exists with the spiritual $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in this world, giving personal identity to the Elect. This "flesh" is thus uniquely the possession of the individual. Yet, as 47.14-19 indicates, life in such "flesh" is incomplete and deficient. Thus, possession only of such corruptible flesh leaves the Elect "lacking" (47.14-15). Resurrection will show up its deficiency and inadequacy. This seems but another rejection (cf. 45.39-46.2) of the contention of some Christians that there will be a crudely literal identity between the "flesh" of the earthly body and the "flesh" of the resurrection body, as for example, in *Barn.* 21.1; 2 *Clem.* 9.1-4 (cf., further, R. M. Grant, "The Resurrection of the Body," *JR* 28 [1948] 124-130, 188-208; and C. K. Barrett, "Immortality and Resurrection," *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, 190, 6th Series, 34 [1965] 96-102.

47.14-20 Layton (*Treatise*, 23; "Vision," 206) translates lines 14-19 as three questions: "Nay, rather while you are here, what is it that you are alienated from? Is this what you have endeavored to learn about: the bodily envelope? i.e., old age? And are you — the real you — mere corruption?" We, rather, as all other translators, believe that the question in 47.14-15 is not just rhetorical (as Layton, *Treatise*, 121, n. 1), but is a real one posed by the pupil, Rheginos (47.15-16), and answered in 47.17-20 (cf. Barns, *JTS* 15 [1964] 165). At issue is the question of the difference between the fleshly body which came into being to clothe and give identity to the individual (47.11-13), and the form to be assumed in the resurrected state. The former is said to be a condition of "lack" ($\psi\lambda\alpha\tau$, 47.15), elsewhere called a state of "deficiency" ($\psi\tau\alpha$, 49.5-6).

The observation about Rheginos' *striving to learn* in 47.14-15 bespeaks a personal relationship between author/teacher and pupil which antedates our text. Other passages unintelligible apart from the

presupposition of such a prior relationship include references to Rheginos and his comrades as "my sons" (43.25; 46.6; 47.3; 50.2-3), the passing allusion to a known but unnamed "philosopher" (46.8-10), and the parenthetical rebuke of Rheginos for his "lack of exercise" (49.28-30).

The afterbirth (χόριον) of the body (σῶμα) is old age, and you exist in corruption: The interesting metaphor is drawn from medical and biological literature, e.g., Hippocrates, *De natura puerum* 16; Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 562a6; Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 3.150 (Layton, *Treatise*, 81). There, χόριον denotes the placenta and membranes in which the foetus is contained prior to birth. In the *post partum* state they are left behind. For our author, "old age" is the χόριον of the "body," i.e., the change and degeneration associated with advanced age underscores the transitoriness and uselessness of this fleshly body. It, in contrast to the resurrected form, has no permanence but is reduced to corruption (47.18-19). It is possible that Platonic thought and use of this metaphor lies behind our author's expression, though he adapts it to his own use. For example, Porphyry (*Ad Marcellam* 32), as van Unnik (*JEH* 15 [1964] 166) and Quispel (*VC* 22 [1968] 14-15) have indicated, uses the expression: εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα οὕτω σοι συνηρηθῆσαι φυλάξεις ὡς τοῖς ἐμβρύοις κυφορομένοις τὸ χόριον . . . οὐ γνώση σεαυτὴν . . . ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ χόριον συγγενόμενον καὶ ἡ καλάμη τοῦ σίτου, τελεωθέντα δὲ ρίπτεται ἐκάτερα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ συναρτώμενον τῇ ψυχῇ σπαρείσῃ σῶμα οὐ μέρος ἀνθρώπου. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν γαστρὶ γένηται, προυφάνθη τὸ χόριον, ἵνα δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς γένηται, συνεχέζυγη τὸ σῶμα. Origen (*Con. Cels.* 7.32) uses the metaphor in speaking of the type of body the soul must have in the resurrected state, even as it needed previous bodies: "We know that the soul, which is immaterial and invincible in its nature exists in no material place without having a body suited to the nature of that place. Accordingly, it at one time puts off one body which was necessary before, but which is no longer adequate in its changed state, and it exchanges it for a second; and, at another time, it assumes another in addition to the former, which is needed as a better covering, suited to the purer ethereal regions of heaven. When it (the soul) comes into the world at birth, it casts off the afterbirth (χόριον) which it needed in the womb; and, before doing this, it puts on another body suited for its life on earth." Origen's notion of a body needed by the naked soul is closer to our author's conception than Porphyry's, which is more purely Platonic.

To cite "old age" (ΜΝΤΖΛΛΟ = γῆρας) in 47.18 as evidence of the earthly body's destined uselessness is, as *ed. pr.* (35) have indicated, to recall a Valentinian argument combatted by Tertullian in *De res. mort.* 45.1: "Yet, once more, by another piece of blindness, they stumble up against two men, the old man and the new (cf. Eph 4:21-24), when the Apostle enjoins us to put off the old man, who is being corrupted through the lusts of deceit, and to be renewed in the spirit of the mind and to put on the new man who, according to God, has been created in the righteousness and religion of the truth: so, here also, by making a distinction into two substances (*ad duas substantias distinguendo*), assigning 'oldness' to flesh (*vetustatem ad carnem*), and 'newness' to the soul (*novitatem ad animam*), they may claim perpetual corruption for the old man, that is, the flesh (*corruptionem perpetuam veteri defendant, id est carni*)." The last line certainly parallels the assertion in 47.18-19, "you exist in corruption (ΤΕΚΟ)." ("Corruption," in turn, is frequently used of the state of the dead in the NT: Acts 2:27,31; 13:34-37; Gal 6:8; 1 Cor 15:50.

47.19-24. This passage, especially 47.23-24, is a *crux interpretationis*. Beginning with the first editors (*ed. pr.*, 11,35,54,64), virtually all subsequent translators and commentators have interpreted the passage as meaning that the pupil, Rheginos, as exemplary of the Elect, will experience "absence" (ἀπουσία) from the aged, corruptible body at death as a "gain" (ζηγ = κέρδος). The survival of the spiritual self in its new, resurrected body, i.e., the "better part," is assured. The "worse," i.e., the bound-for-death body, is scheduled for decay and abandonment ("diminution," 47.23), "... but there is grace for it" (47.24). The "it" is either the corruptible body (the "worse") or the spiritual self which separates from this body. Of these alternatives, the first might mean that "grace" is given the "worse" in that the identifiable, personal characteristics of the old body are somehow retained in the new, resurrected body (cf. the *post mortem* forms of Elijah and Moses mentioned in *Treat. Res.* 48.6-11). This interpretation has been suggested by Zandee in *ed. pr.* (35) and developed especially by Peel, (*Epistle*, 43, 84-85, 144ff.); Gaffron, *Die Zeit Jesu*, 225-226; Ménard, "L'Épître à Rhèginos," 192f.; and Peretto, *Aug.* 18 [1978] 64. The second interpretation of the pronoun "it" in 47.24 holds that what is meant is that there is blessing ("grace") for the elect spiritual "self," a view that requires an emendation of the text: ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΖΜΑΤ

πε ἀρα. This understanding has been proposed by *ed. pr.* (35) and by Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 262.

By contrast, Layton (*Treatise*, 86ff., 155f.; and “Vision,” 191–194) holds all the preceding interpretation rests upon an “outright mistranslation” of 47.27. Instead, he proposes that the passage utilizes “fiscal imagery – coinage, the language of banks and commerce” — to show that bodily death will be a definite advantage for the Superior Element in man (his soul or intellect). In Layton’s words: it is “as though the body were money that the intellect should squander, that bodily bankruptcy were a profit for the soul” (“Vision,” 191). This is consistent with Layton’s effort to demonstrate that by “resurrection”, the Christian-Platonist author means nothing more than the survival of the immortal soul (νοῦς) and total abandonment of all personally identifiable form. Accordingly, Layton translates 47.19–26:

You can count ἀπουσία, ‘absence’ – or in another sense of that word, ‘deficit’ — as your profit. For, you will not pay back the Superior Element (the soul or intellect) when you depart. The Inferior Element (body) takes a loss. But what it (the body) owes is gratitude. Nothing then buys us back, or ransoms us, while we are here.

47.19–22 The references to “absence” and “departure” as a “gain” may be indebted, as Zandee was first to indicate (*NTT* 16 [1962] 371), to Phil 1:21,23: “For me...to die is gain (ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος = ΟΥΖΗΥ)... My desire is to depart (εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι) and be with Christ, for that is far better.” Cf. 2 Cor 5:8–9. The equation, “death” = “gain,” however, is also found in Plato, *Apol.* 40D, as Layton (*Treatise*, 86) has indicated: “Death would be an admirable profit (θαυμάσιον κέρδος).” And, death is called a “departure” elsewhere in early literature: e.g., 2 *Clem.* 8:3; *Act. Thom.* 21; 165; *Mand. PB* 8; 17; 30; 31; 48; *CH* 10.16.

Layton’s contention (*Treatise*, 121, n. 1) that ἀπουσία in 47.20 is really a “pun” which carries a *double entendre* (“absence,” as well as “shortage” or “deficit,” a *terminus technicus* from the accounting system of ancient mints) seems, in our opinion, possible but strained. He contends that the fiscal image should be understood as: “the body is, as it were, a coin, and, while the intellect is still incarnate in an aging body, the body’s decay — its failure to meet the standard, the degree of its ἀπουσία — is for the mind a κέρδος, a ‘profit’” (“Vision,”

193). Such an interpretation seems to render a fairly simple and straightforward statement unduly complex.

47.22-24 Though all commentators agree that the “worse” is the corruptible, decaying body, sharp differences, as noted above, surround the interpretation of the phrase in line 24: **ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΝ ΖΜΑΤ ΑΡΑϞ**. Layton (*Treatise*, 155f.; “Vision,” 193f.) contends (a) that to translate **ΑΡΑϞ** as “pour lui,” “Gnade dafür,” or “for it” (so *ed. pr.*, 11, 54, 64) is wrong. Such a translation would require the Coptic **ΝΕϞ** instead of **ΑΡΑϞ**. He also maintains (b) that the expression **ΟΥΝ ... ΑΡΑ-** is a “common expression from the language of commerce and credit, (used) to express the existence of a debt” (= **ΧΑΡΙΝ ΔΕΦΕΙΛΕΙ**). Consequently, 47.24 must mean: “But what it (the body) owes is gratitude” (i.e., to the soul’s presence for having given the body life at all) (*Treatise*, 88).

In response, we must reply that **Α-**, **ΑΡΑ-** is a commonly used form for the dative (see Crum 50a-b), and to dismiss translating it with “for it” as “certainly disallowed by the Coptic evidence” (“Vision,” 194) is arbitrary and unsubstantiated. Further, to maintain that **ΟΥΝ ... ΑΡΑ-** can only be a translation of **ΧΑΡΙΝ ΔΕΦΕΙΛΕΙ** is unduly restrictive, does not take into account *all* the evidence provided by Wilmet’s *Concordance du Nouveau Testament* on which Layton bases his argument, and categorically eliminates all alternative renderings. To repeat, we maintain the statement can be understood as straightforwardly translated as meaning either that there is “thanks” that the corruptible body does decay, or that there is “grace” for the spiritual self freed by the body’s decay, or that there is “grace” for the deposed body in that not it, but its identifiable personal characteristics are maintained. See Peel, *Epistle*, 85, 146-149; and cf. Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 12.5-8.

47.24-30 Having admitted that life in an aging, corruptible body is the common experience of mankind; the author now draws the logical conclusion from that admission: nothing exempts (redeems) even the Elect from somatic existence in this decaying world. Yet, such existence is more tolerable when it is recalled that the “All,” the totality of the Elect (cf. 46.38) has already been saved. Their possession of the divine, pre-existent spirit or self, guarantees their salvation. To understand this is to have the assurance of true knowledge.

Though *ed. pr.* (35) suggest possibly emending **ϞΩΤ** to **ϞΩΤ<Ε>**

in 47.25, Kasser (*Compléments*, 57a) has shown that this is an absolute form found elsewhere in Achmimic. See, further, Layton, *Treatise*, 156.

For our author's understanding of $\text{NIM}\alpha$ (literally, "these places" = "world") in 47.26, see the note to 45.17–23. Also, on the meaning of "All" ($\text{ΠΤΗΡ}\bar{\alpha} = \tau\acute{o} \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\nu$) in 47.26 as the sum of the Elect ones, see the note to 46.38–39; and Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 257, n. 53. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 31.1; *PS* 50 (p. 89.27–90.7); 86 (p. 191.4–15); 86 (p. 196.20–24).

In 47.28–29, we accept the emendation $\chi\text{IN}\langle\text{N}\rangle \alpha\text{RH}\chi\text{Q} \text{Z}\alpha \Theta\alpha\text{H}$. Cf. *ed. pr.* (36) and the discussion in Layton, *Treatise*, 157. Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.89, n. 17) has caught the meaning: "D.h. 'völlig'." We reject the argument of Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 476) that $\text{Z}\epsilon\epsilon\text{C}$ in lines 29–30 is a combination of the noun $\text{Z}\epsilon$ ("way"), plus the AF form of the adjective ϵC ("old"). With Till (*ed. pr.*, 36), and now Layton (*Treatise*, 157), we take it as a variant form of the noun $\text{Z}\epsilon$ ("way" or "manner").

Cf., with the author's injunctions to correct thought, Phil 4:8, "Finally, brethren, whatever is true . . . think about these things"; 1 Cor 14:20, "Brethren, do not be children in your thinking; . . . in thinking be mature!"

47.30–36 Having argued that the Elect are saved, even though they will not achieve the final *state* of salvation until departure of the spiritual self from the corruptible body (47.19–29), the author now takes up another special problem, one that echoes a more orthodox view of resurrection. If, at death, one leaves the body behind, how can one immediately experience the final state of salvation? According to commonly-held views in the Great Church, the body (albeit in a transformed state) must participate in the resurrection — though only at the End-time, the Parousia. Following Paul, this was the view taught by Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, etc. Cf., as *ed. pr.* (36) have suggested, Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 22.1 "we must pay attention to those Scriptures also which forbid us, after the manner of those soulful men — let me not call them spiritual . . . to assume that the resurrection . . . ensues immediately upon departure from this life (*ab excessu statim vitae vindicari*)."

It is to Layton's credit (*Treatise*, 90) that he has detected in 47.32–33 the ironical and sarcastic use of the *figura etymologica*. This rhetorical device is used to make the "enquiry" or "investigation" pursued

by some seem very scientific and complex, indeed (cf. Aristotle, *An. post.* 90a5-6, *συμβαίνει ἄρα ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ζητήσεσι ζητεῖν ἢ εἰ ἔστι...*). In fact, the answer is simple.

The idea of the departure of "self" from the *σῶμα* is a common Gnostic theme. Cf. *Gos. Phil.* 56.24-57.22; *U* 11; *CH, Asclep.* 1.8; 3.27; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.5; 27.3; *Ap. John* CG II,1:21.8-14; 25.19-26.4. Cf., on the theme of questioning about the state of the resurrection, 1 Cor 15:35-37.

47.36-48.3 The author answers the question raised in 47.30-36 by affirming that immediate "salvation" (i.e., resurrection) does occur at death, because it is only the inward, spiritual members (= the inner man) that are raised. The external, visible members of the earthly corpse (47.17-19,22-23; 47.38-39) are left behind.

In 47.37 there appears again the injunction against "doubting" the resurrection's occurrence. Cf. the note to 47.1-3.

We leave untranslated the $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{c} \bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ at the beginning of 47.38 (as do the various translators in *ed. pr.* 10,54,64), being unconvinced by the three conjectures offered by various scholars and noting that none of the three leads to any different understanding of 47.38-48.3 from what we have suggested above. The three are as follows.

First, Barns (*JTS* NS 15 [1964] 165), endorsing an emendation rejected by *ed. pr.* (36), suggests reading $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\omega \bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ ("how?", "in what way?"). Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.89) and Layton (*Treatise*, 25, 90-91, 158, 181) both accept this, the latter translating: "How can it be, then, that the visible dead members will not be saved? For the living members that exist in them would arise." The sense of the passage, in Layton's interpretative paraphrase (p. 90) is: "Will the dead visible members (body) be preserved, then, when the interior members (mind) within them arise? No, for the resurrection is the uncovering of that which, as it were, has arisen." Our problems with this are that (a) the emendation presupposes an aural confusion between \bar{c} and ω , an unlikely error if the scribe was visually copying the manuscript. Also, no such confusion exists in the identical interrogative phrase $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\omega \bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ in 44.12-13. (b) As *ed. pr.* have stated (36-37), a further question in 47.38-48.1 leaves the question raised in 47.33-36 unanswered and seems to put the author in a self-contradictory position of maintaining some resurrection of the corruptible body. (c) To accept the emendation requires considerable interpretative paraphrase, à la Layton, more, in our view than is justified by the text.

A *second* conjecture is offered by Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 476), who argues that $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ is actually the preposition $\bar{\nu}$ -, plus the adjective $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ ("old") modifying $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ ("the ways"). Thus, he translates $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ as: "In den alten Weisen." The problem with this is that the noun $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ when used adverbially in the attributive position, normally occurs, as Haardt has indicated, in the singular.

Third, Haardt himself (*Kairos* NF 12 [1969] 4, n. 16) suggests editing the opening words differently: $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ is seen as a hitherto unattested A² form of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ ("snare," "fetter," Crum 744a). He translates: "In den alten Fesseln (befindlich), werden die lebenden (*scil.* sichtbaren) Glieder, ..." While possible, the suggestion remains conjectural until evidence of such an A² form of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ can be produced. Also, since the Coptic translator of *Treat. Res.* has used $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ in 49.14–15 for $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\iota$, why would he have used a different word here? To conclude, all three conjectures create more problems than they solve.

47.38–48.1 *the visible members* ($\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta$) *which are dead shall not be saved*: *Ed. pr.* (36) recall that Valentinians held that the material body cannot be saved: *Exc. Theod.* 56.3, "Now the spiritual is saved by nature, ... but the material perishes by nature"; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1, "There being thus three kinds of substances, they (the Valentinians) declare of all that is material ($\tau\omicron$ $\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\upsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$) ... that it must of necessity perish inasmuch as it is incapable of receiving any *afflatus* of incorruption"; 1.7.5, "the material goes, as a matter of course, into corruption; Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 45.1, "they (the Valentinians) may claim perpetual corruption for ... the flesh." Many Gnostics found justification for such a position in 1 Cor 15:50, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, nor the corruptible the incorruptible." See, further, Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul*, 85. Clearly, though, many Christians adhered to the contrary view, that the body, in transformed state, would be resurrected. Such Christians are scornfully rejected by Celsus (Origen, *Con. Cels.* 5.14), but supported by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 80.8).

The restoration by Zandee and Puech of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon[\lambda\omicron\sigma]$ in 48.1 (*ed. pr.*, 37) is supported by the immediate context in which a contrast is clearly implied between the "visible, dead members" in 47.38–48.1, and something "inward" and "living" in 48.2–3. This restoration is accepted by Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.89), Haardt (*Kairos* NF 11 [1969] 4; NF 12 [1970] 257); Barns (*JTS* NS 15 [1964] 165), Peretto (*Aug.* 18

[1978] 64, n. 10), Layton (*Treatise*, 24,91), and Peel (*Epistle*, 88). The meaning seems clear: only the "living," spiritual members within, i.e., the "inner man" imprisoned in the body, will be saved and arise at death (so Peel, *Treatise*, 88f.; Peretto, *Aug.* 18 [1978] 68; Gaffron, *Die Zeit Jesu*, 225, n. 17; Haardt, *Kairos* 12 [1970] 243f.).

Layton (*Treatise*, 91) contends that the metaphor used in 48.1-2, the "living members . . . within," is inspired by Plato's view that the soul has "parts." In *Phil.* 14E and *Laws* 795E, for example, the μέλη καὶ μέρη of the ψυχή are mentioned. Plato seems to refer to these parts collectively as the "inner man" (*Rep.* 9.589A, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος). This conception apparently influenced Philo, who speaks of the "mind" as ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος (*Plant.* 42) and as ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ (*Congr.* 97), and the *Hermetica* (1.18,21, ὁ ἐννοῦς ἄνθρωπος). Whereas Layton holds this tradition to be the adequate explanation of our author's usage, we must not discount the influence of some Platonically (dualistically) interpreted passages in Paul, e.g., the contrast between ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν in 2 Cor 4:16; Eph 3:16; cf. also Rom 7:21-25. Certainly, the conception of an "inner," spiritual man is met with frequently in Gnostic texts: Epiphanius (*Pan.* 31.7.5f.) reports that Valentinians believe the pneumatics will be saved with another, inward, "spiritual" body; Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.21.5) says of the Marcosians that they "continue to redeem persons even up to the moment of death by placing on their heads oil and water, . . . using at the same time, . . . invocations, that . . . their inner man (*interior ipsorum homo*) may ascend on high in an invisible manner (*invisibilia*), as if their body (*corpus*) were left among the created things in this world, while their soul (*anima*) is sent forward to the Demiurge"; *Apoc. Pet.* (83.6-8) tells of the "incorporeal body" of the spiritual Christ which is released from the earthly body; Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.6.1) reports also that Ptolemaeus teaches of a "spiritual man" within. Certainly, other early Christian and Gnostic texts retain, with great explicitness, the Platonic tradition of psychic μέλη: e.g., (as cited by Layton, *Treatise*, 91) Ps.-Macarius, *Homiliae* 7.8; *Act. Thom.* 27 (Bonnet, 142,19); *Od. Sol.* 21.3; *Ps.* 32 (p. 52.14-15); 43 (p. 7-8).

48.3-13 Here, again, a major difference in interpretation separates virtually all other commentators on this passage, including the writer, from Layton. Though all agree that 48.3-4 is a rhetorical question, here agreement stops. The majority hold that the question provides an opportunity for the author to respond to another objection to the res-

urrection, viz., that it is an "illusion," a fantasy entertained by the deluded (48.10-12). The author begins with a direct rejoinder (48.4-6): the resurrection is always/continually the disclosure of those who/the things which (=living, inner members) have arisen (48.4-6). Proof of this is supplied by the "Gospel" itself, wherein the appearance of Elijah and Moses at the Transfiguration is undeniable testimony to the rising of identifiable selves (48.6-10). The proof thus given, the author reaffirms his teaching in the face of opposition: the resurrection is no illusion; it is reality (48.12-13)! Supporting the main lines of this interpretation are *ed. pr.*, 38; Martin, *Epistle*, 22off.; Leipoldt, *TLZ* 90 [1965] 519; Orbe, *Greg.* 46 [1965] 172-174; Peretto, *Aug.* 18 [1978] 72; Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 263; Krause, *Die Gnosis*, 2.90; Ménard, "L'Épître à Rhèginos," 191; Bazán, *RevistB* 37 [1975] 174.

In contrast, Layton holds that in 48.3-13 the author, making use of the *exemplum* (a favorite closing device in the Cynic-Stoic diatribe) of the Transfiguration, argues that it is false to conclude from the appearance of Jesus (sic!), Elias, and Moses that the resurrection entails a transformation of the fleshly body into a kind of Homeric shade, a "ghost-like form." "Our author rejects... out of hand" the Pauline conception of a "mysterious resurrection of flesh or body," of which the appearances of Elijah and Moses might *mistakenly* be held to be paradigmatic (Layton, "Vision," 207-208). In Layton's words (*Treatise*, 95), the author combats again the objection dealt with in 47.38-48.1: "if Elias and Moses, though dead, could be *seen* in their resurrected state, will not the body, vivified by the superior part, continue to exist at least as a kind of shade, visible but insubstantial — a *φάντασμα*?" The author's reply is "no," for illusions *seen* belong to the visible world of flux and decay (48.21-27); the resurrected superior part is of "the invisible realm of eternal being, to which mind inherently belongs."

Our difficulties with Layton's interpretation are: (1) He insists that *ἄρα* (= *γάρ*), introducing the example of the Transfiguration (48.7), is used "elliptically, stating the basis of a possible or hypothetical objection" (*Treatise*, 176); however, all other commentators hold this *γάρ* to be used in an explanatory way, amplifying the meaning of 48.5-6. (2) Nowhere else in *Treat. Res.* does the author cite or allude to the Scriptures in order to combat even inferentially, a false interpretation of them. They are always cited as a final court of appeal (cf. 45.24-28; 43.32-34; 45.36-37; and Peel, *Treatise*, 18-21). The same

is true in 48.6-11. (3) If, as Layton maintains, the appearance of Elijah and Moses is mistakenly construed by some as implying the preservation in the resurrected state of a type of body, then it would be interesting to know exactly what, from the author's perspective, their appearance really does mean? We maintain that their appearance demonstrates that at death (and only Elijah and Moses are examples of those who presumably have died, as Jesus has not yet been crucified), when the corruptible, decaying body is abandoned, the spiritual inner man ("the living, inner μέλη," 48.1-2) is made manifest. This inner man, however, retains his personal identity: this is why Elijah and Moses can be recognized! Certainly, Layton is correct that the author does not affirm the Pauline idea of the transformation of the earthly body into a spiritual body, but neither does he affirm the Platonic survival of the bare soul/mind devoid of all personal and identifiable traits!

48.4-6 *It is always* (ἄνωγειω νιμ) *the disclosure* (πρωλῖ αβαλ) *of those who/the things which have risen*: The Coptic πρωλῖ αβαλ may translate τὸ ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἡ ἀποκάλυψις, or τὸ ἐμφαίνειν, ἡ ἐμφάνεια. Layton suggests (*Treatise*, 92) that it denotes the uncovering of something, the disclosure of what is hidden within. Though they lack the same dualistic connotation, there are several NT texts in which the recognizable, spiritual forms of the resurrected are mentioned as being "made manifest": Acts 10:40; Rom 8:19; Col 3:4; cf. *I Clem.* 50.3-4.

The adverbial phrase ἄνωγειω νιμ is used in the Sahidic OT to translate διαπαντός (= "always") in the LXX. We understand it to mean that resurrection never entails less than the disclosure of the spiritual, inner man. Cf. Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 264 and Tröger, *TLZ* 101 [1976] 929.

Martin (*VC* 27 [1973] 281) translates ἄνωγειω νιμ in 48.5-6 as dative: "It (viz., the resurrection) is the revelation in every time to those who have arisen." This, he maintains, avoids the grammatical impossibility of taking the initial ν- as a genitive particle (so Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #113), clarifies the author's equation of resurrection with revelation received by the pneumatic *hic et nunc*, and understands the γάρ in 48.7 as introducing a new thought. The argument has received no support, however, because the ἄνωγειω νιμ marks the object rather than the genitive, and the context makes clear that the γάρ is an explanatory connective. Martin's con-

sistent effort to interpret *Treat. Res.* as having no interest in the *post-mortem* state of the Elect whatsoever influences his interpretation here.

48.7-10 *Gospel that Elijah appeared and Moses with him*: This is clearly an allusion to the Transfiguration account of the Synoptics. With *ed. pr.* (38), Ménard ("L'Épître à Rhèginos," 191), and Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 263), we share the view that the order of appearance (Elijah, then Moses) suggests Mark 9:2-8 as the probable source for the allusion (though parallels clearly exist in Matt 17:1-8 and Luke 9:28-36). (See Peel, *Epistle*, 19, 89-90, for the relevant Coptic NT texts; and cf. the identical sequences in allusions to the Transfiguration in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3.22 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42, scholia 17). Contrary to Layton (*Treatise*, 94), we do not think this allusion is "meant as a *reference* to the entire pericope," nor do we agree that $\text{N}\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\epsilon\text{q}$ (= "with him," 48.10) "presumably refers to Jesus." Rather, we hold that just as in other Valentinian NT exegesis (so C. Barth, *Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der Valentinianischen Gnosis*, [Leipzig, 1911] 15, 21, 27, 30), our author has focused on the details of a NT passage to the neglect of their larger context. Here, his focus on Elijah and Moses draws attention to a feature of the story not emphasized in its original setting, viz., that their appearance in the account proves the non-illusory character of the resurrection. Further, the resumptive pronoun -q in $\text{N}\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\epsilon\text{q}$ has as its antecedent Elijah. Jesus is mentioned nowhere at all in these lines nor even on the preceding page!

Two intriguing parallels to 48.6-10 have been suggested by *ed. pr.* 38. In Tertullian (*De res. mort.* 55.1-10), we find polemic against Valentinians who maintain that resurrection necessarily entails the destruction (*perditio*) of the corruptible flesh and the change (*demutatio*) of the person into a new form, a view remarkably similar to our author's! Tertullian, rather, maintains that the change takes place without destruction, so that the "very same flesh will rise again" (a view rejected by our author, 47.4-8; 47.19-24). To prove his point, he says of the Transfiguration (55.10):

"The Lord also, at his withdrawal into the mountain, exchanged his garments for light (*vestimenta luce mutaverat*), yet preserved the features recognizable by Peter: and there also Moses and Elijah, the one in

reflection of the flesh he had not yet received back again (*in imagine carnis nondum receptae*), the other in the verity of our flesh which had not yet died (*in veritate nondum defunctae*), taught us that for all that, the outward appearance of the body (*habitudinem corporis*) continues the same even in glory.”

Cf. also Origen’s treatment of the Transfiguration (*In Psalmos* 1.5). Unlike Tertullian, he does seem to condone the notion of destruction of the old flesh, which retains its identifiable features. In this regard, he is closer to the author of *Treat. Res.*:

“It was so with the form (τὸ . . . εἶδος) of Jesus, Moses, and Elijah; it did not become in the Transfiguration wholly different from what it was (οὐχ ἕτερον ἐν τῇ μεταμορφώσει, παρ’ ὃ ἦν). Do not then take it amiss if anyone say that the original substance will not one day remain the same, since consideration shows . . . that even now the original substance cannot continue for a couple of days. The statement deserves notice that, ‘It is sown of one kind, it is raised of another. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body’ (1 Cor 15:44). And the Apostle adds at the close, practically making it clear to us that we shall one day put off earthly characteristics, though the form in the resurrection will be retained (σχεδὸν τὴν γήϊνην ποιότητα ἡμᾶς διδάσκων ἀποτίθεσθαι μέλλειν ἡμᾶς, τοῦ εἶδους σωζομένου κατὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν): ‘This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit incorruption’ (1 Cor 15:50). Possibly the insistence of the saints is a little unnecessary (i.e., perhaps, that the body must be kept in the resurrection!*), since God will one day claim the flesh. But it will be flesh no more, though the features that once existed in the flesh will remain the same features in the spiritual body (σὰρξ δὲ οὐκέτι, ἀλλ’ ὕπερ ποτὲ ἐχαρακτηρίζετο ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τοῦτο χαρακτηρισθήσεται ἐν τῷ πνευματικῷ σώματι).”

(*The text here is corrupt, and the comment in parentheses is our own probable interpretation of Origen’s meaning. If it be correct,

Origen seems to combat a view similar to that rejected in *Treat. Res.* 47.11–23.)

48.12–13 According to Martin (*VC* 27 [1973] 280), the antithesis found in these lines is another example of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe style.

48.13–30 Here the author reverses the objection levelled in 48.10–11. The “world” (κόσμος), that standard against which those skeptical of the resurrection measure its reality, is actually what is illusory! The resurrection is “truth” because the Savior, Jesus Christ, has brought it into being (48.13–19). Such a claim about the world calls for elaboration (48.20–21). How can it be said that the Elect (ΝΕΤΑΝΩ̅ in 48.21), who live and shall die in this world, live in an “illusion” (φαντασία or φανταστική, 48.21–23)? The answer offered, with examples from economic and political spheres, is that everything changes (48.24–27). Implied is the claim that divine realities, such as the Savior’s resurrection and the Elect’s inner man, do not! Having made his point, and not wishing to rail on in excess, the author reaffirms the claim with which he began in 48.10–11: “the world is an illusion!” (48.27–30).

48.15 *the world (κόσμος) is an illusion:* The assertion bespeaks an acosmic view distinctly Gnostic (cf. H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* [2nd ed.; Boston: Beacon, 1963] 250ff.). Certainly, the classical mind maintained a positive attitude. Plato, for example, though not considering the cosmos the highest Being itself, could call it the highest sensible being, “a god,” and “in very truth a living creature with soul and reason” (*Tim.* 30B; 34A). Stoic monism, in turn, completely identified the universe and God (so Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 2.11–14). Man was asked to identify the cause of the universe as his own, he being challenged to be a “cosmopolites.”

Our author, by contrast, seems to share the Gnostic perspective that the cosmos is a mistake, the erroneous fabrication of an ignorant Demiurge (cf. *Treat. Res.* 46.35–38), the prisonhouse for Elect pneumatics trapped in material bodies and in flux. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 2.3.2) combatted such a perspective, “To say that the world is a product of fall and ignorance is the greatest blasphemy.” Cf. also *Haer.* 1.5.1–6; 1.17.2. Clement of Alexandria states that Theodotus adhered to the same acosmism (*Exc. Theod.* 48.1). *Ed. pr.* (38–39) also compare *CH*, Stobaeus, fr. IIA.3–4, “All the things of earth, O Tat, are thus

not truth, but copies of the truth; and yet not all, but only a small number. The rest are falsehood, error, O Tat, illusions (*φαντασίας*), existing only as so many appearances, as images (*εἰκόνες*);” and *CH*, Stobaeus fr. IIA.7, “So, is there anything true on earth? — I (Hermes) think, and I say: ‘All are illusions and appearances (*φαντασίαι εἰσὶ καὶ δόξαι πάντα*)’”; and 10, “These things, then, are likewise not true in regard to themselves; how could they be true? For everything which is changed is false (*πάν γὰρ τὸ ἀλλοιούμενον ψεῦδός ἐστι*), since it does not remain in being (*ἐν ᾧ ἐστι*); and, since it passes from form to form, it presents to us continually new illusions (*φαντασίας*).” Cf. *Treat. Res.* 48.26-27.

48.16-19 *the resurrection which came into being through our Lord the Savior, Jesus Christ*: Allusions to Christ’s inauguration of the resurrection appear in Valentinian texts as well: *Gos. Truth* 20.23-21.1; *Exc. Theod.* 61.5-8. The basis for such assertions are assuredly NT texts such as 1 Cor 15:3-8 and Rom 6:5. Note especially that although the author maintains the Elect has a divine, immortal self (= *νοῦς*) that pre-existed and survives death, Christ’s resurrection is still claimed to be the *sine qua non* of resurrection for believers.

Punctuation of the Christological title, “our Lord the Savior, Jesus Christ,” with closest parallels in 2 Pet 1:11; 2:20; 3:18, differs among translators. Cf. Haardt (*Kairos*, NF 11 [1969] 4), “unseren Herrn, den Soter Jesus, den Christos;” and Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.85), “unseren Herrn, den Heiland Jesus Christus.” Layton (*Treatise*, 11,97) maintains that *χρηστός* (here, as in 43.37) is an adjective, not the proper name “Christ.” We, together with all other modern translators, render it as “Christ.” See our note to 43.36-37.

48.21-23 *now? Those who are living shall die. How do they live in an illusion?* Whereas we take the adverb *ἄρτι* (“now”) in line 21 to be the conclusion of the author’s interjectory question, Layton (*Treatise*, 97) understands it to be the first word of the following sentence: “Suddenly, the living are dying . . .” He thinks the author’s use of *ἄρτι* (= “now”) in 50.8 makes improbable the use of a second Coptic term (*ἄρτι*) with the same meaning in 48.21. Layton thus finds here an allusion to the “untimeliness of physical death,” an “exceedingly common lament in ancient Greek and Roman laments.” Certainly, such a rendering is possible and may be correct, though,

with all other translators, we prefer to retain the rendering "now," believing simply that $\tau\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ and $\uparrow\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ are synonyms.

The "living" ($\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$, 48.21-22; and $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$, 48.23) are the Elect. Cf. the note to 45.35. The verb $\omega\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma/\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ is always used in our text of them (cf. 47.10; 48.2). Thus, the statement means that the Elect, like the Savior (cf. 45.19; 45.24-26; 46.14-17), must experience bodily death (cf. 45.24-26; 45.34-35; 46.7-8; 47.33-36). Their "life," even though "saved" (47.26-27), does not exempt them from the corruption of old age (47.17-18). Since they inevitably share this fate, in what sense can it be said they exist "in an illusion" (48.23)? (Contrast Layton [*Treatise*, 97f.], who maintains that the term "living" actually refers to the physical, corruptible bodies, not to the Elect.) Yet, we concur with Layton's analysis of $\pi\omega\delta$ in 48.22 as an interrogative registering disbelief (*Treatise*, 159f.).

Cf., with the assertion that believers also must experience death, such NT texts as Rom 14:8; 1 Cor 15:21-22; 2 Cor 7:3; Phil 1:21; Heb 9:27.

48.24-27 *The rich have become poor... Everything is prone to change:* As Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 174f.) has indicated, the world of becoming, in contrast to the immutable and eternal Pleroma to which the Elect truly belong, is illusory in that in it everything changes continually, including those things usually adjudged more permanent. Martin (*Treatise*, 232) has argued that such a theme is classically Greek, tracing it to Aristotle's *Protrepticus* (59R) which emphasizes the transitoriness and vanity of things. Layton ("Vision," 202; *Treatise*, 98), in turn, would follow it back to the pre-Socratics, particularly Heraclitus. Cf. Plato, *Crat.* 402A, "Heraclitus says, you know that all things move and nothing remains still ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \chi\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$), and he likens the universe to the current of a river, saying that you cannot step twice into the same stream;" *Crat.* 411C, "the nature of things really is that nothing is at rest or stable, but everything is flowing and moving and always full of constant motion and always generation." Cf. also Diogenes Laertius 9.8 and *CH* 13.5.

Though 48.26-27 may echo the tradition of Heraclitus, we cannot overlook the use of the specific examples of change in the biblical and early Church tradition. On the loss of wealth, for example, see Ps 52:4; 1 Sam 2:7a; Prov 11:28a; Job 15:29; 27:19; Luke 1:53; 16:19-22; 1 Tim 6:17; Jas 1:9-11; 5:1-3. On the overthrow of kings, their loss of political power, cf. Sir 10:14, and Luke 1:52.

Two textual matters deserve comment. Following *ed. pr.* (39) we

emend $\text{N}\bar{\eta}\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota$ to $\text{N}\langle\bar{\rho}\rangle\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota$ in 48.25. Further, the verbal prefix $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon-$ in 48.26 contains a common misspelling for $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon-$.

48.27-30 After his brief illustrations of the flux of earthly existence, the author reiterates as demonstrated fact his earlier assertion (48.14-15), "the cosmos is an illusion!" In an aside (48.28-30), which Layton (*Treatise*, 98) has identified as the "rhetorical figure of $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\iota\omicron\rho\theta\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ " (i.e., the "excusing" of an unpleasant statement), the author indicates he has said enough on the subject. He wishes not to "rant about" or "slander" ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$) the world to excess. Cf. the use of this figure in Paul (Blass-Debrunner-Funk, 495.3); and in *CH* 13.13 and 22.

48.30-49.9 The adversative particle $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ indicates that the preceding demonstration (48.13-30) is regarded as a settled matter and forms a transition to a summary of the resurrection's true nature (48.30-49.9). Layton (*Treatise*, 100, 121, 133) has underscored the lyrical, metaphorical, and poetic style of 48.38-49.7, a style familiar from Plato and Plotinus in their climactic comments regarding matters of ultimate importance.

Three divisions of the section are discernible:

- (1) a triple definition of resurrection recapitulating earlier comments:
 - a) 48.34-35: the disclosure of what truly exists (cf. 48.4-6);
 - b) 48.35-36: the transformation of things (cf. 45.16-19);
 - c) 48.36-38: the transition into a new existence (cf. 45.19, 34-39);
- (2) a symbolical, lyrical statement regarding the entire process of salvation (48.38-49.7);
- (3) a concluding declaration that all this (perhaps, all the work of Christ) produces "the good" (49.8-9).

48.30-33 As opposed to the instability of the illusory cosmos, the resurrection is a truth that is secure, dependable, unalterable. Contrary to Layton (*Treatise*, 99), who argues that $\text{P}\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{z}\epsilon\ \text{A}\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ in 48.33 translates $\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and denotes "constancy . . . of the realm of being" (i.e., of the resurrection vs. the "becoming" of the cosmos), we maintain that, as in *Treat. Res.* 43.33, the verbal phrase echoes a common NT expression that means "to stand fast," "be unwavering" (cf. the use of $\alpha\text{z}\epsilon$ in Rom 11:20; 1 Cor 16:13; Phil 4:1 in the Sahidic NT). Weighing against Layton's argument is his inconsistency of translation (in 44.33 $\alpha\text{z}\epsilon\ \text{A}\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ is rendered "to stand within," *Treatise*, 11), as well as the lack of any evidence from other Coptic texts

that the substantized relative $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon \lambda\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ was ever used to translate $\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (see Crum 536b). For comparison with the expression *ed. pr.* (39) cite *Gos. Truth* 17.25–29, where the “established truth,” as opposed to the false creative work of “Error,” is said to be “immutable, imperturbable, perfect in beauty;” and *CH*, Stobaeus fr. IIA.12, “but you know truth to be something which lasts and is eternal.”

Following *ed. pr.* (39), we hold the second copula ($\pi\epsilon$) in 48.33 to be misplaced. It should have been written at the end of the line.

Twice (48.13 and 48.33) the author connects “resurrection” with the “truth.” As Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 249) points out, a similar connection is made by the Valentinians combatted by Tertullian: *De res. mort.* 22.1, “we must pay attention to those Scriptures also which forbid us, after the manner of those soulful men (*animales istos* = Valentinians) . . . to assume that the resurrection is already present in the acknowledgement of the truth (*iam in veritatis agnitione praesumi . . .*).”

48.34–35 *It is the revelation of what is:* That is, resurrection entails making manifest the immortal “mind” (46.24) and invisible inner “members” (48.1–3) of the personally-identifiable Elect (48.5–9). Though requiring a dualistic allegorical exegesis, it is conceivable that Valentinian exegesis could connect such “revelation” with eschatological hope on the basis of passages like Rom 8:19 and 1 Pet 1:3–5 (especially 5).

48.35–36 *the transformation ($\pi\omega\bar{\beta}\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) of things:* Just as the Savior was transformed into an “imperishable Aeon” prior to being “raised up” (45.17–19), so will all who experience resurrection with him. (Cf. our note to 45.17–23.) The similarity of resurrection experience between Savior and Elect bespeaks a consubstantiality of essence between the two (so Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 264). In agreement with *ed. pr.* (xxi and 39) and van Unnik (*JEH* 15 [1964] 151), we maintain this reference to “transformation” ($\pi\omega\bar{\beta}\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) echoes a key Pauline term descriptive of the “change” of the resurrection body: 1 Cor 15:51–52 - “ . . . we shall all be changed ($\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\eta\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ = Coptic NT: $\tau\bar{\eta}\nu\alpha\omega\iota\beta\epsilon$), in a moment, . . . at the last trumpet. For . . . the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed ($\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\eta\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ = $\tau\bar{\eta}\nu\alpha\omega\iota\beta\epsilon$).” (Note, also, that in the Coptic NT the same verb is used of the “transformation” of Christ in the Transfiguration: Mark 9:2c, “he was transfigured [$\lambda\alpha\omega\beta\tau\bar{\eta}$] before them.”)

Since our author's understanding of resurrection entails the freeing of the inner man ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ + invisible, immortal $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$) from the outer, decaying body, plus the taking on of a new resurrection "flesh" upon reascent into the heavenly Aeon (47.6-8), this must be what is meant by the "transformation." This obviously represents some interesting Valentinian reinterpretation of the Pauline concept.

Our interpretation again places us at odds with Layton (*Treatise*, 99) who maintains that $\pi\omega\beta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ in 48.35 refers to a "change of location," the believer, like Christ (45.17-19!), laying aside the perishing world in the spiritual resurrection and exchanging it for an imperishable, eternal realm. If this be correct, it makes 48.37-38 redundant. It also flies in the face of the evidence outlined in the preceding paragraph.

Cf. the eschatological "transformation" undergone by the Gnostic Elect in *Od. Sol.* 17.13-14; *Act. Thom.* 37; *CH* 10.7.

48.36-38 *a transition into newness* ($\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ $\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\alpha\gamma\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\upsilon\beta\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$): With this phrase the author seems to indicate that resurrection involves migration (= $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$) (so Layton, *Treatise*, 99) via ascent of the spiritual inner man into a new heavenly estate (cf. the reference to the Elect being "drawn to heaven" by the Savior in 45.34-39). "Newness" ($\alpha\gamma\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\upsilon\beta\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$ = $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$) seems to refer to this *post mortem* heavenly existence, though the author elsewhere (49.16-26) makes clear it is proleptically experienced in the present. Cf. the translations of Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.90), "ein Veränderung in eine neue Daseinsform;" Haardt (*Kairos*, NF 11 [1969] 5), "ein Übergang hin zu einem neuen Dasein;" and Leipoldt (*TLZ* 90 [1965] 519).

Though $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$ appears neither in the NT nor the Apostolic Fathers, its metaphorical use for the soul's *post mortem* transition does appear (as Layton, *Treatise*, 99 has shown) in *CH* 12.6; Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* 8.31; and with a prepositional phrase, as in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.10.56,7 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\tau\omicron\nu$; Athenagoras, *Res.* 12 $\tau\omicron\nu\omega\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omicron\nu\omega\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\tau\omicron\nu$; Methodius, *Res.* 1.48.1 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\tau\omicron\nu$. . . $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$. (See, further, van Unnik, *JEH* 15 [1964] 166.) In Valentinianism the expression also occurs, as shown by *ed. pr.* (39-40), in *Exc. Theod.* 77.1-2.

On the commonplace notion of "newness" ($\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$) to denote the redeemed state, cf. Rom 6:4 ($\zeta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\upsilon\beta\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\omega\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$); Ignatius,

Eph. 19.3; Origen, *In Joh.* 1.37 (42), 267; and a bit of the Naassene exegesis of the "Hymn to Attis" reported in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.8.22-24.

We must disagree with Layton (*Treatise*, 100) who states that the "change is new only if compared solely to earthly existence," since, as noted earlier, the resurrected Elect does possess a "new flesh" and personal identity not identical with his pre-existent state in the Pleroma. See Peel (*Epistle*, 153f.).

48.38-49.2 *For imperishability* (ΤΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ = ἀφθαρσία) *descends upon the perishable* (ΠΤΕΚΟ = τὸν φθάρτον): Martin (*VC* 27 [1973] 279f.) underscores the *parallelismus membrorum* found in 48.38-49.3, describing it as an example of the epiphoric parallelism common to the diatribe.

Virtually all commentators agree with *ed. pr.* (40) that in these lines we have an echo of 1 Cor 15:53-54: "For this perishable nature (τὸ φθαρτὸν = παῖ εψαφτακο) must put on the imperishable (ἀφθαρσίαν = ἄουμῆταττακο), and this mortal nature must put on immortality. When the perishable (τὸ φθαρτὸν = πτακο) puts on the imperishable (ἀφθαρσίαν = ουμῆταττακο), and the mortal puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying: 'Death is swallowed up (κατεπόθη = cf. ερωμῆκ in *Treat. Res.* 49.4) in victory!'" Given our interpretation of 47.6-8 and 47.22-24, we believe this is a reference to the heavenly, spiritual, resurrection "flesh" which replaces the corruptible, decaying flesh of this earthly body (cf. 2 Cor 5:2-4). For, if, as the author holds (47.38-48.3), the inner man is already imperishable, what else could it mean for him to declare the "imperishable descends on the perishable"? The Valentinian Heracleon, commenting on John 4:47, says something similar (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60): "The expression, 'he was about to die' refutes the doctrines of those who suppose the soul is immortal (ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν) . . . The soul is not immortal but only has a disposition toward salvation (ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσιν πρὸς σωτηρίαν); it is 'the perishable which puts on imperishability (τὸ ἐνδύμενον ἀφθαρσίαν φθαρτὸν), etc.'" (1 Cor 15:53-55). Cf., further, *Gos. Truth* 20.23,29-35; and *Od. Sol.* 15.8; 33.12.

In 49.1, we have accepted the reconstruction [CZETE] initially proposed in *ed. pr.* (40) and accepted by Barns (*JTS NS* 15 [1964] 165) as paralleled by the verb of motion in 49.2-3 and as filling well the available space. Note the scribal cancellation of the preposition ἀρηι by

means of dots written above and between the letters. A similar cancellation of a dittography $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ appears in *Gos. Phil.* 63.30.

49.2-4 *the light flows down upon the darkness, swallowing it up:* "Darkness" may be equated with "ignorance" or "death;" "light" with "knowledge" or "life." Cf., as *ed. pr.* (40) have suggested, *Gos. Truth* 24.34-25.19. Cf. also *Zostr.* 132.3-5 and *Trim. Prot.* 49.29-35. The imagery of "light" overcoming "darkness" also appears in Manichaean (*Ang. Rōs.* 6.63) and Mandaeen (*Mand. PB* 31,66,75,103) literature. The NT itself, of course, speaks of "light" as the element or Person of the Divine entering the "darkness" of this world for redemption: e.g., John 1:5-9; 1 John 2:8; Matt 4:16, etc.

49.4-5 *the Pleroma (πλήρωμα) fills up the deficiency:* The assertion is assuredly an allusion to the Valentinian doctrine of Pleromatic deficiency, i.e., the descent (fall) of pneumatics into the world of flesh and corruption resulted in a "Deficiency" ($\omega\tau\alpha = \upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$) in the fullness of the Godhead. Reascent of the Elect into the heavenly Pleroma will result in the "reconstitution" of this "Fullness." Cf., further, *ed. pr.* (40); and Zandee, "Gnostic Ideas on the Fall and Salvation," *Numen* 11 [1964] 37f. In the Ptolemaic system, "deficiency" in the Creation has arisen out of ignorance, and restoration of the "Pleroma" comes through "knowledge" according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.4 (cited by Haardt, *Kairos NF* 12 [1970] 264.) Cf. further *Gos. Truth* 21.8-21; 24.20-25.3; *Dial. Sav.* 139.14-18; and *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 134.17-21.

49.6-7 *the symbols and the images (= τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ ὁμοιώματα) of the resurrection:* The phrase seems descriptive of all the assertions made about the resurrection from 48.33 to 49.5 (contrary to Layton, *Treatise*, 101, who would exclude "Pleroma" and "deficiency" from the "symbols and images"). Martin (*Treatise*, 243) suggests comparison with *Gos. Phil.* 67.9-16, "Truth did not come into the world naked, but it came in types and images ($\bar{\nu}\tau\gamma\pi\omicron\varsigma \mu\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\zeta\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$). One will not receive truth in any other way. There is a rebirth and an image of rebirth... What is the resurrection? The image must rise again through the image...;" and 84.20-21, "The mysteries of truth are revealed, though, in type and image." Elsewhere (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.1), we find the Valentinian Ptolemy speaking of two divine emanations, "Monogenes" and "Aletheia," as $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma$.

49.8–9 *He* (ἄταϩ) (*Christ*) *it is who makes the good*: The personal pronoun ἄταϩ, because of its masculine gender, clearly does not have “the resurrection” in 49.7 as its antecedent. Thus, it could be translated “he” (= Christ, as we have argued elsewhere, *Epistle*, 95; cf. also Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 178), or “it” (= either “the Light” in 49.2 or “the Pleroma” in 49.4), or “this” (referring, as Layton, *Epistle*, 102, has argued, to all the facts narrated in 48.33–49.5). Martin (*Treatise*, 245) thinks it is an affirmation about Christ and connects it with the use of the title χρῆστος (“good one”) in 43.37, 48.19, 50.1 Cf. *Ap. John* CG II, r:4.3–7, “He (the Monad with whom the Son, Christ, is identical) is a... [life]-giving Life, a... goodness-giving Goodness, ...;” Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 1.6.4f.; and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.26.34.

49.9–36 In these lines, the author issues some final admonitions (49.9–16), offers an existential argument to demonstrate to Rheginos his present possession of the resurrection (49.16–24), and exhorts him thus to live as one already resurrected (49.25–26). The brevity and ambiguity of statements in the first of these sections (49.9–16) has led to two lines of interpretation. The first, advocated by a majority of interpreters (*ed. pr.*, Haardt, Ménard, Layton, Leipoldt, Krause, Bazán), finds here several allusions to such Valentinian Gnostic conceptions as partial “gnosis” vs. full “knowledge,” “unity” (ἕνωσις) of the Pleroma vs. “divisions” (μερισμοί) of the carnal condition, and the “bonds” (δεσμοί) of bodily and cosmic existence. The second, advocated originally by this author (Peel) and, in part, by Martin, finds in 49.9–16 the author-teacher’s warnings against the kind of half-truths dealt with previously (in 48.30–49.9) and against accommodation to those whose thought is attuned to this “fleshly” sphere (49.11–13). By avoiding their divisive views and entanglements (49.13–15), Rheginos will come to the realization that he already possesses the resurrection (49.15–16).

49.9–10 *do not think in part* (μερικῶς): To accept any of the partial speculations about the resurrection which have prompted Rheginos’ questions (e.g., about its philosophically demonstrable nature, 46.3–20; its inclusion of the physical body, 47.30–36; its possibly illusory nature, 48.3–13), would be to lack full knowledge. As *ed. pr.* (40–41) indicate, such “partial knowledge” (ἡ ἐκ μέρους γνῶσις) is incomplete and deficient, just the opposite (as Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10, § 58, states)

of the perfect and true *γνώσις*. Cf., as Layton (*Treatise*, 103f.) has suggested, Clement of Alexandria's comments about the "perfect" (*τελείως*) knowledge of truth possessed by Christians vs. the "partial" knowledge (*ἡ μερικὴ ἢ γνώσις*) represented by Greek philosophy (*Strom.* 6.7.55,4 and 6.17.160,1). Both Origen and Clement seem influenced by Paul's *γινώσκειν ἐκ μέρους* in 1 Cor 13:9–10,12; cf. 2 Cor 1:13–14.

Further influence of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe style has been detected in the "scolding tone" in 49.9–13 (so Layton, *Treatise*, 121), as well as in the antithesis in 49.9–16 (so Martin, *VC* 27 [1973] 280).

49.11–12 *nor live (πολιτεύεσθαι) in conformity with (κατὰ) this flesh (σάρξ)*: While Layton (*Treatise*, 104) is certainly correct that the non-political meaning of the verb *πολιτεύεσθαι* is pre-Christian, our author's familiarity with both Pauline and Valentinian thought justifies comparison with the term's usage in these sources. Thus, *ed. pr.* (41) mention *Exc. Theod.* 59.4; and Heracleon, fr. 40 (in Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60 § 423). The verb appears only in the Pauline corpus with this meaning in Phil 1:27.

"To live in conformity with this flesh (*κατὰ τοῦτο τὴν σάρκα*)" seems definitely to echo similar Pauline expressions. Cf. Rom 8:4b; 2 Cor 10:2; and Rom 8:5a,12b,13. Unlike Paul, the author makes no connection of "flesh" with the power of sin; rather, he holds it is the corrupt, temporary mode of earthly existence shared by Savior (44.13–15) and the Elect (47.4–6) alike, but abandoned at death for a new, resurrection "flesh" (47.6–8). Thus, to live *κατὰ σάρκα* is to live in the state of error, partial truth, bondage, death. (See, further, Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 242.)

49.12–13 *for the sake of unanimity (τμῆτοῦεει)*: The meaning is not unambiguous. Either the phrase offers the explanation of why Rheginos might feel compelled to live *κατὰ σάρκα*, viz., for the sake of "unanimity" (= *δμόνοια*) or to be in harmony with the ways of the non-elect (cf. the use of the term, though not in the same contexts, in *I Clem.* 30.3; Ignatius, *Smyr.* 11.2; *Hermas*, *Mand.* 8.9). Such understands "unanimity," from the author's standpoint, negatively.

Or, the phrase is a parenthetical interjection which offers the reason why one should *not* "live in conformity with this flesh." In this case *τμῆτοῦεει* translates probably *ἔνωσις* (= "unity"), is assessed positively, and may refer to the Unity that will result from the "res-

toration" of the scattered pneumata/Elect into the heavenly Pleroma (cf. *Treat. Res.* 49.4-5; 44.30-33). Layton (*Treatise*, 104) suggests Stoic monism (as exhibited, e.g., in Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 12.30), Neoplatonism (Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.5.7-8, πάντα ἄρα ἔσμὲν ἓν), and even Pythagoreanism (*Placita philosophorum* 1.7.18) as possible philosophical sources for such an idea of Unity. However, he acknowledges that the immediate context of the statement (49.4-5) makes a similar conception of Unity in Valentinian Gnostic sources especially attractive for comparison. Following *ed. pr.* (41), Layton (*Treatise*, 105), Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.90), Haardt (*Kairos* NF 11 [1969] 5), Ménard ("L'Épître à Rhèginos," 195), Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 176) cite for comparison: Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.12.4; *Haer.* 1.21.3; *Haer.* 2.17.4; *Exc. Theod.* 22.3; Heracleon (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11, § 67); *Gos. Truth* 24.20-28; 25.8-19.

49.13-15 *flee from the divisions (οἱ μερισμοί) and the fetters (Νῆπρε = οἱ δεσμοί)*: Again, brevity of expression permits two possibilities of interpretation: first, the "divisions" and "fetters" could be understood as referring to the effects of those erroneous teachings which threaten to keep Rhèginos from accepting the truth offered by the author-teacher. Cf. Ignatius' use of *μερισμός* to describe schisms precipitated by erroneous thinkers: *Philad.* 2.1; 3.1; 7.2; 8.1; *Smyr.* 7.2 (so Peel, *Treatise*, 96; and Martin, *Numen* 20 [1973] 34). Also, consider Ignatius' use of *δεσμοί* at *Eph.* 19.3 and *Philad.* 8.1.

A second line of interpretation taken originally by *ed. pr.* (41-42), however, holds that the "divisions" refer either to the state of separation from the unity of the Pleroma experienced by the pneumatics in their individual, bodily existence; or that they simply refer to internal conflicts that are part and parcel of earthly existence (a meaning similar to that identified in the preceding paragraph). The "fetters" or "bonds," in turn, refer to the world, the fleshly body, the soul which — in Gnostic thought — imprison the sparks of light, the pneumata. Cf., with the first understanding of *μερισμοί*, *Exc. Theod.* 36.2 and *Gos. Truth* 25.10-19; 34.29-34. With the second understanding of *μερισμοί*, *ed. pr.* (42) compare passages referring to internal conflict, e.g., Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.8.19; 5.26.25; *Gos. Thom.* 16; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.114,3-6; and *Exc. Theod.* 52. With the understanding of "fetters" or "bonds" noted above, *ed. pr.* (41) compare the account of the ascent of the invisible, inner man (= the pneumatic) in the Valentinian teaching of Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5, "But

he (the ascending pneumatic) goes into his own (heavenly) place, having thrown off his bond, that is, his soul"; but also *Ap. John* BG 8502.2:55.9-13; 104.10-11 (variant reading of Cod. I / Till, ed., pp. 151 and 249); and the Mandaean *Ginza* (Left) 430.13-14; 559.18 and 26; 568.21-22 (Lidzbarski, ed.). Generally supportive of this second line of interpretation, in addition to *ed. pr.*, are Leipoldt (*TLZ* 7 [1965] 519); Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 242-243, with extensive parallels in n. 7); Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 178); Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.90, n. 21). Layton (*Treatise*, 106f.) offers extensive evidence to demonstrate the Platonic background of the notion of body as a prison and to show its widespread use in the late Greco-Roman world.

We would still tend to favor the first line of interpretation, though in that this is clearly a Valentinian text, the second cannot be simply ruled out as impossible.

49.15-16 *already you have the resurrection*: Just as he considers death to be already realized by the Elect during their earthly lives (cf. 49.16-30), so our author holds that the resurrection is a present reality (cf. 49.22-23, 25-26). As *ed. pr.* (xi, 42) first indicated, the assertion recalls the false teaching combatted in 2 Tim 2:18, "that the resurrection is past already." Hippolytus (*De resurrectione*, Frag. I in Syriac / ed. Achelis, p. 251, 10-17) traces the teaching back to one Nicholas, who, "... impelled by a diabolic spirit, had been the first to affirm that the resurrection has already occurred, understanding by 'resurrection' the fact of belief in Christ and of reception of baptism, but rejecting the resurrection of the flesh... Some at his instigation have founded the sects. Among them... the so-called 'gnostics,' to whom belong Hymenaeus and Philetus (who fought with the Apostle)." Similar teaching seems to have been offered by the Gnostic teachers Menander (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.23.5); Simon and Carpocrates (*Haer.* 1.23 and 25; cf. 2.31.2); as well as the Mandaeans (*Mand. PB* 29); the Manichaeans (*Man. Ps.* 25.12-14); and *CH* 10.9; cf. Epilogue to *Asclep.* 3). See, further, van Unnik, *JEH* 15 [1964] 160-165.

Layton ("Vision," 208), insisting that the author is "merely a gnostic Platonist," argues that what is meant in 49.15-16 is that if contemplation by one's *voûs* (= the true self) of undying objects "continues intensely and uninterrupted by bodily passions, the disembodied state of the 'soteria' is already achieved... or reachieved, since incarnation is nothing more than a loss of one's state of pure being (49.30-37)." Our difficulties with this are that we hold the author does maintain

that more than the bare $\nu\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ participates in the resurrection (see note to 47.6–9), never mentions “passions” or their control, and never speaks of contemplation of the Divine as the “goal” of one’s intellectual life. Further, if Layton be correct, it remains unclear why our author so emphasizes the need for *faith* in Christ’s “resurrection,” or why he utilizes the concept of “resurrection” at all.

Closer to the truth, we believe, are those who find parallels to the over-realized eschatology of 49.15–16 in a Valentinian exegesis initially motivated by Pauline texts such as Rom 6:9–11; Eph 2:3–6; Col 3:1–4. *Ed. pr.* (xi, n.1) compare Tertullian, *De praes. haer.* 33.7, “(The Apostle Paul) directs a similar blow (as in 1 Cor 15:12) against those who said that ‘the resurrection was past already’ (2 Tim 2:18). Such an opinion did the Valentinians assert of themselves”; Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 19.2–7, “For some people (Valentinians) . . . distort also the resurrection of the dead . . . into an unreal signification, asserting that even death itself must be spiritually understood. For death, they say, is not really and truly . . . the separation of flesh and soul, but ignorance of God, whereby man, being dead to God, lies low in error no less than in a tomb. So also, they add, the resurrection must be maintained to be that by which a man, having come to the truth, has been reanimated and revived to God, and, the death of ignorance being dispelled, has as it were burst forth from the tomb of the old man . . . Thereafter, then, having by faith obtained resurrection, they are, they say, with the Lord, whom they have put on in baptism . . . secretly, in their private thoughts, their meaning is, ‘Woe to him who has not, while he is in this flesh, obtained knowledge of heretical secrets (*arcana haeretica*)’, for among them resurrection has this meaning.” Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 2.31.2.

Concurring with the *ed. pr.* in finding here Valentinian teaching about the resurrection are Haardt (*Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 244–245) and Martin (*Treatise*, 25off.). Haardt and Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.85–86) compare further two passages from the “Valentinian” *Gos. Phil.* 56.26–57.22 and 73.1–9. See also E. Brandenburger, “Die Auferstehung der Glaubenden,” *Wort und Dienst* NF 9 [1967] 16–33, for an extended study of the realized eschatology in a number of early texts.

49.16–24 Layton (*Treatise*, 107–110; Appendix 7) holds that in these lines the author’s diatribe-like harangue continues, developed out of a Delphic maxim, “know thyself,” which, by the time of our document’s composition, has become a commonplace. (See the numer-

ous parallels collected in Layton, *Treatise*, 108f.) Presupposing a strong anthropological dualism, the author argues that just as the body can know itself as bound for death, “so *voûs* should know itself” as already saved/raised. Layton (*Treatise*, 31) translates the passage:

For if the dying part (flesh) ‘knows itself,’ and knows that since it is moribund it is rushing towards this outcome (death) even if it has lived many years in the present life, why do *you* (the spirit) not examine your own self and see that *you* have arisen? And you are rushing towards this outcome (separation from the body) since you possess resurrection.

The majority of translators, while agreeing with the main lines of Layton’s interpretation, are not convinced that “flesh” is addressed separately from “spirit.” Problematic is the fact that “flesh,” Layton’s suggested antecedent of ΠΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ...ΦΣΑΥΝΕ ΑΡΑΦ, is feminine and would require ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ...CΣΑΥΝΕ ΑΡΑΦ. Thus, there rather seems an intentional alteration between the third person “he” with second person singular “you” throughout 49.16–24, even though the same party is being addressed, namely, “you, Rheginos, representative of the Elect” (see Peel, *Treatise*, 97–98; Bazán, *RevistB* 38 [1976] 176–177; Haardt, *Kairos NF* 12 [1970] 243, n. 9; Zandee, *NTT* 16 [1962] 375–376). The passage is thus understood as an explanation of what is meant by the declaration of 49.16: “the resurrection has already occurred.” Paraphrased, the meaning is: “If one knows the inevitability of death (despite whatever longevity he may have), should he not consider himself as really being already dead? And, if this be true, it follows from what the author has previously said about the salvation of the Elect through Christ’s resurrection that the believer should consider himself as already raised.”

49.20–21 *he who will die knows ... even if he spends many years in this life, he is brought to this:* As seen earlier in our text, death as the terminus of this decaying βίος is the expectation of all (even the Elect, 44.19–21; 45.34–35; 46.7–8; 47.38–48.1; as well as perhaps the Savior, 46.14–17). Thus, all are brought to “this,” i.e., the experience of biological death. Cf., on the theme of death as inevitable, even for the

Elect, Eccl 3:3; 9:2; John 11:25b. On its inevitability even in spite of one's longevity, cf. Eccl 6:3-6; 11:8.

49.23-24 *as risen and (already) brought to this?*: Quispel in *ed. pr.* thinks the "this" is a reference to the resurrection, thus restating 49.16. We, however, find here encouragement for the Elect to think of themselves as having already experienced death, and thus as having already attained resurrection (contrast Tröger, *TLZ* 101 [1976] 929). We thus take $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon\epsilon$ as a continuation of the circumstantial $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ of line 23 and would emend it to $\langle\epsilon\rangle\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon\epsilon$ (contrast Layton, *Treatise*, 189). Cf., with the assertion that one "should live as if death had already occurred," Col 3:3; Col 2:20a, and 2 Tim 2:11.

49.25-30 The construction is that of a conditional sentence whose apodosis is a question. The condition is considered fulfilled: "you, Rheginos, already possess the resurrection, though you continue to act and think as if you were going to die" (49.25-27). A parenthesis occurs between protasis and apodosis: "but the logic of what I (the author) have just shown you (49.16-21) should make clear that you have already died (49.26-27)." Then follows the apodosis: "why do you (Rheginos) not act upon what you know to be true?" (49.28-30). A good paraphrase would be: "If you, Rheginos, are already resurrected, and if you know that you have already died, then why do you continue to act and think as one who is concerned about death (= 'your lack of exercise')?" The rebuke may have been prompted by Rheginos' susceptibility to the arguments of those whose doubts about the "spiritual resurrection" have been dealt with in preceding pages.

Contrast with this the paraphrase of Layton of 49.23-30, who finds the $\pi\eta$ (= $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) in 49.27 to be a reference to the "dying body" (*Treatise*, 110,31): "And you are rushing towards this outcome (separation from the body) since you possess resurrection. Yet you persist as though *you* (= the $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) were dying, even though it is the former (the moribund flesh) that 'knows' it has died. Why then am I so lenient, except because of your inadequate training." Again, as opposed to Layton's finding in these lines the author's address of "you," i.e., the "essential" $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ within Rheginos, and of a body or "flesh" that reflects and talks to itself, we hold that the change in person is a stylistic device used by the author. The latter passage (49.27-28) interjects an aside that is really directed to Rheginos himself. Bazán (*RevistB* 38 [1976] 177) holds that the third person singular is used of some men, among all mortals, who believe or intuit resurrection. Such a one

is Rheginos, one of the “few” vs. the “many” (44.8-10) who do believe. Contrast *ed. pr.* (42-43) who, as noted earlier, find in 49.28 reference to two classes of men.

More traces of the diatribe style are found here, Layton (*Treatise*, 121, n. 1) holding 49.28-30 to be a “rhetorical question” that is actually a “patronizing insult” (“Vision,” 202, n. 57), and Martin *VC* 27 [1973] 279) maintaining that the use of imagery from Greek athletics (e.g., *γυμνάζεσθαι* in line 30; *ἀσκεῖν* in line 31) is also characteristic of the style.

49.30-36 Probably reminding Rheginos of what had been taught him previously, the author now exhorts his pupil to “practice (*ἀσκεῖν*) in a number of ways (= *πολυτρόπως?*)” in order to be freed from this cosmic “Element” (*στοιχείων*, 49.33). Only by such means can error be avoided and the Elect regain his pre-existent state of bliss (49.35-36).

The exhortation “to practice” to be freed from this earthly state may, as we indicated originally (*Epistle*, 98, n. 39), echo a Platonic theme of “practicing for dying.” Cf. *Phaedo* 67E, “the true philosophers practice dying, and death is less terrible to them than to other men,” and 80E. The same theme reappears in Philo, *Gig.* 13, 14; cf. 2 *Clem.* 20.2, 4.

The “practice” and “exercise” called for by our author are only vaguely defined. At a minimum, they refer to Rheginos’ mental attitude toward death, as reflected in his questions, problems, doubts about the resurrection. “Exercise” may entail eradication of such doubt (47.2-3; cf. 47.36-48.3), the avoidance of divisive opinion (46.10-17; 49.9-16), and holding correct thought about salvation (47.26-30; 48.10-11). Such “exercise” may thus mean a type of internal or mental training designed to give confidence about the resurrection (cf. 1 Tim 4:7-8).

Because the verb *ἀσκεῖν* in 49.31 early in Christian literature came to mean a self-denying withdrawal from the world’s contamination (see H. Windisch, *TDNT* 1 [1933] 494-496), the author may be encouraging asceticism. Nowhere else in the treatise, however, is such made explicit.

49.33 *released from this Element (στοιχείων)*: We, following one suggestion offered in *ed. pr.* (44), believe this refers to the freeing of the inner, spiritual self of the Elect from this evil world of matter. The

concept may have some rootage in NT usage of *στοιχείων* (which always appears in the plural, however) in Gal 4:3,9; Col 2:20–22. (See, further, Peel, *Epistle*, 99, 108f.; and Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 243, n. 8.) However, others (Layton, *Treatise*, 112; Schenke, *OLZ* [1965] 476; *ed. pr.*, 44) think it may refer to the body of flesh. Cf., e.g., Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 2.17, “death is nothing more than *λύσις τῶν στοιχείων* of which each creature is composed.”

49.34 *he may not be misled* (*πλανᾶν*): The author’s intent has been to keep Rheginos and his fellow-students (50.1–2) from falling into error (= *πλανᾶσθαι*). Layton (*Treatise*, 112) suggests that the word may echo a Platonic theme of avoidance of the kind of moral “error” which could result in a succession of punitive transmigrations (“wanderings”) of the soul (Plato, *Phaedo* 81E; Sallustius 19, p. 34,21, Nock ed.), or the “error” of wrong knowledge or thought, mentioned in Dio Chrysostom 4.115, and Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 2.27.1–2. Since our text seems clearly Valentinian in character, *ed. pr.* (44) may be right that the term reflects that school’s use of *πλανᾶσθαι* and *πλάνη* to describe the “original sin” or Sophia (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.10.3–4; 2.12.1; cf. 1.8.4) or the “error” of the “lost sheep” of the Church sought out by Christ. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4; 1.23.2; 2.5.2; and *Gos. Truth* 17.14–17, 28–29.

49.34–36 *Literally: but he shall receive himself again what at first existed*: The meaning seems to be that through “practice” (cf. 49.30–32), the believer/Elect shall be released from the corruption of this cosmic and somatic “Element” (49.33), and shall again know that pre-existent pleromatic state (cf. 46.38–47.1) in which he originally existed prior to “coming into this flesh” (47.4–6).

Certainly, as *ed. pr.* (44–45) have maintained (so also, Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 243), this entails coming to a knowledge of one’s authentic nature, of what one was before being “thrown” into this world of becoming. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 22.13–19; 25.10–16; *Acts of Andrew* 41.3; Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.7.10, “If the purification puts the human into knowledge of the highest, then, too, the science latent within becomes manifest, . . . For it is not by running hither and thither outside of itself that the soul discerns Moral Wisdom and Justice; it learns them of its own nature, in its contact with itself, in its intellectual grasp of itself, seeing deeply impressed upon it the images of its primal state (*τοῦ δὲ πρότερον ἦν*)”; *CH* 1.21; *Act. Thom.* 15.

More precisely, however, the author emphasizes the Elect's recovery of that pre-existent state he formerly knew. Again, *ed. pr.* (45) offer some interesting parallels, connecting the "Restoration" (**ἀποκατάστασις**, cf. *Treat. Res.* 44.30-33) with the resurrection: Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione* (PG 46,148A), "For resurrection (**ἀνάστασις**) is the restoration (**ἡ ἀποκατάστασις**) of our nature to what was in former times;" *Hom. in Eccles.* 1 (PG 44,633C), "For what else is the resurrection except the total restoration to what was of old (**ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατάστασις**)." Layton (*Treatise*, 113) points out that Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.1.9,4) finds in the Stoic concept of **ἀποκατάστασις** an intuitive perception of the "resurrection." Certainly, for the author of *Treat. Res.* such a restoration is not achieved by unaided intellectual exercise, for it is Christ who ultimately effects this, and faith in his achievement is imperative (cf. *Treat. Res.* 44.30-33; 46.3-8; and Peel, *Epistle*, 150). See also *Gos. Truth* 41.3-12.

49.37-50.4 Here begins the epilogue or conclusion of the letter.

49.37-50.1 *These things I have received* (**ἄρξαμαι λαμβάνειν** = **παρέλαβον**?) from the generosity (**-φθονεῖν**) of my Lord Jesus Christ (**χρηστός**): The source and authority of the author's teaching seems to be a revelation given by the Savior (so Haardt, *Kairos* NF 12 [1970] 252), though the possible use of **παρέλαβον**, a *terminus technicus* for reception of a religious tradition (cf. 1 Cor 11:23; 15:3), may indicate teaching transmitted from Christ through others to the teacher (so Layton, *Treatise*, 113). *Ed. pr.* (45) note a similar statement about an apostolic tradition (**τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως**) in Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora* (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33.7.9).

The generous and unbegrudging attitude (probably **ἀφθονία** in 49.38) of the Savior in giving his teaching is contrasted with the selfish and grudging attitude (**φθονεῖν**, 50.9) which could, but shouldn't, characterize the pupil's attitude about sharing the received teaching. *Ed. pr.* (45) compare with the Savior's attitude Plato, *Tim.* 29E, "He (the Cause of all things) was good, and in him that is good no envy ever arises concerning anything (**οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος**); and being devoid of envy He desired that all should be, so far as possible, like Himself." Cf. also *Phaedr.* 247A; *Gos. Truth* 18.29-40; and *CH* 4.3; 13.3. Van Unnik (*JEH* 15 [1964] 167) compares Jas 1:5. See, also, his comments in "De **ἀφθονία** van

God in de Oudchristelijke literatuur," *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 36,2 (B.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij: Amsterdam, 1973) 32-33, 54-55.

Several commentators have underscored that this emphasis on generosity in teaching and a comment like that of *Treat. Res.* 45.4-9 (the Savior "revealed all things openly") indicate that this text does not belong to that genre of mystery-book or secret revelation literature whose circulation was limited to initiates. So, e.g., Gaffron, *Die Zeit Jesu*, 221; van Unnik, *JEH* 15 [1964] 147. But, contrast Bazán, *RevistB* 37 [1975] 177.

On the variant spelling $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, see our note to 48.19.

50.1-4 [I have] taught you and your [brethren], my sons, concerning them, while I have not omitted any of the things suitable for strengthening you ($\tau\eta\upsilon\tau\eta\bar{\nu}$): We accept the reconstructions by *ed. pr.* of the lacunae at the end of 50.1 and 50.2. Compare Layton (*Treatise*, 32), who suggests $[\lambda\alpha\iota\tau]\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\kappa$ or $[\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau]\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\kappa$, though no traces of the ϵ are visible in the manuscript, and no rationale for the variants of the perf. I conjugation base are given.

The phrase "my sons" ($\nu\alpha\upsilon\eta\rho\epsilon$) in 50.2 is in apposition to "brethren" (so, also, Layton, *Treatise*, 163) and is not a vocative, which would be unintelligible at this point in a text heretofore addressd only to a single reader (see Peel, *Epistle*, 9, 100). Even so, the reference to other pupils ("my sons") leads the author to a wider circle of addressees in the following lines; cf. 50.4,7,16. However, as alternating allusions to "you" (singular) in 50.9,13,15 make clear, the primary addressee remains the pupil Rheginos. It was a common tendency in letters of the second and third century to include in the conclusion not only the addressee, but also those in his immediate circle (so Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Christ* [Wiesbaden, 1956] 152, as noted by Martin). It may have been intended, as Layton suggests (citing Festugière, *La Révélation*, 1.309ff.), to promote publication or at least wider circulation of the letter's contents.

The verb "for strengthening you" ($\tau\alpha\chi\rho\epsilon$ = probably $\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\omega$) in 50.4 indicates the author's hope in what he has offered in this treatise, of having "confirmed" Rheginos and his brethren in the knowledge of, faith in, and practice related to correct teaching about the resurrection. Cf., the use of $\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\omega$ in Luke 22:32c; Acts 16:5;

18.23; Rom 1:11; 16:25; 1 Thess 3:2,13; 2 Thess 2:17; Col 2:5; 1 Pet 5:10; 2 Pet 1:12; 3:17.

With the whole of 50.1–4, cf. *Barn.* 17.1, “So far as possibility and simplicity allow an explanation to be given to you, my soul hopes that none of the things necessary for salvation have been omitted, according to my desire.” And, as Layton has suggested (*Treatise*, 114f.) Athenagoras, *Res.* 23, “what has just been said, and that which concurs with this to guarantee the resurrection, suffices for us . . . ; for we have not made it our aim (σκοπόν) to omit anything that might be said, but to point out in a summary manner to those assembled what ought to be thought concerning the resurrection (ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφαλαιωδῶς ὑποδείξαι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἅ χρῆ περι τῆς ἀναστάσεως φρονεῖν), and to adapt to the capacity of those present the arguments bearing on this question.”

50.5–8 An encouragement for Rheginos and his brethren to raise any further questions they might have concerning the author-teacher’s “exposition” (ἀπαγγελία) of the “word” (λόγος). By ἀπαγγελία he means his interpretation or the substance of his discussion (see LSJ 173b). Ambiguity surrounds the term λόγος. It could simply refer to the content of the teaching presented in this writing as a whole (so Layton, *Treatise*, 115, following *ed. pr.* 17, 50, 67). Or, it could echo the author’s earlier reference to the “Word (λόγος) of Truth” (43.34; 45.3). If so, here would be an allusion to the author’s discussion of teaching about the resurrection as he has received it (49.37–50.1) from the Scriptures as interpreted through an inherited Valentinian tradition.

50.8–10 *do not be jealous (φθονεῖν) toward anyone who is in your number when he is able to help (ᾠφέλειν)*: Rheginos is encouraged to be generous and open in sharing this treatise with others in his circle, thus imitating of the generosity (ἀφθονεία) of Christ himself (49.37–50.1). As to why Rheginos should be so, commentators differ. *Ed. pr.* (47, 67), Layton (*Treatise*, 115), Krause (*Die Gnosis*, 2.91) suggest that by sharing “it,” i.e., this writing, Rheginos may “help” them in their own understanding of the resurrection. Support for this interpretation is found in such parallels as the following: Ps.-Aristotle, *De mundo* 391A; Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.18; Matt 10:8; Clement of Alexandria, *Fr. to Newly Baptized* 5 (Stählin ed. 3.222,6f.).

On the other hand, Peel (*Epistle*, 102), Haardt (*Kairos* NF 11

[1969] 5), Schenke (*OLZ* 60 [1965] 476), Barns (*JTS NS* 15 [1964] 166) take, as the most natural and direct antecedent of the masculine suffix pronoun in $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\sigma$ (50.10), the “anyone who is in your number” (or circle) (= $\lambda\lambda\upsilon\epsilon \epsilon\tau\eta\pi$ in 50.9). To do so is to understand the passage to mean that if Rheginos or any in his circle with whom he “generously shares” this writing should still find “obscure” some of its teaching (50.5–7), they should not only feel free to ask the author/teacher for further clarification but also to share their question(s) with others in their circle. It is possible that one among them can “help” ($\acute{\omega}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$), i.e., can clarify the author’s real meaning! Cf. with this 1 Thess 5:14. In short, the stronger brethren in Rheginos’ circle, could help the weaker in understanding the teaching!

50.11–13 *Many are looking into* ($\delta\omega\omega\tau \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\kappa = \acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon$ *eis*) *this (subject) about which I have written you*: All the translations of *ed. pr.* (17, 57, 67) render this passage, “many are looking forward (in expectation) to this which I have written you” (cf. also Haardt, *Kairos NF* 11 [1969] 5, “Viele halten Ausschau nach dem”). However, the Greek which the phrase $\delta\omega\omega\tau \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\kappa$ most commonly translates ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, $\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, cf. Crum 838b) carries the general meaning of “looking at” or “into” what is already in hand. (Cf. Krause’s rendering [*Die Gnosis*, 2.91] “Viele blicken auf das”). Thus, rather than being an implicit demand that Rheginos share the letter for which many have been waiting, the meaning is probably that many (including those in Rheginos’ circle) are “looking into” or “considering” this very subject matter, i.e., the resurrection.

