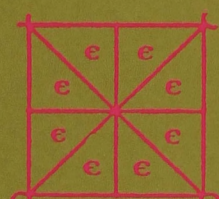
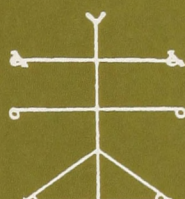


The Coptic Gnostic Library



*A Complete Edition
of the Nag Hammadi Codices*

Volume 4

BRILL

THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY
VOLUME IV

THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

published under the auspices of

THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

General editor:

JAMES M. ROBINSON

VOLUME IV



THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

A Complete Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices

VOLUME IV

THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM
THE SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH
APOCALYPSE OF PETER
THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS
THE THREE STELES OF SETH
ZOSTRIANOS
THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers



BRILL
LEIDEN BOSTON KÖLN
2000

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THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES
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THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

published under the auspices of

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NAG HAMMADI CODEX VII

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VOLUME EDITOR

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1996

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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, introduction, 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 and Manichaean 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 had 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. Barns[†], Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Stephen Emmel, 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, Gregory J. Riley, James M. Robinson, William C. Robinson, Jr., William R. Schoedel, J. C. Shelton[†], John H. Sieber, John D. Turner, Michael Waldstein, Francis E. Williams, R. McL. Wilson, Orval S. Wintermute, Frederik 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. Its early history may be traced in the preliminary announcements in *New Testament Studies* 16 (1969/70) 185-90 and *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970) 83-85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1970). Originally the

role of volume editor for Codex VII was assumed by Frederik Wisse, who was succeeded by Birger A. Pearson. 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: *Introduction, Texts, Translations, Indices*; Volume 2: *Notes*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge, NHS 22 and 23, 1985; *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1 and IV,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2*, edited by Frederik Wisse and Michael Waldstein, NH(M)S 33, 1995; *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7, together with XIII,2**, *Brit. Lib. Or. 4926 (1) and P. Oxy. 1,654,655*, Volume I: *Gospel of Thomas, Gospel of Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, Indices*; Volume 2: *On the Origin of the World, Expository Treatise on the Soul, Book of Thomas the Contender*, edited by Bentley Layton, NHS 20 and 21, 1989; *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, NHS 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, NHS 27, 1991; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel, NHS 26, 1984; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, NHS 11, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, NH(M)S 30, 1995; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John H. Sieber, NHS 31, 1991; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, NHS 15, 1981; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick, NHS 28, 1990; *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[†], NHS 16, 1981; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 9, 1978; *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 13, 1978. Thus, the full scope of the edition is sixteen volumes.

An English translation of all thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and P. Berol. 8502 has also been published in 1977 in a single volume, *The*

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Nag Hammadi Library in English, by E. J. Brill and Harper & Row. A first paperback edition of that preprint augmented by the inclusion of Yale inv. 1784 of the Beinecke Library at NHC III 145/146 (p. 238) appeared in 1981 at Harper & Row and in 1984 at E. J. Brill. It was not possible to include there subsequent improvements in translations. These have been incorporated in 1988 in the Third, Completely Revised Edition, E. J. Brill and Harper & Row, paperback in 1990 by HarperCollins.

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 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 on the re-assembly 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 co-operation 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.

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, Mounir Basta, Director until 1985, and Dr. Gawdat Gabra, currently Director of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, Deputy Director of 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 guided the UNESCO planning since its beginning, and Dina Zeidan, specialist in the Arab Program of the Division of Cultural Studies, who always proved ready with gracious assistance and helpful advice.

We also wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the administration of Brill during the years in which this volume was in

preparation, F. C. Wieder, Jr.[†], T. A. Edridge[†], Dr. W. Backhuys, Drs. F. H. Pruyt[†], Mr. Reinout J. Kasteleijn, Managing Director, and Dr. David E. Orton, Senior Editor, who is in charge of Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies for Brill.

James M. Robinson

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PREFACE

This volume is the result of the collaboration of many scholars over a long period of time. Some of the original collaborators are no longer represented in the final list of contributors. Nonetheless, they and others not named have made valuable contributions to the interpretations of the five tractates of Nag Hammadi Codex VII reflected in this edition.

Work on this volume began in the late '60's, at first under the editorship of Frederik Wisse. My own work on Codex VII as editor began rather late when, due to the pressures of other obligations at his university, Professor Wisse resigned the editorship. I agreed in 1991 to assume the editorship, but under one condition: that the volume be composed in Claremont, with the aid of a computer, by someone other than myself who would be capable of doing that work. The publishers had asked for a substantial subvention for producing the volume, but agreed to produce it without subvention from "camera-ready" copy. Neal Kelsey, a Ph.D. candidate at The Claremont Graduate School, was engaged for this task and put all of the material on computer disk. The press of other duties prevented him from finishing the work, and Saw Lah Shein, another Ph.D. candidate, took over the job of composing the volume and preparing the camera-ready copy.

The individual components of this volume represent in some cases revisions of work submitted earlier; in other cases completely new versions have been prepared. The codex introduction and the edition of tractate 1: *The Paraphrase of Shem*, by Frederik Wisse represent final revisions of work earlier completed. In the case of tractate 2: *Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, material had already been submitted in the early '70's by Joseph A. Gibbons, who had completed a dissertation at Yale on that tractate. In the meantime, Dr. Gibbons had left academia, and when he indicated to me no further interest in the project I reassigned the tractate to a recently arrived colleague at Claremont, Gregory J. Riley. He elected to redo the work himself rather than simply to revise the work earlier submitted by Gibbons.

In the case of tractate 3: *Apocalypse of Peter*, an introduction had already been prepared by Michel Desjardins. This was revised for publication here and edited to reflect the realities of the new translation. The text and translation were produced by James Brashler,

who had earlier completed a dissertation on *Apoc. Pet.* at Claremont. His work represents a substantial revision of that contained in the dissertation.

The material on tractate 4: *The Teachings of Silvanus* represents a very substantial revision of work earlier submitted as a collaborative effort by Malcolm Peel and Jan Zandee†. Dr. Peel's more recent work, especially on the text, notes, and introduction, warrant attribution solely to him. (Jan Zandee's own edition was published posthumously in The Netherlands in 1991. He died in January of the same year.)

The material on tractate 5: *The Three Steles of Seth* represents revisions by James E. Goehring of material earlier submitted. His revisions of the translation first done by James M. Robinson are reflected in the attribution to both of the translation produced for this volume.

The translations published here represent the latest work of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity on Codex VII, and should be considered to supersede the translations that appeared in the third revised edition of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* published in 1988.

The indices of words and proper names were done by computer by Clayton Jefford, who worked from the old index cards. I have updated these indices in accordance with the more recent revisions to the texts and translations.

The format of this volume represents editorial decisions taken by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project in 1969. Among other things, this format involves the printing of the facing text and translation according to the lines produced by the scribe in the manuscript, rather than imposing a paragraph format on the material. In accordance with the same editorial decisions there is a single set of notes to both the text and the translation of each tractate.

Also reflecting the aforementioned editorial decisions is the principle of word division in the transcriptions of the Coptic text. Ancient Coptic scribes generally did not divide words in a line; so modern editors have devised various methods of word division. The transcriptions in this volume adhere to the method of word division found in Walter Till's *Koptische Grammatik*.

The tractate introductions include bibliographies relevant to the respective tractates. Abbreviations in footnotes are either of items listed in the tractate bibliographies or of more general items listed in the table of Abbreviations and Short Titles.

In my own work on this volume I have taken some editorial liberties, including changes or additions in the introductions, translations,

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and notes such as were agreeable to the respective contributors. Such contributions of my own are unattributed, except in a few cases where I have added a note on the manuscript reflecting my examination of Codex VII in the library of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo in 1993. Such notes are marked "[Ed.]." However, my own contributions to the volume are minimal; the essential work represented here is that of the named contributors.

I must acknowledge that there is some imbalance in this volume, despite my own efforts to achieve editorial consistency. There are, for example, disparities in the extent and style of the notes to the text and translation from one tractate to another. It should be noted here that Malcolm Peel submitted an extensive commentary to *Teach. Silv.*, such as would be appropriate for a monograph devoted solely to that tractate. Unfortunately, it was necessary for me to make very substantial cuts and revisions to this material, resulting in the notes that now appear in the volume. It is to be hoped that Dr. Peel will proceed with the publication of his commentary at some point in the future.

I wish to thank all of the contributors to this volume for their careful work and the cooperation I received from them in getting this volume ready for publication. I am especially grateful to the general editor of the Coptic Gnostic Library, Prof. James M. Robinson, for his encouragement and support. Special thanks are due to the compositor of the volume, Saw Lah Shein, for his invaluable service, and to Neal Kelsey for his work in initially entering the material onto computer disk.

In addition to the acknowledgements of support for this project found in Professor Robinson's Foreword, I wish to register here my own thanks for the travel support that I received from the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, and the University of California, Santa Barbara, that enabled me to spend a week in Cairo in August of 1993 for autoptic examination of the manuscript.

Escalon, California
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Birger A. Pearson

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TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

The following table lists for the thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and the Codex 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 21-19</i>	<i>Asclepius</i>
VII,1	<i>The Paraphrase of Shem</i>	<i>Paraph. Shem</i>
VII,2	<i>Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>
VII,3	<i>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 Baptism A</i>	<i>On Bap. A</i>
XI,2b	<i>On Baptism B</i>	<i>On Bap. B</i>
XI,2c	<i>On Baptism C</i>	<i>On Bap. C</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 8502,1	<i>The Gospel of Mary</i>	<i>Gos. Mary</i>
BG 8502,2	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
BG 8502,3	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr</i>
BG 8502,4	<i>The Act of Peter</i>	<i>Act Pet.</i>

References to, and quotations from, the tractates in the Bruce and Askew Coptic Codices are based (except where otherwise stated) on Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, and Schmidt-MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, cited by chapter. These tractates are as follows:

<i>The First Book of Jeu</i> in the Bruce Codex	<i>1 Jeu</i>
<i>The Second Book of Jeu</i> in the Bruce Codex	<i>2 Jeu</i>
<i>The Untitled Text</i> in the Bruce Codex	<i>Cod. Bruc. Untitled</i>
<i>Pistis Sophia</i> , four books in the Askew Codex	<i>Pist. Soph.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

A	Achmimic dialect
A ²	Subachmimic dialect (=L)
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>Actes du IV^e Congrès</i>	<i>Actes du IV^e Congrès copte; Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988</i> , ed. by Marguerite Rassart-Debergh and Julien Ries. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 40-41. Louvain-la-Neuve, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1992.
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
Aland, <i>Gnosis</i>	<i>GNOSIS: Festschrift für Hans Jonas</i> , ed. by B. Aland. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
BAGD	W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, and F.W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i>
Baynes, <i>Coptic Gnostic Treatise</i>	Baynes, C.A., <i>A Coptic Gnostic Treatise Contained in the Codex Brucianus (Bruce MS 96, Bod. Lib. Oxford): A Translation from the Coptic; Transcription and Commentary</i> . Cambridge: University Press, 1933
BCNH	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi
Berliner Arbeitskreis	Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptischgnostische Schriften

- BG (Papyrus) Berolinensis Gnosticus (8502)
- BO *Bibliotheca orientalis*
- Böhlig, "Christentum und Gnosis" Böhlig, A., "Christentum und Gnosis im Ägypterevangelium von Nag Hammadi." In *Christentum und Gnosis*, ed. by W. Eltester. BZNW 37. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969, 1-18
- Böhlig, *Gnosis und Synkretismus* Böhlig, A., *Gnosis und Synkretismus: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*. WUNT 47-48. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989
- Böhlig, "Der jüdische und judenchristliche Hintergrund" Böhlig, A., "Der jüdische und juden-christliche Hintergrund in gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi." In *Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966*, ed. by U. Bianchi. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, 109-40
- Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians* Böhlig, A. and Wisse, F., *Nag Hammadi Codex III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*. CGL. NHS 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975
- BYUS *Brigham Young University Studies*
- BZNW Beihefte zur ZNW
- CG (Codex) Cairensis Gnosticus (=NHC)
- CGL Coptic Gnostic Library
- Charron, *Concordance* R. Charron, *Concordance des textes de Nag Hammadi: Le Codex VII*. BCNH, "Concordances" 1. Québec: Université Laval /Louvain: Peeters, 1992

- Christentum am Roten Meer* *Christentum am Roten Meer*. hrsg. von C. Altheim und R. Stiehl. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973
- Collins, Apocalypse* *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. by J.J. Collins. *Semeia* 14. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979
- Colloque International* *Colloque International sur les textes de Nag Hammadi (Québec, 11-15 août 1978)*, ed. by B. Barc. BCNH, "Études" 1. Québec: Université Laval, 1983
- Crum* Crum, W.E., *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1939
- Doresse, Les livres secrets* Doresse, J., *Les livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Égypte*. Paris: Plon, 1958
- Doresse, Secret Books* Doresse, J., *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts Discovered at Chenoboskion*. Trans. by P. Mairé. New York: Viking Press / London: Hollis and Carter, 1960.
- EPRO* Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain
- F* Fayyumic dialect
- Facsimile Edition* *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex VII*. Published under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in conjunction with UNESCO. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972

- Facsimile Edition: Introduction* *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction.* Published under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in conjunction with UNESCO. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984
- Festugière, *La révélation* Festugière, A.-J., *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste.* 4 vols. Paris: Gabalda, 1944-54
- Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis* Giversen, S., *Apocryphon Johannis: The Coptic Text of Johannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex II with Translation, Introduction and Commentary.* Acta Theologica Danica 5. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963
- Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique* *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique. Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve (11-14 mars, 1980),* ed. par J. Ries et al. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1982
- H Hermopolitan dialect
- Hellholm, *Apocalypticism* *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979,* ed. by D. Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983
- JAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- Jackson, "Geradamas" Jackson, H., "Geradamas, the Celestial Stranger," *NTS* 27 (1981) 385-94
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- Kahle, *Bala'izah* Kahle, P., *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt.* 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1954

- Kasser, *Compléments*** Kasser, R. *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum*. Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes 7. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1964
- Koschorke, *Polemik der Gnostiker*** Koschorke, K., *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi Traktate 'Apokalypse des Petrus' (NHC VII,5) und 'Testimonium Veritatis' (NHC IX,3)*. NHS 12. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978
- Krause, *Essays-Böhlig*** *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*, ed. by M. Krause. NHS 3. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972
- Krause, *Essays-Labib*** *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. by M. Krause. NHS 6. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975
- Krause, *Gnosis and Gnosticism*** *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th-13th 1975)*, ed. by M. Krause. NHS 8. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977
- Krause, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*** Krause, M., and Labib., P., *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*. ADAIK 2. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1971
- Krause "Der koptische Handschriftenfund"** Krause, M., "Der koptische Handschriftenfund bei Nag Hammadi: Umfang und Inhalt," *MDAIK* 18 (1962) 121-32
- L** Lycopolitan dialect (=A²)
- Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*** Layton, B., *The Gnostic Scriptures*. New York: Doubleday, 1987
- LPGL** G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*

LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i>
M	Middle-Egyptian dialect
Ménard, <i>Textes de Nag Hammadi</i>	<i>Les textes de Nag Hammadi: Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions</i> , ed. by J.-É. Ménard. NHS 7. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MDB	<i>Mercer Dictionary of the Bible</i>
Mus	<i>Le Muséon</i>
NedThT	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
<i>Neoplatonism and Gnosticism</i>	<i>Neoplatonism and Gnosticism</i> , ed. by R. T. Wallis and J. Bregman. <i>Studies in Neoplatonism: Ancient and Modern</i> 6. Albany: SUNY Press, 1992
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex (=CG)
NHLE	<i>The Nag Hammadi Library in English</i> , 3rd rev. ed. by J. M. Robinson and R. Smith. San Francisco: Harper & Row / Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988
NHLE, 1st. ed.	<i>The Nag Hammadi Library in English</i> , ed. by J. M. Robinson and M. Meyer. San Francisco: Harper & Row / Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTApoc	Schneemelcher, <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> (rev. ed.)
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>

- Pearson, *Gnosticism* Pearson, B.A., *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*. SAC 5. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990
- Pearson, *Codices IX and X* Pearson, B.A. (ed), *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*. CGS. NHS 15. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981
- Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes" Pearson, B.A., "The Tractate Marsanes (NHC X) and the Platonic Tradition." In Aland, *Gnosis*, 373-84
- PG J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
- Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques" Puech, H.-C., "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte (premier inventaire et essai d'identification)." In *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*. Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1950, 91-154
- Rediscovery of Gnosticism* *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut March 28-31, 1978*, ed. by B. Layton. 2 vols. SHR 41. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980-81
- RevScRel *Revue de sciences religieuses*
- RSPhTh *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
- RSV *Revised Standard Version*
- Rudolph, *Gnosis* Rudolph, R., *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977
- S Sahidic dialect
- SAC *Studies in Antiquity and Christianity*

SBLASP	Society of Biblical Literature Abstracts and Seminar Papers
Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism"	Schenke, H.-M., "The Phenomenon and Significance of Gnostic Sethianism." In <i>Rediscovery of Gnosticism</i> 2:588-616
Schenke, <i>Der Gott "Mensch"</i>	Schenke, H.-M., <i>Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als Leib Christi</i> . Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962
Schenke, "Das sethianische System"	Schenke, H.-M., "Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften." In <i>Studia Coptica</i> , hrsg. von P. Nagel. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974, 165-72
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to <i>Numen</i>)
SR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
Steindorff, <i>Lehrbuch</i>	Steindorff, G., <i>Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951
Stern, <i>Grammatik</i>	Stern, <i>Koptische Grammatik</i> . Leipzig: Weigel, 1880
Stroumsa, <i>Another Seed</i>	Stroumsa, G.A.G., <i>Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology</i> . NHS 24. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVF	J. von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i>
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TextsS	Texts and Studies

- Till, *Dialektgrammatik* Till, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*. 2nd ed., München: C. H. Beck, 1961
- Till, *Grammatik* Till, W. C., *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialect)*. 2nd ed., Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1961
- TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
- Tröger, *Gnosis und NT* *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973
- VC *Vigiliae Christianae*
- Widengren, *Proceedings* *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism in Stockholm, Aug. 20-25, 1973*, ed. by G. Widengren. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Filologisk-filosofiska serien 17. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977
- Wilson, *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis* *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis: Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)*, ed. by R. McL. Wilson. NHS 14. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978
- WUNT *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
- ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

N.B.: Abbreviations of biblical books and other ancient sources (except the Coptic Gnostic Library) are not given here. The ones used are standard and presumably recognizable.

For a complete bibliography of Gnostic and Nag Hammadi studies since 1948 the reader is referred to D. M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography: 1948-1969* (Nag Hammadi Studies 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971). Supplements to this bibliography occur annually in *Novum Testamentum*.

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- [] Square brackets indicate a lacuna in the MS where it is believed writing once existed. When the text cannot be restored with reasonable probability, the number of estimated letters, up to six, is indicated in the transcription by dots; seven or more lost letters are indicated with an Arabic number, preceded by a “plus-or-minus” sign (\pm). When a lacuna occurs at the end of a line only the left bracket is shown, for right margins vary widely in size. In the translation a bracket is not allowed to divide a word; a word is placed either entirely inside brackets or entirely outside, depending on the relative certainty of the Coptic word it translates.
- < > Pointed brackets indicate an editorial correction of a scribal omission or error. In the latter case a note records the actual reading in the MS.
- [[]] Double square brackets indicate a scribal deletion.
- { } Braces indicate letters or words erroneously added by the scribe.
- ` ´ High diagonal strokes indicate a scribal insertion above the line.
- () Parentheses in the translation indicate material supplied by the translator for the sake of clarity. Greek words in the Coptic text are also placed in parentheses in the translation, except when they are transliterated.

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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX VII

The Manuscript

Codex VII was found in December 1945 together with eleven other codices at the base of a cliff near the village of Hamra Dom, 10 km. north-east of Nag Hammadi, in upper Egypt.¹ At present it is the property of the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo and carries the inventory number 10546.² The facsimile edition of the codex was published as the second volume of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*.³

The codex was found with its leather cover intact. Photographs of the cover are included in the facsimile edition (plates 1-4), and it is described by James M. Robinson in the preface to *Facsimile Edition* (pp. vii-xiii). The cartonnage used to stiffen the cover consists of inscribed papyrus pages and pieces, among them receipts for grain dated 341, 346, and 348 C. E. Allowing for a lapse of time before these business documents were discarded, the codex can be dated in the third quarter of the fourth century.⁴ Personal names and place names mentioned in the grain receipts and letters suggest that the codex was produced in a Pachomian monastery in the vicinity of Nag Hammadi.

Codex VII is the best preserved of the Nag Hammadi codices. Of the original quire which made up the codex only a blank stub which held pages 29-30 into the binding (see *infra*, p. 3) has been lost. This minor loss was suffered in modern times. Loss of the bottom line of the text has occurred on pages 32, 34, 36-40. A similar loss has been suffered

¹ See James M. Robinson's discussion in *NHLE*, 22-24.

² Jean Doresse and Togo Mina gave the codex the number III in 1950 ("Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte: La bibliothèque de Chénoboskion," *VC* 3 [1949] 134-35). Later, in 1958, Doresse changed the number to VII (*Les livres secrets*, 166). Henri-Charles Puech numbered the codex "V" in 1950 ("Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 105). The numeration used for the facsimile edition of the codices and the Nag Hammadi Studies series is the one proposed by Martin Krause in 1962 ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," 127). Krause described Codex VII more fully in *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI (ADAIK, Koptische Reihe 2; Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1971 [appeared 1972])* 2-4.

³ *Facsimile Edition*.

⁴ E. G. Turner determined on the basis of a study of forty reused, dated papyrus documents that on the average the lapse of time is twenty-five years. However, extremes ranging from three weeks to two hundred years do occur ("Recto and Verso," *JEA* 40 [1954] 102-06).

on pages 87-100 and 121-126 involving parts of the bottom two lines. Holes increasing in size destroyed some text at the top of pages 125-127. Other holes in the papyrus do not involve more than a few letters and seldom bring the original reading into question. Due to penetrating moisture the ink in the middle of pages 1-7 and 124-127 ran and blotted to some extent, but the legibility of the text has not been seriously affected.

Codex VII was made from a single quire containing thirty-two full and three partial papyrus sheets. The sheets were cut from four rolls which can be reconstructed by tracing the horizontal fibers.⁵ When the end piece of a roll was less than a full sheet wide but more than a folio it was included in the quire as a single folio with a stub, the stub being approximately the width of the inner margin of a page. Such partial sheets were also used in Codex VIII and most likely in Codices II, III, V, and XI.⁶

The first roll, which forms the bottom of the quire, was cut from left to right.⁷ It yielded the following nine sheets; they are identified here in their original position in the roll and numbered according to the horizontal side: paste-down end papers; front fly leaf B-127; 2-125; 4-123; 6-121; 8-119; 10-117; 12-115; 14-stub.⁸ The bottom sheet of the quire was glued down over the cartonnage to function as endpapers.⁹ Since the scribe needed only 127 pages for writing but had 130 pages available he left the first folio blank to function as a fly leaf, and he did not inscribe the verso of page 127 (C).¹⁰ The roll was made from five

⁵ Since the codex was made from thin papyrus, and is complete and well-preserved, the relationship between the folios which form a sheet and between sheets from the same roll could be established with certainty.

⁶ See *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 40-44. No partial sheets were used in Codices I, IV, VI, and IX. The other codices (X, XII, XIII) are too fragmentary for any reconstruction of the original rolls. The practice of using half sheets with a stub is also known outside of Nag Hammadi codices, e.g. BG and Codex Berol. orient. oct 98 I: (*Der achmimische Proverbientext nach Ms. Berol. orient. oct 987: Text und Reconstruction der sahidischen Vorlage*, by Alexander Böhlig, München: R. Lerche, 1958, p. xxiiif).

⁷ This assumes that the horizontal fibers were on the inside of the roll as the finished quire would indicate. The unrolling was done towards the right with the result that the first sheet was cut from the left end of the unrolled papyrus roll. Robinson (*Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 42) assigns the half-sheet plus stub to roll 2, but later assigns it to neither (*ibid.*, 54).

⁸ All the sheets had been cut along the spine in order to put the folios in plexiglass containers. Page 2 of *Facsimile Edition* presents a photograph of the quire before it was cut.

⁹ *Facsimile Edition*, 3.

¹⁰ It is also clear from other Nag Hammadi codices that the scribe was able to estimate precisely the number of pages he needed. This suggests that he either made an exact copy of his model or that he selected the tractates from different sources and calculated how many pages each would take in the codex. Since the number of lines per page are not always the same the

lengths of papyrus (kollemata). The joints (kollēseis) occur on the paste-down end paper, the front fly leaf (A-B), pages 6-121 and 12-115. The overlap runs right over left and measures 4 cm. on the average. There is no evidence that anything other than the natural plant juice was used to fuse the kollemata together.

Since the quire was trimmed after it was folded in the middle, the original measurements of the sheets must be approximately the size of the bottom sheets of the quire, i.e., 34 cm. On this basis the original length of the roll was 294.5 cm. The kollemata measure, from left to right, 26 cm.; 18.5 cm.; 118.5 cm.; 119 cm. and 27.5 cm. respectively.

The second roll, in contrast to the first, was cut from right to left.¹¹ It yielded the following eight sheets: stub-99; 28-101; 26-103; 24-105; 22-107; 20-109; 18-111; 16-113. The roll was made from three kollemata. The kollēseis occur on pages 105 and 16. The overlap runs left over right, the opposite direction from the first roll, and measures 2 cm. and 2.5 cm. respectively. On the basis of an original sheet width of 34 cm. the kollemata measure, from left to right, 122 cm.; 119.5 cm. and 21 cm. The original length of the roll appears to have been 258 cm. This is one sheet shorter than the other three rolls. Perhaps the first sheet was discarded because of poor quality. If so this sheet would most likely have had a kollēsis.

The third roll appears to have been cut, like the first roll, from left to right. However, this leads to the improbable conclusion that the partial sheet came first. The best way to account for the unusual sequence is to assume that the cutting direction was from right to left, but that the vertical fibers were facing up, and that the stack of sheets was turned upside down, i.e., making the horizontal fibers face up, and rotated 180° when it was put on the stack made up from the first two rolls. This would explain why the partial sheet came at the bottom rather than at the top. The third roll yielded the following eight sheets here numbered with the horizontal fibers facing up: 46-83; 44-85; 42-87; 40-89; 38-91; 36-93; 34-95; 32-97; 30-[stub]. The stub belonging with page 30 is lost, probably discarded in modern times. The roll was made from four kollemata. The kollēseis fall on pages 89, 32 and 97. The overlap runs left over right, and measures 3.5-4 cm. On the basis of an original sheet width of 34 cm., the kollemata measure, from left to right, 122.5 cm.;

latter procedure could not have been precise. Perhaps the scribe marked in his model the amount of text he planned to write on each page.

¹¹ This is the way one expects a right-handed person to cut, i.e., with the roll on his left. The unusual cutting direction of the first roll may be due to a left-handed cutter or the stack of sheets was rotated 180° in relation to the sheets from the other rolls.

126.5 cm.; 29 cm. and 24.5 cm.¹² The original length of the roll was 293 cm.

The fourth roll, which forms the top of the quire, was cut from right to left. It yielded the following nine sheets: 64-65; 62-67; 60-69; 58-71; 56-73; 54-75; 52-77; 50-79; 48-81. The roll was made from four kollemata. The kollēseis occur on pages 71, 79 and 48-81. The overlap runs left over right and measures 3.5-4 cm. On the basis of an original sheet width of 34 cm., the kollemata measure from left to right 128.5 cm.; 143 cm.; 26 cm. and 20 cm. The original length of the roll was 306 cm.¹³

A comparison of the rolls indicates that each one was made up of two long kollemata of approximately the same length and one or more short pieces. The short pieces appear to be remnants—they are always less than the width of a sheet—which were added to a roll to minimize wastage of the valuable papyrus. The lengths of the long kollemata correspond most likely to the length of the papyrus stalks which were available. The size of the long kollemata appears to increase toward the center of the quire. This may be due to the assumption in the calculation that the sheets were of equal length before they were trimmed. It is quite possible, however, that a parsimonious bookmaker would cut the sheets at a decreasing width for each roll, so that less papyrus would be wasted in the trimming process. This would account for the difference in length of the kollemata in the rolls of Codex VII.¹⁴ The height of the pages is 28.5 cm. in the case of the first two rolls, 29 cm. in the case of the third and fourth rolls.

The papyrus has many imperfections. The fibers often bunch or leave cracks. Dark specks, streaks and sudden shifts in coloring are common. Wrinkles are frequent. A one-cm. strip of vertical fibers was placed over the ragged edges of the kollēsis on page 15.¹⁵ Yet the papyrus is thin, and, compared with other fourth century papyrus, the quality is above average.

¹² The lost stub has been estimated at 4 cm. and is included in the 24.5 cm. kollēma and the total.

¹³ This assumes that the roll came to an end at sheet 64-65. It is likely that at least a small stub was left and discarded. Editor's note: Wisse's measurements differ at some points with those provided by Robinson in *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*. Wisse measured on the basis of estimated original sheet width, before folding and trimming.

¹⁴ One could picture the manufacturing of the rolls of Codex VII as having started from a large piece of papyrus approximately 150 cm. square. Before the papyrus had dried four strips of equal width were cut in the direction of the fibers lying on top. Two strips were fused together and some remnants were added at the ends to form a roll. After drying, the long strip was rolled up with the result that the horizontal fibers came on the inside of the roll.

¹⁵ Such strips are common on the vertical side of the kollēseis in codex II.

Codex V
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Codex VII was paginated above the outside edge of the writing column. In this it is like Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX. Only the inscribed pages were numbered. Numbers are missing on pages 1, 126 and 127. Since some papyrus has broken away above the title on page 1, the number may originally have been present. It would appear that pages 126-127 never had a number. Page 42 was mistakenly numbered 44 but the subsequent pages were numbered correctly again. This may indicate that the scribe was copying the numbers from his model. The *beta* in 42 can easily be mistaken for a *delta*. Also a scribe who added pagination before or after copying the whole text¹⁶ would not likely have forgotten to number pages 126-127. The numbers have a slightly curved stroke over them and, especially in the first part of the codex, also under them. There is no pattern to the presence or absence of the stroke under numbers.

The writing is in a handsome, flowing uncial script. The lettering is even but tends to become somewhat larger towards the bottom of the page. The shape of each letter remains remarkably stable throughout the codex. The scribe of Codex VII also wrote the third and fourth tractates of Codex XI. Since the scribe who wrote the first part of Codex XI wrote also part of Codex I, Codices I, VII and XI can be assigned to approximately the same time and place. The left margin of the writing column is kept straight. As with many other codices, the left part of the *tau*, *phi* and *ti* tend to extend into the margin. The right margin is much less even. Crowding of letters at the end of a line is uncommon and also the dipole has not been used to fill out short lines.¹⁷ The width of the columns varies somewhat but not between tractates or between the beginning or end of the codex and the middle. No pattern of change is discernable.

The codex uses the high point to set off sentences, thought units, and elements in a list.¹⁸ Since the point is not used as an articulation mark, as in codices II and III, no confusion is possible. The only ambiguity possible is with the occasional apostrophe used to mark the final *mu* or *lambda* (see *infra*, p. 7).

Each tractate closes with a colon and a series of dipoles to fill out the line. The endings of the first and second steles of Seth have been decorated as if they were tractate endings. The titles and subtitles end with a

¹⁶ Codex III was paginated that way for the numbers become gradually thinner and fainter until the scribe dipped his quill into the ink again.

¹⁷ Such line fillers were used in Codices III and XII. Contracting of letters occurs only in VII 74,17 (M + H).

¹⁸ In the case of *tau* and *upsilon* the high point is put under the right arm of the letter. In a few cases the punctuation point was placed on the line.

colon and are decorated by means of diples and a frame consisting of a series of short horizontal lines with diples or heavy dots at the ends. Such a series of lines has also been used in 49,9f. to separate the first and second tractates, although no title occurs at that point. In addition the beginning of the second tractate is marked off by means of a *paragraphus cum corone* similar to those used in Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX (e.g., VI 48 and IX 29). An unusual sign in the shape of an anchor occurs at the end of the colophon or magical formula on page 118,11. Spacing appears to have been used occasionally to indicate the beginning of a new section or paragraph (e.g., 31,37).

The scribe consistently marked the final *tau* of a syllable by means of a backstroke (ⱸ).¹⁹ The function is that of an articulation mark and as such it is similar to the use of the hook or apostrophe proper, the straight apostrophe and raised point in Codex II, and the use of the raised point with the final *pi* and *tau* in Codex III. Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX use the backstroke also on the final *pi* and *gamma* of a word or syllable.²⁰ The use of the backstroke is closely connected with the supralinear stroke (see *infra*). The following exceptions and special usages deserve mentioning, since they provide clues as to how Coptic was read.

1. While the *tau* in the relative prefix $\epsilon\tau$ - and the privative prefix $\delta\tau$ - normally receives the backstroke it is absent when the letter following the *tau* is a vowel, $\bar{\rho}$ or $\bar{\mu}$, e.g., $\epsilon\tau\delta\kappa\bar{\mu}$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\bar{\rho}$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\iota\omega\delta$, $\epsilon\tau\omicron\rho\bar{\zeta}$, $\delta\tau\omega\bar{\mu}$, $\delta\tau\omicron\delta\varsigma\iota\delta$, $\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\beta\alpha\rho\iota$, $\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\lambda\delta\delta$. Evidently the *tau* in these cases builds a syllable with the following letter, or letters, rather than the preceding one.²¹

¹⁹ There are some minor exceptions due to oversight or, more frequently, when the syllable fell at the end of a line (e.g., 5,20; 19,10; 32,12; 48,2). There was little reason to use an articulation mark at the end of a line since the scribe followed a strictly syllabic line break.

²⁰ The back stroke appears only rarely with a *gamma* e.g., in 89,22. For Codex II Bentley Layton has published a study of the division marks and supralinear strokes in tractate 4, "The Text and Orthography of the Coptic *Hypostasis of the Archons* (CG II, 4 Kr.)," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 173-200. Frederik Wisse has presented a brief description of the pointing systems in Codices II-IX in a review of Jacques-É. Ménard's *L'évangile selon Philippe*, in *JAOS* 92 (1972) 188f. A more detailed description of the division marks in *Gos. Eg.* (III,1 and IV,1) is given in Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 2f. and 9.

²¹ Thus $\epsilon\tau$ - as a relative prefix is clearly distinguished from the preposition ϵ - with the fem. article, e.g., $\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ and $\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$, and $\delta\tau$ - as privative prefix is distinguished from the preposition δ - (A^2) with the fem. article, e.g., $\delta\tau\varsigma\beta\omega$ and $\delta\tau\varsigma\beta\omega$.

2. The feminine article τ^{22} receives a backstroke when a) the noun begins with a *tau*, e.g., $\tau\tau\rho\iota\beta\eta$, $\overline{\tau\eta\tau\alpha\pi\rho\omicron}$, b) the article is preceded by α -, ϵ - or η - and the noun falls on the next line, e.g., $\overline{\eta\tau}/\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$, $\epsilon\tau/\psi\sigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, c) often when preceded by α -, ϵ - or η - and the noun begins with a double consonant, e.g., $\epsilon\tau\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon$, $\overline{\eta\tau}\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\eta$, $\alpha\tau\theta\epsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, $\overline{\eta\tau}\kappa\lambda\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon$.²³ Evidently the *tau* in these cases builds a syllable with the preceding letter or letters. The same kind of syllable building occurs when the masculine article π precedes a noun beginning with a *pi* or two non-syllabic consonants; since *pi* does not receive a backstroke in Codex VII, this conclusion is based on the used of the supralinear stroke (see *infra*, p. 8).
3. The *tau* in the prefix $\mu\eta\tau$ - has the backstroke except when followed by $\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, e.g., $\overline{\mu\eta\tau\rho\epsilon\varsigma}\overline{\omega\mu\omega\epsilon}$.

Apart from the backstroke the scribe occasionally uses the apostrophe proper to mark a final *mu* or *lambda*, e.g., in 10,11; 38,22; 40,37; 62,35; 67,9. The use is so sporadic that one suspects that the scribe was accustomed to a pointing system which employed the apostrophe and so he inadvertantly added a few, or that his model used them more consistently but that he copied them only occasionally.

The supralinear stroke in Codex VII is used precisely and consistently. Its function is apparently as an aid to the reader by assigning syllabic value to a letter or group of consonants. If the syllable comprises only one letter the stroke is placed directly above this letter. If the syllable is made up of two or more consonants the stroke runs from the middle of the first consonant to the middle of the last. When the stroke is short it tends to be slightly curved.²⁴

The stroke over a single letter occurs with $\overline{\eta}$ - ($\overline{\mu}$ -) in all its functions and $\overline{\rho}$ (the construct form of $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ used mainly before Greek verbs). These uses are well known from other Coptic manuscripts. More unusual are the following cases:

²² The issue does not arise in the second, third and fifth tractates since they employ the article τ .

²³ The occurrence of $\epsilon\tau\overline{\mu\eta\tau\rho\alpha}$ (27,21) is an exception perhaps due to a confusion with the relative prefix $\epsilon\tau$ -.

²⁴ This is particularly the case with strokes over $\overline{\upsilon}$, $\overline{\epsilon}$, $\overline{\omega}$ and $\overline{\delta}$. This may be intentional, as it appears to be with Codices IV, V, VIII and IX.

1. The article π receives a stroke when it stands in the initial position and precedes a noun beginning with a *pi*, e.g., $\overline{\pi\pi\eta\delta}$, $\overline{\pi\pi\omega\psi\epsilon}$. Also the article τ has the stroke when it stands in the initial position and precedes a noun beginning with a *tau*,²⁵ e.g., $\overline{\tau\tau\rho\iota\beta\eta}$, $\overline{\tau\tau\alpha\pi\rho\omicron}$. Such prefixes as $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - and $\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha$ - do not influence the stroke, but δ -, ϵ -, and η - ($\overline{\lambda}$ -) cause a loss or shift of the stroke since they build a syllable with the article (see also *infra*, p. 9)
2. ψ - (Crum, 541a) takes a stroke when it precedes a verb beginning with ψ , e.g., $\overline{\psi\psi\delta\zeta\epsilon}$. It can also build a syllable with $\overline{\rho}$ -, e.g., $\overline{\psi\rho\eta\omicron\eta\omicron\lambda\zeta\epsilon}$.
3. φ (I Pres. 3rd. sg. prefix) takes a stroke when it precedes a verb beginning with φ , e.g., $\overline{\varphi\varphi\iota}$.²⁶ It also builds a syllable with $\overline{\rho}$, e.g., $\overline{\varphi\rho\varrho\eta\beta\epsilon}$, $\overline{\varphi\rho\beta\lambda\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon\iota}$. One would expect that ψ and φ also build syllables with other single consonants which have syllabic value such as $\overline{\lambda\tau\omicron\eta}$, $\overline{\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma}$, but no examples are available in the codex.
4. The vowels \omicron and ω often receive a stroke when they have independent syllabic value, e.g., $\overline{\omicron}$ (Crum, 831a), $\overline{\varrho\omicron\sigma\omicron}$, $\overline{\zeta\pi\omicron\omicron}$ (3rd fem. sg. suffix), $\overline{\omega}$ (= $\overline{\omega}$), $\overline{\rho\omega\varphi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota}$, $\overline{\omega\omega}$ (Crum, 518a) and $\overline{\rho\omicron\sigma\omega}$ (= $\overline{\rho\omicron\sigma\omega}$).
5. The abbreviation stroke above the last letter of a line representing a suppressed *nu* is only used in 97,16. Perhaps it reflects the habit of the model rather than the scribe of Codex VII.
6. The stroke over *eta* ($\overline{\eta}$) is not a normal supralinear stroke but an archaic *spiritus lene*. It is not always present (e.g., 96,12).

The supralinear stroke is also used over two or more consonants when they form one syllable. It is used even when the last of these consonants is *tau* with the backstroke; in such a case there appears to be an overlap in function.²⁷ Most of these cases need no further elabo-

²⁵ The article in these cases often contracts with the first letter of the noun, e.g., $\overline{\pi\eta\delta}$ for $\overline{\pi\pi\eta\delta}$, $\overline{\tau\lambda\rho\omicron}$ for $\overline{\tau\tau\lambda\rho\omicron}$.

²⁶ It has the stroke once before *sigma*, $\overline{\varphi\sigma\alpha\psi\epsilon}$ in 104,28.

²⁷ Codices II and III do not have a stroke over the final two consonants of a word except when the word, including its suffix, ends in *beta*, *lambda*, *mu*, *nu*, *rho* or *sigma*. The exceptions are

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²⁷ $\overline{\eta\lambda\epsilon}$ $\overline{\pi\eta\omega\psi\epsilon}$ in
²⁸ When *tau* closes
 $\overline{\eta\lambda\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\tau\lambda\epsilon}$, $\overline{\lambda\tau}$

ration since they are regularly found in other Coptic manuscripts, e. g., $\overline{\Psi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\text{ME}}$, $\overline{\text{WB}}\overline{\text{T}}$, $\overline{\text{TB}}\overline{\text{T}}$, $\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{T}}$ -, $\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{C}}$, $\overline{\text{MP}}\overline{\text{P}}$ - and $\overline{\text{NT}}$ (conjunctive).²⁸ Less common are the following occurrences:

1. $\overline{\text{E}}$ and $\overline{\text{EI}}$ receive a stroke when they function as independent syllables, e.g., $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{N}}$ -, $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{H}}$, $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{ME}}$, $\overline{\text{EI}}$, $\overline{\text{KO}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{EI}}$.
2. The accusative and genitive particle $\overline{\text{N}}$ - ($\overline{\text{M}}$ -) builds a syllable with the singular definite article: a) when the article $\overline{\text{N}}$ precedes a noun beginning with a *pi*, or the article $\overline{\text{T}}$ precedes a noun beginning with a *tau*, e.g., $\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{PN}}\overline{\text{N}}$ and $\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{TP}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{H}}$;²⁹ b) when the line break occurs between the article and the noun, e.g., $\overline{\text{MN}}/\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{MA}}$ and $\overline{\text{NT}}/\overline{\text{MA}}\overline{\text{RT}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}$; c) frequently when the noun begins with a double consonant, e.g., $\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{MA}}$, $\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}$, $\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}$ but also $\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}$; $\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}$ but also $\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}$.³⁰
3. The preposition $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{N}}$ - ($\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ -) builds a syllable with the singular definite article when $\overline{\text{N}}$ precedes a noun beginning with a *pi* or $\overline{\text{T}}$ precedes a noun beginning with a *tau*, e.g., $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}$, $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{MA}}$, $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}$, $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}$.³¹ The same occurs when the line break occurs between the article and the noun, e.g., $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{MN}}/\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{MA}}$. These do not appear to be cases where the supralinear strokes of two independent syllables accidentally run together but of single syllables similar to $\overline{\text{MN}}\overline{\text{T}}$, $\overline{\text{TB}}\overline{\text{T}}$ and $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{P}}$.
4. The auxiliary verb $\overline{\text{C}}$ -, the I Pres. 3rd sg. prefix $\overline{\text{C}}$ (see *supra*, p. 8) and the $\overline{\text{T}}$ in the relative prefix $\overline{\text{ET}}$ - build a syllable with a single consonant which has syllabic value, e.g., $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}$, $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$, $\overline{\text{ET}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}$, $\overline{\text{ET}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{E}}$.³²

a few cases in Codex II where *mu* or *sigma* is preceded by *hori*. In Codices II and III a syllable does not have an articulation mark when it has a supralinear stroke.

²⁸ See Stern, *Grammatik* §3-4.

²⁹ Also $\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ occurs. The second *tau* is here taken to be a part of the noun (see also $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{NT}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$ *infra*).

³⁰ The Codex does not use the article $\overline{\text{NE}}$, $\overline{\text{TE}}$, $\overline{\text{NE}}$ before two or more non-syllabic consonants.

³¹ $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}$ in 10,25 is an exception.

³² When *tau* closes a syllable, it has the tendency to align itself with the following syllable, e.g., $\overline{\text{MN}}\text{-TME}$, $\overline{\text{MN}}\text{-TRC}$ -, $\overline{\text{A}}\text{-TNA}$ o.

5. The plural article $\bar{\mu}$ used before nouns beginning with *pi* and *mu* becomes $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$ when it is preceded by the accusative or genitive particle $\bar{\mu}$, e.g., $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$.³³ These forms do not occur in VII, 2, 3 and 5 since they use the plural article $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$.
6. The supralinear stroke with *nomina sacra*, proper names, unintelligible speech (see 17,30f.) and page numbers is unrelated to the syllabic supralinear stroke.

Syllable building also affects the *iota* when it stands at the beginning of a word. If possible it builds a syllable with the letter which precedes it—usually the article—in which case it is spelled defectively, e.g., $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$. When it begins a syllable or forms a syllable by itself it is written plene, e.g., $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$. The scribe has used this *iota* convention consistently with all the tractates in the codex. It is also found in other tractates in the library although some editors mistakenly consider the defective spelling of the initial *iota* in Sahidic tractates to be a dialect form.³⁴

Corrections in the codex are rare and none can be shown to have come from a hand other than the original scribe. They are made by crossing or rubbing out surplus letters (e.g., 18,33; 24,34), writing missing letters above the line (e.g., 23,23) or in the margin (e.g., 77,17), and by writing over a rubbed-out or scraped-off letter (e.g., 31,3). Details are given in the tractate introductions and the transcription notes. A small number of errors requiring emendation remain. Also these are treated in the notes. A prominent example is the long *homoioteleuton* in 46,20-29. The low number of corrections and scribal errors testify to the skill and care of the scribe. He was, however, not able to prevent a number of ink spatters and blots such as those on pages 92, 98 and 108.

The codex has a colophon at the end (127,28-32). It could have been composed by the scribe of Codex VII, or he copied it from his model along with *Steles Seth*. There is another colophon or magical formula on 118,8f. between the fourth and fifth tractates. Since the monogram IXΘΥΣ occurs in it one suspects that it belongs with the Christian *Teach. Silv.* rather than the non-Christian *Steles Seth*. It is

³³ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$ also occurs. The allomorph of the plural article $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$ also occurs in several other Nag Hammadi codices.

³⁴ E.g., M. Krause in the linguistic introduction to R. A. Bullard's *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970) 7. Some other so-called dialect forms occurring alongside Sahidic ones can be satisfactorily explained when syntactical, syllabic and word separation conventions are observed.

decorated like a title but the row of diples which separate it from *Teach. Silv.* suggest that it is not integrally connected with it. Like the titles of the second and third tractates this colophon was taken over by the Coptic translator in the original Greek.

The codex contains five tractates: *The Paraphrase of Shem*, 1,1-49,9; *Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, 49,10-70,12; *Apocalypse of Peter*, 70,13-84,14; *The Teaching of Silvanus*, 84,15-118,7 and *The Three Steles of Seth*, 118,10-127,27. The titles occur at the beginning of *Paraph. Shem*, at the end of *Treat. Seth*, at the beginning and end of *Apoc. Pet.*, at the beginning of *Teach. Silv.* and at the end of *Steles Seth*. The position of the titles supports other factors which put tractates one and three over against the others (see *infra*). The titles are decorated and "framed" by means of diples and lines. The titles of *Steles Seth* and *Apoc. Pet.* were not translated into Coptic.³⁵

The absence of a title between *Paraph. Shem* and *Treat. Seth* apparently made Doresse think that the two formed a unit or at least two sections of one treatise.³⁶ However, the two tractates are not only clearly separated by decorative marks but also differ dramatically in subject matter. *Paraph. Shem* comes clearly to an end in 49,9. Furthermore, significant differences in Coptic usage show that they were independently translated from the Greek (see *infra*). Thus there is also no reason to consider *Paraph. Shem* as the "first treatise of Seth."

A complete discussion of the dialectal and grammatical peculiarities of the five tractates cannot be given here. At this point only those characteristics will be listed which help to determine whether the tractates were independently translated from Greek³⁷ by several different translators, each with his own style, or by one.

³⁵ This is also the case with IV,1, 49,27f.; VI,3, 35,23f. and XIII,1, 50,18-21.

³⁶ *Secret Books*, 149. Doresse's conclusions were based on a rather hasty survey of the codices.

³⁷ There is no reason to believe that any of the Nag Hammadi tractates were originally written in Coptic or that any were translated from a language other than Greek.

	<i>Paraph. Shem</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Teach. Silv.</i>	<i>Steles Seth</i>
Def. article	ⲡ, ⲧ, Ⲙ, (ⲛ̄)	ⲡⲓ, ⲧ, Ⲙⲓ	ⲡⲓ, ⲧ, Ⲙⲓ	ⲡ, ⲧ, Ⲙ, (ⲛ̄)	ⲡⲓ, ⲧ, Ⲙⲓ
Genitive	ⲛ̄ (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ)	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ (ⲛ̄) ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ (ⲛ̄) ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'	ⲛ̄ (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ)	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'
Rel. substantive	ⲡⲁⲓ (ⲡ)	ⲡⲛ (ⲡⲁⲓ; ⲡ)	ⲡⲛ (ⲡⲁⲓ; ⲡ)	ⲡ (ⲡⲁⲓ)	ⲡⲛ (ⲡⲁⲓ; ⲡ)
Rel. I Perfect	ⲉⲣ- ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'	ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'	ⲉⲧⲁ' ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'	ⲉⲣ- ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'	ⲉⲧⲁ' ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ'
Impf. rel. substantive	ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥ	ⲡⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϥ ⲡⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥ	ⲡⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϥ		ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥ
Final clauses	ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IIF ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IF ⲁⲉ IIF ϣⲓⲛⲁ ⲁⲉ ϣⲓⲛⲁ IIF ϣⲓⲛⲁ Conj	ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IIF ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ Conj ⲁⲉ IIF ⲁⲉ IIIF ϣⲓⲛⲁ ⲁⲉ	ⲁⲉ IIIF ϣⲓⲛⲁ ⲁⲉ ϣⲓⲛⲁ Conj	ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IIF ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IIIF	ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IIF ⲁⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ IIIF ϣⲓⲛⲁ ⲁⲉ ϣⲓⲛⲁ Conj
Negative ⲁⲛ	ⲁⲛ	ⲛ̄-ⲁⲛ	ⲛ̄-ⲁⲛ	ⲁⲛ (ⲟⲕ) ⲛ̄-ⲁⲛ (10ⲕ)	ⲛ̄-ⲁⲛ
ⲉ† for ⲟ†	ⲟ† (few ⲉ†)	ⲉ† (ⲟⲕ) ⲟ† (8ⲕ)	ⲉ†	ⲟ† (some ⲉ†)	ⲉ†

The Characteristics listed above separate the five tractates into two clearly identifiable groups, i.e., *Paraph. Shem* and *Teach. Silv.* over against *Treat. Seth*, *Apoc. Pet.* and *Steles Seth*. The latter three share the peculiar form of the definite article,³⁸ genitive construction³⁹ and relative substantive with several other tractates in the Nag Hammadi

³⁸ *Paraph. Shem* and *Teach. Silv.* used ⲡⲓ, ⲧ and Ⲙⲓ only in comparisons with ⲛ̄ⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ where Coptic prefers the plural Ⲙⲓ (eg., 27,11; 108,7) even when the Greek *Vorlage* has a singular, in adverbial constructions such as ⲧⲛⲟϥ and ⲁⲓⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲟ, and as a weak demonstrative.

³⁹ In VII, 1 and 4 the use of ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ is restricted to the cases listed in Till, *Grammatik* §113. The genitive preposition ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ' is used much more often in VII,3 than in VII, 2 and 5.

library, e.g., *Gos. Eg.* (IV, 2) and *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* (VI, 1). All three features are normally associated with the Bohairic and Fayyumic dialects.

Paraph. Shem and *Teach. Silv.* part ways in several constructions which leave little doubt that they were translated into Coptic independently. The unusual Impf. rel. substantive ΠΔĭ ΝΕϣ which is common in *Paraph. Shem* is missing in *Teach. Silv.* *Paraph. Shem* normally uses the Perf. rel. ερ- when the subject of the relative clause is the same as the antecedent, Ν̄ΤΔ^ς when they differ. *Teach. Silv.* on the other hand, uses ερ- only once (107,16) and in all other cases Ν̄ΤΔ^ς (ΕΝΤΔ^ς). The use of the Rel. substantive with ΠΔĭ is common in *Paraph. Shem*, but infrequent in *Teach. Silv.* Other differences involve the use of ϣΙΝΔ ΔΕ and the negative Ν- . . . ΔΝ.

Treat. Seth, Apoc. Pet. and *Steles Seth* are not so easily distinguished although enough differences can be found to make it likely that they were independently translated from the Greek. *Steles Seth* stands out most. It uses ϣΙΝΔ ΔΕ (once) while the other two use ϚΙΝΔ or ϚΙΝΔ ΔΕ. Also the qualitative Ο† predominates in *Treat. Seth* while *Apoc. Pet.* and *Steles Seth* always use ε†. *Apoc. Pet.* employs the Perf. rel. ΕΤΔ^ς when the subject of the relative clause is the same as the antecedent and Ν̄ΤΔ^ς when they differ. *Steles Seth* does not keep this distinction between ΕΤΔ^ς and Ν̄ΤΔ^ς very well, and *Treat. Seth* does not use ΕΤΔ^ς at all. Another distinction between *Apoc. Pet.* and *Steles Seth* involves the use of ΔΕ or ΔΕΚΔΔϚ in purpose clauses. Of the five tractates *Apoc. Pet.* and *Steles Seth* are the most similar in language.

The text of Codex VII has been collated against the originals in Cairo by Frederik Wisse and again by the volume editor. The translations reflect team work well beyond the names mentioned with the individual tractates. Special mention should be made of Professor H. J. Polotsky† who provided valuable assistance at an early stage of the translation work. Also Professors A. Böhlig and H.-M. Schenke have suggested a number of improvements in the case of individual tractates.

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INTRODUCTION TO VII,1 THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM

I. Title and Identification

*The Paraphrase of Shem*¹ is one of the longest and best preserved of the tractates contained in the Nag Hammadi codices. It is the first of the five tractates in Codex VII. Except for the bottom line of pages 32, 36-38, and 40, which are partially missing and for which no satisfactory reconstruction was found, the text is in an excellent state of preservation.

The tractate is headed by a superscript title marked by decorations which is an abbreviated form of the fuller title in the incipit: "The Paraphrase of Shem which was about the unbegotten Spirit" (1,2-3). The designation "paraphrase" does not describe the tractate as a whole but only the section 32,27 - 34,16 which is a kind of commentary on the identity of some twenty personages who are listed in a litany called "memorial" or "testimony" in 31,4 - 32,5. Thus, the term "paraphrase" appears to refer to a piece of text to which further explanations have been added. This commentary is not given by Shem but is addressed to Shem by Derdekeas, the revealer of the apocalypse. A more fitting descriptive title of the tractate would have been: The Revelation of Derdekeas to Shem.

There is a clear relationship in title and content between *Paraph. Shem* and a written source used by Hippolytus in *Elenchos (Refutatio)* 5.19-22 for the teachings of the Sethians called *The Paraphrase of Seth*. Apart from sharing the designation "paraphrase" there is a remarkable agreement between the two in the description of the three primeval powers, but the common material does not extend in a significant way beyond the early pages of the tractate. Furthermore *Paraph. Shem* has at best only a few ambiguous Christian allusions, while *The Paraphrase of Seth* has many clearly Christian elements. Thus the relationship is at best distant; there are no indications that the one tractate depended upon the other. Perhaps both made use of a now lost document which had the designation paraphrase in the title. *The Paraphrase of Seth* also does not help in determining the *terminus ad quem* for *Paraph. Shem* since the one does not clearly presuppose the other.

¹ The name is spelled CHEM rather than the expected CHEA (Σημ).

II. Literary Genre

Paraph. Shem is an apocalypse. The tractate has two speakers, the revealer Derdekeas,² whose revelation makes up the bulk of the tractate, and the recipient of the revelation, Shem, who reports his out-of-the-body experience to his "race," the intended Gnostic readers. He also speaks in his own right about eschatology and his ascent out of the body through the spheres. Within the revelations there are brief prayers and ascriptions of praise, a litany ("testimony"), a commentary ("paraphrase") on this litany, and a few parenetic comments of an ascetic nature. There are several lapses from the 2nd person singular (Shem) to the plural (Shem's race), but these are not unusual in vulgar apocalypses.

III. Content

The following detailed outline may serve also as a summary of the content:

I.	Superscript Title	1,1
II.	Full Title	1,2-3
III.	Sub-Title	1,4-6
IV.	Apocalyptic framework narrated by Shem	1,7-17
V.	Derdekeas' revelation to Shem	1,18 - 32,27
	1,18 - 2,17	Description of the three primeval powers, the Light (the root of Derdekeas), the unbegotten Spirit (the root of Shem and his "race" of Gnostics), and the evil Darkness, as they existed originally.
	2,17 - 3,18	Darkness becomes aware of the Spirit and tries to become equal to him.
	3,18 - 4,12	Derdekeas, the son of the Light, comes to the aid of the Spirit.
	4,12 - 5,22	Darkness has intercourse with the womb; the forms of Nature come into being.
	5,22 - 6,6	Nature divides into four clouds.
	6,6-35	The light of the Spirit is held in bondage by Nature.

² The name "Derdekeas" is probably based on Aramaic *drdq'*, "male child." See Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 79. Stroumsa sees in Derdekeas, the "perfect child," a parallel to Seth in other Gnostic writings (*ibid.*).

	6,35 - 24,16	Derdekeas appears (several times?) to save the Spirit. In the process he induces Nature to create heaven and earth (19,26 - 20,20).	
	24,16 - 25,35	The persecution of Shem and his race by means of the flood and the tower (of Babel).	
	25,35 - 26,25	Address to Shem and his race about their blessed future.	
	26,25 - 28,34	The persecution of Shem and his race after the flood.	
	28,34 - 29,33	Shem proclaims his universal teaching to the righteous Sodomites.	
	29,33 - 31,4	The demon Soldas disturbs the world and puts it in bondage through baptism with water.	
	31,4 - 32,5	The "testimony" is revealed to Shem.	
	32,5-18	Derdekeas confronts the evil water to save the power of the Spirit.	
	32,19-27	Closing instructions to Shem.	
VI.	The Paraphrase on the "testimony"		32,27 34,16
VII.	Resumption of Derdekeas' revelation to Shem		34,16 - 41,20
	34,16 - 36,1	The salvation of the race of Shem.	
	36,2-24	Derdekeas' role as savior and revealer.	
	36,25 - 38,28	The bondage of impure baptism.	
	38,28 - 40,3	The end of Derdekeas' mission in the world (chaos).	
	40,4-31	The prophecy concerning the beheading of the woman Rebouel.	
	40,31 - 41,20	Closing instructions to Shem.	
VIII.	Shem's revelation		41,21 - 47,31
	41,21-28	The end of Shem's rapture.	
	41,28 - 45,31	Shem prophesies about the end of the world.	
	45,31 - 47,7	Shem recites the "testimony."	
	47,7-32	Shem tells about his ascents through the spheres ("clouds").	
IX.	Resumption of Derdekeas' revelation to Shem		47,32 - 49,9
	47,32 - 48,30	The final consummation.	
	48,30 - 49,9	Closing address to Shem.	

Striking features of the tractate are:

- a. The three primeval powers, who are not equal since everything happens in accordance with the will of the supreme Light (the Majesty).

- b. The role of Derdekeas, the son or likeness of the Light, who is both savior and revealer.
- c. The role of Shem, whose "root" is the unbegotten Spirit.
- d. The fact that the salvation drama focuses on the imprisonment and salvation of the Spirit rather than on Shem and his race.
- e. The positive evaluation of the Sodomites.
- f. The obscure roles of the demon Soldas and the woman Rebouel.
- g. The unusual "testimony" and the paraphrase on it.
- h. Shem's ascent through the heavenly spheres.
- i. The polemic against baptism with water.
- j. The prominence of eschatology in a Gnostic tractate.
- k. The use of sexual imagery.

IV. Difficulties in Interpretation

The tractate presents the translator and interpreter with frustrating difficulties. The meaning of many sentences is unclear or appears unsuited to the context. This is most likely due to a combination of factors: the corruption of the Coptic text during its transmission, incompetent translation of the tractate from Greek into Coptic, and weaknesses in the original composition of the text.

Some problems are clearly due to copying mistakes. There is one large dittography due to homoioteleuton (46,20-29) and several cases where one or more lines appear to be missing (see the notes). Some emendations readily suggest themselves (see the notes), but more often one expects corruption without being sure what the original reading might have been.

Even more disconcerting is the likelihood that the translation into Coptic was faulty. As in the case of all other Nag Hammadi tractates, *Paraph. Shem* was translated from Greek. There is an unusual number of Greek words in *Paraph. Shem*, well beyond the number and type that would have been part of the Coptic vernacular. In one case the Greek genitive ending was retained (5,1) and several times the feminine form of the adjective was kept rather than the masculine which one normally finds with Greek adjectives in Coptic. The translator tended to misconstrue the case endings of proper names (see the notes). The instances where object and subject appear to have been switched also appear to be due to mistakes involving case endings. The fact that there are a considerable number of uncommon Greek words could mean that the translator was uncertain about their meaning or did not know the Coptic

equivalent. Since the original Greek is lost one can in most cases not be sure whether the lack of expected meaning is due to mistranslation or to the Greek text on which the translation was based. The fact that there are a number of bad translations among the Nag Hammadi tractates makes it likely that incompetent translation is at least partly at fault.

There can be little doubt that many of the problems the translator and interpreter face go back to original composition in Greek. As the outline indicates, the overall structure shows a number of anomalies. The tractate has three pieces of revelation by Derdekeas' revelation each with a formal ending. The third one (47,32 - 49,9) is particularly odd, since it breaks abruptly into Shem's account of his ascent through the clouds. One might think that this is evidence of the composite nature of the tractate, but a far more likely explanation is that the tractate was not carefully planned and was executed in a haphazard fashion.

Other evidence also point at an amateurish effort at composition. The author used a number of key terms in a confusing fashion. The same word "power" could refer to the Spirit or the Darkness, but also to an aspect of them. On the other hand, different words like "the light" (of the Spirit) and "the power" (of the Spirit) appear to refer to the same thing. There is little stability in terminology. Pronouns are often confusing since the antecedent is ambiguous. Important conjunctions seem to be used arbitrarily. This is especially the case with "for" (γάρ), which frequently introduces a clause which does not explain or illustrate anything in the preceding statement. Some of the many purpose clauses (ἵνα) poorly fit their context, or it is unclear whether they go with the preceding statement or what follows. The colorful imagery used by the author does little to elucidate the topic at hand, but perhaps it was never intended to elucidate. Important and frequent concepts such as mind (νοῦς), thought, faith (πίστις), astonishment (θαῦμα), cloud, nature (φύσις), likeness, fire, wind, form (μορφή) are used in such an odd way that one has little idea what is meant. The object of Derdekeas' saving action is at times the mind of Darkness, or the power of the Spirit, or the light of the Spirit, or simply the Spirit; perhaps these are all the same thing, but one cannot be sure. In the first lengthy revelation of Derdekeas there are six different occasions (6,36ff.; 12,15ff.; 13,35ff.; 15,29ff.; 16,36 and 21,13f.) in which he speaks of his appearance, the last one is called "a second time." One suspects that most refer to the same appearance in chaos or the world, but again certainty is lacking. One can also not assume that Derdekeas' revelation proceeds chronologically, for it appears that it often covers the same ground in somewhat different words.

This means that a reconstruction of the events is hazardous; there is a great danger of trying to make more sense and provide more order than the author intended or the tractate can support. This means also that the translation can only be provisional. Perhaps the outline and the translation provided here have at times already crossed the line of creating meaning and order and sequence where there never was any.

V. Language

Paraph. Shem is written in Sahidic Coptic with only a few forms which are normally associated with Achmimic or Subachmimic dialects. Actually, there are reasons to suspect that most of these are variant phonetic spellings within Sahidic rather than being due to interference of a non-Sahidic dialect. This is true for the *epsilon* to *alpha* shift which in most cases has a phonetic basis to distinguish the *ε*- as preposition or object indicator from the weak vowel value of the supralinear stroke³ (e.g., ⲁⲫ ⲉⲱⲃ) in which case the supralinear stroke is normally absent (e.g., ⲁⲡⲡⲛⲁ, ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲁⲙⲓϥ, ⲁⲛⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ) or before a word starting with *ε* or *εⲓ* (e.g., ⲁⲈⲙⲛⲧⲈ, ⲁⲈⲓⲁⲐⲐⲐⲐ). There are relatively few *plene* spellings (e.g., Ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ for Ⲉⲣⲏⲩ, ⲁⲛⲁⲈⲓ for ⲁⲛⲁⲓ).

The process of Sahidic standardization appears to be more developed in *Paraph. Shem* than in most other Nag Hammadi tractates. This together with the sophisticated and consistently executed articulation marks and supralinear stroke convention supports evidence in the cartonnage of the binding that Codex VII was produced in a Pachomian monastic scriptorium.⁴ This would have been at a time when the Sahidic spelling convention had already reached a high level of standardization and control but before Athanasius' anti-heretical Paschal letter of 367 CE. was enforced in monastic communities in upper Egypt.⁵

VI. History of Religions Context

Paraph. Shem is clearly a Gnostic writing, but its particular sectarian affiliation is difficult to determine. The shared material with *The Paraphrase of Seth* (discussed above) does not help in linking the tractate with one of the Gnostic sects mentioned by the Christian heresiologists. Though Hippolytus thought that *The Paraphrase of Seth* contained the teachings of the Sethians, *Paraph. Shem* has almost nothing in common

³ The article when it precedes a word starting with a consonant is pronounced "ep, et, en" and would in Codex VII normally receive the supralinear stroke.

⁴ See Introduction to Codex VII, p. 1.

⁵ See F. Wisse, "Gnosticism and Monasticism in Egypt," in Aland, *Gnosis*, 431-40.

with the so-called Sethian-Gnostic tractates represented in the Nag Hammadi Codices.⁶

Indeed, there is little or no relationship in content between *Paraph. Shem* and any other Gnostic writings in the Nag Hammadi codices or any of the reports on Gnostic teaching by the heresiologists except for *The Paraphrase of Seth*. The only certain allusions to the Jewish scriptures involve the flood, the tower (of Babel) and the Sodomites. There are at best only faint echoes of the creation story in Genesis. There is no clear case of dependence on the Christian scriptures. It is tempting to see an allusion to Jesus and John the Baptist in 30,4-27, but it is nothing more than a possibility. The polemic against baptism with water may be directed against Christian orthodoxy but need not be. The prominence of faith in the tractate may indicate Christian influence, but the use of the word in *Paraph. Shem* is so peculiar that it is difficult to argue that the meaning presupposes Christian usage. There is also no obvious use of Neoplatonic themes and terminology. It would almost appear that the author deliberately avoided or obscured dependence on the main Hellenistic religious traditions of the late second and third centuries C.E.

Perhaps most promising are the connections between *Paraph. Shem* and Manichaeism. This is evident in the shared use of several concepts, such as "root" for the primeval powers, and "the dark lump" (βῶλος) to which the forms of Nature and the winds and demons will be reduced in the last day and which represents the state in which they were at the beginning (45,14-20). The attack of Darkness and the subsequent bondage and salvation of the light of the Spirit are similar to the struggle between Darkness and Primal Man in the Manichaean myth. In both cases Darkness is associated with fire, wind and water. The armor of Primal Man reminds one of the garments that Derdekeas wears during his descent through the spheres down to chaos. The role of Derdekeas combines some aspects of Primal Man and The Living Spirit in the Manichaean myth.

The differences in detail between *Paraph. Shem* and the Manichaean myth are such that direct dependence of the one on the other is very unlikely. The shared concepts and ideas suggest no more than that both reflect mythological traditions at home in the Persian empire in late antiquity.

⁶ I.e. *Ap. John* (II,1; III,1; IV,1); *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4); *Gos. Eg.* (III,2; IV,2); *Apoc. Adam* (V,5); *Steles Seth* (VII,5); *Zost.* (VIII,1); *Melch.* (IX,1); *Norea* (IX,2); *Marsanes* (X,1); *Allogenes* (XI,3); *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1).

VII. Authorship, Date, and Provenance

The putative "author" of *Paraph. Shem* is hardly anything more than a mythological figure. About the real author of the text we know nothing. On the basis of content an approximate date can be suggested: late second or third century. Its similarities with aspects of Manichaeism might suggest a Syrian or Mesopotamian provenance, but it would be hazardous to claim any certainty on that point.

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 τπαρὰφρασις Ἰσχημ: >>>—
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2 [Τ]παρὰφρασις ἐρωῶπε εἶθε
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 4 σ̅ημ̅ νενταϿβολποϿ ναῖ
 εβολ̅ ἡ̅σι̅ δερδεκεα·ς· κατὰ
 6 ποῶωϣ̅ ἄ̅π̅μεγεθεο̅ς· ἀ
 πα̅μεε̅τε̅ εἶθ̅μα̅ πα̅σω̅μα
 8 τορπ̅τ̅ εβολ̅ ῶ̅ν̅ τα̅γενεα̅· ἀϿ
 ρ̅π̅ ε̅ρ̅ραῖ̅ ἐπ̅δ̅ισ̅ε̅ ἡ̅τ̅κ̅τ̅ι̅ς̅
 10 εϿ̅ρ̅η̅ν̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅σ̅η̅ν̅ ἐπ̅ο̅σ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ παῖ
 ἐρ̅π̅ι̅ρε̅ ε̅ξ̅ἡ̅ το̅ι̅κο̅σ̅μ̅ε̅ν̅η̅ τ̅η̅
 12 ρ̅ς̅ ἄ̅π̅μα̅ ε̅τ̅μα̅α̅σ̅· ἄ̅π̅ι̅να̅σ̅
 ε̅ε̅ι̅νε̅ ἡ̅κα̅ρ̅ ἀ̅λλα̅ ο̅σ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ πε̅·
 14 ἀ̅σ̅ω̅ ἀϿ̅π̅ω̅ϣ̅ ἡ̅σι̅ πα̅μεε̅τε̅
 εβολ̅ ῶ̅μα̅ π̅σω̅μα̅ ἄ̅π̅κα̅κε̅· ῶ̅ω̅ς
 16 εϣ̅ζε̅ ῶ̅ν̅ ο̅σ̅ῶ̅ι̅νη̅β̅· ἀ̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ω̅τ̅μα̅
 ε̅σ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ εϿ̅ζ̅ω̅ ἄ̅μο̅ς̅ ναῖ·
 18 ζ̅ε̅ σ̅η̅μ̅ ἐπ̅ι̅δ̅η̅ ἡ̅τ̅κ̅ ο̅σ̅ε̅βολ̅
 ῶ̅ν̅ ο̅σ̅δ̅σ̅η̅μα̅ι̅ς̅ ἡ̅δ̅κε̅ρα̅ι̅ο̅ς̅·
 20 ἀ̅σ̅ω̅ ἡ̅τ̅κ̅ π̅ϣ̅ρ̅π̅ ἡ̅ϣ̅ω̅πε̅ ῶ̅ι̅
 ζ̅μα̅ π̅κα̅ρ̅· σ̅ω̅τ̅μα̅ ἡ̅κ̅ρ̅νο̅ε̅ι̅

-
- 1,1 The superscript title is based on the incipit of the tractate (1,2-3). The actual paraphrase comes after the first lengthy section of the revelation by Derdekeas to Shem (1,18 - 32,26); it is introduced by the words “this is the paraphrase.” The name Shem is spelled consistently σ̅η̅μ̅.
- 1,4-6 This is the heading of the revelation of Derdekeas to Shem.
- 1,5 The name “Derdekeas” is perhaps based on Aramaic *drdq*’, “male child.”
- 1,6 “The Majesty” appears to be one of the titles of the supreme deity, the Light, and signifies his control over all that happens.
- 1,7-17 The revelation to Shem comes while he is raptured to the top of the created order close to its light source, the sun. Shem’s rapture differs

[1]

The Paraphrase (παράφρασις) of Shem

- 2 [The] paraphrase (παράφρασις) which was about
the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
4 What Derdekeas revealed to me, Shem,
according to (κατά)
6 the will of the Majesty (μέγεθος).
My thought which was in my body (σῶμα)
8 snatched me away from my race (γενεά). It
took me up to the top of creation (κτίσις),
10 which is close to the light
that shone upon the whole area (οἰκουμένη)
12 there. I saw no
earthly likeness, but (ἀλλά) there was light.
14 And my thought separated
from the body (σῶμα) of darkness as (ὡς)
16 though in sleep. I heard
a voice saying to me,
18 "Shem, since (ἐπειδή) you are from
an unmixed (ἀκέραιος) power (δύναμις)
20 and you are the first being upon
the earth, hear and understand (voεῖν)

from that of other apocalypses, e.g. *Hermas*, in that the revelation is only oral and does not include a visual component.

- 1,8 The race is probably the human race rather than the Gnostics.
1:14-15 The body is seen as a hindrance to thought; cf. 34,29-34; 41,6-7; 45,33-34; 47,8-13.
1,17 The voice is that of Derdekeas, the son of the great Light.
1,19 The unmixed power, also called Shem's root, is the unbegotten Spirit, who is one of the three primeval powers.
1,20 This would seem to indicate that Shem rather than Adam is considered the first (human) being on earth. Perhaps a post-diluvian situation is meant here; cf. Gen 10:1.

- 22 $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\psi}\bar{o}\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$
 ετβε $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$
 24 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\psi}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\psi}\bar{o}\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$
 ρη εμπαφoσων̄ εβολ' $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$
 26 $\bar{\pi}$ οσoειν $\bar{\psi}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ οσκακε
 ασω $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}$ οσπ̄να $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ τοσ
 28 μητε' επιδη ατεκνοσνε
 ρε ερρᾱι ετ̄β̄ψε' πᾱι $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{o}$
 30 οπ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ φ̄ρ
 φανεροσ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\nu}$
 32 $\bar{\pi}\bar{\delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ ποσoειν $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}$
 $\bar{\psi}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ εψμερ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$
 34 οσωτ̄μ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ οσλογοσ' $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$
 σοοσρ ερoσν εσειδαο $\bar{\nu}$
 36 οσωτ' ασω πκακε $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{o}$
 β̄
 $\bar{\pi}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ εσ[ν]
 2 πᾱι $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$ ε[τ]
 βαλε $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$ εψστ̄ρτωρ
 4 ασω $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ ετ̄ρ̄ν τοσμητε
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ πε $\bar{\pi}\bar{r}\bar{\mu}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}$ εψ
 6 $\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ τψωμτε $\bar{\nu}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ ρρᾱι $\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$
 8 τοσ οσαασ' ασω $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\beta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}$ ε
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{r}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}$ τοσε̄ι τοσε̄ι $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$
 10 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ π{c}οσoειν
 δε επιδη $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}$ οσνοσ $\bar{\nu}$
 12 $\bar{\delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\theta}\bar{\beta}$
 βιο $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\psi}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$
 14 ζ̄ια' δε $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\psi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}$ εν
 τανρωμαλια δε $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}$

1,28-31

It appears that Shem shares in the forgetfulness of his "root", the unbegotten Spirit.

1,36-2,3

Wind, water and fire are with earth the four basic elements from

22 what I shall say to you first
 concerning the great powers (δύναμις) who
 24 were in existence in the beginning, before
 I appeared. There
 26 was Light and Darkness
 and there was Spirit (πνεῦμα) between
 28 them. Since (ἐπειδή) your root
 fell into forgetfulness, (i.e.) he who was
 30 the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα), I am
 revealing (φανεροῦν) to you the truth (ἀκρίβεια) about
 32 the powers (δύναμις). The Light
 was thought full of
 34 hearing and word (λόγος); they were
 united into one form (εἶδος).
 36 And the Darkness was
 2
 wind in waters, [while]
 2 possessing the mind (νοῦς)
 wrapped in a chaotic fire.
 4 And the Spirit (πνεῦμα) between them
 was a gentle, humble light.
 6 These are the three
 roots. They reigned each in
 8 themselves, alone. And they covered
 each other, each (root) with
 10 its power (δύναμις) . But (δέ) the Light,
 since (ἐπειδή) he possessed a great
 12 power (δύναμις), knew the abasement
 of the Darkness and his disorder (ἀταξία),
 14 namely that the root was not straight.
 And (δέ) the crookedness (ἀνωμαλία) of the Darkness

which the world is made. The mind is held captive by Darkness, also called the putrid or dark root (cf. 2,28; 5,2; 6,5).

2,8-9

The picture is that of three separate layers or concentric circles.

16 ὁ ἡλιοςθεντος δε ἄν πετ
 18 δε ἡγ εἰραῖ ρα τεγκασια· μεγ
 20 κίμ· ἄσω εἶρα ἄπροροϋ ἄγ
 22 ἡρα εἰραῖ επεγτοπος· ἄσω
 24 κε· ἄσω ἄγρσιχανεσθαῖ ἄσω
 26 πιτῆ ἄγναϋ εποθοειν ετε
 28 ερογ εἰτῆ ἄνοϋνε εθοοϋ· εἰ
 30 ἄγπωρξ ἡσι πμοοϋ ἡκακε·
 32 σολε ἡτῆπταῖσοοϋν εθο
 34 ἡλωρξ ερογ δε νεγϣοϋ
 36 κίμ δε ἄμογ ἄγοϋνω εβολ

ⲓ

2 ἡγ ἡσι ποθοειν ἡπῆπῆ· ἡ
 4 ταρεγναϋ ερογ ἄγρ θαϋμα·
 6 δεσναμικ ροσε ερογ· ἡταρεγ
 8 κακε ἡναρῆ ἡπῆ· ἄγρ τκαϋ·
 10 ἄσω εἰραῖ εἰ πεγρ τκαϋ ἄγρ
 12 σε ἡπεγνοϋε εἰραῖ επζικε·
 14 ἡἡμελοϋ ἡπκακε· παῖ μεγ

2,16-17

Cf. *Ap. John* II 11,21-22; 13,5-13.

2,17-18

See 10,5-8 which indicates that the Darkness was not able to restrain his evil.

2,18

"restrain," literally "bear up under."

2,23

Cf. Gen 1:2 where the Spirit moves over the waters of chaos.

2,24

Read *κίμχανεσθαῖ*.

16 was lack of perception (ἀναίσθητος) , namely (the illusion that) there
 is no one
 above him. And (δέ) as long as he was able
 18 to restrain his evil (κακία), he was
 covered with the water. And he
 20 stirred. And the Spirit (πνεῦμα) was frightened
 by the sound. He lifted himself
 22 up to his station (τόπος), and
 he saw a great, dark water.
 24 And he was nauseated (σικχαίνεσθαι). And
 the thought of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) stared
 26 down; he saw the infinite Light,
 but (δέ) he went unnoticed (ἀμελεῖν)
 28 by the putrid root.
 And (δέ) by the will of the great Light
 30 the dark water separated.
 And the Darkness came up
 32 wrapped in vile ignorance,
 and (δέ) (this was) in order that the mind (νοῦς)
 34 might separate from him because he prided
 himself in it.
 36 And (δέ) when he (i.e., Darkness) had moved
 3
 the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) appeared to him.
 2 When he saw it he was astonished (θαῦμα).
 He did not know that another
 4 Power (δύναμις) was above him. And (δέ) when he
 saw that his likeness was
 6 dark compared with the Spirit (πνεῦμα), he felt hurt.
 And in his hurt he lifted up
 8 above the height
 of the members (μέλος) of Darkness his mind (νοῦς) which

2,25-26 The Spirit would have to look up to see the Light. One expects the
 text to read: he was seen by the infinite Light.
 2,30 These are the waters mentioned in 2,19.
 2,33-34 The purpose of the Light is to liberate the mind from Darkness (cf.
 4,8-10; 6,3-6).

10 ψροοπ ν̄βαλ̄ ἄπ̄σῑψ̄ε̄ ν̄τ̄κα
 σ̄ια· ἀφ̄τρεπεφ̄νοσ̄ς ζ̄ι ε̄ῑνε
 12 ὅ̄ν̄ ο̄σ̄μελος̄ ἡ̄ν̄ἄ̄μερος̄ ἄπ̄
 π̄ν̄ᾶ· ε̄ς̄·μεε̄σ̄ε̄ ζ̄ε̄ ε̄φ̄ε̄ῑαρ̄μ̄
 14 ἡ̄σᾱ τεφ̄κᾱσ̄ια· ζ̄ε̄ φ̄νᾱσ̄ᾶ̄σ̄ᾱμ̄
 ἀψ̄ωψ̄ ἄπ̄π̄ν̄ᾶ· ἀλλ̄ᾱ ἄπ̄εφ̄
 16 ε̄ψ̄ σ̄ᾶ̄σ̄ᾱμ̄· νεφ̄οσ̄ωψ̄ γ̄αρ̄ ἀρ̄
 ο̄σ̄ζ̄ωβ̄ ἡ̄ᾱτ̄σ̄ᾱμ̄· ἀσ̄ω ἄπ̄εφ̄
 18 ψ̄ωπε· ψ̄ῑνᾱ δε̄ ζ̄ε̄ νεφ̄οσ̄
 ω̄σ̄ψ̄ ἡ̄σ̄ῑ π̄νοσ̄ς̄ ἄπ̄κ̄ᾱκε· ε̄
 20 τε π̄βαλ̄ πε̄ ἄπ̄σῑψ̄ε̄ ν̄τ̄κᾱσ̄ια·
 ἐπ̄ιδ̄η̄ ἀσ̄κᾱᾱψ̄ ὅ̄ν̄ ο̄σ̄ε̄ῑνε̄ ἀ
 22 πο̄μερος̄· ἀφ̄ζ̄ῑσε̄ ἀσ̄ω ἀφ̄ρ̄οσ̄
 ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ ὅ̄ν̄ ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ ἡ̄κ̄ω̄ρ̄τ̄ ε̄ζ̄ἡ̄
 24 ε̄μ̄ἡ̄τε̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄ψ̄· ζ̄ε̄κᾱᾱς̄ ε̄φ̄νᾱ
 σ̄ω̄λ̄π̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ἡ̄σ̄ῑ π̄ψ̄ωψ̄ ἄπ̄οσ̄
 26 ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ ἄ·ἀ̄τ̄ψ̄τα· ἀφ̄ρ̄ω̄φ̄ε̄λεῑ
 γ̄αρ̄ ἡ̄σ̄ῑ π̄ν̄ᾶ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ὅ̄ν̄ ε̄ῑδ̄ο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ῑμ̄
 28 ἡ̄τε̄ π̄κᾱκε· ε̄βο̄λ̄ ζ̄ε̄ ἀφ̄οσ̄
 ω̄ἡ̄ρ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ὅ̄μ̄ πεφ̄με̄γε̄θ̄ο̄ς̄·
 30 ἀσ̄ω ἀφ̄σ̄ω̄λ̄π̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ἡ̄σ̄ῑ πο̄σο̄
 ε̄ῑν̄ ε̄τ̄ζ̄ο̄σε̄ ε̄τε̄ ἄμ̄ἡ̄τ̄ψ̄ ἀ
 32 ρ̄η̄ζ̄ψ̄· νεφ̄ψ̄ροοπ̄ γ̄αρ̄ ὅ̄ν̄ ο̄σ̄
 νο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ρᾱψ̄ε̄· ἀφ̄οσ̄ωψ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄
 34 ἡ̄ψ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ἄπ̄π̄ν̄ᾶ· ἀσ̄ω π̄ῑνε̄
 ἄπ̄οσ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ ε̄τ̄ζ̄ο̄σε̄ ἀφ̄οσ̄ω
 36 ἡ̄ρ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ἄπ̄π̄ν̄ᾶ̄ ἡ̄ᾱγε̄ν̄η̄η̄τον̄

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- 3,10 The point appears to be that the mind has no part in the evil of Darkness. Hippolytus (*Ref.* 5.19.7) attests the use of “eye” in Sethian cosmology.
- 3,13 The text reads the 3rd pers. pl. ε̄σ̄μεε̄σ̄ε̄ rather than the 3rd pers. sg. It is unclear whether the pronouns in 3,13-15 refer to the mind or to Darkness.
- 3,15 The text was corrected from ψ̄ωψ̄ ἄπ̄ “be equal to” to ψ̄ωψ̄ ἡ̄ “make equal.”

- 10 was the eye of the bitterness of evil (κακία).
 He caused his mind (νοῦς) to take on form
 12 in a member (μέλος) of the parts of the
 Spirit (πνεῦμα), thinking that, by staring
 14 at his evil (κακία), he would be able
 to make the Spirit (πνεῦμα) equal (to himself). But (ἀλλά) he
 16 was not able. For (γάρ) he wanted to do
 an impossible thing, and it did not
 18 take place. But (δέ) in order that (ἵνα)
 the mind (νοῦς) of the Darkness, which
 20 is the eye of the bitterness of evil (κακία), might not be destroyed—
 since (ἐπειδή) he was made partially (ἀπὸ μέρους) similar—
 22 he arose and shone
 with a fiery light upon
 24 all of Hades, in order that
 the equality of the faultless Light
 26 might become apparent. For (γάρ) the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 benefitted (ώφελεῖν) from every form (εἶδος)
 28 of the Darkness because he appeared
 in his majesty (μέγεθος).
 30 And the exalted, infinite Light
 appeared,
 32 for (γάρ) he was
 very joyful. He wished to reveal
 34 himself to the Spirit (πνεῦμα). And the likeness
 of the exalted Light appeared
 36 to the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).

-
- 3,19-20 or: "might not be idle."
 3,21 Partially similar to the Spirit?
 3,21-22 See 4,10-12.
 3,24 Hades is the realm of Darkness.
 3,24-25 It appears that the "equality of the faultless Light" is identical with
 the "likeness of the exalted Light" (3,34-35) which is the revealer
 Derdekeas (4,1-4).
 3,26-28 The Spirit is the unintended beneficiary of the actions of Darkness.
 3,28-29 The subject of the verb appears to be the infinite Light.

Δ
 ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕΙΟΤΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΔΗ[ΟΚ]
 2 ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΑΠΟΤΟΕΙΝ Ν̄
 ΝΑΤ̄ΔΩΩ̄Μ̄ ΕΤΕ ΑΜ̄ΗΤΕΥ Δ
 4 ΡΗΔ̄Ῡ ΔΕΙΟΤΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄Μ̄ ΠΙ
 ΝΕ ΑΠ̄Π̄Ν̄Α ΔΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΤΑ
 6 ΚΤΙΝ ΑΠΟΤΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ
 ΔΤΩ ΠΕΥΟΤΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΝΑΪ
 8 ΨΙΝΑ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΡ̄Ω̄ΣΠΟΜΙΝΕ Ν̄
 ΣΙ ΠΝΟΤ̄Σ ΑΠ̄ΚΑΚΕ Ω̄ΝΗ ΕΜ̄Η
 10 ΤΕ ΔΛΚΑΚΕ ΓΑΡ Τ̄ΝΤΩΝ̄Ῡ ΑΠ̄Ῡ
 ΝΟΤ̄Σ Ω̄ΝΗ ΟΤ̄ΜΕΡΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕ Ν̄
 12 ΜΕΛΟΣ ΔΝΟΚ ΣΗΕΜ Ν̄ΤΑΡ̄ῩΟΤ̄
 Ω̄ΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄ΡΑΪ Ν̄ΩΗΤ̄Ῡ ΨΙΝΑ Ε
 14 ΡΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΑΡ̄ΚΑΚΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΟΤ̄ΑΔΥ
 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΤ̄ΩΨ ΑΠ̄ΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ
 16 ΔΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΡΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΑΡ̄ ΑΡΓΟΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄Ν̄ ΕΙΔΟΣ ΝΙΜ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΔΤ̄
 18 ΝΑΜΙΣ ΤΑΪ ΝΕΤ̄ΝΤΑῩΣ ΔΥΩΚ
 ΑΠ̄ΚΩΩ̄Τ̄ ΕΤ̄ΨΤ̄ΡΤΩΡ ΠΑΪ ΝΕΥ
 20 ΒΟΛΕ ΑΜΟΟΤ̄ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΝΟΤ̄Σ Ω̄Ν̄
 ΤΜΗΤΕ ΑΠ̄ΚΑΚΕ ΑΜ̄ ΠΜΟΟΤ̄
 22 ΔΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΠ̄ΜΟΟΤ̄
 ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΟΤ̄ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΔΤΩ Ε
 24 ΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄Ν̄ ΤΕΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΔΤΑΤΕ ΔΙ ΕΙ
 ΝΕ ΔΠ̄ΚΩΩ̄Τ̄ ΕΤ̄ΨΤ̄ΡΤΩΡ
 26 ΒΩΚ ΕΜΑΤ̄ ΠΑΪ ΝΕΥΨΩΟΠ
 ΑΠ̄ΛΑΝΗ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΔΕ
 28 ΝΑΤ̄ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΥΨΩΠΕ Ω̄Ν̄ ΟΤ̄Α
 ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΑ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΥΡ̄ΤΑΡΑΣ
 30 ΣΕ ΔΕ ΑΠ̄ΜΟΟΤ̄ ΔΥΩΪ Ν̄ΤΜΗ
 ΤΡΑ ΔΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΥΝΟΤ̄Σ
 32 ΕΠ̄Τ̄Ν̄ ΕΝΒΑΘΟΣ Ν̄Τ̄Φ̄ΟΤ̄ΣΙΣ
 ΔΥΤΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΤΔΤ̄ΝΑΜΙΣ Α

4,4-5

4,5

4,7

or: "likeness of the Spirit"; "to the Spirit" is supported by 3,33-34. or "of the Spirit."

The expected meaning is "my appearance to him (the Spirit)."

4
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4:2

4:8-21

4
 I appeared. [I]
 2 am the son of the
 incorruptible, infinite Light.
 4 I appeared in the likeness
 to the Spirit (πνεῦμα), for (γάρ) I am the ray (ἄκτιν)
 6 of the universal (καθολικόν) Light.
 And his appearance to me (was)
 8 in order (ἵνα) that the mind (νοῦς)
 of the Darkness might not remain (ὑπομένειν) in Hades.
 10 For (γάρ) the Darkness made himself like his
 mind (νοῦς) in a part (μέρος) of the
 12 members (μέλος). When I, (O) Shem, appeared
 in it (i.e., the likeness), in order that (ἵνα)
 14 the Darkness might become dark to himself,
 according to (κατά) the will of the Majesty (μέγεθος), and
 16 in order that the Darkness might become devoid (ἄργόν)
 of every aspect (εἶδος) of the power (δύναμις)
 18 which he possessed,
 the mind (νοῦς) drew aside the chaotic fire which
 20 covered them, in
 the midst of the Darkness and the water.
 22 And out of the Darkness the water
 became a cloud, and from
 24 the cloud the womb took shape.
 The chaotic fire
 26 which was a deviation (πλάνη) went there.
 And (δέ) when the Darkness
 28 saw it (i.e., the womb) he became unchaste (ἄκαθαρσία).
 And (δέ) when he had stirred up (ταράσσειν)
 30 the water, he rubbed the womb (μήτρα).
 His mind (νοῦς) dissolved
 32 down to the depths (βάθος) of Nature (φύσις).
 It mingled with the power (δύναμις) of

4,12 It seems best to consider **СНЕМ** vocative here rather than in apposition to **ΔΝΟΚ**.

4,18-21 Cf. 5,30-34.

34 ΠΣΠΥΕ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥΠΩΖ
 ΝΣΙ ΠΕΣΒΑΛ ΘΝ ΤΠΟΗΡΓΑ'

36 ΖΕΚΑΔΑC ΠΝΕCΣΩΤ{Ε} ΕΖΠΟ
 ΜΠΝΟΘC' ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΥΨΟ

Ε

[Ο]Π ΝCΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΤΦΘCΕΩC'

2 ΕΒΟΛ ΘΝ ΤΝΟΘΝΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ'
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΦΘCΙC ΖΙ ΕΡΟC

4 ΜΠΝΟΘC ΘΝ ΤΔΘΝΑΜΙC ΝΚΑ
 ΚΕ' ΔΕΙΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ CΜΟΤ ΘΡΑΙ'

6 ΝΘΗΤC' ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΡΕΠΚΑΚΕ
 ΖΠΟ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΝΟΘC'

8 ΑΥΤΗΤΩΝΥ ΑΠΠΝΑ' ΑΤΦΘ
 CΙC ΓΑΡ ΤΩΝ ΖΕ ΕCΝΑΤΑΘΝΕΥ

10 ΜΠΕCΘΜΘΑΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΕ ΝΕΜΝ
 ΤΕC ΜΟΡΦΗ ΜΜΑΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠ

12 ΚΑΚΕ' ΔCΖΠΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΘΝ ΤΚΛΟ
 ΟΛΕ' ΑΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΔΕ Ρ ΟΘΟΕΙΝ

14 ΑΘΝΟΘC ΟΘΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΗ
 ΤC' ΝΘΕ ΝΘΘΚΩΘΤ ΝΘΡΤΕ

16 ΕΥΡΒΛΑΠΤΕΙ ΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΝΑCCE
 ΕΘΟΘΝ ΕΘΡΜ ΠΝΑ ΝΑΓΕΝΝΗ

18 ΤΟΝ' ΕΠΕΙ ΝΕΘΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΘ
 ΝΘΘΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΗΤΥ' ΖΕΚΑ

20 ΔC ΕCΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕCΨΘΘΕΙΤ
 ΝCΙ ΤΦΘCΙC ΑΠΚΩΘΤ ΕΤΨΤΡ

22 ΤΩΡ' ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΘΝΟΘ ΑΤΦΘ
 CΙC ΠΩΡΞ ΕΥΤΟΟΘ ΜΜΕΡΟC'

24 ΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΨΨΒΒΙ
 ΟΕΙΤ ΘΜ ΠΟΘΕΙΝΕ' ΑΘΜΟΘ

26 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΘ ΖΕ ΘΘΜΗΝ' ΧΟΡΙΟΝ'
 ΔΘΝΑΜΙC' ΠΜΟΟΘ' ΝΕΥΨΟ

28 ΟΠ ΔΕ ΝCΙ ΦΘΜΗΝ' ΜΝ ΠΧΟ
 ΡΙΟΝ' ΜΝ ΤΔΘΝΑΜΙC ΝΚΩ

4,35

Perhaps the "eye" (or "outside") of the womb, or of Nature (cf. 5,3-4).

4,36

Ms reads ΩΤΕ Ε- perhaps due to dittography.

4,37

ΝΤΟΥ ("it") refers most likely to the mind, its nearest antecedent.

- 34 the bitterness of Darkness. And
 its eye ruptured at the wickedness (πονηρία)
 36 in order that she might not again bring forth
 the mind (νοῦς). For (γάρ) it existed
 5
 as a seed (σπέρμα) of Nature (φύσεως)
 2 from the dark root.
 And when Nature (φύσις) had taken to herself
 4 the mind (νοῦς) by means of the dark power (δύναμις),
 every likeness took shape
 6 in her. And when the Darkness
 had acquired the likeness of the mind (νοῦς),
 8 it became like the Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 For (γάρ) Nature (φύσις) rose up to expel it;
 10 she was powerless against it, since
 she did not have a form (μορφή) from the
 12 Darkness. For (γάρ) he brought it forth in the cloud.
 And (δέ) the cloud shone.
 14 A mind (νοῦς) appeared in
 it like a frightful, harmful (βλάπτειν) fire.
 16 It (i.e., the mind) collided (ἐντινάσσειν)
 against the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα),
 18 since (ἐπεί) it possessed
 a likeness from him, in order that
 20 Nature (φύσις) might become empty
 of the chaotic fire.
 22 And immediately Nature (φύσις)
 was divided into four parts (μέρος).
 24 They became clouds which varied
 in their appearance. They were called
 26 Hymen (ὑμήν), Afterbirth (χόριον),
 Power (δύναμις), (and) Water.
 28 And (δέ) the Hymen (ὑμήν) and the Afterbirth (χόριον)
 and the Power (δύναμις) were

5,1 The retention of the Greek genitive is unusual in Coptic.
 5,6-7 See 4,10-11.
 5,24 The clouds appear to be cosmic membranes.

30 ρ̄τ̄ ε̄σ̄ψ̄τ̄ρ̄τ̄ω̄ρ̄· ᾱσ̄ω̄ ε̄σ̄
 σ̄ω̄κ̄ μ̄μ̄ο̄γ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ρ̄̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄η̄τ̄ε̄
 32 μ̄π̄κ̄ᾱκ̄ε̄ μ̄̄ν̄ π̄μ̄ο̄ο̄σ̄· ζ̄ε̄ ν̄ε̄
 ρ̄ε̄π̄ν̄ο̄σ̄ς̄ ρ̄̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄η̄τ̄ε̄ ḡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄
 34 σ̄ῑς̄ μ̄̄ν̄ τ̄ᾱδ̄σ̄ν̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄ ḡ̄κ̄ᾱκ̄ε̄·
 ψ̄ῑν̄ᾱ ζ̄ε̄ ν̄ο̄σ̄κ̄ο̄λ̄λᾱ ε̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄ ḡ̄
 36 σ̄ῑ ḡ̄μ̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ ε̄τ̄ρ̄β̄ᾱλ̄π̄τ̄ε̄ῑ
 5
 ε̄τ̄β̄ε̄ π̄ᾱί̄ ᾱσ̄π̄ω̄ρ̄ζ̄ ḡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄[ῑς̄]
 2 κ̄ᾱτ̄ᾱ π̄ᾱο̄σ̄ω̄ψ̄· ζ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱᾱς̄ ε̄
 ρ̄ε̄π̄ν̄ο̄σ̄ς̄ ν̄ᾱν̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ρ̄γ̄ ε̄ρ̄ᾱί̄
 4 ε̄τ̄ε̄γ̄δ̄σ̄ν̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄ τ̄ᾱί̄ ḡ̄τ̄ᾱς̄ᾱῑ
 τ̄ε̄ ḡ̄τ̄ο̄ο̄τ̄γ̄ ḡ̄σ̄ῑ τ̄ν̄ο̄σ̄ν̄ε̄ ḡ̄κ̄ᾱ
 6 κ̄ε̄· τ̄ᾱί̄ ε̄ρ̄τ̄ω̄ρ̄ ḡ̄μ̄μ̄ᾱγ̄· ᾱσ̄ω̄
 ᾱσ̄ο̄σ̄ω̄ν̄ρ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ρ̄̄ν̄ ρ̄̄ᾱί̄ ρ̄̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄η̄
 8 τ̄ρ̄ᾱ· ᾱσ̄ω̄ ρ̄̄μ̄ π̄μ̄ε̄ρ̄ῑς̄μ̄ο̄ς̄ ḡ̄τ̄
 φ̄σ̄ς̄ῑς̄ ᾱσ̄π̄ω̄ρ̄ζ̄ ε̄τ̄δ̄σ̄ν̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄
 10 ḡ̄κ̄ᾱκ̄ε̄· ε̄σ̄ḡ̄τ̄ᾱς̄ μ̄μ̄ᾱσ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄
 ρ̄̄μ̄ π̄ν̄ο̄σ̄ς̄· ᾱγ̄μ̄ο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄ ρ̄̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄η̄
 12 τ̄ε̄ ḡ̄τ̄ᾱδ̄σ̄ν̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄ π̄ᾱί̄ ν̄ε̄γ̄ψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄
 μ̄μ̄ε̄σ̄ο̄τ̄η̄ς̄ ḡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ῑς̄· π̄π̄ḡ̄
 14 δ̄ε̄ ḡ̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ ḡ̄τ̄ᾱρ̄ε̄π̄ν̄ο̄σ̄ς̄ ρ̄
 β̄ᾱρ̄ε̄ῑ μ̄μ̄ο̄γ̄ ᾱγ̄ρ̄ θ̄ᾱσ̄μ̄ᾱ· τ̄ᾱδ̄
 16 ν̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄ δ̄ε̄ μ̄π̄ε̄γ̄θ̄ᾱσ̄μ̄ᾱ· ᾱς̄
 ν̄ο̄σ̄ο̄σ̄ρ̄ μ̄π̄β̄ᾱρ̄ο̄ς̄· ᾱσ̄ω̄ ᾱγ̄
 18 ν̄ο̄σ̄ρ̄γ̄ ε̄ρ̄ᾱί̄ ε̄τ̄ε̄γ̄ρ̄μ̄μ̄ε̄· ᾱγ̄
 † ρ̄ί̄ω̄ω̄γ̄ μ̄π̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ μ̄π̄π̄ḡ̄·
 20 ᾱσ̄ω̄ ḡ̄τ̄ᾱρ̄ε̄ς̄κ̄ῑμ̄ ḡ̄σ̄ῑ τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ῑς̄
 ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ρ̄̄ν̄ τ̄ᾱδ̄σ̄ν̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄ μ̄π̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄
 22 μ̄π̄π̄ḡ̄· ᾱγ̄ν̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ρ̄γ̄ ḡ̄σ̄ῑ π̄β̄ᾱρ̄ο̄ς̄·
 π̄θ̄ᾱσ̄μ̄ᾱ δ̄ε̄ μ̄π̄(θ̄ᾱσ̄μ̄ᾱ)ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄
 24 ᾱγ̄ν̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ρ̄ μ̄π̄β̄ᾱρ̄ο̄ς̄· ᾱγ̄ρ̄κ̄ο̄λ̄
 λ̄ᾱ ε̄τ̄κ̄λ̄ο̄ο̄λ̄ε̄ μ̄φ̄σ̄μ̄η̄ν̄· ᾱσ̄ω̄

6,8-18

The antecedents of the pronouns are unclear; the feminine pronouns could refer to either the root, or the power, or nature, and the masculine pronouns could refer to either the mind, or the Spirit, or

30 chaotic fires. And
 it (i.e., the mind) was drawn from the midst
 32 of the darkness and the water—since
 the mind (νοῦς) was in the midst of Nature (φύσις)
 34 and the dark power (δύναμις)—
 in order that (ἵνα) the harmful (βλάπτειν) waters
 36 might not cling (κολλᾶν) to it.
 6
 Because of this, Nature (φύσις) was divided,
 2 according to (κατὰ) my will, in order that
 the mind (νοῦς) may return
 4 to its power (δύναμις) which the
 dark root, which was mixed
 6 with it (i.e., the mind), had taken from it. And
 it (i.e., the dark root) appeared in the womb (μήτρα).
 8 And at the division (μερισμός) of
 Nature (φύσις) it (i.e., the dark root) separated from the dark power
 (δύναμις)
 10 which it possessed from
 the mind (νοῦς). It (i.e., the mind) went into the midst
 12 of the power (δύναμις)—this was
 the middle region (μεσότης) of Nature (φύσις). And (δέ) the Spirit
 (πνεῦμα)
 14 of light, when the mind (νοῦς)
 burdened (βαρεῖν) him, was astonished (θαῦμα).
 16 And (δέ) the force (δυναμίς) of his astonishment (θαῦμα)
 cast off the burden (βάρος). And it
 18 returned to its freight. It
 put on the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 20 And when Nature (φύσις) moved
 away from the power (δύναμις) of the light
 22 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα), the burden (βάρος) returned.
 And the astonishment (θαῦμα) of the light (again)
 24 cast off the burden (βάρος). It clung (κολλᾶν)
 to the cloud of the Hymen (ὑμήν). And

the Astonishment, or the burden.

6,23

Ms reads “of the astonishment - light” perhaps due to dittography;
 the emendation is supported by 7,5-6.

26 αηκλοολε τηροϑ̄ ᾤπκακε
ωϣ̄ εβολ̄ ηαῖ̄ ερπωρ̄ζ̄ εᾱμ̄η̄
28 τε̄ ετβε̄ τδ̄σ̄ηαμ̄ις̄ ἡ̄αλλο
τριον̄ π̄π̄η̄ᾱ ἡ̄οσ̄οεῑη̄ πε̄ ερεῑ
30 ἡ̄ρη̄τοϑ̄· ᾱτω ρ̄μ̄ ποσ̄ωϣ̄ ᾤ
π̄μεγε̄εθος̄ ᾱπ̄η̄η̄ᾱ ειωρ̄μ̄ ε
32 ρ̄ραῖ̄ ε̄ποσ̄οεῑη̄ ε̄τε ᾤ̄μ̄η̄τεϥ̄
ᾱρη̄ζ̄ϥ̄ ζ̄εκᾱᾱς̄ ε̄ση̄η̄ᾱ η̄
34 πεϥοσ̄οεῑη̄· ᾱτω ᾱσ̄εῑη̄ε̄ ᾤ
π̄ῑη̄ε̄ ερ̄ραῖ̄ ρ̄η̄ ε̄μ̄η̄τε̄· ᾱτω
36 ἡ̄τᾱρεῑη̄η̄ᾱ σ̄ωϣ̄η̄τ̄ αῖ̄ρη̄ε̄ε̄

3

εβολ̄ ᾱνοκ̄ π̄ϣ̄η̄ρη̄ ᾤπ̄μη̄ε̄
2 γε̄θος̄ ἡ̄θε̄ ἡ̄η̄ιρ̄ᾱμ̄ ἡ̄οσ̄οεῑη̄·
ᾱτω ἡ̄θε̄ ἡ̄οσ̄ρη̄ᾱτη̄σ̄ ᾤπ̄η̄η̄ᾱ
4 ἡ̄αθᾱ·η̄ᾱ·τον̄· ᾱτω ᾱεῑη̄ιγ̄ε̄ ρ̄η̄
τ̄κ̄λοο̄λε ᾤ̄φ̄σ̄μη̄η̄ ε̄ζ̄μ̄ π̄θᾱσ̄
6 μᾱ ᾤπ̄η̄η̄ᾱ ἡ̄ᾱγε̄η̄η̄η̄τον̄· ᾱς̄
π̄ωρ̄ζ̄ ᾱς̄ρ̄ ο̄σ̄οεῑη̄ ε̄η̄κ̄λοο̄λε·
8 ᾱηαῖ̄ π̄ωρ̄ζ̄ ζ̄εκᾱᾱς̄ εϥ̄η̄ᾱη̄ο
ο̄σ̄ρ̄η̄ ἡ̄ς̄ῑ π̄η̄η̄ᾱ· ε̄τβε̄ παῖ̄ ᾱπ̄η̄οϑ̄ς̄
10 ζ̄ῑ ε̄ῑη̄ε̄· ᾱσ̄ᾱζ̄η̄ τεϥ̄ᾱη̄ᾱπᾱσ̄
ς̄ις̄· φ̄σ̄μη̄η̄ τ̄αρ̄ ἡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ις̄
12 η̄εϥ̄η̄οο̄π̄ ἡ̄κ̄λοο̄λε ε̄μᾱσ̄η̄ ᾱ
μᾱρη̄τε ᾤ̄μ̄ος̄· ο̄σ̄κ̄ω̄η̄τ̄ ε̄η̄ᾱ
14 ἣ̄ωϥ̄ πε̄ ρ̄ομ̄οῑω̄ς̄ π̄χ̄ορη̄ον̄
ἡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ις̄· τ̄κ̄λοο̄λε ᾤ̄π̄κα
16 ρ̄ωϥ̄ πε̄ ο̄σ̄κ̄ω̄η̄τ̄ ἡ̄ς̄ε̄μ̄η̄ον̄
πε̄· ᾱτω τδ̄σ̄ηαμ̄ις̄ ε̄τ̄τη̄ρ̄
18 ᾤ̄η̄ π̄η̄οϑ̄ς̄· ᾱτω η̄εταῖ̄ ἣ̄ω̄
ο̄π̄ ἡ̄κ̄λοο̄λε ἡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ις̄· ταῖ̄
20 ἡ̄τᾱσ̄τᾱτ̄ς̄ ᾤ̄η̄ π̄κακε̄· παῖ̄
ερ̄ϣ̄τορ̄τ̄ρ̄ ἡ̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ις̄ ερ̄ραῖ̄
22 ε̄σ̄ᾱκᾱθᾱρ̄ς̄ῑᾱ· π̄μ̄οϑ̄ς̄̄ δε̄ ἡ̄
κακε̄ η̄εϥ̄η̄οο̄π̄ ἡ̄οσ̄κ̄λοο̄

26 all the clouds of Darkness
 cried out, they who had separated from Hades,
 28 because of the alien (ἀλλότριον) Power (δύναμις).
 He is the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of light who has come
 30 among them. And by the will of
 the Majesty (μέγεθος) the Spirit (πνεῦμα) gazed up
 32 at the infinite Light,
 in order that
 34 his light may be pitied and
 the likeness be brought up from Hades. And
 36 when the Spirit (πνεῦμα) had looked, I flowed
 7
 out—I, the son of the Majesty (μέγεθος)—
 2 like a wave of bright light
 and like a whirlwind of the
 4 immortal (ἀθάνατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα). And I blew from
 the cloud of the Hymen (ὑμήν) upon the Astonishment (θαῦμα)
 6 of the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα). It
 (i.e., the cloud) separated and cast light upon the clouds.
 8 These separated in order that
 the Spirit (πνεῦμα) might return. Because of this the mind (νοῦς)
 10 took shape. Its repose (ἀνάπαυσις) was brought to an end.
 For (γάρ) the Hymen (ὑμήν) of Nature (φύσις)
 12 was a cloud which cannot be
 grasped; it is a great fire.
 14 Similarly (ὁμοίως), the Afterbirth (χόριον)
 of Nature (φύσις) is the cloud of silence;
 16 it is an august (σεμνόν) fire.
 And the Power (δύναμις) which was mixed
 18 with the mind (νοῦς), it, too, was
 a cloud of Nature (φύσις) which
 20 was joined with the Darkness that
 had aroused Nature (φύσις)
 22 to unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία). And (δέ) the dark water
 was a frightful cloud.

24 λε ν̄ο̄ρτε· ᾱτω ν̄ετνο̄σνε
 ν̄τφ̄σσις ε̄τ̄μ̄π̄σα μ̄πιτ̄ν
 26 σο̄ο̄σ· ε̄σ̄ρ̄βᾱρε̄ις̄θᾱι ᾱτω
 ε̄σ̄ρ̄β̄λᾱπ̄τε̄ι τ̄νο̄σνε νε̄ς
 28 ο̄ ν̄β̄λ̄λη ν̄τ̄μ̄ πο̄σο̄ειν μ̄μ̄ρ̄
 ρ̄ε ε̄μ̄πο̄σ̄ω̄ σ̄ν ρ̄ατ̄ϗ̄· εν̄
 30 τᾱσ̄κᾱᾱϗ̄ ρ̄ν ρ̄ᾱρ μ̄π̄ρο̄σω̄πο̄ν
 ᾱνο̄κ δε̄ ᾱεῑψ̄ν ρ̄τ̄η̄ι ε̄ζ̄μ̄
 32 πο̄σο̄ειν μ̄π̄π̄ν̄α· πᾱῑ ν̄τᾱϗ̄ς̄ι
 τ̄ϗ̄ ν̄σῑ π̄νο̄σ· ᾱεῑνο̄σ̄ρ̄τ̄
 34 ε̄ρ̄ρᾱῑ ε̄τᾱθ̄ε̄σις̄ ε̄τρᾱσο̄π
 σ̄π̄ μ̄πο̄σο̄ειν ε̄τ̄ζ̄ο̄ϗ̄ [ε̄τ]
 Η̄
 ε̄ μ̄ν̄τε̄ϗ̄ ᾱρ̄η̄ζ̄ϗ̄· ζ̄ε̄κᾱᾱ[ς̄ ε̄]
 2 ρ̄ε̄τ̄ᾱσ̄νᾱμ̄ις̄ μ̄π̄π̄ν̄ᾱ νᾱᾱϗ̄[ε̄]
 ρ̄ῑζ̄μ̄ π̄το̄πο̄ς· ᾱτω ν̄ς̄μο̄σ̄[ρ̄]
 4 ν̄ο̄σ̄ω̄ ν̄ζ̄ω̄ρ̄μ̄ ν̄κᾱκε· ᾱτω
 ε̄βο̄λ ρ̄ν̄η̄ ο̄σ̄τ̄β̄βο· πε̄ζ̄ᾱῑ ζ̄ε̄
 6 ν̄το̄κ πε̄ τ̄νο̄σνε μ̄πο̄σο̄ειν·
 πε̄κ̄σ̄χη̄μᾱ ε̄θ̄η̄π̄ ᾱϗ̄ο̄σ̄ω̄ν̄ρ̄
 8 ε̄βο̄λ· πε̄τ̄ζ̄ο̄σε̄ πε̄τε̄μ̄ν̄τε̄ϗ̄
 ᾱρ̄η̄ζ̄ϗ̄· τ̄ᾱσ̄νᾱμ̄ις̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄ς̄ ν̄τε̄
 10 π̄ν̄ᾱ μᾱρ̄ε̄σ̄ϗ̄ω̄ϗ̄· ᾱτω ν̄ς̄μο̄σ̄ρ̄
 ρ̄μ̄ πε̄σο̄σο̄ειν· πο̄σο̄ειν ε̄τε̄
 12 μ̄μ̄ν̄τε̄ϗ̄ ᾱρ̄η̄ζ̄ϗ̄· ϗ̄νᾱϗ̄ ρ̄ω̄τ̄ρ̄
 ᾱν μ̄ν̄ π̄ν̄ᾱ ν̄ᾱγε̄ν̄νη̄το̄ν· ᾱτω
 14 τ̄ᾱσ̄νᾱμ̄ις̄ μ̄π̄θ̄ᾱσ̄μᾱ νᾱϗ̄ τ̄ω̄ρ̄
 ᾱν μ̄ν̄ τ̄φ̄σ̄σις̄ κᾱτᾱ πο̄σ̄ω̄ϗ̄
 16 μ̄π̄με̄γε̄θο̄ς· ᾱσ̄ζ̄ῑ ν̄τᾱπ̄ρο̄ς̄
 ε̄σ̄χη̄ ν̄το̄ο̄τ̄· ᾱτω ᾱσ̄ω̄τ̄μ̄
 18 ε̄π̄ρ̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ μ̄π̄λο̄το̄ς̄ ε̄ϗ̄ζ̄ω̄ μ̄
 μο̄ς̄ ε̄βο̄λ ρ̄ῑτ̄μ̄ π̄με̄γε̄θο̄ς̄ μ̄π̄
 20 π̄ν̄ᾱ ν̄ᾱγε̄ν̄νη̄το̄ν ζ̄ε̄ εῑς̄ τ̄ᾱσ̄
 νᾱμ̄ις̄ ᾱς̄ζ̄ω̄κ ε̄βο̄λ· πε̄ρ̄ε̄ω̄λ̄π̄
 22 ε̄βο̄λ ρ̄ῑτο̄ο̄τ̄· ᾱϗ̄ο̄σ̄ω̄·ν̄·ρ̄ ε̄βο̄λ ρ̄μ̄

7,28-29

7,29

μ̄ρ̄ρ̄ε̄ appears to be used as if it were an adjective.
 “many faceted”, lit. “placed in many faces.”

- 24 And the root
of Nature (φύσις), which was below,
26 was crooked, since it is burdensome (βαρεισθαί) and
harmful (βλάπτειν). The root was
28 blind with respect to the bound light
who was unfathomable (and)
30 many faceted (πρόσωπον).
And (δέ) I had pity on
32 the light <of> the Spirit (πνεῦμα) which
the mind (νοῦς) had received. I returned
34 to my position (θέσις) in order to pray
to the exalted, infinite Light
8
that
2 the power (δύναμις) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) might be suspended
over the place (τόπος) and might be full
4 without dark defilement. And
reverently I said,
6 “You are the root of the Light.
Your hidden form (σχῆμα) has appeared,
8 O exalted, infinite
one. May the whole power (δύναμις) of
10 the Spirit (πνεῦμα) spread and may it be filled
with its light, O infinite Light.
12 (Then) he will not be able to join
with the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα), and
14 the power (δύναμις) of the Astonishment (θαῦμα) will not be able to
mix with Nature (φύσις).” According to (κατά) the will
16 of the Majesty (μέγεθος), my prayer (προσευχή)
was accepted. And the voice
18 of the Word (λόγος) was heard saying
through the Majesty (μέγεθος), “O
20 unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα), behold, the
power (δύναμις) has been completed.” He who was revealed
22 by me appeared in

7,32 Ms reads π̄π̄π̄δ̄.

8,22 Ms reads ο̄τωρ̄.

ΠΝΑ· ΠΑΛΙΝ †ΝΑΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ·
 24 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΔΕΡΔΕΚΕΑΣ ΠΥΗΡΕ
 ΜΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΝΑΤΖΩΩΜ ΕΤΕ Μ
 26 ΜΗΤΕΥ ΔΡΗΞΥ· ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕ
 ΠΝΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΗΤΕΥ ΔΡΗΞΥ· ΔΥ
 28 ΕΙ ΕΠΙΤΗ ΕΦΘΥΣΙΣ ΝΩΩ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΟΥΚΟΘΕΙ ΝΧΡΟΜΟΣ ΨΑΝΤΕ
 30 ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΤΗΡΥ ΝΤΕ ΤΨ
 ΣΙΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΘΟΕΙΤ· ΨΙΝΑ
 32 ΔΕ ΕΨΝΑΖΠΙΟ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΤ
 ΦΥΣΙΣ· ΔΕΙ† ΩΙΩΩΤ ΝΤΑ
 34 ΩΒΩ· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΘΒΩ ΜΠΟΘ
 ΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΔΝΟΚ
 36 ΠΕ ΔΕΨΩΠΕ ΩΝ ΘΟΡΑΣΙΣ ΜΠ

Ⲑ

[Π]ΝΑ ΕΤΡΑΜΕΕΘΕ ΕΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ
 2 ΤΗΡΥ· ΠΑΙ ΝΕΨΩΟΠ ΩΝ ΝΒΑ
 ΘΟΝ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ· ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΨΩΨ
 4 ΜΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ· ΖΕΚΑΔΑΣ ΕΡΕΠΝΑ·
 ΩΜ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΨΝΑΜΟΨ ΩΜ ΠΕΥ
 6 ΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΔΨΝΑΜΙΣ Μ
 ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΗΤΕΥ ΔΡΗ
 8 ΞΥ· ΩΜ ΠΑΟΥΨΨΕ ΔΕ ΔΠΠΝΑ
 ΞΙΣΕ ΩΝ ΤΕΨΔΨΝΑΜΙΣ· ΔΨΡ
 10 ΧΑΡΙΣΣΕ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΕΨΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ
 ΕΤΡΕΨΜΟΨ ΩΜ ΠΕΨΘΟΕΙΝ
 12 ΤΗΡΥ Ν·Ψ·ΨΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΜ ΠΒΑΡΟΣ ΤΗ
 ΡΥ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ· ΠΕΤΩΠΑΡΘΨ ΓΑΡ
 14 ΝΕΨΚΩΩΤ ΠΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ ΕΨΝΙ
 ΨΕ ΕΨΡΒΑΡΕ ΩΜ ΠΝΑ· ΔΨΩ ΔΥ
 16 ΡΑΨΨΕ ΝΣΙ ΠΝΑ ΖΕ ΔΨΩΔΑΡΕΨ Ε
 ΡΟΨ ΕΠΜΟΨΨ ΝΩΡΤΕ· ΔΛΛΑ
 18 ΠΕΨΘΟΕΙΝ ΝΕΨΨΗΨ ΔΝ ΜΠ

8,23

The previous appearance of Derdekeas is in 4,1.

8,31

Lit. "became empty."

9,2

Read ΒΑΘΟΣ.

- the Spirit (πνεῦμα).” Again (πάλιν) I shall appear.
- 24 I am Derdekeas, the son
of the incorruptible, infinite Light.
- 26 The light of
the infinite Spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 28 came down to feeble Nature (φύσις) for (πρός)
a short time (χρόνος) until
- 30 all the impurity (ἀκάθαρτον) of Nature (φύσις)
was eradicated, and (δέ) in order that (ἵνα)
- 32 the darkness of Nature (φύσις)
might be put to shame. I put on my
- 34 garment which is the garment of the light
of the Majesty (μέγεθος)—which I am.
- 36 I came in the appearance (ὄρασις) of the
9
Spirit (πνεῦμα) to consider the whole light
- 2 which was in the depths (βάθρον)
of the Darkness, according to (κατά) the will
- 4 of the Majesty (μέγεθος), in order that the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
by means of the Word (λόγος) might be filled with his
- 6 light independently (χωρίς) of the power (δύναμις) of
the infinite Light.
- 8 And (δέ) at my wish, the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
arose by his (own) power (δύναμις).
- 10 His greatness (μέγεθος) was granted (χαρίζειν) to him
that he might be filled <with> his whole light
- 12 and might take away from the whole burden (βάρος)
of Darkness. For (γάρ) the latter
- 14 was a dark fire which blew
(and) pressed (βαρεῖν) on the Spirit (πνεῦμα). And
- 16 the Spirit (πνεῦμα) rejoiced because he was saved
from the frightful water. But (ἀλλά)
- 18 his light was not equal to

9,3-8 Text appears to be corrupt.

9,11 The emendation is supported by the parallel in 8,10-11.

9,12 Ms reads $\overline{\text{N}}\Psi\Gamma$ in stead of $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{Q}}\Psi\Gamma$ due to haplography.

9,15 Read $\theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$.

- ΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΘΡΧΑΡΓΖΕ
 20 ΔΕ ΜΜΟϢ ϪΙΤΜ ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΕΜΝ
 ΤΕϢ ΑΡΗΖϢ ΨΙΝΑ ϪΝ ΝΕϢΜΕΛΟΣ
 22 ΤΗΡΟϢ ΕϢΝΑΟϢΩΝᲚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΟϢ[Ο]ΕΙΝΕ ΝΟϢΩΤ ΝΟΘΟΕΙΝ
 24 ΝΤΑΡΕΠΝΑ ΔΕ ΖΙϢΕ ΕΠΜΟΟϢ
 ΑϢΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝϢΙ ΠΕϢΕΙΝΕ Ν
 26 ΚΑΜΕ ΑϢΩ ΑΠΠΝΑ ΡΤΙΜΑ
 ΜΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΖΟϢΕ ΕΐΕ Ν
 28 ΤΟΚ ΟϢΑΔΑΚ ΠΕΤΕ ΜΜΝΤΑΚ
 ΑΡΗΖϢ ϪΟΤΙ ΖΕ ΚᲚΤΠΕ ΝΑ
 30 ΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΖΕ ΑΚΑΡΕϢ
 ΕΡΟΊ ΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΑϢΩ ΝΤΑΡΕΚ
 32 ΟϢΩΨ ΔΕΙΖΙϢΕ ΑΤΔϢΝΑΜΙϢ
 ΝΚΑΚΕ ΑϢΩ ΨΙΝΑ ΖΕ ΝΕ
 34 ΛΑΔϢ ϪΩΠ ΕΡΟΚ ΣΗΕΜ ΠΜΕ
 ΕϢΕ ΝΤΑϢΜΕΕϢΕ ΕΡΟϢ ΝϢΙ Π
 36 ΠΝΑ ΕΒΟΛ ϪΝ ΤΜᲚΤΝΟϢ ΑϢΨΩΠΕ
 Ლ
 ΕΠΙΔΗ ΜΠΕΠΚΑΚΕ ᲚΜᲚΟΜ [Ε]
 2 ΑΜΑϪΤΕ ΝΤΕϢΚΑϢΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤ[Δ]
 ΡΕϢΟϢΩΝᲚ ΕΒΟΛ ΑϢϢΟϢΩΝ
 4 ΤΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΝΟϢΤΝΕ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΟϢ
 ΨΟΟΠ ΜΜΟϢ ΖΙΝ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΝΕ
 6 ΑϢᲚΜᲚΑΜ ΠΕ ΝϢΙ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΕϢΙ Ε
 ϪΡΑΊ ϪΑ ΤΕϢΚΑϢΙΑ ΝΕϢΝΑΠΩΡΖ
 8 ΑΝ ΕΡΟϢ ΠΕ ΝϢΙ ΠΝΟϢϢ ΝΕΡΕ
 ΚΕΔϢΝΑΜΙϢ ΝΑΟϢΩΝᲚ ΑΝ Ε
 10 ΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΙΝ ΤΕϢΟϢΩΝᲚ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΤΟΤΕ ΑϢΝΑϢ ΕΡΟΊ ΠΨΗΡΕ
 12 ΜΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΨΙΝΑ ΖΕ ΝΕϢ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΩΦΟΝ ΝϢΙ ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ
 14 ΜΠΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΤΦϢϢΙϢ ϩ ϩΡΟ ΕϪΡΑΊ

9,19-23

Text appears to be corrupt.

9,23

corr. Ο is crossed out between ΟϢ and ΕΙ.

9,36

ΜᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ most likely translates μέγεθος (cf. 10,16).

- the Majesty (μέγεθος). But (δέ) <what> he was granted (χαρίζειν)
 20 by the infinite Light, (he was granted it)
 in order that (ἵνα) in all his members (μέλος)
 22 he might appear as
 a single image of light.
 24 And (δέ) when the Spirit (πνεῦμα) arose above the water,
 his black likeness became apparent.
 26 And the Spirit (πνεῦμα) honored (τιμᾶν)
 the exalted Light: “Surely you
 28 alone are the infinite one,
 because (ὅτι) you are above
 30 every unbegotten thing (ἀγέννητον), for (γάρ) you have saved
 me from the Darkness. And at your
 32 wish I arose above the power (δύναμις)
 of darkness.” And that (ἵνα)
 34 nothing might be hidden from you, Shem, the thought,
 which the Spirit (πνεῦμα) had considered
 36 through the greatness, came into being,
 10
 since (ἐπειδή) the Darkness was not able [to]
 2 restrain his evil (κακία). But (ἀλλά) when
 he appeared,
 4 the three roots became known as they
 were from the beginning. If
 6 the Darkness had been able to restrain
 his evil (κακία), the
 8 mind (νοῦς) would not have separated from him, and
 another power (δύναμις) would not have appeared.
 10 But (ἀλλά) from the time he appeared then (τότε)
 I was seen, the son
 12 of the Majesty (μέγεθος), in order that (ἵνα)
 the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) might not become faint (κωφόν),
 14 and that Nature (φύσις) might not reign

10,3 and 10 The subject “he” is probably “the other power” in 10,9 which is Derdekeas (10,11-12).

10,9-10 The other power is most likely Derdekeas.

εχωϛ· επιδην αχειωρ̄μ̄ ν̄σωϊ
 16 ρ̄μ̄ ποσωϣ̄ δε ν̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νος αϛ
 σωλ̄π̄ εβολ̄ ν̄σι παϣωϣ̄· ϣ̄ι
 18 να εϣ̄ναδοσων̄ρ̄ εβολ̄ ν̄σι πετ̄
 ϣ̄οοπ̄ ν̄τε τ̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις· ν̄το
 20 τε τ̄νος ν̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις ερ̄ϣ̄ωπε·
 ασω̄ ανοκ̄ πε ποσοειν̄ ετ̄
 22 δ̄ηκ̄ εβολ̄ ετ̄μ̄π̄σᾱνορε̄ μ̄π̄π̄ν̄α
 μ̄ν̄ π̄κακε· π̄·ρ̄εϣ̄† ϣ̄ιπε̄ μ̄π̄κα
 24 κε ρ̄ν̄ τ̄κοῑνω̄νιᾱ ν̄τ̄τ̄·ρ̄ιβ̄η̄ ν̄
 ακαθᾱρτον· ρ̄μ̄ π̄πωϣ̄ε̄ ρ̄αρ
 26 ν̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ις̄ ε̄π̄με̄γε̄θ̄ος̄ οσω̄
 ϣ̄ε̄ ε̄σ̄ρ̄σκε̄πᾱζε̄ μ̄μοϣ̄ ρ̄ν̄ οσ̄
 28 τῑμη̄ ερ̄ραϊ̄ ε̄π̄δ̄ῑσε̄ μ̄π̄με̄ε̄θε̄
 μ̄π̄π̄ν̄α· ασω̄ νε̄ρε̄π̄π̄ν̄ᾱ δ̄ῑ α
 30 νᾱπᾱσ̄ις̄ ρ̄ν̄ τεϣ̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις·
 π̄ῑνε̄ ρ̄αρ̄ μ̄πο̄σο̄ειν̄ οσ̄ατ̄
 32 π̄ωϣ̄ε̄ πε̄ ᾱπ̄π̄ν̄ᾱ ν̄ᾱγε̄νη̄
 τον· ασω̄ μ̄πο̄σ̄ρο̄νο̄μᾱζε̄
 34 μ̄μοϣ̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄ν̄ ν̄κ̄λοο̄λε̄ τη̄
 ροσ̄ ν̄τ̄φ̄σ̄ις̄· οσ̄δε̄ μ̄μ̄ν̄
 36 σο̄μ̄ ν̄ρο̄νο̄μᾱζε̄ μ̄μοϣ̄
 ν̄σῑ νε̄τ̄ρο̄νο̄μο̄θε̄τ̄ῑ ε̄ῑνε

ἰα

ρ̄αρ̄ ν̄ῑμ̄ ν̄τᾱτ̄φ̄σ̄ις̄̄ πᾱϣ̄ϣ̄
 2 εϣ̄ϣ̄οοπ̄ ν̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις̄ μ̄π̄κ̄ω
 ρ̄τ̄ ετ̄ϣ̄τ̄ρ̄τωρ̄· ε̄τε̄ πε̄σ̄περ̄
 4 μᾱ πε̄ ν̄·ρ̄·σ̄λῑκον̄· π̄ρεϣ̄δ̄ῑ ε̄ροϣ̄
 ν̄τ̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις̄ μ̄π̄κακε̄ αϣ̄οτ̄π̄ς̄
 6 ε̄ροσ̄ν̄ ε̄τ̄μη̄τε̄ ν̄νε̄σ̄με̄λο̄ς̄·
 ρ̄μ̄ ποσωϣ̄̄ δε̄ μ̄π̄με̄γε̄θ̄ος̄
 8 ϣ̄ῑνᾱ ε̄σ̄νᾱρᾱρεϣ̄̄ ε̄π̄νο̄σ̄·
 ασω̄ πο̄σο̄ειν̄ τη̄ρ̄ϣ̄̄ μ̄π̄π̄ν̄ᾱ
 10 ᾱλ̄βᾱρο̄ς̄ ν̄ῑμ̄· μ̄ν̄ π̄ϣ̄ῑσε̄ ν̄τ̄
 φ̄σ̄ις̄· ᾱσ̄σ̄μη̄ ε̄ῑ εβολ̄ ρ̄ῑτ̄μ̄

10,15

For "gazed at" see 6,31-32 and 7,21-22.

10,23

Ms reads πεϣ̄ in stead of π̄ρεϣ̄.

10,24

Ms reads τ̄ιβ̄η̄; cf. 4,30.

over him, because (ἐπειδή) he gazed at me.
 16 And (δέ) by the will of the Greatness
 my equality was revealed, that (ἵνα)
 18 what is of the Power (δύναμις) might
 become apparent. You
 20 are the great Power (δύναμις) which came into being,
 and I am the perfect Light
 22 which is above the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 and the Darkness, the one who puts to shame the Darkness
 24 for the intercourse (κοινωνία) of the impure (ἀκάθαρτον)
 rubbing (τριβή). For (γάρ) through the division
 26 of Nature (φύσις) the Majesty (μέγεθος) wished
 to be covered (σκεπάζειν) with
 28 honor (τιμή) up to the height of the thought
 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα). And the Spirit (πνεῦμα) received
 30 rest (ἀνάπαυσις) in his power (δύναμις).
 For (γάρ) the image of the Light
 32 is inseparable from the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 And the lawgivers (νομοθετεῖν) did not name (ὀνόμαζειν)
 34 him after all the clouds
 of Nature (φύσις), nor (οὐδέ) is it
 36 possible to name (ὀνομάζειν) him.
 For (γάρ) every likeness

11

into which Nature (φύσις) had divided
 2 is a power (δύναμις) of the
 chaotic fire which is the
 4 hylic (ὕλικόν) seed (σπέρμα). The one who took to himself
 the power (δύναμις) of the Darkness imprisoned it
 6 in the midst of its members (μέλος).
 And (δέ) by the will of the Majesty (μέγεθος),
 8 in order that (ἵνα) the mind (νοῦς)
 and the whole light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) might be saved
 10 from every burden (βάρος) and (from) the toil of
 Nature (φύσις), a voice came forth from

11,4

Ms reads ἡΘΥΛΙΚΟΝ "of the hylic one."

11,6

"its" is feminine and appears to refer to the power of the Darkness.

- 12 ΠΠΝΑ ΕΞΝ ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΜΦΘΜΗΝ
 ΑΘΩ ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΘΑΣΜΑ ΑΥ
 14 ΖΙ ΑΡΧΗ ΕΤΡΕΥΨΑΛΗΛ ΕΜ ΠΘΡΟΟΘ
 ΕΝΤΑΘΡΧΑΡΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΥ
 16 ΑΘΩ ΠΝΟΘ ΜΠΠΝΑ ΝΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΝΕΥ
 ΕΝ ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΜΦΘΜΗΝ ΑΥΡΤΙ
 18 ΜΑ ΜΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΗΤΕΥ
 ΑΡΗΞΥ ΑΘΩ ΠΙΝΕ ΝΚΑΘΟΛΙ
 20 ΚΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ Μ
 ΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΕΥΖΩ ΜΜΟΥ
 22 ΖΕ ΔΝΔΣΣΗΣ ΔΘΣΗΣ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ
 ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΗΤΕΥ ΑΡΗΞΥ
 24 ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΘΤΑΔΥ ΕΙΤΜ ΠΟΘΩΨ
 ΜΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΥΡΚΑΤΟΡ
 26 ΘΟΘ ΝΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΑ
 ΕΙΞΜ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΑΘΩ ΑΡΜΕΡΙ
 28 ΖΕ ΜΠΝΟΘΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ
 ΝΕΟΘΠΕΤΕΨΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ ΠΕ
 30 ΕΤΡΕΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΠΝΑ ΘΩ
 ΕΝ ΕΜΗΤΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΚΟΘΩΨ
 32 ΓΑΡ ΑΥΖΙΣΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΑ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΡΘΕΩΡΙ ΜΠΕΚΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ
 34 ΝΕΝΤΑΕΙΖΟΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΚ
 ΣΝΕΜ ΨΙΝΑ ΖΕ ΕΚΝΑΡΝΟΕΙ
ΓΒ
 ΖΕ ΠΔΕΙΝΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΜΕ[ΓΕ]
 2 ΘΟΣ ΟΘΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΕΜ ΠΑΜΕ
 ΕΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΗΤΕΥ ΑΡΗΞΥ ΕΕΙ
 4 ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΝΕΙΝΕ ΝΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ
 ΝΝΑΤΖΙ ΘΟΛ ΕΨΟΟΠ ΜΠΣΑΝ
 6 ΕΡΕ ΝΔΛΗΘΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΑΘΩ ΝΑΡΧΗ
 ΜΠΨΑΖΕ ΠΕΥΟΘΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ
 8 ΤΑΘΒΩ ΝΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΝΕΣΩΣ
 ΕΤΕ ΤΣΜΗ ΤΕ ΜΠΜΕΕΘΕ ΕΤΕ
 10 ΜΜΗΤΕΥ ΨΙ ΔΝΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΙΟΘΟ

11,21

Ms reads εσζω.

11,35

Read εκνα (haplography).

- 12 the Spirit (πνεῦμα) to the cloud of the Hymen (ὕμην).
 And the light of the Astonishment (θαῦμα)
 14 began (ἀρχή) to rejoice with the voice
 which was granted (χαρίζειν) to him.
 16 And the great Spirit (πνεῦμα) of light was
 in the cloud of the Hymen (ὕμην) . He honored (τιμᾶν)
 18 the infinite Light
 and the universal (καθολικόν) likeness
 20 which is I, the son of
 the Majesty (μέγεθος), saying,
 22 “Anasses Duses, you are
 the infinite Light
 24 which was given by the will
 of the Majesty (μέγεθος) to establish (κατορθοῦν)
 26 every light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 upon the place (τόπος), and to separate (μερίζειν)
 28 the mind (νοῦς) from the Darkness.
 For (γάρ) it was not right
 30 for the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) to remain
 in Hades. For (γάρ) at your wish
 32 the Spirit (πνεῦμα) arose to
 behold (θεωρεῖν) your greatness (μέγεθος).”
 34 For (γάρ) I said these things to you,
 Shem, that (ἵνα) you might know (νοεῖν)
 12
 that my likeness, the son of the Majesty (μέγεθος),
 2 is from my
 infinite thought, since I
 4 am for (γάρ) him a universal (καθολικόν) likeness
 which does not lie, (and) I am above
 6 every truth (ἀλήθεια) and (am the) origin (ἀρχή)
 of the word. His appearance is in
 8 my beautiful garment of light
 which is the voice of the immeasurable thought.
 10 We are the

12,6 ΝΙΜ goes with both nouns.

12,7 “His” probably refers to the likeness.

εἰν ἰοσωτ̄ ἐρῳωπε οσδαϳ
 12 αϳοσωνῆ εβολ ῶν κενοσνε
 ῳἰνα εσναμερσε ἰτασνα
 14 μῖς μῖπῖνᾶ εβολ ῶν τῆσσις
 ἰσωβ̄ ῶμ ποσωῳε ϳαρ μῖ
 16 νοσ ἰοσοειν ἀίει εβολ ῶμ ἰνᾶ
 ετ̄σοσε ερραῖ ετκλοολε μ
 18 ῑσμην̄ χωρῖς ταῶβ̄σω ἰκα
 θολικον̄ ασω ἀπλογοσ ῳο
 20 ἰτ̄ εροϳ εβολ ῶἰτ̄μ ἰνᾶ ῶν τῳο
 ρῖ ἰκλοολε μῑσμην ἰτε
 22 τῆσσις̄ ασω δεἰταδϳ ῶἰωωτ̄
 παῖ ἰταϳτραμῖῳα μμοϳ ἰ
 24 σῖ πμεγεθοσ ασω ἰπῖνᾶ ἰαγεν
 νητον̄ ασω αϳοσωνῆ εβολ
 26 ἰσῖ ποσωκ̄ν̄ ἰῳομετ̄ ἰταῶβ̄
 σω ῶν τκλοολε ῶμ ποσωῳ
 28 μῖπμεγεθοσ ερραῖ εσμορῑην
 ἰοσωτ̄ ασω ασ̄ρσκεπαζε
 30 μῖπαινε ῶμ ποσοειν ἰτα
 ῶβ̄σω ἀτκλοολε δε ῳτορτ̄ρ
 32 μῖπεσεῳ ϳῖ ερραῖ ϳα παεινε
 ασπωῶτ̄ εβολ ἰτῳορῖ ἰασ
 34 ναμῖς̄ τεἰτασζῖτ̄ς̄ ἰτοο
 τ̄ϳ̄ μῖπῖνᾶ ταῑ ἰτασρ̄ οσο
 36 εἰν εροϳ ζῖν ῳορῖ ϳατερην
 εμπατοσωνῆ εβολ ῶμ ἰλο
 38 ϳοσ μῖπῖνᾶ̄ νερετκλοολε

ἰτ̄

ἰαῳ ϳῖ ϳαροοσ ἀν μῖσνασ̄
 2 ποσοειν δε ερεῖ εβολ ῶν τκλο
 ολε ασϳωβε ῶμ ἰκα ρωϳ ῳαν
 4 τ̄ϳ̄ει εροσν ετμεσοτ̄ης̄ ασω
 εβολ ῶμ ποσωῳ μῖπμεγεθοσ
 6 αϳτωρ ἰμμαϳ ἰσῖ ποσοειν̄

12,26
 12,34

Ms reads οσωτ̄.
 Ms reads ζῖτ̄ϳ̄.

single, sole light which came into being.
 12 He appeared in another root
 in order that (ἵνα) the power (δύναμις)
 14 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) might be raised from the
 feeble Nature (φύσις). For (γάρ) by the will of the
 16 great Light I came forth from the
 exalted Spirit (πνεῦμα) down to the cloud of
 18 the Hymen (ὕμην) without (χωρίς) my universal (καθολικόν)
 garment. And the Word (λόγος) took
 20 me to himself, from the Spirit (πνεῦμα), in the first
 cloud of the Hymen (ὕμην) of
 22 Nature (φύσις). And I put on
 this of which the Majesty (μέγεθος) and the
 24 unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα) made me worthy.
 And the third <part>
 26 of my garment appeared
 in the cloud, by the will
 28 of the Majesty (μέγεθος), in a single form (μορφή).
 And my likeness was covered (σκεπάζειν)
 30 with the light of my
 garment. And (δέ) the cloud was disturbed,
 32 and it was not able to tolerate my likeness.
 It shed the first power (δύναμις),
 34 which it had taken from
 the Spirit (πνεῦμα), (the power) which shone
 36 on him from the beginning, before
 I appeared in the word (λόγος)
 38 to the Spirit (πνεῦμα). The cloud

13

would not have been able to tolerate both of them.
 2 And (δέ) the light which came forth from the cloud
 passed through the silence, until
 4 it came into the middle region (μεσότης). And,
 by the will of the Majesty (μέγεθος),
 6 the light mixed with him,

12,37 εΛΠΙΔΤ for ΕΛΠΙΔ†.
 12,38 Or: "of the Spirit."

- 8 $\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$: πετσοοπ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ πκα ρωϥ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΨΠΟΨΥ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$
 ΗΘΘΟΕΙΝ ΔΥΠΩΡΞ ΕΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ
 10 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ τκλοολε $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ ρωϥ ΔΣ
 ΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΗΣΙ ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΕΗ
 12 ΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΨ ΑΝΑΠΑΘΣΙΣ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$
 ΗΚΩΩΤ ΔΥΘΒΒΙΟ ΗΤΜΗΤΡΑ
 14 ΗΚΑΚΕ ΨΗΝΑ ΝΕΥΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΗΚΕΣΠΟΡΑ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΔΥ
 16 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ ΤΜΕΣΟ
 ΤΗΣ ΗΤΨΘΣΙΣ ΕΡΟΘΗ ΕΤΟΘ
 18 ΘΕΣΙΣ ΠΑΪ ΝΕΥΨΟΟΠ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$
 ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΔΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΕΝΣΕ
 20 ΟΟΘΗ ΔΗ ΖΕ ΝΕΨΤΟ ΔΚΜΗΝ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΕΤΕ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\theta}$ ΗΤ
 22 ΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΣ ΗΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΗΤΕ
 $\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$: ΗΤΕΡΙΣΟΠΣΠ ΔΕ Δ
 24 ΝΟΚ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ ΨΑ ΠΟΘΟ
 ΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}$ ΔΡΗΞΥ ΨΙ
 26 ΝΑ ΕΣΝΑΨΕΕΪ ΗΣΙ ΤΔΘΝΑΜΙΣ
 ΕΨΤΡΤΩΡ ΗΤΕ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$: ΔΨΩ
 28 ΗΣΟΘΩΣΥ ΗΣΙ ΤΜΗΤΡΑ ΗΚΑ
 ΚΕ ΔΨΩ ΨΗΝΑ ΗΤΕΠΑΕΙΝΕ ΣΩ
 30 $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\pi}$ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\theta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$
 ΖΩΣ ΕΪΨΟΟΠ ΕΪΣΟΟΛΕ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}$
 32 ΟΕΙΝ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$: ΠΑΪ ΗΤΑΥΜΟΟ
 ΨΕ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ ΔΨΩ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ ΠΟΘ
 34 ΩΨΕ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ ΔΨΩ ΕΒΟΛ
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$ ΠΣΟΠΣΠ ΔΕΨΩΠΕ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ ΤΚΛΟ
 36 ΟΛΕ ΨΗΝΑ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ ΤΑΘΒΣΩ
 ΠΑΪ ΝΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ ΤΔΘΝΑ
 ΓΔ
 ΜΙΣ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ ΗΤΕ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}$ [Δ]
 2 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ ΝΑ[Γ]

13,12

corr. ε was crossed out before ι.

13,14

Perhaps the text should be emended to ΝΕΣΩΛΠ, "that it (the womb) might not reveal."

13,18

Since θέσις is feminine the relative should read ΤΑΪ ΝΕΣΨΟΟΠ.

(i.e.) the Spirit (πνεῦμα) which exists in the silence,
 8 he who had been separated from the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 of light. It was separated from the light
 10 by the cloud of the silence.
 The cloud was disturbed. It was he
 12 who gave rest (ἀνάπαυσις) to the flame
 of fire. He humbled the dark womb (μήτρα)
 14 in order that (ἵνα) he might not reveal
 other seed (σπορά) from the darkness. He
 16 kept them back (κωλύειν) in the middle region (μεσότης)
 of Nature (φύσις) in their
 18 position (θέσις) which was in
 the cloud. They were troubled since they did
 20 not know where they were. For (γάρ) still (ἀκμήν)
 it is they who do not possess the
 22 universal (καθολική) understanding (φρόνησις) of
 the Spirit (πνεῦμα). And (δέ) when I prayed
 24 to the Majesty (μέγεθος), toward the
 infinite Light, that (ἵνα)
 26 the chaotic power (δύναμις)
 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) might go to and fro, and
 28 the dark womb (μήτρα) might be barren,
 and that (ἵνα) my likeness might appear
 30 in the cloud of the Hymen (ύμήν),
 as I am while wrapped in the light
 32 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) which went
 before me—. And by the will
 34 of the Majesty (μέγεθος) and through
 the prayer (προσευχή) I came in the cloud
 36 in order that (ἵνα) through my garment—
 which was from the power (δύναμις)
 14
 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of the pleroma (πλήρωμα)
 2 of the word (λόγος), since the members (μέλος)

13,21 Perhaps the text should be emended to $\text{NE}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Pi}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\sigma$, "they did not possess."

13,36 It appears that some text has been omitted between lines 36 and 37.

13,37 - 14,3 The text appears to be corrupt.

ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄ΤΑΟῩ ρ̄̄Μ ΠΚΑΚΕ̄ Ε
 4 ΤΒΗΗΤΟῩ ΓΑΡ ΔΕΙΟΥΩΝ̄ ρ̄̄ Ε
 ΒΟΛ̄ ρ̄̄Μ ΠΕΙΔΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ̄ Ν̄ΤΟ
 6 ΠΟΣ̄ ΕΪΨΟΥΠ̄ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΒΟΗΘΟΣ̄
 Ν̄ΟΥΟΝ̄ ΝΙΜ̄ Ν̄ΤΑϪΡΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ
 8 Μ̄ΛΟῩ Ν̄ΠΕΡΙΟΥΩΝ̄ ρ̄̄ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ̄
 ρ̄̄Ν ΤΚΛΟΥΛΕ̄ ΔΥΖῙ ΑΡΧΗ̄ Ν̄ΣῙ ΠΟῩ
 10 ΟΕΙΝ̄ Μ̄ΠΙΝ̄Δ̄ ΕΤΡΕΥΝΑΡΜΕῩ
 ΕΠΜΟῩ Ν̄ϪΡΤΕ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΚΛΟΥΛΕ̄
 12 Ν̄ΚΩϪ̄Τ̄ ΝΑΪ̄ Ν̄ΤΑϪΠΟΥΖΟῩ
 ΕΒΟΛ̄ ρ̄̄Ν ΤΨΟΥΣΙΣ̄ Ν̄ΚΑΚΕ̄ Δ̄ΥΩ
 14 ΔΕΙΪ̄ ΝΑϪ̄ Ν̄ΟΥΤΙΜΗ̄ ΨᾹ ΕΝΕΡ̄
 ΖΕΚΑΔΑΣ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΥΣΩΤ̄ Δ̄ΥΩ
 16 Μ̄Ν̄ Τ̄ΤΡΙΒΗ̄ ΕΤ̄ΖΑϪ̄Μ̄ ΠΟῩ
 ΕΙΝ̄ ΔΕ̄ ΕΤ̄Ϫ̄Μ̄ ΨΟΥΜΗΝ̄ ΔΥΨΟΥΡ̄
 18 Τ̄Ρ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ρ̄̄Ν ΤΑΔ̄ϪΝΑΜΙΣ̄ Δ̄ΥΩ
 ΔΥΖΩΒΕ̄ ρ̄̄Ν ΤΑΜΕΣΟΥΤΗΣ̄ ΔΥ
 20 ΜΟῩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ρ̄̄Μ ΠΜΕΕϪΕ̄ Ν̄ΚΑ
 ΘΟΥΛΙΚΟΝ̄ Δ̄ΥΩ ρ̄̄Μ ΠΛΟΥΟΣ̄ Μ̄
 22 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ̄ Μ̄ΠΙΝ̄Δ̄ ΔΥΚΟῩ Ε
 ϪΡΑΪ̄ ΕΤΕΥΑΝΑΠΑϪΣΙΣ̄ ΔΥΖῙ
 24 ΤΟΥΠΟΣ̄ ρ̄̄Ν ΤΕΥΝΟΥϪΝΕ̄ ΔΥϪ̄ ΟϪ
 ΟΕΙΝ̄ ΕΥΟ̄ Ν̄ΑΤΨΤᾹ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ̄
 26 ΔΕ̄ ΕΡΕΪ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΜΜΑῩ ρ̄̄Μ ΠΚΑ
 ΡΟῩ ΔΥΜΟΥΨΕ̄ ρ̄̄Ν ΤΜΕΣΟΥ
 28 ΤΗΣ̄ ΔΥΝΟΥϪϪ̄ ΕΠΤΟΥΠΟΣ̄
 Δ̄ΥΩ Δ̄ΤΚΛΟΥΛΕ̄ Ϫ̄ ΟϪΟΥΕΙΝ̄
 30 Δ̄ΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ϪΗΤ̄Σ̄ ΔΥΨΟΥΠΕ̄
 Ν̄ΣῙ ΟϪΚΩϪ̄Τ̄ ΕΜΑΥΩΨ̄Μ̄
 32 ΤΜΕΡΙΣ̄ ΔΕ̄ ΕΤ̄ΠΟΥϪ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ρ̄̄Μ
 ΠΘΑϪΜᾹ Δ̄Σ̄Ϫ̄ Ϫ̄ΪΩΟΣ̄ Ν̄ΤΒ̄
 34 ΨΕ̄ Δ̄ϪϪ̄ΡΑΠΑΤᾹ Μ̄ΜΟΣ̄ Ϫ̄ΪΤ̄Μ̄
 ΠΚΩϪ̄Τ̄ Ν̄ΚΑΚΕ̄ Δ̄ΥΩ ΑΠΨΟΥΡ̄
 36 Τ̄Ρ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ̄ ΠΕΥΨΟΥΡ̄Τ̄Ρ̄ ΔΥΝΟΥϪ
 ΖΕ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄ΛΟῩ Μ̄ΠΒΑΡΟΣ̄ Ν̄Τ̄

- who possessed it in the Darkness—.
- 4 For (γάρ) because of them I appeared
in this humble (ἐλάχιστος) place (τόπος).
- 6 For (γάρ) I am a helper (βοηθός)
of every one who has been given a name (ὀνομάζειν).
- 8 For (γάρ) when I appeared
in the cloud, the light
- 10 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) began (ἀρχή) to save itself
from the frightful water, and (from) the clouds
- 12 of fire which had been separated
from dark Nature (φύσις). And
- 14 I gave them eternal honor (τιμή)
that they might not again be involved
- 16 in the impure rubbing (τριβη). And (δέ) the light
which was in the Hymen (ὕμην) was disturbed
- 18 by my power (δύναμις), and
it passed through my middle region (μεσότης). It
- 20 was filled with the universal (καθολικόν) thought.
And through the word (λόγος) of
- 22 the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) it returned to
its repose (ἀνάπαυσις). It received
- 24 form (τύπος) in its root and shone
without deficiency. And (δέ) the light
- 26 which had come forth with it from the silence
went in the middle region (μεσότης)
- 28 and returned to the place (τόπος).
And the cloud shone.
- 30 And from it came
an unquenchable fire.
- 32 And (δέ) the part (μερίς) which separated from
the astonishment (θαῦμα) put on forgetfulness.
- 34 It was deceived (ἄπατάν) by
the fire of darkness. And the shock
- 36 of its astonishment (θαῦμα) cast
off the burden (βάρος) of the

θαῦμα (see 6,16-17).

κλοολε· νεψωοοπ ἦκα
 2 ΚΟΗ ΕΥΤΟΘΒΗΘ ΔΗ· ΔΘΩ Δ
 ΤΚΩΘΤ ΤΩΖ ΜΗ ΠΜΟΟΘ· Δ
 4 ΤΡΕΜΜΟΘΕΙΗ ΡΒΛΑΠΤΕΓ
 ΔΘΩ ΤΦΘΣΙΣ ΗΤΑΘΨΡΨΩ
 6 ΡΣ· ΔΣΤΩΩΗ ΘΝ ΘΘΣΕΠΗ Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΘΝ ΜΜΟΘΕΙΟΟΘΕ ΗΑΡΓΟΝ·
 8 ΠΕΣΒΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΕΨΨΠΕ
 ΠΕ· ΔΤΦΘΣΙΣ ΔΕ ΖΙ ΕΡΟΣ ΗΤ
 10 ΔΘΝΑΜΙΣ ΗΚΩΘΤ· ΔΣΜΣΟΜ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΘΟΕΙΗ ΜΠΠΗΔ· ΠΑΪ
 12 ΝΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΘΝ ΤΦΘΣΙΣ· ΔΠΕΣ
 ΕΙΝΕ ΟΘΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΜ ΠΜΟΟΘ
 14 ΜΠΣΜΟΤ ΗΟΘΘΗΡΙΟΗ ΗΘΡΤΕ
 ΕΝΑΨΕ ΝΕΨΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΗ ΕΥ
 16 ΘΟΟΘΣ ΜΠΣΑΜΠΤΗ· ΔΘΟΘ
 ΟΕΙΗ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΙΤΗ ΕΠΧΑΟΣ ΕΥ
 18 ΜΕΖ ΗΘΛΟΣΤΗ ΘΪ ΨΟΕΨΥ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΡΒΛΑΠΤΕΓ ΗΤΦΘΣΙΣ· ΠΟΘΟ
 20 ΕΙΗ ΔΕ ΜΠΘΑΘΜΑ ΠΑΪ ΝΕΨΨΟ
 ΟΠ ΘΝ ΤΜΕΣΟΤΗΣ· ΑΥΕΓ ΨΑΡΟΥ
 22 ΖΙΗ ΤΡΕΥΝΟΘΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ
 ΜΠΒΑΡΟΣ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ· ΑΥΡΑΨΕ
 24 ΗΤΑΡΕΠΗΔ ΖΙΣΕ· ΑΥΘΩΨΤ
 ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΝ ΗΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΠΙΤΗ
 26 ΕΝΜΟΘΕΙΟΟΘΕ ΗΚΑΚΕ ΕΖΜ
 ΠΟΘΟΕΙΗ· ΠΑΪ ΝΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΘΝ
 28 ΗΒΑΘΟΣ ΗΤΦΘΣΙΣ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ
 ΔΕΙΟΘΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΪ
 30 ΝΑΖΙ ΗΟΘΑΦΟΡΜΗ ΕΤΡΑΒΩΚ
 ΕΠΙΤΗ ΕΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΗ ΨΑ ΠΟΘ
 32 ΟΕΙΗ ΜΠΠΗΔ ΕΤΡΒΑΡΙΣΘΑΪ
 ΨΠΗΑ ΕΪΝΑΘΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΚΑ
 34 ΚΙΑ ΜΠΒΑΡΟΣ· ΔΘΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΜ
 ΠΕΨΩΨΤ ΕΠΙΤΗ ΔΤΘΕΣΙΣ
 36 ΗΚΑΚΕ· ΠΑΛΙΗ ΑΠΟΘΟΕΙΗ

15

cloud. It was evil (κακόν)
 2 since it was unclean. And
 the fire mixed with the water in
 4 order that the waters might become harmful (βλάπτειν).
 And Nature (φύσις) which had been disturbed
 6 immediately arose
 from the idle (ἀργόν) waters.
 8 For (γάρ) her ascent was shameful.
 And (δέ) Nature (φύσις) took to herself the
 10 power (δύναμις) of fire. She became strong
 because of the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) which
 12 was in Nature (φύσις). Her
 likeness appeared in the water
 14 in the form of a frightful beast (θηρίον)
 with many faces (πρόσωπον), which
 16 is crooked below. A light
 went down to the chaos (χάος)
 18 filled with mist and dust, in order to
 harm (βλάπτειν) Nature (φύσις).
 20 And (δέ) the light of the astonishment (θαῦμα) which was
 in the middle region (μεσότης) came to it
 22 after he cast off
 the burden (βάρος) of the Darkness. He rejoiced
 24 when the Spirit (πνεῦμα) arose. For (γάρ) he looked
 from the clouds down
 26 at the dark waters upon
 the light which was in
 28 the depths (βάθος) of Nature (φύσις). Therefore
 I appeared that I might
 30 get an opportunity (ἀφορμή) to go
 down to the nether world (τάρταρον), to the light
 32 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) which was burdened (βαρεῖσθαι),
 that (ἵνα) I might save him from the evil (κακία)
 34 of the burden (βάρος). And due to
 his looking down at the dark region (θέσις)
 36 the light once more (πάλιν)

15

ει ερραϊ̅ ζεκαας̅ οη̅ ερετμ[η]
 2 τρα̅ ἡ̅νη̅ο̅σ̅ ερραϊ̅ ρ̅μ̅ πμοοσ̅
 ασει̅ ερραϊ̅ ρ̅μ̅ παοσ̅ω̅ϣ̅ ρ̅η̅
 4 οσ̅κροϣ̅ αϣοσ̅ων̅ ἡ̅σι̅ πβαλ̅
 ασ̅ω̅ αϣ̅ρα̅να̅πα̅τε̅σ̅θα̅ι̅ ἡ̅σι̅
 6 ποσ̅οει̅ν̅ εροσ̅ω̅η̅ρ̅ εβολ̅ ρ̅η̅
 τ̅μεσο̅τ̅η̅ς̅ πα̅ι̅ ερ̅πω̅ρ̅ζ̅ επ̅
 8 θα̅σ̅μα̅ αϣ̅ρο̅σ̅οει̅ν̅ ερραϊ̅ ε̅
 ζω̅ς̅ ασ̅ω̅ α̅σ̅να̅σ̅ ἡ̅σι̅ τ̅μη̅
 10 τρα̅ ε̅νε̅τε̅ ἄ̅π̅ε̅σ̅να̅σ̅ ε̅ρο̅ο̅σ̅
 ασ̅ω̅ α̅σ̅ρα̅ϣ̅ε̅ ε̅σ̅ϣ̅α̅λη̅α̅ ρ̅μ̅
 12 ποσ̅οει̅ν̅ ε̅π̅ω̅ς̅ α̅η̅ π̅ε̅ πα̅ι̅
 ε̅ρο̅σ̅ω̅η̅ρ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅μεσο̅τ̅η̅ς̅
 14 ρ̅η̅ τ̅ε̅σ̅κα̅σ̅ι̅α̅ ἡ̅τα̅ρεϣ̅ρ̅ ο̅σ̅ο̅
 ει̅ν̅ ερραϊ̅ ε̅ζ̅ω̅ς̅ ασ̅ω̅ α̅σ̅να̅σ̅
 16 ἡ̅σι̅ τ̅μη̅τρα̅ ε̅νε̅τε̅ ἄ̅π̅ε̅σ̅να̅σ̅
 ε̅ρο̅ο̅σ̅ ασ̅ω̅ α̅σ̅η̅τ̅ς̅ ε̅πι̅τ̅η̅
 18 ε̅π̅μο̅ο̅σ̅̅ νε̅σ̅μ̅ε̅ε̅τε̅ π̅ε̅ ζ̅ε̅
 α̅σ̅μ̅ε̅τε̅ α̅τ̅α̅σ̅να̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ ἡ̅ο̅σ̅ο̅
 20 ει̅ν̅ ασ̅ω̅ νε̅σ̅σο̅ο̅σ̅η̅ α̅η̅ ζ̅ε̅
 η̅ε̅τε̅σ̅νο̅σ̅η̅ε̅ ὁ̅ ἡ̅α̅ρ̅γ̅ο̅ς̅ ρ̅η̅
 22 τ̅μ̅ π̅ι̅νε̅ ἄ̅π̅ο̅σ̅οει̅ν̅ ασ̅ω̅ τε̅ν̅
 τα̅ϣ̅π̅ω̅τ̅ ϣ̅α̅ρα̅ς̅ α̅ϣ̅ει̅ω̅ρ̅μ̅ ἡ̅
 24 σ̅ι̅ ποσ̅οει̅ν̅ πε̅τ̅ϣ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ρ̅η̅
 τ̅μεσο̅τ̅η̅ς̅ πα̅ι̅ νε̅ϣ̅ϣ̅ο̅ο̅π̅
 26 ἡ̅α̅ρ̅χη̅ ασ̅ω̅ ἡ̅τε̅λο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅βε̅
 πα̅ι̅ α̅π̅ε̅ϣ̅μ̅ε̅ε̅τε̅ ει̅ω̅ρ̅μ̅ ρ̅η̅
 28 ο̅σ̅βε̅π̅η̅ ερραϊ̅ ε̅πο̅σ̅οει̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅
 ζω̅ς̅ε̅ ασ̅ω̅ α̅ϣ̅ω̅ϣ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ π̅ε̅
 30 ζω̅ϣ̅ ζ̅ε̅ π̅ζ̅ο̅ει̅ς̅ να̅ να̅ι̅ α̅πα̅
 ο̅σ̅οει̅ν̅ γ̅αρ̅ μ̅η̅ πα̅ρ̅η̅ς̅ε̅ σ̅ω̅
 32 ρ̅μ̅ ε̅ϣ̅τ̅μ̅τα̅ρο̅ει̅ γ̅αρ̅ ἡ̅σι̅ π̅ε̅κ̅
 α̅γα̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ ϣ̅σο̅ο̅σ̅η̅ γ̅αρ̅ α̅η̅ ζ̅ε̅
 34 ει̅τ̅ων̅ ἡ̅τα̅ρε̅π̅μ̅ε̅γε̅θ̅ο̅ς̅
 δε̅ σ̅ω̅τ̅μ̅ ε̅ροϣ̅ α̅ϣ̅να̅ να̅ϣ̅
 36 ασ̅ω̅ δε̅ιο̅σ̅ω̅η̅ρ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅κ̅λο̅
 ο̅λε̅ ἄ̅ψ̅ο̅μ̅η̅η̅ ρ̅μ̅ π̅κα̅ ρ̅ω̅ϣ̅

16

- came up in order that the womb (μήτρα) might again
 2 come up from the water.
 She (i.e., the womb (μήτρα)) came up by my will.
 4 Guilefully the eye opened.
 And the light
 6 which had appeared in the middle region (μεσότης)
 (and) which had separated from the astonishment (θαῦμα)
 8 rested (ἀναπαύεσθαι) and shone upon
 her. And the womb (μήτρα) saw
 10 things she had not seen (before),
 and she rejoiced joyfully in
 12 the light, although it was not hers, that which
 appeared in the middle region (μεσότης), in her
 14 wickedness (κακία), when he (i.e., the light) shone
 upon her. And
 16 the womb (μήτρα) saw things she had not seen,
 and she was brought down
 18 to the water. She was thinking that
 she had reached the power (δύναμις) of light.
 20 And she did not know that
 her root was made idle (ἀργός) by
 22 the likeness of the Light, and that it was to her (i.e., the root)
 that he had run. The light was astonished,
 24 the one which was in
 the middle region (μεσότης) and which was
 26 beginning (ἀρχή) and end (τέλος). Therefore
 his thought gazed
 28 directly up at the exalted Light.
 And he called out and said,
 30 “Lord, have mercy on me,
 for (γάρ) my light and my effort went astray.
 32 For (γάρ) if your goodness (ἀγαθόν) does not restore
 me, I (+ γάρ) do not know
 34 where I am.” And (δέ) when the Majesty (μέγεθος)
 had heard him, he had mercy on him.
 36 And I appeared in the cloud
 of the Hymen (ὕμην), in the silence,

ἦοσεϣ ἦταῶβσω ετοσααβ·
 2 ῶμ παοτωϣε δειρτιμα ἦ
 ταῶβσω τετο ἦϣομτε ἄ
 4 μορφη ῶν τκλοολε ἄφσμην·
 ποσοειν δε ετϣοοπ ῶμ
 6 πκα ρωϣ πεβολ ῶν τασηαμικ
 ἦαγαλλων αϣϣοπτ εροϣ·
 8 δειρφορει ἄμοϣ ατω πεϣ
 μεροσ снаσ ασοτωνῶ εβολ
 10 ῶν οσμορφη ἦοσωτ· πεϣ
 κεμεροσ ἄποσωνῶ εβολ
 12 ετβε πκωῶτ· δειϣωπε εμ
 πιϣϣ ῥαξε ῶν τκλοολε ἦφσ
 14 μνη· νεσῶρτε γαρ πε πεϣ
 κωῶτ εϣαίσε ἄμοϣ εμαϣ
 16 σωσβ· ῥινα δε εϣηασωνῶ
 εβολ ἦσι παμεγεθοσ ατω
 18 πλογοσ· ρομοιωσ δεικω ἦ
 τακεῶβσω ῶν τκλοολε ἄπκα
 20 ρωϣ· δειβωκ εροση ετμεσο
 της δειτ ῶιωτ ἄποσοειν
 22 ετϣοοπ ἦρητс πετοσοβϣϣ
 εροϣ πετπαρεξ αππῆα ἦθασ
 24 μα· αϣνοσξε γαρ ἄββαροσ ε
 βολ ἄμοϣ ἦτερλοσϣωϣ ἄ
 26 πελαασ ἦθηνητον οσωνῶ
 εβολ ναϣ· αλλα ρενατμοσ
 28 τηροσ νεηταῶπῆα χαρτζε
 ἄμοοσ ναϣ· ατω πεαϣ ῶμ
 30 πμεετε ἄποσοειν δι ετс
 δι οῦ φαρ δοσ γα εἰ οῦ ξε
 32 δειϣωπε ῶν οσηοσ ἦαμα
 πασϣϣ· ξεκαασ εϣηατ δ
 34 ναπασϣϣ ἄπαοσοειν ῶν
 τεϣνοσηε ἦϣῆτΰ εβολ ῶν

17,3-4
17,10

Cf. 12,25-26; perhaps μορφή here is equivalent to μέρος.
Cf. 12,28-29.

17

- without my holy garment.
- 2 With my will I honored (τιμᾶν)
my garment which has three
- 4 forms (μορφή) in the cloud of the Hymen (ὕμην) .
And (δέ) the light which was in
- 6 the silence, the one from the rejoicing (ἀγαλλιωῶν)
Power (δύναμις) , contained me.
- 8 I wore (φορεῖν) it. And its
two parts (μέρος) appeared
- 10 in a single form (μορφή) . Its
other parts (μέρος) did not appear
- 12 on account of the fire. I became
unable to speak in the cloud of the Hymen (ὕμην),
- 14 for its fire was frightful,
lifting itself up without
- 16 diminishing. And (δέ) in order that (ἵνα)
my greatness (μέγεθος) and the word (λόγος)
- 18 might appear, I placed likewise (ὁμοίως)
my other garment in the cloud of the silence.
- 20 I went into the middle region (μεσότης)
and put on the light
- 22 that was in it, that was sunk in forgetfulness
and that was separated from the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of
- 24 astonishment (θαῦμα), for (γάρ) he had cast off the burden (βάρος).
At my wish
- 26 nothing mortal (θνητόν) appeared
to him, but (ἀλλά) they were all immortal
- 28 things which the Spirit (πνεῦμα) granted (χαρίζειν)
to him. And he said in
- 30 the thought of the Light, “*ai eis
ai ou phar dou ia ei ou* because
- 32 I have come in a great rest (ἀνάπαυσις)
in order that he may give rest (ἀνάπαυσις)
- 34 to my light in
his root, and may bring it out of

ΓΗ

1 τῆς τῆς ἐτρῶλαπτεῖ τοτ[ε δ]
 2 νοκ ὧμ ποσῶψε ἄπμεγεθ[ος]
 3 δεικαακῆ δρηνῶ ἡταῶβσω ἡο[σ]
 4 οεινῶ δεῖτ ὧιωτ ἡκεῶβσω
 5 ἡκωῶτ ἐμῆτες μορφῆῶ πετ
 6 ψοοπ εβολ ὧμ πνοσῶ ἡταῶ
 7 ναμῆῶ παῖ νεϥπῆψ δσω ἐτ
 8 ῶβτωτ ναῖ κατα παοσῶψ ὧμ
 9 τμεσοτῆῶ νερετμεσοτῆῶ
 10 γαρ ὧβσε ἄμοϥ ὧμ οσδσνα
 11 μῆῶ ἡκακεῶ δεκαδς εῖναεῖ ἡ
 12 τατααϥ ὧιωτῶ δεῖβωκ ἐπιτῆ
 13 ἐπχαος δεκαδς ποσοειν τῆ
 14 ρῶ εῖναναρμεϥ εροϥ ἡοσῶψ
 15 ἡταῶναμῆῶ γαρ ἡκακε ἄπῆψ †
 16 εῶρῆ τῆς τῆς ἡταρῆεῖ εροσῆ
 17 ἐτῆς τῆς ἄπεσε(ς)ψ ϣῆ εῶραῖ
 18 ὧα ταδσναμῆῶ ἀλλα δεῖμτον
 19 ἄμοεῖ εῶραῖ εῶρῆ πεσβαλ ἐτ
 20 εῶρῆῶ νεϥψοοπ ἡοσοειν
 21 εβολ ὧμ ἡναῶῶ νεασῶβτωτῶ
 22 γαρ ναῖ ἡῶβσω δσω ἡαναπαῶ
 23 σῆῶ εβολ ὧμ ἡναῶῶ εβολ ὧτοοτ
 24 αϥοσων ἡνεϥβαλ ἐπιτῆ δε
 25 ἄητεῶ αϥῆχαριζε ἡτῆς τῆς
 26 ἄπεϥροοσ προς οσοειψ
 27 ταῶβσω δε ἡκωῶτ κατα ποσ
 28 ῶψ ἄπμεγεθῶς αϥβωκ
 29 εῶραῖ ἐπετῶσορῶ δσω ἀπμε
 30 ροσ ἡακαθαρτον ἡτε τῆς
 31 σῆῶ παῖ νερετῶσναμῆῶ ἡκα
 32 κε ὧβς ἄμοϥ δσω ἀταῶβ
 33 σω ὧτε ἡτ[ε]ς τῆς τῆς ὧμ πεσ

18,5-9

Since the antecedent must be the garment the pronouns should have been feminine.

18,17

Ms. reads ἄπεσεψϣῆ due to dittography.

- 18
 harmful (βλάπτειν) Nature (φύσις).” Then (τότε),
 2 by the will of the Majesty (μέγεθος), I
 took off my garment of light.
 4 I put on another garment
 of fire which has no form (μορφή) , which
 6 is from the mind (νοῦς) of the power (δύναμις) ,
 which was separated, and which was
 8 prepared for me, according to (κατά) my will, in
 the middle region (μεσότης). For (γάρ) the middle region (μεσότης)
 10 covered it with a dark power (δύναμις)
 in order that I might come
 12 and put it on. I went down
 to chaos (χάος) to save
 14 the whole light from it. For (γάρ) without
 the power (δύναμις) of darkness I could not oppose
 16 Nature (φύσις). When I came into
 Nature (φύσις) she was not able to tolerate
 18 my power (δύναμις). But (ἀλλά) I rested
 myself upon her staring eye
 20 which was a light
 from the Spirit (πνεῦμα). For (γάρ) it had been prepared
 22 for me as a garment and a rest (ἀνάπαυσις)
 by the Spirit (πνεῦμα). Through me
 24 he opened his eyes down to
 Hades. He granted (χαρίζειν) Nature (φύσις)
 26 his voice for (πρός) a time.
 And (δέ) my garment of fire, according to (κατά) the will
 28 of the Majesty (μέγεθος), went
 down to what is strong, and to the
 30 unclean (ἀκάθαρτον) part (μερός) of Nature (φύσις)
 which <the> power (δύναμις) of darkness
 32 was covering. And my garment
 rubbed Nature (φύσις) in her

18,22 The absence of articles with the nouns is puzzling.

18,28 If the garment is the subject the text should have read **α.α.β.ω.κ.**

18,33 corr. ε.ε was crossed out between τ and υ (from “her nature” to “the Nature”).

34 ρωβες· αρω αϥβ̄ᾱβωμ̄ η̄βι πες
 36 ασεῑ ερραϊ̄ η̄βι τμητρα εσβο

ΓΘ

[λ]εκ αστρεπνοσ̄ ψοοσε
 2 η̄θε η̄οσεινε η̄τβ̄τ̄ εση̄ταϥ
 4 η̄ οσβαμ̄ η̄κωϩ̄τ̄ η̄ταρετϥσ̄
 6 η̄μοσ· ασψτορτ̄ρ̄ αρω ασ
 8 η̄εσρ̄μειοοσε ασνοσζε η̄
 10 ασσω η̄ταρε· η̄ταϊ̄τ̄ ριωωτ̄
 12 η̄ποσοειη̄ η̄π̄η̄να· αρω δεη̄
 14 η̄αρκαταρηνωσκε η̄η̄ρβησε
 16 η̄μορφη̄ η̄θρηιον̄ εῑ εβολ̄ η̄
 18 ετη̄ηλ̄ ασψωπε τηροσ̄ η̄η̄
 20 εῑη̄ η̄ποσοειη̄ ετη̄εινε· η̄ποσ
 22 ψ̄ β̄ᾱβωμ̄ η̄αρε ερατοσ̄ οσβηϥ·
 24 δεη̄ραψ̄ε εζη̄ η̄εσμη̄τατσο
 26 οση̄· ασβῑνε η̄μοεῑ ανοκ
 28 η̄ψη̄η̄ η̄π̄μειθεοσ̄ η̄π̄εμ
 30 το εβολ̄ η̄τμητρᾱ ετε οση̄
 32 η̄εσ ραρ̄ η̄μορφη̄· δεη̄τ̄ ριω
 ωτ̄ η̄π̄θρηιον̄· αρω δεη̄ρᾱ
 η̄εῑ η̄μοσ̄ η̄οσνοσ̄ η̄αη̄η̄
 μᾱ ετρεοσπε̄ η̄η̄ οσκαρ̄
 ψωπε· δεκαασ̄ εϥη̄αδ̄ιςε
 η̄βῑ ποσοειη̄ τηρ̄ϥ̄ η̄κερη̄
 τε̄ ταρ̄ η̄εσναψ̄ η̄οσρ̄μ̄ αν̄ η̄

34 covering. And her unclean (ἀκάθαρτον)
 femininity (θηλυκόν) was strong. And
 36 the wrathful womb (μήτρα) came up

19

and made the mind (νοῦς) dry,
 2 resembling a fish which has
 a drop of fire and
 4 a power (δύναμις) of fire. And (δέ) when Nature (φύσις)
 had cast off the mind (νοῦς),
 6 she was troubled and she
 wept. When she was hurt, and in
 8 her tears, she cast off
 the power (δύναμις) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 10 (and) remained as I. I put on
 the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) and I
 12 rested with my garment on account of
 the sight of the fish. And in order that (ἵνα)
 14 the deeds of Nature (φύσις) might be condemned (καταγινώσκειν),
 since she is blind, many
 16 animal (θηρίον) forms (μορφή) came out
 of her, in accordance (κατά) with the number of the
 18 fleeting winds. All of them came into being in
 Hades searching for the light
 20 of the mind (νοῦς) which took shape. They were not
 able to stand up against it.
 22 I rejoiced over their ignorance.
 They found me,
 24 the son of the Majesty (μέγεθος), in
 front of the womb (μήτρα) which has
 26 many forms (μορφή). I put
 on the beast (θηρίον), and laid (αἵ τειν)
 28 before her a great request (αἵτημα)
 that heaven and earth
 30 might come into being, in order that the whole
 light might rise up.
 32 For (γάρ) in no other way could the power (δύναμις)

- 34 σι τδσναμικς μππνα δτμρρε·
 34 ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΖΕ ΔΕΙΟΘΩΝῶ ΕΒΟΛ
 36 ΔΙΑ ΤΟῦΤΟ ΔΣΡΧΑΡΓΖΕ ΚΑΙ
 Κ
 2 ῶΣ ΕΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΣΨΗΡΕ
 2 Δῶ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΔΙΤΗΜΑ ΔΣΖΙΣΕ
 4 ΠΣΙ ΤΦΘΣΙΣ ΕΘῆΤΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ ῶΝ
 4 ΤΔΣΝΑΜΙΣ ΜΠΠΝΑ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΚΕ
 6 ΜΝ ΠΚΩῶΤ· ΔΣΚΑΔΚῆ ΓΑΡ ΔΘΗ
 6 Οῦ ΠΝΕΣΜΟΡΦΗ ΠΤΑΡΕΣΝΑῶ
 8 ῶΣ ΔΣΜΙΥΕ ΕΞΜ ΠΜΟΟῦ· Δῶ
 8 ΣΩΝῆ ΠΤΠΕ· Δῶ ΕΒΟΛ ῶΝ
 10 ΘΒΗΤΕ ΠΤΠΕ ΔΥΨΩΠΕ ΠΣΙ
 10 ΠΚΑῶ· Δῶ ΠΤΑΡΙΟῦΨ ΔΥ
 12 ΞΠΟ ΠῆΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΠΟῦΩΜ ΚΑ
 12 ΤΑ ΤΗΠΕ ΠῆΘΗΡΙΟΝ· Δῶ ΔΥ
 14 ΕΙΝΕ ΠΝΟΘΕΙΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ῶΝ
 14 ΠΤΗΟῦ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΜΝ ΝΕ
 16 ΤΟῦΝΑΞΠΟΟῦ ΜΠΜΕΡΣΕΠ
 16 ΣΝΑῶ ῶΙΞΜ ΠΚΑῶ· ΝΕΡΕ
 18 ΠΚΑῶ ΓΑΡ ΟῦῆΤΑΥ ΜΛΑῶ Π
 18 ΟῦΔΣΝΑΜΙΣ ΠΚΩῶΤ ΕΥΨΤΡ
 20 ΤΑΡΕΤ· ΔΙΑ ΤΟῦΤΟ ΔΥΞΠΟ Π
 20 ΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΙΜ· Δῶ ΠΤΑΡΟῦ
 22 ΣΩΝῆ ΠΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑῶ ΔΣΖΙΣΕ
 22 ΠΣΙ ΤΑῶΒΣΩ ΠΚΩῶΤ ῶΝ ΤΜΗ
 24 ΤΕ ΠΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΠΤΦΘΣΙΣ· ΔΣΡ
 24 ΟῦΟΕΙΝ ΕΞῆ ΤΚΤΙΣΙΣ ΤΗΡῆ·
 26 ΨΔΝΤΕΤΦΘΣΙΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣ
 26 ΨΟῦΕΙΤ· ΠΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 28 ΝΑΥ ΠῶΒΣΩ ΔΘΝΟΞΥ ΔΝΜΟῦ
 28 ΕΙΟΟῦΕ ΕΤΡΒΛΑΠΤΕΓ· ΔῶΤῆΒΟ
 30 ΠΤΜΕΣΟΤΗΣ ΕΠΚΑΚΕ· ΝΕΣΡ
 30 ΛῶΠΗ ΔΕ ΠΣΙ ΤΜΗΤΡΑ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΕΡΨΩΠΕ· ΔΣΡῶΕΩΡΕΙ ῶΝ

- of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) be saved from bondage
 34 except (εἰ μήτι) that I appear
 to her in animal (θηρίον) form.
 36 Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο) she was gracious (χαρίζειν) to me
 20
 as if (ὡς) I were her son.
 2 And on account of my request (αἴτημα),
 Nature (φύσις) arose since she possesses of
 4 the power (δύναμις) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) and the Darkness
 and the fire. For (γάρ) she had taken off
 6 her forms (μορφή). When she had cast
 it off, she blew upon the water.
 8 The heaven was created. And from
 the foam of the heaven
 10 the earth came into being. And at my wish it (i.e., the earth)
 brought forth all kinds of food in accordance with (κατά)
 12 the number of the beasts (θηρίον). And it
 brought forth dew from
 14 the winds for your (pl.) sake and for those
 who will be begotten the second time
 16 upon the earth.
 For (γάρ) the earth possessed
 18 a power (δύναμις) of chaotic fire.
 Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο) it brought forth
 20 every seed (σπέρμα). And when
 the heaven and the earth were created,
 22 my garment of fire arose in the midst
 of the cloud of Nature (φύσις) (and)
 24 shone upon the whole creation (κτίσις)
 until Nature (φύσις) became
 26 dry. The Darkness which was
 its (i.e., the earth's) garment was cast into the
 28 harmful (βλάπτειν) waters.
 The middle region (μεσότης) was cleansed from the Darkness.
 30 But (δέ) the womb (μήτρα) grieved (λύπη) because of
 what had happened. She perceived (θεωρεῖν) in

20,14-16 See 26,23-25; they may be “the seed which will be upon the earth after the flood” (28,12-14).

- 32 κ̅α̅
 34
 36
- 32 κ̅α̅
 [ṙ] θ̅α̅ϑ̅μα̅· νε̅ϣ̅ω̅ο̅π̅ δ̅η̅ ḡ̅η̅τ̅ς̅·
 2 δ̅κ̅μ̅η̅η̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ νε̅ḡ̅μο̅ρ̅φ̅η̅ νε̅ϑ̅
 ḡ̅η̅τ̅α̅ϑ̅ ḡ̅μ̅α̅ϑ̅ ḡ̅η̅νο̅ϑ̅δ̅θ̅να̅μ̅ι̅ς̅
 4 ḡ̅η̅κ̅ω̅ϑ̅τ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ ο̅ϑ̅ο̅ει̅ν̅· δ̅ς̅ṙ̅ḡ̅θ̅π̅ο̅
 μ̅ι̅η̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ρε̅ς̅ϣ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ τ̅ḡ̅ϑ̅ς̅ι̅ς̅
 6 ṡ̅α̅η̅τ̅ο̅ϑ̅ϣ̅ḡ̅ ḡ̅δ̅θ̅να̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅ϑ̅
 ḡ̅η̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ς̅· κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ θ̅ε̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ ḡ̅η̅τ̅α̅ϑ̅
 8 ζ̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡ̅μ̅ π̅ο̅ϑ̅ο̅ει̅ν̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅π̅ḡ̅α̅
 ḡ̅ḡ̅ ṡ̅ω̅μ̅τ̅ε̅ ḡ̅η̅κ̅λ̅ο̅ο̅λ̅ε̅· δ̅η̅α̅γ̅κ̅η̅
 10 σ̅η̅α̅ζ̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ς̅ι̅ τ̅κ̅ε̅δ̅θ̅να̅μ̅ι̅ς̅
 ε̅τ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅ ε̅μ̅ḡ̅τ̅ε̅ κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ π̅χ̅ρ̅ο̅ν̅ο̅ς̅
 12 ε̅τ̅κ̅η̅ ε̅ρ̅ρ̅αḡ̅ḡ̅ δ̅η̅ο̅κ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ τ̅χ̅α̅
 ρ̅ι̅ς̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅θ̅ο̅ς̅· δ̅ε̅ḡ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅ε̅ ν̅α̅ς̅
 14 ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ π̅μ̅ο̅ο̅ϑ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅μ̅ε̅ρ̅ς̅ε̅π̅
 σ̅η̅α̅ϑ̅· νε̅π̅α̅ρ̅ο̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ πε̅ τ̅ς̅α̅η̅η̅ϑ̅
 16 ḡ̅ḡ̅μ̅α̅ς̅· νε̅πε̅ρ̅ς̅ḡ̅ο̅ ρ̅ḡ̅ω̅ς̅ ρ̅ο̅
 ο̅ϑ̅τ̅· δ̅ϑ̅ω̅ πε̅ζ̅αḡ̅ḡ̅ ν̅α̅ς̅ ζ̅ε̅ μ̅α̅
 18 ρ̅ε̅ϣ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅η̅τ̅ε̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ς̅ι̅ ο̅ϑ̅
 σ̅πε̅ρ̅μ̅α̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅η̅ ο̅ϑ̅δ̅θ̅να̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅
 20 ζ̅ḡ̅ π̅κ̅α̅ρ̅ḡ̅· ḡ̅ḡ̅τ̅ο̅ς̅ δ̅ε̅ δ̅ς̅ṙ̅π̅ḡ̅ḡ̅ε̅ς̅
 θ̅αḡ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ς̅α̅ π̅ο̅ϑ̅ω̅ϣ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅π̅ḡ̅α̅ ṡ̅ḡ̅
 22 ḡ̅α̅ ε̅ς̅η̅α̅ο̅ϑ̅ω̅ς̅ḡ̅· ḡ̅ḡ̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ο̅ϑ̅κ̅ο̅
 τ̅ο̅ϑ̅ δ̅ε̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ς̅ι̅ νε̅ς̅μ̅ο̅ρ̅φ̅η̅· δ̅ϑ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅
 24 ḡ̅ḡ̅π̅ο̅ϑ̅λ̅α̅ς̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ νε̅ϑ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅ϑ̅ δ̅ϑ̅ḡ̅ω̅
 τ̅ṙ̅ δ̅ϑ̅ζ̅π̅ο̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ε̅η̅τ̅η̅ϑ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ ḡ̅ε̅η̅
 26 δ̅αḡ̅μ̅ω̅η̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ τ̅δ̅θ̅να̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅
 ṡ̅ω̅ο̅π̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ π̅κ̅ω̅ϑ̅τ̅· ḡ̅ḡ̅
 28 π̅κ̅α̅κ̅ε̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅α̅· τ̅μ̅ο̅ρ̅φ̅η̅ δ̅ε̅
 ε̅ρ̅ς̅ω̅ ο̅ϑ̅α̅ς̅· δ̅ς̅η̅ο̅ϑ̅ζ̅ε̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅
 30 θ̅η̅ρ̅ḡ̅ο̅η̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅· νε̅ḡ̅

32 her parts (μέρος) what was
 water like a mirror. When she
 34 perceived (θεωρεῖν) (it), she wondered (θαυμά)
 how it had come into being. Therefore she
 36 remained a widow (χηρά). It also was

21

astonished (θαυμά) (that) it was not in her.
 2 For (γάρ) still (ἀκμήν) the forms (μορφή)
 possessed a power (δύναμις)
 4 of fire and light. It (i.e., the power) remained (ὑπομένειν)
 in order that it might be in Nature (φύσις)
 6 until all the powers (δύναμις) are taken
 away from her. For (γάρ) just as (κατά)
 8 the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) was completed
 in three clouds, it is necessary (ἀνάγκη)
 10 that also the power (δύναμις)
 which is in Hades will be completed at (κατά) the
 12 appointed time (χρόνος). For (γάρ), because of the grace (χάρις)
 of the Majesty (μέγεθος), I came forth to her
 14 from the water for the second time.
 For (γάρ) my face pleased
 16 her. Her face also was glad.
 And I said to her, "May
 18 seed (σπέρμα)
 and power (δύναμις) come forth from you
 20 upon the earth." And (δέ) she obeyed (πείθεσθαι)
 the will of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) that (ἵνα)
 22 she might be brought to naught. And (δέ) when
 her forms (μορφή) returned, they rubbed
 24 their tongue(s) together and copulated;
 they begot winds and
 26 demons (δαίμων) and the power (δύναμις) which
 is from the fire and
 28 the Darkness and the Spirit (πνεῦμα). But (δέ) the form (μορφή)
 which remained alone cast the
 30 beast (θηρίον) from herself.

- Μῆτας ρωτρ̄ μαᾱσ̄ ἀλλὰ
 32 ἦτος περὶ ῥίως οὐαας̄
 ᾱσω ᾱσπο ἦοσ̄τηοσ̄ ε̄σ
 34 ἦταϋ μαᾱσ̄ ἦνοσ̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις̄
 ε̄βολ ῥ̄μ̄ π̄κωϋ̄τ̄ μ̄η̄ π̄κακε
 36 μ̄η̄ πεπ̄νᾱ· ψ̄ινᾱ δε̄ ἦκεδᾱι
 κ̄β̄
 μων̄ ε̄σ̄ναψ̄ωπε̄ ἦαρ̄το̄[ς]
 2 ε̄τ̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις̄ τᾱῑ νε̄σ̄ἦτᾱσ̄ϋ
 ε̄βολ ῥ̄η̄ τ̄κοῑνω̄νιᾱ ε̄τ̄δᾱϋ̄μ̄
 4 ᾱσ̄μη̄τρᾱ ψ̄ωπε̄ μ̄η̄ ἦτηοσ̄
 ῥ̄η̄ ο̄σεῑνε̄ μᾱμο̄σ̄· ᾱσω ᾱσ
 6 προ̄σ̄θε̄μᾱ ἦᾱκᾱθᾱρ̄τον̄ ψ̄ω
 πε̄ μ̄η̄ ἦδᾱῑμων̄ κᾱτᾱ π̄το̄σ̄πο̄ς
 8 μᾱπ̄κᾱκε̄· ᾱσω ἦθε̄ ἦτᾱϋ̄ϋ̄ ῥ̄ῑ
 τ̄μη̄τρᾱ ζ̄ῑν̄ ἦψ̄ο̄ρ̄π̄· ᾱσω ἦτᾱ
 10 ρε̄μᾱμο̄ρ̄φ̄η̄ ἦτ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ις̄ ψ̄ωπε̄
 μ̄η̄ νε̄σ̄τερ̄η̄σ̄· ᾱσ̄νᾱσ̄ρο̄σ̄ ε̄βολ
 12 ἦνε̄σ̄τερ̄η̄οσ̄ ᾱσ̄νο̄σ̄ζε̄ ἦτ̄δ̄σ̄
 νᾱμ̄ις̄ ε̄βολ̄ ε̄σ̄ρ̄ θ̄ᾱσ̄μᾱ ε̄τ̄βε̄
 14 π̄κροϋ̄ ε̄ρ̄ψ̄ω̄τε̄ νᾱσ̄· ᾱσ̄ρ̄ λ̄σ̄π̄η̄
 ῥ̄η̄ ο̄σ̄λ̄σ̄π̄η̄ ψ̄ᾱ ε̄νεϋ̄· ᾱσ̄ρ̄σ̄κε̄
 16 πᾱζε̄ μᾱμο̄σ̄ ῥ̄η̄ το̄σ̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις̄·
 ᾱσω ἦτᾱρ̄ῑ† νᾱσ̄ ψ̄ῑπε̄· ᾱεῑζ̄ῑ
 18 σε̄ μ̄η̄ τᾱϋ̄β̄σω̄ ῥ̄η̄ τᾱσ̄ναμ̄ις̄ ᾱσω
 ε̄τ̄ζ̄ο̄σε̄ ε̄π̄θ̄η̄ρῑον̄ ε̄το̄ ἦο̄σο̄
 20 ε̄ῑν̄· ζ̄ε̄κᾱᾱς̄ ε̄ἴ̄νᾱεῑρε̄ ἦτ̄φ̄σ̄
 ϋς̄ ἦερ̄η̄μο̄ς̄· π̄νο̄σ̄ς̄ ε̄ρο̄σ̄ω̄ν̄ῶ
 22 ε̄βολ ῥ̄η̄ τ̄φ̄σ̄ς̄ις̄ ἦκᾱκε̄· πᾱῑ
 νεϋ̄ψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ἦβᾱλ̄ μᾱφ̄η̄τ̄ μᾱπ̄κᾱ
 24 κε̄· ἦτᾱρ̄ιο̄σ̄ω̄ψ̄ ᾱϋ̄ρ̄ ῥ̄ρο̄ ε̄ζ̄η̄
 ἦτη̄σ̄ μ̄η̄ ἦδᾱῑμων̄· ᾱσω ᾱεῑ
 26 † νᾱϋ̄ ἦο̄σεῑνε̄ ἦκω̄ϋ̄τ̄· ο̄σο̄
 ε̄ῑν̄ ᾱσω ο̄σ̄ω̄τ̄μ̄ μ̄η̄ ο̄σ̄με̄
 28 ρο̄ς̄ ἦλο̄γο̄ς̄ ἦᾱκᾱκο̄ς̄· ε̄τ̄βε̄

21,34-36

Cf. 21,26-28.

22,1

Or ἦαρ̄το̄[η̄].

22,7-9

See 4,27-31.

She did not have intercourse, but (ἀλλά)
 32 she was the one who rubbed herself alone.
 And she brought forth a wind which
 34 possessed a power (δύναμις)
 from the fire and the Darkness
 36 and the Spirit (πνεῦμα). And (δέ) in order that (ἵνα) the
 22
 demons (δαίμων) also might become devoid (ἀργός)
 2 of the power (δύναμις) which they possessed
 through the impure intercourse (κοινωνία),
 4 a womb (μήτρα) was with the winds
 resembling water. And an
 6 unclean (ἀκάθαρτον) penis (πρόσθεμα) was with
 the demons (δαίμων) in accordance with (κατά) the example (τύπος)
 8 of the Darkness, and in the way he rubbed with
 the womb (μήτρα) from the beginning. And after
 10 the forms (μορφή) of Nature (φύσις) had been
 together, they separated from
 12 each other. They cast off the power (δύναμις),
 being astonished (θαῦμα) about
 14 the deceit which had happened to them. They grieved (λύπη)
 with an eternal grief (λύπη). They covered (σκεπάζειν)
 16 themselves with their power (δύναμις).
 And when I had put them to shame, I arose
 18 with my garment in the power (δύναμις) and—
 which is above the beast (θηρίον) which is a light,
 20 in order that I might make Nature (φύσις)
 desolate (ἔρημος). The mind (νοῦς) which had appeared
 22 in dark Nature (φύσις), (and) which
 was the eye of the heart of Darkness,
 24 at my wish reigned over
 the winds and the demons (δαίμων). And I
 26 gave him likeness of fire, light,
 and attentiveness, and a share (μέρος)
 28 of guileless (ἄκακος) word (λόγος). Therefore

22,18 Some text appears to be missing between lines 18 and 19.
 22,26-27 Read **οποποειν** (haplography).
 22,28 The absence of the article with **λογοσ** is puzzling.

παῖ ἀσϥ ναϥ εβολ ρ̄ν τμ̄ντνος
 30 δεκαδασ εϥναβ̄μαβ̄αμ ρ̄ν τεϥ
 δεσναμικ̄ χωρισ δεσναμικ̄
 32 χωρισ ποσοειν μ̄π̄π̄νᾱ· ασω
 κοινωμια ἡκακε· ψ̄ινα ρ̄μ
 34 πρ̄αε ἡκαιρος ετ̄снаτακο

κ̄τ̄

ἡρ̄ητ̄ϥ ἡβ̄ι τφ̄σ̄ικ̄ εϥναμ̄
 2 τον μ̄μοϥ ρ̄μ πτοπος ετ̄τα
 εινοσ̄· сенабине гар μ̄μοϥ
 4 εϥο μ̄πιστος· εαϥρ̄ς̄ιχανε
 ετακαθαρσια ἡτφ̄σ̄ικ̄ μ̄ν
 6 πκακε· τ̄δεσναμικ̄ ετ̄σοор
 μ̄π̄νοσ̄с̄ ασωπε εβολ ρ̄μ
 8 πνοσ̄с̄ μ̄ν ἡ̄νᾱ ἡαγεννητον·
 ἡτ̄νοσ̄ δε ετ̄σοοп̄ ἡδαμ̄ων
 10 εβολ ρ̄ν οσ̄μοос̄· μ̄ν οσ̄κωρ̄τ̄
 μ̄ν οσ̄κακε μ̄ν οσ̄οειн̄ ασ̄
 12 ρ̄κοινωμ̄ι αп̄τεко· ασω εβολ
 ρ̄ν τεῖκοινωμ̄ια αν̄τηос̄ ρ̄ι
 14 εροос̄ ρ̄ν τοσ̄μηтра ἡνοσ̄
 ρ̄β̄ητε· εβολ ρ̄μ̄π̄ροσ̄θεμα
 16 ἡἡδαμ̄ων· ασ̄ω̄ ρ̄ν τεσ̄
 тап̄ро ἡноσ̄δεσναμικ̄· εβολ
 18 ρ̄ν та·на·п̄нон̄ ασ̄ρωк̄ ερ̄οσ̄н̄ ε
 неσ̄ер̄н̄σ̄ ἡβ̄ι μ̄μηтра ἡἡт̄н̄
 20 ос̄ ψ̄ан̄тоσ̄ει ἡβ̄ι ἡχροнос̄
 μ̄π̄ρ̄πο ασ̄β̄ωк̄ ερ̄αῖ̄ εп̄μοос̄·
 22 τ̄δεσναμικ̄ δε ἡтаσ̄ρ̄ποс̄ εβολ
 ρ̄н̄ τ̄·ан̄·αп̄нон̄ ρ̄н̄ τ̄μηте ἡт̄т̄ри
 24 β̄н̄· таῖ̄ εт̄κ̄иμ̄ αп̄ρ̄πο· ασω
 а̄ειне н̄иμ̄ ἡп̄ρ̄πο ρ̄ι т̄σ̄ποс̄
 26 ρ̄ραῖ̄ ἡρ̄ηт̄с̄· ἡтар̄οσ̄ρ̄ωн̄ ε
 ρ̄οσ̄н̄ ἡβ̄ι ἡχροнос̄ μ̄π̄ρ̄πο
 28 ασ̄ωωσ̄ρ̄ т̄ηροσ̄ ἡβ̄ι ἡт̄н̄σ̄
 εβολ ρ̄μ̄ π̄μοос̄ εт̄ρ̄ηн̄ εп̄

he was given of the greatness
 30 in order to be strong in his
 power (δύναμις), independent of (χωρίς) the power (δύναμις),
 32 independent of (χωρίς) the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα), and
 intercourse (κοινωνία) of Darkness, in order that (ἵνα), at
 34 the end of time (καιρός), when

23

Nature (φύσις) will be destroyed, he may rest
 2 in the honored place (τόπος).
 For (γάρ) he will be found
 4 to be faithful (πιστός), since he has loathed (σικχαίνειν)
 the unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία) of Nature (φύσις) with
 6 the Darkness. The strong power (δύναμις)
 of the mind (νοῦς) came into being from
 8 the mind (νοῦς) and the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 But (δέ) the winds, which are demons (δαίμων)
 10 from water and fire
 and darkness and light, had
 12 intercourse (κοινωνεῖν) unto perdition. And through
 this intercourse (κοινωνία) the winds received
 14 in their womb (μήτρα)
 foam from the penis (πρόσθημα)
 16 of the demons (δαίμων). They conceived
 a power (δύναμις) in their orifice. From
 18 the breathing (ἀναπνοή)
 the wombs (μήτρα) of the winds girded each other
 20 until the times (χρόνος) of the birth came.
 They went down to the water.
 22 And (δέ) the power (δύναμις) was delivered, through
 the breathing (ἀναπνοή) in the midst of the rubbing (τριβη)
 24 which causes the birth. And
 every form of the birth received shape (τύπος)
 26 in it. When
 the times (χρόνος) of the birth were near,
 28 all the winds were gathered
 from the water which is near the

- 30 καθ' αὐτοῦ καθάρσια νιμ'
 αὐτῶ πμα ἡταφωκ εμαθ
 32 ἡσι πτησ' οσααγ αγτωρ μῆ
 τακαθαρσια αὐψωπε εβολ
 34 ἡρητῆ ἡσι ρενστειρα ἡσῶ
 με μῆ ρενστειρα ἡροοστ'
 κδ
 κατα θε γαρ ετοσναδποο[σ']
 2 ταῖ τε θε ετοσζπο' ετβε τη
 νε απινε μῆπμδ οσωνῶ εβολ
 4 ῶμ πκαρ μῆ πμοοσ' ἡτωτῆ
 γαρ τετῆτῆτων εποσθειν'
 6 οσῆτητῆ γαρ μμασ' ἡοσμε
 ροσ ἡτε ἡτησ' μῆ ἡδαμων'
 8 αὐτῶ οσμεεθε εβολ ῶμ ποσ
 οειν ἡτδσναμικ μῆθασμα'
 10 οσον γαρ νιμ ἡταφζπογ εβολ
 ῶν τμητρα ῶζμ πκαρ' ἡταφ
 12 ψωπε νας αν εσαγαθον' πεс
 αψαρομ δε μῆ πεс† ткас ε
 14 тβε πине εροσωνῶ εβολ ῶν
 τῆνε εβολ ῶμ ἡῆδ' τετῆζο
 16 σε γαρ ῶμ πετῆρητ' οσμῆτ'
 μακαριος δε τε снем εσψαν'
 18 † ἡνοσμερικ ἡοσα ἡχι εβολ
 ῶν τψσχη εροσῆ επμεεθε
 20 μποσθειν' τψσχη γαρ εс
 ψοоп ἡβαρος μῆπκακε' αὐτῶ
 22 νετσοοσῆ δε ἡτατῆοσῆ
 ἡτψσχη εἰ εβολ των' сенаψ
 24 самбм ἡса ткеψсис' ετ
 ψσχη γαρ ψοоп ἡεργон ἡта
 26 καθαρσια' αὐτῶ ἡψωс μῆ
 μεεθε ἡοσθειν' ανοκ γαρ
 28 пе пероσωνῶ εβολ μῆпкω

24,1-2

ζπο can mean beget as well as give birth.

24,2-16

Though the revelation is addressed to Shem the tractate often uses

- 30 earth. They gave birth to all kinds of unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία).
 And the place where
 32 the wind alone went was permeated with
 the unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία).
 34 Barren (σπείρα) wives came from it
 and sterile (σπεῖρα) husbands.
 24
 For (γάρ) just as (κατά) they will be born,
 2 so they beget. For your (pl.) sake
 the image of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) appeared
 4 in the earth and the water.
 For (γάρ) you are like the Light.
 6 For (γάρ) you possess a share (μέρος)
 of the winds and the demons (δαίμων),
 8 and a thought from the Light
 of the power (δύναμις) of the astonishment (θαῦμα).
 10 For (γάρ) everything which he brought forth from
 the womb (μήτρα) upon the earth
 12 was not something good (ἀγαθόν) for her,
 but (δέ) (it was) her groan and her pain, because
 14 of the image which appeared in
 you from the Spirit (πνεῦμα). For (γάρ) you are
 16 exalted in your heart.
 And (δέ) it is blessedness (-μακάριος), Shem, if
 18 a share (μερίς) is given to someone to take away
 the soul (ψυχή) to the thought
 20 of the Light. For (γάρ) the soul (ψυχή)
 is a burden (βάρος) to the Darkness, and
 22 those who know where the root
 of the soul (ψυχή) came from will be able
 24 to seek after Nature (φύσις) also.
 For (γάρ) the soul (ψυχή) is a work (ἔργον) of
 26 unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία) and an (object of) scorn to the
 thought of Light. For (γάρ) I
 28 am the one who revealed concerning

24,21 the plural "you" which refers to the race of Shem (see 24,2-16).
 or: "of the Darkness."

30 τε ἄπτενηνhton τηρῶ· ψι
 να δε εφναμοσῶ ἦσι πνοβε
 32 ἡρῶωρῶ δεπρεσανδαι·
 τἄντσαβε ἦβῆλῆ· ψινα εἶ
 34 ναψοσῶσῶ· ασῶ ἦταρι

κῆ

2 οσ ἦκακε· ασῶ ἄν πκακε
 ετρεσῶωσε ἦειδος ἦμ ἦ
 4 τε πετῆρητ· επιδη εβολ
 ῶμ ποσῶω ἄποσоеin ἄπ
 6 ἦνἄ· ασκατ τηνη ασσανῶ
 τηνε ῶν οσπιστικ· δεκαδς
 8 δε εφνασῶσῶ ἦσι πεφμε
 εσε· αψσοσ ἦνοσδαμωη
 10 δεκαδς εσναταψε οειψ ἄ
 πμεεσε ἦτεσκασι· ἦψρε
 12 ἦοσκατακλσμοσ ἦψωτε
 εβολ ἦτετῆνεα· ψινα εφ
 14 ναψι ἄποσоеin ἦψζι εβολ
 ῶν τπιστικ· ανοκ δε δειρῆκῆ
 16 ρσσε ῶν οσβελῆ ῶν ταπρο ἄ
 πδαμωη ετρεσῶπρσ
 18 ψωπε ψα τῶλμε ἄποσоеin·
 ερῶωσπ ῶν ἦδαμωη ἄπ
 20 τοστενεα· παῖ νεψσοοπ ἄ
 μοσ· ψινα εσνασρερ επ
 22 δαμωη επχας ετῶτῶρ
 ναῖ δε ατμητρα μεεσε ερο
 24 οσ κατα πασῶω· ψινα εсна

-
- 24,31-34 The text appears to be corrupt.
 24,34 corr. ε between ψ and ο was rubbed out.
 25,1 The identity of the subject is unclear. The meaning of μεεσε ἄπ is uncertain.
 25,9 Perhaps it should read “I sent” (see 25,15-17).
 25,11-12 Cf. Gen 6:17.

- all that is unbegotten (ἀγέννητον).
- 30 And (δέ) in order that (ἵνα) the sin
of Nature (φύσις) might be filled, I made the
32 womb (μήτρα), which was disturbed, pleasant—
the blind wisdom—that (ἵνα) I might
34 be able to become naught. And at my
25
wish, he plotted with the
2 dark water and also the Darkness,
that they might wound every form (εἶδος)
4 of your (pl.) heart. For (ἐπειδή) by
the will of the light of the
6 Spirit (πνεῦμα) they surrounded you; they bound
you with an oath (πίστις). And (δέ) in order that
8 his plan might become idle,
he sent a demon (δαίμων)
10 that the plan of
her wickedness (κακία) might be proclaimed, (namely) that he cause
12 a flood (κατακλυσμός), and he destroy
your (pl.) race (γενεά), in order (ἵνα) to
14 take the light and to take away from
faith (πίστις). But (δέ) I proclaimed (κυρῶσαι)
16 quickly by the mouth of
the demon (δαίμων) that a tower (πύργος)
18 come to be up to the particle of the light,
which was left in the demons (δαίμων) and
20 their race (γενεά)—which was
water—that (ἵνα) the demon (δαίμων) might be saved
22 from the turbulent chaos (χάος).
And (δέ) the womb (μήτρα) planned these things
24 according to (κατά) my will in order that (ἵνα) she might

25,16 Read $\overline{\sigma\eta}$ $\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\pi\rho$.

25,17 Cf. Gen 11:4.

25,18 $\overline{\sigma\eta}\lambda\mu\epsilon$, translated "particle" here and at 34,7; 35,3, is not elsewhere attested. As a noun it is presumably related to $\overline{\sigma\eta}\omega\lambda\mu\epsilon$ (A², Crum 560a) = ἀποσπᾶν, and translates ἀπόσπασμα, "particle," a technical term in Stoic physics.

25,20 The antecedent of the relative pronoun is unclear.

πωρ̄τ̄ εβολ̄ τηρ̄ς· ἀσπ̄σργος
 26 ψωπε ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄ ἡδαμω̄ν· ἀπ
 κακε ψτορ̄τ̄ρ̄ ρ̄μ̄ πεψ̄στα·
 28 ἀψ̄βωλ̄ εβολ̄ ἡ̄ν̄μ̄μοσ̄τ̄ ἡ̄τ̄
 μ̄ητρα· ἀσ̄ω̄ ἀσ̄ραρερ̄ επ̄δαί
 30 μ̄ων̄ ετ̄ῆ̄νη̄σ̄ εροσ̄η̄ επ̄σρ̄
 γος· δεκαδ̄ς̄ ερεῆ̄γε̄νεᾱ ἡ̄α
 32 μοσ̄η̄ εβολ̄ ἡ̄σε̄πε̄ σ̄στα
 σ̄ις̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄ιτοο̄τ̄ϣ̄· οσ̄ῆ̄τεϣ̄
 34 δ̄σ̄η̄αμ̄ις̄ γαρ̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄ῆ̄ ε̄ῑνε
 ἡ̄ιμ̄· νοσ̄σ̄ρ̄κ̄ ζ̄ῑν̄ π̄ῑνασ̄
 κ̄ς̄
 ὦ̄ σ̄η̄ε̄μ̄ ἡ̄τ̄ψωπε ρ̄ῆ̄ οσ̄η̄[οσ̄]
 2 ἡ̄ρᾱψ̄ε̄ ἡ̄τε̄ τεκ̄γε̄νεᾱ μ̄ῆ̄ [τ]
 π̄ις̄τις̄· δε̄ χω̄ρις̄ σ̄ω̄μᾱ ρ̄ῑ δ̄
 4 ἡ̄ᾱγκ̄η̄ σε̄ρ̄τη̄ρη̄ μ̄μο̄ς̄ ἀσ̄ω̄
 μᾱ ἡ̄ιμ̄ ἡ̄κακε· ε̄σ̄ρ̄μᾱρ̄τ̄σ̄ρη̄
 6 ἡ̄νε̄το̄σ̄ᾱᾱβ̄ ἡ̄τε̄ τ̄μ̄ῆ̄τ̄νο̄ς̄·
 περ̄σ̄ω̄λ̄π̄ εβολ̄ ἡ̄ᾱσ̄ ρ̄μ̄ πο̄σ̄
 8 με̄ε̄σ̄ε̄ ρ̄μ̄ πᾱο̄σ̄ω̄ψ̄ε̄· ἀσ̄ω̄
 σε̄νᾱμ̄τον̄ μ̄μο̄σ̄ ρ̄μ̄ ἡ̄ῆ̄ᾱ ἡ̄
 10 ἀ̄γε̄νη̄νη̄τον̄ εν̄σε̄ρ̄ λ̄σ̄πη̄ ἀ̄η̄·
 ἡ̄το̄κ̄ δε̄ σ̄η̄ε̄μ̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ πᾱί̄ δ̄κ̄
 12 σ̄ω̄ ρ̄ῆ̄ σ̄ω̄μᾱ μ̄π̄βωλ̄ ἡ̄τ̄κ̄λοο̄λε̄
 ἡ̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ δε̄καδ̄ς̄ εκ̄η̄ᾱρ̄ρ̄σ̄πο̄
 14 μ̄ῑνε̄ μ̄ῆ̄ τ̄π̄ις̄τις̄· ἀσ̄ω̄ τ̄π̄ις̄
 τ̄ις̄ ἡ̄ῆ̄η̄σ̄ ψ̄ᾱρο̄κ̄· σε̄νᾱϣ̄ῑ πε̄ς̄
 16 με̄ε̄σ̄ε̄ ἡ̄σε̄τᾱᾱϣ̄ ἡ̄ᾱκ̄ ρ̄ῆ̄ οσ̄ε̄σ̄η̄
 ε̄ῑδ̄η̄ς̄ις̄ ἡ̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄· ἡ̄ᾱί̄ δε̄ δε̄ῑ
 18 τᾱμο̄κ̄ ε̄ρο̄σ̄τ̄ ἀτ̄ω̄φ̄ε̄λ̄ιᾱ ἡ̄τε̄κ̄
 γε̄νεᾱ εβολ̄ ρ̄ῆ̄ τ̄κ̄λοο̄λε̄ ἡ̄ο̄σ̄ο̄
 20 ε̄ῑν̄· ἀσ̄ω̄ νε̄τ̄η̄ᾱζ̄ο̄σ̄τ̄ ἡ̄ᾱκ̄ ρ̄ο̄
 μο̄ῑω̄ς̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ ρ̄ω̄β̄ ἡ̄ιμ̄· τ̄η̄ᾱο̄σ̄
 22 ο̄η̄ρ̄ο̄σ̄ εβολ̄ ἡ̄ᾱκ̄ ψ̄ᾱρ̄ᾱε̄· ψ̄η̄η̄ᾱ
 εκ̄η̄ᾱο̄σ̄ο̄η̄ρ̄ο̄σ̄ εβολ̄ ἡ̄νε̄τ̄
 24 ἡ̄ᾱψωπε ρ̄ῑζ̄μ̄ π̄καρ̄ μ̄π̄μερ̄
 σε̄π̄ σ̄η̄ᾱσ̄· ὦ̄ σ̄η̄ε̄μ̄ τ̄κ̄ῑνη̄ς̄ις̄

26 pour forth completely. A tower (πύργος)
 came to be through the demons (δαίμων). The
 Darkness was disturbed by his loss.
 28 He loosened the muscles of the
 womb (μήτρα). And the demon (δαίμων)
 30 who was going to enter the tower (πύργος) was saved
 in order that the races (γενεά) might
 32 continue and might acquire coherence (σύστασις)
 through him. For (γάρ) he possesses
 34 power (δύναμις) from every form.
 Return henceforth,
 26
 O (ὦ) Shem, and rejoice [greatly]
 2 over your race (γενεά) and
 faith (πίστις), for (γάρ) without (χωρίς) body (σῶμα) and
 4 necessity (ἀνάγκη) it is protected (τηρεῖν) from
 every body (σῶμα) of Darkness, bearing witness (μαρτυρεῖν)
 6 to the holy things of the greatness
 which was revealed to them in their
 8 thought by my will. And
 they shall rest in the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 10 without grief (λύπη).
 But (δέ) you, Shem, because of this, you
 12 remained in (the) body (σῶμα) outside the cloud
 of light that you might remain (ὑπομένειν)
 14 with faith (πίστις). And faith (πίστις)
 will come to you. Her thought will be taken
 16 and given to you with a consciousness (συνείδησις)
 of light. And (δέ) I
 18 told you these things for the benefit (ὠφέλεια) of your
 race (γενεά) from the cloud of light.
 20 And likewise (ὁμοίως) what I shall say to you
 concerning everything, I shall reveal
 22 to you completely that (ἵνα)
 you may reveal them to those who
 24 will be upon the earth the
 second time. O (ὦ) Shem, the disturbance (κίνησις)

26,20-25 flood, the building of the tower is given a positive meaning.
 Cf. *Ap. John*, II 31,27-30 (= BG 75,15-18).

- 26 ερωπε ρ̅μ παρωψε· ν̅τασ
 ψωπε ψ̅ινα ερετ̅φ̅σ̅ις̅ να
 28 ψωπε εσ̅ω̅σ̅ειτ̅· α̅γ̅μ̅τον
 τ̅αρ̅ μ̅μο̅γ̅ ν̅β̅ι̅ π̅νο̅σ̅ε̅<σ̅> μ̅π̅κα̅κε̅
 30 ω̅ σ̅η̅ε̅μ̅· α̅σ̅τ̅μ̅ ρ̅ω̅γ̅ μ̅π̅κα̅κε̅·
 ο̅σ̅κε̅τι̅ ψ̅ο̅σ̅ο̅ν̅ϱ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅κ̅τι̅
 32 σ̅ι̅ς̅ ν̅β̅ι̅ π̅ο̅σ̅ο̅ει̅ν̅ ε̅ρ̅π̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅ ν̅α̅σ̅·
 κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ π̅α̅ρ̅ω̅ψ̅· α̅σ̅ω̅ ν̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅
 34 τ̅φ̅σ̅ι̅ς̅ ζ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ ζ̅ε̅ α̅γ̅ζ̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅
 ν̅β̅ι̅ π̅ε̅σ̅ο̅σ̅ω̅ψ̅· τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ δ̅ει̅δ̅ο̅ς̅
 36 ν̅ι̅μ̅ ω̅μ̅κ̅ ε̅π̅ι̅τ̅η̅ δ̅η̅μ̅ο̅σ̅̅ι̅η̅

κ̅ζ̅

- [ϱ̅]η̅ ο̅σ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅α̅τ̅σ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅η̅ ε̅σ̅ω̅σ̅
 2 ψ̅ο̅σ̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅· α̅σ̅κ̅τ̅ο̅ ν̅τ̅ε̅ς̅
 τ̅α̅π̅ρ̅ο̅ ν̅κ̅α̅κε̅ α̅σ̅η̅σ̅ζ̅ε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅
 4 μ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅ ν̅τ̅α̅σ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ ν̅κ̅ω̅ϱ̅τ̅
 τ̅ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ν̅ϱ̅η̅τ̅ς̅ ζ̅ι̅ν̅ ν̅ψ̅ο̅
 6 ρ̅π̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅β̅η̅ μ̅π̅κα̅κε̅ α̅γ̅
 ζ̅ι̅σ̅ε̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅γ̅ α̅γ̅ρ̅ ο̅σ̅ο̅ει̅ν̅ ε̅ζ̅η̅
 8 τ̅κ̅τι̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ς̅ ν̅ψ̅β̅β̅ιω̅ μ̅π̅α̅ι̅
 κ̅α̅ι̅ο̅ς̅· α̅σ̅ω̅ ν̅ε̅σ̅μ̅ο̅ρ̅φ̅η̅ τ̅η̅
 10 ρ̅ο̅σ̅ α̅σ̅τ̅α̅σ̅ο̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ν̅η̅ο̅σ̅α̅σ̅η̅α̅
 μ̅ι̅ς̅ ν̅θ̅ε̅ ν̅η̅η̅ψ̅α̅ρ̅ ν̅κ̅ω̅ϱ̅τ̅ ψ̅α̅
 12 ρ̅ρα̅ι̅ ε̅τ̅π̅ε̅· ε̅σ̅β̅ο̅η̅θ̅ε̅ι̅α̅ μ̅π̅ο̅σ̅
 ο̅ει̅ν̅ ε̅ρ̅ζ̅ω̅ϱ̅μ̅ πα̅ι̅ ν̅τ̅α̅γ̅ζ̅α̅σ̅τ̅γ̅·
 14 ν̅ε̅σ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ τ̅α̅ρ̅ μ̅μ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ μ̅π̅κ̅ω̅
 ϱ̅τ̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅τ̅ρ̅τ̅ω̅ρ̅· α̅σ̅ω̅ μ̅π̅ε̅ς̅
 16 ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ ζ̅ε̅ ν̅τ̅α̅ς̅ρ̅β̅λ̅α̅π̅τ̅ε̅ι̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅
 ο̅σ̅α̅α̅ς̅· ν̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ς̅ν̅ε̅ζ̅ τ̅α̅σ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅
 18 ε̅βο̅λ̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ ο̅σ̅η̅τ̅ε̅ς̅ α̅σ̅η̅α̅μ̅ι̅ς̅
 α̅σ̅η̅ο̅ζ̅ς̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ ν̅ρ̅α̅ τ̅ω̅β̅ε̅· π̅α̅ε̅
 20 μ̅ω̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ μ̅π̅λ̅α̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ε̅ρ̅
 κ̅ι̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅μ̅η̅τ̅ρα̅ δ̅ει̅δ̅ο̅ς̅ ν̅ι̅μ̅·
 22 α̅σ̅ω̅ ρ̅η̅ τ̅ε̅ς̅μ̅ν̅τ̅α̅τ̅σ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅η̅

26,29

Ms reads π̅η̅ο̅σ̅ε̅. [Ed.]

27,3

τ̅α̅π̅ρ̅ο̅ = στόμα, translated "orifice," should here probably be construed as "vulva."

27,6

Read ρ̅η̅ τ̅τ̅ρ̅ι̅β̅η̅.

26 which occurred at my wish
 happened in order that (ἵνα) Nature (φύσις) might
 28 become empty.
 For (γάρ) the wrath of the Darkness subsided.
 30 O (ὦ) Shem, the Darkness' mouth was shut.
 No longer (οὐκέτι) does the light which
 32 shone for the creation (κτίσις) appear in it,
 according to (κατά) my will. And when
 34 Nature (φύσις) had said that
 its wish was fulfilled, then (τότε) every form (εἶδος)
 36 was engulfed by the waters

27

in prideful ignorance.
 2 She (i.e., Nature (φύσις)) turned her
 dark orifice and cast from
 4 her the power (δύναμις) of fire
 which was in her from the beginning
 6 through the rubbing (τριβη) of the Darkness. It (masc.)
 lifted itself up and shone upon
 8 the whole creation (κτίσις) instead of the righteous one (δίκαιος).
 And all her forms (μορφή)
 10 sent forth a power (δύναμις)
 like a flame of fire up
 12 to heaven as a help (βοήθεια) to the
 corrupted light, which had lifted itself up.
 14 For (γάρ) they were members (μέλος) of the
 chaotic fire. And she did not
 16 know that she had harmed (βλάπτειν) herself.
 When she cast forth the power (δύναμις),
 18 the power (δύναμις) which she possessed,
 she cast it forth from the joints. It was the demon (δαίμων),
 20 a deceiver (πλάνος), who
 stirred up the womb (μήτρα) in every form (εἶδος)—
 22 And in her ignorance,

27,6-7 The subject is most likely the corrupted light (see 27,12-13).
 27,8-9 Probably the righteous Spark (31,28-29; 33,30).
 27,19 The meaning of **πα τωσεν** is uncertain.

ρω(ω)Ϸ εϷδε εϷειρε ἸοϷνοϷ
 24 Ἰρωβ· ἀϷρ̄χαριζε ἸἸδαίμων
 ἸἸ ἸἸἸνοϷ ἸοϷϷιοϷ ἸποϷα
 26 ποϷα· χωριϷ τἠϷ γαρ ϷἸ ϷιοϷ
 ἸἸἸ ἸααϷ ἸαϷωπε ϷἸϷἸ ἸκαρϷ·
 28 τὰϷἸαίμιϷ γαρ Ἰίμ εϷμοϷρϷ
 εβολ ϷἸτοοτοϷ· επει ἸἸαϷ
 30 κααϷ εβολ ϷἸ Ἰκακε ἸἸ Ἰκω
 ϷἸ· ἸἸ ἸϷομ· ἸἸ ποϷοειἸ·
 32 Ἰμα γαρ ἸἸαποϷκακε ἸἸ
 ποϷκωϷἸ τωρ ἸἸ ἸεϷερἸἸ
 34 ἀϷϷπο ἸρηνḡἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ· ἀϷω Ἰμα
 ἸἸκακε ἸἸ ἸκωϷἸ ἸἸ τὰϷἸα
 ḲἸ
 ἸίϷ ἸἸἸνοϷ ἸἸ ποϷοειἸ [ἸἸ]
 2 τὰἸἸρωμε Ἰωπε· εβολ ϷἸ Ἰ
 ἸἸἸ ἸμεεϷε ἸποϷοειἸ Ἰαβαλ
 4 ϷἸοοἸ ἀἸ ϷἸ Ἰωμε Ἰίμ· Ϸατε
 ϷἸ γαρ εἸπατεἸκατακλᷮϷμοϷ
 6 Ἰωπε εβολ ϷἸ ἸἸἸἸ ἸἸ Ἰ
 δαίμων ἀροϷḡ Ἰωπε ἸἸ
 8 Ἰωμε· ϷεκααϷ δε ἀἸἸ εϷἸα
 Ϸπο ἸἸτὰϷἸαίμιϷ τετᷮἸ ἸἸἸἸ
 10 ϷοϷ ἸḲἸἸἸἸ ἸμοϷ ϷἸϷἸ ἸκαρϷ·
 τοτε τᷮᷮἸἸ ἸἸαϷἸἸἸἸἸἸ·
 12 ἀϷοϷωϷ εἸβλαἸἸἸ ἸἸϷπερ
 Ἰα εἸἸαἸωπε ϷἸϷἸ ἸκαρϷ Ἰ
 14 ἸἸἸἸἸα ἸκατακλᷮϷμοϷ· ἀϷϷο
 οϷ Ἰρηνδαίμων ἸἸαροοϷ ἸἸ
 16 Ἰ οϷἸλαἸἸ ἸἸε ἸἸἸἸἸ· ἀϷω
 οϷβαροϷ ἸἸε ἸαγγελοϷ· ἀϷω
 18 οϷᷮᷮἸἸ ἸἸροϷἸἸἸἸἸ· οϷκα
 ταḲἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸαϷε· ἸἸἸα εει
 20 ἸαἸϷεβακ ḡ ḲἸἸἸ· Ϸε εβολ

27,28

Read εϷμοϷρϷ; τὰϷἸαίμιϷ should not have the article since it is followed by Ἰίμ.

- as if (ὡς) she were doing a great
 24 thing, she granted (χαρίζειν) the demons (δαίμων)
 and the winds a star each.
- 26 For (γάρ) without (χωρίς) wind and star
 nothing happens upon the earth.
- 28 For (γάρ) it is filled
 by every power (δύναμις) after (ἐπεὶ) they were
 30 released from the Darkness and the fire
 and the power (δύναμις) and the light.
- 32 For (γάρ) in the place where their darkness and
 their fire were mixed with each other
 34 beasts (θηρίον) were brought forth. And (it was in) the place
 of the Darkness, and the fire, and the power (δύναμις)
 28
 of the mind (νοῦς), and the light,
 2 that human beings came into existence from the
 Spirit (πνεῦμα). The thought of the Light, my eye,
 4 exists not in every man.
 For (γάρ) before the flood (κατακλυσμός)
 6 came from the winds and the
 demons (δαίμων), <evil> came to
 8 men. But (δέ) yet (ἔτι), in order that the power (δύναμις)
 which is in the tower (πύργος) might be brought forth,
 10 and might rest upon the earth,
 then (τότε) Nature (φύσις), which had been disturbed,
 12 wanted to harm (βλάπτειν) the seed (σπέρμα)
 which will be upon the earth after
 14 the flood (κατακλυσμός).
 Demons (δαίμων) were sent to them, and
 16 a deviation (πλάνη) of the winds, and
 a burden (βάρος) of the angels (ἄγγελος), and
 18 a fear of the prophet (προφήτης), a
 condemnation (κατάγνωσις) of speech, that (ἵνα) I may
 20 teach you, O (ὦ) Shem, from

28,7 Perhaps the text should be emended to ΔΠΕΤΡΟΟΦ (“evil”)
 or ΔΦΡΟΟΦ (“a day”).

28,18 Read ἄππροφήτης.

22 ρ̄ñ αψ̄ ñ̄μ̄ñ̄τ̄β̄λλ̄ε εσ̄ρ̄ᾱρε̄ρ ε
 24 ο̄γ̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄γ̄· τ̄ο̄τ̄ε̄ π̄δ̄ῑκ̄ᾱῑο̄ς̄ ñ̄α
 26 π̄ῑρ̄ε̄ ε̄ξ̄ñ̄ τ̄κ̄τ̄ῑς̄ῑς̄ μ̄ñ̄ τ̄ᾱρ̄β̄ε̄ω̄
 28 ᾱτ̄ω̄ τ̄ο̄τ̄ψ̄η̄ μ̄ñ̄ πε̄ρ̄ο̄ο̄τ̄ ñ̄α
 30 π̄ω̄ψ̄ε̄· †ñ̄ᾱπ̄ω̄τ̄ τ̄αρ̄ ε̄ρ̄ᾱί̄ ε̄τ̄
 32 κ̄τ̄ῑς̄ῑς̄ δ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱδ̄ ε̄ε̄ῑνᾱγ̄ῑ πο̄τ̄
 34 ο̄ε̄ῑñ̄ μ̄π̄μᾱ ε̄τ̄μ̄μᾱτ̄ πᾱί̄ ε̄τε
 36 ο̄σ̄ñ̄τ̄ᾱς̄γ̄ ñ̄β̄ῑ τ̄π̄ῑς̄τ̄ῑς̄· ᾱτ̄ω̄
 †ñ̄ᾱο̄τ̄ω̄ñ̄τ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ε̄τ̄ñ̄ᾱ
 δ̄π̄ο̄ ñ̄ᾱτ̄ μ̄π̄μ̄ε̄ε̄ε̄ε̄ μ̄πο̄τ̄
 ο̄ε̄ῑñ̄ μ̄π̄ñ̄ᾱ· ε̄τ̄β̄η̄τ̄ο̄τ̄ τ̄αρ̄ ᾱπ̄ᾱ
 με̄γε̄θ̄ο̄ς̄ ο̄τ̄ω̄ñ̄τ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ρ̄ο̄τ̄ᾱñ̄
 ε̄γ̄ψ̄ᾱñ̄ο̄τ̄ω̄ñ̄τ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ω̄ σ̄η̄ε̄μ̄
 ρ̄ί̄ξ̄μ̄ π̄κ̄ᾱρ̄ [ρ̄μ̄] π̄μᾱ ε̄τ̄ο̄τ̄ñ̄ᾱ

κ̄θ

2 μ̄ο̄σ̄τ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄ δ̄ε̄ σ̄ο̄δ̄ο̄μᾱ· ε̄ρ̄ῑ
 4 ᾱς̄φ̄ᾱλ̄ῑζε̄ ñ̄τ̄ε̄ς̄θ̄η̄ς̄ῑς̄ ε̄†
 6 ñ̄ᾱτ̄ᾱδ̄ ñ̄ᾱκ̄· σ̄ε̄ñ̄ᾱς̄ω̄ο̄τ̄ρ̄
 8 τ̄αρ̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄κ̄ ñ̄β̄ῑ ñ̄ε̄τ̄ε̄σ̄ñ̄τ̄ᾱτ̄
 10 μ̄μᾱτ̄ μ̄φ̄η̄τ̄ ε̄τ̄ο̄τ̄ᾱδ̄β̄· ε̄
 12 τ̄β̄ε̄ π̄λ̄ο̄γ̄ο̄ς̄ πᾱί̄ ε̄τ̄κ̄ñ̄ᾱο̄τ̄
 14 ο̄ñ̄τ̄γ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄· ε̄κ̄ψ̄ᾱñ̄ο̄τ̄ω̄ñ̄τ̄
 16 τ̄αρ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ρ̄ñ̄ τ̄κ̄τ̄ῑς̄ῑς̄· τ̄φ̄θ̄ς̄ῑς̄
 18 ñ̄κ̄ᾱκ̄ε̄ ñ̄ᾱñ̄ο̄ε̄ῑñ̄ ε̄ρ̄ᾱί̄ ε̄ξ̄ω̄κ̄
 20 μ̄ñ̄ ñ̄τ̄η̄τ̄ μ̄ñ̄ñ̄ ο̄τ̄δ̄ᾱῑμ̄ω̄ñ̄·
 22 ψ̄ῑñ̄ᾱ ε̄σ̄ñ̄ᾱγ̄ω̄τ̄ε̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ñ̄
 24 τ̄ε̄ς̄θ̄η̄ς̄ῑς̄· ñ̄τ̄ο̄κ̄ δ̄ε̄ τ̄ᾱψ̄ε̄
 26 ο̄ε̄ῑψ̄ ñ̄β̄λ̄ο̄μ̄ ñ̄ñ̄ς̄ο̄δ̄ο̄μ̄ῑτ̄η̄ς̄
 28 ñ̄τ̄ε̄κ̄ς̄β̄ω̄ ñ̄κ̄ᾱθ̄ο̄λ̄ῑκ̄η̄· ñ̄ε̄κ̄
 30 με̄λ̄ο̄ς̄ τ̄αρ̄ ñ̄ε̄· γ̄ñ̄ᾱπ̄ω̄ρ̄ξ̄
 32 τ̄αρ̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ μ̄π̄μᾱ ε̄τ̄μ̄μᾱτ̄ ñ̄β̄ῑ
 34 π̄δ̄ᾱῑμ̄ω̄ñ̄ μ̄μ̄ο̄ρ̄φ̄η̄ ñ̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄
 36 ε̄γ̄ε̄ ñ̄ᾱτ̄ς̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ñ̄ ρ̄μ̄ πᾱο̄τ̄ω̄ψ̄·
 γ̄ñ̄ᾱρ̄ᾱρε̄ρ ε̄τ̄ε̄ί̄φ̄ᾱς̄ῑς̄· ñ̄ς̄ο̄δ̄ο̄

- what blindness your
 22 race (γενεά) is saved. When (ὅταν) I have
 revealed to you all that has been spoken,
 24 then (τότε) the righteous one (δίκαιος) will
 shine upon the creation (κτίσις) with my garment.
 26 And the night and the day will
 be separated. For (γάρ) I shall hasten down to
 28 creation (κτίσις) to take the light
 of that place, the one which
 30 faith (πίστις) possesses. And
 I shall appear to those who will
 32 acquire the thought of the light
 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα). For (γάρ) because of them my
 34 Majesty (μέγεθος) appeared. When (ὅταν)
 he will have appeared, O (ὦ) Shem,
 36 upon the earth, [in] the place which will be
 29
 called Sodom, (then)
 2 safeguard (ἀσφαλίζειν) the insight (ἀσθησις) which I
 shall give you. For (γάρ) those whose
 4 heart was pure will congregate to you,
 because of
 6 the word (λόγος) which you will reveal.
 For (γάρ) when you appear
 8 in creation (κτίσις), dark Nature (φύσις)
 will shake against you,
 10 together with the winds and a demon (δαίμων),
 that (ἵνα) they may destroy
 12 the insight (ἀσθησις). But (δέ) you, proclaim
 quickly to the Sodomites (σοδομίτης)
 14 your universal (καθολική) teaching,
 for (γάρ) they are your members (μέλος).
 16 For (γάρ) the demon (δαίμων) of human form (μορφή)
 will part from that place
 18 by my will, since he is ignorant.
 He will guard this utterance (φάσις). But (δέ) the

20 ΜΙΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΘΩΨ ΜΠΜΕ
 ΓΕΘΟΣ ΣΕΝΑΡ̄ΜΑΡΤΩΡΙ ΝΤ̄
 22 ΜΑΡΤΩΡΙΑ Ν̄ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ· ΣΕ
 ΝΑΜ̄ΤΟΝ Μ̄ΜΟΟΨ Ω̄Ν ΟΨΟΨΗ
 24 ΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ ΕΣΟΨΑΔΒ' Ω̄Μ ΠΤΟ
 ΠΟΣ Ν̄ΤΟΨΑΝΑΠΑΨΙΣ ΕΤΕ
 26 ΠΑΪ ΠΕ Π̄ΝΑ Ν̄ΑΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ·
 ΝΑΪ ΔΕ Ω̄ΩΣ ΕΨΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΣΕ
 28 ΝΑΡΩΚΩ̄ Ν̄ΣΟΔΟΜΑ ΔΑΔΙΚΩΣ·
 ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄ΝΗ ΟΨΦΨΙΣ Μ̄ΠΟΝΗ
 30 ΡΑ· ΠΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΨΝΑΡ̄ΑΝΑ
 ΠΑΨΕΣΘΑΪ ΔΝ ΞΕ ΕΠΕΚ
 32 ΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΝΑΟΨΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ
 Μ̄ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΨ· ΤΟΤΕ
 Ᾱ
 ΨΝΑΒΩΚ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΔΔΙΜΩΝ Μ̄Ν
 2 ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ· ΔΨΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΨΝΑΟΨ
 ΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Μ ΠΨΤΟΟΨ Μ̄ΜΕ
 4 ΡΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΚΤΙΣΙΣ· ΩΤΑΝ ΔΕ
 ΕΡΨΑΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΟΨΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ
 6 Ω̄Μ ΦΔΕ Ν̄ΕΙΝΕ· ΤΟΤΕ ΨΝΑΡ̄
 ΦΑΝΕΡΟΨ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΣΟΨΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ·
 8 ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΞΠΟ ΠΕ ΠΔΔΙΜΩΝ·
 ΠΕΡΟΨΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Ν ΘΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ
 10 Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΨΨΙΣ Ω̄Ν ΩΑΩ Μ̄ΠΡΟΣΩ
 ΠΟΝ· ΨΙΝΑ ΕΡΕΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΝΑ
 12 ΟΨΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΩΗΤΨ· ΕΨΨΑΝ
 ΟΨΩΝΩ̄ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Ν ΤΚΤΙΣΙΣ
 14 ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΩΕΝΟΡΓΗ ΕΨ
 ΩΟΟΨ Μ̄Ν ΩΕΝΝΟΕΙΝ Μ̄Ν ΩΕΝ
 16 ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ· Μ̄Ν Ω̄ΝΩΚΟ· Μ̄Ν ΩΕΝ
 ΟΨΑ· ΕΤΒΗΝΤΨ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΙΚΟΨΜΕ
 18 ΝΗ ΤΗΡ̄Σ ΣΕΝΑΨ̄ΡΨΩΡ̄Σ·
 ΨΝΑΚΩΤΕ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΣΑ ΤΔΨΝΑΜΙΣ
 20 Ν̄ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ Μ̄Ν ΠΟΨΟΕΙΝ ΨΝΑ
 ΩΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΝ· Ω̄Μ ΠΚΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΡ

- 20 Sodomites (σοδομίτης), according to (κατά) the will of the
 Majesty (μέγεθος), will bear witness (μαρτυρεῖν) to the
 22 universal (καθολική) testimony (μαρτυρία). They
 will rest with a pure conscience (συνείδησις)
 24 in the place (τόπος)
 of their repose (ἀνάπαυσις), which
 26 is the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 And (δέ) as (ὡς) these things will happen,
 28 Sodom will be burned unjustly (ἀδίκως)
 by a base (πονηρά) Nature (φύσις).
 30 For (γάρ) the evil (κακόν) will not cease (ἀναπαύεσθαι)
 in order that your
 32 Majesty (μέγεθος) may appear
 there. Then (τότε)
 30
 the demon (δαίμων) will depart and
 2 faith (πίστις). And then (τότε) he will appear
 in the four regions (μέρος)
 4 of the creation (κτίσις). And (δέ) when (ὅταν)
 faith (πίστις) appears
 6 in the last likeness, then (τότε) will
 her appearance become manifest (φανεροῦν).
 8 For (γάρ) the firstborn is the demon (δαίμων)
 who appeared in the unity (ἀρμονία)
 10 of Nature (φύσις) with many faces (πρόσωπον),
 in order that (ἵνα) faith (πίστις) might
 12 appear in him. For (γάρ) when he
 appears in the creation (κτίσις),
 14 evil wrath (pl.) (ὀργή) will arise
 and earthquakes, and
 16 wars (πόλεμος), and famines, and
 blasphemies. For (γάρ) because of him the whole
 18 world (οἰκουμένη) will be disturbed.
 For (γάρ) he will seek the power (δύναμις)
 20 of faith (πίστις) and Light; he will
 not find it. For (γάρ) at that time (καιρός)

22 ΕΤΑΜΑΘ ΦΗΑΘΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΣΙ ΠΚΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΘΙΣΜ ΠΙΕΡΟ·
 24 ΨΙΝΑ ΕΦΗΑΡΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΝΗΝΟΦ
 ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΝΑΤΣΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ·
 26 ΝΥΚΙΜ ΕΠΚΟΜΟΦ ΘΝ ΟΦΜΡ
 ΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΦ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΡΑΜ
 28 ΤΡΑΟΦΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΘΝ ΜΜΕΛΟΦ
 ΜΠΜΕΕΤΕ ΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΦ· ΨΙΝΑ
 30 ΕΙΝΑΦΑΝΕΡΟΦ ΝΗΝΟΦ ΝΤΑ
 ΔΦΝΑΜΙΦ· †ΝΑΠΟΡΨΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 32 ΘΜ ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝ· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΟΛ
 ΔΑΦ· ΑΦΩ ΠΟΦΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΟΦ
 34 ΝΤΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΜ ΠΝΑ· †ΝΑΤΑ
 ΘΥ ΜΝ ΤΑΘΒΩ ΕΜΑΦΣΡΟ Ε
 36 ΡΟΦ· ΑΦΩ ΠΕΦΗΑΘΩΝΩΦ Ε

λα

ΒΟΛ· ΘΡΑΙ ΘΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΒΗΤΚ
 2 ΑΦΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΚΓΕΝΕΑ· ΤΑΙ Ε
 ΤΟΦΝΑΘΑΡΕΦ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΠΚΑΚΟΝ
 4 ΝΚΑΚΕ· ΕΙΜΕ Ω ΣΗΕΜ ΖΕ ΧΩ
 ΡΙΦ ΕΛΩΡΧΑΙΟΦ ΜΝ ΔΜΟΙΑΦ ΜΝ
 6 ΣΤΡΟΦΑΙΑΦ· ΜΝ ΧΕΛΚΕΑΦ·
 ΜΝ ΧΕΛΚΕΑ· ΜΝ ΑΓΛΕΟΦ· ΜΝ
 8 ΛΑΑΦ ΝΑΨ ΖΩΒΕ ΝΤΕΙΦΘΕΦΙΦ
 ΕΘΟΟΦ· ΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΤΑΘΦΠΟ
 10 ΜΗΝΦΙΦ· ΖΕ ΘΡΑΙ ΝΘΗΤΦ ΔΕΙ
 ΣΡΟ ΕΤΦΘΕΦΙΦ ΕΤΘΟΟΦ· ΑΦΩ
 12 ΔΕΙΦΙ ΜΠΟΦΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΠΝΑ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΘΜ ΠΜΟΟΦ ΝΘΡΤΕ· ΘΟΤΑΝ
 14 ΓΑΡ ΕΨΑΝΘΩΝ ΕΘΟΦΝ ΝΦΙ
 ΝΘΟΟΦ ΝΤΠΡΟΘΕΦΜΙΑ ΜΠ
 16 ΔΑΙΜΩΝ· ΠΑΙ ΕΤΑΡΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ
 ΘΝ ΟΦΠΛΑΝΗ· ΤΟΤΕ †ΝΑΟΦ

30,23

If the first born demon is Jesus then "the other demon" is John the Baptist.

