

THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY  
VOLUME III

# 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 III





# THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

*A Complete Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*

## VOLUME III

EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST  
THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR  
THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL  
THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES  
THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES  
THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM  
THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES  
THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND  
AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING  
THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER  
PLATO, REPUBLIC 588A-589B  
THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING  
SCRIBAL NOTE  
THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH  
ASCLEPIUS 21-29  
THE GOSPEL OF MARY  
THE ACT OF PETER



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.

© Copyright 2000 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

Cover design by TopicA (Antoinette Hanekuyk)

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.*

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to*

*The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910*

*Danvers MA 01923, USA.*

*Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Nag Ham  
THE PRAY  
THE APOC  
THE GOSPE  
THE TREA  
THE TRIPAL

Nag Ham  
THE APOC

Nag Ham  
THE GOSPEL  
THE GOSPEL  
THE GOSPEL  
THE HYPOST  
ON THE OR  
THE EXPOST  
THE BOOK C

Nag Ham  
THE GOSPEL

Nag Ham  
EUGENOSTOS T

Nag Ham  
THE DIALOG

Nag Ham  
THE APOCAL  
THE (FIRST)  
THE (SECOND)  
THE APOCAL

Nag Ham  
THE ACTS OF  
THE THUNDER  
AUTHORITAT  
THE CONCEPT  
PLATO, REPU  
THE PRAYER

## CONTENTS

### VOLUME 1

#### **Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)**

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

### VOLUME 2

#### **Nag Hammadi Codices II, 1; III, 1; and IV, 1**

THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN

#### **Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7**

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS  
THE GOSPEL OF PHILIP  
THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS  
ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD  
THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL  
THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

#### **Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2**

THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

### VOLUME 3

#### **Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3-4 and V, 1**

EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED and THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST

#### **Nag Hammadi Codex III, 5**

THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR

#### **Nag Hammadi Codex V, 2-5**

THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL  
THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES  
THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES  
THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

#### **Nag Hammadi Codex VI**

THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES  
THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND  
AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING  
THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER  
PLATO, REPUBLIC 588A-589B  
THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

SCRIBAL NOTE  
THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH  
ASCLEPIUS 21-29

**Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4**

THE GOSPEL OF MARY  
THE ACT OF PETER

VOLUME 4

**Nag Hammadi Codex VII**

THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM  
THE SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH  
APOCALYPSE OF PETER  
THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS  
THE THREE STELES OF SETH

**Nag Hammadi Codex VIII**

ZOSTRIANOS  
THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

**Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers**

VOLUME 5

**Nag Hammadi Codex IX**

MELCHIZEDEK  
THE THOUGHT OF NOREA  
THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH

**Nag Hammadi Codex X**

MARSANES

**Nag Hammadi Codex XI**

THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE  
A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION WITH  
    ON THE ANOINTING  
    ON BAPTISM A AND B  
    ON THE EUCHARIST A AND B

ALLOGENES  
HYPHSIPHONE

**Nag Hammadi Codex XII**

THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS  
THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

**Nag Hammadi Codex XIII**

TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA  
ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

VOLUME XXVII

# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

MARTIN KRAUSE - JAMES M. ROBINSON  
FREDERIK WISSE

IN CONJUNCTION WITH

ALEXANDER BÖHLIG-JEAN DORESSE-SØREN GIVERSEN

HANS JONAS-RODOLPHE KASSER-PAHOR LABIB

GEORGE W. MACRAE†-JACQUES-É. MÉNARD

TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH

WILLEM CORNELIS VAN UNNIK†-R. MCL. WILSON

JAN ZANDEE†

XXVII

GENERAL EDITOR OF THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY

JAMES M. ROBINSON



# THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

*published under the auspices of*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

---

## NAG HAMMADI CODICES III,3-4 AND V,1

WITH

PAPYRUS BEROLINENSIS 8502,3 AND  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS 1081

EUGNOSTOS AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST

EDITED BY

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT



E.J. BRILL  
LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KØBENHAVN • KÖLN  
1991

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Eugnostos the Blessed. English & Coptic.

Nag Hammadi codices III,3-4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and The Sophia of Jesus Christ / edited by Douglas M. Parrott.

p. cm.—(Nag Hammadi studies. ISSN 0169-7749; v. 27) (The Coptic gnostic library)

Parallel text in English and Coptic.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-08366-9 (alk. paper)

1. Nag Hammadi codices. 2. Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.

3. Oxyrhynchus papyri. 4. Wisdom (Gnosticism) 5. Gnosticism.

I. Parrott, Douglas M. II. Sophia of Jesus Christ. English & Coptic. 1991. III. Title. IV. Title: Nag Hammadi codices III. 3-4 and V, 1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1081. V. Series. VI. Series: The Coptic gnostic library.

BT1392.E92A3 1991

299'.932—dc20

91-19243

CIP

ISSN 0169-7749

ISBN 90 04 08366 9

© Copyright 1991 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E.J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to Copyright Clearance Center, 27 Congress Street, SALEM MA 01970, USA. Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Foreword b  
Preface .....  
Table of Tr  
Abbreviat  
Works Cons  
Textual Sign  
  
Introduction  
I Dis  
II Pu  
III Tit  
IV The  
its  
V Da  
VI Ori  
VII Pro  
VIII Wr  
IX Sou  
X Rel  
XI The  
XII Phy  
XIII Scr  
XIV Tra  
XV Tra  
XVI Foc  
XVII Lit  
Guide to the  
The Paralle  
Endnotes ...  
Word Indice  
Coptic  
Greek  
Proper  
Oxyrhynch  
Intro  
Text a



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword by James M. Robinson .....	vii
Preface .....	xi
Table of Tractates in the Coptic Gnostic Library .....	xiii
Abbreviations .....	xv
Works Consulted .....	xvii
Textual Signs .....	xxiii
Introduction .....	1
I Discovery .....	1
II Publication History .....	1
III Titles .....	2
IV The Relationship of the Tractates and its Significance .....	3
V Dating .....	5
VI Original Language .....	6
VII Provenance .....	7
VIII Writers and Audiences .....	8
IX Sources of Eugnostos .....	9
X Relationship of the Texts .....	16
XI The Codices .....	18
XII Physical State of the Tractates .....	19
XIII Scribal Characteristics .....	20
XIV Transcriptions .....	27
XV Translation Policies .....	29
XVI Footnotes and Endnotes .....	30
XVII Literary Forms .....	30
Guide to the Parallels .....	31
The Parallel Texts .....	35
Endnotes .....	181
Word Indices .....	185
Coptic Words .....	185
Greek Loan Words .....	201
Proper Nouns .....	208
Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081 .....	209
Introduction .....	209
Text and Translation .....	211

The Coptic  
ices, of Pa  
comprising  
indices. It  
promptly fo  
madi Codic  
tive investi  
monograph  
part.

The gnos  
tianty and  
position in  
seriously im  
tion has be  
imposed by  
edition has b

This editi  
Claremont, C  
J. W. B. Bar  
G. M. Brown  
A. Gibbons,  
Lambdin, Be  
Mueller, W  
colm L. Pee  
Schoedel, J.  
R. McL. Wil

The projec  
accessible, b  
In view of th  
time either b  
plete editions  
was envisage  
lations in a s  
as two volum  
made in New  
12 (1970) 83  
Brill, 1970).  
their meeting  
Coptic Gnost  
as for VII-X  
tember 1973

## 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. Barns†, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Stephen Emmel, Joseph A. Gibbons, Søren Giversen, Charles W. Hedrick, Wesley W. Isenberg, T. O. Lambdin, Bentley Layton, Violet MacDermot, George W. MacRae†, Dieter Mueller†, William R. Murdock, Douglas M. Parrott, Birger A. Pearson, Malcolm L. Peel, James M. Robinson, William C. Robinson, Jr., William R. Schoedel, J. C. Shelton, John H. Sieber, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, R. McL. Wilson, Orval S. Wintermute, 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. In view of the fact that the bulk of the material in Codices I–VI had at that time either been published or announced for imminent publication in complete editions in other languages, the edition in the Coptic Gnostic Library was envisaged in the complementary role of providing merely English translations in a single volume, which in subsequent planning was then envisaged as two volumes. It was at this stage that preliminary announcements were made in *New Testament Studies* 16 (1969) 185–90 and *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970) 83–85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1970). The publisher and editorial board of Nag Hammadi Studies at their meeting in Uppsala, Sweden, in August 1973, recommended that the Coptic Gnostic Library edition be complete for Codices I–VI and BG as well as for VII–XIII. This plan was adopted by the volume editors at their September 1973 work session in Cairo. This resulted in Codices I–VI and BG

being planned for six, then nine volumes. They do not correspond precisely to the seven codices, for it is preferable to publish parallel texts together. Thus the present volume presents in parallel columns the two copies of *Eugnostos* (III,3 and V,1) and the two copies of its Christianized second edition, *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (III,4 and BG,3) in order to facilitate study of the complex interrelations involved. After it was decided to include in Nag Hammadi Studies a new English edition of the other Coptic Gnostic codices known previously, the Askew and Bruce codices, the publisher included them in the Coptic Gnostic Library to make it complete.

The volumes and the editors of the Coptic Gnostic Library are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*: Volume 1, *Introduction, Texts, and Translation*; Volume 2, *Notes*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; NHS 22 and 23, 1985; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1 and IV,1: The Apocryphon of John, Long Recension*, edited by Frederik Wisse, NHS 32, in preparation; *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7, together with XIII,2\**, *Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1)*, and *P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655*: Volume 1, *Gospel According to Thomas, Gospel According to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, Indexes*; Volume 2, *On the Origin of the World, Expository Treatise on the Soul, Book of Thomas the Contender, Indexes*, edited by Bentley Layton, NHS 20 and 21, 1989; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,1 and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John, Short Recension*, edited by Peter Nagel, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, NHS 4, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3-4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and The Sophia of Jesus Christ*, edited and translated by Douglas M. Parrott, NHS 27, 1990; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel, NHS XX, 1984; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, NHS 11, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John H. Sieber, NHS 31, in the press; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, NHS 15, 1981; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick, NHS 28, 1990; *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, edited by J. W. B. Barns†, G. M. Browne and J. C. Shelton, NHS 16, 1981; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 9, 1978; *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 13, 1978. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is seventeen volumes.

An English translation of all thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and P. Berol. 8502 has also been published in 1977 in a single volume, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, by E. J. Brill and Harper & Row. A first paperback edition of that preprint augmented by the inclusion of Yale inv. 1784 of the Beinecke Library at NHC III 145/146 (p. 238) appeared in 1981 at Harper & Row and

in 1984 at E. J. Brill and  
 mens in trans  
 E. J. Brill and  
 The team r  
 Institute for A  
 Humanities,  
 genheim Mem  
 the American  
 Members of  
 Technical Sub  
 madi Codices  
 sponsorship of  
 the reassembly  
 lation of the f  
 needs of the f  
 Without such  
 cerned this es  
 express our su  
 A special  
 through whos  
 President unt  
 and able host  
 tors Emeriti, a  
 who together  
 El-Shaheed, H  
 sonally respon  
 of the Coptic  
 tor General fo  
 who has guid  
 cialist in the  
 always prove  
 Gary A. B  
 Laboratory o  
 punched the  
 with great co  
 Edmund S  
 able suggesti  
 We also  
 E. J. Brill d  
 Wieder, Jr.,  
 Director Em  
 is in charge

in 1984 at E. J. Brill. It was not possible to include there subsequent improvements in translations. A third, completely revised edition appeared in 1988 at E. J. Brill and Harper & Row.

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.

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, Victor Girgis, and Mounir Basta, Directors Emeriti, and Dr. Gawdat Gabra, currently Director of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, First Curator for Manuscripts at the Coptic Museum, who is personally responsible for the codices and was constantly by our side in the rooms 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.

Gary A. Bisbee (Chiron Inc.) in conjunction with the Computer Based Laboratory of Harvard University has designed the Coptic characters, key-punched the manuscript and produced the camera-ready copy for this volume with great commitment and competence.

Edmund S. Meltzer was kind enough to read the typescript and make valuable suggestions before the volume went to press.

We also wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the directors of E. J. Brill during the years in which this volume was in preparation, F. C. Wieder, Jr., Director Emeritus, the late T. A. Edridge, and Dr. W. Backhuys, Director Emeritus, and Drs. M. G. Elisabeth Venekamp, Vice-President, who is in charge of Nag Hammadi Studies for Brill.

James M. Robinson  
General Editor

This pro  
duate Theo  
Project at t  
suggested th  
source then  
footnotes, w  
SIC-III. Hi  
lished argum  
somewhat le  
edition—gap  
tos of the Na  
and Christian  
Eng-III and  
which would  
English transl

When that  
cal editions of  
plete *Nag Han*  
*land 4*, which  
this edition sin

I want to ex  
this project. S  
the Coptic Gr  
SIC-III, both v  
in *Eng-V* (after  
feedback for te  
also in Cairo, r  
and made num  
Martin Krause  
tion. Hans-Ma  
lent his infrared  
included here.

Egyptologist  
sty) and his a  
regarding knott  
spring of 1981.

Also, this edi  
the fortnightly n  
School during th  
group, besides n  
M. Robinson, at

## PREFACE

This project was begun in 1967, while I was a graduate student at the Graduate Theological Union. In connection with the Coptic Gnostic Library Project at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, James M. Robinson suggested that I try to produce the parallels of *Eug* and *SJC*, using the only source then available to us, namely, the text of Till's edition of BG and his footnotes, which contained the variants from *SJC*-BG found in *Eug*-III and *SJC*-III. His hope was that we might be able to test the then recently published arguments of Krause regarding the priority of *Eug*. The result was somewhat less than satisfactory because of the gaps in *Eug*-III in Till's edition—gaps made necessary by restrictions imposed upon him. When photos of the Nag Hammadi texts became available to the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity later in the decade, I began working on the parallels of *Eug*-III and *SJC*-BG in translation (with variant readings in footnotes), which would have been part of the then projected volume of Codices I-VI in English translation only.

When that was replaced in 1973, as a result of the decision to publish critical editions of all the texts, I put aside the parallels project in order to complete *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5, and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, which was published in 1979. I have worked on various aspects of this edition since that time, using portions of the earlier work.

I want to express my thanks to a number of persons who have helped with this project. Stephen Emmel, while working as the Cairo representative of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project, recollated *Eug* III and retranscribed *SJC*-III, both with the aid of ultraviolet light, identified important fragments in *Eug*-V (after publication of the facsimile edition) and provided invaluable feedback for textual questions about *Eug*-V. Bentley Layton, while he was also in Cairo, recollated the whole of *Eug*-V with the use of ultraviolet light and made numerous important suggestions regarding the filling of lacunae. Martin Krause made available an early draft of his anticipated parallel edition. Hans-Martin Schenke provided photos of BG. And Harold Attridge lent his infrared photos of P. Oxy. 1081 for the new edition of that fragment included here.

Egyptologist Leonard Lesko (then at UC Berkeley, now at Brown University) and his assistant David Larkin gave expert and invaluable advice regarding knotty translational problems during a week in Berkeley in the spring of 1981.

Also, this edition has benefited in a variety of ways from the discussions at the fortnightly meetings of the Coptic Texts Seminar at Claremont Graduate School during the 1983-84 academic year. The regular participants in that group, besides myself, were James Goehring, Edmund S. Meltzer and James M. Robinson, all three from the CGS faculty; graduate students Jon Daniels,

Clayton Jefford, Stephen Patterson and Leif Vaage; and Richard Smith, then Instructor in Coptic at Fuller Theological Seminary.

Finally I want to thank Howard Jackson, Tulane Peterson, Jirair Tashjian and Leif Vaage, graduate students at CGS, who assisted me at various stages in the preparation of this volume. I am also grateful to Lenore Brashler for mediating expertly between me and her word processor.

The editing of this volume was made possible in part by grants from the Committee on Research of the University of California at Riverside.

Readers are requested to communicate to the general editor of the Coptic Gnostic Library any errors that may be found so that a list of corrections can be published.

Although this volume was accepted for publication in 1984, for a variety of reasons, including the special problems involved in setting it up, actual publication has been delayed for some time. During this time, of course, scholarship has continued, and I have been able to take some of it into consideration, but by no means all. I especially regret that limitations on the number of changes have not allowed me to incorporate references to Michel Tardieu's translation, with notes and comments, of *Eugnostos* and the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* in his *Ecrits gnostiques: Codex de Berlin, Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 1* (1984). I anticipate making good use of it in a future commentary.

Douglas M. Parrott

The follo  
Papyrus Ber  
as used in th  
simplified an  
supplied by  
tions in pare

I,1  
I,2  
I,3  
I,4  
I,5  
II,1  
II,2  
II,3  
II,4  
II,5  
II,6  
II,7  
III,1  
III,2  
III,3  
III,4  
III,5  
IV,1  
IV,2  
V,1  
V,2  
V,3  
V,4  
V,5  
VI,1  
VI,2  
VI,3  
VI,4  
VI,5  
VI,6  
VI,7  
VI,8  
VII,1  
VII,2  
VII,3  
VII,4



## TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

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

I,1	<i>The Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>	<i>Pr. Paul</i>
I,2	<i>The Apocryphon of James</i>	<i>Ap. Jas.</i>
I,3	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
I,4	<i>The Treatise on the Resurrection</i>	<i>Treat. Res.</i>
I,5	<i>The Tripartite Tractate</i>	<i>Tri. Trac.</i>
II,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
II,2	<i>The Gospel of Thomas</i>	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>
II,3	<i>The Gospel of Philip</i>	<i>Gos. Phil.</i>
II,4	<i>The Hypostasis of the Archons</i>	<i>Hyp. Arch.</i>
II,5	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>
II,6	<i>The Exegesis on the Soul</i>	<i>Exeg. Soul</i>
II,7	<i>The Book of Thomas the Contender</i>	<i>Thom. Cont.</i>
III,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
III,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
III,3	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Eugnostos (Eug)</i>
III,4	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr. (SJC)</i>
III,5	<i>The Dialogue of the Savior</i>	<i>Dial. Sav.</i>
IV,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
IV,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
V,1	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Eugnostos (Eug)</i>
V,2	<i>The Apocalypse of Paul</i>	<i>Apoc. Paul</i>
V,3	<i>The (First) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>1 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,4	<i>The (Second) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>2 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,5	<i>The Apocalypse of Adam</i>	<i>Apoc. Adam</i>
VI,1	<i>The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>	<i>Acts Pet. 12 Apost.</i>
VI,2	<i>The Thunder: Perfect Mind</i>	<i>Thund.</i>
VI,3	<i>Authoritative Teaching</i>	<i>Auth. Teach.</i>
VI,4	<i>The Concept of our Great Power</i>	<i>Great Pow.</i>
VI,5	<i>Plato, Republic 588b–589b</i>	<i>Plato Rep.</i>
VI,6	<i>The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth</i>	<i>Disc. 8–9</i>
VI,7	<i>The Prayer of Thanksgiving</i>	<i>Pr. Thanks.</i>
VI,8	<i>Asclepius 21–29</i>	<i>Asclepius</i>
VII,1	<i>The Paraphrase of Shem</i>	<i>Paraph. Shem</i>
VII,2	<i>The Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>
VII,3	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>
VII,4	<i>The Teachings of Silvanus</i>	<i>Teach. Silv.</i>

VII,5	<i>The Three Steles of Seth</i>	<i>Steles Seth</i>
VIII,1	<i>Zostrianos</i>	<i>Zost.</i>
VIII,2	<i>The Letter of Peter to Philip</i>	<i>Ep. Pet. Phil.</i>
IX,1	<i>Melchizedek</i>	<i>Melch.</i>
IX,2	<i>The Thought of Norea</i>	<i>Norea</i>
IX,3	<i>The Testimony of Truth</i>	<i>Testim. Truth</i>
X	<i>Marsanes</i>	<i>Marsanes</i>
XI,1	<i>The Interpretation of Knowledge</i>	<i>Interp. Know.</i>
XI,2	<i>A Valentinian Exposition</i>	<i>Val. Exp.</i>
XI,2a	<i>On the Anointing</i>	<i>On Anoint.</i>
XI,2b	<i>On Baptism A</i>	<i>On Bap. A</i>
XI,2c	<i>On Baptism B</i>	<i>On Bap. B</i>
XI,2d	<i>On the Eucharist A</i>	<i>On Euch. A</i>
XI,2e	<i>On the Eucharist B</i>	<i>On Euch. B</i>
XI,3	<i>Allogenes</i>	<i>Allogenes</i>
XI,4	<i>Hypsiphron</i>	<i>Hypsiph.</i>
XII,1	<i>The Sentences of Sextus</i>	<i>Sent. Sextus</i>
XII,2	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
XII,3	<i>Fragments</i>	<i>Frm.</i>
XIII,1	<i>Trimorphic Protennoia</i>	<i>Trim. Prot.</i>
XIII,2	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>
BG,1	<i>The Gospel of Mary</i>	<i>Gos. Mary</i>
BG,2	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
BG,3	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr. (SJC)</i>
BG,4	<i>The Act of Peter</i>	<i>Act Pet.</i>

(Abbreviations  
from this list  
volume.)

A  
A,  
ADAIK

alt.  
Apoc. Mos.

Aut (in notes)

B

BASP

BDF

BG

Corr.

D (in notes)

do.

Epiphani. Pan.

F

Gen

H (in notes)

JAC

K (in notes)

LSJ

LXX

NHC

WHLE

NHS

NovT

OLZ

PO

P.

P. Oxy.

part.

Pist. Soph.

Plat. Tim.

\* See "Works"

## ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations commonly found in standard English dictionaries are omitted from this list. Nag Hammadi tractates are listed at the beginning of the volume.)

A	Achmimic dialect
A <sub>2</sub>	Subachmimic dialect
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
alt.	alternative
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>
<i>Att (in notes)</i>	<i>Attridge*</i>
B	<i>Bohairic dialect</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BDF	Blass, Debrunner and Funk*
BG	Berlin Gnostic codex (Papyrus Berolinensis 8502), ed. by Till (1955)* and Till-Schenke (1972)*
Corr.	Correction by scribe
D (in notes)	Doresse (1960)*
do.	ditto
<i>Epiphan. Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>
F	Fayyumic dialect
Gen	Book of Genesis
H (in notes)	Hunt*
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
K (in notes)	Krause (1974)*
LSJ	Liddell, Scott and Jones*
LXX	Greek Version of the Old Testament (Septuagint)
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
<i>NHLE</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi Library in English</i> , 3rd ed., ed. by James M. Robinson*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
P.	Papyrus manuscript
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	Papyrus Oxyrhynchus
par(r.)	parallel(s)
<i>Pist. Soph.</i>	<i>Pistis Sophia</i>
<i>Plat. Tim.</i>	Plato, <i>Timaeus</i>

\* See "Works Consulted."

Pu (in notes)	Puech (1963)*
Rom	Letter to the Romans
S	Sahidic dialect
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
sugg.	suggestion
TDNT	Kittel, G. and Friedrich, G., eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , 10 vols. Trans. and ed. by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964–76.
T–S (in notes)	Till–Schenke*
Tr (in notes)	Trakatellis*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
W (in notes)	Wesseley*
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>

\* See "Works Consulted."

Amidge, Harold  
1975

Barns, John W.  
1975

Barnst, John W.  
G. M.; and She  
eds.  
1981

Bellet, Paulinus  
1978

Bickerman, E.  
1980

Blass, F.; Debr  
Funk, Robert V.  
1961

Böhlig, Alexan  
Pahor, eds.  
1963

Böhlig, Alexan  
Wisse, Freder  
1975

## WORKS CONSULTED

- Attridge, Harold W.  
1975 "P. Oxy. 1081 and the Sophia Jesu Christi." *Enchoria* 5: 1-8.
- Barns, John W. B.  
1975 "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: A Preliminary Report." In *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Codices: In Honour of Pahor Labib*. NHS 6. Ed. by Martin Krause. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Barns†, John W. B.; Browne, G. M.; and Shelton, J. C., eds.  
1981 *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*. NHS 16. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Bellet, Paulinus  
1978 "The Colophon of the Gospel of the Egyptians: Concessus and Macarius of Nag Hammadi." In *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis: Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)*. NHS 14. Ed. by R. McL. Wilson. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Bickerman, E. J.  
1980 *Chronology of the Ancient World*. Revised ed. London: Themis and Hudson.
- Blass, F.; Debrunner, A.; and Funk, Robert W. (BDF)  
1961 *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. University of Chicago.
- Böhlig, Alexander and Labib, Pahor, eds.  
1963 *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*. Sonderband. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität. Halle-Wittenberg.
- Böhlig, Alexander and Wisse, Frederik, eds.  
1975 *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*. NHS 4. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

- Bultmann, Rudolf  
1968  
*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*. 2nd ed. Trans. from German (2nd ed., 1931) by John Marsh. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Colpe, Carsten  
1976  
"Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi V." *JAC* 19.
- Crum, W. E.  
1939  
*A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- De Santos Otero, Aurelio, ed.  
1956  
*Los Evangelos Apocrifos*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.
- Dillon, John  
1977  
*The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University.
- Doresse, Jean  
1948  
"Trois livres gnostiques inédits." *VC* 2: 137-60.
- 1960  
*The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic manuscripts discovered at Chenoboskion*. Trans. from French (1958, 1959) by Philip Mairet. New York: Viking.
- Emmel, Stephen  
1978  
"Unique Photographic Evidence for Nag Hammadi Texts: CG II 1, III 1-4 and IV 1-2." *BASP* 15: 195-205.
- 1979  
"Unique Photographic Evidence for Nag Hammadi Texts: CG V-VII." *BASP* 16: 179-91.
- Facsimile Edition—V*  
1975  
*The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex V*. James M. Robinson, et al. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Facsimile Edition—III*  
1976  
*The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex III*. James M. Robinson, et al. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Fallon, Francis T.  
1979  
"The Gnostic Apocalypses." *Semeia* 14: 123-58.
- Hedrick, C. W.  
1981  
"Christian Motifs in the Gospel of the Egyptians: Method and Motive." *NovT* 23: 242-60.

Hunt, Arthur  
1911Kasser, Rodolphe  
1964Klostermann, G.  
1929Krause, Martin  
1964

1974

Krause, Martin  
Pahor, eds.  
1971Liddell, Henry  
Robert, and Jo  
Smart (LST)  
1968MacRae, George  
1970Ménard, Jacques  
1980Pape, W. and  
1911Parrott, Douglas  
1971

- Hunt, Arthur S.  
1911 *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Part 8. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Kasser, Rodolphe  
1964 *Compléments au Dictionnaire copte de Crum*. Bibliothèque d'études coptes 7. Cairo: L'institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Klostermann, Erich, ed.  
1929 *Apokrypha 2*. 3rd ed. Kleine Texte 8. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Krause, Martin  
1964 "Das literarische Verhältnis des Eugnostos-briefes zur Sophia Jesu Christi." *Mullus, Festschrift Theodor Klauser*. JAC Ergänzungsband 1: 215–23.
- 1974 "The Letter of Eugnostos." In *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts 2: Coptic and Mandaean Sources*. Ed. by Werner Foerster. Trans. from 1971 German ed. by R. McL. Wilson. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Krause, Martin and Labib, Pahor, eds.  
1971 *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*. ADAIK, Koptische Reihe 2. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Liddell, Henry George; Scott, Robert; and Jones, Henry Stuart (LSJ)  
1968 *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- MacRae, George W.  
1970 "The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth." *NovT* 12: 86–101.
- Ménard, Jacques E.  
1980 "Normative Self-definition in Gnosticism." In *Jewish and Christian Self-definition 1: The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries*. Ed. by E. P. Sanders. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Pape, W. and Bensler, G.  
1911 *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3rd ed. Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn.
- Parrott, Douglas M.  
1971 "The Significance of the Letter of Eugnostos and the Sophia of Jesus Christ for the Understanding of the Relation Between Gnosticism and Christianity." *SBL Seminar Papers 2*.

- 1975 "Evidence of Religious Syncretism in Nag Hammadi Tractates." In *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity: Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren*. Series on Formative Contemporary Thinkers 1. Ed. by Birger A. Pearson. Missoula, Montana: Scholars.
- 1979 Ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*. NHS 11. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- 1987 "Gnosticism and Egyptian Religion." *NovT* 29: 73-93.
- 1988 "Eugnostos and 'All The Philosophers'." *Religion im Erbe Ägyptens: Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte zu Ehren von Alexander Böhlig*. Manfred Görg, ed. Ägypten und Altes Testament 14. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz: 153-167.
- Perkins, PHEME  
1971 "The Soteriology of Sophia of Jesus Christ." *SBL Seminar Papers* 2.
- 1980 *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*. New York: Paulist.
- Przybylski, B.  
1980 "The Role of Calendrical Data in Gnostic Literature." *VC* 34: 56-70.
- Puech, H.-C.  
1950 "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte." In *Coptic Studies in honor of Walter Ewing Crum*. Boston: Byzantine Institute.
- 1963 "Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents." In Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha 1: Gospels and Related Writings*. Ed. by Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Trans. from German (1959) by R. McL. Wilson. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Robinson, James  
1979

1984

1988

Schenke, Hans  
1962

1966

Smith, Herbert  
1956Stern, Ludwig  
1880Till, Walter  
1955

1961

1966

Till, Walter  
Hans-Martin  
1972Trakatellis  
1977



- Robinson, James M.  
1979 "Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502." In *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*. NHS 11. Ed. by Douglas M. Parrott. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- 1984 *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- 1988 Ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. Trans. by Members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. 3rd, completely revised ed. New York, et al.: Harper & Row.
- Schenke, Hans-Martin  
1962 "Nag-Hamadi (sic) Studien II: Das System der Sophia Jesu Christi." *ZRGG* 14: 263-77.
- 1966 Review of Böhlig-Labib. *OLZ* 61: Cols 23-34.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir  
1956 *Greek Grammar*. Rev. by Gordon M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard.
- Stern, Ludwig  
1880 *Koptische Grammatik*. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel.
- Till, Walter C.  
1955 Ed., *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*. TU 60. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- 1961 *Koptische Dialektgrammatik mit Lese-  
stücken und Wörterbuch*. 2nd ed. Munich:  
C.H. Beck.
- 1966 *Koptische Grammatik (saïdischer Dialekt)  
mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörter-  
verzeichnissen*. 3rd improved ed. Leipzig:  
Verlag Enzyklopädie.
- Till, Walter C. and Schenke,  
Hans-Martin, eds.  
1972 *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen  
Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*. TU 60. 2nd ed.  
Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Trakatellis, Demetrios  
1977 Ο ΥΠΕΡΒΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ (*The Transcendent God of Eugnostos* :  
An Exegetical Contribution to the Study of

- the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi). Athens.
- Treu, Kurt  
1982  
"P. Berl. 8508: Christliches Empfehlungsschreiben aus dem Einband des koptisch-gnostischen Kodex P. 8502." *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 28: 53–54.
- Wesseley, C.  
1924  
"Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus, II." *PO* 18: 493–95.
- Wilson, R. McL.  
1968  
*Gnosis and the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Wisse, Frederik  
1975  
"Nag Hammadi Codex III: Codicological Introduction." In *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts: In Honour of Pahor Labib*. NHS 6. Ed. by Martin Krause. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

A dot p  
is visu  
certain  
indicat  
vestige

Square  
which  
time. V  
partiall  
to five,  
bic nu  
translat  
or por  
Three  
untrans  
allowe  
bracke  
tainty

◇ Pointe  
sion or

|| Braces

∨ High  
above

() Paren  
lator f

≡ Two  
corrup

## TEXTUAL SIGNS

- A dot placed under a letter in the transcription indicates that the letter is visually uncertain, even though the context may make the reading certain. Dots on the line outside of brackets in the transcription indicate missing letters that cannot be reconstructed but of which vestiges of ink remain.
- [ ] Square brackets in the transcription indicate a lacuna in the MS in which there is every reason to believe that writing existed at one time. When the text cannot be reconstructed, or when it can only be partially reconstructed, the number of estimated missing letters, up to five, is indicated in the transcription by dots; beyond that an Arabic number is used, followed by a plus or minus sign ( $\pm$ ). In the translation, brackets are used not only for lacunae but also for letters or portions of letters that do not make translatable sense units. Three dots in brackets indicate an unreconstructed, and therefore an untranslated, portion of indeterminate length. Brackets are not allowed to divide words: words are placed either entirely inside brackets or wholly outside, depending on an estimate of the certainty of the words they translate.
- < > Pointed brackets indicate an editorial correction of a scribal omission or error. In the latter case a footnote records the MS reading.
- { } Braces indicate letters or words unnecessarily added by the scribe.
- ˘ ˙ High strokes indicate that the letters so designated were written above the line by the scribe.
- ( ) Parentheses in the translation indicate material supplied by the translator for the sake of clarity.
- † † Two daggers indicate that the words between them are considered corrupt.

The thirteen  
on the right bar  
and close to the  
bank.<sup>1</sup> Facsimi  
now preserved  
Evidence in  
library was bur  
etal.: nos. 63-6  
century Pachom  
burning.<sup>2</sup>

P. Berolimens  
or near the city  
1896. At first C  
century date, a  
Stegemann plac

The four trac  
of *The Sophia o*  
of the large amo  
*Eugnostos* (a  
Codex V (1,1-1  
*Eugnostos, The*  
Hammadi Codex  
Eug-III that are  
published in *Ti*  
including all th  
(modern Greek)  
ward dissertation

<sup>1</sup>The most auth  
be found in Robins

<sup>2</sup>See Barns: 9-1  
Barns et al.

<sup>3</sup>For a brief acc  
see TIL-Schenke: 1-

## INTRODUCTION

### I. DISCOVERY

The thirteen Nag Hammadi codices were discovered in December, 1945, on the right bank of the Nile, near the town of al-Qasr (ancient Chenoboskia) and close to the larger town of Nag Hammadi, which is on the opposite bank.<sup>1</sup> Facsimile editions of all thirteen have been published. The MSS are now preserved in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, Egypt.

Evidence in the cartonnage used to stiffen the leather covers suggests the library was buried sometime in the last half of the fourth century C.E. (Barns et al.: nos. 63–65). It is possible the codices had been used by monks in the nearby Pachomian monasteries and were buried during a time of heresy-hunting.<sup>2</sup>

P. Berolinensis 8502 (commonly designated simply BG) was purchased in or near the city of Achmim, Egypt, and acquired for the Berlin Museum in 1896. At first Carl Schmidt, who initially proposed to edit it, gave it a fifth-century date, although subsequently he thought it should be dated later. Stegemann placed it in the early fifth century (Till–Schenke: 6–7).<sup>3</sup>

### II. PUBLICATION HISTORY

The four tractates published here are two versions of *Eugnostos* and two of *The Sophia of Jesus Christ*. They are presented in parallel form because of the large amount of common material.

*Eugnostos* (abbreviated, *Eug–V*) is the first tractate of Nag Hammadi Codex V (1,1–17,18) and has not been published before in a critical edition. *Eugnostos, The Blessed* (abbreviated, *Eug–III*) is the third tractate of Nag Hammadi Codex III (70,1–90,13). The portions of the text and translation of *Eug–III* that are variations of sections in *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* were published in Till (1955) and Till–Schenke. However, non-parallel parts, including all the frame material, were omitted. The text and translation (modern Greek) of *Eug–III* was published by Trakatellis as part of his Harvard dissertation. His text was based on preliminary work of my own with

<sup>1</sup> The most authoritative account of the discovery and subsequent history of the codices is to be found in Robinson's introduction to the facsimile edition (1984).

<sup>2</sup> See Barns: 9–18. But for cautions about Barns's conclusions, see Shelton's introduction to Barns et al.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief account of the unsuccessful efforts of Schmidt to publish BG during his lifetime, see Till–Schenke: 1–2.

some modifications by George MacRae, who was the dissertation director (correspondence with MacRae). Translations of *Eug*-III by Krause (1974: 27-34) and myself (*NHLE*<sup>3</sup>: 206-43) have been published. In both cases the portion of *Eug*-V covering the missing two pages of *Eug*-III (79-80) was also published.

The two versions of *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (hereafter, *SJC*) vary from each other in relatively minor ways. One version is the third tractate of BG (77,8-127,12), which was edited (text and German translation) by Till (1955). His edition was later revised by Schenke (Till-Schenke). Translated portions were also published by Puech (77,9-79,18; 124,9-126,16; 126,17-127,10) (1963: 246-47).

The other version is the fourth tractate of NHC III (90,14-119,18). It was published by Till with the BG version, in the sense that places where it varied from the BG text were printed in the footnotes. Unfortunately, in many instances the Till edition (and its revision) did not completely reflect the variations, particularly the orthographic ones. Krause translated the portions of *SJC*-III that vary from *Eug*-III and published them in endnotes (1974: 35-39). A translation by myself of all of *SJC*-III is published in *NHLE*<sup>3</sup>. In both cases, the parts of *SJC*-BG covering the missing four pages of *SJC*-III (109-10; 115-16) were also published.

In addition to the two Coptic MSS of *SJC*, one leaf of a Greek copy has survived among the Oxyrhynchus papyri. It is numbered 1081 and is presented here in a new edition, following the parallels.

### III. TITLES

The title of *Eug*-III in the incipit is εΥΓΝΩΣΤΟΣ ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ, "Eugnostos, the Blessed," which agrees with the subscript title (90,12-13). But *Eug*-V has only faint traces of its subscript title and the incipit is very fragmentary. Enough of the latter is visible, however, to make clear that ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ, "the Blessed," was not part of the line. It is also evident that ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ could not have been part of the subscript title (see V 17,18n.). But what of "Eugnostos"? It appears nowhere in the tractate. The correct number of spaces is available in the incipit. And the same is true of the subscript, where, in addition, the only visible letter (omicron) is in the correct position for the reconstruction of "Eugnostos." But since other names would also be possible, the designation of "Eugnostos" as the title of the tractate depends on the recognition of the similarity of this tractate and *Eug*-III.

The titles of both copies of *SJC* appear in superscriptions and subscripts. The superscriptions are the same in both, except that the spelling of the *nomina sacra* in BG (ϠϢ and ϠϢ) differs from that in Codex III (ϠϢ and ϠϢ). In *SJC*-BG, the same title appears in the subscript, except that this time the *nomina sacra* are spelled as they are in the superscription of *SJC*-III. The subscript of *SJC*-III omits ϠϢ, "Christ," perhaps through scribal error (see III.A, below). In regard to the difference between the *nomina sacra* in the

superscription  
confirm to the  
index, the latter  
Till leaves c  
divine hyposta  
Doresse (1948:  
on the ground  
The latter view  
the tractate, as  
ever, we have a  
really accepted.

IV. TI

Because mos  
because *Eug* sec  
tion of priority  
posed first and  
clear example of  
Gnosticism.

Doresse argu  
by Puech (1963:  
without arguing  
rejecting the ar  
changed his min  
sensitive approach  
taken by Krause  
common to both  
argued that that  
separate materia  
that the material  
did that of *SJC*,

Although ind  
nut, 1971: 399-  
no one has atten  
have examined  
have become co  
observing the ar  
cess in vocabu  
separate materia  
of *Eug* is now u  
That conclus  
down to be C  
there were sign

superscription and subscript of BG, it is noteworthy that while the former conform to the usage elsewhere in the codex (based on the Till–Schenke index), the latter are unique, suggesting a copyist's adjustment.

Till leaves  $\kappa\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$  untranslated, on the ground that the word refers to the divine hypostasis who appears prominently in the tractate (1955: 55). Doresse (1948: 146) and Puech (1963: 245), however, prefer to translate it, on the ground that it refers to the teachings of Jesus found in the tractate. The latter view seems preferable because Sophia is not the dominant figure in the tractate, as one would expect if the tractate were titled after her. However, we have adopted Till's practice because it seems to have become generally accepted.

#### IV. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TRACTATES AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Because most of *Eug* is found in *SJC*, where it is attributed to Jesus, and because *Eug* seems to be without any obvious Christian elements, the question of priority was raised very early. It was thought that if *Eug* were composed first and had been used in the editing of *SJC*, then we would have a clear example of the movement from non-Christian Gnosticism to Christian Gnosticism.

Doresse argued for the priority of *Eug* (1948: 137–60) and was followed by Puech (1963: 248). Till, however, took the opposite position (1955: 54), without arguing the point. Schenke joined him, after carefully examining and rejecting the arguments of Doresse (1962: 265–67). (Schenke has since changed his mind [personal conversation in November, 1982].) A more persuasive approach (than that of Doresse) in favor of the priority of *Eug* was taken by Krause (1964). He began by distinguishing between the material common to both *Eug* and *SJC* and the material each has separately, and argued that that tractate was primary in which the common material and its separate material were most compatible. Using this criterion he concluded that the material special to *Eug* fitted better with the common material than did that of *SJC*, and that *Eug* therefore preceded *SJC*.

Although individual points of Krause's argument are not convincing (Parrott, 1971: 399–404), his method has had a significant effect: since he wrote, no one has attempted to argue the priority of *SJC*. It appears that as scholars have examined the tractates for themselves, in the light of his approach, they have become convinced of the greater likelihood of the priority of *Eug* by observing the artificiality of the dialogue framework of *SJC* and the differences in vocabulary and ideas between the common material in *SJC* and its separate material (on the latter point, see Parrott, 1971: 405–06). The priority of *Eug* is now usually simply assumed (e.g., Perkins: 35).

That conclusion would diminish in importance, however, if *Eug* could be shown to be Christian in some significant way. Schenke maintained that there were signs of Christian influence, without giving any specifics (1962:

265). Wilson listed terminology that might be Christian (115), but admitted that it fell short of demonstrating Christian influence. I suggested that the so-called summary section of *Eug*-III (85,9ff) was deliberately edited in a Christian direction, but it is also possible that haplography occurred (1971: 412-13; 1975: 180-81), and in any case *Eug*-V lacks the changes. The one rather clear indication of Christian influence in *Eug*-III is found at the conclusion, where editing appears to have sharpened the reference to the one who is expected (90,7-11), so that it easily is seen to refer to Christ in the next tractate, which is *SJC*. Since that sharpening is not found in *Eug*-V, it is possible that *Eug*-III has been subject to some Christian modifications, but that does not alter the basic non-Christian character of the original form of *Eug* (similarly, Ménard: 137). One should perhaps note here that the last sentence in *Eug*-V may be a direct quote from Mark 4:25 or one of its parallels, but it could also have been drawn from the common treasury of secular proverbs assumed by Bultmann as the source for the passage in the gospels (102-04).

There is another aspect of the relationship between these two tractates that needs to be discussed, namely, what appears to be their symbiosis. This is immediately suggested by their juxtaposition in Codex III. It is further suggested by the above-mentioned ending of *Eug*, which in its clearest expression, in Codex III, looks forward to the coming of one who will not need to be taught but who will "speak all these things to you joyously and in pure knowledge" (90,7-11), clearly (in Codex III) pointing to Christ in *SJC*. What could be the reason for this juxtaposition and interconnection?

When Doresse discussed *SJC*, he assumed the tractate was an attempt to make Christians think that Christ taught Gnosticism (so also Krause, 1964: 223) and suggested that the knowledge Christians had of the existence of *Eug* would have made clear to them that that was in fact a fraud (1960: 198). One suspects that problem would have been obvious to the Gnostics, which suggests then that they had something else in mind for *SJC*, something which would have made the relating of these two tractates more than a mistake.

An alternative would be that Christian Gnostics were interested in having those who knew and revered *Eug* come to know that Christ fulfilled the prophecy of Euginos (probably initially known by them in its more ambiguous form found in Codex V). That would make it possible for them to accept Christ as the new revealer and recognize that he had triumphed over the sinister powers, thereby opening the way for them to do so also. In other words, the intention may have been to convert non-Christian Gnostics to Christian Gnosticism.

Supporting this is the allusive nature of the references to traditional gnostic doctrines in the material added to *Eug* to produce *SJC*. The reader learns something, but not very much, about the ignorant and bad creator god (III 107,5-11), the sin of Sophia (III 114,14-18), the fall of the divine drops of light into the prison of this cosmic order (III 106,24-107,6, par.), the evil of sexuality (III 108,10-16, par.), and the punishment of the creator god and his



minions (BG 121,13–122,5). In no case is one of these doctrines presented in a fully developed way. That suggests that the intended audience was made up of those who already knew those doctrines; that is, that the intended audience were Gnostics. The one doctrine that is fully developed is the doctrine of Christ. (For a similar argument and conclusion, see Perkins, 1980: 98; see also Perkins, 1971: 177.)

*Eug* and *SJC* could both have a life of their own, as is demonstrated by Codex V, which has *Eug* but not *SJC*; and BG, which has *SJC* but not *Eug*. But it is the symbiotic relationship as seen in Codex III that seems to reveal the reason for the creation of *SJC*.

## V. DATING

The dating of the composition of the tractates is difficult because no dateable events are referred to in them. Krause has suggested the first or second centuries C.E. for *Eug* without specifying the reasons (1974: 26). D. Trakatellis is more specific, suggesting the beginning of the second century C.E., because he thinks that *Eug* belongs early in the period in which the leading figures of Gnosticism made their appearance (32). However, those figures produced systems with clear Christian elements, whereas *Eug* has none. A date no later than the first century C.E. seems justified. An even earlier date is likely. *Eug* is directed against the views of "all the philosophers" (III 70,15). From the brief descriptions of these views, the philosophers can be identified as Stoic, Epicurean, and the theoreticians of Babylonian astrology. The latest time when these could be thought of as "all the philosophers" was probably the first century B.C.E. (Parrott, 1988).

As to the date of *SJC*, Puech has dated P. Oxy. 1081 early in the fourth century, thus providing a *terminus ad quem* (1950: 98 n. 2; 1963: 245). He also suggests that *SJC* might have been composed in the second half of the second century, or at the latest, the third century, but gives no reason (1963: 248). Till suggests a relative dating between *Ap. John* (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1; BG 1) and *Pist. Soph.* Assuming that *SJC* is an integrated whole, he argues that in it the understandable philosophical viewpoint found in *Ap. John* and its consistent development are diminished, while *SJC* seems to represent an early state in the development of a *Weltbild* that ends in *Pist. Soph.* (Till–Schenke: 56). Doresse puts *SJC* close to the first books of *Pist. Soph.* (1948: 159).

In contrast to these rather late datings, there are certain crucial elements that taken together suggest an early date. The likelihood that *SJC* was produced to persuade non-Christian Gnostics to accept Christian Gnosticism has already been mentioned. That suggests an early date, especially in view of the fact that it seems to be assumed that the intended audience knows little or nothing about Christ, although one cannot deny the possibility of a continuing body of non-Christian Gnostics to whom Christian Gnostics might have wanted to appeal.

Further, there is the absence of polemics connected with the gnostic-orthodox struggle. This is seen rather dramatically when the frame material of *SJC* is compared with that of *Ap. John*. In *Ap. John*, both the beginning and the ending contain elements that seem to refer to the conflict. John is depicted as a traditional Jewish Christian (going to the temple) at the start, who is confronted with charges against Christ by the Pharisee Arimanius. He is unable to answer them and so turns away from the temple and goes to the desert (II 1,5–19). John, then, is seen as moving from the inadequate orthodox way (based on Jewish tradition) to the gnostic way.

At the end of *Ap. John*, we sense the defensive posture of a group that anticipates attack in the instructions from Christ that the words of the revelation are to be given only to John's fellow spirits ("for this is the mystery of the immoveable race"), that John is to write down and keep secure what he has heard, and in the curse that follows against anyone who might sell what is written (probably to opponents) (II 31,28–37). There is none of that in *SJC*. In the beginning the disciples are perplexed (no reason is given) and go to the place where they have reason to think they will receive answers from the risen savior. And in the end, they are simply told to continue the savior's mission, which, according to the account, they begin to do by preaching the Gospel (i.e., what they have just heard).

Another reason for assigning an early date is the fact that *SJC* contains nothing that would clearly indicate that it had been influenced by the great systems of the middle third of the second century. There are numerous points of contact, of course, but nothing that demonstrates dependence. Finally, when one examines the attempt in *SJC* to integrate the person of Christ into the system of *Eug*, it is clear that problems remain: Christ is identified with Son of Man, but not with Savior; but a major section on the work of Christ (III 106,24–108,16, par.) is placed immediately after the section on the appearing of Savior, who is the son of Son of Man (III 106,15–24), which would lead one to think that a second identification of Christ—this time, with Savior—was being made. Perhaps in an attempt to resolve this confusion, the bridge section, which provides a summary of sorts, in *SJC* identifies Savior with Son of Man and ignores the son of Son of Man (BG 108,1–7) (although he is mentioned in the *Eug*-V parallel). All this suggests that in *SJC* we are at the beginning of the process by which Christian Gnosticism was to become rationalized or theologized.

Taken together, then, these points tend to the conclusion that *SJC* should be dated early. If *Eug* is dated in the first-century B.C.E., then *SJC* should probably be dated late in the first or early in the second century.

## VI. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

Prior to the identification by Puech of P. Oxy. 1081 as a leaf from a Greek copy of *SJC* (1950: 98, n. 2), Doresse asserted that *SJC* was composed origi-

ally in Coptic (original became original of *Eug* is presence in *Eug*—likely it was unfat

Takaelis hol  
Eug. The fact that  
al name, and con  
the likelihood o  
Takaelis argues

Eug. *Eug* was in fac  
There is, howev  
the reference to "u  
*Eug* the number of  
election ("type")

necessary ordering  
and the year as ha  
each plus five epa  
Romans conquered

the every four year  
Decree of August  
eat into line with  
Roman Empire.

Przybylski has su  
300 day reference (anc  
calendar, ancient  
them would have b  
make. It was only  
granted.<sup>4</sup>

A further reason  
discussion of source  
If *Eug* had an *Eg*  
are also.

<sup>4</sup>As noted, 360 days  
: *Eg*-III and *Eug*-V d  
ze of the year, with  
year (piece with r  
24-5). It should be r  
III, and Vol. *Eg*. IX

nally in Coptic (1948: 152). But once the identification was made, a Coptic original became improbable. And given a Greek original of *SJC*, a Greek original of *Eug* is very likely. Further confirmation of this is provided by the presence in *Eug*-III of an untranslated conjugated Greek verb (75,8); evidently it was unfamiliar to the scribe-translator, so he left it as it was.

## VII. PROVENANCE

Trakatellis holds that nothing can be concluded about the provenance of *Eug*. The fact that the scribe of *Gos. Eg.* has the name Eugnostos as his spiritual name, and could therefore be the same person as the writer of *Eug* (on the unlikelihood of which, see the next section), might suggest Egypt. But Trakatellis argues (following Böhlig-Wisse) that one cannot be certain that *Gos. Eg.* was in fact directed to the Egyptians (32).

There is, however, another element in *Eug* that suggests Egypt, namely, the reference to "the three hundred sixty days of the year" (III 84,4-5). In *Eug* the number of days of the year is thought of as existing because it is a reflection ("type") of the 360 supercelestial powers. Hence it is part of the necessary ordering of things. From ancient times the Egyptians had calculated the year as having 360 days, divided into twelve months of thirty days each, plus five epagomenal days (Bickerman: 42). Furthermore, when the Romans conquered Egypt they left the 360 day period intact, decreeing only that every four years another day should be added to the epagomenal days (Decree of Augustus, 26 B.C. [Bickerman: 49]), thus bringing the Egyptian year into line with the Julian year, which was standard elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

Przybylski has suggested several possible sources other than Egypt for the 360 day reference (1 Enoch, Jubilees, a purely theoretical rather than a practical calendar, ancient Babylon) (60-62), but it seems unlikely that any of them would have been the source without some word of explanation to the reader. It was only in Egypt where such a reference would have been taken for granted.<sup>4</sup>

A further reason for believing in an Egyptian provenance is found in the discussion of sources in Section IX.

If *Eug* had an Egyptian provenance, it is reasonable to think that *SJC* had one also.

<sup>4</sup> As noted, 360 days did not constitute the whole year for the Egyptians. But the references in *Eug*-III and *Eug*-V do not claim that, and indeed *Eug*-III seems to suggest that it is only a part of the year, with its strange word order and odd (for the context) preposition:  $\pi\psi\mu\tau\{\tau\}\omega\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\langle\pi\rangle\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ , lit., "The three hundred sixty from the year days" (84,4-5). It should be noted that the Valentinians also assumed a 360 day period (Iren., *Haer.* 2.15.1, and *Val. Exp.* [XI,2] 30,34-38).

## VIII. WRITERS AND AUDIENCES

*Eug*

The name Eugnostos is not widely attested, but there is one reference to it (Pape and Bensler: s.v.; contra Bellet [47]). From the tractate there is no reason to think that it is anything other than a proper noun (derived from an adjective). It may be a spiritual name here (in contrast to a birth name), since Eugnostos is the spiritual name of the scribe of the colophon of *Gos. Eg.* (III 69,10–11). Or, if we can assume that the non-Christian *Eug* was earlier than the colophon of the Christianized *Gos. Eg.*, it may be that the name became spiritual within a gnostic community because it was the name of the revered writer of our tractate. Bellet's conjecture that Eugnostos is the title of an official in a gnostic circle requires for credibility an unlikely transposition, since the title should be in second position in relation to the name of the person possessing the title. Such a transposition has not been found in other sources, as Bellet himself admits (47 and 55–56).

The designation ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ, "the Blessed," which appears only in *Eug*—III, would probably not have been applied by the writer to himself, since it is honorific, and should therefore be considered secondary. It may have been inserted to indicate that Eugnostos was dead. Such usage was not limited to Christian communities, contrary to Bellet (55) (see *TDNT* 4:362 [Hauck] and *LSJ*: s.v.).

The writer of *Eug* may have been a teacher of some significance, since his writing is preserved in two quite different versions, testifying to long usage. In view of the fact that the compiler of Codex III placed *Gos. Eg.* and *Eug* side-by-side, he may have identified Eugnostos with the scribe of the colophon of *Gos. Eg.* If that was the case, it seems unlikely that he was correct (contra Doresse, 1948: 159; 1960: 196), in view of the probability that *Eug* was considerably earlier than *Gos. Eg.*

*Eug* is ostensibly addressed to "those who are his" (III 70,1–2). "His" may refer to Eugnostos himself, in which case the audience would be his disciples. But one gains the impression from the tractate that the audience may not be familiar with some of Eugnostos' teachings (see, e.g., III 74,12–14). If that is the case, "his" could refer to a deity to whom the audience is thought to belong. "Sons of Unbegotten Father" are mentioned in III 75,22.

*SJC*

The author of *SJC* wants it to appear that he is a disciple (III 91,12–19, par.).<sup>5</sup> However in point of fact we have no knowledge of who the author is.

<sup>5</sup>In *Pist. Soph.*, Philip, Matthew and Thomas, all of whom are named in *SJC* (along with Bartholew and Mary), are designated as "those who are to write everything that Jesus says" (71,18–72,1; 72,11–20).

It seems clear, however, who the audience is. It is made up of those who, like the disciples in *SJC*, seek answers to basic questions about the meaning and purpose of the whole cosmic system, and about their place in it. As mentioned above, they are probably non-Christian Gnostics who are being encouraged by the writer to adopt Christianized Gnosticism.

## IX. SOURCES OF EUGNOSTOS

It may be that *Eug* originally existed without the letter format, as a cosmogonic text, as Krause has suggested (1964: 222). The minor items that make it a letter could easily have been added, but there is no way to be certain (see XVII below).

There is evidence, however, that *Eug*, as we have received it, in both its versions, is the result of major earlier editorial activity. That can be seen in two places: in the first major portion of *Eug* (III 70,1–85,9, par.) (Part A), where two originally separate speculative patterns seem to have been combined; and in the second major part (III 85,9–90,3, par.) (Part B) where evidence is found that it may originally have been an independent unit.

### A. Two Speculative Patterns in Part A

The two patterns emerge when a comparison is made of the first group of major deities and the second, the latter of which is described as “the type of those who preceded them” (III 82,10–11, a phrase omitted in *Eug*–V!), that is, the type of the first group. The following chart shows the comparison:

<i>First Group</i> (III 71,13–82,6, par.)	<i>Second Group</i> (III 82,7–83,2, par.)
(Variant terms found in only one text are indicated.)	
1) He Who Is; Unbegotten; Father of the Universe; Forefather; First Existent (III) (III 71,13–75,2,3)	1) Unbegotten (III); Unbegotten <Father of> All things (V). <i>Consort</i> : All-Wise Sophia.
2) Self-Father; Self-Begetter; Confronter (III); Self-grown, Self-constructed Father (III); He who Put Forth Himself (V) (III 75,3–11; 76,14–17)	2) Self-begotten. <i>Consort</i> : All-Mother Sophia (III).
3) Man (V); Immortal Man; Immortal Androgynous Man (III); Self-perfected Begetter (V); Begetter Mind who Perfects Himself (V); Begotten; Perfect Mind (III); Father; Self-Father Man; Man of the Depth (V); First Man (III).	3) Begetter (III); Begotten (V). <i>Consort</i> : All-Begettress Sophia (III).

*Consort*: All-wise Begettress Sophia; Thought, She of All Wisdoms, Begettress of the Wisdoms (V); Truth (V); Great Sophia (V). (III 76,19–V 8,32)

4) First-begotten Son of God (V); First Begetter Father (III); Adam of the Light (III); son of Man. *Consort*: First-begotten Sophia, Mother of the Universe; Love. (V 8,33–III 81,21)

5) Savior, Begetter of All Things; All-Begetter (84,13) Son of Son of Man (V 13,12–13). *Consort*: Sophia, All-Begettress (III); Pistis Sophia (III 81,21–82,6)

4) First Begetter (III); Begotten of the First (V). *Consort*: First Begettress Sophia (III).

5) All-Begetter (III); All-begotten (V). *Consort*: Love Sophia.

6) Arch-Begetter (III) (V, in lacuna). *Consort*: Pistis Sophia.

The most obvious and significant thing to observe is that the second group has one more deity than the first. It is also notable that the name of the consort of the fifth deity in the second group, namely, Love, is one of the names of the consort of the fourth being in the first group. Also, the name Pistis Sophia, which belongs to the consort of the sixth deity in the second group, is one of the names of the consort of the fifth deity in the first group. Notable also is the fact that the second group lacks the terms Man, Son of Man, Son of Son of Man, and Savior.

Contrary to III 82,10–11, then, the second group is not now the type of those who preceded them in any complete sense.

If we ask which list is primary, the answer seems to be the second, since the number six is important subsequently in the tractate (see discussion below), whereas the number five is not.

If we assume that III 82,10–11 originally was correct, the first group once had six members; now it lacks Arch-Begetter.

The reason for the dropping of the antetype of Arch-Begetter seems to be that another pattern was superimposed on the first group, the pattern of Immortal Man, Son of Man, and son of Son of Man—Savior. This pattern had no figure to identify with the antetype of Arch-Begetter.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The name Arch-Begetter (by some translators, simply transliterated as Archigenetor) does not appear in *Eug* after III 82,18; however, it does appear in *SJC*, in a non-*Eug* section, where it is identified with Yaldabaoth, the ignorant and malevolent creator god (BG 119,14–16).

The original for  
the second, except  
Father in the second  
by one. Moreover  
multiplicities ("all  
the Universe. Ther  
thing like the follow  
1) He Who Is;  
Existent.  
2) Self-Father;  
Father.  
3) Begotten; Sel  
Prefers Himself (V  
4) Wisdoms, Beget  
4) First-begotten  
Mother of the Unive  
5) Begetter of A  
6) Arch-Begetter  
The pattern here  
encompassing divin  
by himself (i.e.,  
the creation of th  
consort, thus makin  
of Hemopolis). Th  
heavenly realms an  
of this world (in Eg  
to the cosmos). Th  
transcendent period a  
more universal by th  
found elsewhere in  
Egyptian religion is  
The pattern imp  
system of three an  
appears to be the r  
An important clue  
is not earthly Ada  
III,12), who exist  
identification of So  
The idea that  
where it is said th  
him in his own im  
and that he too is  
antetype God is J

The original form of the first group, then, would have resembled that of the second, except raised to a higher level of perfection. Thus, Unbegotten Father in the second group has a consort, while Unbegotten in the first is simply one. Moreover, Unbegotten in the second group is merely father of the multiplicities ("all things"), while Unbegotten in the first group is Father of the Universe. Therefore the first group would originally have looked something like the following:

- 1) He Who Is; Unbegotten; Father of the Universe; Forefather; First Existent.
- 2) Self-Father; Self-Begetter; Confronter; Self-grown, Self-constructed Father.
- 3) Begotten; Self-perfected Begetter; Perfect Mind; Begetter Mind who Perfects Himself (V). *Consort*: All-wise Begetress Sophia; Thought, She of All Wisdoms, Begetress of the Wisdoms; Truth; Great Sophia.
- 4) First-begotten; First Begetter Father. *Consort*: First-begotten Sophia, Mother of the Universe.
- 5) Begetter of All Things; All-Begetter. *Consort*: Love Sophia.
- 6) Arch-Begetter. *Consort*: Pistis Sophia.

The pattern here is one that is found in Egyptian religion: An initial all-encompassing divinity (Amun, in Egyptian thought), creates a separate divinity by himself (i.e., no consort is involved). This divinity is then responsible for the creation of four other divinities, each of whom have a single female consort, thus making a total of eight (in Egyptian thought, the Eight *Urgötter* of Hermopolis). These, in turn, are responsible for the creation of various heavenly realms and other divine beings, leading ultimately to the structures of this world (in Egyptian thought, they create the gods who bring structure to the cosmos). This pattern can be traced to the Theban theology of the Ramesside period and (judging from *Eug*) became more abstract and hence more universal by the end of the Ptolemaic period. Since the pattern was not found elsewhere in the period under study, it seems reasonable to think that Egyptian religion is its source (Parrott, 1987: 82–88).

The pattern imposed on this reconstructed original pattern, namely, the pattern of three androgynous men, Immortal man, Son of Man, and Savior, appears to be the result of speculation on the first five chapters of Genesis. An important clue to that is the identification of Son of Man with Adam. He is not earthly Adam, of course, but his antetype, Adam of the Light (III 81,12), who exists in the transcendent realm. Another clue is the identification of Son of Man as also "Son of God" (V 9,2–3).

The idea that Adam was androgynous comes from Gen 1:27 and 5:1, where it is said that God created Adam male and female. He also created him in his own image, which can be taken to mean that God himself is man and that he too is androgynous. Hence, if antetype Adam is Son of Man, antetype God is Immortal Man, Adam's father. Son of son of Man—Savior

should then in all probability be identified with the antetype of Seth, since only of Seth is it said that he was begotten in Adam's image (Gen 5:3) (and hence was androgynous).

The three man pattern appears to presuppose a myth like that found in *Apoc. Mos.*, where God is the benign ruler and Seth is the eschatological savior of Adam's progeny (13.1-3). One can speculate that the reason for combining this pattern with the Egyptian one was that those who thought of Seth as a savior felt the need to give their beliefs the support of a broader theological-philosophical context. The beginning of *Eug* makes clear that the writer, at any rate, felt that he was having to deal with a spiritual threat from various philosophical teachings—teachings that presupposed either that there was no transcendent world (Stoicism and astrology) or, if there were, that there was no connection between that world and this one (Epicureanism) (Parrott, 1988: 166-67).

The two patterns were combined by the simple expedient of adding the names of the second pattern at appropriate places. This is the same method used in *SJC*, where, in the Christianization process, Christ is identified with Son of Man. Probably the same thing has occurred in such tractates as *Ap. John* and *Gos. Eg.* (see Krause, 1964: 223; Hedrick, 1981). Since the names of the consorts are present in the second group, which was not affected by this combining, it seems likely that the three-man pattern lacked such names, and was simply identified as androgynous. As we have noted, because there was no fourth man, the antetype of Arch-Begetter (in the second group) was dropped. But instead of merely dropping his consort Pistis Sophia, the editor identified her with the consort of the preceding figure, which led, then, to the shifting of the name "Love" from that figure to the next preceding one. These names must have had some importance in the conceptuality of the editor, but what it might have been at the early date of *Eug* is not clear.

Part A then permits us to see the combining of a universalized Egyptian cosmological system and a speculative system based on Genesis. To the extent that these or similar elements are present in combined and elaborated form in later tractates, such as *Ap. John* and *Gos. Eg.*, we are probably justified in thinking of *Eug* as the source.

### *B. An Originally Independent Second Part: Part B (III 85,9-90,3, par.)*

The originally independent character of Part B is suggested by the fact that it is at odds in a number of important ways with the earlier part of the tractate. The following analysis will show the points of conflict.

Part B is introduced by a bridge section, whose purpose is to relate it to the foregoing. In particular, the intention is to relate the number of aeons in Part B to those in Part A and to suggest that the aeons to be described are the types of the preceding ones. It is here that the problems begin.



The earliest version of the bridge section is undoubtedly in *Eug-V* (13,8–20), as Krause observed (1964: 221), which states that three aeons preceded (the same number as in Part B), with another aeon (that of Unbegotten, presumably) embracing them. The three are the aeons of Immortal Man, Son of Man, and Son of Son of Man. Left out of account, however, are Self-Begetter (the reflection of Unbegotten) and the twelve aeons created by All-Begetter for the twelve angels (III 84,13–17, par.). To be sure, no aeon is mentioned as having been created for Self-Begetter in Part A, but neither is one mentioned for son of Son of Man. So the three aeons of the bridge section (in *Eug-V*) do not accurately reflect the preceding material. It appears that they were designed to meet the need created by the presence of three aeons in Part B, in the light of what might be called the typological dogma.

What is described subsequently is called “the Eighth that appeared in Chaos” (III 85,19–21, par.). “Eighth” is probably to be thought of as the highest sphere of the visible cosmos (Chaos), perhaps the sphere of the fixed stars (the seven planets—including the sun and moon—each having their own spheres below it; for the fixed stars, see the description of the “multitudinous lights” in III 86,6–8). However, one cannot rule out the possibility, in view of the discussion below, that “Eighth” refers to the eighth day of creation.

The creation described in Part B is said to be the work of Immortal Man, even though his work seemed to have been concluded in Part A (V 8,15–18). The whole section appears to be based on Genesis 1–5, as was the case with the three-man pattern earlier. The clue to the Genesis connection is in the discussion of the androgyne “Assembly” (ἐκκλησία), which begins in III 86,24, par. Its female portion is called “Life” (ζωή), and it is explained that in this way (by giving her this name) “it might be shown that from a female came the life in all the aeons” (III 87,5–8, par.). That is closely parallel to the LXX version of Gen 3:20, where the woman is given the name Ζωή rather than Eve, and where it is explained that she has that name “because she is the mother of all living things” (ὅτι αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων).

Her mate, however, retains the name of the androgyne, as also happens in Genesis 3, but here he is called Assembly rather than Adam. The replacement of “Adam” with “Assembly” seems strange at first, since the Greek for “Assembly” is feminine. It thus breaks with the convention that the gender of names taken from common nouns should be the same as the sex of the being who is named (but see III 112,7–8, where it also occurs). However it seems clear that the writer is simply following the pattern of Genesis 3, without giving much thought to the convention. (Knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, where the word usually translated ἐκκλησία in the LXX is masculine [לִקְוָה], is unlikely in view of the general lack of such knowledge among Egyptian Jews [e.g., Philo].) In any case, there is no hint of this change of terminology in Part A, where, as has been noted, the term Adam is used (III 81,12, par.).

The change suggests that behind the account in Part B lies a body of speculative thought identifying antetype Adam (taken in a collective sense) with the type of an assembly that would subsequently appear, perhaps the assembly of the Gnostics. This seems unrelated to the statements in Part A that antetype Adam was Son of Man, "of the Light" (III 81,12, par.), and the type for time (III 83,22-23, par.).

The editor of *Eug* seems unaware of the tension here, or, indeed, that speculation on Adam lies behind Assembly. In what appears to be an editorial expansion (since it relates Part B to Part A), he identifies Assembly as the type not of Son of Man / Adam of the Light but of "the Assembly that surpasses heaven" (III 86,22-24, par.), which is described in III 81,3-10, par., and is in fact the creation of Son of Man / Adam (III 81,1-12, par.).

Assembly and his mate begin the spiritual generation that leads to the appearance of multifarious immortals (III 87,8-88,3, par.). The creation of the immortals is surprising, since the aeons of the immortals had earlier been described as above the sphere of the Eighth (III 85,17-18, par.). (This generating activity suggests typological speculation on Gen 4:25-5:32, where the sons of Adam and Eve are listed, along with their amazingly long life spans.)

The immortals in turn provide themselves with great kingdoms, through the authority of Immortal Man and his consort Sophia (III 88,3-89,3, par.), who is here given the name "Silence," which is different from her name in Part A, namely "All-wise Begettress" (III 77,3-4, par.). This realm, then, is said to provide the types for all subsequent creations (III 89,6-15, par.). That would seem to be in tension with the statement in Part A that our aeon is the type of Immortal Man (III 83,20-22, par.) (not the type of a separate realm created by him) and that temporal aspects of our aeon are the types of other beings described in Part A (III 83,22-84,11, par.).

In addition to these points of tension, it is worth noting that Part B seems to have been diminished in size as a result of being connected with Part A. The three aeons that have already been mentioned (V 14,3-7; III 86,8-13) are (1) beginning (V) or first (III), (2) the middle, and (3) the unending (V) and/or the perfect (V and III). Little is said about the first two in Part B and attention is concentrated on the third. However, the identification of the first two is important for our discussion, and that can be attempted by looking more closely at the third aeon.

The third aeon is named for Assembly (III 86,14-17, par.). If Assembly is initially antetype Adam and Eve (as androgyne), and then antetype Adam alone, then it would be reasonable to think that the third aeon is to be related (as antetype) to the account of creation that begins in Gen 2:4. The term "unending" would be appropriate, since there is no concluding formula for creation there, as there is in Gen 2:1. The term "perfect" would also be appropriate, since the third contains the ideal patterns for subsequent creations.

If that is the third aeon, then the first (“beginning”) would perhaps be connected with the creation account that starts with Gen 1:1 (“In the beginning. . .”). The second, “the middle,” then might refer to the divine sabbath in Gen 2:2–3, which identification would be supported by V 14,7–9, as it is restored (“[The first] in it was called [‘Above] Unity [and Rest],” implying that “Unity and Rest” was the Second aeon) (but note the *Eug*–III and *SJC* parallels).

These three, then, may well have reflected the whole of the Genesis creation account and been intended to present a complete account of cosmic origins. One can conjecture that the description of the three was truncated by the elimination of most of the discussion about the first two aeons, in order to fit the account into the scheme established in Part A.

When one takes into consideration the other differences we have noted, it is not unreasonable to think that originally Part B (minus the bridge section and the conclusion, and with the inclusion of the deleted material) stood by itself, as an account of the creation of the cosmos by the antetype of the creator God of Genesis, namely androgynous Immortal Man. The first aeon would perhaps have been the super-celestial and invisible realm, the third, the visible realm, and the second, the space that separated the two. The account may well have ended where it ends now, just at the point where our part of the visible cosmos would come into existence.

To summarize, in its present context, Part B appears to be a description of the highest level of the visible universe (the Eighth), and its three aeons are seen as types of three supercelestial and hence invisible ones. The evidence suggests, however, that Part B was originally an independent speculative account based on Genesis 1–5, which provided a total description of the universe, up to the point of the creation of the world as it is.

Looking back on the whole of this section, we have found that Part A is made up of two originally different speculative systems that have been combined; and now, in the discussion of Part B, we have found a third speculative scheme, which an editor has attempted to bring into some sort of harmony with Part A.

One must ask why it would have seemed necessary to combine these three. Why not simply start fresh in constructing a speculative system that would be inwardly consistent? First, as we have learned from the critical study of the book of Genesis, the bringing together of accounts that speak essentially of the same thing (e.g., the accounts of creation, the flood, etc.) may be a sign of the alignment of groups for whom these accounts had sacred significance before that alignment. The recognition that one of the systems contains an indirect reference to Seth, suggests the identity of one of the groups—Sethians, or more likely, proto-Sethians. It was this group that made use of the Egyptian cosmological pattern. An ideological reason has already been suggested for that—to have a broader theoretical structure for dealing with philosophical challenges. But the fact that it was Egyptian may suggest a strong Egyptian component in the group, for whom the pattern

would have had special significance. As to Part B, it is not possible to identify what group might have held it in special regard, but it is so different from Part A that there must have been a separate group of origin. Second, there is the conviction that truth is a self-consistent unity (V 6,9–14; 17,13–15). That is, the various parts of truth must agree among themselves. If one believes that different parts of truth are communicated separately, as the final editor of *Eug* appears to, then one could conclude that when those parts are put together, probably under the guidance of Thought (V 3,29–4,5, par.), one would have a broader, but, *ex hypothesi*, still consistent, expression of Truth. Obvious differences among the parts could be ascribed to human error in the reception of revelation and therefore could be thought of as correctable at a later time (III 90,4–11).

It may be that this explanation would also account for later developments in gnostic systems, where disparate elements seem often to be involved.

It should be noted here that there is nothing in the sources of *Eug* that can be considered classically Gnostic. The use of the theory of types means that both parts of *Eug* assume that the structures of this world are reflections of the supercelestial world, and not the creation of an inferior deity. There is only one reference to distinctively gnostic ideology, and that seems clearly editorial (III 85,8). However, *Eug* should nonetheless be considered proto-Gnostic, since it provided a theoretical basis for later developments that led to classic Gnosticism, as *SJC* shows.

## X. RELATIONSHIP OF THE TEXTS

We have already noted that *Eug* was prior to *SJC* and that *Eug*-III was apparently edited in the light of *SJC* by sharpening the prediction at the end. Since that sharpening is only apparent because of the parallel in *Eug*-V, the latter's reading is probably to be thought of as earlier here. In addition to the prediction, there are two other places, which we noted, where *Eug*-V seems earlier than *Eug*-III, namely, the titles in the incipit and subscript.

We must now look at other evidence that bears on the question of the relationship of the texts.

An examination of the parallels shows that the two texts of *SJC* are very close. Differences in vocabulary and sentence structure mostly seem to reflect different Coptic translators rather than different Greek *Vorlagen*. Gaps in one text in comparison with the other, which are infrequent, can be explained as the result of homoioteleuton (e.g., BG 89,16–17, which is lacking in *SJC*-III) or minor editorial activity (e.g., BG 83,17–19, which is also lacking in *SJC*-III). If we take into consideration P. Oxy. 1081, which is very similar to the two Coptic texts, we are probably justified in thinking that there was only one major edition of *SJC*.

A further examination shows that the text of *Eug* used in composing *SJC* generally was closer to *Eug*-III than to *Eug*-V. A good indication of that is the bridge section (III 85,11–21 || BG 108,1–18; V 13,8–18). *SJC*-BG has

two aeons, which are embraced by a third. *Eug*-III has the same pattern, although the first two are listed in reverse order. But *Eug*-V has three aeons, embraced by a fourth. Beyond that we can observe that the parallels between *Eug*-III and the two copies of *SJC* are very close, both in terms of the extent of text in parallel sections and in language. On the other hand, *Eug*-V differs, in regard to the extent of text alone, some eighteen times, at points where the other texts agree with each other.

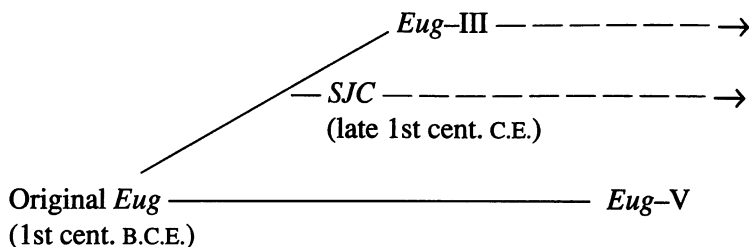
It seems impossible to tell which text of *SJC* might be closer to *Eug*-III. At four points *Eug*-III agrees with *SJC*-BG in having more text than *SJC*-III (III 72,3-6 || BG 84,13-17; III 74,3-4 || BG 89,16-17; III 86,22-24 || BG 111,3-5; III 89,5-6 || BG 115,14-15). In two of these instances, however, the lack in *SJC*-III might well be the result of homoioteleuton. In the other two, scribal error of some sort would not be surprising. There are also a few places where *Eug*-III and *SJC*-III agree against *SJC*-BG (e.g., III 72,11-13 || 95,5-7 || BG 85,6-9; III 73,12-13 || 96,7-10 || BG 87,1-4; III 76,23-24 || 101,7-8 || BG 94,9-11; III 87,9 || 111,12 || BG 112,3), but these are minor and attributable to coincidence, and may have arisen in the process of translation into Coptic.

Although the text used in the composition of *SJC* more closely resembled *Eug*-III than *Eug*-V, there are two significant places where *Eug*-V is closer to *SJC*. First, after the address proper, *Eug*-V has the same verb as the *SJC* parallels (V 1,3 || III 92,7 || BG 80,4), †ογωω, "I want" (Gr. θέλω). Neither that verb nor an equivalent is found in *Eug*-III. And second, in the last sentence of *Eug*-V, both it and the two *SJC* parallels have the word *ν̄ζογο*, "more." That word and the sentences it is found in have no parallel in *Eug*-III. Although the sentences are not exact parallels, there is a similar idea in both (*Eug*-V: "To everyone who has, more will be added"; *SJC*: "that you [the disciples] might shine in Light [even] more than these."), which suggests that at this point the writer of *SJC* was looking at a text of *Eug* closer to *Eug*-V.

We can conclude that the text used in the composition of *SJC* was generally like that of *Eug*-III, but that in a few places it was closer to *Eug*-V. Changes in the text that resulted in *Eug*-III, as it stands, would have occurred subsequent to the composition of *SJC*.

In comparison with *Eug*-III, *Eug*-V appears to have undergone considerable expansion. Although *Eug*-V has one significant gap (it lacks III 73,14-20), there are fourteen instances where it has more text (according to the arrangement of parallels in this text and excluding the section corresponding to the missing pp. 79-80 in *Eug*-III). It should probably be thought of as later than the text represented by *Eug*-III. However, as we have noted, it seems to have some readings that are earlier. *Eug*-V, then, appears to have developed independently and to have been subject to modification over a longer period of time.

The following time chart diagrams the conclusions about text relationships arrived at above:



It is not clear why *Eug-III* and the *SJC* texts did not share the extensive kind of modification that is found *Eug-V*. It may have had to do with the pairing of *Eug-III* and *SJC*, which could well have acted as a brake on normal scribal tendencies to add glosses, since it would have been evident that the texts had to remain quite similar. (That assumes that *Eug-III* and *SJC* were paired for most of their textual history.) It is also possible that both texts came to be thought of in some measure as scripture among certain groups of Gnostics.

The Coptic versions of *Eug* and *SJC* were translated by different persons. That is shown by the passage left untranslated in *Eug-III*, and its parallels (75,7-8 || III 99,8-9 || BG 91,10-12 || V 4,21-3). In no case is that passage treated the same. While *Eug-III* does not translate it, *SJC-III* attempts to do so, but does it incorrectly, and *SJC-BG* also tries and succeeds. In *Eug-V*, the passage is translated, but quite differently from *SJC-BG*. (For a reconstruction of the Greek, see the section later in the volume on P. Oxy. 1081 [lines 46-50].)

As to the Coptic translations in their totality, *Eug-III*, *SJC-III* and *SJC-BG* all seem related. The grammar, sentence structure and vocabulary are frequently the same. In contrast, *Eug-V* is often quite different. The similarities of *Eug-III*, *SJC-III* and *SJC-BG* may be accounted for by assuming that they were translated by members of the same or related scribal groups, which had developed more or less common translation traditions. (For individual differences between the translators of *Eug-III* and *SJC-BG*, see endnote 4.)

## XI. THE CODICES

A codicological analysis of NHC III has been done by Frederik Wisse (1975). In the process he has also described the characteristics of the scribal hand. Codicological analyses of NHC V and BG have been done by Robinson (1979: 16-30; 36-44). His analysis of BG supersedes the one in Till-Schenke (331-32). Further developments in the analysis of these

codices are to be found in Robinson (1984: chaps. 3 [The Quires]; 4 [The Rolls]; 5 [The Kollemata]; and 6 [The Covers]).

As to the dating of the codices themselves, the material in the cartonnage of the leather cover of NHC V is dated between 298 and 323 C.E. (Barns, et al.: 3), which provides a *terminus a quo* for the inscribing of the codex, but is only suggestive of the *terminus ad quem*, since the scraps used for the cartonnage could have come from a time considerably before the time of inscribing. Unfortunately the cartonnage of Codex III is no longer extant (*Facsimile Edition*: xiii). The date of BG was discussed above (see I). A recent examination of the cartonnage from the BG cover suggests that the cartonnage should be dated sometime late in the third century or early in the fourth (Treu).

## XII. PHYSICAL STATE OF THE TRACTATES

*Eug-V*. The Codex as a whole is unevenly preserved (Parrott, 1979: 3-4), and *Eug* is the least well preserved of all the tractates. Substantial portions of the tops and bottoms of all the leaves are missing (more of the latter than the former). In addition, the first eight pages have significant gaps in the midst of the remaining text. Fading occurs throughout and is particularly marked on the first three right-hand pages. Flaking is found on p. 11.

It should be added that the quality of the papyrus is among the poorest in the library. Examples of this can be found on pp. 1 and 5, in the breaks in the vertical fibers, and the heavy, discolored horizontal fiber on p. 6, all of which forced the scribe to compensate in one way or another.

Numerous fragments were placed prior to the publishing of the facsimile edition (1975) and therefore need no comment here. However, two were placed subsequently. On August 8, 1977, Stephen Emmel, working at the Coptic Museum in Cairo, placed two fragments, nos. 1 and 40, in the inside lower margin area of pp. 5 and 6, thus providing more text at the beginning of 5, 27-29 and at the end of 6, 29-31 (see 9\*f/10\*f in *Addenda et Corrigenda* in Robinson, 1984).

*Eug-III and SJC-III*. Three leaves are missing from the tractates: 79-80, 109-10, and 115-16. Wisse has proposed that they (and three others in the codex) were removed by a dealer for showing to prospective buyers, which would suggest that they may still be extant (1975: 227).

Damage attributable to age and rough handling by the discoverers or middlemen is very limited in comparison with Codex V. Reconstruction of the text is required on pp. 70-74 (lower inner margin area), 73-88 (middle of the top area, extending down to the 5th line at one point), 87, 89, 93 (top outer corner), 95-100 (top, toward the inner margin), 105-14 (middle, inner margin area), 117-19 (middle third of page, from the inner margin to approx. 3 cm. from the outer margin). The MS is remarkably free of flaking or fading.

*SJC-BG*. The leaves on the whole are well preserved. Restorations are needed on pp. 96 (outer margin area), 97-106 (top margin area) and 111-18 (inner upper margin area). Fading occurs on pp. 77-79 and 118. One leaf

(85–86) was cracked or torn in antiquity subsequent to inscribing and was repaired with narrow strips of papyrus pasted over the break on both sides of the leaf. The strips on p. 86 partially cover letters of the text.

### XIII. SCRIBAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### A. *Errors and other Peculiarities*

##### *Eug-V*

I have earlier listed some of the errors found here (1979: 4–5). The present list is based on a more intensive study of the tractate and is therefore more complete.

1. Errors corrected by the scribe
  - a. Haplography corrected by letters written above the line or in the margin at the place of omission: 6,6.24; 7,17. In each case a stroke is placed above the letter. That occurs elsewhere in the codex only in 28,8.22. For similar corrections without a stroke, see 26,6.10.18; 27,3; 31,9.13; 56,23. This difference suggests there may have been more than one corrector of the codex.
  - b. Deletion of incorrect letters by dotting: 7,26.33.
  - c. Replacement of incorrect letters by letters written on top of them (i.e., covering them) without erasure: 2,18; 9,1; 10,3; 14,4.
  - d. Marking out of an unnecessary letter: 14,4.
2. Errors not corrected by the scribe.
  - a. Haplography: 2,16; 8,10; 9,17; 10,18.
  - b. Unnecessary letters: 5,18; 15,4.
  - c. Incorrect letters: 5,18; 6,29; 7,16; 7,20–22; 7,27; 8,7; 10,19.
3. Other peculiarities
  - a. Omission of a circumflex with  $\zeta\omega$  at 17,7.
  - b. Use of a dot (“stop”) to set off an attributive from the noun it depends on (5,4; 7,10; 17,14), perhaps as a way of rendering a Greek attributive adjective in the second position (note that the parallels for 5,4 and 17,14 have relative clauses in place of the attributives).
  - c. Use of low dots as word separators in 8,7.16; 12,10 (see also 34,10).
  - d. In 7,25 a dot may replace a sentence pronoun.
  - e. Numeral written at end of 11,20 (a gloss, similar to those later in the codex [Parrott, 1979: 5]), with a stroke above.
  - f. Instead of using a second present with a noun and an adverbial expression, the scribe in one instance uses a sentence pronoun and puts the adverbial expression in first position (11,14). Also sentence pronouns are used as shorthand for  $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon$ - in 7,24–29 and for  $\omega\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\chi\epsilon$  in 11,18–20 (cf. III 106,22).
  - g.  $\alpha$  is mistakenly written for  $\chi$  in 6,29; 7,20–22.



