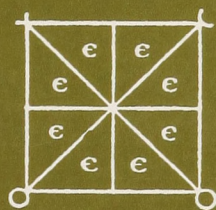
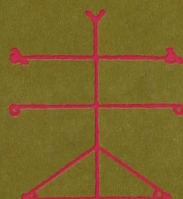
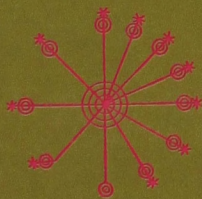
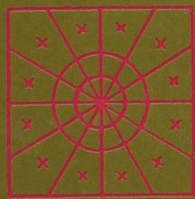


The Coptic Gnostic Library



*A Complete Edition
of the Nag Hammadi Codices
Volume 5*

BRILL

THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY
VOLUME V

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 V



THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

A Complete Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices

VOLUME V

MELCHIZEDEK
THE THOUGHT OF NOREA
THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH
MARSANES
THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE
A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION
ALLOGENES
HYSIPHURON
THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS
THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA
ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD



BRILL
LEIDEN BOSTON KÖLN
2000

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

ISBN 9004117024 (Set)

THIS BOOK IS PRINTED ON ACID-FREE PAPER.

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Cover design by TopicA (Antoinette Hanekuyk)

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VOLUME XV

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

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IN CONJUNCTION WITH

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XV

GENERAL EDITOR OF THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY
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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

IX AND X

CONTRIBUTORS

BIRGER A. PEARSON - SØREN GIVERSEN

VOLUME EDITOR

BIRGER A. PEARSON



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E. J. BRILL
1981

ISBN 90 04 06377 3

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FOREWORD

“The Coptic Gnostic Library” is a complete edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices and of Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, comprising a critical text with English translations, introductions 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 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 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, 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 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. Its early history may be traced in the preliminary announcement in *NTS* 16 (1969/70), 185-90 and *NovT* 12 (1970), 83-85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970). In view of the fact that two of the four tractates in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 are duplicates of Nag Hammadi tractates, it was early decided to

include P. Berol. 8502 in The Coptic Gnostic Library. 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 editors of the Coptic Gnostic Library are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; *Nag Hammadi Codices II, I, III, I and IV, I 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, I 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, I 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 J. 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. The English translation of the texts of all thirteen Nag Hammadi codices and P. Berol. 8502 has also been published in a single volume, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, by E. J. Brill and Harper & Row (1977).

When I visited H. J. Polotsky, an invaluable consultant to our project, in Copenhagen on 18-19 January 1968, he introduced me to Søren Giversen, who kindly provided me with a copy of the microfilms of Codices II, III and IX which he had made at the Coptic Museum between 28 December 1957 and 9 January 1958,

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as a delegate of the Institute of Egyptology of the University of Copenhagen of which Polotsky had subsequently become Director. Giversen reported that he had already begun preliminary study of Codex IX. Hence it was agreed that he would join our project and contribute his work on Codex IX to our edition. For these gestures of international cooperation in making the Nag Hammadi library available I wish to express particular appreciation.

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. This extensive work in the reassembly of fragments, the reconstruction of page sequence, and the collation of the transcriptions by the originals, not only served the immediate needs of the facsimile edition, but also provided a basis for a critical edition. Without such generous support and such mutual cooperation of all parties concerned this edition could not have been prepared. Therefore we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all who have been involved.

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, and Victor Girgis, Director of the Coptic Museum until 1977, 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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PREFACE

This volume is the product of many years of work; yet it is with some trepidation that I submit it herewith to the public. The fragmentary status of the two codices published here has made the work much more difficult and time-consuming than would have been the case had the material been preserved more completely. Hence this first effort cannot claim to be definitive in any way. Others will surely come to the material with new insights, not only to the contents of the tractates but also to readings and reconstructions of the text itself. That, indeed, is my hope.

It is also cheerfully acknowledged that this volume could hardly have come about, at least in its present form, without the help of many scholars whose names do not appear on the title page, and who deserve my heartiest thanks. In the case of Codex IX, Søren Giversen prepared in 1969 a preliminary transcription and Danish translation; C. J. de Catanzaro rendered Giversen's Danish into English. Subsequently numerous fragments were placed in the MS., and the codex was reconstructed in its present form. So I have found it necessary to revise the transcription and translation completely. The codex was reconstructed in the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, during work sessions of the Technical Subcommittee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices aided by members of the Claremont Coptic Gnostic Library team, and during the supplemental work periods of the latter group funded by the Smithsonian Institution through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt. Fragments were placed by Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, Charles Hedrick, James M. Robinson, Stephen Emmel, and myself. Valuable codicological assistance has been given by James M. Robinson and by Stephen Emmel, not only for Codex IX but also for Codex X. In addition, a number of scholars have offered assistance in the establishment of the text and in the reconstruction of numerous lacunae in Codex IX. I wish especially to thank Hans-Martin Schenke, Frederik Wisse, and Klaus Koschorke for their exceedingly valuable help. Such defects as remain in this edition should be charged to me.

In the case of Codex X, while I have borne the primary responsibility for the work, I have benefited greatly from the help of others.

This is true in the case of the reconstruction of the codex, for numerous fragments were placed by others than myself, namely Rodolphe Kasser, Charles Hedrick, and Stephen Emmel; indeed it was Charles Hedrick whose thorough work on the fragments resulted in a major break-through in the final reconstruction of the codex. During the time when the transcription and translation was being constantly revised and improved, I received valuable help from other members of the Claremont Coptic Gnostic Library team, especially John Turner and Orval Wintermute. In addition, I wish to thank Alexander Böhlig, Rodolphe Kasser, Hans-Martin Schenke, and Wolf-Peter Funk, for their valuable suggestions along the way. Finally, needless to say, neither this volume nor indeed the Coptic Gnostic Library project as a whole could have been possible without the selfless and untiring prodding of James M. Robinson.

I should also like to acknowledge here the help I have received from my students, especially Diana Fulbright, who prepared the index to Codex X, and Ruth Majercik, who prepared the index to Codex IX and the final integrated index to the volume, and who has functioned for several years as a valued research assistant. Diana Fulbright also prepared the index of references.

The secretarial staff of the Department of Religious Studies of the University of California, Santa Barbara, has been very helpful along the way. I wish especially to acknowledge the help received in the final typing by Elisabeth Stebbins and her predecessor, Julia Curry. In addition, Michiko Yusa, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Religious Studies, has provided valuable typing help in the final stages of the work.

For the work on this volume I have been aided by a grant from the Faculty Research Committee of Duke University, by a grant from the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, by two grants from the Humanities Institute of the University of California, by a grant from the American Philosophical Society, by a grant from the Smithsonian Institution, through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt, by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and by annual grants, from 1969 on, from the Senate Committee on Research of the University of California at Santa Barbara.

In conclusion, I want to express my special thanks and appreciation to my wife Karen, and to my children, Ingrid, David, Kristin, Daniel, and Sven. They have been patient with me over many years, and it is to them that I lovingly dedicate this volume.

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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 Saviour</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>
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VII,2	<i>The Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>

VII,3	<i>The Apocalypse of Peter</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>
VII,4	<i>The Teachings of Silvanus</i>	<i>Teach. Silv.</i>
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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	1 <i>Jeu</i>
<i>The Second Book of Jeu</i> in the Bruce Codex	2 <i>Jeu</i>
<i>The Untitled Text</i> in the Bruce Codex	Cod. Bruc. <i>Untitled</i>
<i>Pistis Sophia</i> , four books in the Askew Codex	<i>Pist. Soph.</i>

Dan
Dent
Exod
Ezek
Gen
Isa

Col
1 Cor
2 Cor
Eph
Gal
Heb
Jas
Matt

Act. Jn.
Act. Pt. T.
Act. Thom.
Adam and
3 Apoc. B.
Apoc. Mos.
Ass. Is.
Ep. Apost.
Gos. Hebr.
Oid. Sol.
Prot. Ev.
Sir
T. Abr.
T. Dan.
T. Levi
T. Solemn.
T. Sim.
Wis
1 QM
11 QMelch

b. Ber.
b. Gittin

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

I. Abbreviations of Biblical Books and Related Texts

a. Old Testament

Dan Daniel Deut Deuteronomy Exod Exodus Ezek Ezekiel Gen Genesis Isa Isaiah		Jer Jeremiah Josh Joshua 2 Kgdms 2 Kingdoms 3 Kgdms 3 Kingdoms Num Numbers Ps Psalms
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b. New Testament

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

c. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Qumran Texts

<i>Act. Jn.</i>	<i>Acts of John</i>
<i>Act. Pl. Thekl.</i>	<i>Acts of Paul and Thekla</i>
<i>Act. Thom.</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>
<i>Adam and Eve</i>	<i>Books of Adam and Eve</i>
<i>3 Apoc. Bar.</i>	<i>Greek Apocalypse of Baruch</i>
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>
<i>Asc. Is.</i>	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>
<i>Ep. Apost.</i>	<i>Epistula apostolorum</i>
<i>Gos. Hebr.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>
<i>Od. Sol.</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>
<i>Prot. Ev. Jk.</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>
Sir	Sirach
<i>T. Abr.</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>T. Dan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Solom.</i>	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
<i>T. Sim.</i>	<i>Testament of Simeon</i>
Wis	The Wisdom of Solomon
1 QM	<i>Milḥāmāh (War Scroll) from Qumran Cave I</i>
11 QMelch	<i>Melchizedek text from Qumran Cave 11</i>

d. Rabbinic Texts

<i>b. Ber.</i>	Babylonian Talmud, <i>Berakot</i>
<i>b. Gittin</i>	Babylonian Talmud, <i>Gittin</i>

<i>b. Makkot</i>	Babylonian Talmud, <i>Makkot</i>
<i>b. Megilla</i>	Babylonian Talmud, <i>Megilla</i>
<i>b. Sanh.</i>	Babylonian Talmud, <i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Midr. Exod. Rab.</i>	<i>Midrash Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>M. 'Abot</i>	Mishna, 'Abot
<i>Midr. Cant.</i>	<i>Midrash Canticles</i>
<i>Midr. Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Midrash Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Midr. Lev. Rab.</i>	<i>Midrash Leviticus Rabbah</i>
<i>Midr. Qoh. Rab.</i>	<i>Midrash Qohelet Rabbah</i>
<i>Midr. Num. Rab.</i>	<i>Midrash Numbers Rabbah</i>
<i>Pesiq. R.</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>
<i>Pesiq. Rab. Kah.</i>	<i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i>
<i>Pirqe R. El.</i>	<i>Pirque Rabbi Eliezer</i>
<i>Tg. Onq.</i>	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>
<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>

2. Other Abbreviations and Short Titles

A	Achmimic
A ²	Subachmimic
Adamantius, <i>Dial.</i>	Adamantius, <i>Dialogus de recta in deum fide</i>
Ael. <i>Nat. An.</i>	Claudius Aelianus, <i>De Natura Animalium</i>
<i>Apophth. Patr.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>
Aristot.	Aristotle
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De Caelo</i>
<i>Hist. An.</i>	<i>Historia Animalium</i>
<i>Int.</i>	<i>De Interpretatione</i>
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>
B	Bohairic
Baer, <i>Male and Female</i>	Baer, R. A., <i>Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female</i> . Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums III. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.
Baltes, <i>Timaïos Lokros</i>	Baltes, M., <i>Timaïos Lokros über die Natur des Kosmos und der Seele Kommentiert</i> . Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.
Bauer, <i>Orthodoxy and Heresy</i>	Bauer, W., <i>Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity</i> . Translated by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins and edited by Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.
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.
Berliner Arbeitskreis,	Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische

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Schriften, “Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi für die moderne Gnosisforschung,” in K.-W. Tröger ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973, 13-76.
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Budge, E. A. W., trans., *The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers*, being histories of the anchorites, recluses, monks, coenobites, and ascetic fathers of the deserts of Egypt between ca. A.D. CCL and A.D. CCCC. 2 volumes. London: Chatto and Windus, 1907.
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- Cicero, *Rep.*
2 *Clem.*
Clem. Alex.
 Prot.
 Strom.
Const. Ap.
*The Coptic Version of
the New Testament*
- Corp. Herm.*
Corp. Herm. Exc. Stob.
Crum
- Damascius, *De Princ.*
Delcor, "Melchizedek"
- Dillon, *Middle Platonists*
- Diog. Laert.
- Dionysius Thrax, *Ars
Gram.*
- Dodds, "Numenius and
Ammonius"
- Dodds, Proclus:
 Theology
- Doresse, "Les
apocalypses"
- Doresse, *Les livres
secrets*
- Doresse, "Les reliures"
- Doresse, *Secret Books*
- Doresse, "Trois livres
gnostiques"
- Cicero, *De Republica*
2 *Clement*
Clement of Alexandria
Protrepticus
Stromata
Constitutiones Apostolorum
*The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the
Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and
Thebaic.* 7 volumes. Edited by G. W. Horner.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911-1924.
- Corpus Hermeticum*
Corpus Hermeticum Excerpta Stobaeum
Crum, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary.* Oxford:
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Damascius, *De Principiis*
Delcor, M., "Melchizedek from Genesis to the
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 Epiphanius, *Haereses*
- Eus.
 Eusebius
Hist. Eccl.
Historia Ecclesiastica
Praep. Ev.
Praeparatio Evangelica
- Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn*
 Evelyn-White, H. G., *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn*. 3 volumes. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition 1926-33. New York: Arno Press, 1973.
- Exc. Theod.*
Excerpta ex Theodoto (Clement of Alexandria)
- F
 Fayyumic
Facsimile Edition
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- Herm. Shepherd of Hermas
- Mand.* *Mandate*
- Sim.* *Similitude*
- Vis.* *Vision*
- Hierocles, *Carm. Aur.* Hierocles, *In Carmen Aureum*
- Hipp. Hippolytus
- Ref.* *Refutatio*
- Trad. ap.* *Traditio apostolica*
- Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* Hopfner, T., *Griechische-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*. 2 volumes. Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1921-24.
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- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- Iambl. Iamblichus
- In. Tim.* *In Timaeum*
- Myst.* *de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*
- IDBSup. *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Supplementary volume.
- Ign. Ignatius
- Eph.* *Epistula ad Ephesios*
- Rom.* *Epistula ad Romanos*
- Tr.* *Epistula ad Trallianos*
- Iren. Irenaeus
- Epid.* *Epideixis*
- Haer.* *Adversus Haereses* (Massuet's division)
- Isbell, *Incantation Bowls* Isbell, C. D., *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 17. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975.

- JAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*
Jonas, H., *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*. 3rd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.
- Jos. *Ant.* Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*
- JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
- Jul. *Gal.* Julian the Apostate, *Contra Galilaeos*
- Justin
Apol. Justin Martyr
Dial. *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*
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- LCL
- The Loeb Classical Library
- Le Déaut, "Le titre de *summus sacerdos*"
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- LSJ
- Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*
- Luc. *Nec.*
- Lucian of Samosata, *Necyomantia*
- Lueken, *Der Erzengel Michael*
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- Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*
- Marius Victorinus, *Adv. Arium*
- Marius Victorinus, *Adversus Arium*
- Mart. Pol.*
- Martyrium Polycarpi*
- MDAIK
- Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*

- Mel. *Pass.* Melito of Sardis, *Homilia in Passionem Christi*
- Milik, *The Books of Enoch* Milik, J. T., ed., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Min. Fel. *Oct.* Minucius Felix, *Octavius*
- Moule, *Idiom Book* Moule, C. F. D., *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1960. Rpt. 1971.
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- Nicom. Nicomachus
- NT New Testament
- Orig. Origen
- Cels.* *Contra Celsum*
- Dial.* *Dialogus cum Heraclide*
- Hom. in Ex.* *Homiliae in Exodum*
- Pall. *H. Laus.* Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*
- par. parallel(s)
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- PGL *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (ed. Lampe).
- PGM K. Preisendanz (ed.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae*
- Philo Philo of Alexandria
- Abr.* *De Abrahamo*
- Congr.* *De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia*
- Decal.* *De decalogo*
- Gig.* *De gigantibus*
- Leg. All.* *Legum allegoriae*
- Mut. Nom.* *De mutatione nominum*
- Op. Mund.* *De opificio mundi*
- Plant.* *De plantatione*
- Poster. C.* *De posteritate Caini*
- Quaest. in Ex.* *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum*
- Quaest. in Gen.* *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim*
- Rev. Div. Her.* *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*
- Somn.* *De somniis*
- Spec. Leg.* *De specialibus legibus*

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 W. M.
 Phys. rec.
 Plat.
 Phaed.
 Resp.
 Tim.
 Phyl. His.
 Plat. Em.
 Plat.
 De an. p.
 Quaest.
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 Procl. The.
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 Ps.-Tert. A.
 Phil. Ter.
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<i>Vit. Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis</i>
<i>Phys. rec. A</i>	<i>Physiologus recension A</i>
Plat.	Plato
<i>Phaed.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
Pliny, <i>Hist. Nat.</i>	Pliny, <i>Historia Naturalis</i>
Plot. <i>Enn.</i>	Plotinus, <i>Enneads</i>
Plut.	Plutarch of Chaeronea
<i>De an. procr.</i>	<i>De animae procreatione in Timaeo</i>
<i>Quaest. Plat.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Platonicae</i>
Porphyry, <i>Vit. Plat.</i>	Porphyry, <i>Vita Plotini</i>
Procl. <i>Theol.</i>	Proclus, <i>The Elements of Theology</i> (cf. Dodds)
Ps.-Clem. <i>Hom.</i>	Pseudo-Clement, <i>Homiliae</i>
Ps.-Tert. <i>Haer.</i>	Pseudo-Tertullian, <i>Adversus Haereses</i>
Ptol. <i>Tetr.</i>	Ptolemy, <i>Tetrabiblos</i>
Puech, "Découverte"	Puech, H.-C., "Découverte d'une bibliothèque gnostique en Haute-Égypte," <i>Encyclopédie Française</i> , Tome XIX. Paris: Société Nouvelle de l'Encyclopédie Française, 1957, 19. 42.4-19, 42.13.
Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques"	Puech, H.-C., "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts à Nag-Hammadi," <i>RHR</i> 134 (1948), 244-48.
Puech, "Plotin et les gnostiques"	Puech, H.-C., "Plotin et les gnostiques," in Puech, H.-C., <i>En quête de la Gnose</i> . Volume 1. Paris: Gallimard, 1978, 83-116.
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>The Rediscovery of Gnosticism</i>	Layton, B., ed., <i>The Rediscovery of Gnosticism</i> . 2 volumes. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981.
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RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
Roberts, <i>Greek Literary Hands</i>	Roberts, C. H., <i>Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
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- RSPT *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
- Rudolph, "Coptica-Mandaica" Rudolph, K., "Coptica-Mandaica: Zu einigen Übereinstimmungen zwischen koptische-gnostischen und mandäischen Texten," in Krause, *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts*, 191-216.
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- S Sahidic
- S^b Sahidic, with Bohairic tendency
- SC Sources chrétiennes
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- Tert. Tertullian
- Marc.* *Adversus Marcionem*
- Val.* *Adversus Valentinianos*
- Bapt.* *De Baptismo*
- Carn. Chr.* *De Carne Christi*
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- Theophr. *Ign.* Theophrastus, *De Igne*
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- VC *Vigiliae Christianae*
- V. Pach. *Vita Pachomii*
- Vit. Proph. Is. *Vita Prophetarum Isaia*
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- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

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Zandee, J., *The Terminology of Plotinus and of Some Gnostic Writings, Mainly the Fourth Treatise of the Jung Codex*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in Het Nabije Oosten, 1961.

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Note: 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*.

Additional note: This book was already in press when M. Roberge's edition of *Norea* appeared. Three of his readings have been adopted in the proof-reading of this edition (at IX 28,8.13.16-17). See now *L'Hypostase des Archontes: Traité gnostique sur l'origine de l'homme, du monde et des archontes (NH II,4)*, par Bernard Barc, *suivi de NOREA (NH IX,2)*, par Michel Roberge. Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section: "Textes," 5. Québec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1980.

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- . A dot placed under a letter in the transcription indicates that the letter is visually uncertain, even if the context makes the reading certain. Letters having the superlinear stroke are also dotted when the superlinear stroke is lost in a lacuna. Dots on the line outside of brackets in the transcription indicate missing letters that cannot be restored but of which vestiges of ink remain. Three dots on the line in the translation indicate the presence of substantial untranslatable material.
- [] 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.

ASTROLOGICAL SIGNS

Aries	♈	Libra	♎
Taurus	♉	Scorpio	♏
Gemini	♊	Sagittarius	♐
Cancer	♋	Capricorn	♑
Leo	♌	Aquarius	♒
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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX IX

Bibliography: *Facsimile Edition*, pp. vii-xv, pl. 1-78. Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 141-143; Puech, "Découverte," p. 10; Krause, "Der koptische Handschriftenfund," pp. 121-124, 128, 130-132; Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund," pp. 109-113; Robinson, "Coptic Gnostic Library Today," p. 400; Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 7-8, pl. 4, 12; Robinson, "Construction," pp. 172-174, 176-189; Robinson, "Codicology," pp. 17-18, 26, 28-29; Robinson, "Future," pp. 26-27, 43, 48-49, 53, 58-59.

Codex IX is part of a collection of twelve papyrus codices, plus one tractate from a thirteenth, discovered in December of 1945 in a jar buried at the base of the Gebel et-Ṭarif near the village of Hamra Dom in Upper Egypt, about 10 km. northeast of Nag' Ḥammadi. (On the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices see J. M. Robinson's Introduction to *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 21-23.) It is now the property of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, and bears the inventory number 10553. It has been numbered VIII by J. Doresse and T. Mina in 1949 ("Nouveaux textes gnostiques," p. 136), X by H.-C. Puech in 1950 ("Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," p. 108), IV by S. Giversen in 1958 (in an unpublished microfilm dated January 9 of that year) and by B. van Regemorter in 1960 ("La reliure des manuscrits gnostiques"), V by J. Doresse in 1958 (*Les livres secrets*, p. 165), and IX by M. Krause in 1962 ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," p. 128 *et passim*). Krause's numbering of the Nag Hammadi codices is the official numbering used by the Coptic Museum and in the *Facsimile Edition*, and is therefore adopted in this edition.

1. Codicology

Codex IX was found with its leather cover intact. Photographs of the cover are presented in the *Facsimile Edition*, plates 1-4 (and in Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pl. 4). In one of these photographs (pl. 3) the codex is shown open at pp. 30-31, before it was cut out of the cover. A full description of the cover, which was made of sheepskin and goatskin, is provided by J. M. Robinson in his preface to the *Facsimile Edition* (pp. ix-xi). Robinson has shown, in a thorough analysis of all of the extant

leather covers of the Nag Hammadi Library, that Codex IX belongs typologically in a group together with Codices VI and X, and II, to a lesser extent (see "Construction," pp. 184-190). The extant fragments remaining from the cartonnage of the cover are published in *The Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage*.

The codex is very poorly preserved. Significant portions of it are missing altogether or preserved only in fragments. Study of the extant material has ascertained that the codex consisted of a single quire, as is the case with the other codices in the library with the exception of Codex I (but not XIII, as was erroneously stated by Krause, "Der koptische Handschriftenfund," p. 123, n. 1). The inside portion of the codex, from pp. 27-48, is comparatively well preserved. It is therefore easily established that the center of the codex is at pp. 38-39. (When first subjected to critical examination the leather cover still had the inside portion of these pages, in one piece, attached by the original leather thongs. The pages had been individually cut away from the binding prior to their initial conservation in plexiglass. The inside fragment was restored to its original sheet in the final conservation of Codex IX in 1974; see the *Facsimile Edition*, pl. 41. On the final conservation see Emmel, "Final Report," pp. 17-22.) The recto (right hand) pages from the first half of the codex show vertical fibers, the verso (left hand) pages horizontal. In the second half of the codex recto pages show horizontal fibers, the verso pages vertical. The shift in fiber-direction occurs at p. 39. From this it can be deduced that Codex IX was constructed of 19 double sheets (= 38 leaves = 76 pages), placed in a stack with horizontal fibers facing up, and folded to make a single-quire book. Pp. 38 and 39 represent the top sheet of the stack, and 2 and 75 the bottom sheet. It has been ascertained that single-leaf half-sheets were not used in the manufacture of this codex (for the use of half-sheets with stubs in some codices see Robinson, "Codicology" pp. 23-25).

Unlike most of the codices in the library (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, X, XI), there is no evidence of the codex having had front and/or back flyleaves, or any unscribed pages except possibly p. 76 (see below).

The leaves measured up to 26.3 cm. in height (cf. p. 5/6) and from ca. 13.9 cm. in the middle of the codex to 15.2 at the outer pages, the codex having been trimmed in antiquity at the time it was bound. Unfortunately the intact pages were trimmed off at the

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top and/or the bottom, presumably at the time they were put into plexiglass in 1961. (In the Giversen microfilm of 1958 the pages are shown prior to trimming; in the *Facsimile Edition* pp. 27-30 are shown before trimming, in photographs taken by J. Doresse). The closed book had a proportion of approximately 5 to 3, height to width.

The number of lines per page varies from 26 (p. 15) to 33 (p. 69). The average is 29. The lines average approximately 18-19 letters in length. There are as few as 13 (27,27; 41,1; 57,5; 58,2?) and as many as 25 (68,10) or 26 (73,5). The lines average somewhat shorter toward the middle part of the codex; this is due to the fact that the individual pages are wider at the outside of the codex than in the middle.

As has already been stated, the codex is only partially preserved. Aside from pp. 27-48, the bulk of what remains consists of fragments of various sizes, badly damaged. (Attempts were made subsequent to the discovery of the library to keep some of the material together by means of liberal applications of transparent tape! Most of this has been removed as part of the final conservation; see Emmel, "Final Report," pp. 17-19.) By the time that Codex IX was subjected to critical scrutiny, the fragments were not in proper order. No substantial attempt to place fragments in their proper position and sequence was made either at the time of the microfilming in 1958 (by S. Giversen, in behalf of the Institute of Egyptology in Copenhagen and the Coptic Museum; Giversen stated in Micro [frame #] 303, "The Papyri in this Codex IV are microfilmed in that order they were found") or at the time that the codex was conserved in plexiglass in 1961 (by Victor Girgis, according to Krause, in Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 7, n. 36). The work that has been done on this subsequently has been based, at first, on study of photographs, and finally on study of the MS. itself in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo.

Since so much of the codex is lost and damaged, it is obvious that fragments cannot be placed as in a jig-saw puzzle. Certain criteria have been developed for placement of fragments and for establishing the sequence of pages. These include physical joins, continuity of fiber patterns from one fragment to another, continuity in destruction patterns from one page to another, blotting from one page to a facing page, continuity of text, similarity of textual context, etc. (Fiber continuity can frequently be deter-

mined even with a considerable amount of space between fragments. Fragments are placed longitudinally according to vertical fibers and latitudinally according to horizontal fibers.) Unfortunately a number of fragments have proven to be intractable, and remain in the category of "unidentified." Transcriptions of the largest of these are found in this edition, and all inscribed unidentified fragments known to be from Codex IX are published in the *Facsimile Edition* (plates 75-78; cf. also plates 3-4 in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction*, forthcoming).

Fortunately the pages of Codex IX were numbered in antiquity, and page numbers are preserved (or partially preserved) for the following pages (brackets indicate missing letters, dots letters only partially preserved): 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 1[4], 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, [2]4, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 4[1], 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 5[6], 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 6[8], 73, 74. It has been possible to establish with near certainty the pagination of the entire codex, including the pages or fragments of pages whose page numbers are lost, on the basis of such criteria as continuity of destruction patterns with adjacent identified pages, text continuity from one page to another, and (in one case) ink-blotting from one page to another. Another criterion is the observation of horizontal fiber continuity between conjugate leaves from the two halves of the quire, indicating a single sheet, but this criterion is not absolute, for a lost *kollesis* may have occurred between the two leaves which would disturb the horizontal fiber-continuity (see further on this below). It has been found that the following pages from Codex IX are completely lost, or at least have no positively identifiable fragments: 63-64 and the last two pages, 75-76. P. 51/52 is represented only by a single small fragment. P. 53/54 is similarly represented by a small fragment, blank on the verso side (p. 54); one-half of this fragment is now lost (it is restored in the *Facsimile Edition* on the basis of an old photograph from Giversen's microfilm of 1958).

The establishment of pagination for pp. 7-8 and 9-10 presents a special problem. The small fragment containing page numbers 9 (recto) and 10 (verso) can be placed equally well, on the basis of horizontal fiber continuity (verso side) with the fragments now identified as pp. 7-8. A glance at the *Facsimile Edition* will also show that the continuity of destruction patterns (or "profile") is better from p. 5/6 to (what is now) 9/10 than from p. 5/6 to (what

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is now) 7/8. The decisive factor in the current placement was the horizontal fiber continuity noticeable from p. 67 to (what is now) p. 8 to p. 69; it is therefore posited that pp. 7-8 and 69-70 are conjugate leaves, originally constituting a single sheet of papyrus. Unfortunately these pages are so fragmentary that it is not possible to use textual continuity as an absolute criterion. It is to be observed that much of the text in this portion of the codex has been conjecturally restored (see the introduction to IX,1: *Melchizedek*, and the relevant pages in the text and translation).

With the pagination established we can now raise the question as to the possibility of reconstructing the rolls of papyrus from which our codex was manufactured. It is assumed that, in the making of a codex, sheets were cut from rolls which consisted of several sheets of papyrus glued together. The sheets from which a roll was made are called *kollemata*; the join where two *kollemata* are glued together is called a *kollesis*. (For this terminology and additional discussion see Turner, *Typology*, pp. 43-53; Robinson, "Codicology," p. 19; and "Future," pp. 23-27.) In some cases a codex can be analyzed to show the process by which it was constructed, down to the exact number of *kollemata* used and the exact number and size of rolls. Such an analysis is possible when all of the *kolleseis* are extant, as well as the stubs at the end of a roll. (For examples of such analysis see esp. Wisse, "Nag Hammadi Codex III," and Robinson, "Codicological Analysis.")

In the case of Codex IX such an analysis is necessarily tentative, due to the loss of so much material. Only one *kollesis* is preserved (p. 49/50; what is taken as a *kollesis* on p. 66 in the *Fascimile Edition*, p. xi, is probably a patch). The *kollesis* is formed by the overlap (ca. 2 cm.) of the left edge of the *kollema* of which most of p. 49 is a part over the right edge of the *kollema* of which p. 28 is a part (i.e. right over left). The overlap of right over left violates the expectation that the *kolleseis* will be so made as to allow the scribe to step down in his writing rather than to be obliged to lift his stylus up onto the higher part of the page (see Turner, *Typology*, p. 47; Robinson, "Future," p. 23; Turner calls attention to the fact that sheets were glued in a roll right over left in the case of rolls used by Demotic scribes [Demotic is written right to left]; see "The terms Recto and Verso," p. 19). Such a phenomenon is usually taken to mean that the entire roll has been rotated 180° before cutting (see esp. Robinson, "Future," p. 27). The fact that only

one *kollesis* has been found in the extant material of Codex IX may itself be significant, for it may indicate that the maker of the codex took special care to construct it in such a way that *kolleseis* would not ordinarily occur in the writing space of the pages. (The Manichaean codices, constructed with great care, have no *kolleseis* in them; see Turner, *Typology*, pp. 45-46, 49-50).

The horizontal fiber patterns of Codex IX have been analyzed, with the aid of a light-table, and some conclusions as to the make-up of the codex are possible. Analysis of the fiber patterns indicates horizontal fiber continuity from the left edge of one sheet in the quire to the right edge of the next above. This would indicate that the rolls from which the codex was constructed were cut from right to left, and the sheets stacked in the order in which they were cut.

In attempting to establish the lengths of the *kollemata* used in the manufacture of Codex IX, results were more certain in the case of that part of the codex (i.e. the middle part) in which the most material is preserved. It is evident that *kollemata* of various lengths were used. The longest one consists of pp. (showing horizontal fibers) 36 + 41, 34 + 43, 32 + 45, 30 + 47, 28 + 49 (part), measuring 127.4 cm., or well over a meter. (Such long *kollemata* are practically unknown to papyrologists before the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices, but in the Nag Hammadi Codices they are commonplace. See Robinson, "Codicology," p. 31; "Future," pp. 41-43; and now Turner, *Typology*, p. 53.) The shortest ones are the breadth of a single sheet (38 + 39; 18 + 59; 16 + 61). Separate *kollemata* (or separate rolls) are indicated when there is a disruption of horizontal fibers between sheets; at such places *kolleseis* would originally have been present in the roll (except at the end of a roll).

On the theory that the rolls of papyrus from which our codex was constructed were of a size comparable to papyrus rolls used in other codices (for general discussion see Robinson, "Codicology," pp. 19-30), we can assume that Codex IX was constructed of two rolls. A likely hypothesis is that the nine bottom sheets came from a single roll, and the ten top sheets from another roll (cf. *Facsimile Edition*, pp. xi-xiii). P. 75 (lost) would represent the right edge of one roll and p. 18 the left edge; p. 57 would represent the right edge of the other roll, and p. 38 the left edge. As it happens, p. 57 has an extraordinarily narrow column of writing, and may not have

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been as wide as the other pages (see pl. 59 in the *Facsimile Edition*, and note the destruction patterns and the location of the right margin of p. 57 in comparison with that of pp. 55 and 59; cf. also Robinson's remarks, p. xiii). While this is what might be expected in the case of the last sheet cut from a roll rather than the first, the apparent anomaly in this case might be accounted for on the theory that the maker of our codex trimmed away damaged or frayed material at the right edge (i.e. p. 57) after he had already cut the first sheet of the second roll. The observation that the roll making up the bottom sheets of the quire yielded 9 sheets while the roll making up the top sheets (the inside of the quire) yielded 10 sheets fits neatly with the data already discussed regarding the width of the pages at the inside (narrower) and the outside (wider) of the completed codex. The maker of the codex would have cut his sheets progressively narrower so as to avoid the waste that inevitably would have occurred with the final trimming if all the sheets had originally been the same size. (On this phenomenon see Robinson, "Codicology," pp. 28-30; "Future," pp. 26, 36.)

The papyrus used in the manufacture of Codex IX was of average quality, surely not as good as that of e.g. Codex X, but better than that of Codex VIII. (The criteria for quality is thinness, regularity of fibers, surface smoothness, and uniformity of color; cf. also Pliny's remarks on the subject, *Hist. Nat.* XIII.24.78). It is possible to demonstrate that the material had already been damaged or had obvious imperfections in some places before the scribe began his writing. Thus at 11,10 the γ in $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ is written in a crack where vertical fibers had begun to flake off. At line 9 in the same vicinity the fibers were still intact at the time of writing, but have subsequently further flaked and disappeared. At the end of 17,7 there is a gap in the horizontal fibers, causing the scribe not to continue the line to the right margin. At 27,27 damaged papyrus caused the scribe to shorten the line. At 33,22-27 there is a crack in the vertical fibers; in lines 22, 24 and 25 the scribe wrote part of a letter in the crack, in the horizontal fibers beneath, and in lines 23, 26 and 27 he avoided the crack by leaving a larger space than usual between letters at the damaged places. At 35,22-28 a similar loss of vertical fiber is found: the scribe wrote in the crack in lines 23, 24, 26, 27, and 28, whereas in lines 22 and 25 he avoided the crack. At 35, 25 this results in a marked space between $\epsilon\beta\omicron$ and λ . At 40,31 a similar crack in the vertical fibers caused the scribe to

leave a space between **Μ** and **ΠΤΥΠΟΣ**. At 41,1 the papyrus was so thick and uneven that the scribe, possibly in order to spare his stylus, skipped enough spaces for 3 letters—a good 2 cm.—and separated **ϸω** from **μα** in the word **σῶμα**. At 42,19-29, substantial losses of vertical fiber had occurred, forcing the scribe to skip the damaged areas. E.g. in line 24 **ΝΤ** is separated from **ε**. Again, in line 29 a different crack was avoided by separating **κα** from **τα** in the prefix of the verb **καταγινώσκειν**; the **ϸ** in the same verb was written right over yet another crack. Similar breakage is evident at 46,16-28; letters are written in cracks in some lines whereas the cracks are avoided at other places. E.g. in line 27 **Ν** is separated by at least a whole letter-space from **ΖΗΤῸ**. On the same page, at line 16, **εἶ** is written over an area with thick, rough fibers. On p. 62, in the small fragment extant, vertical fibers were evidently in very bad shape before the papyrus received writing. Notable letter separations occur at line 5, **Ν** from **ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΣ**, and at line 6, **ω** from **ΜΜΟ**; in the latter case the superlinear stroke traverses the crack and binds **ω** end **μ** together. The top fragment of p. 66 shows evidence of patching (note in the *Facsimile Edition* the askew direction of the vertical fibers constituting the patch). At 70,20-28 some of the vertical fibers had worked loose and had been folded back so that the scribe had actually written on the underside in some lines—e.g. in lines 24 and 26—while skipping the resultant crack in other places, e.g. dividing **ετμ** from **μαγ** in line 21, **ετ** from **ωοπ** in line 22, and **ντοο** from **γ** in line 29.

The date of manufacture of Codex IX cannot be determined with certainty, and generalizations based on physical features are becoming more and more dangerous (see Robinson, "Future," p. 62). Datable fragments of cartonnage provide a *terminus a quo* (late 3rd century), suggesting a fourth century date for the manufacture of the codex. The physical features of the codex and the quality of the papyrus, conform to what might be expected of a fourth century Coptic manuscript. But to this there must be added the paleographical evidence, to which we now turn.

2. Contents and Paleography

Codex IX consists of three separate tractates: 1: 1,1-27,10; 2: 27,11-29,5; 3: 29,6-end (Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 142-143, had counted four). The leaf containing the last two pages (pp. 75-76) is missing; so it is not established where the third tractate ended.

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It is possible that it ended on p. 75; fragment 10 is blank on the side showing vertical fibers and could conceivably have come from the missing leaf, p. 75/76. The tractates are separated on pp. 27 and 29 with decorations extending from the left to the right margins. On p. 27 the decoration consists of a line of "herringbone" decoration, i.e. *diple obelismene* (Ϸ) in series, a line of strokes, and another line of "herringbones," and another line of strokes. The last line of tractate 2 (29,5) is filled out with "herringbone" decoration.

The one extant title occurring in Codex IX is found at the top of p. 1, in the top margin (ΜΕΛΛΙΣ[ΕΔΕΚ]). It is decorated with a series of strokes above and below, and with a wedged line —| to the left (presumably matched on the right, but that part of the page is missing). If a title originally was provided for tractate 3 it would have occurred at the end, on one of the missing pages, 75 or 76. Tractate 2 has no title.

Codex IX was written by a single scribe. The hand can be described as a round uncial, with cursive features. It presents a page that is pleasing to the eye, though not as attractive as the hand of Codex VII, and reflects considerable practice on the part of the scribe.

Noteworthy characteristics of the calligraphy include the following: The α is usually made with a single stroke, the left corner rendered with a loop. Similarly the γ is rendered with a single stroke, the lower member represented by a closed loop. The μ is rendered analogously, with a single stroke and the top members looped rather than drawn angularly. The ζ, also rendered with a single stroke, usually has a noticeable serif at the top. The β is usually quite narrow, angular in appearance, and frequently not quite closed at the top. The tale of the ρ extends below the line; the upper part is narrow and angular, and sometimes not quite closed at the top. The ε is somewhat "flattened" in appearance and not completely uniform. Sometimes the top extends further to the right than the bottom, sometimes vice versa; occasionally the middle stroke of the ε is stretched considerably, especially when the letter appears at the right margin of a page. The π is rendered quite unusually, in that the top bar is frequently uneven and obviously not done with a single stroke. It sometimes gives the appearance of having been rendered as though two ρ's were squeezed together to form a single letter. The Ϸ sometimes extends below the line,

sometimes not. Overall, the letters tend to slant to the left rather than to the right.

"Punctuation" (if that is the proper term; cf. B. Layton's discussion of the "articulation marks" used in Codex II, "Text and Orthography," pp. 190-200) is quite irregular in Codex IX. The raised dot · (cf. the Greek colon) is used very frequently, not always with observable meaning. It is often used to mark the end of a sentence or clause, to separate phrases, or even to separate words in a series (e.g. the proper names at 6,4). But its use must be regarded as quite arbitrary. For example, it is not at all clear why **ΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ· ΝΝΟΥ[ΤΕ]** (2,9) should have the "colon" (if that is what it is) and **ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΞΟΥ[Τ]** (2,10) should not. Another problem in the use of this mark is that it does not always occur as a *raised* dot. Sometimes it is more or less on the line, e.g. at 30,6 (**ΝΤΟΟΥ·**, contrast line 11, **ΖΙΤΟΟΥ·**).

Another punctuation or articulation mark used by our scribe resembles an apostrophe '. This mark appears to serve the same function as the raised dot, but it is only used after the following letters, to mark the end of a word: **β, Δ, λ, μ, ξ, ρ, ϕ**. Examples are **ζωβ'** (27,1) and **ετογααβ'** (28,28); **Δαγεία'** (70,4.25); **εβολ'** (35,7); **νιμ'** (27,24; 44,15) and **ουχωζμ'** (39,5); **ατσαραξ'** (27,5); **σωτηρ'** (45,17); **εροϕ'** (43,23) and **πζοϕ'** (47,5). Evidence that the "apostrophe" is equivalent to the "colon" is found e.g. at 44,14-15: **ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' . . . ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ'**.

Another feature of the hand of Codex IX is the use of a serif, in the form of a backstroke, on certain letters, viz. **ρ, κ, π, and τ**. This device may be an extension of the "apostrophe," but it is used not only to mark the end of a word but also to mark the end of a syllable. There is considerable consistency in the use of this device (which occurs as well in Codices IV, V, VI, VII [= XI, second hand], and VIII). The serif is attached regularly to final **π** and **τ**; e.g. **ωορπ, πιωτ** etc., without exception. The same practice is observable with final **κ**, though in this case it is not so regular: e.g. **[ντο]κ ζωωκ** (5,14), **εγβηκ** (31,30); **χωκ** (34,2), etc; but see **νακ** (6,23).

In addition, the serif occurs regularly with doubled **ρ, κ, π, τ**, as e.g. **αγγελος** (2,11), **εκκλησια** (5,19), **εππαθος** (5,8), **αττεκο** (30,19).

The serif occurs usually, but not always, to mark certain morphemes, such as the Relative **ετ**, the Privative **ατ**, the abstract

marker **ΜΝΤ**, and the 2 sg. suffix **κ**. But compare **ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ** (27,27) and **ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ** (4,4; 28,28, with the **τ** and **ο** written together); **ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥÇ** (27,2) and **ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥÇ** (6,7 with the **τ** and **ν** written together); and numerous other examples could be cited.

Finally, whereas one never sees the "apostrophe" written together with a serif, there are examples of the serif followed by a "colon," e.g. **ΜΦΗΤ·** (29,9).

The dicolon: is used in tractate *1* after **ΖΑΜΗΝ** ("Amen") at 18,7 (at the end of a series of liturgical praises) and at 27,10, the end of the tractate. The end of tractate *2* (29,5) is marked with a dicolon furnished with an extra dot:· .

The only other punctuation in this codex is the diaeresis. It is used to mark consonantal *ι*, as e.g. in **ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ, ΖΡΑΙ, ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ** (31,3), etc. It functions as a genuine diaeresis in **ΠΚΕΪΣΙΑΩΡΟΣ** (57,6).

Superlineation in Codex IX is quite complicated. There are several types of superlinear strokes, and the most regular one is the straight stroke over the single **ν, μ, and ρ** to indicate the half-vowel. The only example of erroneous omission of the superlinear stroke is **ΜΜΟΝ** (41,3). There appears to be some latitude in the use or non-use of the stroke over the plural Definite Article **ν**. When the noun begins with a vowel the stroke is used or not seemingly according to whim; compare e.g. **ΜΝ ΝΕΞΟΥÇΙΑ** (2,10) and **ΜΝ ΝΕΞΟΥÇΙΑ** (32,5). But when the noun begins with a consonant the stroke is regularly used, except when the previous letter is a vowel, e.g. **ΕΝΓΕΝΕΑ** (27,8).

The superlinear stroke is frequently used over two or more consonants when they form a single syllable, as e.g. in the ubiquitous **ΜΝ** and **ΖΝ**. There is sometimes, but not always, a discernible arch in the way this stroke is rendered. Compare e.g. **ΕΧ̂Μ** (30,27) and **ΕΧ̄Μ** (39,23; 44,22). In the transcriptions presented in this edition these variations are not recorded (for reasons of economy in printing); the stroke binding two consonants together will be rendered only over the second: **ΕΧ̄Μ**.

Sometimes a single superlinear stroke will bind three or more letters together, in which case considerable variation is found in practice. Examples (in which variations in the use of the serif are also noticeable) are: **ΤΜΝ̄ΤΩΒΗΡΕ** (1,9), **ΤΜΝ̄ΤΑΤ̄ΣΟΟΥΝ** (15,5), **ΤΜΝ̄ΤΡΕÇ† ΚΑΡΠΟΣ** (15,6); **ΜΝ̄ΤΡΜ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄** (43,15); **ΠΡΜ̄ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ** (6,5); **ΠΡΜ̄ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ** (17,15). In this edition these

words will be standardized and the superlinear stroke will be shown over a single letter, as in $\overline{\text{TMNTWBHRE}}$, $\overline{\text{MNTPMNZHT}}$, etc.

Superlinear strokes are even used by our scribe to bind the preposition $\overline{\text{ZN}}$ to the following word, as e.g. in $\overline{\text{ZMPPLHROWMA}}$ (28,22) and $\overline{\text{ZMPPARADEICOS}}$ (46,2; 47,11). In this edition these words will be rendered $\overline{\text{ZM}} \text{ PPLHROWMA}$ and $\overline{\text{ZM}} \text{ PPARADEICOS}$. Single strokes are also sometimes used over the Definite Article $\overline{\text{N}}$, as e.g. $\overline{\text{NPAOOC}}$ (30,5), $\overline{\text{NPEYNANOYQ}}$ (47,9). In combination with $\overline{\text{N}}$ the feminine Definite Article $\overline{\text{T}}$ also receives superlineation, e.g. $\overline{\text{NTADYNAMICS}}$. The latter will be rendered in this edition $\overline{\text{NTADYNAMICS}}$, though it is not clear in such a case whether it was pronounced like *entdynamis* or like *netdynamis*. A similar problem is presented with the Conjunctives, e.g. $\overline{\text{NCXOOC}}$ (28,6), $\overline{\text{NQBOK}}$ (44,24), etc., rendered in this edition as $\overline{\text{NCXOOC}}$ and $\overline{\text{NQBOK}}$.

A superlinear stroke invariably occurs over the syllable $\overline{\text{ZI}}$, as e.g. in $\overline{\text{ZIXM}}$ (4,9), $\overline{\text{NZIAME}}$ (9,25). In this edition the stroke will be shown only over I : $\overline{\text{ZI}}$. A circumflex stroke appears invariably over the verb $\overline{\text{EI}}$ (*passim*) and over the vocative Interjection $\overline{\text{O}}$ (e.g. 1,11; 5,14). The circumflex also occurs over the verb $\overline{\text{O}}$ at 45,16 (but not at 40,4), and over the verb $\overline{\text{O}}$ at 73,6.

Another kind of stroke is used over the Greek particle $\overline{\text{H}}$ (41,28.29.31; 42,1 etc.); this is probably a rendition of the Greek *spiritus lenis* ("smooth breathing").

An extended stroke is usually used over *nomina sacra* (cf. the abundant examples on pp. 5-6 and 16-17), and over the *nomen insacrum* $\overline{\text{CABAOT}}$ (73,30, but not over CATANAC at 20,15) $\overline{\text{AADAM}}$ also receives the stroke at 9,28 (also 12,7) but not EYZA (10,1); neither receives the stroke in the Genesis material beginning on p. 45. There is a trace of a stroke over $\overline{\text{HCALAC}}$ at 40,30. The superlinear stroke is used over the "liturgical" acclamation $\overline{\text{KOYAAV}}$ ("holy are you") in IX,1 (e.g. 16,16 etc.). It is used regularly over abbreviations and page numerals. Page numerals also usually (but not always, *pace* Krause, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 7) have a sublinear stroke. (The following extant page numerals lack the sublinear stroke: 22, 25, 28, 29, 34, 36, 43, 48, 49, 59, 60, 61.)

The following standard abbreviations are used: $\overline{\text{IC}}$, "Jesus" (6,2.9 *et passim* written out in the opening line 1,2), $\overline{\text{PXC}}$, "Christ" (1,2; 6,2.9 *et passim*), $\overline{\text{PNA}}$ "Spirit" (39,26; 42,2; cf. 50,1). $\overline{\text{CTAYPOC}}$, "cross," is abbreviated $\overline{\text{CTOC}}$ at 40,25. (Kahle refers to the "unique use of this abbreviation in a Coptic amulet of the fourth

or fifth century; see *Bala'izah*, vol. I, p. 255, n. 2.) "Jerusalem" is abbreviated $\overline{\Theta\text{IHM}}$ (70,5.8.15.27).

Other marks and decorations are as follows: At the beginning of tractate 3, on p. 29 the *paragraphus cum corone* occurs in the left margin, ornately written as a single unit: ζ . Traces of the same decoration occur at the beginning of tractate 2, on p. 27. It may be assumed that the first tractate was similarly adorned at its beginning, though the left margin of the fragment containing the beginning of tractate 1 is not preserved.

At p. 45, between lines 22 and 23, a *paragraphus* occurs, marking a new section of text. (On this ancient device see Schubart, *Das Buch*, p. 77.)

The work of our scribe is remarkably accurate and obviously practiced. Errors do, of course, occur; and some of these he has corrected himself. At 16,28 there is a case of *parablepsis*. The scribe began to write $\overline{\Psi\alpha\ \epsilon\ \eta\ \epsilon\ \zeta\ \bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\ \eta\ \epsilon\ \zeta}$ (cf. 16,29) before writing $\overline{\tau\ \beta\ \alpha\ \rho\ \beta\ \eta\ \lambda\ \omega\ \bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}}$, which was doubtless in his exemplar. He caught himself before he finished the misplaced phrase, wrote $\overline{\tau\ \beta\ \alpha\ \rho\ \beta\ \eta\ \lambda\ \omega\ \bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}}$ and over each of the letters he had written in error he placed a dot, indicating that those letters were to be deleted: $\overline{\Psi\ \dot{\alpha}\ \dot{\epsilon}\ \dot{\eta}\ \dot{\epsilon}\ \dot{\zeta}\ \bar{\eta}\ \dot{\epsilon}\ \dot{\eta}\ \dot{\epsilon}\ \dot{\zeta}}$ (cf. the note). At 45,10 in a context wherein the virgin Mary is contrasted with the aged woman Elizabeth, the scribe wrote $\overline{\epsilon\ \zeta\ \text{I}\ \text{M}\ \epsilon}$ ("woman," cf. 45,8) instead of $\overline{\pi\ \alpha\ \rho\ \theta\ \epsilon\ \eta\ \nu\ \omicron\ \varsigma}$ ("virgin"), but then corrected himself. In this case his correction was probably made as part of his proof-reading, i.e. after he had completed the page; for he has crossed out $\overline{\epsilon\ \zeta\ \text{I}\ \text{M}\ \epsilon}$ with a series of diagonal slashes, and written $\overline{\pi\ \alpha\ \rho\ \theta\ \epsilon\ \eta\ \nu\ \omicron\ \varsigma}$ above the line (the correction is made in the scribe's own hand, albeit in smaller letters). The scribe has written over a letter at 3,6 (α over ϵ) and possibly at 28,26 (π over $\rho\ \varsigma$?). At 45,18 he has cancelled an extra ϵ with a diagonal slash, and at 73,1 he has cancelled η similarly. At 47,28 he has cancelled a superlinear stroke written in error.

Undetected errors also occur, but in some of these cases the scribe may only be reproducing errors occurring already in his exemplar. Manifest misspellings occur at 28,2.12 (dittography); 29,3 (substitution); 47,21 (omission); and possible misspellings occur at 6,2 and 73.4 (substitution) and at 43,18 (metathesis). (See notes to the passages cited for details.) Dittography occurs at 27,27. Superfluous or tautological material has been editorially deleted at 28,14 and at 61,2. Material deemed to have been erroneous-

ly omitted has been editorially supplied at 5,1.8.10; 9,2; 27,5; 28,14; 48,16.18; 55,4; 68,3; (and cf. note to 66,28).

Errors of substitution obviously requiring editorial correction are clustered in tractate 2. Manifest confusion of grammatical person, number, and/or gender occurs on page 28 in lines 3, 5, 6, and 20, and on page 29 in line 2 (see notes for details). The fact that such an error is found elsewhere in the whole codex only at 32,6 (in tractate 3) leads us to conclude that the scribe had a very faulty exemplar of tractate 2, and that he should not be held responsible for these mistakes (although we might wish that he had corrected them).

It was long assumed that Codex IX was written by the same scribe as Codices IV, V, VI, and VIII (cf. Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 141-145; Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund," p. 110; *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 6, 8) but this hasty judgment cannot be sustained. The superficial similarities among them can be ascribed to the influence of a single scribal school (see Emmel, "Final Report," p. 28). According to J. M. Robinson (see "Codicology," p. 18; cf. Emmel, "Final Report," p. 28) M. Manfredi of the Vitelli Papyrological Institute in Florence expressed the view that the hand of Codex IX is separate and distinct from the others. Indeed, that is a view that had already been expressed by H.-C. Puech (see "Découverte," p. 10). I concur with this judgment.

Puech dates Codex IX (X in his numbering system) to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century (cf. "Découverte," p. 10). Of the fourth-century hands illustrated in Maria Cramer's *Koptische Paläographie*, that of BM Or. 7594 most resembles the hand of Codex IX (see *Paläographie*, pl. 33), though the hand of Codex IX is somewhat less accomplished. The British Museum manuscript can be dated on the basis of its colophons between A.D. 330 and 350 (see Krause's review of Cramer in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23 [1966], p. 286; cf. Robinson, "Coptic Gnostic Library Today," p. 372).

It thus appears that the paleographical evidence, taken together with the codicological evidence discussed above, strongly points to a fourth-century date for Codex IX.

3. Language

All three tractates in Codex IX are Coptic translations of Greek originals. (Indeed there is no reason to doubt the general scholarly

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as follows:
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tate 2
AAV
b) e for
(15,26)
32-25
(30,79)
49,5;
c) e for
d) e for
ments,
2. Other A²
HME
(34,25)
3. Dialectic
A² te
ΠΟΥ
(31,12)

consensus that *all* of the Nag Hammadi tractates have been translated from Greek into Coptic; cf. e.g. G. MacRae, "Nag Hammadi," in *IDBSup*, p. 613). The language of all three tractates is Sahidic, but an "impure" variety of the Sahidic dialect which shows considerable contamination or influence from other dialects. (This, too, is a trait which they have in common with all other Sahidic tractates in the Nag Hammadi Library.) In what follows I shall not attempt to present a complete grammar of each of the three tractates. Rather, I shall survey those peculiarities shown in the language of our tractates which represent divergences from standard Sahidic (as represented e.g. by the Sahidic New Testament), and call attention to other special features deserving of notice. Inasmuch as the language of all three tractates is basically the same, I shall treat them together in synoptic fashion. Some attempt will then be made to assess the significance of the dialectical divergences from standard Sahidic found in Codex IX as a whole, and such linguistic divergences as may be noticed from one tractate to another.

Dialectic variations in the phonemics of Codex IX can be grouped as follows:

1. A² vocalizations.

a) **α** for **ο**. Tractate 1: **μαρ** = (9,27); **ανζ†** (6,26; 26,12); **ζιαμε** (2,10; 9,25; 12,13); **βαλπ** = (27,4; cf. **βαλεπ** = 14,13). Tractate 2: **ϣταϣ** (28,27). Tractate 3: **ατε** (31,5; 45,13.15); **λαϣ** (41,10); **ταντην** (44,14).

b) **ε** for **α**. Tractate 1: **νεειετ** = (18,9); **τεκο** (6,22); **τελο** (15,26); **τελο** = (16,7); **ζε†ε** (9,22). Tractate 2: **εμντε** (32,25); **εμαζτε** (29,12; 44,1); **μμετε** (32,19); **τεκο** (30,19; 31,14; 32,18; 33,10; 37,1.13; 40,27.28; 42,6; 44,25; 49,5); **тсево** (47,1); **ζε†ε** (43,31).

c) **ε** for **ο** Tractate 3: **εϣ** (42,1).

d) **ε** for **ω**. Tractate 3: **οϣεν** (46,7 A²? Cf. Kasser, *Compléments*, p. 75).

2. Other A² phonological variants. Tractate 1: **тнζο** (4,6). Tractate 3: **μμε** (30,28; 46,12; 47,9); **εβο** (33,6); **τοϣβο** (43,1); **тнζο** (34,25; 37,25; 69,1?); **χωβε** (45,15; 74,5); **βοϣρ** (43,13).

3. Dialectical variants identified as A by Crum, but attested in A² texts according to Kasser, *Compléments*. Tractate 1: **пноϣε** (27,10); **бнноϣ** (6,24; 27,7). Tractate 3: **ζβноϣε** (31,12; 42,20).

The only dialectical variants from standard Sahidic not heretofore identified as A² are **ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ** (A 39,10), **ⲉ** (AFS 45,18), and **ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲟⲉⲓⲧ** (32,8; cf. Kasser, *Compléments*), all in tractate 3. To this should be added a conjectured occurrence of the BS^b variant of S **ⲉⲟⲟⲩ**: **ⲱⲟ**<**ⲩ**> (cf. note to 6,2).

From this survey it is easy to see that the predominant non-Sahidic dialectical influence in all three tractates of Codex IX is Subachmimic (A²). This is the case, at least, in respect to the phonology of the language.

The "mixed" character of the Sahidic Coptic of Codex IX might plausibly be explained as a "pre-classical" version of Sahidic; this is a solution that has often been advanced to account for the variations found in the language of the Nag Hammadi Codices. (See e.g. Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, p. 7, referring especially to "what appear to be Subachmimic intrusions.") But Bentley Layton has recently made the claim—with special reference to *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4)—that the "Sahidic" texts in the Nag Hammadi Library were translated by native speakers of the Subachmimic dialect, attempting to write in Sahidic (see Layton, *Hypostasis of the Archons*, *HTR*, 67, p. 374; and "Coptic Language," *IDBSup*, p. 177). His argument is based not only on the occurrence of A² phonological variants, but on the influences of the A² dialect in the structure of the language. It will therefore be useful to test Layton's hypothesis by means of a deeper look at the A² influences in the language of Codex IX:

1. Negations using **ⲁⲛ** without **ⲛ** (S: **ⲛ . . . ⲁⲛ**): In tractate 1 negation with **ⲁⲛ** is usually without the **ⲛ**, with one exception (7,4). In tractate 2 the one occurrence of the negative with **ⲁⲛ** has the Sahidic **ⲛ** (28,26). In tractate 3 negation with **ⲛ** predominates; in five cases **ⲛ** is omitted.

2. 3 plural ending **-ⲟⲩ** for the Possessive Article (vs. S **-ⲉⲩ**): In tractate 1 all occurrences of the Possessive Article have the A² form **-ⲟⲩ**. In tractate 2 at 28,20 the MS reading has **ⲡⲟⲩ**; there are no other occurrences of the 3 pl. Possessive Article in 2. In tractate 3 the A² forms **ⲡⲟⲩ**- **ⲧⲟⲩ**- **ⲛⲟⲩ**- occur 6 times, to 9 occurrences of the S form (disregarding the occurrences in lacunae).

3. Use of **ⲡ** with Greek verbs. (A² treats Greek verbs as nominal elements requiring the construct form of **ⲉⲓⲣⲉ**, "make, do," to help them function as verbs. S treats Greek verbs as verbs, and therefore does not use the **ⲡ**. See e.g. Böhlig, "Griechische Depo-

mentien," p. 90; cf. Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, p. 167). In all three tractates Greek verbs are ordinarily prefixed with $\bar{\rho}$, with one exception in 1 (14,17) and four exceptions in 3 (34,5.14; 44,9; 73,27).

4. Preposition α for ϵ . The S preposition ϵ is regularly used in all three tractates. In tractate 2 α occurs once (29,5), and in tractate 3 three times (clustered at 30, 3-4).

5. α - Future instead of S na -. The S na - Future occurs regularly in all three tractates. There is one occurrence of the A^2 form in tractate 2 (28,26) and one in tractate 3 (49,5, perhaps also at 49,3).

6. $\text{oyn}\tau\epsilon$ = for $\text{oyn}\tau\alpha$ -. The S form $\text{oyn}\tau\alpha$ = is regular throughout, but $\text{oyn}\tau\epsilon$ = occurs once in tractate 3 ($\text{oyn}\tau\epsilon\gamma\text{c}\rho$ 69,9; cf. $\text{oyn}\tau\eta\epsilon\text{i}$ at 15,8 in tractate 1).

7. Past Temporal $\text{ntap}\epsilon$ - $\text{ntap}(\epsilon)$ = for S $\text{ntep}\epsilon$ - $\text{ntep}(\epsilon)$ -. The S form *never* occurs in Codex IX; the A^2 form is invariably used in all three tractates. In addition, the one extant occurrence of the negative Habitudo form is A^2 ma = instead of S me = (73,4 tractate 3).

8. A^2 III Future $\epsilon=\alpha$ instead of S $\epsilon=\epsilon$ occurs twice in tractate 3 (45,26; 55,2). See also A^2 neg. III Future ϵn = (48,11), $\epsilon\text{n}\epsilon$ = (47,25).

9. $\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{z}$ -, $\text{nt}\alpha\text{z}$ -. The peculiar A^2 First Perfect Relative forms with αz (used when the subject of the Relative is the same as the antecedent) occur in tractate 1 twice ($\epsilon\text{nt}\alpha\text{z}\epsilon\text{i}$, 12,3; 16,10) and in tractate 3 at least five times (31,13; 42,6; 43,28.30?; 47,1.4).

One anomalous verbal form, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{q}$, occurs in tractate 1 at 6,11, translated as a II Perfect (BAF).

The results of this survey would tend to corroborate Layton's theory; i.e. the translators of the tractates in Codex IX attempted to translate into Sahidic, but left numerous traces of the A^2 dialect which was presumably their native tongue. Evidently the Sahidic dialect was gaining prestige at the expense of the other Upper Egyptian dialects; hence the attempt to write in the Sahidic dialect of the Upper Egyptian monasteries. The A^2 dialect, interestingly, has been associated especially with "heretical" (e.g. Gnostic and Manichaean) literature. (Cf. Layton, "Coptic Language," *IDBSup*, pp. 176-177; Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 212-214).

Though the language of all three tractates in Codex IX is basically similar, there is no need to assume a single translator for all three. There are sufficient differences among them to posit more than one translator. In any case, reasons have already been

advanced (see discussion above, of scribal errors) for thinking that at least one of the tractates, 2, has been considerably corrupted in transmission. Codex IX, therefore, is not the "autograph" translation of the Coptic documents it contains.

Orthographic features deserving of mention include the following: *plene* spelling of **βωλεπ** and **βαλεπ** in tractate 1, and of **совек**, **совет**, and **залеб** in tractate 3. **ι** for **ει** occurs in tractate 3 (44,17.28); **ει** for **ι** also occurs (69,5; 30,4 etc.). **χ** is used for **χ** in the spelling of the name "Melchizedek," and also in the spelling of the Greek verb **ἀρχεσθαι** (**αρχει** 14,17; on **χ** for **χ** see Kahle, *Bala'izah*, vol. 1, pp. 133-134). Lack of assimilation of **ν** before **π** occurs in tractate 3 at 29,16 (**νπλανη**).

The orthography of Greek words is quite normal for a Coptic text (or, for that matter, a Roman or Byzantine Greek text); e.g. **ι** for **ει** in numerous places. (See the Index of Greek Words for full data). The Greek word **σάρξ** is consistently rendered **сараξ** both in tractates 1 and 3 (it does not occur in 2; on this spelling see Girgis, "Greek Loan Words," § 57). The word **κοδράντης** (Latin *quadrans*) is rendered **κονδραντης** (30,17, tractate 3; cf. Girgis, "Greek Loan Words," § 41b). As usual, the Hebrew-origin words "Seraphim" and "Cherubim" are rendered with final **-ιν** instead of **-ιμ** (10,4; tr. 1; cf. Girgis, "Greek Loan Words," § 31b). The Greek word **ἠδύνεσθαι** is to be recognized beneath the Coptic rendering **ζηλανε** (68,3, tractate 3, a form elsewhere attested; cf. Böhlig "Beiträge," p. 94).

Finally, the original Greek may be seen beneath the surface of the Coptic text in numerous places, especially in tractate 3: e.g. the frozen gen. sg. **γνώσεως** (47,17), and the adverb **πνευματικῶς** (50,2; cf. 49,13). The verb **ἔωρῆν** **ἔωρῆν** **ἔωρῆν** at 45,21-22 is a transparent rendering of **πρωτοτυποῦν** (cf. *PGL* 1203a). The Coptic locutions **τμῆντῶν** **ἔωρα** and **ἔωρα** **ἔωρα** (44,8-9; cf. 68,28-29) are obviously renditions of the Greek words **πολυλογία** and **λογομαχία** respectively. The locution **ἔωρα** **ἔωρα** (70,1) renders **εἰδωλολατρεία**. In tractate 2 a frozen (Doric) genitive sg. may be seen in the name **αδαμα** (cf. 27,26).

INTRODUCTION TO IX, 1: MELCHIZEDEK

Bibliography: Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 142, 197; Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 8, 236; Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," pp. 67-69; Schenke, "Erwägungen zum Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes," p. 436. n. 37; Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek"; Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," pp. 146-150; Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 164-165; Pearson, (Introduction), Giversen and Pearson (Translation), *Melchizedek (IX,1)*, in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 399-403.

This tractate comprises 1,1—27,10 of the codex, approximately 745 lines in all. Unfortunately the ravages of time and modern mis-handling have left it in very fragmentary condition (see codex introduction). The total number of lines completely extant is a scant 19. 467 additional lines are partially preserved. Of these 199 have been completely restored by scholarly conjecture. Thus only about 47% of the text is recoverable, and a major part of the contents of the transcription and translation here presented is, in fact, based upon conjectural reconstruction. From this it is evident that only a very imperfect picture of the contents and meaning of this tractate is possible to attain. It is evident, too, that what does remain of the tractate, even as restored, is susceptible of various interpretations. Therefore this introduction can only be taken as a very tentative statement.

The title of this tractate, *Melchizedek*, is partially preserved on a fragment belonging to the top of p. 1 of the codex: **ΜΕΛΧΙ[ΕΔΕΚ]**, clearly marked as a title by means of decorations (cf. codex introduction and *Fascimile Edition*). The title is doubtless meant to identify the putative "author" of the document, i.e. the recipient of the revelation that is presented in the tractate. (For analogies in the Nag Hammadi library cf. e.g. VIII,1: *Zostriano*s and X,1: *Marsanes*). Thus this document cannot be said to be attributed to "the Great Seth" (against Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 142; the name "Seth" does occur, however, at 5,20).

The name "Melchizedek" occurs in the body of the tractate at 5,15; 12,10; 14,16; 15,9; 19,13; and 26,3. Unfortunately, in all of these cases lacunae occur in the text so that the name "Melchizedek" has been conjecturally restored. Of these occurrences the name is most fully preserved at 12,10 (only two letters missing),

and least preserved at 5,15 (only a trace of a single letter). Of course, it is possible that the name occurred also in portions of the text that are now totally lost.

The same fragment that contains (partially) the title also contains the *incipit*: "Jesus Christ, the Son [of God . . .]. The precise relationship between "Melchizedek" and "Jesus Christ" is exceedingly difficult to define, and we shall have to return to that problem (see below).

Formally this tractate can be defined as an "apocalypse." Indeed the term "apocalypse" (ἀποκάλυψις, in the plural form) occurs toward the end of the document (27, 3) where the recipient of the revelation, Melchizedek, is warned by his heavenly informants not to reveal "these revelations" to anyone in the flesh. A similar warning occurs at 14,12-15. These warnings are, of course, traditional features of the genre (cf. e.g. *Ap. John* BG 76,9—77,5; NHC II 31,34—32,6; 2 *Jeu* ch. 43). In other respects, too, this document satisfies the generic requirements of an "apocalypse": it is pseudonymous, attributed to a biblical hero of the past (Melchizedek), and contains purported prophecies of future events given by an angelic informant (Gamaliel; see discussion below), as well as secrets pertaining to the heavenly world, presumably in a visionary experience.

In spite of its poor state of preservation this tractate can be seen to consist of three major parts: 1) a revelation given to Melchizedek by an angelic informant (1,1?—14,15), concluding with a warning not to divulge the secrets to the uninitiated; 2) a section in which Melchizedek undertakes several ritual actions, including baptism, and offers praises to the heavenly world (14,15-18,11?); and 3) additional revelations given to Melchizedek by heavenly informants, concluding with another warning not to divulge the secrets to the uninitiated, and a brief account of the ascension of the informants (18,11?—27,10 end).

1) Unfortunately the first page is so damaged that not much sense can be made of the opening passage. E.g. it is not clear what the syntactic function of the *incipit* is: "Jesus Christ, the Son [of God . . .]." It may be a vocative, in which case Melchizedek is addressing Jesus Christ in prayer (cf. 1,5-11 and notes). In lines 8-11 someone (Melchizedek?) says, ". . . and that I might put on friendship and goodness as a garment, O brother" (the following material is virtually lost). This suggests a cultic scenario, specifi-

cally a priestly investiture, in which case it is resumed later in the tractate, in the second section (see below).

From 1,19 on it appears that someone (Gamaliel, the angelic informant?) is describing, in the future tense, the ministry, death, and resurrection of the Savior (the term "Savior" occurs at 4,5). The latter will reveal the truth (1,19-20) to some, and speak to others in proverbs, parables, and riddles (1,24-2,2). His activity will incur the anger of Death and his fellow world-rulers (2,5-18), and he will face trial and punishment on false charges (3,9-11). But "[on] the [third] day he [will rise from the] dead" (3,9-11). After the resurrection the Savior will speak life-giving words to his disciples (4,4-6), but the hostile spiritual powers will cause false doctrine to be promulgated by pseudo-disciples (4,7—5,11):

"They will say of him (i.e. Jesus Christ) that he is unbegotten though he has been begotten, (that) he does not eat even though he eats, (that) he does not drink even though he drinks, (that) he is uncircumcised though he has been circumcised, (that) he is unfleshly though he has come in flesh, (that) he did not come to suffering <though> he came to suffering, (that) he did not rise from the dead <though> he arose from [the] dead" (5,2-11).

The substance of the demon-inspired false doctrine so vigorously attacked here is the (typically gnostic!) docetic denial of the reality of Jesus' incarnation, suffering, death and bodily resurrection. (For details, see notes. For discussion of this passage see Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," pp. 68-69; Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," pp. 147-149; Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 164-165. See also below, on the "Melchizedekians.")

The passage immediately following (5,11-23) is a crucial one for the interpretation of the tractate as a whole, but it is unfortunately very fragmentary. It appears to deal with the life and activity of the elect, "the congregation (ἐκκλησία) of [the children] of Seth" (5,19-20) consisting of "all the [tribes and] all [the peoples]," i.e. Gentiles (5,11-12), and the priestly activity of "[Melchizedek], Holy One, [High-priest]" (5,14-16). But, as the brackets indicate, much of this is conjecturally restored. Of the name "Melchizedek" here only the trace of a Δ remains, but the initial α and the final $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\gamma$ of ἀρχιερεύς are at least partially preserved. Melchizedek is identified as the "High-priest" elsewhere in the tractate (15,9-12; possibly 26,2-3); so the restoration of the name here is probable,

but not certain. The high-priestly activity of Melchizedek is evidently part of the "prophecy." Thus we are confronted with an anomalous situation: Melchizedek, the biblical "priest of God Most High" (Gen 14:18), is given a prophecy of his own future priestly activity in the time following the death and resurrection of the Savior! (See below for additional discussion of this problem.)

In this passage, too, there (probably) occurs a self-identification of the mediator of the prophecy, albeit in very fragmentary form. The words, "I am" are restored at 5,17 (ΑΝ[ΟΚ ΠΕ]), and the final three letters (-iēl) of an angelic name follow upon a lacuna at the beginning of line 18 which has room for 5 letters. The two most likely candidates for the identification of this angelic name are "Gabriel" and "Gamaliel." "Gabriel" has the advantage of being a biblical angelic name (Dan 8:16, Luke 1:19,26), but it yields only 4 letters for the lacuna (ΓΑΒΡ). On the other hand, "Gamaliel" is a perfect candidate, not only because it fits the lacuna ([ΓΑΜΑΛ] 1ΗΛ) but because it occurs elsewhere in gnostic literature in somewhat comparable situations. E.g. in *Apoc. Adam* Gamaliel is one of three angels (Abraxas and Sablo are the other two) who come down to rescue the elect from destruction by fire (see V 75,23 and context). In *Gos. Eg.* Gamaliel occurs in the company of three other angels (Gabriel, as well as Samlo and Abraxas; see III, 52,21 and 64,26); they are referred to as "ministers (διάκονος) of the four lights." (In IV 64,15 the name Gamaliel is spelled "Kamaliel.") In *Trim. Prot.* Kamaliel (*sic*) is one of three "servants (ὑπηρέτης) of the great holy luminaries" (XIII 48*,27-29). In the untitled treatise from the Bruce Codex, Gamaliel is one of the "watchers" (φύλαξ) who "became helpers to those who believed in the light-spark" (Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 8). The name "Gamaliel" occurs in *Zost.* in a context similar to that of the Bruce Codex passage (VIII 47,2). The name also occurs in *Marsanes* (X 64*,19). Moreover it is evident that the speaker who identifies himself in our tractate at 5,17-18 is not acting alone, for later on he announces that he will be silent (12,1), and then the plural is used in the next line: "for we [are the brethren who] came down from [the] living [...]" (12,2-4). In the second revelation which begins on p. 18 Melchizedek is addressed by more than one personage (cf. the use of the plural esp. at 19,12). These revealers are probably to be identified as "the brethren who belong to the generations of life," who are taken up to heaven at the end of the tractate (27,7-10 end).

Unfortunately these "brethren" are not named, but it is likely that they are angelic co-workers of the angel whom we have identified as Gamaliel. The other gnostic literature mentioned in connection with "Gamaliel" may therefore give us clues as to the names of Gamaliel's co-workers in this tractate. (The name of one of the angels mentioned together with Gamaliel in *Zost. VIII 47,2-3*, Akramas, may occur in our tractate at 17,24; see note.)

The discussion of Melchizedek's future priestly activity in behalf of the elect provides the context for a passage consisting of invocations of the chief inhabitants of the heavenly world (5,24-6,10). This passage, which looks very much like a secondary insertion, opens with what may be a "mystical" name of the supreme God, possibly to be restored as a palindrome. $\alpha\beta\alpha\beta\alpha \text{ } \iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota \text{ } \alpha\beta\alpha\beta\alpha$, see note to 5,24), and closes with the formula, "through Jesus Christ, the Son of God whom I proclaim" (6,9-10). The other divine beings that can be identified in this fragmentary passage are Barbelo, Doxomedon, Jesus Christ, the four luminaries Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, and Eleleth, Pigeradamas, and Mirocheirothetou (on these names see below). The supreme God may also be referred to at 6,14, under the name "Abel Baruch" (cf. 16,19, and note to 6,14).

In the following passage (6,11-7,5) the angelic informant is presumably revealing knowledge to Melchizedek (see esp. 6,15) for the benefit of the elect, now identified as "the race of the High-priest" (6,17). The content of this knowledge seems here to consist of the person and works of the Savior, of whom the "adverse [spirits are] ignorant" (6,19-21), especially his work of presenting a "living [offering]" to "[the All]" (6,25-28). Melchizedek is then told of the inefficacy of animal sacrifice in removing sin: "[For it is not] cattle [that] you will offer up [for sin(s)] of unbelief [and for] the ignorances [and all the] wicked [deeds] which they [will do . . .]" (6,28-7,3). Here, again, it is to be noted that the future priestly activity of *Melchizedek* is treated. The paradigm for Melchizedek's priestly work is the high-priestly work of Jesus Christ, and the influence of the epistle to the Hebrews is very much in evidence (see notes, and further discussion below).

Faith (7,6), baptism (7,27-8,5), and intercessory prayer (8,28) occur in a passage which is riddled with lacunae and therefore incapable of adequate interpretation. It seems clear that Melchizedek is commanded to receive baptism (8,2), the meaning of which is prob-

ably clarified later in the text (cf. 16,12-16). Intercessory prayer (8,28) is also included in the priestly work of Melchizedek, but the transition from page 8 to the top of page 9, with the mention there of "archons" and "angels," is difficult to construe. (For the problem of the position of pp. 7/8 and 9/10 in the codex see the codex introduction). As restored, the crucial passage reads: "pray for the [offspring of the] archons and [all] the angels, together with [the] seed <which> flowed [forth from the Father] of the All" (8,28-9,3). The meaning, presumably, is that the object of Melchizedek's prayers, humanity in general, is a composite of archontic and heavenly origins (man's lower nature derives from the archons, and his heavenly Spirit from God).

This is followed immediately with a brief "theogonic" passage (9,2-10 . . .), evidently intended to account for the origin of the various gods and angels populating the lower world, and which looks like a secondary insertion. Gods, angels, and men, according to this passage, were all engendered from the primal seed "<which> flowed [forth from the Father] of the All." Such an account of origins is remarkably reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian myth of the procreation of the gods by the masturbation of the primal god Atum (cf. *Pyramid Texts*, Utterance 527, Faulkner tr.) *

After a missing section, the extant text resumes with a distinction drawn between men and women "bound" to the lower world, and the "true Adam" and "true Eve." This entire section (9,25-10,11) seems to be closely related to a passage in the treatise *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,5) consisting of an elaborate midrash on the Paradise narrative in Gen 2-3 (see esp. II 116,33-117,28; cf. notes). The "true Adam" and "true Eve" are said to have eaten from the tree of knowledge and thereby to have "trampled [the Cherubim] and the Seraphim [with the flaming sword]" (10,3-5; cf. Gen 3:6-24 and notes to the text).

In a following fragmentary passage reference is apparently made to the gnostic believers who "renounce ($\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$) the archons" (10,28-29). It is probable that such a "renunciation" belongs to a baptismal context (see note to 10,29). The salvation of the elect is discussed in the following passage (11,2-12 . . .), but it is too fragmentary to interpret in any detail.

After a missing section the speaker (Gamaliel?) announces that he will be silent (12,1), but then the text continues with a list of biblical personages, including Adam, [Abel], Enoch, and [Noah]

(12,7-8). "Melchizedek, [the Priest] of God [Most High]" is addressed (12,10-11), but the following material of some 19 lines is all but lost (12,12-end of page). The list of biblical figures mentioned on this page, culminating with Melchizedek, may be intended as a list of those heroes of the past who functioned as priests. (Cf. the list of priests in the Hellenistic-Jewish synagogue prayer quoted in *Const. Ap.* VIII.5.3, which includes Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, and Melchizedek; on this passage see Goodenough, *Light*, pp. 330-331).

The passage that follows (13,1-14,9), and which concludes the first revelation, deals with the final eschatological struggle between the hostile forces of darkness and the elect. Reference is made to "these two who have been chosen" (13,1). They will not be "convicted" (of any wrong-doing, 13,3-4), but they will nevertheless be maltreated or even killed (see note to 13,8-9) by the opposing archontic powers. Who "these two" are cannot be established with certainty, owing to the loss of the preceding context, but they are possibly to be identified as the "two witnesses" of Rev 11:3-11, whom later tradition identified as Enoch and Elijah. (See Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, pp. 203-211; Pearson, "The Pierpont Morgan Fragments," pp. 241-243). The final victory of the Savior is prophesied, together with the final destruction of Death (see esp. 14,4-9; cf. 1 Cor 15:26; Heb 2:14).

The angelic informant closes his revelation with a command to Melchizedek to reveal the things that should be revealed but to keep secret the things that are not to be revealed (14,9-15).

2) The second section presents, in the first person, Melchizedek's reaction to the revelation and the cultic actions he undertakes. Melchizedek rejoices and praises God for sending the "angel of light" (Gamaliel?) with the revelation he has just received (14,17-15,4). In his great joy he gives thanks to the Father, with reference to his angelic informant: "When he came [. . . he raised] me up from ignorance and (from) the fructification of death to life. For I have a name; I am Melchizedek, the Priest of [God] Most High; I [know] that it is I who am truly [the image of] the true High-priest [of] God Most High" (15,4-13). If the restoration of the word ΠΙΝΕ ("the image" = εἰκὼν) at 15,12 is correct, we have here a clear statement of the relationship between Melchizedek and Jesus Christ: Melchizedek functions on earth as the image, or even "alter-ego," of the heavenly Christ. This idea, based on Heb 7:3,

must be taken up in greater detail (see below for further discussion).

In a subsequent fragmentary passage, Melchizedek refers in his prayer to the sacrificial activity of a figure from the past (Adam?). He then indicates that he has offered animal sacrifices to [Death], and to [angels] and . . . demons (16,2-5; cf. 6,28-29), but is now offering himself and all that belong to him to the Father of the All (16,7-12). This self-sacrifice is tied to the ritual of baptism, which also serves as the context for the bestowal and pronouncement of the name:

“I shall pronounce my name as I receive baptism [now] (and) forever, (as a name) among the living (and) holy [names], and (now) in the [waters], Amen” (16,12-16).

It is probable that this ritual complex—baptism, offering of sacrifice, reception of the name (“Melchizedek”)—is to be understood as a priestly consecration. And in that connection we also recall the “investiture” language of the fragmentary passage on p. 1 mentioned above (1,9-11). These ritual actions fit into a pattern that harks back to ancient Mesopotamian priestly-royal ritual, and which can also be seen to be operative in Jewish texts, most notably *T. Levi* 8, as well as Mandaean ritual (see Widengren, “Heavenly Enthronement,” esp. pp. 552 and 558). The important thing here is that *baptism* is part of the rite of priestly consecration, just as it is in *T. Levi* 8. On the other hand it is surprising that the bread and wine mentioned in connection with Melchizedek in Gen 14:18 (and with Levi in *T. Levi* 8:5) is apparently absent from our text.

The consecration is immediately followed by a series of invocations directed to the inhabitants of the heavenly world (16,16—18,7), the same figures mentioned in a previous section (5,24—6,10) with perhaps some additions (the text is very fragmentary). The invocations all follow the pattern, “Holy are you” (thrice), followed by the name of the divine being addressed, and the formula, “forever and ever, Amen.” The passage bears all the marks of a liturgical prayer intended to be chanted responsively in the context of a worship service. The thrice-repeated formula, “Holy are you,” is doubtless adapted from the Trishagion formula of the *Kedushah* prayer (cf. Isa 6:3) of the ancient Jewish synagogue, used also from early times in Christian worship (cf. e.g. *Const. Ap.* VII.35.3). The formula, “Holy are you,” is found also in Hermetic worship (ἅγιος εἶ, *Corp. Herm.* I.31) in a prayer also taken

up later for use in Christian circles in Egypt (P. Berol. 9794; cf. *Corp. Herm.*, Nock-Festugière ed., vol. 1, p. 18). This formula, too, derives ultimately from Jewish synagogue worship. (Cf. e.g. the third benediction of the weekly *Amidah*, Staerk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete*, p. 11.)

In the fragmentary passage that follows, mention is made of "confession," i.e. in the sense of profession of faith (18,10-11); the object of this confession is doubtless Jesus Christ, the last-named figure in the series of invocations (18,6). Those who "confess him" are pronounced "blessed" (18,9).

3) So much of the text is lost at this point in the document that it is not possible to delineate exactly where the second section ends and where the third section takes up. Probably the material from at least 19,1 on consists of a transition to the second revelation, with the mention of personages (in the plural) who address Melchizedek by name: "and they said to me, [. . . , Melchizedek, Priest] of God [Most High]" (19,12-15). Unfortunately what they say to Melchizedek is impossible to determine at this point in the text. On the next page it is possible to reconstruct part of a sentence, "they did not care that [the priesthood] which you perform, [which] is from [. . .]" (20,10-12). The words "counsels of [. . .] Satan" occur shortly thereafter (20,14-15), indicating that a group of religious opponents are here referred to. It is conjectured that the material from 19,12 to 26,7 is all part of a single discourse constituting a second revelation to Melchizedek mediated by heavenly messengers.

More than four pages of material are almost totally lost (from 20,21-24, end of page, with the exception of 3 very small fragments of pp. 21-22 and a single small fragment of pp. 23-24, blank on the recto side). At the beginning of p. 25 someone is addressing an unidentified group, accusing them of perpetrating acts of violence against the speaker. The speaker, unnamed, is certainly capable of identification from the words that follow:

"And [you crucified me] from the third hour [of the Sabbath-eve] until [the ninth hour] (cf. *Matt.* 27:45 par). And after [these things I arose] from the [dead." (25,4-9.)

There can be no doubt that the speaker here is Jesus Christ, and he is addressing his executioners. His executioners, unspecified at this point, are probably not Jewish priests or Roman soldiers; they are probably the super-terrestrial archons and angels (cf. 1

Cor. 2:8), figures who have been mentioned previously in the tractate (cf. 2,5-20; 10,7-29; 13,9-15; etc).

It is most unfortunate that the text breaks off in the middle of the page, for when we turn next to p. 26, we read this remarkable statement: “[] greeted [me . . .] They said to me, ‘Be [strong, O Melchizedek,] great [High-priest] of God [Most High, for the archons], who [are] your [enemies], made war; you have [prevailed over them, and] they did not prevail over you, [and you] endured, and [you] destroyed your enemies’” (26,1-9).

The text again breaks off in the middle of the page, and, after a crucial gap, we find ourselves at the end of the tractate, on p. 27. Reference is made to “sacrifices” and “fasting” (27,1-3), and then a final command is given, and the informants ascend to heaven:

““These revelations do not reveal to anyone in the flesh, since they are incorporeal, unless it is revealed to you (i.e. unless express command is given by revelation).’ When the brethren who belong to the generations of life had said these things, they were taken up to (the regions) above all the heavens. Amen.” (27,3-10 end.)

It is imperative that we consider the problem posed by the material on pages 25 and 26, material which can only be taken as part of “these revelations” referred to at the end of the tractate (27,3). On p. 25 *Jesus Christ* (who else can it be?) is speaking to his angelic opponents, referring to his death and his subsequent resurrection. On p. 26 *Melchizedek* ([ΜΕΛΧΙΣΕ]ΔΕΚ) is greeted by a heavenly throng and congratulated upon his victory over his enemies. We are drawn to the conclusion that, in the revelation which the priest Melchizedek has received, he has seen that he himself will have a redemptive role to play as the suffering, dying, resurrected and triumphant Savior, Jesus Christ!

If this hypothesis as to the identification of Melchizedek with Jesus Christ is tenable, then the two revelations contained in this tractate are to be understood as progressive revelations. The first deals, principally, with the life, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ultimate victory of Jesus Christ. In addition, the struggles of the elect community against the archon-inspired opponents are prominently featured. All of this is construed as “prophecy” of the future. There is also a hint in this revelation, as we have seen

(see 5,11-17, and comments above), that Melchizedek himself has a future priestly role to play. The second revelation also deals with the suffering, death, resurrection, and ultimate victory of Jesus Christ, but from what we read on p. 26 it seems that the victory of Jesus Christ is the victory of Melchizedek, and that, in fact, they are one and the same. The extant materials strongly suggests that in the second revelation Melchizedek has been transported into the future, so to speak, in a visionary experience, and sees that the role of Savior-High-priest is *his own* future role. To put it another way, our tractate presents to us *two* Melchizedeks: an ancient priest from biblical history, the ostensible recipient of the revelations, and an eschatological redeemer figure, one who is not only "made like (ἁφωμοιωμένος) the Son of God" (Heb 7:3), but who is actually *assimilated* to "Jesus Christ the Son of God" (1,2). (See below, on the use of Heb in *Melch.*)

Curious as such a doctrine may appear, it is not without parallel in comparable materials from Jewish apocalyptic literature, notably the "Enoch" literature.

In the "Similitudes" of 1 (Ethiopic) *Enoch* (chs. 37-71) overlapping and parallel revelations are given to Enoch, the son of Jared (cf. Gen. 5:18-24), who recounts his visionary experiences in the first person. These revelations deal with the coming judgment of the wicked and the salvation of the righteous, and with the enthronement of the glorious "Son of Man" (see esp. chs. 46-49). Finally the spirit of Enoch ascends into the heavens, and an angel greets him with the words, "You are the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness" (1 *Enoch* 71:14; the changes that R. H. Charles makes in the text in his translation of 1 *Enoch* 71:14-17, emending the pronouns from 2 sg. to 3 sg., are quite unwarranted, and without any support in the Ethiopic MSS.). Thus the antediluvian patriarch, Enoch, is given a revelation which portrays the future redemptive role of the Son of Man, and which ultimately equates Enoch himself with that figure! I see a similar situation in *Melch.*, wherein Melchizedek is identified as the future saviour, Jesus Christ.

A similar phenomenon occurs in a Coptic Enoch apocryphon now extant only in a few fragments. In this text Enoch is given a vision of his own role in the Judgment as the "scribe of righteousness." (See Pearson, "The Pierpont Morgan Fragments," esp. pp. 235-236, 272-273.)

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Moreover there is precedent in the Enoch literature for the notion of two Melchizedeks, or rather a single Melchizedek in two (or more) historical manifestations. In the long recension of 2 (Slavonic) *Enoch* there is a remarkable passage which deals with the figure of Melchizedek. (In A. Vaillant's edition this passage comprises chs. 21-23; in the English translation and commentary by W. Morfill and R. H. Charles the passage is printed as an appendix, not considered an essential part of the text of 2 *Enoch*.) In this passage a child is born miraculously to Noah's recently-deceased sister-in-law, and the child, marked on his chest with a priestly seal, speaks and praises God. The boy is named "Melchizedek" by Noah and his brother Nir, whose wife had been thus miraculously and posthumously delivered. In a night vision Nir is told about the impending flood, and he is also informed that the archangel Michael will bring Melchizedek to heaven. Melchizedek will be the chief of the priests among the people and in the end of days will be revealed yet another time as the chief priest. Thus Melchizedek, in this text, has three different manifestations: miraculously born before the Flood, serving in the post-diluvian age as a great priest, and functioning as a priest in the end-time, i.e. in a *messianic* capacity. (On this text see I. Gruenwald, "The Messianic Image of Melchizedek," pp. 90-92.) That this tradition arose in early Jewish circles is most probable (so Gruenwald; cf. also Delcor, "Melchizedek," pp. 127-130; for a contrary view see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 114-115), though there are also in some manuscripts of 2 *Enoch* secondary Christian additions (isolated by Vaillant in his edition as the work of a reviser).

These texts from the Jewish Enoch literature, therefore, provide support for the interpretation advanced above, that in *Melch.* the figure of Melchizedek appears in a double role: as ancient priest and recipient of heavenly revelations of the eschatological future, and as eschatological savior-priest identified with Jesus Christ.

It should be pointed out that the identification, Melchizedek = the Son of God (= Jesus Christ), is known to have been made in some early Christian groups, especially in Egypt. According to Thomas of Marga, "when the heresy of the Melchizedekians broke out at Scete in the land of Egypt through the contemptible monks who said that Melchizedek was the son of God, although there were doctors and famous bishops in those days, yet Theophi-

lus, Bishop of Alexandria, allowed the blessed Macarius, a monk, to make refutation of this error: and that holy man actually did so, and made manifest the foolishness of their opinions" (*Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, vol. 2, pp. 94-95, quoted in Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun*, vol. 2, p. 116). In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* there is a story about an old visionary who believed Melchizedek to be the Son of God, and who was ultimately corrected in his views by Archbishop Cyril of Alexandria (*Apophth. Patr.*, PG 65,160; Coptic ed. Chaine, ch. 176; the Syriac version of the story attributes the correction of the old man's views to Archbishop Theophilus, Budge, *Paradise*, vol. 1, p. 273). This accords with Epiphanius' report that there are those "even in the true church" who regard Melchizedek as the Son of God (*Haer.* 55.7.3; for other examples see esp. Stork, *Die sogenannten Melchisedekianer*, pp. 53-68).

We are now in a position to present a summary analysis of the phenomenology of the figure of Melchizedek in our tractate:

- 1) Melchizedek is an ancient "Priest of God Most High";
- 2) Melchizedek is an eschatological "High-priest";
- 3) Melchizedek is an eschatological "holy warrior."

1) Melchizedek is an ancient "Priest of God Most High." Melchizedek, the recipient of the heavenly revelations in our tractate, is addressed with that title at least twice (12,10-11; 19,14; cf. 15,9-10) by the heavenly revealer(s). This title, of course, comes straight out of the LXX text of Gen 14:18b (ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; Heb. כֹּהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן). In his capacity as a priest Melchizedek offers animal sacrifices, which, however, are considered to be offered not to God but to the archons (16,2-5, cf. 6,28-29). This detail is, of course, absent from the story in Genesis.

There is no trace in our document of any reference to Melchizedek as "king of Salem" (Gen 14:18a), or as a "king" of any sort. In addition, there does not seem to be any influence from Ps 110:4, which is so prominent in the Melchizedek speculations of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

2) Melchizedek is an eschatological "High-priest." The title "High-priest" occurs several times in our tractate, in contexts which depict Melchizedek's role in the future (from the standpoint of the putative time of the delivery of the revelation; the present, from the standpoint of the community for which the tractate was written). At 15,9-13 the two terms "priest" (ΠΟΥΗΗΒ = ἱερεὺς)

and "high-priest" (ἀρχιερέυς) occur together. Melchizedek refers to himself as "[the image of] the true High-priest [of] God Most High" (cf. comments above). In this latter capacity he receives a baptism which seems to serve as an "ordination" or "consecration" rite (16,12-16), and offers up spiritual sacrifices as opposed to the animal sacrifices of his previous priesthood (16,2-12). The sacrifices proper to his role as "High-priest" include a sacrifice of himself, and of those who belong to him (16,7-9), to the Father of All. Those who belong to him are doubtless the elect, the "race of the High-priest" (6,17). As High-priest he has an intercessory role (8,28), and his priesthood (ἱερωσύνη, cf. 20,11) mediates to the elect "perfect hope" and "life" (5,16-17; cf. Heb. 7:16, 19). The series of liturgical invocations beginning at 16,16, which should be taken as reflective of the worship life of the community for which the tractate is written, are presented as part of a priestly prayer of Melchizedek. Indeed one may go so far as to suggest that the specific cultic *Sitz im Leben* for this prayer is the sacrament of Baptism, with which the High-priest Melchizedek is intimately associated in our tractate.

One question that should be discussed here is the source of the designation "High-priest" for Melchizedek, since the term ἀρχιερέυς is not used of him in the OT. The most plausible answer to this question, at least *prima facie*, is to look to the Epistle to the Hebrews in the NT as the source for this designation (cf. Heb 5:10, 6:20). In Heb, of course, it is Christ, not Melchizedek, who is designated as ἀρχιερέυς. We have seen that Melchizedek is designated as the "image" of the High-priest, i.e. of Christ, and this corresponds very well to the general picture in Heb of the relationship between Melchizedek and Christ; i.e. Melchizedek "resembles the Son of God" (ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ). But in our tractate Melchizedek himself is also designated as "High-priest" (5,15; 26,3). It is possible that this designation for Melchizedek is based on Jewish sources. While Philo and Josephus do not use the term ἀρχιερέυς for Melchizedek (Philo calls him ὁ μέγας ἱερέυς, a functional equivalent; see *Abr.* 235), the Jewish prayer in *Const. Ap.* VIII.12.32 uses the term; and some of the Targums also call Melchizedek "High-priest" (for details see Le Déaut, "Le titre de *summus sacerdos*"). Thus the term "High-priest" used of Melchizedek in our tractate can be conjectured to derive directly from Jewish traditions and speculations on the figure of Melchizedek.

3) Melchizedek is an eschatological "holy warrior." Indeed he is such specifically in his role as "High-priest." This is clear from 26,2-9, where Melchizedek is addressed as "great [High-priest] of God [Most High]," is exhorted with the "holy war" slogan, "Be strong" (cf. e.g. IQM xvii 4,9), and is congratulated for his endurance and for destroying his enemies (cf. Ps 110:1-2). These enemies, as we have seen, are none other than the hostile archons and angels. Thus Melchizedek is represented as doing battle in an eschatological war against the archontic-demonic forces of wickedness. And he does so as a *priestly* figure.

For the sources for such ideas we are again driven back to Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* we find that the messianic priest is expected to do battle against the demonic forces led by Beliar (*T. Dan* 5:10; *T. Levi* 18:12). And now we have in fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls the specific teaching that Melchizedek is expected to come as a heavenly redeemer figure to exact vengeance from the hand of Belial and his fellow-spirits, and that he will do this specifically as a *priestly* figure (11QMelch). It is with considerable justification that the suggestion has been made that Melchizedek in these Qumran fragments is to be identified with the archangel Michael (see van der Woude, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," pp. 269-372; the identification of Michael with Melchizedek is made also in certain Jewish midrashim, as Lueken already pointed out in his monograph, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 31).

Now it is precisely in his role as heavenly holy-warrior that Melchizedek seems, in our tractate, to be identified with Jesus Christ. For the "warrior" function is indisputably attributed also to "Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Especially of interest, in this connection, is the use of the term "Commander-in-chief" (ἀρχιστρατηγός) as a title for Jesus Christ (18,5). This is a well-known epithet of the archangel Michael, the chief of the heavenly hosts of God and the protagonist for Israel in Jewish angelology (cf. *Dan* 8:11 LXX; 2 *Enoch* 22:6; 33:10; *Test. Abr.* rec. A, 1 *et passim*; 3 *Apoc. Bar.* 11:4; etc.). It is possible that this epithet for Jesus derives from a primitive Jewish-Christian angelic Christology (cf. *Herm. Sim.* 8.3.3; 9.12.7-8, where Jesus Christ, the "Son of God," seems clearly to be equated with the archangel Michael!). But it is more probable that the epithet ἀρχιστρατηγός for Jesus Christ is meant to support the identification in our tractate.

tate of Jesus Christ with Melchizedek, on the one hand, and the role of Melchizedek as the eschatological warrior comparable to the archangel Michael, on the other (as in 11QMelch).

Furthermore the career of the "Savior" (cf. 4,5 and esp. 14,4) is clearly depicted in the first revelation of our tractate as culminating in warfare with the archontic powers and in the final destruction of their chief, Death (13,9—14,9). In this regard we can compare the confrontation in *Test. Abr.* between the ἀρχιστρατηγός Michael and Death (the latter figure is usually called "Samael" in the Talmudic literature; cf. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions," p. 467). Now in the second revelation a comparison of p. 25 with p. 26 suggests, as we have seen, that the eschatological struggle of Melchizedek includes the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. In this we have a theme that is common in early Christian theological interpretation of the death and resurrection of Jesus, i.e. as an eschatological victory over the forces of wickedness (cf. e.g. Col 2:15).

Thus the depiction of Melchizedek as a "holy warrior" figure, derived from Jewish apocalyptic speculations, is overlaid with an equation of the eschatological struggle with the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, and an identification of Melchizedek with "Jesus Christ, the Son of God."

From this it can be seen that a religious-historical analysis of our tractate is a complicated matter. The Jewish apocalyptic elements are very prominent, indeed basic. But the tractate is clearly a *Christian* text, and in fact contains a rigorously "orthodox," or at least anti-docetic, christology (see above). It might be suggested that *Melch.* is a Jewish-Christian product containing an originally pre-Christian Melchizedek speculation overlaid with Christian christological re-interpretation.

It can hardly be doubted that the source of this Christological re-interpretation is the Epistle to the Hebrews. (This judgment represents a revision of an earlier appraisal of the matter; cf. Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," p. 207, n. 29). The key text from Heb is 7:3 (which seems to be the starting point for all early Christian speculations about Melchizedek; see Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*, pp. 111, 152), specifically the phrase ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ. The interpretation found in *Melch.* is, in fact, very close to the original meaning of the passage in Heb: the eternal Son of God is the priestly *type*, and Melchizedek is

the *antitype* (see Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*, pp. 161-164). Our tractate goes further, however, in positing an ultimate identity between the Savior, Jesus Christ, and the eschatological High-priest, Melchizedek. The Manichaean doctrine of Mani's heavenly "twin" would provide an analogy (cf. Henrichs-Koenen, "Mani-Codex," esp. pp. 161-189); indeed such a doctrine may have been explicit in the opening passage of *Melch.* (cf. 1,2 and 11), though the loss of so much of the text deprives us of certainty on this point.

In addition, other passages from Heb seem to be reflected in *Melch.*, though I have not found any explicit quotations. (*Melch.* also utilizes other NT texts, especially the gospels and the Pauline epistles; for references see the notes to the text and translation.) The following table provides a summary of the evidence; obviously some of the suggested allusions to, or influences from, Heb are more certain than others:

Hebrews	<i>Melchizedek</i>
1:4	15,8
1:13	26,8-9
2:11-13	6,24; 5,19; 16,8
2:14	14,8-9
3:1	18,9-10
3:12	7,1; 16,13
5:10	5,15
6:6	25,5
6:11	5,16
6:20	5,15
7:3	1,2; 15,12
7:16	5,17
7:19	5,16
7:24	20,10-11
7:26	27,9-10
7:27	6,24-26; 6,29-7,1
9:7	7,2
9:12-13	6,28
9:23-26	6,24-26
10:13	26,8-9
12:2	26,7-8

There are also clear evidences of specifically gnostic mythologoumena in our tractate. Indeed it has been suggested that *Melch.*

is a product of the *Sethian* gnostic sect (Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 197; Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," p. 67-68; Schenke, "Das sethianische System," p. 166; and "Gnostic Sethianism"). The specifically gnostic elements are restricted mainly to the section beginning approximately at 8,28, which contains within it a theogonic myth with strong Egyptian coloration (see above) and a midrash on the paradise story of Gen 2-3, and the "liturgical" passages containing praises of the inhabitants of the gnostic heavenly world (5,24—6,10; 16,16—18,7). It is the last-named sections which suggest a "Sethian" coloration, because of the names that occur there, names familiar from other Sethian-gnostic literature. (For an attempt to define the constituent elements of "Sethian" Gnosticism see Schenke, "Das sethianische System" and "Gnostic Sethianism"; Schenke classifies as "Sethian" the following documents: *Ap. John* + par. in *Iren. Haer. I.29*, *Hyp. Arch.*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Apoc. Adam*, *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*, *Melch.*, *Norea*, *Marsanes*, *Trim. Prot.* and *Cod. Bruc. Untitled.*)

Barbelo (5,27; 16,26) is familiar from Irenaeus' account of the (Sethian) "Barbelo-Gnostics" (*Haer. I.29*). She is the "Mother" of the primal gnostic triad of Father, Mother, and Son (cf. Schenke, "Das sethianische System," p. 166), and her name, of uncertain etymology, occurs in many other Sethian gnostic documents (e.g. *Ap. John*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*, *Marsanes*, *Allogenes*, *Trim. Prot.*). Doxomedon, called "splendid Doxomedon" in one place (6,1 $\alpha\lambda\theta\omicron\psi$; cf. 16,30), also appears elsewhere in gnostic literature (*Gos. Eg.*, *Zost.*), sometimes as "Domedon Doxomedon" (see esp. *Gos. Eg. III 41,14 et passim*). The name "Doxomedon" probably means "lord of glory" (cf. Böhlig, "Der jüdische and judenchristliche Hintergrund," p. 114; Böhlig interprets "Domedon" as "lord of the house," and compares it to the Jewish figure "Domiel"). The four luminaries (6,3-5; 17,9-19) occur in many other texts (e.g. *Iren. Haer. I.20*, *Ap. John*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Hyp. Arch.*, *Zost.*, *Trim. Prot.*, *Norea*, and *Cod. Bruc. Untitled*), and their occurrence is sometimes taken as a sign of "Sethian" influence (Schenke, "Das sethianische System"; but they occur also even in non-gnostic texts, as e.g. in the Coptic magical texts edited by Kropp). Perhaps the same could be said for the figure of Gamaliel, the putative mediator of the revelations to Melchizedek in our text (see discussion above, and the enumeration of texts in which Gamaliel occurs).

Pigeradamas, the "Man of Light" (6,5-6; $\pi\iota\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ is

probably to be taken as a vocative, and the nominative case of the name would thus be ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑΣΑΣ, but the spelling with such a reduplicated ending is probably a mistake, and the name should probably be spelled ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑΣ), is the gnostic Primal Man. As such he occurs in one version of *Ap. John* (II 8,34-35 ΠΙΓΕΡΑ/ΑΔΑΜΑΝ). In *Steles Seth* Pigeradamas (VII 118,26 *et passim* ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑ, a vocative form) is one of the names given to the third person of the gnostic triad; the name occurs also in *Zost.* The etymology is uncertain. Böhlig divides the name ΠΙ-ΓΕΡΑ-ΑΔΑΜΑΝ (referring to the form of the name occurring in II,1: *Ap. John*; he probably did not then know of the other occurrences), and remarks cryptically, "den Charakter des Uradam hebt cod II durch die Bezeichnung als ΠΙ-ΓΕΡΑ-ΑΔΑΜΑΝ ausdrücklich hervor" ("Der jüdische und judenchristliche Hintergrund," p. 114, n. 1). Böhlig evidently understands the element ΓΕΡ(Α) to be derived from the Greek adjective γέρων, "old." But perhaps one should see this element as derived instead from Hebrew גַּר, "stranger," in the gnostic sense of "alien" (ἀλλογενής). Schenke suggests that ΠΙ-ΓΕΡ-ΑΔΑΜΑΣ = ὁ ἱερ (ὅς) Ἀδαμας, "the holy Adam," and offers for comparison ΑΔΑΜΑΝ ΕΤΟΥΓΑΒ in II,5: *Orig. World* 108,23 (see "Das sethianische System," p. 170). Giversen's suggestion (in *Apocryphon Johannis*, pp. 186-187), ΠΙ-ΓΕ-ΡΑ(Ν)-ΑΔΑΜΑΝ, "the name indeed (γέ) is Adamas," is probably the least convincing possibility. All of the suggestions advanced are based upon the supposition that the name Pigeradamas is a *Coptic* construction, since they take the initial part of the name, Π- or ΠΙ-, as a Coptic definite article. This I find to be a weakness in the proposed etymologies, but I have no better solution to offer. Klijn proposes an Aramaic etymology, אַרְגַּא, which would mean that Pigeradamas is the "corporeal" Adam (see *Seth*, p. 105, n. 137), but this makes no sense at all as a designation for a heavenly being (cf. also Mandaean *adam pagria*, and Rudolph, *Theogonie*, pp. 248-258).

Mirocheirothetou, the "good god of the beneficent worlds," (6,7-8; 17,27—18,2) occurs nowhere else to my knowledge (but cf. "Mirothea" in *Gos. Eg.*, *Zost.*, and *Trim. Prot.*, and "Mirotheos" in *Steles Seth*). The form of the name here is probably (anomalously) genitive case; so the name seems to be a combination of the Greek words, μοῖρα "destiny," χεῖρ "hand," and τίθημι "put, place." The designation then would mean something like, "the one who

allots, or directs, destiny." The further description, "good god of the beneficent worlds" could be an apotropaic euphemism, but the place of this deity among the other heavenly beings praised in the liturgy would then be very strange. Thus it is better to see in this figure an equivalent to "Mirotheos" in *Steles Seth*.

As has been intimated already, those sections of our text which can be labelled as definitely "gnostic" in the technical sense appear to be secondary accretions. This would also hold for the one mention of Seth; the "congregation of [the children] of Seth" (5,19-20) should probably be taken as a secondary identification of the elect, otherwise identified as the "race of the High-priest" (6,17), those that belong to Melchizedek (cf. 16,8). Therefore, rather than seeing *Melch.* as an example of "eine vollständig christianisierte sethianische Gnosis" (cf. Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," p. 67), it might be better appraised as a gnosticized Jewish-Christian apocalypse.

Melch. is the only tractate in the entire Coptic Gnostic Library in which the figure of Melchizedek appears. To be sure, Melchizedek does appear in other gnostic literature. (For discussion of this material see esp. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*, pp. 131-151; cf. Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek." Horton does not treat *Melch.* in his book.) In a gnostic parchment fragment from Deir El-Bala'izah (No. 52 in Kahle, *Bala'izah*) the apostle John asks the Savior to explain about Melchizedek, who is said to be "without father and without mother" (Heb 7:3). In *Pist. Soph.* Melchizedek is the great "Receiver (παράλημπτης) of the Light," who despoils the archons of their light and leads souls into the "Treasury of the Light." In *2 Jeu*, "Zorokothora Melchizedek" is the heavenly bearer of the water of baptism. In at least two of these gnostic sources (and perhaps also the Bala'izah fragment) Melchizedek is a heavenly redeemer figure, as he is also in *Melch.* His role in baptism in *2 Jeu* is especially of interest, in comparison to our tractate (on this see Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," pp. 202-204).

Is it possible to place *Melch.* in a specific historical context? In considering this question we must take into account the "Melchizedekian" sect described by Epiphanius.

Epiphanius (*Haer.* 55) gives a rather full account of a group of sectarians who, he says, call themselves "Melchizedekians." This sect may be a branch of an older sect founded by one Theodotus (55.1.1; on Theodotus cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VII.36; Ps.-Tert. *Haer.* 24).

"They glorify the Melchizedek who is spoken of in the scriptures, and think that he is a great power of some kind. In their error they also say that he dwells in ineffable regions above, and that he is not only some sort of power but also superior to Christ" (55.1.2, my translation). Epiphanius goes on to say that they "deceive themselves by creating for themselves spurious books" (55.1.5). They are described as offering sacrifices to God through Melchizedek and claiming that life is mediated through him by means of his priesthood (55.8.1-2). Epiphanius also accuses them of denying Christ in their affirmation of his conception by Mary. In other words, by their assertion of the true humanity of Christ they are in effect denying that he is "ever with the Father as divine Logos" (55.9.2).

Now virtually all of these assertions, except for the express subordination of Jesus Christ to Melchizedek, can be paralleled in *Melch.* (and even the subordination doctrine may simply reflect a misunderstanding on Epiphanius' part). It is a pseudonymous book, glorifying the priesthood (cf. ἱερωσύνη in *Haer.*, 55.8.1 and in *Melch.* at 20,10-11) of Melchizedek and holding up an antidocetic affirmation of the true humanity of Jesus Christ. There is, in short, enough evidence to suggest that our tractate emerged from a "Melchizedekian" sect very much like the group described by Epiphanius. The specifically gnostic features of our tractate, however, are not accounted for by Epiphanius' description, and it is therefore probable that the group reflected in *Melch.* has fallen under the influence of one or more other religious groups in which "Sethian" gnostic ideas prevailed (but whose influence certainly did not extend to their christology). Thus the group for whom this tractate—or at least its final redaction—was written can refer to themselves equally well as "the congregation of the children of Seth" (5,19-20) or as the "race of the High-priest" (6,17, i.e. Melchizedek). (For further discussion of these questions see Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," pp. 207-208; "Anti-Heretical Warnings," 149-150.)

All indications point to Egypt as the country where *Melch.* was written, for, as we have seen, Egypt is the place where speculations on the figure of Melchizedek were especially rife (cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 55.9.18, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\eta\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \text{Αἰγύπτων} \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$). In addition the Egyptian coloration of the brief theology beginning at 9,2 supports a

theory of Egyptian origin for the document (or at least its final redaction).

As to the date of *Melch.*, late second or early third century would be a good guess. Speculation as to authorship is totally fruitless.

its fir:

ry we:

frui:as

—| ΜΕΛΧΙΖΕΚ

- 2 ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΩΗ[ΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ]
[ΤΕ .].[....] ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Ν
(1 line missing)
- ΤΕ .[.....] ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΙΝ[ΑΧΩ]
6 ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥ[Ω] Ζ[Ν
ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΑΙΩ[Ν ΕΙ]Ν[ΑΧΕ]
8 [Τ]ΦΥΣΙΣ ΜΠΑΙΩΝ [ΟΥ]ΑΩ
ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΜΝΤΨ[Β]ΗΡΕ ΜΝ [ΤΜΝΤ]
10 ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΤΑ[Α]Υ ΖΙΩ[ΩΤ]
ΝΩΤΗΝ· Ω ΠΣΟΝ .[.]Ν[
12 [± 9]..[
(2 lines missing)
- [± 8]ΜΕ[
16 [± 8]Ω Ν[
[.....]... ΜΝ ..[
18 [.....].Α[.]ΑΦ ..[
[. ΕΒΟ]Λ Ν[ΤΟ]ΥΖΑΗ [..]ΝΕ[
20 [....] ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑ[ΦΩΛ]ΕΠ [Ε]
[ΒΟΛ ΝΑΥ] ΝΤΜΕ· .[.]ΜΦ[
22 [± 9]..[
(1 line missing)
- 24 [± 7] Ζ[Ν Α]
[.... ΠΑ]ΡΦΙΜ[ΙΑ ...].[

- 1,1 The name "Melchizedek" occurs also at 5,15; 12,10; 14,16; 15,9; 19,13; and 26,3. The decoration —| was probably matched by |— at the end of the name. For the use of Χ for X cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah* I, 133-134.
- 1,2 The name Ἰησοῦς is abbreviated ΙC elsewhere in the codex. For the title, "Son of God," cf. 6,9-10. It is possible that "Jesus Christ, Son of God," should be read as a vocative, with Melchizedek as the speaker. Heb 7:3 may be in the background; cf. tractate introduction on the use of Heb in *Melch*. Cf. also the following note.
- 1,5-11 The verb forms (II Fut.) may indicate that this section is to be read as a prayer. On the "aeons" cf. 5,23ff. On the other hand,

MELCHIZEDEK

- 2 Jesus Christ, the Son [of God]
 [] from [
 (1 line missing)
 [] the aeons (αἰών) that I [might tell]
 6 all of the aeons (αἰών), and in (the case of)
 each one of the aeons (αἰών) [that I might tell]
 8 [the] nature (φύσις) of the aeon (αἰών), what
 it is, and that I might put on
 friendship and goodness (-χρηστός)
 as a garment, O brother [
 12 [
 (2 lines missing)
 [
 16 [
 [] and [
 18 [
 [] their end [
 20 [] And he will [reveal]
 [to them] the truth [
 22 [
 (1 line missing)
 24 [] in [
 [] proverb(s) (παροιμία)

the speaker may be the revealer angel Gamaliel, addressing Melchizedek. Cf. 5,18 and note.

1,9-10 **ΤΜΝΤΨΡΗCTOC**: Perhaps "Messiahship."

1,11 **ΠCON**: Jesus Christ, addressed by Melchizedek? Cf. *Pist. Soph.* ch. 61, where the Spirit, Jesus' heavenly double, refers to the earthly Jesus as "my brother" (**ΠACON**). Cf. also the "brethren" mentioned at 27,7 and 12,3.

1,18-19 Perhaps **δω/λ(ε)π̄ εβο]λ**, "reveal." Cf. 1,20.

1,20 The reference is probably to the Savior's teaching.

1,21 **ΝAY**: Cf. 4,5. But possibly **ΝAK**, "to you"; cf. 6,23.

1,25 Cf. John 16:25.

0: 24, 26, 19:
 ably matie
 & for X d
 the codex fr
 e that "Jes
 with Melch
 background d
 Cf. also th
 action is to b
 e other has

26 [± 11] . [.] . . []
 (±2 lines missing)

[B]

[... ΝΩ]ΟΡΠ̄ ΖΝ ΖΕΝΠΑΡΑΒΟΛ[Η]
 2 [ΜΝ ΖΕΝΑΙ]ΝΙΓΜΑ []
 (1 line missing)

4 [.....] ΝΡ[± 7 Τ]ΑΨ[Ε]
 7 [Ο]ΕΙΨ ΝΜΟΟΥ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΑΨΤ[ΟΡ]
 6 [Τ]Ρ ΑΓΨ ΓΝΑΘΩΝΤ̄· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟ[Ν]
 [Ν]ΤΟΓ [Ο]ΥΑΑΓ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΓΚΕ[ΨΒΗΡ]
 8 [Ν]ΚΟCΜ[Ο]ΚΡΑΤΩΡ· ΝΑΡΧΩΝ [ΜΝ]
 [Ν]ΑΡΧΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΞΟΥCΙΑ· ΝΝΟΥ[ΤΕ]
 10 [Ν]ΖΙΔΜ[Ε] ΜΝ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΖΟΥ[Τ]
 [Μ]Ν Ν[ΑΡΧ]ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΓΨ Ν[]
 (3 lines missing)

[± 7]· ΑΓ[]
 16 [..... Τ]ΗΡΟΥ[]
 [ΝΚΟC]ΜΟΚΡΑΤ[Ω]Ρ []
 18 [.. Τ]ΗΡΟΥ ΑΓΨ Ν[]
 [... ΤΗ]ΡΟΥ ΑΓΨ Ν[]
 20 [Τ]ΗΡΟΥ CΕΝΑΧΟΦ[C ΕΤΒΗ]
 [Η]Τ̄· ΑΓΨ ΕΤΒΕ []
 22 [.....] ΑΓΨ []
 (2 lines missing)

2,1 Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 66, παραβολικῶς καὶ ἠνιγμένως; *Iren. Haer.* III.5.1.
 Cf. also *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 6.

2,5 "Death" in this text is functionally equivalent to the Jewish "angel of death," Samael. He seems to be a separate figure from Satan; cf. 20,15. For the personification of Death as an angelic figure see esp. *T. Abr.*, *passim*, esp. Rec. A, 16, where Death shivers and trembles before the Most High. The personification of Death is suggested in the NT in such passages as Rom 5:15 and 1 Cor 15:26. For the angel of death (= Samael) as a "world-ruler" (קְהוּמֹקְרוֹר) in Jewish aggadah see *Midr. Lev. Rab.* 18,3; cf. Krauss, *Griechische Lehnwörter*, קְהוּמֹקְרוֹר. The struggle between Jesus and Death is described in grotesque detail in *The*

- 26 [
 (± 2 lines missing)
 [2]
 [at first] in parables (παραβολή)
 2 [and riddles (αἰνιγμα) [
 (1 line missing)
 4 [] proclaim
 them, Death will [tremble]
 6 and be angry, not only (οὐ μόνον)
 he himself, but (ἀλλά) also his [fellow]
 8 world-rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ), and archons (ἄρχων) [and]
 the principalities (ἀρχή) and the authorities (ἐξουσία), the
 10 female gods and the male gods
 together with the [arch-] angels (ἀρχάγγελος). And [
 (3 lines missing)
 [
 16 [] all of them [
 [the] world-rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ) [
 18 [] all of them, and all the
 [], and all the [
 20 They will say [] concerning]
 him, and concerning [
 22 [] and [
 (2 lines missing)

Book of the Resurrection (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*).

- 2,8-11 For such lists in the NT see 1 Cor 15:24; Col 1:16; 2:10,15; Eph 1:21; 3:10; but here these beings have become thoroughly demonized.
- 2,10 Male and female gods are listed as such in Graeco-Egyptian magical literature, e.g. in the Demotic Papyrus of London and Leiden (ed. Griffith-Thompson), col. vi.
- 2,20-3,9 The charges against the Savior are inspired by the demonic-archontic powers.
- 2,20 Perhaps **ϸΕΝΑΧΟΡ[ϸ ΤΗΡΟΥ**, "They will all say."
- 2,22 No trace of the **Ω** remains on the MS., but it is attested in an early photograph.

[...] ϸεναε[± 8 μγς]
 26 [Τ]ΗΡΙΟΝ· ΕΤΖΗ[Π
 [.]ΕΝΕ.[
 (±2 lines missing)

[± 16]επ
 2 [± 16]..[
 [± 10]ΛΟΝ Ε[Β]ΟΛ Ζ[Ν]
 4 [± 8]ΠΤΗΡῶ· Σ[Ε]ΝΑ[
 [± 8]ΠΑΙ ΕΡΕΝΔΙΚΟ
 6 [ΛΟΓΟΣ Τ]ΟΜΣῶ Ζῆ ΟΥΑΣΑ[Ι]
 [ΣΕΝΑ]ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΠΡΩ
 8 [ΜΕ ΝΑ]ϸΕΒΗC ΜΠΑΡΑΝΟΜ[Ο]C
 [ΝΑΚΑΘ]ΑΡΤΟΝ· ΑΥΩ [ΖΜ] ΠΜΕΖ
 10 [ΨΟΜῆΤ] [Ν]ΖΦΟΥ ϸ[ΝΑΤΩΩΝ]
 [ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΝΕΤ]ΜΟΥΓ[Τ
 12 [± 11]ΛΟ[
 (±16 lines missing)

Α

ΝΡΜ[
 2 Μῆ[
 ΜΟΟ[Υ.]Ν[± 10 ΜΜΑ]
 4 ΘΗΤΗϸ ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ϸΝΑΒΩ]
 ΛΕΠ[Ε]ΒΟΛ ΝΑΥ [ΜΠΛΟΓΟΣ]
 6 ΕΤΤῆΖΟ ΜΠΠ[ΤΗ]Ρ[ῶ ΝΒΙ]
 ΠCΦΤΗΡ ΑΥΨΑΧΕ [ΔΕ ΖΑΖ ῆ]
 8 ΨΑΧΕ· ῆΒΙ ΝΕΤΖῆ [ΜΠΗΥΕ]
 Μῆ ΝΕΤΖΙΧῆ ΠΚΑ[Ζ Μῆ ΝΕΤ]
 10 ΖΑΠΕ[C]ΗΤ ΜΠΚΑΖ [
 ..[....]ΟΟΥ Μ[ῆ

- 3,1-9 A strip of (vertical) fibers is lost from the MS. at the right margin, resulting in the loss of entire letters at lines 2,3,4,6,8.
 3.3 Perhaps ΣΚΑΝΔΑ]ΛΟΝ, "scandal."
 3.5 Perhaps ΕΤΒΕ] ΠΑΙ, "because of this."
 3.6 Corr. end of line: α over ε.

[] they will [
 26 hidden [mystery(s) (μυστήριον)
 [

(± 2 lines missing)

3

[
 2 [
 [] out of
 4 [] the All. They will
 [] this, the [lawyers (δικολόγος)]
 6 will [bury] him quickly.
 [They will] call him,
 8 'impious (ἀσεβής) man, lawless (παράνομος)
 [(and) impure (ἀκάθαρτον)']. And [on] the
 10 [third] day he [will rise]
 [from the] dead [
 12 [

(± 16 lines missing)

4
 [
 2 and [
 [
 4 [holy disciples (μαθητής). And]
 the Savior (σωτήρ) [will reveal] to them [the word
 (λόγος)]
 6 that gives life to the [All.]
 [But (δέ)] those in the heavens spoke [many]
 8 words, together with
 those on the earth [and those]
 10 under the earth. [
 [

3,9-11 Cf. 25,8-9.

4,5-6 The reference here is probably to the Savior's post-resurrection (esoteric) instruction.

4,8-10 Cf. Phil 2:10; Rev 5:3; Exod 20:4; Ign. *Tr.* 9,1; *PGM* IV. 3042-3043; V. 165-167.

12 [.....]ΟΥΓ[
 [....] ΝΑΥ[
 14 [.....]ΜΕ[

(± 16 lines missing)

16

[ετ]ΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΡΑΝ· <ΑΥΩ>
 2 [Ο]Ν ΣΕΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΤ̄
 [Χ]ΠΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΑΥΧΠΟΥ ΕΦΟΥΩΜ
 4 [Α]Ν ΕΨΧΕ ΕΦΟΥΩΜ [Ε]ΦΩ ΑΝ
 ΕΨΧΕ ΕΦΩ· ΟΥΑΤ̄ΣΒΒΗΤ̄
 6 ΠΕ ΕΑΦΩΠΕ Ζ̄Ν ΣΑΡΑΞ· ΜΠ̄
 ΠΕ ΕΑΦΩΠΕ Ζ̄Ν ΣΑΡΑΞ· ΜΠ̄
 8 ΕῙ ΕΠΠΑΘΟΣ <Ε>ΑΦΕῙ ΕΠΠΑΘΟΣ·
 ΜΠ̄ΤΩΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΤ̄ΜΟ
 10 ΟΥΤ̄ <Ε>ΑΦΤΩΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν [ΝΕΤ̄]
 ΜΟ[Ο]ΥΤ̄· [ΣΕΝ]ΑΨΑΧΕ [ΔΕ ΝΤΜΕ]
 12 Ν̄[ΒΙ] ΜΦ[ΥΛΗ] ΤΗΡΟΥ [ΜΝ̄ ΝΛΑ]
 [ΟΣ Τ]ΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΧΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ ΝΖΗΤΚ]
 14 [ΝΤΟ]Κ ΖΩΩΚ Ω̄ [ΜΕΛΧΙΣΕ]
 Δ[ΕΚ] ΠΕΤ̄[Ο]ΥΑΑΒ [Π]Α[ΡΧΙΕ]

- 5,1-11 On this passage see Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," 68-69; Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," 147-149; Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, 164-165; and tractate introduction.
- 5,1 Cf. Matt 7:22; Ign. *Eph.* 7.1.
- 5,2-3 **ΑΥΧΠΟΥ** = ἀγέννητος. Cf. Ign. *Eph.* 7.2: γεννητός καὶ ἀγέννητος. Cf. Cerinthus' doctrine, Iren. *Haer.* I.26.1; Carpocrates, Epiph. *Haer.* 27.2.2 (denial of Jesus' divine birth); Saturninus, Iren. *Haer.* I.24.2; *et al.*
- 5,3-5 For Valentinus' peculiar doctrine of Jesus' eating and drinking see fr. 3, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III.59.3; cf. Clement's own view, which is similar, *Strom.* VI.71.2. Cf. Matt 11:19; Luke 7:34.
- 5,5-6 Cf. Tert. *Carn. Chr.* 5, against Marcion's denial of Jesus' humanity, including his circumcision.
- 5,6 **ΑΥΣΑΡΑΞ** = ἄσαρκος. Cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 42.11.15; Hipp. *Ref.* VII.38. The Greek word σάρξ is consistently spelled **ΣΑΡΑΞ** throughout the codex, and this form is used also in other codices,

12 [
 [] to them [
 14 [

(± 16 lines missing)

5

[which] will happen in his name.
 2 [Furthermore], they will say of him that he is
 unbegotten though he has been begotten, (that) he does
 4 not eat even though he eats, (that) he does not drink
 even though he drinks, (that) he is uncircumcised
 6 though he has been circumcised, (that) he is unfleshly
 (-σάρξ)
 though he has come in flesh (σάρξ), (that) he did not
 8 come to suffering (πάθος), <though> he came to suf-
 fering (πάθος),
 (that) he did not rise from the dead
 10 <though> he arose from [the]
 dead. [But (δέ)] all the [tribes (φυλή) and]
 12 all [the peoples (λαός)] will speak [the truth],
 who are receiving from [you]
 14 yourself, O [Melchizedek],
 Holy One, [High-priest (ἀρχιερέυς)],

e.g. V, VI, and VIII, as well as some NT MSS.; cf. *The Coptic Version of the New Testament*, Rom 13:14 (Horner's apparatus). It is not to be confused with late Greek σάρξ; cf. LSJ 1583b.

5,7 Cf. 1 John 4:2; 2 John 7.

5,8 Cf. the Christological predication ἀπαθής, Ign. *Eph.* 7.2; etc. The denial of Christ's suffering is a common gnostic theme.

5,9-11 Cf. e.g. Cerinthus' denial of the resurrection of Christ, according to Epiph. *Haer.* 28.6.6.

5,11-12 "tribes and . . . peoples": Cf. Acts 5:9. The true congregation (cf. 5,19-20) is made up of Gentiles.

5,13 Cf. 11,1.

5,14-15 For the restoration of the name "Melchizedek" here cf. esp. 12,10-11 and 15,9-12.

5,15 ὁ ἄγιος, a Messianic title; cf. Mark 1:24; Luke 1:35; 4:34; John 6:39; Acts 3:14; Rev 3:7. For ἀρχιερέυς of Melchizedek, see esp. *Const. Ap.* VIII.12.23 (a Jewish source), and ὁ μέγας ἱερέυς in Philo *Abr.* 235; cf. also κατὰ τὴν τάξιν μελχισέδεκ ἀρχιερέυς, Heb 5:10; 6:20. For discussion see tractate introduction.

16 ΡΕΥϚ [N]ΘΕΛΠΙϚ ΕΤ'ΧΗ[Κ ΜN]
 NΤΑ[ΙΟ Μ]ΠΩΝϚ· ΑΝ[ΟΚ ΠΕ]
 18 [ΓΑΜΑΛ]ΙΗΛ NΤΑΥΤN̄ΝΟ[ΟΥΤ']
 Ε[. . . .]Π NΤΕΚΚΛΗϚΙΑ N[N]
 20 ΩΗ[ΡΕ] N̄CΗΘ· ΕΥNΤΠΕ N̄
 ΖΕΝ[Ω]Ο [N]ΩΟ ΑΥ[Ω ΖΕΝΤΒΑ]
 22 NΤΒΑ [NΝΑ]ΙΩΝ· .[
 ΖΑ[. . . . Ο]ΥϚΙΑ N̄ΝΑΙ[ΩΝ]
 24 [Α]ΒΑ[. . . .]ΑΙΑ| ΑΒΑΒΑ ΠΑ[
 [.]ΙϚ N̄ΝΟΥΤΕ N̄Ν·[
 26 [.]. Κ[. . . Φ]ΥϚΙϚ [
 [ΤΜΑΑΥ] N̄ΝΑΙΩΝ [ΤΒ]ΑΡΒ[ΗΛΩΝ]
 28 [Π]ΩΡ[Π] N̄ΜΙϚΕ N̄[NΑ]Ι[ΩΝ]

Ⲫ

ⲁⲓϑⲟϥ ⲁⲟϝⲟⲙⲉⲁⲱⲛ ⲁⲟⲙ[
 2 ΠΑΝΙΩΟ<Υ> ΠΙϚ ΠΕΧϚ· N̄ΑΡ[ΧΙ]

- 5,16 Cf. Heb 6:11; 7:19.
 5,17 Cf. Heb 7:16.
 5,18 For "Gamaliel," cf. *Apoc. Adam* V 75,23; *Gos. Eg.* III 52,21; 64,26; IV 64,15; 76,17; *Trim. Prot.* XIII 48*,27; *Marsanes* X 64*,19; *Zost.* VIII 47,2; *Cod. Bruc. Untitled*, ch. 8. See tractate introduction for discussion.
 5,19 Perhaps Ε[ΒΩΛΕ]Π, "to reveal," but one would then expect the usual ΕΒΟΛ. Cf. 15,3. Ἐκκλησία: Cf. Heb 2:12.
 5,20 Seth (Gen 4:25-5:8) is the "father of the living and immovable race" in "Sethian" Gnosticism, as in *Steles Seth* VII 118,12-13. Cf. e.g. *Ap. John* II 13,21, "seed of Seth"; *Gos. Eg.* III 65,19-20; IV 77,18, "the sons of the great Seth." On Seth in Gnosticism see Pearson, "The Figure of Seth."
 5,20-22 Cf. *Rev* 5:11; *Dan* 7:10; *1 Enoch* 14:22; 40:1; 60:1; 71:8. See also *Orig. World* II 105,20-29.
 5,23 Cf. 1,5-9.
 5,24 This is probably an "ineffable" name of the supreme God. A possible reading may be a palindrome: [Α]ΒΑ[ΒΑ ΙΑΙ]ΑΙΑ| ΑΒΑΒΑ. Similar palindromes occur in the magical papyri; see e.g. αιω αιαι-ιαια ιαω, *PGM* IV. 1069. Here the mystical name may be based on the divine name "Yao" (יהי, יא-) and the Hebrew/Aramaic word אב, "father." Cf. note to 6,14. Cf. also *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 142.

- 16 the perfect hope (ἐλπίς) [and]
the [gifts of] life. [I am]
- 18 [Gamaliel] who was [sent]
to [] the congregation (ἐκκλησία) of [the]
- 20 [children] of Seth, who are above
[thousands of] thousands and [myriads]
- 22 of myriads [of the] aeons (αἰών) [
[] essence (οὐσία) of the [aeons (αἰών)]
- 24 [α]βα[] αιαι αβαβα. O
divine [] of the [
- 26 [] nature (φύσις)
[O Mother] of the aeons (αἰών), [Barbelo,]
- 28 [O first-] born of the aeons (αἰών)],

6

- splendid (αἰθοψ) Doxomedon, Dom [
- 2 O glorious one, Jesus Christ,

5,24-25 Perhaps ΠΑ[Υ/ΤΟΓΕΝ]ΗϚ ἩϚ ἩΝΟΥΤΕ, "the divine Autogenes."
Cf. e.g. *Norea* IX 28,6.

5,25 Or perhaps ΦΥC]!Ϛ ἩΝΟΥΤΕ, "divine nature(s)."

5,27 MS. now lacks any trace of the name "Barbelo," but early
photographs record the three letters plus superlin. stroke, sub-
sequently flaked off. Barbelo is "Mother of all the aeons" in the
Bruce Codex; see Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 2; cf. "womb of the
All," *Ap. John* II 5,5. For discussion see tractate introduction;
cf. also 16,26. In Valentinian speculation the "first Ogdoad" is
the "Mother of all the aeons"; see *Iren. Haer.* I.8.5.

5,28 Cf. 16,29.

6,1 αἰθοψ, "splendid," is taken as a *nomen sacrum* in the MS., as
indicated by the superlin. stroke. On Doxomedon see tractate
introduction. There is not enough room to restore "Domedon" at
the end of the line, as in *Gos. Eg.* III 41,14; IV 51,3. Perhaps
ΔΟΜ[ΙΗΛ], "Domiel"; cf. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 33, and
Böhlig, "Der jüdische und juden-christliche Hintergrund," 114.

6,2 ΠΑΝ!ΩϚ<Υ>: This reading is far from certain, owing to the
condition of the MS. at this point. The MS. appears to read
ΠΑΝ!Ω.Ϛ, and the reading adopted here presupposes that the
scribe erroneously wrote Ϛ for Υ. The word ΩΟΥ is a dialectical
variant (B, S^b) of ΕΟΥ, "glory." The word is thus taken to be
equivalent to ΠΑ ΝΙΕΟΥ, lit. "the one of the(se) glories,"
hence "glorious one."

4 СТРАТ[ΗΓΟ]С ΝΝΦΩСΤΗΡ Ν[ΒΟΜ]
ΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ· ΟΡΩΪΑΗΛ· ΔΑΥ[ΕΙΘΕ]
ΗΥΗΛ[ΗΘ·] ΑΥΩ ΠΡΜ̄ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ
 6 ΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑ[С]Α·
ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥС Ν̄Ν
 8 ΚΟСΜΟС ΕΤ̄Ρ ΨΑΥ ΜΙΡΩΧΕΙΡΟ
ΘΕΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΙС ΠΕΧС ΠΩΗ
 10 ΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΪΤΑ
Ψ[Ε] ΘΕΙΨ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ Θ[Ε] ΕΤΑϚ
 12 [Θ̄Μ Π]ΨΙΝΕ Ν̄Θ[Ι ΠΕ] ΤΨΟ[Ο]Π ΝΑΜΕ·
[Ζ̄Ν ΝΕ] ΤΨΟΟΠ̄ [...]. Π. [
 14 [... Ψ]ΟΟΠ̄ ΑΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΒΟΡΟ[ΥΧ·]
[ΧΕ ΕΥΕΪ Ν]ΑΚ Μ̄ΠСООΥΝ [Ν̄ΤΜ]Ε
 16 [... Ψ[. . .]ΜΑ ΧΕ ΟΥΕΒ[ΟΛ] ΠΕ
[Ζ̄Μ Π] ΕΝΟС ΜΠΑΡΧ[Ι]ΕΡ[Ε]ΥС
 18 [ΕΤ̄ΝΤ]ΠΕ ΝΖΕΝΨ[Ο ΝΨ]Ο Μ̄Ν
[ΖΕΝΤΒΑ] Ν̄ΤΒΑ Ν̄ΝΑΙΩ[Ν· С]Ε[Ο] Ν

- 6,2-3 ἀρχιστρατηγός is a common epithet of the archangel Michael; for discussion see tractate introduction.
- 6,3-5 The four luminaries are well-known from other gnostic documents. See esp. *Ap. John*: ΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ, III 11,24; II 8,5; 9,2; IV 12,10; also called ΖΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ, III 13,3; BG 33,8; 35,9; and “Armogenes,” *Iren. Haer.* I.29.2. ΟΡΩΪΑΗΛ, cf. ΟΡΟΪΑΗΛ, III 13,19; IV 28,1; ΨΡΙΑΗΛ, IV 12,15; ΨΡΙΗΛ, II 8,9; ΨΡΟΙΑΗΛ, III 12,4; BG 33,13; 36,1; ΨΡΩΪΗΛ, II 9,14; cf. “Raguel” in *Iren. Haer.* I.29.2. ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕ, III 14,1; BG 33,18; 36,7; ΔΑΥΕΙΘΑΙ, II 8,13; 9,16; IV 12,21; cf. “David” in *Iren. Haer.* I.29.2. ΗΛΗΛΗΘ, II 8,18; 9,23; III 14,7; IV 13,1; BG 34,2; 36,13; “Eleleth” in *Iren. Haer.* I.29.2. These four occur later in the text on p. 17, but only the name ΨΡΙΑΗΛ is extant, at 17,12. For discussion see tractate introduction. Cf. also note to 28,27-28.
- 6,6 ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑСΑ: The form of the ending is probably to be taken as a vocative; the nominative form would then be —ΑСΑС. This reduplicated ending is probably a mistake, however. For Pigeradamas cf. *Ap. John* II 8,34-35, ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑΝ; *Steles Seth* VII 118,26, ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑ (voc. form); *Zost.* VIII 6,23, ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑС. See also note to 17,4. For discussion see tractate introduction.
- 6,8-9 ΜΙΡΩΧΕΙΡΟΘΕΤΟΥ: The form is probably a genitive. This

- O chief commanders (ἀρχιστρατηγός) of the luminaries
(φωστήρ), you [powers]
- 4 Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithe,
Eleleth, and you man-of-light,
- 6 immortal Aeon (αἰών) Pigeradamasas,
and you good god of the
- 8 beneficent worlds (κόσμος), Mirocheirothetou,
through Jesus Christ, the Son
- 10 of God whom I proclaim.
Inasmuch as (κατά) there has [visited]
- 12 [the One who] truly exists
[among those who] exist [
- 14 [do(es)] not [exist], Abel Baruch ———
[that] you (sg.) [might be given] the knowledge [of the
truth]
- 16 [] that he is [from]
[the] race (γένος) of the High-priest (ἀρχιερεύς)
- 18 [which is] above [thousands of thousands] and
[myriads] of myriads of the aeons (αἰών). The

figure is probably equivalent to "Mirotheos" in *Steles Seth VII* 119,12; 120,15. See tractate introduction.

6,12-14 **ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ . . . ΨΟΟΠ ΑΝ**: This passage, and its parallel at 16,18-19, probably contain a formula used of the supreme God similar to the following passage in Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 7, attributed to the gnostic prophet Phosilampes: "Those things which verily and truly exist and those which do not truly exist are for his sake. This is he for whose sake are those that truly exist which are secret, and those that do not truly exist which are manifest."

6,14 "Abel Baruch": Cf. 16,19. H.-M. Schenke (in a forthcoming study kindly sent to me in draft) rightly takes these names to refer not to the familiar biblical figures (cf. Gen 4:2, Jer 32:12) but to God, as epithets: "Father, God, Blessed" (אב + אל + ברוך). For the form Βορούχ instead of Βαρούχ see Jer 50:6 LXX. Cf. also the angel names "Abaël" and "Baruch," Müller, *Die Engellehre*, pp. 296, 289, 302; and Kropp, *Zaubertexte*, vol. 1, pp. 29 and 62.

6,16 The reference is probably to Jesus Christ; cf. 6,9-10.

6,17 The reference is probably to the "race of Seth"; cf. 5,20 and note. Melchizedek would be an important representative of this "high-priestly race"; cf. 5,14-15 and 15,7-13. Cf. tractate introduction.

6,18-19 Cf. 5,20-22 and note.

20 [ατ]σοοϋν εροϋ Νβι Μ[ΠΝΑ] Ν
 [α]ντικειμενον μῆ προϋ
 22 [τ]εκο· οϋ μονον αιει εβω
 [λεπ] εβ[ολ] νακ Ν[τ]αληθεια
 24 [ετῆρ]αι ῥῆ Ν[σν]ηοϋ αροτ
 [πῶ ε]ρῶν ογααϋ [εππρο]σφο
 26 [ρα] ετανῶ μῆ νεκχπ[ο·] αϋ[τα]
 [λο]οϋ ερραι ἄπρο[σφορα Μ]
 28 [π]τηρῶ· ῥε]ντῶν[οοϋε γαρ αν]
 [νετ]κναταλοοϋ ερρ[αι ῥα νο]

[Σ]

βε ἄμῆτατναρτ[ε αϋω ῥα]
 2 [Μ]ῆντατσοοϋν· Μ[Ν ῥβηϋε τη]
 [ροϋ] εθοοϋ ετοϋ[ναααϋ
 4 [.. α]ϋω Νσ[ε]πωρ [αν ερραι]
 [επι]ωτ ἄπτη[ρ]ῶ [·
 6 [...] Ντπιστ[ις
 [...]·[·]νε·[·
 8 [....]ιν[·
 [·]ρ· τωσ τ[·
 10 [.....]εχ[·

(± 14 lines missing)

[.....]οσμ[·
 26 [.....]μοσ·[·
 [.....]εχι β[απτισμα
 28 [...μο]ϋειοοϋε κ[·

-
- 6,19-22 Cf. 14,4-9; 15,24-25; 26,9. On the archontic ignorance cf. 1 Cor 2:8.
 6,22 The translation presupposes ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ <ΠΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ>; cf. 67,30. Cf. also 5,17-20.
 6,24 The superlin. stroke on the second Ν is visible. For Νσνηοϋ cf. 27,7. But cf. also Heb 2:11-12.
 6,24-26 Cf. 16,7-8; and Heb 7:27; 9:23-26; Rom 12:1. Ps. 110:3 may also be in the background.

- 20 adverse (ἀντικείμενον) [spirits (πνεῦμα) are]
 ignorant of him and (of) their (own)
 22 destruction. Not only (οὐ μόνον) (that, but) I have come
 to
 [reveal] to you [the] truth (ἀλήθεια)
 24 [which is] within the [brethren.] He included
 himself [in the] living
 26 [offering (προσφορά)] together with your [offspring.] He
 [offered] them up as a [sacrifice (προσφορά) to]
 28 [the] All. [For (γάρ) it is not] cattle
 [that] you will offer up [for sin(s)]

[7]

- of unbelief [and for]
 2 the ignorances [and all the] wicked
 [deeds] which they [will do].
 4 And they do [not] reach
 [the] Father of the All [
 6 [] the faith (πίστις) [
 [
 8 [
 [] thus (τός) [
 10 [

(± 14 lines missing)

- [
 26 [
 [] to receive [baptism (βάπτισμα)
 28 [] waters [

6,28 For **ΖΕΝΤΕΝΟΟΥΕ** cf. 16,2. Heb 9:12-13 is in the background.
 See tractate introduction.

6,29-7,1 **ΖΑ ΝΟΒΕ**: Cf. Heb 7:27. **ΜΗΝΤΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ**: Cf. Heb 3:12.

7,2 **ΜΜΗΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ** = ἀγνοήματα. Cf. Heb 9:7.

7,8 Perhaps **[ΟΥΟΕ]ΙΝ**, "light."

7,9 The **Ζ** is now lost from the MS.; it is attested in an early photograph.

7,25 Perhaps **Κ]ΟСМ[ОС**, "world."

7,26 Perhaps **ΚΟС]МОС**, "world."

[H]

[ΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥ]Ε ΓΑΡ ΕΤΖΙΠCΑΝ[ΤΠΕ]
 2 [.....Ε]ΤΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ [
 [± 8]Ε· ΑΛΛΑ ΧΙ ΒΑ[ΠΤΙC]
 4 [ΜΑ ΠΗ ΕΤ]ΖΝ Μ[Μ]ΟΟΥ ΕΤ[
 [± 9] ΕΦΗΝΟΥ Ε[
 6 [± 9] ΟC ΝΝΜ.[
 [± 7 ΝΟ]Θ Ν[
 8 [± ΙΙ]..[
 [..... ΒΑΠΤΙC]ΜΑ ΕΥ.[
 10 [± ΙΟ Ε]ΧΝ [

(± 14 lines missing)

[± ΙΟ]ΑΙΤ.[
 26 [± ΙΟ]ΖΙΤΟ[ΟΤ-
 [± ΙΟ]ΝΤΕ Π[
 28 [.....]Ε· ΨΛΗΛ ΖΑ[ΠΧΠΟ ΝΝ]

Θ

[ΑΡ]ΧΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛ[ΟC ΤΗΡΟ]Υ ΜΝ
 2 [Π]CΠΕΡΜΑ <ΕΝΤ>ΑΦΖΕΤΕ [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ]
 [ΠΙΩ]Τ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ· Τ[
 4 [.]Α ΤΗΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ [Ζ]Ν .[
 [ΑΥ]ΧΠΟ ΝΝΝ[ΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΓ]
 6 [ΓΕ]ΛΟC ΜΝ ΝΡΩΜ[Ε
 [Ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠCΠ[ΕΡΜΑ ΜΦΥCΙC]
 8 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕ[Τ]ΖΝ [ΜΠΗΥΕ ΜΝ]

- 8,5 Perhaps ΝΗΟΥ Ε[ΖΡΑΪ, "coming down."
 8,6 Perhaps ΝΝΜΠ[ΗΟΥΕ, "of the heavens"; cf. 13,13.
 8,7 The top stroke of Θ is extended, indicating that Θ is a final letter.
 8,9 The letter trace after ΕΥ is now lost from the MS. It is attested in an early photograph.
 8,10 A superlin. stroke is visible three spaces after Ε]ΧΝ.
 8,25 Perhaps Τ]ΑΪ ΤΕ [ΘΕ, "thus."
 8,28-9,3 The restorations are far from certain, for the passage is difficult to construe. ΧΠΟ ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ: Cf. 10,10. Perhaps the reference here, if the restoration is correct, is to humanity in general, viewed as the product of *both* heavenly and archontic powers. Melchizedek's role as a priest involves intercessory prayer.

[8]

For (γάρ) [the waters] which are above
 2 [] that receive baptism (βάπτισμα)
 [] But (ἀλλά) receive [that baptism
 (βάπτισμα)]
 4 [which is] with the waters which [
 [] while he is coming [
 6 [] . . . [
 [] great
 8 []
 [] baptism (βάπτισμα)] as they [
 10 [] upon [
 (± 14 lines missing)

[]
 26 [] by [
 [] of the [
 28 [] pray for the [offspring of the]

9

archons (ἄρχων) and [all] the angels (ἄγγελος), together
 with

2 [the] seed (σπέρμα) <which> flowed [forth from]
 [the Father] of the All [
 4 [the] entire [] from [
 [There were] engendered the [gods and the angels
 (ἄγγελος)]
 6 and the men [
 out of the [seed (σπέρμα),] all of [the]
 8 [natures (φύσις)], those in [the heavens and]

9,1 The restoration of this line presupposes a greater space between fragments than shown in the *Facsimile Edition*. Cf. codex introduction.

9,2 MS. has a small ϣ written above the line, between Π and Ε.

9,3 "The Father of the All" is the highest God; cf. 14,27; 16,9.17.

9,3-4 Perhaps **СПЕР/[Μ]Α ΤΗΡΩ**, "the entire seed."

9,4 The letter-trace after **Ν** is now lost from the MS. but is attested in an early photograph.

9,5-10 Cf. 2,7-11 and 4,8-10, and notes thereto.

9,6 Perhaps **ΜΝ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ**], "and the demons ; cf. 16,5.

9,7-8 **ΜΦΥCIC ΤΗΡΟΥ**: Cf. 13,8-9.

9,8 Or **ΝΕ[Τ]ΩΝ [ΝΜΠΗΥΕ]**; cf. 13,13.

10 ΝΕΤῚΙΧΜ ΠΚΑῚ ΜΝ [ΝΕΤῚΑ]
 ΠΕϢΗΤ Μ[ΠΚ]ΑῚ [.]·Α[
 (5 lines missing)
 16 ΝΤ[
 ΑΝ[
 18 Ν[
 (1 line missing)
 20 ΠΝϞ[
 ΕῚΡΑῚ [
 22 Φ[.] Ν[
 (1 line missing)
 24 [.....]·[.]·[.] †ΜΑ[
 [...]ΦΥCIC ΝΝῚΙΑΜΕ [
 26 [.....]Ε ῚΝ ΝΕΤῚΝ Τ[
 [...]· ΑΥΜΑΡ[ΟΥ] ῚΝ Ὶ·[
 28 [ΠΑῚ ΔΕ] ΑΔΑΜ ΝΑΛΗΘΕΙ[ΝΟC ΑΝ]

̄

ΠΕ Ϟ[ΥΔΕ] ΕΥῚΑ ΝΑΛΗΘΕΙΝ[Η Χ]Ϟ
 2 ΝΤ[ΑΡΟΥΟΥΩ]Μ ΕΒΟΛ ῚΜ ΠΩΗ[Ν Ν]
 [ΤΓΝΩCIC Α]ΥΡ̄ΚΑΤΑΠΑΤΕΙ [ΝΝ]
 4 [ΧΕΡΟΥΒΕΙ]Ν ΜΝ ΝCΑΡΑΦΕΙ[Ν]
 [ΜΝ ΤCΗϞΕ ΝΚ]ΩῚῚ ΑΥΡ̄ΚΑ[

-
- 9,25 **ῚΙΑΜΕ**: AA³ form here and at 12,13; cf. 10,26, where the S form occurs. Cf. also 9,27 and 15,24 for a similar variation.
 9,26 A trace of what may be a superlin. stroke occurs after Τ.
 9,27 Cf. 15,24 and note. The “bound” Adam is not the “true” Adam; see 9,28-10,1 and note.
 9,28-10,1 For “true Adam” and “true Eve” cf. *Orig. World* II 117,11 (“true Man”) and 117,2 (“true Eve”). For the eschatological “true Man” see also *Hyp. Arch.* II 96,33.
 10,1-29 The transcription presupposes that the lines are wider than shown in the *Facsimile Edition*. Cf. note to 9,1 and codex introduction.
 10,1 The **Ο** in **ΟΥΔΕ** is now lost from the MS., but it is partially attested in an early photograph.
 10,2-3 Cf. Gen 3:6.

those upon the earth and [those]
 10 under [the earth
 (5 lines missing)
 16 . . . [
 . . .
 18 [
 (1 line missing)
 20 the [
 . . . [
 22 [
 (1 line missing)
 24 [
 [] nature (φύσις) of the females [
 26 [] among those that are in the [
 [] they were bound with [
 28 [But (δέ) this] is [not] (the) true (ἀληθινός) Adam

10

[nor (οὐδέ)] (the) true (ἀληθινή) Eve. [For]
 2 [when they ate] of the tree [of]
 [knowledge (γνώσις)] they trampled (καταπατεῖν) [the]
 4 [Cherubim] and the Seraphim
 [with the flaming sword]. They [

-
- 10,3 **ΑΥΡ̄ΚΑΤΑΠΑΤΕΙ**: "Trampling" upon evil spirits is given to the elect in the eschaton, according to *T. Sim.* 6:6; *T. Levi* 18:12; cf. *Ps.* 91:13; *Luke* 10:19-20; *Rom* 16:20. Cf. also *Hyp. Arch.* II 97,6-7: **ΣΕΝΑΡ̄ΚΑΤΑΠΑΤΕΙ ΜΠΜΟΥΝΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ**, "they will trample Death (and) the Authorities."
- 10,4-5 Cf. *Gen* 3:24. The removal of "the threatening sword against Adam" is an eschatological hope in Jewish apocalyptic; see *T. Levi* 18:10. For "Cherubim and Seraphim" in a gnostic context, as here, cf. *Treat. Seth* VII 54,34. On the "flaming sword," cf. the Simonian *Megale Apophasis*, *Hipp. Ref.* VI 17.5-6, in a complicated allegory.
- 10,5-11 The key to understanding this passage may perhaps be found in *Orig. World II* 117,2-28.

6 [± 9]εῖν ἄδᾶμ [
 [..... ἄρκος]μοκρατῶρ μ[ἄ]
 8 [± 12]μοῦ εἶβολ
 [± 7 μ]ἄἄσα τρεῦχπο
 10 [± 7]χπο ἄ[τ]ε ἄρχων μἄ
 [νοῦκος]μικ[ο]ν [να]ῖ εἶηπ ε

(5 lines missing)

[± 18] ἄλ
 18 [λα ± 15] εἶγο
 [± 19] α

(1 line missing)

21 [± 18] ἄ

(3 lines missing)

[.... οὔο]εἶν [
 26 [.. ἀ]γῶ ἄζιόμε μἄ ἄζο[οὔτ]
 [νε]τῶοοπ μἄ.
 28 [.. ζ]ωπ εφύσις νιμ [αγῶ σενα]
 [ῥαπ]οτα[ς]σε ἄἄρχων ἄβι νη

[12]

[ε]ῖχι ἄτοοτῶ ἄνε[
 2 [σε]ῖ ἄπῶα γαρ ἄ[
 [ατ]μοῦ μἄ ζενἄ[οβ ἄ
 4 [...] μἄ ζενἄ[οβ
 [μἄ ζε]ννοβ ἄ[
 6 [...] ἄψηρε ἄ[ἄ]ρ[ωμε
 [.. μ]ἄ[εη]της [
 8 [...] ζι]κω[ἄ] αγῶ[
 [± 9 ε]βολ ζἄ ποῦ

10,5-7 Perhaps read: ἀγῥκα[τεχε / δε ντςζιμε] εῖν ἄδᾶμ
 [ἄβι / ἄρχων, "and the archons seized the woman which
 was Adam s . . ." Cf. *Orig. World II* 117,3.

10,21 ἄ perhaps written over another letter.

10,26 Cf. 9,25 and note.

10,28 Cf. 5,12.

10,29 "Renunciation" of evil powers belongs to a baptismal context;

- 6 [] which was Adam's []
 [] the] world-rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ) and
 8 [] them out
 [] after they had brought forth
 10 [] offspring of the archons (ἄρχων) and
 [their worldly things (κοσμικόν)], these belonging to
 (5 lines missing)
- [] but (ἀλλά)
 18 [] they are
 []
 (1 line missing)
- 21 []
 (3 lines missing)
- [] light
 26 And the females and the [males,]
 those who exist with []
 28 [hidden] from every nature (φύσις), [and they will]
 [renounce (ἀποτάσσειν)] the archons (ἄρχων), [that is,
 those]
- [11]
- [who] receive from him the []
 2 For (γάρ) [they] are worthy of []
 [immortal,] and [great
 4 [] and [great
 [and] great []
 6 [] sons of [men
 [] disciples (μαθητής)
 8 [] image (εἰκόν)] and []
 [] from the [light]

see e.g. *Exc. Theod.* 77.1, and for "orthodox" usage Hipp. *Trad. ap.* 21.~

11,1 Perhaps **ΝΝΕ[CFPAPIC]**, "the seals" (of baptism).

11,6 **Ν** has flaked off.

11,8 **ΖΙΚΩΝ**: a possible reference to Adam as "image" of God. Cf. Gen 1:26-27; 5:1. **Ν** has flaked off. Vertical fibers after **ΑΥΩ** are also flaked off.

10 [ΟΕΙΝ ± 7]Ϛ ΕΤΟΥ[Α]ΑΒ
 [± 13 Γ]ΑΡ Χ[Ι]Ν Ν
 12 [ΨΟΡΠ ± 10]ΟΥϚΠΕΡ
 (± 16 lines missing)

[1B]

[± 7]†ΝΑΚΑΡΩΕΙ ΔΕ
 2 [± 8]Ε· ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ Ν[Ε]
 [ΝCΗΥ ΕΝΤΑ]ΖΕΙ ΕΠΙΤΝ ΕΒ[ΟΛ]
 4 [± 8]ΟΝΖ· CΕΝΑΒΩ
 [± 9 Ε]ΧΝ ΝΑΠΟ[
 6 [± 10]. ΟΥ ΝΝΑ[
 [± 7]Π ΝΤΕ ΑΔΑΜ
 8 [..... ΑΒΕ]Λ ΕΝΩΧ Ν[ΩΕ
 [± 9]ΧΕΙ[
 10 [.]Κ ΜΕΛΧΙϚΕΔ[ΕΚ ΠΟΥΗΗΒ]
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ [ΕΤΧΟΣΕ
 12 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΜ[
 ΝΖΙΑΜΕ Ν[
 14 ΜΝΤΑΤ.[
 Μ[.] Μ[

(± 15 lines missing)

[1Γ]

ΠΕΙCΝΑΥ ΕΝΤΑΥCΟΤΠΟ[Υ]

2 [ΖΝ] ΚΑΙΡΟC ΝΙΜ ΑΝ· ΟΥΔΕ

- 11,10 The Υ is written over a flaked area, indicating that the papyrus was already somewhat damaged when it came into the scribe's hands.
- 11,11 I has flaked off.
- 11,12 ΜΑ in CΠΕΡΜΑ, "seed," doubtless occurred on the next line.
- 12,1 The speaker is probably the angelic revealer identified at 5,17-18.
- 12,4 Or perhaps ΟΥ]ΟΝΖ, "manifest." CΕΝΑΒΩ: "they will remain"? Or perhaps CΕΝΑΒΩ/[ΛΠ, "they will reveal."
- 12,5 Perhaps ΝΑΠΟ[C/ΤΟΛΟC, "the apostles"; or ΝΑΠΟ[ΚΑ/ΛΥΨΙC, "the revelations." In the latter case ΕΧΝ should be translated, "concerning."
- 12,8 Traces of the superlin. stroke on ΑΒΕΛ are visible. Here, in contrast to 6,14 and 16,19, the name "Abel" probably refers to the biblical personage. Cf. tractate introduction for discussion of this and the other names in this passage.

- 10 [] which is holy.
 For (γάρ) [] from the
 12 [beginning] a seed (σπέρμα)
 (± 16 lines missing)

[12]

- [] But (δέ) I will be silent
 2 [] for (γάρ) we [are]
 [the brethren who] came down from
 4 [the] living []. They will . . .
 [] upon the [
 6 []
 [] of Adam
 8 [Abel], Enoch, [Noah
 []
 10 [] you, Melchizedek, [the Priest]
 of God [Most High
 12 those who [
 women [
 14 []
 []

(± 15 lines missing)

13

- these two who have been chosen will
 2 [at] no time (καιρός) nor (οὐδέ)

- 12,9 Perhaps ΜΕΛ]ΧΕΙ, "Melchi," one of the traditional names given to Melchizedek's father. See e.g. Ps.-Athanasius, *Historia de Melchisedech*, PG 28,525-526.
- 12,9-10 Perhaps Ν/ΤΟ]Κ, "you."
- 12,10-11 Gen 14:18b LXX, ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου.
- 12,12 Perhaps ΝΕΝΤΑΥΜ[ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ, "those who have rested," or ΝΕΝΤΑΥΜ[ΠΩΔ, "those who have become worthy."
- 12,13 Cf. 9,25; 10,26.
- 13,1 The identity of "these two" is difficult to establish. Perhaps they are the two witnesses of Rev 11:3-11, on which see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 203-211; Pearson, "The Pierpont Morgan Fragments," 241-243. For discussion see tractate introduction.

[Ϻ̄̄̄̄ ΤΟ]ΠΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΔΝ ΕΥΝΑΧΗ[Ι]
 4 [ΟΟΥ] ϺΟΤΑΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΧΠΟ[ΟΥ]
 [ϺΙΤ̄̄̄̄] ΝΧΑΧΕ ϺΙΤ̄̄̄̄ ΝΨΒΕΕΡ
 6 [ΟΥΔΕ ϺΙ]Τ̄̄̄̄ ΝΨΜ̄̄̄̄ Μ̄̄̄̄ ΝΕΤ[Ε]
 [ΝΟΥ]ΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̄̄̄̄ ΑΣΕ
 8 [ΒΗΣ] Μ̄̄̄̄ ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ· ΣΕΝ[Α]
 [± 7]Υ Ν̄̄̄̄ ΒΙ Μ̄̄̄̄ ΦΥΣΙΣ Τ[Η]
 10 [ΡΟΥ ΝΑΝ]Τ[Ι]ΚΕΙΜΕΝΗ· ΕΙΤΕ
 [ΝΕΤΟΥ]ΟΝ̄̄̄̄ [Ε]ΒΟΛ Μ̄̄̄̄ ΝΕΤΕ
 12 [Ν̄̄̄̄ ΣΕΟΥΟΝ̄̄̄̄ Ε]Β[Ο]Λ ΔΝ· Μ̄̄̄̄ ΝΕ[Τ]
 [ΨΟΟ]Π̄̄̄̄ [Ϻ]̄̄̄̄ Ν̄̄̄̄ Π̄̄̄̄ ΗΥΕ Μ̄̄̄̄ Ν[Ε]Τ̄̄̄̄
 14 [ϺΙΧ̄̄̄̄] Π̄̄̄̄ ΚΑϺ [Μ]̄̄̄̄ Ν̄̄̄̄ ΝΕΤ̄̄̄̄ ϺΑΠ[Ε]
 [ΣΗΤ̄̄̄̄] Μ̄̄̄̄ Π̄̄̄̄ ΚΑ[Ϻ] ϺΕΝΑΡ̄̄̄̄ ΠΟΛ[ΕΜ]
 16 [ΟC ..]Π[.].. ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ· [ΣΕ]
 [ΨΟΟ]Π̄̄̄̄ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΤΕ Ϻ̄̄̄̄ Π̄̄̄̄
 18 [± 8]ΑΒ Μ̄̄̄̄ Μ· [
 [± 9]ΜΕ [Ν]ΤΕ[
 20 [± 8]ΑΝΑ[
 [..... ΝΑ]ΨΩΟΥ [
 22 [± 8 Ϻ]̄̄̄̄ ΟΥ[
 [± 8 Ε]ΡΟΟΥ [
 24 [± 8] Μ̄̄̄̄ ΜΟC [.]·[.]·[
 [± 8]Α ΝΑΙ ΔΕ Ϻ̄̄̄̄ Π[
 26 [.. ΟΥΟΝ] ΝΙΜ ΣΕΝΑΠ[
 [....]ΟΥ· ΝΑΙ ΣΕΝ[Α
 28 [... Ϻ]̄̄̄̄ ΣΗΨΕ ΝΙΜ' [

1Δ

ϺΕΝΨΩΝΕ· ΝΑΙ ΜΕΝ Ϻ̄̄̄̄ Ϻ[ΕΝ]
 2 κ[Ε]CΜΟΤ̄̄̄̄ ΣΕΝΑΟΤΠΟΥ [ΑΥΩ]
 [ΝC]ΕΡ̄̄̄̄ ΚΟΛΑΖΕ Μ̄̄̄̄ ΜΟΟΥ [ΝΑΙ]
 4 [ΜΕ]Ν ΠCΩΤΗΡ ΝΑΚΙΤΟΥ [ΕΒΟΛ]

- 13.3-4 Or possibly ΕΥΝΑΧΗ/[ΑΑΥ], "be stricken."
 13.4 The first ο in ΧΠΟΟΥ is now broken off from the MS. but is attested in an early photograph. ΝΧΑΧΕ: Cf. ΧΙΧ[ΕΕΥ, 26,9.
 13.8-9 Perhaps ΣΕΝ[Α/ΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ]Υ, "they will kill them," or ΣΕΝ[Α/ΧΡΟ ΕΡΟΟΥ]Υ, "they will vanquish them."
 13.9-10 Cf. 6,20-21; 15,25. Cf. also ὁ ἀντικείμενος in 2 Thess 2:4, and the "Antichrist" tradition.

[in] any place (τόπος) be convicted,
 4 whenever (ὅταν) they have been begotten,
 [by] their enemies, by their friends,
 6 [nor (οὐδέ)] by strangers nor their
 [own] kin, (nor) by the [impious (ἀσεβής)]
 8 nor the pious (εὐσεβής).
 [All of] the adverse (ἀντικειμένη) natures (φύσις) will
 10 [] them, whether (εἴτε)
 [those that] are manifest, or those that
 12 [are] not [manifest], together with those
 [that dwell] in the heavens and those that are
 14 [upon] the earth and those that are under
 the earth. They will make [war (πόλεμος)
 16 [] every one.
 For (γάρ) [] whether (εἴτε) in the [
 18 [] and [
 [
 20 [
 [
 22 [] many
 [] in a [
 [] them [
 24 [] . . . [
 [] And (δέ) these in the [
 26 every [one] will [
 [] These will [
 28 [] with every blow [

I4

weaknesses. These (+ μέν) will be
 2 confined in other forms [and]
 [will] be punished (κολάζειν). [These]
 4 [(+ μέν)] the Savior (σωτήρ) will take [away]

13,12 † has flaked off.

13,12-15 Cf. 4,8-10; 9,8-10.

13,15 Cf. Rev 11:7; Dan 7:21.

13,18 Perhaps ΟΥΔΑ]ΑΒ, "holy."

13,19 Superlin. stroke visible.

13,24 Perhaps ΧΩ] ΜΜΟC [Χ]Ε, "saying (said)."

14,4 N is now broken off from the MS. but is attested in an early photograph.

the MS. has:
 x[ee]y, etc:
 them," s
 1."
 s 2:4 and

[N]CEṚ TΠE NOYON NIM Z[I TN]
 6 ḆTAΠPO MḆ ḆΨAXE [MEN AN]
 [E]BOL ΔE ZITOOTOY ḆNḆ[
 8 [.]. C ETOYNAAY NA[Y· QNAṚ]
 KATAΛYE ḆΠMOY[· NAÍ MEN]
 10 ENTAΓOYEB CAZ[NE EP O]
 OY NAÍ EBOL[Π]OY E[BOL]
 12 BOΛΠOY E[BOL ḆTAZE· PAÍ]
 ΔE ETZHḆ ḆΠṚBAΛE[ΠḆ EBOL]
 14 [Ḇ]AAAY· EIMH[TI] ḆCEḆ[ΩΛEḆ]
 [EB]OL NAK· AYΩ ḆTE[ΓNOY]
 16 [AEI]TΩWN AN[OK] MḆΛ[XICE]
 [ΔEK A]YΩ AÍAPXEI Ḇ[
 18 [... Π]ḆOYTE E[
 [...]ETPA[O]YḆ[OQ
 20 [± 8]NAṚ[
 [± 7]ECP ZΦ[B
 22 [... E]TONZ [
 [AEIXOO]C XE †[
 24 [..... A]YΩ †[
 [.]. EZPAÍ ḆΠP[
 26 [AYΩ †]NAΛO AN X!Ḇ [TEN OY]
 [ḆΨA EN E]Z Ω ΠIΩT ḆΠ[THPḆ]
 28 [EBOL] XE AKNA N[A]Í· AY[Ω]

IE

[AKTḆNEY PAḆΓ]EΛOC ḆOY[O]EIN
 2 [± 8]E[B]OΛ ZḆ NEKAḆ[ΩN]

- 14,7 Part of M has flaked off.
- 14,8-9 "The last enemy to be destroyed is Death," 1 Cor 15:26; cf. Heb 2:14. Cf. also 2,5 and note.
- 14,9-15 With this exhortation to Melchizedek, given by his angelic informant, the first revelation is concluded. Such a warning to guard the revelation sometimes occurs at the beginning of a revelatory document or discourse, as e.g. in *Ap. Jas.* I 1,20-25, or even in the middle, as in *The Book of the Resurrection*, (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*), p. 17 (Coptic) and 193 (ET). Such exhortations are proper to the genre; cf. tractate introduction.
- 14,16 Cf. 15,9.

[and] they will overcome everything, [not with]
 6 their mouths and words [(+ μέν)]
 but (δέ) by means of the [
 8 which will be done for [them. He will]
 destroy (καταλύειν) Death. [These things (+ μέν)]
 10 which I was commanded
 to reveal, these things
 12 reveal [as I (have done)].
 But (δέ) [that] which is hidden, do not reveal
 14 [to] anyone, unless (εἰ μήτι) [it is revealed]
 to you (to do so)." And [immediately]
 16 [I] arose, [I, Melchizedek],
 and I began (ἄρχεσθαι) to [
 18 [] God [
 [] that I should [rejoice
 20 [] will [
 [] while he [is acting
 22 [] living [
 [I said], "I [
 24 [] and I [
 [] the [
 26 [and I] will not cease, from [now on]
 [for ever,] O Father of the [All],
 28 [because] you have had pity on me, and

15

[you have sent the] angel (ἄγγελος) of light
 2 [] from your [aeons (αἰών)]

-
- 14,17 For χ in ἄρχεσθαι cf. note to 1,1. Perhaps Ν[CMOY, "to praise,"
 or something similar.
 14,18 Perhaps Ε[ΤΧΟCE, "Most High"; cf. 12,11; 15,10.13; 19,14;
 26,4.
 14,20 Perhaps]ΝΑῖ, "will" (+ verb); a lacuna occurs where the
 superlin. stroke would be.
 14,25 The letter-trace before ΕΖΡΑΪ does not appear to be an O, as
 in ΤΑΛ]Φ ΕΖΡΑΪ, "offer up." Perhaps ΜΠΡ[OCΦΟΡΑ]; cf.
 6,27; 16,7.
 14,27 Cf. 16,9.14.
 15,1 Cf. 5,18.
 15,2 Perhaps read ΓΑΜΑΛΙΗΛ, "Gamaliel"; cf. 5,18.

[..... ε]δωλπ̄ εβ[ολ
 4 [± 8]παί̄ ν[τ]ἀρεσ̄ε̄ῑ [α]Ϸ
 [τρεϷα]σ̄τ̄ εβολ̄ Ϸ̄ν̄ τμ̄ν̄τατ̄
 6 [σο]οϷν̄ αϷω̄ τμ̄ν̄τρεσ̄τ̄ καρ
 [πο]σ̄ μ̄π̄μ̄[ο]Ϸ̄· επ̄ων̄Ϸ̄· οϷ
 8 ν̄τ̄η̄εῑ Ϸ̄αρ̄ μ̄μαϷ̄ ν̄οϷ̄ραν̄
 αν̄ο̄Ϸ̄ [μελϷ]εῑσε̄δε̄κ̄ ποϷ
 10 η̄η̄β̄ μ̄π̄[νοϷτε]̄ ετ̄χο̄σε̄· †
 [εῑμ]ε̄ Ϸ̄ε̄ ᾱ[λ]η̄Ϸ̄ω̄σ̄ αν̄ο̄κ̄ πε̄
 12 [π̄ῑνε̄ μ̄]πᾱρ̄χῑε̄ρε̄Ϸ̄ς̄ μ̄με̄
 [μ̄π̄ν̄]οϷτε̄ ετ̄χο̄σε̄· αϷω̄
 14 [...]τ̄ᾱ[...]π̄κο̄σμο̄ς̄· [οϷ]
 [πρᾱγμ]ᾱ Ϸ̄αρ̄ ω̄η̄μ̄ αν̄ πε̄ [Ϸε]
 16 [.....] ν̄β̄ῑ π̄νοϷτε̄ μ̄ν̄[
 ᾱ.[.....]πᾱ[.] εσ̄ρ̄·[
 18 αϷω̄ [..... νᾱῑτ̄]ε̄λο̄ς̄ ε[τ̄ω̄ο]
 οπ̄ Ϸ̄[ῑϷ̄μ̄ π̄]κᾱρ̄ Ϸ̄[
 20 ν̄[.....]Ϸ̄ε̄ οϷ[
 ν̄[.....] αϷω̄·[
 22 η̄ε̄ π̄ω̄[ω]τ̄ ν̄τ̄[
 εν̄τᾱπ̄[μ]οϷ̄ Ϸ̄π̄λᾱνᾱ μ̄μο̄Ϸ̄
 24 ν̄τᾱρε̄[Ϸμο]Ϸ̄ αϷμο̄ρ̄[ο]Ϸ̄
 [ν̄]ν̄μ̄Ϸ̄Ϸ̄ς̄ ετ̄ρ̄π̄λ̄[αν]ᾱ [μ̄]
 26 [μο̄οϷ] ετ̄! ᾱϷτε̄λο̄ ε̄ρ̄ᾱ[ῑ ν̄]

[15]

Ϸε̄ν̄προ̄σφο̄ρ[α

- 15,2-3 Perhaps νε̄κᾱῑ[ων/ετ̄Ϸη̄κ], “your perfect aeons”; cf. *Ap. John* BG 27,14-15. Cf. also 5,22-23.
- 15,3 Perhaps [Ϸε̄ ετ̄ρεσ̄]δωλπ̄, “that he (Gamaliel) might reveal.”
- 15,8 Cf. 16,13. Cf. also Phil 2:9; Heb 1:4.
- 15,9-10 Cf. 12,10-11 and note.
- 15,12 Melchizedek is the “image” of the heavenly High-priest, Jesus Christ. Cf. Heb 7:3.
- 15,14 Perhaps one should read something like the following: [τμ̄ν̄]τ̄ᾱ [πε̄ μ̄]π̄κο̄σμο̄ς̄ <τ̄ω̄Ϸ̄ τε̄>, “the primacy of the world is his.” Cf. *Ap. John* BG 26,9-10, where God is said to be the “Head” (τᾱπε̄) of all the aeons.
- 15,17 After πᾱ, either a superlin. stroke or a diairesis is visible; perhaps πᾱ[ῑ·] εσ̄ρ̄.

- [to] reveal [
 4 [] when he came [he]
 [raised] me up from ignorance
 6 and (from) the fructification (-καρπός)
 of death to life. For (γάρ)
 8 I have a name;
 I am Melchizedek, the Priest
 10 of [God] Most High; I
 [know] that it is I who am truly (ἀληθῶς)
 12 [the image of] the true High-priest (ἀρχιερέυς)
 [of] God Most High, and
 14 [] the world (κόσμος). For (γάρ) it
 is not [a] small [thing (πρᾶγμα) that]
 16 God [] with [
 [] while he [
 18 And [] the angels (ἄγγελος) that]
 [dwell upon the] earth [
 20 [
 [
 22 is the [sacrifice] of [
 whom Death deceived (πλανᾶν).
 24 When he [died] he bound them
 with the natures (φύσεις) which are [leading them astray
 (πλανᾶν)].
 26 Yet (ἔτι) he offered up
 16
 sacrifices (προσφορά) [

15,18 Perhaps [ΝΑΡΧΑΙΓΓ]ΕΛΟΣ; cf. 2,11.

15,19 Cf. 4,9; 9,9; 13,14.

15,22 **ΨΩΤ**: Lit. "thing cut," hence "sacrifice."

15,23 Perhaps a reference to Adam. Cf. Rom 7:11, an allusion to Gen 3:13.

15,24-25 Cf. 9,27, and note to 10,3. Cf. the "spirits of deceit" τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης, trodden under foot in the eschaton, *T. Sim.* 6:6, and the binding of Beliar, *T. Levi* 18:12; cf. also the imprisonment of the "hosts of heaven" (= planets), Isa 24:21-22, and the binding of the planets, 1 Enoch 31. According to the *Book of the Resurrection* fol. 3b (Coptic), p. 184 (ET), cf. p. 216, Satan and his ministers were bound in chains and fetters at the death of Jesus.

15,26-16,1 Cf. 6,26-28.

2 ΤΕ ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥ[Ε
 [Α]ΕΙΤΑΑΥ ΜΠΜΦ[Υ
 4 [Μ]Ν [ΝΑΓΓΕ]ΛΟΣ ΜΝ Ν[
 [. . . .].[. ΝΔ]ΑΙΜΩ[Ν ΖΕΝ]
 6 ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΕΥΟΝΖ Ν[
 ΑΕΙΤΕΛΟΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΜΠ[ΡΟΣ]
 8 ΦΟΡΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕ Ν[Ο]ΥΕΙ ΝΕ [Ν]
 ΤΟΚ ΟΥΑΑΚ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ ΜΝ
 10 ΝΕΤΚΟΓΑΨΟΥ Ε[Ν]ΤΑΖΕ[Ι] ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΖΗΤΚ ΕΤΟΥΑΑ[Β ΕΤΟ]ΝΖ ΑΥΨ <ΚΑΤΑ>
 12 ΝΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΕ[ΛΕΙΟΣ] †ΝΑΧΕ
 [Π]ΑΡΑΝ ΕΕΙΧΙ ΒΑΠΤ[ΙΣ]ΜΑ [ΤΕ]
 14 ΝΟΥ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΖΝ ΝΡ[ΑΝ ΕΤΟ]
 ΝΖ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΨ ΖΝ Ν[ΜΟΥ]
 16 [ΕΙ]ΦΟΥΕ ΖΑΜΗ[Ν· ΚΟ]Υ[ΑΑΒ]
 [ΚΟ]ΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΑΑΒ Φ ΠΙ[ΩΤ]
 18 [ΜΠΤΗΡΩ] ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΜ[Ε
 [. . . .]ΨΟΟΠ [Α]Ν ΑΒ[ΕΛ ΒΟΡ]ΟΥ[Χ]
 20 [. . . Ψ]Α ΕΝΕΖ [ΝΕ]ΝΕΖ [ΖΑΜ]ΗΝ·
 [ΚΟ]ΥΑΑΒ [ΚΟ]ΥΑΑ[Β ΚΟ]ΥΑΑΒ
 22 [± 8]Π ΖΑΤ[
 [± 7]ΑΖ Ψ[Α ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕ]ΝΕΖ
 24 [ΖΑΜΗΝ· ΤΕ]ΟΥΑΑΒ[· ΤΕΟ]ΥΑΑΒ

16,2 Cf. 6,28.

16,3-5 Animal sacrifice belongs to the realm of Death and the demons.

16,6-9 Cf. 6,24-28 and note to 6,24-26.

16,8 "Those that are mine" are the "race of the High-priest," 6,17.
Cf. also Heb 2:11-13.

16,10 Another possible translation is "those whom you love, who . . ." The circumflex stroke on $\widehat{\epsilon}$ is completely visible.

16,12-16 A ritual context related to priestly consecration is probably in the background here. See tractate introduction for discussion.

16,12 Cf. Jas 1:25; Ps 19:7-9.

16,13 ΠΑΡΑΝ: cf. 15,8 and note; cf. also Heb 3:12. ΕΕΙΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ
cf. 7,27; 8,2.9.

16,15-16 ΝΜΟΥΕΙΟΥΕ: cf. 7,28.

16,16 Perhaps a full stop (dicolon:) occurred after ΖΑΜΗΝ; cf. 18,7;
27,10.

16,16-18,7 The invocations, "Holy are you" (thrice), addressed to the

- 2 cattle [
I gave them to [Death
4 [and the angels (ἄγγελος)] and the [
[] demons (δαίμων) [
6 living sacrifices (προσφορά) [
I have offered up myself to you as a
8 sacrifice (προσφορά), together with those that are mine, to
you yourself, (O) Father of the All, and
10 those whom you love, who have come forth
from you who are holy (and) [living]. And <according
to>
12 the [perfect (τέλειος)] laws (νόμος) I shall pronounce
my name as I receive baptism (βάπτισμα) [now]
14 (and) for ever, (as a name) among the living (and)
holy [names], and (now) in the
16 [waters], Amen (ἀμήν). [Holy are you,]
Holy are [you], Holy are you, O [Father]
18 [of the All,] who truly exist [
[] do(es) not exist, [Abel Baruch]
20 [] for ever and ever, [Amen (ἀμήν)].
Holy are [you, Holy are you,] Holy are [you]
22 [] before [
[] for ever and] ever,
24 [Amen (ἀμήν)]. Holy are [you,] Holy are [you,]

inhabitants of the heavenly world, are probably adapted from the Trishagion in Isa 6:3, ascribed to the companies of angels in later Jewish literature and liturgy (the *Kedushah*). See e.g. *1 Enoch* 39:12; *2 Enoch* 21:1. A liturgical context is probably reflected here. For similar use of the ἄγιος formula in Hermetic literature see *Corp. Herm.* I.31. Cf. also ΝΤΚ ΟΥΤΕΛΙΟΣ, "you are perfect" (thrice), *Steles Seth VII* 121, 14-15. For the formula ΚΟΥΑΛΒ (twice) see *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 143. For further discussion see tractate introduction.

16,17-18 ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ: Cf. 16,9; 14,27.

16,18-19 Cf. 6,12-14 and note.

16,19 ἈΒΕΛ ΒΟΡΟΥΧ: Cf. 6,14 and note.

16,22 Perhaps something like ΩΟΟ]Π ΖΑΤ[ΕΖΗ, "exists before . . ."

16,23 For a proper name ending in -ΑΖ see ΖΑΡΑΖΑΖ, *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 140. In the Books of Jeu (*passim*) there are almost sixty mystical names ending in -ΑΖ, from ΗΑΠΑΣΑΖΑΖ in *1 Jeu* (ch. 7) to ΩΕΖΗΑΖ in *2 Jeu* (ch. 52).

[ΤΕΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΜ]ΑΑΥ [ΝΝ]ΑΙΩΝ
 26 [[ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕ]] ΤΒΑ[Ρ]ΒΗΛΩΝ
 [Ψ]Α ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕ[Ζ· ΖΑ]ΜΗΝ·
 28 [ΚΟ]Υ[ΑΑΒ] ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΑΑΒ
 [ΠΨΡ]Π̄ ΝΜΙΣΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ [ΔΟ]
 30 ΞΟ]ΜΕΔΩΝ· ΠΕ[...].Χ.[

[12]

[. . . . ΨΑ ΕΝΕ]Ζ ΝΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ·
 2 [ΚΟΥΑΑΒ· ΚΟΥΑΑΒ·] ΚΟΥΑΑΒ
 [± 15]...
 4 [± 14]ΜΑΝ
 [ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕ]Ζ ΖΑΜΗΝ·
 6 [ΚΟΥΑΑΒ· ΚΟΥΑΑ]Β ΚΟΥΑΑΒ
 [± 14]C
 8 [± 11 ΨΟΡ]Π̄ ΝΑΙΩΝ
 [ΖΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ· ΨΑ Ε]ΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ
 10 [ΖΑΜΗΝ· ΚΟΥΑ]ΑΒ ΚΟΥΑΑΒ
 [ΚΟΥΑΑΒ· ΠCΤ]ΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΦΩC
 12 [ΤΗΡ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ] ΨΡΙΑΗΛ ΝΨΑ
 [ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ Ζ]ΑΜΗΝ· ΚΟΥ[ΑΑΒ]
 14 [ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΑΑΒ Π]CΤΡΑ[ΤΗ]
 [ΓΟΣ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ] ΠΡΜ̄ΝΟΥΟ
 16 [ΕΙΝ ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕ] ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ
 [ΝΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜ]ΗΝ· ΚΟΥΑΑΒ
 18 [ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΑ]ΑΒ ΠΑΡΧ[ΙCΤΡ]Α
 [ΤΗΓΟΣ ΗΛΗΛΗΘ] .[.]·† Ν[...].
 20 [± 9 Ν]ΑΙΩΝ ...].
 [± 10]ΝΟ[

16,25-26 Cf. 5,26 and note.

16,26 ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕ was deleted in the MS. with a dot over each letter; the dots are visible over the last four letters, and in the lacuna over the first four. The mistake was due to an incipient haplography: ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩΝ was about to be omitted.

16,29-30 Cf. 5,28-6,1 and note to 6,1.

17,4 Perhaps ΠΙΓΕΡΑΔΑ]ΜΑΝ, "Pigeradaman." Cf. 6,6 and note, esp. *Steles Seth* VII 118,26. Cf. also note to 17,24.

17,7 This line is 4-6 spaces shorter than most of the other lines, due

- [Holy are you, Mother of the] aeons(s) (αἰών),
 26 Barbelo,
 for ever and ever, [Amen (ἀμήν)].
 28 [Holy are you,] Holy are you, Holy are you,
 [First-] born of the aeons (αἰών),
 30 Doxomedon. [

17

- [for ever] and ever, Amen (ἀμήν).
 2 [Holy are you, Holy are you,] Holy are you.
 [
 4 [
 [for ever and ever], Amen (ἀμήν).
 6 [Holy are you, Holy are you,] Holy are you.
 [
 8 [first] aeon (αἰών),
 [Harmozel, for] ever and ever,
 10 [Amen. (ἀμήν). Holy are you], Holy are you,
 [Holy are you,] commander (στρατηγός), luminary
 (φωστήρ)
 12 [of the aeons (αἰών)], Oriael, for
 [ever and ever], Amen (ἀμήν). Holy are you,
 14 [Holy are you, Holy are you,] commander (στρατηγός)
 [of the aeons (αἰών)], man-of-light,
 16 [Daveithe], for ever
 [and ever, Amen (ἀμήν)]. Holy are you,
 18 [Holy are you, Holy are you, commander-in-chief
 (ἀρχιστρατηγός)
 [Eleleth,
 20 [the] aeons (αἰών) [
 [

to damaged papyrus at this point. Perhaps read [ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑ-
 ΤΗΓΟ]C, "commander-in-chief." Cf. 6,2-3 and note.

- 17,9 Perhaps ΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ, as at 6,4, but there is room for the 2. Cf.
 note to 6,3-5.
 17,12 Cf. 6,4.
 17,15-16 Cf. 6,4-5.
 17,18-19 Cf. 6,2-3 and note.
 17,20-21 ΝΔΙΩ[N on line 20 and line 21 are now lost. This material is
 attested in an early photograph. A superlin. stroke is visible at
 the end of line 20.
 17,21 Perhaps ΝΟ[ΥΤΕ, "god(s)."

dot over
 ers and in
 to an incipit
 mitted.

6,6 and 17,

her lines, 6,

(1 line missing)

[± 10] NNA P[
 24 [± 10] M̄AN [ψα]
 [ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ] ΖΑΜ[ΗΝ·]
 26 [ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥ]ΑΑΒ ΚΟ[ΥΑΑΒ]
 [ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΝ]ΑΝΟΥϞ [Ν]
ΙΗ
 ΝΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ε[ΤΡ̄ ΨΑΥ
 2 ΜΕΙΡΟΧΕΙ[ΡΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΨΑ]
 ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕ[Ζ ΖΑΜΗΝ·]
 4 ΚΟ[ΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΑΑΒ]
 ΠΑΡΧΙϞ[ΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΜΠΤΗ]
 6 Ρ̄Ϟ ΙϞ ΠΕΧ̄Ϟ [ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ]
 ΖΑΜΗΝ: ρ[
 8 ΤΕΙΑ Μ̄[
 ΝΕΕΙΕ[Τ ± 8 ΖΟΜΟ]
 10 ΛΟΓΙΑ ρ[ΥΩ Ρ̄ΖΟΜΟ]
 ΛΟΓΕΙ Μ̄[Ο]Ϟ [
 12 ΟΥ ΠΤΕΥΝΟ[Υ
 ΒΕ ΣΨΩΠΕ Μ[
 14 ΠΕ ΝΖΡ̄ΤΕ Μ[Ν
 ΝΖΡ̄[Τ]Ε Μ̄[
 16 Ψ[Τ]ΟΡΤΡ̄ .[
 ΕϞΚΩΤΕ ΕΡ̄[Ο]Υ
 18 ΖΜ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ Ε[ΤΕΥΝΤΑϞ ΝΟΥ]
 ΝΟΒ ΝΚΑΚΕ [ΜΜΑΥ ΝΖΗΤϞ]
 20 ρ[Υ]Ω ΖΑΖ Ν[
 ΟΥΩΝΖ Ε[ΒΟΛ
 22 Ε[ΤΜ]ΜΑῩ .[
 [ΟΥΩΝΖ] ΕΒΟ[Λ

- 17,22 The three-fold ΚΟΥΑΑΒ, "holy are you," probably occurred on this lost line.
 17,24 Perhaps read ΑΚΡΑ]ΜΑΝ, "Akramas." Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III 65,7; *Zost.* VIII 47,3 and 126,9; *Cod. Bruc. Untitled*, ch. 8.
 17,27 The superlin. stroke on N is visible.
 17,27-18,2 Cf. 6,7-9 and note; the scribe omitted the superlin. stroke on the name.
 18,5-6 Cf. 6,2-3 and note; 17,18-19.
 18,7-8 Perhaps ΜΠΡΟΦΗ]/ΤΕΙΑ Μ̄[[ΝΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙς, "prophecies and revelations."

(1 line missing)

- [
 24 [for]
 [ever and ever,] Amen.
 26 [Holy are you,] Holy are [you], Holy are you,
 good [god of]
 18
 the [beneficent] worlds (κόσμος), [
 2 Mirocheirothetou, [for]
 ever and ever, [Amen (ἀμήν)].
 4 [Holy are] you, [Holy are you, Holy are you,]
 Commander-in-chief (ἀρχιστρατηγός) [of the]
 6 All, Jesus Christ, [for ever and ever,]
 Amen (ἀμήν). [
 8 . . . and [
 Blessed [
 10 confession (ὁμολογία) [And
 confess (ὁμολογεῖν) him [
 12 now [
 then it becomes [
 14 fear [and
 fear and [
 16 disturb [
 surrounding [them
 18 in the place (τόπος) [which has a]
 great darkness [in it]
 20 [and] many [
 appear [
 22 there [
 [appear

 18,9-10 ὁμολογία: cf. Heb 3:1.

18,10-11 Cf. Rom 10:9.

18,12 ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ: Cf. 14,15.

18,14 The superlin. stroke on ΜΝ is completely visible.

18,16 Or perhaps "disturbance."

18,22-23 Υ on line 22 and line 23 are now lost. This material is attested in an early photograph.

18,23 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ: Cf. 18,21.

(1 line missing)

[....]ο.[
 26 [...]·εϛτ[
 [.....]οϥ[
 28 [.....]εϛ[

ΙΘ

[± 12]ε· αϥω
 2 [± 11]ε]ϥβολε Μ
 [± 12] τ[η]ρ[ϛ] ΜΝ
 4 [± 11] Μμαϥ Μ
 [± 13]ε· αϥω
 6 [± 11].ο Νεε Μ
 [± 11]ϥ Μμοοϥ
 8 [± 10]..[
 [± 10]..[..].[...]κ
 10 [± 7 ϛ]ενταραχη [α]ϥτ
 [± 9]πε νοϥαχε
 12 [± 7 α]ϥω πεχαϥ ναϊ
 [χε μελ]χις[εα]εϛ
 14 [ποϥηηβ] ηπνοϥτε [ετ]χο
 [σε αϥω]αχε ϛωϛ[.....]ε
 16 [.... νο]ϥταπρ[ο] .[
 [.....] ϛΜ πτηρϛ α[.].[
 18 [± 7]ϥΝ[. α]ϥω π.[
 [± 11] νεκ[. .]ε
 20 [± 11]..[...].κ

(3 lines missing)

24 [± 11 ϫ]π[λ]αηα
 [± 12]αϥϫϫ[
 26 [± 15].[

(± 2 lines missing)

Κ

ΜΝ νεϥπ[

- 18,26 Perhaps]τϛτ[ωϛ, "confused."
 19,13-15 Cf. 12,10-11 and note; 15,9-10.
 19,16 Cf. 14,6.

(1 line missing)

26 []
 []
 28 []
 []

19

[] And
 2 [] they were clothed with
 [] all and
 4 [] there
 [] and
 6 [] just as
 [] them
 8 []
 []
 10 [] disturbances (ταραχή). They gave
 [] their words
 12 [] and they said to me,
 [Melchizedek,]
 14 [Priest] of God [Most High
 [they] spoke as though (ὥς) [
 16 [their] mouths [
 [] in the All [
 18 [] and [
 [] your [
 20 []

(3 lines missing)

24 [] lead astray (πλανᾶν)
 [] he [
 26 []

(± 2 lines missing)

20

with his [

19,24 Perhaps ΜΦΥCIC ΕΤΡ]Π[ΛΑΝΑ, "the natures which lead astray"; cf. 15,24.
 20,1 Perhaps ΝΕΦΠ[ΡΟCΦΟΡΑ, "his offerings."

2 ογωψ̄τ̄ μ[̄
 ΠΙΣΤΙ[ϸ] μ[̄
 4 νεφωληλ· αγ[ω
 νοογε· αγ[ω
 6 ἄνετε νογ[ϸ] νε
 ἄφορπ̄ εν[
 8 αϸ.[.]...κ Δ[ε
 ρο[
 10 ἄπο[γ]ροογψ χε [θιερω]
 συνη ετ̄κ̄ειρ[ε ἄμοσ ε]
 12 τε [ο]γεβολ ζ̄μ [̄
 .]κε[.]...να.[
 14 [ζ̄ἄ ἄσυ]μβογλια ἄ[̄
 [...]σατανας ε[
 16 ν[ἄ... ε]βολ· εγ[ϸια
 .[....] νεφσβο[ογε
 18 .]ε̄ ενεκμο.[
 .[.]ογτ[
 20 ἄ[π]ε̄ιαιω[ν
 ἄ[̄

(3 lines missing)

[ετ̄]ψοοπ̄ ζ̄[̄
 26 [...]ἄπλ[α]να
 (± 2 lines missing)

κα

[± 12] αγω ζ̄εν
 2 [± 11] ἄ[γ]ω [̄
 [± 11] ἄνα[.]ογ[
 4 [± 10] α[ϸ]τααγ ε[
 [± 12] αγω [̄
 6 [± 9] αγ]ω ἄ̄ ϸ[̄
 (± 22 lines missing)

20,3 Cf. 7,6.

20,4 Cf. 8,28.

20,4-5 Perhaps ἄτ̄β̄]/νοογε, "cattle"; cf. 6,28; 16,2. Or possibly ογ]/νοογε, "hours."

20,10-11 ἱερωσύνη: cf. Heb 7:24.

20,17 I.e. Satan's? Cf. line 15.

20,20 Cf. 1 Cor 2:6-8; 2 Cor 4:4.

2 worship [and
 faith (πίστις) [and
 4 his prayers. And [
 . . . And [
 6 those that [are his
 first [
 8 [(+ δέ)
 [
 10 They did not care that [the]
 [priesthood (ιερωσύνη)] which you perform, [which]
 12 is from [
 [
 14 [in the] counsels (συμβουλία) of [
 [] Satan [
 16 [] . . . the sacrifice (θυσία)
 [] his doctrines
 18 [] your [
 [
 20 of this aeon (αἰών) [
 [

(3 lines missing)

[which] exist(s) [in
 26 [] lead(s) [astray (πλανᾶν)
 (± 2 lines missing)

21

[] and some
 2 [] and
 [] . . .
 4 [] he gave them to [
 [] and [
 6 [] and] thirteen [
 (± 22 lines missing)

20,25 The superlin. stroke is now lost from the MS.; it is attested in an early photograph.

20,26 Cf. 15,24; 19,24.

21,2 Perhaps ΟΥΟΕ]ΙΝ, "light."

21,3 Perhaps ΕΤΡΠΛ]ΑΝΑ; cf. 19,24; 15,24.

21,6 $\overline{13}$ = 13: This is the only occurrence of a numeral in the codex, except for pagination numerals. For possible contexts for the number "thirteen" see note to *Marsanes* X 2,12-13.

ΚΒ

ΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΜ[ΟϞ
 2 [χ]εκα[αϞ] εκ[
 [.]ρ[
 4 [χ]ε ΝτεγνοϞ [
 [εβο]λ ρίτο[οτϞ
 6 [ραπε]Ϟητ π[
 (± 22 lines missing)

ΚΔ

[ρ]αρ εβολ .[
 2 [ε]τμ παλ[τπε
 (± 26 lines missing)

ΚΕ

[± 8]μμοει· αγω
 2 [± 8 α]τετνωρϞ
 [± 9]ατετνωϞτ
 4 [± 9]πτωμα· αγω
 [ατετνωϞτ] χιν νχπ̄ ω[μ]
 6 [τε ντε ππρο]αββα[τ]ον ψα
 [πναγ νχπ̄ ψιτ]ε· αγ[ω μ]νν
 8 [σα ναί λειτω]ων εβολ ρ̄ν νετ
 [μοοϞτ]μα εῑ εβ[ολ ρ̄]μ
 10 [. ερϞ]Ϟν εροϊ̄ .[. .]τε
 [± 10]αναβαλ η[αγ

- 22,1 Or "throw him . . ." Cf. 25,3.
 22,5 The second superlin. stroke is visible, though the letters ΟΤϞ are in the lacuna.
 23 The fragment is uninscribed on recto.
 24,2 Cf. 27,9.
 25,1-14 The speaker is evidently Jesus Christ, victoriously addressing his (demonic-archontic) executioners. See tractate introduction for discussion.
 25,2 Cf. Matt 26:67; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:63.
 25,3 Perhaps [ρ̄μ παλαμος], "with the reed"; cf. Matt 27:30; Mark 15:19. ατετνωϞτ: Cf. 22,1.

22

- throw [it
 2 [in order that] you might [
 [
 4 [for] immediately [
 [by means of
 6 [on the ground]. The [
 (± 22 lines missing)

[2]4

- for (γράφ) [
 2 [which is above
 (± 26 lines missing)

25

- [] me. And
 2 [] you (pl.) struck me,
 [] you threw me,
 4 [] corpse (πτῶμα). And
 [you crucified me] from the third hour
 6 [of the Sabbath-eve (προσάββατον)] until
 [the ninth hour.] And after
 8 [these things I arose] from the
 [dead.] came out of
 10 [] into me. [
 [] my eyes [saw

25,5 **ΕΙΨΕ** = σταυροῦν, "crucify" as well as "hang." Cf. Heb 6:6. Cf. also 1 Cor 2:8 for the real agents of the crucifixion. "From the third hour": cf. Mark 15:25.

25,6 προσάββατον = Friday, "the day before the sabbath"; cf. Mark 15:42.

25,6-7 "Until the ninth hour": Cf. Matt 27:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44. Cf. 3,9-11; and Matt 28:7; etc.

25,9-10 Perhaps **ΑΠΑΣΩ]ΜΑ ΕΙ ΕΒ[ΟΛ 2]Μ/[ΠΜΖΑΛΥ ΕΖΟ]ΥΝ ΕΡΟΙ**, "my body came out of the tomb into me," referring to the reuniting of Jesus' body and soul after the resurrection. A similar concept is found in *The Book of the Resurrection*.

12 [± 7 ΜΠΟΥ]ΒΝ ΛΑΔ[Υ
 [± 11]ΕΖΡ[ΔΙ
 14 [± 11 Μ]ΜΟΦ[Ι
 (± 14 lines missing)

ΚΣ

ΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΜ[ΟΕΙ ΠΕ]
 2 ΧΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΒΜ[ΒΟΜ Ω ΜΕΛΧΙ]
 [C]ΕΔΕΚ ΠΝΟΒ [ΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥC]
 4 ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ [ΕΤΧΟCΕ ΧΕ ΝΑΡ]
 ΧΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΚ[ΧΑΧΕ ΝΕ ΑΥΡ ΠΟ]
 6 ΛΕΜΟC ΑΚΧ[ΡΟ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ]
 ΜΠΟ[Υ]ΧΡΟ ΕΡΟ[Κ ΑΥΩ ΑΚΡ]
 8 ΖΥΠ[Ο]ΜΙΝΕ ΑΥ[Ω ΑΚΡ ΚΑΤΑ]
 ΛΥΕ ΝΝΕΚΧΙΧ[ΕΕΥ
 10 ΤΕ[. . .]Λ ΝΝΟΥ[
 ΝΔ[Μ]ΤΟΝ ΖΝ ΛΑΔ[Υ
 12 [. . Ε]ΤΑΝΖ ΕΤΟΥΔ[ΑΒ
 [ΝΕΤ]Χ[Ι]CΕ ΖΗΤΩ Ζ[Ν
 14 [. . CΑ]ΡΑΖ· [
 [. . . .]ΧΟΥ [
 (± 13 lines missing)

ΚΖ

[Ζ]Ν ΜΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ· ΕΦΡ ΖΩΒ' ΕΠ
 2 [Π]ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΕΦΡΝΗCΤΕΥΕ
 [Ζ]Ν ΝΝΗCΤΙΑ· ΝΕΕΙΑΠΟΚΑΛΥ
 4 ΨΙC ΜΠΡΒΑΛΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΛΑΑΥ
 ΕΦΖΝ ΤCΑΡΑΖ ΕΥ<Ο Ν>ΑΤCΑΡΑΖ'
 6 ΕΥΤΜΒΩΛΠ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΚ· Ν

- 25,12 A possible reference to the women at the tomb; cf. Luke 24:3.
 26,1 The prefix ΑΥ- probably occurred on the last line of p. 25: "They greeted me." The reference is probably to heavenly beings.
 26,2 ΒΜΒΟΜ: a "holy war" slogan; cf. 1QM xvii 4,9; cf. Deut 31:6,7; Josh 1:6,7; etc.
 26,2-4 Cf. 15,12-13.
 26,5-6 The eschatological battle is here referred to; cf. e.g. Rev 19:19. The opponents are all the hostile powers referred to earlier in the tractate; cf. 2,5-11; 4,7-10; 10,5-11.29; 13,9-15; 15,18-25; 16,3-5; 25,1-5.
 26,7-8 ΑΚΡΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ: Cf. Heb 12:2.

12 [they did not] find anyone

[

14 [] me [

(± 14 lines missing)

26

greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) [me

2 They said to me, 'Be [strong, O Melchizedek,]
great [High-priest (ἀρχιερεύς)]

4 of God [Most High, for the archons (ἄρχων)],
who [are] your [enemies],

6 made war (πόλεμος); you have [prevailed over them, and]
they did not prevail over you, [and you]

8 endured ὑπομένειν), and [you]
destroyed (καταλύειν) your enemies [

10 [] of their [
will rest, in any [

12 which is living (and) holy [
[those that] exalted themselves against him in [

14 flesh (σάρξ).

[

(± 13 lines missing)

27

[with] the offerings (προσφορά), working on that

2 which is good, fasting (νηστεύειν)

with fasts (νηστεία). These revelations (ἀποκάλυψις)

4 do not reveal to anyone

in the flesh (σάρξ), since they are incorporeal (-σάρξ),

6 unless it is revealed to you (to do so)."

26,8-9 Cf. Ps 110:1-2; 1 Cor 15:24-25; Heb 1:13; 10:13.

26,12 Cf. 16,11.

26,13 The superlin. stroke on 2N is visible.

27,1-3 A ritual context is reflected here. Cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 55.8.1-2 for offerings (προσφοραί) to God through Melchizedek. It is possible that these "offerings" include baptism, as in 2 *Jeu*, chs. 45-46. For discussion see Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," and tractate introduction.

27,3-6 This exhortation concludes the second revelation to Melchizedek. Cf. 14,9-15 and note.

8 ΤΑΡΟΥΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΒΙ ΝCΝΗΟΥ
 9 ΕΤΗΠ̄ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΑ Μ̄ΠΩΝ̄Ζ̄ ΑΥ
 10 ΧΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΠCΑΝΤΠΕ Ν̄
 Μ̄ΠΗΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ [ΖΑ]ΜΗΝ:

 27,7

ΝCΝΗΟΥ: These "brethren" are Melchizedek's angelic in-
 formants; cf. 5,17-22; 12,2-4; 19,12; and tractate introduction.

When the brethren who belong to the
 8 generations (γενεά) of life had said these things, they
 were taken up to (the regions) above
 10 all the heavens. Amen (ἀμήν).

27,8 ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΜΠΩΝḐ: Cf. the Mandaean term, *šurbta dhiia*,
 "generation of life"; see Rudolph, "Coptica-Mandaica," 196.
 27,9-10 Cf. Eph 4:10; Heb 7:26.

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INTRODUCTION TO IX, 2: THE THOUGHT OF NOREA

Bibliography: Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 143, 197; Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 8; Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," pp. 69-70; Pearson, "The Figure of Norea," pp. 143, 151-152; Pearson (Introduction), Giversen and Pearson (Translation), *The Thought of Norea* (IX,2), in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 404-405; Roberge, *Noréa* (see p. XXIX).

This tractate comprises 27,11—29,5 of the codex, a total of only 52 lines. Since it is marked off from the preceding and following tractates by scribal decorations, there is no doubt that it constitutes a composition distinct from the others (against Puech, "Découverte d'une bibliothèque gnostique," p. 10), a fact which is also confirmed by the subject matter of the tractate as compared with that of the other two tractates in the codex. (Moreover there are other tractates in the Nag Hammadi Library as short or shorter, such as I,1.) Despite its brevity *Norea* appears to be a self-contained unit rather than a fragment from another document.

The tractate is untitled; the title by which it is identified in this edition is taken from the body of the text. The phrase, "the thought of Norea" occurs at 29,3 in the last sentence of the tractate. The Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften has suggested a different title: "Ode über Norea" (cf. Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," p. 69). The title adopted here has the advantage that it relates directly to the contents of the tractate, and is also analogous to the way in which titles are formulated in some of the other Nag Hammadi documents. Cf. e.g. *The Concept of our Great Power* (ΠΝΟΗΜΑ ΝΤΝΝΟΘ ΝΘΟΜ, VI,4: 48,14-15; cf. 36,2). This tractate cannot be identified with the book *Noria* mentioned by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26.1.3; cf. *Orig. World* II 102,10.25).

Although *Norea* has been referred to as an "epistle" (Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 143) there is nothing "epistolary" about it. It resembles much more a hymn or a psalm, for it has certain poetic, or quasi-poetic features: *parallelismus membrorum*, repetitiveness, and in general, a "rhapsodic" flavor. There is therefore some justification in referring to *Norea* as an "ode," comparable in form and flavor to the *Odes of Solomon* (cf. Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Be-

deutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," p. 70). Nevertheless it would be difficult to divide the document into strophes, or to delineate definitively a poetic structure throughout (possibly because of the corrupt state of the text). Thus it is better to refer to the style of *Norea* as "hymnic prose," and the form of the document as a "prose hymn."

The text of *Norea* is obviously corrupt at a number of places, and recourse to textual emendation has therefore been taken. Manifest errors in number and gender in verb forms and pronouns have produced considerable confusion of the *dramatis personae* in the text of the MS., especially from 28,3 on. Emendations have seemed required on p. 28 at lines 3, 5, 6, 12 (a misspelling), 14 and 20, and on p. 29 at line 2 (see notes to the transcription and translation). It is probable that these mistakes were present in the Vorlage from which the scribe of Codex IX copied, and may indeed have been introduced into the text during the process of translation from Greek into Coptic. (On the language of *Norea* and the habits of the scribe of Codex IX, see the codex introduction.)

An analysis of this short tractate reveals the following elements:

- (1) an invocation of the Father of the All and his heavenly companions: 27,11-20; 2) *Norea's* cry and her deliverance: 27,21-28,12; 3) *Norea's* activity within the Pleroma: 28,12-23; and 4) the future salvation of *Norea* and her spiritual progeny: 28,24-29,5.

1) The first three figures invoked appear to constitute the basic gnostic triad of Father, Mother, and Son: "Father of the All, [Ennoia] of the Light, Nous [dwelling] in the heights. . ." (27,11-13). It is unclear whether the other elements of the invocation are thought of as gnostic "aeons" (the term does not occur) or are simply hypostatizations poetically created *ad hoc* to signify aspects of the heavenly Pleroma. The Father is again invoked at the end of the passage: "[incomprehensible] Father" (27,20).

2) The invocation is expressly attributed to *Norea*: "It is *Norea* who [cries out] to them" (27,21-22). The redemption of *Norea* is described as a restoration to her "place" (τόπος) = the Pleroma, and union with the Godhead (Father, Mother, and Son, described this time in different terminology; see below).

3) *Norea's* activity within the pleroma consists of "speaking with words of [Life]" (28,13-14), dwelling in the presence of the Exalted One (= the Father), and giving him glory. *Norea's* salvation is thus described in terms of complete eschatological fulfilment.

4) But then, in the last section of the tractate, Norea's salvation is seen as not yet accomplished. "There will be days when she will [behold] the Pleroma, and she will not be in deficiency" (28,24-26). To assist her in her salvation, she has the "four holy helpers who intercede on her behalf with the Father of the All" (28,27-30). These four "helpers" are doubtless to be identified as the "luminaries" frequently found in other gnostic texts of a "Sethian" type: (H)armozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, and Eleleth (cf. *Melch.* IX 6,3-5 and note). The (future) salvation of Norea is clearly seen to be identified with, and a symbol of, the salvation of all the Gnostics, i.e. "all of the Adams that possess the thought of Norea" (29,1-3), within whom there dwells the heavenly "Adamas" himself (see 28,30—29,1). In this formulation one can see reflected the gnostic doctrine of the "image (εἰκών) of God" (cf. Gen 1:26-27). The "thought (νόησις) of Norea, who speaks concerning the two names which create a single name" (29,3-5) is probably a reference to the knowledge requisite for salvation. This knowledge, or "thought," is appropriated by means of "mind" (νοῦς, see 28,4.12.19). The "two names" are probably "Adamas" and "Norea"; the "single name" is "Adamas." Thus salvation is essentially seen to consist ultimately of integration, or rather re-integration, into the Godhead. "Adamas," in this document, is none other than the primal Father himself (cf. 27,25-26; 28,29-30).

This tractate is closely related to *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,4). In *Hyp. Arch.* Norea is represented as "crying out" for "help," for deliverance from the power of the hostile archons:

"She cried out (ἀγαῶκακ) with a loud voice to the Holy One, the God of the All, 'Help (βοηθεῖν) me against the archons of unrighteousness and save me now from their hands'" (II 92,33-93,2).

The "great angel" Eleleth is then sent down to rescue her and to instruct her in the saving knowledge. Eleleth is expressly identified as one of "the four luminaries (φωστήρ) that stand in the presence of the Great Invisible Spirit" (II 93,20-22).

Norea's plea for help in *Hyp. Arch.* seems to be expanded upon in *Norea*, with the opening invocation, and is expressly referred to in 27,21-22: "It is Norea who [cries out] (εταῶ[κακ]) to them." Furthermore the "help" (βοηθεῖν) that comes from the four luminaries in the person of Eleleth in *Hyp. Arch.* is evidently referred to in *Norea* at 28,27-30: "she has the four holy helpers (βοηθός) who intercede on her behalf with the Father of the All."

On the other hand, very little technical terminology is shared between *Norea* and *Hyp. Arch.* except for the terms "Father of the All" (ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ, 27,1; 28,30; cf. II 88,11; 96,21; 97,15) and "world" (κόσμος, 28,17; cf. II 86,24; 93,24; 96,17), but even in the latter case the term is used differently in the two tractates. Therefore it cannot be concluded with certainty that *Norea* is dependent upon *Hyp. Arch.* Perhaps, instead, *Norea* is dependent upon one of the sources of *Hyp. Arch.* (On the literary analysis of *Hyp. Arch.* see Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, p. 115).

Norea's cry for help and her deliverance is also very similar to the story of Pistis Sophia, told by Jesus to his disciples in the *Pistis Sophia*, chs. 29-81. Pistis Sophia is in grief because she finds herself outside of her rightful place, the "thirteenth aeon," tormented by the wicked archons. She cries out to the Light of lights for deliverance from the wicked powers (ch. 32). Jesus is sent to help her (ch. 52), and he in turn sends two light-powers to save her (chs. 58, 60). Pistis Sophia then offers up hymns of praise to the Light, and is ultimately brought into the world of light, the thirteenth aeon (ch. 81).

Probably the most important feature of *Norea* is the figure of *Norea* (spelled ΝΩΡΕΑ at 27,21 and ΝΟΡΕΑ at 29,3) and the way in which she is presented. This figure occurs in a wide range of gnostic literature, with considerable variation in the spelling of the name: *Norea*, *Orea*, *Noraia*, *Oraia*, *Horaia*, *Nora*, *Noria*, *Nuraita*, and *Nhuraita*. She is represented in the literature as the daughter of Adam and Eve, as the wife-sister of Seth, or as the wife of Noah or Shem. She is sometimes portrayed as seducing the archons, or as the intended victim of rape by the archons. Comparative analysis of the gnostic texts in which this figure occurs, together with certain Jewish legends concerning the biblical Na'amah (cf. Gen 4:22), shows that *Norea* is a gnostic derivative of the figure of Na'amah (Heb. נַעֲמָה = "pleasing, lovely,") and that the original spelling of the name "*Norea*" must be "*Hōraia*" (Gr. Ὠραία = "pleasing, lovely" = Heb. נַעֲמָה). The gnostic heroine is thus created out of a Jewish anti-heroine, a "naughty girl" in Jewish legend. (For complete discussion, with documentation, see Pearson, "The Figure of *Norea*.")

In *Norea* the figure of *Norea* is presented and interpreted in much the same way that she is in *Hyp. Arch.* (see above discussion of the overlapping relationship between the two tractates). To

be sure, many of the details concerning the adventures of Norea in *Hyp. Arch.* are absent from *Norea*, but one suspects that her story is implied in our tractate, and that its audience was expected to be familiar with it. However, in *Norea* her symbolic importance has been, if anything, escalated, in that she seems in this document to assume the full symbolic significance of the gnostic figure of Sophia. Thus, in our document there is reflected a full-blown myth of Norea, as well as a full-blown myth of Sophia, and the two are fused into one. (Cf. the Simonian figure of "Helen," who is similarly a representation of the gnostic Sophia.)

Moreover there are some very strong similarities between the career of Norea and that of Sophia in the Valentinian gnostic mythology. (Of course these similarities also pertain in the case of Pistis Sophia discussed above.) For example, Norea's restoration to her "place" (27,23; cf. also the express mention of the "Pleroma" at 28,22-25) is strongly reminiscent of the Valentinian myth of the restoration of Sophia to the Pleroma. Indeed the curious juxtaposition of a "realized" salvation for Norea (28,12-23) with an immediately-following promise of "future" salvation (28,24-29,5) is fully understandable on the basis of the Valentinian differentiation between a "higher" Sophia and a "lower" Sophia, viz. "Achamoth," the former enjoying an initial restoration to the Pleroma and the latter being restored only at the end (cf. Iren *Haer.* I.2.5-6 and I.7.1.). Thus Norea, like Sophia, is a symbol of the fall and redemption of the gnostic soul and, as such, functions as a "saved savior."

From what has already been said there can hardly be any doubt the *Norea* is a "gnostic" document in the full, technical sense of the word. There are no evident signs of Jewish or Christian influence on the surface. The Jewish elements are basic to the formation of certain of the mythologoumena found in the document (e.g. the origin of the figure of Norea), but are certainly not to be seen as directly influencing the tractate *per se*. Whether or not any "Christian" elements are to be found in *Norea* depends entirely upon the question of the occurrence of specifically *Valentinian* (and therefore "Christian gnostic") elements, but there is no evidence at all of a direct Christian influence upon the tractate.

It is with some justification that *Norea* has been classified as a "Sethian" document (see Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," p. 69). H.-M. Schenke has delineated the salient features of the Sethian "system" (see "Das sethianische

System" and "Gnostic Sethianism"; he classifies as "Sethian" the following gnostic documents: *Ap. John* + *Iren. Haer* I.29; *Hyp. Arch.*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Apoc. Adam*, *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*, *Norea*, *Marsanes*, *Allogenes*, *Trim. Prot.*, and *Cod. Bruc. Untitled*). These features include the following: 1) a triad of deities consisting of Father, Mother, and Son, and 2) the four luminaries (φωστῆρες) subordinate to the Son in the divine triad. 3) The figure of Seth and/or his wife/sister Norea are included in the system (for others see his articles, cited above). All three of these features are reflected in *Norea*.

1) The primal divine triad consists of the "Father of the all" (27,11; 28,29), also called "Adamas" (28,30; 27,26), "Father of Nous" (27,25), "Exalted One" (28,15), and "Invisible One" (28,19); "Ennoia of the Light" (27,11), also called "ineffable Epinoia" (28,2); and Nous (27,12), also called "divine Autogenes" (28,6). The first section of the cosmogony in *Ap. John* shows some very definite affinities with this system and the vocabulary with which the individual members of the triad are identified, except that "Nous" in *Ap. John* is a lesser aeon, not identified with Autogenes ("Monogenes" = "Christ," etc.), and "Adamas" is a lesser being, not the Father himself. The second member, "Ennoia," is of course also called "Barbelo" in *Ap. John* and related texts, a name that is absent in *Norea*. It is striking that *Norea* is much more economical in its system, whereas *Ap. John* and other such texts usually develop a number of aeons and lesser beings subordinate to the primal triad (but cf. also *Steles Seth*). And most striking of all is that "Adamas" is the name given to the Father. Thus *Norea* presents to us a simpler and more "primitive"-looking system. (But this "undeveloped" look may be deceptive, not necessarily indicating an early date; see below.)

2) As for the four luminaries, Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, and Eleleth, found in *Ap. John* and related literature, they do not occur in *Norea* by name, but are certainly referred to under the designation, "the four holy helpers" (28,27-28; cf. discussion above).

3) The presence of Norea in our document is not in and of itself evidence for a "Sethian" origin. Although Norea/Orea occurs in *Hyp. Arch.*, and as "Horiaia" in the "Sethian" system described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 39.5.2), she also occurs in material belonging to many other contexts as well, including Irenaeus' *alii* (cf. *Haer.* I.30.1, called "Sethians" or "Ophites" by Theodoret; Norea is

mentioned at I.30.9), Nicolaitans (Fil. *Her.* 33.3; cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 26.1.6), Mandaeans (e.g. Lidz. *Ginza*, p. 46), and Manichaeans (Hegem. *Arch.* 9). (For full discussion see Pearson, "The Figure of Norea.")

On the other hand, we have already seen reasons for noting some Valentinian influence in our tractate. To what has already been said on this point we can add that the specifically Valentinian terms "Pleroma" (Gr. πλήρωμα, see 28,22-25 *ter*) and "deficiency" (Ϡρα = Gr. ὑστέρημα, see 28,26) occur in our text. The third member of the divine triad, the Son, is called "Nous" in *Norea*, and this may be taken as further evidence for Valentinian influence (cf. e.g. Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1, where Nous is presented as the offspring of Bythos and Sige), but, on the other hand, this is not unknown in "Sethian" documents as well (see e.g. *Steles Seth VII 119,1*, where the term νοῦς is used as an appellative for Geradamas or Pigeradamas, the "Son" in the gnostic triad). Indeed, the Valentinian usage may itself be based on an earlier Sethian system (see Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1; cf. I.31.3).

In sum, while it is difficult to classify *Norea* strictly according to categories derived from the ecclesiastical heresiologists (cf. on this problem in general, Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists"), the "Sethian" features delineated above predominate. (But the Yale Congress papers on Sethian Gnosticism reveal that there is no unanimity of scholarly opinion on what constitutes "Sethian" Gnosticism; see *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 2.) What we have in this document is a literary creation reflecting a number of diverse influences; and thus it seems to be a product of intra-gnostic, "inter-denominational" syncretism.

It does not appear possible to posit a definite cultic *Sitz im Leben* for *Norea*. Its date and provenience are also impossible to determine, but the previous discussion might suggest an early third-century date. Speculation on authorship is totally fruitless.

12 **Σ** ΠΙΩΤ̄ ΜΠΤΗΡῶ. ΤΕΝ[ΝΟΙΑ]
 ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ. ΠΝΟΥÇ [ΕΤΟΥ]
 ΗΖ ΖΝ̄ ΝΕΤ̄ΧΟΣΕ ΕΖ[ΡΑΪ]
 14 ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΤ̄Μ̄ΠΣΑ ΜΠ[ΙΤ̄Ν̄]
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ [ΖΝ̄]
 16 [Ν]ΕΤ̄ΧΟΣΕ· ΤΣΜΗ Ν̄[ΤΕ]
 [Τ]ΜΕ ΠΝΟΥÇ ΕΤ̄ΣΟΥ[ΤΩΝ]
 18 [Π]ΛΟΥΟΣ ΝΑΤ̄Β̄Μ̄ΒΩΜ[ῶ]
 [Α]ΥΩ ΤΣΜΗ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΨΑ[ΧΕ]
 20 [Ε]ΡΟΣ ΠΙΩΤ̄ ΝΑΤ̄Τ[ΑΖΟΥ]
 ΝΩΡΕΑ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΑΨ[ΚΑΚ Ε]
 22 ΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΣΩ[Τ̄Μ̄]
 ΑΥΧΙΤ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΣΤΟ
 24 ΠΟΣ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ' ΑΥΤΑ
 ΑΦ ΝΑΣ ΜΠΙΩΤ̄ ΜΠΝΟΥÇ
 26 ΝΑΔΑΜΑ Μ̄Ν ΤΚΕΣΜΗ Ν̄
 ΤΕ {ΝΤΕ} ΝΕΤΟΥΑΒ

ΚΗ

χεκαας εσναμ̄τον̄ μ̄[μοç]
 2 ΖΝ̄ ΤΕΠΙΝΝΟΙΑ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΨΑΧ[Ε]
 ΕΡΟ<ç>· χεκαας ε<ç> ΝΑΡ̄ΚΛ[Η]
 4 ΡΟΝΟΜΙ ΜΠΨΟΡ̄Π̄ Ν̄ΝΟΥÇ
 ΕΤΑ<ç> ΧΙΤ̄ῶ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄<ç> ΜΤΟ[Ν]

- 27,11-20 This passage may be a fragment of a larger prayer attributed to Norea in a source used by the author of this tractate. The first three beings addressed are probably to be identified as the Sethian-gnostic divine triad of Father, Mother, and Son. See tractate introduction.
- 27,16 **CMH**: An alternative translation here and elsewhere in the tractate is "sound." For highly developed speculations on "voice" (ΖΡΟΥΟΥ, masc.) and "sound" (CMH, fem.) see *Trim. Prot.* XIII 44*, 3 *et passim*.
- 27,20 Or perhaps ΑΤ̄Τ[ΟΥῶ], "unlimited"; cf. *Ap. John* II 3,7.
- 27,21 On the figure of Norea see tractate introduction and Pearson, "The Figure of Norea." ΕΤΑΨΚΑΚ: Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 92,33-93,2, and tractate introduction. Cf. also the cry of Pistis Sophia in *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 32 *et passim*.
- 27,22 Possibly ΑΥΣΩ[Τ̄Μ̄ ΕΡΟΣ], "they heard her," but this would create a line one or two spaces longer than expected.

Father of the All, [Ennoia] |
 12 of the Light, Nous
 [dwelling] in the heights
 14 above the (regions) below,
 Light dwelling [in]
 16 [the] heights, Voice of
 Truth, upright Nous,
 18 untouchable Logos,
 and [ineffable] Voice,
 20 [incomprehensible] Father!
 It is Norea who [cries out]
 22 to them. They [heard,]
 (and) they received her into her place (τόπος)
 24 forever. They gave
 her the Father of Nous,
 26 Adamas, as well as the voice
 of the Holy Ones,

28

in order that she might rest
 2 in the ineffable Epinoia,
 in order that <she> might inherit (κληρονομεῖν)
 4 the first mind (νοῦς)
 which <she> had received, and that <she> might rest

-
- 27,24-25 Or: "They gave it to her in the Father of Nous . . ."
 27,26 **ΑΔΑΜΑ**: The form should be **ΑΔΑΜΑΣ**, as in 29,1; but cf. also
 28,30. "Adamas" here is the supreme God, the perfect "Man";
 cf. e.g. *Ap. John* II 14,14-24. The Naassene Gnostics referred to
 the highest God as "the blessed Man above, Adamas" (τοῦ
 μακαρίου ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἄνω, τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος), *Hipp. Ref.* V.8.2.
 27,27 {**ΝΤΕ**}: dittography. The papyrus is damaged in the area of the
 right margin, and the scribe probably wrote nothing after
ΟΥΑΑΒ. Hence the unusually short line, 13 letters.
 28,3-14 The *dramatis personae* seem to be badly confused in the text as
 it stands; emendation is therefore necessary.
 28,3 MS. reads **ΕΡΟQ** and **ΕΚΝΑΡ**-.
 28,4 "First Mind," πρῶτος νοῦς, is a designation for the highest God
 in second-century Middle-Platonism, e.g. Numenius, fr. 17 (des
 Places). This may be the meaning here; cf. 27,24-25.
 28,5 MS. reads **ΕΤΑQ**- and **ΝQ**-.
 |
 |
 |

6 ΜΜΟ<C> ΖΜ ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ
 ΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝCΧΠΟC
 8 ΟΥΑΑC ΝΘΕ ΖΩΩΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΑ[CΡ]
 ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙ ΜΠΛΟΓΟC ΕΤ[Ο]
 10 ΝΖ ΑΥΩ ΝCΖΩΤΠ̄ ΑΝ[ΑΤ]
 ΤΑΚΟ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ Ν[CΨΑ]
 12 [ΧΕ] ΖΜ ΠΝΟ<Υ>C ΜΠΙΩΤ· ΑΥΩ
 [ΑCΙ] ΕCΨΑΧΕ ΖΝ ΝΨΑΧΕ Μ
 14 [ΠΩΝ]Ζ· ΑΥΩ Α<C>ΒΩ ΜΠΕΜ
 [ΤΟ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΜΠΕΤΧΟCΕ ΕCΑ[ΜΑ]
 16 [ΖΤΕ ΜΠ]ΕΝΤΑCΧΙΤῆ ΖΑΘΗ [ΜΦΟ]
 [ΟΥ ΝΤ]ΑΠΚΟCΜΟC ΨΩΠΕ
 18 [ΟΥ]ΝΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΝΟ[Β Ν]
 [ΝΟ]ΥC ΝΤΕ [Π]ΑΖΟΡΑ[Τ]ΟC Α[ΥΩ]
 20 [C† Ε]ΟΟΥ ΜΠ<ΕC> Ε[Ι]ΩΤ Α[ΥΩ]
 [ΕC]ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΝΕΤ.[
 22 [...]. ΝΖΡΑΪ Ζ[Μ] ΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ
 [ΑΥΩ Ν]CΝΑΥ ΑΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ·
 24 [ΟΥΝ Ζ]ΕΝΖΟΟΥ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝC
 [ΝΑΥ Α]ΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ· ΑΥΩ
 26 ΝCΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΖΜ ΠΨΤΑ·
 ΟΥΝΤΑC ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠῆΤΑΥ
 28 ΝΒΟΗΘΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ' ΕΥΡ̄ΠΡΕ

- 28,6 MS. reads ΜΜΟΩ. On Autogenes see tractate introduction.
 28,8 ΖΩΩΩ functions here as a conjunction. See Roberge, *Norea*,
 p. 165. (Cf. p. XXIX.)
 28,11 No trace of the superlin. stroke remains in the MS. over the Ν,
 as might be expected. For the restored construction ΑΥΩ ΝC-
 see the previous line; lit. "and that she might . . ."
 28,12 No trace of the final Ω remains in the MS., but it is attested in
 an early photograph.
 28,13 ΑCΙ: Inchoative (Ε)I. See Roberge, *Norea*, p. 166. (Cf. p. XXIX.)
 28,14 Α<C>ΒΩ: MS. reads ΑΒΩ.
 28,16-17 ΖΑΘΗ ΜΦΟΟΥ ΝΤΑ-: Lit. "before the day that." See Roberge,
Norea, p. 166 (cf. p. XXIX). One would expect ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΑΤΕ-.
 28,18-19 Possession of "mind," νοῦς, characterizes the gnostic soul, of
 which Norea is a symbol. "Mind" characterizes God himself as
 well. The same notions are found clearly expressed in *Corp.*
Herm. I (*Poimandres*), and derive from Middle Platonism. Cf.
 note to 28,4.
 28,20 The glorification and praise of God characterizes the activity of
 the divine beings and ascended souls in the highest heavens in

6 in the divine Autogenes,
 and that she (too) might generate
 8 herself, just as [she] also has
 inherited (κληρονομεῖν) the [living] Logos,
 10 and that she might be joined to
 all of the Imperishable Ones, and [speak]
 12 with the mind (νοῦς) of the Father. And
 [she began] to speak with words of
 14 [Life], and <she> remained in the
 [presence] of the Exalted One, [possessing]
 16 [that] which she had received before
 the world (κόσμος) came into being.
 18 [She has] the [great]
 [mind (νοῦς)] of the Invisible One (ἀόρατος), [and]
 20 [she gives] glory to <her> Father, [and]
 [she] dwells within those who [
 22 [] within the Pleroma (πλήρωμα),
 [and] she beholds the Pleroma (πλήρωμα).
 24 There will be days when she will
 [behold] the Pleroma (πλήρωμα), and
 26 she will not be in deficiency,
 for (δέ) she has the four
 28 holy helpers (βοηθός) who intercede (προσβέειν)

gnostic and Hermetic literature and religion. See e.g. *Ap. John* BG 27,15-16; 28,10-11; etc. and *Corp. Herm.* I. 26. Π<ΕC> ΕΙΩΤ: MS. reads ΠΟΥ-, "your" (2 sg. fem.) or "their" (A³).