50.13–14 *peace (be) among them and grace*: Though *ed.pr.* (47) find here a “formula frequently used in the Pauline epistles” (cf. also Ignatius, *Smyr.* 12.2), we maintain while the key terms may be inspired by Paul (cf. Rom 1:7), there is no conscious effort here to imitate his style. This is made clear by the author’s use of the “formula” at the end rather than in the salutation (contrary to Paul’s own usage), and by the variation in sequence of the key terms, $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ (just the reverse of what is met with in the Pauline and deutero-Pauline NT literature). The meaning seems to be: to any in Rheginos’ circle who are also concerned with the resurrection, may they know “peace” (which Layton, [Treatise, 116] connects with $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in 43.35–44.3) and “grace.” Tröger (*TLZ* 101 [1976] 929) thinks 50.13–14 are parenthetical, a form of greeting being formed differently.

50.15-16 I greet (†**ϣ**INE = ἀσπάζομαι) you and those who love you in brotherly love: As *ed. pr.* (47-48) have indicated, ἀσπάζομαι occurs frequently as a closing epistolary formula in Rom 16:16,22; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26. Cf. also 1 Pet 5:14; Tit 3:15; 3 John 15.

Again, as parallels in the Coptic NT show (Cf. Peel, *Epistle*, 103f.), **ἄμαειςαν** surely translates φιλαδελφία (“fraternal love”). Cf. 1 Pet 1:22; 3:8; Rom 2:10; 1 Thess 4:9; Heb 13:1; *1 Clem* 47.5; 48.1. The use of the plural, “you,” (50.16) extends the author’s greetings to all who live with affection toward Rheginos and his companions, hardly a gesture of one who addresses the document to a closed circle of initiates (*pace ed. pr.*, 47).

50.17-18 This is a secondary, composite title probably added by the Coptic translator or copyist. The question of Rheginos in 44.6 (**ε**ΤΒΕ **τ**ΑΝΑ**σ**ΤΑ**σ**Ι**σ**) forms the main element. The statement of how the issue is to be treated in 44.11-12 (**μ**Α**ρ**Ε**π**ΛΟ**γ**Ο**σ** **ϣ**Ω**π**Ε **ν**Ε**ν** **ε**Τ**β**Η**τ**ς) provides the rest of the subscript title: **π**ΛΟ**γ**Ο**σ** **ε**Τ**β**Ε **τ**Α**Ν**Α**σ**ΤΑ**σ**Ι**σ**, “The Word / Treatise / Discussion concerning the Resurrection.” See, further, Peel, *Epistle*, 10.

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THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE

1,5:51.1-138.27

Harold W. Attridge and Elaine H. Pagels

1. Introduction (51.1-8)

The tractate begins with the Father, a starting point which, as Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 210) notes, reflects a literary commonplace in antiquity. Cf. Aratus, *Phaenomena* 1 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.1.1.

51.1 **Ⲭϵ**: The particle with which the text begins is unusual, but it is used throughout the tractate to mark new sections. The subject of the whole first part (51.1-104.4) is given in the first line, which virtually serves as a title for this part.

51.2 *that we begin* (ⲛⲧⲛⲓⲣ̅ ⲱⲗⲣⲓ): The conjugation base here is probably to be construed as the causative infinitive with the preposition *n-*. Cf. ⲉⲧⲓ̅ (75.28), ⲉⲧⲉ̅ (75.10) and ⲉⲧⲟϥ (75.16, 118.10, 131.6). See also Till, *Dialektgrammatik* #281. It might also be possible to construe the conjugation base here and ⲛⲧⲓ̅ at 51.35 as examples of the conjunctive, as in B. See Till, *Dialektgrammatik* #267. Such a B conjunctive appears at *Gos. Truth* 34.14. However, Bohairicisms are not frequent in this text.

51.3 *the Root*: The metaphor of the Father as the root also appears at 51.17. A similar metaphor is used at 62.10-11. The aeons whom the Father engenders are similarly described at 64.3, 68.9 and 74.6-7, as is the Son at 66.18. The metaphor of the root for the highest principle is found in various Gnostic systems, including the *Book of Baruch* (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.26.2) and the *Megale Apophasis* (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.9.4; 17.3). Gnosis is to learn about one's own root in *Hyp. Arch.* 93.13 and this root is implicitly identified with the Father (*Hyp. Arch.* 97.15).

Among Valentinian sources, descriptions of the Father as the "Root of the Totality" (ⲧⲛⲟϥⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣⲓ̅) occur elsewhere in certain

accounts, e.g., *Val. Exp.* 22.32–33; 23.19,32; 24.35–36, and in Hippolytus' account of a monadic version of Valentinian theology (*Ref.* 6.30.7). These same sources proceed to refer all subsequent generations to the Father alone (*Val. Exp.* 23.31–32). Ptolemy, by contrast, applies the designation to the primary Tetrad and to the Ogdoad, but not to the Father alone (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1). See also *Gos. Truth* 41.17 and 42.34–35. For other attestations of the "root" metaphor in Nag Hammadi texts, cf. *Paraph. Shem* 8.6, 24.22–23; *Gos. Truth* 28.17; *Dial. Sav.* 134.1–4, 17–19.

51.5 *grace*: Note the importance of grace for knowing the Father in *Gos. Truth* 16.32, 36.3–7 and in Heracleon, fr. 17 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10). In these texts there is no hypostatizing of grace, as in the systems of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1, 1.8.6) and Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.2). Cf. also Plutarch, *De Iside* 1 (351C).

2. The Father (51.8–57.8)

Discussion of the first topic, the Father, falls into three major divisions. The first (51.8–54.1) is primarily an ontological comment on the uniqueness, immutability and transcendence of the first principle. The second section (54.2–55.26) reaffirms the Father's transcendence, but in more epistemological terms. At the same time, the principle by which the solitary unity of the first principle becomes a multiplicity is enunciated, for the Father is described as self-thinking mind. The third section (55.25–57.8) indicates that despite the transcendence of the first principle, he may be known because he reveals himself through a Son, who is the Father's self-thinking thought. The theology of this section of the tractate is firmly rooted in the philosophical tradition of middle Platonism, which incorporates important Stoic and Aristotelian elements. The philosophical influence can also be felt in the attention paid to the propriety of predications about the Father. At the same time, the exalted status of the first principle, whose transcendence is described with an elaborate *via negativa*, is praised in ornate prose which often has a hymnic quality.

51.8–9 *single one*: That the Father is single is a striking affirmation of this text. This doctrine differs markedly from the theology attributed to Valentinus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1, and from that attributed to the "followers of Ptolemy," who, with Valentinus, interpret the primal source as dyadic, with the first syzygy consisting of Bythos

and Sige. However, the doctrine expounded here was maintained by other Valentinians, as H.-Ch. Puech and G. Quispel (*VC* 9 [1955] 65-102 and *ed. pr.*, I. 311-314) have noted. Cf. *Interp. Know.* 9.29 and *Gos. Truth* 24.27.

Irenaeus and Hippolytus both attest debate among Valentinian theologians concerning the Father's relation to Sige, "whether she was his syzygy, or not." According to Hippolytus, some, apparently claiming to keep "pure" the teaching of Valentinus, "consider the Father to be without any female element (*ἄθηλως*), without any syzygy, and alone. Others, considering it impossible that any generation at all of begotten things could proceed from a male alone, include... Silence as, of necessity, his syzygy" (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.24.3-4; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4).

Theologians on both sides of the issue agree that the Father reposes in silence. Some, however, understand Sige as a hypostatic being who joins with the Father to form a dyad with him; others, however, demythologize the silence, interpreting it as the quality or state of the Father's solitary being. See the notes on 53.21-38 and 55.37 for further discussion.

Among followers of Valentinus who held the primordial principle to be a unity were Heracleon and Marcus. The views of the former, to whom *ed. pr.* (I. 312) assign this tractate, are recorded in Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. omn. haer.* 4 and Philastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 41 (13). Heracleon also held a trinitarian doctrine similar to that of this tractate. The doctrine of Marcus is preserved in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.3 attributed to "another prominent teacher" and in 1.13.1, attributed expressly to Marcus. In this account the primordial principle is called Unity (*μονότης*), whose power (*δύναμις*), is oneness (*ἐνότης*). *Val. Exp.* teaches that the Father "dwells in the Monad." Cf. *Val. Exp.* 22.20, 22.23-24, 23.20, 25.19. Also in the Valentinian *Gos. Truth*, oneness (*†Μῆτοῦεει*) is prominent, as the place of perfection (24.26-28) and that by which one regains himself (25.10-12). The author of the *Tri. Trac.* apparently agrees with such Valentinians against Ptolemy and his disciples on this fundamental point, as on others.

The emphasis on the unity of the Father in this text may, as *ed. pr.* (I. 314) suggest, be an approximation to philosophical views, such as those of Plotinus, for whom the highest principle is the One (e.g., *Enn.* 5.1 and 6.9). This characteristic neo-Platonic doctrine has important antecedents in the Platonic tradition. Cf. the discussion by

Krämer, *Ursprung*, 42, 75; Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 355, 371; and Thomassen, *VC* 34 (1980) 370-71, who also notes parallels with Marius Victorinus in the fourth century.

51.9-10 *number*: Numerical speculation was a common feature of several Valentinian systems discussed in patristic sources. Note especially the account of Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14-16, and the reports in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.2.6 and 6.29-30. Such elaborate speculation is not a feature of the *Tri. Trac.* Here there is a simple metaphor. A somewhat similar illustration is used in the exposition of Monoimus in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 8.12.6-7, where the Perfect Man is described as a "single unity" comparable to an iota with a single, simple stroke. There, however, the analogy becomes more complex because iota is also the symbol for the number ten.

The brief allusion to the Father as number is particularly close to the number symbolism common in Greek philosophical discussions, deriving ultimately from the Pythagoreans. That Pythagoras and his "teacher," Zaratas (=Zoroaster), called the number one or the monad "father" is asserted by Plutarch (*De animae procreatione in Timaeo* 1012E). Cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.2.12. A similar identification is made by the fourth-century Platonist, Xenocrates, fr. 15 [Heinze]. Cf. Krämer, *Ursprung*, 35, and Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 355. Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 79, 213) interprets the Father's being a number to mean that he is many, as well as one.

51.10-11 *he is first one and the one who is only himself*: Alternative translations for this difficult phrase are offered by *ed. pr.* (Fr.) "il est le premier, et il est un seul"; (Ger.) "Er ist der Erste, und Er ist Er (Selbst) allein"; and (Eng.) "he is the first one and he is the one who is alone." The emphasis in the Coptic, however, seems to be on the self-identity of the Father and not on his existence. Forms of the Coptic verb $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ are usually employed in discussing existence in the *Tri. Trac.* Cf. 66.10-11.

51.12 *solitary individual*: The Father is a single unity and not a dyad. He is not, however, *alone* inasmuch as he has a son. In the discussion of the Father and the Son, the *Tri. Trac.* struggles with the tension between these two basic affirmations, in an attempt to preserve the uniqueness of the Father and the equality of the Son with him. It is especially in this discussion that the tractate approaches the theological world of emerging orthodoxy. See also *Exc. Theod.* 6.1-4.

51.14-15 "Father" . . . "Son": As the quotation marks in the translation indicate, the *Tri. Trac.* is concerned at this point in the discussion not with what *being* a father implies, but with what the *name* "father" implies. Such a concern with the accurate employment and understanding of theological language is a prominent feature throughout the work. Cf. the note to 51.21. Note the interest in the "names" of the Father and the Son in *Gos. Truth* 38-40. Cf. also with Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 216), Origen, *De princ.* 1.2.10. and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 73.19.3.

51.17 *root*: Cf. the note to 51.3. The following phrase is literally translated "like a root and a tree and branches and fruits." Cf. the remarks of Basilides in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.21.3, and see *Interp. Know.* 19.30-37.

51.20-21 *Father in the proper sense* (ΟΥΧΑΕΙΣ ΝΙΩΤ): This may translate κύριος πατήρ, where κύριος has the meaning "real" or "proper" commonly found in philosophical and rhetorical texts. Note the expression found frequently in the *Tri. Trac.* 2ἡ ΟΥΜῆΤΧΑΕΙΣ (51.39; 52.2; 53.5; 56.1-2; 57.4,10,14; 65.37-38) and cf. Justin, 2 *Apol.* 6.2, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός. On the unique quality of the Father's name, cf. Eusebius, *De eccl. theol.* 3.6.3 and Origen, *De princ.* 1.2.10. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 40.8-9.

51.21 *inimitable* (ΕΥΟΥΑΤΡΕΛΑΓΕ . . . ΝῆΜΕϚ ΠΕ): The full orthography of ΕΥΟΥ for ΕΟΥ is common in the *Tri. Trac.* The phrase ΝῆΜΕϚ ΠΕ is problematic. The ΠΕ is the reduplicated copula common in this text. The ΝῆΜΕϚ is probably to be construed with ΕΥΟΥΑΤΡΕΛΑΓΕ ᾤ ΜΙΝΕ ᾤΜΑϚ. The same construction occurs at 78.30, 108.20,22. Kasser (*ed. pr.*, I. 31) compares the construction with the expression ΜΜΙΝ ᾤΜΑϚ (Crum 168b). The Coptic probably translates a Greek expression using some form of ὅμοιος or συνόμοιος with the dative. Note, too, that the Coptic ΤΟΝΤῆ may be used with the preposition Μῆ (Crum 420a). The influence of that construction may be felt here.

51.23 *immutable*: The immutability of the Father is forcefully asserted in 52.10-33. On the stability or immutability of the Father, cf. Philo, *Somn.* 2.223.

51.24 *single in the proper sense* (ΟΥΧΑΕΙΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ): This phrase

may also be translated "a sole lord." Note that "Lord" is a name of the Father in *Gos. Truth* 38.38.

51.28 *unbegotten*: That the Father is unbegotten and unoriginated is a common affirmation of orthodox as well as Gnostic theologians. For examples of the doctrine in Valentinian sources, cf. *Val. Exp.* 22.23-24; 37-38; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1, 1.2.5; Ptolemy to Flora, in Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33.7.6; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.2; and *Gos. Truth* 38.32. Cf. also J. Lebreton, "Ἀγέννητος dans la tradition philosophique et dans la littérature chrétienne du IIe siècle," *RSR* 16 (1926) 431-43 and J. Whittaker, "The Historical Background of Proclus' Doctrine of the *Ἀὐθυπόστατα*," *De Jamblique à Proclus* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 21; Fondation Hardt: Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1975) 193-237.

51.31-52.2 *For whoever...created him*: Here the author contrasts the Fatherhood of God, who is truly Father because he is unoriginated, and the secondary "Fatherhood" of ordinary fathers who themselves have been begotten. For the terminology of "father and creator" cf. Plato, *Tim.* 28C and Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 340-41.

51.32 *creator* (ῤΩΜΕϚ): The form for the *nomen agentis* used here (and at 51.35, 64.21, 68.2), as well as the forms ῤΩΜΕ ΕϚ (68.4, 133.31) and ῤΩΜΕΤ (115.1), may be either archaic or it may be an "etymologizing" back-formation, a variant of AA² ῤΜΕϚ- (cf. Crum 296a12). *Ed. pr.* (I. 31) comment on the distribution of these various forms, since the archaizing forms appear primarily in the first eighteen pages of the tractate and again at the end. They suggest that the scribe's archetype had ῤΩΜΕϚ throughout, that the scribe regularly copied the form at first, then tended to use either the etymological ῤΩΜΕ ΕϚ or the "modern" ῤΕϚ, but finally, out of fatigue, simply followed his archetype.

51.35 *to be* (ἸἆῤῥΩΠΕ): Cf. 51.2 and the discussion of the conjugation base there.

52.4 *the Totalities* (<Ἰἆ>ΠἏἏῤῥ): The plural pronominal object in ἁῤῥῶϚ and ἑῤῥῆῤῥῶϚ suggest that the preposed object here should be plural and "The Totalities" is the normal way of referring to the emanations of the supernal world in this text. It is, however,

possible that the singular, "the All" is correct. Note the similar formulations at *Gos. Truth* 19.7-8.

52.5 *he is the one who* (ΕΝΤΑϚ ΕΤ-): The construction is unusual. It seems best to understand it as a form of the "cleft sentence" pattern with the object, ΠΤΗΡῶ, preposed, (Cf. H. J. Polotsky, "Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen," *Or.* 31 [1962] 413-30 [= *Collected Papers*, 418-435]. See especially #9.) The form ΕΝΤΑϚ is to be understood simply as an orthographic variant of ΠΤΑϚ.

The form ΕΝΤΑϚ could also be circumstantial, and it is apparently taken in this way by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). That construal, however, would mean that ΠΤΗΡῶ is the subject of ΟΥΤΑΡΧΗ ΠΕ and ΟΥΑΤΖΑΝ ΠΕ, which is highly unlikely.

The interpretation of the construction as a cleft sentence with ΕΝΤΑϚ as subject, against the interpretation of *ed. pr.* (Eng.), is supported by the form of the relative ΕΤΑΖ-, which is used properly where the subject of the relative clause is equivalent to the antecedent. Cf. Till, *Dialektgrammatik* #351.

52.7-10 The syntax in these lines is difficult. The primary construction is the contrast marked by ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ- ΑΛΛΑ. ΧΕ in 52.7 seems to be the introductory particle used in this text. The phrase ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΘΥΑΤΧΠΑϚ ΠΕ is parenthetical. Note that in 52.35-38 it is explained that the predicates "without beginning and without end" are applied to the Father because he is unbegotten and immortal. A similar statement may have stood in the Greek original of this passage; "Not only is he without beginning and end, because he is immortal and unbegotten, but..." If so, textual corruption or the Coptic translator has confused the original relationship of the clauses. Cf. the account of Valentinianism in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1.

52.11 *eternal* (ΑΝΗΖΕ ΤΜΕΤ): This unusual expression is also found in Manichaean Subachmimic, e.g., *Man. Ps.* 154.16-17, 203.17, *Man. Keph.* 128.1-3, 135.2-3, 162.28-29. The word ΑΝΗΖΕ itself means "forever." The etymology of ΤΜΕΤ is disputed. A. Volten ("An Egyptian Text in Greek Characters," *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* [Hauniae: Munksgaard, 1953] 366) suggests a derivation from dmd, "totality"; J. Osing (*Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* [Ägyptische Abhandlungen 33; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976] 239) suggests dmdyt, "(bestimmte) Zeit." Kasser (*ed. pr.*, I. 32)

makes the unlikely suggestion that the word is a qualitative of $\tau\omega\mu$ (Crum 412b). Whatever the etymology, the word clearly functions to emphasize $\alpha\eta\eta\zeta\epsilon$.

existence: The translation of these phrases, and the similar phrases in 52.23–25 is somewhat interpretive. Literally, they read, “that which (or in which) he is eternally, and in what he is, and in that by which he is established and in that by which he is great.”

52.12–14 *in his identity . . . is great*: These phrases are more properly taken as a continuation of $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\omega\sigma\sigma\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$, with *ed. pr.* (Ger.), than as a new predication, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.). The translation of the latter editors “He is who he is, etc.” would require a Coptic construction of the form $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\zeta\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\zeta\ \pi\epsilon$. For the translation “identity,” cf. the note to 51.10–11. Note that the $\pi\epsilon$ ’s in lines 13 and 14 are superfluous, a syntactical feature found frequently in this text.

52.13 *by which* ($\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$): Here and in the following line the prepositional phrase is taken as a resumption of the relative with an instrumental force, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) take the first $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$ as an object marker, which is impossible after the qualitative $\zeta\bar{\mu}\alpha\eta\tau$.

52.14–15 *he* ($\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\zeta$): The pronoun is emphatic, no doubt as a translation of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. Cf. 76.27–28. The formula for the divine self-identity used here is exactly that used by Numenius, fr. 6 (=Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 11.10.7): $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\eta\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\iota\omega\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\theta\prime\ \acute{\upsilon}\phi\prime\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 380E. As Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 372) notes, a similar formula appears in the Latin *Asclepius* 30 (Nock-Festugière 338:18–21), “*ipse enim in se est et a se est et circum se totus est, plenus atque perfectus, isque sua firmitas est nec alicuius impulso [nec] loco moveri potest.*”

52.15 *that by which he is* ($\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\zeta$): The prepositional phrase could also be taken as the η of equivalence after $\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}$. See also 52.25.

52.19 *he has not had* ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon\lambda\alpha\zeta\chi\iota$): The unusual verbal prefix here, is probably a perf. II, emphasizing the object of the verb.

52.21-22 *unchanged* (ε{N}τε<N>ϰωββιαϊτ): The text is corrupt and must be emended. In the *Tri. Trac.* the phrase **τεει τε θε** is most usually followed by a relative clause (e.g., 56.30, 57.13, 61.33) and that emendation is preferable here.

52.22-26 *from his existence . . . greatness*: These phrases repeat, in a somewhat altered form, the formula for the invariable self-identity of the Father used in 52.11-14.

52.26 *greatness*: For this term as a quality of and designation for the Father, cf. *Ap. Jas.* 15.25-26; *Gos. Truth* 42.13-14; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2; and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.4, 6.2.

52.29 *reduce* (βαχῳ): In this context we would expect the *status pronominalis* βαχβῳ. The form in the text may be an error, or just an orthographic oddity. Note that β and ϰ are frequently interchanged in the *Tri. Trac.*

52.30-32 *since this is so in the fullest sense of the truth* (επιδη τεει τε ζῆ ουμῆτχαεic ῃμηε): The syntax here is difficult, and it may be that the text is corrupt. The simplest emendation would be from ῃμηε to τμηε and the passage would be translated, "since this in the fullest sense is the truth," but then the ετε in lines 31-32 would be difficult to construe. It would have to be taken as a mis-translation of a Greek ὅτι introducing a clause in apposition to τμηε. It is also possible to take the problematic phrase as a parenthetical remark as in the translation.

52.33 *clothing* (τωειεζεειωϰ): The form must be the qualitative of † with the pre-pronominal form of the preposition ζι. One would expect the division τωειε ζειωϰ.

52.36 *without a beginning*: Cf. 52.6-10.

53.5 *sweetness*: This quality of the Father is a frequent topic in Valentinian theology. See Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2; *Val. Exp.* 42.12-13; *Gos. Truth* 24.9, 31.20, 33.33, 41.3, 42.8. Note the particularly striking application of this notion below, 56.15, 57.29 and 72.6-14.

53.6 *good*: The perfect and absolute goodness of the Father is af-

firmed in other Valentinian sources, fr. 2 of Valentinus himself (in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.20.114,6), *Ptolemy to Flora* 7.5 (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33.7.5), *Val. Exp.* 23.34, and *Gos. Truth* 40.26-29, 42.3-8.

In his commentary to the letter of Ptolemy (Sources chrétiennes 24; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1949, 96-97), Quispel suggests that this doctrine may reflect a gospel tradition like that of Matt 19:17. As *ed. pr.* (I. 314-315) point out, the theological formulation here probably reflects the position of Platonism, where the good is the ultimate principle. The doctrine is rooted in *Rep.* 508D. Plotinus develops the doctrine at length in *Enn.* 2.9, 5.5 and 6.9. Cf. also Albinus, *Didas.* 10.3. Note the discussion of the principle in Origen, *De princ.* 1.12.13.

The goodness of the Father is commonly affirmed by other Gnostic sources, e.g., Cerdo (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.1) and the Peratae (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.12.2). Marcion, of course, drew a sharp distinction between the good, transcendent God and the merely just creator. (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 1.17).

53.8-9 *one filled with all his offspring* (ΠΕΤΜΗΖ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΧΠΟ): The qualitative of the verb ΜΟΥΖ with a noun is frequently used to translate a Greek adjective (Crum 208b). Hence the original Greek may have been παντογενής, παναρετός, πανάξιος, *vel sim.* For affirmations of the fullness of God, cf., with Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 225), Philo, *Spec.* 2.53 and *CH* 9.4.

53.13-14 *it may be discovered* (ΕΥΝΑΘΝΤ̄ Ε-): The circumstantial following the verb ΔΙΝΕ plus pronominal suffix is an object clause. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* #420, and Crum 820b. Cf. 60.33, 67.32, 70.9, 107.23, 126.6-7, and 132.30.

53.14 *is indebted* (ΕΥΝ̄ΤΕϚ): For this construction of ΟΥΝΤ̄, where the object marked by ε- indicates the person who owes a debt, and the subject, here Ϛ, is the person to whom the debt is owed, cf. Crum 481b. For a further example, cf. *Gos. Thom.* 64.

53.15-16 *unreachable* (ΕΥΜΑΨΩ ΧΑΒΕϚ): That is, the Father is not affected by his giving. The conjugation base, ΕΥΜΑΨ, is unusual. It is probably a circumstantial of the neg. cons. with the pronominal element reduplicated.

53.17-18 *wealthy*: The notion that God's being naturally overflows and produces the plenitude of being is repeated at 56.9-18, 59.36-38, 60.11-15, and 93.27. This idea of the procreative abundance of God originated with Plato, *Tim.* 29E and was important to the Neo-Platonists. Cf. A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1956). The "principle of undiminished giving" was also developed in the middle Stoa. Cf. E. R. Dodds, Proclus, *The Elements of Theology* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1963) 213-14. For middle Platonic attestations, cf. Philo, *Op. mun.* 21, *Gig.* 25; Albinus, *Didas.* 10.3; and Seneca, *Ep.* 65.10; see also Horst and Mansfield, *Alexandrian Platonist*, 11, n. 31a. In addition to the Christian texts cited by Dodds, cf. Justin, *Dial.* 61 and Tatian, *Or. ad Graec.* 5. At Nag Hammadi, cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III.4:97.1, *Gos. Truth* 18.38, and *Treat. Res.* 49.37.

53.19 *at rest*: On the "rest" of the Father and the Son, cf. 58.36-38. The Father himself is described as "rest" in 55.17.

53.21 **ⲭⲉ . . . Ⲅⲉ**: The compound particle is frequently an indication of the introductory **ⲭⲉ**.

53.23 *that*: Here **ⲭⲉ** is the final conjunction, probably equivalent to the Greek **ὅς**, the correlative of which, **οὕτως**, is probably translated by the **ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲗⲉ** of 53.21. This understanding of the Coptic corresponds to that of *ed. pr.* (Eng.). It is unnecessary to suppose, with *ed. pr.* (Ger.) that something has been omitted after **ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲛ**.

no one else: For the emphasis on the singularity of the Father, cf. 51.8-9, 53.36-37, 57.40-58.4. Contrary to the teaching of Valentinus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1), and Ptolemy and his disciples (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1), who speak of a primal dyad, in which Sige participates with the Father in the first act of generation, this author insists on the Father's absolute solitude in that act. Like the author of *Val. Exp.*, this teacher explains that the presence of silence in no way compromises the Father's absolute transcendence. For discussion and references, see 55.36-37.

The solitary Father who is active at this level of being contrasts with the Logos who, in 100.31-35, organizes the non-Pleromatic world through a Demiurge.

53.24 *place*: The lack of a place in which God finds himself is a common affirmation. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 127.1-2, and *Teach. Silv.*

99.29–100.12. Contrast the dictum of Philo (*Somn.* 1.183) that God may be called “place” because he contains all things. For Valentinian speculation on the subject, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 34–39. On the general use of the term, cf. W.R. Schoedel, “‘Topological’ Theology and some Monistic Tendencies in Gnosticism,” *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in honor of Alexander Böhlig* (NHS 3, ed. M. Krause; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 88–108. Cf. also, *Gos. Truth* 22.25–26 and Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.5.8–9.

53.25 *he has gone forth*: The emendation of the perf. I to a circumstantial is unnecessary. The perfect is asyndetically coordinated with the circumstantial $\epsilon\varrho\omega\sigma\sigma\tau$. Cf. Schenke, *ZÄS* 105 (1978) 137.

53.26 *he will go*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 288, relying on W. Till, “Beiträge” 197–224) point out, two verbs are to be distinguished, $\text{NOY}\text{OY}\text{Z}$ (Crum 235b; Kasser, *Compléments*, 39b) meaning “turn” and $\text{NOY}\text{Z}\epsilon, \text{N}\alpha\text{Z}-, \text{N}\alpha\text{Y}\text{Z}-, \text{NH}\text{Z}$ (Crum 241b; Kasser, *Compléments*, 39b) “repel, separate.” Forms of both are often confused. The latter verb can often be used in a pregnant sense meaning “conversion.” See the index, *sub voce*.

53.28 *model*: The denial that the Father used any archetype in his productivity activity is no doubt directed against doctrines derived from the Platonic tradition according to which the creator used the model of the ideas. Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 27D–29E. The doctrine of this text corresponds to the development in middle Platonism which held that the ideas were in the mind of God and not outside him. Cf. Albinus, *Didas.* 9.1–13, Seneca, *Ep.* 65.7, and see the discussion by R. M. Jones, “The Ideas as Thoughts of God,” *CP* 21 (1926) 317–26; A.N.M. Rich, “The Platonic Ideas as the Thought of God,” *Mnemosyne* 4.7 (1964) 123–33; Krämer, *Ursprung*, 21–28; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 316–28; and Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 29, 95, 201. This development is also found in Philo’s speculation on the relationship of God and the ideas. Cf. H. A. Wolfson, *Philo* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Harvard, 1968) vol. 1, 200–217. The problems of interpreting Plato and of relating God and the “ideas” also occupied orthodox church Fathers. Cf. Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 257–286. It is significant that some heresiologists suggested that Gnostic doctrines of the aeons were derived from Platonism. (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.16.1–2; Tertullian, *De anima* 18; and see Krämer, *Ursprung*, 225–30). Irenaeus

explicitly challenged the Gnostics to clarify whether the aeonic world was made by God "out of himself" or received from some "power above him." The statement in the *Tri. Trac.* may be a response to just such a challenge.

53.31 *material*: The denial that God utilized any pre-existent matter may also refer to the Platonic doctrine that the Demiurge simply gave form to pre-existent matter (*Tim.* 51A-52C). Here the *Tri. Trac.* is in conformity with orthodox theories of creation *ex nihilo*. Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Hermog.* 21.2 and Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 4.63.3. On the topic in general cf. J. Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971) 35-37. Note, too, the doctrine of creation by the non-existent god from the non-existent in Basilides (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.21.4). The doctrine that God needs nothing for his creative activity is also found, as *ed. pr.* (I. 315) note, in the *Ap. John* CG III,1:6.1 and BG 25.8. Contrast further the Platonic position defended by Plutarch, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* 5. 1014B.

53.36 *co-worker*: See the note to 51.12. Cf. also Philo, *Op. mun.* 23.

53.38 *to say*: As Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 137) points out, the inflected infinitive here probably serves as the subject of the nominal sentence, the predicate of which is ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΒΩ ΤΕ. For this usage, cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #336, *Ed. pr.* interpret the infinitive as a final clause, but that is clearly unsatisfactory.

53.39 *but (one should speak of him) as*: The sentence is no doubt elliptical, but where the ellipse falls is unclear. One might also assume that a verb of saying is understood before the $\alpha\epsilon$ of 54.2, which would then not introduce an independent paragraph. It might also be possible to take the $\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma$ of 54.1 as an orthographic variant of $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma$ (cf. 52.5), and translate "Rather, as good, faultless, etc., he by himself is the Totality."

54.1 *the Totality (ΠΤΗΡῆ)*: Cf. 52.4 and *Gos. Truth* 19.8-9.

54.3 *names*: See the note to 51.14-15. The discussion here enters a new, epistemological phase, wherein the inadequacies of the names

applied to the Father are emphasized. This is a key theme in this text. Cf. 65.39–66.5, 73.14–18, 74.3–5.

54.7–8 *magnifying* (εγουαειει): The circumstantial converter in this form, εγου, is written with the full orthography characteristic of this text. The verb form αειει is probably the equivalent of *Std. Sah.* αἰαἰ (or αειαι). In that case it is the infinitive, although the parallel expressions use the qualitative (πρειωου.ευταειαιετ). Perhaps the form is an error for the qualitative αει. In their index (s.v. ουαει) *ed. pr.* connect the form with ουε but, given the final ει, this is morphologically unlikely.

54.9 *glory*: Glory given to the Father, even with inadequate terminology, is viewed favorably in the *Tri. Trac.* Cf. 63.2–4, 17–18; 64.20; 65.39–66.6; 68.4, 29–36. The urge to glorify the Father can, however, have disastrous consequences. Cf. 76.5–12.

54.12–23 This passage emphatically declares the incomprehensibility of the highest God, a doctrine widespread in Hellenistic theology. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig; Teubner, 1913; reprinted, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971); R. Bultmann, “ἀγνοέω,” *TDNT* 1 (1964) 115–121; and Festugière, *La révélation*, vol. 4. Contrast the negative theology in Albinus, *Didas.* 10.4–5, which asserts that God *is* comprehensible.

For other middle Platonic texts stressing the difficulty of knowing the first principle, cf. Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.8–12; Numenius, fr. 22; and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.24.155,2. See also the discussions by E. R. Dodds, “Numenius and Ammonius,” *Les Sources de Plotin* (Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique 5; Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1960) 12; J. H. Waszink, “Porphyrios and Numenius,” *Porphyre* (Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique 12; Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1966) 41; J. Whittaker, “ΕΠΕΚΕΙΝΑ ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ,” *VC* 23 (1969) 91–104; S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria* (Oxford, 1971); Horst and Mansfeld, *Alexandrian Platonist*, 11; Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 156; and Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 328.

For the doctrine of God’s incomprehensibility in Gnostic texts, cf. *Gos. Truth* 17.7–8, on which see J. E. Ménard, *L’Évangile*, 79–80; *Exc. Theod.* 7.1, where the Father, being ἀγνωστος, is known only to himself. In the act of self-knowledge he produces Monogenes as in

Tri. Trac. 54.40-41. Cf. also *Eugnostos* CG III, 3: 71.14-72.17 and *Ap. John*, CG II, 1:3.5-4.15. The most radical affirmation of divine transcendence is found in Basilides, in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.20.3-21.1. Cf. Krämer, *Ursprung*, 234-38.

54.20 *greatness*: The "immeasurable greatness" is a designation of the Father in *Gos. Truth* 42.14. As *ed. pr.* (I. 316) note, τὸ μέγεθος is a designation for the Father in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.1 and in Heraclion, fr. 8 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.39). Cf. also *Ap. Jas.* 15.25.

depth: In the system of Ptolemy according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, the greatness of the depth (βάθος) and the inscrutability of the Father cause Sophia to fail in her attempt to know him. Cf. also Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.6; *Exc. Theod.* 29; and *Gos. Truth* 22.25, 35.15, 37.8 and 40.27.

54.23 *will*: The parallel with "depth" and "height" in the preceding lines suggests that οὐωυε here may be rendered as "distance" (Kasser, *Compléments*, 77b). However, the motif of the Father's powerful will is prominent in the *Tri. Trac.*, e.g., 55.35 and 71.35, as *ed. pr.* (I. 289) note. Hence, the spatial metaphors of the previous two lines may not be continued here. Cf. the series of similar terms at 55.25-26.

54.25-26 *touch* (ζῆογε... ἄτοοτς ζῆ): This construction is unusual. The verb ζῆογε normally means "to strike." Ζῆτοοτς (or Ζογτοοτς AA²) can mean "to lay hand to," hence "undertake" (Crum 732b, 734b). In either case, there is no other attestation of the use of the verb with the preposition ζῆ. The etymological meaning of "lay hand on" is probably operative here, hence the translation "touch." This interpretation is supported by the following phrase. For the notion that the transcendent God does not touch anything, cf. Philo, *Spec.* 1.329.

54.26 *joined* (ἄκαζτρε): The verb is probably an A² form of ζωτερ "be joined, doubled," with a metathesis of the ζ. Another possibility is that the form is connected with ζτορ (ζταρ AA²) "necessity," (Crum 726b) or ζω† (Crum 722b). It would then be translated "nor is it constrained."

54.28 *constitution*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 41.6-7. The term has connotations of firmness and establishment, appropriate for the unchange-

able being of the Father. The phrase is probably a preposed object of ΟΥΝΤΕΩ .

54.29–30 *face*: The Father himself has no visible face or form, but that by which he reveals himself does. Cf. 86.28, 93.30.

54.33 *If*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 289) suggest that the conjunction ΕΩΧΕ may be an exclamation. However, the expression in the following line, “then the matter follows it,” clearly introduces the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

54.37 *thing*: In this series one would expect “eye.” *Ed. pr.* (I. 289) suggest that the text (ΖΩΒ) may be corrupt for ΖΩ , “face,” which would be a slight improvement.

54.38 *ineffable*: Cf. 55.14; 56.3, 26–27. Valentinian theologians, like their orthodox counterparts, frequently assert that the Father is ineffable. See *Val. Exp.* 24.39; 29.31 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1.

54.39 *hand*: *Ed. pr.* note the parallel in *Gos. Thom.* 17, a form of the proverbial saying found in 1 Cor 2:9. See also *Pr. Paul* A.24–27. As *ed. pr.* also note, it is unnecessary to see an allusion to this saying, since the impalpability of God is a common affirmation of negative theology, e.g., Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 18.8.

55.3–4 *conceive of*: On the self-consciousness of God in this tractate and in Origen, see Puech-Quispel, *VC* 9 (1955) 85–90 and Thomasen, *VC* 34 (1980) 363. Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–4. The doctrine that God is simply self-consciousness reflects the Aristotelian formula, *Meta.* 1072b13–30, where God is defined as mind contemplating itself. That Intellect (νοῦς) is the highest principle is a common doctrine in middle-Platonism. Cf. Albinus, *Didas.* 10.2. The same doctrine appears in the third-century pagan platonist Origen, mentioned in Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 2.4 On Origen, cf. A. H. Armstrong, *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge 1967) 198–200; see also Horst and Mansfeld, *Alexandrian Platonist*, 11–12.

55.4 *to see himself* (ΑΝΕΥ ΑΡΕΥ): The confusion between γ and ρ as suffix pronouns, common in this text, is found elsewhere. Cf. Till,

Die gnostischen Schriften des Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (2nd ed.; TU 60; Berlin: Akademie, 1955) 12.

55.5 *he alone is*: The pronoun **ΕΝΤΑϚ** is probably the anomalous form of **ΝΤΑϚ** also found at 52.5, although here it may be possible to understand the form as a circumstantial conversion of a cleft sentence, to be translated, "since he alone is, etc." It would then be difficult to locate the main predication in this part of the sentence.

55.8 *form* (**ΦΟΡΜΗ**): This may be an unusual Latinism (*forma*). The text, however, may be corrupt for **ΜΟΡΦΗ**. Cf. 61.11 and *Gos. Truth* 27.20.

55.14 *incomprehensible*: *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest that this translates the Greek **ἀχώρητος**, "unlimited," metaphorically "incomprehensible." Cf. *Gos. Truth* 20.3.

55.15 *sustaining and joyous* (**ΕΥΤΡΟΦΗ . . . ΕΥΟΥΝΑϚ**): The **ε** in both words should probably be understood as the circumstantial converter (with *ed. pr.* Ger.), although **εγ** could be an orthographic variant of **ογ**. In that case there is simply a series of predications, "He is sustenance, he is joy, etc." (thus *ed. pr.* Fr. and Eng.).

Ed. pr. (I. 316) note the use of the term **τροφή** by Heracleon, fr. 31 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38), in connection with the terms **θέλημα** and **δύναμις** which appear in lines 34-35 below. In the fragments of Heracleon the term **τροφή** is used as a synonym for **βρώμα** in John 4:34. There seems to be no allusion to that verse here and the similar collocation of terms may be accidental. Note the repeated occurrence of the term **τροφή** in the fragmentary passage, *Val. Exp.* 44.20, 22, 35.

55.20 *transcends* (**ϚΝΕΖϚΕ ΑΖΡΗΙ**): The verb normally means "to awake, arise, awaken or raise up." The parallel expressions in lines 21-24 indicate that the verb must here mean "transcend" or "surpass." The original Greek was probably some form of **ἀναβαίνω**. This verb frequently means "transcend" or "surpass" in patristic Greek (Lampe 94b), and it is translated into Coptic by **ΝΕΖϚΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ** (Crum 245b). Hence, the speculation by *ed. pr.* (I. 31) on a Semitic prototype is unnecessary.

55.21-23 *transcends all wisdom, etc.*: Cf. 129.22-23.

55.29 *greatness*: The noun appears to be the subject of an adverbial sentence with ερωϛ (line 30) as the predicate. Such a use of ερωϛ as a predicate is, however, quite unparalleled. Perhaps a verb has been lost from the text before ερωϛ.

55.29–30 *which I already mentioned*: This simply refers to the whole preceding discussion in which the transcendence of the Father has been stressed.

55.35 *his will*: On the Father's will to be known, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–4. As *ed. pr.* (I.316) note, the Father's will and power are connected by Heracleon, fr. 31 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38). The will of the Father is also important in the *Gos. Truth* 22.10, 34; 24.2; 30.36; 33.34 and especially 37.4–34. *Val. Exp.* 36.32–38 offers a different formulation. Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 372, n.19) also relates the notion of the Father's will to the Hermetic βουλή and the δύναμις of the *Chaldean Oracles*. Cf. *CH* 1.8.

55.37 *silence*: The form with the feminine suffix is unusual. More common would be καρωϛ. As noted above (51.8–9, 53.23), while our author accepts the common Valentinian formula that the Father reposes in silence, he opposes the view of Valentinus, Ptolemy and others who understand silence as a hypostasis. Instead, apparently to protect the absolute transcendence of the Father, he interprets the silence as a quality of the Father's solitary existence. Cf. also Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.5.

The term *Sige* would suggest to a Valentinian reader that hypostatic being who forms the primal dyad with the Father. Possibly to avoid alluding to this hypostasis, the author avoids the explicit Greek name and uses its Coptic equivalent, but with the feminine suffix. Similarly, *Val. Exp.*, which agrees with the *Tri. Trac.* on this issue as on others, refrains from using σιγη and adopts καρωϛ, equated with ⲥⲃⲣⲁⲗⲧ̅, "tranquility" (Crum 389b). Cf. *Val. Exp.* 22.21–24.

In both *Val. Exp.* and *Tri. Trac.* 57.6–7, *silence* occurs along with *wisdom* and *grace*, not as hypostases, as in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1, 1.11.1, but as attributes of the Father and the Son.

56.1–16 The syntax in these lines is complex and ambiguous. The most satisfactory construal, proposed by Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 360), is to take εϛⲁⲫⲡⲟ in line 2 and εϛⲉⲓⲛⲉ in line 9 as second

tenses. Alternatively, the two verb forms could be read as circumstantials, both modifying the preposed pronominal subject (ⲛⲧⲁϣ) of a cleft sentence (ⲡⲈⲧⲓⲠⲱⲗ, line 7).

56.2-3 *begets himself* (ⲈϣⲬⲠⲠⲟ ⲙⲙⲁϣ): That the object is reflexive here is indicated by the preposed reflexive pronoun in line 1.

56.3-4 *self-begotten*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 290) notes, this phrase probably translates a Greek word such as *αὐτογεννήτωρ* or *αὐτογενής*. It might be possible to construe the text without emendation, by taking the Ⲉ as a preposition and not as the circumstantial converter. Translate, "as one begetting himself alone."

For the language of divine self-begetting in antiquity, cf. J. Whittaker, "The Historical Background of Proclus' Doctrine of the *Αὐθυπόστατα*," *De Jamblique à Proclus* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 21; Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1975) 193-237. Whittaker shows a development from the Stoic notion of the self-creating universe, to the notion of the self-creating, transcendent deity, common in the early centuries of the Christian era, to a notion of self-creating secondary deities, found in various Gnostic systems. The *Tri. Trac.* is closest to such accounts of self-generation as the doctrine attributed to Simon Magus in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.18. Note also the doctrine of Noetus criticized by Hippolytus in *Ref.* 9.10. This "Filio-patrian Monarchianism" was, of course, subsequently associated with Sabellianism.

56.8 *admiration* (ⲧⲈϢⲬⲁϣⲙⲁ): Neuter Greek nouns in *-μα* are normally treated as masculine in Coptic. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* #76. Hence ⲡⲈϢⲬⲁϣⲙⲁ would be expected here. This anomaly led *ed. pr.* (Ger.) to suggest their emendation ⲛⲧⲈϢⲬⲁϣⲓ. Rather than emend the text, it seems simpler to assume that the author treats the gender of *θαῦμα* in an unusual way. The author may have assumed that the noun ending in *a* was feminine. The genitive in ⲧⲈϢ is objective. "His admiration" is the admiration due to him.

56.11-15 *boundlessness . . . sweetness*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 24.8-9.

56.15 *untasteable* (ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲡⲢⲢ): This probably derives from ⲧⲱⲡⲈ, "taste" (Crum 423a), as *ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest, and not from ⲱⲡ, "count" (Crum 526a), as *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) maintain.

56.16 *projects himself* (κω...εΖΡΗΙ): The verb means literally "put, lay down." The qualitative κη (καατ A²) εΖραι regularly means "exist," cf. 56.24. The verb here must mean "to bring into existence," or in this context, "to project."

56.24 *Son*: The result of the Father's self-productive activity is finally made explicit. As *ed. pr.* (I. 317) note, the generation of the Son in the system of this text is distinctly different from the generation of aeons subordinate to the highest God in mythological Gnostic systems, where the initial act of generation is an erotic act of a male-female pair. Cf. *Ap. John* or the Valentinian systems described in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1 and 1.11.1. A similar attempt at "demythologizing" is found in *Val. Exp.* 22.30–23.31, where the Son is produced by the Father as a Monad and in the western Valentinians of whom Hippolytus reports in *Ref.* 6.29.5–6.

56.31 *he exists in him*: The translation takes Ἰμααϩ to be locative, equivalent to *St. Sah.* ἸΖΗΤḲ. Emendation to Ἰμααϩ is unnecessary. Cf. 59.7.

56.32 *in the way we mentioned earlier*: Cf. especially 51.28.

56.33–34 *in whom he knows himself*: The antecedents of the pronouns here are problematic. The fact that the pronominal subject is expressed in the relative clause suggests that its antecedent is different from the antecedent of the relative clause, πιωτ, which is in fact resumed in the first Ἰμααϩ of line 34. Thus the ϩ in πετϩαϥνε probably refers to the Son. The pronominal subject of the following relative clause refers again to the πιωτ of line 32, as do the possessive pronouns in 56.37–38 and 57.1. Cf. also the Marcosian account of the word who shows the Father what he is (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1)

57.1 ετε.[.].[..].π[.]: *Ed. pr.* here restored π[ι]κ[ω αΖρηι], "the form," "le fondement," "die Grundlage." Although a word with such a meaning is appropriate here, that precise restoration cannot be correct. The traces interpreted as π and κ both consist of ambiguous dots. A fragment preserved on an old photograph clearly shows the remains of what is most probably a π toward the end of the line.

57.5-7 *silence...grace*: The items mentioned here are independent hypostases in the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1). Here they are attributes of the existence of the Father and Son. The emphasis on the proper application of these terms (57.6-7) suggests that the author of this text, like the author of *Val. Exp.*, is consciously reinterpreting elements in earlier Valentinian theology. Cf. 55.37.

57.6 *if it is designated* (ΕΥΨΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑΣ): The conjugation base is problematic. *Ed. pr.* (I. 30) suggest that it is a praes. cons. II; *ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate as if the form were a circumstantial of the praes. cons. That interpretation is not impossible; however, the form can easily be understood as an A² conditional.

3. The Son and the Church (57.8-59.38)

In the system of this text, the highest level of being is occupied by the absolutely transcendent and unoriginated Father and the beings which proceed from him. The first of these is the Son, who is equal to the Father in all respects except for the fact that he is dependent on the Father (57.8-58.18). The Father and the Son together produce the Church, the "aeons of the aeons" (58.19-38). The life of the Church on that highest level of being is then briefly described (59.1-38).

57.12 *apart from*: For this translation of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\omega$, cf. *Auth. Teach.* 32.23.

57.14 *exists in the proper sense*: The Son exists in the fullest sense *qua* son, as the following clause explains. He is dependent on the Father, but is the unique Son.

57.16-17 *after whom no other son exists*: The Coptic text as it stands is distinctly odd. It might be defended by construing $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\omega\omega$ in line 17 with $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{h}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ and not with $\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\pi}$. It could then be translated "and no other Son after him (i.e., the Father) exists before him (i.e., the Son)," but the text goes on to affirm that the Son is an "only Son" because no other Son is *after* him (lines 21-23). This suggests that the phrase $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{h}$ in line 17 is a dittography from lines 15-16. Other suggested emendations of *ed. pr.* do not yield a sentence with normal Coptic syntax.

57.18 *firstborn*: Equivalent to the Greek *πρωτότοκος* (so *ed. pr.*, Fr., I. 290) or *πρωτόγονος*.

57.21 *only Son*: The Coptic probably translates the Greek *μονογενής* (so *ed. pr.*, Fr., I. 290). The identification of the Son as both "firstborn" and "only son" is significant. In patristic accounts of Valentinianism the two terms are used, although usually of different entities. "Only begotten" (*μονογενής*) is used by Ptolemy of the aeon Nous, the third element in the godhead (or Ogdoad) of his system. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, 1.2.1., possibly parallel to *Exc. Theod.* 7.1 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5. The author of *Val. Exp.*, explaining that God "has revealed himself in Monogenes," declares, "I... call the thought Monogenes" (24.33-37). Later, the same author speaks of "our Lord Jesus Christ, the Monogenes" (40.33-34). "First born" (*πρωτότοκος*) is used less frequently. In the system described in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3, it is the epithet of Logos, whom Humanity had produced. These are the seventh and fifth aeons in the Ogdoad of that system. In *Exc. Theod.* 33.1, "first-born" is an epithet of Christ, an offspring of all the Aeons. As *ed. pr.* (I. 318) note, there is a somewhat similar association of the terms "first born" and "only begotten" in *Exc. Theod.* 7.3, where Monogenes is the name of the transcendent aeon; Prototokos, the name applied to Jesus. This association may, however, be due to a gloss by Clement of Alexandria who compiled the excerpts, as *ed. pr.* (I. 319) recognize. In that case the *Tri. Trac.* at least shows another example of conformity to orthodox theological usage. For examples of that usage, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 8.2-3, and Origen, *Con. Cels.* 6.48, 64.

57.24 *his Fruit*: In patristic accounts of Valentinianism the Pleroma is said to have a fruit, namely Jesus or the Savior (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6, 1.8.5; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.1-2, cf. 34.3). This recalls some of the language used later in the *Tri. Trac.* about the offspring of the aeons. Cf. 69.18, 37. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 34.31, 36.33-34 and *Interp. Know.* 19.30-34. The Son is called a "fruit" of the Father by the Naassenes, in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.9.1, and the Word of the Father is similarly described in *Gos. Truth* 23.35. It is significant that none of these texts refers the term "fruit" to the Son. Here the antecedent of the pronoun is ambiguous, although the most likely interpretation is that the Son has the "fruit" of the Father. Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.37.7-8) preserves a fragment of Valentinus referring to the "fruit from the depths," and that is interpreted as "the entire procession of the aeons

from the Father." The "fruit" here could have a similar symbolic referent, although it could also be a symbol of the knowledge which the Son possesses. Cf. 56.33-34 and *Gos. Truth* 18.25.

57.24-28 The antecedents of the pronouns in this passage are again obscure. The relative in line 25 probably refers to the "fruit" just mentioned and this is probably the antecedent of the object pronoun in the following clause. The one who desires fruit to be known in line 27 could be the Son, but it is more likely the Father who, as is normally the case in Valentinian texts, wants to be known. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 7.1; Heracleon, fr. 31 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38); and *Gos. Truth* 19.13. The "sweetness" in line 29 may belong to the fruit, or, more likely, to the Father. Cf. 53.5, 56.15.

57.26 *Yet* (αὐτω): This probably translates literally a Greek *καί*, which can be used adversatively. Cf. LSJ 857b, A.II.3. Cf. also 63.20.

57.29-30 *inexplainable* (ἄτα του γαρ μες): As *ed. pr.* (I. 290) note, several interpretations of this form are possible. It may be from *του γαρ* (Crum 448b) "add to," or *τα γαρ* (Crum 455a) "attain to," followed by the prepronominal object marker, where the ε is a hypercorrection to an A² form. The verb is more likely a form of *οὐ γαρ με* (Crum 509a), "answer, repeat." In this case, the τ in the prefix has been doubled, there has been a metathesis of α and γ, and the final με has been doubled. One would expect ἄτα του γαρ μες or ἄτα του γαρ μες.

57.34 *Church*: In other expositions of Valentinian doctrine, Church is one of the eight aeons of the Ogdoad. In the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1), Church is the eighth aeon, the companion of Humanity. In the variant system described in *Val. Exp.* 29.25-35, 30.19, 30.34-55, 31.36-37, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3, and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.7, Church is still the companion of Humanity, but these two constitute the second pair in the second Tetrad. The trinity of Father-Son-Church is not precisely paralleled, although the Marcosian account in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1-2 comes close.

57.36-40 *Now he who thinks, etc.*: The syntax here is difficult. The particle *ἄρα* in 57.36 indicates that a new sentence begins with the preceding substantivized relative clause. *ἄρα* probably translates an ethical dative in the Greek: *ὅς ἂν οἴηται αὐτῷ*. The inflected infinitive

ΠΤΡΟΥΘΝ probably translates a passive infinitive ἐὶρηθῆναι, which governs a participial phrase in indirect discourse, ΠΩΗΡΕ ΕϞΘ, etc. For this construction in Coptic, cf. the note to 53.13-14. For the nominalized inflected infinitive outside a prepositional phrase, cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #348. ΕϞ† is to be understood as a second tense. The pronoun Ϟ resumes the preposed subject, ΠΤΡΟΥΘΝ, etc. † ΑΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ is difficult. The phrase is attested once (Crum 395a), meaning "respond to." Such a meaning does not fit the context here. The phrase is probably equivalent to † ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ or † ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΝ-, meaning "strike into" or "oppose." Cf. 89.6 and 84.8, 13. The "word" which is "opposed" or contradicted is the immediately preceding statement that the Church, like the Son, exists from the beginning. There is then an anacoluthon, since the preposed subject ΠΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ is not resumed, unless the relative ΠΕΤ- is taken as a translation of εἰ τις. The following clause states that there is no contradiction "because of the mystery of the matter." The interpretation of the syntax proposed here corresponds to that implicit in the alternative translation suggested by *ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 391).

58.3-4 *for him alone: Ed. pr.* take the pronoun here as reflexive. Thus the Father is seen as Father "for himself alone." The Father, however, is a father inasmuch as he generates the Son (51.14), although he is Father in the fullest sense because he is ungenerated.

58.6-7 *brother to himself:* The assertion that the Son is a brother to himself reaffirms the notion that he is an "only Son" (57.19-23).

58.7-8 *unbegotten and without beginning:* Note the "conditions of the Son's existence" in 58.15-16. These are the qualities which characterize the Father's existence (52.7-9, 36). In these lines the tractate is attempting to argue that the Son is different from the Church and, hence, an "only Son," because he shares the characteristics of the Father's existence. In the language of orthodox theology, the Son proceeds from the Father eternally. Here the *Tri. Trac.* may be reacting to criticism of the Valentinian theory of emanation made by orthodox theologians. Note the insistence on the eternal generation of the Logos in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.13.8, 2.30.9, 4.20.3; Origen, *De princ.* 1.2.2-4, 4.4.1 and *In Jerem.* 9.4; and *Exc. Theod.* 8.1.

58.9-12 *He wonders at himself, etc.:* Similar remarks were made

about the Father alone in 56.18-22, and in general the restorations here are based on that passage.

58.10 *along with* (ΜΝ): The restoration of *ed.pr.* makes the Father the subject of the sentence. Since the passage is basically concerned with the Son and the similarity of his mode of existence to that of the Father, it is more likely that the Son is the subject.

58.11 *him (self)* (ΝΕϞ): A pronoun is to be restored here. The antecedent may be the Father. Although the pronoun is not explicitly reflexive, it should probably be understood as such, in parallel with the preceding clause. Cf. the note to 56.2-3.

58.12-14 *He is the one of whom he conceives as Son*: The syntax here is problematic. The pronominal subject of the relative clause should indicate that the subject is different from the antecedent of the relative. That antecedent is almost certainly the Son. Hence the pronominal subject of the relative probably refers to the Father. The only objection to this analysis is the presence of the reflexive ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟϞ as the object of Π ΝΟΕΙ. If the object of the verb in the relative clause is in fact reflexive, then the text should be emended to ΠΕΤ{Ϟ}Π ΝΟΕΙ <ΜΜΑϞ> ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟϞ. A simple alternative is to assume that the reflexive is an error and to delete the ΜΜΙΝ.

58.14-16 *in accordance with the dispositions*: As noted above (58.7-8), these qualities of being without beginning or end are characteristics of the existence both of the Father and of the Son. The χε in 58.15 indicates that the author is citing his own reference to these characteristics in 52.7-9, 35-38. The phrases mentioning these characteristics are not to be construed with what follows, as is done by *ed.pr.* (Eng.).

58.16-18 *Thus is the matter*: Contra *ed.pr.*, this phrase should not be construed as dependent on what precedes. The ε in line 16 is a second tense converter, and the emphasis in the sentence falls on the phrase ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ. The "matter" is a reference to the whole discussion of the Son. The sentence as a whole concludes the remarks on the Son whose virtual equality with the Father and superiority to the Church have been stressed. That equality, which exists despite the fact that the Son is generated, is the "mystery" mentioned in 57.39. What

follows contrasts the Church with the Son and Father, who have generated it.

58.21–22 *those which exist*: A new sentence probably begins here. The subject is the substantivized relative, ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ , etc.; the main predication is the perf. Π ΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ , which emphasizes the prepositional phrase “like kisses” of line 24. There follows a loosely connected explanation of why the generation of the Church is “like kisses.”

58.23 *the Son and the Father* ($\text{ΜΜΑϚ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΙΩΤ}$): The Son and Father here seem to be treated as a single entity. Hence, *ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 291) suggest a parallel with the Sabellian term *υιοπάτωρ*.

58.24 *kisses*: The “kiss” used here as a metaphor for the generative activity of Father and Son may have some background in a ritual practice, as *ed. pr.* (I. 321) suggest. Cf. Rom 16:16, 1 Cor 16:20, 2 Cor 13:12, 1 Thess 5:26. The striking image of the Father and Son kissing and thus producing the Church is unparalleled. *Ed. pr.* (I. 321) note that the *Gos. Truth* (41.23–34) refers to the union of the emanations of the Father with him in terms of an embrace (ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ), and that a spiritual procreation through a kiss is mentioned in *Gos. Phil.* 59.2–4. One might add the reference in *Eugnostos* 81.7–10 to the kiss of the angels which produces other angels.

58.24–29 *like kisses, etc.*: The syntax here again is difficult and the text may well be corrupt. The clause seems to be an explanation for the use of the image of the kiss. The explanation focuses on the combination of unity and diversity in a “kiss.” The kisses of many individuals share in the unity of a single action, the kiss. Analogously, many aeons share a single source, the “kiss” of the Father and Son. Thus they constitute a single Church. This explanation is somewhat inappropriate to the bare statement of the metaphor: “the aeons have come forth like kisses.” Either the thought is condensed and the expression elliptical or a statement is missing such as, “His unified offspring are like kisses because of . . .”

The extant text is corrupt in several particulars, and various emendations are possible. The form ΕΨΟΟΠ in line 28 is difficult because of the masculine pronominal subject. If, as is likely, this pronoun refers to the “kiss” it should be feminine, and the form emended to ΕΨ

Ϟοοπ. It may, however, be possible to take the antecedent to be μεεϥε in line 22. Then "what exists is in many kisses" would be the same good "thought." The interpretation of πειει in line 29 is also problematic. It is probably a form of πι "kiss." Cf. Crum 260a and the A form πει, cited by *ed. pr.* (Fr.). The word may also be an uncorrected mistake for the following ϣει or, less possibly, a form of αἰαἰ (cf. Crum lb), as *ed. pr.* (Ger.) tentatively suggest.

58.31 *before the aeons*: The relationship of the Church to the lower aeons is unclear. The image of the generation ("many kisses") suggests that the Father and Son produce the rest of the aeonic world, the totality of which comprises the Church. In this case, in so far as those aeons are unified, they are the Church. Alternatively, the statement that the Church existed "before the aeons" may imply that the entity generated by the Father and Son is somehow distinct from the later aeons. In this case, the "Church" is probably to be understood as the archetype or model at this level of being of the "aeons" at the next level of being. The application of this principle of model and copy is in fact frequent throughout the text and is probably operative here. The two conceptions of the relationship of "Church" and "aeons" are not, however, sharply distinguished by this text.

With the second understanding should be compared the common Valentinian distinction between the aeons of the Ogdoad, which includes the Church, and the twenty-two aeons which are generated by the aeons of the Ogdoad. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1-3. *Ed. pr.* also call attention to the formula $\zeta\lambda\ \Theta\eta\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$, $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Prov 8:23, 1 Cor 2:7 and Jude 25.

58.33 *aeons of the aeons*: This phrase recalls traditional liturgical formulas (Rom 16:27; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18; Heb 13:21; 1 Pet 4:11, 5:11; Rev 1:6 and *passim*), which were interpreted by Gnostics as references to the transcendent entities of their mythology. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.1. For the connection of these "aeons" and the "Church," cf. especially Eph 3:21, and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4, interpreting Eph 5:32.

In 67.39 the "aeons of the aeons" are said to be those who came forth from the Son, a formula which supports the second understanding of the relationship of "Church" and "aeons" suggested above (58.31). Cf. also *Gos Eg.* CG III,2:41.5 and IV,2:50.17-18.

58.36 *upon which the Son rests*: The “rest” of the Son on the aeons, as Puech and Quispel (*VC* 9 [1955] 100) note, is paralleled in Heraclion, fr. 34 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.46) where the salvation of the “pneumatics” consists in the resting (*ἀναπαύεσθαι*) of Christ upon them. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 38.25–32 and *Treat Res.* 43.35–44.3. *Ed. pr.* (I. 315) also call attention to the Valentinian sacramental formula “Peace to those on whom this name rests” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3).

It should be noted that the motif of “rest” is commonly used in Gnostic sources to describe the being of the transcendent God and the ultimate state of the Gnostics themselves. For discussion of the theme cf. P. Vielhauer, “ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ, zum gnostischer Hintergrund des Thomas Evangeliums,” *Apophoreta, Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (ZNW Beiheft 30; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1946) 281–99. For a recent discussion of the related theme of the stability of the highest principle and the Platonic background to that theme, cf. M. Williams, *The Nature and Origin of the Gnostic Concept of Stability* (Diss. Harvard, 1977). For further allusions to these themes in the *Tri. Trac.*, cf. 70.18, 131.21.

58.37–38 *just as the Father rests*: The syntax is unusual. We would normally expect *ἄθε ἄπιωτ ετμαῖ ἄμαϑ, ἄθε ετερε πιωτ ματῖ ἄμαϑ*, or *ἄθε ετεϑματῖ ἄμαϑ ἄβι πιωτ*. The Father is also said to “rest” upon the favors which he grants (53.19). It should be noted that the verb can also be translated “be satisfied (or pleased) with.”

59.1 *χ[ε]*: After the word for “Son” there are the traces of either a *χ* or *α*. *Ed. pr.* reconstruct the conjunction *χε* and a clause explaining why the Father rests upon the Son, “because he is his Son.” Such a superficially plausible reconstruction is quite uncertain. If a *χε* is indeed to be reconstructed, it may well be the introductory particle common in this text.

59.5 *as I have said*: The cross-reference seems to be the whole preceding discussion. Note in particular the statement that the Church, like the Son, exists from the beginning (57.33–35). This is one of the “conditions” in which both Father and Son exist. Cf. the note to 58.15–16. The doctrine of the equality of the conditions in which the highest entities exist may be compared with the affirmation by Ptol-

emy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6) that all the aeons shared all the names of the aeons of the Ogdoad.

59.7 *procreations of innumerable aeons*: In other Valentinian systems the lower aeons are generated by pairs in the Ogdoad and are precisely numbered. For slightly divergent accounts of this process, cf. *Val. Exp.* 29.25-30, 38; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.2-3, 1.11.1; and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.7-30.6. The innumerability of the aeons is also stressed in 59.28 and in one Valentinian source, Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.6.1-2.

59.8 *in an uncountable way*: *Ed. pr.* associate this phrase with what follows. On that understanding, there would be two balanced assertions about the innumerable aeons and their innumerable begettings.

59.11-12 *association*: The Greek word, *πολίτευμα*, refers to a political organization. Cf. Phil 3:20. A more common term for the collective organization of the aeons is *σύστασις*. Cf. 59.29, 71.7. It comprises both the aeons generated directly by the Father and Son, as well as their offspring. The translation of *ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.) "Lebensregel," "way of life," is a possible one for the Greek term, but it is inappropriate here, where the corporate entity which the aeons comprise is in view. The translation of *ed. pr.* (Fr.) "cité" is too concrete. The restoration here is uncertain, and other constructions would be possible. See the apparatus.

59.14 *them* (ἄμ[α]): It would also be possible to restore ἄμαα. However, the subject of this sentence is most likely those who are begotten by the aeons generated by the Father and Son. In line 9 those offspring are said to beget. Thus the referent of the pronoun here is most likely plural, namely, the aeons who subsist in the Church.

59.15 *toward the Son*: Cf. 68.35.

59.15-16 *for whose glory*: Note the description of the aeons in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6: *Τοὺς Αἰῶνας εἰς δόξαν τοῦ πατρὸς προβεβλημένους*.

59.18-19 *that place*: The text draws a sharp distinction between "that place," i.e., the transcendent, aeonic world, and "this place" or

“these places,” which are outside that transcendent world. Cf. 59.26; 91.22; 92.26; 95.10, 27. Cf. also *Treat. Res.* 44.18–19.

59.19 *nor can speech express*: *Ed. pr.* assume the text to be corrupt and suggest a faulty word division (ΝΕΨΥΕ ΧΕ ΧΟΟΥ). Cf. Schenke, *ZÄS* 105 (1978) 137. For the form ΝΕΨ, cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* #347.

59.20 *ineffable, etc.*: With the predicates here applied to the aeons, compare those applied to the Father in 54.6, 16, 33, 38; 55.13–14, and to the Son 56.22–28.

59.26 *these places*: *Ed. pr.* suggest that this word has been cancelled by a scribe. What appear to be dots around the word are the results of ink which has run on the poor quality papyrus.

59.28 *innumerable*: There is a blank space in the papyrus before this word which *ed. pr.* take to be a lacuna which they fill with αγω.

59.29–30 **τε·χε**: After the **τε** there is a mark which is probably a line filler. The surface of the papyrus is not damaged and there is no lacuna. Hence, the reconstruction of *ed. pr.* π[υε] is impossible.

59.30 *manner* (ΠΙΡΗΤΕ): *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) emend unnecessarily, to <M>ΠΙΡΗΤΕ. Both ΠΙΡΗΤΕ and ΤΕΙΒΑΤ are predicates of nominal sentences.

59.31 *joy* (ΑΛΗΛ): Till (“Beiträge,” 205) compares this word with ΕΙΕΛΕΛ, “brightness” (Crum 77a). *Ed. pr.* (I. 30) note that the word is otherwise unattested and they reject a connection with ΑΛΩΛ, “be impatient” (Crum 6a) or ΤΕΛΗΛ, “rejoice” (Crum 410a). Nonetheless a connection with the latter word is not impossible. Cf. *Paraph. Shem.* 11.14. The term appears in this text also at 65.19 and 93.9.

59.36 *fullness*: The last sentence on this page closes this section of the tractate and its discussion of the highest level of being, consisting of Father, Son, and Church, the “fullness” of Fatherhood.

paternity (†ΜΝ†ΕΙΩΤ): The spelling with the reduplicated τ is unusual. For other examples of this orthographic peculiarity, cf. *Gos. Truth* 17.20, 26.28, 26.33, 26.34, 27.1. For the notion that the abundance of the Father’s being produces all else, cf. 53.13, 59.37.

60.1 [...] of the aeons: The top line of the page has been severely damaged and the tentative restorations in the *ed. pr.* are quite conjectural. Over the letters ΥAC a horizontal line is visible. This probably does not indicate an abbreviation, but is simply the bottom stroke of the page number.

4. Aeonic Emanations (60.1-67.37)

The next section details the process of emanation of the aeons and the revelation to them of the Father's existence. It seems to be the case that the tractate has now moved to a lower level of being from that which the Trinity of Father, Son, and Church occupies. Here there is discussion of the "Totalities" in the plural (64.29) and these entities are implicitly considered "begotten ones" as opposed to the "unbegotten ones," i.e., Father, Son and Church (64.27, cf. 57.35). Insofar as there is a relationship between the "Totalities" and the "Church" it consists in the fact that the "Church" is potentially and ideally what the "Totalities" are in actuality. The first paragraphs of this section are concerned to explain that relationship (60.1-62.5). Then it is explained how the "Totalities" were deficient when existing potentially (62.6-33). This deficiency consists in their ignorance of the Father and is remedied by the revelation provided by the Son (62.33-64.8). The "Totalities" respond to this revelation, as the Father desired, by glorifying him and begetting in their turn (64.8-27). The remainder of the section repeats the doctrines already enunciated, giving special attention to the Son who provides the revelation of the Father (64.27-67.37).

60.1-2 *They were*: A new section apparently begins with an introductory $\alpha\epsilon$ at the end of line 1. The α had been read as a Δ by *ed. pr.* and the present editors. If the line were to end with $\Delta\epsilon$, then $\text{N}\Delta\text{I}\omega\text{N}$ would probably be the subject of what follows. Recent reexamination of the text by P.-H. Poirier of Laval University indicates that α is definitely to be read.

60.2 *forever* ($\lambda\text{N}\text{I}\zeta\epsilon\ \tau\text{M}\epsilon\tau$): Cf. the note to 52.11. The usual spelling in this text is $\lambda\text{N}\text{H}\zeta\epsilon\ \tau\text{M}\epsilon\tau$.

60.3 *thought*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 325) note, the Coptic probably translates the Greek term $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$, the name of the companion of Depth in the system of Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1. Here the term is an

attribute of the Father, not a separate hypostasis. Note the similar treatment of other Valentinian terms at 55.37, 57.6-7; *Gos. Truth* 16.35, 19.36, 37.7-14; and *Val. Exp.* 22.35-38, 24.31-33.

The existence of the aeons in the thought of the Father probably refers to the status of the Church already described. The distinction implicit here between the aeons as thought and the aeons as reality is paralleled by orthodox discussions about the generation of the Logos from the Father. At first the Logos was in the thought of the Father and then he was spoken or expressed. Cf., e.g., Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 10 and Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 2.10, 22 and see Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 192-198. The distinction made here depends on the traditional Stoic distinction between thought (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος) and speech (λόγος προφώρικος). Cf. *SVF* II.135 (p. 43:18), and Philo, *Vita Mos.* 2.127. See also 60.34. The distinct stages of the existence of the Logos and the aeons also reflect discussions in middle Platonism about the status of the ideas and their relationship to the mind of God. Cf. the note to 53.28.

60.5 *place*: Cf. the note to 53.24. *Ed. pr.* (I. 325) call attention to the use of **ΤΟΠΟΣ** as a designation for God in the *Gos. Truth* 40.30-41.3. Cf. the terminology of Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 11.13.1, and the application of the same term to the Demiurge in 100.29 below. For a different use, cf. *Treat. Res.* 44.18-19.

60.6 *their generations* (**ΝΧΠΟΟΥΕ**): As S. Emmel notes, we have here a nominal use of **ΧΠΟ** with an object suffix. The **Ε** at the end of the word is an excrescent **ε** found in A² texts. Cf. P. Lacau, "Les pluriels du substantif en égyptien," *Etudes d'Égyptologie*, II. *Morphologie* (Bibliothèque des études coptes 60; Cairo: IFAO, 1972) 127-29.

60.7 **ΝΧΙ**: The traces of the **Ν** are read by *ed. pr.* as an **α**. The form would then be an infinitive dependent on **ΟΥΩΩΕ** in the previous line. The asyndeton with the coordinate infinitives in the next line is harsh and the post-posed subject, **ΠΕΤΕΥΝ ΒΟΜ ΜΜΑϞ**, would be unusual without the particle **ΝΒΙ**. The traces of the first letter are compatible with an **Ν** and the orthographic variant of **Χ** for **Ϟ** is not unusual. Hence the text should be read as **ΝΧΙ** (= **ΝΒΙ**).

60.9 **Ν[ΠΕΤ]ΑϞΩΩΩΤ**: Reading and reconstruction here are dif-

ficult, but the reading of the ς as a τ by *ed. pr.* is impossible. It is not immediately clear how something in the Father's thought is "deficient." Some light is shed on this by the passage in 62.12-33, where it is said that even after they were actually produced, the aeons were not given their perfection which consists of knowledge of the Father. The ignorance of the aeons even within the Father is emphasized in 60.16-29. Cf., too, the formulation in *Gos. Truth* 19.8-10.

60.9-10 $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ π [... $\lambda\varrho\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$] ϵ : *Ed. pr.* fill the first part of the lacuna with π [$\tau\eta\rho\varrho$]. However $\psi\omega\omega\tau$ $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ can mean "to be in want of." Hence, possible restorations are π [$\varsigma\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}$...] ϵ and π [$\chi\omega\kappa$...] ϵ . For the latter, cf. *Gos. Truth* 21.17-18. Another possibility is to take $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ in a local sense, with π [$\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$...], *vel. sim.* The second part of the lacuna should probably be filled with a form of $\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$, either an infinitive (so *ed. pr.*), or a finite verb as here.

60.13 *he is* ($\epsilon\varrho\psi\omega\sigma$] π): The trace of the final letter is a slightly curved vertical stroke with a small tick at the bottom. That feature excludes the possibility of reading ϵ as proposed by Schenke. Either σ or π are possible, although the restoration by *ed. pr.*, [$\lambda\varrho\tau\epsilon\gamma$] ϱ is less satisfactory than the alternative adopted here. For the statement that the Father is a spring, cf. 66.17. *Ed. pr.* (I. 305) also note the parallel in *Codex Bruce* (U 2).

spring: For the image of the undiminished spring, cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* 3.8.10. Note too Philo's description of the Logos as a fountain, *Spec.* 1.303.

60.14 *by* ($\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\varrho}$): The use here of $\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\varrho}$ $\bar{\nu}$ - (Crum 640b) is unusual. Thus, the text should be emended to $\langle\bar{\nu}\rangle\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\varrho}$.

60.16 *while* ($\psi\alpha$ $\pi\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$): With the following relative, this phrase probably translates $\xi\omega\varsigma$. *Ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.) mistranslate, "bis zur Zeit," "up to the time." The Greek conjunction can also denote contemporaneousness. Cf. LSJ, 752a, A. III, and Bauer, 335b, I.2. Cf. 81.10, 92.14.

60.18 *in the hidden depth*: On the term "depth" cf. 54.21. That the aeons were within the Father is also affirmed in the *Gos. Truth* 17.6-9, 37.7-8, as *ed. pr.* (I. 325) note.

60.21 *unable to know*: The ignorance of the aeons, even while within the Father, is mentioned in *Gos. Truth* 23.27–33, 27.22–25 and 27.31–28.4. Ignorance of oneself is an important component of the aeon's deficiency in 60.26 in this text and in *Gos. Truth* 21.14–26.

60.30–31 *They only had existence* (ΝΕΥΝΤΕΥ ΜΜΕΥ ΜΠΤΡΟΥΩΩΠΕ): It may be, as S. Emmel suggests, that the underlying Greek used a form of ἔχω with the infinitive, meaning “to be able.” Thus, the passage might be translated, “they were only able to become like a seed.”

60.32 *so that it has been discovered* (ΑΤΡΟΥΒΝΤῚ): For the inflected infinitive used as a result clause, cf. Stern, *Grammatik*, #463.

60.34 *fetus* (ΒΕΚΕ): The word is probably the A² spelling of ΒΟΚΙ Β (Crum 31a), possibly related to S ΒΑΚΕ, which appears in *Aphoc. Adam* 79.10.

like the word: In *Gos. Truth* 37.7–10, it is the Logos who produces the aeons; in *Val. Exp.* 24.22–26, it is the “Mind of the All.” Here, however, it is the Father who begets them “like a word,” that is, he first conceives of them mentally and then produces them. On the source of the metaphor, cf. the note to 60.3 above. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) take the Logos as the subject of ΑΧΧΠΑΟΥ, but ΝΘΕ here is a preposition, not a conjunction, as *ed. pr.* (Ger.) recognize. The position of ΜΕΝ here is unusual. One would expect ΝΘΕ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΛΟΓΟΣ.

60.35–36 *they existed spermatically* (ΑΧΚΗ... ΟΥΜΝΤΣΠΕΡΜΑ): The verb form here is probably pres. circ. (or possibly a pres. II), since the qualitative ΚΗ cannot appear in the perfect. The pronominal subject should probably be emended, with *ed. pr.*, to the plural. It is possible, however, that the singular is correct and that the phrase refers to the “spermatic” existence of the “word.” Cf. Thomassen, *VC* 34 (1980) 373, n. 36, and *Tripartite Tractate*, 42, n. 1.

The aeons are called “seeds,” among other things, by the Valentinian Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.2. The Father brings forth the aeons in the Son “spermatically,” according to Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5.

61.1 *from him. The one who* (ΑΒΑΛ ΜΠΑΕΙ [...] ΠΕΝΤΑΥ): This

line presents several problems. First, the prepositional phrase "from him" is ambiguous. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) take it as a logical connective, "therefore," to be construed with what follows. The translation here follows *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). The pronoun probably refers to the Father, in whose thought the aeons first existed. The lacuna is difficult to restore. *Ed. pr.* suggest [α]Ν. It might also be possible, with Emmel, to restore [ΝΒΙ], thus making the substantivized relative clause which follows into the subject of ΕΤΓΝΑΧΠΟΥΥ in 59.37-38, although the ΝΒΙ construction within an ΝΒΙ construction is awkward. It may simply be that the space was left blank.

61.3-7 *not only so that, etc.:* This long parenthesis expresses the intent of the Father in producing the aeons. It states the purpose in two distinct ways, first without and then with the equation of the first stage of the aeons' existence with the thought of the Father. Cf. the note to 60.3. For more on the Father's purpose in producing aeons, cf. 67.31-33, 69.20-24, and see also 92.1-4.

61.4 *exist for themselves:* Cf. 60.28-29.

61.8-9 *like a [spermat]ic seed (ΖΩC ΟΥC ΠΕ[Ρ]ΜΑ· ΠΕ· ΝΜΝΤ-
CΠ[ΕΡΜΑ]):* The restoration in line 9 is doubtful. The traces of the last letter before the lacuna are incompatible with the restoration ΜΝΤC[ΑΥΝΕ] adopted by *ed. pr.* Zandee suggests ΜΝΤC[ΤΕ ΠΕ], which is possible.

The construction here is also problematic. ΖΩC with an unconverted nominal sentence, which also appears at 58.37, should mean "as long as it is a seed," which is not entirely satisfactory.

Note that the metaphor of sowing is used for different events in the process of emanation. The aeons themselves first exist like a seed or fetus in the thought of the Father (60.29-34). Then into them a *thought* is sown, which enables them, as it were, to sprout, and achieve independent existence. These processes are replicated on lower levels of being. The Logos "sows" into his offspring a disposition to seek for the preexistent one (83.18-22). Spiritual human beings who appear in the material world (115.34-116.5) first exist as "seeds" in the Logos (95.22-28).

61.9-10 *Now in order that they might know (ΑΤ[ΠΟΥ]Ρ̄ ΝΟΕΙ
ΜΜΕΝ):* The purpose clause here is probably to be construed with

what follows, not with what precedes, as *ed. pr.* suggest. The $\bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ of line 10 was probably balanced by a $\Delta\epsilon$ in the lacuna of line 12. For a clear example of a sentence beginning with the inflected infinitive, cf. 53.38-39.

61.10 *what exists* ($\phi[\gamma\ \text{πετ}] \psi[\omicron]\omicron\pi$): *Ed. pr.* suggest a different restoration with the same meaning, $\epsilon[\gamma\ \text{πε}\ \text{π}\zeta] \psi[\nu\ \epsilon\tau\psi\omicron]\omicron\pi$. "What exists for them," is probably the ultimate ground of the aeons' being, the Father. Cf. 61.35-36 and 62.2-3.

61.12 *form* ($\Phi\text{ΟΡΜΗ}$): For the Latin word "forma," cf. *Gos. Truth* 27.20 and *Tri. Trac.* 55.8. The unusual Latinism may simply be a metathesis of the consonants in the Greek $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$, also used in *Gos. Truth* and in *Val. Exp.* 27.33, 35.13, 37.31, 42.30. Note that $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$ is also used in the *Tri. Trac.* at 62.2. Another explanation of the Latinism would be that $\Phi\text{ΟΡΜΗ}$ is a corruption of $\alpha\Phi\text{ΟΡΜΗ}$ used in 71.19, 98.33, and 132.6. That word would be appropriate here since the Father gives the aeons the initial "impulse" to think about him.