*Eug-III and SJC-III*

The scribe of Codex III is much more error prone than his counterpart in Codex V.

1. Errors corrected by the scribe.
  - a. Haplography, corrected by letters written above the line at the place of omission: 72,14; 91,11; 95,2; 105,8; 113,11.
  - b. Replacement of erased or partially erased letters by letters written on top of them: 70,2; 71,21; 72,8.21; 73,12.19.22; 77,16; 84,3; 85,9.16; 87,10; 89,10.12; 91,2; 94,15.20; 96,15 (correction of dittography); 97,11; 100,21; 102,7; 106,13; 107,1.6; 113,11; 118,2.5.6; 119,7.
  - c. Erasure of unnecessary letters, etc.: 81,11 (erased point); 85,8; 87,22; 92,24 (erased dot); 95,24; 96,14 (erased stroke).
  - d. Replacement of marked out letters by letters written above them: 72,12; 95,6 (marking out omitted); 97,18; 113,8. In all of these a change of meaning occurs.
  - e. Marking out of unnecessary letters: 72,12; 89,10; 95,6; 106,19 (dialectal change); 113,8.
  - f. Re-forming of a letter to make another without erasure: 73,4.

It is possible that a second scribe made some of these corrections. The letters written by the corrector under "d" seem somewhat different from letters in the rest of the tractate, but the differences are not sufficient to make a determination of a second scribe certain (see Böhlig-Wisse for a similar judgment regarding III,2 [4]; Wisse expresses more assurance about there being only one scribe in his later essay [1975: 236]).

2. Errors not corrected by the scribe.
  - a. Haplography: 71,5; 73,10.14; 76,14; 83,5; 86,3.4.10.14.17; 89,10; 94,13(?); 95,22; 96,2.23; 97,7.17; 98,24.25; 99,8; 102,9; 103,6.10.23; 104,1; 107,7.8.21; 111,18.20; 113,7.
  - b. Unnecessary letters: 74,10; 76,5 (dittography); 77,7; 84,5 (dittography).16; 85,4; 86,17; 95,6; 97,3 (dittography).18; 99,11; 113,8; 118,1 (dittography).
  - c. Incorrect letters: 78,22–23 (reversal of letters); 82,2; 83,13.14; 84,13; 86,7; 87,23; 89,2; 91,15; 93,22; 101,20; 105,22; 106,14; 107,11; 113,1.
  - d. Corruptions: 86,17; 99,8–9.19–22; 112,7–11.
3. Other Peculiarities.
  - a. In 99,8–9 a Greek phrase is partially, and incorrectly, translated. It is left untranslated or rendered correctly in the parallels.
  - b. The status pronominalis of  $\omega\tau\mu$  is always spelled  $\sigma\tau\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ .
  - c. The lack of care of the scribe is further attested by random drops of ink that appear here and there; e.g., at 92,1.10.14; 94,12–13; 100,8.
  - d. A sentence pronoun is used as shorthand for  $\psi\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon$  in 106,22 (cf. V 11,18–20).

*SJC-BG*

1. Errors corrected by the scribe.
  - a. Haplography, corrected by letters written above the line at the place of omission: 84,1; 89,14; 92,2; 102,15; 112,16; 127,8.
  - b. Replacement of erased letters by letters written on top of them: 92,18; 116,18.
  - c. Erasure of unnecessary letters: 93,13; 108,15; 109,12; 116,17.
  - d. Marking out of unnecessary letters: 78,10.
2. Errors not corrected by the scribe
  - a. Haplography: 84,3.12; 86,11; 89,17; 91,16; 93,10; 95,10; 98,6; 101,12.18; 102,9; 110,4.5.11; 111,3.7; 112,7.10.12.16; 113,16; 114,7; 116,5; 118,15; 119,2; 123,9; 125,8 (misplacement).
  - b. Unnecessary letters: 91,1; 95,10; 102,18; 105,7; 108,16; 110,12; 112,12; 115,16; 120,16; 124,15.
  - c. Incorrect letters: 84,12; 87,5; 90,16; 92,11–12; 95,1.6; 99,4; 102,11; 103,15–16; 104,11; 105,8; 107,13; 109,15; 110,10; 112,14.16; 113,1.4.7 (mistranslation of Greek); 115,17; 119,11; 120,15; 121,4; 125,9–10 (misplacement). Of the above, the following may be errors of hearing: 84,12; 87,5; 105,8.
  - d. Corruptions: 87,5; 103,15–16; 105,8; 116,8–9.
3. Other peculiarities
  - a. Strokes are used instead of diereses over the diphthong αι in 104,11; 115,11; 123,16 (for the use of the dieresis, see 97,9).
  - b. δε appears three times in the phrase εβολ δε ζη, when εβολ is not in first position in the sentence, in 111,3–4; 112,10; 126,2. It may be that δε simply provides a mild emphasis in these instances.
  - c. Plene writing occurs in 83,7–8 (εμπεαρχη and εμπεεζουσια) and 122,15 (ψορεπ).
  - d. χ is used for χ in 112,15.17.
  - e. Asterisks and diple in the body of the text highlight certain questions and answers (see detailed description below under Transcriptions).

*B. Dialectal Influences**Eug-V*

Although the dialect is basically S, there are numerous signs of other dialects, as is the case in the rest of the codex (Böhlig-Labib: 11–14):

1. The regular use of the demonstrative πη, τη, νη with the relative, as in B and F.
2. The regular use of εταζ for the first perfect relative and the second perfect, as in BAF[A<sub>2</sub>] (for second perfect: 12,6; 14, 18).
3. The frequent irregular (from the point of view of S) use of ντε in the genitive construction.

4. The occasional appearance of the pronominal form  $\bar{\text{N}}\tau\epsilon\text{z}$ , as in  $A_2$  (e.g. 3,8.15).
5. The consistent use of  $\epsilon$  as the qualitative of  $\epsilon\text{I}\rho\epsilon$ , as in A and F.
6. The use of  $\text{M}\lambda\text{z}$ -, as in A,  $A_2$ , and B, for the prefix for ordinal numbers (13,9.12), although  $\text{M}\epsilon\text{z}$ - (S) occurs also (10,19).
7. The single appearance of  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$ -, as in F, instead of  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ - (7,18).
8. The single appearance of the F form of the sign of the future ( $\text{N}\epsilon\text{z}$ ) (17,16).
9. The BAF form of the second perfect used as a temporal, a practice frequent in B and F (6,21; 10,13; 11,22; 14,18).
10. The  $AA_2$  form of the negative third future (16,4).
11. The  $AA_2$  form of the negative consuetudinis (2,17), although the S form also occurs.
12.  $\bar{\text{P}}$  regularly precedes Greek verbs as in A and  $A_2$  (but this occurs in early S MSS also—Crum: 84a).
13. The following non-standard (for S) orthography:
  - a.  $\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\epsilon$  as in A and  $A_2$  (4,25);
  - b.  $\text{N}\lambda\sigma$  as in A,  $A_2$  and F (6,22.25; 9,10);
  - c.  $\sigma\lambda\text{M}$  as in A,  $A_2$  and F (6,10; 7,29; 12,27);
  - d.  $\chi\lambda\epsilon\text{I}\epsilon$  as in A,  $A_2$  and F (6,30).

I have not mentioned  $\text{P}\text{I}$ -,  $\text{I}$ -,  $\text{N}\text{I}$ - in the above. This form of the article is identified by Till as most characteristic of B and F (1961: sec. 64), but Krause subsequently noted that at least the plural is quite characteristic of early upper-Egyptian dialects as well (Krause-Labib: 29). In Codex V these forms are found intermingled with  $\text{P}$ -,  $\text{T}$ -,  $\text{N}$ -, without discernible difference in emphasis to a modern reader. Nor is it possible to see that one form of the article is preferred to the other with certain words.

As mentioned, these characteristics are essentially the same as in the rest of Codex V. Böhlig-Labib accounts for them by positing a Middle Egyptian (presumably, F) translator who intended to render the original into S but occasionally reverted to his native dialect (12). Schenke disagrees, seeing a pre-classical S dialect with  $A_2$  features and only occasional signs of F (1966: col. 24). For *Eug-V*, Schenke is correct regarding the small number of items that occur only in Middle Egyptian (7. and 8. above). But his characterization of the dialect as pre-classical S makes it hard to understand the variations that go beyond spelling differences, since even the pre-classical stages of a language would need to have the internal consistency necessary for satisfactory communication. It is perhaps better to think of those differences as having appeared in the course of transmission as scribes from different regions adjusted the text in an *ad hoc* fashion (see Böhlig-Wisse, for a similar explanation as applied to Codex III [11-12]).

*Eug-III and SJC-III*

The dialect employed is S with no significant indications of other influences. Occasionally one finds orthography more familiar in other dialects according to Crum (e.g. ἀνηζε [A A<sub>2</sub>] for ἐνεζ; ἐμαζτε [A<sub>2</sub>] for ἀμαζτε and μεογε [A] for μεεγε, all of which are found along with standard S spelling). But these are also found in S texts that have become available since Crum (see Kasser) and therefore are best accounted for as reflecting an earlier non-standardized state of S spelling rather than A or A<sub>2</sub> influences, as proposed by Till-Schenke (21) (Böhlig-Wisse has made an observation similar to the one adopted here on the orthography of III,2 [6-7]).

*SJC-BG*

The dialect is basically S with some features that are similar to other dialects, especially A<sub>2</sub>. Those features are not sufficient to make one think that we are dealing with a mixed dialect. Till-Schenke agrees with this and thinks that the translator intended to translate into pure S, that some forms were in doubt, and that in those cases he would sometimes revert to his native (non-S) dialect (21). Although all the orthographic forms referred to by Till-Schenke (18-20) are also found in S texts, the other features are not (the irregular use of the preposition ντε-, and the doubling of the ν before an initial vowel), and therefore support Till-Schenke's view. The fact of the widespread nature of these peculiarities in the tractate makes Till-Schenke's explanation preferable here to the one proposed above for *Eug-V*.

It should be noted here that the use of π-, †-, ν- is frequent in BG. This form of the article is preferred with words beginning with α. Mostly its use adds nothing discernible to the emphasis of the word to which it is attached beyond an ordinary article. When demonstrative force is desired, ετμμαγ is normally added (105,7; 111,4; 119,12-13; 120,11-12; 121,5.8). In at least one instance, however, this form of the article (without ετμμαγ) does have demonstrative force: 96,6.

*C. Scribal Style**1. Script*

In Codex V, the script is small and ligature occurs frequently where the line of one letter can naturally be extended to meet another, often without regard to word separation. The letters μ, γ and ω regularly lean to the left, giving many lines the appearance of a bias in that direction. The scribe often ends a long vertical stroke (as with α, ρ, τ, υ and †) with a slight curve to the left, showing a certain flair. The scribe also varies the width of his strokes (e.g., the middle horizontal stroke of the ε is thinner than the rest of the letter). He enlarges the α when it comes at the beginning of a line. Often γ,

when it appears at the end of a line (and sometimes elsewhere too), will have a non-cursive form (like a printed “y”).

Codex III has a larger script than Codex V. Ligature often occurs where lines can be naturally extended, but there is less here than in Codex V. The scribe’s strokes are uniformly thin in width with little interest shown in decorative accents. Letter size tends to be uniform throughout. No letters regularly lean, which gives a sense of verticality to the whole. Altogether, the impression is of ascetic spareness.

In BG, the script is bold and square in character, with strokes that tend to be heavier than in Codex III, but that vary in width, as in Codex V. Ligature occurs often within words. Letter size tends to be uniform, although sometimes letters become smaller toward the end of a line, as a result (apparently) of an attempt to stay within a margin (unmarked). It should be noted that an unusually large  $\psi$  begins 120,1, for no apparent reason. Final letters (in a line) are occasionally enlarged, perhaps in an effort to make the right margin straighter (see the discussion of diphthongs below). The letters  $\eta$  and  $\gamma$  (the non-cursive form is used throughout) often resemble each other, resulting in occasional difficulties in transcription (see note to 107,13). Sometimes the vertical stroke of  $\eta$ ,  $\phi$ , and the like is extended into the line below.

## 2. Superlinear Strokes

The five uses of the superlinear stroke common to these tractates, and indeed throughout the library, are these: (1) It signals that two consonants are part of a single syllable and are united by a sub-vocalic sound; (2) It signals that an initial consonant is a sonant; (3) It is used to tie three consonants together in a sense unit (i.e.,  $\mu\eta\tau$ ); (4) It marks abbreviated Greek nouns (particularly *nomina sacra*); (5) It signals the omission of an  $\nu$  at the end of a line.

The scribe of Codex V is quite careful. In regard to the first use, he places the stroke over both consonants; for the second, he places it over only one; for the third and fourth he puts the stroke above all the letters, although typically he begins at the end of the first letter. As noted earlier, the scribe also places a stroke over letters that have been omitted in the course of copying and that are placed either above the place of omission or in the margin. In addition, at 11,20 a stroke is placed over a numeral written in the margin as a gloss for a number in the text (similar to other such numerals later in the codex).

Wisse has discussed the use of superlinear strokes in Codex III (1975: 235). I would only add to his careful analysis that they are regularly omitted with final  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$  and  $z$  in two-consonant combinations.

In BG, the scribe is inconsistent in his use of superlinear strokes. He generally omits them over the initial  $\nu$  of the perfect relative/second perfect prefix (but see 97,9; 105,17; 113,11; 117,15; 126,1), as he does frequently with other initial  $\nu$ ’s or  $\mu$ ’s. Also they are omitted normally over the third

person masculine singular pronoun when it is suffixed to a consonant (but see 100,10), and over the final two consonants of such words as  $\omega\omicron\rho\pi$  and  $\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\zeta$  (but see 125,15). The strokes are made with a certain casualness. Often the stroke over an initial sonant begins late and is continued over a portion of the following letter. Also when one expects two strokes side by side, the scribe makes only one (e.g., 101,19). For the editorial policy on strokes, see below under Transcriptions.

### 3. Articulation Marks

In Codex V, the scribe places curved vertical hooks on  $\rho$ ,  $\rho$  and  $\tau$  when they are in the final position in a sense unit; i.e., always when they come at the end of a word, but also with  $\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\mu\eta\tau$ ,  $\alpha\tau$ , etc., apparently to make clear syllabic closure. Sometimes  $\kappa$  has a hook on it also, but there is no consistency about its use and we have therefore ignored such hooks in this edition.

In Codex III the scribe uses dots or short curved lines unattached to the letters in place of vertical hooks. These have been considered by Wisse (1975: 234).

BG has no such marks, except for the one in 88,11.

### 4. Page Numerals

Because of the method of presentation of the texts here, it has not been possible to show visually how the page numerals are related to the body of the text. A description is therefore provided here.

In Codex V, the few numerals that remain are found above the text just within the outer text margin. The numerals are placed between two horizontal strokes.

In Codex III, the page numerals appear in the center of the upper margin. No strokes accompany the numerals.

In BG, the page numerals are also written in the center of the upper margin. The numeral on p. 94 has, in place of the normal delta (after the fai), a figure resembling an alpha, although it is different in form from alphas found elsewhere in the text. The numerals have one horizontal stroke above them.

### 5. Asterisks, External and Internal Diples and Paragraph Markers

Asterisks are found only in BG. They occur in the left margin on the following pages: 86, between lines 6 and 7; 86,9; 87, between lines 8 and 9; 87,12; 106,11.14; 107,17. These serve to identify questions asked by Philip and Thomas (see textual note for 107,13) as well as the responses. On 86 and 87, the initial asterisks are accompanied by very large diples placed in the body of the text where the introduction to the question begins. In each case the scribe has lengthened the lower line of the diple so it ends on the

next line between the end of the introduction ( $\times\epsilon$ ) and the first word of the question proper.

A similar dipole is found in the body of the text at 82,19, this time introducing a question by Matthew. The marginal indicator in that case, however, is not an asterisk but a *paragraphus cum corone*. Another dipole marks the introduction to the response to Matthew (83,4).

Asterisks are also used at the beginning and end of each of the lines at 127,11–12, in order to highlight the title.

No paragraph markers occur in the extant text of *Eug–V*. In *Eug–III*, a *paragraphus cum corone* appears in the left margin on p. 76, between lines 12 and 13, and two are found at the conclusion of the tractate, setting off the subscript title. In *SJC–III*, a *paragraphus cum corone* is found in the left margin between 96,14 and 15. In the first instance a major shift is indicated (“another knowledge principle”). In the second, a question by Thomas is signaled. In *BG* a *paragraphus* in the right margin is used to mark the introduction to the first general statement of the disciples’ concerns by Philip at 79,18. A *paragraphus cum corone* occurs also in the left margin on p. 126 between lines 16 and 17, marking the beginning of the conclusion of the tractate.

External dipoles, used as line fillers in Codex III and *BG* (but not Codex V, except as concluding decorations), have been removed from the texts involved but have not been listed in footnotes. It is appropriate to list here the lines where they are found in the MSS.

In the two tractates in Codex III dipoles occur at the end of the following lines: 72,7; 73,4; 81,14.18; 82,6.22; 83,23; 85,14.23; 86,21(2); 87,15; 88,16; 91,11.23; 93,6.19; 94,8; 97,6; 98,21; 100,5; 102,16; 104,1; 106,1; 114,24; 117,10; 118,25. In *SJC–BG* dipoles are found at both the beginnings and ends of lines. They are at the beginning in the following lines: 80,5.6; 87,13; 108,6–10.16.17; 117,7.8; 123,14–17; 124,17; 127,3–7. They are at the ends of the following lines: 83,1–4; 89,1; 106,5.17.19; 107,1.2; 108,5.6.13(2); 109,8; 110,3.7(2); 111,11; 112,7(2).12; 115,15–17; 116,6(2).15.16; 117,9.15; 119,6.13; 120,10.13; 121,1–6; 122,5; 123,12; 124,11; 125,14; 126,8.12.15; 127,10.

In *BG* 108,13, the tip of the second dipole is extended and curved back (as with the final  $\epsilon$  in 127,3), giving Till–Schenke the impression of a third dipole, which would be anomalous. Dipoles are also placed in the body of the *BG* text at a number of points, all of which are noted in the footnotes. In 116,8, one precedes the final two letters, perhaps as an indicator of an anacoluthon.

#### XIV. TRANSCRIPTIONS

The transcriptions of the three Nag Hammadi tractates presented here were made on the basis of careful examination of original MSS at the Coptic Museum in Cairo and a number of sets of photographs of those MSS in the

possession of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, by the editor and other members of the Claremont team (see the preface). They have been compared with a preliminary draft of parallels prepared some years ago by Martin Krause. *Eug-III* was also compared with the version published by Trakatellis (see II above). The *SJC-BG* transcription was made on the basis of the editio princeps (Till-Schenke) with the aid of photographs of the original MS.

Because of the similarities of the texts and the Coptic, as well as the relatively intact character of the MSS, occasional restorations and corrections of *Eug-III*, *SJC-III* and *SJC-BG* were done mostly without great difficulty. The same was not true, however, with *Eug-V*, where extensive lacunae made numerous restorations desirable. As noted above, the text is considerably expanded in comparison with the parallel texts, and the Coptic translator was from a different translation tradition. These factors made the use of the parallels problematic in the restorations. I want to acknowledge again the aid I received, particularly in regard to *Eug-V*, from Bentley Layton and Stephen Emmel.

As to the citations in the footnotes, since Krause's parallel version is only in draft form, it is not cited. However, Krause's translation of *Eug-III*, *SJC-III* and various portions of *Eug-V* and *SJC-BG* (1974) has often made it possible to extrapolate the Coptic text that lies behind it and refer to it in relation to the transcriptions.

The following, then, are the citation policies in this edition regarding restorations and emendations in each of the tractates.

*Eug-V*. Only Emmel is cited. Those citations occur where he lists photographic evidence for particular readings.

*Eug-III*. Divergences from Krause and Trakatellis are noted. They are also cited in support of this edition in case of disagreements. Till-Schenke is always cited where it takes a clear position. Silence in regard to Till-Schenke should be taken to mean lack of evidence, since only parts of *Eug-III* are published in that edition.

*SJC-III*. Divergences from Krause are noted (where they can be determined). Support for this edition is also cited, except for pp. 117-19, where there are numerous restorations and Krause has a continuous text; then, only divergences are noted. Till-Schenke is cited when it is clear; the text of *Eug-III* was dealt with in Till-Schenke only as it related to the editing of *SJC-BG* and therefore there are places where *Eug-III* is not printed. Silence in this edition regarding Till-Schenke means no evidence.

*SJC-BG*. Till-Schenke emendations are followed except where noted, and in those cases the Till-Schenke emendations are specified. Minor divergences, such as the dotting of a letter or the position of brackets, are not noted.



In regard to superlinear strokes, the following policies have been adopted for purposes of standardization. When a stroke spans two consonants in the MS, it is here only shown over the second, with two exceptions: where an initial  $\mu$  or  $\nu$  is a sonant and has a stroke that continues over an immediately following consonant (common in BG), the stroke is placed over the first letter only. The same policy is followed in regard to the conjunctive conjugation.

When a stroke spans three consonants in the MS, it is here placed over the middle letter only. Exceptions are made in the case of proper nouns and where the stroke is the sign of an abbreviation.

## XV. TRANSLATION POLICIES

Since this is a parallel edition of four tractates, it has been necessary for the translations to be fairly literal to make comparison between the texts as easy as possible.

The following translation policies have been adopted here:

1) Abstract and predicate nouns that were (presumably) anarthrous in Greek (see BDF: sec. 252, 258) seem often to have been translated with an indefinite article in Coptic (Stern: sec. 232). In rendering these Coptic words in English, I have routinely omitted the article in the case of abstract nouns (but note III 77,11) and supplied a definite article in the case of the predicate nouns. Examples: V 4,11 (cf. parr.); 7,4; 7,6–9, parr.; III 101,18, par.

2) I have translated demonstrative plurals as singulars if they appear to reflect Greek demonstrative neuter plurals, which are routinely understood as singular.

3) There is some difficulty in distinguishing among names, titles, roles and attributes for the various divine beings. I have tended where possible to take terms as names, since knowledge of them seems to have been important among the Gnostics (see V 4,14–16).

4) Ethical datives have by and large not been translated since they are generally archaic in English. Examples: V 6,22; 6,26; III 88,12 (but see 88,21!).

5) Occasionally the adverb  $\bar{\nu}\omega\sigma\sigma\pi$ , which is usually translated “at first,” or the like, is here translated “very soon,” because “at first” does not seem appropriate in the context and something akin to the lexical rendering “early” does. Examples: V 6,16; 12,25; III 111,14.

6) The translation of  $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$  has been difficult at times because of the problem of knowing whether it means “beginning” or “principle.” I have sometimes opted for giving both possibilities in the text.

7) In regard to the notes, I have attempted to give the significant alternative renderings. In some cases I have noted incorrect readings that may have attained some currency. For ease of comparison, I have translated quotations from the German and modern Greek versions into English.

8) The Greek of Greek loan words is omitted in this edition. These can be readily identified in the Coptic text by anyone with facility in Greek. Highlighting them in the translation is not only esthetically jarring but potentially misleading, since it suggests that the words have not been integrated into Coptic, which might be true in some cases, but certainly not in all. A Greek Loan Word index is provided at the end of the volume.

## XVI. FOOTNOTES AND ENDNOTES

The footnotes and endnotes have been kept as brief as possible. Attention has been focused on issues connected with editing and translating. Matters of interpretation have been dealt with only in passing, in view of an anticipated commentary. Special abbreviations for earlier editions have been adopted for the notes and are identified in the list of abbreviations. A separate set of notes is provided for each text, with transcription and translation notes combined. The endnotes deal with matters involving two or more texts, and the need to refer to them is signaled by a footnote in each instance.

## XVII. LITERARY FORMS

Although *Eug* is in letter form, it quickly becomes apparent that it is basically a religio-philosophical controversy discourse, which has a form of its own. This form begins with a description of the position that is opposed. There is then a refutation of that position (often very brief). Finally the alternative proposed by the writer is presented, which is often the bulk of the piece. It can be found elsewhere as a separate form (e.g., *Orig. World* [II,5]), and in combination with the letter form (e.g., *The Letter of Ptolemy to Flora* [Epiph., *Pan.* 33.3,1-7,10], first noted by Doresse [1948: 154-55]).

*SJC* is the account of a revelation discourse of a heavenly being (Christ) who appears in a special place, in response to the perplexities of his followers. There are twelve disciples, of whom only Philip, Thomas, Matthew and Bartholomew are named, and seven women, of whom only Mary (presumably Magdalene) is named. The discourse is punctuated by the questions of the followers. *SJC* concludes with a commission to the followers by Christ, who then disappears. The disciples then set forth to carry out the commission. The form of *SJC*, while unique among the Nag Hammadi writings, has close resemblances to *Ap. John*. (For further discussion of the form of Gnostic revelatory tractates, see Fallon, and Perkins, 1980: 25-58.)

**GUIDE TO THE PARALLELS**  
of *Eug* and *SJC*  
(Minor similarities and differences are not reflected)

*Eug*-III alone is referred to for “*Eug* Only” and “Common Material,” except for those places found only in *Eug*-V. *SJC*-III is referred to for “*SJC* Only,” except for those places found only in *SJC*-BG.

Sections opposite each other in the outside columns are so placed not because they are parallel in language (although they may be) but because they occupy the same relative space in the tractates.

Names of deities and other “realities” are italicized only at their first appearance.

*Eug* Only

1. Address of letter (III 70,1–3).

5. Invitation to another approach (III 71,5–13)

*Common Material*

2. Disputed views of philosophers about God and the cosmos (III 70,3–22).

4. Refutation of philosophers (III 70,22–71,5).

6. Description of *Him Who Is, The Unbegotten One*, primarily in negative terms (III 71,13–73,3).

8. He embraces all and is characterized by certain mental qualities (III 73,3–13).

Their whole race is with Unbegotten (omitted by *Eug*-V) (III 73,14–16).

*SJC* Only

1. Male disciples and women go to mountain in perplexity and meet resurrected savior; *Philip* states the general query. (III 90,14–92,7).

3. Self-disclosure by savior (III 93,8–12).

5. True knowledge to be given to elite (III 93,16–24).

*Matthew*’s request: “Teach us the truth” (III 93,24–94,4).

7. *Philip* asks how he (Unbegotten) appeared to the perfect ones (III 95,19–22).

9. *Thomas* asks why these came to be (III 96,14–21).  
Response: "Because of his mercy and love" (III 96,21–97,16).
10. They have not yet become visible (omitted by *Eug-V*). The difference between what comes from perishableness and imperishableness. Ignorance of this brings death (III 73,16–74,7).
11. *Mary* asks how "we" will know that (III 98,9–12).
11. Transition to new topic (III 74,7–14)
12. The way to true knowledge: go from visible to invisible with the aid of Thought (III 74,14–19).
13. This is a knowledge principle (III 74,19–20)
14. Distinction between Forefather and Father. *Self-begotten Father* appears (III 74,20–75,12).  
Revealing of the *Generation over Whom There is No Kingdom*. Rejoicing over Unbegotten Father (III 75,12–76,10).
15. *Matthew* asks how Man was revealed (III 100,16–21)
15. Transition to another knowledge principle (III 76,10–14).
16. Revealing of *Immortal Man* (III 76,14–77,2).
17. Role of Immortal Man in salvation; his consort (III 101,9–19).
17. About the female part of Immortal Man (III 77,2–77,9).
18. First appearance of names; creation of aeon for Immortal Man and the granting of authority (III 77,9–78,5).  
Immortal Man's mental qualities (III 78,5–9).  
The hierarchical differences among these qualities (III 78,9–17).
19. Elaboration of differences. The relationship of numbers shows the relationship among these qualities (III 78,17–V 8,6).

2. Departing in Immortal Man's Kingdom (V 8,18–19)

3. The multitude of angels (III 81,3–10)

4. Revealing of the six spiritual powers by Savior (who are identified as twelve emanating the consents), of those that came from his. Antitypes of our aeons provided by these and other revelations (III 83–84,11).

5. Creation of heavens and elements in these aeons (III 85–86)

20. The coming to appearance of other things from these qualities (V 8,6–18).
21. Rejoicing in Immortal Man's kingdom (V 8,18–30).
21. *Bartholomew* asks whether the Son is related to Man or Son of Man (III 103,22–104,6).  
Identified as *Christ*
22. Revealing of *First-begotten (Begetter) Son of Man* and his *Sophia* (V 8,31–III 81,3).
23. *Disciples* request more details about Man (III 105,3–11).  
Additional material
23. The multitude of angels are lights (III 81,3–10).
24. Son is called *Adam*. Rejoicing in the kingdom of Son of Man (III 81,10–21).
25. The savior is the revealer (III 106,5–9).  
*Disciples* ask how those who truly exist came to the world (III 106,9–15).
26. Revealing of *Savior, Begetter of All Things*, and his *Sophia* (III 81,21–82,6).
27. Revealing of the six spiritual powers by Savior (who then are identified as twelve by counting the consorts), and those that came from them. Antetypes of our aeon are provided by these and earlier revelations (III 82,7–84,11).
27. Saving work of the savior (III 106,24–108,16).  
*Thomas* asks how many are the aeons that surpass the heavens (III 108,16–23).
28. Creation by All ("Self"—BG) Begetter of twelve aeons for the twelve angels (III 84,12–17).
29. Creation of heavens and firmaments in these aeons (III 84,17–85,6).
30. Summary statement; defect of femaleness appears (III 85,6–9).
31. *Thomas* asks how many are the aeons of the immortals (BG 107,13–108,1).
32. Description of aeons: (*Eug*—V has four aeons; *Eug*—III and *SJC* have three. The order differs between *Eug* and *SJC* [III 85,9–21]).

Description of the revealing of the *Eighth* ("Seventh" *SJC*) by Immortal Man, with aeons, powers and kingdoms; the naming of aeons (III 85,21–86,16).

Designation of the third aeon as "*Assembly*" (III 86,16–87,9).

Assembly and his consort begin the engendering that leads to the revealing of all the immortals (III 87,9–88,3)

Authority of immortals comes from Immortal Man and Sophia. Immortals use it to provide themselves with domains and retinue (III 88,3–89,6).

From this area come the types of subsequent aeons and worlds (III 89,6–15).

General rejoicing by all natures (III 89,15–90,3).

34. Conclusion: Words of Eugnostos are to be accepted (preserved) until one who need not be taught comes (III 90,4–11).

33. (Inserted at III 88,21) *The Apostles* ask about those in the aeons (III 112,19–113,2).

34. Reason for the revelation (III 114,5–8).

35. *Mary* asks where the disciples came from, where they are going and what they should do in the world (III 114,8–12).

The coming into the lower regions of the drop from the Light (III 114,12–BG 119,16).

Development of psychic man (BG 119,17–121,13).

Coming of the savior and his work (BG 121,13–III 118,3).

Commissioning of disciples (III 118,3–119,8).

Disappearance of the savior and beginning of disciples' mission (III 119,8–17).

## THE PARALLEL TEXTS

Please note: A new page of Coptic text always begins at the left margin of a line marked by a Coptic page number. It is not otherwise indicated.

σοφια̅ ἡ̅ν̅ ἡ̅ς̅ πε  
 π̅ρ̅ω̅τ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ ε̅β̅ο  
 ἰ̅σ̅τ̅η̅μο̅ο̅υ̅τ̅  
 κ̅ρ̅ε̅π̅ε̅ρ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ς̅ν̅  
 ἰ̅μ̅μ̅ων̅τ̅ι̅ς̅ μ̅ῆ̅ς̅  
 ἰ̅μ̅μ̅ων̅τ̅ε̅ς̅ μ̅α̅ρ̅  
 ἑ̅τ̅τ̅α̅λ̅α̅λ̅α̅ ε̅ξ̅ἰ̅  
 κ̅ρ̅α̅μ̅ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅  
 ἢ̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ς̅  
 το̅υ̅ ἰ̅σ̅ο̅ῦ̅ ε̅υ̅α̅λ̅ς̅  
 τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ π̅ρ̅ο̅σ̅τ̅α̅ς̅ ἰ̅ς̅ ἡ̅  
 τ̅ο̅κ̅ο̅ν̅ο̅μ̅ια̅ ὅ̅ μ̅  
 ἰ̅σ̅ο̅υ̅δ̅α̅ς̅ μ̅ῆ̅ ἢ̅ τ̅  
 ἰ̅κ̅κ̅ο̅υ̅ς̅τ̅α̅ ἀ̅γ̅ω̅  
 ἑ̅ρ̅ε̅π̅ε̅σ̅τ̅ῆ̅ρ̅ ε̅ἰ̅  
 ἰ̅σ̅ῶ̅υ̅ ἡ̅ μ̅ῆ̅ μ̅ῆ̅ς̅

The Sophia of Jesus  
 he rose from the | d  
 disciples and seven  
 continued to be his  
 ved to Galilee onto  
 abel "Divination |  
 they gathered togeth  
 perplexed about the  
 edity | of the unive  
 and<sup>2</sup> the holy provi  
 power of the author  
 everything that the  
 mind them in the sec

9C-III:  
 9A-1 Preceding this l  
 come just below  
 9A-2 See endnote 1  
 9B-1 Corr.: second e  
 9C-3C:  
 9A-2 See endnote 1  
 9B-1 Corr.: w is ma



## NHC III 90,14–91,9

## BG 77,8–78,10

[4] ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΙΗC ΠΕΧΡC ΜΝΝ<sup>15</sup>ca  
 ΤΡΕϞΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 ΝΕ|ΤΜΟΟΥΤ  
 ΝΕΡΕΠΕϞΜΝΤCΝΟ|ΟΥC  
 ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΜΝ CΑΨϞΕ | ΝCZIME  
 ΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΕ ΝΑϞ Ε|ΑΥΕΙ  
 ΕΤΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΕΧΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ  
 Ϟα ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΑΝΤΗ |  
 ΖΙ ΡΑΨΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥCΩΟΥZ  
 ΖΙΟΥ|CΟΠ ΕΥΑΠΟΡΙ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΤΖΥΠΟCΤΑ |CIC ΜΠΤΗΡϞ ΜΝ  
 ΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ <sup>5</sup> ΜΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΝ | ΤΑΡΕΤΗ  
 ΝΝΕ|ΖΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ | ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ |  
 ΕΤΕΡΕΠCΩΤΗΡ ΕΙΡΕ | ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΝΜΜΑΥ ΖΜ ΠΜΥCΤΗ|ΡΙΟΝ

ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΙC ΠΕΧC | ΜΝΝca OZ  
 ΝΤΡΕϞΤΩΟΥ <sup>10</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ | ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΕϞ|ΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC  
 ΜΜΑΘΗ|ΤΗC ΜΝ CΑΨϞΕ ΝCZΙ|ΜΕ  
 ΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΜΑΘΗ<sup>15</sup>ΤΕΥΕ ΝΑϞ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΕΤΓΑ|ΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΕ  
 ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΑ|ΤΗ ΖΙ OH  
 ΡΑΨΕ ΕΥΑΠΟΡΙ ΟΥ | ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΘΥΠΟCΤΑCIC Μ|ΠΤΗΡϞ ΜΝ  
 ΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙ <sup>5</sup>Α ΜΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥ|ΑΑΒ ΜΝ ΤΑΡΕΤΗ  
 ΝΝΕ|ΖΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ |  
 ΕΤΕΡΕΠCΩΤΗΡ ΕΙΡΕ Μ|ΜΑΥ  
 ΝΜΜΑΥ ΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙ <sup>10</sup>ΟΝ

[90] The Sophia of Jesus Christ. After <sup>15</sup>  
 he rose from the | dead, his twelve |  
 disciples and seven | women  
 continued to be his followers and |  
 went to Galilee onto the mountain  
 91 called “Divination | and Joy.” When  
 they gathered together | and were  
 perplexed about the underlying  
 reality | of the universe and the plan  
 and <sup>5</sup> the holy providence and | the  
 power of the authorities and about |  
 everything that the Savior is doing |  
 with them in the secret | of the holy

The Sophia of Jesus Christ. | After 77  
 he rose <sup>10</sup> from the dead, | when his  
 | twelve disciples | and seven  
 women | who continued to be his  
 followers <sup>15</sup> went up to Galilee |  
 onto the mountain  
 called “Divination | and Joy” and 78  
 were accordingly perplexed | about  
 the underlying reality | of the  
 universe and the plan <sup>5</sup> and the holy  
 providence | and the power of the  
 authorities, | about everything | that  
 the Savior is doing with them, the  
 secrets <sup>10</sup> of

## SJC-III:

91,1 Preceding this line, MS has a short line of decoration with a *paragraphus cum corone* just below in the left margin.

91,1–2 See endnote 1.

91,2 Corr.: second ε for erased ο.

## SJC-BG:

78,1–2 See endnote 1.

78,10 Corr.: Μ is marked out after ΟΝ.





[ā]	[εΥΓΝΩΣΤΟC N̄]ΝΙΩ [ΗΡΕ . . . ]α   [ 8± ] ΜN̄ N̄Ω[ . . . ] N̄ΤΕ   [ 7± ] . [ ' ] ΧΑΙΡΕ [ ' ]	ΕΥΓΝΩΣΤΟC ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC N̄N̄Ε ΤΕ ΝΟΥC ΝΕ ΧΕ ΡΑΩΕ ΖN̄ N̄Ε ΕΙ'	0
-----	---	--	---

[1]	[Eugnostos, to] the [sons . . . ]   [ . . . ] and the [ . . . ]   [ . . . ] Greetings!	Eugnostos, the Blessed, to those   who are his. Rejoice in this,	70
-----	--	---	----

**Eug-V:**

1,1 Stroke over **ν** is partially visible in MS.

“Sons”: Here and elsewhere **ωηρε** could also be translated “children” (“child,” when **ωηρε** is in the sing.).

1,1-2 If the word **αγεννητοc** appeared elsewhere in the tractate or indeed the codex, it would be tempting to restore **νιω [ηρε m̄πι]α|[γεννητοc]**, “the sons [of] [Unbegotten],” on the basis of 5,7-8.

**Eug-III:**

70,2 Corr.: second **νε** for partly erased **νουc** (dittography?).

“This”: lit. “these,” the Coptic of which is probably a too literal rendering of a Greek neuter pl. demonstrative, which is often used to refer to a singular thing (Smyth: sec. 1003) (so rendered by K & Tr); see also BG 120,14.

70,2-3 Bellet proposes that **zñ neei** (incorrectly transcribed as **zñnai** by him) equals **znai** and should be translated, “*It is pleasing to me that you know. . .*” **ραωε** might then be taken as rendering the Greek **χαίρε**, “Greetings.” Thus the initial statement would be essentially the same as the parr. (without **χαίρε** in *SJC*) (57). Attractive as that is, it is probably an impossible reading of the text as it stands, since **znai** does not appear to be found elsewhere with the **ν** geminated, or with a stroke over the **ν**. Also the scribe has placed a stop between **zñ neei** and

NHC III 92,1-7

BG 79,14-80,4

ϣβ ϭωβε πεχαϩ ναγ χε ετβε ου |  
 τετḡμεουε τετḡαπορει · |  
 ετετḡψινε ḡσα ου πεχε |  
 φιλιππος χε ετβε  
 εὔπο<sup>5</sup>στασις ḡπτηρḡ ḡḡ  
 τοικο|νομια ḡσωτηρ πεχαϩ  
 ναγ | χε

ϭωβε πεχαϩ ναγ <sup>15</sup> χε ετβε ου  
 τετḡμε|εγε ḡ ετβε ου  
 τετḡ|απορι ḡ ετετḡψινε |  
 ḡσα ου πεχαϩ ḡσι φιλιπ|πος  
 ετβε εὔποστασις | ḡπτηρḡ ḡḡ π  
 τοικο|νομια ḡσωτηρ | πεχαϩ  
 χε

92 laughed and said to them: “What |  
 are you thinking about? (Why) are  
 you perplexed? | What are you  
 searching for?” | Philip said: “For  
 the underlying reality <sup>5</sup> of the  
 universe and the plan.” | The Savior  
 said to them:

laughed and said to them: <sup>15</sup> “What  
 are you thinking about? | What are  
 you | perplexed about? What are  
 you searching | for?” Philip said:  
 “For the underlying reality | of the  
 universe and the plan | of the  
 Savior.” | He said:

80

## SJC-III:

92,1 There is a drop of ink above π in a position that suggests it was not intentionally placed there. Other random drops are found in the MS, e.g., 92,10 and 14; 94,12-13 (rt. margin).

## SJC-BG:

79,19 MS has a *paraglyphus* in the right margin next to ποσ.

## (Eug-III continued)

ετρετḡειμε , indicating that he probably understood the passage as it is rendered in my translation. Contrary to Bellet’s assertion, the Coptic as it stands makes sense grammatically. The infinitive here (ετρετḡειμε) is not causative and dependent, but rather purely nominal, in apposition to νεει . It is possible, to be sure, that errors were made in the course of transmission and that the original text was closer to the parr.

## NHC V 1,3–17

†ΟΥΩΨ | [ΕΤΕΤ]Ν̄Μ[ΜΕ] ΧΕ  
 Ν̄ΡΩΜ[Ε] ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄<sup>5</sup>[ΧΠΟ]  
 Μ̄ΠΚ[Α]Ζ ΧΙΝ Ν̄ΤΚΑ[Τ]ΑΒΟΛΗ  
 Ν̄|[ΤΕ ΠΙ]ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΨΑ ΖΟΥΝ  
 Ε†ΝΟΥ ΣΕ|Ψ[ΙΝ]Ε Ν̄ΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ· | Η [ΟΥ]ΑΨ Μ̄ΜΙΝΕ  
 ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΟΥ|Δ̄Ν̄Τ̄Υ· ΝΕ†ΜΕΥΕ  
 ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗ<sup>10</sup>ΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΣΑΒΕ  
 ΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙ|ΡΟ[Ο]ΥΨ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 ΠΙΚΟ [C]Μ[Ο]C· ΝΗ ΕΤΕ | ΤΜΕ  
 ΨΟΟ† Ν̄ΖΗ†ΟΥ ΑΝ· ΠΙΤΕΖΟ | ΓΑΡ  
 ΕΡΑΤ̄Υ Ν̄ΤΕ Π[Ι] Δ̄ΙΩΝ ΨΑΥΧΟΟ† |  
 Ν̄ΨΟΜΝ̄† Ν̄CΜΟ† ΕΒ[ΟΛ]  
 Ζ̄ΙΤΟΡ†ΟΥ <sup>15</sup>ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ Ν̄CΕ†  
 ΜΕ†Ε [Μ̄Ν] ΝΕ[Υ]|ΕΡΗΟΥ ΑΝ·  
 ΑΥΟ[ 8± ]ΤΟ | . [ . . ] . [ 9± ]·

I want | [you to know] that all men,  
 who are <sup>5</sup> [born] of the [earth], from  
 the foundation of | [the] world until  
 now | [inquire] about God, who he is  
 | and what he is like, and they have  
 not | found him. And those of them  
 who think <sup>10</sup> they are wise,  
 (speculating) from the | care (taken)  
 of the world, | have no truth in them!  
 For | the ordering of the aeon is  
 spoken of | in three ways by them, <sup>15</sup>  
 (and) hence they do not agree [with]  
 each other. | [ . . . ] | [ . . . ]. For |

## NHC III 70,3–17

ΕΤΡΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ |  
 Ν̄ΤΑΥΧΠΟΟΥ Χ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ <sup>5</sup>  
 Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕΟ |  
 Ν̄ΨΖΙΣ ΕΥΨΙΝΕ Ν̄CΑ ΠΝΟΥ|ΤΕ  
 ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ Η ΟΥΕΨ Ν̄ΖΕ ΠΕ |  
 Μ̄ΠΟΥΖΕ ΕΡΟ† Ν̄CΑΒΕΕΥΕ  
 ΕΤ̄Ν̄|ΖΗΤΟΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΤΔΙΟΙΚΗ <sup>10</sup>CIC Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΑΥ†  
 ΤΑΝΤ̄Ν̄ | ΕΤΜΗ ΑΥΩ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΠΤΑΝΤ̄Ν̄ ΤΑ|ΖΕ ΤΜΗΕ  
 ΤΔΙΟΙΚΗΣIC ΝΓΑΡ | ΨΑΥΨΑΧΕ  
 ΕΡΟΣ Ν̄ΨΟΜΤΕ Ν̄|CΙΝΨΑΧ Ε  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ  
 Ν̄<sup>15</sup>ΝΕΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ |  
 ΠΑΪ Ν̄CΕCΥΜΦΩΝΕΙ ΑΝ ΖΟΕΙ|ΝΕ

that you know that all men | born  
 from the foundation <sup>5</sup> of the world  
 until now are | dust. While they  
 have inquired about God, | who he is  
 and what he is like, | they have not  
 found him. The wisest | among  
 them have speculated about the truth  
 from the ordering <sup>10</sup> of the world. |  
 And the speculation has not reached  
 | the truth. For the ordering | is  
 spoken of in three (different)  
 opinions | by <sup>15</sup> all the philosophers,  
 (and) hence | they do not agree. For  
 some | of

*Eug-V:*

1,4 First and second superlinear strokes are in lacuna.

1,5 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

1,9 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

1,10 Between the last two letters MS has space with ink marks. The scribe apparently attempted to use the space but found he could not because of imperfections in the sheet.

## NHC III 92,7–22

## BG 80,4–81,5

†ΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΜΕ | ΧΕ  
 Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΥΧΠΟ|ΟΥ  
 ΕΠΚΑΣ' ΧΙΝ ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ  
 Μ̄<sup>10</sup>ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΥΟ |  
 Ν̄ΨΖΙΣ ΕΥΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΣΑ ΠΝΟΥ|ΤΕ  
 ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΨ Μ̄|ΜΙΝΕ  
 ΠΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΖΕ ΕΡΟΦ Ν̄|ΣΑΒΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ  
 Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗ<sup>15</sup>ΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΤΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ Μ̄|ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Μ̄Ν̄  
 ΠΚΙΜ ΑΥ† | ΤΑΝΤ̄Ν̄  
 Μ̄ΠΕΠΟΥΤΑΝΤ̄Ν̄ ΔΕ ΤΑ|ΖΕ ΤΜΗΕ'  
 ΤΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΨΑΥ|ΨΑΧΕ  
 ΕΡΟΣ Ν̄ΨΟΜ̄Ν̄Τ Ν̄ΖΕ <sup>20</sup>ΕΥΑΓΕ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΦΙΛΟ|ΣΟΦΟΣ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ  
 Ν̄ΣΕ|ΣΥΜΦΩΝΕΙ ΑΝ' ΖΟΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ

| “I want you to know | that all men  
 born | on earth from the foundation  
 of <sup>10</sup> the world until now, being |  
 dust, while they have inquired about  
 God, | who he is and what he | is  
 like, have not found him. Now the |  
 wisest among <sup>15</sup> them have  
 speculated from the ordering of | the  
 world and (its) movement. | But  
 their speculation has not reached |  
 the truth. For it | is said that the  
 ordering is directed in three ways <sup>20</sup>  
 by all the philosophers, | (and) hence  
 they do not | agree. For some of |

†ΟΥΨ <sup>5</sup>ΕΤΡΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΜΕ ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν̄ |  
 ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΥ ΕΠ|ΚΑΣ ΧΙΝ  
 ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ | Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΨΑ  
 ΤΕ|ΝΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΨΙ <sup>10</sup>ΝΕ  
 ΝΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ | ΠΕ Η  
 ΟΥΑΨ Ν̄ΖΕ ΠΕ | Μ̄ΠΟΥΖΕ ΕΡΟΦ  
 ΝΣΑΒΕ | ΔΕ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ {ΧΕ}  
 ΕΒΟΛ | Ζ̄Ν ΤΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ  
 Μ̄ΠΚΟ <sup>15</sup>ΣΜΟΣ Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΚΙΜ ΑΥ† |  
 ΤΟΝΤ̄Ν̄ ΠΕΥΤΟΝΤ̄Ν̄ | ΔΕ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΠΟΥΤΑΖΕ ΤΜΕ | ΤΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ  
 ΓΑΡ ΨΑΥ  
 ΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΣΟΥΑΓΕ | Μ̄ΜΟΣ  
 ΝΨΟΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΖΕ | Ζ̄ΪΤΝ  
 ΝΙΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΤΗ|ΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ  
 ΝΣΕΣΥΜ <sup>5</sup>ΦΩΝΙ ΑΝ ΖΟΪΝ ΓΑΡ

“I want <sup>5</sup> you all to know | that those  
 who have been born | on earth from  
 the foundation | of the world until  
 now, | while they have thought to  
 inquire <sup>10</sup> about God, who | he is and  
 what he is like, | have not found him.  
 Now the wisest | among them have  
 speculated from | the ordering of the  
 world <sup>15</sup> and (its) movement. | But  
 their speculation | has not reached  
 the truth. | For it is said  
 that the ordering is directed | in three  
 ways | by all the philosophers, |  
 (and) hence they do not agree. <sup>5</sup> For

ΠΑ

81

## NHC V 1,17–24

ζοῖνε | γαρ εβ[ολ̄ ν̄ζητοῦ  
 σεχω μ̄μ]ος | χ[ε ο]ῦπ̄[ν̄α πε  
 ζι τοοτϚ] ογα[α]Ϛ<sup>20</sup>  
 ζ[нк]ο[ογε χε ετα]ψωπε  
 [з]α|[т̄н̄ οὔπρoνoια ' ] ζ̄ηκοογε  
 χ[ε] | [εταψωπε зат̄н̄  
 οὔ]ζι μαρμε|[νη' αγω λααγ  
 ν̄η]αῖ μ̄πεϚ[ι] | [ετμε'

some [of them say] | that [it is spirit  
 by] itself. <sup>20</sup> [Others, that] it was  
 [subject to] | [providence]. Others,  
 [that] | [it was subject to] fate. |  
 [But] none [of] these has attained |  
 [the truth].

## NHC III 70,17–71,1

ν̄γαρ ν̄ζητοῦ σεχω μ̄μος |  
 ε̄πκοσμος χε ν̄ταγαγε μ̄μοϚ |  
 ζι τοοτϚ μ̄μιν μ̄μοϚ<sup>20</sup>  
 ζεν<sup>20</sup>κοογε χε οὔπρoνoια τε'  
 ζεν|κοογε χε οὔπετηῖ εψωπε  
 | πε αγω οὔον ν̄ναῖ αν νε |  
 τ̄ωomτε σε ν̄смн̄ н̄таειρ̄ | ωρη  
 ν̄χοοῦ μ̄ν̄ οὔεῖ μ̄μοοῦ  
 ηῖ ετμε'

them say | about the world that it  
 was directed | by itself. Others <sup>20</sup>  
 that it is providence (that directs it). |  
 Others, that it is fate. | But it is none  
 of these. | Again, of the three voices  
 I have just | mentioned, none  
 is true.

*Eug-V:*

1,19 **χ**: see Emmel, 1979: 182. First superlinear stroke is in lacuna. See note to *SJC-BG* par.

*Eug-III:*

70,21 "fate": see endnote 2.

οα

71

NHC III  
 ζοῖτοῦ σεχω  
 ε̄πκοσμος χε  
 οὔ  
 οὔ μ̄μιν μ̄μοϚ  
 χε σε οὔπρoνoια  
 τε  
 ζεν|κοογε χε οὔπετηῖ  
 εψωπε | πε αγω  
 οὔον ν̄ναῖ αν νε |  
 τ̄ωomτε σε ν̄смн̄  
 н̄таειρ̄ | ωρη  
 ν̄χοοῦ μ̄ν̄ οὔεῖ  
 μ̄μοοῦ  
 ηῖ ετμε'  
 οα  
 ζην ετ  
 οὔ ηῖ ρομε'  
 ζην say about the  
 directed by itself.  
 Others, that it is p  
 directs it). Others.  
 But it is none of the  
 three voices I h  
 mentioned none  
 and (they are  
 SE-III:  
 70,19-21 See note to  
 70,20 Cor: an erase  
 70,21 see endn  
 70,21 see endn  
 70,21 see endn  
 SE-BG:  
 70,21 "pure": "holy"  
 the assumption  
 70,21 "That  
 That the world is  
 time (see TDNT  
 SE-III appear to  
 the text earlier s  
 is, in essence, t  
 Eug-III and SJC  
 70,19-21 "fate": see



NHC III 92,22–93,8

BG 81,5–17

ἦ|ΖΗΤΟΥ ΣΕΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ  
 ΕΠΚΟ|ΣΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΥΑΓΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ  
 ΖΙΤΟ  
 ΟΤῪ Μ̄ΜΙΝ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥ[Ε] |  
 ΔΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΕ'  
 ΖΕΝΚΟ|ΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΠΕΤΗΠ  
 ΕΩΠΕ | ΠΕ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΟΥΟΝ Ν̄ΝΑΪ  
 ΑΝ ΝΕ<sup>5</sup> ΤΩΟΜΤΕ ΣΕ Ν̄ΣΜΗ  
 Ν̄ΤΑΕΙΡ̄ | Ψ̄Ρ̄Π̄ Ν̄ΧΟΥ Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΕΙ  
 Μ̄|ΜΟΥ ΖΗΝ ΕΤΜΗΕ Η̄ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙ|Τ̄Ν̄ ΡΩΜΕ'

them say about the world | that it is directed by itself.

Others, | that it is providence (that directs it). Others, | that it is fate. | But it is none of these.<sup>5</sup> Again, of the three voices I have | just mentioned, none | is close to the truth, and (they are) from | man.

ΝΖΗ|ΤΟΥ ΣΕΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
 ΟΥ|Π̄ΝᾹ ΕΦΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕ ΖΪΤΟ|ΟΤΥ  
 ΜΜΙΝ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΖΝΚΟ|ΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΧΕ  
 ΟΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ<sup>10</sup> ΤΕ ΖΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ  
 ΧΕ ΟΥ|ΤΕΘΟΝΤ ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑ  
 Ν̄|ΝΑΪ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΤΕΕΨΟΜΤΕ | ΣΕ  
 ΝΣΜΗ ΝΤΑΥΧΟΥ Ν̄|ΨΟΡΠ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΪΤ̄Ν̄ ΝΡΩΜΕ<sup>15</sup> ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΥ  
 ΕΠΚΑΣ Μ̄Ν̄ | ΟΥΟΝ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΝ Τ|ΜΗΕ

some of | them say that | it is pure spirit by itself. | Others, | that it is providence (that directs it).<sup>10</sup> Others, that it is | fate. But it is none of | these. Again, these three | voices that have just been mentioned | are from men<sup>15</sup> who have been born on the earth; | none of them is of the | truth.

---

**SJC-III:**

92,24–25 See note to SJC-BG par.

92,24 Corr.: an erased superlinear stroke above τ ο.

93,3 “fate”: see endnote 2.

93,8 Alt.: <Ν>ΡΩΜΕ, “from <the> men” (T–S); K has “through men.”

**SJC-BG:**

81,7 “pure”: “holy” (T–S). The Coptic can mean either. The T–S choice is based on the assumption that “the translator of BG took a form of ἄγειν for ἄγιον πν(εῦμ)α.” That seems unlikely in view of the probable reconstruction of V 1,19. That the world is, in some sense, (pure) spirit and is directed by it was Stoic doctrine (see *TDNT* [6], 1968: 354–56 [Kleinknecht]). The parallels in *Eug-III* and *SJC-III* appear to reflect the Epicurean view that there is no directing power. Since the text earlier says that these three opinions are different, and “pure spirit,” here, is, in essence, the same as providence, which is the next view, the readings in *Eug-III* and *SJC-III* are probably to be preferred.

81,10–11 “fate”: see endnote 2.

NHC V 1,24–2,4

NHC III 71,1–8

9± ]ψ[ . ]πε. <sup>25</sup> [ 13± ].  $\bar{\eta}$ [ . . ]  
(7± lines lacking)

[8] μ[ 7± ]ε  $\bar{\mu}$ [ 12± ] | πι[,  
πε]τε οὐν [ψδoм δε  $\bar{\mu}$ μοу  
εει] | επ[ $\bar{\eta}$ ]οϋτε  $\bar{\eta}$ τε [τμε  
εβολ  $\zeta\bar{\iota}$ τ $\bar{\eta}$ ] | κесμη [ $\bar{\eta}$ ]саβολ

πετεβολ γαρ ζιτο|οτ $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\mu}$ μιν  
 $\bar{\mu}$ μοу οϋβιος εϋ|ψοϋειτ̄ πε  
ψαϋααϋ τεπρο|νοια  
οϋμ $\bar{\eta}$ τσοβ τε тетзанτ̄ <sup>5</sup>  
οϋ<ε̄ι ε> μεσεσθανε τε̄  
πετε οϋν ψ|δoм δε  $\bar{\mu}$ μοу εει  
εзоϋν  $\bar{\mu}$ π|βολ  $\bar{\eta}$ τεειψoмte  
 $\bar{\eta}$ сμη  $\bar{\eta}$ τα|ειψ $\bar{\rho}$ π  $\bar{\eta}$ χοοϋ  $\bar{\eta}$ ϋει

. . . ] <sup>25</sup> [ . . . ] | (7± lines lacking).

[2] [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] Whoever, then, [is  
able to come] | to the God of [truth  
by means of] | another voice,

For whatever is from itself | is an  
empty | life; it is self-made.  
Providence | is foolish. (And) fate <sup>5</sup>  
is an undiscerning thing.  
Whoever, then, is able | to get free  
of | these three voices | I have just  
mentioned and

---

*Eug*-III:

71,3 ψαϋααϋ “it is self-made”: translation omitted by K & Tr (text is not emended by Tr).

71,4 “fate”: see endnote 2.

71,5 T–S emends οϋ<ε̄ι ε>, but elsewhere in *Eug*–III and *SJC*–III only οϋε̄ι is found. “is . . . thing”: “is something that is not known” (K [by an emendation?], followed by Tr, who does not emend the line).

71,6 “to get free of” (similarly, Tr): less likely, “penetrate to the solutions (sic) of” (K).

NHC  
 ANOC ΔΕ ΝΤΑ  
 ΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΑΠ  
 ΠΕΡΕΜΑ ΔΑΝΟ  
 ΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΙΕΙ  
 ΝΤΑΚΡΗΒΙΑ ΝΤ  
 ΠΕΤΕ ΟΥΒΟΛ  
 ΜΟΥ ΟΥΒΙΟС  
 ΠΕΤΕΡΑΑΑϋ  
 ΜΟΥΣΑΒΗ ΝΕΗΤ  
 ΜΕΣΣΘΑΝΕ  
 But I, who came  
 to light: I am here  
 to light — that I  
 about the precise  
 with  
 For whatever is fr  
 self-made life: | it is  
 Providence is has  
 had | fate does no

## NHC III 93,8–16

## BG 81,17–82,9

ἀνοκ δε ν̄ταεἰεῖ ε|βολ ζ̄μ  
 πουοειν ν̄απεραντον <sup>10</sup> †  
 μ̄πειμα · ἀνοκ γαρ †σοοῦν |  
 μ̄μοϋ χε εειεχ ω ν̄ητ̄ν  
 ν̄τα|κριβια ν̄τμηε·  
 πετε ουεβολ | ζιτοοτ̄μ μ̄μιν  
 μ̄μοϋ ουβιος | εϋσοοϋ  
 πετεψαϋαϋ · τεπρο <sup>15</sup>νοια μ̄ν  
 μ̄ντσαβη ν̄ζητ̄ε τε|τζαντ̄ δε  
 μεσεσθανε ·

But I, who came | from Infinite  
 Light, <sup>10</sup> I am here—for I know him  
 (Light)— | that I might speak to you  
 about the precise nature | of the  
 truth.

For whatever is from | itself is a  
 polluted life; | it is self-made.  
 Providence <sup>15</sup> has no wisdom in it.  
 And | fate does not discern.

ἀνοκ δε νταῖεἰ ε|βολ ζμ  
 πιοϋοῖν νατα|ρηχϋ ἀνοκ  
 ετσοοῦν  
 μ̄μοϋ χε εειεταμε | τηϋτ̄ν  
 ετακριβεια ν̄τ|μηε  
 πετε ουεβολ γαρ | ζῖτοοτϋ  
 μ̄μιν μμοϋ. <sup>5</sup> πε ουβιος  
 εϋζοοϋ πετε | ψ<αϋ>αϋ  
 τε(τ)προνοια οϋ|ασοφον δε  
 τε τεθοντ | δε οϋειε  
 εμασαιεθανε | τε

But I came | from Infinite Light— | I  
 know him (Light)—  
 that I might instruct | you about the  
 precise nature of the | truth.

For whatever | is from itself <sup>5</sup> is a  
 wicked life; it is self-made. | And  
 providence | lacks wisdom. And  
 fate | is an undiscerning thing.

π̄β

82

SJC-III:

93,16 “fate”: see endnote 2.

SJC-BG:

82,7 “fate”: see endnote 2.



NHC III 93,16–94,1

BG 82,9–83,1

ἸΤΩ|ΤἸ Ὁ ΕΝΕΤῸΤΟ ΝΗΤΝ  
 ΕΣΟΟΥΝ | ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤἸΠΩΑ  
 ἸΠΣΟΟΥΝ | ΣΕΝΑ† ΝΑΥ ἸΝΗ ΕΤΕ  
 ἸΠΟΥ<sup>20</sup> ΧΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸ  
 ΤΕΣΠΟΡΑ ἸΤΕ|ΤΡΙΒΗ ΕΤΧΑΖἸ  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΖἸ ΠΕΖΟΥ|ΕΙ†  
 Ε<Τ>ΑΥΤἸΝΟΟΥ† ΧΕ  
 ΠΑἸ ΓΑΡ | ΟΥΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΠΕ ΖἸ  
 ΤΜΗΤΕ Ἰ|ῤΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΨΑΥΜΟΥ†  
 ΠΕΧΑ†

[9]Δ ΝΑ† ἸΒΙ ΜΑΘῸΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ

ΝΤΩΤἸ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΣΤΟ ΝΗ<sup>10</sup>ΤἸ  
 ΕΣΟΟΥΝ ΜἸ ΝΕΤἸ|ΠΩΑ ΝΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΣΕΝΑΤΑ|Α† ΝΑΥ ΝΑἸ ΕΤΕ  
 ΜΠΟΥ|ΧΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 ΤΕΣΠΟ|ΡΑ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΒΗ ΕΤΧΑΖἸΕ<sup>15</sup>  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟΥἸ† |  
 ΝΤΑΥΤἸΝΟΟΥ† ΧΕ  
 ΠΑἸ | ΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΤΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΖΝ  
 ΤΜΗ|ΤΕ ἸΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥ ἸΡΩ|ΜΕ  
 ΠΕΧΑ† ΝΑ† ἸΒΙ ΜΑ  
 ΘΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΧῸ

ΠΓ

But to you | it is given to know; |  
 and whoever is worthy of knowledge  
 | will receive (it), whoever has not  
 been <sup>20</sup> begotten by the sowing of |  
 unclean rubbing but by First | Who  
 Was Sent,  
 for | he is an immortal in the midst  
 of | mortal men.”

Matthew said

[9]4 to him: “Lord,

| But to you it is given <sup>10</sup> to know;  
 and whoever is | worthy of knowing  
 will receive | it, whoever has not  
 been | begotten by the sowing | of  
 unclean rubbing <sup>15</sup> but by First |  
 Who Was Sent, for | he is an  
 immortal in the midst | of mortal  
 men.”

| Matthew said to him:

“Christ,

83

## SJC-III:

93,16–19 “But . . . receive (it)”: “To you is given to know, and to those who are worthy of knowledge. It will be given” (K).

93,22 MS has  $\theta$  (error noted by T–S).

## SJC-BG:

82,9–12 “But . . . it”: “But to you it is given to know, and to those who are worthy to know. It will be given to” (T–S).

82,9 MS has the last two letters in ligature.

82,19 MS has a *paragraphus cum corone* in the left margin and a large diple after με. The diple seems intended to show the place of the major division.

NHC V 2,8-13

NHC III 71,13-18

πῆ [οὐ]ν ἐτ|ψοοῖ ἄνοοειψ  
 νιμ· εἰα[τ]ψαχε <sup>10</sup> ἄμοϥ πε  
 ἄποϥοϥωνῆ ἄβι ζεναρχη | μῆ  
 ζενεζοϥια· οὐτε νη ἐττω[ψ·]  
 | οὐτε [φ]ϥϥις νιμ· εἰμη[τι  
 εϥε]ιμ[ε] | ναϥ οὐααϥ·

πετ|ψοοῖ οὐατψαχε εροϥ πε·  
 ἄ<sup>15</sup>πεαρχη σοϥωνϥ  
 ἄπεεζοϥ|σια ἄπεζϥποταγη  
 ἄπεφϥϥις | νιμ χῆ  
 ἄτκαταβολη ἄπκοσμοϥ |  
 εἰμητι ἄτοϥ οὐααϥ·

[Now He] Who Always Is, | being  
 ineffable, <sup>10</sup> no principles or  
 authorities | knew him—neither  
 those who [ordain] | nor any  
 creature—except [he (alone) knew] |  
 himself.

He Who | Is is ineffable. <sup>15</sup> No  
 principle knew him, no authority, |  
 no subjection, nor any creature |  
 from the foundation of the world, |  
 except he alone.

*Eug*-III:

71,15 “principle”: “power” (K).

NHC III  
 ἄν ἄαϥ ναϥ  
 εἰμητι εβολα ζι·  
 ἄταμον | βε ε  
 εααϥ δε  
 ἄεττωοῖ οὐα  
 ἄεαρχη σοϥω  
 εζοϥ ϥια ἄ  
 ἄεϥϥις νιμ  
 ἄταβολη ἄτ  
 εἰμητι  
 ἄεεεεααϥ | ε  
 εολα εττω τῆ |  
 εεον εῆ πεζο  
 εϥοειν· ειν ἄ  
 no one can find th  
 through you. There  
 the truth." The Sav  
 "He Who Is is ine  
 principle knew him  
 subjection, nor a  
 from the foundation  
 will now, except  
 and anyone to who  
 sake revelation th  
 from First | Light  
 III:  
 Alt: εττωοῖ  
 The sentence  
 omitted her  
 B:  
 has a large  
 εεεεεααϥ·  
 through me

## NHC III 94,2–13

## BG 83,1–17

| ἄμῃ λααυ ναψ εν τμηε´  
 ει|μητι εβολ ζιτοοτκ´  
 ματαμον | σε ετμηε´ πσωτηρ  
 πεχαϋ χε  
 5 πετσοοη ογατψαχε εροϋ πε  
 | ἄπεαρχη σοϋωνϋ  
 ἄπεεζοϋ|σια ἄπεζυποταγη  
 ἄπεφυ|σις νιμ χιν  
 ἄτκαταβολη ἄ|πκοσμος ψα  
 τενοϋ ειμητι 10 ἄτοϋ ογαατῷ´  
 μῃ πετεζναϋ | εσωλητ ναϋ  
 εβολ ζιτοοτῷ´ | παῖ ετε  
 ογεβολ ζῃ πεζοϋ|ειτ  
 ἄοϋοειν´ χιν ἄτενοϋ

| no one can find the truth except |  
 through you. Therefore teach us |  
 the truth.” The Savior said:  
 5 “He Who Is is ineffable. | No  
 principle knew him, no authority, |  
 no subjection, nor any creature |  
 from the foundation of | the world  
 until now, except 10 himself alone  
 and anyone to whom he wants | to  
 make revelation through him | who  
 is from First | Light. From now on

μῃ λα|αυ ναψ σε ετμηε ειμητι  
 | εβολ ζῖτοοτκ ματαμῶ | σε  
 ετμηε πεχαϋ ἄ<sup>5</sup>ει πσωτηρ  
 <χε>  
 πετσοοη | πιατψαχε εροϋ´  
 ετσο|οη εμπεαρχη σοϋωνῷ |  
 εμπεεζοϋσια οϋτε  
 ἄ|πεζυποταγη οϋτε μπε<sup>10</sup>σομ  
 οϋτε μπεφυσις | χιν  
 τκαταβολη μπκο|σμος  
 σοϋωνῷ ψα τε|νοϋ ειμητι  
 ἄτοϋ ογα|αϋ  
 αϋω μῃ πετεζναϋ ε<sup>15</sup>βολ  
 ζῖτοοτ πενταϋει | εβολ ζμ  
 πεζοϋειτ νοϋ|οῖν χιν τενοϋ

no one | can find the truth except |  
 through you. Therefore teach us |  
 the truth.” The Savior said:  
 5 “He Who Is, | the ineffable one  
 who exists, | no principle knew him,  
 | no authority, nor did | subjection 10  
 or power or creature | from the  
 foundation of the world know him |  
 until now, | except himself alone  
 | and anyone whom he wants (to  
 know him) 15 through me, who came  
 | from First Light. | From now on

---

SJC-III:

94,11 Alt.: ζιτοοτ, “through me” (T–S [see BG par.], followed by K).

94,13 The sentence that follows this line in BG (83,17–19) may have been accidentally omitted here. However, the text makes sense without it.

## SJC-BG:

83,4 MS has a large dipole after the second word.

83,14 πετεζναϋ: + <εσωλητ ναϋ>, “and whomever he wants <to make revelation to> through me” (T–S).

NHC V 2,13-17

NHC III 71,18-72,3

ΠΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΤῪΜΜΑΥ ΕΜῪ |  
 ΜῪΤΝΟΥΤΕ [ε]χωμ' ουψα ενεζ  
 π[ε·] <sup>15</sup> εψα ενεζ πε[·] |  
 μεψωπῑ ερομ ῑφ[γ] | χπο·  
 ε[γ]ατμιςι δε πε <με> ῑνατῑ  
 [εινε] | ερο[μ·

For since no divinity is over him, |  
 he is eternal. <sup>15</sup> Being eternal, he  
 does not experience | birth. And  
 being unbegotten, <he is> without  
 [likeness.]

πετῪμμαγ | γαρ ουθανατος  
 πε ουψα ἀνη<sup>20</sup>ζε πε εμῪτεμ  
 χπο οyon γαρ | ῑμ ετε  
 ουνταμ χπο φνατακο |  
 ογαγεννητος πε εμῪτῑ αρχη |  
 ογαν γαρ ῑμ ετε ουνταμ  
 αρχη | ουνταμ γαν· ῑμῑ λαμ  
 αρχι ε  
 χωμ ῑμῑταμ ραν πετε ουν|τῑ  
 ραν γαρ πσωντῑ ῑκεογα | πε

For he | is immortal and eternal, <sup>20</sup>  
 having no birth; for everyone | who  
 has birth will perish. | He is  
 unbegotten, having no beginning; |  
 for everyone who has a beginning |  
 has an end. No one rules  
 over him. He has no name; for  
 whoever has | a name is the creation  
 of another. | He

*Eug*-III:

71,21 Corr.: first μ for an erasure.

OB

72



## NHC III 94,14–24

## BG 83,17–84,13

| ΑΝΟΚ ΠΝΟΘ Ν̄CΩΤΗΡ·  
 ΠΕΤΜ̄<sup>15</sup>ΜΑΥΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΤΜΟΥ ΠΕ  
 ΟΥΨΑ | ΕΝΕΖ ΠΕ· ΟΥΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΔΕ  
 ΠΕ | ΕΜΝ̄ΤΑϞ ΧΠΟ ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ  
 Ε|ΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑϞ ΧΠΟ ΞΝΑΤΑΚΟ·  
 ΟΥ|ΔΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΜΝ̄Τ̄Ϟ ΑΡΧΗ  
<sup>20</sup> ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑϞ  
 ΑΡ|ΧΗ ΟΥΝ̄ΤΑϞ ΖΑΗ· ΕΜ̄ ΛΑΔΥ  
 ΑΡ|ΧΙ ΕΧΩϞ ΕΜΝ̄ΤΑϞ ΡΑΝ ΠΕΤΕ |  
 ΟΥΝΤΑϞ ΡΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΠCΩΝΤ̄  
 Ν̄|ΚΕΟΥΑ ΠΕ·

| I am the Great Savior.  
 For he <sup>15</sup> is immortal and eternal. |  
 Now he is eternal, | having no birth;  
 for everyone | who has birth will  
 perish. He is unbegotten, | having  
 no beginning; <sup>20</sup> for everyone who  
 has a beginning | has an end. Since  
 no one rules | over him, he has no  
 name; for whoever | has a name is  
 the creation of | another.

ϞΝΑ|CΩΛΠ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟ | ΟΤ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΘ Ν̄CΩΡ̄  
 ΠΕΤΜ̄ΜΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΤΜ̄`Ο'Υ | ΠΕ ΠΔ  
 ΟΥΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΠΕ ΟΥ|ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΔΕ  
 <ΠΕ> ΕΜΝ̄ΤΑϞ | ΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΑΥ  
 ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ <sup>5</sup> ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑϞ  
 ΧΠΟ | ΞΝΑΤΑΚΟ ΠΑΤΧΠΟ ΔΕ |  
 Μ̄ΝΤΕϞ ΑΡΧΗ ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ | ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑϞ ΑΡΧΗ | ΟΥΝΤΑϞ  
 ΖΑΗ ΔΥΩ Μ̄Ν <sup>10</sup> ΛΑΔΥ ΑΡΧΕΙ  
 ΕΧΩϞ Μ̄Ν|ΤΕϞ ΡΑΝ ΠΕΤΕ  
 ΟΥΝΤΑϞ | ΡΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΠCΩ<Ν>Τ̄  
 ΝΚΕΟΥ|Α ΠΕ

he will | make revelation to you  
 through | me.

I am the Great Savior.

For he is immortal | and eternal.  
 Now <he is> | eternal, having no |  
 birth; for everyone <sup>5</sup> who has birth |  
 will perish. And Unbegotten | has  
 no beginning; for everyone | who  
 has a beginning | has an end. And  
 no <sup>10</sup> one rules over him. He has no  
 | name; for whoever has | a name is  
 the <creation> of another. | He

84

## SJC-III:

94,15 Corr.: ω for ο.

94,20 Corr.: second ρ for erased χ.

## SJC-BG:

84,3 Not emended by T-S.

84,12 MS has πCωTE, “the ransom.”

## NHC V 2,17-27

εγα]†† εινε δε εροϋ πε·  
 μαϋ|ψωπ̄ ε[ροϋ ν̄οϋμο]ρ̄φ̄η·  
 [π]η γαρ | ε†[ψωπ̄ εροϋ  
 ν̄οϋμορφ]η οϋ[σωντ̄] <sup>20</sup> ν̄τε  
 κε[οϋα πε·  
 . . . . ]ϣμ[ . ] εϋ. | [ . . ]·  
 εν.[ 14± ]γε | [ν̄]τοϋ οϋααϋ  
 [οϋνταϋ ν̄οϋσμο]τ | [ε]ϥε  
 ν̄νος εϋ[ϋον nim αϋω  
 εϥα]||[τ]π̄ εοϋον n[im 12±] <sup>25</sup>  
 [ . . ]η· αϋω [ 16± ] | [ . ]τ̄  
 οϋα†[ 17± α†]||† ειν[ε εροϋ  
 19± ]

| And [being without] likeness, he  
 does not | take on [form]. For  
 [whoever] | [takes on form is] the  
 [creation] <sup>20</sup> of [another . . . ] |  
 [ . . . ] | only he [has a resemblance]  
 | [that] is greater than [everything  
 and better] | than everything [ . . . ]  
<sup>25</sup> [ . . . ]. And [ . . . ] | [ . . . no] |  
 likeness [ . . . ]

*Eug-V:*

2,18 Corr.: first π incorporates initial ϋ (cf. 9,1n.).

2,20 ε could be α. Only a large dot remains immediately before the lacuna. For ε with such a dot, see 3,13 (first ε) *Facsimile Edition-V*. If the letter were α, one would expect the dot to be a bit lower.

*Eug-III:*

72,8 Corr.: second αN for an incomplete γ.

72,12 Corr.: zic`α' for εzice, "It looks at every labor" (both ε's are marked out; α seems to be in a second hand). See note to III 95,6.

## NHC III 72,3-14

οϋα†† ραν εροϋ πε μ̄νταϋ |  
 μορφη ν̄ρωμε πετε οϋντ̄ <sup>5</sup>  
 μορφη γαρ ν̄ρωμε π̄σωντ̄ |  
 ν̄κεοϋα πε  
 οϋνταϋ· ν̄νοϋζι | δεα μ̄μιν  
 μ̄μοϋ ν̄ε αν̄ ν̄τ̄ζιδεα  
 ν̄τανχιτ̄ η̄ ν̄τανναϋ | εροϋ  
 αλλα οϋζιδεα ν̄ψ̄μ̄μω <sup>10</sup> τε  
 εσοϋατ̄β̄ ν̄ζοϋο ενκα nim |  
 εσσατ̄π̄ ενιπ̄τηρϋ· εσναϋ | ζι  
 σ`α' nim εσε̄ιωρ̄ζ μ̄μοϋ |  
 οϋααϋ· ζιτοοτ̄β̄ μ̄μιν μ̄μοϋ |  
 οϋαταρ`η'ᾱϋ πε

is unnameable. He has no | human  
 form; for whoever has <sup>5</sup> human form  
 is the creation | of another.  
 He has his own semblance— | not  
 like | the semblance we have  
 received and seen, | but a strange  
 semblance <sup>10</sup> that surpasses all  
 things | and is better than the  
 totalities. It looks | to every side and  
 sees itself | from itself. | He is  
 infinite;

NHC III 94,24–95,7

BG 84,13–85,11

οὐνταϑ δε νουζι  
 9[ε] δεα εϛ[ω]μ̄ μ̄μιν μ̄μοϑ τε ν̄|θε  
 ν̄[τατ]ετ̄ν̄ναϑ ερος `αν' η̄  
 ν̄θε | ν̄τατετ̄ν̄χιτ̄ `αλλα  
 ουζι δεα | ν̄ωμ̄μω τε εσοϑατ̄β  
 ενκα <sup>5</sup> nim αϑω εσσοτ̄π̄  
 επτηρϑ' ε|σναϑ ζι σ{ε}`α' nim  
 εσειωρζ μ̄μοσ | ζιτοοτ̄  
 οϑαατ̄ εμ̄ν̄ αρηχ̄ |

οϑατ̄ ραν ναϑ | πε μ̄ντεϑ  
 μορφη ν̄<sup>15</sup>ρωμε πετε οϑνταϑ |  
 μορφη γαρ ν̄ρωμε | πσωντ  
 νκεοϑα πε  
 οϑ|ν̄τ̄ οϑεινε επωϑ μ̄  
 μιν μ̄μοϑ πε ν̄θε αν |  
 ν̄τατετ̄ν̄ναϑ η̄ ν̄θε  
 ν̄|τατετ̄ν̄χι αλλα οϑει|νε  
 ν̄ωμ̄μο εϑοϑοτ̄β <sup>5</sup> πε ενκα nim  
 αϑω εϑ|σοτ̄π̄ ενιπτηρϑ  
 εϑει|ωρζ ν̄σα σα nim εϑναϑ |  
 εροϑ εβολ ζ̄ιτοοτ̄ϑ | μαϑαϑ  
 οϑαπεραντοσ <sup>10</sup> δε πε  
 οϑατ̄τακο δε | πε

πε

is unnameable. | He has no human form; <sup>15</sup> for whoever has | human form | is the creation of another. He has | a likeness of his own— not like | what you have seen and | received, but a | strange likeness that surpasses <sup>5</sup> all things and is | better than the totalities. It sees | on every side and looks at | itself from | itself. And he is infinite <sup>10</sup> and imperishable. | He

85

SJC-III:

95,1–2 Lacunae so restored by T–S.

95,6 Corr.: ζιϑ`α' for εζιϑε, “It looks *at every labor*”; the initial ε is marked out, α is written above the next ε in what may be a second hand, and that ε is not marked out. The same correction was made in the same way, and by the same hand, in 72,12, except that there the second ε is marked out. The α is written over an erased letter, possibly itself an α.

SJC-BG:

85, top MS has a strip of papyrus pasted above the page number. This strip and two on the other side of the leaf seem designed either to restore a broken leaf or to prevent a weakened one from breaking further.

## NHC V 3,1-4

(5± lines lacking)

[F] [ . . . οὔμακαρι]ός [πε·  
 εὔατνο]εἰ ᾤμοϛ | [πε· 9± ]  
 εβολ ᾤ[ . . . ] εὔατμισε | [πε·  
 εὔατψ]αχε ερο[ϛ πε·]  
 ψαῦμοῦτε | [εροϛ χε πι]ωτ  
 ᾤπτ[ηρ]ῆ·

| (5± lines lacking)

[3] [he is blessed. Since he is  
 unknowable] | [ . . . being]  
 unbegotten (and) | [ineffable,] he is  
 called | ["Father] of the Universe."

## NHC III 72,14-73,3

οὔατταζοϛ πε <sup>15</sup> οὔα εϛμην  
 εβολ πε ᾤαφθαρ|τοϛ· οὔα  
 εᾤμνταϛ πεϛεινε πε |  
 οὔαγαθοϛ πε ᾤατψιβε  
 οὔατ|ψωωτ πε οὔα εϛμην  
 εβολ | πε οὔμακαριοϛ πε  
 οὔατνο<sup>20</sup>εἰ ᾤμοϛ πε  
 εψαϛνοεἰ ᾤ|μοϛ ᾤμιν ᾤμοϛ·  
 οὔατψ|τῆ πε· οὔατχι βεχᾤ  
 ᾤϛωϛ πε | οὔτελειοϛ πε  
 εᾤᾤτεϛ ψω  
 ωτ οὔμακ[α]ριοϛ πε  
 ᾤαφθαρ|τοϛ ψαῦχοοϛ εροϛ  
 χε πιωτ | ᾤπτηρῆ·

he is incomprehensible. <sup>15</sup> He is ever  
 imperishable | (and) has no likeness  
 (to anything). He is | unchanging  
 good. He is | faultless. He is  
 everlasting. | He is blessed. He is  
 unknowable, <sup>20</sup> while he  
 (nonetheless) knows | himself. He is  
 immeasurable. | He is untraceable.  
 He is | perfect, having no defect.  
 He is imperishably blessed. | He is  
 called "Father | of the Universe."

*Eug-V:*

3,2 Superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

72,21 Corr.: ατψ for partly erased ατχι.

or

73

## NHC III 95,8–22

## BG 85,11–86,9

ογατταζοϋ πε εϋμην εβολ· |  
 ογαφθαρτος πε εμνηταϋ  
 πεχει <sup>10</sup>νε ογαγαθος πε  
 εμεϋψιβε | ογατψωωτ πε  
 οϋψα ανηζε | πε ουμακαριος  
 πε εμεϋνο | ειε μμοϋ  
 ψαϋνοειε μμοϋ | ογαατῷ  
 ογατψιτῷ πε ογατ <sup>15</sup>χι βεχμε  
 ἵνωϋ πε· οϋτελιος | πε  
 εμνηταϋ ψωωτ ουμακα | ριος  
 πε ἵναφθαρτος ψαϋμοϋ | τε  
 εροϋ χε πειωτ μπητηρῷ·

| φιλιππος πεχαϋ χε πχοεις  
<sup>20</sup> πως δε αϋοϋωνη εντελιος |  
 πεχαϋ ναϋ ἵβι πτελιος  
 ἵνω | τηρ χε

| he is ever incomprehensible. | He  
 is imperishable and has no likeness  
 (to anything). <sup>10</sup> He is unchanging  
 good. | He is faultless. He is eternal.  
 | He is blessed. While he is not  
 known, | he ever knows | himself.  
 He is immeasurable. He is <sup>15</sup>  
 untraceable. He is perfect, | having  
 no defect. He is imperishably  
 blessed. | He is called | ‘Father of |  
 the Universe.’”

| Philip said: “Lord, <sup>20</sup> how, then,  
 did he appear to the perfect ones?” |  
 The perfect Savior said to him:

ογατταζοϋ πε αϋ | ω ογα  
 εϋμην εβολ πε | αϋω μνη πεϋνε  
 μμοϋ | ογαγαθος πε αϋω  
 μεϋ <sup>15</sup>ψιβε ογατψτα πε οϋ | ψα  
 ενεη πε ουμακ· α· ρι | ος πε  
 ογατνοει μμοϋ | πε ψαϋνοῖ  
 μμοϋ μαϋ | ααϋ ογατψιτϋ πε  
 οϋ

ατχι ταβσε ἵνωϋ πε  
 οϋ | τελιος πε εμνηταϋ ψ | τα  
 μμαϋ ουμακαριος πε |  
 νατχωημ εψαϋμοϋτε <sup>5</sup> εροϋ  
 χε πειωτ μπητηρϋ | πε  
 φιλιππος πεχαϋ | χε πεχῶ  
 πως δε αϋοϋω | νεη εντελιος  
 πεχαϋ ἵ | βι πτελιος ἵνωτηρ  
 χε

is incomprehensible and |  
 everlasting, | and there is nothing  
 like him. | He is good and he does  
 not <sup>15</sup> change. He is faultless. He is  
 | eternal. He is blessed. | He is  
 unknowable; | he ever knows  
 himself. | He is immeasurable.  
 He is untraceable. He is | perfect,  
 having no | defect. He is blessed |  
 (and) without blemish, (he) who is  
 called <sup>5</sup> ‘Father of the Universe.’” |

| Philip said: | “Christ, how, then,  
 did he appear | to the perfect ones?”  
 The perfect | Savior said:

πς

86

## SJC-BG:

86, top MS has a strip of papyrus pasted in such a way that it covers most of the page number.