30,33-34

Read οφνηταφϛϣ.

31,7

αγλεοφ is probably the genitive of αγλεοφ following the preposition χωριφ; the vocative form is spelled ελαγε in 46,11.

- 22 the other demon (δαίμων) will
appear upon the river
24 to (ἵνα) baptize (βαπτίζειν) with an
imperfect baptism (βάπτισμα),
26 and to trouble the world (κόσμος) with a bondage
of water. But (δέ) it is necessary
28 for me to appear in the members (μέλος)
of the thought of faith (πίστις) to (ἵνα)
30 reveal (φανεροῦν) the great things of my
power (δύναμις) . I shall separate it
32 from the demon (δαίμων) who is Soldas.
And the light which
34 he possesses from the Spirit (πνεῦμα) I shall mix
with my invincible garment,
36 as well as him whom I shall reveal

31

- in the darkness for your sake
2 and for the sake of your race (γενεά) which
will be saved from the evil (κακόν)
4 Darkness. Know, O (ὦ) Shem, that without (χωρίς)
Elorchaios and Amoiias and
6 Strophaiias and Chelkeak
and Chelkea and Elaios, no
8 one will be able to pass by this wicked region (θέσις).
For (γάρ) this is my testimony (ὑπόμνησις)
10 because through it I have been
victorious over the wicked region (θέσις). And
12 I have taken the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
from the frightful water.
14 For (γάρ) when (ὅταν) the
appointed (προθεσμία) days of the
16 demon (δαίμων) draw near, he who will baptize (βαπτίζειν)
erringly (πλάνη), then (τότε) I shall appear

Confusion between ε and αι is common since they were pronounced the same in Hellenistic Greek.

31,8-9.11 The wicked region is most likely the firmament (στερέωμα) in 32,28.

δαίμων" is found

εοc following
Δε in 46.11

18 ω̄ν̄ϩ̄ εβολ̄ ϩ̄μ̄ πβαπτιςμο̄ς
 μ̄πδᾱιμω̄ν· ψ̄ινᾱ ε̄εῑνᾱφ̄α
 20 νερο̄ϥ̄ ϩ̄ν̄ τ̄τᾱπρο̄ ν̄τ̄πις
 τ̄ις̄ ν̄νο̄ϥ̄μαρ̄τω̄ριᾱ ν̄νε
 22 τε̄ νο̄ϥ̄ς̄ νε̄· †̄ρ̄ μ̄ν̄τρε
 μ̄μο̄κ̄ σ̄π̄ῑν̄θ̄η̄ρ̄ πε̄τε̄μᾱϣ̄
 24 ω̄ψ̄μ̄ ο̄σε̄ῑ· πε̄τ̄σο̄τ̄ῑ ν̄τε
 πο̄σο̄εῑν̄· π̄βᾱλ̄ ν̄τ̄πε̄· ᾱϥ̄ω
 26 τ̄πῑς̄τις̄· τ̄ψ̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ μ̄ν̄ θ̄ᾱν̄·
 ᾱϥ̄ω̄ σο̄φ̄ιᾱ· μ̄ν̄ σᾱφ̄ᾱιᾱ· μ̄ν̄
 28 σᾱφ̄ᾱῑνᾱ· ᾱϥ̄ω̄ πᾱῑκᾱιο̄ς̄
 ν̄σ̄π̄ῑν̄θ̄η̄ρ̄· ᾱϥ̄ω̄ πο̄σο̄
 30 εῑν̄ ε̄τ̄σᾱϩ̄μ̄· ᾱϥ̄ω̄ ν̄το̄ τᾱ
 νᾱτο̄λη̄ ᾱϥ̄ω̄ φω̄τ̄π̄ῑ· ᾱϥ̄ω̄
 32 τᾱρκ̄το̄ς̄· μ̄ν̄ με̄ση̄μβ̄ριᾱ·
 πε̄θ̄η̄ρ̄ μ̄ν̄ πᾱη̄ρ̄· μ̄ν̄ ν̄δᾱϥ̄
 34 νᾱμ̄ις̄ τη̄ρο̄ϥ̄ ᾱϥ̄ω̄ νε̄ζο̄ϥ̄
 ϣ̄ιᾱ·

λβ

ν̄τω̄τ̄η̄ τε̄τ̄η̄ψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ϩ̄ν̄ τ̄[κ̄τ̄ῑ]
 2 ϣ̄ις̄· ᾱϥ̄ω̄ ν̄το̄κ̄ μ̄ο̄λ̄τ̄χ̄θᾱ
 μ̄ν̄ σ̄ω̄χ̄ ε̄βολ̄ ϩ̄ν̄ ε̄ργ̄ο̄ν̄ ν̄ῑμ̄·
 4 ᾱϥ̄ω̄ ϩ̄ῑσε̄ ν̄ῑμ̄ ε̄ϣ̄σᾱϩ̄μ̄ ν̄τε
 τ̄φ̄ϥ̄ϣ̄ις̄· το̄τε̄ †̄η̄νη̄ϥ̄ ε̄βολ̄
 6 ϩ̄ῑτ̄μ̄ πᾱδᾱιμω̄ν̄ ε̄πῑτ̄η̄ ε̄π̄μο̄
 ο̄ϥ̄· ᾱϥ̄ω̄ ϩ̄εν̄β̄ε̄ρω̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ϥ̄
 8 μ̄ν̄ ϩ̄εν̄ψ̄ᾱϩ̄ ν̄κ̄ω̄ϩ̄τ̄ ϣ̄ε̄νᾱτω̄
 ω̄ν̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ε̄ξ̄ω̄εῑ· το̄τε̄ †̄η̄
 10 ν̄η̄ϥ̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ϩ̄μ̄ π̄μο̄ο̄ϥ̄ ε̄ᾱεῑ†̄
 ϩ̄ῑω̄ω̄τ̄ μ̄πο̄σο̄εῑν̄ ν̄τ̄πις̄
 12 τ̄ις̄· ᾱϥ̄ω̄ μ̄π̄κ̄ω̄ϩ̄τ̄ ν̄η̄ᾱτω̄
 ψ̄μ̄· ψ̄ῑνᾱ ε̄βολ̄ ϩ̄ν̄ τᾱᾱφο̄ρ̄μη̄
 14 ε̄σ̄νᾱρ̄δᾱιᾱπε̄ρᾱ ν̄β̄ῑ τᾱδ̄η̄μᾱις̄
 μ̄π̄π̄η̄ᾱ τᾱϊ̄ ε̄σ̄νᾱσε̄τ̄ϣ̄ ϩ̄ν̄ τ̄κ̄τ̄ῑ
 16 ϣ̄ις̄ ϩ̄ῑτ̄η̄ ν̄τη̄ο̄ϥ̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄δᾱιμω̄ν̄

- 18 in the baptism (βαπτισμός)
of the demon (δαίμων) to (ἵνα) reveal (φανεροῦν)
20 with the mouth of faith (πίστις)
a testimony (μαρτυρία) to those
22 who belong to her. I testify
of you, Spark (σπινθήρ), the unquenchable,
24 Osei, the elect of
the Light, the eye of heaven, and
26 Faith (πίστις), the first and the last,
and Sophia, and Saphaia, and
28 Saphaina, and the righteous (δίκαιος)
Spark (σπινθήρ), and the
30 impure light. And you (sg.), east (ἀνατολή),
and west, and
32 north (ἄρκτος), and south (μεσημβρία),
upper air (αἰθήρ) and lower air (ἀήρ), and
34 all the powers (δύναμις) and authorities (ἐξουσία),
32
you (pl.) are in creation (κτίσις).
2 And you (sg.), Moluchtha
and Soch are from every work (ἔργον)
4 and every impure effort of
Nature (φύσις). Then (τότε) I shall come
6 through the demon (δαίμων) down to the water.
And whirlpools of water
8 and flames of fire will rise
up against me. Then (τότε) I
10 shall come up from the water, having put
on the light of faith (πίστις)
12 and the unquenchable fire,
in order that (ἵνα) through my help (ἀφορμή)
14 the power (δύναμις) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) may cross over (διαπερᾶν),
she who has been cast in the creation (κτίσις)
16 by the winds and the demons (δαίμων)

margin. (Ed.)

32,1 For the reconstruction T[ΚΤΙ] see 46,30-31.

18 $\overline{\text{ΜΗ}} \overline{\text{Ν}}\overline{\text{ΣΙΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \cdot \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{ΡΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{Ν}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Η}}\overline{\text{ΤΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}$
 $\overline{\text{Σ}}\overline{\text{ΝΑ}}\overline{\text{ΜΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}} \overline{\text{Ν}}\overline{\text{ΣΙ}} \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΚΑ}}\overline{\text{ΘΑ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}\overline{\text{ΣΙ}}\overline{\text{Α}} \overline{\text{ΝΙ}}\overline{\text{Μ}}\overline{\text{Α}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΛΟΙ}}\overline{\text{ΠΟ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \overline{\text{Ω}} \overline{\text{Σ}}\overline{\text{Η}}\overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{Μ}} \overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}\overline{\text{Γ}}\overline{\text{ΛΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Ε}}$
 20 $\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΜΟ}}\overline{\text{Κ}} \overline{\text{Ο}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Κ}} \overline{\text{Ν}}\overline{\text{ΚΑ}}\overline{\text{ΝΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Μ}} \overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΜΕ}}$
 $\overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ε}} \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΠΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{ΟΕΙ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \cdot \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}\overline{\text{Τ}}\overline{\text{ΡΕ}}$
 22 $\overline{\text{ΠΕ}}\overline{\text{Κ}}\overline{\text{ΜΕ}}\overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ε}} \overline{\text{ΚΟΙ}}\overline{\text{ΝΩ}}\overline{\text{ΝΙ}} \overline{\text{ΜΗ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΠΚΩ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Τ}} \overline{\text{ΜΗ}} \overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΣΩ}}\overline{\text{ΜΑ}} \overline{\text{Ν}}\overline{\text{ΚΑ}}$
 24 $\overline{\text{ΚΕ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΠΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{ΝΕ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{ΨΟΟ}}\overline{\text{Π}} \overline{\text{ΝΕ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}\overline{\text{ΓΟ}}\overline{\text{Ν}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΝΑ}}\overline{\text{ΚΑ}}\overline{\text{ΘΑ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}\overline{\text{ΤΟ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΝΕ}}\overline{\text{Τ}}\overline{\text{ΣΑ}}\overline{\text{ΒΟ}}$
 26 $\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΜΟ}}\overline{\text{Κ}} \overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{ΡΟ}}\overline{\text{Ο}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Η}}\overline{\text{ΝΔΙ}}\overline{\text{ΚΑΙΟ}}\overline{\text{Ν}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΝΕ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{ΤΕ}} \overline{\text{Τ}}\overline{\text{ΠΑ}}\overline{\text{ΡΑ}}\overline{\text{Φ}}\overline{\text{ΡΑ}}\overline{\text{ΣΙ}}\overline{\text{Σ}}$
 28 $\overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΣΤΕ}}\overline{\text{ΡΕΩ}}\overline{\text{ΜΑ}} \overline{\text{ΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}} \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΠΕ}}\overline{\text{Κ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}} \overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΜΕ}}$
 $\overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ε}} \overline{\text{ΖΕ}} \overline{\text{ΤΕ}}\overline{\text{ΚΤΕ}}\overline{\text{ΝΕΑ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{ΖΑ}}$
 30 $\overline{\text{ΡΕ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}} \overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{ΡΟ}}\overline{\text{Σ}} \overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{ΡΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \cdot \overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{ΛΩ}}\overline{\text{ΡΧΑΙ}}\overline{\text{Ο}}\overline{\text{Σ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΠΕ}} \overline{\text{ΠΡΑ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΝΟ}}\overline{\text{Σ}} \overline{\text{ΝΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{ΟΕΙ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \cdot$
 32 $\overline{\text{ΠΜΑ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}}\overline{\text{Ε}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{ΕΒΟΛ}} \overline{\text{ΝΖΗ}}\overline{\text{Τ}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΠΛΟ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΤΟ}}\overline{\text{Σ}} \overline{\text{ΕΜΗ}} \overline{\text{ΠΕΤ}}\overline{\text{ΤΗ}}\overline{\text{ΤΩ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \overline{\text{ΕΡΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \cdot$
 34 $\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \overline{\text{ΠΙ}}\overline{\text{ΝΕ}} \overline{\text{ΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Β}}\overline{\text{ΣΩ}} \overline{\text{ΕΤ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΤΑΕΙ}}\overline{\text{ΝΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \cdot \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \overline{\text{ΔΕ}}\overline{\text{ΡΔΕ}}\overline{\text{ΡΚΕ}}$
 36 $\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Σ}} \overline{\text{Π}}[\overline{\text{Ε}} \quad \dots] \overline{\text{Ν}}[\quad \dots] \overline{\text{ΠΕ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}\overline{\text{ΨΑ}}\overline{\text{ΖΕ}}$

ΛΤ

$\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Μ}} \overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΡΟ}}\overline{\text{Ο}}\overline{\text{Υ}} \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΠΟ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{ΟΕΙ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \cdot \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ω}}$
 2 $\overline{\text{ΣΤΡΟ}}\overline{\text{ΦΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}}\overline{\text{Α}} \overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΣΩ}}\overline{\text{Ψ}}\overline{\text{Τ}} \overline{\text{ΠΕ}} \overline{\text{ΕΤ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΣΜΑ}}\overline{\text{ΜΑΔ}}\overline{\text{Τ}} \overline{\text{ΕΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΠΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{ΠΕ}} \overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{ΝΔ}} \cdot$
 4 $\overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \overline{\text{ΧΕ}}\overline{\text{ΛΚΕΑ}}\overline{\text{Χ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΕΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Β}}\overline{\text{ΣΩ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΤΕ}} \cdot \overline{\text{ΠΕ}}\overline{\text{ΡΕ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{ΕΒΟΛ}} \overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Μ}} \overline{\text{ΠΘΑ}}\overline{\text{ΣΜΑ}} \cdot$
 6 $\overline{\text{ΠΑ}}\overline{\text{Ι}} \overline{\text{ΝΕ}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \overline{\text{ΤΚΛΟΟ}}\overline{\text{ΛΕ}} \overline{\text{ΜΦ}}\overline{\text{Σ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΜΗ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \overline{\text{ΕΡΟ}}\overline{\text{ΣΩ}}\overline{\text{Ν}}\overline{\text{Ζ}} \overline{\text{ΕΒΟΛ}} \overline{\text{ΕΥΘ}}$
 8 $\overline{\text{ΝΚΛΟΟ}}\overline{\text{ΛΕ}} \overline{\text{ΝΨΟΜ}}\overline{\text{ΤΕ}} \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{ΜΟ}}\overline{\text{Ρ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΦΗ}} \cdot \overline{\text{Α}}\overline{\text{Υ}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \overline{\text{ΧΕ}}\overline{\text{ΛΚΕΑ}} \overline{\text{ΤΑ}}\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Β}}\overline{\text{ΣΩ}} \overline{\text{ΤΕ}} \cdot$

-
- 32,19-27 $\overline{\text{ΛΟΙΠΟΝ}}$ introduces the final remarks of the first revelation discourse addressed to Shem.
 32,23-25 The same is said about the soul (24,25-26).
 32,27 This is the heading of the actual paraphrase which consists of the identification of the figures in the list in 31,4 - 32,5; the paraphrase ends in 34,16.
 32,30 See 31,5.
 32,35 Amoiias who comes next in the list in 31,5 is not identified in the paraphrase. Instead Derdekeas himself is identified who is also pre-

and the stars. And in them
 18 every unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία) will be filled.
 Finally (λοιπόν), O (ὦ) Shem, consider (λογίζομαι)
 20 yourself pleasing in the thought
 of the Light. Do not let
 22 your thought have dealings (κοινωνεῖν) with
 the fire and the dark body (σῶμα)
 24 which was an unclean (ἀκάθαρτον)
 work (ἔργον). These things which I teach
 26 you are right (δίκαιον).
 This is the paraphrase (παράφρασις):
 28 For (γάρ) you did not remember
 that it is from the firmament (στερέωμα) that
 30 your race (γενεά) has been saved. Elorchaios
 is the name of the great Light,
 32 the place from which I have come, the Word (λόγος)
 which has no equal,
 34 and the likeness is my honored garment.
 And Derderkeas
 36 is [], the one who spoke

33

in the voice of the Light. And
 2 Strophaia is the blessed glance
 which is the Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 4 And it is Chelkeach, who is my garment,
 who has come from the astonishment (θαῦμα);
 6 it is he who was in the cloud of the Hymen (ὑμήν)
 having appeared as
 8 a trimorphic (μορφή) cloud.
 And Chelkea is my garment

32,36 sent (misspelled as **CEΔEPKEA**) in the list in 46,6ff. where the name endings reflect the Greek vocative.
 Perhaps: **ΔC Π[Ε Π]ΑΝ[ΘΥC]** "is my mind"; **ΡΑΝ** ("name") does not fit the trace and the length of the lacuna.
 33,1 According to 41,8-9 Derdekeas speaks through the voice of the fire.
 33,2 See 31,6.
 33,4 See 31,4-5 which spells the name **ΧΕΛΚΕΔΚ** (so also 46,9-10).
 33,9 See 31,7.

... revelation ...
 which consist ...
 ... the ...
 ... not identified ...
 ... is ...

- 10 ετο ἄμορφη σῆτε· παῖ
 νεφρῆ τκλοολε ἄπκα ρωφ·
 12 ασω χελκε ταρβῶω τε ἦτασ
 ταας ναφ εβολ εἰμ μέρος μμ
 14 ασταας ναφ ἦνοσειδος ἦ
 οσωτ εβολ εἰμ τμῆτμος παῖ
 16 νεφσοοπ εἰμ τκλοολε ἦτμε
 σοτης· ασω πσιος ἄποσο
 18 ειν ἦτασψαδε εροφ ταρβῶω
 τε εμασψ δρο ερος· ταῖ ἦ
 20 ταιφορι ἄμος εἰμ εμῆτε·
 ετε παῖ πε πναε ετἄπσαν
 22 ερε ἄπμεεσε· μῆ τμαρτω
 ρια ἦνετμαρμαρττορι· ασω
 24 τμαρττορια ἦτασψαδε ερος
 τσορπῆ μῆ θαν· τπιστις·
 26 πνοσς ἄπτησ ἦκακε· ασ
 ω σοφαγα· μῆ σαφαινα· εἰμ
 28 τκλοολε ἦνετμασπορξοσ
 εβολ εἰμ πκωετ ετῆτρτωρ·
 30 ασω παδικαιος σπινθηρ τκλο
 ολε ἦσοοειν τε· ταῖ ε·ρ·ρ·οσο
 32 ειν εἰμ τετῆμῆτε· εραῖ ταρ
 ἦρητς εταρβῶω ναβωκ ε
 34 πῆτῆ επχαος· ποσοει[ν] δε
 ἄδ
 ετσαεμ εφσοοπ ἦδσνα
 2 μς· περοσωνε εβολ εἰμ πκα
 κε· πετηπ ατφσσις ἦκακε·
 4 πεθηρ δε μῆ πανρ· μῆ ἦδσ
 ναμς· μῆ ἦεζοσσια· ἦδαῖ

-
- 33,12 Chelke is not listed in 31,7 but follows Chelkeak and Chelkea in the list in 46,9-11.
- 33,17-20 No star of Light was mentioned before. In the sequence of the paraphrase one expects Elaios (31,7) to have been identified. It is likely that Elaios is the star of the Light. According to 18,4-25 Derdekeas wore a garment of fire when he entered Hades.
- 33,24 Probably refers back to 31,21.
- 33,25 See 31,26.

- 10 which is bimorphic (μορφή); it is he
who was in the cloud of Silence.
- 12 And Chelke is my garment which
was given him from every region (μέρος);
- 14 it was given him in a single form (εἶδος)
by the greatness; it is he
- 16 who was in the cloud of the middle region (μεσότης).
And the star of the Light
- 18 which was mentioned is my
invincible garment which
- 20 I wore (φορεῖν) in Hades;
this (i.e., the star of the Light) is the mercy which surpasses
- 22 the thought and the testimony (μαρτυρία)
of those who bear witness (μαρτυρεῖν). And
- 24 the testimony (μαρτυρία) was mentioned:
the First and the Last, faith (πίστις),
- 26 the mind (νοῦς) of the wind of darkness. And
Sophaia and Saphaina are in
- 28 the cloud of those who have been separated
from the chaotic fire.
- 30 And the righteous (δίκαιος) Spark (σπινθήρ) is
the cloud of light which has shone
- 32 in your (pl.) midst. For (γάρ)
in it my garment will go
- 34 down to chaos (χαός). But (δέ) the
34
impure light, which is a power (δύναμις),
- 2 it appeared in the Darkness
(and) it belongs to dark Nature (φύσις).
- 4 And (δέ) the upper air (αἰθήρ) and the lower air (ἄήρ), and the
powers (δύναμις) and the authorities (ἐξουσία), the

33,27 See 31,27-28 which lists three names: Sophia, Saphaia and Saphaina;
46,16-17 lists Sophaia, Saphaia and Saphaina. It is likely that in
33,27 Saphaia was skipped due to homoioteleuton.

33,30 See 31,28-29.

33,32-34 See 18,4-13.

33,34 - 34,1 See 31,29-30.

34,4-5 See 31,33-34.

6 ΜΩΝ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΣΙΘ̄· ΝΑΪ̄ ΝΕΘ̄Ν̄
 ΤΑΘ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΘ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΘ̄Ψ̄ΛΜΕ Ν̄ΚΩ
 8 Θ̄Τ̄· Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ ΟΘΟΕΙΝ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Θ̄Μ̄ Π̄Ν̄Ᾱ·
 ΑΘΩ ΜΟΛ̄Θ̄ΧΘΑC ΟΘΤΗΘ̄ ΠΕ·
 10 ΖΕ Ν̄ΟΘΕΨ̄ Ν̄Β̄ΛΛΑΥ CΕΖΠΕ
 ΛΑΑΘ̄ ΔΝ̄ Θ̄ΙΖ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΘ̄· ΕΘ̄Ν̄ΤΑΥ
 12 Μ̄ΜΑΘ̄ Ν̄ΟΘΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΘΟΥ· ΑΘΩ
 Μ̄ΠΑ ΠΤΑΠ Ν̄ΟΘΩΤ̄· ΠΕΥΠΩ
 14 Θ̄Τ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Θ̄ΕΝΤ̄Ν̄Θ̄ ΝΕ ΕΘΕ Μ̄ΜΟΡ
 Φ̄Η Ν̄ΙΜ̄· ΠCΩΞ̄Π̄ ΔΕ ΤΑΤΕ ΤΕ
 16 Ν̄ΤΑΘ̄Ψ̄Ρ̄Ψ̄ΩΡ̄C· Ν̄ΤΚ̄ ΟΘΜΑΚΑ
 ΡΙΟC C̄ΗΕΜ̄· ΖΕ ΑΘΘΑΡΕΘ̄ ΕΤΕΚ
 18 ΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΠΤΗΘ̄ Ν̄ΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΟ Ν̄
 ΘΑΘ̄ Μ̄ΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ· ΑΘΩ CΕΝΑ
 20 Ρ̄ΜΑΡΤ̄Θ̄Ρ̄Ι Ν̄ΤΜΑΡΤ̄Θ̄Ρ̄ΙΑ Ν̄ΚΑ
 ΘΟΛΙΚΗ· ΑΘΩ ΑΤ̄ΤΡΙΒ̄Η Ν̄ΑΚΑ
 22 ΘΑΡΤΟC Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΠΙCΤΙC· ΑΘΩ
 CΕΝΑΡ̄ ΖΑCΙΘ̄ΗΤ̄ Θ̄Μ̄ Φ̄Θ̄ΠΟ
 24 Μ̄ΝΗΜΑ Μ̄ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ̄ Ω C̄ΗΕΜ̄·
 Μ̄Ν̄ ΛΑΑΘ̄ ΕῩΡ̄ΦΟΡΙ Μ̄ΠCΩΜΑ
 26 ΝΑΨ̄ ΖΕΚ ΝΑΪ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄· ΑΛΛΑ Θ̄Ν̄
 ΟΘ̄Ρ̄ ΠΜΕΕΘΕ ῩΝΑΨ̄ ΑΜΑΘ̄
 28 ΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΘ̄· ΖΕΚΑΔC ΕΡ̄Ψ̄ΑΝ
 ΠΕΥΜΕΕΘΕ ΠΩΡ̄Ξ̄ ΕΠCΩΜΑ
 30 ΤΟΤΕ CΕΝΑΘΩΝ̄Θ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΝΑΥ
 Ν̄CΙ ΝΑΪ̄ ΑΘΟΘΩΝ̄Θ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΚ
 32 ΓΕΝΕΑ Ω C̄ΗΕΜ̄· CΜΟΚ̄Θ̄ Ν̄ΟΘΑ
 Ε[Ῡ]Ρ̄ΦΟΡΙ Ν̄CΩΜΑ ΕΤΡΕΥΖΕΚ
 34 [ΝΑ]Ϊ̄ [ΕΒΟ]Λ̄ [Ν̄ΘΕ] Ν̄[ΤΑ]Ϊ̄ΖΟΘ̄C Ν̄ΑΚ
 Λ̄Ε
 ΑΘΩ ΟΘΒΑΠΕ Ψ̄ΗΜ̄ ΤΕΤΝΑ
 2 ΖΟΚΟΘ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄· ΝΕΤΕΘ̄Ν̄ΤΑΘ̄

34,7

On Ψ̄ΛΜΕ see note to 25,18.

34,9

See 32,2 which has kept the Greek vocative form (so also 47,2).

34,15

The only one remaining in the list is Soch (32,3).

34,16

After the paraphrase follows further revelation by Derdekeas addressed to Shem and his race.

6 demons (δαίμων) and the stars, these possessed
 a particle of fire
 8 and a light from the Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 And Moluchthas is a wind,
 10 for without it nothing is brought
 forth upon the earth. He has
 12 a likeness of a serpent and
 a unicorn. His protrusion(s)
 14 are manifold (μορφή) wings.
 And (δέ) the remainder is the womb
 16 which has been disturbed. You are blessed (μακάριος),
 Shem, for your race (γενεά)
 18 has been saved from the dark wind which is
 many faceted (πρόσωπον). And they will
 20 bear witness (μαρτυρεῖν) to the universal (καθολική) testimony
 (μαρτυρία)
 and to the impure (ἀκάθαρτος) rubbing (τρίβη)
 22 of faith (πίστις). And
 they will become higher minded by remembering (ὑπόμνημα)
 24 the Light. O (ὦ) Shem,
 no one who wears (φορεῖν) the body (σῶμα)
 26 will be able to complete these things. But (ἀλλά) through
 remembrance he will be able to grasp
 28 them, in order that when
 his thought separates from the body (σῶμα),
 30 then (τότε) these things may be revealed to him.
 They have been revealed to your
 32 race (γενεά). O (ὦ) Shem, it is difficult for someone
 wearing (φορεῖν) a body (σῶμα) to complete
 34 [these things, as] I said to you.

35

And it is a small number that will
 2 complete them, those who possess

34,22 The text is probably corrupt and should read $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ "of
 Darkness" (cf. 27,6).
 34,23-24 or: "in the memory of the Light."
 34,29 Cf. 1,14-15 and 45,33-34.
 34,32-34 This weakens the parallel statement in 34,25-26.

4 ἄμασ̄ ἡτῷῶλε ἄπνοσ̄ς
 6 ἔτε ἐττριβη ἐτ̄χαρῶμ̄· οσ̄
 8 εἰς σεναϣῖνε ἡσᾱ πωρῶ
 10 τε σεναϣῖ ἄμασ̄ ἄν ἐτρεσ̄
 12 εἰρε ἄποσῶϣῖ ἡτπιςτις·
 14 εἰσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 16 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 18 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 20 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 22 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 24 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 26 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 28 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 30 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 32 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 34 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 36 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 38 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 40 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 42 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 44 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 46 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 48 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 50 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 52 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 54 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 56 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 58 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 60 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 62 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 64 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 66 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 68 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 70 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 72 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 74 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 76 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 78 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 80 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 82 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 84 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 86 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 88 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 90 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 92 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 94 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 96 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄
 98 ἡσῶοπ γαρ ἡσπερμα ἄπκα
 100 κε ἡκαθολικον· ἀσῶ μετοσ̄

35,3
35,6

On ῶλε see note to 25,18.

The rubbing refers to sexual intercourse; the sentence betrays the ascetic stance of the tractate.

the particle of the mind (νοῦς)
 4 and the thought of the light of the
 Spirit (πνεῦμα). They will keep their mind
 6 from the impure rubbing (τρίβη).
 For (γάρ) many in the race (γενεά) of Nature (φύσις)
 8 will seek the security
 of the Power (δύναμις). They will not find it, nor (οὔτε)
 10 will they be able to
 do the will of faith (πίστις).
 12 For (γάρ) they are seed (σπέρμα) of the
 universal (καθολικόν) Darkness. And it is they who
 14 will be found in much suffering. The winds
 and the demons (δαίμων) will hate
 16 them. And (δέ) the bondage of the body (σῶμα) is
 severe. For (γάρ) where
 18 the winds, and the stars,
 and the demons (δαίμων) are cast out by the power (δύναμις)
 20 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα), (there) repentance (μετάνοια)
 and testimony (μαρτυρία) come
 22 upon them, and mercy
 will lead them to
 24 the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 And (δέ) those who are repentant (μετάνοια)
 26 will find rest
 in the consummation (συντέλεια) and faith (πίστις),
 28 in the place (τόπος) of the Hymen (ὑμήν).
 This is the faith (πίστις) which will
 30 fill the place (τόπος) which has been
 carved out. But (δέ) those who do not share
 32 in the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of light and
 in faith (πίστις) will
 34 dissolve in the [Darkness], the place
 36
 where repentance (μετάνοια) did not come.
 2 It is I who opened the eternal gates (πύλη)

35,17 cITE appears to be passive in meaning here.
 35,19 Read ρῆ τ Δ ρ.

4 ϣα ενεϩ ετϣοτ̄μ ζιν ν̄ϣο
 ρ̄π̄· νετ̄ρεπιθ̄σμ̄ι επ̄ζιςε μ̄
 πων̄θ̄· μ̄ν̄ νετο ν̄αζ̄ιος ν̄τα
 6 ναπαθ̄ςις αϣρ̄φ̄ανεροθ̄ μ̄
 μοοθ̄ ναθ̄· ανοκ̄ δειχαρ̄ιζε
 8 ν̄νοθ̄εσ̄ηςις ν̄νετ̄ρεσ̄θα
 νεσ̄θᾱι· δειοθ̄ων̄ ναθ̄ ν̄ν̄
 10 νοηςις τηροθ̄ μ̄ν̄ παογμα
 ν̄ν̄δ̄ικᾱιος· αθ̄ω μ̄π̄ϣωπε
 12 ναθ̄ ν̄ααδε ρ̄ν̄ λααθ̄· ανοκ̄ δε
 ν̄ταρ̄ιρ̄θ̄ρομ̄ινε απ̄σων̄τ̄
 14 μ̄π̄κοσμοσ̄ δειζρο· νεμ̄ν̄
 οθα ν̄ρηνοθ̄ εϣσοοθ̄ν̄ μ̄μο̄ι·
 16 αθοθ̄ων̄ εζω̄ι ν̄β̄ι μ̄π̄σ̄λη μ̄
 π̄κωρ̄τ̄ μ̄ν̄ π̄καπ̄νοσ̄ εμ̄ν̄τεϣ
 18 αρ̄ηζ̄ϣ̄· αν̄τηνοθ̄ τηροθ̄ των̄
 ερ̄ρᾱῑ εζω̄ι· ν̄ροθ̄μ̄πε μ̄ν̄ νε
 20 βρησ̄εσ̄ προσ̄ οθοειϣ̄ σενατω
 ων̄ ερ̄ρᾱῑ εζω̄ι· αθ̄ω σεναει
 22 νε μ̄ποσ̄ων̄τ̄ ερ̄ρᾱῑ εζω̄ι·
 αθ̄ω ετ̄β̄ηη̄τ̄̄ κατᾱ σᾱρ̄ζ̄ σε
 24 νᾱρ̄αρχ̄εῑ εζωοθ̄ κατᾱ φ̄σ̄λη·
 οθ̄ν̄ ραρ̄ δε σεναβ̄ωκ̄ επιτ̄ν̄
 26 αν̄μοσ̄ειν̄ ετ̄ρ̄βαλ̄πτ̄ι ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄
 ν̄τηνοθ̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄δᾱιμ̄ων̄ νᾱῑ ε
 28 τ̄ρ̄φορῑ ν̄σᾱρ̄ζ̄ ετ̄ρ̄πλανα·
 αθ̄ω σεμ̄ηρ̄ μ̄ν̄ π̄μοοθ̄· ν̄
 30 τοϣ̄ δε ϣ̄ναρ̄θεραπεσε ν̄θε
 ρᾱπ̄ια ν̄αρ̄γον· ϣ̄ναρ̄πλανα
 32 αθ̄ω ϣ̄ναμοσ̄ρ̄ μ̄π̄κοσμοσ̄
 αθ̄ω νετε̄ιρε μ̄ποσ̄ωϣ̄
 34 ητ̄φ̄οσ̄ις τοσ̄μερ̄ις να
 [.] . . [±10] ε . [

ᾱζ̄

2 ν̄σοπ̄ σ̄ναθ̄ ρ̄μ̄ περοοθ̄ μ̄π̄μο
 οθ̄ μ̄ν̄ μ̄μορ̄φ̄η ν̄τ̄φ̄οσ̄ις·

- which were shut from the beginning.
- 4 To those who long (ἐπιθυμείν) for the best of
life, and those who are worthy (ἄξιος) of the
6 repose (ἀνάπαυσις), he revealed (φανεροῦν)
them. I granted (χαρίζειν)
8 perception (αἴσθησις) to those who are perceptive (αἰσθάνεσθαι).
I disclosed to them
10 all the thoughts (νόησις) and the teaching (δόγμα)
of the righteous ones (δίκαιος). And I did not become
12 their enemy at all. But (δέ)
when I had endured (ὑπομένειν) the wrath
14 of the world (κόσμος), I was victorious. There was not
one of them who knew me.
16 The gates (πύλη) of fire
and endless smoke (καπνός) opened against me.
18 All the winds rose
up against me. The thunderings and the
20 lightning-flashes for (πρός) a time will rise
up against me. And they will bring
22 their wrath upon me.
And on account of me as far as the flesh is concerned (κατὰ σάρξ), they
24 will rule (ἄρχειν) over them according to race (κατὰ φυλή).
And (δέ) many who wear (φορεῖν)
26 erring (πλανῶν) flesh (σάρξ) will go down
to the harmful (βλάπτειν) waters by means of
28 the winds and the demons (δαίμων).
And they are bound by the water.
30 And (δέ) it will heal (θαραπεύειν) with a
futile (ἀργόν) remedy (θεραπεία). It will lead astray (πλανῶν),
32 and it will bind the world (κόσμος).
And those that do the will
34 of Nature (φύσις), their part (μερίς) will
[. . .

37

- two times in the day of the water
2 and the forms (μορφή) of Nature (φύσις).

4 α̅τω̅ ϸε̅να̅†̅ να̅σ̅ αν̅ ρο̅ταν
 5 ε̅ρ̅ω̅αν̅τι̅πι̅στι̅ς̅ ψ̅ρω̅ρο̅σ̅
 6 ε̅τ̅ρε̅ς̅ζ̅ι̅ ε̅ρο̅ς̅ ᾠ̅πα̅δικ̅αι̅ο̅ς̅
 7 ω̅ ϸ̅η̅ε̅μ̅· ἀ̅να̅γκ̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ρε̅σ̅μο̅σ̅
 8 τε̅ ε̅π̅μ̅ε̅ε̅τε̅ ρ̅μ̅ π̅λο̅το̅ς̅ ζ̅ε̅
 9 κ̅α̅α̅ς̅ ε̅σ̅να̅νο̅σ̅ρ̅μ̅ ἡ̅τ̅μ̅ρ̅ρε̅ ἡ̅
 10 π̅ρ̅τε̅· ο̅σ̅μ̅η̅τ̅μ̅α̅κα̅ρ̅ιο̅ς̅ δε̅
 11 τε̅ ε̅σ̅ω̅αν̅†̅ ἡ̅ο̅σ̅α̅ ε̅τ̅ρε̅μ̅ε̅
 12 ε̅τε̅ ε̅πε̅τ̅ζ̅ο̅σε̅· α̅τ̅ω̅ ἡ̅ϥ̅
 13 σο̅ω̅ν̅ π̅χ̅ρο̅νο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ζ̅ο̅σε̅
 14 μ̅η̅ τ̅μ̅ρ̅ρε̅· π̅μο̅ο̅σ̅ τ̅α̅ρ̅ ο̅σ̅
 15 ϸω̅μα̅ πε̅ ἡ̅ε̅λα̅χι̅στο̅ν̅· α̅τ̅ω̅
 16 ϸε̅κ̅ω̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅ρω̅με̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ αν̅ ζ̅ε̅
 17 ϸε̅μ̅η̅ρ̅ ρ̅μ̅ π̅μο̅ο̅σ̅· ἡ̅θ̅ε̅ ζ̅ι̅η̅
 18 ἡ̅ψ̅ο̅ρ̅π̅ι̅ ε̅ϥ̅μ̅η̅ρ̅ ἡ̅σ̅ι̅ πο̅θο̅ει̅η̅
 19 μ̅π̅π̅η̅δ̅ ω̅ ϸ̅η̅ε̅μ̅· ϸε̅ρ̅π̅λα̅να̅ς̅
 20 θα̅ι̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅ ρ̅α̅ρ̅ μ̅μο̅ρ̅φ̅η̅ ἡ̅τε̅
 21 ἡ̅δα̅ι̅μ̅ων̅· ε̅σ̅μ̅ε̅ε̅τε̅ ζ̅ε̅ ρ̅μ̅
 22 π̅β̅α̅π̅τι̅ς̅μο̅ς̅ ἡ̅τα̅κα̅θα̅ρ̅ς̅ια̅
 23 μ̅π̅μο̅ο̅σ̅ πε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ε̅τα̅
 24 κ̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅βο̅ο̅β̅ ε̅το̅ ἡ̅α̅ρ̅γο̅ν̅
 25 ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅ρ̅ψ̅ρ̅· ϥ̅η̅α̅ϥ̅ι̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅νο̅βε̅
 26 μ̅μα̅σ̅· α̅τ̅ω̅ ϸε̅σο̅ο̅σ̅η̅ αν̅
 27 ζ̅ε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ρ̅μ̅ π̅μο̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅ρ̅ρα̅ι̅ ε̅
 28 π̅μο̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅ϸ̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ἡ̅σ̅ι̅ τ̅μ̅ρ̅
 29 ρε̅ μ̅η̅ τ̅π̅λα̅νη̅· μ̅η̅ τα̅κα̅
 30 θα̅ρ̅ς̅ια̅· π̅κ̅ω̅ρ̅ θα̅τ̅βε̅· τ̅μο̅ι̅
 31 χε̅ι̅α̅· τ̅μ̅η̅τ̅μ̅η̅τ̅ρε̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅νο̅σ̅ζ̅·
 32 ρ̅ε̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ ρ̅ε̅η̅τ̅ω̅ρ̅π̅ι̅· ρ̅ε̅η̅
 33 ε̅π̅ι̅θ̅ο̅μ̅ια̅· ρ̅ε̅η̅μ̅η̅τ̅ρ̅α̅ρ̅ ἡ̅
 34 ψ̅α̅ζ̅ε̅· ο̅σ̅ω̅η̅τ̅ ο̅σ̅ι̅ψ̅ε̅

37,4

or: "when faith disturbs them."

37,8-10

The text is corrupt; it should read: "in order that the power of the Spirit may be saved from bondage and the frightful water" (see 19,32-33).

37,18-25

The tractate's polemic against baptism with water is likely directed against Christian orthodoxy. For the rejection of baptism with water

And it will not be granted them, when (ὅταν)
 4 faith (πίστις) destroys them
 in order to take to herself the righteous one (δίκαιος).
 6 O (ὦ) Shem, it is necessary (ἀνάγκη) that
 the thought be called by the Word (λόγος) in
 8 order that the bondage of the power (δύναμις)
 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) may be saved from the frightful
 10 water. And (δέ) it is blessedness (-μακάριος)
 if it is granted someone to contemplate
 12 what is exalted, and to
 know the exalted time (χρόνος)
 14 and the bondage. For (γάρ) the water is an
 insignificant (ἐλάχιστον) body (σῶμα). And
 16 men are not released, since
 they are bound in the water, just as from
 18 the beginning the light of the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 was bound. O (ὦ) Shem, they are deceived (πλανᾶσθαι)
 20 by many kinds (μορφή) of
 demons (δαίμων), thinking that through
 22 baptism (βαπτισμός) with the uncleanness (ἀκαθαρσία)
 of water, which is dark,
 24 feeble, idle (ἄργόν),
 (and) disturbing, it (i.e., the water) will take away the sins.
 26 And they do not know
 that from the water to
 28 the water there is bondage,
 and error (πλάνη) and unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία),
 30 envy, murder, adultery (μοιχεία),
 false witness,
 32 heresies (αἵρεσις), robberies,
 lusts (ἐπιθυμία), babblings,
 34 wrath, bitterness,

in Gnostic sects and Manichaeism, see Koschorke, *Polemik der Gnostiker*, 142-47.

37,30-32

Murder, adultery and false witness follow the order of the Decalogue. The presence of heresies in this catalogue of vices most likely presupposes the negative use of the word in Christian orthodoxy.

the power of
 "baptism" water is
 likely that
 baptism with

1 οὐνοσ [±10] . [
 λη
 2 δια τοστο οσ̄η̄ ραρ̄ μαοσ̄
 3 ψοοπ̄· ναϊ̄ ετ̄ρβαρῑ η̄νοσμε
 4 εσ̄ε· ανοκ̄ γαρ̄ †ψρ̄π̄ ζω̄ μᾱ
 5 μοσ̄ η̄νετε̄ οσ̄η̄τοσ̄ ρη̄τ̄ μᾱ
 6 μασ̄· σεναλο̄ ρ̄μᾱ πακαθαρ
 7 τον̄ η̄βαπτισμᾱ· ασ̄ω̄ νετεσ̄
 8 η̄τοσ̄ ρη̄τ̄ μᾱμασ̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄μᾱ ποσ̄
 9 οειν̄ μᾱπ̄η̄νᾱ· σεναρ̄κοινω
 10 η̄ῑ αν̄ μᾱ η̄τριβη̄ η̄ακαθαρτον̄·
 11 ασ̄ω̄ ποσ̄ρη̄τ̄ ναρωκ̄μᾱ αν̄·
 12 οσ̄δε̄ σεναρ̄ροσ̄ωροσ̄ αν̄·
 13 ασ̄ω̄ πμοοσ̄ <οσ̄>δε̄ σενα†̄ νασ̄
 14 εοοσ̄ αν̄· πμᾱ ετ̄μᾱμασ̄ η̄
 15 σ̄ῑ παρ̄οσ̄ εγ̄μᾱμασ̄ η̄σ̄ῑ πψτᾱ·
 16 ασ̄ω̄ τ̄μη̄η̄β̄λᾱ· πμᾱ ετ̄μᾱ
 17 μασ̄ η̄σ̄ῑ πεοοσ̄ εσ̄μᾱμασ̄
 18 εσ̄ψαντωρ̄ γαρ̄ μᾱ η̄κακοσ̄
 19 σεψοσ̄ειτ̄ ρ̄μᾱ πμοοσ̄ η̄κα
 20 κε̄· πμᾱ γαρ̄ η̄τασ̄ρονομᾱ
 21 ζε̄ μᾱπμοοσ̄ μᾱμασ̄ ετ̄φσ̄
 22 σ̄ῑσ̄ μᾱμασ̄ μᾱη̄ παναψ̄· μᾱη̄
 23 πσολ̄' μᾱη̄ ποσε̄ μονοη̄ γαρ̄
 24 ρ̄μᾱ η̄η̄νᾱ η̄αγενηη̄τον̄· πμᾱ
 25 η̄ταγ̄μᾱτον̄ μᾱμογ̄ η̄σ̄ῑ ποσ̄
 26 οειν̄ ετ̄σοσε̄· μᾱποσ̄ρο̄
 27 νομαζε̄ μᾱπμοοσ̄ μᾱμασ̄·
 28 ασ̄ω̄ σεναψ̄ ρ̄ονομαζε̄
 29 μᾱμογ̄ αν̄· παϊ̄ γαρ̄ πε̄ παοσ̄
 30 ωη̄ρ̄ εβολ̄ ροταν̄ γαρ̄ εεῑ
 31 ψανζωκ̄ εβολ̄ η̄η̄χρονοσ̄
 32 ετηπ̄ ναϊ̄ ρ̄ῑζ̄μᾱ πκαρ̄· τοτε̄
 †[η̄]ανοσ̄ζε̄ εβολ̄ μᾱμοεῑ η̄
 [.] . ε̄ [.] ασ̄ω̄ ρ̄η̄ᾱ

38,4
 38,4 &7
 38,12

corr. ο was squeezed between ε and ο.
 The meaning of οσ̄η̄τοσ̄ ρη̄τ̄ is uncertain.
 The text is corrupt; δε̄ should be οσ̄δε̄ (haplography) and νασ̄

great [. . .

38

Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο) there are many deaths

2 which burden (βαρύν) their thoughts.

For (γάρ) I foretell

4 it to those who possess understanding.

They will refrain from the impure (ἀκάθαρτον)

6 baptism (βάπτισμα). And those who

possess understanding from the light

8 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) will not have dealings (κοινωνεῖν)

with the impure (ἀκάθαρτον) rubbing (τριβή).

10 And their heart will not grow faint,

nor (οὐδέ) will they curse,

12 nor (οὐδέ) will they give honor to the water.

Where

14 the curse is, there is the deficiency.

And the blindness is

16 where the honor is.

For (γάρ) if they mix with the evil ones (κακός),

18 they become empty in the dark water.

For (γάρ) where the water has been

20 mentioned (ὀνομάζειν), there is

Nature (φύσις), and the oath, and

22 the lie, and the loss. For (γάρ) only (μόνον)

in the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον) Spirit (πνεῦμα),

24 where the exalted Light rested,

has the water not

26 been mentioned (ὀνομάζειν),

nor can it be mentioned (ὀνομάζειν).

28 For (γάρ) this is my appearance:

for (γάρ) when (ὅταν) I have

30 completed the times (χρόνος)

which are assigned to me upon the earth, then (τότε)

32 I will cast from me

[. . .]. And

should be $\text{N}\Delta\Phi$; $\Delta\text{C}\omega$ $\text{N}\Delta\text{O}\text{O}\text{C}$ stands apparently in extraposition, but this is not possible before $\text{O}\text{C}\Delta\text{E}$.

38,28 - 41,20 This is the concluding section of Derdekeas' revelation discourse.

1 πἰρε εϋραῖ εζωῖ ἡ̅ςἰ ταϋ̅β̅
 2 ϸω ετε ἄ̅μ̅η̅τες ϸαειψ̅·
 3 α̅ϸω νακεϋ̅β̅ϸω τηροϸ ἡ̅ταῖ
 4 τααϸ ϋ̅ἰωωτ̅ ϋ̅ἡ̅ ἡ̅κ̅λοολε
 5 τηροϸ ναῖ νεϸψοοπ εβολ
 6 ϋ̅̅μ̅ παα̅ϸμα ἄ̅π̅π̅ἡ̅· παηρ
 7 ϸαρ ναπωϋ εβολ ἡ̅ταϋ̅β̅ϸω·
 8 ϸνα̅ρ̅ οϸοειη ϸαρ ἡ̅ϸ̅πωϋ ἡ̅
 9 ἡ̅κ̅λοολε τηροϸ ψ̅α ϋ̅ραῖ ε
 10 τ̅νοϸνε ἄ̅ποϸοειη· π̅νοϸς
 11 πε τα̅ναπαϸςἰς ἄ̅ἡ̅ ταϋ̅β̅ϸω·
 12 α̅ϸω πακεσεεπε ἡ̅ϋ̅β̅ϸω
 13 νετ̅ϋ̅ ἔβοϸρ̅ ἄ̅ἡ̅ νετ̅ϋ̅ οϸ
 14 να̅μ̅· α̅ϸω ϸενα̅ρ̅ οϸοειη
 15 ϋ̅ἰ παροϸ· ϸεκαα̅ς εϸηαοϸ
 16 ω̅ἡ̅ϋ̅ εβολ ἡ̅ςἰ π̅ἡ̅νε ἄ̅ποϸ
 17 οειη· ναϋ̅β̅ϸω ϸαρ ἡ̅ταῖ̅τα
 18 α̅ϸ ϋ̅ἰωωτ̅ ϋ̅ἡ̅ τ̅ψομ̅τε ἡ̅
 19 κ̅λοολε ϋ̅̅μ̅ ψ̅αε ἡ̅ροοϸ ϸε
 20 να̅μ̅τον ἄ̅μοοϸ ϋ̅ἡ̅ τοϸ
 21 νοϸνε ετε ϋ̅̅μ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅α̅ πε ἡ̅α̅
 22 ϸενηη̅τον ε̅μ̅ἡ̅ταϸ ἄ̅μ̅αϸ
 23 ἄ̅π̅ψ̅τα· εβολ ϋ̅̅μ̅ ἡ̅πωψ̅ε ἡ̅
 24 κ̅λοολε· ετ̅βε παῖ̅ δειοϸω̅ἡ̅
 25 εβολ εῖ̅ο ἡ̅νατ̅ψ̅τα ετ̅βε ἡ̅
 26 κ̅λοολε ϸε ϸεψ̅ἡ̅ψ̅ αν̅· ψ̅ἰ
 27 να εϸναϸωκ εβολ ἡ̅ςἰ τ̅κα
 28 ϸἰα ἡ̅τ̅ϕ̅ϸςἰς· νεϸοϸωψ̅
 29 ϸαρ πε ϋ̅̅μ̅ π̅καἰροϸ ετ̅μ̅μαϸ
 30 ε̅σω̅ρ̅ϸ̅ εροει· νεϸαρ̅π̅η̅ς
 31 ϸε ἡ̅ϸολ̅δαν ετε π̅ψ̅αϋ ἡ̅
 32 κακε πε· παῖ̅ ἡ̅ταϸαϋερα
 33 τ̅ϣ̅ επ̅ϸ(ω)κ̅ ε̅[βο]λ̅ ἡ̅τ̅π̅λα̅η̅η̅

39,7

It would appear that subject and object have been switched; it should read: "For my garment will divide the air."

39,23-24

Read ἡ̅ἡ̅κ̅λοολε (haplography).

39

- my unequalled garment will
 2 shine forth upon me,
 and all my other garments which I
 4 put on in all the clouds
 which were from
 6 the astonishment (θαῦμα) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 For (γάρ) the air (ἀήρ) will split my garment.
 8 For (γάρ) it (i.e., my garment) will shine, and it will split
 all the clouds up to
 10 the root of the Light. The mind (νοῦς)
 is the repose (ἀνάπαυσις) and my garment.
 12 And my remaining garments,
 those on the left and those on the
 14 right, will shine
 on the back in order that
 16 the image of the Light may appear.
 For (γάρ) my garments which I put
 18 on in the three
 clouds will, in the last day,
 20 rest in their
 root, i.e., in the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον)
 22 Spirit (πνεῦμα), since they are without
 fault, through the division of (the)
 24 clouds. Therefore I have appeared,
 being faultless, for the sake of the
 26 clouds, because they are unequal, in order that (ἵνα)
 the wickedness (κακία) of Nature (φύσις)
 28 might be ended. For (γάρ) she wished
 at that time (καιρός)
 30 to snare me. She was about to establish (πήσσειν)
 Soldas who is the dark
 32 flame, who attended
 to the [completion] of error (πλάνη),

39, 30-31 πῆσσω is a late form of πῆγνυμι; its meaning in this context is not certain. Roberge ("La Crucifixion," 384) sees here a reference to the crucifixion of Christ. **COΛΔΔΗΝ** has retained the Greek accusative ending (see 30,32-33).

̄
 2 ̄ⲗⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣ̄ⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲉⲓ
 3 ⲁⲥ̄ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁ ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲓⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ
 4 ⲁⲥ̄ϩ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥϣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ̄
 5 ⲁⲩⲱ ϩ̄ⲙ ⲡⲕⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ
 6 ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲱⲣ̄ⲗ
 7 ⲉⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ̄ⲛⲥⲉⲱⲧ̄ⲙ
 8 ⲉⲟⲥⲙⲛ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲧⲕⲧⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲗⲱ
 9 ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̄ⲁⲧ̄ϥ̄ ⲙⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲣ
 10 ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲣ
 11 ϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲉⲑⲟⲥ ϩ̄ⲙ
 12 ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ̄ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲗⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
 13 ϩ̄ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲗⲟⲥⲉ ⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̄ⲁⲧ̄ⲥ̄ ̄ⲛ
 14 ⲣⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ
 15 ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉⲛ ⲗⲉ ̄ⲛⲧⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲧⲉ
 16 ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲁⲥⲱⲧ̄ⲙ ⲁⲩ
 17 ⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϥⲓ ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲉ ̄ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲓⲙⲉ
 18 ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲩ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲱ ̄ⲛⲧⲉⲥ
 19 ⲑⲛⲥⲓⲥⲛ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲧ̄ⲕⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ
 20 ⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̄ⲓⲗ̄ⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
 21 ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ̄ ⲥⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲟⲣⲓ ⲛⲥ
 22 ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̄ⲛ ϩ̄ⲓⲥⲉ
 23 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥϣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ̄ ̄ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧ̄ϩ̄ⲟ
 24 ⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡ̄ϥⲁⲟⲥⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲁⲣ
 25 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϥⲓ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲡⲉ ϩ̄ⲙ ⲡⲕⲉ
 26 ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲟⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ
 27 ⲧⲉ ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲃⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ
 28 ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲗⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲡⲉⲣ
 29 ⲙⲁ ̄ⲛⲕⲁⲕⲉⲛ ϩ̄ⲛ ⲧ̄ⲙⲛⲧ̄ⲥⲕⲗⲛⲣⲟⲥ
 30 ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲧⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ
 31 ⲁϥⲗⲡⲟ ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ
 32 ⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲗⲉ ⲣⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛⲗ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ
 33 ⲱ̄ ⲥⲛⲉⲙⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟⲟⲩⲱ
 34 ⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲗⲉ ⲁⲩⲗⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
 [ⲁ]ⲩⲱ[. ⲱ[. ⲁ]ⲩⲱ ⲛⲉ[ⲧ]ⲕ

40
 that
 She
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- 40
 that he might snare me.
- 2 She took care (μελετᾶν) of her faith (πίστις),
 being vainglorious.
- 4 And at that time (καιρός)
 the light was about to separate
- 6 from the Darkness, and a voice
 was heard in creation (κτίσις), saying,
- 8 “Blessed is the eye which has
 seen you (sg.), and the mind (νοῦς) which has
- 10 supported your majesty (μέγεθος) at
 my desire.” It will be said from
- 12 on high, “Blessed is
 Rebouel among every race (γένος)
- 14 of men, for it is you (fem.) alone
 who have seen.” And she will listen. And
- 16 they will behead the woman
 who has the perception (αἴσθησις),
- 18 whom you will reveal
 upon the earth. And according to (κατά)
- 20 my will she will bear witness (μαρτυρεῖν), and she will
 cease from every
- 22 vain effort of Nature (φύσις)
 and chaos (χαός). For (γάρ) the woman
- 24 whom they will behead at that
 time (καιρός) is the support (σύστασις)
- 26 of the power (δύναμις) of the demon (δαίμων)
 who will baptize (βαπτίζειν) the seed (σπέρμα)
- 28 of darkness in severity (–σκληρός),
 that it (i.e., the seed) may mix with unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία).
- 30 He begot a woman. She was
 called Rebouel. See,
- 32 O (ὦ) Shem, how all the things I have said
 to you have been fulfilled.
- 34 [And And the things which] you

40,31 - 41,21 This is the ending of the revelation to Shem.

ⲙⲁ

2 ⲱⲩⲥⲌⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟ̅ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲕ
 ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉ̅ⲓⲗⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ·
 4 ⲗⲉⲕⲁⲗⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲃⲟⲗⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
 ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ· ⲙ
 6 ⲡⲢⲣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲣⲓⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱ
 ⲛⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ· ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ
 8 ⲕⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉ̅ⲓⲧⲙ ⲡⲣⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲱ
 ⲉ̅ⲧ· ⲗⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ̅ⲓⲧⲛ
 10 ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲉⲓ
 ⲱⲗⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲥⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ·
 12 ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ
 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲌⲛⲁⲕⲓⲧⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ· ⲁⲩⲱ
 14 ⲕⲛⲁⲱⲗⲉ ⲉ̅ⲙ ⲡⲣⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲥ
 ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̅ⲓⲗⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲛⲁⲟⲩ
 16 ⲱⲛⲟ̅ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉ̅ⲙ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ
 ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲣⲟⲣⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ
 18 ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲗⲓⲛ
 ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲡⲓⲕⲧⲓⲥ·
 20 ⲉ̅ⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲕⲧⲓⲥ
 ⲥⲓⲥ· ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲥⲛⲉⲙ· ⲁⲉⲓⲧⲱ
 22 ⲱⲛ ⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ̅ⲓ
 ⲛⲛⲃ· ⲁⲉⲓⲣ̅ ⲑⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲓⲗⲓ ⲙⲡ
 24 ⲗⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ
 ⲧⲛⲣ̅ⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲡⲓⲥ
 26 ⲧⲓⲥ ⲉ̅ⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲙⲙⲛⲉⲓ· ⲁⲩⲱ
 ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲥⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ
 28 ⲧⲁⲉ̅ⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲙⲁⲩⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ· ⲁⲩ
 ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ
 30 ⲗⲉ ⲥⲌⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲉ̅ⲓⲗⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲣ
 ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ· ⲁⲩⲧⲓ ⲧⲑⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲉ
 32 ⲧⲛ ⲧⲡⲓⲕⲧⲓⲥ ⲱⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲱⲱⲣ
 ⲱⲱⲣⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⲉ̅ⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ·

41,12-15

Apparently Derdekeas did not speak to Shem in an earthly language.

41,16

Read ⲡⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ.

41,21 - 45,31

After reporting the revelation he received (1,18 - 41,21) Shem himself

41

- lack, according to (κατά) my will
 2 they will appear to you
 at that place upon the earth
 4 that you may reveal them
 as they are. Do
 6 not let your thought have dealings (κοινωνεῖν)
 with the body (σῶμα). For (γάρ) I have said these
 8 things to you, through the voice of the fire,
 for I entered through
 10 the midst of the clouds. And I
 spoke according to (κατά) the language of each one.
 12 This is my language which I spoke to you.
 And it will be taken from you. And
 14 you will speak with the voice of the world (κόσμος)
 upon the earth. And it will be apparent
 16 to you in person (πρόσωπον)
 and voice, even
 18 all that I have said to you.
 Henceforth proceed in faith (πίστις)
 20 to shine in the depths (βάθος) of the creation (κτίσις).”
 And (δέ) I, Shem, awoke
 22 as if (ὡς) from a deep sleep.
 I marveled (θαύμα) when I received the
 24 power (δύναμις) of the Light and his whole thought.
 And I proceeded in faith (πίστις)
 26 to shine with me. And
 the righteous one (δίκαιος) followed us with
 28 my invincible garment. And
 all that he had told me
 30 would happen upon the earth
 happened. Nature (φύσις) was handed over
 32 to faith (πίστις), that (ἵνα) it might overturn
 her and might establish her in the Darkness.

reveals to his race what will happen in the last days, and the details of his ascent out of the body (45,31 - 47,31).

41,22-23

See 1,15-16.

34 $\alpha\zeta\pi\omicron \bar{\eta}[\tau]\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\eta\eta\varsigma[\iota]\zeta \epsilon\varsigma$
 $\bar{\mu}\langle\beta\rangle$
 $\bar{\nu}\omicron\sigma\omicron\sigma\eta \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon$
 2 $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\sigma\psi\eta \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\sigma \epsilon\varsigma$
 $\zeta\iota \alpha\eta\alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma \alpha\eta \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \bar{\mu}\psi\sigma$
 4 $\chi\eta\cdot \eta\alpha\iota \alpha\sigma\zeta\omega\kappa \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\varsigma$
 $\rho\beta\eta\sigma\epsilon\cdot \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \alpha\eta\omicron\kappa \alpha\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$
 6 $\psi\epsilon \rho\bar{\mu} \pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\epsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\cdot$
 $\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \rho\bar{\mu} \pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon \alpha\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron$
 8 $\omicron\psi\epsilon \rho\bar{\eta} \tau\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma\cdot \pi\mu\alpha \epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma$
 $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\sigma \bar{\eta}\sigma\iota \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$
 10 $\bar{\eta}\tau\phi\sigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma \epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota \epsilon\pi\zeta\iota\varsigma\epsilon \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}$
 $\kappa\alpha\rho \alpha\eta\epsilon\tau\langle\beta\rangle\tau\omega\tau\cdot \tau\epsilon\kappa\pi\iota\varsigma$
 12 $\tau\iota\varsigma \psi\omicron\omicron\pi \rho\bar{\iota}\zeta\bar{\mu} \pi\kappa\alpha\rho \rho\bar{\mu} \pi\epsilon$
 $\rho\omicron\sigma\sigma \tau\eta\rho\bar{\gamma} \rho\bar{\eta} \tau\omicron\sigma\psi\eta \tau\alpha\rho$
 14 $\tau\eta\rho\bar{\varsigma} \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\sigma \varsigma\kappa\tau\omicron \bar{\eta}\tau$
 $\phi\sigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma \psi\iota\eta\alpha \epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\zeta\iota \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}$
 16 $\pi\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\cdot \tau\phi\sigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\rho \rho\alpha \beta\alpha$
 $\rho\omicron\varsigma \alpha\sigma\omega \varsigma\psi\tau\bar{\rho}\tau\omega\rho\cdot \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$
 18 $\lambda\alpha\alpha\sigma \tau\alpha\rho \eta\alpha\psi \omicron\sigma\omega\eta \alpha\eta\mu\omicron\rho$
 $\phi\eta \bar{\mu}\pi\rho\omicron \epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota \alpha\pi\eta\omicron\sigma\varsigma$
 20 $\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha\alpha\gamma\cdot \pi\epsilon\iota \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\bar{\eta}\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\bar{\gamma}$
 $\alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon\cdot \omicron\sigma\bar{\rho}\tau\epsilon \tau\alpha\rho \pi\epsilon$
 22 $\pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\tau\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta \varsigma\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon \tau\phi\sigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma \pi\epsilon\tau\omicron \bar{\eta}\beta\bar{\lambda}\lambda\epsilon$
 24 $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma \delta\epsilon \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\sigma \bar{\eta}$
 $\eta\omicron\sigma\varsigma\sigma\eta\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\varsigma\iota\varsigma \bar{\eta}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma$
 26 $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\cdot \psi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\omega\omicron\sigma \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\alpha\rho \bar{\eta}\psi\alpha\zeta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\tau\phi\sigma$
 28 $\varsigma\iota\varsigma\cdot \varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\bar{\rho}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\sigma\rho\iota \tau\alpha\rho$
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\mu\alpha\rho\tau\sigma\rho\iota\alpha \bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\cdot$
 30 $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma \alpha\rho\eta\sigma \bar{\mu}\pi\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\cdot \varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\bar{\rho} \rho\bar{\iota}\omega\sigma\tau \bar{\mu}$
 32 $\pi\lambda\omicron\omicron\varsigma\bar{\mu} \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\sigma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\cdot \alpha\sigma\omega$
 $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\bar{\rho}\kappa\omega[\lambda]\sigma\epsilon [\bar{\mu}]\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma\sigma \alpha\eta$

41,34

Also $\bar{\upsilon}\mu\eta\eta\varsigma$ fits the traces but it does not fit the meaning. $\gamma\bar{\upsilon}\mu\eta\eta\varsigma$ is not attested; the normal form is $\gamma\bar{\upsilon}\mu\eta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$. Charron (*Concordance*, 726) reads $\bar{\eta}[\eta]\bar{\omicron}\sigma\kappa[\iota]\eta\eta\eta\varsigma[\iota]\zeta$, "movement" ($\kappa\bar{\iota}\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$).

- 34 She acquired [nakedness (γύμνησις)] while
4<2>
turning and moving about,
2 night and day without
receiving rest (ἀνάπαυσις) with the souls (ψυχή).
4 These things completed her
deeds. Then (τότε) I rejoiced
6 in the thought of the Light.
I came forth from the Darkness and I walked
8 in faith (πίστις) where
the forms (μορφή) of
10 Nature (φύσις) are, up to the top of the
earth, to the things which are prepared. Your faith (πίστις)
12 is upon the earth the
whole day. For (γάρ) all night
14 and day she surrounds
Nature (φύσις) to (ἵνα) take to herself
16 the righteous one (δίκαιος). For (γάρ) Nature (φύσις) is
burdened (βάρος), and she is troubled.
18 For (γάρ) none will be able to open the forms (μορφή)
of the orifice except (εἰ μήτι) the mind (νοῦς)
20 alone who was entrusted
with their likeness. For (γάρ) frightful is
22 their likeness of the two forms (μορφή)
of Nature (φύσις), the one which is blind.
24 But (δέ) they who have
a free (ἐλευθέρα) conscience (συνείδησις)
26 remove themselves from
the babbling of Nature (φύσις).
28 For (γάρ) they will bear witness (μαρτυρεῖν)
to the universal (καθολικόν) testimony (μαρτυρία);
30 they will strip off the burden (βάρος)
of Darkness; they will put on
32 the word (λόγος) of the Light; and
they will not be kept back (κωλύειν)

42,25-26 The retention of the feminine gender of the adjective is unusual in Coptic.

ⲙⲚ

2 ϧ̅ⲙ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ
 3 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
 4 ϧ̅ⲛ ⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲥⲉ
 5 ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃ̅
 6 ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲗⲉⲭⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲥⲉⲃ̅
 7 ⲗⲟⲡⲛ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲱϩ̅ⲧ̅ ⲉⲧ̅
 8 ϣ̅ⲧ̅ⲣ̅ⲧ̅ⲱⲣ̅ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲟⲩϥ ⲥⲉ
 9 ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁϥ ϧ̅ⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲛⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧϥⲩ̅
 10 ⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟ
 11 ⲟⲩ ϧ̅ⲓⲧ̅ⲛ ⲛⲁϩ̅ⲃ̅ⲥⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧ̅ϣⲟ
 12 ⲟⲡ ϧ̅ⲛ ⲛ̅ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ
 13 ⲉⲧ̅ⲣ̅ ϧ̅ⲙⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲉ
 14 ⲛⲁⲙ̅ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϧ̅ⲙ ⲡ̅ⲛⲁ̅ ⲛ̅
 15 ⲟⲩⲉϣ̅ ⲛ̅ϧ̅ⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲧ
 16 ⲡⲣⲟⲑⲉⲥⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲱ
 17 ⲛ̅ϧ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧ̅ⲓⲗ̅ⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ϲⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩ
 18 ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϣ̅ⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ
 19 ϥⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϩ̅ⲛⲧ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲩⲱ
 20 ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲗ̅ⲡ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲥⲓ ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲁⲣ
 21 ⲧⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲃ̅ⲱⲗ̅ⲡ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
 22 ϧ̅ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ̅ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃ̅ⲛⲧⲟⲩ
 23 ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧ̅ⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ
 24 ⲛⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲁⲕⲟⲩ ⲁϩ̅ⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅
 25 ⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲕⲱϩ̅ⲧ̅ ⲉⲧ̅ϣ̅ⲧ̅ⲣ̅ⲧ̅ⲱⲣ̅
 26 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧ̅ ϧ̅ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ̅
 27 ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲁⲣ
 28 ⲧⲟⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲣ̅ ⲧⲛ̅
 29 ⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲁⲙ ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̅
 30 ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲁⲗⲟ ϧ̅ⲓⲗ̅ⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲛ̅
 31 ⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓ ⲉϩ̅ⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲛⲁ
 32 ⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲗⲁ
 33 ⲛⲛ̅ ⲛⲁϣ̅ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϧ̅ⲓⲗ̅ⲙ
 34 ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲕⲁ
 35 ⲃⲓⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲛⲓⲧ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲟⲣϥⲛ̅ ⲛ̅
 36 ⲙ̅ⲗ̅
 37 ⲧϥⲩ̅ⲥⲓⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣ̅ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲓ ϩⲉⲛ̅
 38 ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲉ

43

in the insignificant (ἐλάχιστος) place (τόπος).
 2 And what they possess from
 the power (δύναμις) of the mind (νοῦς) they
 4 will give to faith (πίστις). They will
 be accepted (παραδέχεσθαι) without
 6 grief (λύπη). And the chaotic
 fire which they possess they
 8 will leave in the middle region (μεσότης) of
 Nature (φύσις). And they will be taken to them
 10 by my garments, those which are
 in the clouds. It is they
 12 who guide their members (μέλος). They
 will rest in the Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 14 without suffering. And (δέ) because of this the
 appointed term (προθεσμία) of faith (πίστις) appeared
 16 upon the earth for (πρός) a
 short time (χρόνος), until
 18 the Darkness is taken away from her, and
 her testimony is revealed
 20 which was revealed
 by me. They who will prove
 22 to be from her root
 will strip off the
 24 Darkness and the chaotic fire.
 They will put on the light
 26 of the mind (νοῦς) and they will bear witness (μαρτυρεῖν).
 For (γάρ) all that I have said
 28 must happen. After
 I cease to be upon the earth and
 30 withdraw (ἀνοχωρεῖν) up to my rest (ἀνάπαυσις),
 a great, evil error (πλάνη)
 32 will come upon
 the world (κόσμος), and many evils (κακία)
 34 in accordance with (κατά) the number of the forms (μορφή) of
 44
 Nature (φύσις). Evil times (καιρός)
 2 will come. And when

4 ροc ἡτφϑcιc εϕρην ερϑσῆ
 επτεκο· οῦῆ οῦκακε να
 6 ψωπε ρ̅ι̅ζ̅μ̅ πκαρ τηπ̅c να
 cβοκ· αῶω οῦῆ οῦδαγμων
 8 ἡνησ ερραῖ ρ̅η̅ τδσναμiс εσ
 ἡταγ ἄμασ ἡοσεινε ἡκω
 10 ρ̅η̅· ψηαπωρ ἡππε· ψηαἄτον
 ἄμογ ρ̅μ̅ πβαθος ἡτανато
 λη· τκτιcιc γαρ τηρ̅c νακiμ·
 12 αῶω πκοcμοc εἵρπλαναc
 θαῖ ναψτορτ̅ρ· cεναωἄc
 14 ἡραρ ἡτοποc κατα οῦφθο
 νοc ἡῆτηοσ ἡῆ ἡδαγμων
 16 ναῖ εσῆτασ ἄμασ ἡοσραν
 ἄἡῆταθητ̅· φορβεα· χ̅λ̅ο̅ε̅ρ̅γ̅α̅·
 18 ναῖ νε εἵρδiοiκεῖ ἄπκοc
 μοc ρ̅η̅ τεσcω· αῶω cε̅ρ̅
 20 πλανα ἡραρ ἡρητ̅ ετβε τοσ
 атаz̅ia ἡῆ τοσκαθαρcια·
 22 ραρ ἡτοποc cεναбеш̅ω
 ψοσ ἡcноγ· αῶω οῦῆ †
 24 ἡτενεα εβολ ρ̅η̅τοοτοσ
 οσαασ cεναοσωμ ἡνεσ
 26 ψηρε· ἄμεροc δε ἄπca
 ρηc cεναz̅i ἄπλογοc ἄποσ
 28 οειη· νετ̅ψοοп̅ δε εβολ
 ρ̅η̅ τπλaηη ἄπκοcμοc
 30 αῶω εβολ ρ̅η̅ тaηaτoλη·
 ψηησ εβολ ἡc̅i οῦδαγμων
 32 ρ̅η̅ ρ̅η̅τ̅γ̅ ἄπδρακων· νεγ

ἄε

2 κηп ρ̅η̅ οστοποc ἡερημοc·
 ψηα̅ρ̅ ραρ ἡψηηρε· οῦῆ ραρ
 να̅ρ̅ciγaηe ἄμογ· οῦῆ οσ

44,5

44,6-13

44,30

The number probably refers to days.

Cf. Rev 20:7-8.

It appears that some text is missing between lines 30 and 31.

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 envy (C
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 races (y
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 the erro
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 A demon
 from (th
 in hiding
 He will
 will load

44-45,1
 9

the era (καιρός) of Nature (φύσις) is approaching
 4 destruction, darkness will
 come upon the earth. The number will
 6 be small. And a demon (δαίμων)
 will come up from the power (δύναμις) who
 8 has a likeness of fire.
 He will rend the heaven, (and) he will rest
 10 in the depth (βάθος) of the east (ἀνατολή).
 For (γάρ) the whole creation (κτίσις) will quake.
 12 And the deceived (πλανᾶσθαι) world (κόσμος)
 will be thrown into confusion. Many
 14 places (τόπος) will be flooded because of (κατά)
 envy (φθόνος) of the winds and the demons (δαίμων)
 16 who have a name
 which is senseless: Phorbea, Chloerga.
 18 They are the ones who govern (διοικεῖν) the world (κόσμος)
 with their teaching. And they lead astray (πλανᾶν)
 20 many hearts because of their
 disorder (ἀταξία) and their unchastity (ἀκαθαρσία).
 22 Many places (τόπος) will be sprinkled
 with blood. And there are five
 24 races (γενεά) by themselves;
 they will eat their
 26 sons. But (δέ) the regions (μέρος) of the south
 will accept the Word (λόγος) of the Light.
 28 But (δέ) they who are from
 the error (πλάνη) of the world (κόσμος)
 30 and from the east (ἀνατολή)—
 A demon (δαίμων) will come forth
 32 from (the) belly of the serpent (δράκων). He was
 45
 in hiding in a desolate (ἔρημος) place (τόπος).
 2 He will perform many wonders. Many
 will loathe (σικχαίνειν) him. A

44,32 - 45,1 Cf. Rev 12:6.
 45,2 Cf. Rev 13:13.

4 ΤΗΟΘ̄ ΝΗΗΘ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ὠ̄Ν̄ ΡΩῩ ΕΥΟ
 ΝΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΣΓ̄ΙΜΕ· ΕΣΝΑΜΟΘΤΕ
 6 ΕΠΕΣΡΑΝ̄ ΖΕ̄ ΑΒΑΛΛ̄Φ̄Η· ΥΝΑΡ̄
 Ρ̄ΡΟ̄ ΕΞ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΟCΜΟC̄ ΖΙΝ̄ Μ̄ΜΑ
 8 Μ̄ΠΙΡΕ̄ ΨᾹ Μ̄ΜᾹ Ν̄ΡΩΤ̄Π̄· ΤΟ
 ΤΕ ΟΘ̄Ν̄ ΟΘΚΑΙΡΟC̄ Ν̄ΡΔΕ̄ ΝΑ
 10 ΨΩΠΕ̄ Ν̄ΤΦ̄ΘCΙC̄· ΑΘΩ̄ Ν̄CΙ
 ΟΘ̄ ΝΑΛΟ̄ Ὠ̄Ν̄ ΤΠΕ· CΕΝΑΘΩΩΝ
 12 Μ̄ΠΡΟ̄ Μ̄ΠCΩΡ̄Μ̄· ΨΙΝᾹ ΕΡΕ
 ΠΚΑΚΕ̄ ΕΘΟΟΘ̄ ΝΑΟΘΩC̄Ῡ Ν̄
 14 CΕΤ̄Μ̄ ΡΩῩ· ΑΘΩ̄ Ὠ̄Μ̄ Φ̄ΔΕ̄ Ν̄ΡΟ
 ΟΘ̄ CΕΝΑΥΩΤΕ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄Ν̄ΜΟΡ
 16 Φ̄Η̄ Ν̄ΤΦ̄ΘCΙC̄ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΤΗΘ̄ Μ̄Ν̄
 ΝΟCΔΑΙΜΩΝ̄ ΤΗΡΟΘ̄· CΕ
 18 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΘΒΩΛΟC̄ Ν̄ΚΑ
 ΚΕ̄ Ν̄ΘΕ̄ ΕΤΟΘΨΟΟΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΟC̄
 20 ΖΙΝ̄ Ν̄ΨΩΡ̄Π̄· ΑΘΩ̄ Μ̄ΜΟCΤΕΙ
 ΟΟΘΤΕ̄ ΕΤ̄ΡΟΛ̄Θ̄ ΝΑΩΞ̄Ν̄· ΝΑΪ
 22 Ν̄ΤΑΘ̄Ρ̄ΒΑΡ̄Ι Μ̄ΜΟΟΘ̄ Ὠ̄Γ̄Τ̄Η̄ Ν̄
 ΔΑΙΜΩΝ̄· ΠΜᾹ ΓΑΡ̄ Ν̄ΤΑCΒΩΚ
 24 ΕΜΑΘ̄ Ν̄CΙ ΤΔΘΝΑΜΙC̄ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α
 ΕCΨΟΟΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΘ̄ Ν̄CΙ ΝΑΜΟΘ̄
 26 ΕΙΟΟΘΤΕ̄ ΕΤ̄ΡΟΛ̄Θ̄· Ν̄ΚΕΡΒΗ
 ΟΘΕ̄ Ν̄ΤΦ̄ΘCΙC̄ CΕΝΑΘΩΩΝ̄Ὠ̄
 28 ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΔΗ· CΕΝΑΤΩΡ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ Μ̄
 ΜΟCΤΕΙΗ̄ Ν̄ΚΑΚΕ̄ ΕΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕΘ̄
 30 ΑΡΗ̄Ξ̄Ῡ· ΑΘΩ̄ ΝΕCΕΙΝΕ̄ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΘ̄ ΝΑΛΟ̄ Ν̄ΤΜΗΤΕ· ΔΝΟΚ
 32 CΗΕΜ̄ ΔΕΙΖΕΚ̄ ΝΑΪ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΑΘΩ̄
 ΑΠΑΡΗΤ̄ Ρ̄ΑΡΧΕCΘΑῙ Μ̄ΠΩ
 34 [Ρ̄]Ξ̄ ΕΠCΩΜᾹ Ν̄ΚΑΚΕ̄· ΑΠΑ
 Μ̄C̄
 ΧΡΟΝΟC̄ ΖΩΚ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄· ΑΘΩ̄
 2 ΑΠΑΡΗΤ̄ † Ὠ̄ΙΩΩῩ Μ̄Φ̄ΘΠΟ
 ΜΗΗΜᾹ Ν̄ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ̄· ΑΘΩ̄ ΠΕ

45,14-18

βῶλος is used the same way in Manichaean eschatology.

45,31 - 47,31

In this section of the tractate Shem reveals the details of his ascent

4 wind will come forth from his mouth with
 a female likeness. Her name will
 6 be called Abalphe. He will
 reign over the world (κόσμος) from the
 8 east to the west. Then (τότε)
 Nature (φύσις) will have
 10 a final opportunity (καιρός). And the stars
 will cease from the sky. The mouth
 12 of error will be opened in order that (ἵνα)
 the evil Darkness may become idle and
 14 silent. And in the last day
 the forms (μορφή) of Nature (φύσις)
 16 will be destroyed with the winds and
 all their demons (δαίμων); they
 18 will become a dark lump (βῶλος),
 just as they were
 20 from the beginning. And the
 sweet waters which were burdened (βαρεῖν)
 22 by the demons (δαίμων) will perish.
 For (γάρ) where the power (δύναμις)
 24 of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) has gone
 there are my sweet
 26 waters. The other works
 of Nature (φύσις) will not be manifest.
 28 They will mix with the
 infinite waters of darkness.
 30 And all her forms
 will cease from the middle region. I,
 32 Shem, have completed these things. And
 my mind began (ἄρχεσθαι) to separate
 34 from the body (σῶμα) of darkness. My
 46
 time (χρόνος) was completed. And
 2 my mind put on the immortal (ἀθάνατον)
 testimony (ὑπόμνημα). And

out of the body through the clouds.

45,33-34

See 1,14-15.

4 **ΖΑΪ ΖΕ †ΤΗΤ ΝΩΗΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΚ**
ϞΣΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ· ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΚΒΟΛ
 6 **ΠΨ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΛΩΡΧΑΓΕ· ΑΩΩ**
ΝΤΟΚ ΔΜΟΙΑΓΑΙ· ΑΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ
 8 **ΣΕΔΕΡΚΕΔ· ΑΩΩ ΤΕΚΜΗΤΒΑΛ**
ϞΗΤ ΣΤΡΟΦΕΔ· ΑΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΧΕΛ
 10 **ΚΕΔΚ· ΑΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΧΕΛΚΕΔ· ΜΝ**
ΧΕΛΚΕ· ΜΝ ΕΛΑΓΕ· ΝΤΩΤΗ ΠΕ
 12 **ΦΣΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ ΝΔΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ·**
†Ρ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΣΠΙΝΘΗΡ
 14 **ΠΕΤΕ ΜΑΥΩΨΜ· ΠΕΤΟ ΝΒΑΛ**
ΝΤΠΕ· ΑΩΩ ΝΩΡΟΟΨ ΝΟΨΟ
 16 **ΕΙΝ· ΑΩΩ ΣΟΦΑΓΑ ΜΝ ΣΑΦΑΓΑ**
ΜΝ ΣΑΦΑΓΙΝΑ· ΜΝ ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟC
 18 **ΣΠΙΝΘΗΡ· ΑΩΩ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΤΨΟ**
ΡΠ ΜΝ ΘΑΗ· ΜΝ ΠΑΙΘΗΡ ΜΝ ΠΑ
 20 **ΗΡ· {ΑΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΧΕΛΚΕΔΚ· ΜΝ**
ΧΕΛΚΕ· ΜΝ ΕΛΑΓΕ· ΝΤΩΤΗ
 22 **ΠΕ ΦΣΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ ΝΔΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ·**
†Ρ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΣΠΙΝΘΗΡ ΠΕ
 24 **ΤΕ ΜΑΥΩΨΜ· ΠΕΤΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΝΤΠΕ**
ΑΩΩ ΝΩΡΟΟΨ ΝΟΨΟΕΙΝ· ΑΩΩ
 26 **ΣΟΦΑΓΑ· ΜΝ ΣΑΦΑΓΑ· ΜΝ ΣΑ**
ΦΑΓΙΝΑ· ΜΝ ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟC ΣΠΙΝΘΗΡ·
 28 **ΑΩΩ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΤΨΟΡΠ ΜΝ ΘΑΗ·**
ΜΝ ΠΑΙΘΗΡ· ΜΝ ΠΑΗΡ·} ΑΩΩ Ν
 30 **ΔΨΝΑΜΙC ΤΗΡΟΨ ΜΝ ΝΕΖΟΨ**
CΙΔ ΝΕΨΟΟΠ ϞΝ ΤΚΤΙCΙC·
 32 **ΑΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΟΨΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΖΔ**
ϞΜ· ΑΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ ϞΩΩΚ ΠΡΡΙΕ
 34 **ΜΝ ΠΩΩΤΠ· ΑΩΩ ΠCΑΡΗC ΜΝ**

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- 46,6 - 47,3 For the list of names see 31,5 32,3 and the paraphrase in 32,30 - 34,16.
 46,7 **ΔΜΟΙΑΓΑΙ** is the Greek vocative form of Amoiaios (Amoias in 31,5).
 46,8 **ΣΕΔΕΡΚΕΔ** is probably a misspelling of the Greek vocative form of Derdekeas.
 46,9 **CΤΡΟΦΕΔ** is the Greek vocative form of **CΤΡΟΦΑΓΑC** (31,6).
 46,11 **ΕΛΑΓΕ** is the Greek vocative form of Elaios.

4 I said, "I affirm your
 testimony (ὑπόμνημα) which you have revealed
 6 to me: Elorchaois, and
 you, Amoiarias, and you,
 8 Sederkeas, and your guilelessness,
 Strophaias, and you, Chelkeak,
 10 and you, Chelkea, and
 Chelke and Elaios, you (pl.) are
 12 the immortal (ἀθάνατος) testimony (ὑπόμνημα).
 I testify to you, Spark (σπινθήρ),
 14 the unquenchable one, who is an eye
 of heaven and a voice of light,
 16 and Sophaias, and Saphaias,
 and Saphaina, and the righteous (δίκαιος)
 18 Spark (σπινθήρ), and faith (πίστις), the First
 and the Last, and the upper air (αἰθήρ) and lower
 20 air (ἀήρ), {and you, Chelkeak, and
 Chelke and Elaie, you (pl.)
 22 are the immortal (ἀθάνατον) testimony (ὑπόμνημα).
 I testify to you, Spark (σπινθήρ), the
 24 unquenchable one, who is an eye of heaven
 and a voice of light, and
 26 Sophaias, and Saphaias, and Saphaina,
 and the righteous (δίκαιος) Spark (σπινθήρ),
 28 and faith (πίστις), the First and the Last,
 and the upper air (αἰθήρ) and the lower air (ἀήρ), } and
 30 all the powers (δύναμις) and the authorities (ἐξουσία)
 that are in the creation (κτίσις).
 32 And you, impure light,
 and you (sg.) also, east,
 34 and west, and south, and

46,13-14

See 31,23-25.

46,16-17

See the note to 33,27.

46,18-19

See 31,26.

46,20-29

(αἰθῶ/παιήρ) is a doublet due to homoioteleuton.

46,30-31

See 31,33 - 32,2.

46,33-35

The parallel in 31,30-32 retains the Greek words ἀνατολή, ἄρκτος
and μεσημβρία.

πεμρϋτ̄· ἡτωτ̄η̄ πε ἡκλ[ι]

ⲙⲓ

- 2 ⲙⲁ{ⲛ} ἡτοῖκοσμενη· ἄσω
 3 ἡτο ρωε μολ̄ϥθ̄ᾶ· ἡ̄ν ες
 4 ⲙⲓⲥ ϥωχ· ἡτωτ̄η̄ πε τνοσνε
 5 ἡτκασι· ἄσω ερπον η̄μ ϥ̄ι
 6 ϥ̄ιϥε εϥⲛⲁϥ̄ⲙ ἡτε τ̄ϥσϥιϥ·
 7 η̄ⲁⲓ̄ νε ἡταιζοκοσ̄ εβολ̄·
 8 εειμαρτ̄σρ̄ι· ἀνοκ πε ⲥ̄ηε̄μ
 9 ϥ̄ⲙ προοσ̄ εϥ̄η̄νησ̄ εβολ̄
 10 ϥ̄η̄ ⲥωμα· ἡταρεπαμεεσε
 11 ⲥω ϥ̄η̄ ⲥωμα· δειτωων ρωϥ
 12 εβολ̄ ϥ̄η̄ οσνος ἡϥ̄ινηβ· ἄσω
 13 ἡταριτων ρωϥ εβολ̄ ϥ̄ⲙ πβα
 14 ροϥ ἡ̄π̄ιϥωμα· δειζοοϥ ζε
 15 κατα θε ἡτατ̄ϥσϥιϥ ρ̄ ϥ̄λλω
 16 ταἓ̄ τε θε ρωωϥ ἡ̄φοοσ̄ ἡ̄
 17 τ̄ⲙ̄η̄τρωμε· ρενμακαριοϥ
 18 νε ηεντασειμε ροταν εσ̄
 19 ψ̄ⲁη̄ϥ̄ινηβ̄ ζε ερεποσμε
 20 εσε ρ̄ⲁη̄ⲁⲓ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲁⲓ ϥ̄η̄ ⲁϥϥ
 21 ἡ̄δ̄σ̄η̄ⲁⲙⲓϥ· ἄσω ἡταρετ̄ϥ
 22 μοσ̄τ̄ πωρ̄ δειη̄ⲁσ̄ ερεηκλο
 23 ολε η̄ⲁⲓ̄ εϥ̄η̄ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ
 24 τ̄κ̄λοολε γαρ ἡ̄π̄η̄ⲁ εϥϥⲟ
 25 οπ ἡ̄θε ἡ̄οσ̄β̄σ̄ρ̄ρ̄σ̄λλοϥ ετοσ̄
 26 ⲁⲁβ· ἄσω τ̄κ̄λοολε ἡ̄ϥ̄σ̄
 27 ἡ̄η̄η̄ εϥⲟ ἡ̄θε ἡ̄η̄η̄ⲥⲙⲁⲣⲁϥ
 28 ⲁοϥ ε̄τ̄η̄ρ̄ρ̄ίωσ̄· ἄσω τ̄κ̄λο
 29 ολε ἡ̄π̄κα ρωϥ ἡ̄θε ἡ̄η̄η̄ⲁⲙⲁ
 30 ρⲁη̄τοϥ ε̄σ̄ρ̄εϥϥϥϥ· ἄσω
 31 τ̄κ̄λοολε ἡ̄τ̄ⲙⲥⲟⲧ̄η̄ϥ ἡ̄θε
 32 ἡ̄οσ̄ρ̄σ̄ⲁⲕⲓⲛ̄θ̄οϥ ε̄τ̄τοσ̄β̄η̄
 33 οσ̄· ἄσω ἡ̄ταρεπ̄ⲁⲓ̄καⲓοϥ

46,35 - 47,1

Ms reads κλιμαζ (ladders).

47,2

The parallel in 32,2 addresses Moluchtha as masculine (ἡτοκ).

47,2-3

Essoch in the parallel in 32,3 is spelled Soch.

47,4-6

See 32,3-5.

north, you (pl.) are the zones (κλίμα)

47

- of the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη). And
 2 you (fem. sg.) also Moluchtha and Essoch,
 you (pl.) are the root
 4 of evil (κακία) and every work (ἔργον) and
 impure effort of Nature (φύσις).”
 6 These are the things which I completed
 while bearing witness (μαρτυρεῖν). I am Shem.
 8 On the day that I was to come forth
 from (the) body (σῶμα), when my thought
 10 remained in (the) body (σῶμα), I awoke as if (ὡς)
 from a deep sleep. And
 12 when I arose as it were (ὡς) from the burden (βάρος)
 of my body (σῶμα), I said,
 14 “Just as (κάτά) Nature (φύσις) became old,
 so is it also in the day of
 16 humankind. Blessed (μακάριος)
 are they who knew, when (ὄταν) they
 18 slept, in what power (δύναμις)
 their thought rested (ἀναπαύεσθαι).”
 20 And when the Pleiades
 separated, I saw clouds
 22 which I shall pass by.
 For (γάρ) the cloud of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) is
 24 like a pure beryl (βήρυλλος).
 And the cloud of the Hymen (ὕμην)
 26 is like a shining
 emerald (σμάραγδος). And the cloud
 28 of silence is like a
 flourishing amaranth (ἀμάραντος). And
 30 the cloud of the middle region (μεσότης) is like
 a pure jacinth (ὑάκινθος).
 32 And when the righteous one (δίκαιος)

47,10-11

See 41,21-23.

47,32

Shem's account of his ascent suddenly breaks off. The next section appears to be a return to the revelation of Derdekeas to Shem.

34 οὐωνῶ εβολ ῶν τφῶσις·
 34 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΤΑΡΕΤΦῶΣΙΣ ΝΟῦ
 ΣΕ ΔΣ† ΤΚΑΣ· ΔΣΡΧΑΡΓΖΕ
 ΜΗ
 ΜΟΡΦΑΙΑ ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟῦΤ
 2 ΠΤΠΕ· ΕΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΜΟῦΤ
 ῶΤΗ ΜΗΤΣΝΟΟΤΣ ΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ
 4 ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟῦΤΟῦ ῶΝ ΟΣΚΑΙ
 ΡΟΣ ΠΟῦΩΤ· ΖΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΠΕΥ
 6 ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΝΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ῶΝ Οῦ
 ΣΕΠΗ· Δῶ ΠΤΕΤΦῶΣΙΣ
 8 ΟῦΩΣΥ· ΖΕΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕ
 ΝΕΤΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΟῦ ΕΤΠΑΡΑ
 10 ΘΗΚΗ ΜΠΜΟῦ· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ
 ΠΜΟΟῦ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΡΒΑΡΕΙΣΘΑΓ
 12 ΕῶΝΑΨ ΖΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΟῦ ΔΝ ῶΝ ῶΝ
 ΚΟῦΕΙ ΠΧΡΟΝΟῦ· ΕῶΡΕΠΓΕ
 14 ΔΕΪ ΕΒΟΛ ῶΝ ΤΠΛΑΝΗ ΜΠΚΟΣ
 ΜΟΣ· Δῶ ΕῶΨΑΝΖΡΟ ΕΡΟΟῦ
 16 ΣΕΝΑΡΚΩΛῶΕ ΜΜΟΟῦ ΕΡΟΟῦ
 ΣΕΝΑΡΒΑΣΑΝΓΖΕ ΜΜΟΟῦ ῶΜ
 18 ΠΚΑΚΕ ΨΑ ΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΠΤΣῶΝ
 ΤΕΛΕΙΑ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΨΑΝΤΣῶΝ
 20 ΤΕΛΕΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΠΤΕΤΦῶΣΙΣ
 ΤΑΚΟ· ΤΟΤΕ ΝΟῦΜΕΕῶΕ ΝΑ
 22 ΠΩΡΞ ΕΠΚΑΚΕ· ΝΑΪ ΔΤΦῶ
 ΣΙΣ ΡΒΑΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΟῦ ΠΡΟΣ Οῦ
 24 ΚΟῦΕΙ ΠΧΡΟΝΟῦ· Δῶ ΣΕ
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ῶΜ ΠΟῦΟΕΙΝ Ε
 26 ΜΑῦΨ ΨΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΠΤΕ ΠΠΝΑ
 ΠΑΓΕΝΗΝΗΤΟΝ ΕΜΗΤΑῦ ΜΟΡ
 28 ΦΗ ΜΜΑῦ· Δῶ ΤΕΪΖΕ ΤΕ
 ΠΝΟῦΣ ΠΘΕ ΠΤΑΕΙΖΟΟΣ ΖΙΝ
 30 ΠΨΟΡΠ· ΖΙΝ ΠΙΝΑῦ ΜΟῦΨΕ
 ῶ ΣΗΕΜ ῶΝ ΟῦΧΑΡΙΣ ΠΤῶ ῶ[Ν]

47,33
48,1

Some text is missing between lines 33 and 34.
It would appear that Morphaia is the name of the righteous one.

- appeared in Nature (φύσις)—
- 34 Then (τότε) when Nature (φύσις)
was angry she felt hurt, and she granted (χαρίζειιν)
48
to Morphaia to visit
- 2 heaven. The righteous one (δίκαιος) visits
during twelve periods (καιρός)
4 that he may visit them during one
period (καιρός), in order that his
6 time (καιρός) may be completed
quickly, and Nature (φύσις)
8 may become idle. Blessed (μακάριος) are
they who guard themselves against the
10 deposit (παραθήκη) of death, which is
the burdensome (βαρεῖσθαι) water of darkness.
- 12 For (γάρ) it will not be possible to conquer them in a
short time (χρόνος), since they hasten (ἐπείγειν)
14 to come forth from the error (πλάνη) of the
world (κόσμος). And if they are conquered,
16 they will be kept back (κωλύειν) by them
and be tormented (βασινίζειν) in the darkness
18 until the time (καιρός) of the consummation (συντέλεια).
When (ὅταν) the consummation (συντέλεια)
20 has come and Nature (φύσις) has been
destroyed, then (τότε) their thoughts will
22 separate from the Darkness. Nature (φύσις)
has burdened (βαρεῖν) them for a
24 short time (χρόνος). And they
will be in the ineffable
26 light of the unbegotten (ἀγέννητον)
Spirit (πνεῦμα) without a form (μορφή).
- 28 And thus it is (with)
the mind (νοῦς) as I have said from
30 the beginning. Henceforth, O (ὦ) Shem,
go in grace (χάρις) and continue in

48,10 The meaning of παραθήκη in this context is uncertain.

48,16-27 This is similar to the role of purgatory.

32 ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΘΙΞ̅̅̅ ΠΚΑΘ· ΔΘ̅̅̅ΝΑΜ[ΙC]
 ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ̅̅̅ ΝΘΟΘΕΙΝ ΔΘ̅̅̅ ΝΚΩ
 34 Θ̅̅̅Τ̅̅̅ ΣΕΝΑΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅̅̅ΤΟΟΤ̅̅̅
 49 ΜΘ̅̅̅
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̅̅̅Κ̅̅̅ ΝΘΘΕΨ̅̅̅ ΝΒ̅̅̅ΛΛΑΚ
 2 ΓΑΡ ΣΕΝΑΘΟΛΠΟΘ̅̅̅ ΔΗ ΕΒΟΛ Ψ̅̅̅ΔΗ
 ΤΕΚΟΟΘ̅̅̅ Θ̅̅̅Η̅̅̅ ΟΘΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ·
 4 ΕΚΨ̅̅̅ΔΗΛΟ ΘΙΞ̅̅̅ ΠΚΑΘ ΣΕΝΑ
 ΤΑΔΘ̅̅̅ Ν̅̅̅Ν̅̅̅ΑΖ̅̅̅ΙΟC· Μ̅̅̅Π̅̅̅ΒΟΛ̅̅̅ Ν̅̅̅ΤΕΪ̅̅̅
 6 ΦΑΝΕΡΩCΙC ΔΕ ΜΑΡΟΨ̅̅̅ΔΕ
 ΕΡΟΚ̅̅̅ ΘΙΞ̅̅̅ ΠΚΑΘ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΣΕΝΑ
 8 Ψ̅̅̅Ι̅̅̅ Μ̅̅̅Π̅̅̅ΤΟ̅̅̅ ΕΤΕCΙΩΘ̅̅̅· ΔΘ̅̅̅ ΕΤ̅̅̅Ρ̅̅̅
 CΘ̅̅̅Μ̅̅̅Φ̅̅̅ΩΝΙ

49,2

The subject appears to be the words spoken by Derdekeas.

32 faith (πίστις) upon the earth. For (γάρ) every
 power (δύναμις) of light and fire
 34 will be completed by me

49

for your sake. For (γάρ) without you
 2 they will not be revealed until
 you speak them openly (φανερών).
 4 When you cease to be upon the earth, they will
 be given to the worthy ones (ἄξιος). And (δέ) apart from
 6 this proclamation (φανέρωσις), let them speak
 about you upon the earth, since (ἐπειδή) they will
 8 take the carefree and
 agreeable (συμφωνεῖν) land.

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Great Church
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INTRODUCTION TO VII,2 SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH

The *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (*Treat. Seth*) is a Christian gnostic homily in the form of a speech of the ascended Christ to his followers on earth. While the tone of the speech is at times polemical, the author achieves moments of effective poetical expression and remarkable spiritual insight and grace which make reading this difficult work a rewarding experience. Its purpose is to encourage gnostic Christians to rest in their redeemer and maintain unity with one another, while standing firm in opposition to Christians of the Great Church who persecute them and hold to the false teaching of the actual suffering and death of Christ. The author recounts the career of the heavenly and divine Son, who descends into the creation of Yaldabaoth, the ruler of the cosmos and its archons, and takes over the body of an earthly man, thus becoming Christ. As such he proclaims the Word of unity to his kindred souls incarnated below. He undergoes a seeming (docetic) passion, during which his host body is crucified and the archons are defeated, while he himself returns to heaven and the celestial wedding feast. His message during his incarnation and now in *Treat. Seth* is that he and his followers are one, and one with the Father; that, like himself, their origin is from heaven and their destiny is one day to return and themselves join in the spiritual union of the heavenly wedding; because of his victory they may now rest in him in the face of their difficulties with the world of the archons and the Great Church.

I. Physical Description of the Tractate

Treat. Seth is second of the five tractates in Codex VII of the Nag Hammadi Library, occupying twenty two pages (pages 49-71), of thirty-four to thirty-nine lines each. The tractate is entirely preserved, with damage to the papyrus partially affecting only three letters of the entire document. The script is clear and easily read, copied by the same scribe who produced the entire codex. Very few mechanical scribal errors are to be found (see notes).

II. Language

The language of the tractate is Sahidic Coptic, with some interference from dialectal forms, as is common in the Nag Hammadi Library. The judgment of Layton and Pearson seems correct in reference to *Treat. Seth* also, that the scribes responsible for the Nag Hammadi Library were to a large degree native speakers of Sub-Akhmimic, a minor dialect associated with heterodox literature, who attempted to translate the various tractates into Sahidic, the dialect most widespread and most associated with the greater Church.¹

The tractate is a translation from a Greek original, as is quite evident from several aspects of the text. The title, found at the end of the treatise, is wholly in Greek transcription, complete with nominative and genitive endings. Transliterated Greek words are common in the text in general, but telling as evidence for a Greek original are the numerous instances of Greek particles, conjunctions, and prepositions: forty-one instances of δέ; twice of μέν ... δέ (52,3.5; 56,4.14); once of μέν alone (68,7, unless δέ follows in 68,21); two instances of οὐδε (67,12.34); twelve of οὐτε; one of οὐ (60,36), and one of οὐ followed by ἀν (61,4); two of οὐ μόνον (59,23; 62,3); twenty-nine instances of γάρ. Examples may be multiplied of ἄλλά, εἶτε, κατά, πρός, ὡς, and others. In addition, the same "word" is often to be found in one place in Greek and another in Coptic translation, leading to the conclusion that the translator sometimes transcribed and sometimes translated the underlying Greek word or phrase (e. g., "Greatness": ΜΝΤΝΟΣ 54,14 and μέγεθος 49,10; "ineffable": ΔΤΩΔΞΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΥ 49,30 and ἄρητον 61,36; "perfect": ΕΤΞΗΚ 49,11 and τέλειος 49,16). The Greek accusative plural form μονάς ("dwellings") appears, properly used, in 51,1-2: "to prepare μονάς and places (τόπος) of the Sons of Light," a clear reference to Gospel of John 14:2 where both Greek words occur with similar meaning. In addition, misunderstandings and mistranslations of the underlying Greek text are to be suspected in several passages (cf. the notes).

III. Title and Identification

Epiphanius (ca. 315-403), bishop of Salamis, heresiologist and author of the famous *Panarion* ("Medicine Chest") against heresies, informs us that books were composed in the name of Seth:

¹ B. Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2-7 (NHS 20; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989) 6-14; Pearson, *Codices IX and X*, 16-17. Dialectical forms are discussed in the notes.

[Some gnostics] offer many books about the Yaldabaoth we spoke of, and in the name of Seth (*Panarion* 26.8.1). ... [Sethians] compose books in the name of great men, and say that seven books are in Seth's name (*Panarion* 39.5.1). ... [The Archontics] have forged certain books in the name of Seth himself, and say that they are given by him ... (*Panarion* 40.7.4).

Our tractate does certainly fit into those works which treat of Yaldabaoth, and carries a title under the name of Seth. Yet the title of the work as we have it, "Second Treatise of the Great Seth," inscribed only at the end of the tractate, comes as something of a surprise to one who has just finished reading a work which nowhere mentions Seth at all. Nor does the preceding tractate, the *Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,1), mention Seth by name, but it is an account by Shem of a spiritual ascent to the heavenly realm and the revelation granted him while there. Thus on the surface we have neither the first nor second "Logos" from Seth.

Yet the title is not without its force. Epiphanius tells us that the sect of the Sethians (whom he had met, he thinks, in Egypt), considers that Seth is "Christ and maintains that he is Jesus" (*Panarion* 39.1.2-3): "from Seth by descent and lineage came Christ Jesus himself, though not by generation; he has appeared in the world miraculously. He is Seth himself, who visited men then and now because he was sent from above by the Mother" (39.3.4; cf. also 39.10.4). Thus the Sethians would have understood the revelation by Christ as we have it in *Treat. Seth* to have been given by Seth in a later incarnation under the name of Christ.² In addition, Hippolytus describes the doctrines of the Sethians and encourages those who would seek more information to read their book, the *Paraphrase of Seth* (*Refutation* 5.22). His account of their doctrines is intriguingly similar, though not identical, to those found in *Paraph. Shem*. The *Paraph. Shem* is an account of a revelation given to Shem by the heavenly being Derdekeas; the name Derdekeas is to be derived from Aramaic, meaning "male child," an epithet of Seth.³ Thus, *Paraph. Shem* is an esoteric revelation of Seth. If Christ in *Treat. Seth* is understood as Seth reincarnated, then we would have a real "Second Logos of the Great Seth" in our tractate.

Another aspect of the codex would seem to indicate that at least the scribe who produced Codex VII understood the title literally. The first work of the codex, *Paraph. Shem*, has its title only at the beginning; the second, *Treat. Seth*, only at the end. The third, *Apocalypse of*

² Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III 64,1-3: "Jesus the Living One, even he whom the great Seth has put on." So Rudolph (*Gnosis*, 131) understands Christ in *Treat. Seth* to be "Seth Redivivus."

³ According to the insightful study of Gedaliahu Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 79.

Peter (VII,3), carries identical titles at both beginning and end; the fourth, *The Teachings of Silvanus* (VII,4), has its title at the beginning and a Christian colophon at the end; the fifth, *The Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), carries its title only at the end, and is followed by a description of the source of the whole codex and a benediction on the scribe who produced it (127,28-32). Thus, tractates two, three, four, and five, are separated by titles or colophon; only the first two tractates, *Paraph. Shem* and *Treat. Seth*, are not separated at all from one another, except by a line of five thin scribal bars (resembling barbells) which occupies but one line of text. Visually, a break in the text is clear but very quietly stated, quite different in kind from that between the other tractates. This aspect of the physical structure of the codex seems to indicate that the scribe took the title "Second Logos" seriously, placing the work second and allowing it to flow easily after the first tractate as the second installment by Seth.

The difficulties, however, with understanding *Treat. Seth* as having been composed as a continuation of *Paraph. Shem* in a two volume work, as had Doresse and Puech,⁴ are formidable. The two works are quite different in religious orientation, literary genre, content, and language. *Paraph. Shem* is a non-Christian apocalypse, in which Shem recounts his ascent to heaven where he is granted a revelation. The revelation concerns cosmology, the history of salvation, and eschatology, based on a gnostic revaluation of the book of Genesis. The cosmology resembles that described by Hippolytus, balancing three powers, Light against Darkness separated by Spirit (*Refutation* 5.22). It never mentions Christ or things Christian. *Treat. Seth*, on the other hand, is a Christian revelation speech delivered by the ascended Christ in the first person to his earthly followers, the "perfect and undefiled ones" (69,23). He gives them a true (gnostic) account of his descent from heaven, temporary incarnation, docetic passion, and reascent, against the more usual account of lesser Christians of the Great Church. The cosmology is easily recognizable as the geocentric cosmos of the seven spheres surrounded by a veil separating it from the heavenly world of light, familiar from such other works as the *Apocryphon of John*. Christ in *Treat. Seth* never mentions either Shem or Seth or Derdekeas. In addition, the two works were not translated into Coptic by the same person, a fact which gives rise to the suspicion that they were not originally connected as a two volume work at all.⁵

⁴ Doresse, *Secret Books*, 149; Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 105, 123-24.

⁵ Cf. Gibbons, "Second Logos," 243.

Thus the two works, *Paraph. Shem* and *Treat. Seth*, differ fundamentally and do not easily fit together.

A "First Treatise of the Great Seth" is not mentioned by any ancient author, nor does any work of that title survive. *Paraph. Shem* appears not originally to have been composed as a "First Treatise" which expected a subsequent volume in that it is complete in itself: it gives an account of the history of time and the battle between Light and Darkness which begins before the creation of the world in eternity past and ends at the future eschaton with its demise. *Treat. Seth* is unlikely to have been originally composed as a "Second Treatise" of Seth,⁶ in that it does not contain the (seemingly essential) teaching that Christ is a later incarnation of Seth, or in fact mention Seth at all.⁷ It certainly does not seem to have been composed as a continuation of *Paraph. Shem* in that it differs so dramatically in content, makes no obvious back reference to it, and does little (if anything at all) to clarify its many obscurities.

Thus we are left with the conclusion that the title is secondary.⁸ The title stands in Greek transliteration, complete with case endings, and must stem from the time when the tractate existed in Greek. Therefore, the stage at which *Treat. Seth* became the second in a series of Sethian works was before its rendering into Coptic. It seems easiest to assume that it was then that *Treat. Seth* was appropriated by those who viewed Christ as Seth, and was given its name to follow *Paraph. Shem*, based on the understanding that both Derdekeas and Christ are avatars of Seth. The two works were then translated into Coptic and incorporated into Codex VII; the (near) absence of separation between the two tractates in the codex is the scribe's own response and understanding.⁹

⁶ Painchaud (*Le Deuxième Traité*, 143), however, sees the title as originating with the author because of the affinities of the mythology and history in the work with Sethianism.

⁷ One must consider the possibility that the "First Logos," if it existed, may have contained the requisite teaching which would have made our *Treat. Seth* understandable as second in the series. The barest support for such a thesis may be found in the first line of *Treat. Seth*, whose second word is the Greek conjunction δέ, usually marking some type of continuation. Nevertheless, δέ may be used to begin a story, which is exactly its function in *Treat. Seth*.

⁸ Cf. Pearson, "The Figure of Seth in Gnostic Literature," in Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 74.

⁹ It is possible that *Treat. Seth* was given its name as second in some series of Sethian works after a now lost "First Treatise," and then translated into Coptic and attached to an already Coptic *Paraph. Shem* as second in Codex VII merely because of its title. So argues Gibbons, "Second Logos," 243.

IV. The Gnosticism of *Treat. Seth* and Its Relationship to Christianity

Treat. Seth does not contain a systematic presentation of its religious worldview; its purpose is not to explicate but to encourage. It makes numerous references to such entities as the heavenly triad of Father, Mother, Son; Man and Son of Man; the archons and their angels; the Hebdomad, Yaldabaoth, God, Adonaios, Sophia the "whore," the Pleroma, and others. Yet few are explained, and some are merely mentioned without further comment. The main story of *Treat. Seth* is the cycle of the career of Christ from heavenly origin to earth and return to heaven, and an application of the identical journey to the elect; classical gnostic mythology is found only in scattered passages as it illustrates the author's various points. One must conclude that the audience was familiar with much of the background of these figures and required no further explanation, else the tractate would have communicated little. Nevertheless, these entities and the mythological world implicit in *Treat. Seth* are to a large extent familiar to the modern reader from works of the Sethian and Valentinian schools of Gnosticism, such as the *Apocryphon of John*, *Hypostasis of the Archons*, and the *Tripartite Tractate*.¹⁰ Yet there are differences among these texts, and differences between these and *Treat. Seth*.

H.-M. Schenke has delineated a long list of elements which constitute in his view "Sethianism" as a recognizable system of thought.¹¹ Of that list, almost no aspect of Sethianism is found in *Treat. Seth*. There is no account of the emanation of the heavenly world and its levels of divinity descending from the One; in fact, since union and unity are major themes of the work, the One is declared to be One, a doctrine which is part of the gnosis granted by the Savior and the basis of the unity of the elect (68,12). The heavenly world is overseen, as in the classic texts, by a triad of Father, Mother, and Son, accompanied by the undifferentiated heavenly Church, termed once the "pleroma" (50,34); yet absent is any mention of the four lights of the Autogenes or the long series of aeons with their various mysterious and magical names. There is no explicit myth of the fall of Sophia and her creation of Yaldabaoth. The material cosmos is controlled by Yaldabaoth and his archons, but its origin is left unexplained; it is called "that creation of his" (= Yaldabaoth; 50,3-4), and "the ὕλη (material, matter) of the archons" (51,27). Sophia's sister Ennoia, who is called "Hope" (55,8),

¹⁰ On Sethianism and the Valentinians, see the two volumes edited by Bentley Layton, *Rediscovery of Gnosticism*.

¹¹ H.-M. Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 165-73.

descends and the archons imitate the image (68,30-69,11); they create the body of Adam from the pattern (62,28-30). No story is found of the fall of divine spirit into Yaldabaoth nor the transfer of his spirit into Adam and the race of Seth to account for the presence of divine souls in the elect. In *Treat. Seth* the souls of the elect seem simply to have descended into the world and been incarnated, as might have been understood by Cicero or Philo, and in much the same manner as the Savior himself (cf. 59,19ff.). They are indeed a special race, but that is the race of those from heaven, who are therefore related to Christ. Their souls are "from the height" (57,27f.); of both them and himself, the Savior says: "When we went forth from our home, when we came down to this world and came into being in the world in bodies, we were hated and persecuted, not only (by) those who are ignorant, but by those also who think that they are advancing the name of Christ ..." (59,19-26). Thus the entrance of elect souls into bodies takes place from heaven in present time, not from Yaldabaoth in mythic time past. Sophia, in an interesting application of John 14:2, is responsible for the creation of the bodily dwellings of the elect,¹² as they languish in the material world created by Yaldabaoth. In addition, she prepares the elect to receive the saving Word of the Redeemer (50,25ff.). Thus, while termed "the whore," the epithet is softened by the fact that she plays a wholly positive role.¹³ Also, there is no division of history into three ages, each with its appearance of Seth; in fact there is no Seth at all. The Savior, the Son who becomes the Christ, appears but once.

The main contention of *Treat. Seth* is the affirmation and explanation of the docetic passion of Christ, opposing its view to that of lesser Christians who hold to "the doctrine of a dead man" (60,22), the teaching of the real suffering and death of Christ. For the author, "it is slavery that we should die with Christ!" (49,26-27); it is impossible that the eternal and divine Son has died. The problem faced by the author is twofold: how to explain (away) the passion of Christ, and how to explain that such a false doctrine is being promulgated in his name by other Christians. The basis for the answer to both difficulties

¹² The text (*Treat. Seth* 51.1f.) interprets John 14:2 ("In my Father's house are many dwellings ... I go to prepare a place for you") as a function of Sophia. In John, the dwellings are in the Father's house in heaven.

¹³ Some version of the fall of Sophia is implied in the epithet "whore" (50,28), but no explanation of the story is given. 68,32-69,19, an enigmatic passage, describes a "union" of the archons which is "defiled," in the context of the descent of Sophia's sister Ennoia, "Hope," to Yaldabaoth. Yet here the union is "with those who were with them" (68,32-34), apparently a union of their Envy and the rest of their creations (69,2-4). The author could have stated that the archons defiled Sophia or her sister, but instead appears purposely to avoid such language.

is taken from the classic texts of Gnosticism, that the cosmos is controlled by Yaldabaoth and the archons, who sponsored the false patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, with their Law and dietary rules, all the way to John the Baptist; worse still, they crucified what they thought was Christ, and now persecute the true (gnostic) Christians by their latest artifice, the orthodox Church (59,25f.). They are the ones who falsely believe they have crucified the Christ, who invented and proclaim the false doctrine of dying with him.

The truth for the author, and his solution to the problem, is drawn from one of the most common theological ideas in the Greco-Roman world, found from the pre-Socratics through late antiquity: the Journey of the Soul. The soul is a divine and heavenly entity which becomes incarnated in the material world in a fleshly but non-essential envelope, and at death returns to its home if it has performed its requisite ethical duties.¹⁴ The soul is the essential person, completely separable from and even foreign to the body. So, for *Treat. Seth*, the Son was able to descend from heaven and take over the body of some earthly person by ejecting the original owner's soul from it: "I visited a bodily dwelling; I cast out the one who was in it previously" (51,21-23). During the passion, the person of Christ was a mixture of heavenly soul and earthly body (51,31-52,3), which explains a very confusing aspect of the text: the claim that "I" (= Christ) both did and did not suffer, and the use of both first and third person pronouns for this same individual. "They brought every punishment on me" (52,29f.) while Christ was still in the body, but only that body (which was originally that of another person) underwent the punishments and death, while Christ watched from heaven (56,14ff.); so "I was not afflicted at all" (55,15-16). This is described in the standard language of body-double docetism, that Christ merely "appeared" to suffer, similar in conception to the very next tractate of Codex VII, *Apocalypse of Peter* (81,4-24):

I saw him apparently being seized by them. And I said, "What do I see, O Lord? Is it you yourself whom they take? And are you holding on to me? Who is this one above the cross, who is glad and laughing? And is it another person whose feet and hands they are hammering?" The Savior said to me, "He whom you see above the cross, glad and laughing, is the Living Jesus. But he into whose hands and feet they are driving the nails is

¹⁴ The works of Plato are based on this premise. A comparison of the closing section of his *Republic* (10.614b-end: the "Myth of Er") with the closing section of Cicero's *Republic* (6.9-end: the "Somnium Scipionis") is instructive to see this idea with (Plato) and without (Cicero) reincarnation.

his physical part, which is the substitute. They are putting to shame that which is in his likeness.”

The purpose and result of the incarnation is similar to that expressed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 2:8, the defeat of the archons: in their crucifixion of Christ they destroy themselves (55,30-56,4). So *Treat. Seth* explains that the journey was “for the destruction of the archons” (59,16f.).

V. Simon of Cyrene

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of our text in the world of scholarship is the claim made by many that at 55,30-56,19 it teaches that Simon of Cyrene was crucified in place of Jesus, a doctrine ascribed by Irenaeus and Epiphanius to Basilides.¹⁵ This interpretation is one factor in the argument that the text has been constructed from disparate sources,¹⁶ since the description of the sufferings of Jesus himself is found in other places in the document. In addition, *Treat. Seth* has been classed as a Basilidean text because of this view.¹⁷

Treat. Seth, however, never states that Simon was crucified in the place of Jesus or crucified at all, only, as one might have surmised, that Simon carried the cross of Jesus (as in Mark 15:20-21; 56,9-11). In addition, it elsewhere states clearly that the crucifixion of the “image” body was real: 58,24-25 speaks of nailing him to the cross. The scholarly claim that Simon was crucified in his place is based on an interpretation of a series of statements about the passion. The burden of the passage, however, is to show that others, especially the archons, suffered at each point when Christ was thought to be suffering. Thus the text claims that his death actually happened to the archons (55,32); his crucifixion actually happened to “their man” (= the body used by Christ; 55,34-35); “another,” “their father” Yaldabaoth, drank the gall and the vinegar (56,6-7); “another,” Simon, lifted up the cross (56,9-11); “another” bore the crown of thorns (again “their man”; 56,12-13). The logic of the passage, just as in Mark, is that Simon and the one wearing the crown of thorns (and earlier in the text said to be crucified) are different individuals, just as

¹⁵ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.24.4; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 24.3.

¹⁶ So Gibbons, *Commentary*, 205; Rudolph, *Gnosis*, 168.

¹⁷ So F. Wisse, “Heresiologists,” 209, n. 22. Gibbons (*Commentary*, 204) regards this passage as a piece of Basilidean “free-floating tradition” which the redactor of *Treat. Seth* incorporated into the work.

Yaldabaoth and the archons are additional different individuals.¹⁸ The *Apocalypse of Peter* terms this host body of Jesus, called "their man" in *Treat. Seth*, the "son of their glory" (*Apoc. Pet.* 82,1-2), whose body likewise is a substitute for Christ and undergoes the passion (83,6), while Christ himself escapes in his "incorporeal body" (83,7).

VI. Literary Analysis

Treat. Seth is formally a speech given in the first person by the ascended Christ to his followers. It is not, therefore, properly a "treatise," the standard translation notwithstanding: it is not formally a written and systematic presentation at all. While simple and even alluring as a whole, it presents the reader with numerous difficulties: repetitions of material in different form, ambiguities of language, allusive references left unexplained, and unexpected changes in person and number. Gibbons accounted for these difficulties by postulating a series of underlying written sources which had been (poorly) constructed into a whole by a redactor. According to Wisse, it is "filled with doublets and contradictions."¹⁹

Painchaud has, to the contrary, understood the work as a unified whole: it is not a patchwork of contradictions, but structured in a manner similar to treatments of the soul common in the era, such as the *Poimandres*, the *Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3), and Tertullian's *De Anima*. He follows the framework proposed for such works by A. J. Festugière²⁰ in his understanding of the plan of *Treat. Seth*. Thus, for Painchaud, the text has the same four-part plan, dealing, however, not with the soul but the Savior and the saved. In his view, it treats successively: 1) The nature and origin of the Savior and the Saved (50,1-24); 2) their origin and manner of incarnation (50,25-54,14); 3) their fate (55,9-65,33); and 4) eschatology (65,33-69,19).²¹

The fundamental value of this view of the text is the understanding that it is in fact a single speech, however opaque to us in minor aspects, and not some written treatise which "should" have been clear but instead was constructed carelessly out of disparate written sources. *Treat. Seth* tells a story of the history of the redeemer and the redeemed which follows to some extent the mythic pattern of other Sethian works, but it is not systematic in its presentation. It is most like

¹⁸ On this passage, with a similar interpretation different in detail, cf. Louis Painchaud, *Le Deuxième Traité*, 101-06.

¹⁹ Gibbons, *Commentary*, 30-40; Wisse, "Heresiologists," 219-20; cf. also Bethge, "Zweite Logos," 97.

²⁰ A. J. Festugière, *La révélation*, 3:1-26.

²¹ Louis Painchaud, *Le Deuxième Traité*, 8-10.

a homily,²² whose purpose is both polemical and comforting: it is a religious speech with a controversial message and doctrine, containing explanatory digressions, resumptive summaries, asides and occasional direct address to both partisans and opponents for encouragement and rebuke. As a speech, one may compare with profit the *Second Philippic* of Cicero, certainly not for intelligence, eloquence, or power, but for apostrophe and aside, polemic and encouragement, unexplained allusion, and a certain lack of logic under the constraint of emotion and argument. Both speeches are in written form: that of Cicero was never delivered to an audience; *Treat. Seth* may also never have been.

Treat. Seth treats at base the human condition from its gnostic perspective: how the speaker's audience (the spiritual brethren of Christ, called the Perfect) are to live in this world ruled by the archons. The main teachings are that the Perfect originated from heaven and became incarnated in this world, and, despite the persecutions of false Christianity caused by the world-ruling archons, are now in spiritual union with the divine nature through the word of Christ; they therefore have reason to rest in Christ and hope for their final redemption and return journey to their heavenly home. They are encouraged to maintain their unity with one another and stand against the false Church and its doctrines. The speech begins with an account of the career of Christ and his victory over the archons, and is followed by an application of that victory and its implications for the lives of the Perfect. Thus, *Treat. Seth* falls roughly into two parts which treat the same story, the first in the main recounting its major events, and the second looking to apply aspects of those events to the audience.

The telling of the story requires the author to stop the flow of storyline and explain by digression aspects just mentioned, a feature of the text which helps to explain its repetitive and confusing structure. For example, at the beginning, the Redeemer is to be sent to his spiritual brethren on earth (50,1-24), which requires an explanation of who these are (50,25-51,20). The next event, the incarnation, causes a great disturbance among the archons and an escape of Christ's partisans to Adonaios (51,20-52,10), which in turn requires an explanation of who the archons are (51,29-55,8). The archons are described first and at length, and then the incarnation story is reviewed, with additional information about Adonaios, in order to

²² So also Berliner Arbeitskreis, in Tröger, *Gnosis und NT*, 60.

bring the audience back to the storyline (54,14-55,8).²³ The next event, the passion, concludes with the statement that all the powers of the archons were brought into subjection (56,20), which provides the occasion for a digression on the superiority of the Savior over the archons from the beginning of his descent (56,21-57,7). The centerpiece of the work as a whole is the final act of the first part, the ascension, the bringing of the Son from earth to the heavenly bridal chamber for the spiritual wedding (57,7-18). This image functions as the model for the mystery of the union of the Perfect and the Redeemer in the second part where aspects of the story are reviewed, expanded, and applied to the audience. The author begins by using the word "mystery" for this idea (57,21), and does so five more times in the second part (60,12; 65,32; 67,11; 68,26; 69,24) as he embarks on a discussion of the soul of the Perfect: its character, destiny, and relationship to the Redeemer, especially the benefit to the elect souls of the work of the Redeemer in his incarnation and passion. The work thus by design tells a story and then makes repeated reference to aspects of that story in application to its audience.²⁴

VII. Outline of *Treat. Seth*

Introduction: Father, Mother, Redeemer, their spiritual brethren and the Word through which they are saved (49,10-50,1).

History of Redemption: Story of the incarnation of Redeemer and redeemed.

Sending of the Redeemer to his earthly spiritual brethren (50,1-24).

Digression: Description of these brethren and their preparation by Sophia for the Word (50,25-51,20).

²³ This repetition of the incarnation story has been the main evidence for understanding *Treat. Seth* as a patchwork of sources. For Gibbons (*Commentary*, 30-31), this is "The first clear manifestation of sources.... The two myths are so similar that they probably go back to a common descent myth" But such a conclusion is unwarranted: the author did not paste together two separate documents containing near identical stories, but reviewed his own earlier account in abbreviated form in order to bring the audience back to the point at which the digression on the archons began and continue with the next event, the passion (55,9ff.).

²⁴ Both Gibbons and Painchaud see the tractate divided into two major parts, narrative and application; for Gibbons the parts are "dogmatic" and "homiletic" (*Commentary*, 11-12), while for Painchaud they are "narrative" and "exhortative" ("La polémique," 348). Both, however, find the division at 59,19, not taking into account as here the central role of the heavenly wedding as mystery (57,7-27) and model for the union of the elect and Christ.

Incarnation of the Redeemer causing disturbance among the archons and escape of the race of Adonaios to Sophia (51,20-52,10).

Digression on the archons: Description and history (51,29-54,22).

Resumption of account of incarnation, with additional information about the disturbance among the archons and Adonaios (54,23-55,8).

Docetic passion of the Redeemer (55,9-56,13).

Superior reality of the Redeemer in heaven and subjection of the archons (56,21-57,7).

Elaboration on his superiority: Polymorphic descent and completion of the will of the Father (57,7-18).

Ascension: Retrieval of the Son of the Greatness and his celestial wedding (57,7-18).

Mystery of Union with Christ: Application of the story to the lives of the perfect.

Mystery of the three paths (57,18-27).

The soul from heaven and the incarnation:

Destiny of joining in the presence of Christ in heaven (57,27-58,12).

Explanation of Christ and the effect of the incarnation: securing the resurrection of the elect souls (58,13-59,11).

Purpose of incarnation: Destruction of the archons (59,11-18).

Persecution of both Redeemer and redeemed because of incarnation (59,19-60,3).

Promise of victory for redeemed in the mystery of the Father, the union of the brethren with the Father and Son (60,3-12).

The counterfeit of the archons:

False union of the archons (60,13-61,10).

False law of the archons and its enslavement (61,11-28).

Digression: Freedom of the perfect (61,28-62,26).

[Digression on the adversaries of the Perfect (62,14-19)]

Litany of laughingstocks: Rejection of the Hebrew tradition (62,27-65,1).

Apostrophe to and description of the blind ones: Their foolish attempt to harm Christ (65,2-18).

Address to the Perfect:

Description of Christ and the mystery of his celestial marriage as model of union of the perfect (65,18-67,11).

The union of the perfect (67,12-68,24).

Digression: Apostrophe to the blind and false union of the archons (68,25-69,19).

Final address to the perfect (69,20-70,10).

VIII. Date, Provenance, and Authorship

No direct indication of the date of composition is given in *Treat. Seth*. It may still, however, be possible to place it in a rough chronological context. *Treat. Seth* is clearly dependent in several aspects on the classic texts of Gnosticism, as well as the gospels of Mark, Matthew, John, and epistles of Paul. In addition it presents a docetic view of Jesus not uncommon in the second century in polemical competition with the Christology of the wider Church. This type of docetism is that of the body-double, a docetic-gnostic reaction to the insistence on the real flesh and passion of Christ claimed by other Christians. In literary form, it is a type of revelation dialogue of the risen or living Christ to his followers, though without the frame story or interlocutors characteristic of other examples of this genre, a genre most popular in the second half of the second century. Finally, and most interesting, one passage of *Treat. Seth* seems to indicate that the "orthodox" opponents are in the minority, either in number or in importance: they are "few (or: "of little account") and uninstructed" (60,30).²⁵ In that case, it should be dated in the latter half of the second century, before the rise of developing orthodoxy into majority power and the subsequent fall of the great gnostic schools.

The place of composition of the treatise is unknown. Nevertheless, it shows the influence of Sethian and Valentinian gnosis, and its polemical stance of a gnostic Christian assembly against the minority "orthodox" church, with its competing doctrines and rituals, point to Alexandria.

No indication whatever is given in *Treat. Seth* of the identity of the author. One may, however, note that the social standing of the author

²⁵ $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\beta\bar{\kappa}$ ("few") may mean "of little account" and therefore be used of a group numerically larger but unimportant in the view of the author. The context begins with the archons (60,15), of whom the same words are used in 69,12 ("few and uninstructed"). By 60,30, however, the reference to "archons" (= "rulers") seems to have become the leaders of the opposing Great Church. The whole argument runs to 62,26, where the Gnostic elect are called the "catholic."

is that of a prophetic figure, a leader and teacher, who is able to write in the name of the living Christ. The revelation is a contradiction of the doctrines of the Great Church, addressed to an assembly of gnostic Christians. Thus the author may have been a leader in a gnostic conventicle in Alexandria in the late second century.

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 ϣⲃⲏⲣ ⲛⲙⲁⲛ· ⲙⲏ ρⲈⲛⲱⲃⲏⲣ
 20 ⲛⲧⲱⲃε ϩ̅ⲛ ⲟϥϣⲱϣ· εⲁⲓⲈⲒⲛⲈ
 εⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲗⲁⲗε· ⲁϥⲈⲟⲟϥ ⲛ
 22 ⲧε ⲡⲈⲛⲈⲓⲱⲧ εⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ
 ⲛⲧεϣⲙⲏⲧⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲏ ⲟϥⲙε

- 49,10 “Greatness”: Cf. the beginning of *Paraph. Shem* (1,6) where the revelation to Shem is said to be by “the will of the Greatness.” The concept is found in *Treat. Seth* in two forms with somewhat different meaning: 1) the transliterated Greek μέγεθος, which is used of the highest deity (the “Father” in 49,22) three times (49,10; 54,6; 57,8); 2) the translated ⲙⲏⲧⲏⲟⲥ and once the transliterated Greek μέγεθος, both undoubtedly from the same Greek μέγεθος in the original, which is used of the Pleroma, the assembly of emanated spiritual beings surrounding the highest deity (52,36; 53,5; 70,8) or Yaldabaoth and the archons (52,36). The Coptic translator may have consciously attempted to differentiate these two uses by using the transliterated form for the Father and the translated form for the Pleroma, and understood 50,9-10 of the Father. Cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.21.4: τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἀρρήτου μεγέθους.
- 49,10 “Rest”: The proper state of being for those belonging to the heavenly realms. The Father here rests, the Pleroma rests (54,16), the union of elect and the divine is repose (67,7) and the gnostic Christians addressed by *Treat. Seth* are invited to rest (70,8).
- 49,13 “Truth, the mother”: The construction in Coptic reads “the truth of the mother,” but retroversion into Greek allows “the mother” to be an appositive of personified Truth. Irenaeus describes a baptismal formula used by certain Gnostics who baptize “into the name of the unknown Father of the universe, into Truth, the mother of all things (εἰς Ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων), into him who came down into Jesus” (Irenaeus *Adv.*

49

- 10 The perfect Greatness (μέγεθος), then (δέ), rests
in the
12 ineffable light within
the Truth, the mother
14 of all these and all of you.
I alone who am
16 perfect (τέλειος), these attain to me on account of
the Word, for (γάρ) I exist with all the
18 greatness of the Spirit (πνεῦμα), which is a
friend to us and our kindred
20 friends equally. Since I brought
forth a word to the glory
22 of our Father through
his kindness (-χρηστός) and

haer. 1.14.2; Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 4.11.5). Cf. 67,25 where personified Truth is again the consort of the Father (perhaps also 70,7), and 67,29-30 for the similar phrase “the truth of the motherhood.” The Truth/Mother is to be identified with Barbelo of *Ap. John* II 4,36; *Steles Seth* 121,21.

- 49,15 “I”: The third member of the triad of Father, Truth (Mother), and Son. Cf. *Trim. Prot.* 37,23 and *Gos. Eg.* III 55,9-10.
- 49,17 “Word”: In this passage three aspects of the Word are described: 1) Its source is from within the Father (49,24-5); 2) Its function is to bring about the union of the perfect with the Son (49,16-17); 3) Its content is summarized in 49,32-50,1: “It is I who am in you and you are in me.” In 67,28 a similar collocation of ideas identifies the speaker with the personified Living Word in the same triad of Father, Truth, Word/Son.
- 49,18 “Spirit”: The Spirit in *Treat. Seth* is the spirit of the Father, identified with the Father in the phrase “the Fatherhood of the Spirit” in 54,15-16. It emanated the original “thoughts” (50,15), is equally available to the Son and the elect (49,19-20), and produces the characteristic friendship among them (68,10), since they all stem from the same Spirit (68,24).
- 49,19 “friend”: For the Spirit as παράκλητος, cf. John 14:26. $\Psi\alpha\eta\eta\rho$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\sigma\epsilon$: σόμφυτος, “kindred, born with one, like by nature.”
- 49,21 Ms. $\Delta\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\theta$ (A²) for Sahidic $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\theta\theta\theta$.
- 49,22 “Father”: The Father is termed “the Greatness” (49,10), “the Man of the Greatness” (53,4-5), “the Man” (52,36), “the Man of Truth” (54,8), “the Father of Truth” (53,2-3), “the Good One” (62,11), “the Monad” (51,16), “the One” (68,14), and “the One who is” (67,18).

24 ετε ν̄νατ̄ω̄ζ̄ν̄ ν̄σῑ πῑψ̄ᾱζε
 ε̄τ̄ψ̄οο̄π̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄ϥ̄· ο̄σ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄
 26 ρ̄μ̄ρᾱλ̄ τε̄ δε̄ τ̄ν̄νᾱμο̄σ̄ μ̄ν̄
 πε̄χ̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ ο̄σ̄με̄ε̄τε̄ ν̄νᾱτ̄
 28 ω̄ζ̄ν̄ ᾱσω̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄ζ̄ω̄ρ̄μ̄· ο̄σ̄
 ψ̄π̄η̄ρε̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄τᾱρο̄ς̄· πῑς̄ρᾱϊ̄
 30 ν̄τε̄ πῑμο̄ο̄σ̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄ψ̄ᾱζε̄ ε̄
 τ̄β̄η̄η̄τ̄ϥ̄· ε̄τε̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ μ̄μ̄ον̄
 32 πε̄ πῑψ̄ᾱζε̄· ᾱνο̄κ̄ ε̄τ̄ρ̄ν̄
 τ̄η̄νε̄· ᾱσω̄ ν̄τ̄ω̄τ̄ν̄ τε̄τ̄ν̄
 34 ψ̄οο̄π̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄· ν̄θε̄ ε̄τε̄ πῑ
 ω̄τ̄ ψ̄οο̄π̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄τ̄η̄νε̄ ρ̄ν̄
 ν̄
 ο̄σ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ᾱτ̄κᾱβ̄ιᾱ· μᾱρ̄ν̄σω̄
 2 ο̄σ̄ρ̄ ν̄ο̄σ̄ε̄κ̄κ̄λη̄ς̄ιᾱ ε̄σ̄μᾱ
 μᾱρ̄ν̄μο̄σ̄ψ̄τ̄ μ̄πῑς̄ω̄ν̄τ̄
 4 ε̄τ̄η̄τᾱϥ̄· μᾱρ̄η̄τᾱσο̄ ν̄ο̄σᾱ
 ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄ϥ̄· ν̄θε̄ ν̄τᾱϥ̄μο̄σ̄
 6 ψ̄τ̄ ν̄κ̄η̄ς̄εν̄η̄νο̄ιᾱ η̄ῑμε̄ρο̄ς̄ ε̄τ̄
 ᾱλε̄πε̄ς̄η̄τ̄· ν̄τ̄ᾱεῑζε̄ νᾱϊ̄ δε̄

- 49,24 ms. ν̄νᾱτ̄ω̄ζ̄ν̄ for ν̄ᾱτ̄ω̄ζ̄ν̄.
- 49,26 “die with Christ”: A clear rejection of the baptismal doctrine of the Great Church based in Romans 6. In 60,22 the invention of the “doctrine of a dead man” is ascribed to the archons.
- 49,27 “Christ”: Note the play on words here based on the identical pronunciation of the two Greek words “kindness” (49,23: -χρηστός) and “Christ” (49,27: Χριστός). Cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.27.1, where Christ becomes Christ by virtue of an anointing with the kindness of the Father.
- 49,27-28 ms. ν̄νᾱτ̄ω̄ζ̄ν̄ for ν̄ᾱτ̄ω̄ζ̄ν̄.
- 49,29 “scripture”: Painchaud (*Le Deuxième Traité*, 77) takes ρ̄ᾱϊ̄ to mean “token, sign” (*marque*) of baptism, but the author of *Treat. Seth* paraphrases the “scripture” of John 17:21-23 in the following sentence. The reference may be to the scripture recited at baptism.
- 49,30 “ineffable water”: A reference to baptismal practice among the elect of *Treat. Seth*. Such rites in any religious group were normally held in secret for initiates only, and therefore were not to be divulged to outsiders. 62,1 speaks of “living water” which is again “unutterable” and perfects the Fatherhood, i. e., unifies the elect with the Father in baptism.
- 49,32ff. “this word”: The message of *Treat. Seth* is that of the unity of the true disciple and the heavenly Christ, which is here given in summary. Cf. the similarity in language to John 17:21 and 23.
- 49,35 Ms. ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄τ̄η̄νε̄: A² for S ν̄ρ̄η̄τ̄τ̄η̄στ̄ν̄ (more commonly ρ̄ν̄ τ̄η̄στ̄ν̄).

- 24 imperishable thought, that is, the word
 which is within him,
 26 it is slavery that we should die with
 Christ (χριστός) with im-
 28 perishable and undefiled thought. (This is) an
 incomprehensible wonder! The scripture
 30 of the ineffable water
 which is from us
 32 is this word: It is I who am in
 you (pl.) and you
 34 are in me, just as the
 Father is in you
 50
 without deceit (-κακία). “Let us
 2 gather an assembly (ἐκκλησία) together.
 Let us visit that creation
 4 of his. Let us send someone
 forth into it, so he may visit
 6 <the> Ennoias (ἐννοια) (in) the regions (μέρος)
 below.” And (δέ) I said these things

- 50,2 Painchaud emends to $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\ \langle\alpha\sigma\omega\ \rho\eta\rangle\ \tau\eta\mu\epsilon$ “in me and in you.”
 “Assembly”: The heavenly ἐκκλησία is the assembly of the beings sur-
 rounding the divine triad. It is associated with the Pleroma (50,33-4), and
 includes the souls of the human relations of Christ (51,17). It existed from
 before the foundation of the world (65,36) and is the model for the true
 assembly of the elect on earth, which the archons attempt to imitate with
 their own church, which teaches the “doctrine of a dead man” (= or-
 thodoxy: 60,2-25).
 50,3-4 “that creation of his”: Creation is here ascribed to the chief archon and
 demiurge, Yaldabaoth. Cf. *Ap. John* II 10,20-11,10.
 50,6 “the Ennoias in the regions below”: The souls of the elect on earth, who
 are seen as having been emanated from the One and later incarnated (cf.
 50,14-17). They are the “kindred friends and brethren of spirit” to Christ
 (50,23-24), and souls “from the height” (57,27). ἐννοια properly means
 “idea, thought, conception (cf. 50,15), but the process of emanation
 occurs when the father “conceives” of a being, which then becomes re-
 ality. The term is used ambiguously in the tractate of: 1) the emanated
 souls of the elect descended to the earth (50,6.14); 2) the emanated being
 Hope, sister/double of Sophia (68,30); 3) regular thoughts, ideas, and
 intentions (50,18; 55,36; 59,13-14; 61,34).
 50,6 Ms. $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ for $\bar{\eta}\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

8 ἄπαυσαι τηρῶ ἦτε ἕκ
 κλησια ετοῦ ἦτε πιμεγε
 10 θεος εἴτεληλ· ἀστεληλ ἄ
 μοοῦ ἦσι πηί τηρῶ ἄπιωτ
 12 ἦτε ἕμῆτμε· εανοκ πε πι
 εβολ ἦρητοῦ· ἀίτ ἦνοῦμε
 14 εθε ετβε νιεννοια ἦταθεῖ
 εβολ ῶμ πιπῆδ ἦατζωῶμ
 16 ετβε πιεῖ επεσῆτ εζῶμ πιμο
 οῦ ἦσι νιμεροε εἴσαπε
 18 σῆτ· ἀῶ ἀθεννοια ἦοῦ
 ωτ ῡωπε ναῦ τηροῦ εε
 20 ῡοοπ εβολ ῶἦ οῦα ἀῶρδο
 εματιζε ἄμοῖ εἶοῦωῡε
 22 ἀίεῖ εβολ· εοῦωῆῶ εβολ ἄ
 πιεοῦ ἦναῡβηρ ἦτωσε
 24 ἄἦ ναῡβηρ ἄπῆδ· νεαῦ
 σοῡτε εαρ ἦἦἦ ετε νεῦῡο
 26 οπ ῶμ πικοςμοε· ῶἦ οῦωῡε
 ἦτε ἕσοφια τῆσωνε τη
 28 ετε νοῦπρονικος τε· ε
 τβε ἕμῆτατκασια ετε ἄ
 30 ποῦταοῦοε· οῦτε ἄπεε
 ῶαῡτῖ ἦλααῦ ἦτοῦτῶ ἄπι
 32 πτηρῶ· ἄἦ ἕμῆτῆνοε ἦ
 τε ἕεκκλησια ἄἦ πιπῆἦ

- 50,9-10 "rejoicing Greatness": The translator may have understood the Greatness here to mean the Father and therefore left μέγεθος in transliteration, although it seems more natural to take it as a reference to the Pleroma. Cf. note to 49,10.
- 50,16 "descent upon the water": The descent from the heavenly realms to earth and incarnation of the individual disciples. Cf. especially the repeated phrase "and thus he came to the water" in *Apoc. Adam* 78-82; also *Paraph. Shem* 32,5-12.
- 50,22-23 "to reveal the glory": The function of Christ is to reveal the truth ("glory") of the Father to the elect but ignorant on earth. Cf. 49,21.
- 50,26 Ms. οῦωῡε for οῦοῦωῡε. One would expect ῶμ ποῦοῦωῡε, but the Coptic indefinite article reflects an anarthrous Greek noun.
- 50,27 "Sophia": No myth of the fall of Sophia is given, but some such story is clearly implied in what follows. Sophia in *Treat. Seth* is a positive figure: she makes material bodies for the elect (51,7) and prepares them to receive

8 to the whole multitude of the
 numerous assembly (ἐκκλησία) of the
 10 rejoicing Greatness (μέγεθος).
 The whole house of the Father of truth rejoiced.
 12 Since I am the one
 from them, I reminded (them)
 14 about the thoughts (ἔννοιαι) which had come
 out of the undefiled Spirit (πνεῦμα), (and)
 16 about the descent upon the water,
 that is, the regions (μέρος) below.
 18 And a single intention (ἔννοιαι)
 was in them all, since it
 20 was from one (source). They gave their
 decree (δογματίζειν) to me. I, being willing,
 22 came forth to reveal
 the glory to my kindred friends
 24 and my brethren of spirit (πνεῦμα).
 For (γάρ) those who were
 26 in the world (κόσμος) had been made ready by the will
 of Sophia (σοφία) our sister—she
 28 who is a whore (προϋνικός) on
 account of (her) innocence (-κακία)—who
 30 was not sent, nor (οὔτε) did she
 ask (αἰτεῖν) anything from
 32 the All, or from the greatness
 of the assembly (ἐκκλησία), or the

the Word (51,12-13); she has a sister/double named “Hope” (52,21; 68,31; 55,8); she is the sister of Christ (here), and he alone is her “friend” (70,4; consort? cf. *Eugnostos* 82,8).

50,28 “whore”: Sophia becomes a whore on account of her naiveté (cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.29.4: *simplicitate et benignitate*; cf. *Ap. John* II 23,21). Προϋνικός is properly a “hired porter,” and therefore “one who sells him/her self” for low/lewd purposes.

50,29-32 Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.29.4) describes Barbelo-Gnostic doctrine which treats of an emanation called “Sophia and Prunicus” who descends to the lower regions looking for a mate of her own accord (she “was not sent”) and without permission (she “asked nothing”), and engenders the creator of the material realm (Yaldabaoth). Cf. *Ap. John* II 9,29-31.

34 ρωμα εαεϣ̄ ψορ̄π̄ αε̄ῑ εβολ

ἦδ

εσοβτε ἦρενμοναε μῆ
 2 ρεντοποε ἄπψηρε ἄποϣ
 οειη· ατω ηπψβηρ ἦρεϣ̄ρ̄
 4 ρωβ ἦταεετοε εβολ ϣ̄ιτο
 οτοε ἦηιετοιχειοη ε̄τσα
 6 πεεητ̄· ε̄εκωτ̄ ἦτε ηηηε·
 ἦεωματικον ἦτοοτοε·
 8 ἦτοοε δε εαεψωπε ϣ̄ἦ οε
 ε·ο·οε εϣ̄ψοεετ̄ αεεωκ
 10 εβολ ερραῖ εετακο· ϣ̄ἦ ηηἦ
 ἦταεψωπε ἦρητοε εεεοβ
 12 τε ἄμοοε εβολ ϣ̄ιτοοετ̄ ἦ
 †εοφ̄ια· ψαεψωπε εεεβ̄
 14 τωτ̄ εε εεεψωπ εροοε ἄ
 πψαεε ἦρεϣ̄ταηεο ἦτε †
 16 μοναε ἦηατ̄ψαεε ἄμοε
 μῆ †μῆτ̄ηοε ἦτε †εεκκη
 18 εια· ἦτε ηαῖ τηροε εεεω
 ψ̄τ̄ εβολ· μῆ ηη εεψωοπ
 20 ἦρητ̄· αειμοεψ̄τ̄ ἦοεηε
 ἦεωματικον αειηοεεε
 22 εβολ ἄπη ετε ηεϣ̄ωοπ
 ἦρητ̄ϣ̄ ἦψορ̄π̄· ατω αηοκ

- 50,34 "Pleroma": Used only here in *Treat. Seth*. Properly, "that which fills"; the Pleroma is the totality of the divine aeons which surround the Father. Cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.3.1 and 1.2.4 for use of the term in Valentinianism.
- 51,1-2 "lodgings and places": Cf. the identical words in John 14:2-3 "In the house of my Father are many lodgings (μοναί). ... I go to prepare a place (τόπος) for you." Jesus in John is going to prepare heavenly dwellings for his disciples. Sophia, however, is said to have prepared earthly bodies as dwellings for the souls of the elect and Christ during their incarnations.
- 51,2 "Son of Light": The incarnated Son of the Greatness who is later brought from earth into heaven to the heavenly wedding (57,7-8), the double of the heavenly Christ (cf. *Orig. World* 105,26-28). Irenaeus describes the Valentinian multiple Christ in *Adv. haer.* 3.16.1.
- 51,9 Ms. εοε for εοοε. Coptic ε·ο·οε εϣ̄ψοεετ̄, lit. "empty glory," presumably translates κενοδοξία "vanity, conceit." This is the characteristic attitude of Yaldabaoth (53,33-34; 64,31-32) and the archons (56,17-18).

34 Pleroma (πλήρωμα), when she previously came forth

51

to prepare lodgings (μονάς) and
 2 places (τόπος) of the Son of Light
 and the fellow workers.
 4 She took from
 the elements (στοιχείον) below
 6 for construction of the
 bodily (σωματικόν) dwellings for them.
 8 But (δέ) they, existing in
 vanity, came to their end
 10 in ruin in the dwellings
 in which they were. Since they were
 12 made ready by
 Sophia (σοφία), they stand in readiness
 14 to receive
 the saving Word of
 16 the ineffable Monad (μονάς)
 and the greatness of the assembly (ἐκκλησία)
 18 of all those who wait expectantly
 and those who are
 20 in me. I visited a
 bodily (σωματικόν) dwelling. I cast
 22 out the one who was
 in it previously, and I

51,15 "saving Word": Cf. Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 2.1 θεολογίας περὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου.

51,16 Ms. Ἰησῶν αὐτῶν for Ἰησῶν αὐτῶν.

51,16 "Monad": Properly from the adjective μόνος "solitary, alone," μονάς means "a unit, the number one, a single object." It was used to describe the deity as "one" from Pythagoras on, and the ultimate source of all other being. Cf. *Ap. John* II 2,26-4,26; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.11.3.

51,22-23 "the one who was in it previously": The heavenly Christ takes over the body of a non-elect person, a "worldly man" (52,1), by casting out his soul and entering his body. *Treat. Seth* denigrates this individual: the body is termed "worldly" (52,1) and "their man" in 55,34. Cerinthus is said to have taught that Christ descended upon Jesus at the baptism by John, but this Jesus was "more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men" (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.26.1; cf. also 1.7.2 and 1.30.12-13). Cf. the baptismal liturgy wherein subjects are baptized "into him who came down into Jesus" (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 4.11.5; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.21.3). *Treat. Seth* reserves the name "Jesus" for this spiritual and heavenly descended one (66,8; 69,21), not the body inhabited by him.

- 24 ΔΕΙΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΤΗ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥ
 ΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΨΑΙ ΤΗΡΥ
 26 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ· ΑΥΩ ΨΥΘ
 ΛΗ ΤΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ·
 28 ΑΥΩ ΜΝ ΝΙΒΑΜ ΝΖΠΟ ΜΠΚΑΘ·
 ΝΕΨΥΟΟΠ ΨΝ ΟΥΣΤΩΤ ΕΣ
 30 ΝΑΥ ΕΠΙΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΨΥΙΚΩΝ·
 ΕΣΜΟΖΚ· ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΗ ΕΝΕΥ
 32 ΨΟΟΠ ΝΘΗΤΕ· ΕΝΨΙΝΕ ΔΗ
 ΜΠΗ ΕΝΕΨΥΟΟΠ ΝΘΗΤΥ
 34 ΝΨΟΡΠ· ΠΗ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΨΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΒ
 ΝΚΟCΜΙΚΟC ΠΕ· ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ
 2 ΕΔΝΟΚ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΜΠCΑΝΤΠΕ
 ΝΝΜΠΗΘΕ· ΜΠΓΡΑΡΝΕCΘΑΙ
 4 ΜΕΝ ΝΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤΡΑΨΩΠΕ
 ΝΟΥΧΡC· ΜΠΙΟΥΩΝΘ ΔΕ Μ
 6 ΜΟΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΨΝ ΨΑΓΑΠΗ
 ΕΤΕ ΝΕCΝΗΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΗΤ·
 8 ΝΕΪΟΥΘΟΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥ
 ΨΜΜΟ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΜΕΡΟC ΕΤCΑ
 10 ΠΕCΗΤ· ΝΕΨΝ ΟΥΝΟC Ν
 ΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΨΟΟΠ ΨΜ ΠΙΤΟΠΟC
 12 ΤΗΡΥ ΝΚΟCΜΙΚΟΝ ΜΝ ΟΥ
 ΤΩΘ ΜΝ ΟΥΠΩΤ· ΑΥΩ ΠΨΥΟ
 14 ΖΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ· ΘΟΕΙΝΕ
 ΔΕ ΝΕΨΤΗΤ ΝΘΗΤ ΕΨΝΑΥ
 16 ΕΝΙΒΟΜ ΕΝΕΨΖΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΙ
 ΤΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΨΑΨΠΩΤ ΝΒΙ

51,26ff. "archons": ἄρχων is properly a "ruler, governor, magistrate." In *Treat. Seth* the term is used to describe Yaldabaoth, ruler of the angels (54,27; 64,18), and the chief angels themselves who rule the lower material world (51,27; 58,21) with their offspring (53,13), the "powers born of earth" (51,28). They make an imitation church (60,15-30) as part of their plan (52,13-14) to deceive the elect. The will of the Father and the point of the incarnation is the "destruction of the archons" (59,16-17).

51,26 "disturbed": Cf. 52,11. The harrowing of the lower world is a common motif: cf. *Trim. Prot.* 40,19-22: "And all were disturbed, ... and the abyss trembled"; also *Ap. John* II 14,25ff.

24 went in. And
 the whole multitude
 26 of the archons (ἄρχων) was disturbed.
 And all the physical matter (ὕλη) of the archons
 28 along with the powers born of the earth
 began to tremble when
 30 it saw the likeness of the image (εἰκων),
 since it was mixed. And (δέ) I was the one who
 32 was in it, not resembling
 him who was in it
 34 previously. For (γάρ) he was a
 52
 worldly (κοσμικός) man, but (δέ) I,
 2 I am from above
 the heavens. I did not refuse (ἀρνεῖσθαι)
 4 them, on the one hand (μέν), and I became
 Christ. But on the other (δέ), I did not reveal
 6 myself to them in the love (ἀγάπη)
 which was coming forth from me.
 8 I was revealing that I am a
 stranger to the regions (μέρος)
 10 below. There was a great
 disturbance in
 12 the whole earthly (κοσμικόν) region (τόπος), with
 confusion and flight, and (in) the plan
 14 of the archons (ἄρχων). And (δέ) some
 were persuaded, when they saw
 16 the acts of power which were being accomplished by
 me. And they flee, namely

51,31-32 "in it (fem. = the image), not resembling the one who was in it (masc. = the body)": The grammatical genders of the two pronouns ("it") are different.

52,2-3 "above the heavens": Above the seven heavens of the lower cosmos and the veil which separates it from the superior world of light. Cf. 69,22.

52,5 **ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲥ**: Literally "a Christ" in Coptic, but Greek has no indefinite article.

52,5-6 Cf. John 14:22-24.

52,7 Ms. **ⲛⲉϢⲚⲏⲏⲏⲟ** for **ⲛⲉϢⲛⲏⲏⲟ**.

52,9 "stranger": Probably from ἀλλογενής "of another race, foreigner," a favorite designation of Seth or a member of the Sethian race. Cf. *Apoc.* *Adam* 74, 21-23 and the Sethian tractate *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3).

18 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟϞ ΕΝΤΑϞΕΙ Μ̅Ν ΠΙ
 ΓΕΝΟϞ ΕΠΕϞΗΤ̅ ΕΒΟΛ Ὠ̅Μ ΠΗ
 20 ΕΝΤΑϞΠΩΤ̅ ΕΒΟΛ Ὠ̅Μ ΠΙϞΡΟ
 ΝΟϞ ΨΑ †ϞΟΦΙΑ Ν̅ΤΕ †ϞΕΛ
 22 ΠΙϞ· ΕΔϞΡ̅ ΨΟΡ̅Π̅ Ν̅† ΜΔΕΙΝ Ε
 ΤΒΗΗΤ̅Ν Μ̅Ν ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟϞ ΕΤ̅ΨΟ
 24 ΟΠ Ν̅ΜΔΕΙ· ΝΙΕΒΟΛ Ὠ̅Μ ΠΙΓΕ
 ΝΟϞ Ν̅ΤΕ ΔΔΩΝΔΙΟϞ· ϞΕΝΚΟ
 26 ΟϞΕ ΟΗ ΔϞΠΩΤ̅ Ν̅ΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ὠ̅ΙΤΟΟΤ̅Ϟ Μ̅ΠΙΚΟϞΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
 28 Μ̅Ν ΝΗ ΕΤ̅ΨΟΟΠ Ν̅ΜΔΑϞ·
 ΕΔϞΕΙΝΕ Ν̅ΚΟΛΑϞΙϞ ΝΙΜ Ε
 30 ΖΩΪ ΔϞΩ ΝΕϞΗ ΟϞΠΩΤ̅
 ΨΟΟΠ ΠΕ Ν̅ΤΕ ΠΕϞΝΟϞϞ
 32 ΖΕ ΟϞ ΠΕΤΟϞΝΔΨΟΖΝΕ
 ΕΡΟϞ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̅ ΕϞΜΕΕϞΕ
 34 ΖΕ †Μ̅ΝΤΝΟϞ ΤΗΡ̅Ϟ ΤΕ· ΔϞΩ
 ΕϞΖΕ Μ̅ΝΤ̅Μ̅ΝΤΡΕ Ν̅ΝΟϞΖ
 36 ΕΠΙΚΕΡΩΜΕ Μ̅Ν †Μ̅ΝΤΝΟϞ

Ν̅Ϟ

ΤΗΡ̅Ϟ Ν̅ΤΕ †ΕΚΚΛΗϞΙΑ· ΝΕ
 2 Μ̅Μ̅ΝΨϞΟΜ ΠΕ Ν̅ϞΕϞΟϞΩ
 Ν̅Ϟ ΕΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ̅ ΠΕ Ν̅ΤΕ †

- 52,18-20 Μ̅Ν ΠΙΓΕΝΟϞ ΕΠΕϞΗΤ̅ ΕΒΟΛ Ὠ̅Μ ΠΗ ΕΝΤΑϞΠΩΤ̅ ΕΒΟΛ Ὠ̅Μ ΠΙϞΡΟΝΟϞ: Gibbons (*Commentary*, 175-76) reconstructs the underlying Greek of this confused passage as οἱ καταβάντες συγγενεῖς τοῦ φύξαντος τοῦ θρόνου "... those who descended (who were) related by race to the one who fled from the throne...." Thus, "some were persuaded" (52,14-15) by Christ's miracles who were of the race of Adonaios (52,24-25); i. e., some Jews became Christians.
- 52,20 "throne": The throne by metonymy is Yaldabaoth, from whom Adonaios flees. Cf. *Ap. John* II 10,15.
- 52,21 "Sophia of Hope": The being Hope, the sister and double of Sophia, appears three times in *Treat. Seth* as the sister emanation (ἔννοια) who causes the rebellion of the archons around Yaldabaoth (68,30-31). It is by her doing that Adonaios rebels and comes to know Christ and the upper world (55,7-8). In *1 Apoc. Jas.* 35,7-9, the double of Sophia is her daughter Achamoth (Hebrew for "Wisdom"); in *Hyp. Arch.* 95,5.18-19, it is her daughter Zoe (Greek for "Life"; so also in *Orig. World* 104,28f.).
- 52,25 "Adonaios": Adonaios is one of the seven rulers of the seven heavens (*Orig. World* 101,31), called an archon (*1 Apoc. Jas.* 39,11) and Sabaoth (*Gos. Eg.* III 58,14 ; *Ap. John* II 10,33). In *Hyp. Arch.* 95,13-30, Sabaoth (= Adonaios in *Treat. Seth*) hears the rebuke of Yaldabaoth by

18 all these who are descended by
 race (γένος) from the
 20 one who fled from the throne (θρόνος)
 to the Sophia (σοφία) of Hope (ἐλπίς),
 22 —since she had previously given indication
 concerning us and all those who were
 24 with me—these of the race (γένος)
 of Adonaios. Yet others
 26 fled as though (sent)
 from the World Ruler (κοσμοκράτωρ)
 28 and those with him,
 and brought every punishment (κόλασις)
 30 upon me. And there was a flight
 of their mind (νοῦς)
 32 about what counsel they would take
 concerning me, thinking
 34 that the(ir) Greatness is (the) All, and
 speaking lying witness
 36 against the Man also and the whole greatness

53

of the assembly (ἐκκλησία).

2 It was not possible for them to know
 who the Father of

Zoe (= Hope in *Treat. Seth*), repents, rebels against his father Yaldabaoth, and turns to praise Sophia and her daughter Zoe, for which he is exalted to his own throne in the seventh heaven above the forces of chaos (= Yaldabaoth; cf. *Orig. World* 103,32-104,10). In *Treat. Seth* Adonaios appears three times: 52,25; 55,2.7-8.

52,27 “World Ruler”: Κοσμοκράτωρ, “Ruler of the world,” a title used of the emperors, of Zeus, of the planets, of the Devil (John 14:30), of demonic archons in the heavens (Eph 6:12), and, as here, of Yaldabaoth (also *Treat. Seth* 53,28; 55,4).

52,34 “the(ir) Greatness is (the) All”: The archons are ignorant that there exists a Pleroma overseen by the One in a world of light above their creation of darkness. They think that their lower cosmos is the whole of the universe. Cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1,5,3: “(The Demiurge) imagined that he himself was all things (πάντα εἶναι).”

52,36 “the Man”: The Anthropos myth. Humans are a copy of the divine world, and humanity is in the form it is because it is in the image of the original highest God, who is called “Man.” The highest God in *Treat. Seth* is termed “the Man of the Greatness” (53,3-5), and “the Man of Truth” (53,17; 54,8). Cf. Schenke, *Der Gott “Mensch.”*

4 ΜΗΤΜΕ ΠΙΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕ †
 ΜΗΤΝΟΘ ΝΗ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΘΖΙ Μ
 6 ΠΙΡΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΘΖΩΛ·Μ· ΜΗ ΟΘ
 ΜΗΤΑΤ·Τ·ΟΟΘΝ· ΕΤΕ ΟΘΡΩ
 8 ΚΩ ΜΗ ΟΘΚΕΘΟΣ ΕΔΘΩ
 ΝΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΘΤΕΚΟ ΝΤΕ ΔΔΑΜ
 10 ΕΝΤΑΘΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΖΕ ΕΘΝΑΘΩ
 ΒΕC ΕΞΗ ΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΘΟΘ ΝΕ
 12 ΘΗ ΟΘΨΩΨ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΟΟΘ
 ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΑΠΜΑ ΝΙΔΑΔΑΒΑ
 14 ΩΘ· CΕCΩΛΠ ΜΠΚΩΤΕ ΝΤΕ
 ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΘΚΩ
 16 ΤΕ ΝCΩΥ ΝCΙ †ΜΗΤΡΩΜΕ
 ΖΕ ΝΟΘCΟΘΩΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΜΕ·
 18 ΔΥΘΩΝΘ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΟΘ ΝCΙ ΔΔΔΜ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΘΡΠΛΑCCE ΜΜΟΥ·
 20 ΟΘΚΙΜ ΔΕ ΕΥΕ ΝΘΡΤΕ ΔΥΨΩ
 ΠΕ ΘΜ ΠΕΘΗC ΤΗΡΥ· ΜΗΠΩC
 22 ΝCΕΑΘΕ ΝΒΟΛ ΝCΙ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΘ ΔΞΗ ΝΗ ΓΑΡ
 24 ΕΤΕ ΝΕΘ† ΕΟΟΘ· ΔΕΙΜΟΘ
 ΝΘΡΑΪ ΘΗ ΟΘΤΑΔ·Ρ·Ο ΔΗ ΖΕ ΝΕΥ
 26 ΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΨΟΘΕΓ† ΝCΙ ΠΕΘ
 ΔΡ·Χ·ΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC· ΔΘΩ ΤΟΤΕ
 28 ΔΘCΜΗ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΟC
 ΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΨΑ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 30 ΖΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΘΤΕ ΔΘΩ

- 53,6 "the name": The name is that of the highest God "Man" (= Adam). In 54,9 the archons see the name of the Man of Truth (= highest God) in Adam. Cf. *Orig. World* 115,1-3: "He ... was called Adam (= "man") according to the name of the one who was before him (= God)." Cf. *Ap. John* II 14,14-24 for "Man" and *Norea* 28,30 for "Adamas" as the name of the highest God.
- 53,6 ms. ΟΘΖΩΛ for ΟΘΖΩΛ·Μ·. The final Μ has been assimilated to the following ΜΗ. The word ΖΩΛ ("anointing") does not occur elsewhere in *Treat. Seth*, while ΖΩΛ·Μ ("defilement") in the compound ΔΤΖΩΛ·Μ ("undefiled") is found eight times.
- 53,7-8 "a burning and a vessel": Cf. *Paraph. Shem* 32,23: "Fire and body of darkness."
- 53,8 "vessel": The physical body of Adam. σκευος is a common locution for the human body which contains the real person of the soul: cf. 2 Cor 4:7 "earthen vessels."

4 truth is, the Man of the
 greatness. And (δέ) these took
 6 the name because of <pollution> and
 ignorance—which (is) a burning
 8 and a vessel (σκεῦος) which they created
 for destruction of Adam,
 10 which they had made in order to
 cover up those who are equally theirs.
 12 But they,
 the archons (ἄρχων) belonging to the place of Yaldabaoth,
 14 lay bare the circuit of
 the angels (ἄγγελος). This is what
 16 humanity was going around seeking
 because they did not know the Man of truth.
 18 For (γάρ) Adam appeared to them,
 the one whom they had fashioned (πλάσσειν).
 20 And (δέ) a disturbance of fear occurred
 throughout their entire dwelling, lest perhaps (μήπως)
 22 the surrounding angels (ἄγγελος) stand against
 them.—For (γάρ) on account of those
 24 who were offering (him) praise I died,
 though not in reality, because
 26 their archangel (ἀρχάγγελος) was vain.—
 And then (τότε)
 28 a voice of the World Ruler (κοσμοκράτωρ)
 came to the angels (ἄγγελος):
 30 “I am God and

- 53,13 “Yaldabaoth”: The name occurs again in 68,29. It is derived from Hebrew, probably meaning “Child of Chaos.” *Orig. World* 100,12-13 takes it erroneously to be a translation of the sentence, “Child, pass through to here.”
- 53,17 Ms. **HOOCOWH** (A²) for Sahidic **HOOCOWH**.
- 53,18-19 “Adam appeared to them”: Cf. *Ap. John* II 14,29-15,10; *Hyp. Arch.* 87,15-27.
- 53,23 Ms. **ΔΞΗ** (A²) for Sahidic **ΕΞΗ**.
- 53,25 Ms. **OCTAZOO**.
- 53,27 Ms. **APZIAΓTEΛOC**. **z** for **χ** is not uncommon.
- 53,30 “I am God...”: The word “God” occurs but four times in *Treat. Seth*, and each time it is either spoken by the World Ruler, Yaldabaoth, as in this sentence based on Isa 45:5-6 (*Treat. Seth* 64,19.23), or clearly a reference to him (61,28). The same sentence is spoken by Yaldabaoth-Saklas-Samael in *Ap. John* II 11,20.

32 ΔΕ ΔΕΙΩΒΕ Θ̅Ν ΟΥΡΑΨΕ
 ΠΤΕΡΙΜΟΘΨ̅Τ̅ ΜΠΕΥΕΟΟΘ
 34 ΕΥΨΟΘΕΙΤ̅ ΠΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΥ
 ΖΩ Μ̅ΜΟΣ Π̅ΘΟΣΟ ΖΕ ΝΙΜ
 Ν̅Δ
 ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ· †ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΔΕ ΤΗ
 2 Ρ̅Σ̅ Π̅ΤΕ ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΕΝΤΑΘ
 ΝΑΘ ΕΑΔΑΜ Μ̅Ν ΠΕΥΗΕΙ ΝΕΥΩ
 4 ΒΕ Π̅ΣΑ ΤΕΥΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅ΚΟΘΕΙ· ΔΘΩ
 Π̅†Ρ̅Ε ΔΤΕΘΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣ
 6 ΠΟΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ Π̅ΣΑΒΟΛ Μ̅ΠΙΜΕΤΕ
 ΘΟΣ Π̅ΤΕ ΝΙΠΗΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΙΡΩ
 8 ΜΕ ΠΕ Π̅ΤΕ †Μ̅Ν̅Τ̅ΜΕ· ΠΕΝ
 ΤΑΘΝΑΘ ΕΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΖΕ ΨΨΟΟΠ
 10 Θ̅Ν ΟΘ̅Μ̅Ν̅Τ̅ΚΟΘΕΙ Π̅ΤΕ ΟΘ̅ΜΑ
 Π̅ΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΣΟΒ̅Κ̅ Π̅ΔΘΗ† Θ̅ΡΑΪ
 12 Θ̅Ν ΤΕΘΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΕΥΨΟΘΕΙΤ̅
 Π̅ΣΙ ΠΕΥΩΒΕ· ΝΕΥΨΟΟΠ Π̅
 14 ΟΘΩΒ̅Σ̅ ΝΑΘ ΠΕ· †Μ̅Ν̅Τ̅ΝΟΣ ΤΗ
 Ρ̅Σ̅ Π̅ΤΕ †Μ̅Ν̅Τ̅ΙΩΤ̅ Π̅ΤΕ ΠΙ
 16 Π̅Ν̅Δ· ΝΕΥΜΟΤ̅Η Μ̅ΜΟΥ Θ̅Ν ΝΙ
 ΤΟΠΟΣ Π̅ΤΑΨ· ΔΘΩ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ
 18 ΝΕΪΨΟΟΠ Π̅Μ̅ΜΑΨ ΠΕ· ΕΘ̅Ν
 ΤΑΪ Π̅ΘΕΝΝΟΙΑ Π̅ΤΕ ΟΘΑΠΟΡ
 20 ΡΟΙΑ Π̅ΟΘΩ† ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅Ν ΝΙΨΑ Ε
 ΝΕΥ· Μ̅Ν ΝΙΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅Α†Τ̅ΣΟΘΩΝΟΘ
 22 Π̅Α†ΖΩΘ̅Μ̅· ΔΘΩ Π̅Α†† Ψ̅Ι ΕΡΟ
 ΟΘ· ΔΕΙΚΑΔΑΣ Π̅ΘΡΑΪ Θ̅Μ̅ ΠΙΚΟΣ
 24 ΜΟΣ ΕΤΕ †ΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΤΕ ΕΤ̅ΣΟ
 Β̅Κ̅ ΕΔΕΨ̅Τ̅Ρ̅Τ̅ΩΡΟΘ· ΔΘΩ ΕΔ̅Ι
 26 † Θ̅Ρ̅ΤΕ Μ̅Π̅ΑΨΑΪ ΤΗΡ̅Ψ̅ Π̅ΤΕ ΝΙ
 ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Μ̅Ν ΠΕΘΑΡΧΩΝ· ΔΝΟΚ
 28 ΔΕ ΝΕΪΜΟΘΨ̅Τ̅ Μ̅ΜΟΟΘ ΤΗ

53,35-54,1 "Who is Man?": Or: "What is man?" The reference is to Ps 8:4 but is cleverly ambiguous: the man formed is a mere human and laughably small, as though the highest God, according to whose image he was formed and who is also called "Man," is laughably small.

there is no other beside me.” But I
 32 laughed with joy
 when I considered his conceit.
 34 And (δέ) he kept saying
 all the more, “Who
 54
 is Man?” And (δέ) the entire army (στρατιά)
 2 of his angels (ἄγγελος) who had
 seen Adam and his dwelling were laughing
 4 at his smallness. And
 in this way their thought (ἔννοια) came to be
 6 removed away from the Greatness (μέγεθος)
 of the heavens, who is the
 8 Man of truth,
 whose name they saw because he is
 10 in the smallness of a dwelling place.
 Since they are foolish in the senselessness
 12 of their vain thought (ἔννοια),
 namely their laughter, it became
 14 defilement for them. The whole greatness
 of the Fatherhood of the
 16 Spirit (πνεῦμα) was resting in
 its places (τόπος), and I
 18 was with him, since I have
 a thought (ἔννοια) of a single emanation (ἀπορροῖα)
 20 from the eternal ones
 and the unknowable ones,
 22 undefiled and immeasurable.
 I placed the small Ennoia (ἔννοια)
 24 in the world (κόσμος),
 having disturbed them and
 26 frightened the whole multitude of the
 angels (ἄγγελος) and their ruler (ἄρχων). And (δέ) I
 28 examined them all

54,19-20 “a single emanation”: Cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.7.1 “the savior, who sprang from all the aeons”; also 1.2.6 and Hippolytus *Ref.* 6.23.1 for Jesus as an emanation of the entire Pleroma.

30 ροϑ πε ρ̄ν οϑκωϑ̄τ̄ μ̄ν οϑ
 κρωμ ετβε ταενηοια· αϑω
 32 ρωβ ηιμ̄ η̄τοοτοϑ αϑ̄ρενερ
 ρει ετβηητ̄ οϑϣτορτ̄ρ δε
 μ̄ν οϑ† αϣϣωπε μ̄πκωτε
 34 η̄νιϑαραφ̄ιν μ̄ν ηιχεροϑβ̄ιν
 εϣναβωλ εβολ̄ η̄σι ποϑεοοϑ̄

η̄ε

μ̄ν πτωϑ ετϣοοπ μ̄πκω
 2 τε η̄αδωμαιοϑ μ̄πιϑα μ̄ν
 πᾱῑ μ̄ν πεϑηει ϣα πικοϑμο
 4 κρατωρ μ̄ν πη ενεϣω μ̄
 μοϑ δε μαρ̄η̄ϣιτ̄ϣ̄ ρενκο
 6 οϑε οη δε νεϣϣωπε η̄σι π̄ι
 ϣωζνε· εϣϑοοϑη ϑαρ μ̄μο̄ῑ
 8 η̄σι αδωμαιοϑ ετβε οϑρελ
 π̄ιϑ· ανοκ δε νεεϣοοπ
 10 ρ̄ν ρωοϑ η̄ρενημοϑει· αϑω
 π̄ιϣωζνε η̄ταϑϑοοϑη η̄ρη
 12 τ̄ϣ̄ ετβηητ̄ εϑβωλ εβολ̄ η̄τε
 τεϑπλανη μ̄ν τεϑμ̄η̄ταϑ̄ητ̄
 14 μ̄π̄ι† εϑοϑη εζωοϑ η̄θε η̄
 ταϑϣωζνε· ανοκ δε νεεϣ
 16 μοκ̄ϑ̄ η̄λααϑ αη· αϑ̄ρ̄κολαζε
 μ̄μο̄ῑ η̄σι ηη ετ̄μ̄μαϑ· αϑω
 18 νε̄ῑμοϑ η̄ρηρᾱῑ ρ̄ν οϑταζρο αη·
 αλλα ρ̄μ̄ πετοϑοη̄ϑ̄· δε νεϑ
 20 † ϣ̄ιπε νᾱῑ εβολ̄ ρ̄ιτοοτοϑ
 δε οϑα εβολ̄ μ̄μο̄ῑ νε νᾱῑ· ᾱῑ
 22 ϣωωτ̄ εβολ̄ μ̄μοει μ̄πϣ̄ιπε
 αϑω μ̄π̄ιρ̄ βαβρητ̄ ραθη μ̄π̄η
 24 η̄ταϣϣωπε νᾱῑ εβολ̄ ρ̄ιτο
 οτοϑ· νε̄ῑναϣωπε πε η̄

54,34 “Seraphim and Cherubim”: Cf. *Orig. World* 105,1-19 for the throne of Sabaoth (= Adonaios in *Treat. Seth*), its supporting Cherubim, and the associated 72 serpent-like angels, the Seraphim.

55,1-4 “disturbance ... around Adonaios”: Cf. *Orig. World* 104,13-17 on the jealousy of the other archons and their war against Sabaoth (= Adonaios).

with burning and
 30 fire on account of my thought (ἔννοιᾱ). And
 each of their activities they did (ἐνεργεῖν)
 32 on account of me. And (δέ) trouble
 and fighting arose around
 34 the Seraphim and Cherubim,
 since their glory will perish,

55

and the disturbance which is around
 2 Adonaios this side and that,
 and (around) their dwelling—(reaching) to the World
 4 Ruler (κοσμοκράτωρ) and the one who said
 “Let us seize him.” Others
 6 again (said), “The counsel shall not come to be.”
 For (γάρ) Adonaios knows me
 8 because of Hope (ἐλπίς).
 And (δέ) I was
 10 in the mouths of lions. And (as for)
 the counsel which they planned
 12 about me against destruction of
 their deception (πλάνη) and their foolishness,
 14 I did not give in to them as
 they had devised. And (δέ) I was
 16 not afflicted at all. Those there punished
 (κολάζειν) me, yet
 18 I did not die in solid reality
 but (ἄλλῶ) in what appears, in order that I not
 20 be put to shame by them,
 because these are part of me. I
 22 cut off the shame from me
 and I did not become fainthearted at what
 24 happened to me at their hands.
 I was about to become

55,6 **μεγῶποτε**: For **ἤμεγῶποτε** (negative third future).

55,10 “lions”: A general reference to persecution (cf. Ps 22:13), but note that Yaldabaoth is a lion (*Orig. World* 100,26) and a lion-face serpent (*Ap. John* II 10,9).

26 ὄμαρὰλ ἡθότε· ἀνοκ δε δει
 28 ἄπικαζ κατὰ πετειωρῶ
 30 ἐτβηητοῦ ἐνεζ· πιμοῦ
 32 γαρ ἡτοοτ̄ ἐτοσμεεθε δε
 34 ἀψωπε κατ̄ οὐραϊ ὄν τοῦ
 36 πλάμη· ἀτω τεσμητ̄ατ
 38 ελωρῶ εατ̄ εἰψ̄τ̄ ἄπεσ
 40 ρωμε εροσ̄η ἐπεσμοῦ
 42 νεθεννοια γαρ ἄποσναῶ
 44 ἡς
 46 εροει· νεθενκοῦρ γαρ νε·
 48 ἀτω ρενβ̄λλεεθε νε· καῖ
 50 δε εσειρε ἄμοοῦ εσ̄τ̄ οὐαπ
 52 εροσ̄· ἀνοκ μεν ἀσναῶ
 54 εροῖ ἀσ̄ρ̄κολαζε ἄμοει·
 56 νεκεοῦα πε πετειωτ̄ πη
 58 ἐνεγρω ἄπσιψ̄ε ἄπ̄ πιρ̄μᾱς
 60 νε ἀνοκ ἀν πε· νεσ̄ῶισε
 62 ἡσ̄ωῖ ἄπικαψ̄· νεκεοῦα
 64 πετ̄τωων οὐα πις̄ρ̄ος οὐη
 66 τεγναῶβ̄ ετε σιμων πε·
 68 νεκεοῦα πενταῶτ̄ ἄπ̄ι
 70 κλομ ἐζωγ ἡψ̄οντε· ἀνοκ
 72 δε νεῖτελῆλ̄ ἄμοῖ ὄμ̄ πζ̄ι
 74 σε ἐξ̄η † ἄπ̄ητ̄ρ̄μαδο τηρ̄ς

55,29 Ms. νοσ̄ῶη for Sahidic νεσ̄ῶη.

55,32 Perhaps ἀψωπε <ἀψωπε> (with Krause).

56,8 "it was not I": Cf. *Apoc. Adam* 77,16-18: "They will punish the flesh of the man upon whom the holy spirit came." Cf. also *Apoc. Pet.* 81,18-24; 82,21ff.

56,9 Perhaps νεκεοῦα <πε> πετ̄τωων (with Painchaud).

56,9-13 Simon carried the cross of Jesus in Mark 15:21, as here (56,11). Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.24.1) describes a very similar series of events as taught by Basilides, that "(Christ) did not himself suffer death, but Simon, ... being transformed by him that he might be thought to be Jesus, was crucified, while Jesus himself received the form of Simon, and, standing by, ...

- 26 a slave to fear, but (δέ) I
 was struck (merely) according to (κατά) their sight
 28 and thought, in order that (ἵνα)
 no word might ever be found to speak
 30 about them. For (γάρ) my death
 which they think
 32 happened, (happened) to them in their
 error (πλάνη) and blindness.
 34 They nailed their
 man up to their death.
 36 For (γάρ) their minds (ἔννοιαι) did not see
 56
 me, for (γάρ) they were deaf
 2 and blind. But (δέ)
 in doing these things, they render judgment
 4 against themselves. As for me, on the one hand (μὲν) they saw
 me; they punished (κολάζειν) me.
 6 Another, their father, was the one
 who drank the gall and the vinegar;
 8 it was not I. They were hitting
 me with the reed; another was the one
 10 who lifted up the cross (σταυρός) on
 his shoulder, who was Simon.
 12 Another was the one on whom they put
 the crown of thorns.
 14 But (δέ) I was rejoicing in the height
 over all the riches

laughed at them" (cf. Epiphanius *Pan.* 24.3.7). If Irenaeus is correct, then Basilides' doctrine is different from that found in *Apoc. Adam*, *Apoc. Pet.* and *Treat. Seth*, none of which has a transformation of Simon into the appearance of Jesus, nor attributes to the (escaped) non-crucified form of Jesus a transformation into the physical appearance of Simon.

- 56,14 "But I was rejoicing in the height": Not "standing by laughing" as in Irenaeus' account of Basilides (see note to 56,9-10). Cf. *Apoc. Adam* 77,10-18 "And the glory will withdraw and dwell in holy houses (= heaven) And the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the illuminator either. Then they will punish the flesh of the man upon whom the holy spirit came."

16 Ἰ̅Π̅Τ̅Ε Ἰ̅Α̅ΡΧΩΝ· Ἰ̅Ν̅ Ἰ̅ΣΠΟΡΑ
 Ἰ̅Π̅Τ̅Ε Τ̅Ε̅Σ̅Π̅Λ̅Α̅Ν̅Η Ἰ̅Π̅Τ̅Ε Π̅Ε̅Τ̅Ε
 18 Ο̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ε̅Τ̅Ψ̅Ο̅Σ̅Ε̅Ι̅Τ̅ Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅
 Κ̅Ω̅Β̅Ε Ἰ̅Ν̅Σ̅Α Τ̅Ε̅Σ̅Ἀ̅Π̅Τ̅Α̅Τ̅Ο̅
 20 Ο̅Θ̅Η· Ν̅Ε̅Τ̅Σ̅Ο̅Μ Δ̅Ε Τ̅Η̅Ρ̅Ο̅Σ̅ Δ̅Ι̅
 Δ̅Α̅Σ̅ Ἰ̅Θ̅Ἰ̅Μ̅Θ̅Α̅Λ̅ Ε̅Ι̅Ἰ̅Ν̅Η̅Σ̅ Γ̅Α̅Ρ Ε̅
 22 Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Η̅Τ̅ Ἰ̅Π̅Ε̅Λ̅Δ̅Α̅Σ̅ Ν̅Α̅Σ̅ Ε̅Ρ̅Ο̅Ι̅
 Ν̅Ε̅Ε̅Ψ̅Υ̅Β̅Ε Γ̅Α̅Ρ Ἰ̅Ν̅Ι̅Μ̅Ο̅Ρ̅Φ̅Η Ἰ̅
 24 Θ̅Ρ̅Α̅Ι̅ Ἰ̅Θ̅Η̅Τ̅ Ε̅Ε̅Ι̅Ο̅Σ̅Ω̅Τ̅Ḃ̅ Ε̅Β̅Ο̅Λ̅
 Ἰ̅Θ̅Σ̅Ε̅Ι̅Δ̅Ε̅Α Ε̅Σ̅Ε̅Ι̅Δ̅Ε̅Α· Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ε̅
 26 Τ̅Β̅Ε Π̅Α̅Ι̅ Ε̅Ι̅Ψ̅Ο̅Ο̅Π̅ Θ̅Ἰ̅ Ν̅Ε̅Σ̅Π̅
 Λ̅Η· Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅Ζ̅Ι̅ Ε̅Ι̅Ν̅Ε Ἰ̅Μ̅Ο̅Ο̅Σ̅ Π̅Ε·
 28 Δ̅Ε̅Ι̅Π̅Α̅Ρ̅Α̅Γ̅Ε Γ̅Α̅Ρ Ἰ̅Μ̅Ο̅Ο̅Σ̅ Θ̅Ἰ̅
 Ο̅Θ̅Θ̅Ρ̅Ο̅Κ̅ Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅Ν̅Α̅Σ̅ Ε̅Ν̅Ι̅
 30 Τ̅Ο̅Π̅Ο̅Σ̅ Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ἰ̅Π̅Ι̅Ḃ̅ Θ̅Ο̅Τ̅Ε·
 Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ἰ̅Π̅Ψ̅Υ̅Π̅Ε· Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅Ψ̅Ο̅Ο̅Π̅
 32 Γ̅Α̅Ρ Ἰ̅Ν̅Α̅Τ̅Ω̅Ω̅Υ· Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅
 Ψ̅Α̅Ζ̅Ε Ἰ̅Ἰ̅Μ̅Α̅Σ̅ Ε̅Ι̅Μ̅Ο̅Σ̅Ḃ̅ Ἰ̅Ἰ̅
 34 Μ̅Α̅Σ̅ Ε̅Β̅Ο̅Λ̅ Θ̅Ι̅Τ̅Ἰ̅ Ν̅Ε̅Τ̅Ε̅Ν̅Ο̅Σ̅
 Ε̅Ι̅ Δ̅Θ̅Ω Ε̅Ε̅Ι̅Θ̅Ω̅Μ Ε̅Ξ̅Ἰ̅ Ν̅Ε̅Τ̅

Ἰ̅Ḃ̅

Ν̅Α̅Ψ̅Υ̅Τ̅ Ἰ̅Π̅Τ̅Ο̅Ο̅Τ̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ἰ̅Ν̅ Π̅Ι̅Κ̅Ω̅·
 2 Δ̅Θ̅Ω Π̅Ι̅Κ̅Ρ̅Ω̅Μ Ε̅Ι̅Ζ̅Ν̅Ε Ἰ̅Μ̅Ο̅Υ
 Ε̅Β̅Ο̅Λ̅· Ν̅Α̅Ι̅ Δ̅Ε Τ̅Η̅Ρ̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅Ε̅Ι̅Ρ̅Ε
 4 Ἰ̅Μ̅Ο̅Ο̅Σ̅ Π̅Ε Ε̅Τ̅Β̅Ε Π̅Α̅Ο̅Σ̅Ω̅Ψ̅
 Ζ̅Ε̅Κ̅Α̅Δ̅Α̅Σ̅ Π̅Η Ε̅Τ̅Ε Ν̅Ε̅Ι̅Θ̅Α̅Ψ̅Υ̅
 6 Θ̅Ἰ̅ Μ̅Ο̅Σ̅Ω̅Ψ̅ Ἰ̅Π̅Ι̅Ω̅Τ̅ Ε̅Τ̅Ἰ̅Π̅Σ̅Α̅Ν̅
 Θ̅Ρ̅Ε Ἰ̅Τ̅Α̅Ζ̅Ο̅Κ̅Υ̅ Ε̅Β̅Ο̅Λ̅ Δ̅Θ̅Ω Π̅Ψ̅Η
 8 Ρ̅Ε Ἰ̅Π̅Τ̅Ε Π̅Ι̅Μ̅Ε̅Τ̅Ε̅Θ̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ε̅Ν̅Ε̅Υ̅Θ̅Η̅Π̅
 Θ̅Ἰ̅ Μ̅Ι̅Μ̅Ε̅Ρ̅Ο̅Σ̅ Ε̅Τ̅Σ̅Α̅Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Η̅Τ̅

56,21-27 Cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.30.12: Christ “descended through the seven heavens, having assumed the likeness of their sons, and gradually emptied them of their power.”

56,26 “gates”: The journey of the Savior down through the seven heavenly spheres requires that the Savior pass through a series of guarded gates,

16 of the archons (ἄρχων) and the offspring (σπορά)
 of their error (πλάνη) and their
 18 conceit, and I was
 laughing at their ignorance.
 20 And (δέ) all their powers I brought
 into subjection. For (γάρ) when I came
 22 down no one saw me.
 For (γάρ) I kept changing my forms (μορφή)
 24 above, transforming from
 appearance (ιδέα) to appearance (ιδέα). And
 26 on account of this, when I was at their gates (πύλη)
 I kept taking their likeness.
 28 For (γάρ) I passed them by (παράγειν)
 quietly, and I was viewing the
 30 places (τόπος), and I did not fear
 nor was I ashamed,
 32 for (γάρ) I was undefiled. And I was
 speaking with them, mixing among
 34 them through those who are
 mine, and I tread on those who

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are harsh to them jealously,
 2 and the fire I extinguished.
 And (δέ) all these things I kept doing
 4 on account of my will
 in order that this which I willed
 6 in the will of the Father above
 I might complete. And the Son
 8 of the Greatness (μέγεθος), who was hidden
 in the region (μέρος) below,

which he accomplishes by polymorphic transformation. The same journey
 in the reverse is required of the elect (58,11). Cf. *Apoc. Paul* 20,10;
 21,27 etc.; *Asc. Isa.* 10; *Ep. Apost.* 13.

56,32

Ms. $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\omega}\overline{\omega}\overline{\omega}$ for $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\omega}\overline{\omega}\overline{\omega}$.

57,7

"Son of the Greatness": Cf. note to 51,2.

10 ἸΤΑΝΗΤῸΣ ΕΠΞΙΣΕ· ΕΤΕ ΕΕΙ
 ΨΟΟΠ ἸΝΕΪΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΘ ἸΝᾶ
 12 ΜΑΘ ΕΤΕ ἈΠΕΛΑΑΘ ΝΑΘ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΟΥΤΕ ἈΠΟΘΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ· ΕΤΕ
 14 ΠΙΞΙ ΨΕΛΕΕΤ ΠΕ ἸΤΕ †ΣΤΟ
 ΛΗ ἸΞΙ ΨΕΛΕΕΤ· ΠΙΒῚΡΡΕ· ΑΘΩ
 16 ΠΙΑΣ ΔΗ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΥΤΑΚΟ· ΟΥ
 ΠΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΒῚΒῚΡΡΕ ΠΕ ἸΤΕ ΝΙ
 18 ΠΗΘΕ· ΑΘΩ ἸΤΕΛΙΟΣ· ΕΔΕΙ
 ΟΥΩΝῸΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΥ· ΕΣΘ Ἰ
 20 ΨΟΜΕΤ ἈΜΟΕΙΤ· ΟΥΜΘΣ
 ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ἸΔΑΤΞΩῸΣ ῸΝ ΟΥ
 22 ΠἸΝᾶ ἸΤΕ ΠΕΪΔΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΥ
 ΩΞἸ· ΟΥΤΕ ἸΟΥΜΕΡΙΚΟΣ
 24 ΔΗ ΠΕ· ΟΥΤΕ ἈΠΕΨΑΘΨΑ
 ΞΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῸΣ ΔΗ ΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΘ
 26 ΑΤΠΩΨΕ ΠΕ ἸΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ
 ΑΘΩ ΕΥΜΗΝ· ΤΨΘΧΗ ΓΑΡ †
 28 ΕΒΟΛ ῸΣ ΠΞΙΣΕ· ΣΝΑΨΑΞΕ ΔΗ
 ῸΑ †ΠΛΑΔΗ ΕΤᾶΠΙΜΑ· ΟΥΤΕ
 30 ΟΥΩΤῚ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΒΟΛ ῸΝ ΝΕΪΔΙ
 ΩΝ· ΕΘΝΑΟΘΩΤῚ ἈΜΟΣ

57,10 Perhaps ἸΤΑΝΗΤῸΣ "I brought"; cf. ἸΤΑΞΟΚῸΣ in 57,7.

57,10-11 Perhaps ΕΤΕ «Ν·ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ "where I was" (with Gibbons).

57,11 "aeons": The word occurs three times in *Treat. Seth*, all in this passage (57,11.22.30). It originally signified a period of time, such as the "era" in which one lived, or the "ages." It later was used as the name of the personified deity Aion, son of Kronos ("Father Time"), and the Persian Zervan (again "Father Time"). In Valentinian gnosticism especially the aeons are the personified emanations of the original deity who constitute the Pleroma: cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.8.3 "the aeons in the Pleroma"; also 1.1.1-3. Cf. notes to 57,22 and 30.

57,14 "wedding of the wedding robe": Cf. 67,6. In general view is the unification of the elect individual upon ascension to heaven with the heavenly image, one's heavenly "twin" (as in the Thomas tradition; Thomas is the earthly twin brother of Jesus: *Thom. Cont.* 138,7-8). Here the earthly Christ is united with his heavenly counterpart (the "I" of 57,10). For the heavenly robe, cf. the *Hymn of the Pearl* in *Act. Thom.* 108-113. For the wedding of the earthly Christ, cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.7.1.

57,17 "bridal chamber": A typical Thomas tradition (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 75) inherited

10 we brought to the height, where I am
 with all these aeons (αἰών),
 12 which no one has seen
 nor (οὐτε) understood, where
 14 the wedding of the wedding robe (στολή) is,
 the new (wedding) and
 16 not the old, nor (οὐτε) does it perish.
 For (γάρ) the new bridal chamber (παστός) is of the
 18 heavens and perfect (τέλειος). I
 have revealed (that) there are
 20 three paths, (which are) an
 undefiled mystery (μυστήριον) in a
 22 spirit (πνεῦμα) of this aeon (αἰών), which does not
 perish, nor (οὐτε) is it partial (μερικός),
 24 nor (οὐτε) is it to be spoken
 of; rather (ἀλλά), it is
 26 undivided, universal (καθολικόν),
 and permanent. For (γάρ) the soul (ψυχή), which is
 28 from the height, will not speak
 about the error (πλάνη) which is here, nor (οὐτε)
 30 transport itself from these aeons (αἰών),
 since it will be

by Valentinus and found in a number of later texts: *Gos. Phil.* 67,30 *et passim*; *Dial. Sav.* 138,19; *Act. Thom.* 9-13; *Irenaeus Adv. haer.* 1.7.1; 1.13.6; *Exeg. Soul* 132,9ff.; 133,4ff.

57,20 "paths": ΜΟΕΙΤ̄ may mean both "path" (ὁδός) and "place" (τόπος). In neither case is the reference explained. There are three classes of humans in the text, the "ignorant" (59,24), the orthodox Christians ("those who think they are advancing the name of Christ"; 59,25-26), and the elect. Each group may be on its own path tending to its own place: cf. *Irenaeus Adv. haer.* 1.6.4 and 1.7.5, where the elect go eventually to the Pleroma, the orthodox to an "intermediate habitation" on the outside edge of the Pleroma, and the ignorant remain in the lower darkness, destined for destruction. For "three" paths, note "the third glory" in 58,12.

57,22 "this aeon": Here used in its second major gnostic sense (cf. note on 57,11) for the location where the aeons dwell. So "the soul which is from the height" (57,27-28) is from "this aeon", i. e., the place of the heavenly aeons. Cf. 57,30 for the same sense of place, but of the lower regions.

57,29-30 Perhaps ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΟΤΩΤ̄ (with Krause).

57,30 "these aeons": "These (lower) regions." The lower archons also emanate deities (= "aeons"), who occupy the lower regions. Cf. note to 57,22.

32 εβολ εσψανρ̄ρ̄μ̄ρ̄ε· ᾱτω̄ ν̄c
 ρ̄χρᾱcθᾱῑ ν̄ο̄σ̄μ̄η̄τε̄σ̄τε
 34 η̄ηc ρ̄μ̄ π̄ικ̄ο̄c̄μ̄ο̄c̄ ε̄cᾱρ̄ε
 η̄η̄
 ρ̄ᾱτ̄c̄ η̄η̄ᾱρ̄ρ̄η̄ π̄ῑω̄τ̄ ᾱx̄η̄ ρ̄̄ῑc̄e
 2 ᾱτω̄ ρ̄ᾱ† ε̄c̄μ̄ο̄x̄c̄ ν̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑψ̄
 η̄ῑμ̄ μ̄η̄ π̄ῑη̄ο̄σ̄c̄ ν̄ο̄σ̄c̄ᾱμ̄ η̄
 4 τε̄ ο̄σ̄εῑδ̄ε̄ᾱ· c̄ε̄η̄ᾱη̄ᾱσ̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ε̄ῑ
 η̄c̄ᾱ c̄ᾱ η̄ῑμ̄ ε̄x̄μ̄ μ̄ο̄c̄τε̄· ε̄σ̄
 6 η̄ᾱσ̄ τ̄ᾱρ̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ῑ ε̄σ̄η̄ᾱσ̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ο̄σ̄
 ε̄σ̄μ̄ο̄x̄c̄ η̄μ̄μ̄ᾱσ̄· ᾱη̄ο̄κ̄ ε̄μ̄
 8 π̄ο̄σ̄† ψ̄ῑπ̄ε̄ η̄ᾱῑ ε̄μ̄π̄ο̄σ̄† ψ̄ῑ
 π̄ε̄ η̄ᾱσ̄· ᾱη̄ο̄κ̄ ε̄μ̄π̄ο̄σ̄ρ̄ ρ̄ο̄
 10 τε̄ ρ̄ᾱτ̄ᾱρ̄η̄ ε̄σ̄η̄ᾱπ̄ᾱρ̄ᾱγε̄ μ̄π̄σ̄
 λ̄η̄ η̄ῑμ̄ ε̄x̄η̄ ρ̄ο̄τε̄· ᾱτω̄ ε̄σ̄
 12 η̄ᾱx̄ω̄κ̄ ρ̄μ̄ π̄ῑμ̄ε̄ρ̄ψ̄ο̄μ̄τ̄ η̄
 ε̄ο̄ο̄σ̄· ᾱη̄ο̄κ̄ ε̄τε̄ μ̄π̄ε̄π̄ῑκ̄ο̄c̄
 14 μ̄ο̄c̄ ψ̄ω̄π̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄ μ̄π̄ᾱψ̄ε̄ ε̄
 π̄x̄ῑc̄ē ε̄το̄σ̄ο̄η̄ρ̄· π̄ᾱμ̄ε̄ρ̄
 16 ψ̄ο̄μ̄τ̄ η̄x̄ω̄κ̄μ̄ ρ̄η̄ ο̄σ̄ρ̄ῑκ̄ω̄
 ε̄c̄ο̄σ̄ο̄η̄ρ̄· ε̄ᾱσ̄π̄ω̄τ̄ η̄c̄ᾱβ̄ο̄λ̄
 18 μ̄μ̄ο̄γ̄ η̄c̄ῑ π̄ῑκ̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ η̄τε̄ †
 c̄ᾱψ̄c̄ε̄ η̄η̄ε̄z̄ōσ̄c̄īā· ᾱτω̄
 20 ᾱγ̄ρ̄ω̄τ̄π̄ η̄c̄ῑ π̄ρ̄η̄ η̄η̄ῑc̄ᾱμ̄ η̄
 τε̄ η̄ῑᾱρ̄χ̄ω̄η̄ ᾱσ̄κ̄ᾱκε̄ x̄ῑπ̄ο̄σ̄·
 22 ᾱτω̄ ᾱγ̄ρ̄ ρ̄η̄κε̄ η̄c̄ῑ π̄κ̄ο̄c̄μ̄ο̄c̄
 ε̄σ̄ρ̄ο̄x̄ρ̄ε̄x̄ μ̄μ̄ο̄γ̄ ρ̄η̄ ο̄σ̄μ̄η̄
 24 η̄ψ̄ε̄ η̄c̄c̄η̄ᾱρ̄· ᾱσ̄ω̄γ̄τ̄ μ̄μ̄ο̄γ̄

- 57,32 “free person”: At death, the person is “freed” when the soul is freed from the body. One of antiquity’s most popular commonplaces was the Orphic saying, σῶμα σήμα, “The body is a tomb” (Plato *Cratylus* 400c; *Gorgias* 493a).
- 58,2 A poorly formed ρ has caused previous editors to read ρα† of the ms. as cα†, MF for Sahidic ροτε, as elsewhere in *Treat. Seth*.
- 58,3 ηοσc: An ink run along the horizontal fiber gives the c the appearance of an ε. [Ed.]
- 58,8 “shame”: Cf. Mark 8:38, “Whoever is ashamed of me and of my words in this ... generation, of him will the Son of Man also be ashamed when he comes in the glory of his Father...” (RSV).
- 58,10 “pass by every gate”: The elect must complete the journey of the soul in

32 transported when it becomes a free person and
 experience (χρᾶσθαι) nobility (-εὐγενής)
 34 in the world (κόσμος), standing
 58
 before the Father without trouble
 2 and fear, always mixed
 with the mind (νοῦς) of
 4 ideal (ιδέα) power. They will see me
 from every side without hatred.
 6 For (γάρ) while they see me, they are being seen,
 being mixed with them. As for me, since they
 8 did not put me to shame, they were not shamed.
 As for me, since they were not afraid
 10 before me, they will pass by (παράγειν)
 every gate (πύλη) without fear, and they
 12 will be perfected in the third
 glory. I was the one whose cross the world (κόσμος)
 14 did not accept,
 (my) apparent exaltation, my
 16 third baptism in an apparent image (εἰκῶν),
 when they had fled from
 18 the fire of the
 seven authorities (ἑξουσία). And
 20 the sun of the powers of
 the archons (ἄρχων) set, darkness overtook them,
 22 and the world (κόσμος) became poor.
 After they bound him with
 24 many restraints, they nailed him

their return to the heavenly realms, passing through the gates guarded by the archons. Cf. *T. Levi* 5.1; *1 Enoch* 33; *3 Baruch* 2-3, 11; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.13.6; *Gos. Thom.* 50. Cf. also note to 56,26.

58,16 "third baptism": Three baptisms are mentioned in *Orig. World* 122,14-16: spirit, fire, water. But here, the three are part of the life story of Christ, and are physical birth, water baptism, and the present baptism in blood, the crucifixion. Cf. 1 John 5:6-8.

58,19 "seven authorities": The angelic rulers of the seven stars ("fire") of the seven spheres of the lower cosmos. Cf. *Ap. John* II 11,4-5: "Seven kings, corresponding to the firmaments of heaven, over the seven heavens"; *Orig. World* 102,2: "Seven powers of the seven heavens"; also 125,21; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.5.2; 1.24.1.

26 ε̅π̅ι̅ψ̅ε̅· α̅θ̅ω α̅θ̅τα̅ζ̅ρο̅ϥ ϧ̅ν̅
 28 γ̅το̅ο̅σ̅ ḡ̅ει̅ϣ̅τ̅ ḡ̅ρ̅ο̅μ̅·τ̅· π̅ικ̅α̅
 30 τα̅πε̅τε̅σ̅μα ḡ̅τε̅ πε̅ϥ̅ρ̅πε̅
 32 α̅ϥ̅π̅ω̅ρ̅ ḡ̅μο̅ϥ ḡ̅νε̅ϥ̅β̅ι̅ζ̅· ο̅σ̅
 34 σ̅τω̅τ̅ πε̅ν̅τα̅ϥ̅α̅μα̅ρ̅τε̅ ḡ̅
 36 π̅ι̅χ̅α̅ο̅ ḡ̅τε̅ π̅κα̅ρ̅· α̅θ̅β̅ω̅λ
 38 ρ̅α̅ρ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ḡ̅ν̅η̅ψ̅ο̅χη̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅
 40 ο̅π̅ ϧ̅ν̅ τ̅β̅ι̅ϥ̅ ε̅τ̅σ̅α̅πε̅σ̅η̅τ̅·
 42 α̅θ̅ω α̅θ̅τ̅ω̅ν̅ α̅θ̅μο̅ο̅ϥ̅
 44 ϧ̅ν̅ ο̅σ̅πα̅ρ̅ρ̅η̅σ̅ι̅α̅· ε̅α̅θ̅κ̅ω̅ ε̅

ḡ̅

2 ϧ̅ρα̅ί̅ ḡ̅ο̅σ̅κ̅ω̅ρ̅ ḡ̅μ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅τ̅α̅τ̅σ̅ο̅
 4 ο̅σ̅η̅· α̅θ̅ω ο̅σ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅τ̅α̅τ̅σ̅β̅ω̅
 6 ḡ̅τ̅ḡ̅ ḡ̅ρ̅α̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅τ̅μο̅ο̅σ̅τ̅· ε̅
 8 α̅θ̅† ϧ̅ί̅ω̅ο̅σ̅ ḡ̅π̅ι̅ρ̅ω̅με̅ ḡ̅β̅ρ̅
 10 ρ̅ε̅ ε̅α̅θ̅σ̅ο̅σ̅ω̅ν̅ π̅ι̅μα̅κα̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅
 12 ε̅τ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅α̅σ̅· α̅θ̅ω ε̅τ̅ζ̅η̅κ̅ ḡ̅τε̅
 14 π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ ḡ̅ψ̅α̅ ε̅νε̅ρ̅ α̅θ̅ω ḡ̅α̅τ̅
 16 τα̅ρ̅ο̅ϥ ḡ̅ḡ̅ π̅ι̅ο̅σ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅η̅ ḡ̅α̅τα̅ρ̅η̅
 18 ζ̅ϥ̅ ε̅τε̅ α̅νο̅κ̅ πε̅· ε̅α̅ί̅ε̅ί̅ ψ̅α̅
 20 ḡ̅ε̅τε̅ νο̅σ̅ε̅ι̅ ḡ̅ε̅ α̅θ̅ω ε̅α̅ί̅ρ̅ω̅
 22 τ̅ḡ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅α̅σ̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅α̅ί̅· ε̅σ̅ρ̅ χ̅ρ̅ι̅α̅
 24 ḡ̅ρ̅α̅ρ̅ ḡ̅ψ̅α̅ζε̅ α̅η̅· ḡ̅ε̅ρε̅τε̅ν̅
 26 ε̅η̅νο̅ι̅α̅ ρ̅α̅ρ̅ ψ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ḡ̅ḡ̅ τε̅σ̅ε̅ν̅
 28 ḡ̅ο̅ι̅α̅· ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ πα̅ί̅ α̅θ̅ḡ̅ḡ̅ ε̅π̅η̅ ε̅
 30 τε̅ ψ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅ϥ̅· ζ̅ε̅ α̅η̅ψ̅ο̅ζ̅η̅ε̅
 32 ρ̅α̅ρ̅ ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ π̅β̅ω̅λ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ḡ̅τε̅ ḡ̅ι̅
 34 α̅ρ̅χ̅ω̅ν̅· α̅θ̅ω ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ πα̅ί̅ α̅ί̅ε̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅
 36 ḡ̅π̅ο̅σ̅ω̅ψ̅ ḡ̅π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ ε̅τε̅ α̅νο̅κ̅
 38 πε̅· ε̅α̅η̅ε̅ί̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ϧ̅ḡ̅ πε̅η̅η̅ε̅ι̅·
 40 ε̅α̅η̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅ρ̅ρα̅ί̅ ε̅πε̅ί̅κ̅ο̅σ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅·
 42 α̅θ̅ω α̅η̅ψ̅ω̅πε̅ ϧ̅ḡ̅ π̅ι̅κ̅ο̅σ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅
 44 ϧ̅ḡ̅ ḡ̅ι̅σ̅ω̅μα̅· α̅θ̅μ̅ε̅σ̅τ̅ω̅ν̅ α̅θ̅ω

58,26 Ms. ḡ̅ρ̅ο̅μ̅τ̅ for ḡ̅ρ̅ο̅μ̅τ̅ (scribal metathesis).

58,27-34 Cf. Matt 27:51-53. *Treat. Seth* develops Matthew's reference to resurrection at the time of the crucifixion, ignoring "after his resurrection" (Matt 27:53).

26 to the cross, and they fastened him with
 four nails of bronze. The
 veil (καταπέτασμα) of his temple
 28 he tore with his hands. There was a
 trembling that overcame
 30 the chaos (χάος) of the earth,
 for (γάρ) the souls (ψυχή) which were
 32 in the sleep below were released,
 and they were resurrected. They walked about
 34 boldly (παρρησία), having laid

59

aside jealousy of ignorance
 2 and unlearnedness
 beside the dead tombs,
 4 having put on the new man,
 having come to know that blessed (μακάριος)
 6 and perfect one of
 the eternal and incomprehensible Father
 8 and of the boundless light,
 which I am. When I came to
 10 my own and joined
 them with myself, there was no need (χρεία)
 12 for many words,
 for (γάρ) our thought (έννοια) was with their
 14 thought (έννοια); on this account they understood what
 I was saying, for (γάρ) we took counsel
 16 concerning the destruction of the
 archons (άρχων). And on this account I did
 18 the will of the Father, which I am.
 When we went forth from our home,
 20 when we came down to this world (κόσμος)
 and came into being in the world (κόσμος)
 22 in bodies (σώμα), we were hated

59,16-17 "destruction of the archons": Cf. *Orig. World* 125,25-31, where the incarnation of the elect destroys the realm of the archons (also 124,7-8); *Irenaeus Adv. haer.* 1.24.1 "Jesus was sent by the Father that ... he might destroy the works of the makers of the world."

24 ἀσπῶτ̄ ἡ̄σων· οὗ̄ μονον
 24 ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ἡ̄ατσοοσ̄ν· ἀλλὰ εβολ
 ῶ̄ιτ̄ἡ̄ ΝΗ ΟΗ ΕΤΜΕΕΣΕ ΖΕ ΣΕ
 26 ῤεσπορῑ ἁ̄πραν ἁ̄πεχ̄ς εσ
 ῤοσειτ̄ ῶ̄ἡ̄ οὗ̄μ̄η̄τατσοοσ̄ν
 28 ενσεσοοσ̄ν ἁ̄μοοσ̄ αν ΖΕ
 ΝΙΜ ΝΕ· ἡ̄θε ἡ̄ρεντ̄β̄νοοσε
 30 ἡ̄ατ̄ϣαζε· ΝΗ ἡ̄τασ̄ρ̄ ῤ̄μ̄ρε
 εβολ ῶ̄ιτοοτ̄· ῤασπῶτ̄ ἡ̄
 32 σωοσ̄ εσμοστε ἁ̄μοοσ̄·
 ΝΗ ΕΤΕ εϣωπε εσϣανϣω
 34 τ̄μ̄ ἁ̄προ εσναριμε ῶ̄ἡ̄ οσα
 ῤαρομ εμ̄ἡ̄ ρησ̄ ἡ̄ρητ̄ϣ̄ ΖΕ
 ἁ̄
 ἁ̄ποσσοσ̄ων̄τ̄ ῶ̄ἡ̄ οσζωκ·
 2 ἀλλὰ ασ̄ρ̄ ῶ̄μ̄ραλ̄ ἡ̄σοεισ̄ σνασ̄
 ἁ̄ἡ̄ οὗ̄μ̄η̄η̄ϣε· ἀλλὰ τετ̄η̄α
 4 ζρο ῶ̄ἡ̄ ρωβ̄ ΝΙΜ ρραῖ̄ ῶ̄ἡ̄ οσ
 πολεμοσ̄ ἁ̄ἡ̄ ρενἁ̄λοοσ̄·
 6 ἁ̄ἡ̄ οσπωϣε ἡ̄τε οσκωρ
 ἁ̄ἡ̄ οσσων̄τ̄· ἀλλὰ ῶ̄μ̄ πισο
 8 οστ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄τε τ̄ἡ̄αγαλη ενϣο
 οπ̄ ἡ̄ατ̄κασια ἡ̄ακεραιοσ̄
 10 ἡ̄αγαθοσ̄· εσἡ̄ταν̄ ἡ̄οσμε
 εσε ἡ̄τε πιωτ̄ ῶ̄ἡ̄ οσμοσ̄
 12 τηριον̄ ἡ̄ατ̄ϣαζε ἁ̄μοσ̄·
 νεοσσωβε γαρ̄ πε· ανοκ
 14 ετ̄ρ̄μ̄ἡ̄τρε ΖΕ νεοσσωβε
 πε· ενσεσοοσ̄ν αν ἡ̄σι ἡ̄
 16 αρχων̄ ΖΕ οσρωτ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄ατ̄
 ῤαζε ἁ̄μοσ̄ πε ἡ̄τε οσἁ̄ἡ̄

59,23-24 Perhaps μονον «εβολ ῶ̄ιτ̄ἡ̄· ΝΗ ΕΤΕ (with Painchaud).

59,24 “ignorant”: Cf. note to 57,20. These are, apparently, pagan non-Christians, the “hylics” (“material people”), as opposed to the “soulish” and the “spiritual,” in the three-fold system of Valentinus: cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.6.2.

59,26 “advancing the name of Christ”: Cf. *Apoc. Adam* 77,18-22 “use the name in error”; *Apoc. Peter* 79,22-31: “those who are outside our number who

and persecuted, not only (οὐ μόνον)
 24 (by) those who are ignorant, but (ἀλλά)
 by those also who think that they
 26 are advancing (εὐπορεῖν) the name of Christ,
 since they are vain in ignorance.
 28 They do not know
 who they are, like unreasoning beasts.
 30 Those who were set free
 by me they persecute,
 32 since they hate them—
 those who, if they shut
 34 their mouth, would weep with
 groaning without profit because
 60
 they did not know me completely.
 2 Instead (ἀλλά), they served two masters,
 even a multitude. But (ἀλλά) you (pl.) will
 4 be victorious in everything, in
 war (πόλεμος) and battles
 6 and schism of jealousy
 and anger. But (ἀλλά) in the
 8 uprightness of our love (ἀγάπη) we are
 without deceit (-κακία), pure (ἀκέραιος),
 10 good (ἀγαθός), having the mind
 of the Father in an ineffable
 12 mystery (μυστήριον).
 For (γάρ) it (the world) was a laughingstock. It is I
 14 who bear witness that it was a laughingstock—
 since the archons (ἄρχων) do not know
 16 that it is an ineffable union
 of

name themselves bishop and deacon.” The orthodox, in the system of
 Valentinus, are the “soulish,” destined for a lower heaven (the
 “intermediate” place), who are required to keep the laws of morality: cf.
 Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.6.4 and 6.

60,2 “two masters”: A reference to Matt 6:24 (“No one can serve two
 masters”), here referring to Christ and Yaldabaoth, and to his minions (the
 “multitude” of 60,3).

18 τμε ἡατ̄ζωῶμ· ἡθε ετ̄ψο
 οπ ῶἡ ἡψ̄ηρε ἡτε ποσοειν
 20 ετε ᾱσταμιο ἡο̄σαντιμι
 μον ἡτοοτ̄ς· εᾱστατο
 22 ἡο̄σβω ἡτε ο̄σρεγμοοστ̄
 ἡἡ ρενβολ· δειμε ἡ†ἡἡτ̄ρ̄μ
 24 ρε ἡἡ τ̄μἡτ̄ακεραιοσ ἡτε
 †εκκλησια ἡτελειοσ· ε̄σ
 26 ρωτ̄π· ἡμοοσ ῶἡ τεσβω·
 ε̄σροτε ἡἡ ο̄σἡἡτ̄ῶμραλ·
 28 ἡἡ ρενραρεϋ ἡκοσμικον
 ἡἡ ο̄σψ̄μψε εγνηζ εβολ
 30 ε̄σοβ̄κ ἡατ̄βω· ενσε
 ψωπ εροοσ αν ἡ†ἡἡτ̄
 32 ε̄στενησ ἡτε †ἡἡτ̄με·
 ε̄σμοστε ἡπετοσψο
 34 οπ ἡμοϋ· ᾱσω ε̄σμε ἡ
 πετοσψοοπ ἡμοϋ αν·
 36 οσ ραρ ἡποσσοσων †

ζα

Γνωσις ἡτε †ἡἡτ̄ηνοσ·
 2 ζε εσψοοπ εβολ ἡπ̄σαντπε
 ἡἡ ο̄σπηγη ἡτε τμε· ᾱσω
 4 ο̄σεβολ ῶἡ ο̄σἡἡτ̄ῶμραλ
 αν τε ἡἡ ο̄σκωρ· ᾱσω ο̄σ
 6 ροτε ἡἡ ο̄σωψε ἡτε ο̄σ
 ρσ̄λη ἡκοσμικον· πη ραρ
 8 ετε ἡπωσ αν πε ἡἡ πη ε

- 60,20 "imitation": The archons established an imitation church (= "orthodoxy") on the model of the true heavenly Church which is expressed on earth by the "perfect assembly" (60,25) of the gnostic elect. This imitation church is based on the Jewish Law (61,13; 64,2-3) and the "doctrine of a dead man" (60,22), i.e., the use of the LXX as scripture and the kerygma of the cross.
- 60,22 "the doctrine of a dead man": Cf. notes to 49,26 and 60,20.
- 60,26 Ms. ρωτ̄β for ρωτ̄π.
- 60,27 "fear and slavery": Characteristic of the imitation orthodox church is "fear and slavery and worldly concerns and discarded worship," in contrast to the true church which expressly does not have such characteristics (61,4-

18 undefiled truth, like that which exists
 among the children of the light,
 20 of which they made an imitation (ἀντίμιμον),
 proclaiming
 22 the doctrine of a dead man
 and falsehoods to resemble the freedom
 24 and purity (-ἀκέραιος) of
 the perfect (τέλειος) assembly (ἐκκλησία),
 26 uniting themselves in their doctrine
 to fear and slavery
 28 and worldly (κοσμικόν) concerns
 and discarded worship,
 30 being few (and) uninstructed. They do not
 accept for themselves the
 32 nobility (-εὐγενής) of the truth,
 hating the one for whom
 34 they exist and loving
 the one for whom they do not exist.
 36 For (γάρ) they did not (οὐ) know the

61

Gnosis (γνώσις) of the Greatness,
 2 that it is from above
 and (from) the fountain (πηγή) of truth. And
 4 it is not from slavery
 and jealousy and
 6 fear and love of
 worldly (κοσμικόν) matter (ὕλη). For (γάρ) that
 8 which is not theirs and that which

-
- 7). Yet the orthodox try to lead astray the elect into their "fear" and
 "slavery" (61,22-24), which is based on the Jewish Law (64,4).
 60,30 "few": εἴκοσθε means primarily "few." It may also mean "of little
 account" and therefore be used of a group numerically larger but
 unimportant in the view of the author. If so, however, the orthodox must
 not be much more numerous. In 69,12 the term κοῦτοι is used in a similar
 phrase, "small, young, few, little."
 61,1 "Gnosis": The Greek word γνώσις is here clearly a *terminus technicus* for
 the "inner knowledge of enlightenment" which constitutes the goal of
 gnostic instruction. Cf. 68,1, the only other occurrence of the term in
Treat. Seth.
 61,6 Ms. οἴωμε for οἴοσθε.

τε πωσ̄ πε εἰρ̄χρασθαῖ ἡ
 10 ρητῆ̄ εἰς̄ ὁσ̄ρτε ἡ̄ ὁσ̄μ̄
 τῶ̄μᾱρε· ματ̄ρεπιθ̄σ̄μῑ σε
 12 ὁσ̄η̄τασ̄ εἰς̄ ὁσ̄ια· ἄσ̄ω ὁσ̄
 νομο̄σ̄ εἰς̄ ἡ̄μο̄σ̄ εἰς̄
 14 ἡ̄ εἰς̄ ὁσ̄η̄τασ̄ ὡ̄σ̄ ἡ̄
 δε̄ εἰς̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄τασ̄ ὡ̄σ̄ ἡ̄
 16 ἡ̄σ̄ι ἡ̄ εἰς̄ ἡ̄ ὡ̄σ̄ ἡ̄
 ἄ̄· ἄσ̄ω ὡ̄σ̄ ἡ̄
 18 ὡ̄σ̄ ὡ̄σ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ εἰς̄
 τῶ̄σ̄ εἰς̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 20 τῶ̄σ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ρε· ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 22 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ἡ̄ρε· ἄσ̄ω ὁσ̄ρτε· παῖ̄ εἰς̄
 24 ὡ̄σ̄ ὡ̄ ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 δε̄ εἰς̄ ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ὡ̄
 26 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ἡ̄· εἰς̄ ἡ̄ εἰς̄ ἡ̄
 28 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 δε̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 30 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ εἰς̄ ἡ̄
 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 32 δε̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 34 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 36 ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ἡ̄
 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 2 ὡ̄ ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 ἡ̄· ὡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄

61,13 "law": The Law which commands "Do not covet," i.e., the Ten commandments of the Jewish Law. Cf. 64,3 of the dietary rules. The orthodox are bound "to practice continence and good works" because they are merely "soulish," and do not have the indwelling divine seed, according to the system of Valentinus (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.6.4).

61,23-24 "fear ... slavery": Cf. *Apoc. Adam* 72,21ff., where Noah instructs his sons "to serve him ("God the Almighty", the Jewish God = Yaldabaoth) in fear and slavery all the days of your life."

is theirs they use (χρᾶσθαι)
 10 without fear and with freedom.
 They do not covet (ἐπιθυμεῖν) because
 12 they have authority (ἐξουσία) and a
 law (νόμος) from themselves over
 14 the things which they would desire.
 But (δέ) those who do not have are poor,
 16 namely, those who do not possess something
 and yet they desire it. And they
 18 lead astray those who through
 them are like those who have
 20 the truth of their freedom,
 so as to constrain us under a
 22 yoke and compulsion (ἀνάγκη) of
 concern and fear. This one
 24 is in slavery.
 And (δέ) this one who is brought by
 26 compulsion (ἀνάγκη) of violence (βία) and threat
 (ἀπειλή) has been guarded by
 28 God. But (δέ) the noble-born one (εὐγενής)
 of the Fatherhood
 30 is not guarded, since he guards that which
 is his own by himself, without
 32 word or compulsion (ἀνάγκη). He is united
 with his will, this one who is of the
 34 thought (ἔννοια) alone of the Fatherhood,
 that (the Fatherhood) may become perfect (τέλειος)
 36 and unutterable (ἄρρητον) through
 62
 the living water, if it exists
 2 in wisdom among yourselves
 not only (οὐ μόνον) in word

61,28 "God": The title is reserved in *Treat. Seth* for Yaldabaoth, who alone declares that he is "god" (53,30; 64,19.23). The contrast here is between the god of the lower cosmos who claims high god status over against the Father, the true highest God.

61,28 "noble-born one": The elect are "born from above" and not under the guardianship of Yaldabaoth. They instead have within themselves "that which is their own" (62,30-31), the substance of the Father as "thoughts which had come out of the undefiled Spirit" (50,14-15).

4 $\overline{\text{MPCOTM}}$ · $\overline{\text{ALLA}}$ $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{OTRWB}}$
 $\overline{\text{MN}}$ $\overline{\text{OTWAZE}}$ $\overline{\text{EYCHK}}$ $\overline{\text{EBOA}}$ ·
 6 $\overline{\text{CEMPWA}}$ $\overline{\text{TAP}}$ $\overline{\text{NCMNTOO}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$
 $\overline{\text{FZE}}$ $\overline{\text{NBI}}$ $\overline{\text{NITELIOS}}$ · $\overline{\text{ATW}}$ $\overline{\text{NCE}}$
 8 $\overline{\text{ZOTPI}}$ $\overline{\text{NMMAEI}}$ · $\overline{\text{ZE}}$ $\overline{\text{NNOOZI}}$
 $\overline{\text{EBOA}}$ $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{MMNTZAZE}}$ $\overline{\text{NIM}}$ · $\overline{\text{ON}}$
 10 $\overline{\text{OTMNTWBHR}}$ $\overline{\text{ENANOTOS}}$ · $\overline{\text{EI}}$
 $\overline{\text{EIRE}}$ $\overline{\text{NROW}}$ $\overline{\text{NIM}}$ $\overline{\text{OM}}$ $\overline{\text{PIATATHOS}}$ ·
 12 $\overline{\text{PAI}}$ $\overline{\text{TAP}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}$ $\overline{\text{PZOTPI}}$ $\overline{\text{NTE}}$ $\overline{\text{FMN}}$
 $\overline{\text{TME}}$ · $\overline{\text{ZE}}$ $\overline{\text{NNEΛAAT}}$ $\overline{\text{NANTIKI}}$
 14 $\overline{\text{MENOC}}$ $\overline{\text{WUPE}}$ $\overline{\text{NAT}}$ · $\overline{\text{PH}}$ $\overline{\text{DE}}$
 $\overline{\text{THRP}}$ $\overline{\text{ETE}}$ $\overline{\text{WAZPWUPE}}$ $\overline{\text{ATW}}$
 16 $\overline{\text{EYNABN}}$ $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{ZHTO}}$ $\overline{\text{THROO}}$ $\overline{\text{AN}}$ ·
 $\overline{\text{ZE}}$ $\overline{\text{WAZPWUPE}}$ · $\overline{\text{ATW}}$ $\overline{\text{NTO}}$
 18 $\overline{\text{WBHR}}$ $\overline{\text{AN}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}$ · $\overline{\text{WAZP}}$ $\overline{\text{ZAZE}}$ $\overline{\text{ERO}}$
 $\overline{\text{OT}}$ $\overline{\text{THROO}}$ · $\overline{\text{PH}}$ $\overline{\text{DE}}$ $\overline{\text{ETWOOPI}}$
 20 $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{OT}}$ $\overline{\text{METE}}$ $\overline{\text{MN}}$ $\overline{\text{OTMNT}}$
 $\overline{\text{WBHR}}$ $\overline{\text{NTE}}$ $\overline{\text{OTMNTMAEICON}}$
 22 $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{OTFOTCIC}}$ $\overline{\text{ATW}}$ $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{OTKW}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$
 $\overline{\text{ZRAI}}$ $\overline{\text{AN}}$ · $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{OTPTHRP}}$ · $\overline{\text{ATW}}$ $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{OTMEROC}}$ $\overline{\text{AN}}$ · $\overline{\text{PAI}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}$ $\overline{\text{PIOTWU}}$
 24 $\overline{\text{NAME}}$ $\overline{\text{NTE}}$ $\overline{\text{PIWT}}$ · $\overline{\text{PAI}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}$ $\overline{\text{PI}}$
 $\overline{\text{KATHOLIKON}}$ $\overline{\text{MN}}$ $\overline{\text{FAGALPH}}$ $\overline{\text{ET}}$
 26 $\overline{\text{CHK}}$ · $\overline{\text{NEOTCOWE}}$ $\overline{\text{TAP}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}$ $\overline{\text{ADAM}}$
 28 $\overline{\text{NTASTAMIOY}}$ $\overline{\text{PARA}}$ $\overline{\text{PWALD}}$
 $\overline{\text{NNOOTTOPOC}}$ $\overline{\text{NTE}}$ $\overline{\text{OTRWME}}$
 30 $\overline{\text{EBOA}}$ $\overline{\text{ZITOOTY}}$ $\overline{\text{MPIMEZCA}}$
 $\overline{\text{WY}}$ · $\overline{\text{ZOC}}$ $\overline{\text{EAWUPE}}$ $\overline{\text{EYZOOP}}$
 32 $\overline{\text{EZWI}}$ $\overline{\text{MN}}$ $\overline{\text{NACNHT}}$ · $\overline{\text{ANON}}$
 $\overline{\text{ENWOOPI}}$ $\overline{\text{IATKASTIA}}$ $\overline{\text{WAPROY}}$
 34 $\overline{\text{ENPINR}}$ $\overline{\text{NOBE}}$ · $\overline{\text{NEOTCOWE}}$
 $\overline{\text{DE}}$ $\overline{\text{PE}}$ $\overline{\text{ABRAZAM}}$ · $\overline{\text{MN}}$ $\overline{\text{ICAAK}}$
 36 $\overline{\text{MN}}$ $\overline{\text{IACKWB}}$ · $\overline{\text{EAT}}$ $\overline{\text{RAN}}$ $\overline{\text{EROOT}}$
 $\overline{\text{EBOA}}$ $\overline{\text{ZITM}}$ $\overline{\text{PIMEZCAWY}}$ $\overline{\text{NBI}}$

62,26 "universal": Greek καθολικόν, and perhaps also a reference to "catholic" as used by the orthodox.

62,29 Ms. $\overline{\text{NNOOTTOPOC}}$ for $\overline{\text{NCOTTOPOC}}$.

62,29 Adam as "image of a pattern": Cf. *Ap. John* II 14,21-34; *Hyp. Arch.* 87,13-32.

4 of hearing but (ἀλλά) in deed
 and fulfilled word.
 6 For (γάρ) the perfect (τέλειος) are worthy to be
 established in this way. And they are
 8 joined with me in order that they may not share
 in any enmity. In
 10 a wholesome friendship I
 accomplish everything in the Good One (ἀγαθός),
 12 for (γάρ) this is the joining of truth,
 that they should have no adversary (ἀντικείμενος).
 14 But (δέ) everyone
 who causes division—and
 16 he will learn none of their wisdom
 because he causes division and
 18 is not a friend—he is an enemy to
 them all. But (δέ) the one who lives
 20 in agreement and friendship
 of brotherly love
 22 by nature (φύσις) and not by decree,
 wholly and
 24 not in part (μέρος), this one is truly the will
 of the Father. This one is the
 26 universal (καθολικόν) and the perfect love (ἀγάπη).
 For (γάρ) Adam was a laughingstock,
 28 and he was created from (παρά) the image
 of a pattern (τύπος) of a man
 30 by the Hebdomad,
 as though (ὡς) he had become stronger
 32 than I and my brethren. We
 are innocent (-κακία) with respect to him,
 34 since we did not sin. And (δέ) Abraham was a laughing
 stock, and Isaac
 36 and Jacob, since they were given a name
 by the Hebdomad, namely

62,30-31 "Hebdomad": Yaldabaoth. Properly signifying the number "seven," the name occurs five times in *Treat. Seth*, all found here in this passage (62,30-31.37; 63,7.14.22). In Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.5.2 it is the name of the Demiurge, and in *Orig. World* 101,27-28 it is another name for Yaldabaoth.

38 $\bar{\eta}$ εΙΟΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΨΩΛ̄Θ̄· ρΩC

$\bar{\xi}\bar{\tau}$

εΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΖΟΟΡ ΕΞΩΪ
 2 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ ΝΑΣΝΗΘ̄· ΔΝΟΝ ΕΝΕ $\bar{\eta}$
 ΑΤΚΑΣΙΑ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΕΜΠ̄Ν̄Ρ ΝΟ
 4 ΒΕ· ΝΕΟΤCΩΒΕ ΠΕ ΔΑΤΕΙΔ
 ΕΑΘ̄† ΡΑΝ ΕΠΕΨΗΡΕ ΖΕ ΠΨΗ
 6 ΡΕ $\bar{\mu}$ ΠΡΩΜΕ· ΕΑΘ̄Ρ̄ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ
 ΕΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ρ̄ΙΤ̄Η ΠΙΜΕΡCΑΨ̄Υ·
 8 ρΩC ΕΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΖΟΟΡ ΕΞΩΪ
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ ΝΑΨΒ̄Ρ̄ ΗΓΕΝΟC· ΔΝΟΝ
 10 ΔΕ ΕΝΟ $\bar{\eta}$ ΑΤΚΑΣΙΑ ΨΑΡΟΥ $\bar{\mu}$
 Π̄Ν̄Ρ̄ ΝΟΒΕ· ΝΕΟΤCΩΒΕ ΠΕ CΘ
 12 ΛΟΜΩΝ ΕΥΜΕΕΤΕ ΖΕ ΟΘ̄Χ̄C
 ΠΕ· ΕΑΨΔΙCΕ $\bar{\eta}$ ΡΗΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ρ̄ΙΤ̄Η
 14 ΠΙΜΕΡCΑΨ̄Υ· ρΩC ΕΑΨΩΠΕ
 ΕΥΖΟΟΡ ΕΞΩΪ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ ΝΑΣΝΗΘ̄·
 16 ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΕ $\bar{\eta}$ ΑΤΚΑΣΙΑ ΨΑ
 ΡΟΥ $\bar{\mu}$ Π̄ΙΡ̄ ΝΟΒΕ· ΝΕΡΕΝCΩ
 18 ΒΕ ΝΕ ΝΙΒ̄ $\bar{\mu}$ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΑΘ̄
 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{\eta}$ ΑΝΤΙΜΙΜΟΝ $\bar{\eta}$ ΤΕ
 20 ΝΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ $\bar{\mu}$ ΜΕ· ΑΘ̄ΨΩ
 ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΨΩΛ̄Θ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ρ̄ΙΤ̄ΟΟ
 22 Τ̄Υ $\bar{\mu}$ ΠΙΜΕΡCΑΨ̄Υ· ρΩC Ε
 ΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΖΟΟΡ ΕΞΩΕΙ
 24 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ ΝΑΣΝΗΘ̄· ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΟ
 $\bar{\eta}$ ΑΤΚΑΣΙΑ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΕΜΠ̄Ν̄Ρ ΝΟ
 26 ΒΕ· ΝΕΟΤCΩΒΕ ΠΕ ΜΩϑ̄
 CΗC ΟΘ̄ϑ̄Μ̄Ρ̄ΔΑΛ $\bar{\mu}$ ΠΙCΤΟC
 28 ΕΑΘ̄† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΕ ΠΨΒ̄ΗΡ·
 ΕΑΘ̄Ρ̄ $\bar{\mu}$ ΗΤΡΕ ΕΤΒΗΝΤ̄Υ ρ̄Η
 30 ΟΘ̄ $\bar{\mu}$ ΗΤ̄ΨΑΨΤΕ· ΕΤΕ $\bar{\mu}$ ΠΕΥ

- 63,4 "David": Cf. the negative portrayal of David and Solomon in *Testim. Truth* 70,1-25.
- 63,5-6 David's son as "Son of Man": The standard gospel designation of Jesus as both Son of David (Mark 12:35; Matthew 1:1) and Son of Man (Mark 2:28).
- 63,11 "Solomon": Cf. the negative portrayal of Solomon in *Apoc. Adam* 78,30-79,19.

38 “the fathers from (παρά) the image,” as (ὥς)
 63
 though he had become stronger than I
 2 and my brethren. We are
 innocent (-κακία) with respect to him, since we did
 4 not sin. David was a laughingstock
 since his son was named the Son
 6 of Man, having been activated (ἐνεργεῖν)
 by the Hebdomad,
 8 as though (ὥς) he had become stronger than I
 and the friends of my race.
 10 But we are innocent (-κακία) with respect to him;
 we did not sin. Solomon was a laughingstock,
 12 since he thought that he was Christ,
 having become arrogant through
 14 the Hebdomad, as though (ὥς) he had become
 stronger than I and my brethren.
 16 But (δέ) we are innocent (-κακία) with respect to
 him; I did not sin.
 18 The 12 prophets (προφήτης) were laughingstocks,
 since they have come forth as imitations (ἀντίμιμον) of
 20 the true prophets (προφήτης). They came into being
 from (παρά) the image through
 22 the Hebdomad, as though (ὥς)
 it had become stronger than I
 24 and my brethren. But (δέ) we are
 innocent (-κακία) with respect to it, since we did not
 26 sin. Moses
 was a laughingstock, a “faithful (πιστός) servant,”
 28 being named “the friend;”
 they bore witness concerning him
 30 in iniquity, since he never

63,18 “prophets”: The prophets were inspired by the angels who made the world in the systems of Simon (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.23.3) and the Sethians (1.30.11). Cf. Hippolytus *Ref.* 6.14.

63,26-28 “Moses”: Cf. Hebrews 3:5 for Moses as “faithful servant” and James 2:23 for “friend of God.”

- knew me. Neither (οὔτε) he
 32 nor (οὔτε) those before him, from
 Adam to Moses and
 34 John the Baptist (βαπτιστής),
 none of them knew me nor (οὔτε)
 64
 my brethren. For (γάρ) a doctrine
 2 of angels (ἄγγελος) is what arose through them,
 to keep dietary rules and
 4 bitter slavery. They never
 knew truth
 6 nor (οὔτε) will they know it,
 for (γάρ) there is a great deception
 8 upon their soul (ψυχή), and they have no ability
 to find a mind (νοῦς) of
 10 freedom ever, in order to know
 him, until they come to know the Son
 12 of Man. But (δέ) concerning my Father,
 I am the one whom the world (κόσμος)
 14 did not know, and on this account,
 it rose up against me and my brethren.
 16 But (δέ) we are innocent (-κακία) with respect to
 it; we did not sin.
 18 For (γάρ) the Archon (ἄρχων) was a laughingstock

however, are inimical spirits, and their Law is a means to enslave humanity. It is given to Moses by Yaldabaoth (Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.30.11).