Ed. pr. (I. 326) connect the expression used here with Heracleon, fr. 2 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.21) who uses the term "first formation" ($\tau\eta\bar{\nu}\ \text{πρ}\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\bar{\nu}\ \mu\omicron\rho\phi\omega\sigma\iota\omega$). Heracleon employs the phrase in his exegesis of John 1:4; "What was in him was life." He claims that this applies to the pneumatics, who, having been sown by another, are given "form" and "illumination" by the Logos. The doctrine is similar to that of the two formations of the fallen Sophia in the system of Ptolemy. The first is the "formation according to substance" ($\mu\omicron\rho\phi\omega\sigma\iota\omega\ \tau\eta\bar{\nu}\ \text{κατ}'\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\bar{\nu}$, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1), whereby Sophia is brought to awareness of her passion by the action of Christ. The second formation is that "according to gnosis" ($\tau\eta\bar{\nu}\ \text{κατ}\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\bar{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\omega$, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5), whereby Sophia is healed of her passion by the Savior. As *ed. pr.* (I. 327) note, the *Tri. Trac.* may have transposed this distinction from the level of the fallen Sophia to that of the aeons in the Pleroma. It is not clear, however, that this transposition is presupposed by the fragment of Heracleon.

61.12 *realize* ($\alpha\tau\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu[\mu\epsilon\ \Delta\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon]$): For the restoration cf. 61.35, and 62.2.

61.14 *name*: Note the concern with the propriety of the name "Father" in 51.13-15, 52.2-4, 73.14-18. *Ed. pr.* (I. 327) note several

parallels to this passage. In *Exc. Theod.* 31.3 the aeons recognize that "what they are, an inexpressable name, a form, and knowledge, they are by grace of the Father." In *Gos. Truth* 21.25-37 and 27.15-21, reference is made to the notion that the Father gives a form to someone or something by giving him a name. Finally, in a fragment of Valentinus himself in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89,6-90,2, it is explained that as the lack of similarity in picture to that which it depicts is remedied by the name given to the picture, so the inferiority of the world to the "living aeon" is remedied by the names applied to the world.

None of these texts precisely parallel our passage. Here the Father does not bestow on the aeons the name "father"; he lets them hear that name, by virtue of the fact that they have come into being (61.17-18). Implicitly this is a revelation of what the aeons are and, hence, the parallel to *Exc. Theod.* 31.3 is not completely irrelevant. Explicitly, however, what the aeons learn is that there is a Father, a fuller comprehension of whom they can then seek. Cf. 60.24-28; 65.11-14; 71.35-72.5, 72.33-73.9; and *Interp. Know.* 9.28-37.

The experience of the aeons here is not unlike that of the Demiurge in some mythological systems. Cf. *Ap. John*, CG II,1:14.13-18, III,1:21.16-21, BG 47.15-20, and *Hyp. Arch.* 87.1-4; 94.23-26. Note the ignorance of the Demiurge below, 100.39-101.5.

61.18 *by virtue of the fact* (ἄπτροϋ-): The emendation of some of the *ed. pr.* (2ἄ πτροϋ-) is unnecessary. ἄ here is for S 2ἄ, a phenomenon noted by K. Piehl, "Etudes coptes III: ἄ=2ἄ 2ἄ=ἄ," *Sphinx* 5 (1902) 89-92. For examples of 2ἄ with an inflected infinitive used instrumentally, cf. C. Walters, "Notes on the Construction 2ἄπτρε-," *BSAC* 21 (1971-73) 149-51.

61.18-20 *exaltation . . . in the name*: *Ed. pr.* take this as the subject of εϥϥοοπ in line 20. This interpretation ignores the ΔΕ of line 20 and makes the whole flow of thought in the passage unintelligible. The construction in 61.18-19 is simply an adverbial sentence followed by a relative clause. For other examples of this construction, cf. 63.24, 65.14, 93.31, 97.17-18.

61.19-20 *which has escaped their notice* (ἐνταϥαβεϥ ἀραϥ): The phrase is problematic. First, the verb form, if from ωβϥ (Crum 518b), would normally be construed as either the prepositional form

of the infinitive as **αβω** at 90.1, or the qualitative. The use of the perf. rel. would normally exclude the latter possibility, although there are some apparently irregular uses of the qualitative (cf. the introduction). Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 373, n. 34) argues for this possibility, suggesting that the form is passive and that the sentence should be translated, "The exaltedness in the name was not realized by them." Thus, in addition to suggesting an unusual sense for **ωβω**, Thomassen construes the conjugation base as perf. II; the **αραογ** as agential; and the adverbial predicate **ζῆ πρεν** as if it were relativized. While his understanding of the sense of the sentence is close to the one adopted here, his analysis of the syntax is unsatisfactory. Emmel suggests that the form is the prepronominal infinitive and the text should be emended to **αβεω<γ>**, but the sense of the passage would, on this reading, remain obscure. It seems best to take **αβεω** as a new A² form of the simple infinitive **ωβω**, here translating the Greek **λανθάνειν**; The antecedent of the relative clause is also problematic. It could also be "the name" which has "escaped the aeons notice."

61.20–24 *The infant, while in the form of a fetus, etc.*: This illustration of the fetus serves as a metaphor for the condition of the aeons, who, while really existing in the thought of the Father, have the potential to know him and thus to come into authentic existence. For similar illustrations, cf. *Gos. Truth* 22.35, 25.25, 35.30. Note especially *Gos. Truth* 27.11–15, where the aeons are said to be like an infant born from the perfect man. Cf. 62.7 below. On the imagery here, cf. Thomassen, *VC* 34 (1980) 365.

The syntax here probably involves a second tense in **εγντεγ** (line 20), a circumstantial in **εγωοοπ**, and a circumstantial in **εμπατεγνεγ**. Alternatively, one could take the **εγντεγ** to be circumstantial and **εγωοοπ** to be the main predication, as a pres. II. In that case translate, "The infant is in the form of a fetus, having enough for itself, etc." The point of the illustration remains the same.

61.26–28 *realizing that he exists...what exists*: The distinction made here between knowledge of the existence of God and knowledge of his essence is, as *ed. pr.* (I. 328) note, common in Hellenistic philosophy. Cf. Festugière, *La Révélation*, 4.6–17. Cf. e.g., Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* 1.36 and Seneca, *Ep.* 90.28. It is also found in Philo, who stresses the incomprehensibility of God's essence, *Praem. et poen.* 40, 44; *Post. Cain.* 167–69; *Somn.* 1.66–67; *Immut.* 62. That this doctrine

was a common theme in Hellenistic Jewish apologetics is suggested by its presence in Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.167. On the whole topic, cf. D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief* (WMANT 11; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1964) 40-44.

The notion that the essence of God is revealed through the Son is found in orthodox sources, such as *Diog.* 8.9-11. In Valentinian sources, it is found in the account of the system of Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.1; in *Exc. Theod.* 7.1-3; in *Gos. Truth* 24.9-17, 38.22-24, 39.14-26; and in *Val. Exp.* 24.22-28. Cf. also 24.36-39. For further reflection of this doctrine in the *Tri. Trac.*, cf. 71.7-18, 72.33-73.8.

61.27 *to find out* (αβῶντῶ): One might normally expect αβῶντῶ.

61.30 *hear*: What the Father "hears" is unclear. Perhaps it is simply the searching of the aeons for him.

62.1 The reconstruction of *ed. pr.*, "and the one who has given them a" does not fill the lacuna. There are traces from several letters on the first line of text, but these are all highly ambiguous.

62.3-5 *Just as . . . who have begotten them*: The subject of this clause is an indefinite "they." The relative does not have as its antecedent the "aeons" who have just been discussed. Instead the clause resumes the illustration offered at 61.20-24. The point of the comparison is that the aeons do not get to know the Father until he produces them, just as a human infant does not see his parents until after birth.

62.3 *this place*: I.e., this world. Cf. 59.18-26, and *Treat. Res.* 44.18-19.

62.4 *when they are born* (εὔωαμεστοῦ): The conjugation base here is problematic. *Ed. pr.* identify it as an anomalous circumstantial of the praes. cons. It is more likely the conditional. The translation with a temporal clause is not unusual. Cf. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, #498.

62.5 *those who*: The emendation by *ed. pr.* (Eng.) to the singular is unnecessary, since both Father and Son together produce the Church.

Cf. 58.22–23. Furthermore, the plural here may simply be suggested by the illustration, since any child has two parents.

62.7 *little child*: Cf. 61.20–24.

62.8 *drop*: Note the metaphor used to describe the generation of the Logos “as a stream from a fountain” in Hippolytus, *Contr. Haer. Noet.* 11 and Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* 4.29. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 23.18, 24.18; and *CH* 11.3.

62.9 *blossom*: Note the description of the Father as the root in 51.3, 17–19; cf. *Interp. Know.* 19.30–34. The metaphors of the fruit and the stream are used together by Philo (*Post. Cain.* 129) to illustrate the relationship of virtues to the Divine Word and by Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* 8) to illustrate the generation of the Holy Spirit. Cf. 66.17–18, 68.9–10, 74.6. Cf. also Plotinus, *Enn.* 3.8.10.

62.11 *flower* ([2P]E[PE]): The restoration by *ed. pr.* is uncertain. For the spelling, cf. *Apoc. Adam* 80.3.

planting (TΩKĀ): The verb means “to pierce, goad” (Crum 406a). The noun means “something firmly fixed” or “something encrusted.” This is hardly appropriate in this set of metaphors. Hence the emendation suggested by Kasser (TΩ6E) has been adopted in the translation.

62.12–13 *nourishment* (CΑ[NEΩ]): For the restoration adopted here, cf. 65.19. This restoration preserves the metaphorical quality of the remarks about what the aeons need. The alternative restoration, CΑ[ΟΥNE], is too long for the lacuna, although it is appropriate to the general sense of the passage, since the “faultlessness” of the aeons ultimately consists in their knowledge of the Father. The notion expressed here is paralleled in *Gos. Truth* 18.36–40, where it is affirmed that the Father has kept the perfection (ΠΙΧΩΚ) of the aeons from them, within himself.

The deficiency of the aeons is the model in the transcendent world of the condition of the human beings in this world. “Spiritual” human beings have their deficiency remedied immediately upon receipt of the Savior’s revelation (118.35–36). “Psychic” human beings have that deficiency remedied more slowly (118.37–38). Cf. also 104.21–24.

62.14 *he withheld it*: Cf. 64.28-65.1. The ultimate revelation by the Father of himself occurs only at the end, in the Savior (126.9-15).

62.18 *he closed it* (ⲁϣϩⲱⲧⲡ̅): This verb is probably to be linked not with ϩⲱⲧⲡ̅ (Crum 724a) but with ϩⲱⲧⲃ̅/ϩⲱⲧⲙ̅ (Crum 595b-596a). Cf. D. Mueller, "On Some Occurrences of the Verb 'to seal' in Coptic and Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 61 (1975) 222-26. Nonetheless the construction of ϩⲱⲧⲙ̅ with the preposition ε is unusual.

62.20 *envy*: The parallel remarks in *Gos. Truth* 18.38-40 also stress that the Father did not withhold perfection from the aeons out of envy. Cf. 70.26. According to *Interp. Know.* 15.26-33, since God gives gifts "without jealousy," whoever is jealous is "ignorant of God." Cf. also *Interp. Know.* 15.18-21, 17.35-38.

62.28-29 *so too, etc.*: The second clause in this comparative sentence probably involves an ellipse of the verb in the first clause. It might be possible, however, to translate the second clause without an ellipse, "this is the way for them to become faultless." This translation, however, suggests that the very process of becoming is equivalent to the attainment of perfection by the aeons, whereas the *Tri. Trac.* suggests that becoming faultless was withheld from the aeons initially. Cf. above, 62.14-15.

62.31-32 *perfect idea of beneficence*: The Father reveals to the aeons the fact that he graciously grants them their existence. Cf. 53.13-20. As is explained in what follows, this revelation consists of the person of the Son.

62.33 *The one whom he brought*: This could also be construed as a cleft sentence, "It is this one, then, whom he made to appear, etc." The pronoun could then refer to the "perfect thought" of line 21.

62.34 *light*: This is often presented as a characteristic of the transcendent world, e.g., in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1. It is associated specifically with Jesus in *Exc. Theod.* 35.1 and 40.2-4. On light as a characteristic of the saving revelation, cf. *Gos. Truth* 28.29, 30.37, 35.5, 43.13.

62.39 *the one who came forth* (ⲡⲎⲦⲁ ⲈⲘ): The translation follows

ed. pr. (Fr. and Ger.) against *ed. pr.* (Eng.). The latter translate “the one from whom he came forth.” This should be ΠΕΝΤΑΘΕΙ. The “one who came forth from him (i.e., the Son)” must be the Church, i.e., the aeons viewed as a single collective entity.

63.1 The line has been severely damaged, and the restoration by *ed. pr.*, “partaking in giving glory to him,” is quite conjectural.

63.2 *partaking of* (Ω[Β]ΗΡ ΝΧΙ): For the construction of $\bar{\rho}$ ΩΒΗΡ + $\bar{\eta}$ + infinitive, cf. 90.6, 105.2, 113.20. The restoration of the lacuna at the end of this line is quite uncertain. The restoration of *ed. pr.*, Ε[ΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ Ζ]ΙΤ[Μ], is possible for the first part. Note that the Father receives a glory from the newly generated aeons in 63.16–17. Hence it is possible that here the Son is said to share that glory. The last word in the proposed restoration cannot be correct, since the traces which *ed. pr.* interpret as ΙΤ are clearly those of an Μ. Ε[ΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ Ζ]Μ[...] is possible. Note that ΝΧΙ in line 2 could be the common orthographic variant for ΝΘΙ, which would require a quite different restoration in the following lacuna.

63.3 *in accordance with [...] etc.* (ΚΑΤΑ[...]. [.]): Restoration here is problematic and the precise sense of the following lines is obscure. The argument of the text at this point seems to be that the Father “perfects” the individual aeons by a revelation to them. Cf. 62.25–33. This revelation consists in the person of the Son (62.37), who “mingles” with the Totalities (62.39). This “mingling,” later described with the metaphor of clothing (63.12–13), affects the aeons, but it does not affect the essential being or “greatness” of the Son. Now the way that the individual aeons “mingle” with or “receive” the Son is conditioned by some aspect or capacity of their being. This is a principle frequently enunciated in this text. Cf. 54.9 and the references cited there. Precisely what that limiting factor is would have been mentioned in the lacuna in line 3. Various restorations are possible. See the apparatus.

63.5–6 *Such was not his greatness*: After the last word on this line (ΤΕΕΙ) there is either an articulation mark or the trace of a letter. It would be possible to restore Τ[Ε]. In that case the construction would involve the reduplicated copula which appears frequently in this text. Alternatively ΤΕΕΙ [ΕΤ] might be restored, making the following re-

mark a relative clause modifying $\tau\epsilon\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\eta\alpha\beta$. In that case, however, there is a lack of concord in gender between the antecedents and the resumptives in line 6.

63.6 *before he was received by it*: The referent of the pronoun by whom he (the Son) is received is probably each individual aeon, mentioned in line 4.

63.7 *parts* ($\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$): The word is problematic. It seems best to take it from $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, "part" (Crum 396a), and to see it as a reference to the aeons who are parts of the Pleroma or of the Son. The word is thus to be construed as the preposed subject of a second tense, either $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\beta\alpha\mu$ of line 10, as in this translation, or possibly, $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\phi\omicron\tau\iota$ in line 12.

Ed. pr. (I. 293) also suggest the possibility that $\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ may be connected with $\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$, "growth" (Crum 1b) or with the verb $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron$, "honor" (Crum 390b). The final ϵ makes the latter alternative unlikely. The former word should be masculine. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest an emendation to $\bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$ and connect the phrase with what precedes. This emendation would also require the emendation of $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$ in line 8 to $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\varsigma$.

63.7-8 *in which he exists*: The $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$ in line 8 is probably resumptive and should be emended to conform to the number of the antecedent $\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ in line 7.

63.10 *it is possible for them to see* ($\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\beta\alpha\mu\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta[\alpha\tau]\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon\gamma$): The Coptic is awkward. The phrase might also be construed as a circumstantial with the singular $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$ to be taken as a reference to the Son. Thus, "since it is possible for him to cause them to see him." Here the emendation by *ed. pr.* (Eng.) of $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$ to $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ has been adopted. For the possibility of "seeing" the Son, cf. *Gos. Truth* 38.15-16.

63.11 *that which they know*: The restoration by *ed. pr.* is somewhat uncertain.

63.12 *wear*: Cf. 128.24 and 129.3-5 where the same word is used. Note the metaphor of a garment used for the relationship of the aeons to the Son (66.31), of the Savior to the aeons (87.2, 91.35) and, implicitly, of the Logos to the Savior (90.4). Cf. Philo, *De fuga* 110.

63.13 [ⲬⲈ]: This restoration is uncertain. The end of the line may have been left blank or there may have been a line filler as at 59.29.

63.15 *He*: The referent of this pronoun is the Son, whose paradoxical status within the Totalities, yet somehow beyond them, has just been described.

63.16 *incomparable* (ⲁⲧⲮⲈⲢ ⲘⲒⲚⲈ ⲘⲘⲁⲒ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 293) speculate that this form may be a corruption of ⲢⲚⲈⲢⲘⲒⲚⲈⲮⲈ or that ⲘⲒⲚⲈ ⲘⲘⲁⲒ may be corrupt for ⲘⲘⲒⲚ ⲘⲘⲁⲒ. The form as it stands may be interpreted as ⲈⲒⲢⲈ + ⲘⲒⲚⲈ, which makes good sense in the context. For the form, cf. 51.22, 78.30–31 and 108.20–21. Emendation is unnecessary. Cf. Till, "Beiträge," 209.

63.17 *In order that*: The Son's relationship to the Totalities, which has been discussed in the first part of this paragraph, serves the purpose of revealing the Father who ultimately remains hidden.

63.19 *reveals himself* (ϣⲐϣⲁⲛⲗⲒ): The form initially appears to be a pres. I, but if so, it would violate the Stern-Jernstedt rule that the pronominal object may not be directly suffixed to the verb in bipartite conjugations. Cf. Polotsky, "Conjugation System," 401–403 (= *Collected Papers*, 247–49). Thus as S. Emmel suggests, the form is probably to be taken as the form of the conjunctive found in A. Cf. Till, *Dialectgrammatik*, #267. The conjunctive continues the fut. II, ⲈϣⲎⲁⲬⲒ, governed by ⲬⲈⲒⲒⲐⲈ. The main predication in this sentence is then the second tense form ⲈϣⲢⲈⲁϣⲘⲁ in line 22.

63.20 *even*: The ⲁϣⲮ here probably translates a Greek *καί* with this sense. Thus the text asserts that even though the Father remains hidden he reveals himself through the Son. For an alternative understanding of the function of this word, see the next note.

63.23–25 *Therefore the greatness of his loftiness is in the fact etc.*: *Ed. pr.* take ⲧⲘⲛⲧⲎⲁⲔ as the preposed subject of ϣϣⲮⲢⲈ. The lack of concord in gender makes this understanding unlikely. It is better to take the word as the subject of an adverbial sentence, where the predicate is ϗⲘⲢⲢⲠⲠⲮⲈⲮⲈ ⲁⲢⲁⲒ, etc. A new sentence then begins with ϣϣⲮⲢⲈ. The remark suggests in a summary form what the preceding discussion has been arguing. The Father, though in essence

incomprehensible, allows himself to be revealed through the complex action of the Son within the Totalities. This process of revelation which enables the aeons to speak about and see the Father in a mediated way manifests his greatness.

It might, however, be possible to construe the Coptic differently. As S. Emmel suggests, the phrase $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \tau\mu\eta\tau\eta\alpha\delta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\alpha\chi\iota\epsilon$ could be a parenthetical remark. The inflected infinitive in the prepositional phrase of lines 24 and 25 could be an adverbial modifier of $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\ \theta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ in line 22. Then $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ in line 26 would then be another conjunctive, like $\alpha\psi\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\zeta\alpha$ in line 19, dependent on $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon$ in line 17. The $\alpha\gamma\omega$ in line 20 would then connect the conjunctives.

63.27 *so that he may be hymned* ($\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\zeta\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\rho\alpha\alpha$): *Ed. pr.* translate this simply as a fut. I. The form, however, is either a fut. II or a circumstantial. It makes most sense to take it as the latter, since both in Greek and in Coptic the future circumstantial can be used as an expression of purpose. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #329 end. For a description of the aeons "hymning" the Father, see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6.

63.28 *sweetness*: Cf. 55.31 and 57.28-32.

63.28-29 *with the grace of* $\langle \quad \quad \quad \rangle$ ($\zeta\eta\bar{\nu}\ \dagger\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\Delta\epsilon$): The last word in this phrase is probably either corrupt for $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, or it is to be taken as $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ -. In that case a following noun would have been lost.

63.29-31 *Just as the admirations, etc.*: *Ed. pr.* connect this phrase with the preceding $\zeta\eta\bar{\nu}\ \dagger\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$. However, the $\bar{\mu}\pi\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ is correlative with $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon$ in 63.34 and it probably begins a new sentence.

The sentence beginning with $\bar{\mu}\pi\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ is rather obscure, but it is probably to be associated with the assertions that the aeons too, like the Father and Son, are also procreative (64.21-27). The "admira-tions of the silences" are possibly related to the "mental admirations" mentioned in 63.22. The wording of the text initially implies that that admiration is something produced by the aeons, equivalent to what-ever the aeons give the Father and Son (63.1-3). Here the "admira-tions" and "dispositions" seem to be the aeons themselves, since they are attributes of "the word." The phrasing here may be an attempt on the part of the text to interpret the ontological status of the aeons and

to suggest their dependence on, and intimate relationship to, the Son.

63.30–31 *admiration* (ΝΙΜΝΤΡΜ̄Μ̄ΑΕΙΖΕ): The form is otherwise unattested, but is analogous to ΜΝΤΡΜ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ. Cf. Till, “Beiträge,” 210. It might also be translated “wonders,” or “miracles.”

63.35 *word*: “Logos” is the proper name of one of the aeons, who abortively attempts to know the essence of the Father (75.8–26). Here the text does not introduce that figure, but simply speaks metaphorically about the generation of the aeons. The Son is, metaphorically, the “word” of the Father. The aeons are “dispositions” or qualities of that word. For the metaphor used here, cf. 60.34. On the “emanation” terminology, cf. 65.4–6.

63.36–37 *Both of them*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 329) suggest that this expression reflects a doctrine like that enunciated in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.2, that the aeons come in pairs or “syzygies.” Such a doctrine is certainly not explicit here. The word in question refers to the two metaphorical designations for the aeons in 63.30 and 34.

64.1 *seeds* ([ΖΕ]Ν̄[ΠΕΡΜΑ]): *Ed. pr.* (I. 293) also suggest a restoration [ΖΕ]Ν̄[ΖΑΛΜΗ], but the trace after the Ν̄ is probably not from a Ζ. The restoration adopted remains conjectural.

64.5–6 *from themselves*: *Ed. pr.* emend the pronoun to the singular, suggesting that it refers to the Father. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 38.15–16. The text, however, seems to be suggesting that there is a discrepancy between what the aeons appear to be, beings generated from themselves, and what they actually are, emanations from the mind of the Father, generated as aspects of the “word.”

64.9–10 *voice and spirit, mind and word*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 329) note, the distinction between voice and word is made in Heracleon, fr. 5 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.20), commenting in Isa 40:3 in John 1:23. The formulation here may, as Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 373, n. 43) suggests, reflect the notion of silent mental prayer found in such texts as Philo, *Plant.* 126; *CH* 13.18; *Steles Seth* 119.29 and *Disc.* 8–9 58.20.

64.15 *begetting*: The aeons, like the Father and Son, have as an integral part of their existence the function of begetting. Cf. Irenaeus,

Haer. 1.1.1-2; 1.11.1 and *Val. Exp.* 29.24-30.38. Also, as in the case of their begetters, the begettings of the aeons are effortless. Cf. Philo, *Sacr.* 65 and *Vita Mos.* 1.283 and *CH* 1.14. As the following lines indicate, the creativity of the aeons is intimately associated with the praise they give to the Father and Son. For the creativity of lower beings, cf. 79.32-36.

64.16 *the one whom they conceive of:* The antecedent here is most likely the Father. Cf. 63.26-28.

64.21-22 *he has sons* (ΟΥΝΤΕΩ ΜΜΕΥ ΝΩΗΡΕ): *Ed. pr.* emend the subject to the plural. Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 367) follows this reading and translates "they have as Son," thus taking the preceding series of substantivized relatives as descriptions of what the aeons possess, which is equivalent to the Son. The text is then taken to affirm two perspectives on the Son, first that he is a revelation of the Father to the aeons (62.33-35, 64.33-35, 65.17-20) and, at the same time, the act by which the aeons conceive and glorify (64.15-23). These two contrasting perspectives are taken to be an indication of the two ways in which the mind of the Father exists. On the highest transcendent level there is an identity of knower and known. At the level of the Son the identity has become dialectical, with subject and object being at once identical and distinct. Such an understanding of the Son as the *Nous* of the Father may indeed be appropriate. Note in particular the formulations of 55.3-4 and 56.20-38, where the relationship of Father and Son in terms of mind contemplating itself is discussed. Here, however, the point of the text is somewhat simpler. The paragraph establishes the creative nature of the aeons' glorification of the Father. That creativity consists in two stages: first, actualizing of their own potential existence through the recognition of the Father's existence (60.1-62.19) and secondly, the production of further levels of aeonic life (67.35-71.7). In their begetting, the aeons instantiate on their level of actuality the principle of Sonship which the primordial Son manifests, as the remarks about the intimate association of Son and aeons (65.17-27) indicate. Here the analogy in the creative process is described. The aeons also exist, "on the pattern by which he (the Father) was existing" (64.8-15). That essentially creative pattern is then described (64.15-22). Finally, the analogy between the two levels is made clear (64.22-27).

64.23 *procreative* (ἄρωμεϛπο): On the form, cf. 68.2-4.

64.25 *mutual assistance*: On the cooperation among the aeons, note 70.23, 72.17-18, 76.14, 92.6. This cooperation is seen as essential to the aeons' proper begetting. Only when one of them tries to act alone does a problem arise. Cf. *Val. Exp.* 36.28-31, "For this is the will of the Father: Not to allow anything to happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy." Here the cooperation of the aeons imitates their own begetting from the joint activity of Father and Son (64.26-27).

64.28-37 This section gives another explanation for the fact that the aeons had a defect, that they did not know the Father from the first. Cf. the earlier explanation in 62.14-33. Cf. also 67.34-37. Note, too, that the Savior reveals himself gradually to the offspring of the Logos, lest they perish (92.19).

64.33-37 *if he had revealed, etc.*: The conditional sentence here has the standard form for a past, contrary-to-fact condition. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #456b.

64.33-34 *suddenly* (ἄρρητῶ): This adverb, which also appears in the forms ϛρρητῶ and ϛρρητοῦ, is semantically equivalent to a S ἄρρητοῦτ (Crum 427a). It apparently means "immediately" or "suddenly" in its various occurrences. Cf. 90.12; 95.12; 118.34,35; 123.4.

64.39-65.1 *that in which he is* (ϛροοπ {ῶ}): The form is impossible, since ϛρωπε does not take pronominal suffixes and, if the verb be taken to be a form of ϛρωπ, it should not have a suffix here, in a bipartite conjugation. The letter ϛ is probably a scribal error. Note that the ϛ in the following ϛμαϛ has been written over a deleted letter. Perhaps the ϛ was part of a word mistakenly written and then only partially deleted.

65.2 *ineffable*: Cf. 54.2-8,38; 55.20-22; 56.26-27; 59.16-22, 33-35.

65.4-6 *stretched himself out*: Cf. 56.9, 14-16. In these passages there are various metaphors for the process of emanation by which the Father produces first the Son, then the other aeons. Note the technical term *προβολή* in 63.35, 68.1, 70.25, 73.18. The doctrine of emanation

is an important part of Valentinian theory. Cf. *Val. Exp.* 23.19-31 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1-2, 2.5-6. The notion has its ultimate roots in neo-Pythagorean speculation. Cf. Krämer, *Ursprung*, 319-21. Gnostic use of the concept is criticized by orthodox fathers such as Origen, *De princ.* 1.2.6; 4.4.1. Cf. Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 295-98. On the whole subject cf. J. Ratzinger, "Emanation," *RAC* 4 (1959) 1219-28.

65.7 $\mathbf{M}[\bar{\mathbf{N}}]$: Part of the stroke over the \mathbf{N} in the lacuna is preserved over the \mathbf{M} .

65.9-10 *the one through whom*: *Ed. pr.* take this phrase as an introduction to a relative clause and translate lines 9-11: "y ayant à lui un nom qui est (litt. "par lequel il est") Père du Tout"; "der (Ihm) ein eigener Name ist, der aus Ihm ist, da Er Vater der Allheit ist"; and "this being a name of his through which he is Father of the All." Now $\epsilon\kappa\psi\omega\sigma\sigma\iota$ might be a second tense within the relative clause, though this would be unusual. Likewise the prepositional phrase $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda \zeta\iota\tau\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ could be preposed, though this, too, would be somewhat unusual. It seems more likely that $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota \epsilon\tau\epsilon \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda \zeta\iota\tau\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}$ is the translation of an article with a prepositional phrase where the relative pronoun is the object of the preposition, $\delta \delta\iota' \sigma\bar{\upsilon}$. Such phrases were used as technical terms for different types of causes in philosophical texts. This usage may be found already in Aristotle, *Phys.* 215a26-29. For a Stoic list of causes using such terms, cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 7.35 and 10.7 (*SVF* II.107, 501). This usage also influenced Plutarch's vocabulary, *Quaestiones platonicae* 1001c. For other Platonic uses of the scheme, cf. Philo, *Cher.* 125 and Seneca, *Ep.* 65.8. On the whole topic, cf. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 138.

What makes the use of such terminology even more probable here is its deployment by Heracleon in his exegesis of John 1:3, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \delta\iota' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$, in fr. 1 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14). Heracleon takes this verse as a reference to the doctrine that the Logos had given the Demiurge a cause for creating the world. Therefore, the Logos was not named "the one from whom" or "the one by whom" the world was created, but the "one through whose agency": $\tau\omicron\nu \tau\eta\nu \alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\nu \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha \tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu \tau\hat{\omega} \delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omega$, $\tau\omicron\nu \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu \delta\upsilon\tau\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\phi' \sigma\bar{\upsilon}$, $\eta \acute{\upsilon}\phi' \sigma\bar{\upsilon}$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha} \tau\omicron\nu \delta\iota' \sigma\bar{\upsilon}$. A similar exegesis is given by Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5. Cf. also the formulation in 1 Cor 8:6., Heb 1:2, and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.33.7.

Although the Coptic translation of the elliptical Greek technical term is odd, it is not entirely unparalleled, as S. Emmel notes. There is a construction attested primarily in the lower Egyptian dialects, B,F and O, but also in S, wherein the perfect relative converter is interrupted by a prepositional phrase. See the remarks on this construction by G. M. Browne, *BASP* 12 (1975) 103-04 and cf. 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 60.17-18.

65.11 *Father of the All*: *Nous* or *Monogenes*, the second male principle in the Ogdoad of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1), is called "Father of all things which come into being after him," as *ed. pr.* (I. 329) note. *Val. Exp.* 23.36, where the Son is called "Father of the All," offers an exact parallel. There the Father is called First Father, who revealed himself in the Son. Here, too, it seems to be the Son who is entitled "Father." The name in 65.11 thus refers not to the Father who is the ultimate source (64.28), but to that which he extends, from himself (65.6), i.e., the Son. For another statement of the close association and analogy between Father and Son, cf. 57.9-32, and 67.14-19. Cf. *Val. Exp.* 24.22-28.

65.12 *his laboring*: The restoration here is uncertain. The fact that the Savior, imitating the Son in the Pleroma, labors and even suffers with men in this world is a prominent feature of this text. Cf. 65.21, 90.4-6, 114.31-115.11. This theme recalls the positive evaluation of the sufferings and death of Jesus in *Gos. Truth* 20.10-14 and *Interp. Know.* 5.30-37, 13.25-36.

65.14 *seek after*: Again it is stressed that the Father only reveals enough of himself to induce the aeons to search for him. Cf. 61.11-14, 126.9-16. *Ed. pr.* note the parallel in *Gos. Truth* 17.4-9.

τ.[.].[.]: The conjectural restoration by *ed. pr.* ΤΟ[ΥΘΝΧΙ], is even more conjecturally translated, "comprehension," "Erfänglichkeit," "participation." The construction here seems to be that of an adverbial sentence, beginning with ΠΖΟΥΟ in line 14. So *ed. pr.* (Fr.) Cf. 61.18-20.

65.17 *this one*: The antecedent of this pronoun is no doubt the "extension" of the Father (i.e., the Son) referred to in 65.6. The identification is made explicit in 65.25.

65.19 *joy*: Cf. 59.31.

65.22 *mingling*: This term is regularly used to describe the process by which various aeonic beings unite with one another: The Son with the Totalities here, the aeons with one another (66.29, 68.26, 73.12), the aeons with the Father (72.15, 86.35), the companions of the Savior with one another (87.26), the Logos with the transcendent world (90.20), the Savior with the Logos (92.18), the spiritual human beings with Christ (122.23).

65.27 *clothes* (εϑτεε[ι]ε ριωωϩ): There is hardly space in the lacuna for any other restoration, such as the γ or Ϸ suggested by *ed. pr.* (I. 295). In any case, such reconstructions would violate the Stern-Jernstedt rule.

65.29 *The one of whom they understand*: The aeons, in conceiving of the Father, in fact only conceive of the Son. This doctrine may be exegetically based, in John 1:18 and 14:7. Cf. also the Valentinian exegesis of John 1:18 in *Exc. Theod.* 7.1-3.

65.31 *This*: The antecedent of this demonstrative is the Son.

65.35-39 *It is impossible, etc.*: The last paragraph in this section of the treatise reiterates the doctrine adumbrated in the previous paragraph, that the Son is the revelation of the Father. It begins with a restatement of the Father's transcendence (65.35-39), which had been affirmed at the close of the preceding paragraph. This statement recapitulates the doctrine of the Father's transcendence enunciated previously (52.34-54.1), and it also reaffirms the notion that certain divine attributes are predicated in their proper sense only of the Father (cf. 51.21; 52.2-4, 31-33; 53.5-8).

65.36 *or can anyone approach* (εϑναω ρων): Literally, "can they approach." Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 137) analyzes the εϑ as the interrogative pronoun, but this is impossible in a bi-partite conjugation where an indefinite actor requires οϑν̄. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #288.

65.39-66.5 *but all the names, etc.*: This summary paragraph next reaffirms the doctrine that the names given to the Father are

inadequate expressions for his being, but are ways of honoring him (54.2-11). The introductory $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ may imply a negative answer to the preceding rhetorical question.

66.3 *trace*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 37.25, *Interp. Know.* 2.29, 31; 5.29. *Ed. pr.* (I. 329) also note the use of the term in Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.5.2. Cf. also *Enn.* 6.7.17.

66.5-8 *Now he who arose*: Here again the Son is referred to as the projection of the Father (56.16, 62.38, 65.4-6, 72.23-24), who gives to the aeons both their very being (57.23-24, 58.19, 65.7-11) and their knowledge of the Father (57.30; 62.33-38; 63.10-14; 65.11-14, 20-30). The knowledge which the aeons have of the Father is the perfection of their being (61.38-62.5, 62.26-30).

66.8-9 *he [...] all the names*: The names which can only be applied in a secondary and inadequate way to the Father, can be predicated of the Son in the proper sense, and that is what the litany in 66.14-29 does. The restoration at the beginning of line 9 is uncertain. $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ may be a perf. II conjugation base and not a personal pronoun.

66.12 *man of the Father*: Gnostic texts frequently discuss the highest God or an emanation from him as Humanity or Man. Cf. C. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου," *TDNT* 8 (1972) 474-76, F. H. Borsch, *The Christian and Gnostic Son of Man* (Studies in Biblical Theology, second series 14; London: SCM, 1970) and H.-M. Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962).

In Valentinian sources the title is applied to various subordinate emanations. In the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1), Man is the fourth male emanation in the Ogdoad. In the Valentinian system described in Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.5.5, Ennoia, consort of the first principle, produces with that first principle the "Father of Truth, whom the perfect ones rightly call 'Man,' because he is an antitype of the pre-existent unbegotten one." In Heracleon, fr. 35 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.49), the parable of the sower is interpreted as referring both to the Savior, the Son of Man in this world, and to his heavenly counterpart. In Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.3), Man is "the body of Truth," by which the incomprehensible Father reveals himself, as he

does in the *Tri. Trac.* through the Son, a similarity noted by *ed. pr.* (I. 330). Cf. also *Treat. Res.* 44.13-37. For another obscure use of the "man" terminology, cf. 122.28, 123.4.

66.13-29 Here a lengthy list of names designating the Son is provided, in which the concern of the *Tri. Trac.* with the propriety of naming again surfaces. Similar lists are provided for the Savior (87.5-17), the aeon of the Logos (92.22-93.13), the Demiurge (100.24-30), and baptism (128.19-129.19).

66.13 *form*: Contrast 54.29-32, where the Father is said to exist without "face or form." Here the Son is his form.

66.14 *face*: The face or "countenance" (ΜΟΥΝΡ ΝΖΟ) of the Father is that which is revealed in the appearance of the Savior, the fruit of the Pleroma (86.28, 87.18-22, 91.33, 93.30, 94.31). Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.1. Similarly the chief Archon is a "countenance," which is a representation of the Father which the Logos brings forth (100.22). He in turn has a "countenance" which appears in his creations (102.8, 18). In the "restoration" the Totalities receive a "countenance" like the Father (123.26). Cf. *Gos. Truth* 23.33-24.3 and 19.27-37.

Ed. pr. (I. 330-32) stress the Semitic origin of this imagery and note the development in the West, where the equation of πρόσωπον and *persona* assisted in the hypostatizing of the divine elements of the Pleroma. Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 4.2. They note too the use of the term πρόσωπον in the illustration of the model-copy notion in Valentinus, fr. 5 (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89,6-90,1). Cf. also R. Braun, "L'inscription de Flavia Sophè," *Mélanges de Ghellinek* (Gembloux, 1951).

66.15 *word*: Cf. the remarks of Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.3) where the figure "Man" is called the "utterance (ῥῆσις) of everything unutterable." Contrast 54.38, 56.25-27 and note the image of the spoken word at 60.34. According to *Val. Exp.* 24.36-39 the "ineffable one" is revealed in Monogenes.

66.17 *fountain*: Cf. 60.13, 62.9, where the imagery of the fountain or spring is applied to the Father. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 23.18, 24.18. There is no need to interpret the image, with *ed. pr.* (Eng.), as applying only to the Son. (Thus: "the spring which poured out from

itself.”) Like the first five epithets applied to the Son, this one relates him to the Father. The logic of the imagery changes with the next epithet (“root”). In all the rest, the Son is seen in relation to beings lower in the ontological hierarchy.

66.18 *root*: Cf. 51.3 and the note to that passage.

66.19 *god*: Note 70.32–36, where the Father’s power to make subordinate beings gods is mentioned.

light: Cf. 62.34, and see *Exc. Theod.* 41.3 for Valentinian exegesis of Matt 5:16 and John 1:9.

66.26 *of the things which are sought after*: The emendation by *ed. pr.* (Eng.), $\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\omega\mu$ for $\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\omega\mu\gamma$, makes this attribute of the Son conform to the others in this part of the series. It would be translated, “to those who seek after him.”

66.28 *life*: Cf. Heracleon, fr. 2 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.21) and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.5, for the association of the Son with “life” on the basis of John 1:4.

66.28–29 *the Totalities*: The position of this word is ambiguous. With *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) it should probably be construed with the verb $\mu\lambda\lambda\alpha\delta$ and translated “those who are mixed with the Totalities.” This could refer to the elect, those who “belong to the Church” who, upon receiving revelation, return to their unitary state. Cf. 123.3–7. That return might be interpreted as “mixing with the Totalities.” *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) construe $\nu\eta\pi\tau\eta\rho\gamma$ as in apposition with “those who are mixed.” This interpretation might be supported by the following paragraphs and especially 67.31–33, 68.22–28, where the activity of the Son seems to be the source of the unity among the Totalities, who nevertheless subsist as discrete entities. On this interpretation “being mixed” refers to the unity of the Totalities with one another.

66.31 *as he clothes himself*: *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) emend to the plural ($\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota$); Thus the Totalities clothe the Son. The text as it stands refers to the Son clothing himself, implicitly with the Totalities. In either case, this phrase emphasizes the intimate connection of the Son and the Totalities. The Son here “clothes himself” with the names mentioned in the preceding litany. These names are, in fact, the aeons

which are the properties of the Father. Cf. 65.25, 67.14, 70.37-71.3, 73.8-11. Cf. *Interp. Know.* 11.35-38, where the Father clothes the Son with living rational (λογικόν) elements (στοιχείον), as with garments. On the clothing metaphor in this text, cf. 63.12.

66.31-32 $\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\bar{\text{I}}(\text{N})$: The word is written $\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\bar{\text{I}}$, where the stroke above the $\bar{\text{I}}$ is the symbol for an N frequently used at the end of the line. The scribe here has mechanically reproduced his archetype.

66.32 *name* ($\text{P}\epsilon\langle\text{N}\rangle$): The text could be read without the emendation, "in his single action." This reading, however, makes little sense with the following "he is called." The N in $\text{P}\epsilon\text{N}$ may have been lost by the same process which produced the reading $\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\bar{\text{I}}$ at the beginning of the line.

66.34-36 *and in this unique way, etc.: Ed. pr.* (I. 332-33) compare with the doctrine enunciated in the rest of this paragraph the references to the "formation" of the aeons after the fall of Wisdom. This appears in oriental Valentinianism in the *Exc. Theod.* 31.2-3. The same process is described in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5-6. Cf. the note to 61.11.

The differences between the *Tri. Trac.* and these other texts are as significant as the parallels. Up to this point in this system, there has been no reference to the fall of any aeon. The author is still discussing the basic process of emanation from the Father. At this stage he is explaining how the ideal unity of the Church, the image of the Father's unity, is instantiated in the aeons or Totalities. That unity consists in their co-substantiality with the Son, the "Man of the Father." Cf. also 67.10-14.

66.35 *equally*: The etymology is problematic. With *ed. pr.* (I. 294) we associate it with $\omega\omega\omega$ (Crum 606a), "be equal, level," and not with $\text{C}\omega\omega$ (Crum 374b), "strike." Likewise the form $\alpha\gamma\text{C}\alpha\omega$ is a problem. *Ed. pr.* construe it as $\alpha\cdot\text{O}\gamma\cdot\text{C}\alpha\omega$, equivalent to $\epsilon\text{P}\omega\omega\omega$ or $\zeta\bar{\text{N}}\text{N}\text{O}\gamma\omega\omega\omega$ (Crum 607a).

66.37-67.4 *He is neither divided, etc.:* The fact that the Son subsists in the Totalities, and can be properly called by a variety of names, does not imply that he is not a unitary being. On the aeons as

names, or elements of names united in the Church, cf. the account of Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.2.

66.39 *which he has <received>* (ΕΝΤΑΦΥΟΟΠ ΜΜΑΦ): The qualitative ΦΟΟΠ should not be used with a first perfect. ΦΟΟΠ does appear with what appears to be a perf. rel. at 112.21 and 117.19. However, the relative converters in those cases may be dialectal variants of the pres. rel. ΕΤΟΥ. The form here is probably corrupt for ΦΩΠ.

66.39-40 *one thing-another* (ΟΥΕΤ...ΟΥΩΤ): These forms are understood, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) against *ed. pr.* (Eng.), as forms of ΟΥΩΤ, the impersonal verb meaning "to be different" (Crum 495b).

67.1-2 The restorations proposed by *ed. pr.* are quite conjectural. The restoration [ΟΥΦ]ΦΩ in line 2 is particularly problematic, since the trace after the lacuna cannot be part of the letter ω.

67.3 *which he thinks of* (ΕΝΤΑΦ[Ρ Ν]ΘΕΙ ΜΜΑΦ): The space at the end of the line can barely accommodate the two letters proposed in this restoration. It should, however, be noted that the lines on this page are of quite uneven lengths. If this restoration is not adopted, the resulting form, with a qualitative in the first perfect, is quite anomalous.

67.4 *and become* (ΦΡ): The form is probably an A² conjunctive, continuing the ΜΑΦ in line 3.

67.7 *he is wholly himself to the uttermost* (ΝΤΑΦ ΤΗΡΦ ΠΕ ΦΑΒΟΛ): The meaning of this phrase is problematic. ΦΑΒΟΛ is no doubt adverbial, meaning "to the utmost" or "forever" (Crum 36a). *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) adopt the second alternative. ΤΗΡΦ is probably also to be taken as an adverb. One might expect ΕΠΤΗΡΦ, but see 67.16. If ΤΗΡΦ were arthrous, then there would be a simple predication which would make sense in this context: "He is the all, to the uttermost." As it stands, this phrase summarizes the statement made from 66.30-67.6, which emphasizes the self-identity of the Son, despite the multiplicity of his designations.

67.9-10 *He is what all of them are:* A parallel to the identification of

the Son and the Totalities is found by *ed. pr.* in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.4, where the Savior is named “the all.” They note a possible proof text in Col 1:17, read by the Valentinians as *καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα*. Cf. *Val. Exp.* 22.26-28; the Father “possessed the Totalities dwelling within him,” and 25.31, where the Son is the Head, the confirmation and the hypostasis of the Totalities.

67.10 *He brought* (ἄταϕμ): The form is probably to be construed as the perf. II with the pre-nominal form of εἶνε.

67.14 *τοϕειϕ*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 245) suggest that the ι in the first word here was intercalated. The letter is written close to the preceding ε, but it need not have been added later.

properties: Cf. 59.3,9; 69.40; 73.10; 100.26. From the context of this passage it becomes clearer that the “properties” of the Father and Son are what is referred to by the names used in the litany of 66.13-29.

67.14-15 *He has* (ϕγ[η]τεϕ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 295) suggest another restoration, ἄτεϕ, but this is incompatible with the remaining traces.

67.15 *he is beyond* (αϕω <εϕο>εἶ ηβελ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 245) correctly reject the possibility of seeing here a corruption of οϕαειη ἄηβελ, “light of eyes.”

67.18 *having* (εϕἄτεϕ): The subject here is ambiguous. One might initially suppose that the one who has a Son is the Father. Cf. 56.24. However, it seems more likely that the Son is referred to. It is certainly proper to speak of his having a Son, if he is indeed the Father of the Totalities. Cf. 65.11 and the parallels cited there. Furthermore, it is proper to speak only of the Son as “having a form.” Cf. 54.30-32, 66.13. Thus the subject of this whole paragraph (66.5-67.37) remains the Son.

67.28-31 *since they are, etc.*: Different interpretations of the syntax are possible here. Formally εϕωοοη, εϕωοοη and εϕεινε could be either circumstantial or pres. II. *Ed. pr.* take εϕωοοη, both times, as circumstantial and εϕεινε, apparently, as pres. II. If the other ambiguous forms are pres. II, the translation would be: “It is in the single name that they exist; in it they are speaking.” In εηταϕ the

ε reduplicates the conjugation base in εγφοοπ, line 30. Cf. 69.28. The circumstantial εγψεξε is in a periphrastic construction with εγφοοπ. Cf. 56.36, 82.14.

67.31-32 *in a unified way*: Here at the end of the long paragraph on the Son, the theme of the whole discussion is recapitulated. In the relationship between the Son and the Totalities the tension between unity and multiplicity is harmonized and reconciled. Cf. 66.34-36, 68.22-28, 74.1-3 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6.

67.32 *it might be discovered*: For the construction, cf. 53.13-14. The form βαηητϭ is unusual. It appears also at 70.9. Till ("Beiträge," 222) suggests that it is a qualitative meaning "to be united." The suffix, ϭ, argues against that interpretation. *Ed. pr.* (Ger. I. 20, 33, 295) plausibly suggest an emendation to εγαβηητϭ, thus making the form a fut. III, the form expected after χεκαϭ in line 31. The same form in 70.9 seems to be simply a pres. circ. Note that the *stat. pronom.* in S can be βεηητϭ (Crum 820a). The form βαηητϭ would be the A² equivalent.

67.34-35 *he did not reveal*: Cf. 62.14-16, 64.37-65.1. Here the action of the Son parallels that of the Father. The Son's revelation to the aeons is a gradual process.

5. Aeonic Life (67.38-74.18)

The next section of the tractate describes the life of the aeons who have come into being in the process described in the previous section. The author first describes how the aeons participate in and imitate the nature of the highest godhead by "begetting" and thus continuing the "principle of undiminished giving." The aeons are "fathers" in three ways, by returning glory to the Father collectively (67.38-69.14), by receiving grace from the Father and thereby begetting among themselves (69.14-24), and by begetting individually (69.24-70.7). The author then reflects on the implications of the notion that the aeons beget like fathers (70.8-71.7). He then returns to the theme of the aeons' search for the Father, and in a series of images (the road, the scent) describes the relationship of the aeons to the Father (71.7-73.8). Finally the author returns to the issue of the unity and multiplicity of the aeonic world. He deals with this issue by discussing two themes which have already been treated in the first sections of the

tractate, the names of the aeons (73.8-18) and the process of emanation (73.18-74.18).

In this section the author's exposition does not progress in a direct, linear fashion, but proceeds circuitously. Once he has made his basic theoretical point, that the aeons in turn beget, he reverts to the basic images and themes used to discuss the godhead and elaborates these images in new and complex ways.

67.37-38 **ⲭⲉ . . . ⲃⲉ**: It is significant that a major new section of the text is introduced with the fuller form of the introductory particle.

67.38-39 *who are the aeons of the aeons*: Cf. the note to 58.33. The **ⲛⲧⲉ** in line 38 is problematic. As it stands the text might be translated "of these, then, all of those who came forth from him are the aeons of the aeons." Alternatively, as in the translation, emend to the relative **ⲉⲧⲉ**.

68.1 *emanations*: Cf. 65.4-6.

68.2 *of his nature* (**ⲛⲧⲉϥϥϥⲥⲓϥ**): Since the aeons are products of the Father's emanative nature, the text should be emended to **ⲛⲧⲉϥϥϥⲥⲓϥ**.

68.4 *procreative* (**ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲏⲡⲟ**): Note the form used at 51.35-36 and 64.23.

have given glory (**ⲁϥ<ⲧ> ⲉⲁϥ**): The reading of the text might be taken as an adverbial predicate (**=ⲉⲟϥⲉⲟⲟϥ**), to be translated: "They . . . are for the glory of the Father." Cf. 54.9, 66.3, 86.18. However, the independent pronoun (**ⲛⲧⲁϥ**) is not regularly used in this construction. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #250. Also, despite the parallel in 54.9, the use of **ⲉ** in an adverbial sentence is also unusual. Hence, the text is probably corrupt and should be emended to the perf. I, **ⲁϥ<ⲧ> ⲉⲁϥ**.

68.6-7 *establishment*: For an earlier reference to the collective "establishment" of the aeons, cf. 58.12.

68.7-8 *what we said previously*: None of the earlier references to the emanation of the aeons from the Father applies to them all the terms used here. The closest parallel seems to be 62.6-11. Cf. also 60.36, 64.1. *Ed. pr.* (I. 334) note the application to the aeons of the

terms "words, seeds, pleromas, fruits and roots" by Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.2) and the reference in *Codex Bruce*, (U 2) to the aeons as "forefathers," who have come forth from the original Forefather. Note in the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6) the application to all the aeons of the names of those in the Ogdoad. Cf. also 70.32-36.

68.10-11 *they have begotten*: Previously (61.3-11, 66.5-8) the tractate had emphasized the intimate connection between the Father's revelation of his being and the process by which the aeons attained independent existence. The earlier discussion had suggested that the activity of the aeons, which constitutes their essential being, is the praise of the Father who has revealed himself. Cf. 63.17-64.8. This notion is developed more fully in this paragraph.

68.18-19 *The Father is the one, etc.*: *Ed. pr.* treat this clause in their translations as a parenthetical exclamation. It could rather be read as a summary of the imperfect praise which the aeons would have offered the Father if they had given praise individually. This "praise" is inadequate because the Father is quite definitely not the one who is the Totalities. If anyone is to be identified with the Totalities, it is the Son. Cf. 65.11-32 and *Val. Exp.* 22.26-28, 25.31. The Father's transcendence is incompatible with his immediate identification with the Totalities. They are the names which are but "traces" of the Father (54.2-11, 65.39-66.5), but which are properly applied to the Son (66.8-9).

68.20 *if* (ΕΝΕΘΕ): For this conditional particle in contrary-to-fact conditions, cf. *Gos. Truth* 18.40.

68.21 *individually* (ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 295) suggest that the lack of concord in gender between ΤΟΥΕΙΕ and ΕΩΝ indicates that something has dropped from the text. The act of one of the aeons who tries to give glory to the Father by himself leads to the fall of the divine substance from the Totalities (75.17-21). On the inadequacy of aeons as individuals, cf. the account of Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1.

68.22-23 *in the song*: Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6, where the aeons, having become equal, give thanks as they come into "true rest," with great joy they "hymn the primal Father." Cf. also Hippolytus, *Ref.*

63.2.1. For the possible apocalyptic roots of the notion, cf. Thomassen, *Tripartite Tractate*, 312.

68.24-25 *unity* (†ΜΝΤΟΥ(ΕΙ)ΕΙ): The first ΕΙ was written on a section of the papyrus with a very poor surface. Hence the apparent dittography at the beginning of the next line. The first ΕΙ was not, however, deleted.

68.25-26 *him from whom they have come*: This phrase most probably refers to the Son. Note his designation in 65.9-10. Recall the description of how the Son unifies the Totalities (66.34-36, 67.30-33).

68.29 *worthy*: The glory which the aeons worthily offer the Father is that which they produce as a unified body. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6.

68.32 *representation* (ΕΙΝΕ): The term is not used technically here, as it is later (78.32-34).

68.34 *the single one*: This is a reference to the Father, the ultimate object of the aeons' glorification. Cf. 51.8-9.

68.35-36 *toward the one who is the Totalities*: This is another reference to the Son. Cf. again 65.25; 67.8-11, 27.

68.36 *νε*: This may be another example of the reduplicated copula, following πε. Alternatively, as suggested by B. Layton, it may be the preterit converter which is repeated in the form νεγτραειο in 69.1.

this: The antecedent is probably εαγ of 68.29.

69.1 *̄ΝΝ*[...]: The restoration of *ed. pr.* is far too short to fill the lacuna. The πε which follows the lacuna may well be the reduplicated copula. Hence what fills the lacuna may be another noun dependent on ταιειο such as *̄ΝΝ*[ΟΥΕΑ]Υ, "their praises of their glories." Any restoration here would be quite conjectural.

69.2 *the one who brought forth the Totalities*: The praise of the aeons is probably directed toward the Son, to whom they themselves are oriented. Cf. 59.15, 64.17-18, 68.35.

69.3 *being a first-fruit*: The noun modified by this circumstantial nominal sentence is $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron$, "praise," in 69.1. Cf. Rom 11:16, 1 Cor 15:20, Jas 1:18. This sentence introduces the first of the three productions of the Totalities, which they beget by their united effort. *Ed. pr.* (I. 333-34) comment on the threefold production of the aeons in this text and compare it with the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.3), in which the Pleroma is produced in three stages, first the Ogdoad, consisting of the first eight aeons; then the decad, produced by the third pair of aeons in the Ogdoad, then the duodecad, produced by the fourth pair of aeons in the Ogdoad. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1. *Ed. pr.* suggest that the *Tri. Trac.* has spiritualized and sublimated the more primitive conception found in Irenaeus.

While the *Tri. Trac.* may indeed have modified an earlier mythical system, it is unclear that the triple generation of the aeons is a development of the doctrine which *ed. pr.* cite. Both theories about aeonic life begin with the notion that the aeons attempt to praise the Father and hence beget (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.2). However, in Ptolemy it is the Ogdoad itself which first offers praise. Hence, it is hardly proper to see the "first-fruits" of the aeons in the *Tri. Trac.* as the functional equivalent of the Ogdoad in Ptolemy. If there is a parallel to be seen in this system to Ptolemy's Ogdoad, it is the trinity at the highest level of being. The aeons here correspond to the rest of Ptolemy's Pleroma.

It is likewise quite difficult to fit into the scheme of Ptolemy's system the second stage of the aeons' begetting (69.14-24). There the Father responds to the aeons' praise, and as a result it seems that they continue to beget more aeons like themselves (69.18-19). If there is a parallel to Ptolemy's system here, it is not to the emanation of a specific sub-group within the Pleroma, but to the whole process of generation within the Pleroma. This second stage of begetting in the *Tri. Trac.* states the general principles according to which the decad and the duodecad of Ptolemy are produced.

Similarly the third stage of begetting (69.31-70.7) refers again, not to the emanation of aeons within the Pleroma, but the activity of individual aeons, which finally leads to the fall.

Comparison with other sources may suggest another interpretation of the "first-fruit." *Exc. Theod.* 58.1-2, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1 and 1.8.3 seem to associate the "first-fruit" of Rom 11:16 with the "spiritual" or "elect" element of the Church and the "lump of dough" from the same passage with the "psychic" or "called" element of the Church. The *Tri. Trac.* at this point is not describing the actual pro-

duction of those elements of the Church, but the three-fold begetting by the aeons at least provides the prototype within the aeonic world for the production of three elements in the intermediate world, which in turn serves as the immediate model for the production of three types of humanity.

69.4-5 *having come forth* (εαϑει): *Ed. pr.* (I. 295) take this to be a form of the perf. II. If this were correct, the sentence would have to be translated "because it is from the living aeons that it has come forth, being perfect and full."

The form εαϑ can be a perf. II, analogous to ααϑ in F. Cf. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo, 1944) 49 (= *Collected Papers*, 153). Nonetheless, in the cases where the form appears in this text it can be satisfactorily explained as a circumstantial conversion of the perf. I. Such an interpretation is also possible here. Then εϑϣηκ αβαλ and εϑμηϛ in 69.5-6 are also to be taken as circumstantials, all of which modify the subject of αϑκαουϣ in line 7. What has come forth from the aeons, perfect and full, is, of course, their praise. The "one who is perfect and full" is probably the Son.

69.7 *it left full and perfect*: The effects of the unified praise of the aeons contrast with the defective praise of the individual aeon. Cf. 76.2-12.

69.10-14 *like the faultless Father*: These lines contain several problems. Who, first of all, is "like the faultless Father"? This could be the Father, since he is the ultimate object of the aeons' praise (68.29-34). Then the comparative phrase in 69.10 would have to be interpreted "like the faultless Father (that he is)." However, the last phrase in the sentence, "to make them manifest as that which he is," should refer to the Son, since only the Son is what the Totalities are, as has been noted several times in the preceding pages. Cf. especially 68.18-19. That the Son receives the praise of the aeons is compatible with the remarks made in 69.35-69.2. That he is the agent by which the "manifestation" and hence the actual emanation of the aeons occurs, has also been asserted several times already (59.15; 62.33-38; 65.9-11, 17-27). This sentence, in any case, reiterates the notion that the aeons did not originally attain their complete and perfect being. That only comes (a) when the Father is revealed to them through the Son and (b) when they respond by giving praise.

Ed. pr. seem to understand the sentence as a reference to the Father. The emendation of *ed. pr.* (Eng.) is explained as follows: "The Father himself is $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. The aeons give him $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. They make themselves manifest as pneumatic beings by giving to the Father that which he himself is, viz. $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$."

69.12 $\llbracket\cdot\cdot\rrbracket\text{C}\omega\tau\mu$: The initial c and one preceding letter have been crossed out with diagonal lines. *Ed. pr.* (I. 295) suggest that the uncorrected text was originally $\tau\epsilon\tau\omega\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\alpha\gamma$, "return the glory." This reading is defended by Thomassen, *VC* 34 (1980) 374, n. 51.

69.14 *The cause*: In this paragraph mention is made of the second mode of begetting of the aeons, which consists of their producing further aeons (66.18–19). This point is somewhat obscured by the initial reference to the "cause of the second honor," subsequently explained as the Father's response to the aeons' glorification. This "cause of the second honor" is also the cause of the second stage of begetting. Cf. 64.21–27. See also the next note.

69.14–15 *second honor*: It is initially unclear what the "second honor" is. That it in fact refers to the second sense in which the aeons are fathers seems to be implied by the phrasing of 69.25, where the aeons, *qua* individual begetters, are referred to as "fathers in the third glory." There is no verbal parallel in the preceding discussion about the aeons' first production. The parallel is, however, certainly implicit in the description of what the aeons produce as "glory" (68.29). The use of this term in connection with the secondary and tertiary begettings of the aeons thus expresses the analogy between the different levels of their activity. It further suggests that all of these activities somehow have the glory of the Father as their object (cf. 70.5–7). The only fully adequate expression of that glory is what the aeons produce as a body, i.e., as the unitary entity which they are made by the Son.

69.16 $\omega\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$: The syntax here is problematic and the text may well be corrupt. There is no predicate for the relative converter, nor is the π resumed.

69.18 *bore fruit*: Cf. *Val. Exp.* 34.29–31, where Sophia laments that she "used to dwell in the Pleroma, putting forth the aeons and bearing fruit with my partner." When she separated from him (34.38), she

could not bear fruit, "for this is the will of the Father: Not to allow anything to happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy. Again the will of the Father is: Always produce and bear fruit" (*Val. Exp.* 36.28-34).

69.20 *As a result* (κεκαε): This conjunction normally introduces final clauses. Here, however, a final clause is singularly inappropriate, although *ed. pr.* attempt to translate the clause in this way. It is likely that κεκαε here translates the Greek ἕνα. In classical usage this conjunction normally introduces a final clause. In postclassical Greek, however, it may be used to translate result clauses. Cf. Bauer, 377b, and Blass-Debrunner-Funk, 391.5. Note the similar use of ωνα in *Hyp. Arch.* 89.29, and see the comment by B. Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons, Part II," *HTR* 69 (1976) 57-58, n. 64. In any case, it is unusual for κεκαε not to be followed by a verb.

69.22 πεει πε πρητε: This phrase should be taken as the correlative of μπρητε (69.20). This sentence repeats the notion that the glorification by the aeons is essentially linked to their own actual existence.

69.25 *of the third glory* (μπιμαζ ψαμτ νεαγ): Following an indefinite noun, the noun in the genitive (πιμαζ ψαμτ) is, in St. Sah., governed not by \bar{n} -, but by $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* #113. This paragraph clearly states that the third type of begetting performed by the aeons, i.e., that which they do as individuals, is inferior both to the begetting of the honor of the Father which they produce as a group and the further begetting of aeons with one another. Cf. 69.3, 15.

69.26 *independence*: Cf. 75.35 and *Gos. Truth* 22.27-33. *Ed. pr.* (I. 334) suggest, following Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 4, that the conception of the aeons as independent personal entities endowed with free will was an innovation introduced into Valentinian theology by Ptolemy. On the importance of free will in this system, see Thomassen, *VC* 34 (1980) 369.

69.28 *since* (επουεει... ενσεωοση) Note the reduplication of the circumstantial converter, before the proposed subject and the verb. Cf. 67.29-30.

69.31 *They are first* (Ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲃⲉ): Note the compound introductory particle. The implicit subject of this nominal sentence is not the aeons, who are fathers in the first and second degrees (69.3,14), but the fruits or productions of the aeons. This is clear because of the parallel remark about the "fruit of the third" in 69.37. This whole paragraph in fact consists of a comment on that third fruit, which is contrasted with the first and second products of the aeons. The comparison would be clearer if the words **ⲛⲉ ⲁⲮⲱ ⲡⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ** were removed, or if the subject of the nominal sentence were expressed. Perhaps a phrase has been lost after **ⲛⲉ**.

69.36 *by the fact that they glorify*: For the notion that the aeons' perfection consists in their glorifying the Father, cf. 62.26–33; 68.10–11; 69.13–14, 22–24.

69.37 *the fruit of the third*: The expression is elliptical. What it refers to is, as the sequel suggests, the third degree of honor or glorification which the aeons produce.

however (ⲛⲧⲁⲟ): The personal pronoun is used here as an adverbative. Cf. Crum 232b and note the use of **ⲛⲧⲟⲟ** in this sense with **ⲁⲉ** in Acts 13:39, in Bohairic. Cf. 63.15, 84.32, 91.27, 94.32, 98.27, 122.20.

69.41 *The Father has power*: This remark awkwardly interrupts the discussion, although it is related to what follows, since the Father is subsequently said to have power over something (70.6).

it exists: The referent of the pronoun is unclear. It probably does not refer to the Father, whose existence has already been discussed. It may be that something has dropped from the text, causing the abruptness of the preceding comment and the ambiguity of the reference here and in the following lines. If the text is sound, it is probably the "fruit of the third" which is referred to here. Its perfect and full existence is said to be due to a thought, namely the thought of the aeons. This thought in turn is perfect because it manifests "agreement," although it is a product of each of the individual aeons. Its perfection is thus mediated and not direct, as is the perfection of the first and second honor.

70.5 *It is this which he loves*: The antecedent of this relative clause

is probably the "agreement" of line 3, although it could also be the "thought" of line 2.

70.7 *as it gives glory to the Father by means of it*: The referents of the two pronouns are unclear. What gives glory is probably the "fruit of the third." It gives glory to the Father by means of the thought which is a product of agreement.

70.7-13 *minds of minds, etc.*: With this series of predicates of the aeons of the Pleroma *ed. pr.* (I. 335) compare the account of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6). Cf. also 68.7-8.

70.9 *are found* (ΕΥΒΑΝΤΕ): For the construction, cf. 53.13-14. For the form, cf. 67.32.

70.11 *elders*: This epithet for the aeons is unparalleled in Valentinian sources.

70.12 *degrees*: This term is unparalleled in Valentinian texts. Perhaps the text is corrupt for ΒΑΘΟΣ, "depth." Cf. 54.21, 55.26, 60.18-22. However, the following remarks about the exaltation of the aeons above one another, and the proper place possessed by each, suggest that ΒΑΘΜΟΣ is correct.

70.15 *has*: The form could be a second tense emphasizing the object, an "emploi abusif." It could also be simply an anomalous form of the simple ΟΥΝΤΕ.

70.18 *rest*: Cf. 58.36-38 and 131.21.
glory: That there are different degrees of glory corresponding to the status of the glorifiers has been affirmed previously. Cf. 54.8-11, 66.4-5.

70.23 *assisting*: Cf. 64.25-27, 66.29, 69.18-19.

70.24 *limitless* (ΑΡΗΧΝΟΥ): The Ν is unusual. The more common form, ΑΡΗΧΟΥ, is found at 58.20. The affirmation that the begettings of the aeons are limitless contrasts with the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.3), in which the Pleroma consists of a definite number (30) of aeons.

70.26 *no envy*: The lack of envy on the part of the Father is a corollary of the "principle of undiminished giving." Cf. 53.15.

70.28 *their begetting*: *Ed. pr.* take the inflected infinitive here as a simple expression of purpose. This understanding is hardly appropriate here. The construction may represent the same ambiguity noted in 69.20, occasioned by the lack of a distinction in later Greek between clauses of purpose and result. The preposition $\alpha(=\epsilon)$ may simply mean "with respect to" (cf. Crum 51a) and the inflected infinitive may describe the activity of the aeons towards which the Father does not have envy.

70.37 *their entirety* ($\pi<\omicron>\Upsilon>\tau\eta\rho\bar{\alpha}$): The emendation is necessary to provide an explicit resumption of the antecedent of the relative. Note the parallelism with $\pi\omicron\Upsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ (70.33) and $\pi\omicron\Upsilon\eta\omicron\Upsilon\tau\epsilon$ (70.35). In this rather poetic summary of the Father's relationship to the aeons, the author comes close to uttering what he had characterized as inadequate praise of the Father in 68.18-19. Here, however, he affirms not that the Father is totally contained in the aeons, but that they have the entirety of their being in him, as in *Val. Exp.* 22.26-28.

the names ($\epsilon\eta\pi\rho\epsilon\eta$): The ϵ here is probably to be understood as a second tense converter (=St. Sah. $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$), emphasizing the adverbial phrase $\zeta\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\Upsilon\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in 71.2. The "names" are "father" and "god," mentioned in the preceding lines. Here it is affirmed that these apply in the proper sense to the transcendent aeons of the Pleroma, and in a secondary sense to the angels and archons of this world. Cf. 100.12-30, 101.20-22, 102.20-26.

71.1-2 *there* ($\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\mu\mu\epsilon\Upsilon$): *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) read $\mu[\mu]\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\Upsilon$. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) read $\mu[\mu]\ \alpha\omicron\Upsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\Upsilon$. The trace of the π is ambiguous, but the μ in $\pi\mu\alpha$ is certain. Only the bottom part of the vertical stroke of the τ is preserved. The μ beginning line 2 is certain.

71.4-5 *angels...archons*: Cf. 99.36-100.5.

71.6 *resemblance*: The angels and archons of this world are described as but a shadow of the "really existent entities" in 102.1-3.

71.7 *system*: Cf. 59.29 where the same term ($\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$) is applied

to the aeons of the Pleroma. This system is to be distinguished from its copy outside of the Pleroma (cf. 79.25, 98.31, 102.30), which is styled the "organization" (*οἰκονομία*) 77.3, 10 etc. For a similar contrast between the "system of the Pleroma," and the cosmic "organization," cf. *Treat. Res.* 46.35.

71.9 *longing*: Cf. 61.11-13; 65.16-17, 30-31. This whole paragraph reiterates the doctrine that the aeons seek to understand what the Father is in himself. For a similar description of divine revelatory activity, cf. the Hermetic tractate *Kore Kosmou* (Exc. from Stobaeus 23.4, Nock-Festugière 4.2).

71.12 *reveals* (εφουονῶ): This form is probably a circumstantial, although it could be a pres. II. In that case it would be translated, "Eternally the Father reveals himself."

71.14 *he did not wish* (ἔπεφοραψῶ): This form could also be a noun, "in his desire," and *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) translate it thus. The apparent paradox in the assertion that the Father reveals himself, yet does not wish to be known, is resolved when the distinction between knowledge of the Father's existence and knowledge of his essence is kept in mind. Precisely this distinction is alluded to in the following lines (71.16-19). Hence ἔπεφοραψῶ may be taken, with *ed. pr.* (Ger.), as a neg. perf. I.

71.19 *root impulses* (ἀφορμη [νν]οϋνε): This collocation of terms is unusual. Presumably, it means "basic" or "fundamental" impulses. Alternatively, [νν]οϋνε could be construed with the following noun and the phrase could be translated "impulses to the aeons' roots." In any case, cf. 61.12, where φορμη may be corrupt for ἀφορμη.

In this paragraph the *Tri. Trac.* deploys the first of two metaphors for describing the relationship between the Father and the aeons. In this metaphor, the Father is likened to the goal at the end of a path on which those who seek him travel. This image fits the notion that the aeons must seek to understand what the Father essentially is. The initial remark introducing the image also fits this notion, since the Father gives a start or impulse (*ἀφορμή*) to the aeons, to initiate their search for him (71.15-16). The image is somewhat confused by the remark that the "aeons" are "places" on the path (71.20), since it is

difficult to see how the aeons can travel on the path if they are, as it were, way-stations on the path. It may be that while the aeons themselves have to traverse the path of searching for the Father, they are also parts of the path which others must traverse. Note that the Son is later identified as the path toward the Father (123.31). For the metaphor of the path, cf. also Philo, *Immut.* 143 and *Gos. Truth* 31.28-31. Cf. further R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 603-04 and W. Michaelis, "ὁδός," *TDNT* 5.47.

71.22-23 *as toward a school of behavior*: Cf. 59.11 and 125.17. This phrase suggests that the goal of the path is not the Father himself but a situation in which knowledge of him can be obtained. It might have been more consistent if the author had compared the path itself with a "school of behavior," for on it the aeons apparently "learn" the virtues of faith, hope, charity, etc., which the Father is said to "extend" to them (71.23-35). These virtues are probably to be seen as conducive to, if not necessary in, the search for the Father. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 19.17-20. However, the details of the metaphor should probably not be pressed.

71.23-24 *faith, etc.*: The attribution of these virtues to the aeons is particularly significant. While Irenaeus *Haer.* (1.6.1-2) implies that the Valentinians regard faith as the attribute of mere psychic Christians, and knowledge as the attribute of the pneumatics, Valentinian sources present a different view. According to Heracleon, fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60), the psychics' faith depends on seeing "signs and wonders," while the pneumatics' faith is "immediate," a spontaneous response that requires no external proof. This faith is exemplified in Heracleon, fr. 17 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10) by the Samaritan woman, a symbol for the pneumatics, who responds to Jesus with the "faith that was inseparable from her nature." For discussion, see E. Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel*, 83-97; E. Mühlenberg, "Wieviel Erlösungen kennt der Gnostiker Heracleon," *ZNW* 66 (1975) 170-93; and B. Aland, "Erwählungstheologie und Menschenklassenlehre," *Gnosis and Gnosticism* (ed. M. Krause; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 165-75.

Other Valentinian sources acknowledge faith as an attribute of the elect; cf. the intent expressed in *Interp. Know.* 1.24, "that our faith may be holy and pure." This author, like Heracleon, implicitly contrasts different "measures of faith" (1.24-2.28). See also *Exc. Theod.* 56.4, on faith as a spiritual attribute; yet, according to *Exc. Theod.*

55.3 and 63.1, psychic Christians also have the "capacity for faith."

In the theology of the *Tri. Trac.* faith, and even freedom (69.26, 71.32), obviously play a role on this level of being, in the world of the Pleroma. That role is surely paradigmatic for the salvation which is understood to take place here in this world. Cf. 127.34-128.19.

71.27-28 *fruitful* (εϛϫπo): *Ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 296) suggest that the Coptic may translate κερδαίνω, "win over."

71.35 *It is by virtue of his will*: Here begins the second metaphor describing the relation of the transcendent Father to the aeons who are searching after him. Cf. 55.35.

71.36 *is known* (εϛϛoοϛν ἄμοϛ): This is a pres. II, emphasizing that by virtue of which the Father is known, namely his will (72.1). This is then equated with his spirit which pervades the aeonic world like a fragrant aroma.

72.2 *spirit*: The trinitarian description of the highest godhead in this text has not made use of the category of the Holy Spirit to describe part of that godhead. An orthodox trinitarian formula does occur later in the text (127.32, 128.8). This passage asserts that the revelation to the aeons is a gradual process, depending not only on the appearance of the Son, but also on the continued activity of the spirit of the Father dwelling in the Totalities.

In other Valentinian systems, the Holy Spirit is an emanation from either Nous and Truth (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1, Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.31.2), Silence (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 31.6.7), or Christ (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5). *Ed. pr.* (I. 336) suggest that the conception of this text is closer to that of the first two references.

72.3 *it gives* (εϛϫ†): The form is probably a pres. II, emphasizing the comparative clause in lines 5-9.

72.3-4 *an idea of seeking*: Again it is made clear that the referent of the metaphor is the same here as in the preceding paragraphs. Cf. 71.16-17.

72.6-7 *pleasant aroma*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 335) note the parallel to the motif of the fragrance in *Val. Exp.* 25.39 and *Gos. Truth* 33.39-

34.34. For the latter, Puech cites as parallels, 2 Cor 2:15, Phil 4:18, and Eph 5:2. Cf. also E. Lohmeyer, "Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1919) 9. K. Grobel, *The Gospel of Truth* (Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1960) 149, also cites Talmudic, Manichaean, and Mandaeen uses of the motif. A sweet odor is associated with the Valentinian sacrament of anointing (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3). Plotinus (*Enn.* 5.1.6) uses "fragrance" as a metaphor for emanation in a way similar to *Gos. Truth* 34.26-27. It should be noted that the image in this passage of the *Tri. Trac.* is used to describe a soteriological, not cosmogonic, process.

In the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1) an "aroma of immortality" plays a part in the redemption of the fallen Sophia. That aroma, left her by her redeemer Christ, leads her to strive for better things. The image was also used by Basilides (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.22.14) to describe the presence of the Holy Spirit in "the place where we are."

72.10-11 *ordinary ones*: Literally "unworthy ones." "These" refer to the types of aroma of common experience to which reference has just been made.

72.11 *sweetness*: Cf. 53.5.

72.15 *mingling*: Cf. 66.29.

72.16 *in a united way*: Cf. 67.31-32.

72.17-18 *and to assist*: Cf. 69.18, 70.23. The conjunctive continues either inflected infinitive, $\alpha\tau\rho\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\delta$ or $\alpha\tau\rho\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta\eta\bar{\iota}$.

72.19 *sown*: This form is probably a qualitative of the verb $\varsigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ (Crum 360b). Cf. 112.2-4. The form is not attested outside of this document. *Ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 296) also suggest that the form may be from $\varsigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ "fire" (Crum 360a), but the parallel later in the text argues against this.

72.20 *weight*: The form $\zeta\rho\eta\omega\epsilon$, as *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) suggest, should be associated with $\zeta\rho\omega$, "be heavy" (Crum 706a). *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) associate it with $\alpha\rho\omega$, "become cold" (Crum 16a). In support

of the latter they adduce (I. 336) *Gos. Truth* 34.15-30, which mentions the cold psychic fragrances which are separated from the Father. The root of this notion is seen to lie in the theory that the soul is a result of the cooling of warm $\piνεῦμα$ (so Origen, *De prin.*, 2.8.3). It is not clear, however, that this passage has any reference to such psychological speculation. Thus it seems preferable to take $\zeta\eta\omega\epsilon$ as "weight" and see in the term a metaphor for the ignorance of the Father's essence which still characterizes the Totalities. Alternatively, Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 370) suggests understanding the term as "gravitation."

72.24 *in an uncomprehending way*: This could be translated "in an inconceivable way." This "inconceivability" probably refers to the fact that the aeons of the Pleroma do not understand their relationship with the Father. Cf. 65.31-34, 67.34-37.

72.28 *and they will take* ($\bar{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\chi\iota$): The conjunctive here probably continues the fut. I, $\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$, in 72.25, although with an adversative sense. Perhaps the Coptic translates a Greek text using $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, which has been improperly understood as a simple conjunction.

Ed. pr. (Fr.) take the conjunctive as a final clause, but the lack of a final conjunction is unusual in this text. Cf. 59.37, 124.2. *Ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.) take the conjunctive as an object clause after $\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$. Such a use of the conjunctive is unparalleled in this text.

72.29-30 *He revealed himself*: This sentence and those that follow repeat in various ways the contrast first expressed in 72.19-21. The antitheses in these lines illustrate both the intimate relationship of the aeons to the Father and their ignorance of him.

72.32-33 $\zeta\omega\varsigma \epsilon\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$: The phrase is probably to be construed with what precedes. The text here is probably corrupt and something has probably been lost after $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$. *Ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 297) suggest the possibility that this phrase is to be construed with what follows: "as if, for that reason, they are indeed silent." This construction is unlikely because it disrupts the series of antitheses which appear throughout the latter half of this paragraph. Furthermore, that construction leaves the circumstantial converter in $\epsilon\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ unexplained.

73.5 *spirit*: The reference to the Father's spirit forms an *inclusio* with the parallel reference at the start of this paragraph (72.2).

trace: Cf. 66.3.

73.6 *that he provides* (εϩ†): This form has been taken as a pres. II, emphasizing the adverbial phrase "through his spirit." The form could also be understood, with *ed. pr.* as a circumstantial, modifying πν(ΕΥΜ)α in 73.5, which would then simply be in apposition to the reference to the spirit in 73.2.

73.9 *name*: Having attempted to clarify the relationship between the Father and the aeons of the Pleroma through the metaphors of the two preceding paragraphs, the author returns to the notion that the aeons are names designating the properties of the Father. Cf. 65.39-66.5. That the author here alludes to that earlier stage in his presentation is supported by the association there of "names" and "traces." Cf. 73.5 for the reference to "traces" in this context.

73.12 *intermingled and harmonious*: Cf. 67.30-33, 68.32.

73.18 *emanation*: The last two paragraphs (73.18-74, 18) of this section return to the subject of the previous section of the tractate, which discussed the process of aeonic emanation (60.1-67.37). For the term "emanation," cf. 63.35, 68.1, 70.25.

73.20 *did not occur* (ερενταςωπε εν): On the basis of the negation this unusual form can be identified as a neg. perf. II, emphasizing the adverbial element κατα ογσωωτ αβαλ.

73.24 *extension*: Cf. 65.4-6. The point being made in this affirmation, that the emanated aeons are not separated from their source, is implicit in the metaphors of spring and root frequently used to describe the generation of the aeons. Cf. 51.3, 62.6-11, 63.29-64.8. It is important for the author to emphasize the point at this stage of the discussion, because the metaphors used in the preceding paragraphs (71.18-73.8) to illustrate the relationship of knowledge and ignorance within the aeons could be misunderstood to imply that the aeons are independent of the Father.

73.27-28 *might become him* (εγνασωπε νταϩ αν πε): The

form $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ here is for $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$, a complementary circumstantial of the nominal sentence $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta$ $\pi\epsilon$.

Previously the goal of the Father's emanating and revealing activity has been described as the existence of the aeons for themselves (61.3-8). What prevents that authentic existence is the lack of knowledge of the Father (61.35-37, 62.16-20). The Father revealed himself (62.33-35, 65.4-5) in a way that draws the aeons to their unknown source (72. 11-19). Then by searching for the Father, the aeons become what they are and what he is.