86, 4–5 Between these lines a narrow strip of papyrus is pasted in the MS, extending from the fifth letter almost to the end of the lines.

86, 6 MS has a large dipole between πε and after φιλιππος and a large asterisk in the left margin slightly below the level of the line.

86, 9 MS has a large asterisk in the left margin.

## NHC V 3,4–15

ΖΑΘΗ ΔΕ <sup>5</sup> [ΜΠΑΤΕΛ]ΑΑΥ ΟΥΩΝΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕ | [ΝΗ ΕΤΟΥ]ΟΝΖ·  
 ΖΕΝΜΝ̄ΤΝΟΣ ΜΝ̄ ΖΕΝ|[ΕΞΟ]ΥΣΙΑ·  
 ΠΗ ΔΕ ΕΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΖΗΤ῀ | Ε[Ϝ]Ψ  
 ΕΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΤΗΡ῀ ΝΤΕΥ |  
 [Τ]ΗΡΟΥ· ΕΝΣΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ  
 ΜΜΟΥ <sup>10</sup> ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ι Τῆ̄ ΛΑΑΥ·  
 ΠΑΪ ΟΥΝΟΥΣ | Π[Ε Μ]Ν̄  
 ΟΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ [·] ΟΥ[Μ]ΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ |  
 Μ[Ν̄ Ο]ΥΣΒΩ ΜΝ̄ ΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ· ΜΝ̄  
 ΠΗ | ΕΤ̄Ζ̄Ι Χ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ ΜΝ̄  
 ΟΥΒΟΜ ΠΑ | ΝΙΣΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΩΣ  
 ΕϜ[Ψ]ΟΟΠ̄ ΝΝΟΥ <sup>15</sup> ΠΗΓΗ ΝΤΕΥ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ·

Even before <sup>5</sup> anything is visible of |  
 [those that are visible], majesties and  
 | authorities, He Who Is in Himself |  
 [continuously] embraces the totality  
 of them all | but is not embraced <sup>10</sup>  
 by anything. He is mind | and  
 thought; also thinking and | teaching  
 and counsel; and he is | above  
 counsel and power—all powers | are  
 his, since [he] is the <sup>15</sup> source of  
 them all.

## NHC III 73,3–14

ΖΑΘΗ ΕΜΠΑΤΕΛΑΑΥ | ΟΥΩΝΖ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΝΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ· <sup>5</sup> †ΜΝ̄ΤΝΟΣ ΜΝ̄  
 ΝΙΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ Ε|ΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΖΗΤ῀  
 ΕΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΝΙ|ΠΤΗΡ῀· ΝΤΕ  
 ΝΙΠΤΗΡ῀· ΑΥΩ Μ|ΜΝ̄ ΛΑΑΥ  
 ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΥ· ΠΕΤΜ̄|ΜΑΥ ΓΑΡ·  
 ΟΥΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΡ῀· ΟΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ <sup>10</sup> ΜΝ̄  
 ΟΥΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΙΣ Ο<Υ>ΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΣ |  
 ΟΥΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΜΝ̄ ΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ |  
 ΝΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΖΕΝΖΙΣΟΔΥΝΑ|ΜΙΣ ΝΕ Μ̄ΠΗΓΗ  
 ΝΝΙΠΤΗΡ῀ ΝΕ  
 | ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡ῀ <Χ̄ΙΝ

Before anything is | visible among  
 those that are visible, <sup>5</sup> the majesty  
 and the authorities that | are in him,  
 he embraces the | totalities of the  
 totalities, and nothing | embraces  
 him. For he | is all mind, thought <sup>10</sup>  
 and reflecting, considering, |  
 rationality and power. | They all are  
 equal powers. | They are the sources  
 of the totalities. | And their whole  
 race <from

*Eug-V:*

3,9 Fourth letter: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

3,11 Superlinear stroke: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

*Eug-III:*

73,4 Corr.: ΝΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ for ΠΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ “(in) that which is visible.”

73,5 “that”: omitted by K & Tr (text is not emended by Tr).

73,6 “he embraces”: less likely, “He rules” (K). For the concept, see *Gos. Truth* (I,3) 22,21–33.

73,8 “embraces”: less likely, “rules” (K); see 73,6n.

73,10 So emended by T–S.

73,12 Corr.: ρ in ΤΗΡΟΥ for erased ζ.

73,14 Not emended by T–S, K or Tr; ΓΕΝΟΣ, “race”: see endnote 3.

## NHC III 95,22–96,10

## BG 86,10–87,5

ζΑΘΗ Ν̄ΣΕΟΥ<Ω>Ν̄ ΛΑΔΥ | ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΜ̄Ν|ΤΝΟΣ  
 Μ̄Ν ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ  
 9[ζ] Ν̄ΖΗΤῶ ΕΦΕΜΑΖΤΕ [Μ̄ΠΖΟ]ΛΩΝ |  
 Ν̄<Ν>ΠΤΗΡῶ ΕΜ̄Ν ΛΑΔΥ  
 ΕΜ̄[Δ]ΖΤΕ | Μ̄ΜΟῦ ΠΕΤΜ̄ΜΑΥ ΓΑΡ  
 ΟΥ|ΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΡῶ ΠΕ ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΥΕΝ<sup>5</sup>ΝΟΙΑ ΠΕ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΦΡΟΝΗΣΙC  
 | Μ̄Ν ΟΥΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΙC Μ̄Ν  
 ΟΥ|ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΔΟΜ῾  
 Ν̄ΤΟ|ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΕΝΖΙCΟΝ  
 Ν̄ΔΥ|ΝΑΜΙC ΝΕ῾ Μ̄ΠΗΓΗ Ν̄ΝΙΠΤΗΡῶ  
 10 ΝΕ῾  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΡῶ ΞΙΝ |

10 ΖΑΤΕΖΗ Ν̄ΣΕΟΥΩΝΖ ΛΑΔΥ |  
 ΕΒΟΛ <Ν̄ΤΕ> ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ  
 ΤΜ̄Ν|ΝΟΣ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ  
 ΕΥΨΟ|ΟΠ Ν̄ΖΗΤῶ ΕΦΕΜΑΖΤΕ |  
 Ν̄ΝΙΠΤΗΡῶ ΝΤΕ ΠΤΗΡῶ 15 ΕΜ̄Ν  
 ΛΑΔΥ ΑΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄|ΜΟῦ ΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΓΑΡ ΟΥ|ΝΟΥC ΤΗΡῶ  
 ΟΥΕΝΘΥΜΗ|CΙC ΠΕ ΟΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ  
 ΠΕ Μ̄Ν | ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤCΑΒΕ ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΜΝ ΟΥΔΟΜ ΠΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΤΗ|ΡΟΥ  
 CΕΨΗΨ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ | ΖΝ ΤCΟΜ  
 Ν̄ΤΠΗΓΗ Ν̄ΝΙΠ | ΤΗΡῶ  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ 5 ΤΗΡῶ ΞΙΝ

| “Before anything is visible | of  
 those that are visible, the | majesty  
 and the authority are  
 9[6] in him, since he embraces the whole  
 of the totalities, | while nothing  
 embraces | him. For he is | all mind.  
 And he is thought <sup>5</sup> and considering  
 | and reflecting and | rationality and  
 power. They | all are equal powers.  
 | They are the sources of the  
 totalities. <sup>10</sup> And their whole race  
 from

10 “Before anything is visible | <of>  
 those that are visible, the | majesty  
 and the authorities | are in him, since  
 he embraces | the totalities of the  
 universe, <sup>15</sup> while nothing embraces  
 | him. For he is | all mind; he is  
 reflecting; | he is thought and |  
 wisdom; he is thinking  
 and power. They all | are equal to  
 each other | in the power of the  
 source of the | totalities. And all that  
 came to be <sup>5</sup> from

ΠΖ

87

## SJC-III:

95,24 Corr.: erased z at the end of the line.

96,1 Stroke over μ in lacuna is visible.

Lacuna is not restored by T-S.

96,10 ΓΕΝΟΣ, “race”: see endnote 3.

## SJC-BG:

86,13 “since he embraces”: less likely, “He rules” (T-S); see III 73,6n.

86,15 “embraces”: “rules” (T-S); see III 73,6n.

87,4–5 ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ, “that came to be”: See endnote 3.

NHC V

NHC III 73,14-16

Ἰ̄ϣορπ > ϣα ἀρη<sup>15</sup> χ̄νοϥ  
εϥϣοοῖ ζ̄μ πεζοϥεῖτ̄ |  
Ἰ̄ϣοοϥν Ἰ̄παγεννητ̄ος ·

first > to last <sup>15</sup> is in the  
foreknowledge | of Unbegotten,

NHC III  
 ϣορπ ϣα ἀρη  
 εϥρπ Ἰ̄ϣοοϥ  
 ᾱ περαντ̄ος  
 εϥσ̄τ̄  
 ε̄μας πεζαϥ  
 Ἰ̄ϣοος π̄ϣωτηρ  
 ε̄μᾱτ̄ φ̄ωτε̄ ἦ ε̄τ̄  
 ϣοϣε ε̄βολ̄ πε  
 ε̄νιο̄ς Ἰ̄ϣωτηρ  
 ε̄βο̄ι ε̄βολ̄ ζ̄μ π̄  
 ε̄ε̄β̄νᾱᾱω̄ νητ̄

first to last was | in  
 foreknowledge, (the  
 unbegotten Father  
 knoweth) <sup>15</sup> "Lord, Sa  
 become to be, an  
 revealed." | T  
 "I came from  
 I might tell you

27-III  
 27-Alt: <ϣ>μᾱτε  
 27-Corr: a diazeme  
 Between this line a  
 ε̄  
 27-Corr: νᾱϥ ᾱε̄ τ̄  
 27-BG:  
 27-Alt: ϣα <ϣ> ϣ  
 not satisfactory bec  
 here in S/C-BG,  
 in the parallels. It  
 seems to be emen  
 problem through su  
 27-Alt: <ϣ>μᾱταρ  
 27-Alt: has a large d  
 slightly below the  
 27-Alt: has a large a



## NHC III 96,11–20

## BG 87,5–15

ἡ̅ψορπ̅ ψα ἀρηχνοῦ νεῦ|ζῆ̅  
 πεψωρπ̅ ἡ̅σοοῦν  
 πια|περαντος ἡ̅αγεννητος |  
 ἡ̅ειωτ̅:  
 ἠ̅ωμας πεχαϗ <sup>15</sup> ναϗ χε  
 π̅χοεις π̅ωτηρ | ε̅τβε οὔ  
 ἀναῖ ψωπε· ἡ̅ ε̅τβε | οὔ ἀναῖ  
 οὔωνε ε̅βολ· πεχαϗ | ἡ̅σι  
 π̅τελιος ἡ̅ωτηρ· χε ἀνοκ |  
 ἀειεῖ̅ ε̅βολ ζῆ̅ παπεραντος <sup>20</sup>  
 χε ε̅εινασ̅ω νητῆ̅ ἡ̅ζωβ·

| first to last was | in his  
 foreknowledge, (that of) the infinite |  
 Unbegotten | Father.” Thomas said  
 to him: <sup>15</sup> “Lord, Savior, | why did  
 these come to be, and why | were  
 these revealed?” | The perfect Savior  
 said: | “I came from the Infinite <sup>20</sup>  
 that I might tell you all

ταρχη ψα <αρηχνοῦ> | ναγζῆ̅  
 πεψωρπ̅ ἡ̅σο|οῦν πια ταρχηϗ  
 νατ̅χοϗ | νειωτ̅  
 πεχαϗ ἡ̅σι ἠ̅ω|μας χε πε̅χ̅  
 π̅ωτηρ ε̅ <sup>10</sup>τβε οὔ ἀναῖ ψωπε  
 ἀγ̅ω | ε̅τβε οὔ ἀγ̅οῦωνε ε̅βολ |  
 πεχαϗ ἡ̅σι π̅τελιος ἡ̅σ̅ωρ̅ | χε  
 ἀνοκ ἀῖεῖ̅ ε̅βολ ζῆ̅  
 πιαπεραντων χε ε̅ειε̅τ̅ε <sup>15</sup>βε  
 τη̅τῆ̅ ε̅ἡ̅κα

beginning to <end> | were in his  
 foreknowledge, | (that of) the infinite  
 Unbegotten | Father.”  
 Thomas said: | “Christ, Savior, why  
<sup>10</sup> did these come to be, and | why  
 were they revealed?” | The perfect  
 Savior | said: “I came from the |  
 Infinite that I might teach <sup>15</sup> you all

## SJC-III:

96,12 Alt.: <M>πιαπεραντος, “foreknowledge <of> the infinite” (T-S).

96,14 Corr.: a diagonal stroke after the double stop is erased.

Between this line and the next, MS has a *paragraphus cum corone* in the left margin.

96,15 Corr.: ναϗ χε π̅χ for erased ἠ̅ωμας πε̅.

## SJC-BG:

87,5 Alt.: ψα <ο>ϗ or ψα <πε>γ̅χω<κ>, “to (their) end” (T-S). This proposal is not satisfactory because χ̅ωκ does not occur in this phrase (χ̅ιν ταρχη . . .) elsewhere in SJC-BG, while ἀρηχνοῦ does. The emendation adopted here is found in the parallels. It may be that ναγ (line 6) should be included in the portion of the text to be emended (see Eug-III par.). Or perhaps it caused part of the initial problem through similarity of appearance.

87,7 Alt.: <M>πιαταρχηϗ, “foreknowledge <of> the infinite” (T-S).

87,8 MS has a large dipole after the first word and a large asterisk in the left margin slightly below the level of the line.

87,12 MS has a large asterisk in the left margin.



NHC III 96,21–97,12

BG 87,15–88,12

| NIM · ΠΕΠΝᾹ ΕΤΨΟΟ†  
 ΝΕΥ|ΡΕϞΧΠΟ ΠΕ· ΕΥΝ̄ΤΑϞ Μ̄ΜΑΥ  
 | ΝΟΥΣΟΜ <Ν>ΟΥΟΥΣΙΑ  
 ΝΡΕϞΧΠΟ  
 [ϞΖ] ΝΡ[ΕϞ†] ΜΟΡΦΗ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ  
 ΕΣΝΑ|ΟΥΨ[ΝΖ] ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ ΤΝΟΣ  
 Μ̄ΜΝ†|{Τ}Ρ̄ΜΜΑΟ· ΕΤΖΗΠ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄  
 ΕΤΒΕ | ΤΕϞΜ̄Ν̄ΤΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ Μ̄Ν  
 ΤΕϞΑΓΑΠΗ <sup>5</sup> ΑϞΡ̄ΖΝΑϞ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄  
 Μ̄ΜΙΝ Μ̄|ΜΟϞ ΕΧΠΕ ΖΕΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ  
 ΧΕ Ν̄|ΝΕϞΑΠΟΛ<Α>ΥΕ ΟΥΑΑΤϞ  
 Ζ̄Ν ΤΕϞΜ̄Ν̄|ΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΖΕΝΚΕΠ̄ΝᾹ Ν̄|ΤΕ ΤΓΕΝΕΑ  
 Ν̄ΑΤΚΙΜ· ΕΥΕΧΠΕ <sup>10</sup> ΣΩΜΑ ΖΙ  
 ΚΑΡΠΟΣ· ΟΥΕΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν | ΟΥΤΙΜΗ  
 Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑ Μ̄Ν | ΠΕϞΖΜΟ†

| things. Spirit Who Is was the  
 begetter, | who had | the power <of>  
 a begetter

[97] and form-[giver's] nature, that | the  
 great | wealth that was hidden in him  
 might be revealed. Because of | his  
 mercy and his love <sup>5</sup> he wished | to  
 bring forth fruit by himself, that | he  
 might not <enjoy> his | goodness  
 alone but (that) other spirits | of the  
 Unwavering Generation might bring  
 forth <sup>10</sup> body and fruit, glory and |  
 honor in imperishableness and | his  
 infinite

NIM ΠΕ|ΠΝᾹ ΕΤΨΟΟ†  
 ΝΕΥΡΕϞ|ΧΠΟ ΠΕ ΕΥΝ̄ΤΑϞ Μ̄ΜΑΥ  
 Ν|ΝΟΥΣΟΜ ΝΡΕϞΧΠΕ ΟΥΣΙΑ |  
 ΝΡΕϞ† ΜΟΡΦΗ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ <sup>20</sup>  
 ΕΣΕΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ ΤΝΟΣ  
 Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΡ̄Μ̄ΜΑΟ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤϞ | ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΤΕϞΜ̄Ν̄ΤΧ̄Τ Μ̄Ν ΤΕϞ|ΑΓΑΠΗ  
 ΑϞΟΥΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ|ΤΟΟΤϞ Μ̄ΜΙΝ  
 Μ̄ΜΟϞ ΕΧ <sup>5</sup>ΠΟ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΧΕ  
 Ν̄ΝΕϞ|Ρ̄ΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΜΑΥΑΑϞ  
 Ν̄Τ̄Ϟ|Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ  
 Ζ̄ΝΚΕ|Π̄ΝᾹ ΝΤΕ ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΕ |  
 ΜΑΣΚΙΜ Ν̄ΣΕΧΠΕ ΣΩΜΑ <sup>10</sup> Ζ̄Ι  
 ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΟΥΕΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν |  
 ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤ'ΤΑΚΟ Μ̄Ν ΤΕϞ|ΧΑΡΙΣ

ΠΗ

things. | Spirit Who Is was the  
 begetter, | who had | the power of  
 one who begets substance | and  
 gives form, that <sup>20</sup> the great  
 wealth that was in him might be  
 revealed. | Because of his mercy and  
 his | love he wished | to bring forth <sup>5</sup>  
 fruit by himself, that he might not |  
 enjoy his | goodness alone but (that)  
 other | spirits of the Generation That  
 | Does Not Waver might bring forth  
 body <sup>10</sup> and fruit, glory and |  
 imperishableness and his | infinite

88

## SJC - III:

96,23 Not emended by T-S or K (“power, a begetting, form-[giving] nature”).

97,7 Not emended by T-S or K, both of whom translate “isolate himself in.” “Iso-  
 late” is somewhat removed from the lexical meaning of ἀπολύειν.

97,11 Corr.: ζ for erased μ.

NHC V

NHC III 73,16–19

ΝΕ|ΜΠΑΤΟΥΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ |  
 ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΔΕ ΨΟΟΠ' |  
 [Ο]ΥΤΕ ΝΙΑΦΕΑΡΤΟΣ ΝΑΙΩΝ

| for they had not yet come to  
 visibility. | Now a difference existed  
 | among the imperishable aeons.

---

*Eug*-III:

73,19 Corr.: ε ΝΙ for erased ΟΥΝ.

Lacuna so restored by T-S.

NHC III 9

... ΜΗΤΙ ΑΡΗΧΤ  
 ... ΕΠΕΡΑΓΑΘΟΝ Ο  
 ... ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ  
 ... ΝΑΦΑΡΣΙΣ  
 ... ΠΑΥΤΟΠΕ ΜΗ  
 ... ΟΡΠΑΤΟΥΕΙ Δ  
 ... ΟΥΝ ΟΥ'Φ'  
 ... ΟΥΤΕ  
 ... ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙ  
 ... ΟΥΝ ΜΑΧ  
 ... ΕΙΝΑΠΕΡΑ  
 ... ΔΥ

... that his treas  
 ... by Self-be  
 ... of every in  
 ... those that came  
 ... forward.  
 ... they had not ye  
 ... Now a gr  
 ... among the imp  
 ... out sayin  
 ... to hear about  
 ... "I'm hear", I and  
 ... those

...  
 ... revealed  
 ...  
 ... for mar  
 ... similar proble  
 ... "shadow."  
 ... at end of I  
 ...  
 ... "But ... at  
 ... have come to  
 ... (T-S).

## NHC III 97,12–23

## BG 88,12–89,7

ετε μντῆ ἀρηχῆ· | χε  
 ερεπεγαθον οὔωνζ εβολ |  
 ζιτῆ παῦτογενης ἡνοῦτε <sup>15</sup>  
 ἡειωτῆ ἡαφθαρσια νιμ· μῆ |  
 νενταῦωπε μῆῆσα ναῖ |  
 νε<μ>πατοῦει δε επετοῦανζ  
 | πε· οὔῆ οὔ·ω' {ε}ιβε δε  
 εναῦω<μ> | οὔτε νιαφθαρτον·  
 νεῦωω <sup>20</sup> εβολ εχῶ μμοc χε  
 πετε | οὔν μααχε μμοc  
 εσωτῆ ε|νιαπεραντον  
 μαρεῦωωτῆ | αῦω νετρηc

ετε μῆ ἀρηχῆ χε | κααc  
 ερεοῦωνζ εβολ | νει  
 πεγαθον εβολ <sup>15</sup> ζῖτοοτμ  
 μπιατῆποc | ἡνοῦτε πειωτ  
 μῆῆτ|αττακο νιμ μῆ  
 νεν|ταῦωπε μῆῆσα ναει  
 | νεμπατοῦει δε επετοῦ  
 ονζ εβολ οὔδιαφορα | δε  
 εναῦωc cῶοοπ οὔ|τωοῦ  
 ἡνιαττακο  
 νεῦ|ωω δε εβολ χε πετε  
 οὔ<sup>5</sup>νεῦ μααχε μμαῦ εσω|τῆ  
 μαρεῦωωτῆ ενιατ|τακο ανοκ

πῆ

grace, | that his treasure might be  
 revealed | by Self-begotten God, <sup>15</sup>  
 the father of every imperishableness  
 and | those that came to be  
 afterward.

| But they had not yet come to  
 visibility. | Now a great difference |  
 exists among the imperishables.”  
 He called <sup>20</sup> out saying: “Whoever |  
 has ears to hear about | the infinities,  
 let him hear”; | and “I have  
 addressed those

grace, | that his treasure | might be  
 revealed <sup>15</sup> by Unbegotten | God, the  
 father of | every imperishableness  
 and those that | came to be  
 afterward.

| But they had not yet come to  
 visibility.

Now a great difference | exists  
 among | the imperishables.”

And he | called out: “Whoever has <sup>5</sup>  
 ears to hear, | let him hear about the  
 imperishables! | I will

89

## SJC-III:

97,13 “that . . . revealed”: “for his goodness was revealed” (K).

97,17 MS has μ.

97,18 Corr.: ω for marked out ζα; the corrector neglected to mark out the following ε  
 (see similar problem in 113,8 and to a lesser degree in 95,6); originally ζαειβε ,  
 “shadow.”

MS has c at end of line (gender agreement with ζαειβε ).

## SJC-BG:

88,19–89,2 “But . . . among” (so also Schenke in T–S: 340): or possibly, “But before  
 they have come to what is revealed, a significant difference exists, however,  
 between” (T–S).

## NHC V 3,15–24

π[η] γαρ τηρῶ | ετε ψαψωπε  
 εβ[ολ ζῆ π]τακο· | ψναρ̄  
 ατψωπε·  
 [πη ετεβολ] ζῆ †|[αφ]θαρ[σια·  
 ψνα]ρ̄ α[τψωπε αν·] ἄλλα |  
 ψναρ̄ ζογ[ε αφθαρτον·  
 ζωσ ο]γεβολ <sup>20</sup> ζῆ †αφθα[ρσια  
 β±] πε· | ψ[ 12± ]ων  
 [ουμη]ηψε | [γαρ ῆτε ν]ιρωμε  
 αυψ[ρῆ· ενс]ε|[σοοyn] ἄν  
 ῆ†διαφορα [ετε ταῖ τ]ε· |  
 [ῆθε ῆνη ε]†ζετ[β]ρψ[με·  
 αυμογ·]

For all | that comes [from the]  
 perishable | will come to naught.  
 [Whatever is] from |  
 imperishableness [will not come to  
 naught] but | will be more  
 [imperishable, since] it is from <sup>20</sup>  
 [...] imperishableness. | [...] For]  
 many | men went [astray because  
 they did] | not [know] the difference;  
 [that is,] | [as with] murderers, [they  
 died.]

*Eug-V:*

3,16 Final letter: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

3,19 Letter immediately after lacuna and last 3 letters: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

*Eug-III:*

73,22 Corr.: second c for erased β (initially ζωβ).

74,1 T-S and Tr restore [θα].

74,4 “so”: “so that” (T-S, K & Tr).

## NHC III 73,20–74,7

<sup>20</sup> μαρεννοει σε ῆτεειζε σε |

ῆκα νιμ ῆταψωπε εβολ ζῆ |  
 πτακο σενατακο  
 ζωс εαψω|πε εβολ ζῆ πτακο·  
 πενταψω  
 πε εβολ ζῆ ταφθαρσια  
 νψνα|τακο αν ἄλλα  
 εψναψωπε ῆ|αφθαρτος  
 ζωс εαψωπε ε|βολ ζῆ  
 ταφθαρσια·  
 ζωστε ου<sup>5</sup>μνηψε ῆρωμε  
 αυπлана | ῆποусοyn  
 τεειδιαφορα ετε | ταῖ τε  
 αυμογ·

<sup>20</sup> Let us, then, consider (it) this way.  
 | Everything that came from | the  
 perishable will perish, since it came |  
 from the perishable. Whatever came  
 from imperishableness will not |  
 perish but will become |  
 imperishable, since it came from |  
 imperishableness. So, <sup>5</sup> many men  
 went astray | because they had not  
 known this difference; that | is, they  
 died.

οΔ

74

NHC III 97,23–98,9

BG 89,7–20

ἀνοκ δειψαχε | ἡμμαγ' ἐτι  
 ἀφογῶς ἐτοοτῆ·  
 [ϥη] πεχαϥ χε  
 ἡκα nim ἡτ[αϥ]ω|πε εβολ ζῆ  
 πτακο σεν[ατ]α|κο  
 χε ἡταϥωπε εβολ ζῆ |  
 πτακο·  
 πενταϥωπε δε <sup>5</sup> εβολ ζῆ  
 τῆῆταττακο μεϥτα|κο αλλα  
 ψαϥωπε ἡαττα|κο·  
 ζωσ οὔμῆψε ἡρωμε | ἀϥωρῆ  
 εμποϥοῦῆ τεει | διαφορα·  
 ἀμοῦ·

ἡναψαχε | ῆῆ νετροεις ἐτι  
 ἀφογ|ωζ ἐτοοτῆ πεχαϥ χε  
 ἡ<sup>10</sup>κα nim ἡταϥωπε εβολ | ζῆ  
 πτακο ῆνατακο  
 ζωσ | εϥωπε εβολ  
 ζῆ πτα|κο  
 πενταϥωπε εβολ | ζῆ  
 τῆῆτατ`τα`κο ῆα`ϥ`τακο <sup>15</sup>  
 αλλα ϥωοοπ ναττακο |  
 ζωσ εϥωοοπ εβολ ζῆ |  
 τῆῆταττακο  
 ἡθε <ῆ>ταϥ|μῆψε ἡρωμε  
 σωρῆ | ενσεσοοῦν αν  
 ντεει <sup>20</sup> διαφορα ἀμοῦ

who are awake.” | Still he continued  
 [98] and said:  
 “Everything that came | from the  
 perishable will perish, | since it  
 came from | the perishable. But  
 whatever came <sup>5</sup> from  
 imperishableness does not perish |  
 but becomes imperishable.  
 | So, many men | went astray  
 because they had not known this |  
 difference and they died.”

address | those who are awake!”  
 Still he continued | and said:  
 “Everything <sup>10</sup> that came from | the  
 perishable will perish, since | it  
 comes from the perishable. |  
 Whatever came | from  
 imperishableness does not perish <sup>15</sup>  
 but is imperishable, | since it is from  
 | imperishableness. Just as | many  
 men went astray | because they did  
 not know this <sup>20</sup> difference, (so) they  
 died.”

SJC-III:

98,1 So restored by T-S.

98,7 The section found in the parr. immediately before ζωσ, “so,” may be missing here through homoioteleuton (so also T-S).

## NHC V 3,25–4,2

25 [αγω ζω] ψα πε[ϊμ]α' ε[τβε  
 πι]||[αφθαρτος] ἡνουτε ζῆ  
 [7±] | [ . . . . . ] . ο[ . ] ἡτε  
 τ[ 10± ] | [ . . . . . ] ρς ν[ . ]  
 †μ[ 11± ] | [ 7± ] εϋ[ο]γωψ  
 [ε]ν[α]ρτε ενι<sup>30</sup>[ψαχε ετκη]  
 εγραϊ ἡ[ 8± ] | [ 8± ] ε

μα[ρεφωκ εβολ]  
 δ̄ ζ[ι τῆ νια τ]χι η[πε εροου  
 ετζηη] | ετ[ἡμαγ'  
 μ]αρεϋ[μουψτ δε ψα πιχ ωκ] |

25 [But this much is enough about  
 the] | [imperishable] God in [ . . . ] |  
 [ . . . ] of the [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] | [ . . . ]  
 who wants [to believe the] <sup>30</sup> [words  
 set] down (here) [ . . . ] | [ . . . ],

4 let [him leave]  
 [the numberless things that are  
 hidden,] | [and] let him [go to the  
 end]

## NHC III 74,7–17

αγω ζω ψα | πεειμα' επι μῆ  
 ψομ ἡλααγ | ετ ουβε  
 τεφγςις ἡἡψαχε <sup>10</sup> ἡταιῖρ  
 ψρῖπ ἡχοου{ε} ἡπμα|καριος  
 ἡαφθαρτος ἡνουτε | ἡμνε'  
 εψωπε δε εγῆ ογα | εφοεψ  
 πιστευε ενψαχε | ετκη εγραϊ

μαρεφωμωψτ <sup>15</sup> χῆ ἡπεθηῖ ψα  
 πχωκ ἡπε|τογανζ εβολ αγω  
 τεειεννοι | α' νατσαβοϋ

But this much is | enough, since it is  
 impossible for anyone | to dispute  
 the nature of the words <sup>10</sup> I have just  
 spoken about the blessed, |  
 imperishable, true God. | Now, if  
 anyone | wants to believe the words  
 | set down (here),

let him go <sup>15</sup> from what is hidden to  
 the end of what is visible, | and this  
 Thought | will instruct him

*Eug-V:*

3,25 Omission of circumflex with ζω: see 17,7.

3,26 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

3,30 Superlinear stroke is in lacuna, but a circumflex is visible above what would have  
 been the second letter in the second lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

74,10 Not emended by Tr.

74,11 “true God”: less likely, “God of truth” (K & Tr).



NHC III 98,9–16

BG 89,20–90,9

πεχας ναϚ <sup>10</sup> ν̄βι μαριζαμμη  
 xe πχοειϚ | ν̄αψ̄ ν̄ζε βε  
 ENNASOYŪN̄ NAĪ | PECE  
 ΠΤΕΛΙΟϚ Ν̄ΩΤΗΡ ΧΕ  
 | ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ̄ ΧΙΝ ΝΙΑ ΤΟΥΩΝΖ |  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑ ΠΧΩΚ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ · <sup>15</sup>  
 ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΟϚ ΤΑΠΟΡΡΟΙΑ · Ν̄ΤΕ |  
 ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΗΤΝ̄

πεχας  
 ναϚ ν̄βι μαριζαμ xe πε|χ̄ς  
 ΠΩϚ ΣΕΝΑΣΟΥΩΝ | ΝΑΪ ΠΕΧΑϚ  
 Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΤΕΛΙΟϚ | Ν̄ΩΤΗΡ ΧΕ  
 ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ̄ <sup>5</sup> ΧΙΝ ΝΙΑ ΤΟΥΩΝΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑ | ΠΧΩΚ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ  
 Ε|ΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΟϚ ΤΑΠΟΡΡΟΙ| Α  
 Ν̄ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΣΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ | ΝΗΤΝ̄

4

Mary said to him: <sup>10</sup> “Lord, | then  
 how will we know that?” | The  
 perfect Savior said:  
 | “Come (pl.) from invisible | things  
 to the end of those that are visible, <sup>15</sup>  
 and the very emanation of | Thought  
 will reveal to you

Mary said to him: | “Christ, how will **90**  
 that be known?” | The perfect |  
 Savior said:  
 “Come (pl.) <sup>5</sup> from invisible things  
 to | the end of those that are visible,  
 | and the very emanation | of  
 Thought will reveal | to you

SJC-BG:

90,2 T-S suggests the third person pl. prefix of the verb may be the result of dittography (πωϚ); note that P.Oxy. 1081,26 supports the reading in SJC-III.

## NHC V 4,3–12

ἄΝΗ Ε[ΤΟΥ]ΟΝΖ ΑΥΨ [ΥΝΑΣΙΝΕ  
 ἄΝΙΑ Τ]||ΟΥΩΝΖ [ΖΡ]ΑΪ ΖΝ  
 ΝΕΤΦ[ΥΟΝΖ· ΤΕΝ]<sup>5</sup>ΝΟΙΑ ΓΑΡ  
 Ε[CΝΑ]ΤΑΜΟΟΥ[· ΤΠΙCΤΙC ] | ΓΑΡ  
 ἄΤΕΝΠΕ ΤΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ἄCΕ[ΟΥΟΝΖ]  
 | ΔΝ ΝΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ·  
 ΤΑΪ ΔΕ [ΤΕ ΟΥΑΡΧΗ] |  
 ἄΤΓΝΩCΙC·

ΠΧΟΕΙC ἄΤΕ Π[ΤΗΡ]ḳ̄ | ἄΝΕΨΑΥ†  
 ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟϞ ΔΝ ΚΑ[ΤΑ Τ]Μἄ<sup>10</sup>ΤΜΕ  
 ΧΕ ΠΙΩ†· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΙΨΟΡ† ἄΝΕΙΩ† |  
 ΠΙΩ† ΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΡΧΗ ΠΕ ἄΤΕ ΝΗ  
 ΕΤΗΝΟΥ | ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΒΟ[Λ]

| of those [that are visible], and [he  
 will find the invisible things] | in  
 those that [are visible.] For Thought  
<sup>5</sup> [will] teach them. For [the] higher  
 [faith] | is (that) those things that are  
 not [visible] | are those that are  
 visible. And this [is a principle] | of  
 knowledge.

The Lord of the [Universe] | was not  
 rightly called <sup>10</sup> “Father” but  
 “Forefather.” | For the Father is the  
 beginning (*or* principle) of those that  
 are to come | through him, but the

## NHC III 74,17–75,2

ΧΕ ΠΩC ΤΠΙCΤΙC | ἄΝΕΤΕ  
 ἄCΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ· ΑΥ|CΝΤC  
 ΖΜ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ·

ΟΥ<sup>20</sup>ΑΡΧΗ ἄCΟΟΥΝ ΤΕ ΤΑΪ·

ΠΧΟΕΪC | ἄΠΤΗΡϞ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ Μ[ΕΥ]||ΧΟΟC ΕΡΟϞ  
 ΧΕ ΕΙΩ†· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡ[Ο]||ΠΑΤΩΡ  
 ΠΕΙΩ† ΓΑΡ ΤΑΡΧΗ ἄ  
 ΠΕΤΟΥΑΝΖ [ΕΒΟΛ] ΠΕ ΠΕΤἄ|ΜΑΥ ο[ε]

how faith | in those things that are  
 not visible was | found in what is  
 visible.

This is a <sup>20</sup> knowledge principle.

The Lord | of the Universe is not  
 rightly | called “Father” but  
 “Forefather.” | For the Father is the  
 beginning (*or* principle)  
 of what is visible. For he (the Lord)

*Eug-V:*

4,8 Third superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

4,10 First and second superlinear strokes are in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

74,21 So restored by T–S.

75,1 T–S and Tr restore [z εβολ π].

## NHC III 98,16–25

## BG 90,9–91,2

ε|βολ· χε πως τπιστις ν̄νε|τε  
 ν̄νεοϋονς εβολ αν̄ αῡεντ̄ |  
 ζ̄ν̄ νετοϋονς εβολ

εβολ χε πως τπισ<sup>10</sup>τις  
 ν̄νια τοϋωνς εβολ αῡ|ζε ερος  
 ζ̄ν̄ νετοϋονς ε|βολ

νετη̄π̄ ε<sup>20</sup>πιαγεννητος ν̄ειω̄τ̄  
 πε | τε οϋ̄ν̄τ̄ῡ μααχε εσωτ̄μ̄ |  
 μαρεϋσωτ̄μ̄·  
 π̄χοεις μ̄τηρ̄ϋ | εψαϋχοος  
 εροϋ αν̄ χε ειω̄τ̄ | αλλα  
 προπατωρ <· πειω̄τ̄ γαρ> ταρχη  
 ν̄τε<sup>25</sup> νετναοϋωνς εβολ <πε>·  
 πετ̄μ̄

ντε πιαγεννητος νε|ιωτ̄πετε  
 οϋν̄ μααχε μ̄|μοϋ εσωτ̄μ̄  
 μαρεϋσω<sup>15</sup>τ̄μ̄  
 πε̄χ̄τ̄ μ̄πτηρ̄ϋ εψαῡ|χοο<·> εν̄  
 εροϋ χε ειωτ̄ | αλλα  
 προπατωρ πειωτ̄  
 γαρ {ν̄}ταρχη ν̄νετναοϋ|ωνς  
 εβολ πε πετ̄μ̄μαϋ

4a

| how faith in those | things that are  
 not visible was found | in those that  
 are visible,  
 those that belong to <sup>20</sup> Unbegotten  
 Father. | Whoever has ears to hear, |  
 let him hear.

how faith <sup>10</sup> in invisible things was |  
 found in those that are visible

| of Unbegotten Father. | Whoever  
 has ears | to hear, let him hear.

The Lord of the Universe | is not  
 called 'Father' | but 'Forefather.'  
 <For the Father is> the beginning (*or*  
 principle) of <sup>25</sup> those that will  
 appear, but he (the Lord)

<sup>15</sup> The Lord of the Universe is | not  
 called 'Father' | but 'Forefather.'  
 For the Father is the beginning (*or*  
 principle) of those that will appear, |  
 but he (the Lord)

91

SJC-BG:

90,16 εΝ:&lt;α&gt;Ν (T-S). Emendation is not necessary (see Kasser: 2).

## NHC V 4,12–22

ζῆτοοτῦ· πιαταρχ[η] δε |  
 ἄνατῖ ρα[ε] εμσοοτ  
 ἄνοου[ορ]πῖ ἄει | ωτ·  
 ζῆνα δε ενεοουω εῖ ρμοτ<sup>15</sup>  
 ναμ ἄνοουραν· οὐ γαρ  
 ντῆσοουν αν | δε οὐ π[ε]·  
 ἄουοειω δε νιμ εφειμε | ερομ  
 ἄρητῦ ἄθε ἄραῖ ρῆ ουειδεα |  
 εσογ[ων]ξ εβολ εσεινε ἄμομ·  
 ἄτομ | δε πε [πιςμο]† ἄτ[ε]μ  
 [ετ]αγ† [ρ]α[ν]<sup>20</sup> ερομ χ[ε]  
 πιω† ἄρη[χπο]μ ογααμ |  
 πιρ [εμῖτο ἄπερο]· επιδη ρῆ |  
 πις [μοτ] ἄ[τεμ εαφοουω]ξ

Unending Non-Principle (*or*  
 beginning) | is Forefather  
 | —in order that we might be ready  
 to greet<sup>15</sup> him by name. For we do  
 not know | who he is.  
 Now he always understands |  
 himself within himself as in a  
 semblance | that appears and  
 resembles himself. And it | is [his  
 resemblance that] was [called]<sup>20</sup>  
 “Self-[begotten Father,] | He [Who  
 Is before His Presence,]” since in |  
 [his resemblance he appeared

## NHC III 75,2–9

γαρ παρ[α]ρχος ἄπρο|πατωρ  
 εφναγ ερομ ἄμιν | ἄμομ ἄραῖ  
 ἄρητῦ· ἄθε ἄου<sup>5</sup>ειαλ·  
 εαφοουωρ εβολ ρῆ πεμ|εινε  
 ἄαυτοπατωρ ετε παῖ | πε  
 παυτογενετωρ· αγω  
 ναν|τοπος επι αντοπιτω  
 ἄπρο|οντος ἄαγεννητος·

is | the beginningless | Forefather.

He sees himself | within himself,  
 like a<sup>5</sup> mirror, having appeared in  
 his | likeness as Self-Father, that is, |  
 Self-Begetter, and as Confronter, |  
 since he confronted | Unbegotten  
 First Existent.

*Eug-V:*

4,13 Third superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

75,1–3 “he . . . sees”: less likely, “he, the Forefather without beginning, sees” (K & Tr). The lack of a sentence pronoun may result from the scribe’s sensing that it would be stylistically unacceptable to put it in its expected place, either immediately before or after γαρ, “for.” Or perhaps πετῖμμαγ is thought of as a sentence pronoun in this context by the scribe (but see 71,18–19).

75,8 “since he confronted”: “in the presence of” (K) (?).

NHC III 99,1–10

BG 91,2–13

[ϣϥ] μαγ δ[ε πι]αναρχος  
 ἡπροπα | τωρ[·

| δε πιαναρχος πε ἡψρ̄π |  
 ἡειωτ

εϣ]ναγ εροϣ ἡμιν ἡμοϣ |  
 ἡζρα[ἴ] ἡζητῶ ζἡ οϣειαλ ·  
 αϣοϣ|ωνζ εβολ εϣεινε ἡμοϣ  
 ἡμιν <sup>5</sup> ἡμοϣ ἡτοϣ δε πεϣεινε  
 αϣ|οϣωνζ εβολ ἡοϣνοϣτε  
 ἡει|ωτ ζιτοοτῶ ἡμιν ἡμοϣ |  
 αϣω <ἡ>αντοπος † ζιχἡ  
 ἡαντο|πιτον † πεπροοντος  
 ἡαγεν <sup>10</sup> ἡηητος

εϣναγ εροϣ ἡμιν <sup>5</sup> ἡμοϣ ζραἴ  
 ἡζητῶ ζἡ οϣ|ειαλ ψαϣοϣωνζ  
 εβολ εϣ|εινε ἡμοϣ ἡμιν ἡμοϣ  
 | ἡτοϣ δε πεϣεινε αϣοϣ|ονζϣ  
 εβολ ἡψρ̄π ἡειωτ <sup>10</sup> ἡηοϣτε  
 ἡειωτ αϣω ἡ|αντοπος εϣι  
 ϣἡτο εβολ | ἡφο ἡπετψοοϣ  
 χιηἡ | ψορπ πιαγενητος

99 is [the] beginningless Forefather.

| is the beginningless | Forefather.

| Seeing himself | within himself in a  
 mirror, he appeared | resembling  
 himself, <sup>5</sup> but his likeness appeared |  
 as Divine | Self-Father | and <as>  
 Confronter † over the confronted  
 ones, † | First Existent Unbegotten

Seeing himself <sup>5</sup> within himself in a  
 | mirror, he appears | resembling  
 himself, | but his likeness appeared |  
 as Forefather, <sup>10</sup> as Divine Father,  
 and as | Confronter, since he is | in  
 the presence of Him Who Is from |  
 the First, Unbegotten

SJC-III:

99,1–2 Lacunae not restored by T–S.

99,8–9 ζιχἡ ἡαντοπιτον : The parr. make clear that the translator mistook the Greek subordinate conjunction, ἐπεὶ, for the preposition, ἐπί, and attempted to transform the subsequent word into a noun.

SJC-BG:

91,8–9 αϣοϣονζϣ, “his likeness *appeared*”: Translation assumes that the Coptic translator was rendering a Greek aorist middle (see P.Oxy. 1081,45). Alt. “But he showed his likeness as . . .” (T–S).

## NHC V 4,22–32

ε[βολ] ἡ|ψο[ρπ̄ ἡ]πια [†]ⲫποϣ·  
 [NEMNTEϣ OYψωψ] | ἡ[χρο]νος  
 MḠ ΠΗ ΕΤ̄Ρ Ψ[ΟΡ̄Π̄ ΕΡΟϣ  
 ἡ]<sup>25</sup>ο[ΥΟΕΙΝ·]  
 εϣḠΜΜΕ ΕΡΟϣ ΑΝ [ἡΨΟΡ̄Π̄· ΑΛΛΑ]  
 | [NEMN OYO]ειψ εϣε  
 ἡΝΑ[†ψωπε· εϣ]| [ἡΖΗΤϣ  
 ἡΟ]ΥΟΕΙψ NIM· [αϣω  
 ψαρεζοῖ] |[NE MEE]ϣε χε  
 εϣωη[ψ ο]Υ[βηϣ αν ζἡ] | [†τσομ·  
 MḠNC]ωϣ αϣοϣων[ζ̄ εβολ]<sup>30</sup>  
 [7±]· NH ε[†]ἡΝΑ [5±] | [ . . .  
 MḠ]ḠϣΑ ΔΕ ΖἡΝ ϣ[8±] | [ . . . . .  
 ἡΑ]ΥΤΟΓΕΝΗ [C 10±]

before] | Unbegotten. He was not  
 equal] | [in age] with the one [before  
 him, who is]<sup>25</sup> [light,] since he did  
 not know him [at first. But] | [there  
 was no] time when he was [non-  
 existent, since he was] | always [in  
 him. And some] | [think] that he is  
 [not] equal [to him in] | [power.  
 Afterward] he revealed<sup>30</sup> [ . . . ],  
 who [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] And then in  
 [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] self-begotten [ . . . ]

## NHC III 75,9–15

οϣζι<sup>10</sup>σοχρονος μεν πε  
 ἡπετza | τεϣζη·  
  
 ΑΛΛΑ ἡϣωηψ οϣβηϣ | αν ζἡ  
 τσομ· MḠNCωϣ αϣοϣ|ωνz εβολ  
 ἡοϣμḠηψε ἡαν|τοπος  
 ἡαϣτογενηc ἡζιcο<sup>15</sup>χρονος

<sup>10</sup> He is indeed of equal age with the  
 one who is before | him,

but he is not equal to him | in power.  
 Afterward he revealed | many  
 confronting, | self-begotten ones,  
 equal in age<sup>15</sup> (and)

*Eug-V:*

4,22–23 ἡψο[ρπ̄ ἡ-], “[before]”: The context requires that the Coptic be understood relationally, although normally it would be construed temporally.

4,24–25 “him . . . [light]”: See P.Oxy. 1081,49–50 for a reconstruction of the Greek. ἡ ψ[ΟΡ̄Π̄ ΕΡΟϣ], “[before]”: See note to 4,22–23.

4,25–27 The reconstruction of these lines is somewhat conjectural, since only the central portion remains in the MS and there are no parr. The reconstruction of the second lacuna in line 25 may be two letters too long.

4,30 Superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

## NHC III 99,10–16

## BG 91,13–92,2

ΝΕΙΩΤ ΟΥΖΙΟΧΡΟ | ΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ  
{ζ}ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΖΑ | ΤΕΦΕΖΗ

ΝΕΙΩΤ | ΟΥΖΙΟΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ  
ΠΕ <sup>15</sup> ΜΠΕΤΖΑ ΤΕΦΕΖΗ ΝΝΟΥ | ΟΪΝ

ΑΛΛΑ ΝΨΩΨ ΝΜΜΑΨ | ΔΝ ΖΝ  
ΤΣΟΜ' ΜΝΝΨΩΨ ΔΕ ΑΨΟΥ | ΩΝΖ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΜΗΨΕ  
ΝΔΝ <sup>15</sup> ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ  
ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν | ΖΙΟΧΡΟΝΟΣ

ΑΛΛ<Α> ΨΩΨ ΟΥΒΗΨ ΔΝ | ΖΝ  
ΤΣΟΜ ΜΝΝΨΩΨ ΔΕ | ΑΨΟΥΩΝΖ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΑ  
ΤΟ ΝΑΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕ | ΝΗΣ  
ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΙΟΧΡΟΝΟ`C' |

4B

<sup>10</sup> Father. He is indeed of equal age  
| <with> the Light that is before |  
him,

Father. | He is indeed of equal age <sup>15</sup>  
with the one before him, who is  
light,

but he is not equal to him | in power.  
And afterward was revealed | a  
whole multitude of confronting, <sup>15</sup>  
self-begotten ones, | equal in age

| but he is not equal to him | in  
power. And afterward | was  
revealed a  
whole multitude of confronting,  
self-begotten ones, | equal in age

92

## SJC-III:

99,11 Not emended by T-S (“in the light”).

## SJC-BG:

91,15 “with . . . light”: “with that from the lights, which is before him” (T-S).  
ΝΝΟΥΟΪΝ is most likely an attributive. The doubling of Ν before ΟΥ is a frequent  
practice in BG (T-S: 21). See P.Oxy. 1081,49–50 for a reconstruction of the  
Greek.

## NHC V 5,1-9

ē [ 8± ]Υω[ 9± ]N̄ | [ 7± zN̄]N εο[ΟΥ  
 N̄N]α†† ηπε | [εροοϋ' NH] ετε  
 ψαγ[† PAN] εροοϋ' | [χε  
 †ΓΕΝΕ]α' N̄NATP̄ P̄[PO] εzραϊ  
 εχωc<sup>5</sup> [N̄zραϊ zN̄  
 NIM]N̄TTP̄P̄ω[ΟΥ] εTKH εzραϊ

| [πιατο] Δ[ε τ]HΡq̄ N̄TE NIA TP̄  
 P̄PO εzραϊ | [εχω]ΟΥ' ψαγ† PAN  
 εροοϋ χε N̄|[ψHP]ε N̄TE  
 ΠΙΑΤΜICE M̄N ΠIΠ̄P̄PE | [εB]OΛ  
 M̄MOQ OYAAQ'

- 5 [...] | [...] in] glory (and)  
 numberless, | [are those] who are  
 [called] | ["The Generation] That Is  
 Kingless<sup>5</sup> [Among the] Kingdoms  
 That Exist."

| [And the] whole [multitude] of  
 kingless | ones are called | "[Sons]  
 of Unbegotten and Him Who | Put  
 Forth Himself."

## NHC III 75,15-23

N̄ZICODYNAMIC EY|za εOOU  
 EM̄NTOY HPE' EΨAY|MOYTE  
 EPOOY XE TΓENEa E|TE M̄N  
 M̄NTTP̄PO ZIXΩC N̄zPAI | zN̄  
 M̄M̄NTTP̄PAI ETKH εzPAI

PMH<sup>20</sup>HΨE ΔE THPq̄ M̄PMA ETE  
 M̄N | M̄NTTP̄PO ZIXΩC ψAYXOOC  
 E|POOY XE N̄ΨHP  
 N̄ΠΑΓΕΝNH | TOC N̄EIOY'

- power, being | in glory and without  
 number, who are called | "The  
 Generation over Whom | There Is  
 No Kingdom among | the Kingdoms  
 That Exist."

And the whole multitude<sup>20</sup> of the  
 place over which there is no |  
 kingdom is called | "Sons of  
 Unbegotten | Father."

*Eug-V:*

5,3 Translation assumes the second half of a cleft sentence begins here.

5,4 The punctuation is not a stop but seems to be a way of dealing with a Greek attributive adjective in the second position. Note that the parr. use a relative. See also 17,14-15 and 7,10 (related).



## NHC III 99,16–100,4

## BG 92,3–16

ζΙ ΖΙСОΔΥΝΑΜΙC | ΕΥΖΑ  
 ΕΟΟΥ ΕΜΝΤΟΥ ΗΠΕ´  
 ΕΨΑΥ|ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΕΥΓΕΝΟC  
 ΧΕ ΤΓΕΝΕ|Α´ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΜΝΤΡΡΟ  
 ΖΙΧΩC  
 † ε<sup>20</sup>ΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΝΖ  
 Ν|ΖΗΤΩ ΖΩΤΗΘΟΥΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 ΝΙ|ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ´†  
 ΠΜΗΨΕ | ΔΕ ΤΗΡΩ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΕ  
 ΜΝ ΜΝΤ|ΡΡΟ ΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ  
 ΕΡΟ  
 ΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΑΓ[ΕΝΝ]ΗΤΟC |  
 ΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠC[ΩΤ]ΗΡ | ΨΗΡΕ  
 <Μ>ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ | ΠΕΦΕΙΝΕ  
 ΝΜΜΗΤΝ

and power, | being in glory (and)  
 without number, whose race is called  
 | ‘The Generation | over Whom  
 There Is No Kingdom’  
 † from the one <sup>20</sup> in whom you  
 yourselves have appeared | from  
 these | men. †  
 And that whole multitude | over  
 which there is no | kingdom is called  
 100 ‘Sons of Unbegotten | Father,  
 God, [Savior], | Son of God,’ |  
 whose likeness is with you.

ΝΖΙCΟΔΥΝΑΜΟC ΕΥΖΑ Ε|ΟΟΥ  
 ΕΜΝΤΕΥ ΗΠΕ ΠΑΪ Ε<sup>5</sup>ΤΕ  
 ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΕΥΓΕ|ΝΟC ΧΕ  
 ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ | ΜΝΤΡΡΟ  
 ΖΪΧΩC  
 ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑ|ΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΖΗ|ΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΝ ΝΙΡΩΜΕ <sup>10</sup>  
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕ | ΜΝ ΜΝΤΡΡΟ  
 ΖΪΧΩΩ ΨΑ<Υ>|ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ<Ω>  
 ΧΕ ΠΑΓΕΝΗ|ΤΟC  
  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠCΩΤΗΡ | ΝΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ <sup>15</sup> ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΑΩ ΕΙΝΕ  
 ΝΜ|ΜΗΤΝ

| and power, being in | glory without  
 number. <sup>5</sup> His race is called | ‘The  
 Generation | over Whom There Is  
 No | Kingdom.’  
 It is in this (race) that | you  
 appeared. And by these men  
  
<sup>10</sup> of the place over which | there is  
 no kingdom, <he> is called |  
 ‘Unbegotten,  
 | God, Savior | of the Sons of God,  
<sup>15</sup> He Who Has No Likeness |  
 among You.’

SJC-III:

100,3 MS has Ν (not emended by T-S).

SJC-BG:

92,11–12 MS has ΨΑΩΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ (active instead of passive).

## NHC V 5,9–21

ΠΙΑΤΣΟΥΩΝῶ <sup>10</sup> ΔΕ ΕΥΜΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖῆΝ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ ἸΑΤ|ΤΑΚΟ Μῆ  
 ΟΥΡΩΕ ἸΝΑΤΨΑΧΕ | Ε[ΡΟ]Υ·  
 Ε[Τ]ΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΝΕΚΚΕΩΗΡΕ | ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΠΙΜΤΟΝ ΖΡΑΪ | ἸΖΗΤῶ·  
 ΕΥΡΩΕ ΕΥΜΗΝ Ζῆ <sup>15</sup> ΠΕΥΕΟΟΥ·  
 ἸΝΑΤΨΙΒΕ Μῆ ΠΙΤΕ | ΛΗΛ ἸΝΑΤΨ  
 ΨΙ ΕΡΟΥ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ Μ|ΠΟΥΣΩΤΕΜ  
 ΕΡΟΥ ΕΝΕΖ· ΟΥΤΕ  
 Μ|ΠΟΥΣΟΥΩΝῶ ΖΡΑΪ Ζ<Ἰ>  
 {Π}ΚΟΣΜΟΣ | ΝΙΜ ἸΤΑΥ Μῆ  
 ΝΕΥΑΙΩΝ [·

Ε]ΒΟΛ <sup>20</sup> ΔΕ Ζῆ ΠΕΪΠΙΡΕ ΕΒΟ[Λ]  
 ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΑΑΥ | Α[ΣΠ]ΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ

Now the Unknowable <sup>10</sup> is full of  
 every imperishable glory | and  
 ineffable joy. | Therefore all his sons  
 also | have rest | in him, ever  
 rejoicing in <sup>15</sup> their unchanging  
 glory and the | measureless  
 jubilation that was | never heard of  
 or | known among all their | worlds  
 and aeons.

<sup>20</sup> Now from Him Who Put Forth  
 Himself | came forth

*Eug-V:*

5,13 Third and fourth letters: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

5,14 First two letters: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

5,18 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna. MS has ῆ.

*Eug-III:*

76,1 K translates “[remains] always incorruptible,” apparently restoring [ΜΗΝ Ε]ΒΟΛ.  
 Tr translates “And the unknowable [is] in every imperishableness and in ineffable  
 joy.” For ΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ as “ever,” see Crum: 235a.

76,2 T-S restores [ΙΑ] and [Ο] only. Tr restores [ΙΑ ΑΥΩ Ο]. K has “in” (Ζῆ) for  
 Μῆ.

## NHC III 75,23–76,12

ἸΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΙΑΤΝΟΕΙ  
 ΜΜΟΥ ΕΥ[ΜΗΖ Ε]ΒΟΛ ἸΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ |  
 ἸΑΦΕΑΡΣΙ·Α [Μῆ Ο]ΥΡΩΕ  
 ἸΑΤΨΑ|ΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ ἸΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΥΜΤΟΝ | ΜΜΟΥ ἸΖΗΤῶ· ΕΥΜΗΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ <sup>5</sup> ΕΥΡΩΕ Ζῆ ΟΥΡΩΕ  
 ἸΑΤ{Τ}ΨΑΧΕ | ΕΡΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧῆ  
 ΠΕΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΥ|ΨΙΒΕ Μῆ  
 ΠΤΕΛΗΛ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΥΨΙΤῶ· | ΠΑΪ  
 ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΣΟΤΜΕΥ ΕΝΕΖ ΟΥ|ΔΕ  
 ΜΠΟΥΝΟΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ Ζῆ ΝΑΙΩΝ <sup>10</sup>  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ Μῆ ΝΕΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ·  
 ΑΥΩ | Ζῶ ΨΑ ΠΕΕΙΜΑ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ  
 ἸΝΕΝ|ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΙΑΠΙΡΟΝ·

Now the Unknowable  
 [is] ever [full] | of imperishableness  
 [and] ineffable joy. | They all are at  
 rest | in him, <sup>5</sup> ever rejoicing in  
 ineffable joy | over the unchanging  
 glory | and the measureless  
 jubilation | that was never heard or |  
 known among all the aeons <sup>10</sup> and  
 their worlds.

But | this much is enough, lest we |  
 go on endlessly.

NHC I  
 ο[ς]  
 ο[ς] ΔΕ ΠΕ  
 ΕΜΕΖ ΝΕΟΟΥ  
 ΠΑΦΕ ΝΑΤΨΑ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΥΜΗΝ Ε  
 ΕΥΡΩΕ ΝΑΤ  
 ΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΕ Μ  
 ΕΤΕ ΜΕ  
 ΠΟΥΣΟΤΜΕΥ Ε  
 ΠΟΥΝΟΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ  
 Μῆ ΝΕΥΚΟΣ  
 ΠΟΥ

7[6]  
 Verbe-<sup>5</sup> is the Un  
 full of every imp  
 ineffable joy. |  
 rest in him, <sup>10</sup> ever  
 ineffable joy | in his  
 joy | and measure  
 was never heard  
 among all the aeons  
 and now.”

## NHC III 100,4–16

## BG 92,16–93,12

ἦτοϋ <sup>5</sup> δε πε πατῆρνοει ἄμοϋ |  
 εϋμεζ ἦεοοϋ nim ἦαφθαρ|τον  
 ζι ραψε ἦατψαχε εροϋ |  
 ἦτοοϋ τηροϋ σεῖτον ἄ|μοοϋ  
 ἦζητῆ· εϋμην εβολ <sup>10</sup> εϋραψε  
 ζἦ οϋραψε ἦατψα|χε εροϋ ζἄ  
 πεϋεοοϋ ετε μεϋ|ψιβε μἦ  
 πτεληλ ετε μεϋ|ψιτῆ· παῖ  
 ἄποϋσοτμεῦ ε|νεζ οϋδε  
 ἄποϋνοει ἄμοϋ <sup>15</sup> ζἦ αἰων  
 nim· μἦ νεϋκοϋ|μοϋ ψα  
 τενοϋ·

ἦτοϋ δε πιατνοῖ | ἄμοϋ εϋμηνζ  
 ἦνεοοϋ | nim ζῖ μἦταττακο ζῖ  
 ραψε νατψαχε εροϋ | ἦτοοϋ ϣΓ  
 δε τηροϋ σεῖ|τον ἄμοοϋ  
 ἦζητῆ εϋ|μην εϋραψε ζἦ  
 οϋρα <sup>5</sup>ψε ἦατψαχε εροϋ ζἄ |  
 πεϋεοοϋ ετε μεϋψι|βε μἦ  
 πτεληλ ετε μαϋ|ψιτῆ παῖ ετε  
 ἄποϋ|σοτμεϋ ενεζ οϋδε ὀ <sup>10</sup>  
 ἄποϋνοῖ ἄμοϋ ζἦ <ἦ>αἰ|ων  
 τηροϋ μἦ νεϋκοϋ|μοϋ ψα  
 τενοϋ

Now he <sup>5</sup> is the Unknowable, | who  
 is full of every imperishable glory |  
 and ineffable joy. | They all are at  
 rest | in him, <sup>10</sup> ever rejoicing in  
 ineffable joy | in his unchanging  
 glory | and measureless jubilation; |  
 this was never heard | or known <sup>15</sup>  
 among all the aeons and their worlds  
 | until now.”

Now the Unknowable | is full of  
 every glory | and imperishableness  
 and  
 ineffable joy. | And they all are at  
 rest | in him, | ever rejoicing in  
 ineffable joy <sup>5</sup> in | his unchanging  
 glory | and the measureless  
 jubilation | that was | never heard or  
 even <sup>10</sup> known among all the aeons |  
 and their worlds | until now.”

93

## SJC - III:

100,8 A probably random drop of ink is above the second  $\mu$ .

## SJC - BG:

92,18 Corr.: first  $\iota$  for partly erased  $\tau$ .

## NHC V 5,21–27

## NHC III 76,13–17

ἄλλο κἄρχη ἐβολ | [ἄπειρα] πρ  
 οὔσα μῆμονογενῆς | [ἄψαχε]  
 πάντως·

| κἄρχη ἄσοῦν τε ταῖ· ἐβολ  
 ζι|τοοτῆ μῆ<αῦτο> γεννητος

πῆ γα[ρ εταχ]|ο[γῶνζ] ἐβολ  
 ζαθῆ μῆπτηρῆ<sup>25</sup> ζῆ [πῆων  
 ἄτῆαρηχῆ πιωτ [ετ]|†[οῦω  
 ἐβολ] μῆμοῦ οὔσα· ετ[ε] |  
 [ἄ]ρχη[·]

περογειτ<sup>15</sup> ἄταοῦωνζ ζαθῆ  
 μῆπτηρῆ· | ζῆ παπεραντον  
 οὔαῦτοφῦ|ης πε  
 ἄαυτοκτικτος ἄειωτ<sup>1</sup>

another principle | [from his] Only-  
 begotten, Wholly Unique | [Word;]

| This is another knowledge  
 principle from | <Self->begotten.

for it is [in] him [who] | [appeared]  
 before the universe<sup>25</sup> [in the] infinite  
 [aeon], the Father | [Who Put Forth]  
 Himself, who [is] | [the] principle  
 (or beginning),

The First<sup>15</sup> who appeared before the  
 universe | in infinity is Self-grown, |  
 Self-constructed Father,

*Eug-V:*

5,22 First three letters after the lacuna: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

5,22–33 See 17,11.

5,23 [ἄψαχε], “[Word]”: or [ἄψηρε], “[Son]”; see III,2 (*Gos. Eg.*) 68,25–26 (περ-  
 ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΝΗΣ ἄψηρε). The next sentence makes the reconstruction in the text  
 more likely.

πάν: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

5,24 ολ: see Emmel, 1979: 183.

*Eug-III:*

76,13 “knowledge principle from”: “beginning of knowledge. Through” (K & Tr).

76,14 “<self->begotten”: “unbegotten” (K); Tr does not emend but translates  
 “unbegotten.” Support for my emendation: 82,13–14 and V 5,20.

76,14–16 Both K & Tr have a comma after “-begotten” and a grammatical break after  
 “infinity.”

NHC III 100,16–101,1

BG 93,12–94,2

πεχαϗ | ναϗ ἄβι μαῦθαιος χε  
 πχο|εις πσωτηρ' πως απρωμε  
 | ουωνη εβολ' πεχε πτελι<sup>20</sup>ος  
 ἄσωτηρ' χε †ουωψ |  
 ετρετῆιμε χε  
 πενταϗ | ουωνη ζαθη ἄπτηρη'  
 ζῆ | παπεραντον πιαυτοφῆς  
 πα ἄαυτοκτιστος ἄειω†

πεχαϗ | ναϗ ἄβι μαῦθαιος χε |  
 πως αϗουωνη εβολ ἄ<sup>15</sup>βι  
 πρωμε πεχαϗ ἄβι | πτελιος  
 ἄσωτηρ χε †|ουωψ  
 ετρετῆιμε | χε  
 πενταϗουωνη ζατε|ζη ἄπτηρη'  
 ζῆ παπεραν<sup>20</sup>τον  
 παυτοφῆς ναυτοκτισ|τος  
 ἄειω†

4Δ

101 Matthew said | to him: “Lord, |  
 Savior, how was Man revealed?” |  
 The perfect <sup>20</sup> Savior said: “I want |  
 you to know that  
 he who | appeared before the  
 universe in | infinity, Self-grown,  
 Self-constructed Father,

Matthew said | to him: | “How was  
 Man revealed?” <sup>15</sup> The perfect |  
 Savior said: “I | want you to know |  
 that  
 he who appeared before | the  
 universe in <sup>20</sup> infinity,  
 Self-grown, Self-constructed |  
 Father,

94

SJC-III:

100,21 Corr.: first  $\kappa$  for a  $\gamma$  (?);  $\pi$  for erased  $\kappa$ .

SJC-BG:

93,13 Corr.: an  $\iota$  is erased immediately after  $\epsilon$ .

NHC V 5,27-6,5

NHC III 76,18-77,1

π[η] ετε πψα[χ]ε ψο[οη] |  
 [N̄ZHT]q̄·  
 εφμεζ εβολ ἡογοε[IN] | [εφ̄  
 ογ]οειν ἡ[N]α†[ψα]χ[ε εροϋ·]  
 | <sup>30</sup> [N̄TAPXH] δε εφμεε[YE  
 ετρε] |[πεφειν ]ε ψωπ[ε  
 ἡογνος ἡσοM ἡ]  
 5 ο[ΥΟΕΙΝ εφ̄] ογ[οειν 9± ] |  
 ἡ†ογ[νοϋ πιρ ]ωM[ε ετε  
 ογΑΡΧΗ ΠΕ ] | ἡτε [πογο]ειν  
 ετ̄M̄M̄A [Υ αφοωνῆ M̄] | ΠΙΕΩΝ  
 ἡ[ζο]ογ†ςζῑ M[ε ἡNATMOY·  
 †] <sup>5</sup> M̄N̄†ζοο[Υ†] ΜΕΝ ψ[αΥ† ΡΑΝ  
 ΕΡΟC]

that the Word | dwells,  
 full of shining, | [ineffable] light. <sup>30</sup>  
 And [in the beginning,] when he  
 took thought | [to have] | [his  
 likeness] become [a great power of]  
 [6] [shining light . . . ] | [immediately  
 Man, who is the principle (*or*  
 beginning)] | of that [light, appeared  
 as] | the androgynous [immortal]  
 aeon.  
 [The] <sup>5</sup> maleness [is called]

| εφχHK εβολ ζM̄ πογοειν  
 ετ̄ροϋ|οειν ἡατψαχε εροϋ  
 παϊ αϋνο <sup>20</sup>ει ἡTAPXH  
 ετρεπεφεινε ψω|πε ἡογνος  
 ἡσοM· ἡτεγνοϋ | αTAPXH  
 M̄πογοειν ετ̄M̄M̄AΥ | οϋωνζ  
 εβολ ἡογρωμε ἡαθα|νατοC  
 ἡζοογ†ςζιμε·  
 πεφραν  
 M̄M̄N̄Tζ[οογ† ψαγχο]οC εροϋ

[oz]

| and is full of shining, ineffable  
 light. | In the beginning, he decided  
<sup>20</sup> to have his likeness become | a  
 great power. Immediately, | the  
 principle (*or* beginning) of that light  
 | appeared as Immortal |  
 Androgynous Man. His male name  
 is

[77]

*Eug-V:*

5,27-29 The left side of the text reflects fragment placements made by Stephen Emmel on August 8, 1977, at the Coptic Museum, Cairo, which are not included in the facsimile edition. The fragments are those numbered 1 and 40 in the facsimile edition.

6,3 Second superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

76,19-20 "In . . . become": "This one comprehended ("perceived"—K) the ἀρχή, so that his appearance became" (T-S, K [similar] & Tr).

76,23 "appeared as" (so also T-S, alt. & Tr): "revealed" (T-S, alt. & K).

NHC III 101,1-8

BG 94,2-11

εϕ|χΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ  
 ΕΤ̄ΡΟΥ|ΘΕΙΝ ΕΥΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΠΕ | ΕΑΦΝΟΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΡΧΗ  
 ΕΤΡΕΠΕϕ<sup>5</sup>ΕΙΝΕ ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΟΥΝΟΣ  
 Ν̄ΟΜ' | Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΤΑΡΧΗ  
 Μ̄ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ | ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΟΥΩΝΖ  
 Ν̄ΟΥΡΩΜΕ | Ν̄ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ  
 Ν̄ΖΟΥΤ̄ΣΙΜΕ

εϕχΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ | Μ̄ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤ̄  
 ΟΥΘΕΙΝ | ΕΟΥΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΠΕ  
 Εϕ<sup>5</sup>ΝΟΪ ΝΤΑΡΧΗ ΕΤΡΕΠΕϕΕΙ | ΝΕ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΟΜ |  
 ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ  
 ΝΤΑΡΧΗ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΥΕΙΤ Ν̄<sup>10</sup>ΡΩΜΕ  
 Ν̄ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ Ν̄|ΖΟΥΤ̄ΣΙΜΕ

being full | of shining light | and  
 ineffable, | in the beginning, when  
 he decided to have his <sup>5</sup> likeness  
 become a great power, | immediately  
 the principle (*or* beginning) | of that  
 light appeared as Immortal |  
 Androgynous Man,

being full | of shining light | and  
 ineffable, <sup>5</sup> in the beginning, when  
 he decided to have his likeness |  
 come to be in a great power, |  
 immediately the light | of that  
 principle (*or* beginning) | appeared  
 in a first <sup>10</sup> immortal | androgynous  
 man,

---

**SJC-III:**

101,4-5 “in . . . become”: “when he comprehended the ἀρχή, so that his appearance became” (T-S).

101,7 “appeared as” (so also T-S, alt.): “revealed” (T-S, alt.).

**SJC-BG:**

94,5-6 “in . . . power”: “(he) comprehends the ἀρχή, so that his appearance comes in great power” (T-S).

## NHC V 6,6–11

| χε ᾰπ'νοϋς ἡρεϣϣπϣ  
 [ε]ϣϣω[κ εβολ] | ἡμοϣ οϣααϣ'  
 τεϣμἡϣζἰ [με δε χε] |  
 †εἰννοια τα νισοφια, †ηροϣ  
 [†ρεϣ]| ϣπο ἡτε νισοφια'

ϣαϣ† ϣ[η ε]ρ[οϣ] <sup>10</sup> χε τμε'  
 επιδη σεϣηϣ ζἡ τσαμ | ἡἡ  
 νεϣϣορἡ ἡειοτε

| “Begetter Mind Who Perfects |  
 Himself.” [And] his femaleness (is  
 called) | “Thought, She of All  
 Wisdoms, Begettress | of the  
 Wisdoms.”

[She] is called <sup>10</sup> “Truth,”—since  
 they are equal in power | with their  
 forebears

## NHC III 77,2–6

| χε πεϣ[πο πνοϣς ετ]ϣηκ  
 εβολ' | πεϣραἡ [δε  
 ἡἡἡ]†εζιμε πανσο|φοϣ  
 σοφια ἡγενετειρα'  
 σεϣω <sup>5</sup> ἡμοϣ εροϣ οη χε  
 εσεινε ἡπεϣ|σον αϣω  
 πεϣϣνζϣγοϣ'

| “[Begotten,] Perfect [Mind].”  
 | And his female name (is) “All-wise  
 | Begettress Sophia.”

It is also said <sup>5</sup> that she resembles  
 her | brother and her consort.

*Eug-V:*

6,6 The unusual stroke over π indicates that the letter, written above the line, should be inserted (see 6,24; 7,17 [insertion from the margin]; 28,8.22). Although the stroke seems to continue to the left of the letter in the MS, the line is almost certainly the result of the bleeding of the ink along a papyrus fiber.

Second superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

77,2 πεϣ[πο: “Begotten”: “the . . . [nous]” (πεν[οϣς) (K). The form of the Coptic article suggests a noun with two initial consonants, and the trace of the first letter suggests ϣ rather than η. Tr restores πεϣ[οεις, “the [Lord.” Support for my reconstruction: 82,14–15; V 10,20–21.

77,6–8 “consort . . . truth”: “consort, a truth against which there is no contention; for as to the lower truth, the error that is with it” (K & Tr). Line 7 is not emended by Tr.



NHC III

BG

## NHC V 6,11–14

ετε ν̄τοϛ τε | †μ̄ν̄τμε ν̄νατ̄ρ  
 म̄ल̄[३] εϛ[ϛοοϛ]ν̄ μ̄|μοϛ  
 ν̄ζητ̄ϛ ζ̄μ̄ πετ̄ζηπ̄· εϛ̄ν̄ταϛ |  
 ν̄†π̄λανη εϛ† εζραϊ̄ εχωϛ·

—who is | indisputable truthfulness,  
 [knowing] | herself within herself in  
 secret, and having | error fighting  
 against her.

## NHC III 77,6–9

οϛ|μ̄νε ε{γ}μεϛ† ν̄μμαϛ τε·  
 τμη|ε γαρ μ̄πεϛη† ψαϛ† ν̄μμαϛ  
 | ν̄βι τεπ̄λανη ετ̄ν̄μμαϛ

| She is uncontested truth; | for here  
 below error, which exists with truth,  
 | contests it.

*Eug-V:*

6,12 εϛ[ϛοοϛ]ν̄: The space in the lacuna seems sufficient for only three letters. One must assume therefore that the scribe either wrote very small or omitted something. Although the facsimile edition makes it appear that the final letter could be an ε, ultraviolet examination suggests that ν is more likely.

εταϛ εβοα  
 εμ̄αγ ν̄θανα  
 ετε ν̄πεγδατ̄  
 ενα ν̄ν τ̄βγε ζιπ  
 εμ̄ν̄μεϛηϛ ν̄  
 ετ̄ν̄μητ̄ν̄  
 εμ̄ν̄τηκε ν̄ν̄  
 εϛ̄ϛν̄ζγϛ δ  
 εμ̄φια ν̄ταγτ̄  
 εϛ̄ρη ν̄ρατ̄ ν̄  
 εμ̄ | πατ̄ογεν̄

εα through that  
 εμ̄ might attain |  
 εμ̄ awake | from fo  
 εμ̄ the interpre  
 εμ̄ who | is with  
 εμ̄ the poverty of  
 εμ̄ consort is the  
 εμ̄ from the first  
 εμ̄ for union by  
 εμ̄

εμ̄  
 εμ̄ unaccount  
 εμ̄  
 εμ̄ through  
 εμ̄ has q (activ

NHC III 101,9–19

BG 94,11–95,4

| χεκαας εβολ ζιτῆ πῖρωμε <sup>10</sup>  
 ετῆμαγ ἄθανατος εγε† |  
 ματε ἄπευχαῖ ἄσενηφε |  
 εβολ ζῆ τῶψε ζιτῆ  
 φερμη|νευθς ἄταυτῆνοουϷ·  
 παῖ | ετῆμῆτῆ ψα πῶκ εβολ  
<sup>15</sup> ἄτῆμῆτῆκε ἄῆσοone·  
 τεϷ|ςυζυγος δε τε τνος  
 ἄσο|φια· ἄταυτοϷ̄ χιν  
 ἄωορ† | ἄζραῖ ἄζητῆ εϷνουζῶ  
 ζιτῆ | παυτογενς ἄειω†

χεκαας ε|βολ ζῖτῆ πιατμοϷ  
 ε|τῆμαγ ἄρωμε εγε† με|τε  
 ἄπουχαῖ ἄσενηφε <sup>15</sup> εβολ ζῆ  
 τῶψε εβολ ζῖ|τῆ πρεϷωλ  
 ἄταυταοϷ|οϷ παῖ ετῆμῆτῆ  
 ψα | ζαε ἄτῆμῆτῆκε ἄῆσο|one  
 ετεϷωβεερε τε τ  
 σοφια τνος ἄτα<Ϸ>τοϷ̄ |  
 χινῆ ωορ† ἄζραῖ ἄζητ[Ϸ] |  
 εϷςυζυγια ζῖτῆ  
 πιαϷ|τογενς ἄειω†

Ϸ̄ε

| that through that Immortal <sup>10</sup> Man  
 they might attain | their salvation  
 and awake | from forgetfulness  
 through the interpreter | who was  
 sent, who | is with you until the end  
<sup>15</sup> of the poverty of the robbers. And  
 his | consort is the Great Sophia, |  
 who from the first was destined in  
 him | for union by | Self-begotten  
 Father,

that through | that Immortal | Man  
 they might attain | salvation and  
 awake <sup>15</sup> from forgetfulness through  
 | the interpreter who was sent, | who  
 is with you until <the> | end of the  
 poverty of the robbers, | since his  
 companion is  
 Sophia, the great one, | who from the **95**  
 first was destined in [him] | for  
 union by Self-begotten | Father.

SJC-III:

101,14 MS unaccountably has stroke over ω.

SJC-BG:

94,11–13 “through . . . attain”: “through this immortal one men might attain” (T-S).

95,1 MS has Ϸ (active instead of passive).

## NHC V 6,14–24

ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ <sup>15</sup> ΖΜ ΠΙΡΩΜΕ  
 ΝΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΒΙ ΠΡΑΝ  
 Ν†ΜΝ̄ΤΝΟ[Υ] | ΤΕ ΜΝ̄ †ΜΝ̄†ΧΟΕΙC  
 ΜΝ̄ ΟΥΜΝ̄ΤΡΡ[Ο] | ΜΝ̄ ΝΗ  
 Ε†ΜΝ̄Ν̄CΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄ ΝΑΪ̄ | ΠΗ  
 ΔΕ ΕΤΕΥ† ΡΑ[Ν] ΕΡΦ[Υ] ΧΕ  
 ΠΙΩ [†] <sup>20</sup> ΠΙΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΨΩΚ  
 ΟΥΕΙΩ† ΕΒΦ[Λ] | ΜΜ[Ο]Υ  
 ΕΤΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΠΑΪ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥ|ΧΠΟ  
 ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΝΑΔ ΝΝΕΩΝ̄

[ΠΡΟ]C Τ[Ε] | ΤΕ ΤΩΥ ΜΜ̄Ν̄ΤΝΑC̄  
 ΟΥΝ Φ[ΥΨΒΗΡ] | ΕΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΝ̄  
 ΟΥΖΩ`Τ̄`†

Now <sup>15</sup> from Immortal Man very  
 soon appeared | the name of divinity  
 | and lordship and kingdom | and  
 those that came afterward from  
 them. | And he who is called  
 “Father, <sup>20</sup> Man of the Depth, Self-  
 Father,” | when he revealed this,  
 created | a great aeon  
 [for] | his own majesty.  
 There is [a companion] | in  
 conjunction

## NHC III 77,9–17

ΕΒΟΛ <sup>10</sup> ΖΙΤΟΟΤῶ ΜΠΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ | ΑCΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ  
 ΟΥΟΝΟΜΑ|CΙΑ ΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΧΕ  
 ΜΝ̄ΤΝΟΥΤΕ | ΖΙ ΜΝ̄ΤΡΡΟ̄ ΠΙΩ†  
 ΓΑΡ ΕΨΑΥ|ΧΟΟC ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΥΤΟ <sup>15</sup> ΠΑΤΩΡ  
 ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΠΕΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ |  
 ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΝΟC ΝΑΙΩΝ

| ΠΡΟC ΤΕΦΜ̄Ν̄ΤΝΟC

Through <sup>10</sup> Immortal Man |  
 appeared the first designation, |  
 namely, divinity | and kingdom, for  
 the Father, who is | called “Self-  
 Father Man,” <sup>15</sup> revealed this. | He  
 created a great aeon

| for his own majesty.

*Eug-V:*

6,15–17 See endnote 4.

6,24 The stroke over τ: see 6,6n.

*Eug-III:*

77,11 “appeared . . . designation”: “first appeared a designation” (T–S, K [similar] & Tr).

77,16 Copt.: ΤΑΜΙΟ Ν for partly erased ΤΑΝΟ ΝΑΥ.

## NHC III 101,19–102,5

## BG 95,4–14

εβολ ζ̄μ̄<sup>20</sup> παθανατος̄ ἄρωμε  
 † ἄταφου|ωνζ εβολ ἄψορπ̄ ζι  
 μῆτνου|τε ζι μῆτ̄ρρο † πειω†  
 γαρ εψαγ  
 μογτε εροϋ χε πρωμε·  
 παγ|τοπατωρ αφουωνζ μ̄παϊ  
 ε|βολ αφταμιο ναϋ ἄογνος  
 ἄ|αιων

εβολ ζ̄ϊ<sup>5</sup>τ̄μ̄ πια τμοϋ ἄρωμε  
 αρα | † ανοϋωνζ εβολ ἄψορπ̄ |  
 {ἄ}ζ̄μ̄ μῆτνοϋτε ζ̄ϊ μῆτ̄ρ|ρο †  
 πειω† γαρ εψαγχοϋ | εροϋ χε  
 πρωμε παγτο<sup>10</sup>πατωρ {παϊ}  
 αφουωνζ <μ̄παϊ> ε|βολ  
 αφταμιο ναϋ νοϋ|νοϋ ναιων

επεφραν πε ζογδοαϋ  
<sup>5</sup> πρoς τεμῆτνοϋ

επεφραν πε | ζογδοαϋ  
 πρoς τεμῆτ|νοϋ

from <sup>20</sup> Immortal Man † who  
 appeared | as First and divinity and  
 kingdom, † | for the Father, who is  
 called ‘Man, Self-Father,’ | revealed  
 this. | And he created a great aeon, |

Through <sup>5</sup> Immortal Man, then, |  
 † we first appeared | in divinity and  
 kingdom, † | for the Father, who is  
 called | ‘Man, Self-<sup>10</sup> Father,’  
 revealed <this>. | And he created a |  
 great aeon,

whose name is Ogdoad,  
<sup>5</sup> for his own majesty.

whose name is | Ogdoad,  
 for his own majesty.

## SJC-III:

101,21 ζι: <ζ̄ἄ> (T–S sugg.), resulting in the following rendering: “From Immortal Man he appeared first <in> (?) divinity. . .” See endnote 4.

## SJC-BG:

95,7 Alt. {ἄζ} ἄμῆτνοϋτε, etc. (T–S), which results in the following rendering for lines 6 and 7: “we first revealed divinity and kingdom.” See endnote 4.

95,10 Not emended by T–S (“he appeared”). It may be that the Coptic translator mistook αὐτόν for αὐτός (see III 102,2).

## NHC V 6,24–31

εαϥ[† ναϥ ν̄οϥ]<sup>25</sup>ναϥ  
 ν̄νεζοϥγια · αϥρ̄ρ̄ρ̄[ο εζραϊ] |  
 [εχω]ϥ· εαϥωντ̄ ναϥ  
 ν̄ζεν]νοϥ|[τε] μ̄ν̄  
 ζεναρχαγγελ[οϥ ζε]ντβα[α  
 μ̄]| [μ̄ν]τα†† ηπε εροοϥ [εζραϊ  
 εϥ]ϣ̄μ̄ϣ[ε·]

| εβολ δε ζ̄μ̄ παϊ αϥρ̄[αρ]<χ>ι  
 ν̄δ̄! [†μ]ν̄[†τ]<sup>30</sup>[ν]οϥτε μ̄ν̄  
 †μ̄ν̄[†τ]χ̄αιϥ [μ̄ν̄ †μ̄ν̄τ]| [ρ̄]ρ̄ο·

to whom he [gave] <sup>25</sup> great authority.  
 He ruled | [over them], having  
 created [gods] | and archangels,  
 unnumbered | myriads [for] retinue.

| Now from him [originated] divinity  
<sup>30</sup> and lordship [and kingdom] | and

## NHC III 77,17–24

αϥ† ναϥ ν̄|οϥνος ν̄εζοϥγια ·  
 αϥρ̄ ρ̄ρο εζραϊ | εχ̄ν̄ ν̄ωντ̄  
 τηροϥ αϥωντ̄ <sup>20</sup> ναϥ  
 ν̄ζεννοϥτε μ̄ν̄  
 ζεναρχα† | γελοϥ μ̄ν̄  
 ζεναγγελοϥ ζεντβα | εμ̄ν̄τοϥ  
 ηπε· εζοϥν̄ εϥζϥη|ρεϥια

εβολ δε ζιτοοτ̄ μ̄πρωμε |  
 ετ̄μ̄μαϥ ασαρχεϥαι ν̄δ̄ι  
 τ̄μ̄ν̄τ|

He gave him | great authority, and  
 he ruled | over all creations. He  
 created <sup>20</sup> gods and archangels | and  
 angels, myriads | without number,  
 for retinue.

| Now through that Man | originated  
 divinity

*Eug-V:*

6,29 MS has **χ** (a common scribal error for **κ**).