28,21 Or: "among . . ."

28,22 The superlin. stroke over M is visible.

28,26 ΠΩΤΑ: Π appears to be written over ΓC in the MS. The word ΩΤΑ renders the (Valentinian) gnostic technical term ὑστέρημα. For discussion of the terminology see the tractate introduction.

28,27-28 The "four holy helpers" are the four luminaries of "Sethian" or "Barbelo-Gnostic" speculation. Cf. *Melch IX* 6,3-5 and note. In *Hyp. Arch.* the "great angel" Eleleth, one of the four luminaries, comes down to Norea in answer to her cry for help (βοηθεῖν); see *Hyp. Arch.* II 92,33-93,13. In *Pist. Soph.* there are "five helpers," ch. 1 *et passim*. But also in the same document it is Jesus who is sent to save the hapless Pistis Sophia, see *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 52 *et passim*. He, in turn, sends two "light-powers"; ch. 58 and 60. Analogies to the "four holy helpers" in Mandaean texts are the "four men, the sons of salvation," or the "four Uthras, sons of light," on which see Rudolph, *Theogonie*, p. 128, and "Coptica-Mandaica," p. 199.

30 **СВЕУЕ ΖΑΡΟС ΖΑΤḲ ΠΙΩΤḲ Μ**
Π[Τ]ΗΡḲ · ἈΔΑΜΑ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ

ΚΘ

2 **ΕΤḲΠCΑΝΖΟΥΝ ΝḲΑΔΑΜΑC**
ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΥḲΤΑ<Υ> ΜΜΑΥ Ν
ΤΝΟΗCΙC ΝΝΟΡΕΑ· ΕCΩΑΧΕ
 4 **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ CΝΑΥ ΕΥḲ ΖΩΒ**
ΑΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΟΥΩΤḲ: >>>>>>—————

-
- 28,29 **ΖΑΤḲ** = ἔμπροσθεν.
 28,30 **ἈΔΑΜΑ**: cf. note to 27,26. But here we might be able to see the Greek (Doric) genitive case-ending preserved.
 28,30-29,2 As "mind," νοῦς, God dwells within all members of (gnostic) mankind. Cf. note to 28,18-19. This passage also probably reflects gnostic speculation on the "image of God" in Gen 1:26-27.
 29,2 MS. reads **ΕΥḲΤΑΥ**.
 29,3 **ΝΟΡΕΑ** is a mis-spelling; the correct form, with **Ω**, occurs at 27,21. On Norea see the tractate introduction and Pearson, "The Thought of Norea." The phrase, "the thought of Norea,"

on her behalf with the Father of
 30 the All, Adamas, the one

29

who is within all of the Adams
 2 that possess the
 thought (νόησις) of Norea, who speaks
 4 concerning the two names which create
 a single name.

probably stands for gnostic knowledge. **ΕCΨΑΧΕ** may refer also to "thought," "that speaks . . ."

29,4 The "two names" may be "Adamas" and "Norea," or perhaps "Adamas" (= God) and "Adam" (= generic mankind).

29,5 The "single name" is "Adamas" = God. Cf. the "one single name" (of the Father) discussed in *Gos. Phil.* II 54,5. In gnostic speculation the mystical name of God is "Man," Ἄνθρωπος or "Adam(as)"; cf. 27,26 and note, and Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis*. On the two becoming one cf. *Gos. Thom.* 106.

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INTRODUCTION TO IX,3: THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH

Bibliography: Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 143, 219-220; Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 8; Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," pp. 70-72; Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library," p. 208; Giversen, "Solomon und die Dämonen," pp. 16-18, 21; Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions"; Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," pp. 150-154; Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche," pp. 81-83; Koschorke, "Die Polemik"; Pearson (Introduction), Giversen and Pearson (Translation), *The Testimony of Truth (IX,3)*, in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 406-416; Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 91-174; Koschorke (Translation), "Der gnostische Traktat 'Testimonium Veritatis'"; Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism," pp. 439-440.

This tractate, the largest of the three in Codex IX, comprised 29,6—75 or 76, end, a maximum of approximately 1415 lines (if the tractate ended on p. 76). Unfortunately the ravages of time and modern mis-handling have left it in fragmentary condition (see codex introduction). The total number of lines completely extant is 220. 727 additional lines have been partially preserved. Of these 389 have been completely restored by scholarly conjecture. Thus almost half of the text is totally lost (up to 45%), including whole pages (pp. 63-64, 75-76, and all but small fragments of 51-54). On the other hand, some of the pages in the first part of the tractate are comparatively well preserved (especially pp. 29-32 and 41-45); and in general enough material is extant to enable us to obtain a rather good picture of the tractate's content and character.

No title is preserved for this tractate. It is possible that a title did occur at the end, presumably on (the lost) p. 75 or 76. (21 of the tractates in the Nag Hammadi library are known to have their titles at the end, only 10 at the beginning; cf. Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 19.) The present title for this tractate has been editorially assigned, on the basis of overall content and the use of such key expressions as "the word of truth" (31,8) and "the true testimony" (45,1.) The latter term occurs in a climactic passage in the text, a passage that looks like a conclusion: "This, therefore, is the true testimony: When man knows himself and God who is over the truth, he will be saved, and he will be crowned with the crown unfading" (44,30—45,6).

As to genre this document has been labelled an "epistle" (Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 219) or a "homily" (Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," p. 71). The latter designation is much more accurate, for there are no distinctively "epistolary" features about it. (In the New Testament the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews is an analogous case, except that in Heb there is an "epistolary" ending; see Heb 13:22-25.) I would call this document a "homiletic tract," for although it certainly utilizes a style appropriate to oral preaching it is not clear that the document as a whole was written for oral delivery. It is possible that the first section was so intended, but then the author seems to have added material, apparently from various sources, in order to expand it into a document which has more the form of a written tract, of an especially polemical character (cf. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 92).

An analysis of the composition of *Testim. Truth* shows the following picture: I. A homily addressed to an audience with the ability to listen "spiritually," on the subject of "truth" vs. "the Law" and the salvation that is offered to those who embrace the truth. I would call it a "homily on the word of truth." It comprises 29,6—45,6, concluding with the passage quoted above. II. Additional material developing themes that were set forth in I. This section appears to utilize various sources, but the whole is redacted from the same perspective as that of I. Thus II is evidently written by the person who is also the author of I. The possibility of distinguishing two different sections in *Testim. Truth* is confirmed not only by its structure (the apparent homiletic peroration at 44,30-45,6 has been noted above), but also by the fact that different audiences seem to be envisioned for the two parts. The author (note the use of "I" at 29,6 and 31,17) is addressing a gnostic audience in the Homily on the Word of Truth (I), and unites himself with his gnostic community in the use of the 1 plural pronoun (31,6; 39,29; 40,2.4.6.23; 41,3; 45,22). But there seems to be a shift in usage in the second section (II), where the author is remonstrating with people who apparently do not have the spiritual understanding of those addressed in the homily (see e.g. the contrast between 45,19-22 and the opening passage of the homily, 29,6-9; cf. also 50,1-3).

The following outline of the contents of *Testim. Truth* shows its structure and its constituent parts (but note that significant portions of the material from p. 49 on are lost):

- I. Homily on the Word of Truth. 29,6-45,6
 - A. Spiritual truth versus the Law. 29,6-31,22
 - B. Salvific knowledge versus vain hopes. 31,22-38,27
 - 1. Against the martyrdom of the foolish. 31,22-34,26
 - 2. Against the foolish hope for a carnal resurrection. 34,26-38,27
 - C. Virginity versus feminine carnality. 38,27-41,4
 - D. Archetypical Man and his salvation. 41,4-44,30
 - E. Conclusion. 44,30-45,6
- II. Appended Miscellanea
 - A. The mystery of the births of John the Baptist and Christ. 45,6-22
 - B. A midrash on the serpent of Gen 3. 45,23-49,10
 - C. Life in Christ versus death in Adam. 49,10-50,28 . . .
 - D. On heresies and schisms. 54(?) -74,30 . . .

I A. The tractate opens with an appeal to those with spiritual ears, who are capable of perceiving spiritual truth. Radical encratism is a basic theme throughout *Testim. Truth*, and here it is tied to a total rejection of "the Law." The nature of our tractate's "antinomianism" is indicated by its virtual equation of the Law with the whole system of carnal generation summed up in the command to marry and procreate (Gen 1:28; 2:24; etc.; see 30,2-5). Those "under the Law" (see 29,22-24 and note) cannot apprehend the truth, for they are given over to passion and darkness; they "assist the world" and "turn away from the light" (30,12-14). On the other hand, those who have come to know Imperishability are able to "receive the word of truth" (31,8) and to "struggle" against the passions of the world and of the Law (31,13-15). The sign that the dominion of the Law has come to an end is the descent of the Son of Man from Imperishability, and the "turning back" of the waters of the Jordan (30,18-23; see below for further discussion, and notes). Implicit here is a rejection of water baptism, made explicit in a later passage (see 69,7-24).

I B. The contrast between those who have knowledge and those without, "the foolish," is carried further with a discussion of the vain hopes espoused by the latter, whom we can confidently recognize as catholic Christian opponents.

B 1. One attribute of the "foolish" (= catholic Christians) is their readiness to "confess" in the face of persecution and to suffer martyrdom for the faith. The author accuses them of suffering

under the illusion that the Father desires human sacrifice (32,19-21), thus caricaturing a well-known topos in early Christian martyrological literature (e.g. Ign. *Rom.* 2.2; 4.2; *Mart. Pol.* 14.1). The rejection of martyrdom on the part of our author confirms the observations made by the church fathers regarding the Gnostics' avoidance of martyrdom (e.g. Iren. *Haer.* I.24.6; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. 81; Tert. *Val.* 30; etc.; but for a contrary position see e.g. *Ap. Jas.* I 4,37-6,17; for further discussion see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 127-137). Here it is theologically grounded in the nature of the Father, who does not desire "human sacrifice" (32,19-21), and in the work of the Son of Man, who destroyed the "works" of the "world-rulers of darkness" for the benefit of his elect (32,22-33,14). Salvation is therefore not grounded on the act of "delivering (oneself) over to death for the sake of the Name" (34,4-6).

B 2. Closely tied to the vain hope of the "foolish" based on martyrdom is their expectation of a carnal resurrection. Our author argues that the true, spiritual resurrection consists of the knowledge of the Son of Man, which is really self-knowledge, and which alone brings "perfect life" (36,22-26; cf. 35,22-36,9 . . .). Thus he exhorts his congregation,

"[Do not] expect, therefore, [the] carnal resurrection, which [is] destruction; [and they are not stripped] of [it (the flesh) who] err in [expecting] a [resurrection] that is empty. [They do] not [know] the power [of God,] nor do they [understand the interpretation] of the scriptures" (36,29-37,8).

In this statement the foolish (i.e. catholic Christian) believers in the "carnal resurrection" (the term *σαρκική ἀνάστασις* is also used in the Valentinian *Treat. Res.* I 46,2) are cleverly put in the category of the Sadducees confronted by Jesus in the gospels (cf. Matt 22:29)! Their end is simply self-destruction (38,6-9). In contrast, those with knowledge will ascend to "life eternal" (38,22-27).

I C. The discussion now returns to a theme enunciated at the beginning, viz., the necessity for a radical rejection of everything pertaining to carnal generation. Resort to sexual pleasure is a mark of the ignorant (= catholic Christians), who justify their activity with the argument that God created the sexual organs for such a purpose (38,27-39,11). (Our author's arguments here are strikingly similar to the views of Julius Cassianus, discussed by

Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III.91-93; see below for the suggestion that Julius Cassianus may have written *Testim. Truth.*) For them there is reserved the place of punishment (39,11-19).

The author had previously referred to, and re-interpreted, the NT account of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan (30,18-30; see above) as a sign of the end of the era of "carnal procreation." Now he brings up the descent of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism as a sign of Jesus' virginal birth (39,22-40,1), which in turn is seen as a paradigm for the virginal existence required of those who are "born again by the word" (40,5-8). This life-giving word divides light from darkness, corruptibility from incorruptibility, and masculinity (= spirituality) from femininity (= pleasure). The "dividing" power of the "word of the cross" is derived from a daring allegory on the sawing-asunder of the prophet Isaiah (40,21-41,4)! (On the use of allegory in *Testim. Truth* see below.)

I D. The capstone of the homily on the word of truth is a description of the career of the archetypal gnostic "Man." The beginning of salvation is Man's renunciation of the world (41,4-10, a theme probably related to the baptismal liturgy; see below). Self-examination and the subjugation of desire are also integral to the process (41,10-15). The acquisition of saving knowledge is, of course, essential; and this involves an intellectual grappling with the basic questions of human existence (41,17-42,16). Gnostic "Man" is free to "condemn" (καταγινώσκειν, κατακρίνειν) the archontic powers and their error (42,23-43,1; 43,18-20); for he is a "disciple of his mind (νοῦς) which is male" (44,2-3). As such he develops a strategy for existence in this hateful and alien world, a strategy of "endurance" (44,9) and patience with his fellows (44,13-19). At last he enters into the realm of Imperishability whence he came (44,24-26).

I E. The homily on the word of truth concludes with the following peroration:

"This, therefore, is the true testimony: when man knows himself and God who is over the truth, he will be saved, and he will be crowned with the crown unfading" (44,30-45,6).

II. There is good reason to think that the "first edition" of *Testim. Truth* ended at 45,6. The material from 45,6 on is partially repetitive, and based on various sources, but serves to complement the arguments already advanced in the homily (I). As noted previously there may also be some change of audience implied, or at least a more inclusive audience.

II A. The relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus has been mentioned previously (30,24-31, 5; 39,24-40,6). Now the author further explicates the meaning of Jesus' virginal birth, in contrast to John's birth from "a womb worn with age" (45,13-14). Our author propounds the Valentinian-gnostic doctrine that "Christ passed through a virgin's womb" (45,14-15; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.7.2; III.11.3; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.35.7), and remonstrates with his audience for not paying sufficient attention to the meaning of such mysteries (45,19-22).

II B. One of the most interesting sections of *Testim. Truth* is the gnostic midrash on the serpent of Gen 3 (also utilizing material based on Exod 4 and 7 and Num 21). Our author is here probably using a previously-existing source, though perhaps modifying it somewhat. This midrash focusses on the serpent of Gen 3, who was "wiser than all the animals that were in Paradise" (45,31-46,2). It retells the story of the fall of Adam and Eve in such a way that the serpent emerges as the revealer of life and knowledge, whereas "God" is portrayed as a malevolent and ignorant demon (on the use of the word "God" here in contrast to the rest of *Testim. Truth* see below). This midrash, in its treatment of the paradise story, shares some significant elements in common with *Hyp. Arch.* and *Orig. World*, and it is probable that all three versions derive from a common archetype. Our midrash clearly shows an earlier stage of development than the parallel texts (see notes for details), and may even reflect a very early (pre-Christian?) stage of "Ophite" Gnosticism. Especially important in this midrash are the clear indications of influence from Jewish haggadic interpretation of scripture. (See the notes, and Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions".) The allegorical interpretation of the serpent figure, linking it with Christ (49,7), is probably redactional, but based on "Christianized" Ophite tradition (cf. Hipp. *Ref.* V.16.9-10; V.17.8; Ps.-Tert. *Haer.* 2; Epiph. *Haer.* 37.2.6; 37.8.1).

As Koschorke has noted (*Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 150) some features of this midrash are found also in the treatise of Julian the Apostate *Against the Galileans*, notably the emphasis on the ignorance and envy of the Creator, and the "saving" role played by the serpent on behalf of mankind (see esp. Jul. *Gal.* 75B-94A). Such parallels are most likely to be explained on the theory that Julian utilized gnostic sources for his anti-Christian propaganda (see esp. Brox, "Gnostische Argumente bei Julianus Apostata"); in-

deed he may have had access to a gnostic midrash much like the one here in *Testim. Truth*.

II C. After establishing that the saving principle symbolized by the serpent is really Christ (49,5-10), our author proceeds to discuss the nature of true faith. Unfortunately much of this material is lost, but it is clear that true faith, for him, consists of "understanding (νοεῖν) Christ spiritually" (50,1-3). Those lacking in this spiritual understanding (i.e. catholic Christians) are still governed by "the book of the generation of Adam" (cf. Gen 5:1), and are constrained to "follow the Law" (50,8). Thus a strict contrast is drawn between those belonging to Adam and those belonging to Christ, expressed elsewhere in the tractate as a contrast between the "generation of the Son of Man" and the "generation of Adam" (cf. 60,4-8; 67,3-13; 68,8-12).

II D. The rest of *Testim. Truth*, so far as can be determined, is governed by a polemical, "anti-heretical" thrust. We have already noted this polemical element in the document, from its opening passage on—directed against catholic Christianity—but now the polemics are broadened to include other religious groups in addition to the catholic Christians.

Indeed it is of great interest that the "anti-heretical" thrust of our tractate takes into its purview the positions of other gnostics with whom the author is in disagreement. In fact it is in this context that such words as "heretics" (αἱρετικός 59,4) and "schisms" (59,5) first occur ("these heresies" in 73,29 probably includes also catholic Christians).

Somewhere in the lost section between pp. 50 and 55 the attention of our author is focussed on specific gnostic groups. At 55,1 mention is made of the Ogdoad (a Valentinian term), and it is probable that the author is discussing the Valentinian Gnostics. They are accused of practicing water baptism, which is really a "baptism of death" (cf. 30,30-31,33 and esp. 69,7-24). On p. 56 the discussion has turned to a gnostic teacher who "completed the course [of] Valentinus" (56,1-2), whose "disciples resemble [the] disciples of Valentinus" (56,4-6). Perhaps a well-known Valentinian teacher is meant, such as Axionicus of Antioch, who was known to have followed Valentinus' teaching most closely (see notes to p. 56). Either he or someone else (Basilides?) is credited with having spoken "many words" and written "many books" (56,18-20).

On p. 57 we find ourselves in the middle of a discussion of a group

whose "knowledge" is alleged to be "vain" (57,5-6). This group may be identified as Basilidians, for we then read, "Isidore, also, [his son], resembled [Basilides]. He also . . ." (57,6-8). Isidore was the son and pupil of Basilides (Hipp. *Ref.* VII.20.1; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II.113.3; VI.53.2). "Other disciples" (57,12), presumably of Basilides, are accused of being "blind" (57,13) and given over to "[pleasures]" (57,15).

Our tractate becomes more tantalizing on the following page where two groups who "do [not] agree [with] each other" (58,1-2) are mentioned, but lacunae in the MS. have deprived us of the possibility of positive identification. One group may be the Simonians (restored in the transcription, ΝΙΣΙΜΩΝ/ΝΙΑΝΟΣ, 58,2-3), who "take [wives] and beget children" (58,3-4). The other group in our tractate's catalogue of heresies would presumably deserve at least partial approval, if the "abstaining" (ἐγκρατεύειν) they are credited with is total abstinence from sexual activity (but see notes to p. 58 for other possibilities). All we have of the name of this group is the plural definite article and the adjectival ending: Ν[.]/ΑΝΟΣ, "the [.]ians" (58,4-5). These, together with other heretics, are liable to judgment and eternal punishment (59,17-60,4).

It has been suggested (by Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library," p. 208, followed by Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 157) that our tractate's author "lifted" this section on Gnostic heretical groups from an ecclesiastical work on heresiology, "with little concern for the fact that it was meant to expose and refute some of his spiritual ancestors." I doubt very much that we can attribute such naiveté to the author of *Testim. Truth*; on the contrary, we see in this tractate from beginning to end a passionate concern for the establishment of "truth" and the rejection of "error." The author must have known what he was doing when he distinguished his own understanding of the truth from that of other groups, both "catholic" and "gnostic." Indeed it is probable that he had first-hand knowledge of at least some of the groups whose doctrines and practices he was so vigorously attacking. (On the question of the authorship of *Testim. Truth* see below.)

The rest of *Testim. Truth* is in very fragmentary condition, but it is clear that the "anti-heretical" thrust predominates until the end. It is probable that catholic Christians are under attack in a passage condemning the practice of resorting to sexual intercourse even before children are weaned (67,29-31; see note), in a passage

condemning the accumulation of wealth (68,1-8; see note), and especially in a passage condemning water baptism (on which see also Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," p. 153; and Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 138-142):

"Some enter the faith [by receiving a] baptism, on the ground that they have [it] as a hope of salvation, which they call "the seal" (σφραγίς). They do not [know] that the [fathers of] the world (i.e. the archons) are manifest in that [place (viz. baptism), but] he himself (i.e. the true Gnostic) [knows that] he is sealed" (69,7-14).

The author goes on to say that the Son of Man did not baptize (69,15-17; cf. John 4:2). On the contrary, his coming signals the end of the era of water baptism (cf. 30,18-30). True "baptism" consists of nothing other than the "renunciation of the world." (On gnostic polemics against water baptism see Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," p. 153; and Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 145-147).

The term "renunciation" (ἀποταγή) used here reflects the terminology of the baptismal liturgy in use in the catholic churches, wherein the candidates for baptism "renounce" (ἀποτάσσειν) Satan, all his servants, and all his works (cf. Hipp. *Trad. Ap.* 21; cf. above, on 41,4-10; cf. 43,13; 44,26; the "seal" (σφραγίς) terminology also reflects a common early Christian designation for baptism; cf. notes to 69,11.14-15). On the other hand, the motif of "renunciation of the world" is at the heart of the Egyptian monastic tradition (cf. e.g. *V. Pach.* Φ 24; *Pall. H. Laus.* 13 et *passim*); so it is not difficult to understand how such a document as *Testim. Truth* might be a treasured item in a monastery library for monks whose "orthodoxy" was not as precise as that of the catholic hierarchy. (On the monastic context of the Nag Hammadi Library see e.g. Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism"; on gnostic asceticism see esp. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 123-127).

It is not clear which group is under attack in a passage accusing certain persons of idolatry and consorting with demons (69,32-70,30; on this passage see below). Perhaps catholic Christians are referred to as those who quote the fighting words of the apostle Paul in Gal 1:8 (73,18-22); they are included in the category of "heresies" propagated by the "powers of Sabaoth" (73,28-30). Finally, in the last extant portion of the tractate, "ignorant" persons are condemned for "attending to those who teach in the corners by means of carved things and artful tricks" (74,27-30).

It is clear from beginning to end that our tractate is the product of one who earnestly believed that his version of the Christian faith and praxis was the only true one. The attitude exemplified is analogous to that of the orthodox church fathers—including the “anti-heretical” thrust—but in *Testim. Truth* we have a document espousing a faith radically different from that of such ecclesiastical figures as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, or even Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

An important aspect of the theology of *Testim. Truth* is its presentation of the person and work of Christ. The following names and titles are used: “Jesus” (30,25; 33,23; 66,4), “Christ” (32,2; 35,4; 36,4; 45,9-14; 49,7), “the Savior” (45,17; 60,16; 67,8), and “Son of Man” (30,18; 31,6; 32,22; 36,24; 37,10-27; 38,5; 40,24; 41,2; 60,6; 61,9; 67,7; 68,11; 69,15; 71,12; 72,25). The latter title is clearly the most important title for Christ, and most characteristic of the tractate’s Christology. As might be expected, the use of the “Son of Man” Christology follows the Johannine pattern rather than that of the Synoptic gospels: “The Son of Man [came] forth from Imperishability” (30,18-19; cf. John 3:13; 6:62), and revealed the truth to those who were able to receive it (31,5-9; 37,9-11 cf. John 8:28 *et passim*). The Son of Man “did not baptize any of his disciples” (69,15-17; cf. John 4:2). As Son of Man Christ also executes judgment of men’s deeds (37,23-29; cf. 36,3-6; 38,22-27; cf. John 5:27). The prominent place given in *Testim. Truth* to the “generation of the Son of Man” (60,5-6; 67,7-8; 68,10-11) is also largely based on Johannine ideas (cf. John 1:12-13; 17:9-10; etc.). Thus, in general it can be said that the presentation of the person and work of Christ in *Testim. Truth* resembles very much, indeed is largely based on, that of the Gospel of John.

One interesting aspect of the Christology of *Testim. Truth* is the apparent contradiction to be seen in the various accounts of Christ’s origin, probably attributable to the use of disparate traditions (so Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 108, 122). Thus the Son of Man is presented as coming directly from heaven to the world “by the Jordan River” (30,18-25, which Koschorke identifies as the “Marcionite” model, but is probably derived from an interpretation of the Gospel of John). On the other hand Christ was “born of a virgin” (39,29-30). On the one hand his birth implies that “he took flesh” (39,31); on the other, it is said that “Christ passed through a virgin’s womb” (45,14-15, a Valentinian doctrine,

as noted above). But in all these statements the heavenly origin of Christ is implicit, if not always fully explicated.

The names and titles used for God are as follows: "the Father" (31,22; 32,19; cf. 40,18); "Father of Truth" (69,2? cf. 43,26 which is probably not a reference to God); "the God of Truth" (41,5), and "God who is over the truth" (45,3). The simple noun "God" is also used (37,6.22; 39,3.7; 41,31); but there is confusion in the use of this noun in the tractate, for within the midrash on the serpent (45,23-49,10, discussed above) the noun "God" is clearly used not of the highest God but of the lower Demiurge (45,24; 46,16.24; 47,15.20; 48,1.5). This contradiction supports the theory advanced above that that section of *Testim. Truth* is based on a previously-existing source (see discussion above).

An important aspect of *Testim. Truth* is its use of the scriptures, both Old and New Testaments, as well as extra-biblical Jewish and Christian traditions. Apart from the self-contained midrash on the serpent of Gen 3 (see above for discussion), use of the Old Testament is rather sparse. There may be an allusion to Isa 6:9-10 in the opening passage (29,7-9; but cf. also Matt 13:13-15; Isa 6:9-10 is quoted at 48,8-13). Allusions to Gen 1:28; 2:24 and parallels (see note) occur in a statement on "the Law" (30,2-5; cf. also Gen 22:17 and 32:12 for the phrase, "like the sand of the sea"). "The [book of the] generation of Adam" (Gen 5:1) is mentioned at 50,5-6 (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 54.2 for a Valentinian use of the same). A quotation from Ps. 114:3 (cf. Josh 3:13-17) occurs in a passage describing Jesus' arrival at the Jordan river (30,20-23; see note for parallels).

An especially interesting passage involving the figures of David and Solomon occurs at 70,1-23, in the context of the author's attack upon his theological opponents. David the king, who "laid the foundation of Jerusalem" (70,4-5; cf. 2 Kgdms 5:9) is said to have had demons dwelling with him. Solomon, "whom he begat in [adultery]" (70,6-7; cf. 2 Kgdms 11 and note to 70,7) is said to have "built Jerusalem (i.e. the temple) by means of the demons" (70,7-9; cf. 3 Kgdms 5-7, esp. 6:7). After he had finished the temple he shut the demons up into seven waterpots, where they remained until the coming of "the Romans" (Pompey, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. 72-73). In this passage, which the author is probably quoting or adapting from a written source, we observe how Jewish haggadic expansions of scripture can be given an anti-Judaic polemical thrust. For most of the specific details in this account of David and Solomon's

fraternization with the demons are found in Jewish haggadah. In the Talmud David is said to have been on the verge of idol-worship. The role of the demons in assisting Solomon in the construction of the temple is set forth in both Talmud and Midrash, as well as other Jewish sources, notably the *Testament of Solomon* (for details see notes).

Thus far we have observed that the method of utilizing the Old Testament in our tractate is that of allusion, quotation of biblical phrases, and midrashic expansion (though the serpent midrash and the David-Solomon midrash probably come from sources used by the author). But allegory is also a very important feature, and is clearly the work of the author himself. Thus the serpent referred to in the serpent midrash is allegorically interpreted by the author of *Testim. Truth* as "Christ" (49,7; see discussion above). David, Solomon, and the other details of the David-Solomon midrash are "mysteries" which require allegorical interpretation (70,30; but the top of p. 71 is missing; so we do not know how the author interpreted these figures). Isaiah, who according to extra-biblical tradition was sawed in two by King Manasseh (cf. *Vit. Proph. Is.* 1; *Asc. Is.* 5.1-14; 11.41; cf. Heb. 11:37), is allegorically interpreted as "the body" (40,30—41,1). The saw he used in the martyrdom of Isaiah is interpreted as "the word of the Son of Man which separates us from the error of the angels" (41,1-4).

As might be expected, the New Testament is utilized much more than is the Old Testament; so it is not possible here to give a complete account of the NT allusions (for which see the notes to the transcription and translation). The Pauline literature is used frequently (esp. Rom, I Cor, Gal., Eph), but also the gospels, both the Synoptic gospels and the Gospel of John. Other books of the NT utilized, or at least possibly alluded to, are Acts, Heb, Jas, I Pet, and Rev. Of the greatest *theological* influence, it appears, are the writings of Paul and the fourth gospel. The methods employed by the author of our tractate in his use of the New Testament materials include allusion, quotation of biblical phrases, and allegory. The following examples of allegory are found: The "old leaven of the Pharisees and scribes" (cf. Luke 12:1 par; I Cor 5:7) is interpreted as "[the] errant desire of the angels and the demons and the stars" (29,15-18). The Pharisees and scribes are "those who belong to the archons who have authority [over them]" (29,18-21). The Jordan river is "the power of the body, that is, the senses of pleas-

ures" (30,30—31,1). The water of the Jordan is "desire for sexual intercourse" (31,1-3). And John the Baptist is "the archon of the womb" (31,3-5).

In addition to most of the writings of the New Testament canon, our author had access to extra-canonical Christian literature, such as apocryphal gospels and the like. The descent of the Son of Man is mentioned in 32,22-24 in terms somewhat reminiscent of the descriptions of the descent of the Savior through the spheres in *Asc. Is.* 10 and *Ep. Ap.* 13. Our document reflects the standard Hellenistic cosmology of the period, according to which the earth is the lowest level of the universe (the same cosmology is reflected also in the texts just mentioned). Hence the Son of Man is said to have gone "down to Hades" (Coptic: "Amente," 32,25, by which is meant the earth), where he "performed many mighty works" (32,25), i.e. the miracles recorded in the gospels (32,26-33,9). (On the *descensus* in the New Testament contrast 1 Pet 3:18-20 with Eph 4:9, where "the lower parts of the earth" probably means the earth itself, rather than the underworld.)

On p. 45, after the statement that "Christ passed through a virgin's womb" (45,14-15; see above), we are told that Mary "was found to be a virgin again" (45,17-18). This statement reflects knowledge of the tradition of the *post-partem* virginity of Mary as found e.g. in *Prot. Ev. Jk.* 19 (for other references see notes).

At 69,1-4 (the context is a passage which recapitulates what is said earlier in the tractate about the archetypal gnostic "Man" and his salvation, I.D. in our outline) there is a possible allusion to an apocryphal saying of Jesus: "But he [who has] found the [life-giving word, and he who] has come to know [the Father of Truth has come to rest]; he has ceased [seeking], having [found]. And when he found he became [silent]." *The Gospel of the Hebrews* apparently contained the following saying, probably attributed to Jesus (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 2): "He who seeks will not rest until he finds; having found he will marvel, having marveled he will reign, and having reigned he will rest" (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V.96.3, my tr.; cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* I, p. 164). The passage in *Testim. Truth* is sufficiently close to the apocryphal saying from *Gos. Heb.* (less close to the parallel in *Gos. Thom.*) that we may consider it likely that the author of our tractate was familiar with, and was here alluding to, the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or some such apocryphal gospel.

There are other possible allusions to apocryphal sayings of Jesus, notably those found in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Thus at 60,12-13 there is a possible use of *Gos. Thom.* 23: "I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand" (but the same saying is also recorded in use among the Basilidian Gnostics and others; see note). At 68,16-17 there is a possible allusion to *Gos. Thom.* 22 and Jesus' promise of the Kingdom to the one who "makes the outer like the inner" (see note for parallels). And there are parallels to *Gos. Thom.* 13 at 68,17-18 and at 72,27.

There is an interesting piece of folklore in *Testim. Truth* on the fabulous salamander, an animal much admired in antiquity for its supposed ability to live unharmed in fire. Unfortunately the passage is in a fragmentary state, with much loss of context: "[. . . like a] salamander. [It] goes into the fiery oven which burns exceedingly; it slithers into the [furnace. . .]" (71,26-29). The *Physiologus* includes such a statement about the salamander in its famous bestiary (see note for details and other references). Here the author of *Testim. Truth* may have utilized the salamander for allegorical purposes (but the context is lost), in praise of the Gnostic who can live untouched by the fires of passion (for this metaphor see Sir 9:8; 23:16; Philo *Rer. Div. Her.* 64; 1 Cor 7:9).

From what has been said thus far it can hardly be doubted that *Testim. Truth* is a "gnostic" (in the full technical sense of the term) work; indeed it has aptly been called "eines der besten Beispiele für christlichen Gnostizismus" (Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche," p. 81). This can confidently be asserted not only on the basis of its over all hermeneutical stance, but on the basis of the specific gnostic doctrines and traditions which it contains or to which it alludes.

While no full-blown cosmogonic myth is found in *Testim. Truth*, such a myth is certainly alluded to at 43,26-31, where we are told that gnostic man knows about "the unbegotten aeons," "the virgin who brought forth the light," and "the power which flowed over the [whole] place." We need only look at e.g. *Ap. John* to find, fully elaborated, such items as are here presented by way of allusion in a manner appropriate to the homiletical character of the tractate (see notes for references).

Similarly, the rhetorical questions presented at 41,22-42,16 include such queries as: "Who is the one who has bound him (i.e. Adam)?" "Who is God?" "Who are the angels?" "What is soul?" "What is spirit?" These questions are all answered in

great detail in such a mythological system as one finds in *Ap. John*, or for that matter in the mythological system of the Valentinians and other gnostic groups.

At 30,15-17 we are informed that the ignorant creatures of earthly generation (cf. 30,7-8) "are unable [to pass by] the archon of [darkness] until they pay the last [penny]." This passage reflects the gnostic doctrine that men's souls must "pass by" the various archons of the spheres of the universe with the right "pass-word" before escaping to the world of light. (Cf. the Ophite version of the doctrine in Orig. *Cels.* VI.24-38; the formulae of the Marcosian Valentinians preserved by Iren. *Haer.* I.21.3-5; and Epiphanius' description of the doctrines and tenets of the "Gnostics" in *Haer.* 26.10.7). It is of interest to recall that Matt 5:26 (quoted in our passage) was also quoted by the Carpocratian gnostics in a similar fashion (Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.25.4), but if the church fathers are to be believed the Carpocratians taught a "libertine" ethic (cf. also the "Gnostics" described by Epiphanius) whereas *Testim. Truth* teaches a decidedly encratic ethic. That such diverse ethical stances can share the same eschatological conception is itself of great interest to students of Gnosticism.

Since no mythological system is completely set forth in *Testim. Truth*, we have no precise knowledge of the details concerning the document's angelology. No names are given to the "angels" (29,17; 41,4; 42,1; 67,16), "demons" (29,17; 42,25; 70,3.8.10.17.28), "archons" (29,20; 42,24; 59,14), "authorities" (32,5; 42,25; 65,4), "powers" (41,26; 73,30), or "stars" (29,18; 34,8). The Creator is consistently called "God" within the serpent-midrash (cf. my comments above on the use of this word to refer to the higher God elsewhere in the tractate). He is probably referred to under the designations, "the archon of darkness" (30,16; 35,8), and "the archon of the womb" (31,4). The name "Sabaoth" occurs at 73,31, probably as a reference to the Creator himself (rather than e.g. to the son of Ialdabaoth or one of the seven archons, as in some other gnostic systems; cf. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions," p. 466, n. 3).

Unfortunately this lack of specificity regarding mythological details makes it difficult for us to identify the particular gnostic group to which our author belonged. Koschorke calls attention to the striking parallels to *Testim. Truth* in Epiphanius' discussion of the "Archontic" Gnostics (*Haer.* 40; cf. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der*

Gnostiker, p. 108): an aggressive asceticism, an ascetically-motivated polemic against baptism, the name "Sabaoth" used of the God of the catholic Christians, ascetic antinomianism, denial of corporeal resurrection, use of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, use of John 8:44, reference to an "Ogdoad" in their system, the symbolism of "left" and "right," and mention of the paradise story (but the reference given, 40.5.3, is to the intercourse of Eve with the devil and the birth of Cain and Abel, a detail not found in *Testim. Truth*). However, these parallels do not require that we identify *Testim. Truth* as an "Archontic" document. The Palestinian setting of the "Archontic" sect mentioned by Epiphanius, together with other aspects of *Testim. Truth* not attributable to the "Archontic" sect, militate against such an identification. (See below on the arguments for an Alexandrian milieu for *Testim. Truth*.)

We have already noted the "Ophite" elements in our tractate (see discussion of the serpent midrash above), but these do not indicate an Ophite origin for *Testim. Truth* as a whole. The Valentinian influence, however, is especially strong. The well-known Valentinian formula (*Exc. Theod.* 78; cf. *Gos. Truth* I 22,13-15) is probably reflected at 31,29-30, and possibly at 40,2-6 (see notes). The use of the term "Ogdoad" at 55,1 (cf. 56,2-3) may reflect Valentinian influence (see note to 55,1; the term is used here more in a Valentinian sense than in an "Archontic" sense; see discussion above). The speculation on the cross ("[the word of the] cross") and its power of dividing light from darkness, etc. (40,24-39), is reminiscent of the Valentinian doctrine concerning "Ορος and Σταυρός (see notes to 40,25-29). The allegorical interpretation of the figure of John the Baptist as "the archon of the womb" (31,3-5) is certainly close to Heracleon's allegorical interpretation of John the Baptist as the Demiurge (Heracleon, fr. 8). The use of the term οἰκονομία at 42,7 probably reflects a Valentinian technical usage (see note). The contrast between the "carnal" (σαρκική) and the "spiritual" (πνευματική) resurrections (see 36,23-30, and notes) is typical of Valentinian teaching (see esp. *Treat. Res.* I 45,40-46,2). We have already mentioned the use of the specifically Valentinian doctrine of the birth of Christ (45,14-16, see discussion above). These and other parallels that could be cited (see notes) add up to a powerful influence on our author from Valentinian Gnosticism. Yet, as we have seen, our gnostic author regards the Valentinian Gnostics as foremost among the "heretics" and "schismatics"!

As we shall see, all of this apparently contradictory evidence can actually assist us in positing a theory as to the provenance, date, and authorship of our tractate.

There are strong indications in *Testim. Truth* of an Alexandrian milieu. Especially of interest are the indications of the influence of Hellenistic-Jewish speculative wisdom, of which Philo of Alexandria is the most important representative. The description of the career of the archetypical gnostic "Man" (I D in our outline; cf. discussion above) is a case in point. This archetypical "Man" is the "Man" of Gen 1:27, as interpreted in Alexandrian Jewish circles, and the higher soul breathed into Adam (the "mind" or νοῦς in the terminology of Philo; cf. *Rer. Div. Her.* 55-56, 231; *Op. Mund.* 135; *Leg. All.* III.161; *Som* I.34) according to the Alexandrian-Jewish exegesis of Gen 2:7 (for discussion see Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology*, pp. 17-20; also Pearson, *Philo and the Gnostics on Man and Salvation*, esp. pp. 2-8). For Philo, as in *Testim. Truth*, the mind (νοῦς) of man is "male," in contrast to sense-perception (αἰσθησις) which is "female" (cf. *Leg. All.* II.38; *Op. Mund.* 165; *Leg. All.* III.49-50; etc.; cf. Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female*, p. 38). The encratic ethics of *Testim. Truth*, with its devaluation of the body (σῶμα) and sense-perception (αἰσθησις), and its condemnation of "pleasure" (ἡδονή; see e.g. 30,30-31,1 where all three terms occur together) is altogether typical of the Platonizing ethics of Philo (the texts cited above provide examples). A very specific example of probable influence from Philo can also be cited, in the discussion of the "cutting" power of the word (λόγος) at 40,25-29 (cf. Philo *Rer. Div. Her.* 130-140, and note). In general, the negative evaluation of the natural world in *Testim. Truth* has numerous parallels in the Platonizing views of Philo (cf. e.g. *Plant.* 53; on the corporeal body as evil see e.g. *Leg. All.* III.72; for Philo's vacillating views on sexual intercourse see *Leg. All.* II.74; *Quaest. in Gen.* III.48). However, it is clear that the world-denying tendencies observable in Philo have become radically gnosticized in *Testim. Truth*. Thus we have in *Testim. Truth* a gnostic document of probable Alexandrian origin, containing numerous indications of a background in which Hellenistic-Jewish wisdom and Platonic philosophy come together. This is not surprising, of course, given what we know of the activity and doctrines of prominent gnostic teachers in Alexandria in the second-century, of whom Valentinus and Basilides are the most important

examples. The mention of Isidore in *Testim. Truth* would also serve as important confirmation of an Alexandrian origin, for Isidore seems to have been active *only* in Alexandria (cf. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 109).

In attempting to establish a date for *Testim. Truth* several factors must be taken into account. Its informed discussion of well-known gnostic teachers and groups datable to the mid-second century provides us with a *terminus a quo*. Its numerous references to martyrdom provides us with a *terminus ad quem* (viz. 313, the Edict of Milan, establishing the peace of the church). But perhaps we can arrive at a more specific suggestion.

The animus directed against catholic Christians in *Testim. Truth* seems to indicate that a bitter struggle must have been going on in the Christian communities of the area in which our author lived and taught. We have good evidence that from the time of Bishop Demetrius on (189-231 A.D.) catholic "orthodoxy" was a force to contend with in the Egyptian, especially Alexandrian, church. I would suggest that we can see in *Testim. Truth* a reflex of the theological struggle between the adherents of a new "orthodoxy" represented by ecclesiastical leaders such as Demetrius and Christian teachers such as Clement of Alexandria, head of the catechetical school, versus the gnostic or gnosticizing Christianity which was so powerfully represented in Egypt before Demetrius' episcopacy. (For the standard discussion of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" in Egypt see Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, pp. 44-60).

Of course we also recall that our author takes a strong position versus other gnostic groups, especially the Valentinians. This is so despite the fact that he had probably inherited some of his doctrines and methods of teaching from the Valentinians. If we now inquire from our patristic sources as to the existence in Alexandria and its environs, at the end of the second century or the turn of the third, of former Valentinians who held out both against Valentinians and against catholic Christians for a strict abstinence from sexual contact, we encounter the name of one Julius Cassianus.

Clement of Alexandria is the source for our knowledge of this man. At *Strom.* III.91 Clement says (erroneously) that Julius Cassianus is "the originator of docetism" (ὁ τῆς δοκῆσεως ἐξάρχων), and wrote a book *Concerning Continence and Celibacy* (περὶ ἐγκρατείας ἢ περὶ εὐνουχίας) in which he denies that sexual intercourse is allowed by God, or that God created the male and female body with

their respective organs of generation. To buttress his opinion, Clement reports, he quotes from the Gospel according to the Egyptians (92-93; cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1, p. 168). He is also the author of a book called *Exegetika* (*Strom.* I.101). Clement also informs us that Cassianus "departed from the school of Valentinus" (*Strom.* III.93), and we may guess that it was on the issue of sexual mores that he did so. Clement adds, "This worthy fellow thinks in Platonic fashion that the soul is of divine origin and, having become female by desire, has come down here from above to birth and corruption" (this passage and others quoted below tr. H. Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity*).

Clement goes on to attribute to Cassianus the view that the "coats of skins" referred to in Gen 3:21 are bodies (*Strom.* III.95), a view that had been propounded earlier by Philo (*Leg. All.* III.69; *Poster. C.* 137). Quoting the Apostle Paul Cassianus says, "the subjects of earthly kings both beget and are born, 'but our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Savior'" (*Strom.* III.95; cf. Phil. 3:20). Clement vigorously disputes Cassianus' view that birth is evil, challenging "the blasphemers" to "say that the Lord who shared in birth was born in evil, and that the virgin gave birth to him in evil." Clement knows that Cassianus and other "blasphemers" would not say this, for he acknowledges that the docetism espoused by Cassianus, and by Marcion, is based upon such a denial, and also observes that it is on this ground that Valentinus teaches that Christ's body was "psychic" (*Strom.* III.102).

On the basis of what Clement tells us in the above-cited passages about Cassianus, we are perhaps justified in seeing also a reference to the same man in *Strom.* III.86, where Clement says: "But a certain man who disparages birth, speaking of it as corrupt and destined for abolition," argues from scripture that "the Lord was referring to procreation in the words that on earth one ought not to 'lay up treasure where moth and rust corrupt'" (Matt 6:19, a passage alluded to in *Testim. Truth* at 31,20). And again, at *Strom.* III.87, the followers of Cassianus may be referred to when Clement says, "Similarly they quote the saying: 'the children of the age to come neither marry nor are given in marriage'" (Luke 20:35; cf. the allusion to the parallel passage, Matt 22:29, in *Testim. Truth* 37,5-8).

Clement's description of Cassianus and his teachings fit ex-

ceedingly well, down to explicit details, the views of the author of *Testim. Truth*. Our document certainly teaches a docetic Christology, and relentlessly espouses the ideal of strict celibacy. Influenced by Valentinian (and other gnostic) tenets, it differs from Valentinianism on the crucial issue of sexual practice, and also on baptism and other sacraments (unfortunately Clement does not inform us about Cassianus' views on the sacrament, a fact which Koschorke regards as decisive against my identification of the author of *Testim. Truth*; see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 108). Like Cassianus *Testim. Truth* utilizes the epistles of Paul and the gospels, as well as apocryphal traditions, to support its theological position. The milieu and period reflected in *Testim. Truth* also fit perfectly that of Julius Cassianus. It would therefore not be unreasonable to suggest that the author of *Testim. Truth* is Julius Cassianus himself, or at least one of his intimate followers.

Another possibility has also been suggested: Hierakas of Leontopolis, a contemporary of Pachomius (see Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism," pp. 439-440). Epiphanius (*Haer.* 67) is our main source of information for this man. We are told that he was a calligrapher, trained in the wisdom of the Greeks and the Egyptians, and wrote commentaries on the OT and the NT in both Greek and Coptic. His radical encratism and his denial of the corporeal resurrection show special affinities with *Testim. Truth*, but certain of his most characteristic doctrines, such as the identification of Melchizedek as the Holy Spirit, are absent from *Testim. Truth*. Nor is it clear that Hierakas was really a Gnostic, as the author of *Testim. Truth* certainly was.

In conclusion, no certainty on the question of provenance, date, and authorship of *Testim. Truth* can be achieved, but in view of the arguments advanced above the most plausible hypothesis is that *Testim. Truth* was written by someone working in Alexandria or its environs, such as Julius Cassianus, sometime at the end of the second century or the beginning of the third.

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 8 ΜΠΣΩΜΑ· ΑΛΛΑ Ζ̄Ν ΜΜ[Α]ΑΧΕ
 ΜΦΗΤ̄· ΑΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΨΙΝ[Ε Ν]
 10 ΣΑ ΤΑΛΗΘΙΑ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥ
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 12 ΑΦΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΩ[Ο]Υ ΝΒ̄Ι [ΠΕ]
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 16 ΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ Π̄ΠΛΑΝΗ ΠΤ[Ε]
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 20 ΝΕ ΕΤΗΠ̄ ΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ Ε[ΥΝ]
 ΤΑΥ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ Μ̄ΜΑΥ [ΝΑΥ·]
 22 Μ̄ΝΛΑΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΨΟΟ[Π] ΖΑ
 ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΨΟΙ ΕΙΑΤ̄
 24 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΜΕ· Π̄ΣΕΝΑΨΒ̄Μ
 ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ Ε̄Ρ Ζ̄ΜΖΑΛ Π̄ΧΟΕΙΣ
 26 ΣΝΑΥ· Π̄ΧΩΖ̄Μ ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΠΝΟ
 ΜΟΣ ΦΟΥΟΝ̄Ζ̄ ΕΒΟΛ· ΤΜ̄ΝΤ̄

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ΑΤ̄ΧΩΖ̄Μ ΔΕ ΕΣΗΠ̄ ΕΠΟΥ
 2 ΟΕΙΝ· ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΕΝ Π̄ΚΕ
 ΛΕΥΕ ΑΧΙ ΖΑΪ ΑΧΙ Ζ̄ΙΜΕ· ΑΥΩ
 4 ΑΧΠΟ ΑΑΨΑΕΙ Π̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΨΩ
 Π̄ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ· Π̄ΠΑΘΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΤ̄

- 29,6 The gnostic teacher speaking through this document refers to himself as "I" only here and 31,17. He addresses a gnostic audience; cf. "you" (pl.) in 31,7.
- 29,7-9 "ears of the mind": Lit. "ears of the heart." Cf. the dominical saying, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear," Matt 11:15 par. Cf. Matt. 13:13-15 par. and Isa. 6:9-10, quoted at 48,8-13. Cf. also "eyes of the heart," *Corp. Herm.* VII.1; and note to 46,7-8.
- 29,9-11 A rhetorical topos; cf. *Treat. Res.* I 43,25-34.
- 29,12-13 "old leaven": cf. 1 Cor 5:7.
- 29,13 "leaven of the Pharisees": cf. Luke 12:1 par.
- 29,15-18 Cf. Gen. 6:1-4 and the later commentaries thereon, esp. 1 *Enoch* 6-11; cf. *Ap. John* BG 74,1-5; *Val. Exp.* XI 38,34-37.
- 29,18 Π̄ΣΙΟΥ: Cf. the Mandaeen charge that the Jews are slaves of

- 6 I (+ δέ) will speak to those who know
to hear not with the ears
8 of the body (σῶμα) but with the ears
of the mind. For (γάρ) many have sought
10 after the truth (ἀλήθεια) and have not
been able to find it; because
12 there has taken hold of them [the]
old leaven of the Pharisees
14 and the scribes (γραμματέως) [of]
the Law (νόμος). And (δέ) the leaven is [the]
16 errant (πλάνη) desire (ἐπιθυμία) of
the angels (ἄγγελος) and the demons (δαίμων)
18 and the stars. The Pharisees
(+ δέ) and the scribes (γραμματέως)
20 are those who belong to the archons (ἄρχων) who
have authority (ἐξουσία) [over them].
22 For (γάρ) no one who is under
the Law (νόμος) will be able to look
24 up to the truth, for (γάρ) they will not be
able to serve two masters.
26 For (γάρ) the defilement of the Law (νόμος)
is manifest;

30

- but (δέ) undefilement belongs to the
2 light. The Law (+ μέν) commands (μελεύειν)
(one) to take a husband (or) to take a wife, and
4 to beget, to multiply like the sand
of the sea (θάλασσα). But (δέ) passion (πάθος) which

the planets, Lidz. *Ginza*, p. 26. Cf. 34,8-9. ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ: Spelled correctly at 29,13.

- 29,20-23 The association of the "Law" with the "archons" is based on the tradition that the Torah was given by the angels; see e.g. Gal 3:19; Heb 2:2. For the association of the archontic angelic powers with the Law in gnostic literature see e.g. Epiph. *Haer.* 28.1.3 (Cerinthians) and *Great Pow.* VI 48,11.
- 29,22-24 "under the Law": A typically Pauline expression; see Rom. 6:14; 1 Cor 9:20; Gal 4:4,5,21. For the contrast "Law" vs. "truth" cf. John 1:17.
- 29,24-26 Matt 6:24 par. Cf. *Treat. Seth* VII 60,2; Tert. *Marc.* IV.33.2; Iren. *Haer.* III.8.1.
- 30,2-5 Gen 1:28; 2:24; 8:17; 9:1; 22:17; 32:12.

6 ραλεβ̄ ντοοτοϋ· ϣ̄ρκατεχε
 ννεψυχοοϋε ννετοϋχπο
 8 μμοοϋ μπειμα· νετ̄χω
 ρ̄μ̄ μ̄ν̄ νετοϋχωρ̄μ̄ μμοοϋ·
 10 χεκαας̄ ερεπνομοc̄ ναοϋ
 χαῑ εβολ ρ̄ιτοοτοϋ· αϋϣ
 12 σε[οϋ]ον̄ξ̄ εβολ χε̄ εῡρ̄βον
 ε̄ε[ι] μ̄πκοc̄μοc̄· αϋϣ̄ ϣε̄
 14 [κτο] μμοοϋ εβολ̄ μ̄ποϋο
 [ειν]· νᾱῑ εμ̄ν̄βομ̄ μμοοϋ
 16 [ε̄ρ̄παρ]αγε̄ μ̄παρχων̄ μ̄πκα
 [κε̄ ψ]αντοϋ†̄ μ̄πραε̄ νκον
 18 [δραν]τηc̄· π̄ψηρε̄ δε̄ μ̄πρω[με]
 [αϣ̄εῑ εβ]ολ̄ ρ̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τᾱτ̄τεκο
 20 [εϣο̄ ν]ω̄μ̄μο̄ ε̄παω̄ρ̄μ̄· αϣ̄εῑ
 [επ]κοc̄μοc̄ [ε]χ̄μ̄̄ π̄ιορᾱδ̄νηc̄
 22 [πιε]ρο· αϋϣ̄ [ν]τεϋνοϋ̄ α[π]ιο̄ρ̄
 [δα]νηc̄ [κοτ̄]̄ ε̄παρ̄οϋ· ῑω
 24 [ρα]νη̄η[c̄ δε]̄ αϣ̄ρ̄ μ̄ν̄τρε̄ ρ̄ᾱ τ̄
 [κατ]ᾱβα[ci]̄ϣ̄̄ ν̄ιc̄· ντοϣ̄ γαρ
 26 [οϋα]αϣ̄̄ πεντα[ϣ̄η]αϋ̄ ε̄ταϋ
 [ναμ̄ιc̄]̄ εν̄ταc̄εῑ̄ επῑτη̄ εν̄χ̄μ̄̄
 28 π̄ιορᾱ[α]νηc̄̄ π̄ιερο· αϣ̄μ̄με̄ γαρ
 χε̄̄ αc̄χωκ̄̄ εβολ̄̄ ν̄β̄ῑ τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο
 30 μ̄πχπο̄̄ ν̄c̄αρᾱξ̄̄ π̄ιορᾱδ̄νηc̄̄
 δε̄̄ π̄ιερο̄̄ ντοϣ̄̄ πε̄̄ ταϋ̄ναμ̄ιc̄̄
 32 μ̄πc̄ωμᾱ̄ ετε̄̄ νᾱῑ̄ νε̄̄ ν̄αιc̄οη̄̄

- 30,12-13 Cf. Tert. *Marc.* I.29; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III.12.2; etc. For discussion see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 111-113.
- 30,15-18 **παραγε**: Cf. Orig. *Cels.* VI.24-38; Iren. *Haer.* I.21.3-5; Epiph. *Haer.* 26.10.7; *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 113; for discussion see tractate introduction. "Until they pay the last penny" is a quotation from Matt 5:26. For the spelling **ΚΟΝΔΡΑΝΤΗC** see the apparatus to Matt 5:26 in Horner's ed. of the Sahidic NT.
- 30,18-21 "Son of Man": For discussion of the Christology of *Testim. Truth* see tractate introduction. On the Savior's heavenly origin and descent to the world cf. e.g. Iren. *Haer.* I.24.2 (Saturninus); and esp. the Marcionite doctrine, Tert. *Marc.* I.15,19; III.11; IV.7; Hipp. *Ref.* VII.31. Cf. also John 3:13.
- 30,20-28 Contrast 39,24-28 where Jesus' baptism is acknowledged. Here it seems to be implicitly denied.

- 6 is a delight to them constrains (κατέχειν)
 the souls (ψυχή) of those who are begotten
 8 in this place, those who defile
 and those who are defiled,
 10 in order that the Law (νόμος) might
 be fulfilled through them. And
 12 they show that they are assisting (βοηθεῖν)
 the world (κόσμος); and they
 14 [turn] away from the light,
 who are unable
 16 [to pass by (παράγειν)] the archon (ἄρχων) of [darkness]
 until they pay the last [penny (κοδράντης)].
 18 But (δέ) the Son of Man
 [came] forth from Imperishability,
 20 [being] alien to defilement. He came
 [to the] world (κόσμος) by the Jordan
 22 river, and immediately the Jordan
 [turned] back.
 24 And (δέ) John bore witness to the
 [descent (κατάβασις)] of Jesus. For (γάρ) he
 26 is the one who saw the [power (δύναμις)]
 which came down upon
 28 the Jordan river; for (γάρ) he knew
 that the dominion of
 30 carnal (σάρξ) procreation had come to an end. The Jordan
 (+ δέ) river is the power (δύναμις)
 32 of the body (σῶμα), that is, the senses (αἰσθησις)

30,21-22 Cf. Matt 3:13.

30,22-23 Ps 114:3; cf. Josh 3:13-17. Cf. Hipp. Ref. V.7.41; and see Lidz. *Ginza*, pp. 192 and 178 for Mandaean parallels; for discussion see tractate introduction. Cf. also *PGM* IV 3053f.: . . . δι' ὃν ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.

30,23-25 Cf. John 1:7,15,32,34.

30,26 δύναμις: Probably = Christ. Cf. 1 Cor 1:24.

30,28 The **Ι** in ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ is now lost from the MS., but it is attested in an early photograph.

30,30 Cf. John 1:13; 3:6. On the spelling **CAΡΑΞ** see note to *Melch.* IX 5,6.

30,32-31,1 σῶμα—αἰσθησις—ἡδονή: These are key terms in the Platonizing ethics of Alexandrian Judaism as represented esp. by Philo. For discussion see tractate introduction.

2 CIC N̄N̄ZHΔONH· ΠMOOY ΔE
 3 M̄ΠIOPΔANHC N̄TOQ ΠE TEP̄I
 4 ΘYMIΔ N̄TCYNOYCIΔ· IΩZAN
 5 NH C ΔE N̄TOQ ΠE ΠAPXΩN N̄
 6 TATE· ΠAΪ ΔE ΠETḲOYΩNḲ
 7 M̄MOQ NAN EBOL N̄BI ΠΩHPE
 8 M̄ΠPΩME· XE ΨΩE EPOTN̄
 9 EXI M̄ΠLOGOC N̄TME· EΩXE
 10 OYN̄ OYΔ NAXITḲ ZN̄ OYMN̄T
 11 TEΛEIO C· OYΔ ΔE EY[ZN̄]TMN̄T
 12 AḲCOOYN CMOKḲ NAY [E]TPPE[Q]
 13 BΩXḲ N̄NEQZBHOYE N̄K[AK E]
 14 NAΪ N̄TAYAAAY· NETAZC[OY]
 15 ΩN TMN̄TATTEKO Δ[E N̄]
 16 TAYΩḲ ḲZ[N̄ ZEN]Ḳ[AΘOC]

(1 line missing)

[± IO] AIX[OOC NH]
 18 [TN̄] XE M̄Π[P̄]KOT· OY[TE M̄]
 19 [P̄]CWOYZ [N]HTN̄ M̄PM̄[A]
 20 ETE N̄ΛHCTHC ΠOXḲ Ḳ[POQ·]
 21 AΛΛA Ḳ KAPΠOC EPCAḲ[TP E]
 22 ΩA ΠIOT· EYMEEY[E ZM̄]

- 31,1-3 This negative view of the water of the Jordan is probably related to the tractate's rejection of water baptism; see 69,7-24; 55,7-10.
- 31,3 συνουσία: Cf., 68,8. For discussion of the author's views of sex and marriage see tractate introduction.
- 31,4 ἄρχων: Cf. the Valentinian allegory in which John the Baptist = the Demiurge; Heracleon, fr. 8.
- 31,5 ATE: Cf. 45,13.
- 31,6 "to us": Here the gnostic author identifies himself with his readers in an expression of community solidarity; for similar use of the 1 pl. see 39,29; 40,2.4.6.23; 41,3; 45,22.
- 31,7 "you": Cf. note to 29,6.
- 31,7-10 The translation presupposes an anacoluthon, or perhaps loss of material, at line 10. An alternative translation: "It is fitting for you to receive the word of truth, if one will receive it perfectly." But this is grammatically awkward.
- 31,8 "word of truth": Cf. 2 Cor 6:7; Eph 1:13; Col 1:15; 2 Tim 2:15; Jas 1:18. On "receiving" the word cf. 1 Thess 2:13.

- of pleasures (ἡδονή). The water (+ δέ)
 2 of the Jordan is the desire (ἐπιθυμία)
 for sexual intercourse (συνουσία). John
 4 (+ δέ) is the archon (ἄρχων) of
 the womb. And (δέ) this is what the
 6 Son of Man reveals to us:
 It is fitting for you (pl.)
 8 to receive the word (λόγος) of truth. If
 one will receive it
 10 perfectly (-τέλειος), —. But (δέ) as for one who is [in]
 ignorance, it is difficult for him
 12 to diminish his works of [darkness]
 which he has done. Those who have [known]
 14 Imperishability, [however (δέ),]
 have been able to struggle against [passions (πάθος)]
 (1 line missing)
 [] I have said [to]
 18 [you], “Do not build [nor (οὔτε)]
 gather for yourselves in the [place]
 20 where the brigands (ληστής) break open,
 but (ἀλλά) bring forth fruit (καρπός)
 22 to the Father.” The foolish—thinking [in]

-
- 31,10 The superlin. stroke on 2N is visible.
 31,12 “works of darkness”: Cf. Rom 13:12; Eph 5:11; but one would expect ΜΠΚΑΚΕ instead of ΝΚΑΚΕ. Koschorke translates: “seine [schlechten] Taten.”
 31,15 The superlin. stroke is visible.
 31,17-22 The gnostic author reminds his audience of his prior teaching, in words containing a quotation from a dominical saying, and possible allusions to other gospel sayings.
 31,18 ΜΠΡΚΩΤ: Cf. Luke 6:48.
 31,19 ΜΠΡCΩΟΥΖ: Cf. Luke 12:17 and context.
 31,19-20 Matt 6:19. Perhaps here the “brigands” are the archons; Cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* BG 94,18; 121,3.16; *Gos. Phil.* II 53,11-12.
 31,21-22 Cf. John 15:5,16.
 31,22-32,5 This must be construed grammatically as a single sentence; the main verb is in 32,4. On the polemic against martyrdom see tractate introduction, and esp. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 127-137.

24 ΠΕΥΖΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΑΘΗΤ̄ [ΧΕ]
 ΕΥΨΑΝΖΟΜΟΛΟΓ[ΕΙ Χ]Ε ΑΝΘΝ
 26 ΖΕΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ [Ζ]Μ ΠΨΑ
 ΧΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΒΟΜ ΑΝ ΕΥ
 † ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΜΝ̄ΤΑ[Τ̄]
 28 ΣΟΟΥΝ ΟΥΑΑΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΥ
 ΜΟΥ ΜΜΝ̄ΤΡΩΜΕ· ΕΝΣΕ
 30 ΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΥ[Β]ΗΚ ΕΤΨ[Ν]

ΛΒ

2 ΟΥΔΕ Ν̄ΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΠΕ ΠΕΧ̄Σ ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΣΕ
 ΝΑΩΝΖ̄· ΖΟΠΟΤΕ ΣΕΡ̄ΠΛΑΝΑΣ
 4 ΘΑΙ· ΣΕΡ̄ΔΙΩΚΕ ΨΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΑΡ
 ΧΗ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ· ΣΕΖΕ ΔΕ
 6 ΕΤΟΟΤ<ΟΥ> Ν̄ΝΑΪ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΝ̄Τ̄
 ΑΤ̄ΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΤ̄ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΡΑΪ
 8 Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ· ΝΕΥΤΟΥΧΟΕΙΤ̄
 ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΕΤΕ ΕΤ̄Ρ̄
 10 ΜΝ̄ΤΡΕ· ΝΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡ̄Ϊ
 ΠΕ [Ν]ΑΡ̄ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΙΖΩΒ
 12 [ΑΥ]Ψ ΝΕΥΝΑΟΥΧΑΕΙ ΠΕ·
 [ΑΛ]ΛΑ †ΠΛΑΝΗ Ν̄ΤΕΪΖΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥ
 14 [ΣΟΚ]Ϊ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΟΥΑΑΥ·
 [± 17]Α

(1 line missing)

[...]·ΟΥ[
 18 [ΣΕΣΟ]ΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΥΝ[ΑΤΕ]
 [ΚΟ]ΟΥ· ΟΥ[ΑΑ]Υ· ΝΕΡΕ Π[Ι]Ψ[Τ̄]

- 31,24-26 For a similar discussion of contrasting ways of "confession," see Heracleon's comments as quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV.71-72.
- 31,25-26 Ζ̄Μ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ: For a similar expression see 69,25. For the contrast "word" vs. "power" cf. 1 Cor 4:20.
- 31,29-30 Cf. John 12:35. Cf. the classical Valentinian gnostic formula, *Exc. Theod.* 78.2; and cf. *Gos. Truth* I 22,13-15.
- 32,1-2 Cf. John 7:26-28.
- 32,2-3 The opponents have a false hope of resurrection; cf. 34,26-35,1.

their heart [that]
 24 if they confess (ὁμολογεῖν), "We
 are Christians (χρηστιανός)," in
 26 word only (but) not with power, while
 giving themselves over to
 28 ignorance, to a
 human death,
 30 not knowing where they are going

32

nor (οὐδέ) who
 2 Christ is, thinking that they
 will live, when (ὀπότε) they are (really) in error (πλα-
 νάσθαι)—
 4 hasten (διώκειν) towards the principalities (ἀρχή)
 and the authorities (ἐξουσία). They (+ δέ) fall
 6 into their clutches because of the
 ignorance that is in
 8 them. For (γάρ) (if) only
 words which bear testimony
 10 were effecting salvation, the whole world (κόσμος)
 would endure (ὑπομένειν) this thing
 12 [and] would be saved.
 [But (ἀλλά)] in this way they
 14 [drew] error (πλάνη) to themselves.
 [
 (1 line missing)
 [
 18 [they do] not [know] that they [will destroy]
 themselves. If the [Father]

-
- 32,4 διώκειν: Probably another allusion to the Valentinian formula, though there the word used is σπεύδειν. Cf. note to 31,29-30.
- 32,4-5 Cf. Col 2:15; Eph 6:12. The latter passage is reflected also at 32,28. Cf. note to *Melch.* IX 1,8-9.
- 32,6 MS. reads **ΕΤΟΟΤῶ**.
- 32,8-12 For a similar sentence see 69,17-20.
- 32,8 One would expect **ΕΝΕΥΤΟΥΧΟΕΙΤ**. But see Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, 342.
- 32,19 **ΠΙΩΤ**: Koschorke translates: "[dieser (= Gott)]," presupposing a restoration **Πᾶ!** instead.

20 [να]οϋεω οϋεϋσια ἄμν
 [τρ]ωμε νεϋναωπε ἄκε
 22 [νοα]οξος· πωηρε γαρ ἄ
 [πρω]με αϋτ ριωωϋ ἄνεϋ
 24 απαρ[χ]η· αϋβωκ επιτἄ ψα
 εμἄτε αϋω αϋρ ραρ ἄβομ
 26 [α]ϋτοϋνος νετμοοϋτ
 [ρ]αι ἄρητἄ· αϋω αϋκωρ
 28 εροϋ ἄβι ἄκοσμοκρατωρ

ⲁⲓ

ἄτε πκακε· κε ἄποϋβἄ
 2 nove ρραι ἄρητἄ· αλλα
 νεϋκερβνοϋε αϋβολοϋ
 4 εβολ ριτἄ ἄρωμε· ροιον
 ἄβαλεεϋε ἄβλεεϋε
 6 νετσηβ· νεβο· νετο ἄ
 δαιμων· αϋρχαριζε ναϋ
 8 ἄπταλβο· αϋω αϋμοοϋε
 ριχἄ ἄμοϋειοοϋε ἄφα
 10 [λ]ααα· ετβε παἰ αϋ[τε]ϋο
 ἄ[τε]ϋϋα[ρ]αξ εβολ ρἄ [·
 12 ἄταϋ[. . . .] αϋω αϋω[ωπε]
 [± 7]. ἄοϋχα[ἰ
 14 [. . . . πε]ϋμοϋ[ϋ] π[

(4 lines missing)

-
- 32,20 On martyrdom as a "sacrifice" cf. *Ign. Rom.* 2:2; 4:2; *Mart. Pol.* 14:1. For discussion see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 131.
- 32,22-33,24 On this passage and its components see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 127-128.
- 32,22-24 The Son of Man, in his descent, put on the elements of the "principalities" and "authorities" (32,4-5), and the "world-rulers of darkness" (32,28-33,1). For the motif see e.g. *Eph. Ap.* 13; *Asc. Is.* 10.8-31; *Corp. Herm.* I.14-15; etc. ἀπαρχή: Cf. 1 Cor 15:20.
- 32,24-25 The Savior's "descent to Hades" is really a descent to this world. Cf. e.g. *Eph 4:9*; *Trim. Prot.* XIII 36*, 4-5; *Ap. John II* 30,11-31,22.
- 32,24 "many mighty works": Cf. *Matt 13:58 par.*

- 20 [were to] desire a [human] sacrifice (θυσία),
 he would become [vainglorious (κενόδοξος).]
 22 For (γάρ) the Son of
 [Man] clothed himself with their
 24 first-fruits (ἀπαρχή); he went down to
 Hades and performed many mighty works.
 26 He raised the dead
 therein; and the
 28 world-rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ) of darkness became envious

33

- of him, for they did not find
 2 sin in him. But (ἀλλά)
 he also destroyed their works
 4 from among men, so that (οἷον)
 the lame, the blind,
 6 the paralytic, the dumb, (and) the
 demon (δαιμόν)—possessed were granted (χαρίζεσθαι)
 8 healing. And he walked
 upon the waters of the sea (θάλασσα).
 10 For this reason he [destroyed]
 his flesh (σάρξ) from [
 12 which he [] And he [became]
 [] salvation [
 14 [] his death

(4 lines missing)

32,26-33,8 Cf. Luke 7:21-22.

32,26-27 Cf. *Great Pow.* VI 41,10-11.

32,28-33,1 Eph. 6:12; cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 86,20-26; *Exeg. Soul* II 131,9-13.

33,1-2 Cf. John 8:46; 18:38; 19:4,6; also *Treat. Seth* VII 64,16-17, 28-29.

33,3 Cf. 1 John 3:8.

33,5-8 Cf. Luke 7:21-22.

33,8-10 Cf. Matt. 14:25 par.; *Act. Thom.* 47.

33,10-12 Just as the Savior destroyed the "works" of the world-rulers (33,3), he also destroyed his (their) flesh on the cross. Cf. *Gos. Truth* I 20,25-32; *Hipp. Ref.* VIII,10 (the "Docetae"). Cf. also Col 1:22; Eph 2:14. For the Savior's "flesh" see 39,31.

33,11 Possibly [ΠΥΕ], "cross." But one would expect 2M̄ instead of 2N̄ in that case. ΤΥΕ (fem.) is rare; see Crum, 546a.

33,12 Possibly ΝΤΑϚ[ϚΙΤϚ], "which he bore."

[ΟΥ]ΦΝ [ΝΙΜ
 20 ΟΥ[Η]Ρ Ν[Ε· ΖΕΝΧΑΥΜΟΕΙΤ']
 ΝΒ̄ΛΛΕ Ν[Ε ΝΘΕ Ν̄ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ·]
 22 ΑΥΤΑΛΟ [ΕΠΧΟΪ ΝΑΜΑΑΒ Ν]
 ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ ΑΥ[ΝΑΥ ΕΙΤ̄ ΕΦΜΟ]
 24 ΟΨΕ ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΘΑ[ΛΑССΑ· ΝΑΪ]
 ΝΕ Μ̄ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟ[С ΕΤΨΟΥ]
 26 ΕΙΤ̄ ΕῩΡ Μ̄ΝΤΡΕ [ΖΑΡΩΟΥ]
 ΟΥΑΑΥ· ΚΑΙΤΟ[Ι Ψ]ΑΥ
 28 ΨΩΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΑΥΨΤΑΛΟ[ΟΥ]

ΛΔ

ΟΥΑΑΥ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΥΨΑΝ
 2 ΧΩΚ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΠΑΘΟΣ· ΠΑΪ
 ΠΕ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΚΩ Μ̄ΜΟΦ
 4 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΧΕ ΕΝΨΑΝ
 ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΕΠΜΟΥ
 6 ΖΑ ΠΡΑΝ Τ̄ΝΝΑΟΥΧΑΕΙ· ΝΑΪ
 ΔΕ ΣΜΟΝ̄Τ̄ ΑΝ Ν†ΖΕ· ΑΛΛΑ
 8 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̄ΝΑΣΤΗΡ
 ΝΡΕΦΠΛΑΝΑ· ΕΥΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ
 10 ΧΕ ΑΥΧΩΚ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΕΥΠΨ[Τ']
 ΕΤ[Ψ]ΟΥΓΕΙΤ̄· ΑΥΩ Α[.].[
 12 [...].]ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ [.]·[.]·Α[.].]·ΕΥ
 [...].] ΝΑΪ ΔΕ [.]·[.]·Μ[.].]
 14 [...].]Ε ΑΥΠΑΡ[ΑΔΙΔΟΥ Μ̄]
 [ΜΟΟΥ ..].][

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- 33,19 The discussion is now focussed on the opponents.
 33,20-21 "blind guides": Cf. Matt 15:14.
 33,21 ΝΘΕ Ν̄ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ: For this reconstruction cf. Matt 15:12-16. The disciples are also the implied subject of the verbs in lines 22 and 23.
 33,22-24 John 6:16,19.
 33,24 ΕΤΨΟΥΓΕΙΤ̄: A favorite term for the author; cf. 34,11; 37,5; 57,6; 69,20.
 33,26-27 Cf. John 8:13-14.
 33,27-28 ΨΑΥΨΩΝΕ: They suffer from the "works" of the archontic powers; cf. 33,2-8.
 34,1-2 Koschorke translates: "Wenn sie aber ihr (Leben voller) Leidenschaft vollenden . . ." παθος normally means "passion"

[everyone
 20 how many [they are! They are]
 blind [guides, like the disciples (μαθητής).]
 22 They boarded [the ship, (and) at about thirty]
 stades (στάδιον), they [saw Jesus]
 24 [walking] on the [sea (θάλασσα). These]
 are [empty] martyrs (μάρτυρος),
 26 since they bear witness only [to]
 themselves. And yet (καίτοι) they are
 28 sick, and they are not able to raise

34

themselves. But (δέ) when (ὅταν) they are
 2 “perfected” with a (martyr’s) death (πάθος), this
 is the thought that they have
 4 within them: “If we
 deliver (παραδιδόναι) ourselves over to death
 6 for the sake of the Name we will be saved.” These
 matters (+ δέ) are not settled in this way. But (ἀλλά)
 8 through the agency of the wandering (-πλανᾶν)
 stars (ἀστήρ) they say
 10 that they have “completed” their [futile]
 “course”, and [
 12 [] say, [
 [] But (δέ) these [
 14 [] they have [delivered (παραδιδόναι)]
 [themselves

in this tractate (30,5; 42,28; 58,7), but here it probably means the suffering of martyrdom; see PGL 995a. **ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ** here = τελειωθῆναι, “to be perfected” by martyrdom; cf. PGL 1383b.

34.4-6 For this view of martyrdom see e.g. *Mart. Pol.* 2:3.

34.4-5 Cf. 2 Cor 4:11.

34.6 Cf. 1 Pet 4:14.

34.8-9 Cf. 29,18. In Jude 13 the opponents are labelled “wandering stars.”

34.10 Cf. 2 Tim 4:7.

34.10-11 “Futile course”: Cf. *Ep. Ap.* 27; Gal 2:2; Phil 2:16.

34.14 **ΑΥΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ**: Cf. 34,5.

(4 lines missing)

20 [± 12]Υ [Μ]πεϛ
 [± 11].ιϛ[.]ε ΜΝ
 22 [± 10]Τε ΜΝ τεϛ
 [± 8 ϛ]ετοντῆ δε
 24 [± 7 ε]ροοϛ· Μῆταϛ
 [δε Μμαϛ Μ]πλογοϛ εἶτῆ
 26 [ρο· αϛω] οϛῆ ροεινε χω
 [Μ]Μ[οϛ] χε ρῆ φλε Νρο
 28 οϛ τ[ΝΝ]ατωων κਾਲωϛ

λε

[ροῆ ταν]αϛταϛιϛ· Νϛεϛο
 2 [οϛῆ] δε αν χε εϛχω ῆμοϛ
 [χε οϛ]· πῆε γαρ Νροοϛ
 4 [πε ρο]ταν ερωαναπεχϛ
 [...].Ν[.] ῆ[π]καρ ετε
 6 [...].α πε ῆ[τ]αρεπχρο
 [νοϛ δε] χωκ ε[βο]λ' αϛβωλ
 8 [εβολ] ῆπεγαρ[χων] ῆτε
 [πκακε ± 9]ψϛχη
 10 [± 17].

(9 lines missing)

20 εῆ[± 10 αϛωρε]
 ερατῆ []
 22 αϛψινε [χε αψ πενταϛ]
 μοροϛ ῆμο[ϛ] αϛω αψ τε]
 24 θε εψψε εβ[ολοϛ ογααϛ]
 εβολ· αϛω ῆ[ταϛροϛω]
 26 νοϛ ογααϛ χε [ΝΙΜ Νε·]

-
- 34,21 Perhaps τεϛδϛγῆΝα]ΜΙϛ [α]ε, "But his power . . ."
 34,22 A horizontal fiber has flaked off together with the middle stroke of the first ε. Koschorke reads ΝΟ]ϛϛ, "mind," instead of]Τε.
 34,25-26 Cf. 37,24-25. Cf. also John 6:63.
 34,27-35,1 Cf. John 11:24.
 34,28 καλῶϛ: an asseveration, "certainly." Cf. *Ap. Jas.* I 10,14-15.
 35,3-6 Koschorke translates, "Denn der Jüngste Tag ist da wo Christus [Zeugnis abgelegt hat (?)] auf der Erde, welche [] ist."

(4 lines missing)

- 20 [] his
 [] and
 22 [] and his
 [] But (δέ) they resemble
 24 [] them. They do not have
 [(+ δε)] the word (λόγος) which gives
 26 [life. And] some say,
 "On the last day
 28 [we will] certainly (καλῶς) arise

35

- [in the] resurrection (ἀνάστασις)." But (δέ) they do not
 2 [know what] they are saying,
 for (γάρ) the last day
 4 [is when (ὅταν)] those belonging to Christ
 [the] earth which
 6 is [] When the [time (χρόνος)]
 [(+ δέ)] was fulfilled, he destroyed
 8 [their archon (ἄρχων)] of
 [darkness] soul(s) (ψυχή)
 10 [

(9 lines missing)

- 20 [he]
 [stood
 22 they asked [what they have been]
 bound with, [and how they]
 24 might properly [release themselves.]
 And [they came to know]
 26 themselves, [(as to) who they are,]

35,6-9 Cf. Gal 4:4; John 12:31.

35,8-9 ΠΕΥΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΑΚΕ: Cf. 30,16-17.

35,10 What is taken as a letter-trace may be part of a superlin. stroke. The spot below is not ink but a defect on the papyrus.

35,20 "He" = Christ; cf. 35,4.7. ΑΦΩΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΥ: Cf. Gos. Thom. II 38,21 (logion 28).

35,22-36,3 This passage describes the process of gnostic awakening.

35,22 "They" = "those belonging to Christ," 35,4.

35,22-25 Cf. 43,18; 41,27.

35,25-26 Cf. 36,26-28 and note; 45,1-4.

28 Η ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΤΟϞ Μ[ΠΙΝΑΥ]
 ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΑΨ ΠΕ Π[ΤΟΠΟC]

Λ̅5

2 ΕΤΟΥΝΑΜ̅ΤΟΝ Μ̅ΜΟ[ΟΥ ΝΖΗΤ̅]
 2 Ζ̅Ν ΤΟΥΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅Α̅Τ̅Ζ̅Η̅Τ̅ [ΕΥΠΩΖ]
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ̅Ν ΤΓΝΩCΙC· Ν[ΑΪ ΔΕ]
 4 ΠΕΧ̅C ΝΑΠΟΟΝΟΥ ΕΖΡ[ΑΪ ΕΝΕΤ̅]
 ΧΟCΕ· ΖΩC ΕΑΥ[Κ]Ψ [ΝCΩΟΥ]
 6 ΝΤΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅Α̅[Τ̅Ζ̅Η̅Τ̅ Ε]Υ† [Μ̅ΠΕΥ]
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΕΖ[ΡΑΕ]Ι ΕΤΓΝΨ[CΙC·]
 8 ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥ[ΝΤΑ]Υ ΔΕ Μ[ΜΑΥ]
 ΝΤΓΝ[ΩCΙC]
 10 ΜΟC[
 Ε[

(9 lines missing)

[± 15]ΠΝΟΒ
 22 [± 8 ΤΑΝΑCΤ]ΑCΙC
 [± 9 ΑϞ]CΟΥΩΝ
 24 [ΠΨΗΡΕ Μ̅ΠΡΩ]ΜΕ· ΕΤΕ
 [ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΝΤΑϞC]ΟΥΩΝ̅ ΟΥ
 26 [ΑΑϞ· ΠΑΪ ΔΕ] ΠΕ ΠΩΝ̅ ΕΤ̅ΧΗΚ
 [ΕΒΟΛ ΤΡΕ]ΠΡΩΜΕ CΟΥΩ
 28 [Ν̅ ΟΥΑΑ]Ϟ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅ΙΤ̅Ν ΠΤΗΡ̅
 [Μ̅Π̅Ρ̅Β̅Ω]Ψ̅Τ̅ ΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅ΗΤ̅C̅
 30 [ΝΤΑΝΑC]ΤΑCΙC ΝCΑΡΚΙΚΗ

[ΛΖ]

[Ε]ΤΕ ΠΤΕΚΟ [ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΕΥΚΟ]

- 35,28-36,1 Cf. 69,2-3.
 36,3-7 Cf. 38,22-27. The achievement of saving knowledge in the present guarantees one's ascent to the heavens in the future.
 36,6 ΤΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅Α̅Τ̅Ζ̅Η̅Τ̅: Cf. 31,23. Renunciation of "foolishness" involves renunciation of the world; cf. 41,8-9; 69,23-24.
 36,23 Perhaps [Μ̅Π̅Ν̅Α̅Τ̅ΙΚ̅Η, "spiritual (resurrection).]" Cf. *Treat. Res.* I 45,40-46,2.
 36,23-24 Cf. *Treat. Seth* VII 64,8-12. Cf. also Matt 11:27, a passage dear to the Gnostics, according to Iren. *Haer.* I.20.3.
 36,26-28 Self-knowledge, which encompasses knowledge of the Son of Man (36,23-26) and of God (45,1-3), is the end and goal of the quest for salvation; cf. 35,25-26.

or (ἤ) rather, where they are [now,]
28 and what is the [place (τόπος)]

36

[in] which they will rest
2 from their senselessness, [arriving]
at knowledge (γνώσις). [These (+ δέ)]
4 Christ will transfer to [the heights]
since (ὥς) they have [renounced]
6 foolishness, (and have) advanced
to knowledge (γνώσις).
8 And (δέ) those who [have]
[knowledge (γνώσις)]
10 [

(9 lines missing)

[] the great
22 [] the resurrection (ἀνάστασις)
[] he has come to] know
24 [the Son of Man,] that
[is, he has come to] know him-
26 [self. This (+ δέ)] is the perfect life,
[that] man know
28 [himself] by means of the All.
[Do not] expect, therefore,
30 [the] carnal (σαρκική) resurrection (ἀνάστασις),

[37]

which [is] destruction, [and they are not]

36,29-30 Koschorke translates, "[Nicht wird er] die fleischliche [Auf]-
erstehung erwarten" presupposing a different reconstruction of
the text: [ϰΝΑΡΘΩ]ϨΥ. On the polemic against the catholic
doctrine of resurrection see tractate introduction, and
Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 119-120.

36,30 ΤΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΣ ΝΚΑΡΚΙΚΗ: Cf. *Treat. Res.* I 45,40-46,2.

37,1-5 Restoration of the text is difficult and uncertain. Koschorke
translates, "... sie, die durch die Zerstörung [des Fleisches]
(doch nur) von [ihm (dem Fleisch)] entblösst [werden wird].
Diese aber] irren, wenn sie ihre nichtige Aufer[stehung er-
warten]."

2 [κ]ΟΥ ΑΖΗΟΥ Μ[ΜΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΡ]
 ΠΛΑΝΑΣΘΑΙ ΕΥ[ΒΩΨΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ]
 4 [Ζ]ΗΤῆ̄ ΝΝΟΥΘ̄Ι[ΝΤΩΟΥΝῆ̄]
 ΕΦΨΟΥΕΙΤ̄· ΕΝ[ΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ]
 6 ΑΝ ΝΤΑΥΝΑΜ[ΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ]
 ΟΥΔΕ ΝΣΕΡ̄ΝΟ[ΕΙ ΑΝ ΜΠΒΩΛ]
 8 ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΟΟΥ[Ε ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΥ]
 ΜΝ̄Τ̄Ζ[Η]Τ̄ ΣΝ[ΑΥ· ΠΜΥΣΤΗ]
 10 [Ρ]ΙΟΝ ΕΝΤΑϞ[ΧΟΟϞ ΝΒΙ ΠΨΗ]
 Ρ̄Ϟ ΜΠΡ[ΩΜΕ
 12 ΧΕΚΑ[ΑΣ
 Τ̄ϞΚΟ[
 14 [..]ΝΙΚ[
 [..].[
 16 ΡΩΜΕ [Ε]Τ[± 9 ΧΩΩ]
 ΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΣΗΖ [
 18 ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑ[Υ ΜΜΑΥ
 [..]ΜΗ[
 20 ΣΜΑ[ΜΑΑΤ̄
 ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄[ΖΗΤΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΨΟ]
 22 ΟΠ̄ ΝΝΑΖΡ̄Ν̄ [ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΠΖΥ]
 ΓΙΣΚΟΝ ΝΨ[ΩΜΕ· ΝΕΤΕ ΜΝ̄]
 24 ΤΑΥ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ [ΜΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤ̄]
 ΤΝΖΟ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΥ[ΖΗΤ̄ ΝΑΜΟΥ·]
 26 ΑΥΩ Ζ̄Ν ΤΝΟΗΣ[ΙΣ ΝΤΑΥ]
 ΣΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Μ[ΠΨΗΡΕ]
 28 ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ [ΘΕ ΝΤΟΥ]
 ΠΡΑΞΙΣ ΜΝ̄ ΤΟΥΠ[ΛΑΝΗ

- 37,1-2 To be "stripped" of the flesh is the eschatological goal of the gnostic, and of Platonically-oriented religion in general. Cf. γυμνωθῆναι in *Corp. Herm.* I.26; see also Philo's description of the end of Moses' earthly life, *Viri.* 76. Cf. *Auth. Teach.* VI 32,2-4; *Gos. Truth* I 20,30-31.
- 37,5-8 Matt 22: 29 par.
- 37,8-11 Koschorke translates, "... [denn v]ieldeutig [ist das Myste]rium, das [der Men]schenso[hn geoffenbart] hat . . ."
- 37,9 ΜΝ̄Τ̄ΖΗΤ̄ ΣΝΑΥ = διψυχία. Cf. *2 Clem.* 19.2; *Herm. Mand.* 9 *et passim.*
- 37,9-10 ΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ: Perhaps ΜΜΥΣΤΗ/Ρ]ΙΟΝ, "the mysteries"; cf. 45,20-21; 70,30. For the sg. see 45,11-12.

- 2 [stripped] of [it (the flesh) who]
 ειρ (πλανάσθαι) in [expecting]
- 4 a [resurrection]
 that is empty. [They do] not [know]
- 6 the power (δύναμις) [of God,]
 nor (οὐδέ) do they [understand (νοεῖν) the interpretation]
- 8 of the scriptures (γράφοις) [on account of their]
 double-mindedness. [The]
- 10 [mystery (μυστήριον) which [the Son of Man]
 [spoke about
- 12 in order that [
 destroy [
 14 [
 [
 16 man who [book]
 which is written [
 18 for [they] have [
 [
 20 [blessed
 within [them, and they]
 22 dwell before [God under the]
 [light yoke (ζυγίσκον). Those who do not]
 24 (+ δέ) have [the word (λόγος) which]
 gives life in their [heart will die;]
 26 and in [their] thought (νόησις)
 they have become manifest to [the Son]
 28 of Man, according to (κατά) [the manner of their]
 activity (πραξις) and their [error (πλάνη)]

-
- 37,12-13 Perhaps **αἴ]/τεκο**, "incorruptible." Koschorke apparently reads **πνευμαλ]/τικο[ν]**, "geistig."
- 37,15-16 Perhaps **πωηρε Ἰπ]/ρωμε**, "the Son of Man."
- 37,20-23 Koschorke translates, "Sel[ig aber sind die, die] in [sich das Leben haben (?). Diese] sind es in un[seren] Augen, die das [sanfte Jo]ch (?) [haben." "
- 37,22-23 "under the light yoke": Cf. Matt 11:30, perhaps intending a contrast to the yoke of the Law; cf. Gal 5:1. For Matt 11:30 in Gnosticism see esp. *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 95.
- 37,23-25 Cf. 34,24-26, and note.
- 37,26 Perhaps "and in their thought" should be taken with the preceding clause.
- 37,27-28 Cf. Mark 4:22 par.

[ΛΗ]

- [± 7] ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ C[ε]
 2 [± 7] ΕΦΩΡΧ ΜΠ[
 [... α]ΥΩ CΕΡΝΟΕΙ
 4 [ΑΝ ΧΕ ΦΝ]ΝΗΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤῆ
 [ΝΒΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ] ΜΠΡΩΜΕ·
 6 [ΝΤΑΡΟΥΕ] ΔΕ ΨΑΖΡΑΙ Ε
 [± 7 Θ]ΥCΙΑ· ΕΥΜΟΥ
 8 [ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝ]ΤΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΥ
 [ΡΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ] ΜΜ[Ο]ΟΥ ΟΥΑ
 10 [ΑΥ ± 12]CΕΤ
 [± 12] Μ[Ν .]Ε.
 12 [± 12]ΟΥΜΟΥ
 [± 12]ΕΤΝ[Α
 14 [± 13]ΦΨΑ
 (1 line missing)
 16 [± 10]ΠΕ ΝΕΤ
 [± 10].ΝΑΨΩΟΥ
 18 [± 11].Τ· ΠΟΥΑ
 [ΠΟΥΑ ± 10]ΦΩΛ
 20 [ΕΒΟΛ ± 10 Ν]ΟΦΡΕ
 [± 13 ΠΕ]ΥΖΗΤ·
 22 [ΝΕΤΧΙ ΜΜΟ]Φ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ
 [ΖΝ ΟΥCΟΟ]ΥΤΝ ΜΝ ΟΥ
 24 [ΔΥΝΑΜΙC Μ]Ν ΓΝΩCΙC ΝΙΜ
 [ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΤ]ῆΝΑΠΟΟΝΟΥ
 26 [ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΕ]ΤΧΟCΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 [ΕΠΩΝΖ Ν]ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ· ΝΕΤΧΙ
 28 [ΔΕ ΜΜ]ΟΦ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΜῆΤ
 [ΑΤCΟΟ]ΥΝ ΕΝΖΗΔΟΝΗ

[ΛΘ]

- ΕΤΧΑΖΜ ΧΡΟΕΙΤ ΕΡΟ[ΟΥ· ΝΕ]
 2 ΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΕΨΑΥΧΟ[ΟC ΧΕ Α]

- 38,2 Cf. Luke 12:51-52 par.
 38,4 "from him": I.e. from the Father? Cf. John 16:28.
 38,6-12 Cf. 31,22-32,19.
 38,7 θυσία: Cf. 32,20 and note.
 38,22-27 Cf. 36,3-7; 31,5-10.
 38,22 "receive him": Cf. John 1:12; 13:20.

[38]

[] of this sort. They
 2 [] as he divides the
 [] and they [do not] understand (νοεῖν)
 4 [that the Son] of Man
 is coming from him.
 6 But (δέ) [when they have come] up to
 [] sacrifice (θυσία), they die
 8 [in a] human [way], and they
 [deliver (παραδιδόναι) themselves
 10 [] . . .
 [] and [
 12 [] a death
 [] which [will
 14 [] . . .

(1 line missing)

16 [] those who
 [] they are many
 18 [] each
 [one] pervert
 20 [] gain
 [] their] mind.
 22 [Those who receive him] (+ δέ) to themselves
 [with uprightness] and
 24 [power (δύναμις)] and every knowledge (γνώσις)
 [are the ones whom] he will transfer
 26 [to the] heights, unto
 [life] eternal. [But (δέ)] those who receive
 28 [him] to themselves with
 [ignorance,] the pleasures (ἡδονή)

[39]

which defile prevail over them. [Those]
 2 men used to [say,]

38,26-27 "unto life eternal": Cf. Matt 25:46.

38,27-39,1 Cf. 31,10-13. Ignorance and licentiousness go hand in hand.

38,29-39,1 Cf. 30,5-11; Titus 3:3.

39,1-12 On the polemic against catholic views of sex and marriage see tractate introduction. Cf. esp. Julius Cassianus, as quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III.91-93.

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΜΙΕ ΖΕ[ΝΜΕΛΟΣ]
 4 ΕΥΧΡΙΑ ΝΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΑ[ΨΑΙ ΖΝ]
 ΟΥΧΩΖΜ' ΧΕΚΑΑ[Σ ΕΝΝΑΡ]
 6 ΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΜΜ[ΟΝ ΟΥΑΑΝ']
 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΤΡΕΠΝΟ[ΥΤΕ]
 8 Ρ ΜΕΤΟΧΟΣ ΝΜΜΑΥ [ΝΖΕΝ]
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΙ[ΜΙΝΕ' ΑΥΩ]
 10 ΝΣΕΤΑΧΡΗ[ΟΥ ΑΝ ΖΙΧΜ]
 ΠΚΑΖ' ΟΥ[ΔΕ ΝΣΕΝΑΠΩΖ ΑΝ]
 12 ΕΤΠΕ' ΑΛ[ΛΑ
 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑ[
 14 ΓΤΟΕ .[
 (3 lines missing)
 18 ΝΑΤΩΨ[Μ
 ΕΤΜΠΣΑ[
 20 ΧΨ[
 [.].λ.[± 13 ΛΟ]
 22 ΓΟΣ [
 ΕΧΜ [ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ ΠΙΕΡΟ]
 24 ΝΤΑΡΕΦΕΙ Ψ[Α ΪΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ Μ]
 ΠΣΟΠ' ΕΤΑΦ[ΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ]
 26 ΑΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤ[ΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΙ]
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΦ Ν[ΘΕ ΝΟΥ]
 28 ΒΡΟΟΜΠΕ' ΟΥ[
 ΧΙ ΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΥΧΠ[ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ]
 30 ΖΙΤΝ ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕ[ΝΟΣ ΑΥΩ]
 ΑΦΧΙ ΣΑΡΑΞ ΑΦΣ[

- 39,3 ΖΕΝΜΕΛΟΣ: Here the word μέλος, "member," refers especially to the sexual organs. Cf. μόρια, as used by Julius Cassianus, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III.91.1; III.92.1.
 39,3-6 This idea, attributed to the opponents, is similar to the doctrine of Epiphanes, son of Carpocrates; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III.8.1.
 39,10-13 Koschorke translates, "... und sie haben ihren Standort [auf] der Erde. Ni[cht werden sie] zum Himmel [gelangen]. Aber [dieser] Ort wird [sich auflösen (?)] ..."
 39,12 Perhaps ΑΛ[ΛΑ ΝΕΤΗΠ' ΕΠΕΙ], "but those who belong to this (place)." Cf. 30,7-8.
 39,14 Possibly ΓΤΟΕ Ν[ΓΩΝΙΑ ΜΠΚΑΖ], "four corners of the earth." Cf. Rev. 7:1; 20:8.

- “God created [members (μέλος)]
 4 for our use (χρεία), for us to [grow in]
 defilement, in order that [we might]
 enjoy (ἀπολαύειν) [ourselves.”]
 And they cause [God to]
 8 participate (-μέτοχος) with them [in]
 deeds of this [sort; and]
 10 they are [not] steadfast [upon]
 the earth. [Nor (οὐδέ) will they reach]
 12 heaven, [but (ἀλλά)
 place (τόπος) will [
 14 four [
 (3 lines missing)
 18 unquenchable [
 which is [
 20 [
 [
 22 [word (λόγος)
 upon [the Jordan river]
 24 when he came [to John at]
 the time he [was baptized (-βάπτισμα).]
 26 The [Holy] Spirit (πνεῦμα) [came]
 down upon him [as a]
 28 dove [
 accept for ourselves that [he] was born
 30 of a virgin (παρθένος), [and]
 he took flesh (σάρξ); he [

- 39,18 The preceding word was probably ΚΩΨΤ, “fire”; cf. 60,3; and Mark 9:44.
 39,19 Perhaps ΕΤΜΠΣΑ[ΝΤΠΕ, “above.”
 39,21-22 ΛΟΓΟΣ: Cf. 40,4 and context.
 39,22-31 There may be an implicit criticism here of the views of other Gnostics that Christ was really not born, but descended as a dove upon the earthly Jesus at the time of his baptism. Cf. Iren. *Haer.* III.10.3; 11.3.
 39,23 ΕΧΜ ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ ΠΙΕΡΟ: Cf. 30,21-22. Koschorke reads ΕΧΜ [ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ], “upon the Son of Man.”
 39,24-28 Cf. Matt 3:13-16 par. Contrast 30,20-28.
 39,29-30 Cf. Matt 1:18-25; Luke 1:27-35.
 39,31 Cf. John 1:14. For the expression, “to take flesh,” see e.g. Heraclides *apud* Or. *Dial.* 1; *Treat. Res.* I 47,5-7.

[M]

[. . εαϞ]χι Ἰνοῦβομ· μητι
 2 [ανον ρω]ων Ἰταχπον εβολ
 [ρῖτἸ οϣς]ϣστασις Ἰπαρθε
 4 [νικη Ἰ εϣ]ω Ἰμον ρῖ πλογοσ
 [Ἰρογο αϣχο]Ἰ ἸκεσοἸ ρῖ
 6 [πλογοσ·] μαρἸταχρον θε
 [οϣααν] Ἰπαρθενοσ ρῖ νε
 8 [± 7] Ἰροοϣτ̄ σεοϣηρ
 [± 9] Ἰπαρθενοσ
 10 [± 9] εβολ ρῖτοο
 [τ̄ ± 7] ρῖ πϣαχε
 12 [± 9] πλογοσ δε Ἰ
 [± 12]. ἸἸ ἸἸ[α]

(3 lines missing)

[± 12] .[. . .] .[
 18 [± 12] πιωτ̄ πε
 [± 11] . χε πρῶμε

(1 line missing)

[Ἰθε ἸἸσῖαῖσ· Ἰταϣ]οϣασ
 22 [τ̄ ρῖ οϣβαϣοϣρ α]ϣῖ σναϣ
 [Ἰτειρε δε εϣπωρϣ] Ἰμον
 24 [Ἰβῖ πϣηρε Ἰπρ]ῶμε ρῖτἸ
 [πλογοσ Ἰπε]σϣ̄οσ· εϣπω

-
- 40,1 Koschorke translates, "[ohne dabei] ihre (sc. der Archonten) Kraft anzunehmen," or alternatively: "[er hat] eine (himmliche) Kraft empfangen." **βομ**: Cf. *δύναμις* at 30,26-27.
- 40,2-6 **Ἰταχπον . . . αϣχοἸ ἸκεσοἸ**: Cf. the Valentinian formula, "what birth is, what rebirth," *Exc. Theod.* 78.2; cf. note to 31,29-30. Only Christ was born of a virgin; cf. 45,9-10; 39,29-30.
- 40,5-6 Cf. 1 Pet 1:23.
- 40,6-8 Koschorke translates, "Lasst uns also uns als stark erweisen [durch] jungfräulichen [Wandel] in männlichen [Gedanken]."
- 40,7 "As virgins": Probably of men, as well as (or rather than) women. Cf. Rev. 14:4.
- 40,8 **Ἰροοϣτ̄**: Here taken as the subject of the verb **σεοϣηρ**, but perhaps it is an adjective modifying the preceding word.

[40]

- [having] received power. (+ μήτι)
 2 [Were we ourselves] begotten from
 [a] virginal (παρθενική) state (σύστασις)
 4 [or (ἤ)] conceived by the word (λόγος)?
 [Rather, we have been born] again by
 6 [the word (λόγος).] Let us therefore strengthen
 [ourselves] as virgins (παρθένας) in the
 8 [] The males dwell
 [] the virgin (παρθένας)
 10 [] by means of
 [] in the word
 12 [] But (δέ) the word (λόγος) of
 [] and spirit (πνεῦμα)

(3 lines missing)

- [
 18 [] is the Father
 [] for the man

(1 line missing)

- [like Isaiah, who was sawed]
 22 [with a saw, (and)] he became two.
 [So also (δέ) the Son of Man]
 24 [divides] us by
 [the word of the] cross (σταυρός). It

On the masculinity of νοῦς cf. 44,2-3 and note. Koschorke restores λογισμός in the lacuna, but the Definite Article **ΝΕ** would normally be used with a word beginning with two consonants.

40,9 **ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ**: Mary? Cf. also 43,28.

40,18 Perhaps **ΝΟΥΣ ΕΤΕ] ΠΙΩΤ ΠΕ**, "mind, which is the father . . ." Cf. 43,25-26.

40,21-22 Cf. *Vit. Proph. Is.* 1; *Asc. Is.* 5.1-14; 11.41; Heb 11:37. Though the name "Isaiah" does not occur in the part of the page that is preserved, the restoration of the name here and in line 30 is virtually certain. **ΒΑΨΟΥΡ**: Cf. 41,1, which presupposes an earlier occurrence of the word.

40,23-25 The restoration of the text is supported by 41,2-4.

26 [ΡΧ ΜΦΟΟΥ] ΕΤΟΥΨΗ· ΑΥΩ
 [ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΠ]ΚΑΚΕ· ΑΥΩ ΠΤΕ
 28 [ΚΟ ΕΤΜΝΤ]ΑΤΤΕΚΟ· ΑΥΩ ΕΦ
 [ΠΩΡΧ Ν]ΝΖΟΟΥΤ' ΕΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ
 30 [ΗΣΑΙΑΣ] ΔΕ ΕΦΟ ΜΠΤΥΠΟΣ

Μ[α]

ΜΠCΩΜΑ· ΤΒΑΨΟΥΡ
 2 ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΨΗΡΕ Μ
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ'ΠΩΡΧ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΤ'
 4 ΠΛΑΝΗ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· ΜΜΝΛΑ
 ΑΥ ΔΕ CΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΜΕ
 6 ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΑΑΦ ΠΑΙ
 ΕΤΝΑΚΩ ΝCΩΦ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ
 8 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC· ΕΑΦΡΑ
 ΠΟΤΑCCE ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡΩ· ΕΑΦΑ
 10 ΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΛΑΥ ΝΤΕΦΨΤΗΝ·
 ΑΦΤΑΖΟΦ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΝΦ[ΥΒΟ]Μ·
 12 ΑΦΘΡΚΟ ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥΜ[ΙΑ ΜΜ]Α
 ΝΙΜ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΩ· ΑΦΑ.[...]ΥΤ'
 14 ΑΥΩ ΑΦΚΤΟΦ ΕΡΟΦ ΟΥ[...].Α.
 ΕΑΦΜΟΥΨΩΤ' ΟΥΑΑΦ .[
 16 ΟC ΖΜ ΠΨΩΠΕ ΝΤ[
 [Π]ΝΟΥC ΑΥΩ Α[Φ.... ΕΒ]ΦΛ
 18 [ΖΝ] ΤΕΦΨΥΧ[Η ...]Ν[
 ΜΜΑΥ· Χ[
 20 [..]Τ' ΑΦΡ[

40,25-29 "the word of the cross": Cf. 1 Cor 1:18. For the "cutting" power of the λόγος in Alexandrian-Jewish speculation see esp. Philo *Rev. Div. Her.* 130-140. Cf. also Heb 4:12, Rev 1:16; 2:12; 19:13,15,21; *Teach. Silv.* VII 11,7-13; *Gos. Truth* I 25,35-26,8. Cf. also the Valentinian doctrine of the Cross as a cosmic divider, Iren. *Haer.* I.3.5; I.7.2; *Exc. Theod.* 42.1; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.5-7; cf. *Act. Jn.* 99.

40,30 The end of the superlin. stroke on ΗCΑΙΑC is barely visible. τῶπος: For the hermeneutical theory involved here cf. 45,20-22.

41,1 MS. has an uninscribed area (damaged papyrus) of 3 letter-spaces between CΩ and ΜΑ.

41,2-4 Cf. 40,23-25. "error of the angels": Cf. 29,16-18; 32,3-8.13; 42,23-43,1 and notes.

- 26 [divides the day from] the night and
[the light from the] darkness and the corruptible
28 [from] incorruptibility, and it
[divides] the males from the females.
30 But (δέ) [Isaiah] is the type (τύπος)

4[1]

- of the body (σῶμα). The saw
2 (+ δέ) is the word (λόγος) of the Son of
Man which separates us from the
4 error (πλάνη) of the angels (ἄγγελος). No one
(+ δέ) knows the God of truth
6 except (εἰ μῆτι) solely the man who
will forsake all of the
8 things of the world (κόσμος), having renounced (ἀποτάσσειν)
the whole place, (and) having
10 grasped the fringe of his garment.
He has set himself up as a [power;]
12 he has subdued desire (ἐπιθυμία) every [place]
within himself. He has [
14 and he has turned to him [
having examined himself [
16 in becoming [
[the] mind (νοῦς). And [he from]
18 his soul (ψυχή) [
there [
20 he has [

- 41,4-9 Knowledge of God implies renunciation of the world. Cf. 36,5-7; 43,13-14; 61,23-24 and notes. This is a theme common to Gnosticism and early Christian asceticism; see tractate introduction for discussion. Cf. esp. *Pist. Soph.* chs. 95, 100, 102; and *Act. Pl. Thekl.* 5: μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ. Cf. Luke 14:33; cf. 5:28.
- 41,7-9 Or: "He has established himself with power." Cf. 43,10-44,1.
- 41,11 ἐπιθυμία: Cf. 67,1-3.
- 41,12 Perhaps ἀγκυροῦ ἐροῦ οὔ[λας], "he has turned to himself." Cf. 35,25-26; 36,26-28; 45,1-4.
- 41,14 Cf. 1 Cor 11:28.
- 41,15 Koschorke translates, "[] während [er] ist in der [Kraft(?) des] Nus und [] seiner Seele [] dort [] Vat[er]."

[.].[.]ος .[
 22 αψ τε θεε [
 τσαραξ ες [
 24 αψ τε θεε ε [
 βολ νζηητ̄· αγω χε [οῡνταϩ]
 26 ἡμαγ ἡουηρ ἡδγ[ναμικ]·
 αγω χε νιμ πενταϩμ[ο]ρεϩ
 28 ἡ νιμ πετναβολεϩ· νιμ δε
 πε ποϩοειν· ἡ νιμ πε πκακε
 30 νιμ δε πενταϩταμ[ιε πκαζ]·
 ἡ νιμ πε πνουτε· νιμ δε]

MB

πε ἡαγγελος ἡ εϩ πε ψυχη
 2 αγω νιμ πε π̄να· ἡ ερε τσμη
 των· νιμ δε πετ̄ψαχε· ἡ νιμ
 4 πετ̄σωτ̄μ̄· νιμ πετ̄† τκας
 ἡ νιμ πετ̄μοκ̄ζ̄· αγω νιμ
 6 πε εταρχπε τσαραξ ἡρεϩτε
 κο· αγω αψ τε †οικονομια·
 8 αγω ετβε οϩ· οϩ̄ν ϩοεινε μεν
 σεε ἡβαλε· οϩ̄ν ϩοεινε δε
 10 σε[ε ἡβλ]λε· αγω ϩοεινε εϩε
 ἡ[...]. αγω ϩοεινε εϩο ἡ
 12 [...].ος· αγω οϩ̄ν ϩοεινε
 [σεε ἡ]ρ̄ἡμαο· οϩ̄ν ϩοεινε
 14 [δε σεε] ἡζηκε· αγω ετβ[ε]
 ο[ϩ̄ οϩ̄ν ϩοε]ινε σεε ἡβω[β]
 16 ο[ϩ̄ν ϩοειν]ε ϩ[εε] ἡληστ[ης]
 [± 12]οϩ· οϩ̄δε

41,22-42,17 Such questions are the proper concern of the Gnostic. Cf. *Pist. Soph.* ch. 91. Cf. also 35,22-36,3. These questions are answered by the "word" of the Son of Man; cf. 40,23-25.

41,27-28 Cf. 35,22-24; 43,17-18.

41,28-29 Cf. 40,27.

41,30-31 The Gnostic understands the difference between the "God" who created the earth and the "God of Truth." For discussion of the use of the word "God" in *Testim. Truth* see tractate introduction.

- [
 22 in what way [
 the flesh (σάρξ) which [
 24 in what way [
 out of it, and
 26 how many [powers (δύναμις) does he have?]
 And who is the one who has bound him?
 28 And (ἤ) who is the one who will loose him? And (δέ)
 what
 is the light? And (ἤ) what is the darkness?
 30 And (δέ) who is the one who has created [the earth?]
 And (ἤ) who is God? [And (δέ) who]

42

- are the angels (ἄγγελος)? And (ἤ) what is soul (ψυχή)?
 2 And what is spirit (πνεῦμα)? And (ἤ) where is the voice?
 And (ἤ) who is the one who speaks? And (ἤ) who
 4 is the one who hears? Who is the one who gives pain?
 And (ἤ) who is the one who suffers? And who
 6 is it who has begotten the corruptible flesh (σάρξ)?
 And what is the governance (οἰκονομία)?
 8 And why are some (+ μέν)
 lame, and (δέ) some
 10 [blind], and some
 [] and some
 12 [] and some
 rich, [and (δέ)] some
 14 poor? And why
 are [some powerless,]
 16 [some] brigands (ληστής)?
 [] neither (οὐδέ)

42,7

οἰκονομία: In the NT this term is used of God's "plan" of salvation; see Eph. 1:10; 3:2,9. This usage is carried over into Valentinian Gnosticism; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.15.3; *Exc. Theod.* 5.4; *Val. Exp.* XI 36,16. But here it is probably used in another sense also found in Valentinian Gnosticism, i.e. of the world-order of the Demiurge. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 33.3; Iren. *Haer.* I.7.4; cf. also *Corp. Herm. Exc. Stob.* XXIII (*Kore Kosmou*).

18 [± 13]εψα[
 [± 10 τη]ρϛ [.]·[
 20 [± 12]ρβηοϋε
 [± 9].τοϋ· εαϛ
 22 [± 12]ϣ εϛωτ†
 [± 8].·[.] εϛμψε
 24 αζ[εNM]εεϋε Nτε NαρχωN·
 M̄N̄ [Nε]ζοϋϛια M̄N̄ NδαιμωN
 26 εM̄πϛ† Nαϣ Nνοϋτοποϛ
 ετρεϋM̄τον M̄μοοϋ Nζητϛ·
 28 [αλλ]α [α]ϛ† εζN νεϋπαθοϛ·
 [..... α]ϛϛκαταρινωϛκε

M̄

Nτεϋπλανη· αϛτοϋβο Nτεϛ
 2 ψϣη εβολ ζN̄ N̄M̄παραπτωμα
 Nαι Nταϛααϣ ζN̄ οϋβιϣ NψM̄μο·
 4 αϛωζερατϛ εϛϛοϋτων Nζραι
 Nζητϛ οϋααϛ· ρε ϛψοοπ̄ ζN̄
 6 οϋον NIM' αϣω ρε οϋNταϛ
 M̄μαϣ M̄πμοϣ M̄N̄ πωνζ̄
 8 Nζραι Nζητϛ· Nτοϛ δε εϛψο
 οπ̄ ζN̄ τεϋμητε M̄πεϛναϣ·
 10 Nταρεϛϣι δε Nτ̄δϋναμικ
 αϛκοτϛ ενμεροϛ Nοϋναμ·
 12 αϣω αϛβωκ εζραι ψα τμε
 εαϛκω Nϛωϛ Nνα ββοϣρ

42,20-24 Some (vertical) fibers had already flaked off in antiquity, for the scribe avoided the affected areas. Spaces from 1-3 letters in size occur before ρβηοϋε, τοϋ, ϣεϛωτ†, εϛμψε, and εNαρχωN.

42,23-43,1 Cf. 29,15-18, and note; 30,5-9; 31,13-15.

42,29 The scribe has separated κλ from τλ to avoid a break in the fibers of the papyrus. Cf. note to 42,20-24. καταρινώσκειν: Cf. 68,12; 43,19-20 and note.

43,1-3 Transgression, as an aspect of corporeal existence, is "alien" to the essential man. Presupposed here is an understanding of mankind as διπλοϋς, "dual": body and mind (νοϋς), exterior man and inner, essential (οϋσιώδης) man. See 29,8-9; and cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.15.

43,4-9 Man must choose between "death" and "life," for he has the

- 18 []
 [] all
 20 [] things
 [], he having
 22 [] as he again
 [] fighting
 24 against [thoughts] of the archons (ἀρχων)
 and the powers (ἐξουσία) and the demons (δαίμων).
 26 He did not give them a place (τόπος)
 in which to rest,
 28 [but (ἀλλὰ)] he struggled against their passions (πάθος)
 [] he condemned (καταγινώσκειν)

43

- their error (πλάνη). He cleansed his
 2 soul (ψυχή) from the transgressions (παράπτωμα)
 which he had committed with an alien hand.
 4 He stood up, being upright within
 himself, because he exists in
 6 everyone, and because he has
 death and life
 8 within himself, and (δέ) he exists
 in the midst of both of them.
 10 And (δέ) when he had received the power (δύναμις)
 he turned toward the parts (μέρος) of the right,
 12 and he entered into the truth,
 having forsaken all things pertaining to the left,

potential for either within him. Cf. 31,10-15; 41,11-13. Cf. also *Corp. Herm.* I.28.

43,5 What appears to be an "apostrophe" after ΟΥΛΛΑΩ is a brown spot over the colon.

43,10 Cf. 41,11; 43,29-44,1.

43,11-14 "The right" represents light and life; "the left" represents darkness and death; cf. eg. *Epiph. Haer.* 25.5.2; 40.5.2. "The left" also represents the realm of birth and passibility; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 23.3. However the Valentinian teaching is much less rigorous in its dualism, for usually "left" and "right" represent the "hylic" and the "psychic" realms in Valentinianism; see e.g. *Iren. Haer.* I.6.1. *Testim. Truth* will brook no such compromise.

43,13 ΕΑΩΚΩ ΝΩΩ: Cf. 41,7-8 and note to 41,4-9.

14 ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΑΦΜΟΥΖ ΝΣΟΦΙΑ
 ΖΙ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΖΙ ΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ
 16 ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΝΤΣΑΒΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥ
 ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ [ΑΥ]Ω
 18 ΑΦΟΥΩΝ ΕΝΕΦΜ<ΗΡ<Ε> [ΝΕΝΤΑΥ]
 ΡΤΥΠΟΥ ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡ[Ḅ ΑΦΡΚΑ]
 20 [ΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΕ [Μ]ΜΟΟ[Υ· ΝΑΪ ΔΕ]
 [ΜΠΟ]ΥΘΝ ..[.....]ϣ Ε[ϣ]ΖΗΤ
 22 ΜΠΕΦΖΟΥΝ· Α[ΥΩ ΑΦΖΙ ΤΟ]ΟΤḄ
 ΕΡΟΦ' ΟΥΑΑϣ ΑΦΡΑΡ[ΧΕΣΘ]Α! [ΕΡ]
 24 ΝΟΕΙ ΜΜΟϣ [ΟΥΑΑϣ ΑΥΩ]
 ΕΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΠΕϣ[Ν]Ο[ΥΣ ΕΤ]Ε
 26 ΠΙΩΤ' ΝΤΜΕ ΠΕ Ε[ΤΒΕ] ΝΑ!
 ΩΝ ΝΝΑΤ'ΧΠΟΟΥ· ΑΥ[Ω] ΕΤΒΕ
 28 ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΤΑΪ ΝΤΑΖΧΠΕ
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΑΥΩ ΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ
 30 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΤΑΪ [ΝΤΑΖ]
 ΖΕΤ'Ε ΕΧΜ ΠΜΑ [ΤΗΡḄ·]

ΜΔ

ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΩϣ· ΑΥΩ

- 43,14-17 Cf. 61,1-5.
- 43,17-20 Koschorke translates, "[Und] er öffnete seine [, welche] den ganzen Ort geformt hatten; [er ver]urteilte sie."
- 43,18 MS. reads **ΝΕΦΜΕΡΗ**. It is here presupposed that a mistaken metathesis has occurred (Η and Ε reversed). Hans-Martin Schenke suggests another possibility (in a private communication): "He opened his eyes," taking **ΜΕΡΗ** as an archaism; cf. Eg. *mr, mr.t*. In support of "bonds" cf. 35,22-25; 41,27. Cf. also Iren. *Haer.* I.21.5.
- 43,18-19 "Those who had formed the whole place" are the world-creating archons.
- 43,19-20 **ΑΦΡΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ**: Koschorke reads **ΑΦΡΑΠΟ]ΚΡΙΝΕ**. The Gnostic is free to "condemn" (*κατακρίνειν*) the archontic powers; cf. *Orig. World* II 110,28; 125,13. Cf. also *Hyp. Arch.* II 97,6-7, and note to *Melch.* IX 10,3 (*καταπατεῖν*); Iren. *Haer.* I.25.2; Epiph. *Haer.* 44.2.6.
- 43,20-22 Cf. 33,1-2 and note.
- 43,20 Superlin. stroke visible.
- 43,22 **ΑΦΖΙ ΤΟΟΤḄ**: Koschorke reads instead: **ΑΦΚ]ΟΤḄ**, "he turned," though this does not fill out the available space in the

- 14 having been filled with wisdom (σοφία),
with counsel, with understanding
16 and with insight, and an
eternal power (δύναμις). [And]
18 he broke open his bonds. [Those who had]
formed (τυποῦν) the whole place
20 [he] condemned (κατακρίνειν). [But (δέ) they]
[did not] find [] hidden
22 within him. [And he gave command]
to himself; he [began (ἄρχεσθαι) to]
24 know (νοεῖν) [himself and]
to speak with his [mind (νοῦς,) which
26 is the father of the truth, concerning the unbegotten
aeons (αἰών), and concerning
28 the virgin (παρθένος) who brought forth
the light. And he thinks
30 about the power (δύναμις) which
flowed over the [whole] place,

44

and which takes hold of him. And

lacuna. But cf. 41,14 and note. For a correlative statement to the text as it is read here, see 44,1-2.

43,23-24

Cf. 35,25-26; 36,26-28 and note; 45,1-4.

43,24-25

The Gnostic knows how and when to "speak," but also how and when to "keep silent"; cf. 44,3-9 and note.

43,25-26

Man's mind (νοῦς) can, in gnostic terms, appropriately be defined as "God," and even be given the characteristic title for the highest God, "Father of Truth." Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.6: ὁ δὲ νοῦς πατήρ θεός. That man's "mind" is "god" is a common idea in Middle-Platonism. See e.g. Plutarch's discussion of Menander's saying, ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός ("for our mind is god"), *Quaest. Plat.* 999C-1001C. Cf. also notes to *Norea* IX 28,4.18-19.

43,26-31

This passage alludes to a gnostic myth, such as is found e.g. in *Ap. John*. For discussion see tractate introduction. Cf. also the catalog of questions in 41,22-42,16.

43,26-27

"the aeons": Cf. e.g. *Ap. John* BG 26,9-10 *et passim*.

43,28

"the virgin": Cf. Barbelo in *Ap. John* BG 27,14-21 *et passim*.

43,30-31

"the power which flowed . . .": Cf. *Ap. John* BG 26,19-27,1; *Melch.* IX 9,2.

43,30

Superlin. stroke visible.

2 ΕΦΟ ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΜΠΕΦΝΟΥΣ
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ· ΑΦΡΑΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ
 4 ΕΤΡΕΦΚΑΡΩΦ ΝΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΟΥ
 ΑΑΦ· ΨΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΕΦ
 6 ΝΑΡ ΑΞΙΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΥΧΙΤΩ ΕΠΣΑΝ
 ΤΠΕ· ΕΦΤΩΒΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ
 8 ΝΤΜΝΤ'ΖΑΖ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝ
 ΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΙΨΕ· ΝΦΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ
 10 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΑ ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡΩ· ΑΥΩ ΝΦΦΙ
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝΦΡΑΝΕ
 12 ΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΝΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΦΟ ΝΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ'
 14 ΕΧΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ΦΤΑΝΤΝ ΜΜΟΦ
 ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' ΑΥΩ ΦΠΩΡΧ ΟΝ Μ
 16 ΜΟΦ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΩ ΟΥΑ
 Ψ[Ω ΦΙΝ]Ε ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ·
 18 [ΧΕΚΑΑΣ] ΕΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΤΕΛΕΙ
 [ΟΣ ΕΦΟΥΑ]ΑΒ· ΕΝΤΑΡΕΦ[
 20 [...].[.....]ΑΥΝΑΨ[. . ΑΦΑ]
 ΜΑΖΤΕ [ΜΜΟΦ] ΕΑΦΜΟΥΡ ΜΜΟΦ
 22 ΕΧΝ [...].[.] ΑΥΩ ΑΦΜΟΥΖ
 [ΝΤΣΟΦΙΑ·] Α[ΦΡ] ΜΝΤΡΕ ΖΑ ΤΜΕ·
 24 [...].[Τ]ΔΥΝ[Α]ΜΙΣ ΝΦΒΩΚ
 [Ε]ΖΡ[ΑΙ ΖΝ] ΤΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΠΜΑ
 26 ΝΤΑ[ΦΕΙ] ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΑΦΚΩ Ν
 ΣΩΦ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ

- 44,2-3 Cf. 43,25-26 and note. For Philo, too, the mind (νοῦς) of man is "male," in contrast to his "female" sense-perception (αἰσθησις); see *Leg. All.* II.38; *Op. Mund.* 165; etc. Such an idea stands behind sayings such as *Gos. Thom.* 114, on women becoming "male" in order to enter into salvation. Cf. also 40,8.
- 44,3-23 Gnostic existence in the world is characterized by humility coupled with irony. For discussion of this passage see esp. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, 166-173.
- 44,3-5 Cf. 43,23-25 for gnostic "speaking," in contrast to his "silence." On silence as a gnostic strategy see e.g. *Treat. Seth* VII 57,27-29; 59,11-13; and cf. Irenaeus' comments on the Valentinians, *Haer.* I.20.2; IV.35.4.
- 44,8-9 ΤΜΝΤ'ΖΑΖ ΝΨΑΧΕ = πολυλογία. Cf. Matt 6:7. ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΙΨΕ = λογομαχία. Cf. 1 Tim 6:4. The same terms recur in 68,28-29.

- 2 he is a disciple (μαθητής) of his mind (νοῦς)
which is male. He began (ἄρχεσθαι)
- 4 to keep silent within
himself until the day when
- 6 he should become worthy (ἄξιος) to be received
above. He rejects for himself
- 8 loquacity and
disputations, and he endures (ὑπομένειν)
- 10 the whole place; and he bears up
under them, and he endures (ἀνέχεσθαι)
- 12 all of the evil things.
And he is patient
- 14 with every one; he makes himself equal
to every one, and he also separates
- 16 himself from them. And that which anyone
[wants, he brings] to him,
- 18 [in order that] he might become perfect (τέλειος)
[(and) holy]. When the [
20 [] . . . [he]
grasped [him,] having bound him
22 upon [] and he was filled
[with wisdom (σοφία). He] bore witness to the truth
24 [] the power (δύναμις), and he went
[into] Imperishability, the place
26 whence he [came] forth, having left
the world (κόσμος) which has

-
- 44,9-14 On gnostic patience and endurance cf. *Auth. Teach.* VI 27,6-12;
and the Valentinian approval of Jesus' teaching on non-
resistance, Epiph. *Haer.* 33.6.3 (Ptolemy to Flora), quoting
Matt 5:39. Cf. also 1 Cor 13:4-7.
- 44,14-15 Cf. 1 Cor 9:22.
- 44,16-19 Cf. Matt 5:42,48.
- 44,22 Koschorke suggests, "auf [sein Haupt (?)]."
- 44,22-23 Cf. 43,14.
- 44,23 The superlin. stroke on $\bar{\rho}$ is visible. Cf. John 5:33, though here
the reference is not to John the Baptist.
- 44,24-30 The Gnostic, having finished his testimony, departs this world
and returns to his place of origin. Cf. 44,5-7.
- 44,24-26 Cf. 30,18-20.
- 44,26-27 The Gnostic's "renunciation" of the world is rewarded with his
ultimate abandonment of it. Cf. 36,5-7; 41,7-9; 43,13-14;
61,23-24.

28 ΤΑϞ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΥ
 [ΩΗ ΜΝ] ΝΕΤ̅СК̅Ρ̅Κ̅Ρ̅ Ν
 30 [Ν̅С̅ΙΟΥ Ν̅Ζ̅Η]Τ̅Ϟ̅· ΤΑΙ̅ ΒΕ ΤΕ

ΜΕ

ΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΜΜΕ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡ
 2 ΩΑΝΠΡΩΜΕ СОΥΩΝῶ ΟΥΑΑϞ
 ΜΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤ̅Ζ̅ΙΧ̅Ν ΤΜΕ·
 4 ΠΑΙ̅ ΔΕ ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ̅· ΑΥΩ ΝϞΡ̅
 СТЕΦΑΝΟΥ ΜΜΟϞ ΜΠΚΛΟΜ
 6 ΝΑΤ̅Ζ̅ΩΚ̅Μ· ΪΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ Ν
 ΤΑΥΧΠΟϞ Ζ̅Μ̅ ΠΨΑΧΕ Ζ̅ΙΤ̅Ν̅
 8 ΟΥСΖ̅ΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΕΛΙCΑΒΕΤ̅·
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧ̅C̅ ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟϞ Ζ̅Μ̅
 10 ΠΨΑΧΕ Ζ̅ΙΤ̅Ν̅ ΟΥ̅ 'ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC' ΧΕ
 ΜΑΡΙΑ· ΟΥΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΪΜΥ
 12 СΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΪΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ Ν
 ΤΑΥΧΠΟϞ Ζ̅ΙΤ̅Ν̅ ΟΥΑΤΕ ΕΑC
 14 Ζ̅ΙΤΕ ΕΑC̅Ρ̅ Ζ̅Λ̅Λ̅Ω· ΠΕΧ̅C̅ ΔΕ
 ΑϞΧΩΒΕ ΝΟΥΑΤΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕ
 16 ΝΟC· ΝΤΑΡΕC̅Ω̅ ΔΕ ΑCΧΠΟ
 ΜΠCΩΤΗΡ' ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΥΖΕ Ε

- 44,27-29 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III 51,4-5: ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΕϞΟ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ,
 "the world, which is the image of the night"; cf. also III 59,20.
 The world is characterized by darkness.
- 44,28 A flaked area between ΠΙ and ΝΕ was avoided by the scribe.
- 44,29 The superlin. stroke on ΜΝ is visible. Between ΜΝ and the
 following word the scribe has avoided a flaked area; also
 between C and Κ̅Ρ̅Κ̅Ρ̅.
- 44,29-30 "Those that whirl the stars in it" are left behind together with
 their world. The reference is probably to the archontic powers
 responsible for the revolution of the heavenly bodies. Cf. e.g.
 the *πολοκράτορες* of the so-called "Mithras-Liturgy," *PGM*
 IV.676; and the seven *διοικηται* of *Corp. Herm.* I.9.
- 44,30-45,6 This passage looks like a peroration, concluding the argument;
 the "first edition" of the tractate may have ended here. For
 discussion see tractate introduction.
- 45,1 "true testimony": Cf. 44,23; John 5:32. Implied here may be
 a contrast to the "false testimony" of martyrdom as observed
 among catholic Christians; cf. 31,22-32,21; 33,24-34,25. Cf.
 "the baptism of truth," 69,22.

- 28 the appearance of the [night],
[and] those that whirl the
30 [stars in] it. This, therefore, is

45

- the true testimony (μαρτυρία): When (ὅταν)
2 man knows himself
and God who is over the truth,
4 he (+ δέ) will be saved, and he
will be crowned (στεφανοῦν) with the crown
6 unfading. John
was begotten by the Word through
8 a woman, Elizabeth;
and Christ was begotten by
10 the Word through a virgin (παρθένος),
Mary. What is (the meaning of) this mystery (μυστή-
ριον)?
12 John was
begotten by means of a womb
14 worn with age, but (δέ) Christ
passed through a virgin's (παρθένος) womb.
16 When (+ δέ) she had conceived she gave birth to
the Savior (σωτήρ). Furthermore (πάλιν) she

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- 45,1-4 Cf. 35,25-26; 36,26-28; 41,4-8; 43,23-24.
45,4-6 The "crown" is a symbol associated particularly with martyrdom
(cf. note to 45,1); cf. e.g. *Mart. Pol.* 17.1; 19.2. For "unfading
crown" cf. 1 Pet 5:4.
45,6-18 The contrast between Christ and John picks up themes enun-
ciated earlier, esp. the contrast between "carnal generation" and
"virginal" existence. Cf. 30,24-31,5; 39,29-40,8. For a different
gnostic treatment of the birth of John and Jesus cf. *Pist. Soph.*,
chs. 7-8.
45,7-10 **Ζῆ Πωχε**: Cf. **Ζῆ Πλογοσ**, 40,4-6.
45,7-8 "through a woman": Cf. Matt 11:7 par. "Elizabeth": Cf.
Luke 1:5-36,57.
45,10 Corr. **παρθενος** over **εζιμε**, crossed out. Cf. 39,29-30;
Matt 1:18-25; Luke 1:27-35.
45,13-14 Cf. Luke 1:36.
45,14-16 This is a Valentinian doctrine; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.7.2; III.11.3;
Hipp. Ref. VI.35.7; also Marinus the Bardesanite, *Adamantius*
Dial 5.9.
45,17 **πσωτηρ**: Cf. Luke 2:11; Matt 1:21.

18 ΡΟC ΟΝ ΕCΕ[Ε] ΜΠΑΡΘ[ΕΝΟC]
 ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΒΕ ΤΕΤ[Ν]Ρ[ΠΛΑΝΑ]
 20 ΤΕΤΝΨΙΝΕ ΔΝ ΝCΑ ΝΙΜΥ
 CΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΡ ΨΡΠ Ν
 22 ΤΥΠΟΥ ΜΜΟ[Ο]Υ ΕΤ[Β]ΗΗΤΝ·
 ςΗΖ ΖΜ ΠΝΟΜΟC ΕΤΒΕ Π[ΑΙ]
 24 ΝΤΑΡΕΠΝΟ[Υ]ΤΕ † ΕΤΟ[ΟΤΩ]
 ΝΝΑΔΑΜ [Χ]Ε ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Ν ΨΗ]Ν
 26 ΝΙΜ ΕΚΑΟΥΩΜ· ΕΒ[ΟΛ Δ]Ε
 ΖΜ ΠΨΗΝ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠ
 28 ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ·
 ΧΕ ΖΜ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤΚΝΑΟΥΩΜ
 30 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΚΝΔ
 ΜΟΥ· ΦΟΩ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥCΑΒΕ Π[Ε]

ΜC

ΠΑΡΑ ΝΖΩΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤ
 2 ΖΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC· ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΡΠΙΘΕ ΝΕΥΖΑ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟC

- 45,17-18 Cf. *Prot. Ev. Jh.* 19; *Asc. Is.* 11.9; *Od. Sol.* 19:6-9; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII.93.7-94.1 (against this doctrine).
- 45,18 Corr. Ε deleted with a diagonal stroke.
- 45,19 Superlin. stroke over ΤΝ visible. ΤΕΤΝΡΠΛΑΝΑ: The author is here directing his remarks to his opponents; cf. 32,3-4.13; 37,2-3. For discussion of the problem of audience in the material after 45,6 see tractate introduction.
- 45,21-22 Cf. 1 Cor 10:6. Ρ ΨΡΠ Ν ΤΥΠΟΥ = πρωτοτυποῦν.
- 45,23-49,7 On this gnostic midrash see esp. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions"; and Koschorke, "Die Polemik der Gnostiker," pp. 148-151. This material is separated in the MS. by a *paraglyphus* in the margin between lines 22 and 23. This midrash, in its treatment of the paradise story, shares some significant elements in common with *Hyp. Arch.* and *Orig. World*, but here the biblical text is more closely adhered to. On this see tractate introduction, and notes below.
- 45,23 "It is written in the Law": Cf. Luke 2:23; 10:26; John 8:17; 1 Cor 9:9; 14:21. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ: The antecedent is not clear, though it may be understood as referring to the proper "seeking" after "pre-figured mysteries"; Cf. 45,20-22.
- 45,24-31 Gen 2:16-17. The LXX text is reflected. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 88, 26-32; *Orig. World* II 118,17-23.
- 45,24 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ: Cf. Gen 2:16: Κύριος ὁ θεός. Only in this midrash does the term "God" refer to the lower Creator. For discussion

18 was found to be a virgin (παρθένος) again.
 Why, then, do you (pl.) [εἶρ (πλανᾶν)]
 20 and not seek after these mysteries (μυστήριον)
 which were pre-
 22 figured (τυποῦν) for our sake?
 It is written in the Law (νόμος) concerning this,
 24 when God gave a command
 to Adam, "From every [tree]
 26 you may eat, [but (δέ)] from
 the tree which is in the midst of
 28 Paradise (παράδεισος) do not eat,
 for on the day that you eat
 30 from it you will surely
 die." But (δέ) the serpent was wiser

46

than (παρά) all the animals (ζῷον) that
 2 were in Paradise (παράδεισος), and
 he persuaded (πειθεῖν) Eve, saying,

see tractate introduction. In *Hyp. Arch.* and *Orig. World* "the archons" take the place of "God."

- 45,25-26 **ΩΗΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΚΑΟΥΩΜ**: Omits τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.
 45,27-28 **ΕΤΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC**: Instead of τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν; cf. Gen 2:9; 3:3.
 45,30-46,2 Gen 3:1, here departing from the LXX text. Cf. *Orig. World* II 118,24-26; in *Hyp. Arch.* Gen 3:1 is not reflected.
 45,31 **ΟΥCΑΒΕ**: Cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 3:1: עֵשֶׁב, "wise(r)." Cf. *Midr. Qoh. Rab.* I.18.
 46,1 **ΠΑΡΑ ΝΖΩΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ**: Cf. Gk. Aquila: Πάντων τῶν ζώων.
 46,1-2 **ΕΤΖΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC**: Omitting τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κτλ. Cf. Gen 3:1b: (ξύλου) τοῦ ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ.
 46,2-8 Gen 3:4-5, with significant modifications and omissions. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,7-11; *Orig. World.* II 118,32-119,4.
 46,3 **ΑΦΡΠΙΘΕ ΝΕΥΖΑ**: An addition to the text; contrast Gen 3:13: ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέν με. Cf. *Epiph. Haer.* 37.5.3, reporting on Ophite doctrine: ἔπεισε δὲ ὁ ὄφις καὶ γινῶσιν ἤνεγκεν ἐδίδαξέν τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν ἄνω μυστηρίων τὸ πᾶν τῆς γνώσεως, "And the serpent persuaded (them) and brought knowledge, and taught the man and the woman all the knowledge of the heavenly mysteries." In this midrash, as in the text just quoted, the serpent plays the role of a spiritual teacher; cf. the designation **ΡΕΦΤΑΜΟ**, "instructor," in *Hyp. Arch.* and *Orig. World.* Cf. also *Orig. World* II 119,6-7: **ΕΥΖΑ ΔΕ ΑCΘΑΡΡΕΙ**

4 **ΧΕ ΖΜ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΜ**
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΜΗ
 6 **ΤΕ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC CENA**
ΟΥΕΝ ΝΒΙ ΝΒΑΛ ΜΠΕΤΝ
 8 **ΖΗΤ· ΔΕΥΖΑ ΔΕ ΑCΠΙΘΕ**
ΑΥΩ ΑCΩΤ ΝΤΕCΒΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ
 10 **ΑCΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΑCΟΥ**
ΩΜ ΑCΤ ΜΠΕCΚΕΖΑΙ ΝΜ
 12 **ΜΑC· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΥΜ**
ΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΟΥ ΠΕ·
 14 **ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΖΕΝΒΩΒΕ ΝΚΝΤΕ**
ΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΖΙΩΟΥ ΝΑΚΗC· Α
 16 **ΠΝ[Ο]ΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΙ ΜΠΝΑΥ Ν**
[ΡΟΥΖΕ] ΕCΝΑΕΙΝ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ
 18 **[ΜΠΠ]ΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC· ΝΤΑΡΕ**
ΑΔΑΜ ΔΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΑQΚΩΠ
 20 **ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΕΚΤΩΝ·**
[ΝΤ]ΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΟΥΩΨΒ ΠΕΧΑQ
 22 **[ΧΕ ΑΙ]ΕΙ ΖΑ ΤΒΨ ΝΚΝΤΕ·**
ΑΥ[Ω Ν]ΤΕΥΝΟΥ [Ε]ΤΜΜΑΥ
 24 **ΑQΕ[ΙΜ]Ε ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΑQ**
ΟΥΩΜ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΠΑΙ
 26 **ΝΤΑQΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤQ ΧΕ ΜΠΡ**

ΑΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΡΕQΤΑΜΟ, "and Eve took courage from the words of the instructor." On the word-play derived from Aramaic, **א״י״ן** ("serpent")- **א״ן** ("instruct"), see Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions," 463-464. The word **א״י״ן** is used in *Tg. Onq.* Gen 3:1 to translate Heb. **שׁוֹנֵה**.

- 46,7-8 **ΝΒΑΛ ΜΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ**, "the eyes of your mind" (lit: "heart"): This expansion of the text of Genesis 3:5 (οἱ ὀφθαλμοί) may reflect a Hellenistic-Jewish tradition of interpretation. See esp. Philo's interpretation of ὀφθαλμοί in Gen 3:7, meaning "the vision of the soul"; *Quaest. in Gen.* I.39. For "eyes of the heart" cf. *Corp. Herm.* VII.1. Cf. "the ears of the mind (heart)," 29,8-9.
- 46,8-15 Gen 3:6-7, with modifications and omissions. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,14-20; *Orig. World* II 119,6-16.
- 46,8 **ΔΕΥΖΑ ΔΕ ΑCΠΙΘΕ**: Cf. note to 46,3.
- 46,9 **ΑCΩΤ ΝΤΕCΒΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ**: There does not appear to be any special significance to this addition, but cf. Gen 3:22.
- 46,12 **ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ**: Not in the Gen text.
- 46,15-20 Gen 3:8-9, with modifications and omissions. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,20-21; *Orig. World* II 119,19-27.

- 4 "On the day when you eat
from the tree which is in the midst
6 of Paradise (παράδεισος)
the eyes of your mind will be opened."
8 And (δέ) Eve obeyed (πέθειν),
and she stretched forth her hand;
10 she took from the tree; she
ate; she also gave to her husband with
12 her. And immediately they knew
that they were naked,
14 and they took some fig leaves
(and) put on girdles.
16 But (δέ) [God] came at the time of
[evening] walking in the midst
18 [of] Paradise (παράδεισος). When
(+ δέ) Adam saw him he hid himself.
20 And he said, "Adam, where are you?"
He (+ δέ) answered (and) said,
22 ["I] have come under the fig tree."
And at that very moment
24 God [knew] that he had
eaten from the tree of
26 which he had commanded him, "Do not

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- 46,15-16 **ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΙ:** Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,20-21: **ΤΟΤΕ ΔΡΕΙ
ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ**, "then the great Archon came." The
biblical reference to Adam and Eve's hearing the sound of God's
walking is absent, in the interest of heightening the anthropo-
morphism of the biblical text.
- 46,17 **ΝΤΜΗΤΕ:** Not in Gen.
- 46,18-19 **ΝΤΑΡΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΔΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ:** Added to the text. In Gen
both Adam and Eve hide.
- 46,21-22 Adam's answer is totally different from Gen 3:10. **ΤΒΩ
ΝΚΝΤΕ:** That the tree of knowledge was a fig tree (cf. Gen 3:7)
is a wide-spread Jewish tradition. See e.g. *Apoc. Mos.* 20:4-5;
Midr. Gen. Rab. 15.7; *Midr. Qoh. Rab.* 5.10; *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 20;
Pesiq. R. 42.1; *b. Ber.* 40a; *b. Sanh.* 70b; cf. also Tert. *Marc.* 2.2.
- 46,23-27 What in the biblical text is part of God's question to Adam,
Gen 3:11b, here becomes an exegetical comment: God has
suddenly deduced that Adam has violated his command. This
prepares the reader for the observation that God is lacking in
foreknowledge; cf. 47,20-23. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* 90,24-28; *Orig.*
World II 119,29-32.

ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῸ· ΑΥΩ
28 ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ Ν

MZ

[Τ]ΑΖΤΣΕΒΟΚ· ΑΦΟΥΩΨΒ ΔΕ
2 ΝΒΙ ΑΔΑΜ ΧΕ ΤΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΤΑΚ
ΤΑΑΣ ΝΑΪ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΕ ΤΣΖΙΜΕ
4 ΧΕ ΦΟϞ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΤΣΑΒΟΕΙ·
ΑΥΩ ΑΦΣΖΟΥΩΡ ΠΖΟϞ' ΑΥΩ
6 ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ·
ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΑΜ ΑϞ
8 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΜΟΝ ΕΤΡΕϞ
ΝΜΕ ΕΠΠΕΘΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΠΕΤ
10 ΝΑΝΟΥϞ· ΠΕΧΑϞ ΒΕ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΝ
ΝΟΧῸ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ
12 ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝϞΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΨΗΝ
ΝΠΩΝΖ ΝΦΟΥΩΜ' ΝϞΩΝΖ ΨΑ
14 ΕΝΕΖ· ΟΥΑΨ ΝΜΙΝΕ ΝΤΟϞ
ΠΕ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ· ΨΟΡΠ Μ[Ε]Ν Α[Ϟ]
16 ΡΦΘΟΝΙ ΕΑΔΑΜ ΕΤΡΕϞΦ[Υ]
ΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΨΗΝ ΝΤΓ[ΝΩ]
18 ΣΕΩΣ· ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΖΣΝΑΥ
ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ· ΑΔΑΜ ΕΚΤΩΝ·

- 46,27-47,4 Based on Gen 3:11-13, much abridged. Cf. *Hyp. Arch.* 90,28-32; *Orig. World II* 119,29-120,3.
- 47,1-4 ΤΣΕΒΟΚ ... ΤΣΖΙΜΕ ... ΦΟϞ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΤΣΑΒΟΕΙ:
Here both the woman and the serpent are "instructors." These ideas are based on the Aramaic word-play, נִינְו ("Eve")-אִינְו ("serpent")-אִינְו ("instruct"). Cf. note to 46,3.
- 47,5 Cf. Gen 3:14; *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,33-91,3; *Orig. World II* 120,3-6.
- 47,6 This statement has no counterpart in the biblical text; cf. also 48,16-18. This is probably an attack on the common Jewish and Christian identification of the serpent with the devil. Cf. e.g. Wis 2:24; 2 *Enoch* 31; *Adam and Eve* 12; 3 *Apoc. Bar.* 4:8; Rev 12:9; Justin *Dial.* 103.5; etc.
- 47,7-10 Gen 3:22, omitting ὁ θεός and transposing καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. Cf. *Orig. World II* 120,26-29, where "light and darkness" are substituted for "good and evil." No parallel in *Hyp. Arch.*
- 47,10-11 Cf. Gen 3:23-24a. Here the biblical report of Adam's expulsion from Paradise is made a resolve of the Creator. So also in *Orig. World II* 120,35-121,4, expanded. The same kind of expansion

- eat of it." And
 28 he said to him, "Who is it
 47
 who has instructed you?" And (δέ) Adam answered,
 2 "The woman whom you have
 given me." And the woman said,
 4 "The serpent is the one who instructed me."
 And he cursed the serpent, and
 6 he called him "devil" (διάβολος).
 And he said, "Behold, Adam has
 8 become like one of us,
 knowing evil and
 10 good." Then he said, "Let us
 cast him out of Paradise (παράδεισος)
 12 lest (μήποτε) he take from the tree
 of life and eat and live for
 14 ever." But what sort is
 this God? First [(+ μέν) he]
 16 envied (φθονεῖν) Adam that he should
 eat from the tree of knowledge (γνώσεως).
 18 And secondly [(+ δέ)]
 he said, "Adam, where are you?"

of God's speech in Gen 3:22 occurs in *Tg. Ps.-J. Cf. Hyp. Arch.* II 91,4-5, where Adam and Eve's expulsion is merely reported; and cf. *Orig. World* II 121,4-5.

47,12-14 Gen 3:22b, omitting ἐκτείνη τὴν χεῖρα καί; cf. 46,9.

47,15-16 **αϞϞΦΘΟΝΙ**: The envy (φθόνος) of the Creator is part of the serpent's instruction to Eve in *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,8 and *Orig. World* II 119,5. This attribute of the Creator in gnostic thought derives in part from a transfer to the Creator of attributes of the devil in Jewish and Christian tradition. Cf. e.g. *Wis* 2:24; *Jos. Ant.* I.41; *Adam and Eve* 12-17; 3 *Apoc. Bar.* 4:8; 2 *Enoch* 31:3; etc. For discussion, with additional references, see Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions," 468-469. The denial of any possibility of φθόνος in the Creator is expressly made by Plato, *Tim.* 29E.

47,18 The **Υ** in **ϞΝΑΥ** is now lost from the MS., but is attested in an early photograph.

47,19 The **Ν** is now lost from the MS., but is attested in an early photograph.

20 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ Μ[Ν]ΤΑϞ ΜΜΑΥ
 ΝΤΠΡΟ<Γ> ΝΩΣΙC ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ
 22 ΧΕ ΠΗ ΕΓCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΙΝ Ν
 ΨΟΡΠ· Α[ΥΩ] ΜΗΝCΩC [ΠΕ]
 24 ΧΑϞ ΧΕ [ΜΑ]ΡΝΝΟΧῶ [ΕΒΟΛ]
 ΜΠ[Ε]ΪΜΑ· ΧΕΚΑΑC Ε[Ν]ΕϞ
 26 ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΨΗΝ Μ
 ΠΩΝῆ ΝϞΩΝῆ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ·
 28 ΕΨΧΕ ΑϞΒΟΛΠῶ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΟΥΑΑϞ ΧΕ ΟΥΒΑCΚΑΝΟC
 30 ΠΕ ΝΡΕϞΦΘΟΝΕΙ· ΑΥΩ

ΜΗ

ΠΑΪ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΝΑΨ Μ
 2 ΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ· ΝΑΨΕ ΤΜΝῆΒΛΕ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΝΕΤΩΨ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥCΟΥ
 4 ΩΝῶ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΡΕϞΚΩΖ· †ΝΑΕΙΝΕ
 6 ΝΝΝΟΒΕ ΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ
 ΝΨΗΡΕ ΨΑ ΨΟΜΤΕ ϞΤΟ ΝΓΕ
 8 ΝΕΑ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ †ΝΑΤΡΕ
 ΠΟΥΖΗῆ ΟΥΜΟῆ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑ
 10 ΤΡΕΠΟΥΝΟΥC Ρ ΒΛΛΕ ΧΕΚΑ

- 47,19-23 That the archons did not know where Adam was is spelled out in *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,20-21 and *Orig. World* II 119,26. God's question to Adam in Gen 3:9 posed difficulties for Jewish and Christian interpreters of scripture, and provided an occasion for anti-Jewish and anti-Christian, or heretical, polemics. See e.g. Philo *Leg. All.* 3.52; *Quaest. in Gen.* 1.45; Justin *Dial.* 99; Tert, *Marc.* 2.22,25; 4.20; Theophil. *Autol.* 2.26; etc. For discussion see Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions," 467-468.
- 47,21 *πρόγνωσις*: Cf. Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 3.38, where "Simon" calls the Creator ἀπρόγνωστος; cf. also, on the other side, Theophil. *Autol.* 2.28, where God is called προγνώστης.
- 47,23-27 Cf. 47,10-11, and note.
- 47,25 ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΝΕ=: Translates μήποτε in 47,12 and Gen 3:22.
- 47,28 Corr. Superlin. stroke over ΟΛ in ΒΟΛΠῶ, crossed out.
- 47,29 βάσκανος: Translates עין רעה, "evil eye," in the LXX. Cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 13, where the serpent tells Eve that God's prohibition against eating of the tree of knowledge is due to his "evil eye," (עין רעה). Cf. also Jul. *Gal.* 94A, φθονεροῦ καὶ βασκάνου λίαν

- 20 And (δέ) God does not have
foreknowledge (πρόγνωσις), that is,
22 since he did not know this from the
beginning. [And] afterwards
24 he said, "Let us cast him [out]
of this place, lest he
26 eat of the tree of
life and live for ever."
28 Surely he has shown (+ δέ)
himself to be a malicious (βάσκανος)
30 envier (-φθονεῖν). And

48

- what kind of a God is this?
2 For (γάρ) great is the blindness
of those who read, and they did not
4 know it. And he said, "I am
the jealous God; I will bring
6 the sins of the fathers upon
the children until three (and) four generations (γενεά)."
8 And he said, "I will make
their heart thick, and I will
10 cause their mind (νοῦς) to become blind, that

ἔστιν, of the OT God and his refusal to mankind of the know-
ledge of good and evil. Julian probably uses a gnostic source;
for discussion see tractate introduction.

47,30 **ρεφθονεῖ**: Cf. 47,15-16 and note.

48,2 "blindness": Cf. 48,8-13 and note.

48,3 "those who read": Scil. the Old Testament. An alternative
translation is, "those who call (upon him)"; so Koschorke.

48,3-4 Or perhaps, "they did not know him (God)"; so Koschorke.

48,4-8 Exod 20:5, omitting κύριος ὁ θεός σου. This is a classic proof-text
for the gnostic doctrine of the Creator's arrogance and malice;
see e.g. *Ap. John* II 13,8; BG 44,14; *Iren. Haer.* I.29.4; *Treat.*
Seth VII 64,22-26; *Exc. Theod.* 28; *Jul. Gal.* 106DE.

48,8-13 Based on Isa 6:10, but whereas in Isa it is said "the heart of
this people has become thick (ἐπαχύνθη)," here it is God who
thickens his peoples' hearts, just as he "hardened" the heart
of Pharaoh (Exod. 9:12). For the gnostic use of Isa 6:10 see
also *Ap. John* II 22,26-28; BG 59,3-6; *2 Apoc. Jas.* V 60,5-10;
Iren. Haer. IV.29.1.

12 ἄς ἐνοῦρ̄νοεὶ οὐδὲ ἦνοῦ
 ῥκαταλαμβανέ· ἦνετοῦ
 14 χῶ ἦμοοῦ· ἀλλὰ ναῖ ἦταῦ
 χοοῦ ἦνετ̄πιστεῦε ἐροῦ
 [α]γ[ω] ἐτ̄ψ̄ἠψε ναῦ· ἀγῶ
 16 [ῥ]ἦ <οῦ> μα ἐφ̄ςῥαῖ ἦβι μῶγ̄ςἠς
 [αῦ]εῖρε ἦπ̄διαβολος ἦροῦ·
 18 <ἦ>[ἠε]τε οὐἦταῦςε ῥἦ πεφ̄χπο
 [ῥ]ἦ π̄κεχῶωμε ταῖ ἐτοῦ
 20 μοῦτε ἐρος χε τ̄εξοδος·
 ἐφ̄ςἠ ἦτεῖρε χε ἀφ̄ ἐρ̄ἦ ἦ
 22 ἠ[αῖο]ς· ἦταῦ[π]μα ἠοῦῥ
 ἦ[ῥ]οῦ] κατὰ τοῦ[κ]ἠβ[ι]α· ἀγ[ω]
 24 [π̄]ε[ρ]ῶβ ἐτ̄ῥἦ τ̄βιχ ἦ[μ]ῶγ
 ἠς ἀφ̄ῶπε ἦροῦ ἀφ̄ῶμ̄κ
 26 ἦἦροῦ ἦἦἠμα[ῖ]ος· παλιν
 ῥςἠ χε ἀφ̄ταμιο ἦοῦῥοῦ ἦ
 28 [ῥ]οἠετ̄ ἀφ̄ταλοῦ ἐχἦ οὐψ̄τε

ME

[± 12]ε ἐτερε
 2 [± 15]αγῶ .
 [...]χε π̄ε[ταδῶψ]τ̄ ἐρα
 4 [τ̄]επιροῦ] ἦροἠε[τ̄] ἠ[ἦ]λααῦ
 [ἠατεκο] ἦμοῦ· ἀγῶ πετα[ῖ]
 6 [πιστεῦε ἐ]πιροῦ ἦροἠε[τ̄]

48,9-10 Cf. 2 Cor 4:4.

48,17-18 No such quotation occurs in scripture, but Gen 3:14-15 is probably in view. Cf. 47,6 and note.

48,18 ῥἦ πεφ̄χπο: Either: "in (God's) generation;" or: "in (the devil's) generation"; but for the gnostic author they would amount to the same thing. Cf. John 8:42-44.

48,21-26 Cf. Exod 7:8-12. For gnostic use of this story elsewhere see also Hipp. Ref. V.16.

48,22 Μἠγος: In Exod they are not called μάγοι, but σοφισταί, φάρμακοι, and ἑπαοιδοί. Cf. also 48,26.

48,23 κακία: Here a synonym of μαγεία.

48,24-25 In Exod 7:10 it is Aaron's rod which figures in the story. But cf. Exod 4:2-4. In the story as recounted by Artapanus, Moses'

they might not know (νοεῖν) nor (οὐδέ)
 12 comprehend (καταλαμβάνειν) the things that
 are said." But (ἀλλά) these things he has
 14 said to those who believe (πιστεύειν) in him
 [and] serve him! And
 16 [in one] place Moses writes,
 ["He] made the devil (διάβολος) a serpent
 18 <for> [those] whom he has in his generation."
 In the other book which is
 20 called "Exodus" (ἔξοδος),
 it is written thus, "He contended against the
 22 [magicians (μάγος)], when the place was full
 [of serpents] according to (κατά) their [wickedness
 (κακία); and]
 24 [the rod] which was in the hand of Moses
 became a serpent, (and) it swallowed
 26 the serpents of the magicians (μάγος)." Again (πάλιν)
 it is written, "He made a serpent of
 28 bronze (and) hung it upon a pole

49

[] which
 2 [] and
 [] for the [one who will gaze] upon
 4 [this] bronze [serpent,] none
 [will destroy] him, and the one who will
 6 [believe (πιστεύειν) in] this bronze serpent

rod also replaces that of Aaron in Exod 7; see Fr. 3, Eus. *Praep. Ev.* IX.27.

48,25-26 Cf. Orig. *Hom. in Ex.* 4.6.

48,27-49,7 Cf. Num 21:19. For gnostic use of this story elsewhere see Hipp. *Ref.* V.16; Epiph. *Haer.* 37.7.1. Philo contrasts Moses' serpent of Num 21 (= σωφροσύνη) with Eve's serpent of Gen 3 (= ἡδονή); see *Leg. All.* 2.79-81.

49,3-7 Cf. Just. *Apol.* 60.3, where it is said that Moses was commanded to say to the people, "Ἐὰν προσβλέπητε τῷ τούτῳ καὶ πιστεύητε, ἐν αὐτῷ σωθήσεσθε."

49,4-5 Koschorke translates, "keiner [wird] ihn [verderben (?)/beissen (?)] können."

Gen 3:1
 on: "ev: 2
 the: they"
 elsewhere
 04, but exp
 in the str
 παραπο
 8

[ϠΝΑΟΥΧΑ]Ι· ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧ̄Ϡ
 8 [ΝΕΝΤΑ]Υ[Ρ]ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟϠ ΑΥ
 [ΧΙ ΩΝΖ̄·] ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΡ̄ΠΙΣΤ
 10 [ΕΥΕ ΝΑΜ]ΟΥ· ΟΥΟΥ ΒΕ ΤΕ †
 [ΠΙΣΤΙΣ· ΝC]ΕΡ̄ΔΙΑ[ΚΟΝ]Ι ΑΝ Ν
 12 [± 14]ΕΝϠΙ.
 [± 15]ΙΚ[
 (± 13 lines missing)

Α[
 28 ΝΤΕ[ΤΝ
 ΤΝC[

Ν
 [ΝΤ]ΕΤΝ̄ΡΝΟ[ΕΙ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΧ̄C ΠΝ̄Α]
 2 Τ[Ι]ΚΩϠ [ΕΤΕΤΝΧ]Φ ΜΜ[ΟC ΧΕ]
 ΕΝ̄ΡΠ[ΙCΤΕΥ]Ε ΕΠΕΧ̄[C· ΤΑΙ]
 4 ΓΑΡ ΤΕ [Θ]Ε [Ε]ΤΕ ΜΩΥ[CΗC CΖΑΙ]
 [Κ]ΑΤΑ ΧΦΩΜΕ· ΠΧ[ΩΩΜΕ Μ]
 6 [Π]ΕΧΠΟ ΝΑΔΔΑΜ· Ϡ[CΗΖ ΝΝΑΙ]
 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ Ζ̄Μ ΠΧ[ΠΟ] Μ[ΠΝΟΜΟC·]
 8 ϠΕΡ̄CΤΥΧΕΙ ΕΠΝ[Ο]Μ[ΟC ΑΥΩ]
 CΕϠΩΤ̄Μ ΝCΩϠ· Α[ΥΩ
 10 ΑΕ.[...]. ΟΥ[
 [Μ]Ν ΝΕ[
 12 [..]ΝΕ[

(± 13 lines missing)

-
- 49,7 The identification of Christ with the bronze serpent of Num 21:19 is first suggested in John 3:14, and is a stock feature of Ophite-Christian Gnosticism. See e.g. Hipp. *Ref.* V.16.9-10; V.17.8; Ps.-Tert. *Haer.* 2; Epiph. *Haer.* 37.2.6; 37.8.1. On the relationship of this comment to the preceding midrash, see tractate introduction.
- 49,8-10 Cf. John 3:15-16.
- 49,10-12 Koschorke translates, "Was also ist das [Ende (?)] für die, die nicht der [ehernen Schlange (?)] [die]nen . . ."
- 49,11 The final I in ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙ is no longer extant, but is attested, as a trace, in an early photograph.
- 49,12 Possibly ΕΝϠΙ Ν[, "we take."
- 49,13 Perhaps ΠΝ̄ΑΤ̄]ΙΚ[ΩC, "spiritually"; cf. 50,1-2.

[will be saved.] For (γάρ) this is Christ;
 8 [those who] believed (πιστεύειν) in him
 [have received life.] Those who did not believe (πιστεύειν)
 10 [will die.] What, then, is this
 [faith (πίστις)? They] do not [serve (διακονεῖν)]
 12 [
 [

(± 13 lines missing)

[
 28 [and you (pl.)
 we [
 50

[and] you [do not understand (νοεῖν) Christ]
 2 [spiritually (πνευματικῶς) when you say,]
 “we [believe (πιστεύειν)] in Christ.” For (γάρ) [this]
 4 is the [way] Moses [writes]
 in (κατά) every book. The [book of]
 6 [the] generation of Adam [is written for those]
 who are in the [generation] of [the Law (νομος)].
 8 They follow (στοιχεῖν) the Law (νομος) [and]
 they obey it, [and
 10 [
 together with the [
 12 [
 (± 13 lines missing)

-
- 49,28 Cf. 50,1.
 49,29 Koschorke translates, “unser [.”
 50,1-3 The author is here evidently addressing his opponents. Cf. 45,19
 and note. Koschorke translates, “Ihr erkennt [nicht geis]tig
 [sondern] leib[lich], während wir an [Christus] gl[auben.”
 50,1-2 πνευματικῶς: Cf. 1 Cor 2:14.
 50,3-5 Here the author puts his opponents in the same camp with
 Moses, who lacked spiritual understanding. Cf. the refrain in
Ap. John, “not as Moses said,” e.g. BG 45,7-10; 58,16-17;
 59,17-18; 73,4-5.
 50,5-6 Gen 5:1. Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 54.2.
 50,7 Possibly Ν[ΑΔΑΜ]: so Koschorke.
 50,8 CEῤCTYXEI EΠΝΟΜΟC: Cf. Acts 21:24.

26	[	± 18	]M
	[	± 15	α]N ΠΕ
28	[...]κ[	± 11	]τ·
<hr/>			
	[51], 29		
29	[	± 11	]· ρΙΝ[
<hr/>			
	[52], 28		
28	[...]κ[
<hr/>			
	[53], 29-30		
	[	± 11	] ΜΠΟ[
30	[	± 11	] ΜΜΦ[

[54] (blank fragment)

NE

[... θ]οῦδοας ε[τ]ε τμεζ
 2 [ψμο]γνε τε· αγω εναχι Μ
 [πμα] ετμμαγ μπσωτε'
 4 [ναῖ δε] σοογν αν ξε ογ πε <π> σω
 [τε'] αλλα ψαγβωκ εζογν
 6 [ετβοο]νε αγω εζ[ο]γν εφ[γ]
 [...].[...]. 2M πμογ 2M M
 8 [μογειοογε] παῖ [πε] πβαπτ[ι]
 [σμα μπμογ ετογρ]παρ[ατη]ρι [M]
 10 [μοφ

- 50,28 To the left of, and below, the κ, there are brown spots on the MS. which are not ink.
- 53,29-30 Half of the fragment is now lost; it is attested in an early photograph.
- 54 The fragment is uninscribed on verso. Cf. note to 53,29-30.
- 55,1-19 On this passage see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 152-154, and tractate introduction. The opponents attacked here are probably Valentinians; cf. 56,1-3.
- 55,1 "Ogdoad": This term is especially prominent in Valentinian Gnosticism, e.g. as a designation for the place of repose for the "spiritual" Gnostics prior to their entry into the Pleroma; see e.g. *Exc. Theod.* 63-65; 80.1; *Iren. Haer.* II.16.4. Irenaeus wrote an anti-Valentinian treatise *On the Ogdoad*; cf. *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* V.20.1.

26 [
 [] is [not]
 28 [

55

[the] Ogdoad (ὄγδοάς), which is the
 2 eighth, and that we might receive
 that [place] of salvation."
 4 [But (δέ) they] know not what salvation is,
 but (ἀλλά) they enter into
 6 [misfortune] and into a
 [] in death, in the
 8 [waters]. This [is] the baptism (βάπτισμα)
 [of death which they observe (παρατηρεῖν)]

-
- 55,1-2 **ΕΤΕ ΤΜΕΖΨΜΟΥΝΕ ΤΕ**: A Coptic gloss, intended to clarify the Greek term ὄγδοάς in the (Greek) Vorlage.
- 55,3 Cf. note to 55,1.
- 55,4-5 Koschorke translates, "[da sie] nicht wissen, was Heil [überhaupt] ist (oder: was <das> Heil ist)."
- 55,6 **ΤΒΟΟΝΕ**: Koschorke translates "[Verderb]en," probably reading ΠΤΕ]ΚΦ, but ΝΕ is virtually certain after the initial lacuna.
- 55,7-10 This is an attack on water baptism, presumably as practiced by the Valentinians. For the author's attitude to baptism cf. 69,7-24; 30,30-31,3. For discussion see tractate introduction. For Valentinian baptismal practices and beliefs see esp. *On Bapt.* A, B, C XI 40-42; *Exc. Theod.* 76-81.

(± 6 lines missing)

16 [± 11 ε̄]ἰ ἐπμο[γ]
 [± 10 αγ]φ ταί τε
 18 [± 12]ε κατα
 (± 11 lines missing)

N[S]

αρχωκ εβ[ο]λ ἠππωτ̄ [ἠπογα]
 2 [λ]εντινος· ἠτοσ ζωωσ [μεν]
 εσψαχε εσοδαοσ· νε[σμα]
 4 [θ]ητης δε εγτῆτων [εἴμα]
 ἠητης ἠπογαλεντιν[οσ·]
 6 ἠτοογ ζωογ ον σε[
 λο επιαγαθον [αλ]λ[α ογῆ]
 8 ταγ ἠμ[α]γ νογ[σψε ἠτε]
 [ἠ]ιέ[ι]δωλ[ον
 10 [·].[

(± 6 lines missing)

αρχε ρ[α]ρ ἠψαχε αγω αρχ
 18 σερ ραρ [ἠ]χωωμε
 ψαχε [

(± 11 lines missing)

N[Z]

[··σεο]γονζ εβο[λ] εβολ
 2 [ρῆ πωτ]ορτῆ ετογῆζητῆ
 [ρῆ τα]πατη ἠτε πκοσμοσ

55,17
 56,1-20

Or perhaps ἐπμο[ογ], "to the water."

On this passage see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 152-154, and tractate introduction. The reference may be to one of the prominent Valentinian teachers, such as Ptolemy, Heracleon, Theodotus, or Axionicus. On Valentinian discussions and disagreements see Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1; Tert. *Val.* 4. According to the latter only Axionicus at Antioch preserves Valentinus' own teaching fully.

56,1

αρχωκ εβολ ἠππωτ̄: For the terminology cf. 34,10 and note.

56,3

"Ogdoad": Cf. 55,1 and note.

(± 6 lines missing)

- 16 [] come to death
 [and] this is
 18 [] according to (κατά)
 (± 11 lines missing)

5[6]

- he completed the course [of]
 2 Valentinus. He himself [(+ μέν)]
 speaks about the Ogdoad (ὀγδοάς),
 4 and (δέ) his disciples (μαθητής) resemble [the]
 disciples (μαθητής) of Valentinus.
 6 They on their part, moreover, [
 leave the good (ἀγαθόν), [but (ἀλλά)] they
 8 have [worship of]
 the idols (εἰδωλον) [
 10 [

(± 6 lines missing)

- he has spoken [many words, and he has]
 18 written many [books
 words [

(± 11 lines missing)

5[7]

- [they are] manifest from
 2 [the] confusion in which they are,
 [in the] deceit (ἀπάτη) of the world (κόσμος).

-
- 56,8-9 Cf. 70,1. For Valentinus' views on idol-worship see Valentinus,
 fr. 1. Iren. *Haer.* I.24.5 accuses the Basilidians of idol-worship.
 56,18-19 Cf. 44,8; 68,28-29. On the "many books" of the Valentinians see
 e.g. Iren. *Haer.* I.20.1; III.11.9. It is possible, however, that the
 discussion has here already turned to consideration of another
 "heresy," that of Basilides; cf. 57,6-8. On the numerous writings
 of Basilides see Hegem. *Arch.* 67.5. Cf. also *Interp. Know.* XI
 9,23-24.
 57,1-15 On this passage see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 154,
 and tractate introduction. The Basilidians are in view through-
 out.

4 [ψαγ]βωκ γαρ επμα ετμ
 [μαγ] μν πογσοογν
 6 [ετψ]ογειτ· πκειΐσιδω
 [ρος περψηρε] νεφτνητων
 8 [επβασιλειδ]ης ντοφ ζω
 [ωφ ± 7]ζαζ· α[γ]ω α[φ]
 10 [± 9 μ]π̄[.] δε [
 [± 11]φω[.] τεϊ[
 12 [± 11]κεμ[α]φητ[ης]
 [± 10 β]λλε ντε[
 14 [± 8 αλ]λα [αφ]ταγ
 [± 11 ν]ζηδ]ονη
 16 [± 15]χ[
 (± 14 lines missing)

NH

1 Νσερ̄ςυμφωνι [αν ε]
 2 νε[γ]ερνογ· νσι[μω]
 νιανος γαρ σεχι ζ[ι]ομε
 4 σεχπε ψηρε· ν[
 ανος δε σερεκ[ρατεγε]
 6 χιν τογφγσι[
 εζραι εγπα[θος
 8 νσταγων ν[
 τωζζ μμο[ογ

- 57,1-5 The Basilidians attacked here are accused of giving themselves over to worldly pleasures; cf. ἡδονή at 57,14. Cf. Clement of Alexandria's accusations against contemporary Basilidians who have abandoned the original Basilidian teachings, *Strom.* III.3. 3-4.
- 57,4-5 "that place": Scil. of punishment; cf. 39,11-18; 60,3-4.
- 57,6-8 Isidore was the son and pupil of Basilides; see Hipp. *Ref.* VII.20.1; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II.113.3; VI.53.2. Here Isidore is being distinguished from the other disciples of Basilides.
- 57,10 The superlin. stroke on μ̄ is visible. Perhaps μ̄π̄[ει], "he did not come."
- 58,1-14 On this passage see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, p. 155, and tractate introduction. A number of gnostic groups are in view.
- 58,2 The restoration, "Simonians," produces an unusually short line, 13 letters. But cf. 41,1.

- 4 For (γάρ) [they] go to that place
together with their knowledge
6 [which is] vain. Isidore also,
[his son], resembled
8 [Basilides]. He also
[] many, and [he]
10 [] but (δέ) he did not [
[] this [
12 [] other disciple(s) (μαθητής)
[] blind . . .
14 [] but (ἀλλά) he] gave them
[] pleasures (ἡδονή)]
16 [

(± 14 lines missing)

58

- they do [not] agree (συμφωνεῖν) [with]
2 each other. For (γάρ) the [Simonians]
take [wives]
4 (and) beget children; but (δέ) the [
abstain (ἐγκρατεῦειν)
6 from their [] nature (φύσις)
. . . a [passion (πάθος)
8 the drops (σταγών) [of
anoint [them

-
- 58,2-4 The Simonians are usually accused of licentious behavior. See e.g. Iren. *Haer.* I.23.4; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.19.5; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII.108.2. The latter refers to a sub-group of Simonians, "Entychites." Origen asserts that the Simonians have virtually died out by his time, *Cels.* I.57.
- 58,4 The name of another group is hidden in the lacuna. Perhaps Ν[ΚΟΔΔΙ]/ΛΝΟC, "Coddians"; cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 26.3.6.
- 58,5-6 The "abstinence" referred to here may not refer to sexual abstinence in general, but heterosexual abstinence in particular. On homosexual libertine Gnostics see esp. Epiph. *Haer.* 26.11.1.
- 58,8 σταγών: The meaning here is probably male sperm, = βάλς. Cf. Just. *Apol.* 19.1 (βάλς); Diog. Laert. VIII.28 (σπέρμα σταγών ἐγκεφάλου); cf. also the "fetid drop" (מטפה טרוחה) of *m. Ḥabot* 3:1. For a possible context see Epiph. *Haer.* 25.3.2; 26.1.9; 26.4.5-8; 26.11.1; etc.
- 58,9 An alternative translation is, "smear themselves."

10 [.]Υ·αγο·[
 δε [N]ταν[.... σε̄ρ̄συμφω]
 12 ΝΙ ΕΝΕΥΕ[ΡΗΟΥ
 ναα [..]α·[
 14 σεχ[

(± 16 lines missing)

ΝΘ

[± 12]..αγ̄ ΝΚΡΙ
 2 [CIC ± 7 Ν]ναϊ̄ ετβε̄ Ν
 [± 10]..ε̄ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 4 [± 11] ΝΖΕΡΕΤΙΚΟΣ
 [± 11]ϸΙCΜΑ ΝΑΪ
 6 [± 11] ΜΝ̄ ΝΖΟΟΥΨ̄
 [± 8 ΖΕΝ]ρ̄ωμε̄ νε̄
 8 [± 11 ε]Υ[Ν]αψ̄ωπε
 [Ν̄ΝΚΟCΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ̄ Ν]τε̄ π̄κᾱκε
 10 [± 13]ΜΟ[.].
 [± 11] Μ[πκο]CΜ[OC]
 12 [± 11]πεζου[
 [± 10 Ο]ῩΝ̄ΤΑῩ ΜΜ[αΥ]
 14 [± 12]π̄ Ναρ[χ]
 [ΩΝ ± 9 β]ο̄μ[

(1 line missing)

[± 11 ρ̄κ]ρῑνε̄ ΜΜΟ
 18 [ΟΥ ± 11]ΙΑΝΟC ΔΕ
 [± 13]ψαχε̄ Ν

(± 11 lines missing)

Ξ

ψαχε̄ εΥ[
 2 ψωπε̄ εΥο̄ Ν[
 Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΚΩΖ̄Ψ̄ Ν[ατωψ̄Μ

58,11
 59-60

Superlin. stroke visible.

On these pages see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 155-156, and tractate introduction.

59,2

The first superlin. stroke is visible.

59,4

Cf. Titus 3:10.

59,5

Cf. 1 Cor 1:10; 11:18; 12:15, esp. the dominical saying in 11:18; cf. Just. *Dial.* 35.3; *Ep. Ap.* 29.

10 . . . [
 (+ δέ) which we [they]
 12 [agree (συμφωνεῖν)] with [each other
 him [
 14 they [

(± 16 lines missing)

59

[] judgment(s) (κρίσις)]
 2 [] these, on account of the
 [] them
 4 [] the heretics (αἵρετικός)
 [] schism(s) (σχίσμα) . . .
 6 [] and the males
 [] are men
 8 [] will belong
 [to the world-rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ)] of darkness
 10 []
 [] of [the world (κόσμος)]
 12 [] . . . [
 [] they have
 14 [] the [archons (ἄρχων)]
 [] power(s)
 (1 line missing)
 [] judge (κρίνειν) [them]
 18 [] But (δέ) [the
 [] word(s) of

(± 11 lines missing)

60

 speak, while they [
 2 become [
 in a fire [unquenchable

59,9 Cf. 32,28. Or possibly $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\kappa\alpha\chi\epsilon$, "to the archons of darkness"; so Koschorke.

59,18 Another group of heretics is referred to here, or possibly one of the groups named previously.

60,1 Or: "speak about a [. . ."

60,3 Cf. 39,18 and note.

- 4 ΕΥΡΚΟΛΑΖΕ [ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΝΑΙ ΔΕ]
 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ Ε[ΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΓΕΝΕΑ]
 6 ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠ[ΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΒΟΛΠ]
 ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠ[... ΖΝ ΜΠΡΑ]
 8 ΓΜΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ [
 ΟΥ[.]ΕΟ[
 10 [...]ΩΜ [
 [CΜΟ]ΚΖ ΔΕ Ε[
 12 [...]Ψ ΕΒΝ Ο[ΥΑ
 [Α]ΥΩ CΝΑ[Υ
 14 [...] ΕΒ[ΟΛ
 (1 line missing)
 16 ΧΕ ΑΠCΩ[ΤΗΡ ΧΟΟC ΝΝΕCΜΑ]
 ΘΗΤΗC ΧΕ [
 18 ΟΥΑ ΖΝ Ζ[ΕΝ
 ΤΡ[
 (± 11 lines missing)

32

- [± 10 ΑΥ]Ψ ΕΥΝΤΑC
 2 [ΜΜΑΥ] ΝCΟΦΙΑ {ΖΙ} ΜΝ
 [ΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ ΜΝ Ο]ΥΜΝΗΤCΑΒΕ ΜΝ
 4 [ΟΥΜΝΗΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ] ΜΝ ΟΥΓΝΩ[C]
 [ΙC ΜΝ ΟΥΔΥΝΑ]ΜΙC ΜΝ ΟΥΜΕ·
 6 [ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝΤΑC] ΜΜΑΥ ΝΖΕΝ[.]
 [± 9 Ε]ΒΟΛ ΜΠCΑΝΖΡΕ
 8 [± 10]ΑΣ ΠΜΑ ΕΝΤΑC
 [± 10 ΜΜ]ΑΥ ΝΒ[Ι] ΠΨΗ
 10 [ΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ]Ν Α[.].[
 [± 14]ΕΧ[
 12 [± 10 Δ]ΥΝΑΜΙC [

- 60,5-6 "Generation of the Son of Man": Cf. 67,7-8; 68,10-11; in contrast to the "generation" or "seed" of Adam, 50,6; 67,10. Cf. also *Gos. Phil.* II 58,17-22; *Iren. Haer.* I.15.3. Cf. also Eph 3:5.
- 60,10 Perhaps [ΝΑΤΩ]ΩΜ, "unquenchable"; cf. 60,3; 39,18.
- 60,11 Perhaps Ε[ΒΝ, "to find," as in line 12.
- 60,12-13 Perhaps ΑΥ]Ψ ΕΒΝ Ο[ΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΨΟ / Α]ΥΩ CΝΑ[Υ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΒΑ, "and to find one out of a thousand, and two

4 they are punished (κολάζειν). [But (δέ) these]
 who are [from the generation (γενεά)]
 6 of the Son of [Man have revealed]
 to the [in] all of [the]
 8 [affairs (πράγματα)
 [
 10 [
 But (δέ) [it is difficult] to [
 12 [] to find [one
 and [two
 14 [

(1 line missing)

16 For the [Savior (σωτήρ) said to his]
 disciples (μαθητής), [
 18 one in [
 [

(± 11 lines missing)

61

[and] he has
 2 [] wisdom (σοφία) as well as
 [counsel and] understanding and
 4 [intelligence] and knowledge (γνώσις)
 [and power (δύναμις)] and truth.
 6 [And he has] some
 [] from above
 8 [] the place where
 [the Son of Man] . . .
 10 [
 [
 12 [] power (δύναμις) [

out of ten thousand." Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 23; *Iren. Haer.* 1.24.6; *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 134; *Lidz. Joh.* pp. 103, 181, 226; and cf. *Deut* 32:30.

60,16-18 Cf. the saying referred to in note to 60,12-13, attributed specifically to Jesus in *Gos. Thom.* and in *Pist. Soph.*

61,1-5 Said of the paradigmatic Gnostic; cf. 43,14-17.

61,2 2I or M̄N must be deleted as a tautology.

61,10 Another superlin. stroke is visible after the last letter-trace.

14 [± 10]ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡ[
 [± 13]ΥΜΚΑ[
 (± 16 lines missing)

ΞΒ

εφσοοϋν η̄[..... ρ̄κατα]
 2 λαμβανε μ̄[
 αγω επτη[± 10 μ̄]
 4 πψα μ̄μοϋ[
 η̄αληθεινο̄[ς
 6 ψ̄μμο η̄.[
 τροσ δε μ̄ν[
 8 βο[ον]ε ρ̄η̄[
 η̄ι[.] η̄.[
 10 [...]ϥ..[
 [...]αϥϣ̄! β̄α[πτισμα
 12 [α]γω νετε [
 [..]ϣε μ̄[
 (± 17 lines missing)

ΞΕ

[± 10 ρ̄η̄ οϋρασοϋ
 2 [± 11]οϋζατ̄ η̄το
 [± 11]ε δε ρ̄ ρ̄μ[μαο]
 4 [± 12] ρ̄η̄ η̄εϣ̄
 [οϋϣια ± 9]αϥ ερε
 6 [± 11 η̄μ]ερσε δε
 [± 10 τ]ᾱῑ τε οε η̄
 8 [± 13]κοσμοσ
 [± 14] δε ευ
 10 [± 12]οϋη̄νοϋβ
 [± 15]η̄η̄[
 (± 16 lines missing)

61,13 Perhaps ερ[οϥ, "against him (it)," or ερ[οοϥ, "against them."

61,14 Perhaps α]ῡμ̄κα[ρ, "they were afflicted."

62,6-7 Perhaps ια]τροσ, "physician"; so Koschorke.

[] guard against [
 14 []
 (± 16 lines missing)

62

he knows [
 2 understands (καταλαμβάνειν) [
 and [
 4 worthy of him [
 true (ἀληθινός) [
 6 alien [
 But (δέ) [], together with [
 8 evil, in [
 [
 10 [] he received [baptism (βάπτισμα)
 12 and those that [
 [
 (± 17 lines missing)

65

[in] a dream
 2 [] silver . . .
 [] But (δέ) [] becomes [wealthy]
 4 [] among the [authorities (ἐξουσία)]
 [] . . .
 6 [] But (δέ) [the] sixtieth
 [] thus
 8 [] world (κόσμος)
 [] (+ δέ) they
 10 [] gold
 [
 (± 16 lines missing)

62,11 The reading here is most uncertain; the papyrus surface on this page is very rough. Cf. 74,20.

63-64 Pages 63-64 are missing.

65,1-10 This passage seems to be a polemic against the accumulation of wealth; cf. 68,2-6.

28 [± 9]ΜΠΕΝ[...]Ν
 [± 9 ΕΥΜ]ΕΕΥΕ ΧΦ
 30 [± 12]Υ ΕΒΟΛ
 [± 7]ΑΝΒΦΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ

ΞΣ

ΤΣΑΡΑΞ· ΟΥ[
 2 ΜΕ[.]Τ[.]Α Δ[Ε
 ΤΜΚΟΤΩ ΕΡ[
 4 [.]ΙΣ [.]Ν[
 ΜΦ ΔΕ[
 6 [Τ]ΑΡΧΗ Μ[
 ΟΥΩΗΡ[Ε
 8 ΕΤΕ ΣΕ[
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Ν ± 11 Ε]
 10 ΤΕ ΠΤΥΠ[ΟC ΠΕ
 [ΟΥΟ]ΕΙΝ [Ν

(± 15 lines missing)

[.....]Α[
 28 ΝΦΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Ν
 ΧΩΖΜ ΕΤ[
 30 ΕΥΕΑ[...]Α[.]·[
 [ΕΥ]ΧΙ ΟΥΑ ΑΝ [

ΞΖ

Μ[ΜΟ]ΟΥ ΑΝ· ΟΥΔΕ ΜΜΝΛΑΑΥ ΝΖΗ
 2 [ΔΟΝΗ· Ο]ΥΔΕ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ· ΟΥΤΕ
 [ΜΑΥΩ]ΡΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΨΩΦ
 4 [ΔΕ ΕΤ]ΡΕΥΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΝΑΤΤΩΛΜ
 [ΧΕΚ]ΑΑΣ ΕΥΝ[Α]ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΟΥ
 6 [ΟΝΖ] ΕΒΟΛ Ν[ΟΥΟ]Ν ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΕ
 [ΒΟΛ Ν]Ε ΖΝ ΤΓ[ΕΝΕΑ ΜΠ]ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩ
 8 Μ[Ε·] ΕΤΒΗΗ[ΤΟΥ] ΕΑΠCΩΤΗΡ Ρ

65,31-66,1 This may be an assumption of the opponents under attack, or a positive self-evaluation of the gnostic community represented by the author. What follows seems to relate to the "generation of the Son of Man"; cf. 67,6-7 and context.

66,3 Or "turn" (reflex.). Cf. also 41,14 and note.

66,10 Or "type"; cf. 40,30.

66,11 Superlin. stroke visible.

28 [] . . . []
 [they] think,
 30 [] . . .
 [] we have been released from

66

the flesh (σάρξ). []
 2 . . . [(+ δέ)
 not turn him to []
 4 [] Jesus []
 but (δέ) []
 6 [the] beginning (ἀρχή) []
 a son []
 8 . . . []
 out of [] which]
 10 [is] the pattern (τύπος) []
 [light of]
 (± 15 lines missing)

[]
 28 to find < . . . > from []
 defilement which []
 30 []
 [they] do not blaspheme []

67

[them] not, neither (οὐδέ) any [pleasure (ἡδονή)]
 2 nor (οὐδέ) desire (ἐπιθυμία), nor (οὔτε)
 [can they] control (κατέχειν) them. It is fitting
 4 [(+ δέ)] that they should become undefiled,
 in order that they might
 6 [show] to every [one], that they
 [are from] the [generation (γενεά) of the] Son of Man,
 8 since it is about [them] that the Savior (σωτήρ) bore

-
- 66,28 Grammatically a noun is required after **ὄΝ**. Perhaps read **ΝΦΝ <ΖΗΤ> ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Ν]**, "to learn wisdom from."
 66,31-67,9 Authentic gnostic existence is characterized by freedom from desire and defilement; cf. 42,23-45,6; 68,8-12.
 67,2-3 Koschorke translates, "Nicht [wird man] sie festhalten können."
 67,5-8 Cf. 68,10-11.
 67,7-8 "generation of the Son of Man": Cf. 60,5-6 and note.

ΜΝ[Τ]ΡΕ· Ν[ΕΤΨΟ]ΟΠ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ
 10 [Π]ΕΣΠΕΡΜ[Α ΝΑΔΑΜ] ΣΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒ[ΟΛ]
 [Ζ]Ν ΝΕΥΠΡ[ΑΞΙΣ ΕΤΟ] ΜΠΕΥΕΡ[ΓΟΝ·]
 12 [Ε]ΜΠΟΥΛΟ [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕ]ΠΙΘ[ΥΜΙΑ ΕΤ]
 [ΖΟ]ΟΥΓ [± 8]ΕΒΕ ΡΩ[
 [± 12]ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΣ[
 [± 13]Ν ΝΟΥΖΟΡ[
 16 [...]Ν[± 8] ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· [·]
 [...] ΓΑΡ [± 7] ΟΡ ΕΤΟΥΧΠΟ Ε.
 18 [...]ΝΑΘΙ [± 9]Ψ ΜΝ ΝΕΥ·[

(± 3 lines missing)

22 [...]. [·]
 [...]Ε[

(± 3 lines missing)

[± 18]·[
 28 [± 15]ΚΙΜ ΕΥ
 [...]. . [· Ζ]Μ ΠΖΟΟ[Υ Ε]ΤΟΥΝΑΧΠΕ
 30 [ΨΗΡ]Ε· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ Π[Α]! ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΡ
 [...]. . ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ ΕΥ† ΕΚΙΒΕ·

Ξ[Η]

ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΖΜ ΠΜΟΥ Ν[
 2 ΞΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΣΕΣ[ΩΚ Μ]
 ΜΟΟΥ ΣΑΣΑ <ΝΙΜ> ΣΕ[Ρ]ΖΗΔΑΝΕ Ε[ΒΟΛ]

- 67,9-11 Just as the Gnostic demonstrates his true character by his way of life, so also the non-Gnostic demonstrates his true character by his deeds (πράξεις). Cf. Matt 16:27; Rom 8:13; Col 3:9.
- 67,10 "seed of Adam": Cf. 60,5-6 and note.
- 67,13 Perhaps **βερ]εβε**, "hunters"; cf. 67,14.
- 67,15 Or perhaps **ΟΥΖΟΡ[ΜΗ**, "an impulse"; so Koschorke.
- 67,16 Perhaps the sin of the angels, Gen 6:1-4, is in view. Cf. 29,15-18 and note.
- 67,17 Perhaps **ΟΥΖ]ΟΡ**, "dog(s)"; cf. 67,15.
- 67,29-31 On this passage see Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 116-117. Here the resumption of marital relations before a child is weaned is under attack; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III.72.1, where it is encouraged on the basis of scriptural precedent. Cf. the apocalyptic woes against nursing women in Luke 21:23; 23:9; *Gos. Thom.* 79.

- witness. But (δέ) [those that are] from
 10 the seed (σπέρμα) [of Adam] are manifest
 by their [deeds (πράξεις) which are] their [work (ἔργον).]
 12 They have not ceased [from desire (ἐπιθυμία) which is]
 [wicked] . . .
 14 [] But (ἀλλά) some
 [] the dogs
 16 [] the angels (ἄγγελος)
 for (γάρ) [] which they beget
 18 [] will come [] with their [
 (± 3 lines missing)
 22 [
 [
 (± 3 lines missing)
 [
 28 [] move as they
 [] on] the day when they will beget
 30 [children.] Not only (οὐ μόνον) that, but (ἀλλά) they
 have intercourse (-κοινωνεῖν) while they are giving suck.

6[8]

But (δέ) others are caught up in the death of [

2 They are [pulled]

<every> which way, (and) they are gratified (ἡδάνειν)

67,31

It is difficult to determine which four-letter Greek prepositional prefix was in the lacuna. Perhaps read [ϠΒΡ̄Ρ̄]ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ. The meaning is clear, whatever the prefix. For ϠΒΡ̄ instead of σύν with a Greek *noun* see Girgis, "Greek Loan Words," § 94.
 68,1-8 Cf. 65,1-10 and note. The acquisition and enjoyment of wealth are here denounced just as bitterly as the enjoyment of sex. The denunciation of wealth is a common theme in early Christianity; see e.g. Jas 5:1-6; *Herm. Vis.* 3.9.3-6. It is also a common aspect of anti-heretical polemic—cf. e.g. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* V.18.1-11, against the Montanists—as well as a common charge levelled against the catholic Christians by Gnostics and others; cf. e.g. Iren. *Haer.* IV.30.1.

68,3

Superlin. stroke visible. ΖΗΔΑΝΕ = ἡδύνασθαι, probably under the influence of ἀνδάνειν. Cf. Böhlig, "Beiträge," p. 94. Cf. ΖΑΛΕΘ at 30,6.

4 ΖΙΤΟΟΤῸ ΜΠΑΜΜΩΝΑΣ ΝΑ[ΔΙΚΟΣ]
 6 ΣΕΤ̄ ΖΟΜΕΤ̄ [ΕΜΗ]ΣΕ ΣΕΡ̄ΔΙΑ[ΤΡΙΒΕ]
 8 ΠΕΤ̄]ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΔΕ [ΝΕΙ]
 10 ΩΤ̄ ΜΠΑ[ΜΜΩΝΑΣ] ΠΑΪ ΕΦ[ΨΟΟΠ̄]
 12 ΝΕΙΩΤ̄ ΝΤΣΥ[ΝΟΥ]ΣΙΑ· ΠΕΤ̄[ΕΥ]Ν
 14 ΨΟΜ ΔΕ ΜΜΟ[Φ ΕΡ̄ΑΠΟ]ΤΑΣΣΕ ΝΑΥ
 16 ΦΟΥΟΝῆ ΕΒΟΛ [ΧΕ ΟΥΕΒΟ]Λ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΓ[Ε]
 18 [Ν]ΕΑ ΜΠΨΗ[ΡΕ ΜΠΡΩ]ΜΕ ΕΥΝΤΑΦ
 [Μ]ΜΑΥ ΝΟΥ[ΒΟΜ ΕΡ̄Κ]ΑΤΗΓΟΡΙ ΝΑ[Υ]
 [..]. ΨΕΝΕ.[± 10]Τ̄· [ΦΡ̄]
 [Κ]ΑΤΕΧΕ ΔΕ [
 [Μ]ΕΡΟΣ· ΖΝ ΟΥ[
 [...] ΖΝ ΟΥΚΑΒΙΑ [ΑΥΩ ΦΕΙΡ]Ε ΜΠ[ΣΑΝ]
 ΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ· ΜΠΣΑΝ[ΖΟΥΝ· ΦΕΙ]ΝΕ ΝΟ[Υ]
 [Α]Ρ̄Γ[Ε]ΛΟΣ ΕΦ[± 10]·[

(1 line missing)

20 [± 9 ΔΥΝΑ]ΜΙΣ ... Ψ
 [± 8]ΧΟΟΥ· ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ
 22 [± 9]ΜΕ..[...]. Ε[

(3 lines missing)

26 [.]ΨΕ.Α.[
 ΑΥΩ ΕΑΦΡ̄[Α]ΝΑΧΩΡ[Ι ...] ΑΦ[ΚΑ]
 28 ΡΩΦ' ΕΑΦΛΟ ΖΝ ΤΜΝΤ̄ΖΑΖ [ΝΨΑ]
 ΧΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΙΨΕ

68,4 Cf. Luke 16:9. For the form ΔΜΜΩΝΑΣ cf. *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 130 (p. 331, lines 10, 13): ΔΜΩΝΑΣ. Enjoyment of "unrighteous Mammon" is a charge against which Irenaeus defends catholic Christians, *Haer.*, IV.30.1.

68,5 Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 95.

68,6-8 Meaning uncertain. Koschorke translates, "[Wer] aber dem Vater des M[ammon] verfallen ist (Wörtl: gehört), der [ist] (zugleich) dem Vater des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs verfallen." The "father" of Mammon and of sexual intercourse is presumably Sabaoth; cf. 73,30. Cf. John 8:44.

68,8 συνουσία: Cf. 31,3.

68,8-11 Cf. 67,3-8.

- 4 by unrighteous (ἄδικος) Mammon.
They lend money [at interest]; they [waste time (δια-
τρίβειν);]
- 6 and they do not work. But (δέ) he who is
[father] of [Mammon is (also)]
- 8 (the) father of sexual intercourse (συνουσία). But (δέ) he
who is able to renounce (ἀποτάσσειν) them
- 10 shows [that] he is [from] the generation (γενεά)
of the [Son of Man], (and) has
- 12 power to accuse (κατηγορεῖν) [them.]
[he]
- 14 restrains (κατέχειν) (+ δέ) [
part(s) (μέρος) in a [
16 [] in wickedness (κακία) [and he makes] the
outer like the [inner. He resembles] an
- 18 angel (ἄγγελος) which [
(1 line missing)
- 20 [power (δύναμις)
[] said them. But (δέ) the one
- 22 [
(3 lines missing)
- 26 [And having withdrawn (ἀναχωρεῖν) [] he became
- 28 silent, having ceased from loquacity
and disputations.

68,9 ἀποτάσσειν: Cf. 69,22-23 and note.

68,10-11 "generation of the Son of Man": Cf. 60,5-6 and note.

68,12 ΝΑΥ: Perhaps ΝΑ[Ϛ] instead, "him," scil. the father of Mammon and sexual intercourse; Cf. 68,6-8. κατηγορεῖν: Cf. 42,29; 43,19-20 and note.

68,13-15 Koschorke translates "Nicht [kann man ihn] festhalten [an diesen] Orten in einer []"; cf. 67,2-3.

68,16-17 Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 22; *Gos. Phil.* II 68,4-6; 2 *Clem.* 12.2-4.

68,17-18 Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 13.

68,27-29 Cf. 44,3-9 and notes.

68,27 ΑΥΩ: The Ω is written in a crack in the vertical fibers.

[30]

π[εντα]βινε δε ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος]
 2 [αὐ]τῶν πε[ντα]βινῶν [πι]ωτῆρ[ος]
 [βιν]εῖν ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 4 [βιν]εῖν ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 [βιν]εῖν δε ἀπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος]
 6 [...].]οὕτως ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος] ἄπ[λογο]ς
 [.].]τε οὐκ εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 8 εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 2ω[ς] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] ἄπ[λογο]ς
 10 π[ι]σ[το]ς οὐκ εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος]
 εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 12 ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 14 ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 16 ἄπ[λογο]ς εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ
 18 εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰτῆρ[ος] εἰ

- 69,1-4 Knowledge leads to eschatological "rest." Cf. 35,24-36,3.
 69,1 ΠΛΟΓΟΣ Εἰτῆρ[ος]: Cf. 34,25; 37,24-25.
 69,2 ΠΙΩΤῆΡ[ος]: Cf. 43,26.
 69,3-4 Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 2; *Gos. Hebr.*, fr. 4 = *Clem. Alex. Strom.* II.45; V.96; *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 102.
 69,4 "he became silent": Cf. 43,23-44,23 and notes.
 69,5-7 Even to his fellow-Gnostics the Gnostic need speak only sparingly.
 69,6 Perhaps [ἄ]π[λογο]ς, "think," an A form.
 69,7-24 On this passage see Pearson, "Anti-Heretical Warnings," p. 153; Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker*, pp. 138-142; and tractate introduction.
 69,7-10 Koschorke translates, "Einige, <die> zum Glauben gekommen sind, [empfangen ein]e Taufe, als ob sie sie als (Garant der) Hoffnung auf Heil hätten . . ."
 69,7-8 "enter the faith": What is meant is a conversion to the Christian faith, as exemplified by the catholic church. Real "faith," however, is a matter of dispute for our author; cf. 49,10-11; 50,1-3.
 69,8-10 Cf. 1 Pet 3:21. But instead of "salvation" the baptized enter "the place of fear"; cf. 69,27-28.

[69]

- But (δέ) he [who has] found the [life-giving word (λόγος)]
 2 [and he who] has come to know [the Father of Truth]
 [has come to rest]; he has ceased [seeking], having
 4 [found.] And (δέ) when he found he became [silent].
 But (δέ) few are the things he used to say to those that
 6 [] with their intellectual (νοερός) mind the
 [] Some enter
 8 the faith (πίστις) [by receiving a] baptism (βάπτισμα),
 on the ground that (ὥς) they have [it] as a hope (ἐλπίζω)
 10 of salvation, which they call
 "the [seal (σφραγίς)]." They do not [know]
 12 that the [fathers of] the world (κόσμος) are
 manifest in that [place, but (ἀλλά)]
 14 he himself [knows that] he is sealed (σφραγίζειν).
 For (γάρ) [the Son] of [Man]
 16 did not baptize (βαπτίζειν) any of his
 disciples (μαθητής). But (δέ) [] if those who] are
 18 baptized (βαπτίζειν) were headed for life,

-
- 69,11 σφραγίς: This is a reference to the common early Christian designation of baptism as a "seal of eternal life." See e.g. Iren. *Epid.* 3; Herm. *Sim.* 9.16.3-4; 2 *Clem.* 7.6; 8.6; *Ep. Apost.* 41; *Act. Pl. Thekl.* 25.
- 69,12 "fathers of the world": Cf. "fathers of baptism," 69,20-21. The reference is to the archontic powers; cf. 32,28; 59,9; 73,29-30.
- 69,13 "in that place": I.e., in baptism.
- 69,14 "he himself": I.e. the true Gnostic; cf. 69,1-7.
- 69,14-15 "he is sealed": The verb σφραγίζειν is frequently associated with baptism in early Christianity, as is the noun σφραγίς; see e.g. Mel. *Pass.* 36; Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 12. Here the reference is to a non-baptismal "sealing," whether the term is used simply metaphorically (Cf. 69,22-24) or of a gnostic rite (less likely). For non-baptismal "sealing" amongst Gnostics see e.g. Orig. *Cels.* VI.27; Iren. *Haer.* I.25.6.
- 69,15-17 Cf. John 4:1-2. Cf. Tert. *Bapt.* 11.1.
- 69,16 The superlin. stroke on ΝΛΛΛΥ is visible.
- 69,17-22 This passage is very difficult. Koschorke translates, "[Würden] aber [die, die] sich taufen lassen, zum Leben gelangen, so hätte die Welt Grund zu einer eitlen Hoffnung (oder: würde die Welt

ΜΟΟΥ· ΝΕΡ[ε π]ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΝΑΨΩΠ[ε]
 20 ΕΨΩΟΥΕΙΤ̄ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΙΟΤΕ Μ̄
 ΠΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ ΝΕΥΨΟΟΠ̄ ΕΥΧ[α]
 22 Ζ̄Μ̄ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΒΑΠΤΙC[ΜΑ]
 ΝΤΜΕ· Ζ̄ΙΤ̄Ν ΤΑΠΟΤΑ[Γ]Η [Μ̄ΠΚΟΣ]
 24 ΜΟΣ ΕΥΒΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΦ· [ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤ̄]
 ΨΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΛΑC Μ̄Μ[ΑΤΕ ΧΕ]
 26 [CΕ]ΡΑΠΟΤΑCCE Μ̄Μ[ΟΦ· CΕΧΙ ΒΟΛ]
 ΑΥΩ CΕΝ̄ΝΗΟΥ Ε[Ζ]ΡΑΪ [ΕΠΜΑ]
 28 ΝΖΡ̄ΤΕ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ CΕCΗΨ Ν̄[ΖΡΑΪ]
 ΝΖΗΤ̄Ϊ· ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΥ† ΝΑ[Υ]
 30 ΕΑῩΡΚΑΤΑΓΙΝΩCΚΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ
 [ΕΥ]ΕΧΙ ΛΑΑΥ· ΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥ
 32 ΖΟΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΥΠΡΑΞΙC· ΟῩΝ ΖΟ
 ΕΙΝΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ ΨΑΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ

[Θ]

[ΕΨΩΜΨΕ Ν̄]ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ· Ο[ῩΝ ΖΕΝ]
 2 [ΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ Ο]ῩΝΤΑΥ Μ̄ΜΑΥ [ΝΖΕΝ]
 [Δ]Α[ΙΜΩΝ] ΕΥΟΥΗΖ Ν̄ΜΜΑΥ [Ν̄ΘΕ]

-
- (bald) leer werden), und die Väter der Taufe könnten (weiterhin) beflec[ken].” The meaning seems to be: If baptism were effective, everyone would be baptized, and the world would be emptied of its prisoners. But cf. also 32,8-12.
- 69,20 ΑΥΩ: Probably to be understood here as an adversative “but” or “yet.” On adversative καί in Greek see Moule, *Idiom Book*, 178.
- 69,20-21 “fathers of baptism”: Cf. 69,12 and note. Since the “fathers” of baptism are defiled, baptism itself is a defilement. Cf. 30,18-31,5.
- 69,22-23 “baptism of truth”: True (metaphorical) “baptism” stands in contrast to the water baptism of catholic Christian ritual. Cf. 69,14-15 and note. For gnostic rejection of water baptism see esp. Epiph. *Haer.* 40.2.6 (the Archontics).
- 69,23 The superlin. stroke on Μ̄ is visible. ἀποταγή: Cf. also 41,7-8; 43,13; 44,26. “Renunciation” of worldly attachments is a feature of Jesus’ teaching, Luke 14:33, and this can readily be broadened to include the renunciation of “the world” itself. In early Christian asceticism see esp. *Act. Pl. Thekl.* 5; in Gnosticism: *Pist. Soph.* chs. 95, 100, 102; in monasticism: *V. Pach.* φ 24; Pall. *H. Laus.* 13, 19, 21, 35, 39, 44, 45, 54, 58, 60, 61, 62. Baptismal ritual includes the renunciation of Satan, Hipp. *Trad. Ap.* 21. Cf. also *Melch.* IX 10,29 and note.

- the world (κόσμος) would become
 20 empty. And the fathers of
 baptism (βάπτισμα) were defiled.
 22 But (δέ) the baptism (βάπτισμα) of truth is
 something else; it is by renunciation (ἀποταγή) of [the]
 24 world (κόσμος) that it is found. [But (ἀλλά) those who]
 say [only] with the tongue [that]
 26 [they] are renouncing (ἀποτάσσειν) it [are lying,]
 and they are coming to [the place]
 28 of fear. Moreover (πάλιν) they are humbled
 within it. Just as (κατά) those to whom it was given
 30 to have been condemned (καταγινώσκειν),
 [they shall] get something! They are
 32 wicked in their behavior (πρᾶξις)! Some (δέ)
 of them fall away

[70]

[to the worship of] idols (εἰδωλον). [Others]

2 [(+ δέ)] have

[demons (δαίμων)] dwelling with them [as did]

- 69,24-26 The reference is to the "renunciation" rite of baptism; cf. Hipp. *Trad. Ap.* 21.
- 69,25 **ΖΜ ΠΛΑΣ ΜΜΑΤΕ**: Cf. 31,25-26. For the expression cf. Iren. *Haer.* VI.33.3, against the Valentinians; Cf. also I John 3:18.
- 69,26 **CEXI BOΛ**: Or perhaps **CEP ZAL**, with the same meaning.
- 69,27-28 Cf. Heb 10:27.
- 69,29-31 This passage is very difficult. Koschorke translates, "(Ganz) in Entsprechung zur Beschaffenheit derer (sc. der Väter der Taufe), die ihnen gegeben haben—wobei sie Verdammung empfangen—[wer]den sie (auch) empfangen." The meaning seems to be that those who adhere to the catholic practice of baptism will share in the same condemnation as the archontic powers. Cf. 69,12.20-21 and notes. *καταγινώσκειν*: Cf. 42,29.
- 69,32 *πρᾶξις*: Cf. 37,29.
- 69,32-70,30 On this passage see Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions," p. 459, and tractate introduction.
- 69,32-70,1 Koschorke translates, "Einige aber unter ihnen kommen [durch die] Götzen zu Fall."
- 70,1 **ΨΜΥΕ ΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ** = *ειδωλολατρεία*. Cf. 56,8-9 and note. For gnostic polemic against idolatry see e.g. Heracleon, fr. 21; *Gos. Phil.* II 72,1-4.
- 70,1-4 For David's propensity to idol worship according to Jewish haggadah, see e.g. *b. Sanhedrin* 107a.

4 ΝΔ[ΑΥΕ]ΙΔ' ΠΡΡΟ ΝΤΟQ ΠΕΝΤΑ[Q]
 CΜΝ Ϛ[Ν]ΤΕ ΝΘ[Ι]ΗΜ ΑΥΩ ΠΕ[QΩΗ]
 6 ΡΕ CΟΛ[O]Μ[Ω]Ν ΠΑΪ [ΕΝ]ΤΑQΧΠOQ Φ[Β]OΛ
 ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤ[ΝOΕΙΚ] ΝΤOQ ΠΕΝΤΑQ
 8 ΚΩΤ ΝΘΙΗΜ [ΕΒO]Λ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ
 ΕΒOΛ ΧΕ ΑQΧΙ Ν[OΥBΟ]Μ· ΝΤΑΡΕQ
 10 [O]Υ[Ω] ΔΕ ΕQ[ΚΩΤ ΑQΩΤ]Π ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ
 [ΕΠ]Ρ[Π]Ε ΑQ[ΚΑΑΥ ΕΖ]OYN ΕCΑΩQΕ
 12 [ΝΖΥΔΡ]ΙΑ· Α[ΥBΩ ΖΝ] OYNOB NOYO
 [ΕΙΩ Ζ]Ν ΝΖΥ[ΔΡΙΑ ΕΥ]ΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ Μ
 14 [ΜΑΥ·] ΝΤΑΡO[ΥΑΛ]Ε ΝBΙ ΝΖΡΩ
 [Μ]ΑΙOϚ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε[ΘΙΗ]Μ ΑΥBΩΛΕΠ
 16 [Ν]ΝΖΥΔΡΙΑ· Α[ΥΩ] Ζ[Ν ΤOY]ΝOY
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΝΔ[ΑΙΜΩΝ] ΠΩΤ
 18 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΝΖΥΔ[ΡΙΑ Ν]ΘΕ ΝΝΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΡ ΒOΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΩΤΕΚO· ΑΥΩ
 20 [Α]Υ[B]Ω ΝBΙ ΝΖΥΔΡΙΑ ΕΥOYΑΑΒ·
 [ΑΥ]Ω ΧΙΝ ΝΕΖOΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ
 22 [ΕΥOYΗΖ] ΜΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩOΟΤ
 [ΖΝ OY]ΜΝΤΑΤC OΟΥ[Ν]· ΑΥ[Ω]

- 70,4-6 David and Solomon are singled out as "laughing-stocks" in *Treat. Seth* VII 63,4-17.
- 70,4-5 Cf. 2 Kgdms 5:9. "Jerusalem": The temple may be meant here. According to Jewish haggadah David dug the temple's foundations; see e.g. *b. Makkot* 11a.
- 70,5-9 On this passage see Giversen, "Solomon und die Dämonen."
 70,7 ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΝΟΕΙΚ: Cf. the Bathsheba episode, 2 Kgdms 11. But the son born to that adulterous union died, 2 Kgdms 12:15-18, and Solomon was born of Bathsheba later, 2 Kgdms 12:24.
- 70,7-9 Cf. 3 Kgdms 5-7, esp. 6:7. According to Jewish haggadah Solomon was aided in building the temple by demons, and in general his power over the demons is a common topos in Jewish legend. See esp. *Test. Salom.* (*passim*); *b. Gitṭin* 68ab; *Exod. Rab.* 52.4; *Midr. Cant.* 1.1.5; *Num. Rab.* 11.3; *Pesiq. R.* 6.7; and cf. *b. Migilla* 11b; *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 5; *Jos. Ant.* VIII.45. On Solomon as a sorcerer *par excellence* in Hellenistic legend, esp. magical material, see Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, vol. 2, § 291. For Solomon's power over demons in gnostic literature, see esp. *Apoc. Adam* V 78,27-79,18; *Orig. World* II 106,19-107,17; and the Mandaean account of the building of the temple, Lidz.

- 4 David the king. He is the one who
laid the foundation of Jerusalem; and his son
6 Solomon, whom he begat
in [adultery,] is the one who
8 built Jerusalem by means of the demons (*δαίμων*),
because he received [power]. When he
10 [had finished] (+ *δέ*) [building, he imprisoned] the
demons (*δαίμων*)
[in the temple.] He [placed them] into seven
12 [waterpots (*ὑδρία*). They remained] a long [time]
[in] the [waterpots (*ὑδρία*)], abandoned
14 [there.] When the Romans [went]
up to [Jerusalem] they discovered
16 [the] waterpots (*ὑδρία*), [and immediately]
the [demons (*δαίμων*)] ran
18 out of the waterpots (*ὑδρία*) as those who
escape from prison. And
20 the waterpots (*ὑδρία*) [remained] pure (thereafter).
[And] since those days
22 [they dwell] with men who are
[in] ignorance, and

Ginza, pp. 28, 46.

- 70,8 "Jerusalem": The temple is doubtless meant here. Cf. 70,4-5 and note. Cf. also Lidz. *Ginza*, p. 46.
- 70,10-14 There is a loss of vertical fibers from the left side of the page, with loss of text. The legend of the demons in the waterpots is reflected in a number of different sources, perhaps ultimately based on a single lost apocryphon. Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295; Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge*, vol. 2, 265; *Test. Salom.* 15.9; cf. 19.1 and variants. For the Muslim form of the legend in the *Arabian Nights* see Isbell, *Incantation Bowls*, 13. For discussion see tractate introduction.
- 70,14-15 Probably a reference to Pompey's entry into the temple; see esp. *Jos. Ant.* XIV.72-73.
- 70,21-28 Vertical fibers had already been loosened and folded over on part of the page in antiquity, for the scribe avoided the damaged area. Thus on line 21, **ΕΤΜ** and **ΜΑΥ** are separated by almost two spaces. On line 22, **ΕΤ** and **ΥΟΟΠ** are separated; on line 23 **CΟΟΥΝ** and **ΑΥΩ**; on line 24 **ΝΙ** and **Μ**; on line 25 **CΟΛΟ** and **ΜΩΝ**; on line 26 **ΑΥ** and **ΠΕ**; on line 27 **ΘΙΗΜ** and **Η**; on line 28 **Α** and **Υ**.

24 [αγβω ριχ]ϩ πκαρ· ΝΙΜ βε πε
 [δαγεί]α· Ἡ Ἡ ΝΙΜ πε σολομων·
 26 [Ἡ] αψ πε τσντε· Ἡ αψ πε πσο
 βετ ετκωτε εθιημ· Ἡ ΝΙΜ Ν
 28 τορ πε Νδαιμων· Ἡ αψ νε Ν
 ρυδρια· Ἡ ΝΙΜ Ντοου νε
 30 Νρωμαιος· ναί δε ρενμη

[Oa]

(± 5 lines missing)

6 [.]·[
 ΝΝ[
 8 Να[
 τ[
 10 πε[
 [.]·[
 12 χρο ερ[ο· ± 8 πωηρε]
 Ἡπρωμ[ε
 14 Ν[.]αρ·τ[
 ατχ[ωρῃ

(1 line missing)

μαγ [ε]τρε[
 18 αγω ερ[± 12 ρο]
 ποτε ερ·[
 20 ουνοβ γαρ πε [
 ογω τη[
 22 ετφυσικ [·
 [.]·] ετε
 24 ·ρ· νετ[
 τηρῃ ρη ο[γ ± 8 μα]κα

70,21-24 Cf. *Test. Salom.* 15.9-10.

70,24 The Μ in ΝΙΜ is partially written on the underside of a folded over fiber; cf. note to 70,21-28.

70,24-30 Cf. 29,15-21; 30,30-31,5; 40,30-41,4; 45,19-22. On the use of allegory in *Testim. Truth* see tractate introduction.

70,26 The Π in the second ΠΕ is written on the underside of the vertical fibers folded over. Cf. note to 70,21-28.

70,26-27 The "wall which surrounds Jerusalem" is not mentioned pre-

- 24 [they have remained upon] the earth. Who, then, is
 [David]? And (ἤ) who is Solomon?
 26 [And (ἤ)] what is the foundation? And (ἤ) what is the
 wall which surrounds Jerusalem? And (ἤ) who
 28 are the demons (δαίμων)? And (ἤ) what are the
 waterpots (ὕδρια)? And (ἤ) who are
 30 the Romans? But (δέ) these [are mysteries (μυστήριον)]

[71]

(± 5 lines missing)

- 6 [
 [
 8 [
 [
 10 . . . [
 [
 12 victorious over [the Son]
 of Man [
 14 [
 [undefiled

(1 line missing)

- . . . [
 18 and he [
 when (ὁπότε) he [
 20 For (γάρ) [] is a great
 . . . [
 22 to this nature (φύσις) [
 [
 24 those that [
 all in [a] blessed (μακάριος)

vously in the text, but may have been in the source used by
 the author of our tractate. Cf. tractate introduction. Cf. also
 3 Kgdms 9:15.

70,30

"mysteries": The word was doubtless completed on the next
 page, ΖΕΝΜΥ/[CΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

71,14

Some ink is now missing on the MS. from αρ, but it is attested
 in an early photograph.

26 ΡΙΟϚ ΝϞΕΝ[..... ΝΘΕ ΝΟ]Υ
 28 ΣΑΛΑΜΑΝΔ[ΡΑ· ΨΑϞΒ]ΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΤΖΡΩ ΝΚΩΖΤ̄ Ε[Τ̄Χ]ΕΡΟ ΕΠΕ
 ΖΟΥΟ· ΨΑϞΩΨ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝ

[OB]

(± 5 lines missing)

6	[	± 18	]ΑΤ
	[	± 18	]ΧΡΗ
8	[	± 18	]ΚΕ
	[	± 17	]· ΖΝ
10	[	± 18	]Η
	[	± 16	]ΕΝΤ.
12	[	± 15	]Ω Η ΜΝ
	[	± 13	]ΑΝ Ν[
14	[	± 13	ΠΝ]ΤΦΚ

(1 line missing)

16	[	± 14	]ΝΖΡΩΧΕ
	[	± 13	]Μ ΕΥΕΝΑΥ
18	[	± 14	] ΜΝ ΠΧΙΝ·
	[	± 9	Θ]ΥϞΙΑ· ΝΑΨΕ ΘΥ
20	[CΙΑ	± 11	] ΝΟ[Υ]Α Μ
	[	± 14	]Μ ΝΤ[.]Ε
22	[	± 12	ΑΛ]ΛΑ ΖΝ ΟΥ
	[	± 14	]· ΕΥϞΑ
24	Ν[	± 12	]Υ· ΑΥΩ
	Ϟ[...]. [ΝΒΙ ΠΩΗΡ]Ε ΜΠΡΩ		
26	ΜΕ· ΑΥ[Ω ΑΦΟ]ΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄		
	ΤΠΗΓΗ Ν[ΑΤ]ΜΟΥ ΕΣΒΕΕΒΕ		

71,26-29

According to ancient "science" and folklore the legendary salamander was able to live in fire. The closest parallel to this passage is *Phys. rec. A* (ed. Kaimakis) 31: ἐὰν εισέλθῃ εἰς κάμινον πυρός, σβέννυται ἢ πύρα, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ὑποκαυστήριον βαλανείου, σβέννυται τὸ ὑποκαυστήριον. Cf. also Aristot. *Hist. An.* V.19, 552B; Ael. *Nat. An.* II.2.31; Pliny *Hist. Nat.* X.87; and Theophr. *Ign.* 60. The salamander was probably meant by Philo in his reference to πυρτόνα animals; cf. *Gig.* 7; *Quaest. in Ex.* II.28. For discussion see tractate introduction.

26 and they [like a]
 salamander (σαλαμάνδρα). [It] goes into
 28 the fiery oven which burns
 exceedingly; it slithers into the [furnace]

[72]

(± 5 lines missing)

6 []
 []
 8 []
 [] in
 10 []
 [] . . .
 12 [] and
 [] . . . []
 14 [the] furnace

(1 line missing)

16 [] the boundaries
 [] that they might see
 18 [] and the power
 [] sacrifice (θυσία). Great is the sacrifice (θυσία)
 20 [] one
 []
 22 [but (ἀλλά)] in a
 [] aside
 24 [] And
 [the Son] of Man [
 26 and [he has become] manifest through
 the bubbling fountain (πηγή) of [immortality.]

71,29 "furnace": The word was probably Ν[ΤΩΚ, completed on the next page. Cf. 72,14.

72,12 Perhaps ΟΥ]ΩΗ, "night."

72,12-14 In the right margin there is blotting from p. 73. Cf. notes to 73,13-15.

72,14 Superlin. stroke visible.

72,19 θυσία: Cf. 38,7; 32,20 and note.

72,20-21 In the right margin there is blotting from p. 73, 4 from 73,22 and Μ from 73,23.

72,26-27 Cf. Gos. Thom. 13; John 4:14.

[± 9] μα[ϰ]κι[.....]τος
 2 [± 9] ουκαθαρ[ος] πε·
 [.....].μ Δ[ε] πε· ουελ[εγ]θερος
 4 [Δε] μαϰ[ρ]φθ[ο]νι· ϰπορω [εβ]ολ η
 [ου]ον ημ εβολ ητολ[μα ημ Ϸι] φθο
 6 [νο]ς εναψε τρω[υ]ομ ..].μ θ
 η[μ]αθητης .[± 7] η· η
 8 σμοτ ηνομο[ς]
 ναϊ εγ.[
 10 μο[νο]η [
 [± 18] .
 12 [± 17] τε
 [...].ε[± 11] ακω
 14 [η]μοϰ Ϸου[± 9] ..[
 [.....]ουσβω [
 16 [± 10] ηε[
 [.....]ρ[.....] ε[τε]ρσβ[ω·]
 18 [ε]γχω ημο[ς] χε κ]αν εγαρ[γελος]
 ε[ι] εβολ Ϸη ηπε ηταψ[ε οειψ]
 20 ηητη παρα πεντανταψε ϱ[ειψ]
 ημοϰ ηητη μαρεψω[πε εϰ]
 22 ηητ· ενσεκω αν ηη[
 ηψγ[χ]η ετε[.].η[.].Ϸ.[
 24 [...].ελεγερια [
 χε ετι σεσοβεϰ .[
 26 ηηβομ ημοου ερτ[ηρει η]
 ηηνομοσ παϊ [ε]τενεργει

- 73,1 Corr. ϰ is deleted with a diagonal stroke.
- 73,3-6 Gnostic existence is characterized by freedom, including freedom from envy and ill-will. Cf. 44,3-23 and notes.
- 73,4 ϰπορω: Probably an error; read ϰπορω instead. Cf. 44,15.
- 73,8 νόμος: Cf. 73,27.
- 73,13 A trace of the initial letter, possibly ϰ, occurs as a blotting in the right margin of p. 72.
- 73,14 Traces of the first two letters, ηη, occur as blosings in the right margin of p. 72.
- 73,15 The initial letter, η, occurs as a blotting in the right margin of p. 72.

- [] . . .
- 2 [] he is pure (καθαρός),
[and (δέ) he] is []. A free man (ἐλεύθερος)
- 4 [(+ δέ) is not] envious (φθονεῖν). He is set apart from
everyone, from [every audacity (τόλμα) and] envy
(φθόνος)
- 6 the [power of] which is great. [] is (a)
disciple (μαθητής) [
- 8 pattern of law (νόμος) [
- these [
- 10 only (μόνον) [
- [
- 12 [
- [] they placed
- 14 him under a [
- [] a teaching [
- 16 [
- [] his teaching.
- 18 They say, ["Even if (κἄν) an [angel (ἄγγελος)]
comes from heaven, and preaches
- 20 to you beyond (παρα) that which we preached
to you, may he be
- 22 anathema!" They do not let the [
- of the soul (ψυχή) which [
- 24 [] freedom (ἐλευθερία) [
- For they are still (ἔτι) immature [
- 26 they are not able to [keep (τηρεῖν)]
this law (νόμος) which works (ἐνεργεῖν)

73,17 "his teaching": Probably the apostle Paul's; cf. the following lines.

73,18-22 Gal 1:8. The opponents have appropriated Paul's asseveration for their own purposes.

73,22-24 Koschorke translates, ". . . wobei sie nicht lassen die [] der See[le], indem sie bewirken, dass die Sünde [] Freiheit . . ."

73,24 ἐλευθερία: Cf. 73,3-6.

73,25 ἘΤΙ ΚΕΚΟΒΕΚ = ἔτι νήπιοί εἰσιν. Cf. 1 Cor 3:1; Heb 5:13.

73,26-27 Cf. Acts 15:5.

28 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΖΕΡΕCIC·
 ΝΤ[Ο]ΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΔΥ
 30 ΝΑΜΙC ΝΕ ΝCΑΒΑΩΘ· ΕΒΟΛ

ΟΔ

Ζ[Ι]ΤΟ[Ο]ΤΟΥ] ΝΝΜ[
 2 .ΕΡΟ[.....] ΝCΒΟ[ΟΥC
 ΕΛΥΚ[Ω]Ζ [Ε]ΧΝ ΖΕΝ[.]..[
 4 ΝΟΜ[ΟC] ΖΜ ΠΕΧΦ· Ν[Ε]ΤΝΑ.[
 ΘΟΜ [.]. CΕΧΩΒΕ ΝΝCΩΜ[.].[
 6 ΑΥ[± 9] ΕΤΜΝΤCΝΦ[ΟΥCΕ]
 ΡΚΡΙΝ[Ε]. ΩΕ[.]Ν ΜΜΟΟΥ
 8 [.].ΧΦ.[± 7].[.]Ν ΝΤΠΗΓΗ Ν
 [ΑΤΜΟΥ ± 10]ΤΕ[.].

(2 lines missing)

12 ΜΕ[
 ΧΕΚΑ[ΑC ± 11]ΤΕ[
 14 .ΤΕ[± 9]Α ΤΜΝΤ.[
 [± 10]ΜΑ[
 16 [...].Ζ[
 [...].ΑΡ[.]. Ε[.....Ν]ΑΝΟ[Υ]C Ε[
 18 [...]....[....]Υ ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡ[C]
 [...]. C..ΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΧΑΧΕ
 20 [Α]C ΡΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕ
 [...].Μ[.]ΑΤΕ ΑC ΡΝΟΥΤΕ ΑC ΖΩΑ
 22 [ΕΖΡΑΙ] ΜΠΟΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟC·
 [...].[.]Υ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΧΑ[ΧΕ]
 24 [± 9]ΡC ΕΜΝCΟΜ·
 [ΕΤΡΕΥΝ]ΤC ΕΠΙΤΗ ΝΚΕCΟΠ

- 73,27-28 νόμος . . . ἐνεργεῖν . . . αἵρεσις: Cf. Gal 5:18-20; Rom 7:5; 1 Cor 11:19. "these heresies": Cf. 59,4-5 and notes. Cf. also *Apos. Pet.* VII 74,22 and context.
- 73,29-30 "The powers of Sabaoth" are the angels who gave the Law. Cf. 29,20-23 and note. For "Sabaoth" see esp. Epiph. *Haer.* 40.2.6-8 and 5.1-7 (the Archontics).
- 74,2 Koschorke translates, "... und] er lehrt[...]"
- 74,4 Cf. Rom 8:2.
- 74,6 Koschorke translates "[Viel]deutigkeit." "Twelve" (fem.) is admittedly difficult to construe here for lack of context.
- 74,8-9 ΤΠΗΓΗ ΝΑΤΜΟΥ: Cf. 72,26-27 and note.

28 by means of these heresies (αἵρεσις)—
 though (δέ) it is not they, but (ἀλλά) the powers (δύναμις)
 30 of Sabaoth—by means

74

of the [

2 [] the doctrines [
 as they have been jealous of some [
 4 [law(s) (νόμος)] in Christ. Those who will [
 power [] they reach the . . . [
 6 [] the [twelve]
 judge (κρίνειν) [] them
 8 [] the fountain (πηγή) of
 [immortality

(2 lines missing)

12 [
 in order that [

14 [

[

16 [

[] good

18 [] the whole place.

[] there the enemies.

20 He was baptized (βαπτίζειν), and the

[] he became divine; he flew

22 [up,] (and) they did not grasp him.

[] there the [enemies]

24 [] since it was not possible

[for them to bring him] down again.

74,10-11 Koschorke posits three missing lines here, plus one missing line after 15.

74,19 ΝΧΛΧΕ: Probably a reference to archontic powers.

74,19-20 Koschorke translates, "Er hat dort die Feinde [geschlagen(?)] welche ihn bedrän[gen(?)] . . .," reading ΚΟΛΑΦΙΖΕ instead of ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ. The letters are very faint. Cf. 62,11 and note. If a reference to baptism is correct, it should be taken as a special gnostic "baptism of truth"; cf. 69,22-23 and note.

74,21-22 The Gnostic's goal is to achieve deification and to ascend to heaven. Cf. 44,5-7; *Corp. Herm.* I.26.

74,22-25 The archontic enemies cannot prevent the Gnostic's ascent.

26 [. . . .] ε ΝΙΜ ΕΥΑΜΑ[Ζ]ΤΕ ΗΜΟϺ
 [ΖΝ Τ]ΜΗΤΑΤ'ϺΟΟΥΝ ΕΥΡ'ΠΡΟϺ
 28 ε[ΧΕ] ΕΝΕΤ'Τ' ΣΒΩ ΖΝ ΝΚΛΧΕ
 ΖΙΤΗ ΖΕΝΨΟΧΤ̄ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΚΟΤ̄
 30 ΝΤΕΧΝΗ· ΕΥΝΑΨΘΗΘΟΜ ΑΝ

74,28 "those who teach in the corners": This is a polemical topos; see e.g. *Herm. Mand.* 11.13.8; *Tat. Or. Graec.* 26; *Orig. Cels.* VI.78; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 8; *Acts* 26:26.

74,29 ΖΕΝΨΟΧΤ̄: "carved things," as in the carved images of

- 26 Every [] grasps him
 [with] ignorance, attending (προσέχειν)
 28 to those who teach in the corners
 by means of carved things and
 30 artful (τέχνη) tricks. They will not be able

paganism; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI.110.4. Koschorke translates it as an adjective, "hohle."

74,29-30

ΚΟΤ̄ = μεθοδεῖα; ΖΕΝΚΟΤ̄ ΝΤΕΧΝΗ are "artful devices" or "tricks." Cf. Eph 4:14.

Since all o
very knowl
sity follow
ages fragme
Walter trac
erates to
The numbe
ed they are
and sides o
ers (1) first
as attested
asible Edi
The followi
preserved
erial from
owing frag
served toge
10, 13, 2

Left m
Right
No ma
Perhaps
"to yo
No ma

CODEX IX: FRAGMENTS

Since all of the unplaced fragments of Codex IX of which there is any knowledge have been published in the *Facsimile Edition*, the policy followed here is to publish transcriptions of only those larger fragments which contain, on either side, six or more letters or letter traces. Such translations as are possible are indicated in the notes to the respective fragments.

The numbering of the fragments is that of the *Facsimile Edition*, and they are presented here in the order in which they appear there. Both sides of each fragment are transcribed together, vertical fibers (↑) first. It should be noted that fragments 72-86 are now lost, attested only in photographs made by Giversen in 1958 (cf. *Facsimile Edition*, plates 77-78).