Note also 67.34-37, where the process of revelation to the aeons manifests their equality with the Father of the Totalities, i.e., the Son. The manifestation of that relationship leads to the process of assimilation to the Father described here. This process of divinization was an important part of the religious ideal of later antiquity. Cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 176B, which served as the basic text expressing this ideal. Note, too, *CH* 1.26.

73.28 *Just as the present aeon, etc.:* The final paragraph in this section reaffirms another dimension of the aeons' life which has been treated in connection with the activity of the Son (66.30-36, 67.30-33). Again both the unity and the multiplicity of the aeonic world are affirmed. This paragraph thus balances the preceding one which had affirmed the unity of the aeons vis-à-vis their source, the Father. Here the relationship of the aeons among themselves is in view.

73.29 *the present aeon:* This "aeon," the temporal world, is the image of the "true aeon" (74.1), the eternal world of the Pleroma. Hence distinctions on one level will be mirrored in the other. For Valentinian speculation on time as an image of the aeons, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.17.1-2 and *Val. Exp.* 30.31-39.

73.30 *is divided:* Alternatively the main predication in the comparative clause may be the statement that the aeon is a unity ($\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$, lines 29-30) and $\epsilon\zeta\pi\eta\omega$ may be subordinate. Translate: "Just as the present aeon is a unity, while being divided, etc."

73.30-31 *by units of time, etc. ($\zeta\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$... $\{\alpha\zeta\}$ $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega$):* The supralinear stroke over the $\bar{\nu}$ before $\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ suggests that it be taken with $\zeta\bar{\nu}$, but $\bar{\nu}$ is not usually doubled before a consonantal $\omicron\upsilon$. Such a mistaken doubling does occur at 74.8, but here it seems

preferable to read the **Ν** as the plural definite article. Otherwise further emendations would be necessary, such as <α>ΖΗΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ, which would be translated "into times." The prefix αζ in line 31 is impossible with the qualitative ΠΗΩ, unless α is an A² second tense converter. In this series of phrases it seems more likely that a mistake has been generated by analogy with αζΕΝΡΑΜΠΕ, αζΝ̄ΣΟΥ, etc. The resulting form, ΕΝΟΥΑΕΙΩ, is a circumstantial, parallel to ΕΝΡΑΜΠΕ ΠΗΩ in line 32.

74.3 *it is honored* (ΕΦΧΙ ΕΑΥ): This form has been taken to be a pres. II, emphasizing the prepositional phrases ζἠ̄... ἠ̄ΡΕΝ. It may also be a circumstantial. Note the same ambiguity in the syntax in the first part of the comparative clause (73.29–30).

74.5 *according to the power of each*: On the varying adequacy of the names applied to the divine world, cf. 54.8–11, 65.39–66.5, 73.14–18.

74.5–6 *analogy* (<ΤΑ>Ν̄Τἠ̄): *Ed. pr.* suggest that there may be a supralinear addition above the **Ν** at the end and propose an alternative reading ΚΑΤΑ ΕΙΤἠ̄. The traces interpreted as letters seem, however, to be blotting from the **Μ** at the beginning of 75.5.

74.6–7 *spring*: Cf. 62.9, 66.17–18, 68.10. Note especially the combination of spring and root metaphors in the first two passages cited. This passage contains the most elaborate statement of the two metaphors. Here they apply primarily to the aeons and not to the relationship between the aeons and the Father or the Son. For a parallel use of this metaphor, cf. *Interp. Know.* 19.13–37.

74.8 *into streams* (αζἠ̄Ν̄ΙΡΩΟΥ): The noun here is an unusual spelling for the plural of ΕΙΡΟ (Crum 82b). As Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 138) notes, the **Ν** in the indefinite article is erroneously doubled because the **Ι** is taken to be vocalic. Thus the emendation of *ed. pr.* is unnecessary. For the imagery used here, cf. 60.13–14.

74.10 *branches* (βαειε): Till ("Beiträge," 206) connects this otherwise unattested word with ΟΥΟΕΙ (A² ΟΥΑΕΙΕ) "rush, course" (Crum 472a). *Ed. pr.* (I.30) more probably connect the word with ϞΟ, "canal" (Crum 623a). The interchange of **Β** and **Ϟ** is common in this text. Cf. 52.27, 54.34, 57.39, 58.17, 77.18, 90.1.

74.11 *root*: Cf. 51.17-19.

6. The Imperfect Begetting by the Logos (74.18-80.11)

In the next section of the text the process is described whereby beings external to the Pleroma of the aeons are generated. While *ed. pr.* consider that this section corresponds to the myth of the fall of Sophia, it actually reinterprets that myth, offering a different understanding of the process. The process described here deemphasizes the discontinuity in the process of emanation which the "fall" of Sophia suggests. Instead, the begetting of a single aeon, the Logos, is seen to be a necessary development, in accord with the will of the Father.

The section begins with a general statement about the individual and free creativity of the aeons (74.18-75.8), which constitutes the third way in which they imitate the creativity of the Father. Then the narrative focuses on the activity of a single aeon, the Logos, who strives to know what cannot be known, the "incomprehensibility of the Father" (75.8-76.30). The activity of the Logos leads to a reaction on the part of the Father and the Totalities, who withdraw from him and thereby establish a limit to the Pleroma (76.30-77.11). The Logos then begets, but his offspring are outside of the Pleroma and are but shadows of the realities of that transcendent world (77.11-36). The initial offspring of the Logos are then divided into two classes. One offspring is a unitary aeon which returns to the Pleroma and there begets (77.37-78.28). The other offspring come from the "arrogant thought" of the Logos. They are the offspring which are totally shadows of reality, who produce beings which are yet more unreal (78.28-80.11).

74.18 $\alpha\epsilon \dots \Delta\epsilon$: Note the compound particle beginning this new section.

have brought [themselves] forth: The form here may be read as a passive, "the aeons have *been* brought forth," and the passage is translated in this way by *ed. pr.* This statement, however, conflicts with the earlier description of the process by which the aeons beget, which is divided into three types, hierarchically arranged according to the degree of mutuality and cooperation among the producing aeons. Cf. 68.29-70.7. Hence the verb here should probably be taken as a misinterpretation of a Greek middle form ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$). In any case, this paragraph refers not to the process by which the aeons are produced, but to the process by which they individually "bear fruit."

74.20-21 *freedom of the will*: Cf. 69.26.

74.23 *he favored them*: The subject here is probably the Father.

74.24 *they do not wish*: In the previous discussion of the "third fruit" of the aeons (69.24-40), it was suggested that the individual productions of the aeons were inferior to what they produced as a group and to what they produced with one another. It was not, however, suggested that the aeons were in general unwilling to give honor. As the following remarks make clear, their unwillingness means that the aeons, *qua* individuals, are unwilling to cooperate with anyone else in giving honor.

with (M[N]): For this restoration, cf. 74.29-30. *Ed. pr.* assume that the line ends with *M*. Then the text would say that the aeons do not wish to give honor *to* the one "who comes from an agreement." This reading breaks the parallelism with the following lines. As the sequel (76.6-12) indicates, problems arise not because the aeons do not want to honor someone, but because they do not want to cooperate in giving honor.

74.25 *that which is from an agreement*: This may be the "thought" of 70.2, which is said to be a product of agreement. Alternatively the entity referred to here may be personal. The "Church," for example, arises from the "agreement" of sorts between the Father and the Son.

74.25-28 *[though] it was produced, etc.*: The circumstantial restored in line 25 should be taken adversatively, with *ed. pr.* (Fr.) and not causally, with *ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.).

74.29-75.9 This is a very obscure passage. The basic point seems to be that aeons, *qua* individuals, do not want to offer praise with anyone except the "one who exists in the exalted name," probably a designation for the Son. Furthermore, the aeons do not wish to offer praise unless they receive something from the Son and thereby beget themselves as individuals. If this is the correct interpretation of this section, the doctrine which it presents attempts to develop a general framework within which the faulty begetting by the Logos makes sense. The text uses the principles previously enunciated in the exposition of aeonic emanation, and states that the begetting by the Logos is of the

same type as the generative acts by which all the aeons attain independent, individual existence. Within this framework the begetting by the Logos can more easily be interpreted as a natural development. Thomassen (*VC* 34 [1980] 370) suggests another interpretation of the section which deliberately ignores the negatives in 74.24-34.

74.32 *that one*: The obscurity of this section is largely due to the ambiguity of the pronouns. "That one" here could refer to "that which is from an agreement" (74.25) or the "Totality" (74.29).

74.33 *except for*: The exception stated here indicates the being with whom the individual aeons are willing to offer honor.

74.33-34 *the one who exists in the exalted name*: One might expect here the construction $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota \epsilon-$. The one who is "in the exalted name" could be the Father himself. Cf. 61.14-19. The name is, of course, "Father" which applies "in the proper sense" to him alone. Cf. 51.19-26. Note also the references to the Father as the Most High (65.37, 89.12-14, 96.13). It is more likely, however, that the being in view here is the Son. The Son is "in" the exalted name "Father" in as much as he exists as a father for the Totalities (65.11, 32). He in fact is the vehicle by which the name "Father" is given to the aeons (61.14, 66.5-12).

74.35 *the exalted place*: Earlier (53.24-26) it had been affirmed that there was no "place" in which the Father is. The Son, however, is the "perfection of that place" (59.18) and a "place" or "space" for the universe (65.8).

if he receives: The form $\kappa\alpha\iota$ here is, no doubt, a conjunctive, as are the forms in the following lines. Such an analysis is necessitated particularly by the form $\kappa\alpha\iota\pi\alpha\kappa$ in 75.2, which would violate the Stern-Jernstedt rule if construed as a pres. I.

The referent of the pronominal subject here is problematic. The subject here is probably the same as that in the following phrases. The remark that this being "becomes renewed by the one who came upon him" most likely refers to the individual aeon who receives the Son as an illumination (62.33-37). Thus, it seems likely that the subject of this whole chain of conjunctives is the typical individual aeon ("each of the Pleromas," 74.27).

74.36 *the one who wished* ($\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon$): The meaning of the

verb and the identity of the subject are both problematic. It might be possible to understand the verb absolutely as “the one who loved.” This could be a reference to the Son, the “love of those whom he loved” (66.20). It seems more likely, however, that the phrase is elliptical for the expression found at 75.11–12. The “one who wished to give honor” might be seen as a reference to the individual aeon who desires to glorify the Father, but if our identification of the subject of the sentence is correct (see the preceding note), then the phrase in question cannot refer to the individual aeon. Once again, we probably have a reference to the Son, who, in fact, honors and glorifies himself and the Father according to 58.8–12.

75.1–2 *and takes it to him (self)*: The form $\epsilon\alpha\chi\iota\tau\bar{\alpha}$, which violates the Stern-Jernstedt rule, must be emended, most likely to the conj. $\eta\bar{\alpha}\chi\iota\tau\bar{\alpha}$, suggested by Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 340). The individual aeon will give glory to the Father, if and only if the aeon accepts or “receives” something from the Son. What the aeon receives is not made explicit. Perhaps something has fallen out of the text. In any case, the text suggests that the mediation of the Son is necessary to proper glorification of the Father. The implications for the aeon’s own existence are then made clear in the following lines.

The experience of the individual aeon dimly described here is a particular application of the general principles in accord with which the generation of the whole Pleroma takes place. That the actual existence of the aeons is intimately connected with their knowledge and glorification of the Father was stated in a general way in 61.3–7. The principle was repeated in the discussion of the first two ways in which the aeons produce fruit (68.36–69.24).

75.4 *that one*: This demonstrative probably refers to the Son, “the one who wished,” mentioned in 74.36.

75.4–5 *begets him (self)*: Although there is no reflexive pronoun here, the object of this begetting is probably the individual aeon. Lines 4 and 5 simply repeat in a fuller way the statement of lines 2–3, that the glorifying aeon begets himself.

75.5 *renews* ($\bar{\alpha}\{\cdot\}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$): The trace of a letter after α is probably not \omicron , as *ed. pr.* (I. 297) tentatively suggest. It may be η or ι , in which

case the text would have an unusual prenominal form of $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$, such as $\eta\rho-$ or $\epsilon\rho-$, attested at Bala'izah. Cf. Kasser, *Compléments*, 14b. (This possibility is suggested by S. Emmel.) Alternatively, there may simply be a dittography $\alpha\alpha$. The "renewal" of the aeons is mentioned also in 72.21. That renewal seems to consist of the aeons "taking form" from the Father (72.28) by searching for him.

75.6 *the one who came upon him*: The one upon whom someone comes must be the individual aeon. The identity of the one who comes is unclear. It is probably the Son, who rests on the aeons (58.36), and who is given to them as the revealing light (62.33-37).

75.7 *his brother*: Again, the identity of "his brother" is problematic. This may well be another reference to the Son. The Son, in fact, is referred to as brother in 58.6, although he is there said to be a brother to himself alone. The probable antecedent to the pronoun "his" would be the subject of $\alpha\bar{\rho}$ $\nu\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$ in line 5, i.e., the individual aeon. In this case "his brother" is most likely the Son, who is what each and every aeon is (67.7-10).

and sees him: The individual aeon sees the one who has come upon him, the Son.

75.8 *and entreats him*: The verb form seems to combine $\varsigma\alpha\pi\varsigma\bar{\nu}$ and $\varsigma\alpha\pi\bar{\epsilon}$. Cf. 71.24. It is fitting that the revealer, the Son, be entreated.

the matter: What the matter in question might be is unclear. It may be the incomprehensible nature of the Father. If the following explains the content of the matter, then the individual aeon entreats the Son about his own wish to ascend to the Father.

75.9 *to him*: This presumably refers to the Father.

75.10 *so that it might be* ($\alpha\tau\varsigma\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$): This is the A² form of the inflected infinitive. Cf. Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, #281. The A² form appears again in 75.16. What it is that "might be in this way" is unclear.

The opening of this section is obscure, due once again to the uncertainty of the referents. The "one who wished to give honor" is probably to be identified with the being mentioned in 74.36. Both expressions probably refer to the Son, who wishes to glorify the Fa-

ther. The Son answers the entreaty of the individual aeon not by giving him any revelation about the Father's essential being, but by explaining the limitations placed on the aeon's knowledge of the Father.

75.10-12 *he does not say* (μαρξε): The subject "he" is presumably "the one who came upon" the individual aeon (75.7), i.e., the Son.

75.11 *about this*: This is the "matter" mentioned n 75.8.

75.12-13 *except only* (σαβλλεϩ ογαεετῳ): Literally, "except it alone." *Ed. pr.* translate in various ways "se ce n'est lui seul," "ausser ihm selbst," and "except when he is alone." None of these translations makes particularly good sense. The pronoun ϩ probably anticipates the clause beginning with ξε which constitutes the response to the entreaty of the individual aeon.

75.13 *limit*: Reference to the limit is also made in 76.33 and 82.13. The term "limit" is common in Valentinian systems, as *ed. pr.* (I. 336-37) note. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2-4, 1.3.3, 1.11.1, and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.31.5.

The references to the limit here contain a doctrine quite similar to significant features in those texts. The limit in the passage under discussion is exactly parallel to the first of the two "limits" mentioned as part of the system of Valentinus himself in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1. That limit separates the Father or the Abyss from the rest of the aeons. Cf. *Val. Exp.* 27.35. The first limit in this text similarly separates the incomprehensible Father from the aeons. The second limit mentioned in this text also performs the same function as the second limit in Valentinus. Cf. the note to 76.33.

Val. Exp. indicates that the function of the limit proved to be a controversial question among Valentinian theologians. According to the author of that text (27.34), "others have said" that the limit possesses two powers, the first of which is to separate the abyss from the aeons. He himself insists that the limit has *four* powers. This seems to be a secondary interpretation of Valentinus' teaching. For discussion and parallels see the edition of *Val. Exp.* by E. Pagels and J. Turner in the Nag Hammadi Studies series.

75.14 *pleroma* (πληροῦμα): The dot above the η is certain. Its significance is unclear and it may simply be a scribal error.

75.16 *they speak* (ατοῦψεχε): For the form, cf. 75.10.

75.16-17 *the one who wishes to comprehend* (απετ[ο]γωψε)
Ed. pr. (Fr. and Eng.) read απε[ο]γωψε and translate "about the wish." The τ at the beginning of line 17 is preserved in a newly placed fragment, and the relative clause must be read. The "one who wishes to comprehend" the Father is each individual aeon. Thus the aeons can talk about themselves and thereby learn something about the Father. Cf. 61.11-18. Alternatively, the form πετογωψε may involve a crasis for πετογογωψε. In that case translate "that which they wish to comprehend," namely the Father.

75.17-20 *It came to one of the aeons*: Finally, the account turns to the endeavor of one particular aeon. This aeon apparently does not accept the fact that there is a boundary within the Pleroma. At this point the *Tri. Trac.* has numerous parallels with the myth of Sophia, as *ed. pr.* (I. 337-38) note. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2; *Exc. Theod.* 31.3-4; 67.4; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.7; *Ap. John*, CG II,1:9.25-10.7; III,1:14.9-15.9; IV,1:15.3-16.2; BG 36.16-37.18.

As *ed. pr.* argue, the Valentinian version of this myth seems to represent an interpretation of an earlier version such as is found in the *Ap. John*. There the cause of Sophia's fall was her lewdness (προσνικόν, BG 37.11) and her desire to produce without a consort. That motif is still found in Valentinian sources (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.7), but is now balanced by the notion that Sophia's fault is not so much moral as it is intellectual. For she tries to "comprehend the greatness" of the Father (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2). On the whole subject, cf. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 148-59. The *Tri. Trac.* is familiar with both motifs used in the explanation of the fall of Sophia (cf. 75.17-19, and 76.8). Here, however, these motifs are understood within the framework of the theories of the *Tri. Trac.* about the Logos.

75.22 *Logos*: The term Logos (Word) is both a metaphor and a name. As a metaphor (this single aeon is an *expression* of the Unity), the term explains the unitary state of this particular aeon. Cf. 60.34. From this point on, the aeon in question is designated by the name Logos. Cf. 76.3,25; 77.7, etc.

Other Valentinian texts mention an aeon by the name Logos, but no others make him perform the same functions as Sophia in the fall

myth. The two major references are commentaries on John 1:3 by Ptolemy (Irenaeus, 1.8.5) and Heracleon, fr. 1 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14). Both refer to the creation of all things through the Logos, although they interpret that creation of activity at different levels of being (cf. Pagels, *Johannine Gospel*, 24–34). Ptolemy refers to the activity, within the Ogdoad, of the Logos by whom the aeonic world is created. (That Logos thus functions much as the Son and the Church do in this text.) Heracleon refers to the creation through the Logos of everything outside of the Pleroma. That is the function of the Logos in the *Tri. Trac.* If the *Tri. Trac.* in fact represents a development of the theology of Heracleon, it would appear that the difference in his exegesis of John 1:3 from that of Ptolemy reflects not a possibility of hermeneutical theory, but a basic metaphysical difference.

With the designation of the key aeon here as a masculine Logos, cf. the remark in the account of the system of Ptolemy that the mother (Sophia) is occasionally given the masculine name Lord (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3).

75.23 *he is one: Ed. pr.* needlessly emend the text by inserting a negation. The Logos is in fact a unity in some sense because he is a “word of the unity.” The circumstantial in line 22 should be taken as causal, not adversative. The circumstantial in line 23 is, however, adversative.

75.24 *agreement (ΠΤΩΤ): Ed. pr.* incorrectly read ΠΙΩΤ. The first τ is clear. This author’s account of the Logos’ activity differs markedly from accounts of Sophia’s transgression, with which it has been compared. Valentinian sources offer at least two different interpretations of Sophia’s transgression. According to one, her “suffering was seeking the Father, for she wanted to comprehend his greatness.” This passionate longing for direct communication with the Father originates among the aeons connected with Nous and Aletheia. In this version Sophia only expresses the desire she shares with the rest of the aeons. Her attempt to know the Father is restrained by Limit, who convinces her to give up this futile project, and separates her passions from her (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2).

“Others,” however, interpret her transgression quite differently. Sophia “willed to imitate the Father, and to generate by herself apart from a syzygy, that her act might in no way accomplish less than the Father’s” (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.7–8). Instead of expressing the in-

voluntary longing of all the aeons for closer communication with the Father, as in the first version, Sophia audaciously attempts to rise independently above the condition of all the aeons and to imitate the Father himself! Her attempt, then, is the rash act of a generated being attempting the impossible (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4). She “wants to have the power of the ungenerated one” (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.8). Rejecting the aeons’ joint activity, she conceives by herself an aborted fetus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4; *Val. Exp.* 30.20). The theme of the “independent begetting” found in the latter version of the myth is here applied to the Logos and reinterpreted. He does not try to beget independently of a consort, as does Sophia in the mythical texts and other Valentinian sources. Rather, the Logos tries to act without the agreement or cooperation of the other aeons and the one who brought them forth. Cf. 64.21-27 and 76.9-12.

75.25 *him who brought them forth*: The one who brought forth the aeons immediately is the Son (66.5-8, 67.6-33), but ultimately it is the Father (e.g., 52.4-6, 71.18-19).

75.27 *This aeon*: This is the Logos, first mentioned in 75.18.

75.28 *wisdom*: This is a characteristic of the Father’s being (53.2, 56.13, 57.5) and is something which he transcends (55.20-21). It is also something which the Father provides to the aeons (71.33). The present passage no doubt alludes to that giving of wisdom. Note the identification of word and wisdom in Origen, *De princ.* 1.2.8. Cf. also 75.32, 35.

so that he could become (εἴτῳ): The form here is probably the A² inflected infinitive. Cf. αἴτῳ in 75.10. Thus the emendation of *ed. pr.* (Ger.) is unnecessary. The pronominal subject probably refers to the Father, who becomes “pre-existent” in the thought of each aeon by virtue of the gracious gift of wisdom which he provides.

75.30 *by that which he wills*: Cf. 71.36-72.1. The “will” here belongs to the Father, who becomes present in the thought of the aeons.

75.31 *will they be produced* (εἴτε{ου}ντοῦ): The form here is problematic. It cannot be a pres. II, since that would violate the Stern-Jernstedt rule. It should probably be emended to a fut. III.

75.32 *he received a wise nature*: The subject here is again “this aeon” of line 28. The “wise nature” here, like the “fruit of wisdom” in line 35 and the preceding reference to wisdom in line 28 may reflect an attempt to clarify the relation of this account to the Sophia myth.

75.33–34 *hidden basis*: This is probably the “constitution” of the Father (57.2). Cf. also 59.29–37. The form $\epsilon\tau\theta\eta\pi = \epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\pi$.

75.35–36 *free will* ($\bar{\nu}\eta\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\{\gamma\}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$): Cf. 69.26 The diphthong $\epsilon\upsilon$ is probably a mistake due to the other diphthongs in the word. Note what is probably a similar phenomenon in $\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\chi\text{-}\pi\alpha\{\gamma\}q$ in line 36.

Ed. pr. (I. 340) suggest that the emphasis on the freedom of the Logos marks a departure from the traditional myth of Sophia’s fall, in which her passion for the Father was simply the desire of all the aeons carried to its extreme. While this emphasis departs from the *first* version of Sophia’s fall (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2; cf. the note to 75.33), it corresponds to the *second* version, which stresses Sophia’s desire to act independently of the other aeons. The emphasis on free will may also approximate the position of Origen, in whose theodicy a major role is played by pre-existent beings endowed with free will. Cf. *De princ.* 2.9.2.

75.38 *such as* ($\pi\iota\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$): Since the word is followed by an inflected infinitive, it possibly translates a Greek result clause ($\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ or $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ + infinitive).

76.2–3 *intent* ($\pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma$): The Greek word used here frequently has connotations of “choice” or “decision.” These connotations are already found in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1094a2, 1113a10; *Pol.* 1280a34. They become significant in patristic literature. Cf. Lampe 1133a. As *ed. pr.* (I. 338) note, the term $\pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is relatively rare in Valentinian sources, although it does appear in *Ap. Jas.* 4.37–5.6.

76.3–4 *who is this one*: As S. Emmel suggests, the relative clause here, variously interpreted by the translation of *ed. pr.*, probably serves to identify the Logos, who was only vaguely referred to in the preceding paragraph (75.38).

76.5 *When he had come forth*: Note the word $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\omega$ used of

Sophia in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2. The language may derive from the discussion of the movement from noetic stability to the flux of the phenomenal world in Platonism. Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside* 376c and M. Williams, "The Nature and Origin of the Gnostic Concept of Stability" (Diss. Harvard 1977) 58, n. 19.

76.6 *even if* (καὶ αν): This is probably the Greek καὶ αν (=καὶ + αν). Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* #452.

76.7 *beyond possibility*: The act which Sophia tries to perform in the two versions of the myth of her fall in Irenaeus is styled "impossible" (ἀδύνατον). Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, 2.3.

76.8 *to bring forth*: Here the second, probably more primitive, cause of the fall of the wayward aeon is recounted. Cf. 75.17-19 for the "intellectual" explanation. According to Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.7, Sophia too willed to generate independently what, in reality, could only be generated "from a harmony" (cf. *Tri. Trac.* 76.10; *Exc. Theod.* 32.1-2; *Val. Exp.* 33.35 and 36.24-31). On the basis of the parallel to Hippolytus, *ed. pr.* (I. 339) argue that the author of the *Tri. Trac.* must belong to the Western school of Valentinianism, since the account of the Sophia myth in Hippolytus, the second account in the great notice of Irenaeus *Haer.* (1.2.3), and the account of *Val. Exp.* are probably secondary to the first account in Irenaeus, which derives from Ptolemy. However, the motif of the fallen aeon's independent begetting is an integral part of the myth of Sophia. Note the references to the *Ap. John* in the note to 75.17-19, and cf. Ptolemy's account in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2, where Sophia experiences a passion apart from her consort, Theletos. The parallel between this text and the account of Hippolytus is not so close that any literary dependence needs to be presupposed.

76.10 *agreement*: Cf. 75.24.

76.11-12 *the command*: This probably refers to a command to or by the aeons to produce new offspring. Such a command has not played a role up to now in the process by which the aeons emanated. The phrase serves to reemphasize the independence of the Logos, who acted out of harmony with, and without the consent of, the other aeons.

76.13-14 *to have been brought forth*: The unemended text, **εαϞ-
ΝΤΟΥ**, might be translated, with *ed. pr.* (Eng.), as “when he brought
them forth,” where the subject is the Father. For the emendation, cf.
61.19-20.

76.14-15 *mutual assistance*: Presumably the aeon was generated by
other aeons through the process described in 64.21-27 and 69.18-19.

76.15-16 *small in magnitude*: This phrase could also be translated
“young in age” with *ed. pr.* (Eng.). Although their interpretation of
ΟΥΩΗΜ as a superlative is unwarranted. That interpretation relies
on the phrase “last and youngest” in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2. The other
occurrences of **αειη** in this text seem to refer to magnitude and not
age. Cf. 53.22, 55.2, 63.7, 64.32.

76.16 *and before* (**ζαθη μ**): There remains only a very ambiguous
trace of the final **μ**. As S. Emmel notes, what appears as a **μ** on the
small fragment at the spine of the leaf is actually blotting from 77.17.

76.19-21 *magnanimously, from an abundant love*: It is unclear how
these characteristics of the action of the Logos are to be viewed. *Ed.*
pr. (I. 339) suggest that **αγαπη εσρ ζογο** is a translation of a Greek
ἀγάπη πλεονάζουσα. This might be translated “excessive love” and
may well be equivalent to the “passion perniciose” attributed to So-
phia. Note in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2., the expression **πρόφασιν μὲν**
ἀγάπης, τὸ λήμης δέ. If the former is paralleled in this text by the **αγα-**
πη εσρ ζογο, the latter is parallel to the **μῆτνοβ μμεεγε**, which
could be translated “arrogance.” However, the pejorative reading of
the terms in lines 19-21 is probably an erroneous application of the
parallels from the myths of Sophia’s fall. The context puts the whole
movement of the Logos into a favorable light. Cf. 76.3-5, 24-27;
77.6-11.

76.21 *set out*: This verb for “advance” or “proceed” is applied only
to the movements of the Logos, to his emanation (76.5) and his at-
tempt to approach the Father (76.21, 27). Note that “approaching”
(**ζων εζογν**) the Father was earlier declared to be impossible
(65.36-37).

perfect glory: This is probably a paraphrase for the Father. What
surrounds him could be the “limit” of 75.13.

76.23 *for* ($\chi\epsilon$): This could be the introductory particle, beginning a new section, but here it makes sense as an ordinary causal conjunction. The following remarks explain why the aeon's act was "magnanimous" and an expression of "abundant love." Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 138) interprets the $\chi\epsilon$ as introducing a final clause with the fut. II in 76.26. A final, or even result, clause is quite inappropriate here.

76.24 *it was not without the will, etc.*: The construction here is noteworthy. The sentence emphasizes an adverbial element, "not without the will." One would expect a second tense here, $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\pi\omicron$. Instead we find the "cleft sentence" pattern. Cf. *Steles Seth* 123.15-21.

76.26-27 *will he go forth* ($\epsilon\upsilon\eta\mu\alpha\uparrow\ \pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$): The form is a fut. II. There may be a reference here to the procession of the Logos outside the Pleroma, which follows his attempt to grasp the Father.

76.29-30 *those about whom he knew, etc.*: These are the beings outside the Pleroma. The formulation in these lines is extremely significant. What the Logos produces is not, in general, seen to be evil. Rather it "is fitting" that his offspring should be produced. Cf. *Val. Exp.* 33.35, where what Sophia produces directly contradicts the "will of the Father," mentioned in 36.28-38. *Ed. pr.* (I. 340) contrast the remarks in the *Gos. Truth* (17.21-18.11) on Forgetfulness and the disaster which it produced.

76.32-33 *limit*: This is the second limit mentioned in the text. It is to be distinguished from the first (75.13), which separated the Father from the Pleroma. This second limit corresponds to the second limit in other Valentinian sources, the function of which is described in various ways. For Valentinus himself, it separates the "mother, i.e., Sophia, from the Pleroma" (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1). In Ptolemy, the limit keeps Sophia from infinitely extending herself (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.2), and it heals her of her passion by separating it from her (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4, 3.3). In Hippolytus the limit is a new aeon, emanated after the fall of Sophia, to preserve the other aeons (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.31.6).

The precise function of the second limit is not clearly specified in this text. As in Valentinus' teaching, it appears that the limit separates the aeon responsible for the lower world from the Pleroma. Note

that in 78.1-4 one offspring of the Logos returns to the Pleroma, while he himself seems to remain outside or below the limit.

76.33-34 *which the Father had set* (ΕΝΤΑ<2>ΑΠΙΩΤ ΤΑΨΩ): For the omission of the 2, cf. 103.19 and 105.22.

76.34-77.1 *for it is not from grasping, etc.:* This is a parenthetical remark made about the limit, possibly to distinguish it from the limit mentioned earlier (75.13), which was mentioned in connection with the attempt of the Logos to "grasp the incomprehensibility" (75.19). This second one is a creation of the Father's will to serve a different function.

76.35 *grasping* (ΤΕΖΩ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 30, 298) speculate that the word might be connected with ΑΖΩ, B "residence, palace" (Crum 24b). This hardly seems appropriate here and the identification as a form of ΤΑΖΟ is preferable. Cf. 75.19.

77.3 *organization* (ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ): This is the first use of the technical term for the non-Pleromatic world which occurs frequently in what follows. *Ed. pr.* (I. 340) cite three senses in which the term is used by Heracleon, (a) the "dispensation of the history of salvation" (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.50), (b) the mystery of the coming of the Savior (*In Joh.* 6.39) and (c) a phase in the activity of the savior (*In Joh.* 10.11).

The usage in this text does not correspond exactly to any of these usages. The term ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ here is applied primarily to the whole complex of the non-Pleromatic world, much as CΥΣΤΑCIC (59.29) and ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ (59.11) are applied to the world of the Pleroma. Hence we have not translated the word as "dispensation," as in the familiar NT passages, Eph 1:10, 3:2, 9; Col 1:25. For the sense of "organization" or "arrangement" cf. *Mart. Pol.* 2.2. The non-Pleromatic world is finally "organized" when all the offspring of the Logos have been produced. Cf. 95.38-104.3.

77.4 *if it were to come* (ΕΨΑCΨΕΕ): The construction here and the meaning of the verb ΨΕΕ are problematic. The verb which follows (ΝΑCΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΝ ΠΕ) is an imp. fut., which we would expect in the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition. The protasis of such a conditional with ΕΝΕ does not appear here. (Note that *ed. pr.* [Eng.] con-

strue $\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \epsilon\omega\alpha\varsigma\omega\epsilon$ as the apodosis and $\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\eta\alpha\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \epsilon\eta \pi\epsilon$ as the protasis, but this is unlikely since in these conditions $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ is not usually followed by the imp. fut., as it would be on their reading. The implied analyses of the syntax by the other *ed. pr.* are equally unsatisfactory.) The protasis is probably to be found in the circumstantial praes. cons., $\epsilon\omega\alpha\varsigma$. The verb form $\omega\epsilon\epsilon$ is quite probably corrupt. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) associate it with $\omega\epsilon$, "come" (Crum 544a), and that meaning has been provisionally adopted in the translation. The suggestions by *ed. pr.* (Eng.) to take $\omega\alpha\varsigma\omega\epsilon$ from $\varsigma\omega\omega\epsilon$, "be better" (Crum 376b), or $\varsigma\omega\omega$, "despise" (Crum 375b), are unlikely.

77.5 *manifestation*: This "manifestation" of the Pleroma consists in the production of offspring of the Logos, some of which constitute the visible world.

77.7 *the movement*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 341) note the description of the aeons as *sensus et affectus, motus divinitatis* in Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 4.

77.11-12 *caused it to happen*: The object here is probably the "movement," mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

77.15 *those* ($\eta\epsilon\epsilon\hat{\iota} \Delta\epsilon$): The alternative restoration of *ed. pr.* (I. 298), $[\epsilon]\eta\epsilon\epsilon\hat{\iota} \Delta\epsilon$, is impossible. The suggestion that the circumflex over $\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ requires that this be a form of the verb $\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ is disproven by the use of the circumflex with the demonstrative at 91.13; 114.18-19; 121.11; 124.7; 126.23 (examples pointed out by S. Emmel).

The ones of whom the Logos wished to lay hold may be both the Father and the aeons of the Pleroma. The shadowy beings which he produces are, in any case, copies of the whole Pleroma.

to take hold of ($\alpha\chi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$): The Logos imitates the activity of the Father who wanted to "lay hold of" and "bring forth" (60.8-9) the aeons of the Pleroma, who first existed only within his thought, and thus to give them actual existence.

77.16 $\zeta\bar{\eta}$: The ζ is certain because of blotting on the opposite page, 76.15. $\bar{\eta}$ is preserved in a photograph of 1952.

77.16-17 *shadows, copies, and likenesses*: Cf. 78.32-34.

77.18 *For* (ⲭϥ): This may also be the introductory particle beginning a new paragraph, although what follows seems to serve as an explanation of the faulty begetting by the Logos.

77.18–19 *the sight of the Light*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 341) note, the motif of the unbearable splendor of God does not play a part in Valentinian myths of the fall of Sophia. It does appear in references to the Sophia myth in Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate* 3.42 (PG 39.991) and Cyril, *Catech.* 6.18. A similar motif is found in Philo, *Op. mun.* 69–71.

77.19–20 *he looked into the depth*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 341) compare the passage in Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.4, which reports that, according to Roman Gnostics, the soul “bent below” (νεῦσαι κάτω) and forgot the intelligible realities.

77.20 *he doubted*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 341–43) note that the passions of the Logos, whom they style Sophia, are not equivalent to those mentioned in other Valentinian accounts of the Sophia myth. The general pattern of the activity of the Logos is, however, closely parallel to that of Sophia. He experiences passion (77.21–25) and proceeds to beget (78.29–80.11) the hylic powers. Unlike the case of Sophia, the begetting of these powers by the Logos is not connected directly to his “passion,” but to his “arrogant thought” (78.30). Contrast the Sophia myth in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.2 and 5.1.

The part played by “doubt” in the passion of the Logos is another significant difference from the usual Sophia myth. This feature is in conformity with the generally positive evaluation of the Logos and his desire to know the Father (cf. 76.2–4 and 77.25–28). This myth declares that it is not the desire to know the Father which is improper. All aeons, in fact, have that. What is wrong is, rather, the doubt that anything can be known about the Father, a doubt which arises because of the Father’s incomprehensibility. What the Logos fails to do is to recognize the distinction between the unknowability of the Father’s essence and the knowability of his existence. Cf. 61.26–28, 71.7–18, 73.1–8.

A further differentiating feature of the myth of the Logos in the *Tri. Trac.* is his singularity. In the myth of Ptolemy, there is a distinction between an upper and a lower Sophia (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1). *Ed. pr.* (I. 342) note that the interpretation of the pericope about the Samaritan woman by Heracleon, fr. 23 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.20), also pre-

supposes one Sophia, whose error is to have attempted to know the incomprehensible Father. Similarly *Val. Exp.* and the oriental school of Valentinianism seems to know of only a single Sophia (*Exc. Theod.* 34.1).

77.21-22 *he became deeply troubled* (ΝΤΑΦΝΚΑΖ Μ[ΠΩ]Δ): The verb form here could be a perf. rel., but the only possible antecedent, οΥΠΩΨΕ, is indefinite and should thus be modified by a circumstantial. Thus the form is probably a perf. II and the whole phrase a parenthetical remark.

77.23 *forgetfulness and ignorance*: With the list of passions mentioned here, cf. *Gos. Truth* 17.9-24.

77.25 *His self-exaltation*: Cf. 76.21.

77.27 *became firm*: This paragraph further explains what is problematic about the quest by the Logos for the Father. There seems to be, implicitly, a causal relationship between the firm determination of the Logos to know the Father (lines 26-28) and his self-doubt (lines 28-32). That doubt arose when the Logos failed to accomplish the impossible (lines 32-34).

77.28 *sicknesses*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 343-44) note, ignorance is often seen as sickness in related texts. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 33.1-5, 35.30-36.3; Heraclion, fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60). The term here seems to be a general designation of those conditions which prevailed after the Logos tried and failed to comprehend the Father.

77.30 *when he went beyond himself*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 344) suggest that here there is an allusion to the excitement and dismay felt by Sophia when she recognized what she had created. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3. However ΩΩΠΕ ΝСА ΝΒΑΛ does not mean here what ἐκστῆναι means in Irenaeus. If there is any parallel in this myth of the Logos to the myth of Sophia and her dismay, it appears at 80.13-19.

77.31 *having come into being*: (εΑΥΩΨΕ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 298) and Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 46) take this as a perf. II. Cf. 69.4-5. However, the form makes good sense as a perf. circ., if

ΕΝΤΑΥΟΥΓΑΖΟΥ in line 29 is understood as a perf. II., emphasizing the temporal $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ - clause in line 30.

77.32–34 *namely from the fact that, etc.:* The syntax here is obscure and line 33 is certainly corrupt. The translation here follows that of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.), who take $\chi\epsilon$ as specifying the self-doubt. That specification remains somewhat odd. It would certainly make better sense if the self-doubt of the Logos arose because he did not attain to the Father's glory. Cf. the note to 77.21 and 27. For $\chi\epsilon$ to be translated as a causal conjunction, it would be necessary to have a finite verb or, perhaps, a nominal sentence following.

77.32–33 *that he did not reach the attainment* ($\pi\iota\tau\rho\bar{\mu}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\omicron\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$): The line is quite corrupt. The emendation proposed by Zandee ($\pi\iota\tau\bar{\mu}\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\omicron\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$) has been adopted in the translation. For $\pi\iota\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$, cf. 54.25. The line remains problematic.

77.35 *This one:* This is most likely the Logos, but it could also be the Father.

77.36 *did not attain him* ($\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha\upsilon$): The conjugation base should be the circumstantial of the neg. perf. Cf. 79.18. The circumstantial, however, would be quite inappropriate here, since $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\nu}\Delta\epsilon$ in line 35 marks the beginning of a new clause, and no main verb follows $\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha\upsilon$. The ϵ is probably simply an orthographic variant of the supralinear stroke. Cf. 52.5.

The antecedents of the pronouns in this line are uncertain. The best interpretation seems to be that the Logos did not attain the Father, because the Father did not receive the Logos.

77.37 *The one whom he brought forth* ($\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\cdot\alpha\upsilon\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$): *Ed. pr.* (I. 299) suggest that the conjugation base $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ - is a perf. II. This is impossible. The form is simply a relative perf. I. After producing himself (77.11) but failing to attain to the Father (77.19), the Logos produces offspring. His first production is a unitary aeon which returns up to the Pleroma, and is the ultimate source of the spiritual order.

As *ed. pr.* (I. 347) note, this account of the activity of the Logos has its closest parallels among the Valentinian Sophia myths in the ac-

count of Valentinus himself (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1). There Sophia, cast outside the Pleroma, produces a male offspring called Christ, that runs up (*ἀναδραμεῖν*) to the Pleroma. This doctrine is preserved in oriental Valentinianism (*Exc. Theod.* 23.2, 32.2-3).

In the account of the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4), there is an analogous movement, expressed in different terms. Sophia does not produce an offspring, but is divided. The Limit separates her passion from her. This "frail and female fruit" is left outside the Pleroma as the lower Sophia, Achamoth. The passionless Sophia is then reunited with her consort, Theletos, within the Pleroma. The second aeon of the initial Ogdoad, the Only Begotten, then produces another syzygy, Christ and the Holy Spirit. Later all the aeons produce a second Christ, the Savior (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.1; cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.36.4). For the production of the Savior or Christ in this text, cf. 86.25.

78.3 *this kin of his: Ed. pr.* (I. 348) compare the doctrine of Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.4) that all the elect are akin (*συγγενεῖς*) to the Father. Here the kinship is between the Logos and his offspring which had ascended to the Pleroma, or possibly between that offspring and the other aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 32.1-33.2. Note the repetition of the conjugation base, α . . . αϗ.

78.5 *in the defect:* What exists "in the defect" has not yet been specified. It must be the Logos and his progeny outside of the Pleroma.

78.6-7 *in an imaginary way:* The world produced by the Logos is constantly referred to as the world of mere appearance, far inferior to the real world of the Pleroma. Cf. 78.34, 79.9-11, 82.19, 98.5, and *Treat. Res.* 48.6-33.

As *ed. pr.* (I. 348) note, a somewhat different use of the terminology for "imagination" appears in Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 17, where the spiritual substance is said to be born from the "imagination" of Sophia. Cf. Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.6. In the *Tri. Trac.* the spiritual substance seems to be produced by the Logos' better self which had ascended into the Pleroma. Cf. 78.23-28, 86.4-7.

78.7-8 *since they are not his:* The products of the Logos are not his in the sense that they do not belong to or arise from his true, Pleromatic self. Cf. 78.19.

78.11 *he became weak*: The fact that when the Logos' true self has left him he becomes "weak," like a female, certainly recalls the female Sophia, the counterpart of the Logos in other Valentinian myths. In several of those myths Sophia is abandoned by her male companion or offspring. In Valentinus himself (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1) it is Christ, son of Sophia, who abandons his mother, and in Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1) it is Christ or the Logos who had come to the lower Sophia to separate her from her passion.

Thus although the *Tri. Trac.* minimizes the role of the female principle in cosmogony, the treatment of the activity of the Logos in this paragraph reflects the traditional Gnostic belief that creation outside the Pleroma is a result of female, or female-like, activity. Cf. Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4 and *Exc. Theod.* 67.4.

78.12-13 *its virile counterpart*: Literally, "its virility."

78.13 **MEN**: Note the **MEN** in line 15, where the particle has been reduplicated. Cf. the redundant **ΔΕ** at 61.19-20.

78.13-14 *that which was deficient in itself*: What is deficient in itself is that part of the Logos which has been left outside the Pleroma. Cf. 78.5.

78.17 *arrogance*: Note that the Logos is not described as "arrogant" and does not produce undesirable offspring until his better half has departed. Similarly, Sophia in the myth of Valentinus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1) does not produce the psychic Demiurge and the material devil until she is abandoned by her son, Christ.

78.21 *remembrance for him*: Cf. 85.24-25. The one being reminded is presumably the part of the Logos left outside the Pleroma.

78.21 *he[would be]* (ϵ[ϩNA]): The restoration here is very tentative. The traces are quite ambiguous. The restoration of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) is inappropriate. The Logos outside the Pleroma has not yet been saved.

saved: For the salvation of the Logos outside the Pleroma through his higher self, cf. 81.30.

78.22 *arrogance* (ΠΕϩΧΑϩΙ[ΖΗ]Τ): The traces of the uncertain

letters are quite ambiguous. *Ed. pr.* (I. 299) also suggest $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\iota\sigma\epsilon$ or $\pi\epsilon\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon$. For the form $\chi\alpha\sigma\iota\zeta\eta\tau$, cf. 82.21.

78.23 *The one who ran on high*: This is, again, the Logos' true self. Cf. 78.1-2, 8-9, 17-19.

78.24 *the one who drew him*: The identity of this figure is unclear. In the framework of the myth in this text it could be only the Father or the Son. Note that the Father "draws" the aeons to himself like a pleasant aroma. Cf. 72.5 and 86.21.

78.26 *fruit*: The Logos' true self and some being from the Pleroma now beget. In this system the fruit of their union is a plurality, an order of aeons. Cf. 78.27; 86.4-7. That group of aeons eventually produces yet more "fruit," the "Savior" or "Christ." Cf. 86.7-87.17. For discussion of Valentinian doctrines of the production of the Savior, cf. the note to 86.25.

78.27 *They upset*: For the process whereby the spiritual order "disturbs" or "upsets" those in the defect, cf. 88.31-89.8.

78.28-29 *the things which came into being from the arrogant thought*: The text now turns to the second group of offspring produced by the Logos. These offspring of the "arrogant thought" of the Logos ultimately constitute the hylic order.

78.32-34 *likenesses, copies, shadow, and phantasms*: That the world outside the Pleroma is related to the Pleroma as a copy to its archetype is an application of Platonic doctrine found also in the fragments of Valentinus (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89, 6-90, 2).

The first term used in this series, $\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\tau\eta$, is virtually a technical term in this text, used primarily of the hylic order. It is consistently translated here "likeness." Likewise there are technical terms for the two other orders of extra-Pleromatic being. $\zeta\eta\kappa\omega\nu$, "image," is applied to the spiritual or pneumatic order and $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$, "representation," is applied to the psychic order. The translations of these technical terms are somewhat arbitrary. The important thing to note is the consistency of their application. For a clear delineation of three groups and their designations, cf. 97.16-98.27.

The application of these terms to the offspring of the Logos clearly

derives from exegesis of Gen 1:26, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. Similar speculation on this verse is found in various Valentinian sources, although there is no consistency in the application of the terms to different classes of beings. In the usage of Ptolemy, that created καθ' ὁμοίωσιν is psychic, while that created κατ' εἰκόνα is hylic. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 50.1-2, 54.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4. A different application of the terms seems to be evidenced in the account of Clement of Alexandria commenting on the fragment of Valentinus mentioned above. There (*Strom.* 4.13.90,3-4) what the Demiurge produces κατ' εἰκόνα is the material world, but τὴν ὁμοιότητα is applied to the Valentinians themselves, hence, presumably to what is spiritual.

Other applications of the terminology are also attested. Sophia, for example, is "in the image of the unseen Father" (ἐν εἰκόνι τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρός) according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1. In the oriental Valentinianism represented in *Exc. Theod.* 21.1, there is an exegesis of Gen 1:27, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς, ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. Here, however, the exegesis focuses on the terms "male" and "female," which are applied to the chosen (=spiritual human beings) and the called (=psychic human beings) respectively. For this terminology in the *Tri. Trac.* cf. 94.16-18.

In these accounts the terms of Gen 1:26 are not normally applied to spiritual beings. *Exc. Theod.* 54.2 lists the spirituals beside hylics and psychics and says that those spiritual beings are κατ' ἰδίαν. The *Tri. Trac.* thus diverges from all these accounts by applying εἰκὼν to the spiritual order. This suggests that the other term in Gen 1:26, ὁμοίωσις is the equivalent of ΕΙΝΕ, the technical term here for the psychic order. The Greek equivalent of ΤΑΝΤῆ is uncertain. Perhaps the original text of the *Tri. Trac.* distinguished between καθ' ὁμοίωσιν and καθ' ὁμοιότητα. In any case, the suggestion of *ed. pr.* (I. 365, 380) that ΤΑΝΤῆ is the equivalent of εἰκὼν, made on the basis of the usage of Ptolemy, is unconvincing.

For a general survey of speculation of Gen 1:26 in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic sources, cf. J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (FRLANT 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960). For a discussion of the origins of the spiritual-psychic distinction in Hellenistic Judaism, cf. B. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology* (SBL Diss. 12; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973). See also F.-

W. Eltester, *Eikon im Neuen Testament* (ZNW Beiheft 23; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1958).

78.34 *phantasms*: Cf. 78.6-7 and the description of the hylic order in 82.19-20.

78.34-35 *lacking reason*: *Ed. pr.* note the myth of the *Poimandres*, *CH* 1.10, which recounts how the Logos was mixed with matter, then left it. The parallel simply expresses the common opinion about matter in the Platonic tradition.

78.36 *the vain thought*: Cf. 109.28. This is probably the notion of the Logos that he might comprehend the Father (75.17-19). As *ed. pr.* (I. 350) note, in the Sophia myth of Ptolemy, the thought (*ἐνθύμησις*) of the upper Sophia is separated from her and set outside the Pleroma (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24, 1.4.1). In general "emptiness" characterizes what is outside the "fullness" of the Pleroma. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 31.3 and *Gos. Truth* 17.15-17.

79.1 *their end will be like their beginning*: Cf. Origen, *De princ.* 1.6.2 and *Gos. Truth* 28.22-24. Cf. also *Tri. Trac.* 137.10.

79.3 *to return once again*: On the destruction of the hylic race, cf. 119.18-20.

79.3-4 *that which will not be* (απε·[τ]ῆναωωπε εν): *Ed. pr.* (I. 299) suggest απε·[τ]ῆναωωπε. However, the trace of the letter after the lacuna is too short for a ς, and one would expect απετῆναωωπε here. The η of the future conjugation base has apparently been doubled.

79.4-6 *It is they, however, etc.*: The syntax here is difficult. With *ed. pr.* (Ger.) we take ἡταγ...ετωοοη to be a cleft sentence followed by two circumstantials (εγοει...εγοει) in a periphrastic construction with ωοοη. Other interpretations are possible. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) take ετωοοη ἡμαγ as a comparative clause, "as they are." This construction would normally be introduced by ἡθε. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) take the main predication to be an adverbial sentence ἡταγ καταραγ ογαετογ: "ils sont selon eux-mêmes." *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) find the main predication in εγταειαιετ, construed as a

pres. II. The text in any case refers to the aeons of the Pleroma, which is the "face," of which the lower powers are "images" and "names." Cf. lines 9-11.

79.6 *are greater* ([ΕΥ]ϞΕΙ ΝΑϞ): Perhaps, as S. Emmel suggests, the supralinear stroke over Ϟ is for an Ν, as in 66.31-32.

79.7 *names*: Just as the aeons of the Pleroma are "names" of higher entities, the Father and the Son (66.8-10), so too the beings outside the Pleroma are "names" of the aeons within. Cf. also 70.37-71.7 and *Gos. Phil.* 54.5-13, 67.9-27.

honored ([ΕΥΤΑΕ]ΙΑΕΙΤ): The first Ϟ is visible on an old photograph. Hence the alternative restoration of *ed. pr.* (Eng.), [ΕΥΧΡ]ΑΕΙΤ, is excluded.

79.9 *are they beautiful* (ΕΥΣΤΑΕΙΑΕΙΤ): The subject here, i.e., what is beautiful "in the manner of a likeness," is "the shadows" of line 8, i.e., the beings external to the Pleroma, the "names" of the aeons.

79.10 *of the copy* (ΜΠΙΔΩΛΟΝ): In St. Sah. one would expect ΝΤΕ instead of Μ here. On the archetype-copy analogy used by Valentinus, cf. the note to 78.32-34.

79.13 *existing by themselves*: The first order of beings produced outside the Pleroma commits the error from which the aeons in the Pleroma were preserved. Cf. 62.20-26. These beings thus have the same belief about themselves as that attributed to the Demiurge in various non-Valentinian texts. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 44.15, CG II, I:13.8-9, IV, I:20.22-24, *Hyp. Arch.* 86.30-31. According to the account of Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.33.1), the Demiurge's phantasy of autonomy shows that "he was foolish and devoid of understanding." Irenaeus, *Haer.* (1.5.3), however, offers an alternate interpretation. Sophia intends for the Demiurge to be ignorant in order to enable him to function effectively. In this text, cf. also 84.3-6 and 101.3.

79.20 *command*: Within the ideal world of the Pleroma, harmonious community was the rule (e.g., 64.26-27; 67.33; 68.22-28). Outside the Pleroma community is replaced by oppressive hierarchy, harmony by ambition and discord. The discord is two-fold, both within

the hylic order (cf. 80.3-11) and between the hylic and psychic orders (83.34-84.24). *Interp. Know.* 19.20 draws a similar contrast between the harmony of the Pleroma and the discordant relationships outside of it.

79.21 *overcoming*: The verb is probably to be associated with $\chi\rho\omicron$, "be strong, victorious" (Crum 783a).

79.23-24 *while the glory which they possess, etc.*: Note the reduplication of the circumstantial converter, $\epsilon \dots \epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\sigma$.

79.25 *system*: The "system" is the hierarchically organized world of psychic and hylic forces. Cf. 77.3,10; 79.31-32; 99.19-100.18. This hierarchy is a pale imitation of the true "system," the polity of the Pleroma. Cf. 59.11,29; 71.7. For the term $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.2; *Exc. Theod.* 22.2 and *Treat. Res.* 44.35-39.

79.26 *likenesses*: On this technical term for the hylic order, cf. 78.32-34. The word order $\kappa\epsilon \delta\epsilon$ is unusual. One would expect $\delta\epsilon \kappa\epsilon$.

79.27 *lust for power*: The "lust for power" or "love of authority" is mentioned frequently in the following pages as a characteristic of the psychic and hylic orders. Cf. 83.35; 84.14-15,17-21.

79.29 *greatness* ($\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$): The word is probably a misspelling of $\lambda\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}$.

the name: The name here must be the name which each aeon in the Pleroma is. Cf. 79.7 above. Each of the hylic creatures outside the Pleroma is a "shadow" of one of these names.

79.32-33 *these others*: These are the members of the hylic order in general. They are "other" than the aeons of the Pleroma.

79.34-35 *like those of which they are shadows*: The text is obviously corrupt. The simplest and most satisfactory emendation is that of *ed. pr.* (Fr.), $\langle\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\rangle\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$. The statement that the hylic order consists of shadows of the aeons has been made several times in this context. Cf. 78.33, 79.31. Here the generative power of the beings of the hylic order is compared with that of the aeons of the Pleroma, described in 64.8-27.

79.37–80.1 *potential sons* (ΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΥΩ): Literally “pledged sons.” αΥΩ is probably equivalent to Σ ΕΥΩ (Crum 62b), as suggested by *ed. pr.* (Eng.). For the sons of the hylic powers, cf. also 99.10; 103.19–20.

80.3 αβαλ μπε[ει]: For the restoration, cf. 61.1; 77.20–21; 85.1. The restoration by *ed. pr.*, αβαλ μπε[αυ], is construed with the preceding νχπο, and translated “offspring of the glory.”

80.6–8 The uncertain letters at the end of these lines, where *ed. pr.* record lacunae, are read from blotting on p. 81.5–8.

80.10–11. *all [the] other beings of this sort*: For these secondary offspring of the hylic powers produced by the Logos, cf. 85.1–12 and 103.25–26.

7. The Conversion of the Logos (80.11–85.15)

In the next phase of the movement of the Logos, he reacts to the imperfect creatures he has already produced. He regrets his action, ceases from further production on his own and turns for assistance to the Pleroma. This activity comprises his conversion (80.11–82.9). From all this activity he produces yet another order of beings (82.10–24). This third order which the Logos produced, the psychic, is then compared with the previous product, the hylic, and it is noted that the two orders are engaged in constant conflict (82.25–85.15).

80.14 *at a loss* (απορις): This is, no doubt, an error for the Greek ἀπορία. As *ed. pr.* (I. 352) note, the term is frequently applied to the state of Sophia after her “fall.” Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3, 4.1, 5.4; *Exc. Theod.* 48.2; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.3; *Val. Exp.* 33.21–34.38; and Sagnard, *La gnose valentiniennne*, 632. For further remarks on the “passions” which give rise to material creation, cf. 98.2–4.

80.16 *defect* (α[γογ]ωωε): The alternative emendation, by *ed. pr.* (Fr.), would be translated “a cleft,” but their line division is unlikely. Cf. ογωω (Crum 501a).

80.22 *completely* (τ[ηρμ]): The τ here is certain and thus the alternate restoration of Zandee μ[μαμ] is excluded.

80.23 *and his exaltation* (αγω π̄χ[ι]ϛ[ε]): *Ed. pr.* read αγω as αϣι. Zandee reads πϣ as τϣ. Schenke follows this and emends; <ετ>αϣιτϣ. However, the letters αγωπϣ are certain. The traces after πϣ are more compatible with a χ than a τ, and ϣ is preserved in a 1952 photo.

The “totality” and the “exaltation” of the Logos are his first offspring, his better self, which had ascended to the Pleroma. Cf. 77.37-78.13. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.3; *Val. Exp.* 33.35, “these things Sophia suffered after her Son ascended from her.”

80.24 *those who had come into being*: These belong to the hylic, the offspring of the “arrogant thought” of the Logos.

80.25 πϵ: The function of this copula is totally obscure, and it may well be an uncorrected error of the scribe. Cf. 128.14.

not knowing (εμ̄ποϣσοϣωνοϣ): This form has been construed as a circumstantial of the neg. perf. I. In contrast, the forms in lines 26 and 28 are simply neg. perf. I. Alternatively, the form in line 25 could also be understood as the neg. perf. I, where the ε is an orthographic variant of the supralinear stroke. This seems to be the way the syntax is understood by *ed. pr.* If the form is a circumstantial, it could be construed either with νεταϣωπϵ, as in the translation here, or as modifying the subject of μ̄ποϣσοϣων in line 26. In that case, it could be translated causally: “since they did not know themselves, they both, etc.”

80.27 *the Pleromas* (μ̄πληρωμα): The μ̄ cannot be the object marker after the pre-nominal infinitive σοϣων-. It is the plural definite article. Hence the emendation by *ed. pr.* (<πϵ>πληρωμα) is excluded.

80.27 *from which they came forth*: In a relative clause introduced by ε̄νταϣ- the subject should be the same as the antecedent. One could take the text in this way and translate “the Pleromas which came forth from them.” However, for this text to speak of Pleromas coming from the members of the hylic order is odd, since only the Father (59.36) and the Logos (90.15) are said to have a Pleroma. Hence it seems likely either that ε̄νταϣ is used here improperly or that it should be emended to ε̄νταϣ.

80.34 *anything like emanations* (ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΝΖΕΝΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ): The original Greek may have been ὡς προβολάς. On the emanations of the Pleroma, cf. 65.4–6, 68.1. What the Logos has produced are not emanations, but imitations, things like true emanations. The result of the Logos' abandonment by his "totality and exaltation" again is similar to the result of Sophia's abandonment by her son. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 39.1. *Ed. pr.* note the parallel in the fragment of Valentinus in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90,2, stating that whatever comes from a syzygy is a Pleroma, whatever comes from a single source is an image. Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 32.1. In this text, of course, the contrast between production by a syzygy and production by a single principle is replaced by the contrast between cooperative vs. independent generation.

80.36 *the glories*: Cf. 65.39–66.5, 68.29–37.

80.37 ΕΡΕΑϚ: This unusual conjugation base is apparently a perf. II. Cf. 59.19; 122.18; 129.19.

81.1 *weaklings* ({Ζ}ΝΖ.ΜΝΤΒΩΒ): The letters after {Ζ}Ν are problematic. A reading ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΒΩΒ would provide an adverbial phrase, emphasized by the second tense ΕΡΕΑϚΕΙΝΕ. Such a reading would, however, leave the circumstantial ΕΥCΑΒΚ̄ unexplained and, in any case, it is paleographically impossible. The trace of the first letter after ΖΝ is definitely not from ο, but from ζ. From the second letter there remains the bottom of a vertical stroke, which could be part of a ι or τ. The most likely explanation of the corruption here is that the plural indefinite article has been erroneously reduplicated. ΖΝΜΝΤΒΩΒ is thus the object of ΕΙΝΕ ΑΒΑΛ, modified by ΕΥCΑΒΚ̄. Thus the second problematic letter is probably corrupt for ν. The reading {Ζ}ΝΖ<Ν>ΜΝΤΒΩΒ is reflected in the translation.

81.1–2 [*hindered*] (ΕΥ[CΑ]ΨΤ): The restoration is based on the expression in line 3. The phrase CΩΨΤ ΝΤΝ- has previously been attested only with the meaning "withhold from, deny to" (Crum 378a).

81.4 *likeness*: Cf. 78.32–34.

disposition (ΔΙΑΘΕCΙC): This word is used here in the singular for the first time. Previously it has been used of "dispositions" or

“qualities” of the Church (59.3) or the aeons (63.34). Here it seems to be virtually synonymous with terms for the collectivity of the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. 59.11-12, 59.29, 77.3.

81.6 *cause*: The pre-existent unity which is the cause of all else could be either the Father (51.8-52.7), the unified world of the aeons (67.30-33, 74.1-3), or the Logos (77.11-14). In general, “unity” is a characteristic of the fecund world of the Pleroma. It is by virtue of that pre-existent unity that non-Pleromatic entities come into being.

81.7-8 *which do not themselves exist*: Beings outside the Pleroma do not exist “themselves,” as do the entities within. Cf. 61.1-7. Thus knowledge of and union with the Father provides true self-identity and independence. Ignorance of and separation from the Father permit only an illusory self-identity and independence.

81.8-14 *Until the one who brought forth, etc.*: The syntax here is complex. The main predication is the second tense $\epsilon\sigma\tau\ \sigma\upsilon\beta\eta\sigma\upsilon$ in line 14. This is preceded by a temporal clause with a preposed subject ($\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\ \dots\ \epsilon\pi\omega\tau\alpha$) and a reduplicated conjunction ($\omega\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$, $\omega\alpha\ \pi\iota\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$). In that temporal clause there is a further parenthetical remark ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \dots\ \kappa\rho\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$).

81.9-10 *which were in need* ($\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{\rho}/\delta\rho\omega\zeta$): *Ed. pr.* read these damaged letters as $\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (= $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$) and translate “was the cause of” or “was responsible for.” There is, however, little doubt about the reading given here.

into the defect: This phrase must be associated with $\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ of lines 8-9 and not $\bar{\rho}\ \delta\rho\omega\zeta$ of lines 9-10.

81.11 *who came into being* ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$): Thomassen (*Tripartite Tractate*, 46) takes the form to be a perf. II rel., but the $\epsilon\sigma\tau$ in line 12 negates the prepositional phrase $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ and not the verb, which is simply a perf. rel.

81.12 *contrary to reason*: Note the oxymoron. It is the Logos who has produced the weak, hylic entities under discussion, but he did so “not in accord with reason (*logos*).”

81.12-13 *which is the judgment*: The use of the relative converter

without an antecedent is unusual. It seems to be equivalent to the common phrase $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \pi\epsilon$. The judgment of the Logos is listed in 130.15 as one of his dispositions. From that quality issue the psychics, beings of "the right" or "the call" as they are described in 130.4-5. *Ed. pr.* (I. 353) note a possible parallel to this passage in Heracleon, fr. 48 (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.38) and suggest that Heracleon associates judgment with the Demiurge, who is a result of the judgment of Sophia against the hylics. Note the judgment mentioned in *Gos. Truth* 25.35-26.15. *Ed. pr.* claim that in that text there is a judgment motif on which the forms of the theme in Heracleon and the *Tri. Trac.* are based. It is not clear, however, that there is a progression of any sort in these texts. The judgment brought by the Savior in the *Gos. Truth* is not a cosmogonic principle, but something that happens "to each one of us" (25.20). The "judgment" of the Logos in the *Tri. Trac.* could be conceived as the archetype of the judgment in individual souls of which the *Gos. Truth* speaks.

81.14 *he struggled against them*: In the list of generative dispositions of the Logos in 130.12-27, there is mention of the "wrath which fights against" ($\dagger\ \omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) the evil ones (line 17). Note "the wrath" here in line 16.

81.15 *that is, those who struggled*: The antecedent is "the ones who came into being contrary to reason," i.e., the hylic beings.

81.17-18 *accepts and redeems* ($\rho\epsilon\zeta\omega\pi\{\epsilon\}\dots\ \rho\epsilon\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$): Literally, "it being an accepter and redeemer." *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) do not emend $\rho\epsilon\zeta\omega\pi\epsilon$ and translate "begetter" (Erzeuger), as does Till, "Beiträge," 219. Such a transitive meaning for $\omega\pi\epsilon$ is unparalleled. It is also inappropriate to view the wrath of the Logos as a begetter of the hylics, whom it now pursues. The hylics were already begotten before the wrath made its appearance. The function of the wrath of the Logos described in these lines is significant as a paradigm of the activity of the offspring of the wrath and the conversion. Those offspring, the psychics (82.15; 130.16-26), fight against the hylics (84.24-16). Nevertheless, the wrath also attempts to redeem the hylics.

81.19 *Since from it [is]* ($\epsilon\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\varsigma\ [\pi\epsilon]$): The ϵ here is probably the circumstantial converter. Cf. 54.32, 70.3 and 72.32.

81.20 *conversion* (ΠΙΝΟΥΟΥΥΖ): The term probably translates ἐπιστροφή (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1). As *ed. pr.* (I. 354) note, conversion from her folly is a standard episode in the Sophia myth. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 45.13; CG II,1:13.21-23, 13.32-14.4; IV,1:21.8-10, 21.23-22.5. Similarly the Demiurge repents and is rewarded in *Orig. World* CG II,5:104.10-27. The Gnostics known to Plotinus (*Enn.* 2.9.6) also spoke of a "conversion." Note also the "conversion and return" in *Gos. Truth* 35.22-23.

The conversion of the Logos here differs in one major way from the conversion of Sophia in the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1). That conversion took place at the instigation of an aeon of the Pleroma, Christ, who gives the fallen Sophia her first formation by stilling her violent excitement. The conversion here involves the Logos who converts himself (81.78-79). Cf. also 77.37 above.

81.26 *Following the conversion*: The object of αφογαζῆ ἄνω is here preposed. *Ed. pr.* (I. 354) suggest that this passage is reflected by the Sophia myth of the Gnostics known to Plotinus (*Enn.* 2.9.4), for whom the soul remembers the intelligible world but does not have the will to return there. The *Tri. Trac.*, however, does not claim that the Logos is unwilling to return to the Pleroma. The fact that the Logos here or, for that matter, Sophia in Valentinus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1), remain outside the Pleroma is not an indication that they were unwilling to return. Recall the "limit" (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1 and 76.32 above). Furthermore, the passage in Plotinus is probably an interpretation of Gnostic myth, not a precise citation of a different form of that myth.

81.27-28 *the thought...and the prayer*: On the productiveness of the prayer of the Logos, cf. 130.20-21. The term ΠΙΜΕΥΕ is translated by *ed. pr.* (Eng.) as "remembrance." Cf. 81.32; 82.7,11. There is, however, a distinction in Coptic between remembrance (ΠΙΡΜΕΥΕ) and thought (ΠΙΜΕΥΕ). The thought of the Logos, to be sure, consists of the memory of the Pleroma.

81.28 *for the one who converted himself*: The text here is not entirely satisfactory. As it stands, the Logos who has "converted" from evil to good, now prays for himself. *Ed. pr.* suggest an emendation which would be translated "for his own conversion to the good." That is less satisfactory than the text as it stands. The Logos who has been

converted may pray for restoration to the Pleroma; he would hardly pray for his conversion, which has already occurred. Alternatively, it may be that $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{Q}}$ is a dative and that the object of the preposition $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{A}}\ \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}$ has been lost.

81.30 *The one who is in the Pleroma:* What is “in the Pleroma” is specifically the Logos’ “true self,” his offspring which had returned there, as related in 77.37–78.4. As noted in 78.21, that aeon served as a “remembrance” for the Logos. That this aeon is the object of the prayer of the Logos is confirmed by the later account of the intercession on behalf of the Logos by the aeons in the Pleroma (86.4–11). Cf. the prayer of Sophia in *Val. Exp.* 34.25–34, where she prays to the Father remembering her former dwelling, “I used to dwell in the Pleroma putting forth the aeons and bearing fruit with my syzygy.’ And she knew what she was, and what had become of her.”

81.32–34 *then...his brothers...then all of them together:* The Logos prays, in sequence, to his offspring, then to each of the aeons as individuals within the collectivity of the Pleroma, then to the Pleroma as a whole, then to the Father. Thus his prayer repeats in reverse order the stages of emanation.

81.33–34 *always with one another:* This phrase does not refer to a stage in the prayer of the Logos separate from the prayer to the aeons “individually.” It simply indicates that by praying to the aeons *qua* individuals the Logos is not ignoring their mutual connections. Cf. the account of the second degree of the aeons’ creativity (69.18–19).

82.1 *the agreement:* *Ed. pr.* here read $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}[\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Q}}]$, but the last complete letter is clearly an ω . The “prayer of the agreement” may be either the prayer of the Logos to the aeons, which has just been mentioned (81.30–35), or the prayer which the aeons offer in behalf of the Logos (86.16). Unless $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\ \overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}$ is a mistranslation of a Greek dative, it probably describes the quality of the prayer of the Logos. It is a prayer “of the agreement” because the Logos by that prayer acts as an aeon should, in agreement with other aeons. Cf. 68.27; 70.3; 71.11. Contrast 76.10.

82.2–3 These lines are preceded by angular marks (>), the function

of which is unclear. Cf. 82.10, 84.11-13, 119.23-27. They may simply be space fillers.

82.6-7 *was his being remembered* (ΠΕΤΡΟΥΡ̄ ΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ): From the last two letters on line 6, *ed. pr.* only record the ε. The ΠΕ here, as S. Emmel suggests, is probably the article substantivizing the inflected infinitive of line 7. The construction is rare, but cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #348, and note its appearance in 57.36 above. The article should be π, and ΠΕ would be a hyper-sahidicism. Otherwise the ΠΕ could be a reduplication of the preterit complement from line 5. Then the following infinitive could be final. This would require [α] or [ε] at the end of line 6. Such a restoration is remotely possible, but there is a substantial portion of unscribed papyrus after ΠΕ which makes this restoration unlikely.

82.7-8 *This is*: The antecedent of this expegetical remark is either the remembrance of the Pleroma by the Logos (line 5), or the remembrance of the Logos by the Pleroma (line 7), or the whole process of mutual recollection.

82.9 *bringing...back* (ΕΓΓΙΤΟ) As *ed. pr.* (I. 32) note, the verb is not to be connected with ΤΤΟ, "give to drink" (Crum 434a), but with (Τ)ΣΤΟ, "bring" (Crum 436a). Cf. 123.6, 128.14 and ΤΤΑ, 82.3.

82.9-10 $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\eta$: ΧΕ: The colon after $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\eta$ is an unusual articulation mark. Another angular sign (>) appears in the margin to the left of the ΧΕ of line 10, as in lines 2-3 above. Perhaps this mark is connected with the colon and serves simply as a *paragraphus*. Such punctuation would be appropriate here, before a new section introduced by ΧΕ. If the marks in the text do thus serve as paragraph markings, it is strange that they do not appear elsewhere.

82.12 *according to that limit*: The limit mentioned here is no doubt the second limit, which had been interposed between the Pleroma and the Logos (76.32). The limit prevents the product of the Logos from being a part of the Pleroma.

82.13-14 *nothing barren in his thought*: Again the principle is applied that what an aeon thinks of he produces. Cf. 64.8-27, 78.30, 79.32-33.

82.15 *good*: The second set of offspring which the Logos produces, the psychic order, is positively evaluated here. *Ed. pr.* (I. 355) note that this positive evaluation is a feature of western Valentinianism. Thus Sophia, in the myth of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1), creates the Demiurge and the psychics after her repentance, as does the Logos in this text. According to *Val. Exp.* 36.9–16, after Sophia's prayer of repentance and remembering, "shadows and images of [those who] were [from] the first and [those who] are [and] those who shall be" were brought forth. These beings are identified as "the dispensation of believing in Jesus." In contrast, *Exc. Theod.* 33.3 records that the Demiurge is a product of the "suffering of desire" on the part of Sophia.

82.16 *were greater* (ΝΑΥΟΥΑΕΙ): The conjugation base ΝΑΥ- is no doubt the third person imperfect, though that is regularly written ΝΕΥ-.

82.18 *nature of falsehood* (ΝΑΟΥΦΙΑ ΝΚΡ[ΟΥ]): *Ed. pr.* here read ΝΑΟΥΠΑΝΚΦ. The letter after ΟΥ cannot be a π, since the vertical stroke is clearly curved. The trace of the last letter before the lacuna is ambiguous. The restoration remains tentative.

82.19 *illusion*: Cf. 78.7, 34.

82.20–21 *thought of arrogance* (ΜΕ[ΥΕ] ΜΜΝ[Ν]ΧΑCΙΖΗΤ): Cf. 78.30. The deleted Ν was certainly an error for τ, but the correct letter was not written by the scribe.

82.25 *The former beings*: These are the beings of the likeness, i.e., the hylics. Cf. line 17.

82.25–26 ΝΑ ΟΥΩ: The text here is severely damaged. The last two letters on line 25 are visible in a newly restored fragment. This fragment eliminates the restoration of *ed. pr.*, α[Υ]Ω and Ν[ΕΥ]Ω. The letters ΝΑ remain doubtful. Following a suggestion of S. Emmel, the translation takes ΝΑ as the possessive pronoun and ΟΥΩ as a form of the interrogative (Crum 467b). Cf. ω at 61.28.

82.27 *they are* (ΕΥΟΙ): This form is a pres. II, emphasizing the

following prepositional phrase and answering the question of 82.25-26. Cf. 82.32.

sleep: *Ed. pr.* (I. 356) note the image of the dream in *Gos. Truth* 29.1-11.

82.28 $\bar{\nu} \text{NETP}\bar{\rho}$: The dot after ρ is probably an articulation mark. ρ was not, as *ed. pr.* (I. 301) suggest, written over another letter. $\text{P}\bar{\rho}$ is from $\text{P}\omega\omega\rho\epsilon$ (Crum 268a).

82.31 *oppressed* ($\chi\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda\tau$): The form is probably a qualitative of $\chi\omicron\lambda\chi\bar{\lambda}$ (Crum 770a). Cf. Till, "Beiträge," 221. "Oppressed" is a somewhat metaphorical extension of the basic sense of the verb, "surround," "fence in."

82.32 *The others*: These are those who have just come into being from the repentance of the Logos, i.e., the psychics.

82.34 *for him*: The pronoun presumably refers to the Logos. The significance of the pronoun and of the designation "creatures of the light" is clarified by the following circumstantial. The psychics do not themselves have light, but, coming from the repentance of the Logos, they look to him as to the sun and derive their light from him.

82.35 *Since it happened* ($\epsilon\alpha\sigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$): This form might be a perf. II. but a perf. circ. is appropriate here.

82.36 *in him*: The pronoun probably refers to the Logos.

82.37 *sweet* ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\langle 2 \rangle\alpha\lambda\omicron$): The circumstantial converter ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma=\epsilon\gamma$) is written in the full orthography characteristic of this text. It is unnecessary to delete the $\omicron\gamma$ with *ed. pr.* The verb is probably to be connected with $\gamma\lambda\omicron\omicron$ (Crum 673a).

$\bar{\nu}\text{TO}\gamma$: *Ed. pr.* (I. 301) suggest that this word is either to be connected with what precedes ($=\text{NTE}\gamma$, "their") or is a conjugation base ($=\bar{\nu}\text{TP}\epsilon-$ or $\bar{\nu}\text{TE}-$). The first alternative may be eliminated, because the possessive makes little sense here. The second possibility is excluded, because the first part of the next line (83.1) was definitely left blank. $\bar{\nu}\text{TO}\gamma$ may simply be a corruption of the adversative particle. This is usually written $\bar{\nu}\text{TA}\gamma$ (cf. 63.15, 69.37, 84.32), but at

least once is written $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$. Cf. 98.37. This suggestion, however, is problematic because this adversative is usually post-positive.

83.1 $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$: *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) correctly recognize that the surviving papyrus before $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ was left blank, for no apparent reason. Before the uninscribed papyrus there is a lacuna which could accommodate one or two letters, but we have assumed that the lost papyrus was uninscribed as well.

it put a stop ($\alpha\sigma\omega\chi\bar{\nu}\epsilon$): The antecedent of the pronominal subject here is uncertain. If the pronoun were masculine, it would no doubt refer to the Logos, who had earlier ceased to produce hylic emanations (80.30–35). It would certainly make sense for him to stop the further process of psychic emanation which has just been recounted. Hence an emendation to $\alpha\sigma\omega\chi\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ might be considered. If the feminine pronoun is retained, it probably refers to the feminine noun “dream” $\rho\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ (82.36). How the dream stops the emanations is unclear. It may well be that the text is corrupt and the gender of the pronoun has been erroneously changed to the feminine under the influence of the feminine noun.

83.2 *the thought*: The “thought” here may be the “remembrance” of the world of the Pleroma, as *ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 301) suggest. Cf. 81.27.

83.4–5 *substance...honor*: The psychic entities depend for their very being and for their honor on the thought of the being who produces them. In this respect the psychics resemble any product of the aeons. Cf. 61.1–11; 63.36–64.8; 65.14–17; 70.14–19. No motive is given for the cessation of the process of psychic emanation. Presumably the Logos is not disgusted as he was with the hylics (80.13–19). Perhaps the Logos imitates the Father who withdrew from the Logos so that the non-Pleromatic world could come into being (76.30–77.5).

83.6–11 *Though he is not equal, etc.*: This paragraph is rather obscure. It deals with the status of the new offspring of the Logos, the psychics, and explains that they are superior to the hylics because of their source in a positive disposition of the Logos.

83.6 *he is not equal*: It is possible to read the unemended text, “Though *he is not equal, etc.*” The paragraph is thus arguing that although the Logos is not on the same level as the aeons of the

Pleroma, he is responsible for the superior status of the psychics. The emendation of *ed. pr.* (Eng.), “*they are not equal*,” suggests that the argument is: The psychics are not equal to the aeons of the Pleroma, nonetheless they are superior to the hylics. The cleft sentence in line 8 emphasizes the importance of the Logos in determining the status of the psychics. This suggests that the unemended text should be read. Thus the importance of the Logos for the psychics’ status is stressed, despite the fact that he is not equal to the aeons of the Pleroma.

83.7 *if they were superior*: “They” clearly refers to the psychics.

83.8 *likenesses*: Note the technical term for the hylics. Cf. 78.32.

83.9 $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\upsilon$: The prepositional phrase does not, as *ed. pr.* (I. 301) suggest, express the attribute after $\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$. Rather, it resumes the relative pronoun, as noted by Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 138).

83.10-15 These lines are rather difficult to read, due largely to blotting from the preceding page, and the transcription differs significantly from that of *ed. pr.* Despite the blotting, most of the text can be read with confidence under high magnification.

83.10 *they*: The subject here is “the likenesses” of line 8.

good intent: This is probably not the Logos’ $\pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (76.2-4), but his conversion (81.20-21). Cf. line 14 below.

83.11 $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon$: The \mathfrak{N} appears to have a supra-linear stroke, which would be most unusual. The stroke is probably the remains of a \mathfrak{r} over which the \mathfrak{N} has been written.

83.11-12 *they were produced*: The subject of this sentence, and of the new paragraph which begins here, is again the psychics. The paragraph as a whole continues the explanation of the contrast between hylics and psychics begun in the last paragraph. Here the source of the qualities of psychic being is discussed.

sickness: Cf. 77.28-35.

83.13 *good intent*: Since this “good intent” somehow comes “from the sickness,” it should probably be understood not as the initial $\pi\rho\omicron\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ of the Logos (76.2-4), but as his good attitude following his conversion (81.20-21). Cf. lines 10-11 above.

83.14-15 $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$: The reading here is problematic. The ς is preserved on an old photograph of the page. Only very doubtful traces of the $\bar{\nu}$ and ϵ remain. The π may also be a τ . The preposition, $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon = \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha$ S (Crum 314b), meaning "except," seems to function here as a simple adversative. For a similar usage cf. $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\ \pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\varsigma\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta$ in H. Junken, *Koptische Poesie* 2.154, cited in Crum 314b. After $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon$ there is an ellipse of a preposition $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\bar{\nu}$. Cf. lines 11-12.

83.14-15 *the one who sought after*: This is the Logos. He produced the psychics not in his initial ill-conceived attempt to comprehend the incomprehensible (75.17-19), but in his conversion and return to thought about the pre-existent world (81.22-82.9).

83.16 *Once he had prayed*: On the prayer of the Logos, cf. 81.28; 82.1, 10.

83.16-18 *he raised himself, etc.*: The activity of the Logos referred to here is no doubt his recollection of the Pleroma. Cf. 81.26-82.9.