6,29–31 The right side of the text reflects fragment placements made by Stephen Emmel on August 8, 1977, at the Coptic Museum, Cairo, which are not included in the facsimile edition. The fragments are those numbered 1 and 40 in the facsimile edition.

6,29–32 The left margin in the MS appears to have been shifted about one letter's width to the right, perhaps because of an imperfection in the sheet.

*Eug-III:*

77,23 T–S holds that the section found in *SJC* following ζϥηρηϥια is missing from *Eug-III* through homoioteleuton. However it seems more closely related to the *Sondergut* of *SJC* than to *Eug*.

NHC III 102,5-17

BG 95,14-96,8

αγ† ναϥ | ἴοϥνοϑ  
 ἴεζοϥσια αϥῤ ῤρο | εϥῃ  
 πϥωνῤ ἴτμῃτῤζηκε | αϥϥωνῤ†  
 ναϥ ἴζεννοϥτε | μῃ  
 ζεναγγελοϑ <μῃ>  
 ζεναρχαῖ 10 γελοϑ ζεντβα  
 εμῃτοϥ ηπε | εϥῃμῃϥε  
 εβολ ζῃ ποϥοειν | ετῃμαγ μῃ  
 πεῤῃνα ἴψῃῃτῤ ἴζοοϥ† ετε  
 πα τϥο|φια πε τεϥϥυνζγϥοϑ  
 ε15βολ γαρ ζῃ πεεινοϥτε  
 αϥ|αρχεϥθαι ἴβι  
 τμῃ<τ>νοϥτε | μῃ τμῃτῤῤρο

He was given | great authority, and  
 he ruled | over the creation of  
 poverty. | He created gods | and  
 angels <and> archangels, <sup>10</sup> myriads  
 without number | for retinue  
 from that Light | and the | tri-male  
 Spirit, which is that of Sophia, | his  
 consort.

<sup>15</sup> For from this God originated |  
 divinity | and kingdom.

αϥ† δε ναϥ ἴνοϥνοϑ <sup>15</sup>  
 νεζοϥσια αϥῤ ῤρο εζραι | εϥῃ  
 ἴϥωνῤ ἴτμῃτῤζη|κε αϥϥωνῤ†  
 ναϥ ἴζῃνοϥ|τε μῃ ζῃαγγελοϑ  
 μῃ ζῃ|αρχιαγγελοϑ ζῃτβα εμῃ  
 τεϥ ηπε εϥῃμῃϥε  
 ε|βολ ζῃ ποϥοῖν ετῃ|μαγ μῃ  
 πεῤῃνα ἴψῃῃτῤ|ζοοϥ† ετε παῖ  
 πε πα τ<sup>5</sup>ϥοφια τεϥῃβεερε  
 ε|βολ γαρ ζῃ πινοϥτε  
 αϥ|αρχεϥθαι ἴβι τμῃτνοϥ|τε  
 μῃ τμῃτῤῤρο

| And he gave him great <sup>15</sup> authority,  
 and he ruled | over the creations of  
 poverty. | He created gods | and  
 angels and | archangels, myriads  
 without  
 number for retinue  
 | from that Light | and the tri-male  
 Spirit, | that is, that of <sup>5</sup> Sophia, his  
 companion.

| For from this God originated |  
 divinity | and kingdom.

45

96

SJC-III:

102,7 Corr.: first  $\eta$  for  $\tau$ .

## NHC V 6,31–7,8

MÑ NH ETOYHZ [ÑCWOY'] | [ETB]E  
 [PAI'] AY† PAN E[POC XE PNOY]  
 [TE NTE NINOYT]E P[IXOEIC  
 NT]E | [NIXOEIC PIP]O NT[e  
 NIP]POY' | [AFOYWNZ DE E]BOLA  
 ZM [PA]I' NBI KE|[7±]. OC'  
 ET[E] OYPIHGH <sup>5</sup> [PE NTE NH  
 ET]AYW[PI]E MÑNCWQ'  
 | [OYN]TAQ DE NOYNOYC MÑ  
 OYEN|[NOIA ]

MÑ OYWQ' OYMEEYE DE | [MÑ]  
 OYCB[Ω] MÑ OYWOXNE'

those that follow [them]. |  
 [Therefore he] was  
 called ["God]  
 7 [of gods, Lord of] | [lords, King] of  
 kings." | [And] from [him appeared]  
 another | [ . . . ], who [is] the source  
<sup>5</sup> [of those who came] afterward. |  
 [Now he has] mind and [thought]

| and will, also thinking | [and  
 teaching] and counsel

## NHC III 78,1–8

NOYTE M[N TMNTPO' E]TBE PAI'  
 AY† | PÑQ XE PNOY[TE  
 NÑNOY]TE' PPO | NPPWOY'  
 PEZO[YEIT' N]POME

| TPIC TIC PE NÑ[E]TNAWPE' <sup>5</sup>  
 MÑNCANAI  
 OYNTAQ NZHTQ N|OYZIDION  
 NNOYC OYENNOIA'

N|ΘE ETE QO NMOC  
 OYENΘYMHIC | MÑ  
 OYΦRONHCIC OYLOGICMOC

[and kingdom]. Therefore he was |  
 called "God of gods," "King | of  
 kings." First Man | is "Faith" for  
 those who will come <sup>5</sup> afterward.

He has, within, | a unique mind  
 (and) thought—just as | he is it  
 (thought)—(and) reflecting | and  
 considering, rationality

*Eug-V:*

7,3 Third superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

7,4 The trace immediately following the first lacuna is compatible with the tail of an a or m.

*Eug-III:*

78,3–4 So restored by T–S (but superlinear stroke is omitted).

78,6–7 See endnote 5.

NHC III 102  
 ETE PAT AYMOY  
 NOYTE NINNOYT  
 PPOY PE <sup>20</sup> ZOY  
 NNTAQ MIMAY MPT  
 NOYCE NIZPAT NZHT  
 ENNOIA  
 ETE ETQO NMOC  
 OYENONHCIC OYEN  
 NOY  
 Therefore he | was ca  
 led "King of kings.  
 [78]  
 his unique mind  
 (and) thought—just as he  
 is it—(and) con  
 sidering, rationality,  
 See endnote 5.  
 See endnote 5.  
 See endnote 5.



NHC III 102,17–103,1

BG 96,8–18

ετβε παῖ ἀγ|μουτε εροϋ χε  
 πνουτε ἢ|ἢνουτε· πῆρο  
 ἢῆρωϋ πε <sup>20</sup> ζουειτ ἢρωμε

ἀγω ε|τβε παῖ ἀγςμοϋ εροϋ <sup>10</sup>  
 χε πνουτε ἢἢνουτε | ἀγω  
 πῆρο ἢἢερωϋ | πωῆπ ἢρωμε

εϋἢταϋ ἢ|μαϋ ἢπεϋζιδιον  
 ἢνοϋς | ἢζραῖ ἢζητῶ· ἢἢ  
 οϋεννοια  
 | ἢθε ετῶ ἢμοϋ  
 οϋφρονη|ςις οϋενῶμηςις  
 οϋλογι|  
 ϋμοϋ

οϋνταϋ | ἢμαϋ ζραῖ ἢζητῶ  
 ἢοϋ|νοϋς επωϋ πε ἢἢιν <sup>15</sup>  
 ἢμοϋ ἢἢ οϋεννοια  
 | ἢτζε ετῶ ἢμοϋ  
 οϋ|ενῶμηςις ἢἢ  
 οϋφρο|νηςις οϋμεεϋε

Therefore he | was called ‘God of |  
 gods,’ ‘King of kings.’ <sup>20</sup> First Man

And therefore | he blessed himself <sup>10</sup>  
 as ‘God of gods’ | and ‘King of  
 kings.’ | First Man

has | his unique mind, | within, and  
 thought | —just as he is it  
 (thought)— (and) considering, |  
 reflecting, rationality,

has, | within, a | mind, which is his  
 own, <sup>15</sup> and thought | —just as he is  
 it (thought)— | (and) reflecting and  
 considering, | thinking

---

SJC-III:

102,23 See endnote 5.

SJC-BG:

96,9 ἀγςμοϋ εροϋ, “he blessed himself”: <ἀγμοϋτε> εροϋ, “he <was called>”  
 (T-S sugg.); <ἀγςμοϋ> εροϋ, “he <was blessed>” (T-S sugg.). In the context,  
 self-benediction does not seem inappropriate.

96,16 See endnote 5.

## NHC V 7,8–18

ΜΝ | [ΠΗ Ε]†ΖΙΧ[ΝΝ] ΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ  
 ΜΝ ΟΥΣΟΜ <sup>10</sup> [Ζ]ΕΝΜΕΛ[ΟC]  
 ΝΤΕΛΙΟC · ΑΥΩ ΝΝΑ|ΤΜΟ[Υ·  
 ΚΑΤ]Δ ΔΕ †ΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ ΕΥ|ΨΗΨ  
 ΜΝ [Ν]Η Ε†ΝΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 | Κ[ΑΤ]Δ †C[ΟΜ] ΔΕ  
 CΕΨΒΒΙΝΟΥ†· Ν|ΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΩ†  
 ΟΥΕΙΩ† ΟΥΕ† <sup>15</sup> ΟΥΨΗΡΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΠΨΗΡΕ ΕΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ | †ΕΝΝΟΙΑ  
 <Δ>Ε ΕCΟΥΑΤΒ ΕΝΙΚΕΨΩ | ΞΠ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ  
 ΝΙΑΤ | ΧΠΟ· ΕΛΕ†ΜΟΝΑC

—even | [that which] is over  
counsel—

and power: <sup>10</sup> perfect and immortal  
 [attributes]. | Now [in respect to]  
 imperishableness, they are | [equal]  
 to [those] that resemble them. | But  
 [in respect to power], they are  
 different, just | as father differs from  
<sup>15</sup> son, and the son from thought, |  
 <and> the thought surpasses  
 everything else. | And in the (same)  
 way, among uncreated things, | the  
 monad

## NHC III 78,9–17

| ΜΝ ΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC · ΜΕΛΟC ΝΙΜ  
 Ε <sup>10</sup>ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝΤΕΛΙΟC ΝΕ  
 ΖΝΑΘΑΝΑ|ΤΟC ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ  
 ΤΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ CΕ|ΨΗΨ·  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΤCΟΜ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΔΙΑ |ΦΟΡΑ·  
 ΝΘΕ ΝΠΨΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΕΙΩ† |  
 ΕΥΨΗΡΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΨΗΡΕ  
 ΕΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ <sup>15</sup> ΑΥΩ ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ  
 ΕΠΨΩΧΠ ΝΘΕ Ν|ΤΑΕΙΨΡΠ  
 ΝΧΟΟC ΖΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟ|ΟΥ·  
 ΤΜΟΝΑC Ô ΝΨΟΡΠ

| and power. All the attributes <sup>10</sup>  
 that exist are perfect and immortal. |  
 In respect to imperishableness, they |  
 are indeed equal.

(But) in respect to power, there is a  
 difference, | like the difference  
 between father | and son, and son  
 and thought, <sup>15</sup> and the thought and  
 the remainder. As | I said earlier,  
 among the things that were created, |  
 the monad is first.

*Eug-V:*

7,10 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna. Punctuation: see 5,4n.

7,12 First word: see Emmel, 1979: 183 (line identified as 7,22 up).

7,16 MS has τ.

7,17 The stroke over χ: see 6,6n. χ is written in the left margin.

7,18 The F form of the nominal subject prefix of the present circumstantial is not found elsewhere in the codex; but see 29,6 for a similar form.

NHC III 103,1–10

BG 96,18–97,11

ΟΥΒΟΜ' ΜΕΛΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΥ|ΨΟΟΨ  
 ΖΗΤΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΕ ΔΥΩ |  
 ΖΕΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ |  
 ΤΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑ ΣΕΨΗΨ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥ<sup>5</sup>ΒΟΜ ΣΕΨΟΒΕ' ΝΘΕ  
 ΜΨΩΙΒΕ | ΝΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΕΥΨΗΡΕ'  
 <ΔΥΩ ΟΥΨΗΡΕ> ΕΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ' |  
 ΔΥΩ ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΕΨΩΧΠ ΝΘΕ |  
 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΕΙΡΨ ΨΡΠ ΝΧΟΟΥ ΖΝ |  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΟΥ ΤΜΟΝΑΣ  
 Ν<sup>10</sup>ΨΟΡΠ

ΜΝ | ΟΥΒΟΜ ΜΕΛΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ  
 [ΨΟΟΠ ΖΗΤΕΛ]ΙΟΝ ΝΕ  
 ΖΝ|[ΔΤΜΟΥ Ν]Ε ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ |  
 ΤΜΝΤΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΣΕΨΗΨ  
 | ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΒΟΜ ΣΕΨΟ<sup>5</sup>ΒΕ ΝΘΕ  
 ΜΨΩΙΒΕ ΝΟΥ|ΕΙΩΤ ΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ  
 ΟΥ|ΨΗΡΕ ΕΥΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΜΝ  
 ΟΥ|ΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΕΠΚΕΣΕΡΕΠΕ | ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΪΧΟΟΣ Ν<sup>10</sup>ΨΟΡΠ  
 ΤΜΟΝΑΣ ΖΝ Ν|ΨΡΠ ΝΧΠΟ ΔΝ

[qz]

103 power. All the attributes that exist | are perfect and | immortal. In respect to | imperishableness, they are indeed equal.

and | power. All the attributes that exist are [perfect] (and) | [immortal]. In respect to | imperishableness, they are indeed equal.

[97]

(But) in respect to <sup>5</sup> power, they are different, like the difference | between father and son, <and son> and thought, | and the thought and the remainder. As | I said earlier, among | the things that were created, the monad is <sup>10</sup> first.

| But in respect to power, they are different, <sup>5</sup> like the difference between | father and son, and | son and thought, and | thought and the remainder. | Now, as I said <sup>10</sup> earlier, the monad is not among the | first creations.

SJC-III:

103,6 Erroneous omission noted by T-S.

SJC-BG:

97,10 MS has just one stroke over the last two letters.

97,10–11 ΤΜΟΝΑΣ . . . ΔΝ, “the monad . . . creations”: T-S sees a textual corruption here and proposes that the text read ΤΜΟΝΑΣ ΝΨΟΡΠ or ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠ ΖΝ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΝΧΠΟ, “the monad is the first among the first creations” (omitting ΔΝ). T-S may be correct, but see V par.

## NHC V 7,18–28

αὐὸ †ΔΥΑΣ | ψαζραῖ  
 ε[ΝΙΑ]ΕΚΑΣ· ΝΙΑ ΕΚΑΣ ΔΕ <sup>20</sup>  
 ϛεῤαρ<χ>ι εζραῖ εχῆ |  
 ΝΙΑΝΨε· ΝΙΑΝΨε ΔΕ  
 ϛεῤαρ<χ>ει εζραῖ εχῆ |  
 ΝΙΑΝΨο· ΝΙΑΝΨο ΔΕ  
 ϛεῤαρ<χ>ει | [ε]χῆ ΝΙΑΝΤΒΑ ·  
 πεῖςμοτ̅ ον πε | [ετ]Ψοοῖτ̅ ζῆ  
 ΝΙΑΤΜΟΥ· †ΜΟΝΑΣ <sup>25</sup> ΔΕ Μῆ  
 †ϛ[Ν]ΝΟΙΑ· ΝΑ ΠΙΡΩΜ [ε]  
 ῆ|Ν[Α]Τ[ΜΟΥ·] ῆΙΜΕΕΥε ψ[ωπε]  
 | ε<Ν>ΔΕΚ[Α]ς· ΝΙΑΝΨε ΔΕ Ν[ε  
 ΝΙCΒΟ]||ΟΥε· [ΝΙΑΝ]ψ[ο Δε] Νε

and the dyad | go up to [the] decads,  
 and the decads <sup>20</sup> rule the hundreds,  
 | and the hundreds rule | the  
 thousands, and the thousands rule |  
 the ten thousands. Again it is this  
 pattern | [that] exists among the  
 immortals: the monad <sup>25</sup> and the  
 thought are those things that belong  
 to [Immortal] Man. | The thinkings  
 [are] for | <the> decads, and the  
 hundreds are [the teachings,] | [and  
 the thousands] are the

## NHC III 78,17–24

ϛΟΥΗΖ | ῆςως ῆσι ΤΔΥΑΣ Μῆ  
 ΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ | ψαζραῖ εΝΡΑΜΗΤ̅  
 ῆΡΑΜΗΤ̅ ΔΕ <sup>20</sup> ϛεΑΡΧΙ ΕΧῆ  
 ῆΡΑΨε· ερεῆΡΑΨε | ΑΡΧΙ ΕΧῆ  
 ῆΡΑΨο· ερεῆ<ΡΑ>Ψο· ΑΡ|ΧΙ  
 ΕΧῆ <ῆΡΑ>ΤΒΑ· ΠΕCΜΟΤ̅ ΠΕ ΠΑῖ  
 <ζῆ> | <ῆ>ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC ΠΕΖΟΥΕΙΤ̅  
 ῆΡω|Με ῆΤΕΕΙΖε· ΤΕΥΜΟΝΑC Τε  
 (Coptic pages 79 and 80 are  
 missing.)

The dyad | follows it, and the triad, |  
 up to the tenths. Now the tenths <sup>20</sup>  
 rule the hundredths; the hundredths |  
 rule the thousandths; the  
 thousand<th>s rule | the ten  
 thousand<th>s. This is the pattern  
 <among the> | immortals. First Man  
 | is like this: His monad

*Eug-V:*

7,19–22 See endnote 6.

7,20–22 MS has in each case χ (a common scribal error for x).

7,24–25 “the monad . . . Man”: see 7,6–7. Apparently mind, thought and will are referred to. The punctuation in line 25 is a word separator but may also be intended to replace a missing sentence pronoun.

7,26 Corr.: ψοῤῆ, “first,” is deleted at the beginning of the line by a dot over each letter.

7,27 MS has † (sing.).

*Eug-III:*

78,19–21 Tr translates the fractions as whole numbers without emending the text. See endnote 6.

78,22 First emendation: MS has Νε.

78,22–23 MS has ῆζῆ, “of immortals” (not emended by Tr, although his translation reflects an emendation).

NHC III

BG

17-24  
TADACW  
ENPAMT  
PXI EAV  
APXI EAV  
EYO API  
ECMOT TE  
TCC NECE  
TEUMON:  
EAV

it, and the  
ow the  
the hundred  
is the  
the an  
is the per  
mentals. First  
renad

through and  
or may be  
by a *dux*

ending the

ugh his

NHC V 7,28–8,8

NHC III

ΝΙΨΟΧΝ [ε·] | Ν[ι] ΔΑΝΤΒΑ [Δε Ν]ε  
 ΝΙΣΑΜ · ΝΗ [Δε ε†]<sup>30</sup>[ψ]ψπε  
 ΕΒ[ΟΛ ΖΝ̄] ΝΕΤ[ . . . . CE ] | ΨΟΟΠ  
 ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΥΔ [ 11± ] | [Ζ]Ν̄Ν ΕΨ[Ν]  
 ΝΙΜ [ 12± ] | [ . . . ] . . [ . . ] ἀ  
 ψψ [ 10± ]  
 [H̄] Ν̄ [ 7± ] ἀCO[ΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ̄] |  
 ΠΝΟΥ[C Ν̄]ΤΑΡ[ΧΗ Ν̄ΒΙ †ΕΝΝΟΙΑ ]  
 | ΜΝ̄ ΝΙΜ [εε]Υε· Δ[ΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄  
 ΝΙ] | ΜΕΥΕ Ν[ΙC]Βω· Ε[ΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄  
 ΝΙCΒΩ ] <sup>5</sup> ΝΙΨΟΧΝ [ε·] ΕΒΟ[Λ ΖΝ̄  
 ΝΙΨΟΧΝΕ ] | ΟΥΒΟΜ·  
 ΜΝ̄Ν̄Cα [σ]ε Δε Μ̄[ΜΕΛΟC] |  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ. Δ<ϙ>ΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒ[Ο]Λ ΖΝ̄  
 Ν[εϙΒΟΜ] | Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΗ ΤΗΡῶ

counsels, | [and] the ten thousands  
 [are] the powers. [Now] those [who]  
<sup>30</sup> come [from the . . . ] | exist with  
 their [ . . . ] | [in] every aeon [ . . . ] |  
 [ . . . ]

- [8] [ . . . In the beginning, thought] | and  
 thinkings [appeared from] mind, |  
 [then] teachings [from] | thinkings,  
 counsels <sup>5</sup> [from teachings], (and)  
 power [from] | [counsels].  
 And after all [the attributes,] | all  
 that [was revealed] | appeared from

---

*Eug-V:*

7,33 Corr.: γ deleted between ἀ and ψ by two superior dots.

8,4 βω: see Emmel, 1979: 183 (line identified as 8,30 up).

8,5 εβ: see Emmel, 1979: 183 (line identified as 8,29 up).

8,7 Low dot probably indicates word separation; see 8,16n.

MS has γ (incorrect pl. pron.).

λ: see Emmel, 1979: 183 (line identified as 8,27 up).

NHC III 103,10–12

BG 97,11–14

<N̄>ΘΑΗ ΔΕ N̄N̄ΚΑ NIM ·  
 αϕ|ΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ N̄ΣΙ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΟΥΟΝΣϚ | ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡϚ·

N̄ΣΑΕ ΔΕ | N̄K̄Α NIM ΑΦΟΥΟΝΣΟΥ  
 | ΕΒΟΛ ΣΝ ΤΕΦΘΟΜ ΝΣΙ |  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΦΟΥΟΝΣϚ ΤΗΡϚ

And after everything, | all that was  
 revealed | appeared from his power.

And finally he who | revealed it all |  
 revealed everything | from his  
 power.

---

*SJC-III:*

103,11–12 “all . . . power”: “all that was revealed from his power appeared” (T–S);  
 less likely because of the Coptic punctuation and the parr.

*SJC-BG:*

97,11–14 “And . . . power”: or “. . . he who wholly revealed himself . . .”; “But he  
 brought to appearance the last (pl.) of all things from his power, namely, the one  
 whom he brought to appearance completely” (T–S). The sentence appears to be  
 corrupt; see parr.

## NHC V 8,8–18

## NHC III

εταυ[οϋ]ϕνζ̄ϥ [εβολ] | αϣω  
 αϣοϣωνζ̄ [εβολ] ζ̄μ π̄η  
 [εταυ]<sup>10</sup>σο<N>τ̄ϥ̄ ν̄βι π̄η  
 εταυμ[ονκ̄ϥ̄] αϣω | π̄η εταυ†  
 μορφη ν[αϣ α]ϣοϣωνζ̄ | εβολ  
 ζ̄μ π̄η εταυ[μο]ν[κ̄ϥ̄] π̄η |  
 εταυ† ραν εροϣ· αϣοϣωνζ̄ |  
 εβολ ζ̄μ π̄η εταυ† μορφη ναϣ·  
<sup>15</sup> εα†διαφορα ν̄τε νη  
 εταυχπο|οϣ. οϣωνζ̄ εβολ ζ̄μ  
 π̄η εταυ† ρ[αν] | εροϣ χιν  
 ταρχη ψα αρηχ̄ϥ̄· κατ̄α |  
 οϣβομ ν̄τε νιϵων τη[ρ]οϣ·

[his powers.] | And [from] what  
 [was] <sup>10</sup> created, what was  
 [fashioned] appeared. And | what  
 was formed appeared | from what  
 was [fashioned.] | What was named  
 appeared | from what was formed, <sup>15</sup>  
 while the difference among begotten  
 things | appeared from what was  
 [named], | from beginning to end, by  
 | power of all the aeons.

*Eug-V:*

8,8 ϕνζ̄ϥ: see Emmel, 1979: 183 (line identified as 8,26 up).

8,9 ζ̄μ: see Emmel, 1979: 184 (line identified as 8,25 up).

8,10 Last three letters and preceding superlinear stroke: see Emmel, 1979: 184 (line identified as 8,24 up). The stroke is visible in the MS. Emmel reports seeing a remnant of the letter under the stroke, but none is visible in a photo taken prior to removal of transparent tape.

8,11 ϣωνζ̄: see Emmel, 1979: 184 (line identified as 8,23 up).

8,12 Final word: see Emmel, 1979: 184 (line identified as 8,22 up).

8,13 Final letter: see Emmel, 1979: 184 (line identified as 8,21 up).

8,16 Low dot after initial οϣ is not a stop; it makes clear word separation; cf. V 34,10.



NHC III 103,12-21

BG 97,15-98,7

εβολ ζ̄ν τεϋσ̄ομ· | αϋω εβολ  
 ζ̄μ̄ πενταϋσ̄οντ̄ῑ | αϋοϋωνζ  
 εβολ ν̄βῑ πενταϋ<sup>15</sup>ρ̄π̄λασ̄σα  
 μ̄μοϋ τηρϋ· εβολ ζ̄μ̄ |  
 πενταϋρ̄π̄λασ̄σα μ̄μοϋ  
 αϋ|οϋωνζ ν̄βῑ πενταϋϋ  
 μορ|φ̄η εβολ ζ̄μ̄ πενταϋϋ  
 μορφ̄η | πενταϋ† ρ̄αν̄ εροϋ  
 ετβε πᾱῑ <sup>20</sup> αϋψ̄ιβε ψ̄ωπε  
 ν̄νιαγεννη | τοσ̄ ϋ̄ν̄ ν̄ταρ̄χη ψ̄α  
 αρ̄ηϋνοϋ

<sup>15</sup> αϋω εβολ ζ̄μ̄ πενταϋ|σ̄οντ̄ῑ  
 τηρϋ αϋοϋωνζ | εβολ ν̄βῑ  
 πενταϋπ̄λασ̄|σα μ̄μοϋ τηρϋ  
 εβολ | ζ̄μ̄ πενταϋπ̄λασ̄σα μ̄  
 μοϋ αϋοϋω[νζ εβολ ν̄βῑ] |  
 πενταϋϋ μορφ̄η ζ̄μ̄ |  
 πενταϋϋ μορφ̄η πε | ν̄ταϋ†  
 ρ̄αν̄ ναϋ εβολ ζ̄μ̄ <sup>5</sup> πᾱῑ αϋψ̄ιβε  
 ψ̄ωπε ν̄|νια <τ>ϋποϋ ϋ̄ιν  
 ταρ̄χη ψ̄α | αρ̄ηϋνοϋ

[ϋ̄η]

And from what | was created, | all  
 that was fashioned <sup>15</sup> appeared; from  
 | what was fashioned | appeared  
 what was formed; | from what was  
 formed, | what was named. Thus <sup>20</sup>  
 came the difference among the  
 unbegotten ones | from beginning to  
 end."

<sup>15</sup> And from everything that he |  
 created, all that | was fashioned |  
 appeared; | from what was  
 fashioned,  
 appeared | what was formed; from |  
 what was formed, | what was named. [98]  
 From <sup>5</sup> this came the difference  
 among | the unbegotten things from  
 beginning to | end."

NHC V 8,18–28

NHC III

ΠΙΡΩ | ΜΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΕΦΜΕΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄Η[Ε]<sup>20</sup> ΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ ·  
 Ν̄ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΡΑΦΕ |  
 Ν̄ΝΑΤΨΑΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟΦ ·  
 ΕΡΕΤΕΦΜ̄Ν Τ̄Ρ | ΡΟ ΤΗΡ̄ ΤΕΛΗΛ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΣ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥ | ΤΕΛΗΛ Ν̄ΨΑ  
 ΕΝΕΖ · ΝΗ ΕΤΕ Μ̄Π[ΟΥ] | ΣΩΤ̄Μ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΖ · ΟΥΤΕ  
 Μ̄[ΠΟΥ]<sup>25</sup> ΣΟ[Υ]ΩΝΟΥ Ζ̄ΝΝ Ε[Ω]Ν  
 ΝΙΜ Ε[ΤΑΦ] | [Ψ]ΩΠΕ Μ̄Ν̄ΣΩ[Ο]Υ  
 [Μ]̄Ν ΝΕΦΚΟ[Σ] | [ΜΟΣ : Μ̄Ν̄ΣΩΦ  
 ΑΣΨ[Ω]ΠΕ Ν̄ΣΙ Κ[Ε] | [Α]ΡΧΗ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ζ[Μ]

Now Immortal Man | is full of every  
<sup>20</sup> imperishable glory and ineffable |  
 joy. His whole kingdom | rejoices in  
 | everlasting rejoicing, those who  
 never | have been heard of or known  
<sup>25</sup> in any aeon that | [came] after  
 [them and] its [worlds]. | Afterward  
 [another] | [principle] came from

NHC III 10.

ΠΡΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑ  
 ΕΒΟΛΟ ΜΑΙΟΣ  
 ΕΥΦΩΜΑΖΕ <Μ̄  
 ΕΥΑΙΤΕΛ <Ι>ΟΝ ·  
 ΕΥΠΟΥΡΕ Μ̄ΠΡΩ  
 ΕΥΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΝΙΜ

The Bartholomew  
 how (s it that) <ch  
 equated in  
 Gospel 'Man' |  
 To which c  
 son related?

NHC III 103,22–104,4

BG 98,7–13

| τότε πεχαϥ ναϥ ἦσι  
 βαρθολομαϊος χε πως  
 αγονομαζε <ἄμοϥ> ζι  
 ρΔ πεγαγγελ <ι>ον χε πρωμε |  
 αϥω πωηρε ἄπρωμε πεει | ωηρε  
 σε ογεβολ ζἦνιμ ἄμοοϥ πε

τότε πεχαϥ | ναϥ ἦσι  
 βαρθολομαϊος χε πως  
 αϥμοϥτε <sup>10</sup> εροϥ ζἦ  
 πεγαγγελιον | χε πρωμε αϥω  
 πωηρε | ἄπρωμε πιωηρε  
 ογε|βολ ναϥ ἄμοοϥ πε

| Then Bartholomew | said to him:  
 “How (is it that) <he> was  
 designated in  
 104 the Gospel ‘Man’ | and ‘Son of  
 Man’? | To which of | them, then, is  
 this Son related?” The

Then Bartholomew | said to him: |  
 “How (is it that) he was called <sup>10</sup> in  
 the Gospel | ‘Man’ and ‘Son | of  
 Man’? | To which of them is the Son

NHC V 8,28–9,3

NHC III

π]ιρω[με] ν̄νατμου[·] | πη̄ ετε  
 ψαυ† [ραν ε]ρωϋ χε  
 πιρεϋ<sup>30</sup>[χπο] ν̄χωκ ϕ[βολ  
 μ]μοϋ οϋ[ααϋ·] | [ν̄τερεϋχι  
 πι†] με†ε ν̄τεϋϋν[ζυγος] |  
 [†νοσ ν̄σοφια αϋ]οϋϋνη̄ εβ[ολ  
 μ̄]| [πιϋορ† μ̄μισε ετ]μ̄μα[ϋ]  
 ν̄ζ[οοϋ†]

[Θ] [σζ̄ι με· πη̄ ετ]ε ψα[ϋ† ρ]αν |  
 [ερωϋ χε πιϋηρε ] ν̄ϋορ[†π]  
 μ̄μισε | [ν̄τε πνοϋτε]·

Immortal [Man], | who is [called]  
 “Self-perfected <sup>30</sup> [Begetter.]” |  
 [When he received the consent] of  
 his [consort,] | [Great Sophia, he]  
 revealed | [that first-begotten  
 androgyne,]

[9] [who is called] | “First-begotten  
 [Son] | [of God].”

---

*Eug-V:*

8,33 Third superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

9,1 Corr.: ν incorporates initial ϋ (cf. 2,18n.).

9,2 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

NHC III I  
 εβαϋ ηαϋ η̄σι 5  
 ϋϋϋϋ ετρε|τνε  
 ϋοϋε† ν̄ρω|με  
 ερω χε | πρεϋχι  
 εβακ | εβολ ζιτ  
 ηοϋ 10 πα† αϋεν  
 νοσ η̄σοφια τε  
 ϋϋϋϋ εβολ μ̄  
 ϋο | ν̄ϋηρε η̄ζ  
 ϋϋϋϋ η̄ζοϋ†  
 ερω χε πρωτο  
 ϋϋη η̄πνοϋτε

One-5 said to his  
 know that  
 Man | is called  
 Self-perfected | Min  
 related with Great  
 consent, and revealed  
 androgyne,  
 the name is calle  
 Son of Go

30  
 T-S mista  
 "to them" at  
 sentence, whic  
 doym.  
 <e>  
 has πτορε  
 has only the  
 of the amb  
 that that amb

## NHC III 104,4–16

## BG 98,13–99,9

πεχαϋ ναϋ ν̄βι <sup>5</sup> πετογααβ· χε  
 †ουωψ· ετρε|τ̄νειμε χε  
 πεζουειτ̄ ν̄ρω|με ψαυμοϋτε  
 εροϋ χε | πρεϋχπο πνοϋς  
 ετχнк | εβολ ζιτοοτ̄ῤ̄ ᾠμιν  
 ᾠμοϋ <sup>10</sup> παῖ αφενϋμει μ̄ν  
 τνοϋ ν̄|σοφια τεϋςϋνζϋγοϋ  
 αϋοϋ|ωνζ εβολ ᾠπεϋϋορ̄τ̄  
 ν̄χπο | ν̄ψηρε ν̄ζοοϋτ̄ςιμε  
 πεϋ|ραν ν̄ζοοϋτ̄ ψαυμοϋτε  
 ε<sup>15</sup>ροϋ χε πρωτογενετωρ·  
 ν̄|ψηρε ᾠπνοϋτε·

πε|χαϋ ν̄βι πετογααβ χε <sup>15</sup>  
 †ουωψ ετρετ̄νειμε | χε  
 πεζουειτ̄ ν̄ρωμε ε|τε  
 ψαυχοοϋ εροϋ χε πρεϋ|χπο  
 πνοϋς ναϋτοτε  
 [λιος παι αφεν]ϋμει μ̄ν | [ϋῥ̄]  
 τεινοϋς ν̄ς]οφια τεϋ|ψ[βε]ϋρ  
 αϋοϋωνζ εβολ |  
 μπεϋπρωτ<ο>γεν<ητοϋ> <sup>5</sup>  
 ν̄ψηρε ν̄ζοϋτ̄ςιμε | παῖ ετε  
 πεϋραν ν̄ζο|οϋτ̄ πε  
 πρωτογενε|τωρ π̄ηρε  
 ᾠπνοϋ|τε

[ϋῥ̄]

[99]

Holy One <sup>5</sup> said to him: “I want you  
 | to know that  
 First Man | is called | ‘Begetter,  
 Self-perfected | Mind.’ <sup>10</sup> He  
 reflected with Great | Sophia, his  
 consort, and revealed | his first-  
 begotten, | androgynous son. His |  
 male name <sup>15</sup> is called ‘First  
 Begetter | Son of God’;

related?” | The Holy One said: <sup>15</sup> “I  
 want you to know | that  
 First Man, who | is called |  
 ‘Begetter, Self-perfected  
 Mind,’ reflected with | [this Great]  
 Sophia, his | companion, and  
 revealed | his first-<begotten>, <sup>5</sup>  
 androgynous son, | whose male  
 name | is First Begetter, | Son of  
 God,

## SJC-BG:

98,18–99,1 T–S mistakes the last 7 letters of 98,18 for two words and divides thus:  
 ναϋ, “to them” and τ̄οτε, “then.” The latter word is made the beginning of a  
 new sentence, which is continued by T–S on 99,1 with the questionable restoration  
 of οϋν.

99,3 Alt. ψβεερ<ε> (T–S; unnecessary since ψβεερ is also fem. [Kasser: 84]).

99,4 MS has πρωτεγενετωρ, “First Begetter” (harmonization: see lines 7 and 14).

T–S has only the first emendation, but translates as above, which is possible  
 because of the ambiguity of the word (see LSJ, s.v.). It is difficult to believe, how-  
 ever, that that ambiguity was involved here.

## NHC V 9,3–15

## NHC III 81,1–5

τεϋ[μῆ]†ςζῆ με | [χε †ψορπε ]  
 ᾠμι[σε] ἡσοφια <sup>5</sup> [†μααυ  
 ᾠπτηρ]ῦ· ετε ψαρεζο |[†νε  
 μοϋτε] ερος χε ταγαπῆ· |  
 [ἡτοϋ δε πι]ψορῆ ᾠμισε

εϋἡ|[ταϋ ἡτεϋε]ζοϋσια εβολ  
 ζῆ | [πε]ϋ[ειω†·  
 αϋ]†αμιο ναϋ ἡοϋ <sup>10</sup>ναδ  
 ἡ[εων] προς τεϋμῆτνος·  
 | ε[ϋταμιο ] ἡαϋ ἡγεναγγελος  
 | ἡἡα[ἡ]†βᾶ ἡἡα†† ἡπε εροοϋ  
 | εζραῖ εϋψῆψε·  
 παψεῖ τηρῦ | ἡἡιαγγελος  
 εψαϋμοϋτε ερο <sup>15</sup>οϋ χε

αϋταμ[ιο ναϋ ἡγεν]αγγελος |  
 ζεντβ[α εμῆτοϋ] ἡπε εροϋν |  
 εϋζϋπῆρϋσια·  
 πῆἡψε τηρῦ | ἡἡαγγελος  
 ετῆμαϋ ψαϋχο <sup>5</sup>ος εροοϋ χε

[πα] ἡταμιο | ναϋ ἡ  
 ἡπε  
 ος εμῆτοϋ ἡπε  
 ἡἡἡρϋσια

His female aspect | [is “First-]  
 begotten Sophia, <sup>5</sup> [Mother of the  
 Universe],” whom some | [call]  
 “Love.” | [Now] First-begotten,

since he has | [his] authority from |  
 his [father],  
 created a <sup>10</sup> great [aeon] for his own  
 majesty,  
 | [creating] numberless myriads of |  
 angels | for retinue.  
 The whole multitude | of angels,  
 who are called

He created angels, | myriads  
 [without] number, | for retinue. The  
 whole multitude | of those angels are  
 called

[81] [created] a multitu  
 about number for

*Eug-V:*

9,10 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

9,12 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

For the remarkable reconstruction of the first word I am indebted to Bentley Layton.

NHC III 104,16–105,2

BG 99,9–100,1

πεφραν | Ἰ̄σχυῑμε τσοφια  
 Ἰ̄πρωτο | γενετιρα τμααυ  
 Ἰ̄πτηρῆ̄ | ψαρεσοεινε μουτε  
 ερος <sup>20</sup>χε ταγαπη̄ Ἰ̄τοϋ δε  
 πωορη̄ | Ἰ̄χπο  
 ψαυμουτε εροϋ χε | πεχρ̄ς  
 εῡνηταϋ Ἰ̄τεσοϋσια | ζιτῆ̄  
 πεφειωτ

ετε πεχρ̄ς πε  
 πεφ<sup>10</sup>ραν Ἰ̄μῆ̄ιτςζῑμε πε  
 προ | τογενετειρα τσοφια |  
 τμαυ Ἰ̄πτηρη̄ ταῖ ετε |  
 ψαρεσοῖ̄ν μουτε ερος χε |  
 ταγαπη̄ πεπροτοгене <sup>15</sup>τωρ γαρ  
 εψαυμουτε | εροϋ χε πεχρ̄ς  
 εῡνητεϋ | τεσοϋσια ζῖτοοτη̄  
 Ἰ̄ | πεφειωτ

αϋταμιο | ναϋ Ἰ̄οϋμνηψε  
 Ἰ̄αῖγε  
 ρε λος εμῆ̄τοϋ ηπε  
 εῡζυπη̄ | ρεσια

αϋταμιο ναϋ | νοϋατο  
 ναγγελος εμῆ̄  
 τοϋ ηπε ε[ϋζυπη̄ρεσια ]

[P]

his female | name, ‘First | Begettress  
 Sophia, Mother of the Universe.’ |  
 Some call her <sup>20</sup>‘Love.’ Now first- |  
 begotten is called | ‘Christ.’ Since  
 he has authority | from his father,

| who is Christ; his <sup>10</sup> female name is  
 First | Begettress, Sophia, | Mother  
 of the Universe, | whom some call |  
 ‘Love.’ For First Begetter,  
<sup>15</sup> who is called | ‘Christ,’  
 since he has | authority from | his  
 father,

he created | a multitude of angels  
 without number for retinue

created | a multitude of angels  
 without  
 number for [retinue]

[100]

SJC-BG:

100,1 Restoration is T-S, alt. Others are: ε[ϋψμψε] (correctly rejected by T-S as too short); ε[ζοϋν εῡψμψε] (T-S, alt.; a combination not found elsewhere in BG). Meanings are similar in all cases.

## NHC V 9,15–21

ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ | ΝΗ  
 ΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΑΤΖΑ ΕΙ | [Β]ε  
 <ΝΕ>· ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ |  
 [ε]ψωπε εΰψαν† ΠΙ ΕΡ̄Ν  
 ΝΕΥ | ΕΡ̄ΗΟΥ·  
 ΨΑΡΕΝΕΥΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ · <sup>20</sup> [ψωπ]ε  
 Ν̄ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ |  
 [Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ·]

<sup>15</sup> “Assembly of the Holy Ones,” |  
 are the lights and shadowless ones. |  
 Now when these angels | kiss each  
 other, | their embraces <sup>20</sup> [become]  
 angels like | [themselves.]

## NHC III 81,5–10

ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Ν̄ΝΕ|ΤΟΥΑΑΒ·  
 ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΑΤΖΑΕΙΒΕC |  
 ΝΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΥΨΑΝΑΣΠΑΖΕ |  
 Ν̄ΝΕΥΕΡΗΟΥ ΨΑΡΕΝΕΥΑΣΠΑΣ |  
 ΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
 ΕΥ<sup>10</sup>ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ

<sup>5</sup> “Assembly of the | Holy Ones, the  
 Shadowless Lights.” | Now when  
 these greet | each other, their  
 embraces | become angels <sup>10</sup> like  
 themselves.

*Eug-V:*

9,21 MS has a blank of approx. 1 cm. between the lacuna and the subsequent word.

*Eug-III:*

81,5–6 “Assembly . . . Lights” (similarly, Tr): “The church of the saints of light without shadow” (K); “. . . of the holy lights . . .” (K, footnote).



NHC III 105,2-9

BG 100,2-10

εβολ ζῆ πεπῆνα μῆ πογ|οειν·  
 πεχαγ ναϋ ἄβι νεϋμα|θητης  
 χε πχοεις πετεψαγ<sup>5</sup>μοϋτε  
 εροϋ χε πρωμε· οϋ|ωνηζ ναη  
 ετβηητῆ· χεκαας | ζωων  
 εναειμε ακριβως ε|τβε  
 πεϋεοοϋ πεχαϋ ἄβι/  
 πτε|λιος ἄσωτηρ· χε πετε

| εβολ ζῆ πε[πῆνα μῆ πο]γ|οῖν  
 πεχαγ ναϋ ἄβι νεϋ|μαθητης  
 χε πεχ<sup>5</sup>ς πει<sup>5</sup>ωτ ετε  
 ψαγμοϋτε εροϋ | χε πρωμε  
 ματσαβον ε|ροϋ χεκαας ζωων  
 εν|νασοϋων πεϋεοοϋ  
 ακρι|βως πεχαϋ ἄβι πτελιος  
<sup>10</sup> ἄσωτηρ χε πετε

| from Spirit and Light.” | His  
 disciples | said to him: “Lord, reveal  
 to us <sup>5</sup> about the one | called ‘Man’  
 that | we also may know his glory  
 exactly.” | The perfect | Savior said:  
 “Whoever

| from [Spirit and] Light.” | His |  
 disciples said to him: “Christ, <sup>5</sup> teach  
 us | about the Father, | who is called  
 ‘Man,’ that we also may | know his  
 glory exactly.” | The perfect <sup>10</sup>  
 Savior said: “Whoever

NHC V 9,21–25

NHC III 81,10–12

πεϋσορῖ ᾠμῖσε | [ . . . . .  
 Ἰει]ωτ̄ ψ[α]γ̄τ̄ ραῖ [ε]ρ]οϋ | [χε  
 . . . . .] . [ . ]νο[γς̄ α]δα[μ ε]τ̄ε  
 | [πιβαλ ᾠποῦοειν πε̄] πη  
 [εταϋ] <sup>25</sup> [εῖ εβολ ζᾠ  
 ποῦοειν ᾠ]

πεπρωτογενε | τωρ̄ Ἰειωτ̄  
 ψαγχοος εροϋ | χε αδαμ πα  
 ποῦοειν ᾠ

Their first-begotten | [. . . father] is  
 called | [“. . . Mind, Adam,” who] |  
 [is the Eye of Light,] who <sup>25</sup> [came  
 from Light,]

First Begetter | Father is called |  
 “Adam of the Light.”

---

*Eug*-V:

9,23 MS has a stroke above the second lacuna.

*Eug*-III:

81,11 Corr.: an erased point between first ω and ρ. The point following ρ is inexplicable, unless it, together with the erased point, was intended to signal the deletion of ρ.

NHC III  
 ρωτῖ <sup>10</sup> μααζε  
 ωρε[σωτῖ]  
 κρωτογενετα  
 ερωχοος ερο  
 Ἰειωτ̄ ποῦοει  
 ζᾠ ποῦο  
 ποῦοειν <sup>15</sup> [μ  
 κρωτελος ετο  
 Ἰειωτ̄ εροο  
 κρωτη εῦμην ε  
 Ἰειωτ̄ εῦμηνσι  
 Ἰειωτ̄

ears to hear. Je  
 Begetter | Fath  
 Eye of Ligh  
 from shining

his holy ange  
 (and) shac  
 with joy | in t  
 they received  
 this section is n

NHC III 105,9–19

BG 100,10–101,6

ΟΥΝΤῆ<sup>10</sup> ΜΑΑΧΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΣΩΤῆ  
 ΜΑΡΕϞ|ΣΩΤῆ·  
 ΠΕΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ Ν|ΕΙΩΤ  
 ΕΨΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ· |  
 [Π]ΒΑΛ ΜΠΟΥΟΙΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑϞΕΙ  
 Ε|[ΒΟ]Λ Ζῆ ΠΟΥΟΙΝ

ΕΤῚ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ<sup>15</sup> [Μῆ]  
 ΝΕϞΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·  
 Ν|ΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΑΤΖΑΙΒΕΣ |  
 ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ ΕΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΡΑ|ΨΕ  
 Ζῆ ΤΕΥΕΝΘΥΜΗCΙC ΝΤΑΥ|ΧΙΤῆ  
 ΝΤῆ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ

has<sup>10</sup> ears to hear, let him | hear.  
 First Begetter | Father is called  
 ‘Adam, | Eye of Light,’ because he  
 came | from shining Light,

<sup>15</sup> [and] his holy angels, who are  
 ineffable | (and) shadowless, | ever  
 rejoice with joy | in their reflecting, |  
 which they received from their  
 Father.

ΟΥΝΤῆ | ΜΑΑΧΕ ΕΣΩΤῆ  
 ΜΑΡΕϞ|ΣΩΤῆ  
 ΠΕΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ | ΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ | ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ  
 ΠΒΑΛ ΜΠΟΥΟΙΝ<sup>15</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑϞΕΙ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΟΥ|ΟΙΝ  
 ΤΕϞΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΔΕ ΤΗΡC | ΤΑ  
 ΠΟΥΟΙΝ ΤΕ  
 ΕΤῚ ΟΥΟΙΝ | Μῆ ΝΕϞΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑ  
 [ΑΒ ΝΑΤΨΑΧΕ] ΕΡΟΟΥ | [ῚῚ]  
 [ΝΑΤΖΑΙΒΕC] CΕΤΕΡΠΕ | ΕΥΜΗΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΡΕΨΕ | Ζῆ  
 ΤΕΥΕΝΘΥΜΗCΙC Ν<sup>5</sup>ΤΑΥΧΙΤῆ  
 ΝΤΟΥΤϞ ῆ|ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ

has | ears to hear, let him | hear.  
 First Begetter | Father is called |  
 ‘Adam, Eye of Light,’<sup>15</sup> because he  
 came from Light.  
 | And his whole kingdom | is of the  
 shining Light,

| and his holy angels, who are  
 [ineffable] | (and) [shadowless], ever  
 rejoice | with joy | in their reflecting,  
<sup>5</sup> which they received from | their  
 Father.

[ῚῚ]

[101]

SJC-III:

105,14 Regarding the section in the parr. (added here by K) following ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ,  
 “Light,” see BG 100,16–17n.

SJC-BG:

100,16–17 ΤΕϞΜΝΤΕΡΟ . . . ΤΕ, “And . . . Light” (omitting “shining”): T-S holds  
 that this section is missing in SJC-III through homoioteleuton.

NHC V 9,25–10,2

NHC III 81,12–21

πιω [ηρε] | [εερετεεμντρρο

τμντρ|ρο δε μπψηρε μπρωμε

μ]εζ τ[ηρ̄] | [νωγραψε

̄ννατψα]χε̄ μ̄μ[οϋ] | [ 21± ] |

[ 21± ]<sup>30</sup> [ 21± ] | [ 21± ] | [ 21± ] |

[ 11± ουδε̄ μ̄πεϋου ]

[1] [ων̄ε̄ ζ̄ν̄ εω]ν̄ ν̄[ιμ εταϋψωπε ]

| μ̄ν̄ν̄σ̄ω[οϋ] μ̄ν̄ [νεϋκοσμοσ̄

εσ|μεζ̄ ν̄ραψε̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄ψαχε̄ εροϋ

<sup>15</sup> μ̄ν̄ οϋτελ̄ηλ̄ εμεϋψιβε

εϋτερ|πε̄ εϋμ̄ην̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄

οϋραψε̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄|ψαχε̄ εροϋ εγρᾱι

εχ̄ν̄ πεϋεοοϋ | ν̄ᾱτ̄τακο̄ πᾱι

ετε̄ μ̄ποϋσο|τμεϋ̄ ενεζ̄ οϋδε̄

μ̄πεϋοϋων̄ε̄<sup>20</sup> ε̄ν̄αιων̄ τηροϋ

ν̄ταϋψωπε | μ̄ν̄ νεϋκοσμοσ̄

the [Son] | [whose whole kingdom

And the kingdom | of Son of Man

is] full | [of ineffable joy] | [ . . . ] |

[ . . . ]<sup>30</sup> [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] |

[ . . . nor has it been revealed]

[10] [in all the aeons that came] |

afterward and [their worlds.]

is | full of ineffable joy<sup>15</sup> and  
unchanging jubilation, (they) ever  
rejoicing | in ineffable joy | over  
their imperishable | glory, which has  
| never been heard nor has it been  
revealed<sup>20</sup> to all the aeons that came  
to be | and their worlds.

Eug-V:

10,2 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

NHC III 105,19–106,6

BG 101,6–102,3

ΤΜΝΤΡ<sup>20</sup> ΡΟ ΤΗΡC ΜΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΜΠΡΩΜΕ  
 | ΠΕΤΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ  
 Π|ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 Ε<C>ΜΗZ ΝΡΑ|ΨΕ ΝΑΤΨΑΧΕ  
 ΕΡΟQ ΝΑΤΖΑΕΙΒΕC | ΖΙ ΤΕΛΗΛ  
 ΕΜΕΨΙΒΕ ΕΥΡΟΟΥ†<sup>25</sup> ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΕΧΜ ΠΕΨΕΟΟΥ ΝΑ†ΤΑΚΟ  
 ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥCΟΤΜΕQ ΕΝΕΖ ΨΑ |  
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΨΟΥΩΝΖ |  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ |  
 ΜΝ̄ΝCΑ ΝΑΪ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΥΚΟCΜΟC ·  
<sup>5</sup> ΑΝΟΚ ΝΤΑΕΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ  
 ΠΑΥ|ΤΟΓΕΝΗC ΜΝ̄

The whole kingdom <sup>20</sup> of Son of  
 Man,  
 | who is called ‘Son | of God,’  
 is full of | ineffable and shadowless  
 joy, | and unchanging jubilation,  
 (they) rejoicing <sup>25</sup> over his  
 imperishable  
 glory, which has never been heard  
 until | now, nor has it been revealed  
 | in the aeons that came | afterward  
 and their worlds. <sup>5</sup> I came from  
 Self- | begotten and

ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΔΕ | ΤΑ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΜΠΡΩΜΕ | ΤΕ  
 ΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ | ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΧC  
 ΕCΜΕΖ <sup>10</sup> ΤΗΡC ΝΡΑΨΕ  
 ΝΑΤΨΑ|ΧΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΑΤΖΑΪΒΕC |  
 <ΜΝ̄> ΟΥΤΕΛΗΛ ΕΜΑΨΙΒΕ |  
 ΕΥΤΕΡΠΕ ΕΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ | ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΕΧΜ ΠΕΨΕΟΟΥ <sup>15</sup> ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΠΑΪ  
 ΕΤΕ Μ|ΠΟΥCΟΤΜΕQ ΕΝΕΖ ΨΑ |  
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΨΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ΖΝ̄  
 <Ν>ΔΙΩΝ ΝΤΑΨΩΠ|ΠΕ ΜΝ̄ΝCΑ  
 ΝΑΕΙ ΜΝ̄  
 ΝΕΥΚΟC[ΜΟC  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝ]|ΤΑΨΕΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ ΖΜ  
 ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕ]|ΝΗC ΑΨΩ ΕΒΟΛ

[P̄B]

Now the kingdom is | that of Son of  
 Man,  
 | who is called | ‘Christ.’  
 It is completely <sup>10</sup> full of ineffable |  
 and shadowless joy, | <and>  
 unchanging jubilation, | (they) ever  
 rejoicing | over his imperishable <sup>15</sup>  
 glory, which has | never been heard  
 until | now, nor has it been revealed  
 | in <the> aeons that came |  
 afterward and  
 their worlds.  
 | [I] came [from Self-begotten] | and  
 from the

[102]

SJC-III:

105,22 MS has q (incorrect gender, by attraction to ΠΩΗΡΕ, “Son”; not emended by T-S).

SJC-BG:

101,12 Alt.: <ΖΙ>ΤΕΛΗΛ (T-S, alt.).

101,18 Alt.: ΖΝ̄ ΔΙΩΝ <ΝΙΜ>, “in <every> aeon” (T-S, alt.).

NHC V 10,2-6

NHC III 81,21-23

mñ | ñcωq α[ϣ]ψωπε [ñci . . .  
 εβολ ] | zñ παϊ' ε[τ]ε πωη[ρε  
 ᾠπρωμε ] <sup>5</sup> πε' εαϣ[†] μετε  
 [mñ τσοφια τεϣ]|cynzyγoc '

πωηρε δε | ᾠπρωμε  
 αϣcymφωνει mñ | τσοφια  
 τεϣcynzyγoc

| Afterward [ . . . ] came from | him,  
 [who] is Son [of Man.] <sup>5</sup> Having  
 consented [with Sophia, his] |  
 consort,

Then Son | of Man consented with |  
 Sophia, his consort,

*Eug-V:*

10,3 Corr.: α over false start of another letter.

NHC III  
 εροειτ' ἵου  
 ματ' ε | εει  
 κια | nim' παλ  
 εαυ ε μα  
 ε ηε εβολ ε  
 ετοϋωνε εβο  
 ετη παθανα  
 εφφου πεε  
 εατη ε

εε ᾠπρωμε  
 εοφα τεϣcym

εει Infinite Light  
 [read everything to  
 disciples said: 10  
 εε it is that the  
 εα the / invisibili  
 εοοal (realm) to  
 εει The perfect

εοof / Man conse  
 εοφια, his

εει-III  
 εει clearly: "thro  
 εει Corr: third a fe  
 εει-MS has γ (inco  
 εει-MS  
 εει-MS has stroke  
 εει-MS  
 εει εοπαεραν  
 εει-MS has α. "he  
 εει-ended, "those

## NHC III 106,6–17

## BG 102,3–17

περογειτ̄ ἡ|ογοειν ετε μῆ  
 ἀρηχῶ· χε | εειεμνηεγε νητῆ  
 ἡῆκα | nim· παλιν νεγμαεθης  
 10 πεχαυ χε ματαμον ζῆ  
 ογ|ωνζ εβολ χε πως εβολ ζῆ  
 νι|ατογωνζ εβολ αγει επεσht  
 | ζιτῆ πιαθανατος επκος|μοc  
 εψα<υ>μογ πεχε πτε 15 λιοc  
 ἡcωτηρ· χε

πωηρε ᾠ|πρωμε αqφι μῆ  
 τσοφια τεq|cυνζυγoc

First | Infinite Light that | I might  
 reveal everything to you.” | Again,  
 his disciples said: 10 “Tell us clearly  
 | how (it is that) they came down  
 from the | invisibilities, | from the  
 immortal (realm) to the world | that  
 dies?” The perfect 15 Savior said:

“Son of | Man consented with  
 Sophia, his

ζμ πε|ρογειτ̄ ἡογοῖῆ  
 μπια 5περαντον χε  
 εεινα τca|βε τητῆ εναῖ  
 τηρογ | παλιν πεχαυ νσι  
 νεq|μαεθης χε πεχc  
 μα|τcαβον ζῆν ογωνζ <εβολ  
 χε πως> ε 10βολ ζῆ νιατογωνζ  
 να|ει ετψοοπ εα<υ>ει  
 επε|cht εβολ ζῆ νιατμογ |  
 επκοcμοc ετε ψαq|μογ  
 πεχαυ ἡσι πτελι 15οc ἡcωτηρ  
 \χε/

πωηρε ᾠ|πρωμε αqcυμφωνι μῆ  
 | τσοφια τεq|cυνζυγoc |

| First Light of the 5 infinite that I  
 might teach | you all these things.” |  
 Again, his disciples | said: “Christ,  
 teach | us clearly <how> (it is) that  
 10 those who truly exist came down |  
 from the invisibilities, | from the  
 immortals, | to the world that |  
 dies?” The perfect 15 Savior said:  
 “Son of | Man consented with |  
 Sophia, his consort

## SJC-III:

106,10 “clearly”: “through a revelation” (K).

106,13 Corr.: third α for erased ο.

106,14 MS has γ (incorrect pronoun number; not emended by T-S).

## SJC-BG:

102,4–5 MS has stroke over the second η (line 4), which rightly belongs over the following η.

Alt.: <ἡ>απεραντον, “infinite light” (T-S sugg.).

102,11 MS has υ, “he came down” (translation line 10) (emendation is T-S sugg.); unemended, “those who truly exist” would be in apposition to “the invisibilities.”





## NHC III 106,17–24

## BG 102,18–103,9

αφοωνη εβολ ν̄ογνοσ  
 ν̄ογοειν ν̄ζοογ† | σζιμε ·  
 πεφραν ν̄ζοογ† <sup>20</sup> ψαγμογτε  
 εροϋ χε πσω|τηρ πρεϋπε ν̄κα  
 νιμ· πεφ|ραν ν̄σζιμε πε  
 πανγενετι|ρα σοφια  
 ψαρεζοειν μογτε | εροσ χε  
 τπιστις

αφοωνη εβολ {z}ν̄νογ|  
 [νοσ νογοειν] νζογ†|[σζιμε  
 τε]ϋμν̄τζο|ογ† μεν  
 εψαγμογ|τε εροσ χε πσωτηρ  
<sup>5</sup> πρεϋπο ν̄κα νιμ |  
 τεϋμν̄τζιμε δε χε | σοφια  
 πανγενητει|ρα ετε ψαρεζοϊν  
 μογ|τε εροσ χε τπιστις

[P̄F]

| consort, and revealed | a great  
 androgynous light. | His male name  
<sup>20</sup> is called ‘Savior, | Begetter  
 of All Things.’ His | female name is  
 ‘All-Begetress Sophia.’ | Some call  
 her | ‘Pistis.’

| and revealed a  
 [great] androgynous [light]. | His  
 maleness | is called | ‘Savior, <sup>5</sup>  
 Begetter of All Things’; | and his  
 femaleness is called | ‘Sophia, All-  
 Begetress,’ | whom some call |  
 ‘Pistis.’

[103]

## SJC-BG:

102,18 Not emended by T-S (“appeared in”). I had earlier thought it best not to emend [1975: 176, n.3], but the testimony of the other texts here, as well as the evidence of scribal carelessness elsewhere in BG, have persuaded me otherwise.

## NHC V 10,18–11,4

πωορῖ πε π< >ατ|χο <ν̄ειω†  
 ν̄νι>θηροῦ· πμεζснаγ [πε] <sup>20</sup>  
 πιχπο εβολ ᾠμοῦ·  
 π!μ[εζωμῆτ] | πε πη  
 εταγχο[· πμεζτο] | οὔ [πε]  
 πιχπ[ο] ᾠτε π[ωορῖ] |  
 πμ[εζ]†οὔ [πε πιχπο τηρῶ·  
 πμεζ] | [σοῦ] π[ε 15±]  
<sup>25</sup>[ . . . ] нп[αν  
 ᾠτευμῆ†ςζῖμε] | [ναῖ νε·]  
 †ζ[ογειτε πε 6±] |  
 (6± lines lacking)  
 [τᾶ] [ 12± ] . [ 10± ] | [ 13± ] †[μεζτε  
 πε] | [ταγαπη σοφ]ι· α·  
 †[με]ζ[σο πε] | [τπιστικ  
 τ]σοφι [α·

first, “Unbegotten | <Father of> All  
 Things”; second, <sup>20</sup> “Self-begotten”;  
 [third,] | “Begotten”; [fourth,] |  
 “Begotten of the [First”]; | fifth,  
 [“All-begotten”; sixth,] | [ . . . ] <sup>25</sup>  
 [ . . . ] the [feminine names] | [are  
 these: first, . . . ] | (6± lines lacking)  
 [11] [ . . . ] | [ . . . fifth,] | [“Love  
 Sophia”; sixth,] | [“Pistis] Sophia.”

## NHC III 82,12–83,2

πωορῖ πε πα|γεννητος  
 πμεζснаγ πε παγ|τογεννητος  
 πμεζωμῆτ <sup>15</sup> πε πγενετωρ·  
 πμεζτοοῦ πε |  
 πεπρωτογενετωρ· πμεζ†|οὔ  
 πε πανγενετωρ· πμεζσοῦ |  
 πε παρχιγενετωρ· ᾠραν ζωοῦ |  
 ᾠνεζιομε νε ναῖ· τωορῖ πε <sup>20</sup>  
 ᾠπανσοφος σοφια· τμεζςῆτε  
 | πε πανμητωρ· σοφια·  
 τμεζωο|ᾠτε πε πανγενετιρα  
 σοφια·  
 | τμεζτοε πε  
 τεπρωτογενετι|ρα σοφια·  
 τμεζτε τε ταγαπη σο  
 φια· τμ[εζσοε τε τπ]ιστικ [πρ]  
 σο|φια·

first, “Unbegotten”; | second, “Self-  
 | begotten”; third, <sup>15</sup> “Begetter”;  
 fourth, | “First Begetter”; fifth, |  
 “All-Begetter”; sixth, | “Arch-  
 Begetter.” Also the names | of the  
 females are these: first, <sup>20</sup> “All-wise  
 Sophia”; second, | “All-Mother  
 Sophia”; third, | “All-Begetress  
 Sophia”; | fourth, “First Begetress |  
 Sophia”; fifth, “Love Sophia”;  
 [sixth], “Pistis Sophia.” [83]

Eug-V:

10,19 For restoration, see V 3,4.

NHC III

BG

2-83.2

НТОС

ТОГЕМ

ΠΓΕΝΕΤ

ΠΜΕΖ

ΠΜΕΖСОΩ

ΠΡΑΝ

ΠΓΟΡ

ΠΙΑ ΠΜΕΖ

СОΦΙΑ

ΠΑΓΓΕΝΕΤ

РА СОΦΙΑ

ΠΗ СО

ΠΕ ΠΠΙСО

second

“Begat

reter”

th, | “Arch

e names

ist: 20 “All

“All-Mo

All-Begat

First Begat

ve Sophia”

nia.

## NHC V 11,4–19

ο]ΥΝΤΑΥ <sup>5</sup> [ΔΕ ΝΖΕΝΚΕΡ]ΑΝ· Ν[Η  
 Ε]ΤΑΪΤΑΔΥ | [ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΝΨΟΡΠ̄·  
 Ε]ΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΝ̄ ΠΙ† ΜΕ|[ΤΕ ΝΤΑΥ]  
 ΕΤΑΥΡ̄ ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΧΟΟΥ· |  
 [ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ] ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ  
 ΖΕΝΕΝΝΟΙΑ | [ΖΝ̄ ΖΕΝΕΩΝ] ΕΑΥΡ̄  
 ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΧΟΟΥ <sup>10</sup> ΕΒΟ[Λ ΔΕ ΖΝ̄]  
 ΝΙΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΝΙΜΕΕΥ Ε· | Ε[ΒΟΛ ΔΕ  
 ΖΝ̄] ΝΙΜΕΕΥ Ε ΝΙΣΒΟΟΥΕ· | ΕΒ[ΟΛ  
 ΔΕ ΖΝ̄] ΝΙΣΒΟΟΥΕ ΝΙΨΟΧΝΕ· |  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΝ̄ ΝΙΨΟΧΝΕ ΝΙΟΥΨΨ·  
 | ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΝ̄ ΝΙΟΥΨΨ ΝΕ  
 ΝΙΨΑΧ Ε·  
<sup>15</sup> ΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΕΝΚΕΡΑΝ·  
 ΝΙΕΝ | ΝΟΙΑ ΔΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ | ΝΙΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΙΜΕΕΥ Ε  
 ΔΕ ΧΕ ΝΙ|[ΧΟ]ΕΙΣ· ΝΙΣΒΩ ΝΕ  
 ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· | ΝΙΨΟ ΧΝΕ ΝΕ

[And] they have <sup>5</sup> [other names,  
 which] I gave | [you earlier.]  
 Now from the consent | [of those]  
 who have just been mentioned, |  
 thoughts [appeared] | [in aeons] that  
 were mentioned earlier. <sup>10</sup> [And  
 from] thoughts, thinkings; | [and  
 from] thinkings, teachings; | [and  
 from] teachings, counsels; | and  
 from counsels, wills; | and from  
 wills are words.

<sup>15</sup> Now they have other names.  
 Thoughts | are called | “gods”;  
 thinkings, | “lords”; teachings are  
 “angels”; | counsels are

## NHC III 83,2–10

ΕΒ[ΟΛ ΖΝ̄ ΤΕ]ΥΣΥΝΦΩΝΗ|CIC  
 ΝΤΑΕΙΡ ΨΡΠ̄ ΝΧΟΟΥ ΑΥΟΥ|ΩΝΖ  
 ΖΝ̄ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΣΙ <sup>5</sup>  
 ΝΕΝΝΟΙΑ· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄ <Ν̄>ΕΝΝΟΙΑ  
 ΝΕΝ|ΘΥΜΗCIC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄  
 ΝΕΝΘΥΜΗCIC | ΝΕΦΡΟΝΗCIC  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄ ΝΕΦΡΟΝΗ|CIC  
 Ν̄ΛΟΓΙCΜΟC· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄  
 Ν̄ΛΟΓΙ|CΜΟC ΝΕΘΕΛΗCIC· ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΝ̄ ΝΕ <sup>10</sup>ΘΕΛΗCIC Ν̄ΛΟΓΟC·

| [From the] consenting | of those I  
 have just mentioned, thoughts  
 appeared | in the aeons that exist. <sup>5</sup>  
 From thoughts, reflectings; | from  
 reflectings, | considerings; from  
 considerings, | rationalities; from  
 rationalities, | wills; from <sup>10</sup> wills,  
 words.

*Eug*-III:

83,3–4 K omits “in” and incorrectly makes “aeons” the subject of “appeared” (followed by Tr).

83,5 Not emended by Tr, although his translation reflects the above emendation (so also K’s translation). My translation omits the articles here and elsewhere in the list because it appears that inclusive collectivities are referred to.

NHC III

BG

2-10

ΦΩΝΗ ΟΥ  
Υ ΛΟΓΟΥ  
ΠΑΙ ΝΟ  
ΚΑΘΗΜΕ  
Α ΖΗ  
ΦΡΟΝΗΣ  
ΟΙΟ  
ΖΗ  
ΕΛΛΗΝΟΙ  
ΛΟΓΟ

ring of the  
l. thought  
ons that are  
ectings: for  
erings: for  
malities: for  
from 10 m<sup>3</sup>

of "appeared"  
e emendation  
elsewhere

NHC V 11,19–25

NHC III 83,10–16

ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· † ΝΙΟΥ<sup>20</sup>[ω ψ Ν]ε

ΝΙΩΑΧΕ· †

† ΔΝΜΝ† &lt;CNOOYC&gt; ἰβ̄ | [Δε] Ἰτε

ΝΙΣΟΜ ΕΤΕ ΑΥΡ̄ ΨΟ | ΡΠ̄

Ἰ]χ̄[οο]Υ ΕΤΑΥΕΙΡΕ ἸΝΟΥ† |

[ΜΕΤ]ε· ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ

ἸΝΟΥΑΝ | [CΟ ἸΣΟΜ ἸΠΠ̄]ἸΚΗ

ΤΟΥϞ[Ι] ΤΟΥϞ[Ι] <sup>25</sup> [Ἰ]ΜΟΥΟΥ

ἸΘΕ ΕΤ[ε ΝΗ] ἸΜ[Ἰ†ΖΟΥΟΥ†] |

ΤΜΝΤ̄CNOOYC | CΕ ἸΣΟΜ

ἸΤΑΕΙΡ̄ ΨΡΠ ἸΧΟΟΥ |

ΑΥCΥΜΦΩΝΕΙ ΜἸ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΟΥ |

ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἸCΙ ἸΖΟΥΤ

&lt;ζ̄ ζ̄&gt; | ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ &lt;ζ̄ ζ̄&gt;· ΖΩCΤΕ

ἸCΕΡ̄ ΨϞε<sup>15</sup> CNOOYC ἸΔΥΝΑΜΙC·

ΤΕΨϞΕCΝΟ | ΟΥC ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ

“angels”; † [wills] <sup>20</sup> [are] “words.” †

[Now] when the | twelve powers  
who have [just] | been [discussed]  
achieved | [consent], each (pair)  
revealed | [six spiritual powers]. <sup>25</sup>  
Just as [the masculine (off-spring)]

Then the twelve | powers, whom I  
just discussed, | consented with each  
other. | <Six> males (each) (and)  
<six> females (each) were revealed,  
| so that there are seventy- <sup>15</sup> two  
powers. Each one of the seventy-  
two | revealed

*Eug-V:*

11,19–20 Some text has apparently dropped out: ΝΙΩΑΧΕ, “words,” is not another name (11,15).

11,20 The numeral at the end of the line following the written number is probably a scribal gloss, similar to those in *Apoc. Adam* (V,5) 80,9; 81,14; 82,4; 82,10. Apparently interest in the gloss led the final copyist to overlook the second half of the number.

11,23 Third letter after lacuna: see Emmel, 1979: 184.

Second superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

11,24 Emmel reconstructs ]Π̄Ν[ΑΤ]ἸΚΗ (1979: 184). An examination of the photographs leaves me unconvinced of any ink traces before ἸΚΗ; moreover the abbreviation Emmel employs for πνευματική differs from that used in the one other place in the codex where the word is found: 10,16.

11,25 Second and fifth letters after first lacuna: see Emmel, 1979: 184.

*Eug-III:*

83,13–14 MS has, in each case, c̄ c̄. Since c̄ is the numeral for 200, it is inappropriate in the context. At some point in the transmission of the text stigmata (ς) were apparently mistaken for sigmas (c). Not emended by Tr, although his translation reflects an emendation (so also K).

Corr.: second c̄ (line 13) for erased ζΙΜΕ.

NHC III

BG

0-16

Ἰσχω

Ἰσχυροῦ

Ἰσχυροῦ

Ἰσχυροῦ

Ἰσχυροῦ

Ἰσχυροῦ

owers, who

resented with

s (each) + zi

o were re-ve-

eventy. 15 pm

of the seven

ords," is not as

number is pre-

0:14, 82:4-6

ik the second

ation of the

reover the air

the one other

34.

), it is inappre-

r stigmata (1:14)

ugh his trans-

NHC V 11,26–12,4

NHC III 83,16–20

[N̄]TE NEΥCOO[Υ· ΕΥΕ] N̄COOY  
 ÇO[OY·] | [zω]ÇTE N̄[H ET]ψωπε  
 N̄z[IO ME M̄] | [ΠN̄]Δ· ΕΥ[ε  
 N̄CO]Ç[O· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪ ΕΤ] | Ε  
 ΝΙΑ [Nψ̄εCNOOYC N̄TE  
 ΝΙΑ]ΥN<sup>30</sup>[AMIC NE AYOWNz̄  
 ΕΒΟΛ 6± ]

(2± lines lacking)

[1B̄] [· ΝΙΑΝΨM̄] N̄T̄ψ[εCε· ΠΕΥΖΩΤP̄  
 ΠE] | [ΠIOYωψ  
 M̄ΠI]ωT̄· Π[H ΕΤΑΦΟΥΝΖΟΥ] |  
 ΧE ΕΥ[εψ]ωΠE [N̄ZENTYΠOC·] |  
 ΠIPWM [ε C]E N̄N[ATMOY

| of the six (pairs) of them [are] six  
 each, | so [those who] are [female] |  
 [spirits are six each. And these] |  
 [seventy-two] <sup>30</sup> [powers revealed  
 . . . ] | (2± lines lacking)

[12] [ . . . the three hundred sixty. Their  
 union is] | [the will  
 of the Father, who revealed them] |  
 that they might become [types.] |  
 | [Therefore our aeon]

N̄CI TOYEI TOY|EI M̄MOOY N̄T̄OY  
 M̄ΠNEΥMATI|KON  
 ETE NAΪ NE TψM̄TψECE  
 N̄|ΔYNAΜIC ΠEYΖΩT̄P̄ THPOY ΠE  
<sup>20</sup> ΠOYωψ·

ΠΑΘΑΝΑΤOC ΔE N̄P̄ΩME |

| five spiritual (powers), | which  
 (together) are the three hundred sixty  
 | powers. The union of them all is <sup>20</sup>  
 the will.

Therefore our aeon came to be as the  
 type

*Eug-V:*

11,26 Third letter after first lacuna: see Emmel, 1979: 184.

11,27 ψ: see Emmel, 1979: 184. Emmel reconstructs ε immediately after the first lacuna, but all that is visible is the top of the curve. Since a middle stroke, which usually extends to the right of the upper curve, is not visible, the more likely reconstruction is c.

12,1 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

12,2 See endnote 7.

*Eug-III:*

83,20 “will”: see endnote 7.



NHC III

BG

## NHC V 12,4–12

ἀπενεων] <sup>5</sup> ψωπε  
 ἄπεϛτ[γπος· πιχρονος ] | δε  
 εταψωπε ἄο[γτυπος ἄ]|τε  
 πιωοριτ̄ ἄχπο ἄ[τεψ ἄψηρε·] |  
 †ρομπε δε αψ[ωπε  
 ἄογτυπος ] | ἄτε π̄ρ̄·  
 πιμ̄†[σνοογ]ς δε <sup>10</sup> ἄνεβο†.  
 αψωπε[ε ἄογτυπ]ος | ἄτε  
 †μ̄†σνοογ[ς ἄδωμ ετ]αγ|ογ  
 ων̄ εβολ ζ̄μ π̄ρ̄· νιαγγελος |

came to be <sup>5</sup> as the [type] of  
 [Immortal] Man. [Time] | came to  
 be as the [type of] | [his] first-  
 begotten [son.] | The year [came to  
 be as the type] | of Savior. The  
 twelve <sup>10</sup> months came to be [as the  
 type] | of the twelve [powers who] |  
 appeared from Savior. They are

## NHC III 83,21–84,4

αψωπε ναϛ ἄτυπος ἄδσι  
 πεν|αιων· πεχρονος αψωπε  
 ἄ|τυπος ἄπεπρωτογενετωρ  
 πεψωρη[ε· τερομπε α]ψωπε [πΔ]  
 ἄ|τυπος ἄπ[σωτηρ·  
 πμ̄]†σ̄νο|ογς ἄεβο† αψωπε  
 ἄτυπος | ἄτμ̄†σ̄νοογς ἄδωμ·

| of Immortal Man. | Time came to  
 be as | the type of First Begetter,  
 his son. [The year] came to be as | [84]  
 the type of [Savior. The] twelve |  
 months came to be as the type | of

*Eug-V:*

12,5 Superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

12,6 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

12,10 Low dot may indicate word separation (see 8,7 and 8,16).

12,12 Third superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

83,21–22 K unaccountably does not translate the possessive article πεν- (“our”), leaving instead a lacuna indicator. He also incorrectly makes “the immortal Man” the subject of the sentence.

84,1 αψωπε (Tr—incorrectly restored).

[τερομπε ], [“the year”]: [“the all-begetter”] (πανγενετωρ ) (K) (too long for the lacuna).

84,2 “savior”: not restored by K.

84,3 Corr.: τυπος for τοπος (erasure).

MS has the second superlinear stroke in lacuna.

NHC III

BG

1-244  
10C N61  
NOC a457  
TORENEM  
TE a C477  
EP  
ESOT a177  
CNOOYC

1 Time  
First Begre  
came to be  
The Jew  
as the type

article men  
the immen

1 KI (no be

## NHC V 12,13–21

ΝΕ ΠΙΩΜΝ̄†ΨΕΕΕ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕ |  
 ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ· ΑΥΨΩΠΕ  
 Ν̄ΟΥΤΥ<sup>15</sup> ΠΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕ †ΨΜΝ̄†ΨΕΕΕ  
 Ν̄ΒΟΜ | ΕΤΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄  
 ΠΩΤΗΡ· | ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΕ  
 ΕΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒ[ΟΛ] | Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΑΪ ΕΥΕ  
 Ν̄ΝΑ†† ΗΠΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ[·] | ΑΥΨΩΠΕ  
 Ν̄ΟΥΤΥΠΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑ[Υ]<sup>20</sup> Ν̄ΒΙ  
 ΝΙΖΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΟΥΝΟΥ Μ[Ν̄] |  
 ΝΕΥΣΟΥΣΟΥ·

| the angels. The three hundred sixty  
 days of | the year came to be as the  
 type <sup>15</sup> of the three hundred sixty  
 powers | who appeared from Savior.  
 | The days with their hours and |  
 moments came to be as the type of |  
 the angels who came from <sup>20</sup> them  
 (the three hundred sixty powers),  
 since | they are numberless.

## NHC III 84,4–11

ΠΩΜΤ<sup>5</sup>{Τ}ΨΕΕΕ Ν̄ΤΝ̄  
 ΤΕΡΟΜ<Π>Ε Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ Ν̄|ΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ  
 Ν̄ΤΥΠΟΣ Ν̄ΤΨΜ̄†ΨΕ|ΣΕ Ν̄ΒΟΜ·  
 ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΤΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ | Ζ̄Μ̄  
 ΠΩΤΗΡ Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΥ|ΨΩΠΕ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΗΠΕ <sup>10</sup>  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ Ν̄ΤΥΠΟΣ |  
 Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΕΥΝΟΟΥΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΣΟΥΣΟΥ

the twelve powers. The three <sup>5</sup>  
 hundred sixty days of the year |  
 came to be as the type of the three  
 hundred | sixty powers who  
 appeared | from Savior. Their hours  
 | and moments came to be as the <sup>10</sup>  
 type of the angels who came | from  
 them (the three hundred sixty  
 powers) (and) who are without  
 number.

*Eug-V:*

12,13 The absence of punctuation after ΝΕ may indicate that ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΕ, “They are the angels,” is a gloss (see par.), or it may mean that the scribe intended the rendering “The angels are the three hundred sixty days of the year. They came to be. . . .”

*Eug-III:*

84,5 MS has ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ. Tr emends this word but lacks the initial emendation.

NHC III 106,24–107,5

BG 103,10–17

ΝΕΤΝΗΟΥ<sup>25</sup> ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ν̄  
 z ΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΛ̄†ΛΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ̄  
 ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ | ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥ Τῆ ΜΠΑΪ  
 ΕΥΤῆΝΝΟ|ΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
 ΜΠΠΑΝ|ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ· ΧΕ ΕΥΕΖΑΡΗΖ  
 ΕΡΟΥ<sup>5</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥ Τῆ· ΑΥΩ

<sup>10</sup> ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΠ|ΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
 ΑΥΤῆΝΝΟΥ|ΣΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆΜ ΠΑΕΙ  
 | ΝΘΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΛ̄†ΛΕ ΕΒΟΛ | ΖΜ  
 ΠΟΥΘΙΝ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ<sup>15</sup>  
 ΜΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ †εα|ρεζ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ† | ΑΥΩ

17 All who come<sup>25</sup> into the world, like  
 a drop from the Light, | are sent by  
 him | to the world of Almighty, |  
 that they might be guarded<sup>5</sup> by him.  
 And the

<sup>10</sup> All who come into the | world  
 have been sent | by him, | like a drop  
 | from the Light, to the world<sup>15</sup> of  
 Almighty, | † to guard it by him. †  
 | And the

SJC-III:

107,1 Corr.: second λ for erased ρ; z for erased letter.



## NHC III 107,5–14

## BG 103,17–104,11

ἀπϣωνζ ἡ|τεϣβ̄ψε μορϣ̄· ζῆ  
 πετεζνεϣ· | ἡ̄τσοφια χε  
 ερεπζωβ <ναοϣωνζ> εβολ  
 ζι|τοοτ̄ ῃ̄πκοσμοϣ τηρ̄  
 ἡ̄τῃ̄ν<τ>|ζηκε ετβε  
 τεϣῃ̄τ̄χασι ζητ<sup>10</sup> ῃ̄  
 τεϣῃ̄τ̄β̄λλε· ῃ̄  
 τῃ̄τ̄α|τσοοϣν χε α<ϣ>† ραν  
 εροϣ· ανοκ | δε ἡ̄ταεῑε̄ι εβολ  
 ζῆ ἡ̄τοποϣ ῃ̄|[π]ϣαζρε· ζῆ  
 πετεζνεϣ ῃ̄πινοϣ | [ἡ̄ο]ϣοειν  
 ἡ̄ταζε̄ι εβολ ζῆ πϣωνζ

τῃ̄τ̄ρε ἡ̄τεϣβ̄ψε | ασμορϣ ζῆ  
 ποϣωψε ἡ̄  
 τσοφια [χεκαασ ερεπι]|ζωβ  
 ναοϣ[ωνζ εβολ ῃ̄]|πκοσμοϣ  
 τηρϣ ζῆ τῃ̄[ἡ̄τ̄]|ζηκε ετβε  
 τεϣῃ̄τ̄χασι<sup>5</sup> ζητ ῃ̄  
 τεϣῃ̄τ̄β̄λλε | ῃ̄  
 τεϣῃ̄τ̄ατσοοϣν χε | αϣ† ραν  
 εροϣ ανοκ δε | ᾱῑε̄ι εβολ ζῆ  
 ἡ̄τοποϣ | ἡ̄τπε ζρᾱι ζῆ ποϣωψ  
 ῃ̄<sup>10</sup>πνοϣ νοϣο̄ῑν ᾱτβωλ  
 ῃ̄|πϣων<ζ> ετῃ̄μαϣ

[P̄Δ]

[104]

bond of | his forgetfulness bound  
 him by the will | of Sophia, that the  
 matter might be <revealed> through  
 it | to the whole world in poverty |  
 concerning his (Almighty's)  
 arrogance<sup>10</sup> and blindness and | the  
 ignorance that he was named. But I  
 | came from the places | above by  
 the will of the great | Light, (I) who  
 escaped from that bond;

fetter of his forgetfulness | bound  
 him by the will of  
 Sophia, [so that the] | matter might  
 be revealed [to] | the whole world in  
 poverty | concerning his  
 (Almighty's) arrogance<sup>5</sup> and  
 blindness | and his ignorance that |  
 he was named. But I | came from  
 the places | above by the will of<sup>10</sup>  
 the great Light; I have loosed | that  
 <bond>;

## SJC-III:

107,6 Corr.: second ζ for erased η.

107,7 So emended by T-S (in translation only) & K.

107,8 “in poverty”: “as poverty” (K).

107,9 “concerning”: “because of” (K).

107,11 MS has ϣ (active rather than passive: “he gave himself a name”; not emended by T-S or K). For the significance of a deity's being named, see 94,21–24, and parr.

107,13 T-S restores [πϣ].