- 64,11-12 "Son of Man": "Man" is one designation of the highest God (cf. 53,3-5), and Christ is therefore "Son of Man" (cf. 65,19 and 69,21-22). Cf. *Ap. John* II 14,14-15; *Gcs. Eg.* III 59,3.
- 64,18 "the Archon": Yaldabaoth. Cf. notes to 51,26ff. and 53,20.
- 64,19-26 The quotation is a free rendering of Isa 45:5-6 and 44:6, coupled with Exod 20:5 ("jealous ... fourth generation"). Cf. note to 53,30.

20 ΖΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΨΤΕ· ΔΨΩ
 ΜΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΕΔΥ ΕΡΟΪ· ΔΝΟΚ ΟΨ
 ΔΔΤ ΠΕ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΖΟΕΙΣ· ΔΨΩ
 22 ΜΜΝ ΚΕΟΨΑ ΝΨΑ ΔΝΟΚ· ΔΝΟΚ
 ΟΨΝΟΨΤΕ ΝΨΕΥΚΩΖ ΕΨΔΕΙ
 24 ΕΙΝΕ ΝΨΝΟΒΕ ΝΨΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΡΡΑΪ
 ΕΖΝ ΝΨΨΗΡΕ ΨΔ ΨΟΜΤΕ ΜΝ
 26 ΨΤΟ ΝΨΕΝΕΔ ρΩΣ ΕΔΨΨΩ
 ΠΕ ΕΨΖΟΟΡ ΕΖΩΪ ΜΝ ΝΑΣΝΗ
 28 ΟΨ ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΟ ΝΔΤΚΑ
 ΣΙΑ ΨΔΡΟΥ ΕΜΠΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ· Ε
 30 ΔΝΡ ΖΟΕΙΣ ΕΤΕΨΣΒΩ ΝΨΡΕ
 ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ρΗ ΟΨΕΟΟΨ ΕΨ
 32 ΨΨΟΨΕΙΤ· ΔΨΩ ΕΨΨ ΜΕΤΕ
 ΔΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΔΨΩ ΝΨΨ
 34 ρΕ ΕΒΟΛ ρΗΤΗ ΤΗΜΝΗΤΨΒΗΡ
 ΔΝΔΜΑΡΤΕ ΝΨΕΨΣΒΩ ΕΨ
 36 ΖΟΨΕ ΝΨΗΤ ΝΨΡΑΪ ρΗ ΟΨΕΟ
 ΟΨ ΕΨΨΟΨΕΙΤ· ΔΨΩ ΕΨ
 38 Ψ ΜΕΤΕ ΔΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ
 ΝΕΟΨΣΩΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΟΨ

ξ̅ε

ΚΡΨΙΣ ΜΝ ΟΨΜΗΤΠΡΟΨΗ
 2 ΤΗΣ ΝΨΟΨΖ· Ω ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΨΕ
 ΝΑΨ ΔΝ ΝΤΕΤΗΝΑΨ ΔΝ ΕΤΕ
 4 ΤΗΜΝΗΤΒΛΛΕ ΖΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΨ
 ΣΟΟΨΗ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΝ· ΟΨΤΕ Μ
 6 ΠΟΨΣΟΨΩΝΨ ΕΝΕΨ· ΟΨΤΕ
 ΜΠΟΨΜΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΨ·
 8 ΜΠΟΨΣΩΤΜ ΕΨΣΩΤΜ ΕΨ
 ΖΟΟΡ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΨΡΜΕΛΕ
 10 ΤΑ ρΗ ΟΨΡΑΠ ΝΨΤΕ ΟΨΠΑΔΝΗ·
 ΔΨΩ ΔΨΤΩΩΝ ΝΨΝΕΨΣΙΖ ΕΤ
 12 ΣΟΟΥ ΝΨΕΨΡΩΤΒ ΕΡΡΑΪ ΕΖΩΨ
 ΝΘΕ ΕΝΕΨρΗΟΨΕ ΝΨΑ ΠΑΗΡ·
 14 ΔΨΩ ΝΙΑΤρΗΤ ΜΝ ΝΙΒΛΛΕΨΕ

because he said, "I am God, and
 20 there is none greater than I. I
 alone am the Father, the Lord, and
 22 there is no other beside me. I
 am a jealous God,
 24 bringing the sins of the fathers
 upon the children for three and
 26 four generations (γενεά)," as though (ὥς) he had
 become stronger than I and my brethren.
 28 But (δέ) we are innocent (-κακία)
 with respect to him; for we did not sin.
 30 Though we mastered his doctrine in this way,
 he lives in conceit,
 32 and he does not agree
 with our Father. And thus
 34 through our friendship
 we prevailed over his doctrine, since he
 36 is arrogant in
 conceit and does
 38 not agree with our Father.
 For he was a laughingstock with (his)

65

judgment (κρίσις) and false prophecy (-προφήτης).
 2 O those who do
 not see! You do not see your
 4 blindness that this is who was
 not known. Neither (οὔτε)
 6 did they ever know him, nor (οὔτε)
 did they understand him.
 8 Concerning him they would not listen to a valid report.
 On this account they trained (μελετᾶν)
 10 in a judgment of error (πλάνη),
 and they raised their
 12 defiled, murderous hands against him
 as if they were striking the air (ἀήρ).
 14 And the senseless and the blind

εσο βαθητ ποσοειψ νιμ
 16 εσο ηρμαραλ ποσοειψ νιμ·
 ποσνομος μη οσροτε
 18 ηκοσμικον· ανοκ οσχρς
 πψηρε ητε πρωμε πιεβολ
 20 μλωτη· ειψοοπ οη τηνε·
 εσψως μμοι εζη τηνε δε
 22 καας ητωτη ρωτητητη
 ετετηαρ πωβψ απιψιβε·
 24 ασω απρωπε ηρωιμε
 δε μετηημισε ηνοσκα
 26 σια μη νισνησ· ηοσκωρ
 μη οσπωψ· οσβωντ
 28 μην οσθσμος· οσροτε
 μη οσπωψ ηρητ μη οσ
 30 επιθσμια εσψοσειτ ες
 ψοοπ αν· ανοκ δε οσμσς
 32 τηριον ηητη πε ηατψα
 δε μμοφ· ειτε ραθη ητ
 34 καταβολη ητε ηκοσμος
 εντασει εσμα ησι παψαι
 36 τηρψ ητε ηεκκλησια ε
 ζη ηιτοπος ητε ηορδαοσ
 ζς
 εασψοσνε ασζι ψελεετ
 2 απηικον εψοοπ οη οσρω
 τη· ασω ηφρε αγζωκ εβολ
 4 οη ηιτοπος ηατψαδε μμο
 οσ εβολ οητη οσψαδε εφοηρ
 6 εσζωκ εβολ απιζι ψελεετ
 ηατζωρμ εβολ οητη ημε
 8 σοτης ητε ης εψζωρζ μμο

65,24 "female": Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 114; *Dial. Sav.* 144,15-22; *1 Apoc. Jas.* 24,27; 35,12-13; 41,15-19; *Zost.* 131,2-10; *Clem. Alex. Exc. Theod.* 79; *Hippolytus Ref.* 5.8.44.

65,28 Ms. μμη for μη.

65,37 "Ogdoad": Found only here in *Treat. Seth*, signifying the eighth sphere of

are senseless always,
 16 being slaves always
 of law (νόμος) and
 18 worldly (κοσμικόν) fear. I am Christ,
 the Son of Man, the one
 20 from you (pl.) who is in you.
 I am despised on your account, in
 22 order that you yourselves
 may forget what is changeable.
 24 And do not become female,
 lest you give birth to their evils (κακία)
 26 and kindred things: to jealousy
 and schism, anger
 28 and wrath (θύμος), fear
 and a divided heart and
 30 vain coveting (ἐπιθυμία) which is not
 fulfilled. But (δέ) I am
 32 an ineffable mystery (μυστήριον) to you.
 Then (εἴτε), before the
 34 foundation (καταβολή) of the world (κόσμος),
 when all the multitude
 36 of the assembly (ἐκκλησία) came together
 upon the places (τόπος) of the Ogdoad (ὄγδοας),
 66
 when they had taken counsel, they married
 2 spiritually (πνευματικόν), which consists in union.
 And thus he became complete
 4 in the ineffable places (τόπος)
 by a living word,
 6 completing the undefiled wedding
 through the medium (μεσότης)
 8 of Jesus, who inhabits

heaven, the realm of the fixed stars and above, where the heavenly
 assembly dwells. Cf. *Orig. World* 105,20-23: "the church which is in the
 Ogdoad."

66,2 "union": The union which existed before division of heavenly image and
 earthly incarnated soul. Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 11, 18-19

10 οὗ τῆροσ ἀσω εἰσαλαρτε
 ἄμοοσ· εἰψοοπ ὅν οὗω
 12 ἡε ἡατῖπωῃε ἡτε οὗσαμ·
 ἡτοϋ δε εἰκωτε εροϋ ψαϋ
 οὗωνῶ εβολ ἡαϋ εἰψοοπ ἡ
 14 οὗμοναϋ ἡτε ἡαῖ τῆροσ·
 οὗμεεσε ἡἡ οὗειωτ· ἡτοϋ
 16 εἰψοοπ ἡοσα· ἀσω εἰαρε
 ρατῖ ἡασ τῆροσ· ἡτοϋ τῆ
 18 ρῖ εαϋπῖρε εβολ οὗααϋ· ἀσω
 εὗωνῶ πε εαϋεῖ εβολ ὅμ πι
 20 ωτ ἡτε †ἡἡτμε ἡατῖα
 δε ἄμοϋ ἀσω ἡτελειϋ·
 22 ἡτε ἡἡ ετῖπῖμα· πρῶτῖ
 ἡτε †εῖρηἡἡ· ἡἡ οὗψβῆρ
 24 ἡτε ρεἡαταθον· ἡἡ οὗωνῶ
 ἡῖα ενερ ἡἡ οὗτελἡἡ ἡ
 26 ατῖωὅμ· ὅἡ οὗ† μετε εἡα
 ῖωϋ ἡτε οὗωνῶ ἡἡ οὗπῖϋ
 28 τῖϋ εβολ ὅἡτῖ οὗωνῶ ἡῖα
 ενερ ἡτε οὗἡἡτῖεωτ· ἀσω
 30 οὗἡἡτῖμαασ· ἡἡ οὗἡἡτῖ
 ϋἡε· ἡἡ οὗϋοφῖα ἡἡοϋ
 32 κον· ἡεασ† μετε εἡνοσϋ
 εἰπορῖϋ εβολ· εἡἡαπῖρῖϋ
 34 εβολ ὅἡ οὗρῶτῖ εἡτελἡἡ
 ἄμοϋ· ἀσω εϋε ἡδῖοϋμοϋ

Ξ̅̅

2 ἀσω εἰϋωτῖ ὅἡ οὗπῖϋϋ
 εοσα· ἀσω παῖ πε ὅἡ οὗἡἡτῖ
 εἡωτ· ἀσω οὗἡἡτῖμαασ
 4 ἡἡ οὗἡἡτῖϋον ἡἡοϋκον·
 ἀσω οὗϋοφῖα· ἀσω παῖ οὗ
 6 δεῖ ῖελεετ πε ἡτε †ἡἡτμε

66,10-11 Ms. οὗωῃε for οὗοὗωῃε.
 66,19-20 "life ... Father of Truth": Cf. John 14:6.
 66,61-35 Ms. has some ink blotting from facing page. [Ed.]
 66,33 Ms. has ϋ written over σ in εἰπορῖϋ.

all of them and rules
 10 them, abiding in an
 indivisible and powerful love.
 12 And (δέ) he, turning himself,
 appears to himself as
 14 a Monad (μονάς) of all these,
 a thought and a father, since he is
 16 one. And he stands
 apart from them all, since he
 18 as a whole came forth alone. And
 he is life, since he came from the
 20 Father of truth,
 ineffable and perfect (τέλειος),
 22 (the Father) of those who are there, the union
 of peace (εἰρήνη) and a friend
 24 of good things (ἀγαθόν), and life
 eternal and undefiled joy,
 26 in a great agreement
 of life and faith (πίστις),
 28 through eternal life
 of fatherhood and
 30 motherhood and sisterhood
 and rational wisdom (σοφία λογικόν).
 32 They had agreed with a mind (νοῦς),
 that extends itself out (and) will extend
 34 out in joyful union.
 And he is esteemed (δοκιμός)

67

and listens to one in faith (πίστις).
 2 And this is in fatherhood
 and motherhood
 4 and rational (λογικόν) brotherhood
 and wisdom (σοφία). And this is a
 6 wedding of truth

67,4 "brotherhood": Cf. 66,30 where this term is replaced by "sisterhood." Gibbon (*Commentary*, 283) postulates that both terms translate the same Greek word, ἀδελφότης.

67,6 "wedding": Cf. note to 57,14.

8 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\phi}\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$
 8 $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ · $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\dagger}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ · $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\theta}$
 10 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\dagger}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$
 12 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\gamma}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$
 14 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\psi}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\nu}$
 16 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ · $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$
 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ · $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$
 18 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omicron}$
 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}$ · $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$
 20 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$
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 22 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\theta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ · $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\psi}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omicron}$
 24 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\dagger}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$
 26 $\bar{\psi}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}$ · $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}$
 28 $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\dagger}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ · $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\dagger}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ · $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\dagger}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$
 30 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}$ · $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ · $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$
 32 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\psi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}$
 34 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ · $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\nu}$
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\gamma}$
 36 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ · $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$

- 67,17 "banquet": $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ may mean the Latin *dapes*, "a solemn feast for religious purposes, a banquet" (cf. Greek $\delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$). In view is the $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}$ meal, the Christian Eucharist and prefiguring of the Messianic banquet. Cf. Jude 12; Rev 19:9.
- 67,18-19 "the One who is": $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}$, a title for Yahweh, the God of Israel in Exod 3:14 (LXX), and Jesus in Rev 1:4, 8; 4:8; 11:17; 16:5. Cf. *Treat. Seth* 68,12.
- 67,22-25 "undivided ... divided": The soul became "divided" from its original unity with its heavenly image upon descent to earth and incarnation, and regains unity in two phases: 1) through the ritual of the Bridal Chamber performed

8 and a repose of incorruption (ἀφθαρσία),
 in a spirit (πνεῦμα) of truth,
 in every mind (νοῦς), and a
 10 perfect light in an
 unnamed mystery (μυστήριον).
 12 But (δέ) this is not, nor (οὔδε)
 will it happen among us
 14 in any region (μέρος) or place (τόπος),
 in division and rending
 16 of peace (εἰρήνη). But (δέ) (it is) a union
 and a banquet of love (ἀγάπη),
 18 all of them being perfected in the One who is.
 It (love) also was in the places (τόπος)
 20 below heaven as they joined
 with them. Those who knew me
 22 in salvation and an undivided state,
 and those who existed
 24 for the glory of the Father
 and the Truth, having been divided,
 26 blended into the One
 through the living word.
 28 And I exist in the spirit (πνεῦμα)
 and the truth of the
 30 motherhood, since it (union) was there,
 just as I was among those
 32 who are united in the friendship
 of friends at all times.
 34 Nor (οὔδε) do they know
 enmity at all,
 36 nor evil (κακία), but (δέ) are united

on earth in the assembly of the earthly elect; 2) upon death and reascent to
 heaven, where it again puts on its "robe" in the heavenly assembly (see
 note to 57,14). Here earthly elect individuals are addressed in both pre-
 and post-ritual states. Cf. in *Gos. Thom.* the disciple as the "single,
 unified one" (4, 22, 23), the "solitary, unique one" (Greek μοναχός: 16,
 49, 75); also 106: "When you make the two one ..."; 61: "if [the disciple]
 is divided, he will be filled with darkness."

67,30

"motherhood": Cf. note to 49,13.

67,32-36

Ms. has some ink blotting from facing page. [Ed.]

2̄Η
 ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄Σ Ν̄ΤΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ
 2 Ω̄Ν Ο̄ΣΨΑΞΕ Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΕΙΡΗΝΗ
 ΕΨΥΟΟΠ Ω̄Ν Ο̄ΣΜ̄ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 4 Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΟΝ ΝΙΜ̄ ᾹΣΩ Ν̄ΡΑῙ Ν̄
 Ω̄ΗΤΟ̄Σ ΤΗΡΟ̄Σ ᾹΣΩ ΝΗ Ν̄ΤᾹΣ
 6 ΞΙ ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΑΤ̄ΣΠΟΣ Ε̄ΣΝΑΞΙ
 ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΑΨΑΞΕ ΝΑΪ ΜΕΝ Ε̄Σ
 8 ΝΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Ν Ο̄ΣΟΕΙΝ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΩ̄
 Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΜ̄ΝΤΨΒ̄ΗΡ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΕ
 10 ΡΗ̄Σ Ω̄Μ ΠΙΠ̄ΝᾹ ΕᾹΣΕΙΜΕ Ν̄ΡΑῙ
 Ω̄Ν Ω̄Β ΝΙΜ̄ Ω̄Ν Ο̄ΣΜ̄ΝΤᾹΤΠΩ
 12 ΨΕ ΔΕ Ο̄ΣΑ ΠΕΨΥΟΟΠ ᾹΣΩ
 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟ̄Σ Ο̄ΣΑ ΝΕ ᾹΣΩ Ν̄†
 14 Ω̄Ε Ε̄ᾹΣ ΞΙ ΣΒΩ ΕΠΟ̄ΣΑ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄
 †ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΟ̄ΣΗΩ̄ Ν̄
 16 Ω̄ΗΤ̄Σ ΨΥΟΟΠ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΙΩ̄Τ
 Ν̄ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟ̄Σ Ε̄ΣᾹ† ΨΙ ΕΡΟΥ
 18 ΠΕ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΨΒ̄ΤΨ̄ Ο̄ΣΝΟ̄Σ
 Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΨΑΞΕ Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΠΩΨΕ
 20 Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΚΩΩ̄ Μ̄Ν Ο̄ΣΚΡΩΜ̄
 Ο̄ΣΑ ΔΕ ΤΗΡ̄Ψ ΠΕ ΕΨΥΟΟΠ Μ̄
 22 ΠΤΗΡ̄Ψ Ν̄Μ̄ΜᾹΣ ΤΗΡΟ̄Σ Ω̄Ν Ο̄Σ
 ΣΒΩ Ν̄Ο̄ΣΟΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΑΪ ΤΗ
 24 ΡΟ̄Σ Ε̄ΣΨΥΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Ν Ο̄ΣΠ̄ΝᾹ
 Ν̄Ο̄ΣΩ̄Τ Ω̄ ΝΙΑΤΝᾹΣ Ε̄ΤΒΕ
 26 Ο̄Σ ΠΙΜ̄ΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν
 ΣΟ̄ΣΩ̄ΝΨ̄ Ω̄Ν Ο̄ΣΜ̄ΝΤΜΕ Ν̄
 28 ΤᾹΣΡ̄ ᾹΤ̄ΣΩ̄Τ̄Μ ΔΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΙΑΡΧΩ̄Ν
 Μ̄ΠΚΩΤΕ Ν̄ΙᾹΛΔΑΒΔᾹΩΘ̄ Ε̄ΤΒΕ
 30 †ΕΝΝΟΙΑ Ν̄ΤΑΣΕΙ Ε̄ΡΑῙ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Ν ΤΕΣΩ̄ΝΕ †ΣΟΦΙᾹ

68,1 "Gnosis": In 61,1 the Greek word γνῶσις is a *terminus technicus* for the "inner enlightenment." Here it may mean merely "knowledge," though the translator has left it in Greek transliteration, perhaps showing an understanding of the term as in 61,1. In 69,34-70,1 one finds the Coptic word for "knowledge."

68,8 Ms. Ο̄ΣΟΕΙΝ for Ο̄ΣΟ̄ΣΟΕΙΝ.

68,12 "the One who is": Cf. note to 67,18.

68
 by my Gnosis (γνώσις)
 2 in word and peace (εἰρήνη)
 which exists in perfection (-τέλειος)
 4 with everyone and within
 all of them. And those who
 6 took on the likeness of my form (τύπος) will
 take on the likeness of my word. Indeed (μέν), these
 8 will come forth in light forever,
 and (in) friendship with each other
 10 in the spirit (πνεῦμα), since they have known
 in every respect and in an undivided state
 12 that “the One who is” is one, and
 all of these are one. And thus
 14 they were taught about the One, as well as
 the assembly (ἐκκλησία) and those who dwelt
 16 in it. For (γάρ) the Father
 of all of these exists immeasurable
 18 (and) immutable: mind (νοῦς)
 and word and schism
 20 and jealousy and fire.
 But (δέ) he is entirely one, being
 22 the All of all of them in a
 single doctrine, because all of these
 24 are from a single spirit (πνεῦμα).
 O unseeing ones, why
 26 did you not know the mystery (μυστήριον)
 in truth?
 28 But (δέ) the archons (ἄρχων)
 around Yaldabaoth were disobedient because of
 30 the Ennoia (ἔννοια) who went down to him
 from her sister Sophia (σοφία).

68,14 Ms. εσαζι for εαζσι (scribal metathesis).

68,18 Ms. Πια τῶβ τῶ for Πα τῶβ τῶ.

68,19-20 “schism ... jealousy”: The third occurrence of this pair (60,5; 65,26-27).

68,20 Painchaud postulates κωϙτ for ms. κωϙ, giving “flame and fire.”

68,30 “Ennoia”: A reference to “Hope”, the sister/twin of Sophia. Cf. note to 52,21.

32 αὐταμιο ναὸ ἡοσρωτῆ ματ
 αατ· μῆ νη ετψοοη μᾶ
 34 ματ ἡραϊ ῶν οσμοσζε ἡτε

ζθ

οσκλοολε ἡκρωμ· ετε
 2 νεσκωρ πε μῆ πκεσεπε
 ἡτασῆτοσ εβολ· εβολ ῶιτο
 4 οτοσ ἡνεσπλασμα· ρωσ
 εατοσωψμ ἡρηδονη ἡ
 6 εστενησ ἡτε ἡεκκλησια·
 ατω ετβε παϊ ατοσωνῆ ε
 8 βολ ἡνοσμοσζε ἡνοσμῆτ
 ατσοοσν ῶν οσπαρὰ πψω
 10 ἡῶ ἡτε οσκρωμ· μῆ οσ
 καρ μῆ οσρερωτῆ· ερεν
 12 κοσει νε ατω ἡατῆβω·
 ενσεσοοσν αν εατῆτολ
 14 μα εναϊ· ατω εμποσειμε
 δε ψαρεσσοειν ῆκοινη
 16 νη εσοσοειν· ατω οσκα
 κε μῆ οσκακε· ατω πετ
 18 ζαῶμ· μῆ πη εττακνοστ·
 ατω πιαττακο μῆ πιατζω
 20 ῶμ· ναϊ δε δεηταατ νητῆ
 ανοκ ις πεχρς πψηρε μ
 22 πρωμε ετζοσε ανησθε·
 ὦ νητελιος ατω νιατζω
 24 ῶμ· ετβε πμσστηριον ἡ
 ατζωῶμ ατω ἡτελιος·
 26 μῆ πιαρρητον· εσμεεθε
 δε δε ἡτανῆδοςματιζε

69,8 Ms. ἡνοσμοσζε ἡνοσμῆτ- for ἡοσμοσζε ἡοσμῆτ-.

68,11 "undivided state": Cf. note to 67,22-25.

69,12 "few": Cf. note to 60,30.

69,15-17 "light ... darkness": Cf. 2 Cor 6:14: "what fellowship has light with darkness?"

32 They created for themselves alone a union
 with those who were with
 34 them in a mixture of

69

a fiery cloud, which
 2 was their jealousy, and the rest
 who were brought forth by
 4 their creatures (πλάσμα), as (ὥς) though
 they had bruised the noble (εὐγενής) pleasure (ἡδονή)
 6 of the assembly (ἐκκλησία).
 And on this account they showed forth
 8 a mixture of ignorance
 in a counterfeit (παρά) image
 10 of fire and
 earth and a murderer. Since they are
 12 few and uninstructed,
 they do not know. They dared (τολμᾶν)
 14 these things, yet did not understand
 that light consorts (κοινωνεῖν)
 16 with light, and darkness
 with darkness, and that which is
 18 defiled (consorts) with things which are perishable,
 and the imperishable with the undefiled.
 20 But (δέ) these things I have given to you—
 I am Jesus the Christ (χριστός), the Son of
 22 Man, exalted above the heavens—,
 O perfect (τέλειος) and undefiled ones,
 24 on account of the mystery (μυστήριον),
 undefiled and perfect (τέλειος)
 26 and unutterable (ἄρρητον).
 But (δέ) they think that (. . .) we decreed (δογματίζειν)

69,27

There appears to be some missing text here, perhaps induced through parablepsis by the collocation of Δε δε. The logic of the text seems to require a contrast at this point between what the archons and unenlightened think (“they think that ...”) and what Christ and the heavenly assembly actually did (“but we decreed ...”).

28 ἄμοος ραθη ἡτκαταβολη
 ἡτε πκοσμος· δεκαδς εν
 30 ψανει εβολ ρη̄ νιτοπος ἡ
 τε πκοσμος δε ενα† ἡνι
 32 στμβολον ἄμασ ἡτε
 †αφθαρσια εβολ ρ̄μ̄ πιρω
 34 τ̄π̄ ἄπ̄ἡικον προς οσ̄ο
 ὀ
 οσ̄ν· ἡτωτ̄η̄ τετ̄η̄σοσ̄η̄
 2 ἄμογ̄ αν̄· δε †κλοολε ἡσαρ
 κικον ρ̄ ραιβε ερωτ̄η̄· ανοκ
 4 δε πε πιψβηρ ἡτε †σοφια οσ̄
 δεε†· ανοκ δειψωπε ρ̄η̄ κοσ̄
 6 ἡγ̄ ἄπιω† ε̄ιν ἡψορπ̄ ρ̄μ̄ πμα
 ἡἡψηρε ἡτε †ἄἡτμε· ᾱσ̄ω
 8 †ἄἡτνος· ἄτον σε ἡἄμαἰ
 ναψβηρ ἄπ̄ἡα ἄἡ νασνη
 10 οσ̄ ἡψᾱ ενερ· »»»— »»»»— »»»»—
 — — — — —
 —<<< δεσ̄τερος λογος >>>—
 12 >>>— τοσ̄ μεγαλοσ̄ ση̄ >>>—
 — — — — —

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- 70,1 After initial οσ̄, the scribe wrote σοσ̄η̄, and then rubbed it out. [Ed.]
 70,1-2 "You do not know this": Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 37, where Jesus is truly
 revealed to the disciples only after their deaths, when they remove their
 bodies.
 70,4 "friend of Sophia": Perhaps less mythologically "the friend of wisdom."
 But Christ is the consort of Sophia in *Gos. Eg.* III 69,2-3 and Irenaeus

28 them before the foundation (καταβολή)
 of the world (κόσμος) in order that,
 30 when we emerge from the places (τόπος)
 of the world (κόσμος), we may present there
 32 the symbols (σύμβολον) of
 incorruption (ἀφθαρσία) from the
 34 spiritual (πνευματικόν) union with (πρός)
 70
 knowledge. You do not know
 2 this because the fleshly (σαρκικόν) cloud
 overshadows you.
 4 But (δέ) I alone am the friend of Sophia (σοφία).
 I have been in the bosom
 6 of the Father from the beginning, in the place
 of the sons of the Truth, and
 8 the Greatness. Rest then with me,
 my fellow spirits and my brethren,
 10 for ever.

Second (Δεύτερος) Treatise (Λόγος)
 12 of the (τοῦ) Great (Μεγάλου) Seth

Adv. haer. 1,7,1.

70,5-6 Cf. John 1:18: "the only begotten God who is in the bosom of the
 Father."

70,12 "the Great Seth": The title and name is found also in *Gos. Eg.* 55,16-17 *et*
passim.

Introduction

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INTRODUCTION TO VII,3 APOCALYPSE OF PETER

I. Introduction

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is exceptionally well-preserved. Its many textual difficulties, however, continue to create problems for translators and interpreters alike. The nature of many of these grammatical and syntactical problems suggest that *Apoc. Pet.* was translated from the Greek. This third tractate of Codex VII bears no relationship to a Greek work of the same name mentioned by the Fathers and now extant in Ethiopic.¹

The *editio princeps* appeared in 1973,² the year following the publication of the plates,³ and the Coptic text has recently been printed in a concordance to Codex VII.⁴ Several studies⁵ and translations⁶ have been prepared.

II. The Message

The author's thought is best discerned by discussing the work's literary structure, its main characters and its dualistic framework.

A. The Literary Structure

The structure of this work can be sketched in a variety of ways, depending on what one chooses to emphasize. Previous analyses have focused on genre and content. Most have considered Peter's visions

¹ For a translation of this "Greek apocalypse of Peter," see *NTApoc* 2:620-38. Other apocalypses by this name (parts of two are known to exist in Arabic, and another in Ethiopic) were written in later centuries.

² Krause and Girgis.

³ *Facsimile Edition*

⁴ Charron.

⁵ Brashler's (unpublished) dissertation (esp. 121-245) offers the most extensive analysis; see also Koschorke, 11-90; Smith, 126-41; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 116-22; Werner, 700-705, Schoenborn, and Hellholm.

⁶ Two early German translations (Krause and Girgis, 1973; Werner, 1974) were followed by four in English: Brown and Griggs, 1975; Brashler (unpublished), 1977; Bullard, 1977; and the Bullard-Brashler translation in *NHLE*. J.-D. Dubois privately circulated a French translation in 1976. A version of Werner's 1974 German translation (itself a revision of Krause's 1973 translation) in the *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (vol. 2, 1989), and was then translated into English in the 1992 edition of *New Testament Apocrypha* (*NTApoc*).

and their subsequent interpretations by the Savior as the backbone of the writing. Brashler, for instance, has divided the work in the following manner:⁷ Introduction (70,14-72,4); First Vision Report and Interpretation (72,4-80,23); Second Vision Report and Interpretation (80,23-82,3); Third Vision Report and Interpretation (82,4-83,15); and Conclusion (80,15-84,13). Koschorke, noticing that the *Apoc. Pet.* deals with two issues, and considering the inner-Christian polemic to be more important than the discussion about Jesus' passion, has postulated a tripartite structure. In his opinion, the opening and closing sections (70,14-73,14; 80,23-84,13) which deal with the passion, set off the key polemical discussion in the body (73,14-80,23).⁸ Our analysis pays more attention to the author's use of language. It assumes a five-fold division:

- A. Introduction (70,13-72,4)
- B. First Visionary Sequence (72,4-73,10)
- C. Central Revelatory Discourse (73,10-81,3)
- B¹. Second Visionary Sequence (81,3-82,16)
- A¹. Conclusion (82,17-84,14)

The central discourse, by far the longest section, receives the stress. The author frames the discussion (73,10-22 and 80,29-81,3 are transitional) with the phrases, "the will of the father of their error" (73,26-27) and "the consent of the undefiled Father" (80,25-26). Then he contrasts the group of false Christians, whom he calls "many," "some," and "others," (73,23; 74,21; 76,24; 77,22; 78,31; 79,22) with the true Christians, called "the little ones" (78,22; 79,19; 80,11).⁹ The contrast between "others" (ϧΕΝΚΟΟϩΕ) and "the little ones" (ΝΙΚΟϩΕΙ) is particularly effective in Coptic, and suggests a Coptic reworking of the Greek original.¹⁰

⁷ Brashler, 144-47. Dubois (1982, "Le préambule," 384-85) modifies this somewhat by separating the introductory section into a preamble (70,14-20) and introduction (70,20-72,4); and by dividing the visions and their interpretations at different points: Part 1 (72,4-73,10); Part 2 (73,10-81,3), and Part 3 (81,3-83,14). Smith (126-27) differs by stressing four visions (based on the four occurrences of "I saw"): 72,4-9; 72,21-28; 81,4-14; 82,4-9. See now also the detailed structural analyses offered by Schoenborn (65-73) and Hellholm (46-50).

⁸ Koschorke, 11-17 followed by Krause, "Literarischen Gattungen," 628).

⁹ This contrast is limited to the central discourse. The expression "the little ones" (ΝΙΚΟϩΕΙ) as a self-designation does not occur elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi tractates.

¹⁰ Pearson (70-71) also argues for an Egyptian fine-tuning by the author in his use of 2 Peter. The canonical passage's "these are waterless springs" (2:17) becomes in *Apoc. Pet.* "those people are dry canals" (79,30-31), thereby fitting better an Egyptian environment and picking up a motif (the drying-up of the Nile and its canals) "from native Egyptian apocalyptic tradition."

The visionary sequences balance each other. Both open (“And as he was saying these things,” 72,4-5; “when he had said those things,” 81,3-4) and close (“As you sit, they are praising you,” 73,9-10; “as they appeared praising him,” 82,16) in a similar manner. Each sequence also includes two visions introduced by the expression “I saw.” The first pair (72,5-19; 81,4-82,3) concern Jesus’ death; the second, his illumination by “a new light greater than the light of day” (72,23-25) and “a great ineffable light” (82,9-10). They both also call the priests and people “blind” (72,12; 81,30) for wanting to put Jesus to death.¹¹

The introductory and concluding sections are more loosely connected. Nevertheless, the work begins and ends with the same phrase (ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ),¹² and the Savior’s insistence that Peter “be strong” is found in both the introduction (71,22— cf. 71,16: “become perfect”) and the conclusion, where it forms an *inclusio* (82,18; 84,11).¹³

The inner-Christian polemic which dominates the central discourse is all but excluded from the rest of the work, where the focus is on Jesus’ coming death, Peter’s need to be strong, and the necessity of distinguishing the physical Jesus who dies on the cross from the spiritual one who remains unaffected by the passion.¹⁴ The author situates his apocalypse in the Jerusalem temple (70,14-15), the night before Jesus’ death (72,2-3).¹⁵ While Peter’s visions anticipate Jesus’ imminent death and glorification, the Savior’s long discourse points forward even further to the time between Jesus’ death and his Parousia (73,23-25; 79,22-26; 80,8-11). The literary structure of the work, then, highlights its divisions as well as its unity.¹⁶

¹¹ The author does not refer directly to Jews. His dispute is with other Christians, not with Jews.

¹² *Apoc. Paul* and *I Apoc. Jas.* also begin and end with the title.

¹³ Both 71,22 and 82,18 have the Coptic ⲬⲁⲮⲞⲘ. 84,11 has the synonym ⲬⲁⲮⲞⲘⲉ— note that 84,10 reads, “so that none of your enemies will prevail [ⲬⲁⲮⲞⲘ] over you”.

¹⁴ With the central discourse in mind, though, one easily finds allusions to the polemic in other parts of the work: e.g., in 70,20-27; 71,19-21; 83,30-84,6.

¹⁵ Brashler (125-35) and Dubois (“Le préambule,” 387-90) argue that the author sets his work in a heavenly temple, with the revelation given by the risen Savior. Koschorke (13), Perkins (*Gnostic Dialogue*, 116), and Brown and Griggs (133), who posit an earthly, pre-crucifixion setting, do more justice to the passage. In fact, however, the Savior’s spiritual nature moves the revelation to a non-earthly sphere regardless of the option one chooses.

¹⁶ We are interpreting the work in its present form. There are enough connections between the sections to warrant considering the work a unity. Still, it is possible that the author has redacted this work from pre-existing sources, since 70,13-83,15 (or 84,14), without 73,10-81,4a, stands nicely on its own.

B. The Main Characters

There is little character development in the work. The three groups introduced by the author are indeterminate: “the blind,” who are the “priests, scribes and people” responsible for Jesus’ death; “the little ones,” who, after Jesus’ death, remain the chosen but are soon excluded from the leadership of the Christian community; and “the others,” the false Christians who have led the movement almost from the start.

Two individuals stand out from the crowds: Peter and the Savior. Peter is portrayed as weak but privileged. “Be strong,” “be courageous,” “do not fear anything,” the Savior repeatedly tells him (71,22; 80,32-33; 82,18; 84,7-12). At the same time we are told that the Savior has known him for some time (72,9-11), has chosen him to guide the true Christians (71,18-19), and is now interpreting his visions. Peter is the “beginning (ἀρχή) for the remnant” which the Savior has “summoned to knowledge” (71,19-21).

He is also clearly meant to be the Simon Peter known from the canonical gospels. The spotlight is directed to the eve of Jesus’ death, immediately before Peter’s threefold denial (72,2-4),¹⁷ which is prompted by his fear of dying with Jesus (72,8-9). However, this is not the Peter depicted in the other NT books. In Paul’s letters, and especially in Acts, Peter emerges as one of the most important leaders of the first Christian generation. He may have needed strength to carry him through the stressful period between Jesus’ arrest and the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, but thereafter he was a powerful and respected leader. In the *Apoc. Pet.*, Peter needs the strength not only to realize that those putting Jesus to death can do him no harm but especially to await the Savior’s Parousia (78,4-6; perhaps also 71,22-23) which ends the rule of the present generation of Christians, thereby allowing Peter to resume his rightful leadership over the “remnant” (71,18-19). *Apoc. Pet.* suggests that Peter did lead for a time, but was misunderstood by those very people who claimed to be following him (73,10-22).

The Savior also resembles and diverges from the NT portrayals of Jesus.¹⁸ He is introduced as a teacher, “sitting in the temple” (cf. Matt 26:55). Similar to the Johannine Christ, he is an all-powerful, many-titled figure¹⁹ who reveals life, through his word (70,29), to those

¹⁷ This apocalyptic setting does not harmonize fully with the NT accounts, which do not place Jesus in the temple on the eve of his death (but see Mark 14:49). Perhaps it is meant to develop the Markan apocalypse.

¹⁸ See esp. Brashler, 158-96.

¹⁹ The most common title for the revealer is “Savior”; other titles are “Christ” (74,8), “living Jesus” (81,17), and “Lord” (81,8).

“belonging to the Father” (70,20-71,5), and fails to be recognized by those who are not already born from above. He, too, goes to the cross fully in control. In the *Apoc. Pet.*, though, the crucifixion, not the resurrection, discloses the Savior’s true nature. The crucifixion releases his “incorporeal body” (83,7-8), allowing this “living Jesus” (82,27-30) to separate himself fully from the bodily one. The bodily Savior suffers and dies, while the living Savior is unaffected. The historical occurrence of the crucifixion is not denied, but in this work the cross has no soteriological function.

The crucial piece of information revealed to Peter in his visions is that the Savior is more than he appears to be. This insight does not come easily to Peter. Both visionary sequences contain misunderstandings typical of Johannine dialogues (e.g., John 2:23-3:21). The clearest instance occurs in 81,3-82,3. The vision (81,3-14), in which Peter sees two Saviors at the crucifixion, is followed by a dialogue. The Savior begins by presenting what to us, the audience, is a clear and straightforward explanation (81,15-23):

He whom you see above the cross, glad and laughing, is the living Jesus. But he into whose hands and feet they are driving the nails is his physical part, which is the substitute. They are putting to shame that which is in his likeness.

Then he concludes with a comment which can be interpreted two ways: “But look at him and me” (81,24). What the Savior means is, Look how there are two of us, how different we are, and how only one is suffering. What Peter hears is, Look, no one is paying attention to you. His response, “Lord, no one is looking at you. Let us flee this place,” shows that he has completely misunderstood the Savior’s explanation. Peter’s ironic misunderstanding prompts the follow-up explanation (81,28-82,3), which reiterates the crucial point that only one Jesus has been put to death, and he is “the son of their glory” (82,1-2).

The Savior’s dual nature is the “Christological” point stressed by the author. Yet some of his remarks suggest that the Savior’s nature is actually tripartite.²⁰ Not only is he a physical Jesus (who suffers) and a living Jesus (who doesn’t), but he includes the spiritual “light” descending from on high. One sees this partly by the manner in which the Savior can refer to the living Jesus as “my servant” (82,2). More important, though, is the second set of visions, in which Peter sees “a new light greater than the light of day” (72,23-25) descend on the Savior in

²⁰ See also Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 118; Koschorke, 21-25; and Brashler, 168-69.

the first sequence, and “a pure spirit” and “a great ineffable light” in the second (82,7-10). The Savior’s interpretation of this second vision includes the following remark: “He whom you saw coming to me was our intellectual pleroma, which unites the perfect light with my pure spirit” (83,10-15). The author’s main point, though, whether there are two or three superimposed figures, is that Jesus’ external, physical form is not the one worth honoring.

C. The Dualistic Framework

Pairs abound in the *Apoc. Pet.* There are the two main characters, two visionary sequences, two Saviors, and two groups of Christians each following two different Fathers. Some of these pairs are complementary (the visionary sequences; the opening and closing sections); others, such as the division of Christians into two groups, are contrasting.

This literary style is consistent with the author’s dualistic worldview. He believes in the existence of two radically different yet co-existing levels of reality. What one normally sees and understands is the inferior, material level; what some can learn to see is the deeper, spiritual one.

The author’s depiction of the Savior is a good example of this dualistic viewpoint. People see a suffering human being, “into whose hands and feet they are driving the nails” (81,19-20). This being is honored by his followers who “hold fast to the name of a dead man, while thinking that they will become pure” (74,13-15). Peter learns, through his visions and the Savior’s interpretations, that superimposed on this Jesus who dies on the cross is a Jesus who is “glad and laughing” (81,11). Peter is exhorted to keep this vision alive among a group of chosen ones, for this understanding of reality—not the belief in a dead Jesus—is the key to salvation.

The division of Christians into two groups also follows a dualistic pattern. The author does not view “the others” as misguided Christians who can be brought back into the fold. He envisions two distinct types of human beings, two “races” (83,17). One group consists of “workers” (78,2) by nature, “children of this age” (73,18-19), who at first praise the Savior and Peter (73,10-22), but then fall away because they are followers of a lower God, “servants of the word” (73,23-32). They are unable to understand Jesus. Instead, they “praise a restored Christ” (74,8-9), blaspheming the truth and proclaiming evil teaching (74,24-25). “The little ones,” on the other hand, are immortal (75,27) beings “from life,” from the incorruptible Father. The father who judges by his law is not their Father. They need reminding of this

(70,25). In this context, it probably is not coincidental that the author, in contrasting “the father of their error” (73,27) and “the undefiled Father” (80,26), mentions “the will” (ΠΟΥΛΗ) of the former but “the consent” (ΠΙΨ ΜΑΤΕ) of the latter. The inferior father, connected with corruptibility, law and will, differs from the incorruptible Father as much as the living Jesus differs from the one who suffers on the cross, and “the little ones” differ from the rest of the Christians.

III. The Context

It is far easier to determine what the *Apoc. Pet.* says than to specify its religio-historical context. Several aspects of the work, however, suggest broad gnostic, apocalyptic and Christian links.

A. *Apocalypse of Peter* as a Gnostic Work

The *Apoc. Pet.* uses terms and assumes a worldview consistent with that found in second- and third-century gnostic literature. The author believes in the existence of two levels of reality, each ruled by a Father or God. The true God (79,26) is part of a pleroma of spiritual beings (71,2) while the lower one controls the non-spiritual realm, including the principalities (71,5) who inhabit “the Middle.” People mistakenly consider this lower God to be the creator and absolute ruler of the universe. Some people have a spiritual soul, making them fundamentally different from others, and allowing them to return to the Father. But they remain unaware of their links with the spiritual realm, or its very existence. At a certain moment in history the supreme Father sends a Savior into the world who puts on a body, but that body remains completely separate from his spiritual nature.²¹ The Savior’s role is to give the Father’s children knowledge of their true home and destiny (71,21; 73,22).²² Eventually, they will be reunified with him, but all the others will perish (76,18-23).

The positive portrayal of Peter also fits that gnostic worldview. While the anti-Petrine tendency of several gnostic groups has long

²¹ See *Treat. Seth* (55, 9-56,20) for a non-Christian gnostic redeemer myth similar to that in *Apoc. Pet.* Using these two tractates, Brashler (185-96) has tested Bultmann’s thesis of a pre-Christian gnostic redeemer myth which influenced the Christian understanding of Jesus. See also Koschorke’s excursus, “Gnostische Polemik gegen die Verkündigung des Gekreuzigten,” 44-48.

²² 73,19-22 (“For you will be despised in these ages since they are ignorant of you, but you will be praised in knowledge”) probably means the following: they will blaspheme Peter openly, but would realize, if they had gnosis, that they are actually praising him. This again is reminiscent of John’s gospel, where the characters often express truths which they themselves are unable to perceive.

been observed, in particular the gnostic elevation to leadership of the disciples Mary, James, Paul and Thomas, it has recently become clear that Peter was also venerated by some gnostics. T. Smith's remarks are apropos:²³

Prior to the Nag Hammadi discovery, very little evidence was available to suggest that some gnostic groups may have had a favourable view of Peter These documents provide striking new evidence concerning Gnostic views of Peter and indicate that in certain circles he was looked upon as the founder of the Gnostic community, an enlightened Gnostic initiate and as the Gnostic leader and champion in the battle with opposing groups.

We cannot easily associate *Apoc. Pet.* with any of the gnostic groups known to us from the heresiological literature. Its pro-Petrine stance brings to mind Clement of Alexandria's comment about Basilides, that he "derived his teaching from Glaucias, an interpreter of Peter" (*Strom.* 7.106.4). But this does not take us very far, even if we include the other Basilidean elements of a docetic Christ and a redeemer who is to bring about a restoration of all things to their rightful place in the *oikonomia* (cf. *Hipp. Ref.* 7.15). The Savior's tripartite nature and the technical terms such as "restoration," "error," and "middle" make a Valentinian *Sitz* possible. Yet the evidence connecting the *Apoc. Pet.* with these gnostic groups remains suggestive rather than convincing.

B. *Apocalypse of Peter* as an Apocalyptic Work

The title of *Apoc. Pet.* identifies it as an apocalypse, and that is consistent with a genre of writing which modern scholars call apocalyptic. J. J. Collins's definition of this genre is helpful:²⁴

Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.

With reference to Collins's "master paradigm" for an apocalypse,²⁵

²³ Smith, 117-18. See also Baumeister; Perkins, "Peter"; and Pearson. For a pro-Petrine stance in the Nag Hammadi corpus, see *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* and *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

²⁴ Collins, *Apocalypse* 9.

²⁵ This paradigm, which emerged from the Apocalypse group of the SBL Genres Project, encompasses Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, Graeco-Roman, and Persian apocalypses. Collins's

Apoc. Pet. contains ten of the thirteen characteristics which recur in apocalypses of the first three centuries C.E. It is close to Collins's ideal type, lacking only a discussion of theogony, cosmogony and anthropology; an eschatological crisis which precipitates the end times; and an extended paraenetical section. Included are the following ten characteristics of the apocalyptic genre:

1. The revelation is communicated by means of visions (72,4-73,10; 81,3-82,16), which include auditory revelations (72,28-73,10), dialogue and epiphanies.²⁶
2. It is mediated by an other worldly being who interprets the visions (the *angelus interpres*).
3. The human recipient is pseudonymous, and his reaction is usually one of fright mixed with awe (cf. 72,22: "fear with joy").
4. As part of a review of history, there is *ex eventu* prophecy where the past (in this case, Jesus' death and the development of the early Christian movement) is disguised as the future (so it is set on the eve of Jesus' death).²⁷
5. In gnostic apocalypses especially, salvation is acquired through knowledge (71,15-21).
6. The end times will include punishment of the outsiders (the fate awaiting the false Christians is described in 75,21-22; 76,18-23; 78,23-24; 79,17).
7. The end times will also include salvation for the insiders (the fate of the little ones).
8. Other worldly elements, regions and beings are discussed (this includes a negative evaluation of the lower region—its

book includes relevant articles by A. Y. Collins ("The Early Christian Apocalypses," 61-122) and F. T. Fallon ("The Gnostic Apocalypses," 123-58). Other paradigms abound, and tend to be simpler. For a helpful overview, see Hellholm, *Apocalypticism*, esp. articles by E. Schüssler Fiorenza ("The Phenomenon of Early Christian Apocalyptic. Some Reflections on Method," 295-316), G. MacRae ("Apocalyptic Eschatology in Gnosticism," 317-25), and M. Krause ("Die literarischen Gattungen der Apokalypsen von Nag Hammadi," 621-37). Krause (628) claims that *Apoc. Pet.* is an apocalypse since it fits Vielhauer's three categories: pseudonymity, visionary account, and *vaticinia ex eventu* (see Vielhauer-Streckler on "Apocalyptic" in *NTApoc* 2:544-49).

²⁶ The great light which Peter sees descending on the Savior in each visionary sequence (72,24-26; 82,9-14) may be intended as an epiphany of the heavenly Savior.

²⁷ Apocalyptic reviews of history often include cryptic historical allusions whose meaning now eludes us. One of these may occur in the opening lines of the work which place the Savior "in the temple in the three hundredth (year) of the covenant and the agreement of the tenth pillar," according to Bullard's translation in NHLE, 1st ed. (340). But the present translation by Brashler excludes this possibility.

- father, 73,27; its array of beings, 77,4-5).
9. The recipient of the revelation is told what to do with the revelation ("These things, therefore, which you saw you shall present to those of another race who are not of this age"—83,15-18).
 10. At the end of the narrative the recipient awakens or returns to earth ("When he [the Savior] had said these things, he [Peter] came to his senses"—84,13).

The author, perhaps frustrated by events which left him and his group powerless, chose the apocalyptic genre to present his message.²⁸

C. *Apocalypse of Peter* as a Christian work

Several features link *Apoc. Pet.* with Christian writings from the first three centuries C.E. One of these is the author's use of the NT. He shows an awareness of several of its books, skillfully adapting NT passages to his own narrative. One finds, for instance, possible allusions to Acts²⁹, and more importantly, strong links to 2 Peter.³⁰ Concerning the Gospels one might mention the use of Johannine misunderstanding in the dialogues, familiarity with a wide range of Jesus sayings and passion traditions,³¹ and especially the author's use of Matthew, which is particularly striking in several ways.³² His use of Matthew is particularly striking in several ways. First, Matthew's designation of Peter as the Church's leader and "rock" (Matt 16:17-19) probably lies behind 71,15-21 (cf. also 70,21-32):

But you yourself, Peter, become perfect in accordance with your name, along with me, the very one who chose you. For from you I have made a beginning for the remnant whom I have summoned to knowledge.

²⁸ For a detailed analysis of this work as an apocalypse, and the implications for its *Sitz im Leben*, see Brashler, 70-157.

²⁹ So Böhlig, with his suggestion that Acts 12:11 ("And Peter came to himself") lies behind 84,12-13: "When he (Jesus) had said these things, he (Peter) came to his senses" (lit. "himself").

³⁰ E.g. 79,30 clearly has 2 Pet 2:17 in mind. These connections with 2 Pet, often noted (e.g. Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 117; Smith, 137-41), have most convincingly been highlighted by Pearson, who argues (contra Smith) for the literary dependence of *Apoc. Pet.* on 2 Pet.

³¹ On these points, see Dubois, "Apocalypse de Pierre."

³² See Schweizer (216) for information on the importance of Matthew's gospel in second century Christianity, and the mention of a Matthean form of Jewish Christianity which was Syrian, ascetic and charismatic in nature. His suggestion of a Judeo-Christian setting for the *Apoc. Pet.* is unlikely.

Second, the author's denunciation of his opponents seems to build on Matthew's denigration of the scribes and Pharisees, who also are called "blind" (Matt 23:16-19; *Apoc. Pet.* 72,12-13; 73,13; 81,30), love places of honor (Matt 23:6-7; *Apoc. Pet.* 79,24-29) and keep others out of the kingdom (Matt 23,13; *Apoc. Pet.* 78, 26-31).³³ Third, "the little ones" used as an appellation for the true disciples is a Matthean favourite (Matt 10:42; 18:6,10,14; *Apoc. Pet.* 78,22; 79,19; 80,11).³⁴ Finally, one finds passages in *Apoc. Pet.* which could be direct quotations from Matthew in 83,27-29 (Matt 25:29); 76,4-8 (Matt 7:16); and 75,7-9 (Matt 7:18).³⁵

His principal characters are also Christian. Peter is presented in a way acceptable to many second and third century Christians. So is the Savior, who is sent by the Father to save humanity. The docetic interpretation of his death, of course, did not become the orthodox one, but in the first and second centuries it was a common way of interpreting Jesus' death. We also know of the existence of both pro- and anti-Petrine tendencies among Christians in these centuries.³⁶ The use of Peter in this apocalypse as the champion of the "remnant" is consistent with that found in many other Christian works.

F. C. Baur's hypothesis that the Petrinists were a single, united group of Jewish Christians oversimplified a very complex situation. The *Apoc. Pet.* is a good example of a work which does not fit neatly into a scholarly construct. It is certainly not "Jewish Christian," yet champions Peter as the leader. Indeed, if Paul (and Luke) replaced Peter (and Matthew), we would have a "Marcionite" work, in that the Jewish God is considered separate from and inferior to the true (Christian) one (73,27; 79,13-14), and the Jewish scriptures are not connected with the new revelation (71,6-9). This separation of the Savior and the prophets allows the Father's "own" to distinguish righteousness, which is for them, from words of unrighteousness and transgression of the law (*ΝΟΜΟC*), which is for others. As the Savior says, the false Christians "erect their error and their law against these pure thoughts of mine" (77,26-29).

Finally, the author's position vis-à-vis other Christians makes it clear that he is writing within that tradition. Anti-Christian polemic was as

³³ So also Koschorke, 66-67; Smith, 133-34.

³⁴ Mark and Luke also use the expression "the little ones," but the Matthean redaction of the Markan passages shows the heightened importance of the expression for Matthew.

³⁵ None of these "quotations" reproduces Matthew's texts *verbatim*. The first is the closest. The last two could also have Luke in mind (Luke 6:44; 6:43), according to Brashler (151). Smith (129-30) argues for the author's use of Matthew.

³⁶ Smith's study is especially helpful in this regard.

much a feature of early Christianity as anti-Judaism.³⁷ It began with Paul, abounds in the Catholic letters of the NT, and continued in the anti-gnostic polemics of the second and third centuries. From Paul's day, the polemic usually had an uncompromising tone. The *Apoc. Pet.* falls within this harsh inner-Christian polemical framework.

It is difficult to determine a precise historical context for this work. The difficulty lies partly in the fact that these polemical works all tend to castigate their opponents in a similar manner. The opponents in this work resemble those in Galatians and 2 Peter; that is, they are "without perception," in "error" (73,27-74,4) and "proud" (77,1). They pretend to be true Christians, but deceive others by preaching false doctrine (77,33-78,2). When the end comes, they will be punished and "cast into the outer darkness" (78,24). Moreover, the distinctive clues which the author presents are too allusive to be helpful. Three of these are particularly notable: the "others" fall "into the hand of an evil, cunning man with a multifarious doctrine. And they will be ruled heretically" (74,17-21). They "praise a restored Christ," (lit. "in a restoration": $\rho\eta\ \ \sigma\upsilon\ \ \alpha\ \ \rho\omicron\ \ \kappa\ \ \alpha\ \ \tau\ \ \alpha\ \ \sigma\ \ \tau\ \ \alpha\ \ \sigma\ \ \iota\ \ \varsigma$ —74,9). "And some . . . will be given a name of a man and a naked woman who is multifarious and very sensual" (74,29-34). Is this man Simon Magus and the naked, sensuous woman his Helen?³⁸ Are those who praise Christ "in an *apokatastasis*" followers of Origen, who insisted, contrary to what *Apoc. Pet.* states, that in the end all people would be restored to God?³⁹ And could the "cunning man" with "a manifold doctrine" (who also is said to "cleave to the name of a dead man") be Paul?

The general nature of this inner-Christian dispute, though, can be teased out to some degree.⁴⁰ The author's opponents are the acknowl-

³⁷ *Apoc. Pet.* takes over Matthew's anti-Judaic rhetoric but applies it to fellow Christians, thereby preserving the inner/outer group distinction while shifting the blame from fellow Jews to fellow Christians.

³⁸ Cf. *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* and the *Kerygmata Petrou* for two works in which Peter confronts Simon Magus, as he does in the Acts account. The author could also have been alluding to Paul and Thecla.

³⁹ Origen made much of this doctrine, but he was not the first to use the term. We can trace it to Acts 3:14; Basilides used it to refer to a restoration of all things to their rightful place after Jesus' return (*Hipp. Ref.* 7.15); and it was common among the Valentinians who used it to signify the restoration of the pneumatics to the Pleroma where they would join their angelic counterparts—cf. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.14.1; Heracleon Fr. 28; Clement *Exc. ex Theod.* 22.3 and *Treat. Res.* 44,21-32.

⁴⁰ The author may have directed his polemic against several different groups, thereby framing his central discourse with "some" (74,22) . . . "others" (76,24) . . . "many others" (77,22) . . . "others" (78,31) . . . "others" (79,22)—so Brashler, 216-38. It is more likely, though, that this is a rhetorical device used to focus on different aspects of the same opposing group—so also Koschorke, 80-84; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 120; and Guillaumont, 472.

edged leaders of the Christian community. They have been for some time, and trace their descent back to Simon Peter himself (73,19-28).⁴¹ They have set up bishops and deacons, claiming divine authority for these positions (79,24-26), and dictate orthodoxy and orthopraxy in their communities (78,21-31). Their faith is based on the assurance that Jesus, the true Savior, suffered, died on the cross, and has risen (74,13-14). The Jewish scriptures, considered to be divinely inspired, point forward to this crucial Christ event on the cross.

"The little ones" who form "the brotherhood which exists," as opposed to the imitation "sisterhood" (79,1-10), are found within this dominant Christian community. These little ones look like other Christians, have been deceived into acting like other Christians, but are in fact ontologically different from other Christians. Only they have immortal souls and are destined to be saved. Only they can understand what actually happened to Jesus on the cross. And only they can appreciate the need to sever Christianity from its Jewish roots.⁴² Yet their uniqueness will only become apparent when the Savior returns (78,6): "as long as the hour has not yet come, she (the immortal soul) will indeed resemble a mortal one" (75,28-31).⁴³

Both the apocalyptic genre chosen by the author and his message suggest that he considered the Parousia to be imminent, at which point he expected an uprising led by "the little ones." The visions claimed for Peter indicate that he wished to give this uprising the highest possible support. The author believed that the end was near, and that it would vindicate the true Christians. The Parousia was not expected to bring an immediate end to the world. Rather, the Savior's return was to inaugurate the temporary rule of the true Christians, who would then dominate the others, probably installing their own bishops and deacons,⁴⁴ and dictating their own brand of orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

⁴¹ The author probably claims that Peter is the "Urgnostiker" in order to counter the important role played by Peter among his opponents. Baumeister expresses this well: "Unter Berücksichtigung der grosskirchlichen Hochschätzung des Petrus hat man auch ihn zum gnostischen Offenbarungsempfänger umgestaltet, der mit und nach Jakobus als Autorität beansprucht wurde, um etwa von vornherein gegnerische Vorwürfe zu entkräften" (8).

⁴² It is probably not by chance that the author applies the term "the blind" to those (Jews) who put Jesus to death, and also to the Christians falsely so called in 76,21-23. Or that he appropriates Matthew's anti-Judaic polemic for his anti-Christian stance. He opposes a Judaic-based form of Christianity which has come to dominate the church.

⁴³ For a similar view, cf. *Gos. Phil.* 64,5-9: "When a blind man and one who sees are both together in darkness, they are no different from one another. When the light comes, then he who sees will see the light, and he who is blind will remain in darkness."

⁴⁴ The polemic against the bishops and deacons in 79,24-26 may not be directed at the offices themselves. It is more likely that the author considers the offices false because they do not have the authority of the true Father.

The issue underlying much of this work is not so much how the Christian community is led, but who is leading it.

This gnostic, Christian, apocalyptic work perhaps emerged, as some have argued,⁴⁵ from the context of early third century disputes between "orthodoxy" and "gnostic heresy," reflecting a consolidated, third century church which had the power to keep dissidents under control. But it also could have been written in any Christian community between 150-250 C.E.⁴⁶ Our knowledge of this period is too fragmentary to allow us to say much more.

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⁴⁵ E.g. Brashler, 245 (and his introduction in *NHLE*, 373); Koschorke, 48-89; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 194-95; and Wisse, 269.

⁴⁶ Smith, for instance, sees sufficient similarities between the *Apoc. Pet.* and *Ep. Pet. Phil.* to argue that "both documents were written in the midst of controversy and probably derive from the late second century: it is therefore plausible to argue that they articulate different reactions to the same Petrine controversy" (137).

76 (esp. 61-62).

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22-38

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 ΑΠΟΚΑΛΩΨΙΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ »-»-
 — — — — —

- 14 εϑμοοοοσ ἡσἰ π̄ωρ ἡρραἰ ὅμ
 πἰρπε ἡρραἰ ὅη <π>μεῶτ ἡτε
 16 πἰσ̄μνε· μ̄η πἰ† ματε ἡ
 τε πἰμαρμητ ἡσττολοο· ατω
 18 εϑμοτῆ ἡμοϑ ὅἰξῆ ἡηπε
 ἡτε †μῆτνοο ετοῆῶ· ἡ
 20 αττωῶμ· πεδαϑ ἡαἰ δε πε
 τρε σεσμαμαατ ἡσἰ ἡαπἰ
 22 ωτ· ετσατπε ἡηπἡθε·
 πἡ εταϑοσωνῶ εβολ ἡπἰ
 24 ωῆῶ ἡηἡεβολ ὅμ πωῆῶ εβολ
 ὅἰτοοτ εαεἰ† μεεε· ε
 26 τε ἡτοοσ πετοσκωτ ἡ
 μοοσ ἡρραἰ ὅμ πἡ ετσοορ·
 28 δε εσεσωτἡ ελαϣαδε
 ατω εσεσοσων ρεηϣα
 30 δε ἡτε †αδικἰα· μ̄η οσ̄μῆτ
 παρἡνομοο ἡτε οσ̄νομο[ο]
 32 ατω οσ̄δικαἰοοσῆη· ὅϑ

- 70,13 The title here at 84,14 is retained untranslated from the Greek of the original document. The anarthrous phrase can be construed as definite: “The Apocalypse of Peter.”
- 70,15 <π>μεῶτ ms. †μεῶτ. Krause, followed by Dubois, reads †μεῶ† “fifth” as a result of misreading the descending tail on the “ρ” of ἡρραἰ in the preceding line as part of the final letter of this word. *NHLE* translates “300th <year>,” based on the emendation †μεῶτ <ἡρομπε>. Both readings assume that text has been lost. Since the context appears to be locative, however, a more likely emendation <π>μεῶτ is proposed here. The underlying Greek phrase ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς συνθέσεως was presumably rendered by the Coptic ἡραἰ ὅη <π>μεῶτ ἡτε πἰσ̄μνε. πἰ† ματε literally refers to the coming together or convergence one would notice when looking up at the top of column, “the tenth pillar” in this imaginary temple where the Savior is at rest.
- 70,18 ἡηπε translates πλῆθος (Crum, 527b), which has the meaning “multitude, congregation” in this context.

70

Apocalypse (ἀποκάλυψις) of Peter (Πέτρου)

- 14 As the Savior (σωτήρ) was sitting in
 the temple, in the inner part of
 16 the building at the convergence of
 the tenth pillar (στῦλος), and
 18 as he was at rest above the congregation
 of the living incorruptible Majesty,
 20 he said to me, “Peter,
 blessed are those belonging to the Father,
 22 for they are heavenly.
 It is he (i.e. the Father) who revealed life,
 24 to those who are from life, through
 me. I reminded
 26 those who are built
 on what is strong
 28 that they should heed my instruction
 and distinguish between words
 30 of unrighteousness (ἀδικία) and
 transgression (-παράνομος) of law (νόμος) (on the one hand),
 32 and righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) (on the other), since (ὥς)

70,19 ἡ ἁπ̄τ̄νος (= μέγεθος), “Majesty,” is a technical Gnostic term for the highest God, also called the Father. Cf. *Treat. Seth* 49,10 and note.

70,22 “heavenly”: lit. “above the heavens.”

70,23 ΠΗ ΕΤΑΦΘΩΝῆ begins a cleft sentence (cf. H. J. Polotsky, “Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen,” *Collected Papers* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971] 418-35).

70,25-28 The basic construction is ἡ μεεσε . . . σε (Crum, 200b) followed by III future verb εσεεωτ̄μ to indicate obligation (Till, *Grammatik*, §308 and §361). In the intervening relative clause introduced by ετε ἡτοου, the sign of the relative with no indicator of syntactic function and the emphatic personal pronoun conform to Coptic usage (Cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §463).

70,29-32 Here εσων . . . εσω means “distinguish between . . . and . . .,” and is analogous to the example cited by Crum, 370a: κηεεσεν π̄ρο ναῖ ἁ̄ν π̄ε̄εεεε, “distinguish (corpse of) king from slave.”

ὁδ

2 εϣωοοп εβολ ρ̄̄м π̄ᾱιϣε ἡ
 ψαζε νιμ ἡ̄τε πεῖπληρω
 4 μα ἡ̄τε †̄μ̄η̄τ̄με· εαϣζι
 ο̄τοειν ρ̄̄η̄ ο̄†̄ μετε· εβολ
 6 ρ̄̄ῑτ̄̄м̄ πη ετοϣκωτε ἡ̄ϣωγ
 ἡ̄β̄ῑ νιαρχη· ᾱτω εμποϣ
 8 ὅ̄η̄τ̄ϣ̄· ο̄†̄δε ἄποϣψαζε ἄ
 μογ ρατ̄η̄ сперма νιμ ἡ̄
 10 τε νιπροφητης· εαϣοϣω
 ἡ̄ρ̄ εβολ †̄νοϣ ἡ̄ρ̄αῖ ρ̄̄η̄ ναῖ
 12 ναῖ· ἡ̄ρ̄αῖ ρ̄̄м̄ πετοϣοἡ̄ρ̄ ε
 τε π̄ψη̄ρε πε ἡ̄τε π̄ρω̄με
 14 ε̄τ̄ζοσε ε̄νῑπη̄τε ἡ̄ρ̄αῖ ρ̄̄η̄
 ο̄ϣρο̄<ϣο> ἡ̄τε νιρω̄με ἡ̄ψ̄β̄η̄ρ
 16 ἡ̄πο̄ϣια· ἡ̄τοκ δε ρωωκ πε
 18 тре ψωπε еке ἡ̄τε̄λιος ἡ̄
 ρ̄̄ραῖ ρ̄̄м̄ πεκραν ἡ̄μ̄μαῖ ρω
 20 πη εταϣωτ̄π̄ ἄμοκ· ζε
 εβολ ἄμοκ αῖ̄ε̄ρε ἡ̄ο̄ταρ
 22 χη ἄπικεσε̄πε εταῖ̄τα
 ρ̄̄μοϣ ε̄ρο̄ϣ̄η̄ ε̄ϣοο̄ϣ̄η̄·
 24 ρωστε ὅ̄μ̄βο̄μ̄ ψ̄ᾱν̄τε π̄ιᾱν
 τ̄ῑμ̄ῑμο̄η̄ ἡ̄τε †̄δ̄ῑκᾱλιος̄ϣ
 26 ἡ̄η̄ ἡ̄τε πη εταϣ̄ρ̄ ψορ̄π̄ ἡ̄τω
 ρ̄̄м̄ ἄμοκ· εαϣταρ̄μεκ ζε
 εκεϣο̄ϣω̄η̄ϣ̄ ἡ̄θε̄ ε̄τε̄ ὄ̄м̄

71,10-11 **ναῖ ναῖ** is an iterative use of the demonstrative pronoun (Till, *Grammatik*, §109) which may translate τοῖς τοῦτοις (“the following”) and refers to the objects of the two parallel prepositional phrases introduced by ἡ̄ρ̄αῖ ρ̄̄η̄.

71,12-13 Cf. *Treat. Seth* 69,21-22.

71,14 Ms. ο̄ϣρο̄τε (“fear”) appears to be a mistake. The emendation proposed here assumes that the original Greek had πλείστος or περίσευμα, which would be rendered by ροϣο in Coptic. A scribe mistook an ϣ for a τ. ἡ̄ψ̄β̄η̄ρ ἡ̄πο̄ϣια is a literal translation of ὁμοούσιος, a reference here to the essential identity of the revealer and his followers.

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99 Cf. Man
 H.-M. Se
 Essays
 Petrus, b

The verb
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 78.15-17
 “imitation

71

they are from the height of
 2 every word of this fullness (πλήρωμα)
 of truth. Graciously
 4 they have been enlightened by
 him whom the principalities (ἀρχή) sought.
 6 But they did not find
 him, nor (οὐδε) was he mentioned
 8 among any generation (σπέρμα) of
 the prophets (προφήτης). He has
 10 now appeared in each of the following:
 in the revealed one,
 12 the Son of Man
 who is exalted above the heavens, and
 14 in an <abundance> of consubstantial (-οὔσία) persons.
 But (δέ) you yourself, Peter,
 16 become perfect (τέλειος),
 in accordance with your name, along with me,
 18 the very one who chose you. For
 from you I have made a beginning (ἀρχή)
 20 for the remnant whom I have
 summoned to knowledge.
 22 Therefore (ὥστε) be strong for the duration of the
 imitation (ἀντίμιμον) of the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)
 24 of him who originally summoned you.
 He summoned you
 26 to know him properly

71,15-21 Cf. Matt 16:16-18, of which this passage is a Gnostic reinterpretation. H.-M. Schenke ("Bemerkungen zur Apokalypse des Petrus," in Krause, *Essays*, 280) identifies **ἠῶπε** as an imperative and translates "Du, aber, Petrus, bleibe—vollkommen seiend in deinem Namen—bei mir allein . . ."

71,22 The verbal prefix **ἠῶντε-** lacks a verb. Probably a form of **ἠῶπε** should be understood, and the meaning would be the same as the Greek ἕως ("as long as"). This reflects the Gnostic claim that their ecclesiastical opponents, "the imitation of righteousness," would not endure. Cf. 78,15-17 and 79,8-10 for references to the author's opponents as "imitation."

28 ΠΥΔ ΝΑΔΣ· ΕΤΒΕ †ΑΠΟΧΗ
 ΕΤΠΗΖ ΕΡΟΥ· ΜΝ ΝΙΜΟΥΤ
 ΝΤΕ ΝΕΥΣΙΖ· ΔΩ ΝΕΥΟΥ
 30 ΕΡΗΤΕ· ΜΝ Π† ΚΛΟΜ Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΩΤΗ ΝΗ ΝΤΕ †ΜΕΣΟ
 32 ΤΗΣ ΜΝ ΠΙΣΩΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΡ
 [Ο]ΨΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΑΥ· ΕΨΕΙΝΕ Μ
 34 [Μ]ΟΥ ΩΝ ΟΨΡΕΛΠΙΣ ΝΤΕ
 ΟΒ
 ΟΨΔΙΑΚΟΜΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΨΒΕΚΕ
 2 ΝΤΕ ΟΨΤΑΕΙΟ· ΩΟΣ ΕΥΝΑΣΟ
 ΟΥΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΨΟΜΤ ΝΣΟΠ
 4 ΩΝ ΤΕΪΟΥΨΗ· ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΕΥΖΩ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΔΕΙΝΑΨ ΕΝΟΥΗΗΒ
 6 ΜΝ ΠΓΑΔΟΣ ΕΥΠΗΤ ΕΥΡΑΪ Ε
 ΖΩΝ ΜΝ ΨΕΝΩΜΕ ΩΟΣ ΕΨ
 8 ΝΑΨΟΥΒΗ· ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΕΨΥΤΟΡ
 ΤΡ ΖΕ ΝΝΕΝΜΟΥ· ΔΩ ΠΕ
 10 ΖΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΖΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΔΕΨΟΟΣ
 ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΜΗΨΕ ΝΣΟΠ ΖΕ
 12 ΨΕΝΒΛΛΕΕΨΕ ΝΕ ΕΜΝ ΖΑΨ
 ΜΟΕΙΤ ΝΤΑΨ· ΕΨΨΕ ΚΟΥ
 14 ΩΨ ΕΣΟΥΩΝ ΤΕΨΜΗΤ
 ΒΛΛΕ ΚΩ ΝΝΕΚΣΙΖ ΩΪΡΗ ΝΙΒΑΔ ΜΝ·
 16 ΠΠΟΔΗΡΗ ΝΤΑΚ· ΔΩ ΔΖΙΣ ΖΕ
 ΟΨ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΥ· ΔΝΟΚ
 18 ΔΕ ΝΤΑΡΓΑΔΣ ΜΠΙΝΑΨ ΕΛΔ
 ΔΨ· ΔΕΨΟΟΣ ΖΕ ΜΜΝ ΛΑΔΨ
 20 ΝΑΨ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΠΕΖΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΖΕ
 ΔΡΙ ΠΑΪ ΟΝ· ΔΩ ΔΨΩΠΕ
 22 ΜΜΟΥ ΝΣΙ ΟΨΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΨ
 ΡΑΨΕ· ΔΕΙΝΑΨ ΓΑΡ ΕΨΟΥ

71,27

ἀποχή is understood here as a (mistaken) variant of ἀπόχυσις, which in this context requires the meaning of the verb from which the latter is derived, ἀποχέω "shed, pour out." The three topics of instruction following ΕΤΒΕ ("concerning") are the shedding of blood, the crowning, and the radiant body and are referred to as a threefold correction of Peter in 72,2-4. Cf. John 21:15-17.

regarding the shedding (ἀποχή) (of blood)
 28 which tore him – even the sinews
 of his hands and his feet –
 30 and (regarding) the crowning
 by those of the middle region (μεσότης),
 32 and (regarding) the body (σῶμα) of
 his radiance.
 34 In the hope (ἐλπίς) of
 72
 service (διακονία) he was brought forth for the sake of
 2 an honorable reward. Thus (ὥς) he will correct you
 three times
 4 in this night.” And (δέ) as he was saying
 these things, I saw the priests
 6 and the people (λαός) running toward
 us with stones, as if (ὥς) they were
 8 about to kill us. And (δέ) I was afraid
 that we were going to die. And
 10 he said to me, “Peter, I have told
 you many times that
 12 they are blind ones who have
 no leader. If you want
 14 to understand their blindness,
 put your hands <and> your robe (ποδήρης)
 16 over (your) eyes and describe
 what you see.” But (δέ) when I
 18 had done it, I did not see
 anything. I said, “There is nothing
 20 to see.” Again (πάλιν) he told me,
 “Do it again.” And
 22 fear came over me <and>
 joy, for (γάρ) I saw a

72,4ff. For a similar literary device involving a vision of events in Jerusalem and a simultaneous revelatory discourse explaining their significance, see *Act. John* 97-101.

72,10-13 Cf. Matt 9:36; 15:14; 23:16.

72,15-16 The scribe nearly omitted βαλ ᾠ πτ by homoioteleuton with πτ, but he corrected his own error by squeezing in βαλ ᾠ (= ᾠπ) at the end of line 15 and by inserting πτ in the left margin of line 16.

24 ΟΕΙΝ ΒΒ̄ρρε ΕΝΕΔΥ ΕΠΟΤΟ
 ΕΙΝ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΡΟΟΤ̄ Μ̄Μ̄Ν
 26 Ν̄CΩC ΔΥΕΙ ΕΡΑῙ ΕΞ̄Μ ΠCΩ
 ΤΗΡ̄ Δ̄Ω ΔΕΙΤΑΜΟΥ ΕΝΗ
 28 ΕΤΑΕΙΝΑΤ̄ ΕΡΟΟΤ̄ Δ̄Ω
 ΠΕΖΑΥ ΝΑῙ ΟΝ ΖΕ ΤΩΩΝ
 30 Ν̄ΝΕΚCΙΖ ΕΡΑῙ Δ̄Ω CΩ
 Τ̄Μ ΕΠΗ ΕΤΟΤ̄ΖΩ Μ̄ΜΟΥ [Ν̄]

ΟΤ̄

CΙ ΝΙΟΤ̄ΗΗΒ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΛΑΟC Δ̄Ω
 2 ΔΕΙCΩΤ̄Μ ΕΝΙΟΤ̄ΗΗΒ ΕΤΥΜΟ
 ΟC Μ̄Ν ΝΙCΑῩ ΝΕΡΕΝΙΜ̄ΗΗCΥΕ
 4 ΩC ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄Ν ΤΟΤ̄CΜ̄Ν̄ ΕΤΑΥ
 CΩΤ̄Μ ΕΝΑῙ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄ ΠΕ
 6 ΖΑΥ ΝΑῙ ΖΕ ΤΩΩΝ Ν̄ΝΙΜ̄ΑΔ
 ΖΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΕΚΑΠΕ̄ Δ̄Ω CΩ
 8 Τ̄Μ ΕΝΗ ΕΤΟΤ̄ΖΩ Μ̄ΜΟΟΤ̄
 Δ̄Ω ΔΕΙCΩΤ̄Μ ΟΝ ΕΚΥΜΟ
 10 ΟC ΕΤ̄ ΕΟΟΤ̄ ΝΑΚ̄ Δ̄Ω
 ΝΑῙ ΕῙΖΩ Μ̄ΜΟΟΤ̄ ΠΕΖΕ ΠCΩ
 12 ΤΗΡ̄ ΖΕ ΔΕΙΖΟΟC ΝΑΚ̄ ΖΕ ΝΑῙ
 ΖΕΝΒ̄ΛΛΕΕΤΕ ΝΕ Δ̄Ω ΖΕΝ
 14 ΚΟΤ̄Ρ ΝΕ̄ CΩΤ̄Μ CΕ †ΝΟΤ̄
 ΕΝΗ ΕΤΟΤ̄ΖΩ Μ̄ΜΟΟΤ̄ ΝΑΚ̄
 16 Ω̄Ν ΟCΜ̄ΤCΤΗΡΙΟΝ̄ Δ̄Ω Δ
 ΡΕΥ ΕΡΟΟΤ̄ Μ̄Π̄ΡΖΟΟΤ̄ ΕΝΙ
 18 ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΔΙΩΝ̄ ΕΚΕ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΤΟΚ ΕΤ̄ΖΕ ΟCΑ
 20 ΕΡΟΚ̄ Ν̄ΡΑῙ Ω̄Ν ΝΕῙΔΙΩΝ̄ ΕΤ̄
 Ε Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄CΟΟΤ̄Η ΕΡΟΚ̄ ΕΤ̄
 22 † ΕΟΟΤ̄ ΔΕ ΝΑΚ̄ Ω̄Ν ΟCΤ̄ΗΩ
 CΙC̄ ΟC̄Ν̄ ΟC̄Μ̄ΗΗCΥΕ ΓΑΡ
 24 ΝΑΖΙ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄Ν †ΑΡΧΗ Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΠΕΝΨΑΖΕ̄ Δ̄Ω CΕΝΑΚΟ
 26 ΤΟΤ̄ ΕΡΟΟΤ̄ ΟΝ Ω̄Μ ΠΟΤ̄ΩCΥ
 Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΟΤ̄ΠΑΔ

24 new light greater than the
 light of day. Then
 26 it came down upon the Savior (σωτήρ).
 And I told him
 28 what I saw. And
 he said to me again, "Lift up
 30 your hands and
 listen to what

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the priests and the people (λαός) are saying." And
 2 I listened to the priests as they sat
 with the scribes. The multitudes were
 4 shouting with their voices. When he
 heard these things from me
 6 he said to me, "Prick up your ears
 and listen
 8 to the things they are saying."
 And I listened again. "As you sit,
 10 they are praising you." And
 when I said these things, the Savior (σωτήρ) said,
 12 "I have told you that these (people)
 are blind and
 14 deaf. Now then, listen to
 the things that are being told to you
 16 in a mystery (μυστήριον), and
 guard them. Do not tell them to the
 18 children of this age (αἰών).
 For (γάρ) you will be despised
 20 in these ages (αἰών), since they
 are ignorant of you.
 22 But you will be praised in (the age of) knowledge (γνώσις).
 For (γάρ) many
 24 will accept our teaching in the beginning (ἀρχή).
 But they will turn
 26 away again in accordance with the will
 of the father of their error (πλάνη),

28 ΝΗ ΖΕ ΔΘΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΤΕ ΘΝΑΥ
 ΔΘΩ ΦΝΑΘΘΟΝΘΟΘ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 30 ΘΡΑΪ ΘΜ ΠΕΥΘΑΠ· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ
 ΠΕ ΝΙΡΕΥΨΜΨΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΨΑ
 32 ΖΕ· ΝΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΘΨΩΠΕ ΕΘ
 ΟΔ
 ΜΟΔΘ ΜΝ ΝΑΪ· ΕΘΕΨΩΠΕ
 2 ΝΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟC ΝΤΟΟΤΘ
 ΕΘΕ ΝΔΝΕCΘΗΤΟΝ· ΠΙΔΚΕ
 4 ΡΑΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΔΤΚΡΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΑ
 ΘΟΝ· ΕΘΤΩΘΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΘΡΑΪ
 6 ΕΠΙΡΕΥΡ ΘΩΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΟΘ
 ΔΘΩ ΨΑ ΘΡΑΪ ΕΨΜΝΤΡΡΟ Ν
 8 ΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΘΨ ΕΟΘΘ ΜΠΙΧC· Ν
 ΘΡΑΪ ΘΝ ΘΘΑΠΟΚΑΤΑCΤΑCΙC·
 10 ΔΘΩ ΕΘΨ ΕΟΘΘ ΝΝΙΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΩ ΘΡΑΪ ΜΜΝΤΝΟΘΖ
 12 ΝΗ ΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΝΗCΩΚ·
 ΔΘΩ ΕΘΝΑΤΩΘΕ ΘΡΑΪ ΕΠΡΑΝ
 14 ΝΤΕ ΘΘΡΕΥΜΟΟΘΤ· ΕΘΜΕ
 ΕΘΕ ΖΕ ΕΘΝΑΤΒΒΟ· ΔΘΩ ΕΘ
 16 ΝΑΤΩΛΜ ΝΘΟΘΘ· ΔΘΩ ΝCΕ
 ΘΕ ΘΡΑΪ ΕΘΡΑΝ ΝΤΕ ΨΠΛΑΝΗ
 18 ΔΘΩ ΕΤΟΟΤΨ ΝΘΘΡΕΥΡ ΤΕ
 ΧΗΝ ΕΥΘΟΟΘ· ΜΝ ΘΘΔΟCΜΑ
 20 ΝΘΘΜΗΝΨΕ ΜΜΟΡΦΗ· ΕΘ
 ΡΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΖΩΘΘ ΘΝ ΘΘΜΝΤ
 22 ΘΕΡΕCΙC· ΘΕΝΘΟΕΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΗΤΟΘ ΕΘΝΑΨΩΠΕ
 24 ΕΘΖΕ ΘΘΑ ΕΨΜΝΤΜΕ· ΔΘΩ
 ΕΘΖΕ ΨΑΖΕ ΕΥΘΟΟΘ· ΔΘΩ
 26 CΕΝΑΔΩ ΝΘΕΝΠΕΤΘΟΘ
 ΕΝΕΘΕΡΗΘ· ΘΕΝΘΟΕΙΝΕ

73,31 Cf. Luke 1:2.

74,3-5 "guileless, good": Cf. *Treat. Seth* 60,8-10, where the same terms are used to describe the Gnostic congregation.

28 because they have done what he wanted.
 And he will make manifest
 30 in his judgment who
 the servants of the word are.
 32 But (δέ) those who became
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 mingled with these will become
 2 their prisoners (αἰχμάλωτος),
 since they are without perception (ἀναίσθητος).
 4 And (δέ) the guileless (ἀκέραιον), good (ἀγαθόν),
 pure one is pushed
 6 to the executioner,
 even into the kingdom of
 8 those who praise
 a restored (ἀποκατάστασις) Christ.
 10 And they praise the men
 of the propagation of falsehood,
 12 who will succeed you.
 And they will hold fast to the name
 14 of a dead man, while thinking
 that they will become pure. But
 16 they will become greatly defiled. And they will
 fall into an explicit error (πλάνη)
 18 and into the hand of an
 evil, cunning man (-τέχνη) with a
 20 multifarious (μορφή) doctrine (δόγμα). And they will
 be ruled (ἀρχεῖν)
 22 heretically (-αἵρεσις). For (γάρ) some
 of them will
 24 blaspheme the truth and
 proclaim evil teaching. And
 26 they will say evil things
 to each other.

74,9 Lit. “. . . praise Christ in a restoration.”

74,13-15 Cf. *Treat. Seth* 60,21-22; *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 136,20-22.

28 ΜΕΝ ΣΕΝΑΪ ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΟϞ ΖΕ
 ΕϞΑΘΕΡΑΤΟϞ Ϟ̅Ν ΟϞΣΟΜ Ν̅
 30 ΤΕ ΜΙΑΡΧΩΝ̅ Ν̅ΤΕ ΟϞΡΩ
 ΜΕ Μ̅Ν ΟϞΣϞ̅ΜΕ ΕΣΚΗΚ Δ
 32 Ϟ̅ΝΟϞ ΕΣΕ Ν̅ΟϞΜΗΝϞΕ
 Μ̅ΜΟΡΦΗ Μ̅Ν ΟϞΜΗΝϞΕ
 34 Ν̅Ν̅ΜΚΑϞ Ϟ̅Ω ΕϞΕϞΩ

Ο̅Ε

πε Ν̅ΣΙ ΝΗ ΕΤ̅ΖΩ Ν̅ΝΑΪ ΕϞϞ
 2 ΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ϞΕΝΡΑϞΟϞ ΚΑΝ ΕϞ
 Ϟ̅ΑΝΖΟΟϞ ΖΕ ΟϞΡΑϞΟϞ ΔϞ
 4 Ε̅Ι ΕΒΟΛ Ϟ̅Ν ΟϞΔΑΪΜΩΝ ΕϞ
 Μ̅ΠϞΑ Ν̅ΤΕϞΠΛΑΝΗ̅ ΤΟΤΕ
 6 ΕϞΕϞ ΝΑϞ Μ̅ΠΙΤΑΚΟ ΕΠΜΑ
 Ν̅ϞΑΦΘΑΡϞΙΑ̅ ΠΙΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΑΡ
 8 Μ̅Μ̅Ν Ϟ̅ΣΟΜ Ν̅Ϟ̅Ϟ̅ Ν̅ΟϞΚΑΡ
 ΠΟϞ Ν̅ΑΓΑΘΟΝ̅ ΠΟϞΑ ΓΑΡ ΠΟϞ
 10 Δ ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΟϞΕΒΟΛ Μ̅ΜΟΟϞ
 ΠΕ Ϟ̅ΑϞ̅Ϟ̅ Μ̅ΠΗ ΕΤΕΙΝΕ Μ̅ΜΟϞ̅
 12 ΟϞΤΕ ΓΑΡ Ϟ̅Ϟ̅ΧΗ ΝΙΜ Ν̅ϞΕΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ϟ̅Ν Ϟ̅Μ̅Ν̅ΤΜΕ ΔΝ ΝΕ̅ ΟϞ
 14 ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ϟ̅Ν Ϟ̅Μ̅Ν̅ΤΑΤΜΟϞ̅
 Ϟ̅Ϟ̅ΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ Ν̅ΤΕ ΝΕΪΔΙΩΝ
 16 ΟϞΜΟϞ ΠΕΤΟϞΗΠ ΕΡΟϞ Ν̅
 ΝΑϞΡΑΝ̅ ΚΑΘΟΤΙ ΖΕ ΟϞΡΕϞ
 18 Ϟ̅Μ̅ϞΕ ΤΕ Ν̅ΟϞΟΕΙϞ ΝΙΜ̅
 ΕϞΤΑΜΙΟ Μ̅ΜΟϞ Ν̅ΝΙΕΠΙ
 20 Θ̅ϞΜΙΑ Ν̅ΤΑϞ̅ Μ̅Ν ΟϞΤΑΚΟ
 Ν̅ϞΑ ΕΝΕϞ Ν̅ΤΑϞ̅ ΕΤΕ ΠΕ
 22 ΤΟϞϞΟΟΠ Μ̅ΜΟϞ ΠΕ̅ ΔϞΩ
 ΠΗ ΕΤΟϞϞΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̅ϞΗ
 24 Τ̅Ϟ̅ ΕϞ̅ΡΑΓΑΠΑ Ν̅ΝΙϞΩΝ̅Τ̅ Ν̅
 ΤΕ Ϟ̅Ϟ̅ΛΗ ΕΤΑϞΠΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 26 Ν̅Μ̅ΜΑϞ̅ Ν̅ΣΕΕΙΝΕ ΔΕ Ν̅ΝΑΪ
 ΔΝ Ω ΠΕΤΡΕ Ν̅ΣΙ ΝΗϞ̅Ϟ̅ΧΗ Ν̅

75,7-11 Cf. 76,4-8 and Matt 7:18; 12:35; Luke 6:43; Jas 3:12.

28 And some (+μέν), because
 they stand by virtue
 30 of the archons (ἄρχων), will be given a name of a man
 and a naked woman
 32 who is multifarious (μορφή)
 and very
 34 sensual. And

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those who say these things will
 2 ask about dreams. And if (κἄν) they
 say that a dream
 4 came from a demon (δαίμων)
 worthy of their error (πλάνη), then (τότε)
 6 they will be given destruction instead
 of immortality. 'For (γάρ) evil (κακόν)
 8 cannot produce
 good (ἀγαθόν) fruit (καρπός).' For (γάρ) each
 10 source
 produces what is like itself.
 12 For (γάρ) not every soul (ψυχή) comes
 from the truth, nor (οὔτε)
 14 from immortality.
 For (γάρ) every soul (ψυχή) of these ages (αἰών)
 16 has death assigned to it,
 in our view. Consequently (καθότι)
 18 it is always a slave.
 It is created for
 20 its desires (ἐπιθυμία) and their eternal
 destruction, for which
 22 they exist and
 in which they exist.
 24 They (the souls) love (ἀγαπᾶν) the
 material (ὑλη) creatures which came forth
 26 with them. But (δέ)
 the immortal souls (ψυχή) are not like these,

75,10 Lit. "For each place which it is from them." This Coptic circumlocution seems to describe the origin of each fruit, hence "source."

28 ΑΤΜΟΤ' ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΟσον ΜΕΝ
 ΕCΨΟΟΠ Ν̄ΡΑΙ ὧ̄Ν Ο̄ΘΕΙ ΔΗ
 30 Ν̄CΙ †Ο̄ΘΝΟΤ' ΕCΕΨΩΠΕ
 ΜΕΝ ΕCΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΗ ΕΤ̄ΜΟ
 32 Ο̄Τ' ΑΛΛΑ CΝΑΟ̄ΩΝ̄Θ̄ ΔΗ
 Ν̄ΤΕCΦ̄Θ̄CΙC ΕΒΟΛ' ΕCΨΟ
 34 ΟΠ ΜᾹΘΑΔΑC ΕΝΤΟC ΤΕ †
 Ο̄C
 ΑΤΜΟΤ' ΕCΨΟΞ̄ΝΕ ΕΤ̄ΒΕ
 2 Ο̄ΘΑΤΜΟΤ' ΕCΡ̄ΠΙCΤΕΤΕ
 Δ̄Θ̄Ω Ε̄CΡ̄ΕΠΙΘ̄CΜΙ ΕΚΩ Ν̄CΩC
 4 Ν̄ΝΑΙ' Ο̄ΘΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΜᾹΘΚΕΤ̄Υ Κ̄Ν
 ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ὧ̄Ν Ὠ̄ΝCΟ̄ΘΡΕ' Η̄ ΕΒΟΛ
 6 ὧ̄Ν Ὠ̄ΝΨΟΝΤΕ' ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕC
 ΨΑΝ̄Ρ CΑΒΕ' Ο̄ΘΔΕ ΕΛΟΟΔΕ
 8 ΕΒΟΛ ὧ̄Ν CΟ̄ΘΡΕ Ν̄ΝΟΞΕ' ΠΗ
 ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΨΑΥΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΟΤ
 10 ΟΕΨΥ ΝΙΜ ὧ̄Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΕΥΨΟΟΠ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΘΗΤ̄Υ' ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ
 12 ὧ̄Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΝΑΝΟ̄CΥ ΔΗ' ΕΨΑΥ
 ΨΩΠΕ Ε̄ΘΤΑΚΟ ΝΑC Μ̄Ν Ο̄C
 14 ΜΟΤ' ΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΨΑCΨΩΠΕ
 ὧ̄Μ ΠΨΑ ΕΝΕῶ ὧ̄Μ ΠΗ Ν̄ΤΕ
 16 ΠΩΝ̄Θ̄' Μ̄Ν †Μ̄ΝΤΑΤΜΟΤ' Ν̄
 ΤΕ ΠΩΝ̄Θ̄ ΕΤΟΘΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ'
 18 ΠΗ Ο̄ΘΝ ΤΗΡ̄Υ ΕΤΕ Ν̄ΥΨΟΟΠ
 ΔΗ ΕΥΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡ̄ΑΙ ΕΠΕ
 20 ΤΕ Ν̄ΥΨΟΟΠ ΔΗ' CΕΨΟΟΠ
 ΓΑΡ Ν̄CΙ Ὠ̄ΝΚΟ̄ΘΡ Δ̄Θ̄Ω Ὠ̄Ν
 22 Ε̄ΛΛΕCΤΕ Ε̄Θ̄ΘΟΤ̄Π Μ̄Ν ΝΕ
 ΤΕ ΝΟ̄ΘΟΤ ΜᾹΘΑΔΑΤ' Ὠ̄Ν
 24 ΚΟΟ̄ΘΕ ΔΕ Ε̄ΘΕΟ̄ΘΩΤ̄Β
 ΕΒΟΛ ὧ̄Ν Ὠ̄ΝΨΑΞΕ Μ̄ΠΟΝΗ

75,28-29 Lit. "But as long as it is not in coming, namely the hour."

75,34 ΕΝΤΟC = Ν̄ΤΟC, following ΜᾹΘΑΔΑC.

76,4-8 Cf. 75,7-11 and Luke 6:44, which is a closer parallel than Matt 7:16.

76,8-17 The structure of this complex exegetical passage is determined by the

- 28 O (ὦ) Peter. But (ἀλλά) indeed (μέν), as long as (ἐφ' ὅσον)
the hour has not yet come,
30 she (the immortal soul) will
indeed (μέν) resemble a mortal one.
32 But (ἀλλά) she will not reveal
her nature (φύσις), although she
34 alone is the
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immortal one and thinks about
2 immortality. She has faith (πιστεύειν),
and desires (ἐπιθυμείν) to renounce
4 these (material) things. 'For (γάρ) people neither (οὔτε) gather
figs from thorns'—or (ἢ) from
6 thorn trees if they
are wise—'nor (οὔδε) grapes
8 from brambles.'
For (γάρ) on the one hand (μέν), a particular thing (masc.)
10 always remains in that (condition)
in which it exists. If it exists in a
12 particular condition that is not good, that (condition)
becomes its (fem.) destruction and death.
14 On the other hand (δέ), this one (fem. = the immortal soul)
abides in the Eternal One, in the one of
16 life and immortality of
life which are alike to Him.
18 Therefore (οὖν) everything that does not abide
will dissolve into that
20 which does not exist.
For (γάρ) deaf and
22 blind ones join only with
their own kind.
24 But (δέ) some will depart
from evil (πονηρόν) words

juxtaposition of ΠΗ ΜΕΝ (8-9) and ΤΗ ΔΕ (14) referring to the material soul in the masculine and the immortal soul in the feminine. A grammatical shift from the masculine to the feminine at line 13 enables the commentator to apply the text to the immortal soul.

26 ρΟΝ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΛΩΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
 Ἰ̄CΕΡ̄Μ̄ ΛΑΟΣ̄ ΖΕΝΖΟΪΝΕ
 28 ΕΝCΕCΟΟΘ̄Ν Μ̄ΛΩCΤΗΡΙ
 ΟΝ ΔΗ̄ ΕΘ̄ΞΩ Ἰ̄ΝΗ̄ ΕΤΕ Ἰ̄
 30 CΕCΟΟΘ̄Ν Μ̄ΜΟΟΘ̄ ΔΗ̄
 ΑΛΛΑ CΕΝΑΨΟΘΨΟΘ̄ Μ̄
 32 Μ̄ΟΟΘ̄ ΞΕ ΕῩἸ̄ΤΟΟΤΟΘ̄
 Ἰ̄CΙ ΠΙΜΩCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΑΘ̄
 34 ΔΑΘ̄ Ἰ̄ΤΕ †Μ̄Ἰ̄ΤΜΕ̄ ΔΘ̄Ψ
 Ἰ̄ΖΡΑΪ̄ ὅ̄Ν ΟΘ̄ΞΙCΕ Ἰ̄ΖΗΤ̄

ὅ̄ς

ΕΘ̄Εῶ̄Ῑ ΤΟΟΤΟΘ̄ {ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ἰ̄Τ̄
 2 ΞΑCΙΖΗΤ̄} ΕΡ̄Φ̄ΘΟΝῙ Ε†ΨΘ̄
 ΧΗ̄ Ἰ̄ΑΤΜΟΘ̄ ΕΤΑCΡ̄ ΕΟΘ̄Ω̄
 4 ΕΖΟΘ̄CΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΠΙΜ̄ ΟΘ̄ΑΡΧΗ̄
 ΔΘ̄Ω ΟΘ̄CΟΜ̄ Ἰ̄ΤΕ ΝΙΑΙΩΝ̄
 6 ΨΑΘ̄ΟΘ̄Ψ̄ ΕΨΩΠΕ Μ̄Ἰ̄
 ΝΑΪ̄ Ἰ̄ΖΡΑΪ̄ ὅ̄Μ̄ ΠΙCΩΝΤ̄ Ἰ̄ΤΕ
 8 ΠΙΚΟCΜΟC̄ ὅ̄Ἰ̄ΝΑ ΝΗ̄ ΕΤΕ
 Ἰ̄CΕΨΟΟΠ̄ ΔΗ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ὅ̄Ἰ̄ΤΟΟ
 10 ΤΟΘ̄ Ἰ̄ΝΗ̄ Ε†ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΕΔΘ̄Ω
 Β̄Ψ̄ ΕΡΟΟΘ̄ Ἰ̄CΕ† ΕΟΟΘ̄ ΝΑΘ̄
 12 ΕΜΠΟΘ̄ΝΟΘ̄ὅ̄Μ̄ ΟΘ̄ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΟΘ̄
 Ἰ̄ΤΟΘ̄ ΕΤΕῶ̄Ἰ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ̄ ὅ̄Ἰ̄ΤΟΟΤΟΘ̄
 14 ΕΘ̄ΟΘ̄Ψ̄ Ἰ̄ΟΘ̄ΟΕΨ̄ ΠΙΜ̄
 ὅ̄Ἰ̄ΝΑ ΞΕ ΕΘ̄ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕἸ̄ΤΟ
 16 ΟΘ̄ ΝΕ ΝΙΑΤ̄ΒΩΛ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΕΨΩ
 ΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΨΩΔΗ†ΨΘ̄ΧΗ̄ Ἰ̄ΑΤΜΟΘ̄
 18 ΕΨΩΔΗΞῙ CΟΜ̄ Ἰ̄ΖΡΑΪ̄ ὅ̄Ν ΟΘ̄
 Π̄ΝΑ Ἰ̄ΝΟΕΡΟΝ̄ Ἰ̄ΤΕΘ̄ΝΟΘ̄
 20 ΔΕ ΨΑΘ̄Ρ̄Θ̄ΡΟΜΑΞΕ ΕΞ̄Μ̄ ΠΗ̄
 Ἰ̄ΤΕ ΝΗ̄ Ἰ̄ΤΑΘ̄CΩΡ̄Μ̄ Μ̄ΜΟ
 22 ΟΘ̄ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΘ̄Ε ΔΕ ΕΝΑ
 ΨΩΟΘ̄ ΕΘ̄† ΕΖΟΘ̄Ν ΕΞ̄Ν̄ †
 24 Μ̄Ἰ̄ΤΜΕ̄ ΕΤΕ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC̄

77,1-2

ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ἰ̄Τ̄ ΞΑCΙΖΗΤ̄ is redundant and syntactically difficult. It may have been a marginal gloss that has been taken into the text.

26 and deceptive (-λαός) mysteries (μυστήριον).
 Others
 28 do not understand mysteries (μυστήριον),
 although they speak of these things which
 30 they do not understand.
 Nevertheless (ἀλλά) they will boast
 32 that the mystery (μυστήριον)
 of the truth is theirs
 34 alone. And
 in haughtiness

77

they will begin {in haughtiness}
 2 to envy (φθόνειν) the
 immortal soul (ψυχή) that has become dedicated (to God).
 4 For (γάρ) every authority (ἐξουσία), principality (ἀρχή),
 and power of the ages (αἰών)
 6 always wanted to remain with
 these (immortal souls) from the foundation of
 8 the world (κόσμος), in order that (ἵνα) those who
 do not abide, since they have been
 10 ignorant and have not been saved,
 may be glorified by those who do abide.
 12 And they have not (οὐτε) been
 brought to the way by them,
 14 although they have always desired
 that (ἵνα) they would become
 16 the imperishable ones.
 For (γάρ) if the immortal soul (ψυχή)
 18 receives power through an
 intellectual (νοερόν) spirit (πνεῦμα), then (δέ) immediately
 20 she is joined (ὀρμάζειν) by one
 of those who have been misled.
 22 And (δέ) others, who are
 numerous and who oppose the
 24 truth, who are the messengers (ἄγγελος)

77,20 ὀρμάζειν is a late form of ἀρμόζειν, "to join, attach oneself to," cf. LPGL, 947.

26 ΝΕ ΝΤΕ †ΠΛΑΝΗ· ΕΘΝΑ
 ΣΩΡ̅Θ̅ ΝΤΕϠΠΛΑΝΗ Μ̅Ν
 ΠΙΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΑϠ ΟϠΒΕ ΝΙ
 28 ΜΕΕϠΕ ΝΤΗΕΙ ΕΤΤΟϠ
 ΒΗΟϠΤ· ρΩC ΕϠΣΩΨ̅Τ
 30 ΕΒΟΛ ρ̅Ν ΟϠΑ ΕϠΜΕΕϠΕ
 ΖΕ ΝΙΑΓΑΘΟΝ Μ̅Ν ΝΙΠΟΝΗ
 32 ΡΟΝ ΖΕ ρΕΝΕΒΟΛ ρ̅Ν ΟϠΑ ΝΕ·
 ΕϠΡ̅ ΕΙΕΠΨΩΤ̅ Ν̅ΡΑΙ ρ̅Μ
 Ο̅Η
 ΠΑΨΑΖΕ· ΑϠΩ ΕϠΕΚΩ ΕΡΑΙ
 2 Ν̅ΟϠϒ̅ΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΕCΝΑΨ̅Τ
 ΕϠΝΑΠΩΤ̅ Ν̅ΡΑΙ Ν̅ΡΗΤ̅C ρ̅Ν
 4 ΟϠΠΕΤΨΟϠΕΙΤ̅ Ν̅CΙ ΠΙCΕ
 ΝΟC ΝΤΕ ΝΙΨϠΧΗ Ν̅ΑΤΜΟϠ
 6 ΨΑΡΑΙ ΕΤΑΠΑΡΟϠCΙΑ· ΕϠ
 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̅ΡΗΤΟϠ
 8 ΑϠΩ ΠΙΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̅ΤΑΙ ΝΤΕ
 ΝΟϠΠΑΡΑΠΤΩΜΑ· ΝΗ ΝΤΑϠ
 10 ρΕ Ν̅ΡΑΙ Ν̅ΡΗΤΟϠ ΕΒΟΛ ρ̅ΙΤΟ
 ΟΤΟϠ Ν̅ΝΙΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟC·
 12 ΕΤΕ ΔΙ̅ΖΙ Μ̅ΠΙCΩΤΕ ΝΤΑϠ
 ΠΡΟC †Μ̅ΝΤ̅Ρ̅Μ̅ΡΑΛ ΝΤΑϠ
 14 ΨΩΠΕ Ν̅ΡΗΤ̅C Ε† ΝΑϠ Ν̅ΟϠ
 Μ̅ΝΤ̅Ρ̅Μ̅ΡΕ· ΖΕ ΕϠΕΤΑΜΙΟ
 16 Ν̅ΟϠΨΩΞ̅ΤΙ Ν̅ΑΝΤΙΜΙΜΟΝ
 ΕΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΕ ΟϠΡΕϒΜΟΟϠΤ̅
 18 ΕΤΕ ρΕΡΜΑ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΨΟ
 Ρ̅Π̅ Μ̅ΜΙCΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΑΔΙΚΙΑ·
 20 ρ̅ΙΝΑ ΠΙΟϠΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 ΖΕ Ν̅ΝΟϠΝΑΡΤΕ ΕΡΟϒ ΕΒΟΛ

77,26 ΣΩΡ̅Θ̅ in this context has a double meaning of “to prepare, concoct a mixture” and “to ambush, waylay.”

77,29-32 A more interpretative translation would be “Since they perceive monistically, they imagine that good and evil come from a single source.”

77,33-78,1 Cf. 2 Cor 2:17.

of error (πλάνη), will
 26 concoct their error (πλάνη) and
 their law (νόμος) against
 28 these pure thoughts of mine.
 Since (ὥς) they see
 30 from one (perspective), they think
 that good (ἀγαθόν) and evil (πονηρόν)
 32 are from one (source).
 They do business in
 78
 my word. And they will set forth
 2 a harsh fate (εἰμαρμένη)
 in which the race (γένος) of the immortal
 4 souls (ψυχή) will run
 in vain
 6 until my return (παρουσία).
 For (γάρ) they will remain among them.
 8 And I have forgiveness of
 their transgressions (παράπτωμα)
 10 into which they fell because of
 the adversaries (ἀντικείμενος).
 12 I accepted their ransom
 from (πρός) the slavery in which
 14 they existed (and) I gave them
 freedom. For they will create
 16 an imitation (ἀντίμιμον) remnant
 in the name of a dead man,
 18 who is Hermas, the
 first-born of unrighteousness (ἀδικία),
 20 in order that (ἵνα) the real light
 might not be believed

77,6-7 **εἴπωμι** is an independent use of the III future. It translates μένειν and predicts the difficulties ahead for Gnostics coexisting with non-Gnostics in the church.
 78,8-9 This two-part adverbial sentence says literally, "Forgiveness is to me of their transgressions."

22 by the little ones.
 But those of this sort (the adversaries) are the
 24 workers (ἐργάτης) who will be cast into the outer darkness,
 away from the children
 26 of light. For (γάρ) they
 will not (οὐτε) enter,
 28 but (ἀλλά) neither (οὐτε) do they permit
 those (to enter) who are going up to
 30 their approval and for (πρός)
 their release. And (δέ)
 32 still others of them who
 have sensual (natures) think
 34 that they will perfect

79

the wisdom of the brotherhood
 2 that really (ὄντως) exists, the
 spiritual (πνεῦμα) friendship with those
 4 companions rooted in fellowship (κοινωνία),
 those through whom
 6 the wedding of
 incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία) will be revealed.
 8 The kindred race (γένος)
 of the sisterhood will appear
 10 as (κατά) an imitation (ἀντίμιμον).
 These are the ones who oppress
 12 their brothers, saying
 to them, 'Through this
 14 our God has pity,
 since salvation (allegedly) comes
 16 to us through this.' They do not know
 the punishment (κόλασις) of those who
 18 are delighted by what
 has been done to the little ones whom
 20 they sought out and

of the oppressors ends. The context suggests that εἰπωπε in line 15 begins a parenthetical and ironic comment expressing the author's rejection of the oppressors' motivation that they are promoting the salvation of the Gnostics by forcing orthodox doctrine upon them.

22 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΨΕ
 Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΗ ΕΤ̄ΣΑΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΕΝ
 24 ΗΠΕ· ΕΨ† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΨ ΖΕ
 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΨ· ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΖΕΝ
 26 ΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΘΩΣ ΕΑΨΖΙ Ν̄ΝΟΨ
 ΕΖΟΨΣΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̄ΙΤ̄Μ ΠΝΟΨ
 28 ΤΕ ΕΨΡΙΚΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΨ ΘΑ ΠΙ
 ΖΑΠ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΨΩΡΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΑ Ν̄
 30 ΘΜΟΟΨ ΝΗ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΨ ΝΕ
 ΝΙΟΟΡ Ν̄ΑΤΜΟΟΨ· ΑΝΟΚ
 32 ΔΕ ΠΕΖΑΪ ΖΕ †Ρ̄ ΘΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΝΗ Ν̄ΤΑΚΖΟΟΨ ΝΑΪ· Ζ[Ε] ΖΕΝ
 Π̄
 ΚΟΨΕΙ ΜΕΝ Ν̄ΝΑΘΡΑΝ ΝΕ ΝΙ
 2 ΠΑΡΑ ΠΨΩΛΘ̄· ΕΨ̄Ν ΖΕΝΜΗ
 ΗΨΨΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΨΝΑΨΩΡ̄Μ Ν̄ΖΕΝ
 4 ΚΕΜΗΗΨΨΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΝΘ̄·
 ΕΨΟΨΩΘ̄Π̄ Μ̄ΜΟΟΨ Ν̄ΘΡΑΪ
 6 Ν̄ΘΗΤΟΨ· ΑΨΩ ΕΨΨΩ Μ̄ΠΕ
 ΚΡΑΝ ΣΕΝΑΤΑΝΘΟΨΤΟΨ·
 8 ΠΕΖΕ ΠΨΩΤΗΡ ΖΕ ΟΨΧΡΟ
 ΝΟΨ ΠΕΤ̄ΤΗΨ ΝΑΨ Θ̄Ν ΟΨ
 10 ΗΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΟΨΠΛΑΝΗ ΕΨΝΑ
 Ρ̄ Ρ̄ΡΟ ΕΞ̄Ν ΝΙΚΟΨΕΙ ΑΨΩ Μ̄
 12 Μ̄Ν̄ΗΣΑ ΠΙΨΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕ
 †ΠΛΑΝΗ ΕΨΕΡ̄ Θ̄ΡΡΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΙΑ
 14 Τ̄Ρ Θ̄ΛΛΟ Ν̄ΤΕ †ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ Ν̄ΑΤ
 ΜΟΨ· ΑΨΩ ΕΨΕΡ̄ Ρ̄ΡΟ ΕΞ̄Ν
 16 ΝΗ ΕΤΕ Ν̄Ρ̄ Ρ̄ΡΟ ΕΡΡΑΪ ΕΨΩΟΨ·
 ΑΨΩ ΤΟΨΠΛΑΝΗ ΕΨΕΤΩ
 18 Κ̄Μ Ν̄ΤΕΣΝΟΨΝΕ· ΑΨΩ ΕΨΕ
 ΑΔΨ Ν̄ΣΤΡΑΘ Ν̄ΣΟΨΩΝΘ̄ ΕΒΟΛ

79,29-30 Lit. "the judgment of the first seats." ΝΨΩΡΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΑ Ν̄ΘΜΟΟΨ is a translation of πρωτοκαθεδρία. Cf. Matt 23:6. This may also be a reference to tensions like those described in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*Hermas Mand.* 11.12) and in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* (7.16).

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 And (8
 of those
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 "deacon
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Cf. 2 Pet
 For the p
 στραθ
 spelling

imprisoned (αἰχμαλωτεύειν).

- 22 And (δέ) there will be others
of those who are outside our
24 number who name themselves
“bishop” and (δέ) also (ἐπί)
26 “deacons”, as if (ὡς) they have received
their authority (ἐξουσία) from God.
28 They submit to the
judgment of the leaders.
30 Those people are
dry canals.”
32 But (δέ) I said, “I am afraid because
of what you have told me,—that
80
indeed (μέν) little ones are, in our view,
2 counterfeit (παρά-). Indeed (μέν), there are
multitudes that will mislead
4 other multitudes of living ones,
and they will be destroyed among
6 them. And when they speak your name,
they will be believed.”
8 The Savior (σωτήρ) said, “For a period of time (χρόνος)
determined for them in
10 proportion to their error (πλάνη), they will
rule over the little ones. But
12 after the completion of
the error (πλάνη), the
14 ageless one of immortal understanding (διάνοια)
will be renewed, and they (the little ones) will rule
16 over those who are their rulers.
The root of their error (πλάνη)
18 he will pull out, and he will
put it to shame, and it will be exposed

79,31 Cf. 2 Pet 2:17.

80,2 For the phrase παρα πτωλῶ, see *Treat. Seth* 62,28.38; 63,21; 69,9.

80,19 τπραϑ is from cπραϑ (Crum, 358a). Cf. 82,3 where the same unusual spelling occurs, and 80,29 and 81,22, where the normal form is found.

20 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ ϵ
 $\alpha\varsigma\psi\omega\pi$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$
 22 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\alpha\bar{\tau}\psi\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}$
 24 $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\omega\kappa$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$
 26 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\tau}\bar{\zeta}\omega\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\mu}$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$
 $\bar{\gamma}\alpha\rho$ $\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\alpha$
 28 $\varsigma\omega\kappa$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$ $\epsilon\bar{\sigma}$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\alpha\alpha\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\rho\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$
 30 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\omega\rho$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{o}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon$
 32 $\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\tau}\epsilon\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\tau}\epsilon\kappa\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\sigma}\alpha\bar{\nu}$

$\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$

$\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$ $\epsilon\bar{\sigma}\epsilon\bar{\tau}\omega\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\sigma}$
 2 $\delta\bar{\iota}\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}\alpha$ $\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\alpha\bar{\tau}\bar{\upsilon}$ $\bar{\gamma}\alpha\rho$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\sigma}$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\alpha$
 4 $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ $\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\sigma}$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{o}\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\psi\bar{\zeta}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\sigma}\alpha\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\bar{\tau}\epsilon$
 6 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\gamma$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\lambda$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\sigma}$ $\epsilon\rho\bar{o}\gamma$
 8 $\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{o}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\kappa$ $\bar{\mu}\alpha\bar{\sigma}\alpha\alpha\kappa$
 $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\kappa$ $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$
 10 $\bar{\mu}\alpha\rho\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$
 $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\psi\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}$
 12 $\varsigma\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$ $\kappa\epsilon\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\alpha$ $\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}$
 ϵ $\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\epsilon\rho\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$
 14 $\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{o}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$
 $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\sigma}$
 16 $\epsilon\rho\bar{o}\gamma$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\psi\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}$
 $\alpha\bar{\tau}\omega$ $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$
 18 $\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\kappa}\omega$
 $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{o}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma$
 20 $\bar{o}\bar{\sigma}\epsilon\rho\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\rho\kappa\bar{\iota}\kappa\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$
 $\bar{\tau}\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\psi\bar{\iota}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$

20 in all the impudence that it
 has assumed to itself. And
 22 such persons shall remain
 unchanged, O (ὦ) Peter. Come,
 24 therefore (οὖν)! Let us proceed to the completion
 of the will of the
 26 undefiled Father.
 For (γάρ) behold, those who will
 28 bring judgment upon themselves are coming. And they
 will put themselves to shame. But (δέ)
 30 me they cannot touch.
 And (δέ) you, O (ὦ) Peter, will
 32 stand in their midst. Do not be
 afraid because of your cowardice.

81

Their minds (διάνοια) will be closed.
 2 For (γάρ) the invisible (ἀόρατος) one
 has opposed them.” When
 4 he had said those things, I saw him
 apparently being seized
 6 by them. And
 I said, “What am I seeing,
 8 O (ὦ) Lord? Is it you yourself
 whom they take? And are you
 10 holding on to me? Who (+ἦ) is this one
 above the cross, who is glad and laughing?
 12 And is it another person
 whose feet and
 14 hands they are hammering?”
 The Savior (σωτήρ) said to me. “He whom you see
 16 above the cross, glad
 and laughing, is the
 18 living Jesus. But (δέ) he
 into whose hands and
 20 feet they are driving the nails is his physical part (σαρκικόν),
 which is the substitute.

81,21 **ἔβρω** probably translates ἀντάλλαγμα. Cf. Mark 8:37; Matt 16:26.

- 22 εσειρε ἄμοϋ ἡσραϋ· πη
 εταϋψωπε κατα πεϋεινε
 24 ἀναϑ δε εροϋ ἡἡμαῖ· ἀνοκ
 δε ἡτερῖναϑ πεχαῖ δε
 26 πχοεις ἡἡἡ ἡααϑ ναϑ ε
 ροκ μαρῖπωτ̄ εβολ ἡπι
 28 μα· ἡτοϋ δε πεχαϋ ναῖ
 δε δειϑοοκ νακ δε ρεν
 30 βῆλλεεϑε ἀλοκ ραροοϑ̄
 αϑω ἡτοκ ἀναϑ δε πωϑ
 32 ἡσειμε ἀη ἐπη ετο[ϑ]ϑω
 ἡἡ
 ἡμοϋ· πῡἡρε γαρ ἡτε πι
 2 εοοϑ ἡταϑ· ἐπμα ἡπαδῖα
 κων ἀϑααϋ ἡστραϋ· ἀνοκ
 4 δε δειναϑ εοϑα εϋναρῶν
 ερον εϋεινε ἡμοϋ ἡἡ πη
 6 ἐνεϋσωβε ϑῖϑἡ πῡϋε·
 νεϋ·ἡ·ἡϑ δε πε ἡϑραῖ ϑῖἡ οϑ̄
 8 πῖἡ εϋοϑααβ αϑω ἡτοϋ πι
 σωτηρ· νεϑῖ οϑνοϑ δε
 10 ἡοϑοειν εϋκωτε εροοϑ̄
 ἡατῡαδε ἡμοϋ ἡἡ πα
 12 ψαῖ ἡτε ρεναγγελοϑ ἡατ̄
 ψαδε εροοϑ̄ αϑω ἡατῖναϑ
 14 εροοϑ̄ εϑςμοϑ̄ εροοϑ̄
 ἀνοκ δε εταῖἡναϑ εροϋ εϑ̄
 16 οϑωἡῖ εβολ ἡπἡ εϑ̄·† εο
 οϑ̄· ἡτοϋ δε πεχαϋ ναῖ δε
 18 ἡἡβομ· ἡτοκ γαρ εταϑ†
 νακ ἡνεῖἡϑστηριον ε
 20 σοϑωνοϑ̄ ϑῖἡ οϑωἡῖ εβολ·
 δε πη εταϑ† εῖϋτ̄ ναϋ πι

82,7

Ms: νεϋςἡϑ, ("It was written,") makes no sense and appears to be corrupt. The emendation proposed here is based on 83,8-15. An alternative emendation is νεϋςἡ·ϑ̄; ἡἡϑ̄ is a form of εει, which with ϑῖἡ translates ἐμπλήρημ.

22 They are putting to shame
 that which is in (κατά) his likeness.
 24 But (δέ) look at him and me”.
 But (δέ) I, when I had looked, said,
 26 “Lord, no one is looking at
 you. Let us flee this
 28 place.” But (δέ) he said to me,
 “I have told you,
 30 ‘Leave the blind alone!’
 And notice how (πῶς)
 32 they do not know what they are saying.
 82
 For (γάρ) the son of
 2 their glory, instead of my servant (διάκων),
 they have put to shame.”
 4 And (δέ) I saw someone about to approach
 us who looked like him, even him
 6 who was laughing above the cross.
 and (δέ) he was <filled> with a
 8 pure spirit (πνεῦμα), and he (was) the
 Savior (σωτήρ). And (δέ) there was a great
 10 ineffable light around them
 and the multitude
 12 of ineffable and
 invisible angels (ἄγγελος)
 14 blessing them.
 And (δέ) it was I who saw him
 16 when this one who glorifies was revealed.
 And (δέ) he said to me,
 18 “Be strong! For (γάρ) you are the one to whom
 these mysteries (μυστήριον) have been given,
 20 to know through revelation
 that he whom they crucified is

82,15-16 This cleft sentence emphasizes Peter’s role as a witness to the glorification of the Savior. The context seems to require that εἰσοπωῆτε εἰς αὐτὸν be taken as a pseudo-passive.

22 Ψ ορπ̄ ᾠμισε πε μ̄ν πιηει
 ἦτε νιδαλιμων̄ μ̄ν πικαπ
 24 ἦωνι εψασωρ̄σ̄ ἦρητ̄γ
 ἦτε ελωειμ̄ ἦτε πιερ̄ος
 26 ετ̄ψοοπ ρα πνομος̄ πη
 δε εταδεραιτ̄γ εφρηη ερογ
 28 πιςωτ̄ηρ πε ετοη̄σ̄ πψο
 ρπ̄ ἦρητ̄γ ετασ̄αμαρτε μ̄
 30 μογ̄ ασω ασκααγ εβολ
 εφ̄αδεραιτ̄γ ρ̄η οσραψε̄
 32 ε[ϣ]νασ̄ ενη ετασ̄αλιτ̄γ ἦ
 σ̄οη̄ς εσπορ̄ξ̄ εβολ ἦνεσ̄

π̄τ̄

ερησ̄ ετβε παῖ εφσωβε
 2 ἦσα τεσ̄μ̄η̄τᾱτειωρ̄σ̄ εφ
 σοοση̄ δε ρενβ̄λλε ᾠμισε
 4 νε̄ εφεψωπε οση̄ ἀρα ἦ
 σ̄ι πιρεϣ̄αῖ μ̄καρ̄ επισωμα
 6 πε ψ̄εβιω̄ πη δε ἦτασ̄
 κααγ εβολ πασωμα πε ἦατ̄
 8 σωμᾱ ἀνοκ δε πινοερ̄ον
 μ̄π̄η̄ᾱ παῖ ετ̄μερ̄ εβολ ἦοσ̄
 10 οειη̄ εφ̄π̄ρειωσ̄ εβολ̄ πη
 ἦτακ̄η̄ασ̄ ερογ εφ̄ηησ̄ ψ̄α
 12 ροῖ̄ π̄πληρωμα ἦταν̄ πε
 ἦνοερ̄ον̄ πη ετ̄ηοσ̄ϑ̄β̄ μ̄
 14 πισ̄οειη̄ ἦτελιος̄ μ̄η̄ πι
 π̄η̄ᾱ ετοσ̄ααβ̄ ἦταῖ̄ ναῖ̄ οση̄
 16 ετακ̄η̄ασ̄ εροοσ̄ εκεταασ̄
 ετοοτοσ̄ ἦν̄ιαλλοτενη̄ς

82,22-26 Krause leaves καπ in 82,23 untranslated and adds a note that its meaning is unclear. Dubois derives its meaning from σωπε (Crum, 825b-26a) and translates "la trappe de pierre dans laquelle ils ont été pris," taking εψασωρ̄σ̄ as a passive verb meaning "to capture," which is dubious at best. M. van Esbroeck in a review of Krause (AnBoll 91 [1973] 441-42), claims καπ is a form of κηπε (Crum, 114a) meaning "canopy, roof," but this hardly illumines the passage. With Schenke

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 Gnostics,
 See 52,9.

22 the first-born, and the home
of demons (δαίμων), and the clay vessel
24 in which they dwell, belonging to Elohim,
and belonging to the cross (σταυρός)
26 that is under the law (νόμος).
But (δέ) he who stands near him
28 is the living Savior (σωτήρ), the primal part
in him whom they seized.
30 And he has been released.
He stands joyfully
32 looking at those who persecuted him.
They are divided among themselves.

83

Therefore he laughs
2 at their lack of perception, and he
knows that they are born blind.
4 Indeed (ἄρα), therefore (οὖν), the suffering one
must remain, since the body (σῶμα)
6 is the substitute. But (δέ) that which was
released was my incorporeal (-σῶμα)
8 body (σῶμα). But (δέ) I am the intellectual (νοερόν)
spirit (πνεῦμα) filled with
10 radiant light. He
whom you saw coming to
12 me was our intellectual (νοερόν)
pleroma (πλήρωμα), which unites
14 the perfect (τέλειος) light with
my pure spirit. These things, therefore (οὖν),
16 which you saw, you shall present
to those of another race (ἀλλογενής),

(“Zur Faksimile Aufgabe,” 133), κλπ is to be translated “vessel” (Crum, 113b) and understood as a disparaging reference to the physical body.

82,28 The supralinear stroke over Η̅Ρ in CΩΤΗ̅Ρ is anomalous, but reminiscent of that word’s function as a *nomen sacrum*. Cf. CΩ̅Ρ at 70,14. [Ed.]
83,17 Cf. the use of ἀλλογενής in the title of XI,3. It is a self-predication of the Gnostics, cf. Epiphanius *Pan.* 40.2.1; 40.7.1; 40.7.4. Cf. 𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤀 in *Treat. Seth* 52,9, and note.

- 18 ετε ρενεβολ ρ̄μ πιαγων αν
 νε· οσ γαρ μ̄μ̄η ταειο να
 20 ψωπε η̄ραϊ ρ̄η ρωμε νιμ
 ετε η̄ρενατμοσ αν νε· ει
 22 μητι ηη ετασρωτ̄η μ̄μο
 οσ εβολ ρ̄η οσοςια η̄νατ̄
 24 μοσ τη ετασοσων̄ε εβολ
 εσε η̄σομ εψωπ ερος μ̄πη
 26 ετ̄η μ̄περοσο η̄ταγ· ετβε
 παϊ δεισοος δε οσον νιμ
 28 ετε οσ̄ηταγ σενατ̄ ναγ ασ
 ω οσον ναρ̄ ροσο ερογ· ηη
 30 δε ετε μ̄μ̄ηταγ ετε παϊ πε
 πρωμε η̄τε πιτοπος εγ
 32 ψοοπ τηρ̄γ εγμοοσ̄τ̄ εγ
 οσοτ̄β̄ εβολ ρ̄μ πιτωσ[ε] η̄
 34 τε πισων̄τ̄ η̄τε πιεπ[ο]
 η̄δ
 ετε εψωπε ερψανοσα
 2 οσων̄ε εβολ η̄τε ρ̄οσσια
 η̄νατμοσ ψα·γ·μεεσε δε
 4 σεαμαρτε μ̄μογ· σεναγ
 τ̄γ η̄τοοτ̄γ· ασω σενασο
 6 αρ̄γ επη ετ̄ψοοπ· η̄τοκ
 οση ταερο η̄ρητ̄ ασω μ̄π̄ρ
 8 ρ̄ ροτε λαασ· †ηαψωπε γαρ
 η̄μ̄μακ δεκαας η̄μελαασ
 10 η̄τε ηεκεαεε ο̄μ̄σομ εροκ·
 †ρηνη ηακ ο̄μ̄ νομτε· ηαϊ
 12 η̄ταγσοοσ αγψωπε ρραϊ η̄
 ρητ̄γ·>>>>— >>— >>— >>— >>— >>—
 — — — — —
 14 αποκαλσψις πετροσ· >>—
 — — — — —

83,27-84,5 Cf. Matt 13:12; 25:29. The text appears to be corrupt.

- 18 who are not of this age (αἰών).
 For (γάρ) there will be no (-οὐ) grace
 20 in any one
 who is not immortal,
 22 but (grace will) only (εἰμήτι) (be in) those who were chosen
 from an immortal essence (οὐσία)
 24 that has shown
 that it is able to accept him
 26 who gives his abundance. Therefore
 I said, 'To every one
 28 who has, it will be given, and
 that one will have plenty.
 30 But (δέ) the one who does not have,'—that is,
 the one of this place (τόπος), being
 32 completely dead and
 changed by the planting of
 34 creation and begetting,
 84
 who, if one
 2 of the immortal essence (οὐσία) appears,
 think<s> that
 4 he (i.e. the one of immortal essence) is being seized—
 'it will be taken from him.' And it will be
 6 added to the one who is. You,
 therefore (οὖν), be courageous and do not
 8 fear anything. For (γάρ) I will be
 with you so that none
 10 of your enemies will prevail over you.
 Peace (εἰρήνη) be to you! Be strong!"
 12 When he (the Savior) had said these things, he (Peter)
 came to his senses.
- 14 Apocalypse (ἀποκάλυψις) of Peter

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INTRODUCTION TO VII,4 THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS

Among the 52 tractates contained in the 13 Coptic codices found near Nag Hammadi in 1945, *The Teachings of Silvanus* is unique in several respects. First, it is one of the few non-Gnostic texts found in this diverse collection. Second, it contains a passage that was incorporated into a text used in later Christian monastic circles and attributed to St. Anthony, the great model of anchoritic monasticism in Egypt (c. 251-356). Third, it is a rare example of early Hellenistic-Christian wisdom literature in which a respected teacher, drawing his thought from a synthesis of Biblical, Late Stoic, and Middle Platonic religious and ethical ideas, offers his reader(s) rather dogmatic instruction on how to gain the “quiet life”, be “pleasing to” the Divine, and, ultimately, “become like God” (cf. 85,5-7; 98,18-19; 108,15-27.34-35). Finally, it provides new documentary evidence of the influence of the Alexandrian School on the development of late, third-century to early fourth-century Christian thought that would attain greater precision in the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 A.D.

I. Title and Colophon:

Like eight other tractates in the Nag Hammadi Library, this text bears only a superscript and no subscript title: $\overline{\text{NCBO}}\overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{NCI}}\overline{\text{LO}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{NOC}}$ (= αὶ διδασκαλία Σιλουανοῦ).¹ This title appears to be derived from both the form and content of the writing.

The literary genre is that of a wisdom writing in which the instruction and admonitions of a teacher are offered to the reader-pupil. Further, the designation “Teachings” ($\overline{\text{NCBO}}\overline{\text{C}}$)² may derive from frequent use of that term early in the text (e.g., use of the noun and verb in 87,4-32; 88,23; 113,29; 115,19). The name “Silvanus,” however, never appears again in the text. With the exception of a solitary reverential allu-

¹ On the titles of the Nag Hammadi tractates, see Krause, “Der koptische Handschriftenfund,” 132.

² The A² form CBOC appears only here in the text; elsewhere the S form CBO is used. For detailed discussion of the dialect of *Teach. Silv.* see Zandee, “Deviations from Standardized Sahidic.”

sion to the Apostle Paul (co-traveller and companion with Silvanus in Acts 15:22-40; 16:19-29; 17:4-15; 18:5) who is said in 108,30-32 to have "become like Christ," we look in vain for something that might link the tractate with the Silvanus of the New Testament. Missing from the document, also, are those devices commonly used in NT apocryphal writings to support the claims of a pseudonymous text to apostolic authorship. Such considerations suggest that the title was probably added by a later copyist.

At the end of *Teach. Silv.* (118,8-9) the following appears:

ϠϠ Ϡ Ϡ ἸΧΘΥΣ ΘΑΥΜΑ ΗΗΗ

ΔΑΜΗΧΑΝΟΝ ∪ ΤΩ

Separated from the preceding lines of text by a series of markings which resemble the feathered ends of fletched arrows aimed toward the right, the words appearing here (= ἰχθὺς θαύμα ἀμήχανον) could be, as Krause has observed,³ either a subscription or colophon to *Teach. Silv.* or a superscription to the following tractate, *Steles Seth.* It is more likely, however, that a scribe, having completed copying the text and having been stimulated by its very lofty Christology, has added a concluding confessional statement: "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Wonder, Extraordinary!"⁴

II. Literary Form (Genre and Internal Units):

Though J. Doresse made an early suggestion that *Teach. Silv.* should be classified among the "Gospels of Christianized Gnosticism,"⁵ ensuing study has clarified that it is by no means of the "gospel" genre. Nor can it be described as an epistle, a book of acts, or an apocalypse. Rather, it corresponds most closely to what J. Kroll has identified as "Spruchweisheit Literatur" ("Wisdom Sayings Literature").⁶ Such literature has direct antecedents in Jewish and Hellenistic Jewish wisdom literature (Prov, Eccl, Sir, Wis) and, to a degree, in the NT (especially Jas), though it appears in clearest form in early Christian literature in the *Sentences of Sextus*, a copy of which has been found in another codex from Nag Hammadi (NHC XII,1).

The comparison with *Sent. Sextus* is important inasmuch as both texts are products of 2nd-3rd-century Gentile Christianity which have "baptized into the faith," so to speak, Hellenistic philosophical and es-

³ Krause, *Gnostische und Hermetische Schriften*, 3.

⁴ Peel and Zandee, "Teachings of Silvanus," 296-97.

⁵ Doresse, *Secret Books*, 218.

⁶ In E. Hennecke, ed. *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924) 2:624.

pecially ethical ideals. Both display considerable indebtedness to late Stoic and Middle Platonic thought.⁷ Also, both writings exhort the reader to achieve moral and spiritual perfection through overcoming passions and earthiness, becoming thereby "like God." At the same time, there are important differences between the two. The ἄσκησις propounded by *Sent. Sextus* is more stringent than that of *Teach. Silv.* For example, the former prohibits any form of sexual intercourse, whereas the latter speaks only against "fornication." Moreover, whereas *Sent. Sextus* makes exclusive use of aphorisms of one, two, four, or six (rare) lines; *Teach. Silv.* often develops its admonitions and sayings through short discourses, sometimes in argumentative fashion (cf. *Teach. Silv.* 85,29-86,13; 88,22-24; 89,26-90,28).

Ongoing research has demonstrated the indebtedness of *Teach. Silv.* to Jewish wisdom literature, as well as to the Stoic-Cynic diatribe and the Hellenistic "hymn." We may briefly summarize the results:

1. Indebtedness to Jewish Wisdom Tradition

That the author of our tractate consciously patterns his modes of expression and much of his imagery on Jewish wisdom antecedents is demonstrable from the fact that he knows, directly cites and echoes such literature. Some examples include the following:

Direct citations -

<i>Teach. Silv.</i>	<i>Wisdom Literature</i>
113,33 - 114,1	Prov 6:4-5 (LXX)
112,37 - 113,7	Wis 7:25-26

- Distinct echoes -

89,20-23	Sir 6:31
89,23-24	Prov 12:13
97,18-30	Sir 6:6-13
100,30-31	Wis 14:17
107,5	Wis 6:20; cf. 10:110
111,32-34	Wis 9:13
112,5-8	Wis 9:16-17
112,27-31	Sir 43:30-31
112,33-35	Sir 24:3a

⁷ H. Chadwick has demonstrated this for *Sent. Sext.* in his volume, *The Sentences of Sextus: A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics* (Texts 5; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) v ff.

In addition, the author of *Teach. Silv.* employed a variety of literary forms drawn from the Jewish wisdom tradition. Examples include:

- (a) *forms of address*: “my son” is used 23 times, as in 85,1-2,29; 86,24 (cf. Prov 1:8,10,15; Sir 2:1; 3:12,17); “O foolish one(s)” appears in 89,8; 90,28; 107,12 (cf. Prov 8:5);
- (b) *admonitions*: appear in both positive (at least 105 of them, as in 88,13-15; 92,10-11) and negative (at least 41 of them, as in 86,1-2; 98,5-6; cf. Prov 23:3-4; 24:1-2).
- (c) *sayings*: include both 13 descriptive proverbs (e.g., 97,7-10; 113,17-20), which register an observation based on experience (cf. Prov 10:15; 11:24); and 13 didactic sayings (e.g., 87,33-88,6; 108,17-19), which present an act or attitude in such a way as to influence human conduct (cf. Prov 14:31; 19:17);
- (d) *wisdom poems*: encompass 16 “father-son” types (e.g., 88,9-15; 91,14-20), in which a father (= teacher) gives exhortation to his son (= pupil) (cf. Prov 1:10-19; 2:1-22; 4:1-27); and four “wisdom poems” (e.g., 88,35-89,12; 89,5-12), in which personified Wisdom speaks and commends herself (cf. Prov 1:20-33; Sir 1:1-20; 14:20-15:8);
- (e) *hymns about God*: are also found (e.g., 112,27-33; 114,30-115,4), in which hymns are offered to or about God, lauding the perfection and splendor of his works in Creation and Providence (cf. Sir 17:1-14; 39:14-35; 51:1-16);
- (f) *prayers*: occur at least twice (86,16-20; 114,26-30), beseeching the Divine’s intervention and praising his salvific intent (cf. Sir 36:16b-22);
- (g) *contrasts between the wise and the foolish*: appear both in contrasts offered between the wise and foolish and wisdom and folly (e.g. 97,10-13; 88,35-89,1; 89,5-90,30; 97,7-15; 107,9-12; 111,22-32), as we find also in wisdom literature (cf. Prov 10:1-23; Sir 22:1-15; Wis 12:23-24).

Additional influences from the Jewish wisdom tradition are manifest in key concepts adopted and adapted by the author of *Teach. Silv.* in theology (the knowledge and nature of God), Christology (titles and work), comments about personified Wisdom, the nature of the Christian life (exhortations and admonitions, virtues, vices, and the results of the life of virtue).

Even though influence from the wisdom tradition is extensive, some observations by W. Schoedel are worth recording. He notes that in

contrast to Jewish wisdom writers, in *Teach. Silv.* "sage advice rooted in experience gives way to imperatives based on doctrine." Also, in *Teach. Silv.* the disparagement of earthly possessions is more other-worldly than is traditional; "declarative sentences" based on the sage's experience give way more to exhortations based on metaphysical doctrine; and the exhortations also found in Jewish wisdom are intensified and given a futuristic, prophetic character—a key step in the direction of world-denying asceticism!⁸

2. Indebtedness to the Stoic-Cynic Diatribe

Schoedel has also demonstrated that *Teach. Silv.*, like the Wisdom of Solomon, offers evidence of conscious adoption of several literary forms common to the Stoic-Cynic diatribe. Among these have been various forms of address ("O man" - e.g., in 93,34-94,3; "O wretched one" e.g., in 104,8-12; "O wretched soul" - 85,22) which are "revelatory" in character; several dialogical phrases ("Do you not know that . . ." 94,33; "but I say that . . ." 93,24; "for I think that . . ." - 92,29); the list of vices (84,21-26); the building of rhetorical effect "by heaping one phrase on another, each made up of similar grammatical elements and involving the juxtaposition of contraries" (e.g., in 95,20-96,10; 93,31-100,4); the use of *isokolon* in conjunction with simple syntax (92,10-14,32); and the repeated use of the conjunction "for" in a sustained logical appeal (e.g., in 97,3-99,20; 99,21-102,7). Schoedel does find that *Teach. Silv.* goes beyond the diatribe in its greater use of direct exhortation, as opposed to the use of reasoned considerations to elicit practical responses to a philosophical thesis.⁹

3. Indebtedness to the "Hellenistic Hymn"

Drawing on insights of E. Norden regarding passages which feature a parallelism of lines, the use of the classical Greek "Er-Stil," similarities to aretologies in praise of Isis, and the οὗτός ἐστι style (i.e., οὗτός ἐστι or σὺ εἶ, followed by attributive uses of participles), Schoedel has also sought to identify traces of what he has called the "Hellenistic hymn" in *Teach. Silv.* He finds the οὗτός ἐστι ("this is the one who . . .") style of hymn in 110,14-111,4; the "Er-Stil" ("he is . . .") style of hymn in 110,14-111,4; the "Er-Stil" ("he is . . .") style of hymn in 112,27-113,12). Other hymnic forms are identified in 114,30-115,2 and 106,20-

⁸ Schoedel, "Jewish Wisdom," 176, 178, 181, 183.

⁹ Ibid., 185-89.

28. "What is notable about Silvanus' hymns," he concludes, "is the blend of styles that, whatever their origin, serves as a vehicle of the revelation of the Being and activities of the Divine."¹⁰

While granting the correctness of a number of Schoedel's identifications, we would maintain that more of what he is inclined to describe as direct influence from the Hellenistic sphere has been mediated to the author of *Teach. Silv.* through his familiarity with Hellenistic Jewish texts, like the Wisdom of Solomon. Schoedel, however, is certainly correct in his observation that the very openness of wisdom-type literature to new ideas made it an especially suitable vehicle for appropriation by the author of *Teach. Silv.* of some concepts and ideas from contemporary Hellenistic philosophy.

4. The Structure of *The Teachings of Silvanus*

Structurally, *Teach. Silv.*—like such Wisdom texts as *Prov* and *Sent. Sextus*—gives evidence of growth over a period of time. The result is a tendency toward repetition, e.g., the "Descensus" motif (104,2-14 and 110,19-29), "knocking" on the door of the λόγος or "self" (103,11-12; 106,30-32; 117,7-8); God not being locatable in a "place" = τόπος (99,31-100,12; 100,32-101,10). Even so, the latter half of the text, which is more explicitly Christological and theological than the first half, seems to present a more structured scheme of presentation: warnings (e.g., 104,15-106,17; 108,3-109,4; 110,4-14; 113,31-114,26) alternating with sections of discourse about Christ and/or God (e.g., 103,28-104,24; 106,18-108,3; 109,4-110,4; 110,14-113,31; 114,26-117,5).

III. Content and Outline of *The Teachings of Silvanus*

Although a Christian author composed this tractate and, in typical wisdom fashion, repeatedly mentioned specific themes, it may be observed that the first part of the tractate is more philosophical, the latter more explicitly Christian and biblical. Correspondingly, greater emphasis is placed on ethics in the first part, and on theology and Christology in the last part.

In the first part (roughly 84,15-99,4), the author's dominant concern is with the state of the soul. In order that it not be overcome and occupied by base passions and irrational impulses (symbolically described as "robbers" and "wild, savage beasts"—cf. 85,2ff.), the reader is admonished to let the "mind" (νοῦς) be his "guiding principle" (ἡγεμονικόν - 85,1; cf. ἡγούμενος - 85,25) and "reason" (λόγος

¹⁰ Ibid., 190-193.

- 85,26) his "teacher". One must accept the "education" (παιδεία 87,5) provided in order that the "mind" may serve like a "helmsman" of a "ship" (= the soul's baser parts) or the "rider" (ἡνίοχος) of an otherwise unruly "horse" (= the soul's baser parts) (90,10-18). Such will insure that the soul will take on the "likeness" of the "human," "rational," and "divine" nature rather than the "animalistic," "irrational," and "earthly" nature (93,3-94,18). This terminology and these emphases would be immediately familiar to readers acquainted with Late Stoic and Middle Platonic philosophy, be they Christian or pagan.

In the second part of the tractate (99,6-118,7), the author begins by treating the Platonic problem of "the One and the many," but utilizes this conceptuality to explain how Christ and God, even as the νοῦς in man, can be said to be in all places without being confined to a specific place (99,5-100,12). Christ is presented as the "way" of true knowledge, as well as "Wisdom" and the "True Vine-Wine" (100, 13ff.; 106,21-108,3)—titles which echo the Fourth Gospel. The Savior's "descensus ad inferos" (103,23-104,24; 110,18-111,13) has been transposed into a description of his "ransom" of men from ignorance and death *in this present world!* A theological discourse (114,26-117,5) reminds one of similar passages in Jewish wisdom in its emphases on God's power, creativity, providence, foreknowledge. Much of this subject matter would be quite familiar to one acquainted with the Scriptures—Old and New.

This apparent division of the text is probably best explained as indicating a compilation over time of notes by the author for use in instruction and nurture of developing Christians, instruction designed to bring them to full Christian "gnosis" in Clement of Alexandria's sense of this term. Zandee has argued that the structure of the text reflects an "apologetic or missionary method," providing a *captatio benevolentiae* designed to lead pagan readers acquainted with Hellenistic philosophy to accept Christ as the divine Logos and God-given Teacher,¹¹ but there is internal evidence to the contrary. For example, 87,19-25 clearly implies a prior relationship between teacher and readers, while another passage indicates the author is repeating at least some instruction given previously to his readers (109,34-110,2; cf. 87,31-32). Further, in an apologetic, missionary tract directed to pagan inquirers, there would need to be some introduction and background regarding the *dramatis personae* of the Christian story of salvation, as well as a demonstration of their superiority over pagan competitors.

¹¹ Zandee, *Teachings*, 1.

However, in 85,17-20 Satan is introduced abruptly as the “Wicked One” who masterminds the attack of “savage wild beasts” (= wicked thoughts) on the soul. The author’s presuppositions about his reader’s familiarity with the Christian story are also displayed in his direct admonitions to “fear God alone” (88,15), “cast the Devil out” (88,12-13), and “live in Christ” (88,15)—all appearing in the first part of our text. The anticipated readers are clearly understood to be Christian.

An Outline of the Contents

The following outline is based principally on the literary forms and dominant themes of particular units.¹² Because no overall logical development is unambiguously discernible in the text, some arbitrariness in the outline is inevitable. Consequently, the reader may wish to compare the outlines offered by Funk¹³ and Schoedel.¹⁴

- I. (84,15) Title.
- II. (84,16-87,4) Warfare of the soul against passions and evil thoughts (called θηρία), and exhortation to follow the mind (νοῦς) as a “guide” (ἡγούμενος) and reason (λόγος) as a teacher.
- III. (87,4-88,34) Admonition to the reader-pupil to accept and appropriate the good teaching of the author.
- IV. (88,35-99,10) Excursus on wisdom versus folly.
- V. (92,10-94,29) Discourse on anthropology: the origin of νοῦς, ψυχή, σῶμα; the mixing of these as a “fall from virtue”; the “animal soul” versus the “rational soul”; and concluding exhortations about the choice of the fundamental orientation of one’s existence: either becoming an irrational animal or a rational human being.
- VI. (94,29-97,3) General warnings, especially about the Adversary and his deceits (94,33-96,19), and exhortations to accept Christ in order to conquer the Adversary.
- VII. (97,3-99,4) Advice to the wise man on not divulging the content of “mysteries,” on the choice of a counselor, on having God alone as a true “friend,” on accepting Christ as the light of the “mind” (νοῦς).
- VIII. (99,5-100,12) Instructive analogies based on the Platonic

¹² This outline was first established by me and later adopted and adapted by Zandee (*Teachings*, 7-8).

¹³ Funk, “Die Lehren des Silvanus,” 10-11.

¹⁴ Schoedel, “Jewish Wisdom,” 171-72.

discussion of “the One and the many”: a lamp and its light, Christ and his illumination of others, the mind and its ranging thought, God and the extension of his power—topological theology.

- IX. (100,13-103,28) Discourse on the knowledge of Christ as the true knowledge of God, plus exhortations on the way of knowledge for believers.
- X. (103,28-104,14) Description of Christ’s “descensus ad inferos” (= the Incarnation) as his “ransoming” of sinners from this earthly sphere.
- XI. (104,15-24) Exhortation to accept Christ: the basic choice of humility.
- XII. (104,24-106,20) Warnings against the “Spirit of Wickedness” and his “Powers,” plus an admonition to become a “temple” for the Divinity who desires to dwell within the human soul.
- XIII. (106,21-108,3) Discourse on Christ as the “Tree of Life,” the “Wisdom,” the “Word,” the “Life,” the “Power,” the “Light,” the “Angel,” the “Shepherd,” the “Way,” and the “True Vine-Wine.”
- XIV. (108,3-109,4) The goal of moral striving: to make oneself like God through reason’s guidance and piety.
- XV. (109,4-110,14) The blessings of having Christ in the “temple” of one’s soul versus the destitution of the soul lacking his presence.
- XVI. (110,14-113,31) Discourse on Christ’s saving work, including his descent into this world (= Hades), and a concluding doxology.
- XVII. (113,31-114,26) Exhortations to fight the good fight against the “powers” of the Adversary, balanced by admonitions to fear, glorify, praise and be pleasing to God.
- XVIII. (114,26-117,5) Theological discourse: God’s universal salvific intent, his omnipotence, his creativity, his providence, his foreknowledge and omniscience, his incomprehensibility.
- XIX. (117,5-118,7) Concluding exhortations: “knock on” Christ, the indwelling “Logos”; escape the control of “evil powers”; purify life inwardly and outwardly; seek lasting rewards in Christ’s Wisdom and God’s way.
- XX. (118,8-9) Colophon.

IV. The History of Religions Setting of *The Teachings of Silvanus*

The second and third centuries of the Christian era witnessed a number of encounters and more than a few marriages of "Athens" with "Jerusalem," to borrow part of Tertullian's felicitous phrase. Such were to have profound impact on the developing Christian Faith. The spirit of the times was eclectic, producing Neo-Pythagoreanism, Hellenistic Jewish philosophy, and Middle Platonism, on the one hand; and witnessing the development of the Logos Christology of the Apologists and the Alexandrian Theology of a Clement and Origen, on the other. Educated Christians found it necessary both to defend convictions against pagan attacks, like that of Celsus, and to appropriate the best of pagan thought in order to enhance the appeal of the Faith to a larger audience. It is within such a matrix of encounter and synthesis that we may most appropriately locate *Teach. Silv.* For in this writing we meet biblical motifs and themes interwoven with Late Stoic and Platonic anthropological, ethical and theological conceptions. And although much is embraced from the sphere of Hellenistic philosophy, there are points of decided rejection of such philosophy, e.g., the pantheistic theology of the Stoics and the pagan refusal to identify the divine Logos with an historical person (Christ). The author's synthesis is made not to serve an apologetic or missionary purpose, however, but a didactic one: imparting the wisdom of Christ which confers peace and godliness.

In the following sections, I indicate in only the most general way the spheres of influence discernible in the thought of the author of *Teach. Silv.* Cross-references direct the reader to secondary literature wherein numerous, specific parallels are cited in full. It must be said at the outset, however, that while identification of the sources of ideas or concepts in *Teach. Silv.* can be made by modern scholarship, this should not be construed as implying that such separations existed in the mind of the ancient author. Rather, the author is a Christian teacher in whose mind the various currents—Biblical, Stoic, Platonic, Gnostic—have been fused into a coherent and, for him, comprehensive whole. Analogies to Alexandrian Christian thought are near to hand.

1. Use of the Bible

That the Scriptures serve as a fundamental authority for the author's teaching becomes manifest from his warning about their right use (117,28-30), his identification of certain doctrine as being "in accord with Scripture" (104,5), his reference to the teachings of Christ (99,15-20) and Paul (108,27-32), his citations (113,33 - 114,1 // LXX Prov 6:4-5;

113,7 // Wis 7:25-26) and echoing of biblical texts and concepts. Usually, as is the case with numerous early Christian writers, the author just quotes from memory or reflects the content of particular biblical passages, and it is clear that in some instances he has made use of "pre-allegorized" interpretation of texts (e.g., *Teach. Silv.* 92,15-33, reflecting Gen 1:26-27; 2:7; *Teach. Silv.* 104,2-14 and 110,19-29, utilizing some of Ps 106 [LXX]:10-16).

A detailed study of four types of Scriptural usage (direct citations, distinct echoes, possible echoes, general echoes), shows that the author knew and held authoritative parts of both the Septuagint OT and the NT. From the former, we have evidence of knowledge of the Torah (Gen), the Prophets (Isa and Jer), the writings (Pss and Prov). Also, from the Apocrypha we find clear evidence of the use of Wis and Sir. In turn, from the NT, the author certainly knew of the Gospels (Matt and John), the Pauline Epistles (Rom, 1-2 Cor, Gal (?), Eph, Phil, Col), the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim), the Catholic Epistles (1-2 Pet, 1 John), and Rev. To have known and been able to echo this much of the developing canon surely places the author later than the end of the second century and probably into the third.

The extensive impact on the style of *Teach. Silv.* of the literary forms and concepts drawn from the Wisdom tradition has been noted earlier. Of special interest, however, is the fact that a key passage crucial in Alexandrian Christology (viz., Wis 7:25-26—about personified Wisdom as "an emanation of the Almighty's glory," "a spotless mirror" of "God's working," and the "image of his goodness") is specifically cited in *Teach. Silv.* 112,37 - 113,7. R. M. Grant has maintained that this Hellenistic Jewish wisdom text was not used by either Palestinian or Hellenistic Jewish writers (such as Philo), nor, apparently, by Gnostic authors either.¹⁵

With respect to biblical interpretation, our author displays no interest in either proof-from-prophecy or typological exegesis (such as we find used by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Melito of Sardis, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Origen). That is, the author's concerns do not include demonstration of the fulfillment in Christ and the Church of either the prophetic expectations of Israel or the prefiguration of sacred events or teachings in/from the life of Christ in the OT or in Greek "types." Rather, as is common in Philo, certain Gnostic authors, and the Alexandrian School, our author's approach is allegorical, i.e., the Scripture is viewed as a corpus of symbols expressive of deeper,

¹⁵ R. M. Grant, "The Book of Wisdom at Alexandria," in idem., *After the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967) 70-82, esp. 80-81.

theological, cosmic, moral, Christological realities—realities also imbued with Middle Platonic and Late Stoic thought.

2. The Influence of Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoicism and Platonism

In general, it may be observed that influences from the Stoics have been detected in the anthropology and ethics of *Teach. Silv.*, while those from Platonism are especially reflected in the theology and Christology of our tractate. The reader is referred to J. Zandee's critical edition and his several articles cited in the Bibliography for his massive collection of parallels, only a few of which are cited here.

a. The Influence of the Stoa

In the author's comments about education, anthropology, and theology one may detect the influence of Stoic ideas, positively and negatively.

Exhortations to "put an end to every childish time of life" (84,16) and to avoid "animalism" (107,17-19) recall Stoic ideas (as attested by Chrysippus) according to which "children," like animals, do not yet have fully-developed "reason" (λόγος).¹⁶

Indeed, avoidance of becoming an "animal," i.e., succumbing to the baser passions, is repeatedly enjoined (*Teach. Silv.* 85,10; 86,1-5; 87,27; 89,3; 107,25; 108,9.14; 110,14), something recalling the Stoic view that an "animal" is a creature without "reason" (cf. Seneca *Epist.* 76,8-10; Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* I: 88-89,113). "Education" (παιδεία - 87,4-10), such as the author offers, is designed to bring maturity, rationality, capacity to do the good. Similarly, Epictetus states: "But rational and irrational mean different things to different men, just as good and evil . . . That is the chief reason why we need education (παιδεία), i.e., in order that we may learn to so adjust our preconceptions, the rational and irrational, to particular conditions as to be in harmony with nature" (*Diss.* 1.1.5-6).

With respect to his understanding of human nature, our author also displays the impact of Stoic conceptions. To call the "mind" (νοῦς) rather than "reason" (λόγος) the "guiding principle" (ἡγεμονικόν-85,1) reveals the writer's affinities to the Later Stoa, as in the thought of Marcus Aurelius: "Be content that in such rough water you have in yourself a certain guiding mind (νοῦς ἡγεμονικός). And if the billows (i.e., of life) carry you away, let them carry away the bit of flesh, the breath of life, and the rest; for they will not carry away the mind" (*Med.*

¹⁶ See Chrysippus' comments cited in M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (3rd ed.: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 1:88-89.

12.14). For earlier philosophers of “the Porch” it was “reason” (λόγος) that was especially identified as the ἡγεμονικόν. Stoic, too, is the notion that “reason” is “divine” (*Teach. Silv.* 88,4; 91,24-25). We can compare Zeno’s contention that humans differ from animals in their possession of a divine λόγος which makes them “godlike” (θεῖος *SVF* 3: 606). Other possible traces of Stoic influence on the anthropological views of the author of our text include: the idea that life according to one’s “rational nature” (φύσις) is life “in accord with nature” (94,14-18; cf. *Stob.* 2. 75.11; *Diog. Laert.* 7. 87; *Seneca Ep.* 41.2; 73.15); and the encouragement of the reader to “nurture” his “reasoning powers” (λογισμός) (108,1).

Stoic ideas are especially detected in the ethical teaching of our tractate. A person must strive to be what he is, i.e., to live in accord with one’s essential nature, “reason” (*Teach. Silv.* 91,24-25; 94, 14-18; cf. Zeno in *Diog. Laert.* 7.85). Attainment of “virtue” is contingent upon knowledge (*Teach. Silv.* 89,20-21; cf. Sextus Empiricus, *SVF* 2.36). One must give his “fundamental assent” or “basic choice” (προαίρεσις) to Christ (*Teach. Silv.* 104,16), that type of rational prior decision from which all other decisions flow (cf. Epictetus *Diss.* 3.1.40; 1.29.1). Further, the capacity for self-judgment clearly resides in the individual (87,17-18), something Seneca could identify as the “conscience” (συνείδησις - *Ep.* 28.10).

Characteristics of the Stoic “wise man” which are also met in *Teach. Silv.* include: possessing “the austerity of good discipline” (-εὐτακτος - 87,16-17; cf. the emphasis on εὐταξία in *SVF* 3: 264); training oneself in “virtue” (ἀρετή - 92,1-10; cf. the place of ἄσκησις as emphasized in *SVF* 3: 278; cf. 1: 370); exercising “self-control” (ἐγκράτεια - 92,5; cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Dogm.* 1.153); acquiring moral “strength” (τόνος - 93,5-6; cf. *SVF* 1: 128; 2: 235).

In turn, a number of vices mentioned in *Teach. Silv.* have their counterparts among the Stoa. All four of the chief passions they identified are condemned (with others) in our text: “lust” (ἡδονή 105,25; 108,6), “desire” (ἐπιθυμία 84,25; 90,4.5; 105,23), “pain” (λύπη - 92,1); and “fear” (φοβός = φόβος 88,10). All occur in Stoic catalogues of vices (e.g. *SVF* 3: 395). To overcome these and keep them under the control of “reason” is to attain a life of “quiet” and inner peace (85,7.15), goals that recall the Stoic ones of ἀπάθεια (“freedom from passion”) and ἀταραξία (“imperturbability”); (cf. Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 12.5.10; and Seneca *Ep.* 92.3).

Though the author’s thought reveals appropriation of the Stoic ideas just reviewed, at the point of theology he draws a line. Rejecting all pantheistic notions, *Teach. Silv.* denies that God can be found in a

“place” (99,31-33) or occupies a “body” (100,7-8). In this, he shares the perspective of Plotinus who wrote: “Finally, the School (i.e., the Stoics) even has the boldness to foist matter on divine beings so that, finally, God himself becomes a kind of matter—and this, though they make it corporeal, they describe as a body devoid of quality” (*Enn.* 2.4.1).

b. Influences of Platonism

The influence of ideas that were to find important syntheses in the second and third centuries in the Middle Platonic system of Alcinous (Pseudo-Albinus)¹⁷ and the Neo-Platonic system of Plotinus is also discernible in *Teach. Silv.*'s theology, Christology, and anthropology. The description of God as the Transcendent whose nature remains difficult to comprehend or describe (116,12-13.19-20; cf. 93,22-25; etc.) recalls Plato's discussion of the transcendent “Good” (*Resp.* 7. 511b and 517b; and *Phileb.* 65a) and Plotinus' comments about the difficulty of getting at or describing this being (*Enn.* 2.2.7; 6.9.4-5). Further, the assertion that God cannot be located in a “place” (τόπος), though with respect to “power” He is in every “place,” recalls the teaching of Alcinous (*Did.* 28.3) that the “supracelestial god” is the only truly transcendent divine and that he nonetheless remains “active” in the world (*Did.* 10.2).

Moreover, Christ is called the “copy” (τύπος) and “image” (εἰκῶν) of the Hidden Father (99,5-15; cf. 100,21-31; 111,15-16), a comparison which may echo the Platonic doctrine of the transcendent “Ideas” and their particular counterparts. We can compare Plotinus' comments about existing things being “images” made in accord with noetic archetypes (*Enn.* 5.1.6) and Alcinous' view that “the Idea . . . , in relation to the sensible world, is the paradigm” in (*Did.* 9.1). And, just as in Neo-Platonic thought (*Enn.* 3.8.11; 5.3.12), where the “Mind” (νοῦς) is termed a “second God” who is “light from light,” so in *Teach. Silv.* Christ is called the νοῦς (112,27) who is the “Light” and “First Light” of the Father (101,18-19; 112,36-113,1).

The tripartite view of man, which in *Teach. Silv.* (92,15-93,24) is allegorically derived from Gen 1 and 2, is developed along the lines of Plato's three levels of the soul (*Resp.* 439d-e; 440e): the νοῦς (similar

¹⁷ The older identification of the author of the *Didaskalikos*, named “Alkinous” in the mss., with Albinus, teacher of Galen, has been decisively refuted. See the Budé edition by John Whittaker, *Alcinoos, Enseignement des doctrines de Platon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990); and the translation and commentary by John Dillon, *Alcinoos: The Handbook of Platonism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

to τὸ λογιστόν, “the reasonable”), which is the seat of rationality and guidance (cf. Plot. *Enn.* 6.2.21); the ψυχή (comparable to τὸ θυμοειδής, “the courageous,” which includes feeling and will) has the “will” to orient (“turn”) itself either toward the νοῦς or the σῶμα (cf. Plot. *Enn.* 4.3.6; 4.8.5,7); and the σῶμα (comparable to τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, the “desiring, lusting” part of the soul), which is the source of passions and fleshly living.

Further comparisons with Platonic thought may be made between *Teach. Silv.*'s view that the divine “mind” (νοῦς) in man is that through which the transcendent “things above” may be contemplated (cf. 103,1-5 with Plot. *Enn.* 4.7.13; 7.35; and Alcinous *Did.* 23.1). Also notable are the author's use of distinctly coined Platonic terms: the “helmsman” (κυβερνήτης = the νοῦς in *Teach. Silv.* 90,9-13) which steers the wise man (cf. Plato *Polit.* 272e; and Alcinous *Did.* 30.3) and the “rider” or “charioteer” (ἡνίοχος = the λόγος in *Teach. Silv.* 90,13-18) which bridles the unruly soul beset by desires and passions (cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 253c-d; 254a-b).

3. Similarities to Alexandrian Philosophy and Theology, Jewish and Christian

Ongoing study has led a majority of commentators on *Teach. Silv.* to the conclusion that its themes and method of approach are most closely paralleled in the writings of the great representatives of Alexandrian thought: Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Again, space precludes inclusion of more than just a few distinctive parallels.

a. Parallels to Philo Judaeus

In his efforts to convey biblical truths with the help of contemporary Stoic and Platonic idioms, the author of *Teach. Silv.* reveals a number of similarities to Philo Judaeus. We focus on some aspects of the Jewish philosopher's theology, doctrine of the Logos, personified Wisdom teaching, ideas about man's creation, and symbolism.

Philo, like our author, speaks of God's transcendence and immanence in rather Platonic fashion. Both state God is not confined to any place (τόπος) since he contains all places (*Teach. Silv.* 99,31-33; 100,3-4; cf. *Som.* 1.62-64; *Poster. C.* 14). Both also agree that the Divine is immanent in his power (*Teach. Silv.* 100,32 - 101,3; *Migr. Abr.* 182). Further, man can become “like God” (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ) through his moral and spiritual development (111,12-13; cf. *Fug.* 63 and Plato *Theaet.* 176a ff.).

Though the more immediate source of inspiration for the “Logos”

Christology in *Teach. Silv.* is the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel, it is notable that both this author and Philo refer to the "Logos" as the "Son of God," the "Firstborn," and an "Angel" (115,10-19; 112,35; 106,27; cf. *Conf. ling.* 146). Further, both speak of the "Logos" as God's instrument of creation (115,17-18; cf. *Leg. all.* 3. 96). As his most important function, the "Logos" reveals the otherwise incomprehensible Deity (100,23-29; cf. *Op. mund.* 31).

Personified "Wisdom" (σοφία) is called the "mother" of the pupil addressed in *Teach. Silv.* 91,14-16 in a way which recalls Philo's allusion to her as one of the "parents" of the High Priest, the "Logos" (*Fug.* 108 - 109). Further, just as the author of *Teach. Silv.* can identify "Wisdom" and "Logos" with the same Christ (106,22-23), so can Philo identify "Wisdom" with the "Logos" (*Poster. C.* 136).

On the creation of man, both the author of our tractate and Philo, building allegorically on key terms in the LXX version of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7, make a distinction between the "formed" (τὸ πλάσμα) as the psychical element in man (*Teach. Silv.* 92,27-29; cf. *Leg. all.* 1. 53) and the "created" (τὸ ποίημα) as the noetic element in the human made in the "imago dei" (92,23-24; cf. *Leg. all.* 1. 31,53).

Philo, like the author of *Teach. Silv.*, also reflects the influence of ideas from Late Stoicism in his anthropology. Some similarities include calling the "mind" (νοῦς) the "guide" (ἡγεμονικόν) (85,1; 108,24; cf. *Op. mund.* 69; *Leg. all.* 1. 39); speaking of "reason" (λόγος) as the "divine" in man (86,19; cf. *Deus imm.* 182); describing the "mind" (νοῦς) as the "helmsman" (κυβερνήτης) of the soul, after Plato (90,12ff.; cf. *Leg. all.* 3.224); holding that rational principles afford the best control of the base "passions" when they are assisted by God's Spirit (86,18; 107,34-35; cf. *Leg. all.* 1.37; *Vit. Mos.* 2. 265).

In ethics, both our author and Philo agree that the virtuous life must be lived in accord with the guidance of "mind" and "reason" (94,12-15; *Vit. Mos.* 1. 48). Living the moral life entails a "return to one's own divine nature" (90,19-30; cf. *Conf. lng.* 131) and sound self-judgment (87,17-18; cf. *Det. pot. ins.* 23).

Both Philo and the author of *Teach. Silv.* share love for allegorical interpretation of biblical texts, even to the extent of using some of the same symbols that have been derived from such interpretation. To cite a few examples: both speak of the symbolism of the High Priest's garment (89,8-12; cf. *Som.* 1. 216-18) and of "clothing oneself" with "garments" of wisdom (89,20-21; cf. *Ebr.* 86). Other symbols include calling the passions "wild beasts" (τὰ θηρία) which can infest the soul (85,7-12; cf. *Praem. poen.* 88; *Leg. all.* 3. 113) and speaking of the soul as a "temple" (ναός) or "house" for the Divine (109,11-17; cf. *Som.* 1.

149).

b. Affinities to the Alexandrian School of Theology

A key conclusion of our study of *Teach. Silv.* is that the text shows closest affinities with the writings of the great heads of the Alexandrian School of Theology from the second and third centuries, viz., Clement and Origen. Important similarities do exist with the ideas of successors in that School (Dionysius, Athanasius, Cyril), but in general such ideas show greater development than in our tractate.

Broadly sketched, the affinities lie in the facts that both the Alexandrians and *Teach. Silv.* show the incorporation of Platonic and Stoic ideas into the Christian Faith through the philosophical catalyst of Middle Platonism. Such scholars as Danielou, Lilla, Chadwick, Prestige have all argued persuasively for the critical role of Middle Platonism in the shaping of second- and third-century Christian thought. Further, the author of *Teach. Silv.*, like Clement and Origen, embraces and uses the results of allegorical interpretation of Scripture, a distinctive difference from the emphasis of the Antiochian School on historical and critical matters in exegesis. Also, an ascetic strain in *Teach. Silv.* (e.g., in 97,30-98,2; 98,8-98,20), which even leads to describing the world into which the pre-existent Christ descended as the "Underworld" (104,2-14; 110,19-111,4), becomes intelligible in the context of Origen's teaching of the descent of pre-existent souls into bodies in this present world/underworld into which Christ descended to rescue them (cf. *Princ.* 3.5.4; 4.3.10-11; *Comm. in Joh.* 6.35.174-177). According to J. A. MacCulloch,¹⁸ the peculiar identification of Christ's "ransoming" of captives from Hades and sin (104,10-14) with Christ's Descensus ad Inferos appears to have first been made by Origen.

In theology, both Clement of Alexandria and Origen, like the author of our tractate, hold that God is the transcendent One who can be known only with great difficulty (93,22-24; 100, 23-25; cf. Clem. Alex.'s use of Plato *Tim.* 28C, in the former's *Prot.* 6.68.1-2 and *Strom.* 5.68.3). It is solely through Christ the Logos, as "God's image," that God's true likeness can be known (100,23-29; cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 5.94.4-5; Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.6). Further, both our author (99,29-100,12; 100,32-101,10) and the Alexandrians (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 1.51.1; 2.6.1-2; Origen, *Cels.* 7.34; *De orat.* 23.1.3) protest Stoic or others' contention that God is locatable in a specific "place," an assertion that leads to

¹⁸ MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930) 200.

understanding the Divine as having a mutable and corruptible body (100,7-12; cf. *Cels.* 1.21).

In Christology, both the author of our tractate and Clement and Origen reflect identification of Christ with personified Wisdom (106,23; 107,1-12.; and, especially, 112,37-113,7, a Christianization of Wis 7:25-27). Clement maintains that Christ is both Wisdom and Logos, the second hypostasis of the Father, the instrument of God's creation and self-revelation (e.g., in *Prot.* 1.5.4; *Paed.* 1.2.6). He can even give Christ such titles as Wisdom, Word, and Power (*Strom.* 7.7.4; cf. *Teach. Silv.* 106,23-25). Origen, like the author of our tractate (112,37-113,7), also transforms a hymn about the personified Wisdom of God into a hymn about Christ, using Wisdom 7:25-26 (cf. *Princ.* 1.2.5,9-13; 4,4,1; *Cels.* 3.72; 7.17; 8.12; *Comm. in Joh.* 13.25.153). As noted earlier (Section IV,1), this adaptation appeared neither in Hellenistic nor Jewish writers, nor in Gnostic authors, but was crucial in the Christology of Origen. As R.M. Grant has shown,¹⁹ after Origen Wisdom 7:25-26 continued to be an important source for Christological thought for subsequent Alexandrian teachers, such as Dionysius, Theognostus, Athanasius.

The ethics taught by the author of *Teach. Silv.* have two major foci: The first is mastery of the animal-passions, involving attainment of the rationally-directed life, in order to attain "quiet" (cf. 84,15-85,7,25-28; 86,13-29; 87,26-30; 89,26-90,27; 92,10-93,24; 94,7-18; 98,8-20; 104,31-105,25; 105,27-106,21; 107,17-25; 108,3-16; 115,21-35; 117,23-28). Such is also a major concern of the ethics of the Alexandrian fathers (see notes to these passages). The second focus is that the ultimate goal for humans is to experience "assimilation to God" (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ), to be "made like God" (108,23-33; 111,8-13), a Platonic notion (cf. *Theaet.* 176b). Clement cites this Platonic passage 11 times in his writings (e.g., in *Strom.* 2.97.1; 4.139.4; 5.94-95). While less central, the theme also appears in Origen, e.g., in *Princ.* 3.6.1; *Cels.* 3.28. The closest approximation is found in Athanasius (*Inc.* 53.4): "For he (Christ) was made man that we might be made God." This teaching of "assimilation to God" is central in the thought of Alexandrian theologians.²⁰

Another important similarity in ethics appears in *Teach. Silv.*'s reference to "divine limits" (115,20-35) denoting the God-given conscience that charts moral behavior. In addition, both *Teach. Silv.* (112,17-25 and 113,31-114,15) and the Alexandrian fathers speak of the moral "contest" (ἀγών) in which humans must compete, with Christ as

¹⁹ Grant, "The Book of Wisdom," 74-80.

²⁰ S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 60.

Judge who awards the "crown" of victory (see notes to these passages).

Finally, we must mention the fact that in several passages, the author of *Teach. Silv.* has apparent knowledge of the exegetical and theological writing of Clement and Origen. Included are the following:

- (1) 99,15-20 an allegorized version of Matt 6:22-23a, substituting "mind" for "eye" and "soul" for "body" (cf. Orig. *Frag. in Matt.* 5.8; *Hom. in Luc.*, Frag. 78; *Dial.* 16-22);²¹
- (2) 109,15-17 - an allegorized version of the "Temple Cleansing" in Matt 11:15 par. (cf. Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 10.16);
- (3) 113,7-9 - a description of Christ as the "eye which looks at the invisible Father" (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7.5.4-6: ". . . the Son of God. . . being always . . . complete Eye, seeing all things, . . .");
- (4) 107,26-108,2 Christ as the True Vine that yields the True Wine that "gladdens the soul and mind" from John 15:1 and Ps 103:15 (LXX) (cf. Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 1.205-208);²²
- (5) 101,19-102,5 a comparison of Christ's uncontaminated immanence in the world with the sun's uncontaminated rays (cf. Orig. *Cels.* 6.73).²³

Additional, extensive parallels from the Alexandrian Fathers to the *Teach. Silv.* have been offered by J. Zandee.²⁴

4. The Teachings of Silvanus and the Sphere of Gnosticism

With one notable exception,²⁵ virtually all modern interpreters of our tractate have concluded that it is not Gnostic.²⁶ In this regard, it is similar to other texts in the Nag Hammadi Library which have been

²¹ Van den Broek, "Theology," 4.

²² *Ibid.*, 2-3.

²³ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

²⁴ Zandee, *Teachings*, passim. Cf. also, *idem.*, 'The Teachings of Silvanus,' passim; and *idem.*, "Origene et 'les enseignements de Silvain,'" passim.

²⁵ Sumney, "The Teachings of Silvanus," 191-206.

²⁶ The works of scholars supportive of the view that our tractate is not Gnostic are cited in Sumney (*ibid.*, 191, n. 2): Funk, Janssens, Pearson, Peel, Schoedel, van den Broek, Zandee, and others.

determined to be not of Gnostic origin or distinctive character.²⁷ At the same time, several scholars have observed that there are “gnosticizing tendencies” reflected in our tractate’s theology, anthropology, cosmology, and ascetic ethic; and J. Zandee has made an exhaustive collection of parallels between *Teach. Silv.* and known Gnostic writings.²⁸ Sufficient of these tendencies have been identified to help clarify why a writing like *Teach. Silv.* would have been attractive to a collector or group of collectors who were attracted to a Gnostic worldview. In short, it is a document clearly open to “gnosticizing interpretation.”

Some examples of the “gnosticizing” tendencies would include the following:

- (a) *Theology*: for mortals, God remains the “Agnostos Theos,” impossible to comprehend in his “likeness” (100,13-16), incapable of being “seen” (101,15-17), inscrutable in his counsel and inexpressible in nature (111,32-112,5), imperceptible in his hiddenness and essence (116,12-29).
- (b) *Christology*: Christ is the “heaven-sent Revealer,” the Teacher who imparts saving knowledge (88,29-32), the “illuminator of heart and mind” (98,26-28), the exclusive revealer of God (100,23-31; 111,15-16), an “emanation of the pure glory of the Almighty” (113,2-3). This heaven-sent Revealer was/is also the Redeemer who descended in disguise (103,32-33; cf. 96,19-25) into the “Hell” which is this world to bring salvation to the living and judgment on demonic powers (103,32-104,14; 110,18-111,4). During this descent, he also loosened from himself chains with which he had been bound (= the “Redeemed Redeemer” motif?) (110,24-26).
- (c) *Cosmology*: The world came into being “deceitfully” and whatever happens in it happens “in vain” (97,32-98,2). Consequently, ascetic withdrawal from friendship with all other human beings is advised, for the whole earth is full of deceit and pain (98,5-20). This world, in fact, is called the “Underworld” (104,2-14; 110,19-111,4), clearly separate from the transcendent, heavenly sphere of God’s existence (112,2-8). As a sphere, the world is imperfect (“deficiency” 101,33-34), has impure and defiling places (101,31-33), experiences

²⁷ Other works in the NH Library many consider non-Gnostic include: II,2: *Gos. Thom.*; II,6 *Exeg. Soul*; II,7: *Thom. Cont.*; VI,6-8: the Hermetic writings; VI,3: *Auth. Teach.*; VI,5: *Plato Rep.*; and XII,1: *Sent. Sext.*

²⁸ See Zandee, *Teachings*, especially section “F”, passim.

change and corruptibility (100,7-12), and is controlled by “world-rulers of darkness” and “powers of the air” (117,13-16).

- (d) *Anthropology*: Humans are encouraged “to know their birth,” i.e., their “substance” (οὐσία), “race” (γένος), and “species” (γένος) (92,11-14). The truth is that they are from “three races”: “earth” = the “body” with its base impulses; “the formed” = the “soul” with its capacity to choose rational or irrational behavior; and “the created” = the “mind,” the divine image and capacity for rationality (92,15-33). Further, “fleshly” (σαρκικός) and “psychical” (ψυχικός) types of men are identified, while the human seems to have derived his “form” (μορφή) from the “spiritual” (πνευματικός) substance (οὐσία) of God (93,22-27). Such language echoes in part the Valentinian doctrine of the three races of men (Iren. *Haer.* 1.7.5).
- (e) *Symbolism*: Finally, symbolism is used in *Teach. Silv.* which is encountered in many Gnostic texts. E.g., “ignorance” (ἄγνοια) is a chief sin (87,19-20; 88,21-11), and it is linked with “death” (89,13-14; 90,23-25; 91,10-11), with “sleep” (88,24), and with “drunkenness” (94,20-21). Moreover, depreciation of the female occurs (93,7-13; 102,13-22), as well as warnings against irrational “animal life” (107,17-25).

In spite of such “gnosticizing” features, however, the presence of other theologoumena in the context of an Alexandrian ethical and theological framework make it impossible to call the text Gnostic (*pace* Sumney). Explicit theological statements clarify that Creation has come about through God, using the Christ/Logos as his instrument (100,14; 115,3-10.16-19). This God is the Creator (δημιουργός), and he did not create in “ignorance,” like the inferior creator god of most Gnostics (116,5-9).²⁹ Further, other passages make clear that the natural phenomena of this world are the arena of God’s immanent “Power,” personified in Christ (100,34-101,8; 114,33-115,4.20-35). The “visible is a copy” of what is “hidden” (99,5-7), a thought bringing our author closer to Plato and Plotinus than to Gnostic acosmism. Moreover, in spite of strained attempts to show that *Teach. Silv.* is “moderately docetic” in Christology,³⁰ it is unequivocally stated that Christ “bore

²⁹ Pearson, “Philo, Gnosis,” 178-79. Sumney (“The ‘Teachings,’” 193ff.) argues that in *Teach. Silv.*, God is “distanced” from the world, so that negative things can be said about the deceitfulness of creation even if nothing negative is said about the Demiurge.

³⁰ Sumney, *ibid.*, 198ff.

affliction (θλίβειν)" for our sins (103,25-28); "died . . . when he was powerless" so that through his *death* "he might give life to you who have died" and be a ransom for the "life of others" (107,9-16; cf. 104,8-13); put on "humanity" (110,18-19; 111,3-4); "troubled himself" and "mourned" over those condemned (113,24-31). Also, while the author does identify different "races" of men and speaks of a tripartite nature of human beings (body, soul, mind); it is clear that the tractate's writer holds that every human being has the divine "mind" (νοῦς) and the capacity to make a basic choice to receive the salvation Christ brings (92,15-94,4; 104,15-24). None are "saved" or "damned" by nature, as in several Gnostic systems, but God desires that all be saved (112,27-113,12; 114,26-30). Finally, much of the symbolism that is found elsewhere in Gnostic texts (see above) is explicable against a background of Alexandrian exegesis (Philo, Clement, Origen, Athanasius).

Although certain of its teachings would have made it attractive for "gnosticizing interpretation," it contains no specifically Gnostic features. Indeed, its warning to the reader not to be "defiled by strange kinds of knowledge (γνώσις)" (94,31-32) may even be taken to reflect an "anti-Gnostic polemic."³¹

V. Literary Attestation, Authorship, Date and Provenance

1. Literary Attestation

Wolf-Peter Funk has made the very important discovery of what appears to be an originally independent literary unit in *Teach. Silv.* 97,3-98,22 in two later texts associated with the name of St. Antony, the great pioneer of anchoritic monasticism in Egypt (ca. 251-356 C.E.).³² The first is on the recto side of a single, Coptic parchment sheet found in the British Museum (BM 979), from a manuscript dating from the 10th - 11th century. The second is found in the "Spiritualia Documenta Regulis Adjuncta" appended to the *Rule of St. Antony* which is preserved in an Arabic manuscript dating from the 8th - 9th century, and which has been translated into Latin by the Maronite, Abraham Ecchellensis, in *PG* 40:1073-1080.

Comparative study of the three texts has led Funk to several important and persuasive conclusions. First, *Teach. Silv.* 97,3-98,22 seems to be an originally independent paraenetic passage from an older wisdom text (perhaps one from classical Egyptian Wisdom), because it

³¹ Pearson, "Philo, Gnosis," 178-79.

³² See Funk, "Ein doppelt überliefertes Stück," 8-12.

interrupts the discussion of Christological themes both preceding and following it, and because it and BM 979 show important and independent differences from *PG* 40. Second, *Teach. Silv.* 97,3-98,22 and BM 979 seem to be independent Coptic translations of an original Greek passage, a conclusion reinforced by the Achmimic and Subachmimic dialectical influences manifest in *Teach. Silv.* versus the H dialectical influences in BM 979 from the vicinity of Hermopolis, considerably north of Nag Hammadi. *PG* 40, on the other hand, represents a monastic re-editing of the translation that resulted in BM 979. Third, the Arabic text of the passage contained in the "Spiritualia Documenta Regulis Adjuncta" (as reflected in the Latin translation in *PG* 40) contains language which is very characteristic of cenobitic monasticism, such as references to "in your cell" (1074C) and to "emulating those who wander in the mountains and in solitariness on account of God" (1075A)—language not found in the Coptic translation in BM 979. Because such language is missing in *Teach. Silv.* 97,3-98,22, it appears that the NH version of the text was written prior to *PG* 40, and the independent Coptic translation resulting in BM 979 was later emended to give greater expression to monastic concerns of the late third and early fourth centuries, as well as to strengthen the case for its attribution to the revered Egyptian solitary, Antony. Fourth, the adoption of this originally independent passage into the text of *Teach. Silv.* shows that we are not amiss when we detect in this NH tractate an ascetic strain which would make it acceptable in Egyptian monastic circles, such as the one at ancient Chenoboskeia. Fifth, the Coptic text of BM 979 can be used to reconstruct safely the fragmentary text at the bottom of page 97 of *Teach. Silv.*

2. Authorship

Who was the "Silvanus" to whom the text is attributed? Certainly, we know of several early Christians of prominence who bore that name.³³ Three bishops called "Silvanus" lived in Gaza (d. 305), Emesa (d. early 300's), and Tarsus (a semi-Arian who died in 373 C.E.). Also, a solitary hermit from Sinai bore the name (d. late third century), as did a Gothic disciple of the Gnostic heresiarch Audius. R. van den Broek has even suggested that the author may have been one of the subscribers of the letter Alexander of Alexandria sent to bishops following Arius' condemnation, ca. 319, viz., a certain priest named "Silvanus the

³³ See W. Smith and H. Wace (eds.), *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines* (London: John Murray, 1887) 4:901-902.

Elder.”³⁴ For reasons offered below, we would rule out any who died after 325 C.E., date of the Council of Nicaea; and a preliminary check of the teaching—where accessible—rules out serious consideration of several of the individuals named above.

It is possible, of course, that the name “Silvanus” found in our text’s title is intended to connect the writing with a known NT personage and thereby gain for it a wider readership. This “Silvanus” or “Silas” was a prominent member of the Jerusalem Church, co-traveller with the Apostle Paul, and possibly the amanuensis named in 1 Peter 5:12. If this be the case, then we have added to the roster of NH texts identified by name with Pauline and Petrine circles one now purportedly penned by the co-worker Silvanus (cf. I,1: *Pr. Paul*; V,2: *Apoc. Paul*; VI,1: *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*; VII,3: *Apoc. Pet.*; and VIII,2: *Ep. Pet. Phil*).

Yet, if we are to make such an identification, it is manifestly clear that the biblical “Silvanus” is a pseudonym. The developed Logos Christology, the elaboration of the Descensus motif, the reflection of Eleatic debates over the One and the many, the anti-Stoic argument that God contains all places but cannot be located in any one place, and the lack of an imminent eschatology all betray a post-NT era of the early church. Further, whereas a close associate of Paul or Peter might be expected to reflect something of their teaching, we look in vain for such theologoumena as the tension between Gospel and Law, the primary role of “faith,” the crucial work of the Holy Spirit, the description of the people of God as the “body of Christ,” the expectation of the imminent Parousia, the counsel regarding potential persecution by the Empire. Thus, while it cannot be said that the Silvanus of NT fame wrote it, of its author’s identity we can only state, as did Origen about the author of Hebrews, (so Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 24.14) that “. . . in truth (only) God knows!”

3. Date

Dated receipts from grain sales found within the cartonnage of Codex VII now make it increasingly probable that the manuscripts it contains can be dated in the third quarter of the fourth century.³⁵ Given that the Coptic text of *Teach. Silv.* is assuredly a translation made from a Greek original probably several decades earlier, this give us a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of at least ca. 330-340 C.E. On the other hand, internal evidence points toward a *terminus a quo* of

³⁴ Van den Broek, “Theology,” 18-19 and n. 57.

³⁵ So, J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, Codex VII*, ix.

the last quarter of the third century to the first quarter of the fourth (280-320 C.E.), or just prior to the Council of Nicaea. The internal evidence to be considered includes our author's knowledge of the biblical canon, the stage of development of key theologoumena, and affinities of his thought with that of church fathers from the third and fourth centuries.

More specifically, with regard to internal evidence for dating the text, we may note the following:

- (a) as indicated earlier, the author seems familiar with and clearly echoes works from all major divisions of the OT (LXX) and the NT, including such late works as 2 Peter and Revelation. Such awareness bespeaks a time no earlier than the latter half of the second century, more probably 175 C.E. or afterward.
- (b) The version of the Descensus ad Inferos reflected in *Teach. Silv.* (103,23-104,14; 110,4-114,4) is more developed than that found in *Apocalypse of Peter*, *Ascension of Isaiah*, or even Clement of Alexandria; and the blending of the Descensus with Christ's Incarnation—as reflected in our tractate—seems not to have occurred prior to Origen's work. On the other hand, the Descensus in *Teach. Silv.* is not so fully elaborated as in versions found in Ephraim Syrus (died 373 C.E.), or Aphraates (ca. 350 C.E.).³⁶ All this points toward a time around the third quarter of the third century.
- (c) As noted above, the author of this tractate seems definitely to know and be dependent on the exegesis of Origen, who died ca. 254 C.E.
- (d) Although R. van den Broek argues for a date of 320-330 C.E., finding in *Teach. Silv.* 115,9-16 an anti-Arian polemic that is akin to that known from Athanasius of Alexandria;³⁷ I believe that the composition must clearly be post-Origen but pre-Nicaea. Evidence for this exists in the imprecision of some key language: e.g., the affirmation in 93,26-27 that "man has taken shape (μορφή) from the substance (οὐσία) of God," a statement no one of orthodox disposition could have made after Nicaea. Also, while the technical term ὑπόστασις is used of Christ's "single being" (99,13) or "actual being" (102,3), it is not used of other members of the Godhead (Father or Spirit) and lacks the precision it would

³⁶ See further discussion of the stage of the Descensus tradition in our tractate in Peel, "The 'Descensus ad Inferos,'" 49.

³⁷ Van den Broek, "Theology," 13-16.

receive in the Nicene Creed.

- (e) Finally, the distinction between the *ratio* or interior thought existent in the mind of God ("God's mouth and heart" - 112,33-35) and the *sermo* or uttered word expressed through the mouth (= the Logos), which was developed by the Later Stoa and accepted by our author, fell out of favor in the fourth century, with "all but professed heretics seeming to have repudiated the whole theory."³⁸ Given our author's dependence on Origen, who opposed erroneous thought connected with this distinction, the retention of the distinction would seem to mitigate against a situation for our author very late in the fourth century.

The foregoing lines of internal evidence point toward a date of composition for *Teach. Silv.* between Origen's death (254 C.E.) and the Council of Nicaea (325 C.E.).

4. Provenance

As the many very striking parallels and affinities of thought between our tractate and Philo, the *Sentences of Sextus*, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius make clear, *Teach. Silv.* shares fully in the thought of the school of Alexandrian Theology. In theology, Christology, cosmology, anthropology, ethics, soteriology the points of similarity are overwhelmingly clear: Alexandrian Egypt is its provenance. A consensus of contemporary scholarship confirms this conclusion.

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³⁸ G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: Mowry, 1959) 128.

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- 16 βωλ εβολ Ἰ̄ρΗΛΙCΓΙΑ ΝΙΜ Ἀ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ
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 18 ζωρε Ἀ̄Π̄ΝOϚC Ἀ̄Ν̄ ΤΨOΧΗ
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 20 Ἀ̄Ν̄ΤΑΘΗΤ ΝΙΜ Ἰ̄ΤE Ἀ̄Π̄ΑΘOC
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 22 OϚ· ΔOω Τ̄ᾹΝ̄Τ̄ΜΑEΙEPOOϚ
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 24 ΠΚωρ EΤρOC E Ἀ̄Ν̄ ΠCΩΝ̄Τ̄
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 26 Ἀ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΜΑEΙΧPΗΜΑ · POCIC E
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 28 ΠAON Ἀ̄Ν̄ ρEΝβEΡHρ · ρωκ Ἀ̄
 ΜOΚ Ἀ̄Ν̄ Ἀ̄Μ̄ΑΤOΕΙ ΤHPOϚ E
 30 ΤE Ἰ̄ΛOΓOC NE · Ἀ̄Ν̄ Ἰ̄ΑΡΧΩΝ
 E[Τ]E Ἰ̄ΨOΞNE NE Ἀ̄Ν̄ ΠEΚ

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NOϚC Ἰ̄ρΗΓEΜONIKON · ΠΑ

- 84,15 The superscript title appears immediately after the subscript title of the preceding tractate, the two titles being separated by five short pen strokes. This arrangement of titles is identical to that at the end VII,2. The name "Silvanus" may be a pseudonym designed to associate the text with the co-traveler of Paul. For discussion, see the Introduction.
- 84,16 - 85,1 The reader, elsewhere (85,29; 86,24; 87,4) addressed as "my son" in the style of a Jewish wisdom teacher (cf. Prov 1:8.10; Sir 2:1; 3:12), is admonished to abandon all moral and spiritual immaturity with its concomitant vices and to strengthen his principles of rationality.
- 84,24-25 Janssens edits the text instead to read: Ἀ̄Ν̄ ΠCΩ Ἰ̄Τ̄ᾹΝ̄ΤOΡΓΗ and translates: "et la persistance de la colère." Oω̄Ν̄Τ̄ probably translates θυμός.

84

The Teachings of Silvanus (Σιλουανός)

- 16 Put an end to every childish time of life (ήλικία),
acquire for yourself strength
- 18 of mind (νοῦς) and soul (ψυχή),
and intensify the struggle (πόλεμος) against
- 20 every folly of the passions (πάθος)
of love (ἔρωσ) and base wickedness (πονηρία),
- 22 and love of praise,
and fondness of contention,
- 24 and tiresome jealousy and wrath,
and anger (ὀργή) and the desire (ἐπιθυμία)
- 26 of avarice (-χρήμα). Guard
your (pl.) camp (παρεμβολή) with
- 28 weapons (ὄπλον) and spears. Arm
yourself with all the soldiers
- 30 which are words (λόγος), with the commanders (ἄρχων)
which are counsels, (and) with your

85

mind (νοῦς) as a guiding principle (ἡγεμονικόν). My

-
- 84,25-26 Literally: "... the desire (ἐπιθυμία) of the love of possessions (-χρήμα)."
- 84,26-31 The imagery of warfare is used to emphasize the struggle that unfolds within every person for possession of the human soul ("camp" - 84,27; 86,17; or "city" - 85,9.13.20-21). The struggle is between rational versus irrational impulses, the goal being control of the individual's life.
- 84,28 **ΒΕΡΗΩ** ("spear") is the A² form of the masculine noun **ΜΕΡΕΩ**. See Kasser, *Compléments*, 30a.
- 84,31 The reconstruction **Ε[Τ]Ε** is supported by the parallel rendering in 84,29-30.
- 85,1 Description of the "mind" as a "guiding principle" (ἡγεμονικόν) owes something to the influence of the late Stoa. For discussion, see the Introduction.

2 ψΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΣΔΕ Ν̄ΛΗΣΤΗΣ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΒΟΛ̄ Θ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΚΠ̄ΣΛΗ · ΔΡΙΤΗΡΕΙ
 4 Ν̄ΝΕΚΠ̄ΣΛΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ Θ̄Ν̄ ΖΕΝΦΑ
 ΝΟΣ ΕΤΕ Ν̄ΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΕ · ΑΘΩ
 6 ΚΝΑΖΠΟ Ν̄ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΝΟΥΒΙ
 ΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΡΑΘ̄Τ̄ · ΠΕΤΝΑΔΡΕΖ ΔΕ
 8 ΕΝΑΪ ΔΝ ΨΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥ
 ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΣΕ Ν̄ΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΕΔ̄ΣΙ
 10 Τ̄Σ · ΔΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ρ̄ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΑΤΕΙ Μ̄ΜΟΣ · ΖΕΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ
 12 ΓΑΡ ΕΘΟΥΣ ΝΕ Μ̄ΜΕΕΤΕ ΕΤ
 ΝΑΝΟΥΣΟΥ ΔΝ · ΑΘΩ ΤΕΚΠΟ
 14 ΛΙΣ ΝΑΜΟΥΣΟΥ Ν̄ΛΗΣΤΗΣ · Ν̄
 ΝΑΨ ΖΠΟ ΝΑΚ ΔΝ Ν̄ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ
 16 ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΔΖΕΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 Ν̄ΑΓΡΙΟΝ · ΦΑΘ̄ΛΟΣ ΕΤΟ Ν̄Τ̄
 18 ΡΑΝΝΟΣ · ΨΟ Ν̄ΖΟΕΙΣ ΕΝΑΪ · ΕΥ
 Ρ̄ Θ̄ΜΜΕ Μ̄ΠΑΪ ΨΨΟΟΠ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΣ
 20 Ν̄ΒΟΡΒΟΡΟΣ · ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΗΡ̄Σ
 ΝΑΤΑΚΟ ΕΤΕ ΤΕΚΨ̄ΣΧΗ ΤΕ
 22 ΣΑΖΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ω
 ΤΨ̄ΣΧΗ Ν̄ΤΑΛΛΑΠΩΡΟΣ · Δ
 24 ΝΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΕ Μ̄ΠΕΡΗΓΟΥ
 ΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΕΣΑΖ Φ̄ΗΓΟΥΜΕ
 26 ΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΣ · ΠΣΑΖ ΔΕ
 ΠΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ · ΑΘΩ ΣΕΝΑΪΤΕ

- 85,2-3 "Robbers" are evil spirits which attack the inner person (cf. 85,14 and 113,33).
- 85,3-7 Characteristics of the "quiet life," a key goal sought by the author for his reader(s), include: guidance by the "mind" rather than the baser impulses of "flesh" (85,7; 93,3-4); "rational" and thus "true" (94,11); solitary, or "quiet" in still another sense (98,14-15); outwardly and inwardly "pure" (117,25-28). Sources of such a life include God (91,8-9) and his Christ (98,23; 106,21; 111,18; 106,25; 107,13-16; 113,15-16).
- 85,10-12 For evil thoughts and impulses which infest the soul as "wild beasts," see also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.115.2.
- 85,17-20 Fading of the ms gives the τ in Ν̄ΑΓΡΙΟΝ the appearance of the letter ι. Note also ΦΑΘ̄ΛΟΣ without an article, the probable result of

2 son, throw every robber (ληστής)
 out of your gates (πύλη). Guard (τηρεῖν)
 4 all your gates (πύλη) with torches (φανός)
 which are the words (λόγος), and
 6 you will acquire through all these things for a
 quiet life (βίος). But (δέ) he who will not guard
 8 these things will become like a
 city (πόλις) which is desolate (ἔρημος) since it has been
 10 captured. All kinds of wild beasts (θηρίον) have
 trampled upon it (καταπατεῖν). For (γάρ) thoughts which
 12 are not good are evil wild beasts (θηρίον).
 Your city (πόλις)
 14 will be filled with robbers (ληστής), and you
 will not obtain peace (εἰρήνη),
 16 but only (εἰ μὴτι) all kinds of savage (ἄγριον) wild beasts (θηρίον).
 The Wicked One (φᾶυλος), who is
 18 a tyrant (τύραννος), is lord over them. While
 directing this, he (i.e., the Wicked One) is beneath the great
 20 mire (βόρβορος). The whole city (πόλις)
 which is your soul (ψυχή) will perish.
 22 Remove yourself from all these things, O (ὦ)
 wretched (ταλαίπωρος) soul (ψυχή).
 24 Bring in your guide (ἡγούμενος) and
 your teacher. The mind (νοῦς) is the guide (ἡγούμενος),
 26 (+ μέν), but (δέ) reason (λόγος) is the teacher.
 They will bring you

confusion of the initial φ in φᾶυλος with the combination πφ- .
 The Devil (88,12) is here named the "Wicked One" and a "tyrant."
 Cf. Orig., *De orat.* 25.1.

85,20 "Mire", as a place of evil, is a concept drawn from Greek thought,
 especially Orphism. It was the place of punishment for those
 uninitiated in the Mysteries. Cf. also the "burning mire" in *Apoc. Pet.*
 23, 24, 31 (*NTApoc* 2: 628, 631).

85,24 Literally: "Bring in for yourself (dative) your guide your teacher."

85,27 Literally: "And they will bring you out. . ." In the translation we
 leave αὐτω at the beginning of a new clause untranslated, resulting in
 a less paratactic style in a modern language rendering. Cf. Till,
Grammatik, § 373.

28 εβολ ε̅μ̅ πτακο μ̅ν̅ ν̅σ̅ιν̅δ̅σ̅
 νος · σ̅ω̅τ̅μ̅ πα̅ψ̅η̅ρε̅ ε̅τα̅
 30 σ̅σ̅μ̅βο̅σ̅α̅ι̅α̅ · μ̅ι̅π̅ρ̅†̅ τε̅κ̅ζ̅ι̅σε̅
 [εν]εκ̅ζ̅α̅ζε̅ εκ̅π̅η̅†̅ · α̅λ̅λ̅[α̅]̅ μ̅α̅λ̅
 32 [λο̅]ν̅ π̅ω̅†̅ ν̅σ̅α̅ ν̅α̅ϊ̅ ρ̅ω̅ς̅ [ζ̅]ω̅ρε̅
 π̅ς̅
 μ̅ι̅π̅ρ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ν̅τ̅β̅ν̅η̅ ε̅ρε̅`ν̅`ρ̅ω̅
 2 με̅ π̅η̅†̅ ν̅σ̅ω̅κ̅ · α̅λ̅λ̅α̅ ψ̅ω̅
 πε̅ ν̅το̅ϣ̅ ν̅ρ̅ω̅με̅ εκ̅π̅η̅†̅ ν̅
 4 σα̅ ν̅θ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ον̅ ε̅θ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ · μ̅η̅π̅ω̅ς̅
 ν̅σ̅ε̅ζ̅ρο̅ ε̅ρο̅κ̅ α̅σ̅ω̅ ν̅σ̅ε̅ρ̅κα̅
 6 τα̅λα̅τε̅ι̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅κ̅ ρ̅ω̅ς̅ ρ̅ε̅ϣ̅μ̅ο̅
 ο̅σ̅†̅ · ν̅τ̅ω̅ζ̅ν̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ε̅ι̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ς̅
 8 ν̅το̅σ̅μ̅η̅†̅πε̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ · ω̅̅ π̅τα̅
 λα̅ι̅π̅ω̅ρο̅ς̅ π̅ρ̅ω̅με̅ ο̅σ̅ πε̅τ̅κ̅
 10 ν̅α̅α̅α̅ϣ̅ εκ̅ψ̅α̅ν̅ρε̅ ε̅ρ̅α̅ϊ̅ ε̅νο̅σ̅
 σ̅ι̅ζ̅ · α̅ρ̅ι̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅κ̅ ο̅σ̅α̅α̅κ̅
 12 μ̅η̅πο̅τε̅ ν̅σ̅ε̅τα̅α̅κ̅ ε̅τ̅ν̅η̅ε̅κ̅
 ζ̅α̅ζε̅ · τα̅α̅κ̅ ν̅το̅ο̅το̅σ̅ μ̅π̅ε̅ϊ̅
 14 σο̅ε̅ι̅ψ̅ ν̅ψ̅β̅η̅ρ̅ σ̅η̅α̅σ̅ · π̅λο̅γο̅ς̅
 μ̅ν̅ π̅νο̅σ̅ς̅ · α̅σ̅ω̅ μ̅μ̅ν̅ λα̅α̅σ̅
 16 ν̅α̅ζ̅ρο̅ ε̅ρο̅κ̅ · μ̅α̅ρε̅π̅νο̅σ̅τε̅
 ρ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅ν̅ τε̅κ̅πα̅ρε̅μ̅βο̅λ̅η̅
 18 ν̅τε̅ πε̅ϣ̅π̅ν̅α̅ ρ̅α̅ρε̅ζ̅ ε̅νε̅κ̅π̅ω̅
 λ̅η̅ · π̅νο̅σ̅ς̅ ν̅τ̅μ̅η̅†̅νο̅σ̅τε̅

85,32 [ζ̅]ω̅ρε̅: The reconstruction is supported not only by the lacuna size and visible right side of the letter ω but also by references to “strength” and “being strong” associated with the power of the “mind” (νοῦς) over passions and base thought expressed elsewhere in the text (e.g., 84,18; 93,5-6).

86,1-4 These lines seem to mean that one should not succumb to the irrational state of animalism, being pursued by men (86,1-2), but rather be man (a rational being), pursuing the irrational animals (= passions and unreasonable impulses, 86,3-4). In turn, “being a man” (86,3) means abandoning irrational animality and becoming controlled by mind and reason. Cf. also *Sent. Sext.* 315.

28 out of destruction and dangers (κίνδυνος).
 Listen, my son, to my
 30 advice (συμβουλία)! Do not show your back
 [to] your enemies and flee, but (ἀλλά)
 32 rather (μᾶλλον) pursue them as (ὡς) a [strong one].
 86
 Be not an animal, with men
 2 pursuing you; but (ἀλλά)
 rather, be a man, with you pursuing
 4 the evil wild beasts (θηρίον), lest somehow (μήπως)
 they become victorious over you and trample
 6 you (καταπατεῖν) as (ὡς) a dead man,
 and you perish by
 8 their wickedness. O (ὦ) wretched (ταλαίπωρος)
 man, what will you
 10 do if you fall into their
 hands? Protect (τηρεῖν) yourself
 12 lest (μήποτε) you be delivered into the hands of your
 enemies. Entrust yourself to this
 14 pair of friends, reason (λόγος)
 and mind (νοῦς), and no one
 16 will be victorious over you. May God
 dwell in your camp (παρεμβολή),
 18 may his Spirit (πνεῦμα) protect your
 gates (πύλη), and may the mind (νοῦς) of divinity

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- 86,4 Janssens unnecessarily emends the text to read $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$. In this text the η - denoting predicate often coalesces with an initial plural article η .
- 86,4-6 For the figure of wild beasts trampling one as "on a dead man" cf. Isa 14:19.25; Nah 3:3.
- 86,18-19. Here we find the first of four references to the Holy Spirit in *Teach. Silv.* Though a distinct member of the Godhead, the Spirit plays a subordinate role (see, e.g., 107,31-35; 112,25-27; 116,27-31).
- 86,19 Zandee (*Sylvanus*, p. 16) erroneously reads $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$.

20 $\eta\bar{\nu}\rho\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta$ $\epsilon\eta\sigma\upsilon\beta\epsilon\tau$ · $\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha\alpha\beta$ $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}$
 22 $\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\psi\rho\omega\kappa\bar{\eta}$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\psi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon$ ·
 24 $\epsilon\kappa\psi\alpha\eta\bar{\rho}$ $\eta\alpha\dot{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\omega}$ $\pi\alpha\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$
 $\kappa\eta\alpha\zeta\rho\omicron$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\kappa\zeta\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho\sigma$ ·
 26 $\alpha\sigma\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi$ $\bar{\rho}$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$
 $\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\bar{\kappa}$ · $\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\psi$
 28 $\omega\rho\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma$ · $\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\sigma\epsilon$
 $\eta\alpha\psi$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\bar{\eta}\eta$ $\epsilon\kappa\psi\alpha\eta$
 30 $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\alpha\dot{\iota}$ $\tau\alpha\rho$ $\kappa\eta\alpha\bar{\rho}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\eta\eta$
 $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\epsilon$ ·
 32 $\varsigma[\epsilon]\eta\alpha\psi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\sigma[\kappa\omega]$
 $\bar{\rho}\psi$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\pi\varsigma\bar{\pi}$ $\epsilon\sigma\bar{\rho}$ $[\rho\omicron]$

$\bar{\pi}\bar{\zeta}$

2 $\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\eta$ $\rho\eta\tau\bar{\kappa}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\epsilon\sigma\bar{\rho}$ $\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\rho\eta$
 $\tau\omicron\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\eta\eta$ $\rho\rho\alpha\dot{\iota}$ $\bar{\eta}\rho\eta\tau\bar{\kappa}$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\psi\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau$

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- 86,20-23 Human “reason” is “holy” (86,20) and “divine” (88,4; 91,14-25), deriving its divine nature from Christ, the supreme Logos (106,24; 112,31ff.). Christ as the divine Logos gives the light of reason to mortals (99,3-4) and can actually dwell within them, strengthening the reason (117,7-9).
- 86,25 The “enemies” may collectively include the “robbers” (85,2.14), “wild beasts” (85,10-11.16; 86,4), and the “Wicked One” (85,17-20). All, with the exception of the last-named, are symbolic representations of passions, vices, evil thoughts. Cf. 1 Pet 2:11.
- 86,31 $\bar{\eta}\eta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\epsilon$: a new Coptic construct form of $\sigma\alpha\lambda$ (= “denier” from

- 20 protect the walls. Let holy reason (λόγος)
become a
- 22 torch (φανάριον) in your mind (νοῦς), burning
the wood which is the entirety of sin.
- 24 And (δέ) if you do these things, O (ὦ) my son,
you will be victorious over all your enemies,
26 and they will not be able to wage war (πόλεμος)
against you, neither (οὐδέ) will they be able
28 to stand firm, nor (οὐδέ) will they
be able to get in your way.
- 30 For (γάρ) if you find these, you will despise (καταφρονεῖν)
them as deniers of truth.
- 32 They will speak with you, [cajoling]
you and entreating (you), not because they are [afraid]
- 87
- of you, but (ἀλλά) because they are afraid of
- 2 those who dwell within you,
namely, the guardians of the divinity

σωλ, Crum, 807b) + με ("truth," Crum, 156b) = "deniers of truth". This participium conjunctum construction (cf. $\rho\alpha\tau\bar{\theta}\ \psi\sigma\chi\eta$ in 88,6; 96,13) probably explains why the prepositional εβωλ—which normally follows the infinitive σωλ when it means "to deny"—has disappeared. Janssens unnecessarily emends the text and reads: $\sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\epsilon\langle c\rangle$. She states it is "sans doute" a form of $\psi\omega\lambda\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (Crum, 560a), meaning, "gnat, small fly." Zandee reads $\sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, seeing possible traces of a final c. No such trace can be seen in the ms. [Ed.]

86,32-33

επ[κω]/ρῶν εροκ: Cf. the similar usage of κωρῶν in 95,13 and 97,22.

4 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΤΕΣΒΩ · ΠΑΨΗΡΕ
 ΖΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΜΗ ΤΕΣΒΩ
 6 ΜΠΡΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΜΗ
 ΤΕΣΒΩ · ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΨΑΝΤ ΣΒΩ
 8 ΝΑΚ ΖΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΠΡΑΨΕ · ΑΨΩ ΕΨ
 ΨΑΝΠΑΙΔΕΤΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΘΝ ΘΩΒ
 10 ΝΙΜ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ·
 ΚΝΑΨΩΝΤ ΝΟΥΚΛΟΜ ΜΠΑΙ
 12 ΔΕΙΑ ΜΠΕΚΘΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ ·
 ΤΕΣΒΩ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΤΑΑΣ ΘΙΩΩΚ
 14 ΘΩΣ ΣΤΟΛΗ · ΑΔΚ ΝΕΨΤΕΝΗΣ
 ΘΝ ΤΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ·
 16 ΚΩ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΣΤΟΥΦΗ ΝΤΛΝΤ
 ΕΨΤΑΚΤΟΣ · ΔΡΙΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΚ
 18 ΟΨΑΔΑΚ · ΘΩΣ ΡΕΨΤ ΘΑΠ ΝΣΟ
 ΦΟΣ · ΜΠΡΩΡΜ ΝΤΑΣΒΩ
 20 ΝΤΔΠΟ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΒΩ
 ΜΗΠΩΣ ΝΤΣΩΡΜ ΜΠΕΚΛΑ
 22 ΟΣ · ΜΠΡΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΘΕΙ
 ΟΝ ΜΗ ΤΕΣΒΩ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΘΡΑΪ
 24 ΝΘΗΤΚ · ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΤΣΑΒΟ
 ΜΜΟΚ ΨΜΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΜΑΤΕ
 26 ΨΝΑΚΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΝΝΟΥΣΤΟΥΦΗ
 ΕΣΜΠΨΑ · ΤΨΟΥΣΙΣ ΝΤΒΗΝΗ
 28 ΕΤΝΘΡΑΪ ΝΘΗΤΚ ΝΟΥΨ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΜΟΚ · ΑΨΩ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΜΟΣ Μ
 30 ΦΑΨΛΟΣ ΜΠΡΚΑΑΨ ΕΘΟΥΝ
 ΕΡΟΚ · ΕΝΕΣΟΥΠΩΨ ΓΑΡ ΕΚ

87,4-17

Sure defense against base impulses and Satan's attacks comes from adherence to the author's teaching and the education it provides (cf. 87,24-25). Cf. similar thoughts in Prov 1:1 - 2:7; 4:13; Wis 6:17; Sir 6:18.

87,16

ΣΤΟΥΦΗ: Cf. 87,26; 95,31. The Greek word *στυφή* appears not at all in the NT and only rarely in early Patristic literature (see LPGL 1265b). As used in *Teach. Silv.*, *στυφή* is a positive virtue whose attainment demands self-discipline and conformity with correct teaching.

- 4 and the teaching. My son,
accept the education (παιδεία) and the teaching.
- 6 Do not flee from the education (παιδεία) and
the teaching, but (ἀλλά) when you are taught,
8 accept (it) with joy. And if
you are educated (παιδεύειν) in
10 any matter, do what is good.
You will plait a crown of
12 education (παιδεία) by your guiding principle (ἡγεμονικόν).
Put on the holy teaching
14 like (ὡς) a robe (στολή). Make yourself noble-minded (εὐγενής)
through good conduct (πολιτεία).
- 16 Acquire the austerity (στυφή) of
good discipline (-εὐτάκτος). Judge (κρίνειν) your-
18 self like (ὡς) a wise (σοφός) judge.
Do not go astray from my teaching,
20 do not acquire ignorance,
lest (μήπως) you lead your people (λαός) astray.
- 22 Do not flee from the divine (θεῖον)
and the teaching which are within
24 you, for (γάρ) he who is teaching
you loves you very much.
- 26 For (γάρ) he will leave you a worthy austerity (στυφή).
Cast out the animal nature (φύσις)
28 which is within you,
and
30 do not allow base (φαῦλος) thought (λογισμός) to enter you.
For (γάρ) it would be fitting for you to

87,27-30 The bodily, fleshly nature that stimulates passions and base thoughts (the "animal nature" - 92,19-20.32-33; 93,15-21) is to be kept under control. Cf. 2 Pet 2:12.

87,31 **ἐνεκοῦπωρ**: So Zandee (cf. idem, "Eine Crux Interpretum"), based on a Demotic construction. Janssens reads **ἐνεκοῦ πωρ**, and suggests that **νεκοῦ** is a hitherto unattested form of **νεκε-**, **νεκω'**, "to be fine, beautiful, smart" (Crum, 228b).

- 32 ϞΟΟΘΝ ΝΘΕ Ε†† ϞΒΩ ΝΑΚ
 ΕΨΞΕ ΝΑΝΟΘϞ ΕΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΝΘΟ
- 34 [ΛΙΓ]ΘΝ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΚΝΑΘ ΕΡ[Ο]Ϟ
 [ΠΟϞ]Ω ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΨΟΤΠ [ΕΤ]ΡΕΚ
 ΠΗ
 ΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΚΟ ΠΝΟϞ
- 2 ΕΞΝ ϞΟΟΘϞ ΝΙΜ ΑΘΩ ΛΑΟϞ
 ΝΙΜ · ΑΘΩ ΝΞΙϞΕ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΝΙΜ
- 4 ΜΗ ΟΘΛΟΓΟϞ ΝΘΕΙΟϞ · ΕΑΚ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΞΟΕΙϞ ΕΞΝ ΔΘΝΑΜΙϞ
- 6 ΝΙΜ ΝΘΑΤΒ ΨΘΧΗ · ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΗ
 ΨΑΡΕ ΛΑΑΘ ΡΕΠΙΘΜΕΙ ΕΡ ΘΜ
- 8 ΘΑΛ · ΠΩϞ ΝΤΟΚ ΚΨΤΟΡΤΡ Μ
 ΜΟΚ ΚΑΚΩϞ · ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΡ
- 10 Ρ ΘΟΤΕ ΘΗΤΨ ΝΛΑΑΘ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ Ε
 ΠΝΟΘΤΕ ΜΑΘΑΑΨ ΠΕΤΞΟϞ ·
- 12 ΤΜΗΤΠΑΝΟΘΡΓΟϞ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟϞ
 ΝΟΞϞ ϞΑΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΚ · ΞΙ ΜΠΟΘ
- 14 ΟΕΙΝ ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ' ΝΤΝΟΘΞΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΜΟΚ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ · ΑΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΘΕ
- 16 ΘΜ ΠΕΧϞ · ΑΘΩ ΚΝΑΞΠΟ ΝΑΚ
 ΝΝΟΘΑΘΟ ΘΝ ΤΠΕ · ΜΠΡΨΩ
- 18 ΠΕ ΜΜΟΝΘΘΛΟϞ ΝΘΑΘ ΝΘΩΒ

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- 87,33-34 ΕΝΘΟ[ΛΙΓ]ΘΝ: The syntax of 87,33 - 88,6 clearly requires a contrast between "rule over the few" versus "rule over the many." Janssens and Funk read ΕΝΘΟ/[ΡΑΤ]ΘΝ (= ὀρατόν).
- 87,35 [ΠΟϞ]Ω ΜΑΛΛΟΝ. Cf. 93,23; 98,30.
- 88,3 Janssens emends the text to read ΝΝ·Τ·ΞΙϞΕ. Leaving ΝΞΙϞΕ unemended, the Ν introduces a second substantive adjective (cf. Ν + ΝΟϞ in 88,1) following the verb ΕΚΟ in 88,1.
- 88,4-5 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΞΟΕΙϞ ΕΞΝ renders κυριεύειν + genitive. (So Janssens).
- 88,12-13 The deceitful and crafty nature of the Devil is mentioned several times in *Teach. Silv.* This Adversary uses schemes and tricks (95,1-4), varied thoughts and devices (94,6-8), and disguises (95,12-14. 20-33; 96,15-19) to enter and seduce human souls. Cf. Eph 6:11; *Mart. Pol.* 2:4; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26; *Hermas Mand.* 4.3.4; Rev 20:10.
- 88,13-15 The exhortation to accept light and cast out darkness introduces symbols popular with our author. Light denotes knowledge and re-

- 32 know the way which I teach.
If it is good to rule over (ἄρχειν) the [few (ὀλίγον)],
- 34 as you see it,
[how (πόσῳ)] much (μᾶλλον) better is it that you
88
rule over (ἄρχειν) everyone since you are exalted
2 above every congregation and every people (λαός),
prominent in every respect,
4 with divine (θεῖος) reason (λόγος), having
become master over every power (δύναμις)
6 which kills the soul (ψυχή). My son, does anyone (+ μή)
want (ἐπιθυμῆν) to be a slave?
8 Why (πῶς), then, do you trouble yourself wrongly (κακῶς)?
My son, do not
10 fear anyone except (εἰ μήτι)
God alone, the Exalted One.
12 Cast the deceitfulness (-πανούργος) of the Devil (διάβολος)
from you. Accept the light
14 for your eyes, and cast
the darkness from you. Live (πολιτεύειν)
16 in Christ (Χριστός), and you will acquire
a treasure in heaven. Do not become
18 a sausage (μονθύλος) (made) of many things

membrance of the author's and Christ's teachings (see 88,13-17.22-26.29-32; 89,5-16; 102,30-34). Such knowledge encompasses practical morality and heavenly realities (88,13-17; 89,5-16; 102,13-103,4). By contrast, darkness symbolizes ignorance and forgetfulness of teaching. His omniscience makes darkness foreign to God's nature (116,7-12), though such darkness is characteristic of evil world-rulers (117,14-15).

88,15-16
88,18

Cf. Rom 6:11.23; 1 Cor 1:2.30; Col 1:28; Matt 6:20; 19:21.

ΜΟΝΘΥΛΟΣ (Greek = μονθύλος), translated here as "sausage," is not previously attested in Greek or Coptic but seems to be derived from a technical term from the culinary arts, μονθυλεύω or ὀνθυλεύω = "to stuff with chopped meat," "to fill." Schenke (review of *Facsimile Edition*, 136) suggests as a possible emendation **ΜΟΝΘΥΛΑΚΕΤΤΟΣ**, and notes that the Coptic may here translate an underlying *μή μεμονθύλευσθε* used metaphorically and colloquially.

20 ε̅μ̅ν̅ ρ̅η̅σ̅ ν̅ρ̅η̅το̅σ̅ · α̅σ̅ω̅ μ̅π̅ρ̅
 ψ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ν̅ρ̅ε̅ϕ̅α̅ι̅ μ̅ο̅ε̅τ̅ ρ̅η̅τ̅
 ν̅τ̅ε̅κ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅α̅τ̅σ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅ ν̅
 22 β̅λ̅λ̅η̅ · πα̅ψ̅η̅ρε̅ σ̅ω̅τ̅μ̅ ε̅τα̅
 σ̅β̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅η̅α̅νο̅σ̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅ ν̅χ̅ρ̅ς̅ ·
 24 α̅σ̅ω̅ ν̅τ̅λ̅α̅σ̅ε̅ ε̅φ̅ι̅ν̅η̅β̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅
 ρ̅ψ̅ ε̅ζ̅ω̅κ̅ · α̅μ̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅ν̅ τ̅β̅
 26 ψ̅ε̅ τ̅α̅ί̅ ε̅τ̅μ̅ο̅σ̅ρ̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅κ̅ ν̅κα̅
 κε̅ · ν̅θ̅ε̅ ε̅νε̅ μ̅μ̅ν̅ σ̅ο̅μ̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅κ̅
 28 ε̅ρ̅ ρ̅ω̅β̅ ν̅ι̅μ̅ ν̅ε̅ί̅να̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ α̅ν̅
 ν̅α̅κ̅ π̅ε̅ · α̅π̅ε̅χ̅ς̅ δ̅ε̅ ε̅ι̅ ε̅φ̅ ν̅α̅κ̅
 30 ν̅τ̅ε̅ε̅ι̅δ̅ω̅ρε̅α̅ ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ ο̅σ̅ ε̅κ̅
 π̅η̅τ̅ ν̅ς̅α̅ π̅κα̅κε̅ ε̅ρε̅πο̅σ̅ο̅
 32 ε̅ι̅ν̅ κ̅η̅ ν̅α̅κ̅ ε̅ρ̅ρα̅ί̅ · ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ ο̅σ̅
 ε̅κ̅σ̅ω̅ ν̅ο̅σ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅ϕ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅
 34 ε̅[ρ̅]ε̅π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅ο̅λ̅ς̅ κ̅η̅ ν̅α̅κ̅ ε̅[ρ̅ρα̅]ί̅ ·
 τ̅ς̅[ο̅]φ̅ι̅α̅ ρ̅πα̅ρα̅κα̅λ̅ε̅ι̅ μ̅[μ̅ο̅κ̅]

π̅θ̅

α̅σ̅ω̅ κ̅ο̅σ̅ω̅ψ̅ τ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅α̅θ̅η̅τ̅
 2 ρ̅μ̅ π̅ε̅κ̅ο̅σ̅ω̅ψ̅ α̅ν̅ ε̅κε̅ι̅ρε̅
 ν̅ν̅α̅ί̅ · α̅λ̅λ̅α̅ τ̅φ̅σ̅ς̅ς̅ ν̅τ̅β̅ν̅η̅
 4 ε̅τ̅ν̅ρ̅η̅τ̅κ̅ π̅ε̅τ̅ε̅ι̅ρε̅ ν̅ν̅α̅ί̅ ·
 τ̅σ̅φ̅ι̅α̅ ρ̅πα̅ρα̅κα̅λ̅ε̅ι̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅κ̅
 6 ρ̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅ς̅μ̅ν̅τ̅χ̅ς̅ ε̅ς̅ζ̅ω̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅
 ζ̅ε̅ α̅μ̅η̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ν̅ ψ̅α̅ρο̅ί̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅τ̅ν̅
 8 ω̅ ν̅α̅θ̅η̅τ̅ ν̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ν̅ζ̅ι̅ ν̅ο̅σ̅
 δ̅ω̅ρε̅α̅ τ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅ρ̅μ̅ν̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ ε̅τ̅

88,19-21 Cf. Matt 15:14; 23:16.

88,23 ν̅χ̅ρ̅ς̅. A. Böhlig ("Christentum und Gnosis," 14) has shown that χ̅ρ̅ς̅ can mean both Χριστός and χρηστός in Gnostic texts. Here the context clearly demands the latter, "good" or "useful." Elsewhere in *Teach. Silv.* the *nomen sacrum* for Χριστός is consistently π̅ε̅χ̅ς̅ (cf. 88,16,29; 90, 33; 96,20; 98,21; etc.).

88,24-26 sleep . . . forgetfulness . . . darkness: Cf. Rom 13:11; 1 Thess 5:6; Eph 5:14; 2 Pet 1:9; Matt 6:23.

88,30 The "gift" Christ came to give is mostly likely the "light" mentioned in 88,13 and picked up again here.

which are useless, and do not
 20 become a guide
 in blind ignorance.
 22 My son, listen to my
 teaching which is good and useful (χρηστός),
 24 and end the sleep which weighs heavily upon you.
 Depart from the forgetfulness
 26 which fills you with darkness,
 since if you were unable
 28 to do anything, I would not have said these things
 to you. But (δέ) Christ (Χριστός) came in order to give you
 30 this gift (δωρεά). Why do you
 pursue the darkness when the light
 32 is at your disposal? Why
 do you drink stale water though
 34 sweet is available for you?
 Wisdom (σοφία) summons (παρακαλεῖν) [you],

89

yet you desire folly.
 2 Not by your own desire do you do
 these things, but (ἀλλά) it is the animal nature (φύσις)
 4 within you that does them.
 Wisdom (σοφία) summons (παρακαλεῖν) you
 6 in her goodness (-χρηστός), saying,
 “Come to me, all of you,
 8 O (ὦ) foolish ones, that you may receive a
 gift (δωρεά), the understanding which is

88,32-34 The background of the symbols of “stale water” and “sweet” may lie in allegorical interpretation of John 4:10ff. or of Exod 15:23-25. In the latter case, Justin (*Dial.* 86) identifies Christ both as the “tree” Moses threw into bitter water at Marah in the Wilderness of Shur and the “sweet water” that resulted therefrom.

88,35 - 92,10 Here appears an excursus on wisdom versus folly that recalls such contrasts in Jewish wisdom literature (e.g. Prov 14:18,24; 15:2; 16:22; Eccl 7:25). In 88,35 personified divine Wisdom appears for the first time, an hypostatized attribute separate from God the Father (cf. 91,16; and Prov 1:20-22; 8:4-5; Wis 6:12-20; Sir 24:19). Cf. also Clement *Strom.* 6.55.2 and Origen *Cels.* 4.7.

10 ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΤΣΟΤΠ · †† ΝΑΚ
 ΠΟΥΣΧΗΜΑ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ
 12 ΕΥΣΑΘΤ ΘΝ ΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΙΜ · ΑΨ
 ΠΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΕΘΟΥΣ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΑΤ
 14 ΜΠΤΑΤΣΟΥΘΝ · ΑΨ ΠΕ ΠΚΑ
 ΚΕ ΕΘΟΥΣ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΠΣΟΥΘΝ
 16 ΠΤΒΨΕ · ΝΟΥΣΕ ΜΠΕΚΡΟΥΨ
 ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΑΑΥ · ΑΠΡΨΩ
 18 ΠΕ ΕΚΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΘ ΜΠ ΠΡΑΤ
 ΝΑΙ ΕΜΝ ΘΗΘ ΠΡΗΤΟΥ · ΑΛΛΑ
 20 ΣΩΛΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΠΘΕ
 ΠΝΙΣΤΟΛΗ · ΑΩ ΤΕΠΙΣΤΗ
 22 ΜΗ ΠΤΑΔΣ ΕΞΩΚ ΠΘΕ ΠΝΙ
 ΚΛΟΜ · ΘΜΟΥΣ ΘΙΣΝ ΟΘΕΡΟ
 24 ΝΟΣ ΠΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΣ · ΣΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΚ
 ΝΕ ΕΚΝΑΣΙΤΟΥ ΟΝ ΜΠΣΑ Ν
 26 ΘΡΕ ΠΚΕΣΟΠ · ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΤΑΡ
 ΠΑΘΗΤ ΨΑΥ† ΘΙΩΟΥ ΠΤ ΜΠΤ
 28 ΑΘΗΤ ΠΘΕ ΠΝΙΣΤΟΛΗ · ΑΩ
 ΠΘΕ ΠΝΙΨΤΗΝ ΜΠΕΝΘΟΣ
 30 ΕΥ† ΘΙΩΟΥ ΜΠΨΠΕ · ΑΩ
 ΨΑΥ† ΚΛΟΜ ΕΣΩΥ ΘΝ ΟΥ ΜΠΤ
 32 ΑΤΣΟΥΘΝ · ΑΩ ΠΥΘΜΟΥΣ
 ΘΙΣΝ ΟΘΕΡΟΝΟΣ ΜΜΠΤΑΤ
 34 [ΕΙΜΕ] ΕΥΨΟΥΠ ΤΑΡ Π[ΑΛΟ]ΥΟΣ
 Υ
 ΥΩΡΜ ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΑΑΥ · ΣΕΡ
 2 ΘΜΜΕ ΤΑΡ ΜΜΟΥ ΘΙΤΗ ΤΜΠΤ

- 89,10-12 For speculations about the celestial glory and perfection associated with the robes of the Jewish high-priests see Sir 45:7b-11; 50:11; Wis 18:24; and Philo *Som.* 1.216-218.
- 89,16-17 This is a nearly literal echo of 1 Pet 5:7.
- 89,21-23 Literally: “the robes” and “the crowns.”
- 89,25-26 ΕΚΝΑΣΙΤΟΥ ΟΝ ΜΠΣΑΝ/ΘΡΕ ΠΚΕΣΟΠ: Funk translates: “du wirst sie von neuem wiedererlangen,” holding that the adverbial expression ΜΠΣΑΝ/ΘΡΕ perhaps erroneously translates ἄνωθεν (“again”, “anew”), while ΠΚΕΣΟΠ could be offered for a verbal prefix (ἀναλαμβάνειν) or an additional adverb (πάλιν).

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89,10 The
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- 10 good and excellent. I am giving you
 a high-priestly (ἀρχιερέυς) garment (σχῆμα)
 12 which is woven from every (kind of) wisdom (σοφία).” What else
 is evil death except (εἰ μήτι)
 14 ignorance? What else is
 evil darkness except (εἰ μήτι) familiarity
 16 with forgetfulness! Cast your anxiety
 upon God alone. Do not become
 18 desirous of gold and silver
 which are profitless, but (ἀλλά)
 20 clothe yourself with wisdom (σοφία) like
 a robe (στολή), put knowledge (ἐπιστήμη)
 22 on yourself like
 a crown, and be seated upon a throne (θρόνος)
 24 of perception (αἴσθησις). For these are yours,
 and you will receive them again on high
 26 another time. For (γάρ) a foolish man
 usually puts on folly
 28 like a robe (στολή), and
 like a garment of sorrow (πένθος)
 30 he puts on shame.
 He crowns himself with ignorance
 32 and takes his seat
 upon a throne (θρόνος) of
 34 [nescience]. For (γάρ) since he [lacks reason (ἄλογος)],
 90
 he leads only himself astray, for (γάρ)
 2 he is guided by ignorance.

89,26 - 92,10 The ways of foolish men (89,26 - 90,29) are here contrasted with the way of the wise (90,29 - 92,10) in a manner familiar from Jewish wisdom literature (e.g., Prov 10:1-23; 17:7-28; Wis 12:23-24; Sir 22:1-15).

89,33-34 ἈΛΛΗΤΑΤ/[ΕΙΜΕ] = “nescience”: The context favors a synonym of ἈΠΤΑΤΟΟΦΗ (Crum, 370b = ἄγνοια) found in 89,31-32, and the size of the lacuna accommodates the reconstruction. Ἰ[ΑΛΛΟ]ΥΟϚ. Visible traces of the top stroke of the Ϛ, the upper half of the ο, and the top left curve of the Ϛ make this reconstruction probable.

4 αἰτσοοῦν · αὐὼ ψαυῖρ νεῦν
 οοῦε ἡτεπιῶσμια ἄπαθοῦ
 6 μιμ · ψηβε ῶν νεπιῶσμια
 ἄπβιοῦ · αὐὼ ἀψῶκ ἡἡλτω ·
 8 εψμεεσε μεν δε ψῶν ῶνοῦ
 εψειρε ἡνερβησε τηροῦ
 10 ετε ἄἄἡ ῶνο ἡρητοῦ · πρω
 με ἡταλαπωροῦ εἰβηκ
 ῶν ἡαἱ τηροῦ ψηαμοῦ · εβολ
 12 δε ἄἄἡταψ ἄμαῦ ἄπποῦ
 πρεψῖ ῶἄμε · ἀλλα εψτήτων
 14 εῶσοεἰ · ερεπτηῦ νοῶδε
 ἄμοψ ἡσα εσα · αὐὼ ἡθε ἡ
 16 οῶροτο εαψῖ βολ' εἡἡταψ ἡ
 ἡιοχοῦ ἄμαῦ · ἀπαἱ γαρ ῖ
 18 ψτα ἄπἡἡιοχοῦ ετε πλο
 τοῦ πε · ἀψωῖρἄ γαρ ἡῖσι πτα
 20 λαπωροῦ δε ἄπεψοῦωψ
 εῶμβοῦγια · ἀῶνοῶψ εἡσα
 22 επαἱ ῶἡἡ πψομεἱ ἡσοῦ
 βωων · ἀψπε πμοῦ ἡαψ ἡ
 24 εἡωἱ · αὐὼ τἄἡἡαἰτσοοῦν
 ἄμααῦ ἡαψ · αὐὼ ἡεῶμ
 26 βοῦγια εῶοῦ ἀψποῦ
 ἡαψ ἄψβηρ ῶἱ σοἡ · δεκαδ
 28 ἡτοκ παῶἡἱ εκἡαρἡμε ἡακ ·
 εἡἡ ἡνοῦ ῶε παψἡρε νο
 30 οῶροκ εῶοῦν ετεκ ἄἡἡνοῦ
 τε · ἡψβηρ εῶοῦ ἡῖἡἡ

90,5-6

The metaphor of “swimming in the desires of life and sinking” may owe something to an Alexandrian exegetical tradition. Origen (*Comm. in Matt.*13,12) compares the avaricious person to a fish swimming in the sea of life’s bitter affairs, cares, and anxieties.

90,6

Literally: “. . . he went to the depths.”

90,7-9

Cf. Matt 16:26 and 1 Sam 12:21.

90,9-18

The ignorant man experiences only problems and will die because he

He goes the ways
 4 of the desire (ἐπιθυμία) of every passion (πάθος).
 He swims in the desires (ἐπιθυμία)
 6 of life (βίος) and has sunk.
 To be sure (μέν), he thinks that he finds profit
 8 when he does all the things
 which are without profit. The
 10 wretched (ταλαίπωρος) man who goes
 through all these things will die because
 12 he does not have the mind (νοῦς) (as)
 the helmsman. Rather (ἀλλά) he is like
 14 a ship which the wind tosses
 to and fro and like
 16 a loose horse which has no rider (ἡνίοχος).
 For (γάρ) this (man)
 18 needed the rider (ἡνίοχος) which is reason (λόγος).
 For (γάρ) the wretched one (ταλαίπωρος) went astray
 20 because he did not want
 advice (συμβουλία). He was thrown to and
 22 fro by three evils:
 he acquired for himself death as
 24 a father, ignorance
 as a mother, and evil counsels (συμβουλία)
 26 he acquired
 as friends and brothers.
 28 Therefore, foolish one, you should mourn for yourself!
 From now on, then, my son, return
 30 to your divine nature.
 Cast from [you] these evil,

lacks the “mind (as) the helmsman (κυβερνήτης)” and “reason” as the “rider (ἡνίοχος).” Both images are derived from Plato (*Phaedr.* 246b 1-3 and 247c 7-8) and reappear in later Platonic and Christian writing.

90,15

Funk emends the text to read: $\alpha\tau\omega \langle\epsilon\varphi\psi\theta\omicron\omicron\rangle \bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$. Assuming that an ellipsis of the verb $\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\mu\eta$ (90,13) has occurred no such emendation is required.

32 κ[ροϥ νοζοϥ εβολ̄ ᾠ[μοκ]
[ⲗⲓ ⲉⲣ]οκ ᾠπεϫ̄ [πⲓ]ϣβ̄[ηρ ᾠμε]

ϣ̄α

Ἰσαρ ενανοϥ · νοϥζε ᾠ
2 πμοϥ εβολ̄ ᾠμοκ πενταϥ
ϣωπε νακ Ἰειωτ̄ · νερε
4 πμοϥ ραρ ϣοοπ αν οϥτε
Ἰϥναϣωπε αν ϣ̄η θαν̄ · αλλα
6 επιαν ακνοϥζε εβολ̄ ᾠμοκ
ᾠπνοϥτε πιωτ̄ <ε>οϥααβ̄ ·
8 πων̄ϣ̄ Ἰαληθεινον̄ · τπη
τη ᾠπων̄ϣ̄ · ετβε παῖ ακ̄ρ̄
10 κληροϥ επμοϥ Ἰειωτ̄ νακ
αϥω τμη̄τᾱτσοοτη ακ
12 ⲗποϥ ᾠμααϥ νακ · αϥραποϥ
τερι ᾠμοκ Ἰττηνωσιϥ ᾠμε ·
14 παϣηρε νοοϥϣ̄κ̄ δε εροοτη
επεκειωτ̄ Ἰϣορ̄π̄ πμοϥ
16 τε · αϥω τσοφια τεκμααϥ
ταῖ Ἰτακϣωπε εβολ̄ Ἰρη̄τ̄ϥ
18 ⲗην Ἰϣορ̄π̄ ετρεκϥ οϥβε
νεκⲗαζε τηροϥ Ἰδ̄ο̄ναμ̄ιϥ
20 ᾠπαντικ̄ιμενοϥ · σωτ̄μ
παϣηρε αταϥσμβοϥᾱια ·

90,32 The substantive κροϥ (“deceit”) appears elsewhere in *Teach. Silv.* (96,25; 97,28.33; 98,11). The reconstruction ᾠ[μοκ] is required by the context.

90,33 [ⲗⲓ ⲉⲣ]οκ is supported by context, in that identical constructions appear elsewhere (e.g., in 96,19-20; 103,25); so also Janssens, Funk, and Zandee. [πⲓ]ϣβ̄[ηρ ᾠμε]: Janssens: [Ἰ]ϣ[β̄ηρ ᾠμε]. Funk offers an alternate reconstruction: ᾠπεϫ̄ [Ἰ]ϣ[ανρ̄τ̄ϥ] = “den ba[rmherzigen] Christus”. Our reading is preferable because of the apparent contrast with ηϣβ̄ηρ εϥοοϥ in 90,31. Cf. also the expression ϣβ̄ηρ ᾠμε in 95,14.20 (so Janssens).

32 deceiving friends!
 [Accept] Christ (Χριστός), [this true friend,]
 91
 as a good teacher. Cast
 2 death from you which has
 become a father to you.
 4 For (γάρ) death did not exist (at first), nor (οὔτε)
 will it exist at the end. But (ἀλλά)
 6 since (ἐπειδή) you cast from yourself
 God, the holy Father,
 8 the true (ἀληθινόν) Life, the Spring (πηγή)
 of Life, therefore, you have
 10 obtained (κληροῦν) death as a father
 and have acquired ignorance
 12 as a mother. They have robbed (ἀποστερεῖν)
 you of the true knowledge (γνώσις).
 14 But (δέ) return, my son, to
 your first Father, God,
 16 and Wisdom (σοφία) your mother,
 from whom you came into being
 18 from the very first in order that you might fight against
 all of your enemies, the powers (δύναμις)
 20 of the Adversary (ἀντικείμενος). Listen,
 my son, to my advice (συμβουλία).

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- 91,1 Christ is also identified as "teacher" in 96,32 and 110,18. Divine "reason" is also called "teacher" in 85,26; this "reason" is later identified with Christ as the indwelling Word in man (117,7-9).
- 91,7 ΠΙΩΤ <ΕΤ> ΟΥΔΑΔΒ: Cf. e.g. 86,21; 87,13; 91,25-26; 112,26; 113,2.3-4; 114,11-12. The omission of ΕΤ may be due to homoioteleuton.
- 91,14-16 Cf. 90,29-30. "Return" is related to the idea of repentance.
- 91,18-20 The "powers of the Adversary" are both enemies of reason (such as evil thoughts - 85,11-12; ignorance - 87,19-20; passions of love and base wickedness - 84,20-21) which attack the soul from within a person, as well as the henchmen of the Adversary, Satan, who besiege the soul from outside the body (105,34 - 106,1; 114,5-7).