83.18 *sowed in them*: The pronoun here does not refer to the beings associated with "the good," i.e., the aeons of the Pleroma. The antecedent of this pronoun is the same as that of the subject of the first sentence of this paragraph (line 11, $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$). In both cases the beings in question are the members of the psychic order. Their superiority to the hylic powers was mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The reason for that superiority is now being explained.

83.19 *predisposition*: The word had been used previously in 76.2 to describe the predisposition or intent of the Logos, which was to comprehend the Father. The Logos now provides the beings of the psychic order with that same predisposition. His activity here replicates in detail the actions of the Father toward the aeons of the Pleroma, who had "sowed" in them the idea of seeking him. Cf. 61.8-18, 65.13-14. Likewise the experience of the psychic offspring of the Logos here foreshadows the experience of the prophets and of psychic human beings. Cf. 111.23, 120.4-8.

83.24 *something greater than themselves*: The psychic offspring of the Logos, like the aeons of the Pleroma (61.14-18), come to recognize

that there is something beyond and above them. The hylics fail to recognize precisely this (84.3-6) as does the Demiurge initially (100.39-101.5).

83.27 *harmony*: The psychic offspring of the Logos imitate the harmony which characterizes the Pleroma. Cf. 64.25-27, 68.26-28, 70.22-23.

83.31-33 *from unity and unanimity*: The Logos provides unity and unanimity to his psychic offspring. They thereby "receive their very being" *qua* psychics, because by their harmony they are differentiated from the hylics. Again this unifying activity replicates the pattern of activity within the Pleroma whereby the Son unifies the aeons. Cf. 66.28-29, 67.32-33.

83.33 *their very being* (Μ[Π]ΤΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ): The trace of a letter after the lacuna is hard to reconcile with a τ. Perhaps there has been a scribal error here.

83.34 *They were stronger than them*: The psychic offspring of the Logos are stronger than the hylics.

83.35 *lust for power* (ΤΜΝΤ{ΜΝ}ΜΑΕΙ[Ο]ΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ): Note that both psychic and hylic orders are characterized by ambition. Cf. 79.20-25 and note the discussion of the competition between the two orders in 108.13-35.

Ed. pr. (Eng., I. 301) suggest that the deleted letters ΜΝ are not, in fact, a dittography but a translation of a Greek alpha-privative. Hence the psychics would be superior to the hylics in their *lack* of ambition. That interpretation is unlikely both on grammatical grounds (cf. Schenke, *ZÄS* 105 [1978] 138) and on the basis of what is said about the lust for power in *both* orders in 84.8-24 and 99.19-21.

84.1 *the first ones*: The hylic offspring of the Logos were produced before the psychics. The hylics were not the first offspring, which was the Logos' better self which returned to the Pleroma (77.37-78.7). The hylics are, however, the first offspring to remain outside the Pleroma. Cf. 78.29-37.

who had been raised: These are, presumably, the hylics. As the next sentence indicates, these beings had not humbled themselves. They

thus raised themselves over the psychics. The verb might also be translated actively, with *ed. pr.* (Eng.).

84.3 *They thought*: The thought of the hylics contrasts with that of the psychics (83.22), but foreshadows that of the chief Archon (101.1-5). The contents of the hylics' thought are repeated from 79.12-16.

84.6 *as they brought [forth]*: Offspring of the hylic productions of the Logos have already been mentioned. Cf. 79.32-80.11. The psychics presumably are equally fertile.

84.7 *according to their own birth*: *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) suggest that $\mu\iota\epsilon$ here should be understood not as "birth," but as equivalent to $\mu\iota\omega\epsilon$ (Crum 202b), "fight, quarrel," but this seems unlikely. The beings of each order produce offspring like themselves. The character of each order is determined by its birth from one or another "movement" or "disposition" of the Logos. Hylics come from the "arrogant thought," psychics from the "repentance" and "conversion."

84.8 *assaulted*: ($\eta[\epsilon\alpha\gamma]\dagger\pi\epsilon\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$): The $\pi\epsilon$ here is used with the imperfect. The verb is $\dagger\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$ (= S $\dagger\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\bar{\rho}\eta$). On the form $\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$, cf. H. J. Polotsky, "Review of Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*," *JEA* 25 (1939) 109-13 (= *Collected Papers* 377). Cf. also 57.38 and 89.6.

84.9 *for* ($\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}$): The preposition (= S $\epsilon\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}$) could also be translated "without" (= S $\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}$). If the latter alternative were adopted, these beings would be imitating the Logos who acted "without orders" (76.11-12).

84.11-13 Before the beginning of each of these lines there is an angular mark (>), the purpose of which is obscure. Cf. 82.2-3, 10; 119.23-27.

84.14 *having*: The emendation of *ed. pr.*, $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\gamma <\mu\mu\epsilon\gamma>$, is unnecessary, since $\bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\gamma$ does not invariably follow $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ in this text. Cf. 51.32, 53.11, 61.17, etc. Unless the form is an anomalous $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$, the circumstantial probably modifies $\zeta\bar{\eta}\eta\omicron\gamma\varsigma\iota\alpha$ and not the "two orders," the subject of the sentence. Otherwise, the logic of the argument here is obscure. The following sentence states that the members of the two orders are drawn to a "desire of the lust for

power” after their immersion in “forces and natures.” They are thus drawn “from these,” i.e., from the forces and natures in which they are sunk. These forces and natures, therefore, must be characterized by ambitious desires. Thus it emerges that lust for power is not an intrinsic quality of the beings of the two orders. That vice arises ultimately from the ignorance of the members of the two orders. Cf. 84.3-6.

84.17 *It is from these*: Sentence division here is ambiguous. The prepositional phrase could also be associated with what precedes. In either case the referent of the pronoun is “forces and natures” from which comes the lust for power.

84.22-23 *exalted thought* (ΜΕΕΥ[Ε] ΕΤΧ[Α]C1): The restoration of Kasser, ΜΕΕΥ[Ε] Μ[ΠΕ]ΕΙ, is unlikely. The trace of the horizontal stroke is too low to be a supralinear stroke over an Μ. The restoration of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) yields an attractive meaning (“the thought of the exalted one”), but their line division is highly unlikely. In any case the “exalted thought” is no doubt the thought that there is a transcendent being, the Father.

84.24-25 *powers of this thought*: These are the psychic powers. The “powers” here and in 85.11 should probably be understood as the second stage of generation in the psychic order. Note the two stages of generation in the hylic order in 79.32-80.11. For the designation of the two stages as “roots” and “powers,” cf. 99.10.

84.25-26 *are prepared in*: The precise meaning of the verb and preposition here is obscure. The statement probably refers to the archetype-copy relationship between the pre-existent aeons and the psychic powers.

84.26 *the works of the pre-existent ones* (ΝΙΡΕ· Ν̄ΠΕΤΡ̄): *Ed. pr.* (I. 302) suggest that the word division might be ΝΙΡΕ· Ν̄ ΠΕΤΡ̄. Cf. 66.32-33 and 71.1-7. However, the supralinear stroke over the Ν̄ and the articulation mark after the Ε require the separation given in the text. Furthermore, in what follows there is no reference to names, but to deeds. The emendation of the substantivized relative from singular to plural is suggested by the words in apposition to the relative in lines 27-28.

It is conceivable that the singular is correct, and that it is a reference to the Logos. Then lines 27–28 would be in apposition to the “works.” This would mean that the psychic powers are representations of the works of the Logos. However, the description of the activity of the psychic powers in 83.11–33 closely parallels the activity of the aeons of the Pleroma. It is of these aeons and their *works* that the psychic powers are representations.

84.28 *representations*: Note the technical term for the psychic powers. Cf. 78.32–34.

85.1–6 The right half of the column of writing in these lines has been lost and any restoration would be conjectural. These lines presumably gave an account of the opposition between the two orders.

85.6 *multitude* (ΟΥΑΨΙΕ): The ι is strangely formed and could also be a ζ or ρ . The translation assumes that the word is related to ΑΨΑΙΣ (Crum 22b). The normal A² form would be ΑΨΕΕΙ.

ΜΝΤΒΑ...[.]: The various readings of *ed. pr.*, except ΜΝΤΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, are incompatible with the remaining letter traces.

85.8 *their wrath*: The referent of the possessive pronoun is probably the members of the hylic order, as is clear in what follows. In this paragraph the *Tri. Trac.* records the third generation of hylic powers. The offspring of the hylic powers produced by the Logos were discussed in 79.20–80.9. In 80.10–11 allusion was made to the production of further hylic powers. For the triple division of hylic powers, cf. also 103.13–26.

85.10 *produce* (ΕΥΧΠΟ): The form may be either a circumstantial or a pres. II. Because of the damage to the first seven lines of this page, the syntax here is uncertain.

85.12–13 *while the mind of the Logos, etc.*: The syntax here is again ambiguous. The sentence has been construed as circumstantial.

85.13 *a cause of their begetting*: “Their begetting” is probably to be understood as a subjective genitive. The Logos is a cause of the begetting by the hylic powers.

8. The Emanation of the Savior (85.15-90.13)

The two previous sections of the tractate focused on the process by which the offspring of the Logos were produced. A detailed account was given of how first the hylic powers (78.28-80.11) and then the psychic powers (80.11-82.24) were brought forth. Now the tractate turns to the production of the spiritual powers, led by the Savior. The account begins with a review of the condition of the Logos, who had tried to comprehend the Father and whose first offspring had returned to the Pleroma (85.15-32). That offspring of the Logos, in collaboration with the sympathetic aeons of the Pleroma, now produces as "fruit" the Savior (85.33-87.17). The aeons produce an army to accompany him (87.17-31). The Savior along with his host then come to the aid of the Logos who is outside the Pleroma. The Savior reveals the Totalities and organizes the world outside the Pleroma (87.32-90.1). Finally, the effects of this coming of the Savior are summarized (90.1-13).

85.15 *The Logos*: One might expect this to be a reference to the Logos who is outside the Pleroma and who has been responsible for the production of the hylic and psychic orders. Several of the descriptions in the following lines could apply to him. As is clear, however, from lines 22-25, the primary reference in this whole paragraph is to the first "offspring" of the Logos, his own perfect self. Cf. 78.8-10.

85.16 *which moved*: The movement of the Logos could be the general activity by which he tried to comprehend the Father and then produced offspring. Cf. 77.7. However, the "Logos who moved" is a reference to the first offspring of the Logos, who returned to the Pleroma. Cf. 77.37-78.4.

85.17 *the hope and the expectation*: The Logos had hoped to attain the Father (cf. 77.26). Presumably his offspring which returned to the Pleroma continued to have this hope and expectation, and, as a component of the Pleroma, had whatever access is possible to the Father. The hope of the offspring of the Logos is a virtue shared with the aeons which remained in the Pleroma. Cf. 71.25. The hope of the Logos outside the Pleroma, provided by the revelation of the Pleroma through the Savior, is an important motive of his subsequent activity. Cf. 92.7,15; 97.11; 111.27.

85.18–19 *he separated himself*: The Logos had separated himself from the hylic powers at his conversion (81.23–25), but his offspring previously had abandoned all that which exists defectively (78.4–7).

85.21 *He was content with*: The offspring of the Logos, i.e., the Logos which moved to the Pleroma, “was content with” or “rested on” (62.33–38) the beings of thought, i.e., the aeons of the Pleroma.

85.22 *the beings of the thought*: Cf. the note to 85.27.

85.23–24 *the exalted boundary*: This is a reference to the Limit (*ὄρος*) dividing the Pleroma from the Logos. Cf. 76.30–32, and *Val. Exp.* 26.29–38.

85.24–25 *remembering*: Cf. 78.21–22.

85.25 *the one who was defective*: Cf. 78.5.

85.26 *in an invisible way*: Nothing had been said previously about the invisible quality of the production of the first offspring of the Logos, but this attribute is appropriate since this being is essentially Pleromatic.

85.27 *those who came into being according to the thought*: This phrase clarifies the earlier remark about the Logos’ true self being content with the beings of the thought (line 22). Both passages are references to the aeons of the Pleroma, who proceeded from the thought of the Father. Cf. 60.1–10, 61.1–7. This usage stands in contrast with the usage of the phrase “beings of the thought” later in the text (89.9, 29–30; 91.27; 93.19; 98.15, 27), where it is used of the psychic offspring of the Logos. The Logos’ better self, his first offspring, is clearly not a member of that psychic order. For another application of the phrase to the Totalities, cf. 87.24.

85.28 *the one who was with them*: It is unclear precisely to whom this phrase refers. The most likely candidate is the Son. Cf. 67.7–10.

85.29 *the light*: The light here is a reference to the Savior and to the process by which the Logos outside the Pleroma is illumined. Cf. 86.23–32 and 87.10. The Savior provides for the Logos such illumina-

tion as the Son had provided for the aeons of the Pleroma (62.33-37).

85.31 *the thought of brotherly love*: The beneficent attitude of the aeons of the Pleroma is described in the next paragraphs. Their love is responsible for the generation of the Savior.

85.33 *stumbling*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 356) note, in other versions of the full myth, the aeons of the Pleroma are in fact deeply troubled by the rupture in the godhead. Cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.31.1. In this text, the aeons do not suffer. The “stumbling” is something external to them, which is brought to their attention in a gentle way.

86.1 *It was brought to the Totalities* ([ΑΥΧΙΤΩ ΝΝΙΠ]ΤΗΡΩ): Restoration of the first line of this page is difficult. The solution suggested by *ed. pr.* is not satisfactory. A verb is required here. The alternatives “The aeons were instructed” or “were begotten” are possible. It is also possible that further reference was made to the bringing of the “stumbling” to the aeons, but any restoration must remain uncertain.

86.1-2 *about the defect from the single one* (ΑΠ[ΩΤΑ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙ]ΤΟΥΤΩ): There are traces at the end of line 1, probably caused by blotting from p. 87. Contra *ed. pr.*, there is no trace of an ε at the end of the line. The η could also be a τ. Again the restoration at the beginning of line 2 is quite tentative. The “single one” *par excellence* is, of course, the Father.

86.2-3 *πα vacat*: Blotting on p. 87 indicates that no further letters followed at the end of line 2. The restoration at the beginning of line 3 is again quite tentative.

86.4-7 *The order which was his, etc.*: This sentence introduces and summarizes the lengthy account of the production of the Savior which follows.

86.5 *his*: The being whose “order” is now described is difficult to identify. It cannot be the Logos’ true self, since he is the source of that order. The Savior gets an order (87.20-26), but he has not yet been mentioned. Hence, the referent of the pronoun here is most likely the Logos outside the Pleroma. The Savior and the beings generated with him are considered the true order of the Logos, in contrast to the hylic

and psychic orders. This is appropriate, since the new order is generated by the Logos' true self.

86.9 *intercessor*: In other versions of the Valentinian myth, there is frequently a prayer of intercession on the part of one or more aeons of the Pleroma on behalf of the aeon outside the Pleroma. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.3; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.31.2; *Exc. Theod.* 23.2. In the latter passage the intercessor is Christ, who, like the Logos' better self in this text, was the offspring of the aeon which left the Pleroma. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1; *Exc. Theod.* 23.2, 33.3; and the note to 77.37.

86.10 *the emanation of the aeons*: The text uses metonymy for the aeons who emanated from the Father.

86.11 *the things which exist*: The things which (truly) exist are the Father, Son and Church. Cf. 52.19–24; 56.31; 57.9–14, 33–35.

86.12–14 *joyously . . . harmonious consent*: The harmony and joy of the aeons of the Pleroma as they come to the aid of the aeon in distress is a recurring feature of the Valentinian myth. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6 and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.1–2. This agreement and harmony is necessary to the perfect production of the aeons. Cf. 68.22–28. The Savior whom the aeons produce is thus analogous to their "first fruit," which is the honor which they collectively give the Father. In the account in Hippolytus, there is no distinction between the first fruit and the Savior.

86.21 *which he had drawn to himself*: Cf. 72.5, where the Father draws the aeons to himself and 78.24, where he draws the first offspring of the Logos to himself.

86.25 *the fruit*: The aeons have already produced fruit within the Pleroma. Cf. 69.3, 18, 37. Now, along with the first offspring of the Logos, they produce further "fruit," which is to go outside the Pleroma. This process was mentioned briefly before the account of the production of the hylic and psychic orders (78.26). A detailed account is now given.

The closest analogy to the myth described here is again the Sophia myth attributed to Valentinus himself (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1), where the Son of Sophia, named Christ, ascends to the Pleroma and

produces the Savior, Jesus. That text, however, is ambiguous on the precise parentage of the Savior. The spouse of Sophia, Theletos, and one syzygy of the Ogdoad, Humanity-Church, are also considered as possible parents. Further disputes among Valentinians about the parents of the Savior are recorded in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 33.22.

In the oriental Valentinianism of the *Exc. Theod.*, Christ also was the offspring of Sophia outside the Pleroma. Cf. the notes to 77.37 and 86.8-9. This Christ does not, however, beget the Savior, called Jesus and Paraclete, who is produced by the "good pleasure of the aeons" (*Exc. Theod.* 23.2) and sent as the Paraclete to Sophia.

In the system of Ptolemy, the Savior is the "most perfect beauty and star of the Pleroma, its perfect fruit" (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6). This figure is also called Jesus, a second Christ and Logos, and he is eventually sent by the first Christ within the Pleroma to instruct and heal the fallen Sophia, Achamoth (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5).

In the account of Hippolytus, as in Ptolemy, the Savior is a product of all the aeons of the Pleroma, and is named "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma." He is sent by the Christ within the Pleroma to heal Sophia of her passion (*Ref.* 6.32.1-4).

On the relationship among these accounts of the Valentinian myth of the Savior, cf. G. Quispel, "The Original Doctrine of Valentinus," *VC* 1 (1947) 43-66. Quispel contrasts the emanation of the Savior or fruit of the Pleroma in Valentinus and his oriental followers with the doctrine of Ptolemy and his followers. In the latter, the connection between the production of the fruit and the sending of the Savior has been broken. The *Tri. Trac.* thus remains closer to Valentinus on this point.

86.28 *countenance*: Literally "the facial formation." This is a combination previously unattested. The term appears frequently in the following pages (87.18-20, 91.33-34, 100.22), applied to various "visible" manifestations of the Father and the Pleroma. The Father himself has no "face or form" (54.30). That "visual expression" of the Father only comes into being here, with the production of the Savior. The unusual term is also found in *Gos. Truth* 19.31; 24.2,5.

86.30-31 *their brother*: This is the Logos outside the Pleroma.

86.33 *they bring forth* (ΕΥΨΑΛΕΙΝΕ): The conjugation base is

problematic. *Ed. pr.* (I. 30) suggest that it is a praes. cons. circ. It is more likely, however, that the form is a praes. cons. II (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #334). In either case, the pronominal subject is reduplicated.

86.36-37 *his beloved Son*: This Son is not to be confused with the being who first emanates from the Father (57.8-32). The Savior is given this name, as 87.13-17 suggests, because he performs outside the Pleroma a function analogous to that performed by the Son within the Pleroma. Cf. 62.33-38. Note that in *Exc. Theod.* 33.1 it is remarked that Christ, the offspring of the Fallen Sophia (= the Logos' true self in this text), was adopted as "Son," since he became "elect" and "first born" of the things outside the Pleroma. Note the further application of the name Son in 93.34. It is interesting that in this text the name "Son" is applied to beings on different levels of reality, while the name "Christ" is reserved for the Savior, the fruit of the Pleroma. In Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.5, 3.1) and Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.36.4), the name "Christ" is applied to several different beings.

87.1 *in whom the Totalities are pleased*: Literally "of the good pleasure of the Totalities," probably for the Greek *ἡ εὐδοκία* (Crum 519b). Till ("Beiträge," 211) interprets the form as a verb, "sich erbarmen," but this is quite unlikely. Cf. 93.37.

87.2-3 *put himself on them*: The notion that the Savior puts himself on the Totalities seems strange. The image is, however, appropriate, since the Savior is for the Logos the visible manifestation of the transcendent world of the Pleroma. That manifestation "gives perfection to the defective one." The action of the Savior parallels that of the Son within the Pleroma, who clothes himself with the aeons (66.30-32). In each case a newer level of being or further stage of emanation encompasses or encloses a "deeper" or more transcendent reality. Each successive layer is more concrete, more "visible." Cf. *Interp. Know.* 11.35-38.

87.4 *he gave perfection*: Here there is no specification of the strength given to the aeon outside the Pleroma. In Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5) and Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.32.5) the action of the Savior heals Sophia of her passions. Perhaps this motif has been omitted be-

cause of the attempt to minimize the discontinuity in the process of emanation. Cf. the note to 74.29.

87.5 *and gave confirmation to those who are perfect*: It is unclear who the perfect ones are and what their "confirmation" is. It may be that reference is being made to the aeons of the Pleroma, and that the Savior performs a function similar to that of the lower limit. Cf. 76.33. Note that in Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.1, 1.4.1) the first Christ, son of the Only Begotten (1.2.4), is identified as the Limit and the second Christ, the Fruit of the aeons, is identified as the Savior. Furthermore, unidentified Valentinians in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3 also call the Savior Christ, after his father, who "was sent to make the Pleroma firm and secure." These Valentinians seem to have the same understanding of the role of Christ as does Ptolemy. They possibly understood the Savior to have the same role as his father, Christ. Alternatively, the reference to the "perfect ones" may be prospective, not retrospective. These beings may be the "army" which accompanies the Savior. Cf. 87.20-23.

87.7-10 *savior, etc.*: The fact that the Savior or Fruit of the Pleroma is given numerous subsidiary titles is not unusual. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.2; *Exc. Theod.* 23.1, 35.1; and the anonymous Valentinians mentioned in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3. As *ed. pr.* (I. 358) note, one name conspicuously absent from the list of titles here is "Jesus." That is the only name of the Savior mentioned in the brief report of the system of Valentinus himself in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1. It reappears in the lists of Ptolemy, Hippolytus and Theodotus.

87.8 *the well-pleasing one*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 358) note, Valentinus himself seems to apply the name well-beloved (*ἡγαπημένος*) to the Savior. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 30.27-32, 40.23-25. The title ultimately depends on the application of OT passages (Isa 42:1, Ps 2:7) to Jesus in early Christian tradition (Matt 3:17 and par.). The well pleasing (*εὐδοκητός*) Savior is also the one in whom the Fullness (*πλήρωμα*) of the godhead was pleased (*εὐδόκησεν*) to dwell, according to Col 1:19. This was a text congenial to Valentinian exegetes. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 23.1-2, 31.1 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3, where the specific title *εὐδοκητός* appears.

beloved (Μῆριτ): The normal A² form is Μῆρειτ.

87.9 *the one to whom prayers have been offered*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 303, 359) note, this phrase probably translates the Greek *παράκλητος*, a title for the Savior used by Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5) and in *Exc. Theod.* 23.1.

Christ: This title is applied to the Savior, the fruit of the Pleroma, in Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6); in the anonymous Valentinians of Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.12.3; and in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.36.4. In all these cases, the name is derived from that of the Christ of the Pleroma. Cf. 77.37 and 87.5. See also *Gos. Truth* 18.16; *Val. Exp.* 26.24; 28.33, and Origen, *In Joh.* 6.39, 13.27.

87.10 *those appointed*: These may be the beings who come forth along with the Savior, appointed to aid the Logos and his offspring. Cf. 87.26-30.

87.10-11 *the ones from whom he was brought forth*: The emendation proposed by *ed. pr.*, "the ones from whom he brought them forth," is quite unnecessary. This epithet implies that the Savior is a being of light, like the aeons of the Pleroma which produced him, and like the Son within the Pleroma. Cf. 66.19-20.

87.11-13 *since he has become the names*: The principle is enunciated here whereby the Savior is given the name Son. The same principle of analogous predication operates on other levels of reality. The Son in the Pleroma can be called Father because of his relationship to the aeons (65.11, 32). Likewise, the offspring of the Logos can be given the names of the aeons of the Pleroma because they serve analogous functions in their world. Cf. 70.37-71.7 and 100.24-30.

87.14-15 *as we previously said*: Cf. 86.36-37.

87.15 *knowledge*: The Savior is given the name "Son" because he and he alone provides knowledge of the unknown Father. Cf. the function of the Son in the Pleroma (62.33-38). The equation of the Son with knowledge of the Father, as *ed. pr.* (I. 359) note, is common in Valentinian texts. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 7.1-3, citing Matt 11:27 and John 1:18; and *Gos. Truth* 18.4-5.

87.16 *whom he wanted them to know*: The subject of this relative clause is probably the Son, although the Father too can be said to will

his own revelation. Cf. 62.26-33, 71.35-36, and *Exc. Theod.* 7.1. Heracleon, fr. 31 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.38) teaches that the Son does "the will of the Father," which is "that human beings should know the Father and be saved."

87.17 $\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\iota\omega\eta\eta$: The $\zeta\alpha$ is the perf. I. conjugation base. Cf. Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, #262.

87.19 *which was written previously*: Cf. 86.28.

87.20 *their own*: I.e., their own countenance. The visible manifestation of the aeons will be a plurality, just as that of the Father is one. Cf. line 27.

For ($\chi\epsilon$): This could be the introductory particle used in the text, but the close connection with the following clause suggests that the word is simply a conjunction.

87.21 *who give glory*: The intimate connection between the offering of praise and the productivity of the aeons has frequently been stressed. Cf. 86.12-14.

87.22 *army*: In several versions of the Valentinian myth, the Savior is accompanied by a host. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6, 4.5; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.34.3; *Exc. Theod.* 35.1; and *Val. Exp.* 36.20-33. As *ed. pr.* (I. 359) note, these beings accompanying the Savior are normally understood as the guardian angels or ideal selves of "spiritual" human beings. They stand in the same relationship to humans as the first offspring of the Logos to the Logos. According to the account of the system of Ptolemy in *Exc. Theod.* 64.1, when the spirituals lay aside their souls, they are united with these angels in the "bridal chamber" of the Pleroma. For similar imagery in this text, cf. 122.12-17, 128.33-36. It should, however, be noted that these companions of the Savior are here not themselves the spiritual powers, but rather the archetypes of these powers, whom the Logos later (90.31-32) begets.

87.23 *for him*: I.e., countenance of the Father, the Savior.

87.24 *beings of the thought*: *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate as "remembrance," seeing here an allusion to the remembering by the Logos of the world of the Pleroma. Cf. 81.32. Note, however, the remarks in

81.27. Here, as in 85.22, the “beings of the thought” seem to be the Totalities, or aeons of the transcendent Pleroma.

87.24–26 *fellowship . . . harmony*: Cf. 86.11–14,26.

87.28–29 *might see* (αφανεύ): This is a fut. II, where the conjugation base involves a hyper-subachmimicisim. The Logos “sees” the aeons of the Pleroma through their visual representation, the army of the Savior.

87.31–32 *of which we previously spoke*: Cf. 86.25.

87.33 *subject to the power of the Totalities*: The first sentence of this paragraph seems to stand in tension with the second sentence. The first says that the Savior is under the authority of the Totalities; the second, that the Father placed the Totalities in him, possibly implying that the Savior has authority over them. *Ed. pr.* (I. 303 and 360) suggest that **ΝΙΠΤΗΡῶ** translates not τὰ ὅλα (the Totalities, i.e., the aeons of the Pleroma) but τὰ πάντα (the Universe outside the Pleroma). That the Savior has authority over the Universe is a doctrine with scriptural support (Matt 11:27, 18:18, John 13:3, Col 1:16), and it appears in Valentinian sources: Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; *Exc. Theod.* 43.2; and Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14. It remains unclear, however, how the fact that the Universe is set “in the Savior” explains why he is subject to it. Nor is the difficulty resolved by the possibility that there is a deliberate play here on τὰ ὅλα and τὰ πάντα. For it is also unclear how the fact that the Universe is set “in the Savior” should explain why he is subject to the Totalities.

In fact the tension detected by *ed. pr.* is only apparent. The Totalities set within the Savior govern his future behavior in directing the organization of the non-Pleromatic world by the Logos. The Totalities thus function as the Platonic ideas in the mind of the creator. Cf. 53.28. There remains some ambiguity in the identity of the “Totalities,” because what is “set within the Savior” are not only the pre-existent aeons of the Pleroma, but also things which are and which will be. This ambiguity is, however, understandable, if, in fact, the aeons of the Pleroma serve as archetypes of the non-Pleromatic world.

87.34 *within him*: The *Tri. Trac.* has previously referred to different layers of being or stages of emanation as successive exterior shells

enclosing deeper or more transcendent layers of being. Most recently the text has affirmed that the Savior is the garment enclosing the Totalities or aeons of the Pleroma (87.1-2). Hence it seems most natural to see this line as an expression of the same notion.

87.35 *the ones which pre-exist*: I.e., the aeons of the Pleroma.

87.36 *the ones which are*: These may be the entities the generation of which has most recently been described, the psychic and hylic offspring of the Logos.

the ones which will be: These probably include both the components of the "Pleroma of the Logos" (90.14-15), which is produced after the appearance of the Savior, and the elements of the material world. The affirmation that the Savior contains all things, even things which are to be, probably lays the groundwork for the evaluation of prophecy in the *Tri. Trac.* The appearance of the Savior to the Logos provides him with a vision of all things, including things which are to be (95.17-22). The Logos, thus given the power to prophesy about what will be (97.21-22), then prophesies through the Demiurge (100.35). Finally the Hebrew prophets hear the proclamation of the Savior and proclaim his coming (113.5-14). Similar attempts to validate prophecy as the proclamation of Sophia through the Demiurge may be found in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3, 2.24.3.

88.1 *He was capable*: The subject of this clause, and of what follows is presumably the Father, mentioned in 87.34. For the ability of the Father to reveal himself, cf. 55.33.

88.3 *He did not give them* (ἄπερτετοῦ): τετοῦ is probably a form of † with the object suffix (cf. Till, "Beiträge," 214), and not, as *ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 303) suggest, a form connected with τοῦω, "breast," or with τετε, "sexual organ" (Kasser, *Compléments*, 68b). Cf. 134.5. Note the normal A² form τεετ=Crum 392a). The ἄπερ appears to be the conjugation base of the neg. perf. I, as *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) suggest. Hence the word should be translated "he did not give them." This contrasts with what follows, "he entrusted (them)," which should be translated as a concessive. It might also be a possibility, as *ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest, to take ἄπερ as the preposition plus possessive, literally, "in his giving them," i.e., "when he gave

them." This construction might be an over-literal translation of a Greek articular infinitive.

88.4 *He directed*: The subject here changes, somewhat abruptly. It seems that the Savior, not the Father, directs the organization of the Universe (ΠΤΗΡΩ). Later (95.38–96.16) it becomes clear that it is the Logos who actually effects the organization of the world outside the transcendent Pleroma. This paragraph suggests that the Logos acts as the instrument of the Savior, who has the primary responsibility for the initiation of the salvific "organization." Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5. and *Exc. Theod.* 47.1.

88.5 *according to the authority which was given to him*: There has been no previous mention of this authority.

88.8–10 *the one in whom the Father is, etc.*: The proposed substantivized relative clauses could be resumed by either the subject or object pronoun in ἀφείη (lines 10–11). The translations of *ed. pr.* suggest that the relatives are resumed by the object pronoun. In that case it is unclear to whom the subject pronoun refers. One possibility is the Father, who in 87.34 had been said to place the Totalities in the Savior. This possibility is incompatible with what follows. For although the referents of many of the pronouns in the next paragraph are unclear, it is unlikely that the Father is in view in any of them.

This paragraph as a whole discusses the activity of the Savior in the world outside the Pleroma. Thus it seems likely that he is the subject of this opening sentence. The relative clauses in line 8–10 clearly refer to the Savior who "contains" both the aeons of the Pleroma and the Father, who is within those aeons, as explained above. Cf. 87.34.

The object pronoun remains problematic. In the following sentences the activity of the Savior seems to be directed primarily at the Logos. Yet it is hardly appropriate to say that the Savior creates the Logos. It is possible that the object of the Savior's activity here is his revelation, mentioned in lines 7–8.

Alternatively a simple emendation suggests itself. The verb ἀφείη may be corrupt for the passive ἀγείη. In this case the relative clauses, referring to the Savior, are resumed by the object pronoun, but the Savior remains the logical subject of the paragraph.

88.11–12 *the one who lacked sight*: This is presumably a reference

to the chief Archon (119.19). For his lack of spiritual sight, cf. 100.37-101.5.

88.12 *He instructed him*: Again the pronouns are troublesome. On the understanding of the paragraph adopted here, the subject is the Savior. The object might be taken reflexively, with *ed. pr.* (Eng.), although this is not explicit in the Coptic. Then the Savior would be said to show himself to or for those who search for their sight. The preposition α (=ε) would be unusual here as an equivalent to the dative \mathfrak{N} .

It seems preferable to take the object pronoun as a reference to the one who is instructed, and the prepositional phrase ($\alpha\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\epsilon\mathfrak{I}$, etc.) as a reference to the content of the instruction. In that case, the object pronoun probably refers to the Logos outside the Pleroma.

The fact that the Logos has not been mentioned in the immediate context presents some problems for this interpretation. If the paragraphs in this text are in fact excerpts from a longer text, lack of a referent for the pronoun is understandable.

88.12-13 *those who searched for their sight*: The Savior gives instruction about the aeons of the Pleroma, who have been engaged in the search for the Father. Cf. 61.11-13,24-28; 73.1-8.

The form $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\alpha\mathfrak{Q}\omega\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\epsilon$ is problematic. It seems to be a relative of a pluperfect (= S $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\alpha\mathfrak{Q}\omega\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\epsilon$). The subject of the verb in the relative clause should be plural, to agree with the antecedent $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\epsilon\mathfrak{I}$ and the possessive $\pi\mathfrak{O}\gamma$ -. The traces of the last letter on line 12, however, are more likely from a \mathfrak{Q} than a γ . The text may well be corrupt and in need of emendation to $\epsilon\tau\alpha\mathfrak{N}\alpha\gamma$ -.

88.14 *perfect light*: The Savior's light is but a reflection of the Light provided by the Son to the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. 62.33-34; 66.19-20.

88.15 *he perfected him*: Again, the subject is probably the Savior and the object the Logos. The Logos is "perfected," and his defect removed, by the appearance and revelation of the Savior. Cf. 90.14. As *ed. pr.* (I. 360-61) note, this activity corresponds to the formation of Sophia "according to knowledge" in the system of Ptolemy. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5 and *Exc. Theod.* 44.1; 45.1-46.2.

88.16 *joy*: Cf. 90.23-25; 93.3 and *Gos. Truth* 16.31.

88.18–19 *to each individual*: *Ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 303) suggest that the underlying Greek phrase was τὸ εἰς καθ' εἰς. The translations of all *ed. pr.* reflect this understanding. There are, however, several problems with that suggestion. The Greek is hardly the equivalent of the Coptic. The exact equivalent would be τὸ καθ' ἕνα, a phrase meaning “that in accord with (or pertaining to) each one.” The individuals in question must be the members of the two orders which the Logos engendered outside the Pleroma. The Savior thus provides the Logos with what is needed to perfect each of his offspring.

88.20 *<he> sowed*: The unemended text here (ΑΝΚΙΤΕ) would have to be translated, “we sowed.” The rendering by *ed. pr.* and our own earlier version, “we were sown,” is impossible, since the infinitive cannot have this passive meaning. “We were sown” would be ΑΥCΑΤῆ, *vel sim.*

Valentinian sources regularly use imagery of sowing to describe the spiritual element in human beings which is brought to fruition or actuality through the activity of the revealer or his apostles. Cf. Heracleon, fr. 2 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.21), fr. 36 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.50); Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.34.3–6. In one case, *Exc. Theod.* 41.2, the imagery is deployed in a slightly different way. The spiritual “seeds” are sown in the Savior, who brings them to the Pleroma for purification. In any case, “sowing” always refers to an action which moves from a higher to a lower level on the ontological hierarchy.

The emendation suggested here (ΑΥCΙΤΕ, “he sowed”) maintains that common direction of the sowing activity, although the action takes place at a higher level of reality than is the case in the accounts of Heracleon or Hippolytus. The emendation also removes the anomalous first person reference and results in the preservation of the same pattern used throughout the paragraph, where the actions of the Savior on the Logos are described. For other, less problematic first person references, cf. 124.8–9, 125.3–4, 137.23–25.

88.21 *in him*: The pronoun probably refers to the Logos, who later generates his spiritual offspring. Cf. 90.31–36. That the Logos is involved here is also suggested by the play on logos = word in the next line.

88.22 *a word*: The term logos is applied to the spiritual offspring of the Savior and Sophia, the equivalent of the Logos here, by the

Western Valentinians whose system is recounted in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.34.3-6, and by Heracleon, fr. 2 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.21), as *ed. pr.* (I.361-62) note. Here, what is sown into the Logos by the Savior is the saving Gnosis or revelation, the gradual actualization of which is described in 90.1-13.

88.24 *separate and cast out*: In the Valentinian Sophia myths the appearance of the Savior enables Sophia to cast off from herself her passions (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5). This separation leads immediately to the creation of matter. In the *Tri. Trac.* that stage in creation comes later (104.9-30). The form $\text{ϰ}\text{Ν}\text{ΟΥ}\text{Ζ}\text{Ε}$ is the conjunctive found in this text and no emendation is necessary. Cf. 63.19.

88.25 *those who are disobedient*: These are the "beings of the likeness," whose reaction to the coming of the Savior is described at 89.20-28.

88.26-27 *thus he made himself manifest to him*: This remark concludes the report of the appearance of the Savior to the Logos. The next sentence, beginning with a $\Delta\text{Ε}$ balancing the $\text{Μ}\text{Ε}\text{Ν}$ of 88.26, introduces the discussion of the effect of the Savior on the offspring of the Logos.

88.28 *because of him*: The pronoun again refers to the Logos outside the Pleroma.

88.29 *surpassing* ($\bar{\text{N}}\text{Χ}\text{Ω}\text{Β}\text{Ε}$): *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) read $\bar{\text{N}}\text{Ç}\text{Ω}\text{Β}\text{Ε}$, "in a form of laughter," but the traces of the uncertain letter are much more compatible with the Χ read by *ed. pr.* (Eng.)

88.30 *They acted*: The shift to a plural subject here is abrupt and one might consider an emendation to $\text{Α}\text{Υ}$ -, seeing here a further description of the activity of the Savior. However, the remark about the hostility of the two orders is consistent with the earlier description of their relationship (84.9-16), and it sets the stage for the following statement that the entanglement of the two orders was ended by the appearance of the Savior.

88.30-21 *in a hostile way*: Literally "in a giving of blows."

88.31 *toward one another*: Literally “them.” If the plural subject in **αγειρε** is correct, one would expect **νεγερηγυ** here, but this may be another case of faulty translation.

88.31–32 *suddenly* (<C>**ψνε**): For the emendation, cf. 89.1.

88.34 *entanglement* (**πζημ αβαλ**): The sense of this term is uncertain. Till (“Beiträge,” 220) suggested “hervorspringen.” *Ed. pr.* (I. 304) note other possibilities. *Ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.) associate the word with **ζηομαλμ** (Crum 671a), “be entangled.” Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 47.3 (**την συμπλοκην των δυο ουσίων**). This interpretation seems, in fact, to be the most likely. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) associate the word with **λημ** (Crum 150a), “roar.” Kasser also suggests a derivation from **ζηωμ** (Crum 670a), “louse, mite, flea,” to be construed as a parallel to **ββρηβε**. Cf. also 110.6; 111.18.

The “separation” of the hylic and psychic orders is a standard feature of the cosmogony of the Valentinian Sophia myth. In the account of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.2) this separation is not effected directly by Sophia, but by her offspring, the Demiurge. The “separation” involves first the removal of the misbegotten offspring from their begetter. They then become the source of the material world. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5 and the *Tri. Trac.* 89.21–34.

89.1 **[[α]]β[[αλ]]**: The scribal deletion of the three letters in this word, with supralinear dots, was no doubt erroneous.

89.6 *appearance* (**πφβα**): *Ed. pr.* read **πιψβα**, where the **ψ** is written above the line. What appears above the line is, however, blotting from p. 88. The meaning of the word in the text is uncertain. Perhaps it is to be connected with **τχαιο**, **χαιο**, “appear” (Crum 462b).

89.6–7 *struck* (**† ερογν αρεγ**): Cf. 58.38.

89.7–8 *an assault*: Allusion had been made to the disturbance of the two orders produced by the Logos in 78.27–28. Cf. also the description of the coming of the word as a two-edged sword in *Gos. Truth* 25.35–26.27.

89.9 *the beings of thought*: These are the psychics, who derive from the Logos' thought of the Pleroma. Cf. 81.30-82.9.

89.10 *"little one"*: Here, apparently, the "little ones" are those who have not yet become mature (*τέλειος*) through their acceptance of revelation and their confession (89.15-19). Similarly, according to *Interp. Know.* 14.28-29, the Savior "became very small," so that the "great Son" might reach and save his "little brothers." *Gos. Phil.* 57.28-35 describes how the Savior accommodates his revelation, appearing "to the great as great," and "to the little as little." Although the disciples initially are "little," he made them "great, so that they might be able to see him in his greatness" (58.8-10).

Ed. pr. (I. 362) note various attributions of the designation "little," to the Demiurge in Heracleon (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60); to the "lesser Jahweh" in Jewish texts such as *3 Enoch* 12.5 and *PS* 7; and to Wisdom or Achamoth in *Gos. Phil.* 60.15.

so (ζωc): This is correlative with ἄπλητε in line 8.

89.11 *a faint notion*: Literally "a little thought." Cf. the experience of the aeons of the Pleroma in 61.8-18. They too were given a name, "father," because of which they began to suspect the existence of the transcendent Father who then reveals himself. The psychics here are given a name which provides them some inkling of the existence of the exalted Savior who is to make his appearance.

they have the exalted one: The lack of the object marker here ($\bar{\nu}$) is unusual, but not completely unparalleled in this text. Cf. 51.32; 53.11; 131.5. The "exalted one" in this passage must be the Savior. Cf. line 15.

89.12 *He exists before them*: This phrase is to be understood as a parenthetical remark, possibly correcting a potential error in the statement that the psychic powers have the "exalted one." Alternatively, the emendation of *ed. pr.* (εϞϞοοπ) is possible. This makes the phrase a concessive clause, "although he exists before them."

89.12-13 *they have sown within them*: The verb here apparently continues εϞντεϞ after ζωc in line 10. The emendation of *ed. pr.* adding an object pronoun to εϞντεϞ is unnecessary. The object is

ἄπρόβῃειωρῃ. The form and position of εὔσιτε, however, are problematic. εὔ may be for εοῦ, thus “they have for something sown in them” (= εἰς σπαρτὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς). Cf. 89.19. Alternatively the word could be emended to the singular εὔσιτε. The position of the circumstantial, modifying πρόβῃειωρῃ, may be understood as a reproduction of the Greek order.

89.15 *Therefore*: The psychic powers welcome the appearance of the Savior because of their predisposition of amazement. Note the parallels in the human world. The spiritual race welcomes the appearance of the Savior immediately (119.28–34). The psychic race consists of those who delay. A part of it achieves salvation in the same way as the spiritual race, by ultimately recognizing the Savior (119.24–120.8).

89.18 *witnesses*: Note that psychics in the human world are appointed to proclaim the coming of the Savior (120.8–11).

convinced (ἄγνωμη): This word should be taken as an attribute with ἄμῃτρε. Various meanings are possible. ἄγνωμη in the *Tri. Trac.* frequently means “opinion,” referring to a mental state which is viewed rather negatively because it is seen as unstable. Cf. 81.18, 23; 83.30,32; 115.20; 130.29. Such connotations may be present here as well. Then these psychic powers would be witnesses characterized by their mere opinion about the Savior. The term can, however, be used in a more positive way, connoting “intent,” “resolve,” or “set purpose” (cf. LSJ, 354b, III.5). In the *Tri. Trac.*, cf. 86.31, 131.32. Such a positive use of the term seems more appropriate here, since no qualifications are made about the psychic powers’ witness to the Savior, and they readily acknowledge his superiority. The term γνώμη can also be applied to an individual’s free will (Lampe, 317b, C.3). That would be an appropriate meaning here (i.e., “they became willing witnesses”), although this usage is not found in the other occurrences of the word in the *Tri. Trac.*

89.20 *those who fought against them*: These are the hylic powers. Cf. 84.8–11 and 88.31–32.

89.21 *afraid*: All the offspring of the Logos are struck with fear at the appearance of the Savior. Cf. lines 4–5 above. The psychic powers are able to overcome their fear. The hylic powers simply fall in fear. Cf. line 24.

89.22 *since they were not able to hear*: The hylic powers did not have the advantage of the psychic powers of a name giving them some intimation of one higher than them. Contrast lines 8-15 above.

89.24 *they fell*: Because the hylic powers simply fall at the appearance of the Savior, the separation of the two orders results. Cf. 88.24. The result is a hierarchy established among the offspring of the Logos. Cf. 99.19-110.18.

89.25 *pit of ignorance*: The apparently ordered hierarchical world of archontic powers is the world of ignorance and real disorder (chaos).

πϵ: The copula here is quite superfluous. Cf. 80.25 for a similarly otiose πϵ. *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) suggest an emendation which would eliminate the anomaly, although it may be simpler to delete the word as a scribal error.

89.26 *outer Darkness*: Cf. Matt 8:12, 22:13, 25:30.

89.33 *theirs*: The world of darkness belongs to the hylic powers, just as it is alien to the true offspring of the Logos. Cf. 78.7 and Origen, *In Joh.* 13.16, 20.24.

89.35 *be of use*: The function of the hylic powers in the organization of the cosmos is described in 100.12-18 and 102.27-104.2.

89.36 After the last word on this line the scribe has written a series of S-shaped strokes as a line filler. This line filler does not indicate a break in the text. Apparently the scribe simply decided not to crowd anything more on the page. As it is, the letters on the last line are much smaller than usual.

90.1 *to which he had assigned them*: The phrase is quite obscure. Literally it would be translated "that in regard to which he forgot them." *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) suggest that this is equivalent to "qu'il a établie à leur insue," and *ed. pr.* (Ger.) translate "die er ohne Rücksicht auf sie vorbereitet hat." Neither of these suggestions accurately renders the Coptic. The text is probably corrupt and the emendation suggested by Schenke (ϵΝΤΑϞΤΑΨΟΥ) has been adopted here.

90.2 *of the one who came into being* (ἄΠΕΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ): The syntax

and the identity of the being referred to here are problematic. The $\bar{\text{m}}$ could mark either a genitive or a dative. If it marks a genitive, then the “one who came into being” would be the Savior; “the one who was defective” would be the Logos, and “the things which are to come, etc.” would be the offspring of the Logos. This list of characters would be appropriate to the discussion that follows, where the effects of the Savior’s appearance on the Logos (lines 4–10) is contrasted with his effect on the offspring (lines 10–13). Then the text of line 3 stands in need of emendation and an m indicating the dative is required. See the next note. Alternatively the $\bar{\text{m}}$ in $\bar{\text{m}}\text{p}\epsilon\tau\omega\text{p}\epsilon$ could be the mark of the dative. Then “the one who came into being” would be the same as the “defective one,” i.e., the Logos. The identification of “the things which are to come, etc.” would remain the same. The lack of any reference in this reading to the Savior, the subject of the following sentence, suggests that the first interpretation is preferable.

90.3 *to* ($\text{m}\{\bar{\text{m}}\}$): This conjunction seems to coordinate what follows with what precedes. If the interpretation of the sentence suggested in the previous note is correct, this coordination cannot have been original. The first $\text{m}\bar{\text{m}}$ may well have been an error for an m indicating the dative.

90.4 *he revealed himself to him*: The Savior revealed himself to the Logos, from within, gradually. Thus the Savior in his relationship to the Logos imitates the activity of the Son within the Totalities. Cf. 92.17–21.

within him: Note that the Son is within the Totalities. Cf. 66.30.

90.6 *fellow sufferer*: Note that the Son “labors” or “suffers” with the Totalities (65.12,21), as the Savior suffers with those outside the Pleroma (113.34, 114.32–33). According to *Val. Exp.* (34.34), both Sophia and Jesus (her syzygy) suffered.

90.7 *little by little*: That the revelation of the Father within the Pleroma is a gradual process is the import of the metaphors of the “path” and the “scent” used to describe the relationship of the Father to the Totalities. Cf. 71.19, 72.6.

90.7–8 *makes him grow*: Note that the Son gives “nourishment” to the aeonic “seeds.” Cf. 65.19.

90.9 *completely*: The translation follows *ed. pr.* (Eng.), as opposed to *ed. pr.* (Fr.) “finalment” and (Ger.) “immer.” Cf. Crum 36a and, in this text, 67.7. For the meaning “forever,” for $\omega\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda$, cf. 61.31, 120.29.

enjoyment: Cf. 65.19, 88.20.

90.10-11 *those who are outside*: Cf. 89.27.

90.11 *quickly*: Cf. 88.31, 89.1.

90.12 *in a striking way*: Cf. 78.27-28, 89.8.

withdrew . . . suddenly: Note the withdrawal of the Father from the Logos at 76.31. For the form $\text{C}\epsilon\text{ZHT}\eta$, cf. 64.33.

9. The Pleroma of the Logos (90.14-95.38)

The remainder of the first part of the *Tri. Trac.* records the results of the appearance of the Savior. The discussion first focuses on the reaction of the Logos, who produces yet another order of beings, his Pleroma, consisting of images of the host accompanying the Savior. These are the spiritual powers. The immediate reaction of the Logos to the Savior, which had already been mentioned, is again recounted and the detail is added that the Logos produces “images of the living forms” (90.14-91.6). The Logos is then said to express gratitude for the aid which he has received. This thanksgiving provides stability to his offspring (91.7-91.32). Attention then shifts again to the Savior, who is the source of the perfection of the new offspring of the Logos (91.33-92.21). The Pleroma of the perfect offspring of the Logos may be called by a variety of names and these are now listed (92.22-93.13). Next the text discusses the status of this Pleroma or aeon, which is above the two orders produced earlier (93.14-19) and which can also be termed both Son and Church (93.20-94.23). The Pleroma of the Logos is perfect in contrast to other copies of the transcendent Pleroma (94.23-95.16). This section of the text ends with a summary of the productive activity of the Logos initiated by the Savior (95.17-38).

90.14 *Logos*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 363) identify the Logos here with the Savior. If this were the case, it would be the first time the Savior has been called the Logos. The Savior is the fruit of all the aeons of the transcendent Pleroma, produced because of the activity of the first off-

this does not seem to fit the attestations cited by Crum and Kasser. The translation here follows the suggestion of Kasser.

90.23 *rejoiced*: *Ed. pr.* note the motif of Sophia's rejoicing (ἡγαλλιάσατο) at the appearance of the Savior in *Exc. Theod.* 44.1. Cf. also the system of Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5.

90.24 *visitation*: The Greek word may also mean "care, oversight." The "visitation" refers to the appearance to the Logos of the Savior and angelic army. Cf. 87.26-30; 88.14,26-27.

90.26-27 *He gave glory*: Like the Logos here, Sophia worships those who came to save her in *Exc. Theod.* 44.1. Note also the response of the spiritual type of human being to the appearance of the Savior in the world (118.33).

90.29 *admired and honored*: The combination of the two nouns linked by μῆ with the prenominal form of εἶπε is unusual. The construction is probably developed in the analogy of the combination of several objects of a verb like †. Cf. lines 25-26.

greatness: This has been commonly treated as a quality of the Father. Cf. 52.26, 54.20, 55.2, etc. Here it is applied to the aeons of the Pleroma and to their fruit.

90.30-31 *in a determined way* (ἑν ὁρισμῷ): Translation of this phrase is difficult, as the divergences among *ed. pr.* indicate: "volontairement," "in einer Bestimmung" and "because of a decree." The first alternative may be eliminated. Perhaps *ed. pr.* (Fr.) intended to emend to ἑν ὁρισμῷ. The other alternatives are inexact and do not suggest what the phrase might refer to.

The term ὁρισμῷ is used in several senses in the *Tri. Trac.* As a verb, it can be used: (1) in a general way of something fixed, limited or determined (54.27, 76.34); (2) of the appointment of particular beings for specific tasks (87.10; 95.33,34; 107.27; 117.7); and (3) of something which is predetermined or destined for a specific end (77.10, 88.22, 118.13). As a noun, ὁρισμῷ can be used: (1) for a synonym for ὅρος (85.24, cf. the use of the verb for "setting" the limit in 76.34); (2) as a general term for conditions or qualities (80.31, 103.28, cf. the use of διαθετικῶς in 58.14, 81.4, etc.); (3) of the set character or

quality of certain situations (84.13, 88.19), and of the substances which make up the human soul (106.8-10, 107.14, 119.23). Usages 2 and 3 are closely related, but there is no technical sense involved and no reference to a "decree." (4) The term does seem to be used in a more technical sense when it appears absolutely as a reference to the determination of the whole world outside the transcendent Pleroma (91.30, 92.28). This usage is surely related to the use of the verb in connection with the production of that world (77.10, 118.13). Note also the reference to the Father's command in 76.11-12. (5) Finally, $\tau\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ is used in adverbial expressions (90.31, 101.5), again describing the quality of the production of the world which has come about according to the Father's will. Cf. 76.27-30.

90.31 *He generated...images*: The Logos now produces the spiritual powers, modeled after the Savior and his companions. As *ed. pr.* (I. 363-64) note, this episode is paralleled in various versions of the Valentinian Sophia myth. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; 5.1; 13.6; and *Exc. Theod.* 40. On the sense of $\zeta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$, cf. 78.32-34.

90.32 *visages*: Cf. 87.17-22.

90.37 *with him*: The pronoun refers to the Savior. The following phrase makes explicit the identity of both the parties to the "agreement."

the one who brought them forth: I.e., the Logos.

91.1 *the one who revealed himself*: I.e., the Savior.

91.3 *he acts*: The subject of this sentence, the Savior, is different from that of the rest of the paragraph. The sentence may be a parenthetical remark, occasioned by the reference to the Savior in line 1. It offers a correction to the remark that the new offspring of the Logos are not from an agreement between the Savior and the Logos. Despite that lack of explicit agreement, which causes the inferiority of the spiritual powers to those of which they are images, the Savior is intimately connected with the Logos in his productive activity. He provides the Logos with the wisdom and knowledge which guarantees that the spiritual powers imitate the greatness of their models.

91.8 *the ones who had appeared*: The emendation of the relative to

a plural form is more likely than the emendation of the demonstrative to a singular, because of the multiplicity of the beings who appeared to the Logos. Cf. 87.17-26.

91.9 **πει†**: Traces of two letters appear after the **πε**. Hence the reading **πεγ** of *ed. pr.* is excluded. The emendation of *ed. pr.* of **π** to **†** is now unnecessary.

91.12 *for the stability*: This passage emphasizes the “stabilizing” aspect of the salvation provided by the Savior. Just as the Son provided confirmation (**ταχρο**) to the aeons of the Pleroma (65.7), the Savior confirms the perfect ones outside the Pleroma (87.5). The Logos himself is enabled by the Savior to return to stability (**σμινε**) in his thought (92.23) and he in turn now provides his offspring the stability which they had lacked (80.17). Later (128.19) baptism is called the “confirmation (**ταχρο**) of the truth.” The importance of this language of stability in Valentinian soteriology is discussed at length by M. Williams, “The Nature and Origin of the Gnostic Concept of Stability” (Diss. Harvard, 1977) esp. 37-69. Note e.g., the striking usage in the Valentinian initiation formula in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3: **ἐστήριγμαὶ καὶ λελύτρωμαι**. Williams demonstrates that this language ultimately derives from the Platonic tradition where the stability of the ideal world was contrasted with the mutability of the phenomenal world.

91.15 *organization*: Cf. 77.3.

91.16 *those who came forth* (**ἄνεταξεῖ**): *Ed. pr.* (I. 305) tentatively suggest that the form has been improperly corrected from a future relative (**ἄνετναεῖ**). The text as it stands is perfectly sound. It refers to the beings whom the Logos has already produced.

91.17 *it might make them established* (**ἀτρεστεραγ**): The antecedent of the feminine pronoun is the “organization.” The object of the “establishing” activity are the various offspring of the Logos. Thus, they receive their “stability” when they are given a definite place in the hierarchical organization of the non-Pleromatic world. Cf. lines 23-25.

91.18-19 *intentionally*: The emendation of *ed. pr.* (Ger.) is quite

unnecessary. Those intentionally produced are the spiritual offspring of the Logos (90.31-32), as contrasted with those who spontaneously came into being, the psychic and hylic offspring. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 41.1-2.

91.19 *chariots*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 364) note, the Demiurge in the Plato, *Tim.* 41E also makes the souls which he fashions climb aboard chariots (ὄχημα), which are no doubt astral bodies. Cf. also *Phaedr.* 247B. For further discussion of the astral body or chariot of the soul in the Platonic tradition, cf. E. R. Dodds, *Proclus, The Elements of Theology* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 313-21; H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles*, 178-84. The Platonic developments are also discussed by the *ed. pr.* of the *Apocryphon of James (Epistula Jacobi Apocrypha)* [Zürich/Stuttgart: Rascher, 1968] 76, commenting on *Ap. Jas.* 14.34). They also note the Jewish *merkabah* speculation and various Jewish and Christian representations of the "fiery chariot" mentioned in the text of the *Ap. Jas.* These notions seem to be less relevant to the reference to chariots here in the *Tri. Trac.* than are the passages from the Platonic tradition.

91.20 *those who came into being*: This is probably a reference to the psychic and hylic orders. Thus all three types of offspring of the Logos are said to be installed in chariots. As the following lines explain, each power has a chariot so that he might travel to his proper place in the celestial hierarchy. The spiritual offspring of the Logos have a further need of such chariots to carry them through the celestial hierarchy because they will ultimately appear in the material world. Cf. 95.10,31-38; 114.31-115.2. *Ed. pr.* (I. 372) note a possible parallel in the reference in Heracleon, fr. 36 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.50) to the "angels of the οἰκονομία" who function as mediators in the process of salvation.

91.25 *This*: The pronoun refers to the whole process by which each power is given its proper place. This is destruction for the hylic powers because they are set lower in the hierarchy than the psychic powers. Likewise, the psychic powers are benefitted by their higher position.

91.26 *beings of the likeness*: It is a mistake to see here, with *ed. pr.* (I. 364-65), a reference to three classes of *human beings*. In the whole

of the first part of the *Tri. Trac.* there is discussion only of the powers produced by the Logos. All these powers constitute an intermediary world. They are outside the Pleroma, but are not yet involved in the phenomenal, human world. Formation of that world is a separate episode in the account of creation. Cf. 104.31-106.31.

91.27 *beings of the thought*: Cf. 81.30-82.9 and 89.9.

91.29-30 *from the ordinance*: For the meaning of $\tau\omega\upsilon\epsilon$, cf. the note to 90.30-31. Those who are from the ordinance are the members of the newest order produced by the Logos, the order of spiritual powers. It might also be possible to understand the term in the sense used at 85.24. Thus the revelation would be "of those outside the Pleroma."

91.31 *suffering*: Like the Son and the Savior (65.12, 90.6), the spiritual offspring of the Logos suffer.

seeds: The spiritual powers are all "seeds" or potentialities, given actuality by the activity of the Savior which is next described (92.10). Thus the process by which the spiritual offspring of the Logos are produced replicates the process by which the aeons of the Pleroma were produced. They, too, first existed potentially, in the mind of the Father (60.1-5), and are then brought into independent, actual existence (60.5-11, 34-37; 61.28-33). Cf. *Val. Exp.* 35.12-33.

91.33 *the one who appeared*: This is the Savior.
countenance: Cf. 86.28.

91.35 *garment*: Cf. 66.30-32, 87.2-3, and *Interp. Know.* 11.35-38.

food: Cf. 55.15. The Savior provides nourishment for the spiritual "seeds" produced by the Logos, by revealing to them the transcendent world of the Pleroma.

91.37 *praying and <giving> glory* ($\epsilon\psi\tau\omega\upsilon\beta\zeta \epsilon\psi\chi\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\gamma$): There has been no mention of the Logos receiving glory during the course of the appearance of the Savior. On the contrary, he gives glory to those who aided him (90.25-27). Hence the second circumstantial should probably be emended from $\chi\iota$ to \uparrow .

92.3 *that he might perfect them*: The object pronoun apparently refers to the "ones to whom he (*scil.* the Logos) prayed." These must

be the companions of the Savior (87.17-26). How the Logos is to perfect these beings is unclear. One might suppose that he would aim at perfecting his latest offspring, the spiritual powers, which now exist only as "seeds" (91.31). Perhaps the passage is meant to suggest that the perfection of the companions of the Savior consists in the actual existence of their "images."

The process by which something attains "perfection" has been mentioned several times in earlier passages. The process involves realization of the existence of the transcendent world and a response to that realization, consisting of the offering of glory. When one glorifies, one produces, and the first product is one's own actual existence. Cf. 61.3-11, 62.26-30, 67.31-33, 69.20-24.

92.6 *their mutual assistance*: The beings added here are the spiritual offspring of the Logos, who, like the aeons of the Pleroma (70.23), cooperate with one another and act in harmony. Note also that at least a relative harmony characterizes the psychic powers. (83.31-33).

92.7 *hope*: This is also a characteristic of the aeons of the Pleroma (71.25) and is something provided to the beings outside the Pleroma by the Savior (85.14, 93.3). The content of the promise is, however, unclear.

92.8 *joy*: The appearance of the Savior perfected the Logos and gave him "ineffable joy" (88.16).

rest: This is another characteristic of the world of the Pleroma. Cf. 58.36, 70.18, and 90.20.

92.10 *whom he remembered at first*: These must be the spiritual offspring of the Logos, who have up to now existed only "as seeds," i.e., only potentially, in the thought of the Logos. Cf. 91.31.

92.13-14 These two lines repeat lines 10-11 and are certainly a dittography. The scribe cancelled four groups of letters, $\alpha\chi\pi\theta$ $\bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon$, $\bar{\mu}\pi\theta\upsilon$, $\gamma\epsilon$, and $\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\rho$, but he probably intended to delete the whole phrase.

92.15 *he exists* ($\epsilon\varphi\omega\sigma\theta\iota$): This has been taken as a pres. II, with

ed. pr. (Eng.). It could also be taken as a circumstantial, which could modify either “the one who belongs to the vision” or “him.”

92.16 *as much as the Totalities* (Ϡλ ΝΙΠΤΗΡῶ): *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) translate this phrase adverbially (“completely,” “absolutely”), as a modifier of “perfect.” *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) are content with a literal translation (“bis zu den Allheiten”), which does not explain the relation of the phrase to its context. Here the phrase is understood as involving an ellipse. The Logos has hope and faith in the Father up to the aeons of the Pleroma, i.e., to the degree that the aeons of the Pleroma do. For the hope of those aeons, cf. 71.25; for their faith, cf. 71.23.

92.17 *He appears to him*: The Savior, as “the one who belongs to the vision” of line 14, appears to the Logos.

92.18 *mingles*: For a discussion of similar cases of “mingling,” which occur all along the great chain of being, cf. the note to 65.22. Recall that the Savior revealed himself to the Logos gradually and from within (90.4-7) and mixes with him entirely (91.3-4).

92.19 *might not perish*: The Savior takes the same care for the offspring of the Logos as the Father had taken for the aeons of the Pleroma. Sudden revelation of the transcendent can destroy the recipients (64.28-37).

92.19-20 *looking upon the light* (ΠΙΘΩΨῆ ἈΧΩϞ ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΛΕΙΝΕ): Cf. 77.18. The Coptic phrase is awkward. Literally it means “the looking upon him of the light.” The text could be emended to ἈΧΩΟΥ (“on them”), or the phrase ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΛΕΙΝΕ may be taken as a resumption of the object pronoun in ἈΧΩϞ. The phrase is understood thus be *ed. pr.*

92.22 *The thought of the Logos* (ΠΙΜΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΝΔΕ ΠΛΟΥΟϞ): This section of the *Tri. Trac.* has been devoted primarily to a discussion of the new order of beings which the illuminated and stabilized Logos has produced. The last two paragraphs constituted a slight digression on the Savior, the ultimate source of the excellence of that new order. The reference to the “thought of the Logos” at the start of this new

paragraph seems to introduce a new element into the discussion. This shift, however, is only apparent. The discussion clearly returns to the new order of being in 93.14. In fact, the remarks on the thought of the Logos already continue the remarks on the new order of spiritual powers; for these powers are simply the external manifestation of the stabilized thought of the Logos. This is clear from the reference to these powers as seeds. Cf. the note to 91.31.

92.24 *ruled*: The same affirmation is made of the spiritual order in 93.15.

92.25 *because of him* (ΕΤΒΗΤῸ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 305) claim that τ and β are written over a π, but this is not the case. The two letters are ligatured as they are in ΕΤΒΕ in line 35.

92.26 *Aeon*: Note the designation of the spiritual order as an aeon in 93.14,22.

92.29–30 *Synagogue of Salvation*: There is a play here on the words “synagogue” (=gathering together) and “dispersal” in the next line. *Ed. pr.* (I. 366) note the same play in Porphyry, *Ad Marcellam* 10, and, less clearly, in Heracleon, fr. 32 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.41). Unity is once again seen as the primary characteristic of the divine world and of those in harmony with it. Cf. *Interp. Know.* 18.24–26, and *Exc. Theod.* 36.1–2.

92.30 *he healed him (self)* (αϑταλλβοϑ): This could also be translated he (i.e., the Savior) healed him (i.e., the Logos), as *ed. pr.* (Eng., I. 305) note.

92.34–35 *Storehouse . . . rest*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 366) note the same association in Heracleon, fr. 32 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.41). The fragment comments on John 4:35, which is interpreted allegorically of the process of salvation. That allegory also makes use of the image of “sowing” in the text of John 4. Such imagery is prominent in the *Tri. Trac.*, where salvation on all levels of being is seen as realization of the divine potentiality sown within all beings. The reference to the “storehouse” could also be an allusion to Matt 3:12, 13:30 and Luke 3:17, and 12:18, as noted by *ed. pr.* (Fr., I. 306).

93.1 *bride*: In this designation of the Pleroma of the spiritual pow-

ers there is the first reference to the imagery of the bridal chamber which figures prominently in the soteriological discussions later in the text. Cf. 122.15-24, 128.33, 135.31-33, 138.9-10.

93.2 *joy*: Cf. 88.16, 90.23-25, 93.8.

93.2-3 *the one who gave himself*: This is the Savior, who "mingled" with the Logos. Cf. 91.3-4, 92.18. That "mingling" is said in 91.4-6 to be the source of the greatness of the spiritual offspring of the Logos.

93.3 *fruit from the union*: The Savior himself was the "fruit" of the harmony of the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. 86.25, 87.31-32. The purpose of his union with the Logos is here made clear. It was to produce yet further "fruit," i.e., an expression on a lower level of being of the harmony and unanimity of the divine world. Note that in *Val. Exp.* 36.29-34 the will of the Father is said to be "not to allow anything to happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy" and to "always produce and bear fruit."

93.6 *stability*: Cf. 58.36, 92.33.

93.7 *fought*: The preposition is probably a form of $\alpha\zeta\tau\eta$, A (Crum 23b), meaning "against." Cf. 98.25, 119.20.

93.10 *light*: Light is a characteristic of the transcendent Pleroma (62.5), is equivalent to the Son (66.19), and is provided to the Logos by the Savior (90.14).

93.11 *recompense*: The light which the Savior provides is a response to the prayer of the Logos and his thought about the Pleroma. The Logos has enough of the divine within him to make the first move toward separation from his offspring and reintegration into the Pleroma. Cf. 81.22-35, 85.15-18.

93.13 *thought of freedom*: Freedom of the will was a quality of the individual aeons of the Pleroma (69.26, 74.21). That freedom provided them the ability to act as does the Logos. His freedom in turn is the basis for the freedom of individuals in this world to respond to the Savior's revelation. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) suggest that the phrase may also be translated "intégrité" or "irreprochabilité," following Till ("Beiträge," 222-23), who translates $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ as "unbescholten."

Given the parallels within this text, such a meaning seems inappropriate here.

93.14 *The Aeon*: This is the newly-begotten spiritual order. Cf. 90.15, 92.26. Its position above the realms of psychic authority and material weakness is the paradigm for spiritual human beings who must be free of involvement in the corresponding human spheres.

93.15 *two orders* ({ΔΙΑ}ΤΑΓΜΑ): For the emendation adopted here, cf. 99.20–21. ΔΙΑ may be an erroneous translation of δύο.

93.18 *not implicated in the illnesses* (ἄν'νατ'ωζ' μῆν νιϋινε): The supralinear stroke over the μ in μῆν suggests, as *ed. pr.* (I. 306) note, that the copyist may have understood the word division to be νατ'ωζ'μ ἄν'νιϋινε, i.e., “not summoned to sicknesses.” However, the articulation mark after ζ may be an attempt to correct that interpretation. τωζ μῆν, “to be mixed with,” is idiomatic Coptic. Cf. Crum 454a.

93.19 *thought*: For this alternative designation of the psychic order of “representations” (εἶνε), cf. 81.27; 82.15,20–21; 83.2; 84.24–28.

93.20 *set himself*: The Logos relates to his Pleroma much as the Son related to the Totalities. Cf. 58.34–59.1.

93.22 *aeon*: This is the “place of joy” (98.26) or the “aeon of the images” (122.25–26), which is the initial destination of psychic human beings. In Valentinian sources it is also referred to as the Ogdoad (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3), which is above the Hebdomad, where the Demiurge dwells (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4). That distinction of Ogdoad from Hebdomad is, of course, commonplace in pre-Valentinian gnosticism. Cf., e.g., Basilides in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.23.7, 25.4; the account of the Barbeloites in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.29.4; *CH* 1.26; *Eugnostos* 87.1; and *Hyp. Arch.* 95.20–34. *Val. Exp.* 41.29–38 makes a contrast between “the aeon” and the cosmos. As *ed. pr.* (I. 381) note, the Gnostics combatted by Plotinus held that there was a place, a “new land,” to which they would depart (*Enn.* 2.9.5), which was the “model of the world” (παράδειγμα κόσμου).

93.23–24 *matter . . . cause*: The Coptic φωβ is probably an unusual

translation of ὕλη. This pair of terms was regularly used in Stoic philosophy to differentiate the two basic categories of ontology. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, 7.134, on Zeno; Seneca, *Ep.* 65.2; and the other attestations of this doctrine in *SVF* I. 85-87. Cf. also Philo. *Op. mun.* 8. According to Stoic doctrine, both the active "cause" and passive "matter" were material.

93.25 *the one who revealed himself*: This is a reference to the Savior, whose appearance was the cause (λαεϊβε) of the new spiritual order. That order has a "constitution" derived from its cause.

(*The aeon was*) *an image* (εγζικων πε): The Coptic here has a circumstantial "being an image," which must modify not "the one who revealed himself," but the aeon (line 22) in which the Logos "set himself." Here the technical term ζικων for the spiritual order is used. Cf. 78.32-34 and 90.31.

93.27 *abundance*: Cf. 53.13 and 59.37.

93.29 *joyously*: Cf. 55.16 and 59.31.

93.29-30 *the Countenance*: Just as the Savior is the visible manifestation of the transcendent Pleroma (86.38, 91.33), so the spiritual order which he causes the Logos to produce is his visible manifestation.

93.31 *was in the sincerity*: For the construction here, cf. 61.18-20.

93.33 *he asked*: The pronoun refers to the Logos. For his prayer, cf. 86.11, 87.29-30.

93.34 *son*: The new aeon, which is the spiritual order and the visible manifestation of the Savior (line 30), has the same designation as he does. Cf. 86.36-37. In each case, of course, the name is derivative from that of the true Son who is within the Pleroma.

93.36 *whom he loved* (εταφουωψε <ἄμαρ>): Perhaps there is a play here on "his beloved Son" (πωηρε ἄτε πογωψε ἄτεφ), the designation of the Savior in 86.37 and 87.14. The subject pronoun of this relative clause probably refers to the Savior.

93.37 *in whom he was pleased*: Once again the spiritual order replicates the experience of the Savior. The Totalities were pleased with him (87.1). Likewise he is pleased with the spiritual order.

94.1 *entreated in a loving way*: Cf. 85.33-37.

94.3-6 *it was... the exalted ones*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 306) suggest that the text should be understood as ΟΥΝΤΕΥ ΟΥΟΥΩΡΖ ΛΥΣΒΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΧΑΣΕ... ΟΥΝΤΕΥ ΟΥΘ̄ΝΕΥ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΕΥ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΧΑΣΕ, etc.; "He has an openness... he has an eye." Given their understanding of the paragraph, the subject here would be the Logos. The syntax of the sentence as it stands is quite satisfactory. The qualities enumerated are attributes of the spiritual offspring of the Logos.

94.7 *his thinking*: The possessive pronoun here refers to the Logos, for whom the new spiritual aeon provides all the benefits listed in the first lines of this page. It serves this function because it is an image of the Pleroma. Cf. 93.5-6, 11-15.

94.7-8 *things beneath the organization*: This phrase implies that there is a distinction between the "organization" of powers which proceeded from the Logos and the material world.

94.8 *word*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 366) suggest that this term is a designation for the Savior, not the Logos. In fact, it is a name for the new spiritual aeon which is the subject of this whole paragraph. That aeon takes the name of the Logos, who set himself up in it (93.20-21), much as it also took the name Son, ultimately from the Son in the Pleroma and immediately from the Savior (93.34).

94.10-11 *these who took form with him*: The being with whom the spiritual powers take form is the Logos. Thus he is provided with a set of companions, just as the Savior was given an army to accompany him (87.17-26). Both groups constitute the archetypes on this level of being for the Church in the material world.

94.11-12 *image of the Pleroma*: Note the technical term for the spiritual order. Cf. 78.32-34, 90.31-32. The Pleroma referred to here is not the new spiritual Pleroma of the Logos (90.15), but the transcendent world of which this new Pleroma is the image.

94.13-14 $\alpha\eta$ [α] $\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta$: Zandee suggests that these letters might also be read $\alpha\pi\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon\eta$, but the trace at the end of line 13 cannot be a π .

94.15 *faces* ($\eta\iota\zeta\omicron$): These "faces" are the visible countenances generated by the aeons of the Pleroma, which constitute the army of the Savior (87.20, 90.32).

94.16 *maleness*: Recall that the Logos' true self which reascended into the Pleroma was his "virile component," which abandoned the Logos outside the Pleroma, which was his weak, "female" component. Cf. 78.8-13.

The relationship between the comments of the *Tri. Trac.* on the sexual characteristics of the spiritual powers and similar comments in other Valentinian sources requires some clarification, since *ed. pr.* (I. 366) note that the designation "male" seems unusual. Valentinian sources regularly maintain that the creation of the psychic and material spheres is the result of the weak, female Sophia. Cf. Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.4 and *Exc. Theod.* 67.4. The *Tri. Trac.* is in agreement with that notion because, as the next line on this page affirms, everything apart from the spiritual order was a product of the "female" component of the Logos. Cf. also 78.11. Valentinian sources also maintain that the spiritual offspring of Sophia are superior to her psychic and hylic offspring, since they are produced from a harmonious union of masculine and feminine elements. Thus, Sophia produces spiritual beings when she comes into relation with the Savior (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; *Val. Exp.* 35.10-36.38), while those whom she produces in isolation from him are "incomplete," "abortions," "children of the female" (*Exc. Theod.* 68). In the *Tri. Trac.* the spiritual offspring of the Logos emerge after his union with the Savior (90.31-32), as a "fruit from the union" (93.3-4) and "in harmony" (94.21).

That the classification of spiritual powers as "male" in this text is not unusual within Valentinianism is further suggested by *Exc. Theod.* 21, to which *ed. pr.* (I. 367) refer, but which they do not cite in full. The passage is an exegetical comment on Gen 1:27, "In the image of God he created them, male and female he created them." This is interpreted as a reference to the "finest production of Sophia," where the male denotes the "election" and the female the "calling." These last two terms are technical designations for spirituals and psy-

chics respectively and they are used in this sense in the *Tri. Trac.* (122.12-24).

Ed. pr. (I. 366-70) see the *Tri. Trac.* as being anomalous because of the references to beings in this world as essentially female in *Exc. Theod.* 68 and 79 and in the system of Marcus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5. In fact, these passages do not contradict the basic Valentinian tenets or the *Tri. Trac.* on the question of sexual polarization, since they do not speak of the offspring of Sophia in the intermediate world. Beings *in the world* are "female" in so far as they are brought forth from the feminine element in separation from the masculine. They thus display the weakness of the passionate female element in the god-head. When male and female are reunited in the "bridal chamber," beings in the world are transformed into a new identification with the Father. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 68,79-80; *Val. Exp.* 39.9f. (Such imagery ultimately derives from patriarchal marriage law. Children produced by a woman without a husband are identified with the mother alone; legitimate offspring are identified with both parents.) The *Tri. Trac.* also speaks of human beings in the material world, and affirms that all such beings are formed of all the elements of the intermediate world (106.18-31). Thus they will all need the salvific formation which the Savior provides (125.24-125.11).

What is important to note in connection with this passage is that the *Tri. Trac.* is still discussing the various types of offspring of the Logos, which constitute a world intermediate between the transcendent Pleroma and the realm of matter. Thus the basic structure of male-female polarization and valuation here does not differ from that in other Valentinian systems.

Ed. pr. (I. 367-70) draw various inferences from the use of male and female categories in the *Tri. Trac.* Zandee argues that the lack of the explicit polarization is an argument against attributing the text to Heracleon. Quispel argues that the text cannot be from Valentinus himself, but claims that it is not in contradiction with Heracleon's use of these categories. Although the use of sexual terminology here is in line with general Valentinian usage, the differences in the designations of the main characters in the cosmic drama from those found in other Valentinian sources is reason enough to reject identification of the author of this text with any known Valentinian.

94.21 *Church: Ed. pr.* (I. 370) suggest that the text here identifies Sophia (meaning the Logos) and the Church. Again, as is clear from

the plurals in 93.13-17, this paragraph discusses not the Logos, but the aeon constituted by his spiritual offspring, which has already been given the name Son. Cf. 93.34 and 97.6-9. The designation "Church" for this entity is paralleled in other Valentinian sources. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.6 and *Exc. Theod.* 40.1, 41.2, where reference is made to the spiritual seeds of the Church sown by Sophia. These passages are cited by *ed. pr.* as contrasts to the *Tri. Trac.* Once again they do not contradict, but complement our text.

Ed. pr. suggest that the identification of Sophia and the Church which they find in this text also appears in Heracleon's interpretation of the Samaritan woman who symbolizes both Sophia and the Church. Cf. especially fr. 25 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.27) and fr. 37 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.51). This argument fails to observe the procedures of Valentinian hermeneutics, according to which biblical texts can be understood as symbols simultaneously referring to different levels of being. Note that an identification of Sophia with the Pleromatic syzygy, Humanity-Church, is apparently made in *Val. Exp.* 31.35-37.

94.25 *perfect*: The aeon of spiritual offspring of the Logos is "perfect" in contrast to the psychic and hylic orders, because its status as "image" means that it reproduces the qualities of the Pleroma more exactly than the other two orders do.

94.28 *inferior*: Cf. 90.35.

94.30 *indivisibility*: Cf. the remarks about the unity in multiplicity characteristic of the transcendent Pleroma in 73.28-74.18.

94.31 *countenance*: Cf. 93.29-30.

94.32 *Those, however*: A distinction now is drawn between the collectivity of the spiritual offspring, the Pleroma of the Logos, and each individual member of that collectivity. A similar distinction between a collectivity and the individuals within it was operative in the transcendent Pleroma (69.14-70.7). The distinction on this level enables the author to explain how the spiritual offspring of the Logos can be "perfect" (as a collectivity), yet inferior to their archetypes (as individuals). The distinction thus serves an analogous function to that made on the highest level of being. There the aeons offer perfect

praise as a collectivity, but inadequate praise as individuals. Cf. also 68.17-21.

94.37-38 *it is in each of them* (2 $\bar{\nu}$ ποῦεει ποῦεει $\bar{\nu}$ δεῦ τε): The construction here, an unusual combination of an adverbial sentence and a nominal sentence, may be due to overliteral translation.

94.40 *equality*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 372) suggest a parallel here to the eschatological state described in *Exc. Theod.* 63.2, where all the "elements are equivalent." Here, however, there is no explicit reference to eschatology. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2.6, offers a more appropriate parallel. There the disturbance among the aeons of the Pleroma is resolved when they are "equalized" (ἐξισωθέντα) by the holy spirit. Cf. also Tertullian, *Adv. Val.* 12.

94.40-95.1 *each* ($\bar{\mu}$ ποῦεει): The superfluous $\bar{\mu}$ here may have been intended as part of a reduplicated conjugation base for $\bar{\mu}$ ποῦνα2 in 95.1. The numerous errors in this passage may reflect scribal fatigue.

95.1-2 *peculiar* (πω $\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$ δε): Literally, "his." The function of the particle $\bar{\nu}$ δε is obscure and it is probably an uncorrected error. Perhaps this is a dittography of the $\bar{\nu}$ ε in 95.1.

95.5 *this one*: I.e., the Logos.

95.6 *prematurely* ($\bar{\nu}$ δεη): Although the Logos has been enlightened (90.14) and stabilized (92.22-23), he has not yet been reintegrated into the transcendent Pleroma. Hence what he produces cannot be fully perfect. Note the motif of the independent begetting in 75.24. The spiritual powers who are passions later play a role in the incarnation. Cf. 116.10-12.