107,14 “who”: “which” (K) (great light? will?).

## SJC-BG:

104,4 “concerning”: “because of” (T-S).

104,6–7 See III 107, 11n.

104,11 MS has τ, “that *creation*” (not emended by T-S).

N.B. the stroke rather than the expected dieresis in the last word; see also 115,11 and 123,16.





## NHC III 107,15–22

## BG 104,12–105,4

15 [ετ]̄μαγ̄ αεισωλῑπ̄ μ̄φωβ  
 ἡ̄ν̄|[c]̄ρονε̄ αειτογ̄νοσ̄  
 κεκαᾱσ̄ εϥ|να† καρποσ̄  
 εναψωϥ εβολ | [z]̄; τοο† ἡ̄σι  
 πιτλ̄†λε̄ ετ̄μαγ̄ |  
 πενταγ̄τ̄ῆ̄νοογ̄ϥ̄ ζιτ̄ῆ̄ τσοφια  
 20 εϥεχ̄ωκ̄ εβολ̄ αγω̄  
 ἡ̄νεϥψωωτ̄ | σε̄· αλλᾱ  
 εγ̄νανοσ̄ <β>ϥ̄ εβολ̄ ζιτο | ο†  
 πνοσ̄ ἡ̄σωτηρ̄ χε̄

ᾱτ̄σωλιπ̄ | μ̄φωβ̄ ἡ̄π̄μαγ̄ογ̄  
 ἡ̄σ̄ονε̄ | ᾱῑτογ̄νοσ̄ϥ̄ κεκαᾱσ̄  
 εϥε|† καρποσ̄ εναψωϥ̄ εβολ̄ 15  
 ζ̄ῑτοτ̄ ἡ̄σι† τ̄λ̄†λε̄ ετ̄ῆ̄μαγ̄  
 τᾱῑ νταγ̄τ̄ῆ̄νοογ̄σ̄ | εβολ̄  
 ζ̄ῑτοοτ̄σ̄ ἡ̄τ̄σοφ̄ι | ᾱ ἡ̄σ̄ωκ̄  
 ἡ̄σ̄τ̄μ̄ωωπε̄  
 σε̄ [ἡ̄]ψ̄τᾱ αλλᾱ εγ̄ενα | ζ̄βεσ̄  
 εβολ̄ ζ̄ῑτοο† ᾱ|νοκ̄ πε̄ πνοσ̄  
 ἡ̄σωτηρ̄ | κεκαᾱσ̄

[F̄E]

15 I have cut off the work of the |  
 robbers; I have wakened that drop |  
 that was sent from Sophia, | that it |  
 might bear much fruit 20 through me  
 and be perfected and not again be |  
 defective but be <joined> through |  
 me, the Great Savior, that

I have cut off | the work of the  
 robber tomb; | I have wakened that  
 drop | that was sent 15 from Sophia,  
 | that it | might bear much fruit |  
 through me and be perfected and not  
 again become  
 defective but be joined | through  
 me—I | am the Great Savior— | that

[105]

## SJC-III:

107,15 MS has first superlinear stroke in lacuna.

“cut off”: “revealed” (K, apparently translating σωλιπ̄ instead of σωλιπ̄).

107,18 Regarding the gender of τλ†λε̄, see BG 104,13–105,2n. and Till’s endnote (T–S: 328).

107,21 Not emended by T–S or K (“be separated”). T–S takes the word to refer to separation from material bonds. νοσ̄ is unattested elsewhere as stat. pron. of νογ̄ζε̄, “separate.” In view of the BG par. it seems, therefore, more likely that νοσ̄ should be emended as above. See BG 105,1–2n.

## SJC-BG:

104,13–105,2 N.B., the pronouns referring to τλ†λε̄ are masc., preceding its occurrence, and fem. following it. T–S suggests that the scribe copied his *Vorlage* until he came to the noun, which he took to be fem. (it occurs as either masc. or fem.). Subsequent pronouns therefore were changed (T–S: 328).

105,1–2 “be joined”: less likely, “be fertilized” (T–S). T–S takes the verb to be different from, although similar in appearance to, νογ̄ζε̄, “to yoke, be joined” (Crum: 243a). Crum also makes this distinction but expresses his uncertainty (243b). For the transitive use of νογ̄ζε̄ (2), meaning “to fertilize,” Crum cites only the instance here, the grammatical object of which he mistakenly takes to be a female personage. For the concept of joining, see 122,5–123,1.



NHC III 107,22–108,12

BG 105,4–106,5

PH  
 ερεπεϛ|εοοϛ ναοϙωνζ εβολ·  
 κεκααϛ | εϙνατμαειε  
 τκεσοφια εβολ ζμ<sup>25</sup> πεδρωζ  
 ετμμαϙ κε ν̄νενεϛ  
 ψηρε δε ψωπε ν̄ψτα αλλα |  
 εϙνα† ματε ζν̄ τετιμη μν̄ |  
 οϙεοοϙ ν̄σεβωκ εζραϊ ψα  
 πεϙ|ειω† ν̄σεσοϙν̄ ν̄ψαχε  
 μ̄ποϙ<sup>5</sup>οειν μ̄μν†ζοοϙ† ν̄τωτν̄  
 ν̄|δε ν̄ταϙτν̄νοοϙ τηοϙτν̄  
 ζι|τμ̄ πψηρε ν̄ταϙτν̄νοοϙϙ· |  
 κε ετετναχι οϙοειν  
 ν̄τετν̄·|caze τηνοϙ εβολ  
 ν̄τβψε ν̄<sup>10</sup>νεζοϙcia αϙω  
 ν̄cτμ̄οϙωνζ | δε ετβε τηνοϙ  
 ν̄ci τετριβη | ετχαζμ̄ τη ετε

ερεπεϛεο<sup>5</sup>οϙ οϙωνζ εβολ κε  
 εϙ|ετμαϊε τκεσοφια | εβολ  
 ζμ̄ πιψτα ετ{ε}|<μμαϙ κε  
 ν̄>νενεϛωη|ρε δε ψωπε ν̄ψτα  
 αλλα<sup>10</sup> εϙεματε ν̄νοϙτιμη |  
 μν̄ οϙεοοϙ ν̄σεβωκ | εζραϊ ψα  
 πεϙειω† αϙ|ω ν̄σεσοϙων  
 τεζϊη ν̄ν̄|ψαχε μ̄ποϙοειν  
 ν̄τω<sup>15</sup>τν̄ αϙτν̄νοοϙ τηϙτν̄ |  
 εβολ ζϊτοοτϙ μ̄πψη|ρε  
 ν̄ταϙτν̄νοοϙϙ κεκα|αϛ  
 ετετναχι οϙοϊν ν̄  
 τετν̄caze τηϙ[τ]ν̄ ε|βολ  
 ν̄τβψε ν̄νεζοϙ|cia  
 ν̄cτμ̄οϙωνζ δε ετ|βε τηϙτν̄  
 ν̄ci †τριβη<sup>5</sup> ετχαζμ̄ τεβολ ζμ̄

[P̄ζ]

108  
 his | glory might be revealed, so that  
 | Sophia might also be justified in  
 regard to that <sup>25</sup> defect, that her  
 sons might not again become  
 defective but | might attain honor  
 and | glory and go up to their |  
 Father and know the words of the  
 masculine Light. And <sup>5</sup> you | were  
 sent by | the Son, who was sent |  
 that you might receive Light and |  
 remove yourselves from the  
 forgetfulness of <sup>10</sup> the authorities,  
 and that it might not again come to  
 appearance | because of you,  
 namely, the unclean rubbing | that is

his glory <sup>5</sup> might be revealed, so that  
 Sophia | might also be | justified in  
 regard to <that> defect, | <that> her  
 sons | <might not> again become  
 defective but <sup>10</sup> might attain honor |  
 and glory and go | up to their Father  
 and | know the way of the | words of  
 Light. You <sup>15</sup> were sent | by the  
 Son, | who was sent that | you might  
 receive Light and  
 remove yourselves | from the  
 forgetfulness of the authorities, | and  
 that it might not again come to  
 appearance | because of you,  
 namely, the unclean rubbing <sup>5</sup> that is

[106]

SJC-III:

108,11 “because of you”: “for your sakes” (K).

SJC-BG:

105,8 MS has μαϙψινηε, “that does not seek.”

NHC V 12,21–23

NHC III 84,12–15

ἄτεΐζε οὐκ ἔστι | ταγοῦντων  
 εβολ' αἰταμιο ἡ[αϷ] | ἄβι  
 πεγειωτ' πρεϷπο ἄ[νη] |

| ἄτεροῦωνος δε εβολ ἄβι  
 νεν | ταειψαϷ ε εροου  
 αἰταμιο να<Ϸ> | ἄβι  
 πανγενετωρ πεγειωτ' ἄ<sup>15</sup>ψορπ

Thus, again, | the father of those  
 who appeared, | Begetter of All  
 [Things], very soon created

| And when those whom I have  
 discussed appeared, | All-Begetter,  
 their father, very soon | created

*Eug-III:*

84,12 ἄτεροῦ<ου>ωνος (Tr; unnecessary emendation).

84,13 MS has γ (correction of untranslated ethical dative): not emended by Tr, who translates “for them” (so also K).

“their father, very soon”: “their first father” (T–S, K & Tr).

## NHC III 108,12–25

## BG 106,5–107,5

ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ | ΖΜ ΠΕΚΡΩΜ' ΕΤΖΑ  
 ΖΟΤΕ' ΠΕΝ|ΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ  
 ΠCΑΡΚΙΝΟC Μ<sup>15</sup>ΜΟΟΥ ΖΩΜ'  
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΥ|ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ' ΤΟΤΕ  
 ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑ[Φ] | ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΑC ΧΕ  
 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠCΩ|ΤΗΡ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΤΒ  
 ΕΝΠΗΟΥΕ ΟΥ|ΗΡ ΝΕ' ΝΕΥΑΙΩΝ'  
 ΠΕΧΕ ΠΤΕ<sup>20</sup>ΛΙΟC ΝCΩΤΗΡ' ΧΕ  
 †ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥ | ΜΜΩΤΝ ΧΕ  
 ΤΕΤΝΨΙΝΕ ΝCΑ | ΝΙΝΟC ΝΑΙΩΝ  
 ΧΕ ΝΕΤΝΝΟΥ|ΝΕ ΕΥΖΝ  
 ΝΙΑΠΕΡΑΝΤΟΝ

ΝΤΕ|ΡΟΥΩΝΖ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΝΗ  
 ΝΤΑΕΙ<sup>25</sup>ΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΨΟΡΠ  
 ΑΥΤCΑ [ΝΟ]

| from the fearful fire that | came  
 from their fleshly part. <sup>15</sup> Tread upon  
 their | malicious intent.” Then  
 Thomas said to [him]: | “Lord,  
 Savior, | how many are the aeons of  
 those | who surpass the heavens?”  
 The perfect <sup>20</sup> Savior said: “I praise |  
 you (pl.) because you ask about | the  
 great aeons, for your roots | are in  
 the infinities.

Now when | those whom I have  
 discussed earlier were revealed, <sup>25</sup>  
 he [provided]

Π|ΚΩΖ ΕΤΖΑΤΝ ΤΕΝΤΑC|ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΜ ΠCΑΡΚΙΝΟC | ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ  
 ΕΤΕΤΝΕ|ΖΩΜ ΕΧΝ  
 ΤΕΥΠΡΟΝΟΙ <sup>10</sup>Α ΤΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ  
 ΝΑΦ ΝΒΙ | ΘΩΜΑC ΧΕ ΠΕΧC  
 ΠCΩ|ΤΗΡ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΕ ΝΙΑΙΩΝ |  
 ΕΤΟΥΟΤΒ ΕΜΠΗΥΕ ΠΕ|ΧΑΦ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΤΕΛΙΟC ΝCΩ<sup>15</sup>ΤΗΡ ΧΕ  
 †ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥ Μ|ΜΩΤΝ ΧΕ  
 ΤΕΤΝΨΙΝΕ | ΕΤΒΕ ΝΙΝΟC ΝΑΙΩΝ  
 | ΧΕ ΝΕΤΝΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΥΖΡΑ|ΕΙ ΖΝ  
 ΝΙΑΠΕΡΑΝΤΟΝ

ΝΤΕΡΟΥΩΝΖ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ |  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΪΧ ΟΟΥ ΝΨΟ|ΡΕΠ' ΑΦ  
 ΨΡΠ ΝΤΑΜΙ | Ο ΝΑΦ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΕ<sup>5</sup>ΤΩΡ ΝΕΙΩΤ

from the | envy that is with what |  
 came from their fleshly part, | and  
 (also) that you might | tread upon his  
 malicious intent.” <sup>10</sup> Then Thomas  
 said to him: | “Christ, Savior, | how  
 many are the aeons | that surpass the  
 heavens?” The | perfect Savior said:  
<sup>15</sup> “I praise | you (pl.) because you  
 ask | about the great aeons, | for  
 your roots are | in the infinities.  
 Now when | those whom I have  
 discussed earlier were revealed, |  
 Self-Begetter | Father very soon  
 created

PZ

107

## SJC-III:

108,25 Bracketed letters are those presumed to be at the beginning of 109,1.

## SJC-BG:

106,6 Alt. for line: <κωζτ ετζα ζοτε νταφ->, “the <fearful fire that> came . . .”  
 (T-S sugg.); see SJC-III par.

106,11 MS has a large asterisk in the left margin.

106,14 MS has a large asterisk in the left margin.

## NHC V 12,24–30

ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΜΝ̄Τ̄CNOO[ΥC N̄NEΩN] <sup>25</sup>  
 N̄ΨOΡ[Π̄] EΥ[ΨM]ΨE  
 M̄ΠIMN̄TCN[OOC·]  
 | [N̄†]ZE NEI[EΩN· Π]OȲA ΠOYA  
 N̄N̄[H] | N̄†ŌB̄ N̄CΔM̄  
 ETA[YOY]ΩNZ̄ E[BOΛ] | [N̄Z]HT[Q̄·  
 OȲN̄TAY N̄†OY] N̄CTE[PEΩMA] |  
 [Z]N̄ NE[YPHOYE THPOY·]  
 ZOC[T[E] <sup>30</sup> N̄[C]E[Π̄ ΨM̄N̄†ΨECE  
 N̄CTEPeΩMA . . . ]  
 (2± lines lacking)

| twelve [aeons] <sup>25</sup> for [retinue] for  
 the twelve (powers).  
 | So each of the [aeons] of | the  
 seventy-two powers who appeared |  
 [from him have five] firmaments |  
 [in all their heavens], so <sup>30</sup> [there are  
 three hundred sixty firmaments . . . ]  
 | (2± lines lacking)

## NHC III 84,15–85,3

M̄M̄N̄T̄CNOOYC N̄AIΩN | EZOYN  
 ETZYΠHPECIA  
 M̄{N̄}ΠM̄N̄|T̄CNOOYC N̄AΓΓEΛOC·  
 AYΩ N̄ZPAĪ | ZN̄ NAIΩN THPOY  
 NEȲN̄ COE· COE· PE· ZM̄ ΠOYA  
 ΠOYA M̄MOOY ZOCTE <sup>20</sup> N̄CEP̄  
 ΨYECNOOYC M̄ΠE N̄TE  
 TEΨ|YECNOOYC N̄C OM̄ NAĪ  
 N̄TAYOYΩNZ | EBOΛ N̄ZHTQ̄· AYΩ  
 ZN̄ M̄ΠHOYE | THPOY NEOYN̄ †OY  
 †OY N̄CTE|PEΩMA ZOCTE N̄CEP̄  
 ΨM̄TΨE  
 CE N̄CTE[PEΩMA N̄]TE  
 †ΨMTΨE | CE N̄C OM̄ [NAĪ  
 N̄TAYO]YΩNZ EBOΛ | N̄ZHTOY

<sup>15</sup> twelve aeons | for retinue for the  
 twelve | angels. And in | each aeon  
 there were six (heavens), | so <sup>20</sup>  
 there are seventy-two heavens of the  
 seventy-two | powers who appeared  
 | from him. And in each of the  
 heavens | there were five  
 firmaments, | so there are  
 (altogether) three hundred sixty  
 [firmaments] of the three hundred |  
 sixty powers that appeared | from  
 them.

*Eug-V:*

12,28 Fifth superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

12,30 MS has a superlinear stroke visible in the second lacuna above the letter that would have followed CTEPEΩMA .

*Eug-III:*

84,16 Not emended by T–S, K or Tr (“with the twelve”).

85,1 Tr restores as above but leave N̄TE untranslated (“[firmaments]. Three hundred”) (similarly, K).

85,3 “from . . . firmaments”: less likely, “from the firmaments. When they” (K & Tr).

[ne]

[85]

NHC III

BG 107,5-8

(Coptic pages 109 and 110 are missing.)

ΜΜΝ̄ΤC|ΝΟΟΥC Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ  
ΕΥΖΗ|ΠΕΡΗCΙΑ Μ̄ΠΙΜΝ̄ΤC|ΝΟΟΥC  
ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC

<sup>5</sup> twelve | aeons for retinue | for the  
twelve | angels.

NHC V 13,1-7

NHC III 85,3-9

[ΓΓ] [ 9± ] . [ . ετ]αγρ̄ ψοι [ρπ̄ ν̄χοογ̄  
 ν̄τε]ρεν[ιςτ]ερεωμα | [χωκ  
 εβολ̄ α]γ† ρ[αν]εροογ̄ χε |  
 [†τ̄ξ̄ μ̄πνογε] ν̄νιψ [ορ]π̄  
 ν̄νεων̄  
<sup>5</sup> [ναϊ̄ δε τηρογ̄ ζ]εντελιος  
 νε ενα|[νοογ̄ αγ]ω ν̄†ζε  
 αφογ̄ων̄ξ̄ | [εβολ̄ ν̄σι πε]ψτα  
 ν̄†μ̄ν̄†ς̄ζ̄ῑ με̄

νεστερεωμα ν̄τε|ρογ̄χωκ  
 εβολ̄ αγ† ρν̄{N}ογ̄ χε <sup>5</sup>  
 τωμ̄τψεσε ν̄πε επραν  
 ν̄μ̄|πνογε ετζατεγ̄ζη̄  
 αγω ναϊ̄ τη|ρογ̄ σεχηκ̄ αγω  
 νανογ̄ αγω ν̄τε|ειζε αφογ̄ων̄ξ̄  
 εβολ̄ ν̄σι πζγ̄στε|ρημα  
 ν̄τμ̄ν̄τ̄ς̄ῑμε̄

[13] [ . . . that] have | [just been  
 mentioned.

When] the firmaments | [were  
 complete,] they were [called] | [“The  
 Three Hundred Sixty Heavens] of  
 the [First] Aeons.”

<sup>5</sup> [And all these] are perfect and |  
 [good. And] in this way [the] defect  
 | of femaleness appeared.

When the firmaments | were  
 complete, they were called <sup>5</sup> “The  
 Three Hundred Sixty Heavens,”  
 according to the name of the |  
 heavens that were before them.  
 And all these | are perfect and good.  
 And in this | way the defect | of  
 femaleness appeared.

*Eug-V:*

13,1 Superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

85,4 Not emended by Tr.

85,8 Corr.: erased ι at end of line.

85,9 Corr.: ημα for erasures.



NHC III

BG 107,8–108,1

ΝΑ|Ι̅ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΗΤΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΕ <sup>10</sup>  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ |  
 ΖΪΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̅ΝΑΪ ΑΦΟΥ|ΩΝΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΨ|ΤΑ Ζ̅Ν ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ  
 ΠΕΧΑ<ϣ> | ΝΑϣ ΧΕ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΕ  
 ΝΙ <sup>15</sup>ΑΙΩΝ ΧΙΝ ΝΙΑΠΕΡ̅Α | ΤΟΝ  
 Ν̅ΤΕ ΝΙΑ ΤΜΟΥ ΠΕ|ΧΑϣ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΝΩ|ΤΗΡ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕ  
 ΟΥΝΤϣ | ΜΑΑΧΕ ΕΣΩΤ̅Μ ΜΑΡΕϣ  
 ΣΩΤ̅Μ

P̅H

All | these are perfect <sup>10</sup> and good. |  
 Thus | the defect | in the female  
 appeared.”

And <he> said | to him: “How many  
 are the <sup>15</sup> aeons of the immortals, |  
 starting from the infinities?” | The  
 perfect Savior said: | “Whoever has |  
 ears to hear, let him  
 hear.

108

## SJC-BG:

107,13 T-S has γ, “they” (followed by K), but it is difficult to determine from the photograph whether the scribe intended γ or ϣ. If the pl. was intended, this is the only instance in the tractate where the questioner or questioners are not clearly identified. If the sing., the questioner remains Thomas.

107,14–16 “How . . . infinities?": “How many aeons are there of the boundless ones of the immortals?” (T-S).

107,17 MS has a large asterisk in the left margin.

## NHC V 13,7–19

| [αὐτὸς πρῶτος] ἢ ἄνεως πα  
 ρισω | με ἢ [νατμο] γ πε·  
 πιμασсна γ <sup>10</sup> π [α πωρη  
 ἄ] πρῶμε πε· πη ετοῦ | μῶ γ [τε  
 ε] ρ [ο] υ χε πωροῖ ἄ μμισε·

| πιμασσωμετ̄ πα πωρη  
 ἄ | πωρη ἄ πρῶμε πε· πη ετε |  
 ψαυμοῦτε εροϋ χε πωτηρ·  
<sup>15</sup> πη δε εταμαστε ἄναῖ πε  
 πιεων | [ἄπ] ἄτ̄ ρρο ετραῖ  
 εχωϋ ἄτε | [πνοῦτ] ε ἄψα  
 ενεεζ μἢ πια τἢ | [αρηχῆ ἄτ] ε  
 [νιε] ψ [ν ἄ] τε νι [α] τμοῦ | [πη

| [Now the first] aeon is that | of  
 [Immortal] Man. The second <sup>10</sup> is  
 that [of Son of] Man, who is | called  
 “First-begotten.”

| The third is that of the son of | Son  
 of Man, who is | called “Savior.”

<sup>15</sup> Now that which embraces these is  
 the aeon | [of the] Unruled One, of |  
 [the] Eternal [God] and the |  
 [Infinite, (the aeon) of the aeons of]  
 the immortals, | (the

## NHC III 85,9–18

περοϋεῖτ̄ <sup>10</sup> δε ἄιων πα  
 παθανατος ἄρῶμε | πε  
 πμεεσνα γ ἄιων πα πωρη |  
 ἄ πρῶμε πε πετεψαυχοος  
 ε|ροϋ χε πεπρωτογενετωρ  
 πετε | ψαυμοῦτε εροϋ χε  
 πωτηρ

<sup>15</sup> πετεμαστε ἄναῖ παιων  
 πετε | ἄν μἢ τ̄ ρρο ζιχωϋ ἄτἢ  
 πψα | ενεεζ ἄνοῦτε  
 ἄπεραντος παι | ων ἄτε  
 νιαων ἄτἢ ναθανατος |

The first <sup>10</sup> aeon, then, is that of  
 Immortal Man. | The second aeon is  
 that of Son of | Man, who is called |  
 “First Begetter,” (and) who | is  
 called “Savior.”

<sup>15</sup> That which embraces these is the  
 aeon | over which there is no  
 kingdom, (the aeon) of the | Eternal  
 Infinite God, the | aeon of the aeons  
 of the immortals

*Eug-V:*

13,8 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

13,9 Superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

85,15 “embraces” (so also Tr): “rules over” (K); see 73,6n.

85,16 Corr.: second τ for partially inscribed and erased μ.

85,17 “Eternal Infinite God” (similarly, K [footnote], & Tr): “divine, boundless Eternal One” (T-S); “eternal, divine unlimited” (K).

## NHC III

## BG 108,1-18

ΠΩΡΠ ΝΑΙΩ̄ | ΠΑ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ | ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ |  
 ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΠΡΟΤΟΓΕΝΕ<sup>5</sup> ΤΩΡ ΠΕΤΕ  
 ΨΑΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΠΩΤΗΡ |  
 ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑϞΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ |  
 ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΑ | ΠΡΩΜΕ  
 ΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥ<sup>10</sup> ΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ  
 ΑΔΑΜ ΠΒΑΛ | Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΪΝ

ΠΕΤΑΜΑΖ | ΤΕ Ν̄ΝΑΪ ΠΙΑΙΩΝ ΠΕ |  
 ΕΤΕ Μ̄Μ Μ̄ΝΤ̄ΡΡΟ ΖΪ|ΧΩϞ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 ΠΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ<sup>15</sup> ΝΑΠΕΡΑΝΤΟΝ  
 ΝΝΟΥ|ΤΕ ΠΙΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗC  
 {N̄}|ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΙΩΝ |  
 ΕΤ̄ΝΖΗΤϞ Ν̄ΝΑΤΜΟΥ

The first aeon | is that of Son of  
 Man, | who is called | ‘First  
 Begetter,’<sup>5</sup> who is called | ‘Savior,’  
 | who has appeared. | The second  
 aeon (is) that of | Man, who is called  
<sup>10</sup> ‘Adam, Eye | of Light.’

That which embraces | these is the  
 aeon | over which there is no  
 kingdom, | (the aeon) of the Eternal  
<sup>15</sup> Infinite God, | the Self-begotten  
 aeon | of the aeons | that are in it,  
 (the aeon) of the immortals,

---

SJC-BG:

108,11 “embraces”: “rules” (T-S); see III 73,6n.

108,14–15 “Eternal, Infinite God”: “eternal, divine Boundless” (T-S).

108,15 Corr.: an erased letter between the last two Ν’s.

## NHC V 13,19–27

## NHC III 85,19–86,5

ΕΤΝΤΠΕ ΝΤΜΑΖΩΜΟΥ]ΝΕ<sup>20</sup>  
[ΕΤΑΘΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΙ]ΧΑΘΟϚ

| [ΠΙΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΝΑΤ]ΜΟΥ  
ΑΘΟΥ|[ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΕΝΕΩ]Ν ΜΝ  
ΖΕΝ|[ΜΝΤΡΡΩΟΥ ΜΝ ΖΕ]ΝΘΟ[Μ'] |  
[ΑΦΤ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΑΥ] ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>25</sup>  
[ΕΤΑΘΟΥΩΝ]Ζ ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΝΖΗΤ῀ |  
[ 16± ]ΑΥ[ . . ] | [ 13± ΜΠΙ]ΧΑΘΟϚ  
(5± lines lacking)

aeon) [above the Eighth]<sup>20</sup> [that  
appeared in] chaos.

| [Now Immortal Man revealed] |  
[aeons] and [kingdoms] | [and  
powers] | [and gave authority to] all<sup>25</sup>  
[who appeared] from him | [ . . . ]  
| [ . . . of] chaos. | (5± lines lacking)

ΕΤΝΖΗΤ῀ ΠΣΑΝΖΡΕ  
ΝΤΜΕΖΩ<sup>20</sup>ΜΟΥΝΕ ΝΤΑΘΟΥΩΝΖ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΙ]ΧΑΘΟϚ

ΝΤΟϚ ΔΕ ΠΑΘΑΝΑΤΟϚ ΝΡΩ|ΜΕ  
ΑΘΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΝΑΙΩΝ | ΜΝ  
ΖΝΘΟΜ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΝΤΡΡΟ | ΑΦΤ  
ΝΤΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ'  
ΝΤΑΥΘ[Υ]Ψ[ΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν]ΖΗΤ῀  
Ε|ΤΡΟΥΤΑΝΘ [ΝΝΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΑ]ΨΟΥ  
| ΨΑ ΝΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΜΠ<C>ΑΖΡΕ  
ΜΠΕΧΑ|ΟϚ ΝΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ  
ΜΝ <N>ΕΥ<sup>5</sup>ΕΡΗΟΥ

| who are in it, (the aeon) above the  
Eighth<sup>20</sup> that appeared in | chaos.

Now Immortal Man | revealed aeons  
| and powers and kingdoms | and  
gave authority to everyone  
who [appeared from] him | to make  
[whatever they desire] | until the  
days that are above chaos. | For  
these consented with each other

*Eug-V:*

13,22 First letter after lacuna: see Emmel, 1979: 185.

13,25 First letter after first lacuna: see Emmel, 1979: 185.

*Eug-III:*

85,19 “above”: “the upper part of” (K & Tr).

85,20 “in” (so also T–S): “out of” (T–S, alt., K & Tr).

86,1 So restored by T–S, except that second z is in lacuna.

86,2 Alt.: [Ο ΝΝΕΤΟΥΟΥΑ]ΨΟΥ (T–S & Tr); the doubling of ΟΥ is uncharacteristic of the scribe (see 84,12; 89,4).

86,3 “that are above”: “of the upper part” (Tr).

86,4 Not emended by Tr, although his translation, which follows K, reflects the above emendation.

[πγ]

[86]

13,20  
13,20 “in” (so also  
13,20 “in” or “w  
13,20 “in” a most  
remains.

## NHC III

## BG 108,19–109,15

| ΝΤΑΪΧΟΟΥ ΝΨΟΡΡ  
 ΝΤΠΕ ΝΤΜΕΖΣΑΨϞΕ |  
 ΝΤΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ | ΤΣΟΦΙΑ  
 ΕΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΪΤ | ΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΕ  
 ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΙ<sup>5</sup>ΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΜΟΥ  
 ΑΨΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ΝΖΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ | ΜΝ  
 ΖΝΣΟΜ ΜΝ ΖΜΜΝ|ΤΡΡΟ ΑΨΩ ΑΨ†  
 ΝΤΕ|ΣΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ<sup>10</sup>  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΗΤϞ ΧΕ ΕΥΕ|ΕΙΡΕ  
 ΝΝΕΥΟΥΨΨ ΨΑ | ΝΙΖΑΕ ΕΤΕ  
 ΝΕΤΝΤΠΕ | ΝΕ ΜΠΕΧΑΟΣ ΝΑΪ  
 ΓΑΡ | ΑΥΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ ΜΝ ΝΕΥ<sup>15</sup>ΕΡΗΥ

P̄Θ

| whom I described earlier,  
 (the aeon) above the Seventh | that  
 appeared from | Sophia,  
 which is the | first aeon.  
 Now <sup>5</sup> Immortal Man revealed |  
 aeons | and powers and kingdoms |  
 and gave authority | to all who  
 appear <sup>10</sup> in him that they might |  
 exercise their desires until | the last  
 things that are above | chaos. For  
 these | consented with each <sup>15</sup> other

109

## SJC-BG:

109,2 “from” (so also T-S, alt.): “in” (T-S).

109,3 “which”: or “who” (presumably Sophia).

109,12 Corr.: a mostly erased letter (z?) after the first τ, whose superlinear stroke remains.

## NHC V 14,1–10

## NHC III 86,5–15

[ΓΔ] [ . . . . . ] [ 12± ] | [z]n̄  
 εο[ογ] n̄na[†† ηπε εροογ´] |  
 ηη ετα[γ†] πεγρ[αν εροογ´  
 ναϊ] | n̄τε †α[ρχ]η n̄ [†μητε  
 m̄n̄ †] <sup>5</sup>ατ̄ρ ζαν [ε]τε π[χωκ  
 εβολ πε´  
 πε]ζογειτ̄ n̄new[n m̄n̄ πιμεζ  
 cnaγ] | m̄n̄ πιμεζωom [ε†  
 πεζογειτ̄] | ζm̄ παϊ αγ† ραν  
 ε[ροϋ ξε πιcαζ] | ρε n̄τε  
 †m̄n̄τογ[α m̄n̄ πιm̄τον´  
 ο]γ[n̄] <sup>10</sup>τε πογα πογα

αγοωνζ εβολ m̄m̄nt|νοc nim´  
 αγω εβολ ζn̄ ογπn̄a |  
 <n̄>οym̄h̄we n̄ογοειν εγ|ζα  
 εοογ εm̄n̄τογ ηπε ναϊ n̄|ταγ†  
 ρινογ n̄ταρχη  
 ετε πεει <sup>10</sup>πε τεζογειτε  
 τμητε <m̄n̄> πχωκ  
 | εβολ  
 ετε παϊ πε πεζογειτ̄ n̄αι|ων  
 m̄n̄ πιμεζcnaγ m̄n̄ πιμεζ|ωom̄n̄τ  
 πεζογειτ̄ αγ† ρn̄q | ξε  
 τm̄n̄<τ>ογα α<γω>  
 ταναπαγcic εγ <sup>15</sup>n̄τε  
 πογα πογα

[14] [ . . . ] | [in glory (and) numberless.]  
 | They [received] their [names,  
 those] | of the [beginning] and [the  
 middle and the] <sup>5</sup> unending, which  
 [is the perfect,  
 the] | first aeon [and the second] |  
 and the third. [The first] | in it was  
 called [“Above] | Unity [and Rest.”]  
<sup>10</sup> Each one has

<sup>5</sup> and revealed | every magnificence,  
 even from spirit, | multitudinous  
 lights | that are glorious and without  
 number. These | received names in  
 the beginning, that <sup>10</sup> is, the first, the  
 middle, <and> the perfect; | that is,  
 the first aeon and | the second and  
 the third. | The first was called |  
 “Unity and Rest.” <sup>15</sup> Since each one

*Eug-V:*

14,2 Superlinear strokes are in lacuna.

Reconstruction: see 5,2.

14,4 Corr.: after first ε, η is crossed out. The following † seems to be made from an initial ι (i.e., the scribe first wrote ηι [pl. art.]).

*Eug-III:*

86,7 MS has m̄ (not emended by Tr).

86,10 MS has m̄. Not emended by T-S or Tr, although Tr’s translation, which follows K’s (“the midst, the perfection”), reflects the emendation τμητε {m̄} πχωκ εβολ.

86,14 Tr lacks the first emendation but has the second.

## NHC III

## BG 109,15–110,8

α<Υ>ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ | ΜΜΝΤΝΟΘ  
 ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ | ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΠΝΑ  
 ΝΟΥ|ΑΤΟ ΝΟΥΟΪΝ ΕΥΖΑ ΕΟ|ΟΥ  
 ΕΜΝΤΕΥ ΗΠΕ ΝΑΪ Ν  
 ΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΟΥ | ΖΝ ΤΑΡΧΗ

P̄T

ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ | ΠΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΕΙΤ ΝΑΙΩ |  
 ΜΝ <ΠΜΕΖ>CΝΑΥ ΜΝ  
 <ΠΜΕΖ>ΨΟΜΝΤ <sup>5</sup> ΠΕΖΟΥΕΙΤ  
 <ΠΕ> ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΤΜΝΤΟΥΑ | ΑΥΩ ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC |  
 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ

and revealed | every magnificence,  
 even | from spirit, | multitudinous  
 lights that are glorious | and without  
 number. These  
 were called | in the beginning,

110

that is, | the first aeon | and <the  
 second> and <the third>. <sup>5</sup> The first  
 <is> called | ‘Unity | and Rest.’ |  
 Each

## SJC-BG:

109,15 MS has *q*, “*he* revealed” (not emended by T-S).

110,4 Not emended by T-S (“and *two* and *three*”), although T-S recognizes that *Eug*-III par. has the better text.

110,5 Not emended by T-S. The gap in the sentence, remedied here by the insertion of a copula, may be caused by the omission of a line of text (see V par.).

## NHC V 14,10–18

π[εφραν·] ετρευ|† ραν δε χε  
 τεκκ[λησια ᾠ]πι|μεζωομε†  
 ᾠνε[ων ετ]βε | παψαῖ  
 ετασοϋωνζ̄ εβολ ζᾠ | πιογα·

χε εγεςωογζ̄ τηροϋ

<sup>15</sup> εγμα εζραῖ εογα ᾠσε†  
 πευ|ραν χε  
 τεκκλησια· εβολ | ζᾠ  
 †τεκκλησια ε†χοσε εν[ιπε·] |  
 ετασοϋωνζ̄ εβολ ᾠσι

[its (own) name.] And the naming |  
 [of] the third | [aeon] as “Assembly”  
 is [because of] | the multitude that  
 appeared in | the one, so that they all  
 might be gathered <sup>15</sup> together and |  
 named “Assembly,” from | the  
 Assembly above the [heavens.] |  
 When the

## NHC III 86,15–24

ᾠμαϋ πεφ|ραν {χε}  
 αϋονομαζε ᾠτεκκλη|σια  
 {ζ}ᾠπ<μεζ>ωομᾠτ ᾠαιων {χε}  
 ε|βολ ζᾠ πιατο ᾠμνηψε  
 ᾠτα|ζοϋωνζ̄ εβολ ζᾠ πιογα  
 ᾠοϋ<sup>20</sup>ατο ετβε παῖ  
 ερεπιμνηψε | σωογζ̄

ᾠσει εϋμᾠτογα· | ψαϋμοϋτε  
 εροοϋ χε  
 εκκλη|σια εβολ ζᾠ †εκκλησια  
 ετοϋατβ· | ετπε

ετβε πεει τεκκλησια ᾠ|

has its (own) | name, the | <third>  
 aeon was designated “Assembly” |  
 from the great multitude that |  
 appeared in the multitudinous one. <sup>20</sup>  
 Therefore, when the multitude |  
 gathers and comes to a unity, | they  
 are called “Assembly,” | from the  
 Assembly that surpasses | heaven.  
 Therefore, the Assembly of

*Eug*-III:

86,16–20 See endnote 8.

86,17 Not emended by Tr, although his translation reflects the second emendation, as does K’s, which lacks the other two also; T–S does not have the first emendation; see endnote 8.





## NHC V 14,18–30

†[ΕΚΚΛΗ]|CΙΑ ΝΤΕ †ΖΟ[Γ]ΔΟΑΣ·  
 [ΑΥ†ΡΑΝ] <sup>20</sup> ΕΡΟΣ·  
 ΕΥ[ΖΟΟΥ†CΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ·ΚΑ]|ΤΑ Θ[Ε  
 ΝΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΟΟΥ† ΜΝ̄] |  
 ΟΥΜΕΡ[ΟC ΝCΖΙΜΕ· ΠΙΜΕΡΟΣ  
 ΝΖΟ]|ΟΥΤ ΑΥ† [ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΤΕΚ]|ΚΛΗCΙΑ· [ΠΙΜΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ  
 ΝCΖΙΜΕ] <sup>25</sup> ΧΕ [ΖΩΗ ΧΕ  
 ΕCΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ] | ΑΠΩΝΖ  
 Ψ[Ω]ΠΞ [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝ ΟΥ]| [CΖΙ]ΜΕ  
 Ν[ΝΗ] ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ· ΝΙΡΑΝ ΔΕ] |  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ [ 16± ] | ΜΕ ΝΝ [ 17± ] <sup>30</sup>  
 (3± lines lacking)

[Assembly] of the Ogdoad |  
 appeared, it [was named,] <sup>20</sup>  
 [because it was androgynous,  
 according to] | [a male portion and] |  
 a [female] portion. [The male] |  
 [portion] was [called] “Assembly,” |  
 [and the female portion,] <sup>25</sup> [“Life,”  
 that it might be shown that] | life for  
 all [things came] | [from a female.  
 And] all | [the names . . . ] | (3±  
 lines lacking)

## NHC III 87,1–12

ΤΜΕΖΨ[ΜΟΥΝΕ· ΑΥΟ]ΥΦΝΖC  
 ΕΒΦ[Λ] | ΕΥΖΑΟΥ[†CΖΙΜΕ· ΑΥ]†  
 ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΣ | ΕΚ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΟΟΥ†  
 [Α]ΥΩ ΕΚ ΜΕΡΟΣ | ΝCΖΙΜΕ·  
 ΠΖΟΟΥ† ΑΥ† ΡΝϞ ΧΕ ΕΚ<sup>5</sup>ΚΛΗCΙΑ  
 ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΖΩΗ ΧΕ|ΚΑΔC  
 ΕCΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ | ΖΝ̄  
 ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΑΠΩΝΖ ΨΩΠΞ· ΖΝ̄ |  
 ΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΡΑΝ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΑΥΧΙ|ΤΟΥ ΧΙΝ ΝΤΑΡΧΗ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΜ ΠΕϞ<sup>10</sup>ΜΕΤΕ ΜΝ̄ ΤΕΦΕΝΝΟΙΑ  
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ | ΝΒΙ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝΑΪ  
 ΝΤΑΥ† ΡΙ|ΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ·

the [Eighth was] revealed | as  
 [androgynous] and was named |  
 partly as male and partly | as female.  
 The male was called “Assembly,” <sup>5</sup>  
 the female, “Life,” that | it might be  
 shown that from | a female came the  
 life | in all the aeons. Every name  
 was received, | starting from the  
 beginning. From his <sup>10</sup> concurrence  
 with his thought, | the powers  
 appeared who were called | “gods”;

*Eug-V:*

14,27 Circumflex is visible in MS. Superlinear stroke is not visible in MS.

*Eug-III:*

87,1 Tr restores second perfect.

87,2 Corr.: first α for erased ε (transcribed as ο by Tr). Tr restores αΥ]† ΡΑΝ, as above, but translates in the present, following K (similarly in line 4); T-S does not restore αΥ.

87,10 Corr.: ζ for an erased letter.

See endnote 9.

NHC III  
 [πζ] ... ε|ΒΟΛ  
 ... ΡΑΝ<sup>5</sup> ΕΡ  
 ... ΑΥΩ | ΕΚ  
 ... ΦΟΥ† Μ  
 ... ΚΛΗCΙΑ· Τ  
 ... ΧΕ ΖΩΗ  
 ... ΕΒΟΛ  
 ... ΑΠ  
 ... ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ... ΧΙΝ ΝΤΑ  
 ... ΠΕϞ  
 ... ΑΥΟΥ  
 ... ΝΝΟΥ†  
 ... ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟ

[87] appeared | as andro  
 named<sup>5</sup> partly as  
 as female. The  
 Assembly, wh  
 is called 'Life.  
 that from 10  
 life for | all the ae  
 was | rece  
 beginning. F  
 with his t  
 very soon app  
 called 'gods';

See endnote 9.

See endnote 9.

See endnote 9.

See endnote 9.

See endnote 9.

NHC III 111,3–15

BG 111,7–112,9

ακογωνζ ε|βολ εγζοογ†ςζιμε  
 τε· αγ† ραν <sup>5</sup> ερος εκ μερος  
 νζοογ† αγω | εκ μερος  
 νςζιμε · φοογ† μεν | ψαγ† ρνς  
 χε τεκκλησια · τε|ςζιμε δε  
 ψαγ† ρνς χε ζωη | χε  
 εφναογωνζ εβολ χε εβολ <sup>10</sup>  
 ζιτν̄ ογςζιμε απωνζ ψωπε  
 ν̄|νιαιων̄ τηρου ραν δε νιμ  
 αγ|χιτοῡ χιν̄ ν̄ταρχη εβολ  
 γαρ ζμ̄ | πεϋχωνϋ μν̄  
 τεϋεννοιᾱ αγου|ψνζ εβολ  
 ν̄σι ν̄δომ̄ ν̄ψορπ̄ ναϊ <sup>15</sup>  
 [ν̄τ]αγ† ραν εροογ χε νουτε·

<ν̄>τμαζωμοϋνε ν̄|ταγογονζε  
 εβολ χε | ζογτςζιμε αγ† ραν  
 ε<sup>10</sup>ρος εκ μεροϋς μ̄μν̄τ|ζοογ†  
 αγω εκ με|ροϋς μ̄μν̄τςζιμε |  
 φοογ† μεν αγμοϋτε | εροϋ  
 χε εκκλησια τε<sup>15</sup>ςζιμε δε  
 αγμοϋτε ε|ροϋ χε ζωη χε  
 εγε|ογονζϋ εβολ χε εβολ | ζν̄  
 τεςζιμε απωνζ  
 ψωπε ννιαιων̄ [τη]|ροϋ νραν  
 δε τηροῡ [αγ]|χιτοῡ ν̄τοοτ̄ε  
 ν†[αρ]|χη εβολ γαρ ζν̄  
 τεϋεϋ<sup>5</sup>δοκια μν̄ τεϋεννοι |α  
 αγρ̄ ψρ̄π̄ νογων̄ζ ε|βολ <ν̄σι>  
 ν̄δომ̄ ναϊ ν̄ταγ|μοϋτε εροογ  
 χε νοϋ|τε

π̄τβ

It appeared | as androgynous and  
 was named <sup>5</sup> partly as male and |  
 partly as female. The male | is  
 called ‘Assembly,’ while the |  
 female is called ‘Life,’ | that it might  
 be shown that from <sup>10</sup> a female came  
 the life for | all the aeons. And  
 every name was | received, starting  
 from the beginning. For from | his  
 concurrence with his thought, the  
 powers | very soon appeared who <sup>15</sup>  
 were called ‘gods’;

the Eighth was | revealed as |  
 androgynous and was named <sup>10</sup>  
 partly as masculine | and partly | as  
 feminine. | The male was called |  
 ‘Assembly,’ <sup>15</sup> while the female was  
 called | ‘Life,’ that it might be |  
 shown that from | the female came  
 the life  
 for all the aeons. | And all the names  
 were | received from the beginning  
 (or principle). | For from his consent  
<sup>5</sup> with his thought, | the powers very  
 soon appeared | who were | called  
 ‘gods’;

112

SJC-III:

111,13 See endnote 9.

SJC-BG:

111,7 Not emended by T–S.

112,4 See endnote 9.

NHC V 15,1-7

NHC III 87,12-18

[Γ̄ε] (Line 1 lacking)

| [ . . . . . ḅZENNO ]ΥΤ[ε ḅ]Τε  
 NIN [ΟΥ] | [Τε  
 NINOYTE ΔΕ ḅ]Τε N[INOY]TE  
 Δ[Υ] | [ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 {z} ḅZE[NN]ΟΥΤΕ Ζḅ<sup>5</sup>  
 [NEYMNTCAΒE·] NIN [O]ΥΤΕ ΔΕ |  
 [ΔΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζḅ NEYCBW· |  
 [ḅZENXOEIC ḅ]Τε ZENXOEIC·

ḅNOYTE ΔΕ | ΕΒΟΛ Ζḅ  
 ΝΕΥΦΡΟΝΗCIC ΔΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ḅZENNOYTE ḅNOY<sup>15</sup>ΤΕ· ḅNOYTE  
 ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζḅ ΝΕΥ|ΦΡΟΝΗCIC  
 ΔΟΥΩΝΖ ḅZḅXO|EIC· ḅXOEIC  
 ΔΕ ḅḅXOEIC ΕΒΟΛ | Ζḅ

[15] (Line 1 lacking) | [ . . . gods of] the  
 [gods;]

| [and the gods of the gods] |  
 [revealed] gods in <sup>5</sup> [their wisdoms;]  
 and the gods | [revealed] from their  
 teachings | [lords of] lords; [and]

and the gods | from their  
 considerings revealed | divine gods;  
<sup>15</sup> and the gods from their |  
 considerings revealed lords; | and  
 the lords of the lords from

---

*Eug-V:*

15,4 MS has Ζḅ, “in.”

*Eug-III:*

87,14-15 ḅNOYTE, “divine”: untranslated by K; the English translator’s note in K suggests it may be a dittography; Tr renders “gods of gods.”

## NHC III 111,16-20

## BG 112,9-16

| [N̄]N̄ΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ N̄N̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Z̄N̄ ΤΕΥ|ΜN̄TCAΒΕ ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ  
 N̄ZENNOYTE | ΕΒΟΛ' <N̄NOYTE  
 ΔΕ> Z̄N̄ ΤΕΥΜN̄TCAΒΕ ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ |  
 N̄ZENXOEIC ΕΒΟΛ' N̄XOEIC ΔΕ  
 N̄<sup>20</sup>[N̄]XOEIC ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ

N̄NOYTE ΔΕ N̄N̄NOY<sup>10</sup>TE ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΔΕ Z̄N̄ ΤΕ<Υ>ΦΡΟ|NHCIIC  
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ | <N̄>N̄NOYTE  
 {N̄}N̄NOYTE | NN̄† ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Z̄N̄  
 ΤΕΥΜN̄T|CAΒΕ Δ<Υ>ΟΥΩΝΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ | <sup>15</sup> N̄<X̄>C̄ N̄<X̄>C N<X̄>C̄  
 ΔΕ NN̄<X̄>C̄ | ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ

| and [the] gods of the gods from  
 their | wisdom revealed gods; | and  
 the gods> from their wisdom  
 revealed | lords; and the lords of <sup>20</sup>  
 the lords from their thinkings  
 revealed lords;

| and the gods of the gods <sup>10</sup> from  
 <their> considering | revealed |  
 <the> divine gods; | and the gods  
 from their wisdom | revealed <sup>15</sup> <the  
 lords> of <lords>; and the <lords> of  
 the <lords> | <from> thinkings

**SJC-III:**

111,17-18 The first letter of each line has been lost from the MS but is preserved in old photographs. See Emmel, 1978: 204.

111,19-20 MS has first superlinear stroke in lacuna (line 19).

At the beginning of each line T-S restores [N̄] and [N̄] respectively.

Line 20 is not emended by T-S (“the lords of the lords revealed their thoughts of lords”). However T-S considers the correct reading to be found in *Eug*-III.

**SJC-BG:**

112,10 {ΔΕ} (T-S). Although untranslatable, ΔΕ does seem to have an emphasizing function here in Coptic, perhaps on analogy with its use with pronouns in Greek.

112,12-13 <N̄>N̄ΟΥΤΕ . . . NN̄†, “<the> . . . gods”: “<the> gods. The divine gods” (T-S).

Alt.: first emendation: <N̄zε> (indefinite article) (T-S, alt.).

112,14 MS has ϩ (incorrect pronoun number).

112,15 MS has χ for each emendation. Without the emendation the translation would be “Christ” here and on line 17 in each case (not emended by T-S, although the error is recognized). χ for χ is a common scribal error.

## NHC V 15,7–20

ΝΙΧΟ| [ΕΙC ΔΕ Ν̄Ν]ΙΧΟΕΙC  
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ̄ | [ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΝΕ]ΥΨΟΥΧΝΕ Ν̄ΖΕΝΧΟ<sup>10</sup>[ΕΙC ·  
 ΑΝΙΧΟΕΙ]C ΔΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ | Ζ̄Ν  
 [ΝΕΥΔΟΜ] Ν̄ΖΕΝΑΡΧΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC · |  
 Ν[ΙΑΡΧΙΑΓΓ]ΕΛΟC ΔΕ ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ̄ |  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΥΨΑΧΕ  
 Ν̄ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕ|ΛΟC· ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΝΑΪ ΑΥΟΥ<sup>15</sup>ΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄CΙ  
 ΖΕΝΕΙΔΟC Μ̄Ν | ΖΕΝCΧΗΜΑ Μ̄Ν  
 ΖΕΝΜΟΡΦΗ | Μ̄Ν ΝΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΚΟC|[ΜΟC·] ΟῩΝΤ[Ε]  
 ΝΙΑΤΜΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ | [Ν̄ΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν †C]ΟΜ Μ̄ΠΙ<sup>20</sup>[ΡΩΜΕ

the | [lords of the] lords revealed |  
 [from their] counsels lords; <sup>10</sup> and  
 [the lords] revealed | from [their  
 powers] archangels; | and the  
 [archangels] revealed | from their  
 words angels; | and from them  
 appeared <sup>15</sup> shapes and | structures  
 and forms | and all the aeons and  
 their worlds. | All the immortals  
 have | [authority from the power] of  
<sup>20</sup> [Immortal Man

## NHC III 87,18–88,7

ΝΕΥΛΟΓΟC ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ |  
 Ν̄ΖΝ̄ΧΟΕΙC · Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
<sup>20</sup> ΝΕΥΔΟΜ ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ν̄ΖΕΝ|ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC·  
 ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΥ|ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ν̄ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC Ε|ΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν <Ν>ΑΪ  
 ΑΤΙΔΕΑ ΟΥΩΝΖ·  
 ΖΙ· CΧΗΜ[Α ΖΪ ΜΟΡΦΗ] Ε† ΡΑΝ |  
 ΕΝΙΑΙ [ΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄Ν]  
 ΝΕΥΚΟ|CΜΟC· ΝΑ[Θ]ΑΝΑΤΟC  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑ|ΕΙΡ ΨΡΠ Ν̄ΧΟΟΥ  
 ΕῩΝΤΟΥ ΤΕ<sup>5</sup>ΖΟΥCΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤCΟΜ Μ̄|ΠΙΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟC  
 Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄Ν ΤCΟ|ΦΙΑ

| their words revealed lords; | and  
 the lords from <sup>20</sup> their powers  
 revealed | archangels; the archangels  
 | revealed angels; from | <them> the  
 semblance appeared  
 with structure [and form] for naming  
 | [all] the aeons [and] their worlds. |  
 All the immortals, whom | I have  
 just described, have authority—all of  
 them— <sup>5</sup> from the power of |  
 Immortal Man and Sophia,

*Eug-V:*

15,13 First superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

87,21 “archangels” (2): +“<out of their words> (K).

87,22 Corr.: at the end of the line the letters ΒΟΛ are erased.

87,23 MS has τὰ ἴ, “her” or “this” (not emended by K or Tr).

88,2–3 Lacuna in line 3, so restored by T–S.

“their worlds. All the immortals” (so also T–S): “all their immortal worlds” (K & Tr).



## NHC V 15,20–16,2

ἄΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΕΨ ΡΑΝ] ΕΡΟΥ· |  
 [ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΑΥΨ ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ]  
 ΤΣΙΓΗ | [ΧΕ ΑΣΧΩΚ  
 ἄΝΤΕΣΜἄΝΤΝΑ]Σ ΤΗΡḲ | [Ζἄ  
 ΟΥΕΝΘΥΜΗCΙC ΑΧἄ] ΨΑΧΕ |  
 [19± ]ΑΥ  
 (8± lines lacking)

[ΤḲ] [12± ΕΟΥ ἄΝΑΨ] | [Ψ]ΑΧΕ  
 [ἄΜ]ΟΟ[Υ· ΝΗ ΕΤΕ

to name] them. | [Sophia they called]  
 “Silence,” | [because she perfected  
 her] whole [majesty] | [by reflecting  
 without] a word. | [ . . . ]<sup>25</sup> (8± lines  
 lacking)

[16] [ . . . ineffable] | [glory, who

## NHC III 88,7–19

ΤΕΨΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ ΤΑΪ ἄΝΤΑΥ|ΧΟΟΣ  
 ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ CΙΓΗ· ἄΝΤΑΥΨ ΡἄC | ΧΕ  
 CΙΓΗ ΧΕ ἄΖΡΑΪ Ζἄ  
 ΟΥΕΝΘΥΜΗ<sup>10</sup>CΙC ΑΧἄ ΨΑΧΕ  
 ΑΣΧΩΚ ἄΤΕC|ἄΝΤΝΟΣ  
 ἄΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ ΕΥἄΝΤΑΥ |  
 ἄΝΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΑΥΤCΑΝΟ ΝΑΥ ἄCΙ |  
 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ἄΜΜΟΥ ἄΖΕΝΝΟΣ |  
 ἄΜἄΝΤἄΡΡΩΟΥ Ζἄ ἄΠΗΟΥΕ ΤΗ<sup>15</sup>ΡΟΥ  
 ἄΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ἄΝ ΝΕΥCΤΕ|ΡΕΨΜΑ  
 ΖἄΘΕΡΟΝΟΣ ΖΕΝἄΠΤΕ | ΠΡΟΣ  
 ΤΕΥΜἄΝΤΝΟΣ  
 ΖΟΥἄΝΕ ΜΕΝ | Ζἄ ἄΜΜΑ ἄΨΩΠΕ ἄΝ  
 ΖΕΝΖΑΡ|ΜΑ ΕΥΖΑ ΕΟΥ

| his consort, who was | called  
 “Silence,” (and) who was named |  
 “Silence” because by reflecting<sup>10</sup>  
 without speech she perfected her |  
 own majesty. Since the  
 imperishabilities had | the authority,  
 each provided | great | kingdoms in  
 all the immortal heavens<sup>15</sup> and their  
 firmaments, | thrones, (and) temples,  
 | for their own majesty.  
 Some, indeed, | (who are) in  
 dwellings and in chariots, | being in

*Eug-V:*

16,2–3 Reconstruction: see 8,23–24.

*Eug-III:*

88,10 See endnote 10.

88,11 See endnote 11.

88,12 “provided”: “created” (K, translating ΤΑΜΙΟ instead of ΤCΝΑΟ; followed by Tr, who does not emend).

88,17–19 “Some . . . glory”: “some indeed dwelling-places and chariots unspeakably glorious” (K, who overlooks Ζἄ, “in,” & Tr).



## NHC III 112,8–17

## BG 113,15–114,9

| ψαυμοϋτε εροϋ χε τσιγη χε  
| εβολ ζῆ οϋενϑυμhcic αχῆ<sup>10</sup>  
ψαχε αςχωκ εβολ ἡσι  
τες|μῆτνος τηρϋ †  
ἡαφθαρσια εϋ|ἡταϋ γαρ  
ἡτεζοϋσια αϋταμιο | ναϋ  
ἡοϋνος ἡμῆτῖρο ἡσι | ποϋα  
ποϋα ἡμοοϋ ζῆ  
τμεζω<sup>15</sup>μοϋνε· αϋϋ  
ζενϑρονος μ[ῆ] | ζενῖπε·  
ζενστερεωμα προς |  
νεϋμῆτνος

ψαυμοϋ|τε εροϋ χε πκαρωϋ  
<εβολ χε> | ζῖτῆ  
οϋενϑυμhcic | αχῆ ψαχε  
τεϋμῆτ  
νος τηρϋ αϋχοκς ε|βολ  
ἡαττακο εϋ[ῆ]|τοϋ τεζοϋσια  
αϋτ[α]||μιο ναϋ ἡνοϋνο[ς  
μ]<sup>5</sup>μῆτῖρο ποϋα ποϋα ζ[ῆ] |  
τεϋζογδ οας μῆ  
πεϋ|στερεωμα <μ>ῆ  
ζῆϑρο|νος μῆ ζῆῖπε προς |  
νεϋμῆτνος

P 14

| is called ‘Silence’ | because by  
reflecting without <sup>10</sup> speech all her  
own majesty was perfected. † | For  
since the imperishabilities had | the  
authority, each created | a great  
kingdom | in the Eighth <sup>15</sup> and (also)  
thrones and | temples (and)  
firmaments for | their own majesties.

is called | ‘Silence,’ <because> | by  
reflecting | without speech  
he perfected all his own majesty. |  
Since the imperishables had | the  
authority, they created | a great <sup>5</sup>  
kingdom. Each one is [in] | his  
ogdoad with his | firmament <and>  
thrones | and temples for | their own  
majesties.

114

## SJC-III:

112,10 See endnote 10.

112,11 See endnote 11.

112,16 προς: προ[ς] (T-S).

## SJC-BG:

113,16 Not emended by T-S.

113,18–114,1 See endnote 10.

114,2 See endnote 11.

114,4 Alt. {ῆ}νοϋ (T-S; unnecessary in view of examples in 78,16 and 95,14).

114,7 Not emended by T-S (“his firmament of thrones,” although T-S translates “his firmament, thrones,” i.e., as though the ῆ before ζῆϑρονος were deleted).

## NHC V 16,2-6

ΜΠΟΥ] | [C]ΩΤΜ̄ [ΕΡ]ΟΟΥ [ΝΨΑ  
 ΕΝΕΖ· ΖΩC] | ΝΕΥΨ [ΧΟ]ΟΥ  
 Ν̄[ΝΙΦΥCΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ·]

<sup>5</sup> ΑΥΤΑΜΙΦ ΔΕ Ν[ΑΥ  
 Ν̄ΖΕΝCΤΡΑΤΙΑ ] | Ν̄ΤΕ  
 ΖΕΝΑΡΧΙΑf. [ΓΕΛΟC Μ̄Ν

have] | [never been heard of, since] |  
 they cannot [be sent] into [any  
 creature.]

<sup>5</sup> Now they created [hosts] | of  
 archangels [and]

## NHC III 88,19-23

ΝΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΥΥ <sup>20</sup> ΝΑΪ ΕΜ̄  
 ΨΟΜ ΕΧΟΟΥ ΖΜ̄ ΦΥ|CΙC ΝΙΜ·

ΑΥΤCΑΝΟ ΝΑΥ Ν̄ΖΕΝ|CΤΡΑΤΙΑ  
 Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΖΕΝΤΒΑ Ε|Μ̄ΝΤΟΥ  
 ΗΠΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΖΥΠΗ

ineffable glory <sup>20</sup> and not able to be  
 sent into any creature,

| provided for themselves | hosts of  
 angels, myriads | without number,  
 for retinue

*Eug-V:*

16,4 “sent”: see endnote 12.

*Eug-III:*

88,20 “and . . . creature”: less likely, “which cannot be described in any condition” (K & Tr [similar]).

“sent”: See endnote 12.

88,21 “provided”: “created” (K, translating ΤΑΜΙΟ instead of ΤCΑΝΟ; followed by Tr, who does not emend).

NHC III 112,17–113,5

BG 114,9–115,7

ναῖ γαρ τηροῦ | ἀψωπε ζιτῆ  
 πετεζνε | τμααυ ᾠπτηρϣ' τότε  
 να<sup>20</sup>ποστολος ετογααβ  
 πεχαυ | ναϣ κε πχοεις  
 πωτηρ' | ἀχι νετζῆ νιαίων  
 ερον κε | ταναγκη ναν τε  
 ετρενω [ι] | νε ᾠωου πεχε  
 πτελιος ᾠ

ναῖ γαρ <sup>10</sup> τηροῦ ἀψωπε ζῆ |  
 ποῶωυ ᾠτμαυ ᾠπτη|ρῦ τότε  
 ναποστολος | ετογααβ  
 πεχαυ ναϣ | κε πεχ̄τ̄ πωτηρ  
 νετ<sup>15</sup>ζῆ νιαίων οῶονζοῦ |  
 ναν εβολ επι ταναγκη ερον  
 τε εψινε ᾠ|σωου πεχαυ νσι  
 πτε

ιγ σωτηρ κε εψκε <ε>τετῆψινε  
 | ᾠσα ζωβ νιμ' †ναχοου ερωτῆ

[λ] | ος ᾠωτηρ κε εψ|[χ]ε ρῖε  
 τετῆψινε νσα | [ζω]β νιμ  
 †ναχοου ε|[ρω]τῆ

| αὔταμιο ναυ ᾠζενστρατια  
 ᾠ|αγγελος ζεντβα εμῆτοῦ  
 ηπε <sup>5</sup> εῦωμψε μῆ νεγεοου

αὔταμιο ναυ ᾠ<sup>5</sup>ζῆστρατια  
 ναγγελος | ζεντβα εμῆτοῦ ηπε  
 εῦ|ωμψε μῆ οῦεοου

For these all | came by the will | of  
 the Mother of the Universe.” Then <sup>20</sup>  
 the Holy Apostles said | to him:  
 “Lord, Savior, | tell us about those  
 who are in the aeons, | since it is  
 necessary for us to ask | about  
 them.” The perfect  
 13 Savior said: “If you ask | about  
 anything, I will tell you.  
 | They created hosts of | angels,  
 myriads without number <sup>5</sup> for retinue  
 and their glory. They

For these <sup>10</sup> all came by | the will of  
 the Mother of the Universe.” | Then  
 the Holy Apostles | said to him: |  
 “Christ, Savior, <sup>15</sup> reveal to us those  
 who are in the aeons, | since it is  
 necessary | for us to ask about |  
 them.” The perfect  
 Savior said: “If | you ask about |  
 anything, I will tell | you. **115**  
 They created <sup>5</sup> hosts of angels, |  
 myriads without number for | retinue  
 and glory. And

SJC - III:  
 113,1 MS has α (not emended by T-S).

## NHC V 16,6–17

ζεν] | ἀγγελος ἄντε ζεν† [βα  
 ἄνα††] | ἡπε εροογ εγ[ψ̄μ̄ψε  
 μ̄ν̄ ογ] | εροογ μ̄ν̄  
 ζενπα [ρ̄θενος μ̄ν̄] <sup>10</sup> ζενπ̄νᾱ·  
 εγε ἄφ[γοειν] ἄνα† | ψαχε  
 ἄμοογ· μ̄[ἄτογ ζ̄ις]ε | γαρ  
 ζατοοτογ· ογ[τ]ε  
 [ογ]μ̄ν̄† | ἀτ̄σ̄ομ· ἀλλα ογωψ  
 ογαετ̄ | πε·  
 αγω ψαψωπε ἄτεγνογ·  
<sup>15</sup> αγω ἄτεῖζε αψακ εβολ  
 ἄς[ι] | πεων μ̄ν̄ τπε μ̄ν̄  
 πιστερεω | μα ἄτε πρωμε

| angels, (hosts) of [numberless] |  
 myriads for [retinue and] | glory,  
 even [virgins and] <sup>10</sup> spirits, who are  
 ineffable | [lights]. For [they have  
 no sickness] | nor weakness, | but it  
 is only will, | and it comes to be in  
 an instant. <sup>15</sup> And thus was  
 completed | the aeon, with (its)  
 heaven and firmament, | of Immortal  
 Man

## NHC III 89,1–8

ρεσια μ̄ν̄ ογεοογ ετι  
 ζενπαρε [ε] | νος <μ̄>π̄νᾱ  
 νογοειν ἄατψαχε | εροογ·  
 ἄμ̄ν̄ ζισε ἄμαγ ζατη | ογ μ̄ν̄  
 μ̄ν̄†ατ̄σ̄ομ· ἀλλα ογωψε <sup>5</sup>  
 ἄματα πε·

ψαψωπε ἄτεγ | νογ  
 ἄτεεῖζε· αψακ εβολ ἄςι |  
 ναῖων μ̄ν̄ νεγπε· ἄμ̄ν̄  
 νεστερε | ωμα ἄπεοογ

and glory, even virgin | spirits, the  
 ineffable lights. | They have no  
 sickness | nor weakness, but it is  
 only will: <sup>5</sup> it comes to be in an  
 instant. | Thus were completed | the  
 aeons with their heavens and  
 firmaments | for the glory

*Eug-V:*

16,8 Stroke over μ is visible.

16,10 Third superlinear stroke is in lacuna.

†: see Emmel, 1979: 185 (line identified as extant line 9).

16,11 End of line: see Emmel, 1979: 185 (line identified as 16, extant line 10);  
 Emmel's restoration is too short for the lacuna.

*Eug-III:*

89,1–2 “even . . . lights”: less likely, in view of V 16,9–11, “indescribable virgin  
 spirits of light” (K & Tr).

89,2 MS has ἄ (not emended by Tr).

89,6 “Thus” could be taken with the preceding sentence (noted by T–S).

89,8 “for”: “of” (T–S, but “perhaps ‘for’”; K & Tr).

## NHC III 113,5–12

## BG 115,7–18

αὐτὰ | μιο ἄζεν παρῆενος  
 ἄπῆνᾶ ἄ | οὐοεῖν ἄατψαχε  
 εροοὺ ἄα <τ> | \ψ' {ε} ἰβε ἐμῆ  
 ζῖσε γαρ ἄμαγ | ζατηοὺ αὐω  
 μῆ μῆτατβομ <sup>10</sup> ἀλλα οὐωψ  
 πε

αὐ | τὰ μιο δε ἄζῆ παρῆε | νος  
 ἄπῆνᾶ νοοοῖν ἄ <sup>10</sup> ατψαχε  
 εροοὺ αὐω ἄ | ατζαῖβες μῆ  
 ζῖσε γαρ | ζατηοὺτε μῆ  
 ατβομ | ἀλλα οὐωψε μῆατε  
 πε

ἀναιῶν ἄωκ ε | βολ ἄτῆεῖζε ζῆ  
 οὐβεπῆ' ἄ μῆ ἄπε | μῆ  
 νεστερεωμᾶ ζῆ πεοοὺ |

| αὐω ντεῦνοὺ αὐωψ <sup>15</sup> πε  
 ἄτζε αὐἄωκ ἄσι | ἄαιῶν μῆ  
 {N} ἄπῆγε | μῆ <N> εστερεωμᾶ  
 ἄ | πεοοὺ μῆρωμε ἄατ

created | virgin spirits, the |  
 ineffable and unchangeable lights. |  
 For they have no sickness | nor  
 weakness, <sup>10</sup> but it is will.

they | created virgin | spirits, <sup>10</sup> the  
 ineffable and shadowless | lights.  
 For there is no sickness | among  
 them nor weakness, | but it is only  
 will, | and they came to be in an  
 instant. <sup>15</sup> Thus were completed the  
 aeons | with the heavens | and the  
 firmaments for | the glory of  
 Immortal Man

Thus the aeons were completed |  
 quickly with the heavens | and the  
 firmaments in the glory

## SJC-III:

113,8 Corr.: \ψ' for marked out εα; c marked out after second ε (see 97,18 for similar correction); uncorrected, the text agrees with the BG par.

113,11 Corr.: first μ for erased letter.

## SJC-BG:

115,15 "Thus" could be taken with the preceding sentence (noted by T-S).

115,17 MS has π, "the firmament" (not emended by T-S).

"for": "of" (T-S, but "perhaps 'for'").

## NHC V 16,17-28

ἄννατμου [μῆ] | τεσοφια ετ[ε  
 οὔνταμ ἄζη] | τῷ ἄτ[ε]ϛ[μοῦ  
 ἄωνν νιμ μῆ κο]<sup>20</sup> σμ[οσ νιμ  
 μῆ νη εταγωπε] | ἄσφ[οῦ  
 ετρεῦτσανο ἄνιτῦ] | ποσ  
 εβφ[λ γῆ πμα ετῆμαγ] | γῆ  
 ἄπ[νογε ἄπιχαοσ μῆ  
 νεῦ] | [κ]οσμ[οσ· ἀγω τεφῦσις  
 5± ]<sup>25</sup> [τ]ηρ[ε]

17± ] | [ 21± ] | [ 21± ] | [ 21± ] |

[and] | his Sophia, [which has in] | it  
 the [pattern of every aeon and]<sup>20</sup>  
 [every world and those that came] |  
 afterward, [in order to provide the  
 types] | [from there] | in the  
 [heavens of chaos and their] |  
 worlds. [And all natures . . . ]

<sup>25</sup> [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] | [ . . . ] |

## NHC III 89,8-18

ἄπαθανατοσ | ἄρωμε μῆ  
 τσοφια τεσῦν<sup>10</sup> ζῦγοσ πμα  
 ετα<ωψωπ εροϛ ἄτεσμοτ  
 ἄ>εωνν νιμ μῆ | νεῦκοσμοσ  
 μῆ νενταγωπ | πε μῆῆσα ναῖ  
 ετροῦτσανο ἄἄτῦποσ ἄπμα  
 ετῆμαγ νεῦ | εῖνε γῆ ἄπνογε  
 ἄπεχαοσ μῆ<sup>15</sup> νεῦκοσμοσ·  
 τεφῦσις δε τηρῆ  
 | εβολ γῆ παθανατοσ χιν  
 ἄπα|γεννητοσ  
 ψα πβωλι εβολ ἄ|πεχαοσ γῆ

of Immortal | Man and Sophia, his  
 consort:<sup>10</sup> the area which  
 <contained the pattern of> every  
 aeon and | their worlds and those  
 that came | afterward, in order to  
 provide | the types from there, their |  
 likenesses in the heavens of chaos  
 and<sup>15</sup> their worlds. And all natures  
 |  
 from the Immortal One, from  
 Unbegotten  
 | to the revelation of | chaos, are in

*Eug-V:*

16,25 The superlinear stroke is visible, since a large portion of it is over ρ (not an unusual position for a final stroke in this tractate).

*Eug-III:*

89,10 Corr.: τ for erasure; corr.: ων for ο; a letter has been marked out between εων and νιμ; not emended by K or Tr, although both note (as does T-S) that the sentence is incomplete as it stands.

89,12 Corr.: third ν for ῖ.

“provide”: “create” (K, translating ταιμο instead of τσανο; followed by Tr, who does not emend).

89,14 ἄπεχαοσ, “of chaos”: μ<ῆ> πεχαοσ, “<and> chaos” (T-S, “probably”).

89,18 “are”: omitted by T-S, K & Tr, for all of whom the predicate begins in line 21 (“ever delight themselves . . .”).

NHC III 113,13–21

BG 115,18–116,13

ΜΠΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΜΝ  
 ΤΣΟ|ΦΙΑ ΤΕΨΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ ΠΜΑ  
 ΝΤΑΥΧΙ <sup>15</sup> ΣΜΟΤ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΔΙ  
 ΑΙΩΝ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΚΟ|[C]ΜΟΣ ΜΝ  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΝΝ|CΑ ΝΑΪ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῪ ΕΠΕΥΤΑΜΙΟ |  
 ΝΖΕΝΕΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΜΠΕ ΜΠΕΧΑΟΣ |  
 ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ· ΤΕΦΥCΙC ΔΕ <sup>20</sup>  
 ΤΗΡC

ΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΤCΟΦΙΑ  
 ΤΕ[Ϸ]|CΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ ΠΜΑ Ν[ΤΑΥ]|ΧΙ  
 ΤΥΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ Ν[ΖΗΤϷ] | ΝΔΙ ΑΙΩΝ  
 ΝΙΜ ΖΪ Κ[ΟC]ῪΜΟΣ <ΜΝ>  
 ΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ|ΝΝCΑ ΝΑΪ ΑΥΧΙ  
 ΤΥ|ΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ Ε|ΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΕΤΑΜΙΟ <Ν>Ν<ΕΥ>|ΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΗΥΕ  
 Μ{Ν}ΠΕ <sup>10</sup>ΧΑΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
 | ΦΥCΙC ΔΕ ΝΙΜ

ΠΙϚ

ΧΙΝ ΜΠΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΠΕΧΑΟΣ | ΕΒΟΛ

ΧΙΝ Μ|ΠΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΠΕΧΑΟΣ | ΕΒΟΛ

| of Immortal Man and Sophia, | his consort: the area from which <sup>15</sup> every aeon and world | and those that came afterward | took (their) pattern for their creation | of likenesses in the heavens of chaos | and their worlds. And all natures,

and Sophia, his | consort: the area [from which] | every aeon and world | <and> those that came afterward <sup>5</sup> took (their) types. | They took (their) types | from there | to create <their> | likenesses for the heavens <of> <sup>10</sup> chaos and their worlds. | And all natures,

116

<sup>20</sup> starting from the revelation of chaos, | are

starting from | the revelation of chaos, | are

SJC-III:

113,16 Lacuna so restored by T-S.

113,18 Alt.: Μ<Ν> ΠΕΧΑΟΣ, “<and> chaos” (T-S, “probably”).

SJC-BG:

116,5 Not emended by T-S.

MS has final superlinear stroke in lacuna.

116,8–9 On line 8, MS has a large dipole followed by ΝΑ at the end of the line (not emended by T-S). On line 9, T-S does not emend but divides the first four letters, ΕΙ ΝΕ, and translates the whole, “in order to create. These are: the heavens and chaos” (see explanatory n., T-S: 273). The lack of clear meaning, the parallels, and the unusualness of ΤΑΜΙΟ without an object make the T-S solution unacceptable. The problem may have been caused by an error of hearing.

116,12 ΠΧΑΟΣ, “chaos”: <ΠΧΡΙCΤΟC>, “<Christ>” (Schenke, 1962: 275, n. 57).

NHC V 16,29–17,9

[ 21± ]<sup>30</sup> [ 21± ] | [ 8± εΥΡΑΨΕ  
ΕΥΜΗΝ ]  
[ Ἰζ ] [ ζῆμ πεΥεοογ· ἡνατ ] ψιβ [ ε ] |  
[ μῆ πιμ̄τον ἡν ] α† [ † ψ ] | ερο [ υ ]  
| [ ηη ετε μῆ ψ ] ςομ ἡ [ ογ ] ψαχε  
| [ εχω ἡμοογ ]· ἡσε [ σο ] γωνογ  
<sup>5</sup> [ ζῆ νιεων τηρ ] ογ εταγψωπε  
| [ μῆῆσα ] ἡ [ αἰ ] μῆ νεγσομ·  
| [ 7± ] ζω ερωτῆ ψα πεῖμα  
| [ ηη δε τηρ ] ο [ γ ] εταγῆ ψορῆ |  
ἡ [ χοογ ηητ ] ἡ· αἰ ψαχε ἡμοογ

[ . . . ]<sup>30</sup> [ . . . ] | [ . . . ever  
rejoicing ]  
[ 17 ] [ in their unchanging glory ] | [ and the  
unmeasured rest, ] | [ which cannot be  
described ] | or [ known ]<sup>5</sup> [ among all  
the aeons ] that came to be |  
[ afterward ] and their powers.

| [ . . . ] this much is enough for you.  
| [ Now all ] that has just been | [ said  
to you, ] I spoke

NHC III 89,18–90,6

ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤῚ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ· |  
ἡατζαειβες μῆ οΥραψε  
ἡατψα<sup>20</sup>χε εροϋ μῆ οΥτελλα  
ἡνατχο|οϋ εΥτερπεσθαι  
ΕΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ | εζραἰ εχῆμ  
ΠΕΥεοογ ετε μεϋ|ψιβε μῆ  
ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCIC ετε μα|ψιτῶ  
ΤΑἰ ετε μῆ ψσομ εψαχε |  
ερος οΥδε ἡνεγψνοει |  
ἡμοσ ἡζραἰ ζῆ ναιων τη|ρογ  
ἡταγψωπε μῆ νεγσομ  
| αγω ζω ψα πεειμα·  
ΝΑἰ δε τη<sup>5</sup>ρογ ἡταειῚ ψρη  
ἡχοογ ηακ | αειχοογ

the light that shines without shadow  
| and (in) ineffable joy<sup>20</sup> and  
unutterable jubilation. | They ever  
delight themselves | on account of  
their glory that does not change | and  
the rest that is not measured, | which  
cannot be described  
or conceived | among all the aeons |  
that came to be and their powers.  
| But this much is enough.  
Now all<sup>5</sup> I have just said to you, | I  
said

*Eug-V:*

16,31–17,1 Reconstruction: see 5,14–15.

17,3 Second superlinear stroke is in lacuna.



NHC III 113,21–114,7

BG 116,13–117,10

ζῆμ ποῦοειν εἰτῆ οὔοειν εἰτε  
 μῆτῆ ζαειβες μῆ οὔραψε |  
 ἐνεγεψ ψαχε εροϋ μῆ  
 οὔ|τεληλ ἡαῖτχοοϋ εὔμην  
 εβολ <sup>25</sup> εὔροοὔτ εζραῖ εχῆ  
 πεγεοοὔ  
 ἡαῖτψιβε μῆ ταναπαὔσις  
 ἡαῖτψιτῆ ταῖ ετε ἡνεγεψ  
 ψα|χε ερος ζῆ ναιων τηροὔ  
 ἡταὔ|ψωπε μῆἡσα ναῖ μῆ  
 νεὔ<sup>5</sup>δომ τηροὔ·

ναῖ δε τηροὔ ἡ|ταειχοοὔ  
 ερωτῆ ἡψορῆ δει|χοοὔ

in the Light that shines without  
 shadow | and joy that cannot be  
 described | and | unutterable  
 jubilation. They ever <sup>25</sup> delight  
 themselves on account of their  
 unchanging glory

**114** and the immeasurable rest, | which  
 cannot be described | among all the  
 aeons that | came to be afterward  
 and all their <sup>5</sup> powers.

Now all that | I have just said to you,  
 I | said

ζμ πιοῦοῖν εἰτῆ οὔοῖν  
 νατζαῖβες <sup>15</sup> εὔζμ πραψε  
 ννατ|ψαχε εροϋ μῆ πτε|ληλ  
 νατχοοϋ εὔ|τερπε εὔμην  
 εβολ  
 [ε]ζραῖ εχμ πεγεοοὔ |  
 [N]αῖτψιβε μῆ πεὔμ|[το]ν  
 νατψιτῆ ναῖ εἰ[τε] νεὔψ  
 ψαχε ερο<sup>5</sup>[ο]ὔ ζν αιων νιμ  
 ἡ|ταὔψωπε μῆἡσα | ναῖ μῆ  
 νεὔδომ τη|ροὔ

ναῖ νταῖχοοὔ ἡ|ψορῆ  
 αῖχοοὔ νη<sup>10</sup>τῆ

in the Light | that shines without  
 shadow, <sup>15</sup> being in the ineffable joy  
 | and the unutterable | jubilation. |  
 They ever delight themselves  
 on account of their unchanging |  
 glory and their immeasurable | rest,  
 which | cannot be described <sup>5</sup> among  
 all the aeons that | came to be  
 afterward | and all their powers.

| These things that I have just | said,  
 I said to you

P 17

117

## SJC-III:

113,21 “are in”: “from” (T-S; for T-S the predicate begins in lines 24–25, “ever  
 delight themselves . . .”).

## SJC-BG:

116,13–15 “are . . . being”: “from the light . . . are” (T-S).

116,17–18 Corr.: ωῖ erased at the end of line 17; τ for partly erased π at the begin-  
 ning of line 18; originally ωπῆ, “be ashamed.”

## NHC V 17,10–18

<sup>10</sup> Ἰ̅ϛ̅ [ε̅ ε̅νε̅υ̅] Ἰ̅ Ἰ̅σ̅ο̅μ̅  
 Ἰ̅τ̅ε̅τ̅Ἰ̅ψ̅ο̅π̅ο̅υ̅ | ε̅[ρ̅ω̅τ̅Ἰ̅ τ̅η̅]ρ̅ο̅υ̅  
 ψ̅α̅ν̅τ̅ε̅π̅ι̅ψ̅α̅χ̅ε̅ | Ἰ̅Ἰ̅α̅[†† c]β̅ω̅  
 Ἰ̅α̅ϛ̅ ψ̅α̅ν̅τ̅ε̅ϛ̅π̅ρ̅ε̅ | ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ḡἸ̅  
 τ̅η̅ϛ̅τ̅Ἰ̅· ḡϛ̅ω̅ ϛ̅Ἰ̅α̅|β̅ω̅λ̅ Ἰ̅η̅τ̅Ἰ̅  
 Ἰ̅Ἰ̅α̅Ἰ̅ ḡἸ̅ ο̅ϛ̅ḡἸ̅ω̅σ̅ι̅c̅ · <sup>15</sup> Ἰ̅Ἰ̅ο̅υ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅  
 ε̅τ̅ḡβ̅β̅η̅ο̅υ̅†·  
 ο̅υ̅ο̅ν | ḡα̅ρ̅ Ἰ̅Ἰ̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅ ο̅υ̅Ἰ̅τ̅α̅ϛ̅  
 c̅ε̅Ἰ̅ε̅ο̅υ̅|ψ̅z̅ [Ἰ̅Ἰ̅α̅Ἰ̅] Ἰ̅ḡz̅ο̅υ̅ο̅ :  
 | [ε̅ϛ̅ḡἸ̅ω̅σ̅τ̅]ο̅[̅c̅]

<sup>10</sup> in [such a way that] you might  
 preserve it | [all], until the word that  
 need not be taught | comes forth |  
 among you, and it will | interpret  
 these things to you in knowledge <sup>15</sup>  
 that is one and pure.

| For [to] everyone who has, | more  
 will be added.

| [EUGNOSTOS]

## NHC III 90,6–12

κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ ḡε̅ ε̅τ̅κ̅Ἰ̅α̅ψ̅ | τ̅ω̅ο̅υ̅Ἰ̅  
 Ἰ̅Ἰ̅μ̅ο̅c̅· ψ̅α̅ν̅τ̅ε̅π̅ι̅α̅τ̅· | † c̅β̅ω̅  
 ο̅υ̅ω̅Ἰ̅z̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅· Ἰ̅ḡz̅η̅τ̅κ̅· | ḡϛ̅ω̅ Ἰ̅α̅Ἰ̅  
 τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅υ̅ ϛ̅Ἰ̅α̅χ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ ε̅<sup>10</sup>ρ̅ο̅κ̅ ḡἸ̅  
 ο̅υ̅ρ̅α̅ψ̅ε̅ Ἰ̅Ἰ̅ ο̅υ̅c̅ο̅ο̅υ̅Ἰ̅Ἰ̅ |  
 ε̅ϛ̅τ̅ο̅υ̅β̅η̅ο̅υ̅

ε̅ϛ̅ḡἸ̅ω̅σ̅τ̅ο̅c̅ π̅Ἰ̅α̅|κ̅α̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅c̅

in the way you might | accept, until  
 the one who need not be taught |  
 appears among you, | and he will  
 speak all these things to you <sup>10</sup>  
 joyously and in | pure knowledge.

| EUGNOSTOS, THE BLESSED

*Eug-V:*

17,11 Translation: see 5,22–23.

17,14 Punctuation: see 5,4n.

17,17 Stroke over Ἰ is visible.

17,17–18 Decorative diphthongs and a line to the margin follow the full stop. Decorative marks are also visible on the next line to the right of what remains of the title. The left side of that line is in lacuna.

17,18 A small mark appears on the *Facsimile Edition-V* page to the upper left of the omicron. An ultraviolet examination of the original by James M. Robinson in December, 1980, failed to show any indication of ink.