- 22 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}$
 BE ΓΝΩΜΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΑΝΟΤΥ ·
- 24 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$
 ΝΟΤΕ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ · $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$
- 26 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ · $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}$
 Ω ΚΝΑΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΞΗ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΙΜ
- 28 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}$ · $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\ \bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}$
 ΕΚΤΑΕΙΝΟΤ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$
- 30 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ · ΚΝΑΖΠΟ
 ΟΤ ΔΕ ΝΑΚ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ · $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\ \bar{\eta}$
- 32 $\bar{\psi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\varrho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$ · ΚΝΑΖΠΟ ΔΕ
 Ν[ΔΚ $\bar{\eta}$]ΡΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ $\bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\tau}$ [ΠΕ]
- 34 $[\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}]$ ΠΕ ΠΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΙ[ΤΨΟ]
 ϣβ
 ΟΠ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\varrho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\lambda}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$
 2 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}$ · $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\theta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$
 ΠΕΙ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\psi}$ ΕΡΟΥ Ε
 4 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\psi}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\chi}\bar{\eta}$
 6 $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\phi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ · $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}$
 8 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ · $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$
 † $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$
 10 $\bar{\varrho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}$ · $\bar{\varrho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}$
 ΝΙΜ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\pi}\bar{\omicron}$ · $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}$
 12 $\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\ \bar{\eta}$
 ΟΤΣΙΑ · $\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}$
 14 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ · $\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\ \bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\psi}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}$ ·

- 91,23 As Janssens (*Silvanos*, 41) notes, the masculine suffixal pronoun γ in ΕΝΑΝΟΤΥ has as its antecedent the feminine Greek loanword ΓΝΩΜΗ which lacks a definite article. Cf. also ΕΥΣΟΤΩΝ and its antecedent $\varrho\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}$ at 106,33.
- 91,24 Funk emends the text to read: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varrho}$ (= “Sondern nimm der Lehr<er> der Frömmigkeit).
- 91,32-34 Reconstructions of the lacunae in these lines are those of Funk. Janssens reads $\bar{\eta}$ [ΔΚ $\bar{\eta}$]ΡΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ $\bar{\varrho}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\tau}$ [$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$]/[$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$]ΠΕ (= “Et tu acquerras des lieux dans le [royaume cé]leste”). The expression “Kingdom of Heaven” ($\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}$) never appears elsewhere in the text.
- 91,34 - 92,2 The exhortation not to bring “grief with trouble to the divine which is

- 22 Do not be arrogant, opposing
every good opinion (γνώμη),
24 but (ἀλλά) take the side of the divinity
of reason (λόγος). Keep the holy com-
26 mandments (ἐντολή) of Jesus (Ἰησοῦς) Christ (Χριστός), and
you will reign over every place (τόπος)
28 on earth and will be
honored by the angels (ἄγγελος)
30 and the archangels (ἄρχαγγελος).
Then (δέ) you will acquire them as friends and
32 fellow-servants, and (δέ) you will acquire
places (τόπος) in [heaven]
34 [above]. Do not bring
92
grief (λύπη) with trouble to the divine (θεῖον) [which is]
2 within you. But (ἀλλά) when you will care for (θάλπειν)
it, will request of it
4 that you remain pure, and will become
self-controlled (ἐγκρατής) in your soul (ψυχῆ)
6 and body (σῶμα), then you will become
a throne (θρόνος) of wisdom (σοφία) and
8 a member of God's household. He will
give you a great light through
10 it (i.e., wisdom). But (δέ) before everything (else),
know your birth. Know
12 yourself, that is, from what substance (οὐσία) you are,
or (ἢ) from what
14 race (γένος), or (ἢ) from what species (φυλή).

within" is undoubtedly a reference to the "mind" since the soul and body are named in distinction to it in 92,4-6 (cf. 92,15-33). Accepting the "mind's" guidance brings purity (92,4), self-control (92,5), wisdom (92,6-8), and membership in "God's household" (92,8).

92,6 As is sometimes the case with καί in early Christian literature, here ἀπὸ introduces a result. See BAGD 392 (6).

92,10-33 The introductory exhortations, "know your birth" (92,10-11) and "know yourself" (92,11-12), have basically the same meaning: understand your origin and anthropological make-up. Cf. the famous Delphic maxim: γνῶθι σαυτόν. For discussion see Pearson, "Philo, Gnosis," 179-80.

16 ἄμε ἄμοκ σε ἡτακψωπε
 βολ ρ̄ν ψομετ̄ ἡγενοσ · ε
 18 βολ ρ̄μ πκαρ · ασω βολ ρ̄μ πε
 πλασμα · ασω βολ ρ̄μ πτενο ·
 20 ἡταπσωμα ψωπε βολ ρ̄μ
 πκαρ ρ̄ν οσοσσια ἡκαρ · πε
 22 πλασμα δε αψωπε ετβε
 τψσχη βολ ρ̄μ πμεεσε ἄ
 24 πθειον · πτενο δε πε πνοσ
 πενταψωπε κατα θικων
 26 ἄπνοστε · πνοσ μεν ἡ
 θειοσ οσἡταψ ἄμασ ἡοσ
 28 οσσια βολ ρ̄μ πθειον · τψσ
 χη δε πενταψ̄πλασσε ἡνεσ
 30 ρ̄ητ̄ οσαασ · εἴμεεσε γαρ
 σε εσψοοπ ἡρ̄ῶμε ἄπεν
 32 ταψωπε κατα θικων · πσω
 μα δε ἡταψωπε βολ ρ̄μ
 34 πκαρ τεψοσσια τε θσλ̄η · εκ
 [ψαν]τορ̄κ κνασπο [νακ ἄ]π

ϥ̄τ̄

2 ψομετ̄ ἄμεροσ · ρ̄μ πτρεκ
 ρε βολ ρ̄ν ταρετη επιτ̄η εσ
 4 σωσ̄β̄ · αριπολιτεσε κατα
 πνοσ · ἄπ̄ρμεεσε ενα
 6 τσαρ̄ξ̄ · σπο νακ ἡτ̄μ̄π̄σω
 ωρε · βολ σε οσσωωρε πε
 8 πνοσ · εκψανρε βολ ρ̄ν
 τεῖ κεσ̄εῖ ακψωπε ἡροσ̄τ̄
 ρ̄ῶμε · τοσσια δε ἄπνοσ
 10 ετε τνοσσις τε · εκψαν
 νοσ̄ς βολ ἄμοκ · ακσωσε

92,18 βολ ρ̄μ πτενο (A² of τανο) probably translates τοῦ ποιήματος (= "the created"), echoing Gen 1:27 (LXX).

92,30-31 Use of the metaphor of marriage to describe the relationship between the mind (= male / husband) and the soul (= female / wife) (cf. 93,5-13) is common in Alexandrian exegesis, e.g., Origen (*Com. in Matt.*

Understand that you have come into being
 16 from three races (γένος):
 from the earth, from the
 18 formed (πλάσμα), and from the created.
 The body (σῶμα) has come into being from
 20 the earth with an earthly substance (οὐσία),
 but (δέ) the formed (πλάσμα), for the sake of
 22 the soul (ψυχή), has come into being from the thought
 of the Divine (θεῖον). The created, however (δέ), is the mind (νοῦς),
 24 which has come into being in conformity with (κατά) the image (εἰκών)
 of God. The divine (θεῖον) mind (νοῦς) (+ μέν)
 26 has substance (οὐσία)
 from the Divine (θεῖον), but (δέ) the soul (ψυχή)
 28 is that which he (i.e., God) has formed (πλάσσειν) for their
 own hearts. For (γάρ) I think
 30 that it (i.e., the soul) exists as wife of that which
 has come into being in conformity with (κατά) the image (εἰκών),
 32 but (δέ) matter (ὑλη) is the substance (οὐσία)
 of the body (σῶμα) which has come into being from the earth.
 34 [If] you mix yourself, you will acquire the

93

three parts (μέρος) as you
 2 fall from virtue (ἀρετή) into
 inferiority. Live (πολιτεύειν) in accord with (κατά)
 4 the mind (νοῦς). Do not think about things belonging to
 the flesh (σάρξ). Acquire strength,
 6 for the mind (νοῦς) is strong.
 If you fall from
 8 this other, you have become male-female.
 And (δέ) if you cast out of yourself the substance (οὐσία) of the mind
 (νοῦς),
 10 which is thought (νόησις),
 you have cut off

12.4).

92,34 - 93,1

ΚΝΑΔΠΟ [ΝΑΚ Μ]ΠΠΩΟΜΕΤ: So Funk, Janssens, and Zandee.

93,8

ΤΕΙ ΚΕΩΤΕΙ: "this other", i.e., from the state of virtue in which one exists when living in accord with the "mind" (νοῦς), which for our author is the "image of God" (cf. 92,23-31; 93,1-3).

- 12 ἄφροσῦτ · ἀκκοτῆκ ἐτςϷῖ
 με οὔδαδς · ἀκψωπε ἄψω
 14 χικος εακζι ἡτοσσια ἄπε
 πλάσμα · πκεκοσει ἡτε παῖ
 16 εκψαννοζῦ εβολ' Ϸωστε
 ἡτῆμσωτ εζπο νακ ἡοσ
 18 μεροσ ἡρωμε · ἀλλα ακζι ε
 Ϸοκ ἄπμεεσε ἄπῆβνη ἄἡ
 20 πινε · ἀκψωπε ἡσαρκικος
 εακζι ἡοσφσσις ἡῆβνη ·
 22 σμοκῶ γαρ αβινε ἡοσψσχι
 κος · ποσῶ μαλλον αβινε
 24 ἄπζοεις · εῖψαζε δε ζε
 πνοστε πε πεἡἄτικος ·
 26 πρωμε ἡταγζι μορφή ε
 βολ ῶἡ τοσσια ἄπνοστε
 28 τψσχη ἡθειον σῆκοινω
 νι επαῖ ῶἡ οσμεροσ · παλιν

 30 τψσχη σῆκοινω νι ετσαρῆ ῶἡ
 οσμεροσ · τψσχη ἄφασ
 32 λος ψαρερικε ἡσα εσα ·
 [αψ π]εῆτςῆδοσι ἡταληθα ·
 34 [ἡανο]σς νακ ῶἡ πρω[με]
 ῥῆ
 ετρεκρακῆκ επρωμε ἡ
 2 Ϸοσο ερακῆτῆκ ἐτφσσις ἡῆβ
 νη · εῖψαζε ετσαρκικη · πμα
 4 εῆῆναρακῆκ εμασ κἡαζι

-
- 93,20-27 Three types of people seem to be mentioned: "fleshly" (93,20),
 "psychic" (93,22), and, possibly, "spiritual" (93,23-27). For
 discussion of possible echoes of the Valentinian teaching about the
 three races of men see the introduction.
 93,22-24 The assertion "it is difficult . . . to find the Lord" echoes one of the
 most common quotes from Plato found in Hellenistic writers, viz.,
Tim. 28c.
 93,28-33 The "divine soul" living the rational, God-like life, shares partly in

- 12 the male part and turned yourself to the female part
alone. You have become psychic (ψυχικός)
14 since you have received the substance (οὐσία) of the
formed (πλάσμα). If you cast out the other little part of this
16 so that (ὥστε)
you do not again acquire a
18 human part (μέρος) — but (ἀλλά) you have accepted for
yourself the animal thought and
20 likeness — you have become fleshly (σαρκικός)
since you have taken on animal nature (φύσις).
22 For (γάρ) (if) it is difficult to find a psychical man (ψυχικός),
how much more so (πόσω μάλλον) to find
24 the Lord! But (δέ) I say that
God is the spiritual one (πνευματικός).
26 Man has taken shape (μορφή) from
the substance (οὐσία) of God.
28 The divine (θεῖον) soul (ψυχή)
shares (κοινωνεῖν) partly (μέρος) in this One (i.e., God); furthermore
(πάλιν),
30 it (ψυχή) shares (κοινωνεῖν) partly (μέρος) in the flesh (σάρξ).
The base (φαῦλος) soul (ψυχή)
32 tends to turn from side to side.
[What] does it suppose (δοκεῖν) (is) the truth (ἀλήθεια)?
34 It is [good] for you, O (ὦ) man,
94
to turn yourself toward the human rather
2 than toward the animal nature (φύσις)
— I mean toward the fleshly (σαρκική) (nature). You
4 will take on the likeness of the part toward which you will turn yourself.

the divine noetic nature and partly in the flesh, but is consistently directed by the “mind.”

93,33 [ΑΨ Π]ΕΤ̄C̄P̄ΔOCT: So Funk. Janssens reads Α[Ψ] ΝΡΕ]ΕΤ̄C̄P̄ΔOCT
ΠΤΑΛΗΘΙΑ (= “[comment] peut-elle concevoir la verite?”), but this
is grammatically impossible (Funk, “Une édition,” 21).

93,34 [ΝΑΝΟ]ΠC ΝΔΚ: So Funk, Janssens, Zandee.

94,1 What appears to be a supralinear stroke over the first Κ is a brown
spot in the ms. [Ed.]

94,2 ερΔ.Κ.ΤΚ. Cf. ρΔΚΤΚ in 94,14. Ms.: ερΑΤΚ, a scribal error.

6 περηνε · †ναζω ν̄κεψα
 7 ζε εροκ · παλιν ετβε νιμ ε
 8 κναοσροτ̄ ν̄ρητ̄ · αρεοσω
 9 ψε αρ̄ τ̄βνη ν̄ταρεψωπε ρ̄ν̄
 10 τεϊφ̄σσις ν̄τεϊμινε · μαλ
 11 λον δε αρ̄κοινωνι εσφ̄σσις
 12 μ̄με ν̄τε πβιος · τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄β̄
 13 νη μεν εснаρ̄ ρ̄μ̄με μ̄μοκ
 14 εροσν επτενος μ̄πκαρ̄ ·
 15 τ̄φ̄σσις δε ν̄νοερον εсна
 16 ρ̄ ρ̄μ̄με μ̄μοκ ρ̄ν̄ ρενσμοτ̄
 17 ν̄νοερον · ρακτ̄κ̄ εζ̄ν̄ τ̄φ̄σ̄
 18 σις ν̄νοερον ν̄τ̄νοσζε ε
 19 βολ̄ μ̄μοκ ν̄τ̄φ̄σσις ν̄ζπο
 20 ν̄καρ̄ · ω̄ τ̄ψ̄σχη τρεφ̄σπο
 21 μινε · αρ̄ινηφε ν̄τεναρ̄ πε
 22 †ρε ετε παϊ̄ πε πρωβ̄ ν̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄
 23 ατ̄σοοσν̄ · ερεψ̄αηρ̄σπο
 24 μινε ν̄τεπολιτεσε ρ̄μ̄ π
 25 σωμα · ερεοσνηρ̄ ρ̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τα
 26 τροικος · ν̄ταρεει εροσν̄
 27 εσζπο ν̄σωματικον ατ̄
 28 ζποδ̄ · αρεψωπε μ̄προσν̄
 29 μ̄π̄σμφων αρ̄ερ̄ οσοειν

-
- 94,7-8 As Janssens notes the verbs **αρεοσωψε** and **ν̄ταρεψωπε** are 2nd person fem. sg., and have the feminine “soul” as subject; in the context the actor is otherwise identified as masculine.
- 94,10 Although Zandee (“Deviations from Standardized Sahidic,” 378) has argued that **αρ̄-** in the construction **αρ̄κοινωνι** is an imperative form of the verb **ελε**, Funk (“Une édition,” 22) has convincingly argued that it is actually the preposition **α-** plus infinitive **ρ̄-**.
- 94,19-22 **τρεφ̄σπομινε . . . ερεψ̄αηρ̄σπομινε** (= “laggard . . . lag behind”): The context (94,19-24), as well as the other occurrence of **υπομενευ** at 103,28 make clear the negative connotation of this term.

I shall
 to you.
 will you
 to becom
 this kin
 (Wish).
 : true na
 To be su
 into the t
 but (δὲ) t
 guide you
 Turn tow
 and cast f
 yourself t
 O (ὁ) sou
 be sober
 drunkenne
 ignorance.
 and live (κ
 body (σωμ
 When you
 into a bodi
 begotten.
 the bridal-c

Life
 subje
 baser
 under
 Funk
 A pep
 das Bp
 A pep
 form
 Perfec

I shall say something further
 6 to you. Again (πάλιν), for what
 will you (masc.) be zealous? Did you (fem.) wish
 8 to become animal when you had come into
 this kind of nature (φύσις)?
 10 (Wish), rather (μᾶλλον δέ), to participate in (κοινωνεῖν)
 a true nature (φύσις) of life (βίος).
 12 To be sure (μέν), animality will guide you
 into the race (γένος) of the earth,
 14 but (δέ) the rational (νοερόν) nature (φύσις) will
 guide you in rational (νοερόν) ways.
 16 Turn toward the rational (νοερόν) nature (φύσις)
 and cast from
 18 yourself the earth-begotten nature (φύσις).
 O (ὦ) soul (ψυχή), laggard one (+ὑπομένειν),
 20 be sober (νήφειν) and shake off your
 drunkenness, which is the work of
 22 ignorance. If you lag behind (ὑπομένειν)
 and live (πολιτεύειν) in the
 24 body (σῶμα), you dwell in rusticity (-ἄγροικος).
 When you entered
 26 into a bodily (σωματικόν) birth, you were
 begotten. You have come into being inside
 28 the bridal-chamber (νυμφών), and you are illuminated

94,22-29

Life "in the body" is existing in a state of "rusticity" (-ἄγροικος), subjecting the rational principles (mind, reason, soul) to influence of baser impulses and causing "boorishness" and "slowness of understanding" (the meaning of ἄγροικος in later Greek).

94,27

Funk emends the text: **ἄποδ. ἠταροῦ ἄποδ ἡκεσπ. ἀρεψωπε** = "<Als du wiedergeboren wurdest;> gelangtest / du in das Brautgemachs . . ."

94,28

ἀρεῖ is wrongly understood by Janssens as a variant imperative form of **εἶρε**: "Sois illuminee . . ." It is rather 2nd person feminine, Perfect tense (so Funk, "Une édition," 22).

30 ϧ̅ⲙ πⲛⲟⲩⲥ · παϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡ̅ⲣ̅
 ψ̅ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲏⲏⲃⲉ ϧ̅ⲙ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ
 32 ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲧⲣⲉϩⲁⲗ
 ⲙⲉⲕ ϧ̅ⲛ ϧⲉⲛⲧⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲱ̅ⲙ
 ⲙⲟ['] ⲙⲏ ⲕⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ[ⲏ ϩⲉ]

ϣ̅ⲉ

2 ΠΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ ϧⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩ
 ⲉⲓ ⲁⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲓⲁ · ⲁⲩⲱ
 4 ⲙⲙⲁⲗⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲏ̅ⲧⲁϥ
 ϥⲉ ϥⲉϣⲟⲃⲉ · πⲛⲟⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲏ̅
 ϣⲱⲙⲉ · ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲁⲩⲣ̅ⲁⲡⲟⲥ

6 ⲧⲉⲣⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲏ̅ⲧⲙ̅ⲏ̅ⲧⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲏ̅ⲣⲏ̅ⲧ̅
 ⲙⲑⲟϥ · ψ̅ⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉ
 8 ⲧⲣⲉⲕψ̅ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲧⲏ̅ⲧ̅ ϧ̅ⲛ ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲏ̅
 ⲧⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲏ̅ⲣⲏ̅ⲧ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ · ϧ̅ⲛ ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲏ̅
 10 ⲧⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲏ̅ⲣⲏ̅ⲧ̅ ⲙⲑⲟϥ · ⲁⲩⲱ ϧ̅ⲛ
 ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲏ̅ⲧ̅ⲃⲁⲗⲣⲏ̅ⲧ̅ ⲏ̅ⲧⲉ ⲃⲣⲟⲟⲙⲡⲉ
 12 ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲏ̅ϣ̅ⲉⲓ ⲉϣⲟⲩⲛ ψ̅ⲁⲣⲟⲕ
 ⲙⲡ̅ⲥⲙⲟⲧ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱⲣ̅ⲱ̅ ·
 14 ϧⲱⲥ ψ̅ⲃⲏⲣ ⲙⲙⲉ ⲉϥϩⲱ ⲙ̅
 ⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲉ †ⲣ̅ⲥⲧⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲧⲉ
 16 ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ · ⲏ̅ⲧⲟⲕ
 ⲁⲉ ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲕⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲙⲙ̅ⲏ̅ⲧ̅
 18 ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲓ̅ · ⲉϣ̅ⲱⲥ
 ⲏ̅ⲧⲁⲕⲗⲓⲧ̅ϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲏ̅ψ̅ⲃⲏⲣ ⲙ̅
 20 ⲙⲉ · ⲙⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲟⲟⲩ
 ϥⲏⲟⲩϩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏ̅ⲧ̅
 22 ϧⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩⲱ
 ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡ̅ⲥⲙⲟⲧ̅ ⲏ̅

94,29-32

Parallelism in these lines would indicate that "any (kind) of water" (94,30) is a metaphor for "strange kinds of knowledge (94,32). The larger context makes clear both are deceptions perpetrated by the Adversary (94,33 - 95,7).

95,3

ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲛⲟⲛ (= μάγανον). This word appears neither in the NT nor in the Apostolic Fathers, though the theme of the Devil's employment of devious devices and tricks to dupe and enslave human beings is found in several of the early Fathers, e.g. Justin *I Apol.* 1.14

in mind (νοῦς)! My son, do not
 30 swim in any water,
 and do not allow yourself to be defiled
 32 by strange kinds of knowledge (γνώσις).
 Perhaps (+ μή) you know [that]

95

the schemes (ἐπίνοια) of the Adversary (ἀντικείμενος)
 2 are not few and (that)
 the tricks (μάγανον) which he has
 4 are varied?
 Especially (μάλιστα) have they (i.e., the Adversary's schemes and tricks)
 robbed (ἀποστερεῖν)
 6 the noetic (νοητός) man of the shrewdness
 of the snake. For (γάρ) it is fitting for you
 8 to be in agreement with the
 shrewdness of (these) two: with the
 10 shrewdness of the snake and with
 the innocence of the dove —
 12 lest (μήπως) he (i.e., the Adversary) come into you
 in the guise of a flatterer,
 14 as (ὡς) a true friend, saying,
 "I advise (συμβουλεύειν)
 16 good things for you."
 But (δέ) you did not recognize the
 18 deceitfulness (-πανούργος) of this one when
 you received him as a true friend.
 20 For (γάρ) he casts into your heart
 evil thoughts
 22 as (ὡς) good ones, and
 hypocrisy (ὑπόκρισις) in the guise of

95,4-5 ΠΝΟΗΤΟΣ ἮΡΩΜΕ: The author is clearly warning "noetic" man of the dangers of the Adversary's attacks. Funk, followed by Janssens, emends the text, Π<Δ>ΠΝΟΗΤΟΣ ἮΡΩΜΕ.

95,8-11. Janssens notes an apparent play on words (in the Coptic) with ΜΠΤΡἈΠΗΜΤ ("shrewdness" or "sagacity") and ΜΠΤΒΑΛΗΜΤ ("innocence" or "purity"), both constructs built on the root ΠΗΤ. There is here a distinct echo of Matt 10:16b. Clement (*Strom.* 7.82.6-7) expostulates on Matt 10:16b when describing the perfect state of the advanced Christian.

- 24 τᾱῤᾗ·τρᾱῤᾗϩῆτ̄ ετορ̄ϛ̄ · αῖω
 τᾱῤᾗτ̄ μαειχρημα ᾱπ̄ςμοτ̄
 26 ἡοοοικονομια εςνοο
 ϩᾱ · αῖω τᾱῤᾗτ̄ μαειεοοο
 28 ᾱπ̄ςμοτ̄ ἡνετνεσωοο ·
 αῖω τᾱῤᾗταλαζων ᾱῤᾗ
 30 τᾱῤᾗτ̄ ψοοψο ᾱπ̄ςμοτ̄
 ἡοονοο ἡςτ̄ϩῆ · αῖω
 32 τᾱῤᾗτατ̄νοοτε ἡθε ἡ
 ο[ῖνο]ϩ ᾱῤᾗτ̄νοοτε ·
 ϩῖ
 πετ̄ϛω γαρ ᾱμοο ϛε οοῤᾗ
 2 † ϩαϩ ἡνοοτε εγε ἡνατ̄νοο
 τε · αῖω τ̄νωσις ετορ̄ϛ̄
 4 αν ἡνοοϛε ᾱμοο επεκ
 ϩῆτ̄ ᾱπ̄ςμοτ̄ ἡρεναλοοο
 6 ᾱῤᾗςτ̄ηριον : ἡῤᾗ πετ̄
 ναψ̄ ταϩε νεϣμεεοε ᾱῤᾗ
 8 νεϣκοτ̄ς ετ̄ψοβε · εϣψο
 οπ ἡνοο ἡνοος ἡνετοο
 10 ωψ̄ εϛιτ̄ϣ̄ ναο ἡρ̄ρο · πα
 ψ̄ηρε αψ̄ τε θε ετεκναψ̄
 12 ταϩε ᾱμεεοε ἡπαῖ · η πεϣ
 ψοϛνε ἡρεϣϩατ̄β̄ ψ̄οχη ·
 14 ναψ̄ε νεϣκοτ̄ς γαρ ᾱῤᾗ νε
 πινοια ἡτεϣποηρια · αῖω
 16 αρ̄νοει ἡνεϣποῖαν ϛε αψ̄ τε
 θε ετ̄ῖῤᾗῤᾗ εροοη ετεκ
 18 ψ̄οχη · αῖω ϩῖτ̄ῤᾗ αψ̄ ἡϩ̄β̄σω
 εϣῆηο εροοη ψ̄αροκ · ϛῖ ε

95,24

τᾱῤᾗ·τρᾱῤᾗϩῆτ̄: Ms. ρᾱτρᾱῤᾗϩῆτ̄, a scribal dittography.

95,31

ςτ̄ϩῆ: See note to 87,16.

95,33

ο[ῖνο]ϩ: So Funk, Janssens and Zandee.

96,3-5

Satan's deceits include placing false knowledge (cf. 91,12-13 and 94,31-32) in the heart in the guise of secrets hidden from reason that can only be revealed by him. Cf. Origen *Princ.* 3.3.2.

96,10-15

The passage is repetitive of 96,6-10.

- 24 certain shrewdness,
 avidity (-χρη̄μα) in the guise
 26 of conservative frugality (οἰκονομία),
 love of glory
 28 in the guise of that which is beautiful,
 boastfulness (-όλαζών) and
 30 pride in the guise
 of great austerity (στυφή), and
 32 godlessness as
 [great] godliness.
 96
 For (γάρ) he who says, "I have
 2 many gods," is godless.
 And he casts spurious knowledge (γνώσις)
 4 into your
 heart in the guise of mysterious (μυστήριον) words (λόγος).
 6 Who
 will be able to comprehend his thoughts and
 8 devices which are varied since he is
 a great Mind (νοῦς) for those who wish
 10 to accept him as king? My
 son, how will you be able
 12 to comprehend the schemes of this one or (ἢ) his
 soul- (ψυχή) killing counsel?
 14 For (γάρ) his devices and the
 schemes (ἐπίνοια) of his wickedness (πονηρία) are many. And (will
 you be able to)
 16 perceive (νοεῖν) his entrances (πύλη), that is, how
 he will enter your
 18 soul (ψυχή) and in what garment
 he will enter you? Accept

96,12 The π of π̄πΔΙ has been written over an η. The scribe in making this correction failed to change the initial π̄- to an η̄- as is normal in Coptic.

96,15-16 Zandee construes Δ̄π̄ηοει as imperative, but the construction is of the infinitive indicator (Δ-), plus the infinitive construct form π̄- (so Funk; cf. note to 94,10). The clause continues the interrogative mode introduced in 96,11ff.

20 ροκ ἄπεχ̄ς παῖ εἶν̄ σομ ἄ
 μοϥ εβολ̄κ̄ εβολ̄ · πενταϥ
 22 ζι εροϥ ἡ̄κοῦτ̄ς ἄπετ̄μ
 μαϑ̄ · δεκαδς ὅτ̄η̄ ναῖ εϥ
 24 νᾱρκαταλθε̄ ἄμοϥ ὅ̄η̄ οῖ
 κροϥ · παῖ γαρ πε π̄ρο ετε
 26 οῖ̄η̄τακ̄ϥ εμαϑ̄ζρο εροϥ
 ἡ̄λααϑ̄ ἡ̄οσοειϣ̄ · παῖ εμ̄η̄
 28 λααϑ̄ ναϣ̄ † οῖβηϥ · οῖ
 δε εζε ἣ̄αζε ναϥ · παῖ πε
 30 πεκ̄ρο̄ δ̄ω πεκειωτ̄
 ἄμ̄η̄ πετ̄τ̄η̄των γαρ εροϥ ·
 32 πς[α]ρ̄ ἡ̄θειος ϣρατ̄[ηκ̄ ἡ̄ο]ϑ̄

ϣ̄

οειϣ̄ η̄η̄μ̄ ϣο ἡ̄βονθ̄ος · ϣτω
 2 ἄη̄τ̄ δε εροκ ετ̄βε τνοϥρε
 ετ̄η̄ρη̄τ̄κ̄ · ἄπ̄ρ† ἡ̄οϣ̄αζε
 4 ἄπονηρια ὅ̄η̄ τεκρηωμ̄η̄ ·
 ρωμε γαρ η̄η̄μ̄ ἄπονηρος
 6 ϣ̄ρβλαπτεῖ ἄπεϥρη̄τ̄ · οῖ

-
- 96,20-25 Christ has brought freedom from ignorance regarding the deceptiveness of the Adversary and his soul-capturing disguises by taking on the disguises similar to those that Satan himself had employed.
- 96,25-30 Christ is lauded as “invincible king” and “father.” Elsewhere in *Teach. Silv.* (106,21-30; 111,15-22), Christological titles are piled up in brief doxological hymns. “King,” here, denotes Christ’s invincible battle role of leadership; cf. Rev 17:24. The title, “father,” for Christ is very rare in early Christian literature, appearing not at all in the NT and only infrequently in the Apostolic Fathers (e.g., 2 *Clem.* 1.4). Cf. also Origen *Princ.* 4.3.7.

Christ
 to set y
 taken o
 so that
 might d
 deceit.
 who is f
 against
 so one v
 say a wc
 your kin
 for (yōp
 The divi

always.
 and (66)
 which is
 is your ju
 for (yōp
 horns (82

701 The
 the
 717
 Fun
 The
 else
 72 Fun
 lines
 the
 Lite
 72.

20 Christ (Χριστός) who is able
 22 to set you free, and who has
 24 taken on the devices of that one
 26 so that through these he
 28 might destroy (καταλύειν) him by
 30 deceit. For (γάρ) this is the king whom you have
 32 who is forever invincible,
 against whom
 no one will be able to fight nor (οὐδέ)
 say a word. This is
 your king and your father,
 for (γάρ) there is no one like him.
 The divine (θεῖος) teacher is with [you]

97

always. He is a helper (βοηθός),
 2 and (δέ) he meets you because of the good
 which is in you. Do not put maliciousness (πονηρία)
 4 in your judgment (γνώμη),
 for (γάρ) every malicious (πονηρός) man
 6 harms (βλάπτειν) his heart.

96,32 - 97,1 The reconstruction of the final lacuna, $\varphi\varrho\alpha\tau[\eta\kappa\ \bar{\eta}\sigma] \tau/\sigma\epsilon\iota\mu$ offers the pronominal form $\varrho\alpha\tau\eta'$ for the preposition $\varrho\alpha(\varrho)\tau\bar{\eta}$ - (Crum, 717a). Janssens wrongly offers as the pronominal form $\varrho\alpha\tau\epsilon'$. See Funk, "Une édition," 21.

97,2-3 The "good which is in" a person is the divine "mind" which elsewhere (97,2-3) is called the "teacher." Cf. *Sent. Sext.* 316.

97,3 - 98,22 Funk ("Ein doppelt überliefertes Stück") has discovered in these lines a literary unit which was adopted in two texts associated with the name of St. Anthony. For discussion see the Introduction.

97,3-4 Literally, "Do not offer a malicious word in judgment." Cf. *Matt* 7:2.

ρωμε γαρ ἡδῶντ̄ ψαφβωκ
 8 οὐδ' αὖ ἐροῦν ἐπεψωροῦρ̄
 οὐρωμε δε ἡσοφος ἡσο
 10 οὐν ἡτεφῶν̄ ἡ · οὐρωμε δε
 ἡδῶντ̄ μαφραρεφ̄ εψαζε ἡ
 12 μστηριον · οὐρωμε ἡσο
 φος μαφνεξ ψαζε ἡμ εβολ
 14 ἀλλὰ ἡναψωπε ἡρεφῶεω
 ρι ἡνετ̄ωτ̄μ̄ · ἡπ̄ρνεξ
 16 ψαζε ἡμ εβολ εκρηνη ἐροῦ̄
 ἐνετ̄κοοῦσ̄ ἡμοοῦσ̄ ἀν̄ ·
 18 κα οὐμνηψε νாக ἡψβηρ
 ἀλλὰ ἡρ̄μ̄ψωζνε ἀν̄ · ἀρ̄ι
 20 δογμαζε ἡψωρ̄π̄ ἡπεκ
 ρ̄μ̄ψωζνε · ρωμε γαρ ἡμ
 22 εψαφκωρ̄ψ̄ ἡπ̄ρταειοφ̄ ·
 ποῦψαζε μεν ρολεσ ἡῶε
 24 ἡπεβιω · πεῦρητ̄ δε μερ
 ἡελλεβορον · ροταν γαρ
 26 εῦψανμεεῦε δε ἀψω
 πε ἡψβηρ εφταζροειτ̄ ·
 28 τοτε ῶν̄ οὐκροφ̄ σενακο
 τοῦ εροκ ἡσενοζ̄κ̄ ἐπ̄τ̄ν̄
 30 ἐλβορβορος · ἡπ̄ρταν
 ροστ̄κ̄ ἡμ̄ν̄ ἀδ' ἡψβηρ
 32 πεῖκοςμος γαρ τηρ̄ψ̄ ἡ
 τ̄αφψωπε ῶν̄ οὐκροφ̄ · ἀφ̄
 34 [ω ρωμ]ε ἡμ εψωτ̄ρ̄τω[ρ]
 [ἐπ̄ζινξ]η · ρωβ ἡμ [ἡτε]

- 97,7-15 Two contrasts between the ways or paths of the wise and the foolish and their respective ends recall similar contrasts in Jewish wisdom literature (e.g., Prov. 2:9-10, 20-22; 14:8).
- 97,8 What appears to be a stop after ἐπεψωροῦρ̄ is a small hole in the papyrus. [Ed.]
- 97,12-15 Cf. Clement *Strom.* 5.57.2.
- 97,18-30 The author probably echoes Sir 6:6-13 in this passage.
- 97,21-30 The theme of honeyed speech concealing the bitter intent of a “friend” who is deceitful appears also in Prov 5:3-6; 25:27; 26:23-25; Sir 12:16; Job 19:14, 19.

For (γάρ) only a foolish man goes
 8 to his destruction,
 but (δέ) a wise (σοφός) man knows
 10 his way. And (δέ) a foolish man
 does not guard against speaking (a) mystery (μυστήριον).
 12 A wise (σοφός) man, (however,)
 does not blurt out every word,
 14 but (ἀλλά) he will be discriminating (θεωρεῖν)
 toward those who hear. Do not mention
 16 everything in the presence
 of those whom you do not know.
 18 Have a great number of friends,
 but (ἀλλά) not counselors.
 20 First, examine (δοκιμάζειν) your
 counselor, for (γάρ) do not
 22 honor anyone who flatters.
 Their word, to be sure (μέν), is sweet as
 24 honey, but (δέ) their heart is full
 of hellebore (έλλέβορον). For (γάρ) whenever (ὅταν)
 26 they think that they have become
 a reliable friend,
 28 then (τότε) they will deceitfully turn
 against you, and they will cast you down
 30 into the mire (βόρβορος). Do not
 trust anyone as a friend,
 32 for (γάρ) this whole world (κόσμος)
 has come into being deceitfully, and
 34 every [man] is troubled
 [in vain]. All things [of]

97,25 The expected ϱ is lacking before ελλέβορον. P. Kahle (*Bala'izah* 1:141) provides several examples of this from other texts.

97,30 "mire": Clement (*Prot.* 10.92.4) compares the state of "animalism" of men immersed in passions and pleasures to swine wallowing in "mire."

97,33-34 $\alpha\sigma[\omega\rho\omega\lambda]\epsilon$: Cf. 97.5.21; 98,6.

97,35 $[\epsilon\pi\chi\iota\kappa\eta]\eta$. . . $[\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon]$: This reconstruction is informed by the citation of this passage in Apa Anthony BM 979a,11, on which see Funk, "Ein doppelt überliefertes Stück," 11. The "vanity" of worldly events is a familiar theme in Eccl 1:2; 6:12a; etc.

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 3 ΔΛΛΑ ΕΨΩΠΕ ρ̄ⲏ ΟΨΠΕΨΘ' ·
 4 ΕΓΤ' · Μ̄Ν ΛΑΔ' «ΝΨΒΗΡ» · ΟΨΔΕ Μ̄Ν ΣΟΝ ·
 5 ΕΡΕΠΟΨΑ ΠΟΨΑ ΨΗΝΕ Ν̄ΣΑ
 6 ΤΕΥΝΟΥΡΕ · ΠΑΨΗΡΕ Μ̄Π̄Ρ
 7 ΚΑ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΑΚ ρΩΣ ΨΒΗΡ
 8 ΕΚΨΑΝΔΠΟΥ ΔΕ Μ̄Π̄ΡΤΑΔΚ
 9 Ν̄ΤΟΟΤ̄ϥ̄ · ΤΑΔΚ Ν̄ΤΟΟΤ̄ϥ̄ Μ̄
 10 ΠΝΟΨΤΕ ΟΨΑΔϥ̄ ρΩΣ ΕΙΩΤ
 11 ΔΨΩ ρΩΣ ΨΒΗΡ · ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ
 12 ΝΙΜ ΕΨΜΟΨΨΕ ρ̄ⲏ ΟΨΚΡΟΥ ·
 13 ΠΚΑϩ ΤΗΡ̄ϥ̄ ΕϥΜΕϩ Ν̄ϩ̄ΙΣΕ ρ̄ⲓ
 14 Μ̄ΚΑϩ · ΝΑΪ ΕΜ̄Ν ρΗΨ Ν̄ϩΗΤΟΨ ·
 15 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΟΨΩΨΨΕ ΕΡ̄ ΠΕΚ
 16 ΔϩΕ ΕΚΣΡΑϩ̄Τ̄ Μ̄Π̄ΡΜΟΨΨΕ
 17 Μ̄Μ̄Ν ΛΑΔ' · ΚΑΝ ΕΚΨΑΝΜΟ
 18 ΟΨΨΕ Ν̄ΜΛΑ' ΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΨΕ
 19 Ν̄ΤΜΟΨΨΕ ΔΗ · ΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΡ̄
 20 ΔΝΑϥ̄ Μ̄ΠΝΟΨΤΕ ΔΨΩ Ν̄ΤΝΑ
 21 Ρ̄ ΧΡΕΙΑ ΔΗ Ν̄ΛΑΔ' · ΑΡΠΟΛΙ
 22 ΤΕΨΕ Μ̄Ν ΠΕΧ̄Σ ΔΨΩ ΨΝΑΝΑϩ
 23 ΜΕΚ · Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΟΨΟ
 24 ΕΙΝ Μ̄ΜΕ ΔΨΩ ΠΗ Μ̄ΠΩΝ̄ϩ̄ ·
 25 ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΠΡΗ ΕΤΟΨΟΝ̄ϩ̄
 26 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡ̄ ΟΨΟΕΙΝ ΕΝΒΑΔ
 27 Ν̄ΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ̄ · ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΕΧ̄Σ ·
 28 ϥ̄ρ̄ ΟΨΟΕΙΝ ΕΝΟΨΣ ΝΙΜ

- 98,3 Μ̄Ν ΛΑΔ' «ΝΨΒΗΡ»: Ms. lacks ΝΨΒΗΡ. The emendation is based on the citation of this passage in Apa Antony (BM 979a, 12) which runs: Μ̄Ν ΨΒΗΡ ΔΨΩ Μ̄[Ν] ΣΟΝ (= "there is no friend, and there is no brother"). See Funk, "Ein doppelt überliefertes Stück, 23, n.36. With the notion that no one, not even a brother, can be trustworthy friend, cf. Jer 9:4.
- 98,18-22 Being "pleasing to God" brings self-sufficiency and, ultimately, salvation (cf. 108,32-35; 114,23-26).
- 98,22-28 As R. van den Broek has shown ("Theology of Silvanus," 5), our trac-

98

the world (κόσμος) are not profitable,

2 but (ἀλλά) they happen in vain.

There is no <friend>, not even (οὐδέ) a brother,

4 since each one is seeking

his own advantage. My son, do not

6 have anyone as (ὡς) a friend.

But (δέ) if you do acquire one, do not entrust yourself

8 to him. Entrust yourself to

God alone as (ὡς) father

10 and as (ὡς) friend. For (γάρ) everyone

goes along deceitfully,

12 while the whole earth is full of suffering and

pain — things in which there is no profit.

14 If you wish to pass your

life in quiet, do not keep company

16 with anyone. And if (κἄν) you do keep com-

pany with them, be as if

18 you do not. Be pleasing

to God, and you will

20 not need (χρεῖα) anyone. Live (πολιτεύειν)

with Christ (Χριστός), and he will save

22 you. For (γάρ) he is the true light

and the sun of life.

24 For (γάρ) just as the sun which is visible

makes light for the eyes of the flesh (σάρξ),

26 so Christ (Χριστός)

illuminates every mind (νοῦς)

tate's author begins here the presentation of five arguments which culminate in 102,7. All five illustrate how Christ as the Logos could be present in the cosmos and incarnated in the flesh without being defiled by his contact with matter. Van den Broek has made a convincing case that the author of *Teach. Silv.* knows and has been decisively influenced by exegetical arguments first advanced by Origen.

98,22-23

"true light": Cf. John 1:9; 1 John 2:8. "sun of life": Cf. Origen *Comm. in Joh.* 1.24.

28 αὐὼ εἴητ' ὀσπονηρος
 γὰρ ὄμ πωμα ὀσμοσ εἴ
 30 ροοσ πε · ποσω μαλλον
 πετε ὀσῆταγ ᾠμασ ᾠ
 32 πεφνοσ εἴο ββᾶλε ·
 βᾶλε γὰρ νιμ ψ[ροσσε]
 34 [ῆε] εἴασ ερογ [κατα]

ϥθ

θε ᾠπετε ᾠμῆταγ ᾠμασ
 2 ᾠπεφνοσ εἴοσος · μαγ
 ρηδανε εἴπο ναγ ᾠποσο
 4 εἴν ᾠπεχσ ετε πλοσος πε ·
 ρωβ γὰρ νιμ ετοσσηρ εβολ
 6 εψσοπ ῆτσπος ᾠπετ
 ρηπ · ῆε γὰρ ῆσσκωρτ εἴ
 8 ερο ρῆ ὀστοπος εψμηρ
 αν εροσν ετοπος · ταῖ τε
 10 θε ᾠπρη ετῆν τπε νεγα
 κτιν τηροσ σπηρ επτο
 12 ποσ ετῆζμ πκαρ · ταῖ τε θε
 ᾠπεχσ ὀρρσποσταςε ῆ
 14 ὀσωτ τετε ὀσῆταγσ αὐὼ

98,31 - 99,4

In 98,31 - 99,4 an analogy is drawn between the person whose “mind is blind,” i.e., who does not accept the light of reason Christ alone gives, and a person who is literally blind who staggers about as if demented. The same interpretation of “blindness” appears in Origen *Comm. in Matt.* 13.4; *Ep. ad Gal.* 1.3.

98,33-34

The reconstructions are those of Zandee. Funk suggests: ψ[ΗΝ ΕΥΕ Ν]ΑΤ (?) / [ΣΟΜ] ΕΝΑΣ ΕΡΟΥ [ΤΑΙ ΟΝ ΤΕ] = “Denn jeder Blinde ist auf [Dauer] un[fähig (?)] sie (sc. die Sonne) zu sehen.” In a personal note to the author he offers: ψ[ΗΝ ΑΨΗΝ] (or ΝΑΤ) Ο[Μ] ΕΝΑΣ ΕΡΟΥ [ΤΑΙ ΟΝ ΤΕ]. Janssens leaves the lacunae unreconstructed.

99,3

ΡΗΔΑΝΕ: A form of the Greek word ἠδύνειν, here with the meaning of ἠδεσθα (“to delight in,” “take pleasure in”) not attested in Greek texts but occurring in Coptic (e.g. IX,3; *Testim. Truth* 68,3).

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28 and the heart. For (γάρ) (if) a wicked man (πονηρός)
 (who is) in the body (σῶμα) (has) an evil death,
 30 how much more so (πόσω μᾶλλον) (has)
 one whose
 32 mind (νοῦς) is blind.
 For (γάρ) every blind man [goes along]
 34 [in such a way] that he is seen [just (κατά)]

99

as one who does not have
 2 his mind (νοῦς) sane. He does not
 delight (ἠδύνειν) in acquiring the light
 4 of Christ (Χριστός) which is reason (λόγος).
 For (γάρ) everything which is visible
 6 is a copy (τύπος) of that which
 is hidden. For (γάρ) as a fire which
 8 burns in a place (τόπος) without being confined
 to it (τόπος), so it is with
 10 the sun which is in the sky, all of whose rays (ἀκτίν)
 extend to places (τόπος)
 12 on the earth. Similarly,
 Christ (Χριστός) has a single being (ὑπόστασις),
 14 and

99,5 - 100,12 Here we find a series of analogies that offer responses to two problems central in Middle Platonic thought: the theological problem of divine immanence and transcendence and the philosophical problem of the One and the many.

99,7-15 A fire, the sun, and the Christ are all single entities; yet their effects extend far beyond themselves. Clement uses similar analogies between the work of the Divine and both fire and light, e.g., in *Strom.* 7.21.7.

99,12-14 Literally: "This is the way of Christ: a single being is what he has."

99,13 ὑπόστασις: Cf. 102,3. This term was first used by Origen to describe separate persons of the Trinity (e.g., *Cels.* 8.12 and *Comm. in Joh.* 2.6; 10.21), a meaning that it does not have here. On this term see B. A. Pearson, "Hypostasis," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 6:542-46.

16 ϣ̄ρ οὐοειν ετοπος νιμ · τεῖ
 18 εϣ̄δερο εϣ̄ρ οὐοειν επτο
 20 ποσ · ϣ̄ν οσμερος ν̄τε τυσ̄
 22 χη ϣ̄ρ οὐοειν ενμερος τη
 24 ροσ · παλιν †ναζε πετ
 26 ζοσε επαῖ · πνοσс κατα
 28 οσποσταςис ϣ̄ν οστο
 30 ποс ετε παῖ πε ϣ̄μ πωμα ·
 32 κατα τεπινοια δε πνοσс
 34 ϣ̄ν τοπος αν · πως γαρ εϣ̄
 36 ψοоп ϣ̄ν τοπος · ροποτε
 38 ϣ̄ρθεωρι ν̄τοπος νιμ ·
 40 οσ̄ν σομ δε μ̄μον ν̄τ̄ν
 42 ζω μ̄πετζοσε επαῖ · μ̄
 44 π̄ρμεεστε γαρ ϣ̄μ πεκρηт
 46 δε ерепноσте ψοоп
 48 [ϣ̄ν οσ̄т]οπος · εϣ̄ζ[ε] πζ[ο]
 50 [εис μ̄пт]ηρϣ̄ εκκω μ̄μ[οϣ]
 52 ρ̄
 54 ϣ̄ν οστοπος · ϣ̄τε ψ̄ψε етрек
 56 ζοос δε πтоπος ζοσε епет
 58 οσ̄ηρ ϣ̄μ πтоπος · πεтψωп
 60 γαρ ϣ̄ζοσε еπεтоσψωп μ̄
 62 μοϣ · μ̄н тоπος γαρ εσ̄μοσ̄
 64 τε ероϣ̄ δε аτсωма · οσ̄δικαῖ
 66 οн γαρ αν πε етρεпζοос δε
 68 οσсωма πε πноσте та
 70 κολοσθια γαρ τε етρεп† н̄
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99,15-20

The author alludes to a teaching of Christ, seemingly an allegorized version of Matt 6:22-23a in which the term "mind" (99,17) replaces "eye." The Platonic notions that the "mind" is the eye of the soul and that the soul has parts (cf. Plato *Resp.* 7.533b; and Alcinous *Did.* 5.2) were first introduced into Christian exegesis of Matt 6:22-23a by Origen (*Fr. in Mat.* 5,8; *Hom. in Luc.* Frag. 78).

16 he gives light to every place (τόπος). This
 is also the way in which he speaks of our
 mind (νοῦς), as if it were a lamp
 18 which burns and lights up the place (τόπος).
 (Being) in a part (μέρος) of the soul (ψυχή),
 20 it (yet) gives light to all the parts (μέρος).
 Furthermore (πάλιν), I shall speak of what is
 22 more exalted than this: the mind (νοῦς), with respect to (κατά)
 actual being (ὑπόστασις), is in a place (τόπος),
 24 which means it is in the body (σῶμα);
 but (δέ) with respect to (κατά) thought (ἐπίνοια), the mind (νοῦς)
 26 is not in a place (τόπος). For (γάρ) how (πῶς) can it
 be in a place (τόπος) when (ὅποτε)
 28 it contemplates (θεωρεῖν) every place (τόπος)?
 But (δέ) we are able
 30 to mention what is more exalted than this:
 for (γάρ) do not think in your heart
 32 that God exists
 [in a] place (τόπος). If
 34 you localize the [Lord of] all
 100
 in a place (τόπος), then it is fitting for you to
 2 say that the place (τόπος) is more exalted than him who
 dwells in it (τόπος). For (γάρ) that which contains
 4 is more exalted than that which is contained.
 For (γάρ) there is no place (τόπος) which is said to be
 6 without a body (-σῶμα).
 For (γάρ) it is not right (δίκαιον) for us to say that
 8 God is a body (σῶμα).
 For (γάρ) the consequence (ἀκολουθία) (would be) that we (must)
 attribute both
 10 <increase> and decrease to the body (σῶμα),
 but (δέ) also that one who is subject to these
 12 will not remain imperishable.

99,19 Funk emends: εϕ' αὐτοῦ.

99,29 - 100,12 On this passage see Schoedel, "Topological Theology," 88-108.

99,33 [ϧἥ οὐτ]οπος: So also Funk, Janssens, and Zandee.

99,33-34 π[α]ρ[ο]ε[ι]ς ἄπ[ι]τ[η]ρῶ: So also Funk, Janssens, and Zandee.

100,10 αἰ' αἰ': Ms. αηαῖ

14 ΤΑΚΟ · ΠΡΕΥΩΝΤ ΜΕΝ Ν̄Ω
 Ν̄Τ ΝΙΜ ΥΜΟΚ̄Ω ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΕΣΩ
 16 ΩΝ̄Υ · ΟΥΑΤΩΜ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΕΤΑ
 18 ΡΕ ΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΑΪ · Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ
 ΟΥΑΔΩ ΔΗ ΝΕΤ̄ΣΜΟΚ̄Ω ΝΑΥ Ε
 20 ΤΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΩΤΕ · ΑΛΛΑ ΣΜΟΚ̄Ω
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 22 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΩ Ν̄ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ·
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 24 ΠΝΟΩΤΕ Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΤ̄ΥΩΟΠ
 Μ̄ΜΟΣ · Μ̄Μ̄Ν ΣΟΜ Μ̄ΜΟΚ
 26 ΕΣΩΩΝ ΠΝΟΩΤΕ Ω̄Τ̄Ν
 ΛΑΔΩ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ Ω̄Τ̄Μ ΠΕΧ̄Σ ·
 28 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΟῩΝΤΑΥ Μ̄ΜΑΩ Ν̄
 ΘΙΚΩΝ Μ̄ΠΙΩΤ̄ · ΤΕΪΩ̄ΙΚΩΝ
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 Μ̄ΜΕ · ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΟΩΩΝ̄Ω Ε
 32 ΒΟΛ ΜΑΩΣΩΩΝ Ρ̄ΡΟ ΧΩ
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 34 ΠΝΟΩΤΕ ΔΕ ΥΩΟΟΠ Ω̄Ν ΤΟ
 ΠΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΥΩ̄Ν [ΛΑΔ]Ω
 [Δ]̄Ν [Ν̄]ΤΟΠΟΣ · ΚΑ[ΤΑ ΤΩΜ]

ρ̄α

2 ΜΕΝ ΥΩ̄Ν ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΙΜ · ΚΑ
 ΤΑ ΤΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΝΟΩΤΕ ΔΕ ΥΩ̄Ν ΛΑΔΩ
 ΔΗ Ν̄ΤΟΠΟΣ · ΤΕΪΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΟῩΝ

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- 100,13-29 At issue is the extent to which God is knowable/comprehensible. Like other Platonizing Christians of the second and third centuries, the author affirms God can be known, but only with difficulty and by way of analogy (cf. 99,21ff.; 100,25-31; 101,1-8.13-17), by way of abstraction (cf. 88,11; 100,16 "One"; 116,21-23, or by the "via negativa" (101,13-17 - "invisible"; 102,7-22 - indescribable).
- 100,16-18 Literally: "For not only are men those whom it is difficult for them to comprehend God, . . ."
- 100,25 Literally: ". . . anyone except through Christ. . ."
- 100,30-31 R. van den Broek ("Theology," 10-13) argues that the comparison of

Now (μέν), it is not difficult to know
 14 the Creator of all creatures (+μέν),
 but (δέ) it is impossible to comprehend
 16 the likeness of this One. For (γάρ)
 it is difficult not only for men to
 18 comprehend God, (ἀλλά) but it is (also) difficult
 for every divine (θεῖος) being (φύσις), (both) the angels (ἄγγελος)
 20 and the archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).
 It is necessary (ἀναγκαῖον) to know
 22 God as he is.
 You cannot
 24 know God through
 anyone except (εἰ μήτι) Christ (Χριστός),
 26 who has
 the image (εἰκόν) of the Father,
 28 for (γάρ) this image (εἰκόν) reveals the true likeness
 in correspondence to (κατά) that which is revealed.
 30 A king is not usually known apart from (χωρίς)
 an image (εἰκόν). Consider (νοεῖν) these things about
 32 God: he is in every place (τόπος);
 on the other hand (πάλιν), he is in [no]
 34 place (τόπος). [With respect to (κατά) power],
101
 to be sure (μέν), he is in every place (τόπος);
 2 but (δέ) with respect to (κατά) divinity, he is in no
 place (τόπος). So, then (γάρ), it is

Christ as image of God with local sculpture of the emperor only became acceptable when Roman political persecution ended (e.g., Galerius' Edict in 311 C.E., Maximin's in 312 C.E.). For discussion see the Introduction.

100,31 101,10 With paradox, the author affirms that God is in every place, yet in no place (cf. 99,29 100,12). Origen, under influence of Platonic thinking, says something quite similar *Princ.* 3.6.2; *Cels.* 7.34; *De Orat.* 23.1.

100,34 κἀ[ΤΑ ΤΣΟΜ]: So also Funk, Janssens, and Zandee.

101,3 Janssens unnecessarily emends the text: «Π·ΤΕΪΡΕ. Cf. *ΤΕΪΡΕ* at 99,15-16.

4 ΒΟΜ ΕΣΘΩΝ ΠΝΟΨΤΕ Ἡ
 ΟΨΚΟΨΕΙ · ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΨΒΟΜ
 6 ΜΕΝ ΨΜΟΨΨ ἸΜΑ ΝΙΜ · ὨΜ
 ΠΨΙΨΕ ΔΕ ἩΤΕΨ ΜἸΤἸΝΟΨ
 8 ΤΕ ἸΜἸ ἸΑΔΑΨ ΨΨΟΠ ἸΜΟΨ ·
 ΟΨΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΨΨΟΠ ὨΜ ΠΝΟΨ
 10 ΤΕ · ΠΝΟΨΤΕ ΔΕ ὨἸ ἸΑΔΑΨ ΔἸ ·
 ΟΨΟΨ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΕΣΟΨΩΝ ΠΝΟΨ
 12 ΤΕ · ΠΤἸΡΨ ΔΕ ΕΤὨἸ ΤΜΕ
 ΠΕ ΠΝΟΨΤΕ · ΟΨΑΤΨΒΟΜ ΔΕ
 14 ΠΕ ΔΡῸΕΩΡΙ ἸΠΕΧΨ ἩΘΕ
 ἸΠΡἸ · ΠΝΟΨΤΕ ΝΑΨ ΕΟΨ
 16 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ ἸΜἸ ἸΑΔΑΨ ΡῸΕΩΡΙ
 ἸΜΟΨ · ΠΕΧΨ ΔΕ ἩΨΩΨΨ
 18 ἩΡῸΘΟΝΙ ΨΑΨΨ ἸΨ† · ἩΨΟΨ
 ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΟΨΟΕΙΝ ἸΠΙΩ† ΕΨΡ
 20 ΟΨΟΕΙΝ ἩΨΩΨΨ ἩΡῸΘΟΝΙ ·
 ΤΑἸ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΨΡ ΟΨΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΟ
 22 ΠΟΨ ΝΙΜ · ΠΕΧΨ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΤἸΡΨ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΨΡΚἸΗΡΟΨ ΕΠΤἸΡΨ Ε
 24 ΒΟἸ ὨΜ ΠΕΨΨΟΠ · ΠΤἸΡΨ
 ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΨ · ΧΩΡΙΨ ΤἸἸἸ
 26 ΔΤΤΑΚΟ · ΕΚΨΔἸΡἸΟΕἸ ΓΑΡ
 ἸΠΝΟΒΕ ΟΨΟΨΨΑ ΔἸ ΠΕ ·
 28 ΤἸΟΝΨΨ ΓΑΡ ἩΤἸἸἸΤΑΤΤΑ
 ΚΟ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΨ · ΔΨΩ ΠΟΨΟΕΙΝ
 30 ΠΕ ΕΨΠΡἸΩΨ ΕΨΔΑὨΜ ΔἸ ·
 ΠΡἸ ΓΑΡ ὨἸ ΤΟΠΟΨ ΝΙΜ ἩΔΑΚΑ

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- 101,13-15 The impossibility of empirically seeing Christ's essential being is compared to the impossibility of humans looking directly at the sun. Cf. *Barn* 5:10-11; *Clement Prot.* 6.71.2-4; *Strom.* 5.108.5-6; and *Origen Princ.* 1.1.6.
- 101,22-24 The designation of Christ as "all" is ambiguous. Informed by the preceding lines (101,12-21), "all" could mean that Christ has inherited and embodies *all* of God's being and reality. Such reality Christ unselfishly reveals to humans (101,18-23). Or, informed by

4 possible to know God a
 little. With respect to (κατά) his power (+ μέν),
 6 he fills every place, but (δέ) in
 the exaltation of his divinity
 8 nothing contains him.
 Everything is in God,
 10 but (δέ) God is not in anything.
 Now (δέ) what is it to know God?
 12 God (+ δέ) is all that is in the truth.
 But (δέ) it is as impossible
 14 to look at (θεωρεῖν) Christ (Χριστός) as
 at the sun. God sees
 16 everyone; no one looks at (θεωρεῖν)
 him. But (δέ) Christ (Χριστός) without
 18 being jealous (φθονεῖν) receives and gives. He
 (+ δέ) is the Light of the Father, as he gives
 20 light without being jealous (φθονεῖν).
 In this manner he gives light to every place (τόπος).
 22 And (δέ) Christ (Χριστός) is All,
 he who has inherited (κληροῦν) all
 24 from the Existent One.
 For (γάρ) All is Christ (Χριστός), apart from (χωρίς) (his)
 26 incorruptibility. For (γάρ) if you consider (νοεῖν)
 sin, it is not a reality (οὐσία).
 28 For (γάρ) Christ (Χριστός) is the idea (νόησις)
 of incorruptibility, and
 30 he is the Light which is shining undefiled.
 For (γάρ) the sun (shines) on every impure (ἀκάθαρτον) place (τόπος),

101,22-34 (or 101,25-34), *all* would refer to Christ's full humanity, with exceptions of his incorruptibility and sinlessness.

101,25 - 102,1 Using a simile that became part of the stock arguments of Christians in the third century and later for the Incarnation (so van den Broek "Theology," 6-10). *Teach. Silv.* argues that just as the sun shines on impure places on earth but is not contaminated, so Christ has been in the "deficiency" of the body but has not been corrupted thereby. See esp. Origen *Cels.* 6,73.

101,31 Literally: "For the sun is in every impure place."

- 32 θαρτον αρω ν̄ϥζωϑ̄μ αν ·
ταϊ τε θε μ̄πεχ̄ς εϣζε
- 34 γϑ̄μ π̄ψτα · αλλα οσατ̄ψτα
[π]ε · αρω εϣζε ν̄τα[ϣζ]π[οϥ]
ρ̄β̄
εσατ̄ζποϥ πε · ταϊ τε θε μ̄
- 2 πεχ̄ς εϣζε σεαμαρτε μεν
μ̄μοϥ · κατα τεϣϑοστα
- 4 ϣς δε οσαταμαρτε μ̄μοϥ
πε · πεχ̄ς πε πτηρ̄ϥ · πετε
- 6 πωϥ αν πε πτηρ̄ϥ μ̄ν βομ ν̄ϥ
σοϑων πεχ̄ς · παϣηρε μ̄
- 8 π̄ρτολμα εζε ψαζε ϑαπρα
μ̄παϊ · οστε πνοϑτε μ̄πτη
- 10 ρ̄ϥ μ̄π̄ρκααϥ νακ ν̄ρενεινε
ν̄ρητ̄ · πετ̄κατακρине γαρ
- 12 εϑ̄κατ̄ακρине μ̄μοϥ αν ϑ̄ιτ̄η πετ̄
κατακρине · ναποϑς μεν
- 14 εϣινε αρω εμ̄με δε ν̄ιμ
πε πνοϑτε · πλογοϣ μ̄ν πνοϑς
- 16 οϑραν ν̄ροοϑτ̄ πε · πετοϑ
ωϣ μεν δειμε ετβε παϊ μα
- 18 ρεϥϣινε ϑ̄ν οϑςβραϑ̄τ̄ μ̄ν οϑ
ϑ̄ρτε · οϑςβινδϑνοϣ γαρ ψημ
- 20 αν πε εψαζε ϑαπρα ν̄ναϊ · εκ
σοοϑη δε σενατ̄ ϑαπ εροκ
- 22 ϑα νετ̄κζω μ̄μοοϑ τηροϑ ·
μ̄με δε ϑ̄μ παϊ δε πετ̄ϑ̄μ
- 24 πκακε ν̄ϥναϣ ναϑ αν ελααϑ

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- 101,35 ν̄ταϑ[ζποϥ]: The reconstruction is supported both by context and the visible trace of the upper right curve of the letter ϑ.
- 102,2-4 The verb αμαρτε here conveys the notion of “grasping intellectually,” rather than “seizing physically.”
- 102,7-22 Admonitions are offered against careless speech about God and about conceptual idolatry (i.e., the formation of idolatrous mental images) that may coincide with such speech. While the background of such warnings may be in biblical injunctions against taking the Divine Name in vain (e.g., Ex 20:7; 2 Chron 32:16-21; Job 2:9-10),

32 and yet it is not defiled.
 So it is with Christ (Χριστός): even if
 34 [he is in the] deficiency, yet (ἀλλά) [he] is without deficiency.
 And even if [he has been begotten],
 102
 he is (still) unbegotten. So it is with
 2 Christ (Χριστός): if, on the one hand (μέν), he is comprehensible,
 on the other (δέ), he is incomprehensible
 4 with respect to (κατά) his actual being (ὑπόστασις).
 Christ (Χριστός) is all.
 6 He who does not possess all is unable to
 know Christ (Χριστός). My son,
 8 do not dare (τολμᾶν) to say a word about
 this One, and do not (οὔτε) confine the God of all
 10 to mental images.
 For (γάρ) he (i.e., God) who condemns (κατακρίνειν)
 12 may not be condemned (κατακρίνειν) by the one who
 condemns (κατακρίνειν). Indeed (μέν), it is good
 14 to ask and to know who
 God is. Reason (λόγος) and Mind (νοῦς)
 16 are male names. Indeed (μέν), let him who wishes
 to know about this One
 18 quietly and
 reverently ask. For (γάρ) there is no small danger (κίνδυνος)
 20 in speaking about these things, since you
 know that you will be judged
 22 on the basis of everything that you say.
 And (δέ) understand by this that he who is in
 24 darkness will not be able to see anything

God's ineffability was a central theme in Middle Platonism and roots apparently in Plato's own statement: "God is wholly unutterable" (*Ep.* 7.341e).

102,12 **εἰ-κατ-ακρινε**: Ms. **εἰ-ακρινε**, a homoioteleuton. Janssens and Zandee retain the ms. reading, presumably construing **εἰ-ακρινε** as A² for **σεῖ-ακρινε** (II Future). But there is no other example of εἰ-α in *Teach. Silv.*

102,15-16 Literally: "The reason and the mind is a male name."

26 εϣτ̄μ̄ζ̄ι πο̄θοειν η̄ψ̄ναβαλ
 η̄ρη̄ντ̄ϣ̄ · ἀριδο̄σιμᾱζε μ̄μοκ
 28 εϣ̄ζε ρο̄λω̄ς ο̄θ̄η̄τακ μ̄μᾱθ̄
 μ̄πο̄θοειν · ζεκᾱᾱς εκ̄ψ̄αν
 30 ψ̄ινε ε̄τβε̄ νᾱῑ εκ̄νᾱμ̄με
 ζε̄ ᾱψ̄ τε̄ θε̄ ε̄τ̄κ̄νᾱρ̄ βο̄λ̄ μ̄
 32 μο̄ς · ο̄θ̄η̄ ρᾱρ̄ τ̄αρ̄ ψ̄ινε̄ ρ̄μ̄
 34 π̄κᾱκε̄ · ᾱθ̄ω̄ σε̄σο̄μ̄β̄μ̄ ε̄θ̄
 ο̄θ̄ω̄ψ̄ ε̄σο̄ο̄θ̄ν̄ ε̄μ̄πο̄θο̄
 ε̄ιν̄ κ̄η̄ νᾱθ̄ αν̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱῑ · πᾱ

ρ̄τ̄

2 ψ̄ῑνε̄ μ̄π̄ρ̄τ̄ρε̄πε̄κ̄νο̄ς̄ ε̄ῑ
 ω̄ρ̄μ̄ ε̄π̄σᾱ η̄π̄ῑτ̄η̄ · ᾱλλᾱ μᾱλ̄
 4 λον̄ ρ̄μ̄ πο̄θοειν̄ μᾱρεϣ̄ω̄
 τ̄αρ̄ ε̄ψ̄η̄μ̄η̄θ̄ μ̄π̄σᾱ η̄τ̄πε̄ η̄ο̄θ̄
 6 ο̄εῑψ̄ η̄ῑμ̄ · κ̄αν̄ ε̄ψ̄ρ̄ῑζ̄μ̄ π̄κᾱρ̄
 μᾱρεϣ̄ψ̄ῑνε̄ η̄σᾱ π̄ω̄τ̄ η̄σᾱ
 8 νᾱ τ̄πε̄ · ἀρῑ ο̄θο̄ειν̄ ε̄πε̄κ̄
 νο̄ς̄ ρ̄μ̄ πο̄θοειν̄ η̄τ̄πε̄ ·
 10 ζεκᾱᾱς̄ εκ̄νᾱπ̄ω̄ων̄ε̄ ε̄ρο̄θ̄ν̄
 ε̄πο̄θο̄ειν̄ η̄τ̄πε̄ · μ̄π̄ρ̄ρ̄ῑσε̄
 12 εκ̄τω̄ρ̄μ̄ ε̄ρο̄θ̄ν̄ ε̄προ̄ μ̄π̄λο̄
 τ̄ο̄ς̄ · ᾱθ̄ω̄ μ̄π̄ρ̄κᾱ το̄ο̄τ̄κ̄ ε̄
 14 βο̄λ̄ εκ̄μο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄ ρ̄ῑ θ̄ῑη̄ μ̄πε̄
 χ̄ς̄ · μο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄ η̄ρη̄ντ̄ ζεκᾱ
 16 ᾱς̄ εκ̄νᾱζ̄ῑ πε̄μ̄τον̄ η̄νε̄κ̄
 ρ̄ῑσε̄ · εκ̄ψ̄αν̄μο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄ ρ̄η̄ κε̄

102,25

With Janssens and Zandee, **ναβαλ** is here construed as an A² form of **ναβολ**, a contraction of **ναθ̄ εβολ**.

102,31-34

This imagery has a striking parallel in Job 12:24-25.

102,33-34

εσοοθ̄ν̄ εμ̄πο̄θο̄ειν̄: Janssens reads **εσοοθ̄νε̄ μ̄πο̄θο̄ειν̄** (= “. . . et ils tatonnent en voulant connaître: la lumière / n’est pas a leur disposition.” With Funk (“Une édition,” 20) we take **εμ̄πο̄θο̄ειν̄ κ̄η̄** as Present Circumstantial and translate accordingly.

26 unless he receives the light and sees
 by means of it. Examine (δοκιμάζειν) yourself (to see)
 whether you really (ὄλως) have
 28 the light, so that if you
 ask about these things, you may understand
 30 how you will escape.
 For (γάρ) many are seeking in
 32 darkness, and they grope about,
 wishing to understand since
 34 there is no light for them. My

103

son, do not allow your mind (νοῦς) to stare
 2 downward, but (ἀλλά) rather (μᾶλλον) let
 it look by means of the light
 4 at things above.
 For (γάρ) the light will always come from above.
 6 Even if (κἄν) it (i.e., the mind) is upon the earth,
 let it seek to pursue the
 8 things above. Enlighten your
 mind (νοῦς) with the light of heaven
 10 so that you may turn to
 the light of heaven. Do not tire
 12 of knocking on the door of reason (λόγος),
 and do not cease
 14 walking in the way of
 Christ (Χριστός). Walk in it so that
 16 you may receive rest from your
 labors. If you walk in another

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- 103,9-11 The "light of heaven" is undoubtedly illumination brought by Christ;
 cf. 99,3-4.
 103,11-17 The metaphors of "knocking" and "walking" are favorites of our
 author who uses each seven times throughout the tractate to denote
 activities designed to enhance one's rationality and self-knowledge.
 103,17 What appears to be an apostrophe after $\varrho\iota\kappa\epsilon$ is a brown spot on the
 ms. [Ed.]

- 18 οσεί τερίη ετκνααας μμ̄ν
 ρησ̄ η̄ρητ̄ς · και γαρ νετμο
 20 οψε ρ̄ι τερίη ετοθεστων
 τεσραη εσναβωκ επιτ̄ν
 22 επτακο μ̄πβορβορος · εμ̄ν
 τε γαρ οσοϣ̄ς εβολ̄ η̄τψσχη
 24 ασω πτοπος μ̄πτακο ροσ̄
 εστων · ς̄ι εροκ μ̄πεχ̄ς
 26 τερίη ετλοσ̄ρ · ρ̄ρωλιβε γαρ
 ασω ρ̄ϣ̄ι μοκρ̄ς ετβε πεκ
 28 νοβε · ω̄ τψσχη τρερροπο
 μ̄νε ερεσσοπ ρ̄ν̄ ασϣ̄ μ̄
 30 μ̄ντατσοοσ̄ν · η̄μ̄ γαρ
 πε περϣ̄ι μοειτ̄ ρ̄ητε ε
 32 ροσ̄η επκακε · οσ̄ηρ̄ η̄ει
 νε απεχ̄ς ς̄ιτοσ̄ ετβητε
 34 εϣ̄σοοπ̄ η̄νοσ̄τε α[σ̄]β̄ι[η]ε
 ρ̄δ
 μ̄μοϣ̄ ρ̄ν̄ η̄ρωμε ρ̄ωσ ρ̄ωμε ·
 2 αϣ̄βωκ επιτ̄ν δεμ̄ντε αϣ̄βωλ
 εβολ̄ η̄η̄μ̄μ̄ιςε μ̄πμοσ̄ · ασ̄
 4 † ναακε μ̄μοσ̄ κατα θε̄ η̄τα
 τετραφη̄ μ̄πνοσ̄τε ς̄οος · ασ̄
 6 ω αϣ̄ρσφραγιζε μ̄φ̄ητ̄ ρ̄ρᾱῑ η̄
 ρ̄ητ̄ϣ̄ · ασω μεϣ̄πιτε ετσοορ
 8 αϣ̄ροϣ̄ϣ̄οσ̄ εματε · ασω η̄δσ̄
 ναμ̄ις̄ τηροσ̄ η̄ταροσ̄νασ̄
 10 εροϣ̄ ασ̄πωτ̄ · ς̄εκαας̄ η̄τοκ
 πταλαπωρος̄ εϣ̄ναη̄τ̄κ̄ ε

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- 103,20-26 "broad way . . . narrow way": Cf. Matt 7:13-14.
 103,21-22 "perdition of the mire": Cf. 85,19-20; 104,29-30.
 103,26-28 Christ's atoning work through suffering is elsewhere described as a "ransom for sin" (104,12-13) and that which brings life (107,13-16).
 103,28-29 Cf. 94,19-22 and note.
 103,30-33 On Christ as the "guide into the darkness," cf. Clement *Paed.* 1.3.9.
 103,32 - 104,14 The first of two accounts (cf. 110,18-29) of Christ's descent into

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Hades,
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 what is
 Savior
 4:41-42

- 18 way, there will be no
profit in it. For (γάρ) also (καί) those who walk
20 in the broad way
will go down at their end
22 to the perdition of the mire (βόρβορος).
For (γάρ) the Underworld is open wide for the soul (ψυχή),
24 and the place (τόπος) of perdition is broad.
Accept Christ (Χριστός),
26 the narrow way. For (γάρ) he is oppressed (θλίβειν)
and bears affliction for your
28 sin. O (ὦ) soul (ψυχή), laggard one (-ὑπομένειν),
in what ignorance you exist!
30 For (γάρ) who
is your guide
32 into the darkness? How many likenesses
did Christ (Χριστός) take on because of you?
34 Although he was God, he [was found]
104
among men as (ὡς) a man.
2 He descended to the Underworld. He released
the children of death. They were
4 in travail, as (κατά)
the Scripture (γραφή) of God has said, and
6 he sealed up (σφραγίζειν) the (very) heart
of it (i.e., the Underworld). He broke its (i.e., the Underworld's) strong
bows
8 completely. And
when all the powers (δύναμις) had seen
10 him, they fled so that he might
bring you, wretched one (ταλαίπωρος),

Hades, a belief very popular among Christians from the second century onward. For discussion see the Introduction and Peel, "The 'Decensus ad Inferos'."

103,34

Δ[Τ]Σ[Η]Ε: So Funk; cf. Phil 2:7.

104,4-10

Reference to the "Scripture of God" implies Scriptural authority for what is said about the "travail" of the children of death when the Savior came. Could the writer have in mind Ps 17(18):5-6; 2 Esdras 4:41-43; Rom 8:22?

12 ρραϊ̅ ρ̅μ̅ πνοση̅ η̅ψ̅μοσ̅ ραροκ
 η̅σ̅ωτε̅ ἄπεκνοβε̅ · ἀψ̅ναρ
 14 μεκ̅ ε̅τ̅σι̅ζ̅ ε̅τ̅σοορ̅ η̅ε̅μ̅η̅τε̅ ·
 η̅τοκ̅ δε̅ ρωωκ̅ μοσι̅ς̅ † τεκ̅
 16 προρεσι̅ς̅ ναϥ̅ ρ̅ι̅τ̅η̅ οσ̅ι̅χ̅νοσ̅ ·
 ζεκαδ̅ς̅ εψ̅ναζ̅ι̅τ̅κ̅ ερραϊ̅ ρ̅ι̅
 18 τ̅η̅ οσ̅ρα̅ψ̅ε̅ · τ̅π̅ρο̅ρε̅σι̅ς̅ δε̅
 πε̅ π̅δ̅ω̅ρο̅ν̅ ἄπε̅χ̅ς̅ ε̅τε̅ π̅θ̅β̅
 20 βιο̅ η̅ρη̅η̅τ̅ πε̅ · θ̅σ̅σι̅α̅ ε̅τ̅ψ̅η̅η̅
 πε̅ οσ̅ρη̅η̅τ̅ εψ̅τ̅η̅νοε̅ι̅τ̅ · εκ̅
 22 ψ̅α̅η̅θ̅β̅β̅ιο̅κ̅ ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ζ̅ε̅σ̅τ̅κ̅ η̅
 ροσ̅θ̅ · α̅σ̅ω̅ εκ̅ψ̅α̅η̅α̅σ̅τ̅κ̅
 24 σε̅η̅α̅θ̅β̅β̅ιο̅ ε̅μα̅τε̅ · πα̅ψ̅η̅
 ρε̅ ρα̅ρε̅ρ̅ ε̅ροκ̅ ε̅τ̅πο̅η̅η̅ρ̅ια̅ ·
 26 α̅σ̅ω̅ πε̅ι̅η̅η̅α̅ η̅τ̅πο̅η̅η̅ρ̅ια̅ ἄ
 η̅ρ̅τ̅ρε̅ψ̅η̅ο̅ζ̅κ̅ ε̅π̅ι̅τ̅η̅ ε̅π̅η̅ο̅ση̅ ·
 28 ψ̅λο̅βε̅ τ̅α̅ρ̅ α̅σ̅ω̅ ψ̅σ̅α̅ψ̅ε̅ · οσ̅
 σ̅τ̅ρ̅τ̅ρ̅ πε̅ · α̅σ̅ω̅ ψ̅η̅ο̅σ̅ζε̅ η̅
 30 οσ̅ο̅η̅ η̅ι̅μ̅ ε̅π̅ι̅τ̅η̅ ε̅σ̅ρ̅ι̅ε̅ι̅τ̅
 η̅τε̅ π̅βο̅ρ̅βο̅ρο̅ς̅ · οσ̅η̅νο̅ς̅ η̅
 32 ρω̅β̅ ε̅η̅α̅η̅ο̅σ̅ψ̅ πε̅ ε̅τ̅μ̅μ̅ρ̅
 ρε̅ τ̅πο̅ρ̅η̅ια̅ · α̅σ̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅μ̅ρ̅ π̅με̅
 34 [ε̅]σ̅ε̅ η̅τ̅τα̅λα̅λι̅πω̅ρο̅ς̅ ρω̅

104,16

προάρεσις: As Zandee has shown (*Teachings*, 304), this term is a *terminus technicus* in Stoic philosophy. See esp. *SVF* 3:173.

104,20

"acceptable sacrifice": Cf. Ps 51:17 (LXX 50:19).

104,21-24

We find here an echo of a saying of Jesus (Matt 23:12 par.). However, the order of the chiasmatic clauses is reversed here, as in 1 Pet 5:6 and Jas 4:10.

12 up from the Abyss and might die for you
 as a ransom for your sin. He saved
 14 you from the strong hand of the Underworld.
 But (δέ) you yourself, difficult (μόγις) (though it be), give to him your
 16 fundamental assent (ποράσεις) with (even so much as) a hint (ἵχνος)
 that he may take you up with
 18 joy! Now (δέ) the fundamental choice (προαίρεσις),
 which is humility of heart, is the gift (δῶρον) of Christ (Χριστός).
 20 A contrite heart is the acceptable sacrifice (θυσία).
 If you
 22 humble yourself, you will be greatly exalted;
 and if you exalt yourself,
 24 you will be exceedingly humbled. My son,
 guard yourself against wickedness (πονηρία);
 26 and do not let the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of Wickedness (πονηρία)
 cast you down into the Abyss.
 28 For (γάρ) he is mad and bitter.
 He is terrifying, and he casts
 30 everyone down into a pit
 of mire (βόρβορος). It is a great
 32 and good thing not to love
 fornication (πορνεία) and not even to think
 34 of the wretched matter (ταλαίπωρος)

104,26 “Spirit of Wickedness”: A reference to Satan. Cf. 85,17; 96,14-15.

104,30-31 “pit of mire”: Cf. 85,17-20; 103,21-24.

104,31 105,25 In these lines the author offers stern warnings against fornication (104,32-33; 105,8-9,13-14), desire (105,22-24), and the sins of lust (105,25). Interconnected, “lust” gives rise to “desire”, “desire” impells one into “fornication.” All are manifestations of the wickedness Satan sows in humans (104,25-27).

ρ̄ε

2 ΤΗΡῪ · ΔΡ̄ ΠΕΣΜΕΕΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΜΟῦ
 ΠΕ · Ν̄ΣΡ̄ ΝΟΥΡΕ ΔΕ ΔΝ̄ Ν̄ΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΝΙΜ̄ ΕΡΕ ΕΡΑῙ ΕΠΜΟῦ ·
 4 ΟΨΥΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΑΘΡΕ ΕΡΟΣ ῶΜ̄
 ΠΜΟῦ ΣΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΑΛΟΓΟΣ ·
 6 ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΤ̄ΛΩΝῪ Ν̄ΡΟῦ
 Θ̄ ΕΞΠΕ ΟΨΩΝῪ Ν̄ΤΒΝΗ · ΔΡΙ
 8 ΤΗΡΙ Μ̄ΜΟΚ ΜΗΠΩΣ Ν̄ΤΡΩΚῪ
 ῶΝ̄ Ν̄ΣΟΤΕ Ν̄ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ · ΟΨ̄
 10 ῶΔῪ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΡΕΥΞΑΔῪΚ̄ ΣΟΤΕ ΕΨΘ̄
 ΝΑΣ Ν̄ΡῪΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ · ΝΑῙ ΕΤ̄Κ̄
 12 ΣΟΟΤΗ ΔΝ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΟῦ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ
 ΝΑΚ̄ Ν̄ΞΑΞΕ · ὠ̄ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ Θ̄Β̄
 14 ΣΩ Ν̄ΑΣ Ν̄ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ ΚΑΔΑΚ̄ ΔΡΗ
 Οῦ Μ̄ΜΟΣ · Ν̄Τ† ῶΙΩΟΚ̄ Ν̄Τ
 16 ΨΤΗΝ ΕΤΡΑΘΕ ΕΤ̄Π̄ΡΡΙΩῦ
 ΕΝΕΣΩΚ̄ ῶΡΑῙ Ν̄ΡΗΤ̄Σ · ΕΨ̄Ν̄
 18 ΤΑΚ̄ ΔΕ Μ̄ΜΑῦ Ν̄†ῪΒ̄ΣΩ ΔΡΙ
 ΤΗΡΙ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΚΑΔΩΣ · ΒΟΔ̄Κ̄ ΕΒΟΔ̄
 20 ῶΝ̄ Μ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ ΝΙΜ̄ ΞΕΚΑΔΑΣ ΕΚΝΑ
 ΞΠΟ ΝΑΚ̄ Ν̄ΟῦΜ̄ΝΤΕΛΕΨΘΕ
 22 ΡΟΣ · ΕΚΨΑΜΝΟΥΞΕ ΕΒΟΔ̄
 Μ̄ΜΟΚ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΠΙΘ̄ΜΙΑ ΕΤΕ
 24 ΝΑΨΕ ΝΕΣΚΟΤ̄Σ · ΔΨΩ Ν̄Τ̄
 ΒΟΔΕΚ̄ ΕΒΟΔ̄ ῶΝ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΒΕ Ν̄Θ̄Ν

- 105,1-7 “Death” has three principal meanings in *Teach. Silv.*: (1) the state of one who lacks the moral and spiritual guidance of rational principles (reason and mind) (e.g., in 105,1-7; cf. 89,12-14; 90,19-27; 92,28 - 99,4; 108,12-16); (2) the cessation of biological life (e.g., in 98,28 - 99,4; 104,2-3.10-14; 107,9-16), which is connected with irrationality rather than sin (contrast Rom 5:12; 1 Cor 15:56); (3) a transient phase of existence/non-existence which did not exist in primeval time and will not exist in the end time (91,1-5).
- 105,8-9 A vivid metaphor is used to describe fornication’s ill effects: a fire whose flames can burn; cf. 108,4-6. The metaphor reappears in wisdom literature (e.g., Job 7:27.29; Sir 23:17), in Paul (1 Cor 7:9), in Clement (*Quis Div. Salv.* 25 and 40) and Origen (*Princ.* 2.10.5).
- 105,10 Ν̄ΡΕΥΞΑΔῪΚ̄ ΣΟΤΕ: Janssens finds here a combination of ζῶλακ

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 For (γὰρ)
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 and put on
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 But (δέ) w
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 from every
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 the desire
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 361b)
 294b)
 Crum
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 a foo
 (96,1
 13:12

- at all, for (γάρ) to think of it is death.
- 2 It (+ δέ) is not good for any man
to fall into death.
- 4 For (γάρ) a soul (ψυχή) which has been found in
death will be without reason (ἄλογος).
- 6 For (γάρ) it is better not to live than
to acquire an animal's life.
- 8 Protect (τηρεῖν) yourself lest (μήπως) you are burned
by the fires of fornication (πορνεία).
- 10 For (γάρ) many who are submerged in fire are
its servants (ὑπηρέτης). These whom you
12 do not know are
your enemies. O (ὦ) my son, strip off
14 the old garment of fornication (πορνεία),
and put on the
16 garment which is clean and shining,
that you may be beautiful in it.
- 18 But (δέ) when you have this garment,
protect (τηρεῖν) it well (καλῶς). Release yourself
20 from every bond so that you may
acquire freedom (-ἐλεύθερος).
- 22 If you cast out of yourself
the desire (ἐπιθυμία) whose
24 devices are many, you will
release yourself from the sins of lust (ἡδονή).

("to draw, bend" a bow - Crum, 766b) and **κοτε** ("arrow" - Crum, 361b). It is more likely a combination of **ρεγ-** (from **ρωμε**, Crum, 294b), the A² form of **ζωλκ** ("to be submerged" = **βάπτεσθαι** Crum, 768a), and a variant S form of **κατε** ("fire" - Crum, 360a). **εσδ**: For the circumflex on **εσδ** see Zandee, "Deviations from Standardized Sahidic," 377.

105,13-19

Our author is fond of garment imagery and the symbolism of taking off and putting on things as one does clothing. The following are described with such imagery: the life of fornication (105,13-14); the pure life of Christ's followers (105,15-19); the author's "holy teaching" (87,13-14); Wisdom's gift of "wisdom" (89,10-12.20-21); a foolish one's folly and shame (89,26-30); and disguises of Satan (96,18-19). Cf. similar imagery in the OT (Job 8:22), the NT (Rom 13:12; Eph 22:24; Col 3:9-10), and Clement (*Paed.* 1.6.32).

26 ΔΟΜΗ · ΣΩΤῚ ΤΨΟΧΗ ΕΤΑ
 ΣΤΜΒΟΣΛΕΙΑ · ἈΠῚΨΩΠΕ
 28 ἸΒΗΒ <Ἰ>ἸΒΑΨΟΡ ἈἸ ἸΡΟΥ · ΟΥ
 ΔΕ ἸΨΚΟΛ ἸἸΔΡΑΚΩΝ ἈἸ
 30 ἸΡΒΩ · ΟΥΔΕ ἈΜΑ ἸΨΩ
 ΠΕ ἸἸἈΜΟΘΕΙ · Ἰ ΜΑ ἈΠΩΤ
 32 ἸἸΡΟΥ ἸΣΙΤ · ΕΡΨΑΝΝΑἸ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕ Ω ΤΨΟΧΗ ΟΥ ΠΕ
 34 ΤΕΝΑΔΑΥ · ΝΑἸ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ἸΔῚ
 ΡῚ
 ΝΑΜΙΣ ἈΠΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ
 2 ἸΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ ΕῚἸΝΗ
 ΟΥ ΕΡΟΥΝ ΕΡΟ ῚἸἸ ΝΑἸ · ΤΟΥ
 4 ῚΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ἸΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ
 ῚἸ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΑ ΝΙΜ · ΕΡΕΝΑἸ ΓΑΡ
 6 ΨΟΟΠ ἸΡΑἸ ἸΡΗΤΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟ
 ἸῚ ΠΕ ΕἸἸΝΗΟΥ ΕΡΟΥΝ ΨΑΡΟ ·
 8 ΣΕΝΑΖΙΤΕ ἸΒΟΤΕ ἸΣΙ ἸΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΟΣ ΕΤΟἸῚ · ΝΕΡΕΨΟΟΠ ΠΕ
 10 ἸῚΠΕ ΑΡΕΑΔΤΕ ἸΤΑΦΟΣ · ΑΛΟ
 ΕΡΕΕ ἸΤΑΦΟΣ ἸΤΕΨΩΠΕ
 12 ἸῚΠΕ · ΖΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΠΣΟΟΥΤἸ
 ἈἸ ΤἈἸἸἸΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΩΩ ἸΡΗ
 14 ΤΕ · ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕἸἸΡΗΤΕ ΖΕ
 ΡΩΥ ἈἸῚῚΝΑΥ · ΜΑΡΕΛΑΔΟΥ ΓΑΡ
 16 ΖΕΡΕ ῚΗΒΕΣ ΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ
 ΕΝΕΨΗΡΕ · ΝΕΚΡΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ

- 105,27-32 Cf. The Basilidean teaching on the animal-like passions of the soul, as attested in Clement *Strom.* 2.112.2.
- 105,28 <Ἰ>ἸΒΑΨΟΡ: So Funk. Ms. lacks the genitival Ἰ. Janssens and Zandee leave the text unemended.
- 106,2-7 Food devoured by the beast-powers of the Adversary in the soul they infest is called "unclean." The idea of uncleanness being offensive to the divine probably derives, ultimately, from OT food laws (e.g., Lev 11:42-45; Deut 14:3-21) and may be influenced by NT descriptions of Satan's demons as "unclean spirits" (e.g., Matt 12:43; Mark 3:11.30; 5:2.8.13; Luke 6:18; 8:29).

- 26 Listen, O (ὦ) soul (ψυχή), to my
 advice (συμβουλία). Do not become
 28 a nest of foxes and snakes, nor (οὐδέ)
 a hole of serpents (δράκων) and
 30 asps, nor (οὐδέ) a dwelling place
 of lions, or (ἢ) a place of refuge
 32 of basilisk-snakes. When these things
 happen to you, O (ὦ) soul (ψυχή), what
 34 will you do? For (γάρ) these are the powers (δύναμις)
 106
 of the Adversary (ἀντικείμενος).
 2 Everything which is dead will come
 into you through them (i.e., the powers).
 4 For (γάρ) their food is everything which is dead
 and every unclean thing (ἀναθαρσία). For (γάρ) when these
 6 are within you, what living thing
 will come into you?
 8 The living angels (ἄγγελος) will detest you.
 You were
 10 a temple, (but) you have made yourself a tomb (τάφος). Cease
 being a tomb (τάφος), and become (again)
 12 a temple so that uprightness
 and divinity may remain in
 14 you. Light the light within you.
 Do not extinguish it. Certainly (γάρ), no one
 16 lights a lamp for wild beasts (θηρίον) nor (οὔτε)
 their young.

106,9-13 The discussion of "uncleanness" (106,2-8) leads the author by association of ideas to speak of the "temple", i.e., the Jewish cultic center wherein the distinction between "clean"/"unclean" had special significance. The "tomb" (106,10-11), in the same sphere of thought, was a place unclean (cf. Matt 23:17-28).

106,14-17 The light to be lit to dispel the darkness of ignorance and moral depravity (cf. 88,13-15) is a metaphor for recalling teaching given by Christ (cf. 106,26) and by the author about divine truths. Cf. Ps 18:28; Luke 11:36; Matt 6:22; also Clement, *Strom.* 5.17.3.

- 18 ΝΤΑϢΜΟϢ · ΤΩΩΝ ΑΜΟΟϢ ·
 ΝΕΤΟΝῶ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑϢΜΟϢ ΕΤΒΗ
 20 ΗΤΚ · ΜΑ† ΝΑϢ ΑΠΩΝῶ · ΠΑ
 ΛΙΝ ΣΕΝΑΩΝῶ · ΠΨΗΝ ΓΑΡ Α
 22 ΠΩΝῶ ΠΕ ΠΕΧ̅Ϣ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ †
 ΣΟΦΙΑ · ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ
 24 ΝΤΟΥ ΟΗ ΠΕ ΠΛΟΤΟΣ · ΝΤΟΥ
 ΠΕ ΠΩΝῶ ΑϢΩ ΤΔϢΝΑΜΙϢ ·
 26 ΑϢΩ ΠΡΟ · ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΟϢΟ
 ΕΙΝ ΑϢΩ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑϢΩ
 28 ΠΨΩϢ ΕΤΝΑΝΟϢϢ · ΤΑΔΑΚ
 ΝΤΟΟΤῶ ΑΠΑΪ ΝΤΑϢΨΩΠΕ
 30 ΑΠΤΗΡῶ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ · ΤΩῶΛ
 ΕϢΟϢΗ ΕΡΟΚ ΟϢΑΔΑΚ ΝΘΕ Ν
 32 ΝΙΡΟ · ΑϢΩ ΝΤΜΟΟΨΕ ϢΡΑΪ
 ΝϢΗΤΚ ϢΩϢ ϢΙΗ ΕϢΟϢΤΩΝ ·
 34 ΕΚΨΑΝΜΟΟΨΕ ΓΑΡ ϢΙ ΤΕῶΙ
 [Η] ΑΜΝ ΨϢΟΜ ΝΤΡΠΛΑΝΑ ·

- 106,18-21 Infestation of the soul with demonically-incited passions (105,27 - 106,7; cf. 86,4-8) has resulted in irrationality, denoting moral and spiritual death (105,4-5). "Raising the dead" must thus involve restitution to sovereignty of rational principles in the human over all baser impulses (cf. 85,24-28). Cf. also 114,17.
- 106,21-30 On this hymn-like passage, in which titles and attributes of Christ are piled up, see Schoedel, "Jewish Wisdom," 190-93, and the Introduction.
- 106,21-22 "Tree of Life": A Christological title not used elsewhere in our tractate. Cf. Gen 1:9 and Clement, *Strom.* 5.72.2-4.
- 106,23 "Wisdom": Cf. 107,1-2; 112,35; 113,14. As a Christological title it is first attested in 1 Cor 1:24.
- 106,24 "Word": A title used six times of Christ (106,24; 111,5; 112,32; 113,13; 115,18; 117,8), denoting in our tractate his pre-existence, and roles as creator, revealer, illuminator of human reason, and savior. The Logos Christology of *Teach. Silv.* reflects the influence of the Fourth Gospel, the second century apologists, and Alexandrian thought. The Christological title, "Life", appears three times in absolute form (here; and in 107,113-16; 113,14-16) and four times in composite titles (98,23 - "Sun of Life"; 106,21-22 - "Tree of Life"; 111,18 - "King of Life"; 112,10-11 - "Life of Heaven"). While the Fourth Gospel (e.g., John 11:25; 14:6; cf. 1 John 1:1-2a) is the proba-

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- 18 Raise your dead who have died,
for (γάρ) they lived and have died for
20 you. Give them life.
They will live again (πάλιν). For (γάρ) the Tree of
22 Life is Christ (Χριστός). He is
Wisdom (σοφία). For (γάρ) he is Wisdom (σοφία);
24 he is also the Word (λόγος). He
is the Life, the Power (δύναμις),
26 and the Door. He is the Light,
the Angel (ἄγγελος), and
28 the Good Shepherd. En-
trust yourself to this one who became
30 all for your sake. Knock
on yourself as upon
32 a door, and walk upon
yourself as (ὡς) on a straight road.
34 For (γάρ) if you walk on the road,
it is impossible for you to go astray (πλανᾶν).

ble source of this concept, it appears frequently in Clement (e.g., *Quis Div. Salv.* 6) and in Origen (e.g., in *Comm. in Joh.*, 1.27(28)).

- 106,25 “Power” is used of Christ here and of him as the “Great Power” in 112,8. For the use of this title among the Alexandrians, see Clement, *Strom.* 7.9.1-2; Origen, *Comm. in Joh.* 1.39 (42); Athanasius, *Gent.* 40.29-35.

- 106,26 The title “Door” is used of Christ only here in the tractate. The ultimate source is undoubtedly John 10:7,9. Both Clement (*Paed.* 5.23.1; *Prot.* 1.10.2) and Origen (*Comm. in Joh.* 1.27 (29)) make use of this Christological title. “Light”: Cf. 101,19; 112,36-37, probably derived from John (1:4-5.7-9a; 3:19b,21; 12:35-36).

- 106,27 “Angel”: Used of Christ only here. Cf. *Hermas Vis.* 5.2; *Mand.* 5.1.7; 5.4.4; 7.1-3; 7.5); Justin *1 Apol.* 63.4-5; Clement (*Paed.* 1.5.24); and Origen (*Comm. in Joh.* 1.31(34)). It denotes in those texts Christ’s communications and revelatory work.

- 106,28 “Good Shepherd”: Only here in *Teach. Silv.* Cf. John 10:11.

- 106,33 “straight road”: Cf. Prov. 11:5; Sir 49:9b; 2 Pet 2:15; 2 *Clem.* 7.3. The 3rd person masculine pronoun in εγχορτων, has as its antecedent the anarthrous feminine noun ρηη. Cf. 91,23 and note.

2 ᾱτω̄ εκ̄ψ̄αν̄τω̄ ρ̄ν̄ τᾱϊ̄ εκ̄
 τω̄ ρ̄ν̄ ε̄ρο̄σ̄ν̄ ε̄ρε̄νε̄ρω̄ρ̄ ε̄σ̄
 4 ρ̄η̄π̄ · ε̄ψ̄ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ τ̄αρ̄ ἡ̄σο̄φ̄ιᾱ
 ψ̄εῑρε̄ ἁ̄πᾱθ̄η̄τ̄ ἡ̄σο̄φ̄ο̄ς̄ ·
 6 ε̄σ̄ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ἡ̄ο̄σ̄ἁ̄ν̄τε̄ρο̄ ε̄ς̄
 ο̄σ̄ᾱᾱβ̄ · ᾱτω̄ ἡ̄στο̄λη̄ ε̄σ̄π̄ρ̄ρῑ
 8 ω̄ο̄σ̄ · ο̄σ̄ρ̄ᾱρ̄ τ̄αρ̄ ἡ̄νο̄σ̄β̄ πε̄
 ε̄ψ̄τ̄ ἡ̄ᾱκ̄ ἡ̄ο̄σ̄νο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ε̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ ·
 10 τ̄σο̄φ̄ιᾱ ἁ̄π̄νο̄σ̄τε̄ ε̄τ̄β̄η̄η̄τ̄κ̄
 ᾱσ̄ω̄πε̄ ἡ̄ο̄σ̄τ̄σ̄πο̄ς̄ ἡ̄σε̄
 12 σε̄ δε̄κᾱᾱς̄ ἡ̄το̄κ̄ πᾱθ̄η̄τ̄ ε̄
 σε̄νᾱᾱῑτ̄κ̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ἡ̄σᾱᾱκ̄ ἡ̄ρ̄ῃ̄
 14 ἡ̄ρ̄η̄τ̄ · ᾱτω̄ π̄ω̄ἡ̄ρ̄ ᾱψ̄μο̄σ̄
 ε̄τ̄β̄η̄η̄τ̄κ̄ ρ̄ο̄πο̄τε̄ ο̄σ̄ᾱτ̄σ̄ο̄μ̄
 16 πε̄ · δε̄κᾱᾱς̄ ρ̄ἡ̄τ̄ῃ̄ πε̄ψ̄μο̄σ̄
 ἡ̄το̄κ̄ πε̄ρ̄μο̄σ̄ ε̄ψ̄η̄ᾱτ̄ ἡ̄ᾱκ̄
 18 ἁ̄π̄ω̄ἡ̄ρ̄ · τᾱᾱκ̄ ἡ̄το̄ο̄τ̄ῃ̄ ἁ̄
 π̄λο̄γο̄ς̄ ἡ̄τ̄σᾱρ̄ω̄κ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ἡ̄τ̄
 20 ἁ̄ν̄τ̄τ̄β̄η̄η̄ · ψ̄ο̄σ̄ο̄ἡ̄ρ̄ τ̄αρ̄ ε̄
 βο̄λ̄ ἡ̄σ̄ῑ π̄τ̄β̄η̄η̄ πᾱϊ̄ ε̄τε̄ ἁ̄ἁ̄ν̄
 22 τ̄ῃ̄ λο̄γο̄ς̄ ἁ̄ἁ̄ᾱσ̄ · ο̄σ̄ἡ̄ ρ̄ᾱρ̄
 τ̄αρ̄ με̄ε̄σ̄τε̄ δε̄ ο̄σ̄ἡ̄το̄σ̄
 24 π̄λο̄γο̄ς̄ ἁ̄ἁ̄ᾱσ̄ · ἀ̄λλᾱ εκ̄
 ψ̄ᾱν̄μο̄σ̄ρ̄ ἡ̄σ̄ω̄ο̄σ̄ πο̄σ̄
 ψ̄ᾱδε̄ ο̄σ̄ ἁ̄ν̄τ̄τ̄β̄η̄η̄ πε̄ ·

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- 107,1 Alternate translation: “. . . if you knock on this one. . .”
 107,1-8 The theme of Christ as Wisdom is picked up from 106,22-23.
 107,11-13 Christ as Wisdom makes the foolish wise. Cf. 1 Cor 1:21-30; and Prov 8:5-14.
 107,13-17 Christ’s dying while powerless to give the dead life echoes a central claim of the Christian kerygma. Cf. Rom 6:4-11; 2 Cor 5:14-15; 1 Thess 5:10; Phil 2:5-8; 2 Tim 2:11.
 107,16 On the A² relative pronoun -ε ρ̄ in πε̄ρ̄μο̄σ̄, see Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, 351.

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And if you knock with this one (i.e., Wisdom), you
 2 knock on hidden treasures.
 For (γάρ) since he (i.e., Christ) is Wisdom (σοφία),
 4 he makes the foolish man wise (σοφός).
 It (i.e., Wisdom) is a holy kingdom
 6 and a shining robe (στολή).
 For (γάρ) it is much gold
 8 which gives you great honor.
 The Wisdom (σοφία) of God
 10 became a type (τύπος) of fool for you
 so that it might take you up,
 12 O foolish one, and make you a wise man.
 And the Life died
 14 for you when (όπότε) he (i.e., Christ) was powerless,
 so that through his death
 16 he might give life to you who have died.
 Entrust yourself to
 18 reason (λόγος) and remove yourself from
 animalism. For (γάρ)
 20 the animal which has no
 reason (λόγος) is made manifest.
 22 For (γάρ) many think that they have
 reason (λόγος), but (άλλά) if you
 24 look at them attentively,
 their speech is animalistic.

-
- 107,17-25 A brief admonition (107,17-19) leads to an explanation (107,19-21) and then to a warning (107,22-25). The basic theme is one familiar from earlier statements (cf. 86,1-8; 87,27-30; 89,2-4; 93,15-21; 94,1-3.7-9.12-13; 105,4-7), namely, the need to avoid "animalism," a state of being controlled by flesh and passions and lacking the guidance of reason.
- 107,21 A scribal figure resembling a small "z" appears in an elevated position following ραε.

- 26 † οσροτ̄ νακ̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄ν̄ τβω
 ἡνελοολε̄ ἄμε̄ ἄπεχ̄ς̄ ·
- 28 τσιοκ̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄μ̄ πηρ̄π̄ ἡδλη̄
 θ̄ινοη̄ · παῖ̄ ετε̄ ἄμ̄η̄ †ρε̄
- 30 ψοοπ̄ ρ̄ραῖ̄ ἡρη̄τ̄ϣ̄ οσ̄δε̄
 ἄμ̄η̄ σορ̄μ̄ · οσ̄η̄ταϣ̄ γαρ̄
- 32 ἄμασ̄ ἡθαη̄ ἄπ̄σω̄ εψ̄αϣ̄
 ψωπε̄ ρ̄ραῖ̄ ἡρη̄τ̄ϣ̄ ε†̄ οσ̄
- 34 ροτ̄ ἡρη̄η̄ ἡτ̄ψ̄σ̄χη̄ ἄη̄
 π̄νοσ̄ς̄ ρ̄μ̄ πεπ̄η̄δ̄ ἄπ̄νοσ̄τε̄ ·
 ρ̄η̄
 ψορ̄π̄ δε̄ μοη̄ε̄ ἡνεκ̄λοοις̄
 2 μοσ̄ · ρ̄ατερ̄η̄ εμ̄πατ̄ρκ̄σω̄ ε̄
 βολ̄ ἡρη̄τ̄ϣ̄ · ἄπ̄ρκ̄ονσ̄κ̄ ρ̄η̄
 4 τσ̄ηϣ̄ε̄ ἄπ̄νοβε̄ · ἄπ̄ρ̄ροκ̄ϋ̄κ̄
 ω̄ π̄ταλαπ̄ωρος̄ ρ̄μ̄ π̄κ̄ωϋ̄τ̄
 6 ἡθη̄δ̄οη̄η̄ · ἄπ̄ρ̄ταακ̄ ἡτοο̄
 τοσ̄ ἡη̄βαρ̄βαρος̄ ἡθε̄ ἡη̄μ̄αῖ̄
 8 χ̄μαλω̄τος̄ · οσ̄δε̄ ἡτοο̄τοσ̄
 ἡη̄θ̄η̄ρ̄ιοη̄ ἡατ̄ρ̄ιοη̄ εσοσ̄
 10 ωψ̄ ερ̄καταπατ̄ῑ ἄμοκ̄ · εσ̄
 ψοοπ̄ γαρ̄ ἡθε̄ ἡη̄μ̄οσ̄εῑ
 12 ε†̄ρ̄μ̄ρ̄μ̄ εματε̄ · ἄπ̄ρ̄ψω̄
 πε̄ εκ̄μοοσ̄τ̄ μ̄η̄ποτε̄ ἡσε̄
 14 ρ̄καταπατ̄ῑ ἄμοκ̄ · εκ̄ερ̄ ρω̄

107,26 - 108,3 The author begins a new section with two positive admonitions to seek the gladness and satisfaction of the sober intoxication that drinking of Christ, the true vine-wine, can bring (107,26-30). He next elaborates upon the meaning of the “wine” of Christ” (107,31-35), and concludes by exhorting the reader to strengthen his rational powers before drinking of such “wine” (108,1-3). The passage may echo liturgical (eucharistic) language and practice, though this is not made explicit.

107,26-27 “true vine”: Cf. John 15:1.

108,3-14 Positive admonitions now give way to three negative ones (108,3-10). The first two exhort the reader to avoid “sin” and “lust” (108,3-6). The third (106,6-10) warns against capitulation to “barbarians”

- 26 Give yourself gladness from the true
vine of Christ (Χριστός).
- 28 Satisfy yourself with the true (ἀληθινόν) wine
in which there is no drunkenness
- 30 nor (οὐδέ) dregs.
For (γάρ) it (i.e., the true wine) marks
- 32 the end of drinking since there
is in it (the power) to give joy
- 34 to the soul (ψυχή) and
the mind (νοῦς) through the Spirit (πνεῦμα) of God.
108
- But (δέ) first, nurture your reasoning powers (λογισμός)
2 before you drink
of it (i.e., the true wine). Do not pierce yourself with
- 4 the sword of sin. Do not burn yourself,
O (ὦ) wretched one (ταλαίπωρος), with the fire
- 6 of lust (ἡδονή). Do not surrender yourself
to barbarians (βάρβαρος) like a prisoner (αἰχμάλωτος),
- 8 nor (οὐδέ) to
savage (ἄγριον) beasts (θηρίον) which want
- 10 to trample (καταπατεῖν) you.
For (γάρ) they are as lions
- 12 which roar very loudly. Be not
dead lest (μήποτε) they
- 14 trample (καταπατεῖν) you. You shall be man!

(= enemies, including passions and evil powers: 85,30-32; 86,11-13.24-29; 91,18-20; 109,30-34; 114,1-15) or to "savage beasts" (= evil thoughts, base impulses, demonically-incited desires: 85,7-16; 86,1-8; 105,27 106,5). Surrender to them brings "death", an important metaphor for the state of irrationality (105,4-5), dominance by passions (104,31 105,7), rejection of Christ's illumination of "mind" (98,26 - 99,4), and ignorance (89,12-14).

108,4 "sword of sin": Cf. Sir 21:3; Prov 5:4.

108,5-6 "fire of lust": Cf. 105,8-9 and note.

108,11 "lions": Cf. 1 Pet 5:8 and Origen's comment, *Princ.* 3.3.6.

108,14 A curved pen stroke, an apparent accident by the scribe, appears in the margin just above and preceding this line. $\overline{\text{PKATAPATI}}$: The κ is written as a correction over H .

- 16 με οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλοκ ὅλ πλο
 τισμοc ἡτ̄ρο εναῖ · πρωμε
 δε ετ̄ρ λααϑ̄ αν̄ εϑ̄ἄπ̄ψα ἄπλο
 18 τικoc ἡρωμε αν̄ · πλοτικoc
 ἡρωμε πετ̄ρ ροτε ρητ̄ῃ ἄπ̄
 20 νοϑτε · πετ̄ρ ροτε δε ρητ̄ῃ
 ἄπ̄νοϑτε μαϑ̄ρ̄ λααϑ̄ ἡτολ
 22 μηρια · πετ̄ρτηρι δε ἄλλοϑ
 ετ̄ἄρ̄ λααϑ̄ ἡτολμηρια · παῖ
 24 πεταρεϑ̄ επεϑρηγεμονικον ·
 ἡτοϑ̄ ετ̄ρωμε πε εϑ̄ϑοοπ
 26 ὅλζᾶ πκαϑ̄ εϑ̄τονη ἄλλοϑ
 επνοϑτε · πετ̄τονη
 28 δε ἄλλοϑ επνοϑτε πετ̄ρ
 λααϑ̄ αν̄ εϑ̄<ατ>ἄπ̄ψα ἄπ̄νοϑ̄
 30 τε · κατα τεcμη ἄπ̄αϑ̄λοc
 παῖ ἡταϑ̄ϑ̄ωπε εϑ̄τητων
 32 επεχ̄c · ημ̄ γαρ πε πετ̄ρce
 βεcθαῖ επνοϑτε · εϑ̄οϑ̄
 34 ωϑ̄ εγρε αν̄ ἡνετ̄ρ̄ αναϑ̄
 ἄπ̄νοϑτε · τᾶἡτ̄ρεϑ̄ϑ̄ᾶ
 36 ϑ̄ε νοϑτε γαρ τε τετ̄ϑ̄ο

-
- 108,17-18 Funk emends: εϑ̄ἄπ̄ψα ἄπ̄·νοϑτε εϑ̄ἄπ̄ψα ἄπ̄·λο/τικoc
 (“Der Mensch, der nicht tut, <was Gott gegenüber angemessen ist,>
 ist des (Names eines) vernünftigen Menschen nicht würdig”). Funk
 believes a scribal error of homoioteleuton has occurred.
- 108,19-21 “Fear of God” is a fundamental orientation in wisdom literature (e.g.,
 Sir 2:15-17), as is the idea that right behavior follows from such
 “fear” (e.g., Sir 2:15-17; Prov 8:13).
- 108,26-27 “makes himself like God”: This Platonic teaching of “assimilation to
 the Divine” (Plato, *Theaet.* 176ab) is here given Christian
 endorsement by its attribution to the teaching of the Apostle Paul
 (108,27-32).

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- 16 It is possible for you through reasoning (λογισμός)
to conquer them.
- 18 But (δέ) the man who does nothing is unworthy of
(being called) rational man (λογισμός). The rational man (λογισμός)
is he who fears God.
- 20 He (+ δέ) who fears
God does nothing insolent (τολμηρία).
- 22 And (δέ) he who guards (τηρεῖν) himself
against doing anything insolent (τολμηρία) is one
24 who keeps his guiding principle (ἡγεμονικόν).
Although he is a man who exists
26 on earth, he makes himself like
God. But (δέ) he who makes himself like
28 God is one who does
nothing <un>worthy of God,
30 according to (κατά) the statement of Paul (Παῦλος)
who has become like
32 Christ (Χριστός). For (γάρ) who shows reverence (σέβεσθαι)
for God while not wanting
34 to do things which are pleasing
to him? For (γάρ) piety
36 is that which is

-
- 108,29-30 εφ'ατ'ἄπ'ωδ. Ms. lacks ατ, which seems to be required by the
context. So also Zandee. Funk offers an alternative emendation:
ἄπ'νοσ/τε <αν>, translating, "was Gott gegenuber
<un>angemessen ware . . ." Janssens rejects any emendation.
- 108,31-32 "like Christ": Cf. e.g. 1 Cor 11:1; Gal 2:20.
- 108,31-35 A drop of some liquid has fallen on the page just right of center in
lines 32-33, resulting in some blotting and running of ink to the right
and downward through line 35.
- 108,34-35 Literally: "pleasing to him, God." Cf. 98,18-22 and note.

ρθ

2 οπ εβολ ρ̄μ φητ̄ · τ̄μ̄ντρεϋ
 ψ̄μ̄ψε νοσ̄τε δε εβολ ρ̄μ
 φητ̄ τε ψ̄σχ̄η ν̄ιμ̄ ετ̄ρ̄ηη
 4 επ̄νοσ̄τε · τ̄ψ̄χη δε ετο
 ν̄ρ̄μ̄ρ̄η̄η̄ει επ̄νοσ̄τε τετοσ̄
 6 ρ̄αρεϋ ερος εσοσ̄ααβ̄ · τ̄ψ̄σ̄
 χ̄η δε ετερεπεχ̄ς το ρ̄ιωσ̄
 8 ν̄τος τε τετοσ̄ααβ̄ · ᾱτω μ̄
 μ̄ν̄ ψ̄βομ̄ ετρεσ̄ρ̄ νοβε · π̄μα
 10 δε ετερεπεχ̄ς μ̄μασ̄ ψ̄αρε
 π̄νοβε οσ̄ωσ̄ϋ̄ · μαρεπεχ̄ς
 12 ει εροσ̄η επεκκοσ̄μοσ̄
 οσ̄ααϋ̄ · ᾱτω μαρεϋοσ̄ωσ̄ϋ̄
 14 ν̄δ̄σ̄ναμ̄ις ν̄ιμ̄ εᾱσ̄ει εζωκ̄ ·
 μαρεϋ̄ει εροσ̄η επ̄ρ̄πε ετ̄η
 16 ρ̄ητ̄κ̄ · ζεκαᾱς εϋενοσ̄ζε
 εβολ ν̄νεψ̄ωτ̄ ν̄ιμ̄ · μαρεϋ
 18 ρ̄μοοσ̄ ρ̄μ̄ περπε ετ̄ψ̄οοπ̄
 ρ̄ραϊ̄ ν̄ρ̄ητ̄κ̄ ᾱτω ν̄τ̄ψ̄ωπε ·
 20 ναϋ̄ ν̄οσ̄ηηβ̄ μ̄ν̄ οσ̄λεσει
 της εκβ̄ηκ̄ εροσ̄η ρ̄η̄ οσ̄τ̄β̄
 22 βο · ναϊ̄ατε τ̄ψ̄σχ̄η ερεψ̄αη
 β̄μ̄ παϊ̄ ρ̄μ̄ περ̄πε · ναϊ̄ατε
 24 δε ν̄ροσ̄δ̄ ερεψ̄αειρε μ̄πεϋ
 ψ̄μ̄ψε · πετ̄νασ̄ωωϋ̄ δε
 26 μ̄περπε μ̄π̄νοσ̄τε παϊ̄ π̄νοσ̄
 τε νατακοϋ̄ · κοσ̄οη̄ ρ̄αρ̄
 28 εβολ ω̄ πρωμε εκψ̄αη
 νοσ̄ζε μ̄παϊ̄ εβολ ρ̄μ̄ πεκ̄

- 109,5-6 τετοσ̄/ραρεϋ: The ο is unusually small.
- 109,7-11 The soul which has “put on Christ” (cf. Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27) cannot
 sin! Cf. 1 John 3:6, 9; Rom 6:2b,11,22.
- 109,11-34 Five admonitions are offered, all encouraging admission and
 residency of Christ in one’s inner soul.
- 109,15-17 An allegorical interpretation of the Temple cleansing as reported in

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Matt 11
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 Joh. 2,1
 Cf. 1 Co

109

from the heart,
 2 and (δέ) piety from
 the heart (characterizes) every soul (ψυχή) which is near to
 4 God. The soul (ψυχή) (+ δέ) which is
 a member of God's household is one which
 6 is kept pure,
 and (δέ) the soul (ψυχή) which has put on Christ (Χριστός)
 8 is one which is pure.
 It is impossible for it to sin.
 10 Now (δέ) where Christ (Χριστός) is, there
 sin is idle. Let Christ (Χριστός)
 12 alone enter your world (κόσμος),
 and let him bring to naught
 14 all powers (δύναμις) which have come upon you.
 Let him enter the temple which is
 16 within you so that he may cast
 out all the merchants. Let him
 18 dwell in the temple which is
 within you, and may you become
 20 for him a priest and a Levite (Λευίτης),
 entering in purity.
 22 Blessed are you, O soul (ψυχή), if you
 find this one in your temple.
 24 Blessed are you (+ δέ) still more if you perform his
 service. But (δέ) he who will defile
 26 the temple of God, that one God
 will destroy. For (γάρ) you lay yourself open,
 28 O (ὦ) man, if you
 cast this one out of your

Matt 11:15 par.; cf. John 2:13-25. This interpretation probably
 draws upon Origen's explanation of the "spiritual meaning" of that
 narrative. See esp. *Comm. in Joh.* 10.16-18.

109,20

"a priest and a Levite": Cf. Clement *Strom.* 7.36.2; Origen *Comm. in*
Joh. 2.10; *Hom. in Lev* 1.4.

109,25

Cf. 1 Cor 3:17

30 ῥπε · ροταν γαρ ερψαντῃ
 ἡδαδε ναϑ επεχ̄ς ρραῖ ἡ
 32 ρητ̄κ · τοτε σεῖνηϑ εροϑη
 εροκ εϑρηκ ετρεϑτῆνο
 34 ἄμοκ · ὦ πασηρε ἀῖρων
 ετοοτ̄κ ετβε ναῖ ἡραρ ἡσοπ ·
 ῥῖ
 δεκαδς εκναραρερ ετεκ
 2 ψϑχη ἡναϑ ηῖμ · ἡτοκ ἀν πε
 τηανοζ̄ϥ εβολ ἄμοκ · ἀλλα ἡ
 4 τοϥ πετηανοζ̄κ · ἡτοκ γαρ
 εκψανπωτ εβολ ἄμοϥ κνα
 6 ρε ερραῖ εϑνοϑ ἡνοβε · ἡτοκ
 οη εκψανπωτ ἡτοοτ̄ϥ κνα
 8 ψωπε ἡρηρε ἡνεκδαδε · ζο
 οϑτ̄ γαρ ηῖμ ψαϑπωτ ἡτῃ
 10 ποϑζοεις · πζοοϑτ̄ δε ρῆ τα
 ρετη ἄἡ τσοφῖα ψαϥπωτ ἡ
 12 τῃ πεχ̄ς · ρωμε γαρ ηῖμ εψαϥ
 οϑωωτ ψαϥρε ερραῖ ενβιζ
 14 ἡνεϑηριον · ηῖμ πε πεχ̄ς σοϑ
 ωῆϥ αϑω ἡζποϥ ηακ ἡψβηρ ·
 16 παῖ γαρ πε πεψβηρ ετῆροτ̄ ·
 ἡτοϥ οη πε πνοϑτε αϑω
 18 πσαρ · παῖ εϑνοϑτε πε αϥψω
 πε ἡρωμε ετβηητ̄κ · παῖ πε ἡ
 20 ταϥβωλ εβολ ἡἡμμοχλос ἡ
 βανηπε ἡαἡἡτε αϑω ἡκῶ ἡ
 22 ρομετ̄ · παῖ πε ἡταϥϣῖ τοο
 τ̄ϥ αϥταϑο επεσητ̄ ἡτϑραν
 24 νος ηῖμ ετ̄ζοσε ἡρητ̄ · πεη
 ταϥβωλ εβολ ἡτοοτ̄ϥ · ἡἡἡῥ
 26 ρε ενεϥαμαρτε ἄμοοϑ ·

109,30-34

Mention of the "enemies" being "armed" (109,30-34) recalls our author's frequent recourse to the imagery of warfare and siege to describe the soul's struggle with evil (e.g., in 84,26 - 85,7; 86,16-20,24-27; 108,6-7; and especially 114,1-13).

110,13

οϑωωτ: A hitherto unattested form of οϑ(ω)ωτε SA² (Crum, 495a).

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4 A brief
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 104,14
 Altern

30 temple. For (γάρ) whenever (ὅταν)
 the enemies do not see Christ (Χριστός)
 32 in you, then (τότε) they will come into
 you armed in order to crush
 34 you. O (ὦ) my son, I have given
 you orders concerning these things many times
 110
 so that you would always guard your
 2 soul (ψυχή). It is not you who
 will cast him (i.e., Christ) out, but (ἀλλά)
 4 he will cast you out. For (γάρ)
 if you flee from him, you will
 6 fall into great sin.
 Again, if you flee from him, you will
 8 become food for your enemies.
 For (γάρ) all base persons flee from
 10 their lord, and (δέ) the (man) base in virtue (ἀρετή)
 and wisdom (σοφία) flees from
 12 Christ (Χριστός). For (γάρ) every man who is
 separated (from him) falls into the claws
 14 of the wild beasts (θηρίον). Know who Christ (Χριστός) is,
 and acquire him as a friend,
 16 for (γάρ) this is the friend who is faithful.
 He is also God and
 18 Teacher. This one, being God, became
 man for your sake. It is this one who
 20 broke the iron bars (μοχλός)
 of the Underworld and the bronze bolts.
 22 It is this one who attacked
 and cast down
 24 every haughty tyrant (τύραννος). It is he
 who loosened from himself the chains
 26 of which he had taken hold.

110,14-18 A brief exhortation expands into another Christological hymn. Cf. similar passages in 106,21-28; 111,15-20; 112,35 - 113,8; 117,8-11.
 110,18-29 A second account of Christ's Descent into Hades. Cf. 103,32 104,14 and note.
 110,26 Alternate translation: "... by which he was restrained (or held)."

28 ἀχρῖνε εἰραῖ ἡῖρηκε ὄμ π
 νοῦν αὐω μετμοκῶ ἡρητ
 30 ὄν εἰητε · πενταγῶββιο
 31 ἡῖδσηαμς εἰζοσε ἡρητ ·
 32 πενταγ† ψηπε ἄπδασηητ
 33 ὄιτῆ πῶββιο · πενταγτασο
 34 εἰσηητ ἄπδαωρε · αὐω
 πρεγβαβε ρωμε ὄιτῆ τἄητ
 σωβ · πενταγψωσ ἄπετοσ

ργα

2 μεετε ερωγ δε οσταειο πε ·
 3 ρραῖ ὄμ πεγψωσ · δεκαδς ερε
 4 πῶββιο ετβε πνοῦτε ναζι
 5 σε εματε πενταγσωλε ἄπρω
 6 με · αὐω πνοῦτε πε πῶελοσ λο
 7 ροσ · πετψι εἰραῖ ρα πρωμε ἡοσ
 8 οεψη ηημ · αὐω αχοσψη δειρε
 9 ἄπῶββιο ὄμ πετζοσε · πενταγ
 10 ζισε ἄπρωμε αψωπε εγῆ
 11 των επνοῦτε · δεκαδς αν εγ
 12 ναεινε εἰσηητ ἄπνοῦτε ψα
 13 πρωμε · ἀλλα ετρεπρωμε ψω
 14 πε εγῆτων επνοῦτε ὦ †
 15 νοσ ἄ ἄητῆς ἡτε πνοῦτε ·
 16 ὦ πεχς πῆρο πενταγοσωνῶ
 17 εβολ ἡῖρωμε ἡτηνοσ ἄηητ
 18 νοῦτε · πῆρο ἡαρηη ηημ · αὐω
 πῆρο ἄπωνῶ · πῆρο ἡηεων αὐω

- 110,29-32 Emphasis on the humbling of the haughty is a teaching of the Scriptures, e.g. Ps 94:2; Job 22:29; Zeph 3:11b; Isa 2:11-12; Luke 1:51-52; Jas 4:6.
- 110,33-34 "the strong and the boaster": Cf. 1 Cor 1:25-27; 2 Cor 12:8-9; 13:3b-4a.
- 111,4 Literally: "he who has put on man." σωλε = ἐνδύειν (Crum, 809a). Cf. Eph. 4:24.

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 King of ever
 King of life.

Cf. John
 The Plat
 more exp
 Note the
 Χριστός
 "King".

He brought up the poor from the
 28 Abyss and the mourners from
 the Underworld. It is he who humbled
 30 the haughty powers (δύναμεις);
 he who put to shame haughtiness
 32 through humility; he who has cast
 down the strong and
 34 the boaster through weakness;
 he who in his contempt scorned that which is
 111
 considered an honor
 2 so that
 humility for God's sake might be highly exalted;
 4 (and) he who has put on humanity.
 And yet, the divine (θεῖος) Word (λόγος) is God,
 6 he who bears patiently with man always.
 He wished to produce
 8 humility in the exalted. He (i.e., Christ) who has
 exalted man became like
 10 God, not in order that he
 might bring God down to
 12 man, but (ἀλλά) that man might become
 like God. O (ὦ) this
 14 great goodness (-χρηστός) of God!
 O (ὦ) Christ (Χριστός), King who have revealed
 16 to men the Great Divinity,
 King of every virtue (ἀρετή) and
 18 King of life, King of ages (αἰών) and

-
- 111,5 Cf. John 1:
 111,8-13 The Platonic theme of "assimilation to God" appears here again now
 more explicitly. Cf. 108,25-29.
 111,14-15 Note the word play in the underlying Greek between χρηστότης and
 Χριστός in 111,15.
 111,15-18 "King": Cf. 96,25-30 and note.

ΠΝΟΣ Ν̄Ν̄ΛΠΗΘ̄Ε · ΣΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΕΝΑΨΔ
 20 ΔΕ ΔΘΩ Ν̄ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΪ · ΠΑΛΙΝ
 ΔΥΘΩΝ̄Ω̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΘΘΝΟΣ Ν̄ΣΠΟΥ
 22 ΔΗ Μ̄ΛΠ̄ΤΝΟΥΤΕ · ΕΥΤΩΝ ΣΟ
 ΦΟΣ Η ΔΘΝΑΤΟΣ Ν̄Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΩΗΤ̄ Ν̄
 24 ΡΩΜΕ · Η ΟΘΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΑΨΕ ΝΕΥ
 ΚΟΤ̄Σ ΕΥΣΟΟΥΝ Ν̄ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ·
 26 ΜΑΡΕΥΔΩ Ν̄ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΜΑΡΕΥΤΑΘΟ
 Ν̄ΘΘΝΟΣ Ν̄ΨΟΥΨΟΥΘ · ΑΡΩΜΕ
 28 ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ Ρ̄ ΣΟΣ ΠΕΔΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ω̄Μ
 ΠΕΥΣΟΟΥΝ · ΑΥΠΩΨΣ ΓΑΡ Ν̄Ν̄
 30 ΨΟΔΝΕ Ν̄ΝΙΣΑ ΝΚΟΤ̄Σ · ΔΘΩ
 ΑΥΤΑΘΟ Ν̄Ν̄ΣΑΒΕ Ω̄Ν ΤΕΘ̄Μ̄Ν̄
 32 ΤΡ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΩΗΤ̄ · ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΨ Σ̄Μ
 ΣΟΜ Ν̄ΣΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΨΟΔΝΕ Μ̄Π
 34 ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ · Η ΕΔΩ Ν̄Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄
 ΤΝΟΥΤΕ Η ΕΤΑΘΟΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ·
 Ρ̄Π̄Β̄
 ΕΨΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝΨ Σ̄Μ̄ΣΑΜ ΡΩ Ε
 2 ΤΑΘΕ Ν̄ΨΟΔΝΕ Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΡΗΘ ·
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΝΑΨ Μ̄ΜΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄
 4 ΝΟΥΤΕ · Η ΔΗΜ̄Π̄ΤΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄
 Ν̄ΛΠΗΘ̄Ε · ΕΨΔΕ ΝΕΤ̄Θ̄ΙΔ̄Μ̄
 6 ΠΚΑΘ ΜΟΤΙΣ ΕΝΣΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΕΤΝΑΘΟῩΘ̄Τ̄ Ν̄ΣΑ ΝΑ
 8 ΤΠΕ · ΔΥΘΩΝ̄Ω̄ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΚΟΣ
 ΜΟΣ Ν̄ΣΙ ΟΘΝΟΣ Ν̄ΑΜΑΘΤΕ Μ̄Ν̄
 10 ΟΘΝΟΣ Ν̄ΕΟΟΥ · ΔΘΩ ΠΩΝ̄Ω̄ Ν̄
 ΤΠΕ ΕΥΘΟΥΨ ΕΡ̄ ΠΤΗΡ̄Ῡ Β̄Β̄Ρ̄Ρ̄Ε
 12 ΕΤΡΕΥΝΟΥΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄

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- 111,19 Reduplication of Ν̄, as in Ν̄Ν̄ΛΠΗΘ̄Ε, is frequent in NH and other early Coptic texts. See Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1:120.
 111,19-20 This petition may suggest the writer's apprehension lest he has said something unworthy or insufficient about Christ's work in 110,14-111,13.
 111,22-32 Cf. 1 Cor 1:20-25.
 111,32-34 Cf. Wis 9:13.

Great C
 and for
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 for Div
 or (f) p
 or (f) a
 because
 Let him
 great bo
 For (γάρ)
 his (own
 counsels
 he preva
 understan
 to discov
 Almighty
 Divinity,
 112
 If we hav
 understan
 who will
 or (f) the
 the heav
 scarce
 who will s
 heaven?
 and Great
 known. A
 of Heaven
 that the ma

26 "Al
 (now
 frequ
 Cf. 1
 40 "Gre
 "Por

Great One of the heavens, hear my words
 20 and forgive me! Furthermore (πάλιν),
 he manifested a great zeal (σπουδή)
 22 for Divinity. Where is a man (who is) wise (σοφός)
 or (ἢ) powerful (δυνατός) in intelligence,
 24 or (ἢ) a man whose devices are many
 because he knows wisdom (σοφία)?
 26 Let him speak wisdom (σοφία); let him utter
 great boasting!
 28 For (γάρ) every man has become a fool and has spoken out of
 his (own) knowledge. For (γάρ) he (i.e., Christ) confounded the
 30 counsels of guileful people, and
 he prevailed over those wise in their own
 32 understanding. Who will be able
 to discover the counsel of the
 34 Almighty (παντοκράτωρ), or (ἢ) to speak of the
 Divinity, or (ἢ) to proclaim it correctly (καλῶς)?
 112
 If we have not even been able to
 2 understand the counsels of our companions,
 who will be able to comprehend the Divinity
 4 or (ἢ) the divinities of
 the heavens? If
 6 we scarcely (μόλις) find things on earth,
 who will search for the things of
 8 heaven? A Great Power
 and Great Glory has made the world (κόσμος)
 10 known. And the Life
 of Heaven wishes to renew all,
 12 that he may cast out that which is

111,34-35 "Almighty": The first of four occurrences of this theological title
 (παντοκράτωρ). Cf. 112,27; 113,3; 115,11. This title is used
 frequently in the LXX.
 112,1-8 Cf. Wis 9:14-17; Prov 30:2-4; Bar 3:29-37.
 112,8-10 "Great Power" . . . "Great Glory": Used here of Christ, not God.
 "Power" is a Christological title in 106,25.

14 ΕΤΡΕΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΠΙΡΕ Θ̄Ν ΘΕΝ
 Θ̄ΒCΩ Η̄ΤΕ ΑΠΗΘΕ · ΕΟΘΩΝΘ̄
 16 ΕΒΟΛ ΑΠΟΘΑΘ ΣΑΘΝΕ ΑΠΙΩΤ
 ΕΥΠ̄ΡΡΙΩΘ ΕΜΑΤΕ · ΑΘΩ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 18 † ΚΛΟΜ Η̄ΝΕΤΟΘΩΨ ΕΨΩΞΕ
 ΚΑΛΩC · ΕΡΕΠΕΧ̄C Θ̄ Η̄ΑΓΩΝΟ
 20 ΘΕΤΗΣ · ΠΕΝΤΑΥ† ΚΛΟΜ Η̄Θ
 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΤCΑΒΟ Η̄ΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 22 ΕΨΩΞΕ · ΠΑΪ Η̄ΤΑΥΨΩΞΕ Η̄
 ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΑΥΞΙ ΠΕΚΛΟΜ ΑΥΡ̄ ΞΩΩ
 24 ΡΕ ΑΥΟΘΩΝΘ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΡ̄ ΟΘΟΕΙΗ
 ΕΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ · ΠΤΗΡ̄Υ ΔΕ Η̄ΤΑΘ
 26 ΑΑΘ Β̄Β̄ΡΡΕ Θ̄Μ ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ ΕΤΟΘΑΔΒ
 ᾹΗ ΠΝΟΘC · ΠΞΟΕΙC Π̄ΠΑΝΤΟ
 28 ΚΡΑΤΩΡ †ΝΑ† ΝΑΚ ΟΘΗΡ Η̄
 ΕΟΟΘ · ΑΠΕΛΑΑΘ ΔΕ CΑΜCΟΜ
 30 Ε† ΕΟΟΘ ΑΠΝΟΘΤΕ Η̄ΘΕ ΕΤ̄Υ
 Θ̄ ᾹΜΟC · Η̄ΤΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΚ† ΕΟ
 32 ΟΘ ΑΠΕΚΛΟΓΟC ΕΤΟΘΞΕ ΟΘ
 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΠΝΑΗΤ̄ Η̄ΝΟΘΤΕ · ΠΕΝ
 34 ΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̄Η ΡΩΚ ΑΘΩ ΕΥΡΑΪ Θ̄Μ
 ΠΕΚΘΗΤ̄ · ΠΨΡ̄Π̄ ᾹΜΙCΕ ΤCΟ
 36 ΦΙΔ · ΠΨΡ̄Π̄ Η̄ΤΘΠΟC · ΠΨΟΡ̄Π̄

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- 112,13 "every black form": Cf. the "black raiment" in *Hermas Sim.* 9.15.3.
 112,16 "command of the Father": Cf. Rom 16:26; 1 John 3:23.
 112,17 ΕΥΠ̄ΡΡΙΩΘ: Taken here as modifying ΟΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ in line 14.
 112,17-25 The imagery of the athletic contest is rooted in the NT. Cf. 2 Tim 4:7-8; 1 Cor 9:14-15; Jas 1:12; also 2 *Clem* 7.1-3. It is also found extensively in the Alexandrian Fathers.
 112,19 "judge of the contest": Cf esp. Clement *Quis Div. Salv.* 3. Θ̄: For the circumflex here and in line 31 see 105,10, and note.
 112,26 On the Holy Spirit's role of renewing the inner nature, cf. 2 Cor 4:13 - 5:5; Tit 3:5.
 112,27 "Mind": Probably a title for Christ. Cf. *Diogn.* 9.6.
 112,29-31 Literally: "No one has been able to glorify God in the way which He is."

weak and every black form (σχῶμα),
 14 that everyone may shine forth with great brilliance in
 heavenly garments in order to make manifest
 16 the command of the Father,
 and that he may
 18 crown those wishing to contend
 well (καλῶς). Christ (Χριστός), being judge of the contest (ἀγωνοθέτης),
 20 is he who crowned every one,
 teaching every one
 22 to contend. This one who contended
 first received the crown, gained dominion,
 24 and appeared, giving light
 to everyone. And (δέ) all were
 26 made new through the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 and the Mind (νοῦς). O Lord Almighty (παντοκράτωρ),
 28 how much glory shall I give you?
 No one (+ δέ) has been able
 30 to glorify God adequately.
 It is you who have given glory
 32 to your Word (λόγος) in order to save
 everyone, O Merciful God! (It is) he who
 34 has come from your mouth and has risen from
 your heart, the Firstborn, the Wisdom (σοφία),
 36 the Prototype (τύπος), the First

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- 112,31-33 Like Paul (e.g., Eph 3:16; Rom 1:23; 3:7.23; 6:4), our author understands "glory" as that which properly belongs to God (cf. 112,27-30; 114,19-32). God, in turn, is the source of Christ's own "glory" (112,31-32; 113,2; 112,9-10), a view akin to Johannine teaching (e.g., John 8:54; 13:31-32; 17:1-5,22,24).
- 112,33-35 The author's assertion that the Logos (= Christ) has "come from (God's) mouth" may reflect the Late Stoic and Philonic doctrine of the λόγος προφορικός. As a Christological concept cf. Theophilus *Ad Autoly.* 2.22. For discussion see the Introduction.
- 112,35 "Firstborn": Cf. Rom 8:29; Col 1:15; Heb 1:6; used of personified Wisdom as the first created being in Sir 1:4; 24:9. "Wisdom": Cf. 106,23, and note.
- 112,36 "Prototype": Cf. Origen *Hom. in Num.* 3.4; *Cels.* 8.17; *Comm. in Joh.* 2.2.18 (2).

Ἰ̅ο̅σο̅ει̅ν · ο̅σο̅ει̅ν τ̅αρ̅ πε̅ ε̅βο̅α

ρ̅π̅

2 ὧ̅ν̅ τ̅σο̅μ̅ ἡ̅τε̅ π̅νο̅σ̅τε̅ · ἀ̅σω̅ ο̅σ̅
 2 ρ̅ε̅ϕ̅ε̅ πε̅ ἡ̅τε̅ πε̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅το̅σ̅α̅α̅β̅
 4 μ̅π̅π̅α̅ν̅το̅κ̅ρα̅τ̅ω̅ρ̅ · ἀ̅σω̅ †α̅λ̅
 4 ε̅το̅σ̅α̅α̅β̅ πε̅ ἡ̅τε̅νε̅ρ̅γ̅ια̅ μ̅π̅
 6 π̅νο̅σ̅τε̅ · ἀ̅σω̅ θ̅ι̅κ̅ω̅ν̅ πε̅ ἡ̅τε̅ϕ̅
 6 μ̅π̅τ̅α̅γ̅α̅θ̅ο̅ς̅ · κα̅ι̅ τ̅αρ̅ πο̅σο̅ει̅ν̅
 8 ἡ̅τε̅ πο̅σο̅ε̅[ι̅]ν̅ πε̅ ψ̅α̅ ε̅νε̅ρ̅ · θ̅ο̅
 8 ρ̅α̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ πε̅ ε̅τ̅σω̅ψ̅τ̅ ἡ̅ς̅α̅ π̅ι̅α̅τ̅η̅α̅σ̅
 10 ε̅ρο̅ϕ̅ ἡ̅ει̅ω̅τ̅ · ε̅ϕ̅ρ̅δ̅ι̅α̅κ̅ο̅ν̅ι̅ ἡ̅
 10 ο̅σο̅ει̅ψ̅ ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ · ἀ̅σω̅ ε̅ϕ̅μ̅ο̅σ̅η̅ς̅
 12 ὧ̅μ̅ πο̅σ̅ω̅ψ̅ μ̅π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ · πε̅ν̅τ̅α̅σ̅
 12 ζ̅πο̅ϕ̅ ο̅σ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ὧ̅μ̅ π̅ω̅κ̅ ἡ̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ μ̅
 14 π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ · ο̅σ̅λ̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ς̅ τ̅αρ̅ ἡ̅ν̅α̅τ̅α̅
 14 μ̅α̅ρ̅τε̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ϕ̅ πε̅ · ἀ̅σω̅ τ̅σο̅
 16 φ̅ι̅α̅ μ̅ἡ̅ π̅ω̅η̅ρ̅ πε̅ · ἡ̅ζ̅ω̅ο̅ν̅ τ̅η̅
 16 ρ̅ο̅σ̅ μ̅ἡ̅ ἡ̅ς̅ο̅μ̅ ε̅ϕ̅τ̅ἡ̅ρ̅ο̅ ἀ̅σω̅ ε̅ϕ̅
 18 σ̅α̅ἡ̅ψ̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ · κα̅τ̅α̅ θ̅ε̅ ε̅τε̅
 18 ρ̅ε̅τ̅ψ̅ο̅χ̅η̅ τ̅ἡ̅ρ̅ο̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅μ̅ε̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ τ̅η̅
 20 ρ̅ο̅σ̅ · ε̅ϕ̅α̅μ̅α̅ρ̅τε̅ μ̅π̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ϕ̅ ὧ̅ν̅
 20 τ̅σο̅μ̅ ἀ̅σω̅ ε̅ϕ̅τ̅ἡ̅ρ̅ο̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ ·
 22 ἡ̅το̅ϕ̅ τ̅αρ̅ πε̅ τ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅σ̅ε̅ι̅τε̅ ἀ̅σω̅
 22 θ̅α̅ν̅ ἡ̅ο̅σ̅ο̅ν̅ ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ · ε̅ϕ̅ρ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅
 24 π̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ϕ̅ ἀ̅σω̅ ε̅ϕ̅κ̅ω̅τε̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ ·
 24 ϕ̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅ε̅ δ̅ε̅ ρ̅α̅ ο̅σ̅ο̅ν̅ ἡ̅ι̅μ̅ ἀ̅σω̅ ϕ̅ρ̅α̅
 26 ψ̅ε̅ · ἀ̅σω̅ ο̅ν̅ ϕ̅ρ̅ ρ̅η̅β̅ε̅ · ϕ̅ρ̅ ρ̅η̅β̅ε̅
 26 μ̅ε̅ν̅ ρ̅α̅ νε̅ν̅τ̅α̅σ̅κ̅λ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅σ̅ ε̅π̅το̅
 πο̅ς̅ ἡ̅τ̅κ̅ο̅λ̅α̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ · ϕ̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅ε̅ δ̅ε̅

112,37 - 113,7 A hymn about personified Wisdom from Wisdom 7:25-26 here transformed into a hymn about Christ. Similar adaptations of this passage occur in the Alexandrian fathers. For discussion see the Introduction.

113,6-7 “Light of the Eternal Light”: Cf. 115,9-16, and note.

113,7-9 “He is the eye . . .”: Cf. Clement *Strom.* 7.5.4-6.

113,10 μ̅ο̅σ̅η̅ς̅: Cf. 115,6. This verb probably has to do here with Christ’s work in creating the world and/or its creatures.

Light. For (γάρ) he is light from

113

the power of God, and

2 he is an emanation of the pure glory
of the Almighty (παντοκράτωρ).

4 He is the spotless mirror of the working (ἐνέργεια)
of God, and he is the image (εἰκὼν) of his

6 goodness (-ἀγαθός). For (γάρ) he is also (καί) the Light
of the Eternal Light. He is the eye (ὄρασις)

8 which looks at the invisible
Father, always serving (διακονεῖν)

10 and forming
by the Father's will. He

12 alone was begotten by the Father's good pleasure.

For (γάρ) he is an incomprehensible Word (λόγος),

14 and he is Wisdom (σοφία)
and Life. He vivifies and

16 nourishes all living things (ζῶον) and powers.
Just as (κατά)

18 the soul (ψυχή) gives life to all the members (μέλος),
he rules all with

20 power and gives life to them.

For (γάρ) he is the beginning and

22 the end of every one, watching over
all and encompassing them.

24 He (+ δέ) is troubled on behalf of everyone, and he rejoices
and also mourns. On the one hand (μέν), he mourns

26 for those who have gotten as their lot (κληροῦν) the place (τόπος)
of punishment (κόλασις); on the other (δέ), he is troubled

113,13-20 The doxology to Christ continues with reference to his being Logos, Wisdom, and Life (cf. 106,22-25). As the "incomprehensible Word" (113,13), Christ's real essence is beyond mortal comprehension (cf. 116,24-30). There are both knowable and unknowable aspects of the Son (cf. 101,13-15).

113,15-19 On the analogy of the soul's vivifying the body as similar to Christ's vivifying and working in all, cf. Origen *Princ.* 2.8.5.

113,21-22 "the beginning and the end": Cf. Rev. 22:13; Clement *Paed.* 6.36.1; and Origen *Comm. in Joh.* 1.22.

- 28 ρα οσον νιμ ναϊ ετ̄ϕεινε μ
μοοϑ εροσν ετ̄σβω ρ̄η οσϕ̄ι
- 30 σε · ϕραϕε δε ρα οσον νιμ ετ
ϣοοπ ρ̄μ πτ̄ββο · αρεϑ σε εροκ
- 32 μηπως ν̄τρε ετοσσοτ̄ ν̄νι
λησθις · ασω μ̄π̄ρ† ν̄οσϕ̄ι
- 34 νηβ ν̄νεκβαλ · οσδε μ̄π̄ρ† ν̄
νοσρεκρ[ι]κε ν̄νεκβαροσ · σε
- 36 καας εκενοσρ̄μ ν̄θε ν̄οσσοϑ
σε ερενελω · ασω ν̄θε ν̄οσ
ρ̄ιΔ
- 2 ραλητ̄ εσπαϣϑ · ϣωσε μ̄π
νοσ ν̄ατ̄ων ρεωσ πατ̄ων καατ̄
- 4 ερραϊ · ερεν̄δσναμικ τηροσ
ειορ̄μ ν̄σωκ [ν]ετοσδαβ δε
- 6 οσδασ αν αλλα ν̄κεδσναμικ τη
ροσ μ̄παντικιμ[ε]νοσ · οσοει
- 8 νακ εσϣανζρο [ε]ροκ ν̄τ̄μητε
ν̄οσον νιμ ετ̄σαϣ̄τ̄ ν̄σωκ ·
- 10 εκϣανϣωσε μ̄πατ̄ων ασω
ν̄τ̄ζρο ανδσναμικ ετ̄† οσβηκ
- 12 κνακω ν̄οσνοσ ν̄ραϕε ν̄οσον
νιμ ετοσδαβ · ασω κνακω ν̄
- 14 οσνοσ ν̄ρ̄ηβε ν̄νεκζαδε πεκ
ατ̄ωμοθεθις τηρ̄ϕ ρ̄βονηει
εϑοσωϣ ετ̄ρεκζρο · σωτ̄μ πα

113,33

“robbers”: Cf. 85,2,14, and note to 85,2-3.

113,33 - 114,1

A literal citation of the LXX text of Prov 6:4-5. Cf. Origen's use of the same passage from Proverbs to encourage prayerful vigilance in his *Comm. in Rom.* 10.5.

113,35

ν̄νεκβαροσ: βαροσ is a hitherto unattested form of βοσρε (= βλέφαρον, Crum, 48a). Schenke (Review of *Facsimile Edition*, 135) suggests that it may be an old dual form of the substantive. The form βαρ(ρ)οσϑε occurs in P. Bodmer VI (Kasser, *Complements*, 96). We have here an echo of Prov 6:4-5.

114,1-15

Cf. 112,17-25, and notes.

- 28 about every one whom he arduously brings
to instruction.
- 30 But (δέ) he rejoices over everyone who
is in purity. Then beware,
- 32 lest somehow (μήπως) you fall into the hands of the
robbers (λησστής). Do not allow sleep
- 34 to your eyes nor (οὐδέ)
slumber to your eyelids, that
- 36 you may be saved like a gazelle
from snares and like a
114
bird from a trap. Fight the
2 great fight (ἀγών) as long as (ἕως) the fight (ἀγών) lasts,
while all the powers (δύναμις) are
4 staring after you — not only (+ δέ) the holy ones,
but (ἀλλά) also all the powers (δύναμις)
6 of the Adversary (ἀντικείμενος). Woe
to you if you are vanquished in the midst
8 of every one who is watching you!
If you fight the fight (ἀγών) and
10 are victorious over the powers (δύναμις) which fight against you,
you will bring great joy to every
12 holy one, and yet
great grief to your enemies. Your
14 judge (ἀγωνοθέτης) helps (βοηθεῖν) (you) completely
since he wants you to be victorious. Listen, my

114,1 **παϣϣϣ**: A variant of **παϣϣϣ** (Crum, 277a), hitherto unattested. See the comments of Kahle (*Bala'izah* 1:136) on the tendency to write **ϣϣ** for **ϣϣ** in some early Coptic texts. Cf., also, on words ending in **-ϣ**, Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, §122.

114,1-2 Cf. 1 Tim 6:12.

114,11-13 Literally: “. . . you will bring great joy to everyone who is holy, and yet you will bring great grief to your enemies.”

114,13-15 Christ, the Judge of the contest, is one who “helps” (cf. 96,32 - 97,3). Cf. Ps 35:1-2; Origen *Princ.* 3.2.5; *Act. Thom.* 39.

16 ΨΗΡΕ ΔΘΩ ΜΠΡΩΠΕ ΕΚΩΣΚ
 ΩΝ ΝΕΚΜΑΔΔΕ · ΤΩΩΝ ΜΜΟΚ
 18 ΕΡΡΑΪ ΕΔΚΚΩ ΝΩΚ ΜΠΕΚΡΜΝ
 ΔΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΔΕΤΟΣ · ΔΡΙ ΖΟΤΕ ΩΗ
 20 ΤΥ ΜΠΝΟΩΤΕ ΩΡΑΪ ΩΝ ΝΕΚΠΡΑΖΙΣ
 ΤΗΡΟΩ · ΔΘΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΓΤΜ ΦΩΒ ΕΤ
 22 ΝΑΝΟΩΥ † ΕΟΟΩ ΜΠΝΟΩΤΕ ·
 ΕΚΟΟΩΝ ΖΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΡ Δ
 24 ΝΑΥ ΔΗ ΜΠΝΟΩΤΕ · ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΤΑ
 ΚΟ ΠΕ · ΥΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΡΑΪ ΕΠΝΟΩΝ
 26 ΝΑΜΝΤΕ · Ω † ΜΠΤΡΑΡΩΩΗΤ
 ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΩΤΕ ΕΤΡΑΝΕΧΕ ΝΟΩ
 28 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ · ΤΑΪ ΕΤΟΩΩΨ ΕΤΡΕΟΩ
 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΟΩΖΑΪ · ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΩΨΩΠΕ
 30 ΩΑ ΠΝΟΒΕ · ΑΛΛΑ ΜΜΝ ΛΑΔΩ ΡΚΩ
 ΛΘΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡ ΠΕΤΥΟΩΔΩΨΥ ·
 32 ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΩΩΡΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΕΚΑ
 ΔΣ ΕΥΝΑΡΚΩΛΘΕ ΜΜΟΥ · ΕΨ
 34 ΖΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΩΩΩ ΕΠΚΑΩ ΕΥ
 ΤΡΕΥΩΤΩΤ · ΔΘΩ ΟΝ ΕΥΤΡΕ
 36 ΝΤΟΩΕΙΗ † ΚΑΠΝΟΣ · ΠΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΟΩΩΩ ΕΩΩΩΝ ΝΘΑΛΑΩΑ

ρ[π]ε

Ν†ΔΕΙΗ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΔΑΩΚΟΣ · ΔΘΩ

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- 114,15-26 A series of five admonitions is followed by a summary statement regarding the fate of those who do not heed such advice, and experience ultimate condemnation.
 114,16-17 Cf. Sir 5:11; Jas 1:19.
 114,17-19 An alternate translation, less faithful to the Coptic word order: "Raise yourself up like the eagle when you have left your old man behind." Cf. Ps 102(103):5; Isa 40:31. There is no need to find a spiritual resurrection in the present (*pace* Zandee, *Teachings*, 444-45). "old man": Cf. Rom. 6:6; Eph 4:22-23; Col 3:9-10.
 114,21-22 Cf. 1 Pet 2:12; Matt 5:16; John 15:8; 1 Cor 10:31.
 114,23-24 Cf. Rom 8:7-8.
 114,26-30 Cf. 1 Pet 3:9.

16 son, and do not be slow
 with your ears. Raise yourself
 18 up when you have left your old man behind
 like an eagle (ἀετός). Fear
 20 God in all your acts (πρᾶξις),
 and glorify him through
 22 good work.
 You know that every man who is
 24 not pleasing to God is the son of perdition.
 He will go down to the Abyss
 26 of the Underworld. O (ὦ) this patience
 of God, which bears with (ἀνέχειν)
 28 every one, which desires that
 every one who has become
 30 subject to sin be saved! But (ἀλλά) no one prevents (κωλύειν)
 him (i.e., God) from doing what he wants.
 32 For (γάρ) who is stronger than him, that
 he may prevent him? To be sure,
 34 it is he who touches the earth,
 causing it to tremble and also causing
 36 the mountains to smoke (-καπνός). (It is) he who has
 gathered together such a great sea (θάλασσα)

1[1]5

as in a leather bag (ἀσκός) and

114,30 - 115,2 In a manner characteristic of Jewish wisdom literature (e.g., Job 36:24 - 37:24; 30:4 - 39:30; Prov 8:22-31; Wis 11:21-26; Sir 16:26 - 17:20), the author affirms the omnipotence of God by reference to the sphere of nature: earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, the immeasurable greatness of earth's waters. Questions about who is stronger than God also appear in wisdom writings, e.g., Job 9:3; 42:2; Sir 39:18; Wis 11:21.

114,34-36 A free paraphrase of Ps (103)104:32.

114,36 - 115,2 A loose combination of the LXX versions of Ps 33:7a and Isa 40:12.

115,1 ΔΕΙΗ: A hitherto unattested form of ΔΕΙΗΣ (Crum, 2a). It also occurs in *Tri. Trac* 64,31.

- 2 has weighed all the water on his scales.
Only the hand of the Lord
- 4 has created all these things.
For (γάρ) this hand of the Father is Christ (Χριστός),
- 6 and it forms all.
Through it, all has come into being
- 8 since it became the mother of all.
For (γάρ) he is always
- 10 Son of the Father.
Consider (νοεῖν) these things about God: the Almighty (παντοκρότωρ)
- 12 who always exists
did not always
- 14 reign (as if) he might not (μήπως)
be in need of the
- 16 divine (θεῖος) Son. For (γάρ) all dwell
in God, (that is), the things which have come into being
- 18 through the Word (λόγος), who is
the Son as the image (εἰκὼν) of the Father.

-
- 115,3-8 Discussion of the demonstration of God's omnipotence in nature now leads to comments on creation in general and the instrument thereof in particular. The instrument is Christ, called by names given in biblical literature to personified Wisdom.
- 115,3 "hand of the Lord": Cf. Wis 11:17a; Isa 48:13; 66:1-2a.
- 115,8 "mother of all": Cf. Sir 15:2a.
- 115,9-16 On this passage see van den Broek, "Theology," 13-16, and the Introduction. This is a clearer statement of the Son's co-eternality than 113,6-7.
- 115,13-15 Funk emends 115,13 to read: εγε <αν>, and translates: "Bedenke doch, dass Gott, der Allmachtige, der allzeit existiert, zu keiner Zeit existierte, <ohne> König zu sein—damit (du) nicht (15) (denkst, dass) er des göttlichen Sohnes bedurfe!"
- 115,17-18 Cf. John 1:3.
- 115,19 Cf. 113,5; also 2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15.

20 τε γαρ πετρηνη εροση ασω εγ
 οσηοσ εβολ αν · αρηζ̄ϥ ηημ η̄
 22 θειον νε η̄ρ̄μ̄ϑ̄η̄ηεῑ απνοσ
 τε · ερεψ̄αν̄πῑθειον̄ σε̄ ϥη̄ η̄μ̄
 24 μακ ϑ̄η̄ οσρωβ εβολ ϑ̄η̄ οσμε
 ροσ · ᾱμε̄ δε̄ π̄θειον̄ τηρ̄ϥ
 26 τητ̄ η̄ρητ̄ η̄μ̄μακ · μαρε̄ πε
 εθιον̄ δε̄ ωκ̄ η̄ρητ̄ ᾱμ̄η̄ λα
 28 ασ̄ απονηροσ · η̄τοϥ̄ γαρ̄ πετ̄
 † σ̄βω̄ η̄ρωμε̄ ηημ̄ εσ̄πετ̄
 30 ηαποσϥ · παη̄ πε̄ η̄ταπνοσ
 τε̄ τααϥ̄ απ̄γενοσ̄ η̄η̄ρωμε̄
 32 δεκαδ̄σ̄ ετ̄βε̄ πᾱη̄ ε̄ρερωμε̄
 ηημ̄ ηαψ̄ωπε̄ εϥσοτ̄π̄ ᾱ
 34 πεμτο̄ [εβ]ο̄λ̄ η̄η̄ᾱγγελοσ̄
 τηροσ̄ ᾱη̄ η̄ᾱρχαγγελοσ̄
 36 απ̄νοσ̄τε̄ γαρ̄ ψ̄αατ̄ αν̄ ε
 τ̄ρεϥ̄ρ̄δοσ̄ιμᾱζε̄ η̄λαασ̄
 ρ̄η̄σ̄
 η̄ρωμε̄ · ϥ̄σοσ̄η̄ η̄ρωβ̄ ηημ̄
 2 ϑαθ̄η̄ εμ̄πατοσ̄ψ̄ωπε̄ · ασ̄ω
 ϥ̄σοσ̄η̄ η̄νεθ̄η̄η̄ η̄τε̄ φ̄ητ̄ ·
 4 σεσολεπ̄ δε̄ εβολ̄ τηροσ̄ ασ̄ω
 σεψ̄αατ̄ η̄η̄ᾱϥ[ρα]ϥ̄ · απ̄η̄ρ̄τ̄ρε
 6 λαασ̄ ρ̄οοσ̄ ε̄νε[ρ̄]ε̄ π̄νοσ̄τε̄
 ε̄ η̄η̄ᾱτ̄σοσ̄η̄ · οσ̄δικᾱιον̄ γαρ̄
 8 αν̄ πε̄ ε̄νε̄ε̄ π̄η̄μ̄ιοσ̄τορ̄γοσ̄ η̄
 σ̄ωη̄τ̄ ηημ̄ ϑ̄η̄ οσ̄ απ̄η̄ᾱτ̄σοσ̄η̄ ·
 10 καῑ γαρ̄ η̄ετ̄ψ̄οοπ̄ ϑ̄μ̄ π̄κακε̄
 εσ̄ϑατηϥ̄ απ̄σ̄μοτ̄ απ̄οσ̄ο
 12 ειη̄ · ᾱμ̄η̄ σελαασ̄ γαρ̄ ϑ̄η̄η̄ ει
 μη̄τῑ π̄νοσ̄τε̄ οσ̄ααϥ̄ · ϥ̄οσ̄ο
 14 η̄ϑ̄ δε̄ εβολ̄ η̄οσ̄ον̄ ηημ̄ · ασ̄ω
 ϥ̄ρη̄η̄ ε̄μᾱτε̄ · ϥ̄οσ̄ο̄η̄ϑ̄ δε̄ εβολ̄

- 115,20-35 The immanence of God in human life is demonstrated by individuals' possession of "divine limits" (cf. Acts 17:27), providing moral guidance. For a similar teaching see Clement *Strom.* 2.109.1.
- 116,5-11 A refutation of Gnostic claims that the Demiurge is an inferior deity who created the world in ignorance. For discussion see the Introduc-

16 ετβε δε πνοϣτε σοοϣν μ̄
 πτηρ̄ϣ̄ · καθ̄ εϣωδαντ̄μοϣωϣ
 18 εζοοϣ ϣεναδπιουϣ εβολ ϣ̄ι
 τ̄μ ποϣρη̄τ̄ · ϣρηπ δε ετβε
 20 δε μ̄μ̄ν̄ λαδϣ ϣ̄νο̄ῑ ν̄ναπνοϣ
 τε · οϣατ̄ηρατ̄ϣ̄ ϣαρ πε δϣω
 22 οϣατ̄ρηετ̄ρωτ̄ϣ̄ πε εσοϣων
 πϣοδνε μ̄πνοϣτε · παλιν
 24 ϣμοκ̄ϣ̄ ν̄ηρατ̄ϣ̄ · δϣω ϣμοκ̄ϣ̄
 ν̄β̄ν̄ πεχ̄ϣ̄ · ν̄τοϣ ϣαρ πετοϣ
 26 ηϣ ϣ̄ν̄ τοποϣ η̄μ̄ δϣω οη εϣ
 ϣ̄ν̄ τοποϣ αν̄ · μ̄μ̄ν̄̄ λαδϣ ϣαρ
 28 εϣοϣωϣ η̄αϣ̄ β̄μ̄βομ̄ εσοϣ
 ων πνοϣτε ν̄θε̄ ε[τ]̄ϣ̄ωοοπ
 30 μ̄μοϣ · οϣτε πεχ̄ϣ̄ οϣτε
 πεπ̄ν̄ᾱ · οϣτε π̄χοροϣ ν̄η̄
 32 [α]ϣτελοϣ οϣδε η̄αρχαϣτε

ρ̄ιζ̄

λοϣ μ̄η̄ νεθρονο[ϣ] ν̄ηεπ̄ν̄ᾱ
 2 δϣω μ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ζοειϣ ετ̄ζοϣε
 δϣω πνο[ϣ] ν̄ηοϣϣ · εκϣ̄τ̄μ̄
 4 ϣοϣ[ω]ν̄τ̄ ϣ̄τα[ακ] ν̄τ̄ηαϣ̄ β̄μ̄βομ̄
 αν̄ ν̄ϣοϣων [η]ᾱῑ τηροϣ · οϣων
 6 η̄ακ μ̄προ ζ[εκ]αδϣ εκηαϣοϣ
 ων πετ̄ω[ο]π̄ · τ̄ωϣ̄μ̄ εροϣη
 8 εροκ οϣαδκ ζεκαδϣ ερεπ̄λο
 ϣοϣ η̄αοϣων η̄ακ · ν̄τοϣ ϣαρ

116,16

The η in πνοϣτε is written as a correction over an original τ.

116,16-17

“God knows all”: Funk suggests that there is a translation error in the Coptic here, and translates: “weil Gott am All erkannt wird.”

116,21-23

Cf. Rom 11:33-34.

116,23

“The counsel of God”: Or: “the purpose (design) of God.”

116,24-25

Literally: “. . . it is difficult to comprehend him, and it is difficult to find Christ.”

116,27 - 117,3

The author summarizes his thoughts about the inscrutability of the Divine and underscores the limitedness of human knowledge about other heavenly and spiritual beings.

16 because God knows
 all. And if (κᾶν) they do not wish
 18 to affirm it, they will be corrected by
 their heart. Now (δέ) he is hidden because
 20 no one perceives (νοεῖν) the things of God.
 For (γάρ) it is incomprehensible and
 22 unfathomable to know
 the counsel of God. Furthermore (πάλιν),
 24 it is difficult to comprehend him, and
 to find Christ (Χριστός). For (γάρ) he is the one who dwells
 26 in every place (τόπος), and also he is
 in no place (τόπος). For (γάρ) no one
 28 who wants to will be able to know
 God as he actually is,
 30 nor (οὐδέ) Christ (Χριστός), nor (οὐδέ)
 the Spirit (πνεῦμα), nor (οὐδέ) the chorus (χορός) of
 32 angels (ἄγγελος), nor (οὐδέ) even the archangels (ἀρχάγγελος),
 117
 as well as the thrones (θρόνος) of the spirits (πνεῦμα),
 2 and the exalted lordships,
 and the Great Mind (νοῦς). If you do not
 4 know [yourself], you will not be able
 to know all of these. Open
 6 the door for yourself that you may know
 the One who is. Knock on
 8 yourself that the Word (λόγος)
 may open for you. For (γάρ) he

117,3 "Great Mind": Probably Satan (cf. 96,9-10).

117,5-9 The metaphors of knocking on the self and having the Logos (Christ) open the door to knowledge and understanding also appear in Clement (*Strom.* 8.1.2) and Origen (*Princ.* 2.9.4).

117,8 The word (λόγος): Elsewhere in our tractate λόγος denotes human reason, the innate and divine principle of rationality possessed by all human beings (92,15-27) which enables one to live virtuously and to be pleasing to God. But it is also a title applied to Christ (106,24; 115,5; 112,32; 113,13; 115,8), who alone can reveal God's true nature (100,23-27). Thus, in 117,3-23 the term logos/Logos seems to denote both human reason and Christ.

10 is the Ruler of Faith (πίστις) and
 the Sharp Sword, having become all
 12 for everyone because he wishes
 to have mercy on every one. My son,
 14 prepare yourself to escape from the world-
 rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ) of darkness and of
 16 this kind of air (ἀήρ) which is full of powers (δύναμις).
 But (δέ) if you have
 18 Christ (Χριστός), you will conquer this entire world (κόσμος).
 That which you will open
 20 for yourself, you will open.
 That which you will knock upon for yourself, you will
 22 knock upon, benefiting (ὠφελεῖν) yourself.
 Help yourself, my son,
 24 (by) not proceeding with things in which
 there is no profit. My son,
 26 first purify yourself toward the outward life (πολιτεία)
 in order that you may be able
 28 to purify the inward. And
 be not as the merchants
 30 of the Word of God. Put
 all words to the test (δοκιμάζειν) first
 32 before you utter them.

117,13-15 Cf. Eph 6:12.

117,18 Cf. 1 John 5:4-5; John 16:33; Col 2:20.

117,23-25 To avoid activities "in which there is no profit" is a pragmatic aphorism found in wisdom literature, e.g., in Wis 5:8; Sir 30:23; 34:23-26; cf. Mark 8:36 par.

117,25 - 118,7 The author concludes his writing with a summary of his teaching in the form of a series of brief admonitions.

117,25-28 Cf. Ps 14:3-4a; 2 Cor 7:1; Jas 4:8b.

117,29-30 Cf. 2 Cor 2:17.

34 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\omega\psi$ $\epsilon\zeta\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\omega\sigma\epsilon$ ϵ
 $\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\eta\theta$ $\alpha\eta$ \cdot $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\rho}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}$
 $\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\alpha\beta[\epsilon]$ $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}$
 2 $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\lambda}\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\kappa\omega$ \cdot $\zeta\dot{\iota}$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\kappa$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\phi}\bar{\iota}\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\chi\bar{\sigma}$ $\bar{\eta}[\rho]\alpha\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\eta\eta\bar{\tau}$
 4 $\alpha\theta\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\alpha[\psi]$ $\alpha\theta\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\rho}$
 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}$ $\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\rho}\alpha\psi\eta[\rho]\epsilon$ \cdot $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\omega\sigma\eta$
 6 $\zeta\epsilon$ $\omega\theta\eta\eta\omega\theta$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}[\theta]\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\lambda}\psi$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$ $\tau\epsilon$
 $\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\omega\theta[\tau]\epsilon$: $\gg\gg\text{---}$ $\gg\gg\text{---}$ $\gg\gg\text{---}$
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8 $\Phi\Phi\Phi$ $\dot{\iota}\chi\theta\sigma$ $\theta\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ $\eta\eta\eta$
 $\alpha\mu\eta\chi\alpha\lambda\omega\eta$ \swarrow $\tau\sigma$

-
- 117,33-34 Cf. Matt 6:19-20; Jer 9:23-24.
 117,34 - 118,2 Cf. Wis 2:16; Hab. 2:5b; Prov 18:12.
 118,2-3 Cf. Matt 13:54 par.; Luke 2:40.52; 1 Cor 1:30; Col 2:2b-3.
 118,3-4 Cf. 1 Tim 1:16; 2; 2 Pet 3:15; Matt 11:29; 21:5.
 118,6-7 Cf. Isa 48:17

- 34 Do not wish to acquire honors which
are insecure, nor (οὐδέ)
118
the boastfulness which brings
2 you to ruin. Accept
the wisdom (σοφία) of Christ (Χριστός) (who is) patient
4 and mild, and guard
this, O (ὦ) my son, knowing
6 that God's way is always
profitable.
- 8 Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior (ΙΧΘΥΣ), Wonder (θαύμα)
Extraordinary (ἀμήχανον)

118,8-9

For discussion of the colophon see the Introduction. "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour" is a Greek acrostic, ΙΧΘΥΣ, "fish," a well-known Christian symbol. On the history of the fish symbol in early Christianity see F. Dölger, *ΙΧΘΥΣ: Das Fisch Symbol in frühchristlichen Zeit* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1928).

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INTRODUCTION TO VII,5 THE THREE STELES OF SETH

I. Title and Identification

The fifth tractate of codex VII is contained on the last nine inscribed pages of the codex (118,10 - 127,27). It remains unclear whether the scribal note or colophon that follows the text (127,28-32) refers to the tractate alone or to the codex as a whole.¹

The tractate bears the subscript title *The Three Steles of Seth* (127, 27). This title is firmly fixed by the division of the text into three clearly delineated sections or steles. The beginning of each stele is labeled with the appropriate superscript title: "The First Stele of Seth" (118,24-25), "The Second Stele of Seth" (121,19-20) and "The Third Stele of Seth" (124,16). In addition, the first two steles end with subscript titles identical to their respective superscript titles (121,16-17; 124,14-15). The subscript title of the tractate as a whole serves this function for the final stele.

The title, *The Three Steles of Seth*, also appears in the opening sentence of the tractate where the steles are designated as the content of a revelation to Dositheos. The use of the name Dositheos was meant to connect the document with the obscure Samaritan teacher of Simon Magus, the oft purported founder of Gnosticism. The occurrence of the name here, however, cannot be considered sufficient evidence to establish an historical link between the type of Gnosticism represented in the tractate (Sethian) and Samaritan traditions.² It is rather more easily interpreted as a standard use of the literary device of pseudepigraphy. The purpose of this device, to strengthen the claims of the document by connecting it to a revered person of the past, argues that the author did indeed have the Samaritan Dositheos in mind. While the use of a literary device does not preclude an historical basis behind it, the superficial use of both the name Dositheos and the term "revelation" in *Steles Seth* argues against it. Both appear as part of a secondary veneer. Dositheos appears only once in the introduction. The term "revelation" occurs

¹ Most scholars have assumed the latter possibility as the most likely: Tardieu; Robinson, in *NHLE*, 1st ed, 363; Claude, 116. Wekel, 201-203, argues that it belongs to the tractate alone.

² Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 165-72; idem, "Gnostic Sethianism," 592-93; Wekel, 75-77; Puech, 124-25; Tardieu, 551; Claude, 3.

twice, once in the introductory phrase “the revelation of Dositheos” (118,10) and a second time at the very end of the text where it appears as an addendum or gloss (127,25-26).³

II. Religious Historical Context

The title of the tractate, *The Three Steles of Seth*, reflects both the Jewish and Neoplatonic background of the text. In Genesis the story of Seth marks a new beginning after the tragic conflict between Cain and Abel (Gen 4:25-5:8). Seth was appointed by God to replace Abel while Cain was marked and sent away. Seth was a son in the likeness and image of his father Adam as Adam was in the likeness of God. It was in Seth’s time that “men began to call upon the name of the Lord” (Gen 4:26).

The account is carried further by Josephus (*Ant. I. 67-71*), who reports that Seth’s descendents continued to transmit the revelations of God to Adam and further advanced man’s knowledge through the discovery of astrology. They imitated Seth’s god-fearing ways for seven generations after which they too succumbed to a life of depravity. Certain Gnostics identified their teachings with the primal revelation of God to Adam which had passed through Seth to his descendants (NHC V,5: *Apoc. Adam*). These Gnostics understood themselves as the true latter-day descendants of Seth, “the living and unshakable race” (118,12-13). Their reemergence in the end time was the result, in part, of the revelation of the long lost Gnosis in such works as *Steles Seth*.

The influence of Neoplatonism is indicated in the title by the number three. In Josephus’ account the descendants of Seth erected two steles on which to preserve their discoveries for future generations. Two steles, one of brick and one of stone, were required so that at least one was guaranteed to survive the destructions of the world by flood and fire predicted in Adam’s revelation to Seth. In *Steles Seth* the number of steles is increased to three to correspond to Neoplatonic speculations about the triadic nature of God. Each stele contains a hymn to one of the threefold natures of the divine.

While Jewish and Neoplatonic influences are seen to pervade the text, *Steles Seth* contains no clear Christian elements. This is true for a number of texts from Nag Hammadi in general and for those in the Sethian corpus in particular.⁴ While *Steles Seth* certainly dates from

³ Robinson, “The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus,” 133. Claude, who carefully distinguishes two redactions of the text (9-12), does not view the second use of the term “revelation” at the very end of the text as secondary.

⁴ Schenke, “Gnostic Sethianism,” 607-12.

after the rise of Christianity, it comes from a Gnostic tradition that has experienced its own development independent of it.

The characterization of Seth and his race outlined above form a core part of the mythological framework of a form of Gnosticism labeled Sethian.⁵ *Steles Seth* is but one of a sizeable number of texts contained in the Nag Hammadi collection that have been identified as Sethian. These include *Ap. John* (II,1; III,1; IV,1) *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4), *Gos. Eg.* (III,2; IV,2), *Apoc. Adam* (V,5), *Steles Seth* (VII,5), *Zost.* (VIII,1), *Melch.* (IX,1), *Norea* (IX,2), *Marsanes* (X,1), *Allogenes* (XI,3), and *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1).⁶ While the self-understanding of the communities behind these texts as representing the latter-day race or seed of Seth is central to Sethian Gnosticism, the shared features reach far beyond this alone. Numerous mythological names and patterns are held in common by the group. While the various Sethian tractates may differ in particulars, they are marked by their general agreement over against the other Gnostic systems. As a result, knowledge assumed by one text can often be found explicated more clearly in another.

Quite naturally certain texts are related more closely to one another than to the remaining members of the group. Thus the philosophical terminology prevalent in *Steles Seth* connects it rather closely with *Zost.*, *Allogenes* and *Marsanes*.⁷ The absence of the typical Gnostic dualism in *Steles Seth* has been recognized as well in *Allogenes* and *Marsanes*.⁸ The origin of the divine triad of the Unbegotten, Barbelo and the Self-begotten, to whom the liturgical hymns in *Steles Seth* are addressed, is detailed in the classic Sethian cosmology preserved in *Ap. John*.⁹ The ascent of Seth to the three natures of God in *Steles Seth* is

⁵ Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 165-73; "Gnostic Sethianism," 588-616; F. Wisse, "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library," SBLASP (1972) 601-607; idem, "Stalking Those Elusive Sethians," in *Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, 563-76; K. Rudolph, "Die 'Sethianische' Gnosis—Eine häresiologische Fiktion?" in *Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, 577-78 and following discussion, 578-87; B. Pearson, "The Figure of Seth in Gnostic Literature," in Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 52-83; K. L. King, "The Quiescent Eye of the Revelation: Nag Hammadi Codex XI.3 *Allogenes*" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1984) 23-24; Claude, 4-5.

⁶ It is interesting to note that there is no apparently conscious collection of these tractates together in a particular Nag Hammadi codex. *Steles Seth* may be the last tractate of codex VII simply because it fit the remaining space, or it may have been added because the titles of VII,1 "The Paraphrase of Shem" and VII,2 "The Second Treatise of the Great Seth" suggested it. However, neither of these is Sethian. Thus at the time of the collection of these tractates into the Nag Hammadi codices, awareness of a particular Sethian system, or a least a desire to organize tractates according to it, is not apparent.

⁷ Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 612-16; B. Pearson, "Gnosticism as Platonism," in Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 148-64; idem, "The Tractate *Marsanes*," 373-84; Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus" 132-42.

⁸ Schenke, "Sethian Gnosticism," 614-15; Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 162-64.

⁹ *Ap. John* II 2,9-9,11; cf. *Gos. Eg.* III 41,7-43, 9.

paralleled in the ascents of *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos*,¹⁰ and the liturgical function of *Steles Seth* finds its closest parallel in the baptismal hymns preserved at the end of *Gos. Eg.* (III 66,8-68,1). These various subgroups within the Sethian corpus are not yet fully understood. While differences in the genre can explain certain relationships within the corpus, it is clear that Sethian Gnosticism as it survives in these texts represents various temporal and geographical points in the history of the group.¹¹

In spite of this difficulty, the existence of the Sethian corpus proves an invaluable aid in the interpretation of any one individual text. Thus the liturgical nature of *Steles Seth* assumes a knowledge of Sethian mythology more clearly delineated in other texts. As a result, references to various tractates from the Sethian corpus will occur in the analysis that follows. Such comparisons serve to fix *Steles Seth* within the larger mythological and cultic settings of the Sethian community.

III. Content and Source Analysis

The content of *Steles Seth* is outlined below.¹² While the division of this tractate into three sections or steles is clearly marked in the text, a careful, critical analysis of the various sections can further delineate the form of the composition. The divisions outlined below are minimal. In particular, the major section of each hymn, that portion which glorifies the form or nature of the deity to which the stele is addressed, is capable of further division and form analysis.¹³

- I. Incipit: Identification of the three steles 118,10-24
 - A. As a latter-day revelation to Dositheos 118,10-19
 - B. As Seth's glorification of the immeasurable majesties 118,20-23
- II. The First Stele 118,24-121,17
 - A. Prayer of Seth to Adamas 118,25-119,15a
 - B. Hymn to the Self-begotten 119,15b-121,16
 - 1. Invocation 119,15b-18a
 - 2. Glorification of the Self-begotten 119,18b-120,36
 - 3. Closing prayer 121,1-16
- III. The Second Stele 121,18-124,15
 - A. Hymn to Barbelo 121,20-124,13

¹⁰ Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 132-42.

¹¹ Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 593-97, 601.

¹² This outline is dependent, in part, on that produced by Claude, 12-15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 12-15, 85-86; Wekel, *passim*; Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 601.

1. Invocation 121,20-24
 2. Glorification of Barbelo 121,25-123,28
 3. Closing prayer 123,29-124,13
- IV. The Third Stele 124,16-127,27
- A. Expression of joy at reaching the highest level 124,17-21a
 - B. Hymn to the Unbegotten 124,21b-126,32a
 1. Invocation 124,21b-25a
 2. Glorification of the Unbegotten 124,25b-126,17
 3. Closing prayer 126,18-32a
 - C. Conclusion 126,32b-127,26

The introduction of *Steles Seth* serves to define the content of the tractate. It is reported to preserve the content of three steles composed by Seth in the distant past and transmitted to the community in the latter days through a revelation to Dositheos. This literary *topos*, namely the secreting of a primal revelation in the distant past in order to preserve it for later generations, is found elsewhere in the Sethian tractates from Nag Hammadi. *Zost.* (VIII 130,1-4) records the preservation of an ancient revelation on three tablets ($\pi\tau\sigma\zeta\omicron\text{C}$), and *Gos. Eg.* (III 68,10-23) reports the secreting of a book by Seth on the mountain Charaxio so that "the incorruptible, holy race of the great savior" might be revealed in the end time.¹⁴ *Steles Seth*, which belongs to the same type of Gnosticism represented by these texts, is to be understood in terms of these traditions. Although the content of the steles was revealed "relatively" recently to Dositheos, it preserves in reality the secret teachings of the group's primal ancestor Seth.

The introduction of the tractate as a latter-day revelation to Dositheos is set off from the content of the steles by a shift from the third person (Dositheos) to the first person (Seth) (118,20). The actual content of the revelation (i.e., the steles) begins with a reference to the author's (Seth's) frequent glorification of the immeasurable majesties through which he became worthy of them (118,20-23). The three sections or steles which follow represent this glorification of the immeasurable majesties.

All three hymic sections preserve a form that includes an invocation, the central body of the hymn or glorification of the aeon, and a closing prayer or benediction. This form is masked, however, by the inclusion

¹⁴ The transmission of knowledge on tablets revealed to the seer is, of course, not uniquely Sethian. Pachomius is reported to have received his monastic rule on tablets presented by an angel (Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 32.1). The Mormon religion was founded by Joseph Smith as a result of tablets revealed to him in upper-state New York (*Pearl of Great Price*, Writings of Joseph Smith 2.30-60).

of other elements in each of the three steles. These additional elements suggest a secondary redaction imposed upon the three original hymns.¹⁵ However, it is not clear whether this secondary redaction represents a second written stage beyond an original composition which consisted of the hymns in their original form, or whether it arose within the liturgical development of the community and the production of an etiological document to support it, i.e., *Steles Seth* in its present form.

The problem is clearly seen in the first stele. The hymn to the Self-begotten begins with the invocation, "Great is the good Self-begotten" (119,15-16). This is supported by the use of the same formal opening for the second stele (121,20-21). In the first stele, however, a lengthy prayer of Seth to his father Adamas (Geradamas)¹⁶ precedes the opening of the hymn (118,25-119,15a). The division between the opening prayer and the beginning of the hymn is not indicated in the text. It is discernable only on grounds of form. As a result, a casual reading leads to the simple identification of Adamas and the Self-begotten, the latter serving simply as another name or attribute of the former.¹⁷ The equation is supported by Seth's statement to Adamas in the prayer, "you are a Mirotheas; you are my Mirotheos" (119,11-13). In the later body of the hymn addressed to the Self-begotten, the statement "you are a Mirotheos" occurs (120,15).

While both references to Mirotheos (or Mirotheas) occur in sections of the first stele that have been identified as part of the secondary Sethian redaction,¹⁸ it must be noted that the divine triad to which the hymns are addressed apart from the "secondary" redaction is also an integral part of the Sethian mythology. *Steles Seth* addresses the hymns to the Unbegotten Father (stele 3), Barbelo (stele 2) and the Self-begotten (stele 1). At the beginning of the *Ap. John* (II 2,9-9,12) the emergence of the same primal triad of father, mother, and son (the Invisible Spirit, Barbelo, and the Self-begotten) is reported. Adamas (in *Ap. John*, Pigeradamas) is there connected to the primal triad. He came into being through the will of the invisible Spirit and the will of the Self-begotten (8,28-34). His son is, of course, Seth.

Adamas thus represents a stage of emanation derived in some manner from the Self-begotten.¹⁹ Elsewhere the two are closely linked. *Zost.*

¹⁵ The two redactional stages are delineated in detail by Claude, 9-12. Cf. idem, "Approche de la structure," 362-73. The nature and precise delineation of this secondary redaction is not always clear.

¹⁶ The various interpretations of ΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑΣ are given in the note to 118,26.

¹⁷ So Tardieu, 559; Wekel, 95-97.

¹⁸ Claude, 11-12.

¹⁹ The precise connection varies in the sources. See R. van den Broek, "Autogenes and

(VIII 30,4-6) reports that Adamas is the eye of the Self-begotten. *Gos. Eg.* (III 49, 16-19; cf. 65,13-15) records the mingling of the two together. The latter description suggests the identification of the two in certain Gnostic theological constructs. This being the case, the confusion caused to a modern interpreter by the apparent identification of Adamas and the Self-begotten in *Steles Seth* may not have caused the Gnostic any difficulty.

As for the dual use of Mirotheas/Mirotheos as a description of both Adamas and the Self-begotten, it is necessary to recognize the rather fluid nature of this figure in Sethian mythology. For example, in *Gos. Eg.* (III 49,1-8) Mirothea is the mother of Adamas, a figure distinct from the Self-begotten. It may indeed be the case that the various forms of this figure did not disturb the Sethian devotees. Their unity perhaps lay not in the particular name or description of the god or goddess but in his/her function. Mirotheas/Mirotheos is that aspect or portion of the divine ($\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$)²⁰ which functions to connect the primal triad with the Adamas/Seth stage of the Sethian myth. She represents the link between the primal triad and the perceptible world of the Gnostic represented by Adamas and Seth. In this functional capacity as the figure behind the emanation of Adamas, Mirotheas may simply be identified with the Self-begotten (*Steles Seth* 120,15). The reference to Adamas as a Mirotheos in Seth's prayer in *Steles Seth* is immediately qualified with the possessive article, "you are *my* Mirotheos" (119,11-12). The point being scored is the functional relationship of Adamas to Seth which corresponds with that of the Self-begotten to Adamas (cf. 119, 6-7). Thus Seth can use the name with reference to Adamas as his immediate link to the primal triad (119,11-12) and with reference to the Self-begotten as the ultimate link to the triad in the perceptible world (120,15).

In *Steles Seth* the three natures of God are addressed in ascending order, the order in which the Gnostic congregation would encounter them in their liturgical ascent from the perceptible world to the primal Father. The Self-begotten, the object of the first stele, is the divine nature as it is manifested in the perceptible world (119,31-34). It is he who has appeared in order to reveal the eternal ones, the ones who really are (119,22-27). As such, he is from another race (the pleroma)²¹ and is over yet another race (the seed of Seth) which he has caused to increase (120,1-9). He is triple-male (120,29-30), Father (120,26-27), a word

Adamas: The Mythological Structure of the Apocryphon of John," in Krause, *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, 16-25.

²⁰ Claude (68) derives it from $\mu\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\ +\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$; cf. Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*, 153; also Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 176-78.

²¹ Cf. Claude, 75-76; Wekel, 104-108.

from a command (120,27-28). He has empowered the Gnostic elect and saved them (120,31-35). He perfects and completes (121,2-7), is everywhere divided and yet one (121,8-11).

The second stele glorifies the "male virginal Barbelo, the first glory of the invisible Father" (121,21-23). The mother (though never so stated in *Steles Seth*) of the divine triad, she represents the link between the nature of the divine as non-being (the Father of all divinity) and its nature as manifested in the perceptible realm (the Self-begotten). She marks the beginning of multiplicity as the original divine unity began to reach beyond itself (123,4-11). As such she was first to see the pre-existent one (121,25-27). She remains closest to him, a shadow of him (122,13-14). Although she is hidden from the perceptible realm (122,14), she empowers the Gnostic elect so that they might be saved (123,33-124,1). She is Wisdom, Knowledge and Truthfulness (123,17-18). She is a triple-power (123,23), an all-perfect one (124,9). She is called fatherly god and divine child (123,6-7), titles that clearly reveal her central place between the Unbegotten Father and the Self-begotten Son. The titles may simultaneously reflect Barbelo's own trifold masculine nature (cf. 122,10-14) which appears in its parts in *Allogenes* (XI,3: 45,13-46,11) as the Hidden One, the First Appearer, and the Self-begotten. Such simultaneous use of the same titles for different members of the triad reflects the fact that each member participates in all natures of the triad, though each receives its basic title from its own predominant role in the triad (cf. Proclus, below p. 382).

The third stele exalts the really preexistent one, the Unbegotten, from whom the eternal ones, the aeons, the all-perfect ones and the perfect individuals (Gnostic elect) ultimately derive (124,18-25). He is non-being, existence which is before existences, Father of divinity and life, creator of mind, giver of good and blessedness (124,25-33). He is a living spirit (125,6), knowledge of whom is the salvation of "us" all (125,13-14). He commands, and the Gnostic elect is saved (125,14-17). He is beyond expression (125,26-27). His is the existence, life and mind of all (125,28-32). He exists within himself and is before himself (126,14-16), and before his activity there is no activity (125,4-6; cf. 126,16-17).

In *Steles Seth* the triad functions both to maintain the utter transcendence of the supreme god and yet to account for the Gnostic elects' knowledge of him. The utter transcendence of the godhead is represented in the primal figure, the Father. He is beyond the Gnostic's ability to know or comprehend (125,9; 126,18f). He cannot even be named (125,16-28). Yet, since the elects' salvation depends upon their knowledge of the Father (125,13-14), the Father has reached beyond his own

self-contained nature through the emanation of the triad in order to make himself "knowable" to humanity.

The emergence of Barbelo, the second member of the triad and the first to emerge from the Father, inaugurates the beginning of the Father's expression of himself beyond himself. She is the activity of the stationary Father, the means whereby his thoughts and commands are expressed beyond his being (122,19f note). While she too remains hidden from the perceptible world and hence the elect, she is the initial unfolding of the Father's nature designed to enable his activity among and comprehension by those in the perceptible world.

Actual contact with the perceptible world is made through the third member of the triad, the Self-begotten (119,22-24, 31-34). While additional aeons may appear in the Sethian systems to account in various ways for the transition from the divine to the Gnostic elect (e.g., Adamas and Seth), it is with the Self-begotten that the primal divine nature first enters the perceptible realm. All that follows it finds its contact with the Father in the perceptible world through the Self-begotten.

The triadic nature of God is thus used in *Steles Seth* to express the Father's involvement with the world of humanity. His desire to save humanity (125,11-17; 126,31) demands his ability to approach human beings in their own world. Through the emergence of the triad, the Father's command (originally self-contained) finds expression (activity which moves beyond the Father = Barbelo) as a word (the Self-begotten) which the elect can hear (123,33-124,1 note). While in the classic Gnostic cosmology the perceptible world is a lower realm which resulted from a divine error, such dualism is not in evidence in *Steles Seth*. The document's function is not to explain the existence of the perceptible world but to chart the path for the Gnostic elect back to the divine Father. The path represents salvation, and ascent by it is made possible only because of the multiplicity which the Father brought to expression in the triad, apart from which the perceptible realm could have no contact with him. This does not mean that the more usual dualism was absent in the Sethian cosmogony recognized by the community behind *Steles Seth*, but only that the emphasis on dualism wanes as the emphasis on salvation increases. While dualism may serve to explain the elects' predicament in the world, it does not offer a solution to it. When the latter concern is to the fore, the multiplicity of the divine is seen as that activity which makes Gnosis and hence salvation possible.²²

²² The absence of dualism in certain Sethian texts also appears to be connected to the influence of Neoplatonic speculation in which matter is not inherently evil. See Pearson,

IV. Ritual Context

The hymns in *Steles Seth* which are based on this system, while credited to Seth, serve in practice the latter-day Sethian community as liturgical hymns addressed by the congregation to the three natures of God. While it is clear that individual Gnostics experienced visionary ascents through the heavens,²³ the hymns codified in *Steles Seth* function in a liturgical celebration through which the members of the community participate in the ascent of their primal ancestor Seth.

This liturgical practice functions both to effect and to celebrate the salvation of the elect. Salvation is the knowledge of the Father, who, apart from the triad, cannot be known. The Father gives the command through his word that the elect be saved (125,14-16; 126,1-3). The intermediate member of the triad, Barbelo, is she on whose account salvation has come to the elect (123,14-16), for apart from the multiplicity that she begat the command of the Father would remain just that, a command with no following action in the perceptible world. It is the third member of the triad, the Self-begotten, who manifests the divine in the world of humanity. He has empowered the elect and saved them (120,31-36), for he is the word through which the command of the Father is heard and executed (120, 27-28; 126,1-3). It is clear that in *Steles Seth* the ontological nature of the triad serves an explicit soteriological function. It is only because of the three natures of the divine that the elect can ascend to the primal Father and know him and be saved.

This emphasis on salvation is in part the result of the nature or *Sitz im Leben* of the text. *Steles Seth* is one of the few examples in Gnostic literature of a document that functioned within the liturgical setting of the community. While we are relatively well informed about various Gnostic theological systems, information on their organization and worship practices is rare.²⁴

The ascent to the three members of the triad in *Steles Seth* does find a parallel in the ecstatic trip of Allogenes through the three heavens in the Nag Hammadi tractate that bears his name (XI,3).²⁵ However, while *Allogenes* reports revelations given to the seer during his ecstatic trip, *Steles Seth* records the hymnic praise sung by the seer before the three natures of God. The one section in *Allogenes* in which hymnic praise is

Gnosticism, 162-64.

²³ *Allogenes*, Zost. and Marsanes report such visionary experiences. Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 132-40; Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes," 376-77.

²⁴ Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 602.

²⁵ Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 133-36.

offered (XI 54,11-37) reveals remarkable similarities to *Steles Seth* (125,23-126,16). Thus, while their different genres preclude close agreement throughout, it appears that these two tractates record two aspects of an ascent to the divine triad. *Allogenes* reports the ecstatic trip and accompanying revelations while *Steles Seth* records the seer's hymnic praise of the three natures of god.

Since *Allogenes* appears to be another name for Seth,²⁶ both texts may be interpreted as commemorations of the ascent of the community's primal ancestor to the three members of the divine triad. However, while *Allogenes* records for edification what was revealed through the ecstatic experience of the individual Seth as he ascended to the three heavens, *Steles Seth* records the invocations of Seth to the divine triad as a prototype to serve the Sethian community in the liturgical reenactment of his ascent. This function is made clear by the emphasis placed upon "we" in the text, particularly in the closing prayer of each stele. The blessings and prayers are those of the congregation, which rejoices in its salvation.

It should be indicated in this connection that while the liturgical ascent to and descent from (127,11-21) the Father in *Steles Seth* represents the elects' salvation through their acquired knowledge of the Father, it should not be understood as an event that each member needs but once in his life. Rather, the acquisition of salvation calls forth a continual glorification of the triad which made it possible (126, 31-32; 127,6-9). The liturgy preserved here functioned as a vehicle through which the elect continually reaffirmed their salvation. Continual participation in the liturgy made one "the perfect among the perfect" (127,6-11).

From this it is clear that *Steles Seth* supplies valuable evidence for a fuller understanding of the Sethian community. The Sethian myths are seen to have served not only for edification and Gnosis, but also as a prototype for ritual reenactment. Schenke has identified *Steles Seth* as "the etiology of a mystery of ascension of the Sethian community" and found the baptismal hymns preserved at the end of *Gos. Eg.* (III 66,8-67,26 = IV 38,20-80,15) as evidence of another sacrament in the Sethian worship practice.²⁷ While these texts raise as many questions as they answer, they have firmly established the ritual dimension of Sethian Gnosticism, a dimension in which it shares fundamental perspectives with certain forms of Neoplatonism.²⁸ The ritual reenactment of myth within the community revealed by *Steles Seth* brings the group alive in a

²⁶ Epiphanius (*Panarion* 40.7.2) refers to Σήθ, ὃν καὶ Ἀλλογενῆ καλοῦσι. Robinson, "The Three Steles and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 133.

²⁷ Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 601-602.

²⁸ Pearson, "Theurgic Tendencies"; Smith, "Ritual Practice."

way that the myth alone cannot. In *Steles Seth* one encounters a community in the act of appropriating salvation through the members' liturgical participation in the primordial ascent of their spiritual ancestor Seth.

V. Philosophical Contacts, Date, and Provenance

The fundamental dependence of the ontological and soteriological system in *Steles Seth* on the use of a triad to express the relationship between the unknowable god and the perceptible world of humanity betrays the tractate's indebtedness to ideas prevalent in late Greek philosophy in general and Neoplatonism in particular. A functional relationship of a triad similar to that found in *Steles Seth* occurs in Numenius. He speaks of a movement from the stationary unity of the primordial god (ἑστῶς) through a motion or energy expressed first in the noetic realm (κίνησις περὶ τὰ νοητά) and then in the perceptible world (κίνησις περὶ τὰ αἰσθητά).²⁹ The concept is clearly paralleled in Plotinus, Origen and Maximus the Confessor.³⁰ In *Steles Seth* Barbelo is the active nature of the stationary Father, and the Self-begotten is the vehicle through which that activity is expressed in the perceptible world.

Similarly, the use of the Existence-Life-Mind (ὑπαρξις-ζωή-νοῦς) triad to express the three natures of God in *Steles Seth* (122,20-23 note; 124,25-33) is part of an elaboration of that concept occurring in certain circles of late Greek philosophy.³¹ Proclus developed the triad in such a way that each of its members partake of all three elements, though each receives its name from that element which predominates in it.³² The widespread and early nature of this *theologumenon* has been underscored by its recognition in the works of the Christian convert from Neoplatonism, Marius Victorinus (fourth century), and the Sethian tractate of *Allogenes* (third century).³³ While the system is not as clearly expressed in the hymnic prayers of *Steles Seth*, it pervades the text (e.g.,

²⁹ Numenius, *Frg.* 15; Tardieu, 560-61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 560-64.

³¹ Tardieu, 560-64; Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 140-42.

³² Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, 103; See E. R. Dodds, *Proclus, The Elements of Theology: A Revised Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; second edition 1963) 92-93, 254, 346.

³³ Marius Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* 4.5.21; *Candidi Epistola* 1.3; P. Hadot, "Être, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin et avant Plotin," in *Les sources de Plotin* (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 3; Geneva: Foundation Hardt, 1966) 127-28; Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 140-42.

125,28-32).³⁴ The parallels with Proclus together with the early date of *Steles Seth* raise the possibility of a more dynamic and creative interaction between Gnosticism and Neoplatonism than heretofore thought.

It is thus clear that while the triadic nature of God in *Steles Seth* represents an integral part of the Sethian system, it has at a certain stage and/or in certain circles come into fertile contact with late Greek philosophy. It is this interaction that accounts in part for the reduced form of dualism expressed in *Steles Seth*.³⁵ It also accounts for the fact that Neoplatonic vocabulary permeates the Sethian presentation of the triad in such circles. The Sethian texts most representative of this development are *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*, *Allogenes* and *Marsanes*.³⁶ The list of philosophical terms in *Steles Seth* is extensive and a full discussion of them lies beyond the scope of this introduction.³⁷ They include such Greek loan words as οὐσία (124,28-29), ΔΤΟΨΙΔΑ = ἀνούσιος (121,27,30-31; 124,26),³⁸ ὑπαρξίς (124,26-27; 125,28-29), μονάς (121,33-34; 122,1), αἰσθητὸς κόσμος (119,32-33), ἐνεργεῖν (125,5; 126,17), νοῦς (119,1,29; 123,6,20-21; 124,31; 125,17,31) and οὐσιότης (122,10). The list can easily be increased through the inclusion of a large number of philosophical terms that have been given specific Coptic translations, e.g., ΔΤΜΙΣΕ for ἀγέννητος (119,22; 123,28; 124,21-22), ΜΝΤΔΤΜΙΣΕ for ἀγεννησία (118,29; 120,23; 123,12-13), and ΠΜΤΣΟΜ for τριδύναμος (121,32; 123,23).

The contact between Sethian Gnosticism and Neoplatonic circles reflected in the vocabulary and concepts found in *Steles Seth* is also noted in Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*. He reports on certain sectarians who had abandoned the old philosophy and who "produced apocalypses by Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Nikotheos, Allogenes, Messos, and other such people." Plotinus himself attacked their positions, and others, including Porphyry, wrote refutations of their works.³⁹ The Nag Hammadi tractates *Zost.* and *Allogenes* are assumed to be those mentioned by Porphyry. *Steles Seth*, a revelation to Dositheos, should likely be included among the apocalypses attributed to "other such people."⁴⁰

³⁴ Claude, 30.

³⁵ *Supra*, n. 7.

³⁶ *Supra*, n. 8.

³⁷ For a fuller discussion, see Tardieu, 565-67; cf. F. Siegert, *Nag Hammadi Register: Wörterbuch zur Erfassung der Begriffe in den koptisch-gnostischen Schriften von Nag-Hammadi* (WUNT 26; Tübingen: Mohr, 1982).

³⁸ Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 155; "The Tractate Marsanes," 381-84.

³⁹ Porphyry, *Vita Plotinii* 16.

⁴⁰ Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus" 132-33; Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 152; contra Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism" 612-13.

The date and provenance of *Steles Seth* are not immediately clear. The close relationship of the text to the Neoplatonic ideas of Plotinus have led to speculation about its origin in Lycopolis (modern Assiut) or Alexandria during the lifetime of the philosopher.⁴¹ The single reference to Lycopolis as the birthplace of Plotinus (Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 455), coupled with the fact that he studied and worked in Alexandria and Rome, offers little support for Lycopolis as the place of origin of *Steles Seth*. Instead, Alexandria appears the most likely candidate given its cosmopolitan nature, though no certain proof can be offered.

As for the date, it should first be noted that the Coptic version preserved in Codex VII dates to the second half of the fourth century. Cartonnage dated as late as 348 was used in the manufacture of the book.⁴² The Greek original obviously predates this. The fact that Epiphanius (*Panarion* 40.7.5) mentions certain Gnostics at the beginning of the fourth century who composed books under the name of Seth may suggest the inclusion of *Steles Seth* in this number. Likewise Porphyry's mention of Plotinus' confrontation with sectarians whose books apparently included the Sethian texts of *Zost.* and *Allogenes* would seem to push the composition of *Steles Seth* back into the lifetime of the philosopher (d. 270). Plotinus began his study in Alexandria c. 235.

While arguments can be made for an earlier or later date, it seems safest to assume broader limits and assign the production of *Steles Seth* to the first half of the third century, probably in Alexandria.⁴³

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⁴¹ Tardieu, 558; Claude, 31-33.

⁴² J. W. B. Barns¹, G. M. Browne, and J. C. Shelton, *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers* (NHC 16; Leiden: Brill, 1981) Nos. 63, 64, 65.

⁴³ So Claude, 31-33.

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ρ̄Γ̄Η
 10 ΠΟΥΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΔΩΣΙΘΕ
 ΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕ †ΨΟΜΤΕ Ν̄ΣΤΗΛΗ
 12 Ν̄ΤΕ ΣΗΘ̄ ΠΙΩΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ †ΓΕΝΕΑ
 ΕΤΟΝΩ̄ ΔΩΩ Ν̄ΑΤΚΙΜ̄ ΝΑΪ̄ Ν̄
 14 ΤΑΥΝΑΩ̄ ΕΡΟΟΩ̄ ΔΩΩ ΔΥΣΟΩΩ
 ΝΟΩ̄ ΔΩΩ ΕΤΑΥΟΨΟΩ ΔΥΡ̄
 16 ΠΕΩΜΕΕΥΕ̄ ΔΩΩ ΔΥΤΑΔΩ
 Ν̄ΝΙΣΩΤΠ̄ ΕΨΩΟΠ̄ ΑΠΙΡΗ
 18 ΤΕ̄ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ̄ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΣΩΗ
 ΟΩΤ̄ ΑΠΙΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΩ̄ ΟΩ
 20 ΜΗΨΥΕ̄ Ν̄ΣΟΠ̄ ΔΕΙΡ̄ ΨΒΗΡ̄ Ν̄
 † ΕΟΟΩ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΙΣΟΜ̄ ΔΩΩ ΔΙΡ̄
 22 ΑΠΨΑ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ω̄ΓΤΟΟΤΩ̄ Ν̄ΝΙ
 Μ̄ΝΤΝΟΣ̄ Ν̄ΑΤ̄ † ΨῩ ΕΡΟΟΩ̄
 24 ΕΨΩΟΠ̄ ΔΕ̄ Ν̄†Ω̄ †ΨΟ
 Ρ̄Π̄ Ν̄ΣΤΗΛΗ Ν̄ΤΕ ΣΗΘ̄ †ΣΜΟΩ̄

- 118,10 Dositheos refers to the Samaritan Dositheos, the teacher of Simon Magus (Ps-Clem. *Rec.* 2.11; Orig. *Cels.* 1.57; 6.11; *Comm. in Jo.* 13.29). The use of the name in *Steles Seth* is best viewed as a literary device (Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 116; Claude, 3), though it has been interpreted as evidence of a link between Sethian Gnosticism and Samaritan traditions (Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 165-92; idem, "Gnostic Sethianism," 592-93; Wekel, 75-77). The appended nature of ΠΙΟΥΩΝΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ at 127,26 and the absence of both the term "revelation" and the name Dositheos elsewhere in the tractate argues that the opening phrase at least is part of a secondary redaction (Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 19-20; Claude, 9-12).
- 118,10-12 The first Ν̄ΤΕ introduces the person with whom the tractate is associated, in this case the mythological author, and the second Ν̄ΤΕ introduces the subject matter (Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 20). Concerning the three steles, cf. *Zost* VIII 130,1-4; *Disc.* 8-9 X 61,25-30f. In Jewish tradition, two steles of Seth's descendents are mentioned (Jos. *Ant.* 1.2.3; see tractate introduction).
- 118,12-13 †ΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΟΝΩ̄ ΔΩΩ Ν̄ΑΤΚΙΜ̄: The use of ΕΤΟΝΩ̄ and Ν̄ΑΤΚΙΜ̄ in combination to describe †ΓΕΝΕΑ is unique in Nag Hammadi. The use of either individually with †ΓΕΝΕΑ is common in Sethian mate-

118
The rev
about th
of Seth,
and unsh
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And afte
remembe
to the ele
as (κατά
inscribed
Many tim
giving glo
worthy of
immeasur
Now (ἐκ)
Stele (στῆ

rial.
4,115
IV 3,
63,3;
εἶτε.
Jes.
"fath
†ΓΕΝ
28; cf
ΝΑΔ
(stele)
30 The u
links
the id
καὶ τῶ
the tal
Cf. Z
Corp.
either
as "de
liturgi

118

- 10 The revelation of Dositheos
about the three steles
12 of Seth, the father of the living
and unshakable race (γενεά), which
14 he (Dositheos) saw and understood.
And after he had read them, he
16 remembered them. And he gave them
to the elect, just
18 as (κατά) they were
inscribed there.
20 Many times I joined in
giving glory with the powers, and I became
22 worthy of the
immeasurable majesties.
24 Now (δέ) they (the steles) are as follows: The First
Stele (στήλη) of Seth. I bless

rial. †ΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΟΝῚ occurs in *Gos. Eg.* IV 72,[19]; *Zost.* VIII 4,[15]. †ΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤΚΙΑ occurs in *Ap. John* II 2,[24]; 25,23; 29,11; IV 3,[19]; 39,[25]; 45,[8].[14]; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 97,9; *Gos. Eg.* IV 63,3; 65,[27]; *Zost.* VIII 6,[27]; 51,[16]. The alternate form †ΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΚΚΙΑ occurs in *Gos. Eg.* III 59,13 and in *Ap. John* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* in BG. *Zost.* VIII 6,[26-27] and 51,[15-16] refer to the "father of the immovable generation." The variant combination †ΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤΚΙΑ ΝΑΤΣΩΡῚ occurs in *Gos. Eg.* IV 63,2-3; 65,27-28; cf. III 59,13.

- 118,13-14 ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑ: "the (things)" (Krause); "the (words)" (Wekel); "the (steles)" (Claude).
- 118,13-19 The use of the third person singular in reference back to Dositheos links this section to the secondary redaction (supra, 118,10 note). On the idea of seeing and understanding, cf. *Corp. Herm.* 23,5 (ἰδὼν κατενόησε). *I Enoch* 81.2 reports that Enoch read and understood the tablets of heaven.
- 118,20 Cf. *Zost.* VIII 129,8-12; *Ap. Jas.* I 15,13-24; *Allogenes* XI 60,21; *Corp. Herm.* 1.24-26,30; 13.17-19. The first person subject may be either Seth or Dositheos. Wekel (84-86) understands the first person as "das Ich der Gemeinde," which serves to underscore the frequent liturgical use of the hymns.

26 εροκ πωτ̄ πτεραδαμα· α
 27 νοκ ρα πετε πωκ ἡψηρε·
 28 εμμαχα σῆθ· παῖ ἡτακζποϥ
 29 ρῆ οἰμῆτατ̄μιϥε εἰςμοῦ
 30 ἡτε πεμνοῦτε ζε ανοκ
 31 πετε πωκ ἡψηρε αῶω ἡ

ρῆθ

32 τοκ πε πανοῦς παῖωτ̄ αῶω
 2 ανοκ μεν δεῖζο αῶω δεῖζπο
 3 ἡτοκ ἀ[ε] ἀκ[η]αῦ εἰμῆτ̄νος
 4 ἀκαθερατ̄κ [ε]κε ἡατωζῆ· †
 5 σμοῦ εροκ [π]ωτ̄· σμοῦ εροῖ
 6 πωτ̄· εἰψ[ο]οπ ετβηητ̄κ·
 7 εκψοοπ ε[τ]βε πνοῦτε ε
 8 τβηητ̄κ †ψοοπ ρατοοτ̄ϥ ἡ
 9 πη ετῆμαδ· ἡτ̄κ οἰοειν
 10 εκηαῦ εἰοῦοειν· ἀκοῶω
 11 ἡρῆ ἡνοῦοειν εβολ· ἡτ̄κ οῦ
 12 ἡτρωθεαδ· ἡτοκ πε παῖμῆω

118,26

πτεραδαμα: *Ap. John* II 8,34; *Zost.* VIII 6,23; 13,6; 51,7; *Melch.* IX 6,6. The proper name is Geradamas, since π(ι) is the article used with the Coptic vocative and the final c is omitted as (presumably) in the Greek *Vorlage*. Wekel ("Die drei Stelen," 574) translates "O Heiliger Adama!" on analogy with *Orig. World* II 108,23 ἀδαμας ετοσααβ = ἱεραδαμας (so too Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 170). Böhlig ("Der jüdische und judenchristliche Hintergrund," 114 n.1; "Zum 'Pluralismus,'" 25-26) and Tardieu (567) suggest its derivation from γέρον, "old." Giversen (*Apocryphon Johannis*, 186-187) interprets the name as πι-ρε-ρα(η)-αδαμαν, "the name indeed (γέ) is Adamas." Pearson (*Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, 37) and Jackson ("Geradamas," 385-94) offer convincing arguments for the name's derivation from the Hebrew אֲדָמָה, "stranger."

118,28

εμμαχα σῆθ: Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III 62,2-4; 65,9; IV 59,19-21; *Zost.* VIII 6,25; 51,14-15. The origin of this name remains to be solved. Wekel ("Die drei Stelen," 573-74) suggests a connection with the Egyptian god Seth in the Greek period. The use of Seth in combined names occurs in the magical papyri (Ἰωβολχοσήθ): PGM IV 280.2224; XII 370; for a discussion see Wekel, 78-89.

26 you, father Geradama(s), I,
as your (own) son,
28 Emmacha Seth, whom you begot
without begetting, as a blessing
30 of our God; for I am
your (own) son. And you

119

are my mind (νοῦς), O my father. And
2 I (+μὲν), I sowed and begot;
[but] (δέ) you have [seen] the majesties.
4 You have stood ceaselessly. I
bless you, father. Bless me,
6 father. It is because of you that I exist;
it is because of God that you exist. Because
8 of you I am with
that very one. You are light,
10 since you behold light. You have
revealed light. You are a
12 Mirotheas; you are my Mirotheos.

- 118,28-29 ἸΤΑΚΑΠΟΥ Θῆ ΟΥΑΝΤΑΤΜΙΣΕ: Cf. 120,22-23; *Zost.* VIII 48,25; 114,3-4; *Allogenes* XI 46,35. Claude (66) identifies τίκτην as the Greek antecedent of ΜΙΣΕ and translates “engendrer sans le mettre dans le monde.” The *Vorlage* of the combined phrase is rather in all likelihood the γεν(ν)ητός/ἀγέν(ν)ητος pattern widespread in Greek philosophy, patristic controversy, and Gnosticism (Tardieu, 565; J. Lebreton, “ΑΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ,” *RevScRel* 16 (1926) 431-43; *Hipp. Ref.* 5,9; 9,9-10; *Gr. Naz. Or.* 30.19).
- 119,9 ἸΤῚ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ: ἸΤῚ ΟΥΘΟΥΘΕΙΝ (Wekel).
- 119,9-10 Cf. 122,3-4. In *Gos. Eg.* III 49,8, the light is identified with Adamas. In the parallel text (IV 61,11f) it is equated with first man. Note the play on φῶς “light” and φῶς “man” in *Clem. Alex. Paed.* 1.6 (Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 177).
- 119,11 ἸΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ: ἸΠΟΥΘΟΥΘΕΙΝ (Wekel). Cf. BG 25,14-15.
- 119,12 ΜΙΡΘΘΕΑΣ/ΜΙΡΘΘΕΟΣ: 120,15 (ΜΙΡΘΘΕΟΣ); *Gos. Eg.* III 49,4 (ΜΙΡΘΘΗ); *Zost.* VIII 6,30; 30,14 (ΜΙΡΘΘΕΑ); *Trim. Prot.* XIII 38,15; 45,[10] (ΜΙΡΘΘΕΑ). Böhlig-Wisse (*Gospel of the Egyptians*, 176) suggest an allusion to “the goddess μοῖρα.” Claude (68) derives the name from a combination of μείρομα and θεός/θεά. Layton (153) suggests μοῖρος θεῖος.

ΘΕΟΣ· †CMOΘ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΘΕ Ν
 14 ΟΘΝΟΥΤΕ· †CMOΘ ΕΤΕΚ
 ΜΗΤΗΝΟΥΤΕ· ΟΘΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΙΑ
 16 ΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΤΑΥΑ
 ΥΕΡΑΤΥ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑΥΡ ΨΟΡΠ
 18 ΝΑΥΕΡΑΤΥ· ΔΚΕΙ ΘΝ ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΝ
 ΔΚΟΥΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ' ΑΥΩ ΔΚΟΥΩ
 20 ΝΘ ΝΜΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ' †ΝΑΨΩ
 ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΖΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΨΟΡΠ
 22 ΝΡΑΝ· ΝΤΚ ΟΥΑΤΜΙΣΕ ΝΤΟΚ
 ΔΚΟΥΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΙΝΑ ΝΤΕΚ
 24 ΟΥΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΨΑ ΕΝΕΥ·
 ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΗ ΕΨΟΟΠ· ΕΤΒΕ
 26 ΠΑΪ ΔΚΟΥΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΝΙΟΝΤΩΣ
 ΕΨΟΟΠ· ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΤΟΥΨΑ
 28 ΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΙΤΗ ΟΥCΜΗ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΘΙΤΗ ΟΘΝΟΥC CΕ†
 30 ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΚ· ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΕ ΟΘΗ
 ΟΜ ΜΜ[Ο]Κ ΘΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ· Ε
 32 ΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ [Π]ΚΕCΘΗΤΟC ΝΚΟC
 ΜΟC ΨΟΥΘΗ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΒΗ
 34 ΗΤΚ ΜΗ ΤΕΚΠΟΡΑ· ΝΤΚ ΟΥΝΑ

- 119,15 **ΟΘΝΟΣ ΠΕ**: Here begins the stele or hymn to the Self-begotten, the third principle in the primary Sethian divine triad (cf. 121,20). Claude (11) argues that this properly follows 118,24a. The prayer of Adamas (118,24b-119,15a) represents the hand of the secondary Sethian redactor.
- 119,16-18 **ΕΤΑΥΑΥΕΡΑΤΥ**: Cf. 121,8-10; *Gos. Thom.* II 41,35; *Allogenes* XI 59,17-23; 60,19-36. Simon Magus termed himself *ἑστώς* (Ps. Clem. *Hom.* 2.22; *Rec.* 2.7). Numenius defined the first principle of his divine triad as *ἑστώς* (*Frag.* 88; Tardieu, 560).
- 119,18-20a Claude translates "Tu es venu par bonté, tu t'es manifesté et tu tes manifesté par bonté."
- 119,20b-22 Cf. 125,26-27.

I bless you
 God; I bless
 divinity.
 good (dý-
 stood, the
 to stand.
 you appear
 revealed g
 your name
 name. You
 have appea
 might reve
 You are he
 you have re
 are. You an
 by a voice.
 but (ké) by
 glorified, y
 dominion e
 (he) percep
 knows you
 you and you

ΝΤΚ Ο
 The Se
 divine
 (cf. 11
 "Du bi
 54,32-
 ΝΗΝΙΟΝΤ
 Zost. V
 Allogene
 is Plat
 Claude

I bless you as
 14 God; I bless your
 divinity. Great is the
 16 good (ἀγαθός) Self-begotten (αὐτογενής) who
 stood, the God who was first
 18 to stand. You came in goodness (ἀγαθόν);
 you appeared, and you
 20 revealed goodness (ἀγαθόν). I shall utter
 your name, for you are a first
 22 name. You are unbegotten. You
 have appeared in order that (ἵνα) you
 24 might reveal the eternal ones.
 You are he who is. Therefore
 26 you have revealed those who really (ὄντως)
 are. You are he who is uttered
 28 by a voice,
 but (δέ) by mind (νοῦς) you are
 30 glorified, you who have
 dominion everywhere. Therefore
 32 [the] perceptible (αἰσθητός) world (κόσμος) too
 knows you because of
 34 you and your seed (σπορά). You are merciful.

-
- 119,22 ἸΤΡ̄ ΟΥΔΑΤΜΙΣΕ: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,33-34.
 119,22-27 The Self-begotten is that aspect of the divine or that member of the
 divine triad that communicates the divine to the perceptible world
 (cf. 119,32-33).
 119,25 “Du bist der, der (in Wahrheit) existiert” (Wekel). Cf. *Allogenes* XI
 54,32-33.
 119,26-27 ἩΜΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΠΥΘΟΟΠ: οἱ ὄντως ὄντες. Cf. 120,18; 123,9; 124,19.20;
Zost. VIII 6,4; 12,11-17; 18,1; 26,1; 116,6.13f; 124,14; 125,12;
Allogenes XI 45,13; 48,37. The phrase, as a description of the gods,
 is Platonic (Tardieu, 563-66; Claude, 72).
 119,27-28 Claude translates “Toi, qui es une parole (proclamée) par le Voix.”

ρ̄κ
 1 ᾱσ̄ω̄ ḡτ̄κ̄ ο̄σ̄εβ̄ολ̄ ρ̄ḡ̄ κε̄τε̄νο̄ς
 2 ᾱσ̄ω̄ ϣ̄κ̄η̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱϊ̄ [ε̄]ζ̄ḡ̄ κε̄τε̄νο̄ς·
 †̄νο̄σ̄ Δ̄ε̄ {ḡτ̄κ̄ ο̄σ̄εβ̄ολ̄ ρ̄ḡ̄ κε̄
 4 τε̄νο̄ς· ᾱσ̄ω̄ ϣ̄κ̄[ḡ] ε̄ρ̄[ρ̄]ᾱϊ̄ ε̄ζ̄ḡ̄ κε̄
 τε̄νο̄ς·} ḡτ̄κ̄ ο̄[σ̄]εβ̄ολ̄ ρ̄ḡ̄ κε̄
 6 τε̄νο̄ς Δ̄ε̄ ḡτ̄ε̄[ḡ]ḡ̄ε̄ ἁ̄ν· ḡτ̄κ̄
 ο̄σ̄ḡ̄ᾱ Δ̄ε̄ Δ̄ε̄ ḡτ̄[κ̄] ο̄[σ̄]ḡ̄ᾱ ε̄νε̄ρ
 8 ε̄κ̄κ̄η̄ Δ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ε̄[ζ̄]ḡ̄ ο̄σ̄τε̄νο̄ς
 Δ̄ε̄ ἁ̄κ̄τ̄ρε̄νᾱϊ̄ τ̄ḡρο̄σ̄ ἁ̄ϊ̄δᾱε̄ῑ ε̄τ̄βε̄

 10 τ̄ᾱς̄πο̄ρᾱ Δ̄ε̄ Δ̄ε̄ ḡτο̄κ̄ ε̄τ̄σο̄σ̄ḡ̄η̄
 ḡ̄μο̄ς Δ̄ε̄ ε̄κ̄κ̄η̄ ρ̄ḡ̄ ο̄σ̄ζ̄πο̄· ρ̄ε̄ḡ̄
 12 ε̄β̄ολ̄ Δ̄ε̄ ρ̄ḡ̄ ρ̄ε̄ḡ̄κε̄τε̄νο̄ς ḡε̄· Δ̄ε̄
 ḡ̄σε̄ε̄ḡ̄ε̄ ἁ̄ν· ε̄σ̄κ̄η̄ Δ̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ε̄
 14 ζ̄ḡ̄ ρ̄ε̄ḡ̄κε̄τε̄νο̄ς Δ̄ε̄ σε̄κ̄η̄ ρ̄ḡ̄
 ο̄σ̄ω̄ḡ̄· ḡτο̄κ̄ ο̄σ̄μ̄ιρο̄θε̄ο̄ς
 16 †̄ς̄μο̄σ̄ ε̄τε̄ϣ̄βο̄μ̄ τ̄ḡ ε̄τᾱσ̄τᾱ
 ἁ̄ς̄ ḡᾱϊ̄· π̄ḡ ε̄τᾱϣ̄τ̄ρε̄ḡ̄ḡ̄ḡ̄
 18 ρ̄ο̄ο̄σ̄τ̄ ε̄τ̄ḡ̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ο̄ḡτω̄ς ḡ̄
 ρ̄ο̄ο̄σ̄τ̄ ḡḡ̄ο̄με̄τ̄ ḡ̄σο̄π̄· π̄ḡ

- 120,1 Wekel translates "Du bist e[in] Wesen aus . . ."
- 120,1f κε̄τε̄νο̄ς: The Self-begotten, who is discernable in the perceptible world, is nonetheless from another race or realm, namely, the pleromatic or divine. The race is over another race in the perceptible world, namely, the seed of Seth. κε̄τε̄νο̄ς may correspond in some manner to the name *Allogenes* (*Allogenes* XI 50,24; 55,[19].[35]; 59,10; 69,19.20; Epiph. *Pan.* 40.7.2).
- 120,2 ϣ̄κ̄η̄: ϣ̄κ̄η̄ (Wekel).
- 120,3b-5a ḡτ̄κ̄ ο̄σ̄εβ̄ολ̄ ... ε̄ζ̄ḡ̄ κε̄τε̄νο̄ς: The repetition of these two lines may be accounted for by the liturgical nature of the text. Wekel (106), on the other hand, views it as a case of dittography, as here. Claude (77) argues rather that †̄νο̄σ̄ Δ̄ε̄ is adversative and introduces a new order.
- 120,3-9 Wekel argues that apart from the dittography in 120,3b-5a, the order of the lines in this section has been disturbed in the transmission of

120
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 Dreim

120

- And you are from another race (γένος),
 2 and its place is over another race (γένος).
 And (δέ) now {you are from another
 4 race (γένος), and its [place is] over another
 race (γένος).} You are from another
 6 race (γένος), for you are not similar. But (δέ) you are
 merciful, for you are eternal.
 8 And (δέ) your place is over a race (γένος),
 for you caused all these to increase. And (δέ) (you did it) for the
 sake of
 10 my seed; for it is you who know
 it, that its place is in begetting. But they
 12 are from other races (γένος), for
 they are not similar. But (δέ) their place is over
 14 other races (γένος), for their place is in
 life. You are a Mirotheos;
 16 I bless its power which was
 given to me. (You are) the one who caused the
 18 masculinities that really (ὄντως) are to become
 male three times;

the text. He constructs: †ΜΟϞ ΔΕ {3b-5a = dittography} ἸΤῚ
 Ϝ[Ϟ]ΕΒΟΛ ϜἸ ΚΕΓΕΝΟϞ ΔΕ ἸΓΕ[Ι]ΜΕ ΔΗ· ἸΤῚ ΟΥΝΔ ΔΕ {7b}
 <ΔΕ ΔΚΤΡΕΝΔΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΙΔΕΙ = 9a> ΕΚΚΗ ΔΕ ΕΩΡΔΙ Ε[Ξ]Ἰ
 ΟΥΓΕΝΟϞ {9a} <ΔΕ ἸΤ[Ὶ] Ο]ϞΥΔ ΕΝΕϞ = 7b>.

120,8

ΟΥΓΕΝΟϞ: Possibly <ΚΕ>ΓΕΝΟϞ.

120,15

ΟΥΩΝϞ: Alternatively “appearance.” ΜΙΡΟΘΕΟϞ: Supra, 119,22
 note. Claude translates the name at this juncture “Tu es une part de
 Dieu.”

120,16

ΕΤΕΥΘΟΜ: ΕΤΕ·Κ·ΘΟΜ (Wekel). The shift to the first person here
 marks a change of subject. This section (120,16-26) refers to the
 primal Unbegotten Father.

120,18

ΕΥϞΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩϞ: Supra, 119,26-27 note.

120,17-19

The Unbegotten Father is here acknowledged as the source or cause
 of the divine triad. The term triple-male (cf. 120,29; 121,8) is
 frequent in *Allogenes* (XI,2) and *Zost.* (VIII,1). ἸϞΟΜΕΤ ἸΟΠ:
 Wekel (21) interprets this as a liturgical rubric and translates “—
 Dreimal (zu sprechen)! —”

20 ΕΤΑΘΠΟΨΥ ΕΨΠΕΝΤΑΣ· ΠΑΪ
 ΝΤΑΘΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΝ Θ̅Ν ΟΘΜΝΤ̅
 22 ΨΜΝΤ̅ ΣΟΜ· ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΘΖΠΟΥ
 Θ̅Ν ΟΘΜΝΤΑΤΜΙΣΕ· ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΥ
 24 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅Μ ΠΕΤΣΟΤ̅Π· ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΗ ΕΤΘΕΒΗΘΟΥΤ̅ ΔΥΜΟΟΥΨΕ
 26 ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅Ν ΤΜΗΤΕ· ΝΤΚ̅ ΟΘΕΙ
 ΩΤ̅ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅ΙΤ̅Ν ΟΘΕΙΩΤ̅· ΟΘ
 28 ΨΔΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅Ν ΟΘΑΘΥ ΣΑΘΥΝΕ·
 Τ̅ΝΣΜΟΘ̅ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΨΜ̅Τ̅ Θ̅Ο
 30 ΟΘΤ̅ ΖΕ ΔΚΘΩΤ̅Π ΠΤΗΡ̅Υ Ε
 ΒΟΛ Θ̅ΙΤΟΟΤΟΘ̅ ΤΗΡΟΘ̅ ΖΕ ΔΚ
 32 † ΣΟΜ ΝΑΝ· ΔΚΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 Θ̅Ν ΟΘΑ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̅ΙΤ̅Ν [Ο]ΘΑ· ΔΚΜΟ
 34 ΟΨΕ ΔΚΙ ΕΟΘΑ· ΔΚ[Ν]ΟΘ̅Θ̅Μ
 ΔΚΝΟΘ̅Θ̅Μ ΔΚΝΑΘ̅Μ̅Ν· ΠΙΡΕΥ
 36 Ζ̅Ι ΚΛΟΜ' ΠΙΡΕΥ† ΚΛΟΜ·

ρκα

Τ̅ΝΣΜΟΘ̅ ΕΡΟΚ Θ̅Ν [Ο]ΘΜΝΤ̅ΨΑ
 2 ΕΝΕΥ· Τ̅ΝΣΜΟΘ̅ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΑΝ
 ΝΟΘ̅Θ̅Μ [ΕΒ]Ο[Λ] Θ̅Α ΝΙΚΑ[Τ]Α ΟΘΑ
 4 ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ· Ν[ΙΤΕ]ΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗ

120,20

εΨΠΕΝΤΑΣ: This is the only reference to the pentad in *Steles Seth*. While it is not explained in the tractate, it must refer to the five hypostases generated by the Unbegotten Father, though these vary. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.24.3) reports Basilides' teaching that the five hypostases generated by the father were νοῦς, λόγος, φρόνησις, σοφία, δύναμις. *Ap. John* (II 6,2-10; *Iren. Haer.* 1.29.1) refers to "the androgenous five-aeon" of the Father (Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, 5-6). In *Gos. Eg.* (IV 56,23-27) the primal triad plus the two further figures of Youel and Esephech are said to make up the five seals (cf. *Trim. Prot.* XIII 48,31).

120,28

Cf. *Allogenes* XI 51,36-37. The Self-begotten is the word which brings to expression the command of the Father (126,1-2; cf. 123,10-11). The activity which brings the command to expression is Barbelo. In *Allogenes* XI 46,10-11 the female figure of the triad is said to contain the divine Self-begotten. This is undoubtedly a result

20 the one who was divided into the pentad (πεντάς), the one who
 was given to us in triple
 22 power, the one who was begotten
 without begetting, the one who
 24 came forth from what is superior; for the sake of
 what is inferior, he went
 26 forth from the midst. You are
 a father through a father,
 28 a word from a command.
 We bless you, thrice male,
 30 for you have united the all
 through them all, for you have
 32 empowered us. You have arisen from
 one; from one you have gone forth;
 34 you have come to one. You have saved,
 you have saved, you have saved us, O
 36 crown-bearer, crown-giver!

121

We bless you eternally.

2 We bless you, (we) who have
 been saved. (We are) the perfect (τέλειος) individuals (κατά-).
 4 We are perfect (τέλειος) because

of the fact that while each member of the triad receives its name from its principle function within the triad, each in actuality participates in all three natures of the triad (cf. Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, 103). According to Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4.38.3), the Father plans and commands, the Son executes and creates, and the Spirit nourishes and increases.

120,31-32 ΔΚ† ΘΩΜ ΝΔΝ: Cf. *Trim. Prot.* 40,33.

120,32-34 Claude clarifies the linkage of this passage to the Neoplatonic idea of "the One" by supplying a definite article for all three occurrences of οσα. "Tu es sorti de l'Un à l'instigation de l'Un, tu t'en es allé, tu es (re)venu à l'Un."

120,36 Cf. *Zost.* VIII 129,16.

121,3 [εβ]ο[Δ]: (Krause, Claude); [ΔΝ]ο[Ν]: Wekel.

121,3-4 ΝΙΚΑ[Τ]Α ΟΣΑ ΠΤΕΛΙΟΣ: Cf. 124,7-8.25; 127,9; *Zost.* VIII 129,17. Perfection is an attribute of the divine (121,14-16.24-25; 129,2.23) in which the elect share.

ΤΚ· ΝΗ ΕΤΑ[ϑῤ] ΤΕΛΙΟΣ Ν̄ΜΜΑΚ·
 6 ΠΗ ΕΤΖΗΚ [Π]Η ΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΖΩΚ
 ΠΙΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ Ϟ̄ΙΤ̄Η ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟϑ·
 8 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΙΝΕ Ϟ̄Μ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ· ΠΨΜ̄ΝΤ
 ϞΟΟϑΤ· ΔΚΑΘΕΡΑΤ̄Κ· ΔΚ̄Ρ ΨΟ
 10 ΡΠ̄ ΝΑΘΕΡΑΤ̄Κ· ΔΚΠΩΨ Ϟ̄Μ ΜΑ
 ΝΙΜ' ΔΚΩ ΕΚΕ ΝΟϑΑ· ΔϑΩ
 12 ΝΗ ΕΤΑΚΟϑΑΨΟϑ ΔΚΝΑΘΜΟϑ·
 ΚΟϑΩΨ ΔΕ ΕΤΡΕϑΝΟϑϞ̄Μ
 14 Ν̄ϑΙ ΝΗ ΤΗΡΟϑ ΕΤ̄ΜΠΨΑ· Ν̄ΤΚ
 ΟϑΤΕΛΙΟΣ Ν̄ΤΚ ΟϑΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 16 Ν̄ΤΚ ΟϑΤΕΛΙΟΣ: †ΨΟΡΠ̄
 Ν̄ϑΤΗΛΗ Ν̄ΤΕ ϑ̄Ηϑ:
 18 †ΜΕϑϑ̄ΝΤΕ Ν̄ϑΤΗΛΗ
 Ν̄ΤΕ ϑ̄Ηϑ: »»— »»»»—
 20 ΟϑΝΟϑ ΠΕ ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΝΕΩΝ
 ΜΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ Ν̄ϞΟΟϑΤ̄ ΜΠΑΡ
 22 ΘΕΝΟϑ· ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΕΟΟϑ Ν̄
 ΤΕ ΠΩΤ̄ Ν̄ΑΤΝΑϑ ΕΡΟϑ ΤΗ
 24 ΕΤΟϑΜΟϑΤΕ ΕΡΟϑ ΔΕ ΤΕ

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- 121,6-7 ΨΑΥΖΩΚ: ΨΑΥΖΩΚ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ΨΑϑΜΟϑΤΕ ΕΡΟϑ ΔΕ (Wekel).
 121,8-9 ΠΨΜ̄ΝΤ ϞΟΟϑΤ: This vocative begins a new section of praise
 (Claude). It may alternatively be understood as the end of the
 preceding sentence (Krause, Wekel, Tardieu, Robinson).
 121,10-11 ΔΚΠΩΨ Ϟ̄Μ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ: This concept may distantly reflect the name
 Mirotheos; cf. 119,12 note.
 121,14-16 The three-fold repetition is a hymnic device and occurs elsewhere in
 Steles Seth 124,10-13.16-17.18; cf. *Zost.* VIII 51,24-25; *Allogenes*
 XI 54,22-23.
 121,20 ΟϑΝΟϑ ΠΕ: Cf. 119,15.
 121,21 ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ: Barbelo is the female or mother figure in the Sethian
 divine triad. She is encountered in the Sethian tractates *Ap. John*
 (II,1; III,1; IV,1), *Zost.* (VIII,1), *Melch.* (IX,1), *Marsanes* (X), *Allo-*

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 45,27

of you, the ones who [became] perfect (τέλειος) with you.
 6 (You are) the one who is complete, the one who completes,
 the one perfect (τέλειος) through all these,
 8 the one who is similar everywhere. O thrice
 male, you have stood. You were first
 10 to stand. You have been divided everywhere.
 You have remained one. And
 12 those whom you have willed, you have saved.
 And (δέ) you will to be saved all
 14 who are worthy. You are
 perfect (τέλειος)! You are perfect (τέλειος)!
 16 You are perfect (τέλειος)! The First
 Stele (στήλη) of Seth.
 18 The Second Stele (στήλη)
 of Seth.
 20 Great is the first aeon (αἰών),
 male virginal (παρθένος) Barbelo,
 22 the first glory
 of the invisible Father, she
 24 who is called

genes (XI,3), and *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1). Cf. also Irenaeus *Haer.* 1.29. She does not appear in those Nag Hammadi tractates that are outside the Sethian corpus. Elsewhere she is called the virginal male (*Allogenes* XI 59,7; cf. 45,18; *Marsanes* X 8,28-9,2), the virginal Barbelo (*Zost.* VIII 63,1 et passim) and triple-male (*Zost.* VIII 83,10; *Ap. John* II 5,8). Other attributes of Barbelo present in the opening lines of this second stele also occur elsewhere: the first glory (121,22; *Ap. John* II 4,36f), perfect (121,25; *Ap. John* II 4,36; *Zost.* VIII 83,10-12) and triple-power (121,32-33; *Ap. John* II 5,8; *Marsanes* X 9,8f).

121,23

πτωτ̄ ἡδ̄ατ̄ηαϑ̄ ερωϑ̄: The primal figure of the Sethian divine triad. He appears as the Invisible Spirit in *Ap. John* (II 2,33), *Zost.* (VIII 29,13 et passim), *Marsanes* (X 9,29; 10,19) and *Allogenes* (XI 45,27 et passim).

26 λῖος· ἦτο ἀνασ ἡψορπ̄ ε
 28 πιοντωσ ετ̄ψοοπ ἡψο
 30 ρ̄π̄ σε οσατοσσια πε· ασω
 32 εβολ̄ ἄμοϥ ασω εβολ̄ ρ̄ιτο
 34 οτ̄ϥ· ἀρεψωπε ἡψορπ̄
 36 ρ̄ἦ οσμητ̄ψα ενεϥ· †ατοσ
 38 ϣια εβολ̄ ρ̄[ἦ] οσα ἡατ̄πωψ
 40 ἡψ̄μ̄τ̄ [σο]μ ἦτε οσψ̄μ̄τ̄
 42 σομ ἦτ̄[ε οσ]μονασ ενδασ
 44 εβολ̄ ρ̄ἦ [οσμ]ονασ εστ̄ββ[ο]
 46 ρ̄κβ̄
 48 ἦτε οσμ[ο]νασ εσσοτ̄π̄· †
 2 ψορπ̄ ἡραεῖβ̄[ε]ϣ ἦτ̄[ε] πιωτ̄

- 121,25-26 Barbelo, as the first aeon to emerge from the Father, is the first to behold him; cf. 122,1-3; 125,11-14 and note. *Ap. John* reports that “he is [invisible because] no one saw him.”
- 121,25-34 While Barbelo has emerged as the second member of the primal triad, she has received the Father’s attributes from him (εβολ̄ ἄμοϥ) and through him (εβολ̄ ρ̄ιτοσϣ̄); cf. 120,28 note. Like the Father, she pre-exists (121,29), is non-being (121,30), a triple power (121,32-3) and a monad (121,33).
- 121,26-27 ΠΙΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ἡψορπ̄: 124,19; cf. 119,26-27 note; 121,29; *Ap. John* II 3,8-17. The invisible Father is pre-existent because (σε) he exists outside the realm of being (αστοσσια).
- 121,27 ΟΣΑΤΟΣΣΙΑ: This term (Gk. ἀνούσιος) underscores the utter transcendence of the divine Father. For αστοσσια, cf. 124,26; *Zost. VIII* 79,7; *Marsanes X* 5,14; *Allogenes XI* 53,31-32; for ἄνηταστοσσια, cf. *Allogenes XI* 47,34; 49,33; 55,29; for ἄνητεϥ οσσια, cf. *Marsanes X* 4,17-18; 6,4; 7,15.19; 13,16.19; 31,14; and for χωρις οσσια, cf. *Marsanes X* 5,1-2 for a discussion of the term, see Pearson, “The Tractate Marsanes,” 381-85.
- 121,32-122,1 The indefinite predicates used in this section may simply reflect a wooden Coptic translation of the Greek *Vorlage* wherein the predicate noun seldom has an article. Thus one might translate: “You are the triple power. You are the great monad from the pure monad. You are the elect monad . . .”
- 121,29-30 ἀρεψωπε ἡψορπ̄ ρ̄ἦ οσμητ̄ψα ενεϥ: The use of the adverbial expression “eternally” to qualify Barbelo’s pre-existence underscores

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4 ΕΤΟ[Υ]ΔΑΔΒ· ΟΥΘΕ[ΙΝ] ΕΒΟΛ
 6 ὄν οὐοειν[· τῆ]ςμοῦ ερο
 †ρεϋΔπε τελ[ιο]ς †ρεϋ†
 8 εων· ἦτο ἀρ[η]αῶ ἐνιϋα
 ἐνερ ζε ρεβε[ο]λ ὄν οὐραει
 10 βε νε· ἀτω ἀρε† ηπε· ἀτω
 ἀρεσινε μεν· ἀρεσω ερεε ἦ
 οῦε† ερε† ηπε δε ἐπωϋε η

 12 ΤΟ ΟΥΨΜΤ ΚΩΒ· ΤΕΚΗΒ ΝΑΜΕ
 ἦϋμῆτ σοπ· ἦτε οῦει μεν
 ἦτε πιουα· ἀτω ἦτο εβολ ὄν
 14 οὐραειβες ἦταϋ· ἦτε οῦκλς
 ἦτε οῦκοσμοσ ἦτε πσοῦη·
 16 ερεειμε ἐνα πιουα· ζε ρεβε
 βολ ὄν οὐραειβες νε· ἀτω ναῖ
 18 σεῆτε ἄμαῶ ὄμ πρητ· ετβε
 ναῖ ἀρε† σομ ἦνιϋα ἐνερ

- 122,3-4 οὐοειν[ΙΝ] ΕΒΟΛ ὄν οὐοειν: Cf. 119,9-10; 125,9-10; *Ap. John* II 6,10-18; *Zost.* VIII 52,19-20; *Iren. Haer.* 2.17.4; Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 10,3; 24.2; *Tat. Or. Graec.* 5.1; Athanasius, *De Decretis* 12,23; *Epiph. Pan.* 69.7; the Nicene Creed (φῶς ἐκ φωτός). Also E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light. The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University, 1935; reprint ed., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969).
- 122,5-6 †ρεϋ† εων: While Barbelo is the immediate source of the aeons, the ultimate source remains the Father; cf. 124,22-23; *Ap. John* II 4,3.
- 122,8-11 The presence of the μεν and δε clauses in these lines, while they are not set forth in the proper μέν ... δέ construction, nevertheless serve to underscore the simultaneity of the unity and multiplicity in the divine.
- 122,10-12 ἦτο ΟΥΨΜΤ ΚΩΒ· ΤΕΚΗΒ ΝΑΜΕ ἦϋμῆτ σοπ: Claude (90-92) translates "Toi qui es double triplement, tu es, en vérité, double trois fois." Krause translates "du bist dreifach, du bist wahrhaft doppelt dreimal." While κωβ does mean "to be doubled," it also combines with other numbers to mean x-fold (Crum, 99a; so Wekel, Tardieu).