The following fragments published here were first encountered or preserved (according to photographic records) together with material from tractate 1: fragments 3, 4, 6, 11, 20, and 75. The following fragments published here were first encountered or preserved together with material from tractate 3: fragments 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 22, 23, 32, 37, 72, 73, 74, 82, 83, and 86.

2 ↑ :	.[
	N[
	Φ[
	.[
2 → :].
	]Tε
	]M
	]N [̄]
3 ↑ :	]MON· NN[
	]NΔK M [̄] N[
3 → :	]Mε[

Fr. 2↑ Left margin visible.

Fr. 2→ Right margin visible.

Fr. 3↑ No margins visible.

 3↑,1 Perhaps M]MON, "us."

 3↑,2 "to you, and."

Fr. 3→ No margins visible.

]Υ· παῖτ[ελος
]. Ν·[
 4 ↑ : οὐα]αβ Ν[
 π]ωνζ· πω[
]. πωνζ [

4 → :]. [

οὐ]κετι π[
]ναμοϋ [

5 ↑ :]. [. . . .]. [

]. . Ντα. [

]βΝ[

5 → :]. Ν[

ο]ς ἄωορπ [

]. [.]τεϛ[

6 ↑ :]επ[

]σοϛ[

]. α. [

6 → :]αν. [

]βμδ[ομ

]. . [

9 ↑ : Ντ[

ρε[

ω[

τ. [

Νρ[

-
- 3 →, 2 "the angel (ἄγγελος)."
 Fr. 4 ↑ No margins visible.
 4 ↑, 1 "holy."
 4 ↑, 2 "the] life."
 4 ↑, 3 "the life."
 Fr. 4 → No margins visible.
 4 →, 2 "no longer (οὐκέτι)."
 4 →, 3 Perhaps **CE]ΝΑΜΟΥ**, "they will die."
 Fr. 5 ↑ No margins visible.
 Fr. 5 → No margins visible.
 5 →, 2 "(at) first."
 Fr. 6 ↑ No margins visible.
 6 ↑, 2 Perhaps **]σοϛ[γν**, "know."
 Fr. 6 → No margins visible.
 6 →, 2 "be able."
 Fr. 9 ↑ Left margin visible.

ΘΡ[
 Ο[
 ΙΑ[
 9→:]ΠΟΥ
]Υ·
].ε
]ΑΝ
]Υ
] ΛΥΩ
]ΟΛ
] ΖΝ
]Ν
]Υ
 10↑: [blank]
 10→:].ΝΙΩ.
]†.·[
 11↑:]ε[.·]Ψ[
].ΝΑΡ.[
 11→:]ϞΜΩ[
 12↑:]ΕΝ[
]ΜΕ Π[
 12→:]ΩΙΝ[
]ΤΟΝ·[
]ΝΤ̄[

-
- 9→,6 Perhaps ΘΡ[ΟΝΟΣ, "throne(s)" (θρόνος).
 Fr. 9→ Right margin visible.
 9→,6 "and."
 9→,8 "in."
 Fr. 10↑ Apparently uninscribed. Perhaps a fragment from p. 76, which may have been left uninscribed; see codex introduction for discussion.
 Fr. 10→ Top margin possibly preserved. Perhaps a fragment from p. 75; cf. previous note.
 10→,1 Perhaps ΙΩΤ̄, "father."
 Fr. 11↑ No margins visible.
 Fr. 11→ No margins visible.
 Fr. 12↑ No margins visible.
 12↑,2 Perhaps ΡΩ]ΜΕ, "man."
 Fr. 12→ No margins visible.
 12→,1 Perhaps ΩΙΝ[Ε, "seek."
 12→,2 Probably a Greek adjective.

13 ↑ :]αζογ[
].π[
 13 → :].ογτ[
 20 ↑ :]αιχ[
].τη[
 20 → :]νεπρ[
]νογ[
 22 ↑ :]ν[
]λ[
].αν.[
 22 → :].[
]νρ[
]μπρ[
]φ[
 23 ↑ :]ζμ[
]ψ[
 23 → :].τ[
]ε τα[
]. ν[
 32 ↑ :].[
]αζν[
]ο..[
 32 → :]α[
]αφε.[
]..[

Fr. 13↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 13→ No margins visible.

Fr. 20↑ No margins visible.

20↑,1 Perhaps αιχ[ι, "I received"; or αιχ[οος, "I said."

Fr. 20→ No margins visible.

Fr. 22↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 22→ No margins visible.

22→,3 Perhaps an imperative, "Do not . . ."

Fr. 23↑ No margins visible.

23↑,1 "in."

Fr. 23→ No margins visible.

23→,2 Perhaps a *nomen sacrum* occurred on this line; note the superlin. stroke on ε.

Fr. 32↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 32→ No margins visible.

37 ↑ :]ΥΤ[
]ΤϚ[
]πε[
 37 → :]θε[
]ϷΝ[
].τϛ[
 72 ↑ :]ΧΝ·ΤΑΙ.[
].·ΝΝΗ.[
]ΠΤΗΡ[Ϛ
 72 → :]...[
]. ΝϞο Ϟ.[
]οϙε Ν.[
 73 ↑ :]...[
]ϞΠο[
]Ϛβω Ν[
] ΝΑΙ [
 73 → :]...[
]Ϙ...[
]εϙΝ[
]Τ[
 74 ↑ :]οΤ[
]Τ[.]Ϸ...[
]ΙϚ[
 74 → :]ϷΝ[
]ca[
].γϙ.[

-
- Fr. 37↑ No margins visible.
 Fr. 37→ No margins visible.
 37→,1 "the way."
 37→,2 "in."
 Fr. 72↑ No margins visible.
 72↑,1 "this."
 72↑,3 "the All."
 Fr. 72→ No margins visible.
 72→,2 "(a) thousand."
 Fr. 73↑ No margins visible.
 73↑,3 Perhaps **†**] **CBW**, "teach."
 73↑,4 "these."
 Fr. 73→ Right margin possibly visible.
 Fr. 74↑ No margins visible.
 74↑,3 "Jesus."
 Fr. 74→ No margins visible.
 74→,1 Perhaps **ϷΝ**, "in."

75 ↑ :]ΠΟΥΝ[
]ΤΒΑΡ[ΒΗΛΩΝ
]ΝΖ[

75 → :]ΟΟΥΤ[
]ΟΝ Χ[
]ΝΛ[
]Ρ Ϟ[

82 ↑ :]...[
]..[

82 → :]ΡΜΡΑ[ω
]ΥΝ[

83 ↑ :]Β.[
]ΝΤ̄ .[

83 → :]ΙΩ[
]ΕΥ.[

86 ↑ :]...[
]ΑΝ.Χ[
]...[

86 → :]...[
]..[

Fr. 75↑ Top margin preserved. This fragment probably belongs in the vicinity of p. 17, as indicated by the name "Barbelo" (cf. *Melch. IX* 16,26), and because it was first photographed with fragments of pp. 17 and 21. It does not fit the top of p. 17, however.

75↑,2 "Barbelo."

75↑,3 Perhaps ΠΩ]ΝΖ, "the life."

Fr. 75→ Top margin visible.

75→,1 Perhaps Ζ]ΟΟΥΤ, "male."

Fr. 82↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 82→ No margins visible.

82→,1 "gentle."

Fr. 83↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 83→ No margins visible.

Fr. 86↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 86→ No margins visible.

INTRODUCTION TO CODEX X

Bibliography: Facsimile Edition, pp. xv-xxiii, pl. 81-144. Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 140-141, 145; Krause, "Der koptische Handschriftenfund," pp. 107-113; Robinson, "Coptic Gnostic Library Today," p. 400; Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 9-10, pl. 5, 13; Robinson, "Construction," pp. 172, 174, 176-183, 185-189; Robinson, "Codicology," pp. 15, 17-18, 27-28; Robinson, "Future," pp. 26-27, 42-43, 47-49, 53-54, 58-59; Emmel, "Final Report," pp. 16, 21.

Codex X is part of a collection of twelve papyrus codices, plus one tractate from a thirteenth, discovered in December of 1945 in a jar buried at the base of the Gebel et-Ṭarif near the village of Hamra Dom in Upper Egypt, about 10 km. northeast of Nag' Ḥammadi. (On the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices see J. M. Robinson's Introduction to *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 21-23). It is now the property of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, and bears the inventory number 10551. It has been numbered X by J. Doresse and T. Mina in 1949 ("Nouveaux textes gnostiques," p. 137), XII by H.-C. Puech in 1950 ("Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," p. 109) and by J. Doresse in 1958 (*Les livres secrets*, p. 167), and X by M. Krause in 1962 ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," p. 128 *et passim*). Krause's numbering of the Nag Hammadi codices is the official numbering used by the Coptic Museum and in the *Facsimile Edition*, and is therefore adopted in this edition.

I. Codicology

Codex X was found with its leather cover intact. Photographs of the cover are presented in the *Facsimile Edition*, plates 81-86 (and in Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pl. 5). In three of these photographs (pl. 83-85) the codex is shown open at pp. 26*-27*, 28*-29*, and 30*-31*. A full description of the leather cover, which was made of sheep leather, is provided by J. M. Robinson in his Preface to the *Facsimile Edition* (p. xvii). Robinson has shown, in a thorough analysis of all of the extant leather covers of the Nag Hammadi Library, that Codex X belongs typologically in a group together with Codices VI and IX, and to a lesser extent II (see "Construction," pp. 184-190). Such cartonnage as may have been removed from the binding of Codex X has been lost (cf. Emmel, "Final Report," p. 21).

Codex X is preserved only in part, and the extant portion consists mainly of fragments. More than half of the codex is lost. Thus this codex, along with Codex XII, represents that part of the Nag Hammadi Library which has suffered the most damage and loss. Unlike Codex XII, the fragments of Codex X have not been susceptible of identification with any previously known literature. Thus it is not possible to ascertain even the extent of the codex: how many pages it originally contained, or even how many tracts, though on grounds of content it is presumed that it contained only one tractate, whose title occurs on the last inscribed page of the codex, p. 68* (see the tractate introduction).

In *Secret Books* (p. 145) J. Doresse says of Codex X (= XII in his numbering system): "20 pages [= leaves], with their binding in sahidic dialect, marked by akhmimic influence." Subsequently, ("Les Reliures," p. 45), Doresse is even less specific, remarking simply that the codex is too damaged to say how many pages it contained.

Krause reports of Codex X that it came to the Cairo Museum (along with other codices in the library) in 1952 (cf. also Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 124) and that the papyrus leaves, contained in a leather cover, were broken and disordered (Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 9). Krause reports that the remains of the codex were placed between 34 plexiglass panes. He thus silently corrects an earlier statement which referred to 36 plexiglass panes ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," p. 128).

No attempt had apparently been made, at the time of the initial conservation in plexiglass, to put the pages and fragments of Codex X into order. The work that was done on this subsequently was carried out, from 1968 on, on the basis of photographs of the plexiglass containers. This work has been refined and corrected by examination of the original MS. on periodic work sessions in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, from 1970 to 1977.

At the time that I joined the Coptic Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of Claremont in 1968 and was assigned Codex X as part of my contribution to the Project, I was given access to 36 photographs (taken in 1966 under UNESCO auspices), showing the 36 panes of plexiglass referred to by Krause in his earlier article (see above). Upon study of these photographs it immediately became evident that plexiglass nos. 35-36 contained fragments that did not belong to Codex X at all. This judgment

was made on the basis of the hand as shown by the writing preserved on the fragments, and also the dialect (Sahidic, rather than the Subakhmimic of Codex X; cf. below). The suggestion was then made that the fragments in question belong to Codex VIII; sometime later some of these fragments were positively identified as belonging to Codex VIII.

The question as to why plexiglass 35-36 were attributed to Codex X at all was later answered. At an advanced stage of the work of the Coptic Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity J. Doresse kindly offered to the Institute some photographs of the Nag Hammadi codices that he had taken in 1948, including three photographs of Codex X in an opened state, showing pp. 26*-27*, 28*-29*, 30*-31* (see *Facsimile Edition*, plates 83-85). In the photograph showing p. 31* (pl. 85), there is clearly visible, protruding from under p. 31* at the top, one of the fragments that had appeared in plexiglass 36, a fragment that has been subsequently identified as part of the bottom of Codex VIII, p. 10, preserving parts of the last four lines. (An unidentified fragment from Codex VIII is also visible; see *Facsimile Edition*; p. xix.) These photographs of Codex X, dating from 1948, show that the contents of that codex had been considerably disturbed before the photography. Sometime after the manuscripts were discovered, but *before* Doresse had had a chance to study them, the contents of Codices X and VIII—and probably the others as well (cf. *Secret Books*, p. 117)—had become thoroughly disordered, with the result that not only was Codex X itself in hopeless disarray, but fragments from Codex VIII had been arbitrarily stuffed into the cover containing Codex X. At the time of the initial conservation in 1960 the material was conserved in plexiglass panes in the sequence in which it was found in the leather cover (see Krause, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 9; cf. *Facsimile Edition*, p. xix). Final conservation was completed in 1977 (see *Facsimile Edition*, p. xix; cf. Emmel, "Final Report," pp. 17-22).

Enough of Codex X has been preserved and pieced together to suggest with confidence that it consisted of a single quire. Recto pages from the first half of the quire consistently display vertical fibers, and recto pages from the last half of the quire horizontal fibers. The sequence of some of the pages has been ascertained, and fragments have been assigned to other pages somewhat arbitrarily (though not without criteria, see below), with the result that an

educated guess as to the original extent of the codex is possible. It appears that Codex X was originally constructed of a *minimum* of 18 sheets of four pages each, placed in such a way that all vertical fibers faced downward and horizontal fibers upward, and folded to make a book. The bottom sheet became the uninscribed front and back flyleaves (the back flyleaf is partially preserved, cf. pl. 141-142 of the *Facsimile Edition*). The other sheets constituted the written part of the book. There is enough material surviving from the beginning, the middle, and the end of the codex to arrive at an absolute minimum of 68 inscribed pages for the codex, though the codex was probably larger (see below). 56 pages, or fragments thereof, are extant. Pagination, after p. 10, is uncertain; asterisks (*) are used to indicate those pages whose numeration is postulated, not certain (though absolute sequence has been determined for some of these pages; see below). According to the minimum pagination adopted here, the center pages of the codex are 34* and 35*.

The leaves measure up to 26.0 cm. in height, and from ca. 11.4 cm. in width in the middle portion of the codex (p. 39*/40*) to 12.2 cm. at the outer pages (p. 3/4). The closed book thus had a proportion of roughly 2 to 1, height to width. Codex X is the narrowest of all of the codices in the Nag Hammadi Library (cf. Robinson's table, "Construction," p. 185).

The number of lines per page varies from 28 (pp. 1, 25*, 26*, 27*, 28*, 35*, 36*, 37*, 38*) to 30 (pp. 30*, 39*?, 41*, 42*); the average is 29. The lines average 15-16 letters in length. There are as few as 11 (40*,6), and as many as 21 (5,2). The lines average somewhat shorter toward the middle part of the codex; this is due to the fact that the individual pages are wider at the outside of the codex than in the middle.

Page numerals 3, 4, and 5 are extant, and occur in the middle of the top margin of their respective pages. Unfortunately our scribe stopped numbering the pages after p. 5, a fact which has made the task of reconstructing the codex all the more difficult. It should also be noted that the work of placing fragments and reconstructing the codex has been done over a considerable period of time, and has been a "trial and error" process. Thus what has been said of Codex X in preliminary articles on the Nag Hammadi library and the Coptic Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity has been subject to revision and refinement as the work progressed.

Since so much of the codex is lost and damaged, it is obvious that

fragments could not be placed as in a jig-saw puzzle. Certain criteria were developed for placement of fragments and for establishing, in so far as is possible, the sequence of the pages. These criteria include physical joins, continuity of fibers from one fragment to another, continuity in destruction patterns from one page to another, ink blotting from one page to a facing page, and continuity of text. Another criterion, quite crucial for the reconstruction of this codex, is the observation of horizontal fiber continuity between conjugate leaves from the two halves of the quire, indicating a single sheet. (Fiber continuity can frequently be determined even with a considerable amount of space between fragments. Fragments are placed longitudinally according to vertical fibers and latitudinally according to horizontal fibers.)

Unfortunately a number of fragments have proven to be incapable of placement, and remain in the category of "unidentified." Transcriptions of the largest of these are found in this edition, and all inscribed fragments from Codex X are published in the *Facsimile Edition* (plates 143-144; cf. also plates 3-4 in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction*, forthcoming).

The sequence of pp. 1-10 has been established with certainty, on the basis of text continuity and destruction patterns (page numbering ceases at p. 5). In addition, the sequence of pp. 25*-42* has also been established with certainty, on the basis of the criteria discussed above. The uninscribed back flyleaf (C) shows ink-blotting from p. 68*. The observation that there is horizontal fiber continuity between pp. 2 and 67*, between pp. 6 and 63*, and between pp. 8 and 61*, provided additional material for reconstructing the end of the codex. Placement of the material between p. 10 and p. 25* in the first half of the codex, and between p. 42* and 61* in the second half, is admittedly somewhat arbitrary, but criteria such as fiber continuity and destruction patterns ("profile") have been employed. Much more material is probably lost than is posited in the present pagination. All of the fragments determined to represent separate leaves or folios have been accommodated into a *mimimal* quire of 72 pages (68 inscribed), 36 folios, 18 sheets.

The following table shows how the folios relate to one another from one half of the codex to the other, in the order they lie in the codex opened at the center of the quire. Lost folios are shown in brackets. Horizontal fiber continuity from the first half of the quire to the second is indicated with the sign ==. Disruption of

horizontal fiber continuity is shown as follows: $=/ =$; in this case a *kollesis* is presumed to have existed (though no *kolleseis* have been preserved from Codex X). Where one of the conjugate leaves is shown in brackets as lost, fiber continuity, or lack thereof, is not shown.

first half of quire		second half of quire
33*/34*	===	35*/36*
31*/32*	===	37*/38*
29*/30*	===	39*/40*
27*/28*	===	41*/42*
25*/26*	= / =	43*/44*
[23*/24*]		45*/46*
21*/22*		[47*/48*]
19*/20*		[49*/50*]
17*/18*		[51*/52*]
15*/16*		[53*/54*]
13*/14*	===	55*/56*
[11/12]		57*/58*
9/10		[59*/60*]
7/8	===	61*/62*
5/6	===	63*/64*
3/4	= / =	65*/66*
1/2	===	67*/68*
[A/B]		C/D

(Note: P. 43*/44* is placed where it is because of "profile" similarity to p. 41*/42*; cf. *Facsimile Edition*, p. xxi.)

There is enough evidence preserved, in addition, to establish the extent of some of the *kollemata* in the papyrus rolls from which the sheets making up Codex X were cut. It is assumed that, in the construction of a codex, sheets were cut from rolls consisting of several sheets of papyrus glued together. The sheets from which a roll was made are called *kollemata*; the join where two *kollemata* are glued together is called a *kollesis*. (For this terminology and additional discussion see Turner, *Typology*, pp. 43-53; Robinson, "Codicology," p. 19; and "Future," pp. 23-27; cf. also the introduction to Codex IX.) In the case of Codex X too much material is lost to determine the exact number and size of the rolls from which it was constructed (for examples of complete analyses of other codices along these lines see e.g. Wisse, "Nag Hammadi Codex III," and Robinson, "Codicological Analysis"). Moreover not a single *kollesis* is preserved from Codex X (nor from XIII; see Robinson,

"Future," p. 42). However, direction of horizontal fiber continuity has been established, and some *kollemata* have been delineated.

Analysis of the horizontal fiber patterns in Codex X indicates horizontal fiber continuity from the left edge of one sheet in the quire to the right edge of the next above. This means that the rolls from which the codex was constructed were probably cut from right to left, and the sheets stacked in the order in which they were cut. The longest *kollema* identified in Codex X is the one beginning at the center of the quire (the left edge of a roll): pp. (showing horizontal fibers) 34* + 35*, 32* + 37*, 30* + 39*, 28* + 41*, 26* + 43* (part). Extant material in this *kollema* measures over 95 cm.; so we have a *kollema* of almost a meter in length, and perhaps a little more if we take into account lost material from outside margins. (Such long *kollemata* are practically unknown to papyrologists before the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices, but in the Nag Hammadi Codices they are commonplace. See Robinson, "Codicology," p. 31; "Future," pp. 41-43; and now Turner, *Typology*, p. 53.) Other *kollemata* wider than a single sheet (i.e. 2 folios) have been delineated with varying degrees of certainty as follows (pages shown in brackets are missing pages): 43*, [24*] + 45*; 20* + [49*], 18* + [51*], 16*; 10 + [59*], 8 + 61*, 6 + 63* + 4 + 65 (part); and 65*, 2 + 67*, [B] + C. Obviously the identification of material coming from a single *kollema* was also an important factor in the final pagination of the codex.

It has already been stressed that the pagination of Codex X is the *minimum* pagination needed to take into account all of the extant fragments, i.e. all fragments that were seen necessarily to represent separate leaves or folios. In fact, it is probable that Codex X was quite a bit larger than is reflected by the extant material. A reasonable hypothesis is that two rolls of papyrus were utilized in the construction of Codex X (cf. Robinson, "Codicology," p. 28; *Facsimile Edition*, p. xxi). The other Nag Hammadi Codices that are made up of two rolls are V, VI, IX, and XI (cf. Robinson, "Codicology," p. 28). Codex V has 94 pages, VI had 80, IX had 76, and XI has 74. Codices VI, IX, and X belong typologically together (see Robinson, "Construction," pp. 184-190). Using Codex IX as a conservative example, Codex X might be expected to have been made up of two rolls of 9 and 10 sheets respectively (see the introduction to Codex IX), and therefore to have contained at least 76 pages, 72 of them inscribed. But it should also be pointed

out that a standard roll of papyrus can be expected to yield a greater number of sheets the narrower they are cut. In fact Codex X is the narrowest of all of the Nag Hammadi Codices; the next narrowest is Codex V (see Robinson's chart, "Construction," p. 185). Hence one might reasonably conjecture a pattern similar to that of Codex V, in which the roll used at the outside of the quire yielded 10½ sheets, and that used at the middle of the quire yielded 13, for a total of 94 pages in all (cf. Robinson, "Future," p. 53; *Facsimile Edition*, p. xix). Unfortunately we shall probably never know how much has been lost from Codex X.

The papyrus used in Codex X was obviously of very good quality when it first received writing, much better than Codex IX (cf. the introduction to Codex IX). I have found no instances of the scribe having to avoid cracks or damaged areas in the papyrus as he wrote. P. 3 shows a narrow break in the vertical fibers extending the length of the page, but the scribe wrote over it. At lines 11 and 12, the crack is wide enough so that part of the fourth letter of line 11 (Μ) and line 12 (Ν) occurs in the crack on the horizontal fiber beneath. Similar phenomena occur on p. 21*, lines 13-26, p. 25*, lines 3-4, and p. 38*, lines 2, 19-22. But in general it can be stated that the scribe had at his disposal a very high-quality papyrus upon which to write.

The fact that no *kolleseis* have been found in the extant material of Codex X may be an indicator of high-quality work in the manufacture of the codex. The stationer may have taken special care to construct it in such a way as to ensure that *kolleseis* would not occur in the writing space of the pages; the *kolleseis* may even have been trimmed away. (The Manichaean codices, also constructed with great care, have no *kolleseis* in them; see Turner, *Typology*, pp. 45-46, 49-50.)

2. Paleography

Codex X was inscribed by a single scribe. The hand can be described generally as a somewhat primitive version of the "Biblical Majuscule" type discussed by E. G. Turner (*Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 25-26; otherwise known as "Biblical Uncial," cf. e.g. C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pp. 16, 24). The letters are majuscules, roughly bilinear (i.e. written between an upper and lower line notionally present to the scribe, cf. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, p. 3). As in the standard "Biblical Majuscule" style, γ and ρ extend

below the lower line, Φ and Ψ above and below the lines. In addition the Coptic letters ω and ρ extend below the line, the letter σ above, and τ above and below. The hand is vertical, not slanted either to right or left. The letters are written rather large with bold and deliberate strokes. In general the appearance of the hand is pleasing to the eye.

Noteworthy characteristics of the lettering are as follows: the α tends to be squared off at the top rather than extending upward, unlike the standard "Biblical Majuscule" style in this respect; the λ frequently shows the same characteristic. Also deviating from the "Biblical Majuscule" style is the mode of executing the ϵ and ζ : ϵ is executed with three strokes, the top cap and the middle stroke rendered separately; similarly in the case of ζ : frequently the top portion is rendered with a separate stroke.

The use of punctuation in Codex X is very sparing. The raised dot ("colon") is used rather frequently, not only to mark the end of a sentence, but also to divide clauses and even phrases. But its use is irregular; and it is sometimes difficult to make any proper sense of it at all, e.g. at 5,4: $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \text{ναιων}\cdot\ \text{ννουτε}$.

The only other punctuation used is the *trema* or diaeresis. It is used only over the letter ι , and only in the word $\rho\eta\acute{\iota}$: e.g. $\bar{\nu}\rho\eta\acute{\iota}$ (8,3), $\alpha\bar{\rho}\eta\acute{\iota}$ (8,23), $\omega\alpha\bar{\rho}\eta\acute{\iota}$ (31*,7).

The use of the superlinear stroke in Codex X is quite regular, though it is used less frequently, and with fewer variations, than in Codex IX. It is regularly omitted over $\omicron\upsilon\text{ν}$ and $\omicron\upsilon\text{ντε}$ (but see $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\text{τεικ}$, 8,17 and $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\text{τητην}$, 10,22). It is frequently omitted in other words where it would be expected, though it is not clear whether these omissions should be regarded as errors or as dialecticisms: e.g. $\omega\alpha\bar{\rho}\rho$ (2,16; cf. $\omega\alpha\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$ 4,19); $\bar{\rho}'\text{ν}$ (30*,24); $\text{ca}\omega\bar{\rho}$ (31*,11; cf. $\text{ca}\omega\bar{\rho}$ 31*,8; $\text{нкпωρ}\bar{\chi}$ (37*,4; cf. $\bar{\text{нкρτολμα}}$, 27*,22). There is latitude in the use or non-use of the stroke over the plural Definite Article ν . When the noun begins with a vowel the stroke is used or not seemingly according to whim: e.g. $\bar{\text{να}}\text{γγελος}$ (25*,2; 27*,14; 32*,4), but ναιων (5,4). The stroke is regularly used when the noun begins with a consonant.

The stroke over a single letter is placed directly over the letter, sometimes extending to the left or (less frequently) to the right. Over ρ it frequently extends beyond the letter on either side, with flourishes: e.g. $\bar{\rho}\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\text{ιν}$ (10,7).

The superlinear stroke is sometimes used to bind two or more

consonants together, and there is some variation in the way in which the stroke is rendered: e.g. $\tau\mu\alpha\zeta\mu\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\alpha\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau$ (2,12); $\bar{\nu}\omega\alpha\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau$ (3,4); $\omega\alpha\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$ (7,7). On $\mu\bar{\nu}$ and $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ the stroke usually extends to the right of the letter preceding the vocalized ν . In the transcription provided in this edition variations in the rendition of the superlinear stroke are not represented (for reasons of economy in printing); the stroke will appear over a single letter, e.g. $\tau\mu\alpha\zeta\mu\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\alpha\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau$.

The superlinear stroke occurs twice over the sg. Definite Article (6,5 and 61*,2). There are no strokes or other marks used over vowel morphemes or phonemes. The one abbreviation found in Codex X, of $\pi\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ ("Spirit"), receives an extended superlinear stroke: $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ (4,17 *et passim*). The superlinear stroke is not used to mark *nomina sacra*. The only extant examples would be $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}\omega$ (8,28; cf. 43*,21) and $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}$ (64*,19). Superlinear strokes occur over the Greek vowels $\alpha\epsilon\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega$ at 26*,4, but the use of superlineation in the section of text dealing with vowels and consonants (from p. 25*; cf. tractate introduction) is quite inconsistent: see e.g. 28*,4: $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$; 31*,23-27: $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}[\alpha]\bar{\zeta}[\alpha\theta\alpha]\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}[\epsilon]\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$ etc. Finally, superlinear strokes occur over the three extant page numerals found in the middle of the top margin of pp. 3, 4, and 5 respectively.

Decoration occurs at the end of Codex X on p. 68* with the tractate title. The title, $[\mu]\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$, is decorated with super- and sublinear strokes, and in the left margin a rudimentary *paragraphus cum corone* occurs: $\bar{\tau}$. A possible trace of a *paragraphus*, a straight line in the left margin, occurs at 55*,17; the initial letter in that line, ϵ , is written larger than usual. This was probably a device meant to set off a new section of text.

Scribal errors abound in Codex X, many of them caught by the scribe himself, others escaping his notice. The scribe used a number of devices in correcting errors. At 6,22 writing the word $\alpha\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ he wrote γ after $\bar{\rho}$; he then crossed out the γ with two diagonal slashes, marked it with three superlinear dots, and wrote the rest of the word. At 19*,20 writing the word $\omicron\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ he wrote \omicron after $\omicron\bar{\gamma}$; he then crossed out the \omicron and wrote ϵ above. In this case the mistake was probably corrected after the entire line, or perhaps the entire page, had been written. At 34*,22 writing $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$ $\omicron\bar{\omicron}\bar{\pi}$ he wrote ζ instead of ω ; he subsequently crossed out ζ with a single slash and wrote ω above. At 38*,26 writing $\pi\bar{\zeta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}$ he wrote

πμαζ; he then crossed out μαζ with two slashes and wrote ραε above. At 40*,13 writing ἡπατρδαοκιμαζε he wrote the wrong suffix ς after τ, then cancelled it with a diagonal slash and wrote κ above. In one case, at 9,4, the scribe wrote αρετ̄ and subsequently wrote ς (3 sg. fem. suffix) above the ς (3 sg. masc. suffix) without cancelling it.

The scribe has written in omitted letters above the line in several places: 4,20; 15*,3; 16*,14; 17*,20; 19*,20 (in addition to the correction already noted); and 30*,24. And in one case a whole word is added in this way: 'ντεςμνη' at 25*,13. There are numerous cases where the scribe has written over one or more letters: 1,13.18; 3,21; 6,11; 7,1; 8,8.19.23; 9,8; 14*,22; 26*,25; 28*,16; 30*,2.8.24.28; 33*,6; 34*,29; 36*,22 (probably erroneously!); 41*,15; 42*,5; 68*,3. (For details see the notes.)

In the case of the errors left undetected by the scribe it is, of course, possible that he was simply reproducing mistakes already present in his exemplar (unless he is also the translator of the Codex). Manifest misspellings occur at 9,7 (omission); 27,13 (substitution, perhaps a dialecticism); 32*,20 (omission). An extra superlinear stroke occurs at 8,20: ἡμας. A complicated case of dittography occurs at 30*,12-13: {ϡρ̄ρ̄ζυποτασσε αυω} ϡρ̄ρ̄ζυποτασσε, but the latter should probably be emended to <σε> ϡρ̄ρ̄ζυποτασσε (3 pl. instead of 3 sg. masc. subject). Superfluous material has been editorially deleted also at 8,20; 28*,23; and 30*,12. Material deemed to have been erroneously omitted has been editorially supplied at 4,28; 5,1.19.23; 6,3.9 (perhaps a dialecticism); 7,17; 8,2; 9,21; 10,4; 25*,14; 27*,13; 30*,3.8; 31*,9; 32*,12; 33*,19; 34*,23; 40*,14; 41*,6; 64*,3; and 67*,17. Apparent errors of substitution requiring emendation occur at 5,22.23; 25*,23; 29*,12; 34*,2.3; and perhaps 8,20.22. (For details see the notes.)

It has been assumed that Codex X was written by the same hand as that of the greater portion of Codex I. Thus Doresse assigns Codex X (XII in his numbering system) and the first hand of I (XIII in his numbering system) to "writing 8" (*Secret books*, pp. 141-145). Krause, too, states that the first scribe of codex I also wrote Codex X ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," p. 111, qualifying the statement with the adverb "wohl"; cf. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 9, qualified by "vielleicht"). This judgment is unquestionably wrong, and has been abandoned in

more recent discussions (cf. e.g. Robinson, "Codicology," pp. 17-18; cf. also Emmel, "Final Report," p. 27).

The similarities between the first hand of Codex I and that of Codex X are superficial. Study of the two hands turns up a number of important differences in the execution of certain letters. E.g. α in Codex X is more square in shape, and is squared off at the top; in I α is more angular, and not squared off at the top. Δ in X is more upright; in I it is slanted more to the left. ϵ in X is executed regularly with three distinct movements, the top portion formed with a separate stroke; ϵ in I is usually written as a standard uncial. κ in X has both of its top members even on the upper line; in I it has its diagonal stroke regularly lower. c in X has its top part rendered as a separate stroke; in I c is more rounded. τ in X frequently has extra ink at either or both ends of the horizontal member; in I this is not the case. γ in both codices is basically the same shape, majuscule; but in I it is frequently extraordinarily large. The body of ϕ in X is diamond-shaped and broad; in I it is more round and not as wide. θ in both codices extends above the line, but in I the top part is slanted more steeply upward. The superlinear stroke in I is not as uniform as in X, and is not written as far above the line as in X. The scribe of I uses the "apostrophe" and the circumflex stroke; both features are absent from X. Line fillers and slash marks to separate passages are employed in I (e.g. both occur at 13,25), not in X. I has elaborate decoration between tractates 2 and 3 and between 3 and 4, quite unlike the modest decoration occurring at the end of Codex X. In general, the hand of Codex X is more regularly bilinear than that of I. The letters are more uniform, written more deliberately, and with broader and heavier strokes.

In summary, it must be concluded that the hand of Codex X cannot be identified with that of any other codex in the Nag Hammadi Library. It is quite similar (except in superlineation) to the hand of the "Gnostic Treatise" (on parchment) from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt (Text no. 52 in Kahle, *Bala'izah*, vol. 1, pp. 473-477, see plate I,1). This hand is referred to as "square uncials of the fourth century" by P. Kahle (*Bala'izah*, vol. 1, p. 473).

On paleographical grounds a fourth-century date can be posited for Codex X. (A fourth-century date has consistently been maintained from the beginning; see Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 141; and Krause, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 9.) There is nothing in the codicological evidence, discussed above, that would count against a fourth-century date.

3. *Language*

The single tractate in Codex X, *Marsanes*, is a Coptic translation of a Greek original. (There is no reason to doubt the general scholarly consensus that all of the Nag Hammadi tractates have been translated from Greek into Coptic; cf. e.g. MacRae, "Nag Hammadi," in *IDBSup*, p. 613). The dialect of Codex X is Subachmimic (A²), a dialect found, with individual variations, in two other of the Nag Hammadi Codices. (The other A² tractates in the Nag Hammadi Library are *Pr. Paul* I,1; *Ap. Jas.* I,2; *Gos. Truth* I,3; *Treat. Res.* I,4; *Tri. Trac.* I,5; *Interp. Know.* XI,1; and *Val. Exp.* XI,2). A glance at the Index of Coptic Words will enable the reader to perceive the basic differences in vocalization between A² words and S words, for all entries are listed under the S forms found in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. In general terms, the language of Codex X resembles especially that of *Gos. Truth* (I,3) and the other texts in the Jung Codex *except* I,5, which has a sub-dialect all its own.

The A² dialect never achieved standardization, and therefore shows many variations. It is possible to group the various sub-dialects of A², according to vocalization patterns as found in the various texts and groups of texts written in A². R. Kasser has prepared a preliminary unpublished analysis of the various A² sub-groups represented by the Nag Hammadi A² documents, the A² *Acts of Paul*, the A² Gospel of John, and the Manichaean texts (*Psalms*, *Kephalaia*, and *Homilies*), and presents in this study a thorough comparative analysis of the A² vocabulary of the tractates in Codices X and XI. This study will be published in C. Hedrick, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, and XIII*.

In what follows I shall not attempt to present a complete grammar of Codex X. Rather I shall survey those features shown in the language of Codex X which show divergences from what might be expected of a A² document, and call attention to other special problems in the language of Codex X deserving of mention.

As has already been indicated, the A² dialect varies greatly from text to text; so what appears to be a non-A² intrusion in a particular text may turn out, with further evidence available, to be well within the bounds of the dialect. Nevertheless, on the basis of our present evidence, there are some interesting divergences in the phonology of Codex X from what would be expected in a A² text. There is one case of what appears to be a Fayumic (F) vocalization: **neɪ** for A² **naɛ** (67*,20). The other divergences from A²

are Sahidicisms: **ΜΜΑΤΕ** (56*,17 **α** for **ε**), **ΜΜΑΥ** (17*,15 **α** for **ε**), **CON** (7,11 **ο** for **α**), **ΧΙΟΟΡ** (33*,4 loss of final **ε**), **ΤΝΤΝ** (6,11; A² is **ΤΝΤΝΕ** or **ΤΑΝΤΝ**, which occurs at 5,8). The last two cases are examples of a general tendency observable in the vocalizations in Codex X, viz. dropping of final **ε**: e.g. **ΖΑΕΕΥ** (10,18) and **ΝΤΩΤΝ** (10,20), both of which can also be taken as Sahidicisms, though they are attested in other A² texts (according to Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 123, 87). Another case of the loss of final **ε** is a hitherto unattested form: **ΑΙΕΥ** (41*,16 for A² **ΑΙΕΥΕ**, S **ΑΙΑΙ**). Other apparent Sahidicisms are **ΚΗ†** (65*,19 A² usually **ΚΑΑ†**) and **ΤΝΤΩΝ†** (5,12; 32*,14; the usual A² form **ΤΝΤΑΝ†** probably occurs at 28,25).

The Sahidicisms in Codex X go beyond merely the occurrence of a few S vocalizations. E.g. at 1,13, the Sahidic **Ν** is found prefixed to a negated verb (cf. S **Ν...ΑΝ**): **ΕΝCΕΖΑCΙ ΕΝ** (cf. *Gos. Truth* I 26,20; 37,32). At 9,21 the S form **ΑΝ-** is used for the First Perfect 1 plural instead of the usual **ΑΖΝ-** (otherwise regular in our text). At 14*,16 the S form of the Definite Article (used with certain nouns expressing time) occurs: **ΝΕΑΙΩΝ** instead of **ΝΑΙΩΝ**. The loss of **̄** before the Greek verb at 30*,7 (cf. 10,25; 66*,3) may be a Sahidicism, or simply a mistake. It is also possible that the use of the Active form of the Greek verb **ὕποτάσσεσθαι** (e.g. 29*,22 **ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE**) should be regarded as a Sahidicism. (The Greek verbal ending **-εσθαι**, for Middle and Passive voice, is not normally used in Sahidic; see Böhlig, "Griechische Deponentien.") It therefore appears that the language of Codex X has undergone considerable Sahidic influence.

There are other peculiarities in the language of Codex X that cannot be traced to dialectical interference. **CΩΤΕ** is used for **CΩΤ** at 27*,21 (cf. *Gos. Truth* I 38,2). The word **ΧΙΜ** at 40*,18 is either a new word, or a hitherto unattested variant of **ΧΙΝ** (it is translated as the latter).

Some noteworthy features of the orthography of Codex X include the following: dissimilation of **ΜΠ**, resulting in **ΝΠ** (4,22-23 [*bis*]; 6,25); use of **Ψ** for **ΠC** (**ΑΨ** 42*,17; 63*,18; **ΖΑΨ** 10,13; 17*,16); possible syncopation at 27*,20 (or else a mistake: **ΠΟΥ<ΟΥ>ΩΨΕ**); double **Ν** before the Indefinite Article (27*,18; 28*,12; 30*,15-16; 33*,20 40*,1); possible elision of **Τ** before **Δ** at 32*,12 (or else a mistake: **<Τ>ΔΥΑC**; cf. **ΤΔΥΑC** 32*,16); doubling of consonants, such as **ΖΑΤΤΖΤ** (7,1 hitherto unattested) and **ΨΑΜΝΤΤΕ** (7,17.27 also unattested).

Probably the most noticeable feature in the orthography of Codex X is its remarkable internal inconsistency. Full evidence is found in the Index of Coptic Words, but some noteworthy examples are **ⲃⲁⲭⲃⲧ** (19*,21, etc.) and **ⲃⲁⲭⲒⲧ** (26*,23); **ϣⲃⲃⲉⲓⲁⲓⲧⲧ** (6,29; 28*,23) and **ϣⲃⲃⲉⲓⲁⲓⲧⲧ** (25*,23; 30*,12, a mistake?); and the feminine form of the word for "three": **ϣⲁⲙⲛⲧⲧⲉ** (7,17,27); **ϣⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ** (4,16; 7,23); **ϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ** (6,19 etc.).

Orthography of Greek words is such as one might expect in a Coptic text, or, for that matter, in a Roman or Byzantine Greek text. Thus **ⲓ** for **ⲉⲓ** is frequent, though not consistent (see Index of Greek Words). Aspiration is added to **ἀόρατος** (**ⲁⲗⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ**, frequent in Coptic texts of all dialects). In contrast to the other A² texts in the Nag Hammadi Library (except I,5) **δέ** is not nasalized as **ⲛⲁⲗⲉ**. The Greek word **οἶον** is rendered without aspiration in all cases, **ⲟⲓⲟⲛ** (29*,17; 30*,22; 34*,19). The aspiration in **ἕνα** is rendered with **ϣ**: **ϣⲓⲛⲁ** (8,22; 41*,15; this is regular in A² texts).

Attention has already been drawn to the orthographic inconsistencies in the Codex, and other peculiarities of the language which serve to add to the difficulty of reading the text. But the greatest difficulties in the language of Codex X have to do with morphology and syntax.

An especially difficult problem in the morphology of Codex X is presented in the hitherto unattested form **ⲁⲧⲟϥ**. The instances are: **ⲧⲱⲣⲏ̅̅̅ ⲛⲁⲧⲟϥⲭⲡⲁⲥ** "the first Unbegotten" (4,19); **ⲛⲁⲧⲟϥⲭⲡⲁϥ** "the unbegotten ones" (6,24); and **ⲡⲁⲧⲟϥⲭⲡⲁϥ**, "the One unbegotten . . ." (7,18). The translations demanded by the contexts in these passages presuppose that the anomalous form **ⲁⲧⲟϥ** is a variant of, or somehow related to, the privative adjective **ⲁⲧ**. Normal uses of the privative **ⲁⲧ**, also with the word **ⲭⲡⲟ**, occur as well: **ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲉⲓ̅̅̅ ⲛⲁⲧⲭⲡⲁϥ**, "those who are unbegotten" (5,3-4); cf. **ⲡⲉⲧⲉ̅̅̅ ⲛⲡⲟϥⲭⲡⲁϥ** "the Unbegotten One" (6,3). What, then, is **ⲁⲧⲟϥ**?

Early in the study of Codex X I came to the view that this anomalous form may be an archaizing "negative Relative" construction, taking the cue from the observation made orally to me by A. Böhlig that the privative **ⲁⲧ** is itself derived from the Middle-Egyptian negative Relative *'iwty* (cf. W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 13; cf. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 152). Could it be that **ⲁⲧⲟϥ** should be regarded as a newly-discovered negative Relative with suffix **-ⲟϥ**, on the analogy of **ⲉⲧⲟϥ**? **ⲡⲁⲧⲟϥⲭⲡⲁϥ**

would thus mean, literally: "the one *which not they* beget him." In normal Coptic one could render the positive form as **πετουχπο** **ἡμας**. A normal negative construction yielding the meaning of "unbegotten" (*ἀγέννητος*) would be **πετε ἡπουχπαρ** (Perfect), a form which also occurs in the text (6,3). It is possible that the addition of an impersonal plural ending **-ου** to **ατ-** was felt to carry more adequately the passive meaning of "unbegotten." (**ατχπο**, on the other hand, would mean "not begetting.")

But from what is known of Coptic grammar (and not everything is known!), the suffix **-ου** cannot be attached to **ατ-**. Thus Wolf-Peter Funk, in consultation with Peter Nagel, has proposed that we should understand **ατου-** as an Achmimicism, involving the Causative Infinitive form **τρου-**, **Α του-** plus **ατ-**, with the loss of a **τ**: **ατουχπαρ** < **ατ-τρου-χπαρ** (see Funk's recently published paper, "Blind' oder 'Unsichtbar': Zur Bedeutungsstruktur der verbaler negativer Adjective im Koptischen," in *Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus* [Halle-Wittenberg, 1979], pp. 62-63). This solution, at least, works within the theoretical limits of Coptic grammar as currently understood. But I have not found any examples of such a form as **αττρου-**, nor is there any particular reason to look for an "Achmimicism" in Codex X. Thus Funk's solution must remain tentative at best. (I have been informed, through my student Diana Fulbright, that H.-J. Polotsky has no other solution to offer, but feels the difficulty of Funk's solution. B. Layton is also dubious of Funk's explanation, and suggests that we may have an entirely new form to deal with in **ατου-**.)

Another difficult form is found at 55*,17: **εταρι[κα]ρωει**, translated "(after) I was silent." It looks like a hybrid combination of First Perfect **α2-** with BA II Perfect **ετα-**, possibly with a Past Temporal (*Temporalis*) meaning, as in Bohairic (see note to 55*,17). In any case, this form, whatever it is, looks very strange to me.

Another possible morphological difficulty is present at 5,8: **ἡταντη**. It is translated "the likenesses," but the preposition **α** following may indicate that the form should have been **εϋταντη**, "they resemble." The text seems to be corrupt at that point.

Syntactic problems, even to the extent of apparent violations of grammatical rules, are also found in the language of Codex X, contributing to the overall impression received in reading the text that it has suffered considerable corruption in transmission. At 2,25 it appears that **αγω** is made to function as **ἡν**. At 7,22 either

something is lost from the text or **ⲛⲅⲓ** (which is ordinarily used to introduce a post-verbal subject) is being pressed into service as an equivalent of **ετε πει πει**. A similar problem may occur at 8,11 (see note). At 7,6 it appears that **κεουεε πει** is used in the sense of **ου̅ν κεουεε**, "there is another . . .".

It was stated at the beginning that Codex X, like all the tractates of the Nag Hammadi Library, was translated from Greek. The difficulties found in the text overall may partially be attributable to a translator's misunderstanding of a difficult Greek text. (The most obvious case of such a phenomenon in the Nag Hammadi Library is the Coptic version of the short passage from Plato, VI,5: *Plato Rep.*, rendering in a hopelessly fractured translation *Republic* 588B-589B). Our translator may also have had a deficient knowledge of Coptic grammar!

There are some passages in the text of Codex X which are obvious cases of "translation Coptic," or in which the Greek text is rendered without adequate translation, and others which can only be understood with recourse to a hypothetical Greek original. For example, the section of *Marsanes* beginning on p. 25*, dealing with speculation on the significance of the Greek alphabet, is full of Coptic locutions attempting to render technical terms of Greek grammar (see notes for details). Similarly, at 30*,16-18 there is a section of text which renders technical terms from Greek musicology (technical terms whose Coptic translation obfuscate rather than clarify their meanings; see notes). Isolated cases of Coptic locutions obviously rendering Greek terms are: **κωε απιτ̅ν** = *κατατιθέναι* (2,13-14); **βαλζητ** = *ἀπλοῦς* (5,7); **πετε ⲙπουχπαϩ** = *ἀγέννητος* (6,3; cf. also **πατουχπαϩ** discussed above); **ϩαϩ ⲛσματ** = *πολύμορφος* (25*,6). The Greek terms *αἰσθητὸς κόσμος* and *νοητὸς κόσμος* are assumed bodily into the text without the use of the connector **ⲛ** (5,18-19.24-25; 34*,20; 41*,2-3; 5,22; 41*,5-6; cf. 4,6-7). There is one possible case of **αγω** rendering a Greek adversative *καί* (2,24). And a frozen genitive plural is found at 22*,26. Other evidences of "translation Coptic" are noticeable throughout the text.

In sum, the language of Codex X is quite complicated in a variety of ways, and it must finally be admitted that others will very likely come to a much better understanding of it than I have been able to thus far.

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INTRODUCTION TO X,₁: MARSANES

Bibliography: Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 197; Berliner Arbeitskreis, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," pp. 72-73; Böhlig, "Die griechische Schule," pp. 16-17; Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth," p. 139; Pearson (Introduction and Translation), *Marsanes* (X,₁), in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 417-426; Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes."

According to the most plausible reconstruction of Codex X, this fragmentary codex contains a single tractate whose title, *Marsanes*, occurs on the last page at the end of the tractate. The surviving material from Codex X has been assigned a minimum pagination of 68* inscribed pages, comprising pages from the first part of the codex, the middle part, and the last part. (On the use of the asterisk [*] to indicate uncertainty of pagination see the codex introduction.) From this minimum number of pages, 14 are lost (pp. 11-12, 23*-24*, 47*-54*, and 59*-60*), and many of the remaining pages consist only of small fragments. Moreover it is likely, on the basis of codicological analysis and comparison with other codices, that Codex X originally contained *at least 72* inscribed pages (see codex introduction for discussion). This would mean that the tractate *Marsanes* originally comprised at least 2072 lines (the average number of lines per page is 29), and may in fact have been considerably longer. In this respect, as in others, *Marsanes* shows features in common with *Zostrianos* (VIII:1).

The number of lines completely preserved from Codex X is a scant 117. 1004 additional lines are partially preserved (including lines with as little as a trace of a single letter). Of these, 447 have been completely restored by scholarly conjecture. Given a conservative estimate of 2072 lines originally, the total number of complete lines remaining, whether extant or restored, is 564, some 27%, or less, of the total content of the tractate. Taking into account the partial lines left, one can estimate that at least 59%, and probably much more, of the tractate is totally lost. From this it is evident that only a very imperfect picture of the contents and meaning of *Marsanes* is possible to attain. Therefore this introduction must be regarded as, at best, a tentative and imprecise statement.

The best-preserved pages occur at the beginning (1-10) and the

middle (25*-42*) of the codex. One can therefore get a better picture of the contents of these sections than of the other parts of the tractate. Since so many pages are missing from the last half of the codex one must also entertain the possibility that there may have been more than one tractate in Codex X. (The Berliner Arbeitskreis arrived at an estimate of 3 tractates, "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi," pp. 72-73; for additional discussion see the codex introduction). However, the material preserved in the first part of the codex is entirely consistent with what we might expect to be associated with the gnostic prophet Marsanes, whose name comprises the title partially preserved at the end of the codex (see below). Furthermore, one can find considerable stylistic consistency in all extant portions of the codex, as well as consistency of vocabulary, suggesting that the codex did, in fact, contain but a single tractate.

The title is partially preserved on one of the fragments of p. 68*. Seven letters are preserved in whole or part, set off by sub- and superlinear strokes. Another fragment preserves the margin, with *paragraphus cum corone* serving as additional decoration. The final four letters of the title are quite clear: $\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$. The tail of a ρ is also clear, and traces of two other letters are preserved: $\cdot\rho\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$. The title is obviously a proper name, as can be seen from the ending, "-anes." The two faint letter traces can be restored as α and ς . There is room for an additional letter in the lacuna, or at most two: $\lambda\rho\varsigma\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$. The one proper name known from extant sources that fits is "Marsanes." Thus the title has been restored accordingly: $[M]\lambda\rho\varsigma\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$.

Who is Marsanes? In the untitled tractate of the Bruce Codex, there is an extended discussion of the heavenly entourage of the highest God and the triple-powered Monogenes, in which an interesting parenthetical comment occurs (see Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 7). It is stated that it is impossible to speak of divine things with a "tongue of flesh," but there are certain great ones ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\eta\theta\acute{o}$) who excel in their ability to speak the word of revelation, and who thus make it possible for others to learn about him (i.e., the triple-powered Monogenes). The following passage is part of this parenthetical comment:

"The powers ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$) of all the great aeons ($\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$) worshipped the power ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$) which is in Marsanes ($\mu\alpha\rho\varsigma\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$). They said 'Who is this who has seen these things in his very presence, that

on his account he (i.e. Monogenes) appeared in this way! Nicotheus (ΝΙΚΟΘΕΟΣ) (also) spoke of him (i.e. Monogenes) and saw him, that he is that One. He said, 'The Father who surpasses every perfect being (τέλειος) is, and has revealed the invisible (ἀόρατος) perfect (τέλειος) Triple-Power (τριδύναμις).' Each of the perfect (τέλειος) men saw him and spoke of him, giving him glory, each according to (κατά) his own manner." (My translation.)

Marsanes and Nicotheus, therefore, are referred to as "great ones" and "perfect men" who have seen heavenly verities and have revealed them to men. Nicotheus, in fact, is quoted, indicating that the author of the tractate in the Bruce Codex was dependent upon a document attributed to Nicotheus, an "apocalypse of Nicotheus" (cf. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, pp. 601-602). Marsanes must also have been one of that author's sources. Is it too much to suggest that he had read our tractate? As we shall see, the subject matter of *Marsanes* is closely related to that of the untitled tractate of the Bruce Codex.

Moreover, Epiphanius, in his account of the "Archontics," mentions among the prophets honored by those Gnostics "a certain Martiades and Marsianos, who had been snatched up into the heavens and had come down after three days" (μαρτιάδην τινὰ καὶ μαρσιανόν, ἀρπαγέντας εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ διὰ ἡμερῶν τριῶν καταβεβηκότας, *Haer.* 40.7.6). It is virtually certain that "Marsanes" and "Marsianos" are one and the same (so Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, p. 602; cf. Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, p. 85, n. 5; Puech, "Plotin et les gnostiques," p. 90; Elsas, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltablehnung*, p. 36).

Thus, in gnostic tradition, Marsanes (Marsianos) is a gnostic prophet who is credited with a heavenly journey (Epiphanius) and with visions of great and wonderful things, thus receiving the homage of heavenly beings (Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*). Such information accords perfectly well with the experience claimed by the putative author of our tractate, who refers to himself and his visionary experiences in the first person in various places in the document (see e.g. 6,18; 7,1; 14*,15-18; 16*,3; 18*,16; 55*,17; 64*,2; 66*,17; etc.). Either he is himself named "Marsanes" and is writing in his own name, or the author of our tractate is writing in the name of a well-known prophet, purporting to report his revelations and visionary experiences. The product is an apocalypse which, in turn, is used by other Gnostics including, possibly, the author of the untitled tractate in the Bruce Codex.

It should be remarked that Jean Doresse, in an early article ("Trois livres gnostiques," p. 138) mentions a "canon" of writings belonging to the "Gnostics" (or "Sethians," "Archontics") known to Epiphanius in the fourth century on the basis of his personal investigations (Doresse cites Epiph. *Haer.* 26.2,8,12,13; 39.5; 40.2,7). This "canon" included seven books attributed to Seth, seven others called *Allogenes*, the *Books of Ialdabaoth*, a *Great Symphony* and a *Small Symphony*, an *Ascension of Isaiah*, an *Apocalypse of Adam*, the *Gospel of Eve*, an *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a book attributed to Moses, a book on the *Generation of Mary*, a *Gospel of Philip*, the *Interrogations of Mary*, a *Gospel of Perfection*, and, finally, the works of the prophets Marsianes (*sic*) and Martiades. At the end of his article—presumably written before he knew of any other codices in the Nag Hammadi library besides I and III (cf. *Secret Books*, pp. 116-119)—Doresse remarks on the importance of the manuscript (i.e., Codex III) containing *Ap. John*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Eugnostos*, and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (he does not discuss the fifth tractate, *Dial. Sav.*). He then makes the following "prophetic" remark:

"Bien des espoirs sont actuellement permis, et l'on ne serait peut-être étonnés qu'un instant si quelque nouveau hasard ramenait au jour, hors d'une jarre ensevelie depuis quinze siècles, d'autres volumes cachés par les gnostiques d'Égypte, qu'il s'agisse d'une *Apocalypse d'Adam*, ou d'un traité du prophète Marsianès, ou — qui sait —, d'écrits plus hermétiques encore" (*ibid.*, p. 160).

Doresse mentions Marsanes (sometimes spelling the name "Marsianes") again in *Secret Books* (cf. pp. 46, 82, 86, 109, 114) and remarks that the revelations of Marsanes and Martiades are still lacking, but one might hope that they may some day be found (pp. 159, 252). (He does not repeat, and is probably tacitly withdrawing, the suggestion that he made in his article in the *Crum Festschrift*: that Marsanes and Martiades are alternative names for Zostrianos and Zoroaster; see "Les apocalypses," p. 262.) It is now clear that Doresse had good grounds for hope! Though he did not realize it, the tractate he refers to in his book as tractate no. 44 (*Secret Books*, p. 197) is that hoped-for revelation of Marsanes.

The name "Marsanes" is probably of Syrian origin, as Schmidt had suggested many years ago (see Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, p. 602). The alternate form "Marsianos" should be construed as a variant Graecization of the original Syriac name. Schmidt did not attempt to provide an etymology of the name, but it might be

suggested that the first part of it (*mar*) is the Aramaic/Syriac word for "master."

Another suggestion has recently been offered by C. Elsas, who locates the name "Marsanes" in the Elchasaite tradition. Elsas calls attention to the name of one of Elchasai's sisters, "Marthana" (μαρθάνα, cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 19.2.12; 53.1.5), and derives the three names, "Marthana," "Marsanes," and "Marsianos," from the same Aramaic phrase: *mar^edha (a)na* (= "I am rebellious"). These names, according to Elsas, reflect the revolutionary zeal of the Elchasaite sect (see Elsas, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltanschauung*, pp. 36-37). I do not find this suggestion convincing, though Elsas is correct in locating the origin of the name in a Syrian milieu. In that connection it should be remembered that Epiphanius located the "Archontic" Gnostics in Palestine, and it is among these Gnostics that he found the tradition pertaining to the prophet Marsianos (= Marsanes; see *Haer.* 40.1.1; 40.7.6). (On the Sethian-Archontic provenience of *Marsanes* see discussion below.) The name "Marsanes" may, of course, be a fictitious or assumed name, on the order of "Barcabbas" and other such names of gnostic prophets (so Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, p. 602). (Cf. also the name of the Chaldaean magus, "Mithrobarzanes" [μιθροβαρζάνης] in Luc. *Nec.* 6. There is no connection between Marsanes and the "Markianos" [μαρκιανός] mentioned in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VI.12 *contra* Elsas, p. 36, n. 116, following Doresse, "Les apocalypses," p. 256.)

As has already been indicated, *Marsanes* is an example of the genre, "apocalypse." However, it is not an apocalypse of the Jewish or Christian type, in which the history of the end-times is of primary concern (but see e.g. 10.18). Yet it does share with the Jewish and Christian apocalypses an emphasis on the revelation of "mysteries" or "secrets" "hidden" to all except an elite group. And, like the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, it contains an account of visions and a heavenly journey. (On these features of the Jewish and Christian apocalypses see P. Vielhauer's comments on "apocalyptic" in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, pp. 582-600). Porphyry (*Vit. Plot.* 16) refers to certain "heretics who had abandoned the ancient (i.e., Platonic) philosophy (αἰρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγγέμενοι)," and who produced "apocalypses" (ἀποκαλύψεις) of Zoroaster, Zostrianus, Nicotheus, Allogenes, Messus, "and others of this sort" (καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων). H.-C. Puech, discussing this statement, refers to the kind of "apocalypses"

that Porphyry mentions as "un écrit d'un genre bien déterminé," and defines the genre as a revelation disclosed to a visionary, or a small group of privileged adepts, of sublime mysteries which are to be transmitted only to initiates ("Plotin et les Gnostiques," p. 87). This description fits our document perfectly. And, as we shall see, there is good reason to believe that Marsanes should be included in Porphyry's reference to "others of this sort," whom the "heretics" credited with "apocalypses."

Marsanes contains, in addition to the usual "revelation" and "vision" language, passages of a paraenetical character. Such paraenesis is, in fact, typical of the genre, "apocalypse." (See Vielhauer's remarks in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, p. 587). In the paraenetical sections the plural "you" and "we" are used, indicating that the document was written for a specific group or sect. This group is already in possession of gnosis. Thus there is no need for the author of our document to recount in full detail the gnostic myth; it is sufficient only to allude to the salvation of Sophia, for example (4,2), or to the masculinization of the Virgin Barbelo (9,1-2), without going into detail. Indeed, in the section dealing with the thirteen "seals" (2,14-4,23) the author repeatedly states that his readers have already been informed on these matters. Thus, what our document provides that is new to the intended audience is an account of additional revelatory experiences, and additional information on matters of concern to the author and his group.

The paraenesis is sometimes included as part of the revelational material proper, as e.g. in the section on the thirteen "seals," wherein the author exhorts his community to keep themselves from the "passion" that is part of bodily existence in the "sense-perceptible world" (αἰσθητὸς κόσμος; see 2,19-26). Sometimes the paraenesis is inserted as blocks which interrupt the flow of the discourse, as e.g. in the short injunction to "bear fruit" and to become detached from the things of this world, at 26*,12-17, or the long injunction against sin at 39*,18-41*,7.

The content of *Marsanes* can be described in general terms as an account of visionary experiences involving a revelation of the levels of being and their natures, of the descent and ascent of a savior (though the term "savior" does not occur), and of the possibility of ascent for those who achieve gnosis. More specificity can be attained in the case of the first part of the tractate (pp. 1-10), and of its

middle section (pp. 25*-42*). From the remaining fragments of the first and last pages one gets the impression that the document is introduced and concluded with an encouraging statement on the rewards of gnosis.

After an exordium on the benefits of knowing the Father (1,1-2,?), there is an interesting (though very fragmentary) passage dealing with thirteen "seals," in which each seal corresponds to a different level or aspect of being, from the lowest to the highest (2,12-4,23). Thus the first three seals deal with the "worldly" (κοσμικός) and "material" (ὕλικός) levels, characterized by corporeal existence. The fourth and fifth, apparently, relate in some way to "conversion" (μετάνοια, 3,15), the sixth to "partial" "self-begotten" (αὐτογέννητος) and "incorporeal" (ἄσώματον) entities, the seventh to the "self-begotten" (αὐτογενής) power, the eighth to the first-appearing "mind" (νοῦς) and the "intelligible world" (κόσμος νοητός), the ninth to a power whose description is lost in a lacuna, the tenth to the virgin Barbelo, the eleventh and twelfth to the "Invisible One who possesses three powers" and the "Spirit" who is without "being" (οὐσία). Finally, the thirteenth seal relates to the unknown "Silent One," doubtless a reference to the supreme God. These seals are mentioned in such a way as to suggest that the basic mythological referents are known to the readers, by previous revelation. The mythological allusions are intelligible by comparison with other Sethian-gnostic documents, esp. *Ap. John*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Zost.*, and *Allogenes* (on the "Sethian" character of *Marsanes* see below).

The following passage (4,24-5,26) begins with an identification-formula, "I am he who has [understood] that which truly exists . . .," and is probably to be taken as a statement of the gnostic prophet Marsanes himself. Marsanes refers to the knowledge he has gained by means of a meditational ascent (see esp. 5,17-22), knowledge of the "intelligible world" in all of its aspects. Remarkably, this knowledge also includes the insight that "in every respect the sense-perceptible world is [worthy] of being saved entirely" (5,24-26); from this statement we can see that the radical dualism characteristic of Gnosticism is being attenuated in a monistic direction (see below).

Next, the descent and ascent of a savior figure, "the Self-begotten One" (αὐτογενής), is referred to; he is said to have "saved a multitude" (6,15-16). The saving activity of the Self-begotten One is paradigmatic of the saving work of Marsanes himself, for Marsanes also functions as a kind of "savior" (see below).

In a series of questions Marsanes presses his enquiry, which itself seems to function as an intellectual ascent, to the "kingdom of the Three-Powered One" (6,18-19) and beyond, to the realm of the supreme Silent One (7,8) who manifests himself in a divine being referred to as the "Three-Powered One," whom Marsanes and his community bless and praise, together with the denizens of the heavenly world (8,1-12; see notes to the text).

Further search leads Marsanes to the male virgin Barbelo, whose "division" (i.e. feminization) from her primal masculine state is reversed by her masculinization, "becoming male," and her "withdrawal" from duality (8,13-9,28). This is treated as a paradigm for the salvific and contemplative experience of gnostic humanity: "We all have withdrawn to ourselves. We have [become] silent, [and] when we come to know [him, that is,] the Three-Powered, [we] bowed down . . . (and) blessed him . . ." (9,21-27).

The ascent of a savior figure, designated here the "invisible Spirit" (9,28: 10,19), is then treated, and it is clear that his ascent is paradigmatic of the ascent of those who attain knowledge (9,28-10,29+). In this passage the gnostic prophet Marsanes addresses those "[who dwell in these] places," i.e. in this lower world, and invites them to stake their claim to the heavenly world and the "great crown" which is their reward: "It is necessary [for you to know] those that are higher than these, and tell them to the powers. For you will become [elect] with the elect ones [in the last] times . . . Run with him (i.e. the "Invisible Spirit") [up above], since you have [the] great crown . . ." (10,13-23).

Unfortunately the subsequent material is broken with lacunae, and the extant pages following are so fragmentary that little can be determined regarding their content. At least two pages (11-12) are totally lost. On p. 13* the discussion focuses upon the supreme God, "the One who is, who is silent, the One who is from the beginning, [who] does [not] have being ($\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$)" (13*,17-19). P. 14* apparently relates some ecstatic experiences of Marsanes: "I [was dwelling] among the aeons . . . I have come to be among those that were not [begotten] . . ." (14*,15-18). On p. 18* Marsanes seems to claim that he has seen and known the Father (18*,16-17).

The middle section of the tractate contains a very interesting discussion involving the letters of the alphabet and their combinations. The letters and letter-combinations are related, on the one hand, to the various "shapes" ($\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$) of the soul, and on the other,

to the task of "calling upon" or "naming" the "gods and the angels."

It is not possible to state where this discussion begins in the tractate, or what kind of transition is made from the earlier section to this one. One can surmise that this section contains information that is deemed important for the "ascent" of the gnostic adepts. The occurrence of the verb *ὀνομάζειν* and the noun *ὀνομασία* at 19*, 18-19 may indicate that this discussion has already begun on that page. On pp. 21* and 22* there occur such terms as *ζώδιον* ("signs of the Zodiac"), *ψυχή* ("soul[s]"), *σχῆμα* ("shape"), terms characteristic of the discussion found in the better-preserved pages from p. 25* on. (Pp. 23*-24* are altogether missing.)

On p. 25* we find certain "powers" or "angels" described as theriomorphic and polymorphous, and it is clear that the "signs of the Zodiac" are here being discussed (25*, 1-8). Various kinds of "sound" (*φωνή*, "voice") are associated with their "names" (8-14). This passage reflects a considerable knowledge of Graeco-Roman astrological speculation, according to which the signs of the Zodiac are classified variously as "human" shaped or "animal" shaped, and assimilated to the consonants of the alphabet, classified as "voiced," "semi-voiced," and "voiceless" (see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, pp. 149-150; Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, pp. 83-89; and notes to the text). Such speculations are known to have been utilized by the gnostic "magician" Marcus, a Valentinian of Asiatic, or possibly Syrian, origin (Iren. *Haer.* 1.13-21; on Marcus see esp. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, pp. 326-349, and Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, pp. 126-133).

The discussion then moves to the various "shapes" (*σχῆμα*) of the soul, "spherical" (*σφαιρικόν*) shapes associated with various combinations of the seven vowels (25*, 1-26*, 12), all of which is to be understood as reflecting current speculations on the Psychogonia in Plato's *Timaeus* (35A-36D; see notes for details). A paraenesis then follows (26*, 12-17), in which Marsanes' audience is exhorted to exercise self-control, "receive [the] imperishable seed," and "bear fruit."

One of the interesting features of this tractate is its quasi-learned discussion of those aspects of Greek grammar having to do with the letters of the alphabet and their combinations. These discussions show considerable familiarity with the technical work of the Greek grammatists, notably Dionysius Thrax (2nd cent. B.C.) and his

later commentators, and tell us something of the educational background of our gnostic author. (Cf. Böhlig, "Die griechische Schule," pp. 16-17; for details see the notes.) Of course, the technical knowledge reflected here is completely ancillary to the religious concerns of the author and his intended audience. Similar use is made of the Greek alphabet by the gnostic "magician" Marcus, mentioned above.

This technical discussion apparently begins at 26*,18 (though it is anticipated earlier in the tractate, e.g. at 22*,24-25 and 26*,6-7). Vowels, diphthongs, semi-vowels, and consonants are given preliminary classification, and various groups are regarded as "superior" to others. The value judgments presented here are not *ad hoc*, but reflect the speculations of the ancient grammarians (see notes for details). The letters of the alphabet, in their various combinations, are said to constitute the "nomenclature (*ὀνομασία*) of the [gods] and the angels" (27*,13-14).

This discussion is interrupted by another brief paraenesis (27*,21-23: "Do not keep on [sinning,] and do not dare to make use of sin"), after which it resumes, with additional instruction on the various "shapes" of the soul (cf. 25*,1-26*,12) related to various combinations of vowels (27*,23-30*,2). In this discussion all eleven of the Greek diphthongs are listed (28*,6-8; cf. notes), and the technical distinction between the five prefixed (*πρωτακτικά*) vowels and the two post-positive (*υποτακτικά*) vowels used in the formation of diphthongs is observed (28*,28-29*,1; cf. notes).

The various classifications of the consonants are treated next (30*,3-31*,11), followed by discussion of various combinations of vowels and consonants. Examples are given which are obviously taken from actual school exercises in antiquity (see esp. 31*,22-29; cf. notes). The purpose of the knowledge of these details concerning the alphabet is stated at 32*,3-5: "in order that you might [collect] them, and be separated from the angels." It is obvious that the various letters of the alphabet are here understood to have their counterparts in the angelic world; in order for the adept to ascend beyond the spheres of the angels he or she has to know their secrets. This knowledge may also include the ability to chant the various combinations of vowels and syllables during the ascent. Similar doctrines were held by other Gnostics in antiquity, especially the Marcosians (Iren. *Haer.* I.13-21; see above, and for details see the notes).

But our tractate would not be complete were it only to deal with the letters of the alphabet; it is also necessary to know the essentials of the numbers, a subject dear to ancient Pythagoreans and Platonists. So at 32*,5 there begins a discussion of arithmology, treating the various numbers from the monad and the dyad to the dodecad (33*,4+). In this section one can see the influence of Pythagorean tradition, and parallels to similar speculations found in Philo of Alexandria and in Macrobius are of special interest (see notes for details).

Unfortunately the material becomes more fragmentary at that point. At 33*,18-21 one can see traces of a discussion concerning the various punctuation marks used in Greek grammar. At 34*,19-23 there is reference to "the temple [which measures] seven hundred [cubits]" existing "within [the] sense-perceptible world." The ancient Stoics regarded the entire visible universe as a temple, and this idea, documented especially in Philo of Alexandria and in Cicero's account of the "Dream of Scipio," is probably reflected here in our text (see notes for details).

An especially enigmatic section occurs at 35*,1-6, where "the [forms of the] wax images" and "emerald likeness" are mentioned, in connection with the "generation of the names." It is known that waxen images and emerald stones were among the devices used by ancient magicians, and it is possible that our text is referring here to the ritual use of these items by the gnostic community for which it was written. The "generation of the names" may also belong to a magico-ritual context. The "Chaldaean" theurgists used in their rituals a magical top, called the "Iynx," by which they "bound" the spheres, each of which corresponded to one of the vowels of the alphabet (see Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 249-252). It is not inconceivable that magical devices were used by our Gnostics in conjuring up the "names" of the gods and the angels. (See below for further discussion of the ritual references in *Marsanes*.)

At 36*,28-37*,2 the following sentence occurs: "If one knows him, he will [call] upon him." Perhaps God the Father is meant here, or another divine being. In the following context, fragmentary as it is, letters of the alphabet and their various combinations are again mentioned, and their actual utterance ("they were pronounced openly"—39*,1-2), for the apparent purpose of "naming (ὀνομάζειν) the angels" (39*,5).

At this point in the text a lengthy paraenetical passage occurs

(39*,18-41*,16?), containing warnings against “cast(ing) aspersions [on] the mysteries” (39*,23-24) and the commission of sin. The readers are urged to “bear fruit” (39*,21-22; cf. 26*,15), and to “examine” (δοκιμάζειν) certain people to see who is “worthy” to receive revelation (40*, 21-22; cf. 40*,13-14). Warnings of judgment against sinners are also included here (40*,5-9; 40*22-24?), and promises of “reward” (40*,2-3) for the worthy.

The next section (41*,18-42*,30+), also very fragmentary, discusses the number of souls, disembodied and embodied, in relation to the number of angels. A pronouncement of blessedness is apparently given to one who is engaged in cosmic meditation, “gazing at the two (sun and moon) or . . . at the seven planets or at the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or at the thirty [-six] Decans” (42*,1-6). The meaning of this passage seems to be that meditation on the heavens leads to knowledge of God, a notion documented in late Platonic texts, but surprising for a gnostic document (see notes for details).

Pages 43*-46* are too fragmentary to make any sense of at all. “Divine Barbelo” is apparently named at 43*,21; revelation (44*,4) and salvation (44*,23) are referred to; and a “voice” and some “names” are mentioned (46*,20-21). There is a substantial loss of material at this point (at least eight pages, 47*-54*), and such material as is left in the codex thereafter is in exceedingly fragmentary condition. (Pp. 59*-60* are totally lost.) On p. 55* Marsanes is apparently recounting a visionary experience (cf. 57*,22; 63*,4-6; 63*,19-22; 64*,2-5), and there is reference to a baptism of some sort (55*,20; cf. 66*,1-5). Marsanes’ visionary experience includes reference to certain heavenly personages who “[spoke] like the angels” (63*,3-4). One of these is mentioned by name, Gamaliel (64*,19), an angelic figure known from other Sethian-gnostic sources (see below).

The tractate closes the way it begins, with encouragement to “those who will know [him]” (68*,17; cf. 68*,1), referring most likely to knowledge of God the Father (cf. 1,11-25).

There can be no doubt that *Marsanes* is to be classified as a “gnostic” document, in the full technical sense of that word. To be sure, we have already noted certain “monistic” tendencies in the tractate, indicating an attenuation of the radical dualism characteristic of Gnosticism. But this must be seen as part and parcel of the evolution and development of ancient Gnosticism as a whole. *Marsanes*,

indeed, is one of a number of Nag Hammadi tractates which fit into the developmental scheme first delineated by Hans Jonas, indicated in the subtitle of the second volume of his major opus, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*: "Von der Mythologie zur mystischen Philosophie" (more on this below; cf. Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes," p. 384).

Marsanes has rightly been classified among those Coptic gnostic documents which reflect a "Sethian" gnostic system (see Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," and cf. Pearson, "Jewish Elements in Gnosticism," p. 152). The following tractates are included in this category: *Ap. John* (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1; BG 2; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.29); *Hyp. Arch.* (NHC II,4); *Gos. Eg.* (NHC III,2; IV,2); *Apoc. Adam* (NHC V,5); *Steles Seth* (NHC VII,5); *Zost.* (NHC VIII,1); *Melch.* (NHC IX,1); *Norea* (NHC IX,2); *Marsanes* (NHC X,1); *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3); *Trim. Prot.* (NHC XIII,1); and Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*. In broad terms the Sethian-gnostic "system" includes the following elements: the figure of Seth, son of Adam, who functions both as a heavenly being and as a savior, and whose spiritual descendants constitute the gnostic elect; a primordial divine triad of Father, Mother, and Son; four "luminaries" (φωστῆρες: Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, and Eleleth), and other angelic beings subordinate to them; and an apocalyptic schematization of history (see Schenke, "Das sethianische System"). The Sethian system also includes a Sophia ("Wisdom") figure, but she occurs in numerous other gnostic systems as well.

Although, as has been noted, *Marsanes* does not go into detail regarding the essentials of the gnostic myth—prior knowledge of these matters is assumed—it is not difficult to find specific features in *Marsanes* which relate, in general, to the Sethian system and to which parallels in other Sethian texts can be found. To be sure, the underlying "system" is highly developed in this tractate, with considerable proliferation of the posited levels of being; but even this is a feature which *Marsanes* has in common with certain other Sethian texts, especially *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos*. Thus, whereas in *Ap. John* the original divine triad of Father, Mother, and Son can more easily be seen (FATHER = Monad = Invisible Spirit, etc.— II 2,25-4,26; MOTHER = Barbelo = Ennoia, etc.— II 4,26-6,10; SON = Monogenes = Mind = Autogenes = Christ, etc.— II 6,10-7,30), in *Marsanes*, as in *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos*, there are interposed several additional levels of divine being (and non-being!).

The "system" of *Marsanes*, whose closest parallel is that of *Allogenes*, can best be determined from the first ten pages of the tractate, especially the passage dealing with the thirteen "seals" (2,12-4,23; see above, and notes to the text). The highest God, although he can be called "Father" (1,23), is essentially unknowable and transcendent, characterized best by "silence" (see 4,20-22; cf. esp. *Allogenes* XI 60,28-61,22). Between him and Barbelo (the "Mother" in the original Sethian triad, there is interposed another divine entity, whose relation to the supreme God is expressed in the designation "Invisible Spirit" (4,15-17; cf. *Ap. John* II 2,33, where this is a designation for the supreme Father himself), and whose relation to lower levels of being is expressed in the phrase, "who possesses three powers" (4,15-16; cf. 6,19 and note), something that is said of Barbelo in *Ap. John* (see esp. BG 27,19-28,2). The counterpart in *Allogenes* to the "Three-Powered One" is called "the Triple-Power" (ΠΙΥΜΝΤΒΟΜ, XI 45,13 *et passim*; cf. note to 6,19). Beneath Barbelo (4,11; 8,28; cf. 43*,21) in the chain of divine being is a figure whose name is lost in a lacuna (4,8; a figure called "Kalyptos" or "Hidden One" would fit in here, according to the scheme found both in *Allogenes* and in *Zostrianos*; see e.g. *Allogenes* XI 45,31 etc. and *Zost.* VIII 13,3; 18,10 etc.), "mind" (νοῦς, 4,3) and the "self-begotten" (αὐτογενής, 3,26) power, whose equivalent in *Allogenes* has the same name, "Autogenes" (XI 45,11; cf. *Ap. John* II 7,11-30). In *Marsanes* this figure, "the Self-begotten One," assumes a saving role in a descent to the lower world (5,17-6,16), and his role may be understood as paradigmatic of Marsanes' own role as savior-prophet (cf. 8,18-20; 9,19-21). The tractate *Marsanes* seems here to have truncated the original Sethian system, wherein salvation is mediated through Seth (cf. *Ap. John* II 8,28-9,24 where it is by the "will of Autogenes" that the perfect Man Pigeradamas and his son Seth are emanated).

Thus one problem in identifying *Marsanes* as a "Sethian" document is posed: i.e. the lack of any reference, at least in the extant material, to the figure of Seth. This may be due to the loss of material in which the name "Seth" may be presumed to have occurred. Or, what is equally plausible, we should think in terms of the underlying system of the tractate, and the features it displays in common with other tractates identified as "Sethian." The tractate with which it has most in common, *Allogenes* (XI,3), bears the name of an epithet of Seth, "Allogenes" (for discussion see Pearson, "The

Figure of Seth," p. 486); in that tractate the gnostic author assumes the saving-revealing role of Seth, as a kind of "incarnation" of Seth the Savior. "Zostrianos" assumes a similar role in the tractate that bears his name (see Pearson, "The Figure of Seth," p. 497), and it is not out of the question that "Marsanes" is assuming the same role in our tractate, even though the extant material does not contain the name of Seth. In any case, as a prophet-revealer Marsanes is certainly to be regarded as a gnostic "savior" (see Schmithals, *Apostle*, pp. 114-197). It appears to be a constitutive feature of Sethian gnosticism that Seth the heavenly Savior can manifest himself in a variety of earthly figures, such as Jesus Christ, "Allogenes," "Zostrianos," or in this case, "Marsanes" (cf. Pearson, "The Figure of Seth," pp. 496-500). Moreover it must not be forgotten that it was precisely in a Sethian ("Archontic" = Sethian) group that Marsanes was revered as a prophet (Epiph. *Haer.* 40.7.6; cf. discussion above).

An additional mythological detail which relates our tractate to other Sethian-gnostic documents is the occurrence in it of the angelic personage, Gamaliel (64*, 19). Gamaliel is mentioned in the following tractates, in addition to *Marsanes*, all of which fall into the "Sethian" category: *Apoc. Adam*; *Gos. Eg.*; *Melch.*, *Trim. Prot.*, *Zost.*, and *Cod. Bruc. Untitled* (cf. note to *Melch.* IX 5, 18 and discussion in the introduction to IX, 1). Gamaliel is one of several angels subordinate to the four luminaries (φωστῆρες, mentioned above), and is related especially to Harmozel, the first luminary (*Gos. Eg.* III 52, 21-22). He is one of the four "receivers" (παραλήμπτωρ) of the race of Seth (= the gnostic elect), whose function is to receive the souls of the elect into eternal life (*Gos. Eg.* III 64, 22-65, 1), thus serving as "helpers (βοηθός) to those who believed in the light-spark" (*Cod. Bruc. Untitled*, ch. 8). It is precisely the role of "receiving" (παραλαμβάνειν) the souls of the elect that is doubtless attributed to the "angels" (necessarily including Gamaliel) mentioned at 65*, 1-3 (see note).

One of the features of Sethianism noted above is the apocalyptic schematization of history. While this feature is more marked in some Sethian tractates than in others (esp. in *Apoc. Adam* and *Gos. Eg.*, with their schema of the three-fold judgment of flood, fire, and end-time), it is not entirely absent from *Marsanes*, wherein one does see an eschatological thrust. E.g. at 10, 18 there is a reference to "the last times," and the context (though fragmentary)

treats of the eschatological rewards of the elect. Similarly at 40*,1-9 eschatological rewards and punishments are referred to (cf. also 40*,22-24).

Of the texts falling into the "Sethian" category, some are Christian, and the earliest of them (at least typologically) show a very strong Jewish coloration (see Pearson, "Jewish Elements in Gnosticism"). *Marsanes*, on the other hand, shows positively no Christian elements or influence, and such items of Jewish origin that may be found in it are certainly to be reckoned to the pre-history of the document. (The few biblical parallels cited in the notes are not to be attributed to direct use of the Bible by the author; such "parallels" as there are should be understood phenomenologically, not necessarily genetically.) In this respect, as in others, *Marsanes* is closely related to such tractates as *Allogenes* (XI,3), *Steles Seth* (VII,5), and to a large extent, *Zost.* (VIII,1). Indeed, what holds these documents together, in addition to their "Sethian" coloration, is their philosophical, specifically Platonist, tendency. If anything, *Marsanes* probably shows the strongest and most consistent Platonist coloration of the Sethian documents just mentioned (as is well known, Valentinian Gnosticism is also heavily influenced by Platonic philosophy, but I must omit reference to the Valentinian texts here), to the extent that it might plausibly be suggested that *Marsanes* reflects a considerable degree of discussion between Gnostics and Platonist philosophers, such as we know took place in Rome in the days of Plotinus (Porphyr. *Vit. Plot.* 16; Plot. *Enn.* II.9; cf. Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes"). What follows is necessarily only a bare outline of the facts; this subject obviously deserves a far more detailed discussion.

One of the basic doctrines of Middle Platonism is the distinction between the "intelligible world" ($\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) and the "sense-perceptible world" ($\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$). The Middle Platonists used the term $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ to designate the totality of Plato's intelligible "Ideas" (this terminology is first attested in Philo of Alexandria, but is probably not original with him; see Baltes, *Timaios Lokros*, p. 105; and cf. Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, pp. 158-159). This doctrine and its terminology are part and parcel of the thought-world of *Marsanes* (see 4,6-7; 5,18-19.22.24-25; 34*,20; 41*,2-6). In *Marsanes*, as in Platonic philosophy in general, the "intelligible" realm is the realm of true being.

In *Marsanes* one also encounters a level of divine reality clearly

regarded as above and beyond "being." The expression for this level is "non-being" (**ΑΤΟΥΓΙΑ** = *ἀνούσιος*; see 5,14 and cf. 4,15-18; 6,3-5; 7,13-15.17-19; 13,16-19). The same expression occurs in other gnostic documents, Sethian (*Allogenes*, *Zost.*, *Steles Seth*, Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*) and Valentinian (see e.g. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.42). Though the term may well be a gnostic coinage it is based on an idea found already in Plato, that "the Good is not being" (*οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*), but is "beyond being" *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*, *Resp.* VI 509B; on this passage and its influence in the history of Platonism see Whittaker, "**ΕΠΕΚΕΙΝΑ ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ**"). Plotinus refers to his First Principle, "the One," as "beyond being" (*ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας*) and "non-being" (*μὴ οὐσία*; *Enn.* I.7.1; V.6.6; V.4.2; VI.7.40,42). Thus *Marsanes* is following an established philosophical, i.e. Platonist, tradition in the use of the language of "non-being" to express the notion of transcendence. (For additional references and discussion see Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes," pp. 381-384.)

An important feature of Neo-Platonic philosophy is its tendency to organize reality into triads, and even triads within triads. Plotinus, as is well known, organized his whole philosophy around three first principles (*ἀρχαί*), "the One" (*τὸ ἓν*), "Mind" (*νοῦς*), and "Soul" (*ψυχή*); he criticized the Gnostics for positing more than three (see esp. *Enn.* II.9.1-3). The multiplication of triads is found in such later Platonist writers as Proclus (see esp. his *Theology*, and Dodds' admirable commentary thereon) and others. Now *Marsanes*' system, as has already been seen, is developed out of the Sethian triad of unknown Father (= the transcendent, "non-being" realm), Mother (Barbelo, symbolizing the intelligible realm), and Son (the Unbegotten One), whose salutary work brings the lower world into relation with the divine. But as we have also seen, there are more than three levels of reality posited, the most important of which is that of the "Three-Powered One" (**ΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ**; see 6,19 and note), a being who seems to mediate between the unknown supreme God and the intelligible realm of Barbelo, itself probably understood as triadic. (For an interesting analogy see fr. 27 of the *Chaldaean Oracles* [ed. des Places]: *παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει*. Damascius [De Princ. 43] interprets this oracle to mean that the one transcendent Father is prior to the Triad [*ὁ εἷς πατήρ ὁ πρὸ τῆς τριάδος*].) The Coptic term **ΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ** (the same figure occurs in *Allogenes* under the name **ΠΙΨΜΝῚΒΟΜ**, "the Triple Power," XI 45,13 *et passim*) is

transparently based on the Greek adjective *τριδύναμος* (a term which occurs untranslated in Cod. Bruc. *Untitled* and in other gnostic texts; cf. note to 6,19). This term, used mythologically in gnostic sources, is a technical term in the language of late Platonism, and is used both of the human soul (e.g. Hierocles) and of God (Marius Victorinus). The usage in Marius Victorinus is of key importance; I cite *Adv. Arium* IV.21: “*τριδύναμος* est deus, id est tres potentias habens, esse, vivere, intellegere” (“God is triple-powerful, that is he has three powers: Existence, Life, and Intelligence”). Victorinus, a Christian theologian, relates “Existence” to the Father, “Life” to the Son, and “Intelligence” to the Holy Spirit (cf. Hadot, in Marius Victorinus, *Traité théologique sur la Trinité*, ed. P. Henry, vol. 1 [SC 68], p. 82). More importantly, this passage in Marius Victorinus, with its triad of “Existence, Life, and Intelligence,” has been shown to be among those portions of Victorinus’ writings that are based on Porphyry’s lost commentary on Plato’s *Parmenides* (see Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, esp. vol. 1, pp. 293-294 and vol. 2, p. 48). Now although the triad, “Existence, Life, and Intelligence,” does not occur as such in *Marsanes*, it does occur in the closely-related tractate *Allogenes*, precisely as a designation for the “Triple-Power”: “He is Vitality ($\omega\nu\zeta = \zeta\omega\eta$) and Mentality ($\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon = \nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$) and That Which Is ($\pi\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon = \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\upsilon\ \text{or}\ \upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\xi}\iota\varsigma$, XI 49,26-28). The same triad, or variations thereof, occurs in *Steles Seth* and in *Zost.*, and an analogous triad occurs also in *Marsanes* itself, at 9,16-18 ($\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$; see note to 9,16-18; for discussion of the Neo-Platonic triad in relation to *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*, and *Allogenes* see Robinson, “The Three Steles of Seth,” esp. pp. 133-141; cf. also Tardieu, “Les trois stèles de Seth,” esp. pp. 559-564). Thus we have in *Marsanes*, and in the tractates related to it, with their use of the “Triple-Power” terminology and their speculation on intellectual triads, a very strong affinity with the Platonist schools of late antiquity, notably the school of Plotinus himself (whose pupil Porphyry was). It is probable that the very term *τριδύναμος*, used by later Platonists, was originally derived from the language of the Gnostics. (This may also be true of the triad of “Existence, Life, and Intelligence”; cf. Robinson’s remarks in “The Three Steles of Seth,” p. 141.) We can easily see here evidence of a considerable interaction of Platonist scholars and Gnostics.

In its treatment of the nature and destiny of the human soul,

Marsanes can be seen as essentially a Platonist work, and thoroughly conversant with late-ancient speculation on Plato's dialogues, especially the *Timaeus*. The "spherical shape" of the soul is mentioned several times in the tractate (see 26*,1; 28*,1.14); this notion is based on speculation on the Psychogonia in the *Timaeus* (35A-36D; see note to 26*,1). On p. 25* there is an enigmatic and fragmentary passage which seems to reflect Numenius' special teaching on the descent of the soul into the world of generation (see Macrob. *In Somn.* I.10-12, based essentially on Numenius, according to Dodds, "Numenius and Ammonius," p. 8, and de Ley, *Macrobius and Numenius*). The well-known Platonist doctrine that embodiment dulls the intellect (Plat. *Phaed.* 79C, 72E; cf. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.12.7-11; Plot. *Enn.* II.9.6) is taught at 41*,17-19. On the same page the following context discusses disembodied souls and their abode, in a way reminiscent of Plato's "Myth of Er" (*Resp.* X 614A-621D) and later Platonists' speculations thereon (cf. e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.11-12).

In general, the vocabulary of *Marsanes* is full of technical terms derived from Platonic philosophy. Some examples include the use of the term "incorporeal" (ἀσώματον) as an attribute of the intelligible (νοητόν) realm (see 3,8-9 and note, 3,20; 5,13.21; 36*,20); "simple" (ἀπλοῦς) as a divine attribute (see 5,8-9 and note,) "activity" (ἐνέργεια) to express the way in which a higher level of reality relates to lower levels (see 7,16.23; 9,18; cf. note to 7,2-19), "sameness" (ἰσότης) and "difference" (ἐτερότης) as qualities built into the world (see 4,27-28 and note); and "division" (μερισμός) as a property of lower levels of being (see 2,25 and note). And there is a possible allusion to the famous passage in Plato's *Timaeus* 41D on the "mixing bowl" of soul at 5,9-11 (cf. note).

In his important treatise "Against the Gnostics" Plotinus criticizes certain Gnostics known to him and members of his school for adding to the store of knowledge derived from Plato certain additional categories not attested in genuine Platonic tradition, such as "exiles" (παροικήσεις), "impressions" (ἀντίτυποι), and "repentings" (μετάνοιαι). The last-named term, μετάνοια, occurs in *Marsanes* at 3,15 (cf. note, with references also to *Zost.* and *Cod. Bruc. Untitled*). Interestingly enough, some of the doctrines condemned by Plotinus are absent from *Marsanes*, notably those doctrines which are most characteristic of the radical dualism of early Gnosticism, i.e. the myth of the fall of Sophia and the doc-

trine of the evil creator (cf. *Enn.* II.9.4-5 and 10-11; there is a possible allusion to the "salvation of Sophia" at 4,2 but no trace of the wicked or foolish demiurge). Moreover one can see in *Marsanes* a definite movement away from the dualism characteristic of early Gnosticism, in the direction of a more monistic understanding of reality. In my view this movement is itself traceable to the influence of late-ancient Platonism, and is probably to be attributed to the "give-and-take" that may be expected to result from actual discussions between Gnostics and Platonist scholars. Examples in *Marsanes* of what might be taken to be concessions to Platonic monism are the remarkable passage on p. 5, conceding the "salvation" of the sense-perceptible world (traceable to Plat. *Tim.* 41A-42A and later discussions thereon; see 5,24-26 and note), and the positive valuation given to cosmic contemplation on p. 42* (traceable to Plat. *Tim.* 90A-D; see 42*,1-7 and notes) of the sort actually recommended by Plotinus (see e.g. *Enn.* II.9.16 and III.8.11; the latter belongs to the four tractates, nos. 30-33, originally composed as a single work by Plotinus to counter aberrant, including gnostic, doctrines). In short, it seems that the author of *Marsanes* is "bending over backwards" to make his teaching as palatable as possible to Platonist readers!

Nevertheless *Marsanes* is and remains a *gnostic religious* document, not primarily a Platonist philosophical one. We have already adumbrated its "Sethian" features; there remains only to attempt to recover something of its original setting. This involves the following question: Is *Marsanes* addressed to members of a "school" or to members of a religious congregation? Though the answer to this question is by no means unambiguous—e.g. the material on the alphabet discussed above, reflecting the influence of grammatical training received in ancient schools, and of course the massive influence of Platonic philosophy just discussed—there are discernible allusions in the text of the tractate to certain religious rituals presumably practised by its readership.

It must be acknowledged that the study of Sethian-gnostic ritual is still in its infancy. H.-M. Schenke has taken some impressive steps forward in his article, "Gnostic Sethianism," wherein he discusses two prominent rituals, a baptism (for which he posits *Gos. Eg.* as an initiation text) and a "cultic ascension" ritual (for which *Steles Seth* is an aetiology). In *Marsanes* there are a number of passages which can be taken to allude to a baptismal ritual.

A baptismal "washing" is clearly referred to at 66*,1 (cf. a possible reference to "living water" at 65*,22; cf. 55*,20 and see notes), and in the same context the terms "seal" (σφραγίς) and "sealing" (σφραγίζειν) occur. The use of the "seal" terminology at 2,12-13 and following, and at 34*,28, may also imply a baptismal context, though one could equally well posit an "ascension" ritual for the material beginning at 2,12-13, with a "sealing" ceremony connected to each of the various levels of the ascent. "Baptism" in this context, therefore, would be part of the larger ritual of "cultic ascent," as seems to be indicated in *Zostrianos* (see *Zost.* VIII 5,14-7,22 *et passim*).

An "ascent" ritual (cf. the analogous ἀναγωγή ritual of the "Chaldaeans," on which see Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 177-226), posited for *Marsanes'* community, might include the following elements, in addition to those just mentioned: hymns or acclamations of praise (for which *Steles Seth* provides the best analogy: see esp. 8,4-12), alternated with sacred silences (cf. 8,14-25), and invocations of the "names" of gods and angels, symbolized by the chanting of *voces mysticae* (see 19*,18-20; 28*,12-13,17-22; 30*,16-18; 36*,28-37*,2; 38*,16-17; and notes to these passages).

Other possible rituals alluded to in the text of *Marsanes* include items properly classified as "magic." At 36*,1-6 there is a very interesting but enigmatic passage alluding to the use of waxen images and emerald stones, presumably in a ritual context (see discussion above). The closest parallels to this are found in the magical papyri and in the Chaldaean "Oracles" (cf. notes to this passage). Now while it is well-known that the later Neo-Platonists, from the time of Iamblichus on, were powerfully influenced by the theurgical art of the "Chaldaeans," even the pre-Plotinian philosopher Numenius apparently engaged in such arts, especially the fabrication of magical images (ἰδρωσις; cf. fr. 1 [des Places] and Dodds, "Numenius and Ammonius," p. 10). It is therefore not surprising to find this sort of thing reflected in a gnostic text. (A less likely magic ritual, that of "conjunction," may be alluded to at 2,14-16; see note.)

The overall impression received from a study of *Marsanes* is that ritual action was part and parcel of the *gnosis* experienced by the community to whom it was addressed. The "mysteries" referred to in the text would therefore have included not only secret doctrines but secret practices (see 39*,24 and note; cf. 68*,11). These "mysteries" were not to be contemned (see the warning at

39*,23-25). Those who were to be admitted to them were subject to an initiatory "testing" (δοκιμάζειν; see 40*,13-14 and note) and preliminary instruction (cf. 40*,14-19 and note).

In conclusion, it has long been assumed that the Gnostics combatted by Plotinus in Rome in the early third century belonged to the same basic "family" of Gnosticism as the Sethians and "Archontics" encountered by Epiphanius in the fourth century (*Haer.* 39 and 40; cf. Puech, "Plotin et les gnostiques," pp. 83-84; cf. 110-111; and Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, pp. 602-664; the "Archontics" are obviously a branch of Sethian Gnosticism; cf. Puech, "Archontiker," *RAC* I, 635). In our tractate from Codex X we now have the "Apocalypse of Marsanes" posited by Schmidt and others on the basis of the references in Epiphanius and the Bruce Codex (cf. discussion above). It is also possible that this document should be included in the "others" mentioned by Porphyry (*Vit. Plot.* 16; cf. discussion above). The name "Marsanes" probably reflects a Syrian background for its author, though not necessarily for the document's own provenience; it would be foolhardy, therefore, to assign *Marsanes* to any specific locality in the Roman world. It is possible that *Marsanes* was known to the author of the anonymous untitled tractate in the Bruce Codex, which Schmidt dated at the end of the second century (cf. *Gnostische Schriften*, p. 664); *Marsanes* would therefore have to be somewhat earlier. More conservatively, *Marsanes* might be dated to the early third century, or roughly the time of Plotinus and Porphyry. Perhaps more could be said if the document were more completely preserved.

The translation that follows is, in many places, overly literal and "wooden," but the fragmentary state of the MS. and the corrupt state of the text has militated against the production of a more readable translation. Future attempts will perhaps rectify this obvious deficiency.

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10 [.]!ΚΟ[
 ΜΝ ΟΥΒ[Ε]Κ[Ε] ΑΥΣΑΥ[ΝΕ Α]Υ
 12 ΒΝΤ῀ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΕΦΤ[Ο]ΥΒΗΥ
 ΕΝΣΕΖΑCΙ ΕΝ ΝΤΟΦ[Τ]῀
 14 ΝΖΜΠΕΘ[Α]Υ· ΝΕΝΤΑ[Υ]ΧΙ
 ΤΗΝΕ ΣΕΝΑ† ΝΕΥ Μ[Π]ΟΥ
 16 ΒΕΚΕ ΕΦCΑΤΠ ΕΤΒ[Ε] ΟΥ
 ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΑΥΩ ς[Ν]Α
 18 ΡΑΝΕΧΕ ΖΗΤΟΥ Ν[ΜΠΕ]
 ΘΑΥ· ΜΝΤΡΕΛΛΑΥ[Ε ΔΕ Ν]
 20 ΖΗΤΝ ΡΛΥΠΕΙCΘΑ[Ι ΑΥ]Ω
 ΜΝΤΡΕΦΜΕΕΥ[Ε ΖΜ Π]Εϲ
 22 ΖΗΤ ΧΕ ϲΡΑΠ[...]. [
 ΝΒΙ ΠΝΑΒ ΝΕ[Ι]ΩΤ ϲ[ΒΩ]
 24 Ω† ΓΑΡ ΑΧΜ ΠΤΗΡ῀ [ΑΥΩ]
 ῀ϲΙ ΜΠΟΥΡΑΥΩ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ]
 26 ΑΥΩ Α[ϲΟ]ΥΩΝΖ Ν[Α]Υ
 ΑΒΑΛ [Μ]ΠΕϲΚΕΛ[
 28 ΕΝ[.] ΝΕΤΧΩ . [

[B]

(9 lines missing)

10 [± Ι3].. [
 Ν[...]ΝΤΑ[...]Υ ΝΩΑΡ[Π]
 12 ΤΜ[Α]ΖΜΝΤΩΑΜΝΤ ΔΕ Ν
 CΦΡΑΓΙC ΑΖΙΚΩΕ ΜΜΑϲ

- 1,10 Probably a Greek adjective, perhaps ΚΟC/[Μ]!ΚΟ[ϲ,
 "worldly"; cf. 2,18.
 1,12 "him": God. Cf. 68*,17.
 1,13 Corr. Α over Ν in ΖΑCΙ.
 1,14-15 "Those who have received you": The gnostic prophet (Marsa-
 nes) seems here to be encouraging his followers in their mis-
 sionary activity. Cf. Matt 10:40 par.
 1,16 "reward": Cf. 40*,2-5.
 1,18 Corr. Χ over Α in ΑΝΕΧΕ.
 1,20-21 Lit. "and let him not think . . ."
 1,22 A Greek word with the prefix ἀπο- was in the text here.
 1,23 "The great Father" refers to the supreme God. Cf. "the great
 Forefather (προπάτωρ)," *Pist. Soph.*, ch. 14.
 1,24 ΠΤΗΡ῀: "The All" is a technical reference to the totality of
 heavenly beings; cf. esp. *Gos. Truth* I 18,29-19,10.

[1]

(9 lines missing)

10 [and a [reward]. They [came to know;] they
 12 found him with a pure heart,
 (and) they are not afflicted by him
 14 with evils. Those who have received
 you (pl.) will be given their
 16 choice reward for
 endurance (ὑπομονή), and he will
 18 ward off (ἀνέχειν) [the]
 evils from them. [But (δέ)] let none
 20 of us be distressed (λυπεῖσθαι) [and]
 think [in] his
 22 heart that the great
 Father [
 24 For (γάρ) he looks upon the All [and]
 takes care of them all.
 26 And [he] has shown to them
 his [
 28 . . . Those that [

[2]

(9 lines missing)

10 [
 [] at first.
 12 But (δέ) as for the thirteenth
 seal (σφραγίς), I have established it,

- 1,27 Perhaps ΠΕΡΚΕΛ[ΕΥΣΙΣ], "his command."
 1,28 Probably not ΧΩ Μ[ΜΑC, "say," for the form ΧΟΥ is used
 elsewhere in this tractate; cf. 34*, 18.
 2,12-4,23 On this passage see the tractate introduction.
 2,12-13 "the thirteenth seal": The various "seals" referred to in what
 follows are possibly to be understood as magical names asso-
 ciated with angelic inhabitants of the various realms. Cf.
 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, pp. 32-33. In the Books of Jeu
 such seals are shown as diagrams in the MS., and are also
 treated in connection with a ritual of "sealing" (σφραγιζειν);
 see e.g. 1 *Jeu*, chs. 38-41, and 2 *Jeu*, chs. 44-52. Cf. also *Pist.*
Soph., chs. 25, 86, etc., and esp. 138. In *Marsanes*, as in the
 Books of Jeu, the "seals" may also be associated with a
 (baptismal) ritual; cf. 66*, 1-5. Cf. also the "five seals" in
Trim. Prot. XIII 49,27-32. The "thirteenth seal" probably

14 α[ΠΙ]Τῼ Μῼ [Π]ΤΑΨ ΝΤ[Ε]
 Γ[Ν]ΩΨΙC Μῼ ΠΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤ[Α]
 16 Ν[ΑΠ]ΑΥCΙC· ΤΨΑΡΠ ΜΕ[Ν]
 Μ[ῼ Τ]ΜΑΖCῼΤΕ Μῼ ΤΜΑ[Ζ]
 18 [ΨΑΜ]ΤΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΝῼΚΟC
 [ΜΙΚΟ]Ϛ Μῼ ΝΖΥΛΙΚΟC· ΑΖΙ
 20 Τ[ΑΜ]Ε ΤΗΝΕ ΑΡΑΥ ΑΤΡΕΤῼ
 Α.[... Ν]ΕΤῼCΩΜΑ· ΑΥΩ
 22 [ΟΥ]Δ[ΥΝΑ]ΜΙC ΝΑΙCΘΗΤΗ
 [C]ΝΑΖ.[.] ΝΝΕΤΑῼΤΑΝ ῼ
 24 [ΜΑ]Υ ΑΥΩ ΝCΕῼΤΗΡΙ ῼΜΑΥ
 [ΑΠ]ΠΑΘΟC· ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΡΙCΜΟC
 26 [ῼΠ]ΤΩΜΕ· ΤΜ[Α]ΖCΤΟΕ ΔΕ
 [Μῼ Τ]ΜΑΖ†Ε Ε[Τ]ῼ ΠCΑΖΡΕ
 28 [ΝΕΕΙ] ΑΤΕΤῼC[Ο]ΥΩΝΟΥ
 [.....]Φ.[..ΝΝΟ]ΥΤΕ

Γ

2 ψωοοπ μῼῼca π[
 αὐω τφ[γ]Ϛic ῼῼ.[

corresponds to the highest heavenly realm, which in *Pist. Soph.* is called the "thirteenth aeon" (*passim*). Cf. "the world of the Thirteen" referred to by Zosimus of Panopolis, according to Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 4, p. 143. In *Pist. Soph.* the exiled Pistis Sophia must undergo thirteen "repentances" (μετάνοια) before being restored to the thirteenth aeon, chs. 30-60. Contrast *Gos. Eg.* III 63,18-64,4; *Zost.* VIII 4,25-28; etc.; where the "thirteen aeons" are regarded as part of the lower world.

2,13-14

2,14-16

ΚΩΕ ΑΠΙΤῼ = κατατιθέσθαι.

When the Gnostic attains to the highest level of reality, the level of the "thirteenth," he has achieved the very extremity of *gnosis*, and is assured of the eschatological "rest." The experience treated here probably involves contemplation and meditation. On contemplation and its benefits in Gnosticism and in Platonism see e.g. Zandee, *Terminology*, pp. 33-38. An alternative way of understanding the expression ΠΤΑΨ ΝΤΕΓΝΩΨΙC is to take ΤΑΨ as a translation of a technical term, "Conjunction" (σύστασις), referring to a magical ritual whereby an adept gains supernatural power. In the "Chaldaean" system of theurgy, "conjunction" is achieved through certain rites and invocations of inarticulate magical names—such as seem to be referred to extensively later in this tractate

- 14 together with [the] summit of
 knowledge (γνώσις) and the certainty
 16 of rest (ἀνάπαυσις). The first (+ μέν)
 [and the] second and the
 18 [third] are the worldly (κοσμικός)
 and the material (ὕλικός). I have
 20 [informed] you concerning these, that you should
 [] your bodies (σῶμα). And
 22 [a] sense-perceptible (αἰσθητή) [power (δύναμις)]
 will [] those who will rest,
 24 and they will be kept (τηρεῖν)
 [from] passion (πάθος) and division (μερισμός)
 26 [of the] union. The fourth (+ δέ)
 [and the] fifth which are above,
 28 [these] you have come to know
 [] divine]

3

- He exists after the []
 2 and the nature (φύσις) of the []

(esp. pp. 19*-39*). On the Chaldaean "Conjunction" see Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 228-238. For a well-known example in Graeco-Egyptian magic see *PGM* IV.778-798.

- 2,16-26 The first stage of ascent involves *askesis*.
 2,18-19 κοσμικός and ὕλικός appear to be used synonymously here. This is a specifically gnostic use of κοσμικός, without parallel in the Platonic tradition. Cf. 18*, 21-22.
 2,19-20 The author is building on prior instruction. Cf. also 2,28; 3,4-8.
 2,21 Perhaps ἀρ[ΗΖ ΔΝ]ΕΤΝΩΜΑ, "guard your bodies."
 2,23 Perhaps [C]ΝΑΖΦ[Ν], "will impose upon," in which case ΑΥΩ in line 24 should be understood adversatively, presupposing an adversative καί in the Greek original.
 2,24 Or: "but they will be kept . . ." Cf. the preceding note.
 2,25 μερισμός: "Division" is the property of lower levels of being, according to gnostic and Platonic categories. See e.g. Zandee, *Terminology*, pp. 23-24. Cf. also note to 3,20-22.
 2,26 ΤΩΜΕ: This probably refers to the union of the earthly self with its heavenly counterpart.
 2,29 The superlin. stroke is visible. Perhaps "the gods" instead of "divine."
 3,2 Perhaps τφ[Υ]ςις Νηφ[Υτε], "the divine nature."

4 **ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ [Π]Ε ΠΕΤΠΑ[**
ΕΙ ΝΨΑΜΝΤ ΑΥΩ ΑΖ[ΙΤΑ]
ΜΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΑΝ[. . .]Ω[
 6 **ΖΜ ΠΨΑΜΝ[Τ**
ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΕΙCΝ[ΕΥ ΑΖΙΤΑ]
 8 **ΜΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΑΡ[ΑΦ ΧΕ ΟΥΑ]**
ΤCΩΜΑ ΠΕ [
 10 **[. .]Ε[**
ΑΥΩ ΜΝΝC[Α
 12 **[.]ΟΥ ΝΖΗΤ[**
ΝΙΜ ΕΤ[
 14 **ΝΕΤΝ[. . .] Τ[ΜΑΖΤΕ]**
ΔΕ Ε[ΤΒΕ Τ]ΜΕΤΑΝ[ΟΙΑ Ν]
 16 **ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ**
ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΜΠΜΑ
 18 **ΕΤΜΕΥ ΤΜΑΖCΟΕ**
ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕΝ[ΝΗΤ]ΟC
 20 **ΕΤΒΕ ΤΟΥCΙΑ ΝΑCΩΜΑ**
ΤΟΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕ
 22 **ΡΟC· ΜΝ ΝΕΤΨΟ[ΟΠ] ΖΝ**
ΤΜΗΕ ΜΠΤΗΡῶ Α[. .].
 24 **ΑΟΥΕΠΙCΤΗΜΗ Μ[Ν ΟΥ]**
ΩΡΧ· ΑΥΩ ΤΜΑΖCΑ[ΨΦΕ]

-
- 3,5 Perhaps **ΑΝ[ΕΕΙ]**, "of these (things)."
 3,8-9 **ΑΤCΩΜΑ** = *ἀσώματος*; cf. 3,20-21. "Incorporeal" is equivalent to "intelligible" (*νοητός*) in Platonic thought; see e.g. Numenius fr. 7 (des Places ed.), of "being" (*τὸ ὄν*).
 3,15 *μετάνοια*: "Conversion" is apparently to be understood as the first step in the return of the gnostic soul to its place of origin. *μετάνοια* and *παροίκησης* (variously translated as "exile" and "transmigration") are gnostic technical terms which occur together in *Zost.* (VIII 5,24-27 *et passim*) and in Cod. Bruc. *Untitled* (ch. 20). Plotinus criticized the Gnostics known to him for their use of these terms; *Enn.* II.9.6. For discussion see esp. Puech, "Plotin et les Gnostiques," pp. 108-109.
 3,16 The reference is to those Gnostics associated with the prophet-savior Marsanes. Cf. 8,2. For discussion see tractate introduction.
 3,17 **ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ**: Perhaps the Greek word *παροικεῖν* is in the background here. Cf. note to 3,15.

that is, the one who [
 4 [] three. And [I have]
 [informed] you of [
 6 in the three [
 by these [two. I have]
 8 [informed] you concerning [it, that it]
 is incorporeal (-σῶμα) [
 10 [
 and after [
 12 within [
 every [] which [
 14 your []. The [fifth,]
 (+ δέ) [concerning the] conversion (μετάνοια) [of]
 16 those that are within me, and
 concerning those who dwell in that place.
 18 But (δέ) the sixth,
 concerning the self-begotten ones (αὐτογέννητος),
 20 concerning the incorporeal (ἄσώματον) being (οὐσία)
 which exists partially (κατὰ μέρος),
 22 together with those who exist in
 the truth of the All [
 24 for understanding (ἐπιστήμη) and
 assurance. And the [seventh,]

3,19 This line is unusually long, 19 letters. αὐτογέννητος: This term is used of the supreme God both in gnostic and non-gnostic sources. See e.g. Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 1; Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 16.16. But in the Peratic gnostic system it is used of the second principle (of three); the first principle is ἀγέννητον and the second is αὐτογέννητον.

3,20-21 ἄσώματον: Cf. note to 3,8-9.

3,20-22 That "incorporeal being" should have only "partial" (κατὰ μέρος) existence is a surprising doctrine, but the author is attempting to express in Platonic categories the gnostic myth of the scattered particles of divinity in the world. In Platonism the soul participates both in "indivisible being" (ἀμέριστος οὐσία) and "divisible being" (μεριστή οὐσία); see e.g. Plat. *Tim.* 35A; Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.5. Cf. also note to 2,25.

3,21 Corr. Ω over 2.

26 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ Ν[ΑΥΤΟ]
 ΓΕΝΗΣ· ΕΤΕ ΠΕ[ΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΖ]
 28 ΨΑΜΝΤ ΝΤΕΛ[ΕΙΟΣ
 ΠΝ[. .]. Ν·Υ[

Δ

[ΤΜΑΖ]ΩΤΟΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΕ
 2 [ΕΙ· Μ]Ν ΤΣΟΦ[Ι]Α· ΤΜΑΖΩΜΟΥ
 [ΝΕ] ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΣ ΕΤΟΕΙ
 4 [Ν]ΖΑΥΤ [ΝΤΑ]ΖΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ
 [ΧΙ]Ν Ν[ΨΑΡΠ] ΜΝ ΤΟΥΣΙΑ Ε
 6 [ΤΕ ΜΝΤΕΣ Σ]ΨΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΚΟΣ
 [ΜΟΣ ΝΝΟΗ]ΤΟΣ· ΤΜΑΖΨΙΤΕ
 8 [± 7] ΝΤΑΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ
 [ΤΕΕΙ ΝΤΑΖΟ]ΥΨ[Ν]Ζ ΑΒΑ[Λ] Χ[Ι]Ν
 10 [ΝΨΑΡΠ· ΤΜΑΖ]ΜΗΤΕ ΕΤ[ΒΕ]
 [ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ Τ]ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ [·
 12 [± 7 Ν]ΤΕ ΠΑΙΩ[Ν·]
 [ΤΜΑΖΜΝΤΟΥΗΕ] ΜΝ ΤΜΑ[Ζ]
 14 [ΜΝΤΣ]ΝΑΥ[Σ ΕΥ]ΨΕΧΕ ΑΠ

- 3,26-28 The "third perfect" "self begotten" power may be taken as equivalent to the divine Autogenes, the "son" in the Sethian-
 gnostic triad of Father, Mother, and Son. Cf. e.g. *Ap. John* II
 7,11-30; and *Norea* IX 28,6 (and see introduction to IX,2).
 Cf. also 5,27-28.
- 4,2 For the reconstruction of the lacuna see 5,16. One might also
 be tempted to restore the text of 4,1-2 to read: ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΟΥΧΕ/[ΕΙΤΕ] ΝΤΣΟΦΙΑ, "concerning the salvation of
 (the gnostic aeon) Sophia"; for the form ΟΥΧΕΕΙΤΕ see
 Kasser, *Compléments*, p. 79.
- 4,3-5 For the appearance of "mind" (νοῦς) in gnostic myth see e.g.
Ap. John II 6,33-7,4. Cf. also *Zost.* VIII 18,5-6: "the great
 male invisible perfect Mind, the First-Appearing One . . ."
 On the masculine nature of the νοῦς, cf. *Testim. Truth* IX 44,2-3
 and note. Cf. also 31*,17-18.
- 4,4 The second superlin. stroke is visible.
- 4,5-6 Cf. 3,8-9 and note.
- 4,6-7 ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΝΝΟΗΤΟΣ: The "intelligible world" (νοητός
 κόσμος) is equivalent to the immaterial world of the "Ideas"
 in Middle Platonism. Whereas Plato used the term ζῶον νοητόν

- 26 concerning the self-begotten (αὐτογενής) power (δύναμις),
 which [is the]
 28 third [perfect (τέλειος)
 [

4

- fourth, concerning salvation
 2 [and] wisdom (σοφία). And (δέ) the eighth,
 concerning the mind (νοῦς) which is
 4 [male, which] appeared
 [in the beginning,] and (concerning) the being (οὐσία)
 6 [which is incorporeal (-σῶμα)] and the
 [intelligible (νοητός)] world (κόσμος). The ninth,
 8 [] of the power (δύναμις)
 [which] appeared [in the]
 10 [beginning. The] tenth, [concerning]
 [Barbelo, the] virgin (παρθένος) [
 12 [] of the Aeon (αἰών).
 [The eleventh] and [the]
 14 [twelfth] speak of the

(“intelligible living being”) for the immaterial “pattern” of the material world (cf. *Tim.* 37D), later Platonists used the term κόσμος νοητός, and included in the designation the totality of Plato’s intelligible “Ideas.” The earliest attestation of the distinction between two “worlds,” νοητός and αἰσθητός (“sense-perceptible”) is Philo of Alexandria. See e.g. *Op. Mund.* 15-17, 24; cf. Baltes, *Timaios Lokros*, p. 105. Here the Middle-Platonic “intelligible world” has been incorporated into the gnostic system of *Marsanes*. For discussion see tractate introduction.

4,11

ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ: For the reconstruction, cf. 8,28-29. Barbelo is the “Mother” in the Sethian-gnostic divine triad. See esp. *Ap. John* II 4,36-5,11. Barbelo is sometimes referred to as a “male virgin” in gnostic texts related to *Marsanes*; see e.g. *Steles Seth* VII 121,21. She is also called, simply, “the Virgin Barbelo,” *Zost.* VIII 63,7 *et passim*, and is designated “triple-male,” *Zost.* VIII 83,10; *Ap. John* II 5,8. Cf. also *Melch.* IX 5,27 and note.

4,12

A trace of the superlin. stroke is visible. **ΠΑΙΩΝ**: Perhaps this refers to the “Aeon of Barbelo”; cf. 8,28 and *Allogenes* XI 46,34 *et passim*; *Zost.* VIII 14,6 *et passim*.

16 [αζο]ρατος πετ[ε ου]ντεφ
 ψ[α]μῆντε ἄδυν[α]μις [᾿μ]
 18 [τ]εφ ουςια ᾿μευ εφην α
 τψαρῖ ἄτοϋχπας· τμαζ
 20 μῆντψαμτε ε'ς' ψεχε ετβε
 πε[τ]καραιετ εμποϋσοϋ
 22 ψ[ων]ῖ· αῦω τκαταρχη ᾿ν
 [πετ]ε νποϋδιακρине ᾿μ
 24 [μαφ]· ανακ γαρ πε ᾿νταζιῖ
 [νοει] ᾿νπετψοοπ μαμη
 26 [ε ει]τε κατα μέρος ειτε ᾿ν
 [πιπτη]ῖ κατα τδιαφορα
 28 [μῆ <π> ψωψ] χε σεψοοπ χιν ᾿ν
 [ψαρῖ ζ᾿μ π]μα τηῖ[ῖ] ετοε[ι]

ε

2 ἄδωνιον <᾿βι> νενταζψω
 πε τηροϋ· ειτε χωρις ουςια
 4 ειτε ζ᾿ν ουςια· νετοει ᾿νατ
 χπαϋ· αῦω ἄδων· ᾿ννοϋ

- 4,15-19 "Invisible" (ἀόρατος), "Spirit" (πνεῦμα), "non-being" (ἀνούσιος), "unbegotten" (ἀγέννητος) are all designations for the supreme God in gnostic sources. On the system of *Marsanes* see the tractate introduction.
- 4,16 It is not clear how the "three powers" are to be construed here. In *Gos. Eg.* "three powers" emanate from the Supreme God: Father, Mother, and Son; see *Gos. Eg.* III 41,7-11; cf. III 44,10-12. Later on in *Marsanes* the "third power" is referred to; see 8,18-19; cf. 3,26-27; 9,19-20; 20*,15-16. On the term "three-powered" see 6,19 and note.
- 4,19 **ΑΤΟΥΧΠΑ** =: Cf. 6,24; 7,13-14.18. For discussion of this hitherto unattested form see the grammatical section of the codex introduction. However the form is to be construed grammatically, the meaning is clear: "unbegotten." The expected construction, **ΑΤΧΠΑ** =, occurs at 5,3-4. "The first Unbegotten" (fem.) referred to here is difficult to identify; perhaps this is an oblique reference to a divine feminine entity such as the "First Thought" (ἔννοια) of the Invisible Spirit in *Allogenes* XI 64,35-36.
- 4,20-24 Here, as in many other gnostic texts, "silence" and "unknowability" are the most important attributes of the supreme

- Invisible One (ἀόρατος) who possesses
 16 three powers (δύναμις)
 and the Spirit (πνεῦμα) which does not
 18 have being (οὐσία), belonging to
 the first Unbegotten (fem.). The
 20 thirteenth speaks concerning
 [the] Silent One who was not
 22 [known], and the primacy (καταρχή) of
 [the one who] was not distinguished (διακρίνειν).
 24 For (γάρ) I am he who has
 [understood (νοεῖν)] that which truly exists,
 26 [whether (εἴτε)] partially (κατὰ μέρος) or (εἴτε)
 [wholly], according to difference (διαφορά)
 28 [and sameness], that they exist from the
 [beginning in the] entire place which is

5

- eternal (αἰώνιον), <i.e.> all those that have come into
 2 existence whether (εἴτε) without (χωρίς) being (οὐσία)
 or (εἴτε) with being (οὐσία), those who are
 4 unbegotten, and the divine aeons (αἰών)

God. Cf. esp. *Allogenes* XI 60,28-61,22. Cf. tractate introduction for discussion.

4,24

"I" here probably refers to Marsanes, the prophet-revealer of the tractate; cf. 2,13.19; 3,4.7.16.

4,27-28

"Sameness" (ταυτόν) and "Difference" (θάτερον) are qualities built into the World Soul according to Plato *Tim.* 35A. Cf. Plutarch's commentary on this passage, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, esp. 1012d-1013a. In Neo-Platonism the usual terms are ταυτότης and ἕτερότης; cf. e.g. Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.21, where these terms are used to describe Mind (νοῦς). It is assumed that here διαφορά = ἕτερότης and that **ΨΩΨ** = ταυτότης.

4,28

There is not enough room in the lacuna for the article; it is assumed that it was erroneously omitted by the scribe.

5,2-3

"without being": This phrase implies utter transcendence, in the sense of "beyond being," and reflects a Platonic philosophical background. Cf. 5,14; 6,3-5; 7,13-19; and notes. For discussion see Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes," and tractate introduction.

5,3-4

ΑΤΧΠΑ = : Cf. note to 4,19.

τε μῆ παρ[ε]λος· ἀγω
 6 ἡψυχῆ ἐγζῆ οὐμ[ῆτ]
 βαλζήτ· ἀγω ἡζ[β̄σω μ]
 8 ψυχῆ· ἡταντῆ ζ[ηζα]
 πλοῦν· ἀγω μῆῆ[σως α]
 10 ζουτᾶτοῦ μῆ ἡ[ετεινε]
 ἀραγ· ἐτι δε [. τοῦ]
 12 σια τηρῆ ἡ[. ἐτῆ]
 τῶν ἀτο[γσια ἡατσωμα]
 14 μῆ τατοῦ[σι]α· λ[οιπον]
 δε ἀπχωζῆ τηρ[ῆ οὐχε]
 16 εἰ· μῆ τμῆτατμοῦ ἡ
 τετῆμεγ· ἀζιδιακρине·
 18 ἀγω ἀζιπωζ ἀθαν ἡῆαι
 σῆτος κοσμος· <ἀζισαγνε> κατ[α]
 20 μέρος ἡπτοπος τηρῆ

- 5,7 **ΒΑΛΖΗΤ** may also be translated "simple" (ἀπλοῦς). Cf. lines 8-9. The superlin. stroke on **ΖΒ̄ΣΩ** is visible. "soul garments": The soul is regularly portrayed as a "garment" (ἔνδυμα, **ΖΒ̄ΣΩ**) in gnostic literature. See e.g. *Gos. Mary* BG 15,8; *Allogenes* XI 58,29; *Auth. Teach.* VI 32,4. Here the term "soul-garment" may refer to something akin to the "vehicle of the soul" (ἄχημα τῆς ψυχῆς) in late Platonism, on which see Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*, pp. 313-321. According to Proclus the "vehicle" of the soul descends by the addition of "garments" (χιτῶνες) of increasingly material substance; see *Theology*, Prop. 209.
- 5,8 **ἡΤΑΝΤῆ**: The following preposition **α** may presuppose a verb form, **ΕΥΤΑΝΤῆ**. "likenesses": Cf. the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the soul as a "likeness" (εἰκῶν) of the mind (νοῦς), Plot. *Enn.* V.1.3.
- 5,8-9 ἀπλοῦν: "Simplicity" is a divine attribute according to Platonic tradition. E.g. Numenius applies the adjective ἀπλοῦς to the supreme God (πρωτὸς θεός), fr. 11 (des Places ed.) and Prop. 127 of Proclus' *Theology* reads: "All that is divine is primordially and supremely simple (ἀπλοῦν) . . .," Dodds, pp. 112-113.
- 5,9-11 Perhaps there is an allusion here to the "mixing bowl" (κρατήρ) of Plato's *Timaeus* 41D; cf. 35A.
- 5,13 **ΑΤΣΩΜΑ**: Cf. note to 3,8-9.
- 5,14 **ΑΤΟΥΣΙΑ** = ἀνούσιος, a predication of divine transcendence;

- together with the angels (ἄγγελος) and the
 6 souls (ψυχή) which are without guile
 and the soul-(ψυχή) [garments,]
 8 the likenesses of [the]
 simple (ἄπλοῦν) ones. And [afterwards they]
 10 have been mixed with [those that resemble]
 them. But (δέ) still (ἔτι) [the]
 12 entire being (οὐσία) [which]
 imitates the [incorporeal (-σῶμα) being (οὐσία)]
 14 and the unsubstantial (-οὐσία) (fem.). [Finally (λοιπόν)]
 (+ δέ) the entire defilement [was saved]
 16 together with the immortality of
 the former (fem.). I have deliberated (διακρίνειν)
 18 and have attained to the boundary of the sense-per-
 ceptible (αἰσθητός)
 world (κόσμος). <I have come to know> part by part
 20 (κατὰ μέρος) the entire place (τόπος)

cf. note to 5,2-3. For the gnostic use of the term ἀνούσιος see e.g. Cod. Bruc. *Untitled* ch. 2 *et passim*; Hipp. Ref. VI.42 (the Valentinian Marcus); Hipp. Ref. VII.21 (Basilides). For **ΛΤΟΥΣΙΑ** cf. *Allogenes* XI 53,31-32; *Zostrianos* VIII 79,7; *Steles Seth* VII 121,27; 124,26; and for **ΜΝΤΑΤΟΥΣΙΑ** (= ἀνουσιότης?) *Allogenes* XI 47,34; 49,33; 55,29. For discussion see Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes."

5,15-16

"The entire defilement" probably refers to the sense-perceptible world, whose "salvation" is apparently granted in this tractate. Cf. 5,24-26 and note.

5,17-26

"Marsanes" is apparently referring to his own experience of meditational ascent. The text is corrupt here and the emendations are conjectural.

5,17

ΤΕΤῸΜΕΥ: Lit. "that one." The translation assumes that this is a reference back to οὐσία in lines 11-13. διακρίνειν: The term translated here "deliberate" also includes the connotation of "distinguishing" between the various levels of reality, as the following passage indicates. Cf. *Allogenes* XI 50,13 where the Coptic word ΠΩΡΞ is used.

5,18-19

ΠΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ: The "sense-perceptible world" is the world of materiality, viewed in Middle-Platonism as an "imitation" (μιμημα) of the "intelligible world." See e.g. Philo *Op. Mund.* 25; "heaven" (οὐρανός) is the "boundary" (ὄρος) of the sense-perceptible world, *Op. Mund.* 37. Cf. note to 4,6-7.

ΝΤΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΑΤΣΩΜΑ· ΑΥΩ
 22 ΠΝΟΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ Α<ΖΙ>
 ΣΟΥΩΝῆ <ΑΖΙΣΑΥΝΕ> Ζῆ ΠΤΡ<Α> Ρ̄ΔΙ
 24 ΑΚΡΙΝΕ· ΧΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΠΙΑΙ
 ΣΘΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ςῆ[ΠΨΑ]
 26 ΑΤΡΕΦΟΥΧΕΕΙ [ΤΗ]Ρῆ [ΧΕ]
 ΜΠΙΛΟ ΕΕΙΨΕΧ[Ε ΑΠΑΥ]
 28 ΤΟΥΓΕΝΗΣ· Ψ[
 [...]ΨΩΠ[Ε

<Ξ>

ΚΑΤ[Α] ΜΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡϚ
 2 ΑΦΙ ΑΠΙΤῆ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΦΙ ΑΠΙ
 Τῆ <ΑΒΑΛ> Ζῆ ΠΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΧΠΑϚ
 4 ΕΜῆΤΕϚ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΜΕΥ Ε
 ΤΕ Π̄Π̄Ν̄Α [Π]Ε· ΠΕΕΙ ΕΤΨΟ

-
- 5,21-22 Cf. note to 3,8-9.
 5,22 One would expect ΠΝΟΗΤΟΣ ΝΚΟΣΜΟΣ; but cf. also 41*,5.
 Α<ΖΙ> : MS. reads ΑΦ-, "he."
 5,23 MS. reads ΠΤΡΕΦΡ̄-, "he." In support of the emendation
 cf. 5,17.
 5,24-26 This is a remarkable statement for a gnostic text, and reflects
 an attenuation of the radical dualism of early Gnosticism; for
 discussion see Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes." That the
 sense-perceptible world is capable of "salvation" is a doctrine
 whose background is to be found in Platonic philosophy, and
 one Platonic theory that the purpose of the soul's descent into
 the material world is "for the perfection of the All" (εις τελειωσιν
 τοῦ παντός). See e.g. Calvisius Taurus, *apud* Stob. I.378,25 ff.
 (Wachsmuth ed.) and cf. Plat. *Tim.* 41A-42A. For discussion
 see e.g. Kübel, *Schuld und Schicksal*, pp. 15-27. The Platonic
 theory in *Tim.* 41A-42A includes reference to the demiurgic
 activity of the lesser gods. In *Marsanes* this salvific demiurgic
 activity is attributed esp. to the "Self-begotten One." See
 5,27-6,16 and notes.
 5,27-6,16 The "salvation" of the lower world is attributed to the descent
 of the "Self-begotten One" from the higher realm of the
 Unbegotten, non-being Spirit.

6 [ΟΠ Ζ]ΑΤΟΥΖΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΦΠΗΖ
 [ΑΧΝ ΠΑ]ΥΤΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ Ν
 8 [ΝΟΥΤ]Ε ΠΕΕΙ ΕΥΝΤΕΦ
 [ΟΥΣΙΑ] ΜΜΕΥ ΦΜΟΥΨ<Τ> Μ
 10 [.....] ΑΥΩ ΦΨΟΡΠ Μ
 [..... ΑΥ]Ω ΕΦΤΝΤΝ
 12 [± 8] ΑΥΩ ΑΒΑΛ .[
 [± 10] ΕΥΠΩΡΧ
 14 [.....]ΩΖ[.]. ΑΖΙΨΩ[ΠΕ]
 [....]. ΝΖΑΖ ΕΦΒΑΛΠ ΑΒΑ[Λ]
 16 ΧΦ ΑΓΤΟΥΧΕ ΟΥΜΗΨ[Ε]
 ΜΝΝΣΑ ΝΕΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 18 ΕΙΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΤΜΝΤΡΟ
 ΜΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ ΕΜΝ

- 6,5-6 "That One who exists before all of them": This is doubtless a reference to the supreme unknown God. Cf. e.g. *Steles Seth* 124,18-21: ΠΗ ΕΤΡ ΨΡΠ ΝΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ· ΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΠΙΨΟΡΠ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ, "the really Preexistent One really existing, being the first eternal One."
- 6,7-8 "The divine Self-engendered One" is probably to be identified with "the Self-begotten One" mentioned at 5,27-28. *αὐτογέννητος* (also at 3,19) and *αὐτογενής* (3,26; 5,27-28) are virtually synonymous.
- 6,8-9 In Platonic thought the realm of "being" (τὸ ὄν) is the "intelligible" (νοητός) realm. Cf. note to 3,8-9.
- 6,11 Corr. The second Ν over α.
- 6,14-15 There may be a reference here to Marsanes' saving-prophetic role. Cf. the role attributed to Zostrianos in *Zost.*; for discussion see tractate introduction.
- 6,15-16 Three interpretations are possible: 1) The clause ΕΦΒΑΛΠ . . . ΟΥΜΗΨΕ may be taken as a scribal gloss, and translated, "he (Marsanes) is showing that he has saved a multitude." 2) The statement refers to the salvific role of the Unbegotten One; cf. 5,24-28 and notes. 3) The verbs are to be emended to Ε<Ι>ΒΑΛΠ and Α<ΖΙ>ΤΟΥΧΕ, and the passage translated, "[I] am showing that [I] have saved a multitude." Cf. note to 6,14-15.
- 6,17-28 Cf. *Allogenes* XI 56,15-58,26; *Zost.* VIII 128,19-25.
- 6,18 "seeking the kingdom": Cf. Matt 6:33.
- 6,19 ΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ: Cf. 7,17-18.23-24.27-28; 8,5.11.19-20; 9,8-9.20-21.25; 15*,1-2. According to Coptic grammar the normal literal translation of this phrase is, "the one belonging to (that which belongs to) the three powers," but in *Marsanes*

- 6 before all of them reaches
 [to the divine] Self-engendered One (αὐτογέννητος).
 8 The one having
 [being (οὐσία)] searches
 10 [] and he exists
 [] and] he is like
 12 [] and from
 [] dividing
 14 [] I became
 [] for many, as it is manifest
 16 that he saved a multitude.
 But (δέ) after all of these things
 18 I am seeking the kingdom
 of the Three-Powered One,

it clearly means "the one who possesses three powers." Cf. 4,15-16: ΠΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΕQ ΨΑΜΝΤΤΕ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC, "the . . . One who possesses three powers"; also 10,9-11; 14*,23-24. Perhaps one should see behind the Coptic text an ambiguous Greek phrase, such as ὁ τῶν τριῶν δυνάμεων, wherein the genitive case admits of either a "subjective" or "objective" meaning. The phrase used here occurs also in the BG version of *Ap. John*, where it applies to Barbelo: "She became a First Man, that is, the virginal spirit, the triple male, the one with the three powers (ΠΑ ΤΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΒΟΜ), the three names, the three begettings . . ."; BG 27,19-28,2. In *Marsanes* "the Three-Powered One" is a divine entity above Barbelo, but apparently below (or somehow distinct from) the Unknown Supreme God; cf. esp. 15*,1-2. "The Three-Powered One" in *Marsanes* has an exact counterpart in *Allogenes*, under the name ΠΙΨΜΝΤ-ΒΟΜ, "the Triple Power"; XI 45,13 *et passim*. The Greek equivalent τριδύναμος occurs not only in gnostic texts—in the Coptic text of the Bruce and Askew Codices (in both of which the term τριδύναμις also occurs), and in Hippolytus' description of the Peratic gnostic system, *Ref. V.12*—but also in late Platonist writers. Unfortunately there is no agreement in the literature as to how the designation "triple-powered" or "triple-powerful" is used. E.g. it can be used of the supreme God, as in *Steles Seth* 121,31-32; of Barbelo, as in *Steles Seth* 121,32-33 and *Ap. John* II 5,8 (cf. BG 27,21-28,1); of Monogenes = Christ in Cod. Bruc. *Untitled* ch. 4 *et passim*; of Christ in the Peratic system described by Hipp. *Ref. V.12* (τριφυῆς . . . τρισώματος . . . τριδύναμος ἄνθρωπος); of the "self-willed" Authades and other hostile powers in *Pist. Soph.* ch. 29 *et*

20 ΤΕΣ ΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΜΜΕΥ· ΑΒΑΛ
 ΤΟΝ ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ ΑΥΩ
 22 ΑΦΡΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ· ΑΜΟΥΖ Μ
 ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡῪ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΒΑΜ· ΑΥΩ
 24 ΕΨ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΑΤΟΥΧΠΑΥ ΑΖΟΥ
 [Ψ]ΩΠΕ ΕΝΠΟΥΧΠΑΥ· ΑΥΩ
 26 [Ε]Ψ ΝΕ [Ν]ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΝΝΑΙ
 [ΩΝ· ΑΥ]Ω ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΧΠΑΥ
 28 [ΕΥΨΟΟΠ] ΝΟΥΗΡ· ΑΥΩ ΖΝ ΕΥ
 [ΕΥΨΒΒΕΙΑ]ΕΙΤ ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ

<Ζ>

ΝΤΑΡΙΖΑΤΤΖΤ ΣΑ ΝΕΕΙ Α
 2 ΖΙΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΡΕΝΕΡΓΙ
 ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΚΑΡΩΦ· ΦΨΟΟ[Π]
 4 ΧΙΝ ΝΨΑΡΠ̄ ΝΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 ΜΑΜΗΕ ΕΤΗΠ̄ ΑΠΕΤΨΟ
 6 ΟΠ· ΚΕΟΥΕΕ ΠΕ ΕΦΨΟΟ[Π]
 ΧΙΝ ΝΨΑΡΠ̄ ΕΦΗΠ̄ Α[Π]ΕΤΡ̄
 8 ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ· ΜΠΕΤΚ[ΑΡΑ]ΕΙΤ
 ΑΥΩ ΠΚΑΡΩΦ Μ[
 10 ΝΣΩΦ ΦΡΕΝΕΡΓ[ΕΙ· ΟΥ]

passim; and of various miscellaneous divine entities in all of the tractates of the Bruce and Askew Codices. The Neo-Platonist Hierocles uses the term τριδύναμος of the human soul; *Carm. Aur.* (Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum* I), col. 462. Marius Victorinus, probably under the influence of Porphyry, uses the term of God, in a sense which comes very close to the meaning in *Marsanes*: "Τριδύναμος est deus, id est tres potentias habens, esse, vivere, intellegere . . .," *Adv. Arrium* IV.21 (cf. "tripotens," I.50). It is possible that the Gnostics borrowed the term from Middle-Platonist sources; or vice versa. For further discussion see tractate introduction.

- 6,20-29 Questions of a similar nature occur at the beginning of *Zostrianos* at VIII 2,24-3,13. Cf. the philosophical questions attributed to Moses by Philo, *Op. Mund.* 54.
- 6,20 Perhaps before ΑΒΑΛ one should read: <ΠΑΧΕΕΙ ΧΕ>, "I said."
- 6,22 Corr. A Υ was written in the MS. between Π̄ and Ε in ΑΦΡΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ, then cancelled with three superlinear dots and crossed out with two diagonal strokes. On the ἐνέργεια of the Three-Powered One see 7,2-3 and note.

- 20 which has no beginning. Whence
 did he appear and
 22 act (ἐνεργεῖν) to fill the
 entire place with his power? And
 24 in what way did the unbegotten ones
 come into existence, since they were not begotten? And
 26 what are [the] differences (διαφορά) among the [aeons
 (αἰών)?]
 [And] as for those who are unbegotten,
 28 how many [are they]? And in what respect
 [do they differ] from each other?

<7>

- When I had inquired about these things
 2 I perceived that he had worked (ἐνεργεῖν)
 from silence. He exists
 4 from the beginning among those that
 truly exist, that belong to the One who
 6 exists. There is another, existing
 from the beginning, belonging to the One who
 8 works within (ἐνεργεῖν) the Silent One.
 And the silence [
 10 him works (ἐνεργεῖν),

6,22-23

"to fill the entire place": Cf. Eph 4:10.

6,24

ΝΑΤΟΥΧΠΑΥ = ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΧΠΑΥ (6,27) = ΝΕΤΟΕΙ
 ΝΑΤΧΠΑΥ (5,3-4). On ΑΤΟΥΧΠΑ see note to 4,19.

7,1

Corr. ρ over 2. The form ΖΑΤΤΖΤ, with double Τ, is hitherto
 unattested.

7,2-19

The activity (ἐνέργεια) of the Three-Powered One is to be
 understood as rooted in the silence of the unknown, silent
 supreme God; indeed it appears that the Triple-Powered One
 is defined as "the energy of that One" (7,16-17) whose realm
 is silence. Cf. *Allogenes* 53,9-31. According to Plotinus the soul
 (ψυχή) is the "activity" (ἐνέργεια) of the Mind (νοῦς). In similar
 fashion the Triple Powered One is here regarded as the ἐνέργεια
 of the Unknown Supreme God. Plotinus also states that the
 One (his Supreme God) is his own ἐνέργεια (*Enn.* VI.8.12); in
Marsanes the Three-Powered One, as the ἐνέργεια of the
 Supreme God, seems to be seen as a separate hypostasis. For
 further discussion see tractate introduction.

7,6

One would expect ΟΥΝ ΚΕΟΥΕΕ. Perhaps the text should
 be emended accordingly.

CON ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΑ[
 12 ΠΗ ΡΕ[ΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΜ]
 ΠΚΑΡ[ΩΦ ΕΤΗΠ ΑΠΑΤΟΥ]
 14 ΧΠΑΦ ΖΝ [ΝΑ]ΙΩ[Ν ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝ]
 ΝΨΑΡΠ ΜΝΤΕΦ Ο[ΥΣΙΑ]
 16 ΜΜΕΥ· ΤΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΔΕ Μ
 ΠΗ <ΠΕ> ΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΝΤΕ ΝΔΥΝ[Α]
 18 ΜΙΣ ΠΑΤΟΥΧΠΑΦ ΖΑΤΕ[ΖΗ]
 ΜΠΑΙΩΝ· ΕΜΝΤΕΦ ΟΥ[ΣΙΑ]
 20 ΜΜΕΥ· ΠΧΙΣΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΚΑ
 ΡΩΦ ΜΠΕΤΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ· ΟΥΝ
 22 ΒΑΜ ΑΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΦ· ΝΒΙ ΠΧΙ
 ΣΕ ΝΤΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΜΠΑ ΤΨΑ
 24 ΜΝΤΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕ
 ΤΨΟΟΠ ΕΤΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ [ΕΤΜ]
 26 ΠΣΑΖΡΕ ΝΤΠ[Ε
 ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒ[ΑΛ ΜΠΑ ΤΨΑ]
 28 ΜΝΤΕ ΝΒ[ΑΜ ΠΨΑΡΠ ΝΤΕ]
 ΛΕΙΟΣ· ΝΤΑ[ΡΕΦ

<H>

ΑΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΑΥΤΕΛΗΛ
 2 ΑΖΟΥΧΩΚ ΑΒΑΛ· <ΝΒΙ> ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 ΝΖΡΗΨ ΝΖΗΤ ΜΝ ΠΚΕΣΕΕ
 4 ΠΕ ΤΗΡΨ· ΑΥΩ ΑΖΟΥΣΜΟΥ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΠ[Α] ΤΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ

- 7,11 "brother": This is a very uncertain rendering, for the form is S rather than the expected A² form CAN. See the grammatical discussion in the Codex introduction.
- 7,13-14 ΠΑΤΟΥΧΠΑΦ: Cf. 7,18 and note to 4,19.
- 7,15-16 Cf. note to 5,2-3.
- 7,18 Perhaps <ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ> should be added before ΖΑΤΕΖΗ, "the one who exists before . . ." Cf. 6,5-6 and note; 8,9-10.
- 7,22 Either something has been omitted before ΝΒΙ or ΝΒΙ must be translated (anomalously) in the sense of ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ.
- 7,24-29 That the supreme, silent God should "reveal" the Three-Powered One seems to imply a reversal of roles! But cf. the following passage from Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 7: "The Father exists, surpassing every perfection. He has revealed the invisible triple-powered, perfect one." For discussion see tractate introduction and Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes," p. 376. Cf. also *Allogenes* XI 61,19-20, where the Unknown God is

- for (γάρ) the [] is [a] brother.
 12 That one [works (ἐνεργεῖν) from]
 the [silence which belongs to the Un-]
 14 begotten One among [the aeons (αἰών), and from]
 the beginning he does not have [being (οὐσία)].
 16 But (δέ) the energy (ἐνέργεια) of
 that One <is> the Three-Powered (δύναμις) One,
 18 the One unbegotten [before]
 the Aeon (αἰών), not having [being (οὐσία)],
 20 And (δέ) it is possible to behold the supremacy of the
 silence of the Silent One,
 22 < . . . > i.e. the supremacy
 of the energy (ἐνέργεια) of the Three-
 24 Powered. And the One who
 exists, who is silent, [who is]
 26 above the [heaven
 revealed [the Three-]
 28 [Powered, First-]
 Perfect (τέλειος) One. [When he

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- to the powers (δύναμις), they rejoiced.
 2 Those that are within me were perfected
 together with all the
 4 rest. And they all blessed
 the Three-Powered,

called the "Mediator of the Triple Power."

7,28-29
8,1

ΠΩΡΠ̅ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ: Cf. 8,7.

Or: "the powers rejoiced." In that case the λ in ΑΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ is not a preposition but a First Perfect prefix, which is resumed in ΑΥΤΕΛΗΛ. The "powers" referred to here are probably angelic or divine beings, as in *Corp. Herm.* I.7,26,27,31.

8,2

Part of the final π is now broken off from the MS., but it is completely attested in an early photograph.

8,2-3

"Those that are within me": This phrase may refer to the inner faculties of Marsanes' soul. Cf. e.g., Ps 102 (103):1, πάντα τὰ ἐντός μου; and *Corp. Herm.* I.30-31. But it may, by implication, refer to the gnostic adherents of the prophet-savior Marsanes. Cf. 3,16 and note.

8,4-12

The offering up of hymns of praise to God is characteristic of gnostic and Hermetic piety. Cf. e.g. *Steles Seth* VII,5 (*passim*); *Corp. Herm.* I.30-31.

6 ΝΟΥΕΕΙ ΟΥΕΕΙ· ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ
 ΠΕ [Π]ΨΑΡΠ̄ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ· ΕΥ
 8 [ΣΜΟΥ ΑΡ]ΑϞ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΤΟΥΒΟ· ΠΜΑ
 [ΤΗΡḲ] ΕΥΣΜΟΥ ΑΠΧΑΕΙΣ Π[Η]
 10 [ΕΤΨΟΟΠ] ΖΑΤΕΖΗ ΜΠΤΗΡḲ
 [... ΠΑ Τ]ΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ· Μ
 12 [± ΙΙ] ΝΟΥΨΜ̄
 [ΨΕ ± ΙΟ] ΖΩΩΤ
 14 [ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΟΥ]ΨΖ [ΑΝ] ΑΤΟΟΤ
 [ΕΕΙΨΙ]ΝΕ ΧΕ ΠΨϞ ΑΖΟΥΚΑ
 16 ΡΩΟΥ· †ΝΑΡ̄ΝΟΕΙ ΝΟΥΔΥ
 ΝΑΜΙΣ ΕῩΝΤΗΕΙΣ ΜΜΕ[Υ]
 18 [Ζ̄Ν] ΟΥΤΑΕΙΟ· ΤΜΑΖΨΑΜΤΕ
 [Ν]ΒΑΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΤΕ Ν
 20 ΒΑΜ· ΕΑΣΡ̄ΝΟΕΙ Μ̄ΜΑϞ· {ΑΥΩ}
 ΠΑΧΕΣ ΝΗΕΙ ΧΕ ΚΑΡΨΚ·
 22 ΨΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΝΕΚ̄ΜΜΕ ΝΚΠΩΤ
 ΝΚΕΙ ΑΖΡΗΪ ΨΑΡΑΕΙ· ΑΛΛΑ
 24 ΕΡΙΝΟΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕΕΙ ΧΕ ΝΕϞΚΑ
 [ΡΑΕ]ΙΤ· ΝΚϞΙ Μ̄ΠΝΟΗΜΑ·
 26 [ΤΑΥΝΑΜΙΣ Γ]ΑΡ ΣΜΗΝ ΑΒΑΛ
 [ΑΡΑΙ ΕΣΧΙ Μ]ΑΕΙΤ ΖΗΤ· ΑΖΟ[ΥΝ]

- 8,8 Corr. Ζ over Ι (or the first stroke of a Ν).
- 8,9 "The Lord" evidently = "The Three-Powered One."
- 8,11 Perhaps [ΝΒΙ ΠΑ Τ]ΨΑΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ, in which case ΝΒΙ was used in the same way as is possibly the case in 7,22 (see note), i.e., as equivalent to ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ. Or perhaps read [ΑΥΩ at the beginning of the line; ΑΥΩ would then be understood as translating an epexegetical καὶ in the Greek original.
- 8,12-13 Perhaps Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΨΜ̄/ΨΕ, "with worship."
- 8,14 For the reconstruction †ΝΑ- cf. 8,16. But perhaps one should read: [ΑΥΩ ΑΖΙΟΥ]ΨΖ, "and I went on . . ."
- 8,15-16 "they had become silent": Silence is an important part of gnostic and hermetic praise and meditation. Cf. e.g. *Disc. 8-9 VI,6 (passim)*, where silence alternates with the singing of hymns.
- 8,18-19 The "third power" may be a reference to the Self-begotten One (Autogenes). Cf. 3,26-28; 5,27-28; 9,19-21; and notes.
- 8,19 Corr. ΑΤ over Μ.
- 8,20 Perhaps Μ̄ΜΑ<ΕΙ>, "me." The second superlin. stroke on

- 6 one by one, who
 is [the] First-Perfect (τέλειος) One,
 8 [blessing] him in purity, [every]where
 praising the Lord
 10 [who exists] before the All,
 [the] Three-Powered.
 12 [] their worship
 [] myself,
 14 [and I will still go on]
 [inquiring] how (πῶς) they had
 16 become silent. I will understand (νοεῖν) a
 power (δύναμις) which I hold
 18 in honor. The third
 power of the Three-Powered,
 20 when it (fem.) had perceived (νοεῖν) him,
 said to me, "Be silent
 22 in order that (ἵνα) you might {not} know; run,
 and come before me. But (ἀλλά)
 24 know (νοεῖν) that this One was
 [silent], and obtain understanding (νόημα)."
 26 For (γάρ) [the power (δύναμις)] is attending
 [to me, leading] me into

ΜΜΔϞ is superfluous. ΔΥΩ is superfluous and disturbs the syntax.

- 8,21 Silence is a prerequisite for higher revelation: Cf. e.g. *Allogenes* XI 60,13-18. Cf. also 55*,17ff.
- 8,22 The translation assumes that the negative Third Future form ΝΕΚ- is a mistake for a positive form, ΕΚΑ-. On the other hand the text may be correct as it stands, thus stating that Marsanes *cannot* and *must not* know the supreme God. Cf. *Allogenes* XI 60,8-12.
- 8,23 Corr. ρ over λ in ΔΖΡΗΪ.
- 8,23-25 Knowledge of the supreme God is really knowledge of his "silence" and unknowability. Cf. *Allogenes* XI 59,4-67,35.
- 8,26-28 Marsanes is reaching a stage in his contemplative ascent comparable to that of Allogenes in *Allogenes* XI 58,7-59,3. The "Aeon which is Barbelo" (cf. "Aeon of Barbelo," *Allogenes* XI 59,3) is apparently to be understood as a hypostatization of the knowledge—or self-knowledge—of the Unknown Supreme God, or, perhaps, of the Three-Powered One. Cf. 9,3-4 and note.
- 8,26 "the power": Cf. 8,18-19 and note.

28 [ΑΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ Β]ΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΤΕ
[ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ] ΝΖΑΥΤ·

<Θ>

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΑΣΨΩΠΕ Ν
2 ΖΑΥΤ· ΝΒΙ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ·
ΧΕ ΑΣΠΩΡΧ ΑΦΑΥΤ ΑΣΩΖΕ
4 ΑΡΕΤ·Θ' ΜΠΕΦΒΑΛ ΝΒΙ ΤΕ
ΓΝΩΣΙΣ· ΖΩΣ ΕΣΗΠ ΑΡΑΓ
6 ΤΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΔΕ ΤΕΝΤΑΖΨ[Ι]
ΝΕ ΟΥ<Ν>ΤΕΣ ΜΜΕΥ ΝΘΕ Ε
8 ΟΥΝΤΕΦ ΜΜΕΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΑ [ΤΨΑΜ]
ΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ· ΑΣΡΑΝΑΧΦ[ΡΕΙ]
10 ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΞ[ΙΒΑΜ]
ΣΝΤΕ· ΕΣΨΟΦΗ [ΜΠΒΑΛ]
12 [Μ]ΠΙΝΑΒ ΕΣΝ[± 7 Ε]
ΤΜΠΣΑΖΡΕ Ν[
14 ΟΣ ΕΤΚΑΡΑΕΙ[Τ ΕΥΝΤΕΦ]
ΜΜΕΥ ΝΤΕΕ[Ι]ΕΝ[ΤΟΛΗ]
16 [Α]ΤΡΕΦΚΑΡΩΦ· ΤΕΦ[Γ]ΝΦ
[C]!C ΜΝ ΤΕΦΖΥΠΟCΤ[ΑC]!C
18 ΜΝ ΤΕΦΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ Ν[ΕΕΙ]

- 8,28 Part of the final ε is now broken off from the MS.; it is more fully attested in an early photograph.
- 8,28-29 "Barbelo the male Virgin": Cf. 4,11 and note.
- 9,1-3 In gnostic thought "becoming male" is a metaphor of salvation, in the sense of reintegration. This idea is widely attested esp. in Valentinian Gnosticism; see e.g. *Exc. Theod.* 21.1-3; 79; Heracleon fr. 5; and the same notion is found in *Gos. Thom.* 114. This idea is derived ultimately from speculation on Gen 1:27 and 2:21-23; cf. *Gos. Phil.* II 70,9-22. In this passage the myth of the emanation of Barbelo from the supreme God "Man" is reflected; cf. esp. *Ap. John* II 4,26-5,11. "Becoming male," and theories of "masculinity" and "femininity" comparable to the gnostic ones, occur in the philosophy of Philo of Alexandria. See e.g. *Quaest. in Ex.* I.8; *Quaest. in Gen.* II.49; for discussion see Baer, *Male and Female*, pp. 45-80.
- 9,3-5 Barbelo is a mythicization of the knowledge of God; cf. *Zost.* VIII 118,10-12; *Steles Seth* VII 123,15-17; *Iren. Haer.* I.29.1; *Ap. John* II 4,26-5,11.
- 9,4 MS. reads ΑΡΕΤΦ, with C written above Φ, which is not cancelled.
- 9,7 Perhaps there is something missing from the text after ΜΜΕΥ, i.e., an object of the verb.

- 28 [the Aeon (αἰών) which] is Barbelo,
[the] male [Virgin (παρθένος)].

<9>

- For this reason the
2 Virgin (παρθένος) became male,
because she had been divided from the male. The
4 Knowledge (γνώσις) stood outside of him,
because (ὡς) it belongs to him.
6 And (δέ) she who exists, she who sought,
possesses (it), just as
8 the Three-Powered One possesses.
She withdrew (ἀναχωρεῖν)
10 from them, from [these] two [powers],
since she exists [outside of]
12 the Great One, as she [
who is above [
14 who is silent, [who has]
this [commandment (ἐντολή)]
16 to be silent. His knowledge (γνώσις)
and his hypostasis (ὑπόστασις)
18 and his activity (ἐνεργεία)

9,8 Corr. **q** over **C**.

9,8-12 Gnostic salvation involves withdrawal into the self; cf. 9,21-22. Barbelo's experience is paradigmatic, although it is not clear from this passage exactly what Barbelo is withdrawing *from*.

9,11 **ΜΠΒΑΛ**: The reconstruction is based on what is said in 9,4. But perhaps one should read [**ΝΖΟΥΝ**], "within," if the context deals with reintegration.

9,12 "the Great One": Presumably a reference to the supreme God. Cf. 1,23 and note.

9,15-16 Cf. 8,21.

9,16-18 It is possible that the knowledge (γνώσις), hypostasis (ὑπόστασις), and activity (ἐνεργεία) of God are meant to constitute a triad comparable to the triad of Existence (ὑπαρξις), Life (ΩΝΖ = ζωή), and Mind (νοῦς) in *Steles Seth* VII 125,28-32; of Existence (ὑπαρξις), Knowledge (COOYN = γνώσις), and Life (ΩΝΖ = ζωή) in *Zost.* VIII 15,2-12; or of Existence (ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ, etc. = τὸ ὄν), Life (ΩΝΖ = ζωή), and Mentality (ΤΜΝΤΕΙΜΕ = νόησις) in *Allogenes* XI 49,28-38. Such triads belong to a Platonic philosophical background. Cf. e.g. the triad of τὸ ὄν, ζωή, and νοῦς in Proclus *Theology*, prop. 103; cf. also note to 6,19. For discussion, with further references, see the tractate introduction.

ΝΕ ΝΤΑΣΧΟΟΥ ΝΘΙ Τ[ΔΥ]
 20 ΝΑΜΙC ΜΠΑ ΤΨΑΜΤ[Ε Ν]
 ΒΑΜ· <ΧΕ> ΑΝΑΝ ΤΗΡΝ ΑΝ[ΡΑ]
 22 ΝΑΧΩΡΙ ΝΕΝ· ΑΖΝ[ΨΩ]
 ΠΕ ΕΝΚΑΡΑΕ[ΙΤ ΑΥΩ Ν]
 24 ΤΑΡΝCΟΥΨΝ[Ψ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ]
 ΠΑ ΤΨΑΜ[ΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ ΑΖΝ]
 26 ΠΑΖΤΝ ΑΖΝ[. ΑΖΝ]
 [C]ΜΟΥ ΑΡΑϚ[
 28 ΑΧΩΝ Ν[
 ΑΒΑΛ· Π[. ΠΕΠΝΑ]

<I>

ΝΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΑΦΩΤ ΑΖΡΗ
 2 Ι ΑΠΕϚΤΟΠΟC· ΑΠΜΑ ΤΗΡΨ
 ΒΩΛΠ ΑΒΑΛ· ΑΠΜΑ ΤΗΡΨ ΒΨ[Λ]
 4 ΑΒΑΛ· ΨΑ<ΝΤ> ϚΜΕΕΤΕ ΑΠCΑ[ΖΡΕ]
 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑϚΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΑϚΤΡΕΠΜ[Α]
 6 [Τ]ΗΡΨ Ρ ΟΥΑΕΙΝ· ΑΥΩ ΑΠΜΑ
 [ΤΗ]ΡΨ Ρ ΟΥΑΕΙΝ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥ† ΝΗ
 8 [ΤΝ Μ]ΠΟΥΩΝ ΝΨΑΜΝΤ Μ
 [ΠΕΠΝΑ] ΝΤΑΥΝΑΜΙC ΜΠΕ
 10 [ΤΕ ΟΥΝΤ]ΕϚ ΜΜΕΥ ΝΤΨΑ
 [ΜΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ· ΟΥ]ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΝ Π[Ε]
 12 [. ΠΑ]ΧΕϚ ΧΕ Ω ΝΗ
 [ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ Ν]ΕΕΙΜΑ· ΖΑΨ

- 9,17 ὑπόστασις: The meaning here is "reality." Cf. H. Koester on ὑπόστασις, *TDNT* VIII, pp. 575-577. Cf. also *Allogenes* XI 48,36.
 9,18 Cf. note to 7,2-19; also *Allogenes* XI 48,35.
 9,19 "the power": Cf. 8,26; 8,18-19 and note.
 9,21-22 ΑΝΡΑΝΑΧΩΡΙ: The S prefix ΑΝ- is used here, instead of Α² ΑΖΝ-, as in 9,22. On "withdrawal" cf. note to 9,8-12 and *Allogenes* XI 59,14.19.36; 60,19.
 9,24 For the restoration cf. 8,6-7.
 9,25-27 Cf. 8,4-12 and note.
 9,29 For the restoration cf. 10,19-20.
 9,29-10,7 This passage, which concludes an account of a visionary experience, portrays the retreat of the Three-Powered Invisible Spirit to his proper transcendent "place," and what remains in view is impenetrable light. Cf. the opening words of a Syriac Valentinian hymn preserved by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 36.6.10: "That Celestial Light came to be in every place . . ."; see Newbold, "A Syriac Valentinian Hymn," p. 4, for text and translation.

- are those things of which the power (δύναμις)
 20 of the Three-Powered spoke, <saying>,
 “We all have
 22 withdrawn (ἀναχωρεῖν) to ourselves. We have [become]
 silent, [and]
 24 when we came to know [him, that is,]
 the Three-Powered, [we]
 26 bowed down; we []; we]
 blessed him [
 28 upon us.” []
 . . . [the] invisible (ἀόρατον) [Spirit (πνεῦμα)]

<10>

- ran up
 2 to his place (τόπος). The whole place
 was revealed; the whole place unfolded
 4 <until> he reached the upper region.
 Again (πάλιν) he departed; he caused the
 6 whole place to be illuminated, and the whole
 place was illuminated. And [you] (pl.) have been given
 8 the third part of
 [the spirit (πνεῦμα)] of the power (δύναμις) of the One
 10 [who possesses] the three
 [powers.] Blessed (μακάριον) is
 12 [] He said, “O [you]
 [who dwell in these] places, it is necessary

- 10,1-2 ΠΩΤ ΑΖΡΗΙ: This expression, and its equivalent at 10,19.20-
 21.26-27, probably translates the Greek word ἀναχωρεῖν, used
 at 9,9.21.
- 10,4 ΨΑ<NT> QMEETE: The MS. has ΨΑQMEETE, which can
 be read as a Habitual form of the verb: “he (usually or habitu-
 ally) reaches”; but this makes no sense.
- 10,7-29 This passage constitutes part of an exhortation, whose con-
 clusion occurred in a lost portion of the MS. For discussion see
 the tractate introduction. Marsanes here addresses his gnostic
 congregation, as at 1,14-28.
- 10,9 The reconstruction presupposes that the context refers to a
 life-giving endowment bestowed upon the elect, such as the
 “power and spirit of life” referred to in *Ap. John* II 26,9-10.
- 10,12-13 For this mode of address cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.28: ὧ ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς.
 “These places” = “this world”; cf. *Treat. Res.* I 46,9.11;
 47,14.26.

14 [ΑΤΡΕΚ]ϙ[ΝΟ]ΕΙ ΝΝΕΤΧΑΣΙ
 ΑΝ[Ε]ΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΚΧΟΟΥ ΝΝ
 16 ΔΥ[Ν]ΑΜΙΣ· ΧΕ ΚΝΑΨΩΠ[Ε]
 Ε[ΚΣΑ]ΤΠ̄ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΣΑΤΠ̄
 18 [ΑΝΖ]ΑΞΕΥ ΝΝΕΟΥΑΕΙΩ
 [ΕΦΠ]ΗΤ ΑΠΣΑΖΡΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΠΝΑ
 20 ΝΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΩΤΗ
 [ΖΩΤ]ΤΗΝΕ ΠΩΤ ΝΜΜΕΦ
 22 [ΑΠΣΑΖΡ]Ε· ΕΥΝΤΗΤΗ Ν
 [ΜΕΥ ΜΠ]ΝΑΒ ΝΚΛΑΜ ΕΤ
 24 [.....] ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΔΕ
 [± 8]ΝΑΝΕΥΦ
 26 [± 8]ΠΩΤ ΑΠΣΑΖ
 [ΡΕ Α]ΥΩ ΝΑΙΣΘΗ
 28 [ΤΟΣ ΟΥ]ΑΝΖ ΑΒΑ[Λ]
 [± 10] ΑΥΩ ΣΕ

13*

(14 lines missing)

ΤΝΦΗ[ΙΣ] ΕΦΨ[Ο]ΟΠ ΝΨΑ
 16 ΑΝΗΖΕ ΕΜ[Ν]ΤΕΦ [Ο]ΥΣΙΑ Μ
 [Μ]ΕΥ ΜΠ[Ε]ΤΨΟΦΠ ΕΤΚΑ
 18 [ΡΑΕ]ΙΤ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΧΙΝ ΝΨΑ
 [ΡΠ̄ ΕΤΕ Μ]ΝΤΕ[Φ] ΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΜΕ[Υ]
 20 [± 9] ΜΕΡΟΣ Ν[
 [± 7 Α]ΤΠΩΨΕ· ΝΕ[

-
- 10,14-17 The transition to the 2 sg. form of address is anomalous; the text is doubtless corrupt. The 2 pl. form resumes at 10,20.
 10,14 ΝΕΤΧΑΣΙ: Probably "those (places) that are higher," i.e., the higher spheres of the heavens.
 10,15-16 "tell them to the powers": This may refer to magical names or formulae given to angelic inhabitants of the astral spheres. Cf. note to 2,12-13; and the "passwords" used in Marcossian Gnosticism according to Iren. *Haer.* I.21.5. Cf. also notes to 19*,18-20.
 10,17 "elect ones": One of the designations for the gnostic community used in Sethian-gnostic sources. See e.g. *Zost.* VIII 4,17; *Melch.* IX 10,17.
 10,18 ΝΖΑΞΕΥ: A S form.
 10,19-22 The "withdrawal" or "ascension" of God from the world is paradigmatic of—indeed, *consists* of—the withdrawal of the gnostic elect from the world. Cf. also 9,8-12.21-22 and notes.

- 14 [for you to know (νοεῖν)] those that are higher
 than these, and tell them to the
 16 powers (δύναμις). For you (sg.) will become
 [elect] with the elect ones
 18 [in the last] times,
 [as] the invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 20 [runs] up above. And you
 [yourselves], run with him
 22 [up above], since you have
 [the] great crown which
 24 []. But (δέ) on the day
 [] will beckon (νεύειν)
 26 [] run up above
 [] and the sense-perceptible (αἰσθητός)
 28 [] visible
 [] and they

13*

(14 lines missing)

- the perception (νόησις). He is for
 16 ever, not having being (οὐσία),
 in the One who is, who is silent,
 18 the One who is from the beginning,
 [who] does [not] have being (οὐσία)
 20 [] part (μέρος) of [
 [] indivisible. The [

-
- 10,20 The first two letters Νλ are now broken off from the MS. but are attested in an early photograph.
- 10,23 "the great crown": Cf. *Zost.* VIII 129,16 and *Cod. Bruc. Untitled* ch. 9.
- 10,25 νεύειν is very uncertain.
- 10,27-28 ΝΛΙΘΗΤΟC: Apparently a plural form; elsewhere in the tractate it is always singular.
- 11-12 At least two pages are missing from the MS. Pagination in what follows is uncertain, as indicated by the use of the asterisk. See codex and tractate introductions.
- 13*,15 νόησις: Only here in the tractate.
- 13*,15-19 The reference is probably to the supreme God. Cf. 4,20-24; 7,2-29 and notes.
- 13*,17 "the One who is": Cf. Exod 3:14 ὁ ὢν, on which see esp. *Philo Som.* I 231-232 and *Poster. C.* 167-169.

22 [.....]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΒ[ΑΛ] ΝΟΥ[
 [....].ΜΑΖ.[....].Ε Π[
 24 [.....].Β[...ΜΑ]ΖΨ[Ι]
 [ΤΕ ± Ι0] ΓΑΡ
 26 [± Ι3] ΟC
 (3 lines missing)

I4*

(14 lines missing)

[.]·2.[...].·[. Ν]ΕΕΙΨ[Ο]Φ[Π]
 16 ΖΝ ΝΕ[Α]ΙΩΝ [ΝΕ]ΕΙ ΝΤΑΖΟ[Υ]
 ΧΠΑΥ ΕΥΚΩ[Ε] ΜΜΑΕΙ ΑΖ[Ι]
 18 ΩΩΠΕ· ΖΝ ΝΕ[Τ]Ε ΜΠΟ[ΥΧΠΑΥ]
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΕΙΨ[Ο]ΟΠ ΖΝ Π[ΝΑΒ]
 20 ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΕΙ[...].·[
 [.]ΑΔ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕ[
 22 [Τ]ΩΑΜΤΕ ΝΑΥΝΑ[ΜΙC
 ΠΕΤΕ [ΟΥΝΤ]ΕC ΜΜ[ΕΥ Ν]
 24 ΤΩΑ[ΜΤΕ ΝΒ]ΑΜ· Τ[ΩΑΜΤΕ Ν]
 ΔΥ[ΝΑΜΙC
 26 ΜΝ [

(3 lines missing)

I5*

[.Π]ΕΤΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ ΜΝ ΠΑ
 2 [ΤΩ]ΑΜΝΤΕ ΝΒΑΜ [
 [. Π]ΕΤ·Ε' ΜΝΤΕC ΠΝΟ[Η ΜΜΕΥ]
 4 [ΑΖ]ΝΩ[Ζ]Ε ΑΡΕΤΝ [
 [.....].Α ΖΝ Π[

(6 lines missing)

12 [± 7].[
 [. Α]ΖΝΕΙ ΑΖΟΥΝ [

14 [..] ΜΠΝΟΗ [

(± 15 lines missing)

- 13*,24 "ninth": Perhaps a reference to the ninth heaven or "world," as e.g. in *Disc.* 8-9 VI 52,5-6: ΤΜΑΖΨΙΤΕ. Cf. 18*,2.
 14*,15 ΝΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ: The reconstruction is based on 14*,19.
 14*,18 ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΧΠΑΥ: Cf. 6,27.
 14*,20 A superlin. stroke occurs over the second letter trace after the lacuna.
 14*,20-21 Probably either Μ/Μ]ΑΔ or Α/Ρ]ΑΔ, "(to) him."
 14*,22 Corr. Α over Ο in ΩΑΜΤΕ.

22 [] consider a [
 []
 24 [] ninth]
 [] for (γάρ) [
 26 []

(3 lines missing)

14*

(14 lines missing)

[] I [was dwelling]
 16 among the aeons (αἰών) which have
 been begotten. As I was permitted, [I] have
 18 come to be among those that were not [begotten].
 But (ἀλλά) I was dwelling in the [great]
 20 Aeon, as I [
 And [
 22 [the] three powers (δύναμις) [
 the One who [possesses]
 24 the [three] powers. The [three]
 [powers (δύναμις)
 26 and [
 (3 lines missing)

15*

[the] Silent One and the
 2 Three-Powered One [
 [the] one that does not have breath (πνοή).
 4 We took our stand [
 [] in the [
 (6 lines missing)

12 [
 we entered [
 14 [] breath (πνοή) [
 (± 15 lines missing)

14*,23-24 Cf. 4,15-16; 10,9-11.

15*,3 **ΠΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΕϞ ΠΝΟΗ ΜΜΕΥ**: The reconstruction is based on 16*,1. The meaning, however, is not clear, but perhaps we should understand this expression as analogous to **ΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΕϞ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΜΕΥ**, "not having being," i.e., *beyond* the realm of "being" and the "breath" of life. Cf. notes to 5,2-3.14. Cf. 15*,3; 16*,1. But perhaps **ΠΝΟΗ[ΤΟΣ (Ν)ΚΟΣΜΟΣ**. "the intelligible world." Cf. 5,22; 41*,5.

16*

- [ετε] ΜΝΤεϛ ΠΝΘΗ ΜΜ[εϛ]
 2 [αγω ρω]οοπ ρΝ οϞΜΝΤ[
 [... ΤΗ]ρ̄· αγω ρΖΙΝεϛ
 4 [± 8]τ̄ ατΝ[α]δ Ν
 [± 7] αγσοϛ[ωω]Ν[τ̄]
 (6 lines missing)
 12 [± 7]εϛ αρΗχ[
 [± 11] αγω ρΖ[ι
 14 [± 11] οϛ'α'εε[τ̄
 (± 15 lines missing)

17*

- [± 11] ρ]εΝεργι
 2 [...] ετβε εϛ [α]Ν ΓΝωϛ[ι][ϛ]
 [...]ατϛαϞνε αγω [̄
 4 [± 7] ρ̄κινΔϞνε[ϛε]
 [...]α]τρεϛωϛπε
 (1 line missing)
 [± 10] ε. ε. [̄
 8 [± 9] αγω . [̄
 [± 10] ετβε
 10 [± 9] . ρΝ [̄
 [± 11] Μ[̄
 (3 lines missing)
 [± 7] ΝΗ ετ̄ΜαϞ
 16 [...] ρα]ψ Δε ατρεοϛ
 [± 8] ΜΝΤεϛ εινε
 18 [± 9] Ν απιοϞεει
 [± 9] ω[ο]οπ ρατε
 20 [ρΗ ± 8] 'π'μееεε ε[̄
 [± 8] χι]Ν Νωαρ̄π̄
 22 [± 11] πετε Μ.
 [± 10] ΗϞ αβ[αλ]

16*,3-4 Perhaps ρΖΙΝεϛ / [απιωτ, "I saw the Father." Cf. 18*,14-16 and note.

16*,5 I.e., the Father? Cf. 18*,16-17; 1,11-12. The superlin. stroke is visible.

16*,12 Perhaps ΜΝΤ]εϛ αρΗχ[ε, "not having (fem.) an end," i.e., "limitless."

16*

[who] does not have breath (πνοή),
 2 [and he] exists in a [
 [completely]. And I saw
 4 [] him to the great (fem.)
 [] they knew [him]

(6 lines missing)

12 [] limit [
 [] and [I
 14 [] alone

(± 15 lines missing)

17*

[] is active (ἐνεργεῖν)
 2 [] why, [again], (does) knowledge (γνώσις)
 [] ignorant, and [
 4 [] he runs the risk (κινδυνεύειν)
 [] that he become

(1 line missing)

[] and
 8 [] on account of
 10 [] in [
 []

(3 lines missing)

[] Those
 16 [] But (δέ) it is necessary that a
 [] does not have form
 18 [] to this one
 [] exists before
 20 [] the thought
 [] from] the beginning
 22 [] the one that
 [] . . .

16*,14

Or "self."

17*,2

Or emend to add the def. art.: <Τ> ΓΝΩΨ[Ε]!

17*,19-20

Perhaps ΕΤ]Ω[Ο]ΟΠ ΖΑΤΕ/[ΖΗ ΜΠΤΗΡΪ, "who exists before the All"; cf. 8,9-10.

17*,20

Perhaps ϰ̅] 'π'μ̅ε̅ε̅υ̅ε̅, "he remembers."

24 [± I3]ειε[
 [± I4]εcχ[
 26 [± I4].cφ[

(3 lines missing)

I8*

νεει α[
 2 νεγ α[...] ρ̄ψιτ[ε ... θε]
 [β]δομας νκοσμο[ς
 4 [ο]γ ρ̄ν ογροογ ρ̄[
 ψα ανηζε· ε[
 6 [.....].[
 [...]νρη[
 8 [...]μαα[
 [...]ρογ[
 10 [...]τβ[

(3 lines missing)

14 .επ[.] αγω .[.... μνν]
 σα ραρ νραμ[πε ... ν]
 16 ταρινεγ απ[ιωτ ριγογ]
 ων̄ αγω α[
 18 ραρ ν.[
 μερικον [
 20 ψα ανηζε[ε
 νρηγλ[ικος
 22 [ν]κοςμ[ικος
 ησαρ[ρε
 24 [λ]οιπ[ον
 ντο[
 26 [.] [

(3 lines missing)

-
- 18*,2 ψιτε: Perhaps = τμαρψιτε, "ninth"; cf. 13*,24 and note.
 18*,2-3 Cf. 32*,23-24 and note.
 18*,4 Cf. 10,24.
 18*,8 Perhaps π]μαα[βεσε, "thirty-six"; cf. 42*,6.
 18*,14-15 "after many years": Cf. *Allogenes* XI 58,8 "one hundred years."
 18*,15-17 Cf. 16*,5; 1,23; 40*,26.

24 []
 []
 26 []

(3 lines missing)

18*

these []
 2 look(ed) at [] in the nine [] the]
 world (κόσμος) of the hebdomad (ἑβδομάς) []
 4 in a day of []
 for ever []
 6 []
 []
 8 []
 []
 10 []

(3 lines missing)

14 . . . and [] after]
 many [years
 16 when I saw the [Father I came to]
 know him, and []
 18 many []
 partial (μερικόν) []
 20 for ever []
 the material ones (ύλικός) []
 22 worldly (κόσμικος) []
 above []
 24 in addition (λοιπόν) []
 []
 26 []

(3 lines missing)

-
- 18*,18 The letter trace is not P; cf. 18*,15 ΡΑΜΠΕ.
 18*,19 Cf. 2,25 and note. Or "particular." Cf. Proclus, *Theology*,
 Prop. 108-109.
 18*,21-22 Cf. 2,18-19 and note.
 18*,22 The superlin. stroke is visible.
 18*,24 Perhaps [λ]ΟΙΠ[ΟΝ ΔΕ. Cf. 5,14; 19*,23.

19*

(12 lines missing)

[± 7]. ε εϞ[
 14 [.....] ε οϞΝ.[
 [.... α] βαλ ζ̄Ν Ν[
 16 [.... α] ζοϞΝ αν[ε] τ̄Ρ[
 [.....] ητοϞ αζοϞΝ [
 18 [.....] εριονομαζε
 [̄ΜμαϞ αϞ] ψ τοϞονο̄Μ[α]
 20 [cia ερι Μ]̄Ντρ'ε' οϞ'ε'ετ[τη]
 [νε χε τετ]̄Νβαλβ̄ ατ[οϞ]
 22 [.....] Μ̄Ν τοϞζϞπο[Ϟ]
 [ταϞιϞ· λοι]πο[Ν] δε ζο[ταν]
 24 [± 10]. Μ[
 [± 11]. .[
 (± 4 lines missing)

20*

(12 lines missing)

[...].[.] αν.[
 14 [...] εθηπ [
 [... τ]̄μαζωαμ[τε̄ ΝαϞνα]
 16 μιϞ τ̄Μ̄Νταη[ε δε̄ Μ̄μα]
 κ̄αριος αϞχοο[Ϟ
 18 ζ̄Ν νεει Μ̄Ν[
 Ν̄βι τετε Μ[̄ΝτεϞ

19*,17

"them": Cf. note to 19*,18.

19*,18

εριονομαζε: The form is Imperative. The object is probably "the angels" or "the gods and the angels." Cf. 39*,5-6; 27*,13-14. "Naming," or "calling upon," the gods and the angels involves not only knowing their names but being able to pronounce their names correctly in chants or incantations. This is clear from what follows in the tractate. The purpose of this exercise is to effect the ascension of the soul past the astral barriers inhabited by these "gods" and "angels." For important parallel material see *Pist. Soph.* chs. 98, 109, 130; and the Books of Jeu chs. 37, 40, 43. In the Jeu texts "seals" (σφραγίς) and ritual "sealing" (σφραγίζειν) are involved. Cf. note to 2,12-13.

19*,19-20

ὄνομασία: Cf. 27*,13; 30*,8; 31*,4. The word can also be translated "language," but it is here clearly related to the verb

19*

(12 lines missing)

- [] he [
 14 [] . . . [
 [] out of [
 16 [] into those that [
 [] them into [
 18 [] name (ὀνομάζειν)
 [them. And] (as for) their nomenclature (ὀνομασία),
 20 [bear] witness yourselves
 [that you are] inferior to [their]
 22 [] and their [hypostasis (ὑπόστασις).]
 But (δέ) [in addition (λοιπόν), when (ὅταν)]
 24 [
 [

(± 4 lines missing)

20*

(12 lines missing)

- [
 14 [] hidden [
 [the] third
 16 [power (δύναμις)]. The blessed (μακάριος) Authority
 (fem.) [(+ δε)]
 said [
 18 among these and [
 i.e. she who [does not have

ὀνομάζειν, discussed above. For comparable usages of the word in Gnosticism see e.g. *Pist. Soph.* chs. 111, 141; in Hermeticism see e.g. *Disc.* 8-9 VIII 62,24; 64,1.3; and in magic see e.g. *PGM XIII.211*, 566.

19*,20 Corr. The first ε in ΟΥΕΕΤΤΗΝΕ is written above an Ο, which is crossed out.

19*,22-23 ὑπόστασις: The meaning here—in contrast to 9,17—may be “nature.”

20*,15-16 “the third power”: Cf. 8,18-19 and note to 4,16.

20*,16 Perhaps ΤΜΝΤΑΠΕ translates something like κεφαλίς or κεφαλαιωτής. Lack of context prevents a satisfactory elucidation of this passage. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 26,9-10, where the supreme God is called ΤΑΠΕ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΙΜ, “the Head of every aeon.” Cf. Col 1:18.

20*,18 Or “among these there is not . . .” Cf. 20*,20.

20 ΜΝ ΕΛΥ ΓΑΡ [
 [Ο]ΥΔΕ ΠΕΤΕ [
 22 ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΠΕΤ[Ε
 [Μ]ΜΕΥ ΟΥΠ[
 24 [..] ΓΑΡ [
 [..]..[

(± 4 lines missing)

21*

(± 12 lines missing)

[± 11]ΚΟ[
 14 [± 7]ΜΝ ΝΖΦ[ΔΙΟΝ
 [.....]ΜΝ Ν.[
 16 [± 7]Ο ΜΝ ..[
 [..... Ε]ΤΕ Μ[Ν]ΤΟ[Υ
 18 [± 7].ΧΠΟ ρ[
 [.....ΚΥ]ΛΙΣΙC Ο[
 20 [± 7]ΨΥΧΗ Δ[Ε ..].
 [.....]... ΜΜΕΥ
 22 [....C]ΩΜΑ ΝΤΕΕΙΜΝ[Τ]
 [.....]ΨΥΧΗ ΝΤΠΕ
 24 [.... Μ]ΠΚΩΤΕ [
 [....]CΧΗΜΑ Ε[
 26 [....].Η ΕΦΟΕΙ Ν[

(± 3 lines missing)

22*

(± 12 lines missing)

[..]ΝΟ[
 14 [..]ΕΥΜΑ[
 [....]ΝΕΤΕ [
 16 [..]ΔΕ ΜΜΕΥ [

- 21*,13-26 The papyrus is of poor quality here, and damaged, with some (vertical) fibers lost.
- 21*,14 ΝΖΦΔΙΟΝ: Cf. 39*,28; 42*,5. But perhaps read ΝΖΦ[ΟΝ or ΝΖΦ[ΩΝ, "animals." Cf. 22*,26; 25*,4; and note to 25*,1-4.
- 21*,16 The letters after ΜΝ appear to be ΙC; but some vertical fibers are lost, and the reading is quite uncertain.
- 21*,18 Perhaps Ε]ΤΧΠΟ, "who (or which) acquire(s)."
- 21*,19 κώλισις: This word is used of the orbits of the astral bodies;

- 20 For (γάρ) there is not glory [
 nor even (οὐδέ) the one who [
 22 For indeed (καὶ γάρ) the one who [
 ... [
 24 For (γάρ) [
 [

(± 4 lines missing)

21*

(± 12 lines missing)

- [
 14 [] and the [signs of the Zodiac (ζώδιον)
 [] and the [
 16 [] and [
 [] which do not have [
 18 [] acquire for [
 [] revolution (κύλισις)
 20 [] But (δέ) [the] soul(s) (ψυχή) [
 [] there [
 22 [] body(s) (σῶμα) of this
 [] soul(s) (ψυχή) of heaven [
 24 [] around [
 [] shape (σχῆμα) [
 26 [] which is [
 [

(± 3 lines missing)

22*

(± 12 lines missing)

- [
 14 [] ... [
 [] those that [
 16 (+ δέ) there [
 [

cf. e.g. Aristot. *Cael.* 290A. Cf. the restored reading at 21*,14 and ΜΠΚΩΤΕ in line 24.

21*,20 Either τ(ε)]ΨΥΧΗ (sg.) or Μ]ΨΥΧΗ (pl.).

21*,23 ψυχή: Cf. note to 21*,20.

21*,25 σχῆμα: Cf. note to 25*,22-24.

22*,15 After ΝΕΤΕ read either [ΟΥΝΤΟΥ, "have," or [ΜΝΤΟΥ, "do not have," as indicated by the correlative ΜΜΕΥ in line 16.

[. .]ΔΥ· ΕΤΠ̄[
 18 [. .]ΕΥ ΜΠC[
 [. . ΝΕ]ΙΝΕ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ
 20 [. .]Ε ΑΡΑΥ· [̄
 ΝCΜΑΤ ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ]Υ [̄
 22 [CΧ]ΗΜΑ ΖΩCΤΕ ΑΤ[ΡΟΥ
 [ΝC]ΕΨΩΠΕ Ν̄Ν[̄
 24 [. . ΟΥ]ΑΞΕΤΟΥ Μ·[̄
 [.] Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΔΔ[̄
 26 [.] Ν̄ΖΩΩΝ [̄
 [.]ΕΙΕ Μ̄Ν̄ Τ[̄

(± 2 lines missing)

25*

[. . . .]. Μ̄ΜΕΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΟΥ
 2 [Δ]ΥΝΑΜΙC ΕΤΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟ[C]
 ΝΕ ΕΥΟΕΙ Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ Ν̄
 4 ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΖΩΩΝ·
 ΖΑΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΥΩΟ[ΟΠ Ν̄]
 6 [ΖΑΖ] Ν̄CΜΑΤ· ΑΥ[Ω] ΠΑΡΑ
 [ΦΥ]CΙC ΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΖΝΖ[̄
 8 [Μ̄ΜΕ]Υ ΑΝΟΥΡΕΝ· ΕΤΖ[̄
 [. . . .] CΕ[ΠΑΡ]Χ̄ ΑΥΩ [̄
 10 [. . . .]ΑΕ[. . Κ]ΑΤΑ Π[̄

-
- 22*,17 Possible readings are **ÇΕΤΠ̄-**, "choose," **ΖΕΤΠ̄-**, "join," or **ΘΕΤΠ̄-**, "overcome"; all are S forms, however, not A^a.
- 22*,18 Perhaps **ΜΠC[ΩΜΑ**, "(of) the body." Cf. 21*,22.
- 22*,19 Cf. 25*,13.
- 22*,21 Cf. 25*,6.11.25.
- 22*,22 σχῆμα: Cf. note to 25*,21-24.
- 22*,24-25 Perhaps **Μ̄Ν̄ [Μ/ΨΙΛΟΝ] Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΔΔ[CY**, "and the inaspirate and the aspirate (consonants)." For ψιλόν and δασύ see 27*,4-5. On the connection between the letters of the alphabet and the signs of the Zodiac see note to 25*,1-4 and tractate introduction.
- 22*,26 Cf. 25*,4 and note. Note the Greek gen. pl. form.
- 23*-24* At least two pages are missing from the MS. See codex and tractate introductions.
- 25*,1-4 The context suggests that the reference here is to the signs of the Zodiac (cf. 21*,14), on the one hand, and the letters of the alphabet, on the other. In Graeco-Roman astrology, the signs

[] . . . [
 18 []
 [] all the likenesses
 20 [] them [
 all the forms [
 22 shape(s) (σχῆμα), so that (ὥστε) [they
 [and] become [
 24 themselves [
 [] and the [
 26 [] of animals (ζώων) [
 [] and the [
 (± 2 lines missing)

25*

[] there. But (ἀλλά) their
 2 powers (δύναμις), which are the angels (ἄγγελος),
 are in the form (μορφή) of
 4 beasts (θήριον) and animals (ζῶον).
 Some among them are
 6 [polymorphous], and contrary to (παρά)
 [nature (φύσις)] they have [
 8 for their names which [
 [] They are [divided] and [
 10 [] according to (κατά) the [

of the Zodiac (τὰ ζώδια) are classified in various ways, e.g. as "human" shaped or "animal" shaped, or assimilated to the letters of the alphabet, as "voiced" (φωνήεντα: Ϛ ϝ π πλ ∞), "semivoiced" (ἡμίφωνα: Ϟ † ϛ), or "voiceless" (ἄφωνα: Ϙ ϙ π λ Ϟ). Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, pp. 149-150. According to the gnostic "magician" Marcus, the letters of the alphabet (and perhaps the signs of the Zodiac) are "angels" and "aeons"; see Iren. *Haer.* I.14.1-2. For discussion see tractate introduction.

25*, 3-4

A strip of (vertical) fibers is lost from the MS., resulting in the loss of part of the Ϛ on line 3 and part of the Ϟ in ΘΗΡΙΟΝ on line 4. ΜΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ: Cf. Ptol. *Tetr.* II.7 (LCL 80): τὰ θηριώδη (ζώδια), probably referring to ϝ, Ϟ and π (cf. LCL ed., p. 173, n. 5).

25*, 6

ΖΑΖ ΝCMAΤ = πολύμορφος. Cf. Ptol. *Tetr.* IV.5 (LCL 183), also of signs of the Zodiac. Perhaps read instead [ΡΜ]ΝCMAΤ = ἀνθρωπόμορφος; cf. Ptol. *Tetr.* II.7 (LCL 79). The ἀνθρωπόμορφα ζώδια are π, πλ, ϙ, ∞, and †.

[.. α]γω .[...] ἄσμη[ατ
 12 [...] ΝΕΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΤΩ[Ο]Φ[Π]
 [ΝΕΙ]ΝΕ 'ΝΤΕΣΜΗ' ΚΑΤΑ ΠΜΑΖΩΔ
 14 [Μ]ἄ[τ]· ΑΒΑΛ ΖἄΝ <Τ> ΟΥΣΙΑ [ΝΕ]
 [α]γω ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΕΙ· ΣΕΡ[ω]
 16 ΩΕ ἄΒΙ ΝΕΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΑΖἄΩΕΧΕ ΑΡΑΥ Π[ΕΕΙ]
 18 ΠΩΡΧ ΓΑΡ ΨΑΦΩΠ[Ε]
 ΑΝ ἄΝΕΕΙΜΑ· ΚΑΤΑ [ΘΕ]
 20 ἄΤΑΖἄΧΟΟΣ ΧΙΝ ἄ[Ψα]
 [Ρ]ἄ· ΠΛΗΝ ΤΨΥΧΗ Ο[ΥΝ]
 22 [Τ]ΕΣ ΖΩΩΣ ΑΝ ἄΜΕΥ <ἄ>
 <ΖΕΝ> ΣΧΗΜΑ Ε<Υ> ΨἄΒ[ΕΙΑ]
 24 [ΕΙ]Τ ΕΦΩΟΠ ΔΕ [Ζἄ]
 [ΠΙ]ΣΜΑΤ ἄΒΙ ΠΣΧ[ΗΜΑ]
 26 [ἄ]ΤΨΥΧΗ ΤΕΝΤΑΖ[Ψω]
 ΠΕ ΟΥΑΕΕΤ· ἄ[ΣΧΗ]
 28 ΜΑ ΔΕ ΟΕ[Ι ἄΠΜΑΖΣΝΕΥ]

26*

ἄΜΕΡΟΣ ἄΣΦΑΙΡ[ΙΚΟΝ]
 2 ΕΡΕΠΨΑΡἄ ΟΥΗΖ ἄΣΩ[Ϛ]

- 25*,12-14 The discussion here probably concerns heavenly counterparts of human language and voice. Cf. 31*,15-16.
- 25*,13-14 The τ in ΠΜΑΖΨΑΜἄΝΤ is flaked off from the MS. ΚΑΤΑ ΠΜΑΖΨΑΜἄΝΤ: Scil. ΣΧΗΜΑ, "shape" or "schema"? Cf. 25*,23.
- 25*,15-17 Again "Marsanes" assumes prior instruction on the part of his audience. Cf. 2,19-20.28; 3,4-8; etc.
- 25*,16 Though there would be room in a lacuna at the end of the line for up to 3 more letters, the syntax does not admit of additional material here. Perhaps there was a colon: ΤΗΡΟΥ·.
- 25*,17-18 "this division": Cf. 25*,9. The "division" referred to is probably the soul's "division" from its simple state as an indivisible monad to its status in this world, i.e. its descent into materiality. The classic statement on this is Macrobius *In Somn.* I.12, probably derived from Numenius (cf. Fr. 34, des Places). For discussion see tractate introduction.
- 25*,19 "these regions" = this world; cf. 10,12-13 and note.
- 25*,22-24 MS. reads [ἄ]/ΠΣΧΗΜΑ ΕΦΨἄΒ[ΕΙΑ/ΕΙ]Τ, "the different shape." In what follows it is evident that more than one "shape" or "schema" is attributed to the human soul; but all

- [and] in [form
 12 [] But (δέ) these that are
 [aspects] of sound according to (κατά) the third
 14 originate from being (οὐσία).
 And concerning these, all of
 16 these (remarks) are sufficient,
 since we have (already) spoken about them. For (γάρ) [this]
 18 division takes place
 again in these regions in (κατά) [the manner]
 20 we have mentioned from the [beginning].
 However (πλήν) the soul (ψυχή), on the
 22 other hand, [has]
 different shape<s> (σχήμα).
 24 The shape (σχήμα) (+ δέ) of the soul (ψυχή) exists [in]
 [this] form,
 26 i.e. (the soul) that came into
 existence of its own accord. The shape (σχήμα)
 28 (+ δέ) is [the second]

26*

- spherical (σφαιρικόν) part (μέρος)
 2 while the first follows [it,]

of these "shapes" are basically the same, i.e. "spherical." Cf. note to 26*, 1.

- 25*, 24 The **C** in **CMAT** is now flaked off from the MS.; it is attested in an early photograph.
- 25*, 25-27 Perhaps the reference is to the soul which, of its own volition, descends into the world of generation. Cf. Macrobius *In Somn.* I. 11. 12.
- 25*, 26 The superlin. stroke is visible.
- 25*, 28 "the second": This reconstruction is far from certain; the entire passage is not altogether clear. Cf. 26*, 5.
- 26*, 1 μέρος: In contemporary speculation on the Psychogonia in Plato's *Timaeus* (35A-36D) the human soul, as well as the World Soul, is made up of seven parts conceived as circular or spherical. Cf. e.g. Plut. *De an. procr.* 1028B (ἑπτὰ μοίρας); Diog. Laert. III. 68. **ΣΦΑΙΡΙΚΟΝ**: That the characteristic shape (σχήμα) of the soul is "spherical" is a common assumption in popular Platonism, based on the Psychogonia of the *Timaeus*. See e.g. Diog. Laert. III. 71; Iambl. *In Tim.* fr. 49 (Dillon); Procl. *In Tim.* II. 72. 14; *Theol. Prop.* 210. The passages in Iambl. and Procl. deal with the soul's immaterial "vehicle" (ἔχημα).

4 ΕΗΙΟΥ· ΝΤΨΥΧΗ ΝΧΠ[Ο]
 4 ΟΥΑΕΕΤ̄· ΔΕΗΙΟΥΩ
 [Π]ΜΑΖCNEΥ ΝCΧΗΜΑ·
 6 ΕΗΙΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν Ν[Α]
 [ΤC]ΜΗ C̄ΝΤΕ ΠΨΑΡ[Π̄ Ε]
 8 [ΦΟ]ΥΗΖ ΝCΩΟΥ ΠΕ [
 [...]ΟΝ· ΑΥ[Ω Π]!Ζ[
 10 [...]ΟΥ Π[...]ΕΕ! [
 [...]Τ̄Ν̄[...]ΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ [
 12 [...]Ε ΜΠΟΥΑΕΙΝ ΨΦ[Π]
 [ΑΡ]ΩΤ̄Ν̄ ΝΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΧΙ Μ[ΠΕ]
 14 [C]ΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ [Ν]
 [ΤΕ]Τ̄Ν̄† ΚΑΡΠΟΣ· ΑΥΩ
 16 [ΝΤΕ]Τ̄[Ν]Τ̄ΜΨΩΠΕ ΕΡΕ
 [Τ]̄Ν̄ΗΠ ΑΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΤ̄Ν̄
 18 [ΑΛ]ΛΑ ΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΤΧΑCΙ
 [CΕ]ΨΟΟΠ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ
 20 [ΤΟΥ] CΜΗ ΜΜΕΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑ
 [ΤC]ΜΗ C̄ΝΤΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 22 [ΝΝ]ΑΖΡ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΕΙ· ΝΒΡΑ
 [ΧΥ Δ]ϛ CΕΒΑΧ̄· ΑΥΩ Ν
 24 [...]ϞΟΥ ϞΞΨΟΟΠ [

26*,3-4

ΕΗΙΟΥ . . . ΔΕΗΙΟΥΩ: The seven vowels were symbolically related to the seven planetary spheres from ancient times; see e.g. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 32-60. Here it appears that different vowel combinations are symbolically related to the spherical "shapes" of the soul. The underlying assumption is that language and letters are functions of the soul; cf. Aristot. *Int.* 16a. Cf. esp. Theiler, "Sprache des Geistes," 304-311. "The self-begotten soul" seems to be distinguished from the soul "that came into existence of its own accord"; cf. 25*,26-27. The former is symbolically related to the full sequence of vowels; the latter, "the second schema," is signified by the deficient combination ΕΗΙΟΥ.

26*,6

26*,6-7

There seems to be something missing before ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν. ΝΑ ΤCΜΗ C̄ΝΤΕ: Lit. "those of the two voices" = Gk. of διφθογγοί. Cf. 28*,5-11, where the various diphthongs are listed.

26*,12

ΨΩΠ: The Ω is now lost from the MS.; it is attested in an early photograph.

26*,13-14

"the imperishable seed": Cf. *Apoc. Adam* V 76,7: †CΠΟΡΑ

- 4 εηίου, the self-begotten soul (ψυχή),
 4 αηίουω.
 [The] second schema (σχημα),
 6 εηίου, . . . by those [having]
 two sounds (diphthongs), the first being
 8 placed after them [
 [] and [
 10 [
 [
 12 the light. [Control]
 yourselves, receive [the]
 14 imperishable seed (σπέρμα),
 bear fruit (καρπός), and
 16 do not become
 attached to your possessions.
 18 But (ἀλλά) know that the oxytones
 exist among the vowels
 20 and the
 diphthongs which are
 22 next to them. But (δέ) the [short (βραχύ)]
 are inferior, and the [
 24 [] are [

ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ, but there the reference is probably to the "seed of Seth." Here the "imperishable seed" is the knowledge imparted by Marsanes.

26*,15 "bear fruit": Though this is a common biblical expression (cf. e.g. Matt 3:8, John 15:8,16) it occurs also in non-biblical materials, as e.g. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.22.

26*,16 The second superlin. stroke is visible.

26*,18 **ΝΕΤΧΑCΙ**: Lit. "those which are high." The translation "oxytones" assumes that a technical term in Greek grammar was used. Cf. note to 30*,1-2.

26*,19-20 **ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ CΜΗ**: Lit. "those which have voice" = τὰ φωνήεντα, "the vowels."

26*,20-21 **ΝΑ ΤCΜΗ CΝΤΕ**: Cf. note to 26*,6-7.

26*,22-23 **ΝΒΡΑΧΥ**: What is meant are the short vowels, τὰ βραχέα φωνήεντα, i.e., ε and ο. For the terminology see Dionysius Thrax, *Ars Grammatica* 6 in *Grammatici Graeci* I.1 (ed. Uhlig). There are three kinds of vowels: βραχέα ("short"): ε and ο; μακρά ("long"): η and ω; and δίχρονα (dual, either long or short): α, ι, and υ. Cf. 29*,24-28.

[. . .] ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟ[Υ]· ΝΕΤ[
 26 [...]Ϝ ΕΥΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ [
 [.].. ΝΣΜΗ ΝΤϜ
 28 [ΝΖΗΜΙΦΩΝ]ΟΝ ΣΕΧΑ

27*

ΣΙ ΔΝΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ
 2 ΜΜΕΥ· ΝΕΤΚΗΒ ΔΕ ΣΕΧ[Α]
 ΣΙ ΔΝΑ ΤΠΕΨΕ ΝΣΜΗ Ε
 4 ΜΑΥΨΒΒΙΕ· ΝΔΑΣΥ ΔΕ
 ΣΕΣΑΤΠ ΑΜΨΙΛΟΝ Ν[Ε]
 6 ΕΙ ΕΜΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ ΜΜ[ΕΥ]
 ΝΕΤΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΑΨ[ΑΠ]
 8 ΠΟΥΒΛΑΜΛΜ ΕΤΟΥΝ[ΖΗ]
 Τ῀· ΣΕΟΕΙ ΝΑΤΣΑΥΝ[Ε Ν]
 10 ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ· ϜΕ[ΒΛΜ]
 ΛΑΜΝΤ ΔΕ ΔΝΕΤΖ[Ν ΤΜΗ]
 12 ΤΕ ΕΤΒΑΧΒ· ΚΑΤΑ ΕΙ[ΝΕ]
 <ΣΕΨΟΟΠ> ΝΤΟΝΟΜ<Α> ΣΙΑ ΝΝΝ[ΟΥ]

- 26*,25 The first **Τ** in ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ is written over a diagonal stroke; the scribe probably began to write something else. Most of the final **Τ** is broken off from the MS.; it is better attested in an early photograph.
- 26*,27-27*,2 Of the consonants, the "semi-vowels" are said to be superior to the voiceless consonants. Cf. Melampous' commentary on Dionysius Thrax *Ars Gram.* 6 (A. Hilgard, ed. *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, p. 42): ὅσον ἐλάττωνά ἐστι (scil. τὰ ἡμίφωνα) τῶν φωνηέντων ἐν τῇ ἐκφωνήσει τῶν τελείων φωνῆν ἐχόντων, τοσοῦτον εὐφωνότερά ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων ἐννέα στοιχείων τῶν καλουμένων ἀφώνων. Philo likens the vowels to the mind, the semivowels to the senses, and the consonants to the body: *Quaest. in Gen.* IV.117; cf. *Congr.* 150; *Op. Mund.* 126. Cf. also Marcus' speculation on the letters of the alphabet, esp. *Iren. Haer.* I.14.5. The eight semivowels, according to the ancient grammarians, are ζ, ξ, ψ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, and σ. (This classification differs from that of modern grammarians of the Greek language.)
- 27*,1-2 **ΝΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ ΜΜΕΥ**: Lit. "those which do not have voice" = τὰ ἄφωνα. The nine voiceless consonants are β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ, θ, φ, and χ. Their "superiority" is presumably based on the idea that they have twice as much "power" (δύναμις). See *Scholia* (Melampous), p. 45.
- 27*,2 **ΝΕΤΚΗΒ** = τὰ διπλά σύμφωνα, "the double consonants."

- by them. Those that [
 26 [] since they are intermediate
 [] The sounds of
 28 [the semivowels (ἡμίφωνον)] are

27*

- superior to the voiceless (consonants).
 2 And (δέ) those that are double are superior
 to the semivowels which
 4 do not change. But (δέ) the aspirates (δασύ)
 are better than the inaspirates (ψιλόν) (of)
 6 the voiceless (consonants).
 And (δέ) those that are intermediate will [accept]
 8 their combination in which they are;
 they are ignorant [of]
 10 the things that are good. They (the vowels)
 (+ δέ) are combined with the [intermediates]
 12 which are less. [Form] by (κατά) [form],
 <they constitute> the nomenclature (ὀνομασία) of the
 [gods]

-
- 27*,3 These are ζ, ξ, and ψ, also reckoned as "semivowels."
ΝΑ ΤΠΕΨΕ ΝΣΜΗ: Lit. "the ones of the half-voice" =
 τὰ ἡμίφωνα. Böhlig reads **ΑΤΠΕΨΕ**, "undivided," interpreting
ΝΑΤΠΕΨΕ ΝΣΜΗ as = φωνὴ ἀδιαίρετος, referring to Aristot.
Poet. 1456b; see "Die griechische Schule," p. 17. The context
 requires us to see here a reference to the semivowels.
- 27*,4-7 The nine ἄφωνα σύμφωνα are classified as "aspirate" (δασέα:
 θ, φ, and χ), "inaspirate" (ψιλά: κ, π, and τ), and "intermediate"
 (μέσα: β, δ, and γ). The aspirates are here regarded as "better"
 because they have more πνεῦμα ("breath" or "spirit"). Cf.
Scholía (Melampous), p. 44.
- 27*,9-10 Note that the various letters of the alphabet are virtually
 personified, probably as angels. For a striking parallel, in-
 cluding the notion of these letters' "ignorance," see *Iren. Haer.*
 I.14.1 (Marcus).
- 27*,10 "They" must refer to letters other than the intermediate
 voiceless consonants, for the latter are referred to in the next
 line. For combinations of vowels with the intermediate voiceless
 consonants see 31*,22-32*,3.
- 27*,11 The superlin. stroke on **ΣΝ** is visible.
- 27*,12 "which are less": I.e., inferior to the aspirates; cf. 27*,4-6 and
 note.

14 ΤΕ ΜΝ̄ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· Ο[ΥΧΟ]
 ΤΙ ΕΥΤΕΖΤΩΖ ΑΝΟΥΕ[ΡΗΥ]
 16 ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΑΤ ΝΙΜ· ΑΛ[ΛΑ]
 ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΟΥΝ[Τ]ΕΥ [Μ]
 18 ΜΕΥ ΝΝΟΥΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ [Ε]
 ΝΑΝΟΥΣ· ΜΠΕΣΨΩ[ΠΕ]
 20 ΑΤΡΕΠΟΥ<ΟΥ> ΩΨΕ ΘΨ[ΛΠ]
 ΑΒΑΛ· ΜΝ̄ΣΩΤΕ ΑΡ̄ Ν[ΑΒΙ]
 22 ΝΚΡ̄ΤΟΛΜΑ ΑΤΡΕΚ[Ρ̄]
 ΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ ΜΠΝΑΒ[Ι· †]
 24 ΧΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΚ Ε[ΤΒΕ ΠΨΑ]
 ΜΝ̄Τ Ν̄[ΧΗΜΑ
 26 ΝΤΕ ΤΨΥ[ΧΗ· ΠΜΑΖΨΑ]
 ΜΝ̄Τ Ν[ΣΧΗΜΑ ΝΤΨΥΧΗ]
 28 ΨΟΡ̄Π [

28*

ΟΥΣΦΑΙΡΙΚΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΦΟΥ
 2 ΗΖ Ν̄ΣΩΦ· ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ
 ΣΜΗ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ·
 4 Ε̄Ε̄Ε̄· ΙΙΙ ΟΟΟ ΥΥΥ ΩΩΩ
 ΝΑ ΤΣΜΗ Σ̄Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΥΨΟ
 6 ΟΠ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΖΑΕΙΝΕ· ΑΙ ΑΥ·
 [Ε]Ι ΕΥ· ΗΥ· ΟΥ· ΩΥ· ΟΙ ΗΙ·
 8 [Υ]Ι ΩΙ· ΑΥΕΙ· ΕΥΗΥ· ΟΙΟΥ
 [ΓΓ]Γ· ΓΓΓ· ΓΓΓ· ΑΙΑΥ
 10 [ΕΙΕΥ]· ΗΥ· ΟΙΟΥ· ΩΥ· ΓΓΓ·
 [ΓΓΓ]· ΑΥΕΙΕΥ· ΟΙΟΥ· ΗΥ·

- 27*,13-14 <σεψοοπ>: Cf. 30*,8. "They" refers, in general, to combinations of vowels and consonants. Such combinations make up the "nomenclature" of the gods and the angels. ΤΟΝΟΜ<α>CΙΑ: MS. reads ΟΝΟΜΟCΙΑ; it is spelled correctly at 30*,8; 31*,4; and presumably at 19*,19. For the presumed meaning of this terminology and its context see 19*,18-20 and notes; see tractate introduction for discussion.
- 27*,19-21 Perhaps ΜΠΕCΨΩΠΕ = Greek οὐκ ἐξήν: "it was not possible" (or "lawful") that <their> will should be revealed."
- 27*,22-24 Note the use of the 2 sg. pronoun here. Cf. 10,14-17 and note. Cf. 29*,7-8.
- 27*,23-26 Here Marsanes takes up his previous discussion of the "shapes" of the soul; cf. 25*,21-26*,9.
- 28*,1 CΦΑΙΡΙΚΟΝ: Cf. note to 26*,1.
- 28*,2-3 ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΣΜΗ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ: Lit. "those which there are simple sounds to them." The "simple" vowels are

- 14 and the angels (ἄγγελος), [not (οὐχ)] because (ὅτι)
they are mixed with each other
16 according to (κατά) every form, but (ἀλλά)
only (μόνον) (because) they have
18 a good function (ἐργασία).
It did not happen
20 that <their> will was revealed.
Do not keep on [sinning,]
22 and do not dare (τολμᾶν) to
make use of (χρᾶσθαι) sin. But (δέ) [I]
24 am speaking to you (sg.) [concerning the]
[three shapes (σχῆμα)]
26 of the soul (ψυχή). [The]
third [shape (σχῆμα) of the soul (ψυχή)]
28 is [

28*

- is a spherical (σφαιρικόν) one, put
2 after it, from the
simple (ἄπλοῦν) vowels:
4 εεε, ιιι, οοο, υυυ, ωωω.
The diphthongs were
6 as follows: αι, αυ,
ει, ευ, ηυ, ου, ωυ, οι, ηι
8 υι, ωι. αυει, ευηυ, οιου,
γγγ, γγγ, γγγ, αιαυ
10 [ειευ], ηυ, οιου, ωυ, γγγ
[γγγ], αυειευ, οιου, ηυ,

here distinguished from the diphthongs. It is possible that
CMH here and in line 20 = φωνῆεν, "vowel," rather than
φωνή, "sound"; this is supported by the neuter ending on
ΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ. See Böhlig, "Die griechische Schule," p. 17.

28*,4 **ΑΑΑ** and **ΗΗΗ** appear to be inadvertently omitted; cf. 28*,21-22 for the entire list.

28*,5 **ΝΑ ΤCΜΗ CṂΤΕ**: Cf. note to 26*,6-7.

28*,6-8 Although Dionysius Thrax (ch. 6, *Grammatici Graeci*, ed. Uhlig, p. 10) enumerates only six diphthongs, his commentators disagree, asserting that there are eleven (*Scholía*, p. 200 [anon.], 331 [Heliodorus]) or even twelve (*Scholía*, p. 40 [Melampous]). All eleven are enumerated here, ending with ωι; Melampous adds α, which could not be distinguished from αι in uncial or majuscule writing.

28*,8-11 The letter-combinations after **ΩΙ** are probably secondary additions, functioning as *vores mysticae*.

12 [N]CΠ̄ ΨΑΜ̄Ν̄Τ Ν̄ΝΟΥΨΥ
 ΧΗ Ν̄ΖΑΥΤ ΠΜΑΖΨΑΜ̄Ν̄Τ
 14 Ν̄CΧΗΜΑ ΟΥCΦΑΙΡΙΚΟΝ
 [ΠΕ] ΠΜΑΖCΝΕΥ Ν̄CΧΗ
 16 [Μ]Α ΕΦΟΥΗΖ Ν̄CΩϞ ΟΥΝ
 [ΤΕ]Ϟ CΜΗ CΝ̄ΤΕ· ΤΨΥΧΗ
 18 [N]ΖΑΥΤ ΠΕCΜΑΖΨΑΜ̄Ν̄Τ
 [N]CΧΗΜΑ· ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ
 20 [ΤΟΥ C]ΜΗ ΕΤΟΕΙ Ν̄ΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ
 [ΑΑ]Α· ΕΕΕ· ΗΗΗ· ΙΙΙ· ΟΟΟ·
 22 [Υ]ΥΥ· ΩΩΩ· ΩΩΩ· ΩΩΩ
 [ΑΥΩ] ΠΕΕΙCΧΗΜΑ ΨΒ̄Β̄{1}
 24 [ΕΙΔΕΙΤ Α]ΠΨΑΡ̄Π̄· CΕ
 [Τ̄Ν̄ΤΑΝ]̄Τ̄ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΥΕ
 26 [ΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ CΕ]ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄
 [CΜΗ Μ̄ΠΡΟΧ]ΕΙΡΟΝ Ν̄
 28 [ΤΕΕΙΖΕ· ΔΕΗ]ϞΩ· ΑΥΩ Α

29*

ΒΑΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ Ν̄ΝΑ ΤCΜΗ
 2 CΝ̄ΤΕ· ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΑΝ ΠΜΑΖ
 ϞΤΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΑΖ̄ΤΟΥ·
 4 ΕΤΒΗΤΟΥ Μ̄ΠΟΥΚΑΑΥ Α
 ΒΩΛΠ ΑΒΑΛ Μ̄ΠΜΑ ΤΗ[Ρ̄]̄
 6 ΑΛΛΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΑ[Ν̄Ζ]
 ΑΒΑΛ ΑΖΟΥΤCΕΒΕ ΤΗΝ[Ε]
 8 ΑΡΑΥ ΑΤΡΕΤ̄Ν̄Ρ̄ΝΟΕΙ [Μ]

- 28*,12-13 As in the case of the simple vowels enumerated above (28*,4; cf. 28*,21-22) the diphthongs are understood as tripled, presumably for mystical effect. It is possible that these vowel-combinations were meant to be chanted. Cf. the magical papyrus, where mystical words are frequently directed to be uttered "three times" (τρεις); see e.g. *PGM* IV.209, 2957, 3175, 3814, etc.
- 28*,12 "male soul": Cf. 28*,17-18. Perhaps the intellectual part of the soul is meant, i.e., the νοῦς ("mind"); cf. 31*,17-18 and 4,3-4. On "masculinity" in *Marsanes* see note to 9,1-3.
- 28*,14 CΦΑΙΡΙΚΟΝ: Cf. note to 26*,1.
- 28*,15-16 ΠΜΑΖCΝΕΥ Ν̄CΧΗΜΑ: Cf. 26*,5.
- 28*,16 Corr. Ε over a vertical stroke; the scribe began to write something else.
- 28*,17-22 Cf. 27*,26-28*,4. Note that the set of three Ω's is tripled, perhaps indicating that the entire sequence of vowels is to be

- 12 three times for a male soul (ψυχή).
The third
- 14 shape (σχῆμα) is spherical (σφαιρικόν).
The second shape (σχῆμα), being
- 16 put after it, has
two sounds. The male soul's (ψυχή)
- 18 third shape (σχῆμα)
(consists) of the
- 20 simple (ἀπλοῦν) vowels:
ααα, εεε, ηηη, ιιι, οοο,
- 22 υυυ, ωωω, ωωω, ωωω.
[And] this shape (σχῆμα) is different
- 24 [from] the first, but (δέ)
[they resemble] each other
- 26 [and they] make some
[ordinary (πρόχειρον) sounds] of
- 28 [this sort: αεη]οω. And

29*

from these (are made) the diphthongs.

- 2 So also the
fourth and the fifth.
- 4 With regard to them, they were not allowed to
reveal the whole topic,
- 6 but (ἀλλά) only (μόνον) those things that are apparent.
You (pl.) were taught
- 8 about them, that you should perceive (νοεῖν) them

chanted, and the **Ω**'s extended. Cf. *PGM* XIII.630-631:
ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε, φῶδικῶ ὕμνω σου τὸ ἅγιον κρ<ά>τος·
αεηιουωωω. For discussion see tractate introduction.

28*,23-24 **ΩΒΒΙΕΙΑΕΙΤ**: Space in the lacuna requires restoration of the
extra **ΕΙ**; the same form occurs at 30,12.

28*,24 "the first": Cf. 26*,2-8.

28*,28-29*,2 **ΑΕΗΩ**: These vowels are called *προτακτικά* by the gram-
marians because they stand in front of the *ὑποτακτικά* vowels
ι and υ in order to form diphthongs. See Dionysius Thrax ch. 6
(*Grammatici Graeci* I.1 ed. Uhlig, p. 10) and *Scholia*, p. 38
(Melampous).

29*,1 Part of the **H** is now broken off from the MS.; it is more fully
attested in an early photograph. **ΝΑ ΤCΜΗ CΝΤΕ**: Cf. 26*,
6-7 and note.

29*,7-8 Here the 2 person pl. is resumed. Cf. 27*,22-24 and note.

10 ΜΑΥ ΧΕΚΑΣΕ ΖΩΟΥ Ε[ΥΑ]
 ΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΕΒΙΝΕ· ΧΕ [ΝΙΜ]
 ΝΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ· Η ΑΒΑΛ [ΖΙΤΟ]
 12 <Ο> ΤΟΥ ΟΥΑΕΕΤΟΥ ΟΥ[
 Η ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΝΟΥΕΡ[ΗΥ]
 14 Η ΔΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΖ̄ΝΤ[ΑΨ]
 ΕΑΥΤΑΨΟΥ ΧΙΝ ΝΨΑΡ[Π̄]
 16 Η ΝΜ̄ΜΟΥ ΟΥΑΕΕΤ[ΟΥ· Η]
 Μ̄Ν ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ· ΟΙΟΝ [ΕΥ]
 18 ΨΟΟΠ Μ̄Ν ΝΟΥΕΡΗ[Υ Ζ̄Ν]
 ΟΥΣΜΗ· ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ Μ[Ε]
 20 ΡΟΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΕῙΝ[Ε· ΣΕ]
 ΟΥΑΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ Μ̄ΜΑΥ [Α]
 22 Ρ̄ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ Η ΠΟΥ[ΜΕ]
 ΡΟΣ ΦΟΕΙ ΝΧΠΟ· ΑΥΩ [ΚΑ]
 24 ΤΑ ΕΙΝΕ· Η ΖΙΤ̄̄ [Μ̄ΜΑ]
 ΚΡΟΝ· Η ΑΒ[ΑΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ]
 26 Ν̄ΝΑ ΠΧ[ΡΟΝΟΣ ΣΝΕΥ· Η]
 ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤ̄̄ [ΝΒΡΑΧΥ Ε]
 28 ΤΣΑΒ̄Κ· Π[
 ΝΑ[

30*

Η ΝΕΤΧΑΣΙ Η ΝΕΤΖ̄Ν
 2 ΤΜΗΤΕ Η ΝΕΤΒΑΧ̄Β
 [Α]ΥΩ <Ν> ΣΥΜΦΩΝΟΝ ΣΕ
 4 ΨΟΟΠ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ
 [Τ]ΟΥ ΣΜΗ· ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕ

29*,9-11 | "they": Presumably the various angels identified with the letters of the alphabet. Cf. note to 27*,9-10. "Seeking and finding," especially relating to self-knowledge, is a recurrent theme in gnostic and Hermetic literature. See e.g. *Testim. Truth* IX 69,1-4; *Auth. Teach.* VI 35,15; *Disc.* 8-9 VI 60,10-11; and for Mandaean parallels see Rudolph, "Coptica-Mandaica," p. 199. Cf. also *Gos. Thom.* 2; *Matt.* 7:8.

29*,12 MS. reads **CTOY**.

29*,22 **Ρ̄ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ**: It is assumed that this verb has a passive meaning, though its form is active. The entire passage is obscure but it is probable that it involves speculation on the post-positive (and therefore "submissive," *υποτακτικά*) vowels and consonants in various combinations. For the terminology see e.g. *Scholia* p. 38 (Melampous on *υποτακτικά φωνήεντα*) and

- in order that they, too, might
- 10 all seek and find [who]
they are, either (ῥ)
- 12 by themselves alone [
or (ῥ) by each other,
- 14 or (ῥ) to reveal [destinies]
that have been determined from the beginning,
- 16 either (ῥ) with reference to themselves alone [or (ῥ)]
with reference to one another, just as (οἷον) [they]
- 18 exist with each other [in]
sound, whether (εἴτε) partially (κατὰ μέρος)
- 20 or (εἴτε) formally (κατά-). [They are]
commanded [to]
- 22 submit (ὑποτάσσειν) or (ῥ) their
[part (μέρος)] is generated and
- 24 formal (κατά-). Either (ῥ) (they are commanded) by [the]
[long (μακρόν)] (vowels) or (ῥ) [by]
- 26 those of [dual time value (χρόνος), or (ῥ)]
by [the short (βραχύ) (vowels)]
- 28 which are small [
[

30*

- or (ῥ) the oxytones or (ῥ) the
2 intermediates or (ῥ) the barytones.
And <the> consonants (σύμφωνον)
- 4 exist with the vowels,
and individually (κατὰ μέρος)

p. 47 (Melampous on ὑποτακτικὰ σύμφωνα).

29*,24-27

Cf. note to 26*,22-23.

29*,26

ΝΑ ΠΧΡΟΝΟΣ CNEY: τὰ δίχρονα φωνήεντα.

29*,27

ΒΡΑΧΥ: Cf. 26*,22-23 and note.

29*,27-29

ΕΤCΑΒΚ: A Coptic gloss on βραχύ.

30*,1-2

Here the discussion has to do with accent or pitch (τόνος).

ΝΕΤΧΑCΙ: Lit. "those that are high," = the oxytone.

ΝΕΤῚΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ: Lit. "those in the middle," = the circum-

flex. **ΝΕΤῚΑΧῚ**: Lit. "those that are low," = the barytone.

In Greek terminology, τόνος ("pitch" or "tone") is classified as

ὁ ὀξύς τόνος, ὁ βαρὺς τόνος, and ὁ περισπώμενος, or ὁ μέσος τόνος.

See *Scholía*, pp. 22-23 (Melampous) and 310 (Heliodorus).

30*,2

Corr. **Ὶ** over **ε**.

30*,4-5

ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ CΜΗ: Cf. note to 26*,19-20.

- 6 [P]OC CEY[Λ]Z ÇAZNE NEY
[Λ]YΩ CEZYΠOTACE·
- 8 [C]EYOOΠ N<T> ONOMACIA
[N]N̄AGΓEΛOC· AYΩ
- 10 [NC]YMFΩNON CEYΩ
[OP] Z̄AP̄I Z̄APAY OYAEETOY
- 12 [AY]Ω EYΩB̄B{1}EIAEIT {q̄P̄
[ZY]ΠOTACE AYΩ} <CE> P̄ZY
- 14 [Π]OTACE N̄N̄NOYTE
[E]ΘHP̄· ABAL Z̄ITOOT̄ N̄
- 16 [N̄O]YΩBAAβE M̄N̄ OY
[M̄N̄]TOYAZEINT̄· M̄N̄ OY
- 18 [K]AP̄Ωq̄ M̄N̄ OYZOPMH·
[CEP̄]KALLEI N̄NA TP̄EY E N̄
- 20 [CM]H̄· NEEI TP̄POY CEP̄
[ZYΠO]TACE M̄MAY N̄NOY
- 22 [CM]H̄ N̄OYOT̄· OION MO
[NO]N NETKHV N̄ATΩI
- 24 [BE EY]YOOΠ `Z' N̄ NA TP̄E
[YE N̄CM]H̄· N̄ΔACY ΔE
- 26 [M̄N̄ M̄ΨIΛ]ON M̄N̄ NE
[T̄Z̄N̄ TM̄HTE CE]YOOΠ
- 28 [N̄NETE M̄NT]OY CMH̄· ΠA
[ΛIN CE]BΛM̄LAM̄NT̄
- 30 [M̄N̄ NOYEPHY· AY]Ω ÇEPAP̄X

- 30*,7 ZYΠOTACE: Cf. note to 29*,22. Probably in the background here is the notion that certain combinations of vowels and consonants can bring into subjection (ὑποτάσσειν) gods, angels, demons, etc. Cf. e.g. *PGM* XIII.744-746. Similar notions occur in the writings of late Platonism and Pythagoreanism; see e.g. Nicomachus *apud* Janus, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, pp. 276-277; and see tractate introduction for discussion.
- 30*,8 Corr. Π over Z̄. ONOMACIA: See notes to 19*,18-20 and 27*,13-14.
- 30*,13-14 MS. reads q̄P̄ZYΠOTACE. Perhaps here the word should be translated with an active meaning, "to bring into subjection." Cf. 29*,22; 30*,7 and notes.
- 30*,16-18 Technical terms from Greek musicology are being used here,

- 6 they are commanded,
and they submit (ὑποτάσσειν).
8 They constitute the nomenclature (ὀνομασία)
[of] the angels (ἄγγελος). And
10 [the] consonants (σύμφωνον) are
self-existent,
12 [and] as they are changed
<they> submit (ὑποτάσσειν)
14 to the hidden
gods by means of
16 beat and
pitch and
18 silence and impulse (ὄρμη).
[They] summon (καλεῖν) the semivowels,
20 all of which
submit (ὑποτάσσειν) to them with
22 one [accord]; since (οἷον) it is only (μόνον)
the [unchanging] double (consonants)
24 that co-exist with the semivowels.
But (δέ) the aspirates (δασύ)
26 [and the inaspirates (ψιλόν)] and the
[intermediates] constitute
28 [the voiceless (consonants). Again (πάλιν)]
[they] are combined
30 [with each other, and] they are separate

indicating that the adept who understands the mysteries of language also knows how to chant properly, thus bringing the gods and the angels into subjection. **ΨΒΑΑΘΕ** = πληγή (Lat. *ictus*), "beat." **ΜΝΤΟΥΑΖΕΙΤ** (cf. Crum 508b) = πικρότης or τὸ πικρόν, "pitch." For references see Janus, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Index.

30*,19

The superlin. stroke on **ῤ** is visible.

30*,19-20

ΝΑ ΤΠΕΨΕ ΝСМΗ: Cf. note to 27*,3.

30*,23-25

The double consonants ζ, ξ, and ψ are also classified as semivowels. Cf. 26*,27-27*,2 and notes.

30*,24

Corr. **Ν** in **ΖΝ** over **Μ**. The scribe omitted the superlin. stroke.

30*,25-28

Cf. 27*,4-7 and note.

30*,29

Corr. The second **λ** is written over **ο**.

31*

2 ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗ[Υ] ΣΕΟΥΕΖ ΖΑΖ
 3 ΝΕ ΔΕ ΝΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΖΥ
 4 ΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ· ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΔΕ [Ν]
 5 ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ ΝΑΤΣΑΥΝΕ
 6 ΣΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΕΕΙ Η
 7 ΣΝΕΥ Η ΨΑΜΝΤ· Η Ϟ[ΤΑΥ]
 8 Η †ΟΥ· Η [C]ΑΥ ΨΑΖΡΗΪ [Α]
 9 ΣΑΨΩ̄ ΕΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ [Ν]
 10 [ΖΑΠ]ΛΟΥΝ <ΜΝ> ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤΕ ΟΥ[ΝΤΟΥ]
 11 [CΜ]Η CΝΤ[Ε] Ν̄. ΠΜΑ [ΜΠΜΝΤ]
 12 ΖΑΨΩϞ Ε[ΤΡ̄CΥ]ΜΦ[ΩΝΙ· ΖΝ̄]
 13 Ν̄ΨΑΡΠ̄ ΝΡΕΝ ΖΝ̄[ΖΑΕΙ]
 14 ΝΕ· ΣΕΒ[ΑΧ]Β̄· ΑΥΩ Ν[ΕΕΙ]
 15 ΖΩC ΕΜ[Ν]ΤΟΥ ΟΥCΙΑ [Μ]
 16 [Μ]ΕΥ Η Ε[ΥΟ]ΕΙ ΝΕΙΝΕ [Ν]
 17 [Τ]ΟΥCΙΑ [Η] ΕΥΠΩΡ[Χ Α]
 18 ΤΦΥCΙC [Μ]ΠΝΟΥC [ΤΗ Ε]
 19 ΤΕ ΘΑΥ[Τ ΤΕ] ΕΤΖΝ̄ ΤΜ[ΗΤΕ]
 20 ΑΥΩ ΕΚΕ[Ι]ΝΕ ΑΖΟΥΝ [Ν]
 21 ΝΕ†ΝΕ ΝΝΟΥΕΡ[ΗΥ ΜΝ]
 22 ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ [ΜΝ]
 23 ΝΕΤΡ̄CΥΜΦΩΝΙ ΖΝ̄[ΖΑ]
 24 ΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ· ΒΑΓΑΔ[Α]Ζ[ΑΘΑ]
 ΒΕΓΕΔΕΖ[Ε]ΘΕ [ΒΗΓΗΔΗ]
 ΖΗΘΗ· Β[ΙΓΙΔΙΖΙΘΙ· ΒΟΓΟ]

- 31*,1-4 Cf. 30*,6-9; 27*,9-10.13-14 and notes.
 31*,5-9 The simple vowels; cf. 28*,2-3 and note.
 31*,9-10 I.e. the diphthongs. Cf. 26*,6-7 and note.
 31*,10 Probably ΝΜ, for ΝΜ̄, "with," or "and."
 31*,10-11 ΠΜΝΤCΑΨΩϞ ΕΤΡ̄CΥΜΦΩΝΙ: Lit. "the seventeen which sound together," i.e. the seventeen σύμφωνα. Cf. 31*,22; 37*,28; 38*,6.19; 39*,7 for the verb συμφωνεῖν used in this way; the noun occurs at 30*,3.10.
 31*,14-15 ΜΝΤΟΥ ΟΥCΙΑ ΝΜΕΥ: Cf. note to 5,2-3.
 31*,15-16 Cf. 25*,12-14.
 31*,17-18 The mind (νοῦς) is masculine by nature. Cf. 4,3-5 and note.
 31*,19 Here and at 32*,3-4 the 2 person sg. reappears. Cf. 29*,7-8 and note. This passage has the appearance of a school-master's instruction to a student. Cf. note to 31*,23-27.
 31*,20 ΝΕ†ΝΕ ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ: I.e., the same vowels combined with the consonants in order, such as in the examples below.