95.7 *agreement with his Totality*: Although the Logos is not united directly with the Father in the production of his spiritual offspring, he is united with the Father's Totality, through the Savior.

will: Again it is emphasized that the cosmogony takes place in accord with the Father's will. Cf. 76.24, 76.35-77.11, and the important parallel in *Val. Exp.* 35.21-35.

95.8-9 *organization which was to come*: The offspring of the Logos have not yet been systematically and hierarchically arranged, although the process by which that arrangement takes place has already been mentioned. Cf. 88.23-26, 89.7-90.1, and 91.18-32. The actual process of organization is discussed in the next section of the tractate, beginning in 95.38.

95.9 *It was granted (εΔΥΝΕΥΕ)*: With Schenke (ZÄS 105 [1978] 140) we take this verb from the Greek *νεύειν*.

95.10 *pass through*: Cf. 91.21, 114.31-115.2.

95.13 *sudden, hasty (σεζητου νβλομ)*: For the first word, cf. 64.33. The second is equivalent to S *νκλομ*. The "hasty" coming of the spiritual powers is next contrasted with their coming singly. Hence, "haste" here must refer not to the speed by which these powers come into the world, but to their coming in one single group. The gradual revelation referred to here replicates the gradual revelation of the Father to the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. 64.28-37.

95.17 *In short*: The last paragraph of this section recapitulates the account of the production of the spiritual powers.

95.18-19 *those which pre-exist...which will be*: In 87.35-36 reference was made to three classes of "Totalities" which were set by the Father within the Fruit of the Pleroma, i.e., the Savior. By appearing to the Logos the Savior provided him with a vision of all three levels of being. That vision enables the Logos to undertake the organization of the world outside the Pleroma.

95.22-24 *Some things...seeds*: The exact referents of the two elements contrasted here are at first unclear. The unclarity diminishes when it is recognized that this paragraph summarizes the previous discussion. It refers to the Logos, but not when he has produced all his offspring. Rather, it refers to him when he has produced his hylic and psychic offspring, but has not yet produced the spiritual powers. "Some things" then refer to those hylic and psychic powers; the seeds refer to the spiritual powers.

95.23 *in things*: The "things" in which the hylic and psychic powers

are may be the states or qualities of ambition, wrath and the like which characterize the two orders. Cf. 84.11-23, 85.7-11.

fit for: This statement does not express a moral judgment about the powers in question. Rather, it comments on the status of their existence, which is of such a sort that it is capable without further ado of being "organized." This status contrasts with that of the spiritual powers who, before they are actualized by the Logos, cannot be made part of the "organization."

95.24 *seeds*: Cf. 91.31-32.

95.25 *he has* (εὐντερε): *Ed. pr.* suggest that the form should be emended. This is unnecessary since the form in the text can be understood as a second tense, emphasizing ἄζητητῶ.

95.26 *promise*: Cf. 92.7.

95.28 *which are to be*: The emendation of *ed. pr.* to a relative is unnecessary after the indefinite antecedent ζῆσπερμα.

95.29-30 *what is, the revelation*: The antecedent of this epexegetical remark is not "the offspring," which do not constitute any revelation to the Logos but come as a result of a revelation. The antecedent must, therefore, be the process of production (cf. 90.14-32). The production of those offspring, which had only been "seeds," is their revelation or manifestation as independent beings.

95.30 *that which he conceived*: *Ed. pr.* (I. 372) suggest that this refers to the "offspring of wisdom," i.e., the Demiurge, supposedly discussed in 96.8-15. However, as already noted, the paragraph does not look forward, but backward. That which the Logos conceived is not the Demiurge, but the order of spiritual offspring. That this is indeed the referent is made quite clear in the following sentence.

95.32 *guarded*: Although the "seed of the promise," or the spiritual order, has been brought into actual existence by the Logos, it is not immediately sent into the material world, but comes only gradually, as was noted in 95.9-14. Cf. also 114.31-115.2.

95.34 *for a mission* (εὐχαλγ): The syntax here is difficult. *Ed. pr.*

(Ger.) take the form as a circumstantial of $\chi\omicron$, "send forth" (Crum 752b), modifying the preceding relative clause. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) apparently take the form as a pres. II of $\chi\omicron$, "sow" (Crum 752a). *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) take the form as an infinitive of $\chi\omicron$, "sow," with a passive sense, dependent on $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha\omega\upsilon\gamma$ in line 33. The translation here follows a suggestion of Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 139) who construes the form as an infinitive of $\chi\omicron$, "send," used as a noun which is the object of the preposition ϵ . Thus $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon = \epsilon\omicron\upsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon$.

Ed. pr. (Fr.) also erroneously interpret the relative clause $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\omega\upsilon\gamma$ as an agent with the passive $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha\omega\upsilon\gamma$ in line 33. The $\bar{\nu}\beta\iota$ in lines 33-34 indicates that this relative clause must be the subject of $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\tau\alpha\omega\upsilon\gamma$, a perfect circumstantial in a periphrastic construction with $\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$.

10. The Organization (95.38-104.3)

At this point all the offspring of the Logos have been produced. Now they are arranged in a hierarchical order which thus constitutes the world between the transcendent Pleroma and the phenomenal, material world. The introductory paragraph (95.38-96.16), repeating parts of the previous account, indicates that the Logos acts to punish some of the powers, to benefit others, and to keep others separate. The Logos begins the "organization" by establishing himself as its basic principle and by beautifying the place of the spiritual order (96.17-97.16). The text then contrasts the other two orders, hylic and psychic, and their attitude to the ruling Logos (97.16-98.20). Then the particular action of the Logos toward the psychic order is recounted, by which that order is to derive benefit (98.21-99.19). Then the hierarchical organization of the two orders is described (99.19-100.18). Over this angelic hierarchy the Logos appoints an Archon, who is a representation of the Father and whom the Logos uses as his instrument (100.19-35). The activities of this Archon are then described (100.36-103.12). This section, and the first part of the tractate, ends with a summary account of the world ruled by the Archon (103.13-104.3).

96.1 *prayer...conversion*: For these activities of the Logos, cf. 81.22-32.

96.3 $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta$: The text is obviously corrupt. The emendation to $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta$, parallel to the $\Delta\epsilon$ in line 5, is preferable to the emendation of the

following circumstantial into a relative, which would break the series of circumstantials in lines 3–5.

96.3–5 *some . . . others*: Here reference is probably made to the three classes of offspring of the Logos. The first group consists of the hylic powers who perish. Cf. 88.23–25, 89.20–28, and 97.36–98.11. The second group consists of the psychic powers. Cf. 89.8–20, 91.10–27, 98.27–99.4. For the separation of the spiritual powers, cf. 93.14–19 and 96.24–97.27.

96.8–9 *a power of the one who appeared*: It was the Savior who appeared to the Logos (87.7, 91.33). That appearance gave the Logos power. Cf. 88.23–27. Thus from the Savior ultimately derives the power to implement the organization of the world outside the Pleroma. Cf. 88.4–8.

96.11 *be separate* (ⲁⲧⲣⲉϥⲡⲱⲣⲗ̅): The verb here seems to be used intransitively. *Ed. pr.* take the verb as transitive and find the object in the reference to “that which is below.” (See the next note.) This understanding is in conformity with the references (88.23–27, 96.6) to the power given the Logos to separate his offspring. However, that it is the Logos himself whose “separateness” is affirmed is strongly suggested by the remarks of lines 12–13.

He is (ⲛ̅[ⲧ]ⲁϥ): The reading here is quite uncertain. *Ed. pr.* suggest ⲡⲉ[ⲉⲓ], which they take as the object of the infinitive ⲡⲱⲣⲗ̅. The remaining traces of the first letter consist of two vertical strokes at the bottom of the letter space and part of a diagonal line connecting them. Above the letter space is the end of a horizontal line, which is probably part of a supra-linear stroke. These traces are most compatible with a ⲛ̅. After that ⲛ̅ there is space enough for another letter before the remains of what the *ed. pr.* interpret as an ⲉ. The traces of the last two letters on the line are quite ambiguous. In the reading adopted (suggested by S. Emmel) the ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϥ is the pronominal predicate of a cleft sentence without the ⲡⲉ. On the construction, cf. H. J. Polotsky, “Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen,” *Or.* 31 (1962) 413–30 [= *Collected Papers*, 418–35], esp. pp. 424–25 [429–30].

The pronoun refers to the Logos. His position in the great chain of being, which is described in these lines, corresponds to the position of Sophia in other Valentinian sources. The Logos is below the exalted world of the Pleroma, yet above the Demiurge. Thus he is on an inter-

mediary level, just as Sophia is said to be "in the middle" in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3. As in Irenaeus, this location of the Logos is temporary. He is said (lines 13-14) to be there "until he prepares the organization." Sophia stays in the "middle" until the consummation (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3).

96.13 *that which is exalted*: This is the world of the transcendent Pleroma, in relation to which all else is "external" (line 15).

96.15 *place*: Cf. 91.23, 103.21.

96.17 *established him (self)* (αυτεζαυ): *Ed. pr.* (I. 372-77) suggest that this passage refers to the creation of the Demiurge by the Logos and the opening sentence is to be translated transitively, not reflexively. The creation of the Demiurge is not, however, mentioned until 100.19. Until then all the action in organizing the world outside the Pleroma is undertaken by the Logos. Cf. 97.21, 98.21, 99.18-19. For other passages where a simple object must be taken as reflexive, cf. 56.2-3 and 92.30.

96.18 *beautified*: Cf. 92.22-93.13. The operation of the Logos in organizing the non-Pleromatic world contrasts sharply with the accounts of cosmogony in non-Valentinian gnosticism, where the celestial world is viewed as positively demonic. Cf., e.g., *Ap. John* CG II, I:11.15-12.33; CG III, I:15.21-20.19; CG IV, I:17.24-20.10; BG 36.16-44.19.

96.20 *ruler*: Cf. 92.24.

96.21 *like the Father*: The structure of the intermediary world, "the establishment which was the first to exist after him (*scil.* the Father)," is analogous to that of the transcendent world of the Pleroma. Both levels of being have a primordial source or first principle, the Father for the Pleroma; the Logos for the intermediary world. Beneath that first principle there is in each case a second principle, the Son in the Pleroma; the derived image of the Son, i.e., the spiritual offspring of the Logos, in the intermediary world. Cf. 93.34. In each case that second principle is intimately connected with a third. The transcendent Son is connected with the Totalities or the Church. Cf. 58.29-59.1, 66.30-67.10. In the intermediary world, the spiritual aeon is

named not only "Son," but also "Church." Cf. 94.21-23, 97.6. In each case, it should be noted, the second principle, given the name Son, is the perfect manifestation of the first principle. In the transcendent Pleroma that manifestation derives immediately from the Father. Cf. 56.23-57.3. In the intermediary world the manifestation of the Son is more complex, since the spiritual offspring of the Logos are produced after the union of the Logos with the Savior (91.1-4, 93.3), who is also called the Son (87.1) and who is himself the product of the Totalities and the "better self" of the Logos (86.4-7).

Ed. pr. (Fr.) interpret the phrase $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\omega\psi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\omega\tau$ to mean "those (for) whom he (*scil.*, the Logos) came into being in the image of the Father." However, the prepositional phrase "like the Father" is best taken as a description of the title "ruler" in line 20, as the preceding discussion indicates.

96.22 *the establishment*: This is the world of the Logos.

96.23 *after him*: That is, after the Father. The intermediary world of the Logos is the next level of being after that of the Father. Still to come is the world of matter.

96.24 *pre-existent images*: Cf. 90.31-32. The Logos first turns his attention to his glorious spiritual offspring.

96.26 *thanks and glorification*: Cf. 90.25-27 and 91.9.

96.27 *be beautified*: The activity of the Logos recalls the initial discussion of the names of the spiritual order (92.22-93.10). That order was called "aeon" and "place" (92.26), "joy" (93.8), and "kingdom" (93.5), which terms also appear in this discussion. The activity of the Logos now is distinct from that earlier activity. There he was begetting the new spiritual order. Here he is setting it apart (96.6) and preparing its place in the "organization." The repetition of the term "beautify" (cf. line 18) suggests once again that the whole cosmogonic process is to be viewed as a positive development. The items produced on this level of being are later copied by the Demiurge in his world. Cf. 101.29-33, 102.20-23.

96.29 *Paradise*: In the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.2) Paradise is above the third heaven and is an "archangel in power."

96.30 *Enjoyment*: Note that in the LXX, Paradise is described as *παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς* (Gen 3:23).

96.34 *it preserves*: The subject here could be either "he," i.e., the Logos, or "it," the place of the spiritual order which the Logos now beautifies.

96.36 *city*: Note that in the system of Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3), Sophia, the "mother" of the intermediary world, is also called Jerusalem.

96.38 *brotherly love*: This love was a characteristic of the aeons of the Pleroma who responded favorably to the conversion of the Logos. Cf. 85.31.

97.2 *powers which govern*: The metaphor of the city is continued with the reference to its governance. The powers referred to may be qualities of the spiritual aeon (light, wisdom, word), which are mentioned in 94.2-9.

97.6 *Church*: Cf. 94.21 and the discussion in the note to 96.21. *Ed. pr.* (I. 378) suggest that the Church on this level of being is psychic and cite *Exc. Theod.* 58.1, which refers to two elements in the Church, the "elect," spiritual element, which was produced by Sophia, and the "called," psychic element. For the terminology of "elect" and "called," cf. 122.12-19. It is unclear whether the place of the Church is the abode only of the spiritual images, or if it is a place also containing psychic powers. The qualities enumerated in 97.9-16 suggest the latter. Discussion of the place of the spiritual images alone may thus have ended at 96.34.

which assembles in this place: The alternative reading suggested by *ed. pr.* would have virtually the same meaning.

97.8 *glorifies*: Cf. 63.23-27; 64.20; 66.5; 68.4-5,22-36; 69.31-41; 86.30.

97.10-11 *faith...hope*: Note that these two virtues, among others, are provided by the Father to the aeons of the Pleroma as they search for him (71.23-25). The other virtues mentioned in that earlier con-

text are probably to be understood as the "goodnesses" (96.33-34), whose images are preserved in the Church on this level of being.

97.12 *when the light appeared*: Cf. 85.29, 87.10, 88.14, 90.14.

97.13 *disposition*: This term has been used of the qualities of characteristics of life in the Pleroma. Cf. 58.14; 59.3,10; 81.4. Here it is used of the qualities or characteristics of the repentant Logos. Cf. also 81.22-35.

97.14 *forgiveness*: It has not been stated explicitly that the Logos was forgiven following his conversion. A forgiving attitude toward the errant Logos seems to be implicit in the response of the Totalities to his conversion. Cf. 85.33-86.4 and 86.12-21.

97.16 *the one who would appear*: This was the Savior, the fruit of the Totalities, whom they produced in response to the conversion of the Logos. Cf. 86.23-37.

97.16 *spiritual places*: This phrase suggests that the text has been discussing the organization of the spiritual offspring of the Logos. Cf. the note to 97.6.

97.17 *are in spiritual power*: *Ed. pr.* construe this prepositional phrase not as the predicate of an adverbial sentence, but as an adverbial modifier of the verb that follows, $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\eta\text{2}$. For that construction a second tense, $\text{E}\gamma\text{N}\eta\text{2}$, would have been more appropriate. For other adverbial sentences in the text, cf. 61.18-20.

97.18 *separate*: On the separation of the spiritual order from the hylic and psychic orders, cf. 93.14-19.

97.18-19 *the beings of the thought*: There is a certain ambiguity in the use of this phrase. In a few passages it seems to refer clearly to the Totalities, or aeons of the transcendent Pleroma (85.22, 85.27, 87.24). In several places in the following paragraphs, it clearly refers to the psychic offspring of the Logos (e.g., 98.14). This application has also been made previously. Cf. 89.9,29; 91.27; 93.19. It may be that the Coptic expression "beings of the thought" fails to convey a distinction made in Greek between two different types of intellectual activity. Note the clear distinction of two groups with similar designations in

97.27-28. *Ed. pr.* (I. 378) plausibly suggest that the reference here is to the members of the psychic order of the intermediate world, the detailed discussion of which begins at 97.27.

97.19-20 *power . . . in an image*: Previously (88.23-25) it was noted that the Savior gave the Logos power to separate his errant offspring from himself and from one another. The appearance of the Savior also led to the generation of the spiritual images of the transcendent Pleroma (90.31-32). It had earlier been noted that, because these spiritual powers are images, they are distinct from their archetypes in the Pleroma (90.34-91.1). If the "beings of the thought" are in fact the psychic offspring of the Logos, then the power which keeps them separate from his spiritual offspring may be understood as an "image" of the "Limit" in the Pleroma which separates the aeons from the fallen Logos.

97.20 *that which separates*: Both probable antecedents of this epexegetical relative (ΘΟΜ and ΖΙΚΩΝ) are feminine, so there is a lack of concord in gender between the relative and its antecedent. Perhaps the text should be emended to ΤΑΕΙ. Alternatively, the antecedent of the relative here may be that of which there is an image at this level of being, namely the second Limit (76.30-77.6).

97.22 *prophesying*: The validity of prophecy is an important concern of the *Tri. Trac.* Cf. 100.34-35 and 110.22-114.30.

97.23 *the things which will be*: As the discussion in 110.22-114.30 indicates, these are the activities of the Savior in the lower, phenomenal world.

97.24 *the beings of the thought, which have come into being*: This is probably a reference to the production of the psychic offspring of the Logos, which occurred prior to the manifestation of the Savior (82.15-24) and thus prior to the production of the spiritual order.

that which is pre-existent: *Ed. pr.* (I. 378) interpret this designation as a reference to the Demiurge, citing *Exc. Theod.* 47.2. Once again, it should be noted that the creation of the Demiurge is not mentioned until 100.19. The phrase here may refer to the pre-existent one in the fullest sense, the Father (51.6-7), or to the whole world of the Pleroma. In any case the whole phrase here contrasts the orientation of the

“beings of the thought” with the “power in the image.” The latter has a prophetic orientation. The former only look backward, as it were, to what is pre-existent. This difference in orientation thus constitutes a major distinction between the spiritual and psychic offspring of the Logos.

97.26 *vision*: Literally the phrase means “a vision of face.” This expression recalls the unusual $\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\omicron$ used of the Savior and those who accompany him (86.28, 87.21) and of the spiritual order (93.29–30). It is these members of the spiritual order which have come into being “through a vision,” i.e., through the manifestation by the Savior to the Logos of the transcendent world (95.17).

97.26–27 *things which are with him*: This is probably a reference to the Totalities which are with the Logos through the agency of the Savior who “mixes” with the Logos (91.3–10).

97.27–28 *the thought which is outside*: The “thought” in question here is that of the Logos which produces the psychic beings (82.10–13). This thought is said to be “outside him.” It is unclear what the pronoun here refers to. The thought of the Logos is “outside” both Father and the whole world of the Pleroma.

97.28 *are humble*: The psychic beings are contrasted with the hylics (98.6). The latter are in fact lowly in the scheme of being, but are given exalted names. The psychics recognize their inferiority to the Logos.

97.29 *representation*: The technical term for the psychic order makes it clear what the referent in this paragraph is. Cf. 78.32–34.

97.30–31 *sharing in the names*: Cf. 79.4–11.

97.31 *by which they are beautiful* ($\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\alpha\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$): The verb here is unusual since the relative converter seems to be that of the perf. I, while the verb is qualitative, an impossible combination. Perhaps the relative converter is to be emended to $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon$ (for $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$).

97.32 *The conversion*: The conversion by the Logos produced the thought of the Pleroma which in turn produced the psychic order

(81.26-27). Thus this paragraph does not introduce any new set of beings, but refers to the psychic order in terms designating movements of the Logos associated with the generation of that order.

97.33 *beings of the thought*: This may be another reference to the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. the note to 97.18-19.

97.33-35 *the law...the condemnation and the wrath*: The term "law" has not been used previously. "Condemnation" and "wrath," however, have been used to designate that attitude of the Logos to his hylic offspring which forms an essential part of his conversion. Cf. 81.10-21 and 99.8.

97.36 *also humble*: The subject pronoun here is plural, although the subject, †ΤΘΟΜ (line 37) is singular. The mistaken plural pronoun was probably caused by the plural ΝΕΕΙ which precedes the verb. That pronoun is simply a preposed demonstrative resumed by ΝΕΥ. The emendation of the verbal form by *ed. pr.* to a plural circumstantial is clearly unsatisfactory.

97.37 *power*: This is another reference to the power provided by the Savior to the Logos (88.23-26).

97.37-38 *those who fall below them*: Those who fall are the hylic powers (89.24). They fall below the psychic powers.

98.2-4 *fear...ignorance*: In the Valentinian Sophia myth, passions are the sources of her offspring. In *Exc. Theod.* 48.2-3 the Demiurge creates various parts of the material world, some from sorrow (λύπη), some from fear (φόβος), some from astonishment (ἐκπληξίς), some from perplexity (ἀπορία). The passions of Sophia are mentioned several times in the account of Irenaeus. In *Haer.* 1.2.3 she is said to grieve (λυπηθῆναι), fear (φοβηθῆναι), be surprised (ἐκστῆναι), and be in perplexity (ἀπορηῆσαι). Her creation is said to arise from ignorance, grief, fear, and astonishment. In that passage, Sophia suffers these emotions before her conversion, a development paralleled in this text at 80.14. In Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1 the passions of Sophia after the visitation of the Savior and the imposition of the Limit are recorded. There she is said to suffer grief, fear, perplexity, and ignorance (ἄγνοια). In *Haer.* 1.4.2 these emotions, along with the tears and the

laughter of Sophia, are said to be the source of matter. In Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4 the material substance is said to be derived from fear, sorrow, and perplexity, while the psychic substance stems from fear and the conversion.

98.3 *astonishment*: The derivation of the Coptic word is problematic. *Ed. pr.* (Fr., Ger., and Wilson, I. 308) suggest that the text should be emended to †<C>ⲁⲣⲙⲉⲤ and that the word should be derived from Ⲙⲱⲣⲙ, “go astray” (Crum 355a). Kasser suggests that † may even be a mistake for Ψ. Alternatively *ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest a derivation from ⲈⲘⲣⲙ, “stare, be astonished” (Crum 84a). Till (“Beiträge,” 207) makes the same suggestion. Although no pre-pronominal form of ⲈⲘⲱⲣⲙ has heretofore been attested, this derivation certainly seems to be preferable, since “astonishment” (= ἐκπληξίς) is more appropriate in this list of emotions than is error. For the emotions normally listed in Valentinian sources, cf. the previous note.

98.5 *in the manner of a likeness*: These are the hylic powers. Cf. 78.32–34.

phantasy: Cf. *Ap. John* CG II, I:17.35, III, I:17.14, IV, I:27.21–22, BG 41.8.

98.6–8 *These...exalted names*: The hylic powers are in fact “lowly” (Ⲉⲃⲃⲓⲱ) because they have been set beneath the psychic powers (89.24–25). They do not, however, recognize their inferiority. They are not humble (ⲒⲚⲁⲧⲈⲃⲃⲓⲱⲮ) before the Logos (79.19, 85.20). In this respect they differ from the psychic powers (98.27–37).

98.8–9 *those who have come forth from them*: This phrase is not a reference to hylic human beings, since men are made up of all the “powers” generated by the Logos (106.18–31). Rather, the phrase refers to the archons which the hylic powers produced (79.32–80.11). These archons are the concrete embodiment of the “hylic” principles of ignorance, fear, etc. (103.25–36).

98.9 *arrogance*: For the role of this vice in the production of hylic powers, cf. 78.30 and 82.20–21.

98.10 *lust for power*: For this principle, cf. 79.20–32, 83.35, 84.11–24.

98.11 *disobedience*: Cf. 79.18, 80.8, 88.25, 96.7.

98.12-20 In this paragraph the technical terms for the psychic and hylic order are explained. Cf. 78.32-34 for a general discussion of the author's technical terminology.

98.16 *Right*: The application of "right" and "left" to psychics and hylics respectively is attested in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 47.2. Note the numerological imagery of right and left in *Gos. Truth* 32.4-15. The distinction of two orders of beings into right and left also seems common in non-Valentinian texts. Cf., e.g., *Orig. World* 106.11-18; *Hyp. Arch.* 95.31-96.3; and the Ophites in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.2. Note that in *Gos. Phil.* 67.25, the one who enters the Bridal Chamber overcomes the distinction of Right and Left.

98.17 *Fiery ones* (ΝΙCETE): As *ed. pr.* (I. 380) note, the psychic essence is fiery according to the account of the western Valentinians in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.7. *Ed. pr.* (I. 380) also note the recurrence of the language of "fire" in the discussion of different types of human beings in 118.28-38. There, however, it is simply a question of a metaphor applied in different ways to spiritual (118.30-31) and psychic (118.37-38) human beings.

Ed. pr. also find a contradiction in the *Tri. Trac.* between the notion that the Demiurge issues from fire (a metaphor for passion as in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4) and the notion that he issues from the repentance of Sophia (i.e., the Logos). This contradiction may exist in Valentinian parallels to the *Tri. Trac.*, it is simply not in this text!

The Middle Ones: *Ed. pr.* (I. 379) note that in philosophical terminology the "middle" is a category for what is neither entirely good nor entirely evil. Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 117.9 and Albinus, *Didas.* 30.2. They note also that the terminology of the "middle" is applied to the soul in Origen, *In Rom.* 1.5 and the neo-Platonist Porphyry (Olympiodorus, *In Phaedonem* 220.28). Cf. also, J. Zandee, *Terminology*, 16. For similar terminology in Valentinus, cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90,3; Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* 7.5; and Heracleon, fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60).

98.18 *arrogant thought*: Cf. line 9.

98.24 *he kept*: Cf. 93.14-19, 97.18.

aeon of the images: Cf. 93.22.

98.25–26 *those who fight against it*: The translation follows that of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest that the phrase means “those who precede from him,” and they construe it as the object of $\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$, which is impossible since that form is a qualitative. For the meaning of the phrase, cf. 93.7 and 119.20.

98.26 *joy*: Note the reduplicated copula. For the spiritual aeon as a place of joy, cf. 88.19–20; 93.8–9,28–29; 96.30.

98.27 *those of the thought*: Here the reference is to the psychic powers.

98.28 *stripped from himself*: Cf. 90.18–19.

98.30 *material union*: The account here explains how some of the powers are “benefitted” by the organization. Cf. 96.4. As *ed. pr.* (I.381–83) note, the notion of the attempt to draw psychic substance into matter has its roots in the myth of the fall of the soul, reflected also in such texts as *Gos. Truth* 17.28–35; *CH* 1.14; *Ap. John* CG II,1:14.13–15.13, III,1:21.16–22.18, IV,1:22.15–23.20, BG 47.14–49.9; and the Gnostics in Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.8,10,19–26. For a general discussion of this myth and its relationship to the Platonic tradition, cf. Festugière, *La révélation* 3.63–96. For the treatment of the myth in Origen, cf. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954) Vol.II, part 2, 184–88.

98.35 *rejoice*: This “joy in their environment” apparently refers to the immersion of the psychic powers in the hylic element. In this condition they are ignorant of God. Cf. Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60. Note the belief of the hylic powers that they have no source outside themselves (79.12–16). Psychic powers also share this belief (84.3–6).

98.36 *be dissolved* ($\bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\omega\nu\epsilon\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$): *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) associate the verb here with $\pi\omega\omega\nu\epsilon$, “change, turn” (Crum 263b). *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) more properly associate it with $\pi\omega\nu\eta$, “be poured, flow” (Crum 263a). There seems to be here an allusion to the fate which ultimately awaits the hylic powers, described in 78.37–79.4.

98.38 *their sickness*: Cf. 84.11-24.

99.2 *searching*: The introduction of psychic powers into matter thus has as its aim that they should experience the longing for the Father characteristic of aeons of the Pleroma (71.8-18, 72.4-5), who also had been deficient. Cf. 60.9.

99.4 *inferiority*: Cf. 93.18 and 94.28.

99.6 *word of beauty*: Cf. 100.32 and 102.9. Hylic realities are beautiful because they imitate the beauty of their models (102.16-26).

99.7 *form*: Note that in the Valentinian myths of Sophia, she gives form to her offspring after the appearance of the Savior. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1.

99.8 *law of judgment*: Cf. 81.10-21 and 97.33-35.

99.10 *powers which the roots had produced*: The "roots" are probably to be understood as the immediate offspring of the Logos; the "powers" are the beings which they in turn produce. Cf. 79.32-80.11 for the distinction of the two stages of hylc generation. For a reference to the powers deriving from "thought," cf. 84.24-85.11.

99.11-12 *appointed them* (αϱ[κλαα]ϳ): "Them" refers to the word of beauty, the law of judgment and the powers, mentioned in the previous lines.

99.13-14 *word which is beautiful* (λογοc ετcαε[ιη]οϳ): The traces of the uncertain letters are very ambiguous. The reading and reconstruction is suggested by the opposition in lines 6-8 between the "word of beauty" and the "law of judgment." The reconstruction by *ed. pr.*, "the word which instructs them," is possible, but unlikely, given the parallel.

99.17 *from* (ἄ): This could also be taken as a genitive, "the order of those, etc."

reduced it (οϳωμ ἄμοc): Cf. οϳω(ω)με (Crum 479b). What is reduced to evil is, of course, the "order" of the offspring of the Logos. Cf. 84.11-24.

99.18 *while the Logos is pleased with them*: The conjunction here might be translated "until." Cf. the note to 60.16. It is difficult to see why the Logos might at some point *become* "pleased" with the hylic powers. They can do nothing more than to be useful for the organization. As long, however, as they are useful, the Logos can be "pleased" with them, as with instruments of his saving will. For the usefulness of these powers, cf. 89.35 and 102.27-104.2.

99.19-20 *agreement in the lust for power*: Cf. 83.34-84.22. The emendation by *ed. pr.* (Ger.) suggests that the two orders have abandoned their "lust for power." This is clearly not the case. As the preceding paragraph has indicated, the Logos uses that very vice of ambition in his offspring as a stabilizing element in the non-Pleromatic world. Cf. also 103.19-24.

99.21 $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$: The gender of the object pronoun here is determined by the gender of "lust for power," not "agreement."

99.22 *all the others*: Here there may be another reference to the distinction between "roots" and "powers," mentioned above in 99.10.

99.23 *their desire*: The desire for authority characteristic of the offspring of the Logos was mentioned in 79.20. The hierarchical order created here mimics the hierarchy of the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. 70.12-14.

99.28 *He yields* ($\alpha\kappa\omega\epsilon$): *Ed. pr.* read a circumstantial here ($\epsilon\alpha\kappa\omega\epsilon$). Although that would make good sense, the circumstantial converter is not in the text. The subject pronoun here refers to "each one" (line 24).

99.31 *which is*: With *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) the circumstantial is taken as a relative after the indefinite antecedent $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\beta$ in line 30. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) construe the circumstantial as modifying the aeon which is the subject in line 28.

99.33 *mode of being*: Cf. 91.23-25.

99.36 *angels*: For this designation of the offspring of the Logos who inhabit the intermediary world, cf. 71.4. The term is frequently used

in parts II and III of the *Tri. Trac.* In *Exc. Theod.* 47.3, the Archangels are said to be images (εἰκῶν) of the Aeons (i.e., of the Pleroma). In that account these archangels are products, not of the Logos, but of the Demiurge. Cf. also the account of Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1.

100.3 *archons*: These are the “rulers” mentioned in line 27.

100.4 *race*: The race of each archon consists, presumably, of the powers which come from him as from a “root.” Cf. 99.10.

100.11 *foundations* (κῤῥηχοῦ): The Coptic word is otherwise unattested. With ed. pr. (I. 30, 309), it should probably be associated with ⲃⲱⲢⲃ, “provide, prepare” (Crum 831a) or “be inhabited” (Crum 831b).

of the earth (ⲙⲡ[ⲕⲁⲗ]): *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) suggest another possible restoration here, “of the abyss,” although this seems somewhat long for the lacuna. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the abyss would be mentioned before “the places beneath the earth.”

100.18-19 *archons* (ⲛⲓ[ⲁⲣ]ϣⲱⲛ): *Ed. pr.* here restore ⲛⲓ[ϣⲓ]ϣⲱⲛ, but the first letter of line 19 is clearly χ.

100.19 *archon* (ⲁⲣϣⲱⲛ): Finally the Demiurge is mentioned. His position in the system of the *Tri. Trac.* is essentially the same as in other Valentinian texts, such as Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5-5.2, *Exc. Theod.* 47.1-3, and *Val. Exp.* 35.10-35, 37.32. In all these texts the Savior is given ultimate responsibility for the organization of the non-Pleromatic world. At *Exc. Theod.* 47.1 he is in fact called the “first and universal Demiurge.” Cf. *Tri. Trac.* 88.4-7. He operates through Sophia, who in turn operates through the Demiurgic Archon (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1, *Exc. Theod.* 47.3). Similarly in Heracleon, fr. 1 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14) the Demiurge is the instrument of the Logos and in fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60), he is seen as a petty king installed in his position by a universal ruler. The designation of the Demiurge as “Archon” recalls the description of him in oriental Valentinianism as preserved in *Exc. Theod.* 33.3, where he is called ὁ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἄρχων.

The only discrepancy between the *Tri. Trac.* and other western Valentinian sources at this point seems to be with the account of the

activity of the Demiurge in *Exc. Theod.* 47.2, where the Demiurge is the instrument for making the Right and the Left. In that text, however, these terms are used for the "heavenly and the earthly" components of the phenomenal world, not the powers of the intermediate world. In the *Tri. Trac.*, too, the Demiurge has responsibility for the copies of the intermediary powers in the material world (104.32-105.10).

As *ed. pr.* (I. 375-77) note, the conception of the Demiurgic Archon may ultimately derive from sectarian Judaism. Cf. H. Wolfson, "The pre-existent Angel of the Magharians and Al-Nāhawadi," *JQR* 51 (1960) 89-106. A demonized Demiurge certainly plays a role in the mythical Gnosticism of the *Ap. John* CG II,1:10.2-23, CG III,1:15.4-16.3, CG IV,1:16.1-6 and BG 38.6-19. The conception of the Demiurge, at least in western Valentinianism is, however, more positive, since here the Demiurge is an "image" of the Father and an instrument of higher powers. (Cf. the note to line 24.). Cf. also Eph 2:2.

100.21 *He is lord of all:* This could also be a circumstantial, "since he is." For the construction, cf. 52.5. For the designation of the Archon as "lord of all," cf. the title *παντοκράτωρ* in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1.

100.22 *countenance:* The Savior was said to be the countenance of the Father (86.28, 91.33-34), and those who accompany him were said to be countenances of the aeons of the Pleroma (87.18-20). Both of those countenances represented the Father on the intermediate level of being, in the world of the Logos. The new "countenance" represents the Father on the next level of being.

100.24 *as a representation:* In several Valentinian texts the Demiurge is said to be the image (*εἰκὼν*) or in the image (*ἐν εἰκόνι*) of the Father. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 47.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1 (here the Demiurge is said to be in the image of the Son); Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* 7.7; and in the commentary by Clement of Alexandria on a fragment of Valentinus himself (*Strom.* 4.13.90,2). It is no doubt significant that the *Tri. Trac.* does not use the term *εἰκὼν* for the Demiurge. As has been noted (cf. the remarks on 78.32-34), that term is reserved in this text for the spiritual copies of the transcendent world. The term used here (*εἶμα*) is the technical designation for psychic entities.

The place of the Demiurge in the *Tri. Trac.* is thus very carefully circumscribed and logically developed. He is himself a copy of the Father, but this copy is made at second hand. Hence it would be inappropriate to describe him as a spiritual representation. He is himself a psychic entity. Yet he represents the Father not for the intermediary world but for the world of matter. The representatives of the Father on the intermediary level are in part the Savior, the first countenance of the Father (86.28, 91.33-34), and in part the Logos, who is the first principle of his world (96.17-21). The fact that the Demiurge represents the Father for the material world, while he himself is a psychic entity, is not contradictory. This ambiguous status parallels the status of the Savior, who is himself a Pleromatic being, the fruit of the transcendent aeons (86.25), although he reveals the Father to the Logos and the beings of the intermediary world (91.8,33-34). The positions of both the Savior and the Demiurge ultimately parallel the position of the Father vis-à-vis the aeons of the Pleroma, since he transcends that world although he reveals himself within it.

100.26 *of him*; I.e., the Father.

100.27 *property*: Cf. 59.3,9; 67.14,21; 69.40.

100.28 *father*: Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 47.2 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.2, where the Demiurge is also called "god."

100.28 *demiurge*: Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 47.2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1; the account of Valentinus in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1; and *Val. Exp.* 37.32, 39.16. The term ultimately derives from Plato, *Tim.* 28A, and was a common designation of the creator in Gnostic systems. Cf. e.g., Basilides in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.26.9, 27.9; the Naassenes in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.30-31, and the Peratae in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.17.7. The Greek equivalent of the Coptic translation used in this passage is found in 104.34-105.1 and 105.18.

100.29 *place*: Note that the thought of the restored Logos is given this same designation in 92.26. For the designation of the Demiurge as "place," cf. *Exc. Theod.* 34.1, 61.1-8; *Hippolytus, Ref.* 6.32.7; *CH* 9.6; and Philo, *Op. mun.* 20.

100.31 *uses him*: I.e., the Archon or Demiurge.

100.32 *hand: Ed. pr.* (I. 383–84) note that the symbolism of the “hand” may derive from Jewish Christian traditions. The Messiah and the devil are said to be the two hands of God in Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 20.3–4 and wisdom is given the same designation in *Hom.* 16.12. In Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 2.18 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.20.1, wisdom, here identified with the Logos, is also said to be the hand of God.

100.33 *work on* (ⲡ ⲗⲟⲨⲃ): The Coptic verb is the same word used as a translation of *δημιουργός*. Cf. line 28.

Ed. pr. (I. 384) suggest that the notion that the Demiurge is a servant of Sophia also appears in Heracleon, fr. 48 (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.38). That passage, however, is hardly an apt parallel. There Heracleon, in exegeting John 8:50, argues that the “one who seeks and judges” is not the Demiurge, but Moses. More relevant is fr. 1, where Heracleon, commenting on John 1:3, argues that the Logos (not Sophia) creates the world through the Demiurge. (On this text of Heracleon, cf. the note to 65.9–10). *Ed. pr.* also suggest that Ptolemy makes a similar statement, also as a comment on John 1:3, in the *Letter to Flora* 3.6. Ptolemy uses that text to support the position that the world is the creation neither of God the Father who is perfect, nor of the devil, but of a God of righteousness. In that passage, however, Ptolemy is not concerned with the relationship of the demiurgic God of righteousness to other divine beings apart from the Father. His exegesis is exoteric and has as its main thrust to illustrate the difference between the highest God and the creator. *Ed. pr.* (I. 384) correctly note that the *Letter to Flora* does not identify the Demiurge with the Savior and that the two are distinguished in *Exc. Theod.* 47.1–4, where the Savior is said to be the “first and universal Demiurge,” while the immediate creator of the world is the Demiurge produced by Sophia.

The position of Ptolemy, Heracleon, and *Val. Exp.* on the relationship of the Savior to the Demiurge is thus the same as that of the *Tri. Trac.* Here too the Savior is the ultimate creator of the non-Pleromatic world (87.34–88.8). The immediate creation of the non-Pleromatic world is effected by the Logos through the instrumentality of the Demiurge. Only in Heracleon, however, is the being who uses the Demiurge explicitly named the Logos.

100.35 *prophesied*: The Demiurge is at least once called prophet, in a comment of Clement of Alexandria on a fragment of Valentinus, in

Strom. 4.13.90,2. Heracleon, fr. 8, interprets the prophet, John the Baptist, as a symbol for the Demiurge (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.39). According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3 the Valentinians "divide the prophecies, maintaining that one portion was uttered by the mother, a second by her seed, and a third by the Demiurge." Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.35.2, 4.36. Cf. below 101.16. For treatment of prophecy in the *Tri. Trac.*, cf. 87.36, 97.22 and 113.5-14.

100.36-37 *The things which he has spoken he does:* The activity of the Demiurge is a form of creativity inferior to that exercised in the world of the Pleroma, and to that of the Logos. In both cases creation immediately follows thought. Cf. 64.8-15, 75.30 and 79.32-80.3.

100.37 *When he saw:* The one who sees is the Demiurgic Archon. Cf. Gen 1:4,10,12,18,21,25, and 31. With the work of the Demiurge the text finally discusses the phenomenal, material world.

101.1 *he himself:* The Demiurge commits the error of the hylic offspring of the Logos (79.12-16), from which the aeons of Pleroma were preseeded (62.25-26).

101.3 *not knowing:* For the ignorance of the psychic Demiurge, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4, 1.7.3; *Exc. Theod.* 49.1, 53.2; and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.33, 34.8. In mythological Gnostic texts, cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:11.15-21, 13.28; IV,1:18.3, 21.17-20 and BG 39.5-6, 46.1-5; *Hyp. Arch.* 86.27-31; and *Orig. World* 100.19-20. *Ed. pr.* (I. 386) also cite the motif of the ignorance of the archons in 1 Cor 2:7 and suggest that the theme originated in Jewish circles. Cf. G. Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament," *VC* 19 (1965) 77.

101.4 *within him (ετοοτῷ):* Literally "to his hand" or "to him." This may be equivalent to $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$, "through him." Cf. Crum 427b. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) take $\kappa\iota\mu\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ in a passive sense, "his being moved." Compare Heracleon's comment on the relationship between the Logos and the Demiurge in Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14.

the Spirit: The *Tri. Trac.* has not discussed the spirit as a force operating in or through the Demiurge. The spirit of the Father working in the aeons of the Pleroma has been mentioned (72.2,18; 73.2,5). The spirit operative on this level is no doubt an imitation of that reality of the Pleroma. The spirit operative in the Demiurge is no doubt

identical with the power which the Logos received from the Savior (96.8–10).

101.5 *in a determined way*: Cf. 90.30–31.

which he wants: The subject of this relative could be either the Demiurge or the spirit.

101.6 *he spoke of them*: Cf. 100.36–37.

101.7 *as a representation*: Note the technical term for psychic powers. Cf. 78.32–34.

101.7–8 *spiritual places*: These places are the ones produced by the Logos for his spiritual offspring. Cf. 97.16–27.

101.9 *discussion about the images*: This phrase refers to the whole treatment of the spiritual offspring of the Logos. The generation of these “images” was dealt with in 90.14–95.38. The discussion of the images continued in the remarks on the way the Logos beautified their places above the “organization” in 95.38–97.27.

101.10 *work*: Cf. 100.28,33.

101.11 *is appointed as*: The Demiurge is the father of the material world (100.28, 101.22), but he owes that status to the fact that the Logos appointed (αρκωε) him as such (100.19). The qualitative with the perf. rel. is anomalous and may be corrupt. Cf. 97.31.

101.12 *by himself and by the seeds* (καταραϋ μῆ ἴσπερμα): On the form καταραϋ, cf. καταραϋ in 79.4–5. The emendation of the following conjunction to the particle μεν by *ed. pr.* (Eng.) is unnecessary. The identity of the “seeds” is unclear. The term probably refers to the spiritual offspring of the Logos. Cf. 95.24–38. In particular, in 95.31–32, it is said that the “seed of the promise” is guarded, i.e., kept separate, until the coming of the Savior into the material world. On the reservation of the spiritual seed, cf. also 97.16–27. On the irruption of the “seeds” along with the Savior, cf. 114.10–22 and 115.29–116.5.

In Ptolemy’s system, as *ed. pr.* (I. 386) note, the spiritual element is

also sown as a seed in the Demiurge and brought to perfection "here," in the material world. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.5 and 1.6.4. The Demiurge unknowingly sows that spiritual seed into man when he infuses the soul into Adam, as recorded in Gen 2:7. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.5, and note the attestation of the motif in non-Valentinian texts, such as *Ap. John* CG II,1:19.16-33, III,1:23.19-24.13, IV,1:29.25-27, BG 51.1-52.1; and, with some differences, *Hyp. Arch.* 88.3-15.

101.13 [*the spirit*] ([ΠΙΠ]Ν(ΕΥΜ)Α): The restoration here is not certain, as the apparatus indicates, although it is supported by the mention of the spirit working in the Demiurge in line 4. In the system of Ptolemy, the spiritual seed, called the σπέρμα ἐκλογῆς in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.4, is sown into the Demiurge and then functions as do the seeds and the spirit here in the *Tri. Trac.*, to inspire prophecy. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3.

101.15-16 *spiritual words which are his own*: That the Demiurge is said to speak "spiritual words" on his own account is, at first sight, unusual. That he should know anything of the spiritual world is also incompatible with his ignorance (101.1-3,17). Nevertheless, this passage agrees with Heracleon's comment in fr. 8 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.39) that the Demiurge, symbolized by the prophet John the Baptist, is inspired by the Spirit to prophecy about spiritual truths that he himself does not comprehend.

101.16 <*but*> (<ΑΛΛΑ>): The reading ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ, restored in line 15, demands a corresponding adversative. *Ed. pr.* suggest either ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ <ΤΕΕΙ ΑΛΛΑ> or ΝΕ <ΑΛΛΑ> ῥῆ in line 16. The latter emendation is preferable because the paragraph contrasts the two types of words which the Demiurge speaks, his own and those which issue from the spirit which works invisibly within him. This distinction recalls the distinction of types of material in the Old Testament made by Ptolemy in his *Letter to Flora*. In 4.1 Ptolemy first divides the Pentateuch into (1) parts deriving from the God of the Old Testament, (2) parts deriving from Moses, and (3) parts deriving from the elders. In 5.1 Ptolemy further differentiates the part deriving from God into (1) pure law unmixed with evil, (2) law intertwined with injustice, and (3) law which is exemplary and symbolic. In this exoteric letter, Ptolemy does not discuss the ultimate origin of part 1,

but it presumably corresponds to the words of the spirit mentioned here in the *Tri. Trac.*

It should be noted that the *Tri. Trac.* is concerned not so much with the legal portions of the Old Testament as with the prophetic portions. Cf. 111.6–114.30. A differentiation among prophetic texts similar to that implicit here in the *Tri. Trac.* was made by disciples of Ptolemy, as *ed. pr.* (I. 386) note. According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* (1.7.3) the “mother” (i.e., Sophia) or the elect seed in the Demiurge spoke some prophecy through the Demiurge.

101.16–17 *in an invisible way*: According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3 the Demiurge was unaware of the spiritual forces working in him. Cf. 101.1–3.

Between lines 16 and 17 the faulty surface of the papyrus forced the scribe to leave blank a space which could have accommodated two or three lines.

101.19 *greater than his own essence*: As *ed. pr.* (I. 387) note, the human being produced by the Demiurge and his fellow archons is said to be superior to his creators because of the unseen seed within him. Cf. fr. 1 of Valentinus (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.36,2–4); *Ap. John* CG II,1:20.2–5, III,1:24.17–20, IV,1:30.22–25 and BG 52.8–11; and *Gos. Phil.* 70.22–34. More relevant to this text of the *Tri. Trac.* is the remark in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3, that the seed within the Demiurge which inspired the prophets was of a higher nature (*ὑψηλότερα φύσις*).

101.20–21 *in his essence* (*ἐν τῷ θεογονίᾳ*): Although the Demiurge merits several titles because of his status as head of the “organization,” those titles and that status do not *derive* from his essence, since he is appointed to his position by the Logos. Cf. 100.19 and 101.11.

101.21–22 “god” and “father”: Cf. 100.28.

101.26 *rest*: This is an attribute of the Father (47.17) and the state attained by the redeemed Logos (90.20), which also characterizes his spiritual offspring (92.8). Thus the “rest” established by the Demiurge imitates the aeon of the spiritual offspring of the Logos, which in turn imitated the Pleroma. We find here the same principle of repli-

cation on different levels of being that was also involved in the titles given to the Demiurge. In what follows, further such replications of the world of the Logos in the realm subordinate to the Demiurge are recorded.

101.28 *punishments*: Cf. 96.7.

101.30 *paradise*: Cf. 96.29. *Ed. pr.* (I. 387) argue that the remark of the text about Paradise being “in the aeon” should be taken seriously, and they contrast the *Tri. Trac.* with the *Gos. Truth* 36.35-39 which, in effect, situates paradise in the Pleroma. According to the *Tri. Trac.*, there are in fact three paradises, one in the spiritual aeon of the Logos (96.29), one in the psychic realm of the Demiurge, and one in the material world (106.27).

101.31 *kingdom*: Cf. 96.35.

101.32-33 *aeon which exists before him*: This is probably the spiritual aeon. Cf. 90.14, 93.14.

101.33 *They are more valuable* (ΕΥΣΑΤΠΕ): The form is pres. II. The subject pronoun refers to the entities of the spiritual aeon.

101.34 *imprints* (ΤΟΥΒΕ): The form here is otherwise unattested, but should be linked with ΤΩΩΒΕ, “seal” (Crum 298a).

thought: This must be the self-understanding of the Archon, as the following lines make clear.

102.1 *garment*: For the significance of the garment imagery in the *Tri. Trac.*, cf. 63.12. *Heracleon, fr. 5* (*Origen, In Joh.* 6.20) uses the image of the Savior’s garments to describe the role of the Demiurge as prophet and forerunner. Note, too, the play on the Coptic words 21-βEC (shadow) and 2βC (garment).

102.4 *workers* (ΠΕϞᲠ 2ΩΒ): The term could also be translated “demiurges.” Cf. 100.28. In non-Valentinian texts, the chief Archon or Demiurge creates a series of archons who rule the heavens and assist in the creation of the material human being. Cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:10.24-11.10, III,1:16.4-17.5, BG 39.6-42.10; and *Hyp. Arch.* 94.34-95.4. Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 47.3.

102.8 *countenance*: Cf. 100.22, where the Demiurge is said to be the countenance of the Father, produced by the Logos.

102.13 *images*: Here the *Tri. Trac.* diverges from the technical use of the "image" terminology, which regularly has been applied to the spiritual offspring of the Logos. Here the "images" are not themselves spiritual beings, but copies of the Savior ("the light which appeared") and the true spiritual beings. Cf. 106.7.

102.15 Here again a space which could accommodate four more lines has been left blank, although the surface of the papyrus is little different here from that of the rest of the page. Cf. 101.16.

102.16 *Thus* (ΜΠΡΗΤΕ ΧΕ): The compound conjunction here may translate a Greek ὡς or ὥστε. The δε in the following line is frequently coupled with χε as the introductory particle. If that usage is present here, ΜΠΡΗΤΕ would be unexplained.

102.19–20 *they were established* (ΑΥΤΕΖΟΝΟΥ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ): The paragraph repeats the discussion of 101.25–33. Perhaps the reduplication indicates a two-fold action on the part of the Demiurge, which parallels the two-fold action of the Logos, who first produced the spiritual powers (92.22–93.13), then beautified their place (96.26–97.16). The emendation suggested by *ed. pr.*, <Ν>ΖΝΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΣ, would make the parallel even closer.

102.26 *lord*: This term designating the chief Archon or Demiurge (100.21) may have pejorative connotations here, in as much as the domination of this figure is the ultimate embodiment of the attitude of "lust for power," which characterizes the psychic and hylic offspring of the Logos.

102.27 *After he listened to him* (ΜΝΗΣΑ ΤΡΕΦΣΑΤΑΜ ΑΡΑΥ): The unusual form of the infinitive for "to hear" is equivalent to ΣΩΤῆ. The subject of the inflected infinitive is, no doubt, the Demiurge. The object of the preposition is unclear. It is possibly the Logos who appointed the Demiurge or the spirit which moves within him (101.4–5, 102.32). *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) apparently take the pronominal suffix to be a reference to the "lights," and translate "after he heard in this way, correctly, concerning the lights." This construction is certainly possible, although the text should be emended to ΑΡΑΥ. In any case, there

has been no explicit mention of the Demiurge's hearing about the lights of the Pleroma. The reference to the Demiurge's listening to someone tell about these lights would be an allusion to the prophetic speech which issues from the spirit and the spiritual seeds (101.15-19). Although the Demiurge remains ignorant of the source of this speech, he presumably learns from it about the transcendent Pleroma and the spiritual aeon. Note that the Demiurge Ialdabaoth has a similar experience in *Ap. John* CG II,1:14.13-24, III,1:21.16-24, IV,1:22.15-23.2, BG 47.14-48.4.

102.28 *properly*: If the suggestion in the previous note is correct and the Demiurge has listened to the Logos or the prophetic spirit speaking about the lights of the Pleroma, the use of this adverb might be intelligible. It is proper that a psychic being should gain his knowledge of the transcendent world not through a direct revelation of that world, such as that accorded to the Logos (88.8-14, 90.14), but mediately, through discourse about that world.

102.29 *source*: Recall the designation of the Logos as the basic principle of the non-Pleromatic world (96.19).

102.30 *and the system*: The term *σύστασις* has been used both in the transcendent Pleroma (59.29, 71.7) and the "organization" (79.25, 98.31). It might make slightly better sense to say that the lights are the source of the system, i.e., of the organization outside the Pleroma, but they are a "system" in themselves. That systematic arrangement provides the model for the "organization."

he set them: The Demiurge appointed the images of the "lights" to rule over the world.

103.2 *servant*: The instrument of the Demiurge consists of a plurality of powers, as the following discussion makes clear. Cf. also 102.3-5. It is possible that the text should be emended to the plural. However, it is also possible that the term "servant" is used as a collective for the body of servants of the Demiurge. This usage could be influenced by the parallel with the Logos, who uses a single servant, the Demiurge. Cf. 100.31-35. Note, too, Heracleon, fr. 48 (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.38), where the Demiurge is described as a "servant" appointed for specific purposes by the higher power.

103.5-6 *as if he were a face* (ἄπρητη εὔνη ζω ζωτη): The

translation follows that of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.). Just as the Demiurge is the countenance (100.22) or visible expression of the Father, so too, he has a visible expression. *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) take $\zeta\omega$ not from $\zeta\omicron$, "face" (Crum 646b), but from $\zeta\omega$, "it is enough" (Crum 651a), which makes little sense in this context.

103.11 *bonds* ($\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\zeta[\bar{\nu}\alpha\zeta]$): The traces of the last two doubtful letters are quite ambiguous and the restoration is very uncertain.

103.12 *archons* ($[\bar{\nu}\alpha]\rho\chi\omega\nu$): The traces of the first remaining letters on this line are uncertain, but they are not compatible with the alternative reading suggested by *ed. pr.* (I. 310), $[\zeta\gamma]\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$.

103.12-13 *securely* ($\omicron\gamma\mu\bar{\nu}[\tau\tau\omega]\zeta$): The reconstruction adopted here was suggested by Zandee, who read $\omicron\gamma\mu[\bar{\nu}\tau\tau\omega\zeta]$. The restoration remains somewhat tentative.

103.13 *The whole establishment of matter*: This concluding paragraph of the first part of the *Tri. Trac.* does not begin with the introductory $\alpha\epsilon$, but it clearly serves to summarize the structure of the lowest level of the non-material world, the world of hylic powers. The structure of this segment of the great chain of being is, like the whole non-material world, arranged in three parts, with the initial hylic offspring of the Logos at the top of the hierarchical organization. Subordinate to them are the offspring of the hylic powers, characterized primarily by their ambitious love of power. Subordinate to them are the further offspring of the hylic powers, who embody attitudes and qualities inferior to ambition and love of power. The spiritual offspring of the Logos are not directly involved in this hierarchical organization, since they were reserved for their mission in the material world (93.14-19). Similarly there is no mention in this summary of the psychic powers.

The principle of a three-fold organization exemplified here was first found in the transcendent Pleroma, which consists of Father, Son, and Church. It was next exemplified in the organization of the entire non-material world, which is divided into three levels, the transcendent Pleroma which springs from the Father, the intermediate, spiritual aeon over which the Logos directly rules, and the realm of the hylic and psychic powers, governed by the Demiurge. Thirdly, the whole organization of the Logos is divided into three parts, the aeon of

the spiritual powers, and the two hierarchically arranged psychic and hylic orders. Finally, all of reality can be seen as an organization of three main parts: the transcendent Pleroma; the intermediate world of the Logos, including all his spiritual, psychic, and hylic offspring; and finally the world of matter, the creation of which is yet to be described.

103.14 *divided* ([ϣπ]αϣ): The verb is probably an unusual qualitative of πωϣ (Crum 277a). παϣ would normally be the pre-pronominal form of the infinitive, while the qualitative would be πηϣ. The pre-pronominal infinitive cannot be used here in a bi-partite conjugation.

strong powers (ΝΙΒΟΜ ΜΕΝ [ΕΤΧΟΟΡ]): These powers are said to originate from "phantasy and arrogance." Such an origin is described only for the hylic powers (78.7-17, 82.19-22 and 98.5).

103.18 *the first spiritual rank*: It seems at first sight strange that hylic powers should be associated with a spiritual rank. The term is used here analogously, since the highest hylic powers have the same position in their sphere as do the true spiritual powers in the whole world of the Logos.

103.19-20 (*powers*) *which these produced by their lust for power*: For this stage of hylic production, cf. 79.20-80.9. The position of these powers "in the middle" corresponds to the general position of psychic powers. Cf. 98.17.

103.25-26 *Those which came into being through envy*: This third stage of hylic production is described in 85.1-12. It was already suggested in 80.10-11, at the end of the description of the first offspring of the initial hylic powers.

103.31 *generation* (ΠΙΜΙΣΕ): The Coptic probably translates the Greek *γένεσις*, which can be used as a designation for the whole phenomenal world. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 245E and *Tim.* 29C.

103.33 *rapidly* (ΣΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ): The S form would be ΝΣΑ ΤΟΟΤΟΥ (Crum 427a). Cf. 64.33 for the form more usual in this text.

103.34 *eagerly desire* (ΕΛΩΛ): The form is probably to be connected with αλωλ (Crum 6a).

103.39 *continuously on matter* (ΕΥ[Μ]ΗΝ ΑΤΖΥΛΗ): *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) suggest a different restoration and word division ΕΥ[ΟΕ]Ι ΝΑΤΖΥΛΗ “being immaterial.” The restoration adopted here is suggested by the sequel, where the purpose of the activity of the hylic archons is indicated. The continuous existence of their material offspring suggests that their activity is continuous as well. For the notion that the world of matter achieves a sort of stability by the continuous process of generation, cf. Aristotle, *De caelo* 1.10–12 (279b9–283b20).

104.2–3 *their glory*: The first part of the *Tri. Trac.* closes with an affirmation of the positive value of the world which has emanated from the Father.

Following the last word on line 3 there is a decoration which separates parts 1 and 2 of the *Tri. Trac.* This decoration consists of an *ankh* sign (☩), followed by a series of angular marks ending in a horizontal line (>>>>>—). These fill the remainder of the line. The decoration is continued on the next line beginning in the left margin and extending to the space under the *ankh* sign. The first angular mark in each series is formed with a flourish, which gives the first mark the appearance of an underlined c.

Part II (104.4–108.12)

11. The Creation of Humanity (104.4–108.12)

The second part of the *Tri. Trac.*, set off from what precedes and what follows by decorative marks, is a relatively brief discussion about the origin of humanity. The account begins with a general and rather abstract statement about matter as a cause (104.4–9). Then the text describes in summary fashion the creation of the phenomenal world apart from humankind. This whole creation is a projection or shadow of the intermediary powers (104.9–30). Next the text deals with the mechanism by which mankind was created. Like all else in the phenomenal world, the creation of humanity was the work of the Logos acting through the Demiurge (104.31–105.10). Not only does this creation proceed through the ignorant Demiurge, but also through the “living spirit” (105.10–28). Now that the material and efficient causes of mankind have been detailed, the text describes the process of the formation of the human soul. Components of that soul come from three sources: the spiritual part from the Logos, the psychic part from the Demiurge, and the material part from the powers of the left

(105.29-106.5). The characteristics of those three components of the human soul are then described (106.6-18). Then it is affirmed that the first human soul is a combination of the three components and that it was set in a suitably tripartite paradise (106.18-31). The command of the Demiurge and the error of the first human being in paradise are then recounted (106.31-107.18). The section ends with a discussion of the expulsion from paradise, which is seen to be a work of providence. Mankind experiences the death of ignorance, but that experience has a role to play in the ultimate attainment of salvation (107.19-108.12).

104.4 *matter which flows*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 183) note, the account of the creation of humanity parallels closely the remarks of Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.5. There man is said to be made out of "the invisible substance," the "liquid and flowing part of matter." Note, too, the imagery of creation from what is in flux in the account of the Naasenes in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7.38-41. Such discussions may well be inspired by the account of matter given by Plato, *Tim.* 49A-52C. Cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 382-86.

104.5 *which* (ετε): *Ed. pr.* (II. 179) suggest that the relative pronoun here may be a mistake for νετε, but that is unlikely.

104.5-6 *invisible*: Why matter should be somehow a cause of invisibility is not clear. There is probably a connection with the exegesis of Gen 1:2. This verse seems to be interpreted in *Exc. Theod.* 47.4, where "invisibility" is taken to mean formlessness, as *ed. pr.* (II. 193) note. Note the formlessness of matter in *Tim.* 50D. Cf. also *Orig. World* 127.14-22.

104.6 *powers*: These powers are probably the three orders of the offspring of the Logos on the intermediate level of being.

104.7 [...].ε: The restoration of *ed. pr.* is excluded on paleographical grounds. The syntax of the remaining text suggests that a verb form should be restored.

104.7-8 *for [...]* (ενοϋ[...]): Any restoration here would be quite conjectural. *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) propose an infinitive ενοϋ[ϱμε ρε], "to save." The νοϋ may also be the plural possessive prefix,

followed by a noun or infinitive, e.g., $\epsilon\text{ΝΟΥ}[\tau\alpha\chi\rho\omicron]$ “for their stabilization,” or $\epsilon\text{ΝΟΥ}[\chi\pi\omicron]$ “for their offspring.”

104.8 *as they beget before them*: The verb form could either be a circumstantial or a pres. II. In the latter case the phrase would be translated, “Before them do they beget.” The identity of the object of the preposition is uncertain. Perhaps the referent for the pronominal suffix is given in the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

104.8–9 [*destroy*] ($\epsilon\gamma[\tau\epsilon\kappa]\omicron$): Again the restoration is quite conjectural.

104.11–12 [*begetting*] ($\text{Μ}\bar{\text{N}}[\text{Τ}\text{Μ}\text{Ι}\text{C}]\epsilon\text{Π}\epsilon$): The $\text{Π}\epsilon$ at the beginning of line 12 is probably the copula. Some abstract noun is to be restored at the end of line 11. *Ed. pr.* suggest “obedience.” The restoration here depends to some degree on the understanding of the “thought,” set up between the two orders. This may be the “agreement in lust for power” (99.19–21) which the two orders share, or, more likely, the thought which the Logos stripped from himself, which draws the psychic powers into a material union (98.27–31). This might be described as a “power of begetting,” $\text{Β}\text{Ο}\text{Μ}\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}[\text{Τ}\text{Μ}\text{Ι}\text{C}]\epsilon$ or a “power of creating,” $\text{Β}\text{Ο}\text{Μ}\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}[\text{Τ}\text{Ε}\text{Ι}\text{P}]\epsilon$. Since the powers of the intermediate world go on to produce something, a reference to the power which brings about that production would be appropriate here. The first sentence of this paragraph functions as a general heading for the discussion of the creative activity of the powers.

104.12 *All those* ($\text{Ν}\alpha\epsilon\text{Ι}\ \text{Τ}\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$): *Ed. pr.* take this pronoun as if it were a dative ($\bar{\text{N}}\text{Ν}\alpha\epsilon\text{Ι}\ \text{Τ}\eta\rho\omicron\gamma$), dependent on $\text{Β}\text{Ο}\text{Μ}$ in line 11. It is more likely, however, that a new sentence begins here. The pronoun with the following relative clause in line 12, is, like the parallel construction in line 16, the proposed subject of the verb in lines 20–21.

which the [first ones] ($\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{Ν}\psi[\alpha\rho\epsilon]\eta$): *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest as a possible translation “which we have [mentioned].” This would require $\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{Ν}\psi[\rho\pi\ \text{Ν}\chi\omicron\omicron]\gamma$, *vel. sim.* Such a restoration is too long for the lacuna and it ignores the Ι after the Ν . Also, the last trace on the line is incompatible with a γ . The designation “first ones” presumably applies to the “powers” mentioned in line 6.

104.13 *to make* ($\lambda\epsilon\omicron\gamma$): This pre-pronominal form of the infinitive $\epsilon\text{Ι}\rho\epsilon$ may support the restoration $\text{Μ}\bar{\text{N}}[\text{Τ}\text{Ε}\text{Ι}\text{P}]\epsilon$ in line 11.

104.14 *projection* (ΟΥΕΙΝΕ): The word is clearly a noun, not a verb, as *ed. pr.* (Ger.) assume. Their translation also misunderstands the parenthetical remark ΜΠΡΗΤΕ ΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ. The word ΕΙΝΕ could also be translated “representation,” but that technical term for the psychic order is hardly appropriate here. On the basis of that mistranslation *ed. pr.* (II. 193) associate this passage with the remarks in *Exc. Theod.* 47.2-3, where the archangels are described as images of the Pleromatic aeons. The “projection” of the powers of the intermediary world is constituted by the components of the phenomenal world.

104.15 *shadow*: Hylic powers of the intermediate world are shadows of the aeons of the Pleroma (78.33; 79.30,35; 85.18; 102.1). The “Kenoma” or world outside the Pleroma is associated with the realm of shadow in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1.

104.17 *roots of the visible creation*: These roots are probably not the powers of the intermediate world, but their material projection or shadow. These projections are also described in this paragraph as the “preparation of the adornment” of the intermediate powers (104.18-19) and as “the things which he had created” for the sake of mankind (104.29).

104.18 *namely* (ΧΕ): The translation follows the suggestion of Zandee. Cf. Crum 746b. Emendation is unnecessary.

104.20-21 *have come into being* (ΕΡΕΨΤΑΥΩΠΕ): This perf. II is the main predication in the lengthy period extending from 104.12-25.

104.21 *those who need*: Beings on various levels of reality need education and formation, including the aeons of the Pleroma (62.20-30; 64.37-65.14; 71.18-23), the Logos (90.1-13), and his psychic offspring (98.32-99.4). In fact, everything outside the Father needs redemption, which consists in formation (124.26-125.11). Thus it is hardly clear that the world was created, as *ed. pr.* (II. 193) suggest, simply for the sake of formation of spiritual human beings. As in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1, which *ed. pr.* cite in favor of their interpretation, it is the case here both that what is spiritual receives psychic instruction and that the Savior comes to the psychic in order to save it. For the

formation of the spiritual element, cf. 116.18–20; 123.11–22. For the formation of the psychic offspring of the Logos, cf. 98.32–99.4. That passage in particular suggests that the world was created primarily for the salvation of what is psychic. In the phenomenal world, it must be remembered, the psychic substance is not the property of only one type of human being. Cf. 106.18–31.

104.23 *smallness*: This is a characteristic of mankind which the Savior takes upon himself (115.6). Psychic powers in the intermediate world were called the “little one” (89.10).

104.24–25 *little by little*: The gradual nature of the process of enlightenment has frequently been stressed. Cf. 64.34; 90.7; 95.9–14.

104.25 *mirror image*: The metaphor suggests that the material world, like every other level of being, is a reflection of the transcendent world. For the widespread use of this metaphor, found here and at 123.14, but not in other Valentinian texts, cf. R. Mortley, “The Mirror and 1 Cor. 13,12 in the Epistemology of Clement of Alexandria,” *VC* 30 (1976) and 109–20.

104.27 *at the end*: Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 41.4.

104.31 *Like all else* (ἄπρητε ἄπκρωσῆ): Here human creation is recounted. It is like the rest of creation because it is effected by the Logos through the Demiurge. As *ed. pr.* (II. 194–95) note, this stage of the myth parallels the accounts of the creation of mankind by Sophia in other Valentinian texts, when she regularly causes the Demiurge to infuse spirit into Adam. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.5 and *Exc. Theod.* 5.3. The doctrine seems to be presupposed by fr. 1 of Valentinus (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.36,2–4) and is ultimately derived from non-Valentinian Gnosticism, such as the *Ap. John* CG II,1:19.13–33; III,1:23.14–24.13; IV,1:29.23; BG 50.15–51.20. Cf. also *Hyp. Arch.* 88.3–89.15. Nonetheless, here as in Heracleon, fr. 1 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14) and *Exc. Theod.* 2.1, it is the Logos, not Sophia, who initiates the process.

104.34 *invisibly*: For the theme that the work of higher powers in the Demiurge is invisible and hence unknown to him, cf. 101.3–4.

105.1 *his angelic servants*: Cf. 99.36, 102.5. For the role of the angels in creation, cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:15.1-29, III,1:22.4-18, IV,1:23.15-24.1, BG 48.10-49.9, and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.1.

105.2 *multitudes* (ΜΗΨ[Ε]): The reading of the damaged letters and the restoration are both uncertain.

105.3-4 *being like a shadow* (ΕΦΘΕΙ ΜΠΡΗΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΖΑΕΙΒΕΣ): As the text stands, ΕΦΘΕΙ seems to be a circumstantial modifying the Demiurge. It is unlikely, however, that the Demiurge would be called a "shadow of earthly man." Since the text goes on in lines 6-7 to speak of man, it is likely that the same subject is involved in line 4. Hence we adopt the emendation Ν<ΒΙ Π> making ΡΜΝΚΑΖ the subject of a pres. II, ΕΦΘΕΙ.

105.5-6 *those cut off from the Totalities*: This is probably a reference to the hylic powers who were separated from the psychic powers and cast into the "abyss" (88.24, 89.24-28).

105.7 *he is something prepared*: The subject is certainly the "earthly man," of line 4.

105.7-8 *right...left*: These are the psychic and hylic powers respectively. Cf. 98.16-19.

105.9 *form to the [...]* (ΜΟΡΦΗ Μ[...]): *Ed. pr.* reconstruct here to the [human body]. While it is clear that human creation is being discussed in this paragraph, it is uncertain that bodily creation is being described.

105.10 Restoration of the lacuna at the beginning of this paragraph is uncertain. *Ed. pr.* (II. 179) suggest either "form" or "substance," both of which are feminine nouns in Coptic, agreeing with the feminine article †. The process to which allusion is made here is that described in 77.25-36, where the self-exaltation of the Logos and the resulting sicknesses are described. That production of the Logos is here contrasted with the intentional production of the first human being.

105.12 *as he [was]* (ΜΠCΜΑΤ ΕΝΤΑΨ[ΩΠΕ]): The prepositional

phrase here may also be translated "in the form which was, etc." This phrase would then presumably describe whatever the Logos brought forth and not the condition of the Logos himself. For a parallel to the phrase as construed here, cf. 64.12. The original Greek probably used *ὡς* in a comparative, causal, or temporal sense.

105.13 *did not resemble him*: The pronominal suffix here probably refers to the human being which the Logos created, who was first mentioned in 104.31. The Logos intentionally moves to effect this creation (104.26–35), whereas his first emanations were produced in forgetfulness and ignorance (77.23–24).

105.14 *he brought it forth*: The object here is the first emanation of the Logos.

105.17 *although the Logos gave*: The circumstantial here should probably be taken adversatively. Despite the fact that the Demiurge acts in ignorance (101.3, 104.34), the production of the first human being is an intentional act of the Logos.

first form: *Ed. pr.* (II. 196) note the parallel to the discussion of the generation of the aeons of the Pleroma (61.11–18), where the first formation is equivalent to the bestowal of the knowledge that the Father exists. At that stage the Totalities have yet to learn what the nature of the Father is. Cf. 65.14–17. Similarly in the human world, a first formation is given along with creation, which enables human beings to know "that the exalted one exists." Discovery of the nature of that exalted one depends on a further revelation.

The notion that there were "two formations" appears frequently in Valentinian texts. Ptolemy, for example, distinguishes two formations of the fallen Sophia, one "according to substance" (*κατ' οὐσίαν*), and a second "according to knowledge" (*κατὰ γνῶσιν*). Both are effected by Christ or the Savior (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1, 4.5; *Exc. Theod.* 45.1). Heracleon, fr. 2 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.21), also mentions a first formation, but on the human level. This takes place "according to generation" (*κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν*), and provides a certain illumination (*φωτισμός*). The content of this illumination is not stated and the formation, according to Origen, affects only spiritual human beings. *Ed. pr.* (II. 197) are probably correct to note that in both Heracleon and the *Tri. Trac.* there is a notion of a "natural" knowledge of God

and not simply a supernatural revelation, which is common in other Valentinian texts.

105.19-20 *so that he would learn*: The pronoun here, as in lines 13 and 21, refers to the first human being.

105.20 *the exalted one*: As regularly, this term refers to the Father.

105.21 *he needs [him]*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 18.32-38 and *Tri. Trac.* 62.12-14.

105.23 *Living Spirit* (ΝΙΚΕ ΝΩΝΖ): This could also be translated "breath of life." Cf. Gen 2:7. Hence the "prophet" is probably Moses, or even the Demiurge, who, according to Heracleon, fr. 48 (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.38), is represented by Moses. As *ed. pr.* (II. 197) note, there are allusions to the verse in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4-5 and *Exc. Theod.* 50.3. The infusion of spirit into the human body is an important moment in many Gnostic interpretations of Genesis. Cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:19.22-33, III,1:24.7-13, BG 51.14-20; *Hyp. Arch.* 88.3-5; *Orig. World* 115.11-14.

105.23-24 *the Breath* (ΠΝ[Ο]ΕΙ): *Ed. pr.* (II. 179) suggest that this word is an orthographic variant of ΠΝΟΗ (πνοή), "breath," which would, of course, fit the context of the exegesis of Genesis. ΠΝΟΕΙ could also be related to νοῦς, although one would expect the nominative case to be used. Cf. 54.15.

105.25 *living soul*: Cf. Gen. 2:7. *Ed. pr.* (II. 197) note that the connection of spirit with "soul" is exceptional in Valentinian texts, although they find such a connection in fr. 32 and 35 of Heracleon (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.41 and 13.49). It should be noted that neither this text nor the fragments of Heracleon identify the spiritual element with the human soul. Here the spiritual element is but one component of the human soul (106.23-25). The fragments of Heracleon may presuppose the same psychology. Cf. also *Hyp. Arch.* 88.16.

105.26-27 *power which was dead*: This is presumably the body. Cf. the mythical accounts cited in 105.23.

105.27 *is ignorance* (ΝΤΕ †ΜΝΤΑΤΣΑΥΝ[Ε]): The text here is

probably corrupt. The easiest emendation is to see in $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ a misspelling of the feminine copula. For the association of ignorance and death, cf. *Gos. Truth* 21.34–37 and *Tri. Trac.* 107.30–31.

105.30 *soul*: This paragraph enumerates the three components of the human soul, the spiritual element which issues from the Logos, the psychic element which issues from the Demiurge (105.35–37), and the hylic element which issues from the hylic powers (106.2–5).

105.33 *that it is his*: For this particular bit of ignorance on the part of the Demiurge, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.5–6, which describes how humanity simultaneously received a spiritual element with the psychic. Cf. also the note to 101.3.

105.34 *a mouth* ($\omicron\Upsilon\bar{\rho}\{p\}\omicron$): Cf. 100.34, 103.5 and the note to 105.23.

105.38 *power of procreation*: Cf. 102.3–26.

106.1 $\text{>}\chi\epsilon$: Before the conjunction which begins this line there is a trace of what may be a marginal decoration.

representation: Note the technical term for a psychic power. On the ontological status of the Demiurge, cf. the note to 100.24.

106.4 *of their own* ($\text{'}\rho\text{'}\epsilon\nu\omicron\Upsilon\omicron\Upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon$): The supralinear addition is apparently erroneous.

106.6–7 *a single thing* ($\omicron\Upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\{\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}\}$): The reading of the beginning of line 7 is difficult. There is no room before $\epsilon\iota$ for another letter, as the [p] restored by *ed. pr.* The letter after $\epsilon\iota$ is quite uncertain. For the form $\omicron\Upsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, cf. 67.14,33; 68.21; 69.40; 73.9–10; 106.23–24. Similarly the $\tau\epsilon$ is quite uncertain. Above the ϵ there is clearly a supralinear addition which is best interpreted as an ι , flanked by the two points of a diaeresis. Perhaps the scribe meant to correct the copula $\tau\epsilon$ to the demonstrative $\tau\epsilon\iota$, although this word makes little sense here. Note the other erroneous supralinear correction in line 4.

The singularity of the spiritual substance consists in its single orientation to the single exalted one. This contrasts with the double orientation of the psychic substance (line 11) and the multiple orientation of the hylic (lines 16–18).

106.7 *representation*: This term, used for the spiritual substance, is applied here in a non-technical sense. Cf. 102.13. It may be that the term is deliberately applied here to the spiritual component of the human soul. That component is said in the next line to be weak. That weakness presumably arises from the association of the spiritual with the psychic and hylic components of the soul, as is stated explicitly in 106.23-25. Thus the spiritual substance in the human soul is not kept apart from the other orders of being as is the spiritual aeon produced by the Logos (93.14-19), which is its source. That aeon is also the source of the spiritual beings who bring the revelation into the world (116.5-7). Thus the spiritual substance serves two functions, one psychological and one soteriological.

106.9 [*many*] *forms*: Cf. 90.30-31. For the multiplicity of the spiritual companions of the Savior, cf. 87.27.

106.10 [ϰω]φϸ: The last two letters are quite uncertain. Cf. line 14.

106.11 *double*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 198-99) note, the doctrine that what is psychic can be assimilated either to spirit or to matter is common in western Valentinian texts. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.6-6.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 56.3. As Zandee (*Terminology*, 17) notes, similar remarks are made by Plotinus about the soul in *Enn.* 4.8.4. The same notion is developed later in this text (119.20-121.38). In the later passage the *Tri. Trac.* discusses actual human beings. Here the focus is on the components of the human soul.

106.12 *confession*: Psychic powers on the intermediate level of being did not initially acknowledge the existence of the exalted Father (84.23). They do, however, have a vague idea about the Father and, upon the appearance of the Savior, they acknowledge him and the exalted one (89.8-20). Thus the individual human soul, by virtue of the fact that it contains a psychic element which has been affected by the appearance of the Savior on the intermediate level prior to the material creation, has a limited natural knowledge that the Father exists. That limited knowledge may be described as the salvific thought (119.34). The acknowledgement of the exalted one in response to the appearance of the Savior in the phenomenal world will ultimately be salvific for human beings (120.2-6, 121.29). It should

also be noted that prophets (111.22,34) confessed the exalted one. In 128.16 and 132.17 "confession" is said to be specifically trinitarian and Christological.

106.14 *inclination of the thought*: Psychic substance has an inclination to acknowledge the Father. See the preceding note.

106.16 *many forms*: For the multiplicity of hylic substance, cf., e.g., 80.3-11 and 85.10-12. *Ed. pr.* (II. 199) note that the association of multiplicity and evil is a Platonic theme. Cf. also Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* 7.7; *Gos. Truth* 25.10-19; and *Treat. Res.* 49.14.

106.19 *mixed formation*: As the paragraph goes on to explain, the mixture consists of the three components of the human soul. Such a tripartite psychology is a traditional doctrine of Platonism. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 246E, 253C; *Rep.* 436A, 580D; *Tim.* 89E; Albinus, *Didas.* 5.2. For the notion of the human being as a mixture of spirit and lower elements, cf. Zandee, *Terminology* 22.

The formulation of this paragraph, detailing the composition of the soul of the first human being, is extremely significant. There is no reason to assume that the souls of subsequent human beings differ from that of the first member of the race. This suggests that, for the *Tri. Trac.* at least, the tripartition of human beings, mentioned in 118.14-58, is not determined by the constitution of different types of human souls. All souls are composed of all three types of substance deriving from the intermediate world. The division of mankind into three types is only a result of the coming of the Savior. The classification is made on the basis of the response of different human beings to that coming, as different people actualize the different potentialities of their souls. A conception of the composite human being similar to that present in this paragraph occurs in *Exc. Theod.* 51-53, which describes conflict between the spiritual, psychic, and hylic elements of the soul. It occurs also in *Exc. Theod.* 2.1-2, as *ed. pr.* (II. 199) note.

106.24 *which he takes* (ΕΝΤΑ2ΧΙ): One would expect ΕΝΤΑϚ here, since the subject of the relative is different from the antecedent. The subject must be the "first human being," mentioned in line 18.

106.28-29 *three kinds of tree*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 199) note, this allusion to Genesis probably presupposes an allegorical interpretation of the

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trees in paradise. They suggest that the tree of life is seen as a symbol of spiritual nourishment; the tree of the knowledge of good and evil a symbol of psychic nourishment because of its double aspect; and the other trees symbols of hylic nourishment. Cf. 107.1-8.

The value of the trees differs in various Gnostic allegorizations of the paradise story. In several texts the forbidden tree of knowledge is seen as the source of enlightenment, whereas the tree of life conveys only the psychic life of the Archons. Cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:21.16-26, III,1:27.3-15, IV,1:33.1-13, BG 55.18-56.11; *Testim. Truth* 45.23-47.14; and *Hyp. Arch.* 88.24-89.3. In *Orig. World* 110.2-29, however, both trees are viewed positively and in *Gos. Phil.* 71.22-72.4 the tree of life is seen to be superior to the tree of knowledge. Further, *Gos. Phil.* 73.27-74.12 views the tree of knowledge as evil and equates it with the Law. The interpretation of the trees in the *Tri Trac.* is closer to that in the later two texts. For yet another allegorical treatment of the trees of Paradise, cf. the book of Baruch in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.26.5-6 and *Gos. Thom.* 19.