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Father, light from
 4 light. [We] bless you,
 producer (fem.) of perfection (τέλειος), aeon (αἰών)-giver (fem.).
 6 You have [seen] that the eternal
 ones are from a shadow.
 8 And you have given rise to multiplicity. And
 you have found on the one hand (μὲν) (that) you have remained
 10 one (fem.), while on the other hand (δέ), by giving rise to multiplicity
 through division, you
 are three-fold. You are truly
 12 thrice, you are one (fem.) (+μὲν)
 of the One (masc.). And you are from
 14 his shadow; you are a hidden one (καλυπτός);
 you are a world (κόσμος) of understanding,
 16 knowing that those of the one
 are from a shadow. And these
 18 are yours in the heart. For
 their sake you have empowered the eternal ones

122,14

οσραειθεε: Cf. 122,2 note. ἦτε οσκαλ: 123,1; 126,5. This is the *nomen sacrum* for Kalyptos or the hidden one. Due to the nature of the triad in *Steles Seth*, the name may refer to the Father (126,5) as well as to Barbelo. In *Steles Seth* the name Kalyptos occurs only as the *nomen sacrum* (122,14; 123,1; 126,5). In *Allogenes* it is spelled out fully (XI 45,31; 46,31; 51,17; 58,19; the plural 46,33). The equation of the two is made clear in *Zostrianos* where it is spelled out fully three times (VIII 15,12; 20,4; 22,12) and appears in the *nomen sacrum* form twenty-nine times (VIII 2,23; 13,3; 18,11 et passim). In *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos* Kalyptos is more clearly one of the secondary triad of Kalyptos-Protophanes-Autogenes (*Allogenes* XI 51,13-32; 58,12-19; *Zost.* VIII, 15,4-17). Cf. Cod. Bruc. *Untitled* (ch. 13, infra, 123,5-6 note); *Trim. Prot.* XIII 45,21-22; also Claude, 93-94; Wekel, 142-48.

122,15

ἦτε πσοσμη: Or "you are the understanding" (Wekel).

122,17-18

Cf. 123,1-2. These are the Gnostic elect.

122,19f

† σομ: Barbelo empowers in the sense that she marks the outward movement of the power inherent in the Father (125,4-6). She is the beginning of activity (κίνησις) beyond the stationary state (στασις) of the Father (cf. Numenius, Frg. 5; Tardieu, 560-61).

- 20 $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$ † $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\iota}\overline{\alpha}$ · $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}$
 $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$ † $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\overline{\nu}\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}$
 22 $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}$ † $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\mu}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$
 † $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\theta}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}$ · $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$ † $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}$
 24 $\overline{\mu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\iota}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\eta}\overline{\iota}\overline{\rho}\overline{\alpha}$
 $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\overline{\tau}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\beta}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\iota}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ ·
 26 $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\pi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$ † $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\mu}\overline{\epsilon}$ ·
 $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\alpha}$
 28 $\overline{\mu}\overline{\iota}\overline{\omicron}$ · $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\pi}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\psi}\overline{\eta}\overline{\psi}$
 $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\psi}\overline{\psi}\overline{\eta}\overline{\psi}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$ · $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$
 30 $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\psi}\overline{\iota}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$ · $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\omicron}$ [$\overline{\sigma}$] $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\pi}\overline{\omicron}$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}$
 32 $\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\delta}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$ [$\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}$] $\overline{\psi}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\pi}$
 $\overline{\psi}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\epsilon}$ · [\dots] $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omega}$ $\overline{\epsilon}$
 34 [\dots]· $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ [$\overline{\pi}\overline{\omicron}$ · $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$] $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\nu}$

$\overline{\rho}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\tau}$

- $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ · $\overline{\pi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\iota}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\sigma}$ [$\overline{\epsilon}$] $\overline{\tau}\overline{\mu}\overline{\mu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\delta}\overline{\sigma}$
 2 $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\psi}\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}$ · [$\overline{\alpha}$] $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omega}$ [$\overline{\alpha}$] $\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\beta}$ [$\overline{\omicron}$] $\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\psi}\overline{\alpha}$
 $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omega}$ [$\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\beta}$] $\overline{\omicron}\overline{\lambda}$ [$\overline{\rho}$] $\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\psi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\pi}\overline{\omega}\overline{\psi}$
 4 $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}\overline{\rho}\overline{\alpha}$ [$\overline{\iota}$] [$\overline{\epsilon}$] $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\omega}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}$ [· $\overline{\alpha}$] $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omega}$ $\overline{\psi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\psi}\overline{\omega}$

122,20-23

$\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\iota}\overline{\alpha}$ — $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\overline{\nu}\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}$ — $\overline{\mu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\mu}\overline{\epsilon}$: Cf. 124,25-33. The influence of the existence-life-mind ($\overline{\omicron}\overline{\upsilon}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\iota}\overline{\alpha}$ — $\overline{\zeta}\overline{\omega}\overline{\eta}$ — $\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\delta}\overline{\iota}\overline{\varsigma}$) triad is evident here. While Barbelo is the empowering force behind the attributes, the Father "is" the attributes ($\overline{\upsilon}\overline{\pi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\xi}\overline{\iota}\overline{\varsigma}$ — $\overline{\zeta}\overline{\omega}\overline{\eta}$ — $\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\delta}\overline{\iota}\overline{\varsigma}$: 125,28-32). The static power of the Father expressed in terms of the existence-life-mind triad is energized in another through the agency of Barbelo. The existence-life-mind triad occurs in *Allogenes* where, however, knowledge is used to represent mind (*Allogenes* XI 49,26-38). It occurs also in *Zostrianos* in the form of existence-knowledge-life (*Zost.* VIII 15,4-17; cf. Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and The Gnostics of Plotinus," 137). In *Zostrianos* the triad is further associated respectively with Kalyptos-Protophanes-Autogenes triad (*Zost.* VIII 15,4-17; cf. 122,14 note). For a discussion of this triad refer to the tractate introduction (cf. Claude, 30-31, 95).

20 in being; you have empowered
 divinity in living;
 22 you have empowered knowledge in
 goodness; in
 24 blessedness you have empowered the
 shadows which pour forth from the one.
 26 You have empowered this (one) in knowledge;
 you have empowered another one in creation.
 28 You have empowered the one who is equal
 and the one who is not equal, the one
 30 who is similar and the one who is not similar.
 You have empowered in begetting, and
 32 (provided) forms (εἶδος) in [that which] exists
 to others. [. . .
 34 [. . .] and [begetting. You have] empowered

123

these.—He is that hidden one (καλυπτός)
 2 [in] the heart.—And [you have] come forth to
 these and [from] these. You are divided
 4 [among them]. And you have

122,25 πῑοτα: This is the One in Neoplatonic thought (cf. 120,32-34 note),
 used here for the primal aeon of the Sethian system, the Father, from
 whom the shadows (the other aeons, cf. 122,2 note) pour forth.

122,31-32 α† σομ ρ̄ν ... ρ̄ν: This breaks the pattern of the previous † σομ
 clauses, all of which are constructed with a dative of destination (α†
 σομ ἡ ρ̄ν ...). Claude (96-97) translates “Tu as impartī une
 puissance, par genre et formes, dans l’Existant jusqu’a d’autres [. . . ”

122,33-34 Wekel reconstructs ϣα ρενκοοτε ϣ[α]ρκω <μμοσ> ε/[ρ]ρα
 ... μ̄ν ο̄ϣ[πιο εκ†]σομ ἡ̄ναῖ Claude reconstructs ϣα
 ρενκοοτε ..[.]. ϣω.[.]/[.]αῖ... μ̄ν ο̄ϣ[πιο· αρε†]σομ ἡ̄.
 Claude notes that the ε at the end of line 33 could as well be a c or ω
 and that an additional letter could follow in the lacuna.

123,1-2 Cf. 122,17-18.

123,2 [α]ρεε†: Read αρεε†; the supralinear stroke is in a lacuna. (Ed.)

123-3 Wekel inserts < . . . > after the second ηαῖ.

πε Ἰϑπρω[το]φάνης Ἰνος
 6 Ἰροοστῆ Ἰη[ο]ϑς· Ἰνοστε
 Ἰειωτῆ· Ἰαλλ[ο]ϑῆ Ἰνοστε· Ἰι
 8 ρεϑϗπε Ἰπε· κατὰ οϑπωϗ
 Ἰνιοντως εἴϗοοη τηροϑ Ἰ
 10 ἀκοϑωνῆ εβολῆ Ἰαϑ τηροϑ Ἰ
 οϑϗδε· ἀϑω οϑἸτακ Ἰμαϑ
 12 ἸναἸ τηροϑ ῶἸ οϑἸἸτατμι
 σε ἸἸ οϑἸἸἸϗα ενεϑ· ἀτ
 14 ϗνε οϑτακο εἴβηητε· ἀϑι
 Ἰαρον Ἰσι ἸιοϑδαἸ· εβολῆ Ἰ
 16 μο πε ἸιοϑδαἸ· Ἰτο οϑσο
 φῆα Ἰτε οϑτνωσις· Ἰτο
 18 πε ἸἸἸἸτε· εἴβηητε πε Ἰι
 ωἸῆ· εβολῆ Ἰμο πε ἸιωἸῆ
 20 εἴβηητε πε Ἰινοϑς εβολῆ Ἰ
 μο πε Ἰινοϑς· Ἰτο οϑνοϑς
 22 Ἰτε οϑκοσμος Ἰτε ἸἸἸἸτε·

- 123,5-6 Claude translates “Pre[mier] Revele, Grand [Intellect] male.”
 πρω[το]φάνης: The aeon Protophanes appears frequently in *Zost.*
 (VIII 13,4 et passim) and *Allogenes* (XI 43,36; 46,[35]; 51,20;
 58,17), where it is one member of the secondary triad of Kalyptos-
 Protophanes-Autogenes (supra, 122,14 note and 122,20-23 note). In
 Cod. Bruc. *Untitled* (ch. 13) the first father is said to have a hidden
 (καλυπτός) aspect, a first-visible (πρωτοφανής) aspect and a self-
 begotten (αὐτογενής) aspect (cf. 122,14 note).
- 123,6b Ἰινοστε: This begins a new sentence (Wekel, Tardieu, Claude;
 contra Krause).
- 123,6-7 The use of the descriptive names of “fatherly God” and “divine
 child” in reference to Barbelo underscores her central position
 between the invisible Father and the Self-begotten. She can bear the
 titles because Self-begotten is an extension of herself as she is an
 extension of the Father. In *Ap. John* (BG 21,19-21; cf. II 9,10-11) the
 supreme God states, “I am the Father, I am the Mother, I am the
 Son” (ἀνοκ πε [πειωτ ἀ]νοκ πε τμααϑ ἀνοκ [πε
 πϗη]ρε).
- 123,7-8 Ἰιρεϑϗπε Ἰπε: A *hapax legomenon*. Schenke has suggested
 “accountant” based on ρεϑϗι Ἰπε (Crum, 528a); however, the pat-

become a
 O fatherly
 divine chi
 begetter of
 of all who
 you (masc.
 a word. As
 them all un
 and eternal
 an account
 salvation ha
 you is salva
 wisdom (σο
 =: truthfult
 He from yo
 On account
 you is mind
 you are a wo

term pe
 780a).
 numerat
 Cf. 120
 alternat
 Krause,
 Layton
 clause =
 But the
 ἀτνε
 “you ar
 Claude;
 The two
 (νοῖς),
 note); he
 expect t
 (οῖς δα
 Alternat
 die Wahr
 (Tardieu

- become a great male noetic (νοῦς) first-appearer (πρωτοφανής).
- 6 O fatherly God,
divine child,
- 8 begetter of multiplicity. According to (κατά) a division
of all who really (ὄντως) are,
- 10 you (masc.) have appeared to them all in
a word. And you (masc.) possess
- 12 them all unbegottenly
and eternally, imperishable
- 14 on account of you (fem.).
Salvation has come to us; from
- 16 you is salvation. You are
wisdom (σοφία), you are knowledge (γνώσις); you
- 18 are truthfulness. On account of you is
life; from you is life.
- 20 On account of you is mind (νοῦς); from
you is mind (νοῦς). You are a mind (νοῦς);
- 22 you are a world (κόσμος) of truthfulness;

-
- 123,10-11 tern ρεϥϣϣ- with the sense of begetter is fairly common (Crum, 780a). The title thus most likely refers to the notion of “becoming numerable” († ΗΠΕ) found at 122,8-10.
- 123,14 Cf. 120,28; 126,1-2. Wekel supports the translation given here. The alternative “you have revealed a word to them” is preferred by Krause, Claude, and Tardieu.
- 123,17 Layton (*Gnostic Scriptures*, 156) takes ΕΤΒΗΗΤΕ with the following clause and translates, “Because of you salvation has come to us.” But the raised dot after ΕΤΒΗΗΤΕ suggests that it belongs with ΔΤΖΝΕ ΟΥΤΑΚΟ.
- 123,18-20 “you are knowledge”: Alternatively “of knowledge” (Krause, Claude, Tardieu).
- 123,21-22 The two ΕΤΒΗΗΤΕ clauses link Barbelo to life (ω̅ν̅ϩ = ζωή) and mind (νοῦς), two members of the existence-life-mind triad (122,20-23 note); however, the preceding clause (123,14-12), which one would expect to link her to existence, actually connects her to salvation (ΟΥΤΑΚΟ).
- Alternate translations are “Du bist ein Nus, du bist eine Welt, du bist die Wahrheit” (Wekel) and “Tu es l’intellect du monde de la verité” (Tardieu, cf. Krause). Cf. 123,27.

24 $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\theta\psi\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\ \beta\omicron\mu\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\theta$
 $\psi\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\ \kappa\omega\beta\ \epsilon\eta\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\beta$
 $\bar{\eta}\psi\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\ \bar{\eta}\sigma\omicron\pi\ \pi\epsilon\omega\eta\ \bar{\eta}$
 26 $\tau\epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\ \mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\tau\eta\delta\sigma\ \rho\bar{\eta}\ \sigma\theta\tau\bar{\beta}\beta\omicron\ \epsilon\eta\iota\psi\omicron$
 28 $\rho\bar{\pi}\ \psi\delta\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\upsilon\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \eta\iota\delta\tau\ \mu\iota\sigma\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\bar{\pi}\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\bar{\pi}\omega\psi\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$
 30 $\theta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\omega\psi\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\tau\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$
 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\upsilon\omicron\tau\pi\epsilon\ \mu\alpha$
 32 $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\eta\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}\eta\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\delta\sigma\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron$
 $\rho\sigma\ \dagger\ \beta\omicron\mu\ \bar{\eta}\delta\alpha\eta\ \rho\bar{\iota}\eta\delta\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon$
 $\rho\kappa\delta$
 $\eta\omicron\sigma\theta\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\sigma\omega\eta\bar{\theta}\ \bar{\eta}\psi\delta\ \epsilon$
 2 $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\eta\theta\bar{\iota}\eta\ \delta\bar{\iota}\eta\mu\omicron\eta\ \sigma\theta\upsilon\delta\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}$
 $\beta\epsilon\sigma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \dots\ [\ \]\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta$
 4 $\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\theta\upsilon\delta\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\beta\bar{\iota}\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\epsilon}\ \eta\bar{\iota}\eta\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}$
 $\psi\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\ \bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\omicron\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\bar{\pi}\ \zeta\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$
 6 $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\eta\ \bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\bar{\pi}\ \bar{\delta}\eta\eta\omicron\eta\ \rho\epsilon\eta\psi\delta$
 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\upsilon\ \zeta\omega\tau\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\eta\ \rho\delta\ \eta\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$
 8 $\sigma\delta\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\iota\delta\bar{\iota}$

- 123,23-24 Cf. 122,11-12 note. Claude and Krause translate $\sigma\theta\psi\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\ \kappa\omega\beta$ as "double triplement"/"doppelt dreimal."
- 123,25-26 $\pi\epsilon\omega\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \rho\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega\eta$: Claude understands this as a vocative which begins the final prayer of the second stele (so too Tardieu and Wekel). Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,24-25.33.
- 123,29-31 Barbelo, who begat multiplicity (123,8) and yet remains united with the Father, is here presented as a paradigm of the Gnostic elect. They are the lowest strata of the divine who now seek unity with the Father as Barbelo has unity with the Father. They have reached and glorified Barbelo in their ascent and now ask her succor to reach the final goal (cf. 120,30).
- 123,33-124,1 The Self-begotten can save the elect (120,34-35) because Barbelo has empowered the elect to be saved (cf. 123,14-15). She can empower the elect because the Father has commanded it (125,14-16). Cf. Iren. *Haer.* 4.20.5; Hipp. *Noet.* 14.

you are a
 threefold
 thrice, the
 aeons (ai
 who see p
 eternal on
 but also (o
 you have
 as you hav
 Teach us f
 Empower
 124
 he saved to
 for [we] ar
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 shadow (o
 first pre-exi
 is first. We
 Hear us as t
 perfect (rela

KATA
 Claude
 η[η] ε
 Father,
 Numer
 the she
 divine i
 [δλ]η[ο]
 eternal
 aeons (c
 Cf. 121

- 24 you are a triple power; you are
 threefold. Truly you are
 thrice, the aeon (αἰών) of
 26 aeons (αἰών). It is you alone
 who see purely the first
 28 eternal ones and the unbegotten ones,
 but also (δέ) the first divisions as (κατά)
 30 you have been divided. Unite us
 as you have been united.
 32 Teach us [those] things which you see.
 Empower [us] that (ἵνα) we may
 124
 be saved to eternal life.
 2 For [we] are [each] a shadow
 of you [. . .] as you are
 4 a shadow [of that]
 first pre-existent one. Hear
 6 us first. We are eternal ones.
 Hear us as the
 8 perfect (τέλειος) individuals (κατά). You are the aeon (αἰών)

-
- 124,3 **ΚΑΤΑ** ..[.]. **ΕΤΕΚΤΕ**: So too with minor variation Krause and
 Claude; **ΚΑΤΑ ΘΞ[Θ]Η ΕΤΕῤῤΤΕ** (Wekel).
 124,2-5 **Π[Η Ε]ΤΡῸΥΡΠ ἸΨΟΟΠ [Ἰ]ΨΟΡΠ**: The preexistent one is the
 Father, of whom Barbelo is the shadow or image (122,2 note). Cf.
 Numenius, *Frg.* 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 22; Plot. *Enn.* 5.5.3. The image of
 the shadow is here used to describe the further reflection of the
 divine in the Gnostic elect.
 124,6-7 **[ΔΗ]ΘΗ ΘΕΝΨΔ ΕΝΕΘ**: Since the Gnostic elect have been saved to
 eternal life (124,1; 126,28), they can be termed eternal alongside the
 aeons (119,24; 120,7; 122,6.19; 123,28; 124,22).
 124,7-8 Cf. 121,3-4 note; 124,24-25.

10 ΩΝ ἸΤΕ ΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ· †ΠΑΝΤΕ
 ΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΚΗ Θ̄Ι ΟΘΜΑ· ΔΑΩΤ̄Μ
 ΔΑΩΤ̄Μ· ΑΝΟΘ̄Μ ΑΝΟΘ̄Μ·
 12 Τ̄ΝΨΠ̄ Θ̄ΜΟΤ· Τ̄ΝΣΜΟΘ̄ Ν̄ΟΘΟ
 ΕΨ ΝΙΜ· ΕΝΕ† ΕΟΟΘ̄ ΝΕ: >>>>—
 14 †ΜΕΘ̄Σ̄ΝΤΕ Ν̄ΣΤΗΛΗ >>—
 ἸΤΕ Σ̄ΗΘ̄: >>>>— >>>—
 — — — — —
 16 ΤΜΕΘ̄ΨΟΜΤΕ Ν̄ΣΤΗΛΗ >>—
 Τ̄ΝΡΑΨΕ Τ̄ΝΡΑΨΕ Τ̄ΝΡΑΨΕ
 18 ΑΝΝΑΘ̄· ΑΝΝΑΘ̄· ΑΝΝΑΘ̄· ΕΠΗ
 ΕΤ̄Ρ Ψ̄ΡΠ̄ ἸΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΥ
 20 ΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ· ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΠΙ
 ΨΟΡΠ̄ ἸΨΑ ΕΝΕΘ̄· ΠΙΔ̄Τ̄ΜΙ
 22 ΣΕ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΚ ΝΕ ΝΙΨΑ ΕΝΕΘ̄·
 Μ̄Ν ΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΝΙΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 24 ΕΤΚΗ Θ̄Ι ΟΘΜΑ· Μ̄Ν ΝΙΚΑΤΑ
 ΟΘΑ ἸΤΕΛΙΟΣ· Τ̄ΝΣΜΟΘ̄ Ε
 26 ΡΟΚ ΠΙΔΟΘ̄ΣΙΑ· †Θ̄ΠΑΡΖΙΣ
 ΕΤ̄ΡΑΘΗ ἸΘΕΝΘ̄ΠΑΡΖΙΣ·
 28 †ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΟΘΙΑ ΕΤ̄ΡΑΘΗ
 ἸΘΕΝΟΘ̄ΣΙΑ· ΠΙΩΤ̄ ἸΤΕ
 30 †Μ̄ΝΤ̄ΝΟΘ̄ΤΕ Μ̄Ν †Μ̄ΝΤ̄
 ΩΝΘ̄· ΠΙΡΕΥΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΘ̄Σ·

- 124,9-10 †ΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΚΗ Θ̄ΙΟΘΜΑ: This is a title for the aeons, used here individually for Barbelo. Cf. 124,23-24.
- 124,10-13 The elect rejoice at the success of their prayer to Barbelo. Her hearing of their prayer precedes their salvation (cf. Rom 10:14), for the success of which they give thanks and glory. That she hears it is the function of the liturgy.
- 124,16 Wekel adds ἸΤΕ Σ̄ΗΘ̄.
- 124,17-24a This section represents an initial liturgical rejoicing at the success of attaining the highest level. The hymn proper begins at 124,21b.
- 124,18 Cf. 121,25-27; *Ap. John* II 3,12-13.
- 124,18-19 ΕΠΗ ΕΤ̄Ρ Ψ̄ΡΠ̄ ἸΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ: Cf. 121,26-27 note.
- 124,21-22 ΠΙΔ̄Τ̄ΜΙΣΕ: ἀγέν(ν)ητος. The Unbegotten as the designation of the supreme or primal member of the triad is to be distinguished from the unbegotten ones (118,28-29; *Allogenes* XI 54,34), here termed eternal ones.

of aeons (e
who is esta
You have
We give th
We shall gl
The
of Se

The Third S
We rejoice!
We have see
really (ὄντως
that he really
first eternal o
from you are
of the aeons
who are estab
perfect (τέλει
you, the non-b
which is befor
the first being
things (ὄντα)
family and lif
creator of minc

1 Cf. *Ap. J*
(122,5-6).
2 ἸΠΑΝΤΕ
used of Ba
3 ΝΙΚΑΤΑ
4 ΠΙΔΟΘ̄
5 The prior
126,14-16
existence-
note).
6 ΠΙΩΤ̄ ἸΤΕ
frequent ti
Chr. BG 8
3,18-22; *A*
Ap. John I
πیرهτα

- of aeons (αἰών), the all-perfect (παντέλειος) one
 10 who is established. You have heard!
 You have heard! You have saved! You have saved!
 12 We give thanks! We bless you always!
 We shall glorify you!
 14 The Second Stele (στήλη)
 of Seth.
- 16 The Third Stele (στήλη).
 We rejoice! We rejoice! We rejoice!
 18 We have seen! We have seen! We have seen the
 really (ὄντως) preexistent one (masc.),
 20 that he really (ὄντως) exists, that he is the
 first eternal one. O unbegotten,
 22 from you are the eternal ones
 and the aeons (αἰών), the all-perfect (παντέλειος) ones
 24 who are established, and the
 perfect (τέλειος) individuals (κατά). We bless
 26 you, the non-being (-οὐσία), existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 which is before existences (ὑπαρξίς),
 28 the first being (οὐσία) which is before
 beings (οὐσία), Father of
 30 divinity and life,
 creator of mind (νοῦς),

-
- 124,22-23 Cf. *Ap. John* II 4,3; 13,14. Barbelo is also called the aeon-giver (122,5-6).
- 124,23-24 ΝΙΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΚΗ Θῆ ΟΥΜΑ: Cf. 124,9-10 where the title is used of Barbelo.
- 124,24-25 ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ ΗΤΕΛΙΟΣ: Cf. 121,3-4 note; 124,7-8.
- 124,26 ΠΙΛΤΟΥΣΙΑ: Cf. 121,27 note.
- 124,26-29 The priority of the supreme God is here underlined (cf. 125,28-29; 126,14-16; *Ap. John* II 3,8-17; 4,12-13). Note the presence of the existence-life-mind (124,31) triad in this section (cf. 122,20-23 note).
- 124,29-31 ΠΙΩΤ ἸΤΕ ἸΑΝῆΤΗΝΟΥΤΕ Μῆ ἸΑΝῆΤΩΜΟΥ: Cf. 122,20-21. Father is a frequent title for the supreme God (*Ap. John* II 2,28-29; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* BG 86,5). He is the source of divinity (cf. 119,14; *Ap. John* II 3,18-22; *Allogenes* XI 54,8-9) and the source of life (cf. 125,30-31; *Ap. John* II 4,4).
- 124,31 ΠΙΡΕΥΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΥΣ: Cf. 122,22; 125,31-32; *Ap. John* II 4,5-6.

32 π[ρ]εϣ[τ] α[γ]αθ[ο]ν· π[ρ]εϣ[τ]
 μ[η]τ[ι] μακαρι[ο]ς· [τ]η[ρ]ο[υ]σ[μ]ο[υ]
 34 εροκ τηρην π[ι]ρ[ε]φειμε ρην
 ο[υ]σμο[υ] εϣ[τ] εο[υ]ο[υ]· πα[ι] ε

ρκε

τε ετβη[η]τ[ι] π[ι]ε να[ι] τηρο[υ]σ·
 2 [η]τε [.] . [.] . μ [. ο[ν]τ]ω[ς]
 ε. [.]ϣ [.] . ετειμε εροκ
 4 εβο[λ]α ρη[τ]ο[υ]τ[ι]κ[ι] ο[υ]σαακ· μ[η]ν
 λαα[υ] [τ]αρ εϣ[ρ]ε[η]εργει ρατεκ
 6 ερ[η]· η[τ]κ ο[υ]π[η]να ο[υ]σααϣ α[υ]ω
 εϣοη[ρ]· α[υ]ω [κ]σοο[υ]ν εο[υ]α·
 8 δε πιο[υ]α ετη[ν]τακ η[σ]αα η[μ]α
 μ[η]ν βο[μ] μ[μ]ον ε[ξ]οοϣ· ϣ[ρ] ο[υ]
 10 οειν ταρ ερρα[ι] ε[ξ]ωη η[σ]ι πεκ
 ο[υ]οειν· ο[υ]εϩ σα[ρ]νε ναη δε
 12 καακ ενανα[υ] εροκ δεκαακ
 ε[ν]ενο[υ]μ· τεκ[ν]ωσις η[ι]
 14 το[υ] πε πενο[υ]α[ι] τηρην· ο[υ]
 εϩ σα[ρ]νε εκ[υ]αηο[υ]εϩ σα[ρ]
 16 νε αηνο[υ]μ· ε[ν]αμε αηνο[υ]
 υ[μ] αηνα[υ] εροκ ρη[ι] ο[υ]νο[υ]σ·
 18 η[τ]οκ πε να[ι] τηρο[υ]σ· υ[α]κνο[υ]

124,32 π[ρ]εϣ[τ] α[γ]αθ[ο]ν: Cf. 119,18-19; 122,23; *Ap. John* II 4,6-7.
 124,32-33 π[ρ]εϣ[τ] μ[η]τ[ι] μακαρι[ο]ς: Cf. 122,24; *Ap. John* II 4,4-5.
 124,35 εϣ[τ] εο[υ]ο[υ]· ε[.]ϣ· (Krause); ε[ϣ]τββη[ο]ϣ· (Wekel); ε[νε]τ
 εοο[υ]· (Claude); εϣ[τ]εββη[ο]ϣ· (Wisse). The reconstruction with
 εοο[υ] is to be preferred since blessing and glorifying are closely
 related in *Steles Seth* (126,20-30).
 125,1 τε ετβη[η]τ[ι] .[. . .]τηρο[υ]σ (Claude; cf. Krause).
 125,2 η[τ] [εκ[τ]η]ω[ς] Δ[ι]κ[α]ι[ω]ς (Wekel); η[τ] .[.] .[.] μ[±6]ω[ς]
 (Claude's trans.); η[τ] [.] [.] ω[ς] (Krause).
 125,4 ο[υ]σαακ: μα[υ]σαακ (Wekel).
 125,5 Cf. 126,16-17. The activity (ἐνέργεια) of the triad has its origin in
 the supreme God (cf. Plot. *Enn.* 6.8.12; *Corp. Herm., Asclepius*
 34,24-26). In Sethian mythology Barbelo is usually seen as the
 ἐνέργεια of the Father (*Marsanes* X 7, 2-19; *Allogenes* XI 53,9-31).
 125,6 ο[υ]π[η]να ο[υ]σααϣ· ο[υ]π[η]να εϣ·ο[υ]σααϣ (Wekel). Cf. 126,25-26.

giver of
 blessed
 you know
 a glorify
 because of
 [...] real
 [...], wh
 through
 that is act
 you. You
 And [you]
 for (it is) th
 We are not
 your light s
 Command t
 use you, s
 we might be
 is the salvat
 Command!
 we have bee
 ned! We h
 You are ther
 The Fa
 5,12 et
 [K]oc
 The in
 125,26
 ϣ[ρ] ο[υ]
 Gnosti
 (123,3
 120,26
 124
 τεκ[ν]ω
 salvati
 raison
 stated.
 It is a
 47
 This is

32 giver of good (ἀγαθόν), giver of
blessedness (-μακάριος)! We all bless
34 you, knower, in
a [glorifying] blessing, (you)

125

because of whom all [these are.]

2 [. . .] really (ὄντως),
[. . .], who knows you
4 [through] you alone. For (γάρ) there is nothing
[that is] active (ἐνεργεῖν) before
6 you. You are an only and living [spirit (πνεῦμα)].
And [you] know (the) one,
8 for (it is) this one who belongs to you everywhere.
We are not able to express him. For (γάρ)
10 your light shines upon us.
Command us
12 to see you, so that
we might be saved. It is knowledge (γνώσις) of you that
14 is the salvation of us all.
Command! If you command,
16 we have been saved! Truly we have been
saved! We have seen you by mind (νοῦς)!
18 You are them all, for (γάρ) you save

The Father is often referred to as the Invisible Spirit (*Ap. John* II 5,12 et passim; *Allogenes* XI 64,34-36).

125,7-8 [Κ]COOΘH: [EY]COOΘH (Krause, Claude).

125,9 The inexpressibility of the supreme God is a common topos (cf. 125,26-28; 126,18f; *Ap. John* II 2,33-4,26).

125,9-10 ϣῤ̄ OΘOETH: Cf. 119,10; 122,3-21.

125,11-13 Gnostic salvation is here seen to originate with the supreme God (123,33-124,1 note). For the command of the supreme God, cf. 120,26-28; 125,14-16.22; 126,1.

125,13-14 ΤΕΚΓHΩCIC H̄TOC ΠE ΠEMOYKAI: Knowledge of the Father is the salvation of the elect. The basic tenet of Sethian Gnosticism and the *raison d'être* for the liturgical practice reflected in *Steles Seth* is here stated. Knowledge of the Father is "seeing" the Father (125,11-13). It is a mental process (125,17; 119,27-30).

125,14b-17 This is a liturgical restatement of 125,11-14a.

20 $\overline{\varrho}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\mu}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\gamma}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\delta}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\gamma}$
 22 $\overline{\nu}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\varrho}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\varrho}\overline{\iota}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\eta}$
 $\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$
 24 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\kappa}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\rho}\overline{\eta}$
 $\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\delta}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\epsilon}$
 26 $\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\delta}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\pi}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}$
 $\overline{\nu}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\omega}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\eta}\overline{\varrho}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\rho}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$
 28 $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\psi}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\varphi}\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\mu}$
 $\overline{\mu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\tau}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$
 30 $\overline{\pi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\zeta}\overline{\iota}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$
 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\nu}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$
 32 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$
 $[\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}]$ $[\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}]$ $\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\eta}\overline{\lambda}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\kappa}$
 $\langle\overline{\rho}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\zeta}\rangle$
 2 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\rho}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\iota}$
 $\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ $[\overline{\tau}\overline{\rho}]$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\eta}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}$ $[\overline{\varrho}\overline{\mu}]$ $\overline{\varrho}\overline{\mu}$ $\overline{\pi}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\kappa}$
 $\overline{\psi}\overline{\alpha}$ $[\overline{\delta}\overline{\epsilon} . . .]$ $[\ . . .]$ $\overline{\epsilon}$ $[\ \pm 7 \]$ $\overline{\mu}$

- 125,19 $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$: $\overline{\pi}\overline{\eta}$ continues the subject of the previous sentence, $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$ (125,17).
- 125,23-126,16 This hymnic section shares numerous elements with the hymnic material in *Allogenes* (XI 54,11-37) and *Zost.* (VIII 51,24-52,2.6-9.18-24; 86,13-20). For a discussion, Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostic of Plotinus," 134-38.
- 125,23 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$: Cf. *Zost.* VIII 51,24-25; *Allogenes* XI 54,22-23; *Ap. John* II 2,26.29.
- 125,24-25 $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\delta}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\kappa}$: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,26, where midway through the hymnic section an individual (fem.) is said to praise the entire one. The individual has been identified as Youel by Robinson ("The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 134) and a hypostasized Gnosis by Schenke ("Gnostic Sethianism," 601).
- 125,26b-28a It is not only that the name of the supreme God is beyond the Gnostic's ability to know, but that the transcendence of the supreme God makes him unnameable (cf. 125,9; *Allogenes* XI 54,37; *Ap. John* BG

them all.
will not b
served, by
For (yōp)
You are o
-ere is on
to you. Yc
How shall
you a nam
For you ar
-them all
You are thi
-l. You an
of them all
[For (yōp)],
<126>
You have c
to be saved
word [...]

24,2;
5; 82.
memb
This i
Steles
18 Cf. 12
19 Cf. 12
20 Cf. 12
[ca.p
These
25), w
offer p
The F
Self-h
10a[as
±7]a

- them all. You are he who
 20 will not be saved, nor (οὐδέ) have been
 saved, by them.
 22 For (γάρ) you, you have commanded us.
 You are one. You are one, just as (κατά)
 24 there is one (who) will say
 to you: You are one, you are a single living spirit (πνεῦμα).
 26 How shall we give
 you a name? We do not have it.
 28 For you are the existence (ὑπαρξις)
 of them all.
 30 You are the life of them
 all. You are the mind (νοῦς)
 32 of them all.
 [For (γάρ)] you [are he in whom they all] rejoice.
 <126>
 You have commanded all these
 2 [to be saved] through your
 word [. . .

-
- 24,2; Iren. *Haer.* 1.29.1; *Corp. Herm.* 5.1; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 71.3-5; 82.1; Orig. *Cels.* 6.65). The name of the Self-begotten, the third member of the triad, can be spoken (119,20-22).
- 125,28-29 This is the clearest expression of the existence-life-mind triad in *Steles Seth* (cf. 122,20-23; 124,25-33; *Allogenes* XI 49,26-38).
- 125,28-29 Cf. 124,26-29 note.
- 125,30-31 Cf. 124,29-31 note.
- 125,31-32 Cf. 124,31 note.
- 125,33 [ἮΑΡ ΝΑΪ: (Wekel); [ΕΤΕ ΝΑΪ] (Claude, Krause). ΝΑΪ ΤΗ[ΡΟ]Υ: These should be understood as all those below the Father (124,21-25), which includes the Gnostic elect or perfect individuals who offer praise through the *Steles Seth* liturgy.
- 126,1-3 The Father commands the elects' salvation through his word, the Self-begotten (120,26-28; 123,33-124,1 note; 125,11-13 note).
- 126,3 ἸΑ[ΞΕ Μ]ΑΨΑΔΑ[Κ] Ε[ΤΞΩΚ ΕΒΟ]Δ (Wekel); ἸΑ[ΞΕ.]... [.]Ε[±7]Α (Claude, cf. Krause).

4 $\overline{\text{MM}}[\text{OO}]\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{PIEPO}}[\overline{\text{O}} \text{NO}\overline{\text{O}}]\overline{\text{T}}$
 $\overline{\text{ETPAZOWY}} [\overline{\text{PIK}}]\overline{\text{AC}} \overline{\text{PI}}\overline{\text{M}}[\overline{\text{A}}]\overline{\text{KAP}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 6 $\overline{\text{OC}} \overline{\text{CHNAWON}} [\overline{\text{PET}}]\overline{\text{ZPO}} \overline{\text{EBOA}}$
 $\overline{\text{MMOY}} \overline{\text{OTAA}}[\overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{ACI}}]\overline{\text{NEO}}$ $\overline{\text{ME}}$
 8 $\overline{\text{ΦNEO}}$ $\overline{\text{OPTAWON}}$ $\overline{\text{ELEMAWON}}$
 $\overline{\text{PINOC}} \overline{\text{NCOM}}$ $\overline{\text{EMOTHTAP}}$
 10 $\overline{\text{NIBAREO}}$ $\overline{\text{KANDEPHORE}}$ $\overline{\text{AFRH}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΔWON}}$ $\overline{\text{DHIFANEOS}}$ $\overline{\text{NTOK}}$
 12 $\overline{\text{ETE}}$ $\overline{\text{NARMHAWON}}$ $\overline{\text{NAI}}$ $\overline{\text{PIPEYZPE}}$
 $\overline{\text{COM}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘALLANATHEO}}$ $\overline{\text{ANTHETHOS}}$
 14 $\overline{\text{NTOK}}$ $\overline{\text{ETWOOPI}}$ $\overline{\text{NORAI}}$ $\overline{\text{NQH}}$
 $\overline{\text{TK}}$ $\overline{\text{MATAAK}}$ $\overline{\text{NTOK}}$ $\overline{\text{ETPAZOK}}$
 16 $\overline{\text{MATAAK}}$ $\overline{\text{AOW}}$ $\overline{\text{MMHNCWK}}$
 $\overline{\text{MPELAAO}}$ $\overline{\text{EI}}$ $\overline{\text{ESENERGEI}}$ $\overline{\text{EN}}$
 18 $\overline{\text{NACMO}}$ $\overline{\text{EROK}}$ $\overline{\text{NOS}}$ $\overline{\text{MMH}}$
 $\overline{\text{COM}}$ $\overline{\text{MMON}}$ $\overline{\text{ALLA}}$ $\overline{\text{THTHTI}}$ $\overline{\text{ZMOT}}$
 20 $\overline{\text{ZWC}}$ $\overline{\text{ENΘEBHOS}}$ $\overline{\text{NAK}}$ $\overline{\text{ZE}}$ $\overline{\text{AK}}$
 $\overline{\text{OSES}}$ $\overline{\text{CARENE}}$ $\overline{\text{NAN}}$ $\overline{\text{ZA}}$ $\overline{\text{PI}}$ $\overline{\text{ET}}$
 22 $\overline{\text{COTPI}}$ $\overline{\text{EF}}$ $\overline{\text{EOST}}$ $\overline{\text{NAK}}$ $\overline{\text{KATA}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΘE}}$ $\overline{\text{ETE}}$ $\overline{\text{ON}}$ $\overline{\text{HTCOM}}$ $\overline{\text{MMON}}$

- 126,4 $\overline{\text{MM}}[\text{OO}]\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{PIEPO}}[\overline{\text{O}} \text{NHTOP}]\overline{\text{PI}}$ (Wekel); $\overline{\text{MM}}[\text{OO}]\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{PIE}}[\dots][\pm 6]$ $\overline{\text{IT}}$ (Claude, cf. Krause).
 126,5 $[\overline{\text{PIK}}]\overline{\text{AC}}$: Cf. 122,14 note; 123,1. $\overline{\text{PI}}\overline{\text{M}}[\overline{\text{A}}]\overline{\text{KAP}}\overline{\text{I}}$: $\overline{\text{PI}}\overline{\text{M}}[\overline{\text{A}}]\overline{\text{KAP}}\overline{\text{I}}$ (Claude, cf. Krause).
 126,6 $\overline{\text{CHNAWON}}$: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,28.
 126,6-7 $\overline{\text{ET}}\overline{\text{ZPO}}$ $\overline{\text{EBOA}}$ $\overline{\text{MMOY}}$ $\overline{\text{OTAA}}[\overline{\text{Y}}]$: Coptic translation of *Autogenes* (*Gos. Eg.* III 66,24 and IV 79,6-7); cf. *Eg. hpr ds.f.* "Who came into being by himself" is a common Egyptian epithet for a creator god.
 126,7 $\overline{\text{ACI}}\overline{\text{NEO}}$: $\dots\overline{\text{NEO}}$ (Claude, Krause); $[\overline{\text{Φ}}]\overline{\text{NEO}}$ (Wekel). Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,29.
 126,7-8 $\overline{\text{ME}}\overline{\text{ΦNEO}}$: so Clause, Krause; $[\overline{\text{Φ}}]\overline{\text{NEO}}$ $\overline{\text{ΦNEO}}$ (Wekel).
 126,8 $\overline{\text{OPTAWON}}$: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,31. $\overline{\text{ELEMAWON}}$: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,30.
 126,9 $\overline{\text{PINOC}}$ $\overline{\text{NCOM}}$: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,21 ($\overline{\text{NTK}}$ $\overline{\text{OSTHOC}}$).
 126,10-11 $\overline{\text{AFRHΔWON}}$: Cf. *Zost.* VIII 86, [13]; 88,18; 122,7; *Allogenes* XI 54,23-24. For a discussion of the name, see Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, 26-31.
 126,11 $\overline{\text{DHIFANEOS}}$: Cf. *Zost.* VIII 86,16; 119,8.

- 4 them, the [single glory]
that is before him, O hidden one (καλυπτός), blessed (μακάριος)
- 6 Senaon, [he who begat]
himself, [Asi]neu(s).
- 8 Mephneu(s), Optaon, Elemaon
the great power, Emouniar,
- 10 Nibareu(s), Kandephor(os), Aphredon,
Deiphaneus, you
- 12 who are Armedon to me, the power-begetter,
Thalanatheu(s), Antitheus.
- 14 It is you who exist within
yourself, you who are before
- 16 yourself—and after you
no one entered into activity (ἐνεργεῖν). With
- 18 what shall we bless you? We are
not able. But (ἀλλά) we give thanks,
- 20 as (ὡς) ones who are inferior, to you. For you have
commanded us, as he who
- 22 is elect, to glorify you to the extent (κατά) that
we are able.

-
- 126,12 ἀρμηδων: Cf. *Zost.* VIII 119,[5]; 126,[23]; 127,9; *Allogenes* XI 54,12; *Trim. Prot.* XIII 38,34; also ραρμηδων: *Zost.* VIII 86,19; 120,3; *Allogenes* XI 43,36; 58,17. Claude (111) views the reference to Armedon (126,11b-12a) as a secondary gloss.
- 126,14 ἦτοκ ἐτῷοοπ: Cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,32-33 (ἦτοκ πε πετῷοοπ).
- 126,17 εἰσενεργεῖ: Cf. 125,5 note.
- 126,18f The transcendence of the supreme God defies the elect's ability to define him (cf. 125,9.26-28).
- 126,21 οὔτερ εαθνε ναν: The supreme God has commanded his worship by the elect (*raison d'être* of *Steles Seth*). It is the worship in *Steles Seth* which leads the elect to the vision and knowledge of the Father, which in turn is their salvation (125,11-17).
- 126,22-23 κατα θε ετε οὔη ὑσομ ἄμον: The utter transcendence and incomprehensible nature of the Father means that no glorification of him is sufficient. The elect can only glorify the Father to the extent that they are able. This phrase may alternatively be taken as the beginning of a new sentence (Krause, Tardieu, Wekel).

24 We bless you because we have been saved.
 Always we glorify
 26 you. For this reason we will
 glorify you, that we may be
 28 saved to eternal salvation.
 We have blessed you, for we are
 30 able. We have been saved, for you
 have willed always
 32 that we all do this. We
 all did this. [. . .
 not through [. . .

<127>

[. . .
 2 [. . .
 [. . .
 4 [. . .] who has
 [. . .], we and those
 6 who [. . .]. The one who will
 remember these and give

success of the
 seen the Father
 126,1-17.
 Seth has led to
 of the ascent
 of salvation call
 commanded of
 able" 116,12-17
 sense is the
 cause they are
 of the elect
 5,11-17 note, Q
 (Krause, Tardif,
 ερωματα
 Coptic recon-
 the sense of the
 'wann) wir
 (bringen) dicit

eigene Kraft, sondern durch seine Hilfe . . .). U[nd wir sel]bst,
 [w]enn wie [seine Weis]heit er[langen, wird] jener, der sich [unser]
 er[barmt] hat, uns auch zu denen [verset]zen, die (schon) er[löst]
 sind."

- 126,32 [Δ]ΝΕΙΡ[Ε]: [Ε]ΝΕΙΡ[Ε] (Wekel, Krause, Claude).
- 126,33 [Ν̄Τ]Ε Ν[] (Krause); [Ν̄[Τ]Ε Ν[.....] (Claude); [Ν̄Τ]ΕΝ[ΝΔΔΔΥ] (Wekel).
- 127,1 [.....]. Κ ΔΝ ρω[.....] (Wekel); [] Ν Α[.] (Krause); [±14]. ΝΝ[.] (Claude). The fragment containing part of this line is out of place in *Facsimile Edition*. (Ed.)
- 127,2 [±11]...[±5] (Wekel); [±10]..[±4] (Claude, cf. Krause).
- 127,3 Δ[ΘΩ ΔΝΟΝ ρω]ΩΝ· ΕΝ[Υ]ΔΝΑ (Wekel); [±9]ΩΝ· ΕΝ[. .]. ΝΑ (Claude); []ΩΝ· ΕΝ[...]. ΝΑ[.] (Krause).
- 127,4 Δ[ΤΕ ΝΤΕΥΟ]ΦΙΑ· ΠΗ ΕΤΑΥ (Wekel); [±11]Δ· ΠΗ ΕΤΑΥ (Claude, cf. Krause).
- 127,5 Ν[ΔΝΔΝ ΥΝΔΚΔ] (Wekel); Ν[ΘΤΩ] . . .] (Claude, cf. Krause).
- 127,6 ε†[Δ]ΤΗΘ[ΤΩ] (Wekel, Krause, Claude).
- 127,7 [Ν̄]ΝΔ΄: Wekel interpolates "(drei Gottheiten)" into his translation. It is most likely a reference to the immeasurable majesties of the triad (cf. 118,20-23).

- 8 glory always shall
become perfect (τέλειος) among those who are perfect (τέλειος)
10 and impassable beyond
all things. For they all bless
12 these individually (κατά) and together.
And afterwards they shall be
14 silent. And just as (κατά) they
were ordained, they ascend.
16 After the silence, they descend
from the third.
18 They bless the second;
after these the first.
20 The way of ascent is the way
of descent. Know therefore (οὖν),
22 as those who live, that you have
attained. And you taught
24 yourselves the infinite things.
Marvel at the truth which is within

genes (XI,3) all report the ascent of the figure named in the title, though the number of levels vary (cf. Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus"). Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 23, reports that Plotinus four times attained his goal of being united to and approaching the God who is over all things (τὸ ἐνωθῆναι καὶ πελάσαι τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ). <ⲗ>: Ⲣ̅ (Claude).

127,16-21

The descent simply reverses the process of ascent. Hymnic praise was undoubtedly offered on the descent as well as on the ascent. On this passage, which reflects a famous fragment of Heraclitus (B 60 [Diels]), see Pearson, "Theurgic Tendencies," 261-63.

127,22-23

ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲏⲧ̅ ⲙⲉⲧⲉ: ⲙⲉⲧⲉ (Wekel). Cf. *Marsanes* X 5,18-19: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲱⲣ ⲁⲑⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲓϸⲉⲛⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ).

Consistent elevation
VIII: 127,16-21
ascent among the
equivalent passage
three levels of the
Marsanes XI,3
127,22-23
and Peter's ascent
Marsanes XI,3

26 ρραϊ̅ ἡ̅ρητοϑ̅ ἡ̅π̅ πιοϑω̅η̅ϑ̅ εβολ̅: >>>—

†ϣομτε̅ ἡ̅στἡ̅λη̅ ἡ̅τε̅ σἡ̅θ̅'

28 πείζωωμε̅ πα̅ †ἡ̅μ̅ἡ̅τε̅ιω̅τ̅
πε̅ πῡ̅η̅ρε̅ πε̅ντα̅ϣ̅α̅ϑ̅ϣ̅·

30 σμοϑ̅ εροῖ̅ πιω̅τ̅ †σμοϑ̅
εροκ̅ πιω̅τ̅ ϑ̅ἡ̅ ο̅σ̅ει̅ρη̅νη̅

32 ρα̅μ̅η̅η̅

127,26

ἡ̅π̅ πιοϑω̅η̅ϑ̅ εβολ̅: This is a gloss linked to the identification of the tractate as a latter-day revelation to Dositheos of the secreted three steles of Seth (cf. 118,10-19).

26 them, and (at) the revelation.

The Three Steles (στήλη) of Seth.

28 This book belongs to the fatherhood.
It is the son who wrote it.

30 Bless me, O father. I bless
you, O father, in peace (εἰρήνη).

32 Amen (ἀμήν).

127,29-32 The colophon may refer either to the entire codex (Tardieu, 549; Claude 116; Robinson, NHLE, 1st ed., 363) or to the tractate *Steles Seth* alone (Wekel, 201-203; Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*, 158).

...in the
...in the
...bracket
...error
...and those
...of errors
...of correction
...serious appe
...A list of in
...des is prov

The Parap
Second Ti
Apocalyp
The Teach
The Three

INDICES

Words in the Coptic Words index are ordered according to Crum. Words in the Greek Words index are ordered according to LSJ. Square brackets surround those references for which the editors have conjectured emendations or restorations to the text. Pointed brackets surround those references which contain corrections to scribal omissions or errors. No distinction is made between those instances in which corrections have been offered by the editors and those in which corrections appear as the actual reading within the manuscript.

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The Paraphrase of Shem	1,1-49,9
Second Treatise of the Great Seth	49,10-70,12
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The Teachings of Silvanus	84,15-118,9
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de AEIH
219.
See: 20
m. child
610 m.
See: 20
187.
m. unc
635; 1
229.
handl
81,5,9;
112,5
negation) p
al. anaer
334; 114,2
m l 1,3; 4
19,23;
42,5;
3021(bis);
64,13
80,29;
NTO, m
4,37;
82,8,1
110,3
12,10; 62
24,4
20,14;
43,11
See: enre
m. cath 3
head, chie
m. f. num
See: 20-peg
limit 2,2

COPTIC WORDS

αἰαῖ: ΔΕΙΗ f. greatness 115,1. αἰα(ε)Ι m. increase 100,<10>; 120,9.

αλοϝ See: λο.

αλοϝ m. child 123,[7].

αλω: Ελω m. snare 113,37.

αμοϝ: Αμοϝ εβολ ρη- depart from 88,25. ΑΜΗΕΙΤΗ ϣαροϝ pl. 89,7.

αμντε m. underworld, hades 6,27; 110,21; 114,26. εμντε 3,24; 4,9; 6,35; 11,31; 18,24; 19,19; 21,11; 33,20; 103,22; 104,2.14; 110,29.

αμαρτε handle, rule, take hold of 7,12; 10,2; 34,27; 58,29; 64,35; 66,9; 81,5.9; 82,29; 84,4; 102,2; 110,26; 113,19. ΑΜΑΡΤΕ m. power 112,9. ΑΤΑΜΑΡΤΕ 102,4; 113,13.

αν (negation) *passim*. η- αν *passim*.

αναῖ: ΑΝΑΕΙ be pleasing 24,32. ΑΝΑῖ ρη- 32,20. ρ αναϝ 98,19; 108,34; 114,23. See: αἰαῖ.

ανок I 1,3; 4,[1](bis).5.12; 7,1.31; 8,24.35; 10,21; 11,20; 13,23; 18,[1]; 19,23; 20,1; 21,12; 24,27; 25,15; 30,27; 36,2.7.12; 38,3; 41,21; 42,5; 45,31; 47,7; 49,15.32; 50,12; 51,23.31; 52,1.2.8; 53,30.31(bis); 54,17.27; 55,9.15.26; 56,4.8.13; 58,7.9.13; 59,9.18; 60,13; 64,13.19.20.22(bis); 65,18.31; 69,21; 70,3.5; 72,8.17; 79,31; 80,29; 81,24; 82,3.15; 83,8; 118,26.30; 119,2. ΝТОК, ΝТК, ΝТО, ΝТЕ *passim*. ΝТОС 21,20.32; 75,34; 109,8; 125,13. ΝТОϣ 4,37; 13,11; 20,36; 36,29; 53,34; 63,31; 66,12.15.17; 81,28; 82,8.17; 87,24; 98,22; 101,18; 106,22.23.24(bis).26; 108,25; 110,3.17; 113,21; 114,34; 115,9.28; 116,25; 117,9. ΑΝΟΗ pl. 12,10; 62,32; 63,2.9.16.24; 64,16.28; 124,[2](bis).[6]; 127,5. ΝΤΩΤΗ 24,4; 32,1; 46,11.21.35; 47,3; 49,14.33; 65,22; 70,1. ΤΗΝΕ 20,14; 24,2.15; 25,7; 49,33.35; 65,20.21. ΤΗΝΗ 25,6. ΝΤΟϝ 43,11; 51,8; 53,12; 70,26; 77,15; 78,27.

ανεине See: εине.

αναϣ m. oath 38,21.

απε f. head, chief, authority 40,16.24; 73,7.

απс: НПС f. number 43,34; 44,5.

αρεϝ See: ραρεϝ.

αρηϝ limit 2,27; 3,31; 4,3; 6,33; 8,1.9.12.26.27; 9,7.21.29;

11,19,23; 12,3; 13,25; 36,18; 45,30; 115,21. **ΔΤΑΡΗΖ(Ν)**^ς 59,8; 127,24.

ΔC old 57,16; 105,14. **ΡΜΗΔC** m. old man 114,18.

ΔCΔΙ: **ΕCΙΩΘΘ**[†] be carefree 49,8.

ΔCΠE f. language, speech 41,11,12.

ΔΦΩ and *passim*. **ΔΦΩ ΜΝ-** 51,28.

ΔΨ what? who? which? 28,21; 47,19; 89,12,14; 92,12,13,14; 96,18; 103,29. **ΔΨ ΝΡE** 20,35; 125,27. See: **ρE**.

ΔΨΔΙ: **ΟΨ**[†] multiply 50,9. **ΔΨΔΙ** m. multitude, amount 51,25; 54,26; 65,35; 82,11. **ΔΨΔEΙ** 50,8.

ΔΡE: **ρ ΔΡE** pass life 98,14. See: **ωΡE**.

ΔΡO m. treasure 88,17. **ΕΡΩΡ** m. treasury 107,2.

ΔΡOΜ: **ΔΨΔΡOΜ** m. groan 24,13; 59,34.

ΔΡΗΘΦ See: **ΚΩΚ**.

ΔΞΝ- without 58,1. **ΕΞΝ-** 58,5,11; 61,10,31. **ΔΤΞΝE-** 123,13.

ΒΩ See: **ΕΛΘΟΔE**.

ΒΗΒ m. nest 105,28.

ΒΔΔΒE: **ΜΗΤΒΔΒE ΡΩΜE** f. boastfulness 118,[1]. **ΡEΥΒΔΒE ΡΩΜE** m. boaster 110,34.

ΒEΚE m. wage 72,1.

ΒΩΚ go, depart 4,26; 23,31; 30,1. **ΒΩΚ ΕΠΙΤΝ E-** 15,17,30; 18,12; 33,33; 36,25; 45,23; 103,21; 104,2. **ΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΦΝ** 17,20; 51,24; 97,7. **ΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΦΝ ΡΙΤΝ-** 41,9. **ΒΩΚ ΕΡΡΑΙ (E-)** 15,8; 18,28; 23,21; 114,25; 127,15. **ΒΩΚ ΗΝΜΤΩ** 90,6. **ΒΗΚ**[†] **ΕΡΟΦΝ** 109,21. **ΒΗΚ**[†] **ΡΝ-** 90,10. **ΒΩΚ** m. ascent 127,20. See: **ΜΤΩ**.

ΒΔΔ m. eye 3,10,20; 4,35; 16,4; 18,19,24; 22,23; 28,3; 31,25; 40,8; 46,14,24; 72,15; 88,14; 98,25; 113,34.

ΒΩΔ: **ΒΩΔ ΕΒΩΔ** abolish, break, loosen, release 4,31; 25,28; 54,35; 58,30; 84,16; 104,2; 110,20,25. **ΒΩΔ ΕΒΩΔ ΕΡΡΑΙ E-** 76,19. **ΒΩΔ ΕΒΩΔ ΡΝ-** 35,34. **ΒΩΔ**^ς **ΕΒΩΔ** 96,21; 105,19. **ΒΟΔE**^ς **ΕΒΩΔ ΡΝ-** 105,25. **ΒΩΔ ΕΒΩΔ** m. loosening, solution 55,12; 59,16; 78,30. **ΑΤΒΩΔ ΕΒΩΔ** 77,16. **ΜΠΒΩΔ** 26,12; 49,5. **ΕΒΩΔ** outside *passim*. **ΕΒΩΔ Ν-**, **ΜΜO**^ς *passim*. **ΕΒΩΔ ΡΝ-**, **ΝΡΗΤ**^ς *passim*. **ΕΒΩΔ ΞE-** 3,28; 90,11; 93,6. **ΝΒΩΔ** 53,22. **ΝCΔΒΩΔ** 54,6; 58,17; 78,25. **CΔΒΩΔ Ν-**, **ΜΜO**^ς 78,25; 79,23; 88,13. **ΡΙΒΩΔ** 117,27. **ρ ΒΩΔ** 90,16. **ρ ΒΩΔ ΜΜO**^ς 102,30. See also: **ΤΩΡE**, **ΟΦΩΨ**.

ΒΩΔΚ: **ΒΟΔEΚ**[†] wrathful 18,[36].

ΒΔΔE blind 42,23; 83,3; 98,32,33. **ΒΔΔΗ** 7,28; 19,15; 24,33; 88,22.

ΒΔΔEΦE pl. 56,2; 65,14; 72,12; 73,13; 76,22; 81,30. **ΜΗΤΒΔΔE** f. blindness 28,21; 38,15; 65,4; 72,14.

ΒΔΔΡΗΤ See: **ΡΗΤ**.

βωων: **COṢBΩΩN** evil thing 90,22.

βενιπε: **βΑΝΙΠΕ** m. iron 110,21.

βερω whirlpool 32,7.

βρρε new 57,15.17; 59,4; 72,24. **ρ βρρε** 80,13; 112,11. **δαδ**
βρρε 112,26.

βερηζ See: **μερεζ**.

βωτε: **ΔΙΓ' ΝΒΟΤΕ** detest 106,8.

βυε See: **ωβυ**.

βαψορ f. fox 105,28.

βοτρε: **βΑΡΟṢ** m. pl. eyelids 113,35.

ε-, **ερο'** to, for, according to *passim*.

εβιω m. honey 97,24.

εβρησε: **εΒΡΗΣΕC** f. lightning 36,19.

ελω See: **αλω**.

ελοολε m. grape 76,7. **βω ΝΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ** m. vine 107,26.

εμντε See: **αμντε**.

εματε See: **ματε**.

ενε- if 88,27.

εναμε See: **με**.

ενεζ ever 55,30; 63,31; 64,5.10; 65,6; 116,[6]. **ψα ενεζ** 14,14;
22,15; 36,3; 54,20; 59,7; 66,25.28; 68,8; 70,10; 75,21; 76,15;
113,7; 119,24; 120,7; 122,6.19; 123,28; 124,1.6.21.22; 126,28.
μντψα ενεζ 121,1.30; 123,13.

εпеснт See: **еснт**.

ερηṣ companion 2,9; 21,24; 22,11; 23,19; 27,33; 62,2; 68,9; 74,27;
83,1; 112,2. **ερηοṣ** 22,12.

еснт: **εпеснт** down 50,16; 52,19; 56,21; 110,23.33. **сапеснт**
50,7.17; 51,5; 52,9; 57,9; 58,32; 67,20. **ει епеснт** 127,21. See:
τα(ο)ṣο.

ετβε-, **εТВННТ'**, **εТВНТ'** about, because (of), concerning, for (the
sake of) 1,2.23; 6,28; 14,4; 15,11; 17,12; 20,2.14.30; 21,12; 22,13;
24,2.13; 26,21; 28,33; 29,5; 30,17; 31,1.2; 36,23; 39,25; 44,20;
49,1.16.30; 50,14.16.28; 52,22.33; 53,6; 54,30.32; 55,8.12.30;
57,4.25; 59,16; 63,29; 64,12; 65,7; 68,29; 69,24; 71,27; 72,1; 75,2;
76,1; 79,32; 80,33; 92,21; 94,6; 97,2; 102,17.29; 103,27.33;
106,19.30; 107,9.14; 109,35; 110,19; 111,3; 119,6.[7].33;
120,9.24; 121,4; 123,14.18.20. **ετβε παῖ** 122,18. **ετβε οṣ**
68,25; 88,30.32. **ετβε παῖ** 6,1; 7,9; 15,28; 16,26; 22,28; 26,11;
39,24; 43,14; 56,25; 59,14.17; 64,14; 65,9; 69,7; 83,1.26; 91,9;
115,32; 119,25.31; 126,26. **ετβε δε** 116,16.19; 117,12.

εтн- See: **τωρε**.

εοοσ̄ m. glory, honor 38,16; 40,3; 49,21; 50,23; 51,<9>; 53,33; 54,35; 56,17; 58,13; 64,31.36; 67,24; 82,2; 107,8; 112,10; 113,2; 117,33; 121,22. Η εοοσ̄ give glory, glorify 38,12; 53,24; 73,10.22; 74,8.10; 77,11; 82,16; 112,28.30.31; 114,22; 118,21; 119,29; 124,13.[35]; 126,[4].22.25.26; 127,8. ΜΗΤΑΔΕΙΕΟΟσ̄ f. love of glory 84,22; 95,27.

ετω: ρ εοτω made a pledge 77,3.

εψωπε See: ψωπε.

εψωτ m. merchant 109,17; 117,29. See: ψωτ.

εψζε (even) if, to be sure, whether 72,13; 81,5; 87,33; 95,18; 98,17; 99,[33]; 101,33.35; 102,2.27; 112,1.5; 114,33. ρωс εψζε 1,15. ρωс εсζε 27,<23>.

εροσ̄η See: ροσ̄η.

ερωρ See: αρω.

εραϊ See: ρραϊ.

εзн- See: зн.

Ηί m. house 50,11; 51,10. Ηει 51,6.20; 53,21; 54,3; 59,19; 82,22. ρμρ̄ηηει 92,8; 109,<5>; 115,22.

ηπε See: ωп.

ηрп m. wine 107,28.

ει come 6,29; 19,11; 23,20; 36,1; 52,18; 59,9; 65,35; 75,29; 88,29; 119,18. ει ε- 86,29; 126,17. ει εβολ 24,23; 50,22.34; 63,19. ει εβολ ρη-, ηρητ̄ 12,16; 13,2; 14,26; 19,16; 32,32; 33,5; 42,7; 48,14; 50,14; 59,19; 66,19; 68,8; 69,30; 75,4; 112,34; 117,<14>; 120,24. ει εβολ ψα- 123,2. ει εβολ ριτη 11,11. ει епечт̄ εβολ ρη- 127,16. ει епит̄η 8,28. ει εροσ̄η ε- 13,4; 18,16; 94,25; 109,12.<15>. ει εροσ̄η ψαρο̄ 95,<12>. ει εραϊ 2,31; 16,1; 18,36; 59,20; 68,30. ει εραϊ εзн- 72,26. ει εραϊ ρη- 16,3. ει ερω̄ 109,<14>. ει ψαρο̄ 15,21. ι ε- 120,34. ι ψαρο̄ 123,14. ειηε ηгенос̄ 79,9. ει епечт̄ m. coming down 50,16. See: αμοσ̄, νοσ̄.

εια: ηαϊατ̄ 40,8.12; 109,22.23.

ειε: well then, surely 9,27. ριε 100,1.

ειαλ: ιαλ f. mirror 20,33; 113,3.

ειμε know 68,10; 69,14; 81,32; 122,16; 127,21. μμε 59,14; 67,34; 92,15; 102,14.23.29; 115,25. ειμε ε-, ερο̄ 57,13; 95,17; 125,3. ειμε εтве- 102,17. ειμε зе 27,16; 31,4; 47,17. μμε ερο̄ 65,7. ψμμε ε- 112,3. ηητειμε f. knowledge 122,22.26. ηητατειμε 89,[33]. ρечейме 124,34.

ειηε bring, carry 49,20; 52,29; 60,23; 61,25; 64,24; 71,33. ηт̄

57,10; 77,13. εἶνε ε- 118,1. εἶνε εβολ ρν- 20,13. εἶνε
 епечт 111,11. εἶνε εροϥν 113,28. εἶνε ερραῖ ρν- 6,34;
 110,27. εἶνε ερραῖ εζω^ς 36,21. нт^ς εβολ 69,3. нт^ς
 εβολ ρн- 17,35; 85,27. нт^ς епгтн ε- 16,17. нт^ς ερραῖ
 ρн- 104,11. ἀνἰνε εροϥн 85,23.

εἶνε be similar 75,11.26.31; 76,17; 82,5; 120,[6].13; 121,8; 122,30.
 ἰνε 51,32; 122,30. εἶνε m. image, likeness 1,13; 3,5.21;
 5,5.19.25; 9,23.25; 10,37; 12,1.4.30.32; 13,29; 15,13; 19,2.35;
 22,5.26; 23,25; 25,34; 30,6; 34,12; 42,21.22; 44,8; 45,5.30; 51,30;
 56,27; 68,6.7; 81,23; 94,5; 102,10; 103,32. ἰνε 3,34; 4,4; 5,7;
 6,35; 10,31; 11,19; 16,22; 24,3.14; 32,34; 39,16; 93,20; 100,16.28.
 ζι εἶνε 3,11; 4,24; 7,10; 19,20.

εἶορ: ἰορ m. canal, river 79,31. ἱερο 30,23.

εἶρε create, do, make 22,20; 27,23; 35,11; 36,33; 56,3; 57,3; 59,17;
 62,11; 71,19; 73,28; 79,19; 81,22; 89,2.4; 90,8; 107,4; 108,34;
 109,24; 111,7; 126,32.[32]. ρ- 3,16.22; 45,2; 50,34; 51,3; 52,22;
 55,23; 56,30; 57,32; 58,9.22; 59,30; 60,2.14; 61,15; 62,18.34;
 63,3.11.17.25.29; 64,17.29.30; 65,23; 68,28; 70,3; 84,12; 86,24;
 87,10; 88,28; 107,16; 108,14.17.21.23.28; 114,31; 118,15.20.21;
 119,17; 120,18; 121,[5]; 125,9. ἀα^ς 56,21; 71,27; 72,18;
 80,19.29; 82,3; 86,10; 87,14; 103,18; 105,34; 106,10; 107,12;
 112,26. ο[†] 1,36; 2,7.16; 3,5; 7,28; 14,25; 16,21; 17,3; 20,32.36;
 22,19; 23,4; 33,7.10; 34,18; 36,5; 37,24; 39,25; 42,23; 45,4; 46,14;
 47,26; 49,15; 57,19; 63,10.24; 64,16.28; 65,15.16; 85,17.18;
 88,1.21.23; 97,1.[35]; 98,32; 100,12; 105,10; 109,4; 112,19.31;
 117,29. ε[†] 29,18; 34,14; 46,24; 53,20; 59,24; 61,19; 63,2.16;
 66,35; 71,16; 73,21.28; 74,3.32; 80,16; 81,4; 83,25; 85,9; 96,2;
 106,11; 115,13; 116,7; 119,4; 121,11; 122,9; 126,12. ἀρ- 72,21;
 85,3; 86,11; 87,17; 88,15; 91,[33]; 93,3; 94,20; 97,19; 98,20;
 100,31; 102,26; 103,8; 105,7.18; 114,19; 115,10; 117,30; 127,24.
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MOYAI: MOAI be mixed 56,33; 58,2.7. **MOIK** 51,31. **MOAI** **MN-** 74,1. **MOYAI** m. mixture 68,34; 69,8.

N-, **MMO** particle of genitive, object *passim*.

N-, **NA** to, for *passim*.

NA have mercy, pity 6,33; 79,14; 117,13. **NA NA** 16,30.35. **NAHT** 112,33. **NA** m. merciful 35,22; 119,34; 120,7. **NAE** 33,21.

NAI: NAI be great 121,33. **NEI** 64,20; 72,24.

NOI: NHOI go 78,27. **NHOI** 78,29; 83,11. **NNHOI** 56,21; 80,27. **NHOI EBOI IN-** 44,31. **NNHOI EBOI** 52,7. **NHOI EBOI IN-**, **IITN** 32,5; 45,4; 47,8. **NNHOI IOON** 96,17; 109,32. **NNHOI IOON E-** 25,30. **(N)NHOI IOON IIAPO** 96,19; 106,7. **NNHOI IIRAII IN-** 32,9; 44,7. **NNHOI N-** 103,5. **NNHOI IIAPO** 26,15. **NNHOI IOON IO** 106,2. **NNHOI IIRAII IN-** 16,2.

NOIB m. gold 89,18; 107,7.

N(H)HBE swim 90,5; 94,30.

NOBE m. sin 24,30; 37,25; 64,24; 86,23; 101,27; 103,28; 104,13; 105,25; 108,4; 109,11; 110,6; 114,30. **P NOBE** 62,34; 63,3.11.17.25; 64,17.29; 109,9.

NAIKE: † NAIKE be in travail 104,4.

NKA: NKA NIJA everything 20,11; 106,2.4.

NIJA who? what? 53,35; 59,24; 81,10; 96,6; 102,14; 103,30; 106,6;

- 108,32; 110,14; 111,32; 112,3.7; 114,32. **ΕΤΒΕ ΝΙΜ** for what? 94,6. See: **ΟΘΟΝ**.
- ΝΙΜ** all, any, every *passim*. **ϋΩΒ ΝΙΜ** 54,31
- ΝΑΜΕ** See: **ΜΕ**.
- ΝΟΜΤΕ**: **ϋΜ ΝΟΜΤΕ** find strength, comfort 84,11.
- ΝΟΕΙΝ**: **ΝΟΕΙΝ ΕΡΔΑΪ ΕΞΩ** shake 29,9. **ΝΟΕΙΝ** m. shaking 30,15.
- ΝΟΨΝ** m. abyss 104,12.27; 110,28; 114,25.
- ΝΑΝΟΨ** be good 62,10; 76,12; 85,13; 87,15.33; 88,23; 89,10; 91,1.23; 93,[34]; 95,16.22; 102,13; 104,32; 106,28; 114,22; 115,30. **ΝΑΝΟΨ ΝΡΟΨΟ** 105,6. **ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΨ** 87,10.
- ΝΟΨΝΕ** f. root 1,28; 2,7.14.28; 5,2; 6,5; 7,24.27; 8,6; 10,4; 12,12; 14,24; 16,21; 17,35; 24,22; 39,10.21; 43,22; 47,3; 79,4; 80,18.
- ΝΗΑΡΡΑ** See: **ΡΟ**.
- ΝΡΑΤ** See: **ΡΑΤ**.
- ΝΣΑ-**, **ΝΣΩ** See: **ΣΑ**.
- ΝΕΣΕ-**: **ΝΕΣΩ** be beautiful 12,8; 95,28; 105,17.
- ΝΑΪΑΤ** See: **ΕΙΑ**.
- ΝΑΗΤ** See: **ΝΔ**.
- ΝΤΕ** of *passim*.
- ΝΟΨΤΕ** m. god 53,30; 61,28; 64,19.23; 79,14.27; 86,16; 88,11; 89,17; 91,7.15; 92,8.25; 93,25.27; 96,2; 98,9.19; 99,32; 100,8.18.22.24.32; 101,4.9.10.11.13.15; 102,9.15; 103,34; 104,5; 107,9.35; 108,20.21.27.28.29.33.35.36; 109,2.4.5.26(bis); 110,17.18; 111,3.5.10.11.13.14; 112,30.33; 113,1.5; 114,20.22.24.27; 115,11.17.19.22.30.36; 116,6.13.16.20.23.29; 117,30; 118,[7].30; 119,7.14.17; 123,6.7. **ΔΤΝΟΨΤΕ** godless 96,2. **ΜΗΤΝΟΨΤΕ** f. divine nature, divinity, godliness 86,19; 87,3; 90,30; 91,24; 95,33; 101,2.7; 106,13; 111,16.22.34; 112,3.4; 119,15; 122,21; 124,30. **ΜΗΤΑΤΝΟΨΤΕ** 95,32.
- ΝΤΟΥ** rather 86,3.
- ΝΔΨ** behold, look, see 1,12; 2,23.26; 3,2; 4,28; 10,11; 16,9.15; 40,9.15; 47,21; 51,30; 52,15; 54,3.9; 56,29; 65,3(bis); 72,5.17.18.20.23.28; 79,20; 81,25; 82,4.15.32; 102,24; 109,31; 124,18(trini). **ΔΝΔΨ** 81,24.31. **ΝΔΨ ε-**, **εΡΟ** 16,10.16; 81,4.7.15.26; 83,11.16; 87,[34]; 98,34; 101,15; 104,9; 118,14; 119,[3].10; 121,25; 122,[6]; 123,27.32; 125,12.17. **ΝΔΨ Ξε** 3,5. **ΔΝΔΨ ε- Ξε** 40,31. **ΔΤΝΔΨ (ε-, εΡΟ)** 82,13; 113,8; 121,23. **ΝΔΒΔΔ** 102,25. **ΝΔΨ** m. sight 19,13.
- ΝΔΨ**: **ΝΔΨ ΝΙΜ** always 110,2. **ΞΙΝ ΠΙΝΔΨ** 25,35; 41,18; 48,30.
- ΝΔΨΕ-** be many 15,15; 96,14; 105,24; 111,24. **ΝΔΨΩ** 7,13; 66,26; 77,22.

Ⲣⲱⲩⲟⲩ: **ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲧ**[†] be hard, difficult 57,1; 78,2.

ⲛⲓϥ blow, breath 9,14. **ⲛⲓϥ** **ϵⲗⲛ-** 20,7. **ⲛⲓϥ** **ϩⲛ-** **ϵⲗⲛ-** 7,4.

ⲛⲟⲩϥⲣ: **ⲛⲟϥⲣ** f. advantage, good 97,2; 98,5. **ⲣ** **ⲛⲟϥⲣ** 105,2.

ⲛⲟⲩⲣ: **ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ** shake, cast off 6,17,24; 42,1. **ⲛⲁⲣ-** 94,20.

ⲛⲟⲩⲣ^ⲉ 6,22; 7,8; 25,35. **ⲛⲁⲩⲣ**^ⲉ 20,6. **ⲛⲟⲩⲣ**^ⲉ **ϵ-** 14,28.

ⲛⲟⲩⲣ^ⲉ **ϩⲣⲟⲩⲛ** **ϵ-** 90,29; 91,14. **ⲛⲟⲩⲣ**^ⲉ **ϩⲣⲁⲓ** **ϵ-** 6,3,18; 7,33. **ⲛⲁⲩⲣ**^ⲉ **ϩⲟⲗ** **ⲛ-** 22,11.

ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲃ m. yoke 61,22; 83,13. **ⲛⲁⲣⲃ** f. shoulders, back 56,11.

ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ be saved 19,32; 37,8; 77,12; 95,26; 113,36; 120,[34].35; 121,13; 124,11(bis); 125,13.16(bis).18; 126,[2].24.27.30; 127,[6].

ⲛⲁⲣⲙ^ⲉ 120,35; 121,12. **ⲛⲁⲣⲙ**^ⲉ 98,21; 125,20. **ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ**

ϩⲟⲗ 121,[3]. **ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ** **ϩⲟⲗ** **ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ**^ⲉ 125,21. **ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲙ** **ϩⲣⲁⲓ** **ϵ-** 124,[1]. **ⲛⲁⲣⲙ**^ⲉ **ϵ-**, **ϩⲣⲟ**^ⲉ 14,10; 18,14; 104,13.

ⲛⲁⲣⲛ- See: **ϩⲟ**.

ⲛⲉⲣϥ: **ⲛⲉⲣϥ** **ⲛ-** **ϩⲟⲗ** **ϩⲛ** arise from, in 12,13.

ⲛⲁⲣⲧⲉ trust, believe 78,21. **ⲛⲣⲟⲧ**[†] 110,16. **ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲧ**^ⲉ **ⲁ-** 42,20.

ⲛⲟⲩⲗ false, lying 37,31; 52,35. **ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲗ** f. lie 74,11.

ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉ throw, cast 104,29. **ⲛⲉⲗ-** 116,8. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ cast out 78,24;

110,4. **ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉ** **ϵ-** 89,16; 95,21; 96,4. **ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉ** **ϩⲟⲗ** **ⲛ-**, **ⲙⲙⲟ**^ⲉ

14,36; 15,22; 27,3; 38,32; 51,21; 88,14; 91,1,6; 94,17; 105,22;

109,16; 112,12. **ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉ** **ⲛ-** **ϩⲟⲗ** (**ⲙⲙⲟ**^ⲉ) 17,24; 19,5,8; 21,29;

22,12. **ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉ** **ϩⲟⲗ** **ϩⲛ-** 85,2; 109,29. **ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲉ** **ⲛϥⲁ-** 90,14.

ⲛⲉⲗ- **ϩⲟⲗ** 27,17; 97,13,15. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ϩⲓⲧⲛ** 90,21. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ⲁ-**

20,27. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ϩⲟⲗ** 93,16; 117,32. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ϩⲟⲗ** **ⲙⲙⲟ**^ⲉ 87,28;

90,32; 93,11; 110,3. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ϩⲟⲗ** **ϩⲛ-** 27,19. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ϩⲓⲧⲛ**

97,29; 104,27. **ⲛⲟⲩ**^ⲉ **ϥⲁⲃⲟⲗ** **ⲙⲙⲟ**^ⲉ 88,13. **ⲛⲛⲗ**[†] **ϩⲟⲗ**

60,29.

ⲛⲟⲩ great, exalted 1,23; 2,11.23.29; 3,33; 10,20; 11,16; 12,16;

17,32; 19,28; 26,[1]; 27,23; 30,30; 32,31; 35,16; 37,35; 41,22;

43,31; 47,11; 52,10; 64,7; 82,9; 85,19; 92,9; 95,31.[33]; 96,9;

104,31; 107,8; 110,6; 111,14.16.19.21.27; 112,9.10; 114,2.11.13;

117,[3]; 119,15; 121,20; 123,5. **ⲛⲟⲩ** m. great one 126,9.

ⲛⲛⲟⲩ **ϩⲗⲛ-** 88,1. **ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩ** f. majesty 9,36; 10,16; 22,29;

26,6; 33,15; 49,17; 50,32; 51,17; 52,34.36; 53,5; 54,14; 61,1;

70,8.19; 118,23; 119,3.

ⲛⲟⲩ namely *passim*.

ⲛⲟⲩϥ: **ⲛⲟⲩϥ** be wroth 47,34. **ⲛⲟⲩϥ** m. wrath 26,<29>.

ⲟⲛ again, also 16,1; 52,26; 55,6; 59,25; 67,19; 72,21.29; 73,9.26;

78,32; 89,25; 99,16; 106,24; 110,7.17; 113,25; 114,35; 116,26.

ⲟϥ m. loss, damage 38,22.

ⲟⲟⲧⲉ: **ⲁⲧⲉ** f. womb 4,24; 34,15.

οελψ: τδψε οελψ increase crying, proclaim 25,10; 29,12.
οαγ See: σοτρε.

πα-, τα-, να- (possessive article) *passim*.

παῖ, ταῖ, ναῖ this, these *passim*. πεῖ, τεῖ, νεῖ *passim*. ντεει
88,30. ντεῖ 94,9. See: ετβε.

πε, τε, νε (copular pronoun) *passim*.

πε f. heaven 9,29; 19,29; 20,8.9.21; 27,12; 31,25; 44,9; 45,11;
46,15.24; 48,2; 67,20; 88,17; 91,[33]; 99,10; 103,8.9.11; 112,8.11.

πηθε pl. 52,3; 54,7; 57,18; 69,22; 70,22; 71,13; 111,19;
112,5.15. σα (ντ)πε 52,2; 61,2; 70,22; 103,4.5.

πη, τη, μη (demonstrative pronoun) *passim*.

πω^ς, πω^ς, νο^ς (possessive pronoun) *passim*.

πω^ωνε: πω^ωνε ερο^ση e- turn to 103,10. πο^{νε} εβολ^η ησαβολ^η
54,6.

περε: περε shine forth 112,14. πρηε 46,33. πρηω^σ[†]
47,27; 101,30; 105,16; 107,6; 112,17. περε εβολ 66,18; 75,25.

περε εγραῖ εζω^ς 39,1. περε να^ς 26,32. περε να^ς εβολ
ρη- 21,13. περε εζη- 1,11; 28,25. πρηω^σ εβολ 83,10.
μα μπρε 45,7.

πω^ρψ: πω^ρψ εβολ spread 66,33(bis).

πω^ρα separate, divide 2,30; 6,1; 7,7.8. πω^ρα e-, ερο^ς 2,34;
5,23; 6,9.27; 10,7; 13,9; 16,7; 34,29; 40,5; 45,[33]; 48,22. πω^ρα
εβολ η- 29,15. πω^ρα εβολ ρη- 14,32. πο^ρα[†] εβολ 82,33.
πο^ρα^ς εβολ ρη- 14,12; 33,28. πα^{ρε}α α- 17,23. πο^ρψ[†]
εβολ ρη- 30,31. πω^ρα m. division 67,15.

πω^τ flee 52,17.26; 78,3; 81,27; 104,10. πη^τ[†] 72,6; 85,31. πω^τ
εβολ 87,6.22; 110,5. πω^τ εβολ ρη 52,20. πω^τ εγραῖ e-
28,27. πω^τ ησα-, ησω^ς 58,17; 59,23.31; 85,32; 103,7. πω^τ
ητη-, ητοο^τ[†] 110,7.9.11. πω^τ ψα^{ρα}^ς 16,23. πη^τ[†] ησα-,
ησω^ς 86,2.3; 88,31. μα μπω^τ 105,31. πω^τ m. flight
52,13.30.

πιτε f. bow 104,7.

παψ: παψα m. trap 114,1.

πωψ divide, be separate 62,15.17; 67,25; 121,10 πωψε 28,27.

παψ^ς 11,1. πηψ[†] 18,7. πωψ εβολ ρη- 1,14. πωψ εγραῖ
εζω^ς 123,[3]. ποψ^ς e- 120,20. ποψ^ς εβολ ρη- 13,8. πωψ
m. division 65,29; 123,8. πωψε 10,25; 39,23; 60,6; 65,27;
67,15; 68,19; 122,10; 123,29. ατπωψ 121,31. ατπωψε
10,31; 57,26; 66,11. μητατπωψε 67,22; 68,11.

πωψε confound 111,29.

πωα break, divide 39,8; 58,28.

πω reach, ripen 44,9; 47,21; befit (?) 87,31. πηγ[†] 71,28. πω εβολ 39,7. πω εμ- 4,34. πηγ[†] ε-, ερω^ς 49,16; 99,11.

πωετ: πωετ εβολ pour forth 12,33; 25,25. πωετ εβολ m. effusion 34,13.

παροσ: εμπαροσ behind, after 9,13; 39,15.

πεξε- speak 73,11; 80,8. πεξα^ς 8,5; 16,29; 21,17; 46,3; 70,20; 72,9.20.29; 73,5; 79,32; 81,7.14.25.28; 82,17; 111,28. πεξα^ς εμ- 17,29.

ρα: εμρα about, in respect of 102,8.20. ρατωσε 27,19.

ρη m. sun 58,20; 98,23.24; 99,10; 101,15.31.

ρο m. mouth, door 42,19; 45,12; 59,34; 103,12; 106,26.32; 117,6.

ρω^ς 26,30; 45,4.14; 112,34. ρωσ pl. 55,10. καρω^ς 127,13.

καρω m. silence 7,15; 13,3.7.10; 14,26; 16,37; 17,6.19; 33,11; 47,28; 127,16.

ρω even 104,34; 112,1.

ρικε bend, turn 79,28. ρακτ^ς ε- 94,1.<2>.4. ρακτ^ς εμ- 94,16. ρικε κα- 93,32.

ρκρικε: ρεκρικε f. slumber 113,[34].

ρωε burn 29,28; 53,7; 86,22. ρωε εμ- 105,8. ρωε^ς εμ- 108,4.

ριμε weep 19,7; 59,34. ριμε κα^ς 90,28. ρμεσοσε pl. 19,8.

ρωμε m. human, humanity, man, one 28,2.4.8; 29,17; 37,16; 40,14; 51,34; 52,36; 53,4.17; 54,1.7; 55,35; 59,4; 62,29; 63,6; 64,12; 65,19; 69,22; 71,12.14; 74,10.30; 83,20.31; 86,1.3.9; 89,26; 90,9; 93,18.26.[34]; 94,1; 95,5; 97,5.7.9.10.12.21.[34]; 98,6.10; 100,16; 104,1(bis); 105,2; 108,14.16.18.19.25; 109,28; 110,12.19.34; 111,4.6.9.12(bis).16.24(bis).27; 114,23; 115,29.31.32; 116,1; 118,1. μνθρωμε 47,16; 53,16. μνθρωμο 56,15.

ρωε m. free person 57,32; 59,30. μνθρωε 60,23; 61,10.20; 64,10; 78,15; 80,20.

ραν m. name 32,31; 44,16; 45,6; 53,6; 54,9; 59,26; 71,17; 74,13.17; 78,17; 80,7; 102,16; 119,21.22. † ραν ε-, ερω^ς 62,36; 63,5.28; 74,28; 79,24; 125,26. ατ† ραν ερω^ς 67,11.

ριε m. temple 58,27; 70,15; 106,10.12; 109,15.18.23.26.30.

ρρο m. king, ruler 96,10.25.30; 100,30; 111,15.17.18(bis); 117,10.

μντρο f. kingdom 74,7. μντρο 107,5. ρ ρρο 80,11.15.16. ρ ρρο εραϊ εω^ς 10,14. ρ ρρο εμ- 22,24; 45,6; 91,27. ο[†] ρρο 2,7. ε[†] ρρο 115,13.

ρнс: сαρнс m. south 44,26; 46,34.

ροεс: роεс ε- guard, watch over 84,26; 113,22. ρεχροεс m. guardian 87,3.

ρασοϝ f. dream 75,2.3.

ρατ' : ηρατ' trace 116,24. ατηρατ' 116,21. ψσηρατ' 7,29. ερατ' 86,28. αερατ' 57,34; 66,16; 119,4.16.18; 121,9.10.

ρητε: ηληρητε in form, manner 78,23; 80,22; 118,17. ηκηρητε 19,31. ε⁺ ηληρητε 81,4. κατα ρητε 125,23.

ροοϝ m. anxiety 89,16.

ραϝ: ρηραϝ mild one 2,5; 118,[4].

ραϝε rejoice 9,16; 15,23; 16,11; 53,32; 113,24; 124,17(trini).

ραϝε εζη- 19,22. ραϝε ρα- 113,30. ραϝε ρη- 42,5.

ραϝε m. joy 3,33; 26,2; 72,23; 82,31; 87,8; 104,18; 114,11.

ραϝρεϝ: ρεϝρεϝ flourish 47,29.

ρωε: ραε⁺ be clean 105,16.

σα m. side 91,24; 103,4.5. σα ηπητη 103,2. σα ηρηε 89,25.

ησα-, ησω⁺ *passim*. ησα εσα 90,15; 93,32. ημηηησα-

28,13; 43,28; 74,12; 80,11; 127,13.<15>.19. ημηηησω⁺ 72,25;

126,16. ησασα ηηη 58,5; 125,8. σαβολ η- 127,10. ηπησα

ηηηη 55,2. ηπησα ηπητη 7,25. ηπησα εηηη 55,2; 90,21.

See: ηε, ρηη.

σα m. man 111,30. See: κωτε.

σω drink 56,7; 88,33. σω εβολ ηρηη⁺ 108,2. σω m. drink 107,32.

σαβε f. wise 111,31. σωϝ 84,15. ηηηησαβε 24,33; 62,2; 79,1.

ρ σαβε 76,7. σω f. teaching 29,14; 44,19; 60,22.26;

64,1.30.35; 68,14.23; 87,4.5.7.13.19.23; 88,23; 113,29. ατησω

60,30; 69,12. ηηηατησω 59,2; 87,20. † σω 87,7.32; 115,29.

ζη σω 68,14.

σωβε laugh, play 53,32; 81,12.17; 82,6. σωβε ησα- 54,3; 56,19;

83,1. σωβε m. laughter 54,13; 60,13.14; 62,27.34;

63,4.11.17.26; 64,17.39.

σωκ become, be small, few 44,6. σωκ⁺ 54,11.24; 60,30.

σωϝωηη See: βωηη.

σωτ: σωет m. wall 86,20.

σωτε prepare 50,25; 51,1.11. σωτω⁺ 42,11; 51,13. σωτω⁺ ε-

117,14. σωτω⁺ ηα⁺ 18,21. σωτω⁺ ηα⁺ 18,8.

σωκ draw, flow 4,18; 80,28. σωκ ημο⁺ εβολ ρη- 5,31.

σηη f. voice 11,11; 12,9; 40,7; 53,28; 73,4; 108,30; 119,28.

σηοϝ bless, praise 124,12. σηασηαη⁺ 33,3; 70,21. σηοϝ ε-

ερο⁺ 82,14; 118,25; 119,5(bis).13.14; 120,16.29; 121,1.2;

122,[4]; 124,25.33; 126,18.24.29; 127,11.18.30(bis). σηοϝ m.

blessing 118,29; 124,35.

- СМНЕ:** **СМНТ'** be established, set right 62,6. **СМНЕ** m. building 70,16.
СМОТ guise, pattern 94,15; 95,13.23.25.28.30; 96,5; 99,17. **МПСМОТ** 15,14; 116,11. **ΣΓ СМОТ** 5,5.
СОН m. brother 90,27; 98,3. **СННϥ** pl. 62,32; 63,2.24; 64,15; 65,26; 79,12. **СННОϥ** 63,15; 64,1.27; 70,9. **МНТСОН** 67,4; 79,1. **МНТМΔΕΙСОН** 62,21. **СΩНЕ** f. sister 50,27; 68,31. **МНТСΩНЕ** 66,30; 79,9.
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†ϩⲉ m. drunkenness 94,21; 107,29.

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 120,30.[30].34; 121,11.31; 122,13.16.25; 125,7.8.23(bis).24.25.
ⲟⲩⲉⲓ 122,10.12. **ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ** 121,[3]; 124,7.24; 127,12. **ⲛⲟⲩⲁ**
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ⲟⲩⲁⲁ alone, only, self 2,8; 4,14; 9,28; 12,11; 21,29.32; 23,32;

- 27,17; 32,20; 44,25; 49,15; 61,31.34; 64,20; 66,18; 86,11; 87,18; 89,17; 90,1; 92,29; 93,13; 97,8; 98,9; 100,17; 106,31; 109,13; 113,12; 114,5; 116,13; 117,8.22; 125,[4]; 126,[5].7. **οπαδτ** 40,14; 117,[4]. **οπαεετ** 70,4.
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- οροει** woe! 114,6.
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- ψτῆν** f. garment 89,29; 105,16.
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- ψοτῦτ**: **ψοστ ερο** 35,30.
- ψοοθε** be dry 19,1.
- ψοοτο**: **ψοοτειτ**† be empty, vain 5,20; 8,31; 20,26; 26,28; 38,18; 40,3.22; 51,9; 53,26.34; 54,12; 56,18; 59,27; 64,32.37; 65,30; 78,4; 98,2.
- ψοοψοο** boast 27,1; 76,31. **ψοοψοο κμο** 2,34. **ψοοψοο** m. boasting 111,27. **κντψοοψο** f. pride 95,30.
- ψοελῦ** m. dust 15,18.
- ψωῦ** scatter, spread 8,10; 49,20; 53,12.
- ψωῦ** be equal, straight 3,15. **ψνῦ**† 2,14; 9,18; 39,26; 122,28.29.
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- ψῦε** it is fitting 95,7; 100,1. **πετεψῦε** 11,29.
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- ψωζε** contend, fight 112,18.22(bis); 114,1.9.
- ψοzne** take counsel 52,32; 55,15; 59,15; 66,1. **ψοzne** ετβε- 76,1. **ψοzne** m. counsel 52,13; 55,7.11; 84,31; 96,13; 111,30.33; 112,2; 116,23. **ρκνψοzne** m. counselor 97,19.21.
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- ՋԻՅԵ** grief 114,13. **Բ ՋԻՅԵ** mourn 113,25(bis).
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- ՋՅՅԵ:** **ՋՅՅԵ** f. scales 115,2.
- ՋՅՕՄՐ:** **ՋՍԾՅՕՄՐ** f. on the left hand 39,13.
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- ՋՕՅԿ** cover, be covered 18,32. **ՋՕՅԵԿ** 18,34; 53,10. **ՋՕՅԵԿ՛** 2,8.19. **ՋՕՅԵԿ ՂՂՕ՛** 18,10. **ՋՅԿՎ** f. garment 8,34(bis); 12,8.18.26.31; 13,36; 17,1.3.19; 18,3.4.22.27.32; 19,12; 20,22.27; 22,18; 28,25; 30,35; 32,34; 33,4.9.12.18.33; 39,1.3.7.11.12.17; 41,28; 43,10; 96,18; 105,13.18; 112,15.
- ՋՕՎՂ:** **ՋՕՂ** arm 84,28. **ՋԻՂ՛** 109,33. **ՋՕՂ ԵՐՕՄՆ Ե-** 23,18.
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- ՋՂՕՐՄՆ** m. mist 15,18.
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- ՋՕՂՂ** tread, trample 56,35.
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- ՋՕՂՈՄՏ:** **ՋՕՂՄԵՏ** m. bronze, copper 110,22. **ՋՕՂՏ** 58,<26>.

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ϩⲙⲉⲁⲗ See: ϩⲁⲗ.

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ϩⲎ-, ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧ^ϥ in, out of, through, with *passim*. ϩⲎⲛ 4,9.11; 18,10; 33,20. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲎ-, ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧ^ϥ *passim*. ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲎ- 92,12.13. See: ⲃⲟⲕ, ϩⲣⲁⲓ.

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ϩⲱⲛ: ϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲣⲟ^ϥ approach, be near 82,4. ϩⲱⲛ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ 23,26; 31,14. ϩⲏⲛ^ⲧ ⲉ-, ⲉⲣⲟ^ϥ 23,29; 82,27; 109,3. ϩⲏⲛ^ⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ 115,20. ϩⲏⲛ^ⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ- 1,10; 44,3. ϩⲏⲛ^ⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲩ ⲉ- 97,16. ϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ^ϥ 109,34.

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ϩⲱⲛⲉ-: ϩⲛⲁ^ϥ will, desire 73,28.

ϩⲓⲛⲏⲃ sleep 47,18. ϩⲓⲛⲉⲃ m. sleep 1,16; 41,22; 47,11; 88,24; 113,33.

ϩⲁⲓ: † ϩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟ^ϥ judge 56,3; 102,21. ϩⲁⲓ m. judgment 65,10; 73,30; 79,29; 80,28. ⲣⲉϥ† ϩⲁⲓ 87,18.

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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 had 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. S. B. Barns, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Bohlig, James Brashler, G.M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Stephen Emmel, Joseph A. Gibbons, Soren 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. Pell, 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, Frederik 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. It was first planned that Birger A. Pearson would be volume editor for a volume containing Codices VIII and IX. It was at this stage that preliminary announcements were made in *New Testament Studies* 16 (1969/70), 185-90, and *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970), 83-85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1970). But then a decision to exclude Codex X from the last volume, planned originally to include Codices X-XIII, led to the decision to publish Codices IX and X together under the editorship of Pearson and Codex VIII separately. Originally Bentley Layton took over the role of volume editor for Codex VIII, in which capacity he made valuable contributions

to the reconstruction of the page sequence and provided the definitive transcription. Then the volume editorship was assumed for a time by Charles W. Hedrick, who then turned it over to John H. Sieber.

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: *Introduction, Texts and Translation*; Volume 2: *Notes*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge, NHS 22 and 23, 1985; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1 and IV,1: The Apocryphon of John, Long Recension*, edited by Frederik Wisse, NHS 32, in preparation; *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7, together with XIII,2**, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926 (I), and P. Oxy. 1,654,655, Volume I: *Gospel According to Thomas, Gospel According to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, and Indexes*; Volume 2: *On the Origin of the World, Expository Treatise On the Soul, Book of Thomas the Contender*, edited by Bentley Layton, NHS 20 and 21, 1989; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,1 and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John, Short Recension*, edited by Peter Nagel, NHS 33, in preparation; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Bohlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, NHS 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 and translated by Douglas M. Parrott, NHS 27, in the press; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel, NHS 26, 1984; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, NHS 11, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, NHS 30, in preparation; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John H. Sieber, NHS 31, 1991; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, NHS 15, 1981; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick, NHS 28, 1990; *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, NHS 16, 1981; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet Mac Dermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 9, 1978; *The Books of Jehu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet Mac Dermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 13, 1978. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is seventeen volumes.

An English translation of all 13 Nag Hammadi Codices and P. Berol. 8502 has also been published in 1977 in a single volume, *The Nag*

Hammadi Library in English, by E. J. Brill and Harper & Row. A first paperback edition of that preprint augmented by the inclusion of Yale inv. 1784 of the Beinecke Library at NHC III 145/146 (p. 238) appeared in 1981 at Harper and Row and in 1984 at E. J. Brill. It was not possible to include there subsequent improvements in translations. A third, completely revised edition appeared in 1988 at E. J. Brill and Harper and Row. The translation appearing in the present volume is the substantially revised translation used in the third edition.

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 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 on 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.

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 and our gracious and able host in Egypt; Pahor Labib, Victor Girgis, Mounir Basta, Directors Emeriti, and Dr. Gawdat Gabra, currently Director of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, First 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 Zeidan, specialist in the Arab Program of the Division of Cultural Studies, who has always proved ready with gracious assistance and helpful advice.

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

Backhuys, Director Emeritus, and Drs. M. G. Elisabeth Venekamp, Vice-President, who is in charge of Nag Hammadi Studies for Brill.

James M. Robinson

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PREFACE

This volume has been produced through the cooperative efforts of many people. James M. Robinson guided the project and wrote the foreword. Bentley Layton produced the Codex introduction, the transcription of the text, and the notes for *Zostrianos*. I prepared the introduction, translation, and commentary notes for *Zostrianos*. Both sets of notes to *Zostrianos* have been combined with Layton's textual notes usually given as the first part of common entries. Since both Layton and I reviewed each other's work extensively, the finished product is in a real sense the work of both of us. We wish to thank the many others who provided assistance and advice over the years, especially Stephen Emmel, Charles W. Hedrick, Malcolm Peel, Birger Pearson, and Fredrik Wisse. For the *Letter of Peter to Philip* Frederik Wisse produced the transcription of the text, its notes, and translation; Marvin W. Meyer prepared the introduction and the commentary notes. Preliminary editorial work was done by Charles W. Hedrick, and the initial word indices were prepared by David Embree. I have done the final editing of all the materials and have guided the production of the camera-ready copy.

This project was supported by many institutions. Much of the work of the contributors on the original manuscript of Codex VIII was carried out under the auspices of the Technical Subcommittee for the Publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices of UNESCO and the Egyptian Antiquities Organization of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The sponsor of the project was the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of the Claremont Graduate School. Financial support for the editor over the years has come from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Theosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, and Luther College.

The camera-ready copy for this volume was prepared using Macintosh computers at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. The editor thanks the many people in Luther's computer center and publications office who supported and contributed to the project, with special thanks to Dale Nimrod, Steve Demuth, and Debra Shook for their technical assistance, and to Greg Vanney, Publications Director. Heather Bronner of publications did a marvelous job in setting the pages, copyediting the final draft and producing the postscript version of the Coptic font; without her dedication and skills this volume might never have appeared at all and would have been much poorer in any case. The initial files were prepared using Microsoft Word; Pagemaker was used to compose the pages. The English font is Palatino; the Greek font is SuperGreek from Linguists

Software; the Coptic is a postscript font based in part on the Nag Hammadi bitmap font from Linguists.

Finally, I want to thank my wife Katrinka and our children Anne and Hans for their patience and their support during the many years of this project. To them this volume, which they thought would never be finished, is dedicated.

John H. Sieber
Luther College
May 31, 1991

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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. The abbreviations in parentheses are used only in this volume, for the sake of brevity.

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 (Eug)</i>
III,4	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr. (SJC)</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 (Eug)</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>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. (SJC)</i>
BG,4	<i>The Act of Peter</i>	<i>Act Pet.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

1. Abbreviations of Biblical and Related Works

a. Old Testament

Deut	Deuteronomy	Num	Numbers
Gen	Genesis	Ps	Psalms

b. New Testament

1 Cor	1 Corinthians	2 Pet	2 Pete
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Rev	Revelation
Eph	Ephesians	Rom	Romans
Heb	Hebrews	1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
Matt	Matthew	2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
Phil	Philippians	1 Tim	1 Timothy
1 Pet	1 Peter		

c. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Adam and Eve	The Books of Adam and Eve
Apoc. Seth	The Apocalypse of Seth
Barn	The Epistle of Barnabas
Ep. Apost.	Epitula Apostolorum
Gos. Eb.	Gospel of the Ebionites
Wis	The Wisdom of Solomon

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- Arnobius Arnobius of Sicca, *The Case Against the Pagans*.
- BAG2 Bauer, W., Arndt, W.F. and Gingrich, F.W. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament. Second Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 19.
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- BASP *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*.
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- Ign., Rom. Ignatius, *ad Romanos*.
- Ign., Smyrn. Ignatius, *ad Smyrnaeos*.
- Iren. Adv. Haer. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*.
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- NHLE Robinson, J.M., gen. ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. Translated by Members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. San Francisco/Cambridge/Hagerstown/Philadelphia/New York/London/Mexico City/Sao Paulo/Sydney: Harper and Row, 1977.

NHS

Nag Hammadi Studies.

Nickelsburg, "Traditions in the
Apocalypse of Adam"Nickelsburg, G.W.E. "Some
Related Traditions in the Apoca-
lypse of Adam. The Books of
Adam and Eve, and I Enoch." in
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2, 515-539.

NovT

Novum Testamentum.

PL

*Patrologia Latina.*Pagels, "Visions, Appearances
and Apostolic Authority"Pagels, E. "Visions, Appearances
and Apostolic Authority: Gnostic
and Orthodox Traditions," in
Aland, *Gnosis*, 415-430.Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox
Disciples"Parrott, D.M. "Gnostic and
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- Plato, *Phaedrus* Plato, *Phaedrus*.
- Plato, *Resp.* Plato, *Respublica*.
- Plato, *Symposium* Plato, *Symposium*.
- Plato, *Tim.* Plato, *Timaeus*.
- Plot. *Enn.* Plotinus, *Enneads*.
- Porph. *Vit. Plot.* Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*.
- Ps.-Clem. Pseudo-Clement, *Epistula Petri*.
- Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora* Ptolemy, *Letter to Flora*.
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- RAC Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neuarbeitung.

RSPhTh

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- ThLZ
- Theologische Literaturzeitung.*
- Thompson, *Acts*
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VC

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19A, col. 853.

ZThK

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

3. Other Abbreviations

A	Codex VIII in its original leaf sequence.
BG	Papyrus Berolinensis Gnosticus
Bo.	Boharic
Cf./cf.	compare
col(s).	column(s)
cod.	codex
esp.	especially
passim	many places
ca.	<i>circa</i>
fem.	feminine
inv.	inventory
κτλ.	and the rest
Lit./lit.	literally
Ms.	manuscript
n(n).	note(s)
NT	New Testament
p(p).	page(s)
pl.	plate(s)
par.	parallel
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i>
Sah.	Sahidic
seq.	and the following
sic	just as the original
viz.	videlicet, namely
vs.	versus, against

SIGLA

[] or [	lacuna in manuscript
[. . .]	lacuna of unspecified length
ddd[	lacuna of unspecified length after
[. . .]	lacuna long enough to suit <i>d standard</i> letters (N being the standard) and 3 interliteral spaces; [. . .], 4 letters; and 4 spaces etc.
ddd[. . .],	lacuna of 3' standard letters
ddd[. . .	at least 4 (or 3') standard letters at the end of a damaged line
[[. . .]]	text deleted or canceled by scribe
. . .	traces of 3 unidentified letters
α.α.α	palaeographically ambiguous letter traces
v	<i>vacat</i> ; blank space for 1 standard letter (N) and 1 interliteral space in the manuscript; for 2 letters and 2 spaces; etc.
<ddd>	Text <i>added</i> by modern editor; a conjecture
{ddd}	Text <i>deleted</i> by modern editor; a conjecture
CO(N)	Resolution of an abbreviation in the manuscript, i.e.
-	Hyphen at the end of line indicates that the immediately preceding letter(s) form(s) a unit with the immediately following letter(s).

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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX VIII

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Nag Hammadi Codex VIII (CG VIII, NHC VIII). Cairo, Coptic Museum, Department of Manuscripts, inv. 10550. Formerly the manuscript was numbered Codex VII by Doresse-Mina, IX by Puech, and IV by Doresse, *Les Livres secrets* (see Robinson, *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, pp. vii and ix). Papyrus codex, very imperfect. Original folios were 242 mm high by 147 mm wide. Prior to conservation many leaves or leaf fragments of the codex were in several pieces; these have now been repaired. The text block was attached to its ancient binding (or in loose fragments) until 1961; now it has been completely disbound, and the quire sheets (cut apart into leaves in 1961, but then rejoined between 1970-76) are conserved in plexiglas frames, numbered by the ancient codex page numbers. The ancient binding is conserved separately (inv. 10550). One hundred twenty-six fragments of cartonnage have been removed from the binding and are also conserved separately (see *Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage*, 59-70; Barns-Browne-Shelton, *Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage*, 87-102, transcribing 43 fragments; 83 other fragments were too small to be transcribed). Originally the text block (in a single quire) consisted of 74 leaves of which two were flyleaves, two were stubs, and two formed a blank protective bifolium at the center of the quire; of these, 70 leaves (many imperfect) have survived of which two are flyleaves, one a stub, one a blank protective leaf at the center; together with 119 unidentified fragments, mostly very small. Traces of ancient pagination appear in the head fore-edge corners: [ⲁ̅]-[Ⲛ̅ H], (one leaf wanting), [Ⲑ̅] (blank)-[ⲑ̅ H], (two leaves wanting), [ⲑ̅Ⲛ̅]-[ⲑ̅ⲛ̅]; the pagination included the two blank leaves at the center of the quire, but not the flyleaves or stubs. The text block has been ruined by insects, rotting, and at the fold by the corrosive influence of the leather binding; leaves occasionally show offset (leaving traces useful for restoration of lost text), stains, or rubbing. In general, less papyrus survives near the fold than at the fore-edge, and the ruin is most complete about half way through the text. According to all indications the manuscript was already in this ruinous state when it was discovered in 1945 (see *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, pl. 3-6). Various small parts of the leaves that have been lost or have deteriorated since about 1949 are still attested in early photographic records; this evidence was incorporated into the *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII* and has been collated by Emmel, "Photographic Evidence." On the structure of the manuscript see also Robinson, "Codicology," and *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 32-70.

CONTENTS

The codex contains an untitled miscellany comprising two works, one non-Christian and the other Christian, in a Sahidic (Crypto-Bohairic) Coptic version. The spelling and morphology of the text usually correspond to classical Sahidic practice (e.g., that of the Chester Beatty *Acts* edited by H. Thompson), but the syntax and to a lesser degree the lexicon are often non-Sahidic, coinciding with Bohairic.

1. (p. 1) Ζωστριάνος· Λόγοι ἀληθείας Ζωστριάνου· θεός (sic) ἀληθείας· Λόγοι Ζωροάστρου "Zostrianos: Oracles of Truth of Zoroaster—God of Truth—Oracles [of] Zoroaster" (132,6-9). The state of preservation is very poor. Pages 71-72 are blank. Ends p. 132.

2. (p. 132) ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΤΑΨΧΟΟΥΣ ΜΦΙΓΛΙΠΠΟΣ "The Epistle of Peter that He Sent to Philip" (132,10-11). The text is mostly complete. It may be an excerpt from a larger work, preceded by a caption. Ends p. 140.

Secondary literature on these texts is listed exhaustively by Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography*, with annual supplements.

There is no colophon. A few corrections have been made by the original copyist (cf. 7,14; 30,20; 118,5); there are no other annotations. The provenance of the codex is unknown; it was discovered near Hamra Dom opposite Nag Hammadi, Egypt. It is dated to the fourth century C.E. by its association with the other Nag Hammadi manuscripts, and possibly not earlier than the early or middle part of that century on the basis of cartonnage removed from the ancient binding (see Shelton [with hesitation] in Barns-Browne-Shelton, *Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage*, 88).

FORMAT

Collation: (A)⁷⁴ a single quire codex (A17 [stub], A37 [blank protective leaf], A57-58 wanting; including front flyleaf, pp. 1-30, 31-68, 71-108, 113-140, back flyleaf. A17 and A67 were stubs conjugate with A58 and A8 respectively. A1 (flyleaf), A17 (stub), A37-38 (protective leaves at center fold), A67 (stub), A74 (flyleaf) were blank. There were no catchwords or headlines.

Papyrus: Two of the rolls from which the codex was constructed are of a papyrus that was relatively thin and therefore of fine quality; two other rolls (Nos. 3-4, used to copy the middle of the text) were relatively thick and opaque (on the relation of the stationer's stock rolls to the structure of the text block, see Robinson in *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, pp. xv, xvii). The fiber directions of the leaves is A1-37 ↓/→, A38-74 →/↓. The bottom of A9 (pp. 15-16) was patched in antiquity.

Script (cf. *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*; Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pl. 11): Letters are upright or slightly left-sloping, thick-and-thin style, with 3-stroke λ , round ϵ ζ , narrow \circ (pinched and sloping from upper left to lower right), tall ρ φ , short (and, at end of line, occasionally tall) σ , and two forms of Θ . Ligature is used. The height and compactness of the script varies from passage to passage. 10 lines = ca. 77 mm. Black ink was used throughout.

Major sections of text are set off by paragraphus signs (forked or straight), coordinated with dicola written in the text. Connective (*Bindestrich*) superlineation is used, often curved or terminating in knobs. Noteworthy peculiarities are the stroke connecting ϵ ζ in the word "come" and ϱ ζ in ϱ ζ τ η , ϱ ζ κ η , ϱ ζ η , and ϱ ζ η δ . Proper names and compendia are marked by a continuous superlinear stroke. Only the strokes above proper names are printed in this edition.

Morpheme dividers are attached to π and τ , giving $\tilde{\pi}$ and $\tilde{\tau}$. Letters δ and ϵ are often ornamentally extended at end of line. Rhetorical punctuation (distinction of cola) is marked by a half-raised point (\cdot). \ddot{i} is common. The usual compendia for *nomina sacra* appear in the text; note also $\overline{\kappa\lambda\zeta}$ = *καλυπτός*, $\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$ = *χρηστός*. One also finds η (Greek conjunction) with a smooth breathing mark above it, sometimes resembling the letter "Y" rotated 90 degrees to the left. At end of lines final letters or penultimate *omicron* are on rare occasion written small, and final vowels plus η are optionally abbreviated; $-\overline{\delta}$ (11,9) and $-\overline{\circ\sigma}$ (79,17) being attested. Titles (p. 132) are set off by ornamental horizontal rules and dipole signs. Each tractate concludes with a dicolon and dipole or dipole obelisme signs. The long title of Tractate 1 is written in a Greek numerical cipher (see commentary on 132,7-9). No colors or other decorations are used.

Layout: The written area averages ca. 206 x 112 mm (but with considerable variation) and is in a single column of 22-32 lines. There are no initials or ekthesis. The left margin is often irregular. Lines are often not straight, and only rarely are perpendicular to the left margin.

HISTORY

On the history of the manuscript, see Robinson, "Discovery" and "From the Cliff to Cairo."

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ZOSTRIANOS (NHC VIII,1) INTRODUCTION

Doresse, "Les apocalypses de Zoroastre"; Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*; Pearson, "Marsanes"; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*; Puech, "Plotin et les gnostiques"; Robinson, "Three Steles of Seth"; Scopello, "Un rituel idéal d'intronisation"; Sevrin, *Le dossier baptismal séthien*; Sieber, "Barbelo Aeon as Sophia"; Sieber, "Introduction to Zostrianos"; Turner, "Gnostic Threefold Path"; Turner, "Sethian Gnosticism"; Williams, *The Immovable Race*, pp. 69-102.

The Contents of the Tractate

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Zostrianos (NHC VIII,1) is the pseudonymous account of an otherworldly journey by Zostrianos, a kinsman of Zoroaster. Probably written late in the second century C.E. or early in the third, perhaps in Alexandria, it reflects a non-Christian Sethian gnosis heavily influenced by Middle Platonism.

The tractate opens with a narrative section, told in the first person, that introduces Zostrianos as a possessor of the truth and knowledge of life. In despair over his bondage in this world, he asks how this evil world came into existence from the eternal, non-existing Spirit. Interpreting angels then lead Zostrianos through the heavenly world and reveal to him its secret gnosis. At each level of his ascent he undergoes a ritual baptism through which he is transformed; then, knowledge suitable to that stage of his perfection is revealed to him. The content of the knowledge consists of the names and the interrelationships of the heavenly beings of each level. When all has been revealed to him, he descends to the perceptible world and writes his newly-acquired knowledge on three wooden tablets for the benefit of those to be saved. The tractate concludes with Zostrianos preaching a short homily in which he urges his readers to escape their bondage to matter and to return to the Spirit from which they have come.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

1. Zostrianos and the interpreting angels

a. Zostrianos: The reputed kinsman of Zoroaster and the central character of the narrative. He makes a journey through the heavenly realms, returns, and leaves his teachings as a saving knowledge for the seed of Seth. He is a "redeemed redeemer" figure and supposedly the author of the tractate.

b. Authrounis: The angelic interpreter who leads Zostrianos through the lowest levels of the Autogenes aeon; perhaps he is to be identified with the Light Harmozel (see 127,7).

c. Ephesech: The angelic interpreter who for most of the first half of the book provides the knowledge about the Autogenes aeon; perhaps he is to be identified with the heavenly Seth. He is also called the "Perfect Child."

d. Yoel/Youel: The angelic interpreter who leads Zostrianos through the Protophanes aeon; she is also called the "male virgin glory" and "she who belongs to the glories." She may be the consort of the Kalyptos aeon.

e. Salamex: The angelic interpreter for the last half of the book; he is also one of the "Lights in Thought."

2. The Heavenly World

a. The Invisible Spirit: The name for the chief deity from which all else has emanated, hence the frequent designation Three-Powered.

b. The Barbelo Aeon: The collective name for the intermediate realm between the Spirit and the physical world; she is one aeon yet has or is three aeons (see 2.c.d.e). She is usually called the virgin Barbelo, but also Thought, First Thought, and gnosis of the Spirit as she is the first emanation from the Spirit.

c. The Kalyptos Aeon: The first aeon of Barbelo; the name means the "hidden" or "veiled" one and is abbreviated as ΚΛΤ . Described as "unborn," he is identified with the philosophical category "Existence." He has four constituent Lights: Harmedon, Diphanes, Malsedon, and Solmis.

d. The Protophanes Aeon: The second aeon of Barbelo; the name means "first-visible" or "first-appearing." He is often called the male perfect Mind and is identified with the philosophical category "Mind." He has four Lights: Solmis, Akremon, Amrosios, and [Seldao].

e. The Autogenes Aeon: The third aeon of Barbelo; the name means "self-begotten." He is often called "divine" and is identified with the philosophical category "Life." He has four Lights: Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, and Eleleth. As the aeon who occupies the lowest level in Barbelo he is responsible together with Sophia (his consort?) for the creation of the physical universe. His lower "levels" are called the ethereal Earth, the Exile, and the Repentance. The heavenly Adam (Geradamas) and Seth (Setheus) are also constituent parts of the Autogenes.

OUTLINE

1. Introduction (1,1-2,7)

Zostrianos introduces himself as an ascetic seeking the separation of spirit (light) from matter (darkness) and struggling with adversaries.

2. The Call, Redemption and Ascent of Zostrianos (2,7-7,22)

The Perfect Child Ephesech appears to him in a vision. Zostrianos raises philosophical questions about the origin of this world from the nether world. With Ephesech as a guide his soul begins its heavenly journey and ascends through the ethereal Earth into the Autogenes aeon. At each level of his ascent he is baptized and transformed.

3. The Revelations from Authronios (7,22-13,6)

After his initiation into the Autogenes aeon, Zostrianos asks a new set of questions about the levels through which he has passed. Authronios' replies introduce the concept that each lower level is a poorer copy of the one above it, a process that eventually produced the physical world. They also include a brief and fragmentary reference to the fall of Sophia and the creation of this world by its archon. Of particular interest is the way in which the emanation process explains the origin of different kinds of souls.

4. The Revelations from Ephesech (13,7-57,12)

Zostrianos calls upon Ephesech for further help in understanding the mixed nature of the All or Universe. The new revelation is a somewhat redundant description of the Autogenes, but it serves to introduce the philosophical categories of Existence, Mind, and Life with which the Barbelo aeons are identified. Anthropology is a major topic, i.e., a concern over the differences between the souls that can be saved and those that cannot be. The section concludes with the fifth baptism of Zostrianos in the Autogenes aeon, completing his identification with it.

5. The Revelations from Youel (57,13-63,17)

Youel next leads Zostrianos through the Protophanes aeon. A series of baptisms introduce him to its gnosis. The account is much briefer than that for the Autogenes aeon and is now very poorly preserved.

6. The revelations from Salamex (63,17-129,1)

Following the instructions of Youel, Zostrianos calls for further revelations. Although the poor condition of the manuscript makes it impossible to be certain, this is probably the final set of revelations in the tractate. The contents include a description of the Kalyptos aeon, of Barbelo and her aeons, and of the Spirit. It concludes with a review of the Barbelo aeons. At the end Zostrianos is told that he has now learned

things of which even the gods are ignorant.

7. The Descent of Zostrianos and Deposit of the Gnosis (129,2-132,5)

Zostrianos descends through the aeons and writes his gnosis on three tablets for the use of the elect. Finally he re-enters his physical body and preaches a Gnostic homily in which he urges rejection of the material world and acceptance of a kind father.

8. Titles (132,6-9)

Two subscript titles provide the title *Zostrianos* and the link with the traditions concerning the magus Zoroaster.

Genre and Title

GENRE

Zostrianos is a non-historical, otherworldly apocalypse. Unlike Jewish and Christian apocalypses which have the secrets of history as their main concern, non-historical apocalypses have as their prime interests life after death and knowledge of the otherworld. The earliest such story extant in Greek literature is that of Er (Plato, *Resp.*, X). The purpose of the revelation received by Zostrianos is to provide an otherworldly gnosis as the means of salvation for the chosen race of Seth. Towards this end the book describes the mystical experiences of Zostrianos, and the names and relationships of the inhabitants of the otherworld through which every soul must pass. At the same time a negative judgment is pronounced against this world and its ruler, and their ultimate destruction is affirmed. This combination of a primary concern for cosmology with a secondary one for personal eschatology is typical for apocalypses of this type (see Collins, "Morphology," 15; Fallon, "Gnostic Apocalypses," 137-138; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 25-73; cf. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1, 210-218).

In terms of genre, though not in content, *Zostrianos* is quite like some later Jewish apocalypses from the O.T. Pseudepigrapha. It provides some close parallels to chapters 17-36 of *I Enoch* and to the *Books of Adam and Eve*. It seems to share with *II Enoch* (Slavonic) not only a general heavenly journey framework but also specific phrases and formulas, although the lack of consensus about a date and provenance for *II Enoch* makes the value of this evidence uncertain. The *Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII, 1) and *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V, 2) provide the close genre parallels from Nag Hammadi. (See Scopello, "Zostrianos and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch," 376-85; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 25 n. 1; Anderson, "2 Enoch"; cf. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1, 202-206; the *Apocalypse of Seth* which is briefly quoted in the *Mani Codex* (50,8-52,7) may also have belonged to this genre.)

TITLE

The title *Zostrianos* is provided by two subscript titles, the first of which reads simply "Zostrianos" (132,6). That name appears five other times in the extant text (1,2; 3,31; 14,1; 64,11; 128,15), as well as once more in the second subscript title. It is a fitting title for the work as Zostrianos is presented as its central character and author.

The second subscript (132,7-9) is in the form of a cryptogram. It immediately follows the first subscript and is separated from it by decorative marks. The solution to the cryptogram was recognized by Doresse as one used in Theban convents of a later period. When deciphered it reads: "Teachings of Zostrianos. God of Truth. Teachings of Zoroaster." (Doresse, "Les apocalypses de Zoroastre," 255-263). The purpose of this second subscript title was to certify the teachings of the book as authentic wisdom from the East and thus to enhance the authority of the book. It did so by linking the unfamiliar name of Zostrianos with that of his famous ancestor Zoroaster (see Sieber, "Introduction to Zostrianos," 233-236; Puech, "Plotin et les gnostiques," 167; Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung VI," 155-157; Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung," 65; see also Ziegler, "Zostrianos," col. 853; Bidez-cumont, *Zoroastre, Ostanes et Hystaspe*, 1.41-55; Jackson, *Zoroaster*; Hinz, "Zoroaster," 19A, cols. 774-784; cf. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1, 211-213).

Doresse's early conclusion that this second subscript gives the tractate the title "Apocalypse of Zoroaster and Zostrianos" cannot be maintained. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I.15) mentions secret books of Zoroaster which were in use in Alexandria in his time by the followers of Prodicus. The *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II 19,8-10) also knows a book of Zoroaster, but *Zostrianos* does not furnish the type of information which it ascribes to that work. Thus, the book of Zoroaster must have been a totally different work from this Nag Hammadi tractate. That conclusion is supported further by evidence from Porphyry's *Vit. Plot.* 16 (quoted below). He tells of certain Gnostic books known to and opposed by Plotinus, his teacher. Among them were "Revelations" in the names of Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Nicotheos, Allogenes, and Messos. Since Plotinus assigned a different pupil to refute each of these books, the titles Zostrianos and Zoroaster in his list certainly refer to two books, not one.

A second ancient testimony to the name Zostrianos is from Arnobius' *The Case Against the Pagans*. It refers to him as a relative of Zoroaster and calls him a magus (for the Latin text see Bidez-cumont, *Zoroastre, Ostanes, et Hystaspe*, 2. 15; for its interpretation see McCracken, *Arnobius of Sicca*,

1, 294, nn. 258-60; Orelli in PL, 5, 788, understood Pamphylius as a fourth Zoroaster and emended the unfamiliar name Zostrianos to Ostanes). The passage which is dated to the late third or early fourth century C.E. says (my translation):

Well, then! Let there come through the fiery region, I beg you, a Zoroaster, a magician from a remote land, provided that we accept Hermippus as an authority. Also let that Bactrian come along, about whose affairs Ctesias expounds in the first book of his histories; and Armenius, the grandson of Zostrianos and Pamphylian friend of Cyrus ...

Although the passage is a confusing one, it is clear that Arnobius thought of Armenius and Zostrianos as part of the lineage of Zoroaster. Thus, placing the name Zoroaster in the second subscript served to present the tractate to readers of late antiquity as part of the ancient, secret teachings of the East. The Zoroaster-Armenius tradition was in turn connected to the story of Er in Plato (*Resp.*, X, 614b-621d). Er, a fallen warrior, is said to have travelled in the spirit to the nether world. He returns to his body just prior to its burial to relate his knowledge about the immortality of the soul. Clement of Alexandria understood Er to be the same person as the magician Armenius/Zoroaster (*Strom.* V, 14). It is possible that the same traditions which linked the name of Zostrianos to those of Zoroaster and Armenius also provided the suggestion that Zostrianos' secret knowledge had been acquired on an otherworldly journey.

The Gnostic Character of the Tractate

The transmission of gnosis or knowledge was the primary purpose of the tractate. The narrative of the heavenly journey provided a framework in which that knowledge could be communicated. The world-view of the text is thoroughly Gnostic in character as it assumes a basic dualism between matter which is inherently evil, and spirit which is inherently good. In *Zostrianos* this basic dualism is explicitly expressed in terms of contrasts between matter and spirit, darkness and light, body and soul, femaleness and maleness. Humanity is viewed as a microcosm of the universe, having souls or spirits trapped in material bodies. The release of the soul from its painful bondage in matter is to be obtained through the knowledge conveyed to Zostrianos who had previously prepared himself through extreme ascetic disciplines. This gnosis sent from above was intended to awaken the realization that one is an alien here and belongs to another world. Zostrianos is both a lost soul and a

redeemer who brings gnosis back after his salvation. Since the Gnostic message was one of spirit saving spirit, the exhortations of the concluding homily in *Zostrianos* to awaken one's inner-self (god) to god are typical of the intention of the entire book (see Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*; Jonas, *Gnosis und Spätantikergeist*; Jonas, "Delimitation of the gnostic phenomenon"; Rudolf, *Gnosis*; Widengren, *Gnostic Attitude*; Widengren, "Les origines du gnosticism," 37-42).

The fundamental Gnostic attitude was that matter in and of itself is evil and the cause of all other evils. In *Zostrianos* this conviction finds expression in a variety of ways. The imprisonment of the soul within a physical body is one of the most frequent. The body is said to bring darkness (1,10-11); pain and suffering (46,2-15); powerlessness (26,9-11); death (123,6-8); and ignorance (130,7). Another familiar theme is bondage to the perceptible world (3,22-23); to femaleness (1,13; 131,6); and to the body (46,6-9; 131,10-12). Matter is changeable (5,9) and without limits (46,5-6). Those who are in this world think that matter is eternal when in truth it is perishable (9,4-6). The world and its creator are under condemnation (1,16-19; 9,12-15; 128,7-14; 131,23-24). The meaning of salvation is to be rescued from the body (4,24-25); the world (4,26; 46,15-31); and its ruler (4,25-31; 130,10-12). Spirit is good. In *Zostrianos* the ultimate good, the Three-Powered Invisible Spirit, is the source of all that is (17,12-13); it is perfection and silence (24,12-17), simple and undivided (79,16-24; 87,6-19), unseen, and self-existent (128,20-25). Souls can find their true selves by setting themselves straight (1,30-31; 2,8); by discovering the infinite part of their matter (1,15-16); and by seeking a resting place worthy of spirit (2,13; 3,20-21). In their escape souls use the knowledge revealed to Zostrianos by the angels (4,11-17); Seth (30,9-14); powers and glories (24,6-9. 18-20; 46,15-31); and a savior (131,14-16).

The mythological aeons occupy spatial positions in the heavenly world between spirit and matter and represent an attempt to bridge the gulf between them. From the opening questions of *Zostrianos* to those near the end, a major concern of the book is to explain how the manifold universe has derived from one non-existing source (2,24-30; 8,1-17; 20,4-15; 22,2-4; 45,1-30; 48,3-29; 64,11-22; 117,15-19; 128,19-22). The aeon systems in *Zostrianos* provide a mythological solution to that puzzle. Each aeon is produced by an overflow or emanation from the one above it; each is created in the image of its source; each successive image is a somewhat less than perfect representation of its source. In the first step the Barbelo aeon comes forth from the Spirit (81,8-83,1). As the First Thought of the Spirit, Barbelo knows Spirit as her source (81,19-20; 118,9-11); yet, she herself divides into three aeons, a sign of imperfection

(82,13-83,1), while Spirit remains undivided (118,1-5). The first aeon, the Kalyptos (The Hidden or Veiled One), is the pattern for the other two (20,4-15). The Protophanes aeon (The First-Visible One) ranks higher than the Autogenes aeon (the Self-Begotten One), as is shown by the hierarchically structured blessings which are located throughout the text. Each of these major aeons in turn has a multitude of constituent parts called powers, glories, waters, lights, and the like. Much of the gnosis concerns the Autogenes aeon. Sophia (Wisdom), a part of Autogenes, produces through her error the physical world (9,16-11,14); at the same time salvation comes from the Autogenes in the form of Seth (30,9-14). Thus, *Zostrianos* represents the kind of Gnosticism which Jonas called Syrian or Alexandrian (see Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 105, 130-32, 236-237; cf. Widengren, *Gnostic Attitude*, 18-20). Prior to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library, this type of Gnosticism was represented by the Hermetic literature and by several varieties of Christian Gnosticism. Its major features are its conviction that evil has its origin in the divine itself and the resulting speculation about how that could be so; its typical solution for this dilemma is the kind of emanation theory contained in *Zostrianos* which thus provides us with a philosophical exemplar for Syrian Gnosticism.

The gnosis is a secret knowledge partly because it came through revelations and partly because it was intended only for a select group. That group is described by several designations within the text: it is the "living elect" (1,7; 130,4); the "male race" (7,6), the "all-perfect race" (20,2-3). In terms of *Zostrianos*' story the group is referred to as "those of my age and afterwards" (1,5-6) and "my race" (3,15; cf. 4,14). It is "this race" (24,23) when contrasted with those who are not part of the elect; they are called "others" or "the others" (27,19). More specifically, the elect are identified as the "children of Seth" (7,8-9) or the "seed of Seth" (130,16-17). The heavenly Seth is the "father" of the group (30,9-14; 51,14-16), while his father Adam is referred to as "forefather" (6,22). That this group evidently participated in cultic practices is shown by the liturgical materials that are scattered throughout the book. The homily at the end of the book reads like a model sermon for such a community (130,16-132,5). Elsewhere are formulas for giving blessings (e.g., 6,21-26), words of acclamation and praise such as the phrase "you are one" which is to be repeated three times (e.g., 51,23-25), and magical vowel combinations (e.g., 118,18,21). Furthermore, one evidently became a member of the group by means of baptisms similar to those reported for *Zostrianos*. If so, each level of *Zostrianos*' ascent represents one stage in the initiation process. A discussion of the meaning of the waters (22,3-23,17) equates the attainment of a specific level of knowledge with a washing in the

waters of each of the Barbelo aeons. This combination of baptism and new self understanding is what is reported of Zostrianos: he is baptized, receives revelations, and is transformed (e.g., 6,7-21) at each stage of his ascent. After his fourth baptism Zostrianos is said to have become a "perfect angel (7,19)." The term *τέλειος* (perfect) is one used in some of the mystery religions for the first stage of the initiation process (see BAG 2, s.v., 809,2b; cf. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 260, n. 58; Angus, *Mystery Religions and Christianity*, 76-107). Taken together, the two sections on baptism in *Zostrianos* (5,11-7,22; 15,1-25,22) suggest a cultic background for some of the contents of *Zostrianos* (see Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 602-607; Sevrin, *Le dossier baptismal séthien*, 224-251; Robinson, "Three Steles of Seth," 538-539; Scopello, "Un rituel idéal d'intonisation"; cf. Nicklesburg, "Traditions in the Apocalypse of Adam").

The larger question of how *Zostrianos'* Gnostic views are related to what is known from other writings is quite complex. Its answer is clearest with respect to three other tractates from Nag Hammadi with which *Zostrianos* shares mythologoumena and a philosophical orientation, *The Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII, 5), *Marsanes* (NHC X), and *Allogenes* (NHC XI, 3). These four tractates have in turn some strong mythological ties to several of the Christian Gnostic works, especially the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III, 2 and IV, 2) and the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, I; III, I; IV, I; BG8502, 2). Similar but less clear parallels are found between them and the *Untitled Text* in the Bruce Codex.

Allogenes, the *Three Steles of Seth*, and *Marsanes* have heavenly worlds quite similar to that of *Zostrianos* (see Pearson, "Marsanes"; Robinson, "Three Steles of Seth"; Turner, "Gnostic Threefold Path"; Sieber, "Barbelo aeon as Sophia"). The chief deity in *Allogenes* is called the Invisible Spirit (e.g., *Allogenes* XI 66,34; cf. *Marsanes* X 4,15-17), although its Three-Powered One seems to be a separate entity (e.g., *Allogenes* XI 47,9; cf. *Marsanes* X 6,18-19). In the *Three Steles of Seth* the chief deity is not named but is addressed as "Spirit" (*Steles Seth* VII 125,6-25) and Three-Powered One (*Steles Seth* VII 121,31). From Spirit comes the Barbelo aeon (*Steles Seth* VII 121,25-30; *Allogenes* XI 45,28-30) who is herself the source of three aeons named Kalyptos, Protophanes, and Autogenes (*Steles Seth* VII 122,4-123,5; *Marsanes* X 9,1-3; *Allogenes* XI 45,31-46,35). In *Allogenes* these aeons are specifically identified with the philosophical triad of Existence-Mind-Life, just as in *Zostrianos* (see below). Even lists of rather esoteric heavenly beings are similar (e.g., *Steles Seth* VII 126,1-17; *Zost.* VIII 88,9-13; and *Allogenes* XI 54,26-31). Group designations and the roles of the respective revealers are also comparable. The *Three Steles of Seth* refers to Seth as the father of the elect, living, immovable race (*Steles Seth* VII 118,13.17). *Allogenes* receives a

gnosis for the "worthy generation" (*Allogenes* XI 52,21-25; cf. *Zost.* VIII 1,5-7 and 130,3-4; *Marsanes* X 6,15-16) and "for those who are worthy after you" (*Allogenes* XI 68,16-20). Like *Zostrianos*, *Allogenes* ascends in order to bring knowledge to earth (*Allogenes* XI 58,26-69,20; cf. *Marsanes* X 8,18-25). Youel, one of the major interpreting angels in *Zostrianos*, also speaks to *Allogenes*, and she is called "the one who belongs to all the glories" in both books (e.g., *Zost.* VIII 53,13-14; 57,13-15; *Allogenes* XI 50,20-25; 55,17-20). In addition these tractates use similar types of liturgical materials; for example, *Allogenes* XI 52,13-15 has anointings comparable to the washings of *Zost.* VIII 62,11-24, while *Marsanes* has seals to break (*Marsanes* X 2,12-4,23). The *Three Steles of Seth* has prayers and words of praise including especially the thrice repeated "you are one" (e.g., *Steles Seth* VII 125,23-25). Though the parallels between these four tractates are not totally consistent, they are of sufficient number and depth to conclude that all four are representatives of the same Gnostic tradition, especially since they also share an intention to understand gnosis in philosophical ways.

The *Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III, 2 and IV, 2) shares some of the same mythologoumena, in particular many of the names connected with the Autogenes and Barbelo aeons and with the Invisible Spirit (*Gos.Eg.* III 52,1-54,11; III 61,23-62,11; cf. *Zost.* VIII 127,15-128,7). It also speaks of the immovable, living race of Seth (e.g., *Gos.Eg.* III 51,5-9; cf. *Zost.* VIII 30,4-14), of baptisms and purifying waters (*Gos. Eg.* III 64,9-20), of a light-cloud and Sophia (*Gos.Eg.* III 56,22-57,5; cf. *Zost.* VIII 4,20-5,10), of Youel and Esephech (Ephesech in *Zostrianos*) as interpreting angels (e.g., *Gos.Eg.* III 50,16-56,2; cf. *Zost.* VIII 56,24-57,20). At the same time there are significant differences between these two works. Two aeons of the Barbelo in *Zostrianos*, *Kalyptos*, and *Protophanes*, do not appear at all in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, and the *Autogenes* in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* is an independent aeon, not part of the Barbelo. Also the tripartite character of Barbelo is lacking; instead, there is a triad consisting of Spirit (Father), Barbelo (Mother), and *Autogenes* (Son) (*Gos.Eg.* III 41,23-48,8). This Son is identified with Christ (e.g., *Gos.Eg.* III 44,23), and other Christian terms frequently appear, often as further titles for mythological beings. Although a detailed comparison of these two tractates remains to be done, they appear to represent a non-Christian and a Christianized version of the same Gnostic traditions (see Hedrick, "Christian Motifs"; Bohlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 46).

The *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, I; III, I; IV, I; BG8502, 2) also has a few parallels with *Zostrianos*. The presentation of the Spirit, Barbelo, and *Autogenes* in its opening pages (*Ap. John* II 2,25-9,25) provides in Chris-

tian dress some of the cosmology found in *Zostrianos*, but the extensive interest in Yaldabaoth, Adam and Eve, and the Genesis creation accounts that occupy the succeeding sections of the *Apocryphon of John* are at best only alluded to *Zostrianos*. To a still smaller degree *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII, 1); *Melchizadek* (NHC IX, 1); *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II, 4); the *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V, 5); and the *Thought of Norea* (NHC IX, 2) show some similarities. Finally, *Zostrianos* bears some resemblance to several sections of the *Untitled Text* from the Bruce Codex (Schmidt's text, *Gnostische Schriften*, is reprinted in Schmidt-MacDermott, *Jehu and the Untitled Text*, 214-317, with a less useful English translation; see also Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*). The *Untitled Text* refers to Setheus, the Three-Powered One, the places of the Autogenes, and the names of the watchers Gamaliel and Strempsuchos (see Schmidt-MacDermot, *Jehu and the Untitled Text*, 238,26-239,27). Another passage mentions Michar and Micheus and the copies called the ethereal Earth, the Exile, and the Repentance (see Schmidt-MacDermot, *Jehu and the Untitled Text*, 263,11-264,6). In chapter 15 the Kalyptos aeon appears but as an aeon of the self-father having ten powers and nine enneads (see Schmidt-McDermot, *Jehu and the Untitled Text*, 255,15-26). Such major differences with *Zostrianos* are so often the case that the mythological world of the *Untitled Text* is, in the end, quite unlike that of *Zostrianos*.

The writings of the Christian heresiologists prove to be of little value in helping to identify the group of Gnostics from which *Zostrianos* and its related books may have come (see Wisse, "Nag Hammadi and the Heresiologists"; Wisse, "Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library"; Wisse, "Stalking those Elusive Sethians"; cf. Schmidt, "Ireneus und seine Quelle in *Adv. Haer.* I. 29"). Ireneus (*Adv. Haer.* I, 29) identifies as Barbeloites a group with teachings somewhat like those in the *Apocryphon of John*, yet much of what he describes is quite unlike *Zostrianos*. The same can be said of the information from Ireneus' *Adv. Haer.* I, 30 and its expansion in Epiphanius' *Pan.* II, 39, "On the Sethians." Epiphanius says, for example, that the Sethians trace their race from Seth, Adam's son, and that they have books in the name of Seth, Allogenes, and other men. But serious problems arise if one attempts to identify this Sethian group as the one that produced and/or used tractates such as *Zostrianos*. The new texts speak of a heavenly mother, for example, but Epiphanius does not refer to Mirothea or Barbelo. The interest of Epiphanius' Sethians in the Cain-Abel and Noah cycles from Genesis is applicable to the *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V, 5), or the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II, 4), but not to *Zostrianos*. Epiphanius' account adds to the problem by reporting

much the same information about his next group the Archontics (*Pan.*, II, 40). (See Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, 602, who concluded that the *Untitled Text* was produced by the Archontics.) On the other hand, an account in Hippolytus (*Ref.* V) ascribes totally different teachings to the Sethians, teachings related to those found in the *Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII, D). Such contradictory sets of evidence indicate that the Fathers often wrote on the basis of scanty information; however, to conclude as Wisse does that these books were literary productions with no connections to specific Gnostic groups is improbable (see Wisse, "Stalking those Elusive Sethians," 571-76).

Schenke and others have isolated from these tractates a set of common traits for a sect based on the sharing of cultic materials, the names divine figures and of the group designation "the seed of Seth" (see Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism"; Schenke, "Das sethianische System"; Pearson, "Marsanes," 241-244; Turner, "Sethian Gnosticism"; cf. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung VI," 161-70). The evidence from *Zostrianos* supports that conclusion: 1) its liturgical materials are best understood as cultic in origin; 2) it gives a name (the seed or race of Seth) to its adherents; 3) its traditions about the heavenly world are shared in substantive ways with several other tractates. There must not have been an organized Sethian Gnostic "church" or a system of "orthodox" doctrine as none of the texts Schenke identifies as Sethian have all the traits he identifies, some do not even mention Seth. Rather, there must have been different groups of Gnostics who used in a free way a common set of Gnostic traditions for the description of the other world. Since personal revelations and experience were more authoritative for Gnostic Christians than adherence to Churchly tradition, perhaps pagan Gnostics were not so faithful to their traditions either (cf. Pagels, "Visions, Appearances, and Apostolic Authority," 427-429). Some of these Gnostics evidently intended to be Christians, others Platonic philosophers, others Hermeticists, etc. Together they shared some common cultic and mythological conceptions. Whether these disparate groups also shared a feeling of kinship or a common self-designation such as "Sethians" with one another is still unclear.

At present it is sufficient to say that *Zostrianos* bears a close relationship to several other documents from Nag Hammadi and that their common contents provide help in understanding each of the respective books. Since most of them make reference to Seth in some way, it is convenient to designate them as "Sethian," even though the persons and groups that produced the individual texts may not have had ties with one another.

The Philosophical Traditions

Zostrianos presents its mythological gnosis as philosophical knowledge. The key philosophical text for the mystical ascent of the soul came from Plato's *Symposium* (210a-212), and the topic was a common one for Middle Platonism. The concerns about the emanation of matter from spirit in *Zostrianos* also depend largely on philosophical categories that derive ultimately from Plato. Many of the Greek loan words in the Coptic of *Zostrianos* are familiar as technical terminology to those who know the writings of Plotinus and his predecessors, and *Zostrianos* identifies the mythological aeons of Barbelo with the philosophical triad of Existence, Life, and Mind, known best from later neo-Platonic writers. In order to understand *Zostrianos*, therefore, it is necessary to explore the philosophical milieu to which it was related.

The discussion must begin with Chapter 16 of Porphyry's *Vit. Plot.* (see Henry-Schwyzler, *Plotinus: Opera* 1.21-22, for the Greek text). The relevant passage reads (my translation):

At that time there were many Christians and some others, and they (the others) were sectarians who had withdrawn from the ancient philosophy, students of Adelphius and Acquilius. They possessed most of the writings of Alexander the Libyan, Philocomes, Demostratus, and Lydos and cited revelations by Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Nikotheos, Allogenes, Messos, and other such men. They have deceived many, yet it is they themselves who are deceived by thinking that Plato did not approach the depths of intellectual being. Therefore, after he himself had produced many refutations for the benefit of his associates and had also written a book "Against the Gnostics," he assigned the rest to us for criticism. Amelius put forward almost forty books in writing against the book of Zostrianos. As for me, I Porphyry produced many refutations against that one called Zoroaster, showing it altogether to be an illegitimate and recent book, constructed by those who were members of the sect to give them the distinction of being the teachings of the ancient Zoroaster which they had chosen to venerate.

As Porphyry explicitly mentions Christians, previous interpreters have often assumed that the entire paragraph referred to Gnostic Christians and so translated "At the time of Plotinus there were Christians and others, and they (i.e., Christians) were sectarians..." (γεγόναι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, αἰρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας). However, since neither *Allogenes* nor *Zostrianos* is explicitly Christian (see below), the Greek must now be understood as referring to two groups, many Christians (χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν), and others who

are sectarian philosophers (*αἰρετικοὶ δέ*) (cf. Puech, "Plotin et les Gnostiques," 175-77; Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, 614). The dispute between Plotinus and those Gnostic sectarian philosophers was largely one about canonical authority. Plotinus argued that true philosophers cite only Plato as the ultimate authority, while his Gnostic opponents depended on books ascribed to other authorities. Porphyry says that they "brought forward" (*πρῆφροντες*) their books. Although in the light of his later statement that he refuted *Zoroaster* as recent and illegitimate this term could mean that they wrote the books, the more likely sense is that they cited them as authorities against Plato (cf. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, 614). Since everyone assumed that only ancient books were authoritative, it was important to show that the sources of his opponents were of recent origin.

Zostrianos is certainly the book of that name known to Porphyry (so also Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*, 121; Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 12-13, 40; Dillon, "Pleroma and Noetic Cosmos"; Wallis, "Numenius and Gnosticism"; Pearson, "Marsanes," 244-250). He knew of a book titled *Zostrianos* which contained secret revelations and which pretended to be philosophical in orientation, an accurate description of NHC VIII, I. Although Porphyry himself does not provide us with specific information about the contents of the books which he names, the frequent use of philosophical vocabulary in *Zostrianos* provides one type of evidence for identifying our *Zostrianos* with the one Porphyry knew. Among the more frequently occurring technical terms in *Zostrianos* are *ἀρχή* (principle or origin), *οὐσία* (substance or essence), *εἶκον* (image), *εἶδος* (form or species), *τάξις* (arrangement or order), *κόσμος αἰσθητός/αἰσθητός* (perceptible world), *τέλειος* (perfect). Sometimes this technical vocabulary is preserved in Coptic translation, such as **ΠΙΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ** for *τὸ ὄντως ὄν* (the really existing one). These terms and others like them are part of the common vocabulary of the Middle Platonists and Plotinus (cf. Zandee, *Terminology of Plotinus*; Tardieu, "Les trois steles de Seth," 565-567). M. Williams (*The Immovable Race*, pp. 69-102) has pointed out another significant contact between *Zostrianos* and those same Platonists, the concept of "standing." After each of *Zostrianos*' five baptisms he receives a new identity, then he stands, and finally he blesses. Williams has traced the idea of "standing" back to Plato (esp. to *Phaedo* 83A; *Phaedrus* 246Aff) and shown that its use by Plotinus and others describes the stability of the soul during its ascent into the transcendent realms. Plotinus in particular uses the term in the sense of "stand at rest" for the soul which in its mystical ascent has left behind discursive reasoning and has turned towards the One (e.g., *Enn.* III. 8.6.). Though *Zostrianos* may also draw on a Jewish apocalyptic background for this idea, its appear-

ance is another piece of evidence that *Zostrianos* comes from Plotinus' philosophical milieu. Fortunately, Plotinus himself in his essay "Against the Gnostics" (*Enn.* II.9) provides us with fairly specific information about the teachings of his Gnostic opponents. A comparison of its contents with *Zostrianos* reveals several striking comparisons. The "etherial Earth" (e.g., *Zost.* 5,18; 8,11) is that new earth which Plotinus condemns at *Enn.* II. 9.5.23-26. A little later (*Enn.* II. 9.6.1-6) Plotinus argues that the Gnostics have spoiled the perfection of the three hypostases and invented a new terminology by introducing extraneous emanations called *παροικησεις* (Exiles), *ἀντίτυποι* (Copies), and *μετάνοιαι* (Repentances). This unusual combination of terms occurs together several times in *Zostrianos* (5,17-29; 8,13-17; 12,11-15; 27,15-28,5; 31,6-9; 43,12-19). In connection with these new hypostases the Gnostics discuss the differences in souls (*Enn.* II. 9.6.28-62) instead of counting the World Soul as the third hypostasis. At *Zost.* 26,19-28,30 (cf. 42,20-46,18) the topic is the differences of soul and the context that of the souls that exist in the Exile and Repentance. According to *Enn.* II. 9.6.59-63 the Gnostics wrongly censure the maker of this world, just what one finds at *Zost.* 9,12-15. The Gnostics make wisdom (Sophia) the cause of the origin of this world (*Enn.* II 9.10.19-24) as *Zostrianos* does (9,16-17; 27,9-12). When they do so, they speak of forming the world as "the reflection of a reflection" (*Enn.* II. 9.27-28); *Zost.* 10,4 uses precisely those terms to describe the work of the archon of this world. Both the closeness of these parallels between *Zostrianos* and Plotinus' *Enneads* and the fact that the terms involved often appear in the same order in both texts make it certain that this tractate was the book (or a version of the book) known to Plotinus' school and refuted his student Amelius.

The philosophical intention of *Zostrianos* and its use by Gnostics known to Plotinus might suggest that it was written by someone with close ties to Plotinus. He himself indicates that there were Gnostics within his own circle of friends (*Enn.* II 9.10); however, it would seem that forgeries of a very recent origin would have been easier to refute than the prodigious efforts required by Plotinus and his students. More significantly, a comparison of *Zostrianos*' content with Plotinus' writings reveals little that suggests that its author was in active conversation with Plotinus. The particular genius of Plotinus' thought was the understanding that there are three, and only three, levels of reality. Beyond everything that makes up the physical world, he postulated an utterly transcendent First Principle called The One (*τὸ ἓν*), a term used earlier by the Neopythagoreans. From the One emanated a second level called Mind (*νοῦς*) which is both Thought and the object of Thought. As the latter, it contains the individual Platonic forms (*εἶδος*) from which all particulars

in this world derive. Soul (*ψυχή*), the third level, is derived from Mind. As the intermediary between Mind and the perceptible world in which we live, Soul looks both towards Mind and Nature. These three levels of being are, according to Plotinus, logically or hierarchically structured, but they are not to be understood as being separated in time or space. All three are present in everything at the same time. Although *Zostrianos* shares a considerable vocabulary and a general viewpoint with Plotinus, there is no evidence that it was written in direct opposition with positions held by him. Like Plotinus, *Zostrianos* posits a transcendent First Principle and occasionally uses the terms "the one" (79,25; 81,20; 118,15) and "the good" (117,15-17). Nonetheless, *Zostrianos* does not argue against Plotinus' insistence on the complete separation of Spirit and Mind, for at 58,16-20 the Spirit is called an intellectual power, a knower and a fore-knower. That kind of first principle is more like those known from Plotinus' predecessors, the Middle Platonists, than from Plotinus himself. The same is true of the use of terms such as "unreachable" and "ineffable." A similar result is obtained in searching for evidence that the concept of Barbelo in *Zostrianos* was influenced by the Plotinian hypostasis called Mind. Barbelo is called Thought (83,9-10), First Thought (24,12), knowledge (118,11), and one of her constituent aeons (Protophanes) is identified with Mind. But her other two aeons, the Kalyptos and the Autogenes, as well as a myriad of other constituent beings neither reflect Plotinus' thinking, nor are they offered as substitutes for it. Plotinus' third level of being, Soul, is not mentioned in *Zostrianos*. The Autogenes aeon is something like Soul in that it is responsible for the perceptible world, yet the Autogenes is clearly not a separate hypostasis on the order of Soul. The concern in *Zostrianos* is not over Soul, but over the different kinds of souls imprisoned in this world. Furthermore, the entire emanation process is seen by *Zostrianos* as evil (1,16-19; 9,6-15; 10,4-17). Plotinus' contention (e.g., *Enn.* II 9.13) that the process must be good because each lower level depends on the higher level above it is not refuted by logical argument in *Zostrianos*.

Even in those philosophical areas where *Zostrianos* and Plotinus are in general agreement, there are significant differences between them. They agree in general about using the process of emanation to understand the relationship of matter to spirit, but they do not employ the same analogies to describe it. Plotinus favors analogies based on the sun giving off light or fire heat (e.g., *Enn.* II. 7.20-50; II 1.8.1-15); *Zostrianos* refers to a fountain that overflows (17,4-13). Moreover, Plotinus wishes to understand emanation logically (e.g., *Enn.* II 9.14.37-43), not temporally or spatially as does *Zostrianos*, and for him all three hypostases are everywhere present (e.g., *Enn.* II 9. 16.15-33). The aeons in *Zostrianos*, its

stories about the creation and destruction of this world, and its additions of other hypostases are all aimed at providing as much spatial distance as possible between the Spirit and matter (e.g., 129,22-130,7). Thus, while there are many similarities of thought between *Zostrianos* and that of Plotinus, they do not appear to be the result of an immediate confrontation between its author and Plotinus (vs. Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 71, who thinks *Zostrianos* may have originated as a critique of Plotinus' mysticism).

It is much more likely that *Zostrianos'* author was part of the same late Middle Platonic era from which Plotinus emerged. Its agreement with the terms and issues raised by Albinus, Moderatus, and Numenius from about 150 C.E. and on are especially striking. These similarities extend along four basic lines: the attempt to distinguish a god higher than the world of forms or ideas; speculation about the four elements; acceptance of demons as lower gods; uneasiness over calling this world good. In each case *Zostrianos* reveals a concern both for the type of question under debate and for the terminology being employed in it (see esp. the articles by Merlan, Chadwick, and Armstrong in Armstrong, *Cambridge History*; Dillon, *Middle Platonists*; Armstrong "Gnosis and Greek Philosophy"; Dodds, "Numenius and Ammonius"; Dodds, *Pagan and Christian*; Wallis, *Neoplatonism*, 12-36). The attempt to distinguish a chief deity from the world of forms is known from about the middle of the second century C.E. on. Albinus anticipated Plotinus' triad of the One, Mind, and Soul by accepting without argument the proposition that ideas are the thoughts of god, who is ineffable and unreachable. Yet at other times Albinus evidently identified god with active intelligence so that he did not make this an absolute distinction (see Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 267-306). Moderatus and Numenius both pursued the question by attempting to reconcile Plato with Pythagorean thought. Moderatus understood Plato to have posited three realms other than the physical world: the One which is above all being and substance, the ideas, and the psyche. The matter of which the physical world consists is a reflection or a shadow of the One and the Ideas. Numenius also understood Socrates and Plato to have taught a doctrine of three gods, and he sought to bolster his arguments with teachings from eastern sources such as Judaism and Zoroastrianism. Numenius called the chief deity goodness, first intelligence, the one-that-is. His second god is a duality that contemplates the chief deity on the one hand and uses the "ideas" to create the physical world on the other. Indeed the role of Numenius' second god is almost identical to that of Barbelo in *Zostrianos*, although Barbelo is a triad, not a duality. In *Zostrianos* the Spirit, as knower and fore-knower, is also more like the chief deity of these Middle

Platonic philosophers, than like the One of Plotinus. Although these philosophers may not have conceived the doctrine of this chief deity as clearly as Plotinus was to do later, the Gnostics of the period (such as Valentinus) were already doing so in their own terms. Therefore, we find the closest parallels to these concepts from *Zostrianos* in late second century philosophers and Gnostics.

The task of interpreting Plato's talk about the creation of this world by a demiurge in *Tim.* 28c began with Aristotle and continued on through the Neoplatonists. Most Middle Platonists accepted Aristotle's opinion that the cosmos was eternal. The question of how the physical world could participate in the intellectual was a major concern. As we have seen, *Zostrianos* also wrestles with this problem (e.g., 2,24-3,13). The use of the four elements (earth, air, fire, and water) as an aid in explaining the process was one of the ways in which Aristotelian and Stoic elements were blended to interpret the demiurge passage (see Schweizer, "Slaves of the Elements," esp. 456-464). In *Zostrianos* these four elements appear in the sections which discuss the vast array of ideas in each of the Barbelo aeons (e.g., 48,3-7; 55,13-19; 113,9-10). The belief in lower gods or spirits, called demons (daimons), was a part of Platonic philosophy from the fourth century B.C.E. These spirits served as the intermediaries between this world and the world of ideas. Some demons were thought to be evil (and hence were the cause of evil in the world); others were good. Some had always been incorporeal; others were the souls of the dead who had once inhabited bodies. *Zostrianos* makes several references to such demons (e.g., 43,1-12). Although the world was considered as mostly good by the majority of Platonists, from at least the second century C.E. some writers were not very eager to affirm its goodness. Numenius, taking a position later rejected by Plotinus, argued for an evil cosmic soul identified with matter, while Celsus believed that matter itself was the source of evil. Although these philosophical positions differ from the Gnostic attitude (i.e., that both matter itself and the entire process leading to it is evil), they serve to show that the question about the goodness of the world was being addressed by Middle Platonists. The negative evaluation of the cosmos and its creator in *Zostrianos* is a Gnostic view of the same issue.

As a representative of the Middle Platonic period, *Zostrianos* provides evidence for the pre-Plotinian origin of the triad Existence-Mind-Life employed by later Neoplatonic writers to explain the functioning of Plotinus' second hypostasis, Mind. E.R. Dodds discussed its appearance in the works of Proclus, who wrote in the fifth century C.E. (see Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*, 90-91, 252-53). More recently Hadot traced it back into the fourth century in the writings of Marius Victorinus (see Hadot,

Marius Victorinus). Then, in a 1977 essay Hadot reviewed the evidence for this triad in the writings of Plotinus and argued that it was not something new in his thought (see Hadot, "Etre, vie, pensée chez Plotin," 107-141). Instead, he suggested that the triad was part of the standard summaries of Platonic thought available at that time. The main objection to his thesis at that time was that he lacked documentary evidence for the pre-Plotinian existence of the triad. James M. Robinson was the first to suggest that the Nag Hammadi Library had supplied the evidence that Hadot had lacked (see Robinson, "Three Steles," 132-142). In discussing the appearance of the triad in *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos* he argued that the proceedings at which Hadot's paper had been presented would have greatly benefited from an earlier publication of those Nag Hammadi materials. Further study has substantiated that opinion (see Sieber, "Barbelo aeon as Sophia"; Turner, "Gnostic Threefold Path"; Wire-Turner, "Allogenes"; Pearson, "Marsanes"; Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes"). Key passages in *Zostrianos* identify the Barbelo aeons with the philosophical triad as follows: the Kalyptos aeon is Existence, the Protophanes aeon is Mind (also called Blessedness and Knowledge), and the Autogenes aeon is Life or Vitality (see esp. 15,1-18,10). They are three and yet one, as they are in those later Neoplatonic authors.

The Composition of the Tractate

DATE

The close relationships between *Zostrianos* and Middle Platonism demonstrate that it must have been written either in the last half of the second century C.E. or quite early in the third century. It cannot have been composed much later than 215 C.E. since according to Porphyry it was in use in Rome sometime between years 244 and 265-266 C.E. (265 C.E. marks Plotinus' arrival in Rome, and in 266 he assigned the tractate to Amelius for refutation). Other considerations make a late second century dating more likely. Groups of Gnostics were being refuted as early as 150 C.E. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I.15) mentions both Alexander and Prodicus who use the book of Zoroaster. None of the Gnostic authors mentioned by Porphyry can be identified with certainty, although it is possible that Porphyry's Alexander the Libyan may be identified with the Alexander mentioned by Clement (cf. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, 629-630). In ca. 185 C.E. Irenaeus knew of Gnostic teachings in which the names for aeons and lights similar to those found in the *Apocryphon of John* and *Zostrianos*. Moreover, the other Gnostic books with which *Zostrianos* is most closely allied have been independently dated in the latter half of the second century or early in the third.

PROVENANCE

While one cannot be certain about the matter of provenance, Alexandria in Egypt is a likely place for its composition (cf. Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 40). That city was a "melting pot" for a wide variety of religious and philosophical thought during this period, as the Christian writings of Justin, Clement, and Origen demonstrate. Platonic philosophy was popular there; Plotinus studied it there under Ammonius early in the third century C.E. We know also that some of the Gnostics living in Alexandria probably came from Syria, and that the city had a large Jewish population.

The original language of *Zostrianos* was Greek. A number of constructions in the Coptic text can only be understood on the assumption of a Greek original. First, there are several instances in which the Coptic definite article is separated from its noun by several words or phrases (e.g., 5,26-27; 12,12-13), a familiar Greek construction but "impossible" in Coptic. Second, $\alpha\upsilon\omega$ is used as the indicator of the apodosis of a condition in the way the Greek *καί* functions (e.g., 31,18-19). Third, $\Psi\text{O}\rho\text{P}$ is used to translate *πρσ*, as in $\Psi\text{O}\rho\text{P} \text{ N } \Psi\text{O}\text{O}\text{P}$ = *προεῖναι* (2,31) and $\Psi\text{O}\rho\text{P} \text{ N } \epsilon\iota\sigma\text{O}\text{T}\epsilon$ for *προπάτωρ* (3,18). Fourth, many literal translations from the Greek are employed such as placing the Coptic definite article before a Greek preposition as in $\text{N}\text{I}\text{K}\Delta\text{T}\Delta \text{ O}\Upsilon\Delta$ = *οἱ καθ' ἐν* (127,3.11-12.14). The Coptic of *Zostrianos* deviates considerably from later standard Sahidic usage, and its translation of the Greek quite literal. The translator preferred to translate Greek participles with the Coptic circumstantial (e.g., 2,28-33) even when at times temporal forms (rare in *Zostrianos*) could have been used. Often the Coptic is confused as if translator had lost his way (the Greek original was probably somewhat obtuse because of its philosophical bent). The difficulties of the Coptic translation plus the loss of text due to lacunae combine at times to produce nearly untranslatable sections in the manuscript. Because of these several problems, the English translation offered for this edition is often quite literal as well.

Zostrianos appears to be the work of a single author. There is considerable continuity of thought and construction between the opening narrative of the book and that at its conclusion. The contents of the revelations are arranged in a logical order which corresponds to the aeon levels, first in an ascending order, then a descending one. The repetitious nature of the body of the text is evidently due to the use for didactic reasons of sets of traditional materials to expand the description of the heavenly world. The most evident example of the use of such a source by the author of the text is the addition of the revelatory material between 7,22 and 53,15. At 7,22, after a series of four baptisms narrated in a

concise, formulaic style, Zostrianos begins to ask a series of philosophical questions. These questions—there are seven sets of them in all in the tractate—are themselves probably derived from Gnostic traditions (Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 55-56, 86-88). Only after the lengthy revelations from Authronios and Ephesech about the Autogenes aeon system do we come at 53,15 to a fifth baptism, yet it is reported using the same formula as that used earlier on pages 6-7, and this fifth baptism is followed by still another description of the Autogenes aeon. Thus it appears that into an account of an ascent with five baptisms the author has inserted additional materials. This pattern of composition seems to have been followed in the later sections of the book as well, although it cannot be clearly traced because of the extensive damage to the middle portion of the manuscript. Other sources are difficult to detect with so much of the tractate missing. Many of the hymnic and magical elements may have been appropriated from elsewhere and adapted for use in this work. The concluding homily was probably borrowed from another source since it makes a general appeal to gnosis without a single specific reference to the aeon system revealed in the tractate, while references in the homily to a "gentle father" and to his sending of a redeemer are found only in the homily. The homily's rhetorical style and its balance between *parensis* and proclamation suggest that it may have been a model homily which the author appropriated and adapted.

As he intended, the author's identity remains a mystery. His use of the pseudonym Zostrianos enabled him to claim access to a tradition of truth more ancient and authoritative than that of Plato. Our most certain conclusion about him is that he must have been a Gnostic who sought to understand his gnosis philosophically. Some have argued that the author might have been a Christian. Layton, basing his opinion on the traditional understanding of Porphyry's passage, thinks that the author could have been a Christian writing in a "pseudo-Zoroastrian mode" (see Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*, 121-122). Perkins sees the warning against being baptized with death in the concluding homily as an attack on Christian baptism (see Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*, 25-26, 89-90). Yet on the whole, there is very little in the text to indicate an active interest in things Christian on the part of the author. Not once in the extant text is Christ named (the $\chi\rho\varsigma$ of 131,14 is for $\chi\eta\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$), not even in those Autogenes passages that have explicitly Christian parallels in other tractates. A brief mention of one who cannot suffer but does so at 48,27-29 could be a reference to Christ's suffering, but it is not explicitly so. Apart from a few allusions to the N.T. the author betrays no special interest in it. The best of those allusions, a reference to the Pauline triad of faith, hope, and love at 28,20-22, reveals only the kind of non-Christian knowledge of the N.T.

that began to appear at the middle of the second century (cf. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian*, 102-138). Since the contents of *Zostrianos* reveal so little interest in Christianity, it is unlikely that its author was a Christian (see Sieber, "Introduction to *Zostrianos*"; cf. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi*, 14-15). Nor does the author seem to have been Jewish since the tractate betrays no particular interest in Judaism. Although some of the names of the heavenly beings are obviously Hebrew in their origin (e.g., Daveithe and Gamaliel), this book contains none of the midrashic material that appears in some of the other Nag Hammadi tractates. The author knows and repeats some Jewish ideas, such as the creation of the world by a word (9,2-4), but he does not allude the Genesis accounts of creation. He seems familiar with the form of the Enoch literature yet does not use its content. As both the Christian and Jewish elements in *Zostrianos* survive only in a secondary way, they probably came to its author through the general culture, although they may be the residue from earlier stages of Sethianism (see Turner, "Sethian Gnosticism," 59-85, who argues that the Sethians originated as a Jewish baptismal sect, then successively became Christians and Platonists). In any case, the book itself is most accurately described as the representative of a non-Christian, non-Jewish, philosophical Gnosticism.

The author wrote for an audience that interpreted its cultic experience in terms of traditional Greek philosophy. Such an attempt at a syncretism of religion and philosophy was typical for the late second century C.E. Justin Martyr's attempt to use philosophical categories provides a Christian example of the same tendency. In this instance the author tried to combine a tradition of mythological aeons from Gnostic circles with philosophical categories, although the stress remained on the mythological. Aeons are blessed and addressed, and possession of their names is understood to provide magical access to the otherworld, while intellectual argument of the type known from Plotinus is mostly lacking. Though the author of *Zostrianos* certainly believed himself a true and faithful interpreter of Plato, modern readers will undoubtedly find themselves sympathetic to Porphyry's complaint that he had in fact abandoned the ancient philosophy.

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[Δ]

2 [.] Ε Ν Τ Ε Π Ε . [. . .] Ν Ν Ψ Δ Δ Ε
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 4 [.] Θ Ξ Ω Ψ [Τ Ρ Ι Δ Α Ν -]
 [Ο Σ .] . [.] . Σ [. . .] Γ Δ Μ Ν Ι Ο Λ Δ Ο Σ
 [Ε Τ] Δ Ι Ψ Ω Π Ε Θ Μ Π [Γ Κ] Ο Σ Μ Ο Σ Ν Ν Δ Ι
 6 [Ε Τ] Ε Ν Τ Α Θ Ο Τ Μ Ν [Ν Η] Ε Τ Μ Ν Η Σ Ω Ε Γ
 [Ν Γ] Ψ Ω Π Ε Τ Ο Ν Θ Ψ Ψ Ο Ν Θ Ν Θ Γ Π Ν Ο Ψ Τ Ε
 8 [.] Τ Μ Ε Θ Ν Ο Θ Μ Ν Τ Μ Ε Ν Τ Α Π Μ Ε
 [Μ Ν Ο] Θ Σ Ο Ο Θ Ν Δ Ν Ο Κ Μ Ν < Ο Ψ > Ο Θ Ο Ε Γ Ν Ψ Δ
 10 [Ε Ν] Ε Ρ Ψ Ε Τ Δ Ε Γ Π Ω Ρ Ψ Μ Π Ψ Ω Μ Α Τ Ψ
 [Κ] Ο Ν Ν Κ Α Κ Ε Ε Τ Η Θ Ρ Α Ι Ν Θ Η Τ Μ Ν Π Γ -
 12 [Ψ] Θ Χ Γ Κ Ο Ν Ν Χ Α Ο Θ Σ Θ Ν Ο Θ Ν Ο Θ Σ
 Μ Ν † Μ Ν Τ Σ Ω Μ Ε Μ Ν Ε Π Θ Θ Μ Γ Δ
 14 [.] Δ Ι Ε Τ Θ Ν Π Γ Κ Α Κ Ε Ε Μ Π Γ Ρ Θ Β Θ Ε
 Ε Ρ Ο Σ Ε Τ Δ Ε Γ Θ Γ Ν Ε Μ Π Γ Α Τ Η Δ Ρ Η Ψ Γ
 16 Ν Τ Ε Τ Α Θ Θ Δ Η Δ Ψ Ω Δ Ε Γ Σ Ο Θ Ε Ν † -
 [Κ Τ] Γ Σ Γ Σ Ε Τ Μ Ο Ο Θ Τ Ε Τ Θ Ρ Α Ι Ν Θ Η Τ
 18 [Μ] Ν Π Γ Κ Ο Σ Μ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ω Ρ Ν Ν Ο Ψ Τ Ε
 Μ Ν Ε Σ Θ Η Τ Ο Ν Ε Δ Ε [Γ] † Θ Ν Ο Θ Θ Ο Μ
 20 Μ Ν Ο Θ Θ Ε Γ Ψ Ν Τ Ε Π Τ Η Ρ Γ Ν Ν Η Ε -
 Τ Ν Τ Δ [Θ] Μ Μ Α Θ Μ Μ Ε Ρ Γ Κ Ο Ν Ν Ψ Μ -
 22 Μ Ο Ε Ε Ι Θ Γ Τ Ο Ο Τ Ε Ν Ε Ψ Θ Β Η Θ Ε Ν

A single copy of the text is known to survive. Some of its readings can now be distinguished only with the aid of ultraviolet light. Textual evidence now attested only by photographs is cited according to Emmel's sigla (Emmel, "Photographic Evidence").

1,1-2,7 *Introduction of Zostrianos*

- 1 The following text was read solely from blotting on the facing flyleaf; cf. *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, pl. B: line 1, | Ε Ν Τ Ε Π Ε . [. . .] Ν and final Ε at the end of the line; line 2, | Ο Ν Θ Ψ Δ Ε Ν [Ε Ρ] .
- 1,1-3 E.g., [Π Ξ Ω Ψ Μ] Ε or [Π Γ Ξ Ω Ψ Μ] Ε Ν Τ Ε Π Ε Θ [Ο Ψ] Ν Ν Ψ Δ Δ Ε / [Μ Π Η Ε Τ] Ο Ν Θ Ψ Δ Ε Ν [Ε Ρ] Ν Δ Ι Δ Ν Ο Κ / [Ε Τ Δ Ι Ψ Ω Π Ε] Θ Μ Π [Γ Κ] Ο Σ Μ Ο Σ Ν Ν Δ Ι Μ Μ Ο [Θ] ; or in line 2 possibly [Μ Ν Η Ε Τ] . [The glorious book] of the words [of the one who] lives forever, [which] I Zostrianos [wrote] .
- 1,1 . | , an angular junction of two strokes at midline (read with ultraviolet light), suggestive of φ but also compatible with the left of a pinched ο or C ; too high to be the angle of ϑ .
- 1,2 | Ο Ν Θ Ψ , read (from blotting) in December 1971 while flyleaf still adhered to inner surface of the upper cover; text was subsequently damaged and now reads only | Ν Θ Ψ | or Π Δ Ι .
- 1,3 No supralinear stroke above Ξ Ω Ψ [| Ψ , or else ϑ .

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 [] live fo
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 [the] living
 [] the t
 [and] know
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 E.g. | Ψ Δ Ω
 cl. 24, 20; 117
 Possibly em
 Ε Τ Δ Ε Γ , etc
 Not room fo
 le, Χ Α Ο Σ .
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 E.g., [Γ Ι Δ]
 Α Τ Η Δ Ρ Η
 - Τ Ο Ν , sic
 a, particle
 Circumflex

[1]

[] of the [] of the words
 2 [] live forever, these things I] Zos[trianos]
 []
 4 [] and Iolaos
 when I was in the world (*κόσμος*) for the sake of
 6 these of my age and [those] (coming) after me,
 [the] living elect. God lives!
 8 I [] the truth with truth
 [and] knowledge and eternal
 10 light. After I parted from the
 somatic (*σωματικόν*) darkness in me and
 12 the psychic (*ψυχικόν*) chaos (*χάος*) in mind (*νοῦς*)
 and the feminine desire (*ἐπιθυμία*)
 14 [] in the darkness, I did not make use of it
 again. After I had found the infinite
 16 (side) of my matter (*ἕλη*) and reprov'd the
 dead creation (*κτίσις*) within me
 18 and the divine cosmocrater (*κοσμοκράτωρ*)
 of the perceptible (*αἰσθητόν*) (world), I preached
 20 powerfully about the All to those
 with alien parts (*μερικόν*).
 22 Although I tried their ways

14 .] . .], these ink traces (bottoms of three vertical strokes) are incompatible with ΠΨΗΡΕ Η or ΠΙΨΗΡΕ ΗΙ.С .]. .]Δ, traces of a proper name with a supralinear stroke above it; first ink trace is from Η, Ψ, or Η; second trace, from Ψ, Η, Ψ, Κ, Η, or possibly Β.

15 ΕΤΔΙ' = Sahidic ΝΤΕΡΕΓ'.

16 Sahidic ΕΤ Ο Η; cf. Bohairic ΝΤΕΙΣΟΤ.

18 E.g., [Ψ Δ Ω Η] (with slight crowding); cf. Eph 4:15 | Bohairic, ΤΔΦΛΗΨ; cf. 24,20; 117,10.

19-10 Possibly emend (ΔΝΟΚ) ΛΗ <ΟΨ> ΟΨΟΕΓΗ ΨΔ [ΕΝ]ΕΨ· <ΔΝΟΚ> ΕΤΔΕΓ', etc.

19 Not room for [ΔΨΩ Ο] | <ΟΨ>, copyist's careless omission.

1,12 I.e., ΧΑΟΣ.

1,13 Circumflex over the group Ψ Ψ | lit., the femaleness of desire; cf. 1 *Apoc. Jas.* V 24,27ff.

1,14 E.g., [Τ]ΔΨ or [Η]ΔΨ.

1,15 ΔΤΗΔΡΗΞ = *ἀληπτος*; cf. 16,5-7.

1,19 -ΤΟΝ, sic.

1,21 Λ, particle of the direct object.

1,22 Circumflex over the group Ψ Ψ | see 25,4n.

24 **ΝΑΥ ΟΥΚΟΥΕΙ Μ ΠΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΑ-**
ϠΑΝΑΥΚΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΥΠΟ ΝΤ Ε ΠΕ-
 26 **ΤΟΥΟΝΟΥ ΕΜΠΥΚ ΟΥΤΗΟΥ ΡΩ**
ΕΝΕΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ Ν ΟΥΟΕΥ ΝΥΜ
 28 **ΝΕΪΠΟΥΡΧ ΜΜΟΪ ΝΣΑΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΟΥ**
ΕΪΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΟΥΟΥ Ν ΟΥ-
 30 **[. .]ΣΕ ΕΥΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΜΟΧΘ**
[Ε]ΤΑΪΣΟΥΟΥΤΗ Ν ΤΑΨΟΥΧΗ ΝΝ ΑΤ-
ΚΑΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΔΕΥϠ ΒΟΜ
Β
Μ ΠΥΝΟΥΕΡ[ΟΝ
 2 **ΑΥΩ ΔΕΥ[**
ΟΥ Μ ΠΥΝΚ[---] Ν Κ[. .] . . [
 4 **Μ ΠΑΝΟΥΤ[Ε**
[. . .] ΕΔΕΥΡ ΟΥ[. . . .] Π[. . .] ΔΗΥ[.
 6 **ΒΜΒΟΜ ΟΥΝ [Ο]ϠΠΝΔ ΕΥΟΥΑΔ[Β ΠΗ]**
ΕΤΧΟΥΕ [Ε ΝΟΥ]ΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ Δ[Υ
 8 **ΟΥΥΩΕΥ ΜΑΥΑΔΑΥ ΕΕΥΣΟΥΟΥΤΩ[Ν ΑΥΩ]**
ΔΕΥΝΑΥ Ε ΠΥΤΕΛΟΥΟ Ν ΔΛΟΥ[Υ
 10 **ΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΜΝ ΠΗ ΕΥ [. . . Ν ΟΥ-]**
ΜΗΗΥΕ Ν ΣΟΥΠ ΜΝ ΟΥΑΤΟΥ Ν Ρ[ΗΤΕ ΕΥ-]
 12 **ΟΥΟΥΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ Μ ΠΕΪΡΗΤΕ ΟΥ[ΥΕΥ-]**
ΟΥΤ ΕΥΟΥΩΨ ΕΕΥΚΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΑ Π[ΥΟΥ-]
 14 **ΟΥΤ Ν ΕΥΟΥΤ ΝΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΟΥΟΥ [ΜΗ ΕΥ-]**
ΟΥΝ ΟΥΕΝΜΟΥΔ ΜΝ ΟΥΕΣΘΗΝΣΥΣ ΟΥ[Ν ΟΥ-]
 16 **ΕΥΔΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΤΕΝΟΥΟ ΜΝ ΟΥ[ΜΕ-]**
ΟΥΟ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΠΟΥΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΗ ΕΥ[Α-]

1,26-27 Cf. 3,14-19. What tradition Zostrianos is rejecting here (Judaism, Christianity, another variety of Gnosticism, Platonism) is unclear. See also Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 80-81.

1,28 Ϡ, curved trace as from upper left of ε | ÿ only one dot of the trema survives; possibly ε[Δ]ÿ', but elsewhere this is spelled εΔΕΥ' | circumflex over the group ΟΥ.

1,29 Ϡ, a characteristic trace from bottom right of this letter; it has a serif, as often on this page | e.g., [ΜΥ]ϠΕ; [ΟΥ]ϠΕ perhaps would not fill the lacuna.

1,31 ΑΥΩ, taken as καί introducing apodosis.

2 The following text was read from blotting on the facing page (p. 3): pagination, Β; line 1, Μ ΠΥΝΟΥΕΡ[; line 2, ΑΥΩ; end of line 3,]Ν Κ[. .] . . [.

2,3 Cod. ΠΥΝ .[., the Ν has a supralinear stroke and the following trace is from Δ, Κ, or Ν | end of line, Κ[Ο]Ϡ Μ[Υ]ΚΟΝ[?]

2,5 E.g., ΟΥΟΥΕ; (ΟΥ[ΩΒ] is too short) | Δ, or else Μ.

2,6 Cf. Luke 1:80; Rom 4:20.

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 into the v
 them; ins
 separated
 because I
 a holy []
 When I, a
 soul (ψυχ
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 the intelle
 and I []
 the []
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 higher than
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 [] With
 many time
 appeared to
 bring [fath
 male] fath
 in thought
 form (είδος
) an All

2 The Call
 le, high
 Apoc. Ad
 E.g., τ
 After εϠ
 ΕΥ[ΜΑ
 Ου[ΟΥ
 Ου[ΟΥ
 4 Loving fa
 ΝΑΪ ΤΗ
 universe
 Not ΜΝ
 Cl. Apoc.

for a little while as
 24 the necessity (*ἀνάγκη*) of birth brought me
 into the visible world, I was never pleased with
 26 them; instead (*ἀλλά*), I always
 separated myself from them
 28 because I came into being through
 a holy [].
 30 When I, a mixed one, had set straight my sinless (*-κακία*)
 soul (*ψυχή*), then I strengthened
 2
 the intellectual (*νοερόν*) [
 2 and I [
 in the [
 4 of my God [
 [] I having done [
 6 grow strong in a holy spirit (*πνεῦμα*)
 higher than god. [
 8 upon me alone as I was setting myself straight, [and]
 I saw the perfect (*τέλειος*) child [
 10 []. With him who [
 many times and many [ways, he]
 12 appeared to me as a
 loving [father] when I was seeking the
 14 [male] father of all these [who are]
 in thought (*ἐννοια*) and perception (*αἴσθησις*) in
 16 form (*εἶδος*), race (*γένος*), [region (*μέρος*)],
 (in) an All and one [that]

-
- 2,7-7,22 *The Call, Redemption and Ascent of Zostrianos*
 2,7 I.e., higher than the god who created this world; see also 13,5; 34,15; cf. *Apoc.Adam* V 64,16-19.
 2,9 E.g., [Ϟ εϞϣ η Ϟε] | for perfect child, cf. 13,6; 30,4-6.
 2,10 After ε̅τ̅, only a trace of a supralinear stroke; e.g., ε̅τ̅η̅|λλαϣ or ε̅τ̅λ̅|λλαϞ; length of lacuna is uncertain.
 2,11 Οτ, [ο̅τ̅].
 2,12 Οτ, Ϟ[η̅ ο̅τ̅].
 2,13-14 Loving father, perhaps the heavenly Seth; cf. 30,9-14.
 2,14 η̅δ̅ι̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅, probably a collective body of spiritual beings (not the universe).
 2,15 Not λ̅[η̅].
 2,17 Cf. *Apoc.Pet.* VII 82,26-83,8.

18 ΜΑΡΤΕ ΔΩ ΕΤΘΑΜΑΡΤΕ ΜΜ[ΟΥ]
 ΜΝ ΟΥΩΜΑ ΔΩ ΟΥΑΤΩ[ΜΑ]
 20 ΜΝ ΟΥΟΥΣΙΑ ΔΩ ΟΥΟΥΛΗ Μ[Ν ΝΕΤ-]
 ΝΤΕΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΩ ΨΟΥΠΑΡΞΙΣ [ΕΣ-]
 22 ΜΟΧΚ ΝΜΜΑΘ ΜΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ
 (ΠΕΙ)ΠΙΚΛΑΧ ΝΝ ΑΤΜΙΣΕ ΜΝ ΨΟΜ [ΕΤΝ-]
 24 ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΩ ΨΟΥΠΑΡΞΙ[Σ]
 ΖΕ ΠΩΣ ΝΕΨΟΥΟΠ ΕΡΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΩΜ
 26 ΠΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΨΟΥΟΠ ΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΩΝ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΝΝ ΑΤΝΑΘ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΩ ΝΝ Δ[Τ-]
 28 ΠΩΨΕ ΝΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΕΝΗΣ ΕΡΕΝΤ Ν [ΕΓ-]
 ΝΕ ΝΝ ΑΤΜ[Γ]ΣΕ ΕΘΝΤΑΘ ΜΜΑΘ
 30 ΝΝ ΟΥΑΡΧΗ ΕΣΟΤΠ Ε ΨΟΥΠΑΡΞΙ[Σ]
 ΔΩ ΕΥ ΨΟΥΠ Ν ΨΟΥΠ [Ε ΝΑΪ ΤΗ-]
 32 ΡΟΥ ΕΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ Μ ΠΙΧ[ΟC ΜΟC]
 Η ΠΩC ΝΝ ΕΤΟΥΒΗΥ ΜΝ ΝΑΪ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ]
 [. ΝΑ]ΝΟΥΥ ΠΑΪ
 2 [.]Δ[.] ΔΩ ΝΛΟΕΓ-
 [Ε Δ]Ω ΖΕ ΑΨ [ΠΕ ΠΤ]ΟΠΟC Ν[Τ]Ε
 4 [Π Η]ΤΜΜΑΘ Η ΟΥ Ν ΑΡΧΗ ΕΤΝΤΑΥ
 [ΜΜΑ]Θ Η Ν ΑΨ Ν ΡΗΤΕ ΠΛΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ
 6 [ΕΥ]ΨΟΥΠ ΝΑΥ ΜΝ [ΝΑΪ] ΤΗΡΟΥ Η ΠΩC-
 [ΕΥΨΩ]ΠΕ Ν ΩΔΠΛΟΥΝ ΕΥΨΕΒΗΟΥΤ
 8 [ΕΡΟΥ] ΜΑΘΑΔΥ ΕΥΨΟΥΠ Ν ΟΥΟΥ-
 [ΠΑ]ΡΞΙC ΜΝ ΟΥΕΙΔΟC ΔΩ ΟΥΜΝΤ-
 10 [Μ]ΔΚΑΡΓΟC ΔΩ ΕΥΨ Ν ΟΥΟΜ ΕΥ-
 [Ο]ΝΩ ΩΜ ΠΩΝΩ Η Ν ΑΨ Ν ΡΗΤΕ ΨΟΥ-
 12 [Π]ΑΡΞΙC ΕΤΕ ΝΨΟΥΟΠ ΔΝ ΔCΟΥ-
 ΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΝ ΟΥΟΜ ΕΨΟΥΟΠ:
 14 [Ν]ΑΪ ΔΕ ΕΕΨΟΥΟΧΝΕ Ε ΕΓΜΕ ΕΡΟ[Ο]Υ
 [Δ]Ω ΝΕΪΕ[Γ]ΝΕ ΕΡΑΪ Μ ΜΗΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ
 16 ΠΤΩΠ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΤΕΝΟC Μ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

2,21 Or, ΨΟΥΠΑΡΞΙC ΜΟΧΚ ΝΜΜΑΘ.

2,23 For (ΠΕΙ), cf. 13,2; or else, ΠΕΓ(ΠΓ)ΚΛC, cf. 18,10 | for ΚΛC, see 15,12n.

2,25ff The text is obscure.

2,28 I.e., ΩΕΝΨΟΜΤ.

2,30 ΨΟΥΠ, error for ΨΟΥΠ'.

2,32 κ|, only the bottom of a vertical stroke survives.

restrains a
 (in) a body
 (in) essence
 belong to a
 them and t
 Kalyptos (A
 existence (B
 How (mas)
 the aeon (ai
 an invisible
 self-begotten
 free unborn
 an origin (A
 They exist p
 get (8E) they
 How (f) mas

] good
] and
 excuse.] Wh
 What (+8E) is
 How (+ff) do
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 existence (br
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 is alive with
 has the existe
 appeared fro
 while (+8E) p
 then after the
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The underlin

on the facing

That one, he,

Not A.

Or, in giving

Or, (N)EIEI

For the figur

18 restrains and is restrained,
 (in) a body (*σῶμα*) yet without a body (*-σῶμα*),
 20 (in) essence (*οὐσία*), matter (*ἕλη*) and [those who]
 belong to all these. It is with
 22 them and the divine, unborn
 Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*) and the power [in] them all that
 24 existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) is mixed. (About) existence (*ὑπαρξίς*):
 How (*πῶς*) do those who exist, coming from
 26 the aeon (*αἰών*) of those who exist- from
 an invisible, undivided and
 28 self-begotten (*αὐτογενής*) Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) as
 three unborn images, have
 30 an origin (*ἀρχή*) better than existence (*ὑπαρξίς*)?
 They exist prior [to] all [these],
 32 yet (*δέ*) they have become the [world (*κόσμος*)].
 How (*ἦ πῶς*) are those opposite it and all these

3

[] good, he
 2 [] and an
 [excuse.] What is [that one's] place (*τόπος*)?
 4 What (+*δέ*) is his origin (*ἀρχή*)?
 How (+*ἦ*) does the one from him
 6 belong to him and all these? How (*ἦ πῶς*)
 [does he come into existence] as simple (*ἀπλοῦν*)
 8 (yet) differing [from] himself? He exists as
 existence (*ὑπαρξίς*), form (*εἶδος*), and
 10 blessedness (*μακάριος*), yet by giving strength he
 is alive with life. How (+*ἦ*)
 12 has the existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) which does not exist
 appeared from a power that exists?"
 14 While (+*δέ*) pondering these things to understand them,
 then after the custom of my race (*γένος*)
 16 I kept bringing them up daily to the god

3 The underlined letter in the following text was read primarily from blotting on the facing page (p. 2): line 32, **ϠΗΤΕ**.

3,3-13 That one, he, etc., antecedent unknown.

3,5 Not *ἦ*.

3,10-11 Or, in giving strength he is alive with life.

3,14 Or, <N>ΕΕΙΨΟΞΝΕ.

3,15 For the figurative use of ΕΙΝΕ, cf. 44,24.

18 [Ν]ΤΕ ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ· ΝΕΪΔΩ Μ ΠΣΜΟΘ Ν-
 [Τ]Ε ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΘ· ΝΑΨΟΡΗ Ν ΕΙΟΤΕ
 20 [Τ]ΑΡ ΜΗ ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΑΨΚΩΤΕ ΑΨΘΙΝΕ
 ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΠΙΚΑ ΤΟΟΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΕΙΡ ΔΙΤΙ
 22 ΝΣΑ Ο[Ψ]ΜΑ Ν ΜΤΟΝ ΕΨΜΠΨΑ Μ ΠΑΠΝΑ·
 ΕΜΠ[Δ]ΤΟΨΣΟΝΟΨΤ ΨΜ ΠΙΕΣΘΗΤΟΝ
 Ν ΚΟΣΜΟС· ΑΨΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΕΪΜΟΚΟΨ Ν ΨΗΤ
 24 ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΨΩ ΕΕΙΟΚΜ ΕΤΒΕ †ΜΗΤ-
 ΚΟΨΕ[Ι] Ν ΨΗΤ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΔΕΙΡ
 26 ΤΟΛΜΑ Ε ΕΙΡΕ Ν ΟΨ[Α]ΑΔΨ ΑΨΩ Ε ΤΑ-
 ΔΤ Ν ΝΙΘΗΡΙΟΝ Ν[Τ]Ε ΤΕΡΗΜΟС·
 28 ΕΨΡΑΪ ΕΨΤΑΚΟ ΕΨΝΑΨΤ· ΑΨΑΨΕΡΑΤΨ
 ΝΑΪ [Ν]ΣΙ ΠΑΨΤΕΛΟС ΝΤΕ †ΤΗΩСΙС ΝΤΕ
 30 [Π]ΟΨΟ[Ε]ΙΝ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΨ· ΑΨΩ ΠΕΨΑΨ ΝΑΪ
 [ΨΕ] ΨΩΨΤΡΙΝΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΟΨ ΑΚΑΨΒΕ Μ
 32 [Π]ΙΡΗΤΕ ΕΚΕ ΝΗ ΑΤΜΜΕ Ε ΝΙΝΑΨ Ν ΨΑ ΕΝΕΨ
 Δ
 ΕΤΣΑΨΡΑΪ
 2 ΕΡΟΚ ΔΝ[
 ΑΨΩ ΕΤΒ[Ε]ΤΑΨΟΚΕΠ[.
 4 Δ[.] ΨΕ ΕΚΕΝ[Ο]Ψ[Ψ]Μ ΤΕΝΟΨ· Μ[.
 ΠΕ ΡΩ ΨΝ ΤΑΚΟ ΕΝΕΨ· ΟΨΔΕ [.
 6 ΜΕ Ε ΝΗ ΕΤΚΟΟΘΗ ΜΜΟΟΨ [Ψ]ΝΑΔ
 ΨΕ ΕΚΕΝΟΨ[Ψ]Μ Ν ΨΕΝΚΟΟΨ· Ν[Η ΕΤΕ-]
 8 ΠΙΨΤ ΝΤ[Ε] ΝΙΨΙСΕ ΝΑΨΟΤΠΟ[Ψ ΚΜΕ-]
 ΕΨΕ ΟΗ ΨΕ ΝΤΚ ΠΙΨΤ ΝΤΕ Π[ΕΚΤΕΝΟС]
 10 Η ΨΕ ΪΟΛΑΟС ΠΕ ΠΕΚΕΨΤ· ΟΨ[. . . .
 ΟΨΑΨΤΕΛΟС ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΨΤΕ ΕΔ[. . . .
 12 ΕΙΤ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΙΤΗ ΨΕΝΡΩΜΕ Ε[ΨΟΨ-]
 ΑΔΒ· ΑΜΟΨ ΝΤСΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΝ Ν[ΑΪ]
 14 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΚΝΑΚΟТК ΕΡΟΟΨ ΟΗ Ν ΚΕ[ΙСОΠ]
 ΨΙΝΑ ΨΕ ΕΚΑΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΨΨ Ν ΟΨΤΕΝ[ΕΔ]

3,26-28 For suicide as a common ascetic practice in late antiquity, see Perkins, *Gnostic Dialog*, 89.

3,27 Cod. Θ Η Ρ Ι Ο Η̄, supralinear stroke in error | cf. Ps 74:19.

3,28-29 Cf. Luke 1:9; Acts 27:24.

3,31 Cf. Porph. *Vit. Plot.*, 16.

3,32 [ΠΙ], error for ΠΕΪ as at 46,30 | the eternal, divine beings who were thought to have had no beginning or ending (mortals who became divine were called immortals); cf. *Apoc. Adam* V 64,15.

4,3 ΙΤ, or else ΙΠ.

of my fathers. I kept praising
 18 them all, for (γάρ) my fore-fathers
 and fathers who sought found.
 20 As for me (+δέ), I did not cease seeking (αἰτεῖν)
 a place of repose worthy of my spirit (πνεῦμα)
 22 where I would not be bound in the perceptible (αἰσθητόν)
 world (κόσμος). Then (τότε), as I was deeply
 24 troubled and gloomy because of the
 discouragement which surrounded me,
 26 I dared (τολμᾶν) to act and
 to deliver myself to the wild beasts (θηρίον) of the
 28 desert (ἐρήμος) for a violent death. There stood
 before me the angel (ἄγγελος) of the knowledge (γνώσις)
 30 of eternal light. He said to me,
 "Zostrianos, why have you gone mad
 32 as if you were ignorant of the great eternal
 4
 who are above? [
 2 you [
 and concerning [
 4 that you are now saved, [
 [] in eternal death, nor (οὐδέ) [
 6 [] those whom you know
 in order to [(+ἵνα)] save others,
 8 my father's chosen elect? [Do you]
 [suppose] that you are the father of [your race (γένος)]
 10 or (ἢ) that Iolaos is your father, a []
 angel (ἄγγελος) of god [
 12 you through holy men?
 Come and pass through each
 14 of [these]. You will return to them another [time]
 to (ἵνα) preach to a living [race (γενέα)],

4,4 Δ[], Δ read from blotting on the facing page (at 5,18) | for ⲫⲉ ⲉ´ = ⲉ´, cf. 83, 20.

4,5 E.g., [ⲙⲡⲢⲉⲣ´].

4,8-9 Or, [ⲟ ⲉⲕⲙⲉ]ⲉⲣⲉ.

4,9-10 Cf. Deut 32:6; Ps 89:26.

4,9 Or, [ⲡⲉϿⲧⲉⲛⲟⲥ].

4,12 ⲉⲓⲧ read from blotting on the facing page (at 5,9).

4,15 Sahidic, ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ.

16 ΕΣΟΝΘ· ΔΨΩ ΝΕΝΟΨΩΜ Ν ΝΗ ΕΤ[Μ-]
 ΠΨΑ· ΔΨΩ ΝΕΨ ΓΟΜ Ν ΝΙΣΩΤ[Π]
 18 ΔΕ ΟΨΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΙΔΕΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΞ[ΩΝ]
 ΔΨΩ ΔΕ ΟΨΚΟΨΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΧΡΟΝΟ[Σ Μ]
 20 ΠΕΪΜΑ· ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΨΔΟΟΨ Ν[ΔΪ]
 ΔΝΟΚ ΨΝ ΟΨΝΟΣ Ν ΪΝΣ ΜΝ ΟΨΝΟ[Σ Ν]
 22 ΟΨΡΟΤ Ν ΨΗ[Τ] ΔΕΙΔΑΔΕ ΝΜΜΑΨ ΕΨΡ[ΔΪ]
 ΕΨΝΟΣ Ν ΚΛΟΟΔΕ Ν ΟΨΟΞ[Γ]Ν ΔΕΙΞ[Ω]
 24 Μ ΠΑΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΨΓΔΜ ΠΚΑ[Ψ] ΕΨΑΡΞ[Ψ]
 ΕΡΟΨ ΕΒΟΔ ΨΓΤΝ ΨΕΝΕΟΟΨ· ΔΨΩ Δ[Ν-]
 26 ΝΟΨΩΜ ΕΒΟΔ [Ψ]Μ ΠΓΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΨ
 ΜΝ ΠΪΓΤ Ν[Ν] ΕΩΝ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ
 28 ΝΨΗΤΨ [ΜΝ ΝΟ]ΨΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΛΟΣ
 ΜΠΟΨΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΝ[·] ΔΨΩ ΠΟΨΑΡ-
 30 ΧΩΝ ΔΨΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΨΑΘΗ Ν Ψ[ΕΝΨΓΗ Μ]
 ΜΟΨΨΕ· ΨΓΗΠΕ ΤΑΡ Ν ΟΨ[ΟΕΙΝ]

ε

[·]ΤΝ[·] [·] ΕΣΣΟΤΠ
 2 ΝΨΟ[ΨΟ Ε ΚΟ]ΨΜΓΚ[ΟΝ ΝΓ]Μ· ΕΨΑΤ-
 ΨΑΔΞΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΠΞ Π[Ε]ΨΑ ΕΣΨ ΟΨΟ-
 4 [Ε]Γ[Ν] ΕΨΗΤΑΣ Ν ΟΨΒΟΜ ΕΣΔΓ ΜΟ-
 [ΕΓΤ Ψ]ΗΤΟΨ Ν ΨΕΝΠΝΔ ΕΨΟΨΑΔΒ
 6 [ΕΣΨ]ΟΟΠ Ν ΟΨΠΝ[Δ] Ν ΡΕΨΤΑΝΨΟ·
 [ΜΝ] ΟΨΨΑΔΞΕ Ν ΝΟΞΡΟΝ· Μ ΠΡΗΤΕ
 8 [ΔΝ Ν] ΝΗ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΨΜ ΠΓΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 [·] . . .] Γ ΝΤΕ ΟΨΨΔΛΗ ΕΨΑΔΨΓΒΕ
 10 [Μ]Ν ΟΨΨΑΔΞΕ ΕΨΑΨΤΩΘΗ· ΔΨΩ
 [Τ]ΟΤΕ ΔΕΙΣΟΨΩΝ ΨΓΟΜ ΕΨΨΟ-
 12 [Ο]Π ΝΨΗΤ ΔΞ ΝΕΣΚΗ ΨΓΔΝ ΠΓΚΑΚΕ
 [Ε]ΨΗΤΑΣ ΜΜΑΨ Μ ΠΠΟΨΟΕΙΝ ΤΗΡΨ·
 14 [Δ]ΕΙΞΓ ΩΜΨ Μ ΠΓΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΨ· ΔΨΩ

4,19-20 Or, the time [of] this world is short; cf. 131,19-20.

4,19 There is an extraneous ink trace before the letter Χ, possibly blotting from the facing page.

4,23 Ξ, or else Η, Ϊ, or Ν | in *Gos.Eg.* III 49,1-7, a light-cloud is identified with Mirothea; see also *Ap.John* II 10,14ff and *Paraph.Shem.* VII 7,11ff; cf. *Mark* 9:7 par; *Acts* 1:9; *I Thess* 4:17; *1 Cor* 10:1-2; *Rev* 11:17.

4,24 For *πάσμα* as physical body, see B. Pearson, "Biblical Exegesis," 72; cf. *2 Cor* 12:2-3.

4,25 For glories as hypostasized thoughts, see 46,22-31.

4,27 ΠΪΓΤ read with UV lamp; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 64,4 = IV 75,18-19 | cf. *Ap.John* II 10,14ff; *Gos.Eg.* III 64,4; *Apoc.Adam* V 77,27ff; *Ps* 43.

16 to save those who are
 worthy and to strengthen the elect,
 18 for great is the struggle (*ἀγών*) of the age (*αιών*),
 but time (*χρόνος*) [in] this world is short."
 20 When (+δέ) he had said this [to me],
 I very quickly and very
 22 gladly went up with him
 into a great light cloud. I [cast]
 24 my body (*πλάσμα*) upon the earth
 to be guarded by glories. [We] were
 26 rescued from the whole world (*κόσμος*)
 and the thirteen aeons (*αιών*)
 28 in it and their angelic (*-άγγελος*) beings.
 They did not see us, but their
 30 archon (*ἀρχων*) was disturbed at [our]
 [passage,] for (*γάρ*) the light-cloud

5

[] it is better
 2 than any [worldly (*κοσμικόν*)] thing.]
 With its ineffable beauty
 4 it shines brightly
 [guiding] pure spirits (*πνεῦμα*)
 6 as a spirit-savior (*-πνεῦμα*)
 and an intellectual (*νοερόν*) word,
 8 [not] like those things in the world (*κόσμος*)
 [] with changeable matter (*ἕλη*)
 10 and an upsetting word.
 Then (*τότε*) I knew that the power
 12 in me was set over the darkness
 because it contained the whole light.
 14 I was baptized there, and

4,29-30 Cf. 130,10-12.

4,29 For **ΕΛΠΟΘ**.4,31-5,1 E.g., **ΟΦ[ΟΕΙΝ/Ε]Τ**; or **ΟΦ[ΟΕΙΝ Ν/Δ]Τ**.

5,1 Lit. she, probably the light-cloud.

5,2 **ΦΙ**, overlaid with blotting from the facing page.

5,3 Or, because of its ineffable beauty.

5,5 **ΝΤΕ ΠΑΤΟΤΕΝΗΣ** might be expected.5,9 **ΙΦ**, or **ΙΞ**, or **ΙΞ** (but not ligatured to **Ι**).5,11 The baptisms recounted here through 7,22 may represent the ritual baptisms of the group that produced *Zostrianos*. Cf. Schenke, "Sethianism," 602-607; Scopella, "Un rituel idéal d'intronisation," 91-95; cf. 2 Enoch 22:8-10.

16 [Δ]ΕΙΞΙ ΠΙΝΕ Ν ΝΓΕΟΟΘ ΕΤΩΜ ΠΜΑ
 [Ε]ΤΜΜΑΘ· ΔΕΙΨΩΠΕ Μ ΠΡΗΤΕ Ν
 18 [Ο]ΥΔΑ ΜΜΟΟΘ· ΔΕΙΣΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΜ ΠΓ-
 [ΚΑΩ] Ν ΔΗΡ· ΔΩ ΔΕΙΣΙΝΕ Ν ΝΓΑΝ-
 20 [Τ]ΙΤΩΠΟC ΝΗ ΕΩ[Ν]· ΕΔΕΙΩΜC
 [Μ ΠΜΑ] ΕΤΜΜΑΘ Ν CΑΨΥ Ν CΟΠ
 [Ν ΟΥΜΟΟ]Θ ΕΥΟΝΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΤΑ ΠΟΤΑ
 22 [ΝΤΕ ΝΓ]ΕΩΝ· ΕΜΠΙΚ[Α Τ]ΟΟΤ ΨΑΝ-
 [ΨΝΑΘ] Ε ΜΜΟΟΘ [Τ]ΗΡ[ΟΘ Ε] ΟΥCΟΠ
 24 [ΔΩ] ΔΙΕΓ ΕΡΡΑΪ Ε [ΨΟΝΤΩ]C ΕΨΩ-
 [ΟΠ] Μ ΠΑΡΟΙΚΗCΙC Δ[Ϊ]ΞΙ ΩΜC ΔΩ
 26 [. . .]· [ΚΟ]CΜΟC· ΔΙΕΓ ΕΡΡΑΪ Ε ΨΟΝ-
 [ΤΩC Ε]ΨΟΟΠ Μ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΔ
 28 [ΔΩ ΔΕ]ΙΞΙ ΩΜC Μ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΘ
 [Ν ΨΤ]ΟΟΘ Ν CΟΠ· ΔΕΙCΙΝΕ Μ ΠΓ-
 5

2 ΜΕΥCΟΟΘ [Ν ΕΩΝ] Ψ[.] . . . [. .
 ΔΩ ΔΙΕΓ [ΕΡΡΑΪ] Ε ΝΓΕ [.] . . . [.
 ΔΙΔΩΡΕΑΤ Μ[ΜΑ]Θ ΕΔΕΙΝΑΘ ΕΘΟΘΟΕ[ΓΝ Ν-]
 4 ΤΕ ΤΜΕ· ΕΨΩΟΠ ΟΝΤΩC ΕΒ[Ο]Λ ΩΝ [ΟΘ-]
 ΝΟΥΜΕ ΝΤΑΨ Ν ΔΨΤΟΥΕΝΗC Μ[Ν ΩΕΝ-]
 6 ΝΟC Ν ΔΥΤΕΛΟC ΜΝ ΩΕΝΕΟΟ[Θ. . . .
 Ε ΠΨΓ· ΔΩ[Ω Δ]ΕΙΞΙ ΩΜC Ε Π[ΡΑΝ Μ]
 8 ΠΓΑΨΤΟΥΕΝΗC Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ Ε[ΒΟΛ Ω]ΤΟ-
 ΟΤΟΘ Ν ΝΓΩΜ ΝΗ ΕΨΩΟΠ [ΩΞΝ ΩΕΝ-]
 10 ΜΟΟΘ ΕΘΟΝΩ ΜΓΧΑΡ ΜΝ ΜΓ[ΧΕΥC]
 ΔΩ ΔΕΙΤΒΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΤΟΟΤΥ Μ [ΠΓ-]
 12 ΝΟC ΒΑΡΦΑΡΑΥΤΗC· ΔΩ ΔΨ[ΟΘΟΝΩ]-
 ΟΘ ΝΑΪ ΔΨCΑΩΤ ΩΜ ΠΓΕΟΟΘ· [ΔΨΡ-]
 14 CΦΡΑΥΤΖΕ ΜΜΟΕΓ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΤΟΟΤ[ΟΘ]
 Ν ΝΗ ΕΨΩΟΠ ΩΞΝ ΝΕΪΩΜ [ΜΓΧΑΡ <ΜΝ>]

- 5,18 For ethereal earth as the lowest level of the heavenly world, see 9,2-6; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 50,10; Plot. *Enn.* 2.9.5,23ff; Orig. *de Princ.*
- 5,23 [ΨΝΑΘ] requires a slight crowding of letters (for restoration of ΝΑΘ, cf. 6,3); or possibly [ΨΩΕ].
- 5,24-25 *παροικίαις*, a temporary residence, probably here the place of the soul's repose; see also 12,9-17; cf. Plot. *Enn.* II.9.6; Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, 183 n.
- 5,26 Before [ΚΟ]ΜΟC, an indistinct trace, perhaps from the upper left of ε, θ, ο, or c.
- 5,29 The following text was read solely from blotting on the facing page (p. 4): ΙΟΟΘ Ν C.

received
 there. I b
 one of the
 ethereal
 aeon (aloi
 washing
 living
 of the) ae
 [saw] abs
 ascended
 which [rea
 [] wou
 repentance
 [and was]
 four times.
 6
 sixth [aeon
 ascended
 blood ther
 of the truth
 his self-bego
 great angels
 number. I v
 the divine A
 those p
 living water
 was purific
 baptizing
 themselves
 was sealed
 those who a

3, or else
 Root, i.e., s
 Eg., γενε
 n, the flag
 Cl. Gos.Eg.
 Treatise, 18
 For ΜΓΧΕΥC
 A short line
 Cl. Ps 39:8;
 Possibly
 AM; cf. Co

I received the image of the glories
 16 there. I became like
 one of them. I left the
 18 ethereal (*ἀήρ*) [earth] and passed by the
 aeon (*αιών*) copies (*ἀντίτυπος*) after
 20 washing [there] seven times
 [in] living [water], once (+*κατά*) for each
 22 [of the] aeons. I did not cease until
 [I saw] absolutely all the waters.
 24 I ascended to the exile (*παροίκησις*)
 which [really (*δύτως*)] exists. [I] was baptized and
 26 [] world (*κόσμος*). I ascended to the
 repentance (*μετάνοια*) which really (*δύτως*) exists
 28 [and was] baptized there
 four times. I passed by the
 6
 sixth [aeon (*αιών*)
 2 I ascended to the [
 I stood there after having seen a light
 4 of the truth that really (*δύτως*) exists from
 its self-begotten (*αὐτογενής*) root [with]
 6 great angels (*ἄγγελος*) and glories, [
 number. I was baptized in the [name of]
 8 the divine Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)
 [by] those powers which are [upon]
 10 living waters, Michar and Mi[cheus.]
 I was purified by [the] great
 12 Barpharanges. Then they [revealed]
 themselves to me (and) wrote me in glory.
 14 I was sealed (*σφραγίζειν*) by
 those who are over these powers, [Michar,]

6,1 Δ , or else Δ .

6,5 Root, i.e., source or origin; cf. 6,18.

6,6 E.g., $\varrho\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omicron\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\sigma$; cf. 63,21-22.

6,9 Π , the flag does not survive.

6,10-16 Cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 64,15-20; *Trim.Prot.* XIII 48,18-21; Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, 180-182.

6,10 For $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{C}$, cf. *Gos. Eg.* III 64,15 = IV 76,4.

6,11 A short line.

6,13 Cf. Ps 39:8; 138:16; Rev 14:1; 17:8.

6,15-16 Possibly $\Theta\omicron\mathfrak{M}$ [$\nu\nu$]/ $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{C}$ < $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}$ $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}$ >
 $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}$; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 64,20=IV 76,9-10.

16 ΜΓ|ΧΕΥΣ· ΜΗ ΣΕΛΔΑΩ ΜΗ ΕΛΕΙΝΟΣ
 ΜΗ ΖΩΤΕΝΕΘΛΟΣ· ΔΩΩ ΔΕΙΨ[ΩΠΕ]
 18 Ν ΟΥΑΥΤΕΛΟΣ Ν ΡΕΥΝΑΥ Ε ΝΟΥ[ΝΕ]
 ΔΩΩ ΔΙΔΥΕΡΑΤ̄ ΟΥΔΝ ΠΥΘΟΥΕΙ[Τ]
 20 ΕΤΕ ΠΥΜΕΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ Π[Ε]
 ΜΗ ΝΥΨΥΧΗ ΔΕΙΣΜ[Ο]Υ Ε ΠΥ[ΔΟΥ-]
 22 ΤΕΝΗΣ Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΜΗ ΠΥΨ[ΟΡΠ Ν]
 ΕΙΩΤ̄· ΠΥΤΕΡΑΔΔΑΜΑ ΕΙ
 24 ΠΥΔΟΥΤΕΝΗΣ ΠΥΨ[ΟΡΠ Ν ΡΩΜΕ]
 Ν ΤΕΛΟΣ ΜΗ ΣΗΘ ΕΜΜΑΧΑ ΣΗΘ
 26 ΠΥΗΡΕ [Ν]ΤΕ [Δ]ΔΑΜΑΔ Π
 †ΤΕ[ΝΕΑ Ν]Ν [ΔΤ]ΚΥΜ ΜΗ Ν[ΥΤΟΥ-]
 28 ΟΥ Ν [ΦΩΣΤΗΡ] .C .Η· [.
 Μ [.]ΕΜ[.] .[
 30 ΜΗ ΜΥΡΟΘΕΑ ΤΜΑΔ[Υ
 ΤΕ· ΜΗ ΠΡΟΦΑΝΙΑ [.
 32 ΝΤΕ ΝΟΥΘΟΥΕΙΝ ΜΗ ΠΔΗ[.
 .Η [.]Ω .Δ[. . .]ΟC· ΔΩΩ ΔΕΙ-
 2 [ΣΓ] Ψ[ΜC Μ ΠΥ]ΜΕΟΥC[Π̄ C]ΝΑΥ Ε ΠΡΑΝ
 [Ν]ΤΕ ΠΥΔΟΥΤΕΝ[Η]C Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 4 ΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΥ Ν ΝΕΪΣΟΜ Ν ΟΥΩΤ̄ ΔΕΙ-
 ΨΩΠΕ Ν ΟΥΑΥΤΕΛΟΣ Ν ΤΕΝΟΣ (Ν ΤΕ-)
 6 [ΝΟΣ) Ν ΟΥΟΥΤ̄· ΔΥ[Ω] ΔΕΙΔΥΕΡΑΤ̄ ΟΥ-
 ΔΗ ΠΥΜΕΟΥCΝΑΥ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΥ-
 8 Μ[ΕΟΥ]ΨΟΜΤ ΠΕ ΜΗ ΝΥΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ
 [C]ΗΘ ΔΕΙΣΜΟΥ Ε ΝΑΪ ΝΑΪ ΔΩΩ ΔΕΙ-

- 6,16 Or else, ΕΛΘ], but cf. ΕΛΕΝΟΣ at *Gos.Eg.* IV 76,11, and ΕΛΔΙΝΟΣ at *Gos.Eg.* III 64,21.
- 6,17 For the restoration, cf. 5,16; 7,4-5.
- 6,19 Or, stand at rest. Williams, *Immovable Race*, 70-102, connects this "standing" with the achievement of immovability by the visionary in his ascent, and perhaps also with the practice of contemplative standing in meditation.
- 6,20ff The aeons are numbered both from the top and from the bottom.
- 6,22 For Ψ[ΟΡΠ Ν], cf. 20,8.
- 6,23 The supralinear stroke begins over ligature of Π into Ι; or possibly read ΠΥΤΕΡΑΔΔΑΜΑΔ; (for Geradamas or Pigeradamas, see 13,6; 30,5-6 *passim*; cf. *Gos.Eg.* IV 61,10; *Steles Seth* VII 118,26; see also Schenke, "Sethianism," 594).
- 6,25 For Seth Emmacha-Seth, see 51,14-15; cf. *Steles Seth* VII 118,28.
- 6,26 E.g., Π[ΙΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΕ]; cf. *Steles Seth* VII 118,28.
- 6,28 Ϛ, after sigma a supralinear stroke survives | Η·, the trace edited here as punctuation might be from a letter.

Michel
 and Zogen
 a foot-see
 and stood
 son (alaw
 with the se
 divine Au
 wreather
 the Autoge
 human), a
 son of [the
 the [immov
 lights
 [the
 Microthea, th
] and
 of the lights

baptized fo
 of the divine
 by these sam
 became an a
 male race (y
 the second a
 find, with th
 Seth. I bless

at the begin
 Photograph
 Eg. INTE
 Adam's mot
 There is an e
 ΔΗ, part of
 The ink on th
 following tex
 line 30, ΝΥC
 Perhaps with
 ΝΑΥ CΕΠΠ.
 ΟΥ, ΣΜ.
 Λι, sons, the
 of Seth."

16 Mi[ch]eus, Seldao, Ele[nos]
 and Zogenethlos. I [became]
 18 a [root-seeing] angel (*ἄγγελος*)
 and stood upon the first
 20 aeon (*αιών*) that is, the fourth,
 with the souls (*ψυχή*). I blessed the
 22 divine Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*) and the
 forefather Geradama, [
 24 the Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*), the first perfect (*τέλειος*)
 [human], and Seth Emm[acha Seth],
 26 the son of [A]damas, the [
 the [immovable race (*γενέα*)], and the [four]
 28 [lights
 [
 30 Mirothea, the mother [
 [] and Prophania (*προφανεία*) [
 32 of the lights and De-[

7

[] I was
 2 [baptized for the] second time in the name
 of the divine Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)
 4 by these same powers. I
 became an angel (*ἄγγελος*) of the
 6 male race (*γένος*). I stood upon
 the second aeon (*αιών*), that is, the
 8 third, with the children of
 Seth. I blessed each of them and

-
- 6,29 μ at the beginning of this line is best documented in an early photo; cf. Emmel, "Photograph Evidence," 189; the papyrus was subsequently damaged.
- 6,30 E.g., [ΝΤΕ ΔΔΔΜΔC; in *Gos.Eg.* III 49,1-7, Mirothea (the light-cloud) is Adam's mother and thus the mother of the holy race.
- 6,31 There is an extraneous ink trace after ΤΕ, blotted from the facing page.
- 6,32 ΔΗ, part of a *nomen sacrum*.
- 7 The ink on this page is faded, but can be read under ultraviolet light. The following text was read with UV light from blotting on the facing page (p. 6), line 30, ΝΙCΩ.
- 7,1 Perhaps with slight crowding, Δ[ΤΤΕΛ]OC.
- 7,2 Not CΞ[Π].
- 7,7 Or, CΛ.
- 7,8-9 Lit., sons, the heavenly counterparts of the group that called itself "the sons of Seth."

10 [ⲬⲒ] ⲱⲙϢ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣⲱⲙⲧ̅ ⲛ Ϣⲟⲡ ⲉ
 12 ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲧⲟⲩⲉⲛⲛⲥ ⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
 14 [ⲁⲓ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧⲉⲗⲟϢ ⲉϣⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
 16 [ⲁⲓⲉⲓⲁ]ⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧ̅ ⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣ̅ (Ϣⲛⲁⲩ) ⲛ
 18 [ⲛ ⲉⲱ]ⲛ· ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣϢⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲉⲓ-
 20 [Ϣⲙⲟ]ⲩ̅ ⲉ [ⲛ]ⲁⲓ̅ ⲛⲁⲓ̅· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲉⲓⲁⲓ ⲱⲙϢ
 22 [ⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣ]ⲁ̅ ⲛ Ϣⲟⲡ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ̅
 24 [ⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ]ⲉⲓ̅ⲓ̅ⲟⲙ ⲁⲓ̅ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ
 26 [ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲧⲉⲗⲟ]Ϣ̅ ⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟϢ· ⲁⲩⲱ
 28 [ⲁⲓ̅ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧ̅ ⲣⲓⲁⲙ] ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣϣⲧⲟⲟⲩ̅ ⲉ-
 30 [ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛ]ⲛ ⲉⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲉⲓ-
 32 [Ϣⲙⲟⲩ̅ ⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̅ ⲛⲁⲓ̅· ⲧⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ
 34 [.]ⲉϣⲛ [. . .] . ⲁⲉⲓⲁⲉ
 36 [.]ⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
 38 [.]ⲛⲧⲉ
 40 [.]ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
 42 [.]ⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϣ [.]ⲧⲉⲡⲓ
 44 [.] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ [.]ⲛⲉ ϣⲉⲛ-
 46 [.]ⲣⲓ [.] ϣⲛ †ⲣⲟⲙ [.]ⲧⲙ
 48 ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ̅ ⲛ ⲕⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ ϣⲛ ⲛⲓϣⲱⲧⲙ
 50 ⲛ
 52 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ [ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛ]ⲁⲓ̅ ⲛⲉ [ⲛⲉ]ⲧ-
 54 ⲟⲙ· ⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ̅ ⲣⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲉ Ϣⲉⲱⲉ-
 56 ⲃⲓⲛⲟⲩ̅ⲧ̅ ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲩⲟⲩ̅· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲱⲁⲉ ⲟⲩ
 58 ⲛ ⲱⲩⲧⲧⲁⲛ ⲱⲉⲃⲓⲛⲟⲩ̅ⲧ̅ ⲉ ⲱⲩⲧⲧⲁⲛ· ⲁⲩⲱ
 60 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲉⲃⲓⲛⲟⲩ̅ⲧ̅
 62 ⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲩⲟⲩ̅ ϣⲛ ⲟⲩ ⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲣ ⲣⲱ ⲛ ⲣⲱ-
 64 ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲁⲁϣ̅ ⲛⲁⲓ̅ ⲛⲓⲟⲓ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ̅
 66 ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲙ ⲡⲁⲓϢⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲛⲓⲟϢ
 68 ⲁⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲉ ⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛϢⲁ ⲛⲛ
 70 ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲣⲛⲧⲟⲩ̅· ⲛ̅ ⲉ-
 72 ⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲣ̅ ⲛⲛ ⲁⲛⲣ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ-

7,14 {Ϣⲛⲁⲩ}, scribal cancellation (scored out with two horizontal lines), with ⲧ̅ (= ⲱⲙⲧ) written above it.

7,19 ⲛ̅, only a trace of the supralinear stroke remains | As an initiate into the mystery religions was often called "perfect," Zostrianos is probably being portrayed as one ready to receive the secret knowledge of the cult; cf. 1 Cor 2:6; *Did.* 1. 4.

7,22-13,6 *The Revelations from Authronios.*

7,23 | ., read ϣ, ⲛ̅, or †.

7,25 | ., a trace of a supralinear stroke | ⲛ̅, only a trace of a supralinear stroke.

10 was baptized for the third time
 in the name of the divine Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)
 12 by each of these powers.
 [I] became a holy angel (*ἅγγελος*) and
 14 stood upon the third
 [aeon (*αιών*)], that is, the second. I
 16 [blessed] each of them and was baptized
 for the fourth time by
 18 [each of] these powers. I became
 [a] perfect (*τέλειος*) [angel (*ἅγγελος*)]
 20 [and stood upon] the fourth aeon (*αιών*)
 [that is, the first], and
 22 [I blessed each of them.] Then (*τότε*) I sought
 [] I said
 24 [] I
 [] of
 26 [] I
 []
 28 [] why []
 [] with power []
 30 them in another way in the reports
 8
 of men? [Are these] their
 2 powers? Or (*ἤ*) are these the (same) but (*δέ*)
 their names differ from one another? Are
 4 there souls (*ψυχή*) different from souls (*ψυχή*)
 Why are there different
 6 kinds of human beings? What and (*ἤ*) in what way
 are they human?" The great ruler
 8 on high Authrounios said to me,
 "Are you asking about those (places) through
 10 which you have passed? Or (*ἤ*)
 about this ethereal (*ἀήρ*) earth, why

7,27]ε, or else] θ .

7,29 E.g., [εΔϞϞω]τλ.

8,3-4 The mystery is anthropological (why there are types of people who cannot be saved).

8,4 Supralinear stroke above Ν.

8,7-8 Lit., the great one who presides on high.

8,8 For Authrounios as the Light Harmozel, see 127,22.

12 ΤΑΥ ΠΕΪΤΩΠΟΣ Η ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ· Η [Ε-]
 ΤΒΕ ΝΓΑΝΤΙΤΩΠΟΣ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΖΕ [ΟΨ-]
 14 ΗΡ ΠΕ· Η ΕΤΒΕ ΟΨ ΝΣΕΜΟΚΩ [ΔΝ]
 Η ΕΤΒΕ †ΠΑΡΟΙΚΗΣ[Ι]Σ ΜΗ [†ΜΕΤΑ-]
 16 ΝΟΣΔ ΜΗ ΕΤΒΕ †ΚΤ[Ι]Σ[Ι]Σ ΜΗ []
 ΜΗ ΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΕ Ν[Ι]Ρ[.]
 18 ΟΝΤΩΣ· ΩΝ <ΟΨ>ΟΨΩΝΩ ΕΒ[Ο]Α
 ΜΟΚ· √ ΕΤΒΕ Ν[]
 20 ΜΜΟΪ ΕΡΟΟ[Ψ]
 ΟΨΤΕ ΟΨΕΩ[]
 22 ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ· Δ[--- ΠΝΔ Ν]
 Η ΔΤΝΑΨ ΕΡ[Ο]Υ
 24 ΜΗ †[. . .]ΩΕ[]
 ΝΤΕ []
 26 ΜΟΣ []
 Η []
 28 ΕΤ[. . .]ΑΠ Ν[. .]Κ [.]
 ΔΨΩ [. .]ΜΑΪ ΩΩ· [.]
 30 ΝΕ[. . .] Η ΕΤΑΪΣ [.]

ϑ

ΠΕΞ[Δ]Υ ΝΑΪ Ν[Γ] Π[Ν] [ΟΒ] ΕΤΑΜΑΩΤΕ
 2 Μ Π[Δ]Ι[Ψ]Ε ΔΨΘΡΟΨΗΓΟΣ ΖΕ ΠΚΑΩ
 ΜΕΝ ΝΗ ΔΗΡ ΔΥΩΨΩΠΕ ΩΝ ΟΨ-
 4 ΨΑΖΕ· ΝΓΠΟ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΝΗ ΕΤΤΑ-
 ΚΗΟΨΤ ΕΨΟΨΩΝΩ ΜΜΟΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ
 6 ΩΝ ΟΨΜΝΤΑΤΤΑΚΟ[·] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΓ ΕΩΡΑΪ
 ΝΤΕ ΝΗΝΟΨ Η ΚΡΙΤΗΣ· ΩΓΝΑ ΖΕ ΝΗΟΨ-
 8 ΔΓ †ΠΕ ΝΗ ΕΣΘΗΣΙΣ ΔΨΩ ΝΣΕΤΜ-
 ΩΡΒ [Ω]Ν †ΚΤΙΣΙΣ· ΕΤΑΨΕΓ ΔΕ ΕΩΡΑΪ
 10 ΕΞΜ ΠΑΪ· ΔΨΩ ΕΤΑΨΝΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΓΤΜ
 ΠΑΪ Ε ΝΓΩΒΗΨΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΨ-
 12 † ΩΔΠ Ε ΠΕΨΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΩΡΑΪ ΕΨΤΑΚΟ
 ΕΨΤΩΠΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΨ
 14 [. . .] ΔΤΕ ΜΗ ΟΨΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΕ †ΩΨΛΗ

8,16 Ν, or else Η, Ι, or Κ; e.g., ΝΗ[ΕΩΝ].

8,17 Ρ[, or else Ψ[.

8,18-19 Μ)/ΜΟΚ.

8,29 E.g., [ΝΜ]ΜΑΪ.

8,30 .I, bottom of a vertical stroke.

9,2 Supralinear stroke missing above Δ̄ and Ψ̄ΝΓΟ (lacuna).

9,3-4 Creation by a word is a Jewish motif; cf. Plot. *Enn.* II.9.5.25f where λόγος is

12 it has a worldly (κοσμικόν) model (τύπος)? Or (ἤ) about the aeon (αἰών) copies (ἀντίτυπος), how
 14 many there are? Or (ἤ) why they are [not] in pain? Or (ἤ) about the exile (παρόικησις) and
 16 repentance (μετάνοια) and about the creation (κτίσις) of [] and the world (κόσμος) which the []
 18 really (δυντως) [] you, about []
 20 me, them [] nor (οὐτέ) []
 22 you [] invisible [spirit (πνεῦμα)]
 24 and the [] of []
 26 [] []
 28 [] and []
 30 [] when I []

9

The [great] ruler on high
 2 Authronios said [to me], "The
 4 ethereal (ἀήρ) earth came into being by a
 6 word, yet (δέ) it is the begotten
 8 and perishable things that it reveals
 10 by its indestructibility. With regard to the coming
 12 of the great judges (κριτής), (they came) not
 14 to (ἵνα) taste perception (αἴσθησις) and to
 be enclosed in creation (κτίσις). But (δέ) when
 they came upon it and saw through
 it the works of the world (κόσμος),
 they condemned its ruler (ἄρχων) to death
 because he was a model (τύπος) for the world (κόσμος),
 a [] and an origin (ἀρχή) of matter (ἕλη)

used to designate the plan for the physical world.

9,6-9 The judges belong to the tradition of the watchers in Jubilees 4:15; cf. 1 Enoch 6. Klijn, *Seth*, 14-15, 51-52, argues that they are related to traditions about Seth as the mediator of knowledge from the antediluvian period.

9,6 Sahidic π-εϛ εϛραϊ.

9,14 | .ΔΤϞ, ink trace is a vertical stroke (e.g., from Ν); Ϟ, ϟ, Ϡ, or ϡ (there was no supralinear stroke between Τ and this letter).

- (ΕΤΔ]ΠΟ Ν ΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΤΑΚΗΟΤ̄.
 16 [. . .] ΝΑΪ Δ[Ε] †ΣΟΦΙΑ ΕΤΑΣΩΨΤ
 [ΕΡΟΟΤ̄] ΔΣΤΑΥΕ ΠΙΚΑΚΕ ΕΣ—
 18 [.] . . . ΚΗ ΖΑΤΟΟΤΥ Μ ΠΙ—
 [. ΟΥΤ]ΩΠΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΝΑ—
 20 [---] ΝΤΕ †ΟΥΣΙΑ Ν
 [---] ΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΝ ΔΤ—
 22 [---] .ΕΦΕΙΔΟΣ Ν
 [---] ΔΙΕΚΟ
 24 [---] ΠΤΗΡΥ
 [---] ΟΕΤ
 26 [---] .[.] ΟΕ
 [.] .[.] ΚΑΚΕ [.] Ο ΕΒΟΛ
 28 [.] ΨΑΔΕ ΕΜ[. . .] ΙΣΟΜ
 [. Ε]ΩΝ ΝΤΕ †ΚΤΙ|ΣΙΣ Ε—
 30 ΝΑΘ ΕΘΛΑΘ ΝΤΕ ΝΙ|ΨΑ] ΕΝΕΖ
 Γ
 ΑΥΝΑΘ ΕΘ[ΕΙ]ΔΩΛ[ΟΝ ΔΘ]Ω ΠΡΟΣ
 2 ΠΙΕΙΔΩΛ[ΟΝ] ΕΤΑΥ|ΝΑΘ ΕΡΟ|Υ ΕΤΗ—
 ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΥ [ΑΥ]ΤΑΜΙΟ Μ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ.
 4 ΑΘΩ ΖΗ ΟΘΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΟΘΕΙ—
 ΔΩΛΟΝ ΑΥΡ ΖΩΒ Ε ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ.
 6 ΑΘΩ ΠΙΚΕΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΟΘ—
 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΘΥΙΤΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΥ· ΕΤΑΘ—
 8 † ΔΕ Ν ΟΘΜΑ Ν ΜΤΟΝ Ν †ΣΟΦΙΑ
 Ν ΤΨΕΒΙΩ Ν ΤΕΣΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ· ΕΒΟΛ
 10 ΔΕ ΖΜ ΠΑΪ ΕΜΝ ΛΑΑΘ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΣ Ν
 ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΥΤΒΒΗΟΤ
 12 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΠΡ|Ο|ΟΝ Η ΖΗΔΗ ΕΤΑΘ—
 ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΥ· ΑΥΡ ΦΑΝ—
 14 ΤΑΖΕΣΘΑΣ ΑΥΡ ΖΩΒ Ε Ν|Γ|ΚΕ|Ψ|ΩΞΠ̄
 Ν Ο|Θ|ΟΕΙΨ ΤΑΡ ΝΓΜ ΕΣΤΑ|ΚΗΟΤ̄|Τ
 16 ΝΘΙ †ΖΓΚΩΝ ΝΤΕ †|ΣΟΦΙ|Δ
 ΕΣΕ Ν ΖΔΛΖΟ· Π|Γ|ΑΡΧ|Ω|Ν ΔΕ[

- 9,15 ΚΑΚΕ, first ink trace is the top of a vertical stroke; second trace, a lower right-hand tail; e.g., Δ or Μ.
 9,16ff The lower Sophia creates the world by looking down; an image perhaps derived from the Canaanite tradition of the woman in the window. See also 10,1ff.
 9,16 E.g., [ΝΔ] ΝΑΪ ΔΕ, or [ΖΝ] ΝΑΪ.
 9,18] . . . , tops of three lunate letters (e.g., . ΕΣ).
 9,19 Cod. ḤΝΔ'.

begotten
 When [(+
 the produ

] da

] won

aeon (e

re any of th

)

He saw a re

be reflectio

it, he crea

with a reflect

he worked a

ed then eve

nsible reali

sophia (σοφ

exchange

h consequen

pe, first re

preexisting

ready (†) Ḥ

sed his ima

remainder; t

is always

er countena

Or, Ḥe.

E.g. ΕΜ

Or, ΕΙΩΜ

He, i.e., th

Ḥ ΖΩΒ =

3 The text is

ḤΠΡΩΝ

1 E.g. ΔΕ

[begotten] of lost darkness.

16 When [(+δέ)] Sophia (σοφία) looked [at them] she produced the darkness, as she

18 [] is beside the [] is [a model (τύπος)]

20 [] of essence (οὐσία)

[] form (μορφή)

22 [] an image (εἶδος)

[] I

24 [] the All

[]

26 [] darkness []

28 [] word [] power

[aeon (αἰών)] of [creation (κτίσις)] to

30 see any of the eternal ones.

10

He saw a reflection (εἶδωλον), and by means of (πρός) the reflection (εἶδωλον) which he [saw]

2 in it, he created the world (κόσμος).

4 With a reflection (εἶδωλον) of a reflection (εἶδωλον)

he worked at (producing) the world (κόσμος),

6 and then even the reflection (εἶδωλον) belonging to

visible reality was taken from him. But (δέ) to

8 Sophia (σοφία) was given a place of rest

in exchange for her repentance (μετάνοια).

10 In consequence (+δέ), because she had within her no

pure, first reflection (εἶδωλον), (nothing)

12 preexisting (πρῶτον) in it or (ἢ) things that had

already (ἢ ἦδη) come into being through it, he

14 used his imagination (φαντάζεσθαι) (and) produced the

remainder; for (γάρ) the image (εἰκῶν) of Sophia (σοφία)

16 was always being lost,

her countenance deceiving. But (δέ) the Archon (ἄρχων)

9,26 Or, ἰθὺε.

9,28 E.g., εμ|πεϋϋ| σομ.

9,29 Or, ε|ωη η τε|εθ η|εε; not room for |†εεθ η|εε or |τεεθ η|εε.

10,1 He, i.e., the ruler or creator of the physical world.

10,5 ρ̄ ρωβ = ἐργάζεσθαι.

10,12-13 The text is obscure.

10,12 ἦπρωη is expected | that place, lit., him.

10,17-18 E.g., δε |εγε|/με.

second trace is
an image of
in the window.

18 [] and made a body (*σῶμα*) which [
 concerning the greater [
 20 down [
 I saw [
 22 to the heart [
 [
 24 he having [
 [
 26 [
 [
 28 [
 perfect (*τέλειος*) through [
 30 [
 [] through it, as it

11

[revealed] the destruction of the world (*κόσμος*)
 2 by its [immutability]. It is (+*δέ*) in the
 following way that the aeon (*αἰών*) copies (*ἀντίτυπος*)
 4 exist: they have not (+*μέν*)
 obtained a form (*εἰδέα*) from a single power;
 6 they do possess eternal glories,
 and they dwell
 8 in the judgment seats of each of
 the powers. But (*δέ*) when
 10 souls (*ψυχή*) are enlightened by
 the light in these (powers) and
 12 (by) the model (*τύπος*) which often comes
 into being in them [without]
 14 suffering, she did not think that she saw
 [] and the eternal
 16 [] in the blessed (*μακάριος*)
 [] each single one
 18 [] each of
 [] light
 20 [], and she (+*μέν*)
 [] whole, and she

11,6 [N]E; for the plural copula, cf. 113,15.

11,9 I.e., ΕΘΨΔΝ'.

11,14 Perhaps Sophia.

11,15 Δ, or else Η, Ι, Κ, Λ, Ν, Ω, Ψ, or Φ.

11,18 Circumflex omitted over the first group ΕΙ.

22 [---] . ΔΥΩ ΟΥ-
 [---] ΜΝ ΤΗ
 24 [---] ΤΗ ΕΤΕ
 [---] ΤΗ
 26 [---] .
 [.] ΣΝ [.] ΗΤΕ
 28 [.] ΗΣΙΣ [.] .Ε
 ΝΤΕ ΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ· ρ[ΕΝΨ]ΥΧΗ
 ΓΒ
 ΚΑΤΑ †ΒΟΜ ΕΤΗ[ΤΑΥ ΝΟΥΗΤ]ΟΥ Ν-
 2 ΣΕΑΘΕΡΑ[ΤΟ]Υ· ΔΥ[. . .] [.] [. . .]
 ΘΕΒΓΗΟΥ ΨΑΥΡ ΤΥΜΝΑ[ΖΕ] Μ[Μ]ΦΟΥ
 4 ΕΒΟ[Λ] ρ[Ι]ΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν ΝΙΔΑΝΤ[Ι]ΤΩΠΟC
 ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΖ[Ι] Ν ΟΥΤΩΠΟC ΝΤΕ
 6 ΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΙ ΕΨΥΟΟΠ̄ ρ[Μ] ΠΚΟ-
 CΜΟC ΜΗΝCΑ †ϋΓΗ Ν ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑ-
 8 ΤΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΕΩΝ ΨΑΥ-
 ΨΩΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΨΑΥΟΥΟΤ[Β]ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 10 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ Μ[Ε]Ν ρ[Μ] ΠΙΔΑΝ-
 ΤΙΤΩΠΟΝ ΝΤΕ †ΠΑΡΟΥΚ[Η]CΙC ΕΡΒΑΪ
 12 Ε †ΟΝΤΩC ΕΤΨ[ΟΟΠ̄ Μ] ΠΑΡΟΥΚΗ-
 CΙC· ΕΒΟΛ ΜΕΝ ρ[Μ] ΠΙΔΑ[Ν]ΤΙΤΩΠΟΝ Μ
 14 ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΕΡΒΑΪ Ε †[ΟΝ]ΤΩC Ε[Τ]ΨΟ-
 ΟΠ̄ Μ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ [ΔΥΩ ΕΙΒΟ[Λ] ρ[Μ] ΠΙΔΑΝ-
 16 ΤΙΤΩΠΟC Ν ΔΥΤΟ[ΤΕΝΗC] Ε[Ρ]ΒΑΪ Ε ΠΙ-
 ΟΝΤΩC ΕΤΨΟ[Ο]Π̄ [Ν ΔΥΤ]ΟΥ[ΕΝΗC]
 18 ΜΝ ΝΙΚΕΨΩΖΠ̄[
 ΝΙΨΥΧΗ ΜΕΝ Ν [·
 20 ΨΟΟΠ̄ ρ[Ν] ΟΥ [·
 ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ρ[Ι] --- ΝΙΔΑΝΤΙ]
 22 ΤΩΠΟC ΝΗ ΕΩ[Ι]Ν
 ΝΑΥ ΜΕΝ ρ[Ο]Τ[
 24 ΔΥΩ ρ[Υ]
 ΕΒΟΛ ρ[
 26 ΠΙΨΑΥ[
 CΑΒΟ[Λ]
 28 ΟΕ [·

11,27 ΟΥ, ΗΤΕ.

11,28 Η, the trace is a vertical stroke.

12,2 ΔΥΕ ΡΔΤ = παριστήναι | they, perhaps souls; cf. 11,30.