It seems likely that the title contained only ε̅ϛ̅ḡἸ̅ω̅σ̅τ̅ο̅c̅ . It is only one line long (there is no decoration for a second line), and the practice of the scribe elsewhere in the codex is to center titles so there is about as much decoration on the right side as on the left. If that held true here, the space between the left and right decorations would have allowed only one word of nine letters, not two words, as in *Eug-III*.

*Eug-III:*

90,11 MS has a *paragraphus cum corone* in the left margin just below the line. The end of the text is decorated, as is the title, with diphthongs and lines.

NHC III 114,7-8

BG 117,10-12

ψΑΝΤΕΤΝ̄Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΖΜ̄ |  
ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΖΟΥ ΟΕΝΑΪ·

ψΑΝΤΕΤΝ̄Ρ ΟΥΟΪΝ | ΖΜ̄ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ  
ΑΥΩ ΝΖΟΥ|Ο ΕΝΑΪ

that you might shine in | Light more  
than these.”

<sup>10</sup> that you might shine | in Light  
even more | than these.”

---

SJC - III:

114,7 See endnote 13.

SJC - BG:

117,10 See endnote 13.



## NHC III 114,8–25

## BG 117,12–118,10

ΠΕΧΑΣ | ΝΑΨ Ν̄ΒΙ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜΗ  
 ΧΕ ΠΧΟ<sup>10</sup> ΕΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·  
 ΝΕΚΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ Ν̄|ΤΑΥΕΙ ΤΩΝ Η̄  
 ΕΥΝΑ ΕΤΩΝ Η̄ ΕΥ|ΝΑΡ ΟΥ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΕΙΜΑ· ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ | Ν̄ΒΙ  
 ΠΤΕΛΙΟΣ Ν̄ΣΩΤΗΡ· ΧΕ †ΟΥ|ΩΨ  
 ΕΤΡΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ<sup>15</sup>  
 ΤΜΑΨ Μ̄ΠΤΗΡΨ·  
 ΑΨ ΤΣΥΝΖΥ|ΓΟΣ ΔΣΡ̄ ΖΝΑΣ  
 ΖΙΤΟΟ Τ̄C Μ̄ΜΙΝ | Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΝΑΪ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΔΧ̄Μ | ΠΕCΖΟΟΥΤ Ζ̄Μ  
 ΠΕΤΕΖΝΑΨ ΔΕ | Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ Μ̄ΠΤΗΡΨ·  
 ΧΕ ΕΡΕΠΕΨ<sup>20</sup> ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΑΤΜΕ|ΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΨ·  
 ΑΨΤΑΜΙΟ Μ̄ΠΕΕΙΚΑ | ΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ  
 ΟΥΤΩΟΥ Ν̄ΝΙΑ | ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΑΨ  
 ΟΥΤΩΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕ|Ν̄ΤΑΨΨΩΠΕ

Mary said | to him: “Holy Lord, <sup>10</sup>  
 where did your disciples | come  
 from and where are they going and  
 (what) should they | do here?” | The  
 perfect Savior said to them: “I want |  
 you to know that Sophia, <sup>15</sup> the  
 Mother of the Universe  
 and the consort, | desired by herself |  
 to bring these to existence without |  
 her male (consort). But by the will |  
 of the Father of the Universe,  
 that his <sup>20</sup> unimaginable goodness  
 might be revealed, | he created that  
 curtain | between the immortals |  
 and those | that came

ΠΕΧΑΣ ΝΑΨ Ν̄ΒΙ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΧ̄C | ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΚΜΑΘΗ<sup>15</sup>ΤΗΣ  
 Ν̄ΤΑΥΕΙ ΤΩΝ Η̄ | ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ  
 | Η ΕΥΡ ΟΥ Μ̄ΠΙΜΑ ΠΕ|ΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ  
 Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΤΕΛΙΟΣ  
 Ν̄ΣΩΤΗΡ ΧΕ †ΟΥΩ[Ψ] |  
 ΕΤΡΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ †[CΟ]|ΦΙΑ  
 ΤΜΑΨ Ν̄ΝΙΠΤ [ΗΡΨ]

[P]ΓΗ

| ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΠΕΨΑΓΑ [ΘΟΝ]<sup>5</sup> ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΕΨΕΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒ[ΟΛ] | Μ̄Ν ΠΕΨΝΑ  
 Μ̄Ν ΤΕΨΜ̄Ν̄Τ|ΑΤΧΙ ΤΑCΣΕ ΝCΩC  
 ΑΨ|ΤΑΜΙΟ Μ̄ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕ|ΤΑΣΜΑ  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΑΤΜΟΥ<sup>10</sup> ΑΨ ΟΥΤΕ

Mary said to | him: “Holy | Christ,  
 where did your <sup>15</sup> disciples come  
 from and | where will they go | and  
 what should they do here?” | The  
 perfect  
 Savior said: “I want | you to know  
 that Sophia, | the Mother of the  
 totalities—

[1]18

| will reveal his goodness, <sup>5</sup> and it  
 will be revealed | with his mercy and  
 his untraceable | nature. He |  
 created the curtain | between the  
 immortals <sup>10</sup> and those

NHC III 114,24–25

BG 118,10–119,11

Μῆῆσα ναῖ <sup>25</sup> χε  
 ερεπακολουθον ακολογ[θει]  
 (Coptic pages 115 and 116 are  
 missing.)

ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΨ|ΠΕ Μῆῆσα ναῖ  
 χεκα|αc ερεπετηη εψω|πε  
 εφεογασq  
 Νσα δι|ων ΝΙΜ αγω πεχαοc <sup>15</sup>  
 χε εφε<ογ>ωνηz νει πεψ|τα  
 ῆτεcζῖμε ῆcψω|πε  
 ερετεπλανη † ῆῆ|μαc ναῖ δε  
 Νταγψω  
 ΠΕ ΝΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ | ῆῆΝΟΥΠῆῆ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ <ῆ>ΔΙ|ΩΝ ῆῆΠΠΕ  
 ῆῆΑΠΟΡ|ΡΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟῆΝ ΝΕΕ  
 Ν<sup>5</sup>ΤΑῆΧΟΟC ῆΨΟΡΠ ΟΥ|Τῆ†λε  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΟΥ|ΟΕΙΝ Μῆ ΠΕῆῆ  
 ΕΔCΕΙ | ΕΖΡΑῆ ΕΜΜΕΡΟC ῆΠΙ|Τῆ  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑ <sup>10</sup>ΤΩΡ  
 ῆΠΕΧΑΟC ΧΕΚΑ|αc

afterward, <sup>25</sup> that the consequence  
 might follow

that came | afterward, that | what has  
 to be | might follow  
 every aeon | and chaos, <sup>15</sup> that the  
 defect of the female | might  
 <appear>, and it might come about  
 that | Error would contend with |  
 her. And these became  
 the curtain | of spirit. From <the>  
 aeons | above the emanations | of  
 Light, as <sup>5</sup> I have said already, a |  
 drop from Light | and Spirit came |  
 down to the lower regions | of  
 Almighty <sup>10</sup> in chaos, that

*SJC*-III:

114,24 T–S restores χ[ . ] at the end of the line, but the remains are more likely those  
 of a dipole.

114,25 Bracketed letters are presumed to be at the beginning of 115,1 (so restored by  
 T–S).

*SJC*-BG:

118,15 Not emended by T–S or K (“might live”). Emendation is T–S sugg.; for sup-  
 port, see 107,11–12.

118,16–18 “and it . . . her”: “and she engage in a struggle with Error” (an admittedly  
 free translation by T–S); “and she (Sophia) might come to be, since Error fights  
 with her” (“literal” rendering by T–S in n.); “and she (female) exist, Error contend-  
 ing with her” (K).

πῆθ

119

NHC III

BG 119,11–120,11

ε<γ>εογωνηζ ἡνευ|πλασμα  
 εβολ ζἡ ττλ|τλε ετῆμαγ  
 εγτα|χο ναϗ πε  
 παρχιγενε <sup>15</sup>τωρ ετε  
 ψαγμοϗτε | εροϗ χε  
 Ἰαλδαβαωθ | ττλτλε ετῆμαγ  
 ας|ογωνηζ ἡνευπλασμα | εβολ  
 ζἴτῆ πνιϗε εγ  
 ψυχη εσονηζ αςζωσβ | αςἡκοτκ P̄K  
 εβολ ζἡ τβ|ψε ντεψυχη  
 ντερες|ζμομ εβολ ζμ πνιϗε <sup>5</sup>  
 ἡτε πνοσ νοϗοειν | ἡτε  
 φοοϗτ αϗω αϗμε|εγε  
 εζῆμεεγε εγ|χι ραν τηροϗ  
 ἡβι νετ|ζῆ πκοσμος  
 μπεχα <sup>10</sup>ος αϗω ηκα ηιμ  
 ετἡ|ζητϗ ζἴτοτϗ μπια τμ`ο`ϗ |

| their molded forms might appear |  
 from that drop, | for it is a judgment  
 | on him, Arch-Begetter, <sup>15</sup> who is  
 called | ‘Yaldabaoth.’ | That drop  
 revealed | their molded forms |  
 through the breath, as a  
 living soul. It was withered | and it 120  
 slumbered in the ignorance | of the  
 soul. When it | became hot from the  
 breath <sup>5</sup> of the Great Light | of the  
 Male, and it took | thought, (then) |  
 names were received by all who |  
 are in the world of chaos <sup>10</sup> and all  
 things that are in | it through that

SJC-BG:

119,11 MS has ϗ, “that *he* might reveal their” (not emended by T–S or K).

119,19 “as”: “in” (T–S & K).

NHC III

BG 120,11–121,10

ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΡΕΠΝΙ | ΦΕ ΝΙΦΕ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ | ΝΑΪ ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΕΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ <sup>15</sup> ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩΨ  
 ΝΤ<ΜΑ>ΔΥ | {Ν} ΤΣΟΦΙΑ  
 ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΝΖΒ | ΣΩ ΕΤΜΠΙΜΑ  
 ΕΦΕΖΟΡ  
 ΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΙ | ΑΤΜΟΥ  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΤΑ | ΧΟ ΝΑΥ ΝΝΙΣΟΝΕ  
 ΔΥΩ | Δ<Υ>ΔΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΗ <sup>5</sup>  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΝΙΦΕ ΕΤΜ | ΜΑΥ  
 ΕΥΨΥΧΙΚ ΟΣ ΔΕ | ΠΕ  
 ΕΜΠΕΦΨΒΜΒΟΜ Ε | ΨΩΠ ΕΡΟΦ  
 Ν†ΒΟΜ ΕΤΜ | ΜΑΥ ΨΑΝΤΦΧΩΚ  
 ΝΒΙ <sup>10</sup> ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΜΠΕΧΑΟΣ |

| Immortal One, when the breath |  
 blew into him. | But when this came  
 about <sup>15</sup> by the will of Mother |  
 Sophia—so that Immortal Man |  
 might piece together  
 the garments there | for a judgment | 121  
 on the robbers— | <he> then  
 welcomed the blowing <sup>5</sup> of that  
 breath; | but since he was soul-like, |  
 he was not able to take | that power  
 for himself | until <sup>10</sup> the number of  
 chaos should be complete,

*SJC*-BG:

120,14 “this”: lit. “these” (rendered as above by T–S but not by K); see III 70,2n.

120,15 MS has ΝΤΜΜΑΥ; alt.: <ε>ΤΜΜΑΥ, “by *that* will of Sophia” (T–S, alt.).

120,16–121,3 Apparently a gloss on lines 14–15 that has crept into the text. It represents an ascetic interpretation of the will of Sophia; i.e., she brought all this about so that nakedness might be covered and the robbers (who use sex to enslave the soul) might therefore be rebuked (cf. Gen 3:21).

121,2–3 “for a judgment on the robbers” (so also Schenke in T–S: 340, & K): less likely, “while (or “whereby”) the robbers were condemned for them” (T–S).

121,4 MS has Υ, “they” (emended as above by Schenke in T–S: 340; not emended by T–S or K).



NHC III 117,1-6

BG 121,11-122,16

εϕωανχωκ δε νει π`ο`υ|οειω  
 ετηπ ζιτμ πνος | ναγγελος  
 ανοκ δε δει|τcαβε τηγτῆ  
 επρωμε <sup>15</sup> νατμοϋ αγω αιβωλ  
 ε|βολ νῆcνοοϋz νῆcο|ονε  
 nca nβολ ῆμοϋ | αιζωωϋ  
 νῆπυλη ῆτε  
 νια τναε ῆπεϋῆτο | εβολ  
 αιῆββιο ντεϋ|προνοια αγχι  
 ωιπε | τηροϋ αγτωοϋν ε<sup>5</sup>βολ  
 zῆ τεϋβωε ετ|βε παῖ σε αιει  
 επιμα | χεκαας ευενοϋzῆ μῆ |  
 πιπῆνα

PKB

ετῆμαϋ μῆ πνιϕε ῆσεωω|πε  
 ῆπεcναϋ ῆοϋα ῆε ον χιν |  
 ῆωορῆ χε ετετνα† καρπος |  
 εναωωϋ ῆτετῆβωκ εzραῖ ψα <sup>5</sup>  
 πετωοοῆ χιν ῆωορῆ zῆ  
 οϋ|ραωε ῆατψ[α]χε εροϋ μῆ

ετῆμαϋ μῆ | πνιϕε αγω  
 ευεωω<sup>10</sup>πε ῆπεcναϋ ευα  
 νοϋ|ωτ κατα θε χινῆ ωο|ρπ  
 χεκαc ετετνα† | καρπος  
 εναωωϋ ῆ|τετῆβωκ εzραῖ  
 επετ <sup>15</sup>ωοοῆ χινῆ ωορεπ | μῆ

| (that is,) when the time |  
 determined by the great | angel is  
 complete. Now I have taught | you  
 about Immortal <sup>15</sup> Man and have  
 loosed | the bonds of the robbers |  
 from him. | I have broken the  
 gates of

the pitiless ones in their presence. | I  
 have humiliated their | malicious  
 intent, and they all have been  
 shamed | and have risen <sup>5</sup> from their  
 ignorance. Because | of this, then, I  
 came here, | that they might be  
 joined with | that Spirit  
 and | Breath, and might <sup>10</sup> from two  
 become a single one, | just as from  
 the first, | that you might yield |  
 much fruit | and go up to Him Who  
 Is <sup>15</sup> from the Beginning,

122

17 that [ . . . ] and Breath, and might |  
 from two become one, just as from |  
 the first, that you might yield much  
 fruit | and go up to <sup>5</sup> Him Who Is  
 from the Beginning, in | ineffable  
 joy and

NHC III 117,6–18

BG 122,16–123,15

ΟΥΕΘΟΥ | ΜΝ̄ Ο[ΥΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΝ̄  
 Ο]ΥΖΜΟΤ̄ ΝΤΕ | [Π]Ε[ΙΩΤ̄  
 ΜΠΤΗΡϞ] ΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ | [ΣΕ  
 ΜΠΕΙΩΤ̄ ΖΝ̄ ΟΥΓΝ]ΩCIC  
 ΝΚΑ<sup>10</sup>[ΘΑΡΟΝ ΠΑΪ ΞΝΑΧΩ]ΡΙ  
 ΕΠΙΩΤ̄ | [Ν̄ϞΜ̄ΤΟΝ Μ̄ΜΟϞ ΖΜ̄]  
 ΠΑΓΕΝΝΗ |[ΤΟC Ν̄ΕΙΩΤ̄  
 ΠΕΤΣΟΟ]ΥΝ ΔΕ Μ̄|[ΜΟϞ ΖΝ̄  
 ΟΥΨΩΩ]Τ̄ ΕϞΝΑΧΩ|[ΡΙ ΕΨΩΩΤ̄  
 ΑΥ]Ω ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCIC<sup>15</sup>  
 [Ν̄ΤΜΕΖΨΜΟΥ]ΝΕ̄ ΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ |  
 [ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΠΝᾹ Ν̄ΑΘ̄]ΑΝΑΤΟC Ν̄ΤΕ |  
 [Π]ΟϞϞΕΙΝ ΖΝ̄ ΤCΙΓΗ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄  
 ΤΕΝΘΥ |[Μ]ΗCIC ΜΝ̄ ΤΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ

glory | and [honor and] grace of |  
 [the Father of the Universe].  
 Whoever, [then], knows | [the Father  
 in pure] knowledge<sup>10</sup> [will depart]  
 to the Father | [and repose in]  
 Unbegotten | [Father]. But  
 [whoever knows] | [him defectively]  
 will depart | [to the defect] and the  
 rest<sup>15</sup> [of the Eighth. Now]  
 whoever knows | Immortal [Spirit] |  
 of Light in silence, through reflecting  
 | and consent

## SJC-III:

117,9 T-S restores only ϞΝ].

117,10 T-S restores only [ΘΑΡΟΝ] and [ΧΩ].

117,12 T-S restores only [ΤΟC].

117,14 T-S restores only [ΡΙ].

117,16 T-S restores only ΑΘ].

117,18 ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ, “consent”: “the *eudokia* (= the decree)” (K) (?). See endnote 9.

## SJC-BG:

123,12–13 “Light, in silence” (so also Schenke in T-S: 340): “Light in silence” (T-S).

123,14–15 T-S leaves both ΕΝΘΥΜΗCIC and ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ untranslated. See endnote 9.

ΟΥΡΑΨΕ ΝΑΤΨΑΧΕ | ΕΡΟϞ ΜΝ̄  
 ΟΥΕΘΟΥ ΜΝ̄ | ΟΥΤΑΪΟ ΜΝ̄  
 ΟΥΧΑΡΙC  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΤΗΡϞ | ΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΣΕ ΜΠΙΩΤ | ΖΝ ΟΥCΟΟΥΝ  
 ΕϞΟΥΑΑΒ | ΕϞΝΑΒΩΚ ΨΑ ΠΕΙΩΤ  
<sup>5</sup> ΑΥΩ ΕϞΕΜ̄ΤΟΝ Μ̄ΜΟϞ | ΖΜ  
 ΠΙΑ ΤΧΠΟϞ ΝΕΙΩΤ | ΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΔΕ Μ̄ΜΟϞ | ΖΝ ΟΥΨΤΑ ΕϞΕΨΩΠΕ  
 | ΖΜ ΠΕΨΤΑ Ν̄Ϟ<Μ>ΤΟΝ Μ̄<sup>10</sup>ΜΟϞ  
 ΖΝ̄ ΤΜΕΖΨΜΟΥΝΕ̄ | ΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΔΕ ΜΠΙΠΝᾹ | ΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΟΥΟΪΝ | ΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΚΑΡΩϞ ΖΪΤ̄Ν̄ |  
 ΤΕΝΘΥΜΗCIC ΜΝ̄ ΤΕΥ<sup>15</sup>ΔΟΚΙΑ

| with ineffable joy | and glory and |  
 honor and grace  
 of the Father of the Universe. |  
 Whoever, then, knows the Father | in  
 pure knowledge | will go to the  
 Father<sup>5</sup> and repose | in Unbegotten  
 Father. | But whoever knows him |  
 defectively will dwell | in the defect  
 and repose<sup>10</sup> in the Eighth. | Now  
 whoever knows Immortal Spirit, |  
 who is Light, | in silence, through |  
 reflecting and consent<sup>15</sup> in truth,

NHC III 117  
 117,9 T-S restores only ϞΝ].  
 117,10 T-S restores only [ΘΑΡΟΝ] and [ΧΩ].  
 117,12 T-S restores only [ΤΟC].  
 117,14 T-S restores only [ΡΙ].  
 117,16 T-S restores only ΑΘ].  
 117,18 ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ, “consent”: “the *eudokia* (= the decree)” (K) (?). See endnote 9.  
 SJC-BG:  
 123,12–13 “Light, in silence” (so also Schenke in T-S: 340): “Light in silence” (T-S).  
 123,14–15 T-S leaves both ΕΝΘΥΜΗCIC and ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ untranslated. See endnote 9.  
 123  
 123,12–13 “Light, in silence” (so also Schenke in T-S: 340): “Light in silence” (T-S).  
 123,14–15 T-S leaves both ΕΝΘΥΜΗCIC and ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ untranslated. See endnote 9.

NHC III 117,18–118,6

BG 123,15–124,15

zñ tmhe | mareceine naĩ  
 ñzencymvolon <sup>20</sup> ñte  
 piazoraton aghw eqnawp | pe  
 ñoyoein zñ peñna ñtciñ |  
 petsooun m̄pwhre m̄prow | [m]e  
 zñ oysooun mñ oyagapñ |  
 mareceine neēĩ  
 ñoycymvolon  
 {n}ñte pwhre m̄prowe nq̄xw | ri  
 enma mñ netzñ tmezomoy | ne  
 eic zñhte deiowñz nhtñ |  
 m̄pren m̄pitelioc pouwpe <sup>5</sup>  
 thrw ñtmaay ññaḡgeloc  
 etoy | aab' xe eqnaxwk eвол

zñn oymhe ma | receine naĩ  
 ñzñcym | volon ñte piatnaw  
 e | row aghw eqewp | noyoin  
 zñ peñna m̄  
 pkarw petsooun | m̄pwhre  
 m̄prowe | zn oysooun mñ  
 oya | gapñ mareceine na <sup>5</sup>ei  
 nnoycymvolon | mpwhre  
 m̄prowe | aghw eqnawp |  
 m̄ | pma etm̄may mñ net | zñ  
 tmezomoyne eic <sup>10</sup> zñhte  
 aĩtsebe thw < t > ñ | epran  
 m̄pitelioc | pouwpe thrw  
 ññaḡgeloc etoy aab mñ |  
 tmaay xekac eq <sup>15</sup>exwk

PKA

in the truth, | let him bring me signs  
<sup>20</sup> of the Invisible One, and he will  
 become | a light in the Spirit of  
 Silence. | Whoever knows Son of  
 Man | in knowledge and love, | let  
 him bring me a sign  
 of Son of Man, that he might depart |  
 to the dwelling-places with those in  
 the Eighth. | Behold, I have revealed  
 to you | the name of the Perfect One,  
 the whole will <sup>5</sup> of the Mother of the  
 Holy Angels, | that the masculine  
 [multitude]

let him | bring me signs of | the  
 Invisible One, | and he will become |  
 a light in the Spirit of  
 Silence. Whoever knows | Son of  
 Man | in knowledge and love, | let  
 him bring <sup>5</sup> me a sign | of Son of  
 Man, | and he will dwell there | with  
 those | in the Eighth. Behold, <sup>10</sup> I  
 have taught you | the name of the  
 Perfect One, | the whole will of the  
 holy angels | and | the Mother, that  
<sup>15</sup> the male

124

SJC-III:

117,20 MS has first superlinear stroke in lacuna.

118,1 So emended by T-S.

118,2 Corr.: first m̄ for erased letter.

118,5 Corr.: first n̄ for erased letter.

118,6 Corr.: q for incomplete and erased n̄.

SJC-BG:

124,15 Alt. word division: xwk̄ m̄pima, "that the ... might wash there" (Carl Schmidt as reported in T-S).



NHC III 118,17–119,6

BG 125,12–126,12

εειναο υφνη[ζ] | νητην̄ εβολ  
 μη̄πετωοοη̄ χ̄ν̄ ν̄|ωροη̄ ετβε  
 τμη̄ντχασι ζητ̄<sup>20</sup>  
 μη̄παρχιγενετωρ̄ μη̄  
 νεϕαγ̄ | γελοσ χε σεχω̄ μη̄μοσ  
 εροογ̄ | χε ζεννοογτε νε̄  
 ανοκ δε | ν̄ταεῑεῑ · εσαζωογ  
 ν̄τεγμνη̄ | βλλε̄ · χε εειναχ ω  
 ν̄ογον nim<sup>25</sup> μη̄πνοογτε ετζιχ̄μη̄  
 πτηρη̄ϕ̄  
 ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ δε ζωμ εζρᾱῑ εχ̄ν̄  
 νεγ̄μη̄ζαογ̄ τεγπρονοια  
 μαθ̄β̄ | ειοσ̄ αγω̄ πεγναζβ̄  
 ογοσπη̄ϕ̄ · | αγω̄ πω̄ῑ ματοογνοσϕ̄  
 αειτ̄<sup>5</sup> νητην̄ ν̄τεζογσια ν̄νη̄κα  
 nim̄ · | ζωσ̄ ω̄ηρε̄ ν̄τε πογοειν

εει | εογωνζ εβολ νητην̄  
 μη̄ | πετωοοη̄ χ̄ιν̄ν̄ ωο<sup>15</sup> ρ̄η̄ ετβε  
 τμη̄ντχασι | ζητ̄  
 μη̄παρχιγενετωρ̄ | μη̄  
 νεϕαγγελος χε σε | χω̄ μη̄μοσ  
 εροογ̄ χε | ζηνοογτε νε̄ ανοκ  
 δε  
 ν̄τᾱῑε̄ῑ εσοοζε̄ μη̄μο | ογ εβολ ρ̄η̄  
 δε ζ̄ν̄ τεγμνη̄ | τβ̄λλε̄ χε  
 εειετσαβε̄ | ογον nim  
 επνοογτε<sup>5</sup> ετζ̄ῑχ̄μη̄ πτηρη̄ϕ̄  
 ν̄τω | τ̄ν̄ δε ζωμ εζρᾱῑ εχ̄ν̄ |  
 νεγ̄μη̄ζαογ̄ αγω̄ ν̄τε | τ̄ν̄ε̄β̄β̄ιο  
 ν̄τεγπρο | νοια ν̄τετ̄ν̄ζωωϕ̄  
 μη̄<sup>10</sup> πεγναζβεϕ̄ αγω̄  
 ν̄τε | τ̄ν̄τοογνοσ̄ μη̄πετε̄ | π̄ωει

I might reveal | to you Him Who Is  
 from | the Beginning, because of the  
 arrogance<sup>20</sup> of Arch-Begetter and  
 his angels, | since they say about  
 themselves that | they are gods. And  
 I | came to remove them from their  
 blindness | that I might tell everyone<sup>25</sup>  
 about the God who is above the  
 universe.

that I | might reveal to you | Him  
 Who Is from the Beginning,<sup>15</sup>  
 because of the arrogance | of Arch-  
 Begetter | and his angels, since they  
 | say about themselves that | they are  
 gods. And I  
 came to remove them | from their  
 blindness | that I might teach |  
 everyone about the God<sup>5</sup> who is  
 above the universe. | Therefore,  
 tread upon | their graves and |  
 humiliate their malicious intent | and  
 break their<sup>10</sup> yoke and | arouse  
 whoever | is mine. For I have given

119 Therefore, tread upon their | graves,  
 humiliate their malicious intent | and  
 break their yoke | and arouse my  
 own. I have given<sup>5</sup> you authority  
 over all things | as Sons of Light,

SJC - III:  
 118,18–19 See endnote 14.

SJC - BG:  
 125,14–15 See endnote 14.

NHC III 119,6–16

BG 126,12–127,8

χε ετε|τναζωμ εγραϊ εχñ  
 τευδομ· ζα | [N]ετñ[ο]υερητε·  
 ναϊ νε ñταϭ|[χοου ñσι]  
 π[μακα]ριος ñσωτηρ·<sup>10</sup> [αϭ̄  
 ατοϭωνζ ñσα νβο]λ ναγ· τοτε  
 | [μ̄μαθητς τηροϭ αϭϭ]ωπε  
 ζñ ου|[νοσ ñτελη  
 ñατ]ϭ[α]χε εροϭ ζμ̄ | [πεπ̄να  
 χιν] πεζοου ετ̄μαγ |  
 [ανεϭμαθητ]ησ αρχεσθαι  
 εταϭε<sup>15</sup>[οειϭ μ̄πεγα]γγελιον  
 μ̄πνοϭ|[τε πεπ̄να ñα]φθαρτον

| that you might tread upon their  
 power with | [your] feet.” These are  
 the things [the] blessed | Savior  
 [said,]<sup>10</sup> [and he disappeared] from  
 them. Then | [all the disciples] were  
 in | [great, ineffable joy] in | [the  
 spirit from] that day on. | [And his  
 disciples] began to preach<sup>15</sup> [the]  
 Gospel of God, | [the] eternal,  
 imperishable [Spirit].

πε αϊ† γαρ ñη|τñ ñτεζοϭια  
 ñ̄κα | ñιμ ζωσ ϭηρε ñτε  
 π̄ο·γ<sup>15</sup>οϊñ εζωμ εχñ  
 τεϭ|δομ ζñ ñετñοϭρητε | ναϊ  
 αϭχοου ñσι πμα|καριος  
 ñσωτηρ αϭ̄  
 ατοϭων[ζ] ñσα νβολ μ̄|μοου  
 αϭϭωπε ζñ ζñ|νοσ ñραϭε  
 ñατϭαχε | εροου ζμ̄ π̄π̄να  
 χιν<sup>5</sup> πεζοου ετ̄μαγ αϭρ |  
 αρχεσθαι ñσι ñεϭμα|θητς  
 εταϭεοειϭ | μ̄πεγαγγελιον

you | authority over all | things as  
 Sons of Light<sup>15</sup> to tread upon their |  
 power with your feet.” | These are  
 the things the blessed | Savior said,  
 and he  
 disappeared from them. | And they  
 were in | great, ineffable joy | in the  
 spirit from<sup>5</sup> that day on. And his |  
 disciples began | to preach | the  
 Gospel of

## SJC - III:

119,7 Corr.: γ for erased ϭ.

119,10 T–S restores only εβο]λ.

119,11 T–S restores only ϭ].

119,13–14 See endnote 15.

119,14 Lacuna so restored by T–S.

119,16 The neuter form of the adjective makes restoration of πειωτ ñα]φθαρτον,  
 “imperishable [Father],” following BG (so restored by K), unlikely if not impossi-  
 ble (so also T–S). T–S suggests πειωτ ñνα]φθαρτον, “Father of the] imperi-  
 shable things,” or ñτμñτρρο ñα]φθαρτον, “[of the] imperishable [King-  
 dom].” Support for my reconstruction: 117,16.21; 118,12.

## SJC - BG:

126,16 MS has a *paragraphus* in the left margin just below the line of the text.

127,1–12 MS has extensive decorations in both margins and surrounding the title.

127,4–5 See endnote 15.

NHC III 119,16-18

BG 127,8-12

Νψα | [ε]νεζ ζαμην:  
τσοφια ΝΙΗC

ΜΠΝ`Ο`Υ | τε πειωτ νψα ενεζ  
Ν<sup>10</sup>Ναττακο ψα Νιενεζ |  
τσοφια Ν|ΙΗC ΠΕΧΡC

| Amen. | THE SOPHIA  
OF JESUS

God, | the eternal Father, <sup>10</sup>  
imperishable forever. | THE  
SOPHIA OF | JESUS CHRIST

---

SJC - III:

119,17 Lacuna so restored by T-S.

119,17-18 MS has diplo and line decorations at the end of the text proper and surrounding the title.

III 91,1-2 ||  
Place of Harv  
T-S: 327.  
supported by the  
crossed stroke over  
of wa by using t  
line of the n. The  
may have been a  
see in Plat. Tim. 71d.

III 70,21 oym  
rownt, "fate":  
is clear that "fa  
rownt recurs (III 7  
what rownt is a qu  
80 (891b). Till c  
n. "bid, command  
It is more likel  
not found in III) is  
that which comes  
likely probably reflect

III 73,14 || III  
behind the differ  
c. 200c.

V 6,15-17 || I  
from ONOMACIA  
while it is preser  
only occurred in  
text used by bo  
tion, sec. X),  
ed in thinking  
independently and at  
sions. (It is po  
that seems less l  
them suggesting t  
as the case, the  
Coptic transle



## ENDNOTES

1. III 91,1–2 || BG 78,1–2 “Divination” (derived from μαντεία): less likely, “Place of Harvest Time” (T–S) or “Place of Ripeness” (Pu & K). See Till’s note, T–S: 327. The word division μα ἵ, assumed by T–S, Pu & K, is not supported by the scribe of either III or BG. The former omits the expected stroke over the ἵ, and in BG the scribe treats ἵ as though it were a part of μα by using the conventional stroke over α at the end of the line in place of the ἵ. The spelling μαντη may reflect an Ionic form (μαντηή) and may have been an attempt to archaize. Μαντεία is related to joy, as here, in Plat. *Tim.* 71d.

2. III 70,21 οὔπετη εῷπε, “fate” || III 93,3 (do.) || BG 81,10–11 οὔτεθοντ, “fate”: The par. in V, of which Till was unaware (T–S: 327), makes clear that “fate” is the correct translation, both here and where τεθοντ recurs (III 71,4 [τετσαντ]; III 93,15–16 [do.]; BG 82,7). Crum says that ζοντ is a qualitative of unknown meaning, citing only the instance in BG (691b). Till considers that it might be an unattested qualitative of ζων, “bid, command” (Crum: 688a) but expresses his uncertainty (T–S: 327). It is more likely a qualitative of ζωντ, “approach,” where the form ζαντ (found in III) is attested (Crum: 691b). Its basic meaning then would be “that which comes,” or the like (so also K & Tr). The use of the fem. article probably reflects ἡ εἰμαρμένη.

3. III 73,14 || III 96,10 || BG 87,4–5 T–S suggests, probably correctly, that behind the differences among these texts lies confusion over γένος and γενόμενος.

4. V 6,15–17 || III 77,11–13 || III 101,20–22 || BG 95,6–8 The lack of the term ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ (ῤΑΝ), “designation” (“name”), in either version of *SJC*, while it is present in both versions of *Eug*, shows that the haplography probably occurred in the text of *SJC* rather than *Eug*. And further, since the Greek text used by both *SJC* translators was, in all probability, uniform (see Introduction, sec. X), and the Coptic texts are so different, we are probably justified in thinking that the translators met the problem in the Greek independently and attempted to deal with it each in his own way in their translations. (It is possible that subsequent Coptic copyists were involved, but that seems less likely in view of the fact that *both* texts deal with the problem, suggesting that it could not easily be overlooked by a translator.) If that was the case, then those attempts provide us with some evidence about the two Coptic translators of *SJC*.

The translator of *SJC*-III seems to be more conservative (e.g., he preserves the correct person and number of the, for him, lost subject), but he makes a clumsy and basically meaningless connection with the preceding sentence. The translator of *SJC*-BG is more daring, conceiving of the idea that the passage was a reference to the initial appearance of the gnostic race, which would mean that it was engendered by Immortal Man. Unfortunately, in taking that position, he has ignored a preceding statement that the gnostic race appeared prior to Immortal Man (III 99,13-19 || BG 91,17-92,9).

5. III 78,6-7 || III 102,23 || BG 96,16  $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \upsilon\theta\ \bar{\nu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (and the like), “just as he is it (thought)”: Appears to be a gloss (n.b. its absence in V). The point seems to be that First Man not only *has* thought but *is* thought. That is perhaps based on an identification of his feminine aspect, the Great Sophia (see III 104,10-11 & parr.), with hypostasized thought. T-S renders “just as he is” (connection with preceding and following is not clear); K, “just as he is a reflection”; Tr, “thought as he is” (?).

6. V 7,19-22 || III 78,19-21 In V there are whole numbers, while III has fractions. The former version is probably to be preferred since it is the more difficult reading, i.e., it is easier to imagine larger fractions (e.g., tenths) ruling over smaller fractions (e.g., hundredths), then smaller whole numbers (e.g., tens) ruling over larger ones (e.g., hundreds). N.B. that the last two numbers were left unchanged in III.

7. V 12,2 || III 83,20 “will”: less likely, “interval” (Crum: 501b).

8. III 86,16-20  $\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \dots\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$ , “the . . . multitude” || BG 110,9-16: “they called the church in the third aeon ‘the multitude from the multitude, which the multitude caused to appear from the one’” (K [III]; similarly Tr); “the ‘church of the three aeons’ was spoken of, because, from the crowd that came to appearance in (or ‘from’) one, a multitude was revealed” (T-S [BG]); “the church of the three aeons was furnished with names . . .” (Schenke in T-S: 340 [BG]). The problem of III 86,16-17 and BG 110,9-12, reflected in the variety of translations above (n.b. the similarity of the texts), may go back to the Greek where the distinction between the designation and the designee may not have been clear grammatically. That the designation is “Assembly” or “Church,” however, is evident from III 86,22 and BG 111,3. And that one of the aeons *is* the designee is clear from III 86,14-16 and BG 110,8-9. As to the omission of the ordinal prefixes, see 110,4 for additional examples of the error in BG. In III, lines 11-13 make clear the error (for omission of numeral prefixes, see 78,21-22). Both texts appear to have been adjusted in minor ways in hopes of making sense out of what was received, but the result was to make a difficult situation worse. The text of V, lacking those adjustments, seems closer to the original. Since the original can be discerned, I have chosen to edit *Eug*-III and *SJC*-BG accordingly.

For  $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$ , “the multitudinous one” (III 86,19–20), T–S has “one as a multitude”; K & Tr omit a translation of  $\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$ , although Tr leaves the text unemended.

9. III 87,10  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ , “concurrence” || III 111,13  $\chi\omega\nu\eta$ , “concurrence” || BG 112,4  $\epsilon\gamma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$ , “consent”: “good will” (Tr [*Eug*–III]); “good pleasure” (K [*Eug*–III]); untranslated (T–S [BG]). Basic for understanding  $\epsilon\gamma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$  here, as well as the Coptic words used to translate it, is the observation of LSJ that  $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$  can be equivalent to  $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  when used of God. Thus it can mean “consent, concurrence.” See also *TDNT* (2), 1964: 750 (Schrenk).

10. III 88,10 || III 112,10 || BG 113,18–114,1 The fem. pronouns in III 88,10 refer to Sophia (contra T–S). It appears that the reference to Sophia was dropped at an early stage from *SJC* and that the BG version (with masc. pronouns) reflects a more careful adjustment to that fact than does *SJC*–III.

11. III 88,11 || III 112,11 || BG 114,2 Should  $\alpha\phi\theta\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\alpha$  (*Eug*–III & *SJC*–III) or  $\alpha\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$  (BG) be translated with the preceding  $\mu\eta\tau\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , “majesty,” as an adjective (as though a genitive) (so also K & Tr [*Eug*–III]) or in an identity relationship (“as imperishability”) (so T–S [*Eug*–III & *SJC*–III])? Or should they be taken with the following  $\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ , “had,” as the plural subject, as I have done (so also T–S [BG])? My decision is based on the clear-cut nature of the case in BG and the difficulty of relating  $\alpha\phi\theta\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\alpha$  (in *Eug*–III & *SJC*–III) satisfactorily to  $\mu\eta\tau\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

12. V 16,4 || III 88,20 “sent”: or “sown” ( $\chi\omicron$ , Crum: 752a).

13. III 114,7 || BG 117,10 “that you might shine” (so also T–S): “until you shine” (K).

14. III 118,18–19 || BG 125,14–15 “Him Who Is from the Beginning”: “that which is from the beginning” (T–S, D & K).

15. III 119,13–14 || BG 127,4–5 “from that day on. And his”: “From that day (on) his” (T–S, Pu, D & K).

Words in the Coptic  
Inventory. Nouns a  
tree that is clear. V  
designates the quali  
necessary in view  
color phrase is split  
ed. In the Greek L  
not shown when the  
tion, a Greek rough

Omissions from ti  
ance and minor  
αυτο and μη, de  
proposition εἰ (ex  
Loan Word inc  
Proper Noun  
attributives (e  
in the other wo

αυτ. See εἰ.  
αυτ v. V 3,8,9; 1  
96,1(2), BG 86,13  
collective numer  
10,15; 11, <20>  
negative particle  
72, 74,2,18; 75  
91,5,12; 85,1; 89,  
pron. III 93,8,1  
11,17,19; 83,19; 8  
αυτ m. V 8,17. III  
96,7. αταρμχz  
αταρμχz BG 86  
V 5(6), III 86  
αταρμχz pron. B  
96,11. ογαυ νεz  
αταρμχz V 14,13. αc  
αταρμχz V 15,(23)

## WORD INDICES

Words in the Coptic Words index are ordered according to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. Nouns are indicated simply by gender designation (m. or f.), where that is clear. Where it is not, nn. is used. Verbs are indicated by v. † designates the qualitative form of the Coptic verb. Definitions are omitted as unnecessary in view of the translations to which the entries refer. Where a word or phrase is split between two lines in the text, only the first line is indicated. In the Greek Loan Words index the Coptic form of Greek loan words is not shown when the Coptic and Greek are identical in spelling; in this connection, a Greek rough breathing mark and a Coptic z are considered identical.

Omissions from the Coptic Words index because of frequency of occurrence and minor grammatical and lexical interest include the conjunctions αγω and μῆ, demonstratives (except ετῆμαγ), possessive pronouns, the preposition ζῆ (except in combinations), and ἄσι. Omissions from the Greek Loan Word index include the conjunctions ἀλλά, γάρ, δέ and μέν. From the Proper Nouns index are omitted all proper nouns constructed from verbs or attributives (except εγρηωστος and χριστος). Those are fully indexed in the other word indices.

## COPTIC WORDS

αμογ: See εἶ.

αμαzte v. V 3,8.9; 13,15. III 73,6.8. BG 86,15; 108,11. εμαzte III 85,15; 96,1.[2]. BG 86,13.

αν- (collective numeral indicator) V 7,20.21.22twice.23.27.[28].[29]; 9,[12]; 10,[15]; 11,<20>.[23].[29]; 12,[1].

αν negative particle V 1,12.16; 3,10.[18].23; 4,7.9.15.25.[28]. III 70,16.22; 72,7; 74,2.18; 75,12; 92,22; 93,4; 95,2; 98,18.23; 99,13. BG 78,13; 81,5.12; 85,1; 89,19; 91,16; 97,11. εν III 91,11. BG 90,16.

ανок pron. III 93,8.10; 94,14; 96,18; 97,23; 106,5; 107,11; 118,[15].22. BG 81,17.19; 83,19; 87,13; 89,7; 102,[1]; 104,7; 105,2; 121,13; 125,10.19.

арнхz nn. V 8,17. III 73,14; 95,7; 96,11; 97,12; 103,21; 106,7. BG 87,<5>; 98,7. атарнхz III 72,14. BG 81,18; 87,7. атῆарнхz V 5,25; 13,[17].  
мῆ арнхz BG 88,12.

ато m. V 5,[6]. III 86,18.19. BG 91,18; 99,19; 109,18; 110,15.

аw interrog. pron. BG 98,13. аw мῆmine V 1,8. III 92,12. ḿаw ḿze III 98,11. оγаw ḿze BG 80,11. еw ḿze III 70,7.

аwаi m. V 14,13. аwеї V 9,13.

аxῆ prep. V 15,[23]. III 88,10; 112,9; 114,17. BG 113,18.

- βωκ** v. BG 117,16. βωκ ψα- BG 123,4. βωκ εβολ ζῆ III 76,12. βωκ εβολ ζιτῆ- V 3,[31]. βωκ εзраї ε- BG 122,14. βωκ εзраї ψα- III 108,3; 117,4. BG 105,11.
- βαλ** V 9,[24]. III 105,13. BG 100,14; 108,10.
- βωλ** v. V 17,14. BG 104,10. βωλ εβολ BG 121,15. ρεφβωλ m. BG 94,16. βολ m.: εβολ ῆ- BG 98,12. εβολ χε BG 100,15; 110,9.16. βολ and εβολ are otherwise listed with the verb or preposition in conjunction with which they occur.
- βῆλε** m.: μῆτβῆλε III 107,10; 118,23. BG 104,5; 126,2.
- εβοτ** m. V 12,10. III 84,3.
- ενεζ** m.: ψα ενεζ III 85,16. BG 108,14. ενεζ adj.: ῆψα ενεζ V 8,23; 13,17; 16,[3]. III 119,[16]. BG 127,9. ψα ἀνηζε III 71,19; 95,11. ψα ενεζ V 2,14.15. III 94,15.16. BG 84,2.3; 85,16. ψα νι- ενεζ BG 127,10. ενεζ adv. V 5,17; 8,24. III 76,8; 81,19; 100,13; 106,1. BG 93,9; 101,16.
- ερηγ** m.: νεγερηογ V 1,[15]; 9,18. III 81,8; 83,12; 86,4. BG 87,2; 109,14.
- εснт** m.: мпеснт III 77,8. See further εἶ.
- ετβε-** prep. V 3,[25]; 14,[12]. III 91,3.6; 92,4; 97,3; 107,9; 108,11; 118,19. BG 78,3.7; 80,1; 88,2; 104,4; 106,3; 125,15. εтβε παї V 1,15; 5,12; 6,[32]. III 70,15; 78,[1]; 86,20; 92,21; 102,17; 103,19. BG 81,4; 96,8; 111,[2].6; 122,5. εтβε πεει- III 86,24. εтβε ογ III 92,1; 96,16 twice. BG 79,15.16; 87,9.11. εтβн(н)тз V 2,6. III 71,11; 105,6.
- εοογ** m. V 5,[2].10.15; 8,[19]; 14,[2]; 16,[1].9; 17,[1]. III 75,16; 76,6; 81,17; 86,8; 88,19; 89,1.8.22; 97,10; 99,17; 100,6.11; 105,8.25; 107,23; 108,3; 113,5.12.25; 117,6. BG 88,10; 92,3.17; 93,6; 100,8; 101,14; 105,4.11; 109,18; 115,7.18; 117,1; 122,17.
- εψχε** conj. III 113,1. BG 115,[1].
- εἶ** v. III 114,11. BG 117,15. εἶ ε- V 2,[2]. III 73,17; 86,21; 90,18; 97,17; 111,1; 118,23. BG 88,19; 122,6; 126,1. εἶ εβολ ζῆ V 9,[25]. III 93,8; 96,19; 105,[13]; 107,12.14; 108,14; 118,[16]. BG 81,17; 83,15; 87,13; 100,15; 102,[2]; 104,8; 106,7; 125,11. εἶ εβολ ζιτῆ- III 106,5. εἶ επеснт III 106,12. BG 102,11. εἶ εзоγн III 71,8. εἶ εзоγн мпвол ῆ- III 71,6. εἶ εзраї ε- BG 77,11; 119,7. ἀμheitῆ imperat. III 98,13. BG 90,4. For qualitative, see νηγ†.
- ειαλ** f. III 75,5; 99,3. BG 91,6.
- ειμε** v.: ειμε χε III 70,3; 92,7; 100,21; 104,6; 114,14. BG 93,17; 98,15; 118,2. ῆμε χε V 1,[4]. ειμε ναз V 2,[12]. ειμε ε- (εροз) V 4,16. BG 80,5. ῆμε εροз V 4,25. ειμε εтβε- III 105,7.
- εινε** v. (carry): εινε ναз III 117,19. BG 123,16; 124,4. εινε νεз III 117,24.
- εινε** v. (resemble) V 4,18; 9,20. III 77,5; 81,10; 99,4. BG 91,7. ine BG 85,13. ine εβολ V 7,12. εινε m. V 5,[31]. III 72,16; 75,6; 76,20; 89,14; 91,12; 95,9; 99,5; 100,4; 101,5; 113,18. BG 78,15.16; 84,18; 85,3; 91,8; 92,15; 94,5; 116,9. атт εινε εροз V 2,[16].[17].[26].

ειρε v. V 11,22. III 91,7. BG 78,8; 109,11.  $\bar{p}$ - V 12,[30]. III 83,14; 84,20.24; 114,12. BG 117,17. See further καз, ψωρπ̄, зого. ααϛ III 71,3; 93,14. BG 82,6. ε† V 2,6.<16>.23; 4,26; 5,[26]; 6,[2]; 10,[7].16; 11,[26].[28]; 12,18; 16,10. ο† III 70,5; 78,7.17; 92,10; 102,23. BG 96,16.

ειωρз v. III 72,12; 95,6. ειωρз  $\bar{n}$ ca- BG 85,6.

εις interj.: εις зηητε III 118,3. BG 124,9.

ειωт m. V 7,14; 9,[9].[22]. III 74,22.23; 76,17; 78,13; 84,14; 97,15; 98,23.<24>; 99,6; 101,1.22; 103,6; 104,23; 105,19; 108,4; 117,[9]. BG 88,16; 90,16.17; 91,10; 95,8; 97,6; 99,18; 100,4; 101,6; 105,12; 123,4; 127,9. ιωт V 4,10.11; 6,[19]; 12,[2]. III 77,13; 117,10. BG 123,2. αγεννητος  $\bar{n}$ (ε)ιωт III 75,22; 96,13; 98,20; 99,9; 100,1; 117,[11]. BG 90,12; 91,13. αтпо(ϩ)  $\bar{n}$ ειωт V 10,<18-19>. BG 87,7; 123,6. αυτογενετωρ  $\bar{n}$ ειωт BG 107,4. αυτογενηс  $\bar{n}$ ειωт III 101,19. BG 95,3. αυτοφυηс  $\bar{n}$ αυτοκτιστος  $\bar{n}$ ειωт BG 94,1. ειωт εвол  $\bar{m}$ μοϩ V 6,[20]. (ε)ιωт  $\bar{m}$ πτηρ̄ V 3,[4]. III 73,2; 95,18; 114,19; 117,[8]. BG 86,5; 123,1. ειωт пирεϩ πο  $\bar{n}$ νη τηροϩ V 12,[23]. ιωт  $\bar{n}$ ρεϩποϩ οϩαϩ V 4,[20]. ιωт πεтаϩпо  $\bar{m}$ μοϩ οϩαϩ V 5,[25]. πρω(οг о)τογενετωρ  $\bar{n}$ (ε)ιωт III 81,10; 105,11. BG 100,12. ψ(ο)ρ̄п̄  $\bar{n}$ ειωт οг  $\bar{n}$ ειοτε V 4,10.[13]; 6,11. BG 91,3.9.

ειт̄ m.:  $\bar{m}$ пит̄  $\bar{n}$ те- BG 119,8.

κε- adj. V 2,4; 5,12.21; 7,3.16; 8,[27]; 11,[5].15. III 71,9; 76,13; 97,8; 107,24. BG 88,7; 105,6. κεοϩа V 2,[20]. III 72,2.6; 94,24. BG 84,12.17. кооϩе pl. V 1,[20].21. III 70,19.20; 93,[1].2. BG 81,8.10. See further сеεπε.

κω v.: κη† εзра† V 3,[30]; 5,5. III 74,14; 75,19; 83,4. See further ϩо.

κιm v. BG 88,9. κιm m. III 92,16. BG 80,15. αтκιm III 97,9.

κρωм m. III 108,13.

καз m. III 92,9. BG 80,7; 81,15. See further χπο.

κωз m. BG 106,6.

λαϩу indef. pron. V 1,[23]; 3,[5].10. III 73,3; 74,8; 95,22. BG 86,10. ( $\bar{m}$ ) $\bar{m}$ ̄  
λαϩу III 71,24; 73,7; 94,2.21; 96,2. BG 83,1; 84,9; 86,15.

ма m. V 14,15. III 75,20; 89,10; 113,14; 118,2. BG 92,10; 116,2.7; 125,<8>. пма BG 122,6. пма ет̄м̄маϩ V 16,[22]. III 89,13. BG 124,8.  $\bar{m}$ п(ι)ма BG 117,17; 120,17; 124,15.  $\bar{m}$ πεειμα III 93,10; 114,12; 118,6. ма  $\bar{n}$ ψωπε III 88,18. See further τη, зω.

ма- (imperat. of †): See тамо, тсво, тоунос, өв̄вио.

ме f. V 1,12.[24]; 6,10. BG 80,17; 83,2. мне III 70,11.12; 71,1; 74,12; 77,7 twice; 92,18; 93,7.12; 94,2.4; 117,18. BG 81,17; 82,3; 83,4; 123,15.  $\bar{m}$ ̄тме V 4,9; 6,12. See further ноϩте.

моϩ v. V 3,[24]. III 71,13; 74,7; 91,16; 93,24; 98,9; 106,14. BG 79,3; 82,18; 89,20; 102,14. мооϩ† V 2,8. нетмооϩ† BG 77,10. моϩ m.: αтмоϩ V 2,[6].7; 6,[4]; 7,[10].24; 13,[18]; 15,18. III 94,15. BG 82,17;

- 84,1; 97,[2]; 102,12; 107,16; 108,18; 113,11; 118,9; 120,11; 123,12. See further ϱωμε.
- μ̄λαζ m.: ατ̄ρ̄ μ̄λαζ V 6,[12].
- (μ̄)μ̄ν̄- (negation of existence) V 2,13; 4,[26]. III 70,24; 93,6.15; 95,7; 106,7; 113,9. BG 81,15; 85,13; 115,11.12. μ̄μ̄ν̄- μ̄μαγ III 89,3; 113,8. μ̄ν̄τ(ε)ϑ V 4,[23]; 16,[11]. III 71,22; 72,23; 94,19; 97,12. BG 84,7.10.14. (μ̄)μ̄ν̄ταϑ III 71,20; 72,1.3.16; 94,17.22; 95,9.16. BG 92,15. μ̄ν̄ταϑ μ̄μαγ BG 84,3; 86,2. See further αρ̄ηχ̄ϑ, λααγ, ρ̄ρο, ωπ, ζαειβес, сом.
- μ̄μιν μ̄μοϑ III 70,19; 71,2; 72,7.13.21; 75,3; 93,1.13; 95,1; 97,5; 99,2.4.7; 104,9; 114,16. BG 81,8; 82,4; 84,18; 88,4; 91,4.7; 96,14.
- μινε f.: See αψ.
- μογν v.: μ̄ν̄η† V 5,14; 16,[31]. BG 93,4. μ̄ν̄η† εвол III 72,15.18; 76,4; 81,16; 89,21; 95,8; 100,9; 105,17; 113,24. BG 85,12; 101,3.13; 116,18.
- μογнк v.: монкϑ V 8,[10].[12].
- μ̄πψα v.: μ̄πψα ḡ- III 93,18. BG 82,10.
- μογρ v.: μορϑ III 107,6. BG 103,18. μ̄ρ̄ρε f. BG 103,17.
- μисе m. ψор̄п̄ μ̄мисе V 8,[33]; 9,7.21; 13,11. ψор̄πε μ̄мисе V 9,[4]. ψ̄ηре ḡψор̄п̄ μ̄мисе V 9,[2]. ат̄мисе V 3,2; 5,8. ат̄мисі V 2,16.
- μнт cardinal number: ρамнт III 78,19 twice. μ̄н̄т- in the following cardinal number: μ̄н̄тснооγс V 12,[9].[11].[24].[25]. III 83,10; 84,2.4.15.16; 90,16. BG 77,12; 107,5.7. ан̄ μ̄н̄тснооγс V 11,<20>.
- ма̄те v.: ма̄те ḡ- BG 105,10. ма̄те m. † ма̄те ḡ- III 101,10. † ма̄те з̄ḡ- III 108,2. † ме̄те μ̄н̄- V 1,[15]; 10,[5].13. † ме̄те ḡ- BG 94,13. † ме̄те m. V 8,[31]; 11,[6].[22]. ме̄те μ̄н̄- III 87,10.
- ма̄те: μ̄ма̄те adv. III 89,5. BG 115,13.
- μ̄н̄те f. V 14,[4]. III 86,10. з̄ḡ т̄н̄те V 2,[7]. III 71,12; 93,23. BG 82,17.
- моγте v.: моγте еροϑ BG 110,1. моγте ε- (εροϑ) χε V 3,[3]; 9,[6].14; 10,[9]; 11,16; 13,[11].14. III 75,17; 85,14; 86,22; 91.1.19; 95,17; 99,17.24; 102,1.18; 104,7.14.19.21; 105,5.21; 106,20.23; 111,1; 112,8. BG 78,1; 79,7; 86,4; 92,5.12; 98,9; 99,13.15; 100,5.13; 101,8; 103,3.8; 108,3.5.9; 110,5; 111,13.15; 112,8; 113,15; 119,15. моγте χε BG 111,[2].
- μ̄то m.: μ̄то εвол BG 122,1. μ̄то εвол р̄ер. BG 91,11. ρεγ̄μ̄то ḡ- V 4,[21].
- μ̄тон v.: μ̄тон μ̄μοϑ з̄ḡ- (ḡз̄ηт̄ϑ) III 76,3; 100,8; 117,[11]. BG 93,2; 123,5.<9>. μ̄тон m. V 5,13; 14,[9]; 17,[2]. BG 117,[2]; 125,<8>.
- μαγ m.: ετ̄μ̄μαγ V 2,13; 4,[2]; 6,[3]; 8,[33]; 9,17. III 71,18; 73,8; 75,1; 76,22; 77,24; 81,4.7; 94,14; 96,3; 98,25; 99,22.23; 101,7.10; 102,12; 107,[15].18.25; 117,1; 119,13. BG 84,1; 86,16; 91,2; 92,10; 94,7.8.12; 96,2; 104,11.15; 111,4; 116,7; 119,13.17; 120,12; 121,5.8; 122,8; 127,5. See further ма, (μ̄)μ̄ν̄-, ογон.
- μαаγ f. III 118,5. BG 120,15; 124,14. мааγ μ̄п̄т̄ηρ̄ V 9,[5]. III 104,18; 112,19; 114,15. маγ μ̄п̄т̄ηρ̄ BG 99,12; 114,11. маγ ḡп̄п̄т̄ηρ̄ BG 118,[3].



μεεϋε v. V 4,[28]; 5,[30]. BG 79,15; 80,9. μεϋε V 1,9. μεοϋε III 92,2.  
 μεεϋε ε- BG 120,6. μεεϋε m. V 3,[11]; 7,7.26; 8,[3].4; 11,10.11.17.  
 BG 86,19; 96,18; 112,16; 120,7. μεοϋε III 111,20. ατμεοϋε εροϋ III  
 114,20.

μνηϋε m. V 3,[21]. III 74,5; 75,13.19; 81,3; 86,7.18.20; 98,7; 99,14.22;  
 104,24; 118,[7]. BG 89,18; 110,13.17; 124,16.

μοϋϣτ v. V 4,[2]. III 74,14.

μοϋζ v.: μεζ† V 9,[26]. III 81,14; 100,6. BG 101,9. μηζ† III 105,22. BG  
 92,17. μεζ† εβολ V 5,10.28; 8,19. μηζ† εβολ III 76,[1]. μαζ- and  
 μεζ- in ordinal numbers; see снаϋ, сооϋ, саϣϣ̄, †оϋ, ϣμοϋν,  
 ϣομḿт, ϣтооϋ.

мзааϋ m.: мзаоϋ III 119,2. BG 104,12; 126,7.

μααχε m. III 97,21; 98,21; 105,10. BG 89,5; 90,13; 100,11; 107,19.

να m. BG 118,6. ατναε BG 122,1.

να v.: να ε- III 114,11.

νηϋ† ε- BG 103,10. нноϋ† εβολ V 4,11. нноϋ† εзоϋν ε- III 106,24.

ḿка m.: ḿка ним III 72,10; 73,21; 82,[3]; 95,4; 98,1; 103,10; 106,8.21;  
 119,5. BG 85,5; 87,15; 89,9; 120,10. ḿка ним BG 97,12; 103,5; 126,13.

ḿкотк v. BG 120,2.

ним interrog. pron. V 1,7. III 70,7; 92,12; 104,3. BG 80,10.

ним indef. pron. V 2,12; 5,10.19; 7,32; 8,20.25; 10,[1]; 16,[19].[20]. III 70,3;  
 71,17; 72,12; 78,9; 86,6; 87,8; 88,21; 89,10; 91,15; 94,8; 95,6; 97,15;  
 100,6.15; 103,1; 111,11; 113,15. BG 85,7; 88,17; 92,18; 96,19; 109,16;  
 116,4.11; 117,5; 118,14. See further ḿка, ναϋ, οϋα, οϋον, οϋοειϣ,  
 ζωβ.

наноϋ- v. III 85,7. наноϋϋ V 13,[5]. BG 107,10.

ноϋνε f. III 108,22. BG 106,18.

ноϋте m. V 1,7; 3,26; 6,[26]; 9,[3]; 11,17; 13,[17]; 15,[2] twice. [3]  
 twice.[4].[5]. III 70,6; 74,11; 77,20; 87,12 twice.14 twice.15; 92,11;  
 100,2; 102,8.15; 111,15.16 twice.17.<18>; 118,22; 119,[15]. BG 80,10;  
 92,13; 95,17; 96,6; 112,8.9 twice.12 twice; 125,19; 127,8. ḿ† BG  
 112,13. ατχποϋ ḿноϋте BG 88,15. αϋτογενηс ḿноϋте III 97,14.  
 ноϋте ετχιχḿ πτηρḿ III 118,25. BG 126,4. ноϋте ḿḿноϋте III  
 78,[2]; 102,18. BG 96,10. ноϋте ḿте ḿноϋте V 6,[32]. ноϋте  
 ḿталηεια III 71,10. ноϋте ḿте тме V 2,[3]. ноϋте adj. III  
 85,17; 87,14; 99,6. BG 91,10; 108,15. мḿтноϋте V 2,14; 6,16.[29].  
 III 77,12.24; 101,21; 102,16. BG 95,7; 96,7. See further ϣηρε.

ḿтос pron. V 6,11. III 98,15. BG 90,7.

ḿтωтḿ pron. III 93,16; 108,5; 119,1. BG 82,9; 105,14; 126,5.

ḿтооϋ pron. III 73,12; 76,3; 96,7; 100,8. BG 87,1; 93,2.

ḿтоϋ pron. V 2,[22]; 4,18; 9,[7]. III 71,18; 75,23; 85,21; 94,10; 99,5; 100,4;  
 104,20. BG 83,13; 91,8; 92,16; 109,4.

ḿтоϋ conj. V 3,9.

- ναγ** v. III 72,11; 95,6. BG 85,2. **ναγ εροσ** III 72,8; 75,3; 95,2; 99,2. BG 85,7; 91,4. **ατναγ εροσ** BG 123,17; 125,5.  
**ναγ** m.: **ἄναγ** **νιμ** III 76,1.  
**ναψε**- v.: **ναψωσ** III 97,18; 107,17; 117,4. BG 89,2; 104,14; 110,13; 122,13.  
**νιφε** v.: **νιφε εζογν εροσ** BG 120,13. **νιφε** m. III 117,1. BG 119,19; 120,4.12; 121,5; 122,9.  
**νογзβ** v.: **νογзβ мн**- BG 122,7. **нозвс** III 107,<21>. **назвс** BG 105,1. **ногзβ** m. III 101,18. **назβ** III 119,3. **назвс** BG 126,10.  
**назте** v.: **назте е**- V 3,[29].  
**нос** adj. V 2,23; 5,[31]; 8,[32]; 10,7. III 76,21; 77,16.17; 81,24; 88,13; 91,13; 94,14; 97,2; 101,5.16; 102,3.6; 104,10; 106,18; 107,13.22; 108,22; 112,13; 118,[11]; 119,[12]. BG 78,16; 83,19; 87,20; 94,6; 95,1.12.14; 99,[2]; 103,[1]; 104,10; 105,3; 106,17; 114,[4]; 120,5; 121,12; 125,4; 127,3. **нас** V 6,22.25; 9,10. **мнтнос** V 3,6; 9,10. III 73,5; 77,17; 86,5; 88,11.17; 95,23; 102,5; 112,11.17. BG 86,11; 95,13; 109,16; 113,18; 114,9. **мнтнас** V 6,23; 15,[22].  
**он** adv. V 7,23; 12,21. III 77,5; 117,2. BG 93,9.  
**οειω** m.: **ταψε οειω** III 119,[14]. BG 127,7.  
**πε** f. V 14,[17]; 16,16. III 84,20; 85,5; 86,24; 89,7; 113,11.18. BG 111,5. **πηγε** pl. BG 106,13; 115,16; 116,9. **πνογε** pl. V 12,[29]; 13,[4]; 16,[23]. III 108,18. **ἦππε** V 4,6. BG 104,9. **ἦππε ἦ**- V 13,[19]. BG 109,1.12; 119,3.  
**πει** f.: † **πι ерн**- V 9,18.  
**πειρε** v.: **πῖρε εβολ** V 5,[21]. **πῖρε εβολ зн**- V 17,12. **πῖρε** m.: **πῖρε εβολ ммос** V 5,[8]. **πире εβολ ммос** V 5,[20].  
**πεχε**- v.: **πεχε- χε** III 92,3; 98,12; 100,19; 106,14; 108,19; 112,24. **πεχαс** BG 79,18; 83,4. **πεχαс χε** III 91,21; 94,4; 95,19; 96,17; 98,1; 105,8; 106,10. BG 79,9; 80,4; 86,6.8; 87,8.12; 89,9; 90,3; 93,15; 98,13; 100,9; 102,7.14; 106,13; 107,16; 114,18. **πεχαс нас χε** III 92,1.6; 93,24; 95,21; 96,14; 98,9; 100,16; 103,22; 104,4; 105,3; 108,16; 112,20; 114,8.12. BG 79,14; 82,19; 89,20; 93,12; 98,7; 100,3; 106,10; 107,13; 114,13; 117,12.17.  
**πο** m.: **καρωq** m. BG 113,16; 123,13; 124,1. **pa-** in fractions: III 78,19 twice.20 twice.21 twice.<22>.  
**ρωμε** m. V 1,[4]; 2,8; 3,22.[24]; 6,[2].20. III 70,3; 71,13; 72,4.5; 74,5; 76,23; 77,23; 92,8; 93,8.24; 98,7; 99,22; 100,18; 101,7.9; 104,1; 105,5. BG 81,14; 82,18; 84,15.16; 89,18; 92,9; 93,15; 98,11; 100,6; 108,9. **αθανατοс ἦρωμε** III 77,10; 83,20; 85,10.21; 88,6; 89,8; 101,20; 112,7; 113,13. **ατμογ ἦρωμε** BG 94,12; 95,5; 113,14; 121,2. **ρωμε ἦ(н)ατμογ** V 6,15; 7,[25]; 8,18.[28]; 12,[4]; 13,[8].[21]; 15,[20]; 16,17. BG 109,5; 115,18; 121,14. **ρωμε** **п-** **ог ἄαγτοπατωρ** III 77,14;

102,1. BG 95,9.  $\omega\pi\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  BG 96,12.  $\zeta\omega\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau$   $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  III 78,[3].23; 102,20; 104,6. BG 94,9; 98,16.  $\zeta\omega\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau$   $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  BG 94,9.  $\rho\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\omicron$  m.:  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\mu\mu\alpha\omicron$  III 97,2; 118,[10].[14]. BG 88,1; 125,3.8.

See further  $\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$ .

$\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$  f. V 12,8.14. III 84,[1].<5>.

$\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$  m. V 4,15; 6,16; 10,[8].11.17.[25]; 11,[5].15; 14,[10].[27]. III 72,1.2; 76,24; 77,3; 82,[1].3.12.18; 85,5; 86,16; 87,8; 94,22.23; 102,4; 104,14.16; 106,19.22; 111,11; 112,3. BG 84,11.12; 95,12; 99,6.10; 110,9; 112,2; 113,9; 124,11.  $\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}$  III 118,4. †  $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon$ - ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta$ ) V 8,13.[16]; 14,[3].[19]; 15,[20]. III 87,2; 88,1; 103,19; 111,4. BG 104,7; 111,9. †  $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon$ - ( $\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta$ )  $\chi\epsilon$  V 4,9.[19]; 5,[3].7; 6,[5].[9].[19].[32]; 8,[29]; 9,[1].[22]; 10,12; 13,[3]; 14,[8].[23]; 15,[21]. III 107,11; 111,15. †  $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\eta\alpha\zeta$  BG 98,4. †  $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\chi\epsilon$  V 14,11.15. †  $\rho\bar{\eta}\zeta$   $\chi\epsilon$  III 78,1; 85,4; 86,13; 87,4; 88,8; 111,7.8. †  $\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\zeta$  III 86,9. †  $\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\zeta$   $\chi\epsilon$  III 87,11.  $\chi\iota$   $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$  BG 120,8.  $\alpha\tau\ddagger$   $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta$  III 72,3.  $\alpha\tau\ddagger$   $\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\eta\alpha\zeta$  BG 84,13.

$\rho\pi\epsilon$  m. III 88,16; 112,16. BG 114,8.

$\rho\bar{\rho}\omicron$  m.:  $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\gamma$  BG 96,11.  $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\rho\omega\gamma$  III 78,2; 102,19.  $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\rho\omega\gamma$  V 7,[2].  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$  V 6,[17].[30]; 8,21; 9,[26]. III 77,13; 78,[1]; 81,12; 85,23; 101,22; 102,17; 105,19; 112,13. BG 95,7; 96,8; 109,7; 114,5.  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron$  BG 100,16; 101,6.  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\rho\omega\gamma$  pl. V 5,[5]; 13,[23]. III 88,14.  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$  pl. III 75,19.  $\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$   $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$ - ( $\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta$ ) V 6,[25]. III 77,18. BG 95,15.  $\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$ - III 102,6.  $\alpha\tau\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta$  V 5,[4].[6]; 13,16.  $\mu\bar{\eta}$   $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$   $\zeta\iota\chi\omega\zeta$  III 75,18.20; 85,16; 99,19.23; 118,[15]. BG 92,6.11; 108,13; 125,8.

$\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  v. BG 89,8.  $\rho\eta\varsigma^+$  III 97,23.

$\rho\omicron\omega\gamma\psi$  m. V 1,[11].

$\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$  v.:  $\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ - V 5,14. III 70,2; 76,5; 100,10; 105,17. BG 93,4.  $\rho\epsilon\psi\epsilon$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ - BG 101,3.  $\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$  m. V 8,20; 9,[27]. III 76,2.5; 81,14.16; 89,19; 90,10; 91,2; 100,7.10; 105,22; 113,22; 117,6. BG 78,2; 93,1.4; 101,10; 116,15; 122,16; 127,3.  $\rho\epsilon\psi\epsilon$  V 5,11.

$\varsigma\alpha$  m. III 72,12; 95,6. BG 85,7.  $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha$  ( $\bar{\eta}$ ) $\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\bar{\eta}$ - ( $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\zeta$ ) V 2,[4]. III 119,[10]. BG 121,17.  $\mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha$ - ( $-\varsigma\omega\zeta$ ) V 4,[29].[31]; 6,18; 8,6.27; 10,[2]. III 75,12; 90,14; 99,13. BG 77,9; 91,17. See further  $\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ .

$\varsigma\alpha\beta\epsilon$  m. V 1,10. BG 80,12.  $\varsigma\alpha\beta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  pl. III 70,8; 92,14.  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\epsilon$  V 15,[5]. III 111,17.18; BG 86,19; 112,13.  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\eta$  III 93,15.  $\varsigma\beta\omega$  f. V 3,12; 7,[8]; 8,[4] twice; 11,18; 15,6.  $\varsigma\beta\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$  pl. V 7,[27]; 11,11.12.  $\alpha\tau\ddagger$   $\varsigma\beta\omega$  III 90,7.  $\alpha\tau\ddagger$   $\varsigma\beta\omega$   $\eta\alpha\zeta$  V 17,[12].

$\varsigma\omega\beta\epsilon$  v. III 92,1. BG 79,14.

$\varsigma\omega\lambda\pi$  v. III 107,15. BG 104,11.

$\varsigma\mu\eta$  f. V 2,4.[4]. III 70,23; 71,7.9; 93,5. BG 81,13.

$\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$  v.:  $\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\epsilon\rho\omicron\zeta$   $\chi\epsilon$  BG 96,9.

$\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$  m. V 1,14; 2,[22]; 4,[19].[22]; 7,23; 16,[19]. III 78,22; 89,<12>; 91,14. BG 79,1.  $\chi\iota$   $\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau$   $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\zeta$  III 113,14.

$\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$  m. III 77,6.

- COONE** m. III 101,15; 107,[16]. BG 94,18; 121,16. **COHE** BG 104,12; 121,3.
- COHT** v.: **COHT NAZ** V 6,[26]. III 77,19; 102,8. BG 95,17. **CONTZ** V 8,<10>. III 103,13. BG 97,16. **COHT** nm. V 2,[19]. III 72,2.5; 77,19; 94,23; 102,7. BG 84,<12>.17; 95,16.
- CNAU** cardinal number III 117,2. BG 122,10. **MEZCNAU** V 10,19; 14,[6]. III 82,13; 85,11; 86,12. BG 108,8; 110,<4>. **MEZCOTE** III 82,20. **MAZCNAU** V 13,9. **IB** V 11,20. See further **MHT**, **CAWU**.
- COH2** m. III 107,5.14. BG 104,<11>. **CNOOYZ** pl. BG 121,16.
- COH** m. **ZIOYCOH** III 91,2.
- COEPE** m.: **KECOEPE** BG 97,8.
- COPM** v. V 3,[22]. III 98,8. BG 89,18.
- COPTM** v. III 97,22; 98,21.22; 105,10.11. BG 89,5; 90,14 twice; 100,11.12; 107,19; 108,1. **COPTM E-** (**EPH**) V 8,24; 16,[3]. III 97,21. BG 89,6. **COPTEM EPH** V 5,17. **COTMEZ** III 76,8; 81,18; 100,13; 106,1. BG 93,9; 101,16.
- COPTV** v.: **CATPT E-** V 2,[23]. III 72,11. **COTPT E-** III 95,5. BG 85,6.
- COOY** cardinal number V 11,[26]. III 82,9. **COOY COOY** V 11,[26]. **COE** **COE** III 84,18. **CO CO** V 11,[28]. **CS** III 83,<13>.<14>. **MEZCOOY** V 10,[23]. III 82,17. **MEZCOE** III 83,[1]. **MEZCO** V 11,[3]. **ANCOOY** V 10,[15]. **ANCO** V 11,[23].
- COOYN** v. V 4,15. III 93,17. BG 82,10. **COOYN N-** (**MMOZ**) V 3,[23]; 6,[12]. III 93,10; 117,8.[12].15.22. BG 81,19; 89,19; 123,2.7.11; 124,1. **COYN-** III 74,6; 98,8.11; 108,4. **COYWN-** BG 90,2; 100,8; 105,13. **COYWNZ** V 2,10; 5,18; 8,[25]; 17,[4]. III 71,15; 94,6. BG 83,7.12. **COOYN** m. III 74,20; 76,13; 90,10; 93,18; 117,23. BG 82,11; 123,3; 124,3. **W(O)PH** **NCOOYN** III 96,12. BG 87,6. **ZOYEIT NCOOYN** III 73,15. **ATCOYWNZ** V 5,9. **MHTATCOOYN** III 107,10. BG 104,6.
- COYCOY** m. V 12,21. III 84,11.
- CAWU** cardinal number: **CAWU** III 90,17. BG 77,13. **WPECNOOYC** III 83,14.15; 84,20 twice. **MEZCAWU** BG 109,1. **ANWPECNOOYC** V 11,[29]. **OB** V 12,27.
- COWU** v.: **COOY+** III 93,14.
- COWYZ** v. V 14,14. III 86,21; 91,2. **COWYZ EZOYN** BG 111,[1].
- COOZE** v.: **COOZE MMOZ EBOΛ ZN-** BG 126,1. **CAZE-** **EBOΛ N-** III 108,9. BG 106,1. **CAZWZ N-** III 118,23.
- CZIME** f. and adj. V 14,[22].[24].[27]. III 87,4.5.7; 90,18; 104,17; 106,22; 111,6.8.10. BG 77,13; 107,13; 111,15.18; 118,16. **ZIOME** pl. V 11,[27]. III 82,19; 83,14. **MHTCZIME** V 6,[7]; 9,[3]; 10,[11].[25]; 13,7. III 77,[3]; 82,4; 85,9. BG 99,10; 103,6; 111,12. See further **ZOYT**.
- COB** m.: **MHTCOB** III 71,4.
- TAEIO** m. III 117,[7]. **TAIO** BG 122,18.
- T** v.: **T-** III 107,17; 117,3. BG 104,14; 122,12. **T N-** (**NAZ**) V 6,[24]; 8,[11].14; 13,[24]. III 77,17; 85,24; 93,19; 102,5; 119,4. BG 95,14;

109,8; 126,12. †  $\bar{m}m\omega\varsigma$   $\bar{n}a\varsigma$  III 91,22. BG 79,11. †  $\bar{n}m\mu a\varsigma$  III 77,7.8. BG 118,17. †  $\omega\upsilon\beta e-$  III 74,9. †  $\epsilon\zeta\rho a\dot{\iota}$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma$  V 6,14.  $\tau a a\varsigma$   $\bar{n}a\varsigma$  V 11,[5]. BG 82,11.  $\tau o^{\dagger}$   $\bar{n}a\varsigma$  III 93,17. BG 82,9.  $\rho e\psi\tau$  III 97,[1]. BG 87,19. See further  $\epsilon\iota\eta e$ ,  $\mu a\tau e$ ,  $\pi e\dot{\iota}$ ,  $\rho a\bar{n}$ ,  $\sigma a\beta e$ ,  $\tau o\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$ ,  $\omega\gamma\omega$ ,  $\omega\pi$ ,  $\psi\dot{\iota}$ .

$\tau\beta a$  cardinal number V 6,[27]; 16,[7]. III 77,21; 81,[2]; 88,22; 102,10; 113,4. BG 95,19; 115,6.  $\alpha\bar{n}\tau\beta a$  V 7,23.[29]; 9,[12].  $\langle\rho a\rangle\tau\beta a$  III 78,22.

$\tau\beta\omega$  v.:  $\tau o\upsilon\beta\eta o\gamma^{\dagger}$  III 90,11.  $\tau\beta\eta\eta o\gamma\tau^{\dagger}$  V 17,15.

$\tau a\kappa o$  v. III 71,21; 73,22; 74,2; 94,18; 98,[2].5. BG 84,6; 89,11.14.  $\tau a\kappa o$  m. V 3,16. III 73,22.23; 98,2.4. BG 89,11.12.  $\alpha\tau\tau a\kappa o$  V 5,10; 8,20. III 81,18; 98,6; 105,25. BG 85,10; 89,3.6.15; 101,15; 114,2; 127,10.  $\mu\eta\tau a\tau\tau a\kappa o$  III 98,5. BG 88,11.16; 89,14.17; 92,18; 97,3.

$\tau e\lambda\eta a$  v.:  $\tau e\lambda\eta a$  refl. V 8,22.  $\tau e\lambda\eta a$  m. V 5,15; 8,23. III 76,7; 81,15; 89,20; 100,12; 105,24; 113,24; 119,[12]. BG 93,7; 101,12; 116,16.

$\tau\lambda\tau\lambda$  v.:  $\tau\lambda\tau\lambda e$  m. or f. III 107,1.18; BG 103,13; 104,15; 119,6.12.17.

$\tau a\mu\iota o$  v. III 113,5; 114,21. BG 115,8; 116,8; 118,8.  $\tau a\mu\iota o$   $\bar{n}a\varsigma$  V 9,9.[11]; 12,[22]; 16,[5]. III 77,16; 81,[1]; 84,13; 102,3; 104,23; 112,12; 113,3. BG 95,11; 99,18; 107,3; 114,[3]; 115,4.  $\tau a\mu\iota o$  m. III 113,17.

$\tau a\mu o$  v.:  $\tau a\mu e-$  BG 82,1.  $\tau a\mu o\varsigma$  V 4,[5].  $\mu a\tau a\mu o$  imperat. III 94,3. BG 83,3.  $\mu a\tau a\mu o\varsigma$   $\chi e$  III 106,10.

$\tau\mu a(\epsilon)\dot{\iota} o$  v.:  $\tau\mu a\epsilon\dot{\iota} e$  - III 107,24.  $\tau\mu a\dot{\iota} e$  - BG 105,6.

$\tau\omega\bar{n}$  interrog. adv. III 114,11. BG 117,15.  $\epsilon\tau\omega\bar{n}$  III 114,11. BG 117,16.

$\tau a\bar{n}o$  v. III 86,[2].

$\tau\eta\bar{n}o o\gamma$  v.:  $\tau\eta\bar{n}o o\gamma e-$  III 107,2.  $\tau\eta\bar{n}o o\gamma\varsigma$  III 93,22; 101,13; 108,7; 118,17. BG 82,16; 105,17; 125,12.  $\tau\eta\bar{n}o o\gamma\varsigma$   $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau\bar{n}$  - III 107,19; 108,6.  $\tau\eta\bar{n}o o\gamma$   $\epsilon\beta o\lambda$   $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau\bar{n}$  - ( $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau o o\tau\bar{z}$ ) BG 103,11; 104,16; 105,15.

$\tau o\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$  v.: †  $\tau o\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$  BG 80,15. †  $\tau a\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$  III 92,16. †  $\tau a\bar{n}\tau\bar{n} e-$  III 70,10.  $\tau o\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$  m. BG 80,16.  $\tau a\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$  III 70,11; 92,17.

$\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$  adj. V 1,4; 3,[8].14.15 twice; 5,[6].13; 6,8; 7,17; 8,7.8.[18].22; 9,13.[26]; 10,19.[23]; 12,[29]; 13,[5].24; 14,14.[27].28; 15,17.18.22; 16,[4].[25]; 17,[5].[8].[11]. III 70,15; 73,9.12.14; 75,20; 76,3.10; 77,19; 81,3.20; 83,19; 84,18.23; 85,6; 87,8; 88,[2].3.5.14; 89,15; 90,2.4.9; 91,23; 92,8.21; 96,4.8.10; 99,15.23; 100,8; 103,12.15; 105,20; 106,25; 107,8; 111,11; 112,3.6.11.17; 113,20; 114,3.5 twice; 118,5.13; 119,[11]. BG 79,13; 80,5; 81,3; 86,17; 87,1.5; 92,2; 93,2.11; 97,14.16.18; 100,16; 101,10; 102,6; 104,3; 107,9; 109,10; 112,[1].2; 113,9; 114,1.10; 117,7; 120,8; 122,4; 124,12.18; 125,6.  $\pi\tau\eta\rho\bar{u}$  V 3,8; 5,24. III 72,11; 73,7 twice.13; 76,15; 91,4; 92,5; 95,5; 96,2.9; 100,22; 114,15. BG 78,4; 80,2; 85,6; 86,14 twice; 87,3; 93,19.  $\eta\dot{\iota}\tau\eta\rho o$   $\gamma$  V 10,[10]. See further  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\omega\tau$ ,  $\mu a a\gamma$ ,  $\eta o\upsilon\tau e$ ,  $\chi o\epsilon\dot{\iota} c$ .