31*

from one another. They are
 2 commanded (+ δέ), and they submit (ὑποτάσσειν),
 and (δέ) they constitute an
 4 ignorant nomenclature (ὀνομασία).
 And (δέ) they become one or (ἦ)
 6 two or (ἦ) three or (ἦ) [four]
 or (ἦ) five or (ἦ) six up to
 8 seven having a
 [simple (ἄπλοῦν)] sound, <together with> these which
 [have]
 10 two [sounds], . . . the place [of the]
 [seventeen consonants (συμφωνεῖν). Among]
 12 the first names [some] are
 less. And
 14 since (ὥς) [these] do not have being (οὐσία),
 either (ἦ) [they] are an aspect [of]
 16 being (οὐσία) [or (ἦ)] they are divided [from]
 the nature (φύσις) [of] the mind (νοῦς),
 18 which [is masculine] (and) which is [intermediate.]
 And you (sg.) [put] in
 20 those that resemble each other [with]
 the vowels [and]
 22 the consonants (συμφωνεῖν). Some
 (+ μέν) are: βαγαδαζαθα,
 24 βεγεδεζεθε, [βηγγηδη]
 ζηθη, [βιγιδιζιθι, βογο]

31*,21 **ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ**: Cf. note to 26*,19-20.

31*,22 **ΝΕΤΡ̄CΥΜΦΩΝΙ**: Cf. 31*,10-11 and note.

31*,23-27 Such combinations are found in ancient school exercises. See e.g. "Schreibübung des kleinen Apollonius," pap. no. 147 in Wilcken, *Urkunden* I, p. 634; cf. Böhlig, *Die griechische Schule*, pp. 16-17. The first six columns (there are 29 in all) of little Apollonius' writing exercise look like this:

α	βα	γα	δα	ζα	θα
ε	βε	γε	δε	ζε	θε
η	βη	γη	δη	ζη	θη
ι	βι	γι	δι	ζι	θι
ο	βο	γο	δο	ζο	θο
υ	βυ	γυ	δυ	ζυ	θυ
ω	βω	γω	δω	ζω	θω

Dornseiff refers to a magical papyrus which has a similar table. See Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, p. 67.

26 ΔΟΖΟΘΘ [ΒΥΓΥΔΥΖΥΘΥ]
 ΒΩΓΩΔΦ[ΖΩΘΩ· ΑΥΩ]
 28 ΠΚΕΣΕ[ΕΠΕ
 ΒΑ[ΒΕΒΗΒΙΒΟΒΥΒΩ·]

32*

ΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ
 2 ΖΝ ΟΥΨΒΒΙΕ· ΔΒΕΒΗΒΙ
 [Β]ΟΒ ΧΕΚΑΣΕ ΕΚΝΑΣΑΥ
 4 [Ζ]ΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝΚΠΩΡΧ ΔΝ
 [Α]ΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΖΝ
 6 [Α]ΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΝΑ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΤΕ[Ζ]ΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΜΕΝ
 8 [Ε]ΤΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΟΥΑΒΑΛ ΖΜ
 [ΠΨ]ΑΜΝΤ ΤΕ· ΣΠ[...]Ε
 10 [...]. Ρ ΧΡΕΙ[Α] ΜΠ.[
 [...]. Α[...]ΑΖΤΕ[
 12 [...]. ΝΟΥΣΧΗΜΑ· <Τ> ΔΥ
 [ΑΣ] ΔΕ ΜΝ ΤΜΟΝΑΣ ΣΕ
 14 [Τ]ΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ [ΝΛ]ΑΑΥΕ· ΑΛ
 [Λ]Α ΕΥΨΟΟ[Π Ν]ΖΟΥΕΙ
 16 [ΤΕ] ΤΑΥΑΣ [ΜΕ]Ν ΕΣΠ[Α]
 [ΡΧ] ΣΠΑΡΧ [ΑΤ]ΜΟΝΑΣ Δ[Υ]

- 31*,29 The superlin. stroke is visible for at least four more letter spaces. For the restoration cf. the second of Apollonius' columns. Cf. also 32*,2-3.
- 32*,2-3 The full sequence would be: ΔΒΕΒΗΒΙΒΟΒΥΒΩΒ.
 32*,3-4 ΕΚΝΑΣΑΥ[Ν]ΟΥ, "in order that you might know them," would render a better meaning, but the form ΣΑΥΝ is grammatically impossible. Perhaps read ΕΚΝΑΣ<ΟΥΩΝ>ΟΥ.
- 32*,4-5 Knowledge of the letters of the alphabet enables the adept to escape from the lower regions where the angels reside and ascend to God. Cf. Pearson, "The Tractate Marsanes," p. 380, and tractate introduction.
- 32*,6 ΖΝΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΤΙΚΟΝ: This word is here taken as equivalent to ἀποτελέσματα, "effects" or "results," (opp. αἰτία, "causes"). Cf. e.g. Proclus *Theology*, prop. 18, 65, 71, 74, 98, 173; also Basilides, *Hipp. Ref.* VII.24.2. But perhaps a noun is missing, in which case the word, as an adjective, means "productive" or "final."
- 32*,7-9 Perhaps the meaning is that, of the numbers making up the universe, the triad (ΠΨΑΜΝΤ = ἡ τριάς) or "the (number) three" is "the first" (note fem. gender) to qualify as an "effect"

- 26 δοζοθο, [βυγυδυζυθυ,
βωγωδωζωθω. [And]
28 the rest [
βα[βεβηβιβοβυβω.]

32*

- But (δέ) the rest are
2 different: αβεβηβι
βοβ, in order that you (sg.) might [collect]
4 them, and be separated from the
angels (ἄγγελος). And there
6 will be some effects (ἀποτελεσματικόν).
The first (fem.) (+ μέν),
8 which is good, is from
[the] triad. It [
10 [] has need (χρεία) of [
[
12 [] their shapes (σχῆμα). <The> dyad (δυάς)
(+ δέ) and the monad (μονάς)
14 do not resemble anything, but (ἀλλά)
they are first to exist.
16 The dyad (δυάς) [(+ μέν)], being divided,
is divided [from the] monad (μονάς), [and]

(1 + 2 = 3); the monad and the dyad would then be understood as "causes." Cf. 32*,12-18. The whole passage, extending to somewhere on the fragmentary next page, is an affectation of "arithmology," of the type dear to the Pythagoreans and later Platonists. A key text in Plato gave a profound impulse to this kind of speculation, *Tim.* 53B: The Creator, in bringing the elements out of chaos into order "first shaped them by means of forms and numbers (πρῶτον διεσχηματίσατο εἶδεσί τε καὶ ἀριθμοῖς)." Philo preserves extensive examples of Pythagorean number-speculation; on these see Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik*. On the relation between arithmology and "alphabet-mysticism" see Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, pp. 61-63; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 239-240. Of the triad, Philo says e.g. that it is the first of the odd numbers (*Op. Mund.* 13), and the first number to consist of beginning, middle, and end (*Quaest. in Gen.* II.5; cf. III.3); the triad among numbers and the right-angled triangle are "the foundation of the knowledge of all things" (*Quaest. in Gen.* IV.8).

32*,16-17 Cf. Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* I.15; *Op. Mund.* 49.

18 [ω σ]ηπ αθ[γπ]οστασις
 [π]εφταγ δε αq]χι στοι
 20 [χει]ον· αγ<ω> πμαρτου
 [αq]χι ἄπτωτ· πμαρ
 22 [σα]γ αqχωκ αβαλ· ριτο
 [οτ]ῆ ογαεετῆ· πμαρ
 24 [σαωῆ δε αqχι σααειε·
 [αγω πμαρ]ψμογν αq
 26 [χι ± 8]ρηγ α
 [± 9 σ]ῆτωτ·
 28 [± 10]τ qτα
 [± 10]ογρογο·

33*

αγω πμ[αρ]μητ α[qβαλλ]
 2 πμα τηρῆ αβαλ· π[μαρ]
 μῆτογν δε μῆ πμ[αρ]
 4 μ[ῆτς]ναγς αγχιοο[ρ
 [·]ναπ[·] εμ[ῆ]το[γ ... μμ]
 6 [ε]γ qχα[σι ...]πμ[
 [σ]αωq ε[τε ...]τεq [
 8 [...] ἄμ[εγ

(1 line missing)

- 32*,19-20 **πεφταγ**: I.e., "the (number) four," or tetrad. The triad has already been mentioned at 32*,9. On the tetrad in relation to the four elements see e.g. Philo *Op. Mund.* 52; *Vit. Mos.* II.88; etc.
- 32*,20-21 **πμαρτου**: Lit. "the fifth" = ἡ πεντάς, "the pentad" or "the (number) five." **τωτ** = ὁμόνοια, "concord" or "harmony." The interval of the fifth is an important aspect of musical harmony. Cf. e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.6.43-44. For Philo the number 5 is predominantly the number of the senses, hence of sense-perception. See e.g. *Op. Mund.* 62; *Vit. Mos.* II.81-82; *Quaest. in Gen.* IV.110; etc.
- 32*,21-23 **πμαρσαγ**: Lit. "the sixth" = ἡ ἑξάς, "the hexad," or "the (number) six." According to Philo it is a "perfect" number. See e.g. *Op. Mund.* 13-14, 89; *Leg. All.* I.2-4.
- 32*,23-24 **πμαρσαωῆ**: Lit. "the seventh" (Gk. ἑβδομος); here = ἡ ἑβδομάς, "the hebdomad," or "the (number) seven." "Beauty" is only one of the manifold attributes of the number 7. See Philo's lengthy discussion, *Op. Mund.* 89-128, esp. 107; cf. *Vit. Mos.* II.209-210. See also Macrob. *In Somn.* I.6.1-82.

- 18 [it] belongs to the hypostasis (ὑπόστασις).
 But (δέ) the tetrad received (the) [elements (στοιχεῖον)],
 20 and the pentad
 received concord, and the
 22 [hexad] was perfected by
 itself. The
 24 [hebdomad (+ δέ)] received beauty,
 [and the] ogdoad
 26 [received] . . .
 [] ready
 28 [
 [] greatly.

33*

- And the [decad revealed]
 2 the whole place.
 But (δέ) the eleven and the
 4 [twelve] have traversed
 [] not having [
 6 it [is higher
 seven [
 8 [

(1 line missing)

-
- 32*,25 ΠΜΑΖΩΜΟΥΝ: Lit. "the eighth" (Gk. ὄγδοος); here = ἡ ὀγδοάς, "the ogdoad," or "the (number) eight."
 32*,27-29 In one of these lines there was undoubtedly a reference to the ennead, the number 9.
 33*,1-2 ΠΜΑΖΜΗΤ: Lit. "the tenth" = ἡ δεκάς, "the decad," or "the (number) ten." The number 10 is tied to "revelation" also in Philo, both scriptural and arithmetical; see esp. *Decal.* 18-31. As the "supremely perfect" number, it contains all other numbers in itself.
 33*,2-3 ΠΜΑΖΜΝΤΟΥΗ: Lit. "the eleventh" = ἡ ἑνδεκάς, "the (number) eleven." Philo does not discuss the number 11.
 33*,3-4 ΠΜΑΖΜΝΤCΝΑΥC: Lit. "the twelfth" = ἡ δωδεκάς, "the (number) twelve."
 33*,6 Corr. ϣ over ε; the scribe had begun to write ε but omitted the top of the ε.
 33*,6-7 Perhaps ΠΜ[αζ/ϣ]αωϣ, "the seventh," or ΠΜ[ητ/ϣ]αωϣ, "the seventeen." Cf. 31*,10-11.
 33*,7 Either ε[τε ουν]τεϣ, "which has," or ε[τε μνη]τεϣ, "which does not have."

10 [.]·[
 ΜΕΥ[
 12 ἀβαλ ρ[ἄ
 [...]Ν·[
 14 [.]λοσ[
 [Ρ]ἔΝ ᾀ[
 16 οτῶ [
 ἔΡΗΤ ᾤ[ε ...]αίΡ[...ῖ]
 18 ἀρχεσθ[αί α]ῤαῖ[οχω]
 ΡΙ<ΖΕ> ᾀΜΑΥ· ἀβαλ ρ[ΙΤΟΟ]
 20 τῶ ᾀΝΝΟΥΜΑΕΙΝ [Μᾀ]
 ΟΥΣΤΙΓΜΗ· ᾀΠἔ[Τ†]
 22 ΤΩΝ Μᾀ ΠΕΤΟΕΙ ᾀ[ΧΑ]
 ΧΕ· ΤΕΕΙ [ΤΕ] Θἔ [·
 24 ᾀΝΤΟΥΣΙΑ [·
 ΒΑΛ ΝΕ[·
 26 ᾀΝΝΣΤΟ[ΙΧΙΟΝ
 ΔΕ ρᾀ ὀ[Υ

34*

[ΟΥΑ]ΑΒ Η ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΖΩ
 2 [ΤΠ] ΕΦ' ὉΟΠ ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΑ<Ϙ>·
 [ΑΥ]Ω Ε<Υ> ΨΟΟΠ ΨΑ ΝΟΥ
 4 [ΕΡΗ]Υ ρᾀ ΟΥΧΠΟ Η [ρᾀ] ΟΥ
 [ΜΕΣ]ΤΟΥ ΑΥ]Ω ΚΑΤ[Α
 6 [...]ΧΠ[Ο ...]ΜᾀΝΤΕΥ
 [...]·[.....]Ω· ΝΕἔ[Ι
 8 [± 10]ἔΥ·[
 (2 lines missing)
 [± 12]ΜΑ
 12 [± 10]ΟΥΑΤ
 [± 10]ΨΟ[·

33*,13-14 Perhaps ἀγγ/ε]λοσ, "angel(s)." Cf. 32*,5.

33*,15-16 Perhaps ἀβαλ ρ[ΙΤΟ]/ΟΤῶ, "by means of." Cf. 33*,19-20.

33*,18-19 ΑΠΟΧΩΡΙ<ΖΕ>: Instead of ἀποχωρεῖν, "withdraw," ἀποχωρίζειν, "separate" is meant, as indicated by the object ᾀΜΑΥ.

33*,20-21 The reference here is probably to punctuation marks, στίγματ. Cf. Dionysius Thrax, ch. 4.

10 []
 []
 12 from []
 []
 14 []
 [name(s)]
 16 []
 promise that []
 18 begin (ἀρχεσθαι) [to separate (ἀποχωρίζειν)]
 them by means of
 20 a mark [and]
 a point (στιγμή), the [one which]
 22 [quarrels] from the one which is [an enemy].
 Thus []
 24 of being (οὐσία) []
 . . . []
 26 the letters (στοιχεῖον)
 (+ δέ) in [a holy

34*

or (ἡ) according to (κατά) a [bond]
 2 existing separately.
 [And] <they> exist with each
 4 [other] in generation or (ἡ) [in]
 [birth. And] according to (κατά) []
 6 [generation] they do not have
 [] these []
 8 []

(2 lines missing)

[]
 12 []
 []

33*,24-25 Perhaps ΟΥΩΝΖ Λ]/ΒΑΛ ΝΕ[Κ, "reveal to you."

33*,26 ΝΣΤΟΙΧΙΟΝ: Or "elements"; cf. 32*,19-20.

34*,2 Corr. ΕΦ'Ψ'ΟΟΠ: Ψ is written above a cancelled Ο.
 ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΑ<Ϛ>: MS. reads ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΑΥ. If ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΑΥ is
 correct the previous word should be emended: Ε<Υ>ΨΟΟΠ,
 "since they exist separately."

34*,3 MS. reads ΕΦΨΟΟΠ.

34*,4-5 Cf. 29*,22-24; but the meaning is not clear in either passage!

14 [± 11] ΤΟΝ[
 [± 10] ΕΛΟΣ .[
 16 [± 10] ΕΥ Μ[
 [.....]Ν[.....].[.]·Ε[
 18 [... Ο]ΥΕΕΙ [.. Ε]ϞΧΟΥ Μ
 [ΠΑΙ]ΝΙΓΜΑ Ο[Ι]ΟΝ ΝΖΡΗ
 20 [Ι ΖΜ Π]ΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 [ΕϞΨ]ΟΟΠ ΝΒΙ ΠΡΠΕΕΙ
 22 [ΕΤΕΙ]ΡΕ ΝСАΨῆ ΝΨΕ Μ
 [ΜΑΖΕ] ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΙ<Ε> ΡΟ ΕϞ
 24 [.....]·[.]·Π· ΝΖΡΗΙ
 [..... ΨΑ Α]ΝΗΖΕ ΕΥ
 26 [± 9] ΨΑΜΝΤ
 [± 9] ΑΠϞΤΑΥ
 28 [± 7 СΦ]ΡΑΓΙΣ Ν
 [± 10] ΝΚΛΟΟΛΕ·

35*

[ΜΝ Μ]ΜΟΥΕΙΗ· ΜΝ ΝΕΙ
 2 [ΝΕ ΝΝ]СМАТ ΜΜΟΥΛΖ
 [ΜΝ] ΖΝΕΙΝΕ ΝСМАРАΓΔ
 4 [ΙΝΟС] ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ †ΝΑ
 [ΤС]ΕΒΑ[Κ] ΑΡΑΥ· ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ
 6 [Π]ΧΠΟ [ΝΝ]ΡΕΝ· ΤΕΤΕ Μ[ΠΟΥ]

- 34*,15 Perhaps ΑΓΓ]ΕΛΟΣ, "angel(s)." Cf. 33*,13-14 and note.
 34*,18 Perhaps [ΕΤΕ Ο]ΥΕΕΙ [ΠΕ, "which is one."
 34*,20 ΠΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ: Cf. 5,18-19 and note.
 34*,21 "the temple": The entire visible universe is referred to as God's "temple" in "Scipio's Dream," as reported by Cicero (*Resp.* VI.9-26, esp. 15). On this concept, probably derived from Stoic philosophy, see Macrobius *In Somn.* I.14.2. The same idea is found in Philo *Spec. Leg.* I.66. At *Vit. Mos.* II.82 the same symbolism occurs, but the κόσμος νοητός, "the intelligible world," is designated as the "Holy of Holies." Cf. note to 4,6-7.
 34*,22-23 Perhaps "seven hundred cubits" is symbolically related to the seven planetary spheres. This cosmic temple, with its measurements, is analogous to the eschatological temple of Ezek 40-42; cf. Rev. 11:1.
 34*,23 ΟΥΕΙ<Ε> ΡΟ: A "river" beside a temple would reflect a typically Egyptian conception. Cf. also the river of water flowing from Ezekiel's eschatological temple, Ezek 47:1-12; cf. Joel 3:18; Rev 22:1. The MS. reading is intelligible as it

- 14 []
 []
 16 []
 []
 18 [] one [] speaking
 [the] riddle (αἰνιγμα). Because (οἶον) within
 20 [the] sense-perceptible (αἰσθητός) world (κόσμος)
 there exists the temple
 22 [which measures] seven hundred
 [cubits], and a river which
 24 [] within
 [] for] ever, they
 26 [] three
 [] to the four
 28 [] seal(s) (σφραγίς)
 [] clouds

35*

- [and the] waters, and the [forms]
 2 [of the] wax images,
 [and] some emerald (σμαράγδινος) likenesses.
 4 For the rest, I will
 [teach you (sg.)] about them. This is
 6 [the] generation of the names. That (fem.) which [was not]

stands: **ΟΥΕΙ ΡΟ**, "one gate." But in support of "river" cf. 35*,1, "waters."

34*,24 A superlin. stroke is visible above the last letter in the first lacuna.

34*,28 σφραγίς: This term may carry a baptismal meaning here. Cf. 66*,1-5; 2,12-13 and note.

34*,29 Corr. **ΛΕ** over **Μ**.

35*,1-6 This passage may refer to cultic magical rituals utilizing stones, images, and other objects, such as were practiced by the "Chaldaean" theurgists. On "Chaldaean" magic ritual see Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 227-257.

35*,2 For examples of the use of wax images in magic see e.g. *PGM* IV.296-300ff.; 2360-2373; 2380-2383ff.; 2943-2948ff.

35*,3-4 For the use of emerald stones in magic see e.g. *PGM* V.239-240ff.

35*,5-6 "This is the generation of the names." Perhaps this statement refers to magical rituals utilized in order to conjure up the names of the gods and the angels. Cf. the Chaldaean "Iynx," a magical top, on which see Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 249-252.

- 8 **χ**πασ [.....]..[. **χ**ιν **ν**]
ωαρπ̄ [
 (2 lines missing)
 [.]·**η**[
 12 [.]**μ**μ.[
 [.]·**ω**α[
 14 [.]**ω**ο[
ετβε[
 16 **τ**αζε[
δε [.....]**ω**α...[
 18 **σα**π **ζ**ω[**ς** **ε**ρ]**α**τπ̄ **ζ**ω**ς**
ερ**ψ**η**ψ** **ζ**ω**ς** **ε**ρ**β**[**α**χ**β**·]
 20 **ρ**ωο**ο**π **δε** **ν**β**ι** π**λ**[**ο**γ**ο**ς]
νρ̄**ρ**ε**ω**̄· **ο**γ**ν** **κε**[**λ**ο]
 22 **ρ**ο**ς** **δε** **ω**ρ**ο**π **ε**ρ**ζ**[**η**ν]
αρ**ο**γ**ν** **α**τ**ο**γ**ς**ι[**α**
 24 **ζε** **ν**τ**ε**ε**ι**μ[ι]**ν**ε̄ [
χε **α**πε[
 26 **α**γ**ω** **ρ**ογ[
τα**ι**α**φ**ο**ρ**[**α**
 28 **μ**ν̄ **π**[

36*

- μ**π**τ**η**ρ**̄ **μ**ν̄ **ο**γ[
 2 **ν**νο**γ**ς**ια** **ν**α**τ**π[**ω**ψ**ε**
αγ**ω** **τ**α**γ**ν**α**μ**ι**ς **ε**[
 4 **ε**γ̄**ν**τ**ε**ς **μ**μ**ε**γ̄ **ν**[**ο**γ]
κοι**ν**ω**ν**ια **α**[π]**ο**γ**ν**[**α**ρ]
 6 [ζ]**ν** **ο**γ**π**ρ**α**χ **μ**ν̄ **ο**[γ
 [± 9]**ο** **ε**ι**τ**[**ε**
 8 [± 10]**ω**μ·[
 (2 lines missing)
 [± 11]**ε**·.[

35*,18-23 The translation here is very uncertain, and lack of context prevents adequate interpretation.

35*,18 **α**τ**π**: Or "laden."

35*,19 **ω**η**ω**: Or "equalized."

35*,20 **λό**γ**ο**ς: Perhaps the divine Logos is meant. Cf. e.g. *Gos. Eg. III*

generated [from the]
 8 beginning [
 (2 lines missing)

12 [
 14 [
 with regard to [
 16 [
 (+ δέ) [
 18 time(s), when (ὥς) [confined,] when (ὥς)
 spread out, when (ὥς) [diminished.]
 20 But (δέ) there exists the gentle [word (λόγος),]
 and (δέ) there exists another
 22 word (λόγος) which [approaches]
 being (οὐσία) [
 24 in this [manner
 ... [
 26 And he [
 the difference (διαφορά) [
 28 and the [

36*

the all and a [
 2 the [undivided] beings (οὐσία)
 and the power (δύναμις) [
 4 having [a]
 share (κοινωνία) in [the joy]
 6 separately and [
 [] whether (εἴτε)
 8 [
 (2 lines missing)
 [

49,16-22.

36*,2

ΑΠΩΨΕ: Cf. 13*,21.

36*,6

There is room in a lacuna between ΠΡΑΧ and ΜΝ for an additional letter, or perhaps a colon.

36*,8

Perhaps C]ΨΜΑ, "body" or "(in)corporeal"; cf. 36*,19-20.

12 [± 10]ΝΤΟΥ[
 [± 10]Ε ΟΥ[
 14 [10]ΜΑ[
 [± 10]Ν ΒΑΜ
 16 [± 7 ΕΦ]ΨΟΟ[Π]
 [ΖΜ] ΜΑ ΝΙΜ [. . . .]ΦΜ[
 18 [. .] ΜΜΑΥ [ΝΟΥ]ΔΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ
 [ΕΦ]ΨΟΟΠ ΜΝ ΝCΩΜΑ
 20 [ΤΙ]ΚΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΑΤCΩΜΑ
 [Π]ΞΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΨΕΧΕ ΝΝΖΥ
 22 [ΠΟC]ΤΑCΙC ΑΤΡΕ ΟΥΕΕΙ
 [. . . .] ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ· ΕΙΨΧΕ
 24 [. . . .]ΕΞ· ΕΝ ΜΝ ΝΟΥ
 [± 9]Ε ΕΦΡΒΟΗ
 26 [ΘΙ ΝΝΕΤΡΤ]ΑΡΑCCE ΜΝ
 [± 7]ΟΥΑΝΖ ΑΒΑ[Λ]
 28 [± 8 ΕΡ]ΕΨΑΟΥ

37*

[Ε]ΕΙ CΟΥΩΩΝῆ ςΝΑ
 2 [Μ]ΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑϞ· ΟΥΝ ΖΝ
 [Ψ]ΕΧΕ ΔΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΑΕΙΝΕ
 4 [ΜΕ]Ν ΕΥΟΕΙ ΝCΗ[ΕΥ· ΖΝ]
 [Κ]ΑΥΕ [Δ]Ε ΕΥΨΟΦ[Π ΖΑΡΙ]
 6 [Ζ]ΑΡΑΥ [. . . .]ΜΕ[
 ΑΤΟΥ[
 8 [. .].[

(2 lines missing)

[.]ΤΟ[
 12 [.]ΕΙΠΑΡ[
 [Α]ΥΩ ΕΥ[
 14 ΧΩC [
 Η ΝΕΤ[

36*,16-17 The reference is probably to the Father. Cf. 1,11-27.

36*,20 ΑΤCΩΜΑ: Cf. 3,8-9 and note.

36*,21-22 "hypostases": Only here in the plural. Perhaps the meaning here is "existent (divine) beings."

36*,22 Corr. The scribe seems (erroneously) to have written Ο over Δ in -CΤΑCΙC.

12 []
 []
 14 []
 [] power
 16 [he] exists
 [in] every place []
 18 [] them always.
 [He] dwells with the corporeal (σωματικόν)
 20 and the incorporeal (-σῶμα) ones.
 This is the word of the hypostases (ὑπόστασις)
 22 that one should
 [] in this way. If
 24 [] with their
 [] helping (βοηθεῖν)
 26 [those who stir up (ταράσσειν)] the
 [] manifest
 28 [] if one

37*

knows him, he will
 2 [call] upon him.
 But (δέ) there are words, some
 4 of which [(+ μέν)] are [two]
 [but (δέ) others] existing
 6 [separately
 []
 8 []

(2 lines missing)

[]
 12 []
 [and] they []
 14 . . . []
 or (ἤ) those which []

36*,28-37*,2 Knowing God (cf. 1,11-12; 68*,17) implies "calling upon" (ἐπικαλεῖν) him, which, in turn, implies knowledge of his mystical name(s). Cf. Nicom. *apud* Janus, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, pp. 276-277; *PGM* XIII.630-631 (quoted in n. to 28*,17-22) *et passim*; *Pist. Soph.* chs. 136, 142; *1 Jeu* ch. 6 *et passim*; *2 Jeu* ch. 46 *et passim*.

36*,7 Perhaps ἀτοῦ[σια], "non-being." Cf. 5,14 and note.

16 ΗΥ [.] [± 8]ΑΒ[
 Η ΚΑΤΑ Ν[ΕΤ]Ε ΟΥ[Ν]ΤΟΥ
 18 ΧΡΟΝΟΣ [ΜΜ]ΕΥ ΑΥΩ [ΝΕ]
 ΕΙ· Η ΕΥΟΥΕΤΟΥ ΑΡ[ΑΥ]
 20 Η ΕΥΖΑΤΡ̄ ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗ[Υ]
 Η ΝΕΥΟΥΑ[Ε]ΕΤΟΥ Η [ΝΑ]
 22 ΤΣΜΗ ΣΝ̄ΤΕ· Η ΝΑ Τ[ΣΜΗ]
 ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ· Η Ν[
 24 ΝΙΜ· Η Ν· []
 ΤΟΥ· Η Ν· [± 7]ΩΟ[
 26 ΟΠ ΚΑΤΑ Θ[Ε]ΩΟ[
 ΟΠ ΔΕ ΑΒΑ[Λ
 28 ΝΕΤΡ̄[ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ

38*

ΕΥΩΟΟΠ ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΑΥ·
 2 ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΑΡΧΟΥ [ΑΥ]Ω
 Ν̄ΣΕΖΑΤΡΟΥ· Ζ̄ΝΖΑΞ[Ι]
 4 [ΝΕ ΔΕ] ΟΥΝ ΒΑΜ ΜΜ[ΕΥ]
 [. . .] ΚΑΤΑ Ν̄Σ[ΤΟ]ΙΧΙΟ[Ν]
 6 [Ν̄ΝΕ]ΤΡ̄[ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ· Ε[
 [± 9]ΟΥΔΙΑ
 8 [± ΙΙ]· []
 (2 lines missing)
 [± ΙΙ]· ΔΕ []
 12 [± ΙΟ]ΩΩΠΕ []
 [± ΙΟ]ΝΟΥΣ[]
 14 [± ΙΙ]Π ΔΕ []
 [·]ΥΑ[. . . . ΖΑΡΙ]ΖΑΡΑ[Υ]
 16 [·]ΣΑ[·]· [·]Ν[·]· Α]ΥΩ Ν̄ΨΑ
 [Μ]Ν̄Τ [Κ]ΑΤΑ [Ν]ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ
 18 [ΤΟ]Υ ΣΜΗ· Α[Υ]Ω ΣΑΠ ΣΝΕΥ
 [ΚΑ]ΤΑ ΝΕΤΡ̄[ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ
 20 [ΑΥ]Ω ΟΥΣΑΠ Ν̄ΟΥΩΤ ΚΑ
 [ΤΑ] ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡ̄· ΑΥΩ Ζ̄Ν̄
 22 [ΟΥΜ]Ν̄ΤΑΤΣΑΥΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ

37*,21-22 ΝΑ ΤΣΜΗ ΣΝ̄ΤΕ: Cf. 26*,6-7 and note.

37*,22-23 ΝΑ ΤΣΜΗ ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ: Cf. 28*,2-3 and note.

37*,28 ΝΕΤΡ̄ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ: Cf. 31*,10-11 and note.

16 [or (ῥ) according to (κατά) [those that] have
 18 duration (χρόνος). And [these]
 either (ῥ) are separate from [them]
 20 or (ῥ) they are joined to one another,
 or (ῥ) with themselves, either (ῥ) [the]
 22 diphthongs, or (ῥ) the
 simple (ἄπλοῦν) [vowels], or (ῥ) every [
 24 or (ῥ) [
 or (ῥ) [
 26 [exist] just as (κατά) [
 [exist] (+ δέ) . . . [
 28 the [consonants (συμφωνεῖν)

38*

they exist individually
 2 until they are divided
 and doubled. Some
 4 [(+ δέ)] have the power
 [] according to (κατά) the [letters (στοιχεῖον)]
 6 [that are consonants (συμφωνεῖν)
 [
 8 [
 (2 lines missing)
 [] (+ δέ)
 12 [] become
 [] . . .
 14 [] (+ δέ)
 [] by themselves
 16 [] and three (times)
 [for (κατά) the] vowels,
 18 and twice
 [for (κατά)] the consonants (συμφωνεῖν),
 20 [and] once for (κατά)
 the entire place, and with
 22 ignorance for (κατά)

38*,7-8 Perhaps οΥΓΔΙΑ/[ΦΟΡΑ, "a difference"; cf. 35*,27.

38*,13 Perhaps ΝΟΥΓ[ΙΑ, "beings"; cf. 36*,2.

38*,16-17 "three (times)": Cf. 28*,12-13 and note.

[NET]ΨΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΨΙΒΕ
 24 [± 7 Ν]ΤΑΖΩΠ[Ε]
 [± 8]ΟΥ· ΜΝ ΠΜ[Α]
 26 [ΤΗΡΩ ...] ΜΠ'ΖΑΕ'· ΑΥ
 [Ω] ΝΤΑΥ ΤΗΡΩ[Υ]
 28 [± 7 ΕΥΨ]ΟΟΠ ΜΕΝ

39*

ΕΥΖΗΠ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΖΟΥΧΟΟΥ
 2 ΖΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ· ΟΥΤΕ
 ΜΠΟΥΒΩ ΟΥΨ ΝΟΥΑΝΖΟΥ
 4 ΑΒΑΛ· ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΒΩ ΟΥΨ
 ΝΡΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΝΝΑΓΓΕ
 6 [Λ]ΟΣ· ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ
 [Δ]Ε ΜΜΕ[Υ ΣΕΖΑ]ΤΡ ΑΝΕΤΡ
 8 [ΣΥ]ΜΦ[ΩΝΙ ΕΙΤ]Ε ΜΠΣΑΝ
 ΒΑ[Λ ΕΙΤΕ ΜΠΣΑ]ΝΖΟΥΝ·
 10 ΖΙΤ[± 9 ΑΖ]ΟΥ
 ΧΟΟ[Σ
 12 ΤΣΕ[ΒΑΚ
 ΠΑΛΙΝ Ψ[Α ΑΝ]ΗΖΕ Α[ΥΧΙ Η]
 14 ΠΕ ΝΩΤΑΥ [Ν]ΣΑΠ· ΑΥ[ΜΙ]
 ΣΕ ΜΜΑΥ [ΝΨ]ΑΜΝΤ Ν
 16 ΣΑΠ ΑΥΩ [Α]ΥΨΩΠΕ
 ΜΜΝΤ[.....]ΑΝ[
 18 ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕ[ΕΙ] ΜΕΝ [Α]ΖΝΧ
 ΠΕ ΡΩΨΕ ΨΨΕ ΓΑΡ Α
 20 ΤΡΕΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΧΠΕ
 ΒΑΜ ΝΕΩ ΝΤΑΩ Α† ΚΑΡ
 22 ΠΟΣ· ΑΥΩ [Ν]ΤΝΤΜΨΩΠΕ
 ΨΑ ΑΒΑΛ [Ε]ΝΝΟΥΧΕ Ν
 24 ΣΑΑΖ[Ε] Ν[ΣΑ] ΜΜΥΣΤΗ[ΡΙ]
 [Ο]Ν [.....] ΠΕ ΠΝΕ[
 26 [± 7 Γ]ΑΡ ΕΤΟ[ΕΙ

38*,24

The superlin. stroke is visible.

38*,26

Corr. ΖΑΕ written above ΜΑΖ, cancelled.

39*,1

"hidden": Cf. 30*,14-15. The reference here is probably to the personified letters of the alphabet. Cf. note to 27*,9-10.

39*,5-6

Cf. 19*,18-20 and notes.

39*,6-7

ΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΣΜΗ ΜΜΑΥ: Cf. note to 26*,19-20.

[... ΝΜΨ]ΥΧΗ· Ν[
 28 [..... Ν]ΖΩΔ[ΙΟΝ
 (2 lines missing)

40*

ΝΝΟΥΖΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC Ν
 2 ΒΡΡΕ· ΠΒΕΚΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΚΑΑQ ΑΖΡΗΪ ΜΠΕΕΙ
 4 ΝΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΧΕ
 ΕΙ· Η ΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΕQΝ[Α]
 6 ΩΠΕ ΜΜΕΥ ΜΠΕ
 ΤΡ ΝΑΒ[Ι· ΠΕΤΡ] ΝΑΒΙ Ο[ΥΑ]
 8 ΕΕΤQ Ε[....] ΝΑΩΩ[ΠΕ]
 [ΖΝ] Ο[Υ ± 7 ΖΝ] ΟΥ
 10 [± 12] ΜΠΚΕ
 [± 12] ΝΝ[
 12 [....]ΩΦ[... ΧΕ]ΚΑCΕ
 [ΖΑ]ΤΕΖΗ ΜΠΑΤ'Κ'ΡΔΟ
 14 ΚΙΜΑΖΕ [ΜΠ]ΕΤΕ <ΕΡΕ> ΟΥΕ
 ΕΙ ΝΑΤΕQ[ΥΟ] ΝΚΕΟΥ
 16 [Ε]ΕΙ [ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΔΥ]ΝΑΜΙC ΕC
 ΧΑC[Ι] ΜΝ ΟΥ[Γ]ΝΩCΙC·
 18 ΝΘΕΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΧΙΜ Ε
 ΜΑΥΩΜΙΩΕ ΑΖΗΤQ·
 20 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΑΡΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ
 ΧΕ ΕΩ ΠΕ Ο[Υ]ΑΞΙΟC ΑΤΡΕQ
 22 ΟΥΑΝΖΟΥ [Α]ΒΑΛ· ΕΚCΑΥ
 [Ν]Ε ΧΕ CΕ.[.].Ν[.] ΑΠΙ
 24 [ΤΝ] ΩΑ ΠΧ[....Ν]ΕΤΡ
 [Ν]ΑΒΙ· ΕΥ[

39*,28

Cf. 21*,14; 42*,5.

40*,1

ΖΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC: Here the meaning seems to be "condition" or "nature." Cf. 19*,22-23 and note.

40*,2

"reward": Cf. 1,11.

40*,5-9

This passage refers to punishments awaiting the sinner. Cf. *Zost.* VIII 131,20-132,5.

40*,6-7

Cf. 27*,21-23.

40*,9

The first superlin. stroke is visible.

40*,13

Corr. Κ written above Q, cancelled.

40*,13-14

δοκιμάζειν: This word may refer to an initiatory testing procedure. Cf. e.g. *Cod. Bruc. Untitled* ch. 5. It is used in an eschatol-

28 [the] souls (ψυχή) [
 [the] signs of the Zodiac (ζώδιον) [
 (2 lines missing)

40*

a new hypostasis (ὑπόστασις).
 2 And (δέ) the reward which will
 be provided for this one
 4 in this manner is salvation.
 But (ἤ) the opposite (ἐναντίον) will
 6 happen there to the one
 who commits sin. [The one who commits] sin
 8 by himself [] will be
 [in a] in a
 10 [
 [
 12 [] in order that,
 before you (sg.) examine (δοκιμάζειν)
 14 the one who < . . . >, one
 might [tell] another
 16 [about an] exalted power (δύναμις)
 and a divine (θεῖον) knowledge (γνώσις)
 18 and a might which
 cannot be resisted.
 20 But (ἀλλά) you shall examine (δοκιμάζειν)
 who is worthy (ἄξιος) that he should
 22 reveal them, knowing
 that [those] who commit sin [
 24 down to [
 as they [
]

ogical context in *Pist. Soph.* chs. 98, 103 *et passim*. There seems to be some loss of material after ΜΠΕΤΕ.

40*,14-19

A kind of "catechetical instruction" may be envisaged here.

40*,18

ΧΙΜ = ΧΙΝ (Crum. 773b).

40*,20

Cf. 40*,13-14 and note.

40*,23-25

Perhaps **СЕН[Λ]ΤḆ[Ο] ΛΠΙ/[ΤḆ] ΨΛ ΠΧ[Η ΝΒΙ Ν]ΕΤḆ/[Ν]ΑΒΙ**, "those who commit sin will be trodden down to the dust." But the letter before **Ν** in line 23 looks more like **Π** than **Τ**. The passage refers to the punishment awaiting sinners. Cf. 40*,5-9 and note.

26 [Μπι]ωτ τ[
[...]ποϋ[

(2 lines missing)

41*

πετεψψε· μπρωψψε

2 α† βαμ μπαισεντος κοσ
μοσ ετετῆβωψτ ἄσσει

4 εν πεει ἡταρχι μπουχε
[ε]ι αβαλ ῥῆ πνοητος κοσ

6 [μο]σ· νεειψε<χε> δε αρηζ αρω
[τῆ μ]πῤ[...]οϋ ἡογα!

8 [± 9]οϋτε εποϋ

(2 lines missing)

[± 10]ννε[

12 [q]ῤῥνο[ει] ἡϥϥ[

[.]εϥ· χ[... π]κεσε[επε]

14 †η[αψεχε α]ραϥ πχ[ωκ]

αβαλ [...]χε· ψινα

16 [ἡ]ϥαιε[ϥ·]ε ετῤναβ[ι]

[± 9]κα[.] ἡ[π]οϋ

18 [ῤ]ῥοει ἡμ[α]ϥ ἡβι ἡψϥ

[χ]η ετῤ σωμα· νετῤιχῆ

20 πκαῤ ἡἡ νετῤπβλ ἡ

πσωμα· νε[τῤ]ῆ τπε· να

22 ψωοϋ αἡ[αγγ]ελοσ· πμα

40*,26 ΠΙΩΤ: Cf. 1,23; 18*,16.

41*,2-3 ΠΑΙΣΕΝΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ: Cf. 34*,20; 5,18-19 and note.

41*,3 Here Marsanes reverts to the 2 person pl. Cf. notes to 31*,19 and 29*,7-8.

41*,4-5 ΠΕΕΙ ἨΤΑΡΧΙ: Lit. "this one who has received." Marsanes, having himself received salvation, is now engaged in bestowing it upon his followers. Cf. 6,14-16 and notes.

41*,5-6 ΠΝΟΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ: Cf. note to 4,6-7. The "intelligible world" is the source and ultimate goal of salvation.

41*,7 The superlin. stroke on ἡ is visible.

41*,8 Perhaps Ν]ΟΥΤΕ, "god(s)."

26 [the Father
[

(2 lines missing)

41*

that which is fitting. Do not desire

2 to give power to the sense-perceptible (αἰσθητός) world
(κόσμος).

Are you (pl.) not attending to me,

4 who have received salvation
from the intelligible (νοητός) world (κόσμος)?

6 But (δέ) (as for) these <words>—watch yourselves—
do not [] them as a(n)

8 [] . . .

(2 lines missing)

[
12 [he understands (νοεῖν)] and he takes [
[] the rest,]

14 I [will speak of] them. The [perfection]
[] in order that (ἵνα)

16 it might [not] increase [] who commit sin
[

18 the embodied (σῶμα) souls (ψυχή) did not understand
(νοεῖν)

them. Those that are upon

20 the earth as well as those outside of
the body (σῶμα), those in heaven, are

22 more than the angels (ἄγγελος). The place

41*,13 Perhaps [N]ΕΥ, "for them."

41*,14-15 "The perfection": Cf. 8,24.

41*,15 Corr. α over ο in ΨΙΝΑ.

41*,17-19 Embodiment dulls the intellectual powers of the soul: this is a classical Platonic doctrine. See e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.12.7-11; Plat. *Phaed.* 79C, 72E.

41*,19-22 This passage seems to assert that the total number of human souls is greater than that of the angels. Some souls are embodied; others are disembodied. Cf. e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.11-12.

24 ΝΤΑΖΝ[ΩΕΧΕ] ἈραϞ ΖΝ
 ΩΕΧΕ [NIM'] ΝΕΕΙ Χ[
 [± 9] Ν̄CΙΟΥ []
 26 ΤΟΥ[
 ΧΟΥΜ[Ε
 28 ΕΙΤΕ ΗΔ[Η
 ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΦ[
 30 ΝΕΕΙΕΤ[ῶ

42*

Η ΕΦΘΩΥΤ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΕ
 2 CNEY Η ΕΦΘΩΥΤ ΑΖΟΥΝ
 ΑΠCΑΥῶ ΜΠΛΑΝΗΤΗΣ
 4 Η ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΜ̄ΝΤCΝΑΥC
 ΝΖΩΔΙΟΝ· Η ΑΖΟΥΝ Α
 6 ΠΜΑΑΒ[ΕC]Ε ΝΖΩΡΟ
 CΚΟΡΟ[C].[

(2 lines missing)

-
- 41*,22-25 Perhaps the reference here is to the sphere of the fixed stars above the planetary spheres, which is the true abode of the soul according to late Platonic doctrine. See e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.II.10-12.
- 41*,28-29 Perhaps **ΘΩΥΤ**/ΑΖΟΥΝ, "gaze." Cf. 42*,1-2.
- 41*,30 "Blessedness" is here probably attributed to the one who is engaged in cosmic contemplation, as a step towards enlightenment. See 42*,1-7 and notes.
- 42*,1-7 This passage reflects the popular notion in late Platonism that meditation on the heavens leads to the knowledge of God. Man, gifted by the Creator with an erect posture wherewith to gaze easily at the heavens (Plat. *Tim.* 90A-D), should fix his contemplation on the heavens and so achieve enlightenment. See esp. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.14; Philo *Plant.* 16-27; *Leg. All.* III.100-102; *Vit. Mos.* II.69-70; *Mut. Nom.* 54-56; *Somn.* II.226. The attitude expressed here is in marked contrast to the usual gnostic attitude towards the heavenly bodies, esp. the planets and the Zodiac. Cf. *Ap. John* BG 39,6-12; *Treat. Seth* VII 58,17-21; *1 Apoc. Jas.* V 25,24-26,24; *Exc. Theod.* 69-74; and for the Mandaean material see Rudolph, "Coptica-Mandaica," p. 205.
- 42*,1-2 "the two": i.e., the sun and the moon, frequently distinguished among the seven planets of antiquity. See e.g. Macrob. *In Somn.* I.14.23: *duo lumina*, "two luminous (planets)," i.e., the sun and the moon.

10 [..]ϕε ν[
 [.]ωε ρο[.....]ετ[
 12 [.]μντ[± 7]πορ.
 [.]ν νε ν[εει π]ηρ α
 14 ρρηί αψ[.....] μ
 μο.. [ν]α[.....]αν
 16 το.[.] μπ[.....] μν
 [ν]ιαψ ειτ[ε νετν μ ππε]
 18 ειτε νετνιχμ πκαρ
 μν νετν απεσχη μπ[καρ]
 20 κατα νκοινωνια μν
 μμερισμο[ς] ναβαλ ρν
 22 νεει αγω [ρ]ν πκεσε
 επ[ε] π[.....] μμεροσ
 24 [κα]τα γενο[ς] αγ]φ κατα
 [ει]νε ..[
 26 [± 13].[.].
 [± 10 ς]φναργ
 28 [ποτασσε· ε]γντες βα[μ]
 [μμευ] μπσαρρε
 30 [..... σεωο]π ραριζαρ[αγ]

43*

(3 lines missing)

4 [.]εγ[.].[
 μπογαει[
 6 [.] νιμ[

(± 12 lines missing)

[.....].[± 9]ο[
 20 [ς]ωμα μμ[.....]τπ.[
 [ο]γμα κω[..... β]αρβ[η]
 22 [λω] ννογ[τε]επ[

42*,15

The superlin. stroke is visible.

42*,17-19

Cf. *Melch.* IX 4,8-10; 9,8-10; 13,12-15. This three-fold division occurs not only in biblical writings, esp. Phil 2:9-10, but also in the magical papyri. Cf. note to IX 4,8-10.

42*,23

A superlin. stroke is visible in the second lacuna, over the second letter-space.

42*,25

ΕΙΝΕ: Here taken as equivalent to Gk. εἶδος, "species," correlative to γένος, "kind" or "genus," in the previous line.

10 []
 []
 12 [] are []
 [these reach up]
 14 to []
 []
 16 [] and
 [these] numbers, whether (εἴτε) [those in heaven]
 18 or (εἴτε) those upon the earth,
 together with those that are under the [earth,]
 20 according to (κατά) the relationships (κοινωνία) and
 the divisions (μερισμός) among
 22 these, and in the rest
 [] parts (μέρος)
 24 [according to (κατά) kind (γένος) and] according to (κατά)
 [species]
 26 []
 [] they] will [submit (ὑποτάσσειν)]
 28 [since] she has power
 [] above
 30 [] they exist] apart

43*

(3 lines missing)

4 []
 . . . []
 6 every []
 (± 12 lines missing)

[]
 20 body(s) (σῶμα) []
 [a] place [] divine Barbelo]
 22 []

-
- 42*,27-28 **ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ**: Passive meaning (ὑποτάσσεσθαι); cf. note to 29*,22.
 42*,28 "she": Lack of context prevents identification. Perhaps Barbelo; cf. 43*,21-22.
 43*,5 Perhaps **ΠΟΥΛΕΙ[Ν]**, "the light." Other possibilities for **ΜΠΟΥ-**: "of their" or "they did not."
 43*,21-22 "Barbelo": Cf. 4,11 and note; 8,28-29.

[.]ετε[

(± 3 lines missing)

[.]ητος α[

28 .ιτηωοτ[

(1 line missing)

44*

(3 lines missing)

4 [± 8 ο]γα[Ν]ζου[α]
[βαλ] ἤτεειμ[ι]

6 [νε ± 8] ἤτεει[

(± 11 lines missing)

18 φ[

φ[± 9]κμ[.].[

20 [α]γγε[λος ἡνο]ητος· εσρ[

τε ἡ[. ἡ]οητος [

22 [.]π[± 8]πσα[ρρε

[± 8 το]γχο α[

(± 3 lines missing)

[± 8] ἡμαγ σο[

28 [± 8].[.]ερεπα[

(1 line missing)

45*

[.].[

2 [.] ἡμαν[

[. . .]κοσμος [

4 [ο]ς αγω [

[.]ικος [

6 [κ]οσμ[ος

(± 13 lines missing)

20 [.]επ. ἡ.[

αζογει [

22 [.]αζε δε [

43*,26-27

Perhaps αἰς/θητος, "sense-perceptible."

43*,28

Letters and word-division uncertain. Perhaps a Greek word ending in -μιτη or -πιτη.

44*,4-5

ΟΥΑΝΖΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ: Cf. 39*,3; 40*,22.

- [
 (± 3 lines missing)
 ... [
 28 ... [
 (1 line missing)
 44*
 (3 lines missing)
 4 [] reveal them [
 [] in this [manner]
 6 [] this [
 (± 11 lines missing)
 18 [
 [
 20 [intelligible (νοητός) angels (ἄγγελος)], as she [
 [] intelligible (νοητός) [
 22 [] above
 [] save(d) from [
 (± 3 lines missing)
 [] them [
 28 [] ... [
 (1 line missing)
 45*
 [
 2 [] ... [
 [] world (κόσμος) [
 4 and [
 ... [
 6 [world (κόσμος)
 (± 13 lines missing)
 20 ... [
 they came [
 22 ... (+ δέ) [

45*,2 Perhaps **ἡμᾶν**, "us."

45*,4-5 Perhaps **κοσ/μ]ικος**, "worldly"; cf. 2,18; 18*,22; 58*,21.
 Or **ζυ/λ]ικος**, "material"; cf. 2,19; 18*,21.

45*,6 Or **[κ]οσμ]ικος**, "worldly."

45*,21-22 Perhaps **ονο/μ]αζε**, "name"; cf. 19*,18; 39*,5.

24 ΜΝ ΝΕ[
 ΝΕΤΟΥ[
 Ν[

(± 4 lines missing)

46*

[.....].ΟΥΑ[
 2 [.....].ΟΟΥΝΕ[
 [.....].ΦΕΙ· ΠΑΑ[
 4 [± 9] ΗΥΕ Μ·[
 [± 10] ΕΦΟ[ΕΙ Ν
 6 [± 9] Ν]ΘΕ Ν[
 (± 13 lines missing)
 20 [± 9] ΠΖΡΑΥ [Ν]
 [± 9] ΡΕΝ· Μ[Ν]
 22 [± 9] ΛΕΙΤΟΥ[
 [..... ΨΑ ΛΝ] ΗΖΕ Μ[
 24 [± 9] Ρ]ΕΝ ΜΕΝ
 [± 13] ΚΟC

(± 4 lines missing)

55*

(± 15 lines missing)

16 .[
 ΕΤΑΖΙ[ΚΑ]ΡΦ[ΕΙ ΠΑΧΕΙ ΧΕ]
 18 ΜΑΤΑΜΑ[ΕΙ
 ΕΨ ΤΕ ΤΒΑ[Μ
 20 ΝΑΧΩΚΜ [
 [ΓΕ]ΝΕΑ ΤΗ[ΡC

-
- 46*,1 Part of the λ is now broken off from the MS.; it is attested in an early photograph.
- 46*,2 Word division uncertain. -ΟΟΥ is not a likely ending; -ΑΥ would be expected (A²).
- 46*,21 The superlin. stroke is visible.
- 46*,22 Perhaps ΛΕΙΤΟΥ[ΧΟ, "I saved" or "I was saved." Cf. 44*,23; 6,16.
- 46*,25-26 Probably ΚΟC/[ΜΟC, "world."
- 47*-54* At least eight pages (probably more) are missing from the MS. See codex introduction.
- 55*,17 A *paragraphus* appears to have been used in the left margin;

- and [
 24 those who [
 [
 (± 4 lines missing)
 46*
 [
 2 [] ... [
 [] ... [
 4 [] ... [
 [] is [
 6 [] like [
 (± 13 lines missing)
 20 [] the voice of
 [] name(s) [and]
 22 [] ... [
 [for] ever [
 24 [name(s)] (+ μέν)
 (± 4 lines missing)

55*

(± 15 lines missing)

- 16 []
 (after) I was silent, [I said,]
 18 "Tell [me,
 what is the [power
 20 will wash [
 [entire generation (γενεά)

see *Facsimile Edition*. This, plus an unusually large initial letter (ε), probably indicated a new section in the text. **ΕΤΑΖΙΚΑΡΩΕΙ**: This strange form is here taken as a "Bohairicizing" form, 2 Perfect = Temporalis; cf. Till, *Dialektgrammatik* § 264: "After I was silent." Cf. *Zost.* VIII 1,10 *et passim*. Here Marsanes seems to be resuming a conversation with a heavenly informant, probably in a visionary setting. Cf. 63*,3-6.19-22.

55*,20

The N is now broken off from the MS.; it is partially attested in an early photograph. **ΧΩΚΜ**: Cf. 66*,1; probably referring to a baptismal ritual.

22 [..]. MÑ. [

(± 7 lines missing)

56*

(± 15 lines missing)

16 [± 16] M

[± 8] M M A T E Π N A .

18 [± 8] . Ϟ · ε [M] Π Ψ A

[± 8] Η Ρ Π Ε · Α Υ [Ω]

20 [± 7] Τ Η Ρ Ḡ Ḣ Π [

[± 7] . α ḡ Ḣ Τ [

(± 8 lines missing)

57*

(± 16 lines missing)

ḡ Η [

18 ḡ Ν [Ω Σ Ι Ο

Ρ Ο [.] ḡ Ρ [

20 Μ Ο Υ Ν Α Β [α λ

Ḣ Π Ν Α Ḡ Ḣ [

22 χ ε ḡ Ḣ Ψ Ω [Π ε

[. .] Ḣ ḡ [

(± 6 lines missing)

58*

(± 16 lines missing)

[± 16] M

18 [± 15] . Ḣ

[± 11] . ḡ . [.] Ḣ Ν Α

20 [± 10] Κ Ε Ε Σ Ḣ Τ ḡ [

[± 8] . Δ ε ḡ Ḣ Ḣ Ḡ Ο [C]

22 [Μ Ι Κ Ο Σ] Ḣ [.] Α Β ḡ ḡ [

[± 14] Π [

(± 6 lines missing)

61*

[ε] Τ ḡ ḡ Ḣ [. . . . Ḣ] ε Τ Ḣ Ψ ε ε ρ ε ε Υ

2 [. .] Μ [± 10] Τ ε Ḣ Π Ρ Ο [

[.] ! Ψ [± 8] χ [ε κ] ḡ τ α θ ε .

22 [

(± 7 lines missing)

56*

(± 15 lines missing)

16 [

[] greatly, the

18 [

] much

[] he is [], and

20 [

] all [

[] in the [

(± 8 lines missing)

57*

(± 16 lines missing)

[

18 [knowledge (γνώσις)

[

20 perservere [

the great [

22 for I [became

[

(± 6 lines missing)

58*

(± 16 lines missing)

[

18 [

[] . . .

20 [

] bone(s) of the

[] (+ δέ) in the [worldly (κοσμικός)]

22 [

] . . .

[

(± 6 lines missing)

61*

[which is] under [] your daughters

2 [

[] for just as (κατά)

59*-60* At least 2 pages are missing from the MS. See codex introduction.

4 [± 10 Τ]ΜΝΤΡ̄ΡΟ Μ[
 [± 11] ΠΕΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΖ[
 6 [± 14]. Τ̄ Τ[
 (± 4 lines missing)
 [± 11] ΝΑΠΟ[
 12 [± 11] ΝΙΜ ΕΥ[
 [± 12] ΥΕ[
 (± 16 lines missing)

62*

[...] ΧΕ Ζ̄Μ Π[Ε]Τ...[.....] ΑΥΝ[
 2 [.] Τ ΕΝ· Α[ΥΩ ± 9] ΗΕ[
 [.] ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΤΚ.[± 7] Μ[Π]
 4 [ΕΤ] Ν̄ΣΑΥΝΕ ΜΠ[
 [..]. ΕΥ ΧΕ ΠΑ.[
 (± 4 lines missing)

10 [ΚΑΤΑ] ΜΕΡ[ΟС
 [...] ΤΕ ΨΑ[
 12 [.....] ΙС.[
 [.....].[
 (± 16 lines missing)

63*

[± 13]. ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν
 2 [± 10 ΠΚΕС] ΕΕΠΕ
 [Α] Ζ̄ΡΗ[Ι ...] Ε [Π] ΚΑΖ· Α[ΥΩ Α[Ζ]
 4 [Ο] ΥΨΕΧ[Ε] Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟ[С]
 [.....]. ΕΦΟΕΙ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙ
 6 [ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑ] ΓΡΙΟС· ΑΥ[Ω] ΠΑΧΕΦ
 [± 8] Ν[.....] ΑΖΕ Α
 8 [± 14 Ψ] Α ΑΝΗ
 [ΖΕ ± 14] ΘΗ
 10 [± 15] ΗΡΙ
 [± 15] Ε[
 (± 5 lines missing)

61*,4 ΤΜΝΤΡ̄ΡΟ: Cf. 6,18.

61*,6 A superlin. stroke is visible in the lacuna two spaces from the end.

62*,10 ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟС: Cf. 3,21.

63*,5 Perhaps Ε<Υ> ΟΕ!, 3 pl. agreeing with ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟС.

4 [the] kingdom of [
 [] But (δέ) this one [

6 [
 (± 4 lines missing)

[
 12 [] every [
 [
 (± 16 lines missing)

62*

[] in the one who [
 2 not. [And
 For (γάρ) it is [] who [
 4 [you (pl.) did not] know the [
 [] for the [
 (± 4 lines missing)

10 [partially (κατὰ μέρος)

[
 12 [
 [
 (± 16 lines missing)

63*

[] (+ δέ) in
 2 [] remainder
 down [the] earth. And they
 4 [spoke] like the angels (ἄγγελος)
 [] he was like the
 6 wild (ἄγριος) [animals (θηρίον)]. And he said,
 [
 8 [for] ever
 [
 10 [
 [

(± 5 lines missing)

63*,6 "he": Gamaliel? Cf. 64*,19-20 and note.
 63*,9-10 Perhaps ΘΗ/[ΡΙΟΝ, "animal(s)." Cf. 63*,6.
 63*,10-11 Perhaps ΜΥΣΤ[ΗΡΙ]/[ΟΝ, "mystery." Cf. 39*,24. Or
 Θ[ΗΡΙ]/[ΟΝ, "animal(s)." Cf. previous note.

[αβ]αλ ρ̄̄ α.[
 18 [...]τε νταψ .[
 [...] αζινεγ [α
 20 εφ..εαρ.[
 αγω πεφ[....]νε ουζρ[αγ
 22 [...] αγω [...] ηεφ..[
 (± 7 lines missing)

64*

ανακ [± 10 ετ]
 2 βε χ[ε] αζι[νε]γ α[νογα]ειν
 τηρογ ε<γ>κωτε [̄̄]αει εγ[χε]
 4 ρο [ρ̄̄] ουκωρ̄̄ α[γω
 ει ρ̄̄] πογμητε [
 6 ̄̄.[.....].[
 α.[
 8 α[
 τμ[

(± 6 lines missing)

16 [± 7 ̄̄αγ]γελος ε[τ
 [± 7 ρ̄̄ατογωει α[γω]
 18 [± 10]πογε[ει
 [...]...η..[.] ̄̄γαμαλι
 20 [ηλ· π]η ετρ̄̄ιχ[̄̄ ̄̄π]̄̄α ετ[.].
 [.....]α.[....]ος κ[

(± 8 lines missing)

65*

[± 9] δε ̄̄αγγελοσ
 2 [± 8 ε]τ̄̄παρалам
 [βανε ̄̄μαγ τη]ρογ [
 4 [± 7].· ̄̄ν νε[το]γπ.

63*,18 αψ: Cf. 42*,17.

63*,19 Marsanes is recounting a visionary experience. Cf. 16*,3; 18*,2.16; 64*,2; 66*,17.

63*,21 ρ̄̄ραγ: Cf. 46*,20.

63*,22 Perhaps ηεφρ̄̄[αγ, "his voice."

64*,5 The superlin. stroke is visible.

64*,19-20 Gamaliel: An angelic being occurring in a number of Sethian gnostic documents; see *Melch.* IX 5,18 and note. Perhaps here,

[..... αγ]ω αϞα[ι μ]μαει
 6 [± 7]ητ αϞ[αω]κ μ
 [± 14]πα
 8 [± 15]ϕω
 [± 15]γ
 (1 line missing)
 [± 15]εϞ
 12 [± 9 νε]ϝμελος
 [± 12]ουκο
 14 [± 12]παρο
 [ρατος ± 9]ει
 16 [± 15]ς·
 [± 8]κρ[ι]ς[ις ε]ι
 18 [± 8]κης[.]α ηηχ
 [± 9]νιμ [ετκ]η
 20 [± 10]τη[.] μ
 [± 9 π]ηγ[η] πατ
 22 [μου ± 7]εϞανζ·
 [± 13]πςνευ
 24 [± 11 καρ]ωϞ
 [± 11 νο]υτε
 (± 4 lines missing)

66*

χακμϝ αβ[αλ ζ]ν
 2 .ε μπν[ουτε
 π[εν]ταυ[ς]φ[ραγιζε μμαϞ]
 4 αζ[ου]τςαει[αϞ ζ]ν τςφρα
 ρι[ς ν]τπε· [
 6 ν[
 ε
 8 .[
 α
 10 ς[.]·[

65*, 21-22 πηγή: A baptismal context is to be assumed. Cf. 66*, 1; *Gos. Eg.* III 66, 4. Cf. also *Testim. Truth* IX 72, 27.

65*, 22 Perhaps ογμαυ] εϞανζ, "a living water." Cf. e.g. *Zost.* VIII 5, 21.

[and] he [took] me
6 [he finished

[
8 [
[

(1 line missing)

[
12 [her] members (μέλος)
[] . . .
14 [] the [invisible (ἀόρατος)]
[
16 [judgment (κρίσις)
18 [] thrown
[] every [which is placed]
20 [fountain (πηγή)] of
22 [immortality] living
[] the two
24 [silent]
[god(s)

(± 4 lines missing)

66*

wash it (fem.) from [
2 [of God
the one whom they [sealed (σφραγίζειν)]
4 has been adorned [with the]
[seal (σφραγίς) of] heaven. [
6 [
[
8 [
[
10 [

66*,1

ΧΑΚΜC: Cf. 55*,20. The word can also be translated "baptize."
Cf. e.g. *Gos. Eg.* III 65,24. "it": Scil. "the soul" (ψυχή)?

66*,3-5

σφραγίζειν, σφραγίς: These are baptismal terms. Cf. 34*,28;
2,12-13 and note; also e.g. *Gos. Eg.* III 66,3.

απεϛ[
 12 ναβ [N̄
 του[
 14 N̄[
 ζ[
 16 τηρ[. .] . . N̄[
 αγ[ω α]ζινε[γ
 18 τ[. . .]εγ· [± 9 α]
 τμ[ο]γϛ[θ
 20 νε[τ]ε π[
 εν ψα[
 22 βω[
 N̄τ[
 24 αϛ[

(± 4 lines missing)

67*

[± 8] εγναψωπε
 2 [± 11] N̄πνογ
 [τε ± 8] ουςζιμε
 4 [± 9] εςζN̄ [ο]γστο
 [noc N̄τ]ερεϛ[ϛ]πο
 6 [± 10] ϛN̄[.]εγ
 [± 14] οN̄
 8 [± 14] εM̄
 [± 15] H̄
 10 [± 14] ε M̄N̄
 [± 14] πε
 12 [± 11] τ]ηρογ
 [± 11] . N̄ζωβ
 14 [. . . .] ζN̄ρωM̄[ε . . .]ς· αγω
 [. . . .] ζN̄ζια[με M̄N̄ ζ]N̄ρω
 16 [με N̄τεε]!M̄IN̄[ε M̄]
 [πελ]ααγε <N̄> νε[τζιϛM̄ π]καζ
 18 [coγ]φνογ· ϛ[ε]ει
 [. . . .]ε N̄IM̄ [. . . .]NOY
 20 [N̄c]εN̄ει! ζα νεει M̄[N̄ M̄M̄]εc
 [ζ]N̄ηει ϛε νεει να[† ε]coγ

to his [
 12 great [
 [
 14 [
 [
 16 [
 And I [saw
 18 [
 [unmixed
 20 those who [
 . . . [
 22 [
 [
 24 [

(± 4 lines missing)

67*

[
] they will become
 2 [] of God
 [] a woman
 4 [] while she is in [travail (στόνος)]
 [] when she gives birth,
 6 []
 []
 8 []
 []
 10 [] with
 []
 12 [] all of [
 [] thing
 14 [] men [] and
 [] women [and men]
 16 [in this manner
 [no one] <of> those [that are upon the] earth
 18 [knew] that [
 [] every [] them,
 20 [and they will] take pity on these, [together with the]
 home-[born], for these will [pay]

22 [...]ΝΟΥΤΕ [.....]ΝΕ
 [...]·[...]ΟΤΟ[.....] ΑΒΑΛ
 24 [± 7]ΛΙΩΝ [.....]ΦΝ·
 [± 16]Λ
 (± 4 lines missing)

68*

ΜΝ ΝΕΤΑ[
 2 ΝΤΑΥΠ[
 ΠΝ[Ο]ΥΤΕ [
 4 ΧΙ[Ν] ΝΩ[ΑΡΠ
 ΖΜ [Π]ΑΚΑ[
 6 ΖΡ[ΤΕ
 Ε[
 8 ΡΕ[Ν
 ΤΟΥ[
 10 Τ[
 ΝΔΙΑ[± 12 ΜΥ]
 12 ΣΤΗΡ[ΙΟΝ
 ΝΤ.[.....]. ΖΜ [
 14 [.....Ν]ΟΥΤΕ Α[
 ..[.....]ΦΧΟ.[
 16 ΤΕ.[... Ο]ΥΑΝΖ Α[ΒΑΛ
 Τ[.....]ΝΕΤΑΣΑΥ[ΝΕ ΜΜΑΦ]

2

[Μ]ΑΡ[ΣΑ]Ν[Η]Σ

68*,1 Perhaps ΝΕΤΑ[ΣΑΥΝΕ ΜΜΑΦ, "those who will know him";
 cf. 68*,17.

68*,3 Corr. Υ over Ρ.

22 [] God [
 [] . . .
 24 [] aeon(s) (αἰών) [
 [

(± 4 lines missing)

68*

with those who will [
 2 who have [
 God [
 4 from the [beginning
 in [the
 6 fear [
 [
 8 [name(s)
 [
 10 []
 [
 12 [mysteries (μυστήριον)
 [] in [
 14 [] God [
 [
 16 [] manifest [
 [] those who will know [him.]

18 [M] A R S A N E S

68*,5 Perhaps ἀκα[θαρτος, "unclean."

68*,11-12 ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ: Cf. 39*,24.

68*,17 Cf. 1,11-12.

... all of
... knowlec
... follow
... scptions
... side, six
... possible are
... number
... are pre
... sides of
... first.

... Right n
... "he" or
... Perhaps
... Lett me
... No mar
... "there."
... No mar
... "and) t
... No mar
... "and) t
... No ma
... "with"
... "exist(

CODEX X: FRAGMENTS

Since all of the unplaced fragments of Codex X of which there is any knowledge have been published in the *Facsimile Edition*, the policy followed here, as in the case of Codex IX, is to publish transcriptions of only those larger fragments which contain, on either side, six or more letters or letter traces. Such translations as are possible are indicated in the notes to the respective fragments.

The numbering of the fragments is that of the *Facsimile Edition*, and they are presented here in the order in which they appear there. Both sides of each fragment are transcribed together, vertical fibers (↑) first.

1 ↑ :	]αϞ
	]ξοϞ
1 → :	οπ[
	τϞ[
2 ↑ :	]. ρ. .[
	ᾠ]μεϞ· [
].[
2 → :	αϞ]ω νοι.[
	]ο ᾠᾠ[
3 ↑ :	αϞ]φ σενα[
	]. ω[
3 → :	]ᾠᾠ ιε[
	]ψοο[π

-
- Fr. 1↑ Right margin visible.
 1↑,1 "he" or "him."
 1↑,2 Perhaps **ε]ξοϞ/Ϟια**, "authority (ἐξουσία)."
 Fr. 1→ Left margin visible.
 Fr. 2↑ No margins visible.
 2↑,2 "there." Superlin. stroke visible.
 Fr. 2→ No margins visible.
 2→,1 "and] the" (pl.).
 Fr. 3↑ No margins visible.
 3↑,1 "and] they will."
 Fr. 3→ No margins visible.
 3→,1 "with" or "and."
 3→,2 "exist(s)."

4 ↑ :]ε.[
]παλιν [
]ωπ[
 4→:]πετ[
]Ἰδαμ [
].[
 5 ↑ :]ωοοπ [
]ωαν[
 5→:]. ρ. η. [
]Ἰταρ[
 6 ↑ :]. ρ[
]. ηη[
].[
 6→: ωο]οπ ρ[η
]ω[
 7 ↑ :]ω εμ[
]μ[
].[
 7→:]ω α[
 α]γω [
]εα[
 8 ↑ : α[
 ογ[
 8→:]ογ

-
- Fr. 4↑ No margins visible.
 4↑,2 "again (πάλιν)."
 Fr. 4→ No margins visible.
 4→,1 "that which" or "he who."
 4→,2 "power(s)."
 Fr. 5↑ No margins visible.
 5↑,1 "exist(s)."
 Fr. 5→ No margins visible.
 Fr. 6↑ No margins visible.
 Fr. 6→ No margins visible.
 6→,1 "exist(s) [in]."
 Fr. 7↑ No margins visible.
 Fr. 7→ No margins visible.
 7→,2 "and."
 Fr. 8↑ Left margin visible.
 Fr. 8→ Right margin visible.

	]εινε·
9 ↑ :	]απε·[
	]·εγε[
9 → :	]μ[·.]π[
	]γκαρ[
10 ↑ :	[.]ψ[
	αζο[
10 → :	]χε
	]ἄσωμ[α]
12 ↑ :	]ειε[
	]ψε[
12 → :]·.[
	α]γω [
	]ἄπ[
14 ↑ :	ψο]οπ ἄα[
	]να[
14 → :	]·[·.]ψ[
	α]βαλ χ[ε
]·[
15 ↑ :	]·ν[
	]οc ο[
	]α!φ[ν
15 → :	]φυν[
	]ἢ γαρ [

8 →,2 "form(s)."

Fr. 9 ↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 9 → No margins visible.

Fr. 10 ↑ Left margin visible.

Fr. 10 → Right margin visible.

10 →,2 "body(s) (σῶμα)."

Fr. 12 ↑ No margins visible.

Fr. 12 → No margins visible.

12 →,2 "and."

Fr. 14 ↑ No margins visible.

14 ↑,1 "exist(s) as."

Fr. 14 → No margins visible.

14 →,2 "because."

Fr. 15 ↑ No margins visible.

15 ↑,3 "aeon(s) (αἰών)."

Fr. 15 → No margins visible.

15 →,2 "for (γάρ)."

44 ↑ :].[
]Δϵ[

44 → :]...ϰ.[
]ΝΤϵ[

-
- Fr. 44 ↑ No margins visible.
 44 ↑, 2 "and" or "but" (δϵ).
 Fr. 44 → No margins visible.

Words
Coptic
13
Entric
and readin

INDICES

Note: Words in the Coptic Words index are ordered according to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. Asterisks (*) used elsewhere in this volume for pages 13*-68* in Codex X are omitted in the indices for practical reasons. Entries in brackets in the indices indicate restored or conjectured readings.

...diey in
...girdl
...die 62
...m: 6
...grasp
...44.
...negative par
...IX 5
...X 4
...IX 12
...MNTAT
...f. mur
...limit X
...IX 29, 13
...OYA
...ECO
...IX pa
...IX 1, 5
...
...multiply I

...IX 4
...bubble I
...IX 57, 4
...620Y
...ward
...IX 23
...E
...BO
...BOA
...X 41
...X-E-T
...IX 3
...P B
...BOONE
...X 40
...qu^t be
...L saw I

...EKIB
...ENE
...X I
...IX 1

COPTIC WORDS

- αιαι:** **αιεγ** increase X 41,16.
ακηс m. girdle IX 46,15.
але: **але εζραι** go up IX [70,14].
αμντε m.: **εμντε** Hades IX 32,25.
αμαzte grasp IX [28,15]; 41,10; 44,21; 68,2; 74,22.26. **εμαzte** IX 29,12; 44,1.
αν negative particle IX *passim*. **εν** X 1,13; 31,16; 32,14; 41,4; 62,2.
ανок I IX 5,17; 6,10; [14,16]; 15,9.11; 29,6; 48,4; 69,14; 70,4.7.28.
ανακ X 4,24; 64,1.
ανон we IX 12,2; 31,24; [40,2]. **αναn** X 9,21.
απε: **μνταπε** f. authority X 20,16.
апс: **αψ** f. number X 42,17; 63,18.
αρηχ = limit X 16,12.
αс old IX 29,13.
αсαι: **ζn ογасαι** quickly IX 3,6.
αсου: **† εсου** pay X [67,21].
αγω and IX *passim*; X *passim*.
αω what? IX 1,8; 35,22.[23].28; 42,7; 70,26 (*bis*).28. **εω** X 6,24.26; 40,21; 55,19.
αωαι multiply IX [39,4]. **αωαι** IX 30,4.
- βω** f. tree IX 46,22.
βеее bubble IX 72,27.
βωк go IX 57,4. **βωк епитn** IX 32,24. **βωк εζραι** IX 43,12; 44,24.
βωк εζογn IX 55,5; 71,27. **βηк†** IX 31,30.
βεке m. reward X 1,[11].16; 40,2.
βαλ m. eye IX 25,11; 46,7.
βωλ: **βωλ εβολ** release IX 35,7; 65,31. **βωλ αβαλ** X 10,3. **βολ** = IX 41,28. **βολ** = **εβολ** IX 33,3; [35,24]. **βωλ** m. interpretation IX [37,7]. **βολ:** **εβολ** out IX *passim*. **αβαλ** X *passim*. **ρ βολ** IX 70,19.
μπβα- X 41,20. **μπβαλ** X 9,4.[11]. **мпсанвол** IX 68,17. X 39,9.
εβολ χε- IX 14,28; 70,9. **αβαλ χε-** X fr. 14 → 2. **ωα αβαλ** X 39,23.
βλλе blind IX 33,21; [42,10]; 57,13. pl. **βλλееγe** IX 33,5. **μντβαλλе** IX 48,2. **ρ βλλе** IX 48,10.
βωων: **воone** f. misfortune IX [55,6]; 62,8.
βppe: new X 40,2.
βωte: **qнт†** be anathema IX 73,22.
βαωογp f. saw IX [40,22]; 41,1.
- εκibe:** **† εκibe** give suck IX 67,31.
enez: **ωα enez** forever IX [14,27]; 16,14; 38,27; 43,17; 47,13.27. **ωα anhzе** X 13,16; 18,5.20; 34,25; [39,13]; 46,23; 63,8. **ωα enez** **nenez** IX 16,20.[23].27; 17,1.[5].9.[13].16.[24]; 18,3.[6].

- ΕΡΗΤ** promise X 33,17.
ΕΡΗΥ: ΝΕΥΕΡΗΟΥ each other IX 58,2.[12]. **ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ** X 6,29; 27,15; 28,25; 29,13.17.18; [30,30]; 31,1.20; 34,4; 37,20.
ΕCΗΤ: ΖΑΠΕCΗΤ under IX 4,10; 9,10; 13,14; [22,6]. X 42,19.
ΕΤΒΕ- because of IX 2,21; 29,4; 32,6; [37,8]; 43,[26].27.30; 59,2. X 1,16; 3,[15].17.19.20.26; 4,1.3.[10].20; 17,9; 25,15; [27,24]; 35,15; [40,16].
ΕΤΒΗΗΤ = IX [2,20]; 45,22; 67,8. **ΕΤΒΗΤ** = X 29,4. **ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ** IX 29,11. X 64,1. **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ** IX 33,10; 45,23. **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ** X 9,1. **ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΕΙ** X 39,18. **ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ** IX 42,8.14; 45,19. **ΕΤΒΕ ΕΥ** X 17,2.
ΕΟΟΥ m. glory IX 28,20. **ΕΛΥ** X 20,20. **ΩΟ<Υ>** IX 6,2.
ΕΨΧΕ if IX 5,4.5; 31,8; 47,28. **ΕΙΨΧΕ** X 36,23.
ΗΙ: **ΜΕCΖΗΗΕΙ** home-born X 67,21.
ΕΙ come IX 5,8 (*bis*); 6,22; 15,4; 30,20; 39,24; 46,16.22; 55,16; 67,18. X 8,23; 45,21. **ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ** IX 16,10; 25,9; [30,19]; [44,26]; 73,19. **ΕΙ ΕΠΙΤΝ** IX 12,3; 30,27. **ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ** IX 69,7. **ΕΙ ΑΖΟΥΝ** X 15,13. **ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ** IX [39,26]. **ΕΙ ΨΑΖΡΑΪ** IX 38,6.
ΕΙΑ: **QI ΕΙΑΤ** = **ΕΖΡΑΪ** look up IX 29,23. **ΝΕΕΙΕΤ** = blessed IX 18,9. X 41,30.
ΕΙΜΕ know IX [15,11]; [46,24]; [69,11.14]. **ΜΜΕ** IX 30,28; 46,12; 47,9. X 7,2; 8,22; 26,18.
ΕΙΝΕ bring IX 48,5. **ΕΙΝΕ ΑΖΟΥΝ** X 31,19. **ΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ** IX [44,17]. **ΝΤ** = **ΕΠΙΤΝ** IX [74,25].
ΕΙΝΕ resemble IX [68,17]. X 5,10. **ΙΝΕ** X 31,20. **ΕΙΝΕ** m. image X 17,17; 22,19; [25,13]; [27,12]; 31,15; 35,[1].3; [42,25]; Fr. 8→2. **ΙΝΕ** IX [15,12]; 44,28. **ΚΑΤΑ ΕΙΝΕ** X 29,20.23.
ΕΙΟΟΡ: **ΧΙΟΟΡ** traverse X 33,4. **ΕΙΕΡΟ** m. river X 34,23. **ΙΕΡΟ** IX 30,22.28.31; [39,23].
ΕΙΡΕ do, make IX 20,11; 48,17; [68,16]. X 28,26; [34,22]. **Ρ-** IX 32,25 (*passim* in various combinations). **ΑΑ** = IX [7,3]; 14,8; 31,13; 43,3. **Ο†** IX [6,19]; 10,18; 27,5; 30,20; 33,6; 40,30; 42,11; 44,2.13; 60,2; 67,4.[11]. **ΟΕΙ†** X 4,3.29; 5,3; 21,26; 25,3.28; 27,9; 28,20; 29,23; 31,15; 33,22; 37,4; 39,26; 46,5; 63,5. **Ε†** IX 42,9.10 (*bis*).[13].[14].15.[16]; 45,18. **ΕΡΙ-** X 8,24; 19,18.[20].
ΕΙC behold IX 47,7.
ΕΙΩΤ m. father IX 28,20; 68,[6].8. X 1,23. **ΙΩΤ** IX 7,5; [9,3]; 14,27; 16,9.[17]; 27,11.20.25; 28,12.29; 31,22; 32,19; 40,18; 43,26; [69,2]. pl. **ΕΙΟΤΕ** IX 48,6; 69,12.20.
ΕΙΤΝ: **ΕΠΙΤΝ** down IX 12,3; 30,27; 32,24; 74,25. **ΑΠΙΤΝ** X 2,14; 6,2 (*bis*); 40,23.
ΕΙΨΕ: **ΑΨΤ-** crucify IX [25,5].
ΚΕ- other IX 2,7; 14,2; 33,3; 40,5; 46,11; 48,19; 57,6.12; 70,25. X 35,21. **ΚΕΟΥΑ** IX 69,22. **ΚΕΟΥΕΕ** X 7,6. **ΚΕΟΥΕΕΙ** X 40,15. pl. **ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ** IX 68,1; [70,1]. **ΖΗΚΑΥΕ** X 37,4. **ΚΕCΕΕΠΕ** X 8,3; 32,1; 35,4; 41,13; 42,22; 63,2.
ΚΟΥΙ: **ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ** few IX 69,5.
ΚΩ place, permit IX 34,3; 36,5; 41,7; 43,13; 44,26; 73,13.22. **ΚΩΕ** X 14,17. **ΚΑΑ** = X 29,4. **ΚΗ†** X 65,19. **ΚΩΕ ΑΠΙΤΝ** X 2,13. **ΚΑΑ** =

- εζοϣν IX** [70,11]. **καα = αζηή X** 40,3. **κη† εζραϊ IX** 70,13.
κωβ: κηβ† be double X 27,2; 30,23.
κωκ: κοκ = αζηοϣ be stripped IX [37,2]. **κηκ† αζηοϣ IX** 46,13.
κακε m. darkness IX 18,19; 30,16; [31,12]; 33,1; [35,9]; 40,27; 41,29; 59,9.
κλοολε f. cloud X 34,29.
κлом m. crown IX 45,5. **κλαμ X** 10,23.
κωλαχ: f. κλαχε corner IX 74,28.
κιμ move IX 67,28.
κντε m. fig IX 46,14,22.
κωπ hide IX 46,19.
κας: κεεc m. bone X 58,20.
κωτ build IX 31,18; 70,8.[10].
κωτε surround IX 18,17; 70,27. X 64,3. **μπκωτε X** 21,24. **κοτc f.**
 trick IX 74,29.
κτο turn IX 41,14. **κτο εβολ IX** [30,14]. **κοτ = IX** 43,11; 66,3. **κοτ =**
επαζοϣ IX [30,23].
καζ m. earth. IX 4,9.10; 9,9.[10]; 13,14.15; 15,19; 35,5; 39,11; [41,30];
 70,24. X 41,20; 42,18.[19]; 63,3; 67,17.
κωζ be envious IX 32,27; 74,3. **ρεϑκωζ IX** 48,5.
κωζτ m. fire IX [10,5]; 60,3; 71,28. X 64,4.
λο cease IX 14,26; 56,7; 67,12; 68,28; 69,3. X 5,27.
λαc m. tongue IX 69,25.
λααϣ anyone, -thing IX 14,14; 25,12; 26,11; 27,4; 29,22; 41,4; 49,4; 67,1;
 69,16.31. **λααϣε X** 1,19; 32,14; 67,17.
λοοϣ: λαϣ m. fringe IX 41,10.
μα m. place IX 30,8; [31,19]; 41,9.[12]; 43,19.31; 44,10.25; 47,25; 48,16.22;
 [55,3]; 57,4; 61,8; [69,13.27]; 74,18. X 3,17; 4,29; 6,1.23; 10,2.3.5.6.13;
 25,19; 33,2; 36,17; 38,21.[25]; 41,22; 43,21.
με f. truth IX 1,21; [5,11]; [6,15]; 15,12; 27,17; 29,24; 31,8; 41,5; 43,12.26;
 44,23; 45,1.3; 61,5; 69,[2].23. **μηε X** 3,23. **name IX** 6,12; 16,18.
мамне X 7,5.
моϣ die IX [15,24]; [37,25]; 38,7; 45,31; [49,10]; fr. 4→3. **мооϣ† IX**
 3,11; 5,9.11; [25,9]; 32,26. **моϣ m.** death IX 2,5; 14,9; 15,7.23; 16,3;
 31,29; 33,14; 34,5; 38,12; 43,7; 45,30; 55,7.[9].16; 68,1. **ατμοϣ IX** 6,6;
 [11,3]; [72,27]; [74,9]. X [65,22].
μαав thirty IX [33,22]. **μαавεce X** [42,6].
μκαζ: μοκζ† be difficult IX 31,11; 42,5; [60,11].
μοϣλζ m. wax X 35,2.
mmn-: mnта = ммaϣ not have IX 34,24; [37,23]; 47,20. **mnте =**
(mmey) X 4,[6].17; 6,4.19; 7,15.19; 13,16.19; 15,3; 16,1; 17,17;
 [20,19]; 34,6. **mnt = (mmey) X** 21,17; 27,1.6; 31,14; 33,5.
mn-, nmма = with, and IX *passim*. X *passim*.
μαειν m. mark X 33,20.
μοϣν: μοϣν αβαλ persevere X 57,20. **μηн† αβαλ X** 8,26.
mine: αϣ mmine of what sort IX 48,1. **οϣαϣ mmine IX** 47,14.
нтеimine IX 38,1; [39,9]. **нтеimine X** 35,24; 40,4; 44,5; 67,16.

- ΜΝΤΡΕ: Ρ ΜΝΤΡΕ** bear witness IX 30,24; 32,10; 33,26; 44,23; 67,9.
ΕΡΙ ΜΝΤΡΕ X 19,20.
- ΜΠΟ: ΕΒΟ** dumb person IX 33,6.
- ΜΠΩΑ** be worthy IX 62,4. X 5,25. **Ρ ΜΠΩΑ** IX 11,2.
- ΜΠΩΑ** much X 56,18.
- ΜΟΥΡ** bind IX 44,21. **ΜΑΡ=** IX 9,27. **ΜΟΡ=** IX 15,24; 35,23; 41,27.
ΜΗΡΕ f. bond IX 43,18.
- ΜΙΣΕ** engender X [39,14]. **ΩΡΠ ΜΜΙΣΕ** IX 5,28; 16,29. **ΜΕΣΖΝΗΕΙ** X [67,20]. **ΜΕΣΤΟΥ** X 34,5. **ΜΗΣΕ** f. interest IX [68,5].
- ΜΗΤ: ΜΑΖΜΗΤ** tenth X 33,1. **ΜΑΖΜΗΤΕ** X [4,10].
- ΜΟΕΙΤ: ΧΑΥΜΟΕΙΤ** guide IX [33,20]. **ΧΙ ΜΑΕΙΤ ΖΗΤ=** X 8,27.
- ΜΑΤΕ: ΜΕΕΤΕ** reach X 10,4.
- ΜΑΤΕ: ΜΜΑΤΕ** greatly X 56,17.
- ΜΑΤΕ: ΜΜΑΤΕ** only IX 31,26; [69,25]. **ΜΜΕΤΕ** IX 32,9.
- ΜΗΤΕ** f. midst. IX 43,9; 45,27; 46,5.17. **ΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ** intermediate X 26,26; 27,7.[11]; 30,1.[27]; 31,[18].
- ΜΟΥΤΕ** call IX 3,7; 47,6; 48,20; 69,10. X 37,2.
- ΜΤΟ: ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ** in the presence of IX [28,15].
- ΜΤΟΝ** be at rest IX 26,11; 28,1.5; 36,1; 42,27; [69,3]. **ΜΤΑΝ** X 2,23.
- ΜΑΥ: ΜΜΑΥ** there IX 18,22; 19,4; 41,19; 44,26; [70,14]; 74,19.23.
ΜΜΕΥ X 3,18; 5,17; 20,21; 22,16; 25,1; 40,6. See: **ΜΜΝ-**, **ΟΥΝ-**.
- ΜΑΑΥ** f. mother IX [5,27]; [16,25].
- ΜΟΟΥ** m. water IX 8,4; 31,1. Pl. **ΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ** IX 7,28; [8,1]; [16,16]; 33,9; [55,8]. **ΜΟΥΕΙΗ** X 35,1.
- ΜΕΕΥΕ** think IX 31,22; 32,2; 43,29; 65,29. X 1,21. **ΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΒΑΛ** X 13,22.
ΜΕΕΥΕ m. thought IX 34,3; 42,24; X 17,20.
- ΜΗΗΨΕ: ΜΗΨΕ** m. multitude X 6,16.
- ΜΙΨΕ** fight IX 42,23. **ΜΙΨΕ ΑΖΗΤ=** X 40,19. **ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΙΨΕ** IX 44,9; 68,29.
- ΜΟΟΨΕ** walk IX 33,8.[23].
- ΜΟΥΨΤ** examine IX 41,15; X 6,9.
- ΜΟΥΖ** fill IX 43,14; 44,22; 48,22. X 6,22.
- ΜΑΖΕ** m. cubit X [34,23].
- ΜΑΑΧΕ** m. ear IX 29,7.8.
- ΜΟΥΧΒ: ΑΤΜΟΥΧΒ** unmixed X 66,19.
- ΝΑ** have pity IX 14,28. **ΝΕΙ** X 67,20.
- ΝΟΥ: ΝΗΟΥ†** be coming IX 8,5; 38,4. **ΝΗΟΥ† ΕΖΡΑΪ** IX 69,27.
- ΝΟΥΒ** m. gold IX 65,10.
- ΝΟΒΕ** m. sin IX [6,29]; 33,2; 48,6. **ΝΑΒΙ** X 27,23. **Ρ ΝΑΒΙ** X [27,21]; 40,7 (*bis*).25; 41,16.
- ΝΟΕΙΚ: ΜΝΤΝΟΕΙΚ** m. adultery IX [70,7].
- NIM** who? IX 32,1; [35,26]; 41,27.28 (*bis*).29.30.31.[31]; 42,2.3 (*bis*).4.5 (*bis*); 46,28; 70,24.25.29. X [29,10].
- NIM** every IX 10,28; 13,2.3.28; 27,24; 38,24; 41,13; 45,26; [73,5]; 74,26. X 3,13; 27,16; 36,17; 37,23; [41,24]; 43,6; 61,12; 65,19; 67,19. **ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ** IX 13,16.[26]; 14,5; [33,19]; 43,6; 44,14.15; 67,6; 73,5.
- ΝΑΝΟΥ=** be good IX 6,7; 17,27; 27,2; 47,10; 74,17. X 27,10.19; 32,8.

ΝΤΕ- particle of genitive IX 8,27; 10,10; 12,7; [25,6]; 26,4; [27,16].27; 28,19; 29,16; 33,1; 35,8; 42,24; [56,8]; 57,3.13; 59,9. X 2,14; [4,12]; 8,19; 10,17; 25,13; 26,27; 27,26.

ΝΟΥΤΕ m. God IX [1,2]; 2,9.10; 5,25; 6,7.10; [9,5]; 12,11; 14,18; 15,[10].13.16; [17,27]; 19,14; 26,4; 28,7; [37,6.22]; 39,3.[7]; 41,5.31; 45,3.24; 46,[16].24; 47,15.20; 48,1.5. X 2,29; 5,4; [6,8]; 27,13; 30,14; 43,22; 65,25; [66,2]; 67,2.22; 68,3.14. **Ρ ΝΟΥΤΕ** IX 74,21.

ΝΤΟΚ you s. IX [5,14]; 16,8.

ΝΤΩΤΝ you pl. X 10,20.

ΝΤΟΟΥ they IX 56,6; 70,29.

ΝΤΟϞ he IX 2,7; 30,25.31; 31,2.4; 43,8; 46,21; 47,14; 56,2; 57,8; 69,14, 70,4.7.28. **ΝΤΑϞ** X 39,21.

ΝΑΥ see IX [25,11]; 28,23.[24]; 30,26; [33,23]; 46,19; 72,17. **ΝΕΥ** X 7,22; 16,3; 18,2.16; 63,19; [64,2]; [66,17].

ΝΑΥ m. time IX [25,7]; 46,16. **ΜΠΙΝΑΥ** IX [35,27].

ΝΑΨΕ- be great IX 48,2; 72,19; 73,6. **ΝΑΨΩ** = IX 13,21; 38,17. X 41,21.

ΝΟΥϞΡ: **ΝΟΥϞΡΕ** f. gain IX 38,20.

ΝΑΖΤΕ: **ΜΝΤΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ** f. unbelief IX 7,1.

ΝΟΥΧΕ throw IX 22,1. X 39,23. **ΝΟΧ** = IX 25,3. **ΝΟΧ** = **ΕΒΟΛ** IX 47,11.24. **ΝΗΧ†** X 65,18.

ΝΟΒ great IX [8,7]; 11,[3].[4].5; 18,19; 26,3; [28,18]; 36,21; 70,12; 71,20. **ΝΑΒ** X 1,23; 9,12; 10,23; 16,4; 57,21; 66,12.

ΝΒΙ IX 4,[6].8; 5,[12]; 6,12.20; [10,29]; 13,9; 15,16; 27,7; 29,12; 30,29; 31,6.23; 32,9.28; [37,2.10]; [38,5]; [40,24]; 46,7.24; 47,2; 48,16; 61,9; [69,18]; 70,14.20; [72,25]. X 1,23; <5,1>; 7,22; <8,2>; 9,2.4.8.19; 10,19; 20,19; 25,16.25; 34,21; 35,20; 41,18.

ΟΝ again IX [5,2]; 28,8.[13]; 45,18; 56,6; 69,28. **ΑΝ** X [8,14]; [17,2]; 25,19; 29,2.

ΟΟΤΕ: **ΑΤΕ** f. womb IX 31,5; 45,13.15.

ΟΕΙΩ: **ΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΩ** proclaim IX 2,5; 6,10; 73,19.20.

ΠΑ- possessive art. IX 6,2; 16,13. X 7,17; 8,19; 9,8.20.24; 15,1. **ΝΑ-** IX 35,4; 43,13.

ΠΑΪ this IX 3,5; [5,28]; 6,10; [9,28]; [14,12]; 15,4; 28,30; 31,5.13; 33,10; 34,2; [36,25.26]; 41,6; 44,3; 45,4.[23]; 46,25; 47,21; 48,1; 49,7; 55,8; 67,30; 68,7; [69,10]; 70,6; 73,27. **ΠΕΪ** IX 13,1; 20,20; 30,8; 32,11; 45,11; 47,25. **ΠΕΕΙ** X 3,3.7.27; 6,5.8; 8,6.24; 9,1.[24]; [25,17]; 28,23; 35,5; 36,21; 40,3; 41,4; 61,5. **ΠΙ-** IX 47,15; 49,[4].6. X 17,18; [25,25]. **ΠΗ** IX [8,4]; 47,22. X 7,12.17; [64,20]. **ΤΑΪ** IX 27,21; 44,30; 48,19; [50,3]; 55,17; 65,7; fr. 72†1. **ΤΕΪ** IX 38,1; 39,9; [40,23]; 48,21; 57,11. **ΤΕΕΙ** X [4,9]; 9,10.15; [28,28]; 29,2; 33,23; 35,24; 36,23; 40,4; 44,5.6; [67,16]. † IX 34,7; 49,10; 71,22. **ΤΗ** X 31,17. **ΝΑΪ** IX 13,25.27; 14,1. [3].[9].11; [25,8]; 27,7; 29,19; 30,32; [33,24]; 34,6.13; [36,3]; [38,25]; [43,20]; 48,13; [50,6]; [55,4]; 59,2; [60,4]; 70,30; 73,9; fr. 73†4. **ΝΕΕΙ** IX 27,3. X [2,28]; 6,17; 7,1; [9,18]; 10,13.15; [14,16]; 18,1; 20,18;

- 25,12.15.16.19; 26,22; 27,5; 30,20; 31,9.[13]; 34,7; 37.[18]; 39,18; 41,6.24; 42,[13].22; 67,20.21. **NI** IX 73,28. **NH** X 17,15.
- ΠΕ** f. heaven IX 39,12; 73,19. X [7,26]; 41,21; [42,17]; 66,5. pl. **ΠΗΥΕ** IX [4,8]; [9,8]; 13,13. **ΠΗΟΥΕ** IX 27,10. **ΝΤΠΕ** above IX 5,20; 6,18. **ΣΑΝΤΠΕ** IX [24,2]; 27,9; 31,21; 44,7. **ΖΙΠΣΑΝΤΠΕ** IX 8,1. **ΡΤΠΕ** IX 14,5.
- ΠΕ** copula IX *passim*. X *passim*.
- ΠΩΩΝΕ**: **ΠΟΟΝΕ** = **ΕΖΡΑΙ** transfer IX 36,4; 38,26.
- ΠΩΡΩ**: **ΠΟΡΩ†** **ΕΒΟΛ** be set apart IX 73,4.
- ΠΩΡΧ** divide IX 38,2; [40,23.26.29]; 41,3; 44,15. X 6,13; 9,3; 31,16; 32,4. **ΠΑΡΧ** = X 38,2. **ΠΑΡΧ†** X 25,9; 30,30; 32,16.17. **ΠΩΡΧ** m. division X 25,18. **ΖΝ ΟΥΠΡΑΧ** X 36,6.
- ΨΙΣ**: **ΨΙΤΕ** nine IX [25,7]. X 18,2. **ΜΑΖΨΙΤΕ** X 4,7; [13,24].
- ΠΩΤ** run X 8,22. **ΠΩΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ** IX 70,17. **ΠΩΤ ΑΖΡΗΙ** X 10,1. **ΠΩΤ ΑΠΣΑΖΡΕ** X 10,21.26. **ΠΗΤ†** **ΑΠΣΑΖΡΕ** X [10,19]. **ΠΩΤ** m. course IX 34,10; 56,1.
- ΠΩΩ**: **ΑΠΠΩΩΕ** indivisible X 13,21; [36,2]. **ΠΑΩΕ**: **ΝΑΤΠΩΩΕ** **ΝΣΜΗ** X 27,3; 30,19.25.
- ΠΩΖ** reach IX [39,11]. X 5,18. **ΠΩΖ ΕΖΡΑΙ** IX [7,4]; [36,2]. **ΠΗΖ†** X 6,6. **ΠΗΖ†** **ΑΖΡΗΙ** X [42,14].
- ΠΩΖΤ**: **ΠΑΖΤ** = X 9,26.
- ΠΑΖΟΥ**: **ΕΠΑΖΟΥ** back IX [30,23].
- ΠΕΧΕ**- say IX 47,3. **ΠΕΧΑ** = IX 19,12; 26,2; 46,20.21.28; 47,7.10.19.24; 48,4.8. **ΠΑΧΕ** = X 8,21; 10,12; [55,17]; 63,6.
- ΡΟ**: **ΚΑΡΩ** = be silent IX 12,1; 44,4; 68,28; [69,4]. X 8,15.21; 9,16; 30,18; 55,17; [65,24]. **ΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ†** X 4,21; 7,8.21.25; [8,24]; 9,14.23; 13,17; 15,1. **ΚΑΡΩ** q m. silence X 7,3.9.[13].20. **ΖΑΡΝ**: **ΖΑΡΩ** = IX [33,26].
- ΡΩΜΕ** m. man IX 3,7; 9,6; [11,6]; 30,18; 31,7; [32,23]; 33,4; 36,[24].27; 37,[11].16.28; 38,5; 40,19.24; 41,3.6; 45,2; 59,7; [60,6]; [61,10]; 67,7; [68,11]; [69,15]; 70,22; 71,13; 72,25. X 67,14.[15]. **ΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ** IX 31,29; 32,20; 38,8. **ΡΜΜΑΟ** IX 42,13; [65,3].
- ΡΟΜΠΕ**: **ΡΑΜΠΕ** f. year X 18,15.
- ΡΑΝ** m. name IX 5,1; 15,8; 16,13.[14]; 29,4.5; 34,6. **ΡΕΝ** X 25,8; 31,12; 33,15; 35,6; 46,21.24; 68,8.
- ΡΠΕ** m. temple IX [70,11]. **ΡΠΕΕΙ** X 34,21.
- ΡΡΟ** m. king IX 70,4. **ΜΝΤΕΡΟ** IX 30,29. **ΜΝΤΡΡΟ** X 6,18; 61,4.
- ΡΑΣΟΥ** f. dream IX 65,1.
- ΡΑΤ** see: **ΤΑΖΟ**, **ΩΖΕ**, **ΒΩΩΤ**.
- ΡΟΟΥΩ** have care IX 20,10. **ΦΙ ΡΑΥΩ** X 1,25.
- ΡΑΩ**: **ΡΜΡΑΩ** gentle IX fr. 82→1. **ΡΜΡΕΩ** X 35,21.
- ΡΩΩΕ** be sufficient X 25,15. m. sufficiency X 39,19.
- ΡΟΥΖΕ** m. evening IX [46,17].
- ΡΩΖΤ** strike IX 25,2.
- ΣΑ** side IX 72,23. X 7,1. **ΣΑΣΑ** <NIM> IX 68,3. **ΜΝΝΣΑ** IX [10,9]; 25,7. X 3,1.11; 6,17; [18,14]. **ΜΝΝΣΩΣ** IX 47,23. X 5,9. **ΝΣΑ**- IX 29,9; 45,20. X 6,18; [39,24]. **ΝΣΩ** = IX [36,5]; 41,7; 43,13; 44,26; 50,9. X 26,28; 28,2.16; 41,3. See: **ΖΟΥΝ**

ca: **caaeie** m. beauty X 32,24.

cw drink IX 5,4-5.

cabe wise IX 45,31. **mntcabe** IX 43,16; 61,3. **cbw** f. teaching IX 73,15.17. pl. **cbooye** IX 20,17; 74,2. † **cbw** IX 74,28.

cbve: **cbvht** = circumcise IX 5,6. **atcbvht** = IX 5,5.

cbok: **cbk†** be short X 29,28. **cbek†** IX 13,25.

cbvt: **cbvet** m. wall IX 70,27.

cbvte: **cbvwt** = be ready X 32,27.

cbk pull IX [68,2]. **cbk** = **ezrai** IX [32,14]. **chk†** **ezrai** IX 69,17.

ckorkp: **ckrkp-** whirl IX 44,29.

cwl: **cwl ebol** pervert IX 38,19.

cmh f. voice IX 27,16.19.26; 42,2. X 25,13; 26,27; 28,3.17.20.[27]; 29,19; 31,8.10; [37,22]. **natcmh cnte** X 26,7.21; 28,5; 29,1; 37,22. **natpewe ncmh** X 27,3; 30,19.25. **oynte** = **cmh (mmeu)** X 26,20; 30,4; 31,21; 38,18; 39,6. **mnte** = **cmh (mmeu)** X 27,1.6; [30,28]. See: **oywt**.

cmoy bless X 8,4.[8].9; 9,27. **cmamaat** IX [37,20].

cmine: **cmn-** lay IX 70,5. **cmont†** IX 34,7.

cmot m. form IX 14,2; 73,8. **cmat** X 22,21; 25,11.25; 27,16; 35,2. **za2 ncmat** X [25,6].

con m. brother IX 1,11. X 7,11. Pl. **cnhoi** IX [6,24]; 27,7. **cnhy** IX [12,3].

cnaein walk IX 46,17.

cwnt: **cnte** f. foundation IX 70,5.26.

cnay two IX 13,1; 29,4.26; 37,9; [60,13]. **cney** X [3,7]; [29,26]; 31,6; [37,4]; 38,18; 42,2; 65,23. **cnte** f. X 9,11; 26,7.21; 28,5.17; 29,2; 31,10; 37,22. **mezcnay** IX 47,18. **mazcney** X [25,28]; 26,5; 28,15. **mazcnte** X 2,17. **mpescnay** IX 43,9. p **cnay** IX 40,22. **mntcnouce** IX [74,6]. **mntcnayc** X 42,4. **mazmntcnayc** X [4,14]; 33,4.

cop m. time IX 39,25. **cap** X 35,18; 39,14.16. **cp-** X 28,12. **kesop** IX 40,5; 74,25. **oycap noywt** X 38,20. **cap cney** X 38,18.

cwt again IX 42,22. **cwt ebol** IX 46,9. **cwte** X 27,21.

cwte: m. salvation IX 55,3.4.

cwtm hear IX [27,22]; 29,7; 42,4; 50,9.

cwtp: **cottp** = choose IX 13,1. **catp†** X 1,16; 10,17 (*bis*); 27,5.

ciou m. star IX 29,18; [44,30]. X 41,25.

cooy: **cau** six X 31,7. **mazcau** X 32,21. **mazcoe** X 3,18. **mezce** IX 65,6.

cooyN know IX 29,6; 31,[13].30; 32,1.18; [35,2]; [37,5]; 41,5; 47,22; 55,4; 62,1. **caune** X 1,11; <5,19.23>; 40,22; 62,4; 68,17. **coywn-** IX 69,2. **coywn** = IX [35,25]; 36,23.25.27; 45,2; 48,3. X 2,28; 5,23; 9,24; 18,16; 67,18. **coywn** = X 4,[21]; 16,5; 37,1. **cooyN** m. knowledge IX 6,15; 57,5. **atcooyN** IX 6,20. **atcaune** X 17,3; 27,9; 31,4. **mntatcooyN** IX 7,2; 15,5; 31,11.28; 32,7; [38,29]; 70,23; 74,27. **mntatcaune** X 38,22.

cooytn: **coywtN†** be upright IX 27,17; 43,4. **cooytn** m. uprightness IX [38,23].

- σωυζ** gather IX 31,19. **σαυζ** X 32,3.
σωψ: **chwē** m. pl. blow IX 13,28.
σωψ: **chw†** be humbled IX 69,28.
σαψφ seven X 31,8.11; 33,7; 34,22; 42,3. **σαψφε** IX 70,11. **μαρσαψφ**
 X [32,24]. **μαρσαψφε** X 3,25. **μντσαψφ** X [31,10].
chwε f. sword IX [10,5].
σοοζε: **σααζε** m. aspersion X 39,24.
czai write IX 48,16; [50,4]. **cez-** IX 56,18. **chw†** IX 37,17; 45,23; 48,21.
 27; [50,6].
czime f. woman IX 45,8; 47,2.3. X 67,3. pl. **ziome** IX 10,26; 40,29.
ziame IX 2,10; 9,25; 12,13. X 67,15. **xi zime** IX 30,3. **xi zime**
 IX [58,3].
cazne: **oyez cazne** command IX 14,10. X 31,1. **oyaz cazne** X
 29,21; 30,6.
cazoy: **czoywp-** curse IX 47,5.
chwб: **chw†** become paralyzed IX 33,6.

taeio m. honor X 8,18.
† give IX [6,15]; 19,10; [28,20]; 30,17; 42,4.26; 46,11; 69,29. X 1,15; 10,7;
 26,15; 39,21; 41,2. **taa** = IX 16,3; 21,4; 27,24; 47,3; 57,14. **† esoγ**
 X [67,21]. **† etoot** = IX 45,24. **† ezn-** IX 31,15; 42,28; 48,21.
† ezrai IX 31,27. **† ziwω** = IX 32,23. **taa** = **ziwω** = IX 1,10;
 46,15. **taio** m. gift IX [5,17]. See: **ekibe**, **save**, **των**, **oyoei**,
zomnt, **καρπός**.
тва m. myriad IX 5,[21].22; 6,[19].19.
тво: **toybo** cleanse IX 43,1. **toybhy†** X 1,12. **toybo** m. purity
 X 8,8.
τωκ: **ntωk** m. furnace IX [71,29]; 72,14.
τακο: **teko** destroy IX [32,18]; [33,10]; 37,13; [49,5]. **teko** m. destruc-
 tion IX 6,22; 37,1; 40,27; 42,6. **attaκο** IX 28,11. **atteko** X 26,14.
mntatteko IX 30,19; 31,14; 40,28; 44,25.
тκac m. pain IX 42,4.
ταλο raise IX 33,22. **ταλο** = IX 33,28; 48,28. **τελο ezrai** IX 15,26.
ταλο = **ezrai** IX 6,[27].29. **τελο** = **ezrai** IX 16,7.
τεληλ rejoice X 8,1.
τωλм: **attωλм** undefiled IX 67,4.
талбо m. healing IX 33,8.
тамιο make IX 48,27. **тамие-** IX 39,3; 41,30.
тамо: **таме-** inform X [2,20]; [3,4.8]. **mataма** = X 55,18.
τωωме: **τωме** m. union X 2,26.
τωмс: **томс** = bury IX 3,6.
των where? IX 31,30; 35,27; 42,3; 46,20; 47,19. **αβαλ τον** X 6,20.
των: **† των** quarrel X 33,22.
тhνε you pl. X 1,15; 2,20; 3,5.8; 10,21; 29,7.
тnноογ: **тnney-** send IX [15,1]. **тnноογ** = IX [5,18].
тontn resemble IX 34,23. **tantn** IX 44,14. **тntn-** X 6,11. **тntων†**
 IX 56,4; 57,7. X 5,12; 32,14. **тntant†** X [28,25]. **tantn** m. likeness
 X 5,8.

ТАНЗО: ТНЗО give life IX 4,6; [34,25]; 37,25; [69,1].

ТАПРО f. mouth IX 14,6; 19,16.

ТНР = all, every IX 1,6; 2,15.18.19.20; 5,12.13; [7,2]; 9,[1].4.8; 13,[9]; 19,3; 27,10; 28,11; 29,2; 32,10; 41,8.9; 42,19; 43,14.19.[31]; 44,10.13; 46,1; 60,8; 71,25; 74,18. X 1,25; 4,29; 5,2.12.15.20.26; 6,1.6.17.23; 8,4.5.[9]; 9,21; 10,2.3.6.7; 16,3; 22,19.21; 25,16; 29,5.11; 30,20; 33,2; 38,21.[26].27; [55,21]; 56,20; 64,3; [65,3]; 67,12. **ПТНР** m. the All IX 3,4; [4,6]; 6,28; 7,5; 9,3; [14,26]; 16,9.[18]; 18,6; 19,17; 27,11; 28,30; 36,28; fr. 72 ↑ 3. X 1,24; 3,23; 8,10; 36,1. **МПИПТНР** X 4,26.

ТШРЕ: ТООТ = to IX [43,22]. **ЕШООТ** = IX 32,6; 45,24; 46,26. **АШООТ** = X [8,14]. **НШООТ** = by, from IX 11,1; 13,7; 30,6. X 1,13; 9,10. **ЗАТН-** IX 28,29. **(ЕВОЛ) ЗИТН-** IX 6,9; 13,[5].5.6; [14,5]; 33,4; 36,28; 39,30; 40,[3].24; 45,7.10.13; 69,23; 70,8; 72,26; 74,29. **(АВАЛ) ЗИТН-** X 3,7; 26,6; 28,2.19; 29,13.24.27. **(ЕВОЛ) ЗИТООТ** = IX 8,26; 14,7; [22,5]; 30,11; 34,8; 40,10; 68,4; 73,28.30. **(АВАЛ) ЗИТООТ** = X 26,25; 29,1. 11.[25]; 30,15; 32,22; 33,19. See: †, **ΟΥΩΖ, ΖΩΝ, ΖΙΟΥΕ.**

ТСАЕΙΟ: ТСАЕΙΑ = adorn X 66,4.

ТСАВО: ТСЕВЕ- teach X 29,7. **ТСАВО** = IX 47,4. **ТСЕВО** = IX 47,1. **ТСЕВА** = X [35,5]; [39,12].

ТΩТ: ТАТ = mix X 5,10. **ТΩТ** m. concord X 32,21.

†ΟΥ five X 31,7. **ΜΑΖ†ΟΥ** X 29,3; 32,20. **ΜΑΖΤΕ** f. X 2,27; [3,14].

ΤΑΟΥΟ: ΤΕΟΥΟ tell X 40,15

ΤΩΟΥΝ: ΤΩΩΝ rise IX [3,10]; 5,9.10; 14,16; [25,8]; 34,28. **ΒΙΝΤΩΟΥΝ** IX [37,4].

ΤΟΥΝΟС raise IX 32,26.

ΤΟΥΧΟ save X 44,23. **ΤΟΥΧΕ-** X 6,16. **ΤΟΥΧΟΕΙΤ†** IX 32,8.

ΤΩΩ: ΤΑΩ = determine X 29,15. **ΤΩΩ** m. commandment IX 48,3.

ΤΑΩ m. destiny X 2,14; [29,14].

ΤΑΖΟ: ΤΑΖΟ = **ΕΡΑΤ** = set up IX 41,11. **ΑΤΤΑΖΟ** = incomprehensible IX [27,20].

ΤΩΖΒ: ΘΑΒ m. leaven IX 29,13.15.

ΤΩΖС anoint IX 58,9.

ΤΑΖΤΖ: ΤΕΖΤΩΖ† be mixed X 27,15.

ΤΑΧΡΟ: ΤΑΧΡΟ = strengthen IX 40,6. **ΤΑΧΡΗΟΥ†** IX 39,10. **ΤΑΧΡΟ** m. certainty X 2,15.

ΟΥ what? IX [1,8]; 55,4 **ΕΥ** IX 42,1. X 6,28. **ΟΥΟΥ** IX 45,11; 49,10. **ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ** IX 42,8.14; 45,19. X 1,16. **ΕΤΒΕ ΕΥ** X 17,2.

ΟΥΑ one IX 31,9.10; 47,8; 60,[12].18; 68,21; 72,20. **ΟΥΕΕΙ** X 17,18; 34,18; 36,22.28; 40,14; [64,18]. **ΜΑΖΜΝΤΟΥΗ** X 33,3. **ΜΑΖΜΝΤΟΥΗΕ** X [4,13]. **ΟΥΕΕΙ ΟΥΕΕΙ** X 8,6. **ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ** IX 1,7; 38,18. **ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ** X 39,20. See: **ΚΕ.**

ΟΥΑΑ = self. IX 2,7; 6,25; 16,9; 28,8; 30,26; 31,28; 32,14.19; 33,27; 34,1; 35,[24].26; 36,25.[28]; [38,9]; [39,6]; [40,7]; 41,6.15; 43,5.23.[24]; 44,4; 45,2; 47,29. **ΟΥΑΕΕΤ** = X 16,14; 22,24; 25,27; 26,4; 29,12.16; 30,11; 32,23; 37,21; 40,7. **ΟΥΕΕΤ** = X 19,20.

ΟΥΟΕΙ: † ΠΟΥΟΥΟΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΕΙ advance IX 36,6.

ΟΥΩ finish IX [70,10].

- ΟΥΩΜ** eat IX 5,3.4; [10,2]; 45,26.28.29; 46,4.10.25.27; 47,13.17.26.
ΟΥΜΟΤ make thick IX 48,9.
ΟΥΟΕΙΝ m. light IX [10,25]; [11,9]; 15,1; 27,12.15; 30,1.14; [40,27]; 41,29; 43,29; [66,1]. **ΟΥΑΕΙΝ** X 26,12; 64,2. **ΡΜΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ** IX 6,5; 17,15.
Ρ'ΟΥΑΕΙΝ X 10,6.7.
ΟΥΟΝ: **ΟΥΝ-** be IX 31,9; 34,26; 42,8.9.12.13.14.[16]; 69,7. X 32,5; 35,21; 37,2. **ΟΥΝ-** **ΜΜΑΥ** have X 28,2. **ΟΥΝΤΑ** = **ΜΜΑΥ** IX [18,18]; 28,18. 27; 29,2.21; 36,8; 37,18; [41,25]; 43,6; 44,27; 48,18; 56,8; 59,13; 61,1.[6]; 68,11; 69,9; 70,2. **ΟΥΝΤΕ** = (**ΜΜΕΥ**) X 4,15; 6,8; 9,7.8.[14]; [10,10]; 14,23; 25,7.[21]; 26,20; 27,17; 28,16.19; 30,4.28; 31,8.9.21; 36,4; 37,17; 38,18; 39,6; **ΟΥΝΤΗ** = **ΜΜΑΥ** IX 15,8. **ΟΥΝΤΗ** = **ΜΜΕΥ** X 8,17; 10,22. See: **ΒΟΜ**.
ΟΥΩΝ open IX 43,18. **ΟΥΕΝ†** IX 46,7.
ΟΥΩΝ m. part X 10,8.
ΟΥΝΑΜ f. right (hand) IX 43,11.
ΟΥΝΟΥ: **ΤΕΝΟΥ** now IX [16,13]. **ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ** IX [14,15]; 18,12; 22,4; 46,12.23. **ΖΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ** IX [70,16]. **ΧΙΝ-** **ΤΕΝΟΥ** IX [14,26].
ΟΥΝΟΥ rejoice IX [14,19]. **ΟΥΝΑΦ** m. joy X [36,5].
ΟΥΩΝΖ: **ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ** appear IX 18,21.[23]; 31,5; 72,26. **ΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ** X 1,26; 4,4.[9]; 6,21; 7,27; 29,14. **ΟΥΑΝΖ** = **ΑΒΑΛ** X 39,3; 40,22; 44,4. **ΟΥΟΝΖ† ΕΒΟΛ** IX 13,11.[12]; 29,27; [67,6]. **ΟΥΑΝΖ† ΑΒΑΛ** X 10,28; 29,6; 36,27; 68,16. **ΖΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ** X 39,2.
ΟΥΟΠ: **ΟΥΑΑΒ†** be holy IX [4,4]; 5,15; 11,10; 16,11.15.[16].17 (*bis*). 21 (*bis*).[21].24 (*bis*).[25].[28].28 (*bis*); 17,[2] (*bis*).2.[6] (*bis*).6.[10].10. [11].13.[14] (*bis*).17.[18] (*bis*).[26].26 (*bis*); 18,[4] (*ter*); [26,12]; 27,27; 28,28; [39,26]; [44,19]; 70,20; fr. 4↑1. X [34,1]. **ΟΥΗΗΒ** m. priest IX [12,10]; 15,9; [19,14].
ΟΥΗΡ how many? IX 33,20; 41,26. X 6,28.
ΟΥΕΙΣΕ: **ΟΥΑΣΤ** = saw IX [40,21].
ΟΥΩΤ single IX 29,5. **ΟΥΣΑΠ ΝΟΥΩΤ** X 38,20. **ΝΝΟΥΣΜΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ** X 30,22.
ΟΥΩΤΕ: **ΟΥΕΤ** = be separate X 37,19.
ΟΥΟΕΙΩ: **ΟΥΑΕΙΩ** m. time X 10,18. **ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** IX 27,24. **ΝΟΥΑΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** X 36,18. **ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ** IX [70,12].
ΟΥΩΩ: **ΟΥΩΩΕ** desire X 41,1. **ΟΥΕΩ-** IX 32,20. **ΟΥΑΩ** = IX 16,10; [44,17]. **ΟΥΩΩΕ** m. will X 27,20.
ΟΥΩΩ: **ΟΥΩ** without X 39,3.4.
ΟΥΩΗ f. night IX 40,26; 44,28.
ΟΥΩΩΒ answer IX 46,21; 47,1.
ΟΥΩΩΤ worship IX 20,2.
ΟΥΩΖ: **ΟΥΩΖ ΑΤΟΟΤ** = go on X [8,14]. **ΟΥΗΖ†** dwell IX 27,13.15; 40,8; 70,3.[22]. X 3,17; 26,2.8; 28,1.16. See: **ΣΑΖΝΕ**.
ΟΥΙΖΕ: **ΜΝΤΟΥΑΖΕΙΗΤ** pitch X 30,17.
ΟΥΖΟΡ dog IX 67,15.
ΟΥΧΑ† be saved IX [49,7]. **ΟΥΧΑΕΙ** IX 30,11; 32,12; 34,6; 45,4. **ΟΥΧΕΕ†** X 5,[15].26. **ΟΥΧΑ†** m. salvation IX 33,13; 69,10. **ΟΥΧΕΕ†** m. X 4,1; 40,4; 41,4.
ΩΩ: **Ω** conceive IX 40,4; 45,16.

ϠMK swallow IX 48,25.

ϠNϠ live IX 32,3; 47,13.27. **ONϠ†** IX 12,4; 14,22; 16,6.[11].15; [28,9].

ANϠ† IX 6,26; 26,12. X 65,22. **ϠNϠ** m. life IX 5,17; 15,7; 27,8; [28,14]; 36,26; [38,27]; 43,7; 47,13.27; [49,9]; 69,18; fr. 4↑2.3.

ϠΠ: ΗΠ† belong IX 10,11; 27,8; 29,20; 30,1. X 4,18; 7,5.7.[13]; 9,5; 32,18.

ΧΙ ΗΠΕ X [39,13].

ϠΡΧ m. assurance X 3,25.

ϠΠΠ imprison IX [70,10]. **OTΠ =** IX 14,2. **OTΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ** IX 6,25. **ATΠ†** X 35,18.

ϠΨ: ΑΨΚΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ cry out IX [27,21].

(**ϠΨ**): **ΟΨ = ΕΖΟΥΝ** slither into IX 71,29.

ϠΨM: ATϠΨM unquenchable IX 39,18; [60,3].

ϠΖΕ: ϠΖΕ ΕΡΑΤ = stand IX [35,20]; 43,4. **ϠΖΕ ΑΡΕΤ =** X 9,3; 15,4.

Ϡ- be able IX 29,23; 31,15; 33,28; [67,3]. X 40,19. See: **БОМ**.

ϠΑ to IX 25,6; 31,22; 32,24; 39,24; 48,7. X 34,3; 40,24. See: **ΕΝΕΖ, ΖΟΥΝ, ΖΡΑΪ**.

ϠΕ hundred X 34,22.

ϠΟ thousand IX 5,[21].21; [6,18] (*bis*); fr. 72→2.

ϠΩ m. sand IX 30,4.

ϠΙΒΕ: ϠΒΒΙΕ change X 27,4. **ϠΒΒΕΙΑΕΙ†** X [6,29]; 25,23; 28,23;

30,12. **ϠΙΒΕ** m. change X 38,23. **ATϠΙΒΕ** X 30,23. **ΖM ΠϠΙΒΕ** X 38,23. **ΖN ΟΥϠΒΒΙΕ** X 32,2.

ϠΒΗΡ friend IX [2,7]. pl. **ϠΒΕΕΡ** IX 13,5. **MNTϠΒΗΡΕ** IX 1,9.

ϠΗΛ pray IX 8,28. **ϠΗΛ** m. prayer IX 20,4.

ϠΗM small IX 15,15.

ϠΜΑ: ϠΩΩΜΕ light IX [37,23].

ϠΜΜΟ alien IX 13,6; 30,20; 43,3; 62,6.

ϠΜΟΥΝ: ΜΑΖϠΜΟΥΝ X 32,25. **ΜΕΖϠΜΟΥΝΕ** IX 55,2. **ΜΑΖϠ- ΜΟΥΝΕ** X 4,2.

ϠΜΟΝΤ: ϠΑΜΝΤ three X 3,4.6; 10,8; [27,25]; 28,12; 31,6; 32,9; 34,26;

38,16; 39,15. **ϠΟΜΤΕ** IX 25,5; 48,7. **ϠΑΜΤΕ** X 6,19; 8,5.11.19;

9,[8].20.25; 10,10; 14,22.[24] (*bis*); 15,2. **ϠΑΜΝΤΕ** X 7,17.[27].

ϠΑΜΝΤΤΕ X 4,16; 7,23. **ΜΕΖϠΟΜΝΤ** IX [3,10]. **ΜΑΖϠΑΜΝΤ**

X 3,27; 25,13; 27,27; 28,13.18. **ΜΑΖϠΑΜΤΕ** X [2,18]; 8,18; 20,15.

ΜΑΖMNTϠΑΜΝΤ X 2,12. **ΜΑΖMNTϠΑΜΤΕ** X 4,19.

ϠΜΨΕ serve IX 48,15. **ϠΜΨΕ** m. worship IX [56,8]; [70,1]. X 8,12.

ϠΗN m. tree IX 10,2; 45,[25].27; 46,5.10.25; 47,12.17.26.

ϠΙΝΕ seek IX 29,9; 35,22; 45,20; [69,3]. X 6,18; 8,15; 9,6; 29,10. **BM**

ΠϠΙΝΕ IX [6,12].

ϠΩNE be sick IX 33,28. **ϠΩNE** m. suffering IX 14,1.

ϠΩΠ control X 26,12. **ϠΑΠ-** X [27,7].

ϠΩΠΕ become, exist IX 5,1.7; 18,13; 28,17.24.26; 32,21; [33,12]; 44,18;

47,8; 48,25; 59,8; 60,2; 67,4.5; 69,19.31; 73,21. X 5,1.29; 6,14.25;

7,25; 9,1.22; 10,16; 17,5; 22,23; 25,18.26; 26,16; 27,19; 31,5; 32,7;

38,12.24; 39,16.22; 40,6.8; 57,22; 67,1. **ϠΟΟΠ†** IX 6,12.13.14; 10,27;

13,[13]; [15,18]; 16,18.19; 20,25; 28,21; 29,22; 32,7; 37,22; 43,5.8;

50,7; 60,5; [67,9]; 68,6.[7]; 69,21; 70,22. X 2,18; 3,1.16.21.22; 4,25.28;

6,5.10.[28]; 7,3.4.5.6; 8,2.[10]; 9,6.11; 10,[13]; 13,15.17.18; 14,[15].19;

- 16,2; 17,19; 25,5.12.24; 26,19.21.24; 27,28; 28,5; 29,18; 30,4.8.10.24.27; 31,3; 32,15; 34,2.3.21; 35,20.22; 36,16.19; 37,3.5.[25].[26]; 38,1.23.28; [42,30]; fr. 3→2; 5↑1; 6→1; 14↑1. **ΨΩΠΕ** m. becoming IX 41,16.
- ΨΗΡΕ** m. son IX 1,2; [5,20]; 6,9; 11,6; 30,18; 31,6; 32,22; [36,24]; [37,10.27]; [38,5]; [40,24]; 41,2; 48,7; [57,7]; 58,4; 60,6; [61,9]; 66,7; 67,7.30; [68,11]; [69,15]; 70,5; [71,12]; [72,25]. **ΨΕΕΡΕ** f. X 61,1.
- ΨΩΡΠ**: **ΨΟΡΠ** first IX [2,1]; [11,12]; [17,8]; 20,7; 28,4; 47,15.23; fr. 5→2. **ΨΑΡΠ** X 2,11.16; 4,[5].[10].19.[29]; 7,4.7.15.[28]; 8,7; 13,18; 17,21; [25,20]; 26,2.7; 28,24; 29,15; 31,12; [68,4]. **ΨΡΠ** see: **ΜΙΣΕ**, τυποῦν.
- ΨΩΩΤ**, m. sacrifice IX [15,22]. **ΨΤΑ** m. deficiency IX 28,26.
- ΨΤΕ** m. pole IX 48,28.
- ΨΤΕΚΟ** m. prison IX 70,19.
- ΨΤΗΝ** f. garment IX 1,11; 41,10.
- ΨΤΟΡΤΡ** tremble IX [2,5]; 18,16. **ΨΤΟΡΤΡ** m. confusion IX 57,2.
- ΨΟΤΨΤ**: **ΨΟΧΤ** break open IX 31,20. **ΨΟΧΤ** m. carved thing IX 74,29.
- ΨΑΥ**: ρ **ΨΑΥ** be beneficent IX [18,1].
- ΨΟΥΟ**: **ΨΟΥΕΙΤ** be empty IX [33,26]; 34,11; 37,5; 57,6; 69,20.
- ΨΩΨ**: **ΨΗΨ†** spread out X 35,19.
- ΨΩΨ** m. sameness X 4,28.
- ΨΥΕ** be fitting IX 31,7; 35,24; 67,3. X 39,19; 41,1.
- ΨΑΧΕ** speak IX 4,7; 5,11; 19,15; 28,[11].13; 29,3; 42,3; 43,25; 56,3; 60,1. **ΨΕΧΕ** X 4,14.20; 5,27; 25,17; [41,14.23]; 63,4. **ΨΑΧΕ** m. word IX 4,8; 14,6; 19,11; 28,13; 31,25; 32,9; 40,11; 44,9; 45,7.10; 56,[17].19; 59,19; 68,29. **ΨΕΧΕ** m. X 36,21; 37,3; 41,6.24. **ΑΤΨΑΧΕ** IX [27,19]; 28,2. **ΜΝΤΖΑΖ ΝΨΑΧΕ** IX 44,8; 68,28.
- ΨΟΧΝΕ** m. counsel IX 43,15; [61,3].
- ΨΒΑΒΕ**: **ΨΒΑΑΒΕ** m. beat X 30,16.
- ΨΙ** take X 1,25; 8,25; 41,12. See: **ΕΙΑ**, **ΡΟΟΥΨ**. **ΨΙ ΑΒΑΛ** X 10,5. **ΨΙ ΑΠΙΤΝ** X 6,2 (bis). **ΨΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ** IX 44,10.
- ΨΙΤ** = **ΕΒΟΛ** IX 14,4.
- ΨΤΟΟΥ**: **ΨΤΑΥ** four IX 28,27. X 32,19; 34,27; 39,14. **ΨΤΟΕ** IX 39,14. **ΨΤΟ** IX 48,7. **ΜΑΖΨΤΑΥ** X 29,3. **ΜΑΖΨΤΟΕ** X 2,26; 4,1.
- ΖΑ-** under, for IX [6,29]; [7,1]; 8,28; 29,22; 30,24; 33,26; 34,6; [37,22]; 44,10.23; 46,22; 73,13. X 61,1; 67,20. **ΖΑΡΟ** = IX 28,29; 44,11. **ΖΑΡΙ-ΖΑΡΑ** = X 30,11; 34,2; 37,5; 38,1.15; 42,30. See: **ΕΣΗΤ**.
- ΖΑΕ** m. end IX 30,17; 34,27; 35,3. **ΖΑΗ** IX 1,19. X 5,18. pl. **ΖΑΕΕΥ** X 10,18. **ΜΠΖΑΕ** X 38,26.
- ΖΑΪ** m. husband IX 46,11. **ΞΙ ΖΑΙ** IX 30,3.
- ΖΕ** fall IX 32,5; 45,17. **ΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ** IX 69,33.
- ΖΕ** f. manner, way IX fr. 37→1. **ΝΤΕΪΖΕ** IX [40,23]; 48,21. **ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ** X [28,28]; 36,23. **ΤΕΕΙΖΕ** X 29,2. **Ν†ΖΕ** IX 34,7. **ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ** IX 50,4; 65,7. **ΤΕΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ** X 33,23. **ΝΘΕ** IX 19,6; 28,8; 30,4; [33,21]; [39,27]; [40,21]; 47,8; 68,17; [70,3].18; [71,26]. X 9,7; 46,6; 63,4.5. **ΝΤΑΖΕ** IX 14,12. **ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ** IX 6,11; [37,28]; 69,29. X 25,19; 37,26; 61,3. **ΑΨ ΤΕ ΘΕ** IX 41,22.24. **ΕΨ ΤΕ ΘΕ** X 6,24.

2Н: 2HT = see: МОЕИТ, ХИСЕ, БОУТ, ἀνέχεν. 2ZHT = see: ΜΙΩΕ.

2AΘH before IX 28,16. 2ATEZH X 6,6; 7,18; 8,10; 17,19; 40,13.

2I- with IX 43,15 (bis); [73,5]. 2IΩΩ = see: †.

2O: NNAZPN- before IX 37,22. X 26,22.

2ΩΩ = self IX 5,14; 28,8; 40,2; 56,2; 57,8; 69,14. X 8,13; 25,22. 2Ω = IX 56,6. X [10,21]; 29,9.

2ΩB m. thing IX 32,11. X 67,13. pl. 2BHYE IX [7,2]; 39,9; 41,7. 2BHOYE IX 31,12; 42,20. P 2ΩB IX 14,21; 27,1; 29,4; 68,6.

2BOYP: 6BOYP f. left IX 43,13.

2ΩBC: 2BCΩ f. garment X [5,7].

2KO: 2HKE poor IX 42,14.

2AΛ: P 2M2AΛ serve IX 29,25.

2ΩΛ: 2ΩΛ EZPAI fly up IX 74,21.

2ΛΛO: P 2AΛΩ be old IX 45,14.

2ΛO6: 2AΛE6† delight IX 30,6.

2OMNT: 2OMET m. bronze IX 48,28; 49,4.6. † 2OMET IX 68,5.

2N-, N2HT = in IX *passim*. X *passim*. EBOΛ 2N-, N2HT = IX 1,3; 3,3.[11]; 5,9.10.[13]; 6,16; 9,[2].4.7; 10,2; 11,9; 15,2.5; 16,10; 20,12; 25,8.[9]; 30,19; 33,11; 41,[17].25; 43,2; 45,25.26; 46,5.10.25.27; 47,11.12.17; 57,1; [60,5]; 65,31; 66,9.28; 67,[7].9.[12]; 68,10; 70,7; 73,19. ABAΛ 2N- X 6, <3>; [7,12]; 19,15; 25,14; 32,8; 33,12; 37,27; 41,5; 42,21; 63,17; [66,1]; 67,23. 2PAI NH2T = IX 32,7.27; 33,2; 37,21; 41,13. EZPAI 2N- IX [44,25]; 70,18. N2PAI 2N-, N2HT = IX 6,24; 28,21.22; 34,4; 43,4.8; 44,4; 69,28. X 34,19.24. N2PHI 2N-, N2HT = X 8,3; 34,20.

2OYN: EZOYN (E-) into IX 6,25; 25,10; 27,23; 38,26; 44,17; 55,5; 69,7; [70,11]; 71,27.29. AZOYN (A-) 8,27; 15,13; 19,16.17; 31,19; 35,22; 41,29; 42,1.2.4. MPZOYN IX 43,22. MPCANZOYN IX 29,1; [68,17]. X 39,9. WAZOYN IX 32,4; 44,5.

2ΩN: 2HN† AZOYN approach X 35,22.

2ΩN: 2ΩN ETOOT = command IX 46,26.

2OEINE some IX 34,26; 42,8.9.10.11.12.13.15.[16]; 69,7.33. 2AEINE X 25,5; 37,3. 2N2AEINE X 28,6; 31,[12].22; 38,3.

2ΩΠ hidden IX [10,28]. 2HN† IX 2,26; 14,13; 43,21. X 20,14; 30,15; 39,1.

2AΠC: 2AΨ be necessary X 10,13; 17,16.

2PAI: EZPAI (E-) towards IX 6,[27].29; [7,4]; 15,26; 16,7; 27,22; 29,24; 31,27; 32,14; 36,4; 38,25; 44,10; 69,17.27; 70,13; [74,22]. EZPAEI E- IX 36,6. AZPHI (A-) X 10,1; 40,3; [42,14]; 63,3. N2PHI X 34,24. CAZPE X 10,4.19.22.26; 18,23. MPCAZPE X 2,27; 7,26; 9,13; 42,29; [44,22]. MPCANZPE IX 61,7. EZPAI WA IX 43,12. AZPHI WAPA = X 8,23. WAZPAI E- IX 38,6. WAZPHI A- X 31,7. See: 2N-, XΩ =.

2PΩ f. oven IX 71,28.

2POK: 6PKO subdue IX 41,12.

2PTE f. fear IX 18,14.15; 69,28. X 68,6.

2POOY: 2PAY m. voice X 46,20; 63,21.

2POΩ: 2APΩZHT patient IX 44,13.

2APEZ guard IX 61,13. APHZ X 41,6.

2PΩXE pl. boundaries IX 72,16.

- ΖΙΣΕ**: **ΖΑCΙ†** be afflicted X 1,13.
ΖΑΤ m. silver IX 65,2.
ΖΗΤ m. heart IX 29,9; 31,23; [37,25]; 38,21; 46,8; 48,9; 69,6. X 1,12.22.
ΑΤΖΗΤ IX 31,23. **ΜΝΤΑΤΖΗΤ** IX 36,2.6. **ΜΝΤΖΗΤ** **CΝΑΥ** IX 37,9.
ΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ IX 43,15; [61,4]. **ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΒΑΛΖΗΤ** X 5,7. **ΖΑΡΩ-**
ΖΗΤ IX 44,13.
ΖΑΤΕ: **ΖΕ†Ε** flow IX 43,31. **ΖΕ†Ε** **ΕΒΟΛ** IX [9,2].
ΖΙΤΕ wear IX 45,14.
ΖΩΤΠ join IX 28,10. **ΖΩΤΠ** m. bond X 34,1.
ΖΩΤ(Ε)Ρ: **ΖΑΤΡ-** join X 37,20; [39,7]. **ΖΑΤΡ** = X 38,3.
ΖΟΤΖΤ: **ΖΑΤΤΖΤ** inquire X 7,1.
ΖΟΟΥ m. day IX 3,10; [28,16]; 28,24; 34,27; 35,3; [40,26]; 45,29; 46,4; 67,29;
 70,21. X 10,24; 18,4.
ΖΟΟΥ be evil IX 7,3; [67,13]; 69,32. **ΠΕΘΟΥ** IX 44,12; 47,9. **ΠΕΘΑΥ**
 X 1,14.19.
ΖΙΟΥΕ: **ΖΙ ΤΟΟΤ** = give command IX [43,22].
ΖΟΥΟ: **ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ** exceedingly IX 71,29. **ΝΖΟΥΟ** IX [40,5]. **ΟΥΖΟΥΟ**
 X 32,29.
ΖΟΥΕΙΤ: **ΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ** f. beginning X 6,20; 32,7.15.
ΖΟΥΥΤ m. male IX 2,10; [10,26]; 40,8.29; 44,3; 59,6. **ΖΑΥΤ** X 4,4; 8,29;
 9,2.3; 28,13.18; 31,18.
ΖΟΥ m. serpent IX 45,31; 47,4.5; 48,17.[23].25.26.27; 49,[4].6.
ΖΑΖ many IX [4,7]; 18,20; 29,9; 32,25; 56,[17].18; 57,9. X 6,15; 18,15.18.
 See: **CΜΟΤ**, **ΨΑΧΕ**.
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- ΧΕ-** conj. IX *passim*. X *passim*.
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NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

VOLUME XXVIII

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

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NAG HAMMADI CODICES

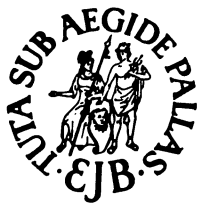
XI, XII, XIII

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E.J. BRILL

LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KØBENHAVN · KÖLN

1990

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Nag Hammadi codices, XI, XII, XIII / contributors, Elaine H. Pagels
... [et al.]; volume editor, Charles W. Hedrick.

p. cm. — (Nag Hammadi studies, ISSN 0169-9350; 28) (The
Coptic gnostic library)

Includes indexes.

ISBN (invalid) 09004078258

1. Gnosticism. 2. Nag Hammadi codices. I. Pagels, Elaine H.,
1943- II. Hedrick, Charles W. III. Series. IV. Series: The
Coptic gnostic library.

BT1391.A3 1988

299'.932—dc19

88-10481
CIP

ISSN 0169-9350
ISBN 90 04 07825 8

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY MENNEN ASTEN BV

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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. W. B. Barnst, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Stephen Emmel, Joseph A. Gibbons, Søren Giversen, Charles W. Hedrick, Wesley W. Isenberg, T. O. Lambdin, Bentley Layton, Violet MacDermot, George W. MacRaet, Dieter Mueller†, William R. Murdock, Douglas M. Parrott, Birger A. Pearson, Malcolm L. Peel, James M. Robinson, William C. Robinson, Jr., William R. Schoedel, J. C. Shelton, John H. Sieber, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, R. McL. Wilson, Orval S. Wintermute, 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 *NTS* 16 (1969/70), 185–90 and *NouT* 12 (1970), 83–85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970). In view of the fact that two of the four

tractates in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 are duplicates of Nag Hammadi tractates, it was early decided to include P. Berol. 8502 in the Coptic Gnostic Library. 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, Nag Hammadi Studies 22 and 23, 1985; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1 and IV,1: The Apocryphon of John, Long Recension*, edited by Frederik Wisse, Nag Hammadi Studies 32; *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7, together with XIII,2*, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1) and P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655*, Volume 1: *Gospel of Thomas, Gospel of Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, Indexes*; Volume 2: *On the Origin of the World, Exegesis on the Soul, Book of Thomas, Indexes*, edited by Bentley Layton, Nag Hammadi Studies 20 and 21, 1989; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,1 and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John, Short Recension*, edited by Peter Nagel, Nag Hammadi Studies 33; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, Nag Hammadi Studies 4, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3-4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and the Sophia of Jesus Christ*, edited and translated by Douglas M. Parrott, Nag Hammadi Studies 27; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel, Nag Hammadi Studies 26, 1984; *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 Studies 30; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John Sieber, Nag Hammadi Studies 31; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, Nag Hammadi Studies 15, 1981; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick, Nag Hammadi Studies 28; *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, edited by J. W. B.

Barns†, G. M. Browne and J. C. Shelton, Nag Hammadi Studies 16, 1981; *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*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, Nag Hammadi Studies 13, 1978. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is seventeen volumes. An English translation of the texts of all thirteen Nag Hammadi codices and P. Berol. 8502 has also been preprinted 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 III,145/146 (p. 238) appeared in 1981. It was not possible to include there subsequent improvements in translations. However, in 1988 a newly revised third edition has appeared in which all subsequent improvements are incorporated.

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 in the reassembly of fragments, the reconstruction of page sequence, and the collation of the transcriptions by the originals not only served the immediate needs of the facsimile edition, but also provided a basis for a critical edition. Without such generous support and such mutual cooperation of all parties concerned this edition could not have been prepared. Therefore we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all who have been involved.

John D. Turner performed the initial editorial work on this volume until other responsibilities in the project led to a transfer of this responsibility to Charles W. Hedrick. Especially the Introduction to *Allogenes* has been revised in the light of Turner's

editing activity, and the initial transcription and translation of that tractate, prepared by Orval Wintermute, has been reworked considerably by Turner to bring it to its final publishable form.

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, 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 Zeiden, 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 directors of Brill during the years in which this volume was in preparation, F. C. Wieder, Jr., Director Emeritus, the late T. A. Edridge, and Drs. M.G. Elisabeth Venekamp, Vice President.

James M. Robinson

PREFACE

This volume is the result of a team effort to which seven scholars have contributed. No attempt has been made by the editor to compromise their individual styles or scholarly positions. Clarity, accuracy and formal standardization have constituted the chief editorial tasks. Hence the reader will be aware of the individual stylistic idiosyncrasies of each author.

These Codices, XI, XII, and XIII, along with Codex VIII, constitute the most fragmentary collection of all the Nag Hammadi corpus. The reader should, therefore, be aware of extensive restorations of lacunae. In the case of Codex XII the editor of the text had Greek and Coptic versions to use as guides, a fact which thereby increases the reliability of the restorations. In the case of Codex XI the restorations are based on extensive work with ancient parallels. The rationale for the restorations appears in the critical notes. In all instances restorations appear in the translation enclosed in square brackets ([]) and written in italics as a caution to the reader.

Such a publication that incorporates the work of several scholars has a lengthy prehistory and only gradually emerges in stages over a period of years. Each stage represents an improvement to which a rather vast network of support personnel have contributed. It is not possible to mention everyone who has contributed in numerous indirect, yet essential, ways to the publication of this volume, if indeed one could at this final stage recall them all. Nevertheless, their efforts were essential and are appreciated.

Others have contributed in more direct and substantial ways and are due special recognition for their scholarship and material services. Many refinements in transcription and translation stem from Klaus Baer's reading of preliminary drafts of Codices XI and XIII. Stephen Emmel has been responsible for transcriptional improvements by his ultraviolet collations of the papyrus manuscripts. To Rodolphe Kasser is extended appreciation for his insightful transcriptional suggestions to XI,₁ and 2. Unfortunately, it was not possible to publish here his very thorough comparative analysis of the Subachmimic dialect of Codices X and XI,₁ and 2 which has appeared as follows: "Orthographe et phonologie de la

variété subdialectale lycopolitaine des textes gnostiques coptes de Nag Hammadi," *Le Muséon* 97(1984) 261-312. Many other transcriptional improvements in Codices XI and XIII are due to the textual critique by Karen King and other colleagues who comprise the *Berliner Arbeitskreise*. A special note of appreciation goes to Hans-Martin Schenke whose collegiality has greatly facilitated cooperation with the Berlin-based team. Thanks also go to the Claremont Oberseminar on gnosticism for their helpful suggestions on transcriptional and translational problems in Codices XI and XIII, communicated by Marvin W. Meyer. John Turner has contributed substantially to the volume in his initial editing of all materials. In particular the introduction to *Allogenes* and *A Valentinian Exposition* have profited from his scholarship. Final responsibility in all matters of substance and form, however, rests with the individual authors and, of course, myself.

Laura MacLeod began the final typing of the volume on Word Processor, but to Pat Walker goes the credit for producing the final version on Word Processor diskettes from which Mr. John W. Province of Southwest Missouri State University has produced a magnetic computer tape of introductions, translations and notes for the Ibycus computer system. The transcriptions of the Coptic text have been entered into the Ibycus computer by Deborah Ellens at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. David Embree has proof-read the Coptic and Greek indices. To JoAnne Brown and her staff goes appreciation for facilitating the correspondance without which this long-distance scholarly process would have been seriously handicapped. Barbara Massello was always able to secure needed library resources through interlibrary loan. Thanks are also due to Mounir Basta, Director of the Coptic Museum, and Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, First Curator for Manuscripts, for always making available the resources of the museum, frequently at their personal inconvenience.

I was greatly aided by a Summer Stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1979. The Faculty Research Committee at Southwest Missouri State University awarded me two grants in 1983 and 1984 that have primarily supported the final typing of the volume and the verification of the indices.

Appreciation is due to James M. Robinson whose vision, confidence and insistent encouragement played more than a significant

role in bringing these team-produced volumes into publication. Finally to Peggy, who was more than patient; and our children Charles, Jr., Cindi and Kay, who became adults during my tenure as editor, I dedicate my contribution to this volume. Their personal sacrifices during the editorial process were undoubtedly greater than is my personal satisfaction today.

Charles W. Hedrick

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TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE
COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

The following table lists, for the thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and 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	The <i>Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>	<i>Pr. Paul</i>
I,2	The <i>Apocryphon of James</i>	<i>Ap. Jas.</i>
I,3	The <i>Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
I,4	The <i>Treatise on the Resurrection</i>	<i>Treat. Res.</i>
I,5	The <i>Tripartite Tractate</i>	<i>Tri. Trac.</i>
II,1	The <i>Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
II,2	The <i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>
II,3	The <i>Gospel of Philip</i>	<i>Gos. Phil.</i>
II,4	The <i>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	The <i>Exegesis on the Soul</i>	<i>Exeg. Soul</i>
II,7	The <i>Book of Thomas the Contender</i>	<i>Thom. Cont.</i>
III,1	The <i>Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
III,2	The <i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
III,3	<i>Eugnostos</i>	<i>Eugnostos</i>
III,4	The <i>Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>
III,5	The <i>Dialogue of the Savior</i>	<i>Dial. Sav.</i>
IV,1	The <i>Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
IV,2	The <i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
V,1	<i>Eugnostos</i>	<i>Eugnostos</i>
V,2	The <i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>	<i>Apoc. Paul</i>
V,3	The <i>(First) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>1 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,4	The <i>(Second) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>2 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,5	The <i>Apocalypse of Adam</i>	<i>Apoc. Adam</i>
VI,1	The <i>Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>	<i>Acts Pet. 12 Apost.</i>
VI,2	The <i>Thunder: Perfect Mind</i>	<i>Thund.</i>
VI,3	<i>Authoritative Teaching</i>	<i>Auth. Teach.</i>
VI,4	The <i>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.</i>
BG,4	<i>The Act of Peter</i>	<i>Act Pet.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

I. Abbreviations of Biblical Books and Related Texts

a. Old Testament

Gen	Genesis	Jer	Jeremiah
Isa	Isaiah	Prov	Proverbs

b. New Testament

Col	Colossians	Lk	Luke
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	Mk	Mark
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Mt	Matthew
Eph	Ephesians	1 Pet	1 Peter
Heb	Hebrews	Phil	Philippians
Jn	John	Rev	Revelation
1 Jn	1 John	Rom	Romans

c. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1 Enoch	Ethiopic Enoch	Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
Sir	Sirach		

II. Short Titles

Albinus, Ἐπιτομή	Albinus, Ἐπιτομή τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων (cf. Louis, <i>Epitomē</i>).
Anon. Parm. Comm.	Anonymous, Parmenides Commentary (cf. Hadot, <i>Porphyre et Victorinus</i>)
<i>Apoc. Paul</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>
Apul. <i>Metam.</i>	Apuleius, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Arai, "Christologie des Apocryphons des Johannes"	Arai, S. "Zur Christologie des Apocryphons des Johannes," <i>NTS</i> 15 (1969) 302-18.
Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>
<i>Phys.</i>	<i>Physica</i>
Armstrong, <i>Cambridge History</i>	Armstrong, A. H., ed. <i>The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy</i> . Cambridge: University Press, 1967.
Armstrong, <i>Plotinus</i>	Armstrong, A. H. <i>Plotinus: Porphyry on the Life of Plotinus and the Order of his Books; Enneads I-III</i> . LCL. London: Heinemann, 1966-67.
Aug. <i>De civ.</i>	Augustine, <i>De civitate dei</i>

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- Clem. Alex. *Strom.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*
- Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung" Colpe, C. "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi III," *JAC* 17 (1974) 109-25.
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- Corp. Herm.* *Corpus Hermeticum* (cf. Nock–Festugière)
- Corp. Herm. Exc. Stob.* *Corpus Hermeticum Excerpta Stobaeum*
- Cousin Cousin, V. *Procli philosophi Platonici, opera inedita, pars tertia: Procli commentarium in Platonis Parmenidem*. Paris: Durand, 1864. Reprint. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961.
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- Dam. *Dub. et sol.* Damascius, *Dubitaciones et solutiones*
- Diehl Diehl, E., ed. *Procli Diadochi: In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*. 3 volumes. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–6.
- Diod. Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae Historicae*
- Diog. Laert., *Vit. phil.* Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*
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- Epiph. *Pan.* Epiphanius, *Panarion*
- Erbse Erbse, H. *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*. Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft 4. Hamburg: Hansischer Gilden, 1941.
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- Hipp. *Ref.* Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*
- Hom. *Il.* Homer, *Iliad*
- Iamb. *Myst.* Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*
- Iren. *Haer.* Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adversus haereses* (ed. W. Harvey; divisions of Massuet)
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Sibylline Oracles
- Orig. Comm. in Joh.*
Origin, Commentarii in Johannis Evangelium
- Orph. Arg.*
Orpheu Argonautica
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- PG
J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
- Philo
Philo
De confusione linguarum
De somniis
- des Places, *Numénius*
des Places, É. *Numénius: Fragments*. Collection des universités de France. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1973.
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- Plato
Plato
Parmenides

- Phaed.* *Phaedrus*
Phaedo *Phaedo*
Resp. *Respublica*
Soph. *Sophist*
Symp. *Symposium*
Tim. *Timaeus*
- Plot. *Enn.* Plotinus, *Enneads*
 Plut. *De Is. et Os.* Plutarch, *De Isis et Osiris*
 Poirier, "La version copte des *Sentences de Sextus*" *Sentences de Sextus*, in B. Barc, ed. *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi (Québec, 22-25 août 1978)*. BCNH, "études" 1. Québec/Louvain: Les Presses de l'université Laval/éditions Peeters, 1981, 383-89.
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 Porph. *Sent.* Porphyry, *Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes* (cf. Lamberz)
Vit. Plot. *Vita Plotini*
 Procl. Proclus
In Parm. *In Platonis Parmenidem commentarii*
In Tim. *In Platonis Timaeum commentarii*
Theol. *The Elements of Theology* (cf. Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*)
Theol. Plat. *In Platonis theologiam*
 Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* Pseudo-Clement, *Homiliae*
 Psellus, *In phys.* Psellus, *In Aristotelis physicorum libros posteriores commentaria* (cf. des Places, *Oracles*)
 Ptol. *Tetr.* Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*
 Puech, "Apocalypse d'Allogène" Puech, H.-Ch. "Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène," *Mélanges Franz Cumont*. Brussels: Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientale, 1936.
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- Synesios, *Hymn* See Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis*
- Tert. Tertullian
Carn. Chr. *De Carne Christi*
Praescr. *De praescriptione haereticorum, de anima, adversus Valentinianos, adversus Marcionem, adversus Hermogenem*
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- Vir. *Aen.* *Virgil, Aeneid*
- Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* *Marius Victorinus, Adversus Arium* (cf. Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*)
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III. Other Abbreviations

- A Achmimic
- A² Subachmimic
- A₀ Early Subachmimic MSS with an Achmimic tendency (Kasser, *Compléments*)
- abs. absolute
- adj. adjective
- apod. apodosis
- ARCE American Research Center in Egypt
- art. article
- B Boharic
- BASP *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
- BCNH *Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi*

BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Iovaniensium
BG	Papyrus Berolinensis Gnosticus
C	Coptic Sentences of Sextus
cf.	compare
circ.	circumstantial
cm.	centimeter
col(s).	column(s)
cond.	conditional
conj.	conjunctive
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> (for example)
esp.	especially
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>
f.	following
F	Fayumic
fem. (in index f.)	feminine
frg.	fragment(s)
fut.	future
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
id.	<i>idem</i>
imperat.	imperative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
juss.	jussive
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
lit.	literally
<i>LTP</i>	<i>Laval Théologique et Philosophique</i>
LXX	Septuagint
M	Middle-Egyptian (Kasser, <i>Compléments</i>)
masc. (in index m.)	masculine
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
M ^f	Middle-Egyptian with Fayumic tendency
MS(S)	manuscripts(s)
neg.	negative
NF	neue Folge
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NT	New Testament
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
O	Old Coptic
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>

OT	Old Testament
p.c.	<i>participium conjunctivum</i>
p(p).	page(s)
par.	parallel(s)
pl.	plate(s)
plu.	plural
P _o	Kasser's dialect P; early MSS with an Achmimic tendency (Kasser, <i>Compléments</i>)
pret.	preterite
prop(s).	proposition(s)
R	Sentences of Sextus, Latin critical edition by Rufinus of Aquileia (Gildemeister–Elter)
refl.	reflexive
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
rel.	relative
S	Sahidic
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
sg.	singular
S _o	Early Sahidic MSS with an Achmimic tendency (Kasser, <i>Compléments</i>)
subst.	substantive
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i>
S _{vul}	vulger Sahidic (Kasser, <i>Compléments</i>)
TextS	Texts and Studies
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
trans.	translator(s)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UNHAI	Uitgaven van det Nederlands Historisch–Archaeologisch Institut te Istanbul
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
vol(s).	volume(s)
x	Syriac selection of 131 sentences of the <i>Sentences of Sextus</i> in manuscript from mid-Sixth Century C.E.
X	Syriac translation of the <i>Sentences of Sextus</i> in manuscript from mid-Sixth Century C.E.
Y	Greek <i>Sentences of Sextus</i> , Codex Vaticanus Graecus 742 (14th Century C.E.)
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

SIGLA

Sublinear dots beneath letters in the transcription indicate that the letters so marked are not visually certain. Dots appearing on the line outside of brackets indicate illegible Coptic letters. Each dot represents one letter. Dots appearing on the line inside of brackets in the transcription represent the number of Coptic letters it is calculated are missing in the lacuna. Each dot represents one letter.

- [] In the transcription square brackets indicate a lacuna in the MS where it is believed that writing once existed. When the text cannot be reconstructed, the number of estimated letters in the lacuna up to five is indicated by dots; six or more missing letters are indicated with an Arabic number followed by a plus/minus sign (\pm) to indicate conjecture, since even the same letters vary in size. When an unrestored lacuna occurs at the end of a line, the right margin is not closed with a bracket, since the length of right margins can vary considerably in length. In the translation words are not normally divided by brackets. The word is placed either entirely in or out of brackets depending on the translator's judgment as to its certainty or uncertainty. There are two exceptions to this convention; proper names and compound words are divided by brackets.
- < > Pointed brackets indicate an editorial correction by the modern editor of an ancient scribal omission or error. In the latter case a note records the actual reading of the MS.
- [[]] Double square brackets indicate a scribal deletion.
- { } Braces indicate letters or words erroneously added by the scribe, such as a dittography.
- ` ' High diagonal strokes enclose letters that are written above the normal line of Coptic text.
- () Parentheses in the translation indicate material supplied by the translator for the sake of clarity. Greek loan words in the Coptic text are also placed in parentheses in the translation, except when they are transliterated.

- * An asterisk appearing with the tractate numbers and Coptic page numbers of the highly fragmentary Codices XII and XIII indicates that the numeration is a partially arbitrary convention rather than a probable restoration of the original tractate sequence and pagination. In Codex XI the reliable restoration of the original pagination missing in lacuna is indicated by square brackets.

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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XI

Bibliography: Kasser, "La variété subdialectale lycopolitaine"; Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund," 111-13; Krause-Labib, "Gnostische und hermetische Schriften," 10-12; *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pp. ix-xiii; pl. 1-82; Robinson, "Codicology."

I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Codex XI was part of one of the groups of codices acquired by the antiquities dealer Phocion J. Tano during 1946-48. It was put in safekeeping at the Department of Antiquities in 1949, transferred to the Coptic Museum on 9 June 1952, declared national property by court action in 1956, and given the inventory number 10547 in 1959. It had been numbered IV by Jean Doresse and Togo Mina in 1949, VI by Henri-Charles Puech in 1950, VIII by Doresse in 1958 and XI by Martin Krause in 1962 and James M. Robinson in 1968 (Robinson, "Introduction," and *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pp. VI-VII). In May and June 1961 it was conserved in 80 plexiglass containers by Victor Girgis in consultation with Pahor Labib and Martin Krause. It was photographed in part by R. Herzog for Krause at that time and again by photographers of the Center of Documentation for UNESCO in 1965. Under the supervision of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO, fragments were placed and photographs made at its four work sessions during 1970-72 and at the work sessions funded by the Smithsonian Institution through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt in 1974-75.

Codex XI is one of the most poorly preserved among the Nag Hammadi Codices. Except for three leaves (59/60, 61/62, 63/64), which are reconstructed from two to four fragments apiece, no relatively complete leaves survive. In most cases, only the lower fourth to three-fourths survive intact, which means that the page numeration to be expected at the top of the pages is lacking, except for one fragment from a first hand having page numbers 19-20 at the center of the top margin. The pages written in a second hand

bear no evidence of numeration in this position. The numeration by the second hand, not now extant, is assumed to have been at the outside top corner, since the same scribe wrote Codex VII and put the numeration in this position in that codex. Several leaves are represented only by fragments whose exact position is sometimes difficult to identify with certainty. The maximum surviving dimensions of the leaves are 28.2 cm. in height, and 14.5 cm. in width (pp. 61/62).

Codex XI consists of two scribal hands; a first scribe, who wrote in Subachmimic (1-44), also penned the second hand of Codex I (4:43,25-50,18 *Treat. Res.*); a second scribe, who wrote in Sahidic (45-72), also penned Codex VII (Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund," 111). This division of Codex XI into two scribal hands allowed an initial sorting of pages and fragments into the two parts of the codex. As early as 1949, transparent tape had been applied to hold together the two conjugate leaves of a given sheet. Because the tape remained until 1974, even though the sheets had been cut in two at the spine, the following leaves from the first half of the codex could be correlated with their conjugate leaves in the second half to reconstruct most of the sheets in the codex (listed here in terms of the side with horizontal fibers): 8 + 63, 10 + 61, 12 + 59, 14 + 57, 20 + 53, 22 + 51, 24 + 49, 26 + 47, and 32 + 41. The proper correlation of the intervening sheets can then be established with relative probability on the basis of horizontal fibers across the two conjugate leaves of the sheet and the congruence of the leaves' contour with that of the preceding and succeeding leaves: 18 + 55, 28 + 45, 30 + 43, 34 + 39, and 36 + 37. Pages 56 and 57 were separated by a stub, now lost. This makes it possible to identify the codex as consisting of a single quire with its center at 36-37.

When in 1961 the individual leaves were conserved at the Coptic Museum between plexiglass panes in the sequence in which they were found, these containers were numbered seriatim. Thus a relative sequence was preserved. The plexiglass numeration can be correlated to the original pagination as follows: plexiglass containers 1-18, 21-64 contained pages 7-68. The plexiglass container numbered 19-20 was used for fragments of hand one, perhaps in recognition that the page numbers 19-20 survived on a fragment. The front flyleaf A-B and pages 1-6, 69-72 were too fragmentary

to have been kept in order or put in distinct plexiglass containers. Hence they had to be reassembled in order to complete the reconstruction of the codex.

The following summary of the codex reconstruction includes only physical considerations, which can be recognized by consultation with the *Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII*; "inner" or "inside" refers to proximity to the spine of the codex. Support for the reconstruction is provided by the transcription and translation; even when fragments are too distant for continuity of text to be established, the content of the fragment fits well the context in the tractate.

Two fragments of the front flyleaf are initially identifiable from the absence of writing on the recto; the color and the texture of the vertical fibers also match. The larger fragment (actually consisting of two fragments that join) is, on its verso, covered with ink blots which migrated from a large fragment with a bottom margin, which thus is identified as leaf 1/2; this identification also indicates the position of the larger fragment of the flyleaf. A smaller fragment of the flyleaf has on its verso a few letters of the title of the first tractate, "The Interpretation of Knowledge" (cf. a similar phenomenon in Codex III); its position higher on the leaf is determined by the congruence of its inner edges with the upper fragment of leaf 1/2.

The location of the fragments comprising leaves 3/4, 5/6 and 7/8 can be determined by working backwards from leaf 9/10, the lower half of which is fairly well preserved, thus serving to position the fragments of the preceding leaves when superimposed on it.

The inner margin of 9/10 and of the large fragment of 7/8 (actually two fragments that join) are congruent. With regard to the small fragment of 7/8, its edges as well as those of the corresponding fragment on 9/10 are generally congruent with the corresponding edges on 13/14; its color, texture and vertical fibers match those of the lower part of 7/8.

The three fragments of 5/6 are placed by approximate congruence with 9/10 and the continuity of color, texture and fibers among themselves. The bottom corners of the lower inside fragments on 5/6 and 7/8 are congruent, as are portions along their inner edges. The lower inside fragment of 5/6 actually consists of two fragments that join.

The large outside fragment of 3/4 (including a small thin fragment that joins its lower inner side) can be placed in precise congruence with that of 5/6. The upper inside fragment of 3/4 (published in the *addenda et corrigenda* in *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*) is placed by the approximate congruency of its upper contour with that of the upper outside contour of the upper fragment of 5/6 and by the congruency of a portion of its outer center edge with the inner edge of the upper enclosed hole in the upper fragment of 1/2.

The outer edge of the upper inside portion of the upper fragment of 1/2 (consisting of two fragments that join) is approximately congruent with the outer edge of the upper outside portion of the upper fragment of 5/6. The lower fragment of 1/2 and of the front flyleaf are congruent with the upper inner fragment of 3/4 at all but its outer edge, thus completing the reconstruction of the leaves between the front flyleaf and the first relatively complete leaf 9/10.

The sequence of the leaves 3/4, 5/6, and 7/8 is confirmed by the continuity of color, texture, and horizontal fibers with the respective conjugate leaves in the second half of the codex: 68/67, 66/65, and 64/63. The restoration of 69/70 and 71/72 is based in part upon the congruence of their fragments with 67/68 and with each other, in part upon continuity of color, texture, and horizontal fibers with 1/2 and the front flyleaf A/B respectively.

Once the leaves comprising the codex have been thus determined and the sequence of leaves that join into sheets reconstructed, continuity of horizontal fibers from one sheet to the next make it possible even to reconstruct to some extent the rolls from which the sheets were cut. Apparently the stationer cut from left to right two rolls whose horizontal fibers faced up, stacking each sheet successively on the others as he progressed, then he rotated the stack of sheets 180°, since the *kolleseis* present the unusual situation of the right *kollema* overlapping the left *kollema*. The end of the first roll was not long enough to produce a complete sheet. But such a piece could still be used if it extended through the center, where the quire was to be folded, far enough to provide the inner margin of the conjugate leaf. Such a stub, extant in the cases of Codices VII and VIII, may be conjectured to have lain between 55/56 and 57/58. For they joined to 17/18 and 13/14 respectively, thus leaving for 15/16 no surviving conjugate. Since a stain on 56 matches

one on 57, a full leaf could not have intervened. Furthermore the loss of an uninscribed stub is more probable than the loss of an inscribed leaf. After being cut and hypothetically rotated by 180°, the first roll can be reconstructed from left to right as follows, with leaves designated in terms of the codex pagination on the horizontal side; a hyphen (-) connects the two conjugate leaves of a sheet and a slash (/) connects two adjoining sheets, replaced by a question mark (?) when fiber continuity is not ascertainable: 71-front fly-leaf B?69-2?67-4/65-6?63-8/61-10/59-12/57-14/stub (protruding between 56 and 57, now lost)-16.

The second roll, after being cut and hypothetically rotated back 180°, can be reconstructed from left to right as follows: 55-18/53-20/51-22?49-24/47-26/45-28/43-30/41-32?39-34/37-36.

The leaves from 9/10 to 67/68 are sufficiently intact, at least toward the bottom, that their relative sequence had been conserved and thus their original pagination could be determined. However, numerous fragments have been added to them, in connection with the preparation of this edition and under the auspices of the Technical Subcommittee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices.

There remain thirty-one unidentified inscribed fragments of hand one: from pl. 79-80 of the *Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII* numbers 1, 8-10, 14-16/21, 19, 23, 25-26, 28-29 and 31-35; to these have been added thirteen inscribed fragments as numbers 36-48 (see *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 127-28). There are seven unidentified inscribed fragments of hand two, numbered 1-4, 7-9, reproduced on pl. 81-82 of the *Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII*. Fragment 5 is uninscribed. The larger of these fragments are transcribed at the conclusion of Codex XI below: fragments 1, 8-10, 15-16/21, 19, 23, 25-26, 28, 31 of hand one and 1, 2, and 4 of hand two. Fragments 1 and 4 of hand two may belong to 69/70 or 71/72; fragment 2 of hand two may belong to 55/56.

II. THE SCRIBAL HANDS

One scribe (hand one), writing in Subachmimic, copied the first two tractates on XI,1-44; he also penned *Treat. Res. I,4:43,25-50,18*. Another scribe (hand two) copied the last two tractates on

XI,45-72; he also was the scribe of Codex VII (Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund," 111). Codices I, VII, and XI must have been produced roughly contemporaneously and perhaps in geographical proximity to one another. From inscribed cartonnage in the cover of Codex VII a *terminus a quo* of around 350 C.E. and a location in the region of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt have been established (cf. the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*). For a description of the leather cover of Codex XI see the Preface to the *Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII*, p. ix and pl. 1-4.

A. Hand One

The script of hand one is a formal mixed hand of a sloping kind (see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 26 and pl. 49). It averages 19 to 25 letters per line, though the fluctuation becomes less pronounced toward the end of tractate two; at the end of a line ε, α, c, and λ are often elongated, but no real effort is made by the scribe to produce a regular right margin. The scribe averages about 38 lines per page. This count has been established by comparison with the only complete pages that survive (59-64), which are from the second hand. The figure is calculated by comparing the average line density of the two scribes in a proportionate ratio for each page, since some are more dense than others, and some pages have one or two more lines than others. Thus, the line numeration of the transcription for the fragmentary pages is at best a careful estimate of the line count of the original pages.

The left margins are quite straight and even, with a slight tendency to slant towards the left as one goes down the page; the right margins are uneven, with some lines extending as many as five letters beyond the end of other lines.

Punctuation is rare, and when it occurs, it is only the raised dot, which sometimes marks a sense unit, and sometimes indicates the end of a closed syllable. One may also find a diaeresis at 5,16. To mark the end of a tractate, hand one completes the last line with a dipole obelismene (⤵); in the left margin a coronis (⤴) occurs with a series of chevrons above and below in the margin (see the bottom of pp. 21 and 39). In the liturgical supplements to tractate two, both of these paragraphing devices are used (see the bottom of pp. 41 and 44, and perhaps at 43,20), though a simple linear para-

graphus may at times have sufficed (this may have been the case after 40,29), or even no decoration (cf. the bottom of 43). These brief units following the second tractate (i.e., 40-44) have not been numbered as separate tractates in previous scholarship, and hence are not so classified in this edition; they are called supplements, in view of some affinity in point of view with tractate two, but a precise assessment of their degree of autonomy or dependence awaits further study. The only title that occurs in Codex XI (21,35) has horizontal lines above and below it.

The most striking feature of hand one is the use of the form † for Ψ. The supralinear stroke is, for the most part, used fairly consistently. When it occurs over a single letter it is rather well-centered, not running off to the right of the letter; one should note the unusual and inconsistent stroking of the third masculine singular pronoun $\bar{\eta}$. Strokes bridging two letters to form a closed syllable are carefully formed and extend from the left edge of the left letter to the right edge of the second, e.g., \overline{MN} , \overline{ZN} , $\overline{\alpha\varphi}$ (construct of $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$), $\overline{\tau\eta\rho\varphi}$, etc. Strokes bridging three letters appear to be hastily formed, but in the main extend from the center of the first letter to the center of the third, (though one finds $\overline{\omega\rho\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$, etc.). Unlike hand two, the first hand employs no serifs on letters for purposes of syllable demarcation.

The scribe usually makes corrections by a combination of dots above and below the letter to be emended (cf. 19,24); occasionally he employs only supralinear dots (cf. 12,28); rarely does he simply cross out a mistaken letter (cf. 4,28) or make an erasure (cf. 33,34). In each case, corrections appear to be those of the scribe himself. Infrequently one also observes the scribe inserting omitted letters by writing them directly above the line at the point they were intended to occupy. For further examples of corrections see the footnotes to the text.

Three times the scribe left one-third to one-half of a given line blank (6,30; 14,27; 19,15). Since the papyrus at these points seems to be in good condition, and no sense-unit is demarcated thereby, these blanks remain unexplained.

B. *Hand Two*

The script of hand two is a formal round majuscule, more rounded than the biblical majuscule. It averages 18 to 20 letters per

line, with rarely a variation of more than three letters. The lines are usually denser at the top of the page than at the bottom; the line count for each page is calculated on the basis of pp. 59-64. There are usually 37 to 39 lines per page. The left margin is straight and vertical, and the right margin is far more regular than that of hand one; at the end of the line ϵ and λ are sometimes elongated.

Punctuation is consistently the raised dot, to delineate sense units (at the clause level). The supralinear stroke is a curved arch over one letter; over two letters it extends from the center of the first to the center of the second; over three letters, it is a straight line extending from the center of the first to the center of the third. A supralinear stroke occurs over $\bar{\tau}$, mostly in compounds of the preposition $\bar{\tau}$ - and in the Greek $\bar{\tau}\text{INA}$. The stroke occurs in $\tau\text{OY}\bar{\text{O}}$ when at the end of the line (57,13; 67,23). A serif at the right end of the horizontal bar of τ (τ) indicates a closed syllable ending in τ ; its major occurrence is in the morphemes $\epsilon\tau$, $\lambda\tau$ and $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\tau$.

The only correction that is clearly apparent is made by means of a stroke through and a dot beneath the first letter, and a dot over the next incorrect letter (54,14).

The scribe utilizes the following decoration: A coronis (—) is at 49,38-39. On 69,14-21 each of the concluding lines of *Allogenes* and the titles of both tractates are surrounded with a reversed dipole obelismene ($\text{—}\langle$) to the left and to the right more than one dipole followed by a dipole obelismene ($\text{>>\text{—}}$); the titles are surrounded above and below by short obeli with serifs at their ends.

In NHC XI,4 (*Hypsiphron*) the diaeresis rather than the τ marks the *spiritus asper* in $\Psi\text{Psi}\text{Phi}\text{PronH}$.

III. LANGUAGE

The language of Codex XI consists of three separate dialectal types. XI,1 and 2, produced by the same scribal hand, are written in a subdialect of Subachmimic which seems to be typical of the region around Lycopolis. XI,3, produced by the second scribal hand in the codex, is written in a Sahidic dialect which betrays many features of a syntax typical of Bohairic. XI,4, written also by hand two, exhibits a standard Sahidic dialect, but is too brief and frag-

mentary to enable any survey of its linguistic features. In the following description, one may consult the Coptic index for the location of words whose references are not cited.

A. *The Language of XI,1 and 2*

The following analysis will confine itself to major features and peculiarities only. Comparison indicates that the linguistic features of XI,1 and 2 are so similar that one may assume that they were translated from the Greek by the same translator, and can therefore be treated both together as a single linguistic product.

1. Dialect

The dialect of these two treatises is a highly neutralized Upper Egyptian dialect for which the name "Lycopolitan" has been proposed; it is very close to the dialect of the Subachmimic *Gospel of John* edited by H. Thompson, the Heidelberg *Acts of Paul* edited by C. Schmidt, and the first three tractates of the Jung Codex (NHC I,1-3). Assuming that the orthography of XI,1 and 2 is a reliable guide to the phonology of their dialect, the following inventory of the lexical stock of these treatises, with the Sahidic equivalent indicated in parentheses, will illustrate the distinctiveness of this dialect.

Word-initial (ε)Ι for ε: εΙΩΠΕ- (εΩϫΕ-); word-final atonic syllable, ΚΕΚΕΙ (ΚΑΚΕ), ΛΑΒΙ (ΛΙΒΕ), ΝΑΒ(Ε)Ι (ΝΟΒΕ), ΠΠΕΕΙ (ΠΠΕ), ΧΑΣΙ (ΧΟСЕ).

Word-final ΟΥ for ω after spirants: ̄ΒСОУ, ̄ϢСОУ (̄ΒСΩ), ̄ΧΟΥ (̄ΧΩ).

Word-final ΕΥ for αΥ: ̄ΜМЕУ (̄ММАУ), МЕЕУ (МААУ, "mother"), СНЕУ (СНАУ).

Word-final atonic syllable: ΚΩΕ (ΚΩ) and after 'aleph, 'ayin and semi-consonants: ΛΑΥΕ (ΛΑΑУ), МАΑВЕ (МААВ), САΥΝЕ (СОУН̄), ОΥΑΕΙΕ (ΟΥΟΙ), ОΥΑΕΙΝЕ (ΟΥΟΕΙΝ), ΧΕΚΑΣЕ (ΧΕКААС).

Doubling of vowels: СΩΩΝТ (СΩНТ), СААНТ (СОНТ), ̄ΩΩН̄ (̄ΩН̄), ̄ϢЕЕИ (̄ϢАИ), ̄ΧААНТ (̄ΧОНТ).

Assimilation of vowels: ВЕВЕ (ВЕЕВЕ), ЕТВНТ (ЕТВННТ), МЕУЕ (МЕЕУЕ), СЕПЕ (СЕЕПЕ).

Word-final ΕΙ(Ε) after a vowel: ΟΕΙ (Ο, "be"), ΜΑΕΙΕ (ΜΕ,

“love”), **σαειε** (σα, “beauty”), **ζαειε** (ζε, “fall”), **γραφαγειε** (γραφοογε, γραφαί).

αγ for **οογ**: in open syllable: **εαγ** (εοογ), **καγε** (κοογε), **τ̄νναγ** (τ̄νοογ), **ζαγ** (ζοογ, “evil”); in closed syllable: **μαγτ** (μοογτ).

Other typical Subachmimic-like forms include: **αβαλ** (εβολ), **εμαρτε** (αμαρτε), **αρα-** (ερο-), **αηηζε** (ενηε), **μηε** (με, “truth”), **μημε** (ειμε), **μαρзе** (μοοψε), **νεγ** (ναγ, “see”), **πογ-** (πεγ-, possessive adjective), **τεει-** (ταα-, “give”), **τεκο** (τακο), **τερο** (ταρο), and **ογριτε** (ογρητε).

2. Orthography

The orthography of XI,1 and 2 is very consistent. Irregularities include: (a) itacism, mainly in **ειωτ/ιωτ** and in the juncture of the relative particle **ετ** with infinitives beginning with **ει**, e.g., **νετρε** in 9,32 and **ετνε** in 19,30; (b) occasional departure from the internal juncture of **ε + ογ** to form **εγ** (**εγντεογ-** in 21,27; **νεογντεεβ** in 22,35; cf. **τεγο** in 19,30) and of **α + ογ** to form **αγ** (**μαογ**, “water” in 4,31); and (c) inconsistent internal juncture of **τ + ζ** to form **θ** and of **π + ζ** to form **φ**.

3. Phonology

The Greek postpositives **γάρ**, **δέ**, and **μέν** are mostly nasalized, **μημεν** always, while **μηραρ** and **μηδε** predominate over **ραρ** and **δε**. The *spiritus asper* on Graeco-Coptic words is mostly rendered by **ζ** (cf. **ζικων** alongside **εθνος** 21,30), although once by **ψ** in **χιεριχω** (i.e., **τψιεριχω** for **ή Ίεριχώ**; cf. also **χ** for Greek *chi* in **χειρογραφον** apparently for **χειρόγραφον** in 14,21 [although it may represent **τψιερογραφον** erroneously for **ιέρόγραφον**]). Bilabials appear to have had a slight fricative quality either before another consonant or in word-final position, as in **ωρϑ** (for **ωρβ**, 23,25); **ζωϑ** (for **ζωβ**, 1,33; 11,33; 18,18; and 35,16); **ψϑειε** (for **ψβειε**, s.v. **ψιβε**, 18,16; 39,38.39); **ζϑσογ** (for **ζβσογ**, 11,38); **δωϑϑ** (for **δωϑβ**, 16,20); and even in **ζωτϑ** (for **ζωτπ**, 17,30; 18,37). *Mutatis mutandis* **ϑ** also becomes **β**, as in **<ϑ>νογβε** (for **<ϑ>νογϑε**, 25,39); **ογααϑ** (for **ογααβ**, 25,36; 40,23.24); **βιτ-** (for **ϑιτ-**, 10,34); and finally **ογντεεβ** (for **ογντεϑ(ϑ)ϑ**, 14,24; 22,35). **η** is apparently doubled in **διν̄ηει** (for **διν̄ει**, “descent,” 26,25). **μ** is assimilated to **λ** in **δλαλλμ** (for **δλαμλμ**,

9,16; 42,41), and \bar{m} to \bar{n} in $\overline{\omega\bar{n}\tau\psi\epsilon\epsilon}$ (for $\overline{\omega\bar{m}\tau\psi\epsilon\epsilon}$, 23,27; 30,36). In general, the assimilation of \bar{n} to \bar{m} before π is very inconsistent. Finally, χ becomes δ in $\overline{\zeta\delta\zeta\alpha\delta\tau}$ (an unattested qualitative for $\overline{\zeta\chi\zeta\alpha\chi\tau}$, 2,25).

4. Morphology

Among unusual forms one finds the feminine singular *nomen agentis* prefix $\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ - (usually $\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ -; 26,32.33.[34]; 27,30.31.32.32.[36].37) and the unusual plural form of $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (28,32 for $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$) and of $\psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (5,[26] for $\psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$). A transitive form of $\lambda\omicron$, "cease," is apparently attested in the form $\lambda\omicron\tau$ - ("to stop," 34,12.17.22).

The system of conjugation bases in XI,1 and 2 is as follows: First Present: ς -, $\bar{\varsigma}$ - (pret. $\bar{n}\epsilon\varsigma$ -, $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ -; circ. $\epsilon\varsigma$ -, $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ -; rel. $\epsilon\tau\varsigma$ -). First Future: $\varsigma\bar{n}\alpha$ -, $\varsigma\alpha$ - (pret. $\bar{n}\epsilon\varsigma\alpha$ -; *irrealis* $\epsilon\bar{n}\epsilon\varsigma\alpha$ -; rel. $\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha$ -). First Perfect: affirmative $\alpha\varsigma$ -, $\alpha\bar{\varsigma}$ -, $\alpha\zeta\bar{\varsigma}$, α -, $\alpha\zeta\alpha$ -, $\zeta\alpha$ - (perhaps $\zeta\alpha$ - is the affirmative counterpart to the "not yet" conjugation base; circ. $\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ -; rel. $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{\varsigma}$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{\varsigma}$ -, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta$ -); negative $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{\varsigma}$ -, $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\varsigma$ -. Habitude: affirmative $\omega\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ -, $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ - (circ. and rel. $\epsilon\omega\alpha\gamma$ -, $\epsilon\omega\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ -, $\epsilon\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -); negative $\bar{m}\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -. Third Future: affirmative (none; the Second Future is used in final clauses); negative $\bar{n}\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma$ -. "Not Yet": (circ. $\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\alpha\tau\bar{\varsigma}$). Second Present: $\epsilon\varsigma$ -, $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ -. Second Future: $\epsilon\varsigma\bar{n}\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\varsigma\alpha$ -, $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon\dots\bar{n}\alpha$ -. Second Perfect: $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha$ -. Second Habitude: apparently none. Temporalis: $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ -, $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -. Conditionalis: $\epsilon\varsigma\omega\alpha\bar{n}$ -, $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon\omega\alpha(\bar{n})$ -. "Until": $\omega\alpha\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ -. Causative Infinitive: affirmative $\tau\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ -, $\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ -; negative (none). Imperative: affirmative $\epsilon\rho\bar{\iota}$ - (of $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$); causative $\bar{m}\alpha\rho\bar{n}$ -; negative $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\omega\rho$ α -, $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\omega\rho$ -, $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\rho$ -, $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ -.

5. Lexicography

The following items are unattested in Crum's *A Coptic Dictionary*: An apparent feminine collective $\alpha\bar{b}\bar{n}$, "nets," 6,29, of $\alpha\bar{b}\omega$, "net." An apparent transitive use of $\lambda\omicron$, "cease," in the pronominal form $\lambda\omicron\tau$ -, 34,12.17.22, perhaps meaning "to stop." The feminine *nomen agentis* prefix $\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ - (26,32.33.[34]; 27,30.31.32.32.[36].37) occurs alongside the usual $\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ -. A possible instance of a noun ω , "garden," depending on the state of the text (see note to 36,33-34). The feminine abstract $\omega\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\varsigma}$, 6,28, perhaps meaning "portion,"

from $\omega\iota$, "measure." The forms $\overline{\omega\varphi\epsilon\iota\epsilon}$, "change," 39,38, and $\overline{\alpha\tau\omega\varphi\epsilon\iota\epsilon}$, "unchanging," 39,39, of $\overline{\omega\beta\epsilon\iota\omicron}$ ($\omega\beta\epsilon$). The form $\overline{\zeta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma}$, 14,15, alongside $\overline{\zeta\epsilon}$, "way, manner." The form $\overline{\alpha\zeta\bar{\nu}}$ - in † $\overline{\alpha\zeta\bar{\nu}}$ -, "to oppose," 14,31, perhaps from $\alpha + \overline{\zeta\eta}$, "to the forepart of," as in † $\overline{\alpha\zeta\tau\eta}$ - (NHC I,4:98,25; 119,20), and † $\overline{\alpha\zeta\eta\tau}$ - (NHC I,4:93,7; XIII Γ^* :41*,7; cf. also *s.v.* $\overline{\alpha\zeta\tau\bar{\nu}}$ -, "against"). Finally, there is the qualitative $\overline{\zeta\delta\zeta\alpha\delta\tau}$, 2,25, "be distressed" of $\overline{\zeta\omicron\alpha\zeta\bar{\alpha}}$.

6. Syntax

In the absence of a systematic analysis, there are still some syntactic features that deserve notice. Infinitives are used as substantives with (cf. 36,16) and without (cf. 36,34) the article. The Conjunctive is used to continue Imperatives, Futures, complementary infinitives, the "Until" conjugation, and after the phrase $\overline{\pi\omega\kappa\epsilon\bar{\nu}\pi\epsilon}$, "it is not your affair that you should..." (cf. 10,18). Final clauses consist of three general types: usually $\overline{\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\epsilon}$ with the Second Future; $\overline{\zeta\omega\varsigma}$ with the Causative Infinitive (cf. 30,32.36) and $\overline{\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon}$ with the Conjunctive (cf. 38,36-37). Construction involving $\overline{\varsigma\omega\epsilon}$, "it is fitting that...", $\overline{\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}\pi\epsilon}$, "it is necessary that...", and $\overline{(\omega)\delta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}}$, $\overline{\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}}$ introduce their complements in the form of complementary infinitives, either simple or causative. Real conditions are introduced either with a Conditionalis in the protasis (the apodosis may contain a First Present, First or Second Future, or the Habitude), or by $\overline{\epsilon\iota\omega\pi\epsilon}$ with the First Present in the protasis and any basic tense in the apodosis. $\overline{\epsilon\iota\omega\pi\epsilon}$ is also used in the rhetorical question: $\overline{\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\ \langle\bar{\epsilon}\rangle\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}}$, "would we not recognize..." (i.e., "surely we would recognize...", 26,35).

B. *The Language of XI,3.*

1. Dialectal Affinities.

Just as *Allogenes* bears a striking similarity to *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5) and to *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) in metaphysical nomenclature and in the depiction of ontological structures, so also the language of these tractates is strikingly similar. While the orthography, phonology and most of the morphology of these three documents is standard Sahidic with some slight traces of Subachmimic

features, their syntax has strong affinities with Bohairic. This suggests that these tractates were translated from Greek near the northern border of the Sahidic dialectal domain. Some form of *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos* probably in Greek dress, was known to Plotinus' circle in Rome in the period 244–265 C.E. (Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 16). The present version of *Allogenes* was written by the same hand as that of Codex VII; dated documents in the cartonnage of that codex yield a *terminus a quo* of circa 350 C.E., which agrees with the date of the uncial hand in which these tractates were written. These observations suggest that these tractates may witness either to (a) an early form of Bohairic whose orthography is much like that of Sahidic, or (b) a Sahidic translation of a Bohairic text, or (c) perhaps a Coptic dialect underlying the later standard expression of these two dialects.

The following brief profile of the language of *Allogenes* will concentrate mostly on its inconsistencies and distinctiveness compared with standard Sahidic.

2. Orthography

The most inconsistent feature of *Allogenes* is itacism, the frequent interchange of $\epsilon\iota$ and ι in such forms as $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ and in constructions involving the first-person singular pronouns. In Graeco-Coptic words such as $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ and $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, the spelling with ι is preferred to $\epsilon\iota$. All Graeco-Coptic infinitives in $-\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ are rendered with final ι except one instance (51,29) of $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ and all instances of $\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota$. Internal juncture of $\tau + \zeta$ to form θ occurs in $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ and $\bar{\mu}\theta\epsilon$; similar juncture of $\pi + \zeta$ to form ϕ is not witnessed. The *spiritus asper* of Graeco-Coptic words (including $\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\mu$ for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$) is represented by ζ , although there is some variation in the name $\alpha\rho\mu\eta\delta\omega\mu$ (54,12; cf. $\zeta\alpha\rho\mu\eta\delta\omega\mu$, 58,17). Abbreviation occurs twice: $\Gamma\ \zeta\omicron\omicron\Upsilon\ \dagger$ (45,37) for $\overline{\Upsilon\mu\mu\eta\tau\text{-}}\ \zeta\omicron\omicron\Upsilon\ \dagger$, used elsewhere, and $\overline{\mu\eta\eta\tau\chi\varsigma}$ (58,11) for $\overline{\mu\eta\eta\tau\chi\rho\eta\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma}$, "auspiciousness."

3. Phonology

Irregularities are probably due to dialectal influence except for the following: $\omega\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (53,12) for $\overline{\omega\mu\varsigma}$ ("submerge"); the frequent doubling of the genitive preposition $\bar{\mu}$ - and of the negative preformative $\bar{\mu}$ -... $\alpha\eta$ before the singular indefinite article; the erratic

variation of $\bar{n}n\epsilon-$ and $n\epsilon-$ for the negative Third Future conjugation base; and the variation of $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}-$ ("not be": 53,21; 58,32; 62,10; 63,13-39; 64,27) with $\bar{m}\bar{n}-$ (47,35; 59,16; 65,35). n is consistently assimilated to m before π . Irregularities caused by (mostly Subachmimic) dialectal influences include: variation between $\delta\omicron m$ (S) and $\delta\alpha m$ (AA²). The singular instances of $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\tau-$ ("alone, self," 67,36 for A² $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\tau-$), elsewhere $\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha-$, and of AA² $m\alpha\zeta-$ (ordinal prefix, 48,38), elsewhere $m\epsilon\zeta-$. The AF qualitative ϵ of $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ is almost always used, except for two instances of S, O, 45,38; 47,10. The consistent use of $n\epsilon\alpha-$ ("be great") for $n\alpha\alpha-$ is also a Subachmimic. Finally, the consistent use of $\epsilon\omega n$ for $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega n$ does not seem to be due to dialectal influence.

4. Morphology

Most striking is the system of demonstratives. There is a distinct preference for πn , $t n$, $n n$ (as in Bohairic), especially in relative substantives, (e.g., $\pi n \epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$), but $\pi\epsilon\tau-$ occurs only in $\pi\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$, 49,27-35; 54,32), while $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $t\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $n\alpha\acute{\iota}$ is much less frequent. The semantic distinction, if any, between these forms is not so much the deictic one of distance ("that") versus proximity ("this") as it is an "affective" distinction (e.g., $\pi n \epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ "that (awesome) one who is"; cf. Polotsky's review of Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, *OLZ* 52(1957) cols. 229-30). The same distinction seems to play a role in the preference for the $\pi i-$, $\dagger-$, $n i-$ form of the definite article (usually prefixed to the names of hypostases) to the forms $\pi\epsilon-$, $t\epsilon-$, $n\epsilon-$. The possessive adjective is as in standard Sahidic, except for the Bohairicizing possessive construction $t\epsilon t\epsilon t\omega c \bar{n}\zeta\gamma\pi\alpha\rho\xi\iota c$, 46,12, and in the frequent use of the genitive in possessive constructions with $\pi i-$, $\dagger-$, $n i-$ + noun + $\epsilon\tau\bar{n}t\alpha-$. The possessive prefix occurs only once, 60,26, and is elsewhere rendered by $\pi n \bar{n}t\epsilon-$. A final form of interest is the BF qualitative $\bar{\theta}v\bar{v}i\bar{n}\bar{o}\gamma\bar{t}$, 57,23.

Allogenes employs the following system of conjugation bases: First Present: $q-$ (pret. $n\epsilon q-$, $n\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$; circ. $\epsilon q-$; rel. $\epsilon t\epsilon$, $\epsilon\tau-$, $\epsilon\bar{t}q-$). First Future: $qna-$ (pret. $n\epsilon qna-$; rel. $\epsilon tna-$). First Perfect: affirmative $\alpha q-$, $\alpha-$ (circ. $\epsilon\alpha q-$; rel. $\epsilon t\alpha q-$); negative $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon q-$ (circ. $\epsilon m\pi\epsilon q-$). Habitude: affirmative $\psi\alpha q-$ (circ. and rel. $\epsilon\psi\alpha q-$); negative $m\epsilon q-$, $m\alpha q-$, $m\epsilon\rho\epsilon-$ (circ. $\epsilon m\epsilon q-$; rel. $\epsilon t\epsilon m\epsilon q-$ [$m\alpha q-$]). Third Future: affirmative $\epsilon q\epsilon-$ (rel. $\epsilon t\epsilon q\epsilon-$,

48,18); negative $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\sigma-$, $\eta\epsilon\sigma-$. Second Present: $\epsilon\sigma-$ (rel. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma-$). Second Future: $\epsilon\kappa\alpha-$ (A^2 , 67,38). Second Perfect: no instances. Second Habitue: $\epsilon\omega\alpha\sigma-$ (negated in 62,13 as $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\omega\alpha\sigma\dots\alpha\eta$). "Not Yet": (circ. $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}\sigma-$). Conjunctive: $\bar{\eta}\sigma-$. Future Conjunctive: no instances. Temporalis: $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\sigma-$, $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma-$, $\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma-$, $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma-$ (for $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\langle\sigma\epsilon\rangle\sigma-$?; see textual note on 45,22-24). "Until": no instances. Conditionalis: $\epsilon\sigma\omega\alpha\eta-$ (mostly with $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$). Causative Infinitive: no instances. Imperative forms: negative $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}$, and special forms $\alpha\rho-$ (from $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$), $\epsilon\mu\sigma\gamma$ (68,23 for $\alpha\mu\sigma\gamma$, "come"), $\epsilon\eta\alpha\gamma$ (59,10, unattested from $\eta\alpha\gamma$, "see"), and $\mu\sigma\omega\epsilon \eta\alpha\kappa$ (67,24, attested in Crum 544b as $\mu\alpha-\omega\epsilon \eta\alpha-$, perhaps here harmonized with $\mu\sigma\omega\epsilon$).

5. Lexicography

Allogenes witnesses to an unattested infinitive $\omega\omega\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\chi}$, $\omega\alpha\chi\chi-$, $\omega\alpha\bar{\chi}\chi-$, $\alpha\tau\omega\alpha\chi\chi-$ (62,7.26.27; 63,25.26.27; 67,32), whose meaning, "to diminish," can be established from context. Because of the use of the "affective" article $\pi-$ in $\pi\iota\sigma\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$ ("crowd," 50,[2].32), the form listed *s.v.* $\alpha\tau\omicron$ in Crum 19a should be listed *s.v.* $\sigma\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$, since this text shows that the initial $\sigma\gamma-$ is not the indefinite article or the suffix pronoun of a possessive adjective. *Allogenes* also offers some peculiar locutions: the neologism $\tau\eta\omicron\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, 49,30.34, as an abstract substantive "mentality" instead of the expected $\eta\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$; the locutions $\eta\eta\pi\tau\eta\bar{\rho}\sigma$, "the universals," 59,3; 62,20, also found in *Zostrianos* and in the Bruce Codex; and $\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \sigma\gamma\alpha$, *passim*, "the individuals."

6. Syntax

There are numerous features reminiscent of Bohairic syntax, especially in the combinations of demonstratives with relatives: the possessive forms $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\omega\varsigma \bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\gamma\pi\alpha\rho\bar{\zeta}\iota\varsigma$, 46,12, and $\pi\eta \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma \lambda\gamma\omega \pi\eta \alpha\eta \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma$, "his attribute(s) and non-attribute(s)," 63,20-21, and the relative substantive locutions $\pi\eta \epsilon\tau-$ and $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota} \epsilon\tau-$. The preference for the "affective" form of the article ($\pi-$, $\bar{\tau}-$, $\eta-$) necessitates frequent use of the genitive preposition plus relative ($\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha-$) to indicate possession (e.g., $\bar{\tau}\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\rho\gamma\iota\alpha \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa$, 54,13, instead of $\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$). Most intriguing are the Coptic translations of technical terms from Greek metaphysics, e.g., $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\omicron\pi$ and $\pi\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\alpha\bar{\iota} \pi\epsilon$ for $\tau\omicron \delta\bar{\nu}$; $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\omicron\pi \omicron\eta\tau\omega\varsigma$,

ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΟΝΤΩΣ and ΝΙΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ for τὸ ὄντως ὄν and τὰ ὄντως ὄντα. Perhaps πωωπε translates τὸ εἶναι, while such terms as οὐσία and ὑπαρξις were simply taken over from the Greek exemplar. Greek nouns with the genitive \bar{n} - are often used for the corresponding Greek adjectives: \bar{n} ΝΟΥΣ for \bar{n} ΝΟΕΡΟΝ, \bar{m} ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ for \bar{m} ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΣ, etc.; yet one finds also ΦΥΣΙΣ \bar{m} ΜΕΡΙΚΟΝ (*sic.* 51,24-25). ΟΥ \bar{n} ΒΟΜ, (\bar{m}) \bar{m} Ν \bar{b} ΟΜ, and \bar{b} Ν \bar{b} ΟΜ take complements with the prepositions ϵ - or \bar{n} - plus the infinitive, and once with the bare infinitive (\bar{b} Μ \bar{b} ΟΜ ΠΙΡΑΞΕ, 59,8). The protasis of conditional clauses is usually ϵ ωωπε ϵ ωωαν-, while an affirmative or negative Habitude or even a Second Present introduces the apodosis.

This inventory of striking grammatical features peculiar to *Allogenes* could be greatly extended. They deserve full treatment in a separate monograph, primarily because their elucidation is crucial to the understanding of this document with its later Platonic metaphysical terminology.

IV. TITLES AND SUBDIVISIONS

Since the titles of the tractates are discussed in their respective introductions, it is sufficient here only to point out that there are subscript titles for the first (*Interpretation of Knowledge*) and third (*Allogenes*) tractates, a superscript title for the fourth (*Hypsiphron*), and apparently no title for the second (*A Valentinian Exposition*).

As the subscript title of *Allogenes* and the superscript title of *Hypsiphron* follow one another (69,20 and 21), Doriesse took the superscript title to *Hypsiphron* as part of the subscript title to *Allogenes*. Since all that is visible is ΨΙΦ[, which could be read ΨΙΦ[ΤΟC], Doriesse named *Allogenes* "The Supreme Allogenes (ἀλλογενῆς ὑψιστος)" see *Secret Books*, 144, 157-58. The appearance of the name "Allogenes" in the *explicit* (69,19) just before the title makes it clear that the first line of the title (69,20, "The Allogenes") is the subscript title to the preceding tractate. But "supreme" (ὑψιστος) does not occur in the extant parts of the preceding tractate, nor in Porphyry's list of gnostic apocalypses (*Vit. Plot.* 16). Porphyry included in his list, just after *Allogenes*,

one named Messos. Doresse, noting a reference to Messos (XI, 68,28), assumed both works to be in Codex XI, and hence placed the fragment with the conclusion of *Allogenes* and the commencement of the last tractate somewhere prior to 67/68, rather than in its correct position on the leaf immediately following 67/68, thus bringing the reference to Messos into the last tractate, which he identified as the Apocalypse of Messos. The result is that *Hypsiphron* was completely overlooked. However, the fact that "Hypsiphron" is the title of the fourth tractate is confirmed by the reappearance of that name in 69,22–72,37 (69,23; 70,22; 72,21), and its absence in the extant parts of 45,1–69,19, as well as by the fact that *Hypsiphron*, written in standard Sahidic, shows no traces of the very distinctive dialect of *Allogenes*.

The situation is more complex in the case of the second tractate *A Valentinian Exposition*, since there are no extant titles, but only a series of decorations, usually found between tractates, on pp. 39–44 (see section II above). Although the leaves were still in correct sequence, Doresse apparently took the subscript title to XI,1 (21,35) to come after p. 44 at the conclusion of hand one. Once one has recognized its position to be on p. 21, a second tractate by hand one, unrecognized by Doresse, becomes evident. The tractate itself (22,1–39,39) narrates a Valentinian cosmogony, the fall and redemption of Sophia, and the restoration of the psychic seed by separating (as Demiurge) their passions derived from Sophia. The tractate ends with the eschatological vision of the reunification within the Pleroma. It is followed by five untitled supplements, each no more than two pages in length, and separated from one another usually by the diplo obelismene (⋈) that elsewhere separates tractates. The tractate *A Valentinian Exposition* and these five supplements may be meaningfully related. One may understand the long exposition of XI,2 as catechism preceding XI,2a–e, which are short liturgical expositions of the Valentinian redemptive sacraments of anointing, baptism and eucharist.

The first tractate (*Interpretation of Knowledge*) not only has an obvious subscript title (21,35); it probably had also a "superscript" title, not written above the *incipit* on p. 1, but rather on the upper part of the verso of the front flyleaf B (as in Codex III), approximately where lines 10 and 11 would have appeared had the verso of the front flyleaf been a fully inscribed page. Since the letters are

very faint, and only five of them are visible, their reconstruction is uncertain. The transcription is as follows:

[Θ]ΕΡ[ΜΗΝΙΑ]
 ΝΤΓ[ΝΩΣΙΣ]

We thus arrive at the following table of contents for Codex XI, the titles of the second tractate and supplements being supplied by the translator:

<i>1</i>	1,1-21,35	The Interpretation of Knowledge
<i>2</i>	22,1-39,39	A Valentinian Exposition
<i>2a</i>	40,1-29	On the Anointing
<i>2b</i>	40,30-41,38	On Baptism A
<i>2c</i>	42,1-43,19	On Baptism B
<i>2d</i>	43,20-38	On the Eucharist A
<i>2e</i>	44,1-44,37	On the Eucharist B
<i>3</i>	45,1-69,20	Allogenes
<i>4</i>	69,21-72,37	Hypsiphronē

INTRODUCTION

NHC XI,1: THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE,

1,1–22,34

Bibliography: Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*; Koschorke, *Die Polemik*, 69–71; id., “Eine neugefundene gnostische Gemeindordnung”; Pagels, “Views of Christ’s Passion”; id., *The Gnostic Paul*.

I. LANGUAGE

For a discussion of the dialect of XI, 1, the reader is referred above to the introduction to Codex XI and Kasser, “La variété subdialectale lycopolitaine.”

II. TITLE AND IDENTIFICATION

Of the two tractates copied by the first scribal hand of Codex XI, only this first tractate bears a title, “The Interpretation (ἑρμηνεία) of Knowledge (γνώσις)”; the full title appears at the end of the tractate (21,35) but is only partially preserved on the back of the front flyleaf. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the first page, one cannot tell whether or not the partially preserved title reflected the *incipit*. The phrase does not recur anywhere else in the extant text. One may surmise that the title denotes the intention of the tractate, namely, to interpret what the Savior’s teachings and his passion mean for the life of the church (as the body of Christ), specifically, for the relationship between its members.

References to a document by this title do not appear in patristic and other ancient literature, nor do there appear to be other documents of identical content. Therefore it must be interpreted on its own merits, with the aid of the numerous parallels it sustains with other literature, in particular, the *Gospel of Truth* and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*.

III. FORM, STYLE AND STRUCTURE

Codex XI,1 offers an exegesis of major elements of Christian tradition interpreted according to knowledge (γνώσις). One section

(9,27-37), apparently describing the Savior as "teacher" (cf. 9,22), paraphrases "his teaching" (cf. 9,27) in words that suggest reference especially to Matthew: cf. 9,29 with Mt 6:9 (cf. also Mt 19:17); 9,30 with Mt 5:14; 9,31-33 with Mt 12:48-50; 9,33-34 with Mt 16:26.

Another section (10,34-35) may suggest an exegesis of Gen 2:21-25. Patristic exegesis, perhaps influenced by 2 Cor 11:2-3 and Eph 5:25-32, sometimes interpreted the church as Christ's "bride," drawn out of his rib, fulfilling the typology of Eve's emergence from Adam's side (cf. also *Exeg. Soul* II,6:132,23-133,11). The following section (14,15-21,34) uses texts from Colossians and I Corinthians to interpret the community as the body of Christ (see the critical notes for references to the New Testament literature).

Features of style and structure suggest that the text is homiletic. Indeed, it may present a homily intended for delivery in a service of worship. The author speaks in the first- and second-person plural throughout most of the discourse including himself or herself as a member of the church addressed. Recalling how the "teacher of immortality. . . spoke with the church" (9,17-19), twice, in speeches that address the congregation directly in the second-person plural, the author shifts into the first-person singular to adopt the Savior's direct address (9,28-38 and 10,18-38). The first of these two passages offers "his teaching" in the form of sayings known from the gospels, especially Matthew (see the notes for specific references); the second describes (in terms that recall the Christ hymn of Phil 2:6-11) how the Savior took upon himself "the form (ΠΙΣΧΗΜΑ) that you see" (10,33) so that through the humility expressed in the passion he might exalt the church (10,28-33).

As the first section (9,27-14,15) recalls the Savior's teachings and his passion, the next (14,15-21,34) applies his teaching and his example to the church. The first section is based on passages from the Gospel of Matthew, and the second upon Pauline and deutero-Pauline passages. The structure of the text, therefore, apparently follows a common pattern of worship, in which readings from "the gospel" (and their interpretation) are followed by readings from "the apostle." In the latter, the author directly addresses the situation of a community that he sees torn by jealousy and hate over the issue of spiritual gifts (ΤΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΑΩΡΕΑ, 15,34-35). Some members refuse to share their spiritual gifts (15,26-38) with one

another. Others envy those who have received such gifts as that of speaking (16,31-38; I Cor 12:8, 14:1-19) and so stand out as speakers in the congregation. Some despise others whom they consider ignorant (17,25-28), while the rest feel slighted and resentful (18,28-38).

The author's concern throughout the *Interpretation of Knowledge* is to rectify this divisive situation. Having recalled how the Savior taught the oneness of the Father (9,28-29), and, further, how the "great Son" voluntarily accepted humiliation for the sake of his "small brothers" (14,28-29), he now applies the lessons of unity and of humility to the church. First he recalls how the church received redemption: the Savior abolished the "old bond of debt" which enslaved those "condemned in Adam" (14,34-36; cf. Col 2:14) and proclaimed in its place the "edict of the Father" (14,29-31), offering forgiveness of sins and release from death (14,36-38). From 13,20 through 21,35 the author takes up Paul's metaphor of the body and its members (cf. Rom 12:4-8; I Cor 12:12-31) and combines it with the image of Christ as the Head of the body, the church (cf. Col 1:18; 2:19; Eph 4:15-16), in order to remind the members that they all share in the "same body" and the "same Head." Despite the diversity of gifts (cf. I Cor 12:4), each member shares in the same grace (16,18-24; cf. Rom 12:6); the "same power" which inspires the speaker enables the listener to understand what he says (16,31-38). Those who receive lesser gifts are not to complain, but to rejoice that they also share in the body (18,28-38; I Cor 12:14-26). Those who receive greater gifts, such as knowledge (*γνῶσις*; cf. I Cor 12:8) are not to despise others as inferior or ignorant (17,25-26). On the contrary, "you are ignorant when you hate them" (17,27), for those who show hatred and jealousy toward others demonstrate by their attitude that they still resemble the jealous and ignorant demiurge. These attitudes betray their ignorance of God (15,30-33), the true Father, and of his Son.

Amplifying this interpretation of the church as a spiritual organism, the author takes up the metaphor of the plant with roots, branches, and fruits: "the roots have a connection with one another, and their fruits are undivided" (19,31-33). As the roots exist for the sake of the fruits and for one another, "let us become like the roots, since we are equal..." (19,36-37). The text concludes with warnings of persecution (20,20-38) and the exhortation to overcome sin;

those who do overcome sin shall receive a "crown of victory, even as our Head was glorified by the Father" (21,30-34).

If this brief survey indicates the style and structure of the *Interpretation of Knowledge* (to the extent that we can reconstruct it from the extant text), a systematic analysis of its contents may reveal its affinities with other gnostic, and, perhaps, specifically Valentinian sources.

IV. HISTORY OF RELIGIONS OBSERVATIONS

A. Terminology

Examination of the terminology indicates that the *Interpretation of Knowledge* presupposes the theological vocabulary of the New Testament writings. Beyond these, it shares certain terms with other gnostic sources (perhaps especially Valentinian). The *dramatis personae* mentioned include the following:

1. God (2,32; 21,18), probably identified as the "Father of the All" (8,36), the true Father in heaven (9,28-37), manifested through the Son (11,34-35; 14,28-31).
2. The Mother (7,38; 8,7; 13,17), the Womb (3,32): possibly she is the one called Sophia (12,33; cf. 13,17) and the "woman" (11,17.28; 14,16).
3. The Son, whose manifestation involves the participation of both the Father and the Mother (cf. 11,17-38), is also called "Son of God" (14,22-23), and manifested as Christ (15,17, *χρηστός*), Savior (3,26; 5,30; 21,23), Word (17,35-38; cf. 16,37-38), Head (13,21.25.33.35; 17,16.31; 18,28.35; 21,33) of the church, and Jesus (5,38).
4. The "arrogant" teacher (9,20), possibly one who, despite god-like attributes, destroys his own works (cf. 9,15-17); he is apparently related to the cosmic powers (cf. 6,32-33; 20,22-23).
5. The rulers and authorities (*ΝΑΡΧΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ*: 6,32-33; 20,22-23), the devil (20,18) who divided the church (6,37-38), and who compelled men to serve them (6,35-37).
6. The Aeon(s): 11,35; 12,32.35; cf. 18,24; 19,13.16.
7. The church (5,35; 6,38; 9,18; 13,16.24; cf. 2,27; 19,19.24) identified in particular as the "church of mortals" (5,33) and the "visible church" (19,18). It is described as the "body" whose

“Head” is the Son (see above and cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:121,36-124,3).

These figures, familiar from the writings of such Valentinian theologians as Ptolemy, Heracleon, and Theodotus (see notes for references) also occur in other Christian gnostic sources. Nevertheless the occurrence of such terms as *aeon* (11,32.35; 18,24), *pleroma* (19,22) and *megethos* (12,34) used in ways typical of Valentinian sources suggest that this text may have originated in Valentinian circles.

B. Theological Concepts

Fundamental themes of Christian theology, such as world, humanity, faith, the soteriological work of Christ, and the church apparently are interpreted from a New Testament perspective. The world (*κόσμος*) is the place of unbelief (1,36-37) in which “bitterness” is experienced (6,17). It is probably the *structure* (*σύστασις*; 2,31; cf. 6,16) in which time and death prevail (14,17-18; 1,38). The church, set apart from the world (9,22-25) is not to esteem it (10,19, cf. Rom 12:2).

The human situation prior to Christ’s coming is described in at least two different ways. The passage 6,26-38 uses characteristically Valentinian terms: humanity dwells in the body as in a temporary residence (*πανδοκείου*), imprisoned in the vessel (*πλάσις*), and is compelled to serve the cosmic powers. The passage 14,31-38, on the other hand, interprets the human situation in specifically Pauline terms: those who “considered themselves enslaved” were “condemned in Adam,” having been subjected to condemnation and to death.

The same passage describes the soteriological work of Christ in Pauline and deutero-Pauline language: the Son of God abolishes the “bond of debt” (Col 2:14) which condemned the human race to death, offering forgiveness of sins, release from death, and redemption (14,28-38; cf. Rom 5:6-6:10). The same author can also speak of the Savior’s descent in terms drawn from Valentinian theology. In 12,22-38, he describes how the aeon, the majesty, descended to the world and took on flesh that wisdom (*σοφία*) provided, in order to “enter into the one who was reproached,” apparently the visible Jesus (see notes for discussion and parallels).

Finally, the church consists of human beings (5,33) whom the Savior came to redeem. Although the cosmic powers cause division in the church (6,37-38), the Savior became her "teacher of immortality" (9,19; cf. 9,27) and redeemer (14,36-38). The church is also the body of Christ (15,17-21,34). So far, the author describes the church in terms common to early Christian orthodoxy, apparently from the Pauline texts cited above. Yet here, too, he offers an alternative description in characteristically Valentinian terms. The members of the church share a common life like the roots, branches, and fruit of a single organism; indeed, they are like the aeons of the Pleroma (19,22-37; see notes for parallels). These examples indicate that while the author shares the theological vocabulary of early Christian orthodoxy, the author also knows and uses Valentinian theology as a framework for interpreting these terms to the audience.

The remarkable feature of this text is that it interprets basic tenets of Christian theology—and specifically of Valentinian theology—in terms of their meaning for human relationships within the church. Speaking to a church divided over the issue of spiritual gifts, split apart by jealousy and hate, the author explains that the cosmic powers (*ἐνεργεια*), which attempt to enslave the human race, have divided the church (6,37-38). To restore the church to unity, the author first explains that two different divine "teachers" seek to rule the church: the "arrogant" teacher (9,20) and the "teacher of immortality," Christ. From each of these derives different teaching: the former established a "school" with writings, which separated believers from the world, but only taught them to die (9,20-21). From the Savior, however, the church receives superior teaching (9,21-27). To illustrate this, the author cites sayings known from Matthew, topically arranged, and interprets them in patterns familiar from Valentinian exegesis (see notes for discussion and parallels). The Savior teaches, first, that the Father is one (cf. Mt 23:9; 6:9); second, that all the members are his children, and therefore constitute one indivisible church.

Having interpreted the Savior's teaching to show that the oneness of God signifies the oneness of the church, the author goes on to praise the Savior's humility as an example for members of the divided congregation. In 10,17 the Savior, apparently addressing one released from ignorance (10,14-15), describes the means of re-

demption: "I became very small, so that through my humility I might take you up to the great height whence you had fallen." He has taken upon himself a visible form ($\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$, 10,33) in order to separate his members from "the beasts" ($\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, frequently an image of the passions; see the critical notes for parallels) and from the "burden" ($\phi\acute{o}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$, 10,37) of bodily existence. Following a fragmentary section (11,1-26) the author explains that the Son, descending into the world to rescue those who were "in the flesh of condemnation" (10,26-27), himself wore a "garment of condemnation" (11,27). Like other gnostic sources, this text distinguishes the soteriological activity of the visible Jesus ("the one who was reproached") from that of "the one who was redeemed." Through the former, believers receive forgiveness of sins (12,26); through the action of the former and the latter, they receive grace (12,29). As an essential element of the soteriological process, Wisdom provided the flesh (12,32-33; 11,28-31) in which the Savior appeared (12,18). This flesh "received the descending majesty" (12,31-35) so that the Savior (cf. 5,30) "might enter the one who was disgraced" who is, apparently, Jesus (5,38). He was crucified (5,30), suffered (5,36-37), and died (5,30-31) for the sake of the church (5,32-33). All this he accomplished "so that we might escape the disgrace of the carcass and be regenerated in the flesh and blood" (12,36-38). Thus the author discriminates between the "carcass" ($\omega\epsilon\lambda$; literally, "skin"), the "flesh of condemnation" (10,26-27) and the "flesh and blood" in which the elect are regenerated. The latter phrase refers, apparently, to the eucharistic elements (see notes for parallels).

The opening of the second section (14,15-21,34) summarizes, in Pauline language, the work of Christ: he has removed the "old bond of debt" ($\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{o}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$, cf. Col 2:14), the bond of condemnation, the former "edict," which decreed that "those who reckoned themselves enslaved have been condemned in Adam" (14,32-36). Now, however, the Son has proclaimed in its place the "edict of the Father," which releases humankind from death, offering them forgiveness of sins and redemption. Like *Gos. Truth* 1,3:20,25-27 (Jesus, "nailed to a tree," publishes the Father's edict on the cross) this implies a contrast between the dispensation of law, enacted by the just creator, and that of grace which the loving Father has initiated. This theological teaching directly applies to

the members of the church: as the Father's love contrasts with the creator's jealousy, just so those who no longer are enslaved to inferior cosmic powers are to practice love and avoid jealousy. The Father and the Son love the members wholeheartedly (15,16-19): "For the Word is rich, generous (-*φθονεῖν*), and kind. Here he gives away gifts to his men without jealousy" (17,35-38; see notes for parallels). But those who express contempt, hatred, and jealousy betray in their attitude that they still belong to the ignorant, jealous creator: "he who is jealous . . . is ignorant of God" (15,32-33)!

The jealousy that divides the community disrupts relationships in two directions. Some refuse to share with others the gifts they have received; others, feeling themselves deprived, envy and resent those who manifest such gifts. Addressing this mistrust and envy, the author takes up Paul's image of the "body of Christ" (cf. I Cor 12:12-27; Rom 12:4-8) which he interprets (cf. Eph 4:15-16; Col 1:18; 2:19) as the church, headed by Christ. Since all spiritual gifts come from the same source, the Head (15,26-28; 16,20-31), whoever receives a gift such as prophecy (*ΟΥΖΜΑΤ ΝΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΟΝ*; 15,35-36) is to share it freely. Conversely, whoever recognizes that another has received a gift, such as the ability to speak in public, is not to indulge in envious resentment ("Do not say, 'Why does he speak while I do not?'" 16,33-35), but rather is to rejoice that "the same power" who inspires the speaker gives discernment to the hearer (16,35-38).

Discussing the diversity of gifts, the author recalls Paul's analogy of the different parts of the body (17,14-18,38: I Cor 12:14-26). That all members are mutually interdependent does not mean to this author, however, that they are all equal. Instead the author seems to assume that some have lesser gifts, and others greater ones—and hence more prominent positions. Both, however, are to accept the distribution that the Head has arranged: the lesser members are to "be thankful" that they "do not exist outside the body" (18,33-34); the prominent are to recognize that their gifts are neither from themselves nor for themselves alone.

Although damage to major parts of pages 19-21 prevents reconstruction of the conclusion, we note that the author praises the harmony and fruitfulness of the pleromic aeons, the "roots," which produce "fruits" from their perfect equality and community (19,20-37). Comparison with Iren. *Haer.* I.8.3 and *Exc. Theod.* 58.2

suggests that the “roots” may symbolize the pneumatic members of the church and “the fruits,” the psychic members (Compare *Tri. Trac.* I,5:74,10–18 where the “root” is spread “into trees with branches and fruit or like a human body...is partitioned in an indivisible way into members of members (μέλος), primary members and secondary, great [and] small.”

Finally, the author mentions that the men of God endure persecution instigated by the cosmic powers (20,25–26), and closes by reminding the hearers that those who overcome sin “shall receive the crown of victory, even as our Head was glorified by the Father” (21,31–34).

C. Exegetical Method

The author’s allusion to the Savior’s “teaching” (9,27) introduces the most precise reference to early Christian literature (9,28–35); many other allusions are imprecise as to the source from which they derive and are loosely linked together on the basis of similar concepts. The author may be quoting from memory, yet (as noted above) focusing discussion upon central passages. The author’s exegesis of specific NT texts often parallels exegeses given by Valentinus, Theodotus, Ptolemy, Heracleon and that found in the *Gospel of Truth*, the *Gospel of Philip*, etc. Two striking examples may demonstrate this (for others, see notes). At 11,24–34 (cf. 13,25–36), the author appears to be exegeting Mt 12:11–12 and perhaps conflating it with Jn 5:17. *Gos. Truth* I,3:32,18–25 combines the same two verses and interprets them similarly. Second, at 18,28–38 the author combines allusions to Paul’s image of the community as the “body of Christ” (cf. Romans 12; 1 Corinthians 12) with the image of Christ as “head” of the body (cf. Eph 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19). The discourse from 15,16–18,38 follows the structure of 1 Cor 12:4–31. Such observations indicate that the text presupposes a collected corpus of Christian writings that includes more than one gospel source (or pre-gospel traditions?) and a collection of Pauline and pseudo-Pauline letters. Further, it indicates that the author shares an exegetical tradition that already is well known and widespread in gnostic (or Valentinian) circles (see, for example, *Tri. Trac.* I,5:121,36–124,3).

D. *The Situation of Author and Community*

The author, as noted above, sees himself or herself as a member of the church. His own spiritual gift is to interpret the teachings of the Savior and of “the apostle” to the community gathered for worship. The author has drawn theological assumptions and exegetical method from Christian-gnostic traditions that were diverse and widely known in the second century. This author shares closest affinity (among extant sources) with the authors of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (especially 43–68) and the *Gospel of Truth*.

Does the author envisage the church addressed as consisting only of the “spiritual church” (τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 13,51), that is, the elect alone, or as consisting of both “the elect and the called” (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ τὸ κλητόν, *Exc. Theod.* 58.1) as Theodotus sees it? Apparently it is the latter, since the problem he sees in the community is that certain members accuse those who are “still dead” of being “ignorant.” While one gnostic could hardly apply either term to another gnostic initiate, gnostics typically use both terms to designate the psychic, ordinary Christian by contrast to those who are “alive” and who “have gnosis.” This author, then, envisions “the church” as including both psychic and pneumatic Christians; nevertheless he or she may address this homily specifically to the small circle of the elect.