22 [] and a
 [] and she
 24 [] she who
 []
 26 []
 []
 28 []
 of repentance (*μετάνοια*), [souls (*ψυχή*)]
 12
 stand according to (*κατά*) the power
 [they have in] themselves. []
 2 lower, they are trained (*γυμνάζειν*)
 4 by the copies (*ἀντίτυπος*)
 which receive a model (*τύπος*)
 6 of their souls (*ψυχή*) while still in the
 world (*κόσμος*). They came into being
 8 after the departure of the aeons (*αιών*),
 one by one (+*κατά*), and they are removed
 10 one by one (+*κατά*) from (+*μέν*) the
 copy (*ἀντίτυπον*) of exile (*παρόλησις*)
 12 to the exile (*παρόλησις*) that really (*δυνως*)
 exists, from (+*μέν*) the copy (*ἀντίτυπον*) of
 14 repentance (*μετάνοια*) to the repentance (*μετάνοια*)
 that really (*δυνως*) exists, [and from the]
 16 copy (*ἀντίτυπον*) of Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)
 [to the Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)] that really (*δυνως*)
 18 exists, and so on. []
 The (+*μέν*) souls (*ψυχή*) []
 20 exist in a []
 all[] copies (*ἀντίτυπος*)]
 22 of aeons (*αιών*) []
 (*μέν*) []
 24 and []
 []
 26 the []
 []
 28 []

12,12-13 ϠΟΝΤΩΣ . . . ΑΠΑΡΟΛΗΚΗΣΙΣ, a literal translation from Greek
 (e.g., τὴν δυνως . . . παρόλησιν).

12,18 Π̄, or else Π̄.

12,21 Circumflex over the group ϠϠ.

[
 30 of[
 these [
 13
 [bless the god] above
 2 the [great] aeons (*αιών*), the
 [unborn] Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*), the great
 4 male Protophanes (*πρωτοφανής*), the perfect (*τέλειος*)
 [child] who is higher than god
 6 and his eye, Pigeradama.
 I called upon the
 8 child of the child Ephesech. He
 stood before me and said,
 10 "O messenger (*ἄγγελος*) of god, son of the
 father, [I am] the perfect (*τέλειος*) human.
 12 [Why] are you calling on me and
 asking about those things which you know, as
 14 though you were [ignorant] of them?" [But (*δέ*)]
 [I said,] "I have asked about the
 16 mixture [] it is perfect and gives
 [] there is power which
 18 [has] in which we receive baptism
 [] these names are
 20 [different] and why
 []
 22 [] in the
 [] from] others
 24 [] humans
 [] different]
 26 []
 []
 28 []

13,11 Or, [ΝΤΟ]Κ | Colpe, "Heidenische, jüdische und Christliche Überlieferung VI," 151, equates the child of the child with the perfect child and argues that Ephesech or Zostrianos is being presented as the *Urmensch* | For the perfect man as Adam, cf. 6,22ff; 30,4-5.

13,14 Cf. 3,32.

13,15 I.e., ΜΟΥΖΣ.

13,17 Cod. οϞ̅.

13,19ff Repetition for liturgical and/or didactic functions, perhaps resulting from the conflation of sources; cf. 8,1-7.

13,21-22 E.g., ΨΕΒΙ]ΗΟϞΤ Ε ΝΕ[Ϟ/ΕΡΗϞ; cf. 8,2-3,5-6.

ΓΔ

2 εϣϥω μμοϥ ϥε [ζωϥτ]ργδνε
 4 μτ ϥαρ νε ηγϣορῆ [.] μ
 6 η δ[ρ]ιχη· εαϥοϥωνη[ρ] ε[β]ολ ρη
 8 οϥαρχη η οϥωτ ητ[. . .] πγε-
 10 ων η βαρβῆλω μ πρητε η ρεν-
 12 αρχη αν μν ρενϣομ οϥδε μ
 14 πρητε αν εβολ ρη οϥαρχη μν
 16 οϥϣομ· εαϥοϥωνη[ρ] ε[β]ολ η αρ-
 18 χη ηγμ αϥω αϥ† ϣομ η ϣομ ηγμ
 20 αϥω εαϥοϥωνη[ρ] εβολ ρ]μ πη ετ-
 22 ϥοτῆ εροοϥ η[ρ]ο[ο] ετε ναῖ νε
 24 †ρϥπαρζῆς μν [†μν]τμακ[αρ]ῆϥ
 26 αϥω πγωνρ· ηγ[.]οϥ[. . .
 28 βολ μν νεϥε[ρ]ηϥ . . .]ϥω[. .
 30 εβολ ρη οϥα .[
 32 αϥω ετβε π[
 34 εαϥ† ϣαν ε .[
 36 ροϥο η τα[
 38 ωτ αϥω ρε[
 40 οϥτελῆϥ [
 42 εβολ ρ[η ο]ϥα[
 44 εοϥ[. . .] . .[
 46 οϥαε[
 48 τ .[
 50 ε[
 52 ϣ[
 54 η[

ΓΕ

2 αϥω [.] ηγῆ οϥμοοϥ ητε
 4 τοϥ[ε]ς τοϥ[ε]ς μμοοϥ ετβε παῖ
 6 ρ[.] μμοοϥ νε η τελῆϥ ηε·

- 14,1 Or, saying. A new set of revelations begins.
- 14,2 E.g., [τηροϥ].
- 14,3 ῆ, or else π.
- 14,4ff The discussion turns on the categories of the One and the Three known primarily from neo-Platonic thought. See the introduction for the triad of Existence, Life, and Blessedness (Mind).
- 14,5 E.g., ητ[αϣ].
- 14,6 Stroke begins between β and δ.
- 14,14 ο ϣ ϥ owing to an imperfection in the surface.

14
 saying, "[Zost]trianos,
 2 listen about these things [
 for (γάρ) the first [
 4 origins (ἀρχή) are three because they have
 appeared from a single origin (ἀρχή) [], the
 6 Barbelo aeon (αἰών), not as some
 origins (ἀρχή) and powers nor (οὐδέ)
 8 as from an origin (ἀρχή) and a
 power. It is every origin (ἀρχή) that they
 10 have revealed; every power that they have strengthened,
 and they have appeared from that which
 12 is far better than them, that is, (from)
 existence (ὑπαρξίς), blessedness (μακάριος)
 14 and life. [
 [] their companions [
 16 from a [
 and concerning the [
 18 having named [
 more than [
 20 and [
 a perfect(τέλειος) [
 22 from a [
 [
 24 [
 [
 26 [
 [
 28 [
 []

15

2 And a water of each one of
 them []; therefore
 [] are waters (and) perfect (τέλειος).

14,15 ω, or else ω; e.g., οἰστω[νη].

15,1ff The baptismal waters may be compared to the primeval waters, see 48,3-10; 55,13-24; 113,1-14. Here each Barbelo aeon is identified with a baptismal water and with a member of the philosophical triad of Life, Mind, and Existence.

15,1 E.g., [α γ ζ ω κ].

15,2 Circumflex over the group εϛ.

15,3 Not πε.

and the Three
 duation for the:

4 ΠΙΜ[ΟΟ]Υ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝΘ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΨ-
 ΜΝΤΩΝΘ ΠΕ ΠΗ ΨΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΚ-
 6 ΔΓ ΔΩΚΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΘΜ ΠΙΔΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ·
 ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΨΜΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΓ-
 8 ΟΣ ΕΤΙΕ ΠΑΠΣΟΟΥΝ ΠΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΚ-
 ΝΑΔΓ ΔΩΚΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΘΜ ΠΙΠΡΩΤΟ-
 10 ΦΑΝ[ΗΝ] ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΨΘ-
 ΠΑΡΞΙΓC ΠΕΤΙΕ ΠΑΨΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ
 12 ΠΕ ΕΤΙΕ ΠΑΠΣΚΑΛΩΠΤΟΣ ΠΕ·
 ΔΩΨ Ψ[ΨΟΟΠ] ΝΒΓ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΝΤΕ
 14 [ΠΙΩΝ]Θ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΥΘΟΜ ΠΑΨΜΝΤ-
 [ΜΑ]ΚΑ[ΡΓΟΣ] ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥCΓΑ ΠΑ-
 16 [ΨΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ] ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΘΥ-
 [ΠΑΡΞΙΓC ΝΑΪ Τ]ΗΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΘΕΝΕΓ-
 18 [---- Μ]ΝΤΘΟΜ ΜΝ ΘΕ-
 [----]ΟΥ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΨ-
 20 [----]ΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΤΒ-
 [ΒΟ ----]ΟΥ .[. .] ΠΕ ΘΩ
 22 [----] . . [. . . .] ΚΑΤΑ
 [---- Ε]ΤΑΨΒΩΚ
 24 [----]ΟΥΨ·
 [----] ΜΜΑΨ
 26 [----]Ω
 [----]ΜΗ
 28 [Γ

ΘΨΠΑΡΞΙΓC] Μ ΠΡΙΝΤΕ ΕΤΨ[ΨΟΟΠ
 2 ΜΜΟΣ ΟΥΜΟΝΟ[Ν ΔΥΟΥ]ΩΘ ΘΝ
 ΟΥΕΝΝΟΓΑ ΔΛΛΑ ΔΨ .[. . . .]Ν Ε-
 4 ΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΨ[Ω]ΠΕ Μ ΠΕ-
 ΕΙΡΗΤΕ ΕΔΨΚΩ Ν ΟΥ[. .] Ψ ΘΙΞΗ
 6 ΠΕΨΟΟΠ ΘΙΝΑ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΨΩΠΕ
 ΝΗ ΔΤΗ ΔΡΗΔΨ ΔΨ[Ω] Ν [Δ]ΤΜΟΡΦΗ·
 8 ΔΛΛΑ ΕΑΨΔΓΟΟΡ Μ[ΜΟΥ] ΝΑΜΕ
 ΕΨΒΡΡΕ ΠΕ Ε ΠΤΡΕΨΨΩΠΕ

15,10 ΠΙΜΟΟΥ, or possibly, ΟΨΜΟΟΥ. _____

15,12 The identification of the abbreviation ΚΛC as *καλυπτός* is based on this reference.

15,15 <ΟΥ>ΟΥCΓΑ ?; cf. lines 16-17, ΟΥΘΥ[ΠΑΡΞΙΓC].

15,18 I.e., ΘΕΝ·

15,22] ., trace of a supralinear stroke.

16,1ff The sense is obscure | he, antecedent is unclear.

- 4 It is the water of life that
 belongs to vitality in which you now
 6 have been baptized in the Autogenes (αὐτογενής).
 It is (+δέ) the [water] of blessedness (μακάριος)
 8 which [belongs] to knowledge in which you
 will be [baptized] in the Protophanes (πρωτοφανής).
 10 It is (+δέ) the water of existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 [which] belongs to divinity, that is, to
 12 the Kalyptos (καλυπτός).
 Now the water of life
 14 [exists in relation to (κατά)] a power, that belonging
 to [blessedness (μακάριος)] in relation to (κατά)
 16 essence (οὐσία), and (δέ) that belonging to [Divinity] in
 relation to (κατά) [existence (ὑπαρξίς)]. But (δέ) all [these]
 18 [] authority and
 [] those who
 20 [] water which
 [becomes pure
 22 [] according to (κατά)
 [] when they] depart
 24 []
 []
 26 []
 []
 28 []
 16
 existence (ὑπαρξίς) [as he] is
 2 in it. [He] not only (οὐ μόνον) [was dwelling]
 in Thought (ἐννοία), but (δέ) he []
 4 them that he is one that is [Being] in the following
 way: in order that (ἵνα) what is
 6 might not be endless and formless (-μορφή),
 he placed a [] over it;
 8 but (ἀλλά) in order that [he] might become
 something, the truly new crossed over

16,2 Ϻ, only a trace of the connective supralinear stroke survives (nothing from Ϻ) | lit., in her.

16,3 .l, either Ϻ or ϐ; probably the latter |]N, lacuna where a supralinear stroke might have stood.

16,4-5 I.e., πειΐ.

16,4 Lacuna above M | for the restoration, see 17,3.

10 ΝΗ ΟΥΛΑΔΑΥ· ΕΘΝ[ΤΑ.] ΜΜΑΥ
 Μ ΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΥ Μ [. . . .] ΠΕ ΘΥ-
 12 ΠΑΡΞΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΙΨ[ΗΡ]Ε ΕΥΔΡΕΡΑ-
 ΤΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΥΨ[Γ]Ν[Ε] Ν[Μ]ΜΑΥ [Ε]Υ-
 14 ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΥ[. . . .] ΝΕ Μ [.] .
 ΝΣΑ ΣΑ ΝΙΜ· Ε[. . . .] Ω[. .
 16 ΕΒΟΛ ΘΜ ΠΙΜΕ[
 ΖΓ Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΤ .[
 18 Ν ΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν Τ[
 ΟΥΕΝΕΡΤΙΔ [
 20 ΟΘΟΝΘ· ΕΘΝ[
 ΠΕΥΚΕΨΔΖ[Ε
 22 ΝΕ ΝΑῙ ΝΣΑ .[
 ΔΥΨ[ΩΠ]Ε Μ [
 24 ΡΓ ΝΕΥ[
 Ν .[
 26 Ε[
 Π[
 28 .[
 Θ[

13

ΔΥΩ ΣΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΣΓ †ΘΟΜ ΜΗ †-
 2 ΟΥΣ[ΓΔ] ΜΗ †ΘΠΑΡΞΙΣ ΝΤΕ
 ΠΨΩ[Π]Ε ΕΥΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΣΓ ΠΙΜΟ[Ο]Υ·
 4 ΠΡΑΝ [Δ]Ε ΕΤΕΥΔΩΚΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΟΥ-
 ΨΔΖΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ· ΠΙΨΟ-
 6 ΡΠ̄ ΟΥΝ Μ ΜΟΟΥ Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ
 ΠΙΨΜ†[ΘΟ]Μ [Μ] ΠΙΔΥΤΟΥΕΝΗΣ
 8 ΟΥΩΝΘ [ΠΕ] ΝΤΕ ΝΙΨΥΧΗ Ν ΤΕ-
 ΛΙΟΣ· Ο[Υ]ΨΔΖΕ ΤΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ
 10 ΠΙΝΟΥ[ΤΕ Ν] ΤΕΛΙΟΣ Μ ΠΤΡΕΥΨΩ-
 ΠΕ Δ .[. . . .] Ε[ΤΜΜΑΥ· ΟΥΠΗΓΗ
 12 ΤΑΡ ΝΤΕ [ΝΔ]̄Ῑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΙΔΥΟΡΑ-
 ΤΟΝ Μ Π[Ν]Δ̄ <ΕΙΕ> ΝΙΚΟΟΥΕ ΘΕΝ-

- 16,14 Ν, without supralinear stroke | ε, trace of a round letter |] ., top of a vertical stroke.
- 16,17-18 E.g., ρ ψορπ|/η ψοοπ.
- 16,20 E.g., εθν[τα].
- 16,29 Below the beginning of this line and somewhat to the left the papyrus has been patched; written upon the material used as a patch are the letters ψδ, in a different script; these bear no relation to the text of *Zostrianos*.
- 17,1 ζψοοπ, supralinear stroke above ζ.

14 the rest come from [knowledge (*γνώσις*)] as
 his likenesses. [But (*ἀλλά*)] he who knows himself
 16 [] what kind and (*ἤ*) what
 [] alive at one time
 18 [] live with a
 [] he is the
 20 [] life, in the
 [] become
 22 [limitless] his [his]
 [own] the name
 24 []
 []
 26 []
 []
 18
 he really (*δύτως*) exists-it is so because he
 2 limits himself. They [approach]
 the water according to (*κατά*) this
 4 single power and the likeness of order (*τάξις*).
 The Protophanes (*πρωτοφανής*), the great male
 6 invisible perfect (*τέλειος*) mind (*νοῦς*),
 has his own water
 8 as (*ὡς*) you [will see]
 when you arrive at his place (*τόπος*). This
 10 is also the case with the unborn Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*).
 In (+*δέ*) relation to (*κατά*) each one a
 12 partial (*μερικόν*) exists together with a first form (*εἶδος*),
 so that (*ἵνα*) they might become perfect in this way;
 14 for (*γάρ*) the self-begotten (*αὐτογενιόν*) aeons (*αἰών*)
 are four perfect (*τέλειος*) (entities). [The] individuals
 16 (+*κατά*) of the all-perfect ones (*παντέλειος*)[exist
 them as [perfect (*τέλειος*) individuals (*κατά*)].
 18 And (*δέ*) the [] aeon (*αἰών*) [

18,11-12 See also 22,1 above; cf. Plot. *Enn.* II 1.31-40.

18,13 Ἰ, or ς.

18,15 ΝΤΕ, Ν has a supralinear stroke | ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔ, those who exist by themselves, i.e., solitaries or individuals; cf. 19,11.16 *passim*.

18,16 ἦ, only the flag is in lacuna; e.g., [CΕΨΟ]ΟἩ [ϺΝ].

18,17-18 E.g., Π[ς]†ΟΥ, or Π[ςμερ]†ΟΥ; cf. 19,11-14; 53,15-25.

18,18 ΜΛ, a trace of the supralinear stroke over the first Μ also survives.

Μ ΠΛΑΤΤΟΤΕΝ[ΗC
 20 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΡ ΖΕΝ[
 ΖΟΟΥΤ̄ Ν Τ̄ .[
 22 ΝΙΠΤΗΡΥ ΤΑΙΡ ΤΕ-]
 ΛΙΟΣ Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙΨΟ-]
 24 Μ̄Τ̄ Ν [ΖΟΟΥΤ̄] [̄
 ΚΑΤΑ [ΟΥ]Δ̄ Ν [ΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 26 ΖΜ Π[
 Φ[
 28 Ε[
 .[
 30 .[
 .[

Γ[Θ]

2 ΤΕΛΙΟΣ· ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΚΑΤ[Δ Ο]Υ-
 ΕΙΔΟΣ ΜΗ ΟΥΤΕΝΟΣ· ΑΥ[Ω] ΟΥ-
 4 ΤΗΡΥ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ [Μ Μ]ΕΡΓ-
 ΚΟΝ[·] †ΖΗ Ν ΒΩΚ ΕΒΡΑΪ ΕΤΖΟCΕ
 Ε ΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΜΗ ΠΙΚΛC ΟΝ Μ ΠΕΪΡΗ-
 6 ΤΕ· ΠΛΑΤΤΟΤΕΝΗC ΔΕ Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΟΥΨΟΡ̄Π̄ Ν ΑΡΧΩΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕ-
 8 ΤΕ ΝΟΥΥ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΜΗ ΝΙΑΓΤΕΛΟΣ
 Μ ΠΡΗΤΕ Ν ΖΕΝΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΤΑΥ· ΝΗ ΤΑΡ
 10 ΕΤΕ ΠΙΥΤΟΟΥ ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΜΜΟΥ ΚΑ-
 ΤΑ ΟΥΔΑ CΕΝΤΕ ΠΕΜΕΖ†ΟΥ ΝΗ Ε-
 12 ΩΝ ΜΜΑΥ ΖΙ ΟΥCΟΠ̄· ΑΥΩ ΥΨΟ-
 ΟΠ̄ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΜΕΖ†ΟΥ ΖΗ ΟΥΔ· ΠΙ-
 14 ΥΤΟΟΥ [ΠΕ Κ]ΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΠΙΜΕΖ-
 †ΟΥ· Ν̄ .[. . .]ΟΥ ΔΕ CΕΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 16 ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔ [ΕΥ]ΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ Ν ΟΥ-
 [. . .] Μ [. . .]ΤΕ ΟΝ ΥΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν
 18 [.] ΖΟ]ΟΥΤ̄ Ν ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔ
 [----] Μ ΤΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ
 20 [----] Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΙ-
 [----] ΔΕ ΝΗ ΑΤΗΑΥ
 22 [ερο ---] Ν ΖΟ[ΟΥΤ̄] Ν ΝΟΥC

- 18,21 E.g., ΤΕ[ΛΙΟΣ]; elsewhere Protophanes is called the perfect male; cf. 19,21f.
 18,24 Ἰ, only the flag is in lacuna.
 19,2-3 Not ΟΥΠΤΗΡΥ; cf. 23,14; 33,9.
 19,6ff Cf. 127,15-128,7.
 19,11 Cod. CΕἸΤΕ.

of the Autogenes (αὐτογενής) [
 20 for (γάρ) all[
 male [
 22 for (γάρ) the alls [
 [perfect (τέλειος) god the triple-]
 24 [male
 [perfect (τέλειος)] individual (+κατά) [
 26 in the [
 [
 28 [
 [
 30 [
 [
 1[9]

perfect (τέλειος), those who exist according to (κατά)
 2 a form (εἶδος), a race (γένος), an
 all and a partial (μερικόν) difference (διαφορά).
 4 This is also the case for the highway of ascent that is
 higher than perfect (τέλειος) and Kalyptos (καλυπτός).
 6 The (+δέ) divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής) is
 chief archon (ἀρχών) of his
 8 own aeons (αιών) and angels (ἄγγελος)
 as his parts (μέρος): for (γάρ) those
 10 who are the four individually (+κατά)
 belong to him; they belong to the fifth
 12 aeon (αιών) together, and the
 fifth exists in one. The four
 14 [are] the fifth, part by part (κατά μέρος).
 But (δέ) [] (they) are
 16 perfect individually (κατά) [because they] have a
 [] he is also [] with
 18 [male] individually (+κατά)
 [] for (γάρ) he is a [] of
 20 []divine []; the
 and (δέ) [] invisible
 22 [] male mind (νοῦς)

19,15 Ν, or Η.

19,17-18 Probably Ν/ΙΣΙ.

19,17 E.g., Μ|ΠΕΪΡΗ|ΤΕ; cf. 19,4.

19,19 E.g., ΟΥΘΟ|Μ.

the perfect male

[] which exists
 24 []
 26 []
 28 []
 20
 living and perfect (τέλειος) parts (μέρος).
 2 (About) the All (+δέ) and the all-perfect (παντέλειος)
 race (γένος) and one who is higher than perfect (τέλειος)
 4 and 'blessed (μακάριος). The (+δέ)
 self-begotten Kalyptos (καλυπτός)
 6 is a preexisting origin (ἀρχή) of
 the Autogenes (αὐτογενής), a god and
 8 a forefather, a cause of the
 Protophanes (πρωτοφανής), a father
 10 of the parts (μέρος) that are his.
 As a divine father, he is
 12 foreknown, but he is
 unknown; for (γάρ) he is a power and
 14 a father from himself.
 Therefore, he is [fatherless].
 16 The (+δέ) invisible three-powered, the
 first thought (ἐννοια) [of] all [these], the
 18 Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα) [
 is [], and [
 20 essence (οὐσία) which [
 and existence (ὑπαρξίς) [
 22 there are [existences (ὑπαρξίς)
 [life
 24 blessed (μακάριος) [
 the [
 26 all [these
 the [
 28 [
 [

20,16 Or, triple-power; though often applied to intermediate beings in related documents, *Zost* uses this term of the Spirit; see Pearson, "Marsenes," 245-46.

20,18-19 E.g., ο[Ϛ]π[η]τ[η] η[ι]τε η[δ]ϊ[η] τ[η] / ροϚ πε.

30 ΤΕΙ

ΚΑ

2 ΟΠ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΝΟΥΗΤΟΥ· Δ[.] .
 2 ΟΝ ΟΕΙΝ]ΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΤΟΥΟ Τ[.]
 4 ΕΒΟΛ ΟΙΤΟΥΟΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΙΟΥΡΙΑΪ
 4 ΟΝ ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ Μ ΜΑ ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΑΥ-
 6 ΟΥΑΨΥ ΑΩ ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΟΝΑΥ
 6 ΕΠΟΥΡΑΪ ΟΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ· ΑΩ ΕΝ-
 8 ΣΕ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΟΝ ΔΑΔΟΥ Μ ΜΑ ΔΝ· ΑΩ
 8 ΕΡ ΧΩΡΓΗΝ ΕΠΝΑ· ΟΕΝΑΤΣΩ-
 10 ΜΑ ΤΑΡ ΝΕ ΑΩ ΣΕΣΟΤΠ Ε ΟΕΝ-
 10 ΑΤΣΩΜΑ· ΟΕΝΑΤΠΩΨΕ ΝΕ ΜΗ
 12 ΟΕΝΜΕΕΨΕ ΕΠΟΥ· ΑΩ ΟΥΣΟΜ
 12 ΝΤΕ ΤΜΕ ΜΗ ΝΗ ΕΤΤΟΥΒΗΟΥΤ
 14 ΝΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΙΟΥ]ΟΥ· ΕΨΟΥΟΠ ΠΡΟΣ
 14 ΠΑΪ ΝΟΥ]ΟΥ] ΕΤΤΟΥΒΗΟΥΤ· ΑΩ
 16 Μ ΠΡΗΤΕ Ν ΝΙΟΥ]ΩΜΑ ΔΝ ΕΤΨΟΥ-
 16 ΟΠ ΟΝ ΟΥ]ΟΥ]ΠΟΣ Ν ΟΥΩΤ·
 18 ΠΑΝΤΩ]Σ ΟΥ]ΝΤΑΨ ΜΜΑΨ Ν
 18]ΟΥ]ΑΝΑΨΚΗ Ν Κ]ΑΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΥ· Ν ΚΑ-
 20]Τ]Α ΟΥΜΕΡΟΥ· †]ΟΥΗ ΟΥΝ Ν ΒΩΚ
 20]Ε]ΟΥΡΑΪ Ε .[. .] . .[. .] ΟΥΤΒΒΟ ΠΕ
 22 [. .]Τ[.] ΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ
 22 [---]Σ ΚΨ[. . .] ΕΟΥΡΑΪ
 24 [---]Μ]ΜΓΗ]Μ]ΜΟΣ ΑΩ
 24 [---]ΟΥ[. . . .] ΜΜΟΥΟΥ·
 26]ΨΟ
 26]ΟΥ· ---]ΤΕ
 28 [---]Ω
 28 [--- ΠΑΝ]ΤΩΣ
 [---]ΟΥΥ

ΚΒ

Μ ΜΕΙΟΥΚΟΝ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ· ΑΩ
 2]ΑΥΨΑ]ΞΕ ΞΕ ΠΩΣ ΟΥΝ ΨΟΥΜ
 4]Μ]ΜΟΥ Ν ΨΩΠ ΕΡΟΥ Ν ΟΥΤΟΥ-
 4 ΠΟΣ Ν ΨΑ ΕΝΕΟΥ· ΑΩ ΨΑΥΚΟΥ-
 ΝΩΝΗ ΝΟΥ ΠΝΟΥΕΡΟΣ Ν ΚΑΘΟΥ-

21,1 Or, dwell in them (assumes]ΨΟ] on p. 20).

21,4 They, evidently the constituent members of an aeon, probably Protophanes; see 22,10.

21,17 Or, certainly.

21,20 E.g.,]Ε]ΟΥΡΑΪ Ε ΠΙ]ΜΑ Δ ΠΑΪ].

30 [

21

[exist] in them, [
 2 in others, they [
 by them all
 4 in many places. (They are) in
 every place that he
 6 loves and desires, yet
 they are not in any place.
 8 They contain (*χωρεῖν*) spirit (*πνεῦμα*);
 for (*γάρ*) they are incorporeal (*-σῶμα*) yet are better
 10 than incorporeal (*-σῶμα*). They are undivided with
 living thoughts and a power
 12 of truth with those purer
 than these since with respect to (*πρός*)
 14 him they are purer and
 are not like bodies (*σῶμα*) which
 16 are in one place (*τόπος*).
 Above all (*πάντως*), they have necessity
 18 (*ἀναγκή*) either (*ἢ*) in relation to (*κατά*) the All
 or (*ἢ*) to (*κατά*) a part (*μέρος*). Therefore (*οὖν*),
 20 [the] way of ascent [] is pure
 [] each (fem.)
 22 []
 [] herself and
 24 [] them
 []
 26 []
 []
 28 [] above all (*πάντως*)
 []
 22
 partial (*μεπικόν*) aeons (*αἰών*). Then
 2 [he said], "How (*πῶς*) then (*οὖν*) can he
 contain an
 4 eternal model (*τύπος*)? The
 general (*καθολικόν*) intellect (*νοερός*) shares (*κοινωνεῖν*)

22,2 Cod. οϠη̄ | or, [ΔΪΨΔ]ΞΕ | restoration assumes question is being repeated.

22,4-5 Or, Can the intellect share . . . ?

22,5-6 -ποϞ . . . -κοη, sic; cf. 23,19-20.

22,5 Cf. 23, 19,22.

probably

6 ΚΟΝ· ΕΨΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΓ ΠΓ-
 8 ΜΟΟΘ Ν ΑΥΤΟΤΕΝΗΣ· ΕΨΩ-
 10 ΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΨΩΔΝΕΓΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΝ
 12 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΘ· ΠΓΜΟΟΘ Μ ΠΡΩ-
 14 ΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ ΠΕ· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ
 16 ΕΨΩΔΝΩΤΠ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΜΝ ΝΑΪ
 18 ΤΗΡΟΘ· ΠΑΠΓΚΑΛΘΠ<Τ>ΟC ΠΕ·
 20 ΠΕΪΕΓΝΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΨΝ ΝΓ-
 22 ΕΩΝ· ΕΕΓΜΕ Ε [ΝΑΪ] ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔ
 24 ΜΝ ΝΓΜΕΡΟC Ν [. . .] ΟC ΝΕ· ΜΝ
 26 ΝΤΕ ΠΤΗΡΥ [Μ Π]ΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΠCΟ-
 28 ΟΘΝ ΜΜΑΘ [ΑΘΩ] ΠΗ ΕΤΟΘΕΓ-
 30 ΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΘΠ[Ω]ΡΧ [ΕΙΒΟΛ· Α[ΘΩ]
 32 ΟΘΜΝΤΨ[ΒΗΡ] ΕΤΗΤΑΘ [ΝΟΥΑΪ]
 34 ΨΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗ[Θ]· Π[Τ]ΗΡΥ ΑΘ[Ω ΝΑΪ]
 36 ΤΗΡΟΘ ΕΘ [.] [.] Θ[. . . .
 38 ΧΩΚΜ Ε ΠΓΧΩΚΜ Ν ΑΥΤΟΤΕ-]
 40 ΝΗΣ [. .] ΨΑΥ[
 42 Ν ΤΕ[. .] . . [. .]
 44 Μ[
 46 Μ[
 48 . [. .]
 50 . [. .]
 52 . [. .]

ΚΥ

2 ΜΜΑΘ ΕΥΟΘΩΝΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΙΟΛ
 4 ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΥΕΓΜΕ [ΧΕ Π]ΩC
 6 ΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ· ΑΘΩ ΟΘΝ[ΤΑ]Υ Ν-
 8 Ν ΟΘΜΝΤΨΒΗΡ ΨΑ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΝΟC
 10 ΑΥΧΩΚΜ Ε ΠΓΧΩΚΜ Μ ΠΡΩΤΟ-
 12 ΦΑΝΗΣ· ΨΑΡΧΗ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΑΪ Ε-
 14 ΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΑΥΕΓΜΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ
 16 ΠΩC CΕΟΘΟΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΨΝ
 18 ΟΥΔΠΕ Ν ΟΘΩΤ· ΑΘΩ ΠΩC
 20 ΕΨΟΥΤΠ ΝΒΓ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΨΑΘ-
 22 ΠΩΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΘΩ ΠΩC ΨΑΘ-

- 22,11 Or, when he is reconciled with all of them.
 22,12 <Τ>, omitted in text.
 22,14-16 Text is obscure.
 22,15 Ν, only the supralinear stroke survives.
 22,17 -ΕΓ, Γ, ink trace of the bottom of a vertical stroke.

6 when the self-begotten (*αὐτογενής*)
 water becomes perfect.
 8 When (+δέ) one knows it and
 all these, he is the
 10 first-visible (*πρωτοφανής*) water. When (+δέ)
 one joins oneself with all these, one is
 12 that water which belongs to Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*),
 whose image is still in the
 14 aeons (*αιών*). To understand individually (+κατά)
 with their parts (*μέρος*), they are [], those
 16 of the All where
 knowledge is. They have
 18 [separated] from him whom they knew and
 (from) fellowship
 20 with one another. The All and all
 [these
 22 wash in the [washing of]
 [Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)] he [
 24 of [
 [
 26 [
 [
 28 [
 [

23

he appears to [him],
 2 that is, when one knows how (*πῶς*)
 he exists for him and (how) he has
 4 fellowship with their companions, one has
 washed in the washing of Protophanes (*πρωτοφανής*).
 6 And (δέ) if in understanding the
 origin (*ἀρχή*) of these,
 8 how (*πῶς*) they all appear from
 a single origin, how (*πῶς*)
 10 all who are joined come to
 be divided, how (*πῶς*) those

22,19-20 For fellowship, see also 23,3-6.

22,22 For the restoration, see 23,5.17.

23,3 Cod. \aleph I, a vertical stroke and a trace of the supralinear stroke survive.

23,9 Lit., a single head.

23,10-11 Or, how can (they) be divided?

12 ρωτῆ ὄν νῆς νῆ ἐταῦπωρξ
 εβολ· ἀτω πως ψαρενιμε-
 14 ρος ρω[τῆ μ]ῆ νιτηρϣ ἀτω νι-
 ειδος μν ῆ[ιτε]νος· εψωπε
 16 ερψα οσ[α ε]με ε ναῖ ἀγξωκκ
 ε πιξω[κκ ν] κλς ἀτω κατα
 18 ποῦα ποῦα [ν νι]τοπος· οσν-
 ταϣ μμασ ν ο[σ]μερικον ντε
 20 νιψα εἰεῖρ ἀτω ψαγβωκ
 ερ[ραῖ . . . μ] πρῆ[τε] εψαγ-
 22 [. τοσ]βνο[σ ν] ραπλοσν
 ν οσρεψ ῆ[ιμ] εϣ[. .] .σ ερραῖ
 24 ε οσα μ πι — — — — —]ψ
 νιμ εϣτοσβ[νοσ]τ ν ραπλοσ·
 26 ψαγμοσρ εβολ[.]με
 ρν οσρσπαρξς μ [.]α
 28 ἀτω οσπῆα εϣοσ[ααβ] μν
 κδ
 λαασ νταϣ νσαβολ μμοϣ· ψαγ-
 2 ν[ασ μ]εν ρν οσψσχη δε ν τελ-
 ρ[ε ε ν]ανιαστορενης· ρν οσνοσς
 4 δε[ε ε] ναπψμμητροστ· ρν οσ-
 πῆα δε εϣοσααβ νανιπρωτοφα-
 6 νης· ψαγσωτμ δε ετβε πικλς
 εβολ ριτη νισομ ντε πιπῆα ἐτασ-
 8 εἰ εβολ μμοϣ ρν <οσ>οσωνρ εβολ εϣ-
 σοπ νροσ ντε πιαρορατον μ
 10 πῆα· ρραῖ δε ρν φενησα ταῖ ετ-
 ψοοῖ φνοσ ρν οσσιτη· νρραῖ δε
 12 ρν φσορῆ ν ενησα· ετβε πιψμτ-
 σομ ν αρορατον μ πῆα εσσωτμ
 14 σε πε μν οσσομ ντε οσσιτη ες-
 τοσβνοστ ρν οσ[π]ῆα εϣτανρ
 16 φτελιος ἀτω ν .[.] .[.] ν τελιος
 ἀτω μ παντε[λιος]· σεψοοῖ

23,14 νιτηρϣ, sic; cf. 19,3; 33,9.

23,15 Cf. *Marsanes* X 42,24-25.

23,18 Lacuna is too small for [ντε νι].

23,22 -βνο[σ<τ>?

23,24 E.g., οσοε[ι]ψ.

23,25 Or, τοσβ[νοσ] | i.e., ραπλοσν.

24,2 μ[εν] . . . δε, sic (corrupt text?).

who are
 again, an
 join with
 species (e
 one unde
 in the was
 is (kard)
 a portion
 eternal on
 |
 is always
 one of the
 [] he is
 He is filled
 is []
 and a holy
 :
 nothing of
 (p) with
 who belong
 (48), those
 is holy spi
 (p) p
 through the
 have come
 revelation o
 Spirit (mei
 which now
 by first thou
 covered In
 is then a rep
 purified by
 (is) perfec
 and all-perf

The Triple
 cf. 44,27-3
 Barbelo is
 Silence is
 cf. Ign. Ep
 E.g., 110

12 who are divided join
 again, and how (πῶς) the parts (μέρος)
 14 [join with] the alls and the
 species (εἶδος) and [races (γένος)]—when
 16 one understands these things, one has washed
 in the washing of Kalyptos (καλυπτός). According
 18 to (κατά) each of [the] places (τόπος) one has
 a portion (μερικόν) of the
 20 eternal ones [and] one ascends
 [] as] he
 22 [] pure] and simple (ἀπλοῦν),
 he is always []
 24 one of the []
 [] he is pure [for] simpleness (-απλοῦν).
 26 He is filled []
 in [] existence (ὑπαρξις)
 28 and a holy spirit (πνεῦμα). There is
 24
 nothing of his outside of him. He can [see]
 2 (+μέν) with his perfect (τέλειος) soul (ψυχή) those (+δέ)
 who belong to autogenic ones (αὐτογενής); with his mind (νοῦς)
 4 (+δέ), those who belong to the triple-male; (+δέ) with
 his holy spirit (πνεῦμα), those who belong to Protophanic
 6 (πρωτοφανής) ones. He (+δέ) can learn of Kalyptos (καλυπτός)
 through the powers of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) from whom they
 8 have come forth in a far better
 revelation of the Invisible (ἀόρατον)
 10 Spirit (πνεῦμα). And (δέ) by means of thought (ἐννοια)
 which now is in silence (σιγή) and (δέ)
 12 by first thought (ἐννοια) (he learns) of the three-
 powered Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα), since there
 14 is then a report and a silent (σιγή) power
 purified by a life-giving spirit (πνεῦμα).
 16 (It is) perfect (τέλειος) and perfect (τέλειος) []
 and all-perfect (παντέλειος).

24,4-5 The Triple-male is here distinguished as an entity separate from Protophanes;
 cf. 44,27-30.

24,12 Barbelo is the first thought of Spirit.

24,14 Silence is a typical characteristic of the upper realms of the heavenly world;
 cf. Ign. Eph. 19.

24,16 E.g., Ϡ[ο]ρ[π]ι; cf. 17,5f.

18 ΟΥΝ ΗΣΙ ΖΗΝΕΟΙΟΥ ΕΙΣΤΗΨ ΕΡΒΑΪ
 ΕΞΗ ΝΑΪ Ν ΡΕΥΤ[ΑΝΘΟ] ΝΗ ΕΤΑΥΣΙ
 20 ΩΜΣ Ν ΤΑΠΜΕ [Μ]Ν ΟΥΤΗΩΣΙΣ·
 ΑΥΩ ΝΗ ΜΕ[Ν Ε]ΤΜΠΨΑ ΨΑΥΑΡ[ΕΥ]
 22 ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΝΗ Δ[Ε] ΕΤΕ ΖΗΝΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ
 ΠΕΪΤΕΝΟC ΔΝ [ΝΕ .] . [. .] ΑΥ[
 24 ΑΥΩ Ψ[Α]ΥΒΩ[Κ.] . ΔΪ Ε-
 ΤΟΥΝΤ[Ι .] ΝΕ Μ[
 26 ΕΒΟΛ [. . Ζ]Μ Π[ΓΜ]ΕΡΨΟΥ ΕΨΑΥ- [
 Ω[---]ΑΝΤΙΤΟΥΠΟC
 28 Κ[---] Δ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΔΩΝ
 Ο[---] ΝΣΙ ΟΥΣΩΚΜ
 30 [---] Ε· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΡ-
 [ΨΑ ΟΥΔ] ΚΑΚΥ ΑΘΗΟΥ Μ ΠΚΟC-
 ΚΕ
 ΜΟC ΑΥΩ ΝΥΚΩ ΕΡΒΑΪ [Ν ΨΤΗΩC]ΙC·
 2 ΑΥΩ ΠΗ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΝ[ΤΑΥ Ν Ο]Υ-
 ΜΑ Ν ΨΩΠΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΣΟΜ· Α[ΥΩ] ΕΥ-
 4 ΟΥΗΖ ΝCΑ ΖΗΝΖΗΒΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΖΗΝ-
 ΚΟΟΥΕ ΥΒΑΛΗΟΥΤ· ΠΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΕ
 6 ΜΠΥΕΡΕ Ν ΛΑΔΥ Ν ΝΟΒΕ ΕCΡΩ-
 ΨΕ ΝΑΥ ΗΣΙ ΟΥΤΗΩCΙC· ΕΥΥΙ Μ
 8 ΠΡΟΟΥΨ Ν ΛΑΔΥ ΔΝ ΕΥΡ ΜΕΤΑ-
 ΝΟΕC· ΟΥΝ ΖΗΝΣΩΚΜ ΔΕ ΤΗΨ
 10 ΖΗ ΝΑΪ Ν ΤΟΥΡΕ· ΨΥΗ ΔΕ Ε-
 ΖΟΥΝ Ε ΝΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΕΝΗC· ΠΗ Ψ-
 12 ΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΚΣΙ ΩΜC ΝΟΥΗΥ Ν CΟΠ
 ΝΙΜ ΕΤCΜ[Π]ΨΑ Ε ΝΑΥ Ε ΝΙΚΑΤΑ
 14 ΟΥΔΑ Ν [ΤΕΛΙΟ]C· ΕΟΥΤΗΩCΙC ΠΕ
 ΝΤΕ ΠΤΗΥ [Ε]ΤΑCΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 16 ΖΗ ΝΙΣΟΜ Ν[ΤΕ] ΝΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΕΝΗC
 ΠΗ ΕΤΚΗΔΑ[Υ] ΕΚΨΑΝΟΥΩ-
 18 ΤΒ Ν ΝΙΕΩΝ Μ [ΠΑ]ΝΤΕΛΙΟC· ΠΙ-
 ΜΕΡΨΟΜΤ ΔΕ [Ν] ΣΩΚΜ ΕΚΨΑΝ-

- 24,19-20 Or, glories are [life-givers] set over those who have been baptized.
 24,20 Bohairic, ΤΑΦΜΗC.
 24,24 ΗΑΪ and ΤΑΪ are possible.
 24,25 Cod. M̄.
 24,26 E.g., [ΔΕ Ζ]Μ.
 24,31 Cf. 23,15-16.
 25,2-3 Or, then he has no dwelling place or power.

18 Glories, then (*οὖν*), which are set
 over these are [life-givers] who have
 20 been baptized in truth and knowledge (*γνωσις*).
 Those (+*δέ*) who are worthy are guarded,
 22 but (*δέ*) those who [are] not
 from this race (*γένος*) [
 24 and they go [
 [
 26 [in] the fifth, he being [
 [
 28 [] copy (*ἀντίτυπον*)
 [] of the aeons (*αιών*)
 [] namely a washing
 30 [] but (*δέ*) if
 [one] strips off the world (*κόσμος*)

25

and lays aside [knowledge (*γνωσις*)],
 2 then he (+*δέ*) is one who has no
 dwelling place and power, [and]
 4 because he follows the ways of the others,
 he is also a sojourner; but (*δέ*) the one
 6 who has committed no sin because
 knowledge (*γνωσις*) was sufficient for him
 8 is not anxious when he repents (*μετάνοια*),
 and (*δέ*) then (*οὖν*) washings are appointed
 10 in these in addition. (Concerning) the path (+*δέ*)
 to the self-begotten ones (*αὐτογενής*), the one
 12 in which you have now been baptized each
 time, (a path) worthy of seeing the [perfect (*τέλειος*)]
 14 individuals (+*κατά*): it serves as knowledge (*γνωσις*)
 of the All since it came into being
 16 from the powers of the self-begotten ones (*αὐτογενής*),
 the one you acquire when you pass
 18 through the all-perfect (*παντέλειος*) aeons (*αιών*).
 When you receive the third

25,4 I.e., because he does not exercise this knowledge; cf. 1,22-25; 27,17-19.

25,5 Status as a sojourner was perhaps related to the region called Exile, lit., a temporary residence.

25,7 Emend to **ΝΔΥ**.

25,10 **ΝΤΟΥΩΕ** for **ΝΤΟΥΟ** | **ΔΕ**, i.e., **ΤΕ** ?

25,11-17 **ΠΗ** is taken as a collective reference to Autogenes.

20 $\alpha\omega\kappa\mu \epsilon \dots [\dots] \tau\epsilon \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$
 $\epsilon \nu\iota [\dots] \omicron\eta\tau\omega\varsigma \mu \pi\iota\mu\alpha$
 22 $\epsilon [\dots] \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon [\nu\epsilon] \dot{\iota}\rho\alpha\mu \Delta\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\psi\omega\omicron\eta \mu [\pi] \dot{\epsilon}\dot{\iota}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon \epsilon\omicron\sigma\alpha$
 24 $\Delta\epsilon \pi\epsilon \alpha\sigma [\dots] \dot{\iota}$
 $\pi\epsilon \mu \pi\eta\tau\epsilon [\dots] \kappa$
 26 $\rho\mu \pi\tau\epsilon\psi\omega [\dots]$
 $\psi\omega\omicron\eta \alpha\sigma\omega \epsilon\alpha [\dots]$
 28 $\omicron\sigma\psi\alpha\Delta\epsilon \mu\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\omicron [\dots]$
 $\kappa\zeta$
 2 $\pi\alpha\dot{\iota} \pi\epsilon \omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\mu \epsilon\psi\omega\omicron\eta \omicron\eta\tau\omega\varsigma$
 $\mu [\mu \dots] \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma \alpha\sigma\omega$
 4 $\varsigma [\epsilon\psi\omega] \omicron\eta \mu\sigma\iota \mu\epsilon\tau\psi\omega\omicron\eta \rho\eta \omicron\sigma-$
 $\eta\omicron [\sigma] \mu \epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \alpha\sigma\omega \mu\epsilon\gamma-$
 6 $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \rho\mu \mu\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma \mu\omicron\tau\alpha\dot{\iota} \rho\mu \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$
 $\mu\omega\gamma \psi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\sigma \Delta\epsilon \alpha\sigma\omega \psi\alpha\gamma\mu\mu\epsilon$
 8 $\alpha\sigma\omega \psi\alpha\gamma\beta\omega\kappa \epsilon\gamma\omicron\sigma\eta \epsilon\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma \alpha\sigma\omega$
 $\psi\alpha\gamma\chi\iota \epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \mu\mu\omicron\gamma \rho\eta \omicron\sigma\varsigma\mu\eta \Delta\epsilon$
 10 $\epsilon \chi\omicron\omicron\gamma \alpha\sigma\omega \epsilon \varsigma\omega\tau\mu \rho\eta \omicron\sigma\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
 $\Delta\epsilon \varsigma\epsilon\epsilon \mu \alpha\tau\omicron\mu \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\eta\tau\omicron\mu$
 12 $\mu\epsilon \alpha\sigma\omega \mu \varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\mu \mu \mu\eta\tau\epsilon$
 $\omicron\sigma\eta \epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\mu\mu\omicron\mu \epsilon \psi\omega\eta \epsilon\omicron-$
 14 $\omicron\sigma \epsilon\psi\alpha\sigma\psi\omega\eta \epsilon\omicron\omicron\sigma \mu \mu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\eta-$
 $\tau\epsilon \alpha\sigma\omega \omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\Delta\omega [\lambda\omicron] \mu \mu\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\chi [\rho]$
 $\mu \mu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon \epsilon\psi [\alpha\gamma] \psi\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$
 16 $\rho\eta \omicron\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma\omicron\eta\varsigma [\iota\varsigma] \rho\eta \omicron\sigma\psi\alpha\Delta\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\tau\eta \mu\epsilon\mu \epsilon [\tau\phi] \sigma\iota\varsigma \mu \rho\sigma\lambda\iota-$
 18 $\kappa\omicron\mu \epsilon\gamma\omicron\epsilon\beta\eta [\sigma] \Delta\epsilon [\nu] \epsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\varsigma\iota\alpha$
 $\mu \mu\omicron\epsilon\omicron\mu \nu [\nu] \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon \tau\Delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\tau\alpha \Delta\epsilon$
 20 $\mu\tau\epsilon \mu\psi\sigma\chi\eta [\mu] \mu\mu\mu \psi\mu\eta\mu\epsilon \rho\mu$
 $\mu\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon \Delta\epsilon \chi\epsilon \varsigma\epsilon\psi\epsilon\beta\eta-$
 22 $\omicron\sigma\tau \mu\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\eta [\epsilon] \alpha\mu \dots \psi [\alpha] \rho\omicron\mu$
 $\mu\epsilon \mu\tau\epsilon \eta [\eta] \epsilon\tau\mu [\dots] \mu\mu$
 24 $\mu\eta \mu\omicron [\dots] \psi\alpha\gamma [\dots] \omega [\dots] \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$

- 25,20 ϵ . ., first ink trace is from ϵ , θ , \omicron , or ς ; second, from μ , η , ι , or γ ; third, from either \omicron , or ς ; $\epsilon \mu\omicron [\sigma]$ is possible.
 25,21-22 E.g., $\epsilon \mu\iota [\epsilon\omega\mu \epsilon\tau\psi\omega\omicron\mu] \omicron\eta\tau\omega\varsigma \mu \mu\iota\mu\alpha / \epsilon\tau\mu\mu\alpha\sigma$.
 25,23 η , or μ .
 25,28-26,1 Probably $\epsilon\tau\epsilon / \mu\alpha\dot{\iota} \mu\epsilon$.
 26,2-4 Text is corrupt.
 26,2 $\mu [\mu]$, a supralinear stroke connected μ with the following letter (in lacuna) | her, i.e., Barbelo?

washing
 about the
 [] pla
 say are a
 is (+&e) is
 like [
 while he [
 sis and
 word the
 5
 This is a na
 with
 these who
 [city]...
 semblanc
 is own. H
 eter it and
 like a resen
 and speak
 say are una
 re percepti
 Therefore (o
 tem by con
 is he a ref
 in this way,
 a perception
 (446) bet
 and (&e) low
 sence (o
 differences
 them (+&e)
 different an
 | of those
 [

NO, the ir
 Cf. Isa 6:9
 i.e., $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$
 Or, $\mu\eta$
 -KON, si
 Either μ
 Possibly

20 washing [], you will learn
 about the [] really (*δυντως*) [
 22 in [] place. About [these] names (+*δέ*),
 they are as follows: because
 24 he (+*δέ*) is one, [
 is like [
 26 while he [
 exists and [
 28 a word they [
 26
 This is a name which really (*δυντως*) exists
 2 [with [] within her.
 These who exist do so in
 4 [safety] . . . resembles. His
 resemblance in race (*γένος*) (is) within what is
 6 his own. He (+*δέ*) can see (it), understand (it),
 enter it and
 8 take a resemblance from it. They (+*δέ*)
 (can) speak aloud and hear sounds, but (*δέ*)
 10 they are unable to obey because they
 are perceptible (*αἰσθητόν*) and somatic (*σωματικόν*).
 12 Therefore (*οὖν*), just as they are able to contain
 them by containing them thus,
 14 so is he a reflection (*εἰδωλον*) [in anguish]
 in this way, having come into existence
 16 in perception (*αἴσθησις*) [by] a word which
 is (+*μέν*) better than material (*ὕλικόν*) [nature (*φύσις*)]
 18 but (*δέ*) lower than intellectual (*νοερόν*)
 essence (*οἰσία*). Do not be amazed about the
 20 differences (*διαφορά*) among souls (*ψυχή*).
 When (+*δέ*) it is thought that they are
 22 different and do [not resemble
 [] of those who [] and
 24 that [

26,4 ΝΘ, the ink trace is from ο, ε, θ, or c.
 26,6-8 Cf. Isa 6:9-10.
 26,6 I.e., ΕΓΜΕ.
 26,16 Or, ΜΙΝ ?
 26,18 -ΚΟΝ, sic | ΔΞ [Υ], uncertain.
 26,23 Either ΜΙ or ΜΙ, (lacuna above the letter).
 26,24 Possibly ΠΗ ΜΦΝ[.

26 ρη οσ[σμ]η .[. . .] εϋτακνοϋτ
 επ[---]χη νταϋν
 σ[---]σωμα· πη δε
 28 ε[.]εϋχρονοσ εϋαϋ-
 ϋ[.]λ η οσοειϋ ερε-
 κ̅
 2 τεϋψχη σοοη η [.]
 ποσωμα· μη μεν ετ[τοσβη-]
 4 οϋτ ε πτηρϋ ϋτοοϋ η [εγδο]σ
 ετηταϋ· μη δε ετε η[ρρα]ι ρη ο]ϋ-
 6 χρονοσ πεστ ηε· τοσει τοσει
 μη πεστωη δτω <η>εσεινε σε-
 8 ψεβηνοϋτ εσπωρϋ εβολ· δτω
 σεαρερατο· δτω εσρ ψβηρ
 10 η ψωπε μη ηειψοχη τηροϋ
 ηγι ρενκεατμοϋ μ ψοχη ετβε
 12 †[σο]φια ετασωϋτ ε πεσνητ
 ψομτ ταρ η εγδοσ ηε ητ[ε] ηγψο-
 14 χ[η] ηη ατ[μο]ϋ· μη ηη μεν εταϋ-
 16 ϋτ ηοϋνε [εβ]ολ ργαν †παροικη-
 18 σιϋ εμη[ταϋ] μμαϋ η οσσομ
 η ϋπο ε[σμη]μαϋ ματα[α]ϋ
 20 εσοσθηρ η[σα ρ]ενρβησθε ητε
 ρενκοοϋε· π[η] δε εσεγδοσ η
 22 οσωτ πε εντοϋ πετοϋρ
 . α[.]ϋ· ηη δε εταρε-
 24 ρα[τοσ ργαν †]με[τ]ανογδ ετε
 μ[. . .]ϋρ[. . .] . α .[. .]ηοβε·
 26 εσρωϋε [. . .] ρ[. . .]ϋνωσις
 εσβρρε π[.] οσν-
 ταϋ δε μμαϋ ϋγδ-

26,25 .I, trace from δ, λ, or Δ.

27,1 E.g., σοοη η[ψβηρ ητε].

27,3 η, a trace from η, β, τ, η, ι, κ, or ρ; possibly there was a supralinear stroke above the letter.

27,5 πεστ for ψστ.

27,6 Emend to οσντασ ?

27,10 I.e., ηειψοχη.

27,13-18 Cf. 5,24-6,10; 11,15-17.

27,14 η, only the supralinear stroke survives.

aloud [] he being lost

- 26 []
 [] body (σῶμα), and (δέ) that
 28 [] time (χρόνος), he
 [] a desire

27

their souls (ψυχή) exist as []
 2 their body (σῶμα). As (+μέν) for those who are
 totally [pure], what they possess are four
 4 [species (εἶδος)], but (δέ) those [in]
 time (χρόνος) are nine. Each one
 6 of them has its species (εἶδος)
 and custom. Their likenesses
 8 differ, being distinct, and
 they stand. Other immortal souls (ψυχή)
 10 associate with all
 these souls (ψυχή) because of
 12 the Sophia (σοφία) who looked down.
 For (γάρ) there are three species (εἶδος) of
 14 immortal souls : first (+μέν), those that have
 taken root upon the exile (παρολκήσις)
 16 because they have no ability
 to beget, (something) that only those
 18 who follow the ways of
 the others have. As for (+δέ) the one that is a
 20 single species (εἶδος) which
 []. Second (δέ), those that stand
 22 [upon the] repentance (μετάνοια) which
 [] sin,
 24 (it) being sufficient [] knowledge (γνώσις)
 being new []
 26 and (δέ) he has []

27,17 Or, to be begotten.

27,18 Cf. 25,4.

27,21 . δ, the trace is possibly from δ, Δ, λ, or κ; possibly a Greek verb beginning κδ- | ΜΜΟΙϞ, or ΕΡΟΙϞ.

27,23 Read either Μ, or Μ (lacuna); e.g., ΜΠΙϞ (with broad spacing of letters) | . Δ|, before δ read Η, or else Ϛ, preceded by a descending ligature as from δ, λ, Μ, etc.; e.g., Ηδ, or λϚδ.

27,24 ϚϚ (with characteristic supralinear stroke) almost certain; e.g., [ΔΕ] ϚϚ|[ΤΗ ΟϚ]ΤΗΩϚΙϚ.

28 φορα· οθανη[.] α̅ϱ
 νοβε μη ρενκοο[τε. . .]
 κη
 2 α̅ϱ[ρ με]τανοει μη ρενκοοτε
 [.] ς εβολ μμοοϑ μα̅ϱαα̅ϱ
 4 [.] ταρ η ειδος ε̅τ̅ϱοο̅π̅ η-
 6 το[. . . .] μη ηη μεν ετα̅ϱειρε η
 η[γ]νοβε τηροϑ α̅ϱω α̅ϱρ μετα-
 8 νοει· η ρενμεροϑ με η ητοοϑ
 εα̅ϱω̅ϱ εβολ μμοοϑ μα̅ϱαα̅ϱ
 10 ε̅τ̅βε πα̅ι̅ νε̅ϱκε̅ω̅η̅ σο̅ϑ̅ η̅
 κα̅τα̅ πι̅το̅πο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅π̅η̅ρ̅ ε̅ρο̅ο̅ϑ̅
 12 ρη †ο̅ϱ̅ει̅ το̅ϱ̅ει̅ μ̅μο̅ο̅ϑ̅̅ πι̅με̅ρ̅-
 ϱο̅μ̅τ̅̅ δε̅ πε̅ πα̅νη̅ψ̅ϱ̅χη̅ η̅τε̅
 14 η̅γα̅ϱ̅το̅ρε̅νη̅ον̅ ε̅ϱ̅η̅τα̅ϱ̅ μ̅μα̅ϱ̅
 η̅ ο̅ϱ̅ϱ̅α̅ξε̅ η̅τε̅ †μη̅η̅με̅ η̅ α̅τ̅-
 16 ϱ̅α̅ξε̅ μ̅μο̅ϱ̅ ε̅ϱ̅ϱ̅ο̅[ο̅]̅π̅̅ ρ̅η̅ ϱ̅ϱ̅-
 ϱ̅η̅ω̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ μη̅ ο̅ϱ̅ϱ̅[μ̅ ε̅β]ο̅λ̅ μ̅μ̅[ο̅-]
 18 ο̅ϱ̅ μα̅ϱ̅α̅α̅ϱ̅ μη̅ [. . . .] ρ̅ η̅ ϱ̅[α̅] ε̅-
 20 νε̅ρ̅· ε̅ϱ̅η̅τα̅ϱ̅ [δε̅] μ̅μα̅ϱ̅ η̅ ϱ̅το̅ο̅ϑ̅
 η̅ δ̅γα̅φο̅ρα̅ μ̅ π̅ρ̅η̅η̅τε̅] ο̅η̅ ει̅το̅[ϱ̅ϱ̅ο̅-
 22 ο̅π̅̅ η̅ς̅ η̅η̅ει̅δ̅ο̅[ς̅] η̅τ̅[ε̅] η̅γα̅τ̅τε̅λο̅ς̅
 α̅ϱ̅ω̅ μη̅ η̅η̅ [ε̅τ̅]ρ̅ α̅τα̅πα̅ η̅ †μη̅η̅η̅με̅
 24 μη̅ η̅η̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅ ρ̅ε̅[λ̅]π̅ι̅ς̅ μη̅ η̅η̅ ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ρ̅-
 26 τε̅ ε̅ϱ̅η̅τα̅ϱ̅ [. . . .] η̅ η̅η̅ [ε̅]τ̅ρ̅ο̅[.]τ̅
 α̅ϱ̅ω̅ σε̅ϱ̅ο̅[π̅̅]η̅η̅τ̅[.
 28 σε̅ϱ̅ο̅[π̅̅] ε̅ϱ̅τ̅[.] . . [. .]
 η̅γα̅ϱ̅τ̅[ο̅ϱ̅ε̅]η̅η̅ς̅ [. . . .]ϱ̅ [. .] . με̅
 πα̅ο̅ϱ̅[ω̅η̅]ρ̅ η̅ [τε̅λ̅]ι̅ο̅ς̅ πε̅· πι̅μ̅[ε̅ρ̅-]
 30 ϱ̅η̅ [α̅ϱ̅]με̅ πε̅· πι̅-

- 27,27 **μη̅**[, no supralinear stroke over the first **η̅**, but possibly over the second one (lacuna).
 28,3-4 E.g., **η̅/το̅[ο̅τ̅γ̅]**.
 28,7 I.e., **ε̅α̅ϱ̅ο̅ϱ̅ω̅ϱ̅**?
 28,10 I.e., **το̅ϱ̅ει̅ το̅ϱ̅ει̅**.
 28,16 E.g., **ι̅ο̅ϱ̅ω̅]η̅ρ̅**, (with a slight crowding of letters).
 28,17 **μ̅μα̅ϱ̅**, ϱ̅ read in 1971, now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.
 28,18-19 **ϱ̅ο̅/ο̅π̅**, first **ο̅** read in 1971, now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.
 28,20-22 Love, hope, believe may be an allusion to faith, hope, and love in 1 Cor 13. Here love is understood as love for truth rather than love of

difference
 named wi
 they repe
 for (yap) L
] wit
 cis, an
 ether (H) t
 listed of
 herefore,
 mending t
 each (em
 (H) (speci
 self-beg
 ire a wor
 trib, one w
 knowledg
 themselves
 they have
 hapoρ) jus
 angels (H)
 those who lo
 those who h
 believe havin
 they exist
 they exist, he
 self-bego
 is the one
 [second]

neighbor as
 letters do no
 knowledge
 d. 31, 18-19.
 W, no supr
 letter (in lac
 E.g., σε̅ϱ̅ο̅
 . . . , first
 . . . , read eit
 E.g., C M [α̅

28 difference (*διαφορά*) [] they have
 28 sinned with the others []
 they repented (*μετανοεῖν*) with others
 2 [] from them alone.
 For (*γάρ*) [] (are) species (*εἶδος*) which exist
 4 [] with those (+*μέν*) who committed
 all sins, and they repented (*μετανοεῖν*).
 6 Either (*ἢ*) they are parts (*μέρος*), or (*ἢ*) they
 desired of their own accord.
 8 Therefore, their aeons (*αιών*) also are six
 according to (*κατά*) the place (*τόπος*) which has come
 10 to each (fem.) of them. The third
 (+*δέ*) (species) is that of the souls (*ψυχῆ*) of
 12 the self-begotten ones (*αὐτογενιόν*) because they
 have a word of the ineffable
 14 truth, one which exists in
 knowledge (*γνώσις*) and [power] from
 16 themselves alone and eternal []
 They have [(+*δέ*)] four differentiations
 18 (*διαφορά*) just as the species (*εἶδος*)
 of angels (*ἄγγελος*) [who] exist:
 20 those who love (*ἀγαπᾶν*) the truth;
 those who hope (*ἐλπίζει*); those who
 22 believe having []; those who are []
 They exist []
 24 they exist, he being []
 the self-begotten ones (*αὐτογενής*) []
 26 he is the one belonging to [perfect (*τέλειος*) life];
 the [second] is [] the

neighbor as in Paul. A fourth verb in the series cannot be read. The extant letters do not lend support to Reizenstein's thesis of a Gnostic list that adds knowledge to the Pauline triad (see Bultmann, *ἐλπίζει*, p. 532); cf. 31,18-19.

28,22]N, no supralinear stroke | N, or H | [.]T̄, T̄ connected to the preceding letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke; e.g., ϞO[Π]T̄.
 28,23 E.g., CEΨOOIΠ̄ NQ̄PΔĪ QN|HT[Γ].
 28,24 | . . ., first trace is from J or N; second trace, from β, Γ, Η, J, K, or N.
 28,25 | ., read either M or Δ.
 28,27 E.g., CN|ΔT̄ ΠΔŌT̄ΩNQ̄ M|E.

sibly over the
 A; papyrus
 photo A; papyrus
 ch. hope, as
 rather than

- 28 Μ[.] ΔΟΥΤΗΩΣΙ[Σ] .[
 Ψ[.] ΠΙΜΕΡΥΤΟΟΥ
 30 Π[ΑΝ]ΨΥΧΗ ΝΗ ΑΤΜΟΥ ΠΕ
- κθ
- Μ ΠΕΪΡΗΤΕ ΟΝ ΣΕΨΟΟ[Π̄] ΜΜΑ]Τ
 2 ΝΟΣ [Υ]ΤΟΟΥ Μ ΦΩΣΤΗΡ [ΥΚΗ ΜΙΕΝ
 ΖΙΔΗ ΠΙΨΟΡ[Π̄] ΝΗ ΕΩΝ Ν[ΙΣ ΔΡΜ]ΟΖΗΛ . .
 4 [Ο]ΥΩΨ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε . .] .[. .] Ν
 ΤΜΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΩΤ[Π̄] ΝΤΕ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ.
 6 ΥΚΗ ΔΕ ΖΙ[Δ]Η ΠΙΜΕΡΥΣΝΑΥ ΝΟΣ ΩΡΟ-
ΙΔΗΛ ΟΥΘΟΜ Ν ΡΕΥΕ[Ι]Ω[Ρ] ΝΤΕ
 8 †ΜΝΤΜΕ[] ΥΚΗ ΔΕ ΖΙΔΗ ΠΙΜΕΡ-
 ΨΟΜ[Τ̄] ΝΟΣ ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕ ΟΥΕΙΩΡ Ν-
 10 ΤΕ ΟΥΤΗΩΣ[Ι]Σ· ΥΚΗ ΔΕ ΖΙΔΗ ΠΙ-
 ΜΕ[Υ]ΤΟΟΥ ΝΟΣ ΗΛΗΛΗΘ ΟΥΩΡ-
 12 Μ[Η] ΜΗ ΟΥΩΡΣ ΖΑ †ΜΝΤΜΕ·
 Π[Ι]ΥΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΣΕΨΟΟ[Π̄] ΕΥΕΝ-
 14 Ψ[Δ]ΔΕ Ν[Ι]Ε Ν[Τ]Ε †ΜΝΤΜΕ ΜΗ ΟΥ-
 Τ[Ν]ΩΣ[Ι]Σ] Σ[Ε]Ψ[Ο]Ο[Π̄] ΔΕ ΕΝΝΑΠΙ-
 16 Π[Ρ]Ω[Τ]ΟΦ[Α]ΝΗ[Σ] ΔΗ ΝΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑ-
 †ΜΑΔΑΥ [ΝΕ Ε]ΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ
 18 ΠΙΝΟΥΣ Ν Τ[Ε]Λ[Ι]Ο[Σ] ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥ-
 ΕΙΝ Ε ΤΡΕΝΨΥΧ[Η] ΝΗ ΑΤΜΟΥ
 20 ΨΩΠ̄ ΕΡΟΟΥ [Ν] ΟΥΤΗΩΣ[Ι]Σ·
 [.]Ν .[.]Υ[.] Ε ΝΑΪ ΠΛΑΥΤΟΥΕ-
 22 [ΝΗ]Σ]ΟΥΣΕ[.]ΟΑΣ ΟΥΩ-
 ΝΥ [.] .[.]ΟΥ Μ Π[. . .] . ΤΗΡΟΥ
 24 ΟΥΨΑΔΕ Π[Ε] .[Ε] Ν [. . .]ΡΟΣ Ν-
 Ν ΑΥΨΑΔΕ †ΜΝΤΜΕ·
 26 ΠΗ ΕΥΨΑΔ[Ε] ΟΥΩ]ΝΥ

28,28-29 E.g., η/ψ[Δ] ενευ πε·].

28,28 E.g., μ[μερ]ψομτ π[Δ].

28,29 Ψ, or else υ or ω.

28,30 For the restoration, see 28,11.

29,1-20 The four lights relate to the four types of souls. According to 127,15ff they are the lights of the Autogenes aeon; here they belong to the mother (15-17) who may be the Mirothea of 30,14.

29,4 E.g., πνοϋτ[ε] πε] | | .[, trace from ρ, υ, ψ, †, or φ | final Ν, read either Ν or Ἰ (lacuna) | promise of God, lit., will; cf. Luke 24:49.

29,5 ΝΤΕ, τ (certain); read in 1971, now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged | or, a reconciliation of soul.

28 [] knowledge (*γνώσις*)
 [] the fourth is
 30 that one [belonging to the] immortal [souls (*ψυχή*).]
 29

The four lights (*φωστήρ*) exist
 2 [there] in this way. [Arm]ozel [is]
 [set] (+*μέν*) over the first aeon (*αιών*).
 4 [] a promise of god [] of
 truth and a joining of soul (*ψυχή*);
 6 Oroiael (+*δέ*) a powerful seer
 of truth is set over the
 8 the second; Daveithe (+*δέ*) a vision
 of knowledge (*γνώσις*) is set over
 10 the third. Eleleth (+*δέ*) an eager impulse
 and preparation for truth
 12 is set over the fourth.
 The four (+*δέ*) exist as
 14 expressions of truth and
 knowledge (*γνώσις*). They (+*δέ*) exist, although they
 16 do not belong to Protophanes (*πρωτοφανής*) but (*ἀλλά*)
 to the mother, a thought of
 18 the perfect (*τέλειος*) mind (*νοῦς*) of the
 light so that immortal souls (*ψυχή*)
 20 might receive knowledge (*γνώσις*) for themselves.
 [] these, the Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)
 22 []—orse—[]—oas, a
 life [] all,
 24 he is a word []
 ineffable [] the] truth
 26 he who says [] revelation]

29,6-7 Lit., a power belonging to the class “seer of truth.”

29,7 Supralinear stroke also covers ῑ̄.

29,16 Πρ(ω)λ, ρ attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.

29,17 Δε, i.e., τε.

29,18 Perfect mind, i.e., the Protophanes aeon.

29,21 The first Ν had no supralinear stroke | ϝ, or perhaps ϙ.

29,22 ϙ, or else ϙ; read in 1971; now best attested in photo A; papyrus
 subsequently damaged | ϙ̄, or else ϙ, ϙ, or ϙ.

29,23 |ϙ, read ο, θ, ϙ, or perhaps ϐ | Μ had no supralinear stroke | Π[], read β,
 ϙ, η, ι, κ, ν, or π | | ., ligature from ϙ, π, τ, or ϝ.

29,24 Π, or else Ιϙ | e.g., οϝψδζε π[ε κ]ε ν[ι]νοερος.

28 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕ Π .[.] .Ϛ
 ΖΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν [.] ΨΟ-
 ΟΠ̄ ΝΣΑ ΠΨΩΪ ΖΝ [.] ΔΤ-
 λ̄
 2 ΠΟ[.] ΟΤΠ̄ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΒ ΝΤΟΣ
 Ν [.] . .C. ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΟΥ<ΟΥ>Ο[Ε]ΙΝ Ν
 4 Ν[.] Ν ΜΝ ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΖΝ
 Ο[Ϛ. . . Ν] ΤΑΥ· ΔΔΑΜΑΣ ΔΕ Π[Γ]ΤΕ[ΛΓ-]
 6 Ο[Σ] Ν ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΒΑΔ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΓΑΥ[Τ]Ο-
 ΤΕΝΗΣ· ΟΥΤΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΕΥΕΛΥ
 8 ΔΕ ΠΓΑΥΤΟΤ[Ε]ΙΝΗΣ Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥ-
 ΨΑΔΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ [Π]ΙΝΟΥΣ Ν ΤΕ[Λ]ΙΟΣ
 10 ΝΤΕ ΨΜΝΤΜΕ· ΠΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ
 ΔΔΑΜΑΝ ΣΗΘ ΕΥΝΗΝΟΥ ΕΥΡΑΪ Ε ΤΟΥ-
 12 ΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ ΝΤΕ ΝΪΨΥΧΗ· ΕΥ[Τ]ΙΝΩΣΙΣ
 ΠΕ ΕΥΡΩΨΕ Ε ΝΑΪ· ΔΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ
 14 ΔΣΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΟΥ [ΨΠ]ΟΡΑ
 ΕΤΟΝΟΥ: υυ ΜΓΡΟΘΕΑ Δ[Ε] ΤΕ [. . .] Τ[
 16 ΠΓΑΥΤΟΤΕΝΗΣ Ν [ΝΟ]ΥΤΕ Ο[Ϛ. .
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΗΤΣ ΜΝ . . [.] ΕΥ[Μ]ΕΕΥ[Ε]
 18 ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΝΟΥ[Σ] Ν ΤΕ[Λ]ΙΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΤΕΤΕ ΤΩΣ Ν ΖΥ[ΠΑΡ]Ξ[Ι]Σ Ζ[Ε] ΟΥ ΤΕ
 20 Η ΖΕ ΝΕΣΨΟΟΠ̄ [. . Ν Δ]Ψ Ν ΡΗΤΕ
 ΔΩ ΔΕ ΣΨΟ[ΟΠ̄] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΜΕΝ
 22 ΠΓΑΥΤΟΤΕΝ[Η]Σ Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΨΑ-
 ΔΕ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΟΥ[Τ]ΙΝΩ[Σ]ΙΣ· ΔΩ Ψ-
 24 ΤΝΩΣΙΣ ΜΕΝ [--- ΨΔ-]
 ΔΕ· ΕΤΒ[Ε] ΠΑΪ .[.]
 26 ΔΔΑΜΑ[. . .] ΠΛ[.] .[. . .] ΜΔ[
 ΤΕ Ν[Γ]ΔΑ[Π]ΛΟ[Ϛ]Ν[Ε]ΤΑ[Σ]Ο[Ϛ]ΩΝ[Ζ]
 ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΟΥ[Ψ]ΙΒΕ ΝΤΕ Ν[Γ-]

30,1 Ϛ, or else ε, θ, or ζ | e.g., ΖΟΥΠ.

30,2 | . .C, each trace is the bottom of a vertical stroke; the spacing suggests | Ϛ | Ν, only the supralinear stroke survives.

30,3 ΝΙΟΥΕΡΟΙΝ?

30,4-5 The heavenly Adam belongs to the Autogenes system.

30,6 ΟΥΤΝΩΣΙΣ, Ϛ read in 1977; now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged | ΝΤΑΥ, supralinear stroke above Ν read in 1971; now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged | no supralinear stroke over ΛΥ | comprehends, lit., receives.

30,7 Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ, first Ν (with supralinear stroke) read in 1978; papyrus subsequently damaged, now best attested in photo A.

concerning the [
 28 that it exists as [
 exists above in [
 30
 [] in a yoking of it
 2 [] in [] light
 and thought within his
 4 []. Since Adam (+δέ), the perfect (τέλειος)
 man, is an eye of Autogenes (αὐτογενής),
 6 it is his knowledge (γνώσις) which comprehends
 that the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής)
 8 is a word of [the] perfect (τέλειος) mind (νοῦς)
 of truth. The son (+δέ) of
 10 Adam, Seth, comes to
 each of the souls (ψυχή) as knowledge (γνώσις)
 12 sufficient for them. Therefore,
 [the] living [seed (σπορά)] came into existence
 14 from him. Mirothea (+δέ) is [
 the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής), [a
 16 from her and [], since she is a thought
 of the perfect (τέλειος) mind (νοῦς), because of
 18 that existence (ὑπαρξις) of hers. What is she?
 Or (ἦ) did she exist? [] in what way?
 20 Does she exist? Therefore (+μέν),
 the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής)
 22 is word and knowledge (γνώσις), and the
 knowledge (γνώσις) (+μέν) [word]
 24 therefore [
 Adama[
 26 the [simple ones (ἀπλοῦν)], when she appeared
 [] a change of [the]

30,9 ΝΤΕ, supralinear stroke omitted above Ν (error).

30,10-12 The heavenly Seth is the primary revealer.

30,10 ΔΔΔΜΔΝ, sic (from Greek genitive).

30,17 ΕΤΒΕ, read in 1971; now letters ΕΤ only attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged | ΔΕ, i.e., ΤΕ.

30,20 Cod. has supralinear stroke over C | ΜΕΝ, Ε written upon the false start of another letter | or, because of him.

30,24 ΠΔΪ, Π more fully preserved in 1971; now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.

30,25 Possibly ΔΔΔΜΔΙC | ρΔΠΛΙΟΤC?

30,26 Or [ΤC]?

28 souls (ψυχή) [] she herself is []
 [] perfect (τέλειος). Concerning [the]
 30 [perfect (τέλειος) . . .] the angelic beings (ἄγγελος)
 [31]
 []
 2 [] then (οὖν)[
 [soul (ψυχή)]
 4 [die
 []
 6 [] the copies (ἀντίτυπος)
 [] really (δυνως)
 8 [] which []
 [] repentance (μετάνοια)
 10 [] to this place
 [] which exists as
 12 [] aeons (αιών), if
 [] and she loves (ἀγαπᾶν)
 14 [] she stands upon
 [] aeon (αιών)
 16 [having] the light (φωστήρ)
 E[le]leth [] become a
 18 [] god-seer.
 [But (δέ) if] she hopes (ἐλπίς), then she
 20 perceives. And (δέ) a [] race (γένος)
 [] she stands upon
 22 []
 []
 24 []
 []
 26 []
 []
 28 []
 []
 [32]
 [] she is chosen

31,15 Perhaps [ΠΙ]ΜΕ[ϚΨΤΟΘ]; cf. 29,10-11.
 31,16 Η (last letter of the line) has an apostrophe directly above it.
 31,17 ΟϚΔΗ, no supralinear stroke over the letter Η.
 31,19 Then, ΔϚΩ to introduce an apodosis.
 31,20 E.g., ΟϚΔ[ΤΤΕΛΟ]C.
 31,23 ΙΘ, or else ξ̄ or ζ̄; CΗ|Θ?

this letter to the
 to genes system
 ters; e.g., ΜΗ

2 [] she stands [
 [
 4 [] the light (*φωστήρ*)
 Ar[mozel
 6 [
 [
 8 upon the [power
 you stand upon [
 10 the light which [
 and measureless [
 12 the aeon (*αιών*) is great [
 [] those alone [
 14 [] the perfect (*τέλειος*) [
 that power [
 16 be able, and (*ἦ*) [
 be able [] every [
 18 of his soul (*ψυχῆ*) [
 perceptible (*αισθητόν*) [] not with [
 20 [] but (*ἀλλά*) you are [
 individually (+*κατά*) [
 22 there being nothing [
 him [
 24 which he [
 [
 26 [
 [
 28 [in
 [

33

and [
 2 upon every one [
 every [
 4 [] form (*μορφή*) [
 [] and this one
 6 [] and this [model (*τύπος*)]
 [] and something

32,13-14 Probably *ει/βολ*.

32,16 *ϖ*, probably this (or else *ϕ, ϗ, ψ, or φ*).

32,18 *.η*, possibly *ἦη*.

32,20 Room for [*λα ει*, or [*λα ης*] | *ο*], or else *ε, θ, or ζ*.

33,1 E.g., *ατρωμα* | *ο*], connected (as usual) by a circumflex.

8	[	---	ΨΑ Ε]ΝΕΩ· ΟΥΤΕ
	[	---	]ΕΤΕ ΟΥΤΗΡΥ Ε
10	[	---	] . ΔΤΩΧΗ Μ ΠΕΕΓ-
	[	---	]Μ ΕΥΔΑΓΗΟΥΤ
12	[	---	] ΕΑΥΨΩΨ̄ ΕΡΟΥ
	[	---	]ΠΙΤΕΛΙΟ[Σ] Η ΝΟΥΣ·
14	[	---	]Ε ΗΝ ΔΤΠΩΨ
	[	---	ΟΥ]ΟΥΕΙΝ Η ΤΕΛΙΟΣ Η
16	[	---	]ΥΨΟΟΠ̄ ΔΕ ΩΜ
	[	---	Δ]ΔΔΜΔΣ· ΔΤΩ
18	[	---	Π]ΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΕ-
	[	---	Δ]ΤΩ ΨΑΥΒΩΚ
20	[	---	]ΟΥ Η ΝΟΥΣ
	[	---	] ΠΙΚΛ̄Σ Η ΝΟΥ-
22	[	---	]Π̄ Η ΕΙΜΕ
	[	---	]Μ· ΑΛΛΑ
24	[	---	ΨΥ]ΧΗ Ε
	[	---	]ΜΔΥ
26	[	---	]Ω
	[	---	]ΝΩ
28	[	---	]Σ
	[	---	]ΔΔ]
			.[.] Η ΩΠΑΡΖΙΣ
2	[		]ΕΒΟΛ ΕΣΝΤΑΥ
	[] .[.] .[.]
4			.[.] ΩΕΝΜΕΩΒ̄ [Ν]
			[ΣΟ]Μ ΜΝ [. . .] ΠΔ[
6			ΜΕΩῩ ΔΕ [. .]ΕΝ[
			ΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ [
8			ΕΤΕ Ν[
			ΟΥ Η ΟΥ[
10			ΩΕ Η ΨΥΧΗ· Δ[.]
			ΣΕ ΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΔΕ [.]
12			ΜΔ Η ΨΩΠΕ .[.]

33,9 ΤΗΡΥ, sic; cf. 19,3; 23,14.

33,11 I.e., not heavy.

33,12 Not room for ΨΩΩΤ.

33,18-22 Note the progression Autogenes to Protophanes to Kalyptos; perhaps Barbelo was named here also.

33,20 E.g., ΤΕΛΙ]ΟΥΣ.

powers and
and (δὲ) thi
which [
soul (ψυχή)
And (δὲ) th
dwelling p

E.g., ΝΟΥ
E.g., ΨΩ
Kalyptos
̄, uncert
ΟΥ]ΩΜ
I.e., a he

- 8 [] eternal, nor (οὔτε)
 [] an all
 10 [] increasing from this
 [] he is light
 12 [] because he lacked
 [] the perfect (τέλειος) mind (νοῦς)
 14 [] undivided
 [] perfect (τέλειος) light
 16 [] and (δέ) he is in
 [] Adam, and
 18 [the] Autoge[nes] (ἀυτογενής)
 [] and he goes
 20 [] mind (νοῦς)
 [] the divine Kalyptos (καλυπτός)
 22 [] knowledge
 [] but (ἀλλά)
 24 [] soul (ψυχή)
 []
 26 []
 []
 28 []
 []
 [34]
 [] existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 2 [] she having
 []
 4 [] some second
 powers and []
 6 and (δέ) third []
 []
 8 which []
 []
 10 soul (ψυχή), []
 And (δέ) the aeons (αιών) []
 12 dwelling place []

33,21-22 E.g., **ΝΟΘ**/ΙΤΕ.

33,22 E.g., **ΨΟΡ**ΙΠ̄.

34,1 Kalyptos?; cf. 15,10-12.

34,4 β̄, uncertain (supralinear stroke in lacuna); cf. 34,6.

34,6-7 **ΟΘ**Ι/ΩΗΘ?

34,12 I.e., a heavenly home | cf. the vocabulary here with that of pp. 55 and 113.

14 ΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ ΘΕΝ[.
 Θ[Ε]Ν[Ν]ΟΥΤΕ Ν[.
 ΖΟΟΕ Ε ΝΟΥΤΕ [.
 16 ΝΤΕ ΝΓΑΥΤΟ[ΤΕΝΗC
 ΜΜΑΥ Μ ΠΓΑΥ[ΤΟΥΤΕΝΗC
 18 Ν ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν ΝΟΥ[.
 Ν ΔΥΤΕΛ[Ο]C [.
 20 Ν ΔΥΟΡΑΤΟ[Ν
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν ΘΕΝ[.
 22 ΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ [.
 ΝΝ ΕΩΝ . [.
 24 ΔΕ Ε ΨΥ[ΥΧΗ
 ΔΥΤΕΛ[Ο]C [.
 26 ΧΗ Μ[.
 ΤΕ[.
 28 Ω[.
 Δ[.
 30 Ε[.

̄ε

2 ΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ Ν [---] .ε
 [.] ΔΪ ΨΑ ΕΝ[Ε]Υ] Ε Ν
 [.] ΟΠ . υυ ΔΥΩ [---] ΔΗΗ
 4 [.] Ε [.] ΨΔ[.] ΔΥΤC· ΕΨΩ-
 ΠΕ Δ[Ε] ΔΝ . [.] ΝΟΥ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ
 6 ΠΔ . [.] ΨΩΠΕ Ν ΟΥ-
 ΔΥΤΕΛΟC ---] Ε ΔΕ Ν ΚΟC-
 8 ΜΟΥC [.] ΝΓΑΥΤΕΛΟC ΔΥΩ ΝΓ-
 [---] ΤΗ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ CCO-
 10 [---] ΔΥΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΤCΑ
 [---] ΔΥΤΟΥ[Ε]ΝΗC ΟΥΝΤΕ
 12 [---] ΜΟΥC Π[.] ΟΥ
 [---] ΤΕ Ν ΔΥΧΩΝ·
 14 [---] ΕΟΥΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ
 [---] ΔΥΔ]ΦΟΡΑ· ΕΤΕ ΕΤΒΗ
 16 [ΝΤ ---] ΤΑΪ ΔΝ ΤΕ ΕΨΑΥΕ
 [---] . ΝΟΥΟΥC [.] .ε

34,15 See 2,7n.
 34,18 E.g., ΝΟΥC, or ΝΟΥC[ΤΕ, or ΝΟΥC[ΡΟΝ.
 34,19-20 E.g., ΠΝΔ]/Ν ΔΥΟΡΑΤΟΝ.
 35,1 E.g., ΟΥΝ]/ΤΑC.
 35,2-3 E.g., ΜΝΗΨ]Ε Ν/C]ΟΠ.

soul (ψυχη)
 gods [.
 higher than
 of the [self]
 Autogenes
 self [.
 angel (δγγελ)
 visible (α
 same [.
 soul (ψυχη)
 means (αίω)
 and (δε) to
 angel (δγγελ)

] eternal
] And [.
 and (δε) if [.
 angel (δγγελ)
 world (κόσμος)

E.g., ΨΑ
 Or, ΨΠΠ
 CCO', sup
 Or, water.
 ΟΟΥC[Τ]

14 soul (*ψυχή*) and [
 gods [
 higher than god [
 16 of the [self-begotten ones (*αὐτογενής*)
 Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*) [
 18 first [
 angel (*ἄγγελος*) [
 20 invisible (*ἀόρατον*) [
 some [
 22 soul (*ψυχή*) and [
 aeons (*αιών*) [
 24 and (*δέ*) to the [soul (*ψυχή*)
 angel (*ἄγγελος*) [
 26 [
 [
 28 [
 [
 30 [
 35
 [
 2 [] eternal[
 []. And [
 4 [
 and (*δέ*) if [] namely a soul (*ψυχή*)
 6 [] becomes] an
 [angel (*ἄγγελος*)...], and (*δέ*) [
 8 world (*κόσμος*) [] angels (*ἄγγελος*) and
 [] that holy one (fem.)
 10 [] and (*δέ*) aeon (*αιών*) which
 [Autog]enes (*αὐτογενής*) has
 12 [] them, the [
 [] archon (*ἄρχων*)
 14 [] they have
 [difference (*διαφορά*)] which
 16 [] she is not, to speak
 [

35,4 E.g., **ψα[ιϛαϑερ]α.τς.**
 35,6 Or, **ψ]ιπε.**
 35,9 **cco'**, supralinear stroke over the first c.
 35,12 Or, water.
 35,17 **ροοτ[τ]?**

18 [----]ραϥ· μν
 [----] αϥτοτεν|ης η νοϥτε
 20 [----] εϥωοϥ
 [----] ϥωτμ
 22 [----] α|ϥ|τ|οτενης
 [----] ε ντε
 24 [----] οϥ
 [----] η
 26 [----] η
 28 [----]
 λ[ϥ]
 η τ.[.]ωϥ ^{vv} οϥνητ[α^ϥ.]
 2 [μ]μ[αϥ.] η ϥϥπ[α]ρϥ[ϥ]
 .[.] ηη οϥωηϥ [.
 4 τ[.]ωο[ο]η ετβε [. .
 ψαδε η[.]ϥ η [.] .[
 6 πγαλοϥ .[. . . .]οο[.]ϥοο[ϥτ]
 εϥσοτ η[----] ηη[.
 8 η νοϥ[----] α|ϥορα-
 τον μ πηα α[.] .[. .
 10 ϥμ πτελιοϥ
 μετεμεη η .[
 12 μη οϥαρχη .[
 η α[τ]α|πη μη ο[ϥ
 14 ητε ϥβαρβηλ[ω
 εβολ μη οϥμ[
 16 πινοϥ ητε [
 ϥητε ηε ηαῖ η [
 18 π[ϥ]μεεϥε .[
 βολ ϥμ π[ϥ]
 20 ϥη ϥβαρβηλ[ω
 πικλϥ δε .[
 22 ηαῖ τηρο[ϥ
 μ παρθεῖνοϥ
 24 αϥοϥε[

36 Pagination, only a trace of the supralinear stroke survives; the numerals do not survive.

36,5 E.g., ψαδε η[τελιοϥ; cf. 35,10.

36,6 ϥ[, or else ϥ[.

36,9 πηα, nothing of the supralinear stroke survives.

- 18 [] and
 [] divine [Autogen]es (αὐτογενής)
 20 [] which exists
 [] hear
 22 [A]u[t]ogenes (αὐτογενής)
 [] of
 24 []
 []
 26 []
 []
 28 []
 3[6]
 [] has
 2 [] existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 [] life
 4 [] exist, concerning []
 word []
 6 the child [] male
 for a generation []
 8 []
 invisible (ἀόρατον) spirit (πνεῦμα) []
 10 in the perfect (τέλειος) []
 []
 12 and an origin (ἀρχή) []
 love (ἀγάπη) and []
 14 of Barbel[o]
 and a []
 16 the mind of [] mind (νοῦς) []
 these are two []
 18 thought []
 in the []
 20 in Barbel[o]
 and (δέ) the Kalyptos (καλυπτός) []
 22 all these [] the
 virgin (παρθένος) []
 24 she []

36,16-17 A *paragraphos* appears here.

36,17 **ϸ**, oblique mark above **ϸ** is not ink.

36,22-23 E.g., ϣβδρβηλω|/μ παρθεινος.

36,24 ϣ, not ω; e.g., οσφινθ.

26 ϚΝ ΟϚ[
 ΜΝ[
 28 ϘΠ[
 ϘΔ[
 Μ[

λ̄

2 ϚΜ ΠΗ ΕΤΜΜΔ[Ϛ] .ΤϞΟΜ
 [.]ε [.]ΤΕ ΠΗ Ε[.] ΝΟϚ-
 ΕΒΟΛ ϚΜ Π[.]Ε[. ΔΛ]ΛΔ
 4 ϚϞΕΒΟΛ Ϛ]Ν ΤϞΟ[Μ Ν]ΤΕ ΠΗ [Ε]ΤΜ-
 ΜΔ[Ϛ. . . . ΨΟ[ΟΠ̄ ΟΝ]ΤΩΣ ΕΣ-
 6 ΨΟ[.] ΝΤΑϚ ΤΕ
 Π[. Ε]ϚΡ ΨΟΡ̄Π̄
 8 Ν Ο[.] . . Ε ΝΤΕ ΠΗ Ε-
 [Τ]Μ[ΜΔϚ. . . .]Ϛ ΝΤΟϚ ΔΕ ΠΓΑΤ
 10 [---]λ̄ ΝΤΟϚ ΜΑϚΔΑϚ
 [---] Ϛ ΝΑϚ Μ ΠΡΩΨΕ
 12 [---] ΔΤΨΩ[. .] ΝΑϚ
 [---]Ϛ ΤΗΡΟϚ[.] ΕϚ†
 14 [---]Ϛ ΕΒΟΛ ϚΓΤΗ ΝΕ
 [---]Ε ΠΑΓ ϘΑΡ ϚΕΝΜΕ
 16 [---]Ϛ ϚΓΝΑ ϘΕ ΕϚΕΨΩ-
 [---] . ΔϚΩ Π[Ε]ΤΕ
 18 [---]ΤΕ ΜΜΟϚ Ν
 [---]ΔΤΠΩΡϘ ΕΡΟϚ
 20 [---]ΒΔ]ΡΒΗΛΩ· ΑϚΤΟ-
 [---]ϚΓ]ΝΑ ϘΕ ΕϚΕΨΩ-
 22 [---]ΜΝΤΜΑΚΑ
 [Ρ]ϞΟC ---]ϚϚ Ν ΟϚ-
 24 [---] ΤΗΡΟϚ:
 [---]ϚΕΓ
 26 [---] Δ
 [---]Δ
 28 [---]Ρ
 [---]ΛΓΟ[

37,1] ., connected to preceding letter by a supralinear stroke; e.g., ΜΝ.
 37,2 .I, read Ϙ, Η, Ι,Κ, Ν, or Ν | ΝΟϚ', lacuna above Ν where a supralinear stroke may have stood.
 37,6 Ϛ, or else Ϙ or Ϛ.
 37,7 A supralinear stroke enters from left and terminates above the first letter of

[λ̄η]
 2 οϥ[.] ΝΤΕ ΠΤΕΛΓΙΟ[ϸ] Η
 ΝΟ[ϥϸ] ΣΤΠ Δϥω Εϥ[. . .
 4 Η [.] Η ΤΕΛΓΙΟϸ Μ ΠΗ[Δ]
 Ε[.] ΤΕΛΓΙΟϸ ΕϥΦΗϨ Ν
 6 ΨΔ ΕΝΕΙϨ . . .]ϥΤ[.] .Ν[.
 ροϥ· Δϥω[. .]οο[. . . Π]ΔΪ Εϥ-
 8 ψοο̄[---]ΠΕ Ν-
 ΤΕ ΠΙΤ[---]Ψ]ΔΞΕ
 10 ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ϨΝ [.] .[.
 ΕΤΨΟΟ̄Π ϨΜ [.]
 12 ΝΤΑϥ Ν ΝΑΪ ΤΗ|ΡΟϥ
 ΨΔ ΕΝΕϨ· Ε [.]
 14 ΟΠ [Ϩ]Μ ΠΙΨΜ[Τ]ΘΟΜ
 Ψ[ΟΟ]Π̄ ϨΜ ΠΙ[.]
 16 ΝΕ Ν ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟ|ΟΠ̄
 Ν ΤΕΛΓΙΟϸ· Ν Τ[.]
 18 ΠΙΠΡΩΤΟΦΑ[Ν]Ηϸ
 ΝΟϥϸ· ΑΛΛΑ [.]
 20 ΤΟϥΒΗΟ[ϥΤ
 Δϥω ΠΗ Μ[.]
 22 ΝΤΕ ΟϥΕΙΝΕ [.]
 ΟϥΩΝϨ ΕΒΟ[Δ
 Δϥω Π]Δ[Τ
 24 ΠΕ Ν Τ[.]
 ΜΜΟϥ [.]
 26 Ν Τ.[.]
 Π[.]
 28 Μ[.]
 Ϩ [.]
 30 .[.]

[λ̄θ]
 [. .]ΜΕϥ. [.] .c.
 2 [. .]Οϥ[.] ΝΓΙ
 [.] .ϥΕ
 4 [.] Π̄
 [.] Ε]ΤΒΗΗΤϥ Εϥ-
 6 [.]] . . † ΨΩΔϨ ΕΡΟϥ·

38,1 Ν, only the supralinear stroke survives.

38,1-2 I.e., Protophanes, see 18,5-7; cf. 38,17.

38,5-6 E.g., Δ]ΤΝ[Δϥ]/ΕΡΟϥ.

[38]
 a [] of the perfect (τέλειος)
 2 [mind (νοῦς)] and he [
 [] perfect (τέλειος) spirit (πνεῦμα)
 4 [] perfect (τέλειος), he lives
 forever [
 6 him, and [] he
 exists [
 8 of the [
 he is [a word] from[
 10 which is in [
 of them all[
 12 eternal [
 [] in the three-[powered
 14 is in the [
 [] those which [are
 16 perfect (τέλειος) [
 the Protopha[nes (πρωτοφανής)
 18 mind (νοῦς), but (ἀλλά) [
 pure [
 20 and he [
 of an image [
 22 appear [
 and the [
 24 [
 him[
 26 [
 [
 28 [
 [
 30 [
 [39]
 []
 2 [] namely
 []
 4 []
 [] because of him they
 6 [] I mark it

38,13 ΟΠ, flag in lacuna.
 38,19 Or, ΤΟ ΤΒΗΟΙΤ.
 39 The topic may still be the Protophanes.

	[	----		ϑα|πλοϑς πε
8	[	----		τ|αρ πε η
	[	----		μ .γ ϑως εγω-
10	[οπ	----		]ω ϑως εκεοϑα
	[	----		] .ο[.]ετε παϊ πε
12	[	----		]ψωωτ̄· ετβε
	[	----		]ψμτ̄ϑο[οϑτ] η
14	[	----		ψοο]η̄ οητω[ς] ητε
	[	----		νο]ϑς ητε †τνω-
16	[ςςς	----		]ε ηη ετψοοη̄
	[	----		]τε ετε οϑηταγ
18	[	----		]ψοοη̄ οητως·
	[	----		] .αϑω οϑ .[.]ω
20	[	----		ε|βολ· αϑω ας-
	[	----		]ϑ μ μεϑςηαϑ
22	[	----		τ|ελ|ος· ετε
	[	----		ο]ϑωηϑ εβολ
24	[	----		]ϑητγ εϑ-
	[	----		]ηκλς·
26	[	----		] η ατ̄-
	[	----		] η οϑ-
28	[	----		] η ατ̄-
	[	----		ε|δ|ος
30	[	----		]ε
	[	----		] η ηαϊ
	[μ]			
	λο [	----		]αϑη[. . .]
2	π[	----		]ροϑ[
	τ[	----		]ϑ .[
4	ο[
	ε|δ|ος β̄ [
6	εϑτνως[ςς	----		π|ηρω-]
	τοφδ|ηης	----		ϑο-]
8	οϑτ̄ η [	----		-ϑη-]
	ταγ μμαϑ η [	----		ϑϑπαρ-]
10	ζ|ς ηϑραϊ [
	ατ̄μ|ςε· εϑ[
12	μεϑψομτ̄ η [

40,1 Possibly another line of text above what we have called line 1.

40,5-6 A *paragraphos* appears here.

40,5 β̄, i.e., ϑηαϑ.

second spec
knowledg
Photophan
scale
z has [
residence (β̄
born, the
and [

Eg. MN
Eg. (M)

8 [] he is simple (*ἀπλοῦς*)
 [] for (*γάρ*) he is
 [] as (*ὡς*) he exists
 10 [] as (*ὡς*) to another
 [] that is,
 12 [] need. Concerning
 [] triple-male
 14 [] really (*ὄντως*) [exists] as
 mind (*νοῦς*)] of knowledge (*γνώσις*)
 16 [] those who exist
 [] which he has
 18 [] really (*ὄντως*) exist
 [] and a [
 20 [] and she
 [] second
 22 [] perfect (*τέλειος*) which
 [] appear
 24 [] in him they
 [] Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*)
 26 []
 []
 28 []
 []
 30 [] species (*εἶδος*)
 []
 [] these
 [40]
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 second species (*εἶδος*) [
 6 a knowledge (*γνώσις*) [
 [Protophanes (*πρωτοφανής*)
 8 [male
 he has [
 10 existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) [
 unborn, they [
 12 third [

40,8 E.g., ΝΙΝΟΥΣ.

40,11-12 E.g., [ΠΙ]/ΜΕΡΩΜΤ ΝΙΝΕΩΝ.

[. . .] .ΕΥΝΤΙΔΥ ΜΜΑΘ
 14 ΕΓΜΕ· ΔΘΩ Ε.[
 ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΘΓ ΟΘΜ[Δ
 16 ΠΕ Μ ΠΑΝΤΕΛ[ΓΟΣ --- ΜΑΚΑ-]
 ΡΓΟΣ ΕΜΝ Λ[ΔΑΘ
 18 ΜΜΑΘ· Δ[
 ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΒΟΛ [
 20 ΝΟΥΤΕ Π.[
 ΤΥ ΝΜΜΑΥ [
 22 Ν ΟΘΩ.[
 Ν ΤΕΛ[ΓΟΣ
 24 ΝΤΕ Π[
 ΚΛÇ [
 26 ΒΔ[
 Δ[
 28 Ω[
 Δ[

ΜΔ
 ΓΕΓΜΕ
 ΝΤΕ
 ΠΡ|ΥΤΟ-

[.] . ΚΔ[---]ΓΕΓΜΕ
 2 [.]ΝΩ[---] ΝΤΕ
 [. . .] .[--- ΠΡ|ΥΤΟ-
 4 [ΦΔΝΗΣ --- Π|ΓΝΟΥ[Σ] ΝΤΕ
 [---]ΔΘ Ν ΝΓΣΟΜ
 6 [---] ΠΤΗΡΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ
 [---] ΔΘΩ ΥΨΟ-
 8 [ΟΠ ---] ΤΕΪΓΝΩΣΙΣ Ν
 [---]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΘΤΟ-
 10 [ΤΕΝΗΣ· ΠΔΘΤΟ]ΤΕΝΗΣ ΔΕ Ν ΝΟΥ-
 [ΤΕ ---] ΝΤΕ ΠΔΛΟΥ ΝΤΕ
 12 [.]ΨΜ̄Τ|Θ|ΟΟΘ̄Τ· ΠΕΪΘΟΟΘ̄Τ
 [.]ΠΟ[.] ΠΕ ΜΝ ΟΘ[Ε]ΔΟΣ
 14 [.] Ν ΤΕΛΓΟΣ ΕΜΜΝΤΑΥ
 [. . . .]Π[.] ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΘΝ ΟΟΥΝΩΣΙΣ
 16 [. . . .]ΩΤ̄ Μ [Π]ΡΗΤΕ Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΘ·
 [. . . .] ΟΘΨ[Ω]ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΓΚΑΤΑ ΟΘΑ
 18 [ΜΝ] ΟΟΥΝΩ[Σ]Γ[Σ] Ν ΟΩΤ̄ ΝΤΕ ΝΓ-
 [Κ]ΑΤΑ ΟΘΑ [.]Ο[. . . .] ΚΑΤΑ ΠΤΡΥ

40,15-16 E.g., [Ψω]/ΠΕ Μ ΠΑΝΤΕΛ[ΓΟΣ.

40,19 Cod. ΕΒΟΛ' ΕΒΟΛ.

40,25 Ç, only the supralinear stroke survives.

41 Pagination, only traces of the ornamental bar below the number survive; the

[he] has [
 14 knowledge and [
 exist together [
 16 all-perfect (παντέλειος) [
 [blessed (μακάριος)], since there is not [
 18 [
 [
 20 god [
 with him [
 22 [
 [perfect (τέλειος)
 24 of the [
 Kalyptos (καλυπτός) [
 26 [
 [
 28 [
 [
]

41

[] know
 2 [] of
 [Pr]oto[phanes (πρωτοφανής)]
 4 [] the mind (νοῦς)
 [] the powers
 6 [] the all
 [] and he [exists]
 8 [] this knowledge (γνώσις)
 [] divine, the Auto[genes (αὐτογενής)]
 10 and (δέ) [the] divine Auto[genes (αὐτογενής)]
 [] of the child of
 12 [] triple-male, this male
 [] is [] and a species (εἶδος)
 14 [] perfect (τέλειος) because it does not have
 [] in a knowledge (γνώσις)
 16 [] like that one
 [] a being of the individuals (+κατά)
 18 [and] a single knowledge (γνώσις) of the
 individuals (+κατά) [] according to (κατά) the all

numerals do not survive.

41,11-12 The expression ΠΙΔΛΟϞ ΝΤΕ/ΠΙΔΛΟϞ probably occurred.

41,14 ΕΜΛ', sic.

41,16 E.g., [Ν ΟϞ]ωϛ̣.

20 [. . .]ωκ[.] η τελος· πρω-
 [ο]ϑ̄τ̄ δε [.] η νοϑς οϑ̄-
 22 [. . .] ω . . [.] ε πικλς· πικλς
 [δε] η η[.] η νοϑτε· οϑαρ-
 24 [χη ----]εϑ̄ . αϑω οϑσομ
 [----]ς ητ[ε] ηᾱῑ τηροϑ̄:
 26 [----] οη]τωϑ̄
 [----] ε
 28 [----] με
 [----] γ-
 30 [----] πρω]το-
 [φδ]ης ----]πρω-
 [μβ]
 το[φδ]ης ----]ϑερ[. . .
 2 οϑ̄[----]ηνοϑς [. . . .
 κ[. . . ----]εϑ̄[. . . .
 4 ϑ̄γ[
 ταπτη[ργ
 6 ηη ατμς[ε
 η ρωμε η[
 8 δε σεη[
 ϑ̄μ μη πη̄ ε[τ
 10 αϑω πη̄ ετρ [
 πη̄ ε̄τβαλλη̄ο[ϑ̄τ̄.
 12 ο̄π̄ ϑ̄μ π̄εϑ̄η̄[τι]ον [η̄ κοϑμοϑ̄]
 εϑ̄[ο]η̄ ϑ̄μ πη̄ [ε]̄τμοο[ϑ̄τ̄.
 14 . . [.] ε̄ τηροϑ̄ εϑ̄[.
 ψαψη̄ς εϑοϑ̄ᾱῑ [. .]ᾱ [.
 16 πη̄ ε̄τμοοϑ̄τ̄ ηᾱῑ̄ δ̄[ε]̄ τη[ροϑ̄]
 εμποϑ̄ρ ϑ̄αε η̄ ο[ϑο]ϑ̄ᾱῑ [.
 18 ψορ̄η̄· αλλᾱ εϑ̄[ηο]ϑ̄ρμ̄ η̄ρ[οϑ̄-]
 ο [δ̄]ε̄ εϑ̄ωο̄π̄̄ εϑ̄εβ̄η̄ο [ϑ̄ v̄]
 20 αϑω π̄ρω[με η̄τε] η̄ε̄τμο[οϑ̄τ̄]
 τεϑ̄ψ̄ϑ̄χη̄ κ[η̄ πεϑ̄η̄ο]ϑ̄ς αϑ̄[ω]
 22 πεϑ̄ϑ̄ωμα [σεμοοϑ̄]τ̄ τηρ[οϑ̄]

41,21 E.g., [η̄ τελος].

41,22 . . [.], first trace is from ε, θ, ο, or ϑ; second trace from α, κ, ϑ, ω, or ψ.

41,23-24 E.g., [δε] η̄ η[ατμςε] η̄ η̄ νοϑτε· οϑαρ/[χη̄ πε.

42,8-9 E.g., η̄νοϑ]/ϑ̄μ.

42,11-12 E.g., ψο]οπ.

42,14 . . [.], first trace is from ε or θ.

but (8E) th

but (8E) i

[Pro]to[ph

[

[pho]to[pha

he who bel

born [

can [

they [

with that on

and he who

he who dwe

= the perce

ring with t

[] all [

obtain salva

and dead or

did not need

first, but (d)

and (8E) exis

about) the

= soul (ψυ

= body (σώ

Restore NT

ology of s

soul (43,1-

finally the

Or [ετμ

20 [] perfect (τέλειος)
 But (δέ) the male [] mind (νοῦς)
 22 [] the Kalyptos (καλυπτός),
 [but (δέ)] the divine [] Kalyptos (καλυπτός) [
 24 [] and a power
 [] of all these
 26 [] really (δυντως)
 []
 28 []
 []
 30 [...Pro]to[phanes (πρωτοφανής)
 []
 [42]
 [Pro]to[phanes (πρωτοφανής)
 2 [] mind (νοῦς) [
 []
 4 []
 she who belongs to the [All
 6 unborn [
 man [
 8 they [
 with that one who [
 10 and he who [
 he who dwells [
 12 in the perceptible (αισθητόν) [world (κόσμος)]
 living with that dead one [
 14 [] all [
 obtain salvation [
 16 that dead one. Yet (δέ) [all] of them
 did not need salvation [
 18 first, but (ἀλλά) they are safe
 and (δέ) exist very humbly.
 20 (About) the mortal (type of) humanity:
 its soul (ψυχή), [its mind (νοῦς)] and
 22 its body (σῶμα) all [are] all [dead].

42,20 Restore **ΗΤΕ** or else simply **Η** | humanity, lit., man; in this Gnostic anthropology of souls the mortal type comes first, followed by that with immortal soul (43,1-3), that in the Exile (43,13-18), that in the Repentance (43,19ff), and finally the one that can be saved (44,1ff).

42,22 Or [ΕΤΜΟΟΘ]Τ ΤΗΡ[Υ].

24 ρΕΝΔΓ ΜΚΔC Ν|]ΗΘ|
 ρΕΝΕΙΟΤ[Ε] ΝΤΕ [--- ρϑ-]
 λΓΚΟΝ· ρΕΝ .|
 26 ΠΓΚΩΡΤ Οϑ|
 ΚΟ|
 28 Ο .|
 Κ .|
 30 Ε|

ⲙⲦ

2 ΕϞΟϑΟΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ: υ Π[Γ]ΜΕΡCΝΑϑ ΔΕ
 Ν ΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ †ΨϑΧΗ ΝΗ ΔΤΜΟϑ
 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ρΗ ΝΗ ΕΤΜΟΟΤ
 4 ΕCΥ[Γ Ν] ΟϑΡΟϑΨ ΝΔC· ΤΟΤΕ
 [ΤΔ]Ρ ΨΔCΕ[Ρ]Ε Ν ΟΨΓΝΕ Ν ΝΕ-
 6 ΤΡ ΝΔΥΡΕ [ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟ]ϑΑ ΠΟϑΑ Μ-
 ΜΟϑϑ· Δ[ϑΩ ΨΔCΡ] ΕϑΘΔΝΕCΘΕ
 8 Ε Π[Γ]ΜΚΔϑ Ν [CΩ]ΜΑΤΓΚΟΝ ΨΔϑ-
 [.]ϑΩC ΔϑΩ ΨΔCΡ
 10 [. -ϑ]ΝΤΔC ΜΜΔϑ Ν-
 [Ν Οϑ]ΝΟϑΤΕ Ν ΨΔ ΕΝΕϑ· ΨΔCΡ
 12 ΨΒΗΡ Ν ΨΩΠ[Ε] ΜΝ ρΕΝΔ[ΕΜΩ]Ν:
 [ΠΓ]ΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ρΗ †-
 14 [Π]ΔΡΟΓΚΗ[C]ΓC· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ε-
 [Οϑ]Ν]ΤΑΥ ΜΜΔϑ Ν ΟϑΓΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ †-
 16 [ΜΝ]ΤΜΕ Ν[ϑ]ΡΔΐ ΝϑΗΤΥ ΕϞΟϑΗ[Ε-]
 [Οϑ] Δ ΝΙϑΒΗϑΕ ΝΤΕ ρΕΝΚΟΟϑΕ
 18 ΕϑΨΟΟΠ Κ[ΔΚ]ΩC ΝΔΐ ΕϑΔ[Ω-]
 [Ρ]Π: υυ ΠΓΡΩ[ΜΕ] ΕΤΡ ΜΕΤΑ-
 20 [ΝΟΓ] ΕΨΩΠΕ Ε[Υ]ΨΔΝΚΩ ΝCΩΥ
 [Ν] ΝΕΤΜ[ΟΟϑΤ] ΝΥΡ ΕΠΓϑΜΓ

- 42,23 ΜΚΔC, error for ΜΚΔϑ (or alternate form with the same meaning) | suffering results from being trapped in the material world; cf. 43,7-8; 46,2-6.
- 42,25 .|, read Χ or Δ; e.g., Δ[ΕΜΩ]Ν; cf. 43,12.
- 43,1 Lit., he | ΟϑΟΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ, a reference to the transmigration of souls; cf. *Apoc.Pet.* VII 83,31ff.
- 43,4 Cf. 25,5-8; a sinless one does not have to be anxious.
- 43,5 [ΤΔΡ] ΨΔCΕ[Ρ]Ε, first ink trace is from Ρ, Υ or possibly † or Ψ; second trace, like the ligature of Δ into C; Ε, or else ϑ; last trace is ambiguous (at upper right of the square) | for ΤΟΤΕ ΤΔΡ, cf. 44,13 | for ΕΙΡΕ Ν ΟΨΓΙΝΕ, cf. 43,25.
- 43,6-7 Or, each other.
- 43,12 Daimons could be either good or evil. Three types of daimons were

sufferings
 fathers of
 material
 the fire

transform
 humanity is
 those who
 anxious over
 seeks the
 which are p
 of them (and
 bodily (σωμα

an eternal go
 associates w
 None (δὲ) ab
 edle (παρὸκ
 discovers
 truth in itself
 from the de
 who live [w
 about) the
 when it renc
 dead things

recognized
 dead, and
 For edle as
 higher leve
 167, eithe
 papyrus an
 Δ, the ver
 om Δ, Κ, Δ
 text I see
 Written ε
 behind or
 Written Ν

Sufferings [
 24 fathers of [
 [material (*ύλικόν*)
 26 the fire [
 [
 28 [
 [
 30 [
 43
 it transforms. The (+*δέ*) second (type of
 2 humanity is the immortal soul (*ψυχή*)
 in those who die,
 4 anxious over itself; [for (*γάρ*)] then (*τότε*)
 [it seeks] those things
 6 which are profitable [according to (*κατά*)] each
 of them [and] experiences (*αἰσθάνεσθαι*)
 8 bodily (*σωματικόν*) suffering. They
 [] and it
 10 [] having]
 an eternal god, it
 12 associates with daimons (*δαίμων*).
 Now (*δέ*) about the (type of) humanity in the
 14 exile (*παροίκησις*): when (+*δέ*)
 it discovers the
 16 truth in itself, it is far
 from the deeds of others
 18 who live [wrongly (*κακῶς*)] (and) stumble.
 (About) the (type of) humanity that repents (*μετανοεῖν*):
 20 when it renounces
 dead things and desires (*ἐπιθυμεῖν*)

-
- 43,14 recognized by some Middle Platonic writers: incarnate souls, souls of the dead, and disincarnate souls; see also 27,9-20.
 For exile as the heavenly level above the airy-earth, see 5,18-25; the next higher level is the repentance (43,19; cf. 5,29).
 43,16 **ΙΕ'Ι**, either obliterated by the scribe or ruined by an imperfection in the papyrus and left for cancelled.
 43,17 **Δ**, the verb takes **Ν'** or **Ε'** with its object, but the present ink trace resembles on **Δ**, **Κ**, **Λ**, **Μ**, **Χ**, or **Ϛ**; the AA² form **Δ'** does not occur elsewhere in this text | see 25,5n.
 43,20 Written **ΕΨ Υ Ω Π Ε** because of imperfection in the papyrus | lit., leave behind oneself.
 43,21 Written **Ν Ε Τ Υ Λ** (imperfection in papyrus).

- 22 [Ε] ΝΗ ΕΤ[Ψ]Ο[ΟΠ]· ΠΓΝΟΥΣ ΝΗ Δ-
 [Τ]ΜΟΥ ΜΗ ΨΥΧΗ ΝΗ ΑΤΜΟΥ
 24 [.] Ν [. .] ΕΥΘΕΛΗ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ Ν
 ΨΟΡΠ ΕΥΕΡΕ Ν ΟΥΨΙΝΕ
 26 ΕΤΒΗΤΥ ΝΤΕ ΨΠΡΑΞΙ[Σ Δ]Ν
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΘΒΗΘ ΕΙΒΟΙΛ
 28 ΓΑΡ ΘΜ ΠΑΪ ΨΑΥ[.]Γ ΝΟ[. . . .
 ΕΝΝ[.]Ο[.] ΔΩ
 30 ΨΑΨΗ[Γ ---] .
 [ΜΔ]
 ΠΓΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΕ ΨΑΘΝΑΘΜΕΥ
 2 ΠΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΝΩΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΥ-
 ΝΟΥΣ ΑΩ ΝΥΘΙΝΕ Μ ΠΟ[Τ]Α ΠΟΘΑ
 4 ΜΜΟΥΣ· ΑΩ ΖΕ ΟΥΝΤ[Δ]Υ Μ[ΜΑΘ Ν]
 ΟΥΗΡ Ν ΒΟΜ: VV ΠΓ[Ρ]ΩΜ[Ε ΔΕ Ν-]
 6 ΤΑΥΝΟΥΘΜ ΠΕ ΠΗ [Ε]ΤΕ ΜΠΕΥΕΓ-
 ΜΕ Ε ΝΑΪ Μ[. Μ] ΠΡΗΤΕ Ε-
 8 ΤΟΥΨΟΟΠ Μ[ΜΟΣ] ΑΛΛΑ ΗΤΟΥ
 ΘΩΥ ΝΘΡΑΪ ΘΜ [Π]ΨΑΞΕ Μ [ΠΡ]Η-
 10 ΤΕ ΕΤΥΨΟΟΠ Μ[ΜΟΣ]
 ΔΥΞΙ Μ ΠΟΥΕΓ [.]
 12 ΘΜ ΜΑ ΝΓΜ ΕΔ[Υ]Ψ[Ω]ΠΕ Ν [ΘΔ-]
 ΠΛΟΥΝ ΑΩ Η ΟΘΑ ΤΟΤΕ ΓΑ[Ρ]
 14 Δ[Υ]Ν[Θ]ΘΘΜ ΝΘΓ [Π]ΑΪ ΕΘΝ ΨΘ[ΟΜ]
 ΜΜΟΥ Ε Ρ ΧΩΡΓΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΓΤΝ [ΝΑΪ]
 16 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΝΤ[.]
 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΨΩΠ ΕΥΨΑ[ΝΟΥ]
 18 ΩΨ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΗ Ε[Γ]Ε ΥΠΩΡ[Ξ Ν-]
 Σ[Δ]ΒΟΛ Ν ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΩ Ν[ΤΟΥ]
 20 ΗΥΡ ΑΝΑΧΩΡ[Γ]Ν ΕΙΡΟΥ ΜΑΘΑ[ΔΥ]
 ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΨΑ[Υ]ΨΩΠΕ [Ν] ΝΟΥ[Τ-]

- 43,23 Written ΜΟΥ √ΜΗ (imperfection in papyrus).
 43,24 ΙΝ [. .]ϕ, no supralinear stroke above Η (possibly read ΠΓ instead); ϕ,
 or else C | or ΘΕ ΠΗ?
 43,27 λ, or else Δ.
 43,28-29 E.g., ΨΑΥ[Ξ]Γ ΝΟ[Τ]ΝΟΥΣ/ΕΝΝΟΥΔ.
 43,29 Neither Η had a supralinear stroke | ΔΩ *vacat*
 43,30 Or possibly [Π]ΨΑΨΗ[Γ]; second Ψ and Η read with ultraviolet in 1971,
 papyrus subsequently damaged; now best attested (though imperfectly) in
 photo A.
 44,2 Lit., himself; cf. the admonition of 130,18ff to awaken the god within
 oneself.

22 ε αϣρ ἀναχω[ρ]ῆν ε̅ πνοῦτε
 παῖ ἀνοκ̅ ετ[α]ις[ω]τμ̅ εροϣ
 24 ἀῖεινε ερραῖ̅ ἡ οὔσμ[ο]ῦ̅ μ̅ π[νοῦ-]
 τε̅ ετονη̅ ἀσω̅ ἡν̅ ἀτμ̅ιςε̅ [ετμ-]
 26 ρραῖ̅ ρ̅ν̅ οσμ̅ητμ̅ε̅ μ̅ν̅ π̅ικ[λ̅ς]
 ἡν̅ ἀτμ̅ιςε̅ μ̅ν̅ π̅ιπρωτοφ̅α[νης]
 28 ἡν̅ [α]τ̅ναῦ̅ εροϣ̅ ἡ̅ ροοῦτ̅ ἡ̅ τ[ε-]
 λ̅ος̅ ἡ̅ νοῦς̅ μ̅ν̅ π̅ατ̅ναῦ̅ ε̅-
 30 ροϣ̅ ἡ̅ ἀλοῦ̅ ἡ̅ ψ̅μ̅τ̅ρο[ο]ῦτ̅
 μ̅[ν̅ π̅α]ῦτοῦ[ε]νη̅ς̅ ἡ̅ [νο]ῦτε̅
 [μ̅]ε̅
 ἀσω̅ πεχ̅αῖ̅ μ̅̅ παλοῦ̅ ἡ̅ τε̅ παλοῦ̅
 2 ετ̅κη̅ ἡ̅μ̅μαῖ̅ ἡ̅φ̅η̅ς̅η̅κ̅̅ ζ̅εῦ-
 ἡ̅ βο̅μ̅ ἡ̅ τεκ̅σοφ̅ια̅ ε̅ τα̅μο̅ε̅ς̅ ε̅
 4 π̅ι̅ξ̅ω̅ρε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ἡ̅ τε̅ π̅ρω̅μ̅ε̅
 [ε]ῖτοῦ̅νο[ῦ]ρ̅μ̅ μ̅μοϣ̅̅ ἀσω̅ ζ̅ε̅
 6 ἡ̅[γ]μ̅ ἡ̅[ε] ἡ̅[η̅] [ε]ῖτ̅[τ]ε̅ρ̅ ε̅ροϣ̅̅ ἀσω̅
 ζ̅ε̅ ἡ̅γ̅μ̅ ἡ̅ε̅ [ἡ̅] ε̅ῖπ̅ω̅ψ̅ μ̅μοϣ̅̅
 8 ζ̅[ε]κ̅α̅α̅ς̅ ε̅ῖσ̅η̅[α]ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ ἡ̅β̅η̅ ἡ̅ς̅ω-
 τ̅[π̅]̅ ε̅το̅νη̅ [α]ῦω̅̅ το̅τε̅ ἀϣ̅ζ̅οο̅ς̅
 10 ἡ̅α[ῖ̅. . .]̅ .̅α̅ ρ̅ν̅ οὔ<οῦ>ω̅νη̅ρ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅
 ἡ̅β̅η̅ παλοῦ̅ ἡ̅ τε̅ παλοῦ̅ ἡ̅φ̅η̅ς̅η̅κ̅̅
 12 ζ̅ε̅ ε̅ψ̅ω̅πε̅ ε̅ϣ̅ρ̅ω̅α̅μ̅ρ̅ ἀ[να]χ̅ω-
 ρ[η̅] ε̅ροϣ̅̅ μα̅θα̅α̅ϣ̅ ἡ̅ οσμ̅η̅η̅ψ̅ε̅
 14 ἡ̅ σο̅π̅ ἀσω̅ ἡ̅ϣ̅ω̅πε̅ μ̅̅ π̅κ̅ω-
 [τ]ε̅ ἡ̅ †ε̅νω̅ς̅ς̅ ἡ̅ τε̅ ρ̅ε̅ν̅κοο̅υ̅ε̅
 16 [μ̅]α̅ϣ̅ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ ἡ̅β̅η̅ π̅η̅νοῦ̅ς̅ μ̅ν̅ †-
 [α]ρ̅χ̅η̅ ἡ̅ν̅ ἀτ̅μοῦ̅̅ το̅τε̅ οὔ̅η̅-
 18 [τ]α̅ϣ̅̅ μ̅μα̅ῦ̅ ἡ̅ οὔ̅ψ̅ω̅ω̅τ̅̅ ψ̅[α]ϣ̅-
 κ̅ω̅τε̅ τ̅α̅ρ̅ ρ̅ω̅ω̅[ϣ̅]̅ μ̅η̅τα̅ϣ̅̅ ἀσω̅
 20 [ψ̅]α̅ϣ̅π̅ω̅ρ̅ζ̅ ἡ̅ς̅[α]βο̅λ̅ μ̅μοϣ̅̅ ἡ̅ϣ̅-
 [α]ρ̅ε̅ρα̅τ̅ϣ̅̅ ἡ̅ . . . [. . .] ἡ̅ϣ̅ω̅πε̅ ἡ̅-

- 44,23-31 The doxology marks the end of the audition. Here the Spirit is named as the living, unborn God.
- 44,25 ατ', τ more fully preserved in 1972; now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.
- 44,30 ψμτ', τ more fully preserved in 1980; now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.
- 45 Pagnation; only a trace of the ornamental bar below the second numeral survives; the numerals do not survive.
- 45,1-57,12 *The Revelations from Ephesech* (part 2)
- 45,1 A new set of revelations from Ephesech begins, but the anthropological

22 by having taken refuge in god.”
 When [I] heard this,
 24 I brought a blessing to the truly living
 and unborn God [who is]
 26 in truth, (to) the unborn Kalypptos (καλυπτός),
 (to) the Protophanes (πρωτοφανής),
 28 the invisible male perfect (τέλειος)
 mind (νοῦς), (to) the invisible
 30 thrice-male Child
 [and (to) the] divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής)
 [4]5

I said to the child of the child
 2 Ephesech who was with me, “Can
 your wisdom (σοφία) instruct me about
 4 the scattering of the (type of) humanity
 that is saved, and (about) who
 6 those are that are mixed with it and
 who those are that divide it,
 8 in order that the living elect
 might know?” Then (τότε) the
 10 child of the child
 Ephesek told [me] openly,
 12 “When (this type) withdraws (ἀναχωρεῖν)
 into itself alone many
 14 times and and is close to
 the knowledge (γνώσις) of others,
 16 mind (νοῦς) and immortal [origin (ἀρχή)] will [not]
 understand. Then (τότε)
 18 (this type) has a shortage,
 for (γάρ) it turns, has nothing and
 20 separates from it and
 stands [] and exists

concerns about who can and cannot be saved continue; see 13,8n.

- 45,2-3 I.e., **ΞΕ ΟΥΝ ΣΟΛ** | cf. Wis. 9:9-11.
 45,10 **ΝΔ**[ι], lines 11-13 have an unscripted space in this position owing to an
 imperfection in the papyrus | **ΩΝ**, or possibly **ΛΝ**.
 45,11 **-CΗΚ**, sic; cf. **-CΗΧ** in line 2.
 45,13 **-P[Γ]**, no room for **-P[ΓΝ]**.
 45,14-15 For **ΛΠΚΩΤΕ** as *πρός* +acc, see Crum, 126b.
 45,16 **[Λ]ΔΨ'**, also possible is **[Ψ]ΔΨ'**.
 45,18 Lit., he. Shortage denotes the loss suffered by the heavenly world.

22 [Ϸ]ραϊ ϷΝ ΟΥ[ϷΟΡ]ΜΗ Ν ΨΜΜΟ·
 [Ε] ΠΜΑ ΝΥΨΩΠΕ Ν ΟΥΑ ΨΑΥ-
 24 ΕΓΝ[Ε] ΘΕ Ν ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ Μ ΜΟΡ-
 [Φ]Η[·] ΑΥΩ ΕΥΨΑΝΡΓΚΕ ΨΑΥ-
 26 [Ψ]ΩΠΕ ΕΥΨΓΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΗ ΕΤΕ
 [Ν]ΣΕΨΟΟΠ ΔΝ· ΑΥΩ ΕΥΨΑΝ-
 28 ϷΕ ΕΥΡΑΪ Ε ΝΑΪ ϷΝ ΟΥΝΟΗΜΑ
 ΑΥΩ ΕΜΝ Θ[Ο]Μ ΝΥΕΓ[Υ] ΜΕ Ε-
 30 ΡΟΟΘ Ν ΚΕ[Ρ]ΗΤΕ· ΕΓ[Υ] Μ[Η]ΤΓ
 ΜΣ
 ΝΥΖΓ Μ ΠΟΘΟΕΓΝ ΨΑΥΨΩΠΕ Ν
 2 ΟΥΦΘΣΓΣ· ΑΥΩ Μ ΠΕΪΡΗΤΕ
 ΨΑΥΕΓ ΕΥΡΑΪ ΕΥΖΠΟ ΕΤΒΗΝΤΥ
 4 ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥΡ ΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ Ν[Γ-]
 ΜΚΟΟΡ· ΜΝ †ΜΝ[Τ]ΑΤΗ [Α]ΡΗ[ΖΥ]
 6 ΝΤΕ †ϷϷΑΗ· ΕΥ[ΝΤ]ΑΥ [Ν] ΟΥΘΟΜ
 Ν ΨΑ ΕΝΕΡ Μ[Μ]ΑΥ Ν] ΑΤΜΟΥ
 8 ΨΑΥΣΟΝΟΥ ΝΥ[ΡΑΪ] ϷΜ ΠΓΕΓ Ε [ΘΗ] Ν-
 ΤΕ ΠΣΩΜΑ· ΨΑ[Υ]ΑΓ[ΤΥ] ΕΥΟΗ[Ϸ]
 10 ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥΣΟΝΟΥ Ν ΟΥΘΟΕΓ[Ψ]
 ΝΓΜ ΝΥΡΑΪ ϷΝ ϷΕΝΣΝΑϷ ΕΥΝΑ-
 12 ΨΤ ΕΥΘΩΧΕ vvv ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ϷΓ[ΤΗ] ΝΥΕ ΝΓΜ ΕΤϷΟΟΘ· ΨΑΝ-
 14 ΤΥΑ[Γ]ΤΥ ΟΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΥΡ ΑΡΖΓ ΟΗ
 ΕΨΩΠΕ ϷΡΑΪ ΝΥΗΤΥ· ΕΤΒΕ Π[ΑΪ]
 16 ΣΕΤΗΨ ΕΥΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΠΓΟϷΧΑΪ Ν[ΤΕ]
 ΝΑΪ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪΘΟΜ ΝΑΪ ΣΕΨΟ[ΟΠ]
 18 ϷΜ ΠΓΜΑ· ΑΥΩ ΝΥΡΑΪ ϷΝ ΝΓΑϷ[ΤΟ-]
 ΓΕΝΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΤΕ Ν[ΓΕ-]
 20 ΩΝ ΣΕΑϷΕΡΑ[ΤΟ]Ϸ ΝΘΓ ϷΕΝΕΟΘ
 ϷΓΝΑ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΝΟ[Ϸ]ϷΜ ΝΣΑΣΠΡ ΝΑ[Ϊ]

45,22 For ϷΟΡΜΗ in a positive sense, see 29,11 | or, within.

45,25 ΡΓΚΕ = κλίκειν.

45,28 Or, in perception.

45,29 & 30 An uninscribed space was probably left in each of the lacunas because of an imperfection in the papyrus (visible in *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, 45, lines 24-28).

46,1-2 Lit., he becomes nature.

46,3 Lit., comes down to a birth.

46,5 Lit., infinity; cf. 1,15f.

46,7 Not room for ΜΝ].

46,8 No circumflex over the group ΕΓ, and no abnormal writing of this verb |

22 by means of an alien [impulse (*ὄρμη*)].
 Instead of becoming one,
 24 therefore, it takes many forms (*μορφῆ*).
 When it turns aside, it
 26 comes into being seeking those things that
 do not exist. When it
 28 falls down to them in thought (*νόημα*),
 then it cannot understand them
 30 in another way, unless perhaps (*εἰ μήτι*)
 46
 it is enlightened, and it will become
 2 (a part of) nature (*φύσις*). Thus
 (this type) comes down to birth because of it
 4 and is speechless because of the pains
 and the infiniteness
 6 of matter (*ἔλη*). Although it possesses an
 eternal and immortal power,
 8 (this type) is bound within the [movement]
 of the body (*σῶμα*). It is [made] alive
 10 and is bound [always]
 within cruel,
 12 cutting bonds
 by every evil spirit, until
 14 it [acts] again and begins (*ἄρχειν*) again
 to come to its senses. Therefore,
 16 (powers) are appointed for their salvation,
 and each of the powers resides
 18 in this world. Within the self-begotten
 ones (*αὐτογενής*) corresponding to (*κατά*) each of
 20 the [aeons (*αἰών*)] stand glories
 so that (*ἵνα*) one who is in the [world]

lit., [advance].

46,12 **υυυ**, space left unscripted because of an imperfection in the papyrus.

46,14 Written **ΔΙΥΤΥ** owing to an imperfection in the papyrus | **ΔΡΞΙ**, common miswriting of **ΔΡΧΙ**.

46,15 I.e., to recognize one's true spiritual self. Cf. *Apoc.Pet.* VII 84,12-13; Luke 15:17.

46,17 I.e., **ΝΕΪΘΟΜ ΝΔΪ**.

46,18-31 I.e., the self-begotten aeons contain the saving thoughts.

46,18 Lit., in this place.

46,21 I.e., **ΝCΔCΠIρ <N> ΝΔΪ** | As glories are hypostasized thoughts, one's thoughts become the means of attaining salvation.

22 ΝΒΓ ΠΗ ΕΤΜ Π[ΓΜΔ Ν]ΓΕΟΘ ΔΕ ρ[ΕΝ-]
 24 ΝΟΗΜΔ ΝΕ Ν ΤΕΛ[Γ]ΟC ΕΘΟΝΘ Ε Ν[Γ-]
 26 ΠΟΘΑ ΧΓΤΘ ΕΥΕΝΟΘΖΜ ΕΡΡ[Δ]Ι Ε-
 28 ΡΟΘΘ· ΔΘΩ ΕΥΧΓ ΤΘΠΟC· ΕΥ-
 30 ΧΓ ΘΟΜ ΕΒΟΛ ρΓΤΗ ΠΑΪ ΠΑΪ· ΔΘ[Ω]
 ΕΘΝΤΑΥ Μ ΠΓΕΟΘ Ν ΟΘΒΟΗΘΟ[C]
 Μ ΠΓΡ[Η]ΤΕ ΨΑΥC[Γ]ΝΕ Μ ΠΓΚΟCΜΟC
 ΔΘ[Ω ΝΓΕ]ΩΝ [. . .]Μ· ΔΘΩ CΕΨΟ-
 Μ[Γ]

ΟΠ ΝΒΓ ΝΓΡΕΥΔΡΕΖ ΝΤΕ †ΨΘΧΗ
 2 ΝΗ ΔΤΜΟΘ ΓΑΜΑΔΓΗΛ ΜΝ
 4 CΤΡΕΜΨΟΘΧΟC· ΔΘΩ ΔΚΡΑΜΑC
 [Μ]Ν ΛΩΗΛ· ΔΘΩ ΜΗCΓΝΟΘC·
 [ΠΑΪ ΠΓ]ΠΝΔ [Π]Ε ΝΗ ΔΤΜΟΘ· ΙΕCCEΘC
 6 [Μ]ΔΖΔΡΕΘ[C] ΙΕ[Ι]CΕΔΕΚΕΘC:
 [. . .] Δ†ΤΟΘ [. . .] ΝΤΕ ΠΙΔΛΟΘ ΠΕ
 8 [. . .]ΩΡ ΠΑΛ[Ο]Θ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΛΟΘ· ΔΘΩ
 [. . .] . . . [. . .]ΟΚ· ΟΡΜΟC ΔΕ
 10 ΠΕ[.]Ψ ΕΧΝ †CΠΟΡΑ ΕΤΟ-
 ΝΘ· ΚΑΜ[. . .]ΗΛ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΓΡΕΥ† ΠΝΔ
 12 ΝΗ ΔΕ C[Ε]ΔΘΕΡΑΤΟΘ ΜΝΑΘΡ[ΔΘ] CΕ-

46,24 <ΔΝ>, carelessly omitted by a copyist.

46,25 ΕΨΔΡ[Ε]Ι, Δ, read from ambiguous trace; ρ, or else ϣ, †, or Ψ; not ΕΨΩΠ[Ε]Ι.

46,30 I.e., ΠΕΪΡΗΤΕ | cf. 4,13-28.

46,31]Μ, connected to the preceding letter by a supralinear stroke; possibly [CΩΤ]Μ.

47,1ff Many of the heavenly beings named on this page are well known from other NHC sources; for the Autogenes aeons, see especially *Gos. Eg.* III 52-53; 62-65.

47,2 Gamaliel is known in the O.T., see Num 1:10 and 2:20. According to *Gos.Eg.* III 52,19-21; 64,24-27, he is one of the ministers of the First Light Harmozel of the Autogenes; cf. *Apoc.Adam* V 75,22-26; *Melch.* IX 5,17-20; *Marsanes* X 64,19-20; *Trim. Prot.* XIII 48,25-30.

47,3 For Akrames and Strompsouchos, see *Gos.Eg.* III 65,6-8.

47,4 [Μ]Ν, part of the supralinear stroke connecting these letters survives along with the letter Ν | ω, or else Δ, Μ, or Ψ; ΛΔ[Ρ]ΓΗΛ is also possible with crowding (but not ΔΡΪΗΛ or ΪΩΗΛ) | Η, supralinear stroke is not preserved above this letter (in lacuna) | Loel, *hapax leg.* in NHC. Davidson, *Angels*, 175, so names an angel of the south wind. Mnesinous is connected at 6,10 with baptismal waters as a companion of Micheus and

might be
 perfect (re
 They are i
 of salvation
 saved one
 he receiv
 strength fr
 with the gl
 he will th
 and the ae

re the guar
 soul (φωτ)
 Strompsouc
 and Loel, ar
 This is the
 Hazareu[
 This is [
 -or, the
 [o
 and Kam-
 There (+δ)

Micheus, cf.
 Yesseus-M
 He is the g
 he is also c
 holy seed,
 ties him as
 Or [ΜΔ]Ϊ
 letter.
 Ϊ, the supr
 Ϊ, trace o
 stroke abo
 At 13,8 Ep
 to the heav
 Ϊ, or els
 (where the
 For Ormos
 Ormos as
 E.g., ΚΔΜ
 48,19-20.
 66-, then

22 might be saved beside them. The glories (+δε) are
 perfect (τέλειος) thoughts (νόημα) appearing in powers.
 24 They are imperishable because [they are] models (τύπος)
 of salvation which each
 26 saved one receives.
 One receives a model (τύπος) (and)
 28 strength from each of them, and
 with the glory as a helper (βοηθός)
 30 one will thus pass out from the world (κόσμος)
 [and the aeons (αιών)]. These

4[7]

are the guardians of the immortal
 2 soul (ψυχή): Gamaliel and
 Strempsouchos, Akramas
 4 and Loel, and Mnesinous.
 [This is the] immortal spirit (πνεῦμα), Yesseus-
 6 [M]azareu[s]-Ye[s]sedekus.
 (He) is [] of the child
 8 []-or, the child of the child, and
 [] But (δε) Ormos
 10 is [] over the living seed (σπορά)
 and Kam-[]el is the spirit-giver (-πνεῦμα).
 12 There (+δε) stand before [them] the following:

47,5-6 Michar; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 64,15-16; *Apoc.Adam* V 84,5-8; *Trim. Prot.* XIII 48,19-20.
 Yesseus-Mazareus-Yessedekus may be a corruption of the name Jesus.
 He is the great attendant of the living water in *Gos.Eg.* III 66,10-15 where
 he is also called the child of the child. In *Apoc.Adam* V 85,29-31, he is the
 holy seed, the living water. Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 603, identi-
 fies him as the personification of the celestial baptismal water.
 47,5 Or [ΝΔΪ ΝΙ]ΠΙΝΔ [Ν]Ε | Ϊ, the supralinear stroke begins over this
 letter.
 47,6 Ϊ, the supralinear stroke begins over this letter.
 47,7 [.], trace of β, θ, ο, ρ, or ρ (not φ) | †., or else Ψ; there was no supralinear
 stroke above this group of letters.
 47,8-10 At 13,8 Ephesech is called the child of the child; elsewhere the phrase refers
 to the heavenly Adam; cf. Schenke, "Das Sethianische Systems," 170.
 47,8 |ωρ, or else |ωϩ; the supralinear stroke began earlier in the word
 (where there is now a lacuna).
 47,9 For Ormos, cf. Hormos in *Gos.Eg.* III 60,2. Davidson, *Angels*, 215, lists an
 Ormos as the "angel of the tenth hour of the day, serving under Uriel."
 47,11 E.g., ΚΔΜ[ΔΛΙ]ΗΛ; perhaps as a variant for Gamaliel; cf. *Trim. Prot.* XIII
 48,19-20. At 58,21-22 Gabriel is called a spirit-giver.
 47,12 ϙε-, there was no stroke above these letters | ϙ, or else ϙ.

14 Ἰσαουηλ̄ μ̄ν̄ ἀϑδδηλ̄ ἀϑω [α]βρασαζ̄
 16 ἡγαντβᾱ φάλερ̄ις̄ μ̄ν̄ φάλς̄ης̄
 18 [αϑ]ω̄ εϑρ̄ῑος̄ η̄ῑρεϑαρεϑ̄ ν̄τε
 20 [π̄]ε̄ο̄ο̄σ̄ σ̄τη̄θε̄ε̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ θε̄ο̄-
 22 [πε]μ̄π̄τος̄ μ̄ν̄ εϑρ̄σ̄μενε̄ε̄ς̄
 24 μ̄ν̄ ο̄λ̄ς̄η̄ν̄ η̄ῑβ̄ο̄η̄θ̄ος̄ δε̄ ρ̄[ν̄]
 26 [ρ̄]ω̄β̄ η̄ῑμ̄ πε̄ βᾱ[. . .]μ̄ος̄ μ̄ν̄
 28 [.]σ̄ω̄ν̄ μ̄ν̄ ε̄γ̄ρ̄[.]ν̄ μ̄ν̄ λᾱλᾱμε̄ε̄ς̄
 30 μ̄ν̄ ε̄γ̄δο̄μενε̄ε̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ ἀϑ̄ε̄ρο̄σ̄-
 2 [ν̄]ῑος̄ η̄ῑρεϑ̄† ρ̄ᾱπ̄ πε̄ σ̄μ̄φ̄ε̄αρ̄
 4 [α]ϑω̄ εϑ̄κρεβ̄ω̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ κε̄γ̄λᾱρ̄:
 6 [π̄]ῑ[π̄α]ρ̄ᾱλη̄μ̄π̄τω̄ρ̄ σᾱμβ̄λω̄ η̄ῑ-
 8 [ᾱτ]ϑ̄ε̄λος̄ η̄ ρ̄εϑ̄ζ̄ῑ μο̄ε̄ῑ† ρ̄η̄τω̄σ̄
 10 [ν̄] η̄ῑθ̄η̄πε̄ η̄ κ̄λο̄ο̄λε̄ σᾱφ̄φ̄ω̄
 12 μ̄ν̄ θε̄ο̄σ̄ρ̄ω̄: ^v ν̄ᾱῑ ε̄ταϑ̄ζ̄ο̄-
 14 ο̄σ̄ ᾱϑ̄τᾱμο̄ῑ ε̄ ν̄ᾱῑ τη̄ρο̄σ̄ ε̄τ̄-
 16 ρ̄ω̄ο̄π̄ ρ̄η̄ η̄ῑᾱϑ̄το̄τε̄νη̄ς̄ η̄-
 18 η̄ ε̄ω̄ν̄ ἀϑω̄ η̄ε̄ε̄ η̄ [ο̄σ]ο̄ε̄ῑν̄
 20 μ̄ν̄
 22 τη̄ρο̄σ̄ η̄ ψ̄ᾱ ε̄νε̄ρ̄ ἀϑω̄ η̄ τε̄λ̄ιος̄
 24 εϑ̄ζ̄η̄κ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ η̄ κᾱτᾱ ο̄σᾱ ἀϑω̄
 26 ᾱῑνᾱσ̄ κᾱτᾱ πο̄τᾱ π[ο]σ̄ᾱ ν̄τε
 28 η̄ῑε̄ω̄ν̄ εϑ̄κᾱρ̄ ε̄ϑ̄ο̄[ν̄]ρ̄ μ̄ν̄ [ο̄σ]-
 30 μο̄ο̄σ̄ ε̄ϑ̄ο̄ν̄ρ̄ μ̄[ν̄] ο̄σ̄[ᾱη]ρ̄ [ε̄ϑ̄ε̄]
 32 η̄ ο̄σ̄ο̄ε̄ῑν̄ ἀϑω̄ [ο̄]σ̄κ̄ω̄ρ̄[τ̄ ε̄τε]-
 34 μεϑ̄ρω̄κ̄[ρ̄ ν̄ᾱῑ τ̄ῑη̄ρ̄ο̄σ̄ ε̄ρ̄[ε̄ν]-
 36 ρ̄ᾱπ̄λο̄σ̄η̄ η̄ε̄ [αϑ]ω̄ η̄η̄ ᾱτ̄[ο̄σ]ω̄-
 38 τ̄β̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ μ̄ν̄ ρ̄[ε̄ν]ζ̄ω̄ον̄ η̄ρ̄[α]-

- 47,13 Supralinear stroke above $\overline{\beta\rho\alpha}$ is in lacuna | Isauel (Seisauel?) and Audael are *hapax leg.* in NHC. Abrasax appears in *Gos.Eg.* III 52,26-53,1 as a minister of the Light Eleleth; in *Apoc.Adam* V 75,22-26 he, Gamaliel and Sablo (the inheritors) descend to lead the elect from the world. The haeresiologists place him in the system of Basilides as the archon who mediates between men and animals (Iren. *Adv.Haer.* I.9.4).
- 47,14 $\eta\iota\alpha\eta$, characteristic top traces | $\mu\mu$, i.e. $\mu\mu$.
- 47,16-18 In *Gos.Eg.* III 64,13 Theopemptos is a great general. In *Gos.Eg.* III 65,1-5, and Olses and Hereumaios preside over the rising sun.
- 47,20 For Lalameus, see 88,13 and *Allogenes* XI 54,20.
- 47,21 For Authrounios, see 8-9 above and 127,22ff.
- 47,22 $\mu\epsilon$, sic | for the great judges, see also 9,6-9.
- 47,24 Also Sablo and Samlo; see 47,13n.

Seisauel and Audael and [A]brasax;
 14 the myriads Phaleris, Phalses,
 [and] Eurios; the guardians of
 16 glory, Stetheus,
 Theo[pe]mptos, Eurumeneus
 18 and Olsen; their (+δέ) assistants (βοηθός) [in]
 everything are Ba-[]-mos,
 20 []-son, Eir-[]n, Lalameus,
 Eidomeneus and Authrou[n]ios;
 22 the judges are Sumphtar,
 Eukrebos and Keilar;
 24 the inheritor (παραλήμπτωρ) (is) Samblo;
 the angels (ἄγγελος) who guide
 26 the misty clouds are Sappho
 and Thouro." When he had said
 28 these things, he told me about all of those
 in the self-begotten (αὐτογενής)
 30 aeons (αιών). They were all
 48
 eternal lights, perfect
 2 as perfect individuals (+κατά).
 In relation to (κατά) each one of the
 4 aeons (αιών) I saw a living earth, a
 living water, [air (ἀήρ) made]
 6 of light and a fire [that]
 cannot consume. All of [these] are
 8 simple (ἀπλοῦν) and immutable:
 simple (ἀπλοῦν) and

47,27ff The topic reverts to that of eternal models.

47,30 I.e., ΝΕΤΟ.

48,3-7 See also 55,15-18; 113,9-14. The search for imperishable elements was one of the concerns in middle Platonism and of late antiquity in general. This list of earth, water, air, and fire may ultimately be Persian in origin; see Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 67,72ff, 222f; cf. Schweizer, "Slaves of the Elements."

48,5-7 For the restorations, cf. 55,16-19.

48,6 [Ο]ϠΚΩϚ[Τ, first trace is from Β, Γ, Η, Ι, Κ, or else Ν; second, from Θ, Ο, Ρ, Ω, or else Ψ | Ϛ[Ὶ., these two letters were connected by a supralinear stroke.

48,9 τὸ ζῶον represents for Plotinus a mixture of soul and body to form a living being; see Plot. *Enn.* I.1.2-3,7.

10 ΠΛΟΥΝ ΔΩ [Ν ΨΔ ΕΝ]ΕΖ
 ΕΥΝΤΑΥ Ν ΟΥΣ .[. . .] Ν ΟΥΜΗ-
 12 ΗΨΕ Ν ΡΗΤΕ· ΜΝ Ζ[ΕΙ]ΝΨΗΝ
 [Ε]ΜΑΥΤΑΚΟ Ν ΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ
 14 Ν ΡΗΤΕ· ΜΝ ΖΕΝΗΤΗΣ Ο[Ν] Μ .
 ΠΕΪΡΗΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ[Ν]
 16 ΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΜΑΥΤΑΚΟ Μ[Ν]
 ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΟΝΟΥ ΜΝ ΕΓΔ[ΟC]
 18 ΝΓΜ· ΜΝ ΖΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΝΝ ΔΤΜ[ΟΥ]
 ΔΩ ΜΟΡ[Φ]Η ΝΓΜ ΜΝ ΕΓΔΟ[C]
 20 ΝΓΜ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΝΟΥC· ΜΝ ΖΕΝ-
 ΝΟΥΤΕ Ν ΤΑΠΜΑΜΕ· ΜΝ
 22 ΖΕΝΑΥΤΕΛΟC ΕΥΨΟΟΠ Ζ[Ν]
 ΟΥΝΟΥC ΝΝ ΕΟΥC· ΜΝ ΟΥ-
 24 CΩΜΑ ΕΜΑΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ [ΜΝ]
 ΟΥΔΠΟ ΝΝ ΔΤΜΙCΕ ΜΝ ΟΥ-
 26 ΕCΘΗCΙC ΝΝ ΔΤΚΙΜ· ΔΩ
 ΝΕΥΜΜΑΥ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΟΥ ΠΗ ΕΥ-
 28 ΔΓ ΜΚΑΟΥ ΕΥΕ Ν ΔΤΔΓ ΜΚΑΟΥ·
 ΝΕΥΘΟΜ ΤΑ[Ρ] ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΘΟΜ·
 [ΜΘ]

[---] Δ. .
 2 [.] Δ[.] ΨΓΒΕ·
 [.] ΟΥ[.] ΔΤΒΩΛ
 4 [. . . .] Δ· Δ[.] ΟC ΝΑΪ
 [. . . .] Ο[.] Ο ΤΗΡΟΥ
 6 [---] ΝΕ· ΝΤΟΥC
 [---] ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΗ-
 8 [---] Π ΝΟΥΡΑΪ Ν
 [---] Δ· ΕΥΨΟ .[
 10 [---] ΨΩΠΕ [.] .[
 [---] Ε Ν ΝΕ[

Lines 12 and following do not survive.

- 48,10 |ε, a horizontal ligature into the next letter remains; from Δ, Ε, Λ, Μ, etc.
 48,11 E.g., CΩ[ΜΔ].
 48,14 Μ, only the supralinear stroke survives.
 48,19 ΕΓΔΕ[Δ is also possible.
 48,24 ΕΩΜΔΥ', sic.
 48,25 Or, an origin without birth.
 48,27-29 Colpe, "Heidneische, jüdische und Christliche Überlieferung VI" 153, considers this passage a puzzling pagan reference to apthartodocetic Christology. It is more likely a reference to some heavenly power; cf. 42,23n.

10 [eternal living animals (ζῶον)],
 having [] of
 12 many kinds; trees
 of many kinds that do not
 14 perish, [also] plants
 of this sort; and all of these:
 16 imperishable fruit (καρπός),
 living human beings and every species (εἶδος),
 18 immortal souls (ψυχή),
 every form (μορφή) and
 20 species (εἶδος) of mind (νοῦς);
 gods of truth,
 22 angels (ἄγγελος) existing in
 great glory, an
 24 indissoluble body (σῶμα),
 an unborn issue and
 26 an immovable perception (αἴσθησις).
 Also there was that which
 28 suffers, although it is unable to suffer,
 for (γάρ) it was a power of a power.

[49]

2 [] change
 [] indissoluble
 4 [] these
 [] all
 6 [] they are [] they
 []
 8 []
 []
 10 [] come into being []
 []

Lines 12 and following do not survive.

48,28-29 A *paragraphos* is visible under ultraviolet light.

48,29 Or possibly ΝΕΙΟΙΤ.

49-58 The line numbers on these pages are only approximate, having been ascertained by comparison with the remains of page 59, where line 1 can be identified with certainty.

49 Line numbers on this page are only approximate | the context and the vocabulary suggest that pages 49 and 50 were concerned with the Autogenes aeon; cf. pp. 5 and 52.

49,3 Length of the second lacuna attested in photo A.

ems: from A, 4, 1)

cerniering 1.
 ce to aphibate
 e heavenly proe

[N̄]
 ΝΤΕ[
 2 ρΟΥ[. . . .]Ν ρΑΠΛ[ΟΥΝ
 Ν ΤΕΛΙ[ΟC.]Ε .[
 4 Ν ΨΑ ΕΝ[ΕΡ]Ο .[
 Ν ΕΩΝ Ν[
 6 ΠΕ ΔΥΩ Π[
 ΖΙ ΘΟΜ ΕΒ[ΟΛ
 8 ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥ[
 [Ϛ]Ν ΟΥΜΝ[
 10 [.]Ρ[.] ϚΑΡ Ψ[
 [. .] .Ϛ ΔΝ[]
 Lines 12 and following do not survive.

[N̄Δ]

[---]ΟΥ ϚΝ
 2 [---]ΘΟΥCΟ . .C
 [---]ΝΟΥCΙΓΗ
 4 [---]ΜΟΥ ΠΕ
 [---] .ΠΕ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥ-
 6 [ΤΕ ---] .ΝΕΝCΜΟΥ
 [---]Ν ΠΤΕΡΑΔΑΜΑ[
 8 [---] . . ΔΑΥ ΝΤΕ Ν[.
 [---]ΤΗ ΤΕ ϚΕΟ[ΟΥ]
 10 [---]ΠΕΝΟ[
 [---]ΜΑΔΑΥ[
 12 [.] ΜΝ ΠΛΗCΓΘΕΑ
 [ϚΜΑΔΑΥ] ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΥΓΕΛΟC ΜΝ
 14 [ΠΙΨΗΡ]Ε ΝΤΕ ΔΑΔΑC CΗ[]
 [ΕΜΜΑ]ΧΑ CΗΘ ΠΙΩΤ ΝΤ[Ε]
 16 [ϚΕΝ]ΕΑ ΜΝ ΔΤΚΙΜ ΜΝ[. .
 [ΠΙΥΤ]ΟΟΥ Μ Φ[Ω]CΤΗΡ ΔΡΜ[ΟΥ]ΝΑ[

- 50 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
 50,2 Ν ρΑΠΛ, Ν and Ϛ only attested by photo A; papyrus now incomplete.
 50,4-5 Probably Ν|Ν ΕΩΝ.
 51 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
 51,2 Or]ΘΟΥCΟ . .C; the supralinear stroke began earlier in this word
 (where now there is a lacuna).
 51,6 Or, our blessings; cf. 6,21-32.
 51,7 Supralinear stroke begins over Ϛ; possibly ΠΤΕΡΑΔΑΜΑ[C].
 51,8 E.g.,] .ΔΑΔΑΥ, or]ΟΥΔΑΔΑΥ.
 51,11 E.g., Μ|ΜΑΔΑΥ.

[50]

of[

2 [] simple (*ἀπλοῦν*) [perfect (*τέλειος*)[

4 eternal [

aeon (*αιών*) [

6 and [

receive power [

8 and their [

in a [

10 for (*γάρ*) [

[] not [

Lines 12 and following do not survive.

[51]

[] in

2 []-thorso-. .-s

[] silence (*σιγή*)

4 [] he is [

[] he is [god]

6 [] we were blessing

[] Pigeradama[

8 [] of [

[] she is the glory

10 [] our [

[] mother [

12 [] and Pleistha

[the mother] of the angels (*ἄγγελος*) with

14 [the son] of Adam, Se[th]

[Emma]cha Seth, the father of

16 [the] immovable [race (*γενέα*)] and [[the] four lights (*φωστήρ*), Arm[mozel],

51,12 Supralinear stroke begins over λ | for Pleisthea, cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 56,4-13, where she is a great Light, the mother of angels and lights, who comes forth from Seth along with Daveithe.

51,13 [†λλαδσ]; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 56,6.

51,14-15 See 6,25n.

51,14 [πρωηρ]ε; cf. 30,9.

51,15 |χ̄, or else |ξ̄ or |ϙ̄; the supralinear stroke began earlier in this word (where now there is a lacuna).

51,16 Perhaps no text is missing as at 6,27.

51,17 The name α̅ρ̅μ̅|ο̅ζ̅η̅λ̅ extended far into the right margin; supralinear stroke preserved only over α̅ρ̅ (lacuna).

18 [ωροϊα]ηλ ηδαθεεεε· ηληληθ·
 [.] ανσμοσ κατα ραν·
 20 [.] ηαυ εροϋ πρεγαμαρ-
 [τε μ πε]οοσ παλοσ η ψμτ-
 22 [.] η ψμτροοστ η
 [.] οσμητηνοσ ενϋω
 24 [μμο]ϋ δε ητκοσα ητκ
 [οσα η]τκοσα πγαλοσ
 [ηβ]
ητιε πγαλοσ
 2 ιατο[
σοο[η
 4 εαc ε̄ .[
 μ μοη[--- η-]
 6 τκοσα ητι[κοσα
σεμελελ [
 8 τελμαχη [
ωμωθεμ[
 10 [ρ]ο[ο]στ̄ π[
 [. .]εϋϋπ[ο --- πρεγα-]
 12 μαρτε μ πε[οοσ
 ψ οσαψϋ πη ετη[
 14 παντελιoc παν[
 τηροσ: ῡ ακρων [̄
 16 πψμτροοστ̄ δα[
ωωωωβτρειϋε[
 18 ητκοσπνᾱ εβολ ρη [οσ-]
πνᾱ· ητκ<οσ>οσοειη̄ ε[βολ]
 20 ρη <οσ>οσοειη̄· ητκ[οσϋιτη]

- 51,18 [ωροϊα], a slightly crowded restoration | η is written separate from the letters ηδαθεεεε and with its own supralinear stroke.
 51,20-21 Cf. 54,15-16.
 51,20 E.g., ατω αν|ηαυ.
 51,23 Lit., greatness.
 51,24-25 One, i.e., not divided; cf. 52,5-6; 88,16-17; *Steles Seth* VII 125,23-25; *Allogenes* XI 54,22-23.
 52 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
 52,2 Or else ιατς; the supralinear stroke begins over α; e.g., ιατο[μενηc]; cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,35.
 52,4 No supralinear stroke over εαc.
 52,5-6 η|τκ οσα; another statement of this phrase should be restored in either 5 or 6.

18 [Oroia]el, Daveithe, Eleleth.
 [] we blessed by (+κατά) name.
 20 [] saw the self-controlled
 [glory], the thrice-[] child,
 22 [] thrice-male
 [] majesty, as we said
 24 "You are one, you are
 [one], you are one, o child
 [52]
 of [the child
 2 Yato-[
 exist [
 4 [
 [] you are]
 6 one, you [are one
 Semelel [
 8 Telmache[
 Omothem[
 10 male [
 [] he begets [] the]
 12 self-controlled [glory
 desire him who [
 14 all-perfect (παντέλειος) [
 all. Akron [
 16 thrice-male, aa[
 oooooob†treise[
 18 you are spirit (πνεῦμα) from
 spirit (πνεῦμα); you are light
 20 from light; you are [silence (σιγή)]

52,5 ̅̅̅ Μ Ο Η , sic.
 52,7 Ϛ, or else Ϟ, ϙ, or ϟ.
 52,8 Ϛ, or else Ϛ | for a Telmachel, see *Gos.Eg.* IV 59,19ff.
 52,14 E.g., Π Δ Η Ι Τ Ω Σ .
 52,16-17 Δ Δ . . . Ω Ω , magical *stoicheia*; see also 118,18.21; 127,1-3; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 44,3-9; 66,8-22; 67,17.
 52,17 Between Ϟ and Ϛ, apparently a cryptic character (Ϛ with a short horizontal bar intersecting it near the top); possibly the copyist meant to write only Ϛ . See 51,24n; cf. Nicene Creed Art. 2.
 52,18ff See 51,24n; cf. Nicene Creed Art. 2.
 52,19-20 < Ο Ϛ > . . . < Ο Ϛ > . . . , carelessly omitted by a copyist.
 52,20 [Ο Ϛ Ϛ Ι Ϛ Η] extended far into the right margin.

written separat
 stroke
 e
 Δ; e.g. 118,20
 could be restore

22 ΕΒΟΛ ΘΝ ΟΥΣΙΓΗ· Ν[ΤΚ ΟΥ-]
 ΕΝΝΟΙΔ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΝ Ο[ΥΕΝ-]
 ΝΟΙΔ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΤ[Ε ΠΝΟΥ-]
 24 ΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ξ ΠΥ [. . .
 ΨΩΛ̄ ΜΑΡΝΖΟΥ [

[ΝΥ]

[---]Υ·
 2 [---]ΟΥ
 [---]ΝΖΟ
 4 [.]ΨΔΞΕ
 [.]ΝΕ †ΝΟΥ[
 6 [.] ΜΝ †ΝΟΥ[
 [.]ΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟ[Λ
 8 [.]ΟΥΣΙΓΗ ΔΝ ΣΜ[
 [.]ΓΑΤΝΑΟΥ ΕΡΟ[
 10 [.]Β[ΔΡΒΗΛ[Ω
 [.] ΠΓΑΤ[
 12 [.] ΠΠΡΩΝΗΣ Ν
 [ΨΜ̄]ΘΟΥΤ ΜΝ ΤΑ ΝΓΕΟ-
 14 [ΟΥ ΤΗ]ΡΟΥ ΙΟΥΗΛ: ΔΟΥ
 [ΕΤΑΙ]ΖΩΚΜ Μ ΠΜΕΡ†ΟΥ
 16 [Ν ΣΟ]Π̄ Ε ΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΓΑΟΥ-
 [ΤΟΥ]ΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΓΤΟΥΤ[ΟΥ]
 18 Ν ΝΕΪΣΟΜ ΝΕΪΣΟΜ ΔΕΓ-
 [Ψ]ΩΠΕ ΝΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ
 20 [ΔΙ]ΔΟΥΕ]ΡΑΤ̄ ΘΓΔΝ ΠΓΜΕΡ†-
 [ΟΥ ΝΝ] ΕΩΝ Ν ΣΩΡΘ ΝΤΕ
 22 [ΝΑΙ] ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΕΓΝΑΟΥ Ε ΝΔ-
 [ΠΓΑΟΥ]ΤΟΥΓΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 24 [ΝΗ Ε]ΤΨΟΥ[Ο]Π̄ ΟΝΤΩΣ
 [ΔΟΥ]Ω [Δ]ΕΓΖΩΚΜ Ν †ΟΥ

-
- 52,24 Last letter, a cryptic character (ϛ with a long horizontal bar through its vertical stroke, and a supralinear stroke above the character).
- 52,25 First and third letters are cryptic characters; first, as in 24 but without the supralinear stroke; third, λ with a short vertical stroke inside the angle of its two legs, not touching the intersection (there is a supralinear stroke above the character).
- 53 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
- 53,5 E.g., †ΝΟΥ[ΝΕ].

from silence (*σιγή*); [you are]
 22 thought (*ἔννοια*) from thought (*ἔννοια*),
 O son of [god],
 24 the god . . . [
 . . . let us speak [
 [53]
 [
 2 [
 [
 4 [] word
 [] the [
 6 [] and the [
 [
 8 [] not a time
 [] invisible [
 10 [B]arbelo
 [] the
 12 [] the [thrice-] male
 Prones, and she who belongs to
 14 all the glories, Youel.
 [When I was] baptized the fifth
 16 [time] in the name of the
 Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*) by
 18 each of these powers, I
 became divine.
 20 [I] stood at rest upon the [fifth]
 aeon (*αιών*), a combination of
 22 all [of them]; I saw all those
 belonging to [the] Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*)
 24 who really (*ὄντως*) exist.
 I was baptized five

53,9 E.g., π|ϛ'...επο[ϣ, or η|ϛ'...επο|οϣ; the trace is not from †.
 53,14 For Youel, also Yoel, see 54,17; 57,15; 125,14.; cf. *Gos.Eg.* III 44,27;
Allogenes XI, 50,20.
 53,15 Or [ΔΕΙ] (very widely spaced) | for the fourth baptism in the Autogenes,
 see 7,16.
 53,25 Lit., I washed.

[N̄Δ]
 Ν ΣΟΠ
 2 ΜΝ ἰ|
 ΝΤΕ Π|
 4 ΖΑΡΕΥ|
 ΕΒΟΛ ρ|Ν ---- Ε-|
 6 ΤΜΜΑΥ|
 Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ |
 8 ΜΝ †ΝΟΣ Μ |
 [Ε]ΟΟΥ ΤΑΝ|
 10 [. . .]ΝΟΣ Ν |
 [ΝΟ]ΥΤΕ †|
 12 ΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ . . |
 ΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΚΗΒ ΤΗ|Ρ'
 14 ΤΑΝΙΕΙΔΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ |
 Ν ΟΟΟΥΤ †ΡΕΥΔ|ΜΑΥΤΕ|
 16 Μ ΠΕΟΥΤ ΤΜΑΔΥ |
 [Ν]ΙΕΟΥΤ ἰΟΥΗΛ ΜΝ Π|ΥΤΟ-|
 18 ΟΥ Μ ΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΝΤΕ [Π]-|
 ΠΡΩΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ Ν [ΝΟΣ]
 20 Ν ΝΟΥΣ ΣΕΛΜΕΝ Μ[Ν ΝΗ ΕΤ-|
 ΚΗ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΝΙΡΕΥ|ΟΥΕΝΩ|
 22 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΧΘ[ΟΣ]
 ΜΝ ἰΔΧΘΟΣ ΣΗΘΕ[ΥΣ]
 24 ΜΝ ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝ[ΤΗ]Σ [ΣΕΛ-]
ΔΔΩ ΜΝ ΕΛΕ[Ν]ΟΥΣ |
 [ΝΕ]
 [----] .ΤΟ
 2 [----]Ν ΕΙ
 [----] Ε ΠΙΔ-
 4 [----]ΩΝΕΥ
 [----]ΕΙΝΕ
 6 [----]ΟΟΥ Ν

- 54 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
- 54,2-3 E.g., ΠΑΛΟΥ|ΝΤΕ Π|ΑΛΟΥ.
- 54,2 A supralinear stroke may have begun over ἰ (lacuna).
- 54,3-4 E.g., ΙΕΣΣΕΥΣ ΜΔ|ΖΑΡΕΥΣ [ΙΕΣΣΕΔΕΚΕΥΣ; see 47,5-6n.
- 54,8 E.g., Μ [ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΝ]; cf. 125,14-15.
- 54,9 E.g., ΤΑΝ[ΙΕΟΥΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ]; cf. 57,13-15.
- 54,16 E.g., [ΝΤΕ], or [ΤΑ].
- 54,22-23 For ΖΑΧΘ[ΟΣ], cf. 126,12.

[---]ΝΤΕ ΝΓΔΥ-
 8 [---]ΝΔΥ ΤΑΡ Ε
 [---]ΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΙ-
 10 [---]ΥΟΥΟ
 [--- Φ]ΩΣΤΗ|Ρ
 12 [.]Ν Ν[Γ]ΕΟΥΟΥ ΝΟΥΟΥ
 [.] ΝΔΪ ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΑ
 14 [ΠΟΥΑ] ΝΤΕ ΝΓΕΩΝ· ΟΥ-
 [ΚΑΥ Ε]ΥΟΝΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ
 16 [ΕΥΟΝ]Υ ΜΝ ΟΥΔΗΡ ΕΥΕ Ν
 [ΟΥ]ΟΥΕΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΩΥΤ
 18 [ΕΥΠ]ΡΡΥΟΥΟΥ ΕΒΟΥ ΕΜΑΥ-
 [ΡΩ]ΚΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΝΥΟΥΝ ΔΥ
 20 [ΟΥΝ]ΥΗΝ· ΔΥ ΟΥΝΥΟΥΧΗ
 [ΜΝ Ο]ΥΕΝΟΥΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΕΡΩΜΕ
 22 [ΜΝ Ν]Η ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΥΟΥΟΥ
 [ΝΜΜΔ]Υ· ΟΥΕΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ
 24 [ΜΝ] ΟΥΕΝΟΥ[Μ] ΔΥ ΟΥΕΝΑΥ-
 [ΤΕ]ΛΟΥ ΔΗ· ΝΔΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΡ
 [ΝΥ]
 ΝΟΥ|
 2 ΔΥ [---
 ΔΥ Ν[---
 4 ΥΟΥΟΥ | ---
 ΤΗΡΟΥ [---
 6 ΤΗΡΟΥ Ε[---
 [.]Υ ΤΗΡΟΥ [---
 8 ΝΕ· ΕΥΕ Ν [---
 [Δ]Υ ΕΥΕ[---
 10 [. .]Δ ΔΥ [---
 [ΔΥ]Ω ΝΗ Ε[.] .|
 12 ΟΥΥ Μ ΠΑΥΟΥΟΥΕΝ[ΗΟΥ ΔΥ ΔΪ-]
 ΞΥ ΕΓΝΕ ΕΒΟΥ ΟΥ ΝΔΪ [ΤΗΡΟΥ . .
 14 ΟΥΩΝ ΝΟΥ ΝΓΕΩΝ Ν[ΤΕ ΠΥ]
 ΔΥΟΥΟΥΕΝΗΟΥ ΟΥΝΟΥ[ΟΥ Ν ΟΥΟΥ-]
 16 ΕΓΝ ΥΔΥΠΥΕ ΕΥΡΑΪ Ε|
 ΕΒΟΥ ΟΥ ΝΓΕΩΝ ΝΤΕ Π[ΥΥΜΤ-]

55,9

No circumflex over the group εγ.

55,13-19

Cf. 48,3-7 and 113,9-14.

56

Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

56,4

Flag of π not preserved.

[] of the []
 8 [], for (γάρ) [] see
 [] aeon (αἰών) []
 10 [] more
 [] light (φωστήρ)
 12 [] more glories
 [] these are in relation (κατά) to
 14 [each] of the aeons (αἰών): a
 living [earth] and a
 16 [living] water, and air (ἀήρ) made of
 light and a blazing
 18 fire which cannot
 [consume], and living animals (ζῶον) and
 20 [trees]; souls (ψυχή)
 [and] minds (νοῦς) and human beings
 22 [and] all those who dwell
 [with them]; but (δέ) (there are) no gods
 24 [or] powers or
 angels (ἄγγελος); for (γάρ) all these
 [56]
 []
 2 and []
 and []
 4 exist []
 all []
 6 all []
 [] all []
 8 [] they being []
 and they being []
 10 [] and []
 [and] those []
 12 the Autogen[es (αὐτογενής). I]
 received a likeness from [all] these []
 14 The aeons (αἰών) [of the] Autogenes (αὐτογενής).
 []; a [great light]
 16 came forth []
 from the aeons (αἰών) of the [thrice]

56,13 Or, [εϛδσ=].

56,14 Cf. 129,23-24.

56,15-16 Cf. Acts 9:3; 22:6; 26:13.

56,17-18 Thrice male, i.e., the Protophanes aeon.

- 18 ροοϑ̄τ̄ δ̄τω νεϑ̄† [εοοϑ̄]
 ΝΑϑ̄· νερε πγϑ̄το[οϑ̄]
 20 ΝΗ ΕΩΗ ΝΕϑ̄οϑ̄ωψ[ε εβολ]
 Νϑ̄ραϊ̄ ϑ̄η οϑ̄εωη η οϑ̄[
 22 Μ ΠCΜΟΤ̄ ΜΗ Οϑ̄ε[
 οϑ̄ωτ̄ εϑ̄ψοοη̄ μ .[
 24 δ̄τω τ̄οτε δ̄ϑ̄[. .]τ̄ Νεγ̄ Η̄[
 Παλοϑ̄ ητε Πα[λ]οϑ̄ δ̄[
 [---] .δ̄
 2 [---]εϑ̄
 [---]οϑ̄C
 4 [---]δ̄.τοϑ̄
 [--- ἱεCσεϑ̄C] μαζ̄α-
 6 [ρεϑ̄C ἱεCσεδε]κεϑ̄C [.] .
 [---]ομ ητε[
 8 [. Cφ̄ρ]ατ̄ιC ϑ̄ιωϑ̄
 [.] . [. . .] μ̄η τ̄αβ̄ρη[λ]
 10 [.] η [. . .] η οϑ̄[.
 [.] .ϑ̄ . [.]εηCφ̄ρατ̄ι[ε]
 12 [. . . .] .η ϑ̄τοοϑ̄ η τ̄εηοC
 [δ̄τω] δ̄σεγ̄ ηηδ̄ραϊ̄ ηεγ̄ τ̄α-
 14 [ηγε]οϑ̄ η ροοϑ̄τ̄ δ̄τω μ
 [παρ̄θ̄ε]ηηCκον ἱ̄ωη̄λ̄ δ̄τ[ω]
 16 [δεγ̄]ψοϑ̄ηε ετ̄βε ηγ̄κλοο[μ]
 [πεϑ̄]δ̄C ηδ̄ῑ ζ̄ε ετ̄βε οϑ̄
 18 [δ̄ϑ̄]ψοϑ̄ηε ηεγ̄ πεκπ̄ηδ̄
 [ετ̄β̄]ε ηγ̄κλοομ μ̄η ηγ̄-
 20 [Cφ̄ρ]ατ̄ιC ετ̄κη ϑ̄ιωϑ̄
 [. . .] ηε ηγ̄κλοομ ετ̄† β̄ομ
 22 [μ π̄η]δ̄ ηγ̄μ μ̄η ψ̄ϑ̄χη ηγ̄μ
 [ηγ̄C]φ̄ρατ̄ιC δε ετ̄ψοοη̄

- 56,20 ψ was connected to the following letter (now in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke; for the restoration, cf. 81,13.
 56,21 E.g., ϑ̄ϑ̄[οεη].
 56,24 Η̄[, ambiguous trace; nothing of the supralinear stroke survives; Η̄[φ̄ηCηχ] would extend unusually far into the margin.
 57 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
 57,5-6 For the restorations, see 47,5-6.
 57,5 No supralinear stroke over μ.
 57,7 E.g., κλο[ομ].

able, and
 them. Th
 wons (at
 within a f
 ze[]
 single one
 been (rōt
 child of th

rus Yesse

seal

are came

glories)

signal (na

wondered

ad) she (sa

is) your sp

about) the c

ails (σφρα

)(they) a

ary (spirit

ad) (82) (the

See 47,11

52,19ff, 1

Supralin

The Reve

See 53,14

gnosis of

κλρο[μ]

The seal

E.g., ηη

18 male, and they [glorified]
 them. The four
 20 aeons (*αλών*) were desiring
 within a [] aeon (*αλών*)
 22 the [] pattern []
 single one existing []
 24 Then (*τότε*) E-[], the
 child of the child []

[57]

[]
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 [] Yesseus] Maza-
 6 [reus Yessedede]keus []
 [] of
 8 [] seal (*σφραγίς*) upon him
 [] and Gabrie[l]
 10 []
 [] seal (*σφραγίς*)
 12 [] four races (*γένος*)
 There came before me she who belongs to
 14 [the glories], the male and
 [virginal (*παρθενικόν*)] Yoel.
 16 [I] wondered about the crowns,
 (and) she [said] to me, "Why
 18 [has] your spirit (*πνεῦμα*) been wondering
 [about] the crowns and the
 20 [seals (*σφραγίς*)] on them?
 [] (they) are the crowns which strengthen
 22 every [spirit (*πνεῦμα*)] and every soul (*ψυχή*);
 and (*δέ*) [the] seals (*σφραγίς*) which are

57,9 See 47,11n. Gabriel appears in both the O.T. and N.T.; in *Gos.Eg.* III
 52,19ff, he is a minister of Oroiael in Autogenes.
 57,12 Supralinear stroke not preserved over first Ν.
 57,13-63,17 *The Revelations from Yoel*
 57,15 See 53,14n. The new revelations evidently served as a summary of the
 gnosis of the Barbelo aeons.
 57,16 ΚΛΘΘ(Λ; cf. lines 19 and 21.
 57,18-22 The seals and crowns serve as guardians.
 57,21 E.g., [ΝΔΪ].

24 [ϩΓΩ]ΟϞ ΝΓΜΝΗΤΕΝΟC ΜΝ
 [. .] ΠΓΑϩΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ ΠΝΑ
 [ΝΗ]
 2 ΝΕ Μ[
 2 ΘΕΝ[
 ΝΗ [
 4 ΜΕΝ [
 ΔΕ Ν Ω[
 6 ΠΑΡΘΕ[ΝΟC
 . .C ΔΕ Ν [
 8 [.]ΨΡ ΔΙΤΙ [
 .ΡΟ ϩΝ ΝΓ[
 10 [ϩ]ΗΤΟϞ Ν[
 [. . .] . ΔϞΩ [. .]Π[
 12 [. . .] √ ΔΥ† [ΘΟ]Μ Ν[
 ΝΓCΦΡΑΤΙC ΔΕ Ν[
 14 ΤΕΝΟC ΝΑΠΓΑΥΤΟ[ΤΕΝΗC]
 ΝΕ ΜΝ ΠΓΠΡΩΤΟΦΑ[ΝΗC]
 16 ΜΝ ΠΓΚΛC· ΔϞΩ ΠΓΔ[ϩΟΡΑ-]
 ΤΟΝ Μ ΠΝΑ ΟΥΘΟΜ [Μ ΨϞ-]
 18 ΧΙΚΟΝ ΔϞΩ Ν ΝΟΕΡ[ΟΝ ΠΕ]
 ΟΥΡΕΥΕΙΜΕ ΔϞΩ Ν [ΡΕΥ-]
 20 Ρ ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν ΕΓΜΕ· ΔϞΩ Ε-]
 ΤΒΕ ΠΔΪ ΕΥΗΤΟΟΤ[Υ Ν ΤΔ-]
 22 ΒΡΓΗΛ ΠΓΡΕΥ† ΠΝΑ· ϩΓ[ΝΑ]
 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΨΑΝ† Ν [ΟϞ-]
 24 ΠΝΑ ΕΥΟϞΑΔΒ ΝΥΡ CΦ[ΡΑ-]
 ΤΓΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ϩΜ ΠΓΚΛ[ΟΜ]
 26 ΔϞΩ ΝΥ† ΚΛΟΜ ΝΔΥ Ε[Ϟ-]
 ΝΤΑΥ Ν ϩΕΝΝΟϞΤΕ [
 Ν[Θ]
 [--- Ο]ϞΘΟΜ
 2 [---] ΠΓCΑ
 [---]ΟΒ
 4 [---]Ϟ.
 [---]ΠΓ .
 6 [---]ΤΗΡ ΝΑ[

57,25 E.g., [ΝΑ].
 58 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.
 58,1-2 E.g., [ΠΑΡ]/ΘΕΝ[ΟC].
 58,13-14 E.g., Ν[ΙΤΕ ΝΓΨΩΜΤ]/ΤΕΝΟC.

24 [upon] the triple-races (-γένος) and
 [] the Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 [58]
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 and (δέ) []
 6 [virgin (παρθένος)
 [] and (δέ) []
 8 [] seek (αἰτεῖν)[
 [] in the []
 10 [in] them[]
 [] and []
 12 [] he [strengthened
 and (δέ) the seals (σφραγίς) [] race
 14 (γένος), those belonging to the [Autogenes (αὐτογενής)]
 and the Protophanes (πρωτοφανής) and
 16 the Kalyptos (καλυπτός). The [Invisible (ἀόρατον)]
 Spirit (πνεῦμα) [is] a psychic (ψυχικόν)
 18 and intellectual (νοερόν) power,
 a knower and
 20 a fore-knower. Therefore
 it (Spirit?) is with [Ga]briel
 22 the spirit-giver (-πνεῦμα) [so that (ἵνα)]
 when he gives [a]
 24 holy spirit (πνεῦμα), he might
 seal (σφραγίζειν) him with the crown
 26 and crown him,
 [having] gods []

5[9]

[] power
 2 [] the
 []
 4 []
 [] the
 6 []

58,22-23 For the restoration, cf. 123,3.

58,22 No supralinear stroke over $\theta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$.

58,24-26 Him, probably a type of humanity.

[---]Ν ΕΥΩ[
 8 [---]ΝΠΝΔ .
 [---]Ω ΕΤΟΥΕΙ
 10 [.] ρΓ [. .]ΙΕΕϞ
 [.]ΙΟ . [.]ΕΥΨΟ[ΟΠ̄]
 12 [.]ΔϞ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΝΟΥΡΑΪ
 [ΝΟΥΗΤ]ΟΥ ΔΝ ρΓΝΔ ΖΕ ΕΥΕ-
 14 [ΨΩ]ΠΕ Ν ρΑΠΛΟΥΝ· ΔΥΩ
 [ΝΣΕ]ΨΤΜΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΚΗΒ
 16 [ΚΑΤ]Δ̄ ΛΑΔϞ Ν ΣΜΟΤ̄· ΔΥΩ
 [ΝΑΪ] ΜΕΝ ΝΕ ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔΑ Ν
 18 [ρΑΠ]ΛΟΥΝ ΔΥΩ Ν ΤΕΛΙΟC·
 [. . . .]ΡΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 20 [. . .]ΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΕΩΝ ΕΥ-
 [. . .]Κ ΜΜΟΥ· ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 22 [. .]Ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ρΓ ΟΥΜΑ
 [. .]ΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΝ· ΠΑΟΥΝΟΥC
 24 [. . .]Μ ΠΕ Ε ΝΑϞ ΕΡΟΥC
 [. . .]ΤΝΑϞ ΕΑΡ ΕΡΟΥ Μ
 ̄
 πρ[
 2 οϞ[
 μο[
 4 ΤΕΛΙΟC
 [. .]†ρ[
 6 [.] .ΟΥΩ[
 [. .]Μ ΝΓΜ [
 8 ΨΟΟΠ̄ Ο[
 αρ ΠΕ ΕΝΕ[
 10 [. .]ΩΤΜ [ΕΡ]ΟΥ ρ[
 [. . .]λ ΔΥΩ [.] .Ϟ[
 12 ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ρΝ ΟΥΕΝΝΟΥΓΔ
 ΟΥΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν ΕΝΝΟΥΓΔ
 14 ΕΠΙΔΗ ρΝ ΟΥCΟΜ ΔϞ[
 ΝΟΥΤΕΛΙΟC ΤΕ· Δ[
 16 ΨΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ Ε ΤΑΨ[

- 59,10-25 Location of the left margin is hypothetical.
 59,10 Circumflex over the group ρΓ.
 59,15 Cf. 82,22.
 59,16]Δ̄, a trace from Δ or Μ.
 59,20 E.g., [ΝΓΕ]ΩΝ, or [ΟΥρΓΚ]ΩΝ.

of (in) the
 become
 and (migh
 according
 these) (+
 (elav), p
] and al
] of the
] him, a
] who
] all-per
] to so
 ar (pdp) [

reflect (ré
]
]
]
] him
] a
] thought
] first thou
] sine (érei
] was per
] fitting

Eg. Μ
 Eg. ΙΟ
 Eg. ΟΙ
 No sup
 Supra

8 [] spirit (*πνεῦμα*)
 [] to one (fem.)
 10 []
 [] they exist
 12 [] and they were
 not [in] them in order that (*ἵνα*) they might
 14 [become] simple (*ἀπλοῦν*)
 and [might not] be doubled
 16 [according to (*κατά*)] any pattern.
 [These] (+*μέν*) are the simple
 18 (*ἀπλοῦν*), perfect (*τέλειος*) individuals (+*κατά*):
 [] and all these
 20 [] of the aeons (*αιών*)
 [] him, all these
 22 [] who reside in a place
 [] all-perfect (*παντέλειος*); it (took) a great
 24 [] to see them,
 for (*γάρ*) [] see []
 60
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 perfect (*τέλειος*) []
 []
 6 []
 [] every []
 8 exist []
 he is []
 10 [hear] him []
 [] and []
 12 in thought (*ἐννοια*) []
 a first thought (*ἐννοια*) []
 14 since (*ἐπειδή*) [] with power []
 she was perfect (*τέλειος*), []
 16 it is fitting for you to []

59,24 E.g., [N GO]Λ.

59,25 E.g., [O T Δ] T N Δ T.

60,8 E.g., O [N T W C].

60,15 No supralinear stroke over N.

60,16 Supralinear stroke over first Ψ; e.g., T Δ Ψ [E O E T Ψ].

18 ΕΤΒΕ ρωβ ηγμ· αρω[
 ΝΗ ΕΤΚΗΔΩΤΜ ΕΙΡΟΟΤ]
 20 ΕΒΟΛ ρΥΤΗ ΟΥΕΝΗ[ΟΙΔ]
 ΝΤΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΔΟΟΕ Ε Τ[ΕΛΓ-]
 22 ΟC ΔΤΩ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΚΗ[ΔCΟΤ-]
 ΩΝΟΤ ρΗ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ [ΝΤΕ]
 ΝΙΤΕΛΓΟC· vv αρω [Ε-]
 24 ΤΑC ΔΕ ΝΑΪ ΔC† ΩΜ[С

[ξδ]

[---] ΝϚ
 2 [---] Ν
 [---] .ΤΕ
 4 [---] Ν Ν[
 [.] Ω Ν Ν [
 6 [.] ΟC Ν Ν[
 [.] . [. .] ΠΥΨΟΡΗ
 8 [.] ΤΩ ΔΕΙΔΓ ΘΟΜ
 [.] ΤΩ Δ[.] ΟΥΩ[. .]
 10 [.] Ω Δ[ΕΓ]ΔΓ ΜΟΡΦΗ
 [.] Ε· ΑΤΩ ΔΕΙΔΓ ΟΥΟ-
 12 [.] ΥΨΟΟΠ ρΥΔΜ ΠΑΨΑ-
 [.] ΔΓ ΟΥΠΝΔ ΕΥΤΟΥΒΗ[Τ]
 14 [ΔΕΓ]ΨΩΠΕ ΕΪΨΟΟΠ ΟΗ-
 [ΤΩC] ΑΤΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΔCΗΤ
 16 [ΕΡ]ΟΥΝ Ε ΠΥΝΟC ΝΗ Ε-
 [ΩΝ] ΠΥΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΠΥΨΜΤ-
 18 [ΡΟΟ]ΟΥΤ Ν ΤΕΛΓΟC Μ-
 [ΜΑΤ]· ΑΤΩ ΔΕΙΝΑΤ Ε
 20 [ΠΑ]ΛΟΥ ΝΗ ΑΤΝΑΤ ΕΡΟΥ
 [ΡΑ]Ϊ ρΗ ΟΥ<ΟΥ>ΟΕΙΝ ΝΗ ΑΤ-
 22 [ΝΑ]Τ ΕΡΟΥ· vv ΤΟΤΕ ΟΗ
 [ΔC]† ΩΜC ΝΑΪ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ρΗ
 [ξβ]
 ΕΤ[
 2 ΕΤ[
 ΔΟΟ[

60,22 I.e., in the souls.

60,24 After ωμ[С (here or next line) ΝΑΪ is to be restored.

61,9 Written ΔΥ. ΙΟΥ because of an imperfection in the papyrus.

61,11-12 E.g., ΟΥΟΙΕΙΝ ΕΙΥ.

61,11] .Ε, e.g., ΙΔΕ, or ΙΜΕ.

about everything, and [
 18 those to whom you will listen,
 through a thought (*ἐννοία*)
 20 of those higher than perfect (*τέλειος*)
 and also those whom you will [know]
 22 in the souls (*ψυχῆ*) [of]
 the perfect ones (*τέλειος*)."
 24 [When] she had said this, she [baptized me]
 [61]
 [
 2 [
 [
 4 [
 [
 6 [
 [
] the first
 8 [
] I received power
 [
 10 [
 I] received form (*μορφῆ*)
 [
] I received [
 12 [
] existing over my
 [
] receive a holy spirit (*πνεῦμα*).
 14 [I] came into being [really (*δυνῶς*)] existing.
 Then (*τότε*), she brought me
 16 into the great [aeon (*αἰών*)]
 where the perfect (*τέλειος*)
 18 thrice-male (is).
 I saw
 20 [the] invisible child
 within an invisible
 22 light. Then (*τότε*)
 [she] baptized me again in
 [62]
 [
 2 [
 [

61,12-13 E.g., *παψα[ξε αἰ]ζι*.

61,16-18 I.e., Protophanes.

61,20 Cf. 44,27-30.

61,22 Written *ερωγ· υντοτε* because of an imperfection in the papyrus.

62,1 Or, *εϋι*.

4 [. .]ϞϞ[
 [. .] ΠΕΣΣ .[
 6 [Μ]ΜΟΥ ΠΕ[
 [ΑΥ]Ω ΔΕΙ .[
 8 [Δ]ΕΙΣΜ ΓΟΜ Ε Ν[
 [. .] .ΝΙΝΟΘ ΝΗ Δ .[
 10 [. . Δ]Ω Ν [Τ]ΕΛΙΟ[С
 ΠΕΧΔС ΝΔΪ ΝΕΓ ΤΑΝ[ΓΕΟΟΥ]
 12 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΙΩΗΛ ΔΕ ΝΙΔ[ΩΚΜ]
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤСМΠΨΔ Ν [ΣΓ]
 14 ΩΜС ΝΩΗΤΟΥ ΔΚΧ[ΓΤΟΥ]
 [Δ]Ω ΔΚΨΩΠΕ Ν ΤΕΙΛΙΟС
 16 [.] .ОС ΠΙСΩΤМ ΝΤΕ[
 ΤΗΡΟΥ· †ΝΟΥ ΓΕ ΜΟ[ΥΤΕ]
 18 ΟΥΕ СΑΔΔΜΕΞ ΜΝ .[
 ΜΝ †ΠΑΝΤΕΙΛΙΟС ΔΡ .[
 20 ΝΙΦΩСТНР ΝΤΕ ΠΙΔ[ΩΝ]
 Ν ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΜΝ †ΤΗΩ[СΙС]
 22 Ν ΑΤ† ΨΓ ΕΡΟС· ΑΥΩ [ΝΗ]
 ΕΤМΔΑΥ СΕΝΔΩΛΠ [ΕΒΟΛ]

[ΞΥ]

[---] ΔΤΝΑΥ
 2 [---] .НСП[
 [---] ЮУ[
 4 [---] ΕΑΥ[
 [---] .ΕΤ .[
 6 [. Β]ΑΡΒΗΛΩ Μ ΠΑΡ[ΘΕ-]
 [ΝΟС ΑΥΩ] ΠΙΔΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ
 8 [Ν ΨΜΤΘ]ΟМ Μ ΠΝΑ· Ν[ΔΪ]
 [ΕΤΑСΔΟ]ΟΥ ΝΔΪ ΝΕΓ ΤΑ [ΝΙΕ-]
 10 [ΟΟΥ] ΤΗΡΟΥ ΙΩΗΛ ΔСΚΑ-
 [Δ† Δ]Ω ΔСΒΩК ΔСΔΟΥΕΡΑ-
 12 [ΤС Ν]ΝΑΟΥРАУ Μ ΠΙΠΡΩΤΟ-
 [ΦΑМ]ΗС· ТΟΤΕ ΔΝΟК ΝΕΪ-
 14 [ΔΟΥΕΡ]Δ† ΝΟΥРАΪ ΟΥΔМ ΠΑΠΝ[Δ]
 [ΕΕΓ]ΤΩΒΩ ΕΜΑΤΕ Ν ΝΙΝΟΘ

62,9 Or, Ν ΝΔ | .[, e.g., †[.

62,13 Lit., washings | ΕΤСМΠΨΔ, as in Bohairic.

62,17-19 See 63,18-21 and 64,8.

62,18 I.e., ΟΥΒΕ | .[, e.g., †[.

62,19 ΔΡ.[, traces of a nomen sacrum with supralinear stroke (beginning

4 [
 [
 6 [
 [and] I [
 8 I was able to [
 [] the great ones [
 10 [] and perfect (τέλειος) [
 Yoel who belongs to all [the glories]
 12 said to me,
 “You have [received] all the [baptisms]
 14 in which it is fitting to [be] baptized,
 and you have become [perfect (τέλειος)]
 16 [] the hearing of [
 all. Now [call] again
 18 upon Salamex and [
 and the all-perfect (παντέλειος) Ar-[
 20 the lights (φωστήρ) of the [aeon (αἰών)]
 Barbelo and immeasurable
 22 knowledge (γνώσις). [They]
 will reveal [63]

[] invisible
 2 [
 [
 4 [
 [] which [
 6 [] virgin (παρθένος)] Barbelo
 [and] the invisible
 8 [three-] powered Spirit (πνεῦμα). [When]
 Yoel who belongs to all [the glories]
 10 [had said this] to me, she
 [put me down] and went (and) stood
 12 before the Proto[phan]es (πρωτοφανής).
 Then (τότε) I
 14 [stood, presiding] over my spirit (πνεῦμα),
 [while] praying fervently to the great

over **p**; there is a lacuna over the following trace).

63,6

Supralinear stroke not preserved over -**p**β-.

63,9-10

Cf. 125,13-14; 53,13-14.

63,13-17

Cf. 3,14-19.

16 [Μ Φ]ΩCΤΗΡ ΝΟΥΑΪ ΘΝ ΟΥ-
 [ΕΝΝ]ΟΥΑ· ΝΕΕΙΜΟΥΤΕ
 18 [ΟΥ]ΒΕ ΣΑΛΑΜΕΞ ΜΝ ΣΕ-
 [. .]ΕΝ ΜΝ ΨΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 20 [. .]·Η· ΑΥΩ ΑΪΝΑΥ Ε ΘΕΝ-
 [ΕΟ]ΟΥ ΕΝΕΑΥ Ε ΘΕΝΘΟΜ
 22 [ΑΥ]Ω ΑΥΧΩΘ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΑΪΣΜ ΘΟΜ
 [ΞΔ]
 Δ .[
 2 ΘΜ ΠΑ[
 [Δ]ΥΩ .[
 4 [.]ΨΠΑ .[
 [.]ΟΥΟΥΤ[. . .] .[
 6 [Δ]ΟΥΩΒC ΕΒΟΛ [
 [ΟΥ] ΤΗΡΟΥ· [
 8 [.]ΣΑΛΑΜΕΞ Μ[Ν
 [Ν]Η ΕΤΑΥΘΩΛΗ [ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ]
 10 Ν ΘΩΒ ΝΓΜ ΕΥΧΩ Μ[ΜΟC]
 ΧΕ ΞΩCΤΡΓΑΝΕ Ψ[ΩΤΜ]
 12 ΕΤΒΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΚΚΩΤ[Ε Ν-]
 CΩΟΥ· VVV ΝΕ ΟΥ[
 14 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑ ΟΥΩΤ Π[Ε ΕΤ-]
 ΨΟΥΟΥ ΘΑΘΗ Ν ΝΑΪ Τ[ΗΡΟΥ]
 16 ΕΤΨΟΥΟΥ ΟΝΤΩΨ [ΘΜ ΠΓ-]
 ΠΝΑ Ν ΑΤΨΥ ΕΡ[ΟΥ]
 18 ΑΥΩ Ν ΑΤΠΩΡΧ Ν [. . .]
 ΟΥΑ Μ Π(Η)ΤΗΡΥ ΕΤ[ΨΟ-]
 20 ΟΠ ΝΟΥΗΤΥ ΜΝ ΠΓ .[. . .]
 ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΗ ΕΤΜ[
 22 ΝCΩΥ· ΕΝΤΟΥ ΜΑΥ[ΑΑΥ
 ΕΤΧΛΟΥΡ ΜΜΟΥ Ν [

[ΞΕ]

[. .]ΤΥ [. .]ΑΤ[.

63,17-? *The Revelations from Salamex*

63,17 ΟΥ, [CΟ]ΙΦΙΔ | written ΝΕΕΙ because of papyrus surface (elsewhere ΝΕΪ').

63,18-19 No supralinear stroke over CE; CE [ΛΜ]ΕΝ, impossible because of word division.

63,20 [. .]·Η·, traces of a nomen sacrum with supralinear stroke; trace is probably from Μ or Δ, but possibly also from Ξ, λ, Κ, C, ρ, etc.

63,21 Sahidic, ΕΝΑΑΥ.

63,22 ΟΥ, and I was anointed.

64,5 E.g., [ρ]ΟΥΟΥΤ.

16 lights (*φωστήρ*) in
 thought (*ξίνοια*). I began calling
 18 upon Salamex and Se-
 []-en and the (fem.) all-perfect (*παντέλειος*)
 20 []-e. I saw
 [glories] greater than powers,
 22 [and] they anointed me. I was able
 [64]
 [
 2 in my [
 and [
 4 [
 [
 6 she covered [
 all [
 8 Salamex [and
 [those] who have revealed
 10 everything [to me] saying,
 "Zostrianos, [learn]
 12 of those things about which you asked.
 [
 14 and [he was] a single one [who]
 exists before [all] these
 16 who really (*δυντως*) exist [in the]
 immeasurable and undivided
 18 Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) [
 . . . of the all which [exists]
 20 in it and the [
 . . . and that one which [
 22 after it. It is he alone
 who crosses it [
 [65]

[

64,7 [ΟϚ], scored through by diagonal stroke in codex.

64,9-12 The new revelations begin.

64,11 Cf. 14,1.

64,13 E.g., *NE O(TA PEI)*; cf. 76,15.

64,14-22 Perhaps Kalyptos is the topic.

64,20 E.g., *Δ(TΨΔΞΕ)*.

64,21-22 E.g., *ΕΤΛ(Ν)/ΝCΩΥ*.

64,22 *ΕΝΤΟΥ*, no supralinear stroke was possible over *Ν* because of an imperfection in the papyrus.

us surtare i&ae;
 possible bears:
 linear stroke: π
 7, A, B, C, D, E

- 2 [. . .] Η [. . .] Δ Ν Δ Τ [.] Δ Τ -
 [.] Δ Τ Ο [.] Ν Δ Τ -
 4 [.] Η Ν Δ Τ [. . .] Ο Θ .
 [.] [. . .] Ν Δ Τ Τ Η Ρ [Ο Θ]
 6 [.] Δ Ρ [. . .] Η Π Ε Ν [. . .]
 [.] Ο Ψ Ω Ρ Η Ν [. . .]
 8 [.] Ν Τ Ε Ε Ν Ν Ο Γ Δ Ν Γ [Μ]
 [.] Ε Ν Τ Ε Β Ο Μ Ν Γ [Μ]
 10 [.] Ε Ρ Ο Θ Ν Ε Π Ε [Σ Η Τ]
 [.] Ε Ψ Σ Ε Μ Ν Η Θ Ε Ρ Ο Θ Ν
 12 [.] ς Δ ρ ε ρ α τ γ ε ς ο θ ο -
 [Τ Β Ε Ι Ρ Ο Θ Ν Ε Π Γ Ε Γ Ε Σ Μ Α
 14 [.] Μ Ν Ο Θ Α Τ Η Δ Ρ Η Ζ γ
 [Δ Θ] Ω Ε Ψ Δ Ο Σ Ε Ε Ρ Ο Θ Ε Δ -
 16 [Τ Η] Ρ Α Τ γ Ν Γ Μ Δ Θ Ω Ε Ψ †
 [.] Ε Ν Ε Δ γ Ε Σ Ω Μ Α Ν Γ Μ
 18 [Ε] Ψ Τ Ο Θ Β Η Θ Ε Δ Τ Σ Ω Μ Α
 [Ν Γ] Μ Ε Ψ Ν Α Ε Ρ Ο Θ Ν Ε Ε Ν -
 20 [Ν Ο Γ] Δ Ν Γ Μ Μ Ν Σ Ω Μ Α Ν Γ Μ
 [Ε Ψ] Ε Ν Β Ο Μ Ε Ν Δ Τ Τ Η Ρ Ο Θ
 22 [Γ Ε Ν] Ο Σ Ν Γ Μ Μ Ν Ε Γ Δ Ο Σ
 [Ν Γ Μ] Ε Ψ Π Τ Η Ρ γ Ν Τ Α Θ Π Ε
 [ζ ζ]
 [.] Ψ Ω Ρ Η [.]
 2 Δ Θ [.] Ο Ρ Η Ο Η [.]
 Ν Τ [.] Τ Η Ρ [.]
 4 [. . .] Δ Ρ Ε [.] Ρ γ Π Γ [.]
 [. . .] Κ Ο Ν [.] Ψ Ω Ν Ν [.]
 6 Δ Ε Σ Μ Ε Ρ Γ Κ Ο Ν
 [. . .] Μ Ε Ρ Ο Σ Τ Η Ρ [.] Ψ Ο
 8 [Ο] Η Ν Ο Ρ Α Τ Τ Η Ν Ο Θ [.]
 Σ Ο Θ Ω Ν Σ Ε Σ [.]
 10 [. . .] Τ Ε Ε Β Ο Δ Μ Μ [Ο γ Π Ε]
 [. . .] Ο Θ Ε Τ Ψ Ο [Ο Η Ο Η -]
 12 Τ Ω Σ Ε Τ Ε Ε Β Ο Δ Μ Μ Ο γ [Μ]
 Π Γ Π Ν Δ Ε Τ Ψ Ω Ρ Η Ο Η [Τ Ω Σ]

- 65,6 E.g., οσ|αρχ|ην πε.
 65,11 Qualitative of σμ|γε.
 65,12 ς, or else |ε.
 65,17 E.g., [βομ].
 66,2 E.g., ψ|οο|π οη|τωσ|.

2 [
 [
 4 [] all these
 [] he is[
 6 [a] first [
 [of] every thought (*ἐννοια*)
 8 [] of every power
 [downward]
 10 [] he is established
 [] stands, he [passes]
 into the pathway to a place
 14 [] and infinite.
 He is far higher than
 16 any unaccessible one, yet he gives
 [] greater than any body (*σῶμα*)
 18 (and) purer than any disembodied one (*-σῶμα*),
 yet entering into every
 20 thought (*ἐννοια*) and every body (*σῶμα*),
 [because he] is more powerful than them all,
 22 (than) any race (*γένος*) or species (*εἶδος*),
 as their All.
 [66]
 [] exist [
 2 [
 [
 4 [
 [
 6 to a [partial (*μερικόν*)
 [] part (*μέρος*) [
 8 [exist] in a [
 know her [
 10 [he is] from [him]
 [] which really (*ὄντως*) exists,
 12 who (is) from
 the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) that [really (*ὄντως*)] exists,

66,4-5 E.g., ΠΙ[ΛΕ]/[ΡΙ]ΚΟΝ; cf. 66,6.

66,4 Ι, or else β, γ, Η, Κ, or Ν.

66,5 ω, or else υ | room for [Ι] between ω and Ν.

66,8 Π, or else π.

66,9 .ι, bottom of a vertical stroke; probably from τ or ϑ.

14 ΠΙΟΤΑ ΜΑΤΑΑΥ Ν Ψ[. .
 ΘΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΤΕ Υ[. . .
 16 ΝΑΣ· †ϚΠΑΡΞΙΣ .[. . .
 ΠΩΝΩ ΔΕ ΜΝ †ΜΝΤ[ΜΑ-]
 18 ΚΑΡΓΟΣ· ΑΩ ΝΩΡ[ΑΪ ΩΝ]
 †ϚΠΑΡΞΙΣ ΥΨΟΟΠ[
 20 ΟΥΑΠΕ Ν ΩΑΠΛΩΝ ΟΥ[ΨΑ-]
 ΖΕ ΝΤΑΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΕΙΔΟ[Σ]
 22 ΑΩ ΠΗ ΕΥΝΑΒΙΝ[Ε Μ-]
 ΜΑΥ ΨΑΥΤΡΕΥΨΩ[ΠΕ]
 24 ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΩΡΑΓ Δ[Ε ΩΝ]
 †ΜΝΤΩΝΩ ΥΟΝΩ Δ[

[ΞΞ]

[.] Ν[Ω]ΡΑΪ [

2 [.] ΓΟΣ ΥΨ .[. .] ΖΕΩΝ-
 [ΤΑΥ ΜΜ]ΑΥ Ν ΟΥ Μ[Ν]Τ[ΕΙΜΕ

4 [.] ΜΜΕ Ε ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟ[Υ
 [.] ΠΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΑΤΑΑ[Υ

6 [.] ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ [

[.] ΑΥ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ Ε[

8 [.] Μ]ΑΤΑΑΥ· ΑΩ ΥΨ[

[.] ΝΩΡΑΪ ΝΩΗΤΥ [

10 [.] · ΠΙΟΤΩΤ Ν [

[.] Α· ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΓΑΡ Ν [

12 [ΩΡΑΪ Ω] Μ ΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΥ ΕΥΨΟ-
 [ΟΠ Ν] ΟΥΕΙΔΕΑ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΕΙΔΕΑ

14 [†ΜΝ]ΤΟΥΤΩΤ ΝΤΕ †ΩΕΝ-
 [ΝΑΣ·] ΑΩ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ Μ Π[-

16 [.] ΕΥΝΩΡΑΪ ΝΩΗΤΥ ΩΜ
 [ΠΗ]ΟΥΣ ΑΩ ΥΝΩΡΑΪ ΝΩΗ-

18 [ΤΥ] ΕΥΜΗΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ε ΛΑΑΥ
 Μ ΜΑ ΔΗ ΕΥΠΝΑ Ν ΟΥΩΤ

20 [Π]Ε Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ Ν ΩΑΠΛΩΝ
 [ΕΥ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΜΝ

22 [.] ΕΥΨΩΠΕ ΩΡΑΪ ΝΩΗΤΥ

- 66,14 Ψ[, connected to the following letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke.
- 66,15-18 Cf. 14,9-14.
- 66,17 †Ϛ, the flag does not survive.
- 66,19 Perhaps Kalyptos; cf. 15,10-12; 68,14-26.
- 66,20 Origin, lit., head.
- 66,22-23 Sahidic Μ]/ΜΟΥ.

14 the one alone [
 for (γάρ) they are powers of
 16 [], existence (ὑπαρξίς) [
 and (δέ) life and
 18 blessedness (μακάριος). In
 existence (ὑπαρξίς) he exists [
 20 a simple (ἀπλοῦν) origin,
 his [word] and species (εἶδος).
 22 Let the one who will find
 him come into existence.
 24 Existing [(+δέ) in]
 Life, he is alive [

[67]

[
 2 []
 [he having] knowledge
 4 [] know all these [
 [] him alone [
 6 [], for (γάρ) god [
 [unless (εἰ μήτι) [
 8 [] alone, and he[
 [] in him [
 10 [] the single [
 [] for (γάρ) he exists as [
 12 [in] that which is his, which [exists]
 [as] a form (ιδέα) of a form (ιδέα),
 14 [the] unity of the
 [unity (ένάς)]. He exists as [the]
 16 [] since he is in
 [the] mind (νοῦς). He is within
 18 it, not coming forth to any
 place, because he [is] a single
 20 perfect (τέλειος), simple (ἀπλοῦν) spirit (πνεῦμα).
 [Because] it is his place (τόπος) and
 22 [], it is within him [and] the Alls

67,5 He, antecedant is not clear.

67,14-15 For ϚΕΝ(ΝΔC), see. 75,20n.

67,14 Ν|̄, a trace of the supralinear stroke (above τ) survives; for the restoration, cf. 68,26; 84,20; 86,22-23.

67,16 E.g., [Π̄ΝΔ]; cf. 64,17; or [ωΝϚ].

67,21 Or, [οϚ].

24 [αϞ]ω ηΓτηροϞ· αϞω
 [εϣψ]οοὺν ντοϣ ηβΓ πετ-
 [ζη]
 2 [.] . . . [. . .] π[
 [.] μν οϞω[
 αϞω [ο]Ϟρεϣωπ [ηβραϊ]
 4 ηβητ[ϣ υ] πλωηβ Δ[ε
 [εν]εργια δε ητε †[
 6 [.]ς ην ατοϞςα· π[
 [ε]τψοοὺν ηβητ[ϣ
 8 [ψο]οὺν ηβητ[ϣ [
 ψοοὺν ετβηητ[ϣ
 10 μακαριοϞ μν ο[Ϟ
 [τ]ελιοϞ· αϞω [
 12 [ε]τψοοὺν βη [
 ετψοοὺν οητωϞ [οϞ-]
 14 μακαριοϞ τε †εγΔ[εα]
 ητε †ενεργια ετ[ψο-]
 16 οὺν εψαϣζ η †βϞπ[αρ-]
 ζς· ψαϣζς βομ π[
 18 οϞμνηττελιοϞ εμ[
 πωρϞ εβολ εηεβ· το[τε]
 20 ϣψοοὺν η τελιοϞ· ετβ[ε]
 παϊ ϣψοοὺν η τελιοϞ
 22 εϣε ην ατπωρϞ εροϣ
 μν πεϣα μμην μμοϣ
 24 μμην λααϞ ταρ εϣψ[ο-]
 οὺν βα τεϣεβη εγμη[τ]
 26 †μνητοϞωτ η τε[λιοϞ]

[ζθ]

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[ο]

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that he comes into being.

- 24 [It is] he who exists, he who
[68]
[
2 [] and a [
and a [protector]
4 in [him]. Life [(+δέ)
and (δέ) activity (ἐνέργεια) of the (fem.) [
6 insubstantial (-ουσία) [], the [
which exists in [him
8 [exists] in him [
exists because of [him
10 blessed (μακάριος) and [a
perfect (τέλειος), and [
12 which exists in [
which really (δυντως) exists.
14 Blessed (μακάριος) is the [form (ιδέα)]
of the activity (ἐνέργεια) that exists.
16 By receiving existence (ὑπαρξις),
he receives power, the [
18 a perfection (-τέλειος) [
separate forever. Then (τότε)
20 he exists as perfect (τέλειος). Therefore,
he exists as perfect (τέλειος)
22 because he is undivided
with his own region,
24 for (γάρ) nothing exists
before him except (εἰ μήτι)
26 the [perfect (τέλειος)] unity.

[69]

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but was counted in the paging.)

[70]

(Page 70 does not survive. It was probably a blank
but was counted in the paging.)

68,3 **ρεψωπ** = ἀντιλήμπτωρ.
68,6 Or, non-essential; cf. 79,8.

[οδ]

(Page 71 is a blank; it had pagination.)

[οβ]

(Page 72 is a blank; it had pagination.)

[οτ]

- [.] ρ σ πα ρ ζ ζ ι σ
 2 [.] . ο [τ] ζ α ι τ ε η [.
 [. τ η] ρ ο τ [.] δ σ ω π η ε [.
 4 [.] ψ σ ο μ ο σ δ ε η γ [.
 [.] ι ο ο γ ε ψ ω π ε ε γ [ψ α η -]
 6 [.] η τ γ η α γ η α ι τ η ρ [ο σ]
 [.] ε β ο λ η η τ α ρ ε τ [.
 8 [.] ρ η ρ σ πα ρ ζ ζ ι σ
 [.] πα ι παν τ ω σ γ ψ ο -
 10 [ο π] μ π γ ω η ρ ρ η ρ μ η τ -
 [μ α] κ α ρ ι ο σ δ ε γ γ μ ε δ σ ω
 12 [ε ψ] ω π η ε γ ψ α η ζ γ μ η η γ -
 [ε ο] ο σ ο σ τ ε λ ι ο σ π ε
 14 [ε ψ] ω π ε δ ε ε γ ψ α η ζ γ μ η
 [σ η α] τ η ο σ α ο σ ρ ε π ε
 16 [μ π] η τ ε ε τ α γ ζ γ ε β ο λ
 [μ μ] ο γ ε σ ψ ο ο π ε τ β ε
 18 [πα] ι η γ η η η ε τ ε ο σ η ψ σ χ η
 [η ρ] η τ ο σ μ η η γ α τ ψ σ χ η
 20 [ε τ] β ε πα ι η η ε τ η ν ο σ -
 [ρ μ] ε τ β ε πα ι η η ε τ η α -
 22 [τ α] κ ο ε ψ ω π ε ε μ π ο σ -
 [ζ γ] ε β ο λ μ μ ο γ ε τ β ε
 24 [πα] ι ο σ ρ σ λ η τ ε μ η ρ ε η -
 [σ ω] μ α ε τ β ε πα ι ο σ α τ -
 [ο δ]
 [.] τ η ο σ α [.
 2 [ε τ] β ε πα ι ε φ [.] ε [

73,9

E.g., [ρ μ] πα ι.

73,12

ε ψ ω π η, elision for ε ψ ω π ε (as at 44,17).

73,17-24

Because the Kalyptos aeon is hidden or veiled, it is imperfectly apprehended by the lower aeons. The emanation process, repeated many times over, explains how an imperfect physical world came into being from a perfect origin. Those without souls, i.e., those who are entirely material,

[71]

(Page 71 is a blank; it had pagination.)

[72]

(Page 72 is a blank; it had pagination.)

[73]

[] existence (*ἵπαρξις*) [
 2 [] she is salvation [
 [. . . all] and he [
 4 [] be able, nor (*οὐδέ*) does he [
 [], if he
 6 [] him to him, all these
 [], for (*γάρ*) he [who
 8 [] in existence (*ἵπαρξις*)
 [] this one, he totally (*πάντως*)
 10 [exists] as life, and (*δέ*) in
 blessedness (*-μακάριος*) he has knowledge.
 12 If he apprehends the
 [glories], he is perfect (*τέλειος*);
 14 but (*δέ*) if he apprehends
 [two] or (*ἢ*) one, he is drunk,
 16 as having received
 [from] him. It is for [this] reason
 18 that there are those with souls (*ψυχή*)
 and those without souls (*-ψυχή*);
 20 for this reason (there are) those who will
 be saved and those who will
 22 [perish], since they have not [received]
 from him; for [this] reason
 24 (there are) matter (*ἔλη*) and
 bodies (*σῶμα*); for this reason non-
 [74]
 [] . . . [
 2 [for] this reason [

have nothing to be redeemed and will perish.

—**NE'**, Sahidic —**ND'** (future tense); cf. 96,2.

Abraided passage read under ultraviolet light.

η may have had supralinear stroke.

ϑ, or else **ϛ** | **Ϟ**, or else **ϧ**.

73,20

74

74,1

74,2

is imperfect
 ss, repeated
 ame into be
 e are entri

4 [. .] οϞ [τ] η ρ γ [.] ε τ β ε [
 [.] . ρ ο . παϊ [.] ε τ ρ ψ [ρ η̄ η̄]
 6 [ψ] ο ο η̄ . α Ϟ ω ε γ . [
 [.] Ϟ ε ο Ϟ α πε η ρ α π [λ ο ο η̄]
 8 ρ [. .] ε ρ ο γ πε . α Ϟ ω [. . . . ρ Ϟ -]
 πα ρ ζ ζ ι Ϟ ϖ ε ι δ ε α [
 10 [.] ε η τ α γ . α Ϟ ω κα [τ α ϖ ε -]
 [η] ε ρ τ ι α ε τ ε π ι ω η ρ [
 12 πε . α Ϟ ω κα τ α ϖ μ η [τ τ ε -]
 λ ι ο Ϟ ε τ ε ϖ β ο μ τ [ε η η ο -]
 14 ε ρ ο η ε Ϟ ο Ϟ ο ε ι η τ [ε
 π ι ψ ο μ τ ε γ α ρ ε ρ α τ [γ ρ η̄ ο Ϟ -]
 16 Ϟ ο η̄ ε γ κ ι μ ρ η̄ ο Ϟ Ϟ [ο η̄]
 η ρ α ῑ ρ μ μα η γ μ α Ϟ [ω ρ α ῑ]
 18 ρ η̄ λ α α Ϟ μ μα α η̄ ε γ [
 η α Ϟ τ η ρ ο Ϟ α Ϟ ω ε γ [ρ ε -]
 20 η ε ρ τ η̄ π ι α τ ψ α ζ ε μ [μ ο γ]
 η α τ ϖ ρ α η̄ ε ρ ο γ . η [
 22 ψ ο ο η̄ ε β ο λ μ μ ο γ [
 με ε γ μ ο τ η μ μ ο γ η̄ [
 24 ρ η̄ τ ε γ μ η̄ τ ε λ ι ο Ϟ [--- μ -]
 π γ ζ η̄ ε β ο λ ρ μ μ ο ρ ϖ [η η γ μ

[ο ε]

[ε τ] β ε παϊ [
 2 [.] . ο Ϟ . [.] υ [. .
 [. . .] τ Ϟ [.] . ο Ϟ [. .
 4 [. .] η λ α [α Ϟ . .] ε η η Ϟ [.
 [. . .] π [.] ο Ϟ μ η [.
 6 [. . .] ϖ [. . .] . α π α π η̄ υ [. .
 [.] ρ η̄ ϖ Ϟ Ϟ πα ρ ζ ζ ι Ϟ
 8 [.] ψ ο ο η̄ ρ η̄ ϖ μ η̄ τ -
 [. . .] η τ ε π ι ω η ρ . ρ η̄ ϖ -
 10 [μ η̄ τ] τ ε λ ι ο Ϟ Δ ε μ η̄ ϖ μ η̄ [τ -]
 [ε γ μ] ε . ϖ μ η̄ τ μα κα ρ ι ο Ϟ

- 74,4] . , probably read η , ι , η , or γ | ο , possibly a trace of a round letter after ο .
 74,5 . ι , read β , τ , η , κ , η̄ or ρ .
 74,6 Cf. 23,9; *Asclepius* VI 69,14ff; or, ο Ϟ α πε .
 74,7 ε , or else Ϟ .
 74,12 η , only a trace of the supralinear stroke survives.

... every [] because of [
 4 this [] who [pre-]
 exists, and he [
 6 ... a [simple (*ἀπλοῦν*)] origin, [
 [] single spirit (*πνεῦμα*) [
 8 he is [], and [
 existence (*ὑπαρξις*), form (*ιδέα*), [
 10 [] of him. It is [in accordance with (*κατά*)]
 activity (*ἐνέργεια*) which [] life
 12 and in relation to (*κατά*) perfection (*-τέλειος*)
 which is intellectual (*νοερόν*)
 14 power that [she is] a [] light [
 It is together that the three stand,
 16 they move together.
 It is in every place yet
 18 not in any place that they [
 them all and produce (*ἐνεργεῖν*)
 20 the ineffable
 unnameable [
 22 exist from him[
 resting in him [
 24 in her perfection (*-τέλειος*)[] he
 has [not] received from [every] form (*μορφῆ*) [
 [75]

because of him [
 2 [
 [
 4 [anything
 [
 6 [
 [] in existence (*ὑπαρξις*)[
 8 [] exist in the
 [] of life. But (*δέ*) in
 10 perfection (*-τέλειος*) and
 [knowledge] (is) blessedness (*-μακάριος*).

74,16-18 Lit., he; i.e., the three.

74,17 **ⲛⲟⲣⲁⲓ̅ . . . ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲓ̅**; cf. 125,7-8.

74,18 E.g., **ⲉϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲑⲟⲙⲓ**.

74,23 **ⲛ**, or else **Ϝ**, **Ⲟ**, **ⲓ**, or **ϫ**.

75 Location of the left margin is only approximate.

75,11-20 The text is obscure.

12 [ΝΑΪ Τ]ΗΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΨΟΟΪ
 [ΟΥΝ †]ΜΗΤΑΤΠΩΡΧ ΝΤΕ
 14 [Π]ΠΝΑ· †ΜΗΤΕΓΜΕ ΔΕ
 [. . .] ΕΤΒΗΗΤΣ ΠΕ †ΜΗΤ-
 16 [ΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΜΗ †ΜΗΤΑΤΟΥ-
 [. . .]Δ· ΔΥΩ †ΜΗΤΑΚΑ-
 18 [Ρ]ΙΟ[Σ ΜΗ Π]ΩΝΟΥ· ΔΥΩ †-
 [ΜΗ]ΤΕΓΜΕ ΜΗ †ΜΗΤΑΓΑ-
 20 ΘΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΟΥΡΕΝΝΑΣ
 Μ[Ν] ΟΥΜΗΤΟΥΩΤ· ΔΥΩ
 22 Ο[Δ]ΠΛΩΣ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Π-
 Τ[Β]ΒΟ ΝΤΕ †ΜΗΤΑΤΜΙΣΕ
 24 [. . .]Ρ ΨΟΡΗ Ν ΨΟΟΗ ΝΑΥ
 [. . .]Γ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΗ Π-
 [ΟΥ]Τ
 [. . .] ΝΕΥΜ[. . .]
 2 [. . .] ΟΥΡΑΪ ΟΥΝ Ν[. . .]
 [. . .] . [.] ΟΛ . [. . .]
 4 [. . .] ΤΑ[.] Μ ΠΡ[. . .]
 [. . .] ΟΥΣ † [.] ΟΥΣ Π[. . .]
 6 [. . .] ΟΥΘΟΥ[Ν] Ε[.] ΕΥ[. . .]
 [ΟΥ]ΘΑΙΩΝ ΟΥΣ . [. . .]
 8 Ν[ΟΥ]ΡΑΪ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΜΕ[. . .]
 ΜΗΤΑΤΜΙΣΕ· ΕΥΨ[. . .]
 10 ΔΡ Ν ΟΥΘΑΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΔΥ[. . .]
 [Ν]ΙΩΥ ΕΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ . [. . .]
 12 ΔΥΩ ΕΥΨΟΟΗ ΕΟΥ[Δ ΠΕ] . . .
 Ν ΟΥΠΛΟΥΝ· ΕΥΜΗ[ΤΜΑ-] . . .
 14 ΚΑΡΙΟC ΠΕ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΟΥΝ Ο[ΟΥ-] . . .
 ΜΗΤΤΕΛΙΟC ΝΕΟΥΔ[. . .]
 16 Ν ΤΕΛΙΟC ΔΥΩ Μ ΜΑΚ[ΑΡΙΟC] . . .
 ΕCΡ ΟΥΔΕ Μ ΠΑΪ ΝΤΕ ΠΗ [Ε-] . . .
 18 ΤΜΑΥ ΔΕ ΝΑCΡ ΟΥΔΕ[. . .]
 ΝΤΑΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΟΥΗΟΥ Ν[ΟΥ]ΩC] . . .
 20 ΠΕ ΜΗ ΟΥCΟΥΝ· Δ[ΟΥ]Ω . . .
 ΟΥΤΗΝΩCΙC ΝΤΑΥ Ε[ΟΥ]ΨΟ- . . .

75,12 I.e., the Barbelo aeons?

75,15 I.e., the Spirit.

75,17 For Δ may be read ϐ, or possibly κ, λ, or μ.

75,20 ΟΥΡΕΝΝΑΣ = *έννάς*; not *έννάας*.

75,24 [. . .]Ρ, a conjugation.

76,4 ϐ may have had supralinear stroke.

all these
 in the inc
 the Spirit
] kno
 trinity) a
 ed blesse
 ed life and
 cnowledge
 ed unity (e
 ed singlen
 short (dm
 nity of bar
 pre-exis
 all these
] h
] i
 ven (alw), a
 na [. . .]
 zenness, h
 always he
 ter him, see
 is because h
 mple (dmlo
 bessedness (-
 rfection (-r
 rfect (τέλει
 aking this (p
 cause she l
 cause he fo
 th knowlec
 is outside o
 Eg, ουρα
 Eg, ΔΥΙΚ
 The text is
 The unnam
 Barbelo; se

12 All [these] (+δέ) were
 [in the] indivisibility of
 14 [the] Spirit (πνεῦμα). Because of (+δέ)
 [] knowledge it is
 16 [divinity] and []
 and blessedness (-μακάριος)
 18 and life and
 knowledge and goodness (-αγαθός)
 20 and unity (ένάς)
 and singleness.
 22 In short (ἀπλῶς), all these (are) the
 purity of barrenness
 24 [] pre-exist him
 [] all these and the
 [76]
 [] his [
 2 [] in [
 [
 4 [
 [
 6 [
 aeon (αιών), a [
 8 in a [
 barrenness, he [
 10 . . . always he [
 after him, seeing him [
 12 It is because he [is] one that he is
 simple (ἀπλοῦν). Because he is
 14 blessedness (-μακάριος) in
 perfection (-τέλειος) . . . [
 16 perfect (τέλειος) and [blessed (μακάριος)],
 lacking this (part) of that one
 18 because she lacked his [
 because he followed [her]
 20 with knowledge.
 It is outside of himself that

76,7 E.g., οὐρα[μ].

76,10 E.g., ἀψ[κωτε]; cf. 44,2 and 64,12.

76,12-20 The text is obscure.

76,16ff The unnamed female who appears in the next 10 pages is probably Barbelo; see 77,13-25n.

22 οἱ κσαβολ μμοϣ· μν
 24 πη ετμοϣτ μμ[ο]ϣ
 24 εϣωοἱ ηρητη· ο[ϣ-]
 ειδωλον μν οϣρ[

[03]

[. .]ρ ραε μ[.]
 2 [. .]μαϣ [.]ε[. .
 [. .]μαϣ [.]ραπ[λο]ϣ
 4 [. .]πεε[.]εϣπ[. .
 [. .]σο[.]ηαϣ· α[ϣ]ω
 6 [. .]·εε[. .]·εν[.]ϣηαρ[.]ε
 [. .]·τα[. . . .]·παί αϣω[.]π
 8 [. . . .]λ μ πηπληρωμα
 [. . . .]·ετασοσαϣϣ ρω-
 10 [ωσ η]αϣ αη· παί ητασ-
 [. . . .]·ααϣ κσαβολ η ϣμνητ-
 12 [τελ]ος· ασπωρϣ εβολ
 [ϣμνητ]παντελος ταρ τε
 14 [ητ]ε οσμνητελος εσ-
 ωοἱ η οσμωϣτ·
 16 [α]ϣω προς ηη ετμμαϣ
 [τη] οϣπο τε εσοση η η-
 18 σωϣ· αϣ ϣεβολ ρη ϣ-
 [σ]ομ ηη ατϣαξε μμοϣ
 20 [η]ταϣ· εσητασ μμαϣ
 η οϣωοἱ η σομ· μν
 22 ϣωοἱ μ μνητατμσε
 ετμνησα ηη ετμμαϣ
 24 ξε προς ηηκεϣωαη
 τηροϣ οϣωοἱ ηη εωη
 [οη]

[.]πε η [. .
 2 [.]·ατ [. .
 η [. .]π[.]·ττο[. .
 4 [τη]ροϣ [.]·σπα[. .
 η[η] ατοϣ[.]·ϣ[. .

- 76,25 ρ, with circumflex; e.g., ρ[κων].
 77,1 μ, or else α.
 77,3 I.e., ραπλοση.
 77,5 ω, or else ϣ.
 77,6 E.g., ϣηαρ[τ]ε.

22 his knowledge (*γνώσις*) dwells;
 it dwells with the one who
 24 examines himself, [a]
 reflection (*εἶδωλον*) and a [
 [77]
 [] be lacking [
 2 []
 [] simple (*ἀπλοῦν*)
 4 []
 [] and
 6 []
 [] this, she [
 8 [] the pleroma (*πλήρωμα*)
 [] which she did not desire
 10 for [herself]. She has
 [] him outside of the
 12 [perfection (*-τέλειος*)]; she has divided,
 for (*γάρ*) she is [the] all-perfection (*-παντέλειος*)
 14 [of] perfection (*-τέλειος*),
 existing as thought.
 16 With respect to (*πρός*) it (Spirit?)
 [she] is a begetting which follows
 18 from it, and as one (fem.) from
 its ineffable power
 20 she has
 a first power and
 22 the first barrenness
 after it,
 24 because with respect to (*πρός*) all the
 rest a first aeon (*αἰών*)
 [78]
 [
 2 [
 [
 4 [all
 [

77,7 ω, or else ψ; ψω[.ΙΠ] (read with ultraviolet light).

77,9 Or, when she did not desire.

77,13-25 This description of the first emanation from the Spirit best fits Barbelo.

77,13 Not room for [ΟΨΛΗΤ] in the lacuna; also possible are [ΞΕΨ], i.e.,
 ΞΕΟΨ, [ΤΔΟΨ] and [ΤΔΠ].

6 Τ[.] ΝΤΕ Π[.]Ε[.]] .ϣΕ[.] . .
 Μ[.] .]Ε ΝΜ ΠΗ .[.]
 8 Ν [Ε]ΓΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΥΨΟΟ[Π ΟΝ-]
 ΤΩΣ ΕΨΕΩΝ ΠΕ Ν ϣ[.]
 10 ρΗ ΟΨΕΝΕΡΤΙΑ ΔΕ [.] . .
 ΘΟΜ ΔΨΩ ΟΨϚ .[.] .
 12 ΜΗΔΡ ΔΡΧΙ ΕΝ Η [.] . .
 ΧΡΟΝΟC· ΑΛΛΑ Δ[.]ΟΨΩ-
 14 ΝϚ ΕΒΟΛ ρΗ ΟΨΜΗΤΨΑ [Ε-]
 ΝΕϚ· ΕΔΑΔΕΡΑΤC ΝΗ[Δ-]
 16 ρΡΑϣ ρΗ ΟΨΜΗΤΨΑ ΕΗ[ΕϚ]
 ΔΨΩ ΔCΡ ΕΒΗ ΕΒΟΛ ρΓΤΗ †-
 18 ΜΗΤΝΟΘ ΝΤΕ †ΜΗΤ[.] . .
 ΝΤΑϣ· ΑΔΑΔΕΡΑΤC ΕΙC-
 20 ΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΨΩ ΕCΤ[Ε]ΛΗ[Λ]
 ΜΜΟC ΕCΜΕϚ ΕΒΟΛ ρΗ Ο[Ψ-]
 22 ΜΗΤΧΡΗCΤΟC ΜΜ[Ο]C [.] . .
 ΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑCΜΟ[]

[ΟΘ]

a [] ---]Ϛ
 [. . . .]ΝΟ[]
 2 [. . . .]Ϛ [.] [. . . .]
 [. . . .] [.]ΝΤ[. . . .]
 4 [. . . .] [.]ΤΕΝΓ[. . . .]Ϛ
 [---]C Ν ΝΑ.[.]Ϛ
 6 [---]Ε ΕCΨ[. . . .]Ϛ
 [.]ΨΟΡΠ Ν ρΨΠΑΡ-
 8 [Ξ]C . . .] ΔΤΟΨCΔ· ΜΗΝ-
 [CΔ .]Η ΕΤΜΜΑΨ· ΕΒΟΛ
 10 [ρ]ΓΤ]Μ ΠΓΔΤΠΩΡΞ ΠΡΟC
 [†ρ]ΨΠΑΡΞC ρΗ ΟΨΕΝΕΡ-
 12 [C]Δ ΜΗ] †ΜΗΤΤΕΛΓΟC Ν ΝΟ-

78,7-8 E.g., [ΨΟΡΠ]Ν [Ε]ΓΜΕ.

78,11 .I, the trace is not compatible with λ (it is a vertical stroke, as in β, τ, η, ι, κ, η, or π); not room for ρΨΠ[ΔΡΞ]C unless this word was crowded far into the margin.

78,12 ΔΡΞ Γ, common miswriting of ΔΡΧΙ.

78,18 Cf. 51,23n.

78,22-23 E.g., [ΕCΠΩ]/ΡΞ, or [Ν ΔΤΠΩ]ΡΞ.

78,22 Cf. 13,14.

79 Line numbers on this page are only approximate. Somewhat lower than the

] of the
] with h
 know him
 exists as a
 and (δ) in
 power and
 he did not
 time (χρον
 from eterni
 having stood
 (Spirit?) in
 she was dar
 majesty of it
 she stood
 looking at it
 because she
 wisdom (χρ
 but (ἀλλ)

] f
] insubsta
 other] that
 from] the un
 existence (ὄμ
 intellectual

place when
 the right sit
 compatible
 begins at li
 †, connect
 †, or else
 E.g., ΕCΨ
 H can also
 cf. 77,23.

6 [] of the []
 [] with him []
 8 know him; he really (*δυνως*)
 exists as an aeon (*αἰών*) []
 10 And (*δέ*) in activity (*ἐνέργεια*) []
 power and a []
 12 she did not begin (*ἀρχεῖν*) []
 time (*χρόνος*), but (*ἀλλά*) she [appeared]
 14 from eternity,
 having stood before
 16 it (Spirit?) in eternity.
 She was darkened by the
 18 majesty of its []
 She stood
 20 looking at it and rejoicing
 because she was filled with its
 22 kindness (*χρηστός*), []
 . . . but (*ἀλλά*) when she had []

[79]

a [--]
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 []
 6 [] she []
 [] first [existence (*ὑπαρξίς*)]
 8 [] insubstantial (*-ουσία*),
 [after] that []. It is
 10 [from] the undivided one toward (*πρός*)
 existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) by an activity (*ἐνέργεια*)
 12 [intellectual (*νοερόν*)] perfection (*τέλειος*)

place where pagination is expected, there is an ink trace resembling Υ or the right side of Π or Υ , with an ornamental bar below it (see line a); not compatible with Θ and probably neither pagination nor text. Text begins at line 1.

79,2 Υ , connected to the preceding letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke.

79,4 Υ , or else Π .

79,6 E.g., $\epsilon\sigma\Upsilon\{\theta\theta\}\dot{\eta}$, or $\epsilon\sigma\Upsilon\{\omega\}\dot{\eta}$.

79,9 $\text{I}\dot{\eta}$ can also be read f , H , or ω ; restore either $\Pi\text{I}\dot{\eta}$, or $\Upsilon\text{I}\dot{\eta}$, or $\text{N}\text{I}\dot{\eta}$; cf. 77,23.

and intellectual (*νοερόν*) life
 14 that he moves, he who was
 blessedness (*-μακάριος*) and
 16 divinity. The [whole] Spirit (*πνεῦμα*),
 perfect (*τέλειος*), simple (*ἀπλοῦν*)
 18 and invisible,
 [has] become a unity
 20 in existence (*ὑπαρξις*) and
 activity (*ἐνέργεια*) and a
 22 simple (*ἀπλοῦν*) three-[powered] one,
 an invisible spirit (*πνεῦμα*), an
 24 image (*εἰκών*) of that which
 really (*δυντως*) exists, the one
 [80]
 [
 2 [
 [
 4 [
 [
 6 of the really (*δυντως*) [existing
 [he] exists in a [
 8 . . . she being an image (*εἰκών*) [
 in a turning [
 10 power to join with its [
 she having seen the [
 12 which was [
 the all-perfection (*-παντέλειος*) [
 14 that one, because it [
 pre-exists and [
 16 rest upon all these, it [
 pre-exists being known
 18 as three-powered. The
 Invisible (*ἀόρατον*) Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) has not
 20 ever [been] ignorant: [it always]
 knew, but (*ἀλλά*) it was always
 22 perfection (*-τέλειος*) [and]
 blessedness (*-μακάριος*) [

80,11 ω, or else ω; e.g., ωωω(τ; cf. 39,12; 45,18.

80,14 E.g., λειν εϛρ].

80,16 E.g., εϛρ].

[πδ]

[Ν]ΤΑΣΡ ΔΤΕΓΜΕ [
 2 ΔΤΩ ΕΣΨ[---]
 ϜΩΜΔ ΜΗ Ν[
 4 . ΕΡΗΤ Ε[
 [.]ΟΨΟΕΙΝ [
 6 [. .]ΣΨΟ[ΟΠ] ΕΚ . [
 [.]ΥΛΟΕΙ . [. .]ΣΤΕ Π[.]ΣΚΕ· ϐ[Γ]ΝΔ
 8 ΖΕ ΗΝΕΣΕΓ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΟΨΟ
 [Δ]ΤΩ ΝΣΨΩΠΕ ϐΓ ΠΟΨΕ
 10 ΝΤΕ †ΜΗΤΤΕΛΓΟС· ΔС-
 ΜΜΕ ΕΡΟС ΜΗ ΠΗ ΕΤΜ-
 12 ΜΔϜ· ΔΤΩ ΔСΔϐΕΡΔΤС
 [ϐΩ]ΩС ΔСΟΨΩΨС ΕΒΟΛ
 14 [ΕΤ]ΒΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΜΜΔϜ· ΔΤΩ
 [Ε]ΠΓΔΗ ΝΕСΨΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ
 16 [ϐΜ Π]Η ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩС
 ([Ν]ΕСΨΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ ϐΜ ΠΗ ΕΤ
 18 ΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩС) ΜΗ ΝΗ
 [Τ]ΗΡΟϜ ΕСΟΨΩΝС ΔΤΩ
 20 [С]СΟϜΗ ΠΗ ΕΤΡ ΨΡΠ Ν ΨΟ-
 [Ο]Π· ΕΔΨΟϜΔϐΟϜ ΝСΩϐ
 22 ΔΤΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ (ΔΤ-
 ΨΩ[Π]Ε ΕΨΨΟΟΠ) ΔΤΩ
 24 ΕΨΟϜΟΝϐ ΕΒ[ΟΛ] ϐΓΤΗ ΝΗ
 [πδ]
 [ΕΤΡ ΨΟΡ]Π Ν [Ψ]ϐΟΠ· ΔΤΩ
 2 [.] ΕΒΟΛ ϐΓΤΗ ΝΓ[
 [---] ΕΔΨΟϜΩΝ[ϐ]
 4 [ΕΒΟΛ ---] СΝΤΕ Μ [
 [---] ΔΨΟϜΩ[Νϐ]
 6 [ΕΒΟΛ] . [. Π]Η ΕΤ-
 ϐ ΨΟΡΠ Ν ΕΓΜϐ ΕΡΟϐ ΕϜ-
 8 ΧΩΡΗΜΔ ΠΕ Ν ΨΔ ΕΝΕϐ·
 ΕΔϐΨΩΠΕ Ν ΟΨΜΕ[ϐ-]
 10 СΝΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΕϐΤΝΩС[С]

81,7 .[, λ, μ, or ϐ; apparently not λΟΕΙϐΕ (as 20,1) for palaeographic reasons. | Π[.]ς, no trema over ϐ.

81,8 I.e., emanate from the Spirit; cf. 83,15-19.

81,11 Or, she knew it (perfection) and it (spirit).

81,17-18 ([Ν]ΕС'...ΟΝΤΩС) carelessly repeated by the scribe or his predecessor.

she became
 and she [
 body (σώμα
 promise [
 light [
 [] she ex
 []]
 she might n
 or come in
 from perfect
 knew hersel
 She made he
 [s (δς)] she
 [because of]
 Since (ἐπειδ
 [from] that w
 [she was fro
 really (ὁτως
 close, she kn
 and the one t
 by following
 they came in
 came into be
 appearing th
 [δ]
 who pre-lex
 knows it bef
 an eternal sp
 since he had
 his second kn
 Perhaps M
 in 20-21.
 [δϜ'...Ψ
 Or, ΜΗ.
 it, the fla
 Since Bar

[81]

she became ignorant [
 2 and she [
 body (*σῶμα*) and [
 4 promise [
 light [
 6 [] she exists [
 . . . [] in order that (*ἵνα*)
 8 she might not come forth anymore
 nor come into existence apart
 10 from perfection (*-τέλειος*). She
 knew herself and it (Spirit?).
 12 She made herself stand,
 [as (*ὡς*)] she was at rest
 14 [because of] it.
 Since (*ἐπειδή*) she was
 16 [from] that which really (*δυντως*) exists
 {she was from the one who
 18 really (*δυντως*) exists} and all
 those, she knows herself
 20 and the one that pre-exists.
 By following it
 22 they came into being existing {they
 came into being existing} and
 24 appearing through those
 [82]
 [who pre-]exist. And
 2 [] through the [
 [] they having appeared
 4 [] two [
 [] they appeared
 6 [] the one] who
 knows it beforehand, as
 8 an eternal space (*χώρημα*),
 since he had become
 10 its second knowledge (*γνώσις*),

81,18-19 Perhaps ΜΗ ΝΗ / (Τ) ΗΡΟϚ is misplaced and should follow ΨΟ/ΟΠ̄ in 20-21.

81,22-23 {ΔϚ'...ΨΟΟΠ} carelessly repeated by the scribe or his predecessor.

82,2 Or, ΝΗ.

82,7 Π̄, the flag is not preserved.

82,10-13 Since Barbelo is first gnosis, Kalyptos is a second gnosis.

palaeography

or his predecessor

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ †ΡΝΩCΓC ΝΤΙΕ]
 12 ΤΕΥΡΝΩCΓC ΕΤΕ ΠΙΚΛ[C]
 ΠΕ ΝΗ ΔΤΜΙCΕ· ΔΘΩ [ΠΓ-]
 14 ΟΝΤΩC ΕΤ[ΨΟΟΠ̄ Ο|Ν ΔΘ-]
 ΔΘΕΡΑΤΟΘ ρΓΧΜ ΠΑΪ· [Ε-]
 16 ΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΤΑΡ ΔCΘΟΘ[ΩΜΥ]
 ρΓΝΑ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΝΗ ΕΤΟΘΗ[ρ]
 18 ΝCΩC ΨΩΠΕ ΕΘΝΤΑ[θ]
 Ν ΟΘΤΟΠΟC ΔΘΩ ΝCΕ-
 20 ΨΤΜΡ ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΕΡΟC Ν[Γ]
 ΝΗ ΕΤΗΗΘ ΕΒΟΛ [Δ]ΛΛΑ
 22 ΝCΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΤ[Ο]ΘΑΔΒ
 Ν ρΑΠΛΟΘΗ· †ΚΑΤΑ-
 24 ΝΟΗCΓ[C Τ]Ε ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΘ-
 [ΠC̄]
 [Τ]Ε ΕΤΡ ΨΡΠ̄ Ν Ψ[ΟΟΠ̄· ΔC-]
 2 ΟΘΩΨC Ε[ΒΟΛ
 Ε ΠΙΡΑΠΛΟΘ[Ν - - -] .C
 4 Ν ΟΘΟΘΧΑΪ []
 [.] ΟΘΟΘΧΑΪ []
 6 [. .] . . ΠΗ ΜΕΝ .[]
 [. . . Ο]ΘΟΕΓΝ ΕΤ[Ο]ΘΡ Ψ[Ρ]Π̄
 8 [Ν ΕΓΜ]Ε ΕΡΟΥ ΔΤΜΟΘΤΕ ΕΡΟC
 [ΧΕ] †ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΕΒΟΛ ρΓΤΗ
 10 [†]ΕΝΝΟΓΑ· †ΨΜ̄ΤCΕ-
 [ΝΟC] Ν ρΟΟΘ̄ Μ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
 12 [Ν Τ]ΕΛΓΟC· †ΡΝΩCΓC ΔΕ
 [ΝΤΕ] ΤΑΪ ΤΗ ΕΤΑCΨΩΠΕ
 14 [ΕΒΟΛ] ρΓΤΟΟΤC ΧΕ ΝΝΟΘ-
 [.]ΟΚC Ε ΠΕCΗ̄ ΔΘΩ ΧΕ
 16 [Ν]ΝΕCΕΓ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΟΘΟ Ε-
 ΒΟΛ ρΓΤΗ ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄
 18 [Ν]ρΗΤC ΜΗ ΝΗ ΕΤΟΘΗρ
 ΝCΩC· ΑΛΛΑ ΕCΨΟΟΠ̄
 20 Ν ρΑΠΛΟΘΗ ΧΕ ΕCΕCΜ
 [Γ]ΟΜ Ε CΟΘΩΝ ΠΝΟΘΤΕ
 22 ΕΤ[Ρ] ΨΡΠ̄ Ν ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΧΕ
 ΔC[Ψ]ΩΠΕ ΕΝΔΝΟΘC Ν-
 24 ΤΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΜΜ[Δ]Θ ΕΔCΟΘ-

82,14 π̄, the flag is not preserved.

83,15 ο, or else β, θ, ρ, or possibly ρ or ψ.

once again
 is knowle
 Kalyptos (C
 stood at re
 that really
 for (yhp) sh
 in order tha
 her might c
 a place (τό
 case that c
 might not b
 might becom
 and) simpl
 comprehens

who pre-[ex
 rested []
 in the simpl
 sivation []
 sivation []
 [] he ()
 [] light wi
 [known]. Sh
 Sabbelo by
 thought (En
 [which is] m
 [and] perfect
 knowledge
 to being in
 []
 she might no
 through tho
 in her and th
 ber. Rather
 simple (ἀπλ
 be able to k
 who pre-exi
 she came in
 of it since s

5. E.g., ορ
Lit., of th

12 once again (*πάλιν*) the knowledge (*γνώσις*) of
 his knowledge (*γνώσις*), the unborn
 Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*). [They]
 14 stood at rest upon the one
 that really (*δυνως*) exists;
 16 for (*γάρ*) she knew about it,
 in order that (*ἵνα*) those that follow
 18 her might come into being having
 a place (*τόπος*) and that
 20 those that come forth (from her)
 might not be before her but (*ἀλλά*)
 22 might become holy
 (and) simple (*ἀπλοῦν*). She is the
 24 comprehension (*κατανόησις*) of the god

[83]

who pre-[exists. She]
 2 rested [
 to the simple (*ἀπλοῦν*) [
 4 salvation [
 salvation [
 6 [] he (+*μέν*) [
 [] light which was fore-
 8 [known]. She was called
 Barbelo by
 10 thought (*ἔννοια*), the thrice-[race (*γένος*)]
 (which is) male, virginal (*παρθένος*)
 12 (and) perfect (*τέλειος*). And (*δέ*) through
 knowledge (*γνώσις*) of her she came
 14 into being in order that they might not
 [] her down and that
 16 she might not come forth anymore
 through those
 18 in her and those that follow
 her. Rather (*ἀλλά*), she is
 20 simple (*ἀπλοῦν*) in order that she might
 be able to know the god
 22 who pre-exists because
 she came into being as a good (product)
 24 of it since she

83,24-25 E.g., *οτ/(ωνη μ...)* εβολ.

83,24 Lit., of that one; probably the Spirit.

[.] . . [. . .] ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 [ΠΔ]
 [. ΟΙΘΜΝΤΑΤΜΙΣ[Ε]
 2 [————— ΜΙΕΡΨΟΜΤ
 . [.] . ΣΝΑΘ Ν ΔΓΔ-
 4 [.] Τ Ν ΤΕ[Ι]ΘΕ [.
 . [. ΘΟ]ΘΤ ΔΕ . [.
 6 ρ[.] . ΕΝ[
 ρ[. .] Ν ΝΕ[. .] Ν ΜΝ †Μ[
 8 ΤΕ Μ Μ[Ν]ΤΑΤΜΙΣ[Ε
 ΣΙΣ ΤΕ ΟΘΜΕΡΟΝΤΕ Ν[
 10 ΚΩΝ . ΔΣΑΘΕΡΑΤΣ [.
 ΨΟΡΠ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΟΝΤΩ[Σ ΕΤ-]
 12 ΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ Ν Κ[
 ΤΕ †ΜΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ[Σ
 14 ΝΤΕ ΠΙΔΘΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ Π[ΝΔ
 †ΡΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΤΕ †ΨΟΡ[Π]
 16 Ν ΘΠΑΡΞΙΣ ΝΘΡΑΪ ΘΝ †-
 ΜΝΤΘΑΠΛΟΤΣ ΝΤΕ Π[Δ-]
 18 ΤΝΑΘ ΕΡΟΥ Μ ΠΝΔ Ν ΘΡΑΪ
 ΘΝ †ΘΕΝΝΑΣ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Ν-
 20 ΘΡΑΪ ΘΝ †ΜΝΤΟΘΩΤ Τ[Η]
 ΕΤΤΟΘΒΗΘ ΔΘΩ [.] Δ[
 22 ΕΙΔΟΣ [Δ]ΘΩ Ψ[Ο]ΘΠ
 ΝΘΣ ΠΗ ΕΤ[
 [ΠΕ]
 [.] . . [. . .] .
 2 [.] ΕΓΜΕ ΔΕ
 [.] ΜΝ †ΜΝΤ-
 4 [. Δ]ΘΩ †[ΜΝΤΕ]ΙΛΙΟΣ
 6 [.] ΕΝΕΡΤΣ ΔΕ [ΜΜ]ΟΥ ΔΘΩ
 8 [.] ΚΥ ΠΨΟΡΠ Ν ΚΑΣ

83,25 . . .], indistinct traces.

84,3-4 E.g., Δ/ΓΔ[ΦΟΡΑ].

84,7-8 E.g., Ν|ΤΕ.

84,9-10 E.g., ΝΓ[ΘΓ]/ΚΩΝ.

[
 [84]
 [] barrenness
 2 [] third
 [] two
 4 [] of this way[
 [] and (δέ) [male
 6 []
 [] and the
 8 [] barrenness [
 [. . . she] is a second [
 10 . . . she stood [
 first of the reality (-όντως) [which]
 12 really (δυντως) exists [
 . . . the blessedness (-μακάριος) [
 14 of the Invisible (άόρατον) [Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 the knowledge (γνώσις) of the first
 16 existence (ὑπαρξις) in the
 simplicity (-απλοῦς) of the
 18 Invisible Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 in the unity (ένάς). It is similar
 20 in the singleness that
 is pure and [
 22 species (είδος). And he who [
 exists [
 [85]
 [
 2 [
 [
 4 [
 [
 6 [
 [
 [] and (δέ) knows
 8 [] and the
 [] and the [perfection (-τέλειος)]
 10 and (δέ) [] produces (ένεργεῖν) it and
 [] the first Kalyptos (καλυπτός)

84,10 .δϛ, possibly εδϛ.

84,17 -οϣϛ, sic.

85 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

12 [. . .]ΤΕ ΝΤΟΟϞ ΤΗΡΟϞ †-
 [ϞϞΠ]ΑΡϞΓΙϞ ΜΗ †ΕΝΕΡΤΙΔ
 14 †[Μ]ΝΤΝΟϞΤΕ ΠΙΤΕΝΟϞ
 ΔϞΩ ΠΙΕΙΔΟϞ ΝΙϞΟΜ ΔΕ
 16 ϞϞΑ ΝΕ ΔϞΩ ΝϞΡΑΪ ϞΝ ΟϞ
 ϞΕ ΞΕ Ν ΟϞΑ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ
 18 ΝΟϞΜΕΡΙΚΟΝ ΔΝ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΝΗ ΝΤΕ Π[ΗΡ]Ϟ. V ϞΕ ΟϞ
 20 ΠΕ ΠΙΟϞΑ ΕΤΕ †ϞΕ[Ν]ΝΑϞ
 ΤΕ Δ[Ϟ]Ω ΕΒϞϞ ϞΙΤΝ †ΕΝΕΡ-
 22 ΤΙΔ [. . .]ΔϞ[. . . .]ΜΝΤΩΝϞ
 ΜΗ[. . . .] .[. . . .] ΠΕ ΝΤΕ
 24 [---]ΤΗΡϞ ΔΕ
 [ΠϞ]
 [.]
 2 [.]
 4 Π[.]
 [.]
 6 Β[.]
 Ε [.]
 8 ϞΟΜ Δ[.]
 ΤΕ Μ ΠΡΗ[ΤΕ
 10 ΠΑΡ[. . . .]ΕϞΘΗ[ΤΟΝ
 ΜΕΝ .[. Π]ΑΝΤΕΛΙ[ΟϞ
 12 ΜΑϞ ΕΔϞϞΟΟϞ ΕϞϞ[ΜΟϞ]
 ϞΕ ΝΤΚΟϞΝΟϞ ΔΦΡ[ΗΔΩΝ]
 14 ΝΤΚΟϞΤΕΛΙΟϞ ΝΕΦ[.]
 ΕϞϞΩ ΜΜΟϞ Ε ΤΕϞϞϞΠ[Δ]Ρ-
 16 ϞΓΙϞ ϞΕ ΝΤΚΟϞΝΟϞ ΔΗΪΦΔ[.]
 †ΕΝΕΡΤΙΔ ΝΤΑϞ ΜΗ ΟϞΩΝ[Ϟ]
 18 ΔϞΩ ΟϞΜΝΤΝΟϞΤΕ †[Ε]
 ΝΤΚΟϞΝΟϞ ϞΑΡΜΗΔΩ[Ν
 20 ΠΑΝΓΕΟΟϞ [Τ]Η[Ρ]ΟϞ ΕΠΙϞ[.]

85,14 Asyndetic lack of conjunctions.

85,15-16 Or, the powers are one, but in what way?

85,17 The letter Ϟ must have protruded into the left margin; Ϟ, or else Ϟ, or possibly † or Ϟ (not Δ and not a mark of punctuation).

85,21-22 E.g., †ΕΝΕΡΤΙΔ [ΝΤ]ΔϞ [ΜΝ †]ΜΝΤΩΝϞ.

85,23] .[, a supralinear stroke.

86 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

86,12 Cf. 51,6-19.

12 [] them all,
 existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) and activity (*ἐνέργεια*),
 14 divinity, race (*γένος*)
 and species (*εἶδος*). But (*δέ*) are the powers
 16 one? In what way
 (is it) that he is one, that is,
 18 not a partial one (*μερικόν*), but (*ἀλλά*)
 (one of) those of the All? What
 20 is the unity which is unity (*ἐνάς*)?
 Is it from
 22 activity (*ἐνέργεια*) [] life
 and [] of
 24 [] And (*δέ*) all []
 [86]
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 []
 6 []
 []
 8 power []
 ... as []
 10 ... [] perceptible (*αἰσθητόν*) []
 [] all-perfect (*παντέλειος*) []
 12 she [blessed (them)] saying
 "You are great, Aphr[edon].
 14 You are perfect (*τέλειος*), Neph-[]
 To his existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) she says,
 16 "You are great, Deipha-[]
 She [is] his activity (*ἐνέργεια*) and life
 18 and divinity.
 You are great, Harmedo[n]
 20 one who belongs to [all] the glories, Epiph-[]

86,13 For Aphredon, see also 88,1.18; 122,6-7; cf. *Steles Seth* VII 126,10; *Allogenes* XI 54,23.

86,16 -ī- had the supralinear stroke above it.

86,18 ϛ [€] might be expected, but if this is the reading, ϛ was abnormally written so that the trace resembles the left branch of a τ; palaeographically the preferable reading of this trace is τ.

86,19 Also Armedon, the first light of Kalyptos according to 120,3; cf. *Steles Seth* VII 126,12 and *Allogenes* XI 54,12.

22 ΤΕΥΜΝΤ̣Μ[Δ]ΚΑΡΓ[ΟC ΔΕ ΜΝ
 †ΜΝΤ̣ΤΕΛ[ΓΟ]C Ν[ΤΕ] †ΜΝΤ-
 ΟΥΩΤ̣ .[. . .]ΔΟ[. . .]ΟΥ Ο[Τ
 24 ΤΗΡΥ ΖΓ Ο[] Π̄]
 []
 2 [---] Δ
 []
 4 []
 []
 6 [---] Δ
 [---] . ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ
 8 [.] . [. . .] Ν ΝΟΞΡΟΝ
 [.] ΕΖΝ[. . .] . ΤΕΛ[ΓΟC
 10 [† ΒΑΡΒ]ΗΛΩ Μ Π[ΑΡΘΕ]ΝΟC
 [ΕΒΟΛ] ΖΥΤΟΟΤC Η †ΜΝΤ̣ΖΑ-
 12 [ΠΛΟ]ΥC ΝΤΕ †ΜΝΤ̣ΜΑΚΑ-
 [ΡΟC] ΝΤΕ ΠΨΜ̣Τ̣ΘΟΜ Ν
 14 [ΔΥΟ]ΡΑΤ[ΙΟ]Ν Μ ΠΝΑ̣ ΤΗ Ε-
 ΤΑCΕΙΜΕ Ε ΠΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΘ
 16 ΔCΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟC ΠΗ ΔΕ ΕΥΕ
 Η ΟΥΑ ΝCΑ ΦΑ ΝΓΜ ΕΥΕ Ν-
 18 Η ΔΤΠΩΡΧ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΔΥΝ
 [. . .] ΔΥΘΟ[. . .] ΟC ΝCΕΙΓ]ΜΕ
 20 [ΕΡΟC Ε]ΥΕΝΕΡΤΓΑ ΝΤΑΥ
 [ΤΕ . . .] ΕΤ[. . .] ΝΥΕΙΜΕ Ε
 22 [.] Ο[.] ΕΥΕΙΜΕ
 [.] ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΚΕ-
 [ΠΗ]
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 Δ
 .[]
 6 Ζ[]
 Ε[]
 8 Μ[]

86,23 .i, the trace can be read ϛ, ϥ, ϧ, or Ϝ.

87 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

87,9 No supralinear stroke over Ν.

87,10 The supralinear stroke is present over only Η and Ω.

22 And (δέ) his blessedness (-μακάριος) and
 the perfection (-τέλειος) [of] the
 unity [
 24 all[

[87]

[

2 [

4 [

6 [

8 [] forever
 [] intellectual (νοερόν)
 [] perfect (τέλειος)]

10 [the virgin (παρθένος) Barb]elo
 through the simplicity (-απλοῦς)
 12 of the blessedness (-μακάριος)
 of the three-powered
 14 Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα). She
 who has known it
 16 has known herself. And (δέ) that one, being
 one everywhere, being
 18 undivided, having
 [] has [] and she has known
 20 [herself as] its activity (ἐνέργεια)
 [] and he has known
 22 [] knowledge
 [] within . . .

[88]

87,14-15 Or, after she has known it.

87,16 δ, not ε.

87,18 εδψη, supralinear stroke over η.

88 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

10 Σ ΜΟϞ Ε[ΒΗ[Ρ]Γ[ΘΕϞ ΕΡΓΕΝΔΟΡ]
ΩΡ[ΓΜΕΝΓ]Ε· ΔΡ[ΔΜΕΝ]
 12 ΔΛΦΛ[ΕΥ]Ε· ΗΛΓΛΓΟ[ϞΦΕϞ]
ΛΑΛΑΜΕϞ· ΝΟΗΘΕϞ[
 14 ΟϞΝΟϞ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ Δ[
ΥΖΟΟΡ· ΠΗ ΕΤ[Ε]ΓΜΕ [Ε-]
 16 ΥΓΜΕ Ε ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟϞ· ΝΤ[Κ-]
ΟϞΔ ΝΤΚΟϞΔ ϞΙΟϞ Ε· [
 18 ΔΦΡΗΔΩΗ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ Π[ΓΕ-]
ΩΗ ΝΤΕ ΗΓΕΩΗ ΝΤΕ Π[Γ-]
 20 ΝΟϞ Η ΤΕΛ[ΓΟ]Ϟ ΠΥ[ΟΡ]Π
Η ΚΛϞ ΝΤΕ †[Μ]ΕϞ· [
 22 ΝΗ ΕΝΕΡΤΓΔ [Δ]ϞΩ [
ΤΑΝ ΠΕ Η Δ[. .]Δ[
 24 ΠΕΥΕΓΗΕ [
ΝΤΑΥ ΕΥ [

[ΠΘ]

2	[
4	[	---	]Μ
	[	---	]ΨΟ
6	[
8	[---]·
	[	---	ϞΠΔΡ]ϞΓ[Ϟ
10	[	---	] ΔϞΩ ΕΥ-
	[	---	]ϞΤΕ
12	[	---	]ΨΩ
	[	---	]ΠΕ ϞΗ
14	[	---	]Π]ΓΕΟ-
	[	---	Ϟ]ΕΝΕΟΟϞ
16	[	---	]ΠΟϞ· ΟϞ-
	[	---	] ϞΗ
18	[	---	]ΤΗ

88,10 The final trace is of a vertical stroke, as from Β, Ϟ, Η, Γ, Κ, or Ν | for the restoration, cf. *Allogenes* XI 54,17-20.

88,11 Possibly the supralinear stroke ended over ε, now in lacuna.

88,12 ε, or else † or † (other alternatives are probably excluded) | Ϟ, or else Ϟ.

...ss [...] O Bel[...] (fimeni) [...] (ph) [eg] ...] (amentus) ...] (at is you ...] (is strong ...] (ows even ...] (e, you ar ...] (iredon, ...] (the aeons ...] (ect (τέλ ...] (alptos (κ ...] (ivity (έκ ...] (he is [...] (intage [...] (his, he [

E.g. Δ[Ϟ ...] , compa ...] Line num ...] through

bless [
 10 []O Be[ritheu, Erigenaor],
 Or[imeni]os, Ar[amen],
 12 Alphl[eg], Elilio[upheus],
 Lalamenus, Noetheus[
 14 great is your name [
 it is strong. He who knows (it)
 16 knows everything. You are
 one, you are one, Sious, E-[
 18 Aphredon, you are the [aeon (*αιών*)]
 of the aeons (*αιών*) of the
 20 perfect (*τέλειος*) great one, the first
 Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*) of the [
 22 activity (*ἐνέργεια*), and [
 . . . he is [
 24 his image [
 of his, he [

[89]

[
 2 [
 [
 4 [
 [
 6 [
 [
 8 [
 [
 existence (*ὑπαρξις*)
 10 [] and he
 [
 12 [
 [
] in
 14 [the glory]
 [] glories
 16 [] a
 [] in
 18 [

88,14 E.g., Δ[Ϟω].

88,21 .[, compatible with the first letter of all cardinal numbers from one to ten.

89 Line numbers on this page are only approximate | very little text survives through p. 108.

H, J, K, or N
 in lacuna
 included) | 0.

	[
20	[	---	] .N
	[	---	]ΕΩΝ
22	[	---	]ΟΓΔ
	[	---	]ΗΘΘ
24	[	---	]ΟΥΤΕ
	[<u>ψ</u>]		
	[
2	[
	[
4	[
	[
6	[
	[
8	[
	ΠΟΟ[Π		
10	ΠΕ Ν Δ[
	Ν [
12	Λ[Ν		
	ΚΔ[
14	ΝΕ[
	ΛΝΤ̄ .[
16	ΛΑΚ[ΔΡΟΣ		
	Ν Ν[
18	ΛΓ[
	Ρ[
20	Τ[
	ΕΝΔ[
22	ΝΤΕ[
	ΕΦ[
24	ΩΝΘ [
	ΕΨ .[
			<u>ψ[Δ]</u>
	[
2	[
	[
4	[
	[
6	[
	[

20 [] aeon (*αιών*)

22 []
24 [] [90]

2 []
4 []
6 []
8 [] exist [

10 []
12 [and

14 []
16 [blessed (*μακάριος*)

18 []
20 []
22 []
24 []

[91]

2 []
4 []
6 []

91 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

8 [----]ε
 [----]Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ
 10 [----] .ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ·
 [.] . [.] . [.]ωϥ
 12 [.] ΜΠΓΜ [.] ΤΕ
 [.] ΤΕΕΤ [. . .] ΨΟΡΠ
 14 [. . .] ΜΕΕΡ [. . .] ΜΝ ΘΕΝΘΟΜ
 [. . .] ΡΕΥ [.] Π ΕΡΟΥ Μ ΠΑΝ-
 16 [ΤΕΛΓ]ΟC [.] CΜ ΝΕ ΝΤΕ
 [Ν]ΔΪ ΤΗΡ[ΟΤ] ΔΤΩ ΟΥΛΟΪ-
 18 [Θ]Ε ΝΤΑ [. . .] ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΣΜΗΤ-
 [.] . [. . .] ΟC [.] . [. . .] ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ
 20 [.] ΥΩΠ [.] . Ε [Ρ] ΟΥ ΔΤΩ
 [.] ΔΥ [. . .] ΝΔΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν
 22 [.] ΗΤ [. . .] ΕΜΠΥΚΑΛΑ
 [.] ΜΝ ΤΕΥΜΗΤ-
 24 [----] ΨΩΠΕ
 [.] Π· ΑΛΛΑ
 [ΥΒ]
 [.]
 2 [.]
 [.]
 4 [.]
 [.]
 6 [.]
 [.]
 8 . [.]
 [.]
 10 ΝΤΕ Ν [.]
 ΕΒΟ [Λ] . . [.]
 12 ΔΤΩ . . . [ΨΩ . . .]
 ΝΤΑC [.] Τ Ν C [.]
 14 ΟΤΩΤ [.] ΗΕΤ [.]
 ΜΝ ΟΤΜ [.] . Μ [.]
 16 ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΘΝ Ο [Τ . . .] ΘΑ [.]
 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΟΗ [ΜΔ] ΕΤΨ [ΟΟΠ]
 18 ΟΝΤΩ [C . . .] ΕΤ [ΨΟ] ΟΠ Ν [.]

91,12 Lacunas over both Ms.

91,18 E.g., ΝΤΑ [Τ . . .]

91,19 [. . .] . [. . .] , the trace consists solely of a supralinear stroke |] . [. . .] Β̄ , a supralinear stroke connected this letter with the following one.

8 []
 [] divine
 10 []
 []
 12 [] ... []
 [] ... [] first
 14 [] ... [] and powers
 [] ... [all-perfect (παντέλειος)]
 16 they are [] of
 all these and a
 18 cause of all [], a
 [] Barbelo
 20 [] ... [] him an
 [] all these
 22 [] he not having
 [] and his
 24 [] become
 [] but (ἀλλά)
 [92]
 []
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 []
 6 []
 []
 8 []
 []
 10 of []
 ... []
 12 [and
 []
 14 single []
 and a []
 16 in [a
 according to (κατά) the [thought (νόημα)] which
 18 really (ὄντως) [exists] which exists as []

91,20 Π may have had a flag.

91,22-23 E.g., κδλδ/τδσ.

92 Line numbers on this page are only approximate.

92,18-19 E.g., Ν[οσδτ]/† ρδΝ, or Ν[δτ]/† ρδΝ; cf. 74,21.

erke 11.1.1
 following one

† ρ ρ α ν ε [.] ν [. .] α τ [
 20 σο τ [.] π λ η [
 κ λ σ ν [.] ο [
 22 π η ο [.] η τ [
 ψ μ τ̣ [.] ζ [
 24 ν ε ν [
 α λ λ α [
[ϣϚ]
 † ρ α ν ε ρ ο γ ν α ἰ τ η ρ ο υ ψ α ρ -
 2 ρ π ρ η τ ε ε σ η μ η σ ε β ο λ
 ρ μ π η ε τ θ ε β [η] ο ρ τ̣ ε -
 4 ψ [ω] η ε δ ε ε κ ψ α η † ε ρ ο σ
 ε τ [β η] η τ γ · ε ψ ω [η ε] δ ε ε κ -
 6 ψ α [η] . ε ε τ̣ [. . ρ] σ π α ρ -
 ζ [η σ . .] π ψ [.] η ε γ -
 8 ρ [.] σ [.] η α ν ο σ -
 ο [---] η ρ α π λ ο σ η
 10 [.] ---] η
 [---] γ ·
 12 [---] ε γ η α
 [---] γ ·
 14 [---] . π η ε
 [--- σο τ̣ ω η γ
 16 [---] σ τ η · ν
 ρ ρ α [---] η τ ε λ γ ο σ
 18 ε γ ε [--- τ ε λ] γ ο σ
 α σ ω [---] α ε
 20 τ η [---] ζ ω κ
 ε [---] η μ ε
 22 [---] η ε γ -
 [---] τ α σ
 24 [---] α γ ·
 [---] . α σ ε † μ η
 26 [---] η ε τ μ [.
 [ϣδ]
 [ε] μ π γ σ μ β ο μ ε ν α σ ε ρ ο σ
 2 ε τ β ε π α ἰ μ μ η ψ β ο μ ε ζ γ -
 τ γ μ π ε ἰ ρ η τ ε η ρ α ἰ ρ η

92,23 τ̣, or else τ.

93,6-7 μ ε ε σ ε [ε τ ρ] σ π α ρ ζ / η σ might be expected.

name [
 20 [
 Kalyptos (καλυπτός) [
 22 No-[
 thrice-[
 24 [
 but (ἀλλά) [

[93]

name him. All these come,
 2 as it were,
 from him who is pure.
 4 If (+δέ) you give glory
 because of him, and (δέ) if you
 6 [] existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 [] his
 8 [] a
 [] simple (ἀπλοῦν)
 10 [
 [
 12 [] he will
 [
 14 [] that one
 know] him
 16 [] ...
 [] perfect (τέλειος)
 18 he being [perfect (τέλειος)]
 and [
 20 [] perfect
 [
 22 [] his
 [
 24 [] him
 [] ... to the
 26 [
 [94]

he was not able to see her.
 2 Therefore, it is impossible to receive
 him in this way in

93,6 | ., the trace is compatible with e.g., ϰ | τ, the trace is probably not compatible with ϣ, although this is uncertain.

4 ΟϞΤΒΒ[Ο] ΝΤΕ †ΜΝΤΝΟϞ
 ΕΟϞΔ ΠΕ Ν ΤΕΛ[ΓΟ]Ϟ ΝΤΕ
 6 Π[Η Ε]ΤϞΝ ΟϞΕΝ[. . .]ϞΝΤΕ
 Π[.] .ΕΕ[. . .] .Ϟ ΕΤΕ
 8 Ν Ο[.]ΔΗ [. . . ϞΟϞ]ΩΝϞ
 ΕΤΒΕ[.]Ϟ[.]ΨΔΔΕ
 10 Μ[Μ]ΟϞ [---] .Ε
 ΤΕ[
 12 ΩΝ[
 ΕΤ .[
 14 ϞΓΟ[
 Μ ΠΕ[---] .Ϟ[
 16 ΕΤΚΩ[---] ΓΑΡ[
 ΝΔΝ Ν[---] Ϟ ΕΡΟϞ[
 18 Τ[--- ΨΟΟ]Π ϞΓ ΟϞΜΑ[
 Τ[---] ΔΕ ΜΜΟ[
 20 ΚΑ .[---] Ν ϞΓ . .[
 ΚΑ[
 22 ΚΑ[
 Ν Τ[
 24 ΤΑϞ[
 . . ΟϞΤΕ[---] ΔΓΔ-]
 [Ϟ]Ε

φορα ΝΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΜΝ ϞΕΝΔΓ-
 2 ΤΕΛΟϞ· ΑϞΩ ϞΕΝΔΓΑΦΟ-
 ΡΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΜΝ ϞΕΝΡΩΜΕ
 4 ΑϞΩ [ϞΕ]ΗΔΓΑΦΟΡΑ ΝΤΕ
 ΝΑΪ [ΜΝ] ΟϞϞϞΠ[ΑΡ]ϞΓϞ·
 6 ΑϞΩ [ϞΕ]ΝΟ .[.]ΟϞ
 ϞΓ[.]Ο .[.]ΝΟϞ
 8 Η[.] ΜΝ [ΟϞΕϞ]ΘΗϞΓϞ
 [---] ΤΩϞ
 10 [---] ΝΝΗ
 [---] ϞΝΤΩϞ
 12 [---] ΟϞ·
 ΚΑΙΓ[ΑΡ] ΠΓΚΟϞΜΟϞ

94,4 ΜΝ, only the supralinear stroke that connected these letters now survives | cf. 51,23; 78,18.
 94,6 ΟϞΕΝ, or else ΟϞΕ | ϞΝΤΕ, supralinear stroke over Ν | perhaps ΟϞΕΝ[ΝΔ]Ϟ ΝΤΕ, but elsewhere spelled ϞΕΝΝΔϞ.
 94,14 The group ϞΓ has no circumflex.

4 majestic purity,
 as a perfect (τέλειος) one of
 6 [him who] is in [
 [] which
 8 [know] him
 concerning [] say
 10 it [
 [
 12 [
 which [
 14 [
 [
 16 which [] for (γάρ)
 [] him
 18 [exist] together
 [] and (δέ) [
 20 [
 [
 22 [
 [
 24 [
 . . . nor (οὔτε) [
 [9]5
 [differences (διαφορά)] between these and
 2 angels (ἄγγελος), and differences (διαφορά)
 between these and human beings,
 4 and differences (διαφορά) between
 these [and] existence (ὑπαρξίς).
 6 And [
 [
 8 [] and [perception (αἴσθησις)]
 [
 10 [
 [] really (ὄντως)
 12 [
 [for truly (καὶ γάρ)] the [perceptible (αἰσθητόν)]

95,6 .ι, perhaps ι̅.
 95,7 .ι, a round letter.
 95,9 E.g., ΟΗ|ΤΩC.
 95,13 ι̅, a tiny, ambiguous trace.

14 Ν ΕΣ[ΘΗΤΟΝ . . . Μ] Π[Ρ]ΗΤΕ
 Ε[---]ΝΟΘ
 16 ρυπ[αρξ]ις ---]ϑ
 ταρ εϑ[
 18 αρω[---] .α
 Ν .[---]ε
 Lines 20 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.
 [ϣϛ]

[Ν]αρωη ερωϣ ρη οϣοοϣη
 2 ψαϣϣι βομ· αρω πη ετνε-
 οϣε μμοϣ· ψαϣϑββιο·
 4 ανοκ δε πεχδεϣ [δε] ετβε ο[ϣ]
 οϣη αρωωπ[ε νϣ] ηρεϣ†
 6 ραπ [η] οϣ πε π[χ]ις μ[κα]ρ ητε
 π[ι] [. . . .] η νε[. . . .] .ε ταρ
 8 να[.]α [. . . .]† μ[.] .με
 αρω [.] .ο[.] .πε
 10 χ[
 ψω[
 12 αλλ[α
 νσει ---]τ .[. .
 14 εβολ ρ[ι]τη ---] ετρε[
 π[ι]χ μ[κα]ρ] ρ[ι]τη [
 16 π[ο] [---]ϣ†ο[
 Ν .[---]ψοοη
 18 η ϣ[---] .εσοϣ-
 ηρ [---]ωρϣ:
 20 [---]η [
 [---] .π[
 Lines 22 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.
 [ϣϛ]

[ρ]οοϣτ εϣτηω[ϣ]ις τ[ε] ητ[ε]
 2 π[ι]ψμ[τ]βομ ηη ατηαϣ ερωϣ
 [η] νοϣ μ π[να]· †ρ[ι]κων ητε
 4 [π]ωο[ι]η η κ[α]ς· †μ[η]τ[μα]-
 [κα]ρ[ο]ς ετ[ψ]οοη ρμ π[α]ρο-
 6 [ρα]τον μ [π]να· χω[. . .] †ατ

- 96,2 I.e., ετηα; cf. 71,20.
 96,5 Νϣ], must have been written small.
 96,6 χ[ις μ]καρ; cf. 96,15.
 96,8 α, or else ρ.
 96,14 ε[ι], or else ϑ, ϑ, or ϣ. | e.g., ρε[ι]ε[ι].

14 world (κόσμος) [] like
 []
 16 [existence (ὑπαρξις)
 for (γάρ) []
 18 and []
 []
 Lines 20 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.
 [96]

will approach him in knowledge,
 2 he receives power, but he who is
 far from him is humbled.”
 4 And (δέ) I said, “Why
 then (οὖν) have the judges come
 6 into being? What [(+ῆ)] is the [suffering] of
 the [] for (γάρ)
 8 ... []
 and []
 10 []
 []
 12 but (ἀλλά) []
 []
 14 through [] who []
 suffering [] through []
 16 the [] ...
 [] exists
 18 [] she
 dwells []
 20 []
 []

Lines 22 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.
 [97]

male, since she is knowledge (γνώσις) [of]
 2 the three-powered invisible
 great Spirit (πνεῦμα), the image (εἰκὼν) of
 4 [the first] Kalyptos (καλυπτός), the
 [blessedness (-μακάριος)] in the
 6 [Invisible (ἀόρατον)] Spirit (πνεῦμα), [] the

96,17 ἦ, the flag is not preserved.

96,21 Π|, connected to the following letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke.

97,4 Cf. 85,11.

97,6 ω, or else ω̅.

	[.] . [.] ΔΤ	
8	[.] ϑω [.] ταρ	
	[.] ρ [.] εφεμε	
10	[---]]·
	[ --- ]	]ϑετ̄
12	[ --- ]	]η δ̄τ̄
	[ --- ]	]μοϑ
14	[. .] ηο [ --- ]	] εσοϑ-
	ωνο ε[βοα --- ]	]τνω-
16	ς[ς μ [ --- ]	]καρε-
	ρα[τ]ς [ --- ]	]·ς
18	η η [---]	ρ]μ
	[---]]·
20	[ --- ]	]·μ

Lines 21 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.

[ϣη]

	[. .] οϑ[ρε]ηηας η τελος η-	
2	τε οϑρηηας εςζηκ· δ[ϑω]	
	[ε]ταςπωψ ε πτηρϣ εβ[οα]	
4	ρ[τη] [π]τηρϣ· ε[
	ρ[παρ]ζ[ς] μη [
6	τε [. . .] ημεεϑε [
	π[.] . [
8	ο[.] . ϣ[
	εϑ[ηςςς] . π[ηη]	
10	ρ[
	μ [
12	ρ[
	η . [
14	οϣ [ --- ]	]ρο
	ε[ [ --- ]	]τμμ[
16	α[ --- ]	]·ς·ε
	ελ[ --- ]	]ε η
18	ρ[---]]·
	π[
20	· [
	· [

Lines 22 and following (ca. 5 lines) do not survive.

8 [] for (*γάρ*)
 [] he knows
 10 [] ...
 12 [] ...
 [] fill
 14 [] she
 appears [
 16 knowledge (*γνώσις*) [] she
 stands [
 18 []
 []
 20 []
 Lines 21 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.
 [98]
 [] a perfect (*τέλειος*) unity (*ένάς*) of
 2 a complete unity (*ένάς*). [And]
 when she divided the All [
 4 from the All [
 existence (*ύπαρξις*) and [
 6 [] the thoughts [
 []
 8 []
 [perception (*αΐσθησις*)
 10 []
 []
 12 []
 []
 14 []
 []
 16 []
 []
 18 []
 []
 20 []
 []
 Lines 22 and following (ca. 5 lines) do not survive.

		[ϣ̄ϑ]
	[.] C E C A . [
2	[. Ϸ̄π̄Δ] ρ̄ζ̄Γ C Μ [.] ṽ	
	[.] Ϸ̄ Μ [.] ϛ̄ [ ---- ]	| ε̄ ṽ
4	[ ---- ]	| Ϸ̄ ṽ
	[----]	ε | Γ Μ ε
6	[ ---- ]	| ο ϣ̄ .
	[ ---- ]	| ο η
8	[ ---- ]	| Δ ρ
	[ ---- ]	| ϣ̄ C Μ ο Ϸ̄
10	[ ---- ]	| Δ
	[ ---- ]	| . ṽ η
12	[ ---- ]	| Δ η
	[ ---- ]	| ε̄ ṽ
14	[ ---- ]	| . ο Ϸ̄
	[ ---- ]	| Δ Ϸ̄ ω
16	[ ---- ]	| Δ
18	[ ---- ]	| ε
	[ ---- ]	| ṽ
20	[ ---- ]	| ο

Lines 21 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.

	[ρ̄]
	τ [.] ψ ο μ [.
2	ο [.] ε̄ τ ε [.
	[.] μ [.] c [.
4	τ ε . [
	η τ [
6	<u>Δ ρ μ [ο ζ̄ η λ</u>
	η ϣ̄ [
8	c Γ c [
	π ε † β̄ [
10	Ϸ̄ Γ τ [η
	σ ο μ [
12	ρ ṽ . [
	η c ε̄ [

99,3 ε̄, or else ϑ, ϕ, or ϣ̄.
 99,11 | . ṽ, connected to the letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke;
 e.g., ψ | ρ π.
 99,13 Δ, connected to the preceding letter by a supralinear stroke; probably
 π | η Δ.

[99]

[] . . . []
 2 [existence (*ὑπαρξις*)
 [] in [] which
 4 []
 [] knowledge
 6 []
 []
 8 []
 [] she blesses
 10 []
 []
 12 []
 []
 14 [] which
 []
 16 [] and
 []
 18 []
 []
 20 []

Lines 21 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.

[100]

[]
 2 []
 []
 4 []
 []
 6 Arm[ozel
 []
 8 []
 is the []
 10 [through
 power []
 12 []
 []

99,19]τ̄, connected to the preceding letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke;

e.g., $\Psi\ \lambda\]\tau'$.

100,9 β̄[, connected to the following letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke;

probably β̄[α ρ β β η λ ω.

14 ψω[
ετ[
16 εβϙ[λ
ε[
18 τϙ[
ρπ [
20 η [
. [

Lines 22 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[ρλ]
[.] .ΔΤΗΔΥ Ε[ΡΟΥ
2 [.] .ϙΕ ΠΗ Ε[.
[. ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΣΕ[.]Τ
4 [----]ΞΗ [.]ΝΩ—
[----]ΜΟΟ[. . . .]ΕΓΔΟΣ
6 [----]ΟΗ
[----]ΕΘϙ—
8 [----] .Ν ΟΥ—
[----]ΔΤ—
10 [----]Σ Η
[----]ΨΕ
12 [----]ΠΚΛΣ
[----]ΔΙΤΠΩΨ
14 [----]ΟΥ
[----] .ΕΓ
16 [----] .Ε
[----]ΕΗΝΟΥΓΔ
18 [----]Ε
[----]ΟΕ

Lines 20 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[ρβ]
π[.]ΕΙΤΨΟΟΠ [.
2 π[.] ΠΚΕΟ . [.
ϙ[.]ΙΩΤ ϙϙ[.
4 ΜΗ [. . . .]ΝΤ[
ρϙ η [. . . .]ΔΟ[
6 η ο [. . . .] . [
οϙΔ[

101,1 | ., possibly ΜΗ.

101,3 π, or else τ | ϙ, or else ϑ.

101,5 μ, a trace from the bottom right of the letter | ϙ, or else ϙ.

14 [which[

16 [

[

18 [

[

20 [

[

Lines 22 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[101]

[] invisible [

2 [] that one [

[this] is the [

4 [

[

] species (*εἶδος*)

6 [

[

] of a

8 [

[

10 [

[

] *Kalyptos* (*καλυπτός*)

] undivided

12 [

[

14 [

[

16 [

[

thought (*ἐννοια*)

18 [

[

Lines 20 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[102]

[] which exist [

2 [] the [

[

4 and [

[

6 [

[

102,2 E.g., ΠΓΚΕΘΥΙΔ.

102,3 Ζ, or else Δ.

102,4 Possibly Μ|Ν†[.

8 οϣω[
 εϥ[.]τ[
 10 σε[
 ηα[
 12 ηω[
 αϣω [
 14 ηη[
 οϣ[
 16 μ μ[
 ω[
 18 ε[
 ρεν[
 20 π[
 μ [

Lines 22 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[ρτ]

[.]εναρχη η τ[.]
 2 [. .]τϣοοη οη[τωσ . . .] .ε
 [.]τϣοοη [. οσ]ςια
 4 [---]αϊ ρμ
 [---]παϊ πε·
 6 [---]†μνη-
 [---]εοϣ-
 8 [---]ροϣ
 [---]αϥ
 10 [---]τοϣ
 [---]εβ]οα
 12 [---]ϣαϣ-
 [---]αϊ αν
 14 [---]ετοϣ
 [---]παϊ
 16 [---]ρ
 [---]λ
 18 [---] μη

Lines 20 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.

[ρΔ]

μ [.] εσοϣωνρ ε[βοα]
 2 μ [.] ητε ηη ετο[. . .
 ηε[.] .αϊ [.]η ητε π[.

103,1 E.g., [ρ]εναρχη.

4 α̇ϑω []
 παῖ ἀ .[]
 6 π|μ|νο .[]
 ε̇το[]
 8 η̇α̇ϑ[]
 η̇ε πα.[]
 10 η̇ρ[]
 ἀ̇τ̇ .[]
 12 βο̇λ μ []
 μμ|ο[]
 14 ἀ̇ϑ|ψ[]
 ο̇ντω|ς[]
 16 ψ̇η[]
 π̇η ε̇[]
 18 δε̇ []
 τ̇ .[]
 20 η̇ϑ̇ρ|αῖ
 π̇ϑ̇[]
 22 ρ[]
 π[]

Lines 24 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[ρ̇ε]
 η̇ε η̇η ε̇τα̇ρ̇ε̇ι̇ρα̇το̇ϑ̇. . .] μ
 2 π̇|ε̇ω̇η μ μ[.] η̇-
 η̇η̇ϑ ε̇ρ̇ραῖ η̇ ρ[.] ε̇
 4 [. . .]ω̇τ̇π [.] ε̇τ̇
 ψ̇ο̇ο̇π̇ ϑ̇μ [.] π̇η
 6 μ̇ε̇η ε̇[----] η̇ρ
 [----] π̇η
 8 [----] ε̇ ο̇ϑ̇α
 [----] ο̇|ϑ̇α̇ρ̇χ̇η
 10 [----] ο̇ϑ̇τ̇
 [----] μ̇η
 12 [----] ἀ̇ παῖ
 [----] ϑ̇|ϑ̇λ̇η
 14 [----] ο̇ϑ̇ω̇τ̇
 [----] ο̇ϑ̇ η̇
 16 [----] ψ̇ο̇|ο̇π̇

104,22 ρ[, connected to the following letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke.
 105,3 ϑ̇, or else ξ̇, ϑ̇, or ζ̇.

4 and [
 this [
 6 the [
 [
 8 see [
 [
 10 [
 [
 12 [
 [
 14 he [
 really (*δυνως*) [
 16 [
 that [
 18 and (*δε*) [
 [
 20 [
 [
 22 [
 [
 Lines 24 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[105]

are those who [stand
 2 the aeon (*αιών*) of [
 come up to [
 4 ... [] which
 exist in [] that one
 6 on the one hand (*μέν*) [
 [] that one
 8 [] one
 [] an] origin (*ἀρχή*)
 10 [] and
 [] this one
 12 [] matter (*ύλη*)
 [] single
 14 []
 []
 16 [] exist]

105,4 Probably $\text{I}\omega\tau\text{I}\text{I}$ (flag in lacuna).
 105,9 Possibly $\Delta\rho\zeta\text{H}$.

18 []
 [] which
 20 [] and
 []
 Lines 22 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive.

[106]
 [] and he exists
 2 [] he is [] and []
 [] mark of a []
 4 [] an
 [] nor (*οὐδέ*) of []
 6 [] that one []
 []
 8 []
 []
 10 and []
 []
 12 number []
 []
 14 [according to (*κατά*) []
 which []
 16 []
 []
 18 []
 []
 20 []
 []
 22 []

Lines 23 and following (ca. 4 lines) do not survive. [107]

them []
 2 ... and []
 existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) []
 4 [] and the [] exist
 as []
 6 reflection (*εἰδωλον*) [] first
 []

106,7 | .|, top of a round letter, read in 1972, now best attested in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.

107,1 Or, waters.

8	[	---	ψ|ορῆ
	[	---	] ΝΤΕ ΝΓ-
10	[	---	]α
	[	---	]Ν Ν
12	[	---	] παῖ
	[	---	] .α
14	[	---	] ψομ-
	[	---	]οσ
16	[
	[	---	]α Ν
18	[	---	]αῖ
	[	---	]εῖ
20	[---] .
	[	---	ο|σα·

Lines 22 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.

[ρῆ]

α[.]νε αν εσϑ μα[.

2 ρμ [.] πη ετσοοη [

εβ[οα] τηροσ μη

4 πη ε[.] οσμνηψ[ε

η σχη[.]ταμιο η [.

6 ταπ[---] .[. .

ασω [

8 εβοα [

ταζζις μ[

10 παα[τ

ψομ[

12 ρμ πα[

μαῖ· .[

14 ηγσο[

ητε [

16 οηρ .[

επ[

18 οο[

οσ[

20 εσ[

ρμ [

22 τ[

Lines 23 and following (ca. 3 lines) do not survive.

107,11]Ν, connected to the preceding letter (in lacuna) by a supralinear stroke.

108,3 Ν, only the supralinear stroke survives.

8 [] first
 [] of the
 10 []
 []
 12 [] this one
 []
 14 []
 []
 16 []
 []
 18 []
 []
 20 [] one]
 []

Lines 22 and following (ca. 6 lines) do not survive.

[108]

[] not, they giving [
 2 [] he who exists [
 [] all and
 4 he [] a multitude
 ... [] creation
 6 []
 and [
 8 []
 ... [
 10 the [
 []
 12 in the [
 these [
 14 the [
 of [
 16 []
 []
 18 []
 []
 20 []
 in [
 22 []

Lines 23 and following (ca. 3 lines) do not survive.

108,5 E.g., $\text{C}\chi\eta\iota\lambda\alpha$.

Pages 109-112 do not survive.

[ⲡⲚⲦ]

2 ΜΗ ΨΕΥΔΕΛΟϢ ΜΗ ΨΕΝΔΕ-
 4 ΨΥΧΗ· ΑΥΩ ΨΕΝΝΟΥϢ Μ[Ν] ΨΕΝ-
 6 ΨΥΧΗ ΜΗ ΨΕΝΩΜΑ ΜΗ
 8 ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΨΑΘΗ Ν ΝΑΪ· ΝΗ
 10 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΨΑΠΛΟΥΗ Ν ΢ΤΟΙΧΙΩΗ
 12 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΔΑΡΧΗ Ν ΨΑΠΛ[Ο]Ϣ[Ν]· ΜΗ
 14 Ν[Η] ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΨΝ [ΟϢ]ΨΩΨ
 16 Ε[. . .] ΑΥΩ Ν ΑΤΜΟΥΨϢ ΟΥΔΗΡ
 18 [ΜΗ Ο]ϢΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΚΑΨ
 20 [Μ]Ν ΟΥΗΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ[Ο]ϢΨΒ
 22 ΜΗ ΟΥΚΙΜ ΑΥΩ Ο[Ϣ. . .]ΩΨ ΜΗ
 24 [Ο]ϢΤΑΨΙϢ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝΙΨΕ ΜΗ
 26 [ΝΙΚ]ΕΨΩΨ̄ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΨΕΝΜΕΨ
 28 [ΨΤ]ΟΟΥ ΔΕ Ν ΒΟΜ ΝΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄
 [ΨΜ] ΠΙΜ[ΕΨ]ΨΤΟΥϢ ΝΗ ΕΩΗ· ΝΗ
 [ΕΤ]Ψ[Ο]Ϣ̄ ΨΝ ΝΙΠ[.] [.] ΑΥΩ
 [. . .] ΨΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕ [. . .] ΝΙΒΟΜ
 [. . .] ΨΕΝΒΟΜ ΨΕΝ[. . .]Ϣ ΝΤΕ
 [. . .]Ϣ· ΨΕΝϢ[. . . .] ΝΤΕ
 [.] ΨΕΝ[ΑΥΤΕΛ]ΟΥϢ Ν
 [ΤΕ ΝΙΔ]ΥΤΕΛΟΥϢ [ΨΕΝ]ΨΥΧΗ
 [ΝΤΕ ΝΙ]ΨΥΧΗ· ΨΕ[Ν]ΨΩΟΗ [Ν]
 [ΤΕ ΝΙ]ΨΩΟΗ ΨΕΝΨΗΗ Ν[ΤΕ]
 [ΝΙΨΗΗ]· ΨΕΝϢ[.] [.]
 [.] ΑΥΩ Ψ[ΕΝ]
 [.] ΑΤΑϢ[.]
 [.] [.]

[ⲡⲚΔ]

2 ΜΜΓΝ ΜΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΗ Ν[Η]
 4 ΜΕΝ ΨΩϢ ΕΨΕΝΨΠΟ ΝΕ· ΜΗ
 6 Ν[Η] ΜΕΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΨΝ ΟΥΨΠΟ
 8 ΝΗ ΑΤΜΙϢΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΗ ΝΗ Μ[ΕΝ]
 10 ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΕΨΕΝΨΑ Ε[ΝΕΨ]

113,1-14 See 48,3-7n.

113,6 ΢ΤΟΙΧΙΩΗ, sic.

113,15 ΟϢΨΩΟΠ̄.

113,17-18 See Facsimile Edition: Introduction, pl. 13*.

Pages 109-112 do not survive.

[113]

and angels (*ἄγγελος*),
 2 daimons (*δαίμων*), minds (*νοῦς*),
 souls (*ψυχή*), living animals (*ζῷον*),
 4 trees and bodies (*σῶμα*),
 those which are prior to them: those
 6 of the simple (*ἀπλοῦν*) elements (*στοιχεῖον*)
 of simple (*ἀπλοῦν*) origins (*ἀρχή*), and
 8 those which are in a
 [] and unmixed confusion: air (*ἀήρ*)
 10 [and] water, earth
 number, connection,
 12 motion, [] and
 order (*τάξις*), breath and
 14 all the rest. There are (+δέ)
 fourth powers which are
 16 [in] the fourth aeon (*αιών*), those
 [which] are in the [] and
 18 [] perfect of [] powers
 [] powers [] of
 20 [] of
 [] angels (*ἄγγελος*)
 22 [of the] angels (*ἄγγελος*), souls (*ψυχή*)
 [of the] souls (*ψυχή*), living animals (*ζῷον*)
 24 [of the] living animals (*ζῷον*), trees [of]
 [the trees
 26 [] and [
 [] . . . [
 28 [

[114]

his own. There are [those]
 2 (+μέν) (that exist) as (*ὡς*) begotten ones, and
 those that are in an unborn
 4 begetting; and there are those (+μέν)
 that are holy and eternal,

113,20 Ϝ, or else Π.

113,22-24 For the restoration, cf. 48,12-18; 55,19-23.

113,27 Ϡ, or else Ϡ | ϣ, or else Ϙ.

6 ΝΕ· ΜΗ ΝΓΑΤΟΥΩΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ Ν-
 8 ραϊ̅ [ϋΝ Ο]ϣ<Οϣ>ΩΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ· ΜΗ ΟΥ-
 10 ΤΑΚΟ [ΝΗΡ]αϊ̅ ϋΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑ[Τ]ΤΑΚΟ·
 12 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗ ΜΕΝ ϋ[Ϣ] ΕΡΕΝ-
 14 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕ· ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗ Ε[ϋ]ΕΝ ΤΕ-
 16 ΝΟΣ ΝΕ ΜΗ ΝΗ ΕΨΟΟΠ̅ [ϋΝ Ο]ϣ-
 18 ΚΟϢ[ΜΟ]Ϣ ΜΗ ΟΥΤΑΞΙϢ· ΟΥ[ΟΝ]
 20 ΝΗ ΜΕΝ ϋΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤ̅[Τ]ΑΚΟ
 22 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΓΨΟΡ̅ Ε[ΤΑ]ϋΕ-
 24 ΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΓΜΕΡϢΝΑΥ [ϋΝ]
 26 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΝΗ Τ[ΗΡ]ΙΟΥ [ΕΨΟ-]
 ΟΠ̅ [ΕΒ]Ο[Λ] ϋΝ ΝΑΪ· ΑΥΩ ΝΗ [ΕΤ-]
 ΨΟΟΠ̅ [ϋΝ] ΝΑΪ· ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟ[Λ]
 ΝΑΪ Ε[Τ]Ο[Υ]Ηϋ ΝΣΑ ΝΑΪ· [. . . .]
 ΒΟΛ Μ[. . . .]ϣ Ε[.]
 ΝΑΪ [. . . .] ΕΨΟΥ[.]
 ΑΥΩ Δ[Υ]Α[ϋ]ΕΡΑΤΟ[Υ] ΝΣΓ ΝΓ-
 [Μ]ΕΡϢΤΟΟΥ ΝΗ ΕΩ[Ν]
 [. . . .] ΕΨΟΟΠ̅ [.]
 [.] Ε ΨΟΥ[.]
 [.] . ΤΗΡ [.]

[ρ]Γ̅

2 ΝΟΥΤΟΥ ΕϢΧΟΟΡ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ
 4 ΕΝΣΕΡΟΞϋΕΞ Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ [Δ]Ν
 6 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΟΟΥ ϋΩΟΥ ΕΥΟΝϋ Ν-
 8 [ϋ]ραϊ̅ ΝΟΥΤΟΥ ΕΨΟΟΠ̅ ΑΥΩ
 10 ΕΨ† ΜΑΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ϋΩϢ
 12 [Ε]ΨΟΟΠ̅ ΕΒΟΛ ϋΝ ΟΥΑΡΧΗ Ν
 14 ΟΥΩΤ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΨΟ[Ο]Π̅ ΕΥΟ-
 ΤΗ̅ [Χ]Ε ΣΕΨΟΟΠ̅ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ̅
 ϋΝ Ο[Υ]ΕΩΝ Ν ΟΥΩΤ̅ ΝΤΕ ΠΓΚΛ̅
 [. . .] Ε ϋΝ ΟΥΒΟΜ ΕΨΠΟΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ·
 [Κ]ΑΤΑ ΤΑΡ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΓΕ-
 [Ω]Ν ΣΕΨΟΟΠ̅ ΕΥΑϋΕΡΑΤΟΥ
 [ΚΑ]ΤΑ ΠΗ ΕΤΠΗϋ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΠΓΚΛ̅
 [ΔΕ Ο]ΥΕΩΝ Ν ΟΥΩΤ̅ ΠΕ ΟΥΝ-

114,17-19 See Facsimile Edition: Introduction, pl. 14*.

114,17 Π̅, or else π̅.

114,18 π̅, or else λ̅ | e.g., ΕΒΟ[Λ] ϋΝ[.]

114,19-20 E.g., Ε[.]ΒΟΛ̅.

114,20 E.g., Μ[ΜΟΟ]ϣ̅.

6 those unchanged
 by death and
 8 perishable by indestructibility.
 And there are those (+μέν) that exist as (ώς)
 10 all; there are those [that are]
 [races (γένος)] and those that are [in a]
 12 world (κόσμος) with order (τάξις); there are
 those (+μέν) in [in destructibility],
 14 and there are the first ones [that stand]
 and the second ones [in]
 16 all of them, [all] those [that]
 derive from them and [those that]
 18 are [in] them. And [
 these that [follow] them [
 20 [
 these [
 22 and [the] fourth aeons (αίων)
 stood [
 24 [] they existing [
 []... [
 26 [

[11]5

in them, he being scattered abroad.
 2 They do not restrict one another,
 but (ἀλλά) they are alive in them
 4 dwelling among themselves and
 agreeing with one another, as (ώς)
 6 those who come from a single
 origin (ἀρχή). They are joined together
 8 because they are all
 in a single aeon (αίων) of Kalyptos (καλυπτός),
 10 [] being divided in power.
 For (γάρ) they exist in relation to (κατά) each
 12 of the aeons (αίων), standing in
 relation to (κατά) the one which has reached them.
 14 [But (δέ)] Kalyptos (καλυπτός) is [a] single aeon (αίων);

114,22 Cf. 114,14-15; 116,15-16.

114,26 **ρ** . , after **ρ** only a supralinear stroke (beginning over **ρ**) survives;
 e.g., **ΤΗΡΥ**.115,8 **ῤ**, or else **ῖ**.

- [ΤΑΥ] ΜΜΑΘ Ν ΥΤΟΟΘ Ν ΔΙΔΑΦΟ-
 16 [ΡΑ Ν]ΤΕ ΖΕΝΕΩΝ· ΑΘΩ ΚΑΤΑ
 [ΠΟ]ΥΔΑ ΠΟΥΔΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΓΕΩΝ ΟΘΝ-
 18 [ΤΑ]Υ ΜΜΑΘ Ν ΖΕΝ[ΘΟ]Μ Μ ΠΗ-
 [ΤΕ Ν] ΖΕΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΔΝ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΜΕΖ-
 20 [ΣΝΑ]Υ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΖΕΝΨΑ Ε-
 [ΝΕΖ ΝΕ ΑΥ]Ω [Σ]ΕΨ[Ε]Β̄ΓΗΝΟΥΤ̄
 22 [. Ο]ΥΤΑΖ̄ΙΣ Μ[Ν] ΟΥΕΟΟΘ
 [.] .Ε ΕΤΨΟ[Ο]Π̄ ΝΖ[ΡΑ]Ϊ
 24 [ΖΝ]ΥΤΟΟΘ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ [Μ]Ν
 [. Ε]ΤΡ ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν Ψ[ΟΟ]Π̄
 26 [.]ΝΟΥΤ[Ε
 [.]Σ ΝΕ Μ[
 28 [.] . . .
 [ΡΓΣ]
 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΘ ΔΕ ΣΕΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν-
 2 ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΔ ΕΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΓ ΟΥΜΑ
 ΑΘΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔ ΕΨΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 4 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝ̄ΨΒΗΡ ΑΥ[Ω]
 ΕΑΘΜΟΘΖ ΕΒΟΛ Μ ΠΓΕΩΝ Ε[Τ-]
 6 ΨΟΟΠ̄ [Ο]ΝΤΩΣ· ΑΘΩ ΟΘΟΥ
 ΝΗ ΜΕ[Ν] ΝΖΗΤΟΘ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΘ
 8 ΖΩΣ ΕΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΝ ΟΥΟΥ[Τ]ΙΓΔ
 ΜΗ ΝΗ ΜΕΝ Μ ΠΗΤΕ Ν [ΟΥΟΥ]Σ[ΓΔ
 10 ΖΝ ΟΥΠΡΑΖ̄ΙΣ Η ΟΥΖΓ ΜΚ[ΑΖ Ε]Υ-
 ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕΡΣΝΑΘ· Ε[ΣΨΟ-]
 12 ΟΠ̄ ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΤΟΘ ΝΘΓ †ΜΝ̄[ΑΤΜ]Γ-]
 ΣΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΓΜΝΤΑΤΜΙΣΕ [ΕΤΨΟ-]
 14 ΟΠ̄ ΟΝΤΩΣ· ΑΘΩ ΝΓΔ[ΤΜ]ΙΣΕ]
 ΕΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΑΖΕΡΑ[ΤΣ Ν-]
 16 ΘΓ ΤΕΨΘΟΜ· ΕΣΜΜΑΘ ΝΘ[Γ ΟΥ-]
 ΟΥΣ[Δ Ν]Ν ΑΤΣΩΜΑ ΜΗ [ΟΥΣΩ]
 18 ΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΣΤΕΚΟ· ΕΥΜ[Π]ΙΜΑ]
 ΕΤΜΜΑΘ ΝΘΓ ΠΓΑΤ̄[ΟΥ]ΩΤΒ Ε-]
 20 ΒΟΛ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ Ο[Ν]ΤΩΣ ΑΘΩ]
 ΠΗ ΕΨ[Δ]ΥΟΥΩΤΒ [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥ-]
 22 Ψ[Γ]ΒΕ ΕΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΥ Μ[Ν ΝΑΪ ΤΗ-]
 Ρ[Ο]Υ ΝΘΓ [Π]ΚΩΖ̄Τ Ν[
 24 [.]Δ[Τ]ΤΑΚΟ· Δ[

115,24 E.g., [ΖΝ ΠΓΜΕΖ]ΥΤΟΟΘ.

116,12 ΜΝ̄, or else ΜΝΤ.

[he] has fo
 reons (alā
 each of the
 they have
 like first an
 for (ydp) al
 eternals, [b
]
] g
] the
] 16
 All (+&E) of
 in one, dwell
 get perfecte
 in fellowship
 filled with th
 really (ōvras
 those among
 as (ds) dwell
 those (+μεί)
 in conduct (A
 they are in a
 the unengen
 ones that rea
 them. When
 have come in
 stands; there
 incorporeal
 imperishable
 immutable
 cal [really
 because it tr
 change, [the
 with all of t
 destructit
 Transforms,

[he] has four different (*διαφορά*)
 16 aeons (*αλών*). In relation to (*κατά*)
 each of the aeons (*αλών*)
 18 they have powers, not
 like first and second (powers),
 20 for (*γάρ*) all these [are]
 eternal, [but] they are different
 22 [] order (*τάξις*) and glory
 [] which exists
 24 [in] four aeons (*αλών*) and
 [] that preexists
 26 [] god []
 [] they are [
 28 [
 [116]
 All (+*δέ*) of them exist
 2 in one, dwelling together,
 yet perfected individually (+*κατά*)
 4 in fellowship and
 filled with the aeon (*αλών*) which
 6 really (*δυνως*) exists. There are
 those among them (+*μέν*) that stand
 8 as (*ώς*) dwelling in essence (*οἰσία*) and
 those (+*μέν*) (that stand) as [essence (*οἰσία*)]
 10 in conduct (*πραξις*) or (*ἡ*) [suffering because]
 they are in a second; for (*γάρ*)
 12 the unengenderedness of the ungenerated
 ones that really (*δυνως*) exist is among
 14 them. When the ungenerated
 have come into being, their power
 16 stands; there is there an
 incorporeal (*-σῶμα*) essence (*οἰσία*) with [an]
 18 imperishable [body (*σῶμα*)]; the
 [immutable one] is [there]
 20 that [really (*δυνως*)] exists.
 Because it transforms [through]
 22 change, [the] fire stands
 [with all of them]
 24 [indestructible

116,21 Transforms, lit., crosses over.

[.] .οὐα η[

ρ[Γ]Ξ

- 2 εϕαρερατϥ· εϑμπμα ετμ-
 μαϑ ηβ[Γ] ηγζωον τηροϑ εϑ-
 ψοοη η κατα οὐα εϑροτη
 4 [ϑ]Γ ο[ϑ]μα τηροϑ· εςμμαϑ η-
 β[Γ] †ϕηωσις ητε †ϕηωσις
 6 μη οϑταρο ητε †[μ]ητατ-
 ε[μ]ε· εϕμμαϑ ηβ[Γ] οϑχαος
 8 μη [οϑτο]πος ηταϑ τηροϑ
 εϕ[ζ]ηκ[ε] εβολ αϑω εϑε η βρηε·
 10 [ο]ϑ<οϑ>οειν δε η ταπμε αϑω οϑ-
 [κ]ακε εαϕζ[ε] οϑοειν μη ηη
 12 [ε]τε ηϕψοοη αν οητωϑ·
 [ηη η]εϕψοοη αν οητωϑ·
 14 [. . π]Γατψωπε ετε ηϕψο-
 [οη] αν ε πτηρϥ· ητοϥ δε ηγ-
 16 [α]ραθον ετε εβολ μμοϥ πε
 [η]Γαραθον μη ηη [ετ]ηαηοϑϥ
 18 [αϑ]ω ηνοϑτε ετε εβολ μ-
 [μοϥ] η[ε] ηνοϑτε μη ηη ετ-
 20 [.]τε· ηη ετνεαϥ·
 [.]ϑ ϕαρ ϑη οϑμεροϑ
 22 [.]εγδοϑ μη ηνοϑ[τ]ε
 [.]ετμμαϑ μη ηη [. .]
 24 [. ο]ϑηνοϑτε [.]
 [.]ε ηα[ι] τη[ροϑ]
 26 [.]† κακ[ε]
 [.]ϕ[ε]

ρ[Γ]Η

- αϑω οϑτενοϑ· αϑω εμπϥ-
 2 τωρ μη λααϑ· αλλα εϕβεετ
 μαϑααϥ ηρα[ι] ηρητϥ αϑω
 4 εϕμοτη μμοϥ ηρα[ι] ϑμ η[α-]
 ρηζϥ ηταϥ ηη ατη αρηζϥ· πα[ι]
 6 δε πε [η]ηνοϑτε ητε ηη ετψο-
 οη οητωϑ· οϑρ[εϕ]η[αϑ] εροϥ

117,4-5 I.e., Kalyptos; cf. 118,10.

117,10 Cf. Bohairic ταφμηΓ.

117,20 Sahidic ετ-μααϥ.

118,1 εμπϥ, ηϕ (connected by supralinear stroke) read in 1972; papyrus

[] one [

1[1]7

he stands. It is there that

2 all living animals (*ζῷον*) are,
existing individually (+*κατά*), (yet) all
4 joined together. The knowledge (*γνώσις*)
of the knowledge (*γνώσις*) is there
6 together with a setting up of ignorance.

Chaos (*χάος*) is there
8 and (also) a [perfect place (*τόπος*)]
for all of them, and they are new.

10 True (+*δέ*) light (is there),
also enlightened darkness together with the one
12 that does not really (*δντως*) exist—
[it] does not really (*δντως*) exist.

14 [] the non-being that does
not exist at all. But (*δέ*) as for him, he (is)

16 [Good (*ἀγαθόν*)] from which derives
the good (*ἀγαθόν*) and what is pleasant,

18 and he (is) the god from
[whom] comes god and he who

20 [], he who is great.

For (*γάρ*) [] in part (*μέρος*)

22 [] form (*εἶδος*) and god
that [] and the one [

24 [] a god [

[] all these [

26 [] darkness [

[

1[1]8

and race (*γένος*). He has not

2 mixed with anything, but (*ἀλλά*) he remains
alone in himself and

4 rests himself on his
limitless limit.

6 He (+*δέ*) is [the] god of those that
really (*δντως*) exist, a [seer]

subsequently damaged; now best attested in photo A.

118,5 The scribe first wrote ΔΤΑΡΗΖΥ, then added Ἦ above the line after Τ.

118,6-7 **Ϟ**ο/οἷ, first ο read in 1972; papyrus subsequently damaged;
now best attested in photo A.

8 ΜΝ ΟΥΡΕΥΟΥΣΕΝΩ ΝΟ[ΥΤΕ ΕΒ]ΟΛ·
 ΕΔΑΥ ΓΟΜ Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΣΟ[ΥΩΝΣ]
 10 ΝΣΙ ΨΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΠΙΔΙΩΝ Ψ[ΥΝΩ-]
 ΣΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΔΟΥΡΑΤΟΝ Ν ΨΜ[Υ-]
 12 ΓΟΜ Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ Μ ΠΝΔ ΔΨ[
 ΝΑΣ ΕΣΔΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ Ψ[
 14 ΟΥΩΝΩ ΨΟΝΩ ΝΟΥΡΑΪ ΩΝ Ο[
 ΚΟΝΩ ΠΙΟΥΔ· ΨΟΝΩ ΝΣ[Υ ΠΗ]
 16 ΕΤΕ Ν Ψ[Υ]ΟΜΥ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ [ΠΨΟ-]
 ΜΥ ΕΤΕ Ν ΨΟΜΥ Ν ΚΩ[Β . . .]
 18 ΕΕΕ· ΠΨΟΥΠ Ν Ξ Ν [
 ΨΜΕΥΨΟΜΥ [
 20 ΠΙΜΕΥΣΝΑΥ Ν Σ .[
 ΕΕΕΕ ΔΑΔΑΔΑΔΑ[
 22 [.] ΣΝΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΕ ΨΥ[ΟΥΣ
 [. . . .] . . ΨΥΝΩ[ΣΙΣ
 24 [.] ΨΥ· ΤΗ[
 [---]Ε[

[ΡΥ]Θ

ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ· ΔΨ Ν ΝΟΥΣ ΔΥΩ
 2 ΔΨ Ν ΣΟΦΙΔ· ΔΥΩ ΔΨ ΝΝ ΕΠΙΣ-
 ΤΗΜΗ Ν ΔΨ Ν ΣΒΩ· ΨΑΥΨ ΡΑΝ
 4 [Δ]Ε Ε [Ν]ΕΥΨΩΣΤΗΡ ΠΨΟΥΠ ΜΕΝ
 [ΠΕ ΔΡΜΗ]ΔΩΝ ΜΝ ΤΗ ΕΤΗΜΜΑΨ
 6 . . [. . . ΠΙΜΕΥΣΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΔΥΦΑ-
 ΝΕ[. . ΜΝ ΤΗ ΕΤΗΜ[Μ]ΑΨ ΔΗΪ
 8 Φ[. . . ΠΙΜΕΥΨΟΜΥ ΠΕ
 [ΜΑΔΣΗΔ]ΩΝ ΜΝ ΤΗ ΕΤΗΜΜΑΨ
 10 [. . . .] ΠΙΜΕΥΨΟΥΣ ΠΕ _____
 [. . . .]Σ ΜΝ ΤΗ ΕΤΗΜΜΑΨ ΟΥΜΙΣ
 12 [ΔΥΩ] ΨΨΟΥΠ ΝΣΙ ΠΙΚΛΣ ΕΔΨ-
 [. . . .] ΜΝ ΤΕΨΕΓΔΕΔ· ΔΥΩ
 14 [ΨΨΟΥΠ] ΝΝ ΔΤΟΥΩΝΩ Ν ΝΑΪ
 [ΤΗΡ]ΟΥ ΩΓΝΑ ΔΕ ΕΨΕΔΙ ΓΟΜ
 16 [ΕΒ]ΟΛ Ψ[Υ]ΟΥΨ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΨ-

-
- 118,13 E.g., Ψ[ΟΥΩ ΩΝ]; cf. 3,10-11.
 118,14 E.g., ΩΝ Ο[ΥΔ].
 118,17 Probably magical *stoicheia* begin at the end of this line.
 118,18 ΕΕΕ, magical *stoicheia*.
 118,22 Possibly [Ο]ΥΝΤΕ.
 119,5 Cf. 127,9 (not room for ΩΔΡΜΗΔΩΝ).

8 and a revealer of god.
 When she had strengthened him who [knew her],
 10 the aeon (*αιών*) Barbelo, the knowledge
 (*γνώσις*) of the invisible (*δόρατον*) three-
 12 powered perfect (*τέλειος*) Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) [
 her, saying, "He [
 14 life. I am alive in [
 You, the One, are alive. He is alive, [he]
 16 who is three. It is you who are [the]
 [three] who [] three [doubled
 18 e e e. The first of seven [
 the third [
 20 the second [
 e e e e a a a a a a a [
 22 [] two, but (*δέ*) he [four]
 [] knowledge (*γνώσις*) [
 24 [] . . . [
 [

[11]9

part (*μέρος*)? What kind of mind (*νοῦς*)?
 2 What kind of wisdom (*σοφία*)? What kind of under-
 standing (*ἐπιστήμη*), what kind of teaching? His (+*δέ*)
 4 lights (*φωστήρ*) are given names: the first (+*δέ*)
 [is Arme]don and his consort (is)
 6 []; the second (+*δέ*) is Dipha-
 ne-[and] his consort (is) Dei-
 8 ph-[]; the third is
 [Malsed]on and his consort (is)
 10 []; the fourth is
 []-s and his consort (is) Olmis.
 12 Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*) exists having
 [] and his Idea (*ιδέα*).
 14 [He is] invisible to all
 these so that (*ἵνα*) they all might be
 16 strengthened by him

119,5-10 The names of the consorts are mostly in lacunae; cf. *Steles Seth* VII 126,10-12; *Allogenes* XI 54,6-13.

119,6 No supralinear stroke over ΔΙΦΔ.

119,9 No supralinear stroke over ΙΩΝ.

119,11 E.g., [CΘΛΛΓC]; cf. 122,12 and 126,4; *Allogenes* XI, 54,7; Schmidt-McDermott, *Untitled Text*, 252,21f, has a Solmistes.

[] he exists in
 18 [] all-perfect (*παντέλειος*) because
 [he has] four existing
 20 [] and the first, the
 [] nor (*οὐδέ*) according to (*κατά*) a
 22 [] alone
 [B]arbelo [
 24 [
 [
 1[20]
 know him and the one who is set
 2 over a second. The first
 (+δέ) of the aeons (*αιών*) is Harmedon,
 4 the father-glory. The second
 (+δέ) light (*φωστήρ*) (is) one whom [he does] not [know],
 6 but (*ἀλλά*) all the [individuals (+κατά)],
 wisdom (*σοφία*) [], reside
 8 in the fourth [aeon (*αιών*),]
 who has revealed [himself]
 10 and all the glories. [The third]
 (+δέ) light (*φωστήρ*) (is) he [
 12 not . . . as the expression of all
 [the species (*εἶδος*)] and that other
 14 [glory], understanding (*ἐπιστήμη*), [who is]
 in the third [aeon (*αιών*)].
 16 There are four in him:
 Malsedon and [
 18 -nios. The fourth [(+δέ)]
 light (*φωστήρ*) is the one who sees [
 20 of all the forms (*εἶδος*)
 existing together[
 22 a teaching and glory [
 and the truth of the [four aeons (*αιών*)],
 24 O[l]mis, [] and the [
 [
 26 [

120,17-18 Λ[---]/ΝΙΟΣ, a proper name, no supralinear stroke.

120,19 Probably [ε]ρ[οοσ], or [ε]ρ[οφ].

120,21 E.g., [οπ κατά οσα η].

120,24 Ϝ, or else Ϙ.

[ρκλ]

2 μερ̅ϑ̅ου̅· α̅τω̅ π̅ισ̅ω̅ρ̅η̅ ε̅-
 τε̅ π̅ι̅με̅ρ̅ς̅να̅υ̅ π̅ε̅ ε̅τε̅ πα̅ϊ̅
 4 π̅ε̅ ν̅το̅υ̅ π̅ε̅ π̅ι̅κ̅λ̅ς̅ μ̅ πα̅ν̅τε̅λ̅γ̅ο̅ς̅
 6 σε̅ψ̅ο̅η̅ τ̅α̅ρ̅ ν̅ε̅ς̅ π̅ι̅ϑ̅το̅ο̅ς̅ μ̅
 8 φ̅ω̅ς̅τ̅[η̅]ρ̅· π̅ι̅κ̅λ̅ς̅ δ̅ε̅ ε̅τα̅ϑ̅π̅ω̅ψ̅
 10 ο̅ν̅· α̅τω̅ ν̅α̅ϊ̅ ε̅ψ̅ω̅ο̅η̅ ϑ̅ς̅ ο̅υ̅-
 12 μα̅· α̅τω̅ [η̅]α̅ϊ̅ ε̅τ̅ς̅ο̅ο̅ς̅η̅ ν̅ε̅τ̅-
 14 ψ̅ω̅ο̅η̅ η̅ [ε̅]ο̅ο̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅· ν̅το̅-
 16 ο̅[υ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅]υ̅ ε̅υ̅ε̅ η̅ τε̅λ̅γ̅ο̅ς̅· πα̅ϊ̅
 18 [. . .]ϑ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅η̅ η̅ ϑ̅ω̅β̅ η̅γ̅μ̅ η̅-
 20 τα̅υ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ ε̅υ̅πα̅ν̅τε̅λ̅γ̅ο̅ς̅
 22 π̅ε̅· ε̅τε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ μ̅μο̅υ̅ π̅ε̅ β̅ο̅μ̅
 24 [η̅]γ̅μ̅· α̅τω̅ ο̅υ̅ο̅ν̅ η̅γ̅μ̅ μ̅η̅ π̅ι̅-
 26 ε̅ω̅η̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅υ̅ η̅τα̅υ̅· π̅η̅ ε̅ψ̅α̅υ̅-
 28 [ε̅]ς̅ ε̅ρ̅ρα̅ϊ̅ ε̅ρο̅υ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅· α̅τω̅
 30 ψ̅α̅υ̅ε̅ς̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ μ̅μο̅υ̅ ν̅ε̅ς̅ ν̅α̅ϊ̅
 32 [τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅]υ̅· †β̅ο̅μ̅ η̅τ̅ε̅ ν̅α̅ϊ̅ τ̅η̅-
 34 [ρ̅ο̅]υ̅· τα̅ρ̅χη̅ η̅τε̅ ν̅α̅ϊ̅ τ̅η̅-
 36 [ρ̅ο̅]υ̅· ε̅ι̅ψ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ε̅ψ̅α̅νε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅
 38 [μ̅μο̅ο̅ς̅] α̅ϑ̅ψ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ η̅ ο̅υ̅με̅ρ̅-
 40 [.]ε̅ω̅η̅· μ̅η̅ ο̅υ̅με̅ρ̅-
 42 [.]μ̅η̅τ̅α̅τ̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅· ε̅υ̅-
 44 [.] ϑ̅ε̅ν̅κ̅ε̅ω̅η̅ ϑ̅ρα̅[ϊ̅]
 46 [ϑ̅η̅ . . .]ο̅υ̅· [.]
 48 [.]ο̅[
 50 [.]·α̅· [.]

[κβ]

2 ψ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ η̅η̅ ο̅υ̅β̅α̅ρ̅β̅η̅λ̅ω̅ ψ̅α̅ϑ̅-
 4 ψ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ η̅η̅ ο̅υ̅ψ̅ο̅ρ̅η̅ η̅η̅ ε̅ω̅η̅
 6 ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ †μ̅η̅τ̅ψ̅α̅ ε̅νε̅ρ̅ η̅τε̅ π̅ι̅-
 8 α̅ρ̅ο̅ρα̅το̅ν̅ μ̅ π̅η̅α̅· †μ̅ε̅ρ̅ς̅νη̅τε̅
 10 μ̅ μ̅η̅τ̅α̅τ̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅· η̅ς̅[ε̅]ο̅ο̅ς̅ δ̅ε̅
 12 τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ ν̅α̅ϊ̅ η̅ε̅ η̅γ̅α̅φ̅ρ̅η̅δ̅ω̅η̅
 14 η̅η̅ α̅τ̅η̅ α̅ρ̅η̅ζ̅η̅ο̅υ̅ [. η̅]γ̅α̅τ̅ψ̅α̅-
 16 ζ̅ε̅ μ̅μο̅ο̅ς̅ η̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ϑ̅ο̅[υ̅]ω̅η̅ϑ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅·
 18 η̅γ̅α̅το̅ψ̅ω̅τ̅β̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ η̅[γ̅.]
 20 τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ η̅γ̅ρ̅ε̅ϑ̅ο̅ς̅ε̅νη̅ϑ̅ ε̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅
 22 η̅γ̅μ̅α̅ρ̅ζ̅η̅δ̅ω̅η̅· η̅η̅ ε̅το̅ψ̅ο̅νη̅ϑ̅ ε̅-
 24 βο̅λ̅ ε̅υ̅κ̅η̅β̅· η̅γ̅ς̅ο̅λ̅μ̅ι̅ς̅ η̅γ̅α̅τ̅[η̅]

122,5 For glories, see 46,22-26.

[121]

fifth. The first (is the one)
 2 who is the second, that is, it is
 the all-perfect (*παντέλειος*) Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*),
 4 for (*γάρ*) there are four lights
 (*φωστήρ*). It (+δέ) is Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*) who has
 6 divided again. They dwell together, and
 these who know all those that
 8 exist as glories, all of them
 perfect (*τέλειος*). This one
 10 [] knows everything about
 them all, since he is all-perfect (*παντέλειος*).
 12 From him is every
 power, every one and
 14 their entire aeon (*αιών*), because they all
 come to him.
 16 They all come from him,
 the power of them
 18 all (and) the origin (*ἀρχή*) of them all.
 When he learned
 20 [of them], he became a
 [] aeon (*αιών*) and a
 22 [] ingenerateness.
 [] other aeons (*αιών*)
 24 [in] a [
 [
 26 [
 1[2]2
 become a Barbelo, he
 2 becomes a first aeon (*αιών*)
 because of the eternity of the
 4 Invisible (*ἀόρατον*) Spirit (*πνεῦμα*), the second
 ingenerateness (fem.). These (+δέ) are all
 6 the glories: the limitless
 Aphredons, [the]
 8 ineffables, the revealers,
 all the [] immutables,
 10 the glory-revealers;
 the twice-revealed
 12 Marsedons, the limitless Solmises

14 ἀρηξνοῦ· ηἰσοῦωνοῦ εβολα μ-
 15 μοοῦ ματαααῦ· ηη εἰμε[ρ]
 16 εβολα ηη εοοῦ· ηη ετορ[ε ε]
 17 εοοῦ[· η]γρεγμοῦ ηημ[αρρη-]
 18 δων· ηηκλσ ηη ετ[.
 19 εβολα· ηηαρηξνοῦ η[η ετηη]
 20 ρηξη ηηαρηξνοῦ [.
 21 ετε ηη εἰσοοῦ ρ[ηη
 22 ερε· ταρ .[.
 [---] .[.
 [---]μ .[.

Lines 24 and following (ca. 1 or 2 lines) do not survive.

[pκτ]

2 μμααῦ η ρεναηηβα ηη εοοῦ
 3 ηοραῖ ηηητοῦ· ετβε παῖ οῦ-
 4 εοοῦ εγχηηη πε ρηηα εψωπε
 5 εψωαηημ ἄμ ε ηοῦρβ αῦω
 6 ηγαμααοτε ηγψωπε η τεληος
 7 ετβε παῖ καη εψωαηηε εοραῖ
 8 εῦσωμα μη οῦ<οῦ>ωτβ εβολα η-
 9 τε οῦρῆηη ετβε τοῦμηη-
 10 παν[τ]ε[λη]ος μαααη η οῦταεηο
 11 ηοροῦ· ετε εβολα μμογ πε
 12 ηαῖ ηηροῦ εῦχηηη εβολα μη
 13 [η]η ετηημααγ· καηταρ ποα
 14 ποα ηηε ηηεωη οηηηαγ μ-
 15 [μ]ααῦ η ρεναηηβα ηη εωη η-
 16 ρραῖ ηηηηγ ρηηα εψωοῦ ρη οῦ-
 17 μα αε εψωωπε ηη οῦεωη
 18 η τεληος· εψωοῦ δε ρη †-
 19 [μηημ]α[κ]αηηος ηηε ηηημηη-
 20 [αμ η ηε]ληος η αοοατοη
 21 [μ ηηα . . .]ωγ μ ηηκα ρωγ η
 22 [.]τε ετοῦρ ψορῖ
 23 [.]ογ· μη †[ε]ηωσγ
 24 [.]π .[
 [.]μ[
 [.].[

122,19-20 E.g. με|ερε.

122,20-21 E.g. ρηη ηημειερε.

123 Pagination; only a trace of the lower ornamental bar survives.

123,1 Cf. 123,12-14.

the self-revealers
 14 who are [full]
 of glory, those who [wait for]
 16 glory, the blessers, the M[arse-]
 dons; the Kalyptoi (*καλυπτός*) who [
 18 the limits [those who are]
 upon the limits [
 20 . . . those that dwell [in
 [
 22 [
 [
 Lines 24 and following (ca. 1 or 2 lines) do not survive.
 [123]

ten thousand glories
 2 in them. Therefore, it is
 a perfect glory so that (*ἵνα*) whenever
 4 it can join (another) and
 prevail, it becomes perfect (*τέλειος*).
 6 Thus, even if (*κἄν*) it enters
 into a body (*σῶμα*) and a death (coming) from
 8 matter (*ἕλη*), they do not
 receive greater honor because of
 10 their all-perfectness (*-παντελειος*) from which
 all these come, being perfect, together with
 12 those that are with him. Indeed (*καὶ γάρ*) each
 of the aeons (*αιών*) has
 14 ten thousand aeons (*αιών*)
 in himself, so that (*ἵνα*) by existing together
 16 he may become a perfect (*τέλειος*)
 aeon (*αιών*). There is (+*δέ*) in the
 18 [Blessedness (*-μακάριος*)] of the three-
 [powered] perfect (*τέλειος*) Invisible (*ἀόρατον*)
 20 [Spirit (*πνεῦμα*)] silence
 [] who became first
 22 [] and the knowledge (*γνώσις*)
 [
 24 [
 [

123,3 *ϑΙΝΔ* for *ϑΩCTE*.

123,14 I.e., countless aeons.

123,17-18 I.e., Protophanes.

ρ̣κ[Δ]

2 ΤΗΡΥ ΟΥΣΙΓΗ ΝΤΕ †ΓΝΩΣΙΣ Μ
 ΜΕΥΣΗΤΕ ΠΙΨΟΡΠ̄ Μ ΜΕΕΥΕ
 4 ΝΩΡΑΪ ΩΝ ΟΥ† ΜΕΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΨΜΤ-
 ΒΟΜ ΔΕ ΔΥΟΥΕΥ ΣΑΩΝΕ ΝΑΣ Ε ΤΡΕΣ-
 6 ΕΓΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ· ΩΝΑ ΔΕ ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ
 Μ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ· ΔΨΩ ΕΥΕ Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 8 ΝΩΡΑΪ ΝΩΗΤΥ· ΕΥΕΓΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΩΙΣΤΟΟΤΣ Ν ΟΥΜΝΤΩΔΑΠΛΟΟΤΣ ΜΝ
 10 ΟΥΜΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ· Δ[ΙΪΖΙ] Ν ΟΥΜΝΤ-
 ΔΓΑΘΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΙΣΤΟΟΥ Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΟΥ-
 12 ΝΩ ΝΩΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΩΝ Ν ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ
 ΠΗ ΕΤ† Μ ΠΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ· ΝΕ .[
 14 ΤΩΥ ΔΝ ΤΕ †ΒΟΜ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑ ΠΗ ΕΤΜ-
 ΜΑΨ ΤΕ· ΝΙΕΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄
 16 ΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ̄ ΩΝ ΟΥΣΙΓΗ
 ΝΕΟΥΑΤΕΝΕΡΤΙΑ ΤΕ †ΩΨΠΑΡΞΙΣ
 18 ΔΨΩ ΝΕΟΥΑΤΨΑΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΤΕ
 †ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΛ[Σ ΕΤΤΑ-]
 20 ΩΟ ΜΜΟΥ· ΕΔΥΕΙ ΕΙΒΟΛ ΩΜ ΠΙ-]
 ΜΕΥΤΟΟΥ ΠΙΜΟ[.
 22 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΙΠΡΩΤΟ[ΦΑΝΗΣ Ν]
 ΩΟ[Ο]ΩΤ̄ Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ Ν [ΝΟΥΣ . .
 [---] ΔΩ[.
 24 [---] .Ν[.

[ρ̣]κε

2 ΩΙΚΩΝ ΝΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΕΥΨΗΨ ΜΜ-
 ΜΑΥ ΩΜ ΠΙΕΟΟΥ ΜΝ †ΒΟΜ· ΩΝ
 4 ΟΥΤΑΞΙΣ ΔΕ ΕΥΔΟΣΕ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΔΨΩ ΝΩΡΑΪ ΩΝ ΟΥΕΩΝ ΔΝ·
 6 ΕΨΗΤΑΥ Ν ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ ΠΗΤΕ
 Μ ΠΗ ΕΨΟΝΩ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ̄ ΩΙ ΟΥΜΑ
 8 ΝΩΡΑΪ ΩΝ ΟΥΑ· ΜΝ ΠΙΕΩΝ ΕΤ-
 ΩΡΑΪ Ω[Ν ΝΝ] ΕΩΝ ΕΨΗΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΨ
 10 ΜΝ Ν[Γ]ΚΕΨΩΔ̄Π̄ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤ-
 ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΩΜ ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΨ· ΠΙ-

- 124,12 ΝΕ .[, the trace can be read Ν, Ϝ, Η, Ϊ, or Κ | perhaps the Autogenes.
 124,13 Ink trace (resembling Ϊ) visible after Μ at the end of this line is not part of
 the text.
 124,14 ΨΟΟΠ̄, Π̄ more fully preserved in 1972 (read Π̄ or Π); now best attested

[24]
 whole, a sil
 knowledge
 is the will o
 covered, be
 know him
 all-perfect (n
 himself. E
 and blessed
 recognized.
 goodness (-a
 follower of th
 one who
 be) is not th
 in. The (+δ
 sist do so in
 sistence (ἔμ
 rd knowledge
 Egyptos (καλ
 living come
 with, the
 thought, the P
 s(the) perfec
 his image
 in power
 with respect to
 not (high
 he him has a
 ese (entities)
 one. Togeth
 the aeons (a
 fourfold diff
 with all the re
 there. But

in photo A;
 (Π)ΟΥΣ; cf.
 Probably th

12[4]

whole, a silence (*σιγή*) of the second
 2 knowledge (*γνώσις*), the first thought
 in the will of the Three-

4 Powered, because he commanded her
 to know him so that (*ἵνα*) he might become
 6 all-perfect (*παντέλειος*) and perfect (*τέλειος*)
 in himself. By simplicity (*-απλοῦς*)

8 and blessedness (*-μακάριος*) he is
 recognized. [I received]

10 goodness (*-αγαθός*) through that
 follower of the Barbelo aeon (*αἰών*),

12 the one who gives being to himself . . . [

(she) is not the power, but (*ἀλλά*) she belongs to
 14 him. The (+*δέ*) aeons (*αἰών*) which really (*ὄντως*)
 exist do so in silence (*σιγή*).

16 Existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) was inactivity (*-ενέργεια*),
 and knowledge (*γνώσις*) of the self-established
 18 Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*) was ineffable.

Having come [from the]

20 fourth, the [

thought, the Proto[phanes (*πρωτοφανής*)],

22 as (the) perfect (*τέλειος*) male [Mind (*νοῦς*)

[

24 [

[1]25

it is his image (*εἰκών*), equal to

2 him in power and glory, but (*δέ*)

with respect to order (*τάξις*) higher than

4 him, not (higher) in aeon (*αἰών*).

Like him has all

6 these (entities) living (and) dwelling together

in one. Together with the aeon (*αἰών*)

8 in the aeons (*αἰών*) has

a fourfold difference (*διαφορά*)

10 with all the rest that

are there. But (*δέ*)

in photo A; papyrus subsequently damaged.

124,22

[**ΝΟΨC**; cf. 44,29; 124,6.

125,1-11

Probably the Protophanes.

12 κλ̄ς ΔΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ̄ ΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΣ-
 ΚΗ ΔΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΝΩΓ ΤΑ ΝΙΕΟΟΘ
 14 ΤΗΡΟΘ Ἰϑ̄ηλ̄ · ΠΙΕΟΟΘ Ν ΖΟ-
 ΟΥΤ̄ Μ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ· ΕΤΕ Ε-
 16 ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΣ ΔΘΝΑΘ Ε ΝΙΠΑΝ-
 ΤΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΘ· ΜΕΤΑΖΕ ΔΕ
 18 [ερ]ΑΤΟΘ ΜΝΑΖΡΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΙΨΟΜ̄Τ-
 [. . . .] . [.] . Ν ΔΛΟΘ· ΠΙΨΜ̄Τ-
 20 [.] Ç ΠΙΔΥΤΟΤΕΝΗΣ Ν
 [.] ΕΘΝΤΑΥ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΘ
 22 [.] ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΗ ΟΘΑ ΕΥΤΟ-
 [. . . . Π]Η ΟΝ ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ Ε ΠΙ-
 24 [.] ΕΥΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΗ [.
 [.] ΓΑ[

ΡΚΙΣ

ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΕΝΑΝΤΒΑ Ν ΚΩΒ· ΠΙ-
 2 ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΔΕ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ̄
 ΝΖΗΤΥ ΕΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΠΕ
 4 ΠΙΨΟΡΠ̄ Μ ΦΩΣΤΗΡ· ΣΟΛΜΙΣ
 ΜΝ ΠΙΡΕΥΘΕΝΖ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 6 ΕΘΑΤΗ ΔΡΗΖΥ ΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΤΘ-
 ΠΟΣ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΙΚΛΣ
 8 ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΜΝ ΔΟΖΟΜ[ΕΔ]ΩΝ·
 ΠΙΜΕΡΣΝΑΘ ΝΗ ΕΩ[Ν] ΔΚΡΕΜΩΝ
 10 ΠΙΔΨΑΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΘΝΤΑΥ
 ΜΜΑΘ Μ ΠΙΜΕΡΣΝΑΘ Μ ΦΩΣ-
 12 ΤΗΡ· ΖΑΧΘΟΣ ΜΝ ἸΔΧΘΟΣ· ΠΙ-
 ΜΕΡΨΟΜ̄Τ ΔΕ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΠΕ ΔΜ-
 14 ΒΡΟΣΙΟΣ ΠΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΘΝΤΑ[Υ]
 ΜΜΑΘ Μ ΠΙΜΕΡΨΟΜ̄Τ Μ ΦΩ-
 16 ΣΤΗΡ ΣΗΘΕΘΣ ΜΝ ΔΝΤΙΦΑΝ-
 ΤΗΣ· ΠΙΜΕΡΨΤΟΟΘ Δ[Ε] Ν[Ν Ε-]
 18 ΩΝ ΠΕ ΠΙΡΕΥΣΜΟΘ [.
 ΤΕΝΟΣ ΕΘΝΤΑΥ ΜΜ[ΑΘ Μ ΠΙΜΕΡ-]
 20 ΥΤΟΟΘ Μ ΦΩΣΤΗ[Ρ ΣΕΛΔΔΩ]

125,17 -ΓΟΗ, sic.

125,19] . [.] ., first trace is the top of a knobbed letter (Δ, λ, μ, ω, ψ) or of a vertical stroke, or a punctuation mark; second trace is a high, straight ligature into the following letter, viz. from τ, Ϛ, ε, π, or Ϛ, but probably not from Ϛ.

125,24 ΖΗ, or ΖΙ.

126,4 See 119,11n.

Kalyptos (A
and (Δ&E) wi
all the glori
nigin (μαρ
whom are s
all-perfect o
that stand b

[16]

then thousa
 first (+&E) aec
 him, from
 the first light
 and the god r
 being infinite
 type (rōmos) i
 een (alōw) ar
 the second ae
 the ineffable v
 the second lig
 bathos and
 hind (+&E) aec
 the vis
 the third light
 theus and A
 the (+&E) for
 the blessing
 ze (yévos) w
 with light (φ

For Doxo
 Mech IX
 Supraline
 ΔΑΒΡΟ
 ΔΝΤΙΦ
 M, only t

22 ΜΝ ΕΛΕΝΟΣ ΨΑϞ[.
 ΜΕΝ Ε[Ρ]ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ρΥΤ[.
 [---] ΔΡΜ[ΗΔΩΝ
 24 [---] .[.
 [Ρ]ΚΞ

2 ΦΟΗ ΖΟΗ ΖΗΟΗ ΖΗ[. .] ΖΩΣΓ
 ΖΩΣΓ ΖΑΩ ΖΗΟΟΟ ΖΗΣΕΝ ΖΗΣ-
 4 ΕΝ· ΣΕΟΝΘ ΝΣΓ ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ ΔΥΩ
 ΠΥΤΟΟϞ ΕΤΕ Ν ΨΜΟΘΝ Ν ΚΩΒ
 6 ΗΟΟΟΗΔΗΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΡΑ ΤΕϞ-
 ΕΡΗ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΡΝ ΝΑΪ ΤΗ-
 8 ΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΝΑΪ ΜΕΝ ΕΘΝΕΡΑΪ ρΜ
 ΠΥΠΡΩΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ Ν ΤΕΛΓΟΣ Ν
 10 ΔΡΜΗΔΩΝ Ν ρΟΟϞ· ΞΕΝΕΡΤΙΑ
 ΝΤΕ ΝΔ[Ϊ] ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ρΓ ΟΥ-
 12 ΜΑ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕΨΥΟΟΠ ΝΣΓ ΝΓ-
 ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν ΤΕΛΓΟΣ
 14 ΔΣΟΨΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΗ ΝΣΓ ΞΕΝΕΡ-
 ΤΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΠΥ-
 16 ΑΥΤΟΤΕΝΗΣ Ν ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΤΟΥ
 ΜΕΝ ΕΥΑΘΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΘΡΑΪ ρΗ ΟΥ-
 18 ΕΩΝ· ΕΘΝ ΥΤΟΟϞ Ν ΔΓΑΦΟΡΑ
 ΝΤΕ ρΕΝΕΩΝ ΝΘΡΑΪ ΝΘΗΤΥ Ν-
 20 [Τ]Ε ΝΓΑΥΤΟΤΕΝΗΣ· ΠΥΨΟΡΠ
 ΔΕ ΝΗ [Ε]ΩΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΘΗΤΥ
 22 [Ν]ΤΕ Π[ΥΨ]ΟΡΠ Μ ΦΩΣΤΗΡ
ΔΡΜΟΖΗΔ· ΟΡΝΕΟΣ ΕΘΕΡΟΥ
 24 [ΞΕ]Δ .[.
 [. . ΠΥΜΕΡ]ϞΝΑϞ Δ[Ε ΝΗ ΕΩΝ ΝΤΕ]
 26 [ΠΥΜΕΡ]ϞΝΑϞ Μ [ΦΩΣΤΗΡ Ω-]
 [ΡΟΪΑΝΑ . .]ϞΔΔϞ[.]ΟC· ΔΠ[. .

126,22 Μ, or else ω, ψ, or possibly υ | ε, or else φ or Ϟ (not θ).

126,23 Or, ρ]ΔΡΜ.

127,1-3 The arrangement of these *stoicheia* into patterns is the work of the modern editors.

127,7-9 Or, they are within the first-appearing, perfect, male Armedon.

127,18 Different, lit., differences.

127,20 Δε, Δ more fully attested (but still uncertain) in photo D; cf. *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, pl.4.

ρ[κη]
 2 ἀρροϛ[. . .] π̄ιμερ̄ω̄ο̄μ̄τ̄ δε ν-
 τε π̄ιμερ̄ω̄ο̄μ̄τ̄ μ̄ φ̄ω̄στ̄ηρ̄
 4 δᾱῡεῑθε̄· λᾱρᾱνε̄ῡς· επῑφα-
 6 νη̄ο̄ς· εῑδε̄ο̄ς· π̄ιμερ̄ῡτο̄ο̄ϛ
 8 δε ν̄τε π̄ιμερ̄ῡτο̄ο̄ϛ μ̄ φ̄ω-
 10 στ̄ηρ̄ η̄λη̄η̄θ̄· κο̄δη̄ρη̄· επι-
 12 φ̄αν̄η̄ο̄ς· ᾱλλο̄τε̄νη̄ο̄ς[.] η̄η̄κο-
 14 ο̄ῡε δε τη̄ρο̄ϛ ε̄τ̄ω̄ο̄[ο̄]π̄̄ ρ̄η̄ †-
 16 ρ̄η̄λη̄ η̄το̄ο̄ϛ τη̄ρο̄ϛ η̄[ε̄ῡ]β̄ε̄ε̄τ̄
 18 πε̄· ᾱϛω̄ ε̄τ̄βε ο̄ῡτη̄νω̄[ς]η̄ς ν̄τε
 20 ο̄ῡμη̄τη̄νο̄ς μ̄η̄ ο̄ῡτο̄λη̄η̄ ᾱϛω̄
 22 ο̄ῡσο̄μ̄ ε̄ᾱϛω̄πε ᾱϛω̄ ᾱϛ-
 24 σε̄λ̄ω̄λο̄ϛ· ε̄ᾱϛρ̄ ᾱτεῑμε̄ ε̄ π-
 26 νο̄ῡτε̄ σε̄νᾱβ̄ω̄λ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄· εῑς ρ̄η̄-
 η̄τε ζ̄ω̄στ̄ρη̄αν̄ε̄ ᾱκ̄ω̄τ̄μ̄
 ε̄ρο̄ο̄ϛ τη̄ρο̄ϛ η̄ᾱϊ̄ ε̄τε η̄η̄νο̄ῡτε̄
 ε̄ η̄ ᾱτεῑμε̄ ε̄ρο̄ο̄ϛ· ᾱϛω̄ ε̄τε ν-
 η̄ ᾱτη̄η̄ ᾱρη̄ξ̄η̄νο̄ϛ η̄ ρ̄ε̄νᾱρ̄τε̄λο̄ς
 ᾱνο̄κ̄ δε ᾱϊ̄το̄λη̄μᾱ πε̄[ξ̄]ᾱϊ̄ ξ̄ε̄ εῑ[τ̄η̄]
 ο̄η̄ †κ̄ω̄τε̄ ε̄τ̄βε π̄ιψ̄μ̄τ̄σο̄μ̄ [η̄-]
 η̄ ᾱτη̄η̄ᾱϛ ε̄ρο̄ῡ η̄ τε̄λη̄[ο̄ς] μ̄ π̄η̄[ᾱ]
 π̄ω̄ς ῡψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄̄ η̄ᾱῡ ᾱϛ[. . .] . . . [.
 εῑβ̄ε̄ ε̄ η̄ᾱϊ̄ τη̄ρο̄ϛ· μ̄[. . .]η̄ ε̄τ̄
 ψ̄[ο̄]ο̄π̄̄ ο̄η̄τω̄ς ε̄μ̄[. . .]τε̄ς
 [.]εῑ[. . .]ξ̄[. . .] ᾱψ̄ πε̄ π[.
 [.]μ̄ᾱ[. . .]ϛ̄ η̄ ο̄[.
 [.] . η̄τε̄[. . .]ξ̄ο̄ο̄[.
 [ρκ]θ̄

ο̄ϛ ε̄μᾱτε̄ ᾱϛκᾱᾱ[τ̄] ᾱ[ϛ]β̄ω̄κ̄·
 2 ᾱϛω̄ ᾱῡεῑ η̄η̄ᾱρ̄ᾱϊ̄ η̄ε̄η̄ ᾱπο̄φᾱνη̄ς·
 4 μ̄η̄ ᾱφ̄ρο̄πᾱη̄ς· πᾱρ̄θε̄νη̄ω̄φ̄ω̄το̄ς·
 6 ᾱϛω̄ ᾱῡη̄τ̄ ε̄ρο̄ῡη̄ ε̄ π̄η̄π̄ρω̄το̄φᾱ-
 η̄η̄ς η̄ η̄νο̄ς η̄ ρ̄ο̄ο̄ῡτ̄ η̄ τε̄λη̄ο̄ς η̄
 η̄νο̄ῡς· ᾱϛω̄ ᾱϊ̄η̄ᾱϛ ε̄ η̄ᾱϊ̄ τη̄ρο̄ϛ

- 128,7 No supralinear stroke over ᾱλλο̄τε̄νη̄ο̄ς .
- 128,10-18 The final set of revelations end.
- 128,15-17 Cf. *Allogenes* XI 52,13-33; I Enoch 80. Widengren, "Iran," pp. 95-115, argues for the Iranian origin of this motif.
- 128,18 Cf. 1 Peter 1:12.
- 128,22 | . . . |, first trace is from Η̄, Ϝ̄, Η̄, Π̄, or Τ̄; second, from Ϝ̄, Ϟ̄, ϟ̄, Ϡ̄, or ϡ̄; third is top stroke of Τ̄, or a supralinear stroke.

1[28]

Arros-[]. The (+δέ) third (aeon)
 2 of the third light (φωστήρ) (is)
 Daveithe-Laraneus-Epiphania-
 4 nios-Eideos. The (+δέ) fourth
 (aeon) of the fourth light (φωστήρ)
 6 is Eleleth-Kodere-Epi-
 phanios-Allogenios. But (δέ) as
 8 for all the rest that reside in
 matter (ἔλη), [they] were all left (there).
 10 It was because of their knowledge (γνώσις) of
 majesty, their audacity (τόλμυ) and power that
 12 they came into existence and
 adorned themselves. Because they did not
 14 know god, they shall pass away.
 Behold, Zostrianos, you have heard
 16 all these things of which the gods
 are ignorant and (which) seem
 18 infinite to angels (ἄγγελος)."
 I (+δέ) on my part became bold and said,
 20 "I am [still (ἔτι)] wondering about the three-
 powered invisible perfect (τέλειος) Spirit (πνεῦμα)-
 22 how (πῶς) it exists for itself, [
 ... everything [] which
 24 really (δυντως) exist [
 [] what is the [
 26 [] and (ἦ) [
 [] of [

[12]9

very, they set [me] (down and) left.
 2 Apophantes with Aphropais the
 Virgin-light (παρθενωφωτός) came before me
 4 and brought me into Protophanes (πρωτοφανής),
 (the) great male perfect (τέλειος)
 6 Mind (νοῦς). There I saw all of them

128,23 Ϝ, or else ϙ or Ϟ | .|Η; e.g., Π|Η, Τ|Η, or Ν|Η.

128,26 ϡ, or else ϳ or λ | ϳ, or else ϡ | ϣ, or else ϙ | Ϛ, or else ϙ.

128,27 | ., bottom of a vertical stroke, e.g., Ϟ, or else ϙ | Ϛ, or else ϙ.

129 The surface of the papyrus is badly deteriorated; ink traces read under ultraviolet light.

129,1-132,5 The Descent of Zostrianos to Record and Teach.

8 ΕΤΜΜΑΘ Μ ΠΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΨΟΟΠ
 ΜΜΟΣ ΗΞΡΑΪ ΨΗ ΟΥΑ ΔΨΩ ΔΕΙΩΩ-
 10 ΤΠ ΝΜΜΑΘ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΕΙΣΜΟΥ
 Ε ΠΙΩΩΝ Ν ΚΛΣ ΜΗ ΨΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ
 12 Μ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΗ ΠΙΔΑΘΟΡΑΤΟΝ
 Μ ΠΝΑ ΔΨΩ ΔΕΙΨΩΠΕ Μ ΠΑΝ-
 14 ΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΔΕΙΣΙ ΣΟΜ ΔΨΣΑΡΤ
 ΨΜ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΔΨΡ ΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ Μ-
 16 ΜΟΕΙ ΔΕΙΣΙ Ν ΟΥΚΛΟΜ Ν ΤΕ-
 ΛΙΟΣ Μ ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΘ ΔΪΕΙ
 18 ΕΒΟΛ Ε ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ Ν ΤΕΛΙΟΣ
 ΔΨΩ ΝΑΨΨΓΝΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΤΗ-
 20 ΡΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΕΨΩΤΜ Ε ΝΙΜΝ-
 ΤΝΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΨΤΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΕΨΤΕ-
 22 ΨΙ ΣΟΜ[·] ΔΨΩ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΝ ΕΤΑΪ-
 ΕΙ ΕΖΡ[ΔΪ] Ε ΝΙΩΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΔΨ-
 24 ΤΟΥΡΕ[Ν]ΗΣ ΔΕΙΣΙ ΝΗ ΟΨΕΙΝ[Ε Μ-]
 ΜΕ Ε[ΨΤ]ΟΨΒΗΨ ΕΨΜΠΨΔ
 26 Ν ΤΑΙ[ΣΘ]ΗΣΙΣ ΔΪΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε
 ΝΙΔΑΝΤΙΤΨΠΟΣ ΝΗ ΕΩΝ
 28 ΔΨΩ Δ[Ϊ]ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑΘ ΕΖΡ[ΔΪ]
 ΡΛ
 2 Ε ΠΚΙΔΩ Ν|Ν ΔΗΡ ΔΨΩ ΔΪΣΡΑΪ Ν
 ΨΟΜΤ Μ ΠΨΖΟΣ ΔΕΙΚΑΔΨ
 4 ΕΨΤΝΩΣΙΣ Ν ΝΗ ΕΤΝΗΨ ΜΝΗ-
 ΣΩΕΙ ΝΙΣΩΤΠ ΕΤΟΝΩ ΔΨΩ Δ-
 6 ΝΟΚ ΔΪΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ν-
 Ν ΕΣΘΗΤΟΝ ΔΨΩ ΔΪΨ Μ ΠΑΤΟΥ-
 8 ΩΤ ΨΩΩΤ ΕΨΕ ΝΗ ΔΪΤΒΩ
 ΔΕΙΨ ΣΟΜ ΝΑΨ ΔΕΙΜΟΨΨΕ ΕΕΙΤΑ-
 10 ΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ ΝΑΨ ΤΗΡΟ[Ψ Ν] ΨΜΝΤΜΕ
 ΟΨΤΕ ΝΙΜΝΤΑΡΤΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΟ-
 12 ΣΜΟΣ ΟΨΤΕ ΝΙΔΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΠΟΥ-
 ΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΟΨΜΝΗΨΕ ΤΑΡ Ν Ψ[ΣΑ-]
 ΕΙΟ ΝΤΑΨΝΤ Ε ΠΜΟΥ ΔΕΙΒΟΛΟ[Ψ]

129,7-8 ΠΡΗΤΕ... ΜΜΟΣ, sic.

129,18 I.e., ΝΕΨ'.

129,19-20 Lit., greatness.

130,1 See 4,20 and 5,18 for his ascent.

130,2 *πίφος*, for *πιξιόν*, a writing tablet made of box-wood; cf. *Steles Seth VII*

as they exist
 in one. I ur
 with them
 Kalyptos (κ
 virgin (παρ
 spirit (μειψ
 and received
 in glory and
 received th
 perfect (τέ
 irth to the p
 All of them
 me, listening
 magnitude o
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 came down t
 Autogenes (α
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 the perceptib
 down to the
 and came do
 130
 to the ether
 three wooden
 is knowledg
 come after m
 Then I came
 world (κόσμ
 my image. B
 I strengthen
 preaching th
 Weather (δυν
 the world (κ
 saw me, for
 of judgmen

118,10-11

redeem

See 4,23

T, or els

as they exist
 8 in one. I united
 with them all (and) blessed the
 10 Kalyptos (*καλυπτός*) aeon (*αιών*), the
 virgin (*παρθένος*) Barbelo and the Invisible (*άόρατον*)
 12 Spirit (*πνεῦμα*). I became all-perfect (*παντέλειος*)
 and received power. I was written
 14 in glory and sealed.
 I received there
 16 a perfect (*τέλειος*) crown. I came
 forth to the perfect (*τέλειος*) individuals (+*κατά*).
 18 All of them began questioning
 me, listening to the
 20 magnitude of my knowledge (*γνώσις*),
 rejoicing and
 22 receiving power. When I again
 came down to the aeons (*αιών*) of
 24 Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*), I received a true
 image, pure (yet) suitable for
 26 the perceptible (*αἰσθησις*) (world). I came
 down to the aeon (*αιών*) copies (*ἀντίτυπος*)
 28 and came down here
 130
 to the ethereal (*ἀήρ*) [earth] . I wrote
 2 three wooden tablets (*πίξος*) (and) left them
 as knowledge (*γνώσις*) for those who would
 4 come after me, the living elect.
 Then I came down to the perceptible (*αἰσθησις*)
 6 world (*κόσμος*) and put on
 my image. Because it was ignorant,
 8 I strengthened it (and) went about
 preaching the truth to everyone.
 10 Neither (*δυστε*) the angelic beings (*-άγγελος*) of
 the world (*κόσμος*) nor (*ούτέ*) the archons (*ἀρχων*)
 12 saw me, for (*γάρ*) I evaded a multitude
 of [judgments] that brought me near death.

118,10-11. By delivering the gnosis to others Zostrianos becomes a redeemed redeemer; cf. 1 Enoch 82:1, and 2 Enoch 33:47.54.

130,6-7 See 4,23-25 where he leaves his body on earth; cf. 2 Cor 5:1-5.

130,12 Τ, or else Π.

14 ΕΒΟΛ· ΟΥΜΗΝΗΣΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΣΟΡΜ
 ΔΕΙΤΟΥΝΟΘΟΥ ΕΪΔΩ ΜΜΟΣ
 16 ΔΕ ΕΓΜΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΟΝΟΥ ΜΗ ΨΠΟΡ[Α]
 ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΤΕ ΣΗΘ Ύ ΜΠΡΤΟΥ[Ο Ν-]
 18 ΔΤΣΩΤΜ ΝΣΩΕΓ· ΜΑΤΟΥ Ν[ΕΣ]
 ΠΕΤΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΔ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· Δ[ΨΩ]
 20 ΨΨΥΧΗ Ν ΑΤΚΑΘ[Γ]Δ ΕΤΣΟ[ΤΠ]
 Ψ ΣΟΜ ΝΑΣ ΔΨΩ ΔΝ[ΔΨ] Ε ΠΙΟΥ-
 22 ΩΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΜ ΠΙΜ[Α] ΔΨΩ
 ΚΩΤΕ ΝΣΑ ΨΜΝΤΑ[Τ]ΜΙΣΕ Ν-
 24 Ν ΔΤΟΥΩΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ [ΠΕΓ]ΩΤ ΝΤΕ
 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΤΩΟΜ [Μ]ΜΩΤΗ
 26 Ε[ΨΣ]ΟΥΕ ΝΗΤΗ ΔΨΩ ΕΨΔΓ ΜΜΩ-
 [ΡΑ]Δ
 ΤΗ Ν ΘΟΝΣ ΨΝΑΚΑ ΤΗ[Ν]Ε ΝΣΩΨ ΔΝ·
 2 ΜΠΡΔΩΚΜ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΟΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ·
 ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΨ ΤΗΝΕ ΝΤΟΥΟΥ Ν
 4 ΝΗ ΕΤΘΕΒΗΝΨ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΟΔ ΝΗ ΕΤ-
 ΣΟΤΠ· ΠΩΤ ΝΤΟΥΟΥ Μ ΠΙΔΙΒΕ
 6 ΜΗ ΠΙΣΝΑΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΨΜΝΤΣΙΜΕ·
 ΔΨΩ ΣΩΤΠ ΝΗΤΗ Μ ΠΙΟΥΔΑΕΙ
 8 ΝΤΕ ΨΜΝΤΟΥΟΥΤ· ΝΤΑΤΕΤΗ-
 ΕΓ ΔΝ [Ε] Δ[Γ] ΜΚΑΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΗ-
 10 ΕΓ Ε ΒΩΔ Μ ΠΕΤΗΝΣΑΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ· ΒΑΔ
 ΤΗΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΨΩ ΠΗ ΕΤΑΨΜΟΥΡ
 12 ΜΜΩΤΗ ΕΨΕΒΩΔ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΑΟΥ
 ΤΗΝΕ ΟΓΝΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΕΤΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΨ
 14 ΕΣΕΝΟΥΟΥΜ· ΠΙΧΡΣ Ν ΕΓΩΤ ΔΨ-
 ΤΗΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΗΤΗ Μ ΠΙΣΩΤΗΡ
 16 ΔΨΩ ΔΨΨ ΝΗΤΗ Ν ΨΣΟΜ· ΕΤΒΕ
 ΟΨ ΤΕΤΝΑΟΥΕ· ΚΩΤΕ ΕΨΚΩΤΕ
 18 ΝΣΑ ΤΗΨΤΗ· ΕΨΤΩΟΥ ΜΜΩ-
 ΤΗ ΣΩΤΜ· ΟΨΚΟΥΕΓ ΤΑΡ ΠΕ
 20 [ΠΙ]ΧΡΟ[ΝΟ]Σ ΜΠΡΤΡΕΨΡ ΟΔΔ Μ-
 ΜΩΤ[Ν] ΟΨΝΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΙΔΙΩΝ
 22 ΝΤΕ Π[ΓΔ]ΓΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥ·

- 130,16ff The concluding homily does not refer in specific terms to the gnosis revealed to Zostrianos earlier in the tractate.
- 130,19 I.e., discover the divine part in yourself.
- 130,20 I.e., ΚΑΚΙΑ.
- 130,22 Lit., the crossing over.
- 130,23 Ν, only the supralinear stroke survives.

But (δὲ) an
 awakened
 "Understan
 need (μοῦ)
 disobedient
 your divine
 is for your
 strengthen i
 dissolution o
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... he will
 Do not bapti
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 and choose f
 of maleness.
 not come to
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 yourselves, a
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 yourselves so
 may be save
 has sent you
 and given yo
 are you hesi
 sought; whe
 then. For (ε
 short. Do no
 stay. Great
 of the aeons

Circum
 Soul, lit
 ΧΡC for
 Cf. 3,18
 Cf. 2 Er

14 But (*δέ*) an erring multitude
 I awakened saying,
 16 "Understand, you who are alive, the holy
 seed (*σπορά*) of Seth. Do not [be]
 18 disobedient to me. [Awaken]
 your divine part to god, and
 20 as for your sinless elect soul (*ψυχή*),
 strengthen it. Note the
 22 dissolution of this world and
 seek the immutable
 24 ingenerateness. The [Father] of
 all these invites you.
 26 Although (others) reprove you (and) ill-treat
 131

you, he will not abandon you.
 2 Do not baptize yourselves with death
 nor (*οὔτε*) entrust yourselves to those
 4 who are inferior to you as if to
 those who are better. Flee from the madness
 6 and the bondage of femaleness,
 and choose for yourselves the salvation
 8 of maleness. You have
 not come to suffer; rather (*ἀλλά*), you have
 10 come to escape your bondage. Release
 yourselves, and that which has bound
 12 you will be dissolved. Save
 yourselves so that (*ἵνα*) your soul
 14 may be saved. The kind (*χρηστός*) Father
 has sent you the Savior (*σωτήρ*)
 16 and given you strength. Why
 are you hesitating? Seek when you are
 18 sought; when you are invited,
 listen. For (*γάρ*) the time (*χρόνος*) is
 20 short. Do not be led
 astray. Great is the aeon (*αἰών*)
 22 of the aeons (*αἰών*) of the living ones,

131,9 Circumflex has been abnormally omitted above the group εἰ.

131,13 Soul, lit., that (fem.) one there.

131,14 *ΧΡC* for *χρηστός*; cf. 78,22.

131,17-18 Cf. 3,18f.

131,21-22 Cf. 2 Enoch 65:8.

ΜΝ †[ΚΟ]ΛΑCΓC ΝΤΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΘ [Ν]
 24 ΔΤΤΩΤ Ν ΘΗΤ· ΟΘΝ ΟΘΜΗ-
 ΗΨΕ Ν [C]ΝΑΘ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΩΤΗ
 26 ΜΝ ΘΕΝΡΕΥ† ΚΟΛΑCΓC· VVV
ρ[λ]β
 ΠΩΘ Ν[Θρ]ΔΪ ΘΝ ΟΘΚΟΘΕΓ Ν CΗΟ[Ϟ]
 2 ΕΜΠΑΤΥΤΑΘΩΤΗ ΝΘΓ ΠΙΤΑΚΟ·
 ΔΝΑΘ Ε ΠΙΘΘΟΕΓΗ ΠΩΤ ΝCΑ-
 4 ΒΟΛ Μ ΠΙΚΑΚΕ· ΜΠΡΤΡΕϞΡ ΘΔΛ
 ΜΜΩΤΗ ΠΡΟC ΟΘΤΑΚΟ:
 6

 8

132,2
132,6-9

Death, lit., destruction.

These lines are set off in the manuscript by rows of ornaments and rules. To solve the cryptogram, divide the Greek alphabet into three sets of eight letters ($\alpha\theta$, $\iota\pi$, $\rho\omega$), then reverse the letter values of each set, except for

pet (so also
if those who
Many bonds
surround you
(3)2
the quickly
before death
look at the li
the darkness.
away to your
Zostrianos
codes of Tru
Zostrianos. G
teachings of Z

(=4) and ρ (=5)
apocalypses d
cω†, i.e., cω
δελω, or els
pp, written l

24 yet (so also is) the [punishment (κόλασις)]
 of those who are unconvinced.
 Many bonds and chastisers (+κόλασις)
 26 surround you.
 1[3]2
 Flee quickly
 2 before death reaches you.
 Look at the light. Flee
 4 the darkness. Do not be led
 astray to your destruction."
 6 Zostrianos
 Oracles of Truth of
 8 Zostrianos. God of Truth.
 Teachings of Zoroaster.

ι (=ϛ) and ϱ (=υϱ), so that α=θ', κ=π, σ=ω, etc. (See Doresse, "Les apocalypses de Zoroastre.")

132,7

Ϛωϛ, i.e., Ϛωψ.

132,8

δελω, or else δελψ

132,9

ϣϱ, written both times with ϱ nestled under right stroke of ϣ.

transmits
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ography:
Brief des
ärke, "Eine
predigt";
Letter of Pe
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ΠΡΟΣ ΕΤΑΥΡ
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s of Milevis
e letters th
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NHC VIII, 2: THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP
INTRODUCTION
Marvin W. Meyer

Bibliography:

Bethge, "Brief des Petrus an Philippus"; Bethge, "Der sogenannte Brief"; Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Paraphrase"; Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt"; Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*; Luttikhuisen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip"; Ménard, *La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe*; Ménard, "La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe"; Ménard, "Pierre à Philippe: sa structure"; Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*; Meyer, "The Light and Voice on the Damascus Road"; Parrott, "Gnostic and Orthodox Disciples"; Tröger, "Doketistische Christologie in Nag-Hammadi-Texten"; Wisse-Meyer, "The Letter of Peter to Philip."

The *Letter of Peter to Philip* fills most of the concluding nine pages of Codex VIII. Situated immediately after the long tractate *Zostrianos*, the *Letter of Peter to Philip* bears little literary or theological relationship to the tractate that precedes it. Rather, the *Letter of Peter to Philip* most likely was included in Codex VIII because, of the tractates the scribe was commissioned to copy, it was an appropriate length to fill the pages at the end of the codex.

The *Letter of Peter to Philip* opens with a superscribed title derived from the letter which forms the first part of the tractate: ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΤΑΥΧΘΟΘΣ ΜΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ, "The letter of Peter which he sent to Philip" (132,10-11). Like several other tractates in the Nag Hammadi library (*Apocryphon of James* [NHC I,2], *Treatise on Resurrection* [NHC I,4], *Eugnostos* [NHC III,3]), the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is presented, in part, as a letter or epistle. In addition to these letters in the Nag Hammadi library, other letters were also in use among the Gnostics (for example, Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora*; and letters of Valentinus, Monoimus the Arabian, and perhaps Marcion; cf. in Foerster, *Gnosis*). Furthermore, just as a magnificent epistolary tradition developed around Paul and the Pauline school, so also a more modest collection of letters came to be ascribed to Peter. These Petrine or pseudo-Petrine letters include, in addition to the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, the catholic letters of Peter in the NT, the *Epistula Petri* at the opening of the Pseudo-Clementines, and perhaps another letter of Peter known only from a brief quotation in Optatus of Milevis (Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 117,n.4). Of these letters the Ps.-Clem. *Epistula Petri* is of special interest since it shares a number of features with the *Letter of Peter to Philip*. Not only is

it prefixed to a collection of materials relating to Peter; it also seeks to attest the authority of Peter, and as it concludes, the *Contestatio* begins by referring to the recipient (James the Just) reading and responding to the letter in a manner reminiscent of Philip in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (133,8-11). After the closing of the *Epistula Petri*, the *Contestatio* opens as follows: 'Αναγνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναγνοὺς, "he spoke to the assembled group about the kerygmatic materials of Peter." The *Letter of Peter to Philip*, however, is not to be identified with any of these letters attributed to Peter and must represent a newly-discovered work in the Petrine corpus.

The body of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* may be divided into two major sections: the letter itself (132,12-133,8) and the account of the meetings of the apostles (133,8-140,27). The letter of Peter opens in typical Greek epistolary fashion (132,12-15) and proceeds to describe the separation of Philip (here apparently a composite of Philip the apostle and Philip the evangelist—see the note to 132,14-15) and the need for a meeting of all the apostles. At 133,8 the letter concludes somewhat abruptly, and after the reference to the willing response of Philip to Peter; at 133,8-11, Philip disappears from the scene and is only implicitly present as an anonymous member of the apostolic group.

The balance of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* provides an account of the apostolic gatherings, often in the form of a "dialogue" between the resurrected Christ and the apostles. After Peter and the apostles come together for the first meeting on the Mount of Olives (133,12-17), they offer two prayers, one directed to the Father (133,17-134,1) and the other to the Son (134,2-9). Following their prayers the risen Christ appears to the apostles as a light and a voice (134,9-18). The apostles raise a two-part indirect question (134,18-23) and five direct questions (134,23-135,2). The voice from the light (135,3-8) provides revelatory answers to several of these questions by discoursing on the deficiency of the aeons (135,8-136,15) and the fullness (136,16-137,4), and the detainment (137,4-9) and the struggle of the apostles (137,10-13). After an additional question of the apostles and the revealer's answer (137,13-138,3), the revelation concludes (138,3-7) and the apostles journey to Jerusalem (138,7-10).

As they go up to Jerusalem, their discussion about the problem of suffering (138,10-16) prompts a response by Peter (138,17-20) as well as by a revelatory voice (138,21-139,4 [?]). The contents of the disclosure suggest that the revelatory voice is that of Christ. When the apostles reach Jerusalem, they teach and heal (139,4-9). Peter delivers a paradigmatic sermon (139,9-140,1[?]) with three central parts: the citation of a traditional credo (139,15-21), the interpretation of that credo (139,21-28),

concluding
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139-143). Final
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familiarities with
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most" account
is revelator

and a concluding exhortation (139,28-140,1[?]). After a prayer offered by Peter, the apostles are filled with holy spirit and part in order to preach (140,1[?]-13). Finally, at a last gathering of the apostles, Jesus appears again to commission them (140,13-23), and the tractate closes with the apostles departing once more to preach (140,23-27).

In its present form the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is clearly a Christian Gnostic tractate. Taken as a whole, the tractate is to be seen as a part of the Petrine tradition (against Bethge, who suggests in "Der sogennante Brief" that the tractate may be part of a Gnostic *Acts of Philip*): Peter is the leader, the spokesman, the preacher among the apostles, and appears to be described as having his own disciples (ΝΕΨΜΔΘΗΤΗΣ, 139,10). The only other apostle mentioned by name is Philip, who is submissive to the authority of Peter and whose place in the tractate seems intended to highlight the preeminent authority of Peter. With their leader, Peter, the apostles gather at Olivet and are taught by the risen Savior; upon returning to Jerusalem they teach in the temple and perform healings; and eventually they go forth to preach, filled with holy spirit. In other words, not only the place of Peter but also the scenario of the narrative would suggest that the *Letter of Peter to Philip* shares important features with part of the first (Petrine) section of the NT Acts of the Apostles (chapters 1-12).

That the author of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* makes use of Christian traditions cannot be doubted. In particular, numerous parallels between this tractate and the first half of the NT Acts may be noted, including scenes, themes, and terms which are similar in these two documents (see the notes). Even the genre of literature they represent—a narrative on Peter and the apostles within which are included revelatory, liturgical, and edifying materials—is similar, although in the case of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* the narrative has been prefixed with a letter of Peter. Furthermore, the author of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is familiar with other Christian traditions besides Lukan materials. The Savior's second revelatory answer (136,16-137,4) resembles the Johannine Logos hymn (see Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Paraphrase"), though the similarities must not be overdrawn (cf. Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, 131-33; 177-78). Again, the traditional kerygmatic formulae in the credo (139,15-21) show affinities with similar formulae to be found throughout early Christian literature (see the note to 139,15-21, as well as Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, 152-53; the parallels in John 19 are particularly close to the credo in the *Letter of Peter to Philip*), and the little "Pentecost" of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (140,1[?]-13) shares features with the Johannine "Pentecost" account (20:19-23). The author of this tractate also mentions previous revelatory utterances of the Savior (135,5-6; 138,2-3.22-24;

139,11-12), utterances frequently said to have been given while Jesus was embodied. Presumably these revelations of the embodied Savior could refer to such teachings as are presented in the canonical gospels; and ΠΙΥΤΟΟϞ ΝΨΔΖΕ of 140,25 could have been understood as the four gospels to be sent to the four directions; see Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, 160-61. (Bethge, "Brief des Petrus an Philippus," 175, and "Der sogennante Brief," 168-70, suggests that originally the text may have read ΕΠΙΥΤΟΟϞ ΝΣΔ ΖΕ, "to the four directions, so that," which through dittography became ΕΠΙΥΤΟΟϞ ΝΣΔ ΖΕ (ΖΕ); this text then could have been modified to ΕΠΙΥΤΟΟϞ ΝΨΔΖΕ ΖΕ, "eine Verschlimmbesserung zum normalen Sahidisch.") Hence, it is clear that the author of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is conversant with early Christian materials and desires to establish continuity with these earlier traditions. The author's understanding of the Christian message, it is maintained, is legitimate and authentic: Jesus communicated all these truths before, but because of unbelief the message must now be proclaimed again (135,3-8).

Within the narrative framework of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* are included materials in which Gnostic emphases can be seen with clarity. In particular this observation applies to the Gnostic "dialogue," the revelatory discourse of the Savior uttered in answer to the questions of the apostles. The first four revelatory answers (135,8-137,13) are at most marginally Christian, though here they have been legitimated as revelations of the risen Lord. The first answer (135,8-136,15), which provides an abbreviated version of the myth of the mother, illustrates no overtly Christian features at all. It reflects a rather simple version of the myth and is similar to the Sophia myth of the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II 9,25ff; III 14,9ff; IV 15,1ff; BG 36,16ff) and the Barbelognostics of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 1.29.1-4) in terminology (ΤΜΔΔϞ, *mater*; ΠΔϞΘΔΔΗΣ, *Authadia*) and general presentation. This set of four revelatory answers furnishes a Gnostic perspective on the fall into deficiency and the attainment of fullness (the first two answers: 135,8-136,15; 136,16-137,4), and on the imprisonment and the struggle of Gnostics in the world (the last two answers: 137,4-13). To this set of answers has been appended an additional question and answer (137,13-138,3) which utilizes different terms and focuses upon the life and mission of the apostles. Gnostic in perspective like the other answers, this additional answer does show Christian concerns and illustrates a dominant issue of the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, the suffering of the believer.

In addition to the questions and answers in the Gnostic "dialogue," other materials similarly used in the tractate may also show Gnostic proclivities. The two prayers of the gathered apostles (133,17-134,9)

contain traditional terms and themes commonly found in early Christian prayers, but they also proclaim a luminosity and glory which make them especially appropriate as the prayers of Gnostic Christians. Again, the description of the resurrected Christ as a light and a voice (134,9-14; 135,3-4; 137,17-19; 138,11-13. 21-22) represents a primitive way of depicting the appearances of the risen Lord, but among Gnostic Christians such theophanic descriptions are particularly appreciated (Meyer, "The Light and Voice on the Damascus Road," 30-34). Again, in the discussion of the sufferings of the Lord and the apostles, a motif occurs which is prevalent in Gnostic sources: human "smallness" (ΤΕΝΜΝΤΚΟϞ[ΕΙ], 138,20). Yet again, the reception of "a spirit of understanding" (ΟϞΠΝΔ ΝΤΕ ΟϞΕΠΙ[Ι]ΤΗΜΗ, 140,5-6) and spiritual power (ΟϞΣΔΜ,ΟϞΣΟΜ, 140,21. 27) from Christ are especially important for Gnostic Christians.

In the brief sermon of Peter (139,9-140,1[?]) Gnostic tendencies are even more clearly seen. A traditional Christian credo constitutes the first part of the sermon (139,15-21), and traditional terms are applied to Jesus (ΠΞΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ, 139,25-26; ΠΨΗΡΕ, 139,26; ΠΙΔΡΧΗΤΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΩΝϞ, 139,27-28), but the credo is interpreted according to the Gnostic Christian theology of the author of the *Letter of Peter to Philip*. From the time of his incarnation Jesus suffered, but he suffered as one who is "a stranger to this suffering" (ΟϞΨΜΜΟ Μ/ΠΕΪΞΙ ΜΚΔϞ, 139,21-22). A Christological tension remains as the sermon stresses both the reality of Jesus' sufferings and the glory of his divinity. In contrast to the suffering illuminator Jesus (139,15), the sermon continues, the followers of Jesus suffer because of "the transgression of the mother" (ΤΠΑΡΑΒΔΑΙΣ ΝΤΜΑΔΑϞ, 139,23). This phrase is reminiscent of references to the fall of mother Eve and refers, for the Gnostic Christian author, to the mother often named Sophia in other versions of the myth. She is also called ΤΜΑΔΑϞ at 135,12, and her tragic fall is seen as the source of human sufferings. This reference to "the transgression of the mother" thus may provide another point of contact between the figures of Eve and Sophia in Gnostic literature.

It is possible, then, to suggest a general outline for the literary history of the *Letter of Peter to Philip*. On the basis of the parallels with the *Apocryphon of John* and Irenaeus (see above), we may suggest that the *Letter of Peter to Philip* was written around the end of the second century C.E. or into the third. The author of the text presumably wrote in Greek: such may be intimated by the presence of Greek loan words (including technical terms, particles, prepositions, and conjunctions) and Greek idioms (e.g., ϞΝ ΣΩΜΔ/ϞΜ ΠΣΩΜΔ for ἐν (τῷ) σώματι). The author apparently was a Christian Gnostic who was well versed in the Christian tradition, and who used and interpreted that tradition in a Christian

Gnostic fashion. A Gnostic "dialogue" has been constructed, though it is less a true dialogue than a revelatory discourse of Christ in answer to questions raised by the apostles. Within this "dialogue" are included Gnostic materials which are non-Christian or only marginally Christian; these materials have been adopted as revelatory disclosures of the risen Christ. On the basis of the Christian and Gnostic traditions with which the author was familiar, the author compiled a narrative document with a revelatory focus. The letter itself was added at the beginning of this narrative in order to stress the authoritative place of Peter, and the *Letter of Peter to Philip* subsequently received its present title. Finally, the Greek tractate was translated into Coptic and found its way into Codex VIII of the Nag Hammadi library.

Like other tractates within the Nag Hammadi library, the *Letter of Peter to Philip* appears to be a Coptic translation of a Greek text. The dialect represented by the Coptic of the tractate is Sahidic, although dialectical peculiarities, including forms traditionally called Bohairic, may be recognized (see Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, 69-90, esp. 79-83). The text has survived in a relatively intact condition. Besides the minor lacunae, which can be restored with considerable confidence, the *Letter of Peter to Philip* has only three major lacunae, all at the top of the latter pages of the codex: 137,1-2; 139,1-4; 140,1-2.

According to the reports of James M. Robinson and Stephen Emmel, a somewhat divergent Coptic text of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* is to be found in a papyrus codex which at the present time is neither published nor available for study. Emmel has indicated that it bears the title **ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΨΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ** (see Bethge, "Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus," 5-6; Robinson, "Introduction," *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 21; Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I*, 255 and 276). A March, 1991, memo from Robinson reads: "In 1991 an out-of-focus photograph of nine lines at the top of a page permitted the following collation:

At 135,25, read **ΕΝΔΙΩΝ**, for **ΕΝΓΕΩΝ**.

At 135,26-27, read **ΔΤΡΑΨΕ ΤΗΡΟϞ**, for **ΔΤΡΑΨΕ/ΝΣΙ
ΝΙΤΟΜ ΤΗΡΟϞ**.

At 135,28, read **ΔϞΨΩ[ΠΕ]**, for **ΔϞΞΠΟΟϞ**.

At 136,1 read **ΝΣΕΣΟΟϞΝΕ**, for **ΝΣ[Ε]Ϟ[Ο]ΟϞΝ**.

At 136,1-2, read **Μ[]ΨΟΟΠ ΔΝ ΝΨΟϞ[]**, for **ΜΠ[]/
ΨϞΠ ΝΨΟΟΠ· ΕΠΙΔΗ."**

10 ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΤΑΥ-
 ΖΟΟΥΣ ΜΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ·
 12 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ Ι[Σ]
 ΠΕΧ[Σ] ΜΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΠΕΝΣΟΝ Μ
 14 ΜΕΡΓΙ ΜΗ ΠΕΝΨΒΗΡΑΠΟΣΤΟ-
 ΛΟΣ ΜΗ ΝΣΝΗΘ ΕΤΗΜΜΑΚ ΧΕ[ΡΕ]
 16 †ΟΨΩ ΔΕ ΝΚΙΜΕ ΠΕΝΣΟΝ [ΣΕ]
 ΔΗΖΙ ΝΘΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ Ν[Τ]ΟΟΥ [Μ]
 18 ΠΕΝΖΟΕΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΣΩ[Τ]ΗΡ Ν[ΤΕ]
 ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΥ ΔΕ [ΕΝ]ΔΕΙ Ε[Ψ-]
 20 [Μ]Α ΔΕ ΕΝΑ† ΣΒΩ ΔΨ[Ω] ΝΤΗΤΑ-
 ΨΕ ΟΕΨ ΨΡΑΪ ΨΜ ΠΙΟΙΨΔΑΪ Ε-
 22 ΤΑΨΕΡΗΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ψ-
 [Ρ]ΑΨ
 [Τ]Η ΠΕΝΖΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧ[Σ] ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ
 2 [Ν]ΕΨΔΚΠΩΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΝ· ΑΨΩ
 ΜΠΕΚΜΕΡΕ ΠΙΤΡΕΝΕΙ ΕΨΜΑ
 4 ΑΨΩ ΝΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΤΟΥΗ Ν
 ΑΨ Ν ΨΕ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΨΨ ΜΝΟΨΥΕ·
 6 ΕΨΔΕ ΟΨΝ ΔΣΡ ΔΝΔΚ ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΔΕ
 ΕΚΕΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΝ-
 8 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΙΣ· ΝΑΪ ΝΤΕΡΕΥΔΙΣΤΟΨ
 ΝΘΙ Φ[ΙΛΙΠ]ΠΟΣ ΑΨΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΥΟ-
 10 ΨΟΨ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ
 ΨΗ ΟΨΡΑΨΕ ΕΥΤΕΛΗΛ ΜΜΟΥ·
 12 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΣΩΟΨ

NOTES TO TEXT

Frederik Wisse

- 132,10-11 Indented and spaced off in the codex. The phrase is not a descriptive title for the whole tractate but only the caption of the letter (132, 12-133, 8).
- 132,15 The epistolary *χαίρειν* (in Coptic *ΧΑΙΡΕ*) can be abbreviated at the end of a line to *ΧΑ*, *ΧΑΙ*, or *ΧΑΙΡ*, according to usage in Greek papyri. Here the average length of the lines would suggest an abbreviation. The *Ε* is an itacistic spelling for *ΔΙ*.
- 133,8 At the end of the letter there is a blank space of about one letter in the manuscript; viz., *ΙΣ*· *∪* *ΝΑΪ*.

The
sen
Peter, the a
Christ, to Ph
brother and
and the brett
Now (82) I w
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our Lord and
the whole wo
give instru
preach in the
which was pr

Lord Jesu
you were sep
you did not d
and to know
ourselves in o
Therefore (οὕ
come accordi
God Jesus?"
and when he
them, he wen
rejoicing with
Then (τότε) P

134 ΠΕΝΣΟ
137; 2 Co
135 Philip th
14:8-9;
two fig
literatu
133.1 Cf. Luk
Cf. Act
ΝΟΥΤ
Smyrna

132

10 The letter (ἐπιστολή) of Peter which he
sent to Philip:
12 “Peter, the apostle (ἀπόστολος) of Jesus
Christ, to Philip our beloved
14 brother and our fellow apostle (-απόστολος)
and the brethren who are with you: greetings (χαίρειν)!
16 Now (δέ) I want you to know, our brother, [that]
we received orders (ἐντολή) from
18 our Lord and the Savior (σωτήρ) of
the whole world (κόσμος) that [we] should come [together]
20 to give instruction and
preach in the salvation
22 which was promised us by

[1]33

our Lord Jesus Christ. But (δέ) as for you,
2 you were separate from us, and
you did not desire us to come together
4 and to know how we should organize
ourselves in order that we might tell the good news.
6 Therefore (οὖν) would it be agreeable to you, our brother, to
come according to (κατά) the orders (ἐντολή) of our
8 God Jesus?” When Philip had received these,
and when he had read
10 them, he went to Peter
rejoicing with gladness.
12 Then (τότε) Peter gathered

COMMENTARY

Marvin W. Meyer

- 132,13-14 ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ἈΜΕΡΙΤ; cf. esp. *Pistis Sophia* 44; also Acts 15:23; Rom 1:7; 2 Cor 1:1; etc.
- 132,14-15 Philip the apostle; cf. Mark 3:18 par.; John 1:43-48; 6:5-7; 12:21-22; 14:8-9; Acts 1:13; Philip the evangelist; cf. Acts 6:5,8:4-40; 21:8-9. The two figures named Philip were often conflated in early Christian literature (cf. Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, 93-94).
- 132,16-133,1 Cf. Luke 24:44-49; Acts 1:1-8.
- 133,1-5 Cf. Acts 8:4-40, esp. 8:4-25.
- 133,8 ΝΟΥΤΕ as a christophal title; cf. John 20:28; Ign. *Rom.* 3.3; *Smyrn.* 1.1; apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.

Μ ΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΔΘΒΩΚ ΕΞΜ
 14 ΠΤΟΟΘ ΕΤΕ ΨΑΘΜΟΘΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ
 ΖΕ ΠΑΝΙΖΟΕΙΤ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΨΑΘ-
 16 ΣΩΟΘΩ ΕΜΑΘ ΜΝ ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC
 ΝΧC ρΟΤΑΝ ΕΨΩΝ ΣΩΜΑ· ΤΟ-
 18 ΤΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΘΕΙ ΕΘΜΑ ΝCΓ ΝΑΠΟC-
 ΤΟΛΟC ΑΘΩ ΑΘΝΟΖΟΘ ΕΞΝ
 20 ΝΕΨΠΑΤ ΑΨΨΛΗΛ ΝΨΩΕ ΕΘ-
 ΖΩ Μ[ΜΟ]C ΖΕ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΤ
 22 ΠΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ ΠΑΪ Ε-
 ΤΕΨΝΤΑΨ ΝΝΙΓΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ
 24 ΣΩΤ[Μ] ΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΑ[Κ]
 ΜΤΩ[Ο]Θ ρΜ ΠΕΚΑΛΟΘ ΕΤ-
 26 ΟΨΑΔΒ [Γ]C ΠΕΧC· ΝΤΟΨ ΓΑΡ
 ΑΨΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΨΦΩCΤΗΡ
 ρ[ΛΔ]
 ρΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΔΕΙΟ ΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΝ·
 2 ΑΘΩ ΑΘΚΟΤΟΘ ΝΚΕCΟΠ ΑΨ-
 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΘΖΩ ΜΜΟC ΖΕ ΠΨΗ-
 4 ΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝΩ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ †-
 ΜΝΤΑΤΜΟΘ· ΠΑΪ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ρΜ
 6 ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ· ΠΨΗΡΕ ΠΕΧC ΝΤΕ
 †ΜΝΤΑΤΜΟΘ· ΠΕΝΡΕΨCΩΤΕ
 8 ΜΑΨ ΝΑΝ ΝΝΟΨΘΑΜ· ΕΠΙΔΗ CΕ-
 ΚΩΤΕ ΝCΩΝ ΕΡΟΤΒΝ [Τ]ΟΤΕ ΑΨ-
 10 ΟΨΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΓ ΟΘΝΟΘ Ν ΟΘΟΕΙ[Ν]

133,22 ἰ, flag is uncertain on papyrus.

133,25 H.-M. Schenke has argued that ΜΤΩΟΘ can be a form of the infinitive of ΜΑΤΕ ("Middle Egyptian Dialect," (104)58*). ΔΛΟΘ could also mean servant.

ΠΑΝΙΖΟ
 Pistic Soph
 V 19,8-13.
 Genuflect
 ΠΩΤ Ν
 Petition; c
 Mark 1:11
 4; also Ac
 ΓΙC ΠΕΛ
 26; 1 Clem
 ΦΩCΤΗ
 passim; L
 Light anc
 Acts 9:1-
 31,13-16;
 Pet. VII
 Acts of T

the others also. They went upon
 14 the mountain which is called
 “the (mount) of olives,” the place where they used
 16 to gather with the blessed (*μακάριος*)
 Christ when (*δταν*) he was in the body (*σῶμα*). Then (*τότε*),
 18 when the apostles (*ἀπόστολος*) had come together,
 and had thrown themselves upon
 20 their knees, they prayed thus
 saying, “Father, Father,
 22 Father of the Light, who
 possesses the incorruptions (*ἀφθαρσία*),
 24 hear us just as (*κατά*) [thou hast]
 [taken pleasure] in thy holy
 26 child Jesus Christ. For (*γάρ*) he
 became for us an illuminator (*φωστήρ*)
 1[34]
 in the darkness. Yea hear us.”
 2 And they prayed again another time
 saying, “Son
 4 of Life, Son of
 Immortality, who is in
 6 the light, Son, Christ of
 Immortality, our Redeemer,
 8 give us power, for (*ἐπειδή*) they
 seek to kill us.” Then (*τότε*)
 10 a great Light appeared

- 133,13-17 ΠΑΝΙΣ ΔΟΞΗ; cf. esp. Luke 19:29; 21:37; Acts 1:12; also Luke 22:39;
Pistis Sophia 6; 8; 77; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 90,14-91,20; *Apoc. Paul*
 V 19,8-13. ΠΑΔΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΧΣ; cf. *Gos. Mary* BG 8,12.
- 133,19-20 Genuflection; cf. Luke 22:41; Acts 7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5.
- 133,21-22 ΠΙΩΤ ἤΤΕ ΠΟΘΟΕΙΝ; cf. 1 John 1:5; John 1:1-18.
- 133,24-134,1 Petition; cf. *Dial. Sav.* III 121,5-9. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΑ[Κ]/ΜΤΩ[Ο]Υ; cf.
 Mark 1:11 par.; Matt 12:18-21 (*Isa* 42:1-4); 17:5; 2 Pet 1:17; *Gos. Eb.* frg.
 4; also Acts 9:22 (*Oxyrhynchite*; Old Latin). ΠΕΚΔΛΟΤ ΕΤ̄ΟΥΔΔΒ
 [Γ]Σ ΠΕΧΣ; cf. esp. Acts 4:27,30; *Did.* 9.2,3; 10.2,3; also Acts 3:13,
 26; 1 *Clem.* 59. 2-4; *Mart. Pol.* 14.1-3; 20.2; *Diog. Laert.* VIII.9-11; IX.1.
- 133,27 ΦΩΣΤΗΡ; cf. *Acts of Philip* 21; *Apoc. Adam* V 85,28-31; *Kephalaia*,
passim; *Lampe, Lexicon*, s.v. *φωστήρ*.
- 134,9-14 Light and voice of the risen Christ; cf. Mark 9:2-8 par.; 2 Pet 1:16-19;
 Acts 9:1-9; 22:4-11; 26:9-18; 1 Cor 15; Rev 1:12-16; *Gos. Truth* I
 31,13-16; *Ap. John* II 2,1-9; 30,33-35; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 91,10-13; *Apoc.*
Pet. VII 71,32-72,2; 83,6-15; *Trim. Prot.* XIII 47,28-29; *Pistis Sophia* 2-5;
Acts of Thomas 80; 111; etc.

12 ρΩΣΤΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΤΟΟϚ Ρ ΟϚΟΕΙΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ ρΜ ΠΓΩΡϚ ΝΤΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΑϚΟϚ-
 14 ΩΝϚ ΕΒΟΛ· ΔϚΩ ΔϚΣΜΗ ΔΣΩΨ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΡΟΟϚ ΕΣΣΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ
 16 ΣΓ ΣΜΗ ΕΝΑΨΔΔΕ ΔΕ ΕΕΙΕΧΟ[С]
 ΝΗΤΗ· ΕΤΒΕ ΟϚ ΤΕΤΝΨΓΝΕ Μ-
 18 ΜΟΕΙ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΙC ΠΕΧC ΕΨ[Ο-]
 ΟΠ̄ ΜΗ ΤΗϚΤΗ ΨΑ ΕΝΕϚ· ΤΟΤ[Ε]
 ΔΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΔϚΟϚΩΨ[Β]
 20 ΔϚΩ ΝΔϚΣΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΠΔϚ-
 ΕΙC ΤΝΟϚΩΨ ΕΕΙΜΕ Ε ΠΨΩ-
 22 ΩΤ̄ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΩΝ ΜΗ ΠΕ[Ϛ]ΠΛΗ-
 ΡΩΜΑ· ΔϚΩ ΔΕ ΠΩ[С] CΕΔΜΑ[Ϛ-]
 24 ΤΕ ΜΜΟΝ ρΜ ΠΓΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ·
 Η ΠΩC ΔΝΕΙ ΕΠΓΜΑ Η ΕΝΔΒΩΚ
 26 ΝΔΨ ΝΡΗΤΕ· Η ΠΩC ΟϚΝΤΑΝ
 [ΡΛΕ]

[Ν†ΕΞΟ]ϚCΓΑ ΝΤΕ †ΠΑΡΡΗCΓΑ·
 2 [Η] ΕΤΒΕ ΟϚ ΝΓCΟΜ CΕ† ΝΜΜΑΝ·
 ΤΟΤΕ ΔϚΣΜΗ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΔϚ ΕΒΟΛ
 4 ρΜ ΠΟϚΟΕΙΝ ΕCΣΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ Ν-
 ΤΩΤΗ ΟϚΑΤΤΗϚΤΗ ΕΤΡ ΜΗ-
 6 ΤΡΕ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΔΕ ΝΔΪ ΤΗΡΟϚ ΝΗΤΗ
 ΑΛ[ΛΑ] Δ [Ε]ΤΒΕ ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΑΤΝΑϚΤΕ
 8 †[Ν]ΔΨΔΔΕ ΝΚΕCΟΠ̄· ΕΤΒΕ
 [ΠΨΩ]ΩΤ̄ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΩΝ ΠΑΪ
 10 [ΠΕ] ΠΨΩΩΤ̄ ΕΤ<Δ>†ΜΝΤΑΤ-
 ϚΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΜΗ †ΜΝΤΑΤΨΟΞΝΕ
 12 ΝΤΕ ΤΜΑΔϚ ΕΤΑCΟϚΩΝϚ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΕCΜ ΠΟϚΔϚ CΑϚΝΕ ΝΤΕ †ΜΝΤ-

134,22 The κ in ΠΕΚ ("thy") has been corrected to an upsilon ΠΕϚ ("their"). In terms of the answer to this question in 136,16-137,4 the uncorrected reading fits better.

135,10 Ms. reads ΕΤΕ†.

so that (ἀπο-
 from the sig-
 appeared. A
 out to them s
 "listen to my
 you. Why
 ? I am Jes
 em with you
 the apostles (e
 and said, "Lo
 we would like
 of the aeons (e
 and: "How (e
 we detained i
 "How (mōs) d
 manner shall

[be] authority
 and (†): "W
 Gen (τότε) a
 of the light say
 "Is you you
 and I spoke all
 ... (ἀλλὰ) beca
 shall speak a
 of all (μέγ) com
 the deficient
 be disobedien
 the mother
 without the co

28 Cf. Matt 2
 29 Two-part
 questions
 Chr. III 91
 30 ΕΞΟ]ϚC.
 31 †ΜΝΤΑΤ
 35; Gen 3;
 Theodoto 2
 13,4:14,28
 104,17-18
 cf. Ap. Joh

so that (ὥστε) the mountain shone
 12 from the sight of him who had
 appeared. And a voice called
 14 out to them saying,
 “Listen to my words that I may speak
 16 to you. Why are you asking
 me? I am Jesus Christ who
 18 am with you forever.” Then (τότε)
 the apostles (ἀπόστολος) answered
 20 and said, “Lord,
 we would like to know the deficiency
 22 of the aeons (αιών) and their pleroma (πλήρωμα).”
 And: “How (πῶς) are
 24 we detained in this dwelling place?” Further (ἤ):
 “How (πῶς) did we come to this place?” And (ἤ): “In what
 26 manner shall we depart?” Again (ἤ): “How (πῶς) do we have
 [135]
 [the] authority (ἐξουσία) of boldness (παρρησία)?”
 2 [And (ἤ)]: “Why do the powers fight against us?”
 Then (τότε) a voice came to them out
 4 of the light saying,
 “It is you yourselves who are witnesses
 6 that I spoke all these things to you.
 But (ἀλλά) because of your unbelief
 8 I shall speak again. First
 of all (μὲν) concerning [the deficiency] of the Aeons (αιών), this
 10 [is] the deficiency, when (+δέ)
 the disobedience and the foolishness
 12 of the mother appeared
 without the commandment of the majesty

134,17-18 Cf. Matt 28:20; *Ap. John* II 2,12-13.

134,18-23 Two-part indirect question; cf. *Dial. Sav.* III 139,13-15. Series of questions; cf. *Ap. John* II 1,17-29; *Hyp. Arch.* II 93,32-94,2; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 91,2-9; *Zost.* VIII 2,24-3,13; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78.2.

135,1 ΙΕΞΟΙΘΣΙΔ ΝΤΕ †ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ; cf. Acts 4:29,31; *Acts of Philip* 97.

135,10-15 †ΜΝΤΑΤΨΩΤΑ ΔΕ ΜΝ †ΜΝΤΑΤΨΩΞΝΕ; cf. *Ap. John* II 9,25-35; Gen 3; 1 Tim 2:14; *Barn.* 12.5; *Iren., Adv. Haer.* I.2.2; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 23.2. ΤΜΔΔΘ; cf. *Ap. John* II 10,6-7.18.21; 11,9-10; 12,8; 13,4.14.28.30.32; *Iren., Adv. Haer.* I. 29.4; also *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 114,14-15; 104,17-18 par. *Eugnostos* V 9,4-5; *Hipp., Ref.* VI.34.8; etc. †ΜΝΤΨΩΤΑ; cf. *Ap. John* II 4,1-2; 6,15; *Iren., Adv. Haer.* I.2.1-2; etc.

14 ΝΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ· ΔΟΨΩΨ Ε
 ΤΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΡΕΝΕΩΝ ΔΨΩ ΕΤΑΣ-
 16 ΨΔΞΕ ΔΥΟΨΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΣ ΠΙΑΨ-
 ΘΑΔΗΣ· ΕΤΑΣΨΩΞΠ ΔΕ ΝΟΥ-
 18 ΜΕΡΟΣ ΔΥΑΜΑΨΤΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΟΣ ΠΙ-
 ΔΨΘΑΔΗΣ· ΔΨΩ ΔΥΨΩΠΕ Ν-
 20 ΟΨΨΩΩΤ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΨΩΩΤ
 [Ν]ΤΕ ΝΙΞΩΝ· ΕΤΑΠΙΑΨΘΑΔΗΣ
 22 ΞΕ ΕΤΑΥΞΙ ΝΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΔΥΞΟΥ
 ΔΨΩ ΔΥΚΩ ΝΡΕΝΒΟΜ ΕΡΡΑΪ
 24 ΕΞΩΥ ΜΝ ΨΕΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ·
 ΔΨΩ [Δ]ΥΟΛΥ ΕΡΟΥΝ ΕΝΙΞΩΝ
 26 ΕΤΜΟ[Ο]ΨΤ· ΔΨΩ ΔΨΡΑΨΞ
 ΝΟΣ ΝΙΒΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΟΣ-
 28 ΜΟΣ ΞΕ ΔΨΞΠΟΥΨ· ΝΤΟΥΨ
 Ρ[ΑΣ]
 ΔΕ ΝΞΞΟΥΨΝ ΔΝ ΜΠΙ[ΩΤ ΕΤΡ]
 2 ΨΡΠ ΝΨΟΥΨ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΨΕ[Ν]ΨΜ-
 ΜΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΪ Π[Ε]ΤΕΑ[Ψ-]
 4 † ΒΟΜ ΝΑΥ ΔΨΩ ΔΨΨΜΨΞ ΜΜΟΥ
 ΕΑΨΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ· ΝΤΟΥ ΔΞ ΠΙΑΨ-
 6 ΘΑΔΗΣ ΔΥΞΙΞΕ ΝΡΗΤ ΕΡΡΑΪ ΞΞΜ
 ΠΙΣΜΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΒΟΜ· ΔΥ[Ψ]ΩΠ[Ε] Ν-
 8 ΟΨΡΕΥΚΩΨ· ΔΨΩ ΔΥΟ[Ψ]ΩΨ [Ε]ΤΑ-
 ΜΙΟ ΝΝΟΥΨΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΜ[Α ΝΝΟΥΨΙΚΩΝ]
 10 ΜΝ ΟΨΜΟΡΦΗ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΟΥΨ[ΟΡ-]
 ΦΗ· ΔΥΤΩΨ ΔΕ ΝΝΙΒΟΜ ΨΡΑΪ ΨΝ
 12 ΤΕΥΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΞΕ ΕΨΕΠΛΑΞΑ ΝΡΞ[Ν-]
 ΣΩΜΑ ΕΨΜΟΥΨΤ· ΔΨΩ ΔΨΨΩ-
 14 ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΝ ΟΨΜΝΤΑΤΕΓΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΨΝ †ΕΙΔΕΑ ΕΤΕΔΨΩΠΕ· VVVV

135,16

Perhaps to be emended to ΟΨΩ <Ν>Ψ, "appeared."

136,9

The reconstruction ΝΝΟΥΨΙΚΩΝ requires an unusually long line but is suggested by the phrase that follows and the parallel in *Gos. Thom.* II 37, 34. The meaning is that the Archons created the human form or image according to the heavenly image which appeared to them (cf. *Ap. John* II 14,24-15,13).

THE
 of the Father.
 raise up ae
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 and (de) when
 out (lépos), t
 and hold of it,
 efficiency. Th
 of the aeons (a
 and taken a pa
 and he placed
 and authorit
 and [he] encl
 which are deac
 powers of the w
 and they had b
 (de) they do
 pre-existent [Fa
 dangers to him
 by gave powe
 by praising him
 became proud
 the praise of the
 en vrier, and
 take an image
 and a form (μορ
 and (de) he con
 his authority (έ
 mortal bodies (e
 able from a min
 the semblance (

136,9 ΕΤΑΣΨΩ
 137,1 ΠΙΑΨΘΑ
 138,1 Ιren., Adv.
 139,1 Arrogant C
 139,2 Ιren., Adv.
 139,3 ΜΕΡΟΣ).
 139,4 Cf. Gos. Th
 139,5 ΕΨΕΠΛΑ
 139,6 19,15; Ori
 139,7 ΟΨΜΝΤ

14 of the Father. She wanted
 to raise up aeons (*αἰών*). And when she
 16 spoke, the Arrogant One (*αὐθάδης*) followed.
 And (*δέ*) when she left behind a
 18 part (*μέρος*), the Arrogant One (*αὐθάδης*)
 laid hold of it, and it became a
 20 deficiency. This is the deficiency
 of the aeons (*αἰών*). Now when the Arrogant One (*αὐθάδης*)
 22 had taken a part (*μέρος*), he sowed it.
 And he placed powers over
 24 it and authorities (*ἐξουσία*)
 And [he] enclosed it in the aeons (*αἰών*)
 26 which are dead. And all the
 powers of the world (*κόσμος*) rejoiced
 28 that they had been begotten.

1[36]

But (*δέ*) they do not know the
 2 pre-existent [Father], since (*ἐπειδή*) they are
 strangers to him. But (*ἀλλά*) this is the one to whom
 4 they gave power and whom they served
 by praising him. But (*δέ*) he, the Arrogant One (*αὐθάδης*),
 6 became proud on account of
 the praise of the powers. He became
 8 an envier, and he wanted to
 make an image (*εἰκών*) in the place [of an image (*εἰκών*)]
 10 and a form (*μορφή*) in the place of a form (*μορφή*).
 And (*δέ*) he commissioned the powers within
 12 his authority (*ἐξουσία*) to mold (*πλάσσειν*)
 mortal bodies (*σῶμα*). And they came
 14 to be from a misrepresentation, from
 the semblance (*ιδέα*) which had emerged.

135,15-16 **ΕΤΑϸ/ΨΔΖΕ**; cf. *Ap. John* II 10,19; *Orig. World* II 100,10-19.

135,16-17 **ΠΙΔϸ/ΘΔΔΗϸ**; cf. *Ap. John* II 13,27; IV 21,16; BG 46,1;
Iren., Adv. Haer. I.29.4; also *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,29; 92,27; 94,17.

135,21-24 Arrogant One takes a portion; cf. *Ap. John* II 10,19-28; 13,22-23;
Iren., Adv. Haer. I.29.4; also *Hyp. Arch.* II 87,12.21; 94,14.32 (on
ΜΕΡΟϸ).

136,9-11 Cf. *Gos. Thom.* II 37,31-35; 1 Cor 15:49.

136,12-13 **ΕΥΕΠΛΑϸϸΑ ΝΥΞ/ΝΙ/ϸΩΜΔ ΕϸΜΟΟϸΤ**; cf. *Ap. John* II 15,1-
 19,15; *Orig. World* II 114,15-115,3; etc.

136,14-15 **ΟϸΜΗΤΔΤΕΙΝΕ**; cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 87,15-20.

16 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΕ
 ΔΟΥΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ ΕΥΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΣΩΜΑ Ε-
 18 ΤΒΕ ΠΙΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΤΕΔΥΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΩ ΔΙΕΙ ΕΥΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΨΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΕΤ-
 20 ΜΟΟΥΤ· ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΣ[ΟΥ-]
 ΩΝΤ ΝΕΨΜΕΕΨΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΖΕ ΔΝ[ΟΚ]
 22 ΟΨΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ· ΔΩ ΔΪΨ[Δ-]
 ΖΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΪ ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΥΣΩ-
 24 ΤΜ ΝΑΪ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΤΗΥ[Ε] ΖΩΤ
 ΤΗΨΤΗ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΑΨΩ[Τ]Μ ΜΠΟΥΨ
 26 ΔΩ ΔΪΨ ΝΑΥ ΝΝΟΥΣΕΨΟΥΣΙΑ ΖΕ·
 ΕΥΕΕΙ ΕΥΟΨΝ Ε ΨΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ
 28 ΝΤΕ ΤΕΥΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ· ΔΩ ΔΪΨ

[ρλζ]

[. . . .] ΔΪΨΜΟΥΨ ΕΒΟΛ
 2 [. . . .] .Κ ΕΥΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΕΨΟΥΣΑΪ· ΕΠΙΔΗ
 [ΔΕ] ΖΕ Ν[Ε]ΟΨΨΩΨΤ ΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΥ-
 4 ΨΩΠΕ [Ν]ΟΨΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΗ
 ΠΕ ΖΕ ΣΕΔΜΑΨΤΕ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΖΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ
 6 ΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΕΙ· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΚΑΚ
 ΤΗΝΕ ΚΑΨΗΨ ΜΠΑΪ ΕΤΤΑΚΗΟΥΤ· ΤΟ-
 8 ΤΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΕΝΨΩΨΤΗΡ
 ΖΗ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΟΥΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΜΟΟΥΤ
 10 ΠΗ Δ[Ε] ΖΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΕΤΝΑΨ ΜΝ ΝΙΣΟΜ
 ΖΕ Ν[Τ]ΟΥΨ ΜΜΝΤΑΨ ΝΟΥΜΤΟΝ ΚΑ-
 12 [ΤΑ] ΨΕΤΗΨ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΣΕΟΨΨ ΔΝ
 [Ψ]ΝΑ ΝΤΕΤΗΝΟΥΨΜ· ΤΟΤΕ ΔΝΑΠΟΨ-
 14 [Τ]ΟΥΨ ΟΨΩΨΤ Ν ΚΕΨΟΥ ΕΨΨΩ Μ-
 ΜΟΨ ΖΕ ΠΨΟΕΙΨ ΜΑΤΑΜΟΝ ΖΕ ΔΨ
 16 [Τ]Ε ΘΕ ΕΤΗΝΑΨ ΜΝ ΝΙΔΑΡΧΩΝ· ΕΠΙΔΗ
 [Ν]ΙΔΑΡΧΩΝ ΣΕΝΤΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ· ΤΟΤΕ

Next (de) con-
 was sent dow
 because of th
 And I came d
 (de) they
 recognize me
 was a mortal
 spoke with hi
 ekened to m
 who harkened
 ed I gave him
 might enter
 his fatherho

sine (ἐνεδι) h
 ecame a plero
 ed you are be
 hing to me.
 om yourselfe
 ou will becom
 the midst of
 ed (de), this (s
 evers, becaus
 e, since (ἐνε
 ed (de) you b
 vshipped ag
 Lord, tell us:
 ey shall we fi
 ed archons (

34 Cf. John 1
 21; Trait.
 V 55,15-20
 cf. John 1:
 Cf. Dial. S
 134,23-26
 Gos. Thom
 Acts of Th
 2 Cor 5:2
 becoming
 Cf. Dial.

- 16 Next (*δέ*) concerning the pleroma (*πλήρωμα*): I am the one who
 was sent down in the body (*σῶμα*)
 18 because of the seed (*σπέρμα*) which had fallen away.
 And I came down into their mortal mold (*πλάσμα*).
 20 But (*δέ*) they did not
 recognize me; they were thinking of me that I
 22 was a mortal man. And I
 spoke with him who belongs to me, and (*δέ*) he
 24 harkened to me just as (*κατά*) you too
 who harkened today.
 26 And I gave him authority (*ἐξουσία*) in order that
 he might enter into the inheritance (*κληρονομία*)
 28 of his fatherhood. And I took

[137]

- [] they were filled
 2 [] in his salvation. [And (*δέ*)]
 since (*ἐπειδή*) he was a deficiency, for this reason he
 4 became a pleroma (*πλήρωμα*). It is because of this
 that you are being detained because you
 6 belong to me. When you strip off
 from yourselves what is corrupted, then (*τότε*)
 8 you will become illuminators (*φωστήρ*)
 in the midst of mortal men.
 10 And (*δέ*), this (is the reason) that you will fight against the
 powers, because [they] do not have rest like (*κατά*)
 12 you, since (*ἐπειδή*) they do not wish
 that (*ἵνα*) you be saved." Then (*τότε*) the apostles (*ἀπόστολος*)
 14 worshipped again, saying,
 "Lord, tell us: In what
 16 way shall we fight against the archons (*ἄρχων*), since (*ἐπειδή*)
 [the] archons (*ἄρχων*) are above us?" Then (*τότε*)

136,16-137,4 Cf. John 1:1-18. *ΜΠΟΥΣ[ΟΥ]ΩΜΗΤ*; cf. John 1:10; *Ap. John* II 30,20-21; *Treat. Seth* VII 52,8-10. *ΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΪ*; cf. John 1:11; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* V 55,15-20; *Treat. Seth* VII 59,9-11. *ΑΪΤ ΝΑΥ ΗΝΟΥΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΔ*; cf. John 1:12. Deficiency to fullness; cf. *Ap. John* II 25,11-16.

137,4-9 Cf. *Dial. Sav.* III 140,14-19, and the direct questions (above) at VIII 134,23-26. *ΕΤΕΤΝΑΚΑΚ/ΤΗΝΕ ΚΑΘΗΘ*; cf. *Ap. Jas.* I 14,35-36; *Gos. Thom.* II 37,4-6; *Dial. Sav.* III 132,11-12; 2 *Ap. Jas.* V 56,7-14; *Acts of Thomas* 111; *Poimandres* 24-26; *Hipp, Ref.* V.8.44; contrast 2 Cor 5:2-3. *ΘΕΝΦΩΣΤΗΡ*; cf. Phil 2:15; *Gos. Phil.* II 61,29-32 (on becoming *ΘΕΝΦΩΣΤΗΡ*, like Christ).

137,16-17 Cf. *Dial. Sav.* III 138,11-14.

- 18 [ΑΥC]ΜΗ ΔCΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΡΟΟΘ ΕΒΟΛ
 [Ϛ]Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΟΘΟΜϚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕCΞΩ
 20 [Μ]ΜΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ†
 [Ν]ΜΜΑΘ Ν†ϚΕ· ΝΓΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΑΡ ΕΘ†
 22 ΜΗ ΠΓΡΩΜΕ ΕΤCΑΡΘΘΗ· ΝΤΩΤΗ
 [Δ]Ε ΕΤΕΤΝΕ† ΝΜΜΑΘ Ν†ϚΕ· ΔΜΗ-
 24 ΕΓΤΗ ΕΘΜΑ ΔΨΩ † CΒΩ ϚΜ ΠΚΟC-
 ΜΟC ΜΠΓΟΘΔΑΪ ϚΝ ΟΘΕΡΗ†· ΔΨΩ
 26 ΝΤΩΤΗ ϚΩΚΤΗΘΤΗ ΝϚΡΑΪ ϚΝ †ΘΟΜ
 ΝΤΕ ΠΑ[Ε]ΙΩ†· ΔΨΩ ΟΘΩΝϚ Μ-
 28 ΠΕΤΗΤΩΒϚ ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΨΩ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΓ-
 ΩΤ ΥΝΑΡΒΟΗΘΓ ΕΡΩΤΗ· ϚC ΕΑΥ-
 30 ΡΒΟΗΘΓ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΕΑΥΤΑΘΟΕΓ·
 [ΡΛΗ]
 ΜΠΡ[Ρ]ΑΒϚ[Η]Τ †ΝΕΜΗΤΗ ΨΑ ΕΝΕϚ]
 2 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΑΪΡ ΨΡ†Η ΝΧϚ[Ο]ΙC [ΝΗ-]
 ΤΗ ϚΟΤΑΝ ΕΕΓϚΜ Π[C]ΩΜΑ· [Τ]ΟΤΕ
 4 ΔCΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΓ ΟΘΕΒΡΗΘΕC ΜΗ ΟΘ-
 ϚΡΟΘΜΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ϚΝ ΤΠΕ· ΔΨΩ ΔΨ-
 6 ΤΩΡ†Η ΜΠΕΤΑΥΟΘΩΝϚ †ΝΑΘ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΠΓΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΘ ΕϚΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ· ΤΟΤΕ
 8 ΔΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΔΨΨ† ϚΜΟ† ΝΤΜ
 ΠΧΟΕΓC ϚΡΑΪ ϚΝ CΜΟΘ ΝΓΜ ΔΨΩ
 10 ΔΨΚΟΤΟΘ ΕϚΡΑΪ ΕΘΓΗΜ Ε[Ψ]Η-
 ΝΗΘ ΔΕ ΕϚΡΑΪ ΝΑΨΨΑΔΕ ΜΗ ΝΕ[Ψ-]
 12 ΕΡΗΘ ϚΓΤΕϚΓΗ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΓΟΘΟΕΓΗ [Ε-]
 ΤΕΑΥΨΩΠΕ· ΔΨΩ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ Ν-
 14 ΘΓ ΟΨΨΑΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΧΟΕΓC Ε[Ψ]ΔΨ
 ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΕΨΨΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΜΧΘΕ[ΓC]
 16 ΑΥΔΓ ΜΚΑϚ ϚΓΕ ΔΟΘΗΡ ΘΕ ΔΝΟΝ[:]
 ΑΥΟΘΩΨΒ ΝΘΓ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΕΥΔΨ
 18 ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΑΥΔΓ ΜΚΑϚ ΕΤΒΗΗ†[Ν]
 ΔΨΩ ϚΑΠC ΕΡΟΝ ϚΩΩΗ ΕΤΡΕ[Ν-]
 20 ΔΓ ΜΚΑϚ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝΜΗ†ΚΟΘ[ΕΓ]

138,1 It is possible (so also Layton, for 138 and 139) that there was one line yet higher which is now completely lost.

138,14 The original fai was corrected to upsilon.

the voice call
 the appeara
 Now (8) y
 against them
 fighting agai
 re to fight a
 together and
 the salvation
 you, gird you
 of my Father,
 our prayer b
 father, will he
 helped (80pde
 138)
 be not afraid,
 (sworn) I pre
 you when (8ro
 here came lig
 under from
 that appear
 to heaven.
 the apostles (d
 the Lord with
 they returned
 had (8) while
 each other on
 which had com
 naming the
 said, "If he, ou
 suffered, then
 here answered
 he suffered o
 and it is necess
 suffer becau

ΠΡΩΜΕ
 Hipp., Ref
 ΕΑΥΤΑΘ
 Cf. Luke 2
 Cf. Luke 2
 ΤΕΝΜΗ†
 Treat. Seth
 Thom. II 3

18 [a] voice called out to them from
 the appearance, saying,
 20 "Now (δέ) you will fight
 against them in this way, for (γάρ) the archons (ἀρχων) are
 22 fighting against the inner man. And (δέ) you
 are to fight against them in this way: Come
 24 together and teach in the world (κόσμος)
 the salvation with a promise. And
 26 you, gird yourselves with the power
 of my Father, and let
 28 your prayer be known. And he, the
 Father, will help (βοηθεῖν) you as (ὡς) he has
 30 helped (βοηθεῖν) you by sending me.
 [138]

Be not afraid, [I am with you forever,]
 2 as (κατά) I previously [said to]
 you when (ὅταν) I was in the body (σῶμα)." Then (τότε)
 4 there came lightning and
 thunder from heaven, and
 6 what appeared to them in that place was taken
 up to heaven. Then (τότε)
 8 the apostles (ἀπόστολος) gave thanks to
 the Lord with every blessing. And
 10 they returned to Jerusalem.
 And (δέ) while coming up they spoke with
 12 each other on the road concerning the light
 which had come. And a remark was made
 14 concerning the Lord. It was
 said, "If he, our Lord,
 16 suffered, then how much (must) we (suffer)?"
 Peter answered saying,
 18 "He suffered on [our] behalf
 and it is necessary for us too
 20 to suffer because of our smallness.

137,22 **πρῶμε ἐτάρουση**; cf. Eph. 6:10-20; Iren., *Adv. Haer.* I.21.4; Hipp., *Ref.* VII.27.6.

137,30 **εαυταθοεις**; cf. John 7:33; 16:5, etc.

138,5-7 Cf. Luke 24:51; Acts 1:9, also 10:16.

138,7-10 Cf. Luke 24:52-53; Acts 1:12.

138,20 **τενηνητικοσ[εις]**; cf. *Treat. Res.* I 46,34-38; *Tri. Trac.* I 115,3-11; *Treat. Seth* VII 54,4.10; 69,11-12; contrast Mark 10:13-16 par.; *Gos. Thom.* II 37,20-23; 41,10-12.

Then (τότε) a voice came to them,
 22 saying, "I have told you
 many times: It is necessary for you
 24 to suffer. It is
 necessary that they bring you to synagogues (συναγωγῆ)
 26 and governors (ἡγεμῶν),
 so that (ὥστε) you will suffer. But (δέ) he
 28 who does not suffer and does not (οὐδέ)

[139]

[
 2 [the] Father
 [] in order that he may
 4 [.] And (δέ) the apostles (ἀπόστολος)
 rejoiced [greatly] and came up
 6 to Jerusalem. And they came up to the temple and gave
 instruction in salvation in the name of
 8 [the] Lord Jesus Christ. And they healed
 [a] multitude. And (δέ) Peter opened his mouth,
 10 he said to his (fellow) disciples (μαθητής),
 ["Did (μή) our Lord Jesus, when (δταν) he was in the
 12 body (σῶμα), show us everything? For (γάρ) he
 came down. My brothers, listen to my voice."
 14 And he was filled with a holy spirit (πνεῦμα).
 He spoke thus: "Our illuminator (φωστήρ), Jesus,
 16 [came] down and was crucified. And he bore (φορεῖν)
 a crown of thorns. And he put on
 18 a purple garment (στολή). And he was
 [crucified] on a tree and he was buried in

138,22-24 Cf. Luke 24:26; Acts 14:22; also 1 Thess 3:3-4; 2 Thess 1:5-8; 2 Tim 3:12-13; esp. *Ap. Jas.* I 6,15-17 (4,37-6,21).

138,24-27 Cf. Matt 10:17-18; Luke 21:12; perhaps also Mark 13:9.

139,4-9 Cf. Luke 24:52-53; Acts 1:12; 2:42-47; 5:12-16,42. Teaching in the name of Christ; cf. Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38; 3:6; 4:10; etc.

139,10 **ΝΕΨΜΔΘΗΤΗΣ**; cf. shorter ending of Mark; Ign. *Smyrn* 3.2.

139,14 **ΔΥΜΟΘΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΝ ΟΥΠΝΔ ΕΥΟΘΔΔΒ**; cf. Acts 4:8,31; 7:55; 13:9,52.

139,15-140,1 Cf. Acts 2:14-40; also other Petrine speeches in Acts. Credo: note the details in Matt 27, Mark 15, Luke 23, esp. John 19 (e.g., 19:5: *φορῶν τὸν ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον*); Acts 5:30; 10:39-41; 13:29-30; 1 Cor 15:3-5; etc. **ΟΥΨΜΛΟ**: perhaps cf. *Gos. Truth* I 31, 1-4; *Apoc. Adam* V 69,17-18; *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* VI 3,4-11; *Acts of Thomas* 109; etc. **ΠΙΔΡΧΗΤΟΣ**; cf. Acts 3:15; 5:31; also Heb 2:10; 12:2; 2 *Clem.* 20. 5.

20 ϩ[ϫ]μϩαοϫ αϫω αϫτωνϫ εβολ ϩν νετ-
 22 μ[ρο]ϫτ: vvv νασνηϫ οϫψμμο μ-
 24 πεϊϫγ μκαϩ πε ιϫ· αλλα ανον πετε-
 26 ανϫγ μκαϩ ϩν παραβαςιϫ ητμααϫ
 28 αϫω ετβε παϊ αφερε ηϫωβ ηιμ
 30 κατα οϫεινε ϩραϊ ηϫητη· πϫοειϫ
 ταρ ιϫ πϫηρε ητε πεοοϫ μπιωτ
 ηατϫ ψι εροϫ παϊ πε παρχητοϫ
 ητε πενωηϫ· v νασνηϫ μπρ-
 τρενϫωτμ οϫη νσα νεϊανο-
 μοϫ αϫω ητημοοϫε ϩραϊ ϩν
 [ρμ]
 [---] τοτε απε-
 2 τροϫ αφιϫωιϫε εροϫη μπκεϫε-]
 [ε]πε εϫω [μμοϫ ϫε πενϫοει]ιϫ ι[ϫ]
 4 πεϫς παρχητοϫ η[τε πε]ημτο[η]
 6 ματ ηαν νοϫπνα ητε οϫει[ιϫ-]
 8 τημη ϩηνα ανον ϩωων ϫε ενε-
 10 ειρε ηϫενβομ· τοτε απετ[ροϫ]
 12 μη ηικεαποστολοϫ αϫναϫ ε[ροϫ]
 14 αϫω αϫμοϫε εβολ [ϩν] οϫπ[η]α]
 16 εϫοτααβ· αϫω αποτα ποτα
 18 ειρε ηϫενταλβο· αϫω αϫπωρϫ
 20 εβολ ϫε εϫεταϫε οειψ μπϫο-
 22 ειϫ ιϫ αϫω αϫωοϫε ψα νε[ιϫ-]
 24 ερηϫ αϫραϫπαϫε μμοοϫ [εϫ-]
 26 ϫω μμοϫ ϫε ϩαμηη: v το[τε]
 28 αφοϫωηϫ εβολ ηϫι ιϫ εϫω [μ-]
 30 μοϫ ηαϫ ϫε ϫρηνη ηητη [τηρ-]
 32 τη μη οϫον ηιμ ετηαϩτε ε-
 34 παραη· ετετηαβωκ δε εϫε-
 36 ψωπε ηητη ηϫι οϫραϫε μη
 38 οϫημοτ μη οϫβαμ· μπρρ
 40 βαβρητ δε ειϫ ϩητε ϫημεητη

139,25

Lit., "according to a likeness in us."

139,26

Or, "the Son of the glory of the Immeasurable Father."

140,1

See note to 139,1.

19omb. An
 head. My br
 20this suffer
 offered thro
 and because
 21be (word) us
 for (yap) the
 22the Father, he
 23our life. M
 24s therefore (e
 25and walk in
 26)

27gathered b
 saying, ["O, L
 28his, author
 29give us a spiri
 30order that (b
 31perform wond
 32and the other
 33and they were
 34and each one
 35performed hea
 36order to pre
 37eus. And the
 38and greeted (d
 39saying, "Amen
 40eus appeared
 41to them, "Peac
 42and everyone
 43to name. An
 44to be to you a
 45pate and pow
 46and; behold

47 Cf. John 2
 48 resurrecte
 49 greets the
 50 μεϊμα d
 51 αϫραϫ
 52 etc.
 53 Commiss
 54 18; also

20 a tomb. And he rose from the
 dead. My brothers, Jesus is a stranger
 22 to this suffering. But (*ἀλλά*) we are the ones who have
 suffered through the transgression (*παράβασις*) of the mother.
 24 And because of this, he did everything
 like (*κατά*) us.
 26 For (*γάρ*) the Lord Jesus, the Son of the immeasurable glory of
 the Father, he is the author (*ἀρχηγός*)
 28 of our life. My brothers, let
 us therefore (*οὖν*) not obey these lawless ones (*ἄνομος*)
 30 and walk in
 [140]
 [. Then (*τότε*) Pe-]
 2 ter [gathered together the others also,]
 saying, ["O, Lord Jesus]
 4 Christ, author (*ἀρχηγός*) [of our] rest,
 give us a spirit (*πνεῦμα*) of understanding (*ἐπιστήμη*)
 6 in order that (*ἵνα*) we also may
 perform wonders." Then (*τότε*) Peter
 8 and the other apostles (*ἀπόστολος*) saw [him]
 and they were filled with a holy spirit (*πνεῦμα*).
 10 And each one
 performed healings. And they parted
 12 in order to preach the Lord
 Jesus. And they came together
 14 and greeted (*ἀσπάζεσθαι*) each other
 saying, "Amen" (*ἀμήν*). Then (*τότε*)
 16 Jesus appeared, saying
 to them, "Peace (*εἰρήνη*) to you [all]
 18 and everyone who believes in
 my name. And (*δέ*) when you depart,
 20 joy be to you and
 grace and power. And (*δέ*) be not
 22 afraid; behold, I am with you

140,7-10 Cf. John 20:19-23 ("Pentecost" is accompanied by an appearance of the resurrected Christ; the disciples are happy, *ιδόντες τὸν κύριον*, who greets them with a greeting of peace, commissions them, and imparts *πνεῦμα ἁγίου*; also Acts 2:1-4.

140,14 **ΔΥΡΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΘ**; cf. Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; etc.

140,17-23 Commission; cf. Matt 28:18-20; Luke 24:44-49; John 20:19-23; Acts 1:8; also Mark 16:15-18; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 119,1-8.

24 ΨΔ ΕΝΕΘ· Υ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΗ<Δ>ΠΟΤΟ-
 26 ΛΟΣ ΔΥΠΩΡΞ ΜΜΟΟϚ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΕΘΡΑΪ ΕΠΙΥΤΟΟϚ ΝΨΔΞΕ ΞΕ ΕΥ-
 ΖΗ ΟΥΘΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΙΣ̄ ΖΗ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝ[Η]:

140,23 Ms. reads ΟΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ.

140,25 One expects the text to read: ΕΠΙΥΤΟΟϚ Ν̄<ΚΛΙΜΔ>, "into the four regions (of the earth)"; perhaps some text was accidentally omitted.

T
 forever." Th
 parted from
 into four wo
 preach. And
 by a power o

ΕΠΙΥΤΟ
 the réσο
 Thomas

forever." Then (τότε) the apostles (ἀπόστολος)
 24 parted from each other
 into four words in order to
 26 preach. And they went
 by a power of Jesus, in peace (εἰρήνη).

 140,25

επιστητοοσ ηψαζε; cf. Iren., *Adv. Haer.* III.11.8 (four gospels for the τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου). On four directions, see *Acts of Thomas* 28, conclusion to *Pistis Sophia*, *Epistula Apostolorum* 30, etc.

INDICES

Coptic, Greek
ze. Words
s Dictionary
ly represent
ations use
in m. or f. w
non words s
ines are cited
ipic spelling
A few prop
iek and Prop

WORD INDICES

Coptic, Greek, and Proper Name indices are provided for each tractate. Words in the Coptic indices are listed according to Crum's Coptic Dictionary, with a few exceptions. If the Crum spelling is not actually represented in the text, it is placed in parentheses. In general the abbreviations used are those in Crum; e.g., nouns are cited by nn, by gender m. or f. where possible and verbs are cited as vb. Some very common words such as ⲁⲩⲱ are not indexed. Greek nouns and adjectives are cited in the nominative case, verbs in the infinitive. Unless the Coptic spelling of Greek words is significantly different, it is not given. A few proper names which are also Greek words are cited in both the Greek and Proper Name indices.

и (4a) vb. 4.
и (5a) nn m.
и (7b) vb.
и (9a)
и (10b) neg part.
и (11b) pron.
и (12b) nn f.
и (13b) nn m.
и (14b) vb. 15.
и (15b) nn f. 1.
и (16a) vb. 4.
и (17a) nn m.
и (18a) adj. 1.
и (19a) nn m.
и (20a) vb. 1.
и (21a) vb. 1.
и (22a) vb. 1.
и (23a) vb. 1.
и (24a) vb. 1.
и (25a) vb. 1.
и (26a) vb. 1.
и (27a) vb. 1.
и (28a) vb. 1.
и (29a) vb. 1.
и (30a) vb. 1.
и (31a) vb. 1.
и (32a) vb. 1.
и (33a) vb. 1.
и (34a) vb. 1.
и (35a) vb. 1.
и (36a) vb. 1.
и (37a) vb. 1.
и (38a) vb. 1.
и (39a) vb. 1.
и (40a) vb. 1.
и (41a) vb. 1.
и (42a) vb. 1.
и (43a) vb. 1.
и (44a) vb. 1.
и (45a) vb. 1.
и (46a) vb. 1.
и (47a) vb. 1.
и (48a) vb. 1.
и (49a) vb. 1.
и (50a) vb. 1.
и (51a) vb. 1.
и (52a) vb. 1.
и (53a) vb. 1.
и (54a) vb. 1.
и (55a) vb. 1.
и (56a) vb. 1.
и (57a) vb. 1.
и (58a) vb. 1.
и (59a) vb. 1.

COPTIC WORDS: VIII: I

αλε (4a) vb. 4,22.

αλοϥ (5a) nn m., f. 2,9; 13,5; 36,6; 41,11; 44,30; 47,7; 51,21; 61,20; 125,19.

παλοϥ ντε παλοϥ 13, 7-8; 45,1.11; 47,8; 51,25-52,[1]; 56,25.

αμοϥ (7b) vb. 4,13.

αμαρτε (9a) vb. 2,17-18.18; 8,8; 9,1; 52,[11-12]; 123,5; 125,23.

ρεγαμαρτε 51,20-21; 54,[15].

αν (10b) neg part. 3,12; ; 5,8; 8,14; 14,7.8; 20,13; 21,15; 24,21; 25,8; 26,22; 29,16; 32,19; 35,16; 43,[26]; 45,27; 46,24; 53,8; 55,25; 59,13; 67,19; 74,18; 77,10; 85,18; 103,13; 108,1; 115,2.9; 117,12.13.15; 120,6.12; 124,4; 125,23; 131,1.9.

ανοκ (11b) pron. 1,2.9; 3,20; 4,21; 7,24.26; 13,11.14; 44,23; 63,13; 96,4; 128,19; 129,22; 130,4-5. ντοκ (ντκ) 4,9; 51,24.24.[25]; 52,[5-6].[6].18.19.20.21; 86,13.14.16.19; 88,[16],.17.18; 118,16; 127,5.6. ντοϥ 2,10; 16,4; 27,20; 37,9.10; 44,8.19; 64,22; 67,24; 117,15; 121,13; 127,15. ντος 30,1. ντοοϥ 11,4; 21,2; 28,6; 49,6; 85,12; 115,3; 121,8-9; 128,9.

αντβα, see τβα.

απε (13b) nn f. 23,9; 66,20; 74,6.

(αρηζ') nn m. πιαρηζϥ νταϥ 118,4-5, νατναρηζν', 15; 16,7; 17,[21-22]; 65,14; 118,5; 122,7; 126,6; 128,18. νιατ[ν]αρηζν' 122.12-13. νιαρηζνοϥ 122,18.19. νιτναρηζϥ 46,[5].

αρεϥ, see ραρεϥ.

(ασαγ) (17b) vb. ασινοϥ† 33.11.

ατο (19a) nn m. 2,11.

ατω (19b) conj. *passim*.

αϣ interog pron. 3,3; 17,16; 119,2.3; 128,25. εϣ 8,3.

(β) (27a) μερβ 19,4.

βωκ (29a) vb. 15,23; 21,19; 23,20; 24,[24]; 26,7; 33,19; 63,11; 129,1.

βαλ (31b) nn f. 13,6; 30,5.

βωλ (32a) vb. 48,24; 128,14; 131,10.12. βαλ 131.13. βολ' 130,13.

ρενεβολ nn m. 24,22. ατβωλ adj. 49,3. εβολ *passim*. νσαβολ prep. 1,27; 24,1; 44,18-19; 45,20; 76,22; 77,11; 132,3-4.

βρε (43a) adj. 16,9; 27,25; 117,9.

(Γ) (49a) μερτ 7,17.

ενεϥ (57a) nn m. ρω ενεϥ 1,26; 4,5; 80,20. ϣα ενεϥ 1,[2.][9-10]; 3,30.32; 9,30; 11,6.15; 22,4; 23,20; 28,16-17; 33,[8]; 35,2; 38,5.12; 43,11; 46,7; 48,1.[10]; 50,4; 82,8; 87,7; 114,[5]; 115,[20-21]. νιτϣαενεϥ 78,14-15.16; 122,3. νιτϣαενεϥ 23,20.

ερητ (58a) vb. 81,4.

ερηϥ (59a) nn m, f. 8,3.6; 14,15; 22,20; 23,4; 115,2.5.

(ЄСНТ) (60a) nn m. **ЄПЕСНТ** 10,20; 27,12; 65,[10]; 83,15.

ЄТ, ЄТЕ, ЄӨ *passim*.

ЄТВЄ (61a) prep. 3,24.31; 4,[3]; 7,28; 8,5.10-11.11.[12-13].14.15.16.19; 9,6; 10,19; 13,[12].20; 14,2.17; 15,2; 20,15; 24,6.12; 25,[22]; 26,19; 27,11; 28,8; 29,27; 30,12.17.20.24.29; 36,4; 39,12; 46,4.15; 57,16.17.[19]; 58,20-21; 60,17; 64,12; 68,20; 73,17.[20],21.23.25; 74,[2].3; 75,[1]; 81,[14]; 82,15-16; 94,2.9; 96,4; 122,3; 123,2.6.8; 128,10.20; 131,16. **ЄТВННТ'** 35,[15-16]; 39,5; 43,24.26; 46,3; 75,15; 93,5. **ЄТВЄ ПΔΓ** 20,15; 28,8; 30,12.20.24; 46,[15]; 94,2; 123,2.6.

ЄООѲ (62a) nn m. 4,25; 5,15; 6,6.13; 11,6; 24,[18]; 46,20.22.29; 47,16; 48,23; 51,[9].[21]; 52,[12]; 53,[13-14]; 54,9.16.17; 55,12; 56,[18]; 57,[14]; 62,[11]; 63,[9-10].[21]; 73,[13]; 86,20; 89,[14-15].15; 93,4; 115,22; 120,4.10.[13].22; 121,[8]; 122.5.10.15.16; 123.1.3; 125.2.13.14; 129.14.

ЄѲѲЄ (63b) conjunct. 8,9.

ЄΓ (70a) vb. 37,25; 55,2; 131,9.10. **ЄΓ ЄΞН** 18,8. **ЄΓ(Н)ΝΔϞΡΑΪ** 57,13; 129,2. **ЄΓ ΕΒΟΛ** 12,7; 24,8; 81,8; 83,16; 121,16; 124,[19]; 129.16-17.28.

ЄΓ ΕϞΡΑΪ, ЄΓ ΕϞΑΡΪ **Є'** 5,24.26; 6,2; 129,23.26; 130,5. **ΠΓЄΓ (ΠΓ)** 9,6; 46,8; 65,13.

ЄΓЄ (74a) conjunct. 44,[18].

ЄΓМЕ (77b) vb. 3,14; 13,13; 20,12.12; 22,8.14.17-18; 23.2.7.16; 40,14; 41,1; 44.6-7; 45.8.16.29; 58,20; 78,8; 80,17.21; 82,7; 83,8; 85,7; 87.15.16.19.21.22; 88.15; 97,9; 99,5; 120,1.5; 121,19; 124,5.7; 130,16. **ММЕ** 17,15; 26,6; 67,4; 81.11. **МЕ** 73,11; 88,16; 120,23; 129,25. **ЄΓМЕ** nn m. 33,22. **МНТЕГМЕ (МНТМЕ)** nn f. 29,25; 30,9; 43,16; 44,26; 67,3; 75.[10-11].14.19. **ΔТЕГМЕ (ΔТММЕ)** 3,32; 80,20; 81,1; 128,13.17. **МНТАТЕГМЕ** 117,6-7. **РЄГЄГМЕ** 58,19.

ЄΓΝЄ (78b) vb. **ЄΓНЄ ΕϞΡΑΪ** 3,15; 44,24. **НТ'** 1,24; 130,13. **НТ ΕϞΟѲН** 129,4.

ЄΓНЄ (80b) vb. 26,4.22; 45,24; 84,19. nn m. 2,[28-29]; 17,14; 18,4; 22,13; 26.5.8; 27,7; 38,21; 55,5; 56,13; 88,24; 129,24. **ГНЄ** 5,15.

(**ЄΓΟΟΡ**) (82a) **ΞΓΟΟΡ** nn m. 16,8; 43,5.25; 61,15; 64,23.

ЄΓΡЄ (83a) vb. 3,26; 25,6; 28,4; 43,5.25. **ρ + nn, adj.** 1,14; 2,5.31; 3,20.25; 10,5.14; 27,9.27; 42,10.17; 43,6.11; 46,4; 58,20; 75,24; 76,17.18; 78,17; 80,[19]; 81,1.20; 82,[1].7.20; 83,1.1.[22]; 93,2; 115,25; 123,21; 128,13; 131,20; 132,4. **ρ + Greek** 6,13; 10,13.18; 12,3; 21,8; 28,[1].5.20.21; 25,9; 31,13.19; 43.[7].9.19.21; 44,15.20.22; 45,12; 46,14; 58,8.24; 74,14; 78,12; 129,14. **Є†** 10,17; 26,10; 47,30; 48,28; 56,8,9; 130,7. **О†** 130,17; 131,23. **ΔΓТ'** 46,9.14.

ЄΓϞΡϞ (84b) vb. 31,19-20. nn m. 29,[7].9.

(**ЄΓС**) (85a) interject. **ЄΓСϞННТЕ** 128,14-15.

(**ЇѲС**) (86a) nn m. **ЇНС** 4,31.

- εΓΩΤ** (86b) nn m. 2,14; 4,10; 6,23; 20,8.9.11.14.[15]; 120,4; 130,[24]; 131,14. **ΓΩΤ** 4,8.9; 13,11; 51,15. **εΓΟΤΕ** pl. 3,17.18.19; 42,24. **ϣορπ νεΓωτ** 6,22-23; 20,8.
- κε** (90b) nn m, f. 7,30; 28,8; 39,10; 45,30; 113,14; 120,13; 121,23; 125,10. **ΝΙΚΟΟΥΕ** 17,13; 128,7-8. **ϋΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ** 4,7; 13,23; 21,2; 25,4-5; 27,19.28; 28,1; 43,27; 45,15. Adv. 10,6; 12,18.
- κοϣΓ** (92b) nn m,f. 1,23; 4,19; 131,19; 132,1. **ΜΗΤΚΟΟΥΕΓ** 3,24-25.
- κω** (94b) vb. 4,[23]; 16,5; 43,20. **κα'** 3,20; 5,[22]; 123,20; 131,1. **καδ'** 63,10-11; 129,1; 130,2. **κη†** **ημμαδ'** 45,2; 54,21; 125,13. **κη†** **ϋΓϋΝ** 5,2; 29,[2-3.6.8.10]; 80,16; 122,[18-19]. **κω**, **κη†** **εραϊ** 25,1; 120,1-2. **κω** **ϋΓω'** 57,20.
- κωβ** (98b) vb. 118.[17]; 126,1; 127,4. **κηβ†** 54,13; 59,15; 122,12.
- (κωκ)** (100b) vb. **κακ'** **αρηου** 24,31.
- κακε** (101b) nn m. 1,11.14; 5,12; 9,15.17.27; 117,[11].[26]; 132,4.
- κλοολε** (104a) nn f. 4,23; 47,26.
- κλωμ** (104b) nn m. 58,[25].26; 129,15. **κλωομ** 57,16.19.21.
- κΓμ** (108a) vb. 74,16; 79,14. nn m. 113,12. **ατκΓμ** 6,[27]; 48,26; 51,16.
- κωτε** (124a) vb. 2,13; 3,19.25; 8,9; 13,15; 16,14; 45,14-15.19; 80,9; 128,20; 130,23; 131,17.25. **κοτ'** 4,14. **κωτ** **ησα**, **ησω'** 13,[13]; 44,2; 64,12-13; 131,17-18.
- καϋ** (131a) nn m. 4,24; 5,[18]; 8,11; 9,2; 43,8; 48,4; 55,[15]; 96,6.[15]; 113,10; 116,[10]; 130,[1].
- κωϋτ** (133b) nn m. 42,26; 48,6; 55,17; 116,23.
- λγβε** (136b) vb. 3,31; 131,5.
- λαδαϣ** (146a) nn used a pron. 3,[26]; 9,30; 16,10; 21,7; 24,1; 25,6.8; 59,16; 67,18; 74,18; 75,[4]; 118,2. **μηλαδαϣ** 10,10; 32,22; 33,7; 40,[17]; 63,24.
- (λωϋϋ)** (151a) vb. **λοϋκ†** 26,[14].
- λογσε** (151b) nn f. 3,[2-3]; 20,8; 91,17-18.
- μα** (153a) nn m. 3,21; 5,14.15.[20].28; 10,8; 11,8; 21,4.4.5.6.7; 22,16; 25,3.21; 44,12; 45,23; 46,18.22; 61,17; 65,13; 67,19; 74,17.18; 130,22. **πειμα** (**πΓμα**) 4,20; 31,10 116,18. **μα** **ηψωπε** 34,12. **ϋΓοϣμα** 40,15; 59,22; 94,18; 116,2; 117,[4]; 120,21; 121,6-7; 123,15-16; 125,6; 127,10-11. (**μ**)**πμα** **ετμμααϣ** 117,1-2; 125,11; 129,16.
- με** (156b) nn f. 1,8; 6,4; 16,16; 21,12; 29,5; 120,23. **μητμε** 1,8; 28,13.20; 29,8.12.14; 30,9; 43,16; 44,26; 130,9. **ηαμε** 16,8. **ταπμε**, **ταπμαμε** 1,8; 24,20; 48,21; 117,10.
- (μοϣ)** (159a) vb. **μοϣϣτ†** 1,17; 42,13.16.[20].[22]; 43,3.[21]. nn m. 130,13; 131,2. **ατμοϣ** 27,11.[14]; 28,30; 29,19; 43,2.22-23.23; 45,17; 46,7; 47,2.5; 48,18.
- μκαϋ** (163a) **μοκϋ†** 3,23; 8,14. **ϋΓμκαϋ** 11,14; 48,28; 131,9. **ατϋΓμκαϋ** 48,28.

- ΜΜΝ´, ΜΝ´** (166b) vb. 33,7;40,17; 45,29; 68,24; 94,2. **ΜΝΤΑ´** 25,2; 27,16; 41,14; 45,19.
ΜΜΓΝ (168b) particle+**ΜΜΟ´**
ΜΝ (169b) prep. *passim*.
ΜΝ (170a) conjunct. *passim*.
ΜΗΝΕ (172a) adv. 3,15.
ΜΠΨΔ (179a) vb. 3,21; 4,[16-17]; 24,21; 25,13; 62,13; 129,25.
ΜΟΨΡ (180a) vb. 131,11.
ΜΙΣΕ (184b) **ΔΤΜΙΣΕ** 2,23.29; 13,[2-3]; 18,10; 40,11; 42,6; 44,25.27; 48,25; 82,13; 114,4; 116,[14]. **ΜΝΤΑΤΜΙΣΕ** 75,23; 76,9; 77,22; 84,1.8; 116,[12-13].13; 121,22; 122,5; 130,23.
ΜΟΕΙΤ (188a) nn m. 5,[4-5]. **ΡΕΥΞΙ ΜΟΕΙΤ** 47,25.
ΜΔΤΕ (189a) vb. † **ΜΔΤΕ** 115,5. † **ΜΕΤΕ** 124,3.
(ΜΔΤΕ) (190a) adv. **ΕΜΔΤΕ, ΜΜΔΤΕ** 3,24; 63,15; 129,1.
ΜΟΨΤΕ (191b) vb. 13,12; 62,[17]; 83,8; 127,23. **ΜΟΨΤΕ ΟΨΒΕ** 63,17-18. **ΜΟΨΤΕ ΕΨΡΑΪ** 13,7.
(ΜΤΟΝ) (193b) vb. **ΜΟΤΝ†** 74,23; 118,4. nn m. 3,21; 10,8.
ΜΔΨ, ΜΜΔΨ (196b) adv. *passim*.
ΜΔΔΨ (197a) nn f. 6,30; 29,17; 51,11.[13]; 54,16.
ΜΟΟΨ (197b) nn m. 5,[21].23; 6,10; 15,1.3.[4].[7].10.13.20; 17,3.5.6; 18,3.7; 22,7.9; 48,5; 55,15; 113,10.
ΜΔΨΔΔ´, ΜΔΨΔΤ´ (198b) adj. 2,8; 3,8; 20,5.14; 27,17; 28,2.7.16; 32,13; 37,10; 44,20; 45,13; 66,14; 67,5.8; 118,3; 119,22; 122,14.
ΜΕΕΨΕ (199a) vb. 4,[8-9]; 11,14. **ΠΤΡΕΨΜΕΕΨΕ** 26,21. nn m. 21,11; 29,17; 30,3.[16]; 36,18; 98,6; 124,2.21.
ΜΗΗΨΕ (202a) nn m. 2,11; 11,13; 21,4; 45,13.24; 48,11-12.13; 108,4; 130,12.14; 131,24-25.
ΜΟΟΨΕ (203b) vb. 4,31; 130,8.
ΜΟΨΨΤ (206b) vb. 76,23; 77,15.
ΜΟΨϚ (208a) vb. 97,13. **ΜΕϚ ΕΒΟΛ, ΜΟΨϚ ΕΒΟΛ (ϚΝ)** 23,26; 78,21; 116,5; 122,14-15.
(ΜΟΨΞϚ) (214a) vb. **ΜΟΞϚ†** 1,29. **ΜΟΞΚ†** 2,22. **ΠΓΜΟΟΨΞϚ** 13,[15-16]. **ΔΤΜΟΨΞϚ** 113,9.
Ν´, ΜΜΟ´ (215a) *passim*.
Ν´, ΝΔ´ (216a) prep. 1,2; 2,12; 3,6.29; 4,12.20; 6,13; 8,7.22; 23,3; 25,7; 37,11.12; 56,19; 57,17; 58,26; 73,6; 75,24; 124,4; 130,8.26.
ΝΔ (217b) vb. 65,19.
(ΝΔΔ) (218b) vb. **ΝΔΔ´** 25,18. **ΕΝΕΔ´** 63,21; 65,17; 117,20.
ΝΟΨ (219b) vb. **ΝΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ** 37,2-3. **ΝΗΨ† ΕΒΟΛ** 67,18; 93,2. **ΝΗΨ† ΕΨΡΑΪ** 18,2-3; 30,10; 130,3.
ΝΟΒΕ (222a) nn m. 25,6; 27,23.28; 28,5.

ⲛⲓⲙ (225b) adj. 1,26; 5,[2]; 10,15; 14,10.10; 16,15; 21,6; 23,[23].25; 25,13; 32,[18]; 33,2.3; 44,12; 45,[6].7; 46,11.13; 47,19; 48,18.19.20; 57,22.22; 60,7.17; 64,10; 65,[8].[9].16.17.[19].20.20.22.[23]; 74,17.[25]; 76,10; 87,17; 121,10.13.13.

ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ (227a) vb. 3,[1]. Ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ 83,23. ⲈⲦⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ 117,7.

ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲈ (227b) nn f. 6,5.[18]; 27,15.

ⲛⲦⲈ (230a) *passim*.

ⲛⲟⲩⲦⲈ (230b) nnm. 1,7.18; 2,4.[7].22; 3,16; 4,11; 6,8.22; 7,3.11; 13,[1].5.10; 17,10; 18,[23]; 19,6.20; 20,7.11; 29,4; 30,7.[15].21; 31,[18]; 34,14.15; 35,19; 40,20; 41,9.[10-11].23; 43,11; 44,21-22.22.[24-25].31; 48,21; 51,[5-6]; 52,[23-24].24; 53,19; 54,[11].22; 55,23; 58,27; 67,6; 82,24-83,1; 83,21; 91,9; 115,26; 117,18.19.22.24; 118,6.[8]; 126,5; 127,15; 128,14.16; 130,19.19. ⲙⲛⲦⲛⲟⲩⲦⲈ 15,11.[16]; 75,15-16; 79,[15-16]; 85,14; 86,18.

ⲛⲁⲩ (233b) vb. 2,9; 4,29; 5,[23]; 6,3; 9,10.30; 10,1.[2].21; 11,14; 18,[9]; 24,2; 25,13; 26,6; 48,3; 51,20; 53,22; 55,8; 59,24.25; 61,19; 63,20; 76,11; 78,20; 80,11; 94,1; 104,8; 125,16; 129,6; 130,12. ⲁⲛⲁⲩ 130,[21]; 132,3. ⲣⲈϤⲛⲁⲩ 6,18; 31,18; 118,[7]. ⲁⲦⲛⲁⲩ 2,27; 8,23; 18,6; 19,21; 20,15-16; 44,28.29; 53,9; 61,20.[21-22]; 63,1.7; 79,18.23; 84,17-18; 97,2; 101,1; 128,21.

ⲛⲁⲩ (234b) nn m. 1,23.

ⲛⲩⲟⲦ (237a) vb. ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲦ 3,28; 46,11-12.

ⲛⲓϤⲈ (238a) nn m. 46,13; 113,13.

(ⲛⲟⲩϤⲣ) (239b) ⲛⲁϤⲣⲈ ⲛⲛ ⲙ. 43,6.

ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲃ (243a) nn m. 30,11; 113,[11]; 123,4.

ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲙ (243b) vb. 4,[4].7.16; 26,4; 42,18; 44,6.[14]; 45,5; 46,21.26; 73,[20-21]; 131,14. ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲙⲥ 131,12. ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲙⲈⲥ 44,1. ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲙ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲛ 4,26.

ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲦⲈ (246a) vb. 28,21-22.

ⲛⲟⲩ (250a) adj. 3,32; 4,18.21.21.23; 6,6.9.12; 8,7; 9,1.7; 13,[2].4; 18,5; 32,12; 48,23; 54,8; 56,15; 56,15; 59,23; 61,16; 62,9; 63,15; 86,13.16.19; 88,14.20; 97,3; 129,5; 131,21. ⲙⲛⲦⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ 51,23; 78,18; 94,4; 128,11; 129,19-20.

ⲛⲟⲩ (252a) *passim*

ⲟⲛ (255b) adj. 4,9.14; 18,10; 19,5.17; 22,13; 23,12; 29,1; 44,18; 46,14.14; 48,[14].27; 61,22; 82,11.[14]; 121,6; 128,20; 129,22.

ⲟⲈⲓⲩ (257b) nn. ⲦⲁⲩⲩⲈ ⲟⲈⲓⲩ 4,15; 130,8-9.

ⲡⲁⲓ (259a) pron. *passim*.

ⲡⲛ (260b) pron. *passim*.

ⲡⲱⲥ (260b) pron. 16,11; 19,8; 20,10; 26,6; 30,18; 67,12; 128,22.

(ⲡⲈⲣⲈ) (267a) vb. ⲡⲈⲣⲈ ⲈⲄⲣⲁⲓ 56,16. ⲡⲈⲣⲈⲟⲩ 55,18.

ⲡⲱⲣⲗ (271b) vb. 1,10. ⲡⲱⲣⲗ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 22,18; 23,11.12-13; 68,19; 77,12.

ⲡⲱⲣⲗ† Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 27,8; 115,10. ⲡⲱⲣⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ 1,27; 44,18-19;

- 45,20. **ΔΤΠΩΡΞ** 37,19; 64,18; 68,22; 79,10; 87,18. **ΜΝΤΑΤΠΩΡΞ** 75,13.
- (ΨΙC) (273b) nn m. **ΠCCEIT** 27,5.
- ΠΩΤ** (274a) vb. 131,5; 132,3.
- ΠΩΨ** (277a) vb. 45,7; 98,3; 121,5. **ΔΤΠΩΨΕ** 2,27-28; 21,10; 33,14; 101,13.
- ΠΩϞ** (280a) vb. 132,1. **ΠΗϞ† ε'** 28,9; 115,13.
- (ΠΕΞΕ) (285a) vb. **ΠΕΞΔ'** 3,30; 8,7; 9,1; 13,9.[15]; 45,1; 57,[17]; 62,11; 96,4; 128,19.
- (ΡΟ) (288b) nn m. **ΚΑΡΩΥ** 123,20.
- ΡΩ** (290a) particle 1,25; 4,5; 8,[2].6; 80,20.
- ΡΓΚΕ** (291b) vb. 45,25.
- ΡΩΚϞ** (293a) vb. 48,7; 55,19.
- ΡΩΜΕ** (294b) nn m. 4,12; 6,[24]; 8,[1].5.6-7; 13,11-12.24; 30,5; 42,7.20; 43,2.13.[19]; 44,1.[5]; 45,4; 48,17; 55,21; 95,3.
- ΡΑΝ** (297b) nn m. 6,[7]; 7,2.11; 8,2; 13,19; 17,4.23; 25,22; 26,1; 51,19; 53,16; 88,14. † **ΡΑΝ** 14,18; 92,19; 93,1; 119,3. **ΑΤ†ΡΑΝ** 74,21.
- ΡΑΤ'** (302b) nn m. **ΑΤΗ ΡΑΤ'** 65,15-16. **ΑΔΕΡΑΤ** see **ΩΔΕ**.
- ΡΗΤΕ** (304b) nn m. 2,11; 7,30; 48,12.14; 93,2. **ΠΕΙΡΗΤΕ** 2,12; 11,4; 16,4-5; 18,9-10.13; 19,5-6; 25,[23]; 26,13-14.15; 29,1; 46,2; 48,15; 94,3. **ΜΠΡΗΤΕ** 1,23; 5,7.16; 14,6.7-8; 16,[1]; 19,9; 21,15; 23,[21]; 25,25; 26,11; 28,[18]; 41,16; 44,7.[9-10]; 73,[16]; 86,[9]; 95,[14]; 107,5; 115,[18-19]; 116,9; 125,5; 129,7. **ΜΠCΡΗΤΕ** 3,31-32; 46,30. **ΑΨ Η ΡΗΤΕ**, see **ΑΨ**.
- ΡΟΟΨ** (306b) nn m. 25,8; 43,4.
- ΡΩΨΕ** (309a) vb. 25,6-7; 27,24; 30,12. nn m. 37,11.
- CΔ** (313a) nn m. 68,23. **NCΔ, NCΩ'** 1,27; 2,13; 3,21; 8,9; 13,[13].15; 16,22; 25,4; 27,[18]; 29,29; 43,20; 44,2; 45,26; 46,20; 64,22; 76,11.19; 77,17-18; 79,8-9; 81,21; 82,18; 83,19; 114,19; 124,11; 130,18.23; 131,1. **NCΔ CΔ ΝΓΜ** 16,15; 87,17. **ΜNNCΔ, ΜNNCΩ'** 1,6; 12,7; 77,23; 130,3-4.
- CΔ** (313a) nn m. 5,3.
- CΒΩ** (319b) nn f. 119,3; 120,22. **ΑΤCΒΩ** 130,7.
- (CΟΛCΛ) (331a) vb. **CΕΛ CΩΛ'** 128,13.
- CΜΗ** (334b) nn f. 26,8.
- (CΜΓΝΕ) (337a) vb. **CΕΜΗΗ†** 65,11.
- CΜΟΤ** (340b) nn m, f. 56,22; 59,16.
- CΜΟΨ** (335a) vb. 6,21; 7,9.[16].[22]; 13,1; 51,6.19; 86,12; 88,9; 99,9; 129,9. **ΡΕΥCΜΟΨ** 122,16; 126,18. nn m. 3,17; 44,24.
- CΓΝΕ** (343b) vb. 5,18.29; 46,30. **CΓΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ϟ̄N** 4,13; 5,17; 8,10.
- CΝΔ†** (346b) nn. 7,2; 46,11; 73,[15]; 84,3. **C̄NTE** 36,17; 82,4; 94,6; 118,22. **Β** 40,5. **ΜΕΥCΝΔ†** 7,7.[14].15; 28,[26-27]; 29,6; 39,21; 43,1; 114,15;

- 115,[19-20]; 116,11; 118,20; 119,6; 120,2.4; 121,2; 126,9.11; 127,[25].[26].
MEQB 34,4. **MEQCNTC** 82,9-10; 84,9; 122,4; 124,2.
(CWNQ) (348b) vb. **CQNQ**† 3,22; 46,8.10.
(CNAOQ) (349a) nn m. **CNAQ** 131,6.10.25.
COΠ (349b) nn m. 2,11; 4,[14]; 5,20.23.29; 7,10.17; 11,13; 25,12; 45,14;
 53,8.[16]; 54,1. **MEQCOΠ** 7,2. **QI OUCOΠ** 17,17; 19,12; 74,[15-16].16.
CPYp (351b) nn m. **NCΔ CPYp** 46,21.
(COPM) (355a) vb. **COPM**† 130,14.
COTM (363b) vb. 14,2; 24,6.13; 25,20; 26,9; 35,21; 44,[23]; 60,10.18; 62,16;
 64,[11]; 128,15; 129,19; 131,19. nn m. 7,30; 26,9. **ATCOTM** 130,18.
COTΠ (365a) vb. 1,7; 131,7. **COTΠ**† 2,30; 4,8; 5,1; 14,12; 21,9; 24,9; 26,17;
 130,20; 131,5. nn m. 4,17; 45,8-9; 130,4.
(CHY) (367b) nn m. **CHOY** 132,1.
COOY (368b) nn m, f. 28,8. **MEQCOOY** 6,1.
COOYN (369b) vb. 4,6; 121,7.10. **COOYN**† 5,11; 60,[21-22]; 66,9; 81,19;
 82,16; 83,21; 93,[15]; 94,[8]; 118,[9]. **COOYN**† 81,20. nn m. 1,9; 15,8;
 22,16-17; 76,20; 96,1.
COOYTN (371a) vb. 1,30. **COOYTN**† 2,8.
CAWY (378b) nn. 5,20.
(COOYE) (380b) vb. **COOYE**† 1,16; 130,26.
(COWT) (381a) vb. **CAWT**† 6,13.
(CQPAI) (381b) vb. **CQAI**† 130,1. **CAWT**† 129,13.
(CQIME) (385a) nn f. **MNTCQIME** 1,13; 131,6.
CAQNE (385b) vb. **OQEQ CAQNE** 124,4.
TAEO (390b) vb. nn m. 123,9.
† (392a) vb. 1,19; 5,3; 9,12; 10,8; 11,8; 13,16; 14,18; 18,2; 37,11.13; 47,11.22;
 56,18; 58,23.26; 60,24; 61,23; 65,16; 93,4; 108,1; 115,5; 119,3; 124,12;
 130,16; 131,3.16. **NAΔ**† 3,26-27. **PEY†** 58,22; 121,26. **† GOM**, see
GOM.
(TBΔ) (399a) nn m. **ANTBΔ** 47,14; 123,1.14; 126,1.
TBBO (399b) vb. 15,[20-21]; 75,23. **TOYBH†** 61,13; 65,18; 84,21; 129,25.
TOYBHON† 21,12.14; 22,[25]; 24,14-15; 27,[2-3]; 38,[19]. **TBBOON†**
 10,11. **TBBO EBOΔ** 6,11. nn m. 21,20; 94,4.
TWBQ (402a) vb. 63,15.
TAKO (405a) vb. 3,28; 9,12; 46,24; 48,13.16; 73,[22]. **TEKO** 116,18.
TAKHON† 9,4-5.15; 10,[15]; 26,25. nn m. 4,5; 11,1; 114,8; 132,2.5.
ATTAKO 116,24. **MNTATTAKO** 9,6; 114,8.13.
TEΛHΛ (410a) vb. 78,20; 129,20-21.
TAMIO (413a) vb. 10,3. nn m. 108,5.
TAMO (413b) vb. 45,3; 47,28.
TNHOY (419b) vb. 131,15.

ΤΑΝΘΟ (421a) vb. 24,15. **ΡΕΥΤΑΝΘΟ** 5,6; 24,[19].

ΤΩΠ (423a) nn m. 3,16; 27,7.

(**ΤΩΠΕ**) (423a) †ΠΕ nn f. 9,8.

ΤΗΡ^ς (424a) adj. 2,14.21.24.[31-32].33; 3,6.18; 4,26; 5,13.23; 11,21; 12,21; 15,17; 17,12; 18,20; 19,3; 20,17.[26]; 21,3; 22,9.12.21; 23,8.10; 27,10; 28,5; 29,23; 33,9; 36,22; 37,13.24; 38,11; 41,25; 42,14.16.22; 44,16.17.19; 47,28; 48,1.7.15; 49,5; 52,15; 53,[14].22.23; 54,13.14; 55,22.25; 56,5.6.7.[13]; 59,21; 62,12.13.19; 63,10; 64,7.[15]; 65,5.21; 67,4; 73,[3].6; 74,3.19; 75,12.22.25; 77,25; 78,[4]; 79,[17]; 80,16; 81,19; 85,12.24; 86,[20]; 88,16; 91,17.[18].21; 93,1; 108,3; 113,14; 114,10.16.[16]; 115,8.20; 116,1; 117,2.4.8.25; 119,[15].16; 120,[6-7].10.13.20; 121,8.[9].11.14.15.[17].17-18.18-19; 122,6.10; 123,11; 124,1; 125,5.10.14.17; 127,6-7.10.12.14; 128,8.9.16.23; 129,6.9.18-19; 130,9.25. **ΠΗΡΥ**, **ΠΛΠΗΡΥ** 1,20; 9,24; 20,[2]; 21,18; 22,16.20; 25,15; 27,3; 41,6.19; 42,[5]; 64,19; 85,[19]; 98,3.4; 117,15. **ΗΛΠΗΡΥ**/**ΗΓΠΗΡΥ** 18,22; 23,14; 67,23. **ΟΨΤΗΡΥ**/**ΟΨΠΗΡΥ** 2,17; 65,23; 86,23-24.

(**ΤΩΡΕ**) (425a) nn f. **ΤΟΟΤ** 1,22; 2,24; 5,22; 10,7; 58,21; 131,3.5. **ΩΔΤΟΟΤ**^ς 9,18. **ΩΓΤΗ**, **ΩΓΤΟΟΤ**^ς 9,10; 96,15; 100,10. **ΕΒΟΛ ΩΓΤΗ**, **ΩΓΤΟΟΤ**^ς 1,28; 4,12.25; 6,[8].11.14; 7,3-4.12.17; 10,13.29.31; 11,10; 12,4; 21,3; 24,7; 37,14; 44,15; 46,12-13.28; 53,17; 60,19; 78,17; 79,9-10; 81,24; 82,2; 83,9.14.16-17; 85,21; 87,11; 96,14; 98,3-4; 119,16; 124,7-8.10; 125,15-16.

(**ΤΩΤ**) (438a) vb. **ΔΤΤΩΤ Η ΩΗΤ** 131,24.

(**ΤΟΥ**) (440b) nn. †**ΟΥ** 18,18; 53,25. **ΜΕΥΤΟΥ** 19,11.13.14-15; 24,26; 53,15.[20-21]; 121,1.

(**ΤΑΟΥΟ**) (441b) vb. **ΤΑΨΕ** 9,17.

ΤΟΥΝΟΣ (446b) vb. 130,15.18.

(**ΤΟΥΩΟ**) (448b) nn m. **ΤΟΥΩΕ** 25,10.

(**ΤΩΨ**) (449b) vb. **ΤΗΨ**[†] 24,18; 25,9; 46,16. † **ΤΩΨ** 18,2

ΤΑΨΟ (452b) vb. **ΤΑΨΟ ΟΕΨ** 4,15.

(**ΤΩΩ**) (453b) vb. 118,2. **ΤΕΩ**[†] 45,[6].

ΤΑΩΟ (455a) vb. 124,18-19; 132,2. nn m. 117,6. **ΔΩΕΡΑΤ**^ς see **ΩΕ**.

†**ΩΕ** (456b) nn m. 73,15.

ΘΒΒΓΟ (457b) vb.. 96,3. **ΘΕΒΓΗΝΟΥ(Τ)**[†] **ΘΕΒΓΗΝ**[†] 12,3; 28,18; 42,19; 93,3; 131,4.

ΤΩΩΜ (458b) vb. 130,25; 131,18.

ΤΩΔ(Ε)ΓΟ (465b) nn m. 130,[12-13].

ΤΩΩΝ (466a) 5,10.

ΟΥ (467b) pron. 3,4.31; 7,28; 8,5.6.11.14; 13,[12].20; 30,18; 57,17; 85,16.19; 96,4; 131,17.

ΟΥΔ (469a) nn. 5,17; 19,13; 23,16.24; 24,[31]; 25,23; 32,6; 39,10; 44,13;

53; 51,24; 516,17,20; 87,98. ΚΑΤΑ 17,19; 48,2; 107a,5,21; 111,11.[17]; 118,9-970a) article : (470b) vb. (476a) prep ΧΗΝ (480a) nu 318-19; 30,2; 315-16; 61,2 (481a) vb. 317; 20,22; 22,311. ΟΨΝΤΑ 446; 48,11; 58, (484b) nu 48; 58,24; 82,2 (488b) pron 490a) vb. (494a) adj. 44; 67,10,19; 73; 68,26; 75, (496a) vb. 1. ΟΨΟΥΤ† 39; 91; 114,6; 1 (499b) 490a) vb. 2. (500a) vb. 2. (503b) (505b) 16 (511b) n 519b) vb. 1,2

45,23; 51,24.[25].25; 52,6.[6]; 64,14.19; 66,14; 73,15; 76,12.15; 79,25; 85,16.17.20; 87,17; 88,17.17; 94,5; 96,9; 105,8; 116,2.25; 118,15; 125,7.22; 129,8. **ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΔ** 18,15.[17].[25]; 19,11.16.18; 22,14; 25,14; 32,21; 41,17.19; 48,2; 59,17; 116,3; 117,3; 120,6; 127,3.12.14; 129,17. **ΠΟΥΔ** **ΠΟΥΔ** 5,21; 12,8.10; 18,11; 23,18; 43,6; 44,3; 46,19.[25-26]; 48,3; 55,[13-14]; 115,11.[17]; 123,12-13 **ΠΟΥΕΙ** 44,11. **ΤΟΥΕΙ** 11,17; 59,9. **ΤΟΥΕΙ** **ΤΟΥΕΙ** 11,8-9.18; 15,[2]; 21,21; 27,5; 28,10; 30,10-11.

ου (470a) article *passim*.

ουε (470b) vb. **ΟΥΟΥ**† 43,[16-17]; 96,3. **ΟΥΠΟΥΕ** 81,9.

ουβε (476a) prep. **ΕΤΟΥΒΗ** 2,33. **ουε** 13,7.

ουοειν (480a) nn m. 1,9; 3,[30]; 4,23.[31]; 5,[3-4].13; 6,3.32; 11,10.11.19; 29,18-19; 30,2; 32,10; 33,[15]; 46,1; 47,[30]; 48,6; 52,19.20; 55,[17]; 56,[15-16]; 61,21; 74,14; 76,[6]; 81,5; 83,7; 117,10.11; 132,3.

ουον (481a) vb. 33,2; 114,1.4.9.10.[12].14; 116,6; 121,13 **ουον** 8,3-4; 13,17; 20,22; 22,2; 25,9; 44,14; 73,18; 120,16; 127,17; 131,24. **ουοντε** 35,11. **ουοντα** 5,4; 8,11-12; 18,7; 23,[3]; 27,6; 28,22; 39,17; 46,[6]; 48,11; 58,26-27; 82,18; 119,[18-19]; 125,5.

ουνοου (484b) nn f. **ουνοου** 15,5; 24,11; 25,11-12; 62,17 **τενοου** 4,4.

ουωνου (486a) vb. 20,23; 36,3. **ουονου**†, **εουονου** 1,25; 6,[12]; 46,23. **ουωνου εβου** 2,12; 3,12-13; 9,5; 10,6-7.[31]-11,[1]; 14,4.9.11; 23,1.8; 30,26; 38,22; 39,23; 54,12; 78,[13-14]; 81,24; 82,3-4.5-6; 97,14-15; 104,1; 120,9; 122,11; 127,13. nn m. 8,18; 24,8; 28,26; 29,[26]. **ουονου ουωνου εβου** 45,10. **ουονου ουωνου εβου** 122,13. **ουωνου ουωνου** 119,14. **ουωνου ουωνου** 54,21; 118,8.10; 122,10; 126,5.

(**ουου**) (487a) vb. **ουουου**† 1,29; 2,6; 4,[12-13]; 5,5; 7,13; 23,[28]; 24,5; 35,9; 58,24; 82,22; 114,5; 130,17.

ουου (488b) pron. 8,6.[13-14]; 44,5.

ουου (490a) vb. nn m. 4,22.

ουου (494a) adj. 7,4; 11,6.17; 14,5; 18,4; 21,16; 23,9; 27,20; 41,18; 56,23; 64,14; 67,10.19; 74,7; 92,14; 105,10.14; 115,7.9.14; 130,6-7. **ουουου** 67,14; 68,26; 75,21; 79,19-20; 84,20; 86,22-23.

ουου (496a) vb. 25,17-18; 116,21; 130,21-22. **ουου**† **εβου** 12,9; 43,1. **ουου**† **εουου** 65,[12-13] nn m. 114,7; 123,7. **ουουου** 48,[8-9]; 114,6; 116,19; 122,9; 130,24. **ουουου** 11,2.

ουου (499b) nn m. 1,20; 26,29; 46,[10]. **ουου** 76,10. **ουουου** 1,26; 10,15; 23,23.

ουου (500a) vb. 2,13; 28,7; 44,[17-18]. **ουου** 21,5; 52,13; 77,9. nn m. 29,4

(**ουου**) (503b) vb. **ουου** **εβου** 56,20; 81,13; 83,2.

ουου (505b) 16,[2].

ουου (511b) nn m. 42,15.17; 46,16.25; 73,2; 83,4.5; 131,7.

ουου (519b) vb. 1,25.

(ωκκ) (519b) vb. οκκ† 3,24.

(ωλ) (521a) vb. ελ 30,6.

ωμς (523a) vb. 5,19. † ωμς 60,24; 61,23. ζγ ωμς 6,7; 7,[2].10.16; 24,19-20; 25,12; 62,13-14.

ωνο (525a) vb. 17,18; 55,15.[16]; 130,4. ονο† 1,2.7.7; 3,11; 4,16; 5,21; 6,10; 17,17; 20,1; 21,11; 30,14; 38,4; 42,13; 44,25; 45,9; 46,9; 47,10-11; 48,4.5.17; 66,25; 108,16; 115,3; 118,14.15.15; 125,6; 127,3; 130,16; 131,22. nn m. 3,11; 14,14; 15,4.14; 16,20; 17,8.20; 20,23; 29,22-23; 66,17; 68,4; 73,10; 74,11; 75,9.18; 79,13; 86,17; 90,24; 106,13; 118,14. μντωνο 15,5; 66,25; 85,22.

(ωπ) (526a) vb. ηπε† 113,11.

ωρ(ε)β (528a) 9,9.

(ωρε) (536b) vb. αρε† 131,17. ορε† 122,15. αρερατ' 3,28; 6,3.19; 7,6.14.20; 12,2; 13,8-9; 16,12-13; 27,9.21-22; 31,14.21; 32,2.9; 45,21; 46,20; 47,12; 53,20; 63,11-12.[14]; 65,12; 74,15; 78,15.19; 81,12; 82,15; 84,10; 97,16-17; 105,[1]; 114,[14-15].22; 115,12; 116,7.15.22; 117,1; 125,17-18; 127,16.

(ωζη) (539a) vb. ατωζη 33,10.

ψα (541a) ψα ενεο, see ενεο.

ψγ (547b) vb. nn m. 6,7. ατψγ 32,11; 62,22; 64,17.

ψωγ (550a) nn m. 29,29.

ψσβε (551a) vb. 5,9. ψεβγω†, ψεβγνοστ† 3,7; 8,2-3.4.5; 10,9; 13,[19-20].[25-26]; 26,21-22; 27,8; 115,21. nn m. 30,27; 49,2; 116,22.

ψβηρ (553a) nn. ψβηρ η ψωπε 27,9-10; 43,12. μντψβηρ 22,[19]; 23,4; 116,4.

ψωλο (562a) vb. 39,6. nn m. 106,3.

ψμμο (565b) nn. 1,21-22; 45,22.

ψμοσν (566b) nn. 127,4.

(ψομντ) (566b) nn. πψμτ' 125,19. ψομτ 14,2-3; 27,13; 74,15; 118,16.[16-17].17; 125,18; 130,2. πψμτσομ, see σομ. μεοψομτε 7,[8].10; 25,18-19; 28,10-11; 29,8-9; 40,12; 84,2; 118,19; 119,8; 120,[10-11].15; 126,12-13.15; 128,1.2. πψμτσοοστ, see σοοστ. ηψμττενος 57,24; 83,10-11. τ 2,28; 7,14. μεοτ 34,6.

ψηη (568b) nn m. 48,12; 55,20; 113,4.24.[25].

ψηνε (569a) vb. 7,22; 16,13; 45,26; 129,18. nn m. 43,5.25.

ψωπ (574b) vb. 22,3; 26,12.13; 29,20. ρεψωπ 68,3.

ψωπε (577b) vb. 1,5.28; 2,32; 3,[7]; 5,16; 6,[17]; 7,5.13.18; 9,3; 10,13; 11,12; 12,9; 16,6.9.[23]; 17,10-11.21; 25,15; 26,15; 30,13; 31,17; 35,6; 44,12.16.21; 45,14.21.23.26; 46,1; 49,10; 53,19; 59,[14].15; 61,14; 62,15; 66,[23]; 67,22; 79,19; 81,9.22.23; 82,9.18.22; 83,13.23; 91,24; 96,5; 116,15; 121,20; 122,1.2; 123,5.16; 124,5; 128,12; 129,12. ψοοπ† 2,25.26.31;

5.12.13; 4,
17.20; 15,[1
26; 27,1.13.1
14.18-19.2
4.37.[5].38;
113.18.[22];
22.56.4.23; 5
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12.3; 105,5.[1
108.24; 115,4
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13.22.24; 129,
3; 18,8; 22,7-
14.20; 44,17; 4
23. ατψωπ
ψε (581a) nn
ψ (584a) nn m
πν (586b) vb.
3.6.[22].24; 1
138; 43,25; 60,
511; 88,[20]; 91
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10π, ρ ψρ
12.22; 115,25
π (590b) vb.
ππ (597b) v
π (606a) vb.
π (607b) vb. 6
πν (608a) vb
π (612b) vb.
π (615b) vi
π (616b) vb
π (625a) nn

3,6.8.12.13; 4,27; 5,6.8.11-12.[24-25].27; 6,4.9.15; 11,3.7.11; 12,6.[12].14-15.17.20; 15,[13]; 16,1.6.18; 17,1.3; 18,1.11.[16]; 19,1.10.12-13.17.28; 20,6; 21,1.13.15-16; 22,13; 23,3; 24,11.17; 25,23.27; 26,1.[3].3; 27,1; 28,3.14.18-19.23.24; 29,1.13.15.28.28-29; 30,19.[20]; 31,11; 33,16; 35,20; 36,4; 37,[5]; 38,7.10.[14].[15]; 39,[9-10].[14].16.18; 40,15; 41,[7-8]; 42,19; 43,3.13.18.[22]; 44,8.10; 45,27; 46,[17].31; 47,29; 48,22; 52,3; 53,24; 55,22; 56,4.23; 57,23; 59,[11].22; 60,8; 61,12.14; 64,15.16.[19-20]; 66,1.[7-8].[11].13.19.24; 67,11.[12-13].15.24; 68,7.[8].9.12.13.[15-16].20.21.24-25; 73,[9-10].17; 74,5.22; 75,8.12.24; 76,12.21-22.24; 77,15; 78,8; 79,25; 80,[6].7.12.15.17.[21]; 81,[6].15.16.[17].[18].20-21.22.[23]; 82,1.14; 83,[1].17.19.22; 84,12.22; 90,9; 92,[17].[18]; 94,[18]; 96,17; 97,5; 102,1; 103,2.3; 105,5.[16]; 106,1; 107,4; 108,2; 113,5.8.15.17; 114,3.11.[16-17].18.24; 115,4.6.[7].8 .12.23.[25]; 116,1.2.6.8.11.[11-12].[13-14].20; 117,3.12.13.[14-15]; 118,6-7; 119,12.[14].17.19; 120,7-8.16.[21]; 121,4.6.8; 122,20; 123,15.17; 124,14.15; 125,6.11.12.24; 126,2.7; 127,10.11.20; 128,8.22.24; 129,7. nn.m. 16,4; 17,3; 25,3; 27,10; 41,17; 124,12. **ϣωπε** 11,9; 18,8; 22,7-8.10; 23,6.7.15; 24,30; 31,12.[17-18].[23-24]; 35,3-4; 43,14.20; 44,17; 45,12; 46,15; 58,23; 73,5.[12].[14].22; 93,3-4.[5]; 121,19; 123,3. **ⲁⲧϣωπε** 117,14. **ϣβⲏⲣ ⲏϣωπε**, see **ϣβⲏⲣ**.

ϣⲏⲣⲉ (581a) nn m. **ⲣ ϣⲏⲣⲉ** 26,20.

ϣⲏⲣⲉ (584a) nn m. 6,26; 7,8; 13,10; 16,[12]; 30,9; 51,[14]; 52,23.

(ϣωⲣⲓ) (586b) vb. **ϣωⲣⲓ** † 42,18(?). nn m., often as adj. before nouns. 3,18; 6,[22].24; 10,11; 17,56; 18,12; 19,7; 20,6.8.11.16-17; 24,12; 29,3; 34,18; 43,25; 60,13; 61,7; 65,7; 77,21.22.25; 79,7; 80,15.17; 84,11.15; 85,11; 88,[20]; 91,13; 97,[4]; 107,6.8; 115,19; 118,18; 119,4.20; 120,2; 121,1; 122,2; 124,2; 126,2.4; 127,19.21. **ⲏⲓϣωⲣⲓ** 14,3; 114,14. **ⲣ ϣωⲣⲓ**, **ⲣ ϣⲣⲓ** 2,31; 20,6.11; 37,7; 58,20; 74,[4]; 75,24; 82,17.20; 83,1.7.22; 115,25; 123,21.