$\tau\omega\rho e$  f. occurring in the following prepositions:  $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}$  - III 84,5; 85,16.18.  $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau\bar{n}$  - III 71,8; 92,20; 101,12.18; 104,23; 106,13; 112,18. BG 81,3; 95,3; 119,19; 123,13.  $\zeta a\tau\bar{n}$  - V 1,[20]. BG 106,6.  $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau o(\sigma)\tau\bar{z}$  V 1,[19]. III 70,19; 72,13; 92,24; 95,7; 97,5; 99,7; 104,9; 107,7; 114,16; 117,17. BG 81,7; 99,17; 120,11.  $\epsilon\beta o\lambda$   $\zeta\dot{\iota}\tau\bar{n}$  - V 2,[3]; 3,10.[31]. III 93,7; 101,9;



- 84,18.23; 97,18. **ογν̄- ἄμοϝ** III 97,21. BG 90,13. **ογν̄τε-** V 14,[9]; 15,[18]. **ογν̄τε- ἄμαγ** III 86,14. **ογν̄τ(ε)ϝ** III 72,1.4; 88,4; 98,21. BG 84,17; 99,16; 100,10; 107,18; 113,12; 114,[2]. **ογν̄τ(ε)ϝ ἄμαγ** III 105,9. BG 89,4. **ογν̄ταϝ** V 2,[22]; 5,13; 6,13; 7,[6]; 9,[7]; 11,[4].15; 12,[28]; 16,[18]; 17,16. III 71,21.23.24; 72,6; 78,5; 88,11; 94,18.20. 21.23.24; 104,22; 112,5.11. BG 84,5.8.9.11.15; 110,8. **ογν̄ταϝ ἄμαγ** III 96,22; 102,20. BG 87,17; 96,12. See further **σομ**.
- ογον** indef. pron. III 70,22; 93,4. **ογον ἄμοϝ** BG 81,16. **ογον nim** V 2,[5].[23].[24]; 17,15. III 71,11.20; 85,24; 94,17.20; 118,24. BG 84,4.7; 103,10; 126,4. **ογαν nim** III 71,23.
- ογνογ** f. V 12,20. **ογνοογε** pl. III 84,11. **ἡτεγνογ** V 16,14. III 76,21; 89,5; 101,6. BG 94,7; 115,14. **ἡτογνογ** V 6,[2]. **τενογ** III 70,5; 92,10; 94,9.13; 100,16; 106,2. BG 80,8; 83,12.17; 93,12; 101,17. **†νογ** V 1,6.
- ογων(ε)z** v. V 6,[3]; 9,[33]. III 73,4; 76,15; 82,9; 83,3; 87,10.16.23; 91,10; 95,20; 99,20; 100,22; 101,7; 103,17; 108,10.24; 112,2. BG 86,7; 93,18; 101,17; 106,3; 107,1; 118,<15>; 119,11. **ογονz̄** V 12,[2]. BG 97,14. **ογονz̄†** V 3,[6]; 4,[3].[4].[6].7. BG 86,11; 109,9. **ογανz̄†** III 73,17; 97,17; 98,14. **ογωνz̄** e- (**εροϝ**) III 81,19. BG 78,11. **ογωνz̄ ναϝ** **εβολ** III 98,16; 118,[17]. BG 90,8. **ογονz̄ ναϝ εβολ** BG 114,15. **ογωνz̄ εβολ** V 3,5; 4,[18].[22].[29]; 5,[24]; 6,15.21; 8,[1].[7].[9].11. 13.16.[32]; 10,[6].15; 11,[8].23.[30]; 12,12.16.22.[27]; 13,[6].[20]. [21].[25]; 14,13.18.[25]; 15,[4].[6].[8].10.12.14. III 71,9; 75,5.12; 76,23; 77,11.15; 81,23; 83,13.16; 84,7.12.21; 85,[2].8.20.22; 86,[1].5.18; 87,6.13.18.20.22; 90,8; 95,22; 96,17; 97,[2]; 98,25; 99,3.6.13; 100,19; 101,20; 102,2; 103,11.14; 104,11; 106,2.17; 107,23; 111,9.13.17.18.20.22.24; 114,20; 118,[8]. BG 86,10; 87,11.20; 88,13; 91,1.6.18; 93,14; 95,6.10; 97,16; 98,[1]; 99,3; 102,18; 105,5; 107,11; 108,7; 109,5.15; 110,14; 112,6.11.14.16; 113,[1].[5].7; 118,[5]; 119,18; 124,17. **ογωνz̄ εβολ** e- III 111,3. **ογωνz̄ εβολ ἡ-** (**ναϝ**) III 107,<7>. BG 104,[2]; 125,13. **ογωνz̄ εβολ z̄ἡ-** (**ἡz̄ἡτϝ**) V 7,[3]. BG 92,8; 94,8; 97,12; 109,2. **ογωνz̄ εβολ z̄ἡἡ-** III 97,13. **ογωνz̄- εβολ** BG 118,4. **ογονz̄ εβολ** V 8,[8]. III 87,[1]; 103,11. BG 91,8; 110,15; 111,8.17. **ογονz̄† εβολ** III 74,18; 98,18.19. BG 88,19; 90,6.11. **ογανz̄† εβολ** III 73,4; 74,16.19; 75,[1]; 95,23. **ογωνz̄ εβολ m.** III 106,10; 113,20. BG 102,<9>; 116,12. **ατογωνz̄** V 4,[3]. BG 102,10. **ατογωνz̄ εβολ** III 98,13; 106,12. BG 90,5.10. **ῑ ατογωνz̄ ἡσαβολ** **ναϝ** III 119,[10]. **ῑ ατογωνz̄ ἡσα ἡβολ ἄμοϝ** BG 126,[18].
- ογοπ** v.: **ογααβ†** BG 81,7; 123,3. **ετογααβ†** V 9,15. III 81,5; 91,5.9; 104,5; 105,15; 112,20; 114,10; 118,5. BG 78,5.10; 98,14; 100,[18]; 114,13; 117,14; 124,13.
- ογἡρ** interrog. pron. III 108,18. BG 106,12; 107,14.
- ογοτ** v.: **ροογτ†** **εzραῖ** **εxἡ-** III 105,24; 113,25.
- ογερἡτε** f. III 119,[8]. **ογρἡτε** BG 126,16.
- ογωτ** adj.: **ογοτε** V 17,15. **ογα ἡογωτ** BG 122,10.

- οϋτε- prep. III 73,19; 97,19. BG 118,9.10. οϋτωϛ III 114,22.23. BG 89,2.  
 οϋ(ω)πτε v.: οϋπ- v. V 7,14. οϋεπ- V 7,14.  
 οϋπτῆ v.: οϋατῆ<sup>+</sup> ε- V 7,16. III 72,10; 86,23; 95,4; 108,18. οϋοτῆ ε- BG  
 85,4; 106,13; 111,5.  
 οϋοειω m. V 4,[26]. BG 121,11. ἰοϋοειω nim V 2,9; 4,16.[27].  
 οϋωω v. V 1,3; 3,[29]; 4,14. III 92,7; 100,20; 104,5; 114,13. BG 80,4; 88,3;  
 93,17; 98,15; 118,[1]. οϋεω- III 74,13. οϋαωϛ III 86,[2]. οϋωω m. V  
 7,7; 11,13.14.[19]; 12,[2]; 16,13. III 83,20; 113,10. BG 104,9; 109,11;  
 114,11; 120,15. οϋωωε III 89,4; 118,4. BG 103,18; 115,13; 124,12.  
 οϋωωz v. V 17,16. οϋωωz ετοοτϛ III 97,24. BG 89,8. οϋαωz ἱσα- BG  
 118,13. οϋηz<sup>+</sup> ἱσωϛ V 6,[31]. III 78,17.  
 οϋχαί m. III 101,11. BG 94,14.  
 οϋωδπ v.: οϋοδπϛ III 119,3.
- ωβω v.: (ε)βωε f. III 101,12; 107,6; 108,9. BG 94,15; 103,17; 106,2; 120,2;  
 122,5.  
 ωηz v.: οηz<sup>+</sup> BG 120,1. ωηz m. V 14,26. III 87,7; 111,10. BG 111,18.  
 ωπ v.: ηπ<sup>+</sup> ε- III 71,1; 98,19. ηπ<sup>+</sup> ζιτῆ- BG 121,12. πετηπ<sup>+</sup> εωωπε III  
 70,21; 93,3. BG 118,12. ηπε f.: μῆ ηπε εροϛ III 84,9. μῆτ(ε)ϛ ηπε  
 III 75,16; 77,22; 81,2; 86,8; 88,22; 99,17; 102,10; 105,1; 113,4. BG 92,4;  
 95,19; 99,19; 109,19; 115,6. ατ<sup>+</sup> ηπε εροϛ V 5,[2]; 9,12; 12,18; 14,[2];  
 16,[7]. μῆτατ<sup>+</sup> ηπε εροϛ V 6,[28]. ατ<sup>+</sup> ηπε εροϛ V 4,[1].  
 ωψ v.: ωψ εвол III 97,19. BG 89,4.
- ω- v. III 90,6; 91,15; 94,2. BG 79,3; 83,2. ναϛ ω- (non-literary form) III  
 91,14. BG 79,1. (ἱ)νεϛ ω- V 16,4. III 113,23; 114,2. See further сом.  
 ωα- prep. V 4,[2]; 8,17. III 70,5; 73,14; 74,15; 86,3; 89,17; 92,10; 94,9;  
 96,11; 98,14; 100,16; 101,14; 103,21; 106,1. BG 80,8; 83,12; 87,5; 90,5;  
 93,12; 98,6; 101,16; 109,11. ωα ζοϋη ε- V 1,6. ωαζρα(ε)ι ε- V 7,19.  
 III 78,19. BG 125,1. See further ενεz, ζαε.  
 ωε cardinal number: ωμῆτωεε V 12,13.15.[30]. ωῆτωεε III 83,18;  
 84,4.6.24; 85,1.5. ανωε V 7,20.21.27. ραωε III 78,20 twice. αν-  
 ωμῆτωεε V 12,[1]. τῶ V 13,[4].  
 ωι v.: ωιτϛ III 76,7; 89,24; 100,13. BG 93,8. ατωιτϛ III 72,21; 95,14;  
 114,1. BG 85,19; 117,3. ατ<sup>+</sup> ωι εροϛ V 5,16; 17,[2].  
 ωο cardinal number: ανωο V 7,22 twice.[28]. ραωο III 78,21 twice.  
 ωιβε v. III 76,7; 81,15; 89,23; 95,10; 100,12; 105,24. BG 85,15; 93,6;  
 101,12. ωοβε<sup>+</sup> III 103,5. BG 97,4. ωββιηοϋτ V 7,13. ωιβε m. III  
 78,13; 97,18; 103,5.20. BG 97,5; 98,5. ατωιβε V 5,15; 17,[1]. III  
 72,17; 113,7; 114,1. BG 117,2.  
 ωβηρ m. V 6,[23]. ωβεερε f. BG 94,19; 96,5. ωβεερ BG 99,[3].  
 ωωκ m. V 6,20.  
 ωμμο nn. and adj. BG 85,4. ωμμω III 72,9; 95,4.  
 ωμοϋη cardinal number: μεzωμοϋη III 85,19; 87,[1]; 111,3; 112,14;  
 117,[15]; 118,2. BG 123,10; 124,9. μαzωμοϋη V 13,[19]. BG 111,7.



- ϣομḿτ cardinal number V 1,14. III 92,19. ϣομτε V 2,[4]. III 70,13,23; 71,7; 93,5. BG 81,12. ϣομḿτε BG 81,2. μεζϣομḿτ V 10,[20]. III 82,14; 86,12.<17>. BG 110,<4>.<11>. μεζϣομτε III 82,21. μεζϣομετ V 14,[7].[11]. μαζϣομετ V 13,12. See further ϣε, ζοογт.
- ϣḿϣе m. V 6,[28]; 9,13; 12,[25]; 16,[8]. III 102,11; 113,5. BG 96,1; 115,7.
- ϣиe v. BG 105,8. ϣиe εтве- BG 106,16. ϣиe ḿca- (ḿcωɣ) V 1,[7]. III 70,6; 92,3.11; 108,21; 112,[23]; 113,1. BG 79,17; 80,9; 114,17; 115,2.
- ϣп v.: ϣп е- (ερɣ) ḿ- V 2,15.[18].[19]. III 89,<10>. BG 121,8. ϣпɣ ερɣ V 17,[10]. III 91,16.
- ϣпe m.: χι ϣпe BG 122,3.
- ϣпe v. V 10,3; 16,14. III 76,20; 81,20; 89,5; 90,3; 96,16; 111,10; 112,18; 114,17; 119,[11]. BG 87,4.10; 115,14; 118,16. ϣооп† V 4,13; 7,31. III 73,18; 78,10; 103,2. BG 83,6; 89,2; 97,[1]; 102,11. ϣпe е- V 7,[26]. ϣпe мḿḿca- (-cωɣ) V 7,[5]; 8,[26]; 10,[1]; 17,[5]. III 78,4; 89,11; 97,16; 106,3; 113,16; 114,4.24. BG 88,18; 101,18; 116,5; 117,6; 118,10. ϣпe ḿ- V 5,[31]; 9,[20]; 11,[27]; 12,[3].5.6.[8].[10].14.19. III 74,2; 81,9; 83,22; 84,1.3.6; 98,6; 101,5; 103,20; 108,1; 117,20. BG 98,5; 104,18; 105,9; 112,1; 118,18; 123,18; 124,7. ϣпe ḿ- е- BG 122,9. ϣпe ḿ- (naɣ) ḿ- III 83,21; 84,10; 117,1. ϣпe ḿcωɣ V 16,[20]. ϣпe zḿ- (ḿzḿtɣ). III 87,7; 118,[10]. BG 94,6; 114,10; 120,14; 123,8; 125,2; 127,2. ϣпe zαтḿ- V 1,[20].[22]. ϣооп† ḿ- V 3,[14]. BG 89,15. ϣооп† zḿ- (ḿzḿtɣ) V 1,12; 2,[7]; 3,7; 5,[27]; 6,24; 7,24. III 71,12; 73,6.15; 95,24. BG 86,12. ϣпe εвол zḿ (ḿ)- V 3,[16]; 7,[30]; 8,[27]; 12,[17]; 14,[26]. III 73,21.22.23; 74,3; 84,9; 98,[1].3.4. BG 89,10.12.13. ϣооп† εвол zḿ- BG 89,16. εтϣооп† V 2,8. III 71,13; 94,5; 96,21. BG 83,5; 87,16. εтϣооп† χиḿ ḿϣор(ε)п III 117,5; 118,18. BG 91,12; 122,14; 125,14. (ḿ) αтϣпe V 3,17.[18]; 4,[26]. εϣпe conj. V 9,[18]. III 74,12. See further ма, пп.
- ϣпнe nn.: ḿ ϣпнe III 91,23. BG 79,12.
- ϣнe m. V 1,[1]; 5,[8].12; 7,15 twice; 9,[2].[25]; 12,[7]; 13,12. III 75,22; 78,14 twice; 84,[1]; 100,1; 103,6.<6>; 104,3.13; 108,1.7. BG 97,6.7; 98,12; 99,5; 105,8.16. ϣнe ḿпноγте III 100,3; 104,16; 105,22. BG 99,8. ϣнe ḿте пноγте BG 92,14. ϣнe ḿп(ι)ρωме V 10,[4]; 13,[10].13. III 81,13.21; 85,11; 104,2; 105,20; 106,15; 117,[22]; 118,1. BG 98,11; 101,7; 102,15; 108,2; 124,2.6. ϣнe ḿте πογο(ε)иḿ III 119,6. BG 126,14. See further мисе .
- ϣорḿ v.: ϣḿп ḿ- III 71,8; 78,16. ϣорḿ nn. and adj. V 10,18; 13,[4].[8]. III 77,12; 82,12.19; 91,11; 118,[16]. BG 78,13; 108,1. ϣ(ο)рḿ ḿχπο V 12,7. III 104,12,20. BG 97,11. χπο ḿте пϣорḿ V 10,[22]. ḿϣор(ε)п adv. V 4,[25]; 6,16; 11,[6]; 12,[25]. III 78,17; 84,14; 101,21; 103,9; 108,25; 111,14; 112,5; 114,6. BG 81,13; 95,6; 97,9; 107,2; 108,19; 113,12; 117,8; 119,5. ḿϣорḿ н- V 4,[22]. χиḿ ḿϣор(ε)п III 73,<14>; 96,10; 101,17; 117,2. BG 95,2; 122,11. ḿ ϣорḿ е- V 4,[24]. ḿ ϣорḿ н- V 11,7.9.[21]; 13,[1]; 17,8. ḿ ϣḿп ḿ- III 70,23; 74,10; 83,3.11;

- 88,4; 90,5; 93,5; 103,8. BG 107,3; 112,6. See further **ειωτ**, **μισε**, **ρωμε**, **σοουν**, **ψωπε**.
- ψωωτ** v. III 107,20. **ψωωτ** m. III 72,23; 95,16; 117,[13].[14]. **ατψωωτ** III 72,17; 95,11. **ψτα** m. V 13,[7]. III 108,1. BG 86,2; 105,1.7.9; 107,12; 118,15; 123,8.9. **ατψτα** BG 85,15.
- ψογο** v.: **ψογειτ**<sup>†</sup> III 71,3.
- ψωψ** v.: **ψηψ**<sup>†</sup> III 78,12; 103,4. BG 97,3. **ψηψ**<sup>†</sup> **μη-** (**μημας**) V 7,[12]. III 99,12. BG 87,2. **ψηψ**<sup>†</sup> **ουβη-** V 4,[28]. III 75,11. BG 91,16. **ψηψ**<sup>†</sup> (**ζη**)**η-** V 6,10. **ψωψ** m. V 4,[23].
- ψρις** m. III 70,6; 92,11.
- ψαχε** v.: **ψαχε ερος** III 70,13; 84,13; 89,24; 91,14; 92,19; 108,25; 113,23; 114,2. BG 79,2; 113,11; 117,4. **ψαχε μημος** V 17,9. **ψαχε μη-** (**μημας**) III 97,23. BG 89,7. **ψαχε** m. V 3,[30]; 5,[23].[27]; 11,14.20; 15,13.23; 17,[3].11. III 74,9.13; 88,10; 108,4; 112,10. BG 105,14; 113,18. **ατψαχε ερος** V 3,[3]; 5,[11].[29]. III 71,14; 76,2.5.19; 81,14.16; 88,19; 89,2.19; 94,5; 100,7.10; 101,3; 105,16.23; 113,7; 117,[6]; 119,[12]. BG 83,6; 93,1.5; 94,4; 101,[1].10; 115,10; 116,15; 122,16; 127,3. **ατψαχε μημος** V 2,[9]; 8,21; 9,[27]; 16,[1].10. **σινψαχε** III 70,14.
- ψοχνε** m. V 3,12.13; 7,8.9.[28]; 8,[5] twice; 11,12.13.19; 15,[9].
- ψωχη** m. V 7,16. III 78,15; 103,7.
- ψι** v.: **ψι μη-** III 106,16.
- ψτοογ** cardinal number: **μεγψτοογ** V 10,[21]. III 82,15. **μεγψτοε** III 82,23.
- χα-** prep. III 75,10.16; 82,11; 85,6; 86,8; 88,19; 99,17; 119,7. BG 92,3; 109,18. See further **τωρε**, **χη**.
- χαε** nn. BG 109,12. **χαν** III 71,24; 94,21; 103,10. BG 84,9. **ηχαε η-** BG 97,11. **ψα χαε** BG 94,17. **ατη χαε** V 4,[13]. **ατη χан** V 14,5.
- χε** v.: **χε ε-** (**ερος**) III 70,8; 92,13. BG 80,12; 83,2; 90,11.
- χε** f. III 92,19. BG 81,2. **ηε η-** V 3,[24]; III 72,7; 75,4; 78,13; 91,13; 103,5; 106,25. BG 97,5; 103,13. **ηε** V 4,17; 7,13.17; 11,25; 17,[10]. III 78,6.15; 91,17; 95,1.2; 102,23; 103,7; 117,2. BG 85,1.2; 89,17; 119,4. **ητχε** BG 96,16. **ητηχε** V 12,[26]; 13,6. BG 115,15. **ητε(ε)ιχε** V 12,21; 16,15. III 73,20; 78,24; 85,7; 89,6; 113,11. **ητεχη** BG 79,5. **κατα εε** V 14,[20]. III 90,6. BG 122,11. See further **αψ**.
- χη** f.: **χαη η-** V 3,4; 5,24. III 73,3; 76,15; 95,22; 100,22. **χατη (ε)χη** III 75,10; 82,11; 85,6; 99,11. BG 91,15. **χατηχη** BG 86,10; 93,18.
- χι-** prep. III 72,12; 77,13; 88,1.[1]; 91,2; 95,6; 97,10; 99,16; 100,7; 101,21.22; 103,23; 105,24; 112,2 twice.3; 113,15. BG 78,2; 79,7; 88,10; 92,18 twice; 95,7; 113,8 twice.9; 116,4. See further **τωρε**, **χως**.
- χη** f. BG 105,13.
- χο** m. V 4,[21]. BG 91,12.

- ζω v.: ζω ψα πε(ε)ιμα V 3,[25]; III 74,7; 76,11; 90,4. ζω εροψ ψα  
 πεϊμα V 17,7.  
 ζωψ pron. III 105,7. BG 100,7. ζωψ III 82,18. ζωτψ III 99,21.  
 ζωβ m. III 107,7.15. BG 104,2.12. ζωβ νιμ III 91,7; 96,20; 113,2. BG 78,7;  
 115,[3].  
 ζαιβес f.: ατζα(ε)ιβес III 81,6; 89,19; 105,16.23. BG 101,[2].11;  
 115,11; 116,14. ατζαιβε V 9,[16]. мнѣтζ ζαιβес III 113,22.  
 ζωβс v.: зβсω f. BG 120,16.  
 зко v.: зккe adj.: мнѣтзккe III 101,15; 102,7; 107,8. BG 94,18; 95,16;  
 104,[3].  
 зом v.: зом ехн̄- BG 106,9; 126,15. зом езраї ехн̄- III 108,15;  
 119,1.7. BG 126,6.  
 змом v. BG 120,4.  
 змот m. III 97,12; 117,7. ̄ змот наζ V 4,14.  
 зоун m.: εζουν e- III 77,22; 81,2; 84,16; 88,23. See further ψα-.  
 зон v.: знн† e- III 93,7.  
 зо(ε)ινε indef. pron. V 4,[27]; 9,[5]; 10,[11]. III 88,17; 104,19. зо(ε)ιν  
 III 82,6; 106,23. BG 99,13; 103,8. зоεине н̄знтζ III 70,16; 92,22.  
 зоїн н̄знтζ BG 81,5. зоїне εβολ н̄знтζ V 1,[17].  
 зне- nm. and v.: εзнaζ e- III 94,10. ετεзне- III 112,18. ετεзнеζ III  
 107,6.13. εтезнaζ III 114,18. BG 83,14. ̄ знaζ III 97,5; 114,16.  
 зонт v.: тетзant† III 71,4; 93,16. теθонт† BG 81,11; 82,7.  
 зоп v.: знт† V 4,[1]; 6,13. III 74,15. знт† н̄знтζ III 97,3.  
 зраї m.: зраї зн̄- (н̄знтζ) V 4,[4]; 5,13.18. BG 78,14; 91,5; 96,13; 104,9.  
 зраеи зн̄- BG 106,18. εзраї e- V 6,[28]; 9,13; 14,15. εзраї ехн̄- V  
 7,20.21. III 76,6; 81,17; 89,22. BG 101,14; 117,[1]. н̄зраї зн̄- (н̄знтζ)  
 V 4,17; 5,[5]; 7,17. III 75,4.18; 84,17; 88,9; 90,2; 99,[3]; 101,18; 102,22.  
 BG 95,2. са(н)зpe m. V 14,[8]; III 85,19. мп<с>азpe н̄- III 86,3.  
 мпсазpe III 107,[12]. See further ψα-.  
 зарез v.: зарнз ероψ III 107,4. аpez ероψ BG 103,15.  
 зисе m.: зисе затоотой V 16,[11]. зисе затн(о)у III 89,3; 113,8. BG  
 115,11.  
 знт m.: See зисе .  
 зоте f.: ̄ зоте III 91,24. BG 79,13. за зоте adj. III 108,13.  
 зотб̄ v.: зетб̄ ρωме V 3,[24].  
 зотп m. V 6,24.  
 зот̄ m. V 12,[1]. III 83,19.  
 зооу m. V 12,13.20. III 84,<5>; 86,3; 119,13. BG 127,5.  
 зооу v. BG 82,5.  
 зоуо m.: н̄зоуо V 17,17. III 70,9; 92,14. н̄зоуо e- III 72,10; 114,8. BG  
 117,11. ̄ зоуе- V 3,[19].  
 зоу(ε)ит nm. V 14,6.7. III 76,14; 78,[3].23; 85,9; 86,11.13; 93,21; 94,12;  
 106,6. BG 82,15; 83,16; 102,4; 109,3; 110,3.5; 125,11. зоуεите V  
 10,[26]. III 86,10. See further ρωме, сооун.  
 зооут m. and adj. V 10,[8]; 14,[21].[22]. III 82,11; 83,13; 87,3.4; 104,14;

- 106,19; 111,5,6; 114,18. BG 99,6; 111,13; 120,6; 124,16. **ϗομῆτ** ἄροοϗτ III 102,12. **ϗῆτ**ροοϗτ BG 96,3. **ροοϗτ**сггме V 6,[4]; 8,[33]; 10,[7].16; 14,[20]. III 76,24; 82,[1].10; 101,8; 104,13; 106,18; 111,4. **ροοϗτ**сггме III 87,[2]. **ροοϗτ**сггме BG 94,11; 99,5; 103,[1]; 111,9. **ῆτ**ροοϗτ V 6,[5]; 10,[17]; 11,[25]. III 77,[1]; 82,1; 108,5; 118,[7]. BG 103,2; 111,10.
- ρωϗϗ** v. BG 121,18; 126,9.
- ρατῆν** - prep.: **ρατῆς**: See **ггсе** .
- ρωсв** v. BG 120,1.
- χг** v. BG 85,3. **χг** - V 8,[31]. III 103,17.18; 108,8. BG 98,2.3; 105,18. **χгτ** III 72,8; 87,8; 95,3; 111,12. **χг ε**- V 1,[23]. **χг ε**воλ **гῆ**- (**ῆгггτ**) III 118,[12]. BG 116,[3].6; 125,6. **χгτ** ἄτῆ- (**ῆтгоот**) III 105,19. BG 101,5; 112,3. See further **ραν**, **смот**, **тассе**, **ωп**, **ϗпπε**, **сехῆ**.
- χο** v.: **χο** ῆ- V 16,[4], **χο** ῆ- III 88,20.
- χω** v.: **χο** V 2,[5]; 11,7.9.[22]; 13,[2]. III 70,24; 71,8; 74,10; 78,16; 83.3.11; 88,4; 90,6; 93,6; 103,8; 112,5; 114,7; 119,[9]. BG 81,13; 97,9; 107,2; 108,19; 117,8; 119,5; 126,17. **χω** ῆμο V 17,[4]. **χω** ῆмос **χε** V 1,[18]. III 92,23; 97,20. BG 81,6. **χω** ῆмос **ε**- (**ερο**) **χε** III 70,17; 77,4; 118,21. BG 125,18. **χω** ῆ- (**на**) III 93,11; 96,20; 118,24. **χο** **ε**- (**ερο**) III 90,9; 113,2; 114,6. BG 115,[3]. **χο** **ε**ρο **χε** BG 90,16. **χο** ῆ- (**на**) V 1,13; 17,[9]. III 90,5. BG 117,9. **χο**с **ε**ро **χε** III 73,2; 74,22; 75,21; 77,[1].14; 81,4.11; 82,[2].4.6; 85,12; 88,8; 98,23; 105,12. BG 81,1; 98,17. **χο**с **ε**ро **χε** BG 95,8. **аχг** - **ε**ро **императ**. III 112,22. **атχο**с III 89,20; 113,24. BG 116,17.
- χω** m. occurring in the following prepositions: **εχῆ**- (**εχω**) V 2,[14]; 7,[23]. III 71,24; 78,20.21.22; 90,19; 94,22. BG 84,10. **ггчῆ**(ῆ)- V 3,13; 7,[9]. III 91,18; 99,8. See further **ггаῖ**.
- χωк** v. V 15,[22]. III 88,10. BG 104,18; 115,15; 121,9.11; 124,15. **чнк** III 85,7. **чωк** **ε**воλ V 13,[3]; 16,15. III 85,4; 89,6; 107,20; 112,10; 113,10; 118,6. **чωк** **ε**воλ ῆмо V 6,[6]. **чок** **ε**воλ BG 114,1. **чнк** **ε**воλ III 77,2; 104,8. **чнк** **ε**воλ ῆ- III 101,2. BG 94,2. **чнк** **ε**воλ **гῆ**- III 76,18. **чωк** m. V 4,[2]. III 74,15; 98,14. BG 90,6. **чωк** **ε**воλ V 14,[5]. III 86,10; 101,14. **чωк** **ε**воλ ῆмо V 8,[30].
- χεкаас** conj. III 76,11; 87,5; 97,1; 101,9; 105,6; 107,16.23. BG 87,19; 88,12; 94,11; 100,7; 104,[1].13; 105,4.17; 118,11; 119,10; 120,16; 122,7.12; 124,14.
- χгн** - prep. V 8,17. III 92,9; 98,13; 119,[13]. BG 80,7; 83,11.17; 87,5; 90,5; 98,6; 107,15; 124,18; 127,4. **ч(г)н** ῆ- V 1,5. III 70,4; 71,17; 74,15; 87,9; 89,16; 94,8.13; 103,21; 111,12; 113,20. BG 116,11. See further **ϗωρῆ**.
- χωηϗ** m. III 111,13.
- χпо** v. BG 88,4. **чпе**- III 97,6.9. BG 88,9. **чпо** V 8,15; 10,21. III 70,4; 78,16; 103,9. **чпо** **на** V 6,22. **чпо** **ε**- III 92,8. BG 80,6; 81,15. **чпо** **ε**воλ ῆмо V 10,20. **чпо** **ε**воλ **гῆ**- III 93,20. BG 82,13. **чпо** m. V 2,16; 5,[22]; 10,22.[23]. III 71,20.21; 77,[2]; 94,17.18. BG 84,4.5.

ατχπο V 7,17; 10,18. BG 84,6. ατχποϝ V 4,[23]. BG 98,6. ρεϥχπο m. V 6,6.[8]; 8,[29]; 10,10. III 96,22.23; 104,8. BG 87,16; 98,17; 103,5. ρεϥχπε- III 82,3; 106,21. BG 87,18. χπο ἄπκαζ V 1,[5]. See further ειωτ, νοϥτε, ψωρῖ.

χοεις m. V 11,[18]; 15,[7] twice.7.[8].[9].[10]. III 87,16.17 twice.19 twice; 94,1; 95,19; 96,15; 98,10; 100,17; 105,4; 108,17; 111,19 twice.20.21 twice; 112,21; 114,9. BG 112,<15> four times.<17> two times. χοεις ἄπτηρῃ III 74,20; 98,22. χε ἄπτηρῃ BG 90,15. χοεις ἄτε πτηρῃ V 4,[8]. χοεις ἄτε ἄχοεις V 7,[1]. ἄντχοεις V 6,17. ἄντχαιεις V 6,[30].

χισε v.: χοσε† ε- V 14,17. ἄντχασι ζητ III 107,9; 118,19. BG 104,4; 125,15.

χοειτ m.: (τοοϥ) ἄχοειτ III 91,20. BG 79,8.

χωζῖ v.: χαζῖ† III 93,21; 108,12. BG 106,5. χαζῖε† BG 82,14. ατχωζῖ BG 86,4.

σω v. V 3,[8].

σωλπ v.: σωλπ εροϝ BG 83,18. σωλπ ναϝ III 94,11. σωλπ m.: σωλπ εβολ III 89,17.

σοm f. V 3,13.14; 4,[29]; 5,[31]; 7,9.[13]; 8,6.[7].18; 11,21.[24]; 12,[11].15; 13,[23]; 15,[11].[19]; 17,6. III 75,12; 76,21; 78,12; 83,11; 84,4.7.21; 85,2.23; 87,20; 88,5; 90,3; 96,7.23; 99,13; 101,5; 103,1.5.12; 111,14.22; 114,5; 119,7. BG 83,10; 87,1.3.18; 91,17; 94,6; 96,19; 97,4.13; 109,7; 112,7; 113,1.14; 117,7; 121,8; 126,16. σοm V 6,10; 7,29; 12,27. ἄν σοm III 88,20; 89,24. ἄν σοm ἄ- V 17,[3]. III 74,8. οϥἄ σοm V 17,[10]. οϥἄ σοm ἄμοϝ V 2,[2]. III 71,5. ατσοm BG 115,12. ἄντατσοm V 16,12. III 89,4; 113,9. ψσοm BG 121,7.

σινε v. V 4,[3]. σν- III 94,2. σντϝ V 1,9. III 74,19; 98,18. See further σοm.

σεπη v.: ζῖ οϥσεπη III 113,11.

σρωζ m. III 107,25.

σεχῖ nn. (not attested elsewhere): ατχι σεχῖ(ε) ἄσωϝ III 72,22; 95,14; 118,[11]. Cf. τασσε, with which σεχῖ is parallel. σεχῖ may be related to σαχμη (Crum: 842b).

## GREEK LOAN WORDS

ἀγαθός III 72,17; 95,10. BG 85,14. ἀγαθόν III 97,13; 114,20; 118,[13]. BG 88,14; 118,[4]. ἄνταγαθος III 97,7. BG 88,7; 125,7.

ἀγάπη V 9,6; 11,[3]. III 82,24; 97,4; 104,20; 117,23. BG 88,3; 99,14; 124,3.

ἄγγελος V 9,11.14.17.20; 11,18.19; 12,12.17; 15,13; 16,7. III 77,21; 81,[1].4.9; 84,8.17; 87,22; 88,22; 91,13; 102,9; 104,24; 105,15; 112,1; 113,4; 118,5.20. BG 78,17; 95,18; 99,19; 100,18; 107,8; 113,5; 115,5; 121,13; 124,12; 125,17.

- ἄγειν. αγε III 70,18; 92,20.24. BG 81,1.  
 ἀγέννητος BG 90,12; 91,13; 92,12.  
 ἀγέννητος III 71,22; 73,16; 75,9.22; 82,12; 89,16; 94,19; 96,13; 98,20; 99,9;  
 100,[1]; 103,20; 117,[11].  
 ἀθάνατος III 71,12.19; 76,23; 77,10; 78,10.23; 83,20; 85,10.18.21;  
 88,[3].6.15; 89,8.16; 93,23; 101,8.10.20; 106,13; 112,4.7; 113,13;  
 114,22; 117,[16]. BG 94,10. ἀθάνατον III 103,3.  
 αἰσθάνεσθαι. αισθανε BG 82,8. εσθανε III 71,5; 93,16.  
 αἰών V 1,13; 5,19; 7,[31]. III 73,19; 76,9; 77,16; 81,20; 83,4.22; 84,15.18;  
 85,10.11.15.17.18.22; 86,11.17; 87,8; 88,2; 89,7; 90,2; 100,15; 102,4;  
 106,3; 108,19.22; 111,11; 112,3.22; 113,10.15; 114,3; 118,[8]. BG  
 93,10; 95,12; 101,18; 106,12.17; 107,6.15; 108,1.8.12.17 twice; 109,4.6;  
 110,3.11; 112,1; 113,9; 114,15; 115,16; 116,4; 117,5; 118,13; 119,2;  
 124,18. εων V 5,[25]; 6,4.22; 7,[32]; 8,18.[25]; 9,[10]; 10,[1]; 11,[9];  
 12,[4].[24].[26]; 13,4.8.15.[18].[22]; 14,[6].[12]; 15,17; 16,16.[19];  
 17,[5]. III 89,10.  
 ἀκολουθεῖν. ακολουθει III 114,[25].  
 ἀκόλουθον III 114,25.  
 ἀκρίβεια BG 82,2. ακριβια III 93,11.  
 ἀκριβῶς III 105,7. BG 100,8.  
 ἀλήθεια III 71,10; 74,21.  
 ἀμήν. γαμην III 119,17.  
 ἀνάγκη III 112,23. BG 114,16.  
 ἀνάπαυσις III 86,14; 89,23; 114,1; 117,14; 118,[14]. BG 110,7.  
 ἄναρχος III 75,[2]; 99,1. BG 91,3.  
 ἀντωπεῖν. αντοπιτω III 75,8. αντοπιτον III 99,8.  
 ἀντωπός. αντοπος III 75,7.13; 99,8.14. BG 91,11; 92,1.  
 ἀόρατος. αζορατον III 91,12; 117,20; 118,[12]. BG 78,14.  
 ἄπειρος. απιρον III 76,12.  
 ἀπέραντος III 85,17; 96,12.19. BG 85,9. ἀπέραντον III 76,16; 93,9; 97,22;  
 100,23; 108,23; 118,[9]. BG 87,14; 93,19; 102,4; 106,19; 107,15;  
 108,15; 125,1.  
 ἀπολαύειν. απολαγε III 97,<7>. φαπολαγε BG 88,6.  
 ἀπορεῖν. απορι III 91,3. BG 78,2; 79,17. απορει III 92,2.  
 ἀπόρροια BG 90,7; 119,3. απογροια III 98,15.  
 ἀπόστολος III 112,19. BG 114,12.  
 ἄρα BG 95,5.  
 ἀρετή III 91,6. BG 78,6.  
 ἀριθμός BG 121,10.  
 ἄρμα III 88,18.  
 ἀρμόζειν. ζορμαζε (reflecting the late form ὀρμάζειν) BG 120,17.  
 ἀρχάγγελος V 6,[27]. III 77,20; 87,21 twice; 102,9; 111,22.23. αρχι-  
 αγγελος V 15,11.[12]; 16,[6]. BG 95,19; 113,[2].3.  
 ἄρχειν. αρχι III 71,24; 78,20.21 twice; 94,21. αρχει BG 84,10. αρχεσ-

εαι III 77,24; 102,16; 119,14. BG 96,6. *ῥαρχι* V 6,[29]; 7,20. *ῥαρχει* V 7,21.22. *ῥαρχεσαι* BG 127,5.

*ἀρχή* V 2,10; 4,[7].11.[12]; 5,21.27.[30]; 6,[2]; 8,[2].17.[28]; 14,[4]. III 71,15.22.23; 74,20.23; 76,13.20.22; 86,9; 87,9; 94,6.19.20; 98,24; 101,4.6; 103,21; 111,12. BG 83,7; 84,7.8; 87,5; 91,1; 94,5.8; 98,6; 110,2; 112,[3]. *αταρχη* V 4,[12].

*ἀρχιγενέτωρ* III 82,18; 118,20. BG 119,14; 125,16.

*ἄσοφον* BG 82,7.

*ἀσπάζεσθαι*. *ασπαζε* III 81,7. BG 121,4.

*ἀσπασμός* V 9,19. III 81,8.

*αὐτογενέτωρ* III 75,7. BG 107,4.

*αὐτογενής* V 4,[32]. III 75,14; 97,14; 99,15; 101,19; 106,5. BG 92,1; 95,3; 102,2; 108,16.

*αὐτογέννητος* III 76,<14>; 82,13.

*αὐτόκτιστος* III 76,17; 101,1. BG 94,1.

*αὐτοπάτωρ* III 75,6; 77,14; 102,1. BG 95,9.

*αὐτοτέλειος*. *αυτοτελειος* BG 98,[18].

*αὐτοφυής* III 76,16; 100,23. BG 94,1.

*ἄφθαρσία* V 3,[18].[20]; 7,11. III 74,1.4; 76,2; 78,11; 88,11; 97,11.15; 103,4; 112,11.

*ἄφθαρτος* V 3,[26]. III 72,15; 73,1.19; 74,3.11; 95,9.17. *ἄφθαρτον* V 3,[19]. III 97,19; 100,6; 119,[16].

*βίος* III 71,2; 93,13. BG 82,5.

*γενεά* V 5,[4]. III 75,17; 97,9; 99,18. BG 88,8; 92,6.

*γενέτειρα* III 77,4.

*γενέτωρ* III 82,15.

*γένος* III 73,14; 96,10; 99,18. BG 92,5.

*γνώσις* V 4,8; 17,14. III 117,[9].

*δεκάς* V 7,[19].19.[27].

*διαφορά* V 3,23; 8,15. III 73,18; 74,6; 78,12; 98,9. BG 89,1.20.

*διοίκησις* III 70,9.12; 92,15.18. BG 80,14.18.

*δύας* V 7,18. III 78,18.

*δύναμις* V 11,[29]. III 73,11; 78,9; 83,15.19; 87,11; 96,8.

*εἰ μήτι*. *ειμητι* V 2,[12]. III 71,18; 94,2.9. BG 83,2.13.

*εἶδος* V 15,15.

*εἰμαρμένη*. *εἱμαρμενη* V 1,[22].

*εἰρήνη*. *τηρηνη* III 91,21 twice. BG 79,10 twice.

*ἐκ* III 87,3 twice. BG 111,10.11. See further *μέρος*.

*ἐκκλησία* V 9,15; 14,[11].16.17.[18].[23]. III 81,5; 86,16.22.23.24; 87,4; 111,2.7. BG 110,10; 111,3.4.6.14.

*ἐνθυμεῖν*. *ενηγμει* III 104,10. BG 99,[1].

- ἐνθύμησις V 15,[23]. III 73,10; 78,7; 83,5.6; 88,9; 96,6; 102,24; 105,18; 112,9; 117,[17]. BG 86,17; 96,17; 101,4; 113,17; 123,14.
- ἐννοια V 3,11; 4,[4]; 6,8; 7,[6].15.16.[25]; 8,[2]; 11,8.10.15. III 73,9; 74,16; 78,6.14.15; 83,5 twice; 87,10; 96,4; 98,16; 102,22; 103,6.7; 111,13. BG 86,18; 90,8; 96,15; 97,7.8; 112,5.
- ἐξουσία V 2,11; 3,[7]; 6,25; 9,[8]; 13,[24]; 15,[19]. III 71,15; 73,5; 77,18; 85,24; 88,4.12; 91,6; 94,6; 95,24; 102,6; 104,22; 108,10; 112,6.12; 119,5. BG 78,6; 83,8; 86,12; 95,15; 99,17; 106,2; 109,8; 113,13; 114,3; 126,13.
- ἐπαινεῖσθαι. ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥ III 108,20. BG 106,15.
- ἐπί. ΕΠΙ 74,8; 75,8. BG 91,11; 114,16.
- ἐπειδή. ΕΠΙΔΗ V 4,21; 6,10.
- ἐρμηνευτής III 101,12.
- ἔτι III 89,1; 97,24. BG 89,8.
- εὐαγγέλιον III 104,1; 119,[15]. BG 98,10; 127,8.
- εὐδοκία III 117,18. BG 112,4; 123,14.
- ζωή V 14,[25]. III 87,5; 111,8. BG 111,16.
- ἦ V 1,8. III 70,7; 72,8; 93,7; 95,2; 96,16; 114,11 twice. BG 79,16.17; 80,11; 85,2; 117,15.17.
- θέλησις III 83,9.10.
- θρόνος III 88,16; 112,15. BG 114,7.
- ιδέα. ΖΙΔΕΑ III 72,6.8.9; 87,23; 94,24; 95,3; 112,2. BG 113,<7>. ΕΙΔΕΑ V 4,17.
- ἴδιος. ΖΙΔΙΟΝ III 78,6; 102,21.
- ἴνα V 4,14.
- ἰσοδύναμις. ΖΙΣΟΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ III 73,12; 75,15; 99,16. ΖΪΣΟΔΥΝΑΜΟΣ BG 92,3.
- ἴσος. ΖΙΣΟΝ III 96,8.
- ἰσόχρονος. ΖΙΣΟΧΡΟΝΟΣ III 75,9.14; 99,10.16. BG 91,14; 92,2.
- καθαρόν III 91,17; 117,[9]. BG 79,4.
- καρπός III 97,6.10; 107,17; 117,3. BG 88,5.10; 104,14; 122,13.
- κατά V 4,[9]; 7,[11].[13]; 8,17; 14,[20]. III 74,21; 78,11.12; 90,6; 103,3.4. BG 97,2.4; 122,11.
- καταβολή V 1,[5]. III 70,4; 71,17; 92,9; 94,8. BG 80,7; 83,11.
- καταπέτασμα III 114,21. BG 118,8; 119,1.
- κόσμος V 1,6.[11]; 5,18; 8,[26]; 10,[2]; 15,[17]; 16,[19].[24]. III 70,5.10.18; 71,17; 76,10; 81,21; 88,2; 89,11.15; 92,10.16.23; 94,9; 100,15; 106,4.13.25; 107,3.8; 112,4; 113,[15].19. BG 80,8.14; 83,11; 93,11; 102,[1].13; 103,11.14; 104,3; 113,10; 116,[4].10; 120,9.



λογισμός III 73,11; 78,8; 83,8 twice; 96,7; 102,24.

λόγος III 83,10; 87,18; 111,24. BG 113,4.

μαθητεύειν. μαθητεγε III 90,18. BG 77,14.

μαθητής III 90,17; 105,3; 106,9; 114,10; 119,[11].[14]. BG 77,12; 100,4; 102,8; 117,14; 127,6.

μακάριος V 3,[1]. III 70,1; 72,19; 73,[1]; 74,10; 90,12; 95,12.16; 119,[9]. BG 85,16; 86,3; 126,17.

μαντεία. μαντη III 91,1. BG 78,1. (reflecting an Ionic form; see LSJ, s.v.)

μέλος V 7,[10]; 8,[6]. III 78,9; 103,1. BG 96,19.

μέρος V 14,21.[22] twice.[24]. BG 119,8. μέρος BG 111,10.11. εκ μέρος III 87,3 twice; 111,5.6.

μηνύειν. μηνεγε III 106,8.

μονάς V 7,18.24. III 78,17.24; 103,9. BG 97,10.

μονογενής V 5,22.

μορφή V 2,[18].[19]; 8,11.14; 15,16. III 72,4.5; 88,[1]; 91,11; 97,1; 103,17.18; 112,2. BG 78,13; 84,14.16; 87,19; 98,2.3; 113,8.

μυστήριον III 91,8. BG 78,9.

νήφειν. νηφε III 101,11. BG 94,14.

νοεῖν. νοει III 72,20; 73,20; 76,9.19; 90,1; 100,14; 101,4. νοειε III 95,12.13. νοῖ BG 85,18; 93,10; 94,4. ατνοει V 3,[1]. III 72,19; 75,23. BG 85,17. ατνοῖ BG 92,16. ατρηνοει III 100,5.

νοῦς V 3,10; 6,6; 7,6; 8,[2]; 9,[23]. III 73,9; 77,[2]; 78,6; 96,4; 102,21; 104,8. BG 86,17; 96,14; 98,18.

ὄγδοός. ζογδοας V 14,[19]. III 102,4. BG 95,13; 114,6.

οἰκονομία III 91,4.9; 92,5. BG 78,4.10; 80,2.

ὄλος. ζολων III 96,[1].

ὀνομάζειν. ονομαζε III 86,16; 103,23. BG 110,9.

ὀνομασία III 77,11.

οὐ V 4,15.

οὐδέ V 9,[33]. III 76,8; 81,19; 90,1; 100,14; 106,2. BG 93,9; 101,17.

οὖν V 2,[8]; 9,17; 10,13. BG 78,2.

οὐσία III 96,23. BG 87,18.

οὔτε V 2,11.12; 5,17; 8,24; 16,[12]. BG 83,8.9.10; 115,12.

πάλιν III 106,9. BG 102,7.

παμμήτωρ. πανμητωρ III 82,21.

πανγενέτειρα. πανγενετιρα III 82,5.22; 106,22. πανγενητειρα BG 103,7.

πανγενέτωρ III 82,17; 84,14.

πάνσοφος III 77,3; 82,20.

παντοκράτωρ III 107,3. BG 103,15; 119,9.

πάντως V 5,23.

- παρθένος V 16,[9]. III 89,[1]; 113,6. BG 115,8.  
 πηγή V 3,15; 7,4. III 73,13; 96,9. BG 87,3.  
 πιστεύειν. πιστεγε III 74,13.  
 πίστις V 4,[5]; 10,[12].14; 11,[4]. III 74,17; 78,4; 82,6,8; 83,[1]; 98,17;  
 106,24. BG 90,9; 103,9.  
 πλανᾶσθαι. πλανα III 74,5.  
 πλάνη V 6,14. III 77,9. BG 118,17.  
 πλάσμα BG 119,12,18.  
 πλάσσειν. πλασσα BG 97,17,19. ῥπλασσα III 103,15,16.  
 πνεῦμα. πῆνα V 1,[19]; 11,[28]; 16,10. III 86,6; 89,2; 91,12; 96,21; 97,8;  
 102,12; 105,2; 113,6; 117,[16].21; 118,[12]; 119,[13].[16]. BG 78,15;  
 81,7; 87,16; 88,8; 96,3; 100,[2]; 109,17; 115,9; 119,2,7; 122,8;  
 123,11,19; 125,5; 127,4.  
 πνευματικόν III 82,9; 83,17. πῆικῆ V 10,16; 11,[24].  
 πνοή BG 121,4.  
 προεῖναι. προοντος III 75,8; 99,9.  
 πρόνοια V 1,[21]. III 70,20; 71,3; 91,5; 93,2,14; 108,16; 119,2. BG 78,5;  
 81,9; 82,6; 106,9; 122,3; 126,8.  
 προπάτωρ III 74,[22]; 75,2; 98,24; 99,1. BG 90,17.  
 πρὸς V 6,[22]; 9,10. III 77,17; 88,17; 102,5; 112,16. BG 95,13; 114,8.  
 πρωτογενέτειρα. πρωτογενετιρα III 82,23; 104,17. ΠΡΟΤΟΓΕΝΕΤΕΙΡΑ  
 BG 99,10.  
 πρωτογενέτωρ III 81,10; 82,16; 83,23; 85,13; 104,15; 105,11.  
 ΠΡΟΤΟΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ BG 99,7,14; 100,12; 108,4.  
 πρωτογένητος. ΠΡΟΤ<Ο>ΓΕΝΗΤΟΣ BG 99,<4>.  
 πύλη BG 121,18.  
 πῶς III 74,17; 95,20; 98,17; 100,18; 103,23; 106,11. BG 86,7; 90,2,9; 93,14;  
 98,9; 102,<9>.
- σάρκινος III 108,14. BG 106,7.  
 σάρξ III 91,15,16. BG 79,2,4.  
 σιγή V 15,21. III 88,8,9; 112,8; 117,17,21.  
 σοφία V 6,8,9; 8,[32]; 9,4; 10,[5].[12].15; 11,[3].[4]; 15,[21]; 16,18. III 77,4;  
 81,23; 82,5,8,20,21,22,24 twice; 83,1; 88,6; 89,9; 90,14; 101,16; 102,13;  
 104,11,17; 106,16,23; 107,7,19,24; 113,13; 114,14; 119,18. BG 77,8;  
 95,1; 96,5; 99,[2].11; 102,17; 103,7; 104,1,17; 105,6; 109,3; 116,1;  
 118,[2]; 120,16; 127,11.  
 σπορά III 93,20. BG 82,13.  
 στερέωμα V 12,[28].[30]; 13,[2]; 16,16. III 84,23; 85,[1].3; 88,15; 89,7;  
 112,16; 113,12. BG 114,7; 115,17.  
 στρατία V 16,[5]. III 88,22; 113,3. BG 115,5.  
 συζυγία BG 95,3.  
 σύζυγος. σὺνζυγος V 8,[31]; 10,6,14. III 77,6; 81,23; 82,8; 88,7; 89,9;  
 101,16; 102,14; 104,11; 106,17; 113,14; 114,15. BG 102,17; 116,2.  
 σύμβολον III 117,19,24. BG 123,16; 124,5.

συμφωνεῖν. **ΣΥΜΦΩΝΕΙ** III 70,16; 81,22; 82,7; 83,12; 92,22. **ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ** III 71,10; 86,4. BG 81,4; 102,16; 109,14. **ῤΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ** V 2,[5].

συμφώνησις. **ΣΥΝΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ** III 83,2.

σχῆμα V 15,16. III 88,[1]; 112,2. BG 113,8.

σῶμα III 97,10. BG 88,9.

σωτήρ V 10,[9].13; 12,16; 13,14. III 82,2.7; 84,[2].8; 85,14; 91,7.10.24; 92,6; 94,4.14; 95,21; 96,15.18; 98,12; 100,[2].18.20; 105,9; 106,15.20; 107,22; 108,17.20; 112,21; 113,1; 114,13; 119,9. BG 78,8.12; 79,13; 80,3; 83,5; 86,9; 87,9; 90,4; 92,13; 93,16; 100,10; 102,15; 103,4; 105,3; 106,11.14; 107,17; 108,6; 114,14; 115,1; 118,1; 126,18. **ῤΩῤ** BG 83,19; 87,12. **ῤῤ** V 12,9.12.

τέλειος III 72,23. τέλειον III 91,17. **ΤΕΛΙΟΣ** V 7,10; 13,5. III 78,10; 95,15.20.21; 96,18; 98,12; 100,19; 105,8; 106,14; 108,19; 112,24; 114,13; 118,4. BG 79,5; 86,2.8.9; 87,12; 90,3; 93,16; 100,9; 102,14; 106,14; 107,17; 114,[18]; 117,18; 124,11. **ΤΕΛΙΟΝ** III 103,2. BG 97,[1]; 107,9.

τέρπεσθαι III 89,21. **ΤΕΡΠΕ** III 81,15. BG 101,2.13; 116,18. **ΤΕΡΠΗ** III 105,17.

τιμή III 97,11; 108,2. BG 105,10.

τόπος III 107,12. BG 104,8.

τότε III 103,22; 108,16; 112,19; 119,10. BG 98,7; 106,10; 114,12.

τριάς III 78,18

τριβή III 93,21; 108,11. BG 82,14; 106,4.

τύπος V 12,[3].[5].[6].[8].[10]; 12,14.19; 16,[21]. III 82,10; 83,21.23; 84,2.3.6.10; 89,13. BG 116,3.6.

ὕπηρεσία III 77,22; 81,3; 84,16; 88,23; 105,1. BG 100,[1]. **ΖΗΠΕΡΗΣΙΑ** BG 107,6.

ὕπόστασις III 91,3; 92,4. BG 78,3; 80,1.

ὕποταγή III 71,16; 94,7. BG 83,9.

ὕστέρημα III 85,8.

φιλόσοφος III 70,15; 92,20. BG 81,3.

φρόνησις III 73,10; 78,8; 83,7 twice; 87,13.16; 96,5; 102,23. BG 96,17; 112,10.

φύσις V 2,[12]; 16,[4].[24]. III 71,16; 74,9; 88,20; 89,15; 94,7; 113,19. BG 83,10; 116,11.

φωστήρ V 10,[7].

χαίρειν. **ΧΑΙΡΕ** V 1,3.

χάος V 13,20.27; 16,[23]. III 85,21; 86,3; 89,14.18; 113,18.20. BG 109,13; 116,10.12; 118,14; 119,10; 120,9; 121,10.

χάρις BG 88,12; 122,18.

χρηστός. **ΜῆΤΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ** III 97,4. **ΜῆΤΧῤ** BG 88,2.

χρόνος V 4,[24]; 12,[5]. III 83,22.  
χωρεῖν. χωρι III 117,[10].[13]; 118,1.

ψυχή BG 120,1.3.  
ψυχικός BG 121,6.

ὥς V 3,14.[19]; 16,[3]. III 73,22; 74,3; 98,7; 119,6. BG 89,11.16; 126,14.  
ὥστε V 12,[29]. III 74,4; 83,14; 84,19.24.

### PROPER NOUNS

αδამ. адам пвал мпоγο(ε)ιν V 9,[23]. III 105,12. BG 100,14;  
108,10. адам па поγοεин III 81,12.

βαρολομαίος III 103,22. BG 98,8.

γαλιλαία III 90,19; 91,20. BG 77,15; 79,9.

εγνωστος V 1,[1]; 17,[18]. III 70,1; 90,12.

εωμας III 96,14; 108,17. BG 87,8; 106,11.

Ἰαλλαβασε BG 119,16.

ιησους. ἰη̅ς III 119,18. ἰη̅ς πε̅χρ̅ς III 90,14. BG 127,12. ἰ̅ς πε̅χ̅ς BG  
77,8.

μαθαιος III 94,1; 100,17. μαθαιος BG 82,19; 93,13.

μαριζαμμη III 98,10; 114,9. μαριζαμ BG 90,1; 117,13.

σοφια V 6,8,9; 8,[32]; 9,4; 10,[5]; 15,[21]; 16,18. III 81,23; 88,6; 89,9;  
101,16; 102,13; 104,11; 106,16; 107,7.19.24; 113,13; 114,14. BG 95,1;  
96,5; 99,[2]; 102,17; 104,1.17; 105,6; 109,3; 116,1; 118,[2]; 120,16.  
αγαπη σοφια V 11,[3]. III 82,24. πανγενετιρα σοφια III 82,22;  
106,22. σοφια πανγενε(ογ η)τ(ε)ιρα III 82,5. BG 103,7. πανμη-  
τωρ σοφια III 82,21. πανσοφος σοφια III 82,20. πανσοφος  
σοφια ἵγενετειρα III 77,3. πιστις σοφια V 10,[12].14; 11,[4].  
III 82,8; 83,[1]. πρω(ογ ο)τογενετ(ε)ιρα σοφια III 82,23. BG  
99,10. σοφια ἵπρωτογενετιρα III 104,17.

φιλιππος III 92,4; 95,19. BG 79,18; 86,6.

χριστος . χ̅ρ̅ς III 104,22. χ̅ς BG 99,9.16; 101,9; χ̅ς where it is perhaps an  
error for χ̅ς (i.e., χοεις, q.v.): BG 83,1; 86,7; 87,9; 90,2; 100,4; 102,8;  
106,11; 114,14; 117,13. (χ̅ς in BG 112,15 four times, and 112,17 twice,  
is clearly an error.) See further ιησους.

PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCHUS 1081  
GREEK FRAGMENT OF THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST

INTRODUCTION

P. Oxy. 1081 is closely parallel to both *SJC*-III, from 97,16 to 99,12, and *SJC*-BG, from 88,18 to 91,15. It is related, but less closely, to the parallel sections of the two *Eug* texts.

P. Oxy. 1081 was first edited and published by Hunt in 1911 (16–19), who was not aware of its connection with the as yet unpublished *SJC*-BG. Wessely republished it 13 years later; he depended on the Hunt collation, but added some restorations.<sup>1</sup>

In 1950 Puech identified the papyrus as a fragment of *SJC* (98, n.2; see also 1963: 245). Till included edited portions of the text in his edition of BG, but made no attempt to publish the complete text: he considered P. Oxy. 1081 too fragmentary to help with understanding the Coptic of *SJC*-BG and parr. (1955: 216) and expected Puech himself soon to publish a new edition of the papyrus (1955: 53). That edition never appeared. In 1975, Attridge published an edition based on infrared photographs, taking into account all the relevant Coptic texts with the exception of *Eug*-V, which is less useful than the other texts mentioned above.

I began working on P. Oxy. 1081 in 1970 in preparation for this volume, and at the suggestion of Alan Sparks, then Associate Director of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, I wrote to Peter Parsons of Christ Church, Oxford, with the request that he examine the papyrus directly and respond to my queries. This he graciously did in May 1971 and again in November of the following year (in response to follow-up questions). More recently Attridge generously lent me the photographs he used in his edition.

The text and translation published here, then, are the result of the reworking of the fragmentary text in the light of the earlier editions (especially that of Attridge), with the aid both of the observations and suggestions of Parsons and of Attridge's photos. The numerous differences from earlier editions are discussed in the notes.

The MS consists of three large fragments of one leaf from a papyrus codex, with writing on both sides. The largest (A) measures 15.9 × 5.7 cm. The next in size (B) is 12.9 × 5.1 cm. The smallest (C) is 6.5 × 5.8 cm. "A" has the remains of the text along most of the inside margin, starting with the top lines. "B" has the remains along with outside margin for the middle half of the page. And "C" has what remains of the bottom of the page. The

<sup>1</sup> Hunt's text was reprinted by E. Klostermann, and Wesseley's, by A. De Santos Otero.

verso/recto designation given to sides one and two respectively by Hunt is misleading as these terms are used today, since, in the codex from which the leaf came, side one would have been the recto and side two the verso. The recto has the vertical fibers, while the verso has the horizontal. It is evident from a calculation of the average size of extant letters that those restored with certainty in the lacuna between the lower part of "B" and "C" require a space 3 to 4 mm. wider than that provided in the present fragment placement. The additional space (created by moving "B") would also straighten the lines that run between "A" and "B", which now would, if written out, appear slightly bowed.

In view of the above, the MS measurement given by Hunt ( $20.3 \times 10.7$  cm.) must be modified to  $20.3 \times 11.1$  cm. The average length of the lines whose beginnings and endings are extant (16 in all) is 9 cm., according to Attridge; but this also must be changed by the addition of 4 mm. The MS is located in the Library of Cambridge University, where it has been given the acquisition number 5894. Paleographic evidence suggests that it is to be dated early in the 4th century.

Attridge holds that the text of P. Oxy. 1081 is closer to that of *SJC*-III than *SJC*-BG (8). He cites four instances where P. Oxy. 1081 agrees with *SJC*-III against *SJC*-BG: line 7 (III 97,21-22; BG 89,5-7); line 9 (III 97,23; BG 89,7); line 25 (III 98,10; BG 90,2); and line 26 (III 98,11; BG 90,2). Line 7 involves a shift of a phrase from one part of the sentence to another; line 9 involves a difference in tenses (but in fact there is no agreement among any of the texts here, and similar minor tense differences are found elsewhere also); line 25 has to do with the difference between  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$  and  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$ , which might be accounted for on the basis of individual scribal error, since confusion over these terms is widespread; and line 26 involves a difference of pronominal subject, which might be the result of dittography (see BG 90,2n.). Of these, then, only the first may be significant.

As to the agreements between P. Oxy. 1081 and *SJC*-BG against *SJC*-III, Attridge cites only two: line 11 (BG 89,10-11; III 98,1-2) involving the difference of the number of the pronominal subject, which, as he says, is not significant in this instance; and line 34 (misidentified by him as line 35) (BG 90,12; III 98,19), where there is a minor addition in *SJC*-III, which is probably a scribal gloss, as Attridge says. Neither of these can be considered significant. There are two other agreements, overlooked by him, where P. Oxy. 1081 and *SJC*-BG have a phrase in common that is omitted in *SJC*-III: line 18-19 (BG 89,16-17; III 98,7); and line 38 (BG 90,17-18; III 98,24). Since the omissions in *SJC*-III in these instances could be explained as the result of homoioteleuton, one can say only that a special connection between P. Oxy. 1081 and *SJC*-BG is possible.

P. Oxy. 1081, then, is a text that is very close to the two Coptic texts of *SJC*. Its special affinities to one or the other of those texts seem too minor to permit a judgment about which one is closer to the Greek.

## PAPYRUS OXYRRHYNCHUS 1081

Fragment of *SJC*

(= NHC III 97,16–99,12; BG 88,18–91,15;  
NHC III 73,16–75,11; NHC V 3,15–4,25)

[ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ]

Vertical		τα γεγονόσι[ν. εἰς δὲ]
Fibers	2	τὸ ἐμφανὲς [οὐκ ἔτι ἐ]
		ληλύθεισαν. [διαφο]
	4	ρά τε πολλή [μεταξὺ]
		τῶν ἀφθάρ[τ]ων. [ὁ δ' ἐφώ]
	6	νει· ὁ ἔχων ὄρα τ[ῶν ἀ]
		περάντων [ἀ]κο[ύει]ν ἀ
	8	κουέτω κα[ι] τοῖς ἐρη
		γοροῦσιν [ἐγ]ὼ λαλῶ. ἔτι
	10	προ[σθεῖς ε]ἶπεν· πᾶν
		τὸ γε[ινόμε]νον ἀπὸ
	12	τῆς [φθορᾶς] ἀπογεί
		νετ[αι ὡς ἀπ]ὸ φθορᾶς
	14	γεγ[ονός· τὸ] δὲ γε[ι]νό

Line 1, Att restores [οὐ δὲ εἰς]. For restoration here of movable ν, see BDF sec. 20.

Line 2, Att restores ἐμφανὲς[ αὐτοὶ ἦ]. For the position of the negative, relative of the verb, see BDF sec. 433. ἦ is incorrect as the augment of the pluperfect in this case.

Line 4, τε may be a mistake for δέ. Att restores [ἦν ἐντός]. The use of the imperfect contrasts with the Coptic of *SJC*. Regarding ἐντός, Crum cites no instance where the Coptic par., ογτε, translates ἐντός. As Att himself notes, ογτε is commonly used to translate μεταξὺ.

Line 5, γ: so also Att. H brackets it. The top of the left stroke is visible. Att restored [ὁ δὲ φω]]νεῖ. However, since the Coptic calls for an imperfect tense, he has in correspondence suggested the restoration adopted here. H restored [τυγχά]νει at the suggestion of Swete.

Lines 6–8, ὁ . . . ἀκουέτω: *SJC*–III has the exact par. (97,20–22) in contrast to BG.

Line 6, Both H and Att bracket the first τ. However, the photo shows the tip of the right end of the crossbar.

Line 8, Both H and Att show the second τ as certain. However all that remains is 1 mm. of the right portion of a horizontal line, which would be compatible also with π. Att is undoubtedly correct that ε should be read rather than α (H) before γρη, although the traces are not as clear-cut as he indicates.

Line 9, φῶ: Att considers all as certain. H correctly places a dot under σ. Only a trace of the bottom of the υ remains. Only a bit of the left side of the curve of the ο remains, which would be compatible also with ε or σ. Of the σ only the top and bottom ends of the curve remain, which would be compatible also with ε.

Line 10, προ[σθεῖς: restored by W.

- μεν[ον ἀπὸ] ἀφ[θ]αρ
- 16 σίας [οὐκ ἀπο]γείν[εται]  
ἀλλ[ὰ μ]έν[ει] ἄφ[θ]αρ
- 18 τον ὡς ἀπὸ ἀ[φ]θ[αρσί]  
[α]ς γεγονός. [ῶς]τ[ε πλῆ]
- 20 [θος] τῶν ἀν[θρ]ώ[πων]  
ἐπλανήθ[ησαν καὶ]
- 22 μὴ εἰδότη[ες τὴν δια]  
φ[ο]ρὰν τα[ύτην ἀπέ]
- 24 θανον. [λέγει δὲ αὐτῶ]
- Horizontal [Μαριὰμ ὅτ]ι κ̅ε πῶς οὖν
- Fibers 26 [ταῦτα γιν]ώσκομεν; λέγε[ι]
- [ὁ τέλειος σ]ωτήρ· διέλεθ
- 28 [τε ἀπὸ τῶν] ἀφανῶν κα[ὶ]
- [εἰς τ]ὸ τέ[λο]ς τῶν φαινο

Line 16, Att inadvertently omitted the bracketing of the last four letters (acknowledged in correspondence).

Line 19, Last half of line: [ . ] τ[ινες] (H followed by T-S); [ ] π[ληθο] (Att). τ seems more likely than π since the portion of the crossbar to the left of the vertical (all that can be seen) is longer than the crossbars of most of the π's in the ms. Both H and Att accepted the placement of the two fragments involved, relative to each other. When they are further separated by 3 or 4 mm. (see introductory discussion), then it becomes possible to make the restoration preferred by Att and incorporated above. It also makes unnecessary Att's unlikely word division.

Line 20, Initial lacuna: H (followed by T-S) restores only two letters (δέ). Att rightly finds room for three (ς δέ).

Line 21, π: considered certain by H and Att, but all that remains is 1 mm. of the bottom of the left leg. It would be compatible also with ι, κ, ν etc.

Line 22, μ: considered certain by H and Att, but much of it has been lost to holes and flaking, and what remains is only a bit of the beginning and end and a small part of the center.

Lines 22-24, μὴ . . . [ἀπέ]θανον: Restorations made by T-S.

Line 23, φ: considered certain by H and Att, but remaining traces would be compatible also with ψ.

Line 24, An historical present is restored because of λέγει in line 26 (so too Att), but note the aorist in line 10.

Line 26, γιν[ώ]σκομεν: late form (see BDF: sec. 34 [4]). T-S and Att restore γιν[ώ]σκομεν (Att omits the dot). All that remains of the ω is a 2 mm. vertical portion of its right side, which made it possible for H to reconstruct ι.

ε: considered certain by H and Att, but only a portion of the curve remains and there is no sign of the horizontal strokes. An ο or σ could also be read.

Line 28, ἀπό: ἐκ (Att); διά (T-S). For ἀπό rather than ἐκ, see BDF: sec. 209. Regarding διά, Crum cites no instance of the Coptic χιν (III 98,13; BG 90,5) being used to translate it (773a).



- 30 [μέ]νων και αὐτὴ ἢ ἀπό[ρ]  
ροια τῆ[ς ἐ]ννοίας ἀνα  
32 δείξει ὑ[μῖ]ν πῶς ἢ πίστ[ις]  
—τῶν [ἀ]δή[λ]ων—  
εὐρ[ετ]έ[α τ]ῆ φαινομέ  
34 νη τοῦ ἀγ[εννή]του πρ̄ς.  
ὁ ἔχων ὦτ[α ἀκού]ειν ἄ  
36 κουέτω. [ὁ τῶν ὄλ]ων δε  
σπότης ο[ὐ καλεῖτα]ι πρ̄ ἄλ  
38 λὰ προπᾶ[τωρ · ὁ γὰρ] πρ̄ [ἄρ]

Line 29, Att brackets the first ο, but a bit of the bottom of the letter is visible. H restores [ει]ς το (incorrectly reported by Att), which leaves too much unfilled space in the lacuna, as H admits. T-S suggests, as an alternative to H, εἰ]ς τέ[λο]ς (incorrectly reported by Att).

Line 30, W, T-S and Att incorrectly accent αὐτη as a demonstrative. H, W, and Att do not restore ρ at the end of the line, perhaps because of concern that the letter would have been beyond the margin established by the scribe. But the vertical side shows the scribe exercising considerable freedom regarding the right margin, and there is thus no reason to think that he would not have done the same on the horizontal side when necessary. T-S restores ρ.

Line 32, Att inadvertently omitted the bracketing of the last two letters of the line (confirmed in correspondence).

Words between dashes are in the left margin of the ms. As to whether any letters preceded τῶν, H says it is not certain, "but there is a speck of ink over the ω, and the margin above is imperfect." Att claims to see more than H and on that basis reconstructs [ἦ] ἐκ. But a close examination of the photos suggests that the ink traces Att describes are mostly shadows seen through tiny holes in the papyrus—holes resulting in part from the flaking off of the vertical layer of papyrus on the opposite side of the leaf. The few genuine ink specks may have been either random drops from the scribe's pen, or the remains of a sign indicating an insertion, or the remains of the fem. article relating the phrase attributively to ἡ πίστις, or blotting from the opposite page.

Line 33, τῆ φαινομένη, "through that which appears": Att suggests the reference is to ἡ ἀπόρροια, "the emanation," but that would yield doubtful sense in the context. A more likely reference is γενεα ετε μῆ μῆτῆρ ο ζιλωσ εβολ, "the Generation over Whom There Is No Kingdom" (III 99,18–20), i.e., the community of those who belong to Unbegotten Father (III 99,22–100,2).

Line 34, τ: so also Att, but H reconstructs κ. All that remains is 3 mm. of the right side of the crossbar, but it is angled up about 20 degrees, unlike any other τ found in the ms. As Att notes, the presence of the Greek loanword in both versions of *SJC* seems to resolve the uncertainty of the trace. The scribe may have been forced by an imperfection in the papyrus to make the top of his vertical stroke lower than usual, and then the crossbar was used to reestablish the former line level. T-S reconstructs ἀγ[ενή]του (omitting a dot under the τ).

Line 35, ε: so also H, but considered certain by Att. All that remains is the right tip of the horizontal stroke.

Line 36, ω: considered certain by H and Att, but all that remains is the right curve, which would be compatible also with ο.

ε: considered certain by H and Att, but only 2 mm. of the horizontal stroke remains.

- χή ἐ[σ]τ[ιν τῶν μ]ελλόν  
 40 τῶν [φαίνεσθαι. ἐ]κεῖνο[ς]  
 [δὲ ὁ ἀναρχος προ]πάτω[ρ].  
 42 [εἰσορῶ]ν ἀὐτὸν [ἐ]ν ἑαυτ[ῷ]  
 [ἐσόπτ]ρω· ὄμ[ιοις] ἑαυ  
 44 [τῷ φαίν]εται· ἀὐ[τοῦ δὲ]  
 [τὸ ὄμ]ο[ίω]μα ἀν[εφάνη ὡς]  
 46 [προπάτ]ρω θς πη[ρ] κ[αί]  
 [ἀντωπὸς ἐ]πὶ ἀντ[ω]π[ι]τ[ο]  
 48 [τῷ προόν]τι ἀγεννήτ[ω]  
 [πρι. ἰσόχρονο]ς μὲν τοῦ

Line 38, Att inadvertently omitted the bracketing of the last two letters of the line.

Line 39, γ: considered certain by H and Att, but only the left stroke is visible. It would be compatible also with ι.

Lines 40–41, γ: considered certain by H and Att, but all that is visible is the top 2 mm. of the left stroke.

Att restores δὲ at the end of line 40 rather than in line 41, and omits the article in line 41. The result is that line 40 is longer in his reconstruction than one would expect, while line 41 is shorter.

Line 43, Att has εἰσόπτρω, but ἐσόπτρω is the more common form. Att restores ἐ[αυτ], but remains of both α and υ are clear in the photo.

Line 45, Att restores [ὄμοι]ώ[μα]τα ἀν[αφαίνει]. Although he makes no attempt to restore the words, H records φ after the first lacuna, and μ immediately after the second. What remains of the letter after the first lacuna is about 1/2 of a circle, with the opening where one would expect if it were the right half of an ω. But the curve is rounder than with most of the ω's in the text and more resembles that of an ο. In addition, there are signs in the photo of flaking where the remainder of the circle would have been if the letter were an ο.

As to what appears after the second lacuna, Att thinks he sees not the beginning of a μ but the tail of an α (although he does not dot the α in his transcription). But α's in this text mostly have the long stroke steeply angled to the end of the tail, whereas the remnant is horizontal. It is certainly not the beginning of a μ, but is, in all likelihood, the end of one. The space between μ and α is 2 mm. and does not offer room for the τ proposed by Att. The vertical line he describes is very uncertain, and there is no sign of a crossbar, which would be expected. The reconstruction offered above agrees in number with the Coptic.

Att's reconstruction of the present active form of ἀναφαίνεν disagrees with the Coptic, which calls for an aorist and in BG, probably a middle (see BG 91,8n.). The reconstruction adopted above, although passive in form, is understood as a middle (see Smyth: sec. 814), and is compatible with the Coptic perfect without a reflexive pronoun in *SJC*-III.

Line 46, φ: so also H, but considered certain by Att. All that remains is about 1 mm. of the middle section of the curve on the right side. It would be compatible also with ο, θ, and φ.

Att brackets κ, overlooking the remains of the foot of the right leg, which had been seen by H. Att places ἀν, from ἀντωπὸς, at the end of the line.

Line 47, ἀντ[ω]π[ι]τ[ο]: Att restores ἀντ[ω]π[ι]τ[ω]. Remains of the mid-portion of ι are clear. A Greek imperfect middle is called for (see III 75,8).

Line 48, Att puts the article in the preceding line, making his reconstruction of the first

50 [ὄντος πρὸ αὐ]το[ῦ φωτός]

## TRANSLATION

Vertical [ to those] that came to be  
 [afterward. But] they had not yet come  
 Fibers 2 [to] visibility.  
 Now there is a great difference  
 4 [among]  
 the imperishables.” [Then he called out,]  
 6 “Whoever has ears [to]  
 [hear] about the infinities,  
 8 let him hear. And I speak to those who  
 are awake.” Still  
 10 [continuing] he said: “All  
 that [comes] from  
 12 the [perishable] passes away,  
 [since] it [came] from the perishable.  
 14 But what comes  
 [from] imperishableness  
 16 [does not pass away]  
 but [remains] imperishable,  
 18 since it came from [imperishableness].  
 [So, many]  
 20 [men]  
 went astray, [and,]  
 22 not knowing  
 [this] difference, they died.”

lacuna here too short.

Line 50, The second visible letter could be either ω or ο, as Att notes.

Att reconstructs to line 52 thus: [προάρχοντος] τῶ[ν φω] | [τῶν ἀλλὰ ἀνόμοιος δυν] | [ἀμει].  
 It is not clear that ἄπεττα τεφετη would have translated προάρχοντος, and ἄνογοῖν is  
 much more likely a translation of a sing. than a pl. (see III 99,11).

- 24 [And Mary said to him:]  
 Horizontal “Lord, how then  
 Fibers 26 do we know [that?]” The perfect] Savior said:  
 “Come  
 28 [from] invisible things even  
 [to the end] of those that are visible,  
 30 and the very emanation  
 of Thought will show  
 32 [you] how faith—in the invisibles—  
 must be found through that which appears  
 34 of [Unbegotten] Father.  
 Whoever has ears to [hear], let  
 36 him hear. [The] ruler [of everything]  
 [is not called] ‘Father’ but  
 38 ‘Forefather.’ For [the] Father [is the beginning]  
 [of those that] are  
 40 [to appear; but] that one is  
 [the beginningless] Forefather.  
 42 [Seeing] himself within himself  
 [in a mirror], he [appears]  
 44 [like] himself, [but his likeness]  
 [appeared as]  
 46 [Forefather], Divine Father, [and]  
 [Confronter], since [he] was confronting  
 48 [First Existent] Unbegotten  
 [Father]. [He is] indeed [of equal age] with the one  
 50 [before him, who is light]

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

VOLUME XXVI

# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

MARTIN KRAUSE - JAMES M. ROBINSON  
FREDERIK WISSE

IN CONJUNCTION WITH

ALEXANDER BÖHLIG - JEAN DORESSE - SØREN GIVERSEN  
HANS JONAS - RODOLPHE KASSER - PAHOR LABIB  
GEORGE W. MACRAE - JACQUES-É. MÉNARD  
TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH  
R. McL. WILSON - JAN ZANDEE

XXVI

GENERAL EDITOR OF THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY

JAMES M. ROBINSON



LEIDEN

E. J. BRILL

1984

DIES  
INSON  
GOVERN  
R LAGE  
NARD  
LIBRARY

THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY

EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

*published under the auspices of*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

---

NAG HAMMADI CODEX

III,5

THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR

CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN EMMEL - HELMUT KOESTER - ELAINE PAGELS

VOLUME EDITOR

STEPHEN EMMEL



LEIDEN

E. J. BRILL

1984

T  
word James M  
Stephen Em  
Tractates in  
ations and Sho  
tion . . .  
Koester and  
Manuscript . . .  
Emmel  
Translation  
Emmel  
...  
Words of Egyptian  
Words of Greek I  
Proper Names  
Grammatical Fo

ISBN 90 04 07558 5

*Copyright 1984 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands*

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY E. J. BRILL



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword James M. Robinson . . . . .	vii
Preface Stephen Emmel . . . . .	xi
Table of Tractates in the Coptic Gnostic Library . . . . .	xiii
Abbreviations and Short Titles . . . . .	xv
Introduction . . . . .	I
Helmut Koester and Elaine Pagels	
The Manuscript . . . . .	19
Stephen Emmel	
Text and Translation . . . . .	37
Stephen Emmel	
Indexes . . . . .	97
I. Words of Egyptian Origin . . . . .	98
II. Words of Greek Derivation . . . . .	116
III. Proper Names . . . . .	119
IV. Grammatical Forms . . . . .	119

reproduced or  
microfilm  
the publisher

The Coptic  
Hamadi Codic  
The Coptic  
Introduction  
Uniform Editi  
Scientific Edition  
For more deta  
Studies of this  
Hamadi Stu  
The gnostic relig  
asceticity and Ju  
great religious po  
whom insight had  
rare material. Now  
under a sense  
unique docum  
This edition is a p  
Claremont, Ca  
Cambridge, J. W  
James Brashle  
Stephen Em  
W. Hedrick,  
Violet MacDe  
R. Murdock,  
L. Peel, James  
R. Schoedel, J  
E. Williams,  
Patrik Wisse, and Ja  
The project was initi  
was accessible, but  
available. In view  
had at that  
publication in  
the Coptic Gnost  
of providing me

## 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. MacRae, Dieter Muellert, 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. In view of the fact that the bulk of the material in Codices I–VI had at that time either been published or announced for imminent publication in complete editions in other languages, the edition in the Coptic Gnostic Library was envisaged in the complementary role of providing merely English translations in a single volume,

which in subsequent planning was then envisaged as two volumes. It was at this stage that preliminary announcements were made in *New Testament Studies* 16 (1969/70), 185–90 and *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970), 83–85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1970). The publisher and editorial board of Nag Hammadi Studies at their meeting in Uppsala, Sweden, in August 1973, recommended that the Coptic Gnostic Library edition be complete for Codices I–VI and P. Berol. 8502 as well as for Codices VII–XIII. This plan was adopted by the volume editors at their September 1973 work session in Cairo. This resulted in Codices I–VI and P. Berol. 8502 being planned for six, then nine volumes. They do not correspond precisely to the seven codices, for it is preferable to publish parallel texts together. After it was decided to include in Nag Hammadi Studies a new English edition of the other Coptic gnostic codices known previously, the Askew and Bruce Codices, the publisher included them in the Coptic Gnostic Library to make it complete.

The volumes and the editors of the Coptic Gnostic Library are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, Volume 1: *Introduction, Texts and Translation*; Volume 2: *Notes*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1 and IV,1: The Apocryphon of John, Long Recension*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2–7, together with XIII,2\**, *Brit. Lib. Or. 4926 (1) and P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655*, Volume 1: *Gospel 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 Codex III,1 and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John, Short Recension*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, NHS 4, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3–4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3: Eugnostos the Blessed and The Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, edited by Douglas M. Parrott; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2–5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, NHS 11, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John H. Sieber; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, NHS 15, 1981; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick;

*Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, edited by J. W. B. Barnst, G. M. Browne, and J. C. Shelton, NHS 16, 1981; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 9, 1978; *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, NHS 13, 1978. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is seventeen volumes. An English translation of all thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and P. Berol. 8502 has also been published in 1977 in a single volume, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, by E. J. Brill and Harper & Row. A first paperback edition of that preprint augmented by the inclusion of Yale inv. 1784 of the Beinecke Library at NHC III 145/146 (p. 238) appeared in 1981. It was not possible to include there subsequent improvements in translations. The translation appearing in the present volume has been substantially revised.

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

A special word of thanks is due to the Egyptian and UNESCO officials through whose assistance the work has been carried on: Gamal Mokhtar, President until 1977 of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, our gracious and able host in Egypt; Pahor Labib, Director Emeritus, Victor Girgis, Director until 1977, and Mounir Basta, Director since 1977 of the Coptic Museum, who together have guided the work on the manuscript material; Samiha Abd El-Sha-

heed, First Curator for Manuscripts at the Coptic Museum, who is personally responsible for the codices and was constantly by our side in the library of the Coptic Museum; and, at UNESCO, N. Bammate, Deputy Assistant Director General for the Social Sciences, Human Sciences, and Culture until 1978, who has guided the UNESCO planning since its beginning, and Dina Zeidan, specialist in the Arab Program of the Division of Cultural Studies, who has always proved ready with gracious assistance and helpful advice.

Richard E. Whitaker has done the page make up and prepared the camera-ready copy for this volume on an Ibycus system using Coptic characters produced by Whitaker and David W. Packard. Packard, developer of the IBYCUS computer system, has given of his time and skill with great generosity in fostering this project. The Institute for Advanced Studies of Princeton has made available its printing facilities for the preparation of the camera-ready copy. The Coptic transcription was put in the computer system of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity on the basis of grants awarded by the Packard Foundation. We wish to express appreciation to all those involved in this process.

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

JAMES M. ROBINSON

## PREFACE

When I was asked, during the summer of 1981, to prepare *The Dialogue of the Savior* for publication in The Coptic Gnostic Library, editorial responsibility for the text had already passed through several pairs of hands. My task was to edit not just the Coptic text, but a dossier of transcriptions and notes compiled across the years by various members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project. I had been the last member of this team of scholars to work extensively on the manuscript in Cairo; furthermore, a few years later it was my good fortune to identify and publish the fragment of this manuscript hiding in the Beinecke Library in New Haven, Connecticut. These circumstances left me in a good position to accept responsibility for editing *The Dialogue of the Savior*, and I thank James M. Robinson for providing me with the opportunity to bring my work on this text to fruition.

This volume's introductory chapter by Helmut Koester and Elaine Pagels was written in 1977. I am grateful for their willingness to revise it in light of subsequent work on the text and translation and in view of the altered plans for publication.

*The Dialogue of the Savior* is of primary importance to the study of the history of the transmission of the sayings of Jesus. It is the intention of the present edition of the Coptic text to provide a reliable basis on which all further study of *The Dialogue of the Savior* may build. I dedicate this work to my father and to the memory of my mother.

STEPHEN EMMEL

TAB

CO

The following table  
Papirus Berolin  
titles as used  
titles, sometime  
titles no surviv  
titles of these

The Prayer of

The Apocrypha

The Gospel of

The Treatise on

The Treatise

The Apocrypha

The Gospel of

The Gospel of

The Hypostas

On the Origin o

The Exegese o

The Book of Th

The Apocrypha

The Gospel of

Eugnatos the

The Sophia of J

The Dialogue o

The Apocrypha

The Gospel of

Eugnatos the

The Apocalyp

The First, Ap

The (Second)

The Apocalyp

The Acts of Pet

The Thunder

Authenticative T



## TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

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

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

VI,4	<i>The Concept of our Great Power</i>	<i>Great Pow.</i>
VI,5	<i>Plato, Republic 588b-589b</i>	<i>Plato Rep.</i>
VI,6	<i>The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth</i>	<i>Disc. 8-9</i>
VI,7	<i>The Prayer of Thanksgiving</i>	<i>Pr. Thanks.</i>
VI,8	<i>Asclepius 21-29</i>	<i>Asclepius</i>
VII,1	<i>The Paraphrase of Shem</i>	<i>Paraph. Shem</i>
VII,2	<i>The Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>
VII,3	<i>The Apocalypse of Peter</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>
VII,4	<i>The Teachings of Silvanus</i>	<i>Teach. Silv.</i>
VII,5	<i>The Three Steles of Seth</i>	<i>Steles Seth</i>
VIII,1	<i>Zostrianos</i>	<i>Zost.</i>
VIII,2	<i>The Letter of Peter to Philip</i>	<i>Ep. Pet. Phil.</i>
IX,1	<i>Melchizedek</i>	<i>Melch.</i>
IX,2	<i>The Thought of Norea</i>	<i>Norea</i>
IX,3	<i>The Testimony of Truth</i>	<i>Testim. Truth</i>
X	<i>Marsanes</i>	<i>Marsanes</i>
XI,1	<i>The Interpretation of Knowledge</i>	<i>Interp. Know.</i>
XI,2	<i>A Valentinian Exposition</i>	<i>Val. Exp.</i>
XI,2a	<i>On the Anointing</i>	<i>On Anoint.</i>
XI,2b	<i>On Baptism A</i>	<i>On Bap. A</i>
XI,2c	<i>On Baptism B</i>	<i>On Bap. B</i>
XI,2d	<i>On the Eucharist A</i>	<i>On Euch. A</i>
XI,2e	<i>On the Eucharist B</i>	<i>On Euch. B</i>
XI,3	<i>Allogenes</i>	<i>Allogenes</i>
XI,4	<i>Hypsiphron</i>	<i>Hypsiph.</i>
XII,1	<i>The Sentences of Sextus</i>	<i>Sent. Sextus</i>
XII,2	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
XII,3	<i>Fragments</i>	<i>Frm.</i>
XIII,1	<i>Trimorphic Protennoia</i>	<i>Trim. Prot.</i>
XIII,2	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>
BG,1	<i>The Gospel of Mary</i>	<i>Gos. Mary</i>
BG,2	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
BG,3	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>
BG,4	<i>The Act of Peter</i>	<i>Act Pet.</i>

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

- BASP** *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
- Böhlig-Wisse, Gos. Eg.** Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse, *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)* (NHS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1975).
- Facs.** *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, published under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt in conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 12 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1972-).
- Hennecke-Schneemelcher** Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson et al., vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963).
- HTR** *Harvard Theological Review*
- NHC** Nag Hammadi Codex
- NHLibEng** James M. Robinson and Marvin W. Meyer (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco and Leiden: Harper & Row and Brill, 1977).
- NHS** Nag Hammadi Studies
- Wisse, "Cod. Intro."** Frederik Wisse, "Nag Hammadi Codex III: Codicological Introduction" in Martin Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 225-38.