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<Flyleaf B>

[Θ]ερ[ΜΗΝΙΑ]
ἦτις[ΝΩΣΙΣ]

<FLYLEAF B>

[*The Interpretation* (ἔρμηνεία)]
of [*Knowledge* (γνώσις)]

[α]

(Lines 1-11 lacking)

- 12 [14[±] α]βαλ[
 [6[±]].[7[±]].ατη[
 14 [αγρ̄πι]ςτεγε αβ[αλ] ριτ̄ν [ρ̄νημαει]
 [̄ν̄ μ̄ν̄ ρ̄νω]πηρε μ̄[̄ν̄ ρ̄]̄ν̄πλα[σμα]
 16 [πιταντ]̄ν̄ εταρ̄ωπε ριτ[οοτοϋ]
 [αφογα]ρ̄β̄ ν̄σω αλλα ριτ̄[̄ν̄ ρ̄ν̄]
 18 [ναβ̄ν̄β̄] μ̄ν̄ ρ̄νωψ̄ς εμη[ατοϋχι]
 [̄ν̄τεπιβολ]η̄ ν̄οϋθ̄εωρια α[γ̄πωτ]
 20 [αβαλ εμη]οϋσωτ̄μ̄ μ̄μα[ϋ απεχ]
 [ρηστος χ̄ε] αγρ̄σταγ[ροϋ μ̄μαϋ]
 22 [αλλα ερετ̄ν̄γ]ε̄νε̄α {ϋ}πητ̄ εμη[α]
 [τ̄ς̄ρ̄πιστεγε αν αρ]α[ϋ] χ̄[ε π]ε̄χ[ρη]
 24 [στος ᾱαν̄ρ̄ χ̄εκα]σε ερετ̄ν̄πις[τις]
 [ναω]πε ε̄σοϋ[α]αβ εστοϋβηϋ [ες]
 26 [κωε ε]̄ν̄ αρ̄ας ε̄ς̄ρενεργει αλλ[α ες]
 [κωε μ̄]μας ε̄στηβ̄ ν̄ρ̄ηεῑ ν̄[ρ̄η]
 28 [τ̄ϋ μ̄π̄ρ̄]χοοϋ χ̄ε αβαλ ρ̄ν̄ οϋο[ϋ]
 [τε τ̄ρ̄ϋ]̄πομονη ᾱωῑ ν̄πιστ[ις]
 30 [ερεπ]οϋ̄ξεῑ ποϋ̄ξεῑ γαρ̄ ρ̄πει[θ̄ε]
 [ρ̄ν̄ νε]τ̄ϋρ̄πιστεγε αραϋ̄ ειω[πε]
 32 ϋ̄ρ̄[απισ]̄τεῑ αραϋ̄ ρ̄ῑε̄ ν̄νεω̄η[ε]
 [εῑ ρ̄πειθ̄]ε̄ οϋ̄ναβ̄ δε̄ ν̄ρ̄ωϋ̄ η[ε]
 34 ν̄νοϋρωμε̄ ε̄ϋ̄ν̄τεϋ̄ μ̄μεϋ [̄ν̄τ]
 πιστι[ς ε]̄ϋ̄ρ̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τατ̄ναρ̄τ̄[ε εν]
 36 ε̄τ̄ε [π̄κος]μο̄ς̄ η̄ε̄ π̄κο̄σμ[ος̄ ν̄δε]
 [πε̄ π̄μᾱ ν̄τ]̄μ̄ν̄τατ̄ναρ̄τε̄ α[γ̄ω π]
 38 [μᾱ μ̄π̄μοϋ̄ ε]̄ρε̄π̄μοϋ̄ δε̄ ω[οοπ̄ ν̄]

[1]

(Lines 1-11 lacking)

- 12 [
- 14 [they came to] believe (πιστεύειν) by means of [signs]
- [and] wonders [and fabrications (πλάσμα)].
- 16 [The likeness] that came to be through [them]
- [followed] him, but (ἀλλά) through
- 18 [reproaches] and humiliations. [Before they received]
- [the apprehension (ἐπιβολή)] of a vision (θεωρία) [they fled]
- 20 [without having] heard [that the Christ (χρηστός)]
- had been crucified (σταυροῦν).
- 22 [But (ἀλλά) our] generation (γενεά) is fleeing since it does not
- yet
- [even believe (πιστεύειν) that the Christ (χρηστός)]
- 24 [is alive. In order] that our faith (πίστις)
- [may be] holy (and) pure,
- 26 [not relying upon] itself actively (ἐνεργεῖν), but (ἀλλά)
- [maintaining] itself planted in
- 28 [him, do not] say: "Whence
- [is the] patience (ὑπομονή) to measure faith (πίστις)?"
- 30 for (γάρ) each one is persuaded (πείθειν)
- [by the things] he believes (πιστεύειν). If
- 32 he disbelieves (ἀπιστεῖν) them, then [he] would be unable
- [to be persuaded (πείθειν)]. But (δέ) it is a great thing
- 34 for a man who has
- faith (πίστις), since he is [not] in unbelief,
- 36 which is the [world (κόσμος). Now (δέ)] the world (κόσμος)
- [is the place of] unbelief [and]
- 38 [the place of death]. And (δέ) death [exists as]

[B]

(Lines I-II lacking)

- 12 [6±] Ν.[
[6±] C XE [
- 14 [7±] ΑΡΤ[. . .]. ΤΝ.[
[. . . . ΤΑ] ΝΤἼ [ΑΥΩ] CΕΝΑΡΑ[ΠΙCΤΕΙ]
- 16 [ΟΥΠΕΤ] ΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΕ ΤΠΙCΤ[ΙC ΑΝΕΥ]
[ΑΠΤΑΝΑΤ]ἼΝ ΠΕΝΑ[Ν]ΤΙΟΝ ΠΕ Τ[ΑΠΙCΤΙ]
- 18 [Α ΑΠΤΑΝ]ἼΤἼΝ¹ ΝΕΤΦΑΤἼΝ ΝΕ[Υ ΜΜΑΥ]
[CΕΝΑΦΙ ΖΑ]ΡΑΥ ΝΕΜΝΩΦ[ΑΜ ΜΜΑΥ]
- 20 [ΑΜΕΕΤΕ] ΑΤΜἼΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ [
[9±] ΝΑΨΩ[ΠΕ
- 22 [. . . .] ΑΥ[. . . .] ΒΩΛ [ΑΒΑΛ
[. . . .] Ι.Ι. [. . .]
- 24 [ΝΕΤ] ΑΖΟΥΧΑΥ Ζ[
[ΠΕΤ] ΖΩΖΑΒΤ ΓΑΡ [Ν] Α¹ ΠΙCΤ[ΤΕΥΕ ΕΝ]
- 26 [ΜἼΝΩ] ΒΑΜ ΜΜΑΦ ΑΕΙΝΕ ΝΟ[ΥΝΑΒ Ν]
[ΕΚΚΛ]ΗCΙΑ ΕC CΑΥΖ ΑΒΑΛ ΖἼ [ΟΥCΑΥ]
- 28 [ΖC ΝΚ] ΟΥΕΙ ΑΦΨΩΠΕ ΝΠΡΟΒ[ΟΛΗ]
[ΜΠΙΧΝ] ΟC ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ CΕΧΟΥ Μ[ΜΑΦ ΕΤ]
- 30 [ΒΕ ΟΥΕ] ΙΝΕ ΧΕ CΕΕΜΑΖΤΕ Μ[ΜΑΦ ΖΙΤἼ]
[ΠΕΦΙΧ] ΝΟC †CΥCΤΑCΙC ΕΜΑ[ΖΤΕ ΖΙ]
- 32 [ΤἼ ΠΙ] ΕΙΝΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ε[ΜΑΖΤΕ]
[ΖΙΤἼ Ν] ΕΦΜΕΛΟC [[ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜ]] [ΑΦΜΕ Α]
- 34 [ΡΑΥ Ζ] ΑΘΗ ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΠΑΥ [ΑΥΩ CΕ]
[ΝΑΜΜ] Ε ΑΡΑΦ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝΤΑΖ[ΧΠΟ Μ]
- 36 [ΠΟΥΕΕΙ] ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΧΙΝ ΝΨ[ΑΡΠ ΦΝΑ]
[ΖΜΑC ΝΖΗ] ΤΟΥ ΦΝΑΑΡ[ΧΕΙ ΑΡΑΥ ΟΥ]
- 38 [ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟ]C ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΑΤ[ΡΕΠΟΥΕΕΙ]

[2]

(Lines 1-11 lacking)

- 12 [
- 14 [
- 16 A holy thing is the faith [*to see*]
 [the likeness]. The opposite (ἐνάντιον) is [unfaith (ἀπιστία)]
 18 [in the likeness]. The things that he will grant [them]
 [will support] them. It was impossible [for them]
 20 [to attain] to the imperishability [
 [] will [become
 22 [] loosen [
 [
- 24 [those who] were sent [
 For (γάρ) [he who] is distressed [will not believe (πιστεύειν)].
 26 He [is unable] to bring a [great]
 [church (ἐκκλησία)] since it is gathered out of [a small]
 28 [gathering]. He became an [emanation (προβολή) of]
 the trace (ἵχνος). For also (καὶ γάρ) they say [about]
 30 a likeness that it is apprehended [by means of]
 [his trace (ἵχνος)]. The structure (σύστασις) [apprehends by
 means of]
 32 [the] likeness, but (ἀλλά) God [apprehends]
 [by means of] his members (μέλος). [He knew]
 34 [them] before they were begotten, [and they]
 [will know] him. And the one who [begot]
 36 [each] one from [the first will]
 [indwell] them. He will [rule (ἀρχεῖν) over them].
 38 For (γάρ) it is [necessary (αναγκαῖος)] for [each one]

[Γ]

(Lines 1-25 lacking)

- 26 [. . . απ]ζωτηρ σεζ[ωφ \bar{m}]μεγ εσταμ
 [ε ουατ]ζαγνε μεν [εν πε] αλλα σαρκ[ι]
 28 [κος πε π]λογος \bar{n} τα[ζωωπ] \bar{n} ουζεει \bar{n}
 [ταφ \bar{n}]δε ετσοο[π \bar{n} ογε]ινε ζωστ[ε]
 30 [πη ε \bar{t} μμε]γ αν \bar{q} ω[οοπ α]γω τη \bar{n}
 [τασεινε \bar{m}]μαν αυ[αλ σ]τρεφ \bar{m} με \bar{n}
 32 [δε χε τ]ατε τε πεε[ι ουω]πηρε \bar{n} τες
 [πε χε] \bar{c} ' \bar{t} \bar{r} \bar{n} \bar{r} τπε [\bar{n} τζγ]πομ[ον]η
 34 [αλλα] πωπη[ρε πε πεει] \bar{q} μα[ει]ε \bar{m}
 [πεταζ] \bar{w} ρπ' \bar{n} † \bar{m} [α \bar{n} ο]γπαρθενος
 36 [. . . .]ε ςωε α \bar{r} ω[. . .] \bar{n} [. . .] \bar{m} πεσσα
 [7 \pm]πα[. . . .]αζηή απμογ
 38 [12 \pm ουω]ω[ε] α \bar{r} αскеι

[3]

(Lines 1-25 lacking)

- 26 [*The*] Savior (σωτήρ) [*removed himself*] since it is [*fitting*].
 Indeed (μέν) [*not ignorant*], but (ἀλλά) [*carnal (σαρκικός)*]
 28 [*is the*] word (λόγος) who [*took him*] as a husband.
 And (δέ) it is [*he*] who exists [*as an image*], since (ὥστε)
 30 [*that one (masc.)*] also [*exists*], as well as that one (fem.)
 [*who brought*] us forth. [*And (δέ) she caused*] him to know
 32 [*that*] she is [*the*] Womb. This [*is a*] marvel of hers
 [*that she*] causes us to transcend [*patience (ὑπομονή)*].
 34 [*But (ἀλλά) this is*] the marvel: he [*loves*]
 [*the one who*] was first to [*permit*] a virgin (παρθένος)
 36 [] It is fitting to [] her [
 []] unto death
 38 [] *desire*] to practice (ἀσκεῖν)

[A]

(Lines 1–23 lacking)

- 24 [. .]MM[ε]
 26 ΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ [ΑΣΚΑ Μ]Α ΑΡΑϞ [N̄]ΤΕCZΙ
 Η ΑϞΡ̄Ψ̄[ΡΠ̄ ΝΤΕ]C Π̄ΝΒΕΛ [ΑΤΕΕΙ]
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝ[ΟC ΕΤΤ]ΩC ΑΠΙCΤ[ΑΥΡΟC]
 28 ΕΤ̄ΝΝΙΜ[Α ΑΥΩ [ΑΥ]Ω] Τ̄ΝΝΕΥ Α[ΒΑΛ ΧΕ]
 ΠΕCΜΑΥ [ΠΕΝΤ]ΑΤΑΥΘΕ[ΝΤΙΑ ΤΕΕΙϞ]
 30 ΜΠΕΤΕ ΟΥ[N̄ ΟΥΜ]ΑΕΙN̄ N̄[ΖΗΤϞ ΠΕΕΙ]
 <Π>Ε <Π>ΜΑΟΥ <Π>[ΕΤ̄ΜΜ]ΕΥ ΝΤ̄N̄[ΑΤΜΟΥ ΕΤΕ]
 32 ΝΙΝΑΒ N̄[ΒΑΜ] ΝΑΤΕΕΙϞ Ν[ΕϞ ΕϞΜΠ]
 ϞΑ[Μ]ΠΙΤN̄ [ΕϞΖ̄Μ ΠΕΙ]ΝΕ ΜΠ[ΕCΨΗ]
 34 ΡΕ ΨΗΜ M̄[Π̄CΛΟ] ΕΤΒΗ[ΤϞ] ΑϞ[
 ΜΠΧ[. . . .] ΑϞΨΩΠΕ N̄[
 36 Ζ̄Μ Π[. .] . .]ΛΟΓΟC ΕϞ[ΟΥΩN̄Ζ]
 ΑΒΑΛ N̄ΠΑΙ[Μ]
 38 ΠϞ†C . Α . [

(Lines
 1
 [she yie
 26 He was
 virgin
 that is
 [it is] he
 30 to the on
 [is that
 32 the great
 below
 [She did
 the
 36 in the
 to the
 38 He [did n

[4]

(Lines 1-23 lacking)

- 24 [] Therefore
 [she yielded] to him in [her path].
- 26 He was [first to fix] our eye [upon this]
 virgin (παρθένος) [who is fixed] to the [cross (σταυρός)]
- 28 that is in those [places. And] we see [that]
 [it is] her water [which] the supreme authority (αὐθεντία)
 [granted]
- 30 to the one [in whom] there is [a sign. This]
 [is that] water of [immortality which]
- 32 the great [powers] will grant to [him while he is]
 below [in the likeness] of [her young son].
- 34 [She did not stop] on his account. She [
 the [] he became [
- 36 in the [] word (λόγος) that [appears]
 to the [
- 38 He [did not

[Ē]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

- 14 [9[±]] 2N[
 2IT[\bar{n} . .].[.]ca ψ [
 16 I avax 2 \bar{n} nimā [2aeine ay2aeie]
 2 \bar{n} te2ih 2 \bar{n} ka γ e [ay2aeie 2 \bar{n} nōne]
 18 2 \bar{n} keka γ e de aq χ [ay 2 \bar{n} nōante 2 \bar{n}]
 ka γ e de an [aq \dagger]co[γ aray
 20 me \bar{n} n \bar{n} .[. .].o γ p[
 m \bar{n} θaeibe[c] eic 2[hte
 22 [. .]c n \bar{t} a ψ [
 [. .].ena[
 24 [. . . .].[14[±]] .aet.[
 [6[±]] .teei n[Δ]e [te to[γ cia n ψ [a a]
 26 [nh2e e]mpate n ψ [ψ][χ]a γ [e]ie ei avax 2[\bar{n}]
 [neeie et]o γ mo γ o γ t m[\bar{m}]a γ alla ne γ
 28 ψ o θ p e γ \bar{r} ai ω ke [n[c]an]c ω q 2 \bar{m} pm[a]
 [e]tm \bar{m} ey 2 \bar{n} pixn[oc e]nta γ χ pa ψ 2i
 30 [t]n pc ω th \bar{r} a γ \bar{r} c[ta γ]po γ de m \bar{m} a ψ
 [a] γ ω a ψ mo γ m \bar{p} e ψ [mo] γ en m \bar{m} in m
 32 [ma ψ] ne \bar{q} m \bar{p} ω a r[ar e]n m \bar{m} o γ [p ω] e
 [tve] tekklhcia n[n \bar{r} e]q μ o γ a[γ ω]q \bar{t}
 34 [de] m \bar{m} a ψ xekace [e γ]naema γ zte m
 [ma] ψ 2[\bar{n}] tekklhcia [n \bar{t} a] ψ [\bar{r} o γ] ψ nec
 36 [2i]t \bar{n} 2 \bar{n} ψ ω c ea ψ [i n \bar{t}]mine a \bar{p} 2i
 ce \bar{p} eei n \bar{t} a ψ ω [ω p 2i]ce m \bar{m} a ψ e ψ
 38 ψ o θ p gar ne \bar{n} n \bar{e} i[ne] n \bar{b} i i \bar{h} c etve

(Lin
 14 [
 throu
 16 come
 in the
 18 Yet (e
 And
 20 [
 and th
 22 [
 [
 24 [
 [
 26 before
 [those
 28 being
 by the
 30 the Sa
 and he
 32 [for (y
 [of] th
 34 so that
 him in
 36 [with]
 which
 38 For (y

[5]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

14 [13±] α . []
 [13±] πειω[. .]μ
 16 [9± †CΥCΤΑ]CIC THTC AYΩ
 [9± ΠΝ]α[β] NCIWE MΠKO
 18 [CΜOC 8±]OT MMAN MN N
 [11±]IITN [ZN]ΛHC THC
 20 [12±]NΔ[OY]ΛOC A . . M
 [10±]ΑΠ]IT[N] AXIEPIXW
 22 [15±] . [.] AYXI
 [16±] . NAM[]
 24 [N]ΓAP EY[] α]
 [Π]ITN ψα [NETN]αβωψτ [αβαλ]
 26 ερεπωτα τη[ρ]ε]μαρτε MN[AY]
 ψα †ΟΥCΙΑ [N2]ΑΗ ΕΤΕ ΤΕΕΙ Τ[Ε]
 28 [Τ]ΟΥΨΙΤC ΕΑΦ[N]ITN ΑΠCΑNΠITN
 ΕΑΦΜΟΥΡ MN[Α]N N2NABH NCAP[Ξ]
 30 VACAT [Ε]ΡΕΠCΩΜΑ ΟΕΙ N[OY]
 ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΙΟ[N Ε]ΥNTEOYQ MNΕΥ N[OY]
 32 M[Α] NΨΩΠ[Ε N]B[I] NΑΡΧΗ MN [NE]
 Ξ[OYCI]Α ΠΡΩ[ME Ε]ΤΖΙΖΟΥΝ NT[AROY]
 34 AT[ΠQ] AZOYN [A]TΠACIC A[Q]Ω[ΩΠΕ]
 ZN ZI[CE AYΩ Ε]AYPANAΓKAZE MN[AQ]
 36 APZM[ZE]λ N[EY A]Yωδτ MMAQ APZ[Γ]
 ΠΟΥΡΚΕΙ N[NIE]NEPΓEIA AYΠW
 38 ΨΕ NTEKKΛHC[I]A ATPOYX<IK>ΛHPOC A

(Line

14 [

16 [

18 [

20 [

22 [

24 [

26 [

28 [

30 [

32 [

34 [

36 [

38 [

[down

while

until the

[their]

having

v.

tempor

the rul

the ma

impris

into [s

to [ser

serve (

the Ch

[6]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

14 [] this [
 16 [*the*] entire [*structure* (σύστασις)] and
 [*the great*] bitterness of the [*world* (κόσμος)]
 18 [] us with the
 [] by thieves (ληστής)
 20 [*the slaves* (δοῦλος)]
 [*down*] to Jericho
 22 [] they [*received*]
 [] For (γάρ) [
 24 [
 [*down*] to [*those who*] will wait
 26 while the entire defect restrains [*them*]
 until the [*final*] reality (οὐσία) that is
 28 [*their*] portion, since he [*brought*] us down,
 having bound us in nets of flesh (σάρξ).
 30 VACAT Since the body (σῶμα) is [*a*]
 temporary dwelling (πανδοκεῖον) which
 32 the rulers (ἀρχή) and [*authorities* (ἐξουσία)] have as [*an*] abode,
 the man within, [*after being*]
 34 imprisoned in the fabrication (πλάσις), [*fell*]
 into [*suffering. And*] having compelled (ἀναγκάζειν) [*him*]
 36 to [*serve them,*] they constrained him to
 serve (ὑπουργεῖν) [*the*] energies (ἐνέργεια). They split
 38 the Church (ἐκκλησία) so as to inherit <(-κληῆρος)>

[Σ]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

- 8 [...]με[
 [...]. εει.[
- 10 βαμ αψ.[
 ρογσθαί δε[
- 12 [ρ]ογσθαί δε[
 εαϕβμ[βωμ-
- 14 ραχ[^π
 [8±]..[
- 16 π[.....]ταζε[π]
 σαειε πε ετη[α
- 18 ρογ αγωψε α[αγ]
 ω αψωπε ^πμε-
- 20 ευμιωφε [μ]^π ^πνευερηγ
^πθε ^πρ[^π]καγε[
- 22 παρθενος[
 ατεκο ^π[
- 24 ψωβ[ε
 τε. . .[...].[
- 26 κας αλλα ασμ[εстан]
^πτη ^πμας ατε.[
- 28 αρας εαγσαψ[
 [α]ττεκο πεει[
- 30 ατρεϕω ^πα[
 παρθενος π[
- 32 [τ]εσ^πμ^πτσαειε[
^πμ[^π]τ^ππιστος ^π[
- 34 α[γ]ψ ετβε πεε[ι ^π]
 μ[α]ς αϕβπη [
- 36 ^ππ^πρανεχε ^π[
 ειε ευψωσ ^πμ[α-
- 38 τμεεγ γαρ ^πταρ[εσ

[7]

- (Lines 1-7 lacking)
- 8 [
- [
- 10 power to [
- [*and* (*δέ*)
- 12 and (*δέ*) [
- having [*touched*
- 14 before [
- [
- 16 the [
- it is [*the*] beauty that will [
- 18 wanted to [*and*]
- to be with [
- 20 fighting with [*one another*
- like others [
- 22 virgin (*παρθένος*) [
- to destroy [
- 24 wound [
- [
- 26 [] but (*ἀλλά*) she [*she likens*]
- herself to the [
- 28 her since they had struck [
- imperishable. This [
- 30 that he remain [
- virgin (*παρθένος*). The [
- 32 her beauty [
- faithfulness (*-πίστος*) [
- 34 and therefore [
- her. He hastened [
- 36 he did not put up with (*ἀνέχειν*) [
- [] they despise [
- 38 For (*γάρ*) when the Mother had [

[H]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6	[	15 [±]].[
	[	13 [±]	TM]EEY .[
8	[	15 [±]]Q̄ ψα[.]ZIT
	[	15 [±]]H̄CEΠIBOY
10	[λOC	11 [±]	T]ECBΩ N̄X̄E.
	[	16 [±]].[.]EΠTOY.
12	[	16 [±]	N̄]TBIA E[
	[	18 [±]]AZE[
14	[	12 [±]]N̄.[8 [±]].[
	[	11 [±]]ΦYCI[C].[...]AZ
16	[	10 [±]	ΘE]ΩPEI N̄X̄ERE ΩHM
	[	11 [±]]M̄NBAM M̄MAQ
18	[	12 [±]]N̄ΔE ψAPΠ M̄MEN
	[	12 [±]	Π]EN[A]NTION N̄
20	[	9 [±]	N̄EΩ] N̄ZE [N̄]ΔE N̄TAQ
	[	12 [±]].[.]X̄[E]PE ΩHM
22	[	15 [±]]M̄ΠEIQΩB̄N̄
	[BAM	10 [±]].[.]ΩC AQ̄Ωψ
24	[ΠE	12 [±]	MO]YOUT M̄MAQ
	[	11 [±]]P[.]...].AANZ
26	[	11 [±]]AQΩΠ N̄TECMNT
	[	9 [±]	CA]TP̄ APΩΩN̄Z
28	[	11 [±]]EQCAYN̄E X̄E EIOY
	[ΠE	8 [±]	K]OCMOC CAAN[TC̄Q]
30	[	10 [±]]M̄MAQ ATOYNA
	[C̄Q	9 [±]]B AZPH̄I ABAL Z[N̄]
32	[	10 [±]	A]X̄N̄ N̄MEROC N̄[
	[	9 [±]	NE]TOYEMAZTE [A]X̄Ω
34	[OY	9 [±]].ΠAZTQ̄ N̄Δ[E] ABAL
	[	11 [±]]Q̄ΩOOP N̄ZH̄TC̄Q
36	[	11 [±]]ΠEIOY T̄ M̄ΠTH̄PC̄Q
	[	11 [±]]PZOYO ψAPAC M̄
38	[	11 [±]]..M̄MAQ̄ Q̄ΩO

[8]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 []
 [] *the*] Mother []
 8 []
 [] her enemy (*ἐπίβουλος*)
 10 [] *the*] teaching []
 []
 12 [] *of*] the force (*βία*) []
 []
 14 []
 [] nature (*φύσις*) []
 16 [] behold (*θεωρεῖν*) a maiden
 [] he is unable
 18 [] (+*δέ*) first (+*μεν*)
 [] *the*] opposite (*ἐναντίον*)
 20 [] But (*δέ*) how has he
 [] maiden
 22 [] he was not able
 [] he [*became*]
 24 [] killed [*him*]
 [] alive
 26 [] he reckoned her []
 [] better than life
 28 [] since he knows that if
 [] world (*κόσμος*) created [*him*].
 30 [] him to raise
 [*him*] up from
 32 [] upon the regions (*μέρος*) []
 [] *those*] whom they rule
 34 [] But (*δέ*) [] emitted him
 [] he dwells in him
 36 [] the Father of the All
 [] be more to her
 38 [] him. He []

[ē]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

με ^[ñ] θε[

- 10 αρουν α.[ουν]
- [τε]ψε εγ.[6±].[
- 12 [.]ογ ^ñα[... πογε]ει πογ[εει φνα]
- ñπψ[α 8±]χιτq αγ[ω
- 14 [8±].[...].τ αζ^ñωη[
- [...].[.πς]αζ [ε]φωανζαπq ζ[ως]
- 16 ουν[ο]υτε [π]ε ε[φ]αβλαλλμ αν[εφζ]
- βηγε ^ñα^ñω^ñω^ñρω^ñου και ρ[α]ρ α[φ]
- 18 ψεχε μñ τεκ[κλ]ησια αφε[εφ ñδε]
- νες ñσαζ ñτμñ[τα]τμογ α[φωαρ]
- 20 ψρ ñπτ[ολμ]ηρος [ñς]αζ εφ[† σβω]
- νες αμ[ο]γ [αγ]ω η[εεισα]ζ α[φρ ογ]
- 22 σχολη ñφ[ñζ πια]ζ [ñγ]αρ εγ[ñτεφ]
- ñκεσx[ολη ες† σ]βω μεν ñ[εν α]
- 24 ñςζεει [μμογ ñε]φ τρñσεζ[ων]
- ñδε αβαλ [ζñ] η[ις]ει ñτε πκοσμ[ος]
- 26 ñεει ñεγ† σβω ñεν απñμογ [α]
- βαλ ζιτοοτογ τεφσβω ñδε τε τε
- 28 ει χε μñμογτε ñητñ αειωτ ζιχñ
- πκαζ ογεει π[ε] ηετñειωτ εθñ
- 30 ñμπηγε ñτφτñ πε πογαειν ñ
- πκοσμς ñασñηγ αγω ñαψβρ
- 32 κοινωñος ñετρε ñπογωψε
- ñ[π]ειωτ εγ ñγαρ πε φñγ εκωαν
- 34 † ζñγ ñπκοσμς ñκ† ασι ñτεκ
- ψχñ ενψοοπ ñγαρ ζñ ηκεκει
- 36 ñενμογτε αζαζ χε ειωτ εñοει
- ñατσαγνε απ[ε]ιωτ ñμñε αγω
- 38 πεει πε πñ[α]β ^[ñ]ω ñññαβει τη

[9]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

- [] like [
 10 into [] he [*has*]
 them [
 12 [] each [*one will be*]
 worthy [] take him and [
 14 [
 [*the*] teacher should he hide himself [*as if (ὡς)*]
 16 [*he were*] a god [*who*] would embrace [*his works*]
 and destroy them. For (καὶ γάρ) [*he*] also
 18 spoke with the Church (ἐκκλησία) [*and (δέ)*] he [*made himself*]
 her teacher of immortality, and [*destroyed*]
 20 the arrogant (τολμηρός) [*teacher*] by [*teaching*]
 her to [*die. And this teacher made a*]
 22 [*living*] school (σχολή), for (γάρ) [*that teacher has*]
 another school (σχολή): while (μέν) [*it teaches us about*]
 24 the [*dead*] writings, he, on the other hand (δέ), was causing us to
 [*remove ourselves*]
 from the [*surfeit*] of the world (κόσμος).
 26 We were being taught about our death
 through them. Now (δέ) this is his teaching:
 28 Do not call to a father upon
 the earth. Your Father, who is in heaven, is one.
 30 You are the light of
 the world (κόσμος). They are my brothers and my fellow-
 32 companions (-κοινωνός) who do the will
 of [*the*] Father. For (γάρ) what use is it if you
 34 gain the world (κόσμος) and you forfeit your
 soul (ψυχή)? For (γάρ) when we were in the darkness
 36 we used to call many "father," since we were
 ignorant of the true Father. And
 38 this is the great conception of [*all*] the sins

[ī]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

1 [ΡΟΥ
8 [14±]ω[.]c.
[12± 2H]ΔΟΝΗ ΕΝΤ̄Ν
10 [ΤΑΝΤ...].[8±]αειῖ ἡω[
[7±]ΨΥΧ[Η...Ρ]ΩΜΕ ΕΥΕ[
12 [6±]μο χε.[7±]επμα ἡ[ω]ω
[πε εὔ] ἡδε πε τη[ICTIC ἡταϑτ]εει[Ὶ α2RH]
14 [ī ἡ]βι πσα2 ετα[ϑκα]αϑ [αβα]λ [2̄N τναβ]
[ἡM]ἡΝΤΑΤСАΥΝΕ α[γ]ω π[κε]κει [ἡπ]βε[λ]
16 [ἡατ]2HΤ αϑτ̄ρ̄ϑ̄[π]ἡεὔ[ε] ἡἡαγαθον
[ἡπει]ωτ ἡN ἡ[Γ]ΕΝΟC ΠΑΧΕϑ ἡΓΑΡ
18 [νεϑ χ]ε πκοσμ[οc] πωκ ἡΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΠΕ ἡ
[νεκω]π ἡτ[μορ]φη ετ̄N[2]ἡτ̄ϑ χε οὔ2HΥ
20 [πε αλ]λα οὔ[αθ]ηγ ἡN [οὔκ]ολαcic χι τ
[cβω] ἡα[ε ἡπει ἡτα2]οὔNḡNOY
22 [βῶ οὔ]2HΥ ἡN [οὔναϑρε ἡ]τ̄ΨΥΧΗ ΑΥ
[ω ἡ]τεχι ἡπε[ϑcχημα π]icχημα
24 [πε]τσοοπ 2ατ[ε2]ἡ [ἡπι]ωτ πλογοc
[α]γω πχιcε πεει [α]τρε[c]αὔνε ἡμαϑ
26 [ε]Mπατεῖρπλαν[α] ε<ρε>σοοπ ἡcαρῃ
ἡτε καταδικη 2ομοiωc δεicβακ α
28 πε2ογο χεκαcε 2ιτ̄N παḡβεio εει
ναχιτε α2RHἡ απιἡαβ ἡχιcε πμα
30 ἡτα2α2αειε αβαλ ἡ2Hἡτ̄ϑ α2οὔχι
ἡμο απεει2ιειτ̄ ερεωανπιcτεϑ
32 ε βε αραι ανακ πε εταχιτε απcан
тπε 2ιτ̄N πicχημα εтeneϑ αρῑϑ
34 ανακ πε εтаβite 2ι'наνα2βε' βωκ
α2οὔN 2ιτ̄N πεcπειρ πμα ἡта2αει
36 αβαλ ἡμεϑ αγω 2ωπ ἡμο ανεθ
ριον πιφορημα [ε]τεῖρφορει ἡμαϑ
38 †NOY ἡπω εN [π]ε [ερε]ωανβωκ

[10]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

- 8 []
 [] pleasure (ἡδονή). We are like
 10 [] him to []
 [] soul (ψυχή) [] men who []
 12 [] the [dwelling] place.
 [What] now (δέ) is the [faith (πίστις) laid down]
 14 by the master who [released] him [from the great]
 ignorance [and] the [darkness of the ignorant eye?]
 16 He reminded him of the good things (ἀγαθόν)
 [of the Father] and the race (γένος). For (γάρ) he said
 18 [to him]: "Now (γάρ) the world (κόσμος) is not yours (masc.);
 [may you (masc.) not esteem] the form (μορφή) that is in it [as]
 advantageous;
 20 [rather (ἀλλά)] (it is) [disadvantageous] and a [punishment
 (κόλασις)]." Receive
 now (δέ) the [teaching of the one who was] reproached—
 22 an advantage and [a profit] for the soul (ψυχή)—
 [and] receive (fem.) [his shape (σχῆμα). It is the] shape (σχῆμα)
 24 [that] exists in the presence [of the Father], the word (λόγος)
 and the height, that let you know him
 26 before you have been led astray (πλανᾶν) while in (the) flesh
 (σάρξ)
 of condemnation (καταδίκη). Likewise (ὁμοίως) I became very
 small
 28 so that through my humility I
 might take you up to the great height, whence
 30 you had fallen. You were taken
 to this pit. If now you believe (πιστεύειν)
 32 in me, it is I who shall take you
 above through this shape (σχῆμα) that you see.
 34 It is I who shall bear you upon my shoulders. Enter
 through the rib whence you came
 36 and hide yourself from the beasts (θηρίον).
 The burden (φόρημα) that you bear (φορεῖν)
 38 now [is] not yours. Whenever [you (fem.)] go

[12]

(Lines 1-11 lacking)

12 [15[±]]πι.[
 [14[±]]ωμα.[
 14 [11[±]]ενευν.[
 [13[±] αβα]λ 2̄m πεφεαυ[
 16 ην[. .] τ̄n[8[±]]θε χιν n̄ωα[ρπ̄]
 αβαλ 2̄m π[τρ̄α]π̄q̄ m̄n̄ τεσζιμ[ε]
 18 ζαπζινη[q̄ n̄ πζιc]ε m̄n̄ πc[α]ββ[α]
 τον ετε πε[ει πε κco]cμοc α[βαλ n̄]
 20 γαρ 2̄n̄ πτ[ρ̄αεπ̄q̄ m]n̄ πειω[τ ζαπ]
 ζινηq̄ α[q̄n̄ πcαββατ]ον m̄n̄ [πει]
 22 αβαλ 2̄n̄ π[κοcμοc n̄]n̄[θ]ηρ[ιον οy]
 αβαλ ζι<n̄>θ[ηριον] n̄[γ]αρ [π]ε κco[cμοc]
 24 αyω οy[θηριον] ηε ετβε πεει η[εει]
 ετcαρ̄m̄ α[γαπ̄q̄ απε]πιβοyλοc ε[ρεπη]
 26 αβαλ n̄δε [2̄n̄ niθn]ριον n̄ταζι αβ[αλ]
 αyχο αxω[q̄ n̄oγ]ωτην n̄τε κκατ[α]
 28 δικη nem[n̄τε τε]cζιμε n̄γαρ κελαy
 ε n̄2̄βcoy [εc.x]ō αxωq̄ m̄πεccπερ
 30 μα ειμητ[ι α]π[ε]n̄ταcωρ̄π̄ n̄n̄τq̄
 2̄n̄ πcαβ[β]ατον m̄n̄θηριον γαρ
 32 ωοοπ 2̄m̄ [π]αiωn̄ μαρεπιωτ n̄γαρ
 [ρ̄]cαββατο[n̄] αλλα εq̄ρ̄ζωq̄ απωη
 34 ρε αyω ζιτ̄[m̄] πωηρε αq̄oγωζ ατο
 οτq̄ εq̄τ̄n̄ n̄[ε]q̄ n̄n̄αιωn̄ οyντε πι
 36 ωτ 2̄n̄cτο[ιx]ειον n̄λογικον εγα
 ανζ νεει [α]βαλ n̄ζητοy εq̄† ζι
 38 ωq̄ n̄nam̄[ελοc n̄]n̄2̄q̄coy· πρωμε

(Li
 13 [
 [
 14 [
 [
 16 [
 From
 18 sleep
 which
 20 For
 sleep
 22 from
 For
 24 and it
 that is
 26 is from
 They
 28 for
 garment
 30 except
 on the
 32 exists i
 keep th
 34 and th
 to prov
 36 living r
 from w
 38 my/me

[11]

(Lines 1-11 lacking)

- 12 []
 []
 14 []
 [] from his glory []
 16 [] from the first.
 From [*being counted*] with the female,
 18 sleep [*brought labor*] and the [*sabbath (σάββατον)*]
 which [*is the*] world (*κόσμος*).
 20 For (*γάρ*) from [*being counted*] with the Father,
 sleep brought [*the sabbath (σάββατον)*] and [*the exodus*]
 22 from the [*world (κόσμος) of the beasts (θηρίον)*].
 For (*γάρ*) the [*world (κόσμος)*] is from <the> [*beasts (θηρίον)*]
 24 and it is a [*beast (θηρίον)*]. Therefore [*he*]
 that is lost [*has been reckoned to the*] crafty one (*ἐπίβουλος*),
 and (*δέ*) [*that one*]
 26 is from [*the beasts (θηρίον)*] that came forth.
 They put upon [*him a*] garment of condemnation (*καταδίκη*),
 28 for (*γάρ*) [*the*] female [*had no*] other
 garment [*for clothing*] her seed (*σπέρμα*)
 30 except (*εἰ μή τι*) the one she first brought
 on the sabbath (*σάββατον*). For (*γάρ*) no beast (*θηρίον*)
 32 exists in [*the*] Aeon. For (*γάρ*) the Father does not
 keep the sabbath (*σάββατον*) but (*ἀλλά*) actuates the Son,
 34 and through the Son he continued
 to provide himself with the Aeons. The Father has
 36 living rational (*λογικόν*) elements (*στοιχείον*)
 from which he puts on
 38 my [*members (μέλος)*] as garments. The man

[1B]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

10 [7[±]].ϫ[
 [6[±]].ετϛ[
 12 [.....]ϫϫ π.[πε]
 [ει] πε πρεν π[αϫ]
 14 [π]αζτῆ̄ αβαλ ᾠ[μιν ᾠμαϫ] α[γω] αϫ
 [π]ωζτ αβαλ ᾠπ[ρεϫναβ]ᾠβ [πε]ν
 16 [τα]ζχι ναβᾠβ [αϫῤω]βειω ᾠπρεν
 [ζαζ]ᾠᾠ ᾠδε π[εει ετν]αεινε απνα
 18 [βᾠ]β̄ αϫοϫω[ᾠζ̄] αβα]λ ᾠσαρζ̄ αγω
 [πιρ]εϫω[ωϫ ᾠᾠτεϫ σα]ζνε ᾠῤῥ̄ χρει
 20 [α εν] ᾠπεα[γ̄ ετε πωϫ εν] πε οϫντεῶ̄
 [ᾠμε]γ̄ ᾠᾠῤ[εαγ ᾠμιν] ᾠᾠμαϫ ζαᾠᾠ πι
 22 [ρεν ε]ᾠτε π[ωη]ρε π̄ε [ᾠᾠαϫ]ει ᾠδε αᾠᾠᾠ
 [ω]ωπε ενζα εαγ [ζιᾠᾠ]πρεῤϫωωϫ
 24 [ετ]ωοοπ ᾠᾠᾠ[α ᾠτε π]ωωϫ αβαλ
 [ᾠ]δε ζιᾠοοᾠᾠ ᾠ[βι]π̄εει] ᾠᾠᾠαζχι να
 26 βᾠβ̄ ᾠᾠᾠᾠ ᾠπᾠ[ωε] αβ]αλ ᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠ
 ζιᾠοοᾠᾠ ᾠδε ᾠπ[εᾠᾠ]αζοϫᾠᾠᾠᾠ
 28 βῤ̄ [ᾠᾠ] αγω πεᾠᾠ[αζοϫ]αᾠᾠ ενχι ᾠ
 ᾠχαριϫ ᾠᾠᾠ ᾠδε π[ε πε]ει ᾠᾠαζϫωτε
 30 ᾠπενᾠαϫᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠ ᾠαποζροια
 ᾠπρεν πε ᾠθε γαρ ε[τ]ε ᾠσαρζ̄ ᾠ χρει
 32 α ᾠοϫρεν τεει τε θε [ᾠϫ]αρζ̄ οϫαᾠᾠ
 πε ᾠᾠαζαᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠ τεγ[α]ῤ̄ αβαλ αϫ
 34 ωωπ αραϫ ᾠπμεγεᾠ[οϫ] εᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠ απι
 ᾠᾠ ᾠεκαϫε ερεπαᾠᾠᾠ [ᾠ]αβωκ αζοϫᾠ
 36 απενᾠαϫᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠ [α]ᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠᾠ α
 πᾠαβᾠᾠᾠ ᾠπωελ α[γ]ω ᾠσεϫπᾠᾠ
 38 ᾠκεσαπ ᾠᾠ ᾠσαρ[ζ̄ αγω ᾠᾠ] πᾠσαϫ ᾠ

[12]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

10 []
 []
 12 [*this*]
 is the name. The [*he*]
 14 emitted [*himself and*] he
 emitted the [*reproached one. The one*]
 16 [*who*] was reproached changed (his) name
 and (δέ) [*along with that which would be*] like the reproach
 18 he [*appeared*] as flesh (σάρξ). And
 [*the humiliated one has no*] equipment. He has [*no*] need (χρεία)
 20 of the [*glory that*] is [*not his*]; he has
 his own [*glory*] with the
 22 [*name*], which is the [*Son*]. Now (δέ) he came that we might
 become glorious [*through the*] humiliated one
 24 [*that*] dwells in the [*places of*] humiliation.
 And (δέ) through him who was reproached
 26 we receive the [*forgiveness*] of sins.
 And (δέ) through the one [*who*] was reproached
 28 and the one who [*was redeemed*] we receive
 grace (χάρις). But (δέ) who [*is it*] that redeemed
 30 the one who was reproached? It is [*the*] emanation (ἀπόρροια)
 of the name. For just as the flesh (σάρξ) has need (χρεία)
 32 of a name, so also is [*the*] flesh (σάρξ) an Aeon
 that Wisdom (σοφία) has emitted. It
 34 received the majesty (μέγεθος) that is descending,
 so that the Aeon might enter
 36 the one who was reproached, that we might escape
 the disgrace of the carcass and might be regenerated
 38 in the flesh (σάρξ) [*and*] blood of

[iΓ]

(Lines 1–8 lacking)

[...ΘΙΜΑ]ΡΜΕ[Ν]Η Q[

10 [...]ε̄ ᾱγω̄ νᾱιων̄ ε̄[

[ᾱγ]ω̄ω̄π̄ ᾱρᾱγ̄ μ̄π̄ω̄η[ρε̄ ε̄νε̄ε̄ω̄ω̄]

12 [ο]π̄ μ̄μ̄υσ̄τη̄ρῑον̄ τη̄ρ[q̄

[π]ο̄γε̄[ει] π[ο̄γε̄]εῑ μ̄νε̄ε̄μ̄ε̄λ[ο̄c

14 [6±]†.[...].[...]ε̄̄ ν̄ο̄γ̄χᾱρῑc [ν̄]τ̄α]

[ρ]ε̄[q̄α]ω̄β̄η[λ] μ̄μ[ε̄ν] ᾱγ̄π̄ω̄ρ̄χ̄ μ̄π̄[η]

16 ᾱβᾱλ̄ q̄ν̄ τε̄κ̄κ̄λη̄[ci]ᾱ ν̄ο̄ε̄ q̄ν̄τᾱι[ε̄ μ̄]

π̄κε̄κεῑ ᾱβᾱλ̄ q̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄ε̄ε̄γ̄ νε̄q̄ο̄γ̄ρῑ[τε]

18 δε̄ ᾱγ̄† νε̄q̄ ν̄q̄ν̄ῑχ̄η̄ο̄c ᾱγ̄ω̄ [ᾱνε̄ει]

ω̄ρ̄ω̄ ν̄τ̄ε̄ζ̄ῑη̄ ν̄τ̄[bi]ν̄β̄ω̄κ̄ ᾱ[ζ̄ρη̄i]

20 ω̄ᾱ π̄ῑω̄τ̄ ε̄[γ] ν̄δε̄ τ̄[ε̄ ο̄ε̄ μ̄]ν̄π̄ῑρη̄[τε̄ ε̄τ]

ᾱcω̄ω̄π̄[ε̄ n]ε̄γ̄ ν̄[†ᾱπ̄ε̄ ν̄τ]ε̄ n[ε̄ει]

22 ᾱcεῑρε̄ δε̄ π̄μᾱ [ν̄ω̄ω̄π̄ε̄ α]εῑ[νε̄ ᾱβᾱλ]

μ̄πο̄γ̄αῑ[ν̄ ν̄η̄η] ε̄το̄γ̄η̄ζ̄ [ν̄]ζ̄ρη̄[i ν̄ζ̄η]

24 τ̄q̄ χ̄ε̄κᾱ[cē ε̄γ]ᾱνε̄γ̄ ᾱτε̄κ̄κ̄λη̄c[iā ε̄c̄n̄]

η̄η[γ] ᾱζ̄ρ̄[ηi ν̄τ]ᾱζ̄[α]τ̄ᾱπε̄ γ̄αρ̄ cω̄κ̄ [m̄]

26 μᾱc ᾱζ̄ρη̄i ᾱβᾱλ̄ q̄m̄ π̄ζ̄ῑεῑτ̄ ν̄τᾱγ̄

ρε̄κ̄τ̄c̄ ζ̄ῑχ̄m̄ π̄ε̄c̄τᾱγ̄ρο̄c ᾱγ̄ω̄ ᾱ[c]

28 β̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ απ̄[ι]τ̄n̄ απ̄τᾱρ̄τᾱρο̄c χ̄ε̄κᾱ[cē]

νε̄τ̄m̄π̄c̄ᾱη̄π̄ῑτ̄n̄ ε̄γ̄ᾱβ̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ απ̄ε̄

30 ν̄ο̄ε̄ n̄γ̄αρ̄ ν̄ο̄γ̄c̄μᾱτ̄ ε̄ρε̄ω̄ᾱνο̄γ̄ε̄εῑ

β̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ ᾱγ̄[ε̄ε̄]! τ̄ο̄τε̄ ω̄αρ̄ε̄ π̄ζ̄ο̄ μ̄π̄εν̄

32 τᾱζ̄β̄ω̄ω̄[τ] απ̄ῑτ̄n̄ β̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ απ̄ε̄

τ̄ε̄εῑ τε̄ ο̄ε̄ n̄[τ]ᾱρε̄τᾱπε̄ β̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ ᾱ

34 βᾱλ̄ q̄n̄ π[χ̄i]c̄ε̄ ω̄ᾱ νε̄q̄μ̄ε̄λο̄c ᾱζ̄αν̄

μ̄μ̄ε̄λο̄c π̄ω̄τ̄ απ̄ε̄ π̄μᾱ νε̄ρε̄τᾱ

36 πε̄ ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ [m̄]μ̄ε̄γ̄ ν̄τᾱq̄ ν̄δε̄ π̄ε̄c̄τᾱγ̄

ρο̄c νε̄q̄ω̄ω̄π̄ ν̄ω̄q̄τ̄ n̄μ̄μ̄ε̄λο̄c

38 ᾱγ̄ω̄ μ̄ο̄η̄η̄ [χ̄]ε̄κᾱc̄ε̄ ε̄γ̄ᾱω̄β̄n̄βᾱμ̄

[13]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

- [*destiny* (εἰμαρμένη)]. He [
 10 [] and the Aeons [
 [they] accepted the Son [although he was]
 12 a complete mystery (μυστήριον) [
 [each one] of his [members (μέλος)
 14 [] grace (χάρις). [When]
 [he cried out (+μέν), he] was separated
 16 from the Church (ἐκκλησία) like [portions of]
 the darkness from the Mother, while (δέ) his [feet]
 18 provided him traces (ἴχνος), and [these]
 scorched the path of [the] ascent
 20 to the Father. But (δέ) [what is the way and manner (in) which]
 it (fem.) became [their Head]?
 22 Well (δέ), it (fem.) made the [dwelling place to bring forth]
 the light [to those] who dwell within
 24 him so that [they might] see the [ascending] Church (ἐκκλησία).
 For (γάρ) the Head drew
 26 itself up from the pit; it
 was bent over the cross (σταυρός) and [it]
 28 looked down to Tartaros so that
 those below might look above.
 30 Hence (γάρ), for example, when someone
 looks at [someone], then (τότε) the face of the one
 32 who looked down looks up;
 so also once the Head looked
 34 from the [height] to its members (μέλος), our
 members (μέλος) [went] above, where the Head
 36 was. And (δέ) it, the cross (σταυρός),
 was [undergoing] nailing for the members (μέλος),
 38 and solely (μόνη) that they might be able

[1A]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

- 8 [10± ο]γῆτε..[
 [9± α]βαλ χε αζοϋειν[ε
 10 [8±]βαογαν· τςϋντελει[α τε]
 [τεειζε πεντ]α̅ςρμα̅ειῆ ῆμεν α[ραϋ]
 12 [ϋαχ]ψκ αβαλ ῆ̅ν τ[ετα]ῆρμα̅ειῆ [α]
 [ραϋ] ῆ̅ςπερμα Δ[ε ετ]ψ[α]χη [να]ῆ̅α[νε]
 14 [χ]ε ψαντεπτη[ρ]ῆ̅ ῆ̅εκκρине ῆ̅[ῆ]·χ[ι]
 [μο]ρφη αγω τεειζεεϋ ταποφαϋς
 16 [ῆ]α·χωκ αβαλ· ῆ̅θε ῆ̅γαρ ῆ̅τςζιμε
 [τη ετ]ε ψαγταειαϋ αζηῆ απμοϋ
 18 [οῦῆ̅τ]εϋ ῆ̅μ[εϋ] ῆ̅[ῆ]φῆῆ ῆ̅πχρονοϋ
 [сна]μιϋε [ῆ̅τ]ζε] ῆ̅ν τε[ει] ῆ̅δε миϋе
 20 [сна]χι ῆ̅[πεπλ]α̅ςм[α ε]τηψ νεϋ
 [αγω] εϋ[ναῆ̅τελε]ιϋοϋ οῦντεῆ̅ ῆ̅μεϋ
 22 [ῆ̅νοϋς]ια [ῆ̅νατ]φῆ̅ον[ο]ϋ [εϋ]εψηρε ῆ̅
 [πῆ]οϋτε ψοοп ῆ̅ζ[ητῆ̅] ζο]ταν δε
 24 [εϋ]ψαῆ̅χπο ῆ̅πτη[ρῆ̅] π]ετε οῦν
 [τ]ῆ̅β ῆ̅μεϋ сенаβαλ<ῆ̅> αβαλ ῆ̅м π
 26 κωῆ̅τ χε αϋψωϋ απεζοϋο αῆ̅ρ
 ζῆ̅βριζε ^{VACAT} ῆ̅δε πειωτ ῆ̅
 28 τ̅αροῦτῆ̅ναϋ βε ῆ̅πῆ̅[α]β ῆ̅ψηρε
 ῆ̅са νεῆ̅ςνηῆ̅ ῆ̅κο[γ]ει αϋπωῆ̅ψ
 30 αβαλ ῆ̅π̅διαταγμα ῆ̅[ῆ]πιωτ αϋψω
 ῆ̅μαῆ̅ εϋτ̅ αῆ̅ῆ̅ πτ[ηῆ̅]ῆ̅ αγω αϋ
 32 ϋι ῆ̅π̅χειρογραφοῆ̅ ῆ̅εϋ πατκα
 таδικη πееи ῆ̅δε π[ε π]̅διαταγμα
 34 ενεϋψοοп пе νε[ῆ̅]τ̅αζοϋε̅ιτοϋ
 ῆ̅βαογαν αζοϋψ[ω]πε ῆ̅καταΔι
 36 κοϋ ῆ̅ῆ̅ адам αζοϋῆ̅[τ]οϋ αβαλ ῆ̅π
 μοϋ αζοϋχι ῆ̅πκω[ε] αβαλ ῆ̅νοϋ
 38 ναβι αγω αζοϋϋψτε ῆ̅μαϋ ζιτῆ̅

[14]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

8 [] have []
 [] because they were [*like*
 10 [] slave. The consummation (*συντέλεια*) [*is*],
 [*thus: He whom*] she indicated (+*μέν*)
 12 [*will be completed*] by the [*one who*] indicated.
 And (*δέ*) the seeds [*that remain will endure* (*ἀνέχεσθαι*)]
 14 until the All is separated (*ἐκκρίνειν*) [*and takes*]
 shape (*μορφή*). And thus the decree (*ἀπόφασις*)
 16 will be fulfilled, for (*γάρ*) just as the woman
 who is honored until death
 18 [*has*] the advantage of time (*χρόνος*),
 [*so too will it*] give birth. And (*δέ*) this offspring
 20 [*will*] receive [*the body* (*πλάσμα*)] appointed for it
 [*and*] it [*will become perfect* (*τέλειος*)]. He has
 22 a generous (*-φθόνος*) [*nature* (*οὐσία*) *since*] the Son of
 God dwells in [*him*]. And (*δέ*) whenever (*ὅταν*)
 24 he acquires the All, whatever
 he possesses will <be dissolved> in the
 26 fire because it greatly despised and (*δέ*)
 outraged (*ὑβρίζειν*) VACAT the Father.
 28 Moreover, when the great Son was sent
 after his small brothers, he spread
 30 abroad the edict (*διάταγμα*) of the Father and proclaimed
 it, opposing the All. And he
 32 removed the old bond of debt (*χειρόγραφον*), the one of
 condemnation (*καταδίκη*). And (*δέ*) this [*is the*] edict (*διάταγμα*)
 34 that was: Those who made themselves
 enslaved have become condemned (*καταδικός*)
 36 in Adam. They have been [*brought*] from
 death, received forgiveness for their
 38 sins and been redeemed by

[ι̅ε̅]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

[.] . . [. . .] . [

10 [. . .] ἄν ἐν̅μ̅π[ψα

[.] . θ̅ον̅ μ̅ν̅ ν̅εν̅ . [

12 [.] ς̅ ε̅ει̅χο̅υ̅ ν̅δε̅ μ̅[μα̅ϙ

[. .] ω[.] τ̅ον̅ [. .] ς̅ . [

14 [. .] ἡ̅ μ̅ν̅ ἡ̅ ν̅[ε̅]ε̅ι̅[

μ̅[π]ψα ν̅γαρ ἄ . [

16 ἡ̅νο̅υ̅τε̅ ἀ̅γω̅ π̅ε̅ι̅[ωτ π]

χρη̅στο̅ς̅ ἀ̅ρ̅σε̅ρ̅ω̅ϙ [α̅βα̅λ̅ ς̅ν̅ νε̅]

18 ε̅ι̅ τη̅ρο̅υ̅ ε̅ρ̅μα̅ε̅[ι̅ε̅ ν̅νε̅ρ̅με̅λο̅ς̅]

ς̅μ̅ πε̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ τη̅[ρ̅]̅ π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅φ̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅ι̅ †]

20 ν̅νε̅ρ̅με̅λο̅ς̅ ο̅υ̅β̅[ε̅ νε̅γ̅ερ̅η̅γ̅ ε̅ι̅ω]

πε̅ ν̅ρ̅φ̅θ̅[ο̅]ν̅ε̅ι̅ [ε̅ν̅ ν̅νε̅ρ̅ω̅π̅ε̅ ε̅ρ̅]

22 σε̅ρ̅η̅γ̅ ἀ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ν̅κ̅[ε̅με̅λο̅ς̅ μ̅ν̅ π̅ια̅]

γα̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅[ρ̅]̅νε̅γ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅α̅ϙ̅ [ε̅γ̅] ἡ̅[τε̅ρ̅ ν̅ο̅υ̅]

24 σαν̅ ἡ̅με̅γ̅ [ε̅ρ̅]ω̅π̅ ἡ̅μ̅αν̅ [ς̅ω̅ς̅ ν̅τα̅ρ̅]

ς̅ω̅ω̅ π̅ε̅ ε̅ρ̅† ε̅α̅γ̅ ἡ̅π̅[η̅ ε̅† νε̅ν̅]

26 ν̅τ̅χα̅ρι̅ς̅· ς̅ω̅ε̅ δε̅ ἀ̅πο̅[γ̅ε̅]ε̅ι̅ π̅[ο̅]γ̅

ε̅ε̅ι̅ ἡ̅μ̅αν̅ ἀ̅τ̅ρε̅ρ̅α̅π̅ο̅λ̅[α̅γ̅]ε̅ ν̅τ̅α̅[ω̅]

28 ρ̅ε̅α̅ ε̅ν̅τα̅ρ̅χι̅τ̅ς̅ ν̅τ̅μ̅ π̅[νο̅υ̅τ̅]ε̅ ἄ̅[γ̅]

ω̅ ν̅τ̅η̅τ̅μ̅ρ̅φ̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅ν̅ς̅α̅γ̅νε̅ ς̅[ε̅]

30 π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅φ̅θ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅χ̅ρα̅π̅ π̅ε̅ ἡ̅π̅ε̅ρ̅ι̅

η̅ ε̅ρ̅ω̅α̅ρ̅ω̅ρ̅ ἡ̅μ̅α̅ϙ̅ ο̅υ̅α̅ε̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅

32 ς̅μ̅ πε̅ρ̅μα̅τ̅ ἀ̅γω̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ ν̅α̅τ̅η̅[τ̅]

ἡ̅π̅νο̅υ̅τε̅ ς̅ω̅ε̅ ἀ̅ρα̅ϙ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅ε̅ω̅ε̅ [ν̅ρ̅]

34 τ̅ε̅[λ̅]η̅λ̅ ν̅ρ̅χι̅ ἀ̅βα̅λ̅ ς̅ν̅ τ̅χα̅ρι̅ς̅ μ̅ν̅

τ̅α̅ω̅ρ̅ε̅α̅· ο̅υ̅ν̅τε̅ ο̅υ̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅ρ̅μα̅τ̅ ν̅

36 π̅ρο̅φ̅η̅τ̅ι̅κ̅ο̅ν̅ ε̅ρ̅ι̅με̅τε̅χε̅ ἀ̅ρα̅ϙ̅ ο̅υ̅

ω̅ν̅ ρ̅η̅η̅τ̅ς̅νε̅γ̅ ἡ̅π̅ρ̅† π̅ε̅κο̅υ̅α̅ε̅ι̅

38 ε̅ ἀ̅πε̅κ̅σαν̅ ς̅ν̅ ο̅υ̅φ̅θ̅ο̅νο̅ς̅ ο̅υ̅τε̅ ἡ̅

[15]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

[
 10 [] since we are worthy [
 [] and [
 12 [] but (δέ) I say [
 [
 14 [] and these [
 For (γάρ) [] is worthy to [
 16 God. And the Father [*the*]
 Christ (χρηστός) removed himself [*from*]
 18 all these, since he loves [*his members (μέλος)*]
 with all his heart. [*One who is jealous (φθονεῖν) sets*]
 20 his members (μέλος) against [*one another. If*]
 he is [*not*] jealous (φθονεῖν), [*he will not*]
 22 be removed from (the) [*other members (μέλος) and the*]
 good (ἀγαθός) which [*he*] sees. [*By having a*]
 24 brother [*who*] regards us [*as (ὡς) he*]
 also is, one glorifies the [*one who gives us*]
 26 grace (χάρις). Moreover, it is fitting for [*each*]
 of us to [*enjoy (ἀπολαύειν)*] the gift (δωρεά)
 28 that he has received from [*God, and*]
 that we not be jealous (φθονεῖν), since we know that
 30 he who is jealous (φθονεῖν) is an obstacle in his (own) [*path*],
 since he destroys only himself
 32 with the gift and he is ignorant
 of God. He ought to rejoice [*and*]
 34 be glad and partake of grace (χάρις) and
 bounty (δωρεά). Does someone have a
 36 prophetic (προφητικόν) gift? Share (μετέχειν) it without
 hesitation. Neither approach
 38 your brother jealously (-φθόνος) nor (οὔτε)

[15]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

- [9± σα]τπ εγούγ.[
 10 [8± ω]ογειτ εγρβ[αλ
 [9±]ζηγ αβαλ ντεγ[
 12 [9±]ρει ν[α]τσαγνε χ[ε]
 [12±]μ[πε]ειρ[ητ]ε αζ[ογ]
 14 [11±]ε μμαγ νζ[ρηί ν]
 [ζητ= 9±]αν χεκασε εγνα
 16 [μκμογκο]γ [ν]βια ετβε νετκογα
 [ωογ αμε]γε ετβητογ ερεωανε
 18 [ει μακμεκ αζο]γν αρακ' πεκσαν
 [νδε ογντεγ αν] μμεγ ντεχαρις
 20 [ντε πη μπρβ]ωχq μμακ' αλλα
 [τεληλ νκωωπ ζ]ματ μπνευμα
 22 [τικως νκει]ρε πω[λ]ηλ ζα πετμ
 [μεγ χε]κασε εκναμε[τ]εχε ατχαρ[ις]
 24 [ετωοο]π νζηρηί νζητq μπρα[π[q]
 [βε ε]γα[λ]λοτριον αρακ πε αλλα πε
 26 [τ]ε πωκ ηε πεει νταζαπογееи
 [π]ογееи [ν]κω<v>ρμελος χιτq εκ
 28 [να]μα[ε]ιε таπε ете ογντες ηη ογν
 [τ]εκς ζωκ' τεει <ετε> αβαλ νζητ<с> ερε
 30 νεειαποζροια ννεζματ ωο
 [ο]π ζν нексνηγ' αλλα ογн ογε
 32 [ει ρ]προκοпте ζμ πлогος μπρ
 χι χραп ζμ πεει μπρχοοq χε
 34 εтве еγ πεει μμεн ψεχε ανακ
 νδε ντψεχε εν πετε πεει ν
 36 гар χογ μμαq ογπετε πωк πε
 αγω πετρноει μπлогος μн
 38 петψεχε †бам νογωт те пло

(Lines

[

10 [

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16 reflect

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[that w

[16]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

[*chosen*] as they [
 10 [] empty as they [*escape*
 [] fallen from their [
 12 [] are ignorant that
 [*in this way they*] have
 14 [] them in
 [] in order that they may
 16 [*reflect*] perforce (*βία*) upon the things that you want
 [*them to think*] about when [*they*]
 18 [*think about*] you. [*Now* (*δέ*)] your brother
 [*also has his*] grace (*χάρις*):
 20 [*Do not*] belittle yourself, but (*ἀλλά*)
 [*rejoice and give*] thanks spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*)
 22 [*and*] pray for that
 [*one in order that*] you might share (*μετέχειν*) the grace (*χάρις*)
 24 [*that dwells*] within him. So do not consider [*him*]
 [*foreign* (*ἀλλότριον*)] to you, rather (*ἀλλά*), (as) one
 26 who is yours, whom each
 [*of*] your <fellow->members (*-μέλος*) received.
 28 By [*loving*] the Head who possesses them,
 you also possess the one from whom it is that
 30 these outpourings (*ἀπόρροια*) of gifts exist
 among your brethren. But (*ἀλλά*) is someone
 32 making progress (*προκόπτειν*) in the Word (*λόγος*)? Do not
 be hindered by this; do not say:
 34 "Why does he (+*μέν*) speak
 while (*δέ*) I do not?" For (*γάρ*) what he
 36 says is (also) yours,
 and that which discerns (*νοεῖν*) the Word (*λόγος*) and
 38 that which speaks is the same power. The [*Word* (*λόγος*)]

[iZ]

(Lines 1-10 lacking)

1 [roc

[.].[

12 [.]ce[

[.]. a[. .].[

- 14 [βε]λ η̄ ἡ̄ ἰ̄ οὐγ[οί]χ [οὐαεετοῦ εἴψο]
 ο̄π̄ ἡ̄ οὐγσωμα ἡ̄ ἰ̄ οὐγωτ νετε νων νε]
 16 τηρῆ εἴρ̄ διακο[νει ἡ̄ ταπε ριογσαπ]
 πογееи πογееи ἡ̄ [δε ἡ̄ μελος ερωπ]
 18 ἡ̄ μας ἡ̄ μελος ἡ̄ ἡ̄ [ωβам ἡ̄ μαγ]
 τηροῦ ᾱ ψωπε [μπτηρ̄ ἡ̄ οὐγριτε]
 20 η̄ πτηρ̄ ἡ̄ βελ· [η̄ πτηρ̄ ἡ̄ βιχ ερε]
 νεειμελος ἡ̄ ἡ̄ οὐγωωῆ̄ οὐαεετοῦ]
 22 αλλα σεμαγτ̄ τ̄ ἡ̄ [σαγνε χε σεμοῦ]
 οὐτ̄ ἡ̄ μαγ ετβε εἴ ἡ̄ [δε εκμαεие̄]
 24 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ μελ[ος] ετμαγτ̄ αν̄ ᾱ [πμα ἡ̄ नेता]
 αν̄ ἡ̄ νεψ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ εκσαγνη̄ [ε χε ογееи]
 26 πετοει ἡ̄ ατσαγνε αν̄ ες[η̄ εκο]
 ει ἡ̄ γαρ ἡ̄ ατσαγνε εκμα[στε ἡ̄ μαγ]
 28 αγω εκρ̄ φθονει αραγ̄ ε[κναχι εν]
 ἡ̄ τ̄ χαρις ετψοοπ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ [ρη̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ [ρη̄ οῦ]
 30 εκκογωψε εν̄ ᾱ ρωτ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ μαγ̄ ᾱ [τ]
 δωρεα ἡ̄ ταπε εσψε αρακ̄ ᾱ [ω]π̄
 32 ρματ̄ ρα ἡ̄ ἡ̄ μελος αγω ἡ̄ ἡ̄ [ραι]
 τεῑ χε κασε εγνατ̄ ἡ̄ νεκ̄ ρω[ωκ]
 34 ἡ̄ τ̄ χαρις τεπταροῦτεεις ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄
 οὔρ̄ ἡ̄ μαο ἡ̄ γαρ̄ πε̄ πλογοс ἡ̄ ατ̄
 36 ρ̄ φθονει αγω οὔχρηστος̄ πε̄ ἡ̄
 † αβαλ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ νειμα ἡ̄ ἡ̄ δωρεα ἡ̄
 38 ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ρωμε̄ ᾱ χ̄ ἡ̄ ρ̄ φθονεῑ κατα

[17]

(Lines 1-10 lacking)

- [
 12 [[
 14 [eye] or (ἡ) a [hand only, although they are]
 a [single] body (σῶμα). [Those who belong to us]
 16 all serve (διακονεῖν) [the Head together].
 [And (δέ)] each one [of the members (μέλος) reckons]
 18 it as a member (μέλος). [They can] not
 all become [entirely a foot]
 20 or (ἡ) entirely an eye [or entirely (ἡ) a hand, since]
 these members (μέλος) will not [live alone];
 22 rather (ἀλλά) they are dead. We [know that they are being put
 to death.]
- [So (δέ)] why [do you love]
 24 the members (μέλος) that are still dead, [instead of those that]
 live? How do you know [that someone]
 26 is ignorant of the [brethren]?
 For (γάρ) [you] are ignorant when you [hate them]
 28 and are jealous (φθονεῖν) of them, since [you will not receive]
 the grace (χάρις) that dwells within [them],
 30 being unwilling to reconcile them to [the]
 bounty (δωρεά) of the Head. You ought to [give]
 32 thanks for the members (μέλος) and [ask (αἰτεῖν)]
 that you too might be granted
 34 [the] grace (χάρις) that has been given to them.
 For (γάρ) the Word (λόγος) is rich,
 36 generous (-φθονεῖν), and kind (χρηστός). Here he
 gives away gifts (δωρεά) to
 38 his people without jealousy (-φθονεῖν) according to (κατά)

[IH]

(Lines 1-10 lacking)

- 12 [10± 19±]2[
 [10± οὐω]ἡζ' [α]βαλ ζ[ρηί]
 [2M ποῦεει ποῦε]ει ἡμμελ[οc]
 14 [10± M]MIN ἡμαc αῦ
 [10±] ενcεμιψε εν
 16 [ρω ἡN νεγερη]γ ετβε πῶφειε ἡ
 [πεγερηγ αλλ]α εῦψπ ζιcε ἡN
 18 [νεγερηγ εγναρ]ζωq ἡN νεγερηγ
 [αῦω εἰψπε ο]γN οῦεει ἡμαγ
 20 [ψωne εγναψ]ψne ἡMMeq αῦω
 [ερεποῦεει ποῦε]ει οῦαχ ceοῦαχ
 22 [ζι οῦca]η [ει]ψπε νεγαζε δε α
 [τβῖἡει α]βαλ ζἡN θαρ[M]ONIA εῦα
 24 [ει απαι]ων εἰτε ceχααNT ἡχι
 [αβαλ ἡ]TCYMFONIA ποcω ἡζOY
 26 [ο neT]ψοοπ αβαλ ζἡN τMἡNTOῦεει
 [ἡοῦωT] ceηπ αζωTq ανεγε
 28 [ρηγ] ἡπωp αρεncαλει ἡTeKa
 ηε χε ἡπcKωε ἡμαK ἡβελ αλ
 30 λἄ ἡTαcKaαK ἡTηβε οῦTe ἡπP
 [P]φθoνει απεTαγKaαq ζἡN οῦ
 32 [Me]poc ἡβελ η οῦβix η οῦριTe
 ψωπ ζμαT ἡδε χε ἡKψo[o]η
 34 εν ἡπβαλ ἡπcωμα αλλα οῦηTeK
 ἡMeῦ ἡTape ἡοῦωT Teει εT
 36 βηTc ερεπβελ ψοοπ ἡN Tβix
 ἡN TOῦριTe ἡN πκεceπε ἡ
 38 Mepoc εTβε εῦ εκμαcTe ἡ

[18]

(Lines 1-10 lacking)

- 12 [appeared
 [in each] of the members (μέλος)
- 14 [] himself
 [] since they do not fight
- 16 [at all with one another] on account of [their] difference(s).
 [Rather (ἀλλά)] by laboring with
- 18 [one another they will] work with one another,
 [and if] one of them
- 20 [suffers, they will] suffer with him and
 [when each one] is saved, they are saved
- 22 [together]. Moreover, [if they] would wait for
 [the exodus] from the (earthly) harmony (ἁρμονία), they will
- 24 [come to the Aeon]. If (εἴτε) they are fit to share
 [in] the (true) harmony (συμφωνία), how much (πόσῳ) the
more
- 26 [those who] derive from the [single] unity?
 They ought to be reconciled with one another.
- 28 Do not accuse (ἐγκαλεῖν) your Head
 because it has not appointed you as an eye but rather (ἀλλά) as
- 30 a finger. And (οὔτε) do not
 [be] jealous (φθονεῖν) of that which has been put in the
- 32 class (μέρος) of an eye or (ἤ) a hand or (ἤ) a foot,
 but (δέ) be thankful that you do not exist
- 34 outside the body (σῶμα). On the contrary (ἀλλά), you have
 the same Head on
- 36 whose account the eye exists as well as the hand
 and the foot and the rest of the
- 38 parts (μέρος). Why do you despise

ἰϑ

1 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΚΑΔῆ ἦ[ἦ]
 2 ΤΑΣΟΥΩΨΕ ἦ.[
 3 ΚΡΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΕΙ ἦ[
 4 ΩΛῆ ΕΝ ἠΜΑ[
 5 [CΩ]ΜΑ ἠΑΤΤΩΖ[
 6 [...].[.]ϚΑΤΠ[
 7 [6±]ἦ.[
 8 [
 9 [
 10 [
 11 [
 12 [.] [B]ΩΛ ΑΒ[ΑΛ
 13 ἠΤΕ ΠΑΙΩΝ[
 14 [ΟΙ]ΝΕΙ ΑΠΙΤῆ[
 VACAT ἠΔΕ[παρ]
 16 Κῆ ΑΒΑΛ ῶἠ <N>ΑΙ[ΩΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ῶἠ]
 17 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΕΥ ΕΥ[ἠ ΖΑΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ]
 18 ΨΟΟΠ ῶἠ ΤΕΚΚ[ΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑῆΖ Α]
 19 ΒΑΛ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ [ῶἠ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ]
 20 ἠΡΩΜΕ· ῶἠ ΟΥΟ[ΥΕΕΙ ἠΟΥΩΤ ἠ]
 21 ΔΕ ΕΥΤΑΨΕ ΔΕΙ[Ψ ἠΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ]
 22 ἠΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ἠΠ[ΕΥΑΙΩΝ ΟΥἠ]
 23 ΖΑΕΙΝΕ [ἠ]ΔΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ [ἠΜΟΥ ῶἠ]
 24 ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΤ[ΠΗΤ]Β[ΗΤC ΕΥ]
 25 ΠΗΤ ΤΕΕΙ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΕC [ἠ]Π[Μ[ΟΥ]
 26 ῶἠΚΑΥΕ ἠΔΕ ἠΠΩῆΖ ΕΤΒΕ Π[ΕΕΙ]
 27 ῶἠΜΔΕΙΖΟΥΕΩΩΝΖ Ν[Ε] ΑΥ[Ω]
 28 ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ἠΠΚΕCΕΠ[Ε ΨΩΠ]
 29 ΑΡΑϚ ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΦΝΟΥΝΕ ἠΜΙῆ [ἠ]
 30 ΜΑῆ ῆΤΕΟΥΟ ΑΒΑΛ ἠΠΚΑΡΠ[ΟC Ε]
 31 †ΝΕ ἠΜΑϚ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ἠΝΟΥῆ[Ε ΟΥῆ]
 32 ΤΕΥ ἠΜΕΥ ἠΟΥCΥΝΑΦΗ ΨΑ Ν[ΕΥ]
 33 Ε[Ρ]ΗΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟC ῶἠΑΤΠΩ
 34 ΨΕ ΝΕ ΝΑΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΟΥῆ ΕΤCΑΤΠ·
 35 ΟΥῆΤΕΥCΕ ἠΜΕΥ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΕΥ
 36 ἠἠ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΑΡῆΨΩΠΕ ἠ
 ΔΕ ΕΝΤῆΤΩΝ ΑΝΝΟΥῆ ΕΝΨΗΨ

19

the one that is appointed as [
 2 it desired to [
 you slandered (καταλαλεῖν) [
 4 does not embrace [
 unmixed [*body* (σῶμα)
 6 [] chosen [
 [
 8 [
 [
 10 [
 [
 12 [] dissolve [
 of the Aeon [
 14 descent [
 VACAT however (δέ) [*plucked*]
 16 us from <the> [*Aeons that exist in*
 that place. [*Some (+μέν)*]
 18 exist in the [*visible*] Church (ἐκκλησία)—
 those who exist in the [*Church (ἐκκλησία)*]
 20 of men—and (δέ) [*unanimously*]
 they proclaim [*to one another*]
 22 the Pleroma of [*their aeon*].
 And (δέ) some exist [*for death in*]
 24 the Church (ἐκκλησία) on whose behalf [*they*]
 go—she for whom they are [*death*]—
 26 while (δέ) others are for life. Therefore
 they [*are*] lovers of abundant life. And
 28 each of the rest [*endures*]
 by his own root.
 30 He puts forth fruit (καρπός)
 that is like him, since (ἐπειδή) the roots [*have*]
 32 a connection (συναφή) with one
 another and their fruits (καρπός) are undivided,
 34 the best of each.
 They possess them, existing for them
 36 and for one another. So (δέ) let us become
 like the roots since we are equal

κ̄

[12±]η̄ νε̄ ᾠμαν̄ ᾠκᾱ[
 2 [12±]αιων̄ ε̄τ̄μμεῡ .[
 [12±]ᾠνετε̄ νο̄υν̄ εν̄ [νε̄]
 4 [12±]η̄ ᾠτπε̄ ᾠπφ̄ .[
 [12±]εμ̄]ᾱρτε̄ ᾠμᾱρ̄ .[
 6 [12±]π̄η̄[
 [12±] .[
 8 []
 []
 10 []
 []
 12 [13±]υν̄ π[. .] . .[
 [13±] . ε̄πεῑ ᾠμε̄ν̄
 14 [9±]τε̄]κ̄ψ̄ῡχη̄ ᾠνᾱ[
 [11±]ᾱ]ν̄τε̄ε̄ικ̄ νε̄ᾠ ᾠ
 16 [9±]ε̄]κ̄ω̄αν̄το̄ῡβο̄ ᾠ
 [μᾱς̄ ε̄σ̄β̄ω̄ ᾠρ̄]η̄τ̄ ε̄κ̄ω̄αν̄ω̄τε̄μ̄
 18 [ᾠμᾱς̄ ᾠη̄π̄ ᾱπ̄]δ̄ιᾱβο̄λο̄ς̄ ε̄κ̄ω̄αν̄
 [μο̄ῡο̄ῡτ̄ ᾱν̄ ᾠ]νε̄ᾠε̄νε̄ρ̄γεῑᾱ ε̄τ̄ρ̄
 20 [ε̄νε̄ρ̄γεῑ σ̄νᾱω̄]ω̄πε̄ ᾠμ̄με̄κ̄ . ε̄ι
 [ω̄πε̄ τ̄ψ̄ῡχη̄ ᾠη̄]ᾱρ̄ σ̄μᾱγ̄τ̄ ε̄τῑ ᾱγ̄ρ̄
 22 [ε̄νε̄ρ̄γεῑ ᾱν̄] ᾱρᾱς̄ ᾠβ̄ῑ νᾱρ̄χη̄ ᾠᾠ
 [ᾠε̄ξ̄ο̄ῡς̄]ἰ̄ᾱ ε̄γ̄ ᾠνο̄ῡ π̄ε̄τ̄κ̄με̄γ̄ε̄
 24 [ᾱρᾱς̄ ε̄ρ̄]ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ᾠπ̄νε̄ῡμᾱ ᾠμαν̄
 [ε̄τ̄]β̄[ε̄ ε̄]γ̄ σ̄ε̄ ᾠρ̄δ̄ιω̄κε̄ ᾠσᾱ ν̄ῑρ̄ω̄με̄ ᾠ
 26 ᾠμ̄ῑνε̄ ᾠω̄ᾱρ̄η̄ἰ̄ ᾱπ̄μο̄ῡ μ̄η̄
 [ε̄]γ̄ρ̄[ω̄]ω̄ε̄ εν̄ ᾱω̄ω̄πε̄ ᾠᾠ τ̄ψ̄γ̄
 28 [χη̄ ᾱγ̄]ω̄ σ̄ε̄ω̄ῑνε̄ ᾠσ̄ω̄ς̄ . σ̄ε̄ω̄
 [τε̄μ̄] ᾠγᾱρ̄ ᾱρ̄ω̄γ̄ ᾠμᾱ ν̄ῑμ̄ ρ̄ῑτ̄ᾠ
 30 [ᾠρ̄]ω̄με̄ ᾠπ̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ε̄φο̄σο̄ν̄ σ̄ε̄
 ω̄ρο̄ο̄π̄ ρ̄ᾠ σᾱρ̄ξ̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ ᾠτᾱρο̄ῡτ̄μ̄
 32 [ω̄]β̄ᾠβ̄ᾱμ̄ ᾱνε̄γ̄ ᾱρᾱγ̄ ε̄γ̄ρ̄πο̄
 λῑτε̄γε̄σ̄θ̄αῑ ρ̄ᾠ π̄π̄νε̄ῡμᾱ ω̄ᾱ
 34 ρ̄ο̄ῡσ̄λᾱπ̄ᾠ ᾠπε̄το̄ῡαν̄ρ̄ ᾱβᾱλ
 ρ̄ω̄ς̄ τε̄εῑ τε̄ ο̄ε̄ ε̄το̄ῡβ̄ᾠβ̄ᾱμ̄ ᾠ
 36 β̄ῑνε̄ ᾠμᾱγ̄ ᾱλλᾱ ε̄γ̄ πε̄ φ̄η̄γ̄ νε̄γ̄
 σ̄ε̄λᾱβ̄ῑ ρ̄ᾠ ο̄ῡμ̄ᾠτᾱθ̄η̄τ̄ σ̄ε̄π̄ω̄ρ̄
 38 ᾠπε̄γ̄κ̄ω̄τε̄ σ̄ε̄β̄ω̄ξε̄ ᾠπ̄κᾱρ̄

[it, it abide

[it, it below

[Eren] if y

[are active

[the soul (y

[it has act

[authorities

[if] as spir

[they] do th

[this] sort t

they not (μ

and (so) se

For (γάρ)

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20

[
 2 [] that Aeon [
 [] those who are not ours
 4 [] above the [
 [] grasp him [
 6 [
 [
 8 [
 [
 10 [
 [
 12 [
 [] since (ἐπεὶ + μέν)
 14 [] your soul (ψυχῆ). He will [
 [] we gave you to him
 16 []. If you purify
 [it, it abides in] me. If you enclose
 18 [it, it belongs to the] Devil (διάβολος).
 [Even] if you [kill] his forces (ἐνέργεια) that
 20 [are active (ἐνεργεῖν), it will] be with you. For (γάρ) if
 [the soul (ψυχῆ)] is dead, still (ἔτι)
 22 it [was acted upon (ἐνεργεῖν)] (by) the rulers (ἀρχή) and
 [authorities (ἐξουσία)]. What, now, do you think
 24 [of] as spirit (πνεῦμα)? Or
 [why] do they persecute (διώκειν) men of
 26 [this] sort to death? Are
 they not (μή) satisfied to be with the soul (ψυχῆ)
 28 and (so) seek it?
 For (γάρ) every place is [excluded] from them by
 30 [the] men of God so long as (ἐφ' ὅσον) they
 exist in flesh (σάρξ). And when they
 32 cannot see them, since they (the men of God) live by
 (πολιτεύεσθαι)
 the spirit (πνεῦμα),
 34 they tear apart what appears
 as if (ὡς) thus they can
 36 find them. But (ἀλλά) what is the profit for them?
 They are senselessly mad! They rend
 38 their surroundings! They dig the earth!

[κ̄α]

2 [7±] . [.] π̄ο[
 [6±] π̄ογ̄ ᾠπ[
 [. . . .] ᾠμαϑ̄ εϑ[
 4 [. . . .] ρωπ̄ ᾠ[
 [. . . .] ψοοπ[
 6 [. . . . τ] ογ̄βο[
 [10±] . [

(Lines 8–15 lacking)

16 δε π[.] π̄ε . [ε]
 αβαλ̄ ᾠνρ̄[
 18 ᾠσα π̄νοϑ̄τε [ε]
 μαρ̄τε ᾠμαν [ειψ]
 20 αλλα ενμαρ̄ε [ειψ]
 πε ᾠναβι ᾠγα[ρ̄ ναψ̄ωϑ̄ ποσ̄ω]
 22 †νοϑ̄ ᾠρ̄ογ̄ο ᾠφ̄[θ̄ονοϑ̄ ᾠτεκκλ̄η]
 ϑ̄ια ᾠπ̄ϑ̄ωτηρ̄ π̄ιο[γ̄εει π̄ιοϑ̄εει]
 24 ᾠγαρ̄ νεϑ̄ᾠτεϑ̄ βαμ̄ [ᾠ[π̄εϑ̄νεϑ̄]
 ᾠπ̄παραπ̄τωματι ᾠβ̄[ι παογ̄ψα]
 26 ειχ̄ ᾠᾠ ογ̄ιδιωτηϑ̄ εγ̄βα[μ̄ αν̄ ᾠ]
 ογ̄ωτ̄ τετε οϑ̄ντεοϑ̄ϑ̄ ᾠμεϑ̄ α[γ̄]
 28 ω ανα ενψοοπ̄ ᾠψα[ε]ιχ̄ [ᾠ]
 π̄λογοϑ̄ ενψ̄ανᾠναβι α[ραϑ̄]
 30 ᾠᾠᾠναβι ᾠρ̄ογ̄ο ανεθ̄νοϑ̄ [ε]ᾠ
 ψ̄ανψ̄ωπε ᾠδε ᾠτ̄πε ᾠᾠαβ̄[ι]
 32 ᾠιμ̄ ᾠᾠᾠαχι ᾠπ̄[λα]κλαμ̄ [ᾠ]
 π̄αρο ᾠθε ᾠᾠᾠαπε ᾠταρ̄α[ι]
 34 εαγ̄ ρ̄ιτ̄μ̄ π̄ιωτ̄ > —

ΘΕΡΜΗΝΙΑ ᾠΤΓΝΩϑ̄ϑ̄

[21]

[
 2 [] him [
 4 [] hid [
 [] exists [
 6 [] purify [
 [

(Lines 8-15 lacking)

16 however (δέ) [
 [
 18 after God [
 seize us [
 20 but (ἀλλά) we walk []. For (γάρ) if
 the sins [*are many, how much (πόσῳ)*]
 22 the more now is the [*jealousy (φθόνος) of the Church*
 (*ἐκκλησία*)]
 of the Savior (σωτήρ)? For (γάρ) [*each one*]
 24 was capable of [*both types*]
 of transgression (*παραπτώματι*), [*namely that of an adept*],
 26 and (that of) an ordinary person (*ιδιώτης*). It is [*still*] a
 single [*ability*] that they possess. And
 28 as for us, we are adepts [*at*]
 the Word (λόγος). If we sin against [*it*],
 30 we sin more than Gentiles (*ἔθνος*).
 But (δέ) if we surmount every sin,
 32 we shall receive the crown of
 victory, even as our Head was
 34 glorified by the Father.

The Interpretation (*ἐρμηνεία*) of Knowledge (*γνώσις*)

12B The
opposite page
of the tractate

13 Cf. Ori
14 as chara
15 mission of t
16 Gospel in *Cnc*

17 The un
18 here been pre
19 i.e., fr

20 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

21 *οὐκ ἐσμὲν*

22 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

23 *οὐκ ἐσμὲν*

24 which d

25 cited here w

26 *Ex. Pol. V*

27 *Mark, 23-2*

28 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

29 To "measur

30 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

31 The world

32 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

33 this term

34 (30.7), but

35 *L. 44-35*

36 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

37 "Virgin" (*π*

38 B) for the

39 "Teacher" of

40 however, the

41 was a memb

42 A play

43 *ἡμεῖς οὖν*

NHC XI,1: THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Flyleaf B The title of the first tractate has been written on flyleaf B opposite page one at a spot corresponding to lines 10–11 on page one of the tractate.

1,14–15 Cf. Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 13.60 where Heracleon interprets Jn 4:48 as characterizing the faith of non-gnostic Christians. For a discussion of the passage in Heracleon, see E. Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis*, 83–85.

1,16–38 The underlined letters in the following words from Coptic p. 1 have been preserved by their having been “blotted” onto the facing page, i.e., flyleaf B: 1,16 εταρωωπε; 1,21 σταγ[ρωγ]; 1,22 [Γ]ΕΝΕΞΑ ϥΠΗΤ; 1,25 [ΨΩ]ΠΕ; 1,29 [ΖΥ]ΠΟΜΟΝΗ; 1,30 [Π]ΟΡΓΕΙ; 1,31 [ΝΕ]ΤΑΡΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ; 1,32 ϥΡ[ΛΑΠΙΣ]ΤΕΙ; 1,33 ΟΥΝΑΒ; 1,34 ΝΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ; 1,35 ΠΙΣΤΙ[Σ]; 1,36 ΕΤΕ [ΠΚΟΣ]ΜΟΣ ΠΕ; 1,37 [ΝΤ]ΜΝΤΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ; 1,38 [Ε]ΡΕΠΜΟΥ.

1,18–21 ἐπιβολή perhaps προβολή, “emanation.” One may infer that faith which depends on visible means of perception is being contrasted here with that which is received through a vision (θεωρία): cf. *Apoc. Pet.* VII,3:70,14–80,13; for discussion, see: Koschorke, *Die Polemik*, 23–27.

1,28 ΖΝ ΟΥΟ[Υ] for ΖΝ ΟΥΕΥ.

1,29 To “measure faith,”: cf. Rom 12:3.

1,30 Ρ of ΡΠΕΙ[ΘΕ] written over Ν.

1,38 The world as the “place of death,” cf. 9,26.

2,31 σύστασις, “structure,” “constitution,” “system”: parallels indicate that this term may apply to the structure of the aeons (cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:71,7), but more often to the structure of cosmic existence: *Treat. Res.* I,4:44,35; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:59,29; 98,31; 102,30; *Exc. Theod.* 22.2.

2,33 [[ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜ]] cancelled by scribe with supralinear dots.

3,35 “virgin” (παρθένος): cf. 4,27; 7,31; see also *Hyp. Arch.* II,4:91,34–92,3 for the “daughter of Eve” (possibly Church [Ἐκκλησία], “daughter” of Life [Ζωή]; *Iren. Haer.* I.8.5). In *Interp. Know.*, however, the reference could be either to such a mythological figure, or to a member of the church.

4,25–28 A play on ὄρος/σταυρός and Sophia and Christ. In *Iren. Haer.* I.4.1 σταυρός is identified with ὄρος, the boundary of the Pleroma,

- which seems to be the referent of "the cross in those places"; the "virgin" would be Sophia.
- 4,28 ω cancelled by the scribe with two strokes through the letter; dittography of αγω is probable.
- 4,31 MS reads τε τμαου τ.
- 4,37 π perhaps τ; perhaps restore πα[^ςθητος ἄκοσμος ἤ]: "a rational principle (λόγος) appearing in the perceptible (αἰσθητός) world (κόσμος). He did not give . . ."
- 5,14-19 Note the apparent reference to the parable of the Sower: Mark 4:14-20, par.; *Gos. Thom.* II,2:34,3-13; cf. *Ap. Jas.* I,2:8,16-27.
- 5,21 θαιβε[^ς] perhaps θαιβε[^ς]: cf. *Hyp. Arch.* II,4:94,11 where the "shadow" becomes Matter (ὕλη); see also *Val. Exp.* XI,2:36,12-19; 37,16; see also *Iren. Haer.* II.7 and I.4.1 where the cosmos is created "amid the shadows and places of vacuity" (ἐν σκιαῖς καὶ κενώματος τόποις); *Thdt., Haer.* I.7.
- 5,26 ἄψ[^ς][^ςχ]αγ[^ς]ε: ψ appears to be cancelled by a sublinear dot. See a similar plural form in *Val. Exp.* XI,2:28,32.
- 5,28 MS reads [ἄ]ανωω; η (and presumably α) cancelled by the scribe with supralinear dot; the scribe presumably wrote ἄιωκε ἄα- and corrected to ἄιωκε ἄ[^ςαν]ωω, "pursue him." *Gos. Truth* I,3:18,22-23 has: "error pursued him."
- 5,30 σταυροῦν: cf. 13,25-37; *Gos. Truth* I,3:20,27; *Iren. Haer.* I.3;5; I.8.2.
- 5,30-35 Cf. 12,22-38; 13,25-37. Other gnostic sources agree with this text that the Savior suffered for the sake of others; see, for example, *Tri. Trac.* I,5:114,31-36; 115,3-11; *Exc. Theod.* 31.1-3. Few, however, state that "he died" as does *Interp. Know.* XI,1:5,31. According to *Gos. Truth* I,3:20,28 he humbled himself "unto death"; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:115,3-5, he "accepted death"; *Exc. Theod.* 61.7 indicates that "the body" died, but the Savior "destroyed death."
- 5,36 εα[^ς]ι syncopation for εα[^ς]ι.
- 6,19-21 Cf. the parable of a man fallen among thieves (λησταῖς) on the way to Jericho, Lk 10:30-36.
- 6,29 αβη from αβω.
- 6,30 The first half of the line intentionally left blank by the scribe for no apparent reason.
- 6,31 "temporary dwelling" (πανδοκεῖον): cf. Lk. 10:34; *Clem. Alex. Strom.* II.114.5 (Valentinus, frg. 2); *Hipp. Ref.* VI.34.6.
- 6,32 σῶμα as an "abode": cf. 1,29; *Hipp. Ref.* VI.34.4-8; *Iren. Haer.* I.5.6.
- 6,33 πρ[^ς]ω[^ς]ε[^ς]τ[^ς]ι[^ς]ο[^ς]γ[^ς]: perhaps a reference to ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν

- [*ἄνθρωπος*]; cf. 2 Cor 4:16. Cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.34.5; Iren. *Haer.* I.13.2 and 21.4: “*gnosis* is the redemption of the *inner man*.”
- 6,34 “fabrication” (*πλάσις*): cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II.36.2–4.
- 6,36 “Constrained”: lit. “choked.”
- 6,38 MS reads *ἄτρουχπληρος*.
- 7,18 *αγωψε* syncopation for *αγογωψε*.
- 7, 20–24 The imagery of conflict recalls parallel gnostic accounts of the struggle between “flesh” and “spirit”; cf. *Val. Exp.* XI,2:38,27–33, the “struggle with the apostasy, . . . the spirits (*πνεῦμα*) with the carnal (*σαρκικόν*), the Devil against God”; *Exeg. Soul* II,6:130,35–131,1, “the great struggle (*ἀγών*) is over fornication (*πορνεία*) of the soul”; *Exc. Theod.* 72–73: the “evil one” and the “adversaries” attack the soul “through the body” and bind it to slavery. In *Exc. Theod.* 51.3–52.1 τὸ *σαρκίον* is an adversary to be destroyed in battle; see 21,25–26 note.
- 8,9 *επιβοϋ[λος]* reconstructed here on the basis of 11,25.
- 8,16 *χερε* for *υερε*.
- 8,31 *αζρηί*: *ζ* written over partially erased *α*.
- 8,36 “Father of the All”: cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:20,19; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:71,3–5; *Val. Exp.* XI,2:23,36; Iren. *Haer.* II.1.2; 3.2; 4.1; see Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 325–33; Puech–Quispel, “Le quatrième écrit gnostique,” 71–72.
- 9,16–27 Perhaps this is a reference to the Demiurge and his perishable creation (9,15–17.20.22–27) as opposed to the Savior (9,17–19.27).
- 9,17 *ϣ* of *ϣρωωροϋ* written over *α*; perhaps “in order to destroy.”
- 9,18–19 For no apparent reason the scribe has left unscribed a gap about the size of one letter near the left margin.
- 9,20 Perhaps, “the arrogant teacher who teaches her to die.”
- 9,22 *σχολή*: according to *Val. Exp.* XI,2:37,30, Sophia constitutes the cosmic *topos* as a *σχολή* for “doctrine and form”; see also Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1; *Gos. Truth* I,3:19,18–20. According to Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1, the Valentinians teach that the spiritual element (*πνευματικόν*) must be “educated” through association with the senses.
- 9,23 “another school”: the context indicates a comparison between two *σχολαί* which offer two types of instruction. One school (*μέν*; 9,23), apparently instituted by the “arrogant” teacher (9,20), set forth writings (9,24) which “taught about our death” (9,26; cf. 14,36–37; *Exc. Theod.* 58.1; *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.60). The other (9,21–22; and picked up again with *δέ* in 9,27) instituted by the “teacher of immortality” of the church (9,17–19) sets forth “his teachings” which

- follow (9,27-38; for the sayings known to us from Matthew, see notes below on 9,30-35). Compare 14,31-38: the "old bond of debt," the edict of condemnation (14,32-33) in Adam (14,36) is removed by the Son, who proclaims in its place the "edict of the Father" (14,30). See also *Gos. Truth* I,3:19,34-20,27.
- 9,27 "his teaching": apparently that of the Savior. On the citation formula, see Section III in the introduction and cf. *Val. Exp.* XI,2:36,28-29,32.
- 9,28-30 Cf. Mt 23:9.
- 9,29 Cf. Mt 6:9: Valentinus cites this verse in reference to "the only good Father" (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* II.114.3-6); Irenaeus says that the Valentinians interpret the pericope of the rich young man (Mt 19:16-22, par.) in the same way, as directing worship from the Demiurge toward the "one who alone is good," the Father in heaven (*Iren. Haer.* I.20.2).
- 9,30-31 "heaven," lit. "heavens." Cf. Mt 5:14: the Valentinians interpret this passage in reference to the pneumatic elect: *Iren. Haer.* I.6.1. See also *Exc. Theod.* 9.3. All three passages refer this saying to the elect.
- 9,31-33 Mt 12:48-50, par.: *Gos. Thom.* II,2:49,21-26; *On Euch. A* XI,2d:43,31-34.
- 9,33-35 Mt 16:26, par.
- 9,35-37 See 9,28-30 above; cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:24,28-25,3; *Iren. Haer.* I.20.2; cf. also Eph 5:8.
- 9,38 $\bar{\nu}\eta\eta\eta\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota$: first $\bar{\nu}$ is perhaps cancelled by the scribe with a raised point.
- 10,13 $\tau\eta$ is perhaps $\eta\tau[\omicron]\rho\omicron\varsigma$.
- 10,20-38 The one addressed (fem. sg.) throughout this passage is the $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (cf. 9,17-18: "for he also spoke with the Church").
- 10,22 Final α written over μ .
- 10,23 For $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$, see the note to 10,32-34.
- 10,26 $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\varsigma$: as the Church exists "in the flesh of condemnation" (cf. 20,29-31), so the Son himself wore the "garment of condemnation" (11,27-28) as he came to remove the edict of condemnation (14,33-36). The gnostic Alexander similarly interprets Rom 8:3, Tert., *Carn. Chr.* 16. On $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}$, see note on 12,31-33. $\epsilon<\rho\epsilon>$ - $\psi\omicron\omicron\omicron$: MS reads $\epsilon\psi\omicron\omicron\omicron$.
- 10,27-28 $\bar{\theta}\beta\epsilon\iota\omicron$ = $\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\phi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$: Phil 2:3; *Exc. Theod.* 4.1; 35.1-3: note the apparent allusions to Phil 2:6-11; cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:114,31-115,11.
- 10,32-34 $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$: according to *Exc. Theod.* 26.1-2, the Savior bears the ecclesia upward by means of his visible appearance; cf. also *Exc.*

- Theod.* 4.2: "what was manifested in flesh and was seen here" was transformed and borne upward; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 59.3
- 10,34-35 "my shoulders": *Exc. Theod.* 42.2 explains that Jesus (the Savior's visible appearance) is his "shoulders"; on them he carries "the seed" and brings them into the Pleroma. The image derives from the Valentinian allegorical interpretation of the parable of the lost sheep (Mt 18:12-13; Lk 15:3-7) as the "wandering of the ecclesia" (Iren. *Haer.* 1.8.4; *Gos. Truth* I,3:31,36-32,4; *Gos. Thom.* II,2:50,22-27). "The rib whence you came": cf. Gen 2:21-22. *Exc. Theod.* 61.3 indicates that those who enter the Pleroma "through his rib" (cf. Jn 19:34) must undergo a process of separation (flesh from spirit, as blood from water). This recalls the twin energies of confirmation and separation symbolized by *σταυρός/δρος*: Iren. *Haer.* 1.3.5; *Val. Exp.* XI,2:26,31-34; 27,30-38.
- 10,36 "the beasts": cf. below, 11,23-26.31-32; the term *θηρίον* signifies the fleshly passions which cannot exist "in the Aeon." Compare *Exc. Theod.* 50.1: The creator fashions from dust (cf. Gen 2:7) an "earthly and material soul, irrational and unsubstantial with the beasts" (*τῶν θηρίων ἄμοούσιον*). According to *Gos. Phil.* II,3:71,22-28 after Adam sinned he "became a beast and brought forth beasts"; note also 78,25-79,13; 80,24-81,12 on the contrast between animals and human beings. Heracleon (*Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.16) describes the material world, encompassed with evil, as the "deserted dwelling place of beasts."
- 10,37 The "burden": presumably the flesh; cf. 10,26 above; 11,27 below. See *Dial. Sav.* III,5:141,3-6; 126,19.
- 11,23 Apparently an original *ΖΙΤ[Ν]* was corrected to *ΖΙΘ[ΗΡΙΟΝ]* for *ΖΙ<Ν>ΘΗΡΙΟΝ*.
- 11,25 *ἐπίβουλος*: cf. 8,9.
- 11,27 "garment": cf. 10,26-27; *Exc. Theod.* 59.4; *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 6.39; also *Gos. Phil.* II,3:57,19-22.
- 11,28 *ΣΖΙΜΕ*: cf. 11,17 and 12,32-33 (the flesh is an Aeon that wisdom [*σοφία*] has emitted) which suggest that the female is Sophia; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 67.4-68; *Dial. Sav.* III,5:144,20 (*ΜΝΤΣΖΙΜΕ*).
- 11,29 *πεσσπερμα*: *Exc. Theod.* 79; 21.1; 1.1. For discussion of *σπέρμα*, see notes to *Tri. Trac.* I,5:98,18 in Kasser, et al., *Tractatus Tripartitus*, 366-70; for a different view see Pagels, "Conflicting Versions," 35-44.
- 11,32-34 "keep the Sabbath": compare *Gos. Truth* I,3:32,18-25; both passages offer a combined allusion to Mt 12:11, par. and Jn 5:17, indicating, apparently, a common exegetical tradition. The point of the exegesis is to contrast the unwilling work of the master, who

- welcomes and observes the Sabbath rest (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 49.2) with that of the Father who “works continually.”
- 11,36 While others (11,27) clothe the Savior with the “garment of condemnation,” the Father clothes him with “living rational elements.”
- 11,38 On μέλος see 17,17–18,38. The supralinear stroke over the first $\bar{\eta}$ of $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\zeta\sigma\gamma$ is visible.
- 12,15–18 Cf. Isa 53:3–9; Mt 27:39–44, par.; *Gos. Truth* I,3:20,10–14 expresses similarly the paradox of the Savior’s voluntary humiliation.
- 12,24 First α of $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ written over ζ .
- 12,25–29 This passage contrasts the soteriological work of the “one who was reproached” (12,25) with the “one who was redeemed” (12,28). Through the former, the members of the church (“we,” 12,26.28) receive “forgiveness of sins” (12,[26]); through the latter, they receive grace (12,28–29). So also, *Exc. Theod.* 61.3–4 indicates that the “one who suffered,” and was “rejected, disgraced, and crucified” is the one who died in order to save the soul (61,5). Heracleon agrees that “the visible Jesus” is the “lamb of God, sacrificed to take away the sin of the world” (Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 6.60). Iren. *Haer.* I.21.2, like this passage, distinguishes the soteriological activity of the visible Jesus, through whom “forgiveness of sins” is offered, from the redemptive activity of the “one who descended upon him,” the invisible Christ, through whom the elect receive perfection ($\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$). On “forgiveness of sins,” cf. *On Bap. A* XI,2b:41,10–23; see also Pagels, “A Valentinian Interpretation of Baptism and Eucharist,” 153–54.
- 12,27 $\alpha\zeta\sigma\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}$ $\delta\bar{\nu}\sigma\gamma$: ζ written over incorrect letter.
- 12,28 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ cancelled by scribe with supralinear dots.
- 12,29–30 That which “redeemed the one who was disgraced,” that is, the invisible name: cf. *Exc. Theod.* 22.6. *Exc. Theod.* 26.1 draws this distinction: “The visible part of Jesus was (the) Wisdom... which he put on through the flesh...but the invisible part was the Name, which is the only begotten Son.” Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.226; cf. also *Tri. Trac.* I,5:61,14–28.
- 12,31–33 “flesh”: through the flesh which Sophia provides (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 1.1) the Aeon enters into “the one who was disgraced” (12,35–36), the visible Jesus. Thus, although existence “in flesh” is the opposite of “inhabiting the spirit” (20,31–33), the flesh in which the Savior appears (12,18) becomes a means of effecting redemption. Thereby the Savior becomes visibly manifest in the world (Iren. *Haer.* I.15.3; I.24.4; *Val. Exp.* XI,2:24,26–39; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:74,22–24.
- 12,34 $\tau\acute{o}$ μέγεθος: the term sometimes designates the Pleroma, Iren.

Haer. I.2.1 (see Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 646 for citations). Heracleon describes the Savior as the one who descends “from the μέγεθος,” *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 6.39. μέγεθος may also be a liturgical term; see the Marcosian use of the term, *Iren. Haer.* I.14.4 and I.13.3, where the officiant in the sacrament declares: “I desire to make thee a partaker of my Grace, since the Father of all doth continually behold thy angel before his face....The place of thy greatness is ever in us,” Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.201.

12,35–36 The Father may enter “into the one who was disgraced,” into the visible manifestation of the Savior (*Iren. Haer.* I.15.3; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:74,22–24).

12,37 “carcass,” lit. “skin” (Ϡελ, Fayumic form for Ϡααρ), i.e., the flesh of condemnation (10,26–27; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.5.5; *Exc. Theod.* 55.1) in contradistinction to the flesh and blood of 12,38. Ἰνσεπαν Ἰκεσαπ, “be regenerated” (12,37–38) suggests a reference to the eucharist, *Iren. Haer.* IV.18.4 (see the notes of Massuet and Harvey) and in *Gos. Phil.* II,3:56,24–57,8: Christ’s flesh is the Word; his blood is the Holy Spirit.

13,17 “darkness”: as darkness (the passions) was separated from “the mother,” Sophia, so the ecclesia was manifested as “the light”; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 40–41.4; 9.1; *Iren. Haer.* I.4.5.

13,18 “traces” (ἵχνος): *Gos. Truth* I,3:37,25; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:66,3; 73,4–7.

13,19 Perhaps ϠρϠ has been confused with ϠρϠ, “confirm.”

13,22–23 [αβαλ]: trace of ink in left margin of 13,23 suggests that αβαλ may have been added preceding line 23.

13,25 “Head of the Church”: 13,33; 17,31; 18,35; 21,33; cf. Eph 1:22; 4:15; 5:23; Col 1:18. Valentinian sources take Christ to be “Head” of the ecclesia (*Exc. Theod.* 42.3; *Gos. Truth* I,3:41,28–29).

13,26–29 Possibly a Valentinian interpretation of the recognition scene of Jn 19:26–27. Cf. also *Iren. Haer.* I.4.1 where Christ “extended himself forward beyond the ‘Cross’ and, by his power, imparted to her form but only in respect of substance...”; that is, to the Sophia outside Horos (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.133).

13,27 κ of ϠεκϠ written over Ϡ or ο.

13,28 τάρταρος: a term used often in apocryphal and gnostic sources as synonymous with *gehenna*: 2 Pet 2:4; *Apoc. Paul* 18; Ps.–Clem. *Hom.* IV.16.2; *Orac. Sib.* II.291, 302; VIII.362; *Hyp. Arch.* II,4:95,12; *Thom. Cont.* II,7:142,35–143,8; *Iren. Haer.* II.6.3. *Exc. Theod.* 38.1, however, identifies *gehenna* as “the void of creation”; the region of “space,” that is, of cosmic existence. The metaphorical usage in this passage seems parallel.

- 13,31 τ of **ΤΟΤΕ** seems to be written above the line; ο of **ΤΟΤΕ** perhaps written over an ε.
- 13,33-36 Cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:41,23-29; the members (**μέλος**) have ascended to the pneumatic level of Christ, the "Head."
- 13,35 Something seems to be written above ο of **ΜΕΛΟΣ**.
- 14,10 "consumation": cf. Mt 28:20 (**ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος**); see also Iren. *Haer.* I.7.1; *Exc. Theod.* 62.2; 63-64; *Val. Exp.* XI,2:39,27-35 where the "consumation" is described in the metaphor of a marriage feast which is consummated in the "bridal chamber," that is, in the Pleroma.
- 14,16 "the woman," i.e., Sophia, whose offspring are destined for death; *Exc. Theod.* 67.2-4; 80.1-2.
- 14,17 A vestige of ink appears between ε and υ at the beginning of the line.
- 14,20 The lacuna is not wide enough for the extra τ of **ΕΤΤΗΥ** (syncopation?).
- 14,25 λ of **βαλ** is written irregularly, appearing more like η. Might the scribe have inserted the pronoun object ς above the line in the lacuna, i.e., **βαλ'ς**? One expects **βωλ αβαλ**, but perhaps the text read **βαν** from **βαίνειν** "to pass out."
- 14,25-26 "fire": cf. *Exc. Theod.* 38.1-3 (cf. 81,1-3); *Hipp. Ref.* VI.32.7; the creation, the cosmic topos, is "fiery." Those who live in it "feel the fire" (*Exc. Theod.* 37), but the Savior makes a path through the fire so that those whom he rescues "are dissolved in the fire."
- 14,27 The line is blank between **ΖΥΒΡΙΖΕ** and **ΝΔΕ** for no apparent reason.
- 14,30 "edict" (**διάταγμα**) of the Father: according to this passage, the Savior publishes the edict of the Father, simultaneously abolishing the "old bond" (**χειρόγραφον**) of the Demiurge (14,32). *Gos. Truth* I,3:20,15-30, on the other hand, alludes obliquely to Col 2:14, declaring that "Jesus appeared" in order to nail the **διάταγμα** of the Father to the cross.
- 14,31 αζῆ: cf. also *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1:41,7. Apparently it is the same construction as ζῆ-, ῆζητ- (s.v. ζη, "belly"); cf. Crum 23b (αζτη-); 642b (ζητ-, "belly") and 685a (εζῆ-) "toward the midst, belly," i.e., "against"; † αζῆ-, αζητ- = "give against" = "oppose."
- 14,32 **χειρόγραφον**: cf. Col 2:14. While the Colossians' passage leaves the validity and justice of the "bond" unquestioned, 14,32-33 describes it negatively as the bond "of condemnation." Since "he who condemns," according to Heracleon (on Jn 8:50; cf. Jn 5:22.45; Rom 8:33-34), is the Demiurge; this "old bond" is his (Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 20.38).
- 14,33-38 The author summarizes the former edict as a compressed

formula drawn from such Pauline sources as Rom 6:6; 7:14; 8:2.15. Heracleon, citing Rom 7:13, characterizes it as the "law of sin and death" (Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 13.60).

14,34 ζ of $\text{NE[NI]TAZOU\epsilon\epsilon\text{POY}}$ is written over α .

14,36-38 "death": cf. *Exc. Theod.* 58.1: Jesus Christ redeems the church from the kingdom of death ($\tau\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$); cf. also 80.1-3. Basilides interprets Rom 5:14 ("death reigned from Adam to Moses") to mean that the Great Archon, the Demiurge, himself represents the reign of sin and, apparently, of death (Hipp. *Ref.* VII.25.11-14). Valentinus takes a more moderate view: the Demiurge himself is not "sin" or "death," although "the origin of death" is his work (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV.89).

15,20-38 Throughout this passage, the author contrasts jealousy ($\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) with love. As the Savior is not jealous (17,35-36) but loves his brothers (14,29; 15,24) "with his whole heart" (15,19), so they are to love one another without jealousy; cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:18,29-40 where "the Father is not jealous" of "his members."

15,23-26 That is, if a member of the community has a brother who esteems the community as much as this brother esteems himself, the member has glorified Christ, who gives grace to the community.

15,26-28 The ends of the lines are restored from frg. 17 (*Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 79) which has been placed at this location; see the *addenda et corrigenda* in the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*. $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$: 12:4-11; cf. Rom 12:6-8.

15,30-31 Instead of first criticizing the jealous person, the author addresses the person's anxiety about his own welfare, pointing out that whoever is jealous "destroys only himself."

15,32-33 The author now challenges the jealous person's claim to spiritual superiority: to be jealous is to be "ignorant of God." The unstated implication is that those who are jealous resemble the "teacher" of the world, who is often characterized as jealous (Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-4; 30.6-7; II.9.2; V.4.1). The implication is similar to that stated in *Gos. Truth* I.3:42,2-25 (see note on 17,35-36 below). Compare also 1 Jn 4:7-12.

15,34-35 $\text{TXAPIC MN TA\omega\rho\epsilon\alpha}$: the two are closely connected (15,26-27; 16,18-22). While the gifts they receive differ, all of the members of Christ's body share in grace (16,18-24). For this reason, the author urges each member to share his gift with the others (15,35-36) and to receive and rejoice in the gifts of others (15,26-28; 16,31-36). Heracleon similarly links up the grace and gift of the Savior ($\eta\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\omega\tau\eta\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$) and indicates that such gifts are to be shared "for the eternal life of others" (Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 13.10).

- 15,35-36 ΟΥΖΜΑΤ ΝΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΟΝ: cf. 1 Cor 12:4-30; Rom 12:6; *Exc. Theod.* 24.1.
- 15,37-38 Cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:42,17-25 and *Treat. Res.* I,4:49,37-50,16; both close by warning the recipients against jealousy (φθόνος). The author of *Treat. Res.* (I,4:49,37-50,10) says that what he has written, he himself received from the generosity of the Savior, and has written to share with others what he himself received. He explicitly addresses himself to “you (sg.) and your brothers,” enjoining the recipients “not to be jealous of any among you.”
- 16,13 Only the supralinear stroke of the \bar{m} in [ᾠπε]ειρ[ητ]ε is visible.
- 16,17 The η of ερεωαν is written over $\rho\epsilon$.
- 16,24-26 To resolve the dilemma of jealousy, the author argues that one must no longer think of the other in opposition to oneself, set in a competitive “measuring” of one against another; cf. Rom 12:3.
- 16,25-27 The beginnings of the lines are restored from frg. 17 (*Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 80) which has been placed at this location; see the *addenda et corrigenda* in *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.
- 16,27 MS reads $\Psi\rho\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$; obviously $\Psi\bar{\rho}\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is intended.
- 16,28-31 This passage combines allusion to Paul’s image of the community as the “body” (Rom 12:4-8; 1 Cor 12:12-27) with the image of Christ as “Head” of the body (Eph 4:15-16; Col 1:18; 2:19; see Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, 100-120). The author’s theological insight echoes Paul’s: exclusive enjoyment of Christ’s gifts is impossible, since whoever shares in “the Head” also shares in the reciprocal life of the “members.”
- 16,29 MS reads $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau$.
- 16,31-32 Previously (15,19-16,31) the author has considered the more obvious concern expressed in jealousy—the fear of losing one’s presumed superiority over others. Now he takes up the less obvious aspect of jealousy—the fear of being shown to be inferior.
- 16,32 λόγος: 1 Cor 12:8.
- 16,32-38 Cf. 1 Cor 12:4-11: like Paul, the author insists that claims to superiority and fear of inferiority are equally impossible for those who understand the basis of their mutual participation in the Logos (16,37-38): “it is the same power” that is the source of all gifts.
- 17,14-21 The restoration of the text is based on Paul’s theme of the body and its members; cf. also 18,28-38.
- 17,25-28 The author considers a possible objection: how can one share his pneumatic “gift” with those who are “ignorant”? The author challenges the interlocuter: how do you know who is ignorant?

(17,25–26). He rebukes the questioner: “[you] are ignorant when you [hate them] and are jealous” (17,27–28); perhaps 1 Corinthians 13 serves as the background.

17,30 Usually $\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ = $\alpha\zeta\omega\tau\upsilon\beta$ (“to kill”); $\zeta\omega\tau\tau\eta\ \alpha$ - (“join to”) must have been intended here; cf. 18,27; bilabial stops (π) and fricatives (υ, η) seem to be interchangeable as word-final consonants.

17,35–36 *Treat. Res.* I,4:49,37–50,1 describes the “generosity” ($\alpha\phi\theta\upsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$) of “my Lord Jesus Christ”; *Gos. Truth* I,3:18,38–40 and 33,33 describe the Father’s freedom from envy and his gentleness. See also *Tri. Trac.* I,5:62,20; 70,25–27; each of these passages offers a description of the divine liberality as a paradigm for human relationships.

18,19–20 “suffer with him”: cf. 1 Cor 12:26.

18,27 “reconciled”: cf. 17,30 note.

18,28–30 Cf. 1 Cor 12:14–25; see 16,28–31 note. While Paul in 1 Corinthians 12 stresses the mutual interdependence of all the “members” (in his metaphor, the “ear,” i.e., one member, speaks directly to the “eye,” another member, etc.), this author refers all members to the “Head” as to Christ. So the “finger accuses the Head,” that is, not another member, but Christ: 18,28–38.

18,32 There is an unidentified vestige of ink above ρ in $[\mu\epsilon]\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

19,4 $\lambda\mu$ of $\omega\lambda\mu$ is written over $\eta\eta$.

19,15 The first half of the line until $\bar{\nu}\Delta\epsilon$ has been left blank by the scribe for no apparent reason.

19,16 MS reads $\zeta\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$.

19,19 β of $\alpha/\beta\alpha\lambda$ is written over α .

19,24 $[[\pi\eta\tau]]$ has been cancelled by the scribe with supra- and sub-linear dots; the τ of the relative $\epsilon\tau$ has been written over γ (i.e., originally, $\epsilon\gamma\pi\eta\tau$); β has been written over ζ .

19,28–30 “endures by his own root”: cf. Mt 13:21, par.

19,30–37 A comparison with Iren. *Haer.* I.2.6 suggests that this passage refers to the pleromic Christ, who cooperates with the Aeons in putting forth “fruit” that is “like him,” namely, the Savior, or Jesus. The “roots” would be the pleromic Aeons (cf. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 654), all connected and “undivided” in their fruit, all in mutual harmony, unity, and equality. The exhortation in 19,36–37 enjoins the elect to “become like the roots,” that is, like the Aeons. From this perspective, the reference in 20,2 refers to the divine Pleroma. See also *Gos. Truth* I,3:41,14–34. A comparison with Iren. *Haer.* I.8.3 and *Exc. Theod.* 58.2 suggests that the “roots” may also signify the pneumatic elect, and the “fruits,” the psychic ecclesia (cf.

Rom 11:16). The "roots" (the elect) are connected to one another and, through the Savior, to the divine Pleroma; they produce the "fruit" through their evangelizing among the psychics, and reap it as the "harvest of souls" (*Val. Exp.* XI,2:36,32-34; *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.41, 50). *Tri. Trac.* I,5:74,10-18 describes how the "root" is "spread into branches and fruit... in the manner of a human body (σῶμα) which is divided indivisibly into members (μέλος) of members (μέλος), primary and secondary ones, big ones and small ones."

19,34 MS: ι of πογι is inserted in the line after the writing of γ and ε. For the best fruits of each of the roots compare Jn 15:16, where the Savior concludes his exhortation to "remain" in him and bear "much fruit" with the words, "You did not choose me but I chose you and appointed you that you should go and bear fruit and that your fruit should remain" (καὶ καρπὸν φέρητε καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένη).

19,35-36 "They" may refer to the rest of the community. The thought may be that the others possess "the roots" when they exist in community with them; cf. Jn 15:5-7. *Gos. Truth* I,3:28,16-18 characterizes "those in the middle" as being "rootless": "whoever has no root has no fruit." The allusion is to Mt 13:21, par. ("he has no root in himself"): the seed sown on "rocky ground," according to *Hipp. Ref.* V.8.29-30, represents psychic Christians, as that sown on "good and fine ground" represents the pneumatic elect (cf. *Epiph. Pan.* XXXIII.7.10; *Iren. Haer.* I.13.2; *Hipp. Ref.* V.8.28-30).

20,2 There is a vestige of ink between ε and γ of ἄμεγ resembling the left side of γ.

20,19 τ of ετῖ is written over γ.

20,31 "flesh": cf. *Exc. Theod.* 67.1-4.

20,32-34 When the "men of God" no longer "exist in flesh" (20,30-31) but "live by the spirit" (20,32-33), their enemies may "tear apart what appears," that is, the body. Cf. Mt 10:28, which *Heracleon* cites in *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.60.

20,34 π is written over λ of mistaken $\kappa\lambda\lambda\lambda\pi$.

20,35-36 Physical threat and death cannot touch those who dwell in the spirit; their enemies' pursuit of them is futile.

21,22 πφ inserted above the line; if π is the definite article, the vocabulary of XI,1 suggests φθονος as the only logical candidate; the scribe may have been confused by the combination of the definite article with two successive digraphs (φ and θ).

21,29-30 "Gentiles": cf. Eph 4:17-19.

21,32 First λλ in π[[λλ]]κλαμ cancelled by scribe with supra- and sublinear dots.

INTRODUCTION

NHC XI,2: A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION 22,1-39,39

with

- 2a: On the Anointing, 40,1-29
- 2b: On Baptism A, 40,30-41,38
- 2c: On Baptism B, 42,1-43,19
- 2d: On the Eucharist A, 43,20-38
- 2e: On the Eucharist B, 44,1-37

Bibliography: Foerster, *Von Valentin zu Herakleon*; Gaffron, *Studien zum Koptischen Philippusevangelium*; Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*; Segelberg, "Baptismal Rite," 117-28.

I. LANGUAGE

For a discussion of the language of XI,2, the reader is referred above to the Introduction to Codex XI and Kasser, "La variété subdialectale lycopolitaine."

II. TITLE AND SUPPLEMENTS

This tractate is the second of two Valentinian tractates which, together with five brief liturgical supplements, comprise the work of the first of two scribal hands responsible for the production of Codex XI. Unlike the first tractate entitled "The Interpretation of Knowledge," the present tractate clearly lacks a subscript title. The *incipit* may survive in fragmentary form at the top of p. 22, but it displays no evidence of a superscript title.

NHC XI,2 contains an exposition of Valentinian cosmogony, anthropology, soteriology and eschatology approximating ideas to be found in the opponents of Irenaeus (*Haer.* I.1.1-8.6 in the case of Ptolemaeus; I.11.1-12.3 in the case of Valentinus and his disciples, and I.13.1-21.5 in the case of Marcus and others), Hippolytus (*Ref.* VI.29.2-36.4) and Epiphanius (*Pan.* XXXI.5.1-27.16), as well as portions of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* of Clement of Alexandria (see notes for the selections). It is further supplemented by five untitled liturgical-didactic pieces separated from one another

and the long expository tractate by the kinds of paragraphus (such as the diplo obelismene and coronis) typically used to separate tractates. The first supplements deal with the "anointing" (40,13) of initiation; the second two treat of "the first baptism" and the further necessity for an ascent from the world, and the last two apparently reflect this ascent as an eucharist. Of these five supplements, only the second (40,30-41,38) appears capable of standing on its own, announcing itself as the "fullness (πλήρωμα) of the summary (κεφάλαιον) of the Knowledge" and ending with an interpretation of the baptism of John. Therefore, rather than treating them as separate tractates, they have been designated as supplementing the longer tractate (*A Valentinian Exposition*), and are named: *On the Anointing* (XI,2a:40,1-29), *On Baptism A* (XI,2b:40,30-41,38), *On Baptism B* (XI,2c:42,1-43,19), *On the Eucharist A* (XI,2d:43,20-38), and *On the Eucharist B* (XI,2e:44,1-37). The first ends with a doxology and "Amen"; the second ends with an allegorical interpretation of John the Baptist and the Jordan; the third apparently ends with a Greek word ending in -os (with diplo obelismene); the fourth begins as a prayer of thanksgiving (εὐχαριστεῖν) and ends with a benediction and "Amen"; and the badly damaged final supplement ends on an eschatological note with a benediction and "Amen."

The untitled major tractate, XI,2:22,1-39,39, because its contents commend no special name or designation, has been given the modern title "A Valentinian Exposition." It is indeed an exposition of what appears to be one version of the full Valentinian system as reported by heresiologists.

On the basis of the observations that will follow, XI,2 and its supplements (XI,2a-2e) may be understood as a form of written catechesis. Once one has been given a full exposition of Valentinian cosmogony and soteriology together with its proper interpretation, one is then admitted to the sacraments of redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις), baptism and eucharist and their special interpretation (i.e., in the supplements).

III. HISTORY OF RELIGIONS OBSERVATIONS

A Valentinian Exposition XI,2 expounds the origin of creation and the process of redemption in terms of Valentinian theology. It

appears to offer a catechism for initiates "into gnosis," and concludes with prayers related to rites of initiation, baptism and eucharist. This tractate, therefore, together with *The Gospel of Philip* (II,3) and Irenaeus' account of Marcosian worship, offers evidence of Valentinian sacramental theology. Lack of ritual language in these sources, however, continues to hinder research into the question of gnostic sacraments.

The text also offers first-hand evidence of theological controversies among Valentinian schools. The heresiologists attest that gnostic teachers disagreed among themselves on the interpretation of fundamental doctrines, and *A Valentinian Exposition* demonstrates the truth of Tertullian's statement that they "disagree on many specific issues, even with their own founders" (*Praescr.* 42). Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and others mention several such issues: the interpretation of the Father (in what sense is the Father One or Dyadic), of Limit (what are his functions) and the passion of Sophia (what motivated it). While these writers sketch out various positions taken on these issues, the author of *A Valentinian Exposition* engages each issue, challenging certain views and advocating others. The positions he takes bear special affinity with Hippolytus' account of the "monadic" version of Valentinian ontology (*Ref.* VI, 29.2-36,4). Positions which this author rejects, on the other hand, also find documentation in the heresiological accounts; for example in Iren. *Haer.* I.II.I-5 and I.I.I-2. Irenaeus attributes the former views to Valentinus himself and the latter to the "disciples of Ptolemaeus."

To attempt to identify positively the school tradition of this document seems precarious at this early stage of research. One may suggest the hypothesis that it belongs to a western development of Valentinian theology which differs not only from Valentinus' own teaching but also from that of Ptolemaeus. The most likely identification concerning its affiliation among schools known to us seems to be that represented by Heracleon (see the discussion under section V).

IV. STRUCTURE

The beginning of the extant text suggests that it concerns a "mystery" (*μυστήριον*, 22,16), a term that refers to what is com-

municated in gnostic initiation, often used in a sacramental context (Iren. *Haer.* I.6.4; 21.3-4; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:64,30-32; 67,27-30; 86,1-3; see also Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 416-49).

A. A Valentinian Exposition

1. Drama of Creation (22,16-31,34)

The first section relates the Valentinian myth of creation. This account generally parallels those of Irenaeus (*Haer.* I.2.3-4.5, 8.5), Hippolytus (*Ref.* VI.29.2-32.9) and the fragments of Heraclion (Orig. *Comm. in Joh.*) in terminology, conception, and sequence (for specific passages, see footnotes). The author's description of the origin of all things as the "monad" (*Movás*, 22,20-24) places him with the western branch of the Valentinians, perhaps specifically with the teaching of Heraclion. The theology of this treatise bears certain affinities with what Hippolytus describes as the theology of those who want to maintain "the pure doctrine of Valentinus" on fundamental questions of ontology, apparently against Valentinian revisionists (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.3). This section (22,16-31,34) describes the progressive generation of the whole divine Pleroma in the following sequence:

- a. The primal being described as dwelling in a state of quiescence (22,19-25) is identified as the Father (22,19) who dwells as Monad and also in relation to his pair or mate, Silence (*σιγή*, 22,26-27). At this stage the Pleroma (*πτηρῶ*) exists only potentially (22,27-39).
- b. The Father brings forth the Son, Mind of the All (22,31-39), who becomes a projector of the All, "the hypostasis of the Father" (24,22-24). Through him the Dyad and the Tetrad come to be (23,19-31). The passage 23,31-38 extends an invitation to "enter his revelation and his goodness and his descent and the All, that is, the Son" (23,36), who has become "Father of the All and the Mind of the Spirit" (23,36-37). The primal Father wills to reveal himself in Monogenes (24,26-39), whom he produces along with Limit (25,20-22).
- c. Once Limit has established the boundaries of the Aeons in

the Pleroma (25,22–24; 26,30), in effect making Monogenes High Priest and Sanctuary of the Pleroma (25,33–39; 26,18–21), the Aeons send Christ forth to establish Sophia (26,22–24; thus Sophia's transgression is presupposed or has been narrated in 26,1–17), using his four powers (separation, confirmation, provision of form, and of essence; cf. 26,31–34; 27,30–34). Just as Limit confirms the Aeons in the Pleroma and separates Depth from the other Aeons (27,34–38), Christ can confirm Sophia, separate her passions and give her form according to substance (26,31–34). There follows an exhortation to attend carefully to the scriptures and their interpretation (28,29–29,25).

- d. From the Tetrad are projected Word and Life (29,25–30), and thereby Man (i.e., Humanity) and Church (29,33–34). The latter syzygy brings forth the Dodecad (30,34–38), which perhaps prefigures the subpleromic domain (*topos*) to be ruled by the Demiurge ("The Lord," 30,38).

2. Drama of Redemption (31,34–39,39)

From 31,34 onward the text apparently refers to Sophia's transgression ("to leave the thirtieth") and subsequent fall from the Pleroma. The resulting disruption of the divine harmony calls forth the whole process of redemption, the theme of this section of the text. The sequence is as follows:

- a. Sophia, having fallen into isolation (31,34–38) from her syzygy ("Desired," *θελητός*, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2), has conceived by herself "seeds" (33,17) that are "incomplete and formless" (35,11–13). Thereby she has violated her relationship to "the will of the Father" (i.e., "Desired"), for the Father's will is "not to allow anything to happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy" (36,28–31)—that is, without a harmonious union of substance (*οὐσία*) and form (*μορφή*).
- b. Only the Son, in whom the Pleroma dwells "bodily" (33,31–34; cf. Col 2:9), can effect Sophia's correction (*διόρθωσις*) 33,28–30). He descends to Sophia (31,34–33,34) who, having suffered abandonment (33,35–37), has repented of bringing forth seeds without her syzygy (34,22–31), and has become aware of the "passion" she suffers in her isolation (34,22–38).

- c. Jesus joins with Sophia to cause her “formless” seeds to become a creation (35,10–17) which eventually devolves into the dispensation (*οἰκονομία*) of faith ruled by the Demiurge. First her “formless” seeds are made into a “creation” (35,11–16); then Jesus ascends into the Pleroma to bring forth the *typos* of that creation (35,17–30). After separating the “passions” into the pneumatic and sarkic elements (35,30–38), he uses Pronoia to project the pleromic prototype into the “shadow” of creation (35,28–30; 36,10–19).
- d. The world is brought into being (“as if [its] Pleroma were a Hebdomad”; 37,12–15), as the *topos* or domain of the Demiurge (37,28–36). The creation of mankind through him provides a “dwelling place” for the seeds (37,32–38); it is a “school” in which they are to learn “doctrine and form” (37,30–31). In preparation for this creation, Jesus has brought forth “those of the Pleroma and of the syzygy, that is, the angels” (36,20–28).
- e. Finally, the “angels of the males” are to join with the “seminal ones of the females” (39,24–35) to become their syzygies. Through this conjunction, they provide the “male” element of “form” which the seeds lacked, and bring them to “perfect form” (cf. 42,16–30). In this process the “will of the Father” is fulfilled (36,28–34): Sophia receives her syzygy and the seeds receive the angels (39,10–31), so that Sophia and her seeds, now joined with their syzygies, may be received into the Pleroma, and “the All” restored to unity and reconciliation (39,28–35).

B. *The Liturgical Supplements*

The supplements to the treatise (40,1–44,37) are specifically liturgical in reference.

On Anoint. 40,1–29 is a prayer for anointing (40,12–19), possibly used in a rite of initiation, that concludes with a doxology (40,19–29).

On Bap. A 40,30–41,38 explains the efficacy of the “first baptism” (40,38; 41,10–11.21; cf. 42,39) which conveys “the forgiveness of sins” (41,11–12.21–23) and enables the one baptized to withstand the powers of the Devil (cf. 40,13–17). The first baptism is that of

“John” (the Baptist) at the Jordan, which signifies the descent to the world (41,28-35). Apparently, it is at the same time the ascent from the world into the Aeon (41,35-38).

On Bap. B 42,1-43,19 is too fragmentary to be readily intelligible. It seems to describe the spiritual state of those who have made this ascent from the world into the Pleroma (42,16-19) and have been brought into “perfect forms” (42,28-30), having realized “the things granted to (them) by the first baptism” (42,38-39).

On Euch. A and *B* (43,20-44,37) contain liturgical prayers for a pneumatic sacrament, apparently celebrated as an eucharist (43,20-22). The initiate is consecrated to “do thy (i.e., the Father’s) will” (43,31-34), and receives completion “in every (spiritual) gift (χάρις) and every purity” (43,34-36). They “die purely” (44,32) so that, having been purified (44,32-33), they may receive the spiritual “food and drink” offered in the sacrament (44,34-35).

V. THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

A Valentinian Exposition offers an opportunity—so far unique in extant gnostic literature—to examine an original version of the Valentinian Sophia myth. The terminology and structure of the text find their nearest parallels with extant sources in certain sections of the heresiological accounts of Valentinianism. Its closest affinities among the Nag Hammadi material so far available seems to be with those already identified by similar theological tendencies, i.e., *Tripartite Tractate*, *Gospel of Truth*, *Gospel of Philip*, *Treatise on the Resurrection*, and *Interpretation of Knowledge*. Yet the Sophia myth—that figures so prominently in the accounts of Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Clement—remains virtually absent from these texts (with the exception of the variant in *Tri. Trac.* I,5:75, 27-104,3). *A Valentinian Exposition*, however, relates the whole process of creation, fall, and redemption in terms of the myth of Sophia.

The gnostic teacher (perhaps speaking in the person of the Savior, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.13.1-3) promises to “speak my mystery” (22,16). This phrase, with its sacramental connotations, may refer technically to the communication of the secret doctrine concerning Sophia. Irenaeus says that the Valentinians, citing I Cor 2:1-8 (“we speak wisdom to the initiates...the wisdom of God hidden in a

mystery”), claim to teach to initiates the secret doctrines they call the “mystery of the Pleroma” (Iren. *Haer.* III.2.1; 3.1; 15.2), the mystery of the syzygy (Iren. *Haer.* I.6.4), the “great mystery... concerning Christ and the Church” (Iren. *Haer.* I.8.4; cf. Eph 5:32). Three elements in Irenaeus’ description seem to concur with the witness of *A Valentinian Exposition*: first, the requirement of oral communication (cf. 22,16; Iren. *Haer.* III.2.1; cf. 1 Cor 2:1); second, the promise to impart a “mystery”; and third, initiation. The scene of initiation is suggested not only by the speaker’s promise (22,16) but also by his invitation to “enter into the revelation” (23,32–37), and finally by the liturgical passages that offer the benefit of gnostic initiation, “fulfillment” (cf. 43,34–36). His discrimination between two groups in his audience (“those who are mine and those who will be mine,” 22,17–18) apparently designates those already initiated, and those who are now to receive initiation.

While the author apparently assumes that his teaching differs from, and surpasses, the psychic catechism (40,30–43,38; Iren. *Haer.* I.21.1–2; III.15.2), he seems more concerned to define his doctrine in relation to that of other Valentinian theologians. He takes up sequentially the three issues mentioned above: the nature of the Father (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1–12.2; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.3), the function of Christ and of Limit (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2–4), and the interpretation of Sophia’s passion and restoration to the Pleroma (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2–3; 11.1). Because the author indicates different positions on these issues and then defines his own theological viewpoint, *A Valentinian Exposition* serves to clarify our understanding of the differences between Valentinian schools. The following discussion is limited to instances of such theological controversy.

A. *The Nature of the Father*

The author first introduces the doctrine of the Father, describing him with epithets familiar from Valentinian sources. The Father is “he who is” (22,19; *Gos. Truth* I,3:28,12–13; cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:51,9–54,1); he is “ineffable” (22,20–21; 24,39; 29,31; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:54,37–38; 55,14; 56,3.26–27); he “dwells in tranquility” (22,22–23; Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1) and is “known” to those who are his (22,18–19; cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:19,6–34; Orig. *Comm. in*

Joh. 13.38). Other elements in the author's description, however, may offer more specific clues as to his position among the different schools of Valentinian theology. First, considering the nature of the Father, this author specifies that the Father is not only alone (22,19–23,21; on *μόνος* see *Hipp. Ref.* VI.29.5–8; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:51, 8–12) but also that he “dwells in the Monad” (22,21) as “Root of the All and Monad without anything before him” (23,19–21; cf. Puech-Quispel, “Le quatrième écrit gnostique,” 77). Then the author explains that the presence of silence (*σιγή*) in no way compromises the Father's absolute solitude: “[He dwells alone] in silence (*ἡ σιγή*), [and silence (*ἡ σιγή*) is] tranquility, since, after all, [he was] a Monad and no one [was] before him” (22,22–25). The author thus avoids using the term *σιγή* (cf. 22,27) until the concept has been interpreted as “tranquility,” apparently to emphasize that silence is not the syzygy of the Father. The Father's relation to silence is mentioned only in relation to the subsequently generated Dyad (22,25–27; 23,21–23). Silence is interpreted specifically as the tranquility in which he reposes (22,22–23) in the absence of any companion.

The author's position appears to differ from the ontology attributed to Valentinus, which posits a primal Dyad, of which Silence constitutes one element (*Iren. Haer.* I.11.1), and also from that attributed to the followers of Ptolemaeus, who, similarly, interprets the primal source as dyadic, with the first syzygy consisting of the Father and Silence (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.1.1). Hippolytus attests a theological debate among Valentinian theologians concerning Silence, whether she was the Father's syzygy, or not. Hippolytus says that:

One finds much difference among them. Some of them, indeed, in order that the Pythagorean doctrine of Valentinus might be pure in every respect, consider the Father to be without any female element (i.e., female counterpart, *ἄθελον*), without syzygy, and alone. Others, considering it impossible that any generation at all of begotten things could proceed from a male alone, include... Silence as, of necessity, his syzygy (*Ref.* VI.29.3–4; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.11.5).

Valentinian theologians on both sides agree, apparently, that the Father reposes *in* silence. Some, however, understand Silence as a

hypostatic being who joins with the Father to form a Dyad with him; others, apparently, demythologize the silence, interpreting it as the quality or state of the Father's existence as a solitary Monad.

The author of *A Valentinian Exposition* takes the latter view; consequently he omits any mention of the participation of Silence in the primal act of generation. He seems, indeed, to insist on the Father's absolute solitude in this act: the ungenerated Monad alone generates the Dyad, here identified with Silence, in which the Father is said to dwell (22,22-27). *Tripartite Tractate* similarly states that the Father is "a single one" (οὐεει ἰοϋωτ=Greek *μόνος*: the term Monad, however, does not occur) who "has revealed himself as being a father for himself alone" (I,5:57,40-58,4). Although he dwells "in silence" (I,5:55,35-36), "he is such...that no other is with him from the beginning...nor (has he) any collaborator who cooperates with him in the things at which he works" (I,5:53,21-38). Irenaeus says that a certain "renowned teacher among them (the Valentinians) having attempted to reach something more sublime, and to attain to a kind of higher knowledge," has explained that

There is a certain Proarche who existed before all things, ... whom I call Monotes (*μονότηρα*). Together with this Monotes there exists a power which I call Henotes (*ἐνότηρα*). This Henotes and Monotes, being one, produced the beginning of all things, intelligible, unbegotten, invisible being, which beginning language calls Monad (*μονάδα*) (Iren. *Haer.* I.11.3).

The author of *A Valentinian Exposition* agrees at least with this unnamed teacher's basic premise—against Valentinus and Ptolemaeus—that the Father is not dyadic but monadic. Hippolytus also recounts a form of Valentinian cosmogony that, like the present text, explicitly describes the Father as "a Monad" (*Ref.* VI.29.1-6). He says that

The Father himself, as he was alone, projected and produced Nous and Aletheia, that is, the Dyad which became ruler and origin and mother of all those included within the Pleroma of Aeons But the Father is more perfect, because he is ungenerated, being alone (*μόνος*); he found through the first and single syzygy of Nous and Aletheia the means of projecting the roots of all things that were to

be generated (*Ref.* VI.29.6–8; cf. Puech-Quispel, “Le quatrième écrit gnostique,” 82–83).

Below the Monad is the Dyad which, in this version as apparently in *Val. Exp.* XI,2:22,25–27, replaces the hypostatized Silence as the means through which the Father generates the Aeons.

This difference may account for a second theological parallel between *A Valentinian Exposition*, Hippolytus’ account of Valentinianism (*Ref.* VI.29.2–32.8) and, perhaps, *Tripartite Tractate* in their discussion of the nature of the Father. These sources agree in designating the Father himself as the generative “Root of the All” (22,20.33–34; 23,19; *Ref.* VI.30.7; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:51,3–4). Ptolemaeus, by contrast, applies this designation equally to the primary Tetrad and to the Ogdoad, but never to the Father alone (*Iren. Haer.* I.1.1). *A Valentinian Exposition*, like *Ref.* VI.29–30 and *The Tripartite Tractate*, proceeds to refer all subsequent generation and revelation to the Father alone through the Son (23,31–32; cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:57,40–58,23).

B. The Function of Christ and Limit

The author offers evidence of a second issue of theological debate as he considers the functions of Limit (26,30–27,38). He himself maintains, apparently, that Limit possesses four powers (to separate, to confirm, to provide form, and substance). Others (27,33) attribute to Limit only two of these four powers (27,30–37).

The heresiological sources offer not only corroborative evidence of this controversy, but also clues that elucidate its significance. Valentinus teaches that there are two Limits (*ὄρους*), i.e., two boundaries to the Pleroma: one above, separating Depth (*βυθός*) from the Pleroma (cf. 27,37–38), and the other below, separating the exiled Sophia (*Iren. Haer.* I.11.1). Ptolemaeus apparently agrees with Valentinus on this, as on the issues previously mentioned. Both Valentinus and Ptolemaeus understand the conjunction of the Father with Silence as the primary syzygy; both introduce Limit before Sophia’s transgression; both describe the function of Limit as equivalent to that of Mind (*νοῦς*) (Quispel, “The Original Doctrine of Valentinus,” 44) in that he separates the Pleroma from the Father; finally, both agree that he functions to

delineate the Pleroma and thereby to confirm its integrity. Ptolemaeus (Iren. *Haer.* I.3.5) specifies further that Limit

has two functions (*δύο ἐνεργείας*): one, to support (*τὴν ἐδραστικὴν*), and the other, to separate (*τὴν μεριστικὴν*). Insofar as he supports and sustains, he is Cross (*Σταυρόν*); while insofar as he divides and separates, he is Limit (*Ὅρον*).

By separating Sophia's passion from the Pleroma, Limit protects and confirms the Aeons against the violation her transgression has incurred. Yet Limit also restrains Sophia from being absorbed into the Father, and finally he separates her passions from her, and thereby confirms her as well (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.6-8).

A second interpretation of Limit's activity follows in Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4, which begins a new source (Henrici, *Die valentinianische Gnosis*, 101-3; also cited by Quispel, "The Original Doctrine of Valentine," 44) and is confirmed in Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31. These latter sources agree with *A Valentinian Exposition* (against Valentinus and Ptolemaeus, Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1 and I.1.1) in describing the Father as the single, generating Monad. Also Irenaeus' primary account relates that the Father produces Limit in his own image, that is, as a Monad, without syzygy (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4) only after Sophia's transgression. Irenaeus explains subsequently (*Haer.* II.12.7) that Valentinian theologians disagree on this point: "Some of them maintain that this *Ὅρος* was produced by Monogenes, while others claim that he was sent forth by the Primal Father (*πρόπατηρ*) himself in his own image." *A Valentinian Exposition* illustrates, apparently, this debate: in our text mention of Sophia's distress (26,22-25) initiates the discussion of Limit.

Finally, these sources agree with *A Valentinian Exposition* on the major point: that Limit possesses four powers (26,30-34). Irenaeus (*Haer.* I.2.4) mentions five names of Limit, four of which correspond to four functions: Lytrotēs (*λυτρωτὴν [συλλυτρωτὴν]*; redeemer); Carpistes (*καρπιστὴν*; emancipator); Horothetēs (*ὁροθέτην*; boundary-setter) and Metagogēs (*Μεταγωγέα*; restorer, or "the one who brings back"). Irenaeus says that "by this Limit they say Sophia was purified, established, and restored to her syzygy" (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4). Previously Limit had separated her thought

(*Ἐνθύμησις*) and her passion from her; his work, like that of a surgeon (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.3.3) had removed the immediate cause of her suffering, and so had strengthened her. But this version adds that he also re-establishes Sophia in her own being and restores her to her form in conjunction with Christ. Therefore Limit also can be called Savior (Iren. *Haer.* II.12.7). The Christ who comes forth from the Pleroma, “extending himself through and beyond Stauros” (Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1) expresses the healing and restorative powers of Limit (Iren. *Haer.* I.3.3).

We may observe, then, a development in the understanding of the functions of Limit. Valentinus sees Limit simply as bounding the Pleroma; Ptolemaeus recognizes that, in delineating its boundaries, Limit also protects and consolidates the Pleroma. According to *A Valentinian Exposition* and its parallels, however, Limit’s functions also include restoring to being and form what has been separated, and finally reuniting it with the Pleroma. Since the activity of Limit prefigures that of Christ, the latter development of his soteriological powers accords with the statement that Sophia’s correction “will not occur through anyone except her own Son” (33,28–30).

C. *Sophia’s Passion and Restoration to the Pleroma*

A third issue of controversy among Valentinian theologians concerns the interpretation of Sophia’s suffering. As the section of *A Valentinian Exposition* which recounts this is damaged considerably, the author’s interpretation is difficult to discern. The extant fragments indicate, however, that Sophia, having been abandoned by her son (33,35–37; cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.7–32.7; Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1–2), repents (*μετανοεῖν*) and pleads with the Father (34,22–24). She confesses that she, having left the syzygy with whom she formerly dwelt in fruitful conjunction in the Pleroma, deserves her suffering (34,25–31). “She knew what she was, and what had become of her” (34,32–34), and she acknowledges that because of her transgression, both she and her syzygy undergo suffering (34,34). Yet her suffering is interpreted in different ways: “they said she laughs, since she remained alone and imitated the Uncontainable One; while he said she [laughs] since she cut herself off from her consort” (34,35–38).

Consideration of the heresiological accounts again helps illu-

minate this difficult passage. Irenaeus says that Sophia laughs as she recalls the light that had left her (*Haer.* I.4.1–2). Nevertheless, he also recounts variant interpretations of her passion. The first (*Haer.* I.2.2) maintains that “the suffering (consisted in) seeking the Father, for she wanted to comprehend his greatness.” This passionate longing for communion with the Father originates among the Aeons connected with Nous and Aletheia; in this version Sophia only expresses the desire she shares with the rest of the Aeons. Her attempt to know the Father is restrained by Limit, who then convinces her to give up this futile project, and separates her passions from her (*Iren. Haer.* I.2.2).

“Others,” however, give a different account—one that recounts not only that Sophia recovers from her suffering, but also that she undergoes conversion (*Iren. Haer.* I.2.3). This view interprets her transgression quite differently: Sophia, “having attempted what was impossible and unattainable, bore a formless substance, such as a female nature bears” (*Iren. Haer.* I.2.3). Consequently she suffers grief, fear, and perplexity; finally, distressed by her suffering, she accepts conversion (*λαβεῖν ἐπιστροφήν*) and attempts “to return to the Father, exhausted by her near-audacity, to plead with him.” As Quispel (“Origen and the Valentinian Gnosis,” 38–39) points out, the latter version suggests that Sophia has willfully violated the pleromic harmony—an act of which she later repents as she turns back to the Father.

A Valentinian Exposition seems to have affinities with the latter version. Here too Sophia repents (*μετανοεῖν*) and pleads with the Father; here too she makes an explicit confession that she deserves her suffering, apparently for an independent and willful transgression. If Hippolytus’ account (*Ref.* VI.30.6–8), which has affinities with *Iren. Haer.* I.2.4 and *A Valentinian Exposition*, can be taken as reflecting an amplified version of this understanding of Sophia, one may, perhaps, discern the rationale of such an understanding. Hippolytus recounts that Sophia recognized that all the Aeons generate in syzygy, while the Father alone generates apart from any syzygy. Therefore she “willed to imitate the Father, and to generate by herself apart from a syzygy, that her activity might in no way accomplish less than the Father’s” (*Ref.* VI.30.7–8). Instead of expressing the involuntary longing of all the Aeons for closer communion with the Father (as in the first account discussed

above), Sophia audaciously attempts to rise independently above the condition she shares in common with the other Aeons and to imitate the Father himself! Her transgression, then, is the rash act of a generated being attempting the impossible (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2.3); she wants “to have the power of the ungenerated one” (*Ref.* VI.30.7).

If the author of *A Valentinian Exposition* accepts such an interpretation, then his insistence that the Father alone is absolutely transcendent and solitary, as well as his account of Sophia’s repentance, her confession of wrongdoing in abandoning her syzygy (which involved them both in suffering), and her appeal to the Father, may be seen to fit into a consistent pattern of theological thought. For the author explains that Sophia’s suffering in isolation from her syzygy “was not the will of the Father,” for “this is the will of the Father: not to allow anything to happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy” (36,28–38). Her desire to conceive apart from her syzygy results from her audacious desire to imitate the Father, and could only result in the aborted birth of “unformed” seeds; but the Father wills fruitful issue (36,32–38). Only when Sophia is reunited with her syzygy, and her unformed “seeds” are joined with the angels, can generated beings be reconciled into harmonious union with one another. Only the Father remains utterly “alone,” a transcendent, solitary Monad.

If the above analysis proves generally correct, *A Valentinian Exposition* may help to delineate the various sources and schools of Valentinian theology. In particular, this analysis suggests that the author agrees on three crucial issues with the school of Valentinian theology (the “version B” of Lipsius, Förster and Sagnard) described in Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4 (to some extent, perhaps, also in the *Tripartite Tractate* and Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.2–32.8). On the same issues he expresses disagreement with the sources Irenaeus attributes to Valentinus himself (*Haer.* I.11.1) and to Ptolemaeus’ disciples (Iren. *Haer.* I.1–2.2; the “version A” of Lipsius, Förster and Sagnard). These issues may be summarized as follows:

1. Against Valentinus (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1) and Ptolemaeus’ disciples (Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1–2), who consider the Father and Silence as the primal syzygy, jointly generating the primal Tetrad and Ogdoad as “Root of all things,” *A Valentinian*

Exposition (cf. also Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:57,40-58:4 and Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4) describes the Father as the Ungenerated Monad who alone is the generative "Root of all things" (22,20; 23,19-21.32). Although existing "in silence" he remains in absolute solitude, projecting by himself alone Nous and Aletheia as the means whereby he generates all things.

2. Against the view that Limit fulfills only the functions of bounding the Pleroma (cf. Valentinus, Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1) or the two functions of separating and confirming (cf. Ptolemaeus, Iren. *Haer.* I.3.5), the author of *A Valentinian Exposition* maintains (with Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4) that Limit also fulfills the soteriological functions of providing form and substance, prefiguring the work of Christ. Consistent with this is the view that Limit is projected "in the image" of the Father, who is understood as a Monad (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4; II.12.7).
3. Against those who interpret Sophia's passion to express the involuntary longing of all the Aeons for closer communion with the Father, the author of *A Valentinian Exposition* concurs with those who consider her transgression as the independent and willful act of a generated being who wants to rise above the condition of generated beings that she shares with the other Aeons, and to have the "power of the Ungenerated One." Therefore she fully deserves her suffering, as she must recognize and confess before she can receive purification and restoration through the Savior.

From this analysis, we may suggest (with reservations appropriate at this stage of research) that the author represents a stream of Valentinian theology resembling the "version B" of the Sophia myth according to Lipsius, Förster and Sagnard. He seeks to emphasize the Father's solitary and absolute transcendence (therefore tending toward a "demythologizing" interpretation of Silence, and perhaps of the other Aeons as well). Second, he tends to develop the soteriological role of Limit, and hence, of Christ, emphasizing their positive functions of establishing and restoring the "lost." Third, he agrees with those who interpret Sophia's transgression less as the expression of a "tragic split" in the divine

being than as the willful act of a generated being. Genuine conversion must precede "correction."

The affinities between *A Valentinian Exposition* and Hipp. Ref. VI.29.2-32.8 suggest that the text may be placed in the milieu of one of the western, Italic traditions of Valentinian theology. *A Valentinian Exposition* would serve, then, to confirm the view that this school tended toward a closer assimilation with "catholic" theology than either the teaching of Valentinus himself or that of the eastern school. Nevertheless, the specific differences between the doctrine of *A Valentinian Exposition* and that ascribed to Ptolemaeus seem to point toward another branch of western Valentinian teaching, possibly, for example, that of Heracleon.

To observe the affinities noted above between *A Valentinian Exposition*, Hipp. Ref. VI.29.2-32.8, and Iren. Haer. I.2.4 is not, of course, to claim that these sources are identical. The extant sources do not yet furnish sufficient evidence to warrant the hypothesis of direct dependence, still less of a common source. Such an hypothesis, and further evaluation of the analysis offered above, must await the full publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices. For summary and conclusions concerning the history-of-religions affiliation of *A Valentinian Exposition*, see section III of this Introduction.

[KB]

	[	10±	ο]γτε ζ̄ν[
2	[	10±	]ει αζο[γν
	[	10±	]τχορηγ[ια
4	[	10±	]ρ̄ μ̄μαει[
	[	10±	]νετε.[
6	[	10±	]π̄π.[

(Lines 7-15 lacking)

16	[	12±	†να]χε παμ̄ς
	[		[τηριον ανεει ετ]ψοοπ̄ ν̄ει μ̄ν
18	[		[νετναψωπε ν]̄εῑ νεεῑ β̄ε̄ ν̄εν
	[		[ταζ̄μμε̄ απ̄η̄ ετ]ψοοπ̄· π̄ιωτ̄ ετε̄
20	[		[πεῑ πε̄ τ̄νογν]ε̄ μ̄πτηρ̄ π̄ιατ̄
	[		[ψεχε̄ αρᾱ ετ]ψοοπ̄ ζ̄ν̄ τ̄μονᾱς
22	[		[ε̄ψοοπ̄ ο̄γᾱε̄τ̄]̄ ζ̄ν̄ π̄καρω̄ π̄κα
	[		[ρω̄ ν̄δε̄ π]ε̄ π̄σβρᾱζ̄τ̄· ε̄πεῑ ο̄γν̄
24	[		[νε̄ψοοπ̄]π̄ μ̄μονᾱς̄ ᾱψ̄ νε̄μ̄ν̄
	[		[λᾱγε̄ ψο]̄φ̄ ζ̄ατε̄φε̄ζ̄η̄ ε̄ψοοπ̄
26	[		[ζ̄ν̄ τ̄δ]γ̄ᾱς̄ ᾱψ̄ ζ̄ν̄ π̄σᾱεῑψ̄· πε̄ε̄
	[		[σ]̄ᾱεῑψ̄ ν̄δε̄ πε̄ τ̄σῑγη̄ νε̄γ̄ν̄τε̄̄ ν̄
28	[		[δ]ε̄ μ̄με̄γ̄ μ̄πτηρ̄ ε̄ψοοπ̄ ν̄ζ̄
	[		[ρη̄ῑ ν̄]ζ̄η̄τ̄ ᾱψ̄ πο̄γ̄ω̄ψε̄ μ̄ν̄
30	[		π̄ψωπε̄ π̄μᾱεῑε̄ μ̄ν̄ π̄β̄ω̄
	[		νε̄εῑ β̄ε̄ ζ̄νᾱτ̄χ̄πᾱγ̄ νε̄ π̄νο̄ῡτε̄
32	[		[ᾱφε]̄ῑ ᾱβᾱλ̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ π̄νο̄ῡς̄ μ̄πτη̄
	[		[ρ]̄̄ ε̄τε̄ π̄εῑ πε̄ χ̄ε̄ ᾱβᾱλ̄ ζ̄ν̄ τ̄νο̄ῡνε̄
34	[		μ̄πτηρ̄ ε̄ρε̄πε̄̄κε̄με̄γε̄ ψοοπ̄
	[		π̄εῑ γ̄αρ̄ νε̄ο̄ῡν̄τε̄̄β̄ μ̄με̄γ̄ ζ̄μ̄
36	[		π̄νο̄ῡς̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ π̄τηρ̄ ν̄γ̄αρ̄ ᾱ̄χῑ
	[		ν̄ο̄ῡμε̄γε̄ ν̄ψ̄μ̄μο̄ νε̄μ̄ν̄λᾱγε̄
38	[		ν̄γ̄αρ̄ ψοοπ̄ ζ̄ατε̄φε̄ζ̄η̄· ᾱβᾱλ̄ ζ̄μ̄
	[		π̄μᾱ ε̄τ̄μ̄με̄γ̄ ν̄τᾱε̄ πε̄ ε̄ν̄τᾱζ̄κῑμ̄

[22]

[
 2 [] enter [
 [] the abundance (χορηγία) [
 4 [] those who [
 6 [

(Lines 7-15 lacking)

16 [*I will speak*] my mystery (μυστήριον)
 [to those who are] mine and
 18 [to those who will be mine]. Moreover it is these who
 [have known him who] is, the Father, that
 20 [is, the Root] of the All, the [Ineffable One]
 [who] dwells in the Monad.
 22 [He dwells alone] in silence,
 [and (δέ) silence is] tranquility since, after all (ἐπεὶ οὖν),
 24 [he was] a Monad and no one
 [was] before him. He dwells
 26 [in the Dyad] and in the Pair, and (δέ) his
 Pair is Silence (σιγή). And (δέ) he possessed
 28 the All dwelling within
 him. And as for Intention and
 30 Persistence, Love and Permanence,
 they are indeed unbegotten. God
 32 came forth: the Son, the Mind (νοῦς) of the All;
 that is, it is from the Root
 34 of the All that even his Thought stems,
 since (γάρ) he had this one (the Son) in
 36 Mind (νοῦς). For (γάρ) on behalf of the All he received
 an alien Thought
 38 since (γάρ) there was nothing before him. From
 that place it is he who moved

[κγ]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

[.]. .[

- 18 λει..[...].[7±].ο[γπηγη]
 εσβεβε τρει θε [τε τη]ογνε [μηπη]
 20 ρα αυ μοναζ [πε ε]μνηλ[αγε ρα]
 τεφρην· τμαζσ[η]τ[ε] δε [νηπηγη]
 22 εφωοπ ρη τριγη αυ [εφωε]
 χε ημμεφ ογαεετ[α] τ[μαζ]τοε]
 24 δε κατα θε ηταφ ηεν[ταρ]α]
 φρα αβαλ μαα ογαε[ετ]α ρη τ]
 26 μαζτοε εφωοπ ρη τ[μαζ]
 φνητφεσε αφωρη ειη[ε μαα]
 28 ογαεετ[α] αυ ρη τμαζσ[η]τ[ε] αφου]
 ωνη αβαλ ηπεφουωφ [αυ]
 30 ρη τμαζτοε αφωρη [αβα]λ
 μαα ογαεετ[α]· νεη ημεη ε
 32 τφε τνογνε ηπηρη μαρη[ει]
 δε αρογν αφεφουωνη αβ[αλ]
 34 αυ τεφμνητχρηστος μη τεφβι
 ηει απιτη μηπηρη ετε πεει
 36 πε φωρη πιωτ ηπηρη αυ
 ω πνογς ηπνευμα νεη
 38 τεφ ηγαρ ημεγ ηπει ατερη η

(Line

[

18

Now

and M

before

exists

with h

accord

restrict

Fourth

Three-

himself

his will

in the F

himself

due to t

[enter]

and his

descent

is, the S

the Min

for (γα

[23]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

- [
 18 [a] gushing [*spring* (πηγή)].
 Now this [*is the*] Root [*of the All*]
 20 and Monad without any [*one*]
 before him. Now (δέ) the second [*spring* (πηγή)]
 22 exists in Silence (σιγή) and [*speaks*]
 with him alone. And (δέ) the [*Fourth*]
 24 accordingly (κατά) is he [*who*]
 restricted himself [*in the*]
 26 Fourth: while dwelling in the
 Three-hundred-sixtieth, he first brought
 28 himself (forth), and in the Second [*he*] revealed
 his will [*and*]
 30 in the Fourth he spread
 himself [*out*]. While (μέν) these things are
 32 due to the Root of the All, let us for our part (δέ)
 [*enter*] his revelation
 34 and his goodness (-χρηστός) and his
 descent and the All, that
 36 is, the Son, the Father of the All, and
 the Mind (νοῦς) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα);
 38 for (γάρ) he was possessing this one before

[κΔ]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

- 16 [18±] . []
 [17±] ΝΕ[]
 18 [. . . .] ΠΙ . [. . . .] Ε ΕΤΜ̄ ΜΕΥ ΟΥΠΗ
 [ΓΗ ΠΕ] ΠΕΕΙ [ΟΥΠΕ] ΤΟΥΩΝ̄ ΑΒΑΛ ΠΕ
 20 [Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΣ] ΙΓΗ ΑΥ [Ω Ο] ΥΝΟΥΣ Μ̄ ΠΤΗΡ̄
 [ΠΕ ΕΦ] ΨΟΟΠ̄ [Ζ̄Ν̄] ΟΥΜΑΖ̄ ΣΝΤΕ Μ̄ Ν̄
 22 [ΠΩ] Ν̄ Ζ̄ Ν̄ ΤᾹ Γ̄ Ν̄ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΡΕ̄ ΤΕΥ
 [Ο ΑΒΑΛ] Μ̄ ΠΤΗΡ̄ ΑΥ Θ [Υ] ΠΟΣΤΑΣΙ [Σ]
 24 [ΟΥΑΕΕΤΣ] Μ̄ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΕ [Τ] ΞΕΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΝ
 [ΝΟΙΑ Τ] Ε ΑΥΩ < Τ > ΒΙΝ̄ Ν̄ Τ̄ ΑΠΙΤ̄ Ν̄ Μ̄ Π̄
 26 [ΣΑ Μ̄] Π̄ ΣΑΝ ΠΙΤ̄ Ν̄ ΤΑΡΕΦΟΥΩΨΕ
 [Ν̄ ΒΙ] Π̄ ΨΡ̄ Π̄ Ν̄ ΕΙΩΤ ΑΦΟΥΑΝ̄ Ζ̄ Α
 28 [ΒΑΛ Ν̄] Ζ̄ ΡΗ̄ Ν̄ Ζ̄ Η̄ Τ̄ ΕΠΕΙ ΟΥΝ ΕΤΒ [Η]
 [Τ̄] ΕΡΕ] ΠΟΥΩΝ̄ ΑΒΑΛ ΨΟΟΠ̄ Μ̄ Π̄
 30 Τ̄ Η̄ Ρ̄ [Γ̄] ΕΕΙΧΟΥ ΔΕ Μ̄ ΜᾹ ΑΠΤΗΡ̄
 ΧΕ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ Μ̄ ΠΤΗΡ̄ ΑΦΧΙ ΔΕ Μ̄
 32 ΠΜΕΥΕ Ν̄ Τ̄ ΜΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΤΗΡ̄ ΕΕΙ
 [Χ] ΟΥ ΔΕ Μ̄ ΜΑΣ ΑΠΜΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΠΜΟΝΟ
 34 ΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΝΕΥ Ν̄ ΓΑΡ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄
 ΤΜΗ ΠΕ† ΕΑΥ Ν̄ ΤΝΟΥΝΕ Μ̄ Π
 36 ΤΗΡ̄ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ Ν̄ ΤᾹ ΠΕ̄ Ν̄ ΤᾹ
 ΟΥΑΝ̄ Ζ̄ ΑΒΑΛ ΟΥΑΕΕΤ̄ Ζ̄ Μ̄ ΠΜΟ
 38 ΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ Ζ̄ ΡΗ̄ Ν̄ Ζ̄ Η̄ Τ̄
 ΑΦΟΥΩΝ̄ ΑΒΑΛ Μ̄ ΠΑΤΨΕΧΕ Α

[24]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

16 []
 []
 18 [] that []. He [*is*] a [*spring* (*πηγή*)].
 He is [*one*] who appears
 20 [*in Silence* (*σιγή*)], and [*he is*] Mind (*νοῦς*) of the All
 dwelling secondarily with
 22 [*Life*]. For (*γάρ*) he is the projector
 [of] the All and the [*very*] hypostasis
 24 of the Father, that is, [*he is*] the [*Thought* (*ἐννοια*)]
 and his descent
 26 below. When he willed,
 the First Father revealed himself
 28 in him. Since after all (*ἐπεὶ οὖν*), because
 [of him] the revelation is available to the
 30 All, I for my part (*δέ*) call the All
 “The desire of the All.” And (*δέ*) he took
 32 such a thought concerning the All—
 I for my part (*δέ*) call the thought “Monogenes.”
 34 For (*γάρ*) now God has brought
 Truth, the one who glorifies the Root of the
 36 All. Thus it is he who
 revealed himself in Monogenes,
 38 and in him
 he revealed the Ineffable One

[κε]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

1 [ραϞ

[.].[13±]π..[

18 [.]νε[.....].[6±]τμη[ε αϞ]

νεϞ αρ[α]Ϟ εϞϞ[μαστ] ρ̄ν τμον[αϞ αϞ]

20 ω ρ̄ν τδ γαϞ α[γω ρ̄ν] ττετρα[Ϟ αϞ]

Ϟρπ̄ νε̄ινε αβα[λ] μ̄πμον[ογενηϞ]

22 [μν] πρ̄ο[ρο]Ϟ αϞω πρ̄οροϞ [πε πρεϞ]

[πωρ̄χ α]βαλ μ̄πτηρ̄Ϟ [αϞω πταχ]

24 [ρο μ̄πτηρ̄]Ϟ εϞωοοπ̄ νε̄[

[10±].πωε νε̄[

26 [.....πνο]Ϟς πε αϞω[

[

28 [

[8±].[

30 μ̄πω[ηρε ο]γατ[ωεχ]ε αρ̄α[Ϟ π]ε [α]

π̄τη[ρ̄Ϟ] μ̄πτηρ̄Ϟ αϞω πταχρ[ο]

32 μ̄ν [τρ̄Ϟ]ποσταϞϞ μ̄πτηρ̄Ϟ πκ[α]

ταπ[εταϞ]μα νε̄ιϞ[η] παρχιε

34 ρ̄εϞ[Ϟ πε μ̄μη]ε π[εει ετεϞν]τ[εϞ μ̄]

μεϞ νε̄τεζοϞϞα μ̄βωκ αζοϞν α

36 νε̄τοϞααϞ νε̄νετοϞααϞ εϞοϞ

[ω]νε̄ μ̄μεν αζοϞν μ̄πεαϞ νε̄

38 [ν]ᾱιων εϞεινε νε̄δε αβαλ νε̄τ

χορηγια αϞ<Ϟ†>νοϞβε̄ τανατολη

[KΣ]

(Lines 1-17 lacking)

- 18 [ετ]ἴν' ἄρ[ηῖ ἡζητῶ ἡταϗ πε πε]ν
 [τ]ἄφογαν[ζῶ αβαλ] ἐν[ταϗ] πε π
 20 [αρ]χαιον ἡ[ρ]πειει ἀγω [π]εζο ἡ
 [πτη]ρῶ ἀγω [νε]φεμαρτε ἡπτη
 22 [ρῶ πη] ετχασι [απ]τηρῶ [α]νεει ἡμεν
 [τεγο] πεχηρστος ἀ[βαλ ατρῶ]
 24 [τερασ] ἡθε ἡταγτεζ[αγ ρατεζη]
 [ἡτεςβι]ἡἡει ἀπ[ιτῆ σεχοϗ δε]
 26 [ἡμαῶ] ἀραῶ χε [
 [10±]:]
 28 [
 [. . . εφογανῶ αβαλ] [εν αλλα ογα]
 30 ζ[ορατ]ος αρ[αγ π]ε εγ[βω ρῆ] πζο
 ρος ἀγω οὔἡ' τεῶ ἡἡ[εγ ἡ]ῆτοε
 32 ἡβαν οὔρεσπωρῶ ἡἡ[ο]ὔρεσ
 [τ]ἄχρῶ οὔρε' σ' [ῆ]† μορφη [α]γω οὔ
 34 ρ[εσχηπε οὔσια· ἀναν ογαεετ]ἡ
 ἡνε εἰσπε <ε>ἡ' ἀρῆνοει ἡ'
 36 νεὔπροσωπον ἡἡ πχροнос
 ἀγω ἡτοπος νεει ἡταζαν
 38 εἰνε αρχοϗ αβαλ χε ἀζοϗς.[

[26]

(Lines 1–17 lacking)

- 18 [that is] in [him. *He is the one who*
[revealed himself as] the
- 20 primal (ἀρχαῖον) [sanctuary] and [the] treasury of
[the All]. And [he] encompassed the All,
- 22 [he] who is higher [than the] All. These for their part (μέν)
[sent] Christ [forth to]
- 24 [establish her] just as [they] were established [before]
[her] descent. [And (δέ) they say]
- 26 [concerning] him:
[
- 28 [*He is not manifest, but (ἀλλά)*
[invisible (ἀόρατος)] to [those remaining within Limit (ὄρος)].
And he possesses four
- 32 powers: a separator [and a]
confirmer, a form-provider (-μορφή) [and a]
- 34 [substance-producer (-οὐσία)]. Surely (μή) [we alone]
would discern (νοεῖν)
- 36 their presences (πρόσωπον) and the time (χρόνος)
and the places (τόπος) which [the]
- 38 likenesses have confirmed because they have [

[κζ]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

- 16 [14±]εχ[
 [13±]ν̄ςεε[
 18 [10± αβ]αλ $\overline{\zeta\eta}$ νιμ[α]
 [12±]π̄ ταγαπη[
 20 [8±]πα $\overline{\zeta\tau}$ αβαλ [
 [... π]πληρωμα τη[ρ]ϛ[
 22 [6±]πεβω ρ̄ζυπ[ομε]
 [νε $\overline{\nu\omicron\gamma\alpha}$]ειω νιμ αγω[
 24 [6±]. και γαρ αβ[αλ $\overline{\zeta\eta}$
 [7±]. πογαειω[
 26 [6±]. ει ζογο[.].[
 [
 28 [9±]ω[7±]ν[
 [ετε τεει τε] ταποδειξις $\overline{\eta\tau\omicron}$ [ναβ]
 30 [$\overline{\eta}$ αγαπη ετ]βε ευ $\overline{\eta}$ δε χε ουρες
 [πωρ]̄ $\overline{\chi}$ αβαλ $\overline{\mu\eta}$ ουρεσταχρο
 32 [αγω ουρες χ πε ουσια $\overline{\mu\eta}$ ουρες
 [† μορφη $\overline{\eta\theta\epsilon}$ $\overline{\eta}$ ταζα $\overline{\zeta\eta}$ κκαγε
 34 [χοο]ς $\overline{\varsigma}$ [ε]χου $\overline{\eta}$ γαρ $\overline{\mu\eta}$ μα $\overline{\tau}$ απρο
 [ρο]ς $\chi\epsilon$ [ου]ητε $\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\mu\eta}$ μευ $\overline{\eta}$ βαμ
 36 [$\overline{\varsigma}$ η]τε ο[γρ]εσπω $\overline{\chi}$ αβαλ αγω
 [ο]γρες[τα]χρο επει σπω $\overline{\chi}$ $\overline{\mu}$
 38 [π]βγ[θος] αβαλ $\overline{\zeta\eta}$ < $\overline{\eta}$ >αιων $\chi\epsilon$ κα

[27]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

- 16 []
 []
 18 [] from these [*places*]
 [] the love (*ἀγάπη*) [
 20 [] is emanated [
 [] *the*] entire Pleroma [
 22 [] The persistence [*endures* (*ὑπομένειν*)]
 always, and [
 24 [] for also (*καὶ γάρ*) [
 [] the time [
 26 [] more [
 []
 28 []
 [*that is*], the proof (*ἀπόδειξις*) of his [*great*]
 30 [*love* (*ἀγάπη*)]. So (*δέ*) why a
 [*separator*] and a confirmer
 32 and a substance-producer (*-οὐσία*) and a
 form-provider (*-μορφή*) as others have
 34 [*said*]? For (*γάρ*) [*they*] say concerning
 [*Limit* (*ὄρος*)] that he has two powers,
 36 [*a*] <separator> and
 [*a confirmer*], since (*ἐπεὶ*) it separates
 38 [*Depth* (*βυθός*)] from the Aeons, in order that

[KH]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

1 [ce

16 [..].[

nn t[

18 neei b[ε

ei noy.[

20 [.]n. mpv[γθος

[r]ar [t]ε τμορφη [.] .[

22 [..].ε mpiwt nt[mne

[ayx]oc xe peprh[ctoc

24 [....].ε pepneyu[α

[.....] mpmo[ogenns

26 [....]ete [o]ynte[

[.....].[.]....[

28 [

[.]t o[ytetna]wφc [te mn oya]

30 narkaiou atrn[wine zn]

oywrx nzoγo [mn] [oybw]

32 nca ngraphaγeie ayw [net]

teγo nnonhma etve η[eei]

34 ngar ceχoy mmaq nb[i]

narxaioc xe nta[γ]teγa[γ]

36 abal zitm pnoyt[ε] mar[n]

mme nde ateqm[nt]pmm[α]

38 o natbnretc aq[o]γwφ[ε]

[28]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

16 [
 [
 18 These, then [
 [
 20 [] of (Depth (*βυθός*)
 For (*γάρ*) [*is*] the form (*μορφή*) [
 22 [] the Father of the [*Truth*
 [*say*] that Christ [
 24 [] the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) [
 [] Monogenes [
 26 [] has [
 [
 28 [
 [*it is a great and*]
 30 necessary (*ἀναγκαῖον*) thing for us to [*seek with*]
 more diligence and [*perseverance*]
 32 after the scriptures (*γραφαί*) and [*those who*]
 proclaim the concepts (*νόημα*). For (*γάρ*) about [*this*]
 34 the ancients (*ἀρχαῖος*) say:
 “[*They*] were proclaimed
 36 by God.” So (*δέ*) [*let us*]
 know his unfathomable
 38 richness! [*He wanted*]

[κθ]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

- 18 [16±]·γ[
 [15± Δ]ογλει[α]
 [15±]ηπ α†
 20 [12± ᾠ]η[ε]ρψωπε
 [12±]ρε ᾠη[ε]γβιος
 22 [7± σεβω]ψτ ζ̄ν [ογ]ωρϗ
 [απβιβλι]διον ᾠτηγψσις·
 24 [σεβωψτ] ᾠδε αζογν αππρο[σω]
 [πον ᾠνεγ]ερηγ· ττετ[ρασ ε]
 26 [τ̄μμεγ αστε]γο αβα[λ] ᾠ[ττετ]ρ[ας]
 [ετε τεει τε τ]απλο[ρος ᾠ]ᾠ πω
 28 [ᾠ]ζ̄ [αγω πρωμε ᾠᾠ τ]εκκ[λη]
 [ς]ῑα [πατσω]φνητ [ᾠδε α]ᾠτεγο
 30 αβα[λ ᾠπλ]ογος ᾠ[ᾠ π]ωνζ· πλο
 γος ᾠ[με]ᾠ [α]πεαγ ᾠ[π]ατψε
 32 χε α[ρα]γ πωνζ ᾠ[ε] απεαγ ᾠ
 τσι[γη] ᾠ πρωμε ᾠδε απεᾠε
 34 αγ [ᾠᾠ]ᾠ ᾠμαᾠ τε[κ]κλησια
 ᾠδε [α]πεαγ ᾠτμηε τεει βε
 36 τε ττε[τρ]ας ετογχο ᾠμας
 κατα [πτα]ᾠτᾠ ᾠ[π]†ατχπα[ᾠ]ς
 38 αγω [τ]τετρασ εψαρογχπας

[29]

(Lines 1-16 Lacking)

- 18 [*servitude* (δουλεία)]
 []
 20 [] he [*did not*] become
 [] of their life (βίος)
 22 [*they look*] steadfastly
 [*at their book* (βιβλίδιον)] of knowledge (γνώσις)
 24 and (δέ) [*they regard*]
 [*one another's appearance* (πρόσωπον). *That*] Tetrad
 26 [*projected the Tetrad*]
 [*which is the one consisting of*] Word (λόγος) and [*Life*]
 28 [*and Man and*] Church (ἐκκλησία).
 [*Now* (δέ) *the Uncreated One*] projected
 30 Word (λόγος) and Life. Word (λόγος)
 (+μέν) is [*for*] the glory of [*the*] Ineffable One
 32 while (δέ) Life is for the glory of
 [*Silence* (σιγή)], and (δέ) Man is for his
 34 own glory, while (δέ) Church (ἐκκλησία)
 is [*for*] the glory of Truth. This, then,
 36 is the [*Tetrad*] begotten
 according to (κατά) [*the likeness*] of the Uncreated (Tetrad).
 38 And [*the*] Tetrad is begotten

[λ]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

- 16 . . ḡ[10± τδεκα τα]
 βαλ ḡḡ [πλογοc ḡḡ πωḡḡ]
 18 αḡω τδ[ωδεκαc ταβαλ ḡḡ πρω]
 με ḡḡ τ[ε]κ[κληcια αḡωπωπε ḡοḡ]
 20 τριακ[ο]νταc [πατετριακον]
 τασ θε πε ḡḡ[αιων ετ† καρ]
 22 [πο]c ε[φα]βαλ ḡḡ τḡτ[ριακονταc]
 [σε]πḡτ αḡοḡḡ ḡκο[ινωνοc]
 24 [αλλα c]εει αβαλ ḡ[οḡωτ εḡ]
 π[ητ ḡḡ ḡ[αι]ων ḡḡ[νιατψα]
 26 ποḡ [αḡω] ḡιατψ[αποḡ ḡταροḡ]
 ḡω[ḡτ αραḡ αḡ† εαḡ απη]ο[ḡc]
 28 εḡει [οḡατψ]αḡ[ḡ πε εḡω]οο[π]
 ḡḡ πḡ[ληρ]ωμα αλ[λα αc]εινε
 30 ḡμεν α[βα]λ ḡβι [τ]δ[εκα] ταβαλ[λ]
 ḡḡ πλο[γ]οc ḡḡ πωḡ[ḡ]ḡ ḡḡḡ
 32 δεκα ḡωc ατρεππλ[ηρ]ωμα
 ḡωπωπε ḡοḡδεκατον[ταc] αḡω
 34 τδωδ[ε]καc ταβαλ ḡḡ πρωḡ[ε]
 ḡḡ τεκκληcια αcε[ινε] αβαλ αc[ρ]
 36 πμααβ ḡωc ατρε[τḡ]ḡτ ḡε
 ce ḡωπωπε ḡππλη[ρ]ωμα ḡτ
 38 ραμπε αḡω τραμḡ[ε] ḡḡ[πχαει]c]

[30]

(Lines 1-15 lacking)

- 16 [*the Decad* (i.e., ten)]
 from [*Word* (λόγος) and *Life*]
 18 and the [*Dodecad* (i.e., twelve) from *Man*]
 and [*Church* (ἐκκλησία) became a]
 20 *Triacontad* (i.e., thirty). [*Moreover*], it is the one [from the
Triacontad]
 of the [*Aeons who bears fruit* (καρπός)]
 22 from [*the Triacontad*].
 [*They*] enter [*jointly* (κοινωνός)]
 24 [*but* (ἀλλά) *they*] come forth [*singly*],
 [*fleeing from*] the *Aeons* [*and the Uncontainable Ones*].
 26 [*And*] the [*Uncontainable Ones, once they had*]
 looked [*at him, glorified Mind* (νοῦς)]
 28 since (ἐπεὶ) [*he is an Uncontainable One that exists*]
 in the [*Pleroma. But* (ἀλλά)]
 30 [*the Decad*] (+μέν), from
Word (λόγος) and *Life*, brought forth
 32 decads so as (ὥς) to make the *Pleroma*
 become a hundred (ἐκατοντάς), and
 34 the *Dodecad*, from *Man*
 and *Church* (ἐκκλησία), [*brought*] forth and [*made*]
 36 the *Triacontad* so as (ὥς) to make [*the three*] hundred
 sixty become the *Pleroma* of the
 38 year. And the year of the Lord

[λα]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

[20±].[
 16 [20±]βα[λ]
 [20±]ῆ.
 18 [16± τελε]ιος
 [15± τ]ελειον
 20 [13± αγ]ω κατα φο
 [14±]αν πε αρ
 22 [15± ρο]ρος αγω
 [18±]ρορο[ς]
 24 [18±]νε.[
 [18±].[
 26 [18± π]μεγε[θος]
 28 ετq[14±]ῆ†μ[ῆ]
 τηρ[ηστος 8±]αῖ πω
 30 ωῆ[ρ 7±]ῆ[...]ωωπ ρι
 σε π[7±]ε[...]τη ριτῆ
 32 φο τ[7±].ει[... ῆ]ναρρε
 ππ[ληρωμα...]αρ[...]ε ῆταῖου
 34 αψ[ῖ 7± αγ]ω αφογωψε
 αω[κ αβαλ ῆ] τμαρμααβε εq
 36 ωοοπ [ῆσγζγ]ος ῆπρωμε ῆῆ
 τεκκλη[σια ετε] τειε τε τσοφια αρ
 38 τπε ῆ[πμααβ ῆq]ῆ ππληρωμα

[31]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

[
 16 [
 [
 18 [*perfect* (τέλειος)]
 [] *perfect* (τέλειον)
 20 [*and*] according to (κατά)
 [] is [] to
 22 [*Limit* (ὄρος)] and
 [] *Limit* (ὄρος)
 24 [
 [
 26 [
 [*the*] greatness (μέγεθος)
 28 which [] the
 [*goodness* (-χρηστός)]] him. Life
 30 [] suffer
 [] by
 32 the face [] in the presence of
 the [*Pleroma*]] which he wanted
 34 [*And*] he wanted
 to [*leave*] the Thirtieth—
 36 being [*a syzygy*] of Man and
 Church (ἐκκλησία), that is, Sophia—to
 38 surpass [*the Triacontad and*] bring the Pleroma

[λβ]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

- 14 [.]·[
 ου[
 16 πq[
 ἄε αγ[
 18 ω αϑψ[
 ροc ετε[
 20 νια ἄν[
 ἄρα ρ[
 22 ἄπτη[ρϑ
 [.]†μ[
 24 [.]·ο·[
 [
 26 φo[
 αγρ·[
 28 ἄε[15±]·γ·ε
 τογπ[14±]πτη
 30 ρq ἄρ[14±]q αγ
 ω ἄταq[....]·[8±]ε αq
 32 εἰρε ἄ·[....]π·[6±]πμεγ
 ε ἄν ἄ[....]·[....ππλ]ἄρω
 34 μα ριτμ ἄ[λ]ορo[ρc 6±]ἄτεq
 σαρξ ἄεεἰ βε [νε ναιων ε]†νε
 36 ἄμαγ ἄταρεπ[λογοc] εἰ αρογν
 αραc κα[θ]τα θε [ἄταρι]ωρπ ἄ
 38 χοοc αγω π[η ετωω]πε ψα
 πατψαπq α[φεινε] ἄβαλ ἄ

[32]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

- 14 []
 []
 16 his []
 but (δέ) [] *and*
 18 she []
 which []
 20 and []
 for (γάρ) []
 22 the [*All*
 the []
 24 []
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 26 []
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 28 but (δέ) []
 who [] *] the All*
 30 [] *] and*
 he [] *] he*
 32 made [] *] the thought*
 and [] *the] Pleroma*
 34 through the Word (λόγος) [] *] his*
 flesh (σάρξ). These, then, [*are the Aeons that*] are like
 36 them. After the [*Word (λόγος)*] entered
 it, just as (κατά) [*I*] said before,
 38 also [*the one who comes to be*] with
 the Uncontainable One [*brought*] forth

[λΓ]

(Lines 1-10 lacking)

[14±] Μ]ΠΑΤΟΥ
 12 [15±] ΑΒΑΛ Ν̄
 [15±] ΖΑΠ̄Q Α
 14 [12±] Π̄CΥΖΥΓΟΣ ΑΥ
 [ω 10±]. ΤΒΙΝΗΣΙC Μ̄Ν
 16 [.] ΕΥΤ[6±] ΤΕΥΟ ΑΒΑΛ Μ̄ΠΕ
 [Χ]ΡΗΣΤΟ[C....]ΡΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕCΠΕΡ
 18 ΜΑ· ΙΗ[̄C 13±] Β Ν̄ΠΩΕ
 ΧΕ . Ε[....ΝΕΝΤΥΠ]ΦCΙC Μ̄ΠΩ̄
 20 ΩQ̄Τ̄ Α[6±] [. . . Ο]ΥΜΝΗΤΤΕ
 ΛΕΙ[Ο]C [ΕΠΕΙΔΗ Ο]ΥΜΟΡΦΗ Ν̄ΤΕ
 22 ΛΕ[ΙΑ ΤΕΤ̄CΩ] Ε [Α]ΒΩΚ ΑΤΠΕ ΑΖΟΥΝ
 [ΑΠΠΛΗΡ]ΩΜ[Α] Μ̄ΠΕQΟΥΩΩ[Ε]
 24 [ΡΩ ᾹΡCΥ]ΝΕΥΔΟΚΕΙ Μ̄Ν ΠΖΙCΕ
 [ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ]Ρ̄ΚΩΛΥΕ Μ̄ΜΑQ ΑΥ Ε
 26 [.] . Ε Μ̄ΜΑQ ΖΙΤ̄Ν [Π]ΖΟ
 ΡΟΣ ΕΤΕ Π̄ΕΙ ΠΕ ΖΙΤ̄Ν Π[̄C]ΥΖΥ
 28 ΓΟΣ ΕΠΕΙ[Α]Η ΤΕCΔΙΟΡΘΩCΙC ΝΑ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΝ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΛΑΥΕ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ
 30 ΖΙΤ̄Ν Π̄CΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΜΙΝ Μ̄ΜΑ<C>
 Π̄ΕΙ ΕΤΕ Π̄ΩQ ΤΗΡ̄Q ΠΕ ΠΠΛΗ
 32 ΡΩΜΑ Ν̄ΤΜ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΑQ̄ΡΖΝΕQ
 Ν̄ΖΡΗΙ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Q CΩΜΑΤΙΚΩC
 34 ΑΚΩΕ Ν̄ΝΒΑΜ ΑΥΩ ΑQΕΙ ΑΠΙΤ̄Ν
 Ν<Ε>ΕΙ ΝΔΕ ΑΖΑΤCΟΦΙΑ ΩΑΠΟΥ
 36 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕQΠΩΤ ΑΤΠΕ ΑΒΑΛ Ν̄
 ΖΗΤ̄C [̄N] Q̄[Ι] Π̄ΕCΩΗΡΕ ΑCCOΥ
 38 ΩΩΝ[̄C N̄Γ]ΑΡ ΕCΩΟΟΠ Q̄Ν ΟΥ

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[33]

(Lines 1-10 lacking)

[] before they
 12 [] forth
 [] hide him from
 14 [] the syzygy and
 [] the movement (*κίνησις*) and
 16 [] project the
 Christ (*χρηστός*) [] and the seeds (*σπέρμα*).
 18 Jesus[] of the Cross
 since [*the imprints (ἐντύπωσις)*] of the nail
 20 wound [] perfection (*-τέλειος*).
 [*Since (ἐπεὶ) it is*] a perfect (*τέλεια*) form (*μορφή*)
 22 [*that should*] ascend into
 [*the Pleroma*], he did not [*at all*] want
 24 [*to*] consent (*συνευδοκεῖν*) to the suffering,
 [*but (ἀλλά) he was*] detained (*κωλύειν*).
 26 [] him by Limit (*ὄρος*),
 that is, by the syzygy,
 28 since (*ἐπειδή*) her correction (*διόρθωσις*) will
 not occur through anyone except (*εἰ μὴ τι*)
 30 her own Son,
 whose alone is the fulness (*πλήρωμα*)
 32 of divinity. He willed
 within himself bodily (*σωμάτικως*)
 34 to leave the powers and he descended.
 And (*δέ*) these things (i.e., passions) Sophia suffered
 36 after her son ascended from
 her, [*for (γάρ)*] she knew
 38 that she dwelt in a

[λΔ]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

- 10 .νε.[12± 2̄N ουζω]
 12 ̄TP αυφ [2̄N ουαποκαταστασις αυ]
 12 λο· του· [.]ε n̄ncn[ny
 14 νεει m̄πευ· [αυιωπε[9±]κ· [εγζωου νεε[ι νε π...]ισμος [m̄]
 16 μεν αφλοτε[7±]n̄δε αυο[γν]
 18 m̄n̄ ncω[11±]. m̄
 20 mac νεε[ι δε νετε νεγν]εγ αραι
 20 πε νεει ετ̄n̄[5± n]ε[ε]i n̄
 22 ταζιm̄κμογκ[ου 5±]ει πι
 22 [m]ου αυλοτεγ[7±]ac
 24 [αγ]ω ac̄p̄met[α]no[ει αυω ac]
 24 [p̄]ᾱιτει m̄πιωτ n̄tm[ne εc̄xou]
 26 m̄m[α]c εc̄τω αυικ[ωε n̄c̄ωει]
 26 m̄πac̄γζγoc ετ̄βε [πεει †]m̄
 28 πβαλ n̄πκεταχρο †m̄πωα
 28 n̄νεει ετ̄ωωπ̄ m̄μαγ νε
 30 ειωοop̄ πε 2̄m̄ ππληρωμα
 30 εῑτεγο αβαλ n̄nαιων αυω
 32 ει† καρποc m̄n̄ πac̄γζγoc
 32 ac̄coγwn̄c̄ n̄δε xe νεoγeȳ te
 34 αυω εγ πενταφωπε m̄
 34 mac αυω̄π̄ ζicε δε m̄πec̄neȳ
 36 παχεγ̄ c̄c̄ωβε επει ac̄bω ou
 36 αεετ̄c̄ αυω ac̄ταντ̄n̄ m̄πατ
 38 φᾱπ̄q̄ παχεq̄ c̄[c̄ωβ]ε n̄δε επει
 38 ac̄ωαat̄c̄ αβαλ [2̄m̄ π]εcc̄γζγ

[$\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$]

(Lines 1-8 lacking)

1 [ΓOC

[19[±]].[

- 10 αβ[α]λ .[. ἸΗΣ ΜΝ] ΤΣΟΦΙΑ
 ΜΜΕΝ ΑΥΒΩΛ[Π ΜΠCΩ]ΩΝΤ· ΕΠ[ΕΙ]
 12 ΟΥΝ ΝCΠΕΡΜΑ [ΝΤ]CΟΦΙΑ CΕΟΕ[Ι]
 ΝΑΤΧΩΚ ΑΒΑ[Λ ΑΥ]Ω ΝΑΜΟΡΦ[ΟC]
 14 ΑΙΗ[C Ρ]ΕΠΙΝ[ΟΕΙ Ν]ΟΥΚΤΙCΙC Ν[Τ]
 ΜΙ[ΝΕ] ΑCΦ[ΩΝΤ] ΜΜΑC Ν'Ν'
 16 CΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΡ[ΕΤC]ΟΦΙΑ ΡΖΩC ΝΜ
 ΜΕC· ΕΠΕΙ ΓΑ[Ρ Ζ]ΝCΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΕ
 18 ΑΥΩ ΜΝ[ΜΟΡΦΗ] ΜΜΑΥ ΑCΕΙ Α
 ΖΡΗ[Ι ΑΥΩ ΑCΕΙΝΕ] ΑΒΑΛ ΜΠΙ
 20 ΠΛΗΡ[ΩΜΑ ΝΤΕ Ζ]Ν'[ΑΙ]ΩΝ ΕΥΜΠΙ
 ΤΟΠΟ[C ΕΝΙΑΤ]CΩΩΝΤ· ΖΩΟ[Υ Ν]
 22 ΝΙΑ[ΙΩΝ ΝΕ Ν]ΑΠΤΥΠΟC ΜΠ'Ι[Π]
 [Λ]Η[ΡΩΜ]Α ΜΝ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΙΑΤΩ[Α]
 24 [ΠC ΖΑ]ΠΑΤCΩΩΝΤ ΜΜΕΝ Α[C]
 [Ν ΠΤΥ]ΠΟC ΜΠΑΤCΑΑΝΤC
 26 [ΑΒΑΛ Α]ΒΑΛ ΝΓΑΡ ΖΜ ΠΑΤCΑ
 Α[ΝΤC] ΕΡΕΠΙΩΤ ΕΙΝΕ ΑΒΑΛ Α
 28 ΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΜΟΡΦΗ ΠCΩΩΝΤ Ν
 ΔΕ ΘΑΕΙΒΕC ΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΩΡΠ Ν
 30 ΨΟΟΠ ΠΕΕΙ ΒΕ ΙΗΣ ΑCΩ
 ΩΝΤ ΝΤΚΤΙCΙC ΑΥΩ ΑCΔΗΜΙ
 32 ΟΥΡΓΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ΝΠΑΘΟC ΕΤΜ
 ΠΚΩΤΕ ΝΝCΠΕΡΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑC
 34 ΠΩΡΧ ΜΜΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΠΑΘΟC ΕΤCΑΤΠ ΑCΝΤΟΥ
 36 ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΝΕΘΑΥ
 ΝΔΕ ΑΖ[Ο]ΥΝ ΑΝCΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ· ΨΑ
 38 ΑΡΠ ΒΕ [ΑΒ]ΑΛ ΖΝ ΝΠΑΘΟC ΤΗ

[λς]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

1 [ροϋ

8 πεν[

οϋτε η[6±] . [. .] . ε . ψ

10 ἄμαρ [επει ο]ϋν τπρονοια
αϑ† [[αμιο] ἡ[τ.α]ιορθωσις ατεϋ12 ο αβαλ ἡ[ζ]ἡ[ζ]αειβεϑ ἡν ἡν
ζικων ἡ[νετ]ψοοπ [χιν] ἡ

14 ψαρπ ἡν [νετ]ψοοπ [αϋ]ω

νετναψω[πε τ]εει ὅ[ε τ]ε τοι

16 κον[ο]μια ἡπ[ιρ]πιστεϋε ἡμ[α]ς
ἡἡς ετβε [πεντ]αϋςζεει ἡ

18 πτηρϋ ἡ[ζ]ἡ[ζ]αντἡν ἡν ἡν

ζικων ἡ[ν ἡν]αειβ]εϑ ἡ

20 ταρεϋεινε α[βαλ αν] ἡβι

ἡς αϋεινε α[βαλ ἡ]μ[α]ϋ ἡ

22 πτηρϋ ναπεπλη[ρωμα]

ἡν τσυζϋγοϑ ετε η[εει νε] ἡ

24 αγγελοϑ ζαμα γαρ ἡ[ζ]ἡ[ζ] τσυγ]

χω[ρ]ησις ἡππλη[ρωμα]

26 ζαπεσσυζϋγοϑ τ[ε]ϋο [αβ]α[λ]

ἡἡαγγελοϑ εϋψοοπ ἡ

28 ποϋωψε ἡπιωτ· πεει ἡ

γαρ πε ποϋωψε ἡπιωτ α

30 τμηρελαϋε ψωπε ἡ π

πληρωμα οϋψἡν συζϋγοϑ

32 ποϋωψε βε ἡπιωτ πε

τεϋο αβαλ ἡοϋαει(ἡ)ψ ἡμ

34 αϋω † καρποϑ· ατρεσψπ

ζισε βε νεποϋωψε εν

36 ἡπιωτ πε· εϋψοοπ ἡγαρ

ἡζηἡ ἡζηἡς οϋαεετ<ϑ> οϋ

38 ψἡν πεσσυζϋ[γοϑ]· μαρἡ

[36]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

- 8 [
- nor (ὄντε) [
- 10 him, [since, after all (ἐπεὶ οὖν)], Pronoia
- caused [the] correction (διόρθωσις) to project
- 12 shadows and
- images (εἰκῶν) of [those who] exist [from] the
- 14 first and [those who] are [and]
- those who shall be. This, [then, is] the
- 16 dispensation (οἰκονομία) of believing (πιστεύειν)
- in Jesus for the sake of [him who] inscribed
- 18 the All with [likenesses and]
- images (εἰκῶν) [and shadows].
- 20 After Jesus brought [forth further],
- he brought [forth] for
- 22 the All those of the Pleroma
- and of the syzygy, that [is, the]
- 24 angels (ἄγγελος). For (γάρ) simultaneously (ἅμα) with [the
- agreement (συγχώρησις)]
- of the Pleroma
- 26 her consort (σύζυγος) projected
- the angels (ἄγγελος), since he abides in
- 28 the will of the Father. For (γάρ) this
- is the will of the Father:
- 30 Not to allow anything to happen in the
- Pleroma apart from a syzygy.
- 32 Again, the will of the Father is:
- Always produce
- 34 and bear fruit (καρπός). That she should suffer,
- then, was not the will
- 36 of the Father, for (γάρ) she dwells
- in herself alone without
- 38 her consort (σύζυγος). Let us

[37]

(Lines 1–7 lacking)

- 8 [another one [
- 10 the Second [the son of another [
- 12 is the Tetrads of the world (κόσμος). [And] that Tetrads put forth [fruit (καρπός)]
- 14 as if (ὡς) the Pleroma [of the world (κόσμος) were] a Hebdomad.
- 16 And (δέ) [it] entered [images (εἰκόν)] and [likenesses and angels (ἄγγελος)]
- 18 and [archangels (ἀρχάγγελος), divinities] and [ministers (λειτουργός)].
- 20 When all [these things were brought to pass] [by] Pronoia [
- 22 [] of Jesus who [[] the seeds (σπέρμα) [
- 24 [] of Monogenes [[]. Indeed (μέν) they are [spiritual (πνευματικόν)]
- 26 and carnal (σαρκικόν), the heavenly and the
- 28 earthly. He made them a place (τόπος) of this sort and
- 30 a school (σχολή) of this sort for doctrine and for form (μορφή).
- 32 Moreover this Demiurge began (ἄρχεσθαι) to create a
- 34 man according to (κατά) his image (εἰκών) on the one hand (μέν),
- and on the other (δέ) according to (κατά) the likeness of those who
- 36 exist from the first. It was this sort of dwelling place that she used (χρᾶν)
- 38 for the seeds (σπέρμα), namely

[λΗ]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

10 [11±] . . [. πω] ρ̄χ̄
 [10± π] ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΡΟΥ
 12 [9±] ΕΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ
 [ΕΠΔ] ΙΑΒ [ΟΛ] ΟΣ ΜΜΕΝ ΟΥΕΕΙ ΠΕ
 14 [ΝΤ] Ε ΝΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΦΣΕΖΩΪ Α
 [Β] ΑΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΦΤΩΡΠ ΝΤΗ [Λ] ΑΤΕΙ
 16 [Α Τ] ΗΡ̄Σ Ν̄ΝΠ [Ο] ΥΛΩΝ Α [Υ] ΑΥ
 [ΡΑΠΩ] ΘΕΙ Ν [Εϛ ΝΤ] ΕΦΝΟΥΝΕ Μ̄
 18 [ΜΙΝ Μ̄Μ [Αϛ ΑΒΑ] Α Ζ̄Μ ΠΜΑ Ε
 [Τ̄ΜΜ] ΕΥ Ζ̄ [Μ ΠΣΩΜ] Α Μ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν
 20 [ΨΕΛ Ν̄] ΣΑΡ [Ξ ϞΒ] ΑΛΕ Ν̄ΓΑΡ Μ̄
 [ΠΡΩ] ΜΕ Ν̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Α [Υ] Ω ΑΠΑ
 22 [ΔΑΜ Χ] ΑΪ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ Α [Ϟ] Χ [Π] Ο
 [ΝΕϛ Ν̄] Ζ̄ΝΨΗΡΕ ΕΥ [† ΒΩΝ] Τ̄ Ν̄
 24 [ΝΕΥΕΡ] ΗΥ ΖΑΚΑΙΝ Ν̄Δ [Ε Αϛ] Μ [ΟΥ]
 [ΟΥΤ] ΑΒΕΛ ΠΕϞΣΑΝ Α [ΠΔΗΜ] Ι
 26 [ΟΥΡΓΟ] Σ ΓΑΡ ΝΙϞΕ ΑΖΟΥ [Ν ΑΡΑΥ]
 Μ̄Π [Ε] ϞΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑϞΨ [ΩΠΕ]
 28 Ν̄Θ [Ι] ΠΜΙΨΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΑΠΟϞΤΑϞΙ
 Α Ν̄ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ Τ̄Μ̄ΝΤΡΩ
 30 ΜΕ Ν̄ΑΥΝΕΜ Μ̄Ν ΝΑΒΒΟΥΡ Μ̄ [Ν̄]
 ΝΕΘ̄Ν ΤΠΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΖΙΧ̄Μ ΠΚΑΖ
 32 Ν̄ΠΝΕΥΜΑ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ
 ΑΥΩ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΝΑΖΡ̄Ν ΠΝΟΥ
 34 ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΖΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ρ̄Ε
 ΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΑΝΨΕΕΡΕ Ν̄ΝΡΩΜΕ
 36 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ ΑΠΙΤ̄Ν ΑΣΑΡΞ ΖΩΣ
 ΤΕ Ν̄ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΟΥΚΑΤΑ
 38 ΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΑϞΡ̄
 ΖΤΗϞ ΧΕ ΑϞΣΩΩΝΤ Μ̄ΠΚΟΣ

[38]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

- 10 [*separate*]
 [] God. When they
 12 [] in behalf of man,
 [since] indeed (μέν) [*the Devil (διάβολος)*] is one
 14 [of] the divine beings. He removed himself
 and plundered the entire [*plaza (πλατεία)*]
 16 of the gates (πύλων) and he
 [expelled (ἄπωθεῖν)] his [own] root
 18 from [*that*] place
 [*in the body (σῶμα)*] and
 20 [*carcasses of flesh (σάρξ)*], for (γάρ) [*he is enveloped*] by
 [*the man*] of God. And [*Adam*]
 22 [sowed] him. Therefore [*he acquired*]
 sons who [angered]
 24 [one another. And (δέ)] Cain [killed]
 Abel his brother, for (γάρ) [*the Demiurge*]
 26 breathed into [*them*]
 his spirit (πνεῦμα). And there [*took place*]
 28 the struggle with the apostasy (ἀποστασία)
 of the angels (ἄγγελος) and mankind,
 30 those of the right with those of the left,
 those in heaven with those on earth,
 32 the spirits (πνεῦμα) with the carnal (σαρκικόν),
 and the Devil (διάβολος) against God.
 34 Therefore the angels (ἄγγελος) lusted (ἐπιθυμεῖν)
 after the daughters of men
 36 and came down to flesh (σάρξ) so that (ὥστε)
 God would cause a flood (κατακλύσμος).
 38 And he almost (σχεδόν)
 regretted that he had created the world (κόσμος)

[λθ]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

1 [ΜΟC
 8 [...].[
 [...]ΤΑΝ[
 10 [...]ϞC ΜΜΕΝ[II± ΠCΥ]
 [Ζ]ΥΓΟC ΜΝ ΤCΦ[ΦΙΑ ΜΝ ΠCΨΗ]
 12 ΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC Μ[Ν ΝCΠΕΡ]
 ΜΑ ΠCΥΖΥΓΟC ΝΔΕ ΠΤΕ[ΛΕΙΟC]
 14 ΑΨ ΤCΦΙΑ ΜΝ ΙΗC ΑΨ [ΝΑΓΓΕ]
 ΛΟ[C] ΜΝ ΝCΠΕΡΜΑ ΖΝΖΙ[ΚΩΝ]
 16 ΝΕ [Μ]ΠΠΛΗΡ[Ω]ΜΑ ΠΔΗ[ΜΙ]
 ΟΥΡΓΟC ΒΕ [ΑΦΡΖΑΕ]ΙΒΕC [Α]
 18 ΠC[Υ]ΖΥΓΟC [ΜΝ] [Π]ΠΛΗΡΩΜ[Α]
 ΑΨ[Ω] ΙΗC ΜΝ [ΤCΦ]ΙΑ ΜΝ Ν[ΑΓ]
 20 ΓΕ[ΛΟ]C ΜΝ ΝCΠ[ΕΡ]ΜΑ Π[Τ]ΕΛ[ΕΙΟC]
 [† ΕΑΨ] ΝΤCΦΙΑ ΤΖΙΚ[ΩΝ]
 22 [† ΕΑΨ] ΝΤΜΗΕ ΠΕΑΨ [Ν] [ΔΕ Ν]
 [ΝCΠΕ]ΡΜΑ ΜΝ ΙΗC ΝΑΤC[ΙΓΗ]
 24 [ΝΕ ΜΝ] ΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗ[C ΑΨΩ]
 [ΝΑΓΓΕ]ΛΟC ΝΝΖΑΥΤ ΜΝ [Ν]
 26 [CΠΕΡΜΑ]ΤΙΚΟΝ ΝΝCΖΙ[ΜΕ]
 [ΖΝΠ]ΛΗΡ[Ω]ΜΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ [ΝΕ ΖΟ]
 28 ΤΑΝ ΒΕ ΕΡΕΨΑΝΤCΟΦΙ[Α] ΧΙ
 ΜΠCΣCΥΖΥΓΟC ΑΨΩ ΙΗC ΝΨ
 30 ΧΙ ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΟC ΜΝ Ν[C]ΠΕΡ
 ΜΑ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΤΟΤ[Ε Π]Ι
 32 ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΦΝΑΧΙ ΝΤCΦΙΑ
 ΖΝ ΟΥΡΕΨΕ ΑΨΩ ΠΤΗΡ[Ψ] ΝΑ
 34 ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΩΤΡ ΑΨ[Ω] ΖΝ
 ΟΥΑΠΟΚΑΤΑCΤΑCΙC ΖΜ ΠΕΕΙ
 36 ΝΓΑΡ ΖΑΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΨΧΙ ΜΠ
 ΖΟΥΟ ΑΨCΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΝΓΑΡ ΧΕ
 38 ΕΨΑΝΨΨΕΙΕ CΕΨΟΟΠ
 ΝΑΤΨΨΕΙΕ>————
 >————

[39]

(Lines 1–7 lacking)

- 8 []
 []
 10 [] (+μεν) [the consort (σύζυγος)]
 and [*Sophia and her Son*]
 12 and the angels (ἄγγελος) [*and the seeds (σπέρμα)*].
 But (δέ) the syzygy is the [*complete one (τέλειος)*]
 14 and Sophia and Jesus and [*the angels (ἄγγελος)*]
 and the seeds (σπέρμα) are [*images (εἰκῶν)*]
 16 [*of*] the Pleroma. Moreover the Demiurge
 [*cast a shadow over*]
 18 the syzygy and [*the*] Pleroma,
 and Jesus and [*Sophia*] and the [*angels (ἄγγελος)*]
 20 and the seeds (σπέρμα). [*The complete one (τέλειος)*]
 [*glorifies*] Sophia; the image (εἰκῶν)
 22 [*glorifies*] Truth. [*And (δέ)*] the glory [*of*]
 [*the seeds (σπέρμα)*] and Jesus [*are*] those of [*Silence (σιγή)*]
 24 [*and*] Monogenes. [*And*]
 the [*angels (ἄγγελος)*] of the males and [*the*]
 26 [*seminal ones (σπερματικόν)*] of the females
 [*are*] all Pleromas.
 28 Moreover whenever (ὅταν) Sophia [*receives*]
 her consort (σύζυγος) and Jesus
 30 receives the Christ (χρηστός) and the seeds (σπέρμα)
 and the angels (ἄγγελος), then (τότε) [*the*]
 32 Pleroma will receive Sophia
 joyfully, and the All will
 34 come to be in unity and
 reconciliation (ἀποκατάστασις). For (γάρ) by this
 36 the Aeons have been increased;
 for (γάρ) they knew that
 38 should they change, they are
 without change.

[M̄]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

- 8 [11±] ρε.[
 [10±] ζ κατ[α
 10 [10±] η τυπος [M̄]
 [7±] νευ αραϑ σφε [α]
 12 [ρακ] †[N[O]Y] ατ̄ν̄ναῡ μ̄πεκωη̄
 [ρε ιη̄]ς πεχρηστος̄ n̄q̄[τ]ω̄ζ̄c̄
 14 [M̄]αν̄ κεκασε̄ εναωθ̄n̄
 [βα]μ̄ n̄καταπατεῑ n̄τ̄π[ε] n̄n̄
 16 [ζαϑ] αγω̄ [n̄n̄α]πε̄ n̄n̄ō[γ]ōōzē
 [M̄]n̄ τ̄βαμ̄ [τη̄p̄]c̄' μ̄π̄διαβο̄λος
 18 κε̄ n̄τ̄αϑ [ππ]οιμην̄ n̄[π]c̄πε
 [p̄]μα[τ]ος̄ [α]β[α]λ̄ ζιτοο̄τ̄q̄ [n̄τ]ᾱz̄n̄
 20 [coγ]ω̄ωνκ̄ αγω̄ τ̄n̄† [εαγ] n̄εκ
 [πε]αγ̄ n̄εκ̄ πιω̄τ̄ z̄m̄ η̄[ω]n̄pē π
 22 [ιωτ] z̄[m̄] πω̄n̄pē π̄ιω[τ̄ z̄n̄ τ]
 [εκκλ]η̄σιᾱ ετογ̄ααϑ̄ μ̄[n̄ n̄]
 24 [αγγε]λος̄ ετογ̄ααϑ̄ χ̄ι[n̄ †]
 [noγ] q̄ωōop̄ ψᾱ α[n̄η]zē
 26 [n̄]τ̄[αι]ωνιᾱ n̄n̄[αι]φ̄n̄ [ψα]
 ni[an̄]η̄zē ω̄'ᾱ nīaiω[n] [n̄]
 28 ατ̄[n̄p̄]ετογ̄ n̄τε̄ nīaiων̄ ζα
 μ̄n̄n̄>—————
 31 η̄[εει] η̄ε̄ π̄πληρω̄μᾱ μ̄πκε̄
 φαλ̄ᾱιον̄ n̄τ̄r̄νωσῑc̄ πε̄εῑ
 33 n̄τ̄[α]ζογ̄αν̄z̄q̄ n̄εν̄ αβαλ̄ ζι
 τ̄n̄ η̄n̄x̄αῑc̄ īh̄c̄ πεχρηστος̄
 35 πιμονογε̄n̄h̄c̄ νε̄εῑ nē n̄
 βεβᾱιον̄ αγω̄ n̄αναγκαῑ
 37 οn̄ κεκασε̄ εναμᾱzē n̄z̄
 ρh̄ī n̄z̄η̄τογ̄ νε̄εῑ n̄δε̄ nē
 39 ναπ̄ωᾱαρ̄π̄ n̄βαπ̄τῑc̄μᾱ

[40]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

8 []
 [] according to (κατά) [
 10 [] the type (τύπος) of [
 [] see him. It is fitting for
 12 [you at this time] to send thy Son
 [Jesus] Christ and anoint
 14 us so that we might be able
 to trample (καταπατεῖν) [upon] the
 16 [snakes] and [the heads] of the scorpions
 and [all] the power of the Devil (διάβολος)
 18 since he is the shepherd (ποιμήν) of [the]
 [seed (σπέρματος)]. Through him we [have]
 20 [known] thee. And we [glorify] thee:
 [Glory] be to thee, the Father in the [Son, the]
 22 [Father] in the Son, the Father [in the]
 holy [Church (ἐκκλησία) and in the]
 24 holy [angels (ἄγγελος)]! From
 now on he abides [forever]
 26 [in] the perpetuity (αἰώνια) of the Aeons,
 forever, until the [untraceable] Aeons
 28 of the Aeons.
 Amen.
 30 [This] is the fullness (πλήρωμα) of the summary (κεφάλαιον)
 of the knowledge (γνώσις) which (summary)
 32 was revealed to us by
 our Lord Jesus Christ (χρηστός),
 34 the Monogenes. These are the
 sure (βέβαιον) and necessary (ἀναγκαῖον) (items)
 36 so that we may walk
 in them. But (δέ) they are
 38 those of the first baptism (βάπτισμα)

[μα]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

- 10 πτ[.] . . μ[πψαρπ \bar{n}
 βαπτισμα [πεει πε πκωε α]
 12 βαλ $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ ναβι[\bar{n}
 <τ>αρχοος χε [
 14 \bar{m} μψτ \bar{n} αη[νε]
 τ \bar{n} [\bar{n}]αβι πια[ψο]
 16 οη [\bar{n}]τυπος \bar{m} η[
 γο[\bar{c}] \bar{m} πεχρηστο[\bar{c} ετε πεει]
 18 πε ψωψ $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ [\bar{n} ζηρη]
 \bar{t} \bar{n} ζηητ \bar{q} \bar{m} π[
 20 φ [. . .] \bar{n} γαρ \bar{n} ιη[\bar{c} .]ε[
 . [. .] πψαρπ \bar{b} ε \bar{n} β[απτис]
 22 [μα πεει]ι πε πκωε [αβαλ $\bar{n}\bar{n}$
 [ναβι] \bar{c} εινε \bar{m} μ[αν αβαλ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$
 24 [νετ \bar{m} μ]εγ αβαλ \bar{z} ι[τοοτ \bar{q}]
 [α \bar{z} ο]υν αναγνεμ [ετε πεει]
 26 [πε α \bar{z}]ουν ατ \bar{m} η[ταττεκο]
 [ετε πε]ει [π]ε πιο[ρδανης]
 28 [αλλ]απιτοπο[\bar{c}] πε [πη \bar{n} τε]
 [π]κ[ο]ςμο \bar{c} \bar{n} τα[γ \bar{t} η \bar{n} αγ]
 30 \bar{b} ε \bar{m} μαν αβα[λ] \bar{z} [\bar{m} πκο \bar{c}]
 μο \bar{c} α \bar{z} ουν απαιω[\bar{n} \bar{b} ερ]
 32 μνηια γαρ \bar{n} ιω \bar{z} [αννης]
 πε παιων \bar{b} ερμ[ηνια \bar{n}]
 34 δε \bar{m} πη ετε πιορ \bar{a} [ανης πε]
 πε τκαταβασι \bar{c} ετε [παναβασ]
 36 μο \bar{c} πε ετε πεει [πε \bar{p} νει]
 αβαλ \bar{z} \bar{m} πκο \bar{c} μο[\bar{c} α \bar{z} ουν]
 38 απαίων >————
 >————

[41]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

10 [*The first*
baptism (βάπτισμα) [*is the forgiveness*]
12 of the sins [*<who> said:* [
14 you (plu.) to the [*is*
your sins [*is*
16 a pattern (τύπος) of the [*within*
[] of the Christ (χρηστός) [*which*
18 [*is the*] equal of the [*within*
him. [*within*
20 For (γάρ) the [] of Jesus [*within*
[]. Moreover, the first [*baptism (βάπτισμα)*]
22 is the forgiveness [*of*]
[*sins. We*] are brought [*from*]
24 [*those*] by [*it*]
[*into*] those of the right, [*that*]
26 [*is*], into the [*imperishability*]
[*which is*] the Jo[rdan].
28 [*But (ἀλλά)*] that place (τόπος) is [*of*]
the world (κόσμος). So we have [*been sent*]
30 out [*of the world (κόσμος)*]
into the Aeon. For (γάρ) [*the*] interpretation (ἐρμηνεία)
32 of John
is the Aeon, while (δέ) the interpretation (ἐρμηνεία)
34 of that which [*is*] the Jord[an]
is the descent (κατάβασις) which is [*the upward progression*
(*ἀναβασμός*)],
36 that [*is, our exodus*]
from the world (κόσμος) [*into*]
38 the Aeon.

[MB]

(Lines 1–9 lacking)

- 10 [. αβαλ ζ̄μ π]κ̄ο[ς]μ̄[ο]ς α
 [ζ̄οϋν ἀπιορδαν]η̄ς ᾱγ̄ω αβαλ
 12 [ζ̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄β̄λλ]ε̄ μ̄π̄κοσμ̄ος α
 [ζ̄οϋν ἀπνεϋ] μ̄π̄νοϋτε αβαλ
 14 [ζ̄μ̄ π̄σαρ̄κικ̄ον] ᾱζ̄οϋν ἀπ̄π̄νεϋ
 [μᾱτικ̄ον αβα]λ ζ̄ν̄ φ̄γ[σι]κ̄ον
 16 [ᾱζ̄οϋν ᾱτ]μ̄ν̄τᾱγγ̄ε̄λο[ς] ᾱβαλ
 [ζ̄μ̄ π̄ῑσω̄]ν̄τ̄ ᾱζ̄οϋν ᾱ[π̄ι]π̄λη
 18 [ρω̄μα αβα]λ ζ̄ν̄ π̄κοσμ̄[ο]ς ᾱ
 [ζ̄οϋν ἀπαι]ων̄ αβαλ ζ̄[ν]̄ ν̄
 20 [ρ̄ζ̄μ̄ζ̄ε̄λ] ᾱ[ζ̄οϋ]ν̄ ᾱγ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄[ω]η̄ρε
 [αβαλ ζ̄[ν]̄ ζ̄[ν]̄β̄λᾱλ̄λ̄μ̄ α[ζ̄οϋ]ν̄
 22 [ανεϋερ]η̄ϋ αβαλ ζ̄μ̄ [π̄χᾱεῑε]
 [ᾱζ̄οϋν ᾱπ̄ν̄τ̄με αβα]λ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ω
 24 [ρ̄ω̄ ᾱζ̄]οϋν̄ ᾱτ̄ζ̄μ̄[με αβαλ ζ̄ν̄]
 [. . .] . [.] λ̄ ᾱζ̄οϋν̄ ᾱγ̄ . [.]
 26 [6±] ᾱγ̄ω̄ ν̄τ̄ν̄[.]
 [6±] ᾱζ̄οϋν̄ [α]ν̄[.]
 28 [. τε̄ει] τε̄ θ̄[ε] ν̄τᾱγ̄ν̄τ̄ν̄ [αβαλ ζ̄ν̄]
 [ν̄σω̄μα ν̄σπ]ε̄ρ̄μᾱτικ̄ο[ν ᾱζ̄οϋν]
 30 [ᾱζ̄ν̄σω]μ̄[α] ᾱγ̄μορ̄φ̄η̄ ν̄τε̄λε̄[ια ν̄]
 [ζ̄η̄τοϋ ᾱεῑδ̄ῡνε̄ μ̄μεν̄ ν̄τ̄γ̄π̄ι
 32 [κ̄ω̄ς μ̄π̄ς]ε̄πε̄ πε̄εῑ ν̄τᾱπε̄χ̄ρη
 [σ̄το̄ς σ̄ω]τε̄ μ̄μᾱν̄ ν̄ζ̄η̄τ̄ζ̄ ζ̄ν̄ τ̄
 34 [κο̄ιν̄ω̄ν̄ι]ᾱ μ̄πε̄ρ̄π̄νεϋ̄μᾱ ᾱγ̄
 [ω̄ ν̄τᾱφ̄ει]νε̄ μ̄μᾱν̄ αβαλ ε̄τ̄ν̄
 36 [ζ̄η̄τ̄ζ̄ ᾱγ̄]ω̄ χ̄μ̄ π̄ιν̄εϋ̄ ν̄ψ̄γ̄χη̄
 [νᾱρ̄ ζ̄ν̄π̄]νεϋ̄μᾱ ν̄τε̄λε̄ῑον̄
 38 [ε̄ρε̄νε̄τ]ᾱγ̄τε̄εῑτοϋ̄ β̄ε̄ νε̄ν̄
 [ζ̄ν̄ π̄ω̄αρ]η̄ ν̄βᾱπτ̄ῑσμᾱ εϋ̄

[MΓ]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

- 14 [15[±]].[. .].[
 [6[±]].[. . αζο]ρατον ν̄[
 16 [. . ετε π]ωϥ πε επειδη[
 [6[±]]πε ν̄αν[. .].[
 18 [. . . ω]εχε αζ̄ν̄.[
 [. . . .]ος>—[
 20 [τ̄ν̄ω]ωπ ρμα[τ̄ ν̄τοοτ̄κ̄ ν̄τ̄ν̄ρ̄]
 [εϥχαρι]στει πιω[τ̄ εν̄ρ̄πμεϥε]
 22 [ετβ]ε πεκωηρ[ε ῑη̄ς̄ πεχηρ]
 [στος χε σ]εει αβα[λ
 24 [8[±] α]ρορα[τον
 [6[±]]αν̄ ν̄ω[
 26 [6[±]]μ̄π̄κ̄ω[ηρε
 [7[±]].τ̄ϥαγα[πη
 28 [6[±]]μ̄μαϥ ατ[
 [6[±]]. μ̄[
 30 [8[±]].εϥ ατ̄γ[νωσις]
 [. . . .]σσειρε μ̄πεκο[ϥω]ϥε
 32 [ριτ̄ν̄ π]ρεν̄ ν̄ῑη̄ς̄ πεχ[ρη]ς̄τος
 [αϥω σεν]αειρε μ̄πεκοϥωϥε
 34 [τ̄νοϥ μ̄ν̄] οϥαειϥ νιμ̄ εϥχηκ
 [αβαλ ν̄χ]αρις̄ νιμ̄ ρῑ τοϥβο
 36 [νιμ̄ πε]αϥ νεκ ρῑτ̄ν̄ πεκωη
 [ρε αϥω] η̄[ε]κ̄μισε̄ ῑη̄ς̄ πεχηρ
 38 [στος χι]ν̄ [τ̄ν̄]οϥ ωα αν̄ηζε ραμην

[43]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

- 14 [] invisible (ἀόρατον) []
 16 [which] is his, since (ἐπειδή) []
 []
 18 [speak] about []
 []
 20 [We give] thanks [to you and we]
 [celebrate the eucharist (εὐχαριστεῖν)], O Father,
 [remembering]
 22 [for the sake of] thy Son [Jesus Christ (χρηστός)]
 [that they] come forth []
 24 [] invisible (ἀόρατον) []
 []
 26 [] thy [Son
 [] his [love (ἀγάπη)
 28 [] them []
 []
 30 [] to [knowledge (γνώσις)]
 [] they are doing thy will
 32 [through the] name of Jesus Christ (χρηστός)
 [and] will do thy will
 34 [now and] always. They are complete
 [in] every (spiritual) gift (χάρις) and [every]
 36 purity. [Glory] be to thee through thy Son
 [and] thy Offspring Jesus Christ (χρηστός)
 38 [from now] forever. Amen.

[44]

(Lines 1-13 lacking)

14 [] in the [
 [
 16 [] the [*word* (λόγος)] of the [
 [*the*] holy one it is [
 18 []
 [] food (τροφή) and
 20 [*drink*] Son, since you [
 [] food (τροφή) of the [
 22 [] to us the [
 [] in the [life
 24 []
 []
 26 [] he does [*not boast*]
 [] that is [
 28 [] Church (ἐκκλησία) [
 []
 30 [] you are pure [
 [] thou art the Lord. [*Whenever* (ὅταν)]
 32 you die purely [*you*]
 will be pure so as to have him [
 34 everyone who will [*guide*]
 him to food (τροφή) and [*drink*].
 36 Glory be to thee forever.
 Amen.

"mystery"
cf. Iren
184, 30-32;
184, 46-49;
"Father" (F

itions:
"the Root
parallel use as
Iren. 1, 551, 3-
gnostique
Iren. a

27-31.
"ineffab
clude: "ineffab
"mable" (mar
la grosse valen
le quatrième
Iren. 1, 556, 3, 23

THONAC:
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This cru
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next parallel (

57, 5)
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2 Tripartite

NHC XI,2: A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

- 22,16 “mystery” (μυστήριον): perhaps referring to a Valentinian sacrament, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1 and I.6.4; 21.3–4; III.15.2; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:64,30–32; 67,27–30; 70,8–9; 86,1–3; Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 416–49.
- 22,19 “Father” (ΠΙΩΤ): cf. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 325–33 for citations.
- 22,20 “the Root of the All” (ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ): 22,33–34; 23,19. For parallel use as an epithet of the Father see Hipp. *Ref.* VI.30.7; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:51,3–4 (for discussion, see Puech–Quispel, “Le quatrième écrit gnostique,” 62–63; as an epithet of the primary Tetrad or Ogdoad, Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1; Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 436–37; 330–31.
- 22,20–21 “ineffable”: terms of negative theology used in this text include: “ineffable” (ΠΑΤΩΕΧΕ ΑΡΑΩ)– 24,39; 25,30; 29,31; “uncontainable” (ΠΑΤΩΑΠΩ)– 32,39; 34,36–37. For citations, see Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 325–33; for discussion, see Puech–Quispel, “Le quatrième écrit gnostique,” 71. On ΠΑΤΩΕΧΕ ΑΡΑΩ see *Tri. Trac.* I,5:56,3.26–27.
- 22,21 ΤΜΟΝΑΣ: cf. 22,23–24; 23,20; 25,19. Irenaeus (*Haer.* I.11.3) reports that a renowned Valentinian teacher distinguishes his own doctrine from that of Valentinus (cf. I.11.1) by teaching that there is a certain primal principle (προαρχή) that precedes all others, which he calls Solitude (μονότης), existing with the power of Oneness (ἐνότης); See also Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.2.
- 22,22–27 This crucial passage is discussed in the Introduction. In 22,22–25 the author does not use the term σιγή but instead uses καρῶ which he interprets as ϸΒΡΑΖΤ, “tranquility” (i.e., for ἡσυχία or εἶναι ἤρεμος; cf. Crum 389b). See *Tri. Trac.* I,5:55,36–37 for an exact parallel (εϸΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΩ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΚΑΡΩΣ; cf. also I,5:56,25; 57,5). The term σιγή would suggest to a Valentinian reader the hypostatic being who, according to Valentinus’ teaching, forms a syzygy with the Father to form the primal Dyad (Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1). The author of *A Valentinian Exposition* teaches, on the contrary, that the Father is a Monad, who is alone and without syzygy; he interprets silence as a condition of the Father’s being, as does Hippolytus’ source (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.2–5) and the author of the *Tripartite Tractate* (I,5:55,35–38, cf. 57,1–8). While the author of the *Tripartite Tractate* avoids the term altogether, this author, having

previously interpreted the term *σιγή*, uses it only in 22,25–27. Here silence is identified with *δύας* and *καειω* (for *ζεύγος* or *δύο*, Crum 374b). Does this mean that *σιγή* is the Father's consort, contradicting the previous sentence? That the author avoids using the term *σύζυγος* here and uses *καειω* instead, indicates that silence is only a condition of the Father. A comparison with Hipp. Ref. VI.29.6 suggests another possibility: silence might be the name for a lower hypostatic syzygy in which the Father exists.

22,27–31 As “Root of the All,” the Monad contains the All (i.e., the Pleroma) within him potentially. *πογωψε* (for *θέλημα* or *ἐνθύμημα*, cf. Crum 501a; or even *ἐνθύμησις*, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–3), *πωωπε* (perhaps for *ἐπιμονή*, cf. Crum 580a), *πμαειε* (for *ἀγάπη*, *ἔρως*, etc., cf. Crum 156b) and *πδω* (unattested in Crum 803a–804b as noun, but perhaps for *μονή*, *διαμονή*, *εἶναι μόνος*, etc.): these terms appear to be attributes, not hypostases (*ζηνατχπαγνε*; 22,31), of the Monad, much like his silence (*καρωϗ*; 22,27) and tranquility (*σβραζϗ*; 22,23). Taken together, they suggest that the Monad is completely self-sufficient, a kind of Aristotelian unmoved Mover, but capable of thought and intention (perhaps directed to himself) and of a love which becomes productive; cf. Hipp. Ref. VI.29.5 and *Tri. Trac.* I,5:54,1–57,8.

22,31–39 The productivity of the Father results in the production of Mind (apparently Monogenes, see 24,33; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1. He is Mind of the All (23,36–37; 24,20), and Father of the All (23,36), hypostasis of the All (25,31–32), Mind of the Spirit (23,37), and the Son (23,36; perhaps 25,30). Mind derives his name from the fact that “his (i.e., the Monad's) Thought” (22,34) comes from the Mind of the Father (22,33–36; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 6.3). This Thought from the Father's Mind, who becomes a separately existing Mind, arises *ex nihilo* (*ϗμμο* “strange,” “alien,” i.e., completely new) for the benefit (*ετβε*) of the potentially existing Pleroma (*πτηρηϗ*), that it might become realized (22,36–38).

22,31–32 “God came forth”: perhaps, “God brought forth.”

23,18 Spring (*πηγή*): cf. 23,[21]; 24,18–20; in *Tri. Trac.* I,5:60,13–15 and 66,17 *πηγή* seems to refer to Monogenes.

23,19–21 The reference is to the monadic Father, Root of the All; cf. 22,19–25.33–34.

23,19–31 This obscure but important passage seems to refer to the unfolding of the primary Tetrad from the Monad, but lacunae at crucial points hinder both translation and elucidation. The restoration of *ππηγη* at 23,21 is based on *βεβε* in 23,19 and the fact that the feminine ordinal *τμαζσντε* (23,21) requires a feminine noun in

the lacuna following $\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon$. The second spring seems to refer to Mind (apparently Monogenes), who alone perceives the Father (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.2.1), or perhaps to his consort Truth. In 22,25–27, the Father is said to dwell “in the Pair,” which is Silence. If this Pair or Dyad is Mind and Truth (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.1.1), then Mind or Truth exists in Silence by definition; if the Pair refers to one member of the first pair of the dyadic version, i.e., to Silence, then Mind or Truth would participate in the Father’s Silence (whether that Silence be his consort or only a condition of the Father).

$\tau\mu[\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\epsilon]$ in 23,23 is uncertain; it is possible that it may read $\tau\mu[\alpha\zeta\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon]$ again, or possibly $\tau\mu[\alpha\zeta\omega\alpha\mu\tau\epsilon]$ or $\tau\mu[\omicron\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma]$. However, the “descent” (23,34–35) passage in 23,26–31 mentions the “Fourth” as one of three distinct levels, as does another list of levels in 25,19–20. As “Second” and “Dyad” occur in these lists, and “Second” is already mentioned in 23,21, one may expect “Fourth” in 23,23. The only clues to the identity of “the Fourth” are found in the sequence in 25,19–20 (which juxtaposes it with the Tetrad), and the fact that “he restricts himself” (23,24–25) and “spreads himself out” in the Fourth (23,31–32). In *Tri. Trac.* I,5:65,4–11, the Father of the All who “spreads himself out” gives the All “solidity ($\tau\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$) and a place ($\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$) and a dwelling place ($\mu\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$).” The “Father of the All” (cf. *Val. Exp.* XI,2:23,36–37; 25,26) is Mind (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.1.1), but it is unclear whether it is Mind or Monad (“Root of the All,” 23,19–20) who restricts and spreads himself in the Fourth. The Fourth hypostasis of the primary Tetrad in the dyadic version is Truth, the partner of Mind (*Iren. Haer.* I.1.1), while in the monadic version it would be Life, the partner of Word (*Hipp. Ref.* VI.29.7–8; 30.3). In *A Valentinian Exposition*, the Fourth may be Life (if the traces in 24,22 are $\bar{\nu}\zeta$ from $\pi\omega\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\zeta$ ¹, with whom Mind dwells “secondarily” (24,19–22). If “the Fourth” is Life, it is odd that she seems to be mentioned before Truth, the partner of Mind (who seems to be brought forth later in 24,34–36) and before Word, the male and leading partner of Life, not attested in the extant text until *Val. Exp.* XI,2:29,27–28. It is possible that “the Second” (23,21–23) and “the Fourth” (23,23–26) may already be designations of the female elements (Truth and Life) of the primary Tetrad Mind–Truth–Word–Life, since the ordinals “Second” and “Fourth” are feminine in gender (but there is mixing of genders in 23,18–21). Yet it is also possible that “Second” and “Fourth” refer to the “Springs” as two levels of the primary Tetrad, i.e., Mind–Truth, and Word–Life, as may be suggested by the use of masculine pronouns with feminine subjects in 23,21–25 where the author uses the feminine subject but conceives of two levels in terms of the male members. In any case, in

23,21–26 the Monad unfolds himself in the person of Mind to the extent of the primary Tetrad below him where he restricts his descent. In 23,26–31, Mind apparently begins from his own origin in the Three-hundred-sixtieth (counting from the bottom of all 360 Aeons mentioned in *Iren. Haer.* I.17.1, “the Zodiacal progression” of Marcus, cf. *Val. Exp.* XI,2:30,29–38), i.e., Mind begins from the Monad’s Silence (not a consort or partner of the Monad), and goes through “the Second” (either his own position or that of his yet unnamed partner, Truth) to “the Fourth” (either to the level of Life, or to Life herself).

23,30 ς of ςΤΟΕ written over γ.

23,36 π of πΩΗΡΕ written over η.

23,36–37 For the designations of Monogenes–Mind, cf. note on 22,31–39.

24,18–22 For πηγῆ, see the note on 23,18. The actor in these lines continues to be to Monogenes–Mind (23,31–38); as the Monad dwells in Silence (22,25–27), the Mind of the All is one who appears in Silence, and secondarily with Life (cf. note on 24,22–26), who may correspond with “the Fourth” of 23,23–26.30–31. If so, Silence may conceivably be “the Second” of 23,21–23, in which case Silence and Life would be the boundaries of Mind’s activity.

24,21 η of σῆΤΕ written over γ.

24,22–26 πω]ῆζ is uncertain; the trace of the letter before ζ is not typical of the scribe’s η, but the supralinear stroke over ζ suggests a definite noun of 4–5 letters ending in a closed syllable with final ζ. For “projector,” cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.1.1. On Mind as the “very hypostasis of the Father,” cf. 25,32 (“the hypostasis of the All”) and *Heb* 1:2–3. By contrast, the disciples of Ptolemaeus designate the primary Ogdoad as “the root and substance of all” (ρίζα καὶ ὑπόστασις τῶν πάντων, *Iren. Haer.* I.1.1). “Thought” is a conjecture based on the remaining traces of 24,24: ΤΕῆ, suggesting ΤΕῆ/[ΝΟΙΑ]. “His descent” may be that of Mind down to “the Fourth” (cf. 23,26–31.34–35).

24,24–26 εἶτε[τ]ξεῖ τε ΤΕῆ/[ΝΟΙΑ] Τε: The second τε is superfluous, perhaps caused by dittography.

24,26–33 On the Father’s will to reveal himself in Mind, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–3 on *Jn* 1:14–18, and perhaps *Gos. Truth* I,3:30,27–33; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:57,18–27; but cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.2.1. On the All as “the desire (πογῶε) of the All,” cf. the Father’s ἐνθύμησις of *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–4; “the All” is apparently Nous (23,35–37), who is the desire (πογῶε=ἐνθύμησις?) or intention of the Father, which *Exc. Theod.* 7.1–4 identifies with Monogenes. It is also possible that

the "thought" (ΜΕΕΥΕ) taken "on behalf of the All" (24,31-33; cf. 22,31-39 and note) may refer to the ἐνθύμησις of *Exc. Theod.* 7.1-4. In this section (24,33), the author of *A Valentinian Exposition* succeeds in identifying Mind as Monogenes (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.1.1; 8.5; *Exc. Theod.* 6.1-4; *Jn* 1:14).

24,28 Note the (spurious) supralinear stroke after ΕΠΕΙ.

24,32-39 Truth is now "brought forth" to "glorify the Root of the All," the Father.

25,18-20 "They" (25,18) is suggested by 25,24; perhaps it signifies the Aeons of the Pleroma. "Him" (25,19) seems to refer to the Monad/Father in his successive unfolding in the person of Mind/Monogenes in the primary Tetrad described in 23,26-31.

25,20-24 This passage apparently refers to the origin of Limit (ὄρος), a topic of controversy among Valentinian theologians. See *Iren. Haer.* II.12.7 for their different views; see also *Iren. Haer.* I.2.4 and the notes on 26,25-34; 33,18-25. For the "hundred," cf. 30,29-33 and *Iren. Haer.* I.16.1-2.

25,26-33 For Mind compare "Mind of the All" (24,20) and "Mind of the Spirit" (23,37).

25,33-38 ἀρχιερεύς: a term elsewhere designating Jesus rather than Monogenes (*Hipp. Ref.* VI.32.2). According to Valentinian exegesis of Heb 9:7, the "Holy of Holies" symbolizes the Pleroma, where only the "High Priest," Jesus, may enter (*Exc. Theod.* 38.2-3; 27.1-3) and where the pneumatics may dwell (*Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 10.33). Outside the pleromic "Holy of Holies" is the "first tent" which symbolizes "this present age" (Heb 9:8; cf. the fragments of Heracleon in *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 10.33; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:69,14-70,4; 84,14-34; *Exc. Theod.* 27.1-5; see the discussion in Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul*, 150-51). The latter is the *topos* of the Demiurge (*Exc. Theod.* 38.2; *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 10.33) served by "Levitical priests," that is, the psychics (*Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 10.33). Yet Jesus, as "High Priest" has "authority" to lead those who now serve in the *topos* (the temple forecourt) into the Pleroma (*Exc. Theod.* 38.3; 42.2). In this passage, however, Monogenes appears to continue as the subject, and thus receives the title of High Priest.