The interpretation of the tree of knowledge as an inferior entity enables this text to make sense of the command not to eat of that tree, and of the punishment of death, here interpreted as ignorance, for disobeying that command. Cf. the note to 107.16. In Gnostic interpretations of Genesis which evaluate positively the tree of knowledge, it makes little sense that death should result from eating the fruit of that tree.

106.29 *garden* (ϩOM): The Coptic word is ambiguous. It could be the term for "power," but is more likely a form of ϩOM, "garden" (Crum 817b), as Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 140) notes.

106.31 *since it* (ϵNTAQ): The form is taken here as a circumstantial. It could also be an orthographic variant of the independent personal pronoun. Cf. 52.5.

106.32 *substance*: This is presumably the spiritual component of the human soul.

106.35 *them*: The antecedent of this pronoun is uncertain. The most likely candidate is the archons who cooperate with the Demiurge in fashioning the first human being. These archons are apparently the subject of the next sentence. Why the archons should issue a threat-

ening command if the elect substance does not “wound them” is unclear. In non-Valentinian accounts the archons are normally threatened by the spiritual substance in their human creation. Cf. *Ap. John* CG II,1:19.34–30.9, III,1:24.13–24, BG 52.8–17. The basis for this episode is the myth is, of course, Gen 2:16–17.

106.37 *upon him*: That is, upon the first human being.

107.1–2 *the enjoyment* (α†απολαυσις): The first α here is probably an instance of the reduplication of the conjugation base. The emendation by *ed. pr.* (α†<οϋ>απολαυσις) does not yield an acceptable syntax.

107.4 *the other tree*: This is the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the tree with “double fruit.” Cf. the note to 106.28–29.

107.8 Restoration at the end of this line can only be conjectural. The different suggestions of *ed. pr.* are: “une [vaine] gloire,” “Ehre w[egen] den Verunlassungen,” and “honor [which did not agree] with them.”

107.9 The construction here is probably parallel to that in line 7, which is to be restored as a neg. fut. III. The verb to be restored is uncertain. *Ed. pr.* suggest “strengthened,” which is palaeographically possible. Other restorations suggested by *ed. pr.* (Eng.) involve a misreading of the first letter in line 10.

107.11 *serpent*: Evaluations of the serpent from the Genesis account vary. In some texts it is viewed as a revealer who induces men to eat of the good tree of knowledge. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* 89.32–90.10; *Orig. World.* 118.24–119.7; *Testim. Truth* 45.31–46.7; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.7,15; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.28; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.2.6. However, that exegesis is also opposed, e.g., in *Ap. John* CG II,1:22.9–15, III,1:28.17–23, IV,1:34.14–20, BG 58.1–7. The *Tri. Trac.* follows the latter, more orthodox, interpretation, seeing the serpent as an evil power.

cunning: Cf. Gen 3:1.

107.13 *He led man astray*: *Ed. pr.* (Eng., II. 180), suggest that the subject here is the Logos, but that is highly unlikely. It is most natural to take the pronoun as referring to the serpent.

107.14 *those things which*: The reference here is to the psychic and hylic components of the human soul.

107.16 *so that he would die*: Subjection to the psychic and hylic parts of the soul involves the "death" of ignorance. Cf. lines 30-31. Presumably the command was not to eat of the tree of knowledge. Since that tree is apparently taken to be a symbol of psychic reality, man's transgression of the command immerses him in that lower level of being and keeps him from experiencing salvific knowledge. Cf. the note to 106.28-29. *Hyp. Arch.* 88.24-89.3 offers another interpretation of the command not to eat of the tree of knowledge. The command came about by the Father's will. He knew that Adam would disobey it and eat and would thereby come to understand the nature of the Archons.

107.18 *he was expelled*: Cf. Gen 3:23-24.

107.20-21 *enjoyments*: The expulsion of the first human being from paradise on the one hand subjects him to the ignorance of death, but, paradoxically, it will ultimately issue in his salvation. That expulsion prevents him from participating in the enjoyment of psychic and hylic powers. He can only participate in the evils which issue from those powers. Hence he will not be impeded by an intermediate level of "enjoyment" from participating in the "greatest good" (107.36-108.1). Thus the expulsion can be termed a work of providence (107.22), because it serves the will of the Spirit (107.27) and the Father (108.11). Thus, as *ed. pr.* (II. 200) note, there is a parallel between the experience of mankind and the aeons of the Pleroma, whose initial ignorance is willed by the Father and serves a salvific function. Cf. 62.14-30 and 64.28-65.1. Here death is not, as in Valentinus (cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.89,4), a work of the hostile Demiurge, but part of the divine plan.

Ed. pr. (II. 200) suggest that the first human being in this passage is an example of spiritual human beings. There is certainly no warrant in the text for that assumption. Rather, the first human being is most naturally taken as the archetype of all the members of the race.

107.22 *providence*: Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.3., where the Demiurge's creation of man is said to take place by *προνόια*. For a discussion of doctrines of providence in the second century, cf. W. Theiler, "Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre," *Phyllobolia für*

Peter von der Mühl (Basel, 1946) 35–90. Here, strikingly, the temptation and fall is interpreted less as an example of human sin and punishment than as a form of divinely ordained *paideia*.

107.23 *it might be found*: For the construction, cf. 53.13–14.

107.26 *rest*: Cf. 53.19, 58.36, 70.18, and 101.26.

107.29 *that he should experience* (ΑΤΡΕΦΧΙΜ Π'ΙΡΕ{N}): For the emendation, cf. line 32.

107.30–31 *death...ignorance*: Note the use of this motif in *CH* 7.2 and the notes of Nock and Festugière (*Corpus Hermeticum* [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960]) 1.81–84.

107.31–32 *complete ignorance*: *Ed. pr.* (Eng., II. 180) suggest that the phrase may also be construed “ignorance of the perfect All.”

107.32 *and that he should experience* (ΝΤΡΝΤῘΧΙ ΠΙΡΑ): The conjugation base here is problematic. It may be the temporalis, although the context suggests that it is an anomalous form of the inflected infinitive or the conjunctive, continuing ΑΤΡΕΦΧΙ in line 29.

107.36–108.1 *greatest good*: Cf. 126.37 and *Gos. Truth* 18.24–27.

108.2 *eternal life*: For eternal life as knowledge of God, cf. John 17:3.

108.5–6 *Because of the transgression...death ruled*: Cf. Rom 5:12–14. For Gnostic treatment of these verses of Paul, cf. E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 27–28.

108.11 *of which we spoke previously*: That the Father's will has controlled the emanation of the non-Pleromatic world has frequently been affirmed. Cf. 76.24, 76.35–77.11, 86.20–32, 95.6–9, 101.3–5.

108.12 Following the last word on line 12 there is a decoration which deparates parts 2 and 3 of the *Tri. Trac.* This decoration consists of a series of five S-shaped marks with a horizontal line running through them, followed on the next line by a series of angular marks

(>>>>) with another horizontal line through them. Note the similar decoration after 104.3.

Part III (108.13-138.25)

12. The variety of philosophies and theologies (108.13-114.30)

The first section of the third part of the tractate gives a brief survey of the conflicting metaphysical opinions which offer alternatives to the theology of this text. The account begins by explaining that the source of theoretical confusion is the activity of the two orders of psychic and hylic powers which emulate one another (108.13-109.5). Five general principles are then listed to which the nature of reality can be attributed: providence, a principle of disorder, destiny, nature, and a self-existent one (109.5-24). These principles seem to be associated with various schools of Greek philosophy. The whole philosophical enterprise then is condemned because of its internal inconsistency and its failure to penetrate beyond the hylic likenesses of transcendent reality (109.24-110.22). Contrasted with the hylic wisdom of the Greeks is the psychic wisdom of the Hebrews. The source of this revealed wisdom is the spirit which was at work in the Hebrew tradition. This wisdom consists of a recognition, however imperfect, of the exalted one and it is characterized by a certain coherence and consistency. This consistency, however, is only relative, since there were in the Hebrew tradition various opinions about the exalted one (110.22-113.1). This diversity gave rise to the teachers of the Law, who are contrasted with the prophets who proclaimed in different ways the coming of the Savior, the true source of knowledge of the Father (113.2-114.30).

108.14 **אָזְוָא**:- This is probably the conjugation base of the conditional, and the emendation of *ed. pr.* is unnecessary.

108.16 *thought*: Cf. 104.9-11.

108.19-20 *act with the same emulation of their deeds*: The phrase is difficult. It might also be translated "they both do one thing out of emulation of the deeds," or possibly "they both perform the same deeds out of emulation." For the notion that the two orders emulate one another, cf. 83.34-84.24.

108.20–21 *resembling*: Cf. 51.21.

108.23–24 *If the evil order begins* (αϞψα<α>ρξεϞθαι): The conjugation base here is probably, once again, the conditional. Note that in the parallel phrase in line 32 the *consuetudinis* is used. This no doubt led the *ed. pr.* to the emendation (εψαϞαρξεϞθαι).

108.27 *wise order*: The translation reflects the emendation (ΜΝΤΖΗΤ) of *ed. pr.* (Eng.), based on the contrast of this order with the foolish order (ΜΝΤΑΤΖΗΤ) in line 26. The unemended text would be translated, “the order of hiddenness.” But see 108.35.

108.28 *man of violence*: Cf. the form ϞωμεϞτϞενο in 51.32.

108.32 *the foolish order* (ΜΝΤ<ΑΤ>ΖΗΤ): According to the unemended text, the “wise order” is discussed here. It has already been said that this psychic order attempts to do evil, emulating the evil, hylic, order. Here it would be affirmed that this order at other times attempts to do good. This account would then recall the remarks about the double determination of the psychic order (106.11, 119.23). It is probable, however, that the psychic order is not in view here. The remarks in lines 21–23 suggest that both orders emulate one another. Lines 23–31 specify how the psychic order at times emulates the hylic order. Lines 31–35 probably specify how the hylic order emulates the psychic.

It should be recalled that this introductory paragraph of part III provides the theoretical background to the discussion of different types of philosophy and theology. The first group of opinions derives from the hylic powers (110.5–10). That order of hylic powers emulates the psychic order, but the result of that emulation is only vain speculation (109.32–110.1).

108.34–35 *the hidden order* (†ΤΑΞΙϞ ΕΤΖΗΠ): It is tempting to emend the text here to †ΤΑΞΙϞ ΜΜΝΤΖΗΤ. Cf. 108.27. In any case, the reference must be to the psychic order. *Ed. pr.* (II. 201) find here an allusion to the spiritual order, referring to 60.19, 63.21 and 75.34. Those passages, however, refer to the aeons of the Pleroma, and not to the spiritual order produced by the Logos.

108.35 *to do it*: What the wise order is zealous to do is “good.” Cf. line 33.

zealous (κωζ): Note the play on the verb, which can mean “to emulate” (line 27) or “to be zealous.”

108.37 *things which are established*: Two groups of entities have been said to “be established,” the powers consisting of the spiritual offspring of the Logos (97.4) and the whole realm of hylic powers (103.13). The reference here does not seem to be to either group, but to the whole realm of the two orders in the intermediate world, whose “establishment” is “the organization.” With these two orders and their mutual emulation are compared the entities in the material world.

As (ἄπ[ιρη]τε): The reconstruction of the comparative expression here, following the πει πει πρητε of line 36 is preferable to the reconstructions by *ed. pr.*

109.1-2 *since they bring* (εγειν[ε]): There are several ambiguities with this circumstantial. The verb can mean either “resemble” or “bring” and the circumstantial may modify either something in what precedes or in what follows. It seems best to take it as a modifier of the subject of what follows, the “ones who were not instructed,” who “introduce” (εινε) various types of explanations of reality.

109.2 *things unlike one another*: This phrase apparently refers to the types of metaphysical theories which the “uninstructed” have introduced. Those theories display the same dissimilarity toward one another that the conflicting powers of the intermediate world display.

109.3-4 *were unable* (εμπουβν βομ): The verb could either be a circumstantial or an orthographic variant of the neg. perf. I, which seems to be the more likely understanding here.

109.6 *types (of explanation)*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 201-202) suggest that the general structure of what follows (109.4-119.15) reflects the salvation-historical perspective which Heracleon maintained. According to this scheme, history was divided into three periods, that of the Greeks, that of the Jews, and that of the Christians. Cf. fr. 15 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.37), fr. 17 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10), and fr. 20 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.16). A similar scheme can be found in Clement of Alexandria,

Strom. 6.5.41,6. The three periods are associated with hylic, psychic and spiritual principles, respectively. The distinction in this text is based on epistemological grounds, without explicit reference to historical periods. Greek theology depends, for the most part, on observation of visible elements (109.22) and at best reaches the level of hylic powers (109.24–28). Jewish or psychic theology derives from the power working in the prophets (111.14). True spiritual wisdom comes from the revelation given by the Savior and the spiritual Logos (114.7–10).

109.6 *have been introduced* (ΔΥΕΙΝΕ ΑΖΟΥΝ): *Ed. pr.* restore an ε at the end of line 5. That would make the verb form either a perf. circ. or, possibly, a perf. II. While there is room for another letter on the end of line 5, such a restoration is not necessary and the simple perf. I makes good sense here.

some: The list of philosophical opinions sketched here is paralleled in *Eugnostos* CG III,3:70.1–22; the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:92.6–93.4, BG 80.4–81.13; and Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 4.12.1–6. In *Eugnostos* and the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* three opinions about “the nature of the universe” are given. Some claim the world is self-directed, some that it is directed by providence, and some that it is directed by fate.

109.8 *providence*: The term is one of the names of the Son (66.21). Providence is especially associated with Stoic philosophy, where it is used as one designation of the all pervading πνεῦμα. Cf., e.g., the position attributed to Zeno in Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 2.58 (*SVF* I.172). Providence is often identified with fate (εἰμαρμένη), as in the fragment of Chrysippus in Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 1.79.1 (*SVF* II.913). The two can also be distinguished, as by Cleanthes, according to Chalcidius, *In Timaeum* 144 (*SVF* I.551). The relationship between providence and fate was a significant issue in Platonism of the second century. Cf., e.g., Ps.-Plutarch, *De fato* 9–10, and note the discussion of the whole issue by W. Theiler, “Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre,” *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl* (Basle, 1946) 35–90.

109.10–11 *stability and conformity*: In *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:92.15–16 and BG 80.14–15, the wisest of the philosophers base their opinion on the ordering (ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ) of the world and its movement (ΚΙΜ).

109.12 *alien*: That which is alien is probably to be understood, in parallel with “according to providence” (line 8), as a principle by which existents have their being. Alternatively what is “alien” could be all that which is, in the sense that it does not manifest a principle of order and coherence. This item in the catalogue of opinions may be an allusion to the arguments against determinism and providence developed particularly by Carneades and the sceptical academy in the second century B.C.E. For a survey of those arguments and an account of their impact on Christian theology, cf. D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque* (Louvain, 1945).

The term ἀλλότριον is not a common one in Greek theological speculation. It is used by Marcion of the “good” God. Cf. Origen, *Con. Cels.* 6.53. Note the discussion of the role of chance (τύχη) as a cause in Ps.-Plutarch, *De fato* 7.

109.16-17 *what is destined to happen*: This may be an allusion to astrological beliefs, as *ed. pr.* (II. 203) suggest. It may also be a reference to Stoic opinions on “destiny” (εἰμαρμένη). Cf. the note to 109.8. The same term for fate appears in *Eugnostos* CG III,3:70.21.

109.19 *in accordance with nature*: The subject of this predication is, no doubt, “that which exists.” This opinion is probably another allusion to Stoic doctrine.

109.20-21 *self-existent*: This may be an allusion to Epicurean psychics, as *ed. pr.* (II. 203) suggest. The phrase used here may correspond to the Greek τὸ αὐτόματον. Cf. Acts 12:10 (Crum 470b).

109.22-23 *visible elements*: This remark provides one explanation of why the theological opinions of most of the Greeks are hylic. They are all based simply on observation of material, visible entities. Cf. Wis 13:1-7.

109.27 *imagination*: This is a quality associated with hylic powers. Cf. 78.7,34; 82.19; 98.5; 103.16. This remark provides a second reason for viewing the theology of the Greeks as hylic. The wise (line 24) Greeks and barbarians seem to be distinguished from the majority (line 21), who can only observe visible entities. These wise sages penetrate behind the appearances, but only to the hylic powers.

As *ed. pr.* (II. 204) note, the notion that Greek philosophy was inspired by various inferior powers is also found in Clement of Alex-

andria, *Strom.* 1.16.80,5. A similar opinion seems to be reflected in *Treat. Res.* 43.25–37 and *Orig. World* 125.24–29. Cf. also Basilides, fr. 1 (Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* 67.7–12), where the opinions of the “barbarians,” probably the Persians, are cited with approval.

109.28 *vain thought*: This may be a reference to the intellectual activity of the Logos, which produces the hylic order (78.36).

109.29 *from these*: The pronoun here probably refers to the wise Greeks and barbarians. Those who come from them are their intellectual successors. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 2.1–2.

109.31 *in them*: The pronoun here could refer either to the wise Greeks and barbarians (line 24) or to their successors (line 28–29).

109.32 *also* (αγω): While this conjunction may stand at the beginning of a sentence (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #373), it here probably translates a Greek καί emphasizing that the successors of the Greek sages spoke in the same way as they themselves did.

109.36 *the likeness deceived them*: The “likeness” which works the deception is the realm of hylic powers. Cf. 78.32–34.

110.1 *when they had attained* (ενταυτεζε): The form is that of a circumstantial of a perf. II. Cf. Polotsky, “Conjugation System,” 400 (= *Collected Papers* 246).

110.2 *not simply...but* (εν ογαεετου εν' αλλα): For this translation of οὐ μόνον...ἀλλά, cf. 124.3–4, 12–13.

110.6 *caught up* (εφζημη): The verb is probably a qualitative of ζωλεμ (Crum 670a), previously unattested. Cf. 88.34.

110.9 *one [of the offspring]*: The chief archon or Demiurge is said to have produced subordinate archons (101.6–9). The particular archon mentioned here may be the devil as *ed. pr.* (II. 204) suggest. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.4 and Heracleon, fr. 20 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.16).

110.9–10 *is superior* (ζυπε[ρ]ε[σ]ε): The restoration here is doubtful. The proposal of *ed. pr.* (Eng.) ζυπε[ρ]ε[χ]ε gives a good

Greek word, but is paleographically impossible. The restoration adopted probably is not a barbarous Latinism, but is equivalent to *ὑπερέστη*. So *ed. pr.* (Fr.).

110.12 *in agreement*: One standard sceptical argument against dogmatic philosophy was the disagreement among the schools. Cf., e.g., Sextus Empiricus, *Hypotyposes* 1.15.

110.17 *logic* (ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ): This term is taken by *ed. pr.* as a reference to “mechanics.” It is more likely a reference to logic. Cf. LSJ 1245b.

opinions (ΖΗΝΕΛΥ): The Coptic here probably translates the Greek *δόξαι*, in the sense of “opinions.”

110.19 *ineffability held sway*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 205) see here a reference to the Sophia myth. With the emendation of *α.χ.η* to *ἄ.χ.η* the subject of the sentence is “ineffability” and the whole remark is simply a summary comment on the confusion prevailing among those who try to understand the divine world on a hylic basis.

110.20-21 *indescribable quality* (ΜΗΤΑΤ·ΤΕΟΥ[.]ϛ): Filling the lacuna at the beginning of line 21 is difficult. Presumably the two letters involved continue the form *τεου* (= S *ταουο*, Crum 441b). *τεου[ζ]ϛ*, with a reduplication of the *γ*, might be possible. The “indescribable” quality referred to here might be a characteristic of the hylic powers themselves. Alternatively, it might be taken in a subjective sense, as a reference to the inability of the hylic powers to describe the reality which transcends them. Hence it might be possible to translate; “because of the inarticulateness of those, etc.”

110.21 *those who hold sway*: These are probably the hylic powers, who give to the philosophers their thoughts.

110.22-29 *Now...brought them* (χϛ *νεει*...ἄ.χ.η): The syntax of the opening sentence of this paragraph is extremely obscure. *Ed. pr.* construe the passage in various ways. *Ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.) take it as a nominal sentence with *ἄ.χ.η* in line 26 as the predicate. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) find the main predication in *ε.τ.κ.ι.μ. α.ρ.α.γ.* of line 28. In both cases there is an implicit identification of the “things which come from the Hebrews and are written by the Greeks” and “the powers,” which is unlikely. A slight emendation removes this difficulty. Instead

of construing $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ in line 29 as an unusual orthographic variant of $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ ("of them"), it seems better to emend to $\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon$, the perf. I of $\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ with a pronominal suffix. The subject is "the powers" of lines 26–27 and the object pronoun refers to "the things which come from the Hebrews, etc." For the preposing of two elements in a sentence, cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* #385. Another possible emendation yielding the same sense would be $\langle\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rangle\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\langle\bar{\nu}\tau\rangle\omicron\upsilon$.

110.23 *the race of the Hebrews* ($\pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\nu}\Delta\epsilon\zeta\eta\zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$): For the emendation to $\pi\tau\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$, cf. 111.7. With the beginning of this paragraph, the text passes to the next stage in the discussion of types of theology. With the Hebrews is associated a higher degree of enlightenment, based on psychic powers. This type of theology advanced beyond material creation to the psychic realm. As orthodox Christians identify the Jews as types of the Church, so some Valentinians identify the Jews with the psychic church. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.30.3 (cf. 4.18.1–19.1); Heracleon, fr. 13 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.33). Some other Gnostics saw a correspondence between the Jews who persecuted Christ and the leaders of orthodoxy who persecuted Gnostics. See in particular *Testim. Truth* 29.6–21. On the whole topic, cf. K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker Gegen das Kirchliche Christentum* (NHS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 148–51.

110.24–25 *written by the hylics*: The reference to the writing by the hylics does not contradict the analysis of this section as a discussion of psychic revelation. What came from psychic powers or what was attained by men looking beyond the material world could nonetheless have been written down by people characterized as hylic. Those who are so characterized are those who have written in the manner of Greeks, who are, as we have seen, prime examples of hylic wisdom. There may be an allusion here to apologetic commonplace that the Greeks borrowed from the ancient wisdom of the Hebrews. Cf., e.g., Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 13.12.1 and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14.97,7.

110.26–27 *so to speak the "right ones"* ($\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\iota\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\mu}$): This phrase has been taken as a parenthetical remark specifying the precise powers involved in inspiring the Hebrews. It might also be possible to construe the infinitive as complimentary to $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ and to translate the whole clause "those who think about all of them so as to call them

‘right ones.’” It might also be the case that the text is corrupt. Possibly emend to **ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΑΥΜΕΕΥΕ** (for **ΕΤΟΥ-**) **ΑΡΑΥ ΑΧΟΟΥ ΑΝΙΟΥ-**
ΝΕΜ and translate “all those which are thought to be called ‘right ones.’”

110.28 *move them all*: The object pronoun here refers to those who think about the powers, the Hebrews.

110.29 *representation*: Note the technical term for the psychic order. Cf. 78.32-34.

110.30 *they*: The subject apparently shifts. Those who do the grasping are apparently the members of the Hebrew race.

110.31 *confused*: The confusion of the psychic powers becomes evident in the multiplicity of prophetic proclamations (111.13-16, 113.20-28) and the establishment of Jewish heresies (112.18-113.1).

110.33 *attained* (**ΤΕΖΟ**): *Ed. pr.* translate this as “established,” a possible meaning of the Coptic verb, but one which is inappropriate here. The word has the same sense here as in line 30.

110.34 *unmixed ones*: What exactly the Hebrews attain at this point is unclear. One possibility, advanced by *ed. pr.* (II. 205) and followed by Pagels, is to see here a reference to the Demiurge. The following remarks about the one established in the representation of the Father might well be applied to that figure, but why he should be designated with the term “the unmixed ones” is unclear. Another possibility then is to see a reference here to the spiritual aeon of the Logos, which is “unmixed,” because it is kept separate from the psychic and hylic orders (90.17-18, 93.14-19). Note that the power which keeps that aeon separate is said to be active in prophesying (97.16-27). Note too that the attainment of this level of reality is a secondary stage in the theologizing of the Hebrews, which occurs after (line 33) the initial attempt to grasp the truth.

110.35-36 *who exists as a representation of the representation of the Father*: If the figure involved here is in fact the Demiurge, one might compare *Exc. Theod.* 47.1, where he is said to be a “divine image of the Father,” and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1, where Wisdom, “in the image

of the invisible Father," conceals herself from the Demiurge, who was "in the image of the Only-Begotten Son." If the reference is to the spiritual aeon of the Logos, the terminology here may refer to the notion that this aeon is an image (ΕΙΚΩΝ) of the things in the Pleroma, a "countenance" of the Savior, which has the name "Son" (93.25-35).

110.36 *it is not visible* (ΕΥΑΤΝΕΥ ΑΡΑ): The form here is probably a circumstantial.

111.2 *wisdom*: Once again, this remark could be taken as appropriate either to the Demiurge or to the spiritual aeon of the Logos. According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.5.1, the Demiurge creates "in conjunction with the power of Wisdom," and in *Exc. Theod.* 47.1 Wisdom is the "second universal creator," who brings forth the Demiurge. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 35.10-37.37. Alternatively, note that the production of the spiritual order by the Logos took place when the Savior mingled with the Logos "in wisdom and knowledge" (91.2).

111.3 *preserve the form*: The form of the Father involved here is his invisibility. The invisibility of the spiritual order (or possibly of the Demiurge), explains the variety of opinions among Hebrew prophets. Like the angels in the two orders of the intermediate world (99.36), the Hebrew prophets could not penetrate into the wisdom surrounding the spiritual order.

111.7-8 *of whom we already spoke*: Cf. 110.22-24.

111.8 *righteous*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 205-6) note, the psychics as a whole and the Demiurge in particular are styled "righteous" in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.3; *Exc. Theod.* 54.1; and Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* 7.5.

111.10 *did not say anything*: The following phrase is probably to be viewed as a dittography, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger., II. 181). *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest that it be translated, "and did not produce anything."

111.11 *imagination*: Note that the wisdom of the Greeks depends on this power (109.27).

111.11-12 *through a likeness* (ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΝ·ΤΝ): The articulation

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mark after the first κ is probably a mistake. Note the technical term for the beings of the hylic order (cf. 78.32-34). Note, too, the emphasis on the higher level of reality, that of the representation ($\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon$) in 110.29 and 37.

111.14 *power*: Cf. 110.26. The power at work in the prophets parallels on this level of being the working of the Logos in the Demiurge (100.31-35). Note that in Heracleon, fr. 5 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.20), the prophetic $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ is said to be the echo of the voice of John crying in the wilderness. That voice is a representation of the Logos, who is the Savior. Note, too, that according to Ptolemy in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3-4 the Demiurge sends the prophets.

111.16 *in [...]* ($\zeta\eta\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\tau.[.]\tau\epsilon$): The transcription of *ed. pr.* ($\eta\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$) yields an acceptable sense, "in faith," but the last visible letter on line 6 is clearly not part of a ζ .

111.17 *unified harmony* ($\dagger\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\zeta\lambda\eta\mu$): For the word $\zeta\lambda\eta\mu$, cf. 88.34. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate "the agreement of the conflict." The unity of the prophetic proclamation contrasts both with the multifarious opinions of the Greeks (109.24-110.22) and with the diversity of interpretations of that proclamation within Judaism (112.18-113.1). The prophetic unity imitates the unity of the psychic order (83.26-33) which works in the prophets. That order in turn imitated the unity of the aeons of the Pleroma (68.32-34, 73.28-74.18).

111.22 *confession*: The psychic order was said (106.12) to have the confession of the exalted one. Cf. also 89.18 and 120.2. The confession by the prophets is not recognition of the truly exalted one (line 27), but only of one more exalted than themselves, probably the Demiurge.

111.24 *who was appointed*: The Demiurge was appointed ($\kappa\omega$) by the Logos to be a representation of the Father. Cf. 100.19.

need of him ($\chi\rho\iota\alpha\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$): The object of the preposition is probably the Demiurge. The prophets need him as the source of their inspiration. Cf. 100.34-35, 103.1-5, 111.6-23. Only through the psychic "power which was at work" (111.14) in the prophets do they achieve agreement and make their confession. Cf. also 112.9-14.

111.25–26 *whom the Logos begot* (εαπλογοσ...απα): The perf. circ. here seems to continue the perf. rel. of line 24.

111.27–28 *hope and expectation*: The same qualities were attributed to the Logos when he had repented (85.17). At that point he had the thought which is the “seed of salvation,” which consists in the intimation that there is the exalted one. Cf. 89.8–15, where this thought is also said to be in the psychic powers. As *ed. pr.* (II. 206–7) note, the Demiurge in the system of Ptolemy is said to live in the hope of being delivered. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 49.1–2. The attribution of hope to the Demiurge is there based on the interpretation of Rom 8:20–21. Basilides (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.25–27) interprets the same passage in this way, agreeing with Heracleon’s interpretation of “the creation” (ἡ κτίσις, Rom 8:20) as the Demiurge. Cf. Heracleon, fr. 22 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.19).

111.30 *he is an illuminating word*: The subject of this sentence is uncertain. It may be a reference to the Logos. Hence, the use of the term ΛΟΓΟС (=word) would be a play on the name. For a similar play, cf. 60.34 and 63.35. As the following relative clause suggests, the illuminating word is not, however, simply the Logos, but the whole realm of psychic powers, which inspired the prophets.

111.32 *righteous* (ΝΙΔΙ'Κ'ΔΙΟС): The κ here is written above the line and the Ι after Δ was also added secondarily. *Ed. pr.* (II. 181) suggest that the scribe originally intended to write ΝΙ<ΙΟΥ>ΔΔΙΟС, but this is unlikely.

111.35 *by their fathers*: No distinction has been made between the “fathers,” or the original prophets, and their successors, but the situation in the Hebrew tradition presumably parallels that in the Greek, where both original sages and their successors were mentioned. Cf. 109.24–35.

112.3 *seed of prayer and searching*: The experience of the prophets thus replicates that of the aeons of the Pleroma. Cf. 71.24, 72.4. As *ed. pr.* (II. 207) note, Ptolemy, according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3, held that the prophets are loved by the Demiurge because of the seed of Achamoth sown in them.

112.5 *strengthening*: Note that confirmation is one aspect of the salvation brought by the Savior to the offspring of the Logos (87.5). Note also the motif of the stability of the truly existent (58.36, 70.18, 93.6).

112.6 *It appears*: The antecedent of the subject pronoun is probably the "seed" in line 3.

112.6-7 *draws them to love*: Again, the experience of the prophets replicates that of the Totalities who are drawn (72.5) to the Father and who are filled with love and longing for him (71.9).

112.8 *unity*: The monotheism of Hebrew prophecy is seen as an intimation of the unity which is the source of all being. Cf. 51.9.

112.9-10 *unity which worked in them*: The power which works through the Demiurge in the prophets is designated as the "spirit" in 101.4, 18 and 102.32. This spirit, which is closely associated with the Logos (100.31-35) is only a copy of the Father's unity, but it provides a unity and uniformity to the prophetic message. A similar idea occurs in *Exc. Theod.* 24.1: "The Valentinians say that the spirit which each one of the prophets had adapted to service was poured out upon all those of the church." Cf. also *Exc. Theod.* 5.2.

112.11 *do not* ($\{\alpha\}\epsilon\text{N}$): *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) emend the negative here to $\text{M}\epsilon\text{N}$. With this reading the message of the prophets is seen to manifest a certain diversity, although it is more uniform than the message of later interpreters (112.18-113.1). Such an understanding of the relative unity of the prophets would certainly be appropriate, and might be in conformity with the remarks made earlier (111.13-16) about the different powers which act in each prophet. But it has already been stressed that the prophets have a unified agreement with one another, despite the multiplicity of powers (111.18-23), and the immediately preceding remark about the unity which worked in them suggests that a comment on diversity within their proclamation would be inappropriate here.

112.16 *reject* ($\zeta\bar{\lambda}\ \lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$): The emendation proposed by *ed. pr.* ($\zeta\bar{\nu}\text{-}\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$) does not yield an acceptable sense. $\zeta\bar{\lambda}$ is probably to be associated with $\zeta\omega\lambda$ (Crum 666b), with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.).

112.18 *by interpreting them*: The circumstantial could also be associated with what precedes, but the foundation of various heresies seems to be closely linked with the interpretation of the prophetic message.

112.20 *heresies*: Precisely what the heresies are which are alluded to in the following lines is difficult to determine.

which exist (ΝΕΤΑΥΥΘΟΟΠ): The relative converter here is problematic. It appears to be a *perf. rel.*, but the qualitative should not appear in a tri-partite conjugation. Thus the relative converter may involve a hyper-subachmimicisim (ΕΤΑΥ for ΕΤΟΥ). Cf. also 66.39 and 117.19.

112.26 *many*: The notion that some Jews believed in a plurality of gods is found in Heracleon, fr. 21 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.17), where he describes the error of the Jews who, intending to worship God, actually "are ignorant of him, worshipping angels and months and the moon." It also occurs, as *ed. pr.* (II. 207) note, in the Ps.-Clem., *Hom.* 3.38.1; 16.5.6, on the lips of Simon Magus. G. Quispel ("The Jung Codex and Its Significance," *The Jung Codex* [London: Mowbray, 1955] 67) also suggests that the text may be aware of the doctrine of "two powers" attributed to heretics (*minim*) in rabbinic sources such as *m. Sanh.* 4.5 and *b. Hag.* 15a. On the rabbinic texts which treat the "two powers," see now Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports About Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

112.32-33 *the establishment of good and evil*: Cf. Isa 45:7 and 1QS 3.18, where the doctrine of the two spirits in man is enunciated.

113.1 *angels*: The notion that God created the world through angels is, as *ed. pr.* (II. 207-8) note, not strictly speaking a heresy. Justin (*Dial.* 62), however, claims that a Jewish heresy taught that the human body was made by angels. Perhaps the author of our text is again reflecting Christian opinions about Jewish heterodoxy.

113.4 *types of scripture*: Although the theory is not explicit here, these remarks of the *Tri. Trac.* recall the attempt made, especially by Ptolemy, to distinguish different levels of scripture deriving from dif-

ferent sources. In Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.3, it is said tht the Valentinians claim that some prophecies come from the mother (=the Logos in this text), some from the spiritual seed, and some from the Demiurge. In the *Letter to Flora*, Ptolemy divides the Pentateuch into three parts, one of which derives from God (i.e., the Demiurge), one from Moses, and one from the elders. The portion of the Pentateuch attributable to the god of the Old Testament is further (5.1) subdivided into three parts: pure, impure and symbolic. The focus of these two texts is obviously different. The notice in Irenaeus, concentrating on prophecy, is closer in its concerns to the *Tri. Trac.*, but the attribution of some of the scripture to the "elders" in the *Letter to Flora* parallels the remarks here on the successors of the prophets and the "teachers of the Law."

113.4-5 *that produced the teachers*: The emendation suggested by *ed. pr.*, ΠΕΝΤΑϚ† ΝΕΥ <ΝΒΙ ΝΕΥ>ϚΑϚ, is unnecessary. The relative converter ΕΝΤΑϚ, is regularly used when the antecedent is the same as the subject of the relative clause. Hence it would be anomalous to have a new subject within the relative clause. Furthermore, the emendation would require that an object of † be expressed. The reading of the MS is sound. The multitude of types of scripture, produced by the interpreters of the original prophets, in turn produces a new set of interpreters, the teachers of the Law. For analysis of the syntax here, cf. Stephen Emmel, "Proclitic forms of the verb † in Coptic," *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (East Gloucester, MA: Pirtle and Poulson, 1981) 131-46.

113.11 *the Savior*: There is a question of what figure is in view here. *Ed. pr.* (II. 208) suggest that the reference is to a psychic Christ, the offspring of the Demiurge. Such a figure is mentioned in Irenaeus, 1.7.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 47.3. This is not, however, a generally accepted Valentinian doctrine. Note that in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2 the doctrine is attributed to some anonymous teachers. The diverse Christological opinions among Valentinians have already been noted. Cf. 77.37; 86.25. It is certainly illegitimate to assume that the *Tri. Trac.* fits neatly into the Christological pattern of Ptolemy or of the anonymous Valentinians of Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2. The only Savior of whom this text has spoken is the fruit of the entire Pleroma (86.25; 87.7), who is also the only figure to be named Christ, in contrast to other Valen-

tinian sources. Cf. the note to 87.9. This must be the figure in view here. He can be said to make a proclamation which the prophets hear, because he reveals the transcendent world within him (88.1-2) and thus illumines the Logos (90.14, 91.33-38, 95.17-22). The Logos then, using the Demiurge, transmits that revelation to human beings in the form of prophecy (100.34-35).

113.14 *this coming*: The coming of the Savior referred to here is his coming in the flesh (114.3, 115.3-11).

113.17 *the Savior speaks*: Cf. the citations of Ps 22:23, Isa 8:17-18 in Heb 2:12-13, and the citation of Ps 40:7-9 in Heb 10:5-7, where the Old Testament verses are interpreted as utterances of Jesus. Cf. also Justin, 1 *Apol.* 62.4, 63.10.

113.20 *They have not all joined*: The subject here is the prophets. Here the diversity of their proclamation is stressed, in contrast to the previous emphasis on their unity (112.6-10). That unity was said to consist in the recognition that there is one more exalted than themselves (111.20-23). It now appears that differences are to be found in the prophetic proclamations about the Savior. Here the effects of confused powers (110.31) acting in various prophets (111.13-14) are finally felt. The diversity among the prophets may also be a reflection of the spiritual powers produced by the Logos. They preserve the indivisibility of the world of which they are images, but are also differentiated by their individual powers (94.28-95.1).

113.23-26 *thing...place*: These terms may refer to aspects of the world of the Demiurge, who works on ($\bar{\rho}$ ζ ω β) the world beneath the Logos (100.33, 101.10) and produces various places in imitation of the spiritual aeon (100.7-8, 29-33). The "things" may also be the powers which act ($\bar{\rho}$ ϵ ν ϵ ρ τ ι) in the prophets (110.32).

113.26 *from it*: The pronoun probably refers to the "thing" which is active in each prophet.

113.28-29 *that he will come*: The subject is, of course, the Savior.

113.34 *will suffer*: On the importance of the suffering of the Savior, cf. 114.35, 115.4.

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113.35 *that which he previously was*: On the basis of this passage, *ed. pr.* (II. 208) base their claim that the text distinguishes between a psychic Christ who suffers and an impassable spiritual Christ. In fact the text indicates that the prophets were first unaware of the details of the incarnation (lines 28-34), although they did predict the Savior's coming. Now the text goes on to say that the prophets had no conception of the status of the pre-incarnate Savior. The distinction made here may be formally similar to that made between spiritual and psychic Christs in Ptolemy's system, but the differences are apparent and significant. The *Tri. Trac.* approaches even closer to orthodoxy than did Ptolemy by maintaining the unity of the Savior and by insisting on the reality of his suffering.

113.37-38 *one from the Logos who* (ΝΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝ(ΕΝ)ΤΑΖ-): The Coptic here is difficult. It may be that ΝΤΕ is corrupt for the relative converter ΕΤΕ and the phrase should be translated "impassable one, who is not the Logos who came." This alternative is adopted by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). The problem with this interpretation is the lack of a copula in the relative clause. ΝΤΕ could also be the genitive particle, as *ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggests. There is then the problem of the ΕΝ. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) take this with the ΕΝΤΑΖΩΠΕ as the introduction to the protasis of a contrary-to-fact condition. This interpretation is unlikely, because the apodosis (114.1) does not have the imperf. fut. Hence it seems best to take ΕΝΤΑΖΩΠΕ as a relative clause in which the first syllable has been repeated by dittography. The pre-incarnate Savior can be said to be from the Logos, because he is in fact the offspring of that part of the Logos which returned to the Pleroma, who acted with the other aeons there (86.6-7).

114.1 *their thought*: Namely, that of the prophets.

114.5 *from all of them*: Those from whom the flesh of the Savior comes are, presumably, the various aeons of the intermediate world. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 1.1, which states that Wisdom put forth "a receptacle of flesh" for the incarnation of the Logos, an idea also expressed in *Interp. Know.* 12.31-33.

114.10-11 *He had conceived it*: It is unclear who conceives whom. The subject is probably the Logos who reacts to the manifestation of the Savior. What he conceives could be the flesh with which the Savior

is clothed. This would make sense, following the affirmation that the Logos is above all responsible for the body of the Savior. This would be our author's interpretation of Wisdom producing flesh for the Savior, as in *Exc. Theod.* 1.1 and *Interp. Know.* 12.31-33. In that case the gender of the object pronoun is erroneous and should be emended to the feminine to agree with $\text{CAP}\xi$.

114.11-12 *revelation of the light*: This is a reference to the coming of the Savior to the Logos (86.4-87.17). That coming led the Logos outside the Pleroma to produce the spiritual aeon (90.31-32). That aeon was kept apart from the "organization" so that it could serve a mission (95.31-38). The provision of the Savior with a spiritual body is the first part of that mission.

114.12-13 *word of the promise*: The promise, which is probably the assurance of redemption, provided a basis of hope to the offspring of the Logos (92.7). It was offered by the Savior, the countenance of the Father (93.32). The promise thus belongs to the seeds or offspring of the Logos (95.26,32). In creating a spiritual body for the Savior, the Logos acts to fulfill that promise.

114.13 *his revelation*: The referent of the possessive pronoun is uncertain. It is most likely the Savior, whose appearance to the Logos is in view.

114.14 *seminal state* ($\text{M}\tilde{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{C}\text{P}\tilde{\text{E}}\text{R}\text{M}\tilde{\text{A}}$): It was never explicitly stated that the Savior was in a seminal state. One may presuppose that his production differs in no way from that of any other entity. Everything which comes into being follows the pattern of the aeons of the Pleroma, which first existed potentially, in the thought of the Father (60.1-5), as a seed (60.32). They are then brought into actuality (61.1-11). The spiritual offspring of the Logos are described as seeds in 95.28. Cf. 116.38.

114.15 *not a seed of the things which exist*: Although the Savior can be thought of as having once been in a potential state, he is not among the seeds in the strictest sense, i.e., not among the original thoughts of the Father, from which were produced the Totalities or "things which exist." The Savior was not among those seeds, because he was pro-

duced "at the end" of the production of the Pleroma, by all the inhabitants of that Pleromatic world.

114.16 *the one*: This is the Savior.

since he was begotten (εαφχαπαυ): *Ed. pr.* (II. 182) suggest that the conjugation base here is a perf. II. It is probably to be understood simply as a perf. circ.

114.20 *instruments*: These instruments may be compared with the chariots (91.19) which are provided for the members of the spiritual order to enable them to descend to the "places below."

114.22 *his Father*: The reference to the one transcendent Father here emphasizes the intimate connection of the Savior with him. The revelation which the Savior offers provides true access to the transcendent one. Cf. *Interp. Know.* 9.27-29 and *Val. Exp.* 22.18-24.

13. The Incarnate Savior and his Companions (114.31-118.14)

The review of the varieties of theological opinion concluded with the discussion of the prophetic proclamation of the coming of the Savior. The next section offers a direct Christological statement, which first emphasizes the reality of the suffering of the Savior himself (114.31-115.25). It is then noted that the Savior was accompanied by other spiritual beings (115.25-34). These, too, participated in the realm of suffering and, in addition, experienced passion. This fact constitutes a theological problem (115.34-116.27). The involvement of spiritual beings in the world of evil is explained on both ontological and soteriological grounds. The companions of the Savior do not preserve the form of indivisibility and hence can be planted in the world of evil. Furthermore their subjection to evil has a salvific purpose (116.28-117.36). The condition of the companions of the Savior contrasts with that of the other offspring of the Logos, who are drawn to evil either because of the possibility that they might be saved or by their usefulness for the organization (117.38-118.14).

114.31 *He it is*: The unity of our Savior with the pre-existent Savior is emphasized. Cf. 113.35.

114.32 *compassion*: Note that the Savior had already been described

as a fellow-sufferer with the Logos (90.6). In fact, the activity of the Savior in the material world replicates his action on the Logos and on the offspring of the Logos. Both processes are imitations of the activity of the Son in the Pleroma who suffers or labors with the aeons (65.21).

114.33-34 *that which they were*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 208-9) note the parallel in *Exc. Theod.* 58.1-2 where the consubstantiality (ὁμοούσια) of the Savior and the saved is stressed. Here the doctrine is somewhat different. The Savior is not said to be consubstantial with the pneumatic and psychic elements. Rather, what he shares is suffering. This doctrine is, of course, common in the New Testament. Cf. Heb 2:10, 4:15; Phil 2:7-8, and see *Interp. Know.* 10.21-30.

114.34-35 *he became manifest* (ερεῖνταφῶνζ): The conjugation base here is probably a perf. II.

114.36 *They became*: The referent of the pronominal subject here is unclear. It is probably a reference to all mankind or to the companions of the Savior. Cf. 115.11-12. Schenke's emendation to the singular (αφῶπε) makes the phrase a reference to the Savior, but this is unnecessary.

114.38 *corruptible things* (ζῆτεκο): Schenke emends to "prison" (ῶτεκο), but this is unnecessary.

115.1-2 *invisibly*: Cf. the action of the Savior of the Logos (90.4-10).

115.4 *death* (μοϋ): Following orthodox doctrine (e.g., Phil 2:8), Valentinians regularly emphasized the significance of the death of Jesus. Cf. *Gos. Truth* 20.28-30. This death could, however, be interpreted in a docetic fashion, as a ruse used to trick Death (*Exc. Theod.* 61.6). The *Tri. Trac.* does not make such a qualification.

115.6 *smallness*: Note that the beings of the psychic order were given the name "little one" in 89.9-10. Cf. *Interp. Know.* 14.28-29, which describes how "the great Son was sent after his small brothers." To them he explains, "I became very small so that through my humility I might take you up to the great height" (10.27-30).

115.7 *to which they* (ΠΕΝΤΑΥ-): *Contra ed. pr.*, there is no indication that the first letter of the line has been deleted. The traces are most likely those of a π. This means that there is a lack of concord in gender between the relative converter and its antecedent ΤΟΥΚΕΜΝΤΩΗΜ, which is also resumed with a feminine pronoun in ΔΡΑΣ.

born (ΝΕΣΤΟ[Υ]): *Ed. pr.* restore here ΝΕΣΤΗ[ΥΕ], from the Greek νηστεύω, which yields the rather odd “when they fasted in body and soul.” The last visible trace on the line need not be from a η. It is in fact slightly curved, and hence is more compatible with c or e than with η. It may be that the η is a mistake for μ. Thus the verb is a form of ΜΙΣΕ, “to bear, bring forth” (Crum 184b), which makes much better sense in the context. Note the use of the same verb in line 10, where the Savior, who shares in the suffering of mankind is also said to be born “in body and soul.”

115.11 *body and soul*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 209) note, there was a major division within Valentinianism between the eastern and western schools on the subject of the nature of the body of the Savior. The eastern school (*Exc. Theod.* 1) held that the body of the Savior was pneumatic, while the western school held that it was psychic (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2, *Exc. Theod.* 59.3-4). The *Tri. Trac.* does not take an explicit stand on this issue, any more than it interpreted the death of Jesus in an explicitly allegorical way. It here seems to affirm the reality of the Savior’s physical body and ordinary human soul. This doctrine marks a departure from any Valentinian systems known until now, although it continues a trend evident in the western school.

115.12 *in them*: That is, body and soul.

115.13 *who fell* (ΕΝΤΑΖΑΕΙΕ): *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest that the verb may be not ΖΕ (A² ΖΑΕΙΕ) “fall” (Crum 637a), but ΑΙΑΙ, “increase” (Crum 1b).

received the light: Those who fell presumably received the light at the appearance of the Savior, as did the Logos (88.14, 90.14).

115.15 *without sin*: Cf. Heb 4:15. Thus the incarnate Savior, as in orthodoxy, is distinguished from fallen humanity, not because of the nature of his body, but because of the quality of his existence in the body.

115.19 *the former and the latter*: The referents of these pronouns are presumably "those who shared" in body and soul and "those who fell." It is unlikely that there is any significant distinction between these two groups.

115.21 *the Logos who moved*: Mankind in its natural state ultimately derives from the Logos, whose "movement" is responsible for the non-Pleromatic world (77.9). Note that the expression "the Logos who moved" is used in 85.16, although it is apparently applied there to that part of the Logos which returned into the Pleroma.

115.23 *He it is*: The referent is the Savior who has now become incarnate.

115.24-25 *whom we previously mentioned*: These are the human beings, initially discussed in part II (104.4-108.12) and referred to just above (lines 11-13).

115.27-28 *the Logos who returned to himself*: The Savior was generated by the aeons of the Pleroma along with the part of the Logos which had returned to the Pleroma (86.4-7). This generation took place in response to the "conversion" of the Logos (81.19-25).

115.30-31 *those who came with him*: This is a reference to those beings generated by the aeons of the Pleroma to serve as a bodyguard for the Savior (87.17-23). As *ed. pr.* (II. 210) note, some Valentinian texts refer to these beings as angels. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.5; *Exc. Theod.* 35.2, 44.1; and Heracleon, fr. 22 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.19). *Ed. pr.* then suggest that these beings should be conceived as the guardian angels or superior selves of spiritual human beings. This does not, however, seem to be the conception of this text. Here, these companions of the Savior are incarnations of beings of the spiritual order, who had been kept apart from the "organization" in order to serve a particular mission (93.14-16, 95.31-38). That mission is specified in the following paragraph, where the companions of the Savior are seen to be the apostles, evangelists, disciples, and teachers (116.16-20).

Despite the language of the "coming" of the spiritual companions of the Savior, the *Tri. Trac.* does not, apparently, have in mind a special incarnation of spiritual powers of the intermediate world apart from the process described at 106.18-31. These companions of the Savior

are simply the human beings who actualize their spiritual potentiality and “become manifest” as spiritual beings at the appearance of the Savior. Cf. 118.15,29.

115.31-32 *confirmation and stability*: The process of salvation has been regularly described in such terms. Cf. 91.12 and 92.23.

115.32 *judgment*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 211) note, the companions of the Savior are not said elsewhere to exercise judgment. According to Heracleon, fr. 48 (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.38), it is the Demiurge who exercises judgment. Judgment here should be seen in the light of the separation of psychic and hylic, first effected in the intermediate world by the Savior (88.23-25; 91.25; 96.3-11; 97.35-36). Note too the initial judgment of the Logos against the hylic powers (81.10-14).

115.33 *They intended*: Note that the Logos was said to have produced the members of the spiritual order “intentionally” (ΚΑΤΑ ΤΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ, 91.18).

115.35 *when he knew* (ΝΤΑΡΕΦΜΜΕ): What the Savior knew and why his knowledge is important is not explained here. Perhaps the text should be emended to ΜΕ or ΜΑΕΙΕ, “love.”

115.36 *more exalted*: The companions of the Savior are thus like him in being exalted above those “brought forth from a defect.” Cf. 115.14-17.

115.37 *according to the flesh* (ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ): The companions of the Savior are clearly incarnated and not simply the guardian angels of spiritual human beings. Cf. the note to 115.30-31. Thus the question of *ed. pr.* (II. 211), “Est-ce les disciples sont des incarnations des anges qui sont venus avec le Sauveur?” must be answered in the affirmative.

116.3 *body of the Savior*: Cf. *Interp. Know.* 17.14-18.38 where those who belong to the Savior are “members of his body.”

116.3-4 *through the revelation*: Like the Savior himself, his companions begin this embodiment at the revelation of the Savior to the Logos. Cf. 114.10-14.

116.5 *mingling*: Cf. 94.38–40.

116.5–6 *These others*: These are the companions of the Savior. *Ed. pr.* (II. 211) suggest that the remarks of Heracleon in fr. 24 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.25) on John 4:24 are relevant here. Heracleon there asserts that the spirituals are of the same nature as the Father. The *Tri. Trac.*, however, is here discussing the companions of the *Savior* who are co-natural with him.

116.7 *it indeed is the spiritual substance* (Ν̄ΤΑΣ· ΡΩ Τ'Ε {ΤΕ} †ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗ): The text here is difficult. The articulation mark after the second τ suggests that the words should be divided Ν̄ΤΑΣ ΡΩΤ ΕΤΕ, etc. This would be translated “and it grew, which was the spiritual.” This makes little sense. It seems likely that the articulation mark is incorrectly placed and that the τ should be taken with the following ε as the copula, which has then been erroneously repeated. For the particle ΡΩ, cf. Crum 290a. The ΔΕ (=ΤΕ) in line 8 is the reduplicated copula. The other emendations, suggested by *ed. pr.* (Ger.), are less satisfactory.

116.8–9 *The organization is different*: This remark can be interpreted in two ways. It may be a reference to the “organization” of the hylic and psychic offspring of the Logos, who might also be referred to as “those who need healing” in lines 10–12. Alternatively, it could be a reference to the spiritual companions of the Savior. While they are co-natural with him, they serve different functions. It seems clear that these beings are referred to in lines 13–20. Since the whole paragraph is concerned mainly with these beings, the latter is the more likely interpretation.

116.11 *passion*: Again, it is unclear to what group this remark is to be applied. *Ed. pr.* (II. 211) interpret it as a reference to the generation of the hylic offspring of the Logos (77.21). The incarnations of hylic and psychic powers certainly seem to be in view in the reference to “those who have been brought forth from passion” in lines 23–24. However, it is also possible that the companions of the Savior are in view here. Remarkable though it may be, these beings, even in their pre-incarnate state, have been described as passions (95.2). Note the explanation of why this is so in 95.3–6.

116.12-13 *needing healing*: This need is not incompatible with the spiritual nature of the companions of the Savior, since everything outside the Pleroma needs redemption (124.25-125.5).

116.20 *instruction*: According to Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1) the spiritual substance needed psychic and material means of instruction. Cf. 126.33-34.

116.20-21 *Why then*: This question makes it clear that the beings discussed in this paragraph are the incarnate spiritual companions of the Savior. The Savior did not participate in the passions characteristic of frail human existence. How is it that his co-natural companions did so? The explanation of this fact is given in the following paragraph.

116.28 *image*: The Savior had been termed the countenance of the Father (87.18). He remains the spiritual copy (ΖΙΚΩΝ), even when he is in the body.

116.30 *Totality in bodily form*: Cf. Col 2:9. The Savior had been said to be a garment (91.35) which encompasses the Totalities (87.34).

116.32 *indivisibility*: It has been noted already that the Savior, as an image of the "existing light," preserves the indivisibility of the Pleromatic world (94.28-32). On that indivisibility, cf. 73.28-74.18. That quality of indivisibility distinguished the Savior from his companions, who were images of the individual aeons (94.32-38).

116.33 *impassibility*: Now it is clear why the Savior does not experience passion while his companions do. Because he is a perfect copy of the Father, he has the quality of rest or stability associated with true being. Cf. 115.31-32.

116.34-35 *images of each*: Cf. 94.32-38. As *ed. pr.* (II. 211) note, there is a similar discussion of the unity and multiplicity of the angels who accompany the Savior in *Exc. Theod.* 36. There, however, it is said that these angels are a unity because they have issued from the One. The doctrine of the *Tri. Trac.* is appreciably different. Here it is only the Savior who is a unity.

116.38 *planting*: The spiritual seeds are the companions of the Savior who are sown into the material world, whose individual coming into the world was mentioned in 95.9-14, and who are described as seeds in 95.28. See the note on 117.14.

116.39 *This*: The reference is to the "planting" of the spiritual beings "sown" into the material world. Here begins the second explanation of the fact that these beings are subject to passion. They are capable of suffering passion because of their ontological inferiority to the Savior. That they in fact do suffer is a soteriological necessity.

117.2 *places*: Cf. 91.22 and 95.10. The "places" constitute the material world.

117.3 *will*: this is the will of the Father, in accordance with which the whole process of emanation takes place. Cf. 55.35; 72.1; 76.24,36.

117.4 *held the Totality under sin*: The Totality kept under sin is not the world of the Pleroma, but the order of images of the Pleroma, the spiritual companions of the Savior. Thus the lot of the spiritual order is similar to that of the psychic order, which was drawn into matter in order ultimately to be liberated from it (98.27-99.4). Unlike the psychic order, the spiritual order is not positively attracted to evil (98.34). The spiritual order must be incarnated because the material world is the locus of the final revelation of the Savior which provides salvation, and it is the mission of the spiritual order to disseminate that revelation.

117.6 *single one*: The single one, the Savior, is the image of the unitary one (116.29). The motif of salvation coming through one individual may, as *ed. pr.* (II. 212) suggest, be an allusion to Rom 5:15.

117.10 *it began*: The subject here is probably the collectivity of the spiritual seeds sown in the material world.

receive grace (ⲬⲈ ⲒⲘⲐⲐ): The verb is to be associated with ⲬⲈ, "receive" (Crum 747b), and not Ⲭⲱ, "say" (Crum 754a), as suggested by *ed. pr.* (Ger.). Cf. the formulation of the opening paragraph of the tractate (51.4-6).

117.11 *honors*: The life of the aeons of the Pleroma consisted in

praising the Father (68.22-36). Human beings are able to participate in that life because of the revelation which comes through the Savior.

117.12 *by Jesus* (ϩΙΤΟΟΤḂ ḂΗ(ϫΟΥ)ϫ): There is a line drawn through ϫΗΗ. Perhaps the scribe intended to cancel these letters, leaving ϩΙΤΟΟΤϫ. In that case, it is unclear what the pronoun would refer to. Hence, if there was a cancellation here, it was probably erroneous.

117.14 *seed*: This is not a reference to the saved Savior, as *ed. pr.* (II. 212) maintain, but to the embodied images of the Totalities, the companions of the Savior, who have "taken form for a planting" (116.38). This "seed" is the bearer of the promise according to 95.26-32. Cf. Gal 3:19, τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελλται. The author of the *Tri. Trac.* may have this passage in mind throughout this discussion of the "planting" of the "seed of the promise." Other Valentinian teachers referred specifically to Gal 3:19 to describe the planting of "the seed" into the οἰκονομία. Cf. Heracleon, fr. 36 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.50) and *Exc. Theod.* 53.2.

117.18 *instruction*: The information provided by the revealer and his companions is the revelation of the ultimate source and destiny of the human self. For the classical statement of this theme in Valentinianism, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 78. Cf. also *Gos. Thom.* 49 and 50. The notion that the origin and destiny of the soul is the transcendent world was, of course, common in middle and neo-Platonism. Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 65.16 and Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.9.9 and note the discussion by Zandee, *Terminology*, 33-34. The instruction is associated here with the promise possessed by the spiritual seed, which consists of the companions of the Savior. With this notion may be compared the remark in *Exc. Theod.* 25.2 that "rebirth" is directed by the apostles. Note that in 95.15-16, it was affirmed that the coming of the spiritual powers into the "places below" is necessary for the perfection of everything.

return: Here the key soteriological theme is first announced. Cf. 123.19-22, 127.23-24, 128.12-13, 133.7, 137.10. The fullest exposition of the theme occurs at 124.3-25.

117.19 *that which they are* (πεταγωοη): What appears here as the perfect relative is probably an orthographic variant of the present relative, since the qualitative ωοη cannot appear in a tri-partite conjugation. Cf. 66.39 and 112.20-21. The Coptic perhaps translates a

Greek perfect tense, e.g., ὁ γεγόνασι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, "that which they have been from the beginning."

117.21 *drop*: Cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:106.24-107.5, BG 103.10-16, where all who come into the world are "a drop from the light."

117.23 *release*: Cf. 124.3-7 and 132.18.

117.24 *-captivity*: A new set of metaphors for the human condition is introduced. Life in the material world prior to the event of revelation is styled "captivity" and release from the unredeemed condition is "freedom." These terms are metaphors for ignorance and knowledge, respectively, as is clear from the following comments (line 28-30). Thus captivity is simply another term for death. Cf. 107.30-31. For similar metaphors for ignorance, cf. *Gos. Truth* 17.24-35; *Gospel of Mary* BG 17.3; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* CG III,4:107.6-7, BG 103.17; and *Gos. Phil.* 84.10-13, cited by *ed. pr.* (II. 213). According to *Exc. Theod.* 57, the redemption of psychics of their release from slavery into freedom. For further development of this theme, cf. 124.3-10 and 132.31-133.1.

117.25 *freedom*: This freedom is not to be confused with the freedom of the will in accordance with which the Logos erroneously acted (75.35).

117.30 *ignorance was ruling*: Cf. the rule of death in 108.5-6. On the "places" in which ignorance ruled, cf. 117.2.

117.36 *they have suffered*: The sufferers are the "slaves of ignorance" (lines 26-27), i.e., all those in the material world.

117.36-37 *Those who have been brought forth*: The identity of the beings referred to here is problematic. The preceding paragraphs had discussed the spiritual offspring of the Logos who, as the companions of the Savior, were incarnated as apostles and evangelists (116.16-17). This paragraph apparently discusses the other offspring of the Logos, first the psychic powers (117.36-118.5) and then the hylic powers (118.5-14). The identification of the second group is quite clear (cf. lines 8, 11, 13). This makes likely the identification of the first group as psychic powers.

117.37 *lowly thought*: Both the psychic and hylic orders are said to be products of the thought of the Logos. Cf. 97.18-19, 27-38. There is a certain ambiguity in the epithet "lowly." The members of the hylic order are said to be in fact lowly (98.7), although they act and appear as exalted beings. The psychic powers are said to be "humble" (CEΘ̄B̄BIAEIT) toward the Logos (97.32-33). The thought from which they originate can be called one of vanity, since these beings share in the hylic vice of vain love of glory (M̄NTMAEIEAY ET-ΨOYEIΤ, 84.18). The ambition of the psychic powers is what draws them into their involvement with evil matter (98.27-31). Thus *ed. pr.* (II. 213) are incorrect to see in this paragraph any reference to pneumatic beings.

118.2 *lust for power*: For the ambition of the hylic powers, cf. 79.20, 28; 80.9; 83.35; 98.10; 99.11; 103.20. The psychic powers share this vice according to 84.6-17. Note too the mutual emulation of the two orders (108.13-104.5).

118.3 *the possession which is freedom*: Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 56-57, which apparently expresses the same idea, describing "the change of the psychics from slavery to freedom." This parallel may confirm the identification of these beings as psychic. Cf. the note to 117.36-37.

118.5 *it was a disturbance*: The subject of this nominal sentence is either the freedom or the grace which comes with the revelation of the Savior. The appearance of the Savior to the Logos in the intermediate world had a similar effect. It was a sudden revelation (89.1), which cast the hylic powers into fear (89.5, 20-24). Syntactically, the clause is a circumstantial conversion of a nominal sentence.

118.7 *cast off*: At the appearance of the Savior to the Logos, the latter "cast off" from himself his hylic offspring (88.24-25, 90.16-19).

118.10-11 *destined for destruction*: The very nature of the hylic powers is the ultimate cause of their annihilation (78.37-79.4). It is, however, the strengthening which the Logos receives from the revelation of the Savior which consigns these powers to the Abyss (89.24-28).

118.11 *though he kept <them>*: The Logos preserved the hylic

powers which had been cast off, because of their usefulness in organizing the world outside the Pleroma. Cf. 99.11–19 and 103.19–24. The spiritual powers are also said to be “kept” or “guarded” (95.32) because of their mission in the material world. Hence *ed. pr.* (II. 213) suggest that this passage should be taken as a comment on the spiritual powers. These, however, can hardly be said to be “destined for destruction.” The singular pronominal suffix in $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$ is no doubt an error for the plural $\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$.

14. The Tripartition of Mankind (118.14–122.12)

The central affirmation of this section is made in the first paragraph. At the coming of the Savior all human beings fall into three different categories, spiritual, psychic, and material (118.14–58). A series of metaphors describes the response of each class to the Savior’s revelation (118.28–119.16). The last part of this section begins with a restatement of the fundamental principle of tripartition (119.16–24). This is followed by a lengthy and complex discussion of the varieties of psychic response (119.23–122.12).

118.15 *three essential types*: It was standard Valentinian doctrine that mankind was comprised of three groups. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.5; *Exc. Theod.* 54.1, 56.3. The role of the $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ in the constitution of these three groups needs to be assessed carefully. It does not seem to be the case that the three groups are simply distinct incarnations of the three types of power brought forth by the Logos in the intermediate world, since it has been affirmed that the archetypal human soul contains all three powers (106.18–31). It may be that each type of soul was thought to have a predominance of one or another power, which is only revealed by the coming of the Savior. Such a theory is not explicitly developed here. (Note, however, the reference to the “pre-disposition” of psychics [83.19; 131.30].) The *Tri. Trac.* instead focuses on the behavior of individuals. It might almost be said that that behavior produces essence, inasmuch as each soul by its response to the Savior actualizes one of the potentialities implanted within it.

It is difficult to reconcile the teaching of this text with patristic reports of Valentinian soteriology which speak of being “saved by nature” (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.3.10,2, *Exc. Theod.* 56.3). It is likely that those accounts reflect a misunderstanding (or a caricature) on the part of Church Fathers of Valentinian theology. For a critical evaluation of those patristic accounts, see L. Schottroff,

“Animae naturaliter salvandae,” *Christentum und Gnosis* (ZNW Beiheft 37; ed. W. Eltester; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969) 65-97. The soteriology of this text is, in any case, clearly consistent with its basic ontology, for, on every level of being, act determines essence. In the non-material world, the production of any class of entities is a concretization of the thought of a superior entity. Cf., e.g., 82.10-14 and 83.16-22. The coming into being of three kinds of human being is a response to the coming of the Savior and is a result of different attitudes towards him. Cf. especially 118.28-35 and 119.34-120.8.

118.18 *triple disposition*: The dispositions of the Logos are (1) his arrogant thought (78.30) or the abortive desire to know the Father (76.21), which produced the hylic qualities of doubt and ignorance (77.21-25) and engendered hylic powers (78.29-37); (2) his ensuing embarrassment and astonishment (80.14), which led to repentance and conversion (81.20-29), which engendered psychic offspring (82.10-14); and finally (3) his joy at the revelation of the Savior (88.15-16), which ultimately leads to amazement and gratitude (91.7-10), as the Logos engenders his spiritual offspring (90.31-32). Human beings can imitate any one of these activities of the Logos. As *ed. pr.* (II. 214) note, *διάθεσις* is a technical term among Valentinians for the disposition of the aeon who falls from the Pleroma. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.1, 1.5.1; *Exc. Theod.* 45.2; and Heracleon, fr. 27 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.31).

118.19 { $\tau\epsilon$ }: There is no syntactical reason for the copula to be here and it probably is an error by dittography of the first syllable of $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota$.

118.23 *known by its fruit*: The classification of individual human beings is made manifest only in the response of each to the revelation of the Savior. Since “bearing fruit” has been used in this text as the standard metaphor for the actualizing of a potentiality or “seed,” this remark supports the understanding of the “natures” in this section. Cf. the note to 118.15. As *ed. pr.* (II. 214) note, Origen (*De princ.* 1.8.2) also cites a use of Matt 7:16 by Valentinians discussing the spiritual nature of the apostles. Cf. also *Val. Exp.* 36.32-33 and *Interp. Know.* 19.30-34.

118.27 *revealed*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 214) note, fr. 44 of Heracleon (Origen, *In Joh.* 20.20) has the same doctrine, that Christ’s coming

reveals the nature of human beings. Note too the coming of the Word in *Gos. Truth* 25.35–26.15, and *Exc. Theod.* 41.5. “Revelation” does not imply simply the uncovering of what was already fully present. Rather to become manifest is in fact equivalent to coming into actual existence. For recent discussion of Valentinian soteriology, see E. Mühlenberg, “Wieviel Erlösungen Kennt der Gnostiker Heracleon?” *ZNW* 66 (1975) 170–93 and B. Aland, “Erwählungstheologie und Menschenklassenlehre. Die Theologie des Heracleon als Schlüssel zum Verständnis der christlichen Gnosis?” *Gnosis and Gnosticism* (ed. M. Krause; NHS 8; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 148–81.

118.29 *spiritual race*: Cf. the note to 115.30–31.

118.30–31 *light from light*: As Zandee (*Terminology*, 13) notes, the second hypostasis in Plotinus, namely Nous, is said to flow from the first principle as “light from light.” Cf. *Enn.* 5.3.17. The motif is common in Hellenistic mysticism. Cf. Philo, *Mut.* 4–6, *Praem. et poen.* 36–40 and E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (Diss. Yale, 1935; reprinted, Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969). Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.17.4.

118.32 *head*: The image of the cosmos as a body, the head of which is a deity, was widespread in the Hellenistic period. For the use of the image in Philo, where the Logos is the head, cf. *Som.* 1.128. For further attestations of the motif, cf. E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Hermeneia: Philadelphia; Fortress, 1971) 52–55. Early Christians applied the image to Christ and the Church. Cf. 1 Cor 11:3; Col 1:18; Eph 1:22–23, 4:16. For Valentinian interpretations of this theme, see *Interp. Know.* 17.14–18.38 and *Exc. Theod.* 42.2–3.

118.33 *ran*: The spirituals thus replicate the activity of the better self of the Logos, who “ran up” (78.2) to the Pleroma as soon as he was produced.

118.34 *immediately* (CΕΖΗΤῸ): For the form here and in the next line, cf. 64.33. As *ed. pr.* (II. 215) note, the Samaritan woman, who was for Heracleon a symbol of spiritual human beings, accepts the words of the Savior without hesitation (μη̄ διακριθείσαν). Cf. Heracleon, fr. 17 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10).

118.37-38 *light from a fire*: The psychics are inferior to the spirituals. They too are "light," but from an inferior, secondary source. Recall Plato's allegory of the cave in *Rep.* 7.514B where men chained within it do not see the true light of the sun, but only "light from a fire" within the cave. Cf. also Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.32.7, where psychics are said to be of a fiery substance.

119.2 *faith*: Valentinians often distinguished between the knowledge characteristic of spiritual human beings (118.35) and the faith characteristic of psychics. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.3.10,2; Heracleon, fr. 27 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.31). The *Tri. Trac.* does not consistently observe this distinction. Cf. 71.23-24.

119.3 *voice*: The voice which instructs the psychics contrasts with the direct vision by which spirituals appropriate revelation. Note that the spiritual race responds to the Savior as soon as he appears (118.33). Similarly the Logos had responded to the "vision" of the Savior (90.10). Heracleon distinguishes between three levels of revelation: sound (*ἦχος*), signifying the hylic level; voice (*φωνή*), signifying the psychic level; and speech (*λόγος*), signifying the pneumatic level.

119.4 *sufficient*: The revelation to and response from the psychic human beings is sufficient for their salvation, which, at least initially, is distinguished from the salvation of the spirituals. Cf. 122.19-24.

119.5 *hope*: The hope of the promise is a characteristic of the Logos (85.14) and his spiritual offspring (117.25-27). Note, too, that the psychic prophets were "looking for the hope" (112.1).

119.7 *assurance*: Cf. Heb 11:1.

119.9 *alien*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 216) note, Heracleon calls matter that which is foreign (*ἀνοίκειον*) to the Savior. Cf. fr. 11 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.11) and note *ἀλλότριον* in Origen, *In Joh.* 20.8. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 31.1-4.

119.10 *dark*: Cf. Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* 7.7. Note that the hylic powers of the intermediate world were separated from the Logos and

cast into the "outer darkness" (89.26), which is their lot (89.31-34).

119.12 *destroys*: Note the effects of the appearance of the Savior on the hylic powers (89.24-34; 96.3-11).

119.14 *excessive* (<ΟΥ>ΑΒΑΛ ΝΖΟΥΟ): This phrase is probably to be understood as the predicate of a nominal sentence, parallel to ΟΥΜΑΣΤΕ. The syntax is understood thus by *ed. pr.* (Ger.). *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) construe the phrase adverbially, but this is unsatisfactory, since it ignores the ΠΕ in line 14.

119.16-122.14 The structure of the lengthy discussion which now takes place is important to note in order to be clear on the groups being mentioned. The section begins with a summary of the doctrine of tripartition (119.16-24). In what follows the text treats two major subdivisions of the psychic class, those corresponding to the "first thought" of the Logos and those who are affected by the "lust for power." Note the particles ΜΕΝ (119.28) and ΝΔΕ (120.14), which articulate the discussion of these two major groups. The second group is then subdivided into two classes, those who abandon the lust for power and those who do not. Once again, the particles ΜΕΝ (120.23) and ΔΕ (120.29) make the distinction clear. In connection with each group, the possibility of redemption is affirmed (120.27-29; 121.29-38). A summary statement of the error of those who oppose the Savior and his church closes the discussion (121.38-122.12). Thus the treatment of psychic human beings is more elaborate and more carefully nuanced than any other Valentinian discussions of the topic. For a similar subdivision of psychics, cf. 131.14-132.3.

119.20 *resists* († ΑΖΤΗΘ): For this form, cf. 93.7; 98.25. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) interpret it here as †Ε·ΖΤΗΘ, "strike to the heart."

119.24 *It takes* (ϰϰΙ): The subject here is that part of the psychic class which responds favorably to the coming of the Savior. That these are indeed the beings under discussion is made clear by the reference to the "first thought" of the Logos (119.29-37) and the description of their activity (120.2-5).

119.25 *departure* (ΖΕΤΕ ΑΒΑΛ): Note that the Coptic can translate the Greek ἐξόδος (Crum 719a).

119.26 *suddenly*: The response of the “good” psychics is similar to that of the spirituals who run to the Savior “immediately” (118.34). Nonetheless, the sudden psychic response follows their initial hesitation (118.38). Hence it is not “immediate.”

complete: Once again, the salvation of these psychics parallels that of the spirituals (119.17).

119.27 *those who are good*: The identity of this group is clarified in the following discussion. The “first thought” of the Logos occurred at his conversion, when he thought of the aeons of the Pleroma and prayed for salvation (81.22-29). From that thought he produced psychic powers (82.10-14). Thus the salvation of psychic human beings initially consists of their liberation from the world of matter and their attainment of the status of these good offspring of the Logos (120.6; 122.19-24).

119.32 *have* (ΟΥΝΤΕϚ): The singular subject here could possibly refer to the psychic order, which is the subject in line 24. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) adopt this understanding, forcing them to take the relative clause in line 28 in apposition with ΝΙΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ in line 27. The ΜΕΝ in line 28, however, suggests that a new sentence begins with the relative clause. *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) have the same understanding of the place of the relative clause, but begin a new sentence with the circumstantial, ΕΡΤΩΒΞ in line 31, making the Logos the subject of ΟΥΝΤΕϚ. Why his salvation should be mentioned here is unclear. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) construe the relative clause properly, but take line 32 as a parenthesis, presumably referring to the Logos. It is more satisfactory simply to emend ΟΥΝΤΕϚ to ΟΥΝΤΕΥ, making the subject the psychics referred to in the relative clause. They are also the subject of the verb in the next line.

ΝΑ[...]/ΩΝΕ: Restoration of the lacuna is problematic. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) propose ΝΑ[ΠΣ]ΩΝΕ, “suddenly.” Cf. 89.1. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest ΝΑ[ΤΣ]ΩΝΕ, “gradually.” The former alternative repeats the remark made in line 27. That repetition is no objection to the restoration, because the next phrase also repeats line 26. The form ΩΝΕ with the prefix ΑΤ is unattested.

119.33 *completely*: Cf. 119.27. This adverb could go with the preceding remark as well.

They will be saved: The subject must be the members of the psychic race.

119.34 *salvific thought:* This thought is first of all the recollection by the Logos of the Pleroma. His thought becomes the thought of the psychics who acknowledge one more exalted than themselves (120.3).

119.34-35 *as he was brought forth:* The production of the Logos out of the Pleroma was a result of his unsuccessful attempt to comprehend the Father (75.19), and this production was for the glory of the Father (76.6-7; 77.11-14). Likewise, the production of psychic powers and the revelation of psychic human beings is a result of the awareness of the incomprehensible one.

120.2 *confession:* The Logos, after his conversion, sowed in the psychic powers an idea about the pre-existent Father (83.16-26, 106.12) and, when the Savior appeared, these powers acknowledged him (89.18-20). These powers then inspired the Hebrew prophets, so that they too acknowledged one greater than themselves (111.23; 112.7) and prophesied about the Savior (113.9-14). Now psychic human beings, responding to the revelation of the Savior in this world, make the same psychic confession and thus attain the same being as the psychic powers (lines 5-6,14). Cf. also 131.3-4; 132.16-17.

120.2-3 *there is one who (ΟΥΝ ΠΕΤΑΕΙ):* The form (ΑΕΙ) is probably a qualitative of ΕΙΡΕ. Note the form ΟΕΙ (52.14 and frequently). The α for ο is a hyper-subachmimic. The emendation of *ed. pr.* (Ger.), <N>ΑΕΙ, is unnecessary.

120.4 *prayer and search:* These are also characteristics of the psychic powers (83.19-20) and the prophets whom they inspired (112.3).

120.8 *They were appointed:* The parallel between psychic and spiritual human beings, noted in 119.26-27, extends even further. Just as the spiritual companions of the Savior were appointed for a mission in the material world (116.13-20), so too are the psychic human beings. Note that the psychic powers of the intermediate world respond to the appearance of the Savior by becoming "witnesses" to him (89.17-18). Cf. also 131.12.

120.28–29 *to remain forever* (ΠΙΜΟΥΝ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΨΑΒΟΛ): *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest that the phrase may also be translated “perseverance to the uttermost.” Note, however, the parallel reference to “eternal rest” in 121.26, and note the “eternal Kingdom” in 132.3. It is unclear what the eschatological result of this type of psychic behavior is supposed to be. In the next section of the text a distinction is made between the “election” (presumably, the spiritual order) and the “calling” (presumably, the psychic order), but there is no further differentiation within the psychic order, as there is in this section.

120.29 *Those, however*: Here is discussed the second group of psychics among those who manifest the “lust for power.” In contrast to the last group mentioned, these people persist in their essentially hylic attitudes and behavior.

120.30 *are proud* (C̄ΛΛΑΖ̄Λ̄): This word is otherwise unattested and its derivation is obscure. *Ed. pr.* (I. 31) suggest that C̄Λ is from CINE or ΨINE and ΛΑΖ̄Λ̄ is to be associated with ΛΑΖ̄Λ̄, “to be tall, high” (Crum 149b).

120.32–35. The syntax here is complex. The main predication is the perf. II, ΕΡΕΝΤΑΥΤῆΝΖΟΥΤΟΥ, which emphasizes the adverbial elements in line 34. The object of the preposition ΑΡΑC is preposed in †ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ. The antecedent of the relative ΕΤΕΥῆΝΤΕΥCΟΥ is lines 34–35 is the combination “periods and times” which immediately precedes. *Ed. pr.* (Eng., II. 185) suggest that the relative clause in the original Greek was ἦν ἔχουσιν, which modified ἐξουσία.

120.33 *periods and times*: Cf. 120.25.

120.36 *Son of God*: This rather orthodox title designates the Savior, who was given the name “Son” at his emanation (87.1–14).

121.1 *Lord of all*: The Demiurge at his appointment by the Logos was called “Lord of all of them” (ΠΟΥΧΑΕΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ). He, of course, is the ruler over his own realm, while the “all” over which the Savior is Lord is probably the Totalities, which he encompasses (87.1–2).

121.4 *resemblance*: Psychics of the sort described here resemble the

evil hylics. Note that the word used here is from the same root as the technical term for the hylic powers, $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$. Cf. 78.32-34.

121.7-8 *those who went astray*: These are presumably the hylics. This passage suggests that psychics who do not renounce their love of power become associated with the hylic human beings and the hylic powers who are responsible for the death of Jesus. As *ed. pr.* (II. 218) note, Error in the *Gos. Truth* 18.18-27, is held responsible for persecuting and killing Jesus. Zandee (II. 185) suggests that those responsible for the death of Jesus include psychics, namely Jews, who resembled the hylics. The text, however, clearly assigns responsibility for this event to the hylic *powers*.

121.9 *of them* ($\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma$): The emendations suggested by *ed. pr.* are unnecessary. The form here is the preposition $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ with pronominal suffix, probably translating $\alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\nu$, used partitively.

121.14 *They persevered*: The subject pronoun refers to the psychics who are from the mixture (121.22, cf. 120.21), not the hylic powers of the left, who have just been mentioned as the primary agents in the death of Jesus.

121.15-18 The thought of the psychics who maintain their arrogant attitude recalls the delusion of the hylic powers who thought that they were self-existents (79.12-19).

121.26 *eternal* ($\bar{\nu}\omega\lambda \epsilon\{\bar{\iota}\}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}'\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$): The $\bar{\iota}$ is probably the false start of an $\bar{\eta}$ which was then written as a correction over the ϵ . The word is usually spelled $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$.

121.27 *humility*: Cf. 120.28.

121.29 *After they confess*: It is unclear what the pronominal subject here refers to. The following remark is appropriate to the first group of psychics characterized by the lust for power (120.22-29). Here, however, it seems to apply to the second group in this category (120.22ff.). If so, then the *Tri. Trac.* holds out the hope that all men who are characterized by the psychic response to revelation can ultimately repent and participate in salvation.

The implications of this teaching are extremely significant. The last

group of psychics discussed differs in no way in its behavior from the hylic powers (120.10-14). This group probably consists of people outside the Church who persecute it. Cf. 122.5-12. Such people do not seem to be predetermined to a hylic status and to condemnation. It is possible for them to convert and actualize their positive psychic potential. Only if they persist in their arrogant ambition do they share the fate of hylic powers.