ϣωωⲧ (590b) vb. 39,12. **ϣωⲧ** 33,12. nn m. 45,18.

ϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ (597b) vb. 4,30.

(ϣωϣ) (606a) vb. **ϣⲏϣ** 125,1.

ϣϣⲉ (607b) vb. 60,16.

ϣⲁⲕⲏⲓ (608a) vb. intr. 11,5; 42,15; 43,30.

ϣⲁⲕⲉ (612b) vb. 22,[2]; 35,16; 94,9. nn m. 1,1; 5,7.10; 9,4.28; 16,21; 17,5.9; 25,28; 26,16; 28,13; 29,14.24.26; 30,8.21-22.[23-24]; 36,5; 38,8; 44,9; 53,4; 66,[20-21]; 120,12. **ⲁⲧϣⲁⲕⲉ** 5,2-3; 28,13-14; 29,25; 46,4; 74,20; 77,19; 122,7-8; 124,17; 126,10.

ϣⲟⲕⲏⲉ (615b) vb. 3,14; 57,16.18.

ϣωⲕⲓ (616b) vb. **ⲏⲓⲕⲉϣωⲕⲓ** 10,14; 12,18; 77,24; 113,14; 125,10.

ϣⲓ (620a) vb. 10,7; 25,7; 43,4.

ϣⲧⲟⲟϣ (625a) nn. 5,[29]; 6,27-29; 18,14-15; 19,10.14; 27,3; 28,17; 29,2.13;

- 51,17; 54,17-18; 56,[19]; 57,12; 115,15.24; 119,19; 120,16.[23]; 121,4; 125,9; 127,4.17. **μερτοοσ** 6,20; 7,20; 28,29; 29,11; 113,14-15.16; 114,23; 119,10; 120,8.18; 124,19-20; 126,17.[19-20]; 128,4.5. **μερΔ** 7,17.
- ρΔ** (634b) prep. 29,12; 23,4; 68,25; 127,5; 130,19; 131,4.
- ρΔε** (635a) nn m. **ρρΔε** 42,17; 76,17.18.
- ρε** (637a) vb. **ρε ερρΔγ** 45,28.
- ρε** (638b) nn. 84,4.
- ρΗ** (640b) nn m. 46,8. **ρΔΤ^ς**, **ρΗΤ^ς** 5,5; 47,25. **ρΔ τερερΗ** 127,6. **ρΔΘΗ** 4,30; 64,15; 113,5.
- ρΓ, ρΓω(ω)^ς** (643b) prep. 17,17; 57,8.20.24; 74,16; 94,18; 120,21; 121,6; 123,15; 124,8.10; 125,6.16; 127,10; 130,7.
- ρΓΗ** (646a) nn f. 4,30. **†ρΓΗ** 19,4; 21,[19]; 25,10. **ρΓΗ νεγ εβολ** 12,7.
- ρΟ** (646b) nn m. 10,17. **ΝΔρρΗ, ΝΔρρΔ^ς** 47,12; 63,12; 78,15-16; 125,18; 129,2. **ρΔλρΟ**, see **ρΔλ**.
- ρωω^ς, ρω^ς** (651b) pron. 44,9; 45,19; 77,9-10; 81,13; 115,3.
- ρωβ, ρβΗτ^ε** (653a) nn m. 1,22; 9,11; 25,4; 27,18; 43,17.27; 47,19; 64,10; 121,10. **ρ ρωβ** 1,14; 10,5.14.
- ρωβс** (658b) vb. 64,6.
- (ρΔλ)** (664b) nn. **ρ ρΔλ** 131,20; 132,4. **ρΔλρΟ** 10,17.
- ρН, ρНГТ^ς** (683a) prep. 1,5.8.12.14.17.19; 2,3.6.15.[15].25.27; 3,11.13.22; 4,5.13.21.[26].28; 5,8.15.17; 6,13; 7,29.30; 8,6.18; 9,3.8; 10,4.10; 11,2.11.11-12.13.[16]; 12,1.6.10.13.20; 15,6.9; 16,2; 17,20; 18,26; 19,13; 21,2.16; 22,13; 23,8.27; 24,2.3.4.8.11.15; 25,10.12.26; 26,3.5.8.9.[16].20; 28,10.14; 30,1; 32,[28]; 33,16; 36,10.20.25; 37,1; 38,9.10.[13].14; 42,9.12; 43,3.13.28; 44,12; 45,10.28; 46,18; 47,[18].29; 48,[22]; 51,1; 58,9.25; 60,14.22; 62,14; 64,2.[16].20; 68,7.8.12; 73,8.10.19; 74,24; 75,8.9.13; 76,24; 78,10.16; 79,11.20; 80,7.9; 89,13.17; 94,6; 96,1; 97,5.[18]; 99,3; 103,4; 105,5; 108,2.12.21; 113,8.[16].17; 114,3.[11].13.[15].[18]; 115,1.4.10; 116,7.8.10.11.12; 117,21; 120,8; 123,17; 124,15; 125,2.2.11.24; 126,3; 127,6.20; 128,8; 129,14; 131,2. **εβολ ρН** 6,4; 9,5-6; 12,[15]; 13,[23]; 14,4.8.[11].16.[22]; 16,16; 17,[14]; 24,22.26; 25,15-16; 26,15-16.24-25; 30,16; 32,14; 36,19; 37,3.4; 38,9; 52,18.19-20.21.22; 54,[5]; 56,13.17; 77,19; 78,14.21; 81,[15-16].17; 93,2-3; 114,[17]; 115,6; 116,21; 124,[19]. **ρρΔγ ρН, ρρρΔγ ρН** 1,11; 10,3.10.12; 17,18; 21,1.3-4.6.7; 22,[19-20]; 24,10.11-12; 26,5; 27,[4]; 30,2.3; 41,15; 44,9.26; 45,21-22; 46,[8].11.15.18; 56,21; 60,12; 61,[21].23; 63,16; 66,8.[18].[24]; 67,9.[11-12].16.17-18.22; 68,3-4; 74,17.[17-18]; 76,[2].[8].14; 84,16.18-19.19-20; 85,16; 87,23; 92,16; 94,3; 114,[6-7].[8]; 115,4.8-9.[23-24]; 116,1-2.4; 118,3.4.14; 119,17; 120,15.16-17; 121,[23-24]; 123,3.15; 124,3.7; 125,4.7.8.22; 126,7; 127,7.16.18; 129,8; 132,[1].

1 (685b) nn
 24
 1 (690a) suffi
 1 (693b) nn m
 1 (698a) nn
 ρρΔγ 13,1.
 13,19,4; 21,20.
 33; 129,23.26.
 33; 59,12; 63,14
 124,7; 127,18
 20) (707b) v
 714a) nn m.
 7 (724b) vb.
 31; 115,7-8; 11
 4 (731a) vb. 4
 11) (732b) vb
 1 (735a) nn
 310; 2; 65,15; 8
 117 (738a) nn
 117 (738b) 2,
 3120-21; 44,2
 314-15; 127,9;
 43,39,13; 41,12
 44) (743b)
 116b) conj.
 12) (743b) vb.
 33; 30,18-19.2
 33,16; 96,4; 11
 33,19; 77,24; 8
 33,21; 46,21;
 33.
 117b) vb. 5,4
 33; 16,17; 24,
 33; 61,8.10.11
 33; 116,10;
 11) (756a) nn
 33; 15,19; 7,6-
 33,20; 61,12;

ϩⲟϥⲛ (685b) nn m. ⲉϩⲟϥⲛ 25,10-11; 26,7; 61,[16]; 65,10.11.13.19; 129,4.

(ϩⲛⲉ) (690a) suffix vb. ϩⲛⲁ^ϛ 21,5.

ϩⲁⲡ (693b) nn m. † ϩⲁⲡ 9,12; 11,8. ⲡⲉϥ†ϩⲁⲡ 47,22; 96,5-6.

ϩⲡⲁⲓ (698a) nn m. 1,17; 4,1; 10,10; 13,1; 17,18; 46,15; 57,13; 67,22. ⲥⲁϩⲡⲁⲓ 13,1. ⲉϩⲡⲁⲓ 1,17; 3,15.28; 4,1; 5,24; 6,[2]; 12,11.14.[16]; 18,3; 19,4; 21,20.22; 23,21.23; 24,18; 30,10; 31,10; 32,8; 45,28; 46,3.16.26; 105,3; 129,23.26.[28]. ⲛϩⲡⲁⲓ 1,11; 10,2-3.12; 21,7; 40,10; 41,6; 43,16; 49,8; 59,12; 63,14; 67,1.9.17; 104,[20]; 107,[1]; 115,3-4; 118,3; 123,2.14-15; 124,7; 127,18.

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NAG HAMMADI STUDIES
VOLUME XVI

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

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XVI

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EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

published under the auspices of

THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

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



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FOREWORD

“The Coptic Gnostic Library” is a complete edition of the Coptic Gnostic codices: Nag Hammadi Codices I-XIII, Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, the Askew Codex and the Bruce Codex. It includes a critical text with English translations to each codex and tractate, 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 Coptic Gnostic Library is a part.

This edition is a project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. The translation team consists of Harold W. Attridge, John W. B. Barns†, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, 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, John C. Shelton, John H. Sieber, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, R. McL. Wilson, Orval S. Wintermute, Frederik Wisse and Jan Zandee.

The volumes and editors of The Coptic Gnostic Library are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; *Nag Hammadi Codices II, 1, III, 1 and IV, 1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 2: The Apocryphon of John*, edited by Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices II, 2-7 and III, 5*, volume editor Bentley Layton; *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: Eugnostos the Blessed and the Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, edited by Douglas M. Parrott; *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*, edited by Bentley Layton, John Sieber and Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick; *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, edited by J. W. B. Barns†, G. M. Browne and John C. Shelton; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, Nag Hammadi Studies 9, 1978; *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, 1978, Nag Hammadi Studies 13, 1978. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is thirteen volumes.

John W. B. Barns happened into the Library of the Coptic Museum on 16 January 1971 while the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices was at work there. He was invited to return to advise concerning papyrological matters, which he did on 21 January 1971, at which time it was agreed that he would prepare a critical edition of the cartonnage. On 5 May 1971 he was supplied with photographs of the parts of the cartonnage of Codex VII that were already exposed to view. On 21 May 1971 he reported a date for the hand of text 66 (VII, 6^e) to the first quarter of the Fourth Century. In September 1971 photographs became available of the bulk of the cartonnage of Codex VII, which by then had been separated by Abd el-Moeiz Shaheen, Sub-Director of the Centre for the Study and Conservation of Antiquities of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation. On the basis of these photographs Barns provided on 31 October 1971 preliminary datings of text 63 (VII, 2^e) to 342 A.D. and of text 64 (VII, 3^e) to 339 A.D., suggesting a resultant date for the library "only a few years later." Barns' preliminary results were published in "The International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices: A Progress Report," *New Testament Studies* 18 (1972), 240, and *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex VII* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. ix. Rodolphe Kasser had already identified the Genesis fragments from Codex VII on 21 December 1970, and published them in "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique," *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), 65-89.

In December 1971 Abd el-Moeiz Shaheen also separated cartonnage of Codices IV, V and VIII. Photographs were then supplied to Barns, who worked on all this material in Cairo during the fourth session of the Technical Sub-Committee in December 1972. The cartonnage of Codex I had meanwhile been made available by Jean Doresse on 29 August 1972 at Claremont, California. On 20 October 1972 photographs of what was exposed to view were sent to Barns for inclusion in his work. On 4 September 1973 Barns supplied a preliminary photographic mock-up of the cartonnage for *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, in terms of which the cartonnage was conserved in Cairo in September 1973. Barns then prepared a preliminary report on the content of the cartonnage thus far available, "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices," posthumously published in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts: In Honour of Pahor Labib* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 9-17. On 10 December 1973, the same day on which Barns mailed his manuscript, E. G. Turner examined the cartonnage of Codex I during a visit to Claremont; I reported his views to Barns on 17 December, as did Turner himself before Christmas. But the sudden lamentable death of Barns on 23 January 1974 prevented him from incorporating the work of Turner in his own preliminary report, for which reason Turner provided a "Comment" printed with Barns' essay (pp. 17-18).

Early in 1974 Eileen C. Barns was kind enough to make available the files of her husband so that his work could be made available to a successor who would carry it through to completion. I am indebted to G. M. Browne for consenting to assume this responsibility, and to John C. Shelton, who subsequently assumed responsibility from Browne for the Greek material. Late in 1974 Anton Fackelmann removed the cartonnage from the covers of Codices VI, IX and XI, and on 28-31 October 1973 and 28 March 1975 the cartonnage was removed from the cover of Codex I. Browne was able to examine the cartonnage of Codex I in Washington, D.C. in April 1974 and in Claremont in June 1975, and the cartonnage in the Coptic Museum in July 1974 and December 1976. He has supplied information already published in the *Facsimile Edition: Codex I* (1977), pp. xv and xvii; *Codex IV* (1975), p. ix; *Codex V* (1975), p. xi; *Codex VIII* (1976), p. xi; and, together with John C. Shelton, *Cartonnage* (1979), pp. xv, xvii, xix and xxi.

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 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. 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.

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 Munir Basta, currently Director of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd el-Shaheed, 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 Zeidan, specialist in the Arab Program of the Division of Cultural Studies, who has always proved ready with gracious assistance and helpful advice.

We also wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the two directors of Brill during the years in which this volume was in preparation, F. C. Wieder, Jr., Director Emeritus, and T. A. Edridge, whose role as Director has been cut short by his untimely death. Without the support of such outstanding leaders in the field of scholarly publication not only this volume, but the whole series of Nag Hammadi Studies, indeed The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, would not have been possible.

JAMES M. ROBINSON

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The inventory numbers (to the left) are used in the conservation of the papyri and the plates of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden, 1979); the numeration of the texts (to the right) is that used in the present volume. Coptic texts are distinguished by the prefix C.

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NOTE ON EDITORIAL PRACTICE AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The editorial signs employed in this volume are those in common use: square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, parentheses () resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, double square brackets [] a deletion by the scribe, and high strokes ` ' superlinear additions, but not letters raised to mark an abbreviation. Dots within brackets, or numerals within brackets, indicate the approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna; dots outside brackets indicate illegible letters, and dots under letters indicate uncertain readings. Punctuation and, in the Greek texts, accents, breathing marks, and iotas subscript have been added by the editors. Faults of spelling and grammar have been pointed out in a critical apparatus or discussed in textual notes when they could not be conveniently indicated in the text itself. A horizontal arrow → indicates that the writing on a given papyrus surface runs parallel to the fibers, a vertical arrow ↓ that it runs perpendicular to the fibers.

As regards supralineation in the Coptic texts, printing requirements have necessitated a certain amount of deviation from absolutely accurate reproduction: strokes between two letters on the original are placed over the second in the transcript, and long lines over three letters are centered over the second. For the precise placement of the supralinear stroke, the reader should consult *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden, 1979).

Individual dates have not been assigned to the Coptic texts, but it is likely that they were written approximately in the first half of the fourth century A.D. (cf. *Introd.* p. 5, n. 10).

The reader is reminded that although some consultation of the originals was possible, the greater part of the editorial work was based on photographs; in particular, the surviving editor of the Greek texts has not seen the papyri and in doubtful cases has often necessarily relied upon the Brussels MS (for which see the list of abbreviations below). Details of the transcripts should therefore be judged with due caution.

In addition to the standard abbreviations of editions of papyri

and scholarly journals, we have used the following shortened references:

- Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *NTGrammatik* = F. Blass, A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf. 14th ed., Göttingen 1976.
- Brussels MS = A typescript including preliminary transcripts of the texts in this volume with the exception of those from the cover of Codex VI, occasionally with translations and some commentary, prepared by G. M. Browne on the basis of material left by J. W. B. Barns and partly controlled by Browne on the originals. Its readings have generally been followed unless a photograph showed a clearly preferable alternative.
- Crum, *Dict.* = W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1939.
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. 1866ff.
- Du Cange = Charles Du Fresne Sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*. Lyon 1688, reprint Graz 1958.
- Gignac, *Phonology* = F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. I, *Phonology*. Milan 1976. *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità* 55.
- Halkin = *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani ex recensione Francisci Halkin S. I. Brussels 1932.
- Kasser, *Compléments* = R. Kasser, *Compléments au Dictionnaire copte de Crum*. Cairo 1964. *Bibliothèque d'études coptes* 7.
- Kühner-Gerth = R. Kühner, B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. 2. Teil, *Satzlehre*. 3rd. ed., Hannover and Leipzig 1898-1904.
- Lampe, *PGL* = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford 1961.
- Mandilaras, *The Verb* = B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*. Athens 1973.
- Mayser = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig 1906ff.
- Naldini, *Cristianesimo* = M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV*. Florence 1968.
- NB = F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Menschnennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Inschriften, Mumienbilder usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*. Heidelberg 1922.
- Oertel, *Liturgie* = F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*. Leipzig 1917; reprint Aalen 1965.
- Onomasticon = D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke*. Milan 1967. *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità* 16.
- Pape = W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3rd. ed. Braunschweig 1911; reprint Graz 1959.
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne. 1857ff.
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne. 1878ff.

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Prel. Rep. = J. W. B. Barns, "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: a Preliminary Report", in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Codices in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. M. Krause (Leiden 1975) 9-17, with an addendum by E. G. Turner pp. 17f.

WB = F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumien-schilder usw. aus Ägypten*. Berlin 1925ff.

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INTRODUCTION

It was probably in December of 1945 that a party of Egyptian *sabakh*-diggers discovered under the sheltering side of a fallen boulder the sealed jar which when broken open was found to contain the manuscripts that are now known as the Nag Hammadi Library. Reportedly the jar was discovered together with a corpse (though not from an ancient burial) on a bed of something resembling charcoal, but this was not confirmed by excavations on or near the site thirty years later in December 1975. However that may be, one of the party, Mohammed Ali, took the manuscripts back to his home in al-Qasr, the ancient Chenoboskia, some three and a half miles from the place of discovery near the tiny village Hamra Dom. There he deposited them among straw that was to be used as fuel for a clay oven in the courtyard, and some of the material was consequently later burned; but much the greater part was saved and eventually came into possession of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, where it is kept today.¹

The manuscripts proved to contain an immensely valuable collection of Coptic religious writings, many of which had been previously quite unknown, and which for the most part strongly reflect Gnostic teachings. In addition they contained the fragments of Greek and Coptic papyri which are published in the present volume. These had been used simply as scrap paper: the twelve codices are bound in leather, and eight of these leather covers are strengthened with a layer of used papyrus. The late J. W. B. Barns undertook to edit this so-called cartonnage in 1971. The following survey of texts is intended to complete and update the preliminary report on the documents which Barns had prepared before his death in 1974 and which was published posthumously the following

¹ The paragraph above is based on James M. Robinson's "From the Cliff to Cairo: The Story of the Discovery and the Middlemen of the Nag Hammadi Codices", of which the author kindly sent me a manuscript copy. The most informative account known to me which had been published at the time of this writing is by the same scholar in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977) 21-3.

year,² as well as to correct it in some respects. In particular the question as to whether the documents found in the codex covers support the theory that the codices themselves once belonged to the library of a Pachomian monastery requires new consideration.

This question was answered in the positive by Barns in his *Preliminary Report*, but it will be seen below that evidence for monasticism in general in these papers is less frequent than was supposed in that work,³ and there are no texts in which a specifically Pachomian background comes plainly to the fore (cf. pp. 5-11). It should be emphasized, however, that the nature of the cartonnage, though of use for determining the approximate date and place at which the codices were bound, is of very questionable value for determining their ownership.⁴

The covers that contained papyrus cartonnage are the following:

Codex I (1-15; C1). Two contracts, an account that mentions weavers' goods, a mutilated private letter, and several fragments of unidentifiable nature. The first of the contracts (1) requires special mention, as it has previously been reported to indicate a "monastic background; it mentions a *μονή* and a *proestōs*, and the name of Chenoboskion occurs in it".⁵ This view was reached on the

² "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: a Preliminary Report", in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Codices in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. Martin Krause (Leiden, 1975) 9-17, with an addendum by E. G. Turner pp. 17f. Henceforth *Prel. Rep.* It should be noted that the last of the material did not become available for study until its detachment from the cover in 1975.

³ "... most of the contents of [Codex] VII, and some of I and VIII, indicate a monastic background" (*Prel. Rep.* p. 12). Evidence for monasticism is now limited to some of the correspondence in Codex VII, discussed below pp. 5-11.

⁴ "Now it seems unlikely that the writing of the codices and their binding should have been the work of two different establishments; and even more unlikely that the waste papyrus used to pack and strengthen the covers should have had no connection with the binders" (*Prel. Rep.* 11-12). Clearly the persons who strengthened the covers had access to the materials they used for that purpose, but this does not get us very far. I see no *prima facie* connection between scribes and bookbinders, nor between those two parties and the owners of the codices. A monastery might, of course, use its own discarded documents for binding its manuscripts, but it might also have used material from any convenient source for this purpose, or have acquired volumes that were already bound. Conversely, secular or heretical parties could have used the cast-offs of an orthodox religious body.

⁵ *Prel. Rep.* 12.

basis of photographs made before the fragments had been completely freed from the cover. E. G. Turner found on the original that *κώμης* should be read in place of *μονῆς*, and warned that *proestos* can have other meanings than that of the head of a monastic organization.⁶ Later a further portion of the document was found and the fragments were rearranged following a suggestion of Professor Turner. It is now clear that *proestos* in the text refers to the chairman of a guild of oil-workers who were contracting to supply oil for the municipal supplies of Diospolis Parva, here called "Diospolis near Chenoboskia" (l. 4). So far as can be determined, therefore, all texts in this cover are purely secular. The hands indicate dates in the late third or first half of the fourth century A.D.

Codex IV (16-21). Fragments of accounts mentioning wine, wheat, and barley in such large quantities that taxation or military rations are probably involved. They were presumably written in some government office in the fourth century.

Codex V (22-43). The two longest documents, 22 and 23 (front and back of the same papyrus), are parts of official accounts concerned with an area at least as large as the two procuratorships of the Thebaid; they would be of great interest if they were better preserved. Of numerous other fragments in the cover, the great majority appear likewise to be official accounts, though 28 may be part of a contract and the nature of 31 is doubtful: one might think of a contract, petition, or report. The natural source of such texts would again be a government office, possibly that of the *praeses Thebaidos*. The location of his seat of office at the time our texts were written is unfortunately not known: near the end of the fourth century it was Antinoopolis, but there is some reason to think that it may have been Hermopolis earlier (see P. Beatty Panop. p. xx; A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15, 1978, pp. 33, 36-7). As 22 and 23 were written while the Thebaid was divided into two *ἐπιτροπαί*, those texts can be dated roughly between 298 and 323 A.D. All the papyri in the cover were written in the late third or early fourth century.

Codex VI (44-61). For the most part name lists and accounts; again taxation suggests itself as the purpose. 53 is a document of a different type, presumably a petition, report, or fragment of cor-

⁶ *Prel. Rep.* 17-8.

respondence addressed to a strategus or epistrategus; the same choice of officials recurs in 56. The papyri may have come from the same source as those in the covers of Codices IV and V, and were written at about the same time.

Codex VII (62-142; C2-C14). This is by far the richest of the covers in point of view of the number and condition of the documents preserved. It is not easy to summarize briefly.

Religious literature: C2, some fragments of Genesis, and possibly C3, an exhortation to virtue which could be part of a homily or an epistle. A suggestion that Pachomius, the traditional founder of coenobitic monasticism, may have been the author⁷ is not presently subject to proof or refutation. I do not know whether a fourth-century monastery would be more or less likely than other groups or individuals to use bits of Holy Scripture (C2) to strengthen a book cover. Such use would, of course, have the effect of physically preserving the writing, but it is more than doubtful that that was the intention in this case.

Contracts: 62, remnants of a sale of some kind. It was previously dated to the consulship of Domitius Zenophilus (A.D. 333) or Tettius Facundus (A.D. 336),⁸ but it is argued in the introduction to the text below (p. 52) that the reign of Aurelian or the rebel Domitius Domitianus, or the consulship of Flavius Domitius Leontius (A.D. 344), are more probable. 63 is a loan of wheat, dated to 20 November 341. The signature of the illiterate debtor was written by a former municipal magistrate, but we do not know of what city.⁹ 64 is another loan of wheat, drawn up between a resident of a previously unknown village Techthy in the Little Diopolite nome and a former magistrate of Dendyra. If the debtor took the contract back home with him after paying the loan, it was in Techthy or thereabout when it came into the hands of the bookbinders. Date 21 November 346. The debtor, one Aurelius Comes, was tentatively identified in *Prel. Rep.* p. 12 as a presbyter who is one of the writers of our letter 77. If so, he does not mention his position (which would be odd) or did not have it yet; but it is by

⁷ *Prel. Rep.* 15.

⁸ *Prel. Rep.* 12.

⁹ It was erroneously reported in *Prel. Rep.* p. 12 that the debtor of this contract, Aurelius Psenetyimis, is "almost certainly" to be identified with a man, evidently a monk, named in one of the letters in this cover. In fact the name Psenetyimis does not occur again among these papers.

no means certain that the presbyter was in fact named Comes (cf. 64.4 n., 77.16 n.). 65 is a deed of surety, addressed to the chairman of some municipal council. Dated to October of A.D. 348, it provides a terminus a quo for the cover of this codex.

Private letters: whenever the religious faith of the correspondents of the many letters found in this cover can be determined, it is invariably Christian. Particularly welcome are some of the earliest references yet found to monks and the light shed on their daily lives.¹⁰ There were important coenobitic monasteries of the Pachomian order at Pabau and Chenoboskia, respectively about 5½ and 3½ miles from the place where these texts were discovered. These were Pachomius' second and third monasteries; the foundation dates are uncertain, but in any case they were later than the first establishment at Tabennese (c. 320-5 A.D.) and were flourishing by the time of Pachomius' death (probably 346). Our letters were written in the early to mid fourth century and so are roughly contemporaneous with the growth of Pachomian monasticism. As it has been suggested that the Nag Hammadi codices themselves, despite their generally heretical and sometimes non-Christian nature, once belonged to the library of one of these orthodox organizations,¹¹ it is of some interest to enquire whether the material

¹⁰ The earliest datable reference to an Egyptian monk is P. Collect. Youtie II 77.15 from A.D. 324, recently studied by E. A. Judge, "The Earliest Use of Monachos for 'Monk' (P. Coll. Youtie 77) and the Origins of Monasticism", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (1977) 72-89. The letters in the Nag Hammadi covers are not dated, but on palaeographical grounds they are not likely to be more than about thirty years later than that at the outside.

¹¹ The argument in *Prel. Rep.* 12ff. is as follows: there are no traces of heresy or heterodoxy in the cartonnage documents; the findspot of the texts was near the monastery of Chenoboskia; and "since it is hardly conceivable that there would have been more than one orthodox monastic organization simultaneously operating in the same place, we should be justified in concluding, even without further evidence, that the Nag Hammadi material came from a Pachomian monastery" (p. 13); further evidence is then forthcoming in the form of texts which mention names identical with those of persons known to have been active in the Pachomian organization, including perhaps Pachomius himself.—To this it can be said that there is no more evidence for orthodox than for heterodox beliefs in the documents, as none reveals the shading of its author's Christianity; none of the personal identifications are (to this writer at least) convincing; and the few texts which give some indication as to the way of life of the persons concerned are difficult or impossible to reconcile with Pachomianism. This last point is, however,

used in the covers reflects a Pachomian background. The following discussion will be largely concerned with this question.¹²

It should be stated at once that there is not enough evidence to settle this on Christological grounds. The letters do include a number of Biblical echoes and pious sentiments, but these are all dogmatically quite neutral and could have been written by virtually anyone whose views were recognizably Christian.¹³ One general consideration weighs against a Pachomian attribution, but it is hard to say how heavily—the great majority of the correspondence

very problematic, as our sources on classical Pachomianism may be misinformed or deliberately idealized, or may represent a stage of development later than that of the papyri; at the same time, the papyri themselves must not be used to correct impressions from other sources unless it can be proved that the papyri are Pachomian. In the discussion of individual texts below I shall take possession of money and other private property, interest in secular concerns, and apparently free contact with the daily world, in particular with women, as speaking against a Pachomian background.

¹² It may be as well to mention at this point some other possibilities; it will be recalled that Pachomius himself made provision for the reception of visiting monks who did not follow his order (Halkin pp. 24-5, *PL* 23.73, *PG* 40.949). Meletian monasteries had been established by A.D. 334 (P. Jews 1913). A series of interesting fourth-century letters to an anchorite is printed in P. Jews. 1923-9. Most of the early papyrological attestations of monks apparently refer to the class which Jerome called *remnuoth* (*Ep.* 22.34 in *CSEL* 54 and *PL* 23); see Judge, *art. cit.* in n. 10 above. As such a monk could own land and other property (cf. for example the sales of dwellings in SB I 5174-5) and was obliged by some means to support himself, his contact with the world must have been immeasurably greater than that of the possession-less Pachomian within his cloister walls, and so it is only natural that we should hear more of him than of the Pachomian coenobite in documentary papyri. A considerable body of late correspondence evidently concerning *remnuoth* has been published in P. Epiph. II. Cf. also the Christian fellowships discussed by E. Wipszycka, "Les confréries dans la vie religieuse de l'Égypte chrétienne", *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto, 1970 = ASP VII) 511-25, esp. 519f.

¹³ Another view was expressed in *Prel. Rep.* pp. 12-3: "Nowhere do we find any suggestion of heresy or heterodoxy; indeed, this seems ruled out by a passage in one letter which speaks of the commendation (συνέστησεν) of an individual to a group of the brethren by 'our father [the holy ?] bishop'." The letter referred to is our 77, but it shows only that certain presbyters respected their bishop; we should have to know the latter's religious leanings to pass judgment on their orthodoxy. The use of such terms as ἀδελφός, πατήρ, μοναχός, and πρεσβύτερος in the letters is likewise orthodoxologically uninformative: they can all be found similarly used, for example, in the Meletian report on misdoings by the followers of Athanasius in P. Jews 1914.

is in Greek, whereas the Pachomian monasteries of the area were predominantly Coptic.

There are only two letters which beyond all reasonable doubt came from or into the hands of monks, **72** and **C8**. **72** was sent by a woman to *Σανσονῶτι; καὶ Πάτατος μοναχοῖς*: she asks them to try to find some chaff for her asses and let her know how much it costs per wagonload. Here one can deny a Pachomian background with considerable assurance: a normal member of a Pachomian organization would not have been in a position to fulfill this request and it is almost unthinkable that he would have received correspondence from a woman—or indeed a man—on such a subject, as the point of Pachomian coenobitic life was to avoid just such secular concerns. The monks here may have belonged to another order, or the text may date to a period before Pachomianism had taken on its classical form, but it seems most probable that they are further examples of Jerome's unorganized *remnuoth* (see n. 12).¹⁴ One of the men, Sansnos, may be identical with a presbyter of the same name discussed below, pp. 8-9.

C8, a letter from a monk, includes a greeting to "all the brothers" (frag. a, l. 8) and refers to someone called "my father Sansnos" (a 14) and "Apa Sansnos". If that should be the Sansnos of **72**, the brethren can hardly have been Pachomian, but the name was very common.¹⁵

The possibility of a monastic background arises in several other letters as well, although monks are not specifically mentioned in them.

67 includes a request to have some wheat transported to a *μονάχιον* and stored in a *σιρός* there. The word *μονάχιον* has not occurred before, but it should indicate a monks' dwelling of some kind; a *σιρός* was sometimes an underground bin, sometimes

¹⁴ It may be significant that **72** is addressed to *two* monks; the Epiphanius correspondence alone includes 26 more such letters. The editor writes: "In some cases . . . the relation was that of teacher and disciple . . . in others merely that of two anchorites of like standing, who share a cave or hut" (P. Epiph. I p. 138).

¹⁵ **C8** is the letter which was described in *Prel. Rep.* p. 15 as "seem[ing] to compare the growth of the particular community to which it was addressed to that of a grain of mustard seed", but this view was based on a false placing of the fragments; see **C8** a 14 n.

simply a large vessel used for storing grain.¹⁶ Many examples of privately-owned *σιροί* are known; ¹⁷ the *μονάχιον* need not have been very large to have possessed one.

We are not told the positions of the correspondents in **67** or the reason for transporting the grain, but the writer speaks of “the brothers who are with you and those with me” (l. 12). Though the phrase is of itself indecisive, it seems natural in this context to suppose that two groups of monks, or at least religious fellowships of some sort, are meant. Nothing points specifically to Pachomian life.

77 and **78** are both letters from presbyters to a fellow presbyter named Sansnos. He may be identical with the monk Sansnos of **72**, though there is no reason to think so apart from the name.¹⁸ In addition there are five letters written to a Sansnos whose position is not identified: **68**, **73**, **75**, **76**, **C5**. We see him asked to intervene to protect a tenant from harassment by his landlord and to obtain some chaff for the writer (**68**; cf. n. 21), to turn over five artabs of wheat to a “brother” (**75**), and, if it is the same man, to put off buying some wheat and to attend to some financial affairs (**C5**). As the request to obtain some chaff in **68** is reminiscent of that in **72**, where Sansnos is called a monk, there is some reason to think that the same person is meant. Indeed, the presence of so many letters addressed to Sansnos gives the impression of a small archive of correspondence received, though I am doubtful whether it is really one archive or at least two. There is further a letter in very uneducated Greek written *by* a Sansnos to one Aphrodisios (**69**), scolding the latter for having failed to send food for some “lads”

¹⁶ For *σιροί* as underground bins cf. F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten* (Giessen, 1914) 83; Pliny, *NH* XVIII 306; and see the excavation report in P. Epiph. I p. 42 with other remarks on the storage of grain by monks *ibid.* p. 146. The *σιροί* of P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. II 17, on the other hand, must be vessels of some kind, as they are located in an upper room; the editor cites Hesychius for the definition *πίθος*.

¹⁷ E.g., P. Mich. V 195; P. Teb. III. 2 851.37 and 82; 852.98; 959.11.

¹⁸ It should perhaps be pointed out in this connection that according to the *Vitae* there were no presbyters in early Pachomian organizations: *δταν χρεία ἦν προσφορᾶς, μετεκαλεῖτο πρεσβύτερόν τινα τῶν ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησιῶν . . . οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς τις γενόμενος ἐν καταστάσει κλήρου ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ* (Halkin p. 16). But at a later time ecclesiastics were permitted, provided they claimed no special privileges for themselves (*ibid.* p. 17), and there are in any case other grounds for doubting that the monk Sansnos was Pachomian (p. 7).

(παῖδια, possibly slaves) and informing him of some matters concerning sheep and goats. It would be very surprising if this text were to be found in company with letters that the same man had received. I much doubt that it refers to the monk and/or presbyter.¹⁹

Of the remaining Greek letters of this codex which are well enough preserved to give some idea of their content, one, **71**, is addressed to two presbyters, asking them to buy two skins for the writer: he sends them two artabs of dates as part payment in advance, and will pay the balance when he learns how much it is. The other letters (**66**, **70**, **74**, **79-81**) are evidently purely secular and show no involvement with monasticism.

The Coptic letters, of which two have already been mentioned (**C8** p. 7, **C5** immediately above), show in general a greater tendency to express Christian sentiments and less concern with worldly affairs than the Greek texts.

C4 is a pious and tender letter to Aphrodisi(os), who may be called an ascetic (l. 25 n.) and is recovering from a recent illness.²⁰ Aphrodisios is also the name of the recipient of a Greek letter from some Sansnos (**69**): the scolding, impatient tone of the Greek letter contrasts strongly with the respectful, even reverent tone of the Coptic one, but there is no particular reason to believe that the same Aphrodisios is involved.

The Aphrodisios of **C4** plainly lived in a religious fellowship of some sort, and apparently his correspondent lived in another one. The writer speaks of a "brother" named Sourous (l. 16). A Sourous was the first head that we know of in the Pachomian monastery at Pachnoum. This may be the same man, but if so it is perhaps odd that he is not called "father".

¹⁹ This doubt considerably weakens the case for believing that Sansnos and his associates, as the parties responsible for the tending of sheep and goats, were also in charge of leather-work and the production of the covers of the Nag Hammadi codices, as was argued in *Prel. Rep.* 14. The same text does, however, mention a Sansnos "the shepherd" who is obviously not the same as the writer of the letter (**69.17, 20**). If he could be shown to be the monk/presbyter (who is not otherwise connected with animals), then the reasoning of *Prel. Rep.* would gain some support; so far as we know, however, the man was simply a shepherd.

²⁰ The improvement in Aphrodisios' health did not last long if one may judge from **C5**, which he himself wrote later and in which he declares that he does not know whether he will live or die (ll. 9-10). The Epiphanius correspondence also includes numerous reports of illness among monks; cf. P. Epiph. I pp. 163f.

Aphrodisios later used the other side of the papyrus to write a letter of his own to Sansnos (C5). This is almost wholly concerned with business affairs: Sansnos is to put off making a purchase of wheat, to collect some money, and to pay part of it out again. One can think of positions even within Pachomian life in which such matters would have to be handled in the interests of the monastery, but in that case one would have expected the instructions to have been given verbally; and there is no indication that Aphrodisios was acting for a monastery rather than for himself.

C6 is part of a letter from Papnoute (Papnutius) to Pahome (Pachomius). Virtually nothing of its content is still discernible: the great interest of the text lies in the mutilated address on the back, which it is possible to understand as "Deliver it (the letter) to my prophet and father Pachomius, from Papnutius". If this should be correct, the addressee could very well be the great Pachomius himself; moreover, Papnutius might also be historically identifiable, as the first general oecome of all the monasteries was named Papnutius.²¹ Since both he and Pachomius resided in the same monastery at Pabau they must normally have communicated with each other verbally, but of course special circumstances could have occasioned a letter, and in any case the identification of Pachomius is not dependent on that of his correspondent. However, the phrase which one would have partly to restore, ΠΑΠΡ[Ο]ΦΗΤ[Η]Σ ΝΕΙΩΤ (for the . ΑΠΡ[.] . ΗΤ[.] . ΕΙΩΤ of the text), does

²¹ A Greek letter, 68, may further be relevant: it contains a request to "make Petros, who is harassing brother Appianus through Papnutius and his people because of the rents, hold off for a few days" (ll. 3-6). Rent collection would obviously fall within the sphere of competence of an οἰκονόμος, but one must question whether the general oecome of the Pachomian monasteries can be meant here. The word for rent used, ἐκφόρια, is normally used of rent in kind, and strongly implies that Appianus had leased some farm land from the Petros named. This Petros is evidently Papnutius' superior, since he can use the latter as his agent. If Papnutius was the Pachomian oecome, then the land must have been monastery property, and Petros must have held a very high position indeed—abbot of one of the cloisters, perhaps. But there seems to be no evidence that the early Pachomian monasteries owned land which they leased out: the monks appear rather to have done the work themselves. As the picture of Pachomian monks harassing slow-paying tenants is in any case bizarre, one would prefer to have more evidence before identifying this man as Pachomius' oecome. There is no real indication as to whether he is the writer of C6.

not appear to be attested elsewhere.²² Pachomius was among the commonest of Egyptian names. As there are otherwise no clear traces of the Pachomian order in these texts, one may be sceptical about the identification of the man here.

C8 has been discussed above, p. 7. The remaining Coptic fragments from the codex are too small to give a clear idea of their content.

Finally, Codex VII contained a Greek *account*, secular so far as one can tell (82).

In summary, it may be said that Codex VII presents us with a very mixed assortment of texts ranging from secular contracts to monastic letters and bits of Scripture. It is hard to think of a satisfactory single source for such a variety of documents except a town rubbish heap—which may indeed have been the direct source of all the papyri the bookbinders used.

Codex VIII (143-5; C15-C19). A series of ordinances, probably imperial, would be of major importance if the text were better preserved (143-4). The office or offices in which the tax documents in other covers were presumably produced would very likely have also had an interest in such ordinances. In addition there are letters in Greek (145) and Coptic (C15-C18, possibly also C19), all too mutilated for their content to be determined.

Codex IX (146-52). The nature of 149-51 is unclear. The remainder appear to be fragments of tax accounts similar to those in Codex VI and may have come from the same source.

Codex XI (153). The only text in this codex of which the nature can be determined is a fragmentary letter written by an inhabitant of Chenoboskia.

On the basis of place names mentioned in the cartonnage it may be concluded that at least Codices I, V, VII, and XI were bound using material from the general neighborhood of the place where the codices were found. A *terminus a quo* for Codex VII can safely be set: it was bound during or after October of A.D. 348 (65). There are no certain traces of classical Pachomian monasticism in the cartonnage.

JOHN C. SHELTON

²² The reverse phrase, however, ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ, is common enough; see C6 *verso* 6f., n.

J. W. B.

PART ONE
THE GREEK PAPYRI

BY

J. W. B. BARNS† AND JOHN C. SHELTON

(1. 4) '... from the same Diospolis near Chenoboskia, (all of us?) oil-workers from the village ... of the same nome, through Hedemyras (?) son of NN, chairman, from the same village, greeting. Seeing that it was decided that we would jointly supply ... oils for the food supply of the city, we in like manner agree of our own ... and free will to take upon ourselves all the responsibilities of the same (public function) and (to carry out) the other orders and not to (repudiate?) the contracts of ... with one another (on any pretext) whatever ...'

1-5 The structure of these lines was: addressee(s) in the dative, now lost; names of oil-workers in the nominative, acting through their guild chairman, greeting.

1 The traces before Διοσ are too slight to permit a reading; syntactically attractive would be ἀ]πὸ Διδς | πόλεως or κ]αὶ Δῖος, Διδς|κορος, Διοσ|κουρίδης or the like.

4 Διδς πόλ(εως) περὶ Χηνοβ(όσκια): Diospolis Parva. The expression has not been found before, but it is comparable to Διοσπολίτου περὶ Χηνοβ() used for the Little Diopolite nome in P. Ant. I 32.2 and 32, where Χηνοβ() should be expanded as here on the basis of the accusative Χηνοβόσκ[ι]α in SB X 10277.16 and the dative Χηνοβοσκίους in W. Chr. 447.14 and M. Chr. 87.39. RE III 2285 cites from literary sources two variants, Χηνοβοσκία and Χηνοβόσκιον, to which Χηνοβοσκεῖα can now be added from Halkin's edition of the Greek life of Pachomius; none of these have so far appeared in papyri (the last of them would, however, be unrecognizable in accentless texts, as the interchange of ι and ει is too common to be decisive even if Χηνοβοσκεῖα should one day be found. It is not a possible alternative to Χηνοβόσκ[ι]α in SB X 10277.16). A further form, Χηνοβόσκιαι (WB III 339), is simply a false abstraction from the dative in M. Chr. 87.39. Concerning the town cf. Alexander Polyhistor apud Steph. Byz. s.v. Χηνοβοσκία: "ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ Διοσπολίτου [νομοῦ] Χηνοβόσκιον, μηδὲν εἰς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐμφέρουσα· νομάς γὰρ χηνῶν οὐκ ἂν ἴδοι τις, ὑπερβάλλουσιν δὲ τὴν περὶ κροκοδείλου σπουδήν."

5 Probably πάν]των at the beginning; apparently not τῶν λοι]πῶν or ἄλ]λων.

6 τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) νομοῦ: i.e., the Little Diopolite.

Ἡδεμυδρα: context requires a personal name, or the beginning of one. No name similar to this is elsewhere attested, but the ono-

mastics of this region are poorly known, and this volume in general contains an accordingly high proportion of additions to our name lists. A more familiar phrase would be ἡ δὲ μικρά, but I see no way of fitting it into context without assuming major errors in the drafting of the text.

7 προεστῶτος: guild chairman. Cf. e.g. BGU IV 1028.8 for a προεστῶς κλειδοποιῶν, l. 25 π. χαλκίων, P. Oxy. X 1275.8 π. ἀύλητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν. All these examples are taken from *WB* III 148.

10 εὐθενεία: for bibliography see P. Köln I 55.3/4 n., P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2854 introd.

11 -ια is presumably the end of an adjective modifying ἔλαια.

12]ιω: one expects [έκουσ]ία καὶ ἀύθαιρέτω γνώμη, but the Brussels MS reports a clear ω. After ω the papyrus is damaged: one letter may have been lost. If so, [έκουσ]ίω[ς] would be tempting. [άμετανοή]τω cannot be read.

12-3 Perhaps ἐπιγνώ[ναι] ὁμοίως.

14 χρεία alone would be too short for the lacuna at the beginning of the line, δημοσία χρεία too long unless abbreviated. λειτουργία or ἐπιμελεία would do.

15 The lacuna is likely to have held a word for "abandon" or "neglect"; e.g., ἐκστῆναι.

16 E.g., δι' ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς [μ]η[δεμιᾶς] προφάσεως.

2. FRAGMENT OF A SALE (?)

I 2^o

14 × 10 cm.

late 3rd/early 4th cent.

Line 12 shows that this document involved a sale, but it follows unconventional formulas and is in places so badly rubbed that in the lack of parallels little is intelligible. Possibly it is not a sale as such, but a legal settlement of some kind which included a sale as one of its terms. Revision on the original would be desirable. The back is blank.

→] . . . [.] μ[
 2] . . . ου [. . . νται προπ[
 3] υφλουσ . εἰ . . . [.] τῆς γε ἀπό τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ζ'
 εὐ[τ]υ[χῶς
 4 -το]ς ἔτους . . . μαν[.] ἐάν δὲ ἐπέλθω ἢ μὴ καὶ [
 5] σερια[. . . ἐ]πὶ δὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὸ ἀντίγρα[αφον

6] . ε[.] . [.] . νειαυ[.] . [.] τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμείνου Εὐδαίμονος
α . [.]
7]χου . . . [. .] ἀπὸ τῶν νομων ἐπιγραφῆγ[
8 ἀ]ναγρα() ὁ Τριφρονῶς παρόντι καὶ εὐδ[οκοῦντι
9] ὁ καὶ Κοπρεᾶς Εὐδ[αίμο]νος ε[
10 ἀ]ναγρ() Πιμέλι τῷ καὶ Κοπρεᾶ. κυρία [.]
11] περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς γεγενῆ[σθαι
12 (m. 2)]ων ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἐμ[μενῶ

3-4 The obvious supplement is εὐ[τ]υ[χῶς εἰσιόντο]ς ἔτους, but it is also thinkable that the lacuna was much larger than this. The point of division between the lines is in any case uncertain.

7 ἐπιγραφῆγ or ἐπιγραφῆγ[αι]. Context does not show whether the preceding word means “nomes”, “laws”, or “pastures”.

8 Τριφρονῶς: I have retained the reading of the Brussels MS, as I can offer no certain correction from the plate. The line as a whole would construe as ἀ]ναγρα(φῆναι) Τρίφρολι ὡς παρόντι καὶ εὐδ[οκοῦντι, “to be registered to Triphrolis as if he were present and giving his approval”. Neither Triphrolis nor Triphronos is very satisfactory as a name, however. Τριφρόνιμος would be formed on a more familiar pattern. None of the three is in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

9 At the beginning probably Πιμέλις, the same individual as in the next line, but I cannot confirm this from the plate. Πιμέλις is not in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*; cf. Μέλι, Μέλιος, etc.

10-11 The minimal supplement is κυρία [ῆ] πρᾶσις.

11 After γεγενῆ[σθαι] supply ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα, possibly abbreviated.

12 E.g., ἐμ[μενῶ] πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις. It is unclear whether the contract ended at this point or the subscriptions of further parties followed.

3. PRIVATE ACCOUNT

I 3^c + 4^c (a) 2.5 × 6.8 cm. late 3rd/early 4th cent.
(b) 8.8 × 10 cm.

Two non-contiguous fragments of a badly mutilated private account, to some degree concerned with weaving and weavers' products. Judging from the alignment of the fibers and the arrangement of the lines, it seems probable that frag. (a) preserves portions of the same lines the ends of which are to be found in frag. (b)

col. i, and the text below is printed on that assumption. The last line preserved of each column is probably the last that was written. Revision on the original would be desirable. The back is blank.

Col. i

→						]. ονω . () α	
						] α	
						] ονω α	
						] α	
5						] α	
						] α	
	]. [					]νος μναϊ δ' ισχύι α	

space for 1 line blank

	]	κιον γ[	]	δινόχρωα
	]	καρίων ε . [	]	ε φορτίω α
10	]	κια λευκά [	]	στρώματα μναϊ η
	δ]	μοί(ως) στημ[	]	τοῦ στρώμ(ατος) μναϊ δ
	]	. εἰς τὸ λ . [	]	μναιωμ() . . λ() μναϊ α (ἤμισυ)
	]	ς ὀμφαλαδ[	]	. . . μον α
	]	ρια [	]	Υ
15	]	. ιτρι[	]	α

Col. ii

		δεν[
		πηγ[
		λ . . [
20		καδ[
		σω[
		στ . [
		αμ[
		αμ[
25		[
		[
		[
		α[
		λέβητος [
		ὀμοί(ως) ἄλλο[υ λέβητος
		7 ισχύει

1 . ονω . () : the letter over ω can best be interpreted as π, μ, or λ. A raised μ, however, takes a different form in ll. 11 and 12. As the ο before ν is clear, ξνω π(όλεως) will not do, even if such a phrase were expected in an account of this nature. There is a slight possibility that the raised letter does not belong to this line but to an insertion above it; if that should be so, then μ(υριάς) or λ(οιπόν) would come into consideration.

7 E.g., στήμω]γρος, but it is not possible to arrange the fragments in such a way that the lines here printed as 11 and 7 could be read together as δ]μοί(ως) στήμ[ω]γρος κτλ.

ισχύι (l. ισχύει) α: 'it is worth' or 'it weighs 1 (mina?)'. This is apparently a remark concerning the 4 minas of yarn (?) just mentioned.

8 Perhaps ῥοδινόχρωα, 'rose-colored', though the term is not found elsewhere. The final α is raised, so the word may be abbreviated.

9]καρίων: the end of a word, or a reference to Carian goods of some kind. For the latter possibility cf. 66.8.

φορτίω: i.e., φορτίω or φορτίω(ν). There is no mark of abbreviation, but in this context a genitive would be easier to explain than a dative: if φορτίω(ν) is the word meant, then α will be the price or the weight of the shipments. The preceding ε is reported as certain in the Brussels MS. On the plate]μαφορτίω(ν), 'cloaks', looks worth considering, but it does not seem possible to effect a join between the fragments of the papyrus by reading σο[υβρικο]μαφορτίω(ν).

11 στήμ[ωνος, στημ[ίου, or the like.

12 The word division may be]μναι ωμ(); the next word is probably an abbreviation of some form of παλαιός or πάλλιον. Then μναῖ was written, though μνα̅ would be better grammatically.

13 *LSJ* records 'button' as a meaning of δμφαλός. That would suit the context, but it does not seem possible to read a form of δμφαλός here.

17 Presumably πηγ[ίου, 'weaver's spool', or πηγ[ίσματος, 'weaver's thread'.

19 The only serious possibilities are κάδ[ου, καδ[ίου, and καδ[μείας.

4. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

I 5^c + 6^c

(a) 7.5 × 9 cm.

(b) 2 × 18.5 cm.

4th cent.

Two non-contiguous fragments of a private letter, too mutilated to yield continuous sense.

	τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ α[]
	καὶ Εὐναίτ . [
	Κοπρῆς . [
	γίνωσκε . [
5	έτοιμακέναι τα[
	ἀρτάβας τοῦ Τριφ[
	δὲ ἀρτάβην λεγου[	]μεσι[
	κοντα πέμψον[	[ . ον δε . [
	αὐτὸ ἀπελυ[	]μῶ . [
10		]ελευ[
		]υσια[
		] . σοι[
		] . ε . [
		]σαι . [
15		] . ωσ . [
		] / ο . [
		] . ονο[
		] δεαι . [
		] . ἐρρῶ[σθαί σε εὔχομαι
20	πολλοῖς χρ[ό]νο[ις	

Back: faint traces of the address.

1 E.g., τῷ ἀ[γαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ.

6 Τριφ[: the only suitable names listed in the *NB* and *Onomasticon* are Τριφέριος and Τριφιόδωρος. Cf. also 2.8 with note.

5-15. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

In addition to the four texts just printed, the cover of Codex I contains 43 small bits of papyrus dating from the late third to the early fourth century A.D. None of these is extensive enough to permit an identification of the type of document from which it comes, and most contain only slight traces of a few letters. The best preserved are transcribed below.

5. I 7^c + 8^c + 9^c. Three fragments of the same text, measuring respectively 2 × 1, 6 × 2, and 2.5 cm. Text: (a)] [πρὸς αὐτᾶ]] (b)] δι' ἐμοῦ Παραμμέου[] [²] υ ὑπὲρ ὄνομα() [(i.e., ὄνομα(τος) or

ὀνομά(των). These two fragments apparently preserve an upper margin. (c) contains only traces that are now illegible.

6. I 10^c. 5 × 1.5 cm. Text:] ἰατρὸς καὶ [²]στοριατ . [³]θαί [. . .]πατρὸς [. Line 2 could be interpreted as e.g. ἰ]στορία τ . [or ἰ]στορῖ (l. -εῖ) etc.

7. I 11^c + 12^c. Two fragments of one text. (a), 2.5 × 4 cm., is illegible. (b), 1.5 × 3 cm., reads] . . του [²]ονοσ [³] αφ [⁴] [. There is space sufficient for a line blank between ll. 2 and 3.

8. I 14^c - 17^c. Four fragments of the same text, only one of which offers more than a few traces. Text of (d), 2 × 7 cm.:] . πενο . [²] . παχυ [³]οντα [⁴]μι . υ [⁵] . υ καὶ ε [⁶]επη [. Space enough for two lines is blank between ll. 2 and 3.

9. I 19^c. 2.5 × 1.5 cm. Text:]ων ἡμῶν δ [.

10. I 20^c. 2 × 2 cm. Right margin apparently preserved. Text:] ἡ²]μεν ³]

11. I 22^c. 4 × 1.5 cm. Text:] προ [.

12. I 25^c. 3 × 2 cm.] . . [²]ντας ὁμοίως βία [³πε]ρὶ παραστ [.

13. I 26^c. 2 × 0.5 cm.]εωμεν [²]μψαμεν [.

14. I 28^c. 1.5 × 1.5 cm.] . . . [²] . μ . [.

15. I 33^c-4^c. Two bits from the same text. The better preserved (I 33^c, 1.5 × 4.5 cm.) reads] — [²]η [³]γαι [⁴] . απα [⁵] [. The stroke in l. 1 presumably marks a numeral or abbreviation.

CODEX IV

Twenty-six small bits of Greek texts written in hands of the fourth century A.D. So far as the content is identifiable they come from accounts. The large quantities of goods involved suggest that these were official and not private accounts, as is also the case with the documents in the cover of Codex V. The largest and best preserved fragments are transcribed below.

16. IV 1^c. 13.9 × 4.2 cm. Text:] [²]ον' [. The last letters may be an abbreviation of *ὀνόματος*.

17. IV 2^c. 6.5 × 3.5 cm. Text:

] ρ συνα[.] α . . [
] . οἴνου σ(πάθια) Γυι'' . [	3410 spathia of wine
] Γρμδ', ἀφ' ὧν [	3144, of which

The beginning of l. 1 was read as] . . . υτρ() in the Brussels MS, but the ρ appears rather to be a numeral, perhaps preceded by Γ (3000). At the end σὺν ἄ[π]αγτ[ι would suit the traces.

18. IV 3^c. 2.3 × 3 cm. Text:

κρ]ἰθῶν (ἀρτ.) [	artabs of barley
] ρῦτῳς [	as follows
] . σίτου (ἀρτ.) [	artabs of wheat

19. Two fragments. (a) IV 4^c. 1.5 × 2 cm.] / . ω . [²] . . [³] . φμ[. (b) IV 5^c. 6.2 × 4.8 cm.] σί(του) . [²traces ³] (ἀρταβῶν?) (μυριάδες) . μς εχ . [⁴] . . κρ(ιθῆς) [. There are ink traces on the back of both fragments, but only an α in the 4th line of the back of (b) is clear. The first line of (a) is a numeral, the stroke marking a number in the thousands.

20. IV 6^c. 4 × 2.1 cm. Text:] . [²]μων Αἰγύπτ[τ]ου δρᾱ[. The word before Αἰγύπτ[τ]ου might be νό[μ]ων or νο[μῶ]ν, 'laws, nomes, or meadows of Egypt', but there are other possibilities even if Αἰγύπτ[τ]ου does refer to the country; it may, however, be a personal name.

21. IV 21^c. 1.5 × 1 cm. Text: χοι . [(e.g., Χοία[χ]). Slight traces of a 2nd line.

best preserv
must have
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same fragme
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show, re-exami
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Thebaid
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The back

CODEX V

22. OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS

The best preserved papyri from the cover of Codex V come from what must have been an extensive series of official accounts in money and kind, dealing with an area at least as large as the Thebaid: their extremely mutilated condition is much to be regretted. The rectos of those fragments which most obviously belong together have been assembled under the number **22**, and such versos of the same fragments as bear decipherable writing under **23**. This assembly has been made very conservatively, very possibly too much so; re-examination of the originals may well show that some pieces here assigned other numbers were in fact once part of the same roll. There appears to be no way of determining the original order of the fragments. The presentation in this edition is arbitrary.

Fragments (c) and (h), as well as **23(c)**, were written at a time when the *provincia Thebaidos* was divided into two procuratorships, and presumably all parts of the text are to be dated very closely together. The Thebaid may have become a separate province as early as February A.D. 295; it had certainly done so, and been divided into two ἐπιτροπαί, by September of 298, which is therefore the most cautious terminus post quem for this text. It has been suggested that the two subdivisions had been given up by 323, and if so that year forms a terminus ante, but the evidence is very slight: see P. Beatty Panop. pp. xv-xxi, CPR V 6.7 n.

At least those portions of the accounts preserved in **22(c)** and **23(c)** were concerned with revenues from or for both the Upper and the Lower Thebaid. This suggests that they were drawn up by or intended for use in an office higher than that of the procuratorship of either division. The most obvious instance would be that of the *praeses Thebaidos*.

(a) V 1^c. 3 × 13 cm. The first few letters from the lines of one column. The back is blank.

→ σα[
 κω[
 τ . [
 εισ[

5 υ[
π[
α . [
α[
· [
10 α[
· [
π[
κα[

8 α may be corrected from another letter.

(b) V 2^c. 6.2 × 14 cm. The beginning of two lines from the bottom of a column, with scattered traces of a preceding column. On the back is 23(a).

ii
→ αιε[
κ . [

(c) V 3^c. 6.6 × 13.8 cm. An account concerning chaff which, if the seemingly self-evident supplements in lines 3 and 6 are correct, was collected from or for at least the two divisions of the Thebaid. The purpose of the chaff is not stated, but the military annona would be a reasonable guess. Some other documents from about the time of this text report large requisitions of chaff for the use of troops temporarily stationed in Egypt because of the unrest of the last decade of the third century A.D. (P. Oxy. I 43 recto, P. Beatty Panop.; cf. W. Ensslin in *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, 163-78), but it would be hazardous to posit a similar background for this papyrus without further evidence. On the back is 23(b).

→ ἀχύρου
οὐ[τως
ἐπι[τροπῆς Θηβαίδος ἀγ[ω
]υ δι' Ἐπιμάχου ε[
5] διὰ Πλήνιος [
ἐπιτροπῆς Θ]ηβαί[δος κάτω
] . . . [
] . . . [

10]μαχο[
]υθου[
]..[

3 Not ἀπὸ δι]επ[ι]τροπῆς to follow the phrasing of (h).1, as the large epsilon shows that ἐπιτροπῆς was the first word in this line.

4 Probably Ἐπιμάχου ἐ[πιμελητοῦ; cf. in general P. Beatty Panop. 1.230-40 n., 276-331 n., P. Oxy. I 43 recto cols. iii-iv.

9 Possibly δι' Ἐπιμάχο[υ as in l. 4, but there are other possibilities, and no good reason to expect the man again here.

(d) V 4^c. 7.1 × 13.5 cm. Fragment of an account in money, collected in large amounts from various localities. (e) comes from a similar account, or may be a further portion of this one. On the back is 23(c).

→]	..[
	] . μισ	. [
	]	(ταλ. ?)[
	] . .	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) δ[	(40000 [+ ?])
5	πό]λεως	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) γ	(30000 tal.)
	]	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β , Ϛ	(26000 tal.)
	] πόλε[ω]ς	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β , Η .	(28000 + tal.)

5 and 7 The possibilities include Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως, Διὸς πόλεως, Λύκων πόλεως, Πανὸς πόλεως, Ἀπόλλωνος πόλεως. One expects the city in l. 5 to be different from that in l. 7.

7 This is probably the last line of the column.

(e) V 5^c. 3.5 × 3.5 cm. Fragment of a money account. See (d) introd. The back is blank.

] . [

]	(ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) δ [
]	ἀπὸ [
] ξ'	[

3-4 ἀπό may have been followed by a place name, and if so that name may have been written wholly or partly in l. 4, i.e., read

instead of the printed text ⁴—πόλεω]ς. But in that case it is odd that the scribe left so much space after ἀπό, and the trace in l. 4 resembles ε rather than ζ, so the pattern may have been ἀπό so many talents lost in l. 3 followed by another figure in l. 4; that is, of so many talents due, so many were paid.

(f) V 6^c. 3 × 4 cm. Fragment of an account in artabs. The back is blank.

—	—	—	
]	(ἀρτάβαι)	, Σφ [	(6500 art.)
]	(ἀρτάβαι)	, Γφ [	(3500 art.)
—	—	—	

(g) V 7^c. 9.5 × 10.6 cm. The bottom right side of a column recording quantities of some substance measured in xestai (e.g., oil or wine), collected in at least one case by an ἐπιμελητής (8). The back is blank.

—	—	—	—	—	—
			(traces of two lines)		
3		]α			
		]	ξ(έσται) Δφαδ	(4501 1/4 xestai)	
5		]	ξ(έσται) Γραδη	(3101 3/8 x.)	
		]	ξ(έσται) Α	(1000 x.)	
		]	ξ(εσται) Α	(1000 x.)	
	]	'Απολλωνίου ἐπιμελ(ητου) ξ(εστῶν) (μυριάς) α δη (10000 3/8 x.)			
	]	ξ(έσται) χ	(600 x.)		

1-7 To judge from the spacing of the writing and the (relatively) small amounts involved, these lines are parallel to 9 rather than to 8. It is therefore doubtful whether the names of ἐπιμεληταί should be expected in lacuna, for in 9 traces of a name should have been preserved unless it was very much shorter than the name in 8. It is possible that 8 is a heading which gives the total collected by the epimeletes named, and that 9 begins a breakdown of that total according to the assistants through whom it was collected, the areas from which it was collected, or some other principle. If that should be the case, lines 1-7 would be the end of a similar breakdown of a figure now lost.

8 This line no doubt began with *διά* (cf. e.g. (c).4-5, (h).4ff., (i) etc.), but Apollonius could be either the epimeletes himself or his father.

(h) V 8^c. 10.2 × 16.5 cm. The beginning of an account concerning at least two nomes of the Lower Thebaid; (i) preserves the end of a similar, but not, I think, the same account.* So far as the names of the nomes are preserved, both texts appear to follow the stereotyped order set out in P. Beatty Panop. p. xix: Hermopolite, Antinoite, Kussite, Lycopolite, Hypselite, Apollonopolite, Antaio-
polite, Panopolite, Thinite. The Antinoite, however, is not found in its expected position after the Hermopolite in the present fragment, nor does the Thinite follow the Panopolite in (i). Whether they were included at some point in the lost portions of the papyrus cannot be determined, but the tables in P. Beatty Panop. p. xix may suggest that omission of some nomes from a given list is more probable than a violation of the standard listing order.

On the back are scattered traces, possibly offsets.

→ ἀπό διεπιτροπῆς Θηβαίδος κάτω [

		επ. [
	Ἑρμοπολίτου	οὕτω[ς·
	δι(ἀ) Ἴσιδώρο[υ]. [
5	δι(ἀ) Αἰλίου [
	δι(ἀ) Ἴσιδώ[ρου	
	οὕτ[ως·	
	Κουσσ[ίτου	
	δι(ἀ) Ἰ[

breaks off

1 The word *διεπιτροπή* is apparently new. The usual word for the area governed by an *ἐπίτροπος* of one of the divisions of the Thebaid was *ἐπιτροπή*: how *διεπιτροπή* differs from this, if at all, is unclear.

* The fragments here published as 22(h), 24, 25, and 22(i) are illustrated together in the *Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage* pl. 13 following an earlier conjecture that they once formed part of the same papyrus sheet, but later study indicates that this will not have been the case. 22(h) and (i) cannot be convincingly presented as parts of a single list from a roll with a plausible format, and the versos are dissimilar. For the other pieces see 24 introd. and 25.1-3 n.

(i) V II^c. II.1 × 16.5 cm. The end of an account similar to the foregoing; see introd. there, and for the possibility that **25** should be joined to the text see **25** introd. The back contains **23(d)**.

Col. i

Top lost; the first line preserved is on a level with the tenth line of col. ii.

→]' δι(ἀ) Θεώνος	(through Theon)
] (μυριάδες?) δ ,Θ	(49000)
]ισ . . . (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β ,Βσ	(22200 talents)
]ευης (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β ,Ζω	(27800 talents)

Col. ii

5	'Υψ]ηλίτου] (<i>traces</i>)] . ρ ς
	[^Α]πόλλωνος κά[τω [δι(ἀ) 'Ιερακίωνος [10 δι(ἀ) Ψάιτος Σύρου ['Ανταιοπολίτ[ου δι(ἀ) [Πανοπολίτου 15 δι(ἀ) 'Απολλω() 'Ιερακαπ[όλλωνος δι(ἀ) 'Απολλωνίδου [δι(ἀ) Θεοτίμου και 'Ηρ[ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [10

4 The papyrus has been cut away immediately after this line. It may have been the last in the column, as it is on a level with the total in l. 17.

23. FRAGMENTS OF ACCOUNTS

The back of **22** contains fragments of a series of documents written in at least two hands, both different from that of the main text. So far as can be determined, these are accounts, presumably official. Not every piece of **22** has writing on the back, however, and in some which do the verso text is illegible. The following are the best preserved specimens.

(a) V 2^{cv}. 6.2 × 14 cm. Back of **22(b)**. Remnants of six lines of unidentified nature.

↓	— — — — <i>traces of two lines</i>]ευδαί [
	] . σαεπ [
5	]αναι [
	] . . . . ύπ(έρ) [

3 The traces suggest some form of Εὐδαίμων or a similar name.

6 Θη]βαίδ(ος) is just possible.

(b) V 3^{cv}. 6.2 × 13.8 cm. Back of **22(c)**. Fragment of an account arranged by nome, with entries in the form “to so-and-so through so-and-so, so much . . .” The first name in such an entry is presumably an official in charge of collecting money or some commodity, and the second an agent of his. What was collected is no longer apparent, but oil may be mentioned in l. 9.

↓	— — — — —] . ε]οπολείτου]αίω δι(ὰ) Τιβερίνου π . [.]λι[δι(ὰ) Αγω[
5	] 'Ιουνίω δι(ὰ) Μέλανο[ς] δι(ὰ) Σιλβανο[ῦ]εγδεμ[
	Σα]ραπίων[
	]ελεα κ[
10	]ετω[
	]αυ αρ[
	]ου . [

1 ἔστι] δέ would seem appropriate.

2 The end of a nome name such as Ἐρμ]οπολείτου. The suitable names from the Lower Thebaid can be found in the list in **22(h)** introd., but that need not be the provenience of this text.

8 Presumably Σα]ραπίων[ι or δι(ὰ) Σα]ραπίων[ος.

9 ἔλεα for ἔλαια, ‘oils’, seems more reasonable than ἐλέα ‘olive tree’ or ‘olive’, but this may be the end of some proper name.

(c) V 4^{cv}. 7.1 × 13.5 cm. Back of 22(d). Part of two columns of a money account, presumably revenue from some tax, covering the whole of the Thebaid.

Col. i

	—	—	—	—	—	—
↓] . .				
		]Bγ				
			<i>space for one line blank</i>			
		] ἀπὸ Δι . [.] . . . (τάλαντα) ,Δ				(4000 talents)
		] . (τάλ.) ,Αυ				(1400 talents)
5		] . (τάλ.) ,Ζ				(7000 talents)

Col. ii

	—	—	—	—	—	—
		]σξ . [
		]σαλ[
			<i>traces of two lines</i>			
10		]ειπ . λοι[
		]δια[
		]εϋδ[
			<i>space for two lines blank</i>			
		ὁμοῦ [
		Θηβ(αίδος) κά[τω				
15		Θηβ(αίδος) ἄν[ω				
		πα . [

(ll. 13-5) 'All together . . . for the Lower Thebaid . . . for the Upper Thebaid . . .'

3 Διϕ[ς] πρόλ(εως) looks plausible on the plate, but according to the Brussels MS it cannot be read.

11 Presumably διὰ or δι' A[.

13 ὁμοῦ was probably followed by a total for the Thebaid as a whole, which the following two lines then break down into revenue from each ἐπιτροπή. The point of l. 16 is altogether unclear.

(d) V 11^{cv}. 11.1 × 16.5 cm. Back of 22(i). Presumably an account.

↓ — — — — —
] ολου άπ . [
] ούτ(ως) . [
] κτω() καί Σύρου [
] . αχ . . . () ούτ(ως) . [
 5] πόλλωνος Κτησίου καί 'Ακ[
] Πασήτιος καί Λου . . ολ() [
] . ατιος 'Απ . . . [.] ω . . [
] πόλλωνος Κορνηλίου πολλά έτερ(α) . [
] Εύσεβείων(ος) μ σιο[

5 and 8 Πόλλωνος, 'Α]πόλλωνος, or a compound such as 'Ιερα-
 κα]πόλλωνος.

6 Apparently not Λουχόλ(λου).

24. V 9^c. 4.3 × 4 cm. 4th cent. Fragments of accounts. It has been suggested that this text is a continuation of **22**(*h*), and pl. 13 of the *Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage* was composed on that assumption. If so, it comes from a later column than **22**(*h*), as ούτω[ς in l. 3 there cannot have been followed by l. 2 of **24**, with which it would be level. Too little is preserved to be certain whether the hand of the front of **24** is the same as in **22**(*h*) and (*i*), but that of the back of **24** is distinctly different from that of **23**(*d*), the verso of **22**(*i*).

Front:

→ — — —
] φγας' (551 I/2)
] ις
 — — —

Back:

↓ — — —
] (ταλ.) (μυρ.) . ξ (more than 10060 talents)
] . ''
 — — —

The traces before (ταλ.) in l. 1 of the back text are very faint and may not be ink.

25. V 10^cr. 6.5 × 4 cm. 4th cent. Fragment of a text of uncertain nature. A ship's captain or a related term is mentioned in

5] . ωδος π . . ρο () [
 Διδύμου ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) [
]υ ἐπιμ[ελ(ητοῦ)
 — — — — —

1 The high stroke marks a numeral or abbreviation.

3 The remnants of the name suggest Εὔπορος, though one rather expects a genitive.

28. V 13^{cr}. 5 × 14 cm. 4th cent. Fragment of an account, or possibly of a contract. On the back is 29.

→ τοῦ παρελθόν[τος
]ε . . ποι . [
] . . π [
] . ασαυ . [
 5] συναγαν() (τάλ.) . μη κ[
] (τάλ. ?) ξ [
] . . ως π . . [
] . σιλο . ωσα [
traces of 1 line
 — — — — —

1 τοῦ παρελθόν[τος ἔτους or μηνός.

5 Not συναγόμε(να).

29. V 13^{cn}. 5 × 14 cm. Fragment of an account, probably official. On the front is 28.

Traces of two lines of a column to the left, then:

col. ii

↓ δ[ι(ἀ) . [
 δι(ἀ) ᾿Ωρ[
 λή(μματα) . . . [
 δι(ἀ) . [
 5 δι(ἀ) [
 δι(ἀ) ᾿Ω[
 λή(μματα) Φε . . [
 δι(ἀ) [[Τιμο] Θεο[
 δι(ἀ) ᾿Αχιλλέω[ς

10 δι(ἀ) Διοσκόρου [
 δι(ἀ) Δ[
 δ[ι(ἀ)
 — — — — —

3, 7 The word after λή(μματα) may be the name of the place in which the following collectors were active or the name of the supervisor for whom they worked.

30. V 14^c. 4.2 × 3.6 cm. 4th cent. Fragment of an account. The back is blank.

→ — — — — —
traces of 1 line
]ατενοῦτος δι(ἀ) . [
 'Ι]σχυρίωνος δι(ἀ) [
]μωνος [
 — — — — —

4 E.g., Χαιρή]μωνος, Εὐδαί]μωνος.

31. V 15^c. 4.2 × 3.5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. Copy of a document of uncertain nature. The back is blank.

→ — — — — —
 ἀντίγραφον [
 Κλαύδιος Α[
 περὶ Χην[οβόσκια
 — — — — —

3 περὶ Χην[οβόσκια: cf. 1.4 n. περὶ χην[ῶν, χην[οβοσκῶν, 'about geese, gooseherds' or the like is improbable, as it is most natural to take this line as part of the man's origo or the place where he served some public function.

32-43

In addition to the pieces printed as **22-31**, the cover of Codex V contained forty-seven tiny fragments which bear writing, for the most part too small and damaged for transcription. Some may belong together, or to texts published above, but this can hardly be determined in their present condition. The larger are transcribed below. Unless the contrary is noted, the backs are blank. All probably belong to the early fourth century A.D.

32. V 16^c. 5 × 5 cm. — — — — —
]λοσισπῶ . [
] . γοσαπο[.] . . . [
]ον Πανίσκου [
] . α . . . α . [
 — — — — —
33. V 17^c. 3 × 2.6 cm. — — — — —
] διὰ Ἀπολ . [
]λαυ[
 — — — — —
34. V 18^c. 2 × 3.9 cm. — — — — —
]ου . αι[
]ανευ[
 — — — — —
35. V 19^c. 2 × 2.8 cm. — — — — —
] . [
] θ . [
 — — — — —
36. V 20^c. 2.3 × 2.8 cm. — — — — —
] (ἄρταβῶν) (μυρ.) α . [
 — — — — —
37. V 21^c. 3 × 3 cm. — — — — —
] . . . ὡς . . . [
] διὰ Φ[
 — — — — —

Back: traces of *Γ* line

38. V 22^c. 1.2 × 4.5 cm. — — — — —
] . [
]ωρ() [
 — — — — —
 Back — — — — —
] (ταλ.) [
] . . [
 — — — — —

39. V 23^e. 1.2 × 2.7 cm. — — — —
]ατν[
] . . δι[
 — — — —
40. V 24^e. 2.1 × 1 cm. — — — —
]ον [
 — — — —
41. V 25^e. 2 × 1.8 cm. — — — —
]ἐπαρχι . [
 — — — —
42. V 26^e. 2 × 1.1 cm. — — — —
]α . . . [
 Back
 — — — —
 — — — —
] δι(ἀ) Θεο[
 — — — —
43. V 35^e. 2.8 × 1.8 cm. — — — — — — — —
]ε[
 'Ηρ]ακλέου δι(ἀ) [
 — — — — — — — —

4. Five frag
 sion purpose
 name. In so
 ed, was late
 re than the o
 e same scrib
 'find hi
 ed.
 though as m
 of some na
 sed, so the
 est all the pe
 es in (b). 5. T
 ermined; th
 th century
 Brussels MS
 Alex VI. The
 photographs ar
 VI 1^o recto

Σ(177)

Σ(177)

Σ(177)

ad 4: later
 Πατρις Σέ

CODEX VI

44. Five fragments of a name list, evidently intended for taxation purposes. About 1.5 cm. was originally left free between each name. In some instances a further name, usually somewhat indented, was later written in this free space: these entries are more cursive than the original text, but may nevertheless have been made by the same scribe. Three entries in frag. (a) bear a marginal note, ζ(ήτησον), 'find him' or 'investigate'. In one case this note was then cancelled.

Although as much as 3.5 cm. of blank papyrus is found to the right of some names, no statement of money or goods owed is preserved, so the nature of the charge concerned remains obscure. Almost all the persons listed were men, but a woman probably appears in (b).5. The original order of the fragments can no longer be determined; that used in this edition is arbitrary. Late 3rd or early 4th century A.D. On the back is 45.

The Brussels MS included no transcripts of texts from the cover of Codex VI. The readings of 44-61 are therefore based exclusively on photographs and must be accepted with appropriate caution.

(a) VI 1^c recto. 10 × 14.5 cm.

	—	—	—	—	—
→			<i>traces</i>		
			Φατρῆς ἀδελφός		
	ζ(ήτησον)		Παχυράς Σέρβιος		
			Παχυράς Σέρβιος		
5			Διόσκορος Φάηριος Δελχοῦ ἀπα[
	[[ζ(ήτησον)]]		Φαῆρις Πενδ . εὔτος		
	ζ(ήτησον)		Φαῆρις Μίδου		
			[Διό]σκορος Ἑρακλήους		
			Τούρβων Φάηριος		
10			Ἑλις Πλοῦτος νε[
			Φαῆρις Π[
			Κυ[
			—		

2 and 4: later additions.

4 Παχυράς Σέρβιος: both names are new if rightly read, but there

is considerable doubt about the first, which is very cursively written; cf. however $K\bar{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $K\bar{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$. $\Sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, though genitive, may have been derived from Latin Servius.

5 $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\chi\omicron\upsilon$ is not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Cf. $\Delta\omicron\lambda\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

$\alpha\pi\alpha$ [: e.g., $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha$ [ιτητής, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha$ NN, $\acute{\alpha}\pi$ ' A[.

6 $\Pi\epsilon\nu\delta$. $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$: new. The name $\Delta\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ is well known, but $\Pi\epsilon\nu\delta\iota\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is not probable, as the descender of an iota should be visible. Possible no letter has been lost, though in that case the delta was written unusually large.

10 $\nu\epsilon$ [ωτέρου is an obvious supplement, but a name such as $\Nu\epsilon$ [οπτολέμου or a trade beginning with $\nu\epsilon$ - is also possible.

11 The significance of the mark before $\Phi\alpha\eta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$ is not clear.

(b) VI 2^c recto. 9.5 × 14 cm.

	→] ς</td
					]αχανᾶς
					Διο]σκόρου ταπη
					] . υς ἀδελφός
5					] . αμινία Χαλέου Ἐλέως
					Διόσκορος ἀδελφός
					Σανσνῶς Χολλῶτος
					] . [ . ] . [ . . ]ς ἀδελφός
					]ω[.] ἄλλος ἀδελφός
10					ἀ]δελφ(ός)
] . [

7 and 10: later additions.

2 Probably λ]αχανᾶς, 'vegetable gardener'.

3 If $\tau\alpha\pi\eta$ (τάριος) is meant there is no sign of abbreviation. Possibly therefore the genitive of $\tau\alpha\pi\eta\varsigma$: that name is not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but cf. $\tau\alpha\phi\eta\varsigma$ and $\tau\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$.

4 The first name is probably $\Phi\alpha\mu\iota\eta\alpha$.

(c) VI 3^c recto. 2 × 5.5 cm.

	→				Σιλ[
					Σιλεμ[
					Σογ . [

2 No name beginning with Σιλεμ- is recorded in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

(d) VI 5^e recto. 2.5 × 14 cm.

	—	—	—	—
→		Φαῆρις	πρε[
		Παναμεύς	[
		Πάρσυρος		
		[
5		Φαῆρις	νε[
		Φαῆρις	Κελ[
		Πανισνεύς	[
		[Σ]ανσνῶς	Μ[
	—	—	—	—

1 A comparison with l. 5 suggests πρε[σβύτερος here and νε[ώτερος there, but of course there are other possibilities.

3 Πάρσυρος: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

4 Stripped away.

5 Cf. 1 n.

(e) VI 6^e recto. 7.5 × 9.5 cm.

	—	—	—	—
→		]ων	Τριαδέλφου	
		]ων	Πεκύσιος Σικληῆτος	
		]αβῦγχις	Κέντις	
		]ρος	Καρούριος	
	—	—	—	—

2 Σικληῆτος: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

3 Κέντις = Κέντιος.

4 This appears to have been the last line of the column.

45. The reverse side of 44, probably written in the same hand as that text, apparently contains lists of two types. The first, represented by fragment (a), follows the format of 44 and may be a continuation of it, though cf. n. to l. 4. The lines on the remaining fragments are written much closer together than in 44 and 45(a), and in at least three instances the names were followed by some commodity: wine in (b).11, something measured in myriads in (b).13 and 14. The impression remains that taxation of some sort is

concerned, but that it is different from that of the front text and fragment (a).

The text on this side of the papyrus is considerably more worn, discolored, and difficult to decipher than 44. The fragments are ordered following the presentation of 44, as there is no clue as to their actual relative positions.

(a) VI 1^c verso. 10 × 14.5.

↓	Δ . . . ς Πατρα[(γίν.) β
5	^{α β} Διόσκορος Σέννις Σερ . [
5	Φαῆρις Φαμιήους [
5	Φαῆρις Κελεμμαρ[ο]ϋ [
5	Ὀρίων Κάλλου [
5	Φίλων Ἐρωτος [
5	] . . υῖός
10	] . Παγκράτ[ο]υς . . [
10] . . [

3 Σέννις = Σέννιος. The name appears to be new. The marginal note seems to be of the same sort as that in l. 4; cf. note there.

4 The marginalia, if such they are, here and in l. 3, are quite unintelligible to me. There is some possibility that they are in fact line ends from a preceding column, i.e., that the reading should be (μυριάς)α, B, '12000'. If so, then despite the greater spacing between the lines the content of this account probably resembled that of (b) more closely than that of the recto text 44.

5 Φαμιήους: apparently not Φαμιγοῦς. Neither name is known, but the latter would have had obvious kindred to Φαμίνης, Φαμίτιος and the like.

6 Κελεμμαρ[ο]ϋ: even if the dotted letters are wrong the name is new.

9 Added between the lines.

(b) VI 2^c verso. 9.5 × 14 cm.

	↓	..[Πελο[ῶ]ς (?) [<i>traces</i> Ἐπώνυχος [5 Κεραπουβεύς Αλ[Παῦλος Π . . αἰσ[Φαῆρις ἀδελφός [Μακάριος ἄλλος ἀδελφός Σιλβανός Καλει . . δ[.] . [10 Διόσκορος Ἄλέως [Φίλων ἀδελφός οἴνου [Ἄρριος υἱός Παναμῆς Νεμεσιανοῦ (μυρ.) [Μα . . ῶς Ὀπειώνιος (μυρ.) [15 Διόσκορος ἀδελφός [Ὀνγῶφρις Η . ου[Ζήγων Διοσκο[
--	---	---

2 and 4 There is some discoloration before the first letter read in each of these lines, possibly marginalia or stray ink, possibly also not ink.

5 The division between the names is not quite certain, but the text is probable. Κεραπουβεύς is in that case new.

9 The mutilated name after Σιλβανός appears to be new.

11 Added between the lines.

14 Both names are apparently new.

17 Διοσκόρου, Διοσκοῦτος, Διοσκοῦρίδου or the like.

The remaining versos of 44 are too mutilated for transcription. I make out only two full words with reasonable certainty, Παῶς ἀδελ(φός) in the 4th line of frag. (d) (VI 5^c verso).

46. VI 4^c recto. 3 × 5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. Remnants of two columns mentioning barley. In the *Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage* p. 19 this papyrus is placed among the fragments of 44 because the hands of the two texts are similar. They do not, however, have the same format, and the versos (47 and 45) differ distinctly from each other.

	Col. i		Col. ii
→	— — — —		— — — —
	] <i>traces</i>		Η[
		5	Σ . [
	] —		Κε[
	] κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) ς		Ο . [
	— — — —		Κερα[
			'Αχ[
			— — — —

The traces of l. 1 cover all or nearly all of the intercolumnar space of 1.5 cm. It is probably the end of an exceptionally long line of col. i, but it could also be a heading covering both columns. Line 3 translates '1/2 artab of barley'. Between ll. 1 and 2 space enough for one line contains no writing.

47. VI 4^c verso. 3 × 5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. A name list, written on the back of 46.

↓	Παισα̃ς . . [
	Ψ'αρφει . [
	Σενθα[
	Πενθ . [
5	, . . . υπ[
	, Σενφ . [
	, Π[. .]κ[
	— — — —

1 Probably the top of the document, or at least of this list.

48. VI 7^c. 5 × 13.5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. About 1.5 cm. from the top of the recto is the note (ἀρούρης) ςη[, '(at least) 5/8 of an aroura'. The remainder of this side is blank.

Back:

↓	— — — —
	]ς Σοκῆτος β . [
	3.5 cm. blank
	] . Ὀρος Φιλουμ[ένου
	]βd
	<i>traces of at least 1 line</i>
5	]ς Καλῆτο[ς
	— — — —

1 The name Σοκῆς is not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Cf. Σοκεύς.

49. VI 8^c. 3.5 × 12 cm. 3rd-4th cent. The recto is blank. The verso contains a name list.

— — —
 ↓ Γεώρ[γ]ι[ο]ς [
 Εμποσ[
 Μῶρος Φ[
 Ἐπώνυχ[ος

4 cm. blank, then a few letters from four more lines.

2 Εμποσ may be the full name or only its beginning. In either case it appears to be new.

50. VI 9^c recto. 3.5 × 14.5 cm. Grain account, 3rd-4th cent. A further strip of papyrus, VI 10 (0.5 × 7.5 cm.) may belong to the same document. On the back is 51.

— — — — —
 →] . μιάχη
] Γεῶς (ἀρτ.) β
] (ἀρτ.) εἰ'' χρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτ.) εἰ''
] . ηβης γ'' Ἀβὼ (ἀρτ.) α[
 5] ,,
] . . ταρα (ἀρτ.) α
] χρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτ.) ασιβ
] (ἀρτ.) α
] [
 10] χρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτ.) εἰ''
] .
] (ἀρτ.) d
] .
] .
 15] . (ἀρτ.) α
] (ἀρτ.) . χρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτ.) . [
 — — — — —

51. VI 9^c verso. 3.5 × 14.5 cm. A grain account, written on the back of 50 in a clumsier hand and with a thicker pen than that text. The document may record grain dues collected from the persons listed. 3rd-4th cent.

↓ κλ() 'Επω[
 ↳ Π . α . . ρ[
 κλ() Φαησ[
 Λολ'οῦ Πι[
 5 ↳ Φαῆρ(ις) . [
 Μέρσις Π[
 (ἀρτ.) δς
 ↳ κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτ.) Ld
 'Ατρῆῖ Επ[
 10 ↳ 'Ατρῆς
 Μέρσις Πε[
 ↳ [

1 κλ(): in all likelihood κλ(ηρονόμοι), with the following name in the genitive, but the possibility of Κλ(αύδιος) NN cannot be entirely disregarded. So also in l. 3.

2 The meaning of the symbol before the name is not clear to me. In l. 8 a similar symbol means (δν).

52. VI 11^e. 3 × 6 cm. Name list, 3rd-4th cent. Possibly complete at top and bottom. The text below stands on the recto; the verso contains two notes, καὶ (πυροῦ) ας 'and 1½ (artabs) of wheat' and then after two cm. blank space πας''', '81½', plus a trace of a third line.

→ Πεκῶσις M[
 ↳ Μαθεία[ς
 Σεγφαῆρις [
 Σενεβοῦνις [
 1 Ψεντεκῶσις . [
 . . οιβελῶς [
 2.5 cm. blank

2 For the sign before the name cf. 51.2 n.

4 and 5 Neither name is in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. The formation of the second from Τεκῶσις is fully regular.

53. VI 12^e + 13^e. Two disconnected fragments of a document apparently addressed to a strategus or epistrategus, presumably

therefore a petition, report, or official correspondence. 3rd-4th cent. The back of both fragments is stained but bears no writing.

(a) VI 12^c. 3 × 10 cm.

—	—	—	—
→]	. . [
	]	]στρα()	
		<i>c. 4 cm. blank</i>	
	]	. α	
]	. .	
5	]	]τα	
]	.	
]		
	]	. εσσ . . [
—	—	—	—

Col. ii. The writing begins at the level of col. i l. 3.

	]	ύπ[
10	]	δε[
	]	τα[
	]	δε[
—	—	—	—

(b) VI 13^c. 3 × 4 cm.

—	—	—	—
]	. [.] . [
	]	]θις	
15	]	]ηγ	
	]	]η	
]].	
—	—	—	—

2 Presumably the dative of a third-declension name followed by στρα(τηγῶ) or στρα(τηγῆσαντι), or NN ἐπ]ιστρα(τήγω) or ἐπ]ιστρα(τηγῆσαντι).

54. VI 14^c. 3 × 10 cm. 3rd-4th cent. The first few letters of ten lines of a name list, written against the fibers. The other side is blank.

— — — —

↓ *traces of two lines*

'Επ . . ε[
Ε . . βαι[

5 Πικῶ[ς
'Αβῶς [
Ψενε . [
Καιυ . ερ[
Ψενε[

10 Φαῆρις [
c. 4 cm. blank

3 Of the names in *NB* and *Onomasticon*, 'Επέγε[τος for 'Επαίνετος appears the most attractive.

4 The letter after Ε is probably π or τ. The name is apparently new.

8 I cannot reconcile the traces with any name beginning with Κα- in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Perhaps simply και ὑπέρ should be read.

55. VI 15^c. 6.5 × 7 cm. Account, 3rd-4th cent. The back is blank.

— — — —

→] . . [
] . μίαν . [
] . ἡμίσεως . [
] Θῶθ μόνος με[τρ]ρ[

5] γίαξ
] ια'
] ,,

— — — —

Col. ii. Traces of two lines, beginning at the level of col. i l. 6.

5 μόνος: not μόνον. The last word in the line is a form of μέτρον, μετρέω, or a related term.

6-7 The strokes mark numerals or abbreviations.

56. VI 16^c. 3.5 × 7 cm. The front bears only a large δ accompanied by a numeral stroke. The back contains the remnants of a text of uncertain nature. 3rd-4th cent.

— — — —

↓ *traces of 2 lines*

]περ [
c. 5 cm. blank
]στρα() . . [
 — — — —

4 Presumably some form of στρα(τηγός), ἐπι]στρά(τηγός), or the related verbs. The traces at the end of the line are unclear and may not be ink.

57. VI 17^c. 7 × 7.5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. On the front only the letters ιβιωνος are preserved: this might be interpreted as the word ιβιῶνος, 'of the Isis shrine' (at this date probably a place name) or as the personal name 'Ιβίωνος, 'of Ibion'. There is a lacuna before ιβιωνος in which another word may have stood, but the spacing forbids a reading such as Φ]ιβίωνος.

Back: account of uncertain nature. The text is:

— — — —

traces of 1 line

↓]ς
]εως Μάρτης
]ψειθ β' τέκ() θρι()
space for 1 line blank

5] .
]εράπις
] . χ() ψαρ . . ε() σπου() τω
]η
] . ε ιβ'

10] . [
 — — — —

4 τέκ(των), Τεκ(ῶσις), or the like if the reading is correct.

6 Σ]εράπις or a compound.

58. VI 18^c recto. 3.5 × 4.5 cm. Grain account, 3rd-4th cent. On the back is 59.

→ β]ρουκόλου Στο . [
] .
]ως [(ἀρτ.) .] '(ἀρτ.) η' [(8 art.)

		] . (ἀρτ.) ς' [			(½ art.)
5		] ας (ἀρτ.) αγ [			(1⅓ art.)
] . [—	—	—

1 β]ουκόλου, 'herdsman', or the name Βουκόλος. This is probably the first line of the column.

59. VI 18^c verso. 3.5 × 4.5 cm. Text of uncertain nature, 3rd-4th cent. On the front is 58.

	↓	]βαι μδς' δ			(44½, 4)
					<i>space for 1 line blank</i>
		] . σκη			(228)
		] ἡμῖν			(for us)
		ἀρ]γυριο-			(silver-)
		—	—	—	—

4 Unless one assumes a false line division, this seems to be a compound word with ἀργύριον as one of its elements, although all similar words in *LSJ*, *WB*, and *Spoglio Lessicale* are built on ἄργυρος.

60. VI 19^c. 4 × 5.5 cm. 3rd-4th cent. The front contains discolorations which may be offsets if they are ink. On the back, traces of six or seven lines, in the first of which the word καί may be recognized.

61. VI 25^c. 3.7 × 2.6 cm. 3rd-4th cent. Fragment of a name list. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank.

	↓	]θ' Πασσῆβις [
		] Πασσῆβθις [
		] Φαῆρις Σι . . [
		] καὶ Πασ[
		—	—	—	—

1-2 Neither name is recorded in this form in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. For the first cf. Πασῆβις, for the second Πατσέβθις with its numerous variants.

3 The second name is probably Σιρίω[νος or Σίρω[νος.

In addition to the papyri just described, Codex VI contained twenty-one minor bits measuring on the average less than a square centimeter. Several are virtually blank, none yield more than a few generally doubtful letters.

CODEX VII

62. DEED OF SALE

VII 1^c

4.2 × 15 cm.

late 3rd-4th cent.

Virtually all details of the sale recorded on this fragment have been lost, but lines 4-5 present a puzzle of some interest. To judge from the structure of such documents as P. Cair. Isid. 92 and 104, either a regnal year or a consular date is expected in this position. Among the imperial and consular names that occurred during the period in which the papyrus can be placed on palaeographic grounds, the traces preserved would suit a Greek transliteration of Domitius, Vettius, or Tettius. Men of these names served as consuls in A.D. 316, 328, 333, 336, and 372, but I find no convincing way of restoring a known dating formula by the consuls of any of these years in the text.¹ The probability, then, is that the date was given as a regnal year: the only serious possibilities appear to be Aurelian and the rebel Domitius Domitianus. Palaeography and the comparatively late date of the other documents used in this cover favor the latter (probably A.D. 297-8); but interesting as it would be to have a second attestation of Domitianus' revolt from Upper Egypt,² the arguments for placing this text in his reign are by no means conclusive.³

For the chronology of Aurelian, see P. Oxy. XL pp. 15ff.; for

¹ Theoretically Flavius Domitius Leontius, consul in A.D. 344, should also be considered, but the papyri dated by his consulship which have been published up to now omit the name Domitius; references in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, 1978) p. 111.

² It may be assumed that 62 comes from Upper Egypt, as all known places that are referred to in the papyri from these covers were located there. The rebellion is attested at Coptus in P. Mich. III 220.

³ The discussion above presupposes that the reading of l. 5 in the Brussels MS (in agreement with *Prel. Rep.* p. 12),]ετιου, is correct, and from a photograph that interpretation of the traces appears unobjectionable; but a restoration along the following lines also looks plausible: [ὠμολ(όγησα). ὑπατείας Φλαουίαν Λεο]γτίου⁶[καὶ Σαλλουστίου τῶν λαμπροτά]των. In that case the date would be A.D. 344, which would fall within the time span of the other dated texts from Codex VII (A.D. 341-8, 63-65).

that of Domitianus, J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 253-79 and 24 (1977) 233-40, with the literature cited in those articles. The papyrus has been mentioned in *Prel. Rep.* p. 12, where the date was tentatively given as 333 or 336. The back is blank.

→ [. . . ως
 []α Κολλούθου
 [κυρία ἢ πρᾶ]σις καὶ ἔπερ(ωτηθεὶς)
 [ὠμολόγησα.] . ετίου
 5 [] . ων
 [(m. 2)] πέπραχ[α]
 [καὶ] ἀπέσχων τὴν τιμ[ήν]
 [ὡς πρόκειται]ι. Αὐρήλιος
 [ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά]τρου.
 7 ἀπέσχων

(l. 3) 'The sale is valid, and in response to the formal question I have so declared. (Date). I, NN, have sold . . . and received the price . . . as stated. I, Aurelius NN, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.'

4 ὠμολόγησα perhaps abbreviated. For the following date see introd.

5 E.g., Πα]χών, or λαμπροτά]των if the suggestion on p. 52 n. 3. is correct.

8 At the start of the line, probably ἐκ πλήρους or a similar expression.

63. LOAN OF WHEAT

VII 2^c

8.5 × 17 cm.

20 November A.D. 341

A loan of what must have been $1\frac{2}{3}$ artabs of wheat, since the amount to be repaid with the usual increase of fifty percent came to $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabs. The papyrus evidently comes from a poorly-documented area of Egypt—the vicinity of Diospolis Parva would be a reasonable guess—and does not follow the phraseology current in better known districts of the country. In the lack of a good parallel I have therefore largely refrained from restorations in the first eight damaged lines. The general sense of the text, however, is doubtful only in the penalty clause ll. 5-6. For the reader's convenience I

have accordingly given a hypothetical reconstruction in the first note below.

For juristic discussion of loans in papyri see H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* (Freiburg, 1966) and H. A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit* (*Münchener Beiträge* 51, 1967).

→ σοι μέτρ[ω
μετά καὶ [ἡμιο-]
λείας ἄνευ [πάσης ἀντιλογίας καὶ ὑπερθέ-]
σεως. εἰ δὲ [μὴ ἀποδοῦ ἐξέστω]
5 σοι χρήσασθαι]
εὐπορεία [μέχρι ἀποδόσεως τοῦ εἰρη-]
μένου σίτου . []
καὶ βέβαιον [δ' ἐφ' ὑπο-]
γραφής τ[οῦ ὑπέ]ρ ἐμ[οῦ ὑ]πογρά-
10 φοντος ἐξεδόμην σοι πρὸς ἀσφάλ(ειαν)
καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὠμολόγησα.
ὑπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ
Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτω(ν),
'Αθὺρ κδ''. (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ψενετῦ-
15 μισ ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἔσχον τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ
ἀρτάβας δύο ἡμισυ καὶ [ἀ]ποδώσω
ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Στατίλλιος Δευ-
τέρου ἀρξ(ας) τῆς π(όλεως) ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ αὐτοῦ) γράμ-
ματα μὴ εἰδότες

Back:

20→ χιρώγραφω<ν> Ψενετῦμισ

18 ὑπ(ὲρ αὐτοῦ): Pap. υ) 20 χειρόγραφον Ψενετῦμιος.

'(I, Aurelius Psenetymis, acknowledge receipt from you, NN, of a loan of 2½ artabs of wheat including interest at fifty percent; and this I shall return) to you by (such-and-such) a measure (together with the interest at fifty percent) with no dispute or delay. If I do not make the return . . . you may use . . . property until the return of the aforementioned grain. (This contract), which I have for your security given to you with the subscription of my signatory, (is valid) and firm, and when asked the formal question I so declared.

Consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, *viri clarissimi*, Hathyr 24. (m. 2) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Psenetymis, have received the two and a half artabs of wheat and I shall return them as stated. I, Aurelius Statillius, son of Deuterios, former magistrate of the city, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate. (back) Cheirograph of Psenetymis.'

1-8 A plausible reconstruction might run as follows:

ἄς καὶ ἀποδώσω]

1 σοὶ μέτρ[ω δεκάτῳ ἕως Μεσορῆ λ]
 μετὰ καὶ [τῆς ἀνειλημμένης ἡμιο-]
 λείας ἄνευ [πάσης ἀντιλογίας καὶ ὑπερθέ-]
 σεως. εἰ δὲ [μὴ ἀποδῶ τῇ προθεσίμῃ, ἐξέστω]

5 σοὶ χρήσθ[αι τῇ παντοίᾳ μου πάσῃ]
 εὐπορεία [μέχρι ἀποδόσεως τοῦ εἰρη-]
 μένου σίτου. κ[ύριον τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο]
 καὶ βέβαιον [ἄπλοῦν γραφέν, ὃ ἐφ' ὑπο-]
 γραφῆς κτλ.

2-3 ἡμιο]λείας: see N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 126-39. The reconstruction proposed above is based on P. Amh. II 147.7, σὺν καὶ τῇ ἀνιλημμένη ἡμιολείᾳ. Μετά occasionally replaces σὺν elsewhere, e.g. in P. Mich. XI 614.21.

3 Possibly εὐρησιλογίας as in P. Mich. 614.19-20 instead of ἀντιλογίας, but 64.14 has ἀντιλογίας. Not κρί]σεως, as the examples of ἄνευ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης ἀντιλογίας cited in the *WB* are all Ptolemaic (s.v. ἀντιλογία). The commonest phrase to express the idea is ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας.

4 After ἀποδῶ supply τῇ προθεσίμῃ (SB VI 9189.21 with Wilcken's correction recorded there), καθὰ γέγραμμαι (P. Mich. 614.20), ὡς πρόκειται, or the like.

5-6 I know no parallel for the phrase expressed in these lines. If the reconstruction proposed above is along the right lines, the creditor had full use of the debtor's property in case of default, but it is not altogether certain that the infinitive χρήσθ[αι rather than the participle should be restored, nor that εὐπορεία is governed by it. That a loan should be secured by all a debtor's property, however, is in itself commonplace.

17 Δευτέρου: not δεύτερος, though that may have been intended, as the name is not recorded in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. 64.4-5 indicates

that a patronymic is expected, however, and Pape records Δευτέρα and Δευτέριος. Cf. also Latin Secundus.

18 ἄρξ(ας) τῆς πόλ(εως): cf. Oertel, *Liturgie* 313-16.

64. LOAN OF WHEAT

VII 3^c

9 × 13.1 cm.

21 November A.D. 346

A loan of $3\frac{5}{6}$ artabs of wheat, with no mention of interest. Written against the fibers. The other side is blank.

↓ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ δ'' καὶ
 Κώνσταντος Αὐγούστου τὸ γ'', 'Αθὺρ κε''.
 Αὐρ(ῆλιος) Κόμης Ἀρμογιτός ἀπὸ κόμης Τεχθὺ
 5 τοῦ Διοσπολίτου νομοῦ Αὐρ(ῆλιω) Πτολεμαίω
 Παχούμιος ἄρξ(αντι) τῆς Τεντυριτῶν
 πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχη-
 κέναι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἠριθμηθῆσαι χρῆσ[ιν]
 σίτου ἀρταβῶν τριῶν ἡ[μίσου]ς τρίτου,
 10 '(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γλγ', ἀς' καὶ ἀποδώσω σοὶ καιρ[ῶ] τῆς
 συγκ[ομ]ι-
 δῆς τῆς εὐτυχῶς ἐσομ[ένης] κατασπορᾶς]
 τῆς ς'' ἰνδικτίωνος ἀ[νυπερθέτως ἐν]
 κόκκῳ τῷ μέτρῳ Φα . [ἄνευ]
 πάσης ἀντιλογίας, τῆς π[ράξεως]
 15 οὔσης ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ [τῶν]
 ὑπαρχόν[των] μου [πάντων μέχρι ἀπο-]
 δόσεω[ς]

'The consulship of our lords Constantius Augustus for the 4th time and Constans Augustus for the 3rd time, Hathyr 25.

Aurelius Comes son of Harmogis, from the village Techthy of the Diopolite nome, to Aurelius Ptolemaios son of Pachoumis, former magistrate of Tentyra, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you and have had measured out a loan of three and five-sixths artabs of wheat, = $3\frac{5}{6}$ art., and these I shall return to you promptly at the time of the harvest of the auspiciously approaching sowing of the 6th indiction in grain by the measure of Pha . . . without any dispute. (You) shall have right of execution upon me and all my property until repayment . . .'

4 Κόμης: the first certain papyrological instance of the name in this spelling. Of the examples cited in the *Onomasticon*, that in P. Athens 46.19 is partly restored, and the others are not names but the title 'count'. — In *Prel. Rep.* p. 12 it was stated that this man was "almost certainly" a monk because the name of a presbyter (not monk) in 77.16 was at that time read as Κόμ[ης]. Cf. note there.

Τεχθύ: cf. the Herakleopolite village Τεχθώ. This is the first mention of the locality, unless Τεχθ(ύ) rather than Τεχθ(ώ) is to be read in P. Erl. 80.89.

12 The sixth indiction referred to is 347/8 A.D.

12-3 ἐν] κόκκω: the phrase is found again only in P. Lond. IV 1404.23. Loans and receipts for σίτου κόκκου or σίτου καθαροῦ κόκκου are known (cf. P. Mert. I 47.4, P. Michael. 44.11, P. Mich. XIII 670.9), and a land lease specifies that rent be so paid (P. Michael. 60.10); in addition, P. Collect. Youtie 93.7 records a sale of λαχανοσπέρμου καθαροῦ κόκκου. The last instance shows that κόκκου in these passages does not refer to darnel, but in some way describes the condition of the product to be delivered. The editor of P. Lond. IV 1404 suggests that ἐν κόκκω refers to threshed as opposed to unthreshed wheat (10 n.).

18 I take Φα . [to be the name of the man whose measure was to be used.

65. DEED OF SURETY

VII 4^c

7 × 16 cm.

7 October (?) A.D. 348

Aurelius Melas promises under oath to the chairman of a city council which can no longer be identified that he will guarantee the appearance of one Aurelia (?) Theodora whenever he is called upon to do so. For a bibliography on such documents see O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Torino, 1973) 192-3. The back is blank.

→ [± 12]ωνι ἐνάρχω προέδρω
 [± 13]β' Αὐρήλιος Μέλας
 [± 13]οσ[. . .] χαίρειν.
 [ὄμολογῶ ὀμνύ]ς τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον
 5 [τύχην τῶν δεσπ]οτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίων
 [Αὐγούστων ἐγγ]υᾶσθαι μονῆς καὶ ἐμπα-
 [νείας Αὐρηλιαν (?)] Θεοδώραν Μαξίμου
 [μητρὸς ± 6 ἡ]ν καὶ παραστήσω ὀπόταν
 [ἐπιζητῆται ἄνευ πάσ]ης ἀντιλογίας.

- 10 [ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ θείῳ ὄρκῳ
[καὶ τῷ ἐπηρητημένῳ τούτῳ] κινδύνῳ.
[κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον] ἀπλοῦν γραφὴν
[± 7 ἐξεδόμην σ]οι πρὸς ἀσφάλιαν,
[καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὤμο]λόγησα.
- 15 [ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Φιλίππου] τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
[ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρί]ου καὶ Φλαυίου Σαλιᾶ
[τοῦ λαμπροτάτου μαγίστρου ἱππέ]ων, Φαῶφι[ι] ἰ'.

'To NN, current chairman . . . Aurelius Melas . . . greeting. I acknowledge, swearing by the divine and heavenly fortune of our lords the eternal Augusti, that I stand surety for the presence and availability of Aurelia (?) Theodora, daughter of Maximus and NN, whom I shall present whenever she is required, without any dispute. Otherwise may I be subject to the divine oath and the danger bound therewith. The note of hand . . . I have given to you for security in a single copy . . . is valid, and in response to the formal question I so declared.

Consulship of Flavius Philippus, *clarissimus praefectus sacro praetorio*, and Flavius Salia, *clarissimus magister equitum*, Phaophi 10 (?).'

2 β': e.g., restore υἱῷ NN] (δευτέρου).

3]ος may be the ending of Melas' patronymic or metronymic. If so, nothing was written between these letters and χαιρειν.

7 Αὐρηλίαν (?): at this date only the names Flavia and Aurelia need be considered likely. As an Aurelius was sufficient guarantee for the appearance of this person, the probability that she herself belonged to the Flavii, who had a higher standing, is extremely slight. See in general J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63 and 13 (1974) 283-304.

11 For the restoration cf. e.g. P. Leipz. 46.17. The commoner expressions τῷ περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ and τῷ ἐπηρητημένῳ περὶ τούτου κινδύνῳ are respectively too short and too long.

12-3 Possibly δ] ἀπλοῦν γραφὴν | [τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ ἐξεδόμην (Brussels MS). One might also think of simply ἀπλοῦν γραφὴν, | [δ και ἐξεδόμην, though that is rather short for the lacuna in l. 13.

66. LETTER FROM PATESE TO ABARAS

VII 5^c + 6^c

9 × 23.7 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A business letter, mostly concerned with sheep and wool, written in reasonably good Greek in a fluent but not especially elegant

hand. A photograph taken when the cover of the codex was first opened has been useful in reading some places which were damaged when the cartonnage was separated. The back is blank.

- τῷ χ[υ]ρίῳ [μου ἀδελ-]
 φῷ Ἀβαράτι Πα-
 τέσε ἐν Κ(υρίο)υ
 χαίρειν
- 5 πρ[ο]ηγουμένως προσ-
 αγορεύω σε. σπούδασον
 κεῖραι τὰ πέντε ἐρ[. . .]
 Κάρια ἐριδίων καὶ ἄφες
 παρὰ σοὶ ἕως ἂν καταλά-
- 10 βω σε. σπ[ο]ύδασον μὴ
 πωλῆσαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἕως
 ἂν καταλάβω σε, ἐπειδή-
 περ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν
 νυνὶ διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν
- 15 τῶν τειρώγ[ων. σ]πούδα-
 σον λαβεῖν τὸ ἐγίδιον
 καὶ τὸ προβάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ποιμένος ἡγίκα ἂν κεί-
- 20 ρης τὰ ἕτερα, καὶ τὸ ἀργύ-
 ρ[ι]ον λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰω-
 ἄνου [π]ερὶ τοῦ ὄνου ὃν {πε}
 πέπ[ρα]κα Πεκυσίῳ, καὶ
 [λ]αβεῖν ἀπὸ Παφῶβ τὸ ἀρ-
 [γύριον], τοῦτ' ἔστιν παρὰ
- 25 [.], καὶ λάβε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 [.] . [.]ου τὰ Μακαρίου
 [ἐρ]ῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι
 [πολλοῖς χρό]νοις.

3 ενκυ 8 και: κ corrected from α 16 αἰγίδιον 17 προβάτιον: π corrected.

'To my lord brother Abaras, Patese, greeting in the Lord. First and foremost I greet you. Be sure to shear the five Carian . . . of wool, and keep them with you until I meet you; make sure not to sell any of them until I meet you, since I am not able to come at present because of the disturbance of the recruits. Make sure to

take the goat and the sheep from the shepherd whenever you shear the rest, and to take the money from John in the matter of the donkey that I sold to Pekysios, and to take the money from Paphob, that is, from . . . And take Makarios's . . . from the . . . I pray for your health for many years.'

2 The name Ἀβαράς is new, but Ἀβαρος is found in the *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

2-3 Πατέσε: a hitherto unattested variant of Πατῆσις or Πετειῆσις.

7-8 At first sight P. Princ. III 155R.6 seems to suggest ἐρ[ικὰ] | Κάρια, which would presumably mean 'Carian measures of wool', but L. C. Youtie's revision of the text in *ZPE* 23 (1976) 120ff. leaves no possibility of a parallel here, and no 'Carian measure' is known: *WB* I s.v. κάριον records such a term, but it is wrongly abstracted from δισκάριον, actually derived from δίσκος. Possibly ἐρ[ίφια] | Κάρια, 'sheer the Carian goats of their hair', though the construction with the genitive is odd.

14-5 In the lack of a precise date it seems hopeless to try to connect this disturbance among the recruits with a known historical event. It is further unclear whether one should deduce from this statement that Patese had some official connection with the army, or whether he means that travel had become unsafe because of marauding troops.

21 ὄν {πε}: οἱ ὄντε<ρ>.

27 It is uncertain whether a word should be supplied before ἐρ]ρωσθαι, as τὰ Μακαρίου (26) could by itself mean 'Makarios' things'.

67. LETTER

VII 7^c

14.5 × 22.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Neither sender nor receiver of this mutilated business letter can now be identified. A monk's dwelling of some type, if that is indeed the meaning of μονάχιον, is mentioned in l. 8; cf. *Introd.* pp. 7-8.

→ [. . .]λο[
 [. . .]ηγε[
 α[. . .]πεγ[
 ἀδελφός ὑπα[
 5 γράψαι σοι . . [. . .] . [. . .] ἀδελφ[.] .
 λου οπε[. .] . [. . .] παραγένηται ἐκεῖ. δέδωχ()

εἰς τὸ πλοῖον [τὸ]ν ὀλίγον σῖτον. ποιήσης
 αὐτὸν μετακ[ομί]ζεσθαι εἰς τὸ μονάχιον διὰ
 τῶν ὑμετέρω[ν] κτηνῶν καὶ θεῖναι αὐτὰ
 10 εἰς σιρόν. πρόσθετος ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἐπειδὴ
 περ . . . λω φέρει. ἀλλ' ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης.
 τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ
 πάνπολλα προσαγορεύ[ωμ.] ὄμεν. ἐρρῶσθαι
 ὑμᾶς εὐχομα[ι]
 15 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.
 Back → τῷ ἀγαπητῷ [μου] ἀδελφῷ . . . [

(l. 6) ' . . . arrives there. I (?) put the small quantity of grain on the boat; make him transport it to the monk's dwelling with your asses and put it in the storage bin (*or*, vessel). Reckon a few days in addition, since he carries it . . . See to it that you are not negligent. I and those with me give many greetings to the brothers who are with you. I pray for your health for many years.

(Back) To my beloved brother . . .'

6 οπε[: apparently not ὀπό[τ]αγ, but ὀπηγί[κ' ἄν] might do.

δέδωκ(): person and number of the subject are not specified.

'I (?)' in the translation above is only *exempli gratia*.

7 ποιήσης: for the jussive subjunctive see Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 554ff.

8 μονάχιον: apparently the first certain attestation of this word; cf. A. Lumpe, "Beiträge aus der Thesaurusarbeit: monachium (Cod. Iust. I, 2, 13)", *Mus. Helv.* 17 (1960) 228-9. It is presumably equivalent to μοναστήριον. Cf. πατριαρχεῖον for the residence of a patriarch (Du Cange, s.v.).

10 σιρόν: see pp. 7-8 with notes 16 and 17.

11-2 The Brussels MS reads ἐπειδὴ περιχώλω φέρει and translates 'since he carries it by a circuitous route'. I have found no satisfactory parallel for the expression and it is palaeographically dubious on the photograph. The word division may be ἐπειδήπερ κτλ.

68. LETTER FROM HARPOCRATION TO SANSNOS

VII 8c

12.5 × 24 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

This business letter is the first of eight texts in Codex VII addressed to a man named Sansnos, who, if the references are all to the same person, is elsewhere called monk (72.1-2) and presbyter

(78.15); he may also be mentioned in C8 a 14 and c 2, and may be the writer of the following letter. See Introd. pp. 7-9.

An appeal to the love of Christ in l. 12 is noteworthy.

→ [τῷ] ἀγ[απ]ητῷ μου πατρὶ Σανσνῶς
 Ἄρποκρατίων πλ(εῖστα) ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.
 Πέτρον τὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τῷ ἀδελ[φῷ]
 Ἄππιανῷ διὰ τοὺς περὶ Παπνοῦ[τιον]
 5 τῶν ἐκφορίων ἐνεκεν ποιήσον
 ὀλίγας ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι ἡμέρα[ς]
 ἕως ἂν καιρὸν εὐρωσι ἐλθεῖν
 πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι τὸ
 καθ' ἑαυτοῦς. οὕτω γὰρ ἤξιωσαγ.
 10 ἀλλὰ σπούδασον, ἀγαπητέ, παρὰ[στης]
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ. οὕτω γὰρ πρέπε[ι]
 τῇ ἐν Χρηστῷ σου ἀγάπῃ.
 εἰ δὲ ἀβαρές σοὶ ἐστίν, περιποίη[σον]
 ἡμῖν ἀχύρου ἀγώγια δέκα κ[αί]
 15 πέμψον ἡμῖν ἐκ πόσων π[ι-]
 πράσκεται. προσαγορεύω
 [πάν]τας τοὺς ἀδελφούς μεθ' ὧν [εἰ.]
 ἐρωμέν[ον]
 20 καὶ εὐθυμο[ῦντα]
 διὰ τέλους σ[ε]
 φυλάξειειγ[

Back: → τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μ[ου] πατρὶ Σα[νσνῶτι]
 Ἄρποκρα[τίων]

1 Σανσνῶτι (cf. note ad loc.)

2 πλ', κῶ

5 τῶν added in left margin

12 Χριστῷ.

'To my beloved father Sansnos, Harpocraton, very many greetings in the Lord. Make Peter, who is harassing brother Ap-
 pianus through Papnoutios' people in the matter of the rents, desist
 for a few more days until they find opportunity to come to you and
 settle their problem; for so they have requested. But be diligent,
 beloved, and come to the assistance of the brother; for thus it
 behooves your charity in Christ. If it is not burdensome to you,
 contrive to obtain for us ten loads of chaff and inform us of the

selling price. I greet all the brothers with whom you are. May (God?) keep you in health and good spirits continually.

(Back) To my beloved father Sansnos, Harpocraton.'

1 Σανσνῶς: the name is also left undeclined in 69.17 and should perhaps so be restored in the address of this text, l. 22.

4 In *Prel. Rep.* p. 13 it was suggested that this Papnoutios may have been the οἰκονόμος of Pachomius; cf. above, *Introd.* p. 10 n. 21.

12 Χρηστῶ: this misspelling of Χριστῶ is common throughout the Byzantine period (cf. e.g. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *NT Grammatik* § 24). G. M. Browne informs me that in Coptic the opposite error (ΧΡΙCΤΟC, or even ΧC, for χρῆστός) is sometimes found.

21f. Supply [ὁ Θεός, or perhaps [ἡ θεῖα πρόνοια.

22 Cf. 1 note.

69. LETTER FROM SANSNOS TO APHRODISIOS

VII 9^c

13 × 25.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A letter concerning various agricultural matters, written with such indifferent use of spelling and grammar that the sense of some passages is doubtful. The back is blank. For the correspondents cf. *Introd.* pp. 8-9.

→ τῶ ἀγαπτῶ ἀδελφῶ Ἀφροδισίῳ
 Σανσνῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ χ[αίρειν.]
 καθὼς ἐξῦλθας ἀφ' ὑμῶ[ν πρὸς]
 τὰ πεδία χωρὶς τρωφῆ[ς κ]αὶ σύ,
 5 Ἀφροδισίος, ὅτι πέμψομεν αὐτοῖς
 τροφόν, οὐδὲν ἔπεμψας αὐτοῖς.
 καὶ σύ, Ἀφροδί<σι>ος, ὁμολόγυσας
 ὅτι ὑπά'γ'ωμεν διτομεῖ τὰ πρόβα[τα]
 καὶ τὰ ἐγίδια. νῦν οὖν οὐδὲν ἔπεμ-
 10 ψας τοῖς πεδίας. καὶ πάλιν ἔγρα[ψα]
 ἅπαξ ἔπεμψας πρὸς σέ.
 ἐζύτησα παρὰ τοὺς ποιμένας
 περὶ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ εἶπαν
 οἱ ποιμένος ὁμολόγυσαν
 15 ὅτι οἱ <ε>χοντες τὰ πρόβατα
 καὶ τὰ θρέματα αὐτοὶ πλυρῶσιν.

καὶ ἐζύτησα παρὰ Σανσνώως
 ποιμένος ὅτι πῶς ποιούμεν
 20 περὶ τῶν θραμάτων, καὶ εἶπα
 Σανσνώως ὅτι ὀλοিপάσδου πρόβρατα
 καὶ ἐγίδια, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς
 εἴκοσι θαρῖς. οὐδὲν ποιούμεν.
 περὶ τὸ ἰδίους πέμψον μοι καὶ
 25 μάθω. καὶ ἀσπάζομεν Ἀρακλῦς
 καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τὰ τέκνα
 Ἀρακλῦς.

ἐρ[ρ]ῶσθ[αί σε]

[εὐχομαι]

[πολλοῖς χρόνοις.]

1 ἀγαπητῶ 3 ἐξήλθες, ἡμῶν 4 παιδία, τροφῆς 5 Ἀφροδίσει
 6 τροφήν 7 Ἀφροδίσει, ὠμολόγησας 9 αἰγίδια 10 παιδίους
 11 ἔπεμψα οἱ πέμψας 12 ἐζήτησα, τῶν ποιμένων 14 ποιμένες, ὠμολόγησαν οἱ
 ὁμολογοῦντες 16 θρέμματα, πληροῦσιν οἱ πληρῶσιν 17 ἐζήτησα, Σανσνώ-
 19 θρεμμάτων, εἶπε 20 ὀλοিপάσθη 21 αἰγίδια 23 τῶν ἰδίων οἱ
 τοῦ ἰδίου 24 Ἀρακλῦς, 1. acc. 25 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς 26 Ἀρακλῦς, 1. gen.

'Sansnos to his beloved brother Aphrodisios, greeting in the Lord. As you too left us for the lads without food, Aphrodisios, because we shall send the food, you sent them nothing. You too, Aphrodisios, agreed that we should bring the sheep and goats down . . . Well now, you have sent nothing for the lads. And I wrote once again sending for you. I enquired of the shepherds about the animals, and the shepherds agreed that the men who have the sheep and lambs will pay themselves. And I enquired from Sansnos the shepherd how we are managing in regard to young animals. He said we have sheep and goats left, and I gave him twenty . . . We are doing nothing. Send to me about our own (affairs? people?) for my information. We greet Haraklys and the brothers and the children of Haraklys. I pray for your health for many years.'

2-10 If I understand these lines correctly, Aphrodisios had failed to bring food for the *παιδία* because he understood that Sansnos and his friends were to do that, whereas Sansnos is of the opinion that Aphrodisios should have brought food too because of the agreement concerning the sheep and goats (7-9), which presumably caused extra work for all concerned. In the Brussels MS it was suggested that *εἶπε*s or a similar verb has fallen out after 'Αφροδίσιος in l. 5.

In that case the complaint would be that Aphrodisios had not kept his word.

2 ἐξῦλθας, l. ἐξῆλθες: for other instances of the interchange of η and υ, frequent in this text, see Gignac, *Phonology* 264-5. For the verb ending cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 317(6).

5 Ἀφροδίσιος: nom. for voc. Cf. Kühner-Gerth II.1 47, 2; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *NTGrammatik* § 147; Mayser II.1 55, 2.

8 ὑπά'γ'ωμεν: of animals usually means 'yoke', but that is clearly unsuitable for sheep and goats, so I suppose it means simply 'bring them down'.

διτομεῖ might mean 'separately', though the word has not previously occurred. In this text a misspelling of a personal name such as Διδύμη would seem possible. At the end of the line προβά[τια] might be read instead of πρόβα[τα] (so 66.17), but ll. 15 and 20 have πρόβατα.

10-1 πάλιν . . . ἀπαξ: cf. P. Abin. 32.12, ἄλλω ἀβαξ (ἄλλο ἀπαξ). Some more similar expressions are collected in 70.12 n.

The parallel with ll. 13-4, εἶπαν . . . ὁμολόγυσαν (= ὁμολόγησαν) suggests that the scribe intended to write ἔγραψα . . . ἔπεμψα with the sense 'I wrote and sent for you'.

16 πλυρῶσιν: one might interpret this form either as πληροῦσιν or πληρῶσιν, in both cases with future meaning; cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 214ff., 541.

17 Σανσωνῶς: similarly undeclined in 68.1.

22 θαρις: the simplest explanation phonologically is θαρρῆς as jussive subjunctive (Mandilaras § 554), 'have no fear: we are doing nothing' (against your interests, without consulting you, etc.). If it is felt that a noun object of ἔδωκα (21) should be seen in this word, I have nothing better to offer than the suggestion of the Brussels MS, θαλλία, comparing P. Bala'izah II 191.4 (ΘΑΛΛΙC).

23-4 πέμψον μοι καὶ μάθω: καὶ = ἔνα; cf. Blass-Debr.-Rehk. § 442.3.

24 and 26 Ἁρακλῆς: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*. Cf. Ἁρακλῆς.

70. LETTER FROM CHENOPHRES TO PHENPSETYMES

VII 10^c

10.5 × 25 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A badly spelled letter with some interesting colloquial language, three new names and a new word.

→ [τῶ ἀγαπητῶ μου ἀ]δελφῶ Φεγ[ψε-]
[τύμη Χενοφορῆς] ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρει[ν.]

- [προηγούμενως σ]ε προαγορεύ[ω]
 [καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκ]ῳ κατὰ ὠν[ο-]
 5 [μα c. 13]α ὄσπριογ
 [.] . [.] καὶ λαχ[ά-]
 νου ἀρτάβας τρεῖς[ς] ἕμισέ μοι
 καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο. ἀπ[ο-]
 10 [δ]όσης 'αὐτά' Πεβῶτος {σ} ἦνα ἀπο-
 φέρι μοι αὐτά. ἐάν δὲ μὴ
 ἀποδόσης αὐτά, ἀπετόση[ς]
 τὸν ναῦλον δύο ἀπαξ. νῦν
 ἐμέλησιν τὴν προθησ-
 μία<ν>. ἀλλὰ ἀπόστειλόν μο[ι]
 15 τὰ ὄσπρεον ἐπ<ι> τάχιον.
 καὶ φιλοπόνησον τὴν
 Βοαίς καὶ θάλπισον τὴν
 θυγατέρα αὐτῆ<ς>. διῆξον
 Πεβῶτος 'τὸν υἱῶ μου' τὴν Βοαίς.
 20 ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχο-
 μαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

Back → [Φεν]ψετύμης X παρὰ Χενοφρῆς

4-5 ὄνομα 7 τρεῖς ἕμισυ 9-10 Πεβῶτι ἵνα ἀποφέρῃ 11 ἀποδόσης,
 ἀποδώσεις 13 ἀμέλησον (?), προθεσμίαν 14 ἀπόστειλον 15 τό 17
 Βοαίον 18 δεῖξον 19 Πεβῶτι τῶ, Βοαίον

'Chenophres to my beloved brother Phenpsetymes, greeting in the Lord. First and foremost I greet you and those in your household by name . . . mixed produce . . . and three and one-half artabs of vegetables to me, and two talents of silver. Give them to Pebos so that he may bring them to me; if you do not give them, you will pay the freight charge twice. Now pay no attention to the deadline (?), but send me the produce as quickly as possible. Look after Boais and be nice to her daughter. Point out Boais to my son Pebos. I pray for your health for many years.

(Back): Phenpsetymes, from Chenophres.'

1-2 Φεγ[ψε]τύμη Χενοφρῆς: cf. l. 22. Neither name is recorded in *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but for the second cf. Χονοφρῆς.

5 ὄσπριογ: in l. 15 the form ὄσπρεον is used, a "late spelling . . . rejected by *EM* 635.48" (*LSJ* s.v.). To judge from the entries in the *WB*, both spellings are about equally common in the papyri;

other examples of the interchange of ι and ε are listed by Gignac, *Phonology* 240ff. At this date the word means 'mixed produce', which may include grain; see P. Cair. Isid. 76.12 n. ὄσπριον is marginally preferable to ὄσπριου, though one expects a measure to follow.

9 ἦνα for ἕνα: cf. Gignac, *Phonology* 238.

12 ναῦλον: from ναῦλος if the preceding τόν is to be taken seriously. I do not find the masculine form in papyrological lexica, but it is recorded in *LSJ*. The neuter is so much more common in Egypt, however, that one might think of reading τὸ{ν} ναῦλον.

δύο ἄπαξ 'two times': cf. P. Mich. VIII 482 = Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 1.5, ἄλλο ἄπαξ; P. Abin. 32 = Naldini 40.8, τοῦτω τὸ ἄβαξ, *ibid.* 1. 12 ἄλλο ἄβαξ; P. Ryl. II 435.2, ἄλλα ἄπαξ; Wilcken, *APF* 6 (1920) 379-80; S. G. Kapsomenakis in *Münchener Beiträge* 28 (1938) 50-1.

13 ἐμέλησιν, read probably ἀμέλησον: for interchange of α and ε see Gignac 278ff., for that of η and ο *idem* p. 293. I take it that the writer fears his correspondent may claim to have no time to carry out his request and is attempting to forestall his objection; cf. in a general way P. Fay. 114.21-2, μὴ ο<ῦ>ν ληρήσης τὸν ἐκτιναγμόν σου. ἡμέλησας would also make sense, but while omission of the temporal augment is common (cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 253ff.; ἐμέλησε occurs in PSI XIV 1413.5), such a misspelling at the end of the word would be phonologically inexplicable.

15 ἐπ<ι> τάχιον: not very satisfactory, as the phrase appears to be unparalleled. Perhaps rather ἐγ τάχιον for ἐγ τάχει.

17 Βοάις: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

θάλπισον: from θαλπίζω, a new word based on θάλπω.

71. LETTER FROM HORION TO —ARIOS AND DORKON

VII 11^c 10.6 × 20.3 cm. 4th cent. A.D.

A polite letter to two presbyters, concerning skins and dates.
Cf. *Introd.* p. 9.

→ — — — — — —

[] . ι και τυχεῖν . [

[. θέλω] ὑμᾶς γινῶναι, γλυκ[ύτα-]

[τοι π]ατέρες, περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν ἔγραψ[α]

[. . . ὅ]τι χρεῖα ἐστὶν μοι δύο δερμά[των]

5 τ ιατ . τοῦ ἀδελφῶ [.] .
 . [.] αυτ[.] . [.] [.]
 ἀξιῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ὅπως πανταχόθε[ν]
 ζητήσητε καὶ ἀγοράσητέ μοι αὐτά. δ[έομαι]
 δὲ δέρματ[ος] μάλα σφόδρα. ἰδοὺ ἀ[πέ-]
 10 [σ]τά[λκα] ὑμῖν δύο ἀρτάβας φοινίξ[ων].
 καὶ μάθε ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν τιμῆ[ν]
 τῶν δύο ἀρταβῶν καὶ τῶν δύο δ[ερμά-]
 των, ὅπως γράψητέ μοι καὶ ἀ[ποστεί-]
 λω πάραυτῶ πάλιν τῷ πρόλοιπας.
 15 ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς πάντας κατ' ὄνομα.
 ἐὰν δὲ θέλητε, πέμψαι τὰ δέρματα δ[έ]
 ἐὰν δὲ μή, γράψαι με ὅπως μάθω.
 ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς
 εὐχ[ο]μαι ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ.

Back: →

20]αρίῳ πρ(εσβυτέρῳ) καὶ Δόρ Χ κωνι πρ(εσβυτέρῳ)
 π(αρά) Ὀρίωνος.

10 ω in ὑμῖν corrected from ας II μάθετε 14 πάραυτα, πρόλοιπον
 17 μοι

' . . . I want you to know, my sweetest fathers, the matters about which I wrote you . . . that I have need of two skins . . . of the brother . . . I request of you therefore that you seek everywhere and buy them for me. I am very greatly in need of a skin. Look, I have dispatched to you two artabs of dates; and learn from these people the price of the two artabs and of the two skins, so that you may write to me and I may dispatch the balance at once. I greet you all by name. If you wish, send me the skins . . . otherwise, write me so that I may know.

I pray for your health in the Lord.

(Back) To —arios, presbyter, and Dorkon, presbyter, from Horion.'

II μάθε: one expects μάθετε. The writer may have forgotten for the moment that he is writing to more than one person, or it may be simply a scribal slip. In the latter case, μάθε <τε> should be read.

τούτων: presumably the persons who are charged with the delivery of the letter and the dates.

16-7 πέμψαι, γράψαι: for the imperatival infinitives see Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756ff., esp. § 765.

16 At the end perhaps δέρματα δ[ύο] (Brussels MS), but the word order would be odd and there are other possibilities, e.g. δ[ιὰ NN].

72. LETTER FROM PROTERIA (?) TO SANSNOS AND PSAS OR PSATOS

VII 12^c

10.5 × 16.4 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

A request to two monks to find some chaff that can be purchased for use as fodder. Cf. *Introductio*. p. 7.

→ Σανσῶτι καὶ Πσάτος
 μοναχοῖς Προτηρ[ία] χέρ(ειν).
 εἰ δυνατὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστὶν
 τὸ ἐραυνῆσαι ὀλίγον
 5 ἄχυρον πρὸς τὴν ὑπη-
 ρεσίαν τῶν ἐμῶν κτηνῶν
 διότι ὑστεροῦσι, καὶ οὐ-
 χ εὐρίσκω ἐνταῦθα ἀγο-
 ράσαι. ἐπὶ δὲ εὕρητε,
 10 πέμψατέ με ὑπὲρ τὴν
 τιμὴν ὅτι πόσον τὴν
 ἄμαξαν ἀχύρου, καὶ ἵνα
 ἔρχεται τὸ πλοῖον . . .
 [. . π]λί[στ]ας χάριτας ὑμεῖν

Back → Προτερία Σανσῶτι καὶ
 Πσάτος.

1 Πσάτος, l. dat. 2 μοναχοῖς: ς added above the line (?); χείρειν 5-6 η
 in ὑπερρεσίαν corr. from ε 6 κτηνῶν 9 ἐπὶ 10 μοι 10-11 τῆς τιμῆς
 11 σ in πόσον corr. from ι; τῆ 14 πλείστας, ὑμῶν 16 Πσάτος, l. dat.

'Proteria (?) to Sansnos and Psas (or, Psatos), monks, greeting. If it is possible where you are, seek out a little chaff for the use of my asses, because they are short of it and I find none to purchase here. If you find some, send to me about the price, how much it is per waggon-load of chaff, and so that the boat may come . . . (so that I may express to you) the utmost gratitude. (back) Proteria (?) to Sansnos and Psas (or, Psatos).'

1 Πσάτος: the same dative is used in l. 16. In the nominative, Ψᾶς and Ψάτος are both found; see *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

2 Προτηρ[ία]: Προτερία in l. 15, if rightly deciphered in both places. The feminine of this name does not appear to be known elsewhere, but an Alexandrian patriarch lynched in 457 A.D. was named Προτέριος.

4 τὸ ἐραυνῆσαι: the writer appears to have contaminated two constructions, the imperatival infinitive which should appear without the article and the articular infinitive as subject of ἐστιν.

9ff. For a more grammatical enquiry about the price of chaff cf. 68.13ff.

12-3 ἵνα | ἔρχεται: for ἵνα with the indicative cf. e.g. *LSJ* s.v. B III.

13 After πλοῖον perhaps ὅτι altered to ὡς[τε. After l. 14 ὁμολογήσω or the like, governing χάριτας, has been lost.

73. VII 13^c (7.9 × 6.1 cm.) + 14^c (1.6 × 7.5 cm.). Two adjoining fragments of a letter. One of the persons addressed may be Sansnos, but the name is badly damaged.

→ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ
Σαγσγῶτι καὶ Ἀπο[
το[ῦ ἀ]δελφοῦ . . . [. .] . [

Back→ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ

'To my beloved brother Sansnos (?) and Apo— . . . of the brother . . . (back) To the beloved . . .'

74. VII 15^c. 5.5 × 23.5 cm. A fragmentary letter from one Peteesis. The recipient's name is lost, unless Παῖσε in l. 24 is vocative.

→ τῷ κυρίῳ μο[υ]
Πετεῆσις []
ἐν πρότοις . . [εὔ-]
χωμαι τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ [περὶ τῆς σῆς σωτη-]
5 ρίας. προσα[]
τι . [. .] . α[]
του[]

(4 lines almost entirely lost)

12	μεν[]
	[. .] []
	μ . . []
15	ου ταῦτα η[]
	Πεκύσι[	πεν-]
	τήκωντα κ[]
	σίτου ἀρταβ[]
	εὐρίσκεις πα[	πε-]
20	ρι τῆς ἀπεθῆ[]
	ἀρτάβης . [	δη-]
	μόσια ερ[]
	ἔδωκεν σο[]
	Παῆσε παραξ[]
25	ἐριδίω ω . []
	ὅτι 'δί'δωμι χάριγ []

Down left margin: ↓ αὐτῶ μετὰ [. . . .] παράβαλλε ἡμᾶς
 Back → ἐὰν εὐρίσκεις εὐτένος ἀνθρώπος ἀπόστειλὼν μ[οι]
 τὰ πρόβατα . [

3 πρώτοις 3-4 εὔχομαι 16-17 πενήκοντα 24 Παῆσε: the epsilon has either been remade or corrected from another letter 28 εὐτόνους ἀνθρώπους ἀπόστειλον.

(Back) 'If you find sturdy fellows, send me the sheep.'

4-5 σωτη] | ρίας: οἱ ὀλοκλή] | ρίας.

15 ου: οὐ, οὐ, or the end of a word from the preceding line.

21-2 δη] | μόσια: if the μ is correct there can hardly be any doubt about the restoration, as the only other word in -μοσιος listed by the Kretschmer-Locker *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* is συνωμόσιος, which has not so far appeared in papyri. It remains uncertain whether the word here is an adjective or refers to δημόσια in the sense of 'taxes'.

75. LETTER FROM BESARION TO SANSNOS

VII 16^c

6.7 × 7.6 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Top portion of a letter including instructions that an ἀδελφός, brother or friend of the writer, be given five artabs of wheat. The back is blank.

→ [τῶ κυρίῳ μου
 [π]ατρὶ Σανσνῶτι
 [B]ησαρίων χαίρειν.
 [. . . .] σε δῆλα ποσο[
 5 [. . . .] . φ ἔρχωμέγω
 [. . .] οτων σῆτον [
 [. . .] . δοῦνε τῶ ἀδελφῶ
 [μοῦ Πρήτ σίτου ἀρτάβα[ς]
 [π]έντε, γί(νονται) (ἀρτ.) ε
 10] . ασ[

5 ἐρχομένῳ 7 δοῦναι

‘Besarion to my lord father Sansnos, greeting . . . you clear . . . when he comes . . . wheat . . . to give my brother Pret five artabs of wheat, total 5 art. . . .’

4-7 Convincing supplements for these lines have not occurred to me. If δῆλα ποιέω can be used as δῆλον ποιέω one might think of something on the order of [θέλω] σε δῆλα ποιή|[σειν] τῶ ἐρχωμέγω|[πρὸς τῶν (l. τὸν) σῆτον [ώστε] | [συ]γδοῦνε κτλ., ‘I want you to make it clear to the man who comes for the wheat that he is to contribute five artabs to Pret’. There would be no insuperable palaeographic objection to this, but it does not present the most obvious interpretation of the traces, and as the Greek is also uncertain the correct solution may lie in some quite different direction.

76. LETTER FROM MAKARIOS TO SANSNOS

VII 17^c

9.5 × 16.2 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Fragment from the beginning of a letter the subject of which cannot now be determined. The back contains faint traces of ink, no longer legible.

→ [τῶ ἀγ]απητῶ υἱῶ Σανσνῶτι
 [Μα]κάριος ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.
 [. . . .] . οὔνται ἡ γυνή μ[
 [.]αι εἰς Σύρου
 5 [.] . μεταλ[.] ια .
]υ
]ων

1 υἱῶ

2 κῶ

76.
 Makarios to hi
 (for woman)
 Sansnos: no
 used (68.1 n
 Makarios:
 Rep. p. 14:
 is that its occ
 am VII would
 addresses S
 a corresponde
 is a person of
 of Sourou
 is some re
 (assuming
 Sansnos hi
 introd. p. 7).
 holy man
 dless. But th
 was strikin
 his son.
 Sansnos is pres
 the ἡ γυνή and
 may have fo
 NN ἐξερθε
 I can think
 and after γυνή
 pronoun μ[
 ἐ Σύρου: i.e.
 was a Σύρου)
 meant he
 77. LETTE
 PEC.
 19^c
 fragments
 among
 the introducti

'Makarios to his beloved son Sansnos, greeting in the Lord . . . wife (*or*, woman) . . . to Syros's . . .'

1 Σανσονῶτι: not Σανσονῶς, though the undeclined form is sometimes used (68.1 n.).

2 [Μα]κάριος: J. W. B. Barns writes as follows of this text in *Prel. Rep.* p. 14: "The name Macarius is so common in monastic circles that its occurrence as that of the writer of the fragmentary letter in VII would hardly be worth noting, were it not for the fact that he addresses Sansnōs . . ., called 'father' or 'brother' by all his other correspondents, as 'my son'; this suggests that [Ma]carius here is a person of high seniority; we note that a Macarius was the successor of Sourous as head of the monastery of Pachnoum."

There is some reason to doubt whether the monk and presbyter Sansnos (assuming that these are in fact one person and identical with the Sansnos here) was a member of a Pachomian organization (cf. *Introd.* p. 7), but he could of course have recognized a particularly holy man within that organization as his spiritual superior nonetheless. But the term "son" may mean nothing more than that Sansnos was strikingly younger than Macarius; or, indeed, that he was his son.

3 -οὔνται is presumably the ending of a verb of which the subjects are ἡ γυνή and something lost in lacuna. The construction of ll. 3-4 may have followed the general lines of [διαν]ροῦνται ἡ γυνή μ[| [καὶ NN ἔρχεσθ]αι εἰς Σύρου, but if ἔρχεσθ]αι was the verb used in l. 4 I can think of no name short enough to have preceded it. The word after γυνή may be the name of the woman or her husband, or the pronoun μ[ου].

4 εἰς Σύρου: i.e., to Syros's home or to a place called Syrou. There was a Σύρου χωρίον in the Fayum (*WB* III 330), but that will hardly be meant here.

77. LETTER FROM ZACCHEOS, COM—, AND PECHENEPHIBIS TO SANSNOS

VII 18^c + 19^c (18) 5.2 × 17.1 cm. 4th cent. A.D.
(19) 6.2 × 20.5 cm.

Two fragments of a letter to Sansnos from three presbyters, concerning among other things the removal of some wood or brush and the introduction of some persons who had been recommended

by a bishop. It seems very probable that Sansnos, whom the presbyters address as ἀδελφός, is the Σανσνώς πρεσβύτερος of 78.15, if not also the monk of 72.1-2; cf. 68 introd. VII 18 contains the left side of the letter, VII 19 the right; a strip in the middle has been lost. Cf. Introd. p. 6, n. 13.

→ [.
[. ε
. [. .] . ρα [.] ἀδελ-
φοῖς ἡμῶ[ν] . ἐνεγυήθη
5 παραγεν[ήσεσθαι ἕνεκεν τ]ῆς ἐκκοπῆς
ὀλίγων . [.] θων συνέσ-
τησεν α[ὐτοὺς ἡμῖν] διὰ γραμμάτων
ὁ πατήρ ἡμ[ῶν ὁ] ς ἐπίσκοπος ἔγρα
10 καὶ ἔγρα ὁ [. Βη]σαρίων τὸ πλοῖον
ἀνενόχ[λητον ἔχη. π]ροσαγορεύομεν
πάντας το[ὺς παρὰ σοὶ (?)] ἀδελφούς κατ' ὄνομα.
[ἐρρωσθαί] σε εὐχόμεθα
[πολλ]οῖς χρόνοις,
15 ἀδελφε.
back → [τῷ ἀγαπητῷ] ἀδελφῷ Σανσνώτι Ζακχέος καὶ Κόμ[καὶ]
17 Πεχενεφνῖβις πρεσ[βύτεροι].

‘. . . our brothers . . . he (?) was put under surety to be present to cut down a few . . . Our father, the . . . bishop, recommended them to us in a letter, so be not negligent in receiving them, and let . . . Besarion keep the boat undisturbed. We greet by name all the brothers who are with you (?). We pray for your health for many years, brother.’

(Back) Zaccheos, Com—, and Pechenepnibis, presbyters, to brother Sansnos.’

5 The subject of ἐνεγυήθη is not expressed in the text. It may be impersonal, ‘a guarantee was taken’.

7 α[ὐτούς: when John Barns described this text in *Prel. Rep.* p. 13 he stated that the commendation in this letter was for “an individual”. That must go back to an earlier restoration α[ὐτόν which was later rightly abandoned (Brussels MS) because of αὐτοὺς in l. 9.

ἡμῖν]: it seems to me most probable that the presbyters are

informing Sansnos of a letter which had been written to them; the following $\epsilon\nu\alpha$ clauses are then to be taken imperatively (cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 585ff.). It would also be possible to restore σοι here, followed by final clauses. That would presumably give a scolding tone to the letter: 'the reason that the bishop wrote you recommending the men was that you should receive them diligently (and you have not done so)'. The Brussels MS reads $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ here and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon$ in l. 9, following *Prel. Rep.* p. 13 ('a group of the brethren'). Only one person is mentioned in the address, however, and the singular is used in ll. 13 and 15.

8 To judge from the entries in *WB* III 400 s.v. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ the most likely adjectives for the lacuna are $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Lampe cites more examples of the former word applied to bishops than of the latter.

10 In the lacuna restore $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, or the like.

12 $\tau\omicron[\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \text{ παρὰ σοι} (?)]$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$: the restoration is taken from 67.12-3, $\tau\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \text{ παρὰ σοι } \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega} \text{ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάνπολλα προσ-αγορεύομεν}$ (cf. also Naldini, *Cristianesimo* nos. 19.9, 20.9, 28.7, 29.13 etc.), but there are other possibilities as well. The Brussels MS suggests $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

16 *Ζακχέος*: usually spelled *Ζαχαῖος* or *Ζαχέος*. Barns has pointed out that a man of this name was "one of Pachomius's most responsible subordinates" (*Prel. Rep.* p. 14).

Κομ[] : the length of the name to be restored cannot be accurately estimated. The *NB* and *Onomasticon* together list 36 masculine names which begin with Κομ-; of these, $\text{Κόμω}\nu$ appears to be the most common. The suggestion on p. 12 of *Prel. Rep.* that this person may be the same as the Aurelius Comes of our 64.4 is based on an earlier restoration $\text{Κόμ[η]}\varsigma$ here. Even if that should be correct the identification would be doubtful.

17 Πεχενεφνῖβις : not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

πρεσ[βύ]τεροι rather than πρεσ[βύ]τερος because that form would refer to Pechenephnbis alone, whereas Zaccheos too is called a presbyter in 78.15.

78. LETTER FROM ZACCHEOS TO SANSNOS

VII 20^c + 21^c

(a) 7 × 6 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(b) 10.3 × 16.5 cm.

Two non-contiguous fragments of a letter introducing one Herakleios to Sansnos. For the correspondents see 77; cf. *Introd.*

p. 8. A bibliography on such letters of introduction is given by O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Torino, 1973) 243.

→ τ[ὼ ἀγαπητῶ μου ἀδελφῶ Σανσνώτι]
 Ζακχέος ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χ[αίρειν.]
 ἐν πρώτοις ἀναγκαῖο[ν ἡγησάμην]
 προσειπεῖν σου τὴν ἔμ[φυτον ἀγά-]
 5 πην, ἔπειτα καὶ γράφειν [σοι ἵνα]
 προσδέξῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν [ἡμῶν]
 Ἡράκλειον παρ[
 προ[. . .] . [

. [

10 . [

συνεσ[

[ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖ-]
 χρομαι,
 ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφε.

10 cm. blank.

Back →

15 τῶ ἀγαπητῶ [μου ἀδελφῶ] Σανσνώτι πρεσβυτέρῳ Ζα-
 χέος πρεσβύτ[ερος.]

‘Zaccheos to my beloved brother Sansnos, greeting in the Lord. Before all I have thought it necessary to address your inborn love, and then to write you that you may receive our brother Herakleios . . . I pray for your health, beloved brother.

(Back) Zaccheos presbyter to my beloved brother Sansnos presbyter.’

4-5 τὴν ἔμ[φυτον ἀγά]|πην: cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67020v.1.

11-2 I have printed the minimum restoration, but as other texts from this codex use a lengthier closing formula one should perhaps rather think of something on the order of ἐρρῶσθαί σε | πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὖ|χρομαι. For the word order in that case cf. e.g. P. Herm. Rees 4 = Naldini, *Cristianesimo* 38.11-3. Still longer formulations, as in P. Lugd-Bat. XI 26 = Naldini 13.21-4, are also possible.

79. LETTER

VII 23^c + 24^c

(23) 3.2 × 15.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(24) 2.8 × 1 cm.

Two fragments from the center of a letter which begins with a request for some meal, whether for the writer or for some other person. The concluding half consists of greetings to various people. The back is blank.

→]ονδα Παθε[
] χα[ίρειν.
] Παθερμουῖθι[
] χρείας ἔνεκε[ν
 5] περιποίησον [
] ἀλεύρου ἀκαν[
 ὅ]τι χρείαν ἔχ[
]τηδεως ποι[
]ων καὶ τὴν α[
 10 ἀδ]ελφούς ἀσπ[άζομαι
] κατ' ὄνομα α[
 ἀσπάζο]μαι Μαιουμ[
 ἀσπά]ζομαι τοὺς α[
]θιν τὸν ἀδ[ελφ
 15 ο]υς κατ' ὄνομα[
] ἔρρω[σθαί σε]
 [εὔ]χομαι π[ολλοῖς]
 [χρόνοις] ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ,
 [ἀ]γαπητέ [μου ἀδ]ελφ[ε .]

12 ο in Μαιουμ[corrected from ι

Except for the concluding 'I pray for your health in the Lord for many years, my beloved brother' the text is too mutilated for translation.

1 As the writers of the letters in this codex elsewhere put their own names after that of the addressee we should probably print]ονδα as dative, followed by a patronymic or the name of the writer.

6 The obvious restoration is ἀλεύρου ἀκαν[θίνου, 'acacia flour', but the substance is not otherwise known and it is not clear to me from the description of the uses of the acacia in *RE* I 1159-62 from what part of the plant flour would be made nor what purpose it would serve: the likeliest would perhaps be a powder of hard gum for medicinal use (cf. C. Preaux, *CE* 31, 1956, 140; L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 23, 1976, 126). One can, however, think of supplements which

render this speculation idle: e.g., περιποίησον [ἡμῶν | ὀλίγα μέτρα] ἀλεύρου· Ἀκαν[θῶν | γὰρ λέγει ὅτι] χρείαν ἔχ[ει αὐτοῦ, 'Get a few measures of flour for us; for Akanthon says that he needs it'.

12 The only name beginning Μαιουμ- in *NB* or *Onomasticon* is Μαιουμᾶς (one occurrence, SPP XX 147.6).

14]θιν: or]φιν.

19 ἀ]γαπητέ is on a separate fragment (VII 24), and it is not certain that it should be positioned here.

80. LETTER

VII 27^c + 28^c + 29^c

(a) 4 × 8.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(b) 2.8 × 4 cm.

(c) 2.5 × 4 cm.

Three fragments of a letter, the first from the top, the third from the end, and the second someplace in between. Apart from a few isolated words and phrases only the concluding wish for the addressee's health is now intelligible.

(a) →

] . [

]ιωμ [

] . ις καὶ καλ . [

]ωνις πολλ[

5

γινώ]σκιν σε θέλ . [

] χρίαν[

]ρευσωγ[

]ννιο[

]τῷ ἀδελφ[

— — — —

(b)

— — — —

10

] . [

]προδοσι[

[σινιταυ[

] . ἐπιδή δ[

] . ενιου[

15

]δω[

— — — —

(c)

— — — — —

]μοι[

]ω καὶ . [

5 Σοισοιεῖς: cf. Σοισόεις in O. Tait II 1764.6.

17 The first word was probably ὑπ]ἔρ. If so, translate 'for the 6th [i.e., indiction?] likewise, (so many) talents of silver'.

83-142

Small fragments of texts from the fourth century A.D., for the most part probably remnants of personal letters.

83. VII 25^c. 2.6 × 5.8 cm. There are faint traces of writing on the back as well.

— — — —
→]τοι ἀδελφο[
— — — —

84. VII 26^c. 1.2 × 1.8 cm. The back is blank.

— — — —
→] χαιρ[
] . ενομ[
— — — —

1 Perhaps χαιρ[εῖν, but there are other possibilities, such as the name Χαιρ[ήμων.

2 The first letter could be ι or ν, but not γ.

85. VII 33^c. 12.7 × 5 cm. The back is blank.

— — — — — — — —
→ γενα ἀπαντῆσαί σοι δι' ἀγκάρας χρ[
Παχοῦμις Ἀπσηνάς
Ψεκῆς Ψεκῆτος

1 γενα: the ending of a word from the line lost above. ἀγκάρας, if rightly read, is new. It may be a name.

2 Ἀπσηνάς: not in *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

86. VII 32^e. 1.4 × 4.6 cm. Back blank.

— — — — — — — —
→]περγρα[
] . ομι[
] . υθ . [
] τῆς β[

5]βαι[
]. [

— — — —

87. VII 34^c. 7.4 × 2.8 cm.

Σιλβανῶ και Πλη[
.. [.] .. [

— — — —

88. VII 35^c. 4.4 × 1.1 cm.

— — — —

]ομένου σίτ[ου

— — — —

89. VII 36^c. 5 × 5.6 cm.

— — —

]την[
 τετ[

— — —

90. VII 37^c. 2.5 × 2.9 cm.

] Αύρηλι[
] ι [

— — —

91. VII 38^c. 2.8 × 2.5 cm.

— — —

] . . [. .] . . [

] ἀδελφοι[

— — —

92. VII 39^c. 1.5 × 4.5 cm.

→]τιο . [

] . ἑπτὰ . [

] (Space for 1 line)

] . ωσθ[

5] . σχον[
]!θ[
— — —

5 could also be read as εχον.

93. VII 40^c. 5.2 × 1.2 cm.

— — —
 π]αρ' ύμω[ν
— — —

94. VII 41^c. 2.5 × 1.2 cm. The back contains traces of two letters.

→ — — —
]ελουσ[
— — —

95. VII 42^c. 1.7 × 2.1 cm.

— — —
] Α[ύ]ρ[
]αγαθο . [
— — —

The specks which appear on the plate below line 2 are not writing.

96. VII 43^c. 2.9 × 2 cm. Smudges on the back are probably not writing.

— — —
] [
] επειτα α . [
] . τοπαλε[
— — —

2 Two possibilities are *επειτα α .* [and *επει τὰ α .* [.

97. VII 44^c. 2.6 × 9.6 cm.

— — —
] . α . [
] . ειαλο[
]λα[
— — —

98. VII 22^e. 2.5 × 1 cm.

— — —
→]θϵ —
— — —

99. VII 110^e. 0.5 × 3.6 cm. Text: →]ϵ[.

100. VII 106^e. 2.9 × 11.1 cm. Account. The recto contains the ends of 9 lines, of which the following can be read: → ⁴] . ον ⁷]ϵο. On the back, in a different hand, are traces from the beginning of 8 lines. Text: ↓ ²ϵ or θ, ⁸ϵ[.

101. VII 107^e. 4.5 × 3.7 cm. The recto contains the letters *αποσχω*[(i.e., *ἀπόσχω*[μεν *vel sim.*]) and traces of a further line. On the verso stands *διοσπολ*[. This may mean Diospolis, the Diospolite nome, or a man from Diospolis; but a different word division would give *Δῖος πολ*[, i.e., Dios son of Pol—, Dios the councilman (*πολιτευόμενος*)], or the like.

102. VII 108^e. 3 × 1.7 cm. Text: → ¹] . ιο . [²] . π^αγ[.

103. VII 109^e. 4.5 × 5.6 cm. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank: ↓ ¹]αρ[²] . . [³]κ . [.

104. VII 112^e. 1.8 × 4.2 cm. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank: ↓ ¹] . ω [²]περιπ[. Traces of 2 more lines.

105. VII 113^e. 1.7 × 3.5 cm. Text (front): →]μεν[, one more line. On the back are only scattered traces.

106. VII 114^e. 2.5 × 3.9 cm. Text: → ¹]γ ²] . νκω ³]πητι.

107. VII 51^e. 1.9 × 1.2 cm. Text: →]ειγ[.

108. VII 121^e. 1.5 × 2.2 cm. Text: → ¹] . του[²] . [.

109. VII 122^e. 1.3 × 2.3 cm. Upper margin preserved. Text: → ¹]ρο . [²]π'π [.

110. VII 124^e. 1.2 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ¹]υον[²] . ογ[.

111. VII 125^c. 0.8 × 2 cm. Text: → ¹]αλα[²] . η . [.
112. VII 127^c. 1.2 × 2.1 cm. Text: → ¹] . [²]εκπ[³] . ξου [⁴] . [.
113. VII 128^c. 1.8 × 1.1 cm. Text: →]πρι[.
114. VII 129^c. 1.5 × 1.6 cm. Text: → ¹] . [²]ωντα[. Illegible traces on the other side.
- 115-123 may all be fragments of a single document.
115. VII 134^c. 1.6 × 0.2 cm. Text: →] . απον[.
116. VII 135^c. 1.5 × 0.5 cm. Text: →]ταμ . . [. On the back, slight traces of one line.
117. VII 136^c. 2 × 0.3 cm. Text: →]αρατοιου[(e.g., π]αρά τοιού[του]).
118. VII 137^c. 1.5 × 0.5 cm. Text: →]ρος[.
119. VII 138^c. 1.6 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ¹] . . οι . . [²] . . . [.
120. VII 139^c. 1.3 × 0.7 cm. Text: → ¹] . ολλ[²] . [.
121. VII 140^c. 1.1 × 0.2 cm. Text: →]ο . [.
122. VII 141^c. 1.4 × 0.4 cm. Text: →] . εα[.
123. VII 142^c. 1.2 × 0.3 cm. Trace of one letter on the front side.
124. VII 130^c. 1.2 × 0.5 cm. Text: →]πε[. On the back are faint traces which may not be writing.
125. VII 143^c. 2.1 × 1.6 cm. Text: →] . τι[.
126. VII 144^c. 1.9 × 2.1 cm. Text (front) →] . Β . [. On the back are scattered traces. It is uncertain whether the front text is Greek or Coptic.

127. VII 145^c. 4.2 × 2.3 cm. Text: → ¹]επεν . . [²]ενταυ[.
128. VII 146^c. 6 × 4.9 cm. Top margin preserved. Text: → ¹ευσσ[²δι' Ωσι . [³Πανύτιος [.
129. VII 147^c. 2.2 × 1.5 cm. Text: →]νο[.
130. VII 148^c. 1.1 × 1.1 cm. Text: → ¹]α[²]σα[³] . υσ[.
131. VII 149^c. 1.5 × 1.5 cm. Text: →]π[.
132. VII 150^c. 2 × 2.1 cm. Text: → ¹]οσ[²] . [³] . . . π . [.
133. VII 80^c. 1.5 × 1.1 cm. Text: →] . μο[.
134. VII 152^c. 1 × 1 cm. Text: →] δ(ιὰ) [. Back: traces.
135. VII 153^c. 1.5 × 0.6 cm. Text: →]πoui[.
136. VII 154^c. 1.6 × 0.7 cm. Text: →]πουυ. [.
137. VII 155^c. 0.9 × 1.0 cm. Text: → ¹] . [²]επα[.
138. VII 156^c. 0.7 × 0.2 cm. Text: →] . ε . [.
139. VII 157^c. 0.5 × 0.7 cm. Text: →]απ . [.
140. VII 158^c. 1 × 0.7 cm. Text: →]ο . [.
141. VII 159^c. 0.7 × 0.6 cm. Text: →]στο[.
142. VII 160^c. 1.1 × 0.7 cm. Text: →]ε . ο[, plus traces on the back.

In addition to the texts described above and the Coptic documents C2-14, the cover of Codex VII contained thirty-four tiny fragments most or all of which were written in Greek, but which are too mutilated for transcription.

CODEX
144. IMPERIAL

... described the
... p. 11: "V
... Greek and Coptic
... incompleteness
... to be without an
... copies of in
... Egypt, but to the
... of the letters of Co
... evidently concern
... and fiscal ab
... general terms, and th
... contains² or to the
... remain one of them
... of indicates a da
... of the extant
... sors in the R
... has refers: ibid. n.
... Egypt" CE 34
... as the earliest refer
... texts contain direc
... in 143 q. 20, the
... and the repea
... 144 q. 17. cf.
... good higher than
... can have various
... for the first as the
... century and the
... analyzed through ch
... of these pap
... There can hardly

... A. Heikel, Die
... Eusebius
... exception is 143

CODEX VIII

143-4. IMPERIAL ORDINANCES (?)

John Barns has described the documents printed here as **143-4** as follows (*Prel. Rep.* p. 11): "VIII contains, besides a few scraps of letters in Greek and Coptic [145, C15-9], fairly extensive, though tantalizingly incomplete, remains of two texts in Greek which seem to be without an exact parallel among the papyri. They are evidently copies of imperial ordinances, applying not particularly to Egypt, but to the Empire as a whole. Their style is reminiscent of the letters of Constantine preserved in Eusebius,^[1] but they are evidently concerned not with religious matters, but with administrative and fiscal abuses and reforms. They are couched in the most general terms, and there is nothing in them which points to particular occasions^[2] or to the authorship of particular emperors; but the mention in one of them of *exactores* and *praepositi* [144(h).6, 16; cf. 143(a).11] indicates a date after A.D. 309. I cannot identify them with any of the extant ordinances of Constantine or his immediate successors in the Roman legal codices." For the date A.D. 309 Barns refers (*ibid.* n. 2) to J. D. Thomas, "The Office of Exactor in Egypt", *CE* 34 (1959) 124ff., who cites P. Giess. 103r of A.D. 309 as the earliest reference to the *exactor* in Egypt.

That the texts contain directives of some nature is certain: cf. *προσετάξαμεν* in 143(a).10, the imperatives in 143(b).10, 17, (f).3, 13; 144(a).20, and the repeated references to "our decisions" (143(b).5, 144(a).4, (h).17; cf. (a).9). The authority which issued them plainly stood higher than exactors and praepositi, and while those terms can have various meanings it is most natural in this context to take the first as the nome exactors who replaced strategi in the fourth century and the second as praepositi pagi. Moreover, 144(h).19, mutilated though the passage is, very probably indicates that the author(s) of these papyri ranked higher than the governors of provinces. There can hardly be any doubt that Barns is correct

[¹ Listed by I. A. Heikel, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte: Eusebius Werke*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1902) lxxi-ii.]

[² A possible exception is 143(b), which may refer to a war.]

in attributing these regulations to emperors: whether one should seek a single emperor or a group of colleagues is doubtful, as the plural which is consistently used may be a plural of majesty.

Again, as Barns reported, there is nothing in the preserved portions of the texts which seems to refer to specifically Egyptian conditions. On the other hand, there are several references to "provincials" (143(b).6, (f).18, 144(a).24, perhaps 143(f).13); and if, as seems likely, 144(h).19 contains a regulation affecting various provincial governors, then the ordinances were at least in part aimed at an area larger than any one of the Egyptian provinces and may well have covered the Empire as a whole.

If these regulations affected an area wider than Egypt, that fact would disturb the terminus post quem which Barns offered, for the date of the introduction of the exactor may not have been the same in all provinces; nevertheless, the early to mid fourth century remains a reasonable date for the texts. The stylistic comparison which Barns makes with the letters of Constantine should, however, not be pressed so far as to attribute the regulations to him on those grounds, as we have not sufficient text preserved to make an accurate judgement. 143-4 use a number of *recherché* words and phrases, and employ the optative (143(b).17, 144(a).6, 7, 9), but these are common traits in educated Greek of the period.

It is quite uncertain how many fragmentary regulations these papyri preserve, and still more so how many they contained when complete. There is no indication as to whether all the ordinances were issued at one time or even within a single reign. The subject matter of the various fragments, so far as it can still be determined, is discussed in individual introductions. It may be said in general that it is never clear what specific problem a regulation is intended to solve, nor what the solution ordered was. The texts are not well enough preserved that one could state with confidence whether this uncertainty is due to vague rhetoric in the drafting of the documents, or simply to the extremely fragmentary nature of their remnants.

143 shows a change of hand in col. ii of fragment (f). Portions of the text written in this second hand have therefore been printed after (f), but otherwise there is no indication of the relative positions of the various fragments and the order chosen for reproduction is arbitrary. A few of the pieces have been left adhering to the cover of the codex, written side up. Their removal would have damaged the cover, and as the backs of all the detached pieces except 143(a)

are blank this damage is unlikely to have been compensated by any scholarly gain; cf. *Prel. Rep.* p. 11 n. 3.

Revision of the texts on the originals would be desirable.

143

(a) VIII 1^c. 6.1 × 22.5 cm. To judge from the mentions of shamelessness (5), robbery (7), exactors (11), storehouses (14), and registers (16, 18), this fragment was concerned with fiscal reform, probably including more careful control over the warehouses where goods collected by the state were kept.

An upper margin of 4.5 cm. is preserved, and a lower of 4.3 cm. On the back is a mirror image of the first 9 lines of the Coptic text C16, frag. a.

→] . ἀποδο[
] . . υ και [
] επειξα[
] τῶν λοιπτ[
5 ἀνα]ισχύοντων . [.]μβ[
] ἀλλ' εἰσὶν και συ[κο]φά[ν]τρα[ι
] των διαρπαξ[.] . . [
] μιν ἀκριβ . [
] . αυτους και [
10] προσετάξαμεν [. .]ω ετ[
] ητων ἐξαχτ[όρ]ων ε[
] . πρόφασιν ἔχου[ι γ]ὰρ χ[
] π]ολλή προθυμ[ία . . .] . . [
] πρὸς ἀμιλλαν τὰς ἀποθήκας[ς
15] ωνητης ἀδικείας α . [
] εν ἀναγράψει ἐν τῷ[ς
] ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπιμεμησ[
] ἀναγραφὴ διδάξει [
] . τι τῷ ἔθνει ὑπ' ὀψεσι[ν

15 ἀδικίας

(l. 5) ' . . . shameless . . . they are informers too . . . having robbed . . . exact(ly) . . . we have ordered . . . of the exactors . . . excuse; for he has . . . much zeal . . . in competition the storehouses . . . injustice . . . he shall register in the . . . year, apportion(ment) . . . register will show . . . for the province under the eyes . . . '

1 The first letter may be α. Then ἀποδ[suggests a form of ἀποδίδωμι or ἀπόδοσις, but the word division could be ἀπὸ δ[or ἀπ' ὀδ[.

3 From ἐπείγω or a compound.

4 λοιπ[ῶν, λοιπ[αζομένων or the like.

6 Perhaps simply τῶν διαρπαξ[άντων, but something like τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐ]τῶν διαρπάξ[αντες is also possible.

8 ἀκριβ[. [: from ἀκριβής or a related word.

9 The first letter may be σ. That suggests e.g. πρὸς αὐτοῦς or το]σαύτους.

11-2 144(h).16 suggests τῶν πραιποσίτων] ἢ τῶν ἐξακτ[όρων]. On the exactor see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Diocletien à la création du diocèse (284-382)* (Brussels, 1964) 118-26; J. D. Thomas, "The Office of Exactor in Egypt", *CE* 34 (1959) 124-40.

The sense of these two lines may have been 'let no-one of the praepositi or exactors do such-and-such on any pretext (with κατὰ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν in l. 12); for he has (e.g., sufficient salary without this, and in addition risks such-and-such a punishment)'.
 13 E.g., ἔστω οὖν π]ρὸς πρὸς ἀποδομ[ίαν ὑμῶν], 'be therefore very zealous (to carry out your appointed tasks)'.
 15 Letter spacing suggests (but does not impel) a word break between ων and η. Among the possibilities then are ἡ τῆς ἀδικείας ἀρχή, 'the beginning of the injustice' and ἡ τῆς ἀδικείας ἀρχεσθαι, 'or to begin injustice'.
 16 The most obvious supplements are καθ' ἑν ἀναγράφει ἐν τρωϊ[ς] λόγοις, 'he shall register in the records in detail'. The subject of the verb may be the same as that of ἐχέ[ι in l. 12 (the praepositus or exactor? cf. n. there), or may have changed.
 17 In this context ἐπινέμησις in the sense of 'indiction' or 'tax assessment', or a form of ἐπινέμω, seems more probable than a reference to ἐπινέμησις as forced land assignment.
 18 The general idea is presumably that records kept according to this decree will accurately reflect deliveries to and from the storehouses. It seems simplest to take ἀναγραφὴ as the subject of διδάξει, but doubtless a construction with τῇ] ἀναγραφῇ and a different subject could also be found.
 19 In view of the frequent mentions of ἐπαρχιώται, 'provincials', in this text (listed above, p. 88), ἔθνος in the sense of 'province' (*WB* s.v. 3) seems likely.

(b) VIII 2^c. In two parts, which join: (a) 4.7 × 18.5 cm., (b) 6 × 9 cm. (a) has not been removed from the cover, but has been photographed together with (b), which contains the ends of ll. 14-21, in the *Facsimile Edition*. A lower margin of 4.5 cm. is preserved. L. 1 may be the first line of the column.

The subject of this fragment is most unclear. Mentions of enemies (l. 14) and dangers (15) could be references to a real war, ll. 18 and 20 plainly refer to tax collection. Regulations for some sort of military levy, perhaps? On a more banal, and therefore more probable view, the decree may be aimed at rapacious officials who treat their own countrymen as if they were enemies, unmindful of the danger of punishment they thereby incur.

→	] . . σ . [
	] . . . ψα . . ασι [
	] . . σησεισφ . . [
	] . . . . άπο . . τω [
5	] α τῆς ἡ[μ]ετέρας κρίσ[εως] ου τῶν ἐπαρχιωτ[ῶν] . . τὴν μὲν τῶν [
	] . ου λόγον ἀπαιτ[
	] μ[. .] . αὐτουργήματα[
10	] υ φυλαττέσθω . [
	] . . . . μων ἔχου[
	] . . . ρω καὶ ἐμφυλιε[
	] . . ας ἑαυτῶν ὑπερ[
	] καὶ πολεμίους τε καὶ . . . [
15	] . . κινδύνους τε καὶ αμ . [
	] πρὶν τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ποιει[
	] . ιν πειραθείη ἔστρωσαν τὰ[
	] ἐκτὸς τῆς ὀρισμένης ποσότη[τος
	] . . μασιγ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἀπεφην[
20	] . . . τες ἔν τε ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσιν α[
	] η προσεοικυια . [.] ἐξων τοὺς αλ[

(l. 5) 'our judgement . . . of the provincials . . . that of the . . . account . . . own deeds . . . intestine . . . their own . . . both enemies and . . . both dangers and . . . should be attempted, let them be . . . apart from the prescribed quantity . . . the fitting . . . both in the collections . . . the proper . . .'

spellings reported in *LSJ* s.v. is possible. This would then be the latest mention of the charge, on which see most recently N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974) 135-9. But there may be no grammatical connection between χαρτ[and the preceding word.

(e) VIII 5^c. 2.6 × 4.1 cm.

→ — — — —
] . ρ[
] . ατοσα[
]αι καθη[
]κεκινη[
 5] ἐν τοῖς ἐπ[.]ρ[
]ων] ἀνθρωπ[π
 — — — —

(f) VIII 6^c + 7^c. 22.8 × 11.6 cm. Adjoining fragments of two columns, the second of which is in a different hand from that of the pieces of 143 printed up to here. That this edict was intended to check the greed of certain individuals can hardly be doubted (l. 14, πλεονεξίαν), but just what legal offense it was meant to counter is not clear to me. Mentions of 'habitual evil' (9, 10), plotting (13), outrages (15), return (of what? 11), and persons who had never attempted to obtain something through the law courts (12) may point to informers or abuse of the law in connection with debts.

→ — — — —
]ται . ρ . ρτι . [
] . ων ἰμ'έμψεως γα[
]αι ὀπι'ζέ'σθω κατὰ τῶ[ν
]σαν[c. 9]πάρχουσιν λοιπὸν [
 5] αλλοισ[c. 9 σ]υντεταγμένα νῦν [
] . ομι . [c. 10] ἡμᾶς ὑμῖν παρῆναι[
]ζομε[c. 10]τέρας συνμετρίας ὑμῶν[
] δικαίων [c. 10]ων βάλλοντες καταχωσαν[τ
]ατε καὶ γ[c. 8]υγτροφῶ κακεία] γένους ἐκ τῶν [
 10]τινω ὑλα[c. 9 σ]υγτροφῶ κακεία η τῆς ἰδίας
]λομεγ[. . ἀν]αγκάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποδώσεως
]εῖσθαι ἡμεῖς γὰρ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐκδικηκόσιν οὐδεμίαν
] πρυσάσθωσαν ἐπιβουλεύοντες τοῖς τῶν ἐπαρ-

]τ[.]υτω . [. . .]ο[. . .] .ρ[
]θησατε[. . .]αισπαν[
 10]ε τῶ[ν ἀν]θρώπων [. . .]
] τ[ῶν ἀ]νθρώπων[ν
] . [. . .] . λογοι[.] . . . [. . .]
]ρχι[. . .] . [.] απ[
] . α . [. . .]
 15]οι[. . .]

traces of 3 lines

5 πρὸς and another word, or some compound with προσ-, if the reading is correct.

6 Presumably a form of ἀπαιτέω or ἀπαίτησις.

7 A form of ἐπιτάσσω seems likely.

(h-l) The following fragments are the largest and best preserved of a number of bits from 143, none of which is well enough preserved to yield a single certain word.

(h) VIII 10^c. 1.3 × 2.4 cm.

— — — —
] . υρι[
]ατου[
]θειη[
]τοι[
 — — — —

(i) VIII 11^c. 1.3 × 1.2 cm.

— — — —
]θουσ[
] . [. . .]
 — — — —

(j) VIII 12^c. 0.8 × 1.1 cm. Text:]τω[.

(k) VIII 15^c. 1.8 × 2 cm.

— — — —
] . [. . .]
]κε . . [. . .]
] . α [.] . [. . .]
 — — — —

ἐσχόλαζεν is a particular individual or 'the evil-doer' in general. At the end of the line perhaps νῦν or νύχ[τωρ].

18 ὁ τῆς ἀδικείας ἀ[ρχηγός or the like would seem reasonable.

19 μόνα may be from μόνος, or it may be the end of a word such as ἡγε]μόνα. Then perhaps ὄσαπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις κομίζ[εται ἀποθήκαις. If that should be right, cf. in general 143(a).

24 ἀποτετολμημένοις: the perf. pas. part. of ἀποτολμάω is attested in both an active and a passive sense (*LSJ* s.v.); I cannot tell which is meant here. It may agree with ἡμῖν (or ἀνθρ[ώποις, if that is the supplement) or be used substantively.

25 ῥύβδην: here for the first time in a papyrus. It is not clear whether μεριζομένους should be understood as middle or as passive.

(b) VIII 21^c. 1.1 × 1.5 cm. A few letters from the beginning of two lines. Text: κτ[²η η[.

(c) VIII 22^c. 1.1 × 1.6 cm. Text:] . [²τειν[³τελεξ[.

(d) VIII 23^c. 1.5 × 0.6 cm. Text:] . τα . [.

(e) VIII 24^c. 1.7 × 0.5 cm. Text:] . οια[.

(f) VIII 25^c. 3.7 × 6.5 cm.

	—		—		—		—
					]	[ . . . . ]	α
					]	ην προαν-	
					]	ων ἐμπρο-	
					]	ἰδόντες	
5					]	νδεθέντων	
					]	τωνετος . .	
					]	ων ἐπιστρεφ[.]	
					ἄ]	λλω τρόπω	
					]	αις συλων	
10					]	βολήν αρα[
					—	—	—

8 ο in τρόπω corr.

2 προαν-: οἱ πρὸ αν-.

3 The words beginning with ἐμπρο- that have hitherto occurred in papyri are ἐμπροσθεν, ἐμπρόθεσμος, and ἐμπροθέσμως.

4 I.e., ἰδόντες or a compound thereof.

5 I.e., συ]νδεθέντων, ἐ]νδεθέντων,]ν δεθέντων,]ν δὲ θέντων.

9 συλων: συλῶν if from συλάω or σύλη, σύλων if from σῦλον. Of

these three words, only *συλάω* is attested in papyri published up to now.

(g) VIII 26^c. 3.8 × 2.5 cm.

— — — —
]ο ὀφθαλμ[. .]
]ρου χρησίμου
] . εντα ἔπενο-
 ἔ]πειδὴ ἡ ἀπο
 — — — —

2 *χρησίμου*: or perhaps *χρησί μου*, but the first person singular is not elsewhere used in the preserved portions of 143-4 and it is hard to think of a plausible context for *χρησί μου* in a document of this nature. I suppose *χρησίμου* need not be considered.

4 ἀπὸ, ἀπ' ὀ-, or the beginning of a word continued in the next line.

(h) VIII 27^c. 5.5 × 15.8 cm. Not enough of this fragment remains for us to determine the nature of the malpractices of which it speaks. *Exactors* and *praepositi* are mentioned, but it is not clear whether they are regarded as malefactors or agents for restoring observance of the law.

— — — — —
] . ρ[
]ν ταῖς τε κεφαλαῖ[
]κον οὐκ ἂν οὔθ' ὕ . [
 5] καὶ συμφέροντος [
]μεν ἰάματα προσ[
]ατων τε ἐξακτόρ[ων
]ἄξιαν ἐστὶν εναγησ[
]ησελεῖν ὑπέχεσθαι[
]ων ἀνομοτάτων τ[
 10] . [.] ὑμᾶς οὐ παυον[
]ατήσαντες βου[
]ας τούτων κατατ[
]σιων τυγ'χάνουσ[
]ν νόμων καὶ τη[
 15]ν ἀτοποτάτων [
 ἐξάκτ]ωρ (?) ἢ πραιπόσιτος [

] ἡμετέρᾳ διορίσει εἰ[
]θεν πλημμέλημα[
]αι τοῖς παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμ[ο
c. 3 cm. blank

2 The most obvious supplements at the end of the line are κεφαλαί[αις and κεφαλαί[ώδεσι, but there are other possibilities as well. The word is not necessarily dative: an expression such as ταῖς τε κεφαλαί[ωτῶν ἀδικίαις cannot be excluded.

5 The word ἴαμα appears to have occurred previously in papyri only in P. Laur. II 27v.2, if the reading is correct there.

6 Perhaps]α τῶν τε ἐξακτόρ[ων καὶ τῶν πραιποσίτων; cf. l. 16 and 143(a).II-2 n.

7 The word at the end is probably ἐναγῆς, though a construction for ἕνα γῆς could perhaps also be found.

10 If the correct supplement is ὑμᾶς οὐ παύον[τας, the general sense will probably have been 'seeing that despite repeated warnings you do not cease from your misdeeds, we have determined to take the following measures'; but a different form of παύω with some quite other idea may have been written.

14 In this context νόμων in the sense of laws seems reasonably certain. Then perhaps τῆ[ς δίκης.

16 ἐξάκτ]ωρ (?): in view of the mention of exactors in l. 6 above and 143(a).II this supplement appears natural. Of thinkable alternatives, πράκτ]ωρ is probably excluded by the date: the latest reference to a practor in N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (New Haven, 1968 = ASP 3) is A.D. 265. κουράτ]ωρ and κτήτ]ωρ, however, are perhaps just possible.

17 διορίσει: apparently not found elsewhere in papyri. *LSJ* s.v. cites the definitions 'separation' and 'division'; here 'pronouncement' or 'decision' seems to be called for.

18 πλημμέλημα rather than πλημμελήμα[τα on the assumption that the preceding]θεν is part of an adjective or participle modifying this word; but there are other possibilities, e.g. ὅ]θεν πλημμελήμα[τα γίνεται.

19 ἡγεμ[όσι, ἡγεμ[ονικοῖς, or a participle of ἡγεμονεύω. The idea may have been that the perpetrators of certain crimes are to be handed over to the agents of provincial governors, or that certain things are to be reported to them.

145. LETTER

VIII 28^c + 29^c

(a) 8 × 10.5 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

(b) 3.3 × 10.1 cm.

Two fragments of a private letter, too mutilated for translation. Frag. (a) preserves part of the left margin; the relative position of (b) can no longer be determined.

(a)

	→	[.].[...].[...]	πεληψ[
		ο[ὐ]χέτι	παγεντα[
		αγ τῶ ἐνὶ ἡ	τασ[
		τὰ νῦν τε	ἡύρε[
5		[.]ων . . .	νον ιθ[
		[.]ου	εξολατης[
		κατὰ ὄνομα	κα . [
		[.]ε νῦ[ν]	τὰ μηλ[
		[.]	ἔτι ἡ τ[
10		[.] [.]	.ια σου [
		[.] ὀλλα . .	μην[

(b)

		] . ων . . [
		]απεληψ[
		]αζομε[
15		]ωθ μετα[
		] . ν ποιειτ[
		] . μασητη . [
		]α οὔτε τη[
		] νῦν τε[
20		]ου σίτου [
		] παρημελη[

Back:

→] πατρί μου Ἡριγαμ[. .]μ . [

traces of 1 more line

7 κ in κα . [corr. from α

9 ἡ corr. from α

- 2 παγὲν τα[or παγέντα, if γ is correct.
- 4 At the end, ἡύρέ[θη or the like.
- 5 Perhaps τέκνον or τὸ λίνον before ιθ[.
- 6 ἐξολατης: if a single word, the term is new, and the derivation is not obvious. If οὐξεολάτης should be written together, a connection with Latin *vexillum* might be considered, but the phonology is rather remote. Possibly the word division is ἐξ, ὁ Λάτης; for Lates as a personal name cf. P. Teb. IV 1139.5.
- 8 E.g., τὰ μῆλ[α, τὰ μῆλ[οκοπικά, τὰ μῆ λ[, if η is in fact correct.
- 14 The letters preserved are suitable for a form of ἀσπάζομαι, but the following lines do not suggest greetings. A word such as λοιπ]αζόμε[να may therefore be more probable.
- 15]ωθ suggests an Egyptian name, such as the month Θώθ or Φαμενώθ.
- 22 No name beginning with Ηριγαμ- is recorded in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but the reading is very doubtful.

In addition to **143-5** and the Coptic texts **C15-9**, the cover of Codex VIII contained 83 bits of papyrus too fragmentary for transcription.

CODEX IX

Fifty small bits of papyrus written in hands of the late third or early fourth century A.D. Only seven are large enough to preserve a few words. The backs are blank unless otherwise noted.

146. IX 1^c. 4.6 × 2.8. Written in a hand very similar to, and perhaps identical with, that of **44** and **45**. It may further be part of the same text as the following fragment. A top margin seems to be preserved.

→ φιλουμ . []
 — — —

The Brussels MS reads φίλου μο[υ. On the plate the proper name Φιλούμε[νος also appears to be possible.

Back:

↓ — — —
] []
] Φαῖρις α[]

147. IX 2^c. 5 × 2.8 cm. Possibly from the same document as **146**.

→ — — —
] υιος[]
 c. 1.8 cm. blank
] . α[] . []
 — — —

υίός or part of a word or name such as Φλαο]ύιος.

Back:

↓ — — —
 Φαῖρις ἀδελφός[]
 c. 1.5 cm. blank
 . [] κελ[]
 — — —

148. IX 3^c. 4 × 2 cm. Account. The right margin seems to be preserved.

→] . αριω . . ιανος
] . κελει πόλεως
] όμοῦ

2 It does not seem possible to read the name of any known city in this line. Possibly we are dealing with the collection of taxes, with a distinction made between sums owed by villagers and those owed by residents of a nome capital; cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLIV 3169 introd.

149. IX 4^c. 5 × 2.8 cm. The top margin is preserved.

→] δι' ἡμῶν τω[
] . οτε . [

150. IX 5^c. 3.6 × 1.5 cm. Possibly in the same hand as 149. The first word preserved, a form of μετρέω or a compound, suggests a connection with grain.

→]μετρησαν[
]ον [

151. IX 6^c. 3.6 × 2 cm. The text is written against the fibers, the other side being blank. Text: ↓] . . ξαυς . [, traces of 2 more lines.

152. IX 7^c. 4.4 × 1.8 cm. Evidently part of an account. Text: →]β/ εκγ . [.

CODEX XI

153. LETTER

XI 1^c

9.8 × 7 cm.

4th cent. A.D.

Little apart from the greeting of this fragmentary letter is still intelligible.

→ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶ Π[
 Φ . . . ἦχίς . [
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων [εὐχομαι τῷ Θεῷ]
 περὶ τῆς σῆς ὀλοκ[ληρίας
 5 ἀπημ . [.] . τῆν[
 ουκαλ . [. .] εμοι[
 ἐπεστιλ[
 . ἡσα . [

Back: → Φ . . . ἦ]χίς Χηνοβωσχίτ(ης)

9 Χηνοβοσκήτης

'To my lord brother P-, Ph . . . echis. First of all I pray to God concerning your well-being . . . (Back): (To P-), Ph . . . echis from Chenoboskia.'

2 The trace at the end of the line slightly favors π[λειῖστα or π[ολλὰ χαίρειν over simply χ[αίρειν or ἐ[ν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.

3 εὐχομαι τῷ Θεῷ (or τῷ Κυρίῳ) is the minimal supplement. Longer formulations such as εὐχομαι τῷ ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ are also possible.

6 Two possible ways of understanding this line are οὐκ ἄλλ[ω]ς ἐμοί and οὐ καλῶ[ς] ἐμοί.

7 The traces would suit an aorist from ἐπιστέλλω spelled with iotacism after τ, but something like ἐπέστη λ[is also possible.

9 The word for 'an inhabitant of Chenoboskia' appears to be new.

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u = uncle of

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PART TWO
THE COPTIC PAPYRI

BY

J. W. B. BARNS † AND GERALD M. BROWNE

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PREFACE

In preparing this edition of Coptic papyri from the covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices, I have had the good fortune to have at my disposal the preliminary transcripts and notes of the late Professor J. W. B. Barns. What he accomplished before his untimely death greatly aided my work, and the quality of the present edition is significantly enhanced by his contribution. I have examined the originals twice in the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, once in the summer of 1974, and again in December 1976. The first visit to Cairo was funded by the Smithsonian Institution through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt, the second by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; to each organization I am grateful for the financial support which made the completion of this edition possible.

Gerald M. Browne
Urbana, Illinois
26 February 1979

π. 1 13^v: 2
The only pi
which only
the second

CODEX I

1 COPTIC FRAGMENT

Inv. I 13^c: 2 × 2 cm.

The only piece in codex I which is in Coptic is a tiny fragment of which only two letters can be read; the first seems clearly a ω , while the second may be an λ . The verso is blank.

→ -----
] . . [
] ω . λ . [

CODEX VII

2 GENESIS 32.5-21 AND 42.27-30, 35-38

Inv. VII 89^c: 11 × 8.5 cm.; 90^c: 11 × 16.5 cm.; 91^c: 6 × 10 cm.;
92^c: 0.75 × 0.25 cm.; 93^c: 1.00 × 0.60 cm.

With the exception of the exiguous fragments 92^c and 93^c, this text was first published by R. Kasser, "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique," *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) 65-89; to this article the reader is referred for a detailed treatment of the problems involved. The present re-edition provides a revised transcription, equipped with translation, and the commentary indicates the differences between the new transcript and Kasser's. Throughout we have substituted the more conventional dots for Kasser's half brackets (_l and _j); these signs he uses for letters which are damaged but certain as well as for those whose reading is in doubt. In the re-edition we employ a dot only where the letter cannot be read with certainty, and we usually do not record the reading of Kasser's text if it differs from ours only in the case of dotted letters.

Kasser regarded the two folios which the text comprises as parts of a double leaf, of which 89^c and 90^c came from one half and 91^c from the other. On the basis of this assumption he proceeded to give a reconstruction of the entire codex, and he believed that the first folio bore the page numbers 31-32 and the second 69-70 (see pp. 72-74 for his discussion). Only horizontal fiber alignment between the two folios would demonstrate the correctness of Kasser's assumption, and despite repeated autoptic examination of the text in Cairo, we have been unable to detect any indication of such alignment. Consequently the hypothesis that the text comes from a double leaf is hardly possible, and in the re-edition we have preferred to adopt a neutral position and have labeled the two folios as X and Y respectively.

We have had no success in placing the tiny fragments 92^c and 93^c. They cannot fit in with the text lost in folio X, and they may have come from the lost portion of Y.

The text should probably be assigned to the late third or early fourth century of our era; see Kasser, 76.

ΝΖΗΤῸ ΤΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΝΑΚ
 35 ρΑΙ ΝΑΨΤΕ· ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῪ ΔΙΚΑΙ
 ΟΣΥΝΗ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῪ ΜΕ
 ΝΙΜ· ΕΝΤΑΚΑΑΥ ΜῪ ΠΕΚΖῪ
 ΖΑΛ· ΖΡΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΖῪ ΠΑΒΕΡΩΒ
 ΑΪΧΙΟΟΡ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ †ΝΟΥ
 ΔΕ ΔΕΙΡ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΣῪΤΕ
 40 ΜΑΤΟΥΧΟΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῪ ΤΒΙΧ·
 ΝΗΣΑΥ ΠΑΣΟΝ· ΧΕ †Ρ ΖΟΤΕ Α
 ΝΟΚ ΖΗΤῸ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝῸΕΙ

Verso

→ 89^c ΕΡΩΖῪ ΜΜΟΕΙ [ΑΥ]Ω ΜΜΑΑΥ [ΕΖ]
 ΡΑΪ ΕΧῪ ΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ
 ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ †ΝΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑ
 5 ΝΟΥϞ ΝΑΚ· ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΚΩ ΜΠΕΚ
 ΣΠΕΡΜΑ· ΝΘΕ ΜΠΨΩ ΝΤΕΘΑ
 ΛΑΣΣΑ· ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΥΟΠῸ ΖῪ
 ΠΕΦΑΨΑΕΙ· ΑΦῪΚΟΤῪ Μ[ΠΜΑ]
 ΕΤῪΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΕΤῪΜ[ΑΥ]
 10 ΑΦΧΙ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Ν]
 ΝΕ[[Τ]]ΝΤΑΦΕΝΤΟΥ ΑΦΧΟΟΥ[ΣΟΥ]
 ΝΗΣΑΥ ΠΕΦΣΟΝ· ΨΗΤ ΝΒΑ
 ΑΜΠΕ· ΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΒΕΙΕ· ΨΗΤ Ν
 ΕΣΟΟΥ· ΧΟΥΩΤ· ΝΟΕΙΛΕ· ΜΑ
 15 ΑΒ Ν[Β]ΑΜΟΥΛ Ε[ΥΤΣ]Ὺ[ΚΟ] Ν
 [ΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΖΜΕ ΝΕΖΕ ΜΗΤ]
 [ΜΜΑΣΕ ΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΕΙΩ ΜΗΤ]
 [ΝΣΗΒ ΑΦΤΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ]
 90^c Ν[Β]Ι[Χ] ΝΝΕ[Φ]ΖΜΖΑΛ· ΠΟΖΕ
 ΠΟΖΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ· ΠΕΧΑΦ ΔΕ
 20 ΝΝΕΦΖῪΖΑΛ· ΧΕ ΜΟΥΕ ΖΑ
 ΤΑΖΗ· ΝΤΕΤῪΕΙΡΕ ΝῪΟΥ
 ΠΩΡΧ· ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΟΖΕ
 ΕΥΟΖΕ· ΑΦΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤῸ ΜΠ
 ΨΟΡΠ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ· ΧΕ ΕΡ
 25 ΨΑΝ ΗΣΑΥ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΤΩΜῪ·
 ΕΡΟΚ· ΝῸΧΝΟΥΚ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜ[ΟΣ]
 ΧΕ ΕΚΗΠ ΕΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΕΚΝΑ
 ΕΤΩΝ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΑΕΙ

	ΕΤΜΟΥΕ ΖΑ ΤΕΚΖΗ· ΕΚΕΧΟ	19
30	[Ο]Ϛ ΝΑϚ ΧΕ ΝΑ ΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ Ι ΙΑ[Κ]Φ[Β ΝΕ] Ν[Δ]ΩΡΟΝ ΝΕΝΤΑϚ ΤΝΝΟΟΥΣΕ ΜΠΕϚΧΟΕΙΣ ΗΣΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΠΕ· ΖΩΩϚ ϚΟΥ ΗΖ ΝΣΩΝ· ΑϚΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤ῀	20
35	ΜΠΨΟΡΠ· ΜΝ ΠΜΕΥCΝῪΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΟΝ Ν[Ι]Μ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ· ΝCΑ ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥ[Ε] Ε[Ϛ]ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΙΨ[Α] ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΕΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΗCΑΥ	
40	ΖΜ Π[Τ]ΡΕΤΕΤΝΤΩΜΤ ΕΡΟϚ· ΑΥ[Ω] ΝΤΕΤΝΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΕΙϚ ΠΕΚ	21

FOLIO Y

Recto

(ca. 26 lines lost)

→ 91 ^c	[ΠΜΑ ΕΝΤΑΥΟΥΕ]Ζ [ΝΑΥ ΝΖΗΤϚ] [ΑϚΝΑΥ ΕΤΜΕΕ]ΡΕ [ΜΠΕϚΖΑΤ ΑΥΩ] [ΝΕCΖΙΖΡ]ῶ[Ϛ ΝΤ]ΒΟΟ[ΥΝΕ ΠΕΧΑϚ Ν] [ΝΕϚϚ]ΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΑΥ[† ΝΑΙ ΜΠΑΖΑΤ] 5 [ΑΥΩ] ΕΙC ΖΗΗΠΕ Ϛ[ΖΝ ΤΑΒΟΟΥΝΕ] [ΑϚΠ]ΩΨῚ ΝΒΙ ΠΕ[ΥΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ] [ΨΤ]ΟΡΤΡ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜ[ΟC ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ] ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΝ[ΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑϚ] [Ν]ῶΝ ἈΥΕΙ ΨΑ Ιῶ[ΚΩΒ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ] 10 [ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε]ΠΚΑΖ ΝΧ[ΑΝΑΑΝ ΑΥΧΩ] [Ε]ΡΟϚ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ [ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ] ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜ[ΟC ΧΕ Α ΠΡΩ] ΜΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ [ΠΧΟΕΙC Μ] ΠΚΑΖ· ΝΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ [ΕΥΝΑΨΤ]	42.27 28 29 30
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Verso

(ca. 26 lines lost)

↓ 91 ^c	[ΤΕϚΒΟΟΥΝ]Ε ῶ[ΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΥ] [ΖΑΤ ΝΤΟΟΥ Μ]Ν Π[ΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΑΥ] [Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑ]Ϛ ΔΕ Ν[Α]Υ Ν[ΒΙ ΙΑ]	35 36
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[ΚΩΒ ΠΕΥΕΙΩ]Τ· ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝ[ΑΑΤ]
 5 [ΝΑΤΩΗΡΕ Ι]ΩΣΗΦ ΩΟΟΠ [ΑΝ]
 [ΣΥΜΕΩΝ ΩΟ]ΟΠ ΑΝ ΠΚΕ[ΒΕ]
 [ΝΙΑΜΙΝ Τ]ΕΤΝΝΑΧΙΤῆ ΝΑ[Ι]
 [ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑ]ΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩ[Ι]
 [ΠΕΧΕ ΖΡΟΥΒ]ΗΝ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΡ[ΕΙΩΤ] 37
 10 [ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ] ΧΕ ΜΟΥΟΥ[Τ ΜΠΑ]
 [ΩΗΡΕ ΣΝΑΥ] ΕΕΙΩΑΝΤῆ[ΕΝΤΩ]
 [ΨΑΡΟΚ † Μ]ΜΟΦ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΑῶ[ΙΧ]
 [ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ] †ΝΑΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖ[ΡΑΙ]
 [ΨΑΡΟΚ ΝΤΩ] ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΠΑΩ[ΗΡΕ] 38

	92	Recto	↓	Verso
→	-----]. ε . [		↓	----- ]ε . [

	93	Recto	↓	Verso
→	-----]αλ[		↓	----- ]†ε[

Folio X Recto: (32.5) And he commanded them, saying, "Thus you are going to speak to my lord Esau: thus your servant Jacob says, 'I have dwelt with Laban and have stayed up to today, (6) and there have accrued to me sheep and cattle, male servants and female servants, and I have sent to announce to Esau my lord, in order that your servant may find favor in your presence.'" (7) And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, "We went to your brother Esau, and behold, he himself is coming to meet you with four hundred men with him. (8) And Jacob became greatly afraid, and he became distressed and divided the people who were with him and the cattle and the sheep into two companies. (9) And Jacob said, "If Esau comes to the first company and slaughters it, the second will be safe." (10) And Jacob said, "God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, Lord God who said to me, 'Go to the land in which you were born, and I shall do what is good for you,' (11) be a protector for me through all justice and through all truth which you did with your servant; for with my rod I crossed the Jordan, but now I have become two companies. (12)

Save me from the hand of Esau my brother, because for my part I fear him lest he come *Verso*: to strike me and the mothers over their children. (13) And for your part you said to me, 'I am going to do what is good for you, and I am going to make your seed like the sand of the sea, which cannot be counted in its abundance.'" (14) And he slept in that place in that night and took gifts from what he brought and sent them to Esau his brother: (15) two hundred she-goats, twenty he-goats, two hundred sheep, twenty rams, (16) thirty camels who were giving suck to their offspring, forty cattle, ten calves, twenty asses, ten foals, (17) and he gave them through the hands to his servants, each flock apart. And he said to his servants, "Proceed before me and make a separation between flock and flock." (18) And he commanded the first, saying, "If Esau my brother meets you and asks you, saying, 'To whom do you belong, and where are you going, and whose are these which proceed before you?,' (19) you will say to him, 'They are those of your servant Jacob; they are the gifts which he has sent to his lord Esau, and behold, he also follows behind us.'" (20) And he commanded the first and the second and the third and all who followed behind the beasts, saying, "In accordance with this speech will you speak with Esau when you meet him, (21) and you will say, 'Behold, your . . .'"

Folio Y Recto (42.27) . . . the place where they stayed, he saw the bundle of his money, and it was on the mouth of the sack. (28) And he said to his brothers, "My money has been given to me, and behold, it is in my sack." And their heart was amazed, and they were disturbed, saying to one another, "What is this which God has done to us?" (29) And they came to Jacob their father, to the land of Chanaan, and told him everything that had befallen them, saying, (30) "The man, the lord of the land, spoke harsh words with us . . ."

Verso (35) . . . his sack, and they saw their money, themselves and their father, and they became afraid. (36) And Jacob their father said to them, "You have made me childless: Joseph does not exist; Symeon does not exist; even Benjamin you are going to take. It is upon me that all these things have come." (37) And Reuben spoke to his father, saying, "Kill my two sons, if I do not bring him to you. Give him to my hands and for my part I will bring him to you. (38) But for his part he said, "My son . . .".

Folio X Recto

1 **αϩϩω[Ν Ε]ΤΡ[Ο]ΤΟΥ** K. **αϩ** is on a piece once folded over on the verso and now lost; only a speck of the **α** is visible. The **Ν** of **ϩωΝ** and the **Ε** of **ΕΤΡ[Ο]ΤΟΥ** are also on a section formerly folded over on the verso and now restored to its proper place.

Note that **αϩϩωΝ** should be classed as a "hyposyndetic perfect," here corresponding to *καὶ ἐνετείλατο* in the Greek. Throughout we have used "and" when we translate such perfects.

ΜΜΟC: a high point, not noted by K, is visible; the fiber alignment shows that it is not an extension of **ϩ**.

4 **ΜΜΟC** K (sine puncto).

χϵ: read **ΝΒΙ**; see K ad loc.

8 **ϩΜϩαλ**: **α** seems to be corrected from **λ**; K believes that it was rewritten (see note ad loc. and p. 78).

11 **[εΙϩ]** K. Though faint, **ϩ** followed by a high dot can be discerned under magnification.

12 On the letter, apparently canceled, after **εΒολ**; see K p. 78.

13 **[τ]ο[γ] ΝΒΙ Νϩα[ι] [ωΙΝΕ]** K; in the case of **ωΙΝ**, the fibers have been stripped off and only the barest vestiges of ink remain.

14 **Μ[ΜΟC**: only the supralineation remains (cf. K ad loc.).

π[εκ]: K did not read the **π**, of which traces of the horizontal survive.

20 f. **επ[π]αρεμβλον**: see K ad loc. and p. 75 n. 12.

21 **ϩΝτε**: there is a faint high dot after **ε**, not noted by K.

29 **ΝαΙ** K (sine puncto). Of the diaeresis, only the left dot remains.

34 **πεκϩΜ** K; there are faint traces after **Μ**, but they may only be smudges of ink.

35 **[ϩ]αλ** **[ϩ]ραΙ** K.

36 **[α]ίχιοορ** K.

39 The stroke over the final **α** is not recorded in K's text, but he mentions it on p. 79.

Verso

1 **Μ[Μ]ααγ** K.

1 f. **[ϩ]/ραΙ**, K's reading, is perhaps better suited to the lacuna; but with **[εϩ]/ραΙ**, line 1 would be no longer than line 7, the text would conform to Ceugney and Ciasca, and the word division would be unobjectionable (cf. **εϩ/ραΙ** in X R 29 f.).

9 **[ϩΝ]** K.

10 ΝΕ[[Τ]]ΝΤΑϞ-: for the cancellation of the τ, see K p. 79.

ΑϞΧΟΟΥ[COY]: or ΑϞΧΟΟΥ[CE] (see K ad loc.).

11 ΜΒΑ K; in this hand, it is at times hard to distinguish between μ and ν, but we should prefer to read ΜΒΑ (for the form, cf. the first letter of ΝCΑ in line 37 below). Unfortunately, the text provides no other instance of Μ + Β.

12 Χ[Ο]ΥΩΤ K.

13 Μ[Α] K.

14 Only the supralineation is visible in the case of the last two ν's in this line (so K ad loc.).

15 ΖΜΗ K; Ciasca has ΖΜΕ.

18 Ν[ΒΙΧ] ΝΝΕ[ϞΖ]ΜΖΑΛ· K.

21 ΝΝΟΥ: see K ad loc.

24 ΕΡ: the ε seems to have been corrected from ρ (not noted by K).

26 ΝϞΧΝΟϞΚ K; but there is no stroke over the γ: the fibers are damaged so as to give the impression of supralineation.

28 ΕΤΩΝ·: the high dot, which is almost completely invisible except under magnification, was not reported by K.

30 [OC] K.

30 f. Ι/ΙΑ[ΚΩΒ ΝΕ ΝΔ]ΩΡΟΝ K; for the word division, see K p. 75 n. 12.

33 ΖΗΗΠΕ·: K does not record the very faint point.

35 ΠΜΕΥCΝΑΥ: i.e. ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ; see K ad loc.

36 ΠΜΕΖΩΜΤ: the first μ was added above the line (so K); K reads a high dot after τ, but we cannot discern it on the original.

37 Ν[ΙΜ] K.

39 [ΕΤ]ΕΤΝΕΨΑΧΕ K.

40 [ΠΤ]ΡΕΤΕΤΝΤΩΜΤ K.

41 Ν]ΤΕΤΝΧΟΟC K.

ΕΙϞ: written over ΝΑ? (see K ad loc.)

Folio Y Recto

1 [ΜΠΜΑ (Ε)ΝΤΑΥΟΥΗ]Ζ K; there seems to be insufficient room for μ at the beginning of the line unless ΝΤΑΥ- is read; but ΕΝΤΑΥ- would correspond to the spelling elsewhere found in the text (X R 30, 34; Y R 8). The form ΟΥΗΖ should be corrected to ΟΥΕΖ; for the expression ΟΥΕΖ ΝΑ=, see Crum, *Dict.* 506b.

2 ΤΜΕΕ]ΡΕ: so K; for the form, see his *Compléments* ad 182a. The ρ, however, is most uncertain and appears to resemble rather

a 2; but we have been unable to find a Coptic word ending in -2ε and corresponding to the Greek, which here has εἶδεν τὸν δεσμὸν.

3 2P]α[ϸ: this is entirely in a lacuna in K's transcript.

5 4[2N: though damaged, 4 appears to be certain, despite K's reservations in his note ad loc.

7 M[MOϸ K.

9 Presumably after [N]AN there was a mark of punctuation which can no longer be recovered, followed by a space for one letter, then by αγει. K prints [N]AN [. αγει.

12 [MM]OY K; of the first M only the supralinear stroke survives.

απ(ι)ρω]με K; apparently in his entertaining the possibility of πι, he was overly influenced by the Bohairic, which here has πρωμι.

13 At the end of the line, K prints [(ετε) πχοεις (πε) M]. With ετε and πε, the restoration would be too long, and consequently we have preferred the shorter [πχοεις M], which corresponds to the Bohairic (πβς μπικαζι).

14 K prints [εγναωτ (αγω)], but there is probably not enough room for the conjunction.

Verso

1 [αγναγ K.

4 πεγ(ε)ιω]τ· K; presumably he thought the full spelling would be slightly too long for the space available, but we believe that the lacuna can accommodate ειωτ, which is also the form found elsewhere in the text (X R 26 and 28).

7 [Nαι] K.

8 [τηρογ (ντ)α]γει K; of the two witnesses to this text, one reads αγει, and αγει is restored in the other (cf. K ad loc.). With the first perfect, the restoration is too short; the second perfect, which suits the space available, effectively renders the emphasis implicit in the Greek (ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐγένετο πάντα ταῦτα).

ε[χωι] K.

13 †Nα-: N corrected from κ?

3 HOMILY OR EPISTLE

Inv. VII 100^c: 8 × 8.1 cm.

This text is written in a careful uncial hand; the α at times has a peculiar form, with a long and almost vertical tail.

The content is somewhat puzzling; the text is cast in homiletical or epistolary form, but the absence of customary formulas seems to make it unlikely that it is a personal letter like the others in cover VII. The fact, however, that the verso is blank suggests that it is not from a literary codex. Perhaps it is a copy of an individual homily or letter from a person in high authority circulated to monastic communities. The text evidently exhorts its readers to the pursuit of virtue; the last line may well have contained a citation from a prophet, but the reading is uncertain. For the suggestion that the text may have been written by Pachomius, see *Introd.* 10-11.

→]ΝΖΝCΝΗΥ ΖΜ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ Τ . [
]ΑΙΤΙΑ ΖΜ ΠΙCΤΡΑΗΛ ΕΑΥ . [
] . ΤΒΒΗΥ ΕΘΒΙΗΗΥ ΕΘΝ . [
] . ΔΕΙΟΥΩΨΕ Ω ΝCΝΗΥ Ζ[
 5 ΝΤΕ]ΡΙCΖΔΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ Ν[
] . . . ΠΩΤ ΝCΩϞ ΝΤΕΤΝΠΦ[Τ
 Π]ΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΘΑΥ ΜΝ Π[
 Ν]ΤΑ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ ΜΠΝΟ[ΥΤΕ
]CΑΖΟΥ . CΕΚΟΝΔΦΡΟCΖ . [

1 ΖΕΝ-; last letter in line either ο or ω 2 ΠΙCΡΑΗΛ 3 Of the first letter only a faint speck remains: perhaps ρ or ζ (Ε]ΤΤΒΒΗΥ cannot be read); ΕΤΘΒΒΙΗΥ 4 First letter: ι, η, ν, or π; not ε; -ΟΥΩΨ; ΝΕCΝΗΥ 6 Probably Μ]ΠΕΡΠΩΤ 7 ΠΕΘΟΟΥ 9 After Υ, apparently a high horizontal, e.g. τ; at end of line ζ could also be read as β.

... brothers in spirit ... cause in Israel ... pure, who are (?) humble ... I wished, ο brothers ... when (?) I wrote to you, saying "be ... do not (?) run after it (?) and run ... run from evil and ... which the prophecies of God ...

4 LETTER OF DANIEL TO APHRODISI(OS)

5 LETTER OF APHRODISI(OS) TO SANSNOS

Inv. VII 94^c: 16.2 × 21 cm.; 95^c: 2.3 × 2.4 cm.; 96^c: 1.5 × 1 cm.

These two letters are written, along the fibers, on both sides of a nearly complete sheet of papyrus of fair quality. Photographs taken at the preliminary stage of separating the contents of this cover show parts of the recto text subsequently lost; these have

been incorporated in the photographic reproduction in pl. 51 of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Cartonnage* (Leiden 1979).

The text on the recto (4), a letter from Daniel to Aphrodisi(os), is in a crude style in terms of orthography; but the composition is grammatical and competent, and there are only a few serious spelling errors, though we find occasional lapses from the correct Sahidic at which the writer evidently aims. He expresses concern at the recent illness of his correspondent, and relief at the news that he is on the way to recovery, with an apt quotation from the Epistle to the Hebrews. The letter ends with expressions of loyal affection for Aphrodisios and the hope that the writer will be reunited with him. Both sender and recipient are evidently members of religious communities, and the latter, who is perhaps identical with the Aphrodisios mentioned in Greek text 69,¹ is addressed in terms of high regard and would appear to have been of some standing; this fact makes the standard of literacy shown by the text on the verso the more surprising. Someone—presumably Aphrodisios himself—has defaced the writing on the recto by scratching it out with his pen and has made several blots.

The text on the verso (5) is a letter from Aphrodisios himself; its addressee, despite the variant spelling of his name, may be the Sansnos with whom much of the correspondence from cover VII is concerned.² It is written in very large, square, thick letters, labored and badly spaced; the impression it gives of semi-literacy is amply borne out by its atrocious spelling and grammatical aberrancies, which in more than one place make interpretation uncertain. We therefore first give a purely diplomatic transcription, to which we then add an attempt at a correct text of all but the fragmentary last line; it is upon this second text that the tentative translation rests. It appears that Aphrodisios asks Sansnos to postpone the dispatch of some wheat which he has requested, since he is too ill to deal with the matter; in fact, he does not know whether he will survive. He also gives instructions about some money transactions.

We have not been able to place the tiny fragment catalogued as inv. VII 96^c. It is too small to warrant transcription.

¹ But see Introd. 9.

² See Introd. 7-9.

father, be relieved with your whole heart. For I heard that you fell sick with a serious sickness, and my heart was much grieved . . . But nevertheless I am a wretched, sinful weakling; I was not worthy that God should set me in this role. [For] who [am I?] It is God who knows what is in the heart [of everyone.] For when I heard, my heart was grieved, while I sought to get news of you, since the others who are in the house with me continue (?) to be greatly benefited. Now, therefore, since news of you will . . . you, it cheered my heart greatly concerning what I was searching after, desiring to get news of you. Now, therefore, my lord father, since my lord brother Sourous has told me that you have improved, my heart has been relieved. For it is written: "Whom the Lord loves, he is wont to chastise; he scourges every son whom he will receive to himself." Since, my beloved, God has raised you up, you are cleansed by the sin[less blood]; then be of good cheer, and I shall stand [with you, for] I put my hope in God that I shall be set with you. Have the goodness to send up prayers, both you and your blessed brothers who are with you. Now, therefore, my beloved [brothers, remember me] in your prayers; my [ascetic] lords, [you are our] strong refuge, after God. I am convinced [that if we are in any] place in the world, when we then come, you will become [a] blessing [for me], and I shall live. Be [strong] in the Lord.

1 ΔΑ[ΝΙ]ΗΛ: despite damage and cancellation, the restoration seems certain; ΔΑ[ΟΥ]ΕΙΔ cannot be read.

4 f. ΚΩ ΝΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ [Μ]ΠΕΚΖΗΤ: see Crum, *Dict.* 715b for comparable expressions.

9 f. Perhaps ΑΝ[ΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΓ] ΝΙΜ, "For who am I?" But ΝΙΜ might not be interrogative, but indefinite: "any."

10 At the end of the line perhaps {Ν}ΝΟΥΘΝ ΝΙ[Μ], "of everyone."

12 Perhaps ΔΙΑ[ΤΕΛΕΙ], "continue."

16 For Sourous, see *Intro.* 9.

17-19 The quote is from *Hebr.* 12.6.

20 f. Perhaps ΖΜ Π[ΕC]ΝΟΥ [ΝΑΤ]ΝΟΥΕ, "by the sinless blood."

21 At end, perhaps [ΖΑ]ΤΗ[Κ ΧΕ], "with you, for . . ."

22 †ΖΕΛΠΙC: i.e. †ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ; the use of a Greek noun in place of a verb is not uncommon in Coptic; compare the following examples from E. A. E. Raymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Four*

Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices (Oxford 1973): Paese and Thecla 51 R i 29 f. **ΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΕΡΟΙ** (see edd.'s note ad loc.), Shenoufe 112 V i 7 **ΝΗΤΡΕΥΘΥΣΙΑ** (which, despite the edd.'s note, need not be corrected to -Ρ **ΘΥΣΙΑ**), Shenoufe 120 V ii 32 **ΑΦΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΕΡΟΝ**, Colluthus II (App.) 17 v i 19 f. **ΝΤΧΡΙΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΝ** (which the edd. needlessly emend to -Ρ **ΧΡΙΑ**).

24 Perhaps **ΝΑΜΕΡ[ΑΤΕ ΝΣΟΝ ΑΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ]**, "my beloved brothers, remember me."

25 Possibly **ΝΑÇΚ[ΙΤΗ]Ç Ν[ΤΕΤΝ ΠΕΝ-]**, "... ascetic, you are our ..."

26 At end perhaps **[ΧΕ ΕΝΖΝ ΛΑΑΥ]**, "... that if we are in any ..."

27 **ΕΝΨΑΕΙ**: for the form of the conditional, see 2 X R 22, and Kasser's comments in "Fragments du livre biblique de la Genèse cachés dans la reliure d'un codex gnostique", *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) 83.

At end possibly **[ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥÇ]/ΜΟΤ**, "a blessing for me."

28 The last words are written large; probably **Χ[ΡΟ ΖΜ] ΠΧΟΕΙÇ** "be strong in the Lord."

5

→ . ΑΠΡΟΤÇΕΠΕΖΕΙΝΖΑΝΣΝΕΟΥΣΝΧΑΕΙΣΧΕ[
 ΧΕΡΕΖΑΘΗΝΖΒΝΙΜ†ΨΙΝΕΑΡΑΚΜ[[Ι]]ΝΝΕΤ
 ΝΜΕΚΧΕΕΤΤΒΕΝΚΟΥΕΙΝΣΟΥΟΝΔΑ[
 ΧΟΣΝΕΚΕΤΒΗΤΟΥΧΕΤΑΟΥΣΕΑΡΙΠ . [

5 ΤΟΡΖΜΕΨΑΝ†ΤΝΝΑΟΥΝΖΩΟΥΧΕ[
 †ΨΩΝΕΑΖΝΧΩΜΕΧΙΧΟΥΧΑΜΔΕ[
 ΒΙΩΡ·ΝΔΟΟΤ . ΦΝΝΑΒΡΑΜ†ΜΗΤ[
 ΜΩΣΗÇ†ΣΑΟΥΝΑΠ'ΟΛΟΝΖΗΤ . . [

ΧΕ†ΣΑΟΥΝΕΝΧΕ . ΥΠΕΤΝ'ΑΨΩΠΕ[

10 **ΝΜΑΕΙΕΙΔΕ . ΕΕΙΖΝΠΨΩΜ·Α'ΕΔΕΕΙΩΝ[**
 ΝΕ . ΒΑ ΕΜΕΑΥ . [

1 The line begins with what appears to be merely a blot, but if so, it was made before the letter was written, since the writing begins a little to the right. 4 At end: **ε, θ, ο, σ, or ω** 7 **ΝΔΟΟΤ** . **ϕ**: **τ** added above the line 8 Last two letters probably **ΟΥ** 9 **ΧΕ** added in left margin

10 **ΕΙΔΕ** .: after **ε**² perhaps **ο** corrected to **ε**, or **ο** canceled

**ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣ(ΙΟΣ) ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΣΑΝΣΝΩΣ ΖΜ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ {ΧΕ}
 ΧΑΙΡΕ. ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΤ
 ΝΜΜΑΚ· ΧΕ (?) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΣΟΥΟ ΝΤΑΙ**

5 ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΤΟΟΥΣΕ, ΑΡΙ Π . [
 ΤΟΡΖΜΕ (?) ΨΑΝ†ΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΝΩΟΥ, ΧΕ
 †ΨΩΝΕ ΕΖΕΝΘΩΩΜΕ (?). ΧΙ ΧΟΥΤΑΓΤΕ [Ν]
 ΒΙΝΘΩΡ ΝΤΟΟΤΓ ΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ· † ΜΗΤ [Μ]
 ΜΩΥΣΗC {†CΟΟΥΝ} ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ·
 ΧΕ †CΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ
 10 ΜΜΟΙ, ΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΕΕΙ ΖΜ ΠCΩΜΑ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΕΩΝ[Ζ]

It is Aphrodis(ios) who writes to Sansnos, in the Lord, greetings. Before everything, I greet you and those with you. Concerning the small quantities of wheat concerning which I said to you, "buy them," . . . until I send for them, because I am sick with cramps (?). Take twenty-four talents from Abraham; give ten to Moses {I know} out of them. For I do not know what is going to befall me, whether I shall come out of the body or I shall live . . .

1 ΖΑΝCΝΕΟΥC: doubtless a writing of the common name CΑΝCΝΩC.

3 ΧΕ: apparently redundant; perhaps an ellipse is involved: "[know] that . . ."

4 f. The end of line 4 and the beginning of 5 yield no obvious sense. Perhaps ΑΡΙ ΠΕ[ΖΜΟ]Τ ΟΥΩΡΖ (for ΟΥΩΖΡ) ΜΜΟΟΥ, "be good enough to set them aside." ΟΥΩΡΖ, "set free, open, renounce" (cf. Dem. *wrh*, "set free, admit") and ΟΥΩΖΡ, "put aside, save, spare?" (possibly to be equated with *whr*, "take care of, provide")¹ seem at times to have interchanged; cf. Ryl 368 n. 6. For the spelling without ΟΥ-, cf. BKU III 403.4 and 10 ΑΙΟΡΕΖΓ.

6 †ΨΩΝΕ ΑΖΝΧΩΜΕ (= ΕΖΕΝΘΩΩΜΕ?): the interpretation of this phrase is very doubtful. If ΘΩΩΜΕ is right, it should mean something like "cramps"; the meaning "perversion" listed in Crum, *Dict.* 818a is hardly appropriate.

8 It seems likely that †CΑΟΥΝ is here mistakenly written in anticipation of the same word in the next line.

10 At the beginning of the line, the writer seems to intend ΝΜΜΑΙ, but this itself appears to be a mistake for ΜΜΟΙ. ΜΜΟ is regularly used with ΨΩΠΕ in the sense of "befall, happen to" (Crum, *Dict.* 578b).

ΕΕΙΖΝΠΨΩΜ·Α (= ΕΙ ΖΜ ΠCΩΜΑ), "to come out of the body," is one of the many euphemisms for "to die."

¹ See J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge 1976) 216 and 223.

	[	]. Τ ἩΜΕΡΙΤ Τ!
	[	] ΝΑΚ ΧΕ ΚΧΩ
10	[	] . [ . ] ΠΑΙ ΕΦΝΑΙ
	[	] ΜΝ ΠΕΕΙ
	[	] ΨΩΣΛΑΥ
	[	] ΨΩΣΜ
	[	] ΕΜΕΦΤ ΦΦ
15	[	] ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ
	[	] ΕΥΜΠΕΤ[
	[	] ΘΕΟΣ ΝΖΟ[
	[	] ΩΝΦΠ[
	[	] ΝΕ[

Verso

↓

]. ΙC . [

] ΜΠΩΑ[

] ΝΤΕ[Ι]Θ[Ο]Τ[

] . ΝΟΥΨΙΝ . [

5] . . ΤΕ . . [

Address

→

] . ΑΠΡ[.] . ΗΤ[. .] . ΕΙΩΤ

] ΤΕ . [

1 ff. It would appear that each of the first four lines at least began a little to the right of the preceding. 2-5 There are traces of ink before the beginning of each line; they are perpendicular to the writing, and perhaps the scribe continued the letter in the margin; opposite line 5 an α seems secure:] Α[.] etc. 2 Over the χ of ΧΕΡΕ a blot 4 At end, very faint traces after Η 5 At end, another blot 8 At beginning, before Τ, a stroke, low, apparently not part of Ω; perhaps fortuitous. At end, no certain traces after Τ!

10 First letter an upright, perhaps 1 Verso 1 Perhaps ΧΟ]ΕΙC Ν[Address 1 At beginning, before α, perhaps Π or Μ 2 After ΤΕ perhaps merely a blot?

1-7 These lines may be translated: "To my beloved father, Pahome, Papnoute, in the Lord, greetings. Before everything I greet you today; I greet my brother E--- . . . I am not worthy, my beloved father . . . to greet you . . . father Makari(os) . . ."

5 [ΝΤΜ]ΠΩΑ: perhaps the negative particle αν was inadvertently omitted after ΝΤΜΠΩΑ.

7 ΜΑΚΑΡΙ: his designation as ΕΙΩΤ suggests that Makari(os) was a person of some consequence; cf. Barns, *Prel. Rep.* 14.

8 Perhaps $\tau\iota$ /[$\mu\theta\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$]; cf. line 17.

Verso

2 Probably $\eta\tau\prime$] $\mu\pi\omega\alpha$ [$\alpha\eta$ (cf. R 5).

2 f. may be tentatively translated as "I am not] worthy [of (an honor, aut sim.)] of this magnitude."

Address

6 f. We may possibly restore: $[\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma \mu]\mu\pi\alpha\pi\rho[\omicron]\phi\eta\tau[\eta\varsigma]$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ [$\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon \zeta\iota\tau\mu \mu\alpha\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon$] $\tau\epsilon$, "deliver it to my prophet and father Pahome, from Papnoute." Mr. James Goehring has called our attention to the fact that Pachomius is frequently referred to as "our father, the prophet Apa Pachomius," in an Arabic text published by A. van Lantschoot, "Allocution de Timothée d'Alexandrie," *Le Muséon* 47 (1934) 13-56 (see, e.g., the opening section on p. 26). Further, the phrase $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \mu\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ is regularly used by Besa in his *Life of Shenoute* as a designation of his master (J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii vita bohairice* [CSCO Copt. 2.2]; see, e.g., 14.10).

7

→ a		<div style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">]. [] η . . []. [.] $\epsilon \epsilon\varrho$. . [] $\mu\alpha\lambda\omega \chi\epsilon \eta\alpha\epsilon$. [5] $\mu\epsilon\varrho\psi\omega\varsigma\bar{\mu}$] . . $\alpha\gamma\omega \mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\varrho$] . $\chi \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\varsigma \alpha\eta$] . . $\omega \alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega$] . $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\chi$ </div>
→ b		<div style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">]. [] . $\iota\kappa\alpha$ [.]] $\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta\theta\upsilon \alpha\gamma\omega$] $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota \tau\epsilon$ 5] $\epsilon\epsilon\iota \eta\tau\eta\alpha$] $\epsilon \eta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\varsigma$] $\eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$] $\eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$] $\eta\epsilon \epsilon\rho\omega\tau\bar{\eta} \mu$] . $\psi\alpha$. . </div>

5 [†]ψΙΝ[ε] εΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΑΝΕΧΑ[
 ΝΝΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΜΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΑ[ΓΑΘΟΣ]
 ΠΝΑΗΤ †ΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΛΑΟΣ . [
 †ΨΙΝΕ ΝΝΣΝΗΟΥ ΤΗΡ[Ο]Υ Α[
 ΕΤΟΥΡΕΙ[].. Θ[
 10 . ΜΕΥ . [].. Ν[
 [..].. []ζΑ .. [
 []ΨΑΡΑ . Ν[
 [.] . Ν[.] . []COC ΑΠΠΑ ϜΑ[
 ΕΤΗΗ ΟΥΨΗΜ ΕΒΡΕ ΨΕΛΒΑ[Μ
 15 ΜΝ ΟΥΨΗΜ ΕΝΕΨΒΡΕ [
 ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΣΑΝΣΝΩ ΠΕΤΕΒΕ . [
 ΧΡ . . . ΜΜΟϞ ΤΝΝΑΥ ΝΠ[
 ΑΥΨ ΤΕΤΝΣΝ† ΝΕΝΠΕΤΝ[
 ΕΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ [

b -----

] . ΗΙ . [
] . ΑΠΠΑ ΣΑΝΣΝΩ Ρ[
]ΝΝΝΕΒ ΨΛΗΛ[

c -----

]ΝḠΗΝΟΥ . [
].. ΕΜ . [

d -----

]ΠΑΣΟΝ . [

Verso a

→ Τ]ΕΕC ΕΜΠΑΙΩΤ [] ΠΨΨC . . ΨΨΟΝ
 ΨΑϜΕΝΗ ΜΟΝΟΧΟC

a 2 CΘ . . . : apparently not CΑΝΣΝ[Ω 3 ΜΠΧΟΕΙC? So also in
 line 6 below 4 ΝΑΓΑΘΟC, as in line 6 6 ΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ 7 ΕΠΛΑΟC
 8 ΕΝΕCΝΗΥ 12 Above ΨΑΡΑ . Ν an illegible supralinear addition
 13 Possibly ϜΑ[ΝCΝΩ 14 ΕΤΒΕ (?); ΕΒΡΑ (Ν)ΨΛΒΟΜ 15
 ΕΝΕΨΒΡΕ: ΝΕΒΡΑ 17 Possibly ΧΡΙΑ, followed by Θ[Ε] 18
 ΤΕΤΝCΝΤΕ 19 ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΜ ΠΧΟΕΙC

b 1 First letter probably Ν; last might be Ρ 2 ΑΠΑ 3 ΝΕΧ

c 1 Last letter possibly Ν

verso a ΤΑΑC ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ; after this a blot; there may well have been
 a space before the name of the addressee 2 ΜΟΝΑΧΟC

a

2 The line may well have begun [†ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲱ]† ϣⲟ . . . [, "I greet my father So---." But if so, the spacing seems to require some further designation of the recipient at the beginning of the next line.

3 Perhaps **ΠΝΟ]Β ΝΝΠΧΟΕΙ[** (i.e. **ΜΠΧΟΕΙC**), "the great one of the Lord." Whatever the word may have been, it may have followed **ΠΑΝΕΧΑ[** in line 5 as well.

4 (cf. 6 f.) The expression **ΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΝΑΗΤ** is somewhat puzzling. At first sight it could appear to qualify the person in each case: "the good, God-loving one, the compassionate." **ΑΓΑΘΟΣ**, however, is generally an epithet of God himself; and if **ΑΓΑΘΟΣ** and **ΝΑΗΤ** are applied to the same person, it is hard to see why the writer should not have joined the epithets with the attributive **Ν**. Possibly, therefore, the expression means "the lover of the good God, the compassionate one."

5 **ΠΑΝΕΧΑ[**: the name **ΠΑΝΕΧΑΤΗΣ** is not uncommon; see *NB* and *Onomasticon*, s.v.

7 Perhaps restore **ΑΠΛΑΦC Τ[ΗΡΦ ΑΥΩ**, "(I greet) all the people and . . ."

9 Perhaps a relative clause.

14 f. Although the reading of line 15 is by no means certain after **ΕΝΕΦΒΡΕ**, it is not impossible that we have **ΕΝΕΦΒΡΕ ΦΕΛΘ[ΑΜ**, a repetition in phonologically fuller form of **ΕΒΡΕ ΦΕΛΘΑ[Μ** in line 14.

In *Prel. Rep.* 15, this text was described as follows: "Another Coptic letter seems to compare the growth of the particular community to which it was addressed to that of a grain of mustard seed." This description was made before the piece was assembled in its present form; formerly it was believed to contain the phrase **ΑΥCΗ ΤΕΤΝCΗ† ΝΘ[Ε ΝΟΥΒΡΟΒ (?)] ΜΝ ΟΥΨΗΜ ΕΝΕΦΒΡΕ ΦΕΛΘ[ΑΜ**, "your foundation has been set like a seed and a little grain of mustard." What was then interpreted as **ΑΥCΗ ΤΕΤΝCΗ† ΝΘ[Ε** has been shown to be misread, and the fragment to which it belongs has been fixed as the beginning of line 18: **ΑΥΨ ΤΕΤΝCΗ† ΝΕΝΠΕΤΝ[**.

b

3 **-ΝΕΒ ΨΛΗΛ**: cf. 4.23.

9-14 MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

We here give a transcription of some of the tiny Coptic fragments which are found in this cover but which we have not been able to identify. We include only the larger fragments or those which contain at least one identifiable word.

9

Inv. VII 111^c: 4.7 × 2.8 cm.

(Upper margin?)

→] . . . ωβεϥον

] . . . ωβεϥον

(The verso is blank)

10

Inv. VII 115^c: 2.5 × 3.8 cm.

→]ϥαβω[

(The verso is blank)

ⲓ ϥαβω[: e.g. ⲧⲛⲁⲧ]/ϥαβωⲧⲛ, "I shall teach you."

11

Inv. VII 117^c: 4 × 0.8 cm. (Which side preceded the other is unknown.)

a -----

→]ⲑⲉⲓⲗⲕⲁ[

b -----

→]ϥⲓ[

]ⲛ[

(One line lost)

] . [

]ⲑⲓ[

a

ⲓ]ⲑⲉⲓⲗⲕⲁ[: perhaps the personal name ⲑⲉⲕⲕⲁ?

12

Inv. VII 118^c: 2.5 × 0.7 cm.

→] . ε η α ι ς [

(On the verso: faint traces, perhaps of writing)

1 The demonstrative pronoun **ναί** may have been intended here.

13

Inv. VII 120^c: 1.5 × 1.8 cm.

Δ ε . [

(The verso is blank)

14

Inv. VII 126^c: 1.6 × 1.7 cm.

] . ε . [
] π α η ς [ε

(The verso is blank)

in VIII 46^c
The hand is
shows that th
er to enable
the gen
the standar
[10
[20
[30
5 [40
[50
[60
10 [70
[80
...
his Isaac,
More every
brothers.
each othe
1 ψα: Ψ
2. sv.
3 ηεσο
Describe m
in VIII 43
1.5 cm.
the fragm
remains pa

CODEX VIII

15 LETTER OF ISAAC, PSAI, AND BENJAMIN TO MESOUER(IS)

Inv. VIII 46^c: 6.8 × 8.2 cm.

The hand is of an uncial type, and irregularity in size and shape shows that the writer is not very expert. Too little remains of the text to enable us to restore more than the opening formula or to judge the general standard of the orthography. The dialect seems to be standard Sahidic. The verso preserves no trace of an address.

	[ICA]AK M[N] ΨΑΙ ΜΝ ΒΕΝ[ΙΑΜΙΝ ΝΕΤ]
	[C2]ΑΙ ΜΕΣΟΥΗΡ[(IC) ΧΑΙΡΕ. ΖΑΘΗ Ν]
	[2Ω]Β ΝΙΜ ΤΝΩΙΝΕ [ΕΡΟΚ
	[. .]Ν ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC Μ[N
5	[. .]ΝΕ ΝCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟ[Υ
	[N]ΕΤΖΑΖΤΗΚ Ε. [
	[. .] ΜΝ ΠΜΝΤΟ[ΥΕ
	[. .] ΝΑΚ ΜΝ . [
	[. .]. ΜΝΤ. [
10	[. .]ΦΟΥCCE[
	[. .]ΕΡΗ[Υ (?)

It is Isaac, Psai, and Benjamin who write to Mesouer(is), greetings. Before everything we greet you . . . who is (?) good and . . . all the brothers . . . who are with you . . . and the eleven . . . to you and . . . each other (?) . . .

1 ΨΑΙ: Ψάι(ς) is common in the papyri; see *NB* and *Onomasticon*, s.v.

2 ΜΕΣΟΥΗΡ[(IC): cf. Μεσουήρις in *NB* and *Onomasticon*. The scribe may have written simply ΜΕΣΟΥΗΡ.

16 PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. VIII 41^c (a): 3.5 × 10.5 cm.; 42^c (b): 1.5 × 1.5 cm.; 43^c (c): 3 × 1.5 cm.; 44^c (d): 2.3 × 2.3 cm.; 45^c (e): 3.5 × 3.1 cm.

Five fragments survive of this text. The first line of fragment a contains part of the standard epistolary formula. The relative

position of b and c can be established by fiber correspondence with a,¹ but how much has been lost between the three pieces we cannot determine. Part of the left margin appears in a, and c preserves some of the right. Fragment d cannot be placed, but e, with its lower margin intact, represents the end of the letter, or at least the last part of a column. The hand is neat and practiced and bears strong resemblance to an early fourth-century book hand. Although too little remains to justify a translation, it is clear that this letter is written in standard Sahidic, with good orthography. The papyrus is extremely thin, and some of the writing on the recto has penetrated through to the verso.

The verso of the Greek text published as **143a** contains a mirror image of the first nine lines of fragment a.

→ a	-----		
	ζαθη νζ[ωβ νιμ		
	†νου β[ε		
	μεετα[
	νασρ[ε	b	-----
5	ουηπε[		]. [ c
	εβωκ ν[		]μενν . [
	ψαεινρ . [		]πφζ νσζαί
	ουωψ[		] . τφεαειν
	ερηυ[		]αληθωσ
10	[-----
	[...]. [
	ωκαν . [
	ιμπια[
	ταίσαζ[
15	φυσιν[
	ωψταα[
	μπερβεκ[ε		
	ναίχ . [
	β . [

¹ On Pl. 67 of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Carton-nage* (Leiden 1979), the position of the fragments must be slightly adjusted: 42^c and 43^c are to be moved up one line in respect to their alignment with 41^c; see J. M. Robinson's remarks in his Preface, xxi.

d -----
] . κζ . . ζ[
] ω ω̄ το[
] εχοϋωτ[
] ης μν[
 5] κ[

 e -----
] ρ . [.] . [
 ς ηη] γ τ η ρ ο υ ε[
 ψ ι] η ε ε ρ ω τ η ν [

a

1 Probably the addressee and sender were named in the preceding line(s). After ζαθη νζ[ωβ νιμ, restore †ψινη ερωτην vel sim. (cf. e 3), "before everything I greet you."

13 The first letter appears to be iota with the left dot of a diaeresis.

e

3 ψι]ηε: probably †ψι]ηε (cf. a 1), "I greet you."

17 PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. VIII 37^c (a): 6 × 8.5 cm.; 38^c (b): 3.8 × 5 cm.; 39^c (c): 2.3 × 5.4 cm.; 40^c (d): 3.2 × 6.8 cm.

This letter is preserved in four fragments, of which the first (a) contains a greeting formula and doubtless came near the beginning; it also displays part of the left margin. The position of the remaining pieces cannot be established. No writing is visible on the versos.

→ a -----
 . ατε[
 †ψινηε
 νγαρ η . [
 . . . επ[
 5 επβ . . . [
 νοχφ[
 ραωε[
 νακ . [
 . εν . . [
 10 . . [

b

] Traces of 2 lines [
]ΝΠΡΕΖ[
] . ΟΟΥΦΜ . [
 5]Υ[. .]Ϝ[.] . [

c

] . [
] . ΝΑ[
] . . ΡΑ[
] ΗΝ[
 5] . . [
] . Τ . [
] Ϝ[

d

] ΡΑ[
] ΖΟ[
] . . . Τ[
] . ΠΖΟΦ [
 5] ΒΕΛΟΚΕ[
] . ΕΡΦ[
] . Φ[
] Ν[
] . [

a

3 ΝΡΑΡ: i.e. γάρ; for the spelling, see, e.g., P. E. Kahle, *Bala'izah* (Oxford 1954) I 102.

18 PRIVATE LETTER

Inv. VIII 30^c (a): 10.2 × 2.1 cm.; 31^c (b): 3.5 × 1 cm.; 32^c (c): 5.5 × 7.8 cm.; 33^c (d): 1.9 × 6.8 cm.; 34^c (e): 1.3 × 3.7 cm.; 35^c (f): 1.5 × 2.7 cm.; 36^c (g): 0.8 × 3.5 cm.

We publish here several scraps of what is evidently a private letter, although the first line (a 1) contains nothing recognizable as a personal name or intelligible as a formula of greeting. Fragment a bears the upper margin; we have not been able to establish the

live posi
 ant. Ther
 verso of

relative position of the other pieces. The writing is large and fairly fluent. There is part of a line of writing, probably an address, on the verso of e.

→ a]ϣ . . ουεεναειμαφαραει[

b -----

]αγαπη[
]. [. .] . η[

c -----

κ]ατα θετην[
]. ηου μονον[
]τινου τιςζ[αι
]αχεψω . [

5]η̄ μ̄π̄νουτε α[
]υρε . [.] . [.] ο . [
]. []†ζα[
]ζ̄η̄ π[
]. ειπ[

d -----

]φειχ[
]ουνα[
]ωκατ[
]νειμ[

5] . . τιμ[

e -----

] . . [
] . . [
]ετ[
]. α[

f -----

] . ατ[
]η̄η̄[
]ζε[

g -----
]τ[

Verso e -----
 →] . . . ογχ[αι (?)

- a 1 Perhaps]**ϣ**μ**ξ**ο**υ**ε (i.e. **ϣ**μ**ε**ε**υ**ε) **ε**να**ει**, "he is thinking of these"
 g First letter possibly **κ**
 c 2 **η** corrected from **ει**
 d 5 Perhaps **ε**]π**ι**τ**ι**μ[**α** (*ἐπιτιμᾶν*)

19 PRIVATE LETTER (?)

Inv. VIII 58^c (a): 7 × 2.5 cm.; 59^c (b): 2 × 2.3 cm.

This text, perhaps a private letter, consists of two fragments; their relative position cannot be determined. The versos are blank.

a -----
] . [
]π**π**κα**ρ** [
]τ**ω**ω**ϣ**ω[

b -----
] . [
]**ϣ**ι**ϣ**ι . [
] . . . [

INDEXES

N.B. 1) Except when we quote individual words, our method of citation does not differentiate between words actually read in the papyrus and those wholly or partially restored. 2) Only in the case of ambiguity is a translation given in the indices. 3) For No. 5 we employ our interpretative transcript and do not record the orthography of the diplomatic transcript.

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πα- τα- να- poss. pron., passim

πα- τα- να- poss. art. 2 X V 28, 30

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ϣ1

ραιωине 2 X R 13

ϣтооу

ϣтеу- 2 X R 16

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ϣе way

нөө 2 X V 5

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Originally published by Brill Academic Publishers in fifteen hardback volumes between 1975 and 1995, *The Coptic Gnostic Library* is the only authoritative edition of many of the writings of the Gnostics from the first centuries A.D.

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 source 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 early Judaism and the roots of Christianity.

The Coptic Gnostic Library not only contains almost all these texts, both in the original Coptic and in translation, but also editions and translations of Coptic gnostic manuscripts found elsewhere. Each text has its own introduction; full indexes are provided as well. The result of decades of dedicated research by the most distinguished international scholars in this field, *The Coptic Gnostic Library* has been, and will continue to be, the starting point for any research on ancient gnosticism.

Volume 4:

The Paraphrase of Shem

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