TITLE, AUTHOR

The title *The Dia*

and the explicit

reference to his disc

in *Dial. Sac.*

by the author

characterized by

and Judas, Mart

in the title *Dial*

on hand, the desig

pages composed b

the designation "

Where does the

any author

the names

speaker, teacher

is an indicatio

is apocalyptic

must have conta

though the

possible to de

Dialogue of Jesu

several section

content. The work

sources and tradit

dialogue. The la

dialogue secti

References to Dia

indicated by more pr

in all references ar

usually include ma

and translation t

## INTRODUCTION

HELMUT KOESTER AND ELAINE PAGELS

### I. TITLE, AUTHOR, AND LITERARY CHARACTER

The title *The Dialogue of the Savior* occurs in the *incipit* (120:1) and in the *explicit* (147:23). But the work begins with an address of the Savior to his disciples that does not show any trace of the dialogue scheme (*Dial. Sav.* 1–3 [120:3–124:22]).<sup>1</sup> However, the main source used by the author (first appearing in 4 [124:23]; see sec. II.A below) is characterized by dialogues between Jesus and his disciples, of whom Judas, Matthew, and Mary are frequently named explicitly. Thus, the title *Dialogue* may derive from this main source. On the other hand, the designation “Savior” is almost completely restricted to passages composed by the final author, whereas the dialogue sections use the designation “Lord.”

Nowhere does the author appear in the work, nor does the title identify any author except “the Savior,” who (as the “Savior” or “Lord” – the names Jesus or Jesus Christ never occur) is also the main speaker, teacher, and revealer in most sections of the work. Also missing is an indication of the setting in which the dialogue took place. Only the apocalyptic vision (36–40 [134:24–137:3]; see sec. II.D below) must have contained a designation of a place, probably a high mountain, though the text is defective at this point (135:1). It is, therefore, not possible to determine whether or not this work was meant to be a “dialogue of Jesus with his disciples after the resurrection.”

The several sections of the work exhibit great differences in style and content. The work is, therefore, best seen as a compilation of various sources and traditions, or as the elaboration and expansion of an older dialogue. The latter appears to us as the most plausible view, because dialogue sections with a distinct style, genre, and language

<sup>1</sup>References to *Dial. Sav.* are first to the paragraph numbers of the translation below, followed by more precise references in brackets to page and line numbers of the Coptic text; all references are to *Dial. Sav.* unless otherwise noted. Quotations from the text occasionally include material found only in the critical apparatus and footnotes to the edition and translation below.

can be identified quite easily. They are markedly different from other sections in which longer monologues prevail, although the exact delineation of the different sections is sometimes made difficult by the poor state of preservation of the text. The following is a tentative analysis, listing the original dialogue sections and their secondary additions:

<i>Incipit</i> (120:1)	Title
1-3 (120:2-124:22)	Introduction
4-14 (124:23-127:19)	Dialogue, part I
15-18 (127:19-128:23)	Creation myth
19-20 (128:23-129:16)	Dialogue, part II
21-24 (129:16-131:18)	Creation myth, continued
25-34a (131:19-133:21[?])	Dialogue, part III
34b-35 (133:21[?]-134:24)	Wisdom list
36-40 (134:24-137:3)	Apocalyptic vision
41-104a (137:3-146:20)	Dialogue, part IV
104b (146:20-147:22)	Concluding instructions
<i>Explicit</i> (147:23)	Title

## II. SOURCES AND TRADITIONS

### A. *A Dialogue between the Lord and his Disciples*

These sections constitute the major source for the present work and account for about 65% of its text. In its composition the dialogue features brief questions or statements of one of the individually named disciples (sometimes also of all the disciples) and usually brief answers of the Lord. Several units comprise only one question and one answer, thus resembling many of the "sayings" of *The Gospel of Thomas*. In other instances, several questions and answers form a coherent unit discussing a particular topic. The final answer may appear at the end in the form of a traditional saying, but sayings are also used in an initial statement of the Lord, which is then elaborated in the subsequent discussion, or in a question of a disciple. Parallels to such sayings are found in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, occasionally in John, and most frequently in *The Gospel of Thomas*.

The first of these units appears in 4-8 (124:23-126:5). Its theme is no longer evident because of the poor state of preservation of the text. The introductory question of Matthew is completely lost (4 [124:23-125:1]), though the final answer of Jesus (here, and only here in the

dialogue sections, designated both as "Lord" and as "Savior") is clearly preserved in the form of a traditional saying: "The lamp [of the body] is the mind" (8 [125:18-19]; cf. Matt 6:22-23, Luke 11:34-36, *Gos. Thom.* 24).<sup>2</sup> Typical for the hermeneutical process is the replacement of a metaphor in the saying by its interpretive equivalent. Thus "the lamp of the body is the *eye*" becomes "the lamp of the body is the *mind*," and the following elaboration utilizes the contrasting pairs body/heart and luminous/dark, most likely once more on the basis of traditional sayings (cf. John 11:9-10, 12:35).

A question of the disciples (9 [126:6-8]), alluding to the saying about seeking and finding (cf. Matt 7:7, *Gos. Thom.* 92, 94), opens a new unit of the dialogue (9-12 [126:5-17]) which probably uses additional sayings (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 33a). In a series of brief questions and answers the argument isolates key terms from the traditional sayings and arranges them in pairs: seek and reveal, listen and speak (cf. John 16:13), see and reveal.

The last unit of this first part of the dialogue (13-14 [126:17-127:19]) is introduced by a question of Mary which utilizes a saying about weeping and laughing (cf. Luke 6:21b, John 16:20, also *Thom. Cont.* 145:5-8). The interpretation, in this instance taking the form of a longer discourse of the Lord (14 [126:21-127:19]), resumes terms from an earlier portion of the dialogue: body and mind, light and darkness (for the latter, cf. *Gos. Thom.* 33b, John 12:35, *Thom. Cont.* 143:30-32); it concludes with a repetition of the initial topic "weeping" by quoting a phrase which appears frequently in the synoptic gospels (Matt 8:12 etc.).

A fragment of the dialogue is inserted into the discussion of the creation myth (see sec. B below). The initial question of Matthew (19 [128:23-129:3]) defies restoration, but the conclusion of the Lord's answer (20 [129:12-16]) utilizes sayings for which there are parallels in Mark 8:34, *Gos. Thom.* 2, 92, 94 (cf. also John 16:24). It is possible that even 16 (127:22-128:11) reflects a traditional saying: the text of 128:2-5 can be restored to read, "And I say [to you, . . .] what you seek [and] inquire after, [behold it is] within you" (cf. Luke 17:21, *Gos. Thom.* 92).

Mary's question about a "place" (25 [131:19-21]) introduces the third extant part of the older dialogue. Its core is a saying about "the

<sup>2</sup>References to *Gos. Thom.* are to the "saying" numbers which have become standard (see the translation by Thomas O. Lambdin in *NHLibEng*, pp. 118-30, from which quotations are taken).

place of life" (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 24). The composition of the questions and answers in 25-30 (131:19-132:19) closely parallels the composition of the dialogue in John 14:2-12. The conclusion (30 [132:15-19]) makes use of a saying about knowing oneself (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 3). The parable of the stone and its interpretation (31-34 [132:19-134:1]) could also be based on older traditions and certainly employs apocalyptic materials (cf. Isa 24:18-20). For 133:15-16 see *Gos. Thom.* 50; for 133:18-21 see John 1:11.14 and *Gos. Thom.* 28. In the transition to the wisdom list (133:21-134:1; see sec. C below) the saying about light and darkness (14 [127:1-6]) is repeated.

The last and most extensive part that is preserved from the dialogue source (41-104a [137:3-146:20]) is a topically arranged sequence of sayings, discussions, and interpretations. It is, for the most part, composed of short units, consisting of one question and one answer only. If the same topic seems to be reappearing in a subsequent unit, it is probably due to catchword association of originally independent and self-contained pieces of tradition. We will simply list them in the following survey, noting parallels and adding brief comments, but without claiming to have achieved a complete analysis of the structure and content.

41-46 (137:3-138:6): About the vision of God. No traditional sayings are known which parallel the materials used here, but compare John 14:8-9.

47-48 (138:6-10): The question asked in 47 is probably, Who will rule over us? (cf. 49 [138:11-14]). Not more than a fragment of the answer is preserved.

49-50 (138:11-20): About the rule of the governors. The answer adds a saying about the bridal chamber; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 75.

51-52 (138:20-139:7): About the garments of life (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 37). The answer is expanded by a longer commentary.

53 (139:8-13): A remark by Mary points explicitly to three traditional sayings known from Matt 6:34b, 10:10b, and John 13:16, Matt 10:24. An editorial comment praises Mary "as a woman who had understood completely." Here and elsewhere (see below, on 64 and 83) such statements by Mary seem to serve as summaries and as transitions to new topics.

54-55 (139:13-20): About the fullness (*plērōma*) and the deficiency.

56-57 (139:20-140:9): About the dead and the living. The question uses a traditional saying (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 11); the answer is introduced by the saying known from *Gos. Thom.* 17 (cf. 1 Cor 2:9).

25-30 (140:9-14)  
 The saying used h  
 of Alexandria  
 25-30 (140:14-22)  
 see, perhaps ad  
 20-21). For pe  
 139-21).  
 14 (140:23-141:2)  
 addition to a new  
 25-30 (141:2-6):  
 see, compare Gos.  
 closest parallel.  
 25-30 (141:6-12):  
 in 68 (141:9-10)  
 verb.  
 25-30 (141:12-19)  
 25-30 (141:19-142)  
 saying introduce  
 ed, but the text is  
 25-30 (142:4-9): A  
 25-30 (142:9-15):  
 belongs to Gos. Th  
 25-30 (142:16-19)  
 25-30 (142:19-21) and o  
 25-30 (142:19-24)  
 above; see above,  
 25-30 (142:24-143)  
 "Teacher." The te  
 25-30 (143:6-10): A  
 section; see abov  
 25-30 (143:11-14)  
 25-30). The ans  
 garments of th  
 25-30 (144:1); cf. C  
 25-30 (144:2-5):  
 25-30 (144:5-12)  
 of Mark 4:30  
 25-30 (144:12-14)  
 fragments b and



58–59 (140:9–14): Added *ad vocem* “dead and living.” For parallels to the saying used here, cf. John 11:25, *Gospel of the Egyptians* (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 3.9.63–64).<sup>3</sup>

60–63 (140:14–23): Two brief questions and answers about the “place,” perhaps added to 59 (140:12) *ad vocem* “truth” (cf. also 62 [140:20–21]). For parallels see *Gos. Thom.* 24, and see above, on 25 (131:19–21).

64 (140:23–141:2): A praise of the Lord by Mary, marking the transition to a new topic; see above, on 53.

65–66 (141:2–6): About the “rest.” For the saying used in the answer, compare *Gos. Thom.* 90, Matt 11:28; but *Gos. Thom.* 37 may be the closest parallel.

67–68 (141:6–12): Added through catchword association; “abandon” in 68 (141:9–10) and “lay down” in 66 (141:5–6) entail the same Coptic verb.

69–70 (141:12–19): For the answer cf. James 5:3.

71–72 (141:19–142:4): Added *ad vocem* “work” (see 68 [141:10]). The saying introduced by “[Blessed] is the man . . .” is probably traditional, but the text is fragmentary.

73–74 (142:4–9): About the “way.” Cf. John 14:5.

75–76 (142:9–15): The structure of this question and its answer is analogous to *Gos. Thom.* 51.

77–78 (142:16–19): Another saying about the “place.” See above, on 25 (131:19–21) and on 60–63.

79–80 (142:19–24): Restates the conclusion of an earlier part of the dialogue; see above, on 9–12 (126:5–17).

81–82 (142:24–143:6): A request for instruction. Jesus is addressed as “Teacher.” The text is very fragmentary.

83 (143:6–10): A statement by Mary, marking the transition to a new section; see above, on 53 and 64.

84–85 (143:11–144:1): Another discussion of “garments” (cf. above, on 51–52). The answer includes a longer commentary about the transitory garments of the “governors,” but ends with a traditional saying (143:21–144:1); cf. *Gos. Thom.* 37.

86–87 (144:2–5): Only a few words are preserved.

88–89 (144:5–12): An interpretation of the parable of the mustard seed; cf. Mark 4:30–32 and parallels, *Gos. Thom.* 20.

90–95 (144:12–145:7): A question about prayer (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 6)

<sup>3</sup>Fragments *b* and *c* in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, pp. 166–67.

introduces several questions and answers about the "works of womanhood," certainly based on traditional sayings; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 114, *Gospel of the Egyptians* (see above, on 58–59).

96 (145:7–24): A secondary intrusion into the dialogue, presenting an instruction about the "path of the revealer."

97–98 (145:24–146:7): About the "works"; very fragmentary.

99–102 (146:7–13): Two brief parallel questions and answers about the "spirit" and the "light"; the final answer is fragmentary.

103–104a (146:13–20): Added *ad vocem* "works" (see above, on 97–98). Parallels for the answer appear in John 6:28–29, 14:10–12.

104b (146:20–147:22): This section is the author's addition to the dialogue source, but it seems to utilize a saying about seeking, rest, and living forever which may have been the original conclusion of the source; cf. John 6:63, 8:32, *Gos. Thom.* 1 and 2.

The dialogue source as a whole is based upon a tradition of sayings of the Lord. The predominance of sayings with parallels in *Gos. Thom.* suggests that this tradition is closely related to the older sayings tradition which appears in that gospel. Individual sayings, originally isolated, form the nucleus of the dialogical structure. Analogies to this type of dialogue occur in the synoptic gospels as well as in *Gos. Thom.* In contrast to the genre of the revelation discourse found in the literary tradition of dialogical composition developed in such gnostic works as *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* and *Pistis Sophia*, this source of *Dial. Sav.* contains no elaborate theological discourses, nor is its composition based upon the development of a philosophical or theological concept. But there are analogies to the composition of the dialogues and discourses in John, which also use sayings of Jesus as well as other traditional materials. Indeed, some sections of this source of *Dial. Sav.* belong to a stage in the development of dialogues from sayings collections that is less advanced than the more elaborate analogies in the fourth gospel. Usually the interpretation is focused on not more than one or two sayings or terms derived from such sayings. Thus the dialogue seems to satisfy the demand of *Gos. Thom.* 1: "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death."

Examination of the sequence of topics discussed in this source reveals other analogies with traditions preserved in *Gos. Thom.* Although at the beginning the dialogue source is too fragmentary to allow us to identify the initial theme, in 8–14 and 19–20 (125:17–127:19 and 128:23–129:16) are interpreted the sayings, "The lamp [of the body] is the mind" (8 [125:18–19]) and "Seek and you will find"

paralleled in  
 "And [let] h  
 (14:10). When  
 request for "th  
 interruption by  
 produces a new  
 interpretation  
 12:37–36, M  
 produced in 65 (1  
 answer and subse  
 adds in *Gos. Tho*  
 indicates a them  
 apical units. If th  
 dialogue sour  
 the finding, ma  
 great), ruling, re  
 of *Gos. Thom.*  
 "Let him who [s  
 shall marvel]. Wh  
 shall find res  
 commentary on  
 place in the esch  
 found and marvel  
 At present  
 labor; Marv.  
 (1991–13).  
 interpretation  
 "womanhood," introdu  
 as a theme which  
 [cf. *Gos. Th*  
 ment place. It  
 of earthly exist  
 are obviously  
 Such emp  
 The Coptic version:  
 he will become tr  
 rule over the A  
 can rest until he  
 shall reign, and t  
 19:45: "He that  
 Hebrews in H

(both paralleled in *Gos. Thom.* 24 and 2, 92, 94), concluding with the saying, "And [let] him who [knows] seek and find and [rejoice]" (20 [129:14-16]). When the dialogue resumes, at 25 (131:19), the disciples' request for "the place" (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 24) is interpreted. After the interruption by the apocalyptic fragment (see sec. D below), Judas introduces a new topic: Who will rule over us? (47ff. [138:6ff.]). The interpretation includes several traditional sayings (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 75, 37, 36, Matt 10:10.24, *Gos. Thom.* 51, 17). A further topic is introduced in 65 (141:2-4): "[Why] do we not rest [at once]?" Again the answer and subsequent units contain sayings, many of which have parallels in *Gos. Thom.* (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 51, 24, 62, 37, 20, 6, 114). This indicates a thematic arrangement of at least some sequences of dialogical units. If the apocalyptic fragment was an original element of the dialogue source, one finds the following sequence of topics: seeking/finding, marvelling (represented by the apocalyptic fragment), ruling/resting. This sequence coincides with the *ordo salutis* of *Gos. Thom.* 2 (according to the Greek fragment, *P.Oxy.* 654): "Let him who [seeks] not pause [until] he finds. When he finds, [he shall marvel]. When he [marvels], he shall rule. [When he has ruled, he shall find rest]."<sup>4</sup>

As a commentary on *Gos. Thom.* 2, the dialogue explains the disciples' place in the eschatological timetable: although they have sought and found and marvelled, their rule and their rest will only come in the future. At present they still bear the burden of the body and of earthly labor; Mary, who recognizes this, receives the highest praise (53 [139:11-13]).

The interpretation of another topic, dissolution of the "works of womanhood," introduced after the discussion of the *ordo salutis*, elaborates a theme which is only briefly mentioned in *Gos. Thom.* (91ff. [144:15ff.]; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 114). In the dialogue source, this topic has a prominent place. It is closely related to the theme of carrying the burden of earthly existence (65-66 [141:2-6]). The "works of womanhood" are obviously the continuation of physical existence through childbirth. Such emphasis in its final section places the dialogue

<sup>4</sup>The Coptic version: "Let him who seeks continue seeking until he finds. When he finds, he will become troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will be astonished, and he will rule over the All." Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 5.14.96: "He that seeks will not rest until he finds; and he that has found shall marvel, and he that has marvelled shall reign; and he that has reigned shall rest" (fragment 4b [cf. fragment 4a, *Stromateis* 2.9.45: "He that marvels shall reign, and he that has reigned shall rest."] of *Gospel of the Hebrews* in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, p. 164).

source in the immediate neighborhood of *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 3.9.63–64).<sup>5</sup> It must be noted that such polemic against the “works of womanhood” goes hand in hand with a very high estimate for Mary as “a woman who had understood completely” (53 [139:11–13]).

### B. *A Fragment of a Creation Myth*

Fragments of a creation myth, based upon Genesis 1–2, and its interpretation are incorporated into the present work in 15–18 and 21–24 (127:19–128:23 and 129:16–131:18). Allusions to Gen 1:1, “[the heaven and the] earth” (15 [127:21]), Gen 1:2, “darkness and water and spirit upon [water]” (16 [127:23–128:1]), Gen 1:4, “signs over [the earth]” (21 [129:18–19]), and Gen 2:5, the lack of water on earth (22 [130:3–7]), are clearly present. The myth relates how the water which was originally separated from the earth by a wall of fire made the world fruitful: the Word cast forth from itself the four streams of paradise – milk, honey, oil, and wine – which assure fruitfulness for all generations. The author interrupts the account to interpret the term “spirit” (16–20 [128:1–129:12]), explaining that the true mind prevails over the powers above and below.

### C. *A Cosmological Wisdom List*

*Dial. Sav.* 34–35 (133:23–134:24) is an expanded list (fire, water, wind, body, etc.) formulated according to the pattern, “If [one] does not [understand how] fire came into existence, he will burn in it.” In its present form, it is a Christian revision of the expected list, commonplace among Greek philosophers, of the four cosmic elements (earth, air, fire, and water). The element “earth” has been replaced by “body”: “If one does not understand how body, which he bears, came into existence, he will [perish] with it” (35 [134:11–14]). Other Christian expansions already included in the source used by the author are, “And how will someone who does [not] know [the Son] know the [Father]?” (35 [134:14–15]; cf. Matt 11:27, John 14:7–9) and “the root of wickedness” (35 [134:17–19]). The author’s further comments on the “root of wickedness,” which, even when hidden, persists internally, offer a striking parallel to a similar teaching in *The Gospel of Philip*: “So long as the root of wickedness is hidden, it is strong. But when it is recognized it is dissolved. When it is revealed it perishes. . . . As for ourselves, let each one of us dig down after the root of evil which is

<sup>5</sup>See n. 3 above.

within one, and let one pluck it out of one's heart from the root. It will be plucked out if we recognize it. But if we are ignorant of it, it takes root in us and produces its fruit in our heart. It masters us. We are its slaves. It takes us captive, to make us do what we do [not] want; and what we do want we do [not] do."<sup>6</sup> The influence of the final author is also visible in the comment about baptism (35 [134:6-8]) and in the conclusion (35 [134:19-24]; see further sec. III below). As a whole, this portion of *Dial. Sav.* is a telling example of a Christian soteriological interpretation of older wisdom material.

#### D. A Fragment of an Apocalyptic Vision

In spite of several layers of redactional work, some features of an apocalyptic vision are still evident in 36-40 (134:24-137:3): only one person receives the vision (note the third person singular in 36 [135:14-15] and 40 [136:17]) in a place – probably on a mountain – where the whole of heaven and earth, the “high place” and “the place of the abyss,” can be seen (36 [135:1-2.5-7]); what is witnessed in the vision (36 [135:12-15] and 40 [136:17-19]) is explained by an *angelus interpretis* called “the Son of Man” (37 [135:16-17] and 40 [136:21]). Originally the term would not have referred to Jesus, since it is never used as a title of Jesus in *Dial. Sav.* The original vision seems to have spoken about the installation of someone before God; in this case the “garment” (40 [136:22]) may signify investiture (cf. Zech 3:1-6 etc.).

That three persons, Judas, Matthew, and Mary, are made the recipients of the vision by a redactor (36 [134:24-25]) connects the vision to the dialogue source in which these three disciples figure prominently. Apparently the vision was introduced into the dialogue to illustrate the theme of “marvelling” from the saying of Jesus (*Gos. Thom.* 2) which gave the dialogue its basic outline (cf. 36 [135:7-11]; see sec. A above).

The final author introduced “all the disciples” into the vision report: all give glory to the Lord (37-39 [136:1-17]; cf. 1-2 [121:2-4]); and he interpreted the term “garment” (40 [136:22-137:1]; see sec. III below).

### III. THE AUTHOR'S LANGUAGE AND METHOD OF COMPOSITION

The introductory section 1-3 (120:2-124:22) consists of a discourse on the passage of the soul through the heavenly powers (3 [122:1-

<sup>6</sup>*Gos. Phil.* 83:8-28, translated by Wesley W. Isenberg in *NHLibEng*, p. 149.

124:22)), introduced by an exhortation (1 [120:2–121:3]) and a prayer of thanksgiving (2 [121:3–122:1]). Although these three parts of the introductory section, exhortation, prayer, and instruction, are distinct in style, they reveal the language and thought of the final author. If the prayer adapts a liturgical tradition, it may represent the tradition of the author's church. Parallels to New Testament language are frequent, especially to the deutero-Pauline and catholic epistles and to Hebrews, perhaps also to the Johannine writings. Among such New Testament expressions are not only terms and phrases which could be considered generally gnostic, such as "stand at rest" (1 [120:5–7]; cf. Heb 4:11) or "power of darkness" (3 [122:4.16]; cf. Col 1:13), but other phrases characteristic of this group of New Testament writings also occur: to believe the truth (1 [121:2]; cf. 2 Thess 2:12); to save one's soul (2 [121:22–23]; cf. 1 Pet 1:9, James 1:21); through Christ's sacrifice (2 [121:20–21]; cf. Eph 5:2, Heb 10:10.14); the armor of God (2 [121:10]; cf. especially Eph 6:11–17). The title "Savior," typical of the final author, could be gnostic, but it is more generally used, particularly in Christian literature of the second century (cf. 1 Tim 4:10 and elsewhere in the pastoral epistles, 2 Pet 1:1.11 etc., 1 Clem. 59.3, 2 Clem. 20.5). "Only-begotten son" (2 [121:6–7]) represents the only relationship to John (John 1:18) in this introductory section. Familiarity with the synoptic gospels is not evident, but the phrase, "which the elect and solitary (*monachos*) will traverse" (1 [120:25–26]; cf. 2 [121:18]), suggests that the author knew *Gos. Thom.* 49.

The author connects his introduction with the beginning of the dialogue source by following the topic "soul" (or "mind," "heart"), which is central to the instruction about the disciples' passing beyond the power of darkness (2 [121:22–23], 3 [123:7–8.13.16, 124:6.14]). The following dialogue refers to "soul," "spirit," and "mind" (or "heart") repeatedly (6 [125:6.9], 8 [125:19.22], 14 [126:23, 127:1]). The creation myth, barely begun, is interrupted after "spirit upon [water]" (16 [128:1]) and this phrase from Gen 1:2 is taken as a point of departure for a discussion of "spirit," "mind" (or "heart"), and "soul" (16–20 [128:1–129:16]): the "mystery" of "the spirit" is the disposition which overcomes the powers. In this composition the author apparently adopts the style of the dialogue source. The creation account does not occasion mythical elaboration in typical gnostic fashion; instead, the author interprets only one specific word ("spirit") from the creation account. His exegetical method resembles that of Philo of Alexandria in that he uses biblical terms as metaphors for the human religious disposition.

In reproducing the cosmological list (34-35 [133:23-134:24]), the author has added an exegetical comment to the mention of water: "For what use is there for him to be baptized in it?" (35 [134:6-8]). He also added a comment at the end of the list (35 [134:19-24]) which resembles the familiar gnostic statement about baptism from Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78 (see sec. IV below).

The phrases "the Greatness remembered" and "so that the First Word might not fail" (37 [135:20-21, 135:23-136:1]) which occur in the apocalyptic vision (36-40 [134:24-137:3]) - both are paralleled in the explanation of the parable of the stone (34 [133:6.9-10]) - indicate discourses composed by the final author; cf. also the section which ends with the disciples giving glory to the Lord (39 [136:10-17]). The explanation of the command, "Give them their garment!" (40 [136:22]), appears to be a gnostic interpretation of a vestment scene: "The small one did as (*or*: became like) the big one. They were [like] those who received them" (40 [136:23-137:1]). Instead of receiving a clean garment in order to appear before the throne, the souls meet their heavenly counterparts (cf. *Acts of Thomas* 112 [ed. Lipsius-Bonnet 2.2.223]).

The conclusion of the work (104 [146:20-147:22]) also betrays the author's hand, but is preserved only in such a fragmentary state that a coherent interpretation is not possible. It is, of course, likely that the author has added comments and expansions elsewhere in the dialogue (see especially 96 [145:7-24]).

#### IV. THE AUTHOR'S INTERPRETATION

The author's interpretation of Jesus' teaching, given in the introductory section and in his interpretive comments, expresses a certain degree of continuity with his major source, the dialogue between Jesus and his disciples. The introduction places the themes of that earlier dialogue into a new context: baptismal initiation. Thus, the opening instruction invites the believer to baptism, relating the ritual act to the metaphysical symbolism he finds in his dialogue source. Parallels to such a theological endeavor occur in Ephesians, Hebrews, 1 Peter, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, and *The Gospel of Philip*.

The introduction presents a paradox which is sustained throughout the work: first, an emphasis upon realized eschatology; second, and juxtaposed to this, an elaboration of a futuristic eschatology. At the opening of the work, the Savior announces, "Already the time has come, brothers, for us to abandon our labor and stand at rest" (1

[120:3-6]). This invitation is paralleled in the realized eschatology of the exhortations of Rom 13:11-12 and Heb 10:19-22. The prayer acknowledges the Savior as one who has received "rest from many [labors]" (2 [121:8-9]) and who enables the solitary to enter into rest. But the following instruction refers to the future, "when the time of dissolution arrives" (3 [122:2-3]). The Savior not only explains that "the first power of darkness will come upon you" (3 [122:4-5]), but also reveals the identity of that power, "fear" (3 [122:16]). He warns that, although the process may be terrifying, whoever undertakes it in fear will be swallowed up; whoever faces the transition without fear will pass safely through dissolution, i.e. death. In the conclusion (104 [146:20-22]), the author adds an admonition that the disciples should rid themselves of anger and jealousy, also characteristic of baptismal instruction. Similar juxtapositions of baptismal realized eschatology and instruction about the fearful passage at the hour of death characterize Ephesians (cf. Eph 2:1-8, 6:10-17; note Eph 6:12: "... the powers ... the world rulers of this present darkness ...").

The interpretation added to the first part of the creation myth partly resolves the paradox: the true mind and the soul are established in the height (18 [128:21-22]) and thus can prevail over the powers (20 [129:10]). The third part of the dialogue source adds a discussion about seeing the "place of life" (27-30 [132:5-19]): one cannot see it as long as one wears the flesh, but one can see it if one has known oneself. Baptism mediates this knowledge. The redaction of the cosmological list adds not only a comment about the baptismal water (35 [134:6-8]), but also the statement, "Whoever will not understand how he came will not understand how he will go" (35 [134:19-22]), which parallels the famous gnostic statement from Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78: "It is not the bath alone that makes us free, but also the knowledge of who we were and what we have become; where we were, whither we have been cast; whither we are hastening, whence we are redeemed; what birth is, what rebirth." The apocalyptic vision, finally, shows how "will the good be taken up to the light" (38 [136:9-10]). Those who believe and who have received the teachings of the Savior no longer fear the future: they know "that it is useless to regard wickedness" (37 [136:4-5]).

So far the structure of the author's theological position is clear: invitation to enter into rest, instruction on prayer and warning about the powers which threaten the initiate during the passage into rest, exhortation to receive the teachings and to know oneself. References

...ism and to  
... experience  
...ion, i.e. the  
...the author supe  
... While the la  
... and Christian so  
... of the New T  
... and thought,  
... To be su  
... going throu  
... into death (R  
... .. understand  
... ..-6 and Col  
... .. true life (2  
... ..) So Clem  
... .. that "therel  
... .. when we take  
... .. to Christ,  
... .. XI, 2b) 41:23  
... .. say that  
... .. of B.N.H.  
... .. the Aeon."  
... .. the author of Di  
... .. the Lord takes  
... .. to "the edge  
... .. they may have ad  
... .. they hoped th  
... .. If this statem  
... .. on of hand  
... .. receiving visio  
... .. zation which the  
... .. after a parallel  
... .. in Dial. Sav. th  
... .. repent and the  
... .. nization is n  
... .. a head, throug  
... .. cept which follow

The references to  
... .. sation by John D



to baptism and to the gnostic baptismal formula indicate that this is already experienced in baptism, a process that involves going through dissolution, i.e. through death, and entering into the place of life.

The author superimposes this interpretation upon the original dialogue. While the latter contains no allusions or references to the established Christian soteriological language as it appears in the later writings of the New Testament, the author of *Dial. Sav.* uses such language and thought, especially insofar as it is related to baptism and to its liturgy. To be sure, Paul had already understood baptism as a process of going through death, being buried with Christ through baptism into death (Rom 6:3–11). Unlike Paul, however, the author of *Dial. Sav.* understands baptism in the same way as it is interpreted in Eph 2:1–6 and Col 3:1–4: those baptized, having died, already have attained true life (2–3 [121:18–122:24]); they already dwell above (1 [120:9–10]). So Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 77.1–2, declares that “therefore baptism is called death, and an end to the old life, when we take leave of the evil principalities; but it is called life according to Christ, of which he is the sole Lord.” *On Baptism A* (NHC XI,2b) 41:23–38 and *On Baptism B* (NHC XI,2c) 42:16–19 similarly say that those who receive the second baptism “die” (see *On the Eucharist B* [NHC XI,2e] 44:32) and are brought out of the world into “the Aeon.”<sup>7</sup>

The author of *Dial. Sav.*, perhaps following his source, describes how the Lord takes the three elect disciples, Judas, Matthew, and Mary, to “the edge of heaven [and] earth” (36 [134:24–135:2]). The author may have added here, “[And] when he placed his [hand] upon them, they hoped that they might [see] it” (36 [135:2–4]), i.e. see a vision. If this statement alludes to an element of the baptismal ritual, the laying on of hands which followed baptism is understood as a prelude to receiving visions. The practice of the laying on of hands during initiation which the Marcosians understood as a prelude to prophecy may offer a parallel (see Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.13).

Yet in *Dial. Sav.* there is no attempt to dissolve the tension between the present and the future. Receiving visions in the context of baptismal initiation is not the culmination of the experience of redemption. Instead, through the interpretation of the visions and through the dialogue which follows, the disciples receive a new and more complex

<sup>7</sup>The references to NHC XI accord with the line numbers and restorations in the translation by John D. Turner in *NHLibEng*, pp. 441–42.

understanding of their own situation. They must learn to distinguish between what is merely a transient vision and an eternal vision, i.e. "the great vision" of "the Eternal Existent" (42-44 [137:9-15]). The former they have received already; the latter is reserved for the eschatological future. Contrary to what we have been led to expect of gnostic theology, we find *Dial. Sav.* dealing with the tension between what the disciples have received "already" through baptism, initiation, and visions, and what they anticipate as "not yet."

In order to explain this tension, the author, in the final section of the work, follows the thematic scheme of his dialogue source (seeking, finding, marvelling, ruling, resting; see sec. II.A above) and utilizes its materials. The disciples, having received baptism, are those who have sought, found, marvelled, and attained rest. Now they are taught that the rest is, in a sense, only provisional, that they will rest themselves only when they "lay down these burdens" (65-66 [141:2-6]), for they are still burdened by existence in the flesh (84 [143:11-15]). But the disciples have a special task to fulfill in their present existence. Mary asks the crucial question: "Tell me, Lord, why I have come to this place. For profit or for loss?" The Lord replies: "You make clear the abundance of the revealer!" (60-61 [140:14-19]). This is an extraordinary answer. The elect are not here to gain anything for themselves: what more could they gain than what they have already received, the knowledge that the living God dwells within them, and they in him (44 [137:22-138:2])? Nor are they here to suffer purgation. They are not here for their own sakes, but to accomplish the tasks defined through the sayings which Mary quotes (53 [139:8-11]): that the present is tainted with evil; that the elect is a laborer who, like the Lord, anticipates future reward for his work; and that the disciples, like their Lord, share in the same task of revelation, revealing "the abundance of the revealer" in the world: "[Strive] to save him [who] can follow" (44 [137:16-17]).

In the interpretation of the tension between present and future, the older dialogue with sayings of Jesus serves as a corrective to the typically gnostic language and theology which the author of *Dial. Sav.* uses in the introduction. In the latter, the experience of baptism mediates the awareness of the in-dwelling of the living God in the disciples and of the passage through the powers into rest. But the tradition of the sayings of Jesus, preserved in the older dialogue, prevents a completely spiritualized understanding of the disciples' religious existence. It is here that the disciples' present task is defined as work on

behalf of the revelation while they are still wearing the flesh, carrying a burden just as the Lord himself (cf. 52 [139:6-7], 96 [145:23-24]). This also suggests that the Lord who is thus conversing with the disciples is not the exalted one "after his resurrection" (though this terminology does not appear in this work), but rather the "earthly" Jesus who still carries the burden of the body. Indeed, "the place of truth" is not defined in terms of otherworldly existence, but as the place where the Lord is (62-63 [140:19-23]). And the author's interpretation of the "dissolution of the works of womanhood" does not suggest a metaphysically motivated sexual asceticism, but speaks of the secret birth through the one who "is coming forth from the Father" (96 [145:10-13]). *Dial. Sav.* cannot be understood as a simple product of gnostic theology. Rather, like the gospel of John, it is a testimony of the theological reflection which took place as the tradition of the sayings of Jesus was further developed within the horizon of gnostic thought.

#### V. DATE

*Dial. Sav.* is not mentioned explicitly in any extant work from the ancient church. Whether it was used by any church father or in any other works from the Nag Hammadi collection can only be determined after further investigation. The *terminus ad quem* for the composition of *Dial. Sav.* must remain the date of the Coptic manuscript, sometime during the fourth century C.E.

Determining the *terminus a quo* for the composition of the original Greek text requires consideration of the following: (1) there are no certain quotations from any work of the New Testament, nor from any other work known to us with the possible exception of *Gos. Thom.*; (2) the gospel tradition used in the dialogue source resembles that of *Gos. Thom.* but does not show any signs of direct literary dependence upon that document; (3) the development of the dialogical elaboration of traditional sayings of Jesus in the dialogue source parallels that of the discourses and dialogues in the gospel of John, but may represent a somewhat earlier stage in that process; (4) terms and phrases used in the author's language presuppose the development of Christian language which is documented in the deutero-Pauline and catholic epistles; (5) other sources used by the author either show no traces of Christian influence (creation myth, apocalyptic vision) or display only some expansion using a saying of Jesus (wisdom list).

The absence of any evidence for the use of the canonical gospels and

the Pauline epistles, the affinity with deutero-Pauline language, and the possible use of *Gos. Thom.* suggest a date for the composition of *Dial. Sav.* in the early decades of the second century C.E. The work certainly belongs to an earlier period than the *Epistula apostolorum* (which presupposes the Pauline corpus and whose author possibly knew several gospels of the New Testament canon) and Justin Martyr (who used the gospels of Matthew and Luke). But the dialogue source used by the author of *Dial. Sav.* should be dated in the last decades of the first century C.E., and certainly not later than the gospel of John.

#### VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Koester, Helmut. "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels." *HTR* 73 (1980), 105-30.
- . "Dialog und Spruchüberlieferung in den gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi." *Evangelische Theologie* 39 (1979), 536-56.
- . "Gnostic Writings as Witnesses for the Development of the Sayings Tradition." In *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale; New Haven, Connecticut, March 28-31, 1978*. Vol. 1, *The School of Valentinus*, edited by Bentley Layton, pp. 238-61. *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)* 41. Leiden: Brill, 1980.
- Krause, Martin. "Der *Dialog des Soter* in Codex III von Nag Hammadi." In *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th-13th 1975)*, edited by Martin Krause, pp. 13-34. NHS 8. Leiden: Brill, 1977.
- Morard, Françoise. "Encore quelques réflexions sur monachos." *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980), 395-401.
- Pagels, Elaine and Koester, Helmut. "*Dialogue of the Savior* (CG III, 5)." In *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis: Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)*, edited by R. McL. Wilson, pp. 66-74. NHS 14. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Perkins, Pheme. *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*. *Theological Inquiries: Studies in Contemporary Biblical and Theological Problems*. New York, Ramsey, and Toronto: Paulist Press, 1980.

Köppl, Kurt. "Die  
 Probleme der  
 Texte Beiträge  
 1968/1 (K)

Rudolph, Kurt. "Der gnostische 'Dialog' als literarisches Genus." In *Probleme der koptischen Literatur*, pp. 85-107. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 1968/1 (K2). Halle: 1968.

PALEONTOLOGY

The Dialogue of the  
...ates in Nag  
... together with  
... Egyptian farmers  
... Andarāwus, s  
...sity attention in  
...y Sobhy in Cair  
...s of the exist  
...sed from Rāgh  
...er 4851, the acc  
... with its cover  
...e, some of them  
...y Mina, the Di  
...onsolidate frag  
...parent adhesive t  
...laborate with Je  
...alen apart. The s  
...out in two at the  
...nserved between  
...er of small frag  
...ographed.  
...ese photographs,  
...tiquity and Ch  
... D III, provide  
...nd NHC III, exc  
...manuscript in Ca  
  
...e James M. Rob  
...en and the Middle  
...e international sur  
...tique copte de Na  
...sail Laval and Peeter  
...s: Codex III (19

## THE MANUSCRIPT

STEPHEN EMMEL

### I. CODICOLOGY

*The Dialogue of the Savior* is preserved in a single copy, the last of five tractates in Nag Hammadi Codex III. The manuscript was discovered, together with the rest of the Nag Hammadi Codices, by Upper Egyptian farmers late in 1945. It soon became the property of Rāghib Andarāwus, a resident of Dishnā. The codex first came to scholarly attention in the summer of 1946, when Rāghib showed it to Georgy Sobhy in Cairo. Sobhy informed the Egyptian Department of Antiquities of the existence of the codex, and in October 1946 it was purchased from Rāghib for the Coptic Museum.<sup>1</sup> Given the inventory number 4851, the acquisition was registered as a "papyrus manuscript . . . with its cover. Seventy folios, most of them damaged and incomplete, some of them very small fragments."<sup>2</sup>

Togo Mina, the Director of the Coptic Museum, immediately began to consolidate fragmentary leaves of the codex with small pieces of transparent adhesive tape. In the autumn of 1947, when Mina began to collaborate with Jean Doresse on an edition of the texts, the codex was taken apart. The sheets of the single quire, if not already broken, were cut in two at the spine, and the resulting leaves and fragments were conserved between panes of glass. These glass frames, as well as a number of small fragments which had not been glassed, were then photographed.

These photographs, a complete set of which is kept by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, California, under the siglum D III, provide the oldest detailed record of the physical remains of NHC III, excluding the leather cover. The extant remains of the manuscript in Cairo are now somewhat less complete than the

<sup>1</sup>See James M. Robinson, "From the Cliff to Cairo: The Story of the Discoverers and the Middlemen of the Nag Hammadi Codices" in Bernard Barc (ed.), *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi (Québec, 22-25 août 1978)* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Études" 1; Quebec and Louvain: Université Laval and Peeters, 1981), pp. 21-58.

<sup>2</sup>*Facs.: Codex III* (1976), p. vii.

photographs show, due to the loss of a few fragments.<sup>3</sup> One small fragment not shown in the D photographs has been associated with the codex since 1970, but remains unplaced.<sup>4</sup> Further slight, and for the most part questionable, evidence for the text is provided by early transcriptions made by Doresse and Mina.<sup>5</sup>

It is clear that some of what was already missing from the manuscript, when the D photographs were made, became separated from the codex only after its discovery, but probably before its acquisition by the Coptic Museum. This is certainly true of a large fragment from the middle of pp. 145/146. This fragment became part of a miscellaneous collection of papyri which was purchased early in the 1960s, from an anonymous scholar-collector, by H. P. Kraus, the famous rare book and manuscript dealer of New York. In 1964, Kraus sold the collection to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (New Haven, Connecticut), where the fragment (Yale inv. 1784) was identified as part of NHC III in 1980.<sup>6</sup>

Six leaves (pp. 19/20, 45/46, 47/48, 79/80, 109/110, 115/116) which must have been nearly complete when the codex was discovered, but which at present are not represented by even a single fragment, were probably also removed before the acquisition of the manuscript by the Coptic Museum. But the whereabouts of these leaves remain unknown. One may conjecture a similar, or even more unhappy fate for any small fragments which may have broken loose from the extant leaves during the course of their journey from Upper Egypt to the Coptic Museum, as well as for whatever may have survived of the last three leaves (pp. D/E, F/G, H/I), which were probably not inscribed, and two missing stubs (pp. a/b, c/d).

In 1966, the Coptic Museum reconsevered the remains of NHC III in conformity with the rest of the Nag Hammadi collection. All but four leaves (pp. 93-100, which were on public display at the time) were removed from their glass frames and placed between panes of plexiglass. In the process, top and bottom margins were trimmed to

<sup>3</sup>For details, see Stephen Emmel, "Unique Photographic Evidence for Nag Hammadi Texts," *BASP* 14 (1977), 109-12, 120-21, 15 (1978), 195-98, 203-5. Also, *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pls. 143/144 fragments 1-5 are preserved only in old photographs.

<sup>4</sup>*Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pls. 143/144 fragment 8.

<sup>5</sup>See *Facs.: Introduction* (in preparation), Addenda et Corrigenda to Codex III, Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, pp. 64 and 68, and below, p. 38, under the abbreviation Doresse.

<sup>6</sup>See Stephen Emmel, "A Fragment of Nag Hammadi Codex III in the Beinecke Library: Yale inv. 1784," *BASP* 17 (1980), 53-60.



suit the smaller size of the plexiglass.<sup>7</sup> Beginning in 1970, an international group of scholars led by James M. Robinson undertook the physical reconstruction of the entire collection.<sup>8</sup> Numerous fragments were restored to and secured in their proper positions (of Codex III, only eight small fragments remain unplaced; these are conserved with pp. 147/C); the correct sequence of pages in each codex was determined (in the case of Codex III, with complete certainty); the papyrus was cleaned (in Codex III this entailed the removal of a number of small pieces of transparent adhesive tape, and small fragments of glass from pp. 93–100); and conjugate leaves were reunited to form the original sheets of the quires. These reconstructed sheets were then placed between plexiglass panes of a uniform size for storage in two specially designed cabinets. The leather covers were similarly conserved in shallow plexiglass boxes.<sup>9</sup> The reconstruction of Codex III thus achieved was published in the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition*<sup>10</sup> and is the basis of the following codicological description.<sup>11</sup>

The book-block of NHC III was made up in a single quire of forty sheets. These sheets were cut from six rolls of papyrus approximately 25.8 cm. tall.<sup>12</sup> In the diagrammatic presentation below, the rolls are

<sup>7</sup>For details, see Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 231 n. 2.

<sup>8</sup>This work was begun by a Technical Sub-Committee of the UNESCO International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices, aided by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. It was completed as part of the Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project of the American Research Center in Egypt.

<sup>9</sup>See Stephen Emmel, "The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project: A Final Report." The American Research Center in Egypt, Inc., *Newsletter* 104 (1978), 10–32.

<sup>10</sup>*Facs.: Codex III* (1976); see also the Addenda et Corrigenda to Codex III in *Facs.: Introduction* (in preparation).

<sup>11</sup>Cf. *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pp. xiii–xv, James M. Robinson, "The Future of Papyrus Codicology" in R. McL. Wilson (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies* (Coptic Studies 1; Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp. 43–45 and 50, and, with caution, Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 227–31. Readers unfamiliar with the terminology and presuppositions of papyrus codicology should consult Robinson, "The Future of Papyrus Codicology," esp. pp. 23–43, idem, "Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502" in Douglas M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (NHS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 9–16, and E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977). See also James M. Robinson, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices" in Martin Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (NHS 6; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 170–90, idem, "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices" in J.-É. Ménard (ed.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi: Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions (Strasbourg, 23–25 octobre 1974)* (NHS 7; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 15–31, and *Facs.: Introduction* (in preparation).

<sup>12</sup>This is the height of the tallest extant leaf (pp. 99/100), which occurs in Roll 5.

shown with horizontal fibers (represented by undulating lines) facing up and kolleseis stepping down from left to right; protocols, had there been any, would have joined the rolls at the left-hand ends.<sup>13</sup> No account is taken of papyrus trimmed away between sheets; the rolls may have been somewhat longer than shown here. The page numbers of the finished codex are given, in square brackets if the leaf is wholly missing, along the top edge of a roll. The orientation of these numbers indicates the top of the leaf in the finished codex. A plus sign (+) between page numbers indicates where a sheet was folded to make two leaves. Such pairs of conjugate leaves are separated by vertical lines indicating where the roll was cut into sheets. The measurements of the sheets were taken at their widest extant breadths, except where leaves have obviously suffered deterioration at the fore-edges.<sup>14</sup> In these cases, the measurements reflect what can be assumed to have been the original breadths of the sheets. A gap in a roll (along the horizontal axis) is indicated only when the missing papyrus must have, or might have, preserved a kollesis. A kollesis is represented by a vertical pair of broken and solid lines across the roll; the solid line indicates the overlapping right-hand edge of one kollema and the broken line indicates the left-hand edge of the kollema overlapped.<sup>15</sup>

The remains of Roll 1 are so fragmentary that its reconstruction is somewhat hypothetical. Probably a single kollesis is lost between pp. 4 and 2, though fiber continuity from p. 2 to p. B cannot be established with certainty. It is possible that the roll extended beyond p. H, for the relative shortness of the roll as reconstructed could suggest that further sheets cut from the right-hand end were used as cartonnage and a pastedown. But the evidence provided by the leather cover is not sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. The roll was cut from right to left into four full sheets, with a partial sheet remaining at the end. The sheets were stacked in the order in which they were cut, the final partial sheet flush with the rest at the right-hand edge.

In Roll 2, a single kollesis crosses p. 137. The roll was cut from right to left into six full sheets, with a partial sheet remaining at the end. The dimensions of the leather cover indicate that none of the rolls could have been much taller than this.

<sup>13</sup>Rolls 1, 3, and 4, in which no kolleseis are extant, are laid out in the diagram on the assumption that the manufacturer of the codex handled them in the same way as he handled Rolls 2, 5, and 6.

<sup>14</sup>Viz. pp. A/B, 1/2, 3/4, 19/20, 45/46, 47/48, 79/80, 109/110, 115/116, D/E, F/G, H/I. The missing stubs at the beginnings of Rolls 1 and 2 are shown with a standardized breadth of 3.0 cm.

<sup>15</sup>A missing kollesis is shown with a standardized breadth of 3.0 cm.

end. The first sheet cut (pp. 8 + 145) was interchanged with the last sheet cut from Roll 1 (pp. b + 143). The rest of the sheets from Roll 2 were then added to the stack in the order in which they were cut, the final partial sheet flush with the rest at the right-hand edge.

In Roll 3, a single kollesis is lost between pp. 26 and 123. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets. The first sheet cut (pp. 20 + 131) was interchanged with the last sheet cut from Roll 2 (pp. d + 129). The rest of the sheets from Roll 3 were then added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

In Roll 4, probably a single kollesis is lost on p. 109. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets, which were added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

In Roll 5, a single kollesis crosses p. 95. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets, which were added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

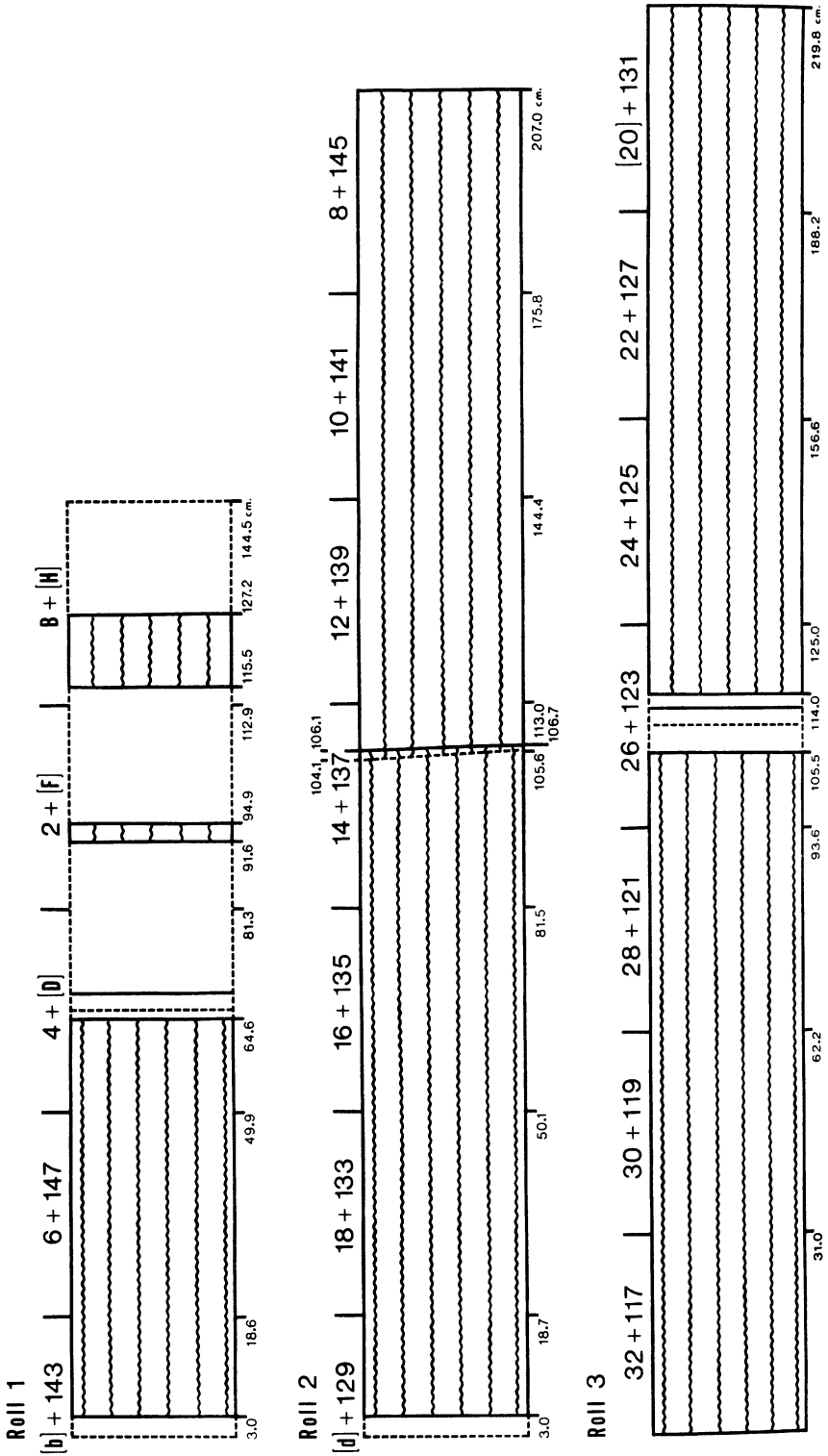
In Roll 6, a single kollesis crosses p. 66. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets, which were added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

The resulting stack of forty sheets was then folded in half, the center of the quire thus formed falling between pp. 74 and 75. Pp. a/b and c/d occurred as stubs between pp. 8 and 9 and between pp. 20 and 21 respectively.

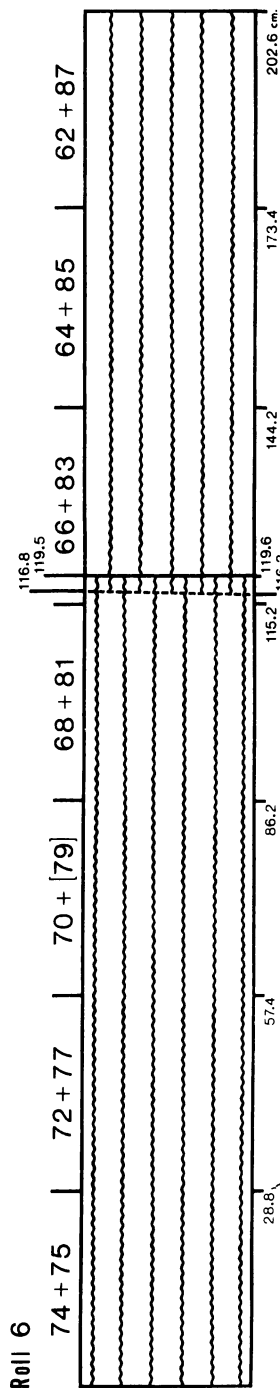
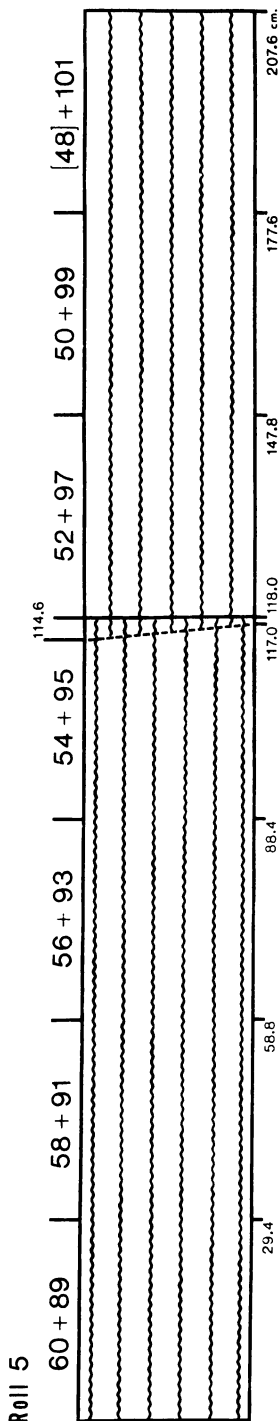
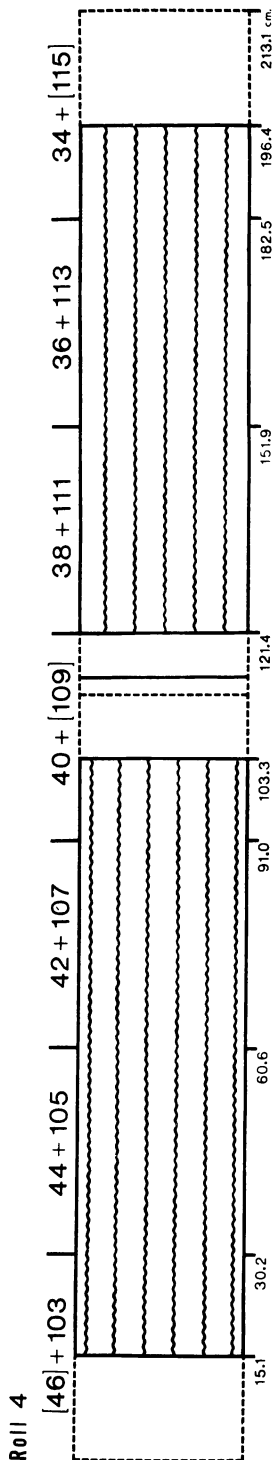
The leather cover of NHC III was made from a single piece of sheep leather without decoration. A pointed flap extending from the front cover could be wrapped around the fore-edge to overlap the back cover. A wrapping thong attached to the point of the flap served, along with ties at the head and tail, to prevent the closed book from falling open. The cover when open, excluding the flap, measures 26.2 x 35.0 cm.

The book-block was sewn with two leather thongs to an irregularly shaped piece of leather, approximately 24.6 x 9.0 cm. The thongs were knotted at the outside of the leather piece. (It may be assumed that the thongs also held protective stays at the center of the quire, but these are not extant.) This piece of leather was then used to line the spine of the cover, thus concealing the knots of the thongs between the lining and the cover. The front and back covers were then lined with layers of papyrus into which the edges of the leather spine lining were glued, thus binding the book-block to the cover.<sup>16</sup> The turn-ins (in-

<sup>16</sup>It is conceivable that it was the dampness of the glue used in the cartonnage that caused the ink on the pages near the front (pp. 1-7) and the back (pp. 128-147) to



The six rolls of the papyrus manufacture of



cluding one added along the fore-edge of the front cover) were then glued on top of this cartonnage and the cartonnage and turn-ins were covered by a pastedown. Unfortunately, all but meager traces of the pastedown and cartonnage, some of which might have consisted of datable texts, were removed by persons unknown; apart from the blank scraps still adhering to the cover, nothing of the pastedown and cartonnage is known to survive.<sup>17</sup>

In the book-block, a front flyleaf (pp. A/B) was neither paged nor inscribed, except that the title of the first text (*The Apocryphon of John*) was written a little above center on p. B. Inscription and pagination then run continuously from p. 1 through p. 147, excluding the two stubs. P. C (the verso of p. 147) was left blank, as were, presumably, three missing back flyleaves, pp. D-I. Undecorated page numbers were placed above, and often a little left of, the center of the single column of inscription. Page numbers are fully or at least partially preserved on pp. 17, 18, 23-36, 38, 40, 42-44, 54-56, 60-76, 91-96, 99-108, 111-114, 117-120, 123-125, 127-134, 136, 139, 141, and 143.

The codex was copied by one scribe in a single, simple column.<sup>18</sup> There are no running titles and no capitals. Titles at the ends of the texts (on pp. 40, 69, 90, 119, and 147) are written in slightly larger characters and are set off by simple decorations.<sup>19</sup> Otherwise, adornments are limited to the occasional use of a paragraphos (on pp. 69, 76, and 96) and of diples to fill out short lines (*passim*). The scribe kept his margins and lines of text more or less even, without the aid of any sort of ruling. The text-block varies in width from 10.2 to 12.0 cm., averaging 11.1 cm., and in height from 20.1 to 22.6 cm., averaging 21.4 cm. The number of lines per page varies from 22 to 28, averaging between 24 and 25, the average height of a line (including interlineal space) being about 0.9 cm.<sup>20</sup>

As has already been noted, six inscribed leaves are entirely missing

run and blot.

<sup>17</sup>For a more detailed description of the cover, see *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pp. xi-xiii and pls. 1-4.

<sup>18</sup>For a brief description of the handwriting, see Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 232-33.

<sup>19</sup>Apart from *Ap. John*, the title of which is written both at the end of the text and on the verso of the front flyleaf, only *Dial. Sav.* has a title written both at the end and at the beginning (120:1, without decoration) of the text.

<sup>20</sup>For *Dial. Sav.* in particular, the text-block varies in width from 10.4 to 11.9 cm., averaging 11.2 cm., and in height from 20.6 to 22.4 cm., averaging 21.25 cm., while the number of lines per page varies from 23 to 25, averaging between 23 and 24. Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 233-34.

45/46  
 sixty-eight ins  
 inscription, most  
 137, 138,  
 del leaves are  
 remains remain  
 paragraphs.  
 the codex contain  
 the Gospel of the  
 (120:13). The V  
 the Senior (120:1  
 edge of pp. 39  
 in the beginning  
 be assumed to h  
 searched.  
 There is no basis  
 30 III with any d  
 Arab Dīm at th  
 ions have failed  
 end of the burial  
 provided by insc  
 case of a reliable  
 tless to specula  
 ply the associ  
 zandi Codices,  
 featured no ear  
 VII, XI) seem t  
 20 By this mea  
 featured in the  
 where in the Na

THE TEXT OF T  
 ility of the Cop  
 The copy of Dial.  
 The bibliography  
 1945-1959 (3  
 case of Nazim T  
 J. W. B. Barn  
 and Coptic Papyr  
 11.

(pp. 19/20, 45/46, 47/48, 79/80, 109/110, 115/116). Of the remaining sixty-eight inscribed leaves, twenty-nine have suffered serious deterioration, mostly along the inner margins (pp. 1-8, 21-44, 57/58, 117-132, 137/138, 143-146, 147/C). The remaining thirty-nine inscribed leaves are relatively well-preserved. Eight small inscribed fragments remain unplaced; fragments 1-5 are preserved only in old photographs.

The codex contains five texts: *The Apocryphon of John* (1:1-40:11), *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (40:12-69:20), *Eugnostos the Blessed* (70:1-90:13), *The Wisdom of Jesus* (90:14-119:18), and *The Dialogue of the Savior* (120:1-147:23).<sup>21</sup> The tabs affixed to the center of the fore-edge of pp. 39/40, 69/70, 89/90, and 119/120, apparently to mark the beginnings of the last four texts, are made of paper and so may be assumed to have been attached sometime after the manuscript was unearthed.

There is no basis on which to date and locate the manufacture of NHC III with any degree of certainty. Archeological excavations near Hamrah Dūm at the site of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices have failed to bring any precision to determining the exact context of the burial of the manuscripts. Any evidence that might have been provided by inscribed papyrus used to line the cover is lost. In the absence of a reliable chronological typology for Coptic paleography, it is fruitless to speculate on the date of the scribe's handwriting. We are left only the association of NHC III with the rest of the Nag Hammadi Codices, one of which (Codex VII) was certainly manufactured no earlier than 348 C.E. and several of which (Codices I, V, VII, XI) seem to have been manufactured in the Nag Hammadi region.<sup>22</sup> By this means, it is generally assumed that NHC III too was manufactured in the latter half of the fourth century C.E., possibly somewhere in the Nag Hammadi region.

## II. THE TEXT OF *The Dialogue of the Savior*

### A. *Quality of the Copy*

The copy of *Dial. Sav.* in NHC III contains twenty-seven correc-

<sup>21</sup>For bibliography on the first four texts, see David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969* (NHS 1; Leiden: Brill, 1971), supplemented annually in the autumn issue of *Novum Testamentum*, beginning with vol. 13 (1971).

<sup>22</sup>See J. W. B. Barns, G. M. Browne, and J. C. Shelton, *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers* (NHS 16; Leiden: Brill, 1981), esp. p. 11.

tions.<sup>23</sup> Judging by the handwriting, all of these corrections were made by the scribe himself. They can be divided into two groups according to the manner in which they were made. It is reasonable to suppose that the corrections in the first group were made by the scribe in the course of copying the text, and that those in the second group were made after the codex was completely copied.

In the first group of corrections, the scribe either (a) erased the erroneous letters (one instance, at the end of a line: 121:9); or (b) wrote the correct letters over the erroneous letters, most often first erasing the erroneous letters more or less thoroughly (fifteen instances: 123:17, 123:22, 125:1, 127:14, 133:10, 133:24, 134:19, 135:19, 140:8, 141:9, 141:21, 142:5, 144:8, 145:19 [*bis*]). The number of erroneous letters deleted in each instance ranges from one to eight, averaging about two.

In the second group of corrections, the scribe either (a) cancelled an erroneous letter with diagonal strokes through it (one instance: 131:19, though here a superlinear stroke may also have been added at the same time, and in either case the text is still corrupt; see further below); or (b) cancelled the erroneous letters with diagonal strokes through them and wrote the correct letters above the cancellations (two instances: 132:8, 137:5); or (c) added missing letters by writing above the line, beginning an addition directly above the letter before which the addition should be inserted (eight instances: 122:7, 126:15, 127:7, 132:16, 133:14, 134:21, 139:14, 140:11 [though in the last instance the text is probably still corrupt; see further below]). The number of erroneous letters deleted in each instance is one; the number of letters added in each instance ranges from one to eight (possibly more at 127:7), averaging about three.

The error in 144:8 is the result of dittography, perhaps also in 140:8 and in 133:24, though here it seems more likely that the scribe, having completed the last line of p. 133 by severely crowding the letters of  $\text{OYOEIN AN}$ , decided to erase this and write only  $\text{OY}$  over it, beginning the next page with  $\text{OEIN AN}$ . The error in 142:5 is the result of haplography, probably also in 125:1, 127:14, and 141:9, and presumably also in all of the instances under (c) in the second group of corrections listed above. The nature of the remaining errors is difficult to determine, and the corrections of some of these errors alter the meaning of

<sup>23</sup>This is an average of one correction per page. It should be remembered, however, that about 30% of the scribe's work on this text has been lost through deterioration of the papyrus.



the text significantly: 132:8, 134:19, 137:5, 140:8 (if this is not the result of dittography), 141:21, 145:19; further instances of such significant alteration by the scribe can be added from throughout NHC III.<sup>24</sup>

Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse have suggested with regard to such alterations of meaning in NHC III,<sub>2</sub> (*Gos. Eg.*) that the scribe, or someone with indistinguishable handwriting, made changes in the text on some basis other than the scribe's initial exemplar.<sup>25</sup> If this hypothesis is entertained for *Dial. Sav.*, the corrections by means of superlinear addition in 122:7, 127:7, 132:16, 133:14, and 140:11 would need to be added to the list at the end of the preceding paragraph. Indeed, as interesting as it is, this hypothesis would be more attractive if the corrections at issue were limited to those made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition. For as things stand, it would remain very unclear why this ancient editor chose to alter the manuscript by means of erasure and/or overwriting in some cases, and by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition in others. The hypothesis suffers from further complication if it is agreed that corrections by means of *erasure* could only have been made immediately after the mistakes were made, before the ink had dried completely. But even if consideration were to be limited to corrections made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition, it would still be very difficult to avoid subjectivity in deciding which of these should be regarded as secondary alterations of the text, and which as corrections of genuine copying errors.

An alternative solution to this problem is to conclude that at times the scribe was capable of extreme carelessness. The large number of corrections throughout NHC III already suggests this conclusion,<sup>26</sup> but it also indicates that the scribe took some pains to correct his errors (witness at least the corrections by means of erasure and/or overwriting), possibly going so far as to proofread the entire manuscript after he copied it (whence the corrections by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition).<sup>27</sup> So even if the scribe deserves criticism for

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 236.

<sup>25</sup>Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 4; twelve of the relevant corrections listed by them were made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition, three by means of erasure and overwriting.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 236: "There are far more corrections in Codex III than in any other Nag Hammadi codex."

<sup>27</sup>For the present edition, I have accepted this alternative as the less extreme means of judging the corrections in the text. Hence I have adopted all of the scribe's

being careless, the quality of the final copy must be judged not by the number of his corrections, but by the number of errors which he failed to notice and correct.

There are only two errors clearly left uncorrected by the scribe: (1) In 131:19 the scribe either first wrote [ΑΜΑΡΙ]ΖΑΜΜΗ ΩΙΝΕ ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ and later cancelled C<sup>1</sup> with diagonal strokes and added a super-  
linear stroke to N<sup>2</sup>, or first wrote [ΑΜΑΡΙ]ΖΑΜΜΗ ΩΙΝΕ ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ and later cancelled C<sup>1</sup>. In either case the text as it stands, [ΑΜΑΡΙ]-  
ΖΑΜΜΗ ΩΙΝΕ ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ, is nonsense.<sup>28</sup> The simplest solution is to  
suppose that the initial error was the haplographic omission of Ν, and  
that ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ or ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ should have been corrected to ΝΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ (restoring ΧΕ- at the beginning of the following lacuna). But  
because the scribe's cancellation of C suggests that he was trying to  
alter the possessive article into the definite article, one might rather  
emend the text to ΝΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ. (2) In 139:21 the scribe wrote  
ΧΟΟCΕΡΟΕΙ, from which ε<sup>2</sup> needs to be deleted (dittography).<sup>29</sup>

In addition, there are eight passages where corruption may be sus-  
pected. Probably in need of emendation is 140:11, where the scribe  
altered CΕΜΟΥΤ' to CΕΜΟΥΟΥΤ', but probably meant to correct  
this to CΕΜΟΥ, a conclusion recommended by the following CΕΩΝΩ  
and by the parallelism with ΜΕΦΜΟΥ... ΩΑΦΜΟΥ in 140:13-14.  
Possible emendations are suggested in the critical apparatus to the  
present edition for 121:2-3, 130:6, 137:20, 139:8, 139:11, 140:9, and  
143:11, though each of these passages is adequately comprehensible as  
transmitted. Furthermore, a number of orthographic and  
grammatical irregularities, detailed in the following section, could be  
regarded as the result of scribal error.

Of course it is hazardous to judge the quality of a unique copy of a  
text, but on the whole I am favorably impressed by the clarity of the  
copy of *Dial. Sav.* in NHC III, leaving aside the orthographic in-  
stability evidenced by the text, as well as the arcane nature of much of

corrections in my edition, relegating notice of what he wrote first in each case to the  
critical apparatus. I am of the opinion, however, that the corrections throughout NHC  
III, especially those made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition, deserve  
further synoptic scrutiny.

<sup>28</sup>In the critical apparatus to my edition, I have drawn attention to NHC III 96:2  
where ΝΙ stands for ΝΝΙ. If this passage is not also corrupt, one could argue that in  
131:19 Ν stands legitimately for ΝΝ. But it is more likely that both passages are corrupt.  
(Perhaps also cf. NHC III 54:5 where ΝΝΙ stands for ΜΝΝΙ; cf. Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*,  
p. 5.)

<sup>29</sup>A few errors in the superlineation and punctuation are not included here; see  
sec. B below.

its subject matter. The scribe seems to have noticed and corrected most of his copying errors himself. If a harsher judgement is warranted by the scribe's work on the other four texts in the codex,<sup>30</sup> one must at least consider the possibility that corruptions throughout the manuscript may not be due to the copyist of NHC III himself, but rather may have existed already in his exemplars.

### B. Orthography and Grammar

The surviving copy of *Dial. Sav.* is written in the Sahidic dialect.<sup>31</sup> As the following description will show, however, the text contains a number of orthographic and grammatical inconsistencies and irregularities. By and large, these non-Sahidic features are deviations in the direction of Subachmimic (and, to a lesser extent, Achmimic). In this respect, the text is reminiscent of the crypto-Subachmimic texts in NHC II,<sup>32</sup> though hardly so striking in its deviation from Sahidic. The present edition is concluded by complete word indexes to the Coptic text, together with an index of the grammatical forms in the text. These should be consulted in conjunction with the following description.

The text is punctuated in three ways.<sup>33</sup> (1) A raised point (once a colon, in 143:18) is used to mark the ends of some, though not all, clauses.<sup>34</sup> Apparently erroneous instances of this usage are 121:18 (1<sup>o</sup>), 132:11, 135:6,<sup>35</sup> 138:5, 142:10, and 142:11.

<sup>30</sup>With specific regard to NHC III,2, Böhlig and Wisse (*Gos. Eg.*, p. 5) found that there are "many scribal errors requiring emendation" (they list thirty-one instances, noting ten others which could be added), and concluded that "both the corrections and emendations indicate that the accuracy of the scribe of III, 2 left much to be desired." Wisse ("Cod. Intro.," p. 236) has passed the same judgement on the scribe's work throughout the codex.

<sup>31</sup>I have found no reason to doubt the general assumption that the text was translated into Coptic from Greek.

<sup>32</sup>See especially the discussion of NHC II,4 by Bentley Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons," *HTR* 67 (1974), 374-83.

<sup>33</sup>It should be noted that at the front and back of the codex the ink has run and blotted, and throughout the codex the scribe's pen seems to have splattered some. Both of these circumstances make it difficult at times to distinguish punctuation marks clearly.

<sup>34</sup>There are 120 (possibly 122; see 132:5*ap* and 146:3*ap*) instances of this usage preserved in the text (120:1.5.6.8, 121:7.15.18[2<sup>o</sup>], 122:1.5.7 etc.) and raised points are restored in a few places where the available space in a lacuna recommends it.

<sup>35</sup>Wisse ("Cod. Intro.," p. 234) has suggested that this point, after  $\omega\iota\kappa$ , might be classed under the third usage below. In my opinion there are too few examples of  $\kappa$  being so marked (Wisse gives only one other example) to warrant this conclusion.

(2) A raised point or hooked apostrophe<sup>36</sup> is used occasionally to separate two identical consonants within a word or bound group: 122:16 ΕΜ'ΜΟΝ, 125:9 Π'ΠΝΑ, 128:23 ΜΑΘ'ΘΑΙΟΣ (but cf. 132:10 etc.), 129:2 ΕΤ'ΤΑ[ - - - ] and 132:9 ΕΤ'ΤΒΗΟΥ (but cf. perhaps 136:13), 133:22 ΜΝΤ'ΤΕΛΙΟΣ, 137:4 Π'ΠΟΝΗΡΟ[.], 138:18 ΖΙΩΤ'ΤΗΟΥΤῆ (but cf. 143:20), 142:19 ΕΡΕΤ'ΤΗΟΥΤῆ, 145:16 [ΑΓ']-[ΓΕ]ΛΟΣ. Some of these instances, however, might be classed under the following usage.

(3) A point (rarely, a hooked apostrophe) is placed above the right-hand edge of the horizontal stroke of a word-final π or τ.<sup>37</sup> This mark has been erroneously omitted in 126:23 ΨΩΧΠ, 133:17 ΨΟΟΠ, 133:19 ΙΩΤ, and perhaps also in 136:14 ΨΟΟΠ and 146:20 ΕΙΩΤ. In 120:26 both the τ and the π in CΩΤ'Π' are marked; exactly the same error occurs in NHC III 65:7. It is noteworthy that in 144:10 the π in CΕΧΠ'-ΖΑΖ, and in 143:1 τ' in ΜΝΤ'-ΑΤ- are marked. All the other occasional instances of the final π or τ of a bound form being marked can be classed under the second usage above: Π'-Π... (125:9, 137:4; cf. 120:1 etc.), ΕΤ'-Τ... (129:2, 132:9; cf. 122:24 etc.), ΜΝΤ'-Τ... (133:22; cf. 132:19 etc.), ΖΙΩΤ'-Τ... (138:18), ΕΡΕΤ'-Τ... (142:19).<sup>38</sup>

The scribe placed superlinear strokes over single letters, groups of two letters, and, rarely, groups of three letters.<sup>39</sup> In the present edition, the two latter cases are represented with a superlinear stroke over only the second of the two (e.g. Ζῆ) or three (e.g. Μῆτ) letters involved.<sup>40</sup> Occasionally, the extended arm of Ϛ can serve as a superlinear stroke over the following letter: 121:13, 131:4, 140:16, 145:13 (these have been transcribed as though the superlinear stroke was written separately).<sup>41</sup> The Conjunctive conjugation bases ηρ- and ηϚ- are marked with a superlinear stroke over both letters, but I have chosen to transcribe them as ῆρ and ῆϚ. Similarly, I have always tran-

<sup>36</sup>Here, as in the third usage, there appears to be no systematic distinction between these two shapes.

<sup>37</sup>It is interesting to note that this usage never occurs in conjunction with the first usage described.

<sup>38</sup>Böhlig and Wisse (*Gos. Eg.*, p. 2 n. 4) list eight instances in NHC III,2 where the final τ of a bound form (ΑΤ-, Μῆτ-, and ΕΤ-) has been marked even though it is not followed by another τ or by †. A precise rule governing the marking of such forms remains elusive.

<sup>39</sup>In 141:16 and 142:6 Μῆτ has a superlinear stroke over all three letters while elsewhere the stroke covers only Μῆ in this word.

<sup>40</sup>The indexes to the present edition include the superlineation. For the precise placement of superlinear strokes, however, consult *Facs.: Codex III* (1976).

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 232 n. 2, and Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 2 n. 1.

scribed the negative particle  $\bar{\nu}$ - though it is sometimes marked with a superlinear stroke over both it and a following  $\eta$ - or  $\varsigma$ -.

The scribe's use of the superlinear stroke is restricted to  $\nu$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\varsigma$ , and in some circumstances  $\eta$ :  $\varsigma\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\tau$ ,  $\tau\bar{\nu}\nu\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\theta\bar{\nu}\nu\iota\omicron$ ,  $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\zeta\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega$ ,  $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$ ;<sup>42</sup>  $\nu\lambda\nu\iota\epsilon$ ,  $\omega\lambda\tau\alpha\mu$ ;<sup>43</sup>  $\bar{\mu}$ -,  $\epsilon\chi\bar{\mu}$ -, etc.;  $\bar{\nu}$ -,  $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}$ -,  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ -, etc. (also see further below);<sup>44</sup>  $\bar{\rho}$ -,  $\zeta\eta\nu\bar{\varsigma}$  (also see further below); on  $\eta$ , see below.

The plural definite article  $\bar{\nu}$ - is not marked with a superlinear stroke before  $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$  (121:2, 136:14) or  $\lambda\iota\omega\nu$  (131:6),<sup>45</sup> nor after a one-vowel morpheme, the only preserved instance of which is with the preposition  $\epsilon$ - (129:10). The preposition  $\bar{\nu}$ - is not marked with a superlinear stroke after  $\pi\varsigma\alpha$ - (ten, possibly eleven, instances) except in 135:9-10 and 135:19.<sup>46</sup>

$\eta$  is marked with a superlinear stroke only when it occurs as a suffix pronoun (not in  $\omicron\gamma\omega\varsigma\eta$ ), and then regularly only when it follows  $\tau$  (twenty-two instances). After other consonants the evidence varies:  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\delta\omega\mu\eta$  (121:13),  $\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\bar{\eta}$  (132:16),  $\omega\omicron\pi\eta$  (121:7),  $\tau\eta\rho\eta$  (130:3, 136:16, 141:23, 142:10, 144:11)/ $\tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}$  (138:5, 139:13),  $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\eta$  (137:17)/ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$  (129:6).<sup>47</sup> The evidence for  $\bar{\varsigma}$  as a suffix pronoun after a consonant is much less extensive:  $-\bar{\varsigma}$  after  $\tau$  (three instances),  $[\tau]\eta\rho\bar{\varsigma}$  (121:18);<sup>48</sup> the only exception is 145:22  $\chi\omicron\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ , but here  $\chi\omicron\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  is expected (cf. 139:7 and 145:24).<sup>49</sup> Of further relevance to this evidence are: the peculiar superlineation in 142:25  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\varsigma}\nu\omicron\omicron\gamma\varsigma$  and 145:5  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\varsigma}$ [ - - - ], where  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\varsigma}$ [ $\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ ] is a likely restoration (but cf. 144:20); the tendency of  $\tau$  to join to a following syllable in such line breaks as 126:16-17  $[\pi\epsilon]| \tau\delta\omega\lambda\pi'$ , 127:15-16  $\nu\epsilon| [\tau\bar{\mu}\pi]\varsigma\alpha\nu\pi\iota\tau\bar{\nu}$ , 130:8-9  $[\pi\epsilon]| \tau\bar{\mu}\pi\varsigma\alpha\nu\zeta\omicron\gamma\nu$ , 140:15-16  $\epsilon| \tau\nu\epsilon-$ ,

<sup>42</sup> $\zeta\nu\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon$  is only an apparent exception since  $\nu$  and  $\eta$  belong to the same syllable; note the line break in 146:2-3 (cf. 145:1-2*ap*).

<sup>43</sup> $\nu\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  in 121:24 is probably an error for  $\nu\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ .

<sup>44</sup> $\tau\nu$  in 140:5 and in 143:22 are errors for  $\tau\bar{\nu}$ . The affirmative existential predicate is spelled both  $\omicron\gamma\nu$ - and  $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}$ -.

<sup>45</sup>The article retains syllabicity before  $\omicron\nu\zeta\epsilon$  (127:18),  $\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (136:9), and  $\lambda\rho\chi\omega\nu$  (122:14, 138:12, 142:7, 143:15, 145:5, 145:21).

<sup>46</sup>In 123:23-124:1  $\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}\chi\iota\omicron\omicron\rho$   $\rho\alpha\rho$  it is noteworthy both that  $\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}\chi\iota\omicron\omicron\rho$  is a bound group (note the position of  $\rho\alpha\rho$ ) and that  $\bar{\nu}$ - is marked with a superlinear stroke.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. 140:3  $\varsigma\omicron\tau\mu\epsilon\eta$  and 131:9  $\chi\omicron\omicron\rho\epsilon\eta$ , and probably 142:3  $\zeta\omicron\tau\nu\epsilon[\epsilon\eta]$ ; in the I Perfect negative paradigm the spelling  $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\eta$ - is attested.

<sup>48</sup>In 145:20 I have restored  $\varsigma\omicron\gamma[\omega\nu\bar{\varsigma}]$ .

<sup>49</sup> $\kappa$  as a suffix pronoun is never marked with a superlinear stroke, even when it follows  $\tau$  (125:20, 130:12, 136:15, 140:4); but cf. the Circumstantial "not yet" conjugation base  $\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\tau\epsilon\kappa$ - (136:12).

and 146:16-17 ε]τκω; and the Present Relative forms ετ̄- (132:17), and ετ̄- (139:6)/ετεϋ- (134:12).<sup>50</sup>

ἦ (ῆ) is regularly marked with a circumflex, except perhaps in 140:21. Otherwise, the scribe seems to have used the circumflex rather erratically: 143:14 εῖ (but cf. 133:18 etc.), 143:12 εῖμε (but cf. 141:13 etc.), 142:19 ᾠζε (but cf. 130:10 etc.).<sup>51</sup>

The assimilation of ῃ- is irregular.<sup>52</sup> ῃ- can become ῃ- before β (121:24), μ (143:22 etc.), π (120:1 etc.), and ψ (147:22), but it is noteworthy how often assimilation is *not* orthographically expressed: before β (144:1), μ (120:26, 143:12), π (127:16, 129:11 [*bis*], 131:3, 131:11, 131:14, 135:7, 135:10, 135:19, 140:8 [but cf. *ap*], 141:23, 144:1, 144:8 [but cf. *ap*], 146:20), ψ (123:16).<sup>53</sup>

τ-ζ . . . is regularly written as θ . . . , but π-ζ . . . is *not* orthographically combined as φ . . . (122:13, 125:18, restored thus in 130:5*ap*, 133:22*ap*).

The diphthong ηϋ is regularly spelled ηοϋ (ερηοϋ, καθηοϋ, νηοϋ, σνηοϋ, τῆβηοϋ, τηοϋ, τηοϋτῆ, ζβηοϋε, ζηοϋ), with but a single exception in 131:19 σνηη (at the end of the line).

The spelling εῖ is preferred to ῖ. The latter occurs regularly only in ζραι, ἰοϋδας, and as a personal suffix after the preposition να- (139:7, restored thus in 145:24; cf. εροεῖ, εχωεῖ, ῃμοεῖ: 132:21, 139:