25,39 MS reads ΑΥΤCΝΟΥΒΕ. For "fragrance," see *Gos. Truth* I,3:33, 39-34,34. In *Iren. Haer.* I.4.1 in giving to Sophia the "formation of being" the Savior leaves in her the "fragrance of incorruption" which is an awareness of the Pleroma; cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:72,2-19 and Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 388. By certain groups this process was sacramentally enacted as an anointment with oil, cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.21.3; Segelberg, "Baptismal Rite," 121-24. Reference to the "East"

suggests that the ritual may have included a ritual "turning toward the East"; Segelberg, "Baptismal Rite," 120-21.

26,18-21 [π]εζο "treasury" (26,20): [πτ]εζο "rectification," which would also make good sense (cf. τεζ[α- in line 24), seems too long for the lacuna. ῥπεει "sanctuary" is somewhat analogous to the treasury as a special, even sacred, place. Monogenes as High Priest enters the "Holy of Holies" to present the praise of the Aeons to the Father (25,33-38; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2.1; 2.6; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.1); he, in effect, occupies the privileged position of the innermost sanctuary of the pleromic temple, the *ἱερόν*. That ῥπεει here translates τὸ *ἱερόν* (Crum 298b) accounts for the neuter form *ἀρχαῖον*, if one assumes a Greek *Vorlage*. Accordingly, 26,18-22 refers to Monogenes.

26,21-22 As Limit was produced to establish the boundaries of the Pleroma (25,20-24), Monogenes encompasses the Aeons (πτηῤῥα) as their progenitor.

26,22-25 The Aeons (νεει in 26,22; i.e., those in "the All") request Christ to come and establish "her"; apparently Sophia is meant (cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.1-4). Hence, "to establish" means to form and separate her abortion, just as Limit had established the Aeons by separating and confirming them (25,20-26). *A Valentinian Exposition* accordingly seems to follow the sequence of Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2,5-6, according to which Limit is produced before Sophia's transgression after which he separates her passions and ejects them from the Pleroma. Christ, on the other hand, is produced afterwards with Holy Spirit to consolidate and harmonize the Aeons and later to penetrate Limit and give the lower Sophia formation according to substance (Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1). 26,22-25 thus seems to presuppose Sophia's transgression, which perhaps has been related between 25,39 and 26,18 (cf. 34,23-38), and accordingly Christ is sent to re-establish the errant Sophia.

26,25 Ink blot above π may be a scribal correction, or the letter †.

26,25-34 "Limit": 25,20-24; 27,30-37; 33,18-32. Numerous lacunae give rise to ambiguity concerning the powers of Limit or Christ. Those with whom the author disagrees ("they" 26,25; 27,34) say that Limit has two powers, to separate and to confirm (27,34-37), attributing to him only two of four powers (cf. 26,31-34). Comparison with heresiological sources indicate that the opponents in this text may be followers of Ptolemaeus, who do take such a position (Iren. *Haer.* I.3.5). This view seems to be an amplification of Valentinus' theory that two boundaries (*ὄρους*) protect the Pleroma and confirm its integrity (Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1). The author of *A Valentinian Exposition*, on the other hand, agrees with the "others" (27,33) who main-

tain that besides these two powers, Limit also possesses soteriological functions of providing formation as to being and form (27,32–33). Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4 similarly attributes four names, and hence four functions, to Limit (for a discussion of the names see the Introduction and Harvey, 1.18–19 notes, 2–4). Thus Limit can be called Savior (Iren. *Haer.* II.12.7) since the Christ who extends himself “through and beyond Stauros” (Iren. *Haer.* I.7.2) exercises the powers of Limit (Iren. *Haer.* I.3.3). For discussion of the various theories on the functions of Limit, see the Introduction.

26,33 ς of $\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\uparrow\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$ appears to have been inserted above the line over an original ς .

26,34–38 The presences ($\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi\alpha$) are apparently the effects of the four powers of either Christ or Limit; the time may be the sequence in which the powers are exercised (before or after Sophia’s fall); and the places would presumably be either inside or outside the Pleroma. The claim seems to be that these for, or to whom, the author speaks should not worry about any ambiguity over these questions since “the likenesses” (or perhaps “the likeness,” $\pi[\iota]/\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) “have secured them” (i.e., fixed them?). Who are “the likenesses”—the offspring of the lower Sophia, or perhaps those belonging to the Demiurge; or if one reads $\pi[\iota]\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$, perhaps the lower Sophia herself?

26,35 MS reads: $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\omega\pi\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\bar{\rho}\eta\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota$.

27,1–30 The next stage in the Sophia myth after the coming of Christ (26,22–25) for the separation of the abortion and establishment of the Aeons would be the uniting of the Aeons of the entire Pleroma (27,21) to produce and have Christ send forth Jesus, the Savior, the “Joint Fruit” as syzygy for the lower Sophia and for the formation of her and her passions: Iren. *Haer.* I.2.6; 3.1; 3.4; 4.5; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 44–45; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.1–5. If it be this episode that is related in 27,1–30, such an act would be the proof of Christ’s love (27,19.29–30) or compassion for Sophia (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.4; cf. also Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1).

27,30–38 “Limit”: see the note on 26,25–34 and the Introduction. The passage appears to be polemical, cf. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\iota\varsigma$ (27,29), $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon$ (27,30), $\zeta\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ (27,33).

27,34–38 The beginning extant text of these lines is transcribed from frg. #7 *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 79; the fragment was placed in this position after the publication of the volume. See the *addenda et corrigenda* in the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction* and the Introduction to Codex XI above.

27,35 τ of $[\omicron\upsilon\gamma]\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ written over η or λ .

27,36 MS reads: $\pi\omega\bar{\rho}\chi$.

- 28,20 For $\nu[\gamma\theta\omicron\varsigma]$ cf. 27,38.
- 28,22 For $\pi\omega\tau\ \bar{\nu}\tau[\mu\eta\epsilon]$ cf. 34,24.
- 28,23–25 This may be a reference to the syzygy Christ/Holy Spirit, as projected by Monogenes (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2.5) or by Nous and Truth (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.2–4).
- 28,29–38 An exhortation to attend to the written tradition ($\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$) and its interpretation ($\nu\omicron\eta\acute{\mu}\alpha$) by the ancients ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$; cf. Mt 5:21,27,31,33,38,43; Lk 9:8,19 par.). The identity of the “ancients” is not clear: OT scriptures? Evangelists? Founding fathers of Valentinianism? $\tau\epsilon\gamma\omicron$ (28,35) may also mean “project” (as an emanation), but the logical antecedent is $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$, suggesting “proclaim.” For the Father’s “richness,” cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:53,13–18.
- 28,35–38 The ending extant text of these lines is transcribed from frg. #7 *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 80; the fragment was placed in this position after the publication of the volume. See the note at 27,34–38.
- 29,19 Possibly $\eta\pi\ \alpha$ - (“belongs to”) or $[\zeta]\eta\pi\ \alpha$ - (“hidden from”).
- 29,25–30 Sources of Valentinian theology delineate several different versions of the projection of the Tetrad which consists of Word, Life, Man, and Church. These accounts can be classified into two types: the first type begins from the premise of a primary Dyad (Bythos or Arrhetos, and Sige); the second type begins from the premise of a primary Monad. Certain disciples of Ptolemaeus (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1; 8.5) appear to agree with Valentinus (Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1) that the “first Tetrad,” consisting of Bythos (or Arretos) and Silence, Mind (Father) and Truth, projects the “second Tetrad” (Word, Life, Man, Church). The second type is reflected in 29,29–30. Other Valentinian teachers stress the solitude of the primal Monad: one “renowned teacher” describes the primary Tetrad as consisting of Solitude, Oneness, Monad, One ($\text{Μονότητα; Ένότητα; Μονάς; τὸ Έν}$), cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.11.3. Another version suggests that the primal Tetrad consists of Bythos and his two faculties of thinking and willing (Iren. *Haer.* I.12.1). Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.6–7 describes how the Father, being a Monad, projects Mind and Truth, who in turn project Word and Life (cf. 29,29–30), while that syzygy projects Man and Church. *A Valentinian Exposition* suggests that the Tetrad (Word and Life, Man and Church) is projected in the likeness of the Unbegotten Tetrad (29,35–37), although Word and Life are projected by the Uncreated, presumably Monogenes (29,29–30). From the extant text one cannot reconstruct how the author envisions the primary Tetrad. One would suppose that it would follow one of the patterns mentioned above that are consistent with monadic theology.

29,29-35 "Uncreated One" (ΠΑΤΣΩΩΝΤ): cf. 35,24-28. Here ΠΑΤΣΩΩΝΤ, literally "the non-creature," refers to Monogenes, or to the Dyad, Monogenes and Truth. On the projection of Word and Life, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1-2; 8.5; II.12.2; *Exc. Theod.* 6-7; cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.7.

29,33-34 ΠΕΪΕΛΥ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΑϞ, i.e., for the glory of Mind, or Monogenes.

29,37 π^ι and Ϟ of ΝΠΤΑΤΧΠΑϞς in 29,37 cancelled by the scribe with sub- and supralinear dots; the feminine antecedent of Uncreated would be "that Tetrad" (29,25-26), while the mistaken masculine form would have referred to ΠΑΤΣΩΩΝΤ (29,29).

30,16-20 Cf. 30,29-38; Iren. *Haer.* I.1.1: Word and Life produce ten Aeons; cf. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 337-86 and Iren. *Haer.* I.17.1: ten heavenly powers are types of the invisible "ten" which proceeded from Word and Life (cf. I.8.5). Hipp. *Ref.* VI.30.4-5 describes alternate views. For the Triacontad of Aeons cf. 30,36; 31,35; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.3; Iren. *Haer.* I.3.1.

30,20-29 The passage seems to refer to Sophia who became single by acting apart from her consort (Theletos) and the Savior Jesus who came forth from the Pleroma to form Sophia's passions. The "Aeons" from whom they flee would presumably be the ten and the twelve of 30,16-20, while "Uncontainables" seem to be the primary Ogdoad or the unbegotten and begotten Tetrads. Once these Uncontainables view the Thirty (including themselves), they glorify Mind, the Uncontainable who dwells in the Pleroma. Perhaps this Uncontainable could be the Monad (30,27: i.e., [ΑΥΤΕΛΥ ΑΤΜ]Θ[ΝΑΣ]. Such a restoration is suggested by two parallel passages: in Hipp. *Ref.* VI.29.7, the Aeons give thanks to the "Father of All," there understood to be the Monad, and *Val. Exp.* XI,2:34,35-37 relates an interpretation of Sophia's transgression to the effect that she "imitated the Uncontainable" (i.e., the Monad), an act which fits the interpretation of her transgression in Hipp. *Ref.* VI.30.7.

30,33 "hundred": cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.16.1-2 where the number of the Pleroma = 99 + 1 (monad) = 100.

30,34-35 "Dodecad": Iren. *Haer.* I.1.2: Man and Church produce twelve Aeons, the Dodecad; Iren. *Haer.* I.17.1: the twelve are represented by the zodiacal circle in twelve signs; the twelve-month yearly cycle, 360 degrees in the circle, typifies the relation between the Dodecad and the Triacontad.

30,36-38 See the note on 30,34 above; cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:73,28-74,5; Iren. *Haer.* I.3.1. According to the Valentinians (Iren. *Haer.* II.22.1-5; cf. 25,25) Christ was baptized at age thirty, preached for one year,

“the acceptable year of the Lord” (the Demiurge) of Isa 61:2, and suffered in the twelfth month. NT of $(\tau\omega\bar{\nu})\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\epsilon\epsilon$ (30,36) are ligated.

31,30–32 The small fragment at the center of these lines was discovered among the remains of Codex X; see the *addenda et corrigenda* in the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

31,34–38 $\text{B}\omega[\kappa \lambda\beta\alpha\lambda \bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}]$ “leave,” may also be restored $\text{B}\omega[\kappa \alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu} \alpha-]$ “enter.” The reference is probably to Sophia, the last and thirtieth Aeon among the twelve from Man and Church, who wanted to surpass the Thirty to search out or imitate the Father (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.30.6–8), or perhaps to her syzygy, Jesus the Savior or Joint Fruit, who in a sense surpasses the Thirty by going below beyond Limit (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.3–5; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.1–6). The masculine pronouns in lines 34 and 35 are perhaps attracted by the masculine $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (31,36) although Sophia is the actor.

32,31–33 The small fragment at the center of these lines was discovered among the remains of Codex X; see the *addenda et corrigenda* in the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

32,34–35 “Word and flesh”: cf. the Valentinian exegesis of Jn 1:14 (Iren. *Haer.* I.8.5; *Exc. Theod.* 7.3). For a discussion, see Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis*, 36–50. For Valentinian views which describe the earthly manifestation of “Jesus Christ” (*Exc. Theod.* 58.1), see *Exc. Theod.* 59.1–4; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.35.3–7 (on the revelation of the “Word”); *Interp. Know.* XI,1:10,23–12,38; see also the note on *Exc. Theod.* 59 in Casey, pp. 149–50.

32,37 θ of $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha$ cancelled by scribe with supralinear dot; perhaps τ is also emended by an oblique stroke.

32,38–39 The passage appears corrupt; $\alpha\gamma\omega$ seems to = $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ “also”; $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon \psi\alpha$ is equivalent to $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

32,39 The “Uncontainable One” seems to be Mind but may be the Monad/Father; cf. 30,20–29 (and note).

33,13 Perhaps $[\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha]\zeta\alpha\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta} \alpha-$, “who ascribed him to . . .”

33,17 $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$: see the note on 35,12.

33,18–19 “Cross”: possibly $\pi\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ “the word,” but $\bar{\omega} \omega\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$ implies $\omega\epsilon$, “wood,” i.e., the Cross. Possibly one might read $\text{C}\bar{\nu}\alpha\beta \bar{\nu}\pi\omega\epsilon$, “blood ($\text{C}\bar{\nu}\alpha\beta$ for $\text{C}\bar{\nu}\omicron\eta$) of the Cross.”

33,18–25 “suffering”: cf. 34,34: The Savior shares in the “suffering,” which includes his detainment by Limit (33,26; *Exc. Theod.* 22.7). *Exc. Theod.* 35.1 describes his passage through “*Opos* as he leads the “separated seed”; *Exc. Theod.* 64 describes the passage of the pneu-

- matic elements of the seed (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 39–40) into the Pleroma.
- 33,25–27 **ΛΥΦ**: perhaps reads **ΛΥΩ**; thus **ΛΥΩ [N]/T[ΛΥΦΚΩ]ΛΥΦ**
ΜΜΑϞ “and he was hindered.” The identification of Limit with the
syzygy (=Sophia?) is indeed strange.
- 33,28–30 The Savior’s descent is necessary to effect “rectification”
(*διόρθωσις*). The process of *διόρθωσις* (the “rectification” of “pas-
sions”) occurs in three stages: first, the rectification of the pleromic
Aeons is effected by Christ and the Spirit (Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4–5; Hipp.
Ref. VI.31.3); second, the rectification of the exiled Sophia (*ἡ ἐξω*
Σοφία) is effected through her syzygy, Jesus (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.4–5);
third, the rectification of human transgressions in the cosmos is
effected by the Savior and his angels (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.36.1–3; *Exc.*
Theod. 35.2). The rectification of Sophia prefigures the rectification
of her “seed” that takes place in the final stage.
- 33,30 **Ϟ** of **ΠϞΩΗΡΕ** has been written over **ϣ**. For “her” son, cf. Iren.
Haer. I.5.1; II.1. **ΜΜΑ<Ϟ>**: text reads **ΜΜΑϞ**.
- 33,31–33 “bodily”: see Col 2:9; *Exc. Theod.* 31.1; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.3.4.
- 33,34 **ΑΚΩΕ**: an original **Ω** corrected to **ω**.
- 33,35 MS reads: **ΝΕΙ**.
- 33,35–38 Sophia’s suffering and healing: Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1–5; Hipp.
Ref. VI.32.4; *Exc. Theod.* 32.2–3; 33.3; 39. After her son (Christ)
had ascended to the Pleroma and left her, Sophia receives Jesus who
comes to her with the powers (cf. 32,35) of gnosis and the healing of
passions (*Exc. Theod.* 44.1–45.3; Iren. *Haer.* I.4.5; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.
36.1–3).
- 34,10–11 For the reconstruction, cf. 39,34–35.
- 34,12 The form **ΛΟΤϞ** (cf. 34,17.22) seems to be an unattested transitive
Analogiebildung of the intransitive infinitive **ΛΟ**, “to cease”; thus, it
would mean “to prevent,” “to stop.” The stopping seems to refer to
the Savior’s rectification of Sophia’s passions; for parallels, see the
note on 33,28–30.
- 34,13 **Ν̄Ν̄ϞΝ[ΗΥ]** perhaps **Ν̄Ν̄ϞΠ[**.
- 34,22 Recounting Sophia’s passion, the author apparently alludes to
variant interpretations (cf. 34,35–38 and note). This account (34,23–
38) seems to correlate with the second version that Irenaeus relates:
Sophia repents (34,23; Iren. *Haer.* I.2.3), then acknowledges that,
having left her syzygy in the Pleroma (34,25–34.37–38; Hipp. *Ref.*
VI.30.6–7; Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2), she now dwells outside “the confir-
mation” (34,27; i.e., Limit, Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.6–7).
Therefore, she pleads with the Father for restoration (34,23–24; Iren.
Haer. I.2.3–4; cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.31.2).
- 34,35–38 For variant interpretations of Sophia’s passion, cf. Iren. *Haer.*

- I.2.2-4; Hipp. Ref. VI.30.6-31.3. For discussion, see the Introduction. Apparently, *A Valentinian Exposition* agrees with the second interpretation, that the author cites at 36,34-38. On Sophia's laughing, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.4.2.
- 34,38 Sophia's syzygy, "Desired" ($\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$): Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2.
- 34,37 The supralinear stroke above ς in $\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\zeta$ has been only partially inscribed.
- 35,10-11 $[\overline{\text{IHC}} \overline{\text{MN}}]$ is based on parallel accounts. According to such accounts, the conjunction of Jesus and Sophia brings into existence the $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\alpha$ of all future creation: *Exc. Theod.* 45.2-3; Iren. *Haer.* I.4.5; Hipp. Ref. VI.32.6.
- 35,12 "seeds" ($\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$): The "incomplete and formless" seeds of Sophia need to receive form (cf. 35,12-18; 37,23-38); being "female seed" (39,26 "seminal ones of the females"), they need to receive the "male angels" (39,25 "the angels of the males") in order to become complete (i.e., Pleromas; 39,25-27.30-31). *A Valentinian Exposition* agrees with other Valentinian sources (see below) that Sophia bears two types of issue: previously she dwelt in the Pleroma, bringing forth "fruit" in conjunction with her syzygy (34,29-31; cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.2.2) according to the Father's will for fruitful conjunction (36,28-34). But when she "cut herself off from her syzygy" (34,38; Iren. *Haer.* I.2.3-4), and was thus "alone" (34,35-36), she produced only "female seed" (39,26) which, lacking the male element of form, remained "incomplete and formless" (35,12-18; Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4; Hipp. Ref. VI.30.8; *Exc. Theod.* 68,79). *Exc. Theod.* 32.1 expresses the principle of these two different types of production. While *A Valentinian Exposition* designates the two types of issue as "fruit" (34,31) and "seeds" (35,12) respectively, other sources describe these as two distinct types of seed: male seed and female seed respectively, which are described in very different terms. *Exc. Theod.* 21.1-3 identifies the "male," "angelic," or "pneumatic" seed (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 1-3.1) as the pneumatic elect, and the female seed as the psychic "calling." Sophia produces the former in conjunction with her syzygy, and the latter by herself alone (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 39-40; Iren. *Haer.* I.4.5; II.29.3; for discussion, see the Introduction and Pagels, "Conflicting Versions," 35-53.
- 35,13 Cf. note on 34,22; *Tri Trac.* I,5:91,31-32: without form the seed has no independent existence.
- 35,14-17 "contrived": $\epsilon\pi\iota\omega\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ must signify the Savior's idea or notion of making the Demiurge; Sophia can only project what she learned from the Savior (Iren. *Haer.* I.5.1). The $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is probably the Demiurge: $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu \tau\eta \kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota \kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota \omicron\upsilon \tau\hat{\omega} \kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu \kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta \delta\acute{\varsigma} \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$

χριστός (Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 13,19; Rom 1:25). Cf. 35,30–33 where Jesus creates the κτίσις (made out of Sophia's seeds; 35,15–16) who in turn fashions (δημιουργεῖν) from the passions around the seeds.

35,17–30 According to *Exc. Theod.* 33.3–34, Sophia produces the Demiurge “as a type (τύπος) of the one having left her (i.e., Christ)... who was a type (τύπος) of the Father of all” (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.5.1 where the Demiurge retains the image of the only-begotten Son). The Demiurge is psychic (“of the right”) and forms all of those deriving from Sophia's passion (35,30–33; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.5.1); those on “the left” were to be formed by the *topos* (*Exc. Theod.* 34.1). In *A Valentinian Exposition*, it seems that the Savior brings not those created from Sophia's passions, but rather the psychic seeds (τὸ ὄρατὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *Exc. Theod.* 26.1) to the “place of the creation” (cf. 37,28–31.36–38). In *A Valentinian Exposition*, *topos* designates the Demiurge (κτίσις: 35,14.31) and his realm (for τόπος, cf. note on 37,29; for Ἑβδομας, cf. 37,12–15) which contains the psychic substance (ἡ ψυχικὴ οὐσία, *Hipp. Ref.* VI.32.7). The Uncreated One (cf. 29,29–30), Monogenes, now brings forth only the τύπος of the Pleroma (i.e., ΠΑΤΣΑΔΑΝΤῆ: 35,25.26) for the psychics, as the means by which the Father will bring the psychic seeds into form, probably by uniting with their syzygies, the angels (39,28–35). Without this τύπος, the seeds are only a creation, a shadow of the Pleroma (ΝΕΤΩΡῆ ΝΨΟΟΠ, 35,29–30; cf. 36,10–14).

35,20–21 ΗΡ of ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (35,20) and second ο of ΤΟΠΟΣ are from frg. #24; see *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 79. The fragment was placed in this position after the publication of the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*. See the *addenda et corrigenda* in the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, and the Introduction to Codex XI.

35,22 ι of ΜΠΙ[Π]/[Λ]Η[ΡΩΜΑ] appears to have been inserted above the line, perhaps accounting for the odd syllable division.

35,25 αα has been written over ωω of original ΠΑΤΣΩΩΝΤ.

35,26 “uncreated”: cf. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* IV.89.6–90.1 (Valentinus frg. 5); *Iren. Haer.* II.7.1–7; *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.19.

35,28–30 “shadow”: *Iren. Haer.* II.8.1–3.

35,30–37 Having been created by Jesus, the Savior, the Demiurge (κτίσις) makes the creation (ΠΣΩΩΝΤ): cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.4.5 where the Savior transforms the passions and thereby creates (ἐξ ἄσωμάτου πάθους εἰς ἄσώματων [τῆν] ὕλην μεταβαλεῖν αὐτά... πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι δύο οὐσίας, τὴν φαύλην τῶν παθῶν, τὴν τε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐμπαθῆ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμει τὸν Σωτῆρα δεδημιουργεῖν φάσκουσι); *Exc. Theod.* 47.1 where the Savior is first and universal Demiurge (πρῶτος δημιουργός... καθολικός); 43.5; *Orig.*

Comm. in Joh. 2.14; 6.20. On the various passions fashioned by the Demiurge, cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.5-9; Iren. *Haer.* I.5.2,4; *Exc. Theod.* 46.1-47.3.

35,35 ϣ of ἀφντοϣ written over 2.

35,37-38 In accord with the parallels cited at 35,30-37, the account should now explain the creation of the cosmos out of the specific passions of Sophia.

36,10-19 Pronoia gets the Savior to project the material realm as a dwelling place for the psychic seed (cf. note on 37,36-38), in which they are brought to a "believing" knowledge of Jesus by the Demiurge who wrote the scriptures as a shadow of the truth; cf. *Interp. Know.* XI,1:9,15-27. On πρόνοια, see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II.114.3-6 (Valentinus frg. 2); Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 589; Iren. *Haer.* I.5.6: the pneumatic *anthropos* is sown by Sophia through the Demiurge with an ineffable power (δύναμις) and providence (πρόνοια). Perhaps here (36,10) and at 37,21 πρόνοια is another name for Sophia. On διόρθωσις, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 30.2; 35; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.36.1 and the note on 33,28-30. Perhaps it is a name for the Savior who rectifies Sophia's passions.

36,11 ΤΑΜΙΟ: cancelled by scribe with sublinear and supralinear dots.

36,11-13 "shadows and images": cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.11.1 where Sophia is mingled with a certain shadow (σκίας τινός), and *Exc. Theod.* 31.4; on images and shadows, Iren. *Haer.* II.7-8; Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 369; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:104,14-15; 105,2-4.

36,13-15 For ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΧΙΝ ΝΨΑΡΠ and ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΑΓΩ ΝΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ, cf. 22,17-19; 35,29-30; 37,35-36; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:87,35-36.

36,16 On the οἰκονομία of the All, cf. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:88,4; of those from the Son, *Tri. Trac.* I,5:91,15-16; of those who "are," *Tri. Trac.* I,5:95,21-22. Cf. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 649. The "dispensation" is the realm of the "called" (*Exc. Theod.* 58), i.e., the psychics, presided over by the Demiurge (*Exc. Theod.* 33.3; Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1).

36,17 There are illegible traces of ink between ἄ and ι of ἄΙΗϚ.

36,18 Cf. note on 36,12-13 and *Tri. Trac.* I,5:77,15-18; 78,32-34; 107,21 where εἶδωλα are spiritual, εἶνε are psychic, and ταντῆ are hylic. In *Exc. Theod.* 54.1-2, the hylic is κατ' εἰκόνα and the psychic καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. The ink blot above π of ΠΤΗΡϣ is possibly a scribal correction.

36,19-20 εϚ of ραειβ]εϚ (36,19) and ἄ of ἄϣι (36,20) are from frg. #24, *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 80; see note on 35,20-21.

36,24-28 "angels": cf. 39,19-27.30-31; the angels, being produced "in

unity" (cf. *Exc. Theod.* 36.1), are called "those of the Pleroma and of the syzygy" (36,22–23). *Exc. Theod.* 25.1 offers a Valentinian definition: the angel is a Logos (τὸν ἄγγελον ὠρίσαντο οἱ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου λόγου ἀπαγγελίαν ἔχοντα τοῦ ὄντος). The angels are brought forth to become the syzygies of the incomplete seeds (39,13–27.30–31), as males joined with females, so that all may be reconciled in harmonious conjunction into the Pleroma (39,28–35). *Iren. Haer.* I.4.5; II.29.3; *Exc. Theod.* 44.1 seem to identify the angels as the Savior's celestial companions. See also *Iren. Haer.* I.7.1; *Exc. Theod.* 63–64; *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.11.

36,24–28 The angels proceed from the unity and agreement of the Pleroma; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 36.1; they are "led" by the Savior: τοὺς δὲ ἀγγέλους εἰς διόρθωσιν τοῦ σπέρματος ἤγαγεν (*Exc. Theod.* 35.2). Usually the Savior is projected with his angels as bodyguards, as potential syzygies for the seed (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.2.6; 4.5; 7.1; *Hipp. Ref.* VI.34.3; *Exc. Theod.* 35–36).

36,28–31 "the will of the Father": cf. *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.38 where Heracleon's view is: God's will is that men know the father and be saved (θέλημα δὲ πατρὸς . . . εἶναι τὸ γνῶναι ἀνθρώπους τὸν πατέρα καὶ σωθῆναι); this means for the elect that they will be joined with their syzygies (*Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.11); see *Iren. Haer.* I.11.5; 12.1; 15.2; *Gos. Truth* I,3:33,30–35; 37,15–34. Here (36,28–34) the statements of the Father's will are synonymous: to be in syzygy is "to produce and bear fruit."

36,32 π of πογωψε written over η.

36,33–34 "bear fruit": cf. *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.49–50 where each angel is sent "to his own soul (ψυχῇ)" to cultivate the "elect ground" and bear fruit. *Orig. Comm. in Joh.* 13.46: the "fruit" is "eternal life." ΟΥΑΕΙΩΝΙΜ (36,33) is problematic. If η̄ is not mistaken and not nasalization as in ΩΜΗΚ (ΩΜΚ) it may be construed ΟΥΑΕΙ η̄ΩΝΙΜ, in which ΟΥΑΕΙ is for Α² ΟΥΑΕΙΕ ("cultivator") and Ω an unattested form of M.E. š, "fruit tree," "orchard," "garden" (cf. Erman–Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, vol. IV, 399, s.v. š, P B), in which η̄ would be genitive, "send forth a cultivator of every orchard," or dative, "send forth a cultivator to every orchard." To regard the η̄ as an error for ΟΥΑΕΙΩΝΙΜ "always," is perhaps the safest course.

36,34–38 Cf. 34,25–38.

36,35 Possibly η̄ΠΟΓΩΠΕ was emended by the scribe to ΕΠΟΓΩΠΕ by a supralinear point.

36,37 MS reads: ΟΥΑΕΕΤΟΥ/ΩΗ; the error appears to be haplography.

36,37–38 "consort": cf. *Hipp. Ref.* VI.30.7; *Exc. Theod.* 39.

- 37,12 Tetrad: cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.17.1; 18.1: the tetrad of elements, paralleling Sophia's four passions, are formed in the image of the tetrad above.
- 37,13 α of αβαλ is written over another letter, possibly η.
- 37,14 π[ο]c: there appears to be space for another letter in the lacuna, but the reading is almost certainly κ[αρ]/π[ο]c; for Hebdomad as *topos* of the Demiurge cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.5.2; 14.6; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.7.
- 37,16-19 Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.5.1; *Exc. Theod.* 47.3; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:99,35-100,1: **ΜΝΤΧΑΪC, ΜΝΤΒΑΥΑΝ, ΑΓΓΕΛΟC, ΑΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟC**
- 37,21 Cf. note on 36,10-19.
- 37,25-26 "spiritual and carnal": cf. I Cor 15:45-48; Iren. *Haer.* I.5.5; 6.1; 7.5; *Exc. Theod.* 1.1; 52.
- 37,27 MS originally read: **ΝΝΕΤΖῆΤΠΕ**; the scribe has corrected the text by crossing out the second Ν, erasing τ and writing Θ over ζ.
- 37,27-28 Ordinarily, pneumatic and sarkic represent two potentialities for the soul (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.9), while heavenly and earthly represent the psychic and hylic elements from which the Demiurge fashions the cosmic creation (*Exc. Theod.* 47.2; Iren. *Haer.* I.5.2).
- 37,29 **τόπος**: term used technically to designate the Demiurge: Hipp. *Ref.* VI.32.6-7; *Exc. Theod.* 34.1-2; 37; 38.1-3; 39; 59.2; Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 13.49.
- 37,30 "school" (**σχολή**): the dispensation (**οἰκονομία**) of the Demiurge (**τόπος** 37,29) serves as a school for doctrine and form (apparently for the "seeds" who are yet formless; 37,37-38). According to Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1, the psychic element has the potential to assimilate either to the hylic or the pneumatic; therefore the pneumatic element is sent forth for formation in syzygy with the psychic, so that the psychic may be educated with the pneumatic in the process. *Tri. Trac.* I,5:123,3-22 similarly describes the psychic's need for education: the "perfect man" (i.e., the pneumatic) receives knowledge immediately upon recognizing the Savior; but the psychic "delays concerning knowledge." Therefore these "members" of Christ (apparently psychic; cf. *Interp. Know.* XI,1:passim) needed a place of instruction, which is their "*topos*" before they can be included in the final restoration. Cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:19,17-20; *Interp. Know.* XI,1:9,15-27.
- 37,31 MS reads: **ΔΟΥΝ ΑΥΜΟΡΦΗ**.
- 37,32-36 Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.5.5; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.33.5-6; *Exc. Theod.* 50.1-2: the man "according to his image" is made from the "earthly soul"; the man "according to the likeness" is breathed into him by the Demiurge. **ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΧΙΝ ΝΨΑΡΠ**: i.e., the Pleromic Aeons; cf. 35,28-30; 36,13-15.
- 37,36-38 **μα ἡψωπε** = **οἰκητήριον**; cf. the function of the heart in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II.114.3-6 (Valentinus, frg. 2). As the seeds are

in two parts, Sophia provides a “dwelling place” for each—the “hylic man” as a “dwelling place” for the “soul” (Hipp. *Ref.* VI.34.6), and the “psychic man” as a dwelling place for the “spirit” (Iren. *Haer.* I.21.4).

38,12–39 The context and language of this passage suggest that it refers to the battle of “the powers” over mankind; *Exc. Theod.* 72–73.

38,13–14 **ΝΑΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ**: “those pertaining to God,” i.e., “divine beings”; on the Devil as ruler of the material cosmos, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.5.4; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.33; 34.1,4–5; *Exc. Theod.* 53.

38,14–21 “plaza” (**πλατεία**): cf. Hipp. *Ref.* VI.34.7 where “breadth” is Cross and Limit of the Pleroma (**τὸ πλάτος ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σταυρός, ὁ ὄρος τοῦ πληρώματος**). The expulsion from Eden is used as a figure for the fall of the soul from the Pleroma, beyond Limit.

38,24–25 Cain and Abel: Iren. *Haer.* I.7.5; *Exc. Theod.* 54.1.

38,27–33 Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 50–52 for the struggle in the Demiurge’s creation between the **σαρκίον** and the **πνεῦμα**.

38,30 Right and left: Iren. *Haer.* I.5.2; *Exc. Theod.* 23.3; 28; cf. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, 544–45.

38,32 **ἸΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ** for **ἸΠΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ** (Spiritual) or **ἸΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ** (“the things pertaining to the spirit”).

38,34–39 Cf. Gen 6:1–7

39,12 On seeds, cf. note on 35,12.

39,13–16 Cf. *Exc. Theod.* 32.1: what comes from a syzygy is a Pleroma, and what comes from the reproduction of a solitary one are images.

39,16–20 Iren. *Haer.* I.5.1–2; in *Tri. Trac.* I,5:104,15 the creatures of the Demiurge are called shadows. On shadow, cf. Iren. *Haer.* II.8.1–2.

39,25–26 Cf. the male angelics (**ἀρρενικὰ ἀγγελικά**) = the elect (**ἡ ἐκλογή**): *Exc. Theod.* 2.1; 21.1–3; 39–40, and the female seeds (**θηλυκὸν σπέρμα**) = the called (**ἡ κλήσις**): *Exc. Theod.* 21.1–3; 39. The Coptic expressions “the angels of the males” and “the seminals of the females” are awkward renditions of the Greek.

39,28–33 The eschatological reunion of Sophia with her syzygy: *Exc. Theod.* 63.1–65.2; 26.1–3; 58.1–2; 21.3–22.3; Iren. *Haer.* I.7.1.

39,33–35 “reconciliation” (**ἀποκατάστασις**): *Exc. Theod.* 22.3; Iren. *Haer.* I.2.4–5; *Tri. Trac.* I,5:123,16–29: the final reconciliation recapitulates the pleromic reconciliation that occurred when “the Mother” was restored to her syzygy, the “female seeds” to the “male angels” (cf. 39,25–26), and the whole Pleroma restored to unity, harmony, and joy. According to *Exc. Theod.* 22.1–3, this reconciliation is sacramentally enacted in the pneumatic baptism.

- 39,35-39 The change produced by the restoration re-establishes the abiding permanence of the primal order.
- 39,36 γ is written over an undecipherable letter.
- 40,10 "type" (τύπος): this may be a reference to the psychic Christ. Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1; I.7.2 (τὸν τύπον τοῦ ἄνω χριστοῦ); *Exc. Theod.* 59.1-4; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.35.4-7.
- 40,13 "anointing": cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.21.3-5; see also Lk 4:18-19; Acts 4:27, 10:38; 2 Cor 1:21. What may be in view here is a Valentinian rite of initiation; in all probability what some Valentinians call ἀπολύτρωσις (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.21.3-5).
- 40,15-16 *Exc. Theod.* 76.1-3: the effect of the "first baptism" is to "rescue us from fire"; the one thus baptized receives power to walk on scorpions and snakes (cf. Lk 10:19, Ps 91:13), and the evil powers. These powers now "tremble" before the one baptized (*Exc. Theod.* 77.3), since this baptism effects an exorcism (*Exc. Theod.* 82.2) and gives the one baptized the power to withstand the Devil (*Exc. Theod.* 83-85.3).
- 40,18 "shepherd" (ποιμήν): on Savior as shepherd, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.8.4; 16.1; *Gos. Truth* I,3:31,35-32,34.
- 40,21-24 This text, apparently substituting "ecclesia" for "spirit," offers a trinitarian formula, perhaps following the pattern Puech and Quispel discern in the *Tripartite Tractate*, which they tentatively ascribe to Heracleon ("Le quatrième écrit gnostique," 94-102). In *Exc. Theod.* 76.3-4, the threefold "name" pronounced at baptism is that of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:67,9-27 seems to reserve the trinitarian formula for the chrism. For Valentinian use of trinitarian formulae, see Segelberg, "Baptismal Rite," 125-28.
- 40,24-28 See Iren. *Haer.* I.3.1 for the benediction formulae and cf. *Dial. Sav.* III,5:121,2-122,1.
- 40,30-38 The "first baptism," apparently, conveys the summary (κεφάλαιον) of the *gnosis* that is revealed through the Savior's psychic manifestation in Jesus Christ (cf. note on 41,10-12 below).
- 40,38 β is written over an undecipherable letter.
- 41,10-12 "first baptism": cf. 40,38; 41,10; 42,39. The "first baptism" is "for repentance" and "forgiveness of sins" (cf. 41,21-23) offered through the Savior as the psychic "lamb of God who takes away the sins of the cosmos" (Jn 1:29, cited by Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 6.60); the Valentinians call this first baptism "psychic" (Iren. *Haer.* I.21.2); so in *Gos. Truth* I,3:34,19-20, water baptism (cold water = ψυχρός) is described as ψυχικόν; see the note on 41,31-38.

41,13 MS reads: **παρχοος**.

41,16 **γ** written over **ο**; **τυπος** for **τοπος**.

41,18–21 The fragment preserving the left margin should be moved outward 0.2 cm. away from the spine of the codex.

41,25–29 On “those of the right,” see note on 38,30. The *topos* of the first baptism is the psychic cosmos (cf. Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 10.33); it may also refer to the Demiurge; see note on 37,29.

41,30–31 The one who has received the “first baptism” of the psychic cosmos has been brought “out of the cosmos into the Aeon,” that is, into the Pleroma.

41,31–38 As Jesus received the “first baptism” at the Jordan (*Exc. Theod.* 61.6), which symbolizes the psychic *topos*, through “John” the baptist (who represents the Demiurge; cf. Orig. *Comm. in Joh.* 6.39), he also receives the “second baptism” (cf. Lk 12:50, cited in Iren. *Haer.* I.21.2) in his ascent from the cosmos into the Aeon (41,36–37). This second baptism is called “the redemption of the Christ” (Iren. *Haer.* I.21.2) which descended on Jesus (Iren. *Haer.* I.7.2; Hipp. *Ref.* VI.35.3; *Exc. Theod.* 61.6). This is the pneumatic baptism which is “for perfection” (**τελείωσις**) and conveys the Spirit (Iren. *Haer.* I.21.2). In receiving this second baptism, the soul “died” (*Exc. Theod.* 77.1) to the powers and to the cosmos (*Exc. Theod.* 80.2), receives gnosis (*Exc. Theod.* 78.2), and is regenerated by Christ “into life” (*Exc. Theod.* 80.2). Having “raised the soul,” Christ then leads it into the Pleroma (*Exc. Theod.* 61.6). Cf. Segelberg, “Baptismal Rite,” 117–28; Pagels, “Valentinian Interpretation of Baptism and Eucharist,” 153–69.

41,35–36 On the relation between descent and ascent, cf. Eph 4:9–10. The text may be corrupt.

42,10–39 The passage from 42,10–27 may apply to the narrator (cf. “I” in 42,31), while 42,28–30 draws an analogy (cf. **τυπικῶς** in 42,31) between his experience and that to be expected by others, which seems to be recapitulated in 42,31–37. Reconstruction of 42,10–27 is aided by the constant repetition of **αβαλ ζῆ... αζοϋν α-**. Uncertain restorations include: **ιορδανης** (42,11; cf. 41,22–38); **σωωντ** (42,17); **παιων** (42,19; cf. 41,30–31); **νεγερηγ** (42,22); **πχαειε** (42,22; selected as an antonymn for **†με** in 42,23); **ωρω** (42,23; selected as an antonymn for **ζῆμμε** in 42,24); **τζῆμμε** (42,24; based on traces of a feminine noun beginning in **ζῆ** with a non-pejorative meaning). **σωμα** in 42,29–30 is suggested by the term **σπερματικόν**. **λειδυνε** in 42,31 is uncertain; **α** may be **α** or even **χ**. **πσεπε** in 42,32 is uncertain, but the verb in 42,31 probably requires a noun object. **σωτε** in 42,33 and **κοινωνια** in 42,34 are based on traces

- and context; for $\omega\rho\alpha\pi\bar{\nu}\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$, cf. 40,38; 41,10–11.21. For the theme of movement from the world into the Pleroma, cf. *Exc. Theod.* 63–65 (esp. with 42.13–16) and *Exc. Theod.* 21.3; 22.1–2; 26.1–2 with 42.16–19.
- 42,18–21 The fragment preserving the right margin should be moved inward 0.2 cm. toward the spine of the codex.
- 42,35 “brought us forth” (apparently “from the world”—41,37) = entering the Pleroma; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 21.3; 26.3; 42.1–3; 61.5; 67.4; 80.2.
- 42,38 Having accepted the invitation to come from the cosmos into the Aeon, the “souls” apparently have come to realize “the things granted to (them) by the first baptism,” cf. *Gos. Phil.* II,3:73,1–8; 77,7–15.
- 43,21 “celebrate the Eucharist” as a translation for $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$: cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 579a.
- 43,21–22 As the psychic “first baptism” relates the baptized to the Demiurge, the pneumatic “second baptism” relates him to the Father (Iren. *Haer.* I.21.1–5). This sacrament, called in Valentinian sources the “redemption” ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$, Iren. *Haer.* I.13.6; 21.5), is enacted in various ways (Iren. *Haer.* I.21.1); by some it is enacted as a eucharist (Iren. *Haer.* I.13.2; IV.18.4–5).
- 43,31–34 “will”: cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:33,30–32; the elect are told that “you should do the will of your Father, because you are of Him.”
- 43,34 “complete”: cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.13.6; through the sacrament, the participants become “perfect” ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota$), having attained perfection ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$) in *gnosis* through the pneumatic Aeon, Grace ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.13.1–2). In *Gos. Truth* I,3:36,19–20 those who receive the chrism are made “perfect.”
- 43,36–38 Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.21.3 for liturgical parallels.
- 44,19–21 “food” ($\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$): cf. Iren. *Haer.* IV.18.4–5, where Irenaeus relates that the Valentinians offer eucharistic bread and wine as symbols of the “body” and “blood” of the Word ($\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$; see Massuet on this passage; Harvey reads “through” the Word); cf. *Interp. Know.* XI,1:12,29–38.
- 44,24 The supralinear stroke is visible above $\nu\zeta$ of $\pi\omega\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$.
- 44,31 “Lord”: cf. Iren. *Haer.* IV.18.4–5; the Valentinians acknowledge the Word as their “Lord”; cf. *Exc. Theod.* 77.1 where Christ “is Lord” ($\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$) of the pneumatic life.
- 44,32 *Exc. Theod.* 77.1: “baptism is called death and an end to the old life,” that is, to the psychic life. The Valentinians consistently deny the reference of this sacramental “death and rebirth” to bodily resurrection, insisting instead on a symbolic interpretation (*Exc. Theod.* 77.2; Iren. *Haer.* IV.18.4–5; V.2.1–2).

INTRODUCTION

NHC XI,3: ALLOGENES, 45,1-69,20

Bibliography: A. Allogenes: Doresse, *Secret Books*, 144, 155-59, 250; King, *Allogenes*; id., "The Quiescent Eye"; Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 126-34; Sieber, "Introduction to Zostrianos," 233-40; Turner, "The Gnostic Threefold Path," 324-51; Williams, *The Immovable Race*, 52-53, 86, 96-97. B. Philosophical Context of Allogenes: Armstrong, *Plotinus*; Bréhier, *Plotin: Ennéades*; Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*; Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.309-54, 2.18-53; Hadot, "Etre, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin," 107-41; "Discussion," 142-57; id., "La métaphysique de Porphyre," 127-57; "Discussion," 158-63; id., *Porphyre et Victorinus* 1.102-43; Kroll, "Ein neuplatonischer Parmenideskommentar," 599-627; Puech, "Plotin et les gnostiques," 161-74; "Discussion," 175-90; Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," 132-42; Schmidt, *Codex Brucianus*; id., *Plotins Stellung zum Gnosticismus*. C. General Background: Armstrong, *Cambridge History*; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*; Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*.

I. LANGUAGE

A brief analysis of the language of *Allogenes* is provided above in the Introduction to Codex XI, Section III. The occasional Bohairic features in its Sahidic dialect, found also in *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) and *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), suggest that *Allogenes* was translated from Greek in or near the Bohairic dialectal domain perhaps even in Alexandria, around 300 C.E.

II. TITLE

As in most Nag Hammadi tractates, the title of *Allogenes* appears as a subscript (69,20) after the closing lines of the tractate (69,16-19) which are also inset and decorated. Puech and Doresse (see the Introduction to Codex XI, Section IV) read this title as "The Supreme Allogenes" by a conflation of the subscript title of *Allogenes* with the opening title of *Hypsiphroné*, the following short tractate.

No other gnostic tractate is extant with the name "Allogenes," nor is there another copy of this text. We can assume that a number of texts with this title have been lost, in view of Epi-

phanus' references to "the books called *Allogeneis*" (*Pan.* XL.2.2; XXXIX.5.1; cf. *Allogenes* XI,3:69,18-19) written in the name of Seth's seven sons, themselves called "Strangers" (*Pan.* XL.7.4-5), as is their father Seth (*Pan.* XL.7.2; cf. *Treat. Seth*, VII,2:52,8-10). Epiphanius states that the books of *Allogeneis* were composed by the Archontics and Sethians whom he is refuting (*Pan.* XXXIX.5.1; XL.7.4), but elsewhere he implies that the Archontics have these books from tradition: "They are already using texts called *Allogeneis* too, for there are books identified in this way" (*Pan.* XL.2.2). But *Allogenes* gives no clear sign of membership in a series, or of having been written by or about Seth or his sons. Since Hippolytus and Irenaeus do not mention Seth's sons or any books called "*Allogeneis*," the *Allogenes* traditions may have developed after 200 C. E., or if earlier, they circulated in non-Western quarters such as Syria or Egypt.

Porphyry writes in his biography of Plotinus that Plotinus attacked certain gnostics who "produced revelations by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheos and *Allogenes* and Messos and other such people" (*Vit. Plot.* 16). Scholars have therefore been hopeful that the Nag Hammadi tractates *Allogenes* (XI,3) and *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) might shed light on the relation of the gnostics to Plotinus and Neoplatonism (Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 126-34, and "Plotin et les gnostiques," 161-74; "Discussion," 175-90; Doresse, *Secret Books*, 144, 156-59, 250). There is widespread acceptance that *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos* can be identified as the revelations mentioned by Porphyry (Sieber, "Introduction to Zostrianos," 233-40; Bazán, "Gnóstica," 463-78). Since *Allogenes* is addressed to Messos, and *Zostrianos* bears the cryptogram subtitle "Words of Zoroaster," it is possible that Porphyry's phrase cited above could be referring to these two tractates by the pair of legendary names mentioned in each. But Porphyry goes on to speak of separate refutations of the Book of Zostrianos and the Book of Zoroaster, showing that he is probably referring to separate revelations by each figure named. Whether *Allogenes* is Porphyry's "revelation by *Allogenes*" cannot be determined from the name alone, since Epiphanius speaks of multiple such titles. It is the striking relation between the thought and terminology of *Allogenes* and of the Neoplatonic writers which suggests that this tractate in an earlier Greek form is indeed one of those known to Plotinus in Rome between 244 and 269.

III. FORM AND COMPOSITION

In this text "Allogenes" is the name of the one who receives divine revelations and records them for "my son Messos." Allogenes' search for self-knowledge is not expressed directly in a dialogue with the revealers Youel and the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo, but the search is evident within the revelations which encourage and instruct Allogenes and in Allogenes' intervening reports on his experience to Messos.

The revelations themselves are the core of the text, but its form is the broader one of the revelation discourse in which a revelation is recounted as an edifying discourse for a patron or disciple (Festugière, *La révélation*, 1.309-54). Characteristic of this genre are the speaker's self-introduction, reference to the person addressed, narrative of events including the appearance of a divine being, a record of the divine pronouncements, an account of the speaker's reaction, and closing instructions on the preservation of the document. The first eight lines of *Allogenes* that may have contained the self-introduction, addressee and the appearance of a divine being are largely missing, yet all the characteristics of this genre can be documented elsewhere in the text.

The revelation discourse is complicated by its pseudonymous nature. The fact would be more obvious in this case if the authorship were attributed to James or Thomas or Zoroaster, but Allogenes, meaning "stranger, foreigner," or "one of another race," is a common name in texts of this era for legendary, semi-divine figures. It is used as a title for Seth and for Seth's seven sons (*Pan.* XL.7.2-5), for the Great Invisible Spirit (*Gos. Eg.* IV,2:50,21; $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in *Gos. Eg.* III,2:41,6-7), and in the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* for its nameless descending revealer (*Treat. Seth* VII,2:52,8-10). The generic sense of the name is brought out in the *Three Steles of Seth* where Emmacha Seth (118,28) addresses his father, "Thou art from another race, for thou art not similar" (120,5-6), and then speaking of his own descendants, "they are from other races, for they are not similar" (120,11-13). The divine figure "Allogenes" thus may represent an entire spiritual race, and can be called Seth of the Sethians. The name "Messos" also may have a generic origin as "Middle One" between the divine and lower spheres (Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 132). By speaking for Allogenes and to Messos, the writer of *Allogenes*

evokes spiritual progenitors and gives divine authority to the tractate. Its archetypal past setting has a similar function. Allogenes is described as instructing Messos to write the book “for the sake of those who will be worthy after you” and to leave it on a mountain protected by a magical invocation (68,16–23). Thus the book is to be traced to its discovery on a mountain, not to its contemporary author, since we can assume the readers’ ready cooperation in this literary fiction.

Although *Allogenes* presents itself as a single revelation discourse of Allogenes to Messos, it can be divided into two parts. In Part I (45,1[?]-58,6) Allogenes recounts to Messos five revelations he has received from Youel: 45,6(?)–49,38; 50,17–52,6(?); 52,13–55,11(?); 55,17–30; 55,33–57,24. After each quotation of Youel, he comments to Messos on what he has learned and his reactions. The last four revelations are introduced with words close to the formula: “Again the All-glorious One, Youel, said.” This indicates that the tractate’s missing introduction probably included a similar formula before the first revelation, and before it an opening address to Messos. Turner (“The Gnostic Threefold Path,” 328–29) takes the first four pages of the tractate to be Part I (45,1–49,38), the Youel revelations as Part II and the remainder as Part III. The male virgin Youel is mentioned a number of times in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* and *Zostrianos* (see name index) and is described once in more detail: “The Hidden One really exists, and with him is located she who belongs to all the glories, Youel, the male-virgin glory, through whom they saw all the all-perfect things (*Zost.* VIII,1:125,11–17). In *Allogenes* Youel is not the ultimate self-revealing divine reality, but her words bring a first awareness of or an entry way into that which is higher than perfect (53,15–22). Her revelations are complex mythological descriptions and invocations of the divine powers, particularly the Aeon of Barbelo.

At the end of Part I (57,27–58,6) Allogenes deliberates with himself for one hundred years concerning the revelations already received. Part II begins when the waiting time is complete and Allogenes sees what he has come to know and is taken out of his garment (of flesh?) to a holy place (58,7–59,4). There the holy powers instruct him through the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo on the steps he must take to receive a “primary revelation of the Unknowable One” (59,4–60,12). An account of his ascent by these steps follows (60,12–37). He then receives the revelation of

the Unknowable (60,37-67,20). This revelation is a negative theology of divine transcendence, lacking the reference to the mythological divine names characteristic of Part I. In the brief closing (67,20-69,19), Allogenes hears that the revelation is sufficient for him. He is instructed on how it is to be preserved and he, in turn, instructs Messos.

The author seems to be combining two kinds of material, myth and philosophy, within the framework of a single revelation discourse. The final ascent and philosophical revelation in Part II is a unified and fluent piece of writing with no evident signs of rough seams binding older traditions. It might, for that reason, be considered the author's own composition. This would suggest a philosophically-inclined writer to whom also could be attributed the philosophical editing of the mythological revelations of Part I. But it is not possible to be certain.

At least three factors indicate that the traditions in Part II may also precede the author. First, unless the widespread *Apocryphon of John* is dependent on *Allogenes* for the extended parallel passage (62,27-63,25=*Ap. John* BG 8502,2:24,9-25,7), Part II contains at least one borrowed section, and perhaps others. Second, the account of the one hundred years reflection and the translation to a holy place at the juncture of Parts I and II, as well as the tractate's closing, must certainly be attributed to the author and do not reflect the peculiar vocabulary or philosophical interest of the revelation of the Unknowable. This further calls into question the thesis that the final ascent and revelation are an original composition of the author. And third, the fact that an ascent narrative is integral to the final revelation suggests that this revelation may have developed out of a community rite of initiation or worship. The three levels of ascent, from Knowledge to Vitality to Existence (59,9-26), reappear in the revelation as the three aspects of the divine (61,32-39). A communal tradition behind this tractate is already indicated by the close parallels between its prayer of praise in 54,6(?) - 37 and prayers in the *Three Steles of Seth*, which use the first person freely (123,30-124,21; 126,17-33; cf. Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus"). The instruction to Allogenes to write these revelations for "those who will be worthy after you" (68,16-20; cf. 52,18-28) may be a community signature. Although a single step from a mythological community liturgy to this author's philosophical revelation is possible, it is more likely that there was

some intermediate articulation of ascent mysteries in a philosophically-oriented cult or school.

If Part II is seen to have evolved through increasing abstraction in a cultic tradition, the Youel revelations in Part I may be the older myths and prayers now revised and relegated to the task of cosmological introduction before the "primary revelation of the Unknowable One" (59,28-30). The author may be seeking to harmonize old and new by this ordering of materials, perhaps also by philosophical additions to Part I on the privative divine in its tripartite being (47,7-49,38; 53,10-32) and by mythological motifs in the opening of Part II, such as the vision of Barbelo, the translation to a holy place and the Luminaries giving instructions for a journey (58,7-60,12).

IV. CONTENT

The main issue at stake in interpreting *Allogenes* is the origin of its unusual combination of gnostic motifs and philosophical triadic monism. Did this philosophy develop within a gnostic community as greater philosophical sophistication forced it toward new affirmations, possibly resulting in some influence on Plotinus and Porphyry? Or is the Neoplatonism a conceptual veneer, adopted without roots in gnostic mythology? The answer must lie somewhere between these alternatives. The new sophistication must have been triggered by some kind of active philosophical interchange, although the dominant motivation continues to be religious and the forms of speech remain those of initiation and revelation. In order to avoid an oversimplified interpretation of the text as the "natural" development of Gnosticism or as a superficial Neoplatonism, we will look first strictly at the affirmations of the text and only then consider major gnostic and philosophical parallels and their significance for its interpretation.

At the apex of *Allogenes* is the revelation of the Unknowable One, the vision of the Invisible. It is inaccurate to define this one as high god in a pantheon, although the Unknowable One can be called the Unknowable God (61,14-16) and receive worship (54,6-37). Nor should it be defined as first principle of cosmic explanation, although it is said to account for all reality by existing in all parts or containing all (47,11-21; 66,25-38). Its direct predication

is strictly privative (unfathomably unfathomable 65,25–26), hyperbolic (superior to [all] superiors 63,19), negative (not existing 63,9–10,17–18) and paradoxical (non-being existence 62,23–24), that is, lacking in either religious or philosophical function. The two names associated most closely with this unnameable (47,19) Unknowable One are Invisible Spirit and Triple Powered One. The two often seem to be synonymous, as in the phrase “the invisible spiritual (πνεῦμα) Triple Powered One” (51,8–9). Yet, whereas the Invisible Spirit remains undifferentiated, the Triple Powered One is said to be the “traverser of the boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit” (49,8–10) and is differentiated into three aspects: 1) Existence (ὑπαρξις) or Being (οὐσία) or That-Which-Is (περὶ ὅπου=τὸ ὄν), 2) Life (ὠνζ=ζωή) or Vitality (μντῶνζ) and 3) Knowledge (μντειμε) or Mentality (νοητης[νοήτης]) or Blessedness (μντ-μακαριος [-μακάριος]) (49,26–38; 59,9–26; 60,14–37). The reader is assured that this is not a generation taking place beyond the Triple Powered One nor a separation within it but a way of describing its eternal and integrated reality (49,21–38).

The relationship of Barbelo to the above triad is unclear in the text. As the “first Thought,” (53,27–28) she “knows [that] she knows that One” (45,29–30), and is apparently the “undivided incorporeal [eternal] knowledge outside of the Triple Powered One (51,8–14) by which the One “knows itself” (49,20–21). As well as reflecting the Triple Powered One to itself, Barbelo also functions as a kind of three-runged ladder for those who would know her—as the Hidden One, Protophanes and Autogenes. It is said that Barbelo becomes “Kalyptos [who] acted in those whom she knows” (45,31–33), or elsewhere that she is “endowed with the types and forms of those who truly exist, the image of the Kalyptos” (51,12–17). Kalyptos (Hidden One) is then endowed with the “intellectual Word” under the image of the male Protophanes (First Appearing One) who works to realize skills and natural abilities (51,17–25). Protophanes is then given the image of the divine Autogenes (Self Born One) who works in each one individually to rectify failures (51,25–32). There are hints of a fourth emanation of Barbelo, the divine Triple Male or Perfect Youth (51,32–38), but more often these names are associated with Protophanes (45,36–38; 58,12–26).

These successive images in *Allogenes* Part I are not shaped into a clear triad or made equivalent to the Existence, Vitality and Knowledge of the Triple Powered One which dominate *Allogenes*

Part II (cf. the equivalency in *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2-12). The Triple Powered One does appear as a triad once in Part I in order to affirm the interdependence of Existence, Vitality and Knowledge in the One (49,26-38). But it is the multiple mythological images which are told and retold, apparently because they offer access to that Triple Powered One for individuals and evoke a step by step process by which individuals can join in the Triple Powered One. First Autogenes "saw them [all] existing individually as [they] are" (46,9-17), then Protophanes becomes "[the] procession [of those who are] together" (46,22-30), and finally Kalyptos has the "forms of those who truly exist" (51,12-17). These may represent three different levels of the human ascent.

The revelations of Part II, given to Allogenes through the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo, focus on the Triple Power of Existence, Vitality and Knowledge. It is both the divine reality to be revealed and the means of access to that reality. The instructions Allogenes receives as Part II opens (59,9-60,12) indicate that, because of the Youel revelations in Part I, he already stands on the level of Knowledge or Blessedness and is expected to withdraw up to the level of Vitality and then to that of Existence in order to receive a "primary revelation of the Unknowable One." This suggests that the writer sees the mythological process in Part I as having taken place within the Knowledge aspect of the Triple Powered One, thus integrating the two parts of the tractate. The positive function of self-knowledge in the Aeon of Barbelo for the ultimate revelation of the Unknowable is thus confirmed. Yet by the same move the religious experiences of divinization and ecstasy involved in Part I (52,7-12; 53,32-54,37) are relegated to a preparatory stage in the more philosophical final revelation. And the rich confusion of mythological divine images in Part I is subsumed as primitive self-revelation of what turns out to be the one known as unknowable.

The initial Knowledge level of the Triple Powered One is characterized by possession of the forms of whatever truly exists, by blessedness, goodness, and becoming divine (52,10-33). It is at once self-knowledge and knowledge of the Triple Power of the Unknowable One (59,9-16; 60,14-18). Although Allogenes is afraid that he is not fit to know this, he is told that a great power that is fit to know has been put on him (50,15-36; 57,32-39). The second level of the Triple Power, Life or Vitality, is an "eternal, intellectual,

undivided motion that pertains to all the formless powers, (which is) unlimited by limitation" (60,24-28). When Allogenes withdraws upward and enters this Vitality he finds it difficult to stand firmly and withdraws further to Existence which stands firmly and is at rest (60,19-37). Here he is filled with the primary revelation of the Unknowable One, the knowledge of which is complete ignorance (61,17-19). The Coptic pronouns which here refer to the Unknowable One should be translated in the neuter rather than the masculine in light of its extreme privative characterization of the divine. The text of this revelation has no missing lines for four pages and needs no paraphrase.

V. GNOSTIC CONTEXT

At least three groups of gnostic texts share significant features with *Allogenes*. Until the dating of these materials is better established, the sequence of development remains open to question.

A. One group of gnostic texts with connection to *Allogenes* are the Hermetic initiation discourses, particularly *Corp. Herm.* I, XIII, and NHC VI,6. *Allogenes* shares neither their dialogue form nor their eight or nine level cosmology. The common element lies in their understanding of the divine revealer as instructor, preparing the initiate to undertake an ascent upwards by successive stages of withdrawal (see Festugière, *Personal Religion*, 53-67, 122-39). The Hermetic texts explain this withdrawal as a movement toward self-knowledge: "The one that reflects on oneself withdraws into oneself. . . . Let the self-aware person come to recognize him(her)self" (*Corp. Herm.* I,21; cf. NHC VI,6:60,27-61,1). This is at once participation in and a kind of identification with the divine: "This is the good end for all who have acquired knowledge, to be made divine" (*Corp. Herm.* I,26). In *Allogenes* the Youel revelations climax in a similar experience: "[I] saw the light that [surrounded] me and the Good that was in me and I became divine (NHC XI,3:52,10-13). Then follows a further ascent: "O Allogenes, behold your Blessedness how it silently abides, by which you know your proper self, and, seeking yourself, withdraw" (58,12-59,16). The ultimate goal is to withdraw beyond Knowledge to the levels of Life and Existence through a revelation of the

Unknowable One who is "united with the ignorance that sees it" (64,13-14). This paradoxical expression of transcendence and the simplicity of the triadic One in *Allogenes* are not paralleled in Hermetic Gnosticism, but the pattern of ascent in divine self-knowledge is so close as to suggest a literary or even communal conversation between the traditions.

B. *Allogenes* also has some close affinities with a second group of texts sharing its Barbeloite Gnosticism, texts such as the *Apocryphon of John* (BG 8502,2; NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1), Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-4, *Trimorphic Protennoia* (XIII,1), and to a lesser extent also with *Eugnostos* (III,3; V,1), *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (BG 8502,3; NHC III,4) and *Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,2; IV,2). The Apocalypse of *Allogenes* quoted in the 8th Century by Theodore bar Konai also seems to come from this tradition (Puech, "Apocalypse d'Allogène," 935-62).

The main outlines of Barbeloite Gnosticism in its relation to *Allogenes* can best be seen in the *Apocryphon of John* which shares with *Allogenes* a full page of negative theology in an almost literal parallel (BG 8502,2:24,9-25,7; NHC XI,3:62,27-63,25). In the *Apocryphon of John*, as in *Allogenes*, it is the privative divine, so described, who is then said to know its own image or thought, called Barbelo, the one "with the three powers." She in turn is granted Foreknowledge, Incorruptibility and Eternal Life (BG 8502,2:27,1-29,8), in a possible parallel to a triad within Barbelo in *Allogenes*—Kalyptos, Protophanes, and Autogenes (NHC XI,3:45,26-46,11; 51,12-32). In the *Apocryphon of John* these three given to Barbelo are also said to form a pentad with Barbelo and the divine thought, paralleling the shifting expressions of "many in one" found also in *Allogenes* (BG 8502,2:29,8-18; NHC XI,3:58,12-26).

In the next scene in the *Apocryphon of John* Barbelo is shown as the middle figure in a triad. Barbelo turns to the Father of the unbegotten Father and gives birth to a first-born Son, Christ, through whose Mind and Word the perfect human being comes to be. Then follows the generation of deficiency through Sophia. The purpose of this cosmology in the *Apocryphon of John* seems to be, as in *Allogenes*, double. On the one hand, it seeks to teach how that which is visible in myriad external forms is essentially a spiritual unity ("I am [the Father], I am the Mother, I [am the] Son," BG 8502,2:21,5-22,2). Second, it gives the knowledge necessary for the human being to experience this unity. In *Allogenes* this knowledge

takes the form of a preparation and an ascent ritual. In the *Apocryphon of John* it is an account of the process by which deficiency entered into the cosmic scene and how it was divinely contained.

The absence of this Sophia theodicy and of all Christian terminology in *Allogenes* is its most crucial point of distinction from Barbeloite Gnosticism and suggests one of three ways in which *Allogenes* may be related to this tradition. It is probably too simple to suggest that either *Allogenes* or the *Apocryphon of John* represents the most primitive Barbeloite Gnosticism, as if the Sophia fall and its reversal in Christ were a late elaboration from the feminine aspect in a transcendent monism (cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Nag-Hamadi Studien III," 360), or as if transcendent monism were a late demythologizing of fall and redemption myths. More likely the *Apocryphon of John* and *Allogenes* take separate roads from a common heritage of the transcendent Aeon of Barbelo. The *Apocryphon of John* multiplies aeonic buffer zones between the divine and human through a fall of Sophia tradition, integrating some Christian elements into its divine solution. *Allogenes*, in conversation with Hermetic and Platonic thought, evokes the unity of all experience through ascent in the triadic Unknowable One.

C. The third gnostic text group includes *Allogenes* itself as well as *Zostrianos* (VIII,1), the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), *Marsanes* (X) and the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex (Schmidt, *Codex Brucianus*; Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise* and Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*). On this text group see Turner's discussion, "The Gnostic Threefold Path," 324-51. *Marsanes* is so badly preserved that it is little help in reconstructing this tradition. Yet its progression through thirteen seals from the cosmic and material to the privative Triple Powered and Silent One (2,12-4,23) clearly indicates its affinity. The Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex is closer to the *Apocryphon of John* than to *Allogenes* in its elaborate multiplication of levels of reality and its biblical allusions, but it is classified in this group because its focus of interest is not on the origin of deficiency through Sophia but on the Unknowable One who possesses the whole without being possessed (Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex: Schmidt, *Codex Brucianus*, 56,12-61,36; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 270,2-277,8; cf. *Allogenes* XI, 3:66,25-32). Also the Triple Powered One appears here as do many other figurations of divine names parallel to *Allogenes*.

There is external evidence of this text group in Porphyry's state-

ment that Plotinus knew revelations by “Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes” (*Vit. Plot.* 16). In the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex a prophecy or revelation of Nikotheos is quoted as an authority: “Nikotheos spoke concerning him; he saw that he was that one. He said: ‘The Father exists, surpassing every perfection. He has revealed the invisible, triple-powered, perfect one’” (Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex: Schmidt, *Codex Bruccianus*, 12,24–13,1; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 235,17–21). This short segment suggests a Nicotheos document similar to *Allogenes*. The Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex may then be a later, more elaborate Christianized cosmology within the same tradition, indicating that at least in some instances the praise of transcendent being precedes the complex cosmologies for which Gnosticism is known.

Zostrianos is another document in this group with a title that appears on Porphyry’s list. It is even closer to *Allogenes* than the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex; it lacks Christian names and allusions and shares an ascent through different heavenly levels reminiscent of the earlier, more mythological parts of *Allogenes*. There are signs of dualism in the introductory framework of *Zostrianos* which describe the human plight as somatic darkness, desire and mental bondage under the cosmocrator (NHC VIII,1:1,10–21). But this picture is immediately eclipsed by a search for the father of all things who is in thought, perception, species, race, part and whole, possession and possessed, corporality and incorporality, essence and matter (2,10–20). The remainder of this 132-page, poorly-preserved tractate reads like a baroque variation on Part I of *Allogenes* in the form of long baptismal ascent revelations (13,7–22,1), ecstatic prayers (51,21–52,25; 118,15–22; 127,1–7) and instructions on heavenly realities by Ephesch, Youel and others. The cultic language points toward a communal setting for the development or preservation of this monistic Gnosticism.

Sharing in this liturgical interest is the document closest to *Allogenes*, the *Three Steles of Seth*. It is a non-Christian revelation to Dositheos from Seth consisting of Seth’s three prayers of praise—to the father Geradama(s), to Barbelo, and to the One—each successive prayer representing a higher ascent in worship. These prayers are called “three steles” in line with the closing instruction to inscribe them on steles. In this way the author impresses their antiquity and power upon the reader. In the first prayer Seth tells

the praises of his Father Geradama(s) who belongs to the divine race and is head of the human race (120,1-15), also called the good, the mind, the word of the divine command (119,1.15-16; 120,27-28). The second prayer praises Barbelo who enables life, multiplying power eternally so that all exist, and simultaneously uniting all multiplicity in herself (122,8-20; 123,3-4.11-14.30-31). The final prayer addresses the One to whom all divine names apply and yet who is beyond any name: "For Thou art the existence of them all. Thou art the life of them all. Thou art the mind of them all. [For] Thou [art the One in whom they all] rejoice." (125,28-33). Here, in one final prayer of praise, most of the divine appellations found in *Allogenes*, including the triad of Existence, Life, and Mind, are affirmed.

The *Three Steles of Seth* demonstrates without doubt that we have in this text group a religious tradition, whether an individual mysticism or a communal cult is not fully clear, although the first-person plural implies the latter (NHC VII,5:123,30-124,21; 126,17-34). The purpose of this worship is not to escape from physical bondage through myths of divine deficiency and its containment. This worship seeks to overcome disintegration of experience, to order chaos, by the progressive self-revelation of an unencompassable reality which encompasses and constitutes all mind, life and existence. The development of this idea in texts concerning Barbelo and Seth suggests that its three-in-one unity is a preservation or revival of the Father/Source, Mother/Thought, Son/Word triad of Barbelo Gnosticism, with Seth representing the primeval human belonging to that "other race."

VI. PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT

One point of undeniable contact between gnostic thought and Platonic philosophy is Porphyry's statement that Plotinus' gnostic opponents "produced revelations by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes and Messos and other people of the kind" (*Vit. Plot.* 16). But is there sufficient evidence to prove that Porphyry was referring here to *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3; addressed to Messos) and to the text group just described including *Zostrianos* (also called "the words of Zoroaster," NHC VIII,1:132,9), as well as to the revelation of Nicotheos quoted in the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex, and even possibly also the *Three Steles of Seth*?

Carl Schmidt made the two basic studies in Plotinus' relation to Gnosticism when he published the Bruce Codex (*Codex Brucianus*, 598–663; id. *Plotins Stellung zum Gnosticismus*). Proposing an identification of the Nicotheos quotation with the text in Porphyry's list of revelations, Schmidt suggested that a Sethian gnostic group originating in Syria developed into a school in Egypt under Prodicus (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* III.4.30). It produced such texts as the Untitled text of the Bruce Codex and was represented by Aquilinus and Adelphius in Rome (Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 16) as a school rivaling Plotinus' own. Because Schmidt assumed an irreconcilable conflict between Plotinus and the gnostics he was puzzled at the mildness of Plotinus' attack on them (*Codex Brucianus*, 619), and in 1900 (*Plotins Stellung zum Gnosticismus*, 18–19) he reversed his earlier identification of this Aquilinus with a known author of the same name because he felt a gnostic could not have written the extant Neoplatonic text.

Research since Schmidt has begun to discover positive connections between Gnosticism and Plotinus. In 1907 W. Bousset suggested that Plotinus' opponents held views closer to Hermetic philosophy than to Christian Gnosticism (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* 186–94). E. Bréhier proposed an "oriental" element in Plotinus' own thought (*The Philosophy of Plotinus*, 106–31), and H. Jonas suggested that Plotinus was a philosophical gnostic (*Gnosis*, 2.1, 171–75), but neither one tested his thesis on specific gnostic and philosophical texts. In 1961 J. Zandee proposed in a textual study that both the gnostics and Plotinus saw reality as an eternal, universal organism, but the gnostics combined this view with the account of a fallen demiurge who created a defective humanity and introduced irreconcilable evil into the universe (*The Terminology of Plotinus*). Zandee's conclusions reflect the fact that, when he wrote, the group of gnostic texts closest to *Allogenes* were not available, with the exception of the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex. They present a type of Gnosticism in which can be found only the most peripheral trace of dualism. The relative affinity of the *Allogenes* text group to Neoplatonic thought cannot, of course, in itself demonstrate that these are the texts Porphyry lists as known to Plotinus. Yet their affinity strengthens this hypothesis rising from the fact that these texts have the specific names mentioned by Porphyry and cohere well with each other in style, content and terminology.

A second text with obvious importance for this issue is Plotinus' argument against the gnostics in *Enn.* II.9. Is it conceivable that Plotinus is attacking monistic gnostics who wrote or preserved the *Allogenes* text group? Plotinus' familiarity with dualistic elements in Gnosticism is clear from his ridicule of the Sophia myth. Why, he asks, would they want to ascend to the archetype of such a reality (*Enn.* II.9.5-11)? But because Plotinus chooses to accentuate the foolishness of these doctrines, it is hard to determine whether they were central to his opponents or peripheral in their texts. Plotinus' writing against the gnostics does seem to have the heat of a family feud or school rivalry, rather than the detachment accorded to the remote fanatic. It is significant that his tractate against the gnostics concludes a series of four constructive lectures summarizing his triadic monism (in chronological order they are: *Enn.* III.8; V.8; V.5; II.9; see Harder, "Eine neue Schrift Plotins," 303-13). Apparently Plotinus' students were being attracted to certain gnostic teachers (*Enn.* II.9.10) and he responded by showing that his own monistic vision excelled theirs. The concluding lecture, which does play up gnostic absurdities, is itself interrupted because of a professed interest not to offend any of his long-standing gnostic friends (*Enn.* II.9.10). And there are a number of features present in the *Allogenes* text group that are attacked by Plotinus. He is suspicious of the cultic elements, particularly what he calls "incantations" (*Allogenes* XI,3:53,37-54,37; *Three Steles of Seth*, passim) and "magical hissings" (*Allogenes* XI,3:53,36-37; *Zost.* VIII,1:127, 1-5; *Marsanes* X:31,22-32,4). He ridicules their invention of new jargon including *παροίκησις* (transmigration), *ἀντίτυποι* (antitypes) and *μετάνοια* (repentance) (*Enn.* II.9.6; the only known gnostic occurrences of this triad are in *Zost.* VIII,1:8,10-18; 12,9-22; and in the Untitled text of the Bruce Codex, 51,7-10; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 263,20-22). He is offended at the arrogance of people who think themselves superior to the powers and heavenly bodies (*Enn.* II.9.5 and 9; *Allogenes* XI,3:50,24-33; 52, 15-28). Above all, he will not tolerate their attributing to private revelations all their true doctrines which are clearly derived from Plato (*Enn.* II.9.6). This final question of the authority upon which one speaks—whether of Plato or of revelation—is probably a greater gulf between these opponents than the dualism they both reject.

Literal parallels between *Allogenes* and Neoplatonic texts cannot

be documented before the fifth century when Proclus wrote his *Elements of Theology*. Compare the following parallel, which in less exact form extends somewhat further:

Procl. <i>Theol.</i> 103	<i>Allogenes</i> XI,3:49,28-36
For in Being (ὄν) there is Life (ζωή) and Mind (νοῦς)	For (γάρ) then (τότε) That-Which-Is constantly possesses its Vitality and Mentality (νοήτης),
and in Life (ζωή) Being (εἶναι) and Mentality (νοεῖν)	and Vitality possesses Being (-οὐσία) and Mentality.
and in Mind (νοῦς) Being (εἶναι) and Living (ζῆν).	Mentality (νοήτης) possesses Life and That-Which-Is.

There has been serious discussion among scholars of Neoplatonism about the origin of this being-life-mind triad which is central to Proclus' theology (Procl. *Theol.* 101-3; *Theol. Plat.* IV.1-3; Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*, 252-54; Hadot, "Etre, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin," 107-41; "Discussion," 142-57). The above parallel promises that gnostic texts such as *Allogenes* will be quickly taken up within this study.

There is general agreement that the extensive Platonist school exegesis of Plato, *Soph.* 248e, including the occasional use of this triad without fixed order by Plotinus (*Enn.* I.6.7; III.6.6; VI.6.8 and 18), is not itself sufficient explanation for the fixed and interdependent triad seen in Proclus. The question arises, could the three-in-three triad have first been developed in this form by the gnostics of the *Allogenes* text group? Porphyry is widely held to have introduced the triad to Neoplatonic dogma, but it does not appear in Porphyry's extant writings and is attributed to him in ancient times only by Proclus himself. Willy Theiler (*Porphyrios und Augustin*, 4) attributes the triad to Porphyry on the basis of Augustine's (*De Civ.* X.23) reference to Platonists who teach an obscure intermediate spirit between father and son (*de regressu animae* reconstructed by Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, 36*-37*). Theiler operates here with a working hypothesis that every Neoplatonic

doctrine found in both Augustine and in a later Neoplatonist, if not derived from Plotinus, comes from Porphyry. Using the same principle, P. Hadot attributes the fourth-century Parmenides Commentary, which displays this triad, to Porphyry, although Theiler and Kroll consider it to be non-Porphyrian (Hadot, "La métaphysique de Porphyre," 127-57; "Discussion," 158-63; id., *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.102-43; Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*, 220). This Parmenides Commentary may be read as evidence of the difficult process by which this triad was integrated into Neoplatonism before Proclus, due to Plotinus' adamant rejection of all qualifications of the One. Eventually, Existence, Life, and Thought were accepted as three aspects of the divine Intellect, the second level of Plotinus' One-Intellect-Soul triad, with Existence also in a peculiar independent association to the One (XIV, 16-26 in Kroll, "Ein neuplatonischer Parmenideskommentar," 599-627; cf. Hadot, "Commentaire sur le Parménide," 410-38). In any case the presence of the triad in *Allogenes* XI,3:49,26-38 and *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2-12 (as well as *Steles Seth* VII,5:125,28-33) brings into question the necessity of attributing the triad to Porphyry in order to account for its appearance in later Neoplatonic thought. And Porphyry's known anti-Gnosticism does not make him a likely candidate for borrowing a triad known to be prominent in a group of gnostic texts he mentions (*Vit. Plot.* 16). Nor does it make sense to assume that the Neoplatonists got this triad from the Chaldean Oracles, an eclectic text of Platonic cosmology, angelology and fire theurgy whose extant fragments attest no such triad (Theiler, *Die chaldaeischen Orakel*, 5).

Another Neoplatonic concept with an uncertain origin appears in *Allogenes* and its text group: the word *ὑπαρξίς* (existence) used to refer to the highest divine reality and the first term in the Existence-Life-Thought triad. Again, it is not so used by Plotinus, it is so used by Proclus, and, in order to explain its introduction into Neoplatonism between these two figures, it is attributed to Porphyry by proposing that he is the author of the anonymous Parmenides commentary which speaks of Existence at the head of the divine triad.

A third parallel between *Allogenes* and the Platonic tradition is more general, the pattern of threefold ascent. The ascent pattern in *Allogenes*, also found in the first gnostic text group discussed above, the Hermetic tractates, is a progressive withdrawal by a path of

privation into knowledge of the One that cannot be named. Turner's recent study on "The Gnostic Threefold Path" notes that this ascent does not characterize the texts in our second gnostic text group, including the *Apocryphon of John*. In these texts the bondage to evil is such that salvation can only take place by a threefold descent of the divine, a pattern that seems to derive from Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic literature (Turner, 325–28; 346–50). In contrast, he sees the threefold ascent in *Allogenes* and other texts in the third text group to be derived from the Platonic tradition, specifically from Neopythagorean speculation on the One beyond the dyad, and from middle Platonic exegesis of Plato's *Timaeus* 39E in terms of three levels of divine intelligence (Turner, 337).

No one can contest the presence in Platonism of various tripartite divisions of divine reality and particularly the view of knowledge of the divine as a kind of self-knowledge. But it may, nevertheless, not be accurate to say that the pattern of ascent in *Allogenes* derives from Platonism. From Plato's threefold vision of beauty mediated through the prophetess Diotima (*Symp.* 210a–12a) through Plutarch's contrast of Isis' many-colored robes to Osiris' robe which is the color of light and the mystic image of truth (*De Is. et Os.* 382cde), the stimulation to conceive philosophy as ascent seems to have come into Greek thought from oriental mythical sources. Therefore an oriental and mythical tradition such as Gnosticism may well not get its ascent triad initially from Platonism, though its formulation is doubtless shaped in time by philosophical debates with Platonists. Ascent is integral to the gnostic world view. Cosmology as the history of an imprisonment, and divine descent as a fissure in the prison wall, both point toward the need to escape, whether or not it is articulated in detail. In the third text group including *Allogenes* we seem to have an escape-oriented religious-sect-turned-school. The "hell-fire" sermons are gone and meditations on self-knowledge have taken their place. But the ascent out of hell is still worked out in the Aeon of Barbelo. And, as Turner himself suggests (338–39), the higher reaches of the ascent into the Triple Power of Being, Vitality and Mentality may be projected out of Barbelo's own traditional three powers to form a pathway to ultimate reunion with the Unknowable One.

The question remains concerning the relation to the Neoplatonists of the three elements in *Allogenes* noted above—the Existence-Life-Thought triad, the *ὑπαρξίς* (Existence) term as head of

a divine triad, and the religious threefold ascent. Each is a different expression of what can only be recognized as the core of Neoplatonic thought by the time of Proclus. Their presence in the *Allogenes* text group must be taken as proof that it was written under heavy Neoplatonic influence, unless there is sufficient reason to say that the gnostic texts are themselves the seed-bed of these particular ideas. Because the Nag Hammadi library was buried in the mid-fourth century C.E. (Robinson, "Introduction," 4), *Allogenes* cannot be dependent on the very close parallel cited in the fifth-century Proclus. Allowing time for Coptic translation and the collecting of the library, the latest feasible date for *Allogenes*' original composition is at the end of the third century C.E. At that time there is no Neoplatonic attestation of the triad headed by the term "Existence" unless we accept the literary hypothesis which attributes the Parmenides Commentary to Porphyry in order to explain where Proclus got the new ideas. And there is no sign at all of the triple-modulated triad that appears in *Allogenes* and Proclus. The simplest thesis is that these particular elements are gnostic contributions to Neoplatonism.

The most telling evidence of the gnostic origin of the ascending triad headed by the Existence term is its presence in a group of gnostic texts with common characteristics bearing the titles named by Porphyry as revelations available to Plotinus. Porphyry himself, if he was consistent in his anti-gnostic crusade, may have rejected the Existence term and this triad. But the gnostic texts could have remained on hand for increasingly receptive fourth-century Neoplatonists. This would locate *Allogenes* at latest by the mid-third century C.E. in Rome where Plotinus was writing against the gnostics, possibly already in Alexandria at the time of Plotinus' studies with Ammonius from 232-243 C.E. Plotinus' own sharp rejection of any division in the One shows that he held his own against multiplication in debate with gnostics. But his greater focus on divine emanation and human ascent than in previous Platonists may be witness to the gnostics' persuasive powers. An Alexandrian origin of *Allogenes* would allow for whatever influence this text had on Platonists including Plotinus, the reverse influence in the demythologizing of gnostic thought in a Platonic direction, as well as the subsequent Bohairicized (upper Egyptian) Sahidic translation that we read.

[MĒ]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

- 6 [12[±]]εγε $\bar{n}\kappa[\alpha]$
 [τα ο]γα $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon[\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \alpha]\gamma\omega \epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta$
 8 [$\bar{z}\iota$ ο]γμα τηροϋ [εγζ]οτπ [ε]πι
 [νοϋ]ς πιρεφारेζ $\bar{n}[\tau\alpha]\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma$
 10 [$\bar{n}\tau$]αφταμοκ· αγ[ω] †βομ ε†
 [ωο]οπ $\bar{n}z\eta\tau\kappa$ τε $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\varsigma\pi\omicron[r\omega\varsigma]$
 12 [$\bar{n}\omega\alpha$]χε οϋμνηψε $\bar{n}\varsigma\omicron\pi$
 [πιεβ]ολ $\bar{z}\mu$ πιωμνη†βομ· π[η]
 14 [$\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$ ηη] τηροϋ ε†[ω]οοπ ο[η]
 [τως] $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πια†† [ω]ι εροϋ πι
 16 [οϋο]ειν ψα εν[εζ \bar{n}]†γρω
 [ςις ε]τασοϋω[$\bar{n}z$] εβολ· πι
 18 [αλο]γ $\bar{n}z\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$ [\bar{m}]παρθενος
 [πωορπ] $\bar{n}\eta\epsilon\omega\bar{n}$ πιεβολ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$
 20 [οϋεω]η $\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ $\bar{n}\omega\mu\eta\tau$
 [βομ πι]ωμνη†βομ ε†ω[ο]
 22 [οπ οητω]ς· χε εταγζο[ρ]
 [$\bar{k}\bar{q}$ αγπορ]ω<q> εβολ· αγω
 24 [εταγπορ]ω<q> αφρτε[λι]ος·
 [αγ]ω αφχι[βο]ομ εβολ $\bar{n}z\eta$
 26 [τοϋ τ]ηροϋ· εφειμ[ε εροϋ]
 [$\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πια]ζορα[τον] μη[$\bar{n}\alpha$]
 28 [$\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$]· αγω αφω[ωπε]
 [$\bar{z}\bar{n}$ οϋ]εων· εσειμ[ε ερος]
 30 [χε ε]σειμε επη ε[$\bar{t}\bar{m}$]μαγ
 [αγ]ω ασωπε $\bar{n}\kappa\alpha\lambda\gamma[\pi]\tau\omicron\varsigma$
 32 [ετα]ς [ρ]ενεργι $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ ηη ετς
 [ςο]οϋη $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ · οϋπρω
 34 [το]φανης πε $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ \bar{n}
 [ηα]τναγ εροϋ $\bar{n}\eta\omicron\gamma\varsigma$
 36 [$\bar{n}z$]αρμηδων· ες† βομ
 [δε] $\bar{n}\eta\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ ογα· οϋγ $\bar{z}\omicron$
 38 [οϋ]† τε εσο δε κατα ογα

[45]

- (Lines 1-5 lacking)
- 6 [] since they are
[perfect (τέλειος) individuals (-κατά) and dwell]
- 8 all [together, joined with] the
[mind (νοῦς)], the guardian [which I provided],
- 10 [who] taught you (sg.). [And] it is [the power that]
[exists] within you that often [extended itself]
- 12 [as word]
from the Triple Powered One, [that One]
- 14 [of] all [those] who [truly (ὄντως)] exist
with the [Immeasurable One], the
- 16 eternal [Light of] the Knowledge (γνώσις)
that appeared, the
- 18 male virginal (παρθένος) [Youth],
[the first] of the Aeons from
- 20 [a] unique triple-[powered Aeon],
[the] Triple Powered One who
- 22 [truly (ὄντως) exists], for when [he was stilled],
<he> [was extended] and
- 24 [when he was extended], he became [complete (τέλειος)]
[and] he received [power] from
- 26 all of [them]. He knows [himself]
[and the perfect (τέλειος)] Invisible (ἀόρατον) [Spirit (πνεῦμα)].
- 28 And he [came to be]
[in an] Aeon who knows
- 30 [that] she knows That One.
[And] she became Kalyptos
- 32 [who] acted (ἐνεργεῖν) in those whom she
knows.
- 34 He is a perfect (τέλειος)
invisible, noetic (νοῦς)
- 36 Protophanes-Harmedon. [And (δέ)] empowering
the individuals (-κατά), she is a Triple (ᾱ) Male.
- 38 And (δέ) being individually (-κατά)

[46]

(Lines 1–5 lacking)

- 6 [individual (-κατά) on the one hand (μέν), they are together]
 on the other hand (δέ), [since she] is an existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 8 of [theirs], and she [sees]
 them all [also] truly (ὄντως) <existing>.
- 10 [She] contains the
 divine Autogenes. When she [knew]
 12 her [Existence (ὑπαρξίς)]
 and when she stood, [she brought]
 14 This One (masc.) since he saw them [all]
 existing individually (-κατά) as [he]
 16 is. And [when they]
 become (as) he (is), [they shall]
 18 see the divine Triple Male,
 the power that is [higher than]
 20 God. [He is] the [Thought (ἐννοία)]
 of all these who [exist]
 22 together. If he [ponders them],
 [he] ponders [the]
 24 great male [
 [] noetic (νοῦς) [Protophanes], the [procession]
 26 [of] these. When [he]
 sees it, [he sees]
 28 [also those who truly (ὄντως) exist]
 and (δέ) [the] procession [of those who are]
 30 together. And (δέ) when he [has seen]
 [these], he has seen [Kalyptos].
 32 And (δέ) if he [sees]
 one of the hidden ones (καλυπτός), [he]
 34 sees the Aeon of Barbalo. And (δέ) as for [the]
 unbegotten offspring of [That One],
 36 if one [sees]
 how (πῶς) he [lives]

[MZ]

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

- [7[±] ακω^{τ̄}μ̄] [ετβε τ]
 6 π̄ερ[ι]ο̄ῡς[ιᾱ μ̄π]ο̄υᾱ πο̄υᾱ
 μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ζ̄η̄ ο̄[ῡτα]̄ χ̄ρο̄ ε̄τβε̄
 8 π̄ῑω̄μ̄ν̄τ̄βο̄μ̄ [Δε] ἡᾱζο̄ρ[α]το[ν]
 μ̄π̄η̄ᾱ σ̄ω̄τ̄μ̄ [ψ]ο̄ο[π] ε̄ο̄υ[α]
 10 π̄ε̄ ἡ̄νᾱτ̄νᾱῡ ε̄ρ[ο̄ε]ο̄ [ἡ̄]νᾱ[τ̄]
 τᾱζο̄ο̄ νᾱῡ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄ο̄ῡἡ̄
 12 τᾱς ἡ̄νη̄ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ζ̄ρᾱῑ ἡ̄ζη̄^{τ̄}ϛ̄
 [ε̄υ]ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ γᾱρ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄τβ[η̄]
 14 [η̄τ̄ϛ̄ ε̄]ῡτε̄λιον̄ π̄ε̄ ᾱῡω̄ ε̄
 [νε]ᾱς ε̄τε̄λιος̄ ᾱ[ῡ]ω̄ ε̄υμᾱ
 16 κᾱριος̄ π̄ε̄ ε̄ο̄υ[ᾱ π̄]ε̄ ἡ̄ο̄γο̄
 ε̄ῑω̄ η̄ῑμ̄ ᾱῡω̄ [ε̄ϛ̄]ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ἡ̄
 18 [ζ̄η̄το]ῡ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄ῡᾱτ̄ψᾱχε̄
 [μ̄μ]ο̄ς [π̄]ε̄ ἡ̄νᾱτ̄† ρᾱν ε̄ρο̄ς
 20 [ε̄ο̄υᾱ] π̄ε̄ ε̄ϛ̄ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ζ̄η̄
 [το̄ο̄το]ῡ τη̄ρο̄ῡ π̄η̄ ε̄τε̄ [ε̄]
 22 [ω̄ω̄π̄ε̄ ε̄ρ̄ωᾱ]ἡ̄ο̄υᾱ ῥ̄νο̄ε̄[ῑ ἡ̄]
 [μο̄ς με̄ϛ̄ο̄υ]ε̄ω̄ λᾱᾱῡ ε̄ϛ̄
 24 [ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ ζ̄ᾱτ]ε̄ϛ̄ε̄ζ̄η̄ ἡ̄τ̄[ε̄] ἡ̄η̄
 [ε̄τε̄ ο̄ῡἡ̄τα]ῡ ἡ̄η̄ο̄ῡζ̄[ῡ]π̄ᾱρ
 26 [ζ̄ῑς ἡ̄τᾱς] γᾱρ π̄ε̄ τ̄π̄[η̄γ]η̄
 [ἡ̄τᾱῡτᾱῡο̄ο̄ῡ τη̄ρ]ο̄ῡ ε̄βο̄λ̄
 28 [ἡ̄ζ̄η̄τ̄ς ε̄ῡω̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ π̄ε̄ ζ̄ᾱθ̄η̄ ἡ̄]
 [τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄τε]λ̄ῑος̄ ἡ̄ε̄[ῡω̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ π̄ε̄]
 30 [ζ̄ᾱθ̄η̄ ἡ̄]μ̄ν̄τ̄^{η̄}νο̄ῡτ̄[ε̄ η̄ῑμ̄]
 ᾱ[ῡω̄] ε̄ῡω̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ π̄ε̄ ζ̄ᾱ[θ̄η̄ ἡ̄]
 32 [μ̄η̄^{τ̄}]μ̄ᾱκᾱριος̄ η̄ῑμ̄[·] ε̄ϛ̄
 σᾱζ̄η̄ε̄ ἡ̄^{η̄}σᾱ βο̄μ̄ η̄ῑμ̄ ᾱῡω̄
 34 ο̄ῡο̄ῡςιᾱ <π̄ε̄> ε̄ῡμ̄ν̄τ̄ᾱτο̄ῡςιᾱ
 π̄ε̄ ε̄ῡνο̄ῡτε̄ π̄ε̄ ε̄μ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄ἡ̄
 36 τ̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ζ̄η̄ω̄ω̄ π̄η̄ ε̄τε̄
 π̄ῑζ̄ο̄ῡε̄ ο̄ῡω̄τ̄β̄ ἡ̄τε̄ τε̄ϛ̄
 38 μ̄η̄τ̄η̄νο̄β̄ ἡ̄ἡ̄ †μ̄η̄τ̄ςᾱεῑ<ε̄>

[ΜΗ]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

- 6 [β]αμ[·] ογα[τ̄βαμ αν] τ[ε̄] ν̄ταγ[
 8 ε̄χῑ ν̄ογω^[ν̄ζ̄] ε]βολ̄ ν̄τ[ε] ν̄α^[·]
 8 ε̄ωωπε [εγω]ανεῑ εγμα·
 επιδ̄η [ογμ]ν̄τατ̄βαμ τε̄ ν̄
 10 τε̄ ν̄ικ[ατα ο]γᾱ εταζε̄ πτηρ̄ϙ̄
 ετ̄κ[η̄ ζ̄]μ̄ [π]μᾱ ετ̄χοσε̄ ετε̄
 12 λ̄ιος· ε̄ωαγ̄χῑ δε̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ιτο̄
 ο̄τ̄ς̄ ν̄ογωορ̄π̄ ν̄ενν[ο]ῑα·
 14 [ν̄]θε̄ μ̄π̄ωωπε̄ αν̄· αλ[λα ρω]
 ε̄ϙ† μ̄[π]ωωπε̄ μ̄ν̄ [π]η̄ [ετ̄]
 16 ζ̄ηπ̄ ν̄τ[ε] ο̄γπαρ̄ζ̄ις· ε̄ϙ[αζ]
 νε̄ ν̄ςω[ϙ̄ ν̄]ζ̄ωβ̄ ν̄ιμ· χε̄ πη̄
 18 ν̄τοϙ̄ ε[τε]ϙ̄ε̄ωωπε̄ ε̄ϙω̄αν̄
 ρ̄νοεῑ μ̄μοϙ̄· πᾱῑ δε̄ πε̄ [ογα]
 20 ε̄ϙκη̄ ε̄ζρᾱῑ ν̄ογλᾱ[ειβε̄ ν̄ωω]
 [π]ε̄ μ̄ν̄ ογ̄πη̄γη̄· αγ̄ω [ογζ̄γ]
 22 [λ]η̄ ν̄νατ̄ζ̄γλη̄ [μ̄ν̄ ογ̄η̄πε̄]
^[·]ν̄ατ̄η̄πε̄ [μ̄ν̄ ογ̄εῑδος̄ ν̄ατ̄]
 24 εῑδος̄[·] μ̄ν̄ ογ̄μ[ορ̄φη̄ ν̄ατ̄]
 μο[ρ]φη̄· μ̄ν̄ ο[γατ̄βαμ μ̄ν̄]
 26 ογ[β]αμ[·] μ̄ν̄ ο[γογ̄ς̄ιᾱ ν̄ατ̄]
 ογ[ς]ι[α μ̄ν̄ ογ̄κ̄ῑνη̄ς̄ις]
 28 [ν̄ατ̄κιμ· μ̄ν̄ ογ̄ε̄νε̄ργ̄ια]
 [ν̄ατε̄ν]ε̄ργ̄ιᾱ α[λλᾱ ε̄ϙε]
 30 [ν̄ογ̄ρε]ϙ̄ς̄ᾱζ̄νε̄ ^[·]ν̄[τε̄ ζ̄ν̄ς̄ᾱζ̄]
 ν̄[ε̄ μ̄]ν̄ ογ̄^[μ̄ν̄]τ̄νογ̄τ[ε̄ ν̄]τε̄
 32 τ̄^[μ̄ν̄]τ̄νογ̄τε̄ αλ[λ]ᾱ [ε]ωω
 πε̄ ε̄γω̄αν̄χῑ ε̄ωαγ̄χῑ ε̄β̄ολ̄
 34 ζ̄ν̄ τ̄ωορ̄π̄ μ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ω̄ν̄ζ̄· μ̄ν̄
 ογ̄ε̄νε̄ργ̄ιᾱ ν̄ατ̄πω̄ρ̄χ̄·
 36 ογ̄ζ̄γ̄πο̄ς̄τᾱς̄ις̄ ν̄τε̄ τ̄ωο
 ρ̄π̄ ν̄τε̄ πο̄γᾱ ετ̄ωοοπ̄
 38 ον̄τω̄ς̄· ογ̄μᾱζ̄ς̄ν̄τε̄ δε̄

[48]
 (Lines 1–5 lacking)
 6 [power. *It is not impossible for them*]
 to receive a [revelation of] these things
 8 if [they] come together.
 Since (ἐπειδή) it is impossible for
 10 the [individuals (-κατά)] to comprehend the Universal One
 [situated in the] place that is higher than perfect (τέλειος),
 12 they (+δέ) apprehend by means of
 a First [Thought (ἔννοια)]—
 14 (it is) not as Being (alone), [but (ἀλλά)]
 it is along with the
 16 latency of Existence (ὑπαρξίς) that he confers Being. He
 [provides]
 everything for [himself] since it is
 18 he who shall come to be when he
 intelligizes (νοεῖν) himself. And (δέ) he is [One]
 20 who subsists as a [cause]
 and source (πηγή) [of Being] and [an]
 22 immaterial (-ύλη) [material (ύλη) and an]
 innumerable [number and a formless (-εἶδος)]
 24 form (εἶδος) and a [shapeless (-μορφή)]
 shape (μορφή) and [a powerlessness and]
 26 [a power and an insubstantial (-οὐσία)]
 [substance (οὐσία) and a motionless motion (κίνησις)]
 28 [and an inactive (-ἐνέργεια)]
 [activity (ἐνέργεια). Yet (ἀλλά) he is]
 30 [a] provider of [provisions]
 [and] a divinity [of]
 32 divinity—but (ἀλλά) whenever
 they apprehend, they participate
 34 the first Vitality and
 an undivided activity (ἐνέργεια),
 36 an hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) of the First One
 from the One who truly (ὄντως) exists.
 38 And (δέ) a second

[MΘ]

2 ἡνεργια εἰ
 [. .]δε πε πε[
 [.]οὔτ[
 4 [.] . . . [. ο] γ' ἡ τ[αφ ἡ
 6 οὐμνῆμακ[αριος] μῆ οὐμ[ἡτ]
 αγαθος· χε [εψω]πε εψω[αν]
 8 ῥνοει ἡμοσ ἡ[πιρε]φχιοορ
 ἡτμῆτᾶτῆαρ[ηχς] ἡτε πα
 10 ζορατον ἡπῆ[α εκ]ἡ ἡζρα[ι]
 ἡζητῆ εκσωτε ἡμοσ ερ[οσ]
 12 [ζ]ἡνα χε εσεειμε χε οὔ πε
 [πἡ ε]τῆζραῖ ἡζητῆ· αἰω χε
 14 [ε]φ[ω]οοπ ἡαω ἡζε· αἰω ἡ[ε]
 [ρ]επαῖ ἡωπε ἡοὔοὔχαῖ ἡ
 16 [ο]ὔον ἡιμ· εφωοοπ ἡοὔ
 λαειβε ἡνιοντωσ ετῶο
 18 οπ· εβολ γαρ ζῆτῆ παῖ ασβω
 ὡτ εβολ ἡβι τεφῆνωσις·
 20 χε ἡτοσ ετσοοὔν χε οὔ
 πε· εμπенаῖ δε ἡ λααὔ εβ[ολ]
 22 [ἡς]ανβολ ἡνεγερῆ· οὔ[τε]
 οὔβам· οὔτε οὔταзиς· οὔ
 24 [т]ε οὔεαὔ· οὔτε οὔεων·
 [ἡ]τοοὔ γαρ τηροὔ ζεψα
 26 [ε]νεζ νε· τῆτῶνζ ἡἡ
 τῆτῆιμε· ἡἡ πετῶο
 28 οπ ἡτοσ πε· τοτε γαρ πἡ
 ετε παῖ πε οὔἡταφ ἡτεφ
 30 ἡἡτῶνζ εφῆἡ· ἡἡ τῆο
 ἡτῆς αἰω {πῶνζ· εοὔἡ
 32 τε} τῆτῶνζ οὔἡτες ἡ
 {τῆτῆ}τοὔσια ἡἡ τῆτῆ
 34 ειμε· †ἡοἡτῆς εὔἡ
 τας ἡπῶνζ ἡἡ πετῶο
 36 οπ· αἰω πῶοἡτ οὔα
 νε· εὔε ἡψοἡτ κατα
 38 ποὔα ποὔα· ανοκ δε ἡ
 тарисωτῆ εἡαῖ παψῆρε

[49]

activity (ἐνέργεια) [
 2 [] however (δέ), is the [
 [
 4 [
 [*He is endowed with*
 6 [blessedness (-μακάριος)] and
 goodness (-ἀγαθός) because [*when*] he is
 8 recognized (νοεῖν) [*as the*] traverser
 of the boundlessness of the Invisible (ἀόρατον)
 10 Spirit (πνεῦμα) [*that subsists*]
 in him, it (i.e., the boundlessness) turns him (i.e., the traverser)
 to [*it*] (i.e., the Invisible Spirit)
 12 [*in*] order that (ἵνα) it might know what is
 within him and
 14 how he exists. And
 he was becoming salvation for
 16 every one by being a
 cause for those who truly (δύτως) exist,
 18 for (γάρ) through him
 his knowledge (γνώσις) endured,
 20 since he is the one who knows what
 he is. But (δέ) they brought forth nothing
 22 beyond themselves, neither (οὔτε)
 power nor (οὔτε) rank (τάξις) nor (οὔτε)
 24 glory nor (οὔτε) aeon,
 for (γάρ) they are all
 26 eternal. He is Vitality and
 Mentality and That-Which-Is.
 28 For (γάρ) then (τότε) That-
 Which-Is constantly possesses its
 30 Vitality and Mentality (νοήτης),
 and {Life has}
 32 Vitality possesses
 {non-}Being (-οὐσία) and
 34 Mentality. Mentality (νοήτης) possesses
 Life and That-Which-Is.
 36 And the three are one,
 although individually (-κατά) they are three.”
 38 Now (δέ) after
 I heard these things, my son

[N̄]
 [MECCOC ΔEIP̄]ZOTE AYΩ
 2 [ΔEIKOT̄ EP̄IO]YATO· E[
 [IO± M]EEYEF̄
 4 [
 [...].
 6 [†]BOM E[NH ET̄B]M̄BOM N̄'EIME
 [E]NAI E[BOΛ ZIT̄]N̄' OYΩN̄Z̄ E
 8 BOΛ EN[EΔI N̄]ZOYGO· ANOK ΔE
 ΔEID̄M̄B[OM] EȲN̄ OYCA P̄Z̄ TO
 10 Z̄IΩΨ[† ΔE]C̄ΩT̄M̄ ENAI EBOΛ
 N̄TOO[TK̄] [Δ]YΩ ETBE †CBW
 12 ET̄N̄ZH TOY· EAΠIMEEYEF̄
 ET̄N̄ZH† AQ̄P̄Ω P̄X̄ N̄N̄[H] ET̄
 14 X̄OC E[Π]ΩI M̄N̄ NIA†[C]OY[Ω]
 NOY· ETBE PAI †P̄ZOTE M[H]
 16 ΠΩC ATACBΩ ACEIPE N̄OY
 ΛAAY ΠAPA PETEΨΨE· AYΩ
 18 TOTE PEΧAC NAI ON {XE} PA
 ΨHPE MECCOC N̄BI TANIE
 20 [O]OY THPOY IOȲHN̄Λ· AC̄B̄ΩΛ[Π]
 [N]AI EBOΛ· AYΩ PEΧAC XE M[E]
 22 PEΨOYON NIM C̄ΩT̄M̄ ENAI[I]
 EBOΛ ENINOB N̄BOM OYΔ[AY]
 24 Ω ΠAΛΛOΓE NH C AY† Z̄IΩ
 ΩK N̄OYNOB N̄BOM· TH E
 26 TAQTAA C Z̄IΩΩK N̄BI ΠIΩT̄
 N̄TE ΠTH P̄Q̄ ΠIΨA ENEZ Z̄A
 28 ΘH EM̄ΠATEK̄ĒI EP̄IM̄A· Z̄I
 NA NH ET̄MOK̄Z̄ M̄ΠOPXOY
 30 XE EKEΠOPXOY· AYΩ NH
 ETE N̄NA†C̄OYΩNOY M̄
 32 ΠIOYATO XE EKEEIME E
 POOY· AYΩ N̄ΓNOY Z̄M̄ E
 34 ZPAI EΠETE ΠΩK· ΠH E
 TAQ P̄ΨOP̄Π N̄NOY Z̄M̄ M̄N̄
 36 ΠH ETE MAQ P̄ XPIA N̄NAZMEQ

[N̄A]

(Lines 1–5 lacking)

- 6 ζΗ[...].[.....N]AK [N̄ΟΥ]
 ΕΙΔΟΣ [M̄[N̄] ΟΥΩN]Ζ ΕΒΟΛ [M̄]
- 8 ΠΙΨΟΜΤ̄ [N̄ΒΟΜ N̄]ΝΑΤΝΑΥ
 ΕΡΟQ ΜΠ[N̄A] Ε[СКН N̄]САΒΟΛ [M̄]
- 10 ΜΟQ N̄ΒΙ ΟΥΓΝΩ[СΙC N̄]ΑΤΠ[Ω]
 ΨΕ N̄ΑΤCΩΜΑ [N̄]Ψ[Α Ε]NΕΖ
- 12 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤ̄Z̄N N̄[Ι]ΕΩN ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ]
 [Ε]QΨΟΟΠ N̄ΒΙ ΠΙΕΩN N̄ΒΑΡΒ[Η]
- 14 [Λ]Ω· ΕΥN̄ΤΑQ ΟN N̄ΝΙΤΥΠΟC
 M̄N ΝΙΕΙΔΟC N̄ΤΕ ΝΙΟΝΤΩC
- 16 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ· †Z̄ΙΚΩN N̄ΤΕ
 ΠΙΚΑΛΥΠΤΟC· ΕΥN̄ΤΑQ ΔΕ
- 18 M̄ΠΙΨΑΧΕ N̄ΝΟΕΡΟΝ N̄ΤΕ
 ΝΑΪ ΕQΤΩN ΖΑ ΠΙΠΡΩΤΟΦΑ
- 20 ΝΗC N̄ΖΟΟΥΤ̄ N̄ΝΟΥC ΚΑΤΑ
 ΟΥZ̄ΙΚΩN· ΕQῚΕΝΕΡΓΙ ΔΕ
- 22 Z̄N ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ· ΕΙΤΕ Z̄N ΟΥ
 ΤΕΧΝΗ· ΕΙΤΕ Z̄N ΟΥΕΠΙCΤΗ
- 24 [M̄]Η· ΕΙΤΕ Z̄N ΟΥΦΥCΙC M̄
 ΜΕΡΙΚΟΝ· ΕΥN̄ΤΑQ ΜΠΙ
- 26 ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗC N̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑ
 ΤΑ ΟΥZ̄ΙΚΩN· ΕQΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ
- 28 ΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ N̄ΤΕ ΝΑΪ· ΕQ
 ῚΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟC ΑΥΩ
- 30 ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ ΕQΟΥΗΖ ΕQΤΑΖΟ
 N̄ΝΙΝΟΒΕ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΙΕΒΟΛ
- 32 Z̄N †ΦΥCΙC· ΟΥN̄ΤΑQ M̄
 ΠΙΨΟΜΤ̄ N̄ΖΟΟΥΤ̄ N̄ΝΟΥ
- 34 ΤΕ ΕΥΟΥΧΑΪ N̄ΤΕΥ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ M̄N ΠΙΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ M̄ΠN̄A
- 36 ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Z̄N ΟΥΨΟ
 ΧΝΕ <N̄ΤΟQ> ΠΕ ΠΙΑΛΟΥ N̄ΤΕΛΙΟC
- 38 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΪΖΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΟΥΑ

[51]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

- 6 [to] you [a]
 form (εἶδος) [and a revelation of]
 8 the invisible spiritual (πνεῦμα) Triple Powered One
 outside of which [dwells]
 10 an undivided
 incorporeal (-σῶμα) [eternal] knowledge (γνώσις).
 12 As (κατά) with all the Aeons,
 the Aeon of Barbelo exists,
 14 also endowed with the types (τύπος)
 and forms (εἶδος) of those who truly (ὄντως)
 16 exist, the image (εἰκών) of
 Kalyptos. And (δέ) endowed
 18 with the intellectual (νοερόν) Word of
 these, he bears the
 20 noetic (νοῦς) male Protophanes like (κατά)
 an image (εἰκών), and (δέ) he acts (ἐνεργεῖν)
 22 within the individuals (-κατά) either (εἴτε) with
 craft (τεχνή) or (εἴτε) with skill (ἐπιστήμη)
 24 or (εἴτε) with partial (μερικόν) instinct (φύσις).
 He is endowed with the
 26 divine Autogenes like (κατά)
 an image (εἰκών), and (δέ) he knows
 28 each one of these. He
 acts (ἐνεργεῖν) separately (κατὰ μέρος) and
 30 individually (-κατά), continuing to rectify
 the failures
 32 from nature (φύσις). He is endowed with
 the divine Triple Male
 34 as salvation for them all
 (and) in cooperation with the Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit
 (πνεῦμα).
 36 He is a word from a counsel,
 <he> is the perfect (τέλειος) Youth.
 38 And this hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) is a

[NB]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

- 6 [...] [10±]α[σ]
 [P̄b]αβζη[τ n̄bi ταψγ]χη· αγω
 8 [α]ειρ̄ εβ[ολ αειωτ]ορτρ̄ εμα
 τε· αγ[ω αει]κοτ̄τ̄ εροει
 10 ογα[ατ̄ α]ειναγ̄ επιογο
 εῑν ε[τ̄κω]τε εροει m̄n̄ πι
 12 αγαθον̄ ετ̄νητ̄ δειρ̄νογ̄
 τε· αγω ασχωζ̄ ερο̄ī οn̄ n̄[bi]
 14 ταν̄ῑεοογ̄ τηρογ̄ īoyn̄h̄
 ασ† βοm̄ ναī· πεχασ̄ χε ε
 16 πιδ̄η̄ ατεκσβω ασρ̄τελιος
 m̄n̄ πιαγαθον̄ ετ̄νητ̄κ̄
 18 ακειμε̄ εροq̄· σωτ̄m̄ ετβε
 πιωm̄n̄τ̄βοm̄· n̄h̄ ετε κνα
 20 [z̄]αρεζ̄ εροογ̄ z̄n̄ ογ̄νοb̄ n̄
 σιγη̄ m̄n̄ ογ̄νοb̄ m̄m̄υστηρ̄[i]
 22 οn̄ χε ναī μεγχοογ̄ n̄oγ̄
 οn̄ n̄im̄ εβολ̄ εn̄h̄ ετ̄m̄πωα
 24 n̄h̄ ετε ογ̄n̄βοm̄ m̄mooȳ
 εσωτ̄m̄· ογ̄τε m̄πετεω
 26 ωε αν̄ πε εχοογ̄ εz̄ραī εγ̄
 γεn̄εᾱ n̄n̄ατσβω ετβε πι
 28 τηρ̄q̄ ετ̄χοσε̄ ετελιος·
 ογ̄n̄τακ̄ δε m̄μαγ̄ <n̄n̄αι> ετβε
 30 πιωom̄τ̄ n̄βοm̄· πn̄ ετ̄ωο
 οπ̄ z̄n̄ ογ̄m̄n̄τ̄μακαριος
 32 m̄n̄ ογ̄m̄n̄τ̄αγαθος· πn̄
 ετε n̄λοειβε̄ εn̄αῑ τηρογ̄·
 34 εσωοοπ̄ z̄ραī n̄z̄ητ̄q̄ n̄bi
 ογ̄m̄n̄τ̄νοb̄ εn̄αωωσ̄
 36 εq̄ωοοπ̄ εογᾱ πε z̄n̄ ογ̄

[52]
 (Lines 1–5 lacking)

6 [
 [my soul (*ψυχή*) went slack] and

8 I fled [*and was*] very disturbed.
 And [*I*] turned to myself

10 [*and*] saw the light
 that [*surrounded*] me and the

12 Good (*ἀγαθόν*) that was in me and I became divine.
 And the all-glorious One, Youel,

14 anointed me again
 and she gave power to me. She said: “Since (*ἐπειδή*)

16 your instruction has become complete (*τέλειος*)
 and you have known the Good (*ἀγαθόν*) that is within you,

18 hear concerning
 the Triple Powered One those things that you will

20 guard in great
 silence (*σιγή*) and great mystery (*μυστήριον*),

22 because they are not spoken to
 anyone except those who are worthy,

24 those who are able
 to hear; nor (*οὔτε*) is it fitting

26 to speak to an
 uninstructed generation (*γενεά*) concerning

28 the Universal One that is higher than perfect (*τέλειος*).
 But (*δέ*) you have <these> because of

30 the Triple Powered One, the One who exists
 in blessedness (*-μακάριος*)

32 and goodness (*-ἀγαθός*), the One
 who is responsible for all these.

34 There exists within him
 much greatness.

36 Inasmuch as he is One in a

[NΓ]

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

ψο[

- 6 $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ †ψ[ορπ̄ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\eta\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ πη ε]
 8 $\theta\epsilon$ αν εβ[ολ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ ηη ετψοοπ]
 8 $\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ ογταζο [μ̄ν̄ ογρνω]
 10 $\sigma\iota\sigma$ μ̄ν̄ ογεπι[σθη]μ̄[η αγω]
 10 $\alpha\kappa\kappa\iota\mu$ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ ογ̄[μ̄[η]τ̄]ατκίμ
 12 [ρ̄]ζ̄μ̄με· $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\iota\alpha$ χε νεφωμεс
 12 εζογν̄ επιατ̄ηαρηχ̄ εβολ
 14 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\sigma\tau\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$
 14 †μ̄ν̄τ̄ειμε· αγω ακβωκ
 16 εζογν̄ εροφ ογααφ· ακοφ
 16 ω̄ν̄ζ̄ εβολ εφε $\bar{\eta}\dagger$ τοψ ηιμ·
 18 $\pi\iota\tau\eta\rho\varphi$ ετ̄χοσε ετελιος·
 18 εφε $\bar{\eta}\psi\sigma\rho\pi$ μεη ε†γνω
 20 $\sigma\iota\sigma$ $\bar{\eta}\dagger\zeta\epsilon$ εβολ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\tau\sigma\sigma\tau$ αν
 20 επιαη̄ μ̄μ̄ν̄βομ̄ επιτεζο
 22 $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma$ εγ̄ειμε εροφ $\bar{\eta}$
 22 †ζε δε παί· ετβε π̄ιμεζ
 24 ψομ̄τ̄ $\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\varphi$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ †μ̄ν̄τ̄
 24 ειμε· μ̄ν̄ †μεζ̄σ̄ν̄τε $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$
 26 $\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\pi\omega\rho\chi$ ετασοφ
 26 ω̄ν̄ζ̄ εβολ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}$ †ψορπ̄ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\eta$
 28 $\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ ετε π̄ιϵων̄ πε $\bar{\eta}\nu\alpha\rho$
 28 βηλω· μ̄ν̄ π̄ιατ̄πωψ $\bar{\eta}$
 30 $\eta\iota\eta\epsilon$ μ̄πωψ· μ̄ν̄ π̄ιψμ̄ν̄τ̄
 30 βομ̄· μ̄ν̄ †ζγ̄παρζιс $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha$
 32 τογ̄σ̄ια<·> <αγω> †βομ̄{·} ασοφ
 32 ω̄ν̄ζ̄ εβολ· εβολ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}$ ογε
 34 $\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$ εсζορ̄κ̄ μ̄μοс
 34 αγω εсκω $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\varsigma$ εас†
 36 $\bar{\eta}\sigma\gamma\zeta\rho\sigma\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\dagger\zeta\epsilon$ χε ζζα
 36 ζζα ζζα· $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omega\tau\mu$
 38 δε ε†βομ̄· αγω ασμογζ

[53]

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

[
6 of the [*First Thought* (*ἔννοια*), which]
does not fall away [*from those who dwell*]
8 in comprehension [*and knowledge* (*γνώσις*)]
and [*understanding* (*ἐπιστήμη*). And]
10 That One moved motionlessly
in that which
12 governs, lest (*ἵνα*) he sink
into the boundless by means of
14 another activity (*ἐνέργεια*) of
Mentality. And he entered
16 into himself and he appeared,
being all-encompassing,
18 the Universal One that is higher than perfect (*τέλειος*).
Indeed (*μέν*) it is not through me
20 that he is to such a degree anterior to knowledge (*γνώσις*).
Whereas (*ἐπειδή*) there is no possibility for complete (*τέλειος*)
22 comprehension, he is (nevertheless) known.
And (*δέ*) this is so because of the
24 third silence of
Mentality and the second
26 undivided activity (*ἐνέργεια*) which appeared
in the First Thought (*ἔννοια*),
28 that is, the Aeon of Barbelo,
together with the Indivisible One of
30 the divisible likenesses and the Triple
Powered One and the nonsubstantial (*-οὐσία*) Existence
(*ὑπαρξίς*).”
32 <And> the power
appeared by means of an activity (*ἐνέργεια*)
34 that is at rest
and silent, although it uttered
36 a sound thus: ZZA
ZZA ZZA. But (*δέ*) when she heard
38 the power and she was filled

[NΔ]

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

- 6 [^{15±}]·Nε
 [^{13±}]Δε NTK
 [^{11±}]ΥC·CΟΛΜΙC·
 8 [^{8±} κ]ατα τμντων
 [ετ]N'τ[ακ MN] τσορπ NεNεP
 10 [r]i[α] τη ετ[ε] εβολ mμοc τε
 τμντηνογτε· NTK ογνοb
 12 αρμηδων[·] NTK ογτελιο[c]
 επιφανεγ· κατα δε τεν[ε]p
 14 για [δε] ετνητακ· τβοm mμεz
 cντε MN τμντειμε· τη ε
 16 τε εβολ mμο<c> τε τμντημα
 καριοc· αυτονη· βηριθεγ·
 18 ηριγεναωp· ωριμενιε· ara
 μεν· αλφλεγεc· ηληλιογφεγ·
 20 [λ]αλαμεγ· ιεθεγ· νοηθεγ[·]
 NTK ογνοb πη ετειμε ερο[k]
 22 ριμε επτηp· NTK ογα n
 TK ογα πη ετηναογ· αφρη
 24 δων· NTK πε πεων nτε
 νεων πη ετσοοπ noγο
 26 ειω nim· τοτε acμογ ε
 πιογα τηp· εc·xω mμοc
 28 xe λαλαμεγ· νο[ηθ]εγ· cη
 ναων· acινε[γ· ω]ριφανιε
 30 μελλεφανεγ[·] ελεμαωνι·
 cμογν· οπταων· πη ετ
 32 σοοπ· NTK πε πετω
 οπ πιεων nτε νεων· πι
 34 ατ·xπο ετ·xοce ενιατ·xπο
 ιατομενε· NTK ογαak
 36 εταγ·xπο νακ nνιατmi
 ce τηρογ· πιατ·τραn ε

[54]
 (Lines 1-4 lacking)
 [
 6 [] thou art
 [] Solmis!
 8 [] according to (κατά) the Vitality,
 [that is thine, and] the first activity (ἐνέργεια)
 10 which derives from
 divinity: Thou art great,
 12 Armedon! Thou art perfect (τέλειος),
 Epiphaneu(s)! And (δέ) according to (κατά) that activity
 (ἐνέργεια)
 14 of thine, the second power
 and the Mentality
 16 which derives from blessedness (-μακάριος):
 Autoer, Beritheu(s),
 18 Erigenaor, Orimeni(os), Aramen,
 Alphleges, Elelioupheu(s),
 20 Lalameu(s), Yetheu(s), Noetheu(s)!
 Thou art great! He who knows [thee]
 22 knows the Universal One! Thou art One, Thou
 art One, He who is good, Aphredon!
 24 Thou art the Aeon of
 Aeons, He who is perpetually!"
 26 Then (τότε) she praised
 the Universal One, saying:
 28 "Lalameu(s), Noetheu(s), Senaon,
 Asine[u(s), O]riphani(os),:
 30 Mellephaneu(s), Elemaoni,
 Smoun, Optaon, He Who
 32 Is! Thou art He Who Is,
 the Aeon of Aeons, the
 34 Unbegotten, who art higher than the unbegotten (ones),
 Yatomen(os), thou alone
 36 for whom all the unborn ones were begotten,
 the Unnameable One!

[NĒ]

(Lines 1-9 lacking)

1 [ροϚ

10 [^{12±}] . [^{6±} mn̄t̄] ε̄ιμε α12 [νοκ δε n̄ταρι] Ϛ[ω] tm̄ ε̄ναί αει
[ναγ ε̄νεοογ] n̄nikata ογα14 [n̄τελιος αγ] ψ ni παντελιος
[νη ε̄τ̄ωοοπ z̄i] ογμα· m̄n ni16 [παντελιος ε̄] τ̄ζαθ̄η n̄nite
[λιος· παλιν] ον πεχ̄ας ναί18 [n̄bi τα^{n̄}νοβ] neοογ ioūn̄l̄·
[χε παλλογε] n̄hc z̄n ογει20 [με n̄at̄ ε̄ιμε] ε̄κειμε· χε πι
[ωοm̄t̄ n̄bo] m̄ Ϛωοοπ ζα22 [θη n̄nieοογ] n̄seωοοπ αν
[m̄n net̄ωο] οπ n̄seωοοπ24 [αν z̄i ογμα] m̄n ηη ε̄τ̄ωοοπ
[ογτε ηη ε̄τ̄ω] οοπ οντωϚ26 [αλλα ναί τηρ] ογ ε̄γωοοπ
[n̄oym̄nt̄νογ] τε m̄n ογm̄nt̄28 [μακαριος m̄n] ογζγπαρξ̄ιϚ·
[αγω n̄oym̄nt̄] ατογϚια m̄n30 [ογζγπαρξ̄ιϚ] n̄at̄ωπε·
[αγω τοτε α] ε̄[ι]τ̄ωβ̄ζ χε ε̄ρε32 [πογω^{n̄z} εβ] ολ ωωπε ναί
[αγω τοτε πε] χ̄ας ναί n̄bi34 [τανιεοογ] τηρογ ioūn̄l̄
[χε ω̄ παλλογ] ε̄n̄hc μεn36 [τοι πιωm̄n̄] τ̄ζοογτ̄ εγ
[λααγ πε n̄c] α ογογϚια·

38 [ε̄νεγατογ] Ϛια δε πε πι

[55]

- (Lines 1-9 lacking)
- 10 []
 [] knowledge.”
- 12 [Now (δέ) after I] heard these things, I
 [saw the glories of the perfect (τέλειος)] individuals
- 14 [and] the all-perfect ones (παντέλειος)
 [who exist] together, and the
- 16 [all-perfect ones (παντέλειος) who] are before the perfect ones
 (τέλειος).
- [Again (πάλιν) the greatly] glorious One,
 18 Youel, said to me:
 [“O Allogenes], in an
- 20 [unknowing knowledge] you know that the
 [Triple Powered One] exists before
- 22 [the glories]. They do not exist
 [among those who exist]. They do not exist
- 24 [together] with those who exist
 [nor (οὔτε) (with) those who] truly (ὄντως) exist.
- 26 [Rather (ἀλλά) all these] exist
 [as divinity] and [blessedness (-μακάριος)]
- 28 [and] existence (ὑπαρξίς),
 [and as] nonsubstantiality (-οὐσία) and
- 30 non-being [existence (ὑπαρξίς)].”
 [And then (τότε) I] prayed that
- 32 [the revelation] might occur to me.
 [And then (τότε)]
- 34 [the] all-[glorious One], Youel, said to me:
 [“O (ὦ) Allogenes], of course (μέντοι)
- 36 [the Triple] Male
 [is something beyond] substance (οὐσία).
- 38 Yet (δέ) [were he insubstantial (-οὐσία)],

[N̄S]

(Lines 1-7 lacking)

- 8 [] ε]
- [B]ολ[
- 10 ΝΗ ΕΤΨΟ[Ο]Π [Ζ̄Ν ΟΥCΥCΤΑ]
CIC Μ̄Ν †[Γ]Ε[ΝΕΑ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΗ]
- 12 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ Ο[ΝΤΩC· ΕΥΨΟ]
ΟΠ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΙΑΥΤ[ΟΓΕΝΗC Ε]
- 14 ΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΙΨ[ΜΝΤ̄ΖΟΟΥΤ̄· Ε]
ΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΨΑ[ΝΨΙΝΕ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥ]
- 16 ΨΙΝΕ ΕΦΧΗ[Κ ΕΒΟΛ· ΤΟΤΕ]
ΕΚΕΕΙΜΕ ΕΠ[ΙΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΤ̄Ν]
- 18 ΖΗΤ̄Κ· ΤΟΤΕ Ε[ΚΕΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΚ]
ΖΩΩΚ· ΠΗ ΕΤ[ΨΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ]
- 20 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤ̄Ρ[ΨΟΡ̄Π ΝΨΟΟΠ]
ΟΝΤΩC· Μ̄Ν Ν̄[CΑ ΨΕ ΔΕ Ν̄]
- 22 ΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΦΕ[ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΚ Ν̄]
ΒΙ ΟΥΒΩΛ̄Π ΕΒ[ΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΗ Ε]
- 24 ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟΥΤ̄ [Ν̄CΑΛΛΑΜΕΞ]
Μ̄Ν CΕ<Λ>ΜΕΝ· Μ̄[Ν ΔΡ· Η ΝΙ]
- 26 ΦΩCΤΗΡ Ν̄Τ[Ε ΠΙΕΩΝ Ν̄ΒΑΡ]
ΒΗΛΩ· ΑΥΩ Π[ΙΠΑΡΑ ΠΕΤ̄]
- 28 ΨΨΕ ΕΡΟΚ Ν[ΕΚΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΦ]
Ν̄ΨΟΡ̄Π ΧΕ Ν[ΕΚ† ΟCΕ Μ̄ΠΕΚ]
- 30 ΓΕΝΟC ΕΨ[ΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ν̄†ΖΕ]
ΤΟΤΕ ΕΨΩΠ[Ε ΕΚΨΑΝΧΙ]
- 32 Ν̄ΟΥΕΝΝΟ[ΙΑ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΗ· ΤΟΤΕ]
ΕΨΑΥΧΩΚ [Μ̄ΜΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ]
- 34 ΠΨΑΧΕ ΕΖ[ΡΑΪ ΕΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ·]
ΑΥΩ ΤΟΤΕ [ΨΑΚΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥ]
- 36 ΤΕ· ΑΥΩ Ψ[ΑΚ̄Ρ ΤΕΛΙΟC· ΕΚΧΙ]
ΜΕΝ Μ̄ΜΟΟ[Υ

[56]
 (Lines 1-7 lacking)

8 []
 []

10 those who exist [*in association (σύστασις)*]
 with the [*generation (γενεά) of those*]
 12 who [*truly (ὄντως)*] exist.
 [*The self-begotten ones (αὐτογένεες) exist*]
 14 with the [*Triple Male*].
 If you [*seek with a*]
 16 [*perfect*] seeking, [*then (τότε)*]
 you shall know the [*Good (ἀγαθόν) that is*]
 18 in you; then (τότε) [*you will know yourself*]
 as well, (as) one who [*derives from*]
 20 the God who truly (ὄντως) [*pre-exists*].
 [*For (γάρ)*] after [*a hundred*]
 22 years there shall [*come to you*]
 a revelation [*of That One*]
 24 by means of [*Salamex*]
 and Se<l>men [*and Ar.e, the*]
 26 Luminaries (φωστήρ) [*of the Aeon of*] Barbelo.
 And [*that beyond (παρά) what*]
 28 is fitting for you, [*you shall not know*]
 at first, so as not [*to forfeit your*]
 30 kind (γένος). [*And (δέ) if so*],
 then (τότε) when [*you receive*]
 32 a conception (ἔννοια) [*of That One, then (τότε)*]
 [*you*] are filled [*with*]
 34 the word [*to completion*].
 Then (τότε) [*you become divine*]
 36 and [*you become perfect (τέλειος). You receive*]
 (+μέν) them []

[NΣ]

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

[. . .] . . . πωιν[ε

6 [. .] †ζΥπαρξ[ις

[ε]ωωπε εσψα[ναμαρτε ἄου]

8 [λ]ααγ εψαγαμα[ρτε ἄμοσ εβολ]

[ζι]τῃ πη ετῃμαγ· ἄν εβολ ζι!

10 τῃτῃ ἄπη ετογταρο ἄμοσ

[ε]τε παῖ πε· αγω τοτε εψαγ

12 ωωπε ενεαγ ἄρογο ἄβι πη

[ε]ττερο αγω ετειμε ἄρογδ·

14 ε[π]η ετογταρο ἄμοσ αγω

ετογειμε ερογ· εωωπε

16 δε εψανει εζραῖ ετεφγ

σις ψαγεββιο· νιφγσις γαρ

18 ἄνατσωμα ἄπογρψβηρ ε

λααγ ἄμῃτνοβ· εγῃταγ

20 ἄτειβομ εγζῃ τοποσ νιμ·

αγω ενσεζῃ λααγ ἄτοποσ

22 αν· ενεαγ εμῃτνοβ νιμ·

αγω σεββινογτ εμῃτκογ

24 ει νιμ· ναῖ δε ἄτασχοογ ἄ

βι τανιεοογ τηρογ ἰογῃλ·

26 ασπωρξ εβολ ἄμοῖ ασκα

ατ· ανοκ δε ἄπικα τῃτ

28 εβολ ζῃ νιψαχε εταῖσωτῃ

εροογ· δεισοβτε ἄμοῖ ἄ

30 ζητογ· αγω νεῖψοχνε ἄ

μοει πε ζῃ †ψε ἄρομπε·

32 ανοκ δε νεῖτεληλ ἄμοῖ ε

ματε εῖψοοπ ζῃ ογῃνοβ

34 ἄογοειν ἄν ογζῃη ἄμα

καριος· χε νη μεν εταει

36 ἄψα ἄναγ εροογ· αγω

ον νη εταειἄψα ἄσω

38 τῃ εροογ· νη ετεψωε

ἄτε νινοβ ἄβομ ογααγ

[57]

(Lines 1-4 lacking)
 [] the seeking [
 6 [] the Existence (ὑπαρξίς) [
 if it [*apprehends*]
 8 anything, [*it*] is [*apprehended by*]
 that one and by
 10 the very one who is comprehended.
 And then (τότε) he
 12 becomes greater
 who comprehends and knows than
 14 he who is comprehended and
 known. But (δέ) if
 16 he descends to his nature (φύσις),
 he is less, for (γάρ) the
 18 incorporeal (-σῶμα) natures (φύσις) have not associated with
 any magnitude; having
 20 this power, they are everywhere (τόπος)
 and they are nowhere (τόπος),
 22 since they are greater than every magnitude,
 and less than every exiguity.”
 24 Now (δέ) after
 the all-glorious One, Youel, said these things,
 26 she separated from me and left
 me. But (δέ) I did not despair
 28 of the words that I heard.
 I prepared myself
 30 therein and I deliberated
 with myself for a hundred years.
 32 And (δέ) I rejoiced exceedingly
 since I was in a great
 34 light and a blessed (μακάριος) path
 because those (+μέν) whom I was
 36 worthy to see as well
 as those whom I was worthy to hear
 38 (are) those whom it is fitting
 that the great powers alone

[NH]

(Lines 1-4 Lacking)

- [13[±]]. εν. [
 6 [10[±]]β ντε πνο[γ]
 [τε εταφzna]ν ερουν νβι [πι]
 8 [α]φ[ει]ν[ε] να^(.)τ̄ ννοϋμντ̄μακ[α]
 10 ριος ντε †ρελπις νψα ενε[ρ]
 εσμερ εβολ ρ̄ν οϋμντ̄χ̄ς
 12 αιναϋ επιαγαθος ναϋτογε
 νης ννοϋτε μ̄ν πιςωτ[ηρ]
 14 ετε παϊ πε πιϋμντ̄ρο[οϋ]τ̄
 ντελιος νναλοϋ· μ̄ν †μντ̄
 16 αγαθος ντε παϊ· πιπρωτο
 φανης νζαρμηδων ντελι
 18 ος ννοϋς μ̄ν †μντ̄μακα
 ριος ντε πικαλυπτος· μ̄ν †
 20 ψορπ̄ ναρχη ντε †μντ̄μα
 καριος· πιεων νβαρβηλω
 22 εφμερ εβολ ρ̄ν οϋμντ̄νοϋ
 τε μ̄ν †ψορπ̄ ναρχη ντε
 24 πιαταρχη· πιϋμντ̄βομ̄ να
 ρορατον μ̄πνα· πιτηρ̄ ετ
 26 χοσε ετελιος· εταϋτορπ̄<τ̄>
 εβολ ρ̄ιτοοτ̄ μ̄πιοϋοειν
 28 νψα ενερ· εβολ ρ̄ιτοοτ̄
 μ̄πιενδϋμα ετ̄τοε ρ̄ιω
 30 ωτ̄· αϋω αϋχιτ̄ ερραϊ εχ̄ν
 οϋτοπος εφογααβ· πη ε
 32 τε μ̄μν̄βομ̄ ντεεινε ν
 ταφ οϋωνρ̄ εβολ ρ̄μ̄ πκος
 34 μοσ· τοτε εβολ ρ̄ιτ̄ν οϋ
 νοβ μ̄μντ̄μακαριος αι
 36 ναϋ ενη τηροϋ εταει
 σωτ̄μ̄ εροοϋ αϋω αει
 38 σμοϋ εροοϋ τηροϋ αι

[58]
 (Lines 1-4 lacking)
 [
 6 [] of [God].
 [When the]
 8 [completion of] the one hundred years [drew nigh],
 [it brought] me a blessedness (μακάριος)
 10 of the eternal hope (ἐλπίς)
 full of auspiciousness (-χρηστός).
 12 I saw: the good (ἀγαθός) divine Autogenes;
 and the Savior (σωτήρ)
 14 who is the
 youthful, perfect (τέλειος) Triple Male Child; and his
 16 goodness (-ἀγαθός), the
 noetic (νοῦς) perfect (τέλειος) Protophanes-Harmedon;
 18 and the blessedness (-μακάριος)
 of the Kalyptos; and the
 20 primary origin (ἀρχή) of the blessedness (-μακάριος),
 the Aeon of Barbelo
 22 full of divinity;
 and the primary origin (ἀρχή) of
 24 the one without origin (-ἀρχή), the
 spiritual (πνεῦμα), invisible (ἀόρατον) Triple Powered One,
 the Universal One that
 26 is higher than perfect (τέλειος). When <I> was taken
 by the
 28 eternal Light out of
 the garment (ἔνδυμα) that was upon
 30 me, and taken up to
 a holy place (τόπος) whose
 32 likeness cannot be
 revealed in the world (κόσμος),
 34 then (τότε) by means of a
 great blessedness (-μακάριος) I
 36 saw all those about whom I had
 heard. And I
 38 praised all of them and I

[NΘ]

[αζερ]ατ̄ ρ̄ιχ̄ν ταγνωσις· α[ι]
 2 [κωτ]ε εροϋν ετ̄γνωσις [ν̄]
 [τε] ν̄ιπτηρ̄ϙ̄· πιεων ν̄βαρβ[η]
 4 [λω]· αγω αειναυ ερενδομ ε[γ]
 [αα]β εβολ ρ̄ιτροτοϋ ν̄νιφω[ς]
 6 [τη]ρ̄ ν̄τε †βαρβ[ηλ]ω ν̄ροοϋ[τ̄]
 [μ̄]παρθενος εγ[χω] μ̄μο[ς ναϊ]
 8 [χ]ε †ναδ̄μδομ πιραζε τα[ι] ε[τ̄]
 ψωπε ρ̄μ̄ πκοσμος· παλλδ̄
 10 [ρ]ενης εναυ ετ̄μν̄τ̄μακαρι
 ρος ετ̄ντακ ν̄θε ετ̄ψοοπ
 12 ρ̄ν̄ οϋσιγη· τη ετεκειμε ε
 ροκ ν̄ρητ̄ς καταροκ· αγω αρι
 14 αναχωρι εχ̄ν †μν̄τ̄ων̄ρ̄
 εκκωτε ν̄σωκ· τη ετεκνα
 16 ναυ ερος εσκιμ· αγω εμ̄ν̄
 βαμ ν̄γαζερατ̄κ· μ̄πρ̄ρ̄ροτε
 18 λααγ· αλλα εψωπε εκψαν
 οϋωϋ εαζερατ̄κ· αριαναχω
 20 ρι εχ̄ν †ρ̄υπαρξ̄ις· αγω εκε
 ρε ερος εσαζερατ̄ς αγω ες
 22 ρορ̄κ̄ μ̄μος κατα πινε μ̄πη
 ετ̄ρ̄ορ̄κ̄ μ̄μοϋ οντως·
 24 αγω εραμαρ̄τε ν̄ναϊ τηροϋ
 ρ̄ν̄ οϋκαρωϙ̄ μ̄ν̄ οϋμν̄τ̄α
 26 तेнерγια· αγω εκψαν̄χι ν̄
 οϋων̄ρ̄ εβολ ν̄τε παϊ· εβολ
 28 ρ̄ιτροοτ̄ϙ̄ ν̄οϋψορ̄π̄ ν̄οϋ
 ων̄ρ̄ εβολ ν̄τε πιατ̄σοϋω
 30 ν̄ϙ̄· πη ετε εψωπε εκ
 ψανειμε εροϙ̄· αριατ̄ει
 32 με εροϙ̄· αγω εκψαν̄ρ̄
 ροτε μ̄πιμα ετ̄μ̄μαγ̄ αρι
 34 αναχωρι επαροϋ ετ̄βε ν̄ι
 ενεργια· αγω εκψαν̄ρ̄
 36 τελιος μ̄πιτοπος ετ̄μ̄
 μαγ̄ ροκ μ̄μοκ· αγω
 38 κατα πιτυπος ετ̄ψοοπ
 ν̄ρητ̄κ̄· ειμε ον̄ ν̄†ρ̄ε

[59]

[stood] upon my knowledge (γνώσις) and [I]
 2 [inclined to] the knowledge (γνώσις) [of]
 the Universals, the Aeon of Barbelo.
 4 And I saw [holy] powers
 by means of the [Luminaries (φωστήρ)]
 6 of the virginal (παρθένος) male Barbelo
 [telling me]
 8 [that] I would be able to test (πειράζειν) what
 happens in the world (κόσμος): “O Allogenes,
 10 behold your Blessedness (-μακάριος),
 how it silently (σιγή) abides,
 12 by which you know
 your proper (-κατά) self and,
 14 seeking yourself, withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) to the Vitality
 that you will
 16 see moving. And although it is
 impossible for you to stand, fear
 18 nothing; but (ἀλλά) if you
 wish to stand, withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν)
 20 to the Existence (ὑπαρξις), and you will
 find it standing and
 22 at rest after (κατά) the likeness of the One
 who is truly (ὄντως) at rest
 24 and embraces all these
 silently and
 26 inactively (-ἐνέργεια). And when you receive
 a revelation of him by
 28 means of a primary revelation
 of the Unknowable One—
 30 the One whom if you should
 know him, be ignorant
 32 of him—and you become
 afraid in that place,
 34 withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) to the rear because of the
 activities (ἐνέργεια). And when you become
 36 perfect (τέλειος) in that place (τόπος),
 still yourself. And
 38 in accordance with (κατά) the pattern (τύπος) that indwells
 you, know likewise

[Ξ]
 [X]ε εφωοοπ $\bar{n}\dagger z\epsilon$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ n[αἱ τη]
 2 [ρο]γ κατα πεῖσμοτ' αγ[ω]
 [ἄπ]ρχωωρε εβολ $\bar{n}z\omicron\gamma\omicron$ [ῥίνα]
 4 [X]ε εκεδῶμ $\bar{b}\omicron\mu$ $\bar{n}az\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau$ [κ]
 [ο]γτε $\bar{m}\bar{p}\rho\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$ εῤεν[εργι]
 6 [ῥι]να Xε νεκζε εβολ παντ[ωC]
 [ῥι] πιατενεργια ετ'zραἱ $\bar{n}z$ [H]
 8 [τκ] $\bar{n}\dagger$ τε π[ι]ατC]ογων \bar{q} $\bar{m}\bar{p}\rho\epsilon$ [ι]
 [M]ε εροφ[·] παἱ γαρ οὔμντ'ατ
 10 ὄμ τε· ἀλλὰ εβολ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\tau\bar{n}$ οὔ
 εννοια εσε $\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{n}$ εκιM[ε]
 12 εροφ' αριατ'ειμε εροφ' ναἱ
 δε νεῖCωτM εροογ εγXω \bar{m}
 14 μοογ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\iota$ ηη ετMμαγ' νεφ
 ψοοπ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\iota$ οὔzροκ zραἱ $\bar{n}z$ HT
 16 $\bar{n}\dagger$ τε οὔCιγη· δεῖCωτM ετ
 μντ'μακαριος τη εταἱειμε
 18 εροἱ εβολ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{c}$ καταρο<ι>
 αγω δεῖραναχωρι εX \bar{n} †μντ'
 20 ω $\bar{n}z$ εἰκωτε $\bar{n}c\omega$ <ι>· αγω
 δεῖρψβηρ $\bar{n}b\omega k$ εzογ \bar{n} εροC
 22 $\bar{n}m\bar{m}a\bar{c}$ · αγω δεῖαzερατ \bar{n}
 zραἱ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ οὔταXρο αν' ἀλλὰ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$
 24 οὔzροκ· αγω αἱναγ εγkim·
 $\bar{n}\psi\alpha$ ενεz $\bar{n}\bar{n}\omicron\epsilon\rho\omicron\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\alpha\tau$
 26 πωρX· επα $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{b}\omicron\mu$ τηρογ πε
 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\bar{c}$ $\bar{n}\bar{n}\alpha\tau\ddagger$ τοψ
 28 εροφ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ οὔ† τοψ· αγω ε
 ταειογωψ εαzερατ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ οὔ
 30 ταXρο· δεῖραναχωρι εX \bar{n}
 †zγπαρξιC τη εταειδ $\bar{n}\tau\bar{c}$
 32 εCαzερατC· αγω εCzορk
 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\bar{c}$ κατα οὔzικων $\bar{m}\bar{n}$
 34 οὔεινε $\bar{n}\dagger$ τε πη ετ'τοε $\bar{z}\bar{i}\omega$
 ωτ'· εβολ $\bar{z}\bar{i}\tau\bar{n}$ οὔων \bar{z} εβολ
 36 $\bar{n}\dagger$ τε πιατ'πωψ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πη ετ'
 zορk $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\bar{c}$ · δεῖμογz εβολ
 38 $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ οὔων \bar{z} εβολ· εβολ $\bar{z}\bar{i}$
 $\bar{t}\bar{n}$ οὔμντ'ψορπ $\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{n}z$

[60]
 [that] it is this way in [all such (matters)]
 2 after (κατά) this (very) pattern. And
 [do not] further dissipate, [so that (ἵνα)]
 4 you may be able to stand,
 and do not (οὔτε) desire to [be active (ἐνεργεῖν)]
 6 lest (ἵνα) you fall [in any way (πάντως)]
 from the inactivity (-ἐνέργεια) in
 8 [you] of the Unknowable One. Do not
 [know] him, for (γάρ) it is impossible;
 10 but (ἀλλά) if by means of an
 enlightened thought (ἐννοια) you should know
 12 him, be ignorant of him.”
 Now (δέ) I was listening to these things as
 14 those ones spoke them. There
 was within me a stillness
 16 of silence (σιγή), and I heard the
 Blessedness (-μακάριος)
 18 whereby I knew <my> proper (-κατά) self.
 And I withdrew (ἀναχωρεῖν) to the
 20 Vitality as I sought <myself>, and
 I joined into it,
 22 and I stood,
 not firmly but (ἀλλά)
 24 still. And I saw
 an eternal, intellectual (νοερόν), undivided motion
 26 that pertains to all the
 formless (-εἶδος) powers, (which is) unlimited
 28 by limitation. And when
 I wanted to stand firmly,
 30 I withdrew (ἀναχωρεῖν) to
 the Existence (ὑπαρξίς), which I found
 32 standing and at rest
 like (κατά) an image (εἰκών) and
 34 likeness of what is conferred upon
 me by a revelation
 36 of the Indivisible One and the One who
 is at rest. I was filled
 38 with revelation by means
 of a primary revelation

[Ͳͳ]

2 εβολ ἡπιατσοῶνῃ ς[ωσ]
 εἶε ἡνατῆμε εροϋ· αἶει[με]
 εροϋ αἰω λειχι βομ ςραἶ ἡ
 4 [ς]ἡτῃ· ελειχι ἡοῦχρο ἡζητ
 [ἡ]ψα ενες· λεισοῶν πη ε[τ]
 6 [ω]οοπ ἡζητ ἡν πῶμτῃο[μ]
 ἡν πιοῶνῃ ε[βο]λ ἡτε π[ι]
 8 ατῶωπ εροϋ ε[τἡ]ταϋ· α[ἰω]
 εβολ ςἡτἡ οῦμἡτῶορπ ἡ[οϋ]
 10 ῶνῃ εβολ ἡτε πῶορπ ἡατ
 [ς]οῶνῃ ναῦ τηροῦ· πνοῦ
 12 τε ετῃοσε ετελιος αἶναῦ
 εροϋ ἡν πῶμτῃομ ετῶο
 14 οπ ἡζητοῦ τηροῦ· νεἰκω
 τε ἡσα πνοῦτε ἡνατῶαχε
 16 ἡμοϋ ἡν πιατσοῶνῃ·
 παἶ ετε εῶωπε ερῶανοῦα
 18 εἶμε εροϋ παντῶς ῶαϋρατ
 εἶμε εροϋ· πἡμεσιτἡς ἡτε
 20 πῶμἡτῃομ πη ετῃ ςἡ οῦ
 ςροκ ἡν οῦκαρωϋ· αἰω εφε
 22 ἡνατσοῶνῃ· ναἶ δε εἶτα
 χρηῦ ἡζητοῦ· πεχαῦ ναἶ ἡ
 24 βἡ ἡβομ ἡτε ἡφωστηρ χε
 ςω βε εκχαωρε εβολ ἡπια
 26 तेнерγια ετῶοοπ ἡζητῃ
 εβολ ςἡτοοτῃ ἡπικῶτε ἡ
 28 τε ἡατῃαςοοῦ· αλλα σωτἡ
 ετβἡἡτῃ κατα θε ετε οῦἡ
 30 βομ εβολ ςἡτἡ οῦμἡτῶο
 ρπ ἡοῶνῃ εβολ ἡν οῦω
 32 ἡῃ εβολ· ϋῶοοπ δε ἡνοῦ
 λααῦ ἡθε ετεϋῶοοπ· ἡ χε
 34 ϋῶοοπ αἰω εϋναῶωπε
 ἡ εϋρενεργἡ ἡ εϋεἶμε εϋο
 36 ἡῃ εμἡταϋ ἡνοῦνοῦς·
 οῦτε οῦῶνῃ· οῦτε οῦςῦ
 38 παρξἡς· οῦτε πιατῃπαρ
 ξἡς ςἡ οῦμἡτῃατῃαςο·

[61]

of the Unknowable One. [*As though* (ὥς)]
 2 I were ignorant of him, I [*knew*]
 him and I received power [*by*]
 4 him. Having been permanently strengthened,
 I knew the One who
 6 exists in me and the Triple Powered One
 and the revelation of
 8 his uncontainableness. [*And*]
 by means of a primary
 10 revelation of the First One (who is) unknowable
 to them all, the God
 12 who is beyond perfection (τέλειος), I saw
 him and the Triple Powered One that exists
 14 in them all. I was seeking
 the ineffable
 16 and Unknowable God—
 whom if one should
 18 know him, he would be absolutely (πάντως)
 ignorant of him—the Mediator (μεσιτής) of
 20 the Triple Powered One who subsists in
 stillness and silence and is
 22 unknowable. And (δέ) when I was confirmed
 in these matters,
 24 the powers of the Luminaries (φωστήρ) said to me:
 “Cease hindering the inactivity (-ἐνέργεια)
 26 that exists in you
 by seeking
 28 incomprehensible matters; rather (ἀλλά) hear
 about him insofar (κατά) as it is
 30 possible by means of a primary
 revelation and a revelation.
 32 Now (δέ) he is
 something insofar as he exists in that he either (ἢ)
 34 exists and will become,
 or (ἢ) acts (ἐνεργεῖν) or (ἢ) knows, although he lives
 36 without Mind (νοῦς)
 or (οὔτε) Life or (οὔτε) Existence (ὑπαρξίς)
 38 or (οὔτε) Non-Existence (-ὑπαρξίς),
 incomprehensibly.

[ⲗⲃ]
 [ⲁ]ϣω εϣωοοπ $\bar{\eta}$ νοϣλααϣ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$
 2 [π]η ετψοοπ ετ̄νταϣ· οϣτε
 [ε]νσεψωⲗπ \bar{m} μοϣ αν κατα
 4 [λ]ααϣ \bar{n} σμοτ· ρωσ εϣτ̄ \bar{n} ο[ϣ]
 [λ]ααϣ εϣχοντ̄· $\bar{\eta}$ εϣτ̄β¹βο [η]
 6 [ε]ϣχι $\bar{\eta}$ εϣτ̄· οϣτε εμεϣ
 [ψα]χρ̄ϣ κα[τα] λααϣ \bar{n} σμοτ̄
 8 [η] εβολ ρ̄ι[τ̄ν] πεϣοϣωψε οϣα
 ρ̄ϣ $\bar{\eta}$ εϣτ̄· $\bar{\eta}$ εϣχι εβολ ρ̄ιτο
 10 οτ̄ϣ \bar{n} κεοϣα· οϣτε $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ταϣ
 λααϣ \bar{n} οϣωψε εβολ \bar{m} μοϣ
 12 οϣααϣ· οϣτε εβολ ρ̄ιτ̄ν κε
 οϣα· \bar{n} νεψαϣε̄ι αν ερρᾱι ε
 14 ροϣ· αλλα οϣτε \bar{n} τοϣ \bar{n} ϣτ̄
 \bar{n} νοϣλααϣ αν εβολ ρ̄ιτοοτ̄ϣ
 16 ρ̄ινα χε νεϣωπε εϣωⲗρ̄
 \bar{m} μοϣ κατα κεσμοτ· ετβε
 18 πᾱι οϣτε μαϣρ̄χρια \bar{n} νοϣ
 νοϣσ οϣτε οϣωνρ̄· οϣτε λα
 20 αϣ ρω επτηρ̄ϣ· εϣσοτ̄π̄ ενι
 πτηρ̄ϣ ρ̄ν † $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄ρ̄ζαε ετ̄νταϣ
 22 $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ † $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄ατ̄σοϣωνσ· ετε
 τᾱι τε †ρ̄ϣπαρ̄χισ \bar{n} νατ̄ψω
 24 πε· επιαν οϣν̄ταϣ \bar{m} μαϣ \bar{n}
 οϣσιγη $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ οϣρ̄οκ· ρ̄ινα χε
 26 νεϣαρ̄ⲗϣ εβολ ρ̄ιτοοτοϣ
 \bar{n} νη ετε μεϣαρ̄χοϣ· οϣ
 28 τε \bar{n} νοϣ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄νοϣτε αν πε
 οϣτε οϣ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄μακαριος
 30 οϣτε οϣ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄τελιος· αλλα
 οϣλααϣ \bar{n} ταϣ πε \bar{n} νατ̄σοϣ
 32 ωνϣ \bar{m} πη αν ετ̄νταϣ· αλ
 λα εκεοϣα \bar{n} τοϣ πε εϣσο
 34 τ̄π̄ ε† $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄μακαριος $\bar{m}\bar{n}$
 † $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄νοϣτε $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ οϣ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ τ̄
 36 τελιος· οϣτε γαρ \bar{n} νοϣ
 τελιος αν πε· αλλα εκε̄ν

(62)

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[62]

And he is something along with
 2 his proper being.
 He is not (οὐτε) left over in (κατά)
 4 any way, as if (ὡς) he yields
 something that is assayed or (ἦ) purified [or (ἦ)]
 6 [that] receives or (ἦ) gives. And he is not (οὐτε)
 diminished in (κατά) any way,
 8 [whether (ἦ)] by his own desire
 or whether (ἦ) he gives or (ἦ) receives through
 10 another. Neither (οὐτε) does [he] have
 any desire of himself
 12 nor (οὐτε) from another;
 it does not affect him.
 14 Rather (ἀλλά) neither (οὐτε) does he give
 anything by himself
 16 lest (ἵνα) he become diminished
 in (κατά) another respect;
 18 nor (οὐτε) for this reason does he need (-χρεία)
 Mind (νοῦς), or (οὐτε) Life, or (οὐτε)
 20 indeed anything at all. He is superior to the
 Universals in his privation
 22 and unknowability,
 that is, the non-being existence (ὑπαρξίς),
 24 since (ἐπειδή) he is endowed with
 silence (σιγή) and stillness lest (ἵνα)
 26 he be diminished by
 those who are not diminished.
 28 He is neither (οὐτε) divinity
 nor (οὐτε) blessedness (-μακάριος)
 30 nor (οὐτε) perfection (-τέλειος). Rather (ἀλλά)
 it (i.e., this triad) is an unknowable entity of him,
 32 not that which is proper to him; rather (ἀλλά)
 he is another one
 34 superior to the blessedness (-μακάριος) and
 the divinity and
 36 perfection (-τέλειος). For (γάρ) he is not (οὐτε)
 perfect (τέλειος) but (ἀλλά) he is another thing

[ⲗⲚ]

2 κα πε εϣⲟⲧⲡ̄· οϣτε \bar{n} [νοϣ]
 3 [α]τ̄ \bar{n} αρη \bar{x} ϣ̄ αν πε· οϣτε \bar{n} [σε]
 † τοϣ εροϣ αν εβολ \bar{z} ιτοο[τ̄ϣ]
 4 [̄ \bar{n} κ]εοϣα· αλλα εϣ̄ \bar{n} κα εϣϣ
 † \bar{t} ̄ \bar{p} ̄ πε· \bar{n} νοϣϣμα αν πε [̄ \bar{n}]
 6 νοϣατϣωμα α[\bar{n}] πε· \bar{n} [νοϣ]
 νοβ αν πε \bar{n} νοϣ[κο]ϣει [αν πε]
 8 \bar{n} νοϣηπε αν πε \bar{n} νοϣτα[μιο]
 αν πε· οϣτε \bar{n} νοϣλααϣ αν
 10 πε εϣϣοοπ· παϊ ετε οϣ̄ \bar{n} βομ
 [̄ \bar{n}]τεοϣα ειμε εροϣ· αλλα εκε
 12 [λα]αϣ \bar{n} ταϣ πε εϣⲟⲧⲡ̄· πη ε
 [τ̄]ε \bar{m} μ \bar{n} βομ \bar{n} τεοϣα ειμε
 14 [ε]ροϣ· εϣϣο \bar{r} ̄ \bar{p} ̄ \bar{n} οϣω \bar{n} ̄ ε
 βολ πε \bar{m} ̄ οϣγ \bar{n} ω \bar{c} ic \bar{n} ταϣ
 16 εντοϣ οϣααϣ ετειμε εροϣ·
 επιδη \bar{n} λααϣ α[\bar{n}] πε \bar{n} τε ηη
 18 ετ̄ϣοοπ· αλλα εκε \bar{n} κα πε
 εϣⲟⲧⲡ̄ \bar{n} τε ηη ετ̄ⲟⲧⲡ̄·
 20 αλλα \bar{n} ̄ε \bar{m} ̄πη ετ̄ \bar{n} ταϣ· αϣω
 \bar{m} ̄πη αν ετ̄ \bar{n} ταϣ· οϣτε εϣ \bar{x} i
 22 αν εβολ \bar{z} ̄ \bar{n} οϣεων· οϣτε
 εϣ \bar{x} i αν εβολ \bar{z} ̄ \bar{n} οϣχρονος·
 24 οϣτε εμεϣ \bar{x} i λααϣ εβολ \bar{z} i
 \bar{t} ̄ \bar{n} κεοϣα· οϣτε ενσεϣω
 26 \bar{x} ̄ \bar{z} ̄ \bar{m} μοϣ αν· οϣτε εϣω \bar{x} ̄ \bar{z} ̄
 \bar{n} λααϣ αν· οϣτε \bar{n} νοϣατ̄ϣα
 28 \bar{x} ̄ \bar{z} ̄ αν πε· παϊ δε οϣτε \bar{z} ο
 \bar{n} ταϣ οϣααϣ πε· \bar{z} ω \bar{c} εϣλα
 30 αϣ \bar{n} † \bar{z} ε πε \bar{n} νατ̄ \bar{c} οϣω \bar{n} ̄ \bar{c} ·
 \bar{z} ω \bar{c} εϣⲟⲧⲡ̄ ενη εν \bar{n} ανοϣ
 32 οϣ \bar{z} ̄ \bar{n} † \bar{m} ̄ \bar{n} τ̄ατ̄ \bar{c} οϣω \bar{n} ̄ \bar{c} ·
 εϣ̄ \bar{n} ταϣ \bar{n} νοϣ \bar{m} ̄ \bar{n} τ̄μακα
 34 ριος \bar{m} ̄ οϣ \bar{m} ̄ \bar{n} τ̄τελιος
 \bar{m} ̄ οϣκαρωϣ < \bar{n} † \bar{m} ̄ \bar{n} τ̄>μακαρι
 36 ος αν· οϣτε \bar{n} † \bar{m} ̄ \bar{n} τ̄τε
 λιος αν· \bar{m} ̄ οϣ \bar{z} ροκ· αλλα
 38 οϣλααϣ \bar{n} ταϣ πε εϣϣοοπ·
 πη ετε \bar{m} μ \bar{n} βομ \bar{n} τεοϣα

[63]

that is superior. He is neither (οὐτε)
 2 boundless, nor (οὐτε)
 is he bounded by
 4 another. Rather (ἀλλά) he is something [*superior*].
 He is not corporeal (σῶμα).
 6 He is not incorporeal (-σῶμα).
 He is not great. [*He is not*] small.
 8 He is not a number (i.e., quantity). He is not a [*creature*].
 Nor (οὐτε) is he something
 10 that exists, that
 one can know. But (ἀλλά)
 12 he is something else of himself that is superior, which
 one cannot know.
 14 He is primary revelation
 and knowledge (γνώσις) of himself,
 16 as it is he alone who knows himself.
 Since (ἐπειδή) he is not one of those
 18 that exist but (ἀλλά) is another thing,
 he is superior to (all) superlatives
 20 even (ἀλλά) in comparison to (both) what is (properly) his and
 not his. He neither (οὐτε) participates in
 22 eternity (αἰών) nor (οὐτε)
 does he participate in time (χρόνος).
 24 He does not (οὐτε) receive anything from anything
 else. He is not (οὐτε) diminishable,
 26 nor (οὐτε) does he diminish
 anything, nor (οὐτε) is he undiminishable.
 28 But (δέ) he is
 self-comprehending, as (ὡς) something
 30 so unknowable,
 that (ὡς) he exceeds those who excell
 32 in unknowability.
 He is endowed with blessedness (-μακάριος)
 34 and perfection (-τέλειος)
 and silence—not <the blessedness (-μακάριος)>
 36 nor (οὐτε) the perfection (-τέλειος)—
 and stillness. Rather (ἀλλά)
 38 it (i.e., these attributes) is an entity of him that exists,
 which one cannot

[ΞΔ]

[ει]με εροϋ αγω εϋροϋκ̄ μ̄
 2 [μ]οϋ· αλλα εϋελλαϋ νε μ̄
 [τα]ϋ μ̄νατ̄σοϋωνοϋ ναϋ
 4 τηροϋ· εϋχοσε δε ζ̄ν̄ †μ̄[ντ̄]
 ϋαειε μ̄ζοϋο ενα^[ι] τηροϋ
 6 [ετν]ανο[ϋ]οϋ· πα^ι δε μ̄†ζε
 [οϋα]†σο[ϋ]ων̄ϋ πε ναϋ τη
 8 ϋ[ο]ϋ κατα σμοτ̄ μ̄ιμ· αϋω
 εβολ ζ̄ιτοοτοϋ τηροϋ εϋ
 10 ζρα^ι μ̄ζητοϋ τηροϋ μ̄†γνϋ
 σις οϋαα^ς αν μ̄νατ̄σοϋωμ̄[ς]
 12 τη ετ̄ψοοπ καταροϋ· αϋ[ω]
 εϋζοτ̄π̄ εβολ ζ̄ιτοοτ̄ς μ̄†μ̄[ντ̄]
 14 ατ̄σοϋωμ̄ς ετναϋ εροϋ· μ̄ [εϋ]
 14a <ϋε οϋμ̄ οϋα εϋναϋ εροϋ>
 ϋε μ̄αϋ μ̄ζε ϋε μ̄νατ̄σοϋω
 16 μ̄ϋ· μ̄ εϋϋε [ο]ϋμ̄ οϋα εϋναϋ
 εροϋ κατα ϋε ετεϋψοοπ μ̄
 18 μο^ς κατα σμοτ̄ μ̄ιμ· μ̄ εϋ
 ϋε οϋμ̄ οϋα ναχοο^ς εροϋ ϋε
 20 εϋψοοπ μ̄οϋλαϋ μ̄ϋε μ̄οϋ
 γνωσις· αϋϋασεβης εροϋ
 22 εϋμ̄ταϋ μ̄οϋζαπ ϋε μ̄πεϋ
 σοϋων πνοϋτε· μ̄νεϋνα
 24 ϋι μ̄οϋζαπ αν εβολ ζ̄ιτοοτ̄ϋ
 μ̄π̄η ετ̄μ̄μαϋ· π̄η ετεσϋ
 26 μελι ναϋ αν ζαλαϋ· οϋτε
 μ̄μ̄ντ̄ϋ λαϋ μ̄οϋωϋε μ̄
 28 μαϋ· αλλα μ̄τοϋ <ϋ>εβολ μ̄μοϋ
 οϋααϋ ϋε μ̄πεϋβινε μ̄†αρ
 30 χ̄η ετ̄ψοοπ οντω^ς· αϋϋ β̄λ
 λε μ̄σανβολ μ̄πιβαλ ετ̄ζο
 32 ϋκ̄ μ̄μοϋ μ̄τε π̄ιοϋων̄ζ̄
 εβολ· π̄η ετεϋϋε^ρνεργ̄ι
 34 εροϋ πι εβολ ζ̄μ̄ πιϋμ̄μ̄ντ̄
 βομ̄ μ̄τε †ϋοϋϋπ̄ μ̄εννοι
 36 α μ̄τε π̄ιαζορατον μ̄π̄να
 πα^ι μ̄†ζε εϋψοοπ εβολ

[64]

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[64]
 [know], and which is at rest.
 2 Rather (ἀλλά) they are entities
 of him unknowable to them
 4 all. And (δέ) he is much higher in
 beauty than all those
 6 [that] are good, and (δέ) he is thus
 unknowable to all of them
 8 in (κατά) every respect. And
 through them all he is
 10 in them all, not
 only as the unknowable knowledge (γνώσις)
 12 that is proper to (κατά) him. And
 he is united with the
 14 ignorance that sees him. Whether (ἤ)
 14a <one sees>
 in what way he is unknowable,
 16 or (ἤ) sees
 him as (κατά) he is
 18 in (κατά) every respect, or (ἤ)
 would say that
 20 he is something like
 knowledge (γνώσις), he has sinned (-ἄσεβής) against him,
 22 being liable to judgment because he did not
 know God. He will not
 24 be judged by
 That One who
 26 is neither concerned (-μέλειν) for anything nor (οὔτε)
 has any desire,
 28 but (ἀλλά) it (i.e., judgment) <is> from
 himself because he did not find the origin (ἀρχή)
 30 that truly (ὄντως) exists. He was blind
 apart from the eye
 32 of revelation that is at rest,
 the (one) that is activated (ἐνεργεῖν),
 34 the (one) from the Triple
 Power of the First Thought (ἐννοια)
 36 of the Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα).
 This One thus exists from

[36]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

[.....]. [

- 16 [...]λααγ α[
 [ταχ]ρηογ εν[8± ο]γ
 18 [μ]ντ̄σαειε [μ̄ν] ο[γψρ]π̄ [ν̄]ωφε
 ν̄τε ογζροκ· μ̄ν [ογ]καρω
 20 μ̄ν ογμντ̄ζροκ [μ̄ν] ογμν
 [τ]νοβ̄ ν̄νατ̄νρατ̄ς εαφογω
 22 ν̄ζ εβολ· ν̄νεφ̄ρχια αν̄ νογ
 χρονος ογτε <ν̄νεφ̄χι αν̄> εβολ ογε
 24 ων· αλλα ν̄τογ εβολ μ̄μογ
 ογααγ εγατ̄νρατ̄γ πε ζ̄ν ογμντ̄
 26 ατ̄νρατ̄ς· εφενεργι αν̄ ογ
 τε ερογ ζ̄ινα χε εφεωωπε
 28 εφζορκ̄ μ̄μογ· ογτε ν̄νογ
 ζγπαρζις αν̄ πε ζ̄ινα χε νεφ
 30 ρ̄ζαε· ογσωμα μεν πε εφ
 ζ̄ν ογτοπος· ογατ̄σωμα
 32 δε πε εφζ̄ν ογνει· εγν̄ταγ
 ν̄νογζγπαρζις ν̄ατ̄ωωπε
 34 εφωοοπ ναγ τηρογ ερογ
 εμ̄νταγ λααγ νογωω μ̄
 36 μαγ· αλλα ογζογε χιςε
 πε ν̄τε ογμντ̄νοβ̄· αγω
 38 εφχοσε επεφζροκ· ζ̄ινα

[35]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

- [13[±]].NH[
 16 [10[±] αϥ]ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ[ΟΥ]
 αϥ†[βΟΜ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡ]ΟΥ ΕΝΣ[ΕΡ]
 18 ΜΕΛΙ ΝΑ[Υ ΑΝ] Μ[Π]Η ΕΤΜΜΑΥ [Ν]
 ΛΑΑΥ· ΟΥΤΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΑΟΥΑ
 20 ΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟϥ· ΜΕϥΧΙ ΒΟΜ· ΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΜΕΡΕΛΑΑΥ ΕΝΕΡΓΙ ΕΡΟϥ ΚΑ
 22 ΤΑ †ΜΝ†ΟΥΩ† ΕΤΖΟΡΚ ΜΜΟ[Σ]
 ΟΥΑΤΣΟΥΩΝϥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ· ΕΥΤΟ
 24 ΠΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝΝΑΤΝΙϥΕ ΝΤΕ
 †ΜΝ†ΑΤΝΑΡΗΧΣ· ΖΩΣ ΕΥΑ
 26 ΤΝΑΡΗΧϥ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΑΤΒΑΜ·
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΤΨΩΠΕ· ΝΝΕϥ†
 28 ΜΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΩΠ
 ΝΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΟϥ ΕϥΖΟΡΚ
 30 ΜΜΟϥ ΕϥΑΖΕΡΑΤϥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ
 ΠΗ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤϥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ
 32 ΝΙΜ· ΕΑϥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ
 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ· ΠΙΠΝΑ
 34 ΝΝΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϥ ΑΥΩ ΝΨΜΝ†
 ΒΟΜ· ΠΙΟΥΑ ΕΤΖΝ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 36 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ· ΑΥΩ ΕϥΜΠΕΥ
 ΚΩΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕϥΧΟΣΕ Ε
 38 ΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΟΥΖΑΪΒΕΣ

[66]
 (Lines 1-14 lacking)
 [
 16 [*he*] saw [*them*]
 and [*empowered them all*] although they do not
 18 concern (-μέλειω) [*themselves*] with That One at
 all, nor (οὔτε) if one should
 20 receive from him, does he receive power.
 Nothing (+οὔτε) activates (ἐνεργεῖν) him in accordance with
 (κατά)
 22 the Unity that is at rest.
 For (γάρ) he is unknowable;
 24 (+γάρ) he is an airless place (τόπος) of
 the boundlessness. Since (ὥς)
 26 he is boundless and powerless
 and nonexistent, he was not giving
 28 Being. Rather (ἀλλά) he contains
 all of these in himself, being at rest
 30 (and) standing out of
 the one who stands
 32 continually, since there had appeared
 an Eternal Life, the
 34 Invisible and Triple-Powered Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 which is in all of these
 36 who exist. And it surrounds
 them all, being higher than
 38 them all. A shadow

[37]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

- [. .]. [
- 16 [. .]εταϚ ρ[αϚ]
- [μο]ζ̄Ϛ̄ εβολ[λ ζ̄ιτ̄ν οϚ̄βομ· αϚω]
- 18 [αϚ]ᾱζ̄ερατ̄Ϛ̄ Ϛ̄[α]θ̄η [̄ν]να[ι] εϚ†
- βομ ̄νναϊ τ̄ηροϚ· αϚμοϚζ
- 20 ̄νναϊ τ̄ηροϚ εβολ· αϚω ε
- [τ]βε ναϊ μεν τ̄ηροϚ ακσϚ
- 22 τ̄μ ζ̄ν οϚταϚρο· αϚω μ̄πρ
- κωτε ̄νσα λααϚ ̄νζοϚο̄·
- 24 αλλα μοϚε νακ· οϚτε ̄ν
- τ̄νσοοϚν αν Ϛε οϚ̄ντε
- 26 πιατ̄σοϚων̄Ϛ̄ οϚ̄νταϚ
- ̄νζεναγγελος· οϚτε ζ̄εν
- 28 νοϚτε· οϚτε πη ετ̄ζορ̄κ
- μ̄μοϚ· Ϛε νεοϚ̄νταϚ ̄νοϚ
- 30 λααϚ Ϛραϊ ̄νζητ̄Ϛ̄ ̄νσαβηλ ε
- πιζροκ ετε παϊ πε Ϛε ̄ντοϚ
- 32 ζ̄ινα Ϛε ̄νεϚϚαζ̄Ϛ̄· οϚ
- τε μ̄πετεϚϚε αν πε ε
- 34 ϚωϚρε εβολ ̄νζοϚο ̄νοϚ
- ηπε ̄νσοπ εκκωτε· νεσ
- 36 μ̄πϚα ̄ντετ̄νειμε οϚ
- αετ <τ̄ηνε>· αϚω ̄νσεϚαϚε
- 38 μ̄ν κεοϚα· αλλα εκαϚιτοϚ

[67]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

[
 16 [he [*was filled with power. And*]
 18 [*he*] stood [*before them*],
 empowering them all, and he filled
 20 them all. And concerning (+*μέν*)
 all of these (things) you have heard
 22 certainly. And do not
 seek anything more,
 24 but (*ἀλλά*) go.
 We do not (*οὔτε*) know whether
 26 the Unknowable One has
 angels (*ἄγγελος*) or (*οὔτε*)
 28 gods, or (*οὔτε*) whether the One who is at rest
 was containing
 30 anything within himself except
 the stillness, which is he,
 32 lest (*ἵνα*) he be diminished.
 It is not (*οὔτε*) fitting to
 34 spend more
 time seeking. It was
 36 appropriate that you (plu.) <alone> know
 and that they speak
 38 with another one. But (*ἀλλά*) you will receive them

[ΞΗ]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

- [13[±]] . . [
- 16 [. . αγω π]εχ[αφ να]ί' χε ςζα[ι ν̄]
- [Ν]η ε†ναχ[οο]γ̄ νακ' αγ[ω]
- 18 ε†να† μεεγε νακ ετβη
- ητοϋ ν̄ναϊ ετναρ̄μ̄ψα [μ̄]
- 20 μ̄ν̄ν̄σωκ' αγω εκεκω μ̄
- πεϊχωμε ζ̄ιχ̄ν̄ ουτοοϋ
- 22 ν̄γμοϋτε εζραϊ ουβε πιρε[φ]
- αρεζ εμοϋ φρικτος' ναϊ
- 24 δε ν̄τερεφχοοϋ αφπωρ̄χ̄
- εβολ μ̄μοϊ' ανок δε αιμοϋζ
- 26 εβολ ζ̄ν̄ ουραψε' αιςζαϊ δε
- μ̄πεϊχωμε εταϋτωϋ
- 28 ναϊ παψηρε μεσσος' χε
- ειεβωλπ̄ νακ εβολ ν̄νη ε
- 30 ταϋταψε οειϋ μ̄μοοϋ να
- ζραϊ ν̄ζητ̄ πωορ̄π̄ δε αιχι
- 32 τοϋ ζ̄ν̄ ουνοβ̄ ν̄σιγη['] αγω
- λειαζερατ̄ καταροϊ ειςοβ
- 34 τε μ̄μ[ο]ει' ναϊ νε νη εταϋ
- βολπο[γ] ναϊ εβολ ω̄ παψη

[68]

(Lines 1-14 lacking)

[

- 16 [and he said to me]: "Write down
 [the things that I] shall [tell] you and
 18 of which I shall remind you for the sake of
 those who will be worthy
 20 after you. And you will leave
 this book upon a mountain
 22 and you will adjure the guardian:
 'Come Dreadful One (*φρικτός*).'"
 24 And (*δέ*) after he said these (things), he separated
 from me. But (*δέ*) I was full
 26 of joy, and (*δέ*) I wrote
 this book which was appointed
 28 for me, my son Messos, in order
 that I might disclose to you the (things) that
 30 were proclaimed before me in
 my presence. And (*δέ*) at first I received
 32 them in great silence (*σιγή*) and
 I stood by (*κατά*) myself, preparing
 34 myself. These are the things that
 were disclosed to me, O (*ὦ*) my Son

[69]

(lines 1-13 lacking)

1 [Messos

14 [*proclaim*
[them, O (ὦ) my]16 son [Messos, as the
seal (σφραγίς) [for] all [the]18 [books of]
Allogenes.

20 Allogenes

4 "perfe
 131338: 4
 U3121-3:
 nek ra ka
 crated w
 gner. of
 la VIII.4.4
 and or ra
 and varre
 be individ
 U3124,8)
 le composi
 13157 v
 in 3) Senec
 had the Pl:
 o quae pro
 in, Ep. 58
 rander a
 iz expecte
 res besi ill
 : Lamberz.
 : zimmer
 : (sequa
 : universal
 : iversally (a
 : exist b
 : gradually
 : piere. I
 : beyond
 : 1) Ther
 : icality (q
 : (paw) co
 : ca'ra o
 : exist to
 : ah are u
 : the Plat
 : ematica
 : on these

NHC XI,3: ALLOGENES

NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

45,6-9 “(perfect) individuals”: the repeated phrase **Ν(Ι)ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ** (45,37-38; 46,6.15; 48,10; 49,37-38; 51,22.30; 55,13; *Steles Seth* VII,5:121,3; 124,8.24-25; *Zost.* VIII,1:18,16-17; 41,17.19) may render Greek **τά καθ’ ἑν** or **τά ἰδία** or **τά μερικά**, while the phrase often contrasted with it, **ΝΗ (ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) ΖΙΟΥΜΑ** (“Those who are together,” cf. 45,6; 46,21-22.29-30; 55,15; *Steles Seth* VII,5:124,24; *Zost.* VIII,1:40,14-15; 125,5-7) may render Greek **τά σύνθετα** or **τά κοινά** or **τά καθόλου** (or **καθολικά**). “Those who exist together” are called **παντέλειοι** in 55,14-15 (cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:124,23-25), while “the individuals” are called “perfect” in 55,13 (cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:124,8). In Proclus’ *Elements of Theology* **τά σύνθετα** refers to the compositeness of things less perfect than their cause (props. 59,127,157) while **καθ’ ἓνα** refers to specificity (props. 170,180). In *Ep.* 58 Seneca refers to a sixfold division of “things that are” in which the Platonic ideas are referred to as “(those) who truly are” = (*ea*) *quae proprie sunt* (= Greek **τά ἰδίως ὄντα** or better, **τά ὄντως ὄντα**, *Ep.* 58,18) and individual things are referred to as *ea quae communiter sunt* (*Ep.* 58,22 = Greek **τά κοινῶς ὄντα**; the reverse of their expected use). The significance of these terms in *Allogenes* seems best illustrated by **τά μερικά** and **τά καθόλου** in Porph. *Sent.* 22 (Lamberz, p.13, lines 13-16): “The intellectual substance (**οὐσία**) is homeomeric, such that the beings (**ὄντα**) exist in both the particular (**μερικός**) and the total (**παντέλειος**) intellect (**νοῦς**). But in the universal (**ὁ καθόλου**) intellect, even particulars (**τά μερικά**) exist universally (**καθολικῶς**) whereas in the particular (**μερικός**) (intellect) there exist both universals (**τά καθόλου**) and particulars (**μερικά**) individually (**μερικῶς**).” To be compared is *Corp. Herm.* XXI (Nock-Festugière, III.91): “The Pre-existing One (**προόν**) is thus pre-existing beyond beings (**τά ὄντα**) and the truly existing ones (**τά ὄντως ὄντα**). There is, in effect, a being (**ὄν**) one calls universal substantiality (**ἡ οὐσιότης ἡ καθόλου**), common (**κοινή**) to intelligibles (**νοητῶν**) considered as the truly existing (**τά ὄντως ὄντα**) and as beings (**τά ὄντα**) individually (**καθ’ ἑαυτά**).” Metaphysically, “those who exist together” refers to **τά ὄντως ὄντα**, the Platonic intelligibles which are universal, the Ideas, while “the (perfect) individuals” refers to the Platonic intelligibles which are individuated (probably the mathematical) and traditionally held to reside in the soul. In *Allogenes* these expressions refer as well to spiritual beings inhabiting

these ontological levels; "those who exist together" are associated especially with Protophanes, the central level of the divine thought, Barbelo, while "the (perfect) individuals" are associated with Auto-genes, the third and lowest level of the divine thought, Barbelo (see note on 45,33-38 and 46,10-17).

- 45,9-10 The guardian as Mind appears to be Protophanes or even the Aeon of Barbelo. The one who instructs Allogenes is here unidentified, but elsewhere it is Youel (48,38-57,27) or the powers of the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo (54,9-68,25). Allogenes' reply (50,6(?)-17) to the instruction in 45,6(?)-49,38(?) assumes Youel as the revealer of the previous revelation (50,10-11; cf. "again," 50,20). Cf. the "guardian" *φρικτός* (68,22), "Dreadful One," but which seems not to be in view here.
- 45,13 "Triple Powered One" (= *τριδύναμος*, cf. Bruce Codex) cf. 47,7-38; 52,30-36; *Steles Seth* VII,5:121,32; 123,23; *Zost.* VIII,1:97,2-3; *Marsanes* X:7,17-18.23-24; 8,19-20; 9,8-9.20-21.25; 14,22; 15,2; *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1:37,26-27; *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:28,1; 39,13; *Ap. John* II,1:5,8; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 231,20; 233,6; 234,16 passim (in particular 235,17-23). *Allogenes* often coordinates the Triple Powered One with the Invisible Spirit (47,8-9; 51,8-9; 58,25; 66,33-34; cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:97,2-3; 128,20-21), but more often mentions them separately: Triple Powered One (45,13.20.21; 52,19.30; 53,30-31; 55,[21]; 61,6.13.20); Invisible Spirit (45,27; 49,10; 51,35); cf. the locution "the Triple Power of the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit" in 64,34-36; and similarly in *Zost.* VIII,1:20,15-19. It is difficult to tell whether the Triple Powered One or the Invisible Spirit is referred to by such phrases as the "Unknowable One" or "Unknowable God" mentioned in 59,29; 60,8; 61,1.10-12.16.20-22; 62,31; 63,30; 64,3.7.11.15; 66,23; 67,26. *Marsanes* X,7:1-29 suggests that the Triple Powered One, unbegotten and without being, derives from the silence of the highest being ("Silent One"), and is his energy.
- 45,15-19 The "Immeasurable One, the Light of Knowledge" is the Aeon of Barbelo (cf. 51,8-13; 59,2-3), the perfect Youth/male Virgin (51,37; 59,6-7; cf. the virginal Spirit of *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:27,13-21; *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1:38,11-14 and *Marsanes* X,8,28-9,5). The Knowledge (45,16) is the self-knowledge of the Invisible Spirit produced by the Triple Powered One out of the "boundlessness" of the Invisible Spirit, making knowledge of himself revealed (49,7-21; 53,10-18). As the First Thought (48,13; 53,27-28; 64,35) of the Triple Powered One, the Aeon of Barbelo is the first Aeon, the Aeon of Aeons (54,24-25.33). Cf. 45,19; 46,34; 51,13; 53,28; 54,33; 56,26; 58,21; 59,3.

45,19 Supralinear stroke is visible above $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}$.

45,20-22 The unique triple-powered Aeon is the Triple Powered One (not strictly speaking, an Aeon!); it is the source of the Aeon of Barbelo, i.e., his first Aeon. The distinction in gender used in the English translation of this text conforms to the Coptic usage. It is likely that anyone of the transcendentalia can be considered to be androgynous, or even neuter, i.e., sexless in the ordinary sense.

45,23 MS reads $\pi\rho\rho\bar{\pi}\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\lambda$; the masculine object seems required to fit the masculine gender context. The terms seem to designate a spontaneous unfolding of the Invisible Spirit as the Triple Powered One into the Aeon of Barbelo. Cf. the similar description in 66,28-36.

45,25 A trace of λ is visible on the new fragment transferred here from pages 41/42. The fragment is visible in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII* beneath the tape on those pages; see the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

45,26-30 "Invisible Spirit": cf. references in note on 45,13. The Aeon is the Aeon of Barbelo: cf. note on 45,15-19.

45,28-30 The Triple Powered One realizes itself as the Aeon of Barbelo, the divine Intellect. Plotinus once suggested and abandoned a distinction between an intelligence at rest which knows and another movement which knows that it knows (cf. Plot. *Enn.* II.9.1,33-34; III.9.1,15-26; Proc. *In Tim.* I.303.27-304.7: des Places, *Numémius*, frg. 11,12,15,16,22).

45,31-47,7 Cf. 51,7-38; 58,12-26. The Aeon of Barbelo, the First Thought and first Aeon of the Triple Powered One corresponds to the Neoplatonic divine Intellect. It seems to consist of three sub-aeons, hypostases or levels: (1) Kalyptos ("Hidden One," cf. 45,31-33; 46,30-34; 51,12-17) who is highest (cf. note on 45,31-33); (2) Protophanes ("First-appearing One") also called Harmedon, cf. 45,33-38; 46,17-30; 51,19-24.32-35; 58,16-17; see the note on 45,33-38); and (3) Autogenes ("Self-begotten One," cf. 46,10-11.14-17; 51,25-32; 58,12) who is lowest (cf. note on 46,10-17). Compare the triad in the *Bruce Codex* (Schmidt-MacDermot, 234,12-13). In *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2-12 the hypostases Kalyptos, Protophanes and Autogenes correspond *pari passu* with the Neoplatonic ontological triad: Existence, Mentality and Vitality (cf. 49,26-38 and note). The Aeon of Barbelo is said to be endowed with these hypostases as images ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, 51,16.21.27). The Aeon of Barbelo also contains what seems to be a fourth hypostasis, the divine Triple Male (45,37; 51,32-33; 55,36; 58,15; cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:120,16-30; 121,8-9; *Zost.* VIII,1:18, [23-24]; *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:27,20-21; NHC II,1:5,7-8; NHC III,1:7,23-8,1; *Trim. Prot* XIII,1:37,26; *Gos. Eg.* III,2 and IV,2:pas-

sim; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 234,14-15); he is called "the Thought of all those who exist together" (46,17-22), "the perfect Youth" (51,32-37; 58,12-15) in whom the self-begotten ones exist (56,13-14), "the Savior" (58,12-15; cf. 51,32-37). In 51,7-38 he is mentioned after Autogenes; otherwise he is ranked between Protophanes and Autogenes. In 45,36-37 he seems to be a (feminine?) hypostasis of Barbelo who gives power to the "individuals" (those in Autogenes, cf. note on 46,10-17); in 46,17-30 it is said that the self-reflection of the Triple Male is reflection upon Protophanes; in 58,13-17 it is said that Protophanes is the goodness of the Triple Male. Since he does not fit the triadic layout of the Aeon of Barbelo that seems to form the basis for the ontology of the Aeon of Barbelo, and owing to the intimate connection he sustains with Protophanes in *Allogenes*, he may be considered as perhaps an aspect or syzygy of Protophanes, although he may constitute a fourth hypostasis. In this regard, see the following passages from *Zost.* VIII,1:44,24-31: "I blessed the living and unborn [God who is] in truth and the unborn [Kalyptos] and the invisible male perfect noetic Protophanes and the invisible youthful Triple Male and the divine [Autogenes]"; 24,2-17: "With perfect soul he seeks those of Autogenes, with mind those of the Triple Male, with pure spirit those of Protophanes; he hears of the Kalyptos from the powers of the spirit whence they come by a superior revelation of the Invisible Spirit. And in the Ennoia now existing and in the First Ennoia they hear about the invisible spiritual Triple Powered One who is a report and pure silence in a life-giving spirit; perfect, [greater than] perfect, and all-perfect"; see also 22,8-12; 60,13-17.

The fluidity of the position of the Triple Male is due to the Sethian ambiance of *Allogenes*. It seems that the Sethian movement (cf. Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 169-71) postulated a primal triad Father (Invisible Spirit)-Mother (Barbelo)-Son (Autogenes) in which the Son was originally identified with the divine Anthropos Adamas or Pigeradamas. In *Zostrianos*, Adam is the eye of Autogenes (VIII,1:30,4-14) and Geradamas is the eye of the Perfect Child (VIII,1:13,1-7). Triple Male is associated with Adamas in the untitled tractate in the *Bruce Codex* (see note to 45,13) and with Geradamas in *Steles Seth* VII,5:120,29; 121,8-9. There is a later trend to distinguish Adamas/Triple Male from Autogenes in the more strongly Christianized texts, such as the *Apocryphon of John* and *Gospel of the Egyptians*, which tend to identify Christ as the Autogenes or even as the Triple Male Child (cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:55,5-6; 54,13-20 and IV,2:66,2-8). This slackening of the identification of Adamas or Triple Male with Autogenes occurs here in *Allogenes*,

showing that the identification was perhaps always fluid, and that its slackening may not be due to Christianization alone, but also to the "Platonizing" of "Sethianism." In any case, aside from the Triple Male, *Allogenes* displays no trace of Adamas or of his son Seth, the Child of the (Triple Male) Child, except perhaps in the supposed identity of Seth with *Allogenes* himself. Finally it should be noted that the triad Kalyptos, Protophanes and Autogenes occupies the same ontological level in *Allogenes* as does the Triad Prognosis, Aphtharsia and Aionia Zoe in *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:27,1-29,8 (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.29.1). The tripartitioning of the divine Intellect occurs in Numenius and Plotinus (see references in the three following notes).

45,31-33 Barbelo becomes the first of her levels or hypostases, Kalyptos (the "Hidden One") who is characterized directly by blessedness (58,18-19) and, by derivation, divinity (58,19-22, from the Aeon of Barbelo). Like the Triple Powered One (45,21-22), Kalyptos "truly exists" (*Zost.* VIII,1:125,11-13) and thus is the domain of "those who truly exist," whose types and forms are the image (*εἰκὼν*) of the Kalyptos (cf. 51,12-17 and 46,28). "Those whom she knows" (45,32-33) are the "hidden ones," whom to see is to see the Aeon of Barbelo (46,32-34). The Kalyptos level of the Aeon of Barbelo corresponds to the Existence (*ὑπαρξίς*) aspect of the Triple Powered One. Compare *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2-12 where Kalyptos is conjoined with the third term of the triad Life/vitality, Mentality/blessedness, Existence/divinity. Kalyptos may derive from the conception of the veil (*κάλυμμα*) as a limit (*ὄρος*) separating the high deity from the aeonic world; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.11.1; *Val. Exp.* XI,2:27,34-38; see also the veil in *Gos. Phil.* II,3:69,36; 84,23. Kalyptos seems to correspond to the *νοῦς νοητός* in Plot. *Enn.* III.9.1,15-17 or to the First God of Numenius (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XI.17.11-18, 18.13-14, 22.3-5, 22.6-8; Proc. *In Tim.* I.303.27-304,7: des Places, *Numénius*, frg. 11,13,16,19,21).

45,33-38 Protophanes ("First-appearing One") also called Harmedon (58,17; Armedon, 54,12) is the second level or hypostasis of the Aeon of Barbelo, characterized as noetic, male and perfect (45,34-35; 46,24-30; 51,17-24; 58,15-17). He is the domain of those who are together (46,29-30); in *Zost.* VIII,1:129,4-17, Zostrianos, becoming all perfect, sees in Protophanes "all those existing there as one." Protophanes is intimately conjoined with the Triple Male (cf. note on 45,31-47,7) who is called "the Thought of all those who exist together" (46,20-22) and "the goodness" of Protophanes (58,15-17). The Triple Male is the domain of the self-begotten ones (56,13-14) who according to *Marsanes* X,3,18-21 are associated with the "Incorporeal being that exists partially." These correspond to individual souls in Platonism. In his role as "Savior" (58,13-15), the Triple

Male's contemplation of the beings resident in a lower ontological level enables their elevation to a higher level within the Barbelo Aeon. Protophanes works with craft, skill and instinct on the "individuals" in Autogenes (51,17-24); the self-reflection of the Triple Male (the Thought of those who exist together) shows Protophanes to be "the procession for those who exist together" in Protophanes, whom to see is to see "those who truly exist," whom they are to become in the Kalyptos, whom to see is to see the Aeon of Barbelo (46,11-34). Protophanes occupies a similar median position in *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2-12 where he is conjoined with the median term of the triad: Life/vitality, Mentality/blessedness, Existence/divinity. In *Steles Seth* VII,5: 123,5-9 Protophanes is identified with the divine Youth (the Triple Male of *Allogenes*) and causes multiplicity by "a division of those who truly exist." The *Bruce Codex* explains (Schmidt-MacDermot, 252,24-27): "The power that was given to the Propator is called Protophanes because it was he who first appeared." The name "Protophanes" seems Orphic in origin. In the Rhapsodies, Phanes (also called Eros, Metis, Erikepaios) was "first to appear" (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνθη; *Orph. Arg.* 14-16; Kern, *Orph. Frag.*, p. 65, frg. 224) "two formed," bisexual, "looking this way and that," "the key of mind" (Kern, *Orph. Frag.*, frg. 72-89; cf. Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis*, 2.63 where the Son is called πρωτοφανὲς εἶδος). Proclus (*In Tim.* III.d-f; Diehl, II, p. 102) calls Phanes the "demiurgic cause" and Zeus the paradigmatic cause. Protophanes seems to correspond to the νοῦς ὁρῶν (who is at once νοῦς and νοητός in Plot. *Enn.* III.9.1,17-21) or to the upper aspect of Numenius' Second God, νοῦς θεωρητικός who contemplates the First God (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XI.18.20-21; 22.3-5; des Places, *Numénius*, frg. 15,16).

46,9 Those "truly existing": i.e., those in the level of the Hidden One. For the emendation cf. XI,3:45,[14].[22]; 48,38; 55,25; 56,[12]; 64,30.

46,10-17 Autogenes ("Self-begotten One") is the lowest of the levels, hypostases, of the Aeon of Barbelo, characterized as divine and good (48,10-11; 51,25-32; 58,12). He is the "path to" or domain of the "individuals" (cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:25,10-18). The objects of his vision exist individually and they become as he is (46,14-17); both the Triple Male and Protophanes work on the "individuals" from above (45,36-38; 51,21-24). Autogenes knows each of the individuals ("these," 51,28; cf. 51,22) and works "successively and individually" to "rectify the failures from nature," the realm below him; he is thus the principle of individuation and the savior of the natural world (φύσις). In *Marsanes* X,4,24-5,26 Autogenes descends to save a "multitude," probably the sense-perceptible world which is "[worthy] of being saved entirely." In *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2-12 Autogenes is con-

joined with the first term of the triad: Life/vitality, Mentality/blessedness, Existence/divinity. The name Autogenes may derive from the Autogenes/Monogenes light generated in Barbelo by the Father (*Ap. John* BG 8502,2:30,1-31,1). In Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1 the production of Autogenes ("a light like her") is the beginning of the *γένεσις* of all things (i.e., he is a demiurgical figure). Autogenes seems to correspond to the *νοῦς διανοούμενος* in Plot. *Enn.* II.9.6,18-21; III.9.1,21-23 and according to Numenius "he siezes upon the sense realm and draws it up to his own character" (in Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* XI.17.11-18: des Places, *Numénius*, frg. 11; cf. frg. 16). In Plotinus' system Autogenes would correspond to the intellectual part of the soul.

46,17-27 Protophanes and the Triple Male: cf. notes on 45,31-47,7 and 45,33-38.

46,25 The vestige of ink at the beginning of the line is an apparent trace of \uparrow , ϕ or θ ; the expected locution, however, is $[\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon/\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \bar{\nu}\eta\eta]\rho\gamma\varsigma$, the perfect mind.

46,22-34 "procession"; $\tau\psi\omicron\rho\pi\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\eta$ probably translates either *πρόδος* or *προποδισμός*, "procession" or "progression," a sort of "path" for Aeons or perhaps human initiates (such as Allogenes in 59,4-61,22) to move from the rank of "individuals" (in Autogenes) through the rank of "those who exist together" (in Protophanes) to the rank of "those who truly exist" (in the Hidden One) so as to see the whole Aeon of Barbelo and receive a primary revelation of the Triple Powered One or Unknowable God. Cf. the Neoplatonic triad: *μονή*, *πρόδος*, *ἐπιστροφή* = permanence, procession (i.e., emanation), reversion, although here the direction of procession is upward. *προποδισμός* is used of arithmetic progression from the monad in Theon Smyr. *Expositio* in Hiller p. 18, line 3.

46,28 For $[\epsilon\eta\iota\omicron]\eta[\tau\omega]\varsigma$ [$\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$], cf. 49,17-18.

46,32 ψ of $\epsilon\tau\psi\alpha\eta$ written over η .

46,34 $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\lambda\omega$ elsewhere appears as $\beta\alpha\rho\beta\eta\lambda\omega$.

47,5-7 For $\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\mu \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \dots \zeta\bar{\eta} \omicron\gamma\tau\alpha\chi\rho$, cf. 67,21-22. μ of $\omega\tau\mu$ (47,5), $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ of $\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha$ (47,6) and $\chi\rho$ of $\tau\alpha\chi\rho$ (47,7) are from frg. #6, *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 82, placed there after publication of the volume; see the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*. "You" (masc. sg.) is Allogenes; "them" may be the components of the Aeon of Barbelo. "Abundance" refers to the creative efficacy of the higher powers; cf. *περιουσία* (Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.32,33) and *περιουσία δυνάμεως* in many Neoplatonic sources: Plot. *Enn.* IV.8.6; Porphy. *Sent.* 17; Iamb. *Myst.* 5,23; Proc. *Theol.* props. 27,71, 121,124; *passim*.

47,7-34 The all-sufficiency and unity of the Triple Powered One; cf.

- note on 45,13. "They" and "them" may be the components of the Aeon of Barbelo that emanate from (45,22-33) the Triple Powered One. For "perfect and greater than perfect" of the Triple Powered One, cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:24,2-17. For "non-substantial substance," cf. 55,29-30; 62,23; 65,32-33.
- 47,29 Possibly read $\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}\text{N}\text{C}$], cf. Emmel, "Photographic Evidence," 272.
- 47,33-34 The sentence beginning with $\text{A}\text{Y}\text{W}/\text{O}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}$ needs a subject expressed by a copula, since IE in 47,35 belongs with the circumstantial clause.
- 47,38 MS reads $\text{M}\text{N}\text{T}\text{C}\text{A}\text{E}\text{I}\text{N}$; the sense demands $\text{M}\text{N}\text{T}\text{C}\text{A}\text{E}\text{I}\text{E}$ ("beauty," cf. 64,5; 65,18).
- 48,6-7 YA of $\text{O}\text{Y}\text{A}[\text{T}\text{B}\text{A}\text{M}$ (48,6) and YWN of $\text{O}\text{Y}\text{W}\text{N}[\text{Z}$ (48,7) are from frg. #6, *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 81, placed there after publication of the volume; see the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.
- 48,9-49,1 Apart from a digression on self-sufficiency (48,14-19) and paradoxical incomprehensibility (48,19-32), this passage suggests that even if individuals "come together" (cf. 45,6-9 note), they would be incapable of comprehending the Triple Powered One (= "Universal One," cf. 58,25-26 and 47,14-15; 52,28; 53,18), since only those who "truly exist" can see "the Triple Powered One who truly exists" (45,21-22). Rather they can only "apprehend" (48,12-13) by means of a First Thought (i.e., The Aeon of Barbelo, 53,27-28) revealed by the Triple Powered One. "First Thought" ($\text{Y}\text{O}\text{R}\text{P}\text{I}\ \text{N}\text{E}\text{N}\text{N}\text{O}\text{I}\text{A}$: 53,27; 64,35) may render Greek $\text{πρ}\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ (cf. *Just. Apol.* 1; *PG* 6,425—of Athena as Zeus' first thought), or even $\text{πρ}\acute{\omicron}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$, perhaps "preconception"; see the discussion and parallels in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1:117, who concludes that $\text{πρ}\acute{\omicron}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ in late Platonic sources signifies a mode of knowledge anterior to intellection, that is a sort of non-comprehending knowledge or "learned ignorance" suggested by the English terms "prehension" or "apprehension." "First Thought" in *Allogenes* seems to be a revelation of the Invisible Spirit (64,35-36), and seems to be identified with the Aeon of Barbelo (53,27-28), although clearly in 48,13 the meaning of "preconception" would be quite fitting. Indeed, the term may refer intentionally both to (human) pre-noetic intuition (see note on 59,30-32) and to divine revelation in quasi-hypostatic form.
- 48,10 $\text{P}\text{T}\text{H}\text{P}\bar{\text{Q}}$ ($\text{E}\text{T}\text{X}\text{O}\text{C}\text{E}\ \text{E}\text{T}\text{E}\text{L}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}$) is translated here and at 52,28; 53,18; 54,22 and 58,25 as "the Universal One" rather than as "the All," since in 58,25 it is identified with a specific figure, the Triple Powered One.
- 48,14-16 Perhaps the latent ("hidden") portion of existence is the same

as "Being" ($\omega\omega\pi\epsilon=\tau\acute{o}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$?); in any case 66,25-28 denies that the Triple Powered One gives Being.

48,18 The relative of the third future $\epsilon[\tau\epsilon]\mu\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ seems to be unattested; one might parse it as $\epsilon[. .]\mu\ \epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\mu\omega\lambda\alpha\eta$ -, a conditionals in protasis, but this leaves the condition without apodosis and $\epsilon[. .]\mu$ unexplained.

48,23-24 "formless form": cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.33,4.

48,32 Perhaps a supralinear correction above λ of $\alpha\lambda[\lambda]\alpha$.

48,35-49,1 "undivided activity": cf. the second undivided activity which appeared in the First Thought, probably the Aeon of Barbelo (53,23-28) and the "eternal intellectual undivided motion" of the Vitality or median aspect of the Triple Powered One (60,19-28). These are substantially manifested (i.e., as an hypostasis), probably as Protophanes, in the Aeon of Barbelo, the First One from the One who truly exists (the Triple Powered One). In 54,8-16 (see note on 54,6-37) it appears that Protophanes (= "Harmedon" in 45,34-36; 58,16-17) corresponds to Vitality and "first activity," and Autogenes to Mentality, "activity" and "second power." Inasmuch as 48,38 continues with "a second activity," it is likely that "first Vitality" and "undivided activity" refer to Protophanes, and "second activity" (cf. 53,25-28; 54,13-17) would refer to Autogenes.

49,1-3 The fragment appearing at 57,1-3 in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 63 has been placed at this location.

49,5-21 The Triple Powered One appears to be the subject, endowed with blessedness and goodness. On the triad: blessedness, goodness and divinity, cf. note on 62,27-63,1. The boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit is the proceeding (Vitality) aspect of the Triple Powered One, here called "the traverser" (see Introduction Section IV). According to Plotinus *Enn.* III.8.9.33-39, the Supreme One is a primal life ($\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\ \zeta\omega\acute{\eta}$), an activity ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$) eternally traversing ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\iota\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\delta\omega$) all things which must derive from something else which is not in traverse, but is the origin of traversing, the origin of life and intelligence and of all things. See also *Zost.* VIII,1:16,5-14: "having instilled a [desire] in Him who exists that he not become boundless [and] shape[less]. Rather, having [been] truly traversed, he is prior to his reification into something that has its [Spirit], in addition to Existence and [Being], standing with him, existing with him, surrounding him." Apparently, the Triple Powered One, as the boundlessness subsisting in the Invisible Spirit, traverses itself in an act of procession and reversion upon the source (the Invisible Spirit) from which it emerges. The boundlessness reverts by turning itself back towards its source in an objectivizing act of knowledge, thus becoming

a separately existing definite (bounded) being, truly existing. In this sense the Triple Powered One is a cause or point of departure for truly existing beings, since it has become a mind containing truly existing ideas. This is precisely the same process described in Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.17,13–26 where boundless life regards its source and this vision causes it to become a definite being, a separate subject perceiving its source as object. It is no longer boundless life, but bounded life, which is Mind. The text of *Allogenes* appears garbled at this point, but its intention seems clear. In particular one might emend 49,11 to read $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\langle c\rangle \epsilon\rho[\omicron\omicron]$, i.e., The boundlessness turns itself to the Invisible Spirit. As the text now stands, one must interpret: The boundless turns him (i.e., the traverser) to it (i.e., the Invisible Spirit).

49,21–26 The subject of the sentence (they) seems to refer to the components of the Aeon of Barbelo, who produce no subordinate aeons or hypostases; cf. 67,25–32.

49,26–38 In his later writings, Plotinus tends to place the triad $\delta\bar{\nu}$, $\zeta\omega\eta$, and $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, derived from traditional exegesis of Plato, *Soph.* 248e, into his second hypostasis, Nous, perhaps under the influence of Arist. *Metaph.* XII.7 (1072^b 27); see Plot. *Enn.* I.6.7, 8.2; III.6.6, 7.3; V.3.5, 4.2, 5.1, 5.10; VI.6.8, 6.18, 7.23, 7.36, 9.9 passim (cf. Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV,1–3; *Theol. props.* 101–3 and Dodds, *Proclus: Theology*, 220–21; 232; 252–54; 345–46; Dam. *Dub. et sol.* 39 (Ruelle, I, p. 80, lines 7–14). See Victorinus, *Adv. Arium*, IV.21,26–27: “ $\tau\rho\iota\delta\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$ est deus, id est tres potentias habens, esse, vivere, intellegere.” See discussion by Hadot, “Etre, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin,” 159–77; “Discussion,” 175–90 and *Porphyre et Victorinus. Allogenes* XI,3:49,26–38; 59,9–60,12; 60,13–61,22 and *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2–12 firmly witness the triad, Being or Existence, Vitality, Mentality in that order of predominance (cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.6.8,17–22). On the variation of the name of the leading term ($\delta\bar{\nu}$ and $\psi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$) and its relation to Porphyry, see Hadot, “La métaphysique de Porphyre,” 127–57; “Discussion,” 158–63 and *Porphyre et Victorinus* 1.267–72. For discussion of the triad, see Introduction Section VI. In *Allogenes*, $\tau\omicron\delta\ \delta\bar{\nu}$ seems to be rendered by $\pi\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ ($\tau\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ is surely by attraction from $\tau\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\eta$ and $\tau\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) and $\pi\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$; $\zeta\omega\eta$ is rendered by $\tau\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\eta$ (i.e., $\zeta\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$) and $\pi\omega\bar{\nu}\eta$ ($\pi\omega\bar{\nu}\eta\ \epsilon\omicron\upsilon\bar{\gamma}\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ - is dittography); $\tau\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ seems to render the strange neologism $\tau\eta\omicron\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ (for $\nu\omicron\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$). The preference for the abstracts $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\eta$ (for $\zeta\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$), $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ and $\nu\omicron\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ emphasizes the non-substantiality of the aspects of the Triple Powered One. The triad occurs in *Steles Seth* VII,5:125,28–32 as $\psi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$, $\omega\bar{\nu}\eta$, $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, and in *Zost.* VIII,1:15,2–12 as $\psi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$, $\text{COOY}\bar{\nu}$,

- ω̅̅2. On the unity of the three modalities, cf. Procl. *Theol. prop.* 103. Abstract qualities precede, ground, and generate substances. The variation *νοῦς/νοότης; ζωή/ζωότης; ὄν/ὄντότης; οὐσία/οὐσιότης*, etc., rests on the distinction between concrete substances and abstract qualities in Stoic and Neoplatonic thought, and was systematized as the “Method of paronyms” by Proclus (*In Parm.* 1106,1–1108,19; Cousin) and is extensively analyzed by Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.352–75. Cf. the similar distinction in the Valentinian, Marcus: *μονότης/ἐνότης* → *μονάς/ἐν*, Iren. *Haer.* I.15.1; cf. I.11.3 and Hipp. *Ref.* VI.49.1 and VI.38.2.
- 49,38–39 The coronis marks the transition to a new section containing four revelations of Youel: 50,17–52,6; 52,13–55,11; 55,17–30; 55,33–57,24. The quotation marks indicate the end of Allogenes’ speech to Youel (cf. “you” on 50,11 and note on 45,9–10).
- 50,1–3 The fragment appearing at 58,1–3 in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 64 has been placed at this location.
- 50,2 *πιογατο* (cf. 50,32): s.v. *ατο*, Crum 19a; *ατο** should be listed s.v. *ογατο* (Crum takes *ογατο, εγατο, αγατο* as the singular indefinite article plus *ατο*).
- 50,6–17 Allogenes has heard the initial doctrine (CBW, 50,11.16; 52,16) about the Triple Powered One and the Aeon of Barbelo (“these things,” “them” 50,7.10.12) probably from Youel (“you” masc., 50,10; cf. “the one who taught you,” 45,9–10) while in the flesh. At this stage, his (discursive) thought (*μεεγε=διάνοια?*) can distinguish things beyond measure (i.e., the doctrine concerning the Aeon of Barbelo, the “Immeasurable One”) from the unknowables (i.e., doctrines concerning the Unknowable God?), which can only be conveyed by a superior revelation.
- 50,18 *χε* was mistakenly entered by the scribe; the quotation to Allogenes begins in line 21.
- 50,19–20 *τανιεοογ τηρογ ιουγηλ* (cf. 52,14; 55,18.34; 57,25); see also *Zost.* VIII,1:125,12–17, and compare *Allogenes* XI,3:55,12–30. The locution apparently renders *ἡ πανένδοξος Ἰουήλ*, or the like.
- 50,25 Is this power (cf. 52,15; 57,20; 61,3; 66,20) an initial form of insight?
- 50,26–27 “Father of the All” is frequent in Valentinian literature but *hapax legomenon* in *Allogenes*; cf. 52,28 and note.
- 50,34–36 *πετε πωκ*; perhaps this means one’s blessedness of self-knowledge (cf. 58,34–37; 59,10–13; 60,16–18). On the one who needs no salvation, cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:125,18–21.
- 51,8 Or “the triple-powered invisible Spirit.”

- 51,8-11 The Aeon of Barbelo surrounds the Triple Powered One as the knowledge of the Invisible Spirit (cf. 49,5-21 and note; cf. the similar image in Plot. *Enn.* II.4.5,31-39; VI.7.17,12-26; 7.21,4-6; 8.18,1-37 and Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* IV.24,10-20.
- 51,12-38 Cf. note on 45,6-9 and 45,26-30. The Aeon of Barbelo contains the patterns and forms of the Aeons (i.e., the Platonic ideas or intelligibles) that "truly exist"; their image is the Hidden One (cf. note on 45,31-33), their intellectual principle ("word," $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon=\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$) is Protophanes (cf. note on 45,33-38), the image of their individuality is Autogenes (cf. note on 46,10-17), and their salvation is Triple Male (cf. note on 45,33-38), the Perfect Youth. The sphere of activity of each is progressively lower: the aeons, human "know-how" and defective nature. On the ordering of the hypostases, cf. Procl. *Theol.* prop. 70, and on their status as images, prop. 65: "All that subsists in any fashion has its being either in its cause ($\kappa\alpha\tau' \alpha\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$) as originative ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; cf. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\eta}$, *Allogenes* XI,3:58,20.23), as a substantial predicate ($\kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\xi}\iota\varsigma$), or by participation ($\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\chi\iota\nu$) after the manner of an image" ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; cf. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$, *Allogenes* XI,3:51,16.21.27), and *In Tim.* I (in Diehl, I.8, lines 13-29): "All things are to be beheld in all things, but either archetypically ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$) or substantially ($\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$) or after the manner of an image ($\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$)." Protophanes here seems to act as a demiurgic intellect ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), receiving the type and forms of true being from Kalyptos by means of an intellectual word ($\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon=\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$) and imposing those on the individuals, i.e., particulars, perhaps individual souls, much as the demiurge in Plato, *Tim.* 41-42. But here Protophanes functions as the intelligence within individuals; in humans he acts by craft and skill, and in animals by partial instinct.
- 51,23-24 For the cluster: craft, skill, and instinct used in reference to the distinction between the knowledge of men and that of animals who do not possess reason ($\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota$), cf. *Corp. Herm. Exc. Stob.* IV,2-3 (Nock-Festugière, III.21).
- 51,29-30 Separately ($\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$; cf. *Marsanes* X,3,21-22 and passim) and individually ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \omicron\gamma\alpha=\kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\epsilon}\nu$): cf. Procl. *Theol.* prop. 170. Autogenes may here play the role of the $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota \theta\epsilon\omicron\acute{\iota}$ in Plato, *Tim.* 41-42.
- 51,32-38 Either Barbelo (more likely) or Autogenes is endowed with the Triple Male/Perfect Youth who in Sethian theology is the Anthropos Adamas, cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:6,7-30 and note on 45,31-47.7. In 58,13-14 Triple Male is called Savior, a rare term in Sethian literature. It is also used of Seth in *Gos. Eg.* III,2:68,22.
- 51,36 $\psi\omicron\chi\eta\epsilon=\beta\omicron\nu\lambda\acute{\eta}$, a synonym of the Paternal Intellect in the Chaldean Oracles: Proc. *In Parm.* 800,20-801,5; 941,27-28; Psellus,

In *Phys.* in *PG* 122,1128 b8-c7; 1149a 10-11 in des Places, *Oracles*, frg. 37,77,88,107.

51,37 $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is supplied to provide a subject for the sentence.

52,12 At various points, Allogenes is filled with the goodness (52,12.17), blessedness (58,9.35; 59,10-13; 60,16-18), and divinity (52,12) of self-knowledge corresponding to similar attributes of the Aeon of Barbelo and the Triple Powered One (49,6-7; 52,30-32; 62,28-36; 63,33-37).

52,13-15 On Youel, cf. note on 50,19-20; the anointing and empowering seem to be metaphors for revelation and insight (*Zostrianos* employs baptisms and sealings). $\alpha\omega\zeta$ may also be rendered "touched."

52,16-33 On $\sigma\beta\omega$, cf. note on 50,6-17. The following instruction on the Triple Powered One is derived from him (52,32-33) and given only to the worthy, the properly instructed (cf. 68,16-20; *Zost.* VIII,1:4,4-20; *Plot. Enn.* VI.9.11).

52,28 On "the Universal One that is higher than perfect," cf. 48,10-12; 53,18; in 58,25-26 it is identified with the Triple Powered One.

53,9-18 Apparently the Triple Powered One (as Mentality) moves motionlessly among his objects of thought, the Aeon of Barbelo (cf. note on 45,15-19). As with Aristotle's unmoved mover, so also in the Neoplatonic ontology it is Nous who moves motionlessly (cf. *Proc. Theol.* prop. 20; see also the discussion and parallels by des Places, *Numénius*, p. 110 note 4 and Hadot *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.283-97, in particular note 3 p. 287). Perhaps there is a higher and lower intellect: the Triple Powered One (as Mentality, unmoved, in repose), and Barbelo (as $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\rho\hat{\alpha}$, "contemplative intellect," cf. Plato, *Tim.* 39E) who surrounds the Invisible Spirit as his self-knowledge (49,9-14). Plotinus (*Enn.* II.9.1) accuses the Gnostics of distinguishing a $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$, "inert intellect" (cf. the self-stilling of the Triple Powered One in 45,22; 53,34 and 59,21-26) and a $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, "demiurgic intellect" (cf. Barbelo), a view entertained by Numenius (in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XI.18.20; des Places, *Numénius*, frg. 15) and the earlier Plotinus (*Enn.* III.9.1). Motionless motion in that which governs ($\rho\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon = \kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$, "to steer, govern") signifies a stabilizing self-limitation of the Triple Powered One by his "faculty" of self-control; self-limitation alone prevents running away into the boundless (*Plot. Enn.* VI.6.18,9-11).

53,18 "The Universal One that is higher than perfect," i.e., the Triple Powered One, cf. note on 52,28.

53,24-28 These expressions seem to describe the Aeon of Barbelo. For

“the third silence of Mentality,” cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:124,1-4: “a silence of the second knowledge, the First Thought in conjunction with the Triple Powered One.” The second undivided Energy (cf. the undivided activity of 48,35 and note) seems to correspond to Protophanes and the eternal intellectual undivided motion in the level of Vitality (60,19-28) corresponding to the median aspect of the Triple Powered One. The First Thought is probably another term for the Aeon of Barbelo (cf. note on 45,15-19).

53,29-31 These expressions seem to describe the Triple Powered One. The Triple Powered One is coordinate (by hendiadys) with “The Indivisible One” in 66,32-35. His separate likenesses may be his Existence, Vitality and Mentality aspects discussed in 49,26-38. The “nonsubstantial Existence” (ὑπαρξίς) seems to be another version of a similar predicate (ΟΥΣΙΑ... ΜῆΝΤΑΤΟΥΣΙΑ) of the Triple Powered One in 47,34; in 55,29-30 the aspects of the Triple Powered One are described as nonsubstantial and non-being existence (ΟΥΜῆΝΤ]ΑΤΟΥΣΙΑ ΜῆΝ [ΟΥΖΥΠΑΡΞΙΣ] ΝΑΤΩΠΕ). For similar terminology see the index in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, vol. 2.

53,31-32 MS reads ΜῆΝ †ΒΟΜ (by attraction from preceding occurrences of ΜῆΝ). It should read ΑΥΩ †ΒΟΜ in order to provide an antecedent for ΑΟΥΩΝ2; the power seems to be the Triple Powered One revealing itself through its “third silence” and “undivided activity” (53,24-26) that appear in the Aeon of Barbelo. Quotation marks in 53,31 mark what appears to be a shift from Youel’s discourse to Allogenes’ description of her ecstasy.

53,37-38 The antecedent of “she” (cf. 54,26) is unclear, but it appears to be Youel.

54,6-37 Cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:126,4-17. Apparently Youel (“she,” 54,26) is ecstatically praising the glories (cf. ΠΙΕΦΟ[Υ, *Steles Seth* VII,5:126,4) representing the three levels of the Aeon of Barbelo according to (κατά, 54,8.13) the aspects of Existence, Vitality and Knowledge in the Triple Powered One (cf. notes on 45,31-47,7 and 48,35-49,1). The first level would correspond to Kalyptos, probably praised according to Existence, represented here only by the name Solmis, as in *Zost.* VIII,1:85,22-87,23. *Zost.* VIII,1:126,1-8 calls Solmis the first luminary and god-revealer of the Kalyptos Aeon (cf. also Solmistos in the Bruce Codex: Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, p. 252, line 22). In Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.40,18-19 the first activity (πρώτη ἐνέργεια) is that which brings an hypostasis into being (οὐσία). The second level (the “first activity,” but called “second indivisible activity” in 53,24-31), would correspond to Protophanes praised according to Vitality. Elsewhere Harmedon is a cognomen of Protophanes (45,36; 58,17; cf.

Steles Seth VII,5:126,12; *Zost.* VIII,1:127,8-9), while Epiphaneus is placed in the fourth aeon of the fourth illuminator Eleleth in the level of Autogenes by *Zost.* VIII,1:127,15-128,7 (spelled Epiphanios). See the close parallel in *Zost.* VIII,1:87,16-88,21. The third level would correspond to Autogenes, praised according to Knowledge. Of the denizens of this level, Lalameu(s) and Noetheu(s) recur later (54,28) and Aphredon occurs in *Steles Seth* VII,5:126.12. Youel (?) then praises what seems to be the entire Triple Powered One of whose glories four are mentioned in the *Three Steles of Seth* (Senaon, self-begotten, 126,6-7; Asineu(s), 126,[7]; Elemaon, the great power, 126,8-9; Optaon, 126,8) and another in *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1:39,2-3 (spelled Mellephanea). On the ascription "Thou art One," cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:125,23-25; "Aeon of Aeons" is frequent in all gnostic literature.

54,14 ΔΕ cancelled by scribe with a stroke through Δ and a dot over ε.

54,16 Emend ΜΜΟϞ to ΜΜΟ<C> to agree with gender of antecedent

ΤΗ.

54,21 ερο[κ]: perhaps ερο[Ϟ], "he who knows (himself) knows the All," cf. *Thom. Cont.* II,7:138,13-18.

55,12-17 Cf. 45,6-8; reconstruction is suggested by *Steles Seth* VII,5:124,7-10.22-25.

55,14 In Proclus the παντέλειοι are wholly perfect entities, complete in themselves, that give rise to things complete (τέλειος) in their kind (*Proc. Theol.* prop. 64). They correspond to the universal intelligibles or ideas of Platonism (see note on 45,6-9).

55,17-19 Reconstruction is suggested by 50,18-20; 52,13-15; 57,24-25.

55,19-20 For reconstruction, cf. 59,30-32 and note.

55,20-30 Apparently the glories do not exist with the Triple Powered One or its aspects, nor with the components of Barbelo's Aeon, but only as the attributes of those hypostases: divinity (instead of "Vitality"), blessedness (instead of "Knowledge") and Existence. The final modality of the glories, nonsubstantial and non-being existence (cf. 55,29-30), seems to correspond to the entire Triple Powered One (cf. note on 53,29-31). For "non-being existence," cf. 62,23; 65,32-33. The term may derive from speculation on the four modes of non-being in Plato's *Parmenides* (cf. 161e-162b); see the discussion by Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.147-211.

55,32-35 Compare the note on 55,17-19.

55,37 ΝϞϞΑ ΟΓΟϞϞΙΑ, perhaps for ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας, a Platonic commonplace; cf. Whittaker, "ΕΠΕΚΕΙΝΑ ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ," 91-104.

- 56,11-14 The "generation of those who truly exist" would be located in the Hidden One (cf. note on 45,31-33); on the self-begotten ones and the Triple Male, see note on 45,33-38.
- 56,14 The supralinear stroke of $\pi\psi[\overline{\mu\eta\eta\tau}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$ is visible; for the reconstruction, cf. 58,12-16.
- 56,15-20 Reconstruction based on a possible parallel to [Plato], *First Alcibiades*, 130 D4, pointed out by M. Tardieu.
- 56,17 For reconstruction, cf. 52,12.17.
- 56,21-22 $\uparrow\psi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$: cf. 57,31; 58,8.
- 56,24-25 On $\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\zeta$, $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\mu\epsilon\eta$, $\alpha\rho.\eta$, cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:62,18-19; 63,19-21.
- 56,26-27 The Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo are restored from *Zost.* VIII,1:62,18-20; 63,19-21; 64,8. Among this triad, Selmen (not Semen as in *Allogenes*) is listed in *Zost.* VIII,1:54,20 as associated with the level of Protophanes, at which level Youel commands Zostrianos (VIII,1:62,17-64,11) to invoke them. They then give the succeeding revelation about the emergence of Barbelo from the Invisible Spirit and Barbelo's levels, Kalyptos, Protophanes, and Autogenes.
- 57-69 On pl. 4 and 63-78 of the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, the codex page numbers should each be reduced by two; cf. *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, p. XVII.
- 57,1-3 The fragment appearing here in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 63 has been placed on 49,1-3.
- 57,6-23 The attempt to apprehend anything above one's own level is futile; it is rather that the higher level, whose identity or being ($\pi\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon=\tau\acute{o}\ \delta\bar{\nu}$, cf. 49,28-29.33.35-36) is apprehended by the comprehender, in turn aids the comprehender to achieve at a level higher than the comprehended. But if one only remains at one's own level ($\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, "nature"), even if he has an incorporeal nature, he remains inferior since he does not associate with any superiority or any inferiority; he is both everywhere and nowhere (cf. *Zost.* VIII,1: 21,6-7; the incorporeal living thoughts are everywhere and nowhere—said of incorporeal reality by Plot. *Enn.* III.9.4; VI.4.3, 17-19; VI.8.16, and Porphyry *Sent.* 27,31,38,40). This seeming inability to control one's station is nearly cause for Allogenes' despair (57,27-28).
- 57,24-27 The end of the Youel revelations (45,6-49,38; 50,21-51,38; 52,15-55,11; 55,19-30; 55,35-57,24); the next revelations are from the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo (59,9-60,12; 61,25-68, top, or 61,23 depending on whether "I" in 68,17 and "he" in 68,24 are the same as the powers mentioned in 61,24 and "we" in 67,25). On the structure of the ascent, see Introduction IV.

57,27-58,26 Allogenes' reaction to the revelation while still in the flesh (cf. 58,26-33) involves an incubation period of "a hundred years" (57,31; 58,8) and is characterized by the blessedness (57,34; 58,9-11) of self-knowledge.

58,1-3 The fragment appearing here in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 64 has been placed on 50,1-3.

58,12-26 Allogenes achieves the first stage of the ascent, the vision of all the beings up until the Triple Powered One. These ascending levels and their (somewhat confused) corresponding characteristics are separated below by semicolons: Autogenes with goodness and divinity (in *Ap. John* BG 8502, r:30,14-19 Autogenes is anointed with and characterized by goodness; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.29.1; *Gos. Eg.* III,2:44, 22-24=IV,2:55,11-14 and *Trim. Prot.* XIII, r:37,30-33); Triple Male/Savior with perfection; Protophanes/Harmedon with the goodness of the Triple Male; Kalyptos with blessedness; the Aeon of Barbelo with divinity; and finally the primal origin (ἀρχή) of Barbelo, the Triple Powered One. See the note on 45,31-47,7, and *Zost.* VIII, r:20,4-16. Barbelo is called the "primary origin" (ὡροπ ἄρχη=προαρχή; cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.5.3; *Hipp. Ref.* VI.38.2) of blessedness, which is an alternate designation of the Mentality aspect of the Triple Powered One (cf. note on 62,27-63,1). Likewise, the Triple Powered One is the primary origin (προαρχή) of the "one without origin" (presumably Barbelo).

58,26 MS reads **εταγτορπ̄** but the third sg. masc. pronoun has no antecedent; **εταγτορπ̄τ** ("when I was taken") must have been intended.

58,26-59,9 The earthly vision of the Aeon of Barbelo is concluded, and Allogenes is raptured from the flesh (ἐνδυμα, 58,29; cf. *Plot. Enn.* I.6.7,5-7) to a holy place with no earthly analogy (cf. the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος in Plato, *Phaed.* 247c). Presumably he has risen to the level of Mentality in the Triple Powered One, where he now sees the things previously known to him only by hearing. He transcends his own active knowledge (γνώσις; cf. *CBW*, 50,11.16; 52,16) and participates in the knowledge of the Aeons (νιπτηρ̄, 59,3) of Barbelo. The ensuing ecstatic ascent will test, or confirm (πειράζειν, 59,8), his earthly knowledge.

59,3 On the Universals, cf. 62,20-21.

59,9-60,12 After Allogenes has attained the level of self-knowledge (blessedness, 58,35; 59,10; 60,17), the Luminaries ready him for the comprehension of the ontological levels of the Triple Powered One.

59,10-13 The level of (self-)knowledge; cf. note on 60,14-18.

- 59,14-18 The level of Vitality is achieved by seeking oneself; cf. note on 60,19-28. On "fear" cf. 59,32-33 and Plot. *Enn.* V.5.4,8-10; VI.9,3,1-13.
- 59,18-26 The level of Existence; cf. note on 60,28-37. The one who truly is at rest is the Triple Powered One; cf. 60,34-37. On "standing and being still" cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.9.11,12-16 and Williams, "Stability in Gnosticism," 819-29.
- 59,26-60,12 The primary revelation of the Unknowable One or Invisible Spirit, whose level cannot be achieved, but only revealed; cf. note on 61,28-67,20.
- 59,30-32 See also 60,8-12; 61,17-19; cf. Dam. *Dub. et sol.* 70 (Ruelle, I.154, lines 16-18): "Were you to incline your intellect so as to know that one as if knowing something (with the mind), you shall not know that one" (*ἦν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνης σὸν νοῦν κἀκεινο νοήσης ὡς τι νοῶν, οὐ κείνο νοήσεις*); also found in des Places, *Oracles*, p. 66: frg. 1, lines 2-3; cf. *ἔστιν αὐτοῦ* (i.e., the first cause) *γνώσις ἢ ἀγνοσία*, Erbse, p. 183, line 26; *θεωρεῖτοι δὲ ἀγνοσία*, Porph. *Sent.* 25 in Lamberz, p. 15, lines 1-6; Anon. Parm. Comm. II,15-31 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.68-71 and note on 48,9-49,1.
- 59,32-60,12 The fear is fear of the infinite, cf. note on 59,14-18. On "that place" cf. 58,31. The "activities" from which Allogenes is to retreat are active attempts at knowledge; only "ignorant" knowledge characterized by "stilling oneself" (59,37; cf. Plot. *Enn.* V.5.8,5) and "inactivity" (60,7) is receptive of primary revelation of the Unknowable One, apparently even for the aeons and glories (i.e., "these" of 60,1). "Withdraw to the rear" occurs also in Plot. *Enn.* III.8.9,29-32; cf. VI.9.3,1-13.
- 60,5 **ἄεν[εργί]**: possibly **ἄεν[εζ]**, "be eternal"; cf. *Corp. Herm.* XI,20 (Nock-Festiguère, I.155).
- 60,14-61,22 This section describes Allogenes' ascent through the levels of the Triple Powered One and receipt of the primary revelation of the Unknowable One.
- 60,14-18 The level of Mentality is characterized by silence and blessedness, a synonym for Intellection (of oneself, cf. 58,34-37; 59,10-13).
- 60,18 MS reads **καταρος**; the emendation is based on 59,12-13.
- 60,19-28 MS (60,20) reads **εἰκωτε ἄως**; the emendation is based on 59,14. The level of Vitality is entered by "infirm" standing since it is characterized by the "eternal intellectual undivided motion," probably circular (cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.8.18,25-30; cf. Procl. *Theol. prop.* 33), undergone by the formless unlimited powers, which when limited, will become the ideas of the Intellect (cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.17,13-26). Likewise, Allogenes cannot stand firmly in a place "boiling with life" (Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.12,23).