122.1 *men and angels*: These nouns are preposed and resumed by the pronoun ΝΑΕΙ in line 3. The object of the preposition ΖΑ ΠΡΑ is the clause introduced by ΜΠΡΗΤΕ in line 2, which probably translates an indirect question in Greek.

122.9 *envy and jealousy*: For these hylic qualities, cf. 103.25-27; Heracleon, fr. 14 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.34), which comments on John 2:17; and *Gos. Truth* 24.25.

15. The Process of Restoration (122.12-129.34)

The remainder of the text is concerned in one way or another with the process of restoration into the Pleroma, and the discussion may be divided in various ways. A major break in the development occurs at 129.34, where the discussion focuses in a detailed way on the process of restoration of psychic human beings. The current section, however, is not simply a discussion of spiritual human beings, but a general survey of the whole salvific process, with special attention devoted to the sacramental component of that process.

The discussion begins (122.12-24) with a reference to two of the groups created by the Savior's appearance, now designated the "election" (the spirituals) and the "calling" (the psychics). The process of restoration for both groups is then discussed in general terms (122.25-124.25). Initially there is a distinction between the relative position of the two groups. The elect, spiritual human beings, in their intimate union with the Savior are like the bride within the marriage chamber (122.15-17), while the called, psychic human beings are like the attendants outside that chamber (122.19-24). This distinction is to be maintained in the future, for the calling "will have...the aeon of the images" (122.25-27). This distinction, however, does not seem to be permanent, but is rather only a temporary stage in the restorative process, for restoration "at the end" is into the Pleroma (123.21-22; 123.29-124.25).

The status of the two components of the Church in the interim is described by means of two mysterious figures, the "man of the Church" (122.28) and the "perfect man" (123.4). Interpretation of these two images is difficult, but it seems most probable that the first figure, divided as it is into "spirit, soul, and body" (122.31), is a symbol of the whole Church, while the second figure is a symbol of the election, the spiritual component of the Church. The "perfect man" receives salvation immediately (123.3-11), while "his members," presumably the other components of the "man of the Church," need a place of instruction (123.12), which is the "aeon of the images" where they "receive resemblance to the images and archetypes" (123.14-15). When that instruction is complete, all the members of the body of the Church "are in a single place and receive the restoration at one time" (123.18-20). That final restoration is then described as both an escape from oppressive powers and an ascent into the Pleroma (123.27-124.25).

There follows a series of digressions, consisting of general observations on the process of restoration. It is first affirmed that all beings outside the Godhead, including the Savior, need redemption (124.25-125.11). The process by which the Savior attains and brings redemption is then discussed. In coming to the aid of angels and men (125.11-24), he experiences deficiency. Thus the Father is, paradoxically, a cause of ignorance, as well as of knowledge (125.24-126.9). This paradox is central to the thought of the *Tri. Trac.*, and it is again affirmed that even the Totalities suffered from the deficiency. Likewise, all who come to the Father do so after experiencing ignorance (126.9-27). Thus those to whom the Savior first makes his revelation voluntarily subject themselves to evil, so that they might finally attain their primordial state (126.28-127.24). In a further digression, baptism is discussed and it is affirmed that through baptism and a trinitarian confession one attains to the Father (127.25-128.19). Finally a list of alternative designations of baptism, indicating its true spiritual significance, is given (128.19-129.34).

122.12 *election*: This term contrasts with "calling" in line 19, corresponding to the Greek terms *ἐκλογή* and *κλήσις*. As *ed. pr.* (II. 218-19) note, the western and eastern Valentinian schools differ in their application of these terms. In *Exc. Theod.* 21.1, from the eastern school, the "election" is applied to the male, angelic offspring of

Sophia, while the "calling" is applied to her female offspring, the "superior seed," that is the Valentinians themselves. On the other hand, Heracleon, fr. 27 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.31) and fr. 37 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.51), applies "election" to the spiritual and "calling" to the psychic. The same distinction is made by *Exc. Theod.* 58.1, from the school of Ptolemy, using the terms τὸ ἐκλεκτόν and τὸ κλητόν. Cf. also Hippolytus, *Ref.* 10.9. The *Tri. Trac.* clearly follows the pattern of western Valentinianism. For the relatively straightforward application of the terms "elect" and "called" to pneumatic (or angelic) and psychic levels of reality and human communities, cf. the discussion of the Naassenes in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.6.7.

122.13–14 *shares body and essence*: Note that the spiritual human beings immediately ran to the Savior at his appearance and became his body (118.32–35). As *ed. pr.* (II. 219) note, Jesus is said to be consubstantial with the Church in *Exc. Theod.* 42.3 and Christ is said to be consubstantial with the Church, consisting of both the elect and the called, in *Exc. Theod.* 58.1. The metaphor apparently derives from such passages as 1 Cor 12:12–13, Col 1:24 and Eph 1:23, where Paul describes the Church as Christ's body. The author of *Interp. Know.* (13.20–36; 17.14–19.25), also an adherent of the western school of Valentinians, interprets this metaphor extensively. Cf. also Heracleon, fr. 24 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.25) where those who share the Father's spiritual nature are said to be those who worship him in spirit and truth (John 4:24).

122.15–16 *bridal chamber*: The metaphor is not expressed very clearly. Presumably the election is like the bride within the bridal chamber. The Valentinians apparently derive this metaphor from Eph 5:32 (cf., e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4), and use it frequently to describe eschatological union within the Pleroma. According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.1, the lower Sophia or Achamoth as the bride (νύμφη) enters the bridal chamber (νυμφῶν), which is the Pleroma, and is united to her bridegroom (νυμφίος), the Savior, while those who are spiritual put off their souls, enter the Pleroma and unite with the Savior's angels. *Val. Exp.* (31.37) describes how "the Church, that is, Sophia," joins eschatologically with Jesus, her bridegroom (39.9–35). *Exc. Theod.* 63–64 gives a similar account, although in this text it is clear that the eschatological restoration involves psychics as well as pneumatics. That is an important parallel for understanding the

eschatology of the *Tri. Trac.* For discussion of the differences between the accounts of Irenaeus and the *Exc. Theod.*, see E. Pagels, "Conflicting Versions of Valentinian Eschatology," *HTR* 67 (1974) 35-53. Cf. also Heracleon, fr. 18 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11).

In the *Tri. Trac.* the marriage imagery seems to be primarily eschatological. There is no indication of a special sacrament of the bridal chamber, as in *Gos. Phil.* 67.30; 69.1; 69.26-28; 70.17-22; 79:18-19; 81.34-82.25; 86.4-19, and the Valentinian Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.3). The *Tri. Trac.* does, however, call baptism the "bridal chamber" (128.33). On marriage imagery in general, cf. R. A. Batey, *New Testament Nuptial Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

122.17-18 *before every place*: The "places" here presumably refer by metonymy to the positions occupied by psychics and hylics in the hierarchy of being. Human beings who respond in various ways to the Savior correspond to the hierarchically arranged powers of the intermediate world (99.19-33). The place of the spiritual aeon is, of course, above that hierarchical organization (93.14-16). The word for "place" can also be translated "path," as by *ed. pr.* (Ger.). Cf. *Gos. Truth* 20.21-22.

122.18 *the Christ* (ΠΕΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ): Note the spelling. The word basically means "the beneficial one." The ambiguity, based on the identical pronunciation of *χριστός* and *χρηστός*, may well be intentional. For further evidence on early Christian punning on the name Christ, cf. *Treat. Res.* 43.36-37.

122.20-21 *place of those who rejoice*: Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.1-5; *Exc. Theod.* 63.1; and Heracleon, fr. 13 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.33). Note in particular *Exc. Theod.* 65.1, which comments on John 2:8. There the ruler of the wedding feast (*ἀρχιτερίκλιος*), who may be a symbol of the Demiurge, is said to stand outside the bridal chamber and rejoice at the sound of the bridegroom (John 3:29). *Ed. pr.* (II. 220-22) infer from such sources that the western Valentinians understand the ultimate destiny of the psychics to be outside the Pleroma, thus taking Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.1, as paradigmatic for western Valentinian eschatology, and assuming this text to be parallel with it. The *Tri. Trac.*, however, seems to stand closer to *Exc. Theod.* 63, which envisions only a temporary separation of pneumatics and psychics. Note in this passage that the elect *already* "share body and essence

with the Savior." At present, the calling does not participate in the joy of the bridal chamber, as the elect do. Instead, its members stand outside that union, and rejoice in it, like wedding guests. The text envisions two stages of restoration of the "calling." According to 122.25-26, they will first attain the "aeon of the images," just as in *Exc. Theod.* 63.1 the "other faithful souls rest beside the Demiurge." Eventually those who are called will also be restored into the Pleroma (123.11-124.3), as in *Exc. Theod.* 63.2.

122.25-26 *aeon of the images*: This is the initial place of the spiritual offspring of the Logos, his Pleroma, which consists of the images of the transcendent Pleroma. Cf. 90.14-32; 92.22-26; 93.14-29. Note the similar temporary rest of the psychics with the Demiurge in *Exc. Theod.* 63.1.

122.26-27 *where the Logos has not yet joined with the Pleroma*: In 95.2-6, it was explained that the spiritual offspring of the Logos, who comprise the aeon of the images, are "passions" because they were produced without the Pleroma. Thus the Logos, while in that aeon, has not yet been restored to the Pleroma.

122.28-30 *man of the Church*: The interpretation of this figure and of the whole discussion from 122.27-123.22 is beset with obscurities. The figure of the man of the Church may be identical with the "perfect man" (line 31), who seems to be a symbol for the elect, spiritual human beings. It seems more likely, however, that the two figures, the "man of the Church" and the "perfect man," are to be distinguished. The man of the Church would then be the collectivity of all who respond to the Savior, while the perfect man would consist of those who respond spiritually.

It could even be that the "man of the Church" is not a symbol for a group, but is the individual member of the Church, although the parallel with the clearly symbolic "perfect man" and the reference to members suggest that this figure is also symbolic of a collectivity.

Ed. pr. (I. 371-72, II. 222-24) suggest that behind the obscure terminology of this section lies the myth of the redeemed redeemer, the primordial man whose parts are scattered in the world of matter and then collected and restored. Whatever the ultimate sources of this language, this text does not equate the "man of the Church" with the Savior, who is mentioned separately in 122.34-35. The *Tri. Trac.*

Adam

does hold that the redeemer needs redemption (124.31-125.1), although this redemption does not seem to consist of the reconstitution of a sundered primordial man.

Ed. pr. also suggest that the man of the Church is the spiritual body of the Savior, provided by and composed of the spiritual offspring of the Logos (114.4-14). If the aeon of those spiritual offspring is called "Church" (94.21), the body which it provides might be thought of as "the man of the Church." The spiritual companions of the Savior certainly form a part of his body (116.24-26, 118.34-35). It is hardly clear, however, that the title "man of the Church" is to be associated exclusively with those companions. Note, too, the ambiguity of the composition of the Church in 94.21.

Ed. pr. (I. 371, II. 223-24) also suggest that there may be a connection between the "man" figures in the *Tri. Trac.* and the "Son of Man" in *Treat. Res.* 44.22-36 and Heracleon, fr. 35 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.49). "Son of Man" in *Treat. Res.* is clearly a designation of the Savior, but the relevance of that text to the *Tri. Trac.* is hardly obvious. The "Son of Man" in Heracleon is an obscure figure, distinguished from the Savior, who is also called Son of Man. Perhaps the initial Son of Man is a figure of the Pleroma. Note that Man and Church comprise a syzygy in the Ogdoads of Valentinus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1) and Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.2). In any case, the text of Heracleon is hardly relevant to this passage of the *Tri. Trac.* To adduce it here is to explain *obscurum per obscurius*.

122.28-29 *happy and glad*: Note that the same terminology is used to describe the guest of the bridegroom outside the bridal chamber (line 22). This might suggest that the man of the Church includes the psychic "calling."

122.29 *at this*: The antecedent of the pronominal object here is unclear. If the parallel with the attendants of the wedding party is continued, the pronoun will refer to the "union of the bridegroom and bride." That metaphor, however, refers to the spirituals' union with the Savior and would imply that the man of the Church is psychic. Whatever the interpretation of the "man of the Church," it cannot be simply psychic, since it apparently includes a spiritual component (line 31). The pronoun may refer to the bridal chamber imagery understood simply as a metaphor for the coming of the Savior.

122.31 *separated*: The activity of the man of the Church parallels in many particulars the activity of the Logos in the intermediate world. The initial reaction of the Logos to the appearance of the Savior was to separate out and cast off his psychic and hylic offspring (88.23–89.4; 90.16–19). If the “man of the Church” is to be identified with the perfect, spiritual man, this separation probably means his escape from the psychic and hylic elements of the “organization.” Cf. 124.3–12. If, as seems more likely, the “man of the Church” includes all types of human beings, the separation is simply the division caused by the appearance of the Savior.

122.32–33 *the one who thinks that he is a unity*: This is no doubt the Demiurge, who thinks that he is a “god” and “father” (101.20–25), although he only has these titles in a derivative sense. Unity is, of course, the hallmark of the Father (51.9). The Demiurge rules the organization to which the man of the Church is subject and from which redemption will liberate him (124.3–12).

122.34–35 *man who is the Totality*: This is clearly the Savior. Cf. 87.34, 116.28–30. Note that the Son is called “the Man of the Father” (66.12).

122.36 *though he has*: The subject is the “man of the Church.”

122.37 *escape*: Cf. 119.25. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate “descent,” which is inappropriate here, where redemption is in view.

πΙ...[.].ε: Restoration here is difficult, since the traces of the doubtful letters are quite ambiguous. None of the proposals of *ed. pr.* is satisfactory.

123.2 *about which we spoke*: If the man of the Church is to be identified with the “perfect man,” then his members are spiritual human beings, who have been mentioned at 118.34–35, where spiritual human beings are said to become the body of the Savior at his revelation. If, as seems more likely, the “man of the Church” includes both spiritual and psychic human beings, his previously mentioned members may be simply the “spirit, soul and body” listed in 122.31.

123.5 *perfect man*: The term occurs only here in the *Tri. Trac.* As *ed. pr.* (II. 224) note, the term is used of the Father in *Gos. Truth*

27.14-15, although it should be noted that that application is purely metaphorical. Cf. also the perfect man of *Ap. John*, CG II,1:2.20, IV,1:3.21, BG 22.9. Here the term probably refers to the spiritual race, the "election." The terminology of the perfect man recalls the description of the first production of the Logos, his perfect self (78.9,18). Thus the perfect man may be related to the "man of the Church" as the first product of the Logos is related to the Logos, i.e., as his spiritual component.

123.5 *immediately*: This is the chief characteristic of the response of spiritual human beings (118.34). For the translation, cf. 64.33.

123.6 *return*: The return to the Pleroma by the perfect self of the Logos is the archetype of all redemption (77.37-78.22). That product of the Logos was called a "unitary aeon" (78.1). The spiritual race attains that inner unity which is modeled on the transcendent unity and which contrasts with the merely imaginary unity of the Demiurge (122.32-33). For further development of the theme of unity, cf. 132.16-133.7. As *ed. pr.* (II. 224) note, the same theme occurs in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.12.4, and Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.16.32,1.

in haste: As *ed. pr.* (II. 224) note, the haste with which the soul returns to its heavenly origin is a commonplace in the piety of the first Christian centuries. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1912; reprinted, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971) 106-107.

123.7 *the place*: The source and goal of what is spiritual is the Pleroma, as is made clear in 123.22; 124.13-25. Cf. also 59.18-19.

123.11 *flowed forth*: This terminology possibly alludes to the metaphor of the spring used of the Father (60.13, 66.17).

123.11-12 *His members needed . . . instruction*: Once again there is ambiguity in the text. If the "perfect man" is, in fact, the spiritual component of the Church, as suggested in the note to 123.4-5, the "members" mentioned here could be seen as his components, the spiritual human beings. That some of the disciples of the Savior, who may be spiritual human beings, need instruction has been affirmed at 116.18-20. However, the spirituals' need for instruction stands in tension with the repeated affirmation that they receive gnosis imme-

diately (118.34; 123.5). It is thus more plausible to infer that the members are the psychics, who, according to 119.3, clearly need instruction. The members mentioned here are probably not spiritual members of the perfect man, but psychic members of the man of the Church. These "members" then, are parallel to the "members of the body of the Church," mentioned in lines 17-18. Parallel imagery occurs in Hippolytus' account of Ptolemy's teaching (*Ref.* 6.34; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.7.1), that the psychics form the "body of Christ" who need instruction that will raise these "bodily members" to life.

123.13-14 *places...adorned* (ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΤÇ[Ε]ΝΑΕΙΤ): These may be the places of the material world, which were prepared for the education of mankind (104.18-30). They are more likely the spiritual places of the intermediate world (96.26-97.27), in which the pre-existent spiritual order was situated. Thus the process of instruction of the psychic human beings may be conceived as a *post mortem* affair, taking place in the "aeon of the images."

The form ΤÇ[Ε]ΝΑΕΙΤ is an unusual qual. of ΤΣΕΝΟ, "adorn," "set in order" (Crum 435b). Note that the Logos was said to beautify (ΤΣΑΕΙΩ) those places (96.27). Perhaps the form ΤΣΕΝΑΕΙΤ is an error for ΤΣΑΙΑΙΤ, the normal qual. of ΤΣΑΕΙΩ.

123.14 *they might receive* (ΑΤΡΕΦΧΙ): The subject here is no doubt the "members," who have just been mentioned. Hence the text should be emended to the plural, ΑΤΡΕΥ.

from them: I.e., from the places in which they find themselves. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest emending the text to yield "from the images," but this seems quite unnecessary, especially if the places referred to are the spiritual places of the intermediate world, which are "in spiritual power" (97.16-17).

123.15 *images and archetypes:* The images are the spiritual powers inhabiting the aeon of the images (96.24-28). The archetypes are probably the aeons of the Pleroma, on whom the images were modeled (90.31-32).

123.16 *like a mirror:* Cf. 104.25.

123.18 *Church:* This passage describes the eschatological reunion of the Church, the uniting of the elements which the "man of the

Church" had previously separated (122.28-31). Their reunion can occur only after the perfect man (the election) has received gnosis and after the members (the calling) have received the gradual instruction they needed (123.14). At that time "all the members of the body of the Church" (123.17) will be manifested together, simultaneously, as the "whole body" (123.21). Other western Valentinian sources, such as *Interp. Know.* 17.14-19.25, similarly describe how Christ's body, the Church, consists of both psychic and pneumatic members. Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.3) anticipates the eschatological time when Christ, having joined the elect and the psychic Church into "one body," will raise the whole together.

123.19 *restoration* (ἀποκατάστασις): The belief that at the end all things will be restored to their original condition is found in pre-Valentinian Gnosticism in Basilides. Cf. Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.26.2; 7.27.4,11; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.36,1. In Valentinian sources the term is applied by Ptolemy (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4) to the reintegration of Sophia into the Pleroma. The term is also used by Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.1), Heracleon (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.46) and the *Treat. Res.* 44.30-36. In the *Tri. Trac.* cf. also 74.1-2; 127.23-24; 132.22.

The term ἀποκατάστασις is used by Origen to describe his characteristic eschatology, wherein all human beings will be restored to their primordial spiritual state and all evil will be eliminated (*De princ.* 1.6.1-4; 2.3.5; 3.6.1-9). Several details of that eschatology parallel features of the *Tri. Trac.* Origen, basing himself on John 17:11, emphasizes the unity of the final condition, when, according to 1 Cor 15:25, God will be all in all (*De princ.* 3.6.1). The principle enunciated earlier (79.1-2) and repeated subsequently (127.23-24), that the end will be the beginning, is also a basic principle in Origen (*De princ.* 1.6.2).

123.19-20 *at one time*: Previously the elect and the calling received salvation at different times (one "immediately," the other "gradually"), and in different places. Now, eschatologically, "all the members of the body of the Church" will receive their restoration simultaneously, in a single place.

123.21 *namely* (ἵνα): The resumptive particle is used in an odd way here, if it is a reference to the "restoration" in line 19. Normally the

particle introduces the subject of the sentence. Hence the emendation of *ed. pr.* (Ger.). Perhaps the particle itself should be emended to **ⲭⲈ**.

123.22 *It has* (ⲠϮⲛⲧⲈϢ): The subject here is presumably the body of the Church, not Sophia (=the Logos), as *ed. pr.* (II. 225) suggest.

preliminary concord (ⲧⲙⲈⲧⲈ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ): The terminology here and in the following lines is obscure. *Ed. pr.* translate variously, "accord préalable, (venant) d'une entente mutuelle," "anfängliche Übereinstimmung der gegenseitigen Harmonie," and "initial assent to a mutual agreement." What the Church has before the restoration is some foretaste of the unanimity which characterizes the aeons of the Pleroma (64.25-27; 68.26-28; 70.22-23) and, derivatively, the psychic order of the intermediary world (83.26-33). The Church also resembles the spiritual aeon of the images which was not a direct product of the agreement (ⲧⲱⲧ) of the aeons of the Pleroma, but a mediate reflection of that agreement produced by the Logos (95.2-6). *Interp. Know.* (19.1-38) similarly relates the Church and its harmony with that of the aeons of the Pleroma.

123.25 *which belongs to the Father*: The concord between the Church and the aeons' unanimity belongs to the Father, presumably because he is the ultimate source of the aeons' unity.

123.27 *in accordance with him*: The meaning of the preposition here is obscure. **ⲈϢⲠϮⲛ Ⲉ-** can translate the Greek prepositions *πρός*, *εἰς*, and *κατά*. Cf. Crum, 686a. The translations of *ed. pr.* reflect the ambiguity "relativement à lui," "zu ihm hinein," and "in him." The last translation is probably to be rejected. "In him" would more naturally be expressed by **ⲛⲉϢⲠϮⲛ Ⲉ-** (Crum 686b). The German translation assumes an original Greek *πρός* or *εἰς* (cf. line 33), but it is difficult to see what that might mean here. The French translation seems to assume an original Greek *κατά*, "in accordance with." That is the interpretation to be preferred. Thus the Church has a preliminary taste of the harmony of the Totalities until they assume a countenance "in accordance with" the Father. That countenance is the Savior, whom the Totalities produced (86.23-32). When the Totalities assume that countenance, "all the members of the body of the Church" will be fully restored into the Pleroma. This doctrine is explicitly stated in the next sentence.

123.28 *at the end*: The prepositional phrase is to be construed as an adverbial predicate, with *ed. pr.* (Fr.), and not an adjective, as in *ed. pr.* (Ger. and Eng.). The emendation by *ed. pr.* of the preceding ΔΕ to ΤΕ is unnecessary. On the eschatological position of redemption, cf. 126.11.

123.29-30 *the Son, who is the redemption*: There is a certain ambiguity in the term Son. It could refer to the second person of the initial Trinity, Father, Son and Church. He is what all the aeons of the Pleroma are collectively (67.7-14). The Savior is also called the Son (87.1,14). He is also the redeemer (87.7) and the countenance of the Father (86.28-29). Perhaps the text means to affirm that at the end, when they assume the countenance of the Father, i.e., the Son in the second sense, the Totalities manifest what they really are, the Son in the first sense. Thus their activity is paradigmatic for the redemption of all spiritual beings. By identifying themselves with the Son who is the Savior, they come to be the Son of the Father in the fullest sense. Cf. also 127.25-128.9.

123.31 *path* (ΜΑΕΙΤ): The aeons of the Pleroma were said to be places on the path toward the Father (71.21). As *ed. pr.* (II. 226) note, the image may be associated with John 14:6. It also appears in *Gos. Truth* 18.18-21; 20.21-22; 31.28-35; in the Valentinian Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2); and in *Interp. Know.* 13.19-20.

123.33 *and (after)*: The conjunctive here continues the inflected infinitive of line 28, as assumed by *ed. pr.* (Ger.) and not the relative of line 32, as assumed by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.).

123.36 *inconceivable one*: The Son shares the qualities of the Father's being (58.8-16) including his inconceivability (56.29-30). Thus the ΠΑΕΙ of line 35 probably is a reference to the Son of line 29.

124.2-3 *it receives*: The subject here could be either the Totality or the Church.

124.3 *It was not only release*: For the translation of οὐ μόνον, cf. 110.2. The construction here could be either a circumstantial, modifying ΠΙCΩΤΕ, or a second tense. In either case, the subject is "redemp-

124.19-20 *no need*: Cf. 64.8-10.

124.27 *also the angels*: The redemption of the angels is mentioned, as *ed. pr.* (II. 226) note, in *Exc. Theod.* 22.5-6. In *Exc. Theod.* 35.4, it is explained that the angels intercede on behalf of human beings because they are not able to enter the Pleroma without them. For the possible referents of the term, cf. 125.16.

124.29 *the image*: This is probably a reference to the whole spiritual order, which consists of images of the Totalities (90.31).

124.29-30 *Pleromas of the aeons* (ΝΙΚΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΝΔΕ ΝΑΙΩΝ): The plural of Pleroma here is unusual. The aeons of the Pleroma can be called Pleromas, as at 74.27; 78.31; 85.32. *Ed. pr.* (II. 227) suggest that the plural can be understood as a reference to the Pleroma formed by the syzygy of each aeon and its feminine counterpart. This doctrine, which is not explicit in the *Tri. Trac.*, is enunciated in *Exc. Theod.* 32.1. The plural πληρώματα is also used of the aeons of the Pleroma in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.14.2 and *Exc. Theod.* 33.1. The doctrine that the aeons of the Pleroma need redemption has already been suggested in the initial account of their emanation (60.9,21; 62.14-16) and in the preceding discussion of redemption (123.26). Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 22.35-23.1.

124.31 *that we might not* (ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΤΝΤΜ): The conjugation base here is unusual. It is probably to be understood as a neg. conj. *Ed. pr.* associate the final clause with what precedes, although it clearly goes with what follows. For a similar construction, cf. 53.13; 63.17.

124.32-33 *the Son himself*: This is probably the Savior who bears the name Son (87.1,14). The Savior, as an offspring of the aeons of the Pleroma, needs redemption as much as they do (124.29-30), but as the following lines explain, he particularly needs redemption because of his incarnation. The same point is made in *Exc. Theod.* 22.7. Cf. also *Interp. Know.* 11.28-13.14.

125.2-3 *since he gave himself*: Recall the emphasis on the reality of the incarnation (114.31-115.11).

125.4-5 *we who are his Church*: Cf. 123.17-18.

125.6-7 *redemption from the word*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 227) suggest that the *Tri. Trac.* teaches here that the Logos is the divinity which is associated with the (psychic) body of Jesus through the medium of his soul and that the same doctrine is found in Origen, *De princ.* 2.6.3 and 2.6.6. This passage of the *Tri. Trac.*, however, does not necessarily speak about the composition of the Savior. There is certainly no reference to his "soul."

The "word" which descends in the Savior may well be related to the spirit and the voice which came upon Jesus at his baptism in the Jordan, to which allusion is made in *Exc. Theod.* 61.6 and 22.6. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.2. It is unclear how this word relates to the aeon named the Logos. Up to this point the Logos has not functioned as a salvific figure, nor has there been any indication that the Logos becomes directly involved in the world of matter. He in fact was the first object of the Savior's salvific activity. With the salvific word here may be compared the "spirit" which breathes in the Totalities and draws them to the Father (72.2) and the "grace" which the Savior provides (125.23). Note that the incarnate Savior is called a word in the *Gos. Truth* 16.34, 26.4-8.

125.8 *all the rest*: These are presumably those who receive redemption. *Ed. pr.* (II. 228) compare *Exc. Theod.* 1.1-2, where Jesus commits to the Father the "entire spiritual seed," with the words of Luke 23:46, but this text comes from eastern Valentinianism, which holds that only the spirituals are redeemed.

125.11 *what was in him*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 228) compare the distinction made by Heracleon, fr. 10 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.60) between the body of the Savior and what was in it.

125.12-13 *redemption began to be given* (ΝΕΥΡ ΖΗΤΕ Ν† ΜΠΙ-
CΩΤΕ): *Ed. pr.* here read ΝΕϞ, but the remaining traces of the last letter on line 12 are more compatible with γ. If the singular pronoun is read, it probably refers to the Father.

125.13 *first-born* (ΠΙΩΡΠ̄ ΜΜΙ[CE]): The Son in the Pleroma is given this name (57.18), but here it is apparently applied to the one who is the Son in a derivative sense, the Savior.

125.16 *The angels*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 228) suggest that this is a reference to

the spiritual beings who accompany the Savior (87.23, 115,29-30). It should be noted, however, that the term has not been applied to this group in the *Tri. Trac.* Instead, it has regularly designated the other beings of the intermediate world (71.4; 99.36; 105.1).

in heaven: This could be translated simply "above." The term does not, in any case, aid in locating any more precisely the position of the "angels" in the hierarchy of being.

125.17 *association*: The association formed by the angels and the Savior imitates the association of the aeons of the Pleroma formed around the Son (59.11-15). It is possible that the terms in line 17, **ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ** (for the Greek infinitive) and **ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ** (for the Greek noun) have been reversed. The translation of the emended text would be "asked for a constitution (or association) so that they might associate."

125.19-20 *redemption of the angels*: A similar phrase, **λύτρωσις ἀγγελικῆ**, appears in *Exc. Theod.* 22.5, associated with a rite of laying on of hands at baptism. Clement explains that this is so that the person baptized may have the same name as that in which his angel was baptized.

125.22 *under the Totality*: The prepositional phrase is problematic. *Ed. pr.* translate variously, "à plein," "um die Allheit," and "on behalf of the All." The phrase probably defines not the goal of the "labor," but its location outside or "under" the Pleroma.

125.24-25 *had foreknowledge* (**ῤ̅ ΨΑΡῖ̅ ΑΠΙΣΑΥΝΕ**): This probably translates **προγινώσκειν**. Cf. Rom 8:29. The being of the Savior in the thought of the Father makes him similar to the aeons (60.2). The doctrine that the Father had foreknowledge of the process of redemption reinforces the doctrine that the whole process of emanation took place according to his will. Cf. 76.24-30; 77.6-11.

125.29 *deficiency*: Even the aeons of the Pleroma had experienced the deficiency of not knowing the Father (60.9). The deficiency imposed on the Savior consists of his subjection to ignorance in the world of matter (115.6). This deficiency requires that the Savior be granted the grace of the "word" (125.7).

125.30 *remains*: This temporary “remaining” probably refers to the period of the incarnation of the Savior.

125.31 *as a glory*: The deficiency is paradoxically for the glory of the Father, because it ultimately brings about knowledge. The same paradox is clearly expressed in 107.27–108.4 and 117.3–6.

125.32–33 *is a cause* (ΟΥΝΤΕϚ...ΝΝΟΥΛΛΕΙΘΕ): Literally, the production of the Savior “has as its cause” the fact that the Father is unknown. Thus the inflected infinitive should be seen with *ed. pr.* (Eng.) as the preposed object of ΟΥΝΤΕϚ in lines 32–33, and not as the main verb after ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.).

126.1 *Just as* (ΜΠΡΗΤΕ): Here as frequently, *ed. pr.* fail to note the comparative clause: ΜΠΡΗΤΕ (line 1) ... ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΗΤΕ (line 6).

126.2–3 *lack of envy*: Cf. 62.20; 70.26.

126.4 *sweetness*: Cf. 55.31–33; 57.26–29; 63.26–29; 72.11–17.

126.6–7 *found to be*: For this construction, cf. 53.13–14.

126.7–8 *cause of ignorance*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 228) note, the Father is made responsible for ignorance in *Gos. Truth* 18.1–9. Note that he withholds knowledge of himself from the aeons of the Pleroma (62.14; 64.37–65.1; 67.34–37). In this context the Father causes ignorance because he wills that the Savior be subject to it. Cf. 117.3–4.

126.10 *hidden...wisdom*: The rationale for the Father’s “incomprehensible” wisdom is given at 63.20–26 and 64.28–37.

126.12 *searching*: On the search of the aeons, cf. 61.24–28; 65.11–17; 71.15–18.

126.14 *through his own wisdom*: Thus the discovery of the Father is an act of grace, attainable only through revelation. *Ed. pr.* (II. 229) compare *Gos. Truth* 19.21–25 on the inadequacy of human wisdom. Note the explicit reference to the grace given the Savior in 125.23.

126.15 *he gives* (ΕϚ†): This form is probably to be understood as a

pres. II, emphasizing the final clause which follows. It could also be a circumstantial, as presumed by *ed. pr.*

126.19 *his . . . thanksgiving*: The genitive should be construed as objective. The thanksgiving of the aeons is directed at the Father. Note the lengthy discussion earlier in the tractate of the glory which the aeons give the Father (67.38-71.7). This glorification can be conceived of as a "cause," inasmuch as it brings the aeons into their authentic being (61.1-8; 69.7-14; 20-24).

126.20 *He who*: This relative apparently introduces a second tense in line 22, and is understood thus by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.). This usage is unusual. The relative clause could also be understood to end with $\epsilon\phi\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\bar{\zeta}$. The antecedent would then not be the Father but "knowledge," "thought" or "glory" in lines 16-17.

126.21 *immobility*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 229) compare the immobility of God's will ($\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$) in Heb 6:17. Note that it is by virtue of his will that the Father reveals himself (71.35-36).

126.24 *unknown in his nature*: Cf. 55.28-29. The unknowability of the Father is frequently affirmed in the first part of the *Tri. Trac.*

126.25 *desire*: As the following lines explain, the will of the Father consists in his determination that knowledge should come out of ignorance. Here again reference is made to the paradox enunciated in the last paragraph (125.31-32). This desire of the Father was first manifested in his dealings with the aeons of the Pleroma. It is imitated by the Logos in his dealings with his offspring (98.27-99.4).

126.26 *that they should* ($\chi\epsilon\ \pi\tau\rho\upsilon\gamma$ -): The construction here is somewhat unusual. The inflected infinitive is often used in the *Tri. Trac.* in a final sense (cf. 52.17,26; 60.32; 61.3-5; 70.28; 72.7, etc.), but usually with the preposition λ .

126.28 *those whom he first thought*: These are probably the spiritual companions of the Savior.

126.30 *good things*: Cf. 108.4 and 126.37.

126.31 *were planning*: Note that the companions of the Savior intended ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) to accompany him (115.33). The *Tri. Trac.* here reverts to the problem discussed in 116.20–117.8, the fact that spiritual beings are subject to passion. In that passage the salvific goal of the subjugation was also affirmed.

126.33–34 *might train themselves*: On the need of spiritual powers for formation and instruction in the material world, cf. 116.20 and 123.11–12.

126.35 $\phi\gamma\dots$: The traces of the remaining letters are faint and ambiguous. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest a reading $\phi\gamma\tau[\lambda]\iota\omega$, which is not paleographically possible, despite the parallel phrases in 120.24 and 132.1.

127.2 *persistent*: Cf. Till, “Beiträge,” 222.

127.3 *as an adornment*: Spiritual human beings beset by opposition can share Paul’s “boasting” of 2 Cor 11:23–12:10.

127.9 *of him*: The knowledge given by the Savior is of the Father. *power*: The Son in the Pleroma is called power (66.23). The Father is said to have powers and properties (67.15,20), which are other terms for the aeons which emanate from him (73.10). The Savior, as a production of the aeons of the Pleroma is also a “power.” The translation here follows *ed. pr.* (Eng.), who construe $\mu\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\beta\omicron\mu$ as the imperfect converter plus indefinite article ($\mu\epsilon+\omicron\gamma$), written in the full orthography of this text.

127.14 *addition*: Note that the revelation of the Savior to the Logos gradually makes the latter grow (90.7–8). Knowledge thus gives increase to the “smallness” (115.6) of those who are ignorant. Cf. lines 20–23.

127.16 *known at first*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 21.25–26 and Rom 3:29.

127.17 *path*: Cf. 123.31.

127.23 *end*: Cf. 79.1–2 and 123.19.

127.25 *baptism*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 229) note, the provision of knowledge is seen to be more important than “the bath” (τὸ λυτρὸν) in *Exc. Theod.* 78.2. Thus in Valentinian circles, baptism was interpreted primarily as a reception of gnosis. There was disagreement among the Valentinians themselves about what ritual practices, if any, should accompany that reception. Cf. especially Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3-5 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 36.2. Another western Valentinian text discovered at Nag Hammadi, *Val. Exp.* 40.30-43.19, contains instruction on baptism, comparing the “first baptism, which is for forgiveness of sins,” with the second, which brings the initiate “from the [created] into the Pleroma,” and transforms souls into “perfect spirits.” Quispel (“L’inscription de Flavia Sophia,” *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J.* [Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1951] 211-212 and *ed. pr.*, II. 229-30) suggests that Valentinian baptism was comprised of two parts, an immersion in water and a “redemption” performed by anointing and laying on of hands. According to Epiphanius (*Pan.* 36.2), Heracleon distinguished from baptism a separate sacrament of redemption. The two sacraments are also distinguished in *Gos. Phil.* 79.14-80.4. For further discussion of Gnostic and especially Valentinian sacramental practices, cf. E. Segelberg, “The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel according to Philip and its Sacramental System,” *Numen* 7 (1960) 189-200; E. H. Pagels, “A Valentinian Interpretation of Baptism and Eucharist,” *HTR* 65 (1972) 153-69; H. G. Gaffron, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente* (Diss. Bonn, 1969); and J. M. Serrin, *Pratique et doctrine des sacraments dans l’Évangile selon Philippe* (Diss. Louvain, 1972).

127.28-29 *no other baptism*: It is unclear whether the *Tri. Trac.* here repudiates any baptismal ritual, as some of the Valentinians in Irenaeus, 1.21.4, or whether it means to suggest that baptism, with whatever ritual, has only the goal of “redemption into God.”

127.30 *redemption into* (CΩTE AZOYN): As *ed. pr.* (I. 31) note, there may be a play here on CΩTE, since CΩT AZOYN means “return” (Crum 360a), and redemption consists in that. Cf. 128.12-13. For CΩTE as a form of CΩT, cf. *Gos. Truth* 33.15, 34.32, 38.2.

127.31-32 *Father, Son and Holy Spirit*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 231) note that the trinitarian baptismal formula of Matt 28:19 appears in *Exc. Theod.* 80.3 and *Gos. Phil.* 67.9-27, where a distinction is made

between simply acquiring the names of the Trinity and acquiring these persons themselves. A less orthodox formula, citing the Father; Truth, the mother; and Jesus, appears in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.3. *Val. Exp.*, 40.1–29, similarly cites Father, Son, and Church. The Holy Spirit in the *Tri. Trac.* may be considered to be identical with the Church, which is the “nature of the holy imperishable spirits” (58.34–35).

127.33 *confession*: Cf. 106.12; 111.22,34; 132.17.

127.34 *faith*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 231–32) note, faith here is a characteristic of those who are redeemed. Faith also plays a role in the aeonic world (71.23–24).

127.35–36 *name of the Gospel*: Cf. *Gos. Truth* 17.1–4.

128.2 *they exist*: Those who exist are the Father, Son, and Spirit, to whom confession is made in baptism.

128.2–3 *from this* (εβαλ ἄπαει): *Ed. pr.* connect this phrase with what precedes, but the ε before αβαλ is probably a reduplication of the conjugation base in εγῆτεγ, which should be construed as a second tense, emphasizing the preposed adverbial phrase.

128.9 *undoubting faith*: Cf. Heracleon, fr. 17 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.10), where the faith of the Samaritan woman is described as ἀδιάκριτος.

128.10 *also*: The Coptic probably translates a Greek καί meaning “also.” The following adverbial phrase is emphasized by the perf. II in line 11.

128.12 The Coptic here uses a periphrastic construction where ωπε is followed by two circumstantialized nominal sentences, επ-χωκ...πε and πιωτ...ογαει πε in lines 13–15.

128.13 *perfection*: Thus those who are redeemed become perfect, as the Father is perfect (53.40) and as the aeons of the Pleroma are perfect (59.18). There may be an allusion here to Matt 5:48 or John 17:23.

128.15 *one*: Cf. John 17:20-23. Note the role of faith and knowledge in that context. Those who are redeemed attain to the unity which characterizes the Father (51.8-9). Cf. also 132.16-28.

128.17 *faith*: Cf. 127.34. As *ed. pr.* (II. 232) note, faith is here closely associated with knowledge as in *Ap. Jas.* 14.9.

128.20 *previously mentioned*: Cf. 127.25. In what follows a list of the various possible designations of baptism is given. For similar lists, cf. the note on 66.13-29.

128.21 *garment*: For the garment imagery used of the relationship of various beings inside and outside the Pleroma, cf. 63.12; 66.31; 87.2; 90.4; 91.35. For a general discussion of the common garment imagery used in baptismal contexts, cf. J.Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," *History of Religions* 5 (1965/66) 217-38. As *ed. pr.* (II. 323-33) note, similar imagery appears in the NT in Rom 13:12-14, 1 Cor 15:49, Eph 4:22-24, Col 3:9-10 and in Nag Hammadi texts in *Treat. Res.* 45.24-39; *Gos. Phil.* 70.5-9, 75.22-24, 76.29; *Gos. Thom.* 21; and *Interp. Know.* 11.27-38. Cf. also *Gos. Truth* 20.31.

128.25 *confirmation*: The Savior is said to give confirmation to those who are perfect in 87.5.

128.27 *unwavering*: Note the important theme of divine immobility in 51.23; 52.10 and 58.36. *Ed. pr.* construe the adverbial element in lines 27-28 with what precedes, and take the form $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ in line 28, which is probably a pres. II, as a circumstantial.

128.28 *it grasps*: Although the Father himself cannot be grasped (54.5, 19), the Savior may be. Note that the Father in producing the aeons from his thought "lays hold of" them (60.8). Note that many of the attributes of baptism in this list are also applicable to the Savior.

128.29-30 *restoration* ($\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$): As *ed. pr.* (Eng., II. 187) suggest, this unusual form is probably a mistake for $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$. $\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ in Matt 5:32 means "divorce."

128.31 *silence*: Like immobility, silence is an attribute of the divine being (57.5).

128.33 *bridal chamber*: Marriage imagery has already been used to describe the difference between the called and the elect (122.15–16). For a discussion of this imagery in its sacramental applications, especially in the *Gos. Phil.*, cf. the literature cited in the note to 127.25. The association of marriage imagery and baptism seems to be presupposed in Heracleon, fr. 18 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11), which comments on the story of the Samaritan woman in John 4:16, where she is told to go call her husband. This is interpreted as a command to attain “her Pleroma,” which is a prerequisite for receiving the living water which Jesus offers.

129.1 *light*: The Savior too is “light” (88.14). On the eternal day, cf. *Gos. Truth* 32.22–34 and *Gos. Phil.* 85.29–86.3.

129.5 *he wore*: Again there is an ambiguity in the pronoun, which could refer to baptism or to the Savior. On the latter, cf. the passages cited in the note to 128.21.

129.7 *eternal life*: Cf. 108.2–3, where this is said to be “firm knowledge of the Totalities.”

129.9–10 The precise construction here is unclear. The predicate of $\omega\sigma\sigma\eta$ could be simply $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$ and the first part of the phrase could be translated “that which (it) is.” Then $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\iota\tau$ in line 10 could be a second predicate and baptism would also be that which is pleasing. This is the understanding of *ed. pr.* (Eng.) Alternatively $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\iota\tau$ could be a genitive with $\omicron\gamma\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, “in the proper sense of what is pleasing.” This is the understanding of *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). Neither of these constructions yield a satisfactory sense. It seems best to take $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\iota\tau$ as a resumption and explication of the predicate $\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$, with the intervening words as adverbial modifiers of the whole phrase. *Ed. pr.* (II. 234) note as a parallel the phrase applied to the nature of the Father in Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* 7.7: $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu, \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$.

129.10 *pleasing*: Note that the spiritual images generated by the Logos are similarly described (90.32, 96.37).

129.13 *for* ($\omega\alpha$): The preposition is problematic. It may be construed with $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\iota\tau$ in line 10. Thus baptism is what is pleasing

“toward” or “for” what follows. *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) take the word in a somewhat looser sense, “par rapport,” a meaning which is quite unparalleled. The preposition $\omega\alpha$ may, however, be a mistranslation of a Greek preposition such as $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, which could have that meaning, and which, understood in a spatial sense, can also be translated by $\omega\alpha$. Cf. Crum 542a. This suggested understanding of the preposition involves a mistranslation by *ed. pr.* (Fr.) of the relative clause in line 13 as “mode d’être.”

the one who exists: The reference is uncertain, a problem complicated by the obscurity of the preceding preposition and the following phrase. The one who exists could be the Father to whom belongs existence *par excellence*. Baptism or restoration into him, then, would be what is absolutely pleasing to him. He in turn exists for those who acknowledge him in baptism.

129.14 *received a beginning* ($\chi\iota\ \zeta\eta$): As *ed. pr.* (II. 234) note, this phrase is quite problematic. $\chi\iota\ \zeta\eta$ is attested in the sense “occupy mind” (Crum 643a), but that is hardly appropriate here. Various emendations are possible, but it seems preferable to take $\zeta\eta$ as a translation of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$. The situation of those who have been baptized parallels that of the aeons of the Pleroma who are given a start ($\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\mu\eta$) on their journey to the Father by the spirit moving in them (71.19, 72.1).

what else: A similar question is posed at the end of the series of titles of the Savior (87.13-14).

129.16 *God* ($\pi\prime\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$): The reading here is problematic, since the second letter has been corrected, either from μ to ν or *vice versa*. If the correct reading is $\pi\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, then it should be translated “the name, ‘it is the Totalities.’” This translation, adopted by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.), does not take account of the conjugation base in $\epsilon\phi\omicron\epsilon\iota$, which is probably the circumstantial converter. The alternative understanding adopted by *ed. pr.* (Ger.) and reflected in the translation here, is supported by the parallel construction in 87.14.

129.17-27 The syntax here is difficult. *Ed. pr.* take the apodosis of the conditional sentence to begin with $\mu\pi\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ in line 20. That word, however, begins a new comparative sentence, balanced by the $\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \pi\epsilon\ \rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ in line 25. (On the construction, cf. 126.1.) Hence

the apodosis is to be found in $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\lambda\gamma\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ of line 19, which must be taken as a perf. II, and not as a circumstantial, with *ed. pr.*

129.19 *reference*: Baptism or restoration to the Totalities may be given many names, but these names by no means capture its essential quality. Hence the name God is particularly appropriate for it, because God the Father too has many names, which give him honor, but fail to express the mystery of his being (54.2–24). This is precisely the point of the following comparative sentence.

129.20 *he transcends*: The subject here is probably to be understood as God the Father, whose transcendence of his names is imitated by baptism, and those who are baptized into him (lines 27–28). For the terminology of transcendence used here, cf. 55.20–24.

129.29 *find it to be* ($\beta\iota\nu\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta\ \pi\epsilon$): Literally, “find it as that which it is.” The pronoun here could refer to the Father, although it is more likely that the text refers to baptism, which has been the subject of the whole paragraph.

129.31 *visage*: Baptism or restoration into the divine is, like the Father himself, an invisible mystery (54.30). *Ed. pr.* (Fr.) connect this word with the preposition α , “en vue de,” but this construction is unlikely Coptic.

for coming into being: What comes into being in those who know is not expressed, but it is surely their union with the divine, produced in baptism.

16. The Restoration of the Calling and Conclusion (129.34–138.27)

The text now turns to a detailed consideration of the process of eschatological redemption for the psychics, which had been outlined in the preceding section (122.19–123.22). The discussion begins with a recapitulation of previous remarks on the origin and salvation of the psychics (129.39–132.3). The text proceeds to treat the “causes and effects of grace” on this group (132.3–133.15). This passage first focuses on the ultimate eschatological restoration of the psychics. The author explains that they, like the elect, finally escape “from multiplicity of forms, and from inequality and from change” (132.18–20). Those who previously did not exist will be found to exist (132.29–30); those who are no longer slaves will take their place with the free

(132.31-133.1). This eschatological restoration of the psychics takes place by a gradual disclosure of a vision which supercedes the vocal instruction given initially (133.1-7). These then are the "causes" of psychic salvation. The effects of this whole process are then enumerated (133.16-135.17). The psychics come to believe in the "Son of the unknown God" (133.18-20). Then they abandon worship of idols, bear witness, and perform services for the Church. In that service they benefit the elect by testing them, humbling them and sharing in their suffering (135.1-17). Details of this account are obscure because of damage to the text. Then the author acknowledges the positive contribution to the Church even of "the servants of the evil one" (135.18-136.5). The last fairly complete paragraph in the text (136.5-33) seems to continue the discussion of the "servants of the evil one," although it may begin another section on eschatology. The text concludes with two badly preserved pages with further eschatological imagery (137-138).

129.34 This section does not begin with the customary particle $\alpha\epsilon$, although $\theta\epsilon$ in 130.7 may have a similar function. In any case it is clear from the structure of the first sentence here that a major new stage in the discussion is about to begin. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) divide the sentence differently, connecting "on the matter of the election" with what precedes. There is, however, a clear contrast between what has been said on the matter of the election and what is to be said on the calling. Hence the prepositional phrase must be taken as a preposed element in the protasis of the conditional sentence which follows.

129.34 *the election*: For this term used of the spiritual order, cf. 122.12-18.

130.1 *Even if there are* ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}$): For the construction cf. Mark 13:22, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\theta\gamma\bar{\nu}\ \theta\omicron\mu$, and see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #452-53. Note the alternate construction in 129.17.

130.4 *the calling*: For this term used of the psychic order, cf. 122.19-24.

130.5-6 *the right*: For this designation of the psychics, cf. 98.16.

130.7 *to return*: *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) emend the text to bring the

construction into conformity with that used of the election. After the prepositional phrase, **ΖΑ ΠΡΑ ΜΝΑ ΠΙΤΩΖΜΕ**, one might expect such a verb as **ΥΕΧΕ**. It seems likely, however, that the anacolouthon of the text as it stands is original, caused by the parenthetical remark of lines 4–6. For **ΥΕ**, cf. Crum 544b.

130.9–131.13 The division of the clauses here is problematic. The translation follows *ed. pr.* (Fr.) in seeing the remarks of lines 10–12 as parenthetical. The main predication is **ΑΝΥΕΧΕ** of line 9, followed by the **ΕΠΕΙΔΗ** clause of line 13. Alternatively, the causal clause could be taken as an explanation of why the previous discussion of psychic redemption has been “partial.” Within the **ΕΠΕΙΔΗ** clause the reference to the author’s earlier treatment (**ΑΕΙΧΟΟΣ**, line 13) is followed by three distinct allusions to that earlier material: the clause introduced by **ΧΕ** in line 13, and the clause introduced by **ΕΤΙ ΑΝ** in line 30, and the clause introduced by **ΝΖΟΥΟ ΒΕ** in 131.9.

Within the parenthetical remark of 130.10–12, the **ΠΩΣ** of line 11 should be understood as an interrogative adverb, introducing a rhetorical question, to which the answer is given in **ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝΝ ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ**. *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) construe this part of the sentence in this way. *Ed. pr.* (Eng. and Fr.) take **ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝΝ ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ** as a modifier of **ΑΝΧΟΟΣ**. **ΠΩΣ** then could also be understood as an exclamation. The construction of the rhetorical question plus answer is to be favored because the text goes on, in 132.3, to supplement the summary of what was said earlier on psychic redemption.

130.13–14 *those who came forth*: In what follows the author refers to various stages in the initial generation of the psychic offspring of the Logos. The substantivized relative clause here is the preposed subject of **ΕΥΝΤΕΥ** in line 27. Thus the sentence is not an anacolouthon, as *ed. pr.* (Eng., II. 187) suggest.

130.15–17 *judgment . . . wrath* Cf. 81.8–14; 97.35–36.

130.18 *turning away*: Cf. the “conversion” of 81.20, described as a turning from evil and toward good in 81.22–25. Cf. also 97.32. On the meaning of **ΝΟΥΖΟΥ**, which *ed. pr.* (Eng.) translate as “separation,” cf. the note to 53.26.

130.20–21 *prayer and remembrance*: Cf. 81.27–28, and 82.10–14,

where these dispositions of the Logos are said to be productive. Cf. also 83.16-22.

130.22-23 *hope and faith*: For the hope of the Logos, cf. 85.17. This is connected with his faith in 92.15-16. In the *Tri. Trac.*, faith is an attribute both of spiritual and psychic beings. Cf. 71.23-24, 119.2

130.23 *that <they> would receive*: The infinitive should be understood as complimentary, explaining the content of the faith, with *ed. pr.* (Eng.) and not as final, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.). The singular η should certainly be emended to the plural.

130.23-24 *salvation from good work*: It is frequently affirmed in Valentinian sources that psychics, because they have free will, are saved by their "good works." Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.2; Heracleon, fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60). In the theology of this text this affirmation needs to be understood within the general soteriological theory, which holds that one's salvation, indeed, one's very being as spiritual, psychic, or hylic, is determined by one's response to the Savior. Cf. the note to 118.15. In accordance with this doctrine, the content of the good work is subsequently specified as the conversion from vain ambition (131.29-34), which results in specific good works (133.16-134.8).

130.25 *since they have been deemed worthy* ($\epsilon\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho} \alpha\zeta\iota\omicron\gamma$): It might be possible to take $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$ as a perf. II here, with *ed. pr.* (Ger.), but a circumstantial is quite appropriate here.

130.26-27 *good dispositions*: These are the attitudes of the Logos which have just been enumerated: judgment, wrath, conversion, prayer, remembrance, hope, and faith. The term "disposition" is used of some of these attitudes at 97.13; 118.18; 120.7 and 121.20.

130.28 *cause of their begetting*: The dispositions of the Logos are the cause of the begetting of the psychics, in the sense that by manifesting those dispositions human beings attain psychic status or are "begotten" as psychics, just as the aeons of the Pleroma are begotten by their realization that there is a Father (61.1-11).

130.30-31 *before the Logos concerned himself*: The reception of the

Savior by the Logos occurred prior to, and was the cause of, the organization of the Logos' offspring. Cf. 88.8-16 and 90.14-15.

130.33-34 *added to this thought*: The revelation of the Savior to the Logos reinforced his thoughts of repentance and enabled the Logos to separate himself from his offspring and to form their organization. Cf. 88.15-89.7.

130.35 *in need of him* (εΥΡ [2α]ε νεϛ): The restoration here is uncertain and ambiguous, as *ed. pr.* (II. 188) note. εΙΡΕ 2ΑΕ Ν- could also mean "come after," as suggested by *ed. pr.* (Ger.). For the translation adopted here, cf. Crum 636a and *Gos. Truth* 31.24.

131.3-4 *nothing...before them*: For this delusion, cf. 79.12-16; 84.3-7; 101.1-5; 121.15-18. Those who respond favorably to the revelation of the Savior are saved from this attitude. Cf. 120.2-3. Note that the psychic powers of the intermediate world receive from the appearance of the Savior some idea that the exalted one exists before them (89.10-12).

131.9 *they worshipped*: The response of the psychic powers of the intermediate world is to fall down in worship before the Savior who appears to them (89.5,17).

131.10-11 *light in the form of lightning*: The Savior in his revelatory activity is regularly said to be a light. Cf. 87.10; 88.14; 89.6,19 and 118.26-37. His initial appearance to the offspring of the Logos is "like lightning" (88.33). The Savior's light outside the Pleroma imitates the light which the Son provides to the aeons within the Pleroma (62.33-37).

131.12 *bore witness*: Cf. 89.17-18.

131.14-132.3 This paragraph seems to distinguish three groups of psychic beings. The language used to refer to these groups, like the allusions in the preceding paragraph, seems to be applicable primarily to the psychic powers of the intermediate world. Since these beings are paradigmatic for psychic human beings, there may be a secondary reference to sub-groups within the psychic class of humans. A similar division seemed to play a part in the initial discussion of psychic salva-

tion in 119.16-122.14, although in that section only two groups of saved psychics were mentioned.

131.14 *those who have come forth*: These are the initial psychic offspring of the Logos. Cf. 82.10-14 and 119.27.

131.17 *good work*: Cf. 130.23-24.

131.18 *those whom these brought forth*: For the offspring of the psychic powers, cf. 84.24-85.11. For the same distinction in the hylic camp, cf. 79.32-80.11; 98.8-9 and 99.10.

131.21 *repose*: Cf. 70.18, 121.26, and 132.12.

131.21-22 *abundance of the grace*: Cf. 118.4.

131.22-25 *those . . . lust of power*: Cf. 120.22-29.

131.30 *predisposition*: The Logos had sown within the psychic powers of the intermediate world a predisposition to seek the pre-existent one, consisting in a thought that there was such a being (83.16-26). This predisposition characterizes psychic beings on all levels. This predisposition has nothing to do with the free will of psychics, as *ed. pr.* (II. 236) maintain.

132.1-2 *momentary honor*: Cf. 120.31-32 and 121.22-25.

132.3 *eternal kingdom* (ΤΜΝΤΡΟ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ): The initial stage of the restoration of the psychics is for them to attain to the aeon of the images, called "Kingdom" in 93.5 and 96.35. For this eschatology, cf. 122.20-27.

Now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ): This section, which does not begin with the introductory ΧΕ, takes the discussion of psychic salvation onto new ground, a fuller exposition of the "repose." Thus it contrasts with the recapitulation of previous remarks, which began at 130.9.

132.5 *causes and effects*: The causes to which reference is made here are discussed in 132.12-133.15, as is evident from the concluding remark at 133.15. The discussion begins with the confession of the "kingdom which is in Christ" (132.17-18), which brings about restoration to a unitary state. This state is probably to be identified with

the final eschatological restoration into the Pleroma mentioned in 123.11-23.

132.6 *grace*: Cf. 117.10; 118.4 and 125.7,23.

impulses: The psychics, like the aeons of the Pleroma (71.19), begin their quest for knowledge and restoration because of an impulse from without. Cf. also 61.12.

132.10 *mixed and unmixed*: For this distinction of two groups of psychics, cf. 120.21. *Ed. pr.* (II. 236) suggest that the terminology distinguishes between those psychics who are mixed with matter and those who are not. The distinction, however, seems to be made on the basis of the behavior of the psychics. See the note to 120.21. Thus the distinction is applicable to every level of being, and, at least in the intermediate world, is probably another way of expressing the difference between the initial psychic offspring of the Logos and their offspring. Cf. 131.14-19 and the other passages referred to there.

132.12 *repose*: Cf. 131.21. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) construe this as coordinate with νοϋερηϋ . It seems preferable to follow *ed. pr.* (Eng.) and take this noun as the preposed object of ατρῆντεζαϋ in line 15, which is dependent on οϋαναγκαιον of line 4, parallel to ατρῆνζωτρῆ , also in line 4.

132.14 *<in> which they believed*: A resumptive $\bar{\text{N}}\text{ZHT}\bar{\text{Q}}$ or $\bar{\text{M}}\text{MA}\bar{\text{Q}}$ normally would be expected here. Alternatively the relative could originally have been nominalized as a genitive after $\text{CMA}\bar{\text{T}}$.

132.19 *multiplicity*: The devolution from the primordial unity of the Father has constantly been characterized as a development of greater multiplicity. The aeons of the Pleroma were a multiplicity which retained unity (73.28-74.18). The hylic offspring of the Logos were characterized by division instead of unity (80.16). The aeons of the Pleroma produce the companions of the Savior "in a multifaceted form" (87.27). That multifariousness may constitute the weakness of the spiritual substance (106.8-9). The material substance is completely subject to multiplicity (106.14-18). Salvation regularly consists of an escape from multiplicity, for the Logos (92.22-33) and for the spirituals (123.7), as well as for the psychics. But while the pneu-

matics have already "escaped from the whole multiplicity of forms" (132.18-19), those who are psychic will be restored to unity only in the eschatological repose. For similar formulations, *ed. pr.* (II. 236) compare *Gos. Truth* 25.10-19 and *Treat Res.* 49.9-16. Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.12.3 and *Exc. Theod.* 36.2.

132.20 *the end*: For the principle enunciated here, cf. 79.1-2; 123.19; 127.23-24. The unity attained by psychics is not distinguished from the unity attained by spirituals.

132.23-24 *no male nor female*: The listing in the following lines of oppositions overcome is reminiscent of Gal 3:28, I Cor 12:13, and Col 3:11. A similar formula appears in other early Christian sources, such as *Gos. Thom.* 22; 2 *Clem.* 12:2-6; and a fragment of the *Gospel of the Egyptians* preserved in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.13.92. For these and similar texts, cf. J.-É. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (NHS 5; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 113-115. All of these texts apparently derive from a formula used in early Christian baptism, as Gal 3:27 suggests. It is thus significant that the formula used here is associated with "confession," since that activity was earlier associated with baptism (127.25-138.5). For a study of these formulas and their baptismal context, cf. W. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 13 (1974) 165-208, and D. MacDonald, *There is No Male and Female: Galatians 3:26-28 and Gnostic Baptismal Tradition* (Diss. Harvard, 1978). Western Valentinian sources interpret this formula in a specific symbolic way. The pairs of opposing terms refer, respectively, to those who are spiritual and those who are psychic. Heracleon, fr. 5 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.20) designates the psychic as "female" and "a slave," while the elect is "male" and "free." The author of the *Tri. Trac.* explains that, "at the end," in that eschatological unity, all such distinctions will cease, as "Christ is all in all" (132.28). Then the one who "did not exist at first," i.e., the psychic, will come to exist, and the one who was a "slave" will take his place with the "free" (cf. *Gos. Phil.* 52.2-5, 72.17-29). The author goes on to explain that this will take place gradually.

132.28 *What is (εϖ πε)*: The words are to be divided and taken as the interrogative plus copula, with *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.). *Ed. pr.*

(Ger.) read $\epsilon\omega\pi\epsilon$ as variant for $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$ (Crum 63b) used with exclamatory force. Note that in line 31 the same word appears, although the copula does not agree in gender with the predicate $\tau\phi\gamma\iota\varsigma$. That lack of concord is no objection to the initial interpretation, as Zandee argues. Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, #246.

132.31 *slave*: For the redemption of human beings from slavery, cf. 117.23–30; 124.9. The negative in the unemended text of line 32 is certainly erroneous.

133.1 *the vision*: The Logos too at his illumination by the Savior received a vision (90.10, 95.17). Here the vision which the psychics will receive in the eschatological process of restoration contrasts with the voice by which they were initially instructed (119.3). As *ed. pr.* (II. 237–38) note, similar contrasts between appropriation of knowledge merely through a voice and some higher level of comprehension are made in Heracleon, fr. 5 (Origen, *In Joh.* 6.20) and fr. 39 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.53).

133.2 *more and more*: Note that the initial revelation to the Logos is also a gradual one (90.7).

by nature: The revelation to the psychics gradually comes more naturally. This may refer to an interiorization of Gnosis which contrasts with the externality of the “voice.” Note that the gradual revelation to the Logos takes place within him (90.4–5).

133.4 *so as to believe*: This inflected infinitive probably translates a Greek result clause explaining what it is to receive Gnosis “only by a little word.”

133.5 *that ($\chi\epsilon$)*: The particle introduces the statement of the belief. So *ed. pr.* (Ger.). *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Eng.) translate as a conjunction, “for.”

133.6 *that ($\chi\epsilon$)*: Although it is possible that a new paragraph begins here with the introductory particle, the reference to the “causes” in 133.15 seems to form an *inclusio* with the introductory remarks of 132.3–5. Thus all the intervening material forms a unit on the “causes,” and the clause introduced by $\chi\epsilon$ here is probably a further

specification of the contents of the vision and the belief of the psychics. Cf. 132.20-22.

133.8-9 *Even if some are exalted* (ΚΑΝ'ΕΥΝ ΖΑΕΙΝΕ ΧΑΕ): This refers to the psychic powers of the intermediate world (98.21-99.19). Despite their "exaltation" in the organization, they, like all else outside the Pleroma, need restoration or redemption (124.25-125.11). Alternatively, it may refer to the elect, who, although exalted for a time above the calling, likewise need redemption (106.31-33). In the following discussion of the "effects," special attention is paid to the redemption of the psychic beings. *Ed. pr.* (II. 238) note a similar concern with these beings in Heracleon, fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.60).

133.10 *causes*: Cf. 99.27 and 104.4-30.

133.11 *more active*: Cf. 99.29-33.

133.12 *desired*: Note the beauty of the psychic powers (97.27-31).

133.16 *the <one> who appeared in flesh*: The substantivized relative is probably the preposed object and should be emended to the singular. For the incarnation, cf. 114.31-35; 115.3-25 and 125.15.

they believed: Here begins the enumeration of the "effects" of the redemption of the psychics. Like the whole process of redemption, the manifestation of these "effects" is a gradual process involving the actions of psychic beings in response to the appearance of the Savior.

133.18-19 *Son of...God*: For this title of the incarnate Savior, cf. 120.36.

133.22 *abandoned*: This abandonment of deities corresponds to the complete escape from the domination of the powers attributed to the spirituals (124.3-12). The abandoned "gods" may include not only pagan deities, but also the Demiurge, whom, according to Heracleon, fr. 22 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.19) the psychics have mistakenly worshipped as if he were God, thus serving "the creation and not the creator, which is Christ." However, the abandonment of worship of the Demiurge by the psychics is probably an eschatological reality. Their abandonment of pagan deities has already taken place. Note that the past tense is used here.

133.26 There seems to be a contrast between two groups of psychics, the first group (note the $\text{N}\epsilon\epsilon\text{I M}\epsilon\text{N}$) probably consists of human beings, since it contrasts with a group which probably consists of angels (cf. $\text{N}\alpha\gamma\text{'}[\text{Γ}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \Delta]\epsilon$, lines 31–32).

133.26–27 *Before he had taken them up*: The “taking up” here probably refers not to any eschatological restoration, but the assumption by the Savior of the psychics as a part of his ecclesiastical body. Cf. 118.28–119.2.

133.27–28 *while he was still a child*: The author may be alluding to infancy narratives of Jesus, such as Luke 2:25–32, where Simeon, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, blesses Jesus as the bearer of salvation. This episode could be understood as an example of the prophetic activity attributable to prophetic, psychic powers. Cf. 111.6–112.14. *Ed. pr.* (II. 238) suggest that the allusion is to an apocryphal infancy gospel such as that attested in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, wherein Jesus reveals his wisdom to his teacher. The same episode is apparently in view in *Gos. Truth* 19.17–20.

133.28 *they testified*: Psychic human beings thus imitate the psychic powers, who became witnesses of the Savior (89.17–18). *Ed. pr.* (II. 238) find here an allusion to the activity of the apostles and evangelists mentioned in 116.17–19. That is unlikely, since those individuals were apparently spiritual. It is more likely that the people alluded to here are pious Jews. For their prophetic proclamation, cf. 113.5–20.

133.31–32 *angels* ($\text{N}\alpha\gamma\text{'}[\text{Γ}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma]$): There may be a reference to resurrection narratives such as Matt 28:2, Mark 16:5, or Luke 24:4.

134.1–5 The syntax here is difficult and the text may be corrupt in several places. The main predication is $\text{N}\alpha\gamma(=\text{N}\epsilon\gamma)\omicron\gamma\alpha\omega\omicron\gamma$ in line 2. Dependent on this verb are the objects $\text{N}\omicron\gamma\psi\bar{\mu}\psi\epsilon$ and $\text{N}\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\epsilon$ and the complimentary infinitive $\{\tau\}\epsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma$. That is in turn modified by the adverb $\bar{\text{N}}\omicron\beta\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\text{I}$.

134.1–3 *services and wonders* ($\text{N}\omicron\gamma\psi\bar{\mu}\psi\epsilon\dots\bar{\text{N}}\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\epsilon$): *Ed. pr.* (II. 238–39) associate these items with the miracles performed in the temple by the apostles after the resurrection. Cf. Acts 2:43. They also note that according to Heracleon, fr. 40 (Origen, *In Joh.*

13.60), signs and wonders serve to convince the psychics. These associations are, however, questionable. The psychics just mentioned were angelic beings. Their “services and wonders” may simply be the cultic activities of the Jerusalem temple and then the Christian church. The psychic angels could be considered as presiding over such cultic activity, a belief which may be reflected in 1 Cor 11:10 and Col 2:18. Note that Heracleon, fr. 13 (Origen, *In Joh.* 10.33), claims that the “psychics outside the Pleroma who are found in salvation” are symbolized by the Levites. Heracleon, fr. 20 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.20) explains that the Jerusalem temple symbolizes the psychic level (τόπος) of worship.

134.4 *temple* (εϩϩεϩ): The spelling with the final double ε is an attested A² form. Cf. Crum 298b. Hence the second ε should not be associated with what follows, as by *ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.).

in their behalf (ϩα ηαει): The meaning of the preposition is problematic. For the various meanings, cf. Crum 632a-633b, and note the similar expression in line 7. After this word, *ed. pr.* (Fr.) unnecessarily assume that there was a lacuna in the text.

134.5 *to be performed* (ϩϩεϩτοϩ): The infinitive should probably be seen as a corruption of the pre-pronominal form of ειρε (Crum 83a), as *ed. pr.* (Fr.) suggest. Note the parallel in line 7. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest that the letters οϩη are an intrusion from the next line, but their excision seems unnecessary, given the proper interpretation of the infinitive.

continuously (ηβουαει): The word is probably to be associated with βω (Crum 803a), the A² form of which is βοϩ. The letters αει may represent the Greek equivalent ἀεί. Note, however, the form μητρηαει for μητρηο in 134.27. A parallel principle of formation may be at work here. *Ed. pr.* (Ger.) take the word as an anomalous form of βε οααει, for κε οααει, “another,” or with βωοϩ, “be narrow” (Crum 835a), or with κοϩι, “small person or thing” (Crum 92b) or even with οϩεει, but these alternatives are quite unlikely.

134.6 *That is:* This explanatory remark seems intended to clarify how the services and wonders of the temple can be a confession. The services and wonders performed in the temple constitute the approach of the psychic angels to the Savior.

134.9 *that preparation*: What is not accepted is unclear. There may be a reference here to the imperfect reception of the Savior by the psychics, who hesitated to accept knowledge (118.38). See the following notes.

134.10 *they rejected* (αὐβάλεσ): The subject here refers to the members of the psychic order. This group includes the psychic angels, since they are later (135.3–7) said to serve the elect by bringing their iniquity up to heaven. Furthermore, the contrasting group discussed in the following paragraph seems to refer to angelic “servants of the evil one” (135.18–19).

134.11 *the one who had not been sent* (πετενεγοῦσθ ἴμοσ εν): The verb here should be translated as “send,” since it is used transitively, as Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 139) notes. *Ed. pr.* associate it with the impersonal form οῦσθ (Crum 495a–b). The identity of the figure in question is unclear. From the following it appears that the psychic beings who are the subject of this paragraph have a defective Christology, believing that the Savior is only from the place from which they have come. “That place” probably refers to the Pleroma, the true origin of the Savior. The one not sent from that place is thus probably the Christ as understood by the psychics. Because they think that he is only from the place of their own origin, they do not accept the redemptive “preparation” which he really offers.

134.12 *they granted* (ε[γ ὶ]): The restoration follows a suggestion of Schenke (*ZÄS* 105 [1978] 139). Note that the object of the verb here is “a place” in line 16.

134.15–16 *from which they had come along with him*: The spiritual companions of the Savior had come with him into the material world (115.29–34). Since this paragraph apparently discusses psychic beings, those spiritual companions cannot be in view here. Again the phrase must be interpreted from the perspective of the mistaken opinion of the psychics. They believe that they have come with him from a place inferior to the Pleroma.

134.16 *place of gods*: The psychics, with their defective Christology, initially placed Christ on the level of the gods whom they had worshipped (133.22–26). This paragraph may allude to the motif of the

disciples' misunderstanding of the nature of Christ in the gospel tradition. Cf., e.g., Matt 16:13-20 and par.

134.20 *names*: The psychic and hylic offspring of the Logos in the intermediate world share in the names of the aeons of the Pleroma (71.3). These names include god, king, and lord (100.13,28-29 and 102.24).

on loan: As *ed. pr.* (II. 239) note, the distinction between receiving a "name on loan" and receiving it as one's own property is found in *Gos. Truth* 40.9-14 and *Gos. Phil.* 64.22-31. The distinction between receiving grace "on loan" and receiving it as a personal possession differentiates spirituals and psychics in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.4. Cf. also *Ap. Jas.* 11.13-17. The distinction is not used here in the *Tri. Trac.* to differentiate spirituals and psychics.

134.21-23 *the one designated properly*: The Logos is said to be the one who is truly the lord (102.25-26), and he is the "ruler" of the organization (96.20).

134.25 *lord*: Cf. Acts 2:36 and Phil 2:11.

134.26 *over whom no one else is Lord*: Cf. the notion of the undominated race in *Hyp. Arch.* 97.4; *Orig. World* 125.6; *Apoc. Adam* 82.19-20; and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.8.2 (on the Naassenes).

134.27 *They gave him their kingdoms*: The action of the psychics after the assumption contrasts with their action before the assumption (lines 12-20). Now they associate Christ with the kingdom, which is the initial destination of psychics. Cf. 132.3,17-18.

134.29 *were kept from* (ϣεϣτ): The verb is probably a form of ϣαϣτ, although *ed. pr.* (Eng.) assume a derivation from ϣωϣ, "scatter, spread" (Crum 605b). For the image here, cf. Rev 4:10.

134.31 *reasons*: Cf. 114.31-115.11 and 116.8-10.

135.1 *angels*: Here attention seems to shift to the angelic members of the psychic order. A similar shift occurred in the previous paragraph. Cf. 133.31-32. Because of the damaged state of the papyrus it is difficult to follow the precise train of thought. Note in the apparatus the various restorations of 134.33-135.2 proposed by *ed. pr.*

135.4 *they were entrusted*: The subject here is most likely the psychic angels, because they were entrusted with a heavenly service for the elect (lines 6–7). For accounts of the service of the Demiurge and the angels, cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.4 and Heracleon, fr. 36 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.50).

135.6 *iniquity*: That the elect should have iniquity to be brought to heaven seems strange, but is probably to be understood in the context of the remarks on the passions to which even spiritual beings are subject (116.10–27 and 116.39–117.8). The passage accords with the statement that the pneumatics are “educated together” with the psychics in their mutual association (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.1). *Interp. Know.* 15.26 chides the elect for hating and despising the psychics.

135.7 *They tested them* (ΑΥΧΝΤΑΥ): As *ed. pr.* (I. 32) note, the verb is probably a hitherto unattested causative of ΧΩΝΤ, “try, test” (Crum 775a). The subject here is presumably the psychic angels. The form, however, could be passive, “they were tested,” in which case the subject would be the elect. In support of an interpretation as active is the participle in line 9.

135.8–9 *inerrancy of the creation*: This may refer to a defect in theological outlook which can characterize even spiritual human beings. A presumption of “inerrancy in the creation” may be associated with a “hylic” natural theology. Cf. 109.9–10.

135.15 *persecutions*: Valentinians and other Gnostics were regularly criticized by Church Fathers for their avoidance of martyrdom. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.16.9–18, 4.33.9; and Tertullian, *Scorpice* 1. This criticism was not, however, applicable to Valentinians whose Christology included a high evaluation of the sufferings of the Savior in the flesh. On the topic in general, cf. W. H. C. Frend, “The Gnostic Sects and the Roman Empire,” *JEH* 5 (1954) 25–37; K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker Gegen das kirchliche Christentum* (NHS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1976), Exkurs 5: “Gnosis und Martyrium,” 132–36 and E. Pagels, “Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ’s Passion: Paradigms for the Christian’s Response to Persecution?” *Rediscovery*, 1.262–288.

135.17 *in every place* (ΖΑΘΗ ΜΜΑΙΤ [ΝΙ]Μ): Literally, “before all places.”

35.18-19 *servants of the evil <one>*: These may be the angels established by the Demiurge (102.3-6; 103.25-36). Some of those angels, however, are clearly hylic powers, and the *Tri. Trac.* does not explicitly hold out any hope of salvation for these beings. Cf. 79.1-4; 118.10-11; 119.8-16 and 137.9-10.

135.20 *evil is worthy of destruction*: Cf. 79.1-4 and 103.35-36.

135.27 *good friends*: This paragraph seems to evidence a positive evaluation even of evil powers, presumably because they are “useful for the organization” (99.19). The eschatological implications of this evaluation are unclear.

135.32 *her house*: As *ed. pr.* (II. 240) suggest, there may be an allusion here to the house which Wisdom builds in the Ogdoad, according to *Exc. Theod.* 47.1, interpreting Prov 9:1.

135.32-35 These lines are badly damaged and several restorations are possible. *Ed. pr.* (Fr. and Ger.) propose [..ετωο]οπ ζῆ πεσνει ε[πι] ¹[ωελε]ετ ¹ἡζρη ζῆ πιμε[γε] ¹πε τμν<τ>τ μν πεταρασ ε[ε]. *Ed. pr.* (Eng.) suggest [..ετωο]οπ ζῆ πεσνει ε[φο] ¹[μπογρ]οτ ἡ[ζ]ρη ζῆ πιμε[γε] ¹ἡτεζ μπτ μν πετ<ν> αρ ασεβ[ει]. The first reconstruction would be translated “which exists in her house, being the marriage in the thought, the gift and the obligation, for . . .” The second would be translated “which is in its house, it being joy in its thought over the fight with the one who will be ungodly.”

Paleographical considerations eliminate the reconstruction of the last line, which must be transcribed either ἡτεζ τμῆτ μν πεταρασ ε[.] (or εβ[.]) or ἡτεζ μῆτ πεταρασ ε[.], and translated either “the thought of her, the giving and the one who [. . .]” or “the thought of the giving and the one who [. . .].” In any case, a certain reconstruction here is impossible.

136.1 *Christ is the one with her*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 240-41) note the appearance of the couple Christ and the Church in Heracleon, fr. 25 (Origen, *In Joh.* 13.27). Cf. also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.8.4 and *Val. Exp.* 35.10-39.35.

136.3 *she will produce*: The subject here is probably the Church.

136.5 *They will think*: The subject here is probably the class of beings referred to in the preceding paragraph. Cf. 135.27–28.

136.10 *He is an emanation from them*: The subject here is probably Christ. If the pronoun “them” refers to the “servants of the evil one,” it is not immediately clear in what sense Christ is an emanation from them. This remark is probably to be interpreted in light of the doctrine of the incarnation in this text. The flesh which the Savior truly assumes (114.31–115.25) is presumably provided to him by the powers who are set over the organization. Since assumption of flesh has a salvific result (107.27–108.4), those beings who provide flesh for the Savior could well be viewed positively by the Church.

136.11 *Just as*: The revelation of the Savior provided exaltation to the spiritual Church (124.3–25), and similarly the spiritual Church provides some form of salvation to the beings who serve her.

136.17 *eternal dwelling places*: Cf. the “eternal kingdom,” which is the initial destination of the redeemed (132.2–3; 133.13–14).

136.19–20 *attraction toward the defect*: The Logos had drawn his psychic offspring into a “material union,” in order ultimately to diminish their attraction to evil (98.27–99.4). That diminution finally takes place on the human level through the incarnate Savior who draws men upward.

136.21 *power of the Pleroma*: This power, consisting of “generosity” and sweetness,“ recalls several aspects of the Pleroma, the Father’s generosity (53.13–20, 62.20), and his abundant sweetness (55.31 and 63.27–28), which works as an attractive aroma in the Pleroma (72.1–19). The process of salvation in the human world thus mirrors the analogous process in the Pleroma.

136.24 *the aeon*: *Ed. pr.* (II. 241) suggest that this is a reference to the Father and compare the same designation for the primary principle in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1. The preceding references to the generosity and sweetness support this interpretation of the allusion, since those terms were previously used of the Father.

136.26 *when he shone*: Cf. 85.29, 88.14.

136.28-30 These lines are badly damaged and, since the beginning of the next page is lost, a reconstruction from the context is impossible.

137 The number of this page is not preserved; however, S. Emmel's examination of the flow of horizontal papyrus fibers across the *kollema* to which this leaf belongs indicates that the leaf must have been inscribed with pp. 137/138, rather than with pp. 139/140, as suggested by *ed. pr.*

The first two lines of the page do not survive. The position of this leaf according to the horizontal fiber continuity with its conjugate leaf (123/124) indicates that the first extant line was the third line of the complete page.

137.10 *for destruction*: For the ultimate annihilation of hyllic beings, cf. 79.1-4; 118.10-11 and 119.8-16. *Ed. pr.* (II. 241) note the doctrine of the final destruction of the world in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.1-5; Heracleon, fr. 1 (Origen, *In Joh.* 2.14); and *Gos. Truth* 28.22-24.

137.15 *they were of use*: Cf. 89.35 and 118.13-14.

137.13-22 These lines are badly damaged and a meaningful reconstruction is difficult.

137.23-25 This seems to be an interpolation of a scribe who, not surprisingly, confesses that he has not fully understood what he has been copying.

137.27 Several lines were probably lost at the bottom of this page.

138.8 *trumpet*: This instrument is a standard feature of eschatological visions. Cf. 1 Cor 15:52 and 1 Thess 4:16. The conclusion of the *Tri. Trac.* probably contained an eschatological tableau.

138.27 *Amen*: With this liturgical conclusion, *ed. pr.* (II. 192) compare the end of the *Apocryphon of John* in CG II,1:37.25. Beneath the last line of text then are the remains of a decorative line. Beneath that line there are traces of ink which may be undecipherable letters or more decoration. The page could have held another four or five lines of text, which could have been a colophon.



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