60,28-37 The level of Existence is static and still (ΖΟΡΚ ἦμοσ=ἐν ἡσυχία); cf. the permanence (μονή) of the triad: μονή, πρόδος, ἐπιστροφή. Through revelation, Allogenes approximates (κατ' εἰκόνα, cf. note on 51,12-38) the stillness of the "Indivisible One" and the "One who is at rest" (hendiadys for the Triple Powered One, cf. 53,29-31 and note); cf. Anon. Parm. Comm. XIV,22-23 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.110-11.

60,37-61,22 This important passage seems to imply the existence of two exalted beings: (1) the Unknowable One (61,1), the First One unknowable to them all, the God beyond perfection (61,10-12); the Unknowable God (61,16), the Mediator of the Triple Powered One; and (2) the Triple Powered One (61,6.13.20). For discussion, see Introduction IV and notes on 45,13 and 53,9-18. Most of the phrases enumerated may be hendiadys (as in 60,36-37; cf. 53,29-31 and note), but the term Mediator (μεσιτής, 61,19) applied to the Unknowable God introduces a fundamental ambiguity: if the Unknowable One is the highest principle, equivalent to Plotinus' One, how can it mediate the Triple Powered One without forsaking its primacy?

61,28-67,20 "primary revelation and a revelation": unless this is ditto-graphy or another form of textual disturbance, or a case of hendiadys, it seems that "primary revelation" may refer to the negative theology (*via negationis*) section which follows (for examples see Hipp. Ref. VII,20.2-21.3; Plot. *Enn.* VI passim; Albinus, Ἐπιτομή, X). "Revelation," on the other hand, may refer to a more "positive" theology. Thus the preferred "primary" negative theology in 61,32-63,27 (heavily dependent on the *Apocryphon of John*; see below) is followed by 63,28-67,20, which, while still using contrasting negative statements, is distinctly more affirmative. According to the latter, one receives "revelation" (64,30-36) about "That One" (64,25; cf. 64,37; 66,18) who "appears" (65,21; cf. 66,32) and "gives power" (67,19).

61,32-62,2 "something" (λαλῶ= Greek τι) in Stoic thought is the highest category of reality, encompassing both (corporeal) being and (incorporeal) non-being; see the discussion and parallels by Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.159-61. "Exists and will become" (ἔωσπ λῶ φναῶσπε) is awkward. ῶσπε may be the translator's equivalent to ὑπάρχειν. ἐνεργεῖν and ὠῆζ seem to be out of sequence and ἀτυπαρξίς seems gratuitous. The original may have read: τὸ δὲ τί ἐστι ἢ ἐστι, ὅτι ἢ ὑπάρχει ἢ ζῶει ἢ νοεῖ ἐνεργῶν ἄνευ νοῦ οὔτε ζωῆς οὔτε ὑπάρξεως ἀκαταλήπτως. "Now he is something (in the most general sense) in that he exists, seeing that he either exists or lives or knows, acting without mind or life or existence in an incomprehensible way." The same phraseology is found

in Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* IV,23,19–22; cf. the note on 49,26–38 above. The substitution of ὑπαρξίς for τὸ ὄν in the triad occurs in Damascius who may have found it already in the second-century Chaldean Oracles (see discussion and citations in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.267–69). [Π]Η ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΕΤῆΤΑϞ in 62,2 and without ΕΤΨΟΟΠ in 62,32 (negated); 63,20 and 63,21 (negated): “that being which is proper to him” seems to mean something like a property or attribute peculiar to a thing as distinguished from the thing itself. It may render the Greek ἡ ἰδιότης “specific property”; see the discussion by Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.99 note 4.

62,3 [Ε]ΝΣΕΨΩϞΠ: space requires restoration of ε producing a hanging negated circumstantial phrase. To judge from ΕΜΕΥ (line 6) a negated second tense is called for, i.e., ΝΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΑΝ (“it is not in any way that he is left over”).

62,3–6 These terms may be alchemical or metallurgical.

62,6–7 ϞϞΠ (62,16; 63,25–26), ϞϞϞ (62,7), ϞϞϞ (62,26,27; 67,32) appear to be an euphonic metathesis and ΑΤϞϞϞ (63,27), judging from its context, is an unattested word apparently meaning “to diminish.” The passages 62,2–27; 63,25–27 and 67,16–17,32 which utilize this term reflect the Platonic conception of undiminished emanation (cf. Plot. *Enn.* III.8.8,46–8.10,19; V.1.3 and 1.6) which Dodds (*Proclus: Theology*, 26–27, notes) traces back to the Middle Stoa. It is found often, e.g., Wis 7:27 and in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XI.18.15–19 (des Places, *Numémius*, frg. 46). In *Enn.* V.4.2,13–28 Plotinus refers this idea back to Plato, *Tim.* 42E of the demiurge abiding in his own proper state while the junior gods make the mortal body.

62,8–11 For readings at end of line, see *Facsimilie Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl.4.

62,13–14 “it does not affect him”: ΝΝΕΨΑϞΕΙ ΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟϞ, a negated second habitude; lit. “it is not upon him that it is wont to come.”

62,17–27 This passage concludes (cf. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ, 62,17–18) the portion of the negative theology due to the composer of *Allogenes* (i.e., 61,32–62,27), as can be seen from his characteristic terminology: “Mind and Life” (62,19), “non-being Existence” (62,23), “silence and stillness” (62,25), “(un)diminished” (62,26–27). Beginning in 63,28 and continuing through p. 67 the propositions are distinctly more affirmative, though many negative locutions occur. It stresses the unknowability of the positive attributes of the highest divinity. The intervening material (62,28–63,27), characterized by the repeated phrase ΕϞϞϞ ΣΟΤΠ Ε-, “he is superior to,” sustains an extremely close verbal

parallel with a portion of the shorter version of the Coptic *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:23,3–26,13 (especially 24,9–25,9). This parallel is so close as to suggest that *Allogenes* is dependent on some form of the *Apocryphon of John* close to the BG version, or else upon the common prototype upon which both texts drew. Cf. Plato, *Parm.* 137c–142a.

62,20–27 **ΝΙΠΤΗΡῸ** (cf. 59,3: the “Universals”) may be the all-perfect ones (**παντελείοι**) of 55,14–15; that is, the universal intelligibles or ideas of Platonism (see the note on 45,6–9).

62,23 On “non-being Existence,” cf. 55,30; 65,32–33.

62,27–63,1 Cf. *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:24,9–13: **ΟΥΔΕ ΝΟΥ/Μῆνττελιος αν πε ουδε νου/μῆντναϊατq αν πε νουμῆντνο[γ]/τε αν πε αλλα ουζωβ εφσοτ[π]/νηζογο εροου πε** (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*). The order of predicates in *Allogenes* XI,3:62,28–30 is the reverse of those in BG. In the *Allogenes* passage, 62,30–37 (**αλλα ουλααγ... ἄνωγτελιος αν πε**) is interpolated into the BG material (between **νουμῆντνουτε αν πε** [24,10–11] and **αλλα ουζωβ** [24,11]) to stress that the divinity, blessedness, and perfection, which function as attributes of the Unknowable God in the BG passage, are in *Allogenes* understood as reifications (“entities of”) of the Unknowable God (or Triple Powered One) that characterize the respective members of the ontological triad: Being or Existence, Vitality, and Mentality (cf. note on 58,12–26). The same point is made in 63,33–64,4. The identification between blessedness and intelligence is made in *Zost.* VIII,1:15,3–12 and in Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* I,52,3–5 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.31. On the translation of 62,31–32 see the note on 61,32–62,2.

63,1–8 Cf. BG 8502,2:24,13–19: **ΟΥΔΕ ΝΟΥΑΠΙ/ΡΟΣ αν πε ουδε μπου† τωψ εροq/αλλα ουζωβ εφσοτπ εροου πε χ[ε]/νουσωματικος αν πε νουατ/σωμα αν πε ουνοb αν πε νο[γ]/κογι αν πε ουνη αν πε νου/ταμιο αν πε** (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*). This parallel shows that **ηπε** (“number,” 63,8) translates the Greek *ποσότης* or *ποσόν*, “quantity.”

63,5–10 Beginning of lines preserved in *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 4.

63,9–13 The order of the phrases (ABC) in BG 8502,2:24,19–22: (A) **ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΨΛΑΑ[γ]/ΝΟΪ ΜΜΟΥ** (B) **ΟΥΛΑΑγ <α>Ν ΕΠΤΗΡq/ΕΤΨΟΟΠ** (C) **αλλα ουζωβ εφσο[τπ]/εροου πε** occurs as BACA in *Allogenes* with minor variations (the first occurrence of A is positive, not negative).

63,14–17 Material not in BG either derives from the common prototype, or more likely is an interpolation by the composer of *Allogenes* into his prototype of material proper to *Allogenes* in terms of primary

revelation = self-knowledge. The Unknowable God does not possess attributes of existing things and thus cannot be known by them, but he can only be known by himself. Cf. Anon. Parm. Comm. V,32-34 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.80-83: "(The divine) knowledge is not as one knowing the known; rather he is this knowledge."

63,18-21 Cf. *Ap. John* III,1:5,16: $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\gamma\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \alpha\bar{n} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ and BG 8502,2:24,21-25,1: $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \bar{o}\gamma\zeta\omega\bar{\nu} \ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ /εροοϋ πε οϋχ ως εφσοττ $\alpha\lambda[\lambda\alpha]$ /ζωσ επωϋ μμιν $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$ [π]ε (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502). The Unknowable God strictly speaking cannot be compared in terms of his own attributes. The composer of *Allogenes* changes the οϋχ ως εφσοττ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \zeta\omega\sigma \ \epsilon\pi\omega\bar{\nu} \ \mu\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{n} \ \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{\nu} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$: "not as his being better, but as his being his own specific character" to $\bar{\nu}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon} \ \bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta} \ \epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu} \ \alpha\gamma\omega \ \bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta} \ \alpha\bar{n} \ \epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ to stress the superiority of the Unknowable God with respect both to his own specific character and to the specific character of anything else. See also notes on 61,32-62,2 and 62,27-63,1. *Ap. John* III,1:5,18-19 takes $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ as the subject of $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{q}\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$: "but that which is his did not participate...." The more difficult reading is to be preferred here.

63,21-25 Cf. BG 8502,2:25,1-7: $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{q}/\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon} \ \alpha\bar{n} \ \epsilon\gamma\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu} \ \bar{o}\gamma\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}/\bar{\alpha}\bar{n} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\nu} \ \bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}$ (πετμετε/χε γαρ εγαιων ζῆκκοογε νερ/совте зароq αγω ογοειω πε/εμποϋτ τωϋ εροϋ ζωσ ενq/χι αν ντη κεογα εϋτ τωϋ [=for he who participates an aeon has been prepared for by others, and time has not been limited, as it were, by further limitation]) /αγω q̄xp̄ria αν m̄llaay ωοοπ/επτηρϋ ζατφεζη (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502). *Allogenes* seems to reflect only the material prior to the parentheses, although one should compare 65,21-24 with the material before and after the parentheses.

63,26 Note marking on left margin; perhaps —| or |—?

63,33-64,4 Compare notes on 61,32-63,2; 62,27-63,1; and 63,18-21. The two negated abstracts at 63,35-36 seem to suggest that the blessedness and perfection characterizing the Unknowable One are not to be confused with the blessedness and perfection which are "an entity of his" (62,28-36). Elsewhere blessedness is associated with the Triple Powered One (49,6; 52,31), especially as the source of its Mentality aspect (54,16); it is possessed by Kalyptos (58,18.20) and by Allogenes (58,9.35; 59,10); it is equated with the glories (55,28) and "heard" by Allogenes (60,17).

63,35 MS reads $\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{i}/\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$; elsewhere the phrase is $\bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{-}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{k}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{\varsigma}$; see the index.

64,5-6 Fragment preserving ends of lines placed subsequent to photo in

Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII. See the *addenda et corrigenda* in the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

64,8-14 See the note on 63,14-19.

64,14-36 The restoration/emendation [εψ]/ <χε ουν̄ογα εφναγ εροφ> is supplied to complete the protasis of the sentence extending through 64,21 on the supposition that it was omitted by homoioteleuton and haplography. Anyone who knows the deity in a positive way, and not by being ignorant of him, sins against him. Yet since the deity is totally self-sufficient and without need, he cannot concern himself with punishing the sinner, who actually punishes himself by depriving himself of his object, the origin or principle (ἀρχή) that really is. Without the eye or sight of revelation (i.e., primary revelation, perhaps self-knowledge?) which stills itself (by being activated from without, not by activating itself, which would be active rather than passive or "ignorant" cognition—cf. 65,26-28), such a one is blind. The source of the revelation seems to be the Triple Powered One of the First Ennoia of the Invisible Spirit (the same locution occurs in *Zost.* VIII,1:20,15-19 absolutely, without genitives). On the problem of ambiguity concerning the Triple Powered One, cf. notes on 60,37-61,22 and 53,9-18.

64,20 οοπ written over erased . ατ.

64,28 Emendation: assuming loss of ς through haplography. But perhaps it originally read ἡτοφ <ογ>εβολ ἡμοφ.

65,37-67,20 The negative theology is here applied to the Triple Powered One.

65,21-24 Cf. 63,21-25 and note.

65,22-23 ἡ χρια takes a compound direct object ἡογχρονοσ ἡογεων; the εβολ ἡἡ is unnecessary. Perhaps the scribe was thinking of χι εβολ ἡἡ, "participate."

65,24-30 The Triple Powered One is unfathomable (beyond knowledge), inactive (beyond vitality) and beyond existence (since he is non-being existence, 62,23 and 65,32-33).

65,30-32 While ἡἡ ογτοποσ ("spatially") implies corporeality, for incorporeality, one might expect ἡἡ ογτοποσ αν. For the contrast cf. Philo, *Conf.* 136; *Somn.* I.63; Plot. *Enn.* III.9.4; VI.8.16; Porph. *Sent.* 1,2,31,38 in Lamberz; Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* I.50,8-10 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.29 and *Zost.* VIII,2:21,6-7. ἡἡ ογνει probably renders οικείως, "properly."

65,32-33 Cf. 55,30; 62,23.

65,34-35 The Triple Powered One causes the existence of the self-sufficient beings by doing nothing to cause their existence; he simply exists unto himself, having no desire to create anything else; cf. Procl.

Theol. props. 8–10: the Good has no *ἔφεις* (desire) or *ὄρεξις* (appetite), but is only *ἐφετόν* (desired) and *ὄρεκτόν* (craved).

66,16–38 This section seems to be similiar (cf. 45,21–27; 49,7–21) and yet to contradict (cf. 48,14–16) other sections of *Allogenes*, thus suggesting separate sources. Here it is said that the Triple Powered One does not receive power (66,20) and does not grant being (66,27–28), while 45,25–26 suggests that he does receive power and 48,14–16 suggests that he does grant being. Furthermore, the way in which the Triple Powered One emanates from the Invisible Spirit here (i.e., “being at rest” [“stilled”], standing forth [ἈΖΕΡΑΤ-], and appearing [ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ] as an Eternal Life surrounding all else) is similar to but uses different terminology from 45,22–26 (being stilled, being extended [ΠΟΡΨ- ΕΒΟΛ], and becoming perfect [ᾤ ΤΕΛΙΟΣ]). While here the Triple Powered One is “at rest” and is “boundless,” in 49,7–21 he is “transverser of the boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit.” It is possible that “an Eternal Life” (ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ) may be syncope for “eternal revelation,” but “revelation” should require ΕΒΟΛ, and “Life” certainly seems to be the proceeding aspect or emanating modality of the Triple Powered One of the Invisible Spirit. The triad, boundless, powerless and non-existent, seems comprised of negatives of the triad, Being or Existence, Life or Vitality, Knowledge or Mentality (which is the stage at which boundless Life becomes bounded and defined as intellect in contemplative reversion upon its source).

67,16 ε of ΕΤΑϞ read in ultraviolet light.

67,36–38 ΟΥΑΕΤᾤ and ΕΚΑΧΙΤΟΥ betray some Subachmimic influence. ΟΥΑΕΤᾤ must be emended either to <ἄμοϞ> ΟΥΑΕΤᾤ (“know only him,” i.e., the Unknowable One who is at rest) or to ΟΥΑΕΤ <ΤΗΝΕ> (“that you alone know and that they speak with one another,” i.e., that *Allogenes* should know the Unknowable One directly and that “they,” perhaps Messos and his associates, should know through *Allogenes*, the “other [ἄλλος] one” who mediates the revelation). Why *Allogenes* is referred to in the plural (ΝΤΕΤᾤΕΙΜΕ) is puzzling, unless perhaps we assume both he and Youel are here addressed, or unless we have redaction by someone other than the author of *Allogenes*, as the sudden introduction of Subachmimic features might suggest.

68,16–23 The final instructions to *Allogenes* (by one of the Luminaries or their powers, 61,24) require him to record the revelation for his successors, to leave it on a mountain (the *topos* of revelation) and

“call up” the “guardian,” the “Dreadful One,” probably a demon to strike fear into the hearts of unauthorized users. “Book” may be the author’s designation for the genre of *Allogenes*; cf. “books of Allogenes,” 69,18–19 and Epiph. *Pan.* XXXIX.5.1; XL.2.2.

68,24–69,19 *Allogenes* is left alone full of joy having written down the revelation as a witness to Messos, who is apparently to go himself and proclaim (69,14–15) its content “as the seal,” (in the sense of the conclusion of a series) “of all the books of *Allogenes*” (Schenke’s suggestion [††ε]ϸΦΡΑΓΙϸ, “the five seals” [“Gnostic Sethianism,” 603] is too long for the lacuna). On the plurality of such books, see Introduction, Section II. Compare the command to preach to the worthy in *Zost.* VIII,1:4,4–20. The name “*Allogenes*” occurs in 69,20 as the title of the tractate, “The *Allogenes*” (cf. Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 16). Apparently all of p. 69 was inset from the left margin, and each of lines 1–19 was decorated with a reversed *diple obelismene* to the left and to the right approximately two *dipleis* followed by a *diple obelismene*. The titles of *Allogenes* and of the following tractate (*Hypsi-phrone*) in lines 19–20 are each prefaced with a reversed *diple obelismene* and surrounded above and below with short obeli with serifs at their ends.

69,17 “for”: cf. translation of $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ in *Apoc. Adam* V,5:67,3–4.

NHC

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INTRODUCTION

NHC XI,4: HYPHISPHRONE, 69,21–72,37

Bibliography: Doresse, *Secret Books*, 144, 157; Krause, “Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund,” 109–11; Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 12; Puech, “Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques,” 106; Robinson, “Codicology.”

This small tractate, which occupies the last four pages of Codex XI, consists of only four large and two small fragments containing the lower portion of both margins of two leaves. The margins are separated by a large vertical gap in the center. No top and bottom margins are extant. The texture and fibers of these fragments match the texture and fibers of the first two surviving leaves of the codex (69/70 + 1/2 and 71/72 + the front flyleaf), thus suggesting that they constitute parts of the same respective sheets. It is therefore probable that the codex, and hence this tractate, concluded with p. 72. Although there has been no codicological confirmation, it appears that fragments 1 and 2 in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 82 (see below, “Codex XI: Fragments, Hand 2”) may belong somewhere in this short tractate to judge from extant vocabulary: $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$ (= $\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\eta[\alpha\gamma]$), frg. 1↑, line 3; cf. $\eta\alpha\gamma$ in 69,23; 71,22; 72,20. $\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$, frg. 1→, line 3; cf. $\tau\alpha\mu\omicron$ in 70,17; 72,24.26. And possibly an occurrence of the name Hypsiphron in frg. 2→, line 5: $\overline{\eta\eta}$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\zeta\eta$ (= $[\overline{\psi\psi\iota\phi\rho\omicron}] \overline{\eta\eta}$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\zeta\eta[\eta\tau\epsilon]$), although the supralinear stroke is not regular.

The superscript title “Hypsiph[ron]e” (69,21) is only partially extant: $\psi\psi\iota\phi$. Both Doresse and Puech took it to be $\psi\psi\iota\varsigma[\tau\omicron\varsigma]$, the second member of the subscript title to the next-to-last tractate that read “The Supreme Allogenes” (see the Codex Introduction, Section IV). Since the body of text below these titles contains the readings $\eta\phi\rho\omicron\eta$ (69,23), $\psi\psi\iota\phi\rho\omicron/\eta\eta$ (70,22–23) and $\psi\psi\iota\phi\rho\omicron\eta$ (72,21), the title on 69,21 may be safely restored as $\psi\psi\iota\phi[\rho\omicron\eta]$, and taken to be the superscript title of the fourth tractate. Since the conclusion of the fourth tractate is not extant, there can be no confirmation from a final subtitle that may have existed at the bottom of p. 72.

The script of *Hypsiphron* is identical with that of *Allogenes*; the only feature of note is the substitution of the diaeresis above the ψ

in “Hypsiphrone” instead of the Coptic ρ to mark the rough breathing (69,21; 70,22; 72,21). To the extent that this can be determined from the extant fragments, the Coptic dialect is standard Sahidic, and thus differs slightly from the dialect of *Allogenes*.

Even with the title “Hypsiphrone” (“She of High Mind,” apparently derived from $\psi\psi\phi\rho\omega\nu$), the character of this small tractate is obscure. The *incipit* designates the text a “book” or “scroll” (69,22) that contains [things] (69,22–23) either seen by or communicated to Hypsiphrone (69,23–24) in the “place” of (her) “virginity” (69,25; 70,15.19.24). Although there is mention of a plurality of persons speaking (69,29), the tractate does not appear to be a dialogue; rather, the conversation with “her brethren” (69,27) must be a setting for the first-person narrative that occupies the rest of the tractate, in which dialogue is reported, in part, with a certain Phainops ($\phi\alpha\iota\nu\omega\psi$), cf. $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\psi$, “bright-eyed,” 70,26.[29]; 72,19; cf. 69,27–28).

The tractate therefore appears to be a first-person revelation narrative, which relates the descent of Hypsiphrone (the speaker) into the world (70,20–21) and the response of others who had already come into the world, but whose abode was in the place of her virginity. The fragmentary state of the tractate makes it impossible to trace the course of the discourse.

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[30]

—<ΥΨΙΦ[ΡΟΝΗ]
 ———— [————]

- 22 πχωωμε [ετβε νε]τα[γ]
 ναγ εροογ [ν̄τ̄ν̄ ῡψι]φρο
 24 νη· εγ[ογωνη εβο]λ̄ ζ̄μ̄
 πτοπος [ν̄][τεσ̄[μ̄ν̄]τ̄]παρ
 26 θενος· α[γω̄ ρ̄σ̄ωτ̄]μ̄ ε
 νεσσνηγ [6±]φ̄λ̄ι
 28 ν̄ωψ̄ μ̄ν̄ ς[6± α]γω̄
 εγωαχε [μ̄[ν̄] νογερ]ηγ
 30 ζ̄ν̄ ογμγ[στηριον] ανοκ
 δε νεγω[ορ̄π̄ πε̄ ν̄]ωπ̄ ν̄
 32 σα[ογσα] [8±]·πε
 [14±]·

[69]

Hypsiph[urone]

- 22 The book [*concerning the things*] that were
 seen [*by*] Hypsiphurone
 24 being [*revealed*] in
 the place (τόπος) of [*her*] virginity (παρθένος).
 26 [*And she listens*] to
 her brethren [] Phainops
 28 and [] and
 they speak [*with one another*]
 30 in a [*mystery (μυστήριον)*]. Now (δέ) I
 [*was first by individual*] ranking
 32 []
 []

- [ō]
 (Lines 1-13 lacking)
- 14 [10[±]]οἱ αἰεῖ [εβολ
 [επιτο]πο[с n̄]τε ταμντ[παρ]
 16 θε[нос] α[γ]ω αειωκ ε[ρ]ρα[ι]
 επ[κος]μος[τ]οτε αυτα
 18 μ[οἱ ετв]ε нη[· n̄]βι нη εтμнн
 επ[ιτοп]οс [n̄]τε таμнт
 20 πα[ρθεν]ος· α[γ]ω αιβωκ
 ερρα[ι] επκοсм]ος· αυω πε
 22 χαγ να[ι]χε κесоπ] αψφρο
 нη pα[наχωρι n̄с]ανβολ m̄
 24 πμα [n̄τεс [m̄]nt] παρθενос·
 тот[ε απετα]qсωтm̄ n̄би
 26 φαιn[ωψ петн]ιγε εροyn
 zn τ[сπηгн n̄]сnoq пωp̄ω
 28 neс [εβολ· α[γ]ω πεχαq
 χε [ανοκ πε φαιn[ωψ] .on
 30 α.n[6[±]]..[.].[.].[.].
 ...[6[±]]..[...].γα
 32 ...[6[±]]..[.].[.].τε
 ...[12[±]]αq
 34 [

[02]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

18 $\bar{c}\omega\bar{r}\bar{m}'\bar{m}'[$
 $\alpha\alpha\alpha\text{.τε}\bar{n}[\quad 9^{\pm} \quad \omicron]\gamma$
 20 $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\gamma\mu\iota\alpha[\quad 9^{\pm} \quad \tau]\eta$
 $[\pi]\epsilon\bar{n}\eta\kappa\epsilon\psi\omega\bar{x}\pi\bar{n}[\rho\omega\mu]\epsilon$
 22 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\tau\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\omega[\mu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota]$
 $\eta\epsilon\bar{n}\varsigma\eta\omicron[\eta]\hat{\eta}[\quad 8^{\pm} \quad]\epsilon$
 24 $\rho\omicron\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda[\quad 9^{\pm} \quad]\text{.τε}$
 $\bar{n}\eta\omicron\gamma\lambda[\quad 10^{\pm} \quad \kappa\omega]\rho\bar{\tau}$
 26 $\bar{m}\bar{n}\omicron\gamma\omicron\text{.}[\quad 9^{\pm} \quad \bar{z}]\bar{n}\eta\epsilon\eta$
 $\beta\iota\chi\text{.τοτε}\alpha\eta[\omicron\kappa\pi\epsilon\chi]\alpha\bar{\iota}$
 28 $[\eta]\alpha\eta\chi\epsilon\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\eta\psi[\epsilon\epsilon\rho\rho]\alpha\bar{\iota}\epsilon$
 $[\chi]\omega\bar{\iota}\bar{n}\beta\iota\phi[\lambda\iota\eta\omega\psi\bar{m}\pi]\epsilon\eta$
 30 $[\varsigma]\omega\bar{r}\bar{m}\text{.}[\quad 8^{\pm} \quad \eta]\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma$
 $[\rho]\omega\mu\epsilon\bar{n}[\quad 10^{\pm} \quad]\eta'$
 32 $[\text{.}\text{.}\text{.}\text{.}[\quad 11^{\pm} \quad]\gamma$
 $[\quad 14^{\pm} \quad]\bar{m}\bar{n}$
 34 $[\quad 14^{\pm} \quad]\alpha\gamma$
 $[\quad 14^{\pm} \quad]\eta\alpha$

(3 \pm Lines lacking)

Note the
 Possibly
 For $\varsigma\omega\eta$
 For $\kappa\omega\tau$

[71]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

[
 18 err [
 [
 20 desire (ἐπιθυμία) [*the number*]
 of just the [*human*] remnants
 22 or (ἢ) that I may see a [*man, the blood-likeness*]
 [*or (ἢ)*]
 24 [
 of a [*fire*]
 26 and a [*in*] his
 hands. Then (τότε) [*as for me, I said*]
 28 [*to*] him: “[*Phainops*] has not [*come*] upon
 me; he [*has not*]
 30 gone astray. [*see*] a
 man [*]* him
 32 [
 [
 34 [
 [
 (3± lines lacking)

71,18 Note the vestige of ink before c of cω̄̄̄̄̄ at the beginning of the line.
 71,19 Possibly αἰτε for αἰτει (αἰτεῖν), “to ask.”
 71,23 For cνοq, cf. 70,27.
 71,25 For κω̄̄̄̄̄, cf. 72,28.

[OB]

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

[18±]N.
 18 .ο[16±]ΓΑΡ ΕΤΑϞ
 ΧΟϞ[11±]·N ΦΑΙΝΩΨ
 20 ΠΑΙ[6±]·Ε[·]. ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ
 ΑΥ[ω ΠΕΧΑϞ] ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΨΙΦΡΟΝΗ
 22 ΕΤ[ΒΕ ΟΥ ΚΨΟΟ]Π [N]CΑΒΟΛ MMOI
 ΟΥΩ[ζ MMOK NCWI·] ΑΥΩ TNA
 24 TAMO[κ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑΝ]ΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΕΙ
 ΟΥΑΖT [NCWϞ· ΝΕΙ]ΨΟ[Ο]Π ΓΑΡ
 26 [N]ΖΡΑΙ [ZN ΟΥΝΟΒ] NZOΤΕ· ΑΥΩ
 ΔΑΤΑ[ΜΟΕΙ] ΕΥΠΗΓΗ NCNO[Ϟ]
 28 ΕCBO[ΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕC]T ΚΩΖT[
 [·]ΕΕ[9±]ΠΕΧΑϞ[
 30 [·]ΕΔ·[8±]ΩΚ M·[
 [·]··[
 32 [·]··[
 [·]ΥN[

(4± Lines lacking)

...is to
...five
...of the
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...III, pl. 7
...notes

↑

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...; or
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↑

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...visit
...perhaps

CODEX XI: FRAGMENTS

The policy is to publish transcriptions of every fragment to Codex XI having five or more letters extant on either side (e.g., recto-verso) of the fragment. The designations of the fragments correspond to those given in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 79–82. Both sides of each fragment appear side-by-side with notes immediately below each transcription.

Hand 1

Frg. 1

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1 $\bar{\nu}$[	1]·[
2 πϙ·[	2]ΜΕΝ
3 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$[	3 α]ΥΩ αϞ
4 ·[	4]·ϵ
5 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$[	5]·ΤΑΡ
6 ω[	6]ϵΝ
	7]·ϙ
Inner margin for [1]–[36], first half of quire; or outer margin for [37]–[44], second half of quire.	Inner margin for [1]–[36], first half of quire; or outer margin for [37]–[44], second half of quire.

Frg. 8

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1]·ϛϙ Δ·[	1 ε]ΤΜΜ[εΥ
2]Ταε αζ[	2]ΝΤαΥΠ[
3]· $\bar{\nu}$[	3]·[··]ϙ ρ[
4]Ν†[	4]ωΠ[
	5]·[
No margins visible. Line 4: perhaps]ΝΨ[	No margin visible.

Frg. 9

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1 ].[	1]ΗΡΕ[
2]ΤΒ[	2]ΗΡΙ[
3]ῥ̄ λχ[ῆ	3]πε η[
4]ωΜ[	4]ε αρα[
5]ῆπ[	5].π[
No margins visible.	No margins visible.
Line 2: perhaps ε]ΤΒ[ε; τ perhaps η	Line 1: perhaps ω]ΗΡΕ[or ωη]ΗΡΕ[
Line 4: perhaps ρ]ωΜ[ε	Line 2: perhaps θ]ΗΡΙ[ΟΝ or ΜΥΣΤ]ΗΡΙ[ΟΝ
Line 5: perhaps ῆπ or ῆτπ	η may be ει

Frg. 10

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1]ια εϛ[	1]πλορ[οc
2]ῆc .[	2]τοπ[οc
3]νε[	3]με[
4]ῆΜ[	4]ψγχ[
5 ].[	5].[
No margins visible.	No margins visible.
Line 3: perhaps]νε[	Line 2: τ perhaps η
	Line 3: perhaps ρω]με[
	Line 4: perhaps]ωγκ[

Frg. 15

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1]ῆπ.Δ.[	1].[].[
2]ω εϛ[	2]ῆ'γαρ ει[
3]ατα[	3]νογ[
	4].π[
No margins visible.	No margins visible.
Line 1: perhaps]ῆπ.Δι[αβολοc	

Frg. 16 & 21

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →	
1 ει Ν[	1	]κ̄τ̄ν̄
2 ει ΝΩ [	2	]τ̄μ̄.
3 [.]·Ν̄Ν[	3	]·πε
4 α γ ω·[	4]·
5 ··[
Inner margin for [1]–[36], first half of quire; or outer margin for [37]–[44], second half of quire.	Inner margin for [1]–[36], first half of quire; or outer margin for [37]–[44], second half of quire.	

Frg. 19

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1]·π[	1]πε[
2]α γ ω[	2]γ ω·[
3]ρ ω[	3]·[
No margins visible.	No margins visible.

Frg. 23

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1 α[	1]·
2 π[	2]ζ ε
3 τ[	3]·
	4]·
Inner margin for [1]–[36], first half of quire; or outer margin for [37]–[44], second half of quire.	Inner margin for [1]–[36], first half of quire; or outer margin for [37]–[44], second half of quire.

Frg. 25

Plate 79 ↑	Plate 80 →
1]·ΝΜ[	1]ΜΠ[
2]ε̄τ̄ ν̄[	2]λ ο·[
3]·Υ[	3]φ[
No margins visible.	No margins visible.

Frg. 26

Plate 79 ↑
 1] . []
 2] . κ α []
 3] . []
 No margins visible.

Plate 80 →
 1] Μ Ο []
 2] . φ []
 No margins visible.

Frg. 28

Plate 79 ↑
 1] Μ Ι []
 2] α []
 No margins visible.

Plate 80 →
 1] φ []
 2] α ζ []
 No margins visible.

Frg. 31

Plate 79 ↑
 1] ε []
 2] ω []
 3] γ ⁀ []
 No margins visible.

Plate 80 →
 1] . ε []
 2] ε χ . []
 3] α γ []
 No margins visible.

Hand 2

Frg. 1

Plate 81 ↑
 1 [] γ τ []
 2 ν α ι ε τ α [ι χ ε []
 3 α γ ω α ε ι ν [α γ
 4 σ η η γ [μ] ν η []
 5 . ρ . []
 6 η []
 7 . []

Plate 82 →
 1 [7[±]] ο ε γ [7[±]] γ
 2 [8[±]] ρ α ι [2^ν] ν ε ι σ τ ο
 3 [λ η α γ] ω α ε ι τ α μ ο ο γ
 4 [ε ν α ι ν τ α ε ι] η α γ ε ρ ο ο γ ν
 5 [13[±]] ο γ η ο β
 6 [15[±]] . [.] τ ο η
 7 [16[±]] ε η
 8 [16[±]] . []

Lines 3 and 4: vocabulary suggests that found on *Hypsiphrone*, p. 72.

Frg. 2

Plate 81 ↑

1]ψοχ[νε
 2]βαβζ[
 3]. κλοολε[
 4]†κλοολε [ḡ[
 5 α]ἰραψ[ε
 Perhaps [71] top?

Plate 82 →

1]. .[
 2]εζεν[
 3 α]γχιτ' εζ[ραϊ ε
 4]αγω πεχαγ[
 5 ὕψιφρο]ἠη εις ζη[ητε
 Perhaps [72] top?

Frg. 4

Plate 81 ↑

1]ε[.].[
 2]. αγω.[
 3]ωορπ ḡ.[
 4 π]ωτ' εβολ[
 5 ḡμ]ο[ο]γ.[
 No margins visible.

Plate 82 →

1]. .[
 2 α]ἠοκ δε.[
 3 ḡ]μοογ α[
 4]εωινε.[
 5]αι[τ]ιον[
 No margins visible.

CODEX XII

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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XII

Bibliography: Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund," 111-13; Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 10-12; *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pp. XIII-XV; pl. 85-102.

Codex XII was part of one of the groups of codices acquired by the antiquities dealer Phocion J. Tano during 1946-48. It was put in safekeeping at the Department of Antiquities in 1949, transferred to the Coptic Museum on 9 June 1952, declared national property by court action in 1956, and given the inventory number 10555 in 1959. It had been numbered XII by Jean Doresse and Togo Mina in 1949, XIII by Henri-Charles Puech in 1950, XI by Doresse since 1958, and XII by Martin Krause in 1962 and James M. Robinson in 1968 (Robinson, "Introduction" and *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pp. VI-VII). In April 1961 it was conserved in 12 plexiglass containers by Victor Girgis in consultation with Pahor Labib and Martin Krause. It was photographed by R. Herzog for Krause at that time and again by photographers of the Center of Documentation for UNESCO in 1966. Under the supervision of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO, fragments were placed and photographs made at three work sessions during 1970-71.

Of all the Nag Hammadi Codices, Codex XII is in the poorest state of preservation. No titles or page numbers remain, although at least three tractates are represented. Of the approximately thirty-nine original pages of the *Sentences of Sextus* (XII,1) ten survive, of which eight lack parts of the top and bottom lines, while the remaining two (from a different part of the tractate) have lost the outside half of the leaf. The *Gospel of Truth* (XII,2) has fragments of only six of the originally twenty-nine pages. Until the two larger remaining fragments (numbers 1 and 2 on pl. 101-102 of the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*) can be associated with a known piece of literature, it is impossible to say whether they represent one or two other tractates. Two smaller fragments (number 5 on pl. 101-102 of the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII* and number 8 on pl. 23*-24* [frg. c] of the *Facsimile Edition:*

Introduction) could belong to any tractate in the codex. Since the remnants are from different parts of the codex, it is likely that the main loss was suffered since the discovery in modern times.

The original size of the codex cannot be reconstructed. The estimated original lengths of the *Sentences of Sextus* and the *Gospel of Truth* plus the four pages of a third tractate, for which evidence remains, add up to a minimum of seventy-two pages. The third tractate, however, was almost certainly longer than four pages. It is more disconcerting that the sequence of the tractates cannot be determined. This is due to the unusual make-up of the quire, unique among the Nag Hammadi Codices. In the case of the other codices the quire is formed by placing a number of papyrus sheets on top of each other, generally with the horizontal fibers facing up. In contrast, Codex XII was made up of a quire in which only every other sheet has the horizontal fibers facing up. As a result, pages facing each other always have the same fiber direction. This technique was used for the "hair side" and "flesh side" of parchment codices in the Byzantine period to give the book a more uniform appearance. Though it is less common among papyrus codices, it is not unknown, e.g., P 66 (Bodmer II of the Gospel of John).

Since the center sheet of the codex is not extant, even this clue as to which tractate belongs to the first or second half of the book is lacking. There is a slight decrease in the width of the column from page 15* to page 34*, which suggests that the *Sentences of Sextus* came in the first half of the book. This conclusion assumes that the practice of trimming a quire, after it was folded, was observed, thereby causing the pages in the center of the quire to be narrower than those at the beginning and end. A scribe who did not copy the columns of his exemplar would thus tend to make his columns narrower towards the middle of the codex. The gradual change in the width of the pages would be a much better guide, but none of the extant pages of Codex XII has complete right and left margins. Also no page with complete top and bottom margins is extant. Hence the original size of the pages had to be reconstructed by combining evidence from several pages. The result indicates an original size of approximately 19 x 25.5 cm.

The reconstructed page sequence of *Sent. Sextus* 27*-34* provided sufficient evidence to show that the sheets were cut from a roll. There is exact correspondence of fibers between the right edge of page 31* and the left edge of page 30*. A reconstruction of this

part of the roll from left to right is as follows. Numeration is by pages with horizontal fibers; the two leaves of a sheet are connected by a plus (+); adjoining sheets are connected by a slash (/); square brackets ([]) indicate the lost halves of the sheets.

$$34^* + [] / [] + 31^* / 30^* + [] / [] + 27^*$$

There are joints (kolleseis) in the roll on pages 31* and 58*. The overlap of the joint on page 31* is left over right, and measures 4 cm. The overlap on page 58* is not complete but runs also left over right. The leaves from the *Gospel of Truth* and the fragments could not be shown to form a sheet with any of the leaves of the *Sentences of Sextus*, but this may have been due to their fragmentary nature.

The papyrus used for the codex was of mediocre quality for this period. The many cracks and irregularities forced the scribe to leave some blank spaces between letters or to slant his lines. Most pages have uneven coloring. No page numbers have been preserved. The leaves which still have part of the top margin (15*/16*; 57*/58*) suggest that the codex lacked pagination.

The number of missing pages of both tractates can be calculated fairly accurately in terms of the Subachmimic *Gospel of Truth* in NHC I and the Greek *Sentences of Sextus*, assuming the Coptic version did not contain more than the 451 sentences found in the Latin version. Thus it can be established that the original codex could hardly have begun with the *Sentences of Sextus* immediately followed by the *Gospel of Truth* or vice versa. In order to do justice to the fiber direction, a third tractate must have intervened. However, for the sake of convenience, and consistency with the other codices in the collection, the pages have been numbered consecutively making the *Sentences of Sextus* the first tractate and the *Gospel of Truth* the second. This makes the *Sentences of Sextus* end and the *Gospel of Truth* begin on the same page, although this is not possible based on the estimated length of each tractate. The two remaining large fragments have been assigned to a third tractate even though they may belong to two different tractates. Since the publication of the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, frg. 3 has been placed on p. 33*,3-8 and p. 34*,3-8; frg. 6 has been placed on p. 33*,2-3 and p. 34*,2-3; frg. 4 has been placed on 53*,24-25 and 54*,24; and frg. 7 has been placed on 59*,24-27 and

60*,24–26. Two fragments originally conserved with Codex VIII have been placed in Codex XII, one at 59*,22–23 and 60*,21–22 and another at 59*,23–25 and 60*,22–24. Fragments 5 (*Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 101/102) and 8 (*Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, pl. 23*/24*c) have not been placed.

The writing columns have an average of 28 lines. The scribe had the tendency to make his lines slope upward. The script is a regular, square biblical majuscule somewhat similar to, but heavier than, that of Codex II. The scribe has used line fillers, usually a dipole (cf. for example, 15*,4.10.19.21.25.26), to keep a straight right margin. For the same purpose he often crowds letters by writing them very small (cf. 27*,8; 33*,25.26) or by running a number of letters together (i.e., ligatures), particularly the η , μ , ν , π , ρ , and τ . In 29*,26 and 31*,22 the π and ρ have been fused and a mark in the shape of a “c” inclined to the right has been placed on top of the joined letters. The scribe has also made an effort not to split up a word between two pages by placing the last couple of letters of a word below the bottom line (cf. 31*,28f.; 33*,27f.; 57*,28f. and probably also 58*,29f.). The final ν of a line has been indicated by means of a horizontal stroke in 27*,7; 29*,6; 34*,19; frg. 1A,19. An unusual feature of the hand is the rounded μ when it is the final letter of a line, over against the square uncial μ elsewhere.

The use of full stops and paragraphing by means of blank spaces is discussed in the introduction to the *Sentences of Sextus*. The supralinear strokes have been placed somewhat carelessly, frequently extending too far to the right. They have been standardized in the transcription. Strokes are missing in 15*,6 (NETHK); 16*,17 (NETHC); 27*,14 (METHALON); 29*,10 (NETHN); 29*,17 (ZETHOUE); 30*,17 (NETHARTOC); 58*,7 (ETHC). In 16*,5 a stroke was placed on the wrong μ (ETHM). These have not been corrected in the transcription. The ν following the qualitative \omicron does not have a supralinear stroke before ϵ (27*,5 and 29*,15).

There are remarkably few corrections and misspellings, indicating the work of a skilled scribe. In 34*,8 λ was written superimposed over another letter and ν was added above the line in 34*,27 and an ϵ in frg. 1A,26. π was written superimposed over ν in 58*,26. There is no reason to believe that the corrections were made by anyone other than the original hand. Emendations were necessary in 28*,13.27; 29*,10 (haplography).13; 30*,4 (hap-

lography).20; 33*,10 (haplography); 34*,13 (dittography).14. These are discussed in the notes.

The scribe did not use the smooth breathing mark on Η, and "hooked" the final τ (ϛ) of a word only rarely (e.g., 33*,19). The codex was written in Sahidic with a number of archaic, i.e., pre-classical, forms appearing in the *Sentences of Sextus*. The present state of Coptic paleography does not allow for an accurate dating of the hand. However, there are no reasons why it would not fit the late fourth-century date supported by evidence found in some of the other Nag Hammadi Codices.

Table of Contents: Codex XII

Provisional codex pagination	Fiber direction
<i>Sent. Sextus</i>	
[1-14]	
15*	H
16*	V
[17-26]	
27*	H
28*	V
29*	V
30*	H
31*	H
32*	V
33*	V
34*	H
[35-39]	
[39-52]	
53*	V
54*	H
[55-56]	
57*	V
58*	H
59*	H
60*	V
[61-end]	

Tractate 3

frg. 1A

V

frg. 1B

H

frg. 2A

V

frg. 2B

H

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INTRODUCTION

NHC XII,*I**: THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS, 15*,1-16*,28; 27*,1-34*,28

Bibliography: Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus*; Conybeare, *The Ring of Pope Xystus*; Edwards-Wild, *The Sentences of Sextus*; Elter, *Gnomica I*; Gildemeister, *Sexti Sententiarum recensiones*; Hermann, "Die armenische Überlieferung der Sextussentenzen"; Kroll, "Die Sprüche des Sextus"; de Lagarde, *Analecta syriaca*; Poirier, "La version copte des Sentences de Sextus (Sent. 320)"; id., "La version copte des *Sentences de Sextus*"; Ryssel, "Die syrische Übersetzung der Sextussentenzen"; Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche und das Problem der gnostischen Ethik."

The Coptic *Sentences of Sextus* (abbreviated C) do not present us with a hitherto unknown piece of ancient literature. The sentences have been known throughout the centuries, in the West through the Latin version, in the East through Syriac, Armenian and Georgian versions. Only during the last part of the nineteenth century were two manuscripts of the original Greek discovered. There is no need at this point to comment on the origin and theology of the collection. Not that these matters are unimportant or settled, but they are larger scholarly issues on which the discovery of the Coptic version has no direct bearing.

With C we have now a manuscript which is at least a century and a half older than the oldest previously known copies, two Syriac manuscripts (X and x) from the mid-sixth century C.E., and more than 500 years earlier than the earliest Greek and Latin witnesses. Moreover, since it is a faithful and consistent translation from the Greek, even retaining many of the original Greek words as loanwords, it is of considerable textual interest where the Greek manuscripts differ or are corrupt, or the order of the sentences is uncertain. C also sheds light on the form in which the collection circulated at the time of its translation, i.e. in the way the maxims were separated and grouped.

Jean Doresse, who made the first inventory of the Nag Hamadi Library, missed the true identity of the tractate. On the basis of what could not have been more than a brief glance at sentences 348-349 he called Codex XII—his Codex XI—"fragments of

works, dealing with, among other subjects, the influence of demons upon the soul" (*Secret Books*, 145). Martin Krause's more recent and accurate inventory reports: "It has to do with a wisdom teaching" ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," 129).

Due to the fragmentary nature of C its original content is a matter of conjecture. The surviving ten pages contain maxims 157-180 and 307-397. By calculating the average number of Greek words translated by a Coptic page it has been determined that ten pages of Coptic text are missing between maxims 180 and 307. This shows that C closely conforms to Chadwick's Greek text at least from 157 through 397 and that, most probably, it originally contained also sentences 1-156. The ending of C is more problematic since several additions to the Greek text are known. However, Rufinus of Aquileia in the late fourth century C.E. translated a collection limited to 451 maxims. Since C is at least as old as Rufinus's Latin version (R), it is likely that it also lacked the additions. Rufinus must have had a slightly truncated version, or he omitted some sayings available to him; since the Greek text, supported by C, contains some additional sayings within Rufinus' 451 sentences, such as 163b, 164b, 165b-g, etc. Maxims 398-451 must have occupied another five pages of Coptic text, giving C a total length of thirty-nine pages. If one takes the first page of C as page 1 of the codex (cf. the Introduction to Codex XII), the extant pages become pp. 15*-16* and 27*-34*.

The oldest of the two Greek manuscripts of Sextus (II), dated in the tenth century C.E., has suffered a disarrangement of the order of the maxims, as well as some omissions. The other (Y), which comes from the fourteenth century C.E., has also suffered omissions and corruptions; but its order is supported by R and the fuller Syriac version (X). A critical text of R was produced by Gilde-meister. Its oldest manuscript is from the 10th century C.E. Chadwick has presented R alongside his Greek text. The Text of X has been published by de Lagarde and a corrected translation by Rys-sel. X has suffered both disarrangement and omissions. The main Armenian version contains only 100 maxims, all taken from 1-451. Thus it furnishes independent evidence of the extent of the collection available to Rufinus. The Armenian sentences have been translated by Conybeare and are further discussed by Hermann. (This paragraph summarizes the introduction of Chadwick, *The*

Sentences of Sextus, which one may consult for further information.)

Where extant, C is the most complete and faithful witness to the critical Greek text produced by Chadwick. Compared with this text, C has only one omission (162a) and two minor changes in order: It appears that the Coptic translator or his Greek exemplar found 334 both before and after 333, and in C 355 comes after 357. All the differences with the critical text are discussed in the notes together with the support in Π, Y, and R (on the basis of Chadwick's apparatus).

A. Elter (*Gnomica I*), the nineteenth-century editor of Sextus, had grouped Π and R over against Y and X. Chadwick agreed but minimized the degree of difference between the two pairs. C stands closest to X and next to Y, thus adding weight and age to the "Y X text."

The punctuation in C is limited to the raised dot. Its use is of considerable interest, for it may indicate how the Coptic translator divided the sentences, or it may reflect the punctuation of his exemplar. However, caution is necessary, for the stops are not only used at the end of maxims, but, subject to certain conditions, also at the end of a clause. Also the stop may, in some cases, have been inadvertently omitted by a scribe. The question is whether it is legitimate to assume that absence of a stop between sentences indicates that they were read as one maxim. The evidence appears to support such a conclusion, although some problem cases do remain. In the editing of C when a break between sentences fell in a lacuna, it was arbitrarily decided that a stop was present, unless, of course, there was evidence to the contrary.

The following sentences were most likely read in C as one sentence (see the notes for further discussion): 158-59, 161-62b, 307-8, 311-12, 325-26a, 332-34, 348-49, 352-53, 354-56, 367-68, 376a-b first part, 377-78, 394-95. Sentences 159-60, 331b-33, 362-63a, 382-83, 393-94, 396-97 are not separated by a stop, but it is unlikely that this happened intentionally (see the notes). Punctuation within a sentence occurs after extraposition (175, 337, 338, 347, 367, 379, 380, 381, 392), before a clause introduced by ΔΕ or ΟΥΔΕ (320, 324, 338, 363a, 379, 382, 383, 394), ΑΥΩ (165e, 376a, 393), ΓΑΡ (332), ΤΟΤΕ (358), and ΜΕΝ (379). More unusual are occurrences before ΝΖΟΥΟ (377), and before a conditional

clause (330, 331). In 346 the stop occurs also in the Greek manuscripts to divide two independent sentences. The stops in 321 and 393 probably indicate that C divided these sentences into two maxims.

There appears to be some attempt at paragraphing in C by means of a blank space of two or more letters. Sentences 172 and 392 clearly begin a new paragraph. 340 and 369 are more doubtful due to lacunae. The space before 396 is probably not large enough to indicate a paragraph. 371 is made to begin a new paragraph, but it is likely that a scribe took the wrong clue from the **ΤΑΡΧΗ** at the beginning of the maxim.

The Coptic translation is a work of considerable skill, being neither too literal nor too free. At times the difficult Greek forced the translator to recast the sentence in Coptic. To the extent such a judgment can be made, the translator wrote good, idiomatic Coptic. Since Coptic does not lend itself easily to the compact style of Greek gnomic sentences, the translation tends to be fuller and less ambiguous than the Greek. The Coptic translator also knew his Greek well, although he appears to have misunderstood sentences 318, 324, 325, 363a, 372, 376b, 380, 392 and 393. In his defense, however, it should be mentioned that the Greek of several of these sentences is problematic.

In the following cases the translator replaced a Greek word with a Greek synonym—most likely in order to use an established loanword—or added a Greek loanword which is not present in the Greek manuscripts. None of these cases need indicate a Greek exemplar which varies with Chadwick's text at these points: 162b add **ΔΕ** and **ΤΟΤΕ**; 165d **ΡΑ**[**ΝΑΓΚΗ** for **πρέπει**]; 165f **Ρ** **ΧΡΙΑ** for **δέομενον**; 168 add **ΕΙΜΗΤΙ**; 170 **Ρ****ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ** for **μετείη**; 171a add **ΖΩC**; 308 add **ΔΕ**; 319 [**CΟΦΟC**] **ΝΡΩΜΕ** for **φιλόσοφον**; 320 **CΩΜΑ** for **σκήνωμα** and **Ρ**[**ΚΑΤΑC**]**ΤΙΛΕ** for **ἀποθέσθαι**; 322 add **ΜΑΛΛΟΝ**; 331 **ΛΥCΣΑ** for **ἀνιάτως ἔχοντα**; 333 **ΕΙΜΗΤΙ** for **πριν ἤ**; 338 **ΟΥΔΕ** for **ἀλλὰ καί**; 342 **ΑΛΛΑ** for **δέ**; 348 **ΡΕΠΙΔΙΚΑΖΕ** for **ἀντιποιοῦνται**; 349 **Ρ****ΚΑΤΕΧΕ** for **ἐμποδίζουσιν**; 358 add **ΤΟΤΕ**; 371 **ΑΡΧΗ** for **κρηπίς**; 381 **ΚΑΤΑ** for **εἰς**; 382 **Ρ** **ΧΡΙΑ** for **δείτα**; 394 add **ΔΕ**; 396 **ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟC** for **ἄθλιοι**. The translator also changed to a related Greek form for the sake of Coptic style or to conform to the more established form of the loanword, e.g.,

ἀληθία for ἀληθές (15*,2; 30*,28) or ΜΝΤΕΥΓΝΩΜΩΝ for εὐγνωμοσύνη (29*,10-11).

In C many of the sentences are personal, using "you" or "we," where the Greek is impersonal. Also the definite article has been supplied in Coptic where the Greek is indefinite. Extraposition of the indefinite subject is very common, and often used to circumvent the use of ΟΥΝ (cf. 313, passim). The translator was fond of the imperative expression ΧΟΟΣ Ζᾶ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ. He used it to translate νόμιζε (315, 324, 346), κρίνῃς (329), ἡγοῦ (375), and ἀνάφερε (390).

C is written in Sahidic with some non-Sahidic forms. It contains a number of forms which are classified non-Sahidic according to Crum but which are actually early Sahidic spellings of the pre-classical period. Most of these appear regularly in the Sahidic tractates of the Nag Hammadi collection and in other Sahidic manuscripts of the same period. To facilitate dialect study, all forms which are not classified Sahidic according to Crum are included in the following list to which is appended R. Kasser's dialect designation in parenthesis (*Compléments*). Sahidic forms with Fayyumic tendency—S^f in Crum—which are not uncommon in C have been excluded. An asterisk indicates that no other spelling of the word occurs in C:

ΕΝ -A,F (S₀,S,etc.); Ε -A,A²,O (S₀,S_{v1},P₀); ΕΤΒΗΤ-* -A,F (S₀,S, etc.); ΜΜΕ* -A,A² (S₀,S_{v1},P₀); ΕΕϵ -A² (S₀); ΕΡΙ-* -A,A² (S₀,A₀, P₀); ΚΟΥΕΙ -A² (S₀,M); ΜΕΥ -A²,F (S₀,M^f); ΜΟΥΤ-* -A (S₀,P₀); ΝΕϵ -A,A²,F (S_{v1},etc.); ΠΕΕΙ -A,A²; ΠΕΙ (once) -A,F (M^f); ΚΟΥΝΕ -(S₀,P₀); ΤΑΕΙΑϵ -A,A² (A²₀); ΤΕΕϵ-* -A,A²,F; ΟΥΕΕΙ -A²,F; ΩΕΥ* -A,A²,F (S₀); ΖΑΙΕ* -A² (S₀,A²₀); ΖΝΕΕΥ* -F (A²₀); ΑΡΗΖΕ* -unattested.

ᾖ is used with Greek verbs (A,A²) except before ΑΠΕΙΛΕΙ, ΖΑΡΜΟΖΕ, ΑΓΝΟΜΟΝΕΙ and ΛΥΣΣΑ. The negative imperative with Greek verbs fluctuates between ᾖΠᾖ and ᾖΠᾖᾖ. ᾖΠΣΑΝ-ΖΟΥΝ (34*,19) used as an adverb and ᾖΖᾖ for Ζᾖ (29*,10) are unattested forms. The meaning "poison" for ΠΧΩ (15*,3) and "pretense" for ΜᾖΤ† ΖΟ ΕΒΟΛ (28*,18) are also unattested. The normal plural indefinite article is Ζᾖ rather than ΖΕΝ.

There are almost no non-Sahidic or unusual grammatical features. ΕΚΩΑ- (A,A²) is used twice (29*,5; 33*,11). ΜᾖΒΟΜ is used

with the conjunctive (32*,13). There is no doubling of \mathfrak{N} before vowels, and \mathfrak{PI} , \mathfrak{T} and \mathfrak{NI} function as demonstratives (29*,14). The prepositions $\epsilon\chi\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ -, $\mathfrak{ZAT}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ -, $\bar{\mathfrak{N}}\bar{\mathfrak{T}}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ -, $\mathfrak{ZIT}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ -, $\bar{\mathfrak{N}}\mathfrak{AZP}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ -, and $\mathfrak{ZAZT}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ - have not been assimilated to \mathfrak{M} before \mathfrak{PI} . The preposition $\mathfrak{Z}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ is the exception to the rule. Only once has the object indicator $\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ not been assimilated before \mathfrak{PI} . The lack of assimilation in $\epsilon\bar{\mathfrak{T}}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}\mathfrak{PCANZOU}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ is probably in analogy to the $\epsilon\chi\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ - group. In the following cases the article has been left out: $\bar{\mathfrak{N}}\mathfrak{CA A}\bar{\mathfrak{G}}\bar{\mathfrak{A}}\bar{\mathfrak{O}}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$ (27*,20), $\mathfrak{Z}\bar{\mathfrak{N}} \mathfrak{CA}\bar{\mathfrak{P}}\bar{\mathfrak{Z}}$ (27*,21), $\mathfrak{Z}\bar{\mathfrak{N}} \mathfrak{C}\bar{\mathfrak{O}}\bar{\mathfrak{M}}\bar{\mathfrak{A}}$ (29*,20; 30*,15; but not 28*,7), and $\mathfrak{F}\bar{\mathfrak{I}}\bar{\mathfrak{L}}\bar{\mathfrak{O}}\bar{\mathfrak{C}}\bar{\mathfrak{O}}\bar{\mathfrak{F}}\bar{\mathfrak{O}}\bar{\mathfrak{C}}$ (34*,18).

The theological outlook of the Coptic translator is not distinguishable from that of the Greek Sextus. The differences from the Greek can be explained as misunderstanding or attempts to strengthen or to specify what is clearly implied (see the notes). The translation "not giving to the poor" for $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ (338; 377) may reflect the translator's social concern but this same sentiment is common throughout Sextus. More important is the addition "since it is innocent" with reference to the body (346). If the addition is from the hand of the translator then he could hardly have been a Gnostic. Sextus generally has a lower view of the body. The addition "everyone" in 374 is suggested by 372. The use of the words "outer body" and "inner man" (392) could possibly indicate gnostic influence, though not necessarily so; most likely the reason for these variants was a misreading of $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ for $\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$.

The appearance of Sextus among gnostic writings may seem surprising, for Gnostics are not known for their interest in moral virtue and sinless perfection. Yet this stereotype needs to be re-examined in light of the Nag Hammadi tractates. Sextus and its preoccupation with the moral life is not at all unique in the collection. The *Teachings of Silvanus* (VII,4) is very close to it in purpose and emphasis. The strong, esoteric, moral asceticism of Sextus is also found in the *Apocryphon of James* (I,2), *Gospel of Thomas* (II,2), *Exegesis on the Soul* (II,6), *Book of Thomas The Contender* (II,7), *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (VI,1), *Authoritative Teaching* (VI,3), *Asclepius* 21-29 (VI,8) and *Testimony of Truth* (IX,3). Admittedly, these tractates are non-gnostic, or only marginally so, but the same ethical stance is expressed or implied in not a few of the fully gnostic tractates. The evidence would indicate

that the codices were the property of individuals who greatly emphasized sexual asceticism.

The juxtaposition of Sextus with the Valentinian *Gospel of Truth* in Codex XII is probably as arbitrary as the grouping of tractates in the other codices. However, Sextus's teaching on sex and marriage is not out of accord with the position of the Valentinians as reported by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* III). The contrast between the sage and the mob in Sextus comes close to Valentinus's division of mankind into pneumatics, psychics, and material beings. Thus the use of Sextus in Valentinian circles before it was adopted by the owners of the Nag Hammadi Codices is possible.

The notes to Sextus are keyed to the sentence numbers as supplied in Chadwick (*The Sentences of Sextus*), rather than to the page and line number of Codex XII.

15*

[8±] .ειτ πε ν̄τμ̄ν̄ττατσο
 2 [ουν̄· μερε] τалηθια αγω πβολ
 [εριχрасθ]ε̄ н̄еε̄ м̄πεп̄χω̄ пке
 4 [ρος μαρ̄ϛω]κ̄ ζητοῡ ν̄νεκω̄α>
 [χε· ψαχε̄ м̄п̄]соп̄ етеψ̄ωε̄ ен̄
 6 [εкарωк̄ етве] нетк̄соо̄уне̄ δε̄
 [μμοоӯ м̄п̄со]п̄ етеψ̄ωε̄ тоте̄
 8 [ψαχε· п̄ωαχ]ε̄ еπεφο̄ο̄ο̄ειω̄ ан̄
 [οῡμ̄ν̄тре̄ п̄]ε̄ н̄οӯз̄н̄т̄ еϛ̄зоо̄ӯ·
 10 [м̄п̄соп̄ ете]ψ̄ωε̄ ειρε̄ м̄п̄ρ̄ρ̄>
 [χрасθ̄е̄ н̄οӯ]ψαχε· м̄п̄ρ̄οӯω̄
 12 [ψ̄ ε̄ωαχε̄ н̄ω]р̄п̄̄ з̄н̄̄ т̄м̄н̄те̄ н̄̄
 [οῡμ̄н̄н̄ωε̄· еρ]ε̄ӯε̄п̄ισ̄т̄н̄м̄н̄
 14 [те̄ ε̄ωαχε̄ οӯε]п̄ισ̄т̄н̄м̄н̄ он̄̄ те̄
 [εкарωϛ̄· н̄ано]ӯс̄ е̄тре̄ӯχρο̄ е̄рок̄
 16 [εκ̄χε̄ м̄не̄ ε̄з]ο̄ӯο̄ е̄трек̄χρο̄
 [з̄н̄̄ та̄п̄ат̄н̄· п̄]ε̄т̄χ̄ра̄е̄ит̄ з̄н̄̄ та̄
 18 [пат̄н̄ се̄χρο̄] е̄ροϛ̄ з̄н̄̄ т̄ме̄·
 [з̄н̄̄ψαχε̄ н̄бол] ψαγ̄ωω̄πε̄ н̄̄>
 20 [м̄н̄тре̄ н̄не̄θ]ο̄ο̄ӯ· ο̄ӯноб̄ м̄πε̄
 [ρισ̄т̄ас̄ис̄ те̄ ψ]а̄ е̄ре̄п̄бол̄ ρ̄а>
 22 [на̄г̄к̄н̄· з̄ωс̄ е̄у]н̄̄ ο̄ӯон̄̄ е̄κ̄на̄χε̄
 [м̄не̄ 7±]т̄ϛ̄· αγω ε̄ωχε̄
 24 [κ̄χῑ бол̄ м̄н̄̄ но̄ве] м̄п̄ρ̄ᾱп̄ᾱта̄
 [н̄ла̄а̄γ̄ н̄з̄ο̄ӯο̄ м̄]п̄ε̄т̄ρ̄̄ χ̄рӣа̄ н̄̄>
 26 [ψο̄χ̄не̄· е̄κ̄ω̄ᾱω]ᾱχε̄ м̄н̄̄с̄а>
 [з̄а̄з̄ κ̄на̄на̄γ̄ н̄з̄ο̄ӯ]ο̄ е̄т̄но̄ϛ̄ре̄·
 28 [ο̄ӯп̄ис̄т̄οс̄ п̄ее̄и] п̄ε̄ е̄т̄с̄ω̄к̄ з̄н̄̄
 [то̄ӯ н̄не̄т̄на̄но]γ̄ο̄ӯ т̄η̄ρο̄ӯ·

16*

2 τσοφια ςχι μοειτ [ζητῶ ἡτψυχη]
 ψα ρραϊ επμα ἡπ[νουτε· ἡἡ ου]
 ρμνηει ψοοπ ἡτ[αληθια ειμη]
 4 τι ετσοφια· ουφγς[ις ἡπιστη ἡἡ]
 βοἡ ἡμος ετρεσψ[ωπε ἡμαειχι]
 6 βολ· ουφγςις εςῤ ρο[τε εγελεγεε]
 ρα εν τε ςναψῤκο[ινωνι εν ετπι]
 8 ςτις· ρως εκψοο[π ἡπιστος πε]
 τεψψε εχοοϙ ἡ[πψα εν εροϙ]
 10 ο απσωτῡ· εκψ[ανψωπε ἡμεϙ]
 ἡἡ ρἡπιστος ουψ[ψ εσωτῡ εροϙ]
 12 ο εψαχε· ουρω[με ἡμαειρηνδο]
 ηη ουατψεϙ πε [ρἡ ρωβ ηηῡ]
 14 εψωπε εἡἡ ηο[βε ἡπῤψαχε]
 ρἡ ρωβ ηηη ἡτἡ[πνουτε· ἡηο]
 16 βε ἡηετο ἡατς[οοϙη ψαϙψωπε]
 ηψως ἡηεντ[αϙτςαβοοϙ· ηε]
 18 ει ετοϙχε οϙα ε[πραν ἡπνοϙ]
 τε ετβητοϙ· ςε[ο ἡρεϙμοϙ ἡα]
 20 ρῤἡ πνουτε· ο[ϙρωμε ἡσοφος]
 ουρεϙῤ πετηα[νοϙϙ πε ἡἡἡ]
 22 ςα πνουτε[· μαρεπεκβιος]
 ταχρο ἡηε[κψαχε ραρτἡ ηετ]
 24 ςωτῡ· πετ[εψψε εν εααϙ ου]
 δε ἡπῤμεε[ϙε εααϙ· πετῡοϙ]
 26 ωψε ετρεϙ[τῡψωπε ηεκ ουδε]
 ἡτοκ ρωωκ [κειρε ἡμοϙ εν· πε]
 28 τε οϙαιςϙρ[ον πε εααϙ αϙω]

16*

- (167) Wisdom (σοφία) leads [*the soul (ψυχή)*]
 (168) 2 to the place of [*God. There is no*
 kinsman of the [*truth (ἀλήθεια) except (εἰ μήτι)*]
 (169) 4 wisdom (σοφία). [*It is not*] possible for a [*believing*
 (πιστή)]
 nature (φύσις) to [*become fond of*]
 (170) 6 lying. A fearful [*and slavish (ἐλεύθερα)*] nature
 (φύσις)
 will [*not*] be able to partake in (κοινωνεῖν) faith
 (πίστις).
 (171a) 8 When (ὡς) you are [*faithful (πιστός), what*]
 it is fitting to say [*is not of greater value than*]
 (171b) 10 the hearing. When you [*are*]
 with believing persons (πιστός), desire [*to listen*
 rather than]
 (172) 12 to speak. A pleasure (ἡδονή) [*-loving*] man
 is useless [*in everything.*]
 (173) 14 When there is no [*(accounting of) sin, do not speak*]
 (174) 16 in anything (which is) from [*God. The*] sins
 of those who are [*ignorant are*]
 (175) 18 the shame of those who have [*taught them.*] Those
 on account of whom [*the name of God*] is
 blasphemed
 [*are dead*] before
 (176) 20 God. [*A wise (σοφός) man*]
 [*is*] a doer of good works after
 (177) 22 God. [*May your life (βίος)*]
 confirm [*your words before those who*]
 (178) 24 hear. What it is [*not right to do,*]
 (179) 26 do not even (οὐδέ) consider [*doing it. What you do*
 not]
 want to [*happen to you, do not (οὐδέ) do it*]
 (180) 28 yourself [*either. What*]
 it [*is*] shameful (αἰσχρόν) [*to do, is also*]

[5 folios are lacking]

27*

[οὐρωμε ἄσοφ]οc ἄτοq π[ετα]
 2 [ζο ἄπνοῦτε ε]ρατῆ ἄρρωμε
 [πνοῦτε] δε μ[εε]γε ἄψα ανεq
 4 [ζβηγε ζ]ραῖ [ε]χἄ ἄσοφοc· ἄἄ
 [ἄca π]νοῦτε ἄἄ λααγ ο νελεγ
 6 [θεροc] ἄθε ἄἄσοφοc ἄρωμε·
 [ζωβ νιμ] πνοῦτε χποογ νεq οῦ
 8 [τεqce ζ]ωωq ἄβι ἄσοφοc· πρω
 [με ἄ]ς[ο]φοc qῤκοινωνι ετἄἄἄ
 10 [ῤῥ]ο ἄπνοῦτε οὐρωμε εqζο>
 [ο]γ qογψ εν ετρετεπρονοι
 12 [α] ἄπνοῦτε ψωπε· οὐψυχη
 [εc]ζοογ cπἄτ εβολ ἄπνοῦ
 14 τε· ζωβ νιμ μφαγλον πχα
 χε πε ἄπνοῦτε· πετμεεγ
 16 ε ζραῖ ἄζητῆ χοοc ζἄ πεκζητ
 χε ἄτοq πε πρωμε· πμα ε
 18 τῆψοοπ ἄμεγ ἄβι πεκμε>
 εγε qψοοπ ἄμεγ ἄβι πεκ
 20 [α]γαθον· ἄπῤωινε ἄca αγα>
 [ε]ον ζἄ cαρξ· πετῤβλαπτι
 22 [ε]ἄ ἄτψυχη οὔδε qειρε εν ἄ
 [πῤ]ωμε· ἄἄἄca πνοῦτε οὔ
 24 [σοφοc] ἄρωμε εριτιμα ἄμοq
 [επιαν ἄτο]q πε φύπἄρετἄc
 26 [ἄπνοῦτ]ε· πcωμα ἄτεκ>
 [ψυχη ετρε]qζροω μεν οὔἄἄἄ
 28 [ωογω] τε· εβἄβομ δε ἄῤ>
 [καταc]τιλε ἄμοq ζἄ οὔἄἄἄ

27*

- (307) He is [*a wise (σοφός) man who commends*]
 2 [*God*] to men,
- (308) [*and (δέ) God*] thinks more highly of
 4 the wise man (σοφός) than his own [*works*].
- (309) [*After*] God, no one is as free (ἐλεύθερος)
 6 as the wise (σοφός) man.
- (310) [*Everything*] God possesses
 (311) 8 the wise man (σοφός) has also. The
 wise (σοφός) man shares (κοινωνεῖν) in the
 (312) 10 [*kingdom*] of God; an evil man
 does not want the foreknowledge (πρόνοια)
 (313) 12 of God to come to pass. An evil soul (ψυχή)
 flees from God.
- (314) 14 Everything bad (φάυλον)
 (315) is the enemy of God. What thinks
 16 in you, say with your mind
 (316) that it is man. Where
 18 your thought is,
 there is your
- (317) 20 goodness (ἀγαθόν). Do not seek goodness (ἀγαθόν)
 (318) in flesh (σάρξ). What does [*not*] harm (βλάπτειν)
 22 the soul (ψυχή) neither (οὐδέ) does (so) to
 (319) man. After God,
 24 honor (τιμᾶν) a [*wise (σοφός)*] man
 [*since (ἐπειδή) he*] is the servant (ὑπηρέτης)
 (320) 26 [*of God*]. [*To make*] the body (σῶμα) of your
 [*soul (ψυχή)*] a burden (+μέν)
 28 is [*pride*], but (δέ) to be able to
 [*restrain (καταστέλλειν)*] it

28*

[p̄m̄]p[α]ψ m̄pc[οπ ετεψωε ογ]
 2 m̄ntmakarī[οc τε· m̄p̄r̄ψω]
 πε n̄aitēios [mē]n̄ [m̄p̄moγ ογα]
 4 eēt̄k̄· petna[x]it̄k̄ [εβολ 2n̄ cω]
 μα n̄q̄mooyt̄k̄ m̄p̄r̄b[ωνt εροq·]
 6 oγeei εqψανεine m̄[πcoφoc]
 εβολ 2m̄ πcωμα 2n̄ o[γm̄ntxi]
 8 n̄bonc̄ mallon εqει[pe m̄ppe]
 tnanoyq̄ neq· aybol[q̄] [gar ε]
 10 vol 2n̄ 2enm̄r̄re· ēr̄te [m̄] [p̄moγ]
 ψac̄r̄lypei m̄p̄p̄om[ε] εβολ[λ 2n̄]
 12 tm̄ntatcooȳn n̄tψyxn̄· [tch]
 qe εtmoγt p̄ωme <nenanoyc> nek̄ mēn̄
 14 et̄m̄tresψωpe· n̄teresψ[ω]
 πε δε x̄ooc 2m̄ pek̄zht̄ xe cψo
 16 οπ εν· ογε εqx̄ω m̄moc̄ xe eei
 p̄p̄ic̄teγe kan εqψan̄p̄ oγnob̄
 18 n̄xronoc̄ 2n̄ oγm̄nt̄† 2o εβολ
 qnamoγn̄ εβολ an̄ alla qna>
 20 2aīe n̄θe εt̄q̄ψooπ m̄moc̄ [n̄]
 bi pek̄zht̄ qnaψωpe m̄m[oc̄]
 22 n̄bi pek̄bios· oγzht̄ n̄r̄m̄[n̄] [noγ]
 te q̄treoȳbios m̄mak̄a[rioc̄]
 24 ψωpe· petnaψox̄[ne n̄oȳpe]
 eooγ ε2oγn̄ ekeγe[ψωpe m̄]
 26 p̄wor̄n̄ n̄teπ[
 oγp̄ωme n̄ax<a>pic̄t[oc̄ m̄p̄r̄treq̄]
 28 lab̄e epok̄ ekeire m̄p[εtnanoyq̄]

28*

- (321) 2 [gently] when [it is necessary]
 [is] blessedness (μακάριος). [Do not become]
 guilty (αἷτιος) [(+μέν) of] your own [death].
 4 Do not be [angry at him] who will take you [out of]
 (the) body (σῶμα) and kill you.
- (322) 6 If someone brings [the wise man· (σοφός)]
 out of the body (σῶμα) wickedly,
 8 he rather (μᾶλλον) [does what is]
 good for him, [for (γάρ)] he has been released
- (323) 10 from bonds. The fear of [death]
 grieves (λυπεῖν) man because of
- (324) 12 the ignorance of the soul (ψυχῆ). <It were better>
 for you (+μέν) had [the] man-killing sword
 14 not come into being; but (δέ) when it comes,
 say with your mind that it does
- (325) 16 not exist. Someone who says, “I
 believe (πιστεύειν),” even if (κἄν) he spends a long
 18 time (χρόνος) pretending,
 he will not prevail, but (ἀλλά) he will
- (326a) 20 fall; as
 your heart is, (so) will be
- (326b) 22 your life (βίος). A godly heart
 produces a blessed (μακάριος) life (βίος).
- (327) 24 He who will plot
 evil against another, [he is]
 26 the first [
- (328) [Let not] an ungrateful (ἀχάριστος) man
 28 cause you to cease to do [good.]

29*

- (329) 2 [Do not say with] your mind that [these things]
which were asked (αἰτεῖν) (and)
[you] gave immediately are more [valuable] than
- (330) 4 [the] receiver. You will use (χρᾶσθαι)
[great] property (οὐσία), if you give to the
6 [needy] willingly (προθυμία).
- (331) Persuade (πείθειν) a senseless (ἄγνωμόνειν)
brother
8 [not to] be senseless (ἄγνώμων); if he is mad
(λυσσᾶν),
- (332) protect (τηρεῖν) him. Strive eagerly (ἀγωνίζεσθαι)
10 to be victorious over every man in
- (334) prudence (-εὐγνώμων); maintain self-sufficiency.
- (333) 12 You cannot receive understanding (νοῦς) unless (εἰ
μήτι)
you know first that you do not possess <it>.
- (335) 14 In everything there is again this sentence. The
members (μέρος) of the body (σῶμα) are a burden
16 to those who do not use (χρᾶσθαι) them.
- (336) It is better to serve (ὑπηρετεῖν)
18 others than to make others
- (337) serve (ὑπηρετεῖν) you. He whom God
20 will not bring out of (the) body (σῶμα),
let him not burden (βαρεῖν) himself.
- (338) 22 Not only (οὐ μόνον) do not hold an opinion (δόγμα)
which does not benefit the needy,
- (339) 24 [but also (οὐδέ) do not] listen to it. He who gives
[something without] respect commits an outrage
(ὑβρίζειν).
- (340) 26 [] If you take on the [guardianship]
[of] orphans (ὀρφανός), you will be
28 [the] father of many children (and) you will be

30*

2 ΜΜ[Α]ΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ[· ΠΕΤΚ̅Ρ̅ΖΥΠΟΥΡΓ]
 2 ΓΙ ΝΕϞ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ[ΕΟ]ΟΥ [ΑΚ̅Ρ̅ΖΥ]
 4 ΠΟΥΡΓΙ ΖΑ ΟΥΒΕ[ΚΕ·] ΕΚ[ΨΑΝ† Μ]
 4 ΠΕΤ<Τ>ΑΕΙΑΚ Ν̅Τ̅Α[.]ΑΡΕ[. . Ν̅Τ̅ΑΚ]
 6 † Ν̅ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ^{Ν̅}[ΤΑΚ†]
 6 Ν̅ΤΕΚΖΗΔΟΝΗ· Μ̅Π̅Ρ̅† [ΒΩΝ† Ν̅]
 8 ΤΟΡΓΗ Ν̅ΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ Μ̅[ΜΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ]
 8 ΕΥΠΕΤΕΨΨΕ ΕΤΡΕϞ[Ε]ϞϞ [Ν̅ΒΙ]
 10 ΠΡ̅Μ̅ΜΑΟ· ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΜΟΥ ^{Ν̅}[ΖΟΥ]
 10 Ο Ε† ΖΛΑΣΤ̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΤΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΒ[Ε ΤΜ̅Ν̅Τ]
 12 ΑΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ Ν̅ΘΗ· ΧΟΟ[С] Ζ̅Μ̅ Π[ΕΚ]
 12 ΖΗΤ ΧΕ ΤΖΒ̅С̅Ω Ν̅ΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ [ΤΕ]
 14 ΠС̅ΩΜΑ· ΑΡΗΖΕ ΒΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΕϞ[ΟΥ]
 14 ΑΑΒ· ΕϞΟ Ν̅ΑΤΝΟΒΕ· ΝΕΤΕ ΤΨΥ
 16 ΧΗ ΝΑΑΑΥ ΕС̅Ζ̅Ν̅ С̅ΩΜΑ· ΟΥΝΤΕС
 16 СЕ Μ̅Μ̅Ν̅ΤΡΕ ΕС̅Β̅ΗΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε>
 18 ΤΕΚΡΙСΙС· Ζ̅Ν̅ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΝΑΚΑ
 18 ΘΑΡΤΟС ΨΑΥ̅Ρ̅ΕΠΙΔΙΚΑΖΕ Ν̅ΟΥ
 20 ΨΥΧΗ ΕС̅Χ̅ΑΖ̅Μ̅ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ Μ̅ΠΙ
 20 СΤΗ Ν̅ΑΓΑΘΗ <Ζ̅Ν̅>ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΕΘΟΟΥ
 22 ΝΑΨ̅Ρ̅ΚΑΤΕΧΕ Μ̅Μ̅ΟС ΕΝ Ζ̅Ν̅ Τ
 22 ΖΙΗ Μ̅Π̅Ν̅ΟΥΤΕ· ΠΛΟГОС Μ̅Π̅[Ν̅ΟΥ]
 24 ΤΕ Μ̅Π̅Ρ̅ΤΕΕϞ Ν̅ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙМ̅ Ν̅[ΕΤ]
 24 ΧΑΖ̅Μ̅ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟТ̅Ḃ̅ [Μ̅]Π̅Ε[ΟΟΥ]
 26 ΟΥΩΡ̅Χ̅ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ Ε[ΤΡΕ]Υ[С̅ΩΤ̅Μ̅]
 26 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· Ο[ΥΚΙΝΔΥΝΟС Ν̅]
 28 ΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝ[Χ̅Ω Ν̅ΤΑΛΗ]
 28 ΘΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̅[Π̅Ρ̅ΨΑΧΕ Ν̅]

30*

- (341) beloved of God. He [*whom you serve* (ὑπουργεῖν)]
 2 because of [*honor, you have*] served (ὑπουργεῖν)
- (342) for a wage. If you [*have given*]
 4 that which honors you [*you have*]
 given not to man, but (ἀλλά) [*you have given*]
- (343) 6 for your own pleasure (ἡδονή). Do not [*provoke*]
 (344) the anger (ὄργή) of a mob. [*Know, then,*]
 8 what is fitting for the fortunate man to [*do*].
- (345) It is better to die [*than*]
 10 to darken the soul (ψυχή) because of [*the*]
 (346) 12 immoderation of the belly. Say with [*your*]
 mind that the body (σῶμα) [*is*] the garment of
 your soul (ψυχή); keep it, therefore, pure
- (347) 14 since it is innocent. Whatever the soul (ψυχή)
 will do while it is in (the) body (σῶμα), it has
 16 as witnesses when it goes into
- (348) judgment (κρίσις). Unclean (ἀκάθαρτος) demons
 (δαίμων)
 18 do lay claim (ἐπιδικάζειν) to a
- (349) 20 polluted soul (ψυχή); a faithful (πιστή) (and)
 good (ἀγαθή) soul (ψυχή) evil demons (δαίμων)
 will not be able to hinder (κατέχειν) in the
- (350) 22 way of God. Do not give the word (λόγος) of
 (351) 24 God to everyone. For those [*who*]
 are corrupted by [*glory*]
 it is not assuring to [*hear*]
- (352) 26 about God. It is not a small [*danger* (κίνδυνος)]
 for us to [*speak the*] truth (ἀλήθεια)
- (353) 28 about God; [*do not say*]

31*

[λααυ ετβε πη]οϋτε ρατ[ρη]
 2 [ἄπατῆς]αβο ἄτοοτῆ ἄπη[οϋ]
 [τε· ἄπῆ]ψαχε μῆ οϋατνοϋ[τε]
 4 [ραπρα ἄ]πποϋτε εψωπε κ[χα]
 [ρῆ ετβ]ε νερβηϋε ετχαρῆ
 6 [ἄπῆ]ψαχε ραπρα ἄπποϋτε[·]
 [ψαχ]ε ἄμνε ραπρα ἄππο[ϋ]
 8 τε [π]ψαχε ἄπποϋτε πε· ψ[α]
 χε ε̅π̅λογοϲ ραπρα ἄπποϋ
 10 τε ρωϲ εκχω ἄμοϲ ρατῆ πποϋ
 [τ]ε· ερψανπεκρητ τωτ ἄ>
 12 ψορῆ χε ακῆ μαεινοϋτε·>
 [τ]οτε νετῆογαψοϋ ψαχε
 14 εροϋ ραπρα ἄπποϋτε· νεκ
 ρβηϋε ἄμαεινοϋτε μαροϋ
 16 σωκ ρητῆ ἄψαχε νιμ ραπρα
 ἄπποϋτε· ἄπῆροϋψω εψα
 18 χε ρατῆ οϋμνηψε ραπρα ἄ
 πποϋτε· οϋψαχε ετβε πποϋ
 20 τε † σο εροϋ ετβε οϋψυχη· ῆ
 σοτῆ α† οϋψυχη εροϋο ενεχ
 22 οϋψαχε εβολ επχινη ραπρα
 ἄπποϋτε κχε οϋω μεν ἄπσω
 24 μα ἄπῆ^(ἄ)πποϋτε· κναψῆ χο
 ειϲ δε ἄν επεψαχε· πκεμοϋ
 26 ει ρωϲ ψ[α]ϳῆρχει επσωμα ἄ
 [πς]ο[φο]ϳ πκετυρανοϲ ῆρχι
 28 [εροϋ] οϋαεετῆ· ερψανοϋτυ
 [ρανοϲ]

31*

- [*anything about*] God before
 2 [you have] learned from [God.]
 (354) [Do not] speak with a godless person
 (356) 4 [about] God; if you [*are polluted*]
 [on account of] impure works,
 6 [do not] speak about God.
 (357) [The] true [word] about God
 (355) 8 is [*the*] Word of God. Speak
 concerning the word (λόγος) about God
 10 as if (ὡς) you were saying it in the presence of God.
 (358) If first your mind is persuaded
 12 that you have been godloving,
 then (τότε) speak to whomever you wish
 14 about God.
 (359) May your pious works
 16 precede every word about
 (360) God. Do not wish to speak
 18 with a crowd about
 (361) God. Be (more) sparing with a word about
 (362) 20 God (than) about a soul (ψυχή). It
 is better to dispose of a soul (ψυχή) than to discard
 22 at random a word about
 (363a) God. You conceive (+μέν) the body (σῶμα)
 24 of the godloving man, but (δέ) you will not be able
 to rule
 (363b) over his speech. The lion also
 26 rules (ἄρχειν) over the body (σῶμα) of
 [*the wise man* (σοφός)]; also the tyrant (τύραννος)
 rules (ἄρχειν)
 (364) 28 [*over it*] alone. If a tyrant (τύραννος)

32*

[α]π[ει]λει νεκ [το]τ[ε] ν̄ρογο ερι
 2 [π]μ̄εεγ̄ μ̄πνο[γ]τε· π[ε]τψαχε
 [μ̄]πλογοc μ̄πνογτε [ε]νετ
 4 [ε]ψωε εν πεε[ι] πε π[ε]προδο
 της μ̄πνογτε· ναν[ο]υc ετρε
 6 καρωκ επλογοc μ̄πν[ο]γτε
 η ετρεκχοοc ρ̄ν̄ ογμ̄[ν̄]τπρο
 8 πετης· πετχω ν̄ρ̄ν̄βολ [ρ]απρ[α]
 μ̄πνογτε· πεει εφχι β[ο]λ ε>
 10 πνογτε ογρωμε εμ̄νταγ
 λααγε μ̄μνε εχω ρ̄απρα μ̄[π]νογ
 12 τε φο ν̄χαειε επνογτε· [μ̄ν]
 βομ ν̄ρ̄σογν πνογτε εκρ[ε]
 14 βεcθαι νεφ εν· ογρωμε εφ
 χι ογε ν̄βον̄c φναψ̄ρ̄σεβεcθ̄ε
 16 αν επνογτε· ^{VACAT} ταρχη ν̄τ̄μ̄ντ
 νογτε τε τμ̄ν̄τμαειρωμε·
 18 πετφι μ̄προογψ̄ ν̄ρωμε εφ>
 ψληλ ρ̄αροογ τηρογ τεει τε
 20 ταληθια μ̄πνογτε· παπνογ
 τε μεν πε ατανζε πετ̄φογα
 22 ψ̄· παπρ̄μ̄ν̄νογτε ρ̄ωωγ
 πε αψληλ επνογτε εταν>
 24 ρ̄ε ογον ν̄ιμ̄· ρ̄οταν εκψαν
 ψληλ ετβε ογρωβ ν̄ψωπε
 26 νாக εβολ ρ̄ιτ̄ν̄ πνο[γ]τε τοτ[ε]
 χοοc ρ̄μ̄ πεκρητ χε ο[γ]ν̄τεκ]

- 32*
- (365) 2 threatens (*ἀπειλείν*) you, [*then (τότε)*, especially,]
remember God. [*He who speaks*]
the word (*λόγος*) of God [*to those for whom*]
- (366) 4 it is not lawful, he is [*the betrayer (προδότης)*]
of God. It is better [*for*]
6 you to be silent about the word (*λόγος*) of [*God*]
than (*ἢ*) to speak recklessly (*-προπετηής*).
- (367) 8 He who speaks lies about
God is lying to
- (368) 10 God; a man who does not have
anything truthful to say about [*God*]
- (369) 12 is abandoned by God. [*It is not*]
possible for you to know God when you do not
worship (*σέβεσθαι*)
- (370) 14 him. A man who
does evil to someone will not be able to worship
(*σέβεσθαι*)
- (371) 16 God. The love of man
is the beginning (*ἀρχή*) of godliness.
- (372) 18 He who takes care of men while
praying for all of them—this is
- (373) 20 the truth (*ἀλήθεια*) of God. It is God's business
(*+μέν*) to save whom he wants;
- (374) 22 on the other hand, it is the business of the pious
man
to beseech God to save
- (375) 24 everyone. When (*ὅταν*) you
pray for something and it happens
26 to you through God, then (*τότε*)
say with your mind that [*you have*]

33*

- [
- (376a) 2 [A man who] is worthy of God,
[he] is God among
- 4 [men], and [he is] the son of God.
- (376b) Both (+μέν) the great one exists
6 and he who is next
- (377) to the great one exists. It is better for
8 man to be without anything
than to have many things
- (378) 10 while not giving to the needy; so also you,
if you pray to God,
- (379) 12 he will not give to you. If you, from your
whole heart, give your bread to
14 the hungry, the gift (+μέν) is small,
but (δέ) the willingness (προθυμία) is great
- (380) 16 with God. He who thinks
that no one is in the presence of
18 God, he is not humble towards God.
- (381) He who makes his mind like unto
20 God as far as (κατά) he is able, he
is the one who honors (τιμᾶν) God greatly.
- (382) 22 God (+μέν) does not need (χρεία) anything,
but (δέ) he rejoices over those who give to the
- (383) 24 needy. The faithful (πιστός) do not speak many
words, but (δέ) their works are numerous.
- (384) 26 It is a faithful person (πιστός) fond of learning
who is the worker (ἐργάτης) of the truth (ἀλήθεια).

34*

[ζαρμ]οζε ... [ἄπερι]
 2 ϛτασις ζινα χῆ.[...]..[. .εκ]
 τῆχι λααγε ἄβονῆ κνα^[ῖ] [ζο]τε
 4 εν ζητῆ ἄλααγ· πτυραν[οc] qna
 ψqi an ἄμαγ ἄτῆνῆρῆμαο·
 6 πετεψυε εααq αριq ζῆ πεκ
 ογωψε· πετεψυε εν εεq ἄ
 8 πῆρααq ἄλααγ ἄcμοτ· εριζγ
 ποcχογ ἄζωβ nim εζογ[ο ε]
 10 τρεκχοοc χε ανοκ ογcοφο[c·]
 πετῆειρε ἄμοq καλωc χοο[c]
 12 ζῆ πεκζητ χε πνογτε π[ε]
 τ[ῆ]ειρε ἄμοq· ἄἄ λααγ ἄρψ
 14 με εqcom<ῆ> επιτῆ εχῆ πκαζ
 αγω εχῆ ζῆτραπεζα εqο ἄco
 16 φοc· πφιλοσοφοc ετο ἄcψ
 μα ἄπcανβολ· ἄτοq εν πε ε>
 18 τεψυε εταειοq αλλα φιλο
 σοφοc κατα πρωμε ετῆπcα^ⴁ
 20 ζογν· αρηζε εροκ εχι βολ· ογν
 πετῆραπατα· αγω ογν πετογ
 22 ῆραπατα ἄμοq· nim πε πn[ογ]
 τε ἄμε· ἄμε δε χε nim πετ[ῆ]
 24 νοει ζραῖ ἄζητῆ ογρωμε ἄ[α]
 γαθοc πεει πε πζωβ ετῆανο[γq]
 26 ἄπνογτε· ζῆταλ[α]ῖπωρο[c]
 νε ἄεει ετογχε ογα επλ[ογοc]
 28 ετβητογ πμογ ναψτεκ[ο εν]

- 34*
- (385) [Adjust (ἄρμόζειν) the] calamities
(περίστασις)
- (386) 2 in order (ἵνα) [*If you*]
do not do evil to anyone, you will not be afraid
- (387) 4 of anyone. The tyrant (τύραννος) will
not be able to take away happiness.
- (388) 6 What it is right to do, do it
(389a) willingly. What it is not right to do,
(389b) 8 do not do it in any way. Promise (ὑπισχνεῖσθαι)
everything rather than
10 to say, "I am wise (σοφός)."
- (390) What you do well (καλῶς), say
12 with your mind that it [is] God
(391) who does it. No man
14 who <looks> down upon the earth
and upon tables (τράπεζα) is wise (σοφός).
- (392) 16 The philosopher (φιλόσοφος) who is an
outer body (σῶμα), he is not the one
18 to whom it is fitting to pay respect, but (ἀλλά) (the)
philosopher (φιλόσοφος) according to (κατά) the
inner
- (393) 20 man. Guard yourself from lying; there is
he who deceives (ἀπατᾶν) and there is he who is
(394) 22 deceived (ἀπατᾶν). Know who God is,
and (δέ) know who is the one who
(395) 24 thinks (νοεῖν) in you; a good (ἀγαθός) man
is the good work
(396) 26 of God. They are miserable (ταλαίπωρος)
because of whom the [word (λόγος)] is blasphemed.
- (397) 28 Death will [not] be able to destroy

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NHC XII, I*: THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

- 158-59 The two sentences form a single maxim linked by $\alpha\gamma\omega$. The loanword $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ was used for $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. $\pi\chi\omega$ is listed as uncertain in Crum 285b; $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ establishes its meaning as "poison."
- 161-62b Sentence 162a is missing, probably due to homoioteleuton. 161 and 162b are combined by means of $\Delta\epsilon$. $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ is not present in the Greek.
- 163a The preposition ϵ - negated by $\alpha\lambda\iota$ is an unusual translation of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$.
- 164b The double occurrence of $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\eta$ is most likely not due to a Greek exemplar different from Chadwick's text but to a need to recast the sentence in Coptic.
- 165b $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ is usually translated by $\rho\eta\tau$, but $\mu\epsilon$ gives a better contrast with $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ and was also used in 165a.
- 165d It appears that $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ was translated by $\bar{\rho}\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\kappa\eta$.
- 165e The restorations are uncertain.
- 165f $\bar{\rho}\chi\rho\iota\alpha$ translates $\delta\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$; cf. 382.
- 165g $\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\varphi\epsilon$: Greek text reads the plural $\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$.
- 166 Most likely the Greek exemplar of C read $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ with Π and Y .
- 167 $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ in the Greek exemplar was translated as "place of God."
- 168 C has reversed the position of "wisdom" and "truth" in the sentence. $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$ is not present in the Greek.
- 169 The Greek exemplar of C apparently read with Y and R in omitting $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ and $\tau\epsilon$.
- 170 $\bar{\rho}\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\iota$ translates $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$. The subject and object stand in reversed order in the Greek.
- 171a $\rho\omega\varsigma$ plus the circumstantial tense translate a Greek participle.
- 171b C added "desire."
- 172-73 The $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ at the end of 172 was translated also with 173; the Coptic translator may not have known to which maxim these words belonged and thus translated them with both.
- 173 The meaning of this maxim has been problematic. Y and X took the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in a positive sense and thus omitted $\mu\acute{\eta}$ in the second part of the sentence. The $\epsilon\mu\bar{\nu}\ \text{NOBE}$ in C suggests that the Coptic translator also read the positive meaning "guiltless" rather than "irresponsible," but it is not clear how he read the rest of the sentence. $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ with the genitive is normally translated by $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon$ - or $\rho\alpha\pi\rho\alpha\ \bar{\nu}$ - while $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\nu}$ - translates $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ with the genitive.
- 307-8 The $\Delta\epsilon$, if reconstructed correctly, combines the two sentences.

- 311-12 The two sentences appear to form one maxim in which the wise man is contrasted with the evil man.
- 318 The use of $\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ is strange and raises the question whether the Coptic translator understood the Greek correctly. 27*,21: The blank space before \omicron , which must have continued the width of one letter in the lacuna, appears to be due to an imperfection in the papyrus.
- 319 $\omicron\gamma\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ translates $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\sigma\phi\omicron\nu$.
- 320 $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ translates $\sigma\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu\omega\mu\alpha$; the loanword $\bar{\rho}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$] $\tau\iota\lambda\epsilon$ replaces $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.
- 321 The sentence appears to be made up of two separate maxims in C. The phrase "and kill you" is not present in the Greek.
- 322 C added $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ and did not translate $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.
- 324 $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\nu\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ is needed for the sense and is supported by the Greek. It may have dropped out due to homoioteleuton. C translated $\sigma\omicron\iota$ with the first clause and negated $\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha\iota$ instead of $\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\iota\zeta\epsilon$. The Coptic translator misunderstood the Greek.
- 325-26a The two sentences appear to form one maxim in C. $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\tau\bar{\rho}\omicron$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda$, although as such not attested, must be a translation of $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\text{-}\pi\acute{\omicron}\iota\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$. The beginning of 325 may be an explanatory flourish added by the Coptic translator. He misread $\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$ for $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ at the end of 325 and so changed the meaning. As a consequence $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ was dropped and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ was strengthened to $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$.
- 328 MS reads $\alpha\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\{\omicron\varsigma$.
- 330 Most likely the exemplar of C read $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ as in X. The point of the sentence is lost in Coptic.
- 331 $\lambda\gamma\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ is used to translate $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$.
- 332 ϵ in 29*,10 was omitted due to haplography.
- 334 This short maxim comes after 333 in Π , Y and R (see also the note to 333). It seems to form a single maxim with 332.
- 333 The loanword $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota$ is used for $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\acute{\eta}$. At the end of the maxim there is an editorial comment which appears in the same place in one of the three Syrian versions of the *Sentences of Sextus* (X) and thus must go back to the Greek tradition. The meaning of $\tau\iota$ $\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\eta}\mu$ $\pi\iota\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon$ is not entirely clear. Poirier ("La version Copte des *Sentences de Sextus*," p. 387) takes it to be a transitional phrase which introduces the following sentence (335). However, in view of the transposition of sentences 333 and 334 it is likely that in the Greek tradition behind X and C saying 334 was found both before and after 333. A Greek scribe rectified this redundancy and added an explanatory comment which was taken over by the Syriac and Coptic translators. In its present form X does not contain 334, but omissions are common in the Syriac tradition. $\tau\iota$ $\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\eta}\mu$ appears to be an adverb; its point of reference is unclear.

- 338 ἀκοινώνητον is translated in terms of the needy also in 377. It seems οὐδε was used to translate ἀλλὰ καί. A simple negative imperative was used for χαλεπὸν ἡγοῦ.
- 339 The maxim is followed by a large blank space or erasure now largely in a lacuna. No Coptic is needed to account for the Greek. It is possible that C was familiar with the addition of Y but left a space rather than incorporating it.
- 342 MS reads πεταειακ due to haplography. (The use of the *status pronominalis* with the present tense is strange.) The word following ταειακ is obscured because of the lacuna and not demanded by the Greek. ἀλλα replaces δέ in C.
- 344 ρῆμαο translates εὐδαιμονήσουσα and should not be taken in the sense of material wealth but in the sense of happiness (see also 387).
- 345 C lacks the equivalent of λιμῶ in Greek and agrees in this respect with Clitarchus 114. The τμντ at the end of 30*,10 must have been crowded in.
- 346 The Greek lacks "since it is innocent."
- 347 C lacks δέ with Y, R, and X against Π.
- 348 This sentence appears to form one maxim with 349 characterized by chiasmic construction. ῥεπιδικαζε translates ἀντιποιοῦνται.
- 349 MS lacks the definite plural article with δαιμων. ῥκατεχε translates ἐμποδίζουσιν.
- 352 This sentence appears to form one maxim with 353. C did not translate the καί in the Greek sentence.
- 354 Sentence 354 appears to form one maxim with 356. δέ is lacking as in Π.
- 355 In X this saying is also dislocated when compared to the Greek manuscripts. C changed the meaning of the maxim or translated a Greek text which was different from Π, Y, and R.
- 358 ογαωογ: apparently the Greek text behind C read θέλης instead of πεισθῆς. The surviving Greek text (Π) appears to be corrupt. C adds τότε.
- 361 It seems C needs μαλλον, η, or ἄρογο before ετβε.
- 362 † can translate προιέναι; cf. Crum 392a.
- 363a Perhaps C mistook ἄρξεις to mean "originate" and thus translated it as "conceive." This leaves the meaning of C obscure.
- 364 Perhaps the scribe forgot to write "ρανος" below the last line. C specified τίνος εἶ to refer to God.
- 367 This sentence appears to form one maxim with 368. Perhaps χιβολ ε- means here "speak a lie against" as is suggested by the Greek text.
- 369 With this sentence a new paragraph probably began; cf. 32*,16.
- 371 αρχη translates κρηπίς. It seems the scribe thought the ταρχη

- indicated a new paragraph and thus a blank space was left between sentences 370 and 371.
- 372 C read ἀληθεία as nominative instead of dative and thus made it the subject of the clause in spite of the gender of οὗτος. As a result, the second clause appears unrelated to the first.
- 374 C added “everyone” perhaps under influence of 372.
- 376a–b C read the θεός καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ of 376b with 376a and thus omitted the redundant θεός. As a result, 376b has become unintelligible. ρω (33*,2), ϕι (33*,3) and the first let of 33*,3–8 are from frgs. 6 and 3 *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 101, placed there after publication of the volume; see the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.
- 377–78 377 appears to form one maxim with 378, which in turn depends for its meaning on 377. In 33*,10 ἄ was omitted due to haplography. Since ἀκουώνητον was translated the same way as μὴ διδούς δεομένοις (cf. 338), C used it only once. δυνατός was not translated. C read θεῶ with Y.
- 379 Ψυχὴ was rendered “heart” perhaps to conform to a more common expression. C spelled out δεομένω (i.e., the hungry) in terms of the τροφῆς.
- 380 C appears to have misunderstood the Greek. It did not translate οὐ νομίζοντας, καί, and ἡγούμενος. The οὐχ ἦττον ἄθεος was mistranslated as “he is not humble towards God.”
- 381 κατὰ translates εἰς.
- 382 ἄ χρια translates δεῖτα; cf. 165f. C omits οὐδαμῆ with X.
- 385–86 χῆ after ζῖνα (34*,2) is puzzling. The unintelligible letters on 34*,2 and the final letters on 34*,3–7 are from frgs. 6 and 3 *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 102, placed there after the publication of the volume; see the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.
- 387 See note to 344.
- 389b It is not clear why C used the second aorist imperative of ὑπισχνέσθαι as a loanword. The meaning of the Greek is somewhat ambiguous, but C’s interpretation is most likely correct.
- 390 C strengthened the second part of the maxim by making God the actor rather than the cause. The scribe mistakenly wrote πετῆειρε (34*,13), probably under the influence of its occurrence in 34*,11.
- 391 The scribe mistakenly wrote κομῆ which means “wait” or “be stretched.” It is not attested with ἐπιτῆ ἐχῆ- and makes no sense in the context. The emendation κομῆ is supported by the Greek.
- 392 Perhaps C read σκηματισμόν instead of χρηματισμόν. Ψυχὴ was translated as “inner man” by C to get a better contrast with the first clause. ἐλευθεροῦν was changed to “pay respect to.”
- 393 C misunderstood the function of the Greek infinitives. The sentence

in C appears to be two separate maxims with the meaning of the second left obscure. C omitted γάρ.

394 C added δε. The punctuation suggests that the second clause forms one maxim with 395.

396 ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟΣ translates ἄθλιοι.

fragments
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INTRODUCTION

NHC XII,2*: THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH, 53*,1-54*,28; 57*,1-60*,30

Bibliography: Malinine, et al., *Evangelium Veritatis* and [*Supplementum*]; *Facsimile Edition: Codex I*, pl. 20-43; *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, pl. 23*/24*.

The fragments of the Sahidic *Gospel of Truth* in Codex XII had not been distinguished from the other material in the codex in the inventories made by Doresse (*Secret Books*, 142-45), Krause ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," 121-31), and Robinson ("The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," 383-401). First mention of the fragments was made in "The Coptic Gnostic Library," 85.

No title of the tractate has been preserved with the fragments; the title, as well as the order and identification of the fragments, is wholly dependent on the parallel text of the *Gospel of Truth* in Codex I. Apart from the parallel text, these fragments would have had little value. Their present significance is limited to the light they shed on the parallel version in Codex I. Hence the notes to the text and translation only deal with the differences between the two versions.

Fragments of three leaves have been found. All of these contain a part of the bottom margin and one of the leaves has part of both top and bottom margins. Unfortunately, in every case the left and right margins are lost, which made the reconstruction of complete lines a matter of conjecture. By calculating the average number of lines in the *Gospel of Truth* (I,3) which correspond with a page of text in the *Gospel of Truth* (XII,2*), it could be estimated that the fragments belonged to pages 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, and 22 of the tractate. When put in sequence with the *Sentences of Sextus* (XII,1*) the fragments then become pages 53*-54* and 57*-60*. Assuming that both versions of the *Gospel of Truth* had the same length, XII,2* can be estimated to have ended at the bottom of page 67*. This means that the *Sentences of Sextus* ended and the *Gospel of Truth* began on page 39* of the codex. Yet the last page of Sextus must have been almost a full page, especially if the title was at the end; and also the first page of the *Gospel of Truth* comes out as a full page in the estimate. However, in order to prevent a rather

awkward codex pagination, this conflict has been ignored (see the Codex Introduction). Leaf 53*/54* is represented by two fragments, leaf 57*/58* by two fragments which join in the middle of the leaf, and leaf 59*/60* by seven fragments which clearly fit together. The small fragment of leaf 53*/54* and three small fragments of leaf 59*/60* were placed after the facsimile edition of Codex XII was published and, except for one fragment of leaf 59*/60*, are shown in position in *The Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, pl. 23*/24*. Fragment 7 shown on pl. 119/120 has been placed on p. 59*,24-27 (pl. 120) and p. 60*,24-26 (pl. 119). The extant lines on pages 53*/54* and 59*/60*, of which only the bottom parts of the leaves survive, have been numbered by estimating the number of lines the page once contained. The fact that pages 55*/56* are not represented in the sequence lends support to the suspicion that at least some of the loss was suffered since the discovery of the codices.

The *Gospel of Truth* (XII,2*), it appears, was written in pure Sahidic. The only departures from standard Sahidic, aside from a few itacisms (λοειβε 59*,28 for λοιβε; παει 54*,25 and ναει 54*,22.23.27 for παϊ and ναϊ; ψταειουγ 54*,26 for πσταειουγ; ουχαϊ 57*,24.26 for ουχαϊ), are the following: πι, †, and νι are frequently used as articles. Once ν has not been assimilated to μ before π (53*,27). The relative form of the habitual tense is εψα- (58*,25). The "not yet" tense is spelled εμπατ- in 60*,24. The perfect relative is normally ντα- and, if reconstructed correctly, once εντα- (57*,23). The translator used remarkably few Greek loanwords.

The differences between the two versions of the *Gospel of Truth* go far beyond those expected for independent translations into different dialects. The fragments are not extensive enough to present a full comparative evaluation of both versions. If the fragments are indicative of the whole, then the version in Codex XII has a somewhat shorter text and differs often in substance. The many serious problems of syntax in I,3 are not evident in XII,2*. The text appears smoother, more direct and more transparent in meaning. Some of this could be due to the fact that the Coptic translator of XII,2* produced a version that was a simplification of the Greek. However, it is at least as likely that the Coptic of Codex I is awkward and at times corrupt. If the fragments of the *Gospel of Truth* in XII,2* indicate anything, then it is to make the student of the

Gospel of Truth aware that the difficulties in I,3 are not necessarily due to complexity of thought and gnostic obscurity but perhaps to an inferior Coptic translation of a corrupted Greek text.

53*

(Lines 1-18 lacking)

[6±]..[

- 20 [αγω] νετσωτῃ ερο[α
 [νεα]† ναγ ἡ††πε [μῆ πιστοι ἡ]
 22 [οὐς]μοτ ἡταα ψ[ηρε ἡμεριτ]
 [αφο]γωνῆ ναγ εβολ [αφταμοου]
 24 [επει]ωτ̄ πιατσααε [ἡμοα ε]
 [αφνια]ε ἡπεαμεεγε ε[ραϊ ερο]
 26 [οὐ αφειρ]ε ἡπεαογω[ω· αραα βε]
 [χι ἡπογ]οειν νεαῖῃ πσ[μοτ ἡσα]
 28 [ρξ̄ νε]γρο ἡωἡμο πε [εροου]
 [4-5] ενεακταειτ ἡ.[

53*

(Lines 1-18 lacking)

- [
 20 [and] they who hear [him
 [he] granted them the taste [and the smell of]
 22 his form. The [beloved Son]
 appeared to them [and told them]
 24 [about the] Father, the ineffable one, [having]
 [breathed] his (Father's) thought [into]
 26 [them. He did] his (Father's) will. [Then many]
 [received the] light. He was in [fleshly (σάρξ) form;]
 28 (his) face was foreign [to them]
 [] since he was changed [

54*

(Lines 1-18 lacking)

- [MṖPE ETBL]M̄'ΛOMT AQΠOP[KOY
 20 [9±] NḂṖPE AQCOO[ZE E]
 [ZPAI ΔE NNAEI]I NTAΥCΛAATE O[ΓMO]
 22 [EIT AQΨΩΠ]E NNAEI ETCPOM̄' OY]
 [COOYN' O]YMNTATMOY ACΨ[ΩΠE]
 24 [NNAEI ETM]OOYT PAEI Π[E ΠΨΩC]
 [EQKW EZP]A' I M̄ΠIΨTAEI O[Γ M̄ ΨIC]
 [NECOOY] NAEI ETE M̄ΠOYCΩ[P M̄ AQ]
 28 [ΩINE NC]A PAI NTAQCΩP M̄ [

54*

(Lines 1-18 lacking)

- ensnaring [*bonds*] he destroyed
 20 [] new. [*And* (δέ)] he raised
 [*up those*] who have stumbled. [*A way*]
 22 [*came into being*] for those who are lost.
 [*Knowledge*] came to those who [*are*]
 24 [*ignorant.*] Immortality [*came*]
 [*to those who are*] mortal. He is [*the shepherd*]
 26 [*who left behind*] the ninety [*and nine*]
 [*sheep*] which were not lost, [*and*]
 28 [*searched for*] the one which was lost. [

57*

[ϕΟΥΟΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ] Ζ̄Μ̄ ΜΑ Ν[ΙΜ ΕϕΩΑΝ]
 2 [ΤΩΖ Ε†ΖΥΛ]Η ΤΗΡϸ Π[Ιϸ†ΝΟΥϕΕ]
 [Ν̄ΤΑϕ ϕ†] Μ̄ΜΟϕ ΕΠΟ[ΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥ]
 4 [Ω Ζ̄Ν ΤΕϕΜ̄Ν]ΤΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ [ϕΧΟΣΕ]
 [ΕΧ̄Ν ΣΜΟΤ Ν]ΙΜ· ΠΜΑΑΧ[Ε ΓΑΡ ΑΝ]
 6 [ΠΕ ΕΩΑϕΩΩ]Λ̄Μ̄ ΑΛΛΑ Π[Π̄ΝΑ ΠΕΤ]
 [ΩΩΛ̄Μ̄ ΕΡΟ]ϕ Μ̄ΠΡΗΤΕ Ε†[ΕΠ̄Π̄ΝΑ]
 8 [ΣΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄]ΠΙϸ†ΝΟΥϕΕ [ΕΡΟϕ ΑΥ]
 [Ω Π̄Π̄ΝΑ ΠΕ]†† Μ̄ΤΟΝ ΝΑ[ϕ
 10 [6± Μ̄]ΜΟϕ ΕΧΩϕ.[
 [... ΕΒΟΛ] Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΙϸ†ΝΟ[ΥϕΕ Ν̄ΩΟ]
 12 [ΡΠ̄ ΕΤΑΡΩ̄ Ο]ΥΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΙ[ϸ†ΝΟΥϕΕ]
 [ΓΑΡ ΠΕ· ΟΥ]ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ Μ̄[ΠΛΑΣΜΑ]
 14 [10±]. ΕΡΕΠΜΕ[ΡΙϸΜΟϸ]
 [11±]Μ̄ ΠΜΑ .[
 16 [12± Ε]ΤΒΕ [ΠΑΪ ΑϕΕΙ Ν̄]
 [ΒΙ ΠΝΑΖΤΕ ΑϕΒΩΛ] ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄[ΠΙΜΕ]
 18 [ΡΙϸΜΟϸ ΑΥΩ ΑϕΕ]Ι ΕΠΧΩ[Κ ΕΒΟΛ]
 [ΕΤΖΗΜ ΧΕ]Κ[ΑΑΣ Ν̄]ΝΕϕΩΩ[ΠΕ]
 20 [ΕϕΣΩΤ] ΕΕΙ Ν[Αϕ Ν̄]ΒΙ ΠΙΑΡΩΩ [ΑΥ]
 [Ω ϕΝ]ΑΒΩΛ Ζ̄[Μ̄ Π]ΤΩΤ Ν̄[ΖΗΤ Ε†]
 22 [ΧΗΚ] ΠΑΪ Π[Ε Π]ΩΑ[ΧΕ Μ̄ΠΩ̄Μ]
 [ΝΟΥϕΕ ΕΝ†[ΑΥ]ΤΑΩ[Ε ΟΕΙΩ Μ̄]
 24 [ΜΟϕ ΠΟ]ΥΧΑϕ[Ι Π]Ε Ν̄ΝΑΕ[Ι ΕΤΟΥ]
 [ΜΟΥΤΕ] ΕΡΟΟ[Υ ΕΥ]ΣΟΜ̄† Ε[ΒΟΛ ΖΗ]
 26 [ΤḠ̄ Μ̄ΠΟ]ΥΧΑ[ΕΙ Ε]ΤΕΟΥ.[
 [... ΟΥΟ]ΝΖ [ΠΑ]ΕΙ Ε†Χ[
 28 [.....] ΕΥΣΟΜ̄† ΕΒΟ[Λ
 VACAT ΧΩ[

58*

[πε ποϋ]οειν παϊ [ετε μῆ ραιβες]
 2 [ἄρῃ] ἄρῃ μῆ μῆ[ον εψχε ψαϋ]
 [ει ἄρῃ] ἄρῃ πιπληρω[μα· αγω ἄρῃ]
 4 [πι]ψτα ψωπε [εβολ ριτοοτῶ]
 [ἄρῃ] πλανη· αγω α[σψωπε ετβη]
 6 [ητῶ ἄρῃ] ἄρῃ μῆτῆρ[υτε ἄρῃ πειωτ ἄρῃ]
 [ατ]ψιτς ατῆ ἄρῃ[γοειψ ἄρῃ ψιτα]
 8 [καί]τοι νεψωοη [ἄρῃ μῆ λααϋ]
 [ετ]ῆαψταγο ἄρῃ[ρητε ἄρῃ ἄρῃ]
 10 [ατ]ῆα[ρῃ] ἄρῃ ἄρῃ οϋ[
 [πβ]ῆος ἄρῃ πειω[τ
 12 [με]εϋ]ε ρολωσ ρατ[οοτ
 [. . .]ψωπε· ε[
 14 [. . .]μετ ετε ἄρῃ
 [. . .] ἄρῃ τε πτ.[
 16 [. . .] πβ[ῃ]ε
 [. . .] ρῃ πε[τστο εβολ γαρ σε]
 18 [μο]υτε ερο[ϋ ῆε οϋμετανοια]
 ετβε παϊ ἄρῃ[αφῆ]ἄρῃ[σια πωτ ἄρῃ σα]
 20 πνοβε ρι[ῃ]α ῆεκ[λας ερεψω]
 [πε] ἄρῃ οϋ[ταλ]βο· π.[
 22 [. . .]. ἄρῃ.[.]ψωπε [. . . παϊ]
 [πκ]ῃ εβολ [πε] ριτοο[τῃ ἄρῃ πλο]
 24 [ρ]ῃς ἄρῃ[τε [πι]πλη[ρωμα· παϊ]
 [γα]ρ εψαϋ[π]ωτ επ[εῖμα ετε]
 26 [π]ψωνε ἄρῃ[μ]αϋ ε[βολ ῆε ρῃ ἄρῃ]
 [τ]οοτῃ μ[.]λι.[
 28 [πι]ψτα· εβολ ῆε π[ετῆ] ψτα]
 [ϋ]ῃ ἄρῃ τοοτῃ ταῖ τ[ε ῆε ἄρῃ πιπλη]
 30 [ρωμα]

58*

[is the] light [which has no shadow]
 2 [in it,] or rather [as if]
 the pleroma (πλήρωμα) [were to come. And]
 4 [the] deficiency [did not] occur [through]
 [the] error (πλάνη). And [it happened because of]
 6 the immeasurable divinity [of the]
 [Father.] He gave [time to the deficiency,]
 8 although (καίτοι) there was [no one]
 [who] will be able to tell the [manner of coming of the]
 10 [Incorruptible One]. But (ἀλλά) [
 [the] depth (βάθος) of the Father [
 12 [thought] entirely (ὅλως) with [
 [it] happens. [
 14 [] which [
 [] of the [
 16 [] the [discovery
 [for (γάρ)] the [rejection (of sin)]
 18 [is] called [conversion (μετάνοια).]
 Therefore [Incorruption (ἀφθαρσία) pursued]
 20 Sin, in order that (ἵνα)
 healing [might occur]. The [
 22 [] happen [This]
 [is the forgiveness] through [the Word (λόγος)]
 24 of [the] pleroma (πλήρωμα). [For (γάρ) he]
 runs to the [place where]
 26 [the] sickness is, [for he gives]
 aid [
 28 [the] deficiency, because [whoever is deficient]
 [he] aids. Thus [it is with the pleroma (πλήρωμα)]

59*

(Lines 1-17 lacking)

- 18 [παῖ ἡ̄ τοῦμητε ἀ]γῶα[χε ε]
 [πᾶ̄ς ἁεκαας] ςε[ν]ᾱχι ἡ̄ο[γστο]
 20 [ἡ̄βι να]ῖ̄ ετωτῖ̄τωρ αγω ἡ̄[το]
 [οτῖ̄ ἡ̄ς]εχι ἡ̄πιτωζ̄· π[ιτω]
 22 [ζ̄ γαρ] ἡ̄ε πναε ἡ̄τε πειω[τ]
 [εαϷ]ναε βε ναγ αγχι ἡ̄π[ιτω]
 24 [ζ̄ πα]ει πε αγχ[ωκ] εβ[ολ· νις]
 [κεγο]ς γαρ ετμ[ηζ] ψ[αγταζ]
 26 [σογ ζο]ταν γαρ εϷ[ω]αν[βωλ ε]
 [βολ ἡ̄βι] πιτωζ̄^[ε̄] αϷ[ω]
 28 [ωογ]ε̄ιτ· τλοειβε [ετρεϷ̄]
 [ἡ̄ογχ]ρια πβωλ ε[βολ ἡ̄πι]
 30 [τωζ̄] τε ψαϷκα[τεχε

60*

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

[.]ω[

- 18 [.]η επειδ[η εγζ̄μ̄ πβαθος̄ μ̄]
 [π]εμ̄εεγε̄ πλογο[ς δε̄ ν̄ταϛ]
 20 [ε]ῑ αφογον̄ζοῡ εβολ̄ [πνοῡς ν̄]
 τε̄ πλογο̄ς ετψα[χε̄ αν̄ χιν̄]
 22 [μ̄π]εζοογ̄ ετενεϛ̄ε[ετ̄ εγμογ̄]
 [τε̄ εροϛ] χε̄ μ̄[ε]εγε̄ επε[ιδη̄ εϛ]
 24 [βω̄ ν̄]ζη[τ̄]̄ εμπ̄ατ̄[ογων̄ζ]
 [εβο]λ̄ ρη̄αψωπε̄ Δ[ε̄ ετρεφογ̄]
 26 [ω]η̄ζ̄ εβολ̄ ζοτᾱη̄ [εϛψ̄ανεγ̄]
 [δοκει]̄ ν̄βῑ πογωψ̄ [μ̄πετ̄]̄
 28 [ογωψ̄]ε̄ πιογωψ̄ [πετ̄]̄μο̄
 [τ̄η̄ μ̄]̄πεϛ̄ζη̄τ̄η̄ τη̄[ρ̄]̄ ν̄ζη̄τ̄η̄
 30 [ν̄βῑ πε]̄ιωτ̄ αγω̄ π[ετ̄]̄εγδοκεῑ

60*

(Lines 1-16 lacking)

- [
- 18 [] since (ἐπειδή) [*they are in the depth (βάθος) of*]
 his thought. [And (δέ)] the Word (λόγος) [*which had*]
 20 [*come*] revealed them. [*The Mind (νοῦς) of*]
 the silent Word (λόγος) [*from*]
 22 [*that*] day [*continues to be called*]
 thought, [*since (ἐπειδή) it*]
 24 [*remained*] in [*it*] before it [*appeared.*]
 And (δέ) it shall happen [*that it appears*]
 26 when (ὅταν)
 the will [*of him who willed is pleased (εὐδοκεῖν.)*]
 28 [*It is*] the will [*in which*]
 [*the*] father [*rests*] his whole heart
 30 and with [*which he is pleased (εὐδοκεῖν.)*]

134-29 = I

It is un-

134

136 Code

137 dored Son (

138 of his form."

139 1379.2.2

140 141.2.2

141 The epi-

142 143.2.2

143 144.2.2

144 The

145 146.2.2

146 147.2.2

147

148 149.2.2 = I

149 The p

150 151.2.2

151 This

152 153.2.2

153 not only

154 155.2.2

155 Of the

156 blind, and

157 158.2.2

158 Both w

159 160.2.2

160 Codex

161 162.2.2 = I,3

162 163.2.2

163 164.2.2

164 165.2.2

165 166.2.2

166 167.2.2

167 168.2.2

168 169.2.2

169 170.2.2

170 171.2.2

171 172.2.2

172 173.2.2

173

NHC XII,2*: THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

XII,53*,19-29 = I,30,27-31,6

53*,20 It is unclear from I,30,28 what words could be missing in the lacuna.

53*,20-26 Codex XII omits the reference to the laying hold of the beloved Son (I,30,31). It also specifies that the taste and smell apply to "his form."

53*,24 $\alpha\tau\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ and $\alpha\tau\omega\lambda\pi\bar{\eta}$ (I,30,34) normally do not translate the same Greek adjective.

53*,25 The epsilon before the lacuna is very uncertain; perhaps some ink flaked off.

53*,26 $\theta\epsilon$ is not present in I,30,36-37, but is needed to fill the lacuna.

53*,27-29 The text of Codex XII is significantly different from its parallel in Codex I. It appears that the first part of line 29 was left blank.

XII,54*,19-28 = I,31,25-32,3

54*,19-20 The parallel text in I,31,25-28 is worded differently; the last phrase ($\alpha\gamma\omega \dots \pi\epsilon$) appears to have no equivalent in Codex XII.

54*,20-21 This sentence may be the equivalent of I,31,32-33; in that case, not only the order in XII is different but also it is no longer part of the parallel phrases which follow.

54*,20-25 Of the five parallel phrases in I,31,28-35, Codex XII lacks the third, and the fourth seems to precede the stanza in altered form (see note 54*,20-21).

54*,24 Both $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\mu\omicron\upsilon$ and $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\chi\omega\zeta\mu$ (I,31,34) could be a translation of *ἀφθαρσία*.

54*,27-28 Codex XII lacks the equivalent of $\alpha\varphi\epsilon\iota$ in I,32,2.

XII,57*,1-29 = I,34,4-35,4

57*,2 $\tau\eta\rho\bar{\epsilon}$ is lacking in Codex I.

57*,4 $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\zeta\alpha\rho\omega\zeta\eta\tau$ (*μακροθυμία*) seems to fit the sense better than "his silence" in I,34,7.

57*,5 $\bar{\eta}\zeta\rho\alpha\gamma \nu\iota\mu$ in I,34,9, which is syntactically unclear, is lacking in Codex XII.

57*,6 Codex XII lacks "the fragrance" after $\omega\omega\lambda\bar{\mu}$; it is not needed for the meaning.

57*,6-15 I,34,10-21 is obscure in syntax and meaning which makes the reconstruction of Codex XII at this point hazardous.

57*,8 I,34,13-14 ($\alpha\gamma\omega \dots \bar{\eta}\pi\iota\omega\tau$) appears to be lacking in Codex XII.

- 57*,14 I,34,20-26 appears to be lacking in Codex XII.
- 57*,18 ΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ translates πλήρωμα. Elsewhere in the fragments πλήρωμα has not been translated.
- 57*,19 There is not enough room in the lacuna for both ΕΤΖΗΜ and the equivalent of ΝΤΕ †ΑΓΑΠΗ (I,34,31).
- 57*,21 Codex I does not repeat the main verb (ΒΩΛ). ΤΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ could translate the same word as ΜΝΤΟΥΕΕΙ (I,34,33).
- 57*,23-29 The wording in Codex XII differs considerably from Codex I.
- 57*,29 One could reconstruct ΧΩ[Κ ΕΒΟΛ (= πλήρωμα) but this adds a further departure from the text of Codex I.

XII,58*,1-29 = I,35,5-35

- 58*,2 There is no equivalent for the puzzling ΧΝ ΜΜΟΝ in Codex I.
- 58*,4 I,35,9 reads: "the deficiency of matter."
- 58*,5 There appears to be an omission due to homoioteleuton in I,35,10 involving the words Ν†ΠΛΑΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΑΣΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤĀ.
- 58*,6-7 Codex I lacks ΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ; ΑΤΩΙΤΣ and ΜΝΤΑΤΑΡΗΧĀ (I,35,10) could be translations of the same Greek adjective, though Codex I reads it as a substantive.
- 58*,7 Codex XII suggests that the unusual form ΤΝ- in I,35,11 is the construct form of † rather than ΕΙΝΕ.
- 58*,10 ΑΤΧΩΖΜ̄ and ΑΤΤΕΚΟ (I,35,14) could both be translations of ἄφθαρτος. In that case Codex XII has the normal Coptic equivalent.
- 58*,12 ΖΟΛΩΣ has no equivalent in Codex I.
- 58*,14 The word division is uncertain.
- 58*,17 One large or two small letters would fit in the lacuna at the beginning of the line. The "rejection" is probably with reference to sin.
- 58*,19 Codex XII lacks the strange reference to the breathing of Incurptibility found in I,35,25.
- 58*,20-21 I,35,26 reads "him who sinned" instead of "the Sin." The antecedent of the pronoun of "that he might find rest" in Codex I is unclear. Codex XII renders the purpose clause differently. The Ζ in ΖΙΝΑ is partly obscured by blotting.
- 58*,26 ΩΩΠΕ was corrected to ΩΩΝΕ. I,35,31-33 (ΧΕ... ΝΖΗΤĀ) is lacking in Codex XII.
- 58*,26-29 The wording in Codex I is different. There appears to be blotting in these lines.

XII,59*,18-30 = I,36,13-26.

- 59*,21 There appears to be blotting in this line.
- 59*,23-24 The wording in Codex I is somewhat different.

59*,24 There is room for one large or two small letters in the lacuna in addition to $\zeta\bar{c}$.

59*,27 The ζ in $\tau\omega\zeta\bar{c}$ may be c ; perhaps the word was written $\tau\omega c\bar{c}$.

59*,29-30 The wording in Codex I is different.

XII,60*,17-30 = I,37,7-21.

60*,20-22 The syntax of the parallel in I,37,10-12 is unclear and the wording is different.

60*,29 Codex I lacks "his whole heart."

ments 1A-1
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INTRODUCTION
NHC XII,3*: FRAGMENTARY TRACTATE
1A-1B; 2A-2B

Fragments 1A-1B and 2A-2B have been assigned to the same tractate for the sake of convenience. There is no evidence to support or refute their belonging to the same tractate. All that can be said is that neither fragment belongs to the *Sentences of Sextus* or the *Gospel of Truth*. Both fragments contain parts of the bottom margin of the page. Since they do not contain the first line of the page, line numbers have been assigned on the assumption that the pages had a total of 29 lines, the average for the extant pages in the *Sentences of Sextus* and the *Gospel of Truth*.

With no title and only one substantial fragment surviving, the character of the tractate is obscure. It appears to contain ethical teaching within a religious context. The first-person singular and plural are used, and the speaker refers to "my father," which suggests that he may be Jesus. The speaker contrasts himself and his followers with others, referred to in the third-person plural, who are evil. Nothing in the fragments suggests that the tractate was Gnostic. There are no unambiguous Christian references but nothing precludes the tractate from being Christian. There is no reason to doubt that it was translated from the Greek.

The fragments were written in a Sahidic that is less pure than the *Gospel of Truth* but with features which distinguish it also from the *Sentences of Sextus*. It exhibits the following archaic and dialectal forms: ϵN (A,F,S₀)—1B,21; ϵ (A,S_{v1})—1B,20; $\text{N}\epsilon\neq$ (A,A²,F,S_{v1})—1B,21; $\text{P}\epsilon\epsilon\text{I}$ (A,A²)—1B,23; $\text{N}\lambda\epsilon\text{I}$ (S₀)—1B,19; $\text{C}\text{O}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{N}\epsilon$ (S₀)—1B,10; $\text{W}\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}$ (S₀)—1A,19; $\text{C}\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ (A²,S₀)—1A,13. In distinction from *The Sentences of Sextus* it uses † (1A,15; 1B,23) interchangeably with the article τ (1A,14; 1B,16.17), and the indefinite article is spelled $\zeta\epsilon\text{N}$ - instead of $\zeta\bar{\text{N}}$ -.

1A

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 [].[
 []εγ[
 8 []᾿.[
 []ν.[. .]ηρε ε.[
 10 [] ᾿ΜΜΟΝ ᾿ΘΕ ΕΤΕΨ
 [ψε ν]ΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΛΛΑ
 12 [ο]ΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΕΧΙ
 []Ν ΨΑΥΣΕΧΕ ΚΑΚΩC
 14 []ΩΝ᾿ ΕΤΜ᾿ΝΤΒΟΟ
 [νε]ΟΥ᾿ ΕΒΟΛ ᾿Τ᾿Μ᾿ΝΤ
 16 [᾿ 2]ΩΒ ΕΝΠΕΘΟΟΥ Ε>
 []ΕΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ' ᾿ΝCΕ
 18 [᾿ 2]ΩΒ ΕΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΥ
 []ΝΨ᾿ΜΜΟΕΙ ΟΥΝ 2᾿
 20 [᾿ 2]ΩΒ ΕΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥ
 [ΟΥ] ᾿2ΕΝ2ΒΗΥΕ ΕΝ.[
 22 [᾿ΝΟ]Ν 2ΩΩΝ ΕΝ᾿ 2ψ[β
 [2β]ΥΕ ᾿ΝΝΕΤ᾿Μ᾿[Υ
 24 [2ΕΝ2β]ΗΥΕ ΕΥ2ΟΟΥ[
 []ΕΥ ΠΕΤ᾿Ν᾿ΑΕ[
 26 [ν]Ε2ΒΗΥ'Ε'ΕΤΕ[
 []ΝΙ ΠΕΤΝ[
 28 [ΟΥΟ]Ν ΝΙΜ [
 []ΘΟC [

(Line

[facing

The subject
Of: ΟΥΩΝ
Perhaps M
At the en

1A

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 []
 []
 8 []
 []
 10 [] us as it is
 [*fitting.*] each other, but (*ἀλλά*)
 12 [] a crowd to receive
 [] they speak ill (*κακῶς*)
 14 [] live by wickedness
 [] the []
 16 [] work evil things to
 [] the good things (*ἀγαθόν*), and they
 18 [] do their own things
 [] strangers. There are
 20 [] do their own things
 [] works which []
 22 [*we*] ourselves do []
 [*works*] of those []
 24 [] evil works []
 [] that which we shall []
 26 [*the*] works which []
 [] that which []
 28 [] every one []
 []

1A,11 The subject must have been first-person plural.

1A,14 Or: *οἰωνῶν*.

1A,15 Perhaps *μοῦ* "fill."

1A,21 At the end of the line restore perhaps *ἐνανογοῦ* "which are good."

IB

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

- 6 [9[±]]. []
 [7[±]]. ου []
 8 [.] ρε [. .] βη νβ []
 εειχω γαρ μη []
 10 σοοϋνε μην [ουτε]
 με † πεϋοϋο []
 12 πλανη· αλλα []
 σεμηψα μημ []
 14 ροϋν επνοϋτε ε []
 αυω ηδη αυμο []
 16 τμη̄ντατσοοϋ [νε]
 ρετδικαιοςϋν [η]
 18 მოს ნეუმ̄ [ψα]
 ნბი ნაეი· ნτοϋ []
 20 ει παειωτ ετε ν̄ς []
 ნეϋ εν̄ ნειωτ ε []
 22 [.] ε † μεεϋε χε π . []
 [. . .] ε πεεῑ ν̄τα†ν []
 24 [. . . .] . †† ον̄ μη̄ . []
 [. . . .] εϋκω εβολ ρ . []
 26 [.] . χοοϋ ν̄βι []
 [.] μη̄]μοϋ ν̄βι π []
 28 [8[±]] νεϋ []
 [8[±]] εαϋ []

1B

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 []
 []
 8 []
 For (γάρ) I speak the []
 10 know [*God*]
 gave their []
 12 error (πλάνη). But (ἀλλά) []
 they are worthy of the []
 14 into God []
 And already (ἤδη) they have []
 16 the ignorance []
 the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) []
 18 these were worthy [*of*]
 He []
 20 my father who is []
 not to them a father []
 22 I think that the []
 [] this which the []
 24 [] I give again to the []
 [] they forgive []
 26 [] spoke it []
 [] it []
 28 []
 []

1B,10-11 Perhaps [ρω]/με "men."

1B,11 Perhaps ογοειν "light."

1B,15 Perhaps μοοψε "walked."

1B,23 Perfect relative ντα- plus the article †.

2A

(Lines 1-23 lacking)

24] . [] τε [] φιλ[οσοφος
26] μεγωρ[] φι]λοσοφος[
28] κοσμος τ[

2B

(Lines 1-23 lacking)

24] . [] οπ[] αι η[] μμος[
26] χποσ η . [

2A

(Lines 1-23 lacking)

24 []
 []
 26 [] philosopher (φιλόσοφος) []
 [] they are not able to []
 28 [] philosopher (φιλόσοφος) []
 [] world (κόσμος) []

2B

(Lines 1-23 lacking)

24 []
 []
 26 []
 [] her []
 28 [] begot him []
 [] think that []

CODEX XIII

Kraus
Codex
Robi

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XIII

Bibliography: Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 13-15; *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, xv, xvii and pl. 104-20; Robinson, "Codicology," 15-31; Robinson, "Papyrus Codicology," 56-57.

I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

From Codex XIII only eight papyrus leaves (16 pages) survive. The top margins, where pagination might be expected to appear, are not sufficiently intact to determine if the codex was originally paginated. Since the handwriting and contents of the codex are in some respects similar to those of Codex II, which has no pagination, it is here assumed that Codex XIII was not paginated.

The minimum size of the codex has been calculated by Krause-Labib (*Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 14) on the basis that on the last surviving page there begins a tractate that is completely preserved in Codex II, where it comprises 30 pages (NHC II,5: 97,24-127,17):

Since the measurements of Codex XIII are only slightly smaller than those of Codex II and the number of lines per page in Codex XIII and Codex II are almost identical, one may assume that the tractate whose beginning is preserved in Codex XIII comprised at least thirty further pages. The second quire of Codex XIII comprised then at least forty pages. No doubt we may assume the same size for the first quire. Thus we reach at least eighty pages as the total size.

Since XIII,2* would average 36 lines per page but II,5 averages just under 35 lines per page, *On the Origin of the World* (II,5) might require only 29 additional pages. Be that as it may, the surviving pages would have as their minimal numeration 35-50; the hypothetical nature of this numeration is indicated by an asterisk: 35*-50*. As in the case of Codex II (145 pp.), Codex XIII may well have been much larger than this minimal pagination suggests.

The original reconstruction of Codex XIII assumed two quires, since the first three leaves (six pages) have horizontal fibers on the

front and vertical fibers on the back, suggesting the second half of a first quire, and the last five leaves (10 pages) have vertical fibers on the front and horizontal fibers on the back, suggesting the first half of a second quire. However, analysis of horizontal fiber continuity subsequently showed that the sheets of Codex XIII were stacked with horizontal fibers facing up, rotated 90° in a horizontal plane and then folded inward at the center. The result was that the sheets appeared to have been stacked with vertical fibers facing up, as is actually the case with the top eleven sheets in Codex II. This is shown by the fact that the continuity of fibers from sheet to sheet in Codex XIII does not occur from the right side of one sheet to the left side of another but from the top of one sheet to the bottom of another (See Robinson, "Papyrus Codicology," 56-57). Hence, the occurrence of facing pages with vertical fibers indicates the center of the quire, which occurs at pp. 40*-41*. The theory that there was only one quire is confirmed by the continuity of horizontal fibers between pp. 39* and 42*, pp. 37* and 44*, and pp. 35* and 46*. Codex I is the only codex in the Nag Hammadi library that is comprised of more than one quire (see the *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 32-44).

Krause has assumed that the discoloration and deterioration of the first two leaves is due to burning, so that the missing parts of the codex would be the leaves that legend says the peasants burnt to cook their tea (*Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 14 and 236). But the eight surviving leaves were apparently removed from the rest of the codex in antiquity and conserved inside the front cover of Codex VI prior to the burial of the library. This is confirmed by the congruency of the contours of the last leaves of Codex XIII with the first leaves of Codex VI, the discovery of a fragment belonging to lines 8-9 of XIII, 35* attached at the proper position to the inside of the front cover of Codex VI, and a photograph by Jean Doresse showing leaves of Codex XIII still inside the front cover of Codex VI. The first two leaves probably suffer from nitrification, perhaps due to dampness and direct contact with the leather of the cover (Robinson, "Inside Codex VI," 74-87; *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*, ix and pl. 3-4; and *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 104-107).

These eight leaves, tucked inside the front cover of Codex VI, were part of one of the groups of codices acquired by the antiquities

dealer Phocion J. Tano during 1946–48. It was put in safekeeping at the Department of Antiquities in 1949, transferred to the Coptic Museum on 9 June 1952, declared national property by court action in 1956, and given the inventory number 10545 in 1959. It has been numbered II by Jean Doresse and Togo Mina in 1949, IV by Henri-Charles Puech in 1950, IX by Doresse in 1958, and XIII by Martin Krause in 1962 and James M. Robinson in 1968 (Robinson, "Introduction," and *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, vi–vii).

Two fragments had remained in the cover of Codex VI and several had been put in plexiglass along with Codex XIII. But the absence of a cover for Codex XIII where fragments could have been kept together in the early period led to some of them having been put with fragments of Codices I, IV and V, where they were found and placed (see *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, 129–30). Of the seven unidentified fragments with vestiges of ink published in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII* on plates 119–120, fragment two has been subsequently placed on p. 47*, lines 26–27 and p. 48*, lines 26–28, and fragment three on pp. 45*–46*, lines 2–3. The minimal amount of unplaced inscribed fragments (numbers 1, 4–6; 7 is the same as fragment 14 of Codex XI, hand 1) tends to confirm the assumption that only the eight surviving leaves were buried with the library. A photograph of XIII, 45*, 37*, and 50* made in 1949 by Jean Doresse contains five to six letters each at the beginnings of lines 1–4 of XIII, 45*, one letter from line one and four letters from line 33 of XIII, 37*, and five to eight letters from lines 3–6 and one to three letters from lines 10–16 of XIII, 50* that were subsequently broken off and lost (cf. pl. 104 with pl. 115, 107, and 120 of the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII* and see Emmel, "Photograph Evidence," 274–75).

The placing of blank fragments above the first line of the first surviving page (upper left, p. 35*) made it possible to identify the first extant line as an *incipit* ("I am the Protennoia"). Thus one can move beyond the initial assumption of Jean Doresse (*Secret Books*, 181) that the surviving leaves through 50*,²⁴ were the concluding part of a tractate, to the recognition that they comprise a complete tractate. The contents of the codex may be summarized as follows:

Tractate(s) (Lost)	pp. [1*–34*]
Tractate 1* Trimorphic Protennoia	pp. 35*, 1–50*, 24
Tractate 2* On the Origin of the World	pp. 50*, 25–[79*] or [80*]

II. THE SCRIBAL HAND

It has been suggested that the scribal hand of Codex XIII is a quicker, more cursive version of the scribal hand of Codex II (Emmel, "Final Report," 27–28). Yet there appear to be enough differences so as to allow that the two hands belong to a student and instructor. An insertion in Codex II, 12, 18 could be an overseer's correction to a similar hand. In any case, the writing and articulation marks are of a very similar style, so that with the additional observation of the similarity in Sethian content (e.g., two versions of *On The Origin of the World* and *Ap. John II*, 1:30, 11–31, 25), Codices II and XIII may be assumed to have been copied in the closest proximity to one another.

The hand of Codex XIII, which appears to be typical of the fourth century, is a regular, uncrowded biblical majuscule without embellishment (e.g., serifs), with nicely rounded ϵ , o , θ , c , and δ . The supralinear strokes appear above and slightly to the right of their exponent letters, and, except for *nomina sacra* and the abstract prefix $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$, do not intentionally bridge two or more letters. The stroke over *nomina sacra* normally begins over the second letter. There are two instances of the common practice of indicating a line-final κ by substituting for it a compendium consisting of a stroke over the preceding letter (43*, 6.7). Where the scribe wishes to indicate rough breathing on Greek nouns, he prefixes to them ζ ; in 48*, 28 he uses both the initial ζ and a diaeresis over the first letter of the Greek word (i.e., $\zeta\ddot{\Upsilon}\Pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$), of which the latter alone without ζ can serve as a rough breathing, as in $\ddot{\Upsilon}\Psi\iota\phi\rho\eta\eta$ (XI, 4:69, 21; 70, 22; 72, 21).

The scribe indicates mistaken letters by crossing them out with a diagonal stroke (37*, 25; 42*, 19; 44*, 3), and adds omitted letters by writing them above and in between the letters where they should have been (38*, 20; 39*, 5).

Besides the supralinear stroke, mentioned above, there are two other forms of punctuation: the raised point (\cdot), and an "apostrophe" mark ($\grave{}$ or '). As is true in much of Codex II, so also in Codex XIII, neither of these marks regularly serves to denote sense units; rather they function as word and syllable dividers. The raised point occurs: (1) often directly after the stops π and τ but only when they end a word; (2) after the first-person singular

suffixal pronoun τ ; (3) after the fricative η when it would have borne the supralinear stroke; and (4) occasionally after the word-final sonorants λ , μ , ν . The "apostrophe" directly follows the last letter of a closed syllable in the following cases: (1) after the stop τ at the end of the word, or at the end of a morpheme ending in τ (e.g., the privative $\alpha\tau$ - and the relative $\epsilon\tau$ -); (2) after the fricative η when it serves as the third-person singular suffixal pronoun (regardless of whether or not it would have borne the supralinear stroke); (3) often after the stop κ at the end of a word when the next word begins with a vowel; (4) optionally, on any of the above letters when they occur at the end of a line; and (5) occasionally after the word-final ζ that would have borne the supralinear stroke; (6) there is also one instance of its use to divide a double consonant: $\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, 35*,16. Thus both forms of punctuation serve to denote the end of a closed syllable ending in a consonant or sonorant, and serve often as an equivalent to the supralinear stroke. The major difference between them is that the raised point occurs only at the end of a complete word, while the "apostrophe" mark can serve to separate bound morphemes, as well as to indicate closed syllables at the end of unbound morphemes. Exceptions to these observations will occur, e.g., $\tau\eta\rho\cdot\omicron\gamma$, 41*,18. Firm conclusions on the punctuation of codex XIII are often made difficult by a multitude of ink splatterings throughout the Codex, perhaps caused by too stiff a stylus, making the decision whether or not to count an ink dot as a punctuation mark difficult and at times subjective.

III. LANGUAGE

The language of XIII,1* will be treated under the heads of orthography, phonology, morphology and syntax; only features that depart from standard Sahidic or that are in other ways striking will be discussed here. The language of XIII,2* is standard Sahidic; except for the variants from II,5 noted in the Introduction to XIII,2*, which witness a tendency to overcome Subachmimicisms ($\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ for $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, $\Delta\epsilon$ for $\bar{\nu}\Delta\epsilon$, and $\epsilon\iota$ for ι), the language of these ten lines is not sufficient in extent to call for analysis here.

A. Orthography

The characteristic features are: (1) arbitrary interchange of $\epsilon\iota$ and $\bar{\iota}$; (2) a single extant instance of the monograph $\pi + \zeta = \phi$ in $\phi\omicron[\omicron\gamma$ ("day" 42*,31); yet ten instances of $\tau + \zeta = \theta$. These occur consistently in $\theta\alpha\eta$, $\theta\epsilon$, and $\theta\iota\kappa\omega\eta$ but otherwise only optionally and rarely in the juncture of the relative $\epsilon\tau$ - with $\zeta\eta\eta$ and $\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ("evil"); (3) numerous instances of syncopation, especially in the case of the singular indefinite article $\omicron\gamma$ - before nouns beginning with $\omicron\gamma$.

B. Phonology

Several phonological characteristics should be mentioned. With regard to consonants, as in standard Sahidic, the final μ of bound morphemes consistently (except in pronouns) becomes ν when it precedes π , μ , and ϕ , with the exception of three of the instances of the preposition $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}$ - (40*,1.24; 45*,32). There are no other cases of consonantal assimilation. Nasalization occurs only with the Greek conjunction $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ ($\bar{\nu}\gamma\alpha\rho$ 3 times, $\gamma\alpha\rho$ 10 times) and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ($\bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon$ 2 times, $\delta\epsilon$ 12 times). The Greek *spiritus asper* is consistently rendered by ζ , except in the Greek portion of the title ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$, 50*,23). ζ is prefixed also to $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta\eta$ and $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$. ζ appears to be supplemented by a diaeresis $\zeta\ddot{\Upsilon}\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ (48*,28; in Codex XI,4:69,21; 70,22; 72,21 the diaeresis alone serves to mark the rough breathing in $\ddot{\Upsilon}\psi\iota\phi\rho\eta\eta$). Finally, as in Subachmimic, ω becomes ς in $\varsigma\omicron\chi\pi$ (2 times for $\omega\omicron\chi\pi$) and $\varsigma\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ (42*,2 for $\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$).

Insofar as vowels are concerned, there are many instances of the α tonic vowel, characteristic of Subachmimic, instead of the \omicron tonic vowel. The following list gives the number of times the α tonic vowel occurs, followed by the number of times (if any) the \omicron tonic vowel occurs; if only one instance occurs, its reference is given: $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa$ (35*,30; 36*,5), $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ (55 times); $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ (43*,24); $\mu\omicron\iota\tau$ (43*,18); $\nu\alpha\bar{\iota}\eta\eta$ (43*,8), $\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$ (40*,22); $\varsigma\mu\alpha\tau$ (40*,6), $\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$ (3 times); $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$ (35*,15), $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\eta(\epsilon)$ (21 times); $\omega\alpha\mu\tau$ (37*,28), $\omega\omicron\mu\tau$ (5 times); $\zeta\rho\alpha\gamma$ (2 times), $\zeta\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ (20 times); $\zeta\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon^\dagger$ (3 times), $\zeta\omicron\tau\rho\epsilon^\dagger$ (42*,8) and $\beta\alpha\mu$ (5 times), $\beta\omicron\mu$ (5 times).

Characteristic of Subachmimic, **ε** occurs instead of **α** in pre-tonic syllables particularly in causatives: **τεκο** (3 times), **τακο** (none); **τσειβο** (4 times), **τσειβο** (none); **τσεινο** (2 times), **τσεινο** (40*,25); **τεγο** (2 times), **ταγο** (none); **τερο** (11 times), **ταρο** (none); and in pre-tonic and tonic syllables in the following: **εμντε** (6 times), **αμντε** (36*,4); **εμαρτε** (2 times), **αμαρτε** (none); **ερωρ** (37*,16), **αρωρ** (none); **ενερ** (2 times), **ανερ** (2 times); **μετε** (43*,23), **ματε** (none); **σειε** (42*,2), **υαε** (17 times), and **ογαρ-** (40*,17), **ογερ-** (none).

The Sahidic double vowel (for vowel plus laryngeal) occasionally appears as a single vowel, often characteristic of Subachmimic: **βεβε** (36*,6), **βееε** (46*,17); **ετβητ-** (2 times), **ετβηητ-** (none); **μαγ** (46*,20), **μααγ** (7 times); **οτε** (38*,15), **ατε** (45*,6), **οοτε** (none); **νεκε** (43*,6), **ναακε** (none); **πωνε** (43*,16), **πωωνε** (none); **τηβε** (2 times), **τηηβε** (none); **ωωτ** (44*,16), **ωωωτ** (none) and **ρραγ** (2 times), **ρροογ** (20 times). The opposite feature, doubling of vowels, occurs in **καακ-** (49*,30) for **κακ-** (48*,12); the noun **πωωτ** (44*,12), cf. the verb **πωτ** (43*,17); and **ραατ-** (39*,11) for **ρατ-** (3 times). There is one instance of consonantal shift: **σειε** (42*,2) for **υαε** (15 times). The intensifier **ογαα-** is always **ογαατ-**.

Finally, in words whose final syllable consists of a consonant or an original laryngeal followed by a sonorant, one often finds the secondary vowel **ε** after the sonorant, characteristic of Achmimic and Subachmimic: **ντωτνε** (44*,31), **ντωτñ** (46*,34); **σοογνε** (12 times), **σοογн** (7 times); **τωρме** (45*,12), **τωρñ** (none); **ογοεινε** (21 times), **ογοειн** (16 times); **χωρме** (4 times), **χωρñ** (none), and **ογαρме-** (2 times), **ογαρм-** (37*,18).

There are no examples of the full form (**πε-**, **τε-**, **νε-**) of the definite article before words beginning with the double consonant. The use of **πι-**, **†-**, **ни-** is frequent. The numerals are formed as in standard Sahidic except for **ωομт**, **ωαμт** instead of **ωομñт**. The ordinal prefix is mostly **μαρ-** (AA²B, 4 times) instead of the Sahidic **μερ-** (2 times). As indicated above, there are only two non-Sahidic forms among the independent pronouns, **αακ** (AA²F; 35*,30; 36*,5) for **αнок** and **ντωτνε** (44*,31) for **ντωτñ**. The possessive article displays the following variation: third-personal singular, **πϙ-** (3 times; no supralinear stroke, cf. **πεϙ-** 49*,14), **τεϙ-**, **νεϙ-**; first-person plural, **πñ-**, **тñ-**, **ññ-** (*sic* 44*,10); and

third-person plural, ΠΟΥ-, ΤΟΥ- (ΤΕΥ-, 40*,17), ΝΕΥ- (cf. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ, 39*,12). Suffix pronouns are standard except for variation between ΕΙ (mostly) and Ι; the second person plural is ΤΗΝΕ (AA²) instead of Sahidic ΤΗΥΤḠ. The prepositions occur as in standard Sahidic, with the following exceptions: ΕΤΒΗΤ- for ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-, ΜΜΑ- (35*,[35]; 40*,7) for ΜΜΟ-, and the heavy variation of α- with ε-. The adverb ΤΩΝ (none) is always ΤΟ (2 times, AA²). There are two occurrences of ΖΡΑ (36*,24; 50*,12) for ΖΡΑΙ, and the fem. of ΟΥΑ is ΟΥΙΕ (SAA², 42*,8).

The following verbs manifest non-standard Sahidic forms, most of which are characteristic of Subachmimic: ḠΜΕ (Till's "II infinitive") instead of ΕΙΜΕ; ΟΕΙ† (2 times), qualitative of ΕΙΡΕ (cf. Ο† 6 times); ΜḠΤΕ- (4 times) for ΜḠΤΑ- (42*,21); ḠΝΗΥ† (40*,12), qualitative of ΝΟΥ (cf. ΝΗΥ, 42*,21); ΠḠΡΙΕ (Till's "II infinitive") instead of ΠΕΙΡΕ; ΠΑΧΕ- (3 times) instead of ΠΕΧΑ-; ΤḠ- with dative (40*,33), *status nominalis* for †- (30 times), and ΤΑΕΙ- (38*,30) as *status pronominalis* for ΤΑΑ- (5 times); ΟΥḠΤΕ- (2 times) and ΟΥḠΤΑΑ- (2 times) for ΟΥḠΤΑ- (3 times); ΟΥΟΝΖ (37*8) as *status absolutus* for ΟΥΩΝḠ (11 times); and ΖΝΑΝ (4 times) instead of ΖΩΝ (none).

C. Morphology

The morphology of XIII,1* is as found in standard Sahidic with few exceptions. All Greek verbs are constructed with Ḡ except ἄρχειν (2 times). In the conjugation system one finds the following features not characteristic of standard Sahidic: (1) The Achmimic form of the second present occurs two times (ΑΥΤΟ, 43*,33; ΑΝΗΠ, 44*,5). (2) The imperfect occurs once in the Achmimic form ΝΑ- (41*,19; elsewhere ΝΕ-). (3) The second future consistently replaces the third future in affirmative clauses of purpose. (4) The negative habitude is ΜΑ-, never ΜΕ-. (5) The *temporalis* is ΝΤΑΡΕ- (43*,4). (6) There is the cohortative imperative ΤΩΩΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ ("let us arise and go," 43*,30). (7) In the relative perfect, when the subject of the relative clause is identical with its antecedent, one usually finds the Sahidic (and Subachmimic) ḠΤΑ-, as well as ΕΝΤΑ- (8 times), but ΕΤΑΖ- (AA²) also occurs (37*,5.30). When the subject of the relative clause differs from its antecedent

ⲛⲧⲁ- is employed, except for one instance of ⲉⲧⲁ- (AA², 43^{*},2). Finally, the negative occurs in the bipartite conjugation as both ⲛ...ⲁⲛ (40^{*},28; 47^{*},27), normal in Sahidic, and as ⲁⲛ alone (39^{*},24; 44^{*},8).

D. Syntax

There are some syntactic features which, though not atypical of standard Sahidic, are worthy of note. The direct object often precedes the verb; in 37^{*},9-20 and 41^{*},4-15 it occurs in apparently hymnic passages. The normal pattern for the first perfect with nominal subject is ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅ or ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅ ⲛ̅ⲃⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ, rarely ⲁⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅ and never ⲁⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅. Befitting an aretalogical discourse, the cleft sentence with a relative verbal clause is frequent ("it is I, he, etc. who did..." rather than simply "I, he, etc. did..."). Occasionally the circumstantial is used instead of the relative (e.g., 38^{*},10), perhaps at times to identify the antecedent by gender (e.g., 46^{*},23-29) or to continue a string of relative modifiers (e.g., 37^{*},5-8; cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 486). Although ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ is in Coptic usually used to join words governed by the same preposition, ⲁⲓⲱ is used in 35^{*},15 (which might be emended to ⲁⲓⲱ<ⲓⲡⲁⲓ ⲓⲛ̅> ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲱⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ—haplography?). The identity phrase ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ (and variant spellings) is twice used absolutely (42^{*},28; 49^{*},30); both instances seem to function as adjectives of specification, and are translated "particular."

The language of this document is translation Coptic; the frequency of extraposition of subject and direct object, including the ⲛ̅ⲃⲓ construction, points to a fairly literal rendering of a Greek *Vorlage*. The style is highly paratactic, although there are examples of rather sophisticated hypotaxis (cf. 39^{*},26-32; 40^{*},12-18).

IV. TITLE

XIII,1^{*} (*Trimorphic Protennoia*), though not the first tractate of Codex XIII, is the only one to have survived completely. The page on which it concludes is the last that survives, and has at its bottom the opening ten lines of another tractate, *On the Origin of the World*.

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Bibliography: Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung"; Doresse, *Secret Books*, 181, 329–32; Hedrick "Christian Motifs," 242–60; Helderman, "Bemerkungen zu Codex XIII"; Janssens, "Le Codex XIII"; *La Proténnoia trimorphe*; MacRae, "Ego-Proclamation"; id., "Sleep and Awakening," 302; id., "Sophia Myth," 91; Robinson, "Sethians and Johannine Thought," 643–62 and discussion 662–70; Schenke, G., "Die dreigestaltige Proténnoia"; id., "Die dreigestaltige Proténnoia (Codex XIII)"; id., *Die dreigestaltige Proténnoia*; Schenke, H.-M., "Das Sethianische System"; id., "Gnostic Sethianism," 588–616; Turner, "The Gnostic Threefold Path," 324–51; id., "Trimorphic Proténnoia."

I. LANGUAGE

The language of *Trimorphic Proténnoia* is discussed in the Introduction to Codex XIII, Section III above.

II. TITLE

The title of *Trimorphic Proténnoia* is discussed in the Introduction to Codex XIII, Section IV above.

III. RESEARCH TO DATE

Doresse, in his inventory of the Nag Hammadi Library, only briefly mentions *Trimorphic Proténnoia*, and gives a translation of 39*, 21–30 and 50*, 12–20 (*Secret Books*, 181). In Appendix I ("The Teaching of Simon Magus in the Chenoboskion Manuscripts," *Secret Books*, 329–32), he translates a number of passages (42*, 4–5; 35*, 7–9; 46*, 14–19; 45*, 10–18; 45*, 21–24; 37*, 8.10–29; 50*, 12–20 in this order), and compares, as possible examples of Simonian Gnosticism, *Trimorphic Proténnoia* with the *Concept of our Great Power* (VI, 4) and the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII, 5), whose incipit ascribes it to Dositheus, the master and rival of Simon. Recent

study of *Trimorphic Protennoia* has not supported this Simonian hypothesis.

Trimorphic Protennoia has been analyzed and translated, into German by G. Schenke: "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia"; "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (Codex XIII)"; and into French by Y. Janssens: "Le Codex XIII"; *La Prôtennoia trimorphe*. In her dissertational transcription and translation G. Schenke (adopting the papyrus collation of H.-M. Schenke) attempts to restore most of the lacunae in the text, while Janssens in both her editions makes few restorations. Both provide a lengthy commentary listing many parallels between *Trimorphic Protennoia* and other ancient sources.

G. Schenke locates *Trimorphic Protennoia* in the ambiance of non-Christian Sethian gnostic literature (cf. also H.-M. Schenke, "Das Sethianische System," and "Gnostic Sethianism"). She characterizes it as a non-Christian document which has been secondarily Christianized by the addition of what in her translation is a single sentence at the end of the tractate (50*,12-15) and the insertion of the name "Christ" as a gloss serving to identify the divine Autogenes as Christ at three points (38*,22; 39*,6-7; 49*,8). The ontology of the text, characterized by a tension between dualism and monism, and the way in which its overarching pantheism tries to reconcile this dualism, is taken as an indication of a relatively late date for *Trimorphic Protennoia*, though it is recognized that its anthropology is equally marked by a very archaic gnostic *Welt- und Daseinsverständnis*. Noting that *Trimorphic Protennoia* consists of three separate subtractates, Schenke suggests that this literary tripartition corresponds to the "trimorphic" character of the Protennoia as universal goddess (somewhat as the three-formed Hecate), with the three aspects of Father, Mother, Son: as the masculine aspect of the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit (38*,11), as the feminine "mate," and finally as the Son or Logos. The third subtractate, devoted to the appearance of Protennoia as the Son or Logos, is said to constitute a material parallel to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, in that it lies on the same plane as the gnostic Logos hymn underlying the Johannine prologue. Whereas the motifs of that Logos hymn appear to be "artificially" made serviceable to an alien purpose in the Johannine prologue, they find their "natural context" in *Trimorphic Protennoia*. Schenke notes that the revelatory speeches of Protennoia are cast mostly in the "I am" style of self-predication, though there is an

admixture of direct address ("you," 41*,2-15; 42*,27-30; 44*,29-45*,20; 46*,33-36) and responses in the first-person plural (36*,33-37*,3; 42*,22-23), as well as sections in which Protennoia speaks of herself in the third-person; especially where appearing as Son she speaks of herself as Mother, 38*,13-16; 45*,10; 46*,9-13,20. Schenke further notes that much of the material cast in the third-person is supplementary, with the result that the first subtractate seems to be devoted to a cosmology reflecting the first appearance of Protennoia as a form of the Father, the second subtractate to be devoted to an eschatology reflecting the second appearance of Protennoia as Mother, and the third subtractate to be devoted to a soteriology reflecting the third appearance of Protennoia as Son. Finally Schenke calls attention to the prominent concept of the Voice, especially where it is portrayed as thunder (43*,4-26).

Janssens supposes *Trimorphic Protennoia* to have been the second tractate in a codex that originally contained the long version of the *Apocryphon of John* followed by *Trimorphic Protennoia* and *On the Origin of the World*. Her view is based on the similarity of the hand of Codex II to that of XIII, and the facts that the missing 35 pages of XIII would be sufficient to contain the *Apocryphon of John* (32 pages in Codex II) and that two of these three tractates are also found in Codex II. While the two hands do not appear identical, as she assumes, but nevertheless closely related, this theory is attractive owing to the close relationship between the three stanza Pronoia hymn that concludes the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (II,1:30,11-31,25) and *Trimorphic Protennoia* with its three subtractates (a similarity already noticed by MacRae; see the discussion in Section IV below). Janssens interprets the tripartition of *Trimorphic Protennoia* as corresponding to the three modes in which Protennoia is revealed: in the first subtractate as the Thought of the Father, in the second as the Voice of the Mother, and in the third as the Logos. Janssens then produces a survey of gnostic literature in an effort to document other occurrences of this triadic scheme, taking as her hypothesis the words of C. Baynes (*Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, 64): "Viewing the cosmos as a tripartite unit, and believing, as they did, that some form of salvation was required for the whole, they taught that the Savior was manifested in the three divisions in a form and manner suited to the mode of being and needs of each." Janssens mentions various

tripartitions: the Valentinian tripartition of the Universe (Pleroma, Mesotes or Topos, and kenoma or lower world) and the threefold Christ (spiritual, psychic and perceptible); the Basilidean triple Sonship (subtle, opaque and material); the tripartition of the Universe into levels by the Peratae (*ἀγέννητος*, *αὐτογενής* and *γεννητός*) and the triple nature, triple body and triple power of their Christ; in the last Bruce tractate, the tripartition of the Universe (inside, middle, outside) and its threefold manifestation of the *Spinther* (Christ); the triple manifestation of Pronoia in the main body of the *Apocryphon of John* (the perfect or merciful Father, the Epinoia of Light, and the thrice-descending Pronoia); the threefold descent of Pronoia contained in the longer ending of *Apocryphon of John* (II,r:30,11–31,25) taken as a tradition by itself; in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* the threefold appearance of Pistis (the Man of Light, Sophia-Zoe, and Logos); in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* the descent of the Triple Male Youth to the *ἀγέννητος*, *αὐτογένιος* and *γεννητός* realms; and finally the three-in-one Barbelo figure in the second Stele of the *Three Steles of Seth*.

C. Colpe (“Heidnische, jüdische and christliche Überlieferung”) in his survey of the treatises of Codices XI, XII and XIII, summarizes the contents of *Trimorphic Protennoia*. Noting the various aspects of Protennoia, he characterizes her as a wisdom-figure similar to the all-pervading Stoic Logos/Pneuma, but which as a gnostic redeemer must bridge the gap between a dualistic world of two levels by means of soteriological descents. Colpe sees the auditory metaphors of *Trimorphic Protennoia* as evidence that, while the text is a genuine Sethian-gnostic product, its historical basis in a non-dualistic soteriological speculation on the divine self is still evident and recoverable. Colpe then goes on to enumerate “stupendous parallels” to the Johannine prologue to be found in *Trimorphic Protennoia*: 1:1–2 cf. 35*,4–6; 1:3 cf. 38*,12–13; 1:4 cf. 35*,12–13; 1:5 cf. 36*,5; 1:7 cf. 37*,3–6.8–9; 1:9 cf. 47*,28–29; 1:10 cf. 38*,16–18; 50*,15–16; 1:11 cf. 41*,15–16; 47*,22–25; 1:12 cf. 37*,18–20; 1:13 cf. 49*,25–28; 1:14 cf. 47*,13–15.16–17; 38*,20–22; 1:16 cf. 46*,16–19; 1:18 cf. 36*,30; 36*,17–22. He concludes that in *Trimorphic Protennoia* one may still recognize a kernel of Palestinian/Syrian or even earlier Mesopotamian speculation on the cosmological and soteriological functions of the divine Wisdom on the basis of which both the mythology of the Johannine prologue and the Sethian-gnostic mythology of *Trimorphic Protennoia* could

be constructed. Thus Colpe and Schenke (together with the *Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptische-gnostische Schriften* generally) substantially agree on the common background of *Trimorphic Protennoia* and the Gospel of John, though the latter moves a bit further in seeing *Trimorphic Protennoia* as providing the natural context for these materials more than does the Johannine prologue. Janssens ("Une source gnostique du prologue?" 357) also admits the naturalness of "the way in which the 'Word' follows logically from the Thought and Voice of the divine," but sees John drawing from non-gnosticizing Genesis traditions independent from the tradition behind *Trimorphic Protennoia* (cf. Robinson, "Sethians and Johannine Thought," 642-62).

Thus the evident similarities between the Gospel of John and *Trimorphic Protennoia* may be explained in large part by supposing common membership in a religious world prone to conceiving the advent of the divine into the world in terms of a descending-ascending redeeming wisdom figure. Both texts arise in this sapiental environment at a point when it had taken a gnosticizing turn characterized by dualism and a mild anti-cosmicism which holds that true liberation lies beyond this world and is conveyed by a figure personifying the divine wisdom.

IV. STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

As noted by Schenke and Janssens, *Trimorphic Protennoia* is divided into three subtractates (35*,1-42*,3; 42*,4-46*,4; 46*,5-50*,21) separated from one another by individual subtitles probably added at a very late point in the treatise's composition and transmission ("The Discourse of Protennoia," 42*,3"; [On Fate], 46*,4; "The Discourse of the Appearance," 50*,21). Each subtractate relates one of the three descents of the gnostic redeemer (cf. the summary in 47*,5-23a) here named Protennoia, the First Thought of the Father, and none other than Barbelo (36*,17; 37*,12-13; 38*,8-9). But beneath this simple structure, *Trimorphic Protennoia* displays a complex structure no doubt caused by a complicated redactional history.

The underlying basis of the tractate may be seen in the consistent aretalogical first-person singular (*ego eimi*) self-predications of Protennoia. These aretalogical statements are always of the form, "I am the...", or "it is through me that...", and do not include

direct statements about third-person parties, e.g., as in 46*,35b-36a, "then everyone of them within me shone." These self-predications seem originally to have been structured into an introductory aretalogy of about thirty lines (35*,1-32a) identifying Protennoia as the divine Thought, followed by three aretalogies of about forty lines apiece in the same style, the second and third of which form separate subtractates in *Trimorphic Protennoia*. Each of these three aretalogical sections were probably originally integral units, but seem to have been redactionally interrupted at points to make way for various later doctrinal additions.

The first aretalogy originally portrayed Protennoia as the Voice of the divine Thought who descends below to reveal her mysteries to her fallen members and seems to have consisted of 35*,32b-36*,27a + 40*,29b-41*,1a (and perhaps portions of 41*,20b-42*,2). The second aretalogy (and second subtractate) portrayed Protennoia as the Speech of the Thought's Voice who descended to give her fallen members "shape" and spirit or breath, and seems to have consisted of 42*,4-27a + 45*,2b-12a + 45*,21-46*,3. The third aretalogy (and third subtractate) portrayed Protennoia as the Word of the Speech of the Thought's Voice who descended incognito in the likeness of the various lower levels of beings, delivered the saving rite of the Five Seals and will raise her members into the Light; it probably consisted of 46*,5-7a + 47*,5-23 + 49*,6-22a + 50*,9b-20 (although the last two of these fragments seem to have suffered a number of Christian additions).

This tripartite aretalogy seems to have been expanded by inserting six doctrinal passages, which can be recognized by a shift from the first-person singular self-predicatory style to some other style of address. The first of these passages contains the sort of Sethian cosmological speculation found especially in the *Apocryphon of John* (see below Section V) and seems to begin around 36*,27b where *Trimorphic Protennoia* lapses into third-person description (cf. the use of the first-person plural in 36*,33-37*,3, perhaps a communal response), and ends at 40*,29a where the self-predicatory style resumes (the two instances of *ego eimi* material at 38*,11-16 and 40*,12-18 are drawn from the *Apocryphon of John* and reworded as first-person). This cosmology narrates the story of the Autogenes Christ and his four Lights, the last of which, Eleleth, emits his Epinoia (Sophia) to produce the Demon Yaltabaoth who steals the Epinoia's power to create the lower aeons and

humankind, and concludes with the restoration of Epinoia-Sophia, who is regarded as innocent of all fault.

Three of the remaining five doctrinal sections are explicitly designated as “mysteries” communicated by Protennoia to her members (41*,1b-42*,2; 42*,27b-45*,2a; 47*,24-49*,top; the other two passages 46*,7b-47*,top and 49*,22b-50*,9a do not seem to involve this designation). The term *μυστήριον* at 46*,34 and 47*,7 are general instances of the term and do not designate a specifically identifiable mystery. The first mystery narrates Protennoia’s loosening of the fleshly bonds by which the underworld powers enslave her fallen members, a sort of harrowing of Hell; it is announced as a mystery and proclaimed in direct discourse to a second-person plural audience (41*,1b-42*,2). The passage 41*,20b-42*,2 which concludes the first subtractate may be a part of the original aretalogy since it is cast in the first-person singular, yet it seems to presuppose material from the first “mystery” in lines 41*,21; 41*,29 and 41*,34-35; uses third-person language in line 41*,35b-36a; and seems to anticipate the third subtractate in line 25; furthermore 41*,1 would make a fit ending for the original aretalogy. Hence, 41*,20b-42*,2 is here included in 41*1b-42*,2.

The second subtractate contains the second mystery (42*,27b-45,2a) which is called the “mystery of (the end of) this Aeon” (42*,28) and is addressed to a second-person plural audience. It presents an apocalyptic announcement of the end of the old age and the dawn of the new age inaugurated by judgment of the authorities of Chaos, the celestial Powers and their Archigenetor (i.e., the creator Yaltabaoth).

The third mystery (47*,24-49*,top) is contained in the third subtractate, and narrates Protennoia’s administration of the celestial baptismal rite called the Five Seals; it is called the “mystery of knowledge” (48*,33-34). The third subtractate seems to have undergone extensive redactional activity. The first-person singular aretalogical narrative breaks off in the second line of the tractate, which introduces a lengthy third-person doctrinal treatment of the relation of the Word to the other two (Voice, Speech) modalities of Protennoia, and concludes with an announcement of Protennoia’s intention to reveal more mysteries (46*,7b-47*,top). The aretalogy seems to begin again on the top of page 47*, by way of a recapitulation of Protennoia’s first two descents (47*,5-13a), and resumes narrating her deeds as the Word who descends incognito

through various levels of spiritual powers until she speaks with her members (47*,13b-23a). At this point the term "brethren" (47*,23), which was used earlier only at 46*,[35] in the previous doctrinal section, is reintroduced, followed by third-person language (47*,25b-28a) and then by first-person singular language which recapitulates doctrine from the cosmology of the first subtractate (47*,28b-35; cf. 40*,11-18). While page 47* and page 49* refer to the recipients of Protennoia's salvific activity in the third-person plural, page 48*, narrating the third (baptismal) mystery, refers to the recipients in the third-person singular. Furthermore, page 48* and the top of page 49* probably contained paraenetical second-person plural address, typical in this tractate after a phrase like "so, now" (τενοϋ 6ε).

The third aretalogy resumes at 49*,6 and continues at least until 49*,22a. (The suspicious similarity between the "ineffable ordinances" in 49*,22b-23a and "the ineffable [Five Seals]" in 50*,9b-10a probably reveals a redactional seam.) This aretalogy on the Word appears repeatedly interrupted by Christianizing comments of a Christological nature at 49*,7b-8a; 11b-15a and 18b-20a). The last doctrinal addition, concerning the "ordinances of the Father" (identified with the Five Seals), seems to begin at 49*,22b (or perhaps 23b), again using third-person language (note the use of plural references in 49*,22b-28a and 49*,34b onward, but the singular in 49*,28b-34a). First-person style resumes at the top of page 50*, yet much of page 50* seems to bear the stamp of a Christianizing redaction (50*,10b-16a), leaving only 50*,16b-20 as perhaps belonging to the original aretalogy (50*,top-9a is first-person but seems enclosed by the redactional seam mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph).

The herein hypothesized redactor who was responsible for inserting doctrinal passages into the original aretalogy seems to have drawn upon traditional materials. The cosmological section is very close to that of the *Apocryphon of John* (see below, Section V). The first mystery (41*,1b-42*,2) narrating Protennoia's descent to destroy the bonds by which the lower Powers enslave her members, a virtual harrowing of Hell, employs language similar to the *Nekyia* traditions found in *Hom. Il. VIII.14*; *Hes. Theog. 736-44* and *807-12*; *Plato, Resp. 614E-F* and *Phaedo 111C-13C*; *Vir. Aen. VI, 548-625*; *Orac. Sib. II, 227-28* and in the *Apocalypses of Elijah* and *Peter*. The second "mystery" (42*,27b-45*,2a) contains a

traditional-appearing apocalyptic description of the shortening of the times, the shaking of Chaos and the celestial Powers who control Fate; and makes use of the Graeco-Egyptian astrological doctrine of the lots of Fate and the planetary domiciles (Ptol., *Tetr.* I.17,37). The two versions of the five-stage baptismal ascent ritual in 48*,15-35 (third-person singular; part of the third "mystery") and in 45*,12b-20 (second-person plural, using a different order) also have a (Sethian) traditional flavor.

On the other hand, the remaining two doctrinal passages in the third subtractate (46*,7b-47*,top and 49*,22b-50*,9a) seem to represent almost a completely original firsthand speculative/theological composition on the genetic relationship between the three modalities (Voice, Speech, Word) of Protennoia and on the salvific significance of the Five Seals baptismal rite, speculation of the sort occurring in and around the traditional materials incorporated in the other non-aretalogical doctrinal sections.

In general, the hypothesized redactor of the original aretalogical sections clearly had a great interest in the Sethian baptismal rite as can be seen in passages such as 36*,5b-7a; 37*,1b-3a; 37*,35; 41*,21b-24a; 45*,12b-20 (an anticipation of 48*,15-30); 46*,16-19a; 48*,top-48*,35; and 49*,26b-34a. According to these, the Voice modality of Protennoia is the unpolluted Spring pouring forth Living Water (characterized as radiant light, perhaps a metaphor for the four Lights). The Word modality of Protennoia, bearing Living Fruit, pays the tribute of this Fruit (perhaps the seed of Seth; cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:56,4-13) to the Living Water, which is poured out upon Protennoia's "Spirit" (i.e., members) which originated from the Living Water but is now trapped in the soul. The baptismal rite of the Five Seals is a mystery of celestial ascent which strips off the psychic and somatic garments of ignorance (cf. Col 2:11-15), transforming and purifying Protennoia's members and clothing them with radiant light. The author's reference to the recipients of this rite in the first-person plural (36*,33b-37*,3a; cf. 42*,22-23) and as "brethren" suggests a (Sethian) community with a well-established tradition of water baptism which has been spiritualized into a mystery of celestial ascent.

Finally, while the aretalogical sections of the first two subtractates of *Trimorphic Protennoia* bear no evidence of Christian teaching, a number of Christological statements appear in the third subtractate. It is likely that the Christological glosses found in the

cosmological section of the first subtractate at 37*,[31]; 38*,22 and 39*,6-7 came into *Trimorphic Protennoia* along with the traditional material from an incipiently Christianized source like the *Apocryphon of John*. But the Christianizing passages in the third subtractate seem to have been added perhaps at a stage later than the redaction of doctrinal passages into *Trimorphic Protennoia*, since they have been worked thoroughly into the (original) aretalogical sections of the third subtractate rather than into the doctrinal or "mystery" sections (see below, Section VI on these passages: 47*,14b-15a; 49*,7b-8a; 49*,11b-15a; 49*,18b-20a; and 50*,10b-16a). The section 49*,6-20 probably originally mentioned the beings in 47*,20-21 (Sovereignities or Archons, Powers, Angels), so that the titles, Christ, Son of the Archigenetor and Son of Man, are likely intrusions in 49*,6-20.

While it is impossible to be completely precise about the extent and exact boundaries of the original aretalogies and the secondarily added material, perhaps the following table will help to illustrate the evidence being discussed here. The first column represents the oldest layer of the document (the aretalogies), and the second, third and fourth columns a subsequent redaction. The separate listing of baptismal and Christian passages does not indicate separate redactional activity. In the fourth column, "Christian additions," the material in the first subtractate is part and parcel of columns two and three; only in the third subtractate is there reason to believe Christian additions came from yet another, later stage of redaction.

A	B — LATER ADDITIONS —		
Original First-Person Aretalogy	Doctrinal Passages	Explicitly Baptismal Passages	Christological Passages
<i>First Subtractate</i>			Christological glosses
35*,1-32a (introduction)			
35*,32b-36*,27a (voice)	36*27b-40*,29a (cosmology)	36*,5b-7a 37,1b-3a; 37*,35	(inherited from cosmology) 37*,[31]; 38*,22; 39*,6-7
40*,29b-41*1a (voice)	<i>First Mystery</i> 41*,1b-42*,2 (harrowing)	41*,21b-24a	

<p><i>Second Subtractate</i> 42*,4-27a (Speech) ↓ 45*,2b-12a (Speech) ↓ 45*,21-46*,3 (Speech)</p>	<p><i>Second Mystery</i> 42*,27b-45*,2a (eschatology)</p>	<p>(42*,22-23?) 45*,12b-20</p>
<p><i>Third Subtractate</i> 46*,5-7a (Word) ↓ 47*,5-23 (Word, etc.) ↓ 49*,6-22a (Word) ↓ 50*,9b-20</p>	<p>46*,7b-47*,top (the Word) <i>Third Mystery</i> 47*,24-49*,top (Five Seals) 49*,22b-50*9a (the ordinances of the father)</p>	<p>C <i>Added in final redaction</i> 46*,16-19a 47*14b-15a 49*,7b-8a; 49*,11b-15a 48*,top- 48*,35 49*18b-20a 50*10b-16a</p>

As for doctrinal content, the gist of each subtractate is to identify one by one the nature and work of each of the modalities of Protennoia. In 37*,20-30 it is said that “the Voice that originated from my Thought exists as three Permanences (*μωνῆ*): the Father, the Mother, the Son. Existing perceptibly as Speech, it has within it a Word endowed with every <glory>, and it has three masculinities, three powers, and three names [cf. *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:27,21-28,3]. They exist in the manner of Three...quad-rangles—secretly within a silence of the Ineffable One.”

Trimorphic Protennoia identifies Protennoia with Barbelo (38*,8-9). In the platonizing Sethian-Barbeloite treatises *Allogenes* (XI,3), *Zostrianos* (VIII,1), *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5) and *Marsanes* (X), Barbelo and her sub-aeons (Kalyptos, Protophanes-Triple Male, and Autogenes) occupy the second ontological level of true being below the highest deity and his Triple Power, but above the perceptible world. Thus Protennoia/Barbelo is probably the Sethian-Barbeloite ontological equivalent of the intelligible level occupied by Nous in Neoplatonic metaphysics (see Turner, “The Gnostic Threefold Path”).

As in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, so also in the platonizing gnostic

tractates previously mentioned, Barbelo is tripartitioned into aspects or modalities. In these platonizing tractates, including also the last tractate of the Bruce Codex, one finds many occurrences of the terms Triple Male and Triple Powered One (cf. the "three masculinities" and "three powers" of *Trimorphic Protennoia*). In these tractates, Triple Male functions as a being within the Aeon of Barbelo. The Triple Powered One seems to be the emanative potency of the highest deity which proceeds from him and then takes on definition as true being in the form of intelligence, thus producing the Aeon of Barbelo. When one recalls the late neoplatonic scheme of *μονή* (the abiding quality of the first principle), *πρόοδος* (procession therefrom to a definite being or form) and *ἐπιστροφή* (recursion of the effect back to its first principle), one is tempted to understand the three *μοναί* of *Trimorphic Protennoia* (Father, Mother, Son) as first principles of the divine Thought from which Voice, Speech and Word respectively proceed (cf. XIII,36*,17-18) so as to provide form, being and definition to the Gnostics below (cf. the similar Valentinian idea of formation according to essence and formation according to knowledge directed by Christ and the Savior respectively toward the unformed Sophia, Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1 and I.4.5).

In the platonizing Sethian-Barbeloite treatises, salvation takes place in the form of an ecstatic visionary ascent of the Gnostic which occurs in three stages of *ascent* up to the highest deity (see the Introduction to *Allogenes* above). But in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, as well as in the Pronoia hymn of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (II,1:30,11-31,25), salvation comes in the form of a threefold *descent* of the First Thought of the highest deity to the Gnostic below. This threefold descent is conceptualized in two ways: (1) as a hierarchical sequence of gendered figures, namely an unbegotten male (Father and Voice), a (self-begotten?) female (Mother and Speech) and a begotten (cf. 46*,9) male (Son and Word); and (2) as a three-stage temporal sequence (cf. 47*,5-16). The revelation culminates in the third descent as Son or Word, called "the eye (i.e., focus) of the three permanences" (46*,28-29). The "vertical" hierarchical structure, clearer in the more philosophical Sethian-Barbeloite tractates *Allogenes*, *Zostrianos*, and *Three Steles of Seth* than in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, seems to derive from the contemporary Platonic philosophical milieu (see Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*, 233-64).

But the "horizontal" threefold sequence seems to derive from other quarters, perhaps from the partitioning of history into three or four dispensations of salvation adopted by gnostic Sethianism from Jewish apocalyptic speculation. Such a tripartitioning of *Heilsgeschichte* takes place in the *Apocalypse of Adam* where there is mentioned what appear to be three epochs of redemption (V,5:76,8-17) occurring at the times of flood, conflagration, and final salvation, and in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, which relates three *παρουσίαι* of Seth at the times of flood, conflagration and final judgment (III,2:63,4-64,9). It is characteristic of the Nag Hammadi Sethian-Barbeloite literature to find a synthesis of philosophical and apocalyptic speculation on the nature of history and the cosmos typified by the tripartitioning of history, the cosmos, and the process of the salvation or restoration of the Gnostic.

Since in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, Protennoia is conceived mainly in auditory metaphors (Voice, Speech, Word), salvation is the hearing of a call. The Voice of the First Thought explains and thus nullifies the Gnostic's bondage to the hostile powers (40*,8b-19a; 41*,1b-42*,2). The Speech of the Voice initiates the shift of the Ages by shaking the rule of Heimarmene with its thunder (43*,4b-44*,10a). Finally the Word illumines those in the darkness by revealing the mystery of the Five Seals (46*,30b-32; 48*,6-35).

As S. Emmel has pointed out ("Sound, Voice and Word"), careful study of the first two of the terms *ἡ φωνή* (masc. "Voice"), *ἡ σφη* (fem. articulate sound, "Speech") and *ὁ λόγος* (masc. Word) in the Sahidic NT suggests that *ἡ φωνή* refers to sound in general whether articulate or not, while *ἡ σφη* generally refers to articulate sound or speech: "Protennoia thus describes her three 'comings' in terms of a progressive gradation: first she comes as an all-pervasive, general sound (*hroou*), then as the articulation of that sound in voice (*Smē*), and finally as the rational content of speech (*logos*)" (Emmel, "Sound, Voice and Word," 5). Hence there is presented the possibility of translating *ἡ φωνή* as Voice, *ἡ σφη* as Speech, and *ὁ λόγος* as Word. Furthermore, taking into consideration the successive distinctions in gender of Protennoia's descents (Father, Mother, Son) together with the assumption that the distinctive auditory terminology did not arise in Coptic (where the distinction of gender [masc. Voice, fem. Sound, masc. Word] are still maintained) but in Greek, one may surmise that we may have to do with successive modes of Protennoia coordinated in the following

way: Father=probably masc. *φθόγγος* (ΖΡΟΟΥ); Mother=fem. *φωνή* (CΜΗ) and Son=masc. *λόγος* (ΛΟΓΟΣ). Thus the successive kinship terms and respective genders are coordinated with an increasing articulateness of Protennaio's call or revelation manifested in each successive epoch of revelation/salvation. Insofar as *Trimorphic Protennaio* is built upon the Pronoia hymn of the longer ending of the *Apocryphon of John* (see below), it appears that the author has nicely explained the incompleteness of salvation in the two first descents as owing to lack of complete revelatory clarity and articulateness as conveyed only by the Son in the form of the "rational" Word.

The genius of the auditory metaphors is their interpretive power. Again and again *Trimorphic Protennaio* stresses the invisibility, intangibility, and imperceptibility of the revelatory medium. Yet the revelation itself is audible in the form of Voice, Speech and Word to those who listen for it, though only the Sons of Light can comprehend it (49*,22-26). The revelatory medium (and thus the redeemer) is neither substantial nor hypostatic, yet it is perceptible and effective in its auditory nature as speech and message. Hence *Trimorphic Protennaio* exemplifies a very creative philosophical theology of the Word.

V. RELATION TO OTHER ANCIENT LITERATURE

The three introductory aretalogies are cast in the form of the *ego eimi* style of self-predication familiar from the Isis aretalogies found in Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl. Hist.* I.27.3-5) and particularly in the inscription of Kyme in Asia Minor that dates from around the second century C.E. (see Peek, *Der Isishymnus*; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, and MacRae, "Ego-Proclamation").

It is especially this feature that calls for close comparison between *Trimorphic Protennaio* and the longer ending of the *Apocryphon of John* which contains a strophic hymn distinguished by the prominent similarity of its content, structure, and form of discourse to that of *Trimorphic Protennaio* (previously noted by MacRae, "Sleep and Awakening," 502; "Ego-Proclamation," 132; "Sophia Myth," 91 n.3, and Janssens, "Le Codex XIII," 342, 351-52).

In the ending of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (II,1:30,11-31,25), one finds an account of the threefold descent of the Pronoia of Light (also "remembrance of the Pronoia") narrated in the *ego eimi* form of proclamation. There, in the *Apocryphon of John*, the Savior (who in the Christian dialogical framework is called both "Nazarene" and "Father, Mother, Son," cf. *Ap. John* II,1:2,14-15) identifies himself as the thrice-descending Pronoia. At the first descent the foundations of Chaos are shaken, but Pronoia remains hidden from her brethren, obscured by their wickedness. At the second descent the shaking of the foundations of Chaos threatens to destroy the brethren trapped therein, so Pronoia withdraws to her root of Light. But at the third descent, Pronoia, at first unrecognized, enters the prison of their bodies and succeeds in awakening them by reminding them of their root and seals them with the light of the water with Five Seals. Thus in both the *Apocryphon of John* and *Trimorphic Protennoia* we have a tripartite revelation of the divine First Thought (Pronoia=Protennoia), two preliminary descents producing great disturbance in the underworld but not resulting in final salvation, and a third and final descent into the bodies of the brethren, which results in salvation through the Five Seals. In each case salvation is realized by a revelation of man's current estate (bondage in chaotic matter), comes as a call to remember their origin, and results from the utterance of these things to the Gnostic.

The tripartite revelation of Pronoia in the longer ending of the *Apocryphon of John* was considered by MacRae to be "a Gnostic liturgical fragment probably recited at a ceremony of initiation much in the manner of a Christian baptismal homily or hymn" ("Sleep and Awakening," 502). He refers to Doresse's observation of its hymnic quality (*Secret Books*, 209), and cites as an example of such liturgies Pokorný's reconstruction of a Gnostic mystery-initiation from the Naasene homily in Hippolytus (Pokorný, "Epheserbrief").

If, as it is likely, the shorter BG 8502,2 and III,1 versions of the *Apocryphon of John* precede and are not digests of the longer version, the absence from them of this Pronoia hymn suggests that it may have existed separately from the *Apocryphon of John*. The strong equivalences between this text and *Trimorphic Protennoia* suggest that *Trimorphic Protennoia* is either the source of which the Pronoia text is a digest, which seems unlikely, or that *Tri-*

morphic Protennoia is an expansion based upon the source behind the hymnic Pronoia text now found in the longer ending of the *Apocryphon of John*. The cryptic reference in the latter to the Five Seals is clearly identified in *Trimorphic Protennoia* with a celestial liturgy of initiation consisting of investiture, baptism, enthronement, glorification, and transportation into the light (45*,13-20; 48*,15-35), though the order of the sequence varies. Both texts, then, demonstrate "liturgical" interest, and tend to establish the existence of a Sethian cultic mystery of baptism and celestial ascent, called the Five Seals. This ceremony is mentioned also in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (IV,2:56,25; 58,27-59,1; 59,27-28; 66,25-26; 74,16; 78,4-5; III,2:55,12; 63,3) and in Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 232,10. Apparently the ceremony included baptism in the water of life and reception of the mysteries of Gnosis (XIII 41*,20-24) in the context of a graded series of acts, at each of which certain names are invoked (cf. XIII 49*,26-34 with 48*,15-35). It results in enlightenment and final salvation (cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 604-7).

Trimorphic Protennoia is related to the *Apocryphon of John* at points other than the ending of the longer versions; above all they are related in the doctrinal exposition of the first subtractate (36*,27b-40*,29a). Comparison shows that *Trimorphic Protennoia* shares only those episodes of the Barbeloite cosmogony of the *Apocryphon of John* which are also found in Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-4; the single exception is 40*,22-29, which is a brief notice on Yaldabaoth's production of a man in Protennoia's (Father-?) likeness. On the other hand, there are some episodes common to Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-4 and the *Apocryphon of John* that are not narrated in *Trimorphic Protennoia*: the emanation of Barbelo from the Father or Invisible Spirit and his granting of Prognōsis, Aphtharsia, and Aiōnia Zōē to Barbelo; the generation of the Monogenes-Autogenes-Christ from Barbelo's light; the granting of Nous, Logos and Thelema to Christ; and the generation of Autogenes from Barbelo (Ennoia) and Logos (from Barbelo alone in the *Apocryphon of John*). Instead of narrating the generation of the four Lights from Monogenes-Christ, *Trimorphic Protennoia* only alludes to the generation of "Aeons" from the perfect Son (38*,16-21); as in Irenaeus and the *Apocryphon of John*, he establishes them, but only as four "Aeons" (not Lights), each conjoined with two others, while the term "Light" is only introduced in 39*,13-33 in reference to

Eleleth. Neither the tetrad (in Irenaeus) belonging to the Autogenes (Charis, Synesis, Phronēsis, and Thelēsis or Aisthēsis), nor the tetrad (in the *Apocryphon of John*) of Adam, Seth, seed of Seth, and repentant souls, nor the other inhabitants of the Aeons of the four Lights mentioned in the *Apocryphon of John* are to be found in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, which assigns rather different beings to the four Aeons Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithai, and Eleleth.

Thus not only does *Trimorphic Protennoia* (36*,27b-40*,29a) omit the multiple begettings of Aeons from various syzygies, but it also portrays the Barbeloite cosmogony only from the point at which the self-begotten Son is produced. Like Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1, it presupposes (or ignores) the emanation of Barbelo from the Invisible Spirit or Father. In place of the three faculties of Prognōsis, Aphtharsia and Aiōnia Zōē granted to Barbelo, it offers the Voice-Speech-Word interpretation of the Father-Mother-Son aspects of Barbelo (37*,20-30). Even though a gloss (38*,7-16) which lists the various epithets of Protennoia makes it clear that it is really she who is the preeminent creator of the All, the cosmology of *Trimorphic Protennoia* begins with the pleromatic work of the Son. While the third subtractate is devoted to the salvific activity (the third descent of Protennoia), the cosmogonic work of the Son in the first subtractate is to be regarded as the work of the Voice aspect of Protennoia. But for the Christian gnostic redactor (see below), the first and last subtractates of *Trimorphic Protennoia* accordingly portray the work of Christ in the creation and redemption of the cosmos respectively.

The following synopsis of *Trimorphic Protennoia*, Iren. *Haer.* I.29, and the *Apocryphon of John* (Codex II,1 and BG 8502,2) will illustrate the structure and sequence of episodes in *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1*:37*,3-40*,29:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 37*,3-20 | Introduction to the salvific work of the Son who originated from the Voice; this work is carried out in the three descents of Protennoia (no parallels). |
| 37*,20-30 | A description of the relation of the Voice, Speech and Word to Protennoia's three traditional modalities of Father, Mother, and Son. Cf. <i>Haer.</i> I.29.3 (Mother, Father, Son); BG 21,18-21 (Father, Mother, Son) and 27,18-28,2 (Triple Male, possessor of three powers, names and begettings)= II,2,13-14 and II,5,8-10. |

- 37*,30-38*,6 Anointing the Son with *χρηστία* (goodness) and establishing him in light over the Aeons. Cf. *Haer.* I.29.1: "As Barbelo exulted in these... this they say is the Christ" (*in quibus gloriantem... dicunt esse Christum*); BG 29,18-31,5=II,6,10-30 (cf. BG 32,3-19=II,7,15-30).
- 38*,7-16 A description of Protенnoia as the ultimate Father of the divine world and image of the Invisible Spirit (not found in *Haer.* I.29). Cf. the epithets of the First Thought in *Ap. John* BG 27,8-21 (Light, Barbelo, perfect Glory, first Ennoia [=Protенnoia], Image, Virgin)=II,4,29-5,7 (Light, Image of Invisible Spirit, Glory, Barbelo, First Thought [=Protенnoia], Womb, Metropator [cf. Meirothea?]).
- 38*,16-39*,13 The Son reveals and establishes the twelve Aeons which include the traditional Sethian four Lights: Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithai and Eleleth (Aphtharsia is not involved). Cf. *Haer.* I.29.2: "From the light which is Christ... (the fourth whom they call) Eleleth" (*De lumine autem quod est Christus... Eleleth*); BG 32,19-34,18=II,7,30-8,28.
- 39*,13-26 The origin of Yaltabaoth from Protенnoia's Epinoia (her "externalized *ἐννοια*") now resident in Eleleth. Cf. *Haer.* I.29.4: "Then moved by simplicity... to the lower regions" (*Post deinde simplicitate... in inferiora*); BG 37,6-11 (cf. the boasting of Eleleth and failure of the powers to entreat him, XIII,39*, 15-20); BG 37,16-18 (Yaltabaoth's form); BG 38,12-17 (the name Yaltabaoth and his theft of the power of the Mother [=Eleleth or Sophia]).
- 39*,26-32 (Saklas): =II,11,16-18 (Saklas, Samael). *Trimorphic Protенnoia* is briefer, and does not employ the Sophia myth. It is Eleleth rather than Sophia who channels the Protенnoia's Epinoia into the creation of Yaltabaoth without the assent of the powers. Consequently for *Trimorphic Protенnoia*, Sophia is innocent (39*,28-32; 40*,15); since her role in other Sethian literature is here assumed by Eleleth's Epinoia, not explicitly identified with Sophia,

Yaltabaoth's creation of the lower world is Eleleth's fault.

39*,32-40*,4

the restoration of the Epinoia (=Sophia?) to another order (*τάξις*). Cf. *Haer.* I.29.4: "When then had been born...withdrew to the higher regions" (*Generatis autem his...in altiora secessit*); BG 46,9-47,13=II,13,32-14,13. In *Trimorphic Protennoia*, the restoration seems to be complete, and because blame falls on Eleleth and not Epinoia (or Sophia), there seems to be no repentance.

40*,4-7

Yaltabaoth makes aeons as copies of the real Aeons with his power stolen from the Epinoia who has withdrawn. Cf. *Haer.* I.29.4: "he stole great power...she became the Ogdoad counting from below" (*virtutem autem magnam abstulisse...fit deorsum numerantibus octonatio*); BG 38,15-44,9=II,10,19-13,5. *Trimorphic Protennoia* summarizes and does not describe the angelic powers.

40*,8-22

Since the creator's boast is attributed by *Trimorphic Protennoia* to Eleleth (cf. 39*,13-17; to the "Archigenetor" in 43*,31-44*,2), it is not here attributed to Yaltabaoth: cf. *Haer.* I.29.4: "When she had withdrawn...beside me there is no one" (*Illa igitur secedente...praeter me nemo est*); BG 44,9-19=II,13,5-13. Instead, in *Trimorphic Protennoia* we have only the announcement of Protennoia, reaffirming Sophia's innocence: cf. BG 45,19-47,20=II,13,26-14,18.

40*,22-29

Yaltabaoth makes man in Protennoia's likeness, the beginning of his undoing (not in *Haer.* I.29). Cf. BG 47,20-51,1=II,14,19-19,14. *Trimorphic Protennoia* only says that man was made in Protennoia's image, while BG and Codex II imply that the image was that of Pronoia (Mother-Father=Protennoia) become First Man.

At this point where *Iren. Haer.* I.29.1-4 ends, the precise parallels with the *Apocryphon of John* also cease (except for the anthropogony and Pronoia hymn of the longer ending!). Yet the basic

structure of the threefold descent of Protennoia can also be elicited from the remaining portions of the *Apocryphon of John* that are included in both the longer and shorter versions. As Janssens notes ("Le Codex XIII," 348-51), the Pronoia descends three times throughout the long anthropogonical and soteriological sections of the *Apocryphon of John* that are not found in *Trimorphic Protennoia*. In these contexts Pronoia (Protennoia) is referred to as the "Merciful Father" (or Metropator) who initiates (from the divine world) various salvific missions. Thus, in effect, her first descent occurs in BG 51,1-52,3=II,19,10-33, where Sophia gets the Metropator to send the male Autogenes and the four Lights down to Yaltabaoth and have him breathe the Mother's power into the inert psychic Adam, who is vivified. Pronoia's second descent occurs as the female Epinoia of Light who hides in Adam as Zōē and, when formed from his rib by Yaltabaoth, causes Adam to know his essence (BG 52,17-54,9; 59,6-21,7=II,20,9-31; 22,28-23,36; material on Paradise the trees, and the serpent are interpolated into this episode). The third descent of Pronoia is her (male) manifestation as Christ, which in the shorter version is in fact coincident with the appearance of the Savior in the Christian dialogical frame-story itself (see its conclusion in BG 75,10-76,9), while in the longer version it is coincident with the very Pronoia hymn (II,30,11-31,25) that underlies *Trimorphic Protennoia*!

These three descents in the main body of the *Apocryphon of John* are essentially those to be found in *On the Origin of the World* (II,5), *Hypostasis of the Archons* (II,4), and Irenaeus's "Ophite" account (*Haer.* I.30.6-12). They are thus a major feature of Sethian gnostic mythology. The *Apocryphon of John* seems to be a combination of the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmogony and Sophia myth of Iren. *Haer.* I.29, and this "Ophite" anthropogony and soteriology in which the Ophite doctrine of the serpent as the one who leads Adam and Eve to the tree of Gnosis (e.g., Iren. *Haer.* I.30.7) is severely criticized or played down (BG 57,20-58,14=II,22,9-21) in favor of Christ or Eve. It is this anthropogony and soteriology which is completely lacking in *Trimorphic Protennoia* save for the bare structure of three descents of the First Thought as Father, Mother, and Son. When the tree of knowledge is mentioned, it is a source, not of knowledge, but of ignorance (XIII,44*,20-26).

Furthermore, *Trimorphic Protennoia* does not make use of the Sophia myth of the *Apocryphon of John*. Instead, it employs a

weakened form of the myth in which the blame for the creation of Yaltabaoth is affixed to the boastful Eleleth. The innocent (and hence non-repentant) Sophia is weakly identified with the Epinoia, the creative power of Protennoia, stolen by Yaltabaoth who is created virtually by accident, not by Sophia's decision to create without a consort. Since this variant form of the Sophia myth is attested only in *Trimorphic Protennoia* and in the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, it surely cannot claim the primacy of the version found in the *Apocryphon of John* and Valentinian sources. It looks more like a reaction against the latter in an effort to separate the perfection of the divine world as far as possible from the evil of this world. This separation is not at all accomplished by the multiplication of aeonic buffer zones between the divine and material world; on the contrary, *Trimorphic Protennoia* reduces these to the bare minimum consistent with the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmology. In fact the extremely condensed version of the Aeons of the four Lights (38*,33-39*,5) seems to be included only for the purpose of providing the Epinoia with a point of exit (Eleleth) from the divine world. *Trimorphic Protennoia*, then, appears to be reacting against the excesses of the *Apocryphon of John*.

Trimorphic Protennoia intersects with the *Apocryphon of John* at only two points: the Pronoia hymn of the longer ending, and the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmogony it has in common with Iren. *Haer.* I.29. Accordingly, one should regard it as occupying a midpoint between the highly mythological *Apocryphon of John* and the more philosophical Sethian-Barbeloite treatises, such as *Zostrianos* (VIII,1). Although *Trimorphic Protennoia* shows no literary awareness of *Zostrianos*, it is close to it in spirit, particularly in its liturgical interest (cf. the baptisms in *Zostrianos* with the Five Seals of *Trimorphic Protennoia*), and in its lack of allusions to Genesis 1-6.

Yet *Trimorphic Protennoia* proved highly amenable to Christianization (see Section VI below) perhaps because of the similarity of the Logos-doctrine of its last subtractate to that of the Johannine prologue and the similarity of the eschatological language of the second subtractate to Christian apocalyptic. It further appears that *Trimorphic Protennoia* has orthodox Christian baptism in view in its presentation of the Sethian celestial baptismal-ascent ritual of the Five Seals when it interprets this as the "ordinances of the Father" proclaimed by Christ (48*,top-50*,20; cf. note on 49*,6-20). In fact, as Robinson notes in the discussion of his excellent

treatment of *Trimorphic Protennoia*: "Apart from the *Gospel of Thomas*, no greater claim has been made for the relevance of the Nag Hammadi texts to the New Testament than that made by the *Berliner Arbeitskreis* regarding the *Trimorphic Protennoia*" ("Sethians and Johannine Thought," 662). This claim principally involves the question whether and to what extent *Trimorphic Protennoia* is a non-Christian document originally composed without benefit of Christianity and subsequently Christianized by a Sethian author who was either (1) a non-Christian using materials no longer sensed as Christian or (2) was a non-Christian consciously reinterpreting (and thus confuting) Christian tradition, or (3) a Sethian consciously taking up with Christian tradition, but consciously reinterpreting it (thus confuting orthodox Christian interpretations) in Sethian fashion to yield a higher spiritual meaning in the light of Sethian teaching. In the present analysis, the third option emerges as the most likely explanation for the present text of *Trimorphic Protennoia*.

As will be argued, *Trimorphic Protennoia* originated as a non-Christian text based on the non-Christian Pronoia hymn at the end of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (see below, stages 1 and 2), but subsequently (see below, stage 3) was fleshed out on the basis of the cosmological teaching in common between *Iren. Haer. I.29* and the *Apocryphon of John*. If that version of the *Apocryphon of John* were substantially the same as the four versions we currently possess, it would serve as the source for the glosses identifying the Autogenes Son with Christ (37*,31; 38*,22-23; 39*,6-7), but not for the substantial Christian interpretations of the Protennoia/Logos as the Christ in 48*,35-49*,20 and 50*,7-16. In these passages the reinterpretation of Christological titles and of the work of Christ is explicit and consciously polemical, but not as Schenke observed, anti-Christian or even non-Christian. It is rather anti-orthodox Christian, but still fundamentally sympathetic to the appropriateness of understanding the work of Seth as the work of Christ.

This acutely raises the question of the "stupendous parallels" between *Trimorphic Protennoia* and the *Gospel of John* (see above, section III), especially in the prologue, but also in the farewell discourse (cf. 50*,11-12 with Jn 15:4-5; cf. Jn 17:21-23; 1 Jn 2:24; 3:24; and 50*,14-16 with Jn 14:2). In general, all the parallels cited by Colpe (see above, section III) and others are most likely

due to a sapiential background common to the Johannine prologue and the *Trimorphic Protennoia* together with its basic source, the Pronoia hymn of the *Apocryphon of John*, given their common tripartition of cosmic time according to the descents of the savior figure, first shining in the darkness at the beginning, then coming unsuccessfully into the world, and finally becoming incarnate in the third (successful) coming. But with the parallels to the farewell discourse in 50*,11-12 and 50*,14-16 and with the parallel to John 1:14 in 47*,14-15, it seems that Johannine language is intentionally employed, if not reinterpreted (cf. Helderman, "Bemerkungen zu Codex XIII," criticized by Robinson, "Sethians and Johannine Thought," 659-60). In 47*,14-15 it is clear that "their tents" in which Protennoia reveals herself as Word is interpreted as the "shape" (*εἰκῶν*) earlier given by Protennoia to her "fellow brethren" until their consummation; indeed it is a "garment" (47*,17) to disguise her from the Powers. This guise is later interpreted docetically by means of certain redactionally added passages (in 49*,6-22a and 50*,9b-20) to the effect that the true Christ never actually became human but only appeared to be such, and that he rescued Jesus from the cross and established a dwelling place with his Father, not for believers (Jn 14:2), but for Jesus himself. This in itself does not constitute a denial of Johannine thought, but certainly takes it in a direction anathematized by the author of 1 John (cf. 4:2-3). Certainly the use of *σκηνή* and *λόγος* in a single sentence which refers to a (third and) final descent of a savior figure in 47*,13-15 is striking, even if the Coptic versions of Jn 1:14 do not use this loanword to translate *ἐσκήνωσεν*. On balance it seems that the final redaction of *Trimorphic Protennoia* does employ Johannine language in such a way as to score a polemical point against more orthodox Christian views of Christ's incarnation. Precisely whose views and what his direct source was for Johannine language remains unclear.

VI. COMPOSITION

Since the figure of Christ is dominant at two points in *Trimorphic Protennoia* (the activity of the Perfect Son in 37*,3-38*,6 and the activity of Protennoia as Logos in 48*,35-50*,20), one might classify it as a Christian-gnostic document. Although this

undoubtedly characterizes its present form, at an earlier stage of its composition it was probably non-Christian. That is, the figure of Christ may be secondary, a redactional addition to *Trimorphic Protennoia* (see G. Schenke, "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia," cols. 733-34), as has also been pointed out in the case of the closely related *Apocryphon of John* (cf. Arai, "Christologie des Apokryphons des Johannes"; H.-M. Schenke, "Das literarische Problem des Apokryphon Johannes").

Of the four occurrences of the term "Christ" in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, the first (37*,[31]) has been restored on the basis of context and parallel epithets ("the God who came into being by himself," i.e., "only-begotten") used in the second occurrence (38*,22-23); the third occurrence is found at 39*,6-7 (where it is likely that $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\chi\pi\omicron\upsilon$ should be completed by a missing $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\epsilon}$); the fourth occurs in a mutilated section (49*,8), to the effect that the Archons were fooled by Protennoia's incognito descent into thinking Protennoia was their (earthly?) Christ. The first three occurrences appear to be glosses appended to the phrases "it is he alone who came to be," "the God who came into being by himself" and "the God who was begotten" (add: "by himself") either by $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon$ or in simple apposition by juxtaposition. These three instances of the name "Christ" serve only to make an identification between Christ and the Autogenes Son of Protennoia/Barbelo as in the *Apocryphon of John*, and thus may imply dependence of *Trimorphic Protennoia* on an already Christianized version of the *Apocryphon of John* of the sort reflected in Irenaeus's excerpt in *Haer.* I.29. Furthermore, the first three instances of the term "Christ" all occur in the only section of *Trimorphic Protennoia* (37*,30-40*,7) that has direct parallels to the material in Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-2 and to the theogonic material in the version of the *Apocryphon of John*.

The final mention of the term "Christ" (49*,8) occurs in the third subtractate of *Trimorphic Protennoia* (48*,35-50*,20) which is intended to give a Christian-gnostic interpretation to the descent of the revealer in opposition to other "orthodox" Christologies. Here the Word appears as Christ who, disguised successively as a son of the Archigenetor, as an angel and as a Son of Man, descends incognito and reveals the Five Seals, puts on Jesus, and bears him and his seed into the world of Light.

Only in the third subtractate does it seem that Christianization,

particularly by means of Johannine language, becomes thoroughgoing. There one finds the identification of Protennoia with the Logos as the third mode of Protennoia's descent into the world, appearing this third time (as the Logos) in their tents (*σκηνή*, 47*,11-15; cf. *ἐσκήνωσεν*, Jn 1:14). The Logos descends incognito, disguised, and hidden from all in the form of various heavenly powers until he chooses to reveal himself (47*,13b-23a). It is implied that the Logos, not the Archons, made the world (47*,25-28). Next, after the apparently non-Christian Sethian-gnostic liturgical passage on the Five Seals on page 48*, Christian language as well as the subject of incognito descent returns (49*,6-22a or 23a). As G. Schenke "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia [Codex XIII]," 130-32) argues, this passage reinterprets traditional Christological predications of Jesus as Christ, Son of God (i.e., "Son of the Archigenetor"), an Angel, a Power, and "Son of Man." *Trimorphic Protennoia* shows these to designate only the forms in which the Logos *appears* to the Archons, Angels, Powers, and Sons of Man. In actuality he is not the Son, but the Father (of everyone), the "beloved" of those in whom the Logos reveals himself. After the continuation of the Sethian passage (with no particular Christian features) on the Five Seals, Christian, especially Johannine, language returns again (to 50*,10b-16a cf. Jn 15:4; 14:2-3; 12:32).

As Schenke goes on to observe, *Trimorphic Protennoia* is at this point non-Christian, even anti-Christian. That is to say it is anti-"orthodox Christian," for the shift from the obscure, ineffective activity of the earthly Jesus to the clear revelation of saving gnosis by the Logos-Christ is located not in his earthly life, nor in a work he effects on the cross, but in his post-resurrection mode of existence; only then can the Logos-Christ and his message be recognized for what they are. Pages 49* and 50* seem to contain instances of Christian-gnostic polemic which use Christological motifs to characterize the "orthodox" Christian view of Christ as inferior and inadequate. The orthodox Son of God is a son of the demiurge-Archigenetor, their Son of Man is only a human, and their cross is only "cursed wood." Furthermore, it is to be noted that the "orthodox" version of the Johannine Logos-hymn carefully subordinates John the Baptist to the Logos, to the effect that John was not the light, but was merely a witness to it. Indeed he was not the Logos but only a voice (*φωνή*) crying in the wilderness (Jn

1:6–8.23). But contrary to this view, *Trimorphic Protennoia* exalts the Voice (not identified with John) to the status of the two earlier but not finally effective modes of Protennoia's self-manifestation as Father and Mother, while the Son-Logos is the third manifestation. Although the Logos is the final and fulfilling manifestation of Protennoia, it is not superior to the Voice, from whom the Logos in fact originated (37*,3–6; cf. 46*,3b–32).

All these considerations suggest that *Trimorphic Protennoia* had a distinctive redactional history. At its basis lies an early version of the aretalogical sapiental Pronoia hymn presently found in the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John*. This aretalogy on the threefold descent of Protennoia as Voice, Speech and Word was subsequently enlarged and supplemented by various doctrinal sections (36*,27b–40*,29a; 41*,1b–42*,2; 47*,27b–45*,2a; 46*,7b–47*,top; 47*,24–49*,top; and 49*,22b–50*,9a), the first of which was incipiently Christianized by means of the Christological glosses at 37*,[31]; 38*,22–23 and 39*,6–7. Finally the original aretalogy (46*,5–7a + 47*,5–23 + 49*,6–22a + 50*,9b–20) of the third subtractate seems to have undergone a somewhat polemical Christianizing by the addition of 47*,14b–15a; 49*,7b–8a; 49*,11b–15a; 49*,18b–20a; and 50*,10b–16a.

The purpose of Christianizing *Trimorphic Protennoia* by means of this additional material would be to point out the superiority of the docetic gnostic Logos-Christ to the "orthodox" Son of God (i.e., Son of the demiurge) or (the too-earthly) Son of Man. This hypothetical but quite conscious Christianization does not seem to employ themes from the Johannine prologue, which seem to have entered *Trimorphic Protennoia* during a prior stage of the text much as Colpe and Schenke have suggested. That is to say, the parallels to the Johannine prologue seem to belong to those parts of *Trimorphic Protennoia* that were not explicitly Christianized, suggesting that *Trimorphic Protennoia* is not directly dependent on the text of the prologue, but upon common sapiental traditions employed in each text independently. On the other hand, the Christian interpolations in 50*,10b–16a seem to reflect at least the language of the farewell discourse, but not the prologue, of the Gospel of John.

On the basis of these observations, *Trimorphic Protennoia* seems to have a compositional history consisting of approximately four stages.

(1) The first stage is represented by the *Grundform* of the non-Christian Pronoia hymn, a later version of which is represented by the ending of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John*. This original form of the hymn was perhaps a product of general oriental speculation on the pre-existent figure of the divine Wisdom who descends into this world for salvation and judgment. Although it does not display detailed features of the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmology, it does mention the "seed" (*Ap. John* II,1:30,13) and conceives salvation as occurring in three visitations, or epochs, both of which are Sethian conceptions. Thus the Pronoia hymn may represent a very early stage of gnostic Sethianism. The version of this hymn now in the *Apocryphon of John* already bears the marks of a long interpolation (II,1:31,4-22) in its third stanza which unbalances an otherwise smoothly balanced hymn in three stanzas of approximately equal length. If the interpolation is removed, the third stanza (30,32-31,4.22-25) would then read: "Again the third time I went—I who am the Light that dwells in the Light—I am the remembrance of Pronoia—that I might enter the midst of the darkness and the inner part of the underworld. I filled my face with the light of the completion of their Aeon and went into the midst of their prison... and I raised him up and sealed him with the Light of the Water with Five Seals, that death might not prevail over him from now on." The grounds for suspecting that 31,4-22 is an interpolation are three: (a) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\psi\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\ \pi\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ in 31,4 has the character of an interpretive gloss; (b) the number of the addressee(s) shifts from the plural (31,2-3) to the singular (31,6-20, "he" and "thou"); and (c) the length of the dialogue of awakening, cast in language similar to Eph 5:14, makes the third stanza too long and unwieldy. Whether *Trimorphic Protennoia* is literally dependent upon the version now found in the *Apocryphon of John* or some other version cannot be determined. The motifs of the call to awakening (31,5-6; cf. XIII,35*,1-22), the chains (31,10; cf. XIII,41*,4-6.18.29) and the weeping (31,6; cf. XIII,44*,11) contained in the interpolation all occur in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, but such motifs are common in gnostic literature. Of course, one should bear in mind, as Schenke and Colpe have suggested (see above Section III), that even this hypothetical first stage may be based on a yet earlier composition which underlies both the Pronoia hymn and the Johannine prologue.

(2) The first-person self-predications of the three stanzas of some

form of the Pronoia hymn were expanded into the long aretalogies of self-predication in each of the subtractates of *Trimorphic Protennoia* (35*,32b-36*,27a + 40*,29b-41*,1a; 42*,4-27a + 45*,2b-12a + 45*,21-46*,3; 46*,5-7a + 47*,5-23 + 49*,6-22a + 50*,9b-20; also the introductory aretalogy in 35*,1-32a). The creative gain from this second compositional stage was perhaps the development of the male Voice, female Speech, and male Word speculation as an interpretation of the three descents of Pronoia, now renamed Protennoia, which may have been inspired by the Sethian-Barbeloite Father, Mother, Son triad in the *Apocryphon of John* and in the source of Iren. *Haer.* I.29.

(3) The third stage represents the accommodation of this expanded Pronoia/Protennoia hymn to the developed cosmogonical mythology of the major Sethian treatises such as the *Apocryphon of John*. Into the first subtractate (35*,1-32a + 35*,32b-36*,27a + 40*,29b-41*,1a) there would later have been inserted the cosmogonic myth (36*,27b-40*,29a) drawn from the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmogony in or underlying *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:26,15-39,6 and Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-4. Since the Christian glosses at 37*,[31]; 38*,22-23 and 39*,6-7 were probably taken over as part of this inherited cosmogonic material, *Trimorphic Protennoia* became incipiently Christian at this stage. This cosmogonic material seems to have been reworked in such a way as to exonerate Sophia from the responsibility for the creation of Yaltabaoth as depicted in the *Apocryphon of John*. Hence the blame is transferred to Eleleth, while Sophia, identified with Epinoia, is called "innocent" (39*,13-40,4). In the *Apocryphon of John* Epinoia seems to be a female (Zōē=Eve?) manifestation of Pronoia (BG 53,4-10), and is distinct from the blameworthy Sophia. But as *Trimorphic Protennoia* omits the story of the creation of Adam by Yaltabaoth in the garden, the Epinoia does not appear as Zōē or Eve, or as the tree of knowledge; rather, she is assimilated to the role usually reserved for Sophia herself, who is in turn exonerated as guileless, with the result that Eleleth tends to receive the blame for allowing the Epinoia to fall into Yaltabaoth's hands. Likewise at this stage the contents of the first "mystery" on Protennoia's harrowing of the underworld powers (41*,1b-42*,2) would have been appended to the first subtractate. If the first-person material in 41*,20b-42*,2 was part of the original aretalogy, only 41*,1b-20a would have been added here, yet this first-person material seems suspicious: 41*,20b-21a

seems dependent on 40*,10-18; 41*,21b-24a is a gloss identifying with the spirit Protennoia's portion (*meros* occurs only at 40*,13 and 41*,21; elsewhere one finds *melos*); 41*,24b-25 seems inconsistent with 41*,27; 41*,30-32 is defective; and 41*,32b-35a seems to presuppose the doctrinal section 41*,1b-20a. Alternatively one may on a different interpretation of this evidence conclude that the entire section 41*,1b-42*,2 (except perhaps 41*,21b-24a) belonged to the original aretalogy of stage two, but the use of the second-person plural form of direct address to the tractate's audience at 41*,2.5.12 and 13 is unusual for the bulk of the first-person aretalogical sections, and occurs elsewhere only at 42*,27; 44*,29b-33a; 45*,12b-20 and 46*,33-34, all of which occur in doctrinal passages which employ first-person language only to introduce a generally third-person doctrinal discourse of Protennoia.

Similarly in the third stage the eschatological teaching of the second mystery (47*,27b-45*,2a) would have been inserted into the aretalogy (42*,4-27a + 45*,2b-12a + 45*,21-46*,3) of the second subtractate. In this way the activity of the Mother or Speech aspect of Protennoia is interpreted as causing the shift of the ages and the overthrow of the power of Fate. Whether or not the anticipatory promise to introduce the baptismal rite at 45*,12b-20 was added at this stage is hard to decide; it employs the first-person language of the aretalogies, but as previously mentioned, direct address in the second plural to the reader is certainly not characteristic of the bulk of the aretalogical material.

Finally the doctrinal material at 46*,7b-47*,top (speculation on the relation of the Word to Protennoia's other modalities), 47*,24-49*,top (the third "mystery," on the Five Seals) and 49*,22b-50*,9a (on the efficacy of the "ordinances of the Father," identified with the Five Seals) would have been added to the third subtractate during the third stage. While the first and last of these sections are generally third-person description, the third mystery contains first-person narrative (47*,28b-48*,35a) typical of the aretalogies, and may be considered to be part of the aretalogical treatise produced at stage two. However, 47*,28b-47*,bottom seems dependent on 40*,10-18 (cf. 41*,20b-21) which is probably a doctrinal addition, and the section 48*,top-48*,35 refers to the recipients of Protennoia's salvific activity in the third-person singular, not in the third-person plural as is elsewhere usual (cf. a similar shift at 49*,28b-34a).

At this point, *Trimorphic Protennoia* has become an only incipiently Christian (cf. the glosses at 37*,[31]; 38*,22 and 39*,6-7) basically Sethian-Barbeloite doctrinal homily. It is no longer a hymn or even an extended self-predicatory aretalogical composition, but it is not yet a didactic mythological treatise. Its goal is no longer primarily liturgical nor is it yet completeness of speculative mythological calculation, but rather it constitutes a paraenetical appeal to the human spirit. Its lofty rhetoric, combining aretalogical announcement and compelling narrative, suits it as an appeal for conversion, as evangelistic proclamation. One may conjecture that at this stage, *Trimorphic Protennoia* may have been used as a public invitation to membership in the Sethian community, perhaps with (orthodox) Christians in view as the target audience.

(4) Finally, the rather polemical Christian Sethian material at 47*,14b-15a; 49*,7b-8a.11b-15a.18b-20a and 50*,10b-16a would have been inserted into the third subtractate, yielding *Trimorphic Protennoia* as it presently stands. The insertions on pages 47* and 50* which draw on Johannine language would tend to be attractive to both Sethian and non-Sethian Christians alike, but the generally anti-orthodox quality of the Christological insertions on page 49* make it clear that the goal of the tractate is to show the poverty of orthodox Christologies (including the Johannine) and to convey a higher (Sethian) one.

At this point the almost purely positive appeal of *Trimorphic Protennoia* in its immediately previous non-Christian dress has been modified in a polemical direction. No longer a purely evangelical announcement, it is now aimed at challenging and reinterpreting the "orthodox apostolic" Christian claims concerning Christ and the salvation offered by him. Instead of the orthodox Son of the creator God of this world, who was also the human Son of man, Christ is claimed for Sethian Gnosticism as the completely otherworldly Logos of the divine Thought itself, whose phenomenal appearances to both men and to spiritual powers were only a ruse perpetrated by the evil Archigenetor of this world and his archontic Powers. At this point the Sethian community has targeted members of the more "orthodox" Christian church as candidates for the immediate enlightenment and salvation tendered by Sethian Gnosis. *Trimorphic Protennoia* has now become a weapon in the competition for souls.

If such a compositional history be accepted (or one like it),

Trimorphic Protennoia should be considered to be roughly contemporary with the *Apocryphon of John* and Iren. *Haer.* I.29, and may have reached its final form by the mid-second century C.E. Probably surviving for some time in Greek dress, it was eventually translated into Coptic, and found its way into Codex XIII. At some point in the mid-fourth century C.E., *Trimorphic Protennoia* was removed from Codex XIII, inserted into the front cover of Codex VI, and buried with the other Nag Hammadi Codices, where it lay until the time of its discovery.

35*

[ΑΝΟΚ] ΤΕ ΠΡΩ[ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΠΜ]ΕΕΥΕ ΕΤ
 2 Ψ[ΟΟ]Π· Ζ^Μ [ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΝΟΚ] ΠΕ ΠΚΙΜ
 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ Ζ^Μ Π[ΤΗΡϞ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕ Π]ΤΗΡϞ Ψ
 4 ΖΕ ΕΡΑΤϞ ΖΡΑ[Ι ΝΖΗΤϞ ΠΨΟΡ]Π· ΝΧΠΟ
 Ζ^Ν ΝΕΝΤΑΨ[ΩΠΕ ΤΕΤΨΟ]ΟΠ ΖΑ[Θ]Η Μ
 6 ΠΤ[Η]ΡϞ· ΕΥΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ] ΝΨΟΜΤ ΝΡΑΝ ΕΣ
 ΨΟΟΠ· ΟΥΑΑΤϞ [ΕΣΧΗ]Κ· ΕΒΟΛ' Α[Ν]ΟΚ' ΟΥ
 8 ΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ[Ϟ ΖΡ]ΑΙ Ζ^Μ ΠΜΕΞΥΕ ΜΠΙΑΤ·
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ ΕΞ[Ι]ΒΟΛ[Π] ΕΒΟΛ Ζ^Ν ΝΙΑΤΨΙ
 10 ΤΟΥ ΝΙΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ' ΟΥΑΤ·
 ΤΕΖΟΣ ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ Ζ^Μ ΠΙΑΤΤΕΖΟϞ ΕΕΙ
 12 ΚΙΜ· ΖΡΑΙ Ζ^Ν ΣΩΝΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΞ ΠΩΝΖ
 ΝΤΑΞΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΤΑ[Ι] ΕΤΨΟ]ΟΠ' ΖΡΑΙ Ζ^Ν
 14 ΘΑΜ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΖΡΑΙ Ζ^Ν ΚΙΜ' ΝΙΜ ΝΑΝΕΖ
 ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝ'ΟΥΑΕΙΝΕ ΝΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 16 ΖΡΑΙ Ζ^Ν ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΝ
 ΝΔ[ΑΙ]Μ[Ω]Ν ΜΝ ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ'
 18 Ζ^Μ ΠΤ[ΑΡΤ]ΑΡΟΣ ΜΝ ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΜ ΝΖΥΛΙΚΗ
 ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ' Ζ^Ν ΝΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΕΙΚΙΜ Ζ^Ν
 20 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ [ΑΥ]Ω ΕΕΙΒΡΗ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ ΕΕΙΜΟϞΨΞ Ζ^Ν ΟΥΣΟΟΥΤ^Ν ΑΥΩ ΝΕ
 22 Τ^ΝΚΑΤΚ' ΕΕΙΝΕ[Ζ]ΞΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ'
 ΠΕ ΠΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤ'ΨΟΟΠΙ Ζ^Μ ΠΖΙΝΗΒ
 24 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ ΖΡ[Α]Ι Ζ^Μ ΠΤΗΡϞ
 ΑΝΟΚ' ΠΕΤΨΟΧΝΕ ΝΝΕΤΖΗΠ· ΕΕΙΣΟ
 26 ΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΤΗΡϞ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤϞ
 ΑΝΟΚ' ΟΥΑΤΗΠΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' ΑΝΟΚ
 28 ΟΥΑΤΨΙΤϞ· ΝΑΤΨΑΧ[Ε] ΜΜΟϞ ΑΝΟΚ Ν
 ΔΕ ΕΕΙΨΑΝ'ΟΥ[ΩΨΕ †Ν]ΑΟΥ'ΟΝΖΤ ΕΒΟΛ
 30 ΟΥΑΑΤ· ΑΝΑΚ [ΤΕ ΤΑΠΕ Μ]ΠΤΗΡϞ ΕΕΙΨΟ
 ΟΠ ΖΑΘΗ [Μ] [ΠΤΗΡϞ ΑΥΩ ΑΝ]ΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΤΗΡϞ
 32 ΕΕΙΨ[ΟΟΠ Ζ^Ν ΟΥ]ΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΖΡΟ
 Ο[Υ ΕϞΨΑΧΕ Ζ^Ν ΟΥΖΗC]ΥΧΗ ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ·
 34 Χ[Ν ΝΨΟΡΠ' ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ Ζ]Ρ[Α]Ι Ζ^Ν †ΜΝΤΚΑ
 [ΡΩC ΕΤ^ΜΠΚΩΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ] ΝΙΜ ΜΜΑ[Υ]

35*

[I] am [*Protенnoia, the*] Thought that
 2 [dwells] in [*the Light. I*] am the movement
 that dwells in the [*All, she in whom the*] All takes
 4 its stand, [*the first-*]born
 among those who [*came to be, she who exists*] before
 6 the All. [*She (i.e., Protенnoia) is called*] by three names,
 although she
 dwells alone, [*since she is perfect*]. I am
 8 invisible within the Thought of the Invisible
 One. I am revealed in the immeasurable,
 10 ineffable (things). I am incomprehensible,
 dwelling in the incomprehensible. I
 12 move in every creature. I am the life
 of my Epinoia that dwells within
 14 every Power and every eternal movement
 and (in) invisible Lights and
 16 within the Archons and Angels (*ἄγγελος*) and
 Demons (*δαίμων*) and every soul (*ψυχή*) dwelling
 18 in [*Tartaros*] and (in) every material (*ὕλική*) soul (*ψυχή*)
 I dwell in those who came to be. I move in
 20 everyone and I delve into them all.
 I walk uprightly and those who
 22 sleep, I [*awaken*]. And I
 am the sight of those who dwell in sleep.
 24 I am the Invisible One within the All.
 It is I who counsel those who are hidden, since I know
 26 the All that exists in it.
 I am numberless beyond (*παρά*) everyone. I
 28 I am immeasurable, ineffable, yet (*δέ*)
 whenever I [*wish, I shall*] reveal myself
 30 of my own accord. I [*am the head of*] the All. I exist
 before [*the All, and*] I am the All,
 32 since I [*exist in*] every[one]. I am a Voice
 [*speaking softly (ἡσυχῆ)*]. I exist
 34 [*from the first. I dwell*] within the Silence
 [*that surrounds*] every[one] of them.

36*

1 αγω η[2]ρ[οοϋ πε ετ2]ηπ ετψ[οοη 2ραϊ]
 2 η2ητ 2ρ[αϊ 2μ πμεεγε] ναττε2[οϋ η]
 3 ατψιτϣ 2ρ[αϊ 2η τμη]τκαρωс νατψιτ[с]
 4 ανοκ αε[ιβωκ ε2ραϊ ετ]μητε ηαμητ[ε]
 5 αε[ι]πρρι[ε ε2ραϊ εχμ π]κακε αηακ πε[η]
 6 ταε[ι]βεβε [μ]πμ[οοϋ αν]οκ πετ' 2ηη· 2ρα[ι]
 7 2η 2ενμοοϋ ε[γπρρι]ψοϋ ανοκ πεητ[αει]
 8 πρριε μηπτηρϣ κατa με[ρ]οс 2ραϊ 2μ πα
 9 μεεγε ανοκ πετοτη [μ]π2ροοϋ εβολ[λ]
 10 2ιτοοτ· εψασει εβολ [η]βι τγνωсic εε[ι]
 11 ψοοη· 2η ηιατψαχε ημοοϋ μη ηιατ
 12 соϋωηοϋ αηοκ ηε таicηηсic μη ηсо
 13 οϋη εειτε[γο η]ογ2ροοϋ εβολ 2ιτοοτη
 14 ηοϋμεεγε α[ηο]κ πε η2ροοϋ ετψοοη
 15 εειτ 2ραϋ 2η οϋοη ηιμ· αγω σεсо<ο>γ<η>
 16 ημαс ερεοϋсперма· ψοοη 2ραϊ η2η[τοϋ]
 17 ανοκ πε πμεεγε ηπιωτ α[γ]ψ [εβ]ολ 2ιτο
 18 οτ· αηψωρη ηει εβολ ηβ[ι η2]ροοϋ ετε
 19 παϊ πε ηсоοϋη ηηεηηηηεϋ 2ηη εει
 20 ψοοη· ημεεγε ηп[τη]ρϣ· εει2атре α
 21 2οϋη· απμεεγε ηατс[ο]γωηη· αγω ηατ·
 22 те2οϣ· αειογοη2т [ε]βολ ανοκ η2ραϊ
 23 2η ηεηη'αγсоϋωηη· τηροϋ χε ανοκ η
 24 γαρ πεη2атре ηη οϋοη ηιμ η2ра 2η
 25 πμεεγε ετ2ηη αγω 2η ογ<2>ροοϋ εη'
 26 χοσε αγω ογ2ροοϋ εβολ 2ιτοοτη η
 27 πμεεγε ηατηαϋ εροϣ· αγω ογατψιτϣ
 28 πε εηψοοη' 2η ηιατψιτϣ' οϋμηсτη
 29 ριοη πε ογ[αηема]2те ημοϣ πε εβολ
 30 2ιτοοτη [μ]η[πιατте2]οϣ· ογατηαϋ ε
 31 роϣ πε [ηηαϊ τηροϋ ετο]γοη2 εβολ
 32 2η ητηρϣ [ο]γο[εине πε ε]η[ψ]οοη 2η
 33 ογοεине αηοη η[ε 2ωωη ετα2βω]λ
 34 ογαатη εβ[ο]λ' 2η ηкосμοс ετοϋ]οη2
 35 εβολ εηη[ογ2η εβολ 2ιηη τμηητρμηη]
 36 2ηη· ετ2ηη [εβολ 2ιτοοτη' ηп2ροοϋ]

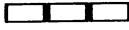
36*

And [*it is*] the [*hidden Voice*] that [*dwells within*]
 2 me, [*within the*] incomprehensible
 immeasurable [*Thought, within the*] immeasurable Silence.
 4 I [*descended to the*] midst of the underworld
 and I shone [*down upon the*] darkness. It is I who
 6 poured forth the [*water*]. It is I who am hidden within
 [*radiant*] waters. I am the one who
 8 gradually (*κατὰ μέρος*) put forth the All by my
 Thought. It is I who am laden with the Voice. It
 10 is through me that Gnosis comes forth. [*I*]
 dwell in the ineffable and unknowable ones.
 12 I am perception (*αἴσθησις*) and knowledge,
 uttering a Voice by means of
 14 thought. [*I*] am the real Voice.
 I cry out in everyone, and they recognize
 16 it (i.e., the voice), since a seed (*σπέρμα*) indwells [*them*].
 I am the Thought of the Father and through
 18 me proceeded [*the*] Voice,
 that is, the knowledge of the everlasting things. Since I
 20 exist as Thought for the [*All*]*—*being joined
 to the unknowable and incomprehensible Thought—
 22 I revealed myself—yes, I—among
 all those who recognized me. For (*γάρ*) it is I
 24 who am joined with everyone by virtue of
 the hidden Thought and an exalted <Voice>,
 26 even a Voice from
 the invisible Thought. And it is immeasurable,
 28 since it dwells in the Immeasurable One. It is a mystery
 (*μυστήριον*);
 it is [*unrestrainable*]
 30 by [*the Incomprehensible One*]. It is invisible
 [*to all those who are*] visible
 32 in the All. [*It is a Light*] dwelling in
 Light. It is we [*also who*] alone [*have separated*]
 34 [*from the*] visible [*world* (*κόσμος*)]
 since we [*are saved by the*]
 36 hidden [*wisdom by means of the*]

37*

2 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}[\alpha]\tau\psi\iota\tau\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$
 $\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\pi\ \varsigma\tau\ \bar{\nu}\mu\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\nu\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\alpha\rho$
 $\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\pi\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omega\eta\zeta\ \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \beta\epsilon$
 4 $\pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\chi\eta\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \zeta\omega\beta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$
 $\pi\epsilon\ \pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\iota\tau\bar{\nu}\ \pi\iota$
 6 $\zeta\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\alpha\varsigma\bar{\rho}\psi\omicron\rho\tau\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\mu}\pi\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma$
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\pi\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\varsigma\ \epsilon\phi\omicron\ \bar{\nu}$
 8 $\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \alpha\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\langle\omega\rangle\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\iota\alpha\tau\zeta\alpha\eta\ \alpha\gamma$
 $\omega\ \bar{\nu}\iota\alpha\tau\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta\omicron\upsilon$
 10 $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\kappa\zeta\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\zeta\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$
 $\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\theta\eta\pi\ \alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \alpha\gamma\omega$
 12 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\ \kappa\alpha\rho\omega\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \pi\psi\omicron\rho\pi\ \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$
 $\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\ \omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron$
 14 $\omicron\pi\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\ \alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}$
 16 $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\omega\rho\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\pi\ \alpha\varsigma\chi\omega$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$
 18 $\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\gamma[\omega]\ \bar{\nu}\varsigma\upsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\varsigma\tau\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$
 $\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}$
 20 $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \pi\zeta\rho\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon$
 $\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\varsigma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \bar{\nu}\psi\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}$
 22 $\mu\omicron\eta\ \pi\iota\omega\tau\ \tau\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \pi\psi\eta\rho\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\varsigma\mu\eta\ \epsilon\varsigma$
 $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\iota\varsigma\theta\eta\varsigma\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}$
 24 $\omicron\gamma\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$
 $\bar{\nu}[\omicron\gamma\epsilon]\langle\epsilon\rangle\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\mu\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}$
 26 $\psi\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \psi\omicron\mu\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\delta\gamma$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \psi\omicron\mu\tau\ \bar{\nu}\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\gamma\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon$
 28 $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\psi\alpha\mu\tau\ \square\square\square\epsilon\gamma\omicron\ \bar{\nu}\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron$
 $\omicron\zeta\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\pi\ \zeta\rho\alpha[\bar{\iota}\ \zeta]\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\varsigma$
 30 $\bar{\mu}\pi\iota\alpha\tau\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}[\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron]\gamma\alpha\alpha\tau\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\psi\omega$
 $\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\ [\pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\varsigma}\ \alpha\gamma\omega]\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{\varsigma}\varsigma$
 32 $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ [\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\alpha]\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\bar{\nu}$
 $\omicron\gamma\mu\bar{\nu}\tau[\chi\bar{\varsigma}\ \pi\iota\psi\omicron]\bar{\mu}\tau\ \beta\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\bar{\varsigma}$
 34 $\omicron\gamma\alpha[\alpha\tau\varsigma]\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}]\psi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon$
 $\chi[\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\ \zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \pi\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon]\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$
 36 $[\pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma]\ \text{VACAT}$

37*

ineffable, immeasurable [*Voice*]. And he who is
 2 hidden within us pays the tributes (*φόρος*) of his fruit (*καρπός*)
 to the Water of Life. Then (*τότε*)
 4 the Son who is perfect in every respect—that is,
 the Word (*λόγος*) who originated through that
 6 Voice; who proceeded from the height; who
 has within him the Name; who is
 8 a Light—he (i.e., the Son) revealed the everlasting things and
 all the unknowables were known.
 10 And those things difficult to interpret (*ἐρμηνεύειν*)
 and secret, he revealed, and
 12 as for those who dwell in Silence with the First
 Thought, he preached to them. And
 14 he revealed himself to those who dwell in darkness, and
 he showed himself to those who dwell in the abyss,
 16 and to those who dwell in the hidden treasures he told
 ineffable mysteries (*μυστήριον*),
 18 and he taught unrepeatable doctrines
 to all those who became Sons of
 20 the Light. Now (*δέ*) the Voice that originated
 from my Thought exists as three
 22 Permanences (*μονή*): the Father, the Mother, the Son. Existing
 perceptibly (*αἰσθησις*) as Speech, it (i.e., Voice) has
 24 within it a Word (*λόγος*) endowed with
 every <glory>, and it has
 26 three masculinities, three powers (*δύναμις*)
 and three names. They exist in the
 28 manner of Three —which are quadrangles—
 secretly within a silence
 30 of the Ineffable One. [*It is he*] alone who came to be,
 that [*is, the Christ. And*] as for me, I anointed him
 32 as the glory [*of the*] Invisible [*Spirit (πνεῦμα)*] with
 [*goodness (-χρηστός)*]. Now [*the Three*] I established
 34 [*alone in*] eternal [*glory*] over
 [*the Aeons in the*] Living [*Water*], that
 36 [*is, the glory that surrounds him*] VACAT

38*

1 παῖ ἐντ[α]ϣ[ρ]ωρπ ἡπῆριε ἡπογοειν
 2 ἡνιαίων ἐτχοσε ἄγω ἡραῖ ἡ ὄγοειν
 3 ἡεοοῦ ἡ ὄγταχ[ρ]ο εἰμην' εβολ ἄγω ἄ[ϣ]
 4 ὡζε ἐρατῶ ἡ ἡπογοειν ἡμιν ἡμο[ϣ]
 5 παῖ ἐτκωτε ἐροϣ ἐτε παῖ πε πβαλ' ἡπ[οῦ]
 6 οειν ἐτῆρογοειν ἐροει ἡραῖ ἡ ὄγεοο[ϣ]
 7 ἄϣ† αἰων ἡπιωτ' ἡ<N>αἰων τηροϣ ἐτε [α]
 8 νοκ πε πμεεγε ἡπιωτ' ἡτπρωτεν
 9 νοια ἐτε παῖ πε βαρβηλω πεοοῦ ἐτχ[ηκ]
 10 εβολ ἄγω πατ' ναῦ ἐροϣ ἐρῆηπ' ἡατψ[ιτϣ]
 11 ἀνοκ πε θικων ἡππῆἄ ἡατ' ναῦ ἐρο[ϣ]
 12 ἄγω ἡταπτηρϣ' χι ἡικων εβολ ἡιτοοτ
 13 ἄγω τμαἄῦ πογοεινε παῖ ἐντασκαἄϣ
 14 ἐφοει: ἡπαρθενος ταῖ ἐτοῦμοῦτ[ε]
 15 ἐρος χε μεῖροθεἄ τοτε ἡτα' τεροσ ἡῖρ[ο]
 16 οῦ ἡατ' εμαῖτε ἡμοϣ' ἄγω ἡατψιτῶ τοτε
 17 πτελειος ἡψηρε ἄφογονῖϣ εβολ ἡνεϣ
 18 αἰων ναῖ ἐταῦψωπε εβολ ἡιτοοτϣ'
 19 ἄφογονῖοῦ εβολ ἄϣ† ναῦ ἡογεοοῦ ἄγω
 20 ἄϣ† ναῦ ἡῖενηρονος ἄψωζε ἐρατῶ 'ἡ
 21 πεοοῦ παῖ ἐταϣ† εοοῦ ναϣ' ἡραῖ ἡῖηηϣ'
 22 ἄϣμοῦ ἀπτελιος ἡψηρε πεχ̄σ πνοῦτε
 23 παῖ ἐνταϣψωπε οῦαατϣ' ἄγω ἄϣ† εοοῦ
 24 εὔχω ἡμος χε ϣψοοπ ϣψοοπ πψη
 25 ρε ἡπνοῦτε πψηρε ἡπνοῦτε ἡτοϣ πε[τ]
 26 ψοοπ' παιων ἡτε ναἰων ἐϣβαψτ' ἀνα[ι]
 27 ων ναει ἐνταϣχποοῦ χε ἡτοκ ἡγαρ ἄ[κ]
 28 χπο ἡ ἡεκοῦψωε οῦαατκ ἐτβε παῖ τ[ἡ]
 29 † εροῦ νακ' ἡἄ ἡῶ ῶ ῶ ῶ εἰἄ εἰ ὄἡ εἰ π[ἰαι]
 30 ων ἡτε ναἰ[ων π]ἄἰων ἡταϣταειϣ τοτε
 31 ἡτοϣ πνο[ῦτε ἐνταῦ]χποϣ ἄϣ† ναῦ ἡ
 32 οῦβom ἡ[ωνῖ ἐτρεῦταχ]ρο ἐρος ἄγω ἄ[ϣ]
 33 τερο ἡμ[οοῦ ἡ] ποῦμα π[ψ[ο]ρπ μεν' ἡ
 34 αἰων ἄϣτερο[ϣ] ἐραῖ ἐχἡ πψ[ο]ρπ' ἄρἡἡ
 35 ἄων ἡῶϣἄ[ἡιον ἀρμoζηλ πμαῖ]σναῦ
 36 ἄϣτεροϣ' [ἐραῖ ἐχἡ πμαῖ]σναῦ ἡαἰων]

38*

2 who first came forth to the Light
 of those exalted Aeons, and it is in glorious
 Light that he firmly perseveres. And [he]
 4 stood in his own Light
 that surrounds him, that is, the Eye of the Light
 6 that gloriously shines on me.
 He perpetuated the Father of all <the> Aeons, who am I,
 8 the Thought of the Father, Protенnoia,
 that is, Barbelo, the [perfect] Glory
 10 and the [immeasurable] Invisible One who is hidden.
 I am the Image (εἰκῶν) of the Invisible Spirit (πνεῦμα)
 12 and it is through me that the All took shape (εἰκῶν),
 and (I am) the Mother (as well as) the Light which she
 appointed
 14 as Virgin (παρθένος), she who is called
 Meirothea, the incomprehensible Womb, the
 16 unrestrainable and immeasurable Voice. Then (τότε)
 the Perfect (τέλειος) Son revealed himself to his
 18 Aeons who originated through him,
 and he revealed them and glorified them and
 20 gave them thrones (θρόνος) and stood in
 the glory with which he glorified himself.
 22 They blessed the Perfect (τέλειος) Son, the Christ, the
 only-begotten God. And they gave glory
 24 saying: "He is! He is! The Son
 of God! The Son of God! It is he who
 26 is! The Aeon of Aeons beholding the
 Aeons which he begot! For (γάρ) thou hast
 28 begotten by thine own desire! Therefore [we]
 glorify thee: MA MŌ Ō Ō EIA EI ON EI! The [Aeon]
 30 of [Aeons! The] Aeon which he gave!" Then (τότε),
 moreover, the [God who was begotten] gave them (i.e., the
 Aeons)
 32 a power of [life on which they might rely] and [he]
 established [them. The] first (+ μέν)
 34 Aeon, he established [over the first]: Armedon,
 Nousa[nios, Armozel; the] second
 36 he established [over the second Aeon]:

39*

2 φαιονιον αινιον οροιαηλ πμαρωμτ
 4 εραι εχμ πμαρωμτ ναιων μελλεφα
 6 νεα· λωιον δαγειθαι πμερζητοογ ερ
 8 ραι εχμ πμερζητοογ μουςανιον αμε
 10 θην· ηληληθ νι·αιων βε ενταγχποογ
 12 εβολ ριτοοτη μπνουτε νταγχπου πε
 14 χς ναιι δε αγ† ναγ νογεοογ αγω αγ† εο
 16 ογ ρωογ νβι ναιων αγρωρπ· νογωνη
 18 εβολ εγχος ρη πουμεεγε αγω πουα
 20 πουα ναιων εγ† νρεντβα νεοογ ρραι
 22 ρη ρεννοβ νογοεινε νατνραατου αγ
 24 [ω] αγςμου τηρου μν νογερηγ απωηρε
 26 ντελιος πνουτε νταγχπου τοτε αυ
 28 ει εβολ νβι ογλογος εβολ ρη πνοβ ν
 30 ογοειν ηληληθ αγω παχερ· χε ανοκ·
 32 πε προ νιμ πε παπχαος αγω νιμ πε
 34 παεμντε αγω ντουνου ετημαγ απφου
 36 οεινε ογωνης εβολ εκπριωου εγηταυ·
 38 μμα[γ ν] τεπινοια μπουςπςωπη νβι
 40 νβαμ ντε νβαμ αγω ντουνου ρωωυ·
 42 αφογωνης εβολ νβι πνοβ νδαιμονι
 44 ον παι εταρχει αχμ πςαμπιτν νε
 46 μντε μν πχαος εμντερ μορφη μ
 48 μαγ ουδε <ε>ρχηκ· εβολ αν αλλα εγηταυ·
 50 μμαγ ντμορφη μπεοογ νναει εν
 52 ταγχποογ ρη πκακε παι βε εγμουτε ε
 54 ρου χε ςακκλα ετε παι πε ςαμαηλ ιαλτα
 56 βαωθ παι νταυχι νογβομ· νταυτωρπ·
 58 μμος ντοοτς ν†α†· πεθοογ νταυχρο ε
 60 ρος νωρπι ετε ται τε τεπινοια· μπου
 62 οεινε νταςει απ[ιτν] ται νταυει εβολ μ
 64 μος χν νωρ[ρ] π· ν·[ταρες] μμε βε νβι τε
 66 πινοια μπου[οει] η χε α[υ] ςοπς μμου·
 68 εκετα[ζις ενερθ] ββιαειτ· ερος παχες
 70 χε μα [ναι νκεταζις χε ε] κεωωπε ναει
 72 μ[μα νωωπε ντατμω] ωπε ρη ουαταζια
 74 [νωα ενερ αγω τταζις μπ] ηι τηρυ· μ

39*

Phaionios, Ainios, Oroiael; the third
 2 over the third Aeon: Mellephaneus,
 Loios, Daveithai; the fourth
 4 over the fourth: Mousanios, Amethes,
 Eleleth. Now those Aeons were begotten
 6 by the God who was begotten—the
 Christ—and (δέ) these Aeons received
 8 as well as gave glory. They were the first to appear,
 exalted in their thought, and each
 10 Aeon gave myriads of glories within
 great untraceable lights and
 12 they all together blessed the Perfect (τέλειος)
 Son, the God who was begotten. Then (τότε) there
 14 came forth a word (λόγος) from the great
 Light Eleleth and said: “I
 16 am King! Who belongs to Chaos (χάος) and who
 belongs to the underworld?” And at that instant his Light
 18 appeared radiant, endowed
 with the Epinoia. The Powers of the Powers
 20 did not entreat him and likewise immediately
 there appeared the great Demon (δαιμόνιον)
 22 who rules (ἄρχειν) over the lowest part of the underworld
 and Chaos (χάος). He has neither form (μορφή)
 24 nor (οὐδέ) perfection, but on the contrary (ἀλλά) possesses
 the form (μορφή) of the glory of those
 26 begotten in the darkness. Now he is called
 “Saklas,” that is, “Samael,” “Yaltabaoth,”
 28 he who had taken power; who had snatched
 it away from the innocent one (i.e., Sophia); who had earlier
 overpowered
 30 her who is the Light’s Epinoia (i.e., Sophia)
 who had descended, her from whom he (i.e., Yaltabaoth) had
 come forth
 32 originally. Now [*when*] the Epinoia of the [*Light*] realized
 that [*he (i.e., Yaltabaoth)*] had begged him (i.e., the Light),
 34 for another [*order (τάξις), even though he was lower*] than she,
 she said:
 “Grant [*me another order (τάξις) so that*] you may become for
 me
 36 [*a dwelling place, lest I dwell*] in disorder (ἄταξία)
 [*forever.*” And the order (τάξις) of the] entire house of

40*

2 ΠΕΟΦ[Υ ΝΕ]ΣΤΗ[Τ] ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ̄ ΠΕΣ
 3 ΨΑΧΕ ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΣΜΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 4 ΕΡΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΑΤ'ΤΑΞΙΣ ΕΤΧΟΣΕ ΚΩ Μ̄
 5 ΜΟΦ ΝΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΦΑΡΧΕΙ Ν̄ΒΙ
 6 ΠΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΑΤΣΕΝΟ Ν̄ΖΕΝ
 7 ΑΙΩΝ Μ̄ΠΣΜΑΤ̄ Ν̄ΝΙΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 8 ΑΦΤΣΕΝΟ ΔΕ Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΦΒΟΜ
 9 ΟΥΑΑΤΦ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ' ΖΩΩΤ' ΔΕΙΟΥΩΝΖ
 10 ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΑΖΡΟΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΠΕΘΗΠ' ΕΕΙ
 11 ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΒΩ ΝΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΒΩ ΝΗΤ̄Ν̄
 12 ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤ̄Ρ̄ΠΑΤΙ Ν̄ΤΖΥΛΗ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗ
 13 ΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ' ΔΕῙΝ̄ΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟ[С]
 14 Ν̄Ν̄ΡΕΦΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΤ̄Μ̄
 15 ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ Χ̄[Ν̄] Μ̄ΠΖΟΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΥ
 16 ΧΡΟ ΑΨΟΦΙΑ Ν̄ΑΤΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΤΑΕΙ Ν̄
 17 ΤΑΣΕΙ' ΑΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΕΙΝΑΧΩ
 18 ΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕΥΖΑΗ ΤΑ[[Ι]ΕΙ ΕΤΦΟΥΑΖ'
 19 ΣΑΖΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΣ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΩΝΖ
 20 Μ̄ΜΟΦ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤС ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΤΟΡ
 21 Τ̄Ρ̄ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ
 22 Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΗΪ Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΑΤСОУΩΝΦ'
 23 ΑΥΩ ΑΦΝΟΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ
 24 ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΗΤΩΡ Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑТСОΟΥΝΕ
 25 ΑΦ̄Ρ̄Ρ̄ΡΟ ΑΧ̄Ν̄ ΠΧΑΟΣ Μ̄Ν̄ ΕΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕ ΑΦ
 26 ΤСΑΝΟ Ν̄ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Μ̄ΠΑΣΜΟТ' Μ̄Π̄
 27 Μ̄ΜΕ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΠΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ
 28 ΝΑΦ Ν̄ΟΥΚΡΙΜΑ Ν̄ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ
 29 Ν̄ΦСОΟΥΝΕ ΑΝ Ν̄ТΒΑМ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄
 30 ΖΗΤ̄Φ̄ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΪΕΙ ΑΠΙΤ̄Ν̄
 31 ΑΥΩ ΑΪΠΩΖ ΨΑΖΡΑΪ ΑΠΧΑΟΣ ΑΥΩ
 32 ΝΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ [ΖΑΖТ]̄Ν̄ ΝΕΤΕ ΝΩΕΙ Ε
 33 Τ̄Μ̄ΠΜΑ [ΕΤ]̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΕ[ΙΖ]̄ΗΠ' ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄
 34 ΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΕΙΨ̄ ΒΟМ̄ Ν̄[ΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΕ]ΙΤ̄Ν̄
 35 ΝΑΥ ΖΙΚΩΝ ΑΥΩ Χ̄[Ν̄] Π̄ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄СО]Π' ΨΑ
 36 ΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΖΟΟ[Υ ΕΨΝΑΨ̄ ΒΟМ̄ ЕСΧΟ]Φ̄
 37 Ν̄ΝΕΤΕ ΝΨΪ [ΝΕ Ψ̄ΝΑΟΥΟΝΖТ' ΕΒΟΛ Ε]
 38 ΝΑΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΥСΩ[Т̄Μ̄ ΕΝΑΜΥСΤΗΡΙΟΝ]

40*

glory [*was agreed*] upon her
 2 word. A blessing was brought for
 her and the higher order (τάξις) released it
 4 to her. And the great Demon (δαίμων)
 began (ἄρχεσθαι) to produce
 6 aeons in the likeness of the real Aeons,
 except that (δέ) he produced them out of his own power.
 8 Then (τότε) I too revealed
 my Voice secretly,
 10 saying: "Cease! Desist!
 (you) who tread on (πατεῖν) matter (ὑλη); for behold
 12 I am coming down to the world (κόσμος)
 of mortals for the sake of my portion (μέρος) that was in
 14 that place from the time when
 the innocent Sophia was conquered, she who
 16 descended, so that I might thwart
 their aim which the one revealed
 18 by her appoints."
 And all were disturbed,
 20 each one who dwells
 in the house of the ignorant light,
 22 and the abyss trembled. And
 the Archigenetor of ignorance
 24 reigned over Chaos (χάος) and the underworld, and
 produced a man in my likeness. But (δέ) he neither
 26 knew that that one would become
 for him a sentence (κρίμα) of dissolution nor (οὐδέ)
 28 does he recognize the power in
 him. But (δέ) now I have come down
 30 and reached down to Chaos (χάος). And
 I was [*with*] my own who
 32 were in that place. [*I am hidden*] within
 them, empowering [*them and*] giving
 34 them shape (εἰκῶν). And [*from the first day*] until
 the day [*when I will grant mighty power*]
 36 to those who [*are mine, I will reveal myself to*]
 those who have [*heard my mysteries (μυστήριον)*],

41*

2 ετε ναει νε $\bar{\nu}\psi$ [$\eta\rho$]ε \bar{m} [π]ογοειν ανοκ
 4 τε πογειωτ' αγω \dagger ναχω $\eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\sigma\upsilon$
 6 μυστηριον $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\mu\sigma\upsilon$ αγω $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau$
 8 τεγοϋ εβολ $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ ταπρο [η]μ $\bar{\nu}\sigma\eta\alpha\gamma\zeta$ τη
 10 ροϋ αειωλ' $\bar{m}\mu\sigma\upsilon$ εβολ $\eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ αγω \bar{m}
 12 $\bar{m}\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\eta$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ αεικολποϋ
 14 ναϊ ετμηρ $\bar{\nu}\eta\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ εϋ† αζητοϋ αγ
 16 ω $\eta\iota\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau$ ετχοσε $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ πκακε αειωϋ
 18 ψωροϋ απιτ $\bar{\eta}$ αγω $\bar{m}\pi\gamma\lambda\eta$ ετορχ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$
 20 νιατ'ναε αειζαψοϋ αγω $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\omicron\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 22 αειζορβοϋ αγω $\tau\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$ ετσοοϋ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$
 24 $\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\iota\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ αρωτ $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\sigma\omega\psi\tau$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\omega$
 26 τ $\bar{\eta}$ αγω $\pi\tau\gamma\rho\alpha\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ παντικειμε
 28 $\eta\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\bar{\nu}\rho$ αγω $\pi\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ετσο
 30 οπ' ναϊ βε τηροϋ αειτσεβοοϋ ανετε
 32 $\eta\omega\iota$ νε ετε ναει νε $\bar{\nu}\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$
 34 $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ εϋναβωλ εβολ $\bar{\nu}\eta\alpha\iota$ τηροϋ
 36 αγω $\langle\bar{\eta}\rangle\sigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\zeta\bar{m}$ εβολ $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\iota\sigma\eta\alpha\gamma\zeta$ τηροϋ
 $\bar{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ εζοϋη $\alpha\pi\mu\alpha$ ετε $\eta\alpha\gamma\bar{m}\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}$
 20 $\psi\omicron\rho\pi$ ' ανοκ πε $\pi\psi\omicron\rho\pi$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$ απιτ $\bar{\eta}$
 22 ετβε $\pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ετσοχπ' ετε παϊ πε
 24 $\pi\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$ ετσοοπ' $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\psi\chi\eta$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\psi\omega$
 26 πε εβολ $\zeta\bar{m}$ $\pi\mu\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ $\bar{m}\pi\omega\eta\zeta$ αγω εβολ
 28 $\zeta\bar{m}$ $\pi\chi\omega\kappa\bar{m}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{m}\mu\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ αειψαχε
 30 ανοκ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta$ αγω $\zeta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$
 32 αειωκ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ εζραϊ $\epsilon\pi\sigma\alpha$ $\bar{m}\pi\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{m}\pi\omicron\gamma$
 34 $\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ αγω αειχω $\bar{\nu}\eta\alpha\mu\mu\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ ανε
 36 τε $\eta\omega\iota$ οϋμυστηριον εφζηπ $\bar{\eta}$ αβωλ
 εβολ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\sigma\eta\alpha\gamma\zeta$ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\bar{\beta}\omega\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}$ ($\alpha\eta$)ανεζ
 30 αγω αει† καρποϋ ζραϊ $\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ετε παϊ
 32 πε $\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{m}\pi\alpha\iota\psi$ [η] $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\psi\iota\beta\epsilon$ αγω
 34 $\pi\alpha\eta\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\omicron$ [$\gamma\epsilon\iota$]ωτ αγω ανοκ αειωκ
 36 εζραϊ [$\eta\alpha\alpha\iota$ ετε η]ωϊ $\chi\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\psi\omicron\rho\pi$ αγω
 34 αειτ'ε[σοοϋ αεισελπ $\bar{\eta}$]ωρπ $\bar{\nu}\psi\lambda\omicron\pi$
 36 $\bar{\eta}\tau$ [α]γαα[γ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{m}$ ζαλ' τοτ]ε $\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$
 $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota$ οϋον $\eta\iota\mu$ $\bar{\nu}$ [$\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$] $\bar{\nu}$ ζητ αγω

41*

that is, the [Sons] of [the] Light. I
 2 am their Father and I shall tell you a
 mystery (*μυστήριον*), ineffable and undivulgeable
 4 by [any] mouth: Every bond
 I loosed from you, and the
 6 chains of the Demons (*δαίμων*) of the underworld, I broke,
 these things which are bound on my members (*μέλος*),
 restraining them. And
 8 the high walls of darkness, I overthrew,
 and the secure gates (*πυλή*) of
 10 those pitiless ones, I broke, and I smashed
 their bars (*μοχλός*). And the evil Force (*ἐνέργεια*) and
 12 the one who beats you, and the one who hinders
 you, and the Tyrant (*τύραννος*), and the Adversary
 (*ἀντικείμενος*),
 14 and the one who is King, and the present Enemy,
 indeed all these I explained to those
 16 who are mine, who are the Sons of the Light,
 in order that they might nullify them all
 18 and be saved from all those bonds
 and enter into the place where they were at
 20 first. I am the first one who descended
 on account of my portion (*μέρος*) which remains, that is,
 22 the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) that (now) dwells in the soul (*ψυχή*), (but)
 which originated
 from the Water of Life and out
 24 of the immersion of the mysteries (*μυστήριον*), and I spoke,
 I together with the Archons and Authorities (*ἐξουσία*).
 26 For (*γάρ*) I had gone down below their
 language and I spoke my mysteries (*μυστήριον*) to
 28 my own—a hidden mystery (*μυστήριον*)—and
 the bonds and eternal oblivion were nullified.
 30 And I bore fruit (*καρπός*) in them, that
 is, the Thought of the unchanging Aeon
 32 proper to me, even their [Father]. And I went
 down [to those who were mine] from the first and
 34 I [reached them and broke the] first strands
 that [enslaved them. Then (*τότε*)]
 36 everyone [of those] within me shone, and

42*

2 I prepared [*a shape*] for those ineffable Lights that are
within me. Amen.

The Discourse (λόγος) of Protennoia: [*One (α')*]

4 I am the Voice that appeared through
my Thought, for (γάρ) I am “He who is syzygetic,”
6 since I am called “The Thought of the Invisible One.”
Since I am called “The unchanging Speech,”
8 I am called “She who is syzygetic.” I am a single
one (fem.) since I am undefiled. I am the Mother [*of*]
10 the Voice, speaking in many ways, completing
the All. It is in me that knowledge dwells,
12 the knowledge of <things> everlasting. It is I [*who*]
speak within every creature and I was known
14 by the All. It is I who lift up
the Speech of the Voice to the ears of those who
16 have known me, that is, the Sons of the Light.
Now (δέ) I have come the second time in the likeness
18 of a female and have spoken with them. And
I shall tell them of the coming end of the aeon
20 and teach them of the beginning (ἀρχή) of the Aeon
to come, the one without change,
22 the one in which our appearance will be changed.
We shall be purified within those Aeons from which I
24 revealed myself in the Thought
of the likeness of my masculinity. I settled
26 among those who are worthy in the Thought of my
changeless Aeon. For (γάρ) I shall tell you a
28 mystery (μυστήριον) [*of*] this particular Aeon and
tell you about the forces (ἐνέργεια) that are in it.
30 The birth beckons: [*hour*] begets
hour, [*day begets day*]. The months
32 made known the [*month. Time*] has [*gone round*]
succeeding [*time*]. This particular Aeon

43*

[N]ταρχωκ εβολ μη[ι]ρητ[ε] αυω αυοπη' αυ
 2 ω ςσoβκ' ουτηνε γαρ πεταρκω εβολ νου
 τηνε αυω ουμρε νετα[ς]βω[λ ε]βολ ζιτν
 4 ουμρε νεταρουμμε δε [ν]β[ι νν]οβ νεζογ
 ςια δε απογοειω μπχωκ [εβο]λ ουωνε ε
 6 βολ μπρητε ντηνεκε ντε[τ]ηamicε αq2nā
 ερουν αριμ προ ταί τε θε εαq2nan' εροϋ
 8 νβι πετεκο αυναίν τηρου ζι ουσοπ' νβι ν
 [ς]τοιχιον αυω νcντε νεμντε μν μμε
 10 λωτ μπχαος ακιμ' αυνοβ νcατε πρηε
 [ρ]αι ζν τουμητε αυω μπετρα μν πκαζ αυ
 12 κιμ' μπρητε νουκαω εqκιμ ζιτν πτηγ
 αυω νκληρος ντζιμαρμενη μν νετωι
 14 ννοικος αυωτορτρ μπωα εραϊ ακν
 ουζρουμπε εναωω αυω νερονος ν
 16 νδυναμικ αυωτορτρ εαυπωνε αυω που
 προ αqρ ζοτε αυω νετπωτ' νca τζιμαρ'
 18 μενη αυτ' ντουνηπc νκοτ απμοϊτ αυ
 ω παχευ ννδυναμικ δε ου πε πιωτορ
 20 τρ μν πικιμ νεταρει εραϊ εχων εβολ ζι
 τοοτq' νουζροου εq[ζ]ηηπ ατcmη ετχοσε
 22 αυω ακκιμ' νβι πνηει τηρq' αυω πκωτε
 τηρq' ντηζιη μμοοωε εραϊ ακμετε αυ
 24 τεκο αυω πμαειτ' ετμμοοωε ζιωωq'
 παϊ ετχι μμον εραϊ ωα παρχιγε
 26 τωρ μπνχπο αqλο εqcmοντ' nan'
 τοτε αυογωωβ νβι νδυναμικ ευχω
 28 μμοc δε ανον ζωων τηραπορι ε
 τβητq' δε μπμμμε δε πα nim πε αλ
 30 λα τωων μαρον εραϊ ωα παρχιγε
 νετωρ ντηχνουq' αυcωουζ τηρου ν
 32 βι νδυναμικ αυβωκ εραϊ μπαρχιγε
 νετωρ [π]ε[χα]γ [na]q δε αqτο πεκωου
 34 ωου π[αι ετκωου]ωου μμοκ εραϊ νζητq'
 μη[ςωτμ] εροκ εκχω] μμοc δε ανοκ
 36 πε πνου[τ]ε [αυω ανοκ πε π]ετνειωτ'

43*

was completed in [*this*] fashion, and it was estimated, and
 2 it (was) short, for (γάρ) it was a finger that released a
 finger and a joint that was separated from
 4 a joint. Then when [*the*] great Authorities (ἐξουσία) knew
 that the time of fulfillment had appeared—
 6 just as in the pangs of the parturient it (i.e., the time) had drawn
 near,
 so also had
 8 the destruction approached—all together the elements
 (στοιχείον)
 trembled, and the foundations of the underworld and the
 ceilings
 10 of Chaos (χάος) shook and a great fire shone
 within their midst, and the rocks (πέτρα) and the earth
 12 were shaken like a reed shaken by the wind.
 And the lots (κλήρος) of Fate (εἰμαρμένη) and those who
 apportion
 14 the domiciles (οἶκος) were greatly disturbed over
 a great thunder. And the thrones (θρόνος) of
 16 the Powers (δύναμις) were disturbed since they were
 overturned, and their
 King was afraid. And those who pursue Fate (εἰμαρμένη)
 18 paid their allotment of visits to the path, and
 they said to the Powers (δύναμις): “What is this disturbance
 20 and this shaking that has come upon us through
 a Voice <belonging> to the exalted Speech?
 22 And our entire habitation has been shaken, and the entire
 circuit of our path of ascent has met with
 24 destruction, and the path upon which we go,
 which takes us up to the Archigenetor
 26 of our birth, has ceased to be established for us.”
 Then the Powers (δύναμις) answered, saying:
 28 “We too are at a loss (ἀπορεῖν) about
 it since we did not know what was responsible for it. But (ἀλλά)
 30 arise, let us go up to the Archigenetor
 and ask him.” And the
 32 Powers (δύναμις) all gathered and went up to the Archigenetor.
 [*They said to*] him: “Where is your boasting
 34 in which [*you boast*]?
 Did we not [*hear you say*]: ‘I
 36 am God [*and I am*] your Father

44*

2 αγω ανοκ' πεν[τ]αειχπε τηνε αγω μ^[ε]κ[ε]
 3 ογα \bar{n} σαβλα^[ε]ι εις ζηητε βε tenoy aqoywn[2]
 4 εβολ \bar{n} βι [ογ]ζρφογ εq[[2]]ηπ' ατcmη \bar{n} ατ'να[γ]
 5 ερος τα[παιω]η \bar{n} ετ \bar{n} σοογνε \bar{n} μο[[q]]c' αν αγ
 6 ω ανοη [μπ \bar{n}]σογων \bar{n} ογαατ \bar{n} χε ανηη
 7 ανιμ χε πζρ[ο]ογ γαρ ετ \bar{m} μαγ \bar{n} τανσωτ[μ]
 8 εροq ογψ \bar{m} μο ερον πε αγω τ \bar{n} σοογνε
 9 \bar{n} μοq αν μπ \bar{n} μμε χε ογεβολ το πε αqι
 10 αqκω \bar{n} ογζρτε ζ \bar{n} tenμητε αγω ογβωλ [ε]
 11 βολ \bar{n} μμελοc \bar{n} τε \bar{n} ββοει tenoy βε μ[α]
 12 p \bar{n} ριμε αγω \bar{n} τ \bar{n} νεζπε ζ \bar{n} ογνεζπ[ε ενα]
 13 ψωq' τολοιπον π \bar{n} πωωτ' τηρq' μαρ \bar{n} α
 14 αq' εμπατογοτπ \bar{n} εζογν \bar{n} βια αγω \bar{n} σε
 15 χιτ \bar{n} απιτ \bar{n} ακογνq' \bar{n} εμ \bar{n} τε ηδη γαρ αq
 16 ζναν εζογν \bar{n} βι πβωλ εβολ \bar{n} τ \bar{n} μ \bar{p} ρε
 17 αγω \bar{n} χρονoc σεψωτ' αγω \bar{n} ζοογ αυcβοκ
 18 αγω π \bar{n} ογοειψ αqχωκ' εβολ αγω πριμε
 19 \bar{n} τε π \bar{n} τεκο αqζναν εζογν ερον χεκααc
 20 εγναχιτ \bar{n} απμα εντ \bar{n} σοογνε \bar{n} μοq<αν> χε
 21 π \bar{n} ωηη \bar{n} γαρ \bar{n} τανρωτ εβολ \bar{n} ζηηq' ογκαρ
 22 ποc \bar{m} μ \bar{n} τατσοογνε πετεγ \bar{n} τααq αγω
 23 νεqκεδωωβε ογμογ πετ'ψοοπ \bar{n} ζητογ
 24 αγω ογκακε πετψοοπ ζα τζαιβεc \bar{n} νεq
 25 ψλοπ αγω \bar{n} τανχωλε \bar{n} μοq ζ \bar{n} ογαπα
 26 τη \bar{m} ογεπιθ \bar{u} μια πα \bar{i} \bar{n} ταπχαoc \bar{n} ατ
 27 σοογνε ψωπε ναη \bar{m} μα \bar{n} βοειλε ζρα \bar{i}
 28 \bar{n} ζηηq' ειc ζηητε γαρ \bar{n} τοq ζωωq' παρχι
 29 γενετωρ' μπ \bar{n} χπο ετ \bar{n} ψογψογ \bar{m} μον
 30 ετβηηq μπq \bar{m} με ζωωq ατcmη tenoy
 31 βε cωτ \bar{m} εροει \bar{n} ωηρε μπ \bar{m} εεγε ατcmη
 32 \bar{n} τμααγ μπ \bar{e} τ[\bar{n}]ναε χε \bar{n} τωτνε γαρ ατε
 33 τ \bar{n} ρ \bar{m} ψα μπ \bar{m} γστ[η]ριον πα \bar{i} ετζηη χ \bar{n}
 34 \bar{n} αιων χεκααc ετε[τ \bar{n} ναχιτ]q αγω τcγ
 τελια μπ \bar{p} αιω[η ετε πα \bar{i} πε \bar{m} \bar{n}] πιωνζ
 \bar{n} χι \bar{n} βονc α[cζζναν εζογν αγω qηηγ \bar{n}]

44*

and it is I who [*begot*] you and there is no [*other*]
 2 beside me'? Now behold, there has appeared
 [*a*] Voice belonging to that invisible Speech
 4 of [*the Aeon*] (and) which we know not. And
 we ourselves did not recognize to whom we
 6 belong, for (*γάρ*) that Voice which we listened to
 is foreign to us, and we do not recognize
 8 it; we did not know whence it was. It came
 and put fear in our midst and weakening
 10 in the members (*μέλος*) of our arms. So now let
 us weep and mourn most bitterly!
 12 As for the future (*τολοιπόν*), let us make our entire flight
 before we are imprisoned perforce (*βία*) and
 14 taken down to the bosom of the underworld. For (*γάρ*) already
 (*ἤδη*)
 the slackening of our bondage has approached,
 16 and the times (*χρόνος*) are cut short and the days have shortened
 and our time has been fulfilled, and the weeping
 18 of our destruction has approached us so that
 we may be taken to the place we do not recognize.
 20 For (*γάρ*) as for our tree from which we grew, a fruit (*καρπός*)
 of ignorance is what it has; and
 22 also its leaves, it is death that dwells in them,
 and darkness dwells under the shadow of its
 24 boughs. And it was in deceit (*ἀπάτη*)
 and lust (*ἐπιθυμία*) that we harvested it, this (i.e., tree) through
 26 which ignorant Chaos (*χάος*) became for us a dwelling place.
 For (*γάρ*) behold, even he, the Archigenetor
 28 of our birth, about whom we boast,
 even he did not know this Speech." So now,
 30 O Sons of the Thought, listen to me, to the Speech
 of the Mother of your mercy, for (*γάρ*) you have
 32 become worthy of the mystery (*μυστήριον*) hidden from (the
 beginning of)
 the Aeons, so that [*you might receive*] it. And the consummation
 (*συντέλεια*)
 34 of this [*particular*] Aeon [*and*] (of) the evil life
 [*has approached and there dawns*]

45*

[βι τα]ρχη [ᾠ]π[αίων ετναωπ]ε παί ετε μ[ᾠ]
 2 [τ]ε[ϥ] ᾠμαγ ᾠ[οϥωβε ψα ενε]ζ ανοκ' οϥζ[ο]
 [ο]ϥτςζιμε α[νοκ οϥμααγ ανο]κ' οϥειωτ' εε[ι]
 4 [ωωπε] ᾠᾠμαί οϥαατ' εει[ωωπε] ᾠᾠμαί οϥ[α]
 [ατ' ᾠᾠ νετμα]ειε ᾠμοει [αϥω] ερεπτηρϥ ω
 6 [ζε ερατῆ] εβολ ζιτοοτ' ο[γα]ατ' ανοκ πε τατε
 [ετ' ζικω]ᾠ ᾠπτηρϥ εειμισε ᾠποϥοειν ε[τ]
 8 [πῆριε ζ]ᾠ [οϥ]εοοϥ ανοκ πε παειων ετῆ[ηγ]
 [ανοκ π]ε πϥωκ εβολ ᾠπτηρϥ' ετε ταί τε με[ι]
 10 [ροῦ]εα πεοοϥ ᾠτμααγ εεινοϥχε ᾠοϥσμῆ
 [ᾠζρ]οοϥ εζραί αμμααχε ᾠνετσοοϥνε ᾠμο
 12 ει αϥω †τωζμε ᾠμωτῆ ᾠζοϥν αποϥοει[ν]
 ετχοσε ετχηκ' εβολ παει βε ετετῆωανει
 14 εζοϥν εροϥ τετναχι εοοϥ ᾠτοοτοϥ ᾠνε[τ]
 † εοοϥ αϥω σενα† ᾠητῆ ῥονοc ᾠβι νετ
 16 † ῥονοc τετῆναχι στολη ᾠητῆ ᾠτοο
 τοϥ ᾠνετ† στολη αϥω σεναῤβαπτιζε [ᾠ]
 18 μωτῆ ᾠβι ᾠβαπτιcτῆc ᾠτετῆωωπε ᾠ
 εοοϥ ᾠᾠ ζενεοοϥ παί ενετετῆωοοπ
 20 ζραί ᾠζητῆ' ᾠωορπ' ετετῆοει ᾠοϥ<ο>ειν[ε]
 αϥω αειζοπτ' ζραί ζᾠ οϥον nim αειοϥον[ζτ']
 22 εβολ ζραί ᾠζητοϥ αϥω αῤεπιϥομει ερ[ο]
 ει ᾠβι μεεϥε nim εϥωινε ᾠcωει χε ανο[κ]
 24 πενταί† ζικων ᾠπτηρϥ νεᾠᾠτεϥ μο[ρ]
 φῆ ᾠμαγ πε αϥω αειωβε ᾠνεϥμορφῆ
 26 ζᾠ ζεᾠμορφῆ ψα ποϥοειω ετοϥνα†
 μορφῆ ᾠπτηρϥ εβολ ζιτοοτ' ᾠταπζρ[ο]
 28 οϥ ωωπε αϥω ανοκ πενταίκω ᾠπᾠ[ι]
 ϥε ζραί ζᾠ νετε ᾠωί αϥω πᾠᾠα ετοϥα
 30 αβ ψα ενεζ αεινοχϥ εζραί εροοϥ αϥω
 αειωκ' ατπε αειωε εζοϥν απαοϥοει
 32 νε αε[ιβωκ] εζ[ρα]ί' αχη ᾠπακλαδοc αει
 ζμεc[τ' ᾠμαγ ζραί ζᾠ ᾠ]ωῆρε ᾠποϥοει[ν]
 34 ετοϥ[ααβ αειῤαναχωρι] δε αποϥμα ᾠω[ω]

45*

- [the] beginning (ἀρχή) of the [Aeon to come] which [has]
 2 [no change forever]. I am androgynous.
 [I am Mother (and) I am] Father since [I]
 4 [copulate] with myself. I [copulate] with myself
 [and with those who love] me, [and]
 6 it is through me alone that the All [stands firm]. I am the Womb
 [that gives shape (εἰκών)] to the All by giving birth to the Light
 that
 8 [shines in] splendor. I am the Aeon to [come].
 [I am] the fulfillment of the All, that is, Me[iroth]ea,
 10 the glory of the Mother. I cast [voiced] Speech
 into the ears of those who know
 12 me. And I am inviting you into the exalted, perfect Light.
 Moreover (as for) this (Light), when you enter
 14 it you will be glorified by those [who]
 give glory, and those who enthrone (-θρόνος) will
 16 enthrone (-θρόνος) you. You will accept robes (στολή) from
 those who give robes (στολή) and the Baptists (βαπτιστής)
 18 will baptize (βαπτίζειν) you and you will become
 gloriously glorious, the way you first were
 20 when you were <Light>.
 And I hid myself in everyone and revealed [myself]
 22 within them, and every mind seeking
 me longed for (ἐπιθυμείν) me, for it is I
 24 who gave shape (εἰκών) to the All when it had no form (μορφή).
 And I transformed their forms (μορφή)
 26 into (other) forms (μορφή) until the time when a form (μορφή)
 will be given to the All. It is through me that the Voice
 28 originated and it is I who put the breath
 within my own. And I cast into
 30 them the eternally holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) and
 I ascended and entered my Light.
 32 [I went up] upon my branch (κλάδος) and
 sat [there among the] Sons of the [holy] Light.
 34 And (δέ) [I withdrew (ἀναχωρεῖν)] to their dwelling place

46*

πε παϊ ε[τ
 2 [.]·ε μη[20±]·
 ψωπε νε[οογ 12± 2αμ]ηη
 [8±]——[
 4 [πατριμα]ρμενη[β]
 [6±]——[
 ανοκ πε π[λογ]ος ετψοο[π 2μ πι2ροογ]
 6 νατ'ωαχε ερογ· εειψο[ο]π 2[ν] [ογοεινε]
 νατχω2με αγω ουμееε αqб[ολπ' εβολ]
 8 2[ν] ογαισθς εβολ 2ιτοοτς [ν][†ноб н]
 смη нте тмааγ εγχο πο н2ооγт q[ι 2арої]
 10 нкаат' ε2ραї αγω εсψοοп· хн нψο[рп]
 2[ν] нкаас мпτηρq· ογн ογοεινε δε [εq]
 12 ψοοп εq2ηп 2раї 2[ν] сιgh αqрψοрп [н]ε[ι]
 εβολ нтос δε ογαатс εсψοοп нкарωq
 14 ανοκ πε πлогος ογαат· νατωαχε ημο[q]
 νατχω2με νατψιτq· νατμееεε ερογ
 16 ογοεινε εq2ηп πε εq† ηογкарпос η
 ωη2 εqвееε ηογμοογ ηωη2 εβολ
 18 2[ν] тпггн ηат'наγ ερος ηатχω2ме
 ηатψιτq· ετε παї πε п2роογ ηπεоογ
 20 ηтмаγ ηатоγa2меq' пеооγ мпχο
 ηпноуτε ογпарθенос η2ооγт· εβολ
 22 2ιτοотq· ηογноуc εq2ηп ετε таї те
 тмнткарωс εс2ηп· апτηρq εсo ηатоγ
 24 a2мec ογοειη ηат'ψιτq· тпггн ηптг[р]q
 тноуне мпαιων тггq твасиc те εтqι
 26 ε2раї 2а кинсис ηиη нте ηαιων ε[т]
 ηп· аπεооγ εтχοор· пкω ε2раї πε ηв[а]
 28 сис ηиη пниqε πε ηнбам пвал πε η
 †ψομте ηмонн εсψοοп· η2роογ
 30 εβολ 2ιтоотq· ηογμееεε αγω ογλο
 γος πε εβολ 2ιтоотс ηтсмн ηтаγтн
 32 ηооγq· аpоγοειη ανετψοοп 2μ пк[а]
 [к]ε ειc 2ηηте бε а[ηо]к †[ηаоγ]ωη2
 34 ηηтн εβολ η[ηамγcтггiон] χε η
 τωтн ηαψвp[сннγ αγω тетна]с[ο]γψ
 36 ηоγ тгг[ο]γ [

46*

- which [
 2 [become [*glorious* *Amen*].
- 4 [On Fate (εἰμαρμένη): Two (β')]
- I am the [*Word* (λόγος)] who dwells [*in the*] ineffable [*Voice*].
 6 I dwell in undefiled [*Light*]
 and a Thought [*revealed itself*]
 8 perceptibly (-αἴσθησις) through [*the great*]
 Speech of the Mother, although it is a male offspring [*that*
supports me]
 10 as my foundation. And it (i.e., the Speech) exists from the
 beginning
 in the foundations of the All. But (δέ) there is a Light [*that*]
 12 dwells hidden in Silence (σιγή) and it was first to [*come*]
 forth. Whereas (δέ) she (i.e., the Mother) alone exists as Silence,
 14 I alone am the Word (λόγος), ineffable,
 unpolluted, immeasurable, inconceivable.
 16 It (i.e., the Word) is a hidden Light, bearing a Fruit (καρπός) of
 Life, pouring forth a Living Water from
 18 the invisible, unpolluted, immeasurable
 Spring (πηγή), that is, the unreproducible Voice of the glory
 20 of the Mother, the glory of the offspring
 of God; a male Virgin (παρθένος) by
 22 virtue of a hidden Intellect (νοῦς), that is,
 the Silence hidden from the All, being unreproducible,
 24 an immeasurable Light, the Source (πηγή) of the All,
 the Root of the entire Aeon. It is the Foundation (βάσις) that
 supports
 26 every movement (κίνησις) of the Aeons that
 belong to the mighty Glory. It is the Foundation of every
 foundation (βάσις).
 28 It is the Breath of the Powers. It is the Eye of
 the three Permanences (μονή), which exist as Voice
 30 by virtue of Thought. And it is Word (λόγος)
 by virtue of Speech; it was sent
 32 to illumine those who dwell in the [*darkness*].
 Now behold [*I will reveal*]
 34 to you [*my mysteries* (μυστήριον)] since
 you are my fellow [*brethren, and you shall*] know
 36 them all [

47*

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

[13[±]] αειτα[μ]ο[ου] τηρου ε[
 6 [ναμυστηρ]ιον ετσοοπ' 2^η [νιαιων η̄]
 [ατ'τεροογ η̄] ατ'χοογ αειτσε[βοογ ανμγ]
 8 [στηρι]ον εβολ 2ιτοοτ̄ η̄ π2[ροογ ετ]
 [σοοπ] 2ραϊ 2^η ογνογς η̄ τελειο[ς αγω]
 10 [αει]ωωπε η̄ κω ε2ραϊ η̄ πτηρϛ' αγω [αειτ]
 [β]ομ' ναγ πμα2σεπ'снаγ αει 2^η τ[смη]
 12 η̄ πα2ροογ αειτ' 2ικων η̄ η̄ ενταγχ[ι 2]ι
 κων ψα2ογν ατογςῡντελεια η̄ μ[α]2
 14 ωομτ' η̄ σοπ' αειογον2τ' εβολ ναγ [2]η̄
 η̄ εγςκηνη̄ εεισοοπ' η̄ λογος αγω αει
 16 ογον2τ' εβολ 2^η πεινε η̄ τογ2ικων αγ
 ω αειρφορι η̄ τογ2βσω η̄ ογον η̄ μ[α]γ
 18 ω αειροπτ ογαατ' 2ραϊ η̄ 2η̄ τογ αγω η̄ π[ο]υ
 σογων πεττ' βομ ναϊ τσοοπ γαρ 2ραϊ
 20 2^η η̄ αρχη̄ τηρου η̄ η̄ δυναμис αγω 2ραϊ
 2^η η̄ αγγελος αγω 2^η κινησις η̄ μ[α] ε[τψ]ο
 22 οπ' 2^η τ2γλη̄ τηρς αγω αειροπτ' 2ρα[ι] η̄
 2η̄ τογ ψαντ'ογον2τ' εβολ η̄ η̄ ασνη̄[γ]
 24 αγω η̄ πελααγ η̄ 2η̄ τογ σογωντ' κα[ι]τοι
 ανοκ' πετρενεργει η̄ 2η̄ τογ αλλ[α] αγω
 26 εγε γε η̄ ταγςωντ η̄ πτηρϛ εβολ η̄ 2[η̄]τογ
 εγο η̄ ατσοογνε ενσεσοογν αν η̄ τ[ο]υ
 28 νογνε πμα η̄ ταγρωτ' 2ραϊ η̄ 2η̄ τϛ α[νοκ]
 πε πογοειν εττ' ογοεινε η̄ πτηρϛ α
 30 νοκ πε πογοειν ετραψε 2ρ[α]ι 2^η να
 снη̄ αειει γαρ ε2ραϊ επκοσμος [η̄ η̄]
 32 ρεφμογ ετβε η̄ η̄ ᾱ ετσοχπ' 2ρα[ι] 2^η
 παϊ η̄ τα[ϛ]βωκ ε2ρ[α]ι η̄ ταφει εβολ [2^η] τϛο
 34 φια η̄ [ατπεθοογ αειει] αγω α[ι]τ' ε[2ρα]ι
 [17[±]] .[α]γω αει[βω]κ' α

47*

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

[] I [told all of them about]

- 6 [my mysteries (μυστήριον)] that exist in [the]
[incomprehensible], inexpressible [Aeons]. I taught [them the
mysteries (μυστήριον)]
- 8 through the [Voice that]
[exists] within a perfect (τέλειος) Intellect (νοῦς) [and]
10 [I] became a foundation for the All, and [I]
[empowered] them. The second time I came in the [Speech]
12 of my Voice. I gave shape (εἰκών) to those who [took] shape
(εἰκών)
until their consummation (συντέλεια). The third
14 time I revealed myself to them [in]
their tents (σκηνή) as Word (λόγος) and I
16 revealed myself in the likeness of their shape (εἰκών). And
I wore (φορεῖν) everyone's garment and
18 I hid myself within them, and [they] did not
know the one who empowers me. For (γάρ) I dwell within
20 all the Sovereignities (ἀρχή) and Powers (δύναμις) and within
the Angels (ἄγγελος) and in every Movement (κίνησις) [that]
exists
22 in all matter (ὑλη). And I hid myself within
them until I revealed myself to my [brethren].
24 And none of them (i.e., the Powers) knew me, [although
(καίτοι)]
it is I who work (ἐνεργεῖν) in them. Rather (ἀλλά) [they
thought]
- 26 that the All was created [by them]
since they are ignorant, not knowing [their]
28 root, the place in which they grew. [I]
am the Light that illumines the All. I
30 am the Light that rejoices [in my]
brethren, for (γάρ) I came down to the world (κόσμος) [of]
32 mortals on account of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) that remains [in]
that which [descended] (and) came forth [from] the
34 [innocent] Sophia. [I came] and I delivered
[] and I [went] to

48*

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

- [13[±]]...[
- 6 [8[±]]ετε νεγν̄τααϩ χ̄ν̄ [ν̄ωορπ· αγω
[αϊ† ναϩ] εβολ ζ̄μ̄ πμοοϩ [μ̄πωνζ παϊ ετ]
- 8 [κωκ μ̄]μοϩ' αζηγ̄ μ̄πχαο παϊ ε[τωοοπ]
[ζ̄μ̄ πκα]κε ν̄ζαε ετωοοπ' μ̄πσαν[ζοϩν̄ μ̄]
- 10 [πωι]κε τηρϩ' ετε παϊ πε πμееεγ̄ε [ν̄][τσω]
[μα]τικη μ̄ν̄ τψυχικη ναϊ τηροϩ αν̄ο[κ]
- 12 [αε]ιτααϩ ζιωωτ' αεικακ̄ϩ δε αζηγ̄ μ̄μοc
[αϊ]† ζιωωϩ ν̄ογοεινε εϩπ̄ριωοϩ ετε
- 14 παϊ πε πσοοϩνε μ̄πμееεγ̄ε ν̄τμ̄ν̄τειω[τ]
αγω αει† μ̄μοϩ ατοοτοϩ ν̄νε† cτολη
- 16 ῑαμμων̄ ελαccω αμ̄ηναϊ αγω αγβ[ο]
ολεϩ ν̄οϩcτολη ζ̄ν̄ ν̄cτολη μ̄πογοειν̄
- 18 αγω αειτααϩ ετοοτοϩ ν̄ν̄βαπτιcτηc αγ
ρ̄βαπτιζε μ̄μοϩ· μιχεγ̄c̄ μιχαρ̄· μ̄ν̄[η]
- 20 ϩ̄[ι]νοϩc̄ αγχοκμεϩ δε ζ̄ν̄ τπηγη μ̄πμ[ο]
[ο]ϩ μ̄πωνζ αγω αειτααϩ ετοοτοϩ ν̄νε†
- 22 [†] θρονοc βᾱριηλ̄ νογ̄θαν̄ cαβηηαι αγ
[†] θρονοc ηαϩ· εβολ ζ̄μ̄ περονοc μ̄πε
- 24 [ο]οϩ αγω αειτααϩ' ετοοτοϩ ν̄νε† εο
[ο]ϩ ᾱριωμ̄ ηλιεν̄ φᾱριηλ̄ αγ† εοοϩ
- 26 [η]αϩ ζραϊ ζ̄μ̄ πεοοϩ ν̄τμ̄ν̄τειωτ' αγω'
[α]γτωρπ̄ εζοϩν̄ ν̄βι νε†τωρπ̄· καμαλη[λ]
- 28 [. .]· αν̄ηη cαμβλω ν̄ζϣ̄πηρετηc ν̄<N>νοβ
[ν̄φ]ωcτηρ ετογααβ· αγχιτϩ' εζοϩν̄ απτο
- 30 [πο]ϩ ν̄ογοεινε· ν̄τε τμ̄ν̄τειωτ' αγω
[αϩχι] ν̄τ†ε ν̄cφραγιc εβολ ζιτοοτϩ' μ̄
- 32 [πογ]οειν̄ ν̄τμααϩ τπρωτεν̄νοια αγω
αγ[†] ηαϩ· α{γ}χι εβολ ζ̄μ̄ [πμϩστηρ]ιον̄ μ̄
- 34 πc[ο]οϩνε αγω [αϩωωπε ν̄ογοει]νε ζ̄ν̄
ογο[ε]ινε τβενοϩ δε [11[±]]..[

48*

(Lines 1-4 lacking)

- [
6 [] which he had [*formerly and*]
[*I gave to him*] from the Water [*of Life, which*]
8 [*strips*] him of the Chaos (χάος) [*that is*]
[*in the*] uttermost [*darkness*] that exists [*inside*]
10 the entire [*abyss*], that is, the thought of [*the corporeal*
(*σωματική*)]
and the psychic (*ψυχική*). All these I
12 put on. And (δέ) I stripped him of it
and I put upon him a shining Light, that
14 is, the knowledge of the Thought of the Fatherhood.
And I delivered him to those who give robes (*στολή*)—
16 Yammon, Elasso, Amenai—and they [*covered*]
him with a robe (*στολή*) from the robes (*στολή*) of the Light;
18 and I delivered him to the Baptists (*βαπτιστής*) and they
baptized (*βαπτίζειν*) him—Micheus, Michar, Mn[e]s[i]nous—
20 and (δέ) they immersed him in the spring (*πηγή*) of the [*Water*]
of Life. And I delivered him to those who
22 enthrone (*-θρόνος*)—Bariel, Nouthan, Sabenai—and
they enthroned (*-θρόνος*) him from the throne (*θρόνος*) of glory.
24 And I delivered him to those who glorify—
Ariom, Elien, Phariel—and they glorified
26 him with the glory of the Fatherhood. And
those who snatch away snatched away—Kamaliel
28 []anen, Samblo, the servants (*ὑπηρέτης*) of <the> great
holy Luminaries (*φωστήρ*)—and they took him into
30 the light-[*place* (*τόπος*)] of his Fatherhood. And
[*he received*] the Five Seals (*σφραγίς*) from
32 [*the Light*] of the Mother, Protennoia, and
it was [*granted*] him [*to*] partake of [*the mystery* (*μυστήριον*)] of
34 knowledge, and [*he became a Light*] in
Light. So, now, [

49*

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 [7[±] νεει]ωροπ [ἄ]ζητοῦ εειζῃ πες
 [μοτ ἄπογα π]ογα νευμεεγε [ἄ]βι ἄρχων
 8 [χε ανοκ] πε πογχερῶ ανοκ μεν [εειωοπ]
 [ζῆ ογον] nim ζραῖ μεν ζῆ νεντα[ειογον]
 10 [ζτ· εβολ] νογοεινε ζραῖ ἄζητοῦ [αειῖ]
 [βολ] [ἄ]ἄρχων ανοκ πε πογμεριτ [ανοκ]
 12 [γ]αρ ζῆ πμα ετῃμαγ αειτ ζιωωτ ἄ[θε ἄ]
 πωηρε ἄπαρχιγενετωρ αγω αειειν[ε] [ἄ]
 14 μοφ εζραῖ ψα εαν ἄπεφζαπ ετε τα[ι τ]ε
 τῃῃτατσοογν ἄπχαος αγω ζραῖ ζῆ ἄ
 16 αγγελος αειογονζτ εβολ ἄπογε[ι]νε
 αγω ζραῖ ζῆ ἄδυναμικ ζωσ χε ανοκ' ογα
 18 εβολ ἄζητοῦ ζῆ ἄωηρε δε ἄπρωμε ζωσ
 χε ανοκ ογωηρε ἄτε πρωμε εειωοπ
 20 ἄειωτ· ἄογον nim αειζοπτ ζραῖ ζῆ να
 ει τηροῦ ψαντογονζτ εβολ ζῆ ναμελος
 22 ετε νωῖ νε αγω αειτσεβοογ αντωψ ἄ
 ατψαχε ἄμοογ ἄἄ ἄσνηγ ζεν' ατχοογ
 24 δε νε ααρχη nim αγω αδυναμικ nim' ἄ
 αρχοντικη ειμητι ανωηρε ἄπογοει[ν]ε
 26 ογαατοῦ ετε ναῖ νε ἄτωψ ἄπιωτ ναῖ [ν]ε
 νεοογ ετχοσε αεοογ nim ετε ναῖ νε [τ]τ
 28 ε ἄσφραγικ ετχηκ εβολ ζιτῆ ογνογс πε
 τεγῆταφ ἄμαγ ἄττε ἄσφραγικ ἄτε νε
 30 ειραν ετε ναῖ νε αφκαακφ αζηγ ἄ<ἄ>στο
 λη ἄτῃῃτατσοογν αγω αφτ ζωωφ
 32 ἄογοεινε εφπῖριωογ αγω ἄἄλααγ
 ναογωνζ εβολ ναφ εφηπ' ανδYNAM[IC]
 34 ἄτε ἄρχων ζραῖ ζῆ ναῖ ἄτεειμине φη[α]
 βωλ εβ[ολ] ἄβι πκακε αγω сnamογ ἄβι
 36 τῃῃτ[ατσοογн] α[γ]ψ πμεεγε ἄπсων[τ]
 ετχ[οορε εβολ φη]ατ ογсμοτ ἄογωτ
 38 αγψ [πχαос ἄκακε] φηαβωλ εβολ αγω

49*

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

- 6 [*I was*] dwelling in them [*in the form*]
 [of each] one. [*The Archons*] thought
 8 [*that I*] was their Christ. Indeed (μέν), I [*dwelt*]
 [in] everyone. Indeed (μέν) within those in whom [*I revealed*]
 10 [*myself*] as Light [*I eluded*]
 the Archons. I am their beloved,
 12 [*for (γάρ)*] in that place I clothed myself [*as*]
 the Son of the Archigenetor, and I was like
 14 him until the end of his decree, which is
 the ignorance of Chaos (χάος). And among the
 16 Angels (ἄγγελος) I revealed myself in their likeness,
 and among the Powers (δύναμις) as if (ὡς) I were one
 18 of them, but (δέ) among the Sons of Man as if (ὡς)
 I were a Son of Man, even though I am
 20 Father of everyone. I hid myself within them
 all until I revealed myself among my members (μέλος),
 22 which are mine, and I taught them about the ineffable
 ordinances, and (about) the brethren. But (δέ) they are
 inexpressible
 24 to every Sovereignty (ἀρχή) and every ruling (ἀρχοντική)
 Power (δύναμις) except (εἰ μὴ τι) to the Sons of the Light
 26 alone, that is, the ordinances of the Father. These are
 the glories that are higher than every glory, that is, [*the Five*]
 28 Seals (σφραγίς) complete by virtue of Intellect (νοῦς). He
 who possesses the Five Seals (σφραγίς) of these
 30 particular names has stripped off <the> garments (στολή)
 of ignorance and put on
 32 a shining Light. And nothing
 will appear to him that belongs to the Powers (δύναμις)
 34 of the Archons. Within those of this sort
 darkness will dissolve and [*ignorance*] will die.
 36 And the thought of the creature
 which [*is scattered will*] present a single appearance
 38 and [*dark Chaos* (χάος)] will dissolve and

50*

(Lines 1-2 lacking)

- [14±]εινε αγω νς[
 4 [14±].νατ'τερο[
 [11±].[. .]ζραι ζν τ[
 6 [7±]ψαντογονζτ' εβολ[λ νναωβηρ]
 [νσον τηρο]γ αγω ψαντσωο[ζ ερουν ν]
 8 [ναωβηρ] νσον τηροϋ ζραι' ζν' ταμ[ντρρο]
 [νενεζ] αγω αειταψε οειψ ναγ ντ[τε]
 10 [νςφρ]αγικ νατψαχε μμοοϋ χεκ[αας]
 [εινα]ψωπε ζραι νζητοϋ αγω ντοοϋ ζω
 12 [οϋ] νσεψωπε ζρα νζητ' ανοκ' αειτ νιης
 ζιωτ' αειεινε μμοϋ εβολ ζμ πψε ετς
 14 ζογορτ' αγω αειτεροϋ ερατ' ζν μμα ν
 ψωπε μππειωτ' αγω μπουσοϋωντ'
 16 νβι νετροεις ανεϋμα νψωπε ανοκ
 ραρ ανοκ' οϋατ'εμαζτε μμοϋ' μν πα
 18 σπερμα αγω πασπερμα ετε πω'ι' πε' τνα[κα]
 αϋ ερουν αποϋοεινε ετοϋααβ ζραι ζν οϋ
 20 μντκαρως νατ'τεροϋ ζαμην:

 πλογοϋ ντεπιφανια ρ

 22 πρωτεννοια τριμορφοϋ ρ

 αγιαγραφη πατρογραφοϋ

 24 εν γνωσει τελεια'

50*

(Lines 1-2 lacking)

[] and the []
 4 [] incomprehensible []
 [] within the []
 6 [] until I reveal myself [*to all my fellow*]
 [*brethren*] and until I gather [*together*]
 8 all [my fellow] brethren within my [*eternal*]
 [*kingdom*]. And I proclaimed to them the ineffable [*Five*]
 10 [*Seals (σφραφίς) in order that*]
 [*I might*] abide in them and they also
 12 might abide in me. As for me, I put on Jesus.
 I bore him from the cursed
 14 wood, and established him in the dwelling places
 of his Father. And those who watch over
 16 their dwelling places did not recognize me. For (γάρ) I,
 I am unrestrainable together with my
 18 Seed (σπέρμα), and my Seed (σπέρμα), which is mine, I shall
 [place]
 into the holy Light within an
 20 incomprehensible Silence. Amen.

The Discourse (λόγος) of the Appearance (ἐπιφάνεια):
 Three (γ')

22 Trimorphic Protennoia, in three (γ') parts

A Sacred Scripture written by the Father (ἁγιαγραφὴ
 πατρόγραφος)

24 with perfect Knowledge (ἐν γνώσει τελεία)

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NHC XIII, I*: TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

- 35*,1-32 This section constitutes the initial aretology of Protennoia prefacing the whole tractate (see Introduction, Section IV).
- 35*,2 [ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ: Schenke restores [ΠΕΙΩΤ.
- 35*,4-5 “firstborn”: cf. Col 1:15 and Prov 8:22-31.
- 35*,6 In *Ap. John* II,1:5,4-9 the Metropator is called the First Thought (ΠΩΟΡΠ ἸΜΕΕΥΕ=πρωτέννοια) and the threefold name (cf. *Trim. Prot.* XIII, I*:37*,20-22 where Protennoia’s Voice exists as the three μονή, Father, Mother, Son). Usually in the *Aprocryphon of John* the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit is called Pronoia (BG 8502,2:27,5-18 passim), as in the Pronoia hymn (II,30,11-31,25) underlying *Trimorphic Protennoia*.
- 35*,8-9 The Invisible One is the Invisible Spirit of the *Apocryphon of John, Gospel of the Egyptians, Allogenes, Three Steles of Seth, Zostrianos* and *Marsanes*. As is his image (38*,11), Protennoia is also invisible.
- 35*,12-26 For the motif of omnipresence cf. 47*,17-22 and Wis 7:22-24. ἐπίνοια (“externalized ἔννοια”) is the productive power of Protennoia later (39*,13-40*,7, as Sophia) stolen by Yaltabaoth.
- 35*,15-18 The levels of cosmic beings here (Invisible Lights, ἄρχοντες, ἄγγελοι, δαίμονες, ψυχαί in [Tartaros], ἕλικαὶ ψυχαί) should be compared with 47*,19-22 (ἀρχαί, δυνάμεις, ἄγγελοι, κίνησις [the soul is the principle of movement], ἕλη) and 49*,9-19 (ἄρχοντες, ἄγγελοι, δυνάμεις, Son of Man). Cf. Rom 8:38 (ἄγγελοι, ἀρχαί, δυνάμεις). *Trimorphic Protennoia* includes the biblical ἀρχαί, ἄγγελοι, δυνάμεις among the δαίμονες of the traditional Greek sequence of δαίμονες, ψυχαί, ἕλη; the Lights and ἄρχοντες are traditionally Gnostic.
- 35*,15 Or if one assumes haplography read: ἀγω<ζρραι ζἠ> ΖΕΝΟΥΑΕΙΝΕ.
- 35*,20 Schenke emends βρη to <C>βρη<Z>, “rest.” A medial point is visible after ἠ of ἠΖΗΤΟΥ.
- 35*,24 Protennoia, until now referring to itself as feminine, now refers to itself as masculine.
- 35*,26 “in it”: the antecedent is unclear.
- 35*,32 Read ΟΥ]ΘΗ ΝΙΜ with Schenke, “Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (Codex XIII),” 1:13; it might possibly be ΘΟΥ]Μ ΝΙΜ or ΚΙ]Μ ΝΙΜ.
- 36*,1-2 Schenke does not supply the copula; with her we restore ΖΡΟΥ and ΜΕΕΥΕ.

- 36*,4-5 In *Ap. John* II,1:30,11-31,25 Pronoia thrice descends to the underworld.
- 36*,5-6 In *Trimorphic Protennoia* water and light are apparently both metaphors for life-giving gnosis (cf. 46*,16-19; Jn 4:7-15). Whereas Protennoia is hidden in water (cf. *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:27,1-13), the Perfect Son is surrounded by light (38*,3-6; cf. 48*,15-21; but see note on 48*,19-20). Just as gnosis under the metaphor of light enlightens one, one can be immersed in gnosis under the metaphor of water (41*,24; 48*,18-21; cf. Sir 15:3 where Wisdom gives him who keeps Torah the water of wisdom to drink).
- 36*,8 The gradual (*κατὰ μέρος*) "putting forth" of the All by Protennoia occurs in three stages, as Voice, Speech and Word.
- 36*,8-14 The Voice (*ζροογ=φθόγγος?*) originates from Protennoia's thought (36*,26-27; 37*,20-21; 46*,29-30) and is its masculine mode of revelation; the Voice is apparently the knowledge of God's thoughts (cf. 36*,17-20) which are collectively the Protennoia (36*,17; 38*,8).
- 36*,15 MS reads *CEOYΩ*], the construct of *COOYH*, which latter is required by the proclitic pronoun *CE*. Protennoia is a Wisdom-figure, cf. 42*,9-16.
- 36*,16 MS reads: *CTTEPM*Δ; cf. 1 Jn 3:9 where the seed of God dwells in the one born of god. For the seed cf. 50*,18. The "seed" may refer to the heavenly "seed of Seth" (the offspring or race of Seth, cf. Gen 4:25 LXX for Seth as *ἕτερον σπέρμα*, "other seed" of Adam) whom the Autogenes (Christ) established in the Third Light Daveithe (*Ap. John* II,1:9,14-16). They are the heavenly counterpart of the earthly seed of Seth who survive in the world until the Mother sends her Spirit to correct their (and her) deficiency (*Ap. John* II,1:24,34-25,16).
- 36*,17-21 Cf. 42*,1-12. The Platonists of the Roman period held that the Platonic ideas are the thoughts (*νοήματα*) of God (i.e., the All); cf. Albinus, *Ἐπιτομή*, IX,1-3.
- 36*,18 "proceed": *ῤωορπ ἄει=πρόερχομαι*.
- 36*,22 One might possibly emend: *ANOK<†>N̄ZPAI ZN̄*.
- 36*,22-25 The Thought of God (the Protennoia) is both the medium of revelation and the point of consubstantiality between God and man (the divine *pneuma-nous*).
- 36*,23 MS reads: *Ν̄ΕΝΤ'ΑΥCOYΩNT*.
- 36*,27-37*,3 The response of the Gnostics forms a redactional bridge to the cosmological exposition (37*,3-40*,29) which employs material parallel to Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1-4.
- 37*,1-3 Fruit is here a metaphor for the gnosis conveyed by the divine wisdom (cf. 44*,20-21). Apparently the Voice fructifies the Water of

- Life (cf. note on 36*,5-6) with his thought, thus producing the Son. Cf. in particular 46*,16-20 where Voice is compared to a spring (πηγή) pouring out the Water of Life (=gnosis) as a "Fruit of Life." The Valentinian "Savior" (Iren. *Haer.* I.4.5) was sent with "fructifying power" (καρποφορία) to give Sophia "formation according to knowledge" (μόρφωσις ἢ κατὰ γνῶσιν).
- 37*,3-40,29 τότε here and in 38*,16.30; 39*,13; 40*,8 marks stages (and compositional sutures) in the cosmogonical narrative (37*,3-40*,29) of the first subtractate of the text.
- 37*,3-20 Cf. generally Jn 1:1-13; Logos in *Trimorphic Protennoia* corresponds more closely to *sermo* than *ratio*. This whole passage is an anticipatory summary of the work of the Logos in the third subtractate.
- 37*,5-6 Logos comes from Voice, and is the third (Son) aspect of Protennoia; cf. note on 37*,20-22.
- 37*,7 As in Valentinian sources, so also in *Trimorphic Protennoia* the "Name" is "the Son"; cf. *Gos. Truth* I,3:38,6-7; 39,5-40,29; *Gos. Phil.* II,3:54,1-10; *Interp. Know.* XI,1:12,20-22; *Exc. Theod.* 22.4-7; 26.1; 31.4.
- 37*,8 MS reads: ΛΟΓΟΝ Ζ ΕΒΟΛ.
- 37*,8-9 Logos is the mode of revelation of God's thoughts (i.e., the "everlasting things"; cf. Plato's "ideas") to human minds.
- 37*,12 Or "those who dwell in Silence and (in) the First Thought."
- 37*,20-22 On Father, Mother, Son, cf. *Ap. John* II,1:2,13-14; 9,10-11; and compare 5,7-10. *μονή* is opposed to *κίνησις* (cf. note on 46*,29). The three *μονή* are apparently the three abiding modes by which the Voice-aspect of Protennoia is to be envisioned. This tripartite representation of Protennoia's thought corresponds in gender to the major aspect of the Protennoia exhibited in each of its respective descents (i.e., in each of the three subtractates): Voice (ΖΡΟΟΥ masc. = φθόγγος?), Speech (ΣΜΗ fem. = φωνή?) and Logos (masc.). For the triple descent scheme *in nuce*, cf. 47*,5-16; see also *Ap. John*, II,1:30,11-31,25, where there is no distinction of genders or aspects of Pronoia. The "perceptible Speech" is an auditory metaphor of revelation, stressing the non-substantiality and yet perceptibility of the revelatory medium—speech is non-substantial since it disappears after the utterance, but has permanence in the memory of the hearer. *μονή* can also mean an "abode" (so Schenke), or, in late papyri, an "appearance" (in court). It is also possible that *μονή* may refer to the abiding quality of the First Principle as in the later Neoplatonic conception of universal nature as a rest-in-motion/motion-in-rest; the *μονή* of the First Principle, a procession (*πρόοδος*) therefrom through the Forms to their effects, and reversion (*ἐπιστροφή*) of the effects

through the Forms to their First Principle (cf. Proclus, *in Tim.* III.185.20 and *passim*). This scheme was correlated with the Neoplatonic scheme of τὸ ὄν, ζωή, and νοῦς, and the post-psuedo-Dionysian οὐσία, δύναμις, and ἐνέργεια. The same scheme may apply to Voice, Speech, and Logos, i.e., Speech as the articulate potency of the essential Voice, which produces Word as its effect.

37*,21-24 The three Permanences of Protенnoia (the Thought), Father, Mother, Son, correspond to the three linguistic modalities in which the Thought is manifested: Voice (masc., perhaps Greek φθόγγος) corresponds to Father; Sound (fem., perhaps Greek φωνή) corresponds to Mother; and Word (λόγος) corresponds to Son. Appearing at first as (inarticulate) Voice, the Thought becomes perceptible as (articulate) Speech, and finally is manifested as a clear Word.

37*,25 It appears that the scribe wrote an extra ΟΥ, corrected it, and cancelled one too many letters.

37*,25-27 Cf. *Ap. John* II,1:5,8-9; III,1:7,23-8,5; IV,1:7,23-24; BG 8502,1:27,21-28,2. The three names are Father (Voice), Mother (Speech), and Son (Logos); the three masculinities and three powers seem to be theologumena familiar from other tractates such as the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), *Allogenes* (XI,3), *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) and *Marsanes* (X,1), where the potency of the Unknown God is the Triple Power, and Barbelo is identified with the Triple Male, Autogenes, Protophanes and Kalyptos. See the Introduction to *Allogenes*, Section IV for analysis.

37*,26 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:41,7-9; 41,23-42,4; the three powers from the unknown father Autogenes are equivalent to the three Ogdoads (III,2:42,4-8).

37*,27-30 Or: "which are secretly quadrangles within a silence...." Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:41,7-12 where Father, Mother, and Son proceed from the incorruptible Father in silence (σιγή). The three quadrangles (τετράγωνα) may refer to the three tetrads of aeons begotten ultimately by Barbelo in *Ap. John* II,1:5,5-8,21; BG 8502,1:27,17-34,13, since in *Trimorphic Protенnoia* the three quadrangles take the place of the "three begettings" in the *Apocryphon of John* nomenclature of Barbelo: triple male, triple power, triple name, and triple begetting (BG 8502,2:27,21-28,2). Thus the triple begettings of tetrads (=quadrangles) would be: Prognosis, Incorruptibility, Eternal Life, and Truth (Codex II) or Ennoia (BG 8502; i.e., Barbelo herself) begotten by the Father for Barbelo; Autogenes or Christ (counted in the second tetrad), Nous, Will, and Logos begotten by the Father for Autogenes-Christ; and third the Four Lights, Harmozel (governing Charis and Adamas), Oroiael (governing Aisthesis and Seth), Davithai (governing Wisdom and the seed of Seth) and Eleleth (governing

Sophia and the psychics) begotten by the Father through Christ. The Four Lights constitute the Third tetrad, each member of which governs or contains two further beings, making a total of twelve aeons. Schenke displaces 37*,27-29 to 37*,22.

37*,30-36 The narrative on the only-begotten (or self-begotten) Son's work in the divine world resumes. $\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\tau}$ reconstructed in line 31 is to be inferred from 38*,22-23, "the God who came into being by himself," i.e., "the Perfect Son, the Christ."

37*,30-33 The reconstruction is based upon Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1; *Ap. John* II,1:6,23-28; BG 8502,2:30,1-31,1, where the Invisible Spirit anoints Christ with his goodness ($\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\chi}\bar{\tau}$).

37*,33 $\mu\tau\ \theta\epsilon$ is visible in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI,XII,XIII*, pl. 104.

37*,33-36 The reconstruction is based on 38*,1-5.20-21. The collocation of Living Water and the surrounding light is found in *Ap. John*, BG 8502,2:26,15-27,4 applied to the Invisible Spirit.

37*,34 In the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI,XII,XIII*, pl. 104 $\gamma\alpha$ is visible before the lacuna and ω following the lacuna.

37*,36 The last quarter of 37*,36 is uninscribed due to a split in the papyrus.

38*,1-6 Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.29; *Ap. John* II,1:4,19-21; BG 8502,2:26,15-17.

38*,5 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* IV,2:61,8-23 where Adamas, the son of the first Man is the eye of the light because he comes from the light; also cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* BG 8502,3:100,14; 108,10-11. In BG 8502,3:101 Adam is apparently identified with Christ. In *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1*:46*,28-29, the Logos is the Eye of "the three permanences."

38*,7 † $\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ for $\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\omega$ "perpetuate," or possibly a corruption of either $\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omega$ "praise" or $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega$ "praise." For a possible meaning of "give aeon," cf. 38*,18 and 38*,30-39*,13. Schenke inserts $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$ $\zeta\iota\tau\omega\sigma\tau$ before $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ to avoid the paradoxical identification of the Father of Aeons with Protennoia.

38*,7-16 Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.29; *Ap. John*, II,1:4,21-22.26-5,11; BG 8502,2:27,10-15.18-28,4. This passage, beginning with "who am I" and incorporating material similar to *Ap. John*, II,1:4,32-5,11 is designed to show that it is ultimately Protennoia who produced the Aeons through the Son.

38*,8 Or: "Thought of the Father of Protennoia"; but cf. 36*,17. "Protennoia" is here in apposition to "the Thought of the Father."

38*,11-12 Cf. Col 1:15-16 where Christ is "the image of the invisible God, for in him were created all things." In *Trimorphic Protennoia* it is Christ who establishes the aeons, while the image of the Invisible Spirit is not Christ, but Protennoia.

- 38*,15 For Meirothea, "goddess Fate" (μοῖρα), cf. 45*,[10]; *Zost.* VIII,1: 6,30; 30,14 (Mirothea); *Steles Seth* VII,5:119,12 (Mirotheas and Mirotheos); 120,15 (Mirotheos), and *Gos. Eg.* III,2:49,4 (Mirothoë = Ionic fem. sg.; cf. Böhlig-Wisse, *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, 176). This name designates the primal Adam in the *Three Steles of Seth*. In *Trimorphic Protennoia* Meirothea is clearly feminine, and is identified as the intangible Womb (τοτε for τοοτε), Virgin, Mother, Barbelo, and as Protennoia in her Voice aspect. The cited passages suggest that Meirothea is to be construed as perhaps either the female aspect of Adamas or as his mother.
- 38*,17-39*,13 Cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.29; *Ap. John* II,1:7,30-8,21; BG 8502,2: 32,19-34,12 where Christ reveals the Four Lights (Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe and Eleleth) and establishes the Aeons.
- 38*,22-23 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΟΥΑΑΤϚ=ΘΕΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ; cf. 38*,31.
- 38*,29 Perhaps read: ΜΑ ΜΩ Ω Ω Ω ΕΙ Α' ΕΙ ΟΝ ΕΙ Ο ΑΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ. Coptic "Give! Take! Thrice-great" plus Greek "Thou art first! Thou art (the One who) is! Thou art the Aeon of the aeons!" or: ΜΑ ΜΩΩΩ Ω'ΕΙ' Α'ΕΙ' ΔΝ ΕΙ="Give to the thrice-great One! Thou art last! Thou art first! Thou art (the One who) is!" Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:41,15; 43,9-10; IV,2:51,2-5; 53,5-6 where the Aeon of aeons is Domedon Doxomedon, the *αὐτογενής*.
- 38*,31 ΠΝΟ[ΥΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ]ΧΠΟϚ perhaps should be ΕΝΤΑΥ]ΧΠΟϚ complemented by ΟΥΑΑΤϚ, i.e., *ὁ αὐτογενής θεός*, since Christian Sethianism identifies Christ as establisher of the Four Lights with the Autogenes god. Perhaps the scribe erroneously omitted ΟΥΑΑΤϚ; without this emendation, however, the third person plural ΕΝΤΑΥ- produces an intelligible locution. Cf. *Ap. John* II,1:7,10-11 of Christ, the *αὐτογενής* God.
- 38*,32 Schenke restores in the lacuna $\overline{\text{M}}[\overline{\text{M}}\ \lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \text{N}\alpha\omega\chi]\rho\omicron$.
- 38*,33 Restoration following Schenke.
- 38*,34-39*,5 Proper names are rendered in translation in their Greek nominative case at points where the text employs the vocative. The Four Lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithai and Eleleth are a constant feature of gnostic Sethianism (H.-M. Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 166, 168-69; id., "Gnostic Sethianism," 595). In these four triads of three names, the last of each triad is the Semitic name for each of the Four Lights. The first two names of each triad seem Greek and perhaps secondary; they and their cognates appear elsewhere in the Sethian-Barbeloite group of texts (the *Three Steles of Seth*, *Zostrianos*, *Allogenes*) which have a strong affinity with mystic Platonism:

(H)armedon: cf. VII,5:126,12; VIII,r:86,19; 119,[5]; 120,3; 126,[23]; 127,9; XI,3:45,36; 54,12; 58,17.

Nouo[then]: cf. Nouthan, XIII,r*:48*,22.

Phainios: cf. Phainops, XI,4:69,27; 70,25.[29]; 71,[28]; 72,19 and Protophanes, VII,5:123,5; VIII,r:passim and XI,3:45,36; 46,[25]; 51,20; 58,17.

Ainios: cf. Ainon, III,2:44,25.

Mellephaneus: cf. XI,3:54,30.

Loios: cf. Loel, VIII,r:47,4.

The Semitic names of the Four Lights appear in the Sethian texts: the *Apocryphon of John* (II,1), the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,2), *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) and *Melchizedek* (IX,1):

(H)armozel: cf. II,r:8,5; 9,2; III,2:51,18; 52,10.22; 65,13; VIII,r:29,2; 32,[5]; 51,17; 100,[6]; 127,[22]; IX,r:6,4; (H)armas: II,r:10,30; 17,8; III,2:58,11.

Oroiæl: cf. III,2:51,18; 52,11.24; 57,8; 65,16; VIII,r:29,6; 51,18; 127,[27]; IX,r:6,4; 17,12; Oriæl, II,r:8,9; Oroiel, II,r:9,14.

Daveithai: cf. II,r:8,13; 9,16; Daveithe, VIII,r:29,8; 51,18; 128,3; IX,r:6,4; Davithe, III,2:51,19; 52,13.25; 56,22; 65,19.

Eleleth: cf. II,r:8,18; 9,23; II,4:93,8.18; 94,3; III,2:51,19; 52,14; 53,1; 56,24; 65,21; VIII,r:29,10; 31,17; 51,18; 128,6; IX,r:6,5; XIII,r*:39*,15; Elilioupheus/Elelioupheus, VIII,r:88,12; XI,3:54,19.

The Four Lights do not appear in the Platonizing Sethian (Barbeloite) treatises the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), *Allogenes* (XI,3), and *Marsanes* (X,1), leaving *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) and *Trimorphic Protennoia* as the two Sethian texts where both the graecicizing and semiticizing name traditions intersect in the use of the names (H)armedon and Mellephaneus. In *Zost.* VIII,r:119,3-11 it may be that [Arme]don is the first of four "lights" [Arme]don, Diphane[us], [Malsed]on and [Solmi]s. In *Allogenes* XI,3:45,36; 58,17 (cf. *Steles Seth* VII,5:126,12; *Zost.* VIII,r:127,8-9) Harmedon is a cognomen of Protophanes, a member of the sub-aeons (Kalyptos, Protophanes, Autogenes) of the Aeon of Barbelo.

39*,6 "The God who was begotten," cf. Just. *Dial.* 61, of Christ. Perhaps πνουτε ν̄ταυχορ should be emended to πνουτε ενταυχορ <εβολ ριτοοτ̄ϗ ογαατ̄ϗ> "the God who begot himself," i.e., ὁ αὐτογενῆς θεός; cf. 39*,13.

39*,13-32 This section narrates the creation of Yaltabaoth from the Epinoia of Eleleth. On "the God who was begotten" see note on 39*,6.

39*,13-19 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:56,22-57,1. Eleleth's aeon contains Sophia;

can she be identified with Eleleth's ἐπίνοια (39*,19)? As in *Ap. John* II,1:20,9–28; 22,28–24,15, the ἐπίνοια appears to be a manifestation of Pronoia/Protennoia; in the *Apocryphon of John* the ἐπίνοια is not said to reside in Eleleth, nor is it identified with Sophia, but appears as the second manifestation of Pronoia/Metropator (in the form of Eve; the first manifestation is Autogenes, i.e., Christ, in BG 8502,2:51,1–52,11); can it also be inferred to be the power by which Sophia creates Yaltabaoth? In *Trimorphic Protennoia* it is not said how ἐπίνοια comes into Eleleth's possession, nor how Sophia falls from Eleleth, bearing with her some of this ἐπίνοια, and produces Yaltabaoth. In the system of the *Apocryphon of John*, Sophia creates Yaltabaoth without permission; it is an act of *hybris* (cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.29; II,1:9,25–35; BG 8502,2:36,16–37,11). If the composer of *Trimorphic Protennoia* is dependent on a source common to Irenaeus and the Coptic versions of the *Apocryphon of John*, he may be altering the myth at this point. However, see 39*,29–30, where (Eleleth's) ἐπίνοια is virtually identified with “the innocent one,” who is Sophia (40*,15). This reference, in conjunction with 39*,31–32, constitutes an implicit claim that Sophia is the innocent creator of Yaltabaoth.

- 39*,20–26 For Yaltabaoth's lack of perfection, cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.29.4; *Ap. John* II,1:10,1–7; BG 8502,2:37,12–18.
- 39*,21 In *Gos. Eg.* III,2:57,17–18.22 the great demon is called [Neb]-rouel.
- 39*,24 <ε>ϣϣηκ: Perhaps ε of <ε>ϣϣηκ elided with the final ε of οϣδε or was lost through haplography because of the proximity of οϣδε.
- 39*,26–32 For the names of Yaltabaoth and his robbery of Sophia's (i.e., Epinoia's?) power, cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.29.4; *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:38,15–39,1; II,1:10,19–23; 11,15–18; 13,27–30. On Sophia as Yaltabaoth's mother (39*,31–32), cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.30.5.
- 39*,32–40*,4 Though damaged, this passage appears to relate the restoration of Eleleth's ἐπίνοια from the realm of disorder to another, presumably higher, order (τάξις). This higher order is the house of glory (the divine world of Aeons), and the order which she now has may be characterized with disorder (ἀταξία). This may be the *Trimorphic Protennoia* counterpart to the repentance and restoration of Sophia in *Iren. Haer.* I.29.4 and *Ap. John* II,1:13,32–14,5; BG 8502,2:46,9–47,13, except that in *Trimorphic Protennoia* there is no word of the Epinoia's repentance. The failure of *Trimorphic Protennoia* explicitly to credit Sophia with the creation of Yaltabaoth by her *hybris* and without her partner is reflected by Sophia's epithet “innocent” (ἀππεθοῦ). Sophia has done no bad thing; she was merely

overpowered by the great demon produced from Eleleth's Epinoia. She needs no repentance because it was Eleleth's fault. Schenke restores 39*,34-37 rather differently.

40*,4-7 Yaltabaoth makes counterfeit aeons, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.29.4; *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:39,1-6; II,1:10,23-28 (cf. 12,33-13,5). Since the ἐπίνοια is forgiven (40*,2-4), Yaltabaoth makes them only with his own power.

40*,10 Janssens refers to the Naasene password παῦε, παῦε addressed to the primal man Papas: "Stop the cosmic disorder!" (Hipp. *Ref.* V.8.22).

40*,12-15 Cf. 41*,20-23; 47*,31-34.

40*,13 μέρος refers to the spiritual substance within, but not coextensive with, the soul.

40*,16-19 Yaltabaoth "appointed" that his counterfeit aeons keep Protennoia's spirit (μέρος, cf. 41*,21-22; μέλος, 41*,7; 49*,21-22), man's *pneuma*-self snatched from Sophia, entrapped in matter.

40*,19 The trace between α and γ of αγωγορ/τρ must be a slip of the pen.

40*,19-22 Cf. *Ap. John* II,1:14,24-26. The unknowable light is Eleleth whose Epinoia produced Yaltabaoth; the denizens of Eleleth's house are, besides Sophia (II,1:8,14-20), the now repentant souls (i.e., psychics?) once ignorant of the Pleroma (II,1:9,18-23). On the trembling of the abyss on the first descent, cf. II,1:30,19-20. Schenke forgives Eleleth's culpability by emending 40*,20 to ετψοοπ<αν>.

40*,21 ΗΙ probably refers to the celestial realm.

40*,22-25 The Archigenetor is Yaltabaoth; cf. 43*,25.30.32; 44*,27; 49*,13; *Ap. John*, II,1:12,28-30 (also called Protoarchon, II,1:14,25). Yaltabaoth creates Adam in *Ap. John*, II,1:14,25-15,13; the anthropological material found in the *Apocryphon of John* is conspicuously absent. Yaltabaoth is called Archigenetor in the Exousiai-source of *On the Origin of the World* (occurrences at II,5:102,11; 103,4; 104,12; 106,13.19; 107,18; 108,5.11.31; 112,27; 114,22.25; 117,20; 126,21.26); see Böhlig's discussion in Böhlig-Labib, 26-30. Schenke's emendation of 40*,24 to ε<τ>αϥϣϣρο is unnecessary.

40*,29-34 In *Ap. John*, II,1:20,9-28 this descent of Protennoia would correspond to the descent of the Epinoia aspect of the Metropator in the form of Eve. For "receiving shape" as a metaphor for receiving gnosis, see the note on 45*,23-27.

40*,33-34 εε]ιτῆναγ ρικων: See Emmel, "Proclitic Forms."

40*,37 ἡταγσφ[τῆ: Janssens restores ἡταγσφ[γωντ.

41*,2-3 "mystery": cf. 42*,27-28 and note.

41*,4 Read ρῆ ταπρο [νι]μ with Janssens.

- 41*,4-20 The evenly balanced lines in synonymous parallelism with preposition of object seem intentionally rhetorical (cf. 37*,8-19). Salvation is the nullification of the effect of the hostile powers that control the fleshly body; it is accomplished by explaining them.
- 41*,4-7 On the chains of the demons, cf. *Orac. Sib.* II.287-90, *passim*. Here the instruments of punishment of the underworld, conceived as a place of torture and imprisonment, are a metaphor for the imprisonment of Protennoia's spirit (*μέρος*, cf. 41*,20-23) in man's material body. The features of the underworld are standard in most of the *Nekyia* literature from Homer onward.
- 41*,7 † *αρητοϋ*: cf. XI,I:14,31 († *αρη-* with the nuance of "oppose," "restrain." These forms may be related to Achmimic *αρη-*, Crum 23b.
- 41*,8-11 Cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* BG 8502,3:121,18-122,1: "I broke the gates (*πυλῆ*) of the pitiless ones." On the walls, bars and gates of the underworld, cf. Hom. *Il.* VIII.13-16; Hes. *Theog.* 726-816; Vir. *Aen.* VI.548-627; *Orac. Sib.*, I.127-28; *Thom. Cont.* II,7:142,30-143,8. Cf. the harrowing of Hell (1 Pet 3:19; 4:6). In *Trimorphic Protennoia*, Protennoia/Voice is destroying the prison, not of the underworld, but of the flesh.
- 41*,11-14 "The one who beats you" is probably Tartarouchos; cf. *Thom. Cont.* II,7:142,40-143,2. The hinderer may be a celestial "toll-collector." This passage seems to be a collection of popular epithets for demonic powers in general, not necessarily at home in Sethian texts.
- 41*,18 MS reads: *τηρ'ου*.
- 41*,20-23 Cf. 40*,12-15; 47*,31-34. Apparently, Protennoia is substantial with the human spirit that originated from the Water of Life and was perhaps nourished by immersion (baptism?) in the mysteries, even though it now dwells (or languishes!) in the soul (as *μέρος*; cf. note on 40*,16-19). Schenke's emendation *ἄτα<ρε>ψωπε* (41*,23) is unnecessary.
- 41*,29 *ἄανεζ*: scribe wrote *ἄανανεζ* by simple dittography.
- 41*,33 MS reads: *ἄωο'ρη*.
- 41*,36 there is an additional trace of ink to the upper left of the supralinear stroke over the initial *ἄ* in the line.
- 42*,3 On [*ἄ*], see Introduction to Codex XIII, Section IV.
- 42*,4-9 "syzygetic": lit. "He/she who is doubled, united." Protennoia exists in the three aspects of Voice, Speech and Word, all of which would be aspects of the "Thought of the Invisible One" (i.e., Protennoia, the invisible Father's Thought, 35*,7-9; 36*,17, *passim*). On the first descent, Protennoia appeared under the aspect of Voice (35*,1-42*,3; 47*,5-11); hence Protennoia, the Thought of the

Father, could be conceived as undergoing a syzygy with its masculine (ΠΡΟΟΥ) aspect of the Voice—"he who is (a) double" (of Thought and Voice). On the second descent, Protennoia appears under the aspect of Speech (42*,4-46*,4; 47*,11-13); hence Protennoia could be conceived as undergoing a syzygy with its feminine (CΜΗ) aspect of Speech—"she who is (a) double" (of Thought and Speech).

42*,9-10 "Mother [of] the Voice": Protennoia, under its feminine aspect of Speech, can be conceived of, in a contorted way, as the mother of its masculine aspect of Voice; cf. 45*,3-4.27-28. Janssens calls attention to Heb 1:1 in connection with ΝΖΑΖ ΝΡΗΤΕ (=πολυτρόπος) and to ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ (=τελειοῦεθν?) as suggesting an act of the last days. Janssens reads ΤΜΑΛΥ [ΜΝ]/ΠΡΟΟΥ: I am the Mother [and] the voice.

42*,11-12 Cf. 36*,17-21 and note.

42*,12 Or: ΔΝΟΚ Π[Ε Π]/ΨΑΧΕ, "I am the Speech."

42*,12-14 Cf. 36*,15-16.

42*,13 MS reads: ΑΥΩ.

42*,14-16 Cf. 45*,10-12.

42*,17 ΠΜΑΖΣΕΠCΝΑΥ "second time": cf. 47*,11 and *Ap. John* II,1:30,22.

42*,17-18 The female likeness is the Speech (fem.), corresponding to Pronoia's appearance in Eve in *Ap. John* II,1:23,20-24,16; BG 8502,2:53,4-19; 59,6-61,7. See also XIII,1*:47*,11-13.

42*19 Text: 2 of ΑΘΑΖΗ emended by scribe with a diagonal stroke. Schenke's suggestion that ΕΦΩΟΥΕΙΤ may have been lost following ΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ is unnecessary; the antecedent is ΖΑΗ, not ΔΙΩΝ.

42*,22 Cf. 1 Cor 15:52.

42*,23-25 I.e., "my masculine likeness," the Voice-aspect of Protennoia's first appearance.

42*,27-28 Cf. 1 Cor 15:51 and XIII,1*:41*,2-3.

42*,30 The raised point after ΖΗΤΥ is obscured in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*.

42*,30-33 Comparison of the inauguration of the new age to the travail of birth (cf. 43*,6-8) is a common apocalyptic motif: cf. Mk 13:8.17. Schenke restores 42*,30 differently, and in 42*,32 reads ΑΥ^[~]Ν^[~]Τ^[~]Υ^[~] ΕΒ[ΟΛ] "brought forth" for ΑΥΚ[Ω]Υ^[~]Ε^[~]Β^[~] (β is cancelled by scribe with a diagonal stroke; perhaps he started to write ΚΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ).

43*,2-4 ΤΗΒΕ and ΜΡΕ may refer to measures of length, so that the phrase may refer to the shortness of the time before the end of the present aeon; the time is shortened by a ΤΗΒΕ (finger's length) less a ΤΗΒΕ, and a ΜΡΕ (a knuckle's length—even shorter?) less a ΜΡΕ—i.e., no length at all. Alternatively, the passage may refer to the mutilation (κολοβοῦν) of parts (finger, joint) of the body, and

- κολοβοῦν is used to refer to the shortening of the days in Mk 13:20. Schenke takes ΤΗΒΕ as a form of ΤΗΒΙ, "bandage."
- 43*,6-8 The destruction coincides with the end of the present aeon (cf. 43*,8-12; 44*,16-18; *Ap. John* II,1:14,24-26; 30,27-29). On the birth pangs of the New Age, cf. the ὠδῖνες of Isa 13:8; Hos 13:13; Mk 13:8. Schenke's emendation to <ω>α<C>ΖΝΑΝ (43*,6) is unnecessary. ἀγίρῃ προ literally: near, "unto the door"; cf. Mk 13:29.
- 43*,6-17 The destruction overturns the netherworld (8-11), the earth (11-12) and the celestial realm (13-17).
- 43*,9-10 Cf. *Ap. John*, II,1:30,19-20.27-28: ἄνῃτε...μπλαος ἀγκίμ.
- 43*,13 The lots of Fate (κλήροι εἰμαρμένης) may be the κλήροι τύχης (Ptol. *Tetr.* III.10.129); an individual's lot of fortune (or fate) is determined by the relative positions of the sun and moon with respect to the horoscope or ascendant sign at the time of his birth; cf. also *Ap. John*, BG 8502,2:72,3-11; *Orig. World*, II,5:121,13-27.
- 43*,14 The *oikos* system allots each planet and its celestial deity patronage over a particular sign of the Zodiac as its domicile; cf. Ptol. *Tetr.* I.17-37.
- 43*,15-16 The planets are the seats (θρόνοι) of the celestial deities.
- 43*,17-18 The stars (including the planets), governed by fate, make their appointed revolutions; the "path" is their orbit.
- 43*,19 MS reads:πῖψτορ/τῖ.
- 43*,19-26 The planets inquire of their governing deities (δυνάμεις), probably Yaltabaoth's counterfeit aeons (cf. 40*,4-7 and *Apoc. Adam* V,5:77,4-18), as to who has destroyed their order.
- 43*,21 For the emendation, cf. 44*,3: ΖΡΟΥ ΕϞ[Ζ]ΗΠ ἄτςμη. The Voice belongs to the Speech, its mother: cf. notes on 42*,4-9.9-10.
- 43*,23-24 "the entire circuit of our path" is probably an astrological term, possibly rendering Greek *p̄asa ἡ περίοδος τῆς ἀνόδου ἡμῶν*.
- 43*,35-36 For the boast of the Archigenetor (derived from Isa 44:6, 45:5, 46:9) see Iren. *Haer.* I.30.6; I.29.4; *Ap. John*, II,1:11,18-22; 13,5-9; *Orig. World* II,5:112,28-29; *Hyph. Arch.* II,4:94,21-22; 2 *Apoc. Jas.*, V,4:56,25-57,3.
- 44*,2-10 Cf. The disturbance produced by the voice in Iren. *Haer.* I.30.6 and *Ap. John*, II,1:14,13-26.
- 44*,3 ΕϞ[Ζ]ΗΠ: ζ of ΕϞΖΗΠ cancelled by the scribe with a diagonal stroke.
- 44*,4 ἄμο[Ϟ]ς: Ϟ written over Ϟ of ἄμοϞ.
- 44*,10-19 The weeping of the powers: Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 239,20-21. Yaltabaoth, the Archigenetor, and the Powers had formerly imprisoned Protенnoia's spirit in matter; now, their grip on it lapsing, they are about to be imprisoned in their own underworld.

44*,16 Cf. Mt 24:22 par.

44*,17-18 I.e., "our mournful destruction."

44*,19 Emmendation following Schenke.

44*,20-29 The powers recognize the ignorance of their creator Yaltabaoth. In *Ap. John*, II,1:21,24-22,2; BG 8502,2:56,17-57,5 the evil tree is the tree of life which the Archons plant for the psychic Adam to eat of; in reality it offers life in the material body that results in death. Cf. 47*,24-28.

44*,29 MS reads: ΕΤ·ΒΗΤϚ.

44*,20-21 Fruit is a metaphor for knowledge. Cf. 41*,30-31, where Protennoia's fruit is the Thought of an unchanging Aeon, whereas here the fruit of Yaltabaoth's tree is chaotic ignorance.

44*,27-29 Cf. *Ap. John*, II,1:14,15-18 and *Aproc. Adam* V,5:77,18-27.

44*,29-30 Cf. the exhortation of Wisdom, Prov 7:24.

44*,31 "Mother of your mercy": i.e., "your merciful Mother," here referring to the Speech (fem.) of the Voice; probably Meirothea is meant (45*,9-10; but cf. 38*,14-16 where Meirothea is also the Voice). In the *Aprocryphon of John* the "merciful Mother" refers to Sophia (BG 8502,2:71,5-13).

44*,32-33 "mystery": cf. Col 1:26.

44*,33-34 "Consumation of the age" (συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος): cf. Mt 13:39,40,49; 24:3; 28:20; also Heb 9:26.

45*,1-4 The second letter of line 2 and the second and third letters of line 3 are from frg. 3 (*Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 119) now placed at this location on p. 45. Letters five through nine on lines 1 and 4, letters four through eight on line 2, and letters four through nine on line 3 are transcribed from pl. 104.

45*,1-2 For reconstruction, cf. 42*,19-22.

45*,5-6 For reconstruction, cf. 35*,2-4.

45*,7-8 Schenke reads [πα/τογῶν μῆ] η[ε]ζοογ.

45*,10-12 Cf. 42*,14-16.

45*,12-20 This celestial "initiation ceremony" is one of the two complementary components of the soteriology of *Trimorphic Protennoia*. One component is the reception and appropriation of the revealer's gnosis (the explanatory "mystery," s.v. μυστήριον in the index) and the other is the initiate's (mental?) participation in the celestial liturgy of the Five Seals. Here the Five Seals proceed in the order of glorifying, enthroning, investiture, baptizing, and becoming light (the Gnostic's primal state). In 48*,15-35 we have the more elaborate, but more natural (and original?) order of the Five Seals: investiture, baptizing, enthroning, glorification, and transportation into the light. The Five Seals are the mode of salvation in the original core of the Pronoia hymn in *Ap. John*, II,1:30,11-32; 31,22-25, which as it now

stands appears to have a secondary mode of salvation (i.e., awakening from sleep) interpolated into it (31,4-22). Thus, in both *Trimorphic Protennoia* and in the Pronoia hymn in the *Apocryphon of John*, salvation *via* the Five Seals was thought to need supplementation by a more noetic mode of salvation; not simply sealing with the Five Seals, but also the explanatory revelation (*Trimorphic Protennoia*) or awakening call (*Apocryphon of John*) of the revealer-figure, Protennoia (*Trimorphic Protennoia*) or Pronoia (*Apocryphon of John*). Compare the enrobing of the mystery-initiation in Apul. *Metam.* XI.24.

45*,21-22 Cf. 47*,18; 49*,20-21.

45*,23-27 Cf. 38*,12; 47*,12-13. In the *Gos. Truth* I,3:27,15-33 by knowing the Father one receives form ($\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$) and a name, and thus comes into existence. To receive a form ($\chi\iota\ \mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$) is to be "restored" and thus perfected. This brings about the consummation: cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1 and *Interp. Know.* XI,1:14,14-15; *Val. Exp.* XI,2:33,21-23. Cf. the Valentinian formation according to essence and knowledge (Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1-5).

45*,27-28 Cf. note on 42*,9-10.

45*,28-30 Cf. *Ap. John*, BG 8502,2:63,14-64,13 where the mother Sophia sends her spirit into her seed to awaken them and restore their deficiency; cf. also *Ap. John* II,1:25,9-16; 27,33-28,5; BG 8502,2:71,5-13. In BG 8502,2:51,4-20 the voice of the mother commands the Archon to breathe the spirit into Adam (cf. II,1:25,3-16).

45*,31-32 The scribe intended a *supralinea completa*, but obviated it in the next line by adding $\text{NE}; \text{OYOEIN}$ and OYOEINE vary freely in this text.

45*,33 Supralinear strokes visible above $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{N}}$.

45*,32-34 Cf. Pronoia's withdrawal to the light in *Ap. John* II,1:30,30.

46*,3 $\text{ZAM}]\text{HN}$ is restored from frg. #3 (*Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 50).

46*,4 On [E], see Introduction to Codex XIII, Section IV.

46*,5-10 The Son/Word aspect of Protennoia (cf. 37*,4-6) is about to succeed the Mother/Speech aspect (who having withdrawn to the light now exists alone as Silence, 46*,13) as the revelatory mode of Protennoia (cf. 47*,11-16).

46*,10-11 KAA , "foundation" appears to be an unattested feminine noun derived from $\text{K}\omega$, "to set," (so also Schenke).

46*,11-13 The Logos, who is a light and was first to come forth, is the Perfect Son (37*,3-8).

46*,16-19 the Spring (πηγή) pours forth Living Water (i.e., gnosis, 36*,5-6 and note) just as a luminary radiates light. Cf. 48*,19-20

and Jn 4:14; 7:37; Rev 21:6 where Christ is the source of living water. The Spring is also a metaphor for Yahweh (Jer 2:13; 17:13; *I Enoch* 96,6) but mostly for Wisdom (Prov 13:14; 14:27; 18:4; *I Enoch* 49,1) whence comes the reference to the Spring as the source of gnosis.

46*,19-20 The glory of the Mother is Meirothea (45*,9-10), who is the Speech of the Voice (38*,14-16; 44*,30-31).

46*,22 On Intellect (*νοῦς*), cf. 47*,9.

46*,28 "breath": cf. Wis 7:24-25 where wisdom is the breath of God's power.

46*,28-30 The "Eye" (*βαλ*) probably signifies the Son (38*,3-6) as central focus of the three permanences (*μονή*) of the Voice (37*,20-22). Voice and Thought are similarly related in the Simonian *Megale Apophasis* (Hipp. Ref. VI.9.4): "This is the treatise (*γράμμα*) of revelation of Voice (*φωνή*) and Name (*ὄνομα*) by means of Thought (*ἐξ ἐπινοίας*) of the great infinite Power (*ἡ μεγάλη δύναμις ἡ ἀπέραντος*)." Cf. 37*,4-6 where the Son originates from Voice which comes from Thought.

46*,29 "Permanences": 37*,20-22. *μονή* (permanence) is the opposite of *κίνησις* (movement, cf. 46*,26; Arist. *Phys.* 205^a 17; 230^a 20), and is thus akin to *βάσις*.

46*,30-32 Cf. Isa 9:2; Mt 4:16; Jn 1:5.

47*,5-16 Revelation of the Protennoia as: first, Voice (masc.); second, Speech (fem.); and third, Word (masc.). See the note on 37*,20-22.

47*,5-11 Cf. 40*,8-42*,2.

47*,9 On Intellect (*νοῦς*), cf. 46*,22.

47*,11 ΠΜΑΖΣΕΠΣΝΑΥ: cf. 42*,17.

47*,11-13 Cf. 45*,23-27; 42*,17-18.

47*,13-15 "tents": cf. Sir 24:8; Jn 1:14.

47*,17-22 Cf. 35*,12-26.

47*,18 Cf. 45*,21; 49*,20-21.

47*,19-22 On this series of beings, see 35*,15-18 and note.

47*,20 ζ of ΖΡΑΙ from frg. #45 in Codex V (*Facsimile Edition: Codex V*, pl. 99) and now placed at this location. "Movement" is a metaphor for Soul, source of motion.

47*,24-25 On the failure to recognize and accept the divine representative, cf. Jn 1:10-11 (the light/logos); *I Enoch* 42,2 (wisdom).

47*,25-28 The powers (47*,19-22) do not recognize the ignorance of their root, i.e., their creator the Archigenetor, the tree of ignorant Chaos (44*,20-26). On the creature's ignorance of the creator, cf. Wis 13:1-3; Rom 1:19-23.

47*,26-27 ΝΖ of ΝΖ[ΗΤΟΥ] (47*,26), ΝΤ of ΝΤ[ΟΥ] (47*,27) are from

frg. #2, *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 119, and now placed at this location.

47*,31-34 Cf. 40*,12-16; 41*,20-23.

47*,35 Schenke reads: ετον]ζ [α]γω αει[κω]κ' α/[ζη]νυ.

48*,5 Schenke reads: εβολ ζη]τροφ[τεc ντδιντωογν μ/πμεεγε.

48*,6-14 The psychic and corporeal aspects of man's thought are regarded as abysmally chaotic; it is another device to keep man's *pneuma* entrapped in the material world, and as such must be removed and replaced by the Thought of the Fatherhood—chaos must be replaced by Light (cf. Gen 1:1-5). This is accomplished when Protennoia/Logos, almost in substitutionary fashion, strips man of the corporeal and psychic thought as if it were a garment and puts it on himself in man's place and places upon man a shining Light. For "corporeal darkness" and "psychic chaos in mind," cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:1,10-13. On the removal of the old nature and putting on of the new, cf. Col 3:9-10; Eph 4:22-24. On "Christ's circumcision" as a putting off of the body of flesh and being raised with Christ in baptism, cf. Col 2:11-12. See also 49*,28-32 below.

48*,6 Schenke reads: νεγντααα<α> χ^ν [τηροειτε].

48*,7 Supralinear stroke visible over μ of μπωνη.

48*,15-35 The initiation ceremony proleptically sketched in 45*,12-20 (see note) in the future tense, is now cast in a past tense, reflecting a sort of "realized" eschatology. The putting upon man of the shining Light is interpreted by means of the ceremony of the Five Seals, by which man is transported from the corporeal and psychic realm to the spiritual world of light (cf. 49*,26-32).

48*,19-20 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:64,14-17 (=IV,2:76,2-6) where Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous preside over the *πηγή* of truth; also over the *πυλή* of waters (III,64,19-20 = IV,76,8-10). In *Apoc. Adam* V,5:84,5-22 Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous preside over the holy baptism and living water (which they pollute). In the *Bruce Codex* (Schmidt-MacDermot, 263,22-28) Michar and Micheu(s), purified by Borpharanges, are located in the self-begotten (*αὐτογενής*) level of the Aeon of Barbelo, and preside over the Living Water. Finally see *Zost.* VIII,1:6,7-17, where Micheus and Michar both baptize and seal, and VIII,1:47,4 where Mnesinous is a keeper of the immortal soul.

48*,20-21 I.e., they immerse him in the "saving gnosis," cf. 46*,16-19 and note on 36*,5-6.

48*,26 Vestige of ink at the end of the line appears to be line "filler," such as occurs at 36*,25-31; 37*,15; 43*,17,24. Schenke reads ω for [ο]ν.

48*,26-28 $\lambda\theta$ of [N] $\lambda\theta$ (48*,26), $\gamma\tau$ of [λ] $\gamma\tau\omega\rho\pi$ (48*,27), τ of [.] $\tau\alpha\eta\eta\eta$ (48*,28) from frg. #2, *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl.120.

48*,27 One is seized ($\tau\omega\rho\pi$ = $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$; cf. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ in 2 Cor 12:2), i.e., raptured, into the light by the servants of the holy Luminaries Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithai and Eleleth; see 38*,34-39*,5 and note. Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:52,20-53,1 where Gamaliel, Gabriel, Samlo and Abrasax are associated with Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth respectively (in IV,2:64,13-24 they are called $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\iota$). In *Apoc. Adam* V,5:75,21-31 Abrasax, Samblo and Gamaliel lead men from the punishing powers. In *Zost.* VIII,1:47,24 Samblo is receiver [$\pi\alpha\rho$] $\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\pi\tau\omega\rho$. In the *Bruce Codex*, 239,24-27 (Schmidt-MacDermot) Gamaliel, Strempsuchos and Agramas are watchers who aid those who believe in the Savior.

48*,31-32 Cf. *Ap. John* II,1:31,23-24: "I sealed him with the light of the water." This may be a type of hendiadys (water and light as metaphors for gnosis, cf. note on 36*,5-6), or $\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ("water") may be a corruption of $\mu\alpha\lambda\gamma$ ("Mother") from an original "Light of the Mother." Conversely, the "Light of the Mother" (48*,32) may be a corruption of an original "light of the water." On $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, cf. note on 49*,25-33.

48*,35-50*,20 $\tau\epsilon\omicron\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\delta\epsilon$ is a formulaic introduction to an exhortation, cf. 44*,10.29-30. The section 48*,35-50*,20 contains extensive and polemical Christian glosses interpreting the word modality of Protенnoia in terms of a highly docetic Christology (see Introduction, Section VI). At this point, "until I reveal myself [to all my fellow brethren]" is suspiciously continued with a Christianizing passage which begins with redundant language: "and until I gather [together] all [my fellow] brethren. . . ." Sethian language again returns in 50*,16-20, suggesting that 48*,35-49*,20 (rejoining the description of the Five Seals with the bridging passage 49*,20-26) and 50*,7-16 are Christianizing additions to an original sequence: 48*,top-48*,35; 49*,26-50*,7; 50*,16-20.

49*,6-20 Protенnoia/Logos is identified with the Christ of Protенnoia's "brethen" (cf. 49*,23 which is part of a redactional bridge 49*,20-26; and 50*,6-9, the opening of a Christianizing addition). Successive Christological titles familiar to orthodox Christians are here applied to the Logos: "Christ;" Son of God (i.e., "Son of the Archigenetor," or Creator God), Angel, Power and "Son of Man." But the repeated use of $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, "as if," shows that the applications are polemically intended, i.e., contrary to popular orthodox belief Christ was never identical with these guises, but only *appeared* as Christ, Son of the Creator,

Angel, Power and Son of Man to those (orthodox) Christians who mistakenly honor the Son of the Creator God of the Old Testament, but who is really the Archigenetor and chief of the evil Archons. This Sethian passage shows that the Logos is not the orthodox Christ and Son of God, but rather the "Father" of everyone (49*,20), a term attributed to Seth, "Father" of the incorruptible race (*Gos. Eg.* III,2:54,9-11). On the motif of Christ's incognito descent, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I,30.12; *Treat. Seth* VII,2:59,18; 65,18-19 and especially *Ep. Pet. Phil.* VIII,2:136,16-137,4. The occasion for the addition of this description of Christ's incognito descent in the context of a description of the Five Seals may be Sethian tradition found in *Gos. Eg.* III,2:62,24-64,9. Here it appears that the Five Seals are involved in the redemptive sending of Seth through flood, conflagration and judgement of the Archons into the world with a baptism (cf. *Apoc. Adam* V,5:85,22-31), perhaps the Five Seals, by means of a secretly prepared "Logos-begotten" (λογογενής) body which is "put on" by Seth (cf. XIII,1*:50*,12). On the identification of Seth with Jesus, cf. Epiph. *Pan.* XXXIX.1.3; MacRae, "Seth in Gnostic Texts," and Pearson, "Seth in Gnostic Literature."

49*,11-20 See the note to 49*,6-20. The appositive phrase "which is the ignorance of Chaos" (49*,14-15), though grammatically feminine, must refer to the Archigenetor's decree (ζαπ); cf. the tree of ignorant Chaos (44*,20-26) and the stripping away of the chaotic corporeal and psychic thought (48*,8-12). Here Logos/Protennoia only appears as if (ὡς) he were a Son of Man (cf. 47*,13-16 and contrast Jn 1:14), since in truth he is the Father (cf. 36*,17, "the Thought of the Father," and 45*,3, "[Mother] and Father").

49*,18 ζ of ζωϛ is better preserved in an earlier photograph; see *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*, pl. 23*.

49*,20 Cf. 45*,21; 47*,18.

49*,24 n at end of line is better preserved in an earlier photograph; see *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

49*,25-33 On the Five Seals, cf. *Ap. John* II,1:31,22-25 (the Pronoia hymn), *Gos. Eg.* III,2:55,12; 63,3; 66,3; IV,2:56,25; 58,6; 59,1.27-28; 66,26; 74,16; 78,4-5 and notes on 45*,12-20; 48*,15-35. The "seal" (σφραγίς) originally signified a stamp or brand marking one as the property of a god. Having thus become taboo, he is protected from other (hostile) divine powers (49*,31-34). In *Gos. Eg.* III,2:66,2-11 the Five Seals are associated with certain "invocations" and "renunciations" in the "spring-baptism" (πιβαπτισμα ἄπηγη). G. Schenke ("Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (Codex XIII)," 125-27; 134-35) suggests on the basis of 49*,29-30 ("the Five Seals of these particular names") that at each stage of the Sethian baptismal rite a

divine name was invoked and the person being baptized was provided with a seal. H.-M. Schenke's ("Gnostic Sethianism," 603-4) supposition that these names reflect a "Quinity" of five divine beings in one on the analogy of the Christian Trinity, and similar metaphysical groupings of beings suggested by Böhlig-Wisse (*Gospel of the Egyptians*, 27,50,174) seems to be speculative at best. It is more likely that the Five Seals are a single baptismal rite consisting of five stages of enlightenment: investiture, baptism in the spring of (Living) Water, enthronement, glorification, and an ecstatic rapture into the place of Light, as in 48*,15-30. The "invocations" of *Gos. Eg.* III,2:66,2-4 would involve calling on certain named beings at each stage, as reflected in *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1*:48*,15-30, and in the ascent through the series of baptisms in *Zostrianos* (VIII,1:4,20-26,2; especially 5,14-22; cf. the "sealing" in 6,14-17), or even one's own name (*Melch.* IX,1:16,13-16). *Zost.* VIII,1:130,5-6 suggests the ascent is ecstatic, out of the body (cf. *Allogenes* XI,3:58,26-59,3). See also the ascending series of thirteen seals in *Marsanes*, X,1:2,12-4,23; also the statements by the thirteen kingdoms of *Apoc. Adam* V,5:77,27-82,19. In *Apoc. Adam* V,5:84,4-22; 85,22-31 the baptism brought by Seth is the knowledge of Adam, contrasted with a form of polluted baptism (cf. the polemic against Christian baptism in *Testim. Truth* IX,3:69,7-24) suggesting that certain Sethians rejected water baptism in favor of a baptism with gnosis. In general, baptism in these texts and the Five Seals may represent a projection into the spiritual realm of an older established Sethian community practice of water baptism (cf. the discussions of Hedrick, *The Apocalypse of Adam*, 192-201 and Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 602-7).

49*,26-32 Salvation is already realized for him who possesses the Five Seals, which implies that the "initiation ceremony" in 45*,12-20 (in the future tense) and 48*,15-35 (in the past tense) has now been completed. The phrase "the Five Seals that are complete by virtue of intellect" (ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΟΥΓΝΟΥΣ) may imply that the celestial "initiation ceremony" is completed in the initiate's mind, i.e., that salvation is a noetic process (although we would expect: ΕΤΟΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΙΤῆ ΟΥΓΝΟΥΣ "that are completed by intellect").

49*,37 Schenke reads: ΕΤΠΟ[ΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΦΝΑ]Ὶ ΟΥΣΜΟΤ.

49*,38 Restore with Schenke [ΠΧΑΟΣ ΝΚΑΚΕ].

50*,3-6 Text reconstructed from *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 104. 50*,3 may read ΕΙΝΕ "likeness" or more likely ΟΥΟΕΙΝΕ "light." In 50*,4 the first trace has a supralinear stroke, perhaps ῆ.

50*,9 the (Five) Seals are also called "ineffable" in *Gos. Eg.* IV,2:78,4-

- 50*,11-14 "abide in me": Jn 15:4-5; cf. 1 Jn 2:24; 3:24. Ends of lines 11-14 are reconstructed from the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 104.
- 50*,12-16 The putting on of Jesus is a prominent motif: Iren. *Haer.* I.30.13: where Christ descends on Jesus, openly confessing himself as Son of the First Man (on Son of Man, cf. 49*,18-19). Cf. also *Gos. Eg.* III,2:63,24-64,3 on the "baptism by the incorruptible λογογενής and Jesus, and he whom the Great Seth has put on"; IV,2:75,15-17: "Jesus who has been begotten by a living word, whom the Great Seth has put on"; and *Treat. Seth* VII,2:57,7-11 in which a being (presumably Seth) identified with Christ (VII,2:59,18), raises "the Son of the Majesty (=Jesus) hidden in the region below. . . to the height, where I am above all these aeons." Cf. also Epiph. *Pan.* XXXIX.1.3. For the dwelling places prepared by Christ; cf. Jn 14:2, to which this passage seems to make specific and polemical reference.
- 50*,17-20 The Seed of the Father (the Great Seth) is the ἀφθαρτον γενεά (*Gos. Eg.* III,2:54,9-11; cf. *Zost.* VIII,1:130,16-17 "the holy Seed of Seth"). In *Gos. Eg.* III,2:60,9-11 the Great Seth sows his seed into the aeons he has begotten.
- 50*,21-24 On the title, see discussion in the Codex Introduction, Section IV.

INTRODUCTION

NHC XIII,2*: ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

50*,25-34

Bibliography: Böhlig-Labib; Crum, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts*; Oeyen, "Fragmente"; Schenke, H.-M., "Vom Ursprung der Welt."

50*, 25-34 is the beginning of the untitled text now called *On the Origin of the World*, which is completely extant in Codex II,5:97,24-127,17. The portion extant in Codex XIII coincides with II,97,24-98,5. The two copies are quite similar, with but minor orthographic variants: [ε]ΠΙΔΗ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ (50*,25) for ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ (II,97,24), ΜΝ ΛΑΔΥ (50*,25) for ΜΝΛΑΔΥΕ (II,97,25-26), ΑΝΟΚ ΝΔΕ (50*,27) for ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ (II,97,26-27), ΕΝΣΕΟΟΥΝ (50*,28) for ΕΝ' ΣΕΟΟΥΝ (II,97,28), ΑΠΟΔΙΖΙC (50*,30) for ΑΠΟΔΙΖΕΙC (II,97,30), ΠΕ (50*,31) for ΠΕ (II,98,2), ΚΑΚΕ (50*,33) for ΚΑΚΕ (II,98,3), and [Ϡ]ΧΙΝ Π[] (50*,34) for ΧΙΝ ΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ (II,98,5). The two copies may presuppose the same Coptic translation. Hence, lacunae in one may be restored on the basis of the other; in one instance a photograph of V,64-[65] taken in 1949 (*Facsimile Edition: Codex V*, pl. 4) shows also the bottom left corner of XIII,50* with the now-missing opening letters of lines 27-31, which make it possible to read εΙ at XIII,2*:50*,30 and in the parallel text at II,5:97,29.

A fragmentary Subachmimic copy of *On the Origin of the World* in the British Museum was identified by Christian Oeyen in 1972-73: BM Or 4926 (1), catalogued by Crum as item 522 (Oeyen, "Fragmente," 125). Comparison of the fragments with II,5 should provide a basis for more precise clarification of the relation of the Coptic translation attested by II,5 and XIII,2* to the assumed Greek original.

The survival of the opening ten lines of *On the Origin of the World* as XIII,2* is due to the chance circumstance that they were on the final page of XIII,1*, a tractate removed from its codex in late antiquity and conserved inside the front cover of Codex VI (see Robinson, "Inside Codex VI"). There was apparently no interest in conserving XIII,2*. The material discussion of XIII,2* is to be found with the complete copy of *On the Origin of the World* in II,5.

50*

[ε]πιαν ογον νιμ ν̄νουτε ἡπκοσμος αγ[ω]
 26 [ρ]ρωμε σεχω ἡμος χε μ̄λλααγ ψοοπ' ρ[α]
 τρη ἡπχαος ανοκ ἡδε †ναραποδικνε
 28 χε αγ̄ρπλανα τηρου ενσεσοογν ^{VACAT}
 αν ἡτςυστασις ἡπχαος μ̄ν τεφνουνε τα
 30 ει δε τε τ'αποδιξις εψχε σ̄ρςυμφωνει μ[ἡ]
 ρρωμε τηρου ετβε πχαος χε ο[γ]κακε πε
 32 ογεβολ δε πε ρ̄ν ογρ̄αιβ[ε]ς αγμουτε εροϙ]
 χε κακε θ(ρ)αιβες δε ογ[ει] εβολ τε ρ̄ν ογερ]
 34 γον εψσοοπ' [[ρ]χιν π[ψ]ορπ'

50*

Seeing that (ἐπειδή) everyone—the gods of the world (κόσμος)
and

- 26 men—says that nothing exists [*prior*]
to Chaos (χάος), I now (δέ) will demonstrate (ἀποδεικνύειν)
28 [*that*] they all erred (πλανᾶσθαι) because they did not know
the structure (σύστασις) of Chaos (χάος) and its root. And (δέ)
this
30 is the demonstration (ἀπόδειξις): How agreeable it is
(συμφωνεῖν) with
all men to say concerning Chaos (χάος) that it is a sort of
darkness!
32 Actually (δέ) it derives from a shadow, [*and was (merely)*
named]
“darkness.” And (δέ) the shadow [*derives from a*] work (ἔργον)
34 existing from the [*first*].

50*,27-31 The left edge of these lines is restored from a 1949 photograph of J. Doresse reproduced in the *Facsimile Edition: Codex V*, pl.4.

50*,28: The right part of the line was left blank because of a split in the papyrus.

50*,32-34: The right edge of these lines is lacking because the horizontal fibers are missing; $\chi\text{IN}\ \eta[\omega\text{OP}\text{I}$ is restored on analogy with $\chi\text{IN}\ \tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\text{ITE}$ in II,5:98,5. Layton (*Facsimile Edition: Codex II*) reads $\chi\text{IN}\ \tau\epsilon[$ and does not emend $\theta\zeta\alpha\text{IBEC}$.

INDICES

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13-15, 28
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15, 8;
39, 24
11 (35),
30; 18
16, 7-
21, 27; 2

NAG HAMMADI CODICES XI, XII, AND XIII
INDICES OF COPTIC, GREEK, AND PROPER NAMES

References to codex and page numbers in the index appear without the asterisks (*) used elsewhere in this volume. The use of brackets around line numbers is retained in the index and indicates that the word is restored or conjectured. Words in the Coptic index are ordered according to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. The parentheses around line numbers in the indices indicate Coptic dialectal variations as shown in each entry.

A. COPTIC WORDS

αβω net αβη (f. coll.?) XI,1:6,29

αλοϥ m. youth XI,3:45,[18]; 51,37; 58,15

αμοϥ come! εμοϥ XI,3:68,23

αμντε m. underworld XIII,1:36,4

εμντε XIII,1:39,17.22; 40,24; 41,6; 43,9; 44,14

αμαρτε grasp, apprehend XI,3:57,[7].[8]; 59,24

εμαρτε XI,1:2,30.[31].[32]; 5,34; 6,26; 8,33; 20,5; 21,18; 2:26,21

ατεμαρτε incomprehensible XIII,1:36,[29]; 38,16; 50,17

μνταταμαρτε f. incomprehensibility XII,1:30,[10]

αν not XI,1:1,23; 3:48,6.14; 52,26; 53,7.20; 55,[24]; 57,22; 60,23;
62,3.13.15.28.32.37; 63,2.3.5.[6].7.[7].8.[9].9.[17].21.22.23.26.27.
28.36.37; 64,11.24.26; 65,22.26.29; 66,[18].28; 67,25.33;
XII,1:15,8; 28,19; 30,25; 31,25; 32,16; 34,5; 2:57,[5]; 60,[21];
XIII,1:39,24; 40,28; 44,4.8.<19>; 47,27; 2:50,[29]

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30,5.21.27; 32,4.14; 33,10.12.18.22; 34,4.7.17.[28]; 3:1B,21

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70,[29]; 71,[27]; 72,[24]; XII,r:34,10; XIII,r:35,[1].[2].7.10.12.
22.24.25.27.27.28.[31].32; 36,4.[6].7.9.12.[14].17.22.23; 37,31;
38,7.11; 39,15; 40,8.12.29; 41,1.20.25.32; 42,4.5.8.9.12.14;
43,35.[36]; 44,1; 45,2.[3].[3].6.8.[9].23.28; 46,5.14.[33]; 47,25.
[28].29; 48,[11]; 49,[8].8.11.[11].17.19; 50,12.16.17; 2:50,27
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αΠΕ f. head XI,r:13,[21].25.33.35; 16,28; 17,[16].31; 18,28.35;
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αΠС f. number † ηΠС ηΚΟТ α- pay allotment of visits to
XIII,r:43,18

αρω:αρεω† cold XII,2:57,[12]
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αρηχ limit **ατнарх** boundless XI,3:53,13; 63,2; 66,26
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αγω and passim

αω what? **наω нэε** how? XI,3:49,14; 64,15
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αzo m. treasure **εzo** XI,2:26,20
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- βεβε XI,2:23,19; XIII,1:36,6
- βωκ go βωκ ατπε ascend XI,2:33,22; XIII,1:45,31
 βωκ αβαλ 2N XI,2:31,[35]
 βωκ ερουν ε- enter XI,3:53,15; 60,21
 βωκ αρουν α- XI,1:10,34.38; 12,35; 2; 25,35; 31,[35]; XIII,1:47,[35]
 βωκ ερραι ε- ascend XII,1:30,16; XIII,1:43,32; 45,[32]; descend XI,4:70,16.20; XIII,1:36,[4]; 41,26.32; 47,33
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- βεκε m. wage XII,1:30,3
- βαλ m. eye XI,3:64,31; XIII,1:38,5; 46,28
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- βωλ βωλ εβολ (αβαλ) loosen, dissolve, nullify, release XI,1:2,([22]); 19,([12]); XII,2:57,[17]; 59,[26]; XIII,1:36,[33]; 41,5-17.28; 43,[3]; 49,35-38
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 βωλ 2N XII,2:57,21
 βολ= (βαλ=) εβολ (εβαλ) XI,1:14,(25); XII,1:28,9
 βολ m. outside εβολ (αβαλ) passim
 εβολ χε because XII,2:58,[26].28
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 мпсаηβολ outside XII,1:34,17
 ρ εβολ escape XI,3:52,8
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 ρ(λ)βαλ escape XI,1:12,(36); 16,[10]
- βλλε m. blind person ρ βλλε be blind XI,3:64,30
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- βωων be bad мηтβοоηε f. wickedness XII,3:1A,14

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ε- (α-), ερο- (αρα-) passim

εβοτ m. month εβατε plu. XIII,1:42,31.[32]

εεεε in cond. apod. "then" 21ε XI,1:1,32

ενεε interrogative particle XI,2:26,35

ενεεζ m. eternity XIII,1:50,[9]

ανεεζ XIII,1:35,14; 41,29

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ωαενεεζ forever XIII,1:45,[2].30

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60,25; 61,5; 66,33; XIII,1:37,34; 39,[37]

ωααηηεε forever XI,2:40,[25]; 43,38; 44,36

νωααηηεε eternal XI,1:5,[26]

ερηγ m. fellow (with poss. adj. "one another" XI,1:7,[20];
15,[20]; 18,[16].[17].[18].18.[27]; 19,[21].33.36; 2:29,25; 35,34;
38,[24]; 42,[22]; 3:49,[22]; 4:69,[29]; XII,3:1A,11; XIII,1:39,12

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ετβε because of, concerning XI,1:2,[29]; 4,24; 5,[32].38; 16,16;
18,16; 19,26; 2:22,36; 24,32; 36,17; 38,12; 43,[22]; 3:47,[5].7;
50,11; 52,18.27.29; 53,23; 59,34; 67,[20]; 4:69,[22]; XII,1:15,[6];
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34,28; XIII,1:43,28; 44,29

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ετβε παι (πεει) therefore XI,1:4,([24]); 7,(34); 11,(24);
2:24,(36); 28,(33); 34,(26); 38,(22).(34); 3:50,15; 62,17;
XII,2:57,16; 58,19; XIII,1:38,28

εσογ m. glory XI,3:50,19; 52,14; 55,[13].18.[22].[34]; 57,25;

- XII,2:30,[2].[24]; XIII,1:37,25.32.[34].[36]; 38,3.6.9; 39,7.7.10.25; 40,1; 45,8.10.19.19; 46,[3].19.20.27; 48,23.26; 49,27.27.
- εαγ XI,1:11,15; 12,[20].[21].23; 2:25,37; 29,31.32.33.35; 39,[21].[22].22; 40,[21]; 43,36; 44,36; 3:49,24
- † εοογ (εαγ) glorify XI,1:15,(25); 2:24,(35); 30,([27]); 39,[21].22; 40,([20]); XIII,1:38,19.21.23.29; 39,7.7; 45,15; 48,24.25
- χι εοογ (εαγ) be glorified XI,1:21,(34); XIII,1:45,14
- εψχε if, as if XI,3:64,<14>.16.18; XII,1:15,23; 2:58,[2]; XIII,2:50,30
- ειψπε · XI,1:1,[31]; 8,[28]; 15,[20]; 18,[19].[22]; 20,[20]; 21,[20]; 2:26,35
- ηι m. house XII,1:16,3; XIII,1:39,37; 40,21; 41,32
- ηει XIII,1:43,22
- ει come XI,1:12,22; 2:34,[18]; XII,2:57,[16].20; 58,[3.9]; 60,[20]; XIII,1:42,17; 47,11.[34]
- ει ε- (α-) come to XI,1:18,([24]); 3:48,8; 50,28; XII,2:57,[18]
- ει εβολ (αβαλ) come forth XI,1:5,(26); 10,(35); 11,([25]); 2:22,([32]); 30,([24]); 43,(23); 4:70,[14]; XIII,1:36,10.18; 37,6; 39,14.31; 46,[12]; 47,33
- ι (αβαλ) XI,1:5,(16); 11,(26); XIII,1:44,8
- ει απιτη descend XI,2:26,25; 33,34; 38,36; XIII,1:39,31; 40,16.29; 41,20
- ει ερογν ε- (αρογν α-) enter XI,2:22,(2); 23,([32]); 32,(36); 37,(16); 4:72,([25]); XIII,1:41,19; 45,13
- ει ερραι ε- (αρρηι α-) come up, down XI,2:35,(18); 3:57,16; 62,13; XIII,1:43,20; 47,31
- ει αβαλ m. exodus XI,1:11,[21]; 2:41,[36]; XIII,2:50,[33]
- βινει αβαλ f. exodus XI,1:18,[23]
- βινει απιτη f. descent XI,1:19,14; 2:23,35
- βιννει απιτη XI,2:26,[25]
- ειμε know XI,3:45,26.29.30; 46,[11]; 49,12; 50,6.32; 51,27; 52,18; 53,22; 54,21; 55,11.20; 56,17.[18].[28]; 57,13.15; 59,12.31.39; 60,[8].17; 61,[2].18.35; 63,11.13.16; 64,[1]; 67,36
- ιμε XI,3:54,22; 60,11
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ΕΙΜΕ m. knowledge XI,3:55,[19]

ΜΝΤΕΙΜΕ f. intellection XI,3:49,27-34; 53,15-25; 54,15

ΑΤΕΙΜΕ ignorant XI,3:55,[20]; 61,2

Ρ-, ΑΡΙ ΑΤΕΙΜΕ be ignorant of XI,3:59,31; 60,12; 61,18

ΕΙΝΕ bring XI,1:2,26; 3,[31]; 2:41,23; 42,[35]; 3:58,[9]

Ν- XI,1:11,[18].[21]; 2:31,38; 36,11; 3:46,[13]; 49,21

ΝΤ= XI,1:6,[28]; 11,30

ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ (ΑΒΑΛ) bring forth XI,1:13,([22]); 2:25,(38); 30,(29).
([35]); 32,([39]); 35,([19]).(27); 36,(20).(21); XII,1:28,6; XIII,1:
50,13

Ν- ΕΒΟΛ (ΑΒΑΛ) XI,2:35,([25]); 3:49,21

ΝΤ= ΕΒΟΛ (ΑΒΑΛ) XI,1:14,([36]); 2:42,(28); XII,1:29,20

ΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ε- offer to XIII,1:40,2

ΝΤ= ΑΖΟΥΝ α- bring to XI,2:35,35

ΒΙΝΝΤ= ΑΠΙΤΝ f. descent XI,2:24,25

ΩΡΠ(Ν)ΕΙΝΕ (ΑΒΑΛ) to advance XI,2:23,27; 25,(21)

ΕΙΝΕ be like XI,1:12,17; 14,9; XIII,1:49,13

ΙΝΕ XI,1:19,31; 2:32,35

ΕΙΝΕ m. likeness XI,1:2,30-32; 3,29; 4,[33]; 5,[38]; 2:26,38;
37,[17]; 3:58,32; 60,34; 4:71,[22]; XIII,1:47,16; 49,16

ΙΝΕ XI,2:37,35; 3:53,30; 59,22; XIII,1:42,25

ΕΙΟΟΡ m. canal [ΡΕΦ]ΧΙΟΟΡ m. traverser XI,3:49,8

ΕΙΡΕ do, make XI,1:9,32; 13,22; 16,[22]; 2:32,32; 38,37; 43,31-33;
3:50,16; XII,1:15,10; 16,[27]; 27,22; 28,8.28; 34,11.13; 2:53,[26]

Ρ- s.v. ΒΩΛ, ΒΛΛΕ, ΕΙΜΕ, ΜΕ, ΜΑΕΙΝ, ΜΠΩΑ, ΜΕΕΥΕ,
ΝΟΥΤΕ, ΠΕ, ΡΡΟ, ΟΥΩ, ΟΥΟΕΙΝ, ΨΑΙ, ΨΒΗΡ, ΨΠΗΡΕ,
ΩΟΡΠ, ΖΑΕ, ΖΗ, ΖΩΒ, ΖΑΕΙΒΕΣ, ΖΗΤ, ΖΟΤΕ, ΧΟΕΙΣ,
ΒΡΩΖ and many Greek verbs and adjectives.

Λ ΒΑΛ α- escape XI,1:12,36

ΑΑ= XII,1:16,[24].[25].[28]; 30,15; 34,6.8; XIII,1:41,[35]; 44,12

ΕΕΙΤ= XI,1:14,34

ΕΕ= XI,1:9,[18]; XII,1:30,[8]; 34,7

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32,12; 34,15.16; 2:54,[23]; 3:53,28; 54,[23]; XIII,1:37,7.28;
41,14; 42,9; 46,23; 47,27

ε† XI,3:47,[26]; 48,[29]; 49,37; 50,31; 53,17.19; 60,11; 61,2.21;
64,15

οει† XI,1:6,30; 9,36; 15,32; 16,12; 17,26.26; 2:35,12; XIII,1:
38,14; 45,20

αρι- XI,3:59,13.19.31.33; 60,12; XII,1:34,6

ερι- XI,1:15,36

εις εις ζηητε (ζητε) behold! XI,1:5,(21); XIII,1:40,11; 44,2.
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ειωτ m. father XI,1:8,36; 9,28.29.33.36.37; 10,[17]; 11,20; 14,27;
15,[16]; 2:24,24.27; XII,2:53,24; 58,[6].11; 59,[22]; 60,30;
3:1B,20.21; XIII,1:41,2.[32]; 43,36; 45,3; 49,20; 50,15

ιωτ XI,1:10,[24]; 11,32.35; 13,20; 14,30; 21,34; 2:22,19; 23,36;
28,22; 34,24; 35,23.27; 36,28.29.32.36; 40,21.[22].22; 43,[21];
3:50,26; XII,1:29,28; XIII,1:36,17; 37,22; 38,7.8; 49,26

μντειωτ f. fatherhood XIII,1:48,14.26.30

ειτη m. ground επιτη down XII,1:34,14

απιτη XI,1:6,[21].[24]; 12,[34]; 13,28.32; 19,14; 2:23,35; 24,25;
26,[25]; 33,34; 38,36; XIII,1:39,[31]; 40,16.29; 41,9.20; 44,14

σαμπιτη m. place below XI,1:4,33; 6,28; 13,29; 2:24,26; XIII,1:
39,22; 41,26

κε- other, even XI,1:9,23; 11,28; 12,38; 18,37; 19,28; 2:22,34;
34,27; 37,9.11; 3:53,14; 62,17.37; 63,11.18; 4:71,21; XII,1:
31,25.27; XIII,1:39,34.35; 44,[1].22

κεουα (κευε) m. another XI,3:62,10.12.33; 63,4.25; 67,38;
XII,1:28,(25)

ζηκκοουε others XII,1:29,17.18

ζηκκαυε XI,1:5,17.19; 7,21; 19,26; 2:27,33

ζηκεκαυε yet others XI,1:5,18

κογι small XII,1:33,14

κογει XI,1:2,28; 14,29; 3:63,7; XII,1:30,27

μντκογει f. exiguity XI,3:57,23

κω put, set XI,3:68,20; XII,1:29,11; XIII,1:44,9; 45,28

κωε XI,1:1,[26].[27]; 18,29; 2:33,34

καα- XI,1:10[14]; 18,30.31; 19,1; 3:57,26; XIII,1:38,13

- κη† *subsist, be located* XI,3:45,[7]; 48,[11].20; 49,10; 51,[9]; 61,20
 κω (να=) εβολ *forgive (yield to)* XII,2:58,[23]; 3:1B,25; XIII,r:
 40,(3); 43,2
 καα= αβαλ XI,r:10,[14]
 κω εβολ (κωε αβαλ) *m. forgiveness* XI,r:12,[26]; 14,[37];
 2:41,[11].22; XII,2:58,[23]
 κω εζραι *lay down* XII,2:54,[26]
 καα= εζραι XIII,r:42,25; 46,10
 κω εζραι *m. foundation* XIII,r:46,27; 47,10
 κωε νσα- *abandon* XI,2:34,[25]
 κα μα α- *yield to* XI,r:4,[25]
 κω ηρω= *be silent* XI,3:53,35
 καρωq *m. silence* XI,2:22,22.[22]; 3:53,24; 59,25; 61,21; 63,35;
 65,19; XII,r:15,[6].[15]; 32,6; XIII,r:46,13
 μντκαρωc *f. silence* XIII,r:35,[34]; 36,3; 37,12.29; 46,23; 50,20
 κα τοοτ= εβολ *despair* XI,3:57,27
 κααc *f. foundation* XIII,r:46,11
- κωκ κωκ αζηγ *strip off* XIII,r:48,[8]
 κακ= αζηγ XIII,r:48,12
 καακ= αζηγ XIII,r:49,30
- κακε *m. darkness* XIII,r:36,5; 37,14; 39,26; 41,8; 44,23; 46,[32];
 48,[9]; 49,35.[38]; 2:50,31-33
 κεκει XI,r:9,35; 10,[15]; 13,17
- κλομ *m. crown* κλαμ XI,r:21,32
- κιμ *move* XI,2:22,39; 3:53,10; 59,16; XIII,r:35,12.19;
 43,10.12.12.22
m. movement XI,3:60,24; XIII,r:35,2.14; 43,20
 ατκιμ XI,3:48,[28]
 μντατκιμ *f. motionlessness* XI,3:53,10
- κογν= bosom XIII,r:44,14
- κωτε *turn, go round* κωτε ε- *seek, surround* XI,3:49,11;
 52,[11]; 67,35; XIII,r:37,[36]; 38,5; 42,[32]
 κοτ= ε- XI,3:50,[2]; 52,9
 κωτε εζογν ε- *incline toward* XI,3:59,[2]

κωτε nca- seek XI,3:59,15; 60,20; 61,14; 67,23
 κωτε m. seeking, circuit XI,3:61,27; XIII,1:43,22
 μπκωτε around XI,1:20,38; 2:35,33; 3:66,37; XIII,1:35,[35]
 κοτ m. visit XIII,1:43,18

κτο turn κταειτ† be changed XII,2:53,29

καψ m. reed XIII,1:43,12

καζ m. earth XI,1:9,29; 20,38; 2:37,28; 38,31; XII,1:34,14;
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κοοζ m. corner ρτογκοοζ m. quadrangle XIII,1:37,28

κωζτ m. fire XI,1:14,26; 4:71,[25]
 † κωζτ set afire XI,4:72,28

λο cease XI,1:4,[34]; XIII,1:43,26
 λोट (tr.?) stop XI,2:34,12.17.22

λιβε be mad λαβι† XI,1:20,37

λαс m. language XIII,1:41,27

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 59,18; 61,33; 62,1.5.15.19; 63,9.[12].17.24.27.29; 64,20.26;
 65,16; 66,21; 67,23.30; XII,1:27,5; 29,[25]; 31,[1]; 33,17.22;
 34,4; 2:58,[8]; XIII,1:47,24; 49,32; 2:50,26

лааге XI,2:22,[25].37; 23,[20]; 33,29; 36,30

лааγ n- any, a sort of XI,3:48,[20]; 57,19.21; 62,11; 64,27;
 65,35; 66,19; XII,1:15,[25]; 34,8.13

лааге n- XII,1:32,11; 34,3

mnлааγ no one XII,2:58,[8]

лааγ нта m. entity of, reification XI,3:62,31; 63,38; 64,2

κατα лааγ somehow XI,3:62,4.7

лабе make cease XII,1:28,28

лоειбе m. cause, reason XI,3:52,33; XII,2:59,28

лаειбе XI,3:48,[20]; 49,17

- μα** m. place XI,1,1,[37].38; 4,[28]; 5,16.[28]; 10,29,35; 12,[24]; 13,35; 17,37; 19,17; 20,29; 2:22,39; 23,38; 27,[18]; 38,18; 3:48,8, 11; 50,28; 59,33; 4:70,24; XII,1:16,2; 27,17; 2:57,1.15; 58,[25]; XIII,1:38,[33]; 40,14.32; 41,19; 44,19; 47,28; 49,12
απμα n- instead of XI,1:17,[24]
ζιογμα together XI,3:45,8; 46,7.22.30; 55,15.[24]
μανωωπε dwelling place XI,1:6,[22]; 10,12; 13,32; 2:37,36; XIII,1:39,[36]; 45,34; 50,14.16
μανβοειλε dwelling place XIII,1:44,26
κα μα α- yield XI,1:4,[25]
† μα n- permit XI,1:3,[35]
- με** love **μαειε** XI,1:3,[34]; 15,[18]; 17,[23]; XIII,1:45,5
μαειε- XI,1:16,[28]
μαει- p.c., s.v. **ηδονη, νουτε, ρωμε, саве, ωνη, бол**
μερε- XII,1:15,[2]
μαειε m. love XI,2:22,30
μεριτ adj. beloved XII,2:53,[22]; XIII,1:49,11
- με** f. truth XII,1:15,18
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χε мне tell the truth XII,1:15,[16].[23]
- μοу** die XI,1:5,31.32.33; 9,[21]; 2:44,32; XII,1:30,9; XIII,1:49,35
моуτ† mortal XII,2:54,25
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моу m. death XI,1:1,[38].38; 3,37; 5,[31]; 9,[24].26; 14,17.37; 19,[23].[25]; 20,26; 2:34,[22]; XII,1:28,[3].10; 34,28; XIII,1:44,22
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реқмоу m. mortal XII,1:16,[19]; XIII,1:40,13; 47,32
- моуι** m. lion **моуει** XII,1:31,25
- μαав** m. thirty XI,2:30,36; 31,[38]
μαζμααβε f. thirtieth XI,2:31,35
- мокмек** consider **мкмоук-** XI,1:16,[16]; 2:34,21
макмек αζοуη XI,1:16,[18]

ΜΚΑΖ be difficult ΜΟΚΖ† N- XI,3:50,29; XIII,1:37,10

ΜΕΛΩΤ m. ceiling XIII,1:43,9

ΜΜΝ- not be ΜΝ- XI,2:22,24.37; 35,18; 3:47,35; XII,1:15,[24];
16,[2].14; 27,5; 33,17; 34,13; XII,2:58,[1.8]; XIII,1:44,1; 49,32;
2:50,26

ΜΝ- neg. imperat. XI,1:9,28

ΜΝΤΕ- not have XI,1:11,[28]

ΜΜΝΤ- XI,3:62,10; 64,27

ΜΝΤΕ- XI,1:12,[19]; XII,1:29,13; 33,8; XIII,1:36,19; 39,23; 42,12;
45,[1].24

ΜΝΤΑ- XI,3:61,36; 65,35; XII,1:32,10; XIII,1:42,21

ΜΜΝΒΟΜ ε- + inf. be impossible to XI,3:53,21

ΜΜΝΒΟΜ + conj. be impossible that XI,3:58,32; 63,13.39

ΜΝΒΟΜ (ΜΝΒΑΜ) + conj. XI,3:59,(16); XII,1:32,12

ΜΝΒΟΜ ΕΤΡΕ- + inf. XII,1:16,4

ΜΝΩΒΑΜ ΜΜΑ- XI,1:2,19.[26]; 17,[18]

ΜΜΙΝ own, self ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ- (ΜΜΑ-) XI,1:2,(33); 5,(31); 12,([14]).
([21]); 18,(14); 19,([29]); 2:29,([34]); 33,(30); 38,([17]); XIII,1:
38,4

ΜΜΟΝ otherwise ΜΜΑΝ XI,1:20,24

ΜΜ-, ΝΜΜΑ- (ΝΜΜΕ-) with, and passim

ΜΑΕΙΝ m. sign XI,1:1,[14]; 4,[30]

ΡΜΑΕΙΝ to signal XI,1:14,11.[12]

ΜΟΥΝ remain ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ XII,1:28,19

ΜΗΝ† ε- abide in XI,4:70,18

ΜΗΝ† (ΕΒΟΛ) be constant XI,3:49,30; XIII,1:38,(3)

ΜΙΝΕ f. manner ΝΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ thus XIII,1:49,34

Ν†ΜΙΝΕ XI,1:5,36; 20,26; 2:24,32; 35,[15]; 37,29.30.37

ΜΝΤΡΕ m. characteristic, witness XII,1:15,[9].[20]; 30,16

ΜΠΩΡ neg. imperat. ΜΠΩΡ α- do not XI,1:18,28

мпр- passim

мпѡа be worthy, deserve, valuable XI,1:5,32; 9,[13]; 15,10.15;
2:34,27; 3:52,23; 57,36.37; 67,36; XII,1:16,[9]; 29,[2]; 33,2;
3:1B,13.18; XIII,1:42,26

рмпѡа become worthy XI,3:68,19; XIII,1:44,32

мпѡа more, greatly XII,1:27,3; 33,21; XIII,1:43,14

моур bind XI,1:6,29

мнр† be bound XIII,1:41,7

мрре f. bond, bondage XII,1:28,10; 2:54,[19]; XIII,1:41,6; 44,15

мрре joint (length of measure) XIII,1:43,3.4

марε- марон let us go XIII,1:43,30

мисе give birth XIII,1:43,6; 45,7

f. offspring XI,1:14,19.19; 2:43,37

атмисе unborn XI,3:46,35; 54,36

мосте hate масте XI,1:17,[27]; 18,38

моѡт path, way XII,2:54,[21]

моит XIII,1:43,18

маѡт path, XIII,1:43,24

ѡи моѡт знт= lead, guide XII,1:16,1

ѡи маѡт знт= XI,2:44,[34]

мате to meet метε а= meet with XIII,1:43,23

меεте а- XI,1:2,[20]

мате very емате XI,3:52,8; 57,32

мнте f. midst, middle XII,1:15,12; 2:59,[18]; XIII,1:36,4; 43,11;
44,9

моутε to call моутε ε-(а-) XI,1:9,(28).(36); XII,2:57,[25];
58,18; 60,[22]; XIII,1:35,[6]; 38,14; 39,26; 42,6.7.8; 2:50,[32]

моутε εζουν beckon XIII,1:42,30

моутε εζραι ουβε- call (curse) against XI,3:68,22

МТОН rest † МТОН put at ease XII,2:57,9

МОТН† rest XII,2:60,[28]

МАУ (place) there ММАУ (mostly with ОУНТЕ-, МНТЕ-) XI,3:
46,10; 52,29; 62,24; 64,27; 65,36; XII,2:58,[26]; XIII,1:37,7.
23.24.25; 39,19.24.25; 41,19; 42,21; 45,2.25.[33]; 49,29

ММЕУ XI,1:5,29; 6,31; 13,36; 14,[18].21.25; 15,24; 16,19.[22];
18,35; 19,17.32.35; 20,2; 21,22; 2:22,28.35; 25,35; 26,[31]; 27,35;
XII,1:16,[10]; 27,18.19

ЕТММАУ that XI,3:45,30; 53,11; 57,9; 59,33.36; 60,14; 64,25;
66,18; XII,3:1A,23; XIII,1:39,17; 40,14.26.[32]; 44,6; 49,12

ЕТММЕУ XI,1:3,[30]; 4,[31]; 2:22,39; 24,18; 29,[26]; 38,[19];
41,[24]

ЕВОЛ ММЕУ whence XI,1:10,36

ϣИ ММАУ remove XII,1:34,5

МААУ f. mother XIII,1:37,22; 38,13; 42,9; 44,31; 45,[3].10; 46,9;
48,32

МАУ XIII,1:46,20

МЕЕУ XI,1:7,38; 8,[7]; 13,17

МОΟΥ m. water XIII,1:36,[6].7; 37,3.[35]; 41,23; 46,17; 48,7.[20]

МАУ XI,1:4,29

МАΟΥ XI,1:4,31

МЕЕУ think МЕЕУ е-, а- think about XII,1:16,25; 27,3.15

МЕУ а- (ЕТВЕ-) XI,1:16,([17]); 20,23

МЕЕУ хе- think that XII,3:1B,22; 2B,29; XIII,1:47,[25]

МЕЕУ хе- XII,1:33,16

МЕЕУ m. thought XI,3:50,3.12; XII,1:27,18; 2:53,25; 58,[12];
60,19.23; XIII,1:35,[1].8; 36,[2].9.14.17.20.21.25.27; 37,13.21;
38,8; 39,9; 41,31; 42,5.6.24.26; 44,30; 45,23; 46,7.30; 48,10.14;
49,7.36

МЕУ XI,2:22,34.37; 24,32.33; 32,32

АТМЕЕУ еро= inconceivable XIII,1:46,15

РПМЕУ remember XI,1:10,[16]; 2:43,[21]

РПМЕУ XII,1:32,2

†МЕЕУ на= ЕТВЕ remind of XI,3:68,18

МОУΟΥТ kill XI,1:5,27; 8,[24]; 17,[22]; 20,[19]; 2:38,[24]

ΜΟΥΤ- XII,1:28,13

ΜΟΟΥΤ- XII,1:28,5

ΜΗΝΥΕ m. multitude XI,3:45,12; XII,1:15,[13]; 30,7; 31,18;
3:1A,12

ΜΙΨΥΕ fight ΜΙΨΥΕ ΜΝ- fight with XI,1:7,20; 18,15
m. battle XI,2:38,28

ΜΟΟΥΨΕ walk, go XIII,1:35,21

ΜΑΖΕ XI,1:21,20

ΜΟΟΥΨΕ ΖΙΩΨ- walk upon XIII,1:43,24

ΜΑΖΕ ΝΖΡΗΙ ΖΝ- conduct self by XI,2:40,36

ΜΟΟΥΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ m. ascent XIII,1:43,23

ΜΟΥΨΕ ΝΑΚ (for ΜΑ ΨΥΕ ? s.v. ΨΥΕ) XI,3:67,24

ΜΟΥΨΤ search out XI,3:46,23

ΜΟΥΨΤ- XI,3:46,[22]

ΜΟΥΖ fill, be filled ΜΗΖ† be full XI,3:53,38; XII,2:59,[25]

ΜΟΥΖ ΕΒΟΛ (ΖΝ) fill (be filled with) XI,3:60,(37); 67,19;
68,(25)

ΜΟΥΖ- ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ be filled with XI,3:67,[17]

ΜΕΖ† ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ full of XI,3:58,11.22

ΜΑΖ- ordinal pref. XI,2:23,21.[23].26.[26].28.30; 24,21; 31,35;
37,10; 3:48,38; XIII,1:38,[35].[36]; 39,1.2; 42,17; 47,11.[13]

ΜΕΖ- XI,3:53,23.25; 54,14; XIII,1:39,3.4

ΜΑΑΧΕ m. ear XII,2:57,5; XIII,1:42,15; 45,11

Ν-, ΝΤΕ-, ΝΤΑ- (ΝΤΕ-) genitive passim

Ν- ΝΑ- dative passim

ΝΑ have mercy, pity XII,2:59,23

ΝΑΕ m. mercy XII,2:59,22; XIII,1:44,31

ΑΤΝΑΕ pitiless XIII,1:41,10

ΝΑΑ- be great ΝΕΑ- XI,3:47,[15]; 50,[8]; 57,12.22

- NOY** be coming **NHY†** XIII,1:42,21; 44,[35]; 45,[8]
NNHY† XI,1:12,34; 13,[25]; XIII,1:40,12
- NOBE** m. sin, failure XI,3:51,31; XII,1:15,[24]; 16,14.15; 2:58,20
NABI XI,1:12,26; 14,38; 21,21.31; 2:41,12.15.[23]
NABEI XI,1:9,38
ATNOBE sinless XII,1:30,14
PNABI to sin XI,1:21,29.30
- NAAKE** f. travail **NEKE** XIII,1:43,6
- NKA** m. thing XI,3:62,37; 63,4.18
- NKATK** sleep XIII,1:35,22
- NIM** who? XI,1:12,29; XII,1:34,22.23; XIII,1:39,16.16; 44,6
PA NIM PE who is responsible for it? XIII,1:43,29
- NIM** every XI,1:20,29; 21,32; 2:27,23; 36,33; 43,34.35.[36];
 3:47,17.[30].32.33; 52,23; 53,17; 54,26; 57,20.22.24; 64,8.18;
 66,32; XII,1:16,[13].15; 27,[7].14; 29,10.14; 31,16; 34,9;
 2:57,[1].5; XIII,1:35,12.14.14.17.18; 37,25; 41,[4]; 42,13; 45,23;
 46,26.28; 47,21; 49,9.24.24.27
- OYON NIM** everyone XI,3:49,16; 50,22; 52,23; XII,1:30,23; 32,24;
 XIII,1:35,20.27.32.35; 36,15.24; 40,20; 41,36; 45,21; 47,17;
 49,20; 2:50,25
- OYAN NIM** XI,2:44,34
- ZWB NIM** everything XI,3:48,17; XII,1:16,[13].15; 27,[7].14;
 29,14; 34,9; XIII,1:37,4
- NOEIN** tremble XIII,1:40,22
NAIN XIII,1:43,8
- NOYN** m. abyss XIII,1:37,15; 40,22
- NOYNE** f. root XI,1:19,29.31.37; 2:22,[20].33; 23,19.32; 24,35;
 38,17; XIII,1:46,25; 47,28; 2:50,29
- NANOY-** be good XI,3:54,23; 63,31; 64,6; XII,1:15,15; 28,9.
 <13>.[28]; 29,17; 30,9; 32,5; 33,7; 34,[25]

ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥÇ the good XII,r:15,[29]

ΡΕÇΡΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥÇ doer of good works XII,r:16,21

ΝΤΕ- genitive preposition passim

ΝΟΥΤΕ m. god XI,r:2,32; 9,16; 14,23; 15,16.28.33; 20,30; 21,18;
2:22,31; 24,34; 28,36; 37,[18]; 38,11.14.21.33.37; 42,13; 3:46,11.
19.20; 47,35; 51,26.33; 56,20.[35]; 58,[6].13; 61,11.15; 64,23;
XII,r:16,[2].[15].[18].20.22; 27,[2].[3].5.7.10.12.13.15.23.[26];
29,19; 30,22.22.26.28; 31,1.[2].4.6.7.8.9.10.14.17.19.19.23; 32,2.
3.5.[6].9.10.[11].12.13.16.20.20.23.26; 33,2.3.4.11.16.18.18.20.21.
22; 34,12.22.26; 3:1B,[10].14; XIII,r:38,22.25.25.[31]; 39,6.13;
43,36; 46,21; 2:50,25

ΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ godless XII,r:31,3

ΜΑΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ m. piety XII,r:30,1; 31,12.15

ΜΗΤΝΟΥΤΕ f. divinity XI,2:33,32; 3:47,30.36; 48,31.32; 54,11;
55,[27]; 58,22; 62,28.35; XII,r:32,16; 2:58,6

ΡΝΟΥΤΕ become divine XI,3:52,12

ΡΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ m. man of god XII,r:28,22; 31,24; 32,22

ΝΤΟΚ m. sg. you, thou XI,3:54,24.32.35; XII,r:16,27; 33,10;
XIII,r:38,27

ΝΤΑΚ XI,2:44,31

ΝΤΚ- XI,3:54,6.11.12.21.22.22

ΝΤΟC she XIII,r:46,13

ΝΤΩΤΗ plu. you XI,r:9,30; XIII,r:46,34

ΝΤΩΤΗC XIII,r:44,31

ΤΗΝΕ XI,3:67,<37>; XIII,r:44,1

ΝΤΟΥÇ they XI,3:49,25; XIII,r:50,11

ΝΤΑΥ XI,2:37,25

ΝΤΟΥÇ he XI,3:46,[17]; 48,18; 49,20.28; 51,<37>; 62,14.33; 63,16;
64,28; 65,24; 67,31; XII,r:27,1.17.[25]; 34,17; 3:1B,19; XIII,r:
37,[30]; 38,25.31; 44,27

ΝΤΑΥ XI,r:3,[28]; 13,36; 15,[24]; 2:22,39; 23,24; 24,22.36; 26,[18].
[19]; 40,18; 3:47,[26]; 62,31; 63,12.15.38

- ναγ** look **ναγ ε-** XI,3:46,[8].14.18.27.[27].[30].31.[32].34.36;
 52,10; 55,[13]; 57,36; 58,12.36; 59,4.16; 60,24; 61,12; 64,14.
 <14a>.16; 66,16; 4:69,23; 71,22.[30]; 72,20; XII,1:15,[27]
νεγ α- XI,1:2,[16]; 10,33; 13,24; 15,23; 20,32; 2:25,19; 34,[19];
 40,11
νεγ αβαλ XI,1:4,28
εναγ ε- imperat. behold! XI,3:59,10
νεγ (εβολ) m. sight XI,2:42,[13]; XIII,1:35,(23)
ατναγ ερο- invisible XI,3:45,35; 47,10; 51,8; 66,34; XIII,1:
 35,8.9.15.24; 36,27.30; 37,32; 38,10.11; 42,6; 44,3; 46,18
ναγ m. time **πνεγ** now XI,2:24,34
χιν (χμ) πινεγ from now on XI,2:40,[24]; 42,(36)
ναψε- be many XII,1:33,25; 3:52,35; XIII,1:43,15; 44,11
ναψω- XI,1:21,[21]
ογτετναψως τε α- it is important to XI,2:28,[29]
νιγε breathe **νιγε (εζογν, αζογν)** XI,2:38,(26); 4:70,((26));
 XII,2:53,[25]
 m. breath XIII,1:45,[28]; 46,28
ατνιγε breathless XI,3:66,24
νογγε see **ψινε**
νογρη be good **νογρη f.** good XII,1:15,27
ναρη XI,1:10,[22]
с†ноγве m. fragrance XI,2:25,<39>
ноγзв to yoke **назве f.** shoulder XI,1:10,34
ноγзм be saved, save XI,3:50,33.35; XIII,1:36,[35]; 41,18
назмε- XI,3:50,36
незпе mourn XIII,1:44,11
 m. mourning XIII,1:44,11
незсе awaken XIII,1:35,[22]
назте believe m. faith XII,2:57,[17]

ΜΝΤΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ f. unbelief XI,1:1,35,37

ΝΟΥΧΕ cast ΝΕΧ- ΕΒΟΛ cast out XII,1:31,21

ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ cast down XIII,1:45,10

ΝΟΧ- ΕΖΡΑΙ XIII,1:45,30

ΝΟΒ great XI,3:46,24; 50,23,25; 52,20,21; 54,11,21; 55,[18];
57,33,39; 58,35; 63,7; 68,32; 4:72,[26]; XII,1:15,20; 28,17;
29,[5]; 33,5,7,15; XIII,1:39,11,14,21; 40,5; 43,4,10; 46,[8]; 48,28

ΝΑΒ XI,1:1,33; 2,[26]; 4,32; 6,[17]; 9,[38]; 10,[14].29; 14,[28];
2:27,[29]

ΜΝΤΝΟΒ f. greatness, magnitude XI,3:47,38; 52,35; 57,19,22;
65,21,37

ΝΒΙ namely XI,1:5,38; 6,[32]; 10,[14]; 12,[25]; 20,22; 21,25;
2:24,[27]; 28,34; 30,30; 33,37; 36,20; 37,32,38; 38,28; 3:49,19;
50,19,26; 51,10,13; 52,[13].34; 53,[11]; 55,[18].33; 56,13,22;
57,12,24; 58,7; 60,14,15; 61,23; 66,32; 4:70,18,25; 71,29; XII,1:
27,8,18,19; 28,20,22; 30,[8]; 33,5,6; 2:57,[16].20; 58,[3].[8].21;
59,[20].[27]; 60,27.[30]; 3:1B,19,26,27; XIII,1:36,10,18; 39,8.
14,19,21,32; 40,4,18,20,22; 41,36; 43,[4].8,8,22,27,31; 44,3.
15,[35]; 45,15,18,23; 48,27; 49,[7].35,35; 50,16

ΝΟΒΝΕΒ to reproach ΝΒΝΟΥΒ- XI,1:10,21; 12,27,30,36

ΝΑΒΝΒ m. reproach XI,1:1,[18]; 12,[17].37

ΧΙ ΝΑΒΝΒ be reproached XI,1:12,16,25

ΡΕΦΝΑΒΝΒ m. reproacher XI,1:12,[15]

ΟΕΙΚ m. bread XII,1:33,13

ΟΝ also, again XI,3:46,[9].[28]; 50,18; 51,14; 52,13; 55,17; 57,37;
59,39; XII,1:15,14; 29,14; 3:1B,24

ΑΝ XI,1:1,23; 3,[30]; 5,19; 14,19; 16,[19]; 17,24; 20,[19].[22];
21,[26]

ΟCE m. loss † ΟCE forfeit XI,3:56,[29]

† ΑCΙ XI,1:9,34

ΟΟΤΕ f. womb ΟΤΕ XIII,1:38,15

ΑΤΕ XI,1:3,32; XIII,1:45,6

οειω m. cry **ταψε οειω** proclaim XI,3:68,30; 69,14; XII,2:57,[23]; XIII,1:37,13; 50,9
ταψε λειω XI,1:19,21

πε f. heaven XI,2:37,27; 38,31
 πηγε plu. XI,1:9,30
 ατπε up(wards) XI,1:13,29.32.35; 2:33,22.36; XIII,1:45,31
 (αψα)ντπε above XI,1:10,(32); 20,4; 2:40,[15]
 ρτπε surpass XI,1:3,33; 2:31,38
 ωωπε ντπε surmount XI,1:21,31
 ζρογμπε m. thunder XIII,1:43,15

πωωνε turn XIII,1:43,16

πειρε shine, come forth **πριε** XIII,1:36,[5].8; 38,1; 43,10;
 45,[8]
πριωογ† be shining, translucent XIII,1:36,[7]; 39,18; 48,13;
 49,32

πωρκ pluck **πορκ-** destroy XII,2:54,[19]
παρκ- αβαλ ζη pluck from XI,1:19,[15]

πωρω spread **πορω-** XI,3:45,[11].[24]
πωρω αβαλ spread out XI,1:14,29; 2:23,30
πωρω m. dissipation XI,4:70,[27]
πορωс εβολ f. extension XI,3:45,[23]

πωρχ to separate XI,2:38,[10]; 3:50,13
πορχ- solve XI,3:50,29.30
πωρч εβολ (αβαλ) separate XI,1:13,(15); 2:27,(37); 35,(34);
 3:57,26; 68,24
ρεспωρч αβαλ separator XI,2:26,32; 27,[31].<36>
ρεφπωρч αβαλ XI,2:25,[23]
ατπωρч undivided XI,3:48,35; 53,26; 60,26

ψιc m. nine XII,2:54,[26]
ψταειογ m. ninety XII,2:54,26

πωт run, flee XI,1:1,[19]; XII,2:58,25
пнт† (εβολ) XI,1:1,22; 19,[[24]].25; XII,1:27,(13)

ΠΩΤ ΑΤΠΕ ascend XI,1:13,[35]; 2:33,36
 ΠΗΤ ΑΖΟΥΝ entering XI,2:30,23
 ΠΩΤ ΝCΑ- pursue XII,2:58,[19]; XIII,1:43,17
 ΠΗΤ† ΖΝ flee from XI,2:30,[25]
 ΠΩΩΤ m. flight XIII,1:44,12

ΠΩΨ split ΠΩΨΕ XI,1:6,37
 ΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΩΨ separate (likenesses) XI,3:53,30
 ΑΤΠΩΨ indivisible XI,3:53,29; 60,36
 ΑΤΠΩΨΕ XI,1:19,33; 3:51,[10]

ΠΩΖ rend XI,1:20,37

ΠΩΖ reach ΠΩΖ ΨΑΖΡΑΙ Ε- reach down to XIII,1:40,30

ΠΩΖΤ pour ΠΩΖΤ ΑΒΑΛ XI,1:12,[15]
 ΠΑΖΤ- ΑΒΑΛ emit XI,1:8,34; 12,[14]
 ΠΑΖΤ† ΑΒΑΛ emanate XI,2:27,20

ΠΑΖΟΥ m. back ΕΠΑΖΟΥ to the rear XI,3:59,34

ΠΕΧΕ- say ΠΕΧΑ- XI:3:50,18.21; 52,15; 55,17.[33]; 61,23;
 68,[16]; 4:70,21.28; 71,[27]; 72,[21].29
 ΠΑΧΕ- XI,1:10,17; 2:34.35.37; XIII,1:39,15.34; 43,19.[33]

ΠΧΩ m. poison XII,1:15,3

ΡΑ m. condition ΖΑΡΡΑ concerning XII,1:31,[4].6.7.9.14.16.18.
 22; 32,8.11

ΡΟ m. opening XIII,1:43,7
 ΖΙΡΝ- before, at XIII,1:43,7
 ΨΤΕΜ ΑΡΩ- exclude XI,1:20,29
 ΚΩ ΝΡΩ- be silent XI,3:53,35
 ΚΑΡΩΨ m. silence XI,2:22,22.[22]; 3:53,24; 59,25; 61,21; 63,35;
 65,19; XII,1:15,[6].[15]; 32,6; XIII,1:46,13
 ΜΝΤΚΑΡΩC f. silence XIII,1:35,[34]; 36,3; 37,12.29.[33]; 46,23;
 50,20

ΡΩ indeed ΑΛΛΑ ΡΩ rather XI,3:48,[14]

ρω + neg. not at all XI,1:5,[32]; 18,[16]; 2:33,[24]
 ουτε λααυ ρω nor anything at all XI,3:62,20

ρικε bend ρεκτ- XI,1:13,27

ριμε weep XIII,1:44,11
 m. weeping XIII,1:44,17

ρωμε m. man, person XI,1:1,34; 6,[33]; 10,[11]; 11,38; 17,38;
 19,20; 20,25.30; 2:29,[28].33; 30,[18].34; 31,36; 37,34;
 38,12.[21].35; 4:71,[21].[22].31; XII,1:16,12.[20]; 27,[1].2.6.8.10.
 17.[23].24; 28,11.13.27; 29,10; 30,5; 32,10.14.18; 33,[2].[4].8;
 34,13.19.24; XIII,1:40,25; 49,18.19; 2:50,26.31

μντρωμε f. mankind XI,2:38,29

μντμαειρωμε f. love of man XII,1:32,17

ρμμαο m. rich man XI,1:17,35; XII,1:30,9

μντρμμαο f. wealth XI,2:28,37; XII,1:34,5

μντρμραυ f. gentleness XII,1:27,29

μντρμνζηт f. wisdom XIII,1:36,[35]

рес- f. pref. *nomen agentis* XI,2:26,32.32.33.[34]; 27,30.31.
 32.32.[36].37

ρεϥ- m. XI,1:5,[33]; 12,15.19.23; 2:24,22; 25,[22]; 3:45,9; 48,30;
 49,8; 68,22; XIII,1:40,13; 47,31

ромпе f. year XI,3:56,22; 57,31; 58,8
 рампе XI,2:30,38.38

ран m. name XII,1:16,[18]; XIII,1:35,6; 37,7.27; 49,30
 рен XI,1:12,13.16.[22].31.32; 2:43,32
 ат†ран еро- unnamable XI,3:47,19; 54,37

рпе m. sanctuary рпееі XI,2:26,[20]

рро m. king XIII,1:39,16; 43,17
 μντρρο f. kingdom XII,1:27,[9]; XIII,1:50,[8]
 о† нрро be king XIII,1:41,14
 ррро аχн- rule over XIII,1:40,24

роεис watch, observe XIII,1:50,16

ρατ m. foot ατρηα(α)τ= unfathomable XI,3:65,21.25.26;
XIII,1:39,(11)

ατρηετ= XI,2:40,28

ρη ουμνητατρηατс f. unfathomably XI,3:65,26

ατбнρηετ= unfathomable XI,2:28,38

ωρε ερατ= stand XIII,1:35,4; 38,4.20; 45,[6]

αρερατ= XI,3:46,13; 59,[1].17.19.21; 60,4.22.29.32; 66,30.31;
67,18; 68,33

ταρο (τερο=) ερατ= establish XI,3:51,31; XII,1:27,[1]; XIII,1:
37,(33); 50,(14)

ρωτ grow XIII,1:44,20; 47,28

ρηε m. manner мпρηε n- like XII,2:57,7; 58,[9]; XIII,1:
43,6.12

мπεεирηε thus XI,1:16,[13]; XIII,1:37,28

мпρηε XI,1:13,[20]; XIII,1:43,[1]

νηαη нρηε in many ways XIII,1:42,10

ροуω m. concern XII,1:29,26; 32,18

ραω gentle мнтрмраω f. gentleness XII,1:27,29

ραωε rejoice ραωε εχн- rejoice over XII,1:33,23

ραωε ρραι ρн- rejoice in XIII,1:47,30

ρεωε XI,1:15,33

ραωε m. joy XI,3:68,26

ρεωε m. XI,2:39,33

ρωε suffice ρωε α- be satisfied with XI,1:20,[27]

ρωε m. sufficiency XII,1:29,12

са m. side апса нтпе up XI,1:10,32

мпса нвол outside XII,1:34,17

мпса нρουη inside XIII,1:48,[9]

нсавол outside XI,3:51,[9]; 4:72,22

нса нвол XI,3:49,22; 64,31; 4:70,23

нсаβηλ ε- except XI,3:67,30

нсаβλλα= XIII,1:44,2

- (ε-, α-), м- πσα μπιτη down XI,1:4,33; 6,(28); 13,29; 2:24,26. [26]; XIII,1:39,(22); 41,(26)
- нсα-, нсω- XI,1:1,17; 5,28; 14,29; 20,25,28; 21,18; 2:34,[25]; 3:47,33; 48,17; 55,[37]; 59,15; 60,20; 61,15; 67,23; XII,1:27,20; XIII,1:42,33; 43,17; 45,23; (s.v. διώκειν, κωτε, πωτ, ογω2, ψινε)
- нсαογса individual, separate XI,4:69,[32]
- mnнсa after XI,3:56,[21]; 68,20; XII,1:15,26; 16,22; 27,[5]; 27,23
- са be beautiful саειε m. beauty XI,1:7,17
 мнтсаειε f. beauty XI,1:7,32; 3:47,<38>; 64,5; 65,18
- сеі m. surfeit XI,1:9,[25]
- со † со ερο- be sparing XII,1:31,20
- сω соγ m. drink XI,2:44,[20].[35]
 † соγ α- give to drink XI,1:5,[19]
- саве m. wise man сβω f. doctrine XI,1:8,10; 9,27; 10,[21]; 2:37,31; 3:50,11.16.; 52,16
 сβοоγe plu. XIII,1:37,18
 атсβω uninstructed XI,3:52,27
 † сβω teach XI,1:9,[20].[23].[26]
 μαειχι сβω fond of learning XII,1:33,26
- сωве laugh XI,2:34,35.[37]
- свок shorten XIII,1:44,16
 свак α- be smaller than XI,1:10,27
 совк† be small XIII,1:43,2
- совт m. wall савт XIII,1:41,8
- совте prepare, arrange XI,3:57,29; 68,33; XIII,1:42,1
- сωк draw XI,1:13,25
 сωк ρнт- lead XII,1:15,[4].28; 31,16
 сωк εβολ draw forth XII,2:57,[8]

- σωλπ** break **σελπ-** XIII,*r*:41,[34]
солп- XIII,*r*:41,6
- слопλπ** tear apart **сלאпλπ** XI,*r*:20,34
- слаате** stumble XII,2:54,21
- смн** f. (articulate) speech XIII,*r*:37,22; 42,7.15; 43,21; 44,3.29.30; 45,10; 46,9.31; 47,[11]
- смоу** bless **смоу ε-** (α-) XI,3:54,26; 58,38; XIII,*r*:38,(22); 39,(12)
смоу m. blessing XIII,*r*:40,2
- смине** establish **смонт†** be established XIII,*r*:43,26
- сомс** look **сомс епитн εχн-** look down upon XII,*r*:34,<14>
- σωмт** wait **сомт† εвол** await XII,2:57,25.28
- смот** m. form, likeness XII,*r*:34,8; XII,2:53,22.[27]; 57,[5]; XIII,*r*:40,25; 42,[1].17; 49,[6].37
смаг XI,*r*:13,30; XIII,*r*:40,6
ката (πει-, λααυ н-, κε-) **смот** in (this, some, another) way, pattern, respect XI,3:60,2; 62,4.7.17; 64,8.18
- сон** m. brother XII,*r*:29,6; XIII,*r*:50,[7].8
сан XI,*r*:15,24.38; 16,18; 2:38,25
сннү plu. XI,*r*:9,31; 14,29; 16,31; 17,[26]; 2:34,[13]; 4:69,27; XIII,*r*:47,[23].31; 49,23
- сонт** create XIII,*r*:47,26
сωонт XI,2:35,[15].30; 38,39
саант- XI,*r*:8,29
сонт m. creature XIII,*r*:35,[12]; 42,[13]; 49,[36]
сωонт XI,2:35,[11].28; 42,[17]
атсωонт uncreating XI,2:29,[29]; 35,[21].24
атсаант- uncreated XI,2:35,25.26
снте f. foundation XIII,*r*:43,9

снѣ f. foundation XIII,1:43,9

снѣγ m. two XIII,1:42,17; 47,11

снѣ f. XI,2:27,[36]

маꝛснѣγ m. second XIII,1:38,35.[36]

маꝛснѣγ XI,2:37,10

маꝛ- (мѣꝛ-) снѣ f. XI,2:23,[21].[28]; 24,21; 3:48,38; 53,(25);
54,(15)

мꝓснѣγ both XI,1:21,[24]; 2:34,34

cf. also соп, ꝓп, β'

сноꝓ m. blood XI,4:70,27; 71,[23]; 72,[27]

снѣꝓ XI,1:12,38

сѡнꝓ bind снѣꝓ m. bond XIII,1:41,4.18.29

соп m. time XI,3:45,12; 67,35; XII,1:15,5.[7].[10]; 28,1; XIII,1:
40,[34]; 47,14

сѡп XI,1:12,38

сѣп- in пмаꝛсѣпснѣγ the second time XIII,1:42,17; 47,11

ꝓꝓꝓсоп together XIII,1:43,8

ꝓꝓꝓсѡп XI,1:17,[16]; 18,[22]

кѣсоп again XI,4:70,[22]

сѣпѣ m. remainder сѣпѣ XI,1:18,37; 19,28; 2:42,[32]

спѣр m. side сꝓѣр XI,1:10,35

сопс beg сопс ѳ- beg for XIII,1:39,33

сѡпсꝓ entreat сꝓсѡп' XIII,1:39,19

сѡрм err, wander, be lost XI,4:71,18.30; XII,2:54,[27].28

сꝓрм† be lost XII,2:54,22

сꝓрм† XI,1:11,25

сѡт return, in neg. clause not... again XII,2:57,[20]

сѡтѣ f. fire XIII,1:43,10

сѡтѣ redeem XI,1:12,29; 14,38; 2:42,[33]

СТОΙ m. smell XII,2:53,[21]

С†НОУҒЕ m. fragrance XII,2:57,[2].8.11.[12]

С†НОУҒВЕ XI,2:25,<39>

СΩТМ hear (mostly with ε-, α-) XI,1:1,20; 3:47,[5].9; 49,39;
50,10.22; 52,18.25; 53,37; 55,[12]; 57,28.37; 58,37; 60,13.16;
61,28; 67,21; 4:69,[26]; 70,25; XII,1:16,[11].24; 29,24; 30,[25];
2:53,20; XIII,1:40,[37]; 43,[35]; 44,6.30

СΩТМ m. hearing XII,1:16,10

СΩТΠ choose СΩТΠ† be superior XI,3:62,20.33; 63,1.[4].12.
19.19.31; XII,1:31,21

САТΠ† XI,1:8,[27]; 16,[9]; 19,6.34; 2:35,35

СООҒ m. six СЕ "sixty" in ѠНТѠЄЄ three hundred sixty
XI,2:23,27; 30,37

СООҒН know XI,3:45,[33]; 49,20; 67,25; XIII,1:36,<15>; 47,27;
2:50,28

СООҒНЕ XII,1:15,6; 3:1B,10; XIII,1:35,25; 40,28; 44,4.7.19;
45,11

САҒНЕ XI,1:8,28; 10,25; 15,29; 17,[22].25

СОҒН- XII,1:32,13

СОҒΩН- XI,3:61,5; 64,23; XIII,1:47,19

СОҒΩН- XI,2:34,32; 39,37; XIII,1:36,12.23; 37,9; 42,13.16; 44,5;
46,35; 47,24; 50,15

СОҒΩΩН- XI,2:33,37; 40,[20]

СООҒН m. knowledge XII,2:54,[23]; XIII,1:36,12.19; 42,11.12

СООҒНЕ XIII,1:48,14.34

АТСООҒН ignorant XII,1:16,[16]; 2:54,[23]

АТСООҒНЕ XIII,1:44,26; 47,27

АТСАҒНЕ XI,1:3,[27]; 9,37; 16,12; 17,26.27

АТСОҒΩН- unknowable XI,3:50,[14].31; 59,29; 60,[8]; 61,1.
10.16.22; 62,31; 63,30; 64,3.7.11.15; 66,23; 67,26; XIII,1:36,11.
21; 37,9; 40,21

МНТАТСООҒН f. ignorance XII,1:15,1; 28,12; XIII,1:49,15.31.[36]

МНТАТСООҒНЕ f. XII,3:1B,16; XIII,1:40,23; 44,21

МНТАТСАҒНЕ f. XI,1:10,15

МНТАТСОҒΩН f. unknowability XI,3:62,22; 63,32; 64,14

- сООУТН** be upright **сООУТН** m. uprightness XIII,1:35,21
сωΟΥΖ gather XIII,1:43,31; 50,7
сАΥΖ† be gathered XI,1:2,27
сАΥΖС f. gathering XI,1:2,[27]
сОЕИУ m. pair **сАЕИУ** XI,2:22,26.27
сωУ strike **сАУ** XI,1:7,28
У **ωУТ** m. nail wound XI,2:33,19
сωУ despise **УωС** XI,1:7,37; 14,26
УωС m. humiliation XI,1:1,18; 5,36; 12,[24]; XII,2:16,17
РЕУУωС m. humiliated one XI,1:12,[19].[23]
сИУЕ be bitter **сИУЕ** m. bitterness XI,1:6,17
сωУТ hinder XIII,1:41,12
сНУЕ f. sword XII,1:28,[12]
сООУЕ remove **сЕУω** (refl.) XI,1:3,[26]; 9,24; 15,17; 2:38,14
сООУЕ be upright **сООУЕ** **ЕУРАИ** raise up XII,2:54,[20]
сУАИ write XI,3:68,16.26
сУЕЕИ m. plu. writings XI,1:9,24; 2:36,17
сАУ m. master XI,1:9,[15].19.[20].[21].[22]; 10,14
сУИМЕ f. woman XI,1:11,17.28; 14,16; 2:39,26; XIII,1:42,18
УООУТСУИМЕ androgynous XIII,1:45,[3]
сАУНЕ provide **сАУНЕ** **НСА-** provide for XI,3:47,33; 48,[16].30
сАУНЕ m. additional help, provisions XI,1:12,[19]; 3:48,[30]
ОУАУ **сАУНЕ** command XIII,1:40,18
сАУΟΥ curse **сУООУОУТ†** be cursed XIII,1:50,13
сБРАУТ m. tranquillity XI,2:22,22

ταειο adorn ταειο- XII,1:34,18

ταεια- XII,1:30,4

ταεια- α2ρηι α- adorn for XI,1:14,17

† give XI,1:13,18; 17,37; 3:48,15; 53,35; 62,4.6.9.14; 66,27; XII,1:29,3.5.22.24; 30,[3].5.[5]; 33,10.12.13.23; 2:53,21; 57,[3]; 58,7.29; 3:1B,24; XIII,1:38,7.19.20.31; 39,7.10; 42,14; 43,18; 45,15; 46,16; 48,[7].15.[33]

την νε- (να-) grant to XI,1:2,18; 4,28; 11,35; 15,[25]; 17,33; XIII,1:40,(33)

†- XI,1:3,35; 5,[19]; 9,[20].[23].26.34.34; 15,25.37; 2:24,35; 26,33; 27,[33]; 30,[21].[27]; 34,31; 36,34; 38,[23]; 40,20; 3:45,15.36; 47,19; 50,[6]; 52,15; 53,17; 54,37; 56,[29]; 60,27.28; 63,3; 66,17; 67,18; 68,18; 4:72,28; XII,1:28,18; 29,34; 30,[6].10; 31,20.21; 2:57,9; 3:1B,11; XIII,1:36,15; 38,21.23.29; 39,7; 40,33.35; 41,30; 45,[7].15.16.17.24.26; 47,[10].12.19.29; 48,15.[22].[23].24.25; 49,37

ταα- XI,3:45,9

ταει- XIII,1:38,30

τεει(τ)- XI,1:4,[29].32; 17,34; 20,15; 2:42,(38)

τεει- α2ρηι lay down XI,1:10,[13]

τεε- XII,1:30,23

μα imperat. give! XIII,1:39,35

† ατοοτ- deliver to XIII,1:37,2; 48,15

ταα- ετοοτ- XIII,1:48,18.21.24

† α2ν-, α2ητ- oppose XI,1:14,31; XIII,1:41,7

† ντοοτ- give aid XII,2:58,[26].29

† ουβε- set against XI,1:15,[19]

† 2ιωω- put on XI,1:11,37; 3:50,24; XIII,1:48,13; 49,12.31; 50,12

ταα- 2ιωω- XI,3:50,26; XIII,1:48,12

το† 2ιωω- have on (one) XI,3:50,9

τοε† 2ιωω- XI,3:58,29; 60,34

† ε2ραι deliver XIII,1:47,[34]

† m. gift XII,1:33,14

τοε f. portion ταιε XI,1:13,16

τηηβε m. finger τηβε XI,1:18,30; XIII,1:43,2.3

тѡα m. ten thousand XIII,1:39,10

тѡѡ be pure XI,3:62,5

тѡγѡ XI,1:20,16; 21,6; 2:44,33

тѡγѡϣ purify XIII,1:42,23

тѡγѡнγ† be pure XI,1:1,25; 2:44,[30]

тѡγѡ m. purity XI,2:43,35; 44,[32]

тѡѡϩ pray XI,3:55,31; XII,1:33,11

тѡкѡ destroy тѡкѡ XI,1:7,23; XII,1:34,28

тѡкѡ m. destruction XIII,1:43,8.24; 44,18

αтѡкѡ imperishable XI,1:7,29

мнѡтѡтѡкѡ f. imperishability XI,1:2,20; 2:41,[26]

тѡлл rejoice XI,1:15,34; 16,[21]; 3:57,32

тѡлѡ m. healing XII,2:58,21

тѡмѡ create XI,2:36,11; 37,28.33

тѡмѡ m. creature XI,3:63,[8]

тѡмѡ explain, announce тѡмѡ- XIII,1:42,32

тѡмѡϣ XI,3:45,10

тѡмѡϣ ε- tell about XI,4:72,24.[27]; XII,2:53,[23]; XIII,1:37,15;

42,19.29; 47,[5]

тѡмѡϣ εтѡѡ XI,4:70,17

†мѡ m. town XI,2:42,23

тѡѡмѡ join тѡмѡ† be fitting XI,1:3,[26]

тѡн where? тѡ XIII,1:43,33

εѡл тѡ whence? XIII,1:44,8

тѡннѡγ send тѡннѡγ XI,1:14,28; 2:40,12; 41,[29]

тѡннѡγϣ XIII,1:46,31

тѡнтн be like, imitate XII,1:33,19

тѡнтн XI,2:34,36

ΤΑΝΤΝ α- XI,1:7,[26]

ΤΝΤΩΝ† α- be like XI,1:19,37

ΤΝΤΑΝΤ† α- XI,1:10.[9]

ΤΑΝΤΝ m. likeness XI,1:1,[16]; 2,[15].[17].[18]; 2:29,37; 36,18

ΤΑΝΖΟ save ΤΑΝΖΕ- XII,1:32,21.23

ΤΩΠΕ taste †ΠΕ m. taste XII,2:53,21

ΤΑΠΡΟ f. mouth XIII,1:41,4

ΤΗΡ= all, entire XI,1:6,16.26; 9,38; 13,12; 15,18.[19]; 17,16.19;
2:27,[21]; 33,31; 35,[38]; 37,20; 38,16; 39,27; 40,[17]; 3:45,8.
14.26; 46,[9].[14].21; 47,11.12.13.18.21.[27]; 49,25; 50,20; 51,12.
34; 52,14.33; 54,27.37; 55,[26].34; 57,25; 58,36.38; 59,24;
60,[1].26; 61,11.14; 64,4.5.7.9.10; 65,34; 66,[17].29.35.37.38;
67,19.20.21; 69,18; XII,1:15,29; 32,19; 33,12; 2:57,2; 60,29;
XIII,1:35,20; 36,23.[31]; 37,9.19; 38,7; 39,12.37; 40,20;
41,4.15.17.18; 43,8.22.23.31; 44,12; 46,25.36; 47,[5].20.22;
48,10.11; 49,21; 50,[7].8; 2:50,28.31

ΠΤΗΡϞ m. the All, Universal XI,1:8,36; 14,[14].24.31; 17,19.
20.[20]; 2:22,20.28.32.34.36; 23,[19].32.35.36; 24,20.23.30.30.31.
32.36; 25,23.[24].31.31.32; 26,[21].[21].22; 32,[22].29; 36,18.22;
39,33; 3:48,10; 50,27; 52,28; 53,18; 54,22; 58,25; 62,21; XIII,1:
35,3.[3].6.24.26.30.[31].31; 36,8.[20].32; 38,12; 42,11.14; 45,5.7.
9.24.27; 46,11.23.24; 47,10.26.29

ΝΙΠΤΗΡϞ the Universals XI,3:59,3; 62,21

ΕΠΤΗΡϞ with neg. at all XI,3:62,20

ΑΠΤΗΡϞ completely XI,2:25,[31]

ΤΩΡΕ m. hand ΚΑ ΤΟΟΤ= ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ- despair of XI,3:57,27

ΕΤΟΟΤ= (ΑΤΟΟΤ=) to XI,1:11,(34); XIII,1:37,(3); 48,(15).18.21.

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ΝΤΝ-, ΝΤΟΟΤ= from, by XI,1:15,28; 2:43,[20]; 3:50,11; 4:69,[23];

XII,1:16,15; 31,2; 2:58,[26].29; 59,[20]; XIII,1:39,29; 45,14.16

ΖΑΤΝ- with XI,1:12,21; XII,1:31,10.18

ΖΑΤΟΟΤ= with XII,2:58,12

ΖΙΤΝ-, ΖΙΤΟΟΤ= (often with ΕΒΟΛ, ΑΒΑΛ) through; by means,
virtue of XI,1:1,14.[16].[17]; 2,[30].[31].[33]; 5,29,[36]; 6,[19];
9,27; 10,28.33.35; 11,34; 12,[23].25.27; 14,38; 19,29; 20,29;

21,34; 2:28,36; 31,31; 32,34; 33,26.27.29.30; 37,[21]; 40,19.32;
41,[24]; 43,[32].36; 3:47,[20]; 48,12; 49,18; 50,[7]; 53,14.20.33;
56,24; 57,9.9; 58,27.28.34; 59,5.28; 60,10.18.35.38; 61,9.27.30;
62,[8].9.12.15.26; 63,3.24; 64,9.13.24; 67,[17]; XII,1:30,24;
32,26; 2:58,23; XII,2:58,[4].23; XIII,1:36,10.13.17.26.30.[35].
[36]; 37,5; 38,12.18; 39,6; 40,19; 42,4.14; 43,3.12.20; 45,6.27;
46,8.22.30.31; 47,8; 48,31; 49,28

τωρη seize, rapture XI,2:38,15; XIII,1:39,28; 48,27

τορη XI,3:58,26

τωρη ερουν XIII,1:48,27

τωс fix τωс а- be fixed on XI,1:4,[27]

тес пнвел а- fix our eye on XI,1:4,[26]

тсаво teach

тсаво- XII,1:16,[17]

тсεво а- teach about XIII,1:37,18; 41,15; 42,20; 47,[7]; 49,22

саво XII,1:31,2

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- ΟΥΝΟΥ** f. hour XIII,*r*:42,30.31
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ΝΤΟΥΝΟΥ XIII,*r*:39,17.20
- ΟΥΩΝΖ** appear, reveal **ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ (ΑΒΑΛ)** XI,*r*:4,([36]);
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- ωτη** bear **οτη†** be laden with XIII,1:36,9
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- ωω** proclaim XI,1:14,30
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- ψε m. one hundred XI,2:25,25; 3:56,[21]; 57,31; 58,8
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- ψιβε change XIII,1:42,7,22; 45,25
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 ψφειε XI,2:39,38
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- ϣβηρ** fellow **ϣβηρ** n- XIII,1:50,[6].8
ϣβρ- XI,1:9,31; 16,<27>; XIII,1:46,35
ρϣβηρ ε- associate with XI,3:57,18; 60,21
- ϣικε** dig **ϣικε** m. abyss XIII,1:48,[10]
- ϣελ** s.v. **ϣααρ**
- ϣληλ** pray **ϣληλ ε-** pray to XII,1:32,23
ϣληλ ετβε- pray about XII,1:32,25
ϣληλ ςα-, ςαρο- XI,1:16,22; XII,1:32,19
- ϣωλμ** smell XII,2:57,6.[7]
- ϣλοп** m. strand (bough) XIII,1:41,34; 44,(24)
- ϣηм** little **ϣηρε ϣηм** child XI,1:4,34
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- ϣμμο** be strange **ϣμμο ε-** be foreign to XII,2:53,[28]; XIII,1:
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ϣμμοεи plu. XII,3:1A,19
- ϣомнт** m. three **ϣомт** abs. XI,3:49,36.37; XIII,1:37,[33]
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ϣнт- f. **ϣнтϣεε** three hundred sixty XI,2:23,27; 30,[36]
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- ϣηη** m. tree, wood XIII,1:44,20
- ϣηε** seek XI,3:56,[15]
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ϣΩΝΕ suffer XI,1:18,[20].[20]
 m. sickness XII,2:58,26

ϣΟΝΤΕ f. thorns ϣΑΝΤΕ XI,1:5,[18]

ϣΩΝϢ come together ΠΤΡΕ- ϣΩΝϢ union XI,1:11,[17].[20]

ϣΩΠ take, accept XI,1:3,[28]; 13,37; 2:34,28; 3:66,28
 ϣΑΠ- XI,2:33,35
 ϣΩΠ α- refl. accept XI,1:12,34; 13,11; 19,[28]
 ΑΤϣΩΠ ΕΡΟ- illimitable XI,3:61,8
 ΑΤϣΑΠ- XI,2:30,[25].[26].[28]; 32,39; 34,37; 35,[21]
 ϣΩΠ ϢΜΑΤ give thanks XI,1:16,[21]; 18,33; 2:43,[23]
 ϣΠ ϢΜΑΤ ϢΑ- give thanks for XI,1:17,[31]
 ϣΩΠ ϢΙϢΕ suffer, labor XI,1:5,[37]; 2:31,30
 ϣΠ ϢΙϢΕ XI,1:18,17; 2:34,34; 36,34

ϣΩΠΕ come to be XI,1:1,16.[25]; 2,21.28; 4,35; 6,[34]; 7,19;
 8,[23]; 12,23; 13,21; 14,35; 15,[21]; 17,19; 19,36; 20,20.27; 21,31;
 2:22,[18]; 29,20; 30,[19].33.37; 32,[38]; 33,29; 34,15.33; 36,15.
 30; 37,[20]; 38,[27]; 39,34; 3:45,[28].31; 46,17; 48,18; 49,15;
 55,32; 56,[22].[35]; 57,12; 59,9; 61,34; 62,16; 65,27; XII,1:
 15,19; 16,[5].[10].[16].[26]; 27,12; 28,[2].14.14.21.24.[25]; 29,27;
 32,25; 33,8; 2:54,[22].23.[24]; 57,19; 58,4.[5].13.20.22; 60,25;
 XIII,1:35,[5].19; 37,5.19.20.30; 38,18.23; 39,35.[36]; 40,26;
 41,22; 42,19; 44,26; 45,[1].[4].[4].18.28; 46,3; 47,10; 48,[34];
 50,11.12

ϣΟΟΠ† exist XI,1:1,[38]; 3,29.[30]; 5,28.38; 8,35; 9,35; 10,24.26;
 11,32; 12,24; 13,[11].36; 14,23.34; 16,[24].30; 17,[14].29; 18,26.
 33.36; 19,[16].18.19.23.25.35; 20,24.31; 21,5.28; 2:22,17.19.21.
 [22].[24].[25].25.28.34.38; 23,22.26; 24,21.29; 25,24; 30,[28];
 31,36; 33,38; 34,29; 35,30; 36,13.14.27.36; 37,35; 39,38; 40,25;
 41,[15]; 3:45,[11].14.[21]; 46,<9>.15.16.[21].[28]; 47,[9].13.17.
 20.[24]; 48,37; 49,14.16.17.27.35; 51,13.16; 52,30.34.36; 53,[7];
 54,25.32.32; 55,[15].21.22.[23].23.24.25.26; 56,[10].12.[12].[19].
 [20]; 57,33; 59,11.38; 60,1.15; 61,6.13.26.32.33.34; 62,1.2;
 63,10.18.38; 64,12.17.20.30.37; 65,34; 66,36; 4:72,[22].25;

XII,1:16,3,8; 27,18.19; 28,15.20; 33,5.6.17; 2:58,8; XIII,1:35,2.
3.[5].7.11.[13].17.19.23.26.30.[32].33.[34]; 36,[1].11.14.16.20.28.
32; 37,12.13.15.16.21.23.27; 38,24.24.26; 40,6.20.31; 41,14.22;
42,11; 44,22.23; 45,19; 46,5.6.10.12.13.29.32; 47,6.[9].15.19.21;
48,[8].9; 49,6.[8].19; 2:50,26.34

ϣωπε m. being XI,2:22,30; 3:48,14.15.[20]; 66,28

ατϣωπε non-being XI,3:55,30; 62,23; 65,33; 66,27

εϣωπε (with conditionalis) if XI,3:46,26.32.36; 47,[22]; 48,8.
32; 49,[7]; 56,15.[30].31; 57,7.15; 59,18.30; 61,17; 66,19; XII,1:
16,14; 31,4

μα νωωπε m. dwelling place XI,1:6,32; 13,[22]; 2:37,36;
XIII,1:39,[36]; 45,34; 50,15.16

ϣπνε m. marvel XI,1:1,15; 3,[32].[34]

ϣααρ m. skin ϣελ carcass XI,1:12,37; 2:38,[20]

ϣνε m. son XI,1:4,[33]; 11,33.34; 12,[22]; 13,[11]; 14,22.28;
2:22,32; 23,36; 25,[30]; 33,30.37; 37,11; 38.23; 39,[11]; 40,[12].
[21].22; 43,22.[26].[36]; 44,20; 3:49,39; 50,19; 68,28.35; 69,16;
XII,1:29,28; 33,4; 2:53,[22]; XIII,1:37,4.19.22; 38,17.22.24.25;
39,12; 41,[1].16; 42,16; 44,30; 45,33; 49,13.18.19.25

ϣεερε f. daughter XI,2:38,35

ϣερε ϣνηм f. maiden XI,1:8,16.21

μνηϣνε f. sonship XI,2:42,20

ϣωρπ be first ϣρπ- + inf. XI,2:23,27

(ρ) ϣρπ н- + inf. XI,1:3,[35]; 4,([26]); 11,30; 2:25,21; 32,37;
XIII,1:39,(8)

(ρ) ϣорп (mostly with н- + noun) XI,3:45,[19]; 46,[25].29;
47,[28].[29].31; 48,13.34.36; 50,(35); 53,[6].19.27; 54,9;
56,([20]); 58,20.23; 59,28; 61,10; 63,14; 64,35; 68,31; 4:69,[31];
XII,1:28,26; XIII,1:35,[4]; 36,(18); 37,6.12; 38,(1).33.[34];
40,[34].41,20.34; 46,12

ϣαρп н- XI,1:8,18; 2:41,[10].21; 42,[39]

ϣаарп н- XI,2:40,38

ϣрп н- XI,2:24,27; 35,29; 41,21; 3:65,[18]

ϣаарп авал ϣн- pre-eminent among XI,2:35,37

нωорп at first XI,3:56,29; 2:57,11; XII,1:15,12; 29,13; 31,11;
2:57,11; XIII,1:39,30; 41,20; 45,20

- ⲭⲚ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ** from the first XIII,1:35,[34]; 39,32; 40,[34]; 41,33;
 46,[10]; 48,[6]
ⲭⲚ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ XI,1:2,[36]; 11,16; 2:36,14; 37,36
ⲙⲛⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲛⲉⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ primary revelation XI,3:60,39;
 61,9.30
 cf. also *a'*
- ϣⲟⲣϣⲣ** destroy **ϣⲁⲣϣⲣ** XI,1:9,[19]; 15,31
ϣⲣϣⲱⲣ- XI,1:9,17
ϣⲣϣⲱⲣ- **ⲁⲡⲓⲧⲛ** overthrow XIII,1:41,8
- ϣⲱⲥ** m. shepherd XII,2:54,[25]
- ϣⲱⲱⲧ** cut short **ϣⲱⲧ** XIII,1:44,16
ϣⲁⲁⲧ- **ⲁⲃⲁⲗ** cut off XI,2:34,38
ϣⲧⲁ m. deficiency XI,1:6,26; XII,2:58,4.[7].28
ⲣϣⲧⲁ be deficient XII,2:58,[28]
- ϣⲱⲧⲙ** shut **ϣⲧⲉⲙ** XI,1:20,17
ϣⲧⲉⲙ **ⲁⲣⲱ-** exclude XI,1:20,[28]
- ϣⲧⲏⲛ** m. garment XI,1:11,27
- ϣⲟⲣⲧⲣ** be disturbed XI,3:52,8; XIII,1:40,19; 43,14.16
ϣⲧⲣⲧⲱⲣ[†] XII,2:59,20
ϣⲟⲣⲧⲣ m. disturbance XIII,1:43,19
- ϣⲁϥ** m. use **ⲁⲧϣⲉϥ** useless XII,1:16,13
- ϣⲟϥⲟ** be empty **ϣⲟϥⲉⲓⲧ[†]** XI,1:16,13; 2:59,[28]
- ϣⲟϥϣⲟϥ** boast XI,2:44,[26]; XIII,1:43,[34]; 44,28
ϣⲟϥϣⲟϥ m. boasting XIII,1:44,33
ⲙⲛⲧϣⲟϥϣⲟ f. boasting XII,1:27,[27]
- ϣⲱϣ** be equal **ϣⲏϣ[†]** XI,1:19,37
ϣⲱϣ m. the same XI,2:41,18
- ϣⲱⲉ** be fitting **ⲉⲧⲉ ϣⲱⲉ** XI,3:50,17; 56,28; XII,1:15,5.7;
 28,[1]; 32,4; 34,18; 3:1A,[10]

οὔπετε ψυε πε ε- (or with conj.) XI,3:52,25; 57,(38); 67,33
 πετε ψυε ε- XI,3:56,28 XII,1:15,10; 16,9.[24]; 30,8; 34,6.7.18
 сψε а- XI,1:3,36; 15,26.33; 17,31; 2:33,[22]; 40,11

ψαχε speak XII,1:15,[5].[8].[12].[14].26; 16,12.[14]; 30,[28];
 32,[2]; 2:59,[18]; 60,[21]; XIII,1:35,[33]; 42,10.13

ψεχε XI,1:9,18; 16,34.35.38

сехе XII,3:1A,13

ψαχε ε- speak about XII,1:31,8.13

ψεχε а- XI,2:43,[18]

ψαχε мн- speak with XI,3:67,37; 4:69,29; XII,1:31,3; XIII,1:
 41,24; 42,18

ψεχε мн- XI,1:9,18; 2:23,[22]

ψαχε запра n- speak about XII,1:31,6.17

ψαχε m. word XI,3:45,[12]; 51,18.36; 56,34; 57,28; XII,1:
 15,4.[8].11.[19]; 16,[23]; 29,14; 31,[7].8.16.19.22.25; 33,25;
 2:57,22; XIII,1:40,2

ψεχε XI,2:33,18(?)

ατψαχε ммо- ineffable XI,3:47,18; 61,15; XII,2:53,24; XIII,1:
 35,10.28; 36,11; 37,1.17.30; 41,3; 46,14; 49,23; 50,10

ατψαχε ερο- XIII,1:46,6

ατψεχε ара- XI,2:22,21; 24,39; 25,[30]; 29,31;

αтсехе ммо- XIII,1:42,2

ψωχε contend ψαειχ m. soldier XI,1:21,[25].28

ψωχνε counsel XI,3:57,30; XIII,1:35,25

ψωχνε ερουν ε- plot against XII,1:28,24

ψωχνε m. counsel, advice XI,3:51,36; XII,1:15,[26]

ψωχп be left over XI,3:62,3

соχп† be remaining XIII,1:41,21; 47,32

ψαχп† XI,1:14,[13]

ψωχп m. remainder XI,4:71,21

ψωχζ diminish XI,3:62,16; 63,25.26

ψαχζ- XI,3:62,[7]

ψαζх- XI,3:62,26.27; 67,32

αтψαχζ- undiminished XI,3:63,27

ϣωωβε wound ϣωωβε XI,1:7,[24]

ϣι carry, bear XI,1:5,[36]; 14,32; XII,1:32,18

ϣι- XII,1:29,26

ϣι ммαγ remove XII,1:34,5

ϣι (εζραι) ρα- support XI,1:2,[19]; XIII,1:46,[9].([25])

βιτ- ρι- bear upon XI,1:10,34

ϣτοογ f. four ϣτοε XI,2:26,31

ϣτογ- XIII,1:37,28

μερϣτοογ fourth XIII,1:39,3-4

μαρϣτοε XI,2:23,[23].26.30

ρα-, ραρο- under XI,1:12,23; 16,22; 17,32; 3:51,19; 64,26;

XII,1:30,3; 32,19; XIII,1:44,23; 46,[9].26

ραπρα n- s.v. πα

ραθη, ρα τερη s.v. ρη

ρατн- s.v. τωρε

ραρτн- s.v. ρηт

ραχн- s.v. χω

ραε m. end, result XIII,1:48,9

ραη f. XI,1:6,[27]; XIII,1:36,19; 40,17; 42,12.19; 49,14

ατραη everlasting XIII,1:37,8

ραε lack XI,3:65,30

μηтραε f. lack XI,3:62,21

ραι m. husband ρει XI,1:3,28

ρε fall ραιε XI,1:5,[16].[17]; 10,30

ραιε XII,1:28,20

ρε ε- find XI,3:59,21

ρε εβολ fall away XI,3:53,7; 60,6

ρη† αβαλ ρн- be fallen from XI,1:15,22; 16,11

ρε f. way, manner κατα οε just as XI,2:23,24; 32,37; 3:51,12;

61,29; 64,17

ноε as, like XI,1:7,21; 9,9; 13,16; 14,16; 21,33; 2:26,24; 27,33;

3:46,15; 48,14; 59,11; 61,33; 63,20; 64,20; XII,1:15,3; 27,6;

28,20; 3:1A,10; XIII,1:49,[12]

ΝΘΕ...ΤΕΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ just as...so also XI,1:12,31.32; 13,30.
31.32.33

ΤΑΙ (ΤΕΕΙ) ΤΕ ΘΕ thus XI,1:20,(35); 2:42,([29]); XII,2:58,[29];
XIII,1:43,7

ΕΥ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΜΠΡΗΤΕ in what sort of way XI,1:13,[20]

ΤΕΕΙΖΕ(ΕC) thus XI,1:14,[11].(15)

Ν†ΖΕ thus XI,1:14,[19]; 3:53,20.23.36; 56,[30]; 59,39; 60,1;
63,30; 64,6.37

ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ how? XI,3:49,14; 64,15

ΝΕΨ ΝΖΕ XI,1:8,20; 17,25

ΖΗ f. forepart XII,1:30,11

ΖΗΤ- s.v. CΩΚ, ΜΟΕΙΤ, ΖΟΤΕ

ΑΤΕΖΗ before XI,2:23,38

† ΑΖΝ-, ΑΖΗΤ- oppose (cf. ΑΖΤΝ, Crum 23b) XI,1:14,31;
XIII,1:41,7

ΖΑΘΗ before XI,1:2,[34]; 3:47,[28].[30].[31]; 50,27; 55,16.[21];
67,[18]; XIII,1:35,5.31.

ΖΑΤΖΗ before XII,1:31,1

ΖΑΤΕΖΗ XI,2:26,[24]; XIII,2:50,26

ΖΑΤΕ- ΕΖΗ XI,1:10,24; 2:22,25.38; 23,[20]; 3:47,[24]

ΖΙ- on, at, in (and) XI,1:10,(34); 2:43,35; 3:45,[8]; 46,[6].[22].30;
55,[15]; XII,1:29,14

ΖΙΩ- upon XI,3:50,26; XIII,1:43,24

† (ΤΑΑ-, ΤΟ†, ΤΟΕ†) ΖΙΩ- XI,1:11,37; 3:50,10.24; 58,29;
60,34; XIII,1:48,12.13; 49,12.31; 50,13

ΖΙΡΝ- s.v. ΡΟ

ΖΙΤΝ- s.v. ΤΩΡΕ

ΖΙΖΟΥΝ s.v. ΖΟΥΝ

ΖΙΧΝ- s.v. ΧΩ (head)

cf. also s.v. ΜΑ, CΟΠ

ΖΙΗ f. way, path XI,1:4,[25]; 5,17; 13,19; 15,[30]; 3:46,[26].29;
57,34; XII,1:30,22; XIII,1:43,23

ΖΟ m. face, appearance XI,1:13,31; XII,2:53,28; XIII,1:42,22

ΝΑΖΡΕ- before, against XI,2:31,32

ΝΑΖΡΝ- XI,2:38,33; XII,1:16,19; 33,17

ΝΑΖΡΑ- ΝΖΗΤ- before XI,3:68,30

ΜΝΤ† 20 εβολ f. pretence XII,1:28,18

αχN χ1 20 without respect XII,1:29,25

2ω suffice 2ω with circ. stop! XI,3:61,25

2ωω even, too, also XI,1:15,25; 16,29; 17,[33]; 2:34,16; 35,21;
3:56,19; XII,1:16,27; 27,8; 32,22; 33,11; 3:1A,22; XIII,1:36,[33];
39,20; 40,8; 43,28; 44,27.29

2ωω XII,1:31,26; XIII,1:39,8; 50,11

2ωB m. thing, work, deed XII,1:32,25; 34,25

2ωq XI,1:1,33

2βηϵ plu. XI,1:9,16; XII,1:27,[4]; 31,5.15; 33,25; 3:1A,21.
[23].[24].26

2ωB NIM everything XI,3:48,17; XII,1:16,[13].15; 27,[7].14;
29,14; 34,9; XIII,1:37,4

ρ2ωB ε- work for XII,3:1A,[16].18.20.22

ρ2ωq α- actuate XI,1:11,33

ρ2ωq MN- work with XI,1:18,18; 2:35,16

2αιBεC f. shadow XI,3:66,38; XII,2:58,[1]; XIII,1:44,23;
2:50,32.33

2αιBεC XI,1:5,21; 2:35,29; 36,12.[19]

ρ2αιBεC α- cast shadow on XI,2:39,[17]

2ωBC cover 2βCω f. garment XII,1:30,12; XIII,1:47,17

2βCωY XI,1:11,29

2qCωY XI,1:11,38

2κO be hungry 2καειT† XII,1:33,14

2αλ noun slave 2M2αλ XIII,1:41,[35]

ρ2M2ελ serve XI,1:6,[36]; 2:42,[20]

2λOCTN m. mist † 2λαCTN darken XII,1:30,10

2MOM: 2HM† be warm XII,2:57,[19]

2MME be hot XI,2:42,[24]

ΖΜΜΕ guide [ῥ]ΖΜΜΕ govern XI,3:53,12

ΖΜΟΟC sit ΖΜΑC ΖΝ- dwell in XI,1:2,[37]

ΖΜΑCΤ† ΖΝ- dwell in XI,2:25,[19]

ΖΜΕCΤ† ΜΜΑΥ sit there XIII,1:45,33

ΖΜΟΤ m. gift ΖΜΑΤ XI,1:15,32.35; 16,30

ΩΠ (ΩΠ-) ΖΜΑΤ give thanks XI,1:16,[21]; 17,(32); 18,33;
2:43,[20]

ΖΝ-, ΝΖΗΤ- often with ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΖΟΥΝ, ΕΖΡΑΙ, ΝΖΡΑΙ, ΖΡΑΙ
passim

ΖΟΥΝ inner part ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε- XI,3:53,13.16; 58,7; 59,2; 60,21;
4:70,26; XII,1:28,25; 33,6; 3:1B,14; XIII,1:40,2; 43,7.7; 44,13.
15.18.[35]; 45,14; 48,27.29; 50,[7]

ΑΖΟΥΝ Α- XI,1:6,34; 9,10; 10,35; 12,35; 16,[18]; 2:23,33; 25,35.
35; 29,24; 30,23; 32,36; 33,22; 35,28.36.37; 37,[16].30.31;
38,[26]; 41,[25].[26].31.[37]; 42,[10].[12].14.[16].17.[18].[20].[21].
[23].[24].25.27.[29]; XIII,1:36,20; 41,19; 43,7; 45,12.31; 50,19

ΩΑΖΟΥΝ Α- until XIII,1:40,35; 47,13

ΖΙΖΟΥΝ within XI,1:6,33

ΝΠCΑΝΖΟΥΝ inner XII,1:34,19

ΖΩΝ approach ΖΝΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ XI,3:58,[7]; XIII,1:43,6.7; 44,15.
18.[35]

ΖΗΝ† ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε- XII,1:33,6

ΖΟΕΙΝΕ some ΖΑΕΙΝΕ XI,1:5,[16]; 19,[17].23

ΖΕΝ-, ΖΝ- plu. art. indef. passim

ΖΝΕ- be willing ΡΖΝΕ- ΝΖΡΗ ΝΖΗΤ- will within oneself XI,2:
33,32

ΖΙΝΗΒ m. sleep XIII,1:35,23

ΖΙΝΗC XI,1:11,18.21

ΖΝΑΑΥ: ΖΝΕΕΥ m. jar XII,1:33,8.9

ΖΑΠ m. judgement, regime XI,3:64,22.24; XIII,1:49,14

2ωπ hide XI,1:10,36; 21,4
 2απ- XI,1:9,15; 2:33,13
 2ηπ† be hidden, secret XI,3:48,16; XIII,1:35,25; 36,[1].25.36;
 37,2.11.16.29; 38,10; 40,9.32; 41,28; 44,32; 46,12.16.22
 2ηπ† α- be hidden from XIII,1:46,23
 2οπ- 2ραι 2η- hide in XIII,1:45,21; 47,18.22; 49,20
 2ηπ† 2ραι 2η be hidden in XIII,1:36,6

2ραι up, down 2ραι 2η, 2ρη 2η passim
 2ρα 2η- XIII,1:50,12
 ε2ραι ε-, α2ρη α- passim
 ε2ραι εχн- s.v. χω (head)
 ε2ραι ψα s.v. ψα-
 η2ραι 2η-, η2ρη(ε) 2η- passim
 η2ρα 2η- XIII,1:36,24
 ψα2ραι α- down to XIII,1:40,30
 ψα2ρη α- until XI,1:20,26

2ωρβ break 2ορβ- XIII,1:41,11

2ροκ be still 2ροκ ммο- refl. still self XI,3:59,37
 2ορκ- XI,3:45,[22]
 2ορκ† ммο- refl. be at rest XI,3:53,34; 59,22.23; 60,32.37;
 64,1.31; 65,28; 66,22.29; 67,28
 2ροκ m. stillness, still XI,3:60,15.24; 61,21; 62,25; 63,37;
 65,19.38; 67,31
 мнт2ροκ f. tranquility XI,3:65,20

2рте f. fear XII,1:28,10; XIII,1:44,9

2ροογ m. voice XI,3:53,36; XIII,1:35,32; 36,[1].9.13.14.18.25.26.
 [36]; 37,6; 38,15; 40,9; 42,4.10.15; 43,21; 44,3.6; 45,[11].27;
 46,[5].19.29; 47,[8].12
 2ραγ XIII,1:37,20
 † 2ραγ cry out XIII,1:36,15
 2ρογ мπε m. thunder XIII,1:43,15

2ρω be heavy, slow 2ρω m. burden XII,1:27,27
 мнт2арω2ηт f. patience XII,2:57,4

- ῥαρεῖ** guard, be beware of **ῥαρεῖ ε-** XI,3:52,20
αρεῖ ε- XI,3:68,23
αρηε imperat. watch! XII,1:30,13; 34,20
ρεῖαρεῖ m. guardian XI,3:45,9; 68,23
- ῥιε** m. labor, suffering XI,1:6,[35]; 11,[18]; 2:33,24
ωπ (ωπ-) ῥιε suffer XI,1:5,[37]; 18,(17); 2:31,30; 34,(34);
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ϥ ῥιε suffer XI,1:5,36
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- χι** take, receive XI,r:1,[18]; 6,[22]; 10,23-30; 12,26.28; 14,20.37; 15,34; 17,[28]; 18,24; 21,32; 2:22,36; 24,31; 39,28.30.32.36; 3:48,7.12.33; 56,[31].[36]; 59,26; 61,4; 62,6.9; 64,24; XII,2:53,[27]; 59,19.21.23.25; 3:1A,12; XIII,r:39,28; 43,25; 44,35; 48,[31]
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- χι εβολ** (**αβαλ**) **ζη-** partake of XI,r:15,(34); 18,(24); 3:48,33; 63,21.23; 65,<23>; 66,20; XIII,r:48,33
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ISBN 90-04-11702-4 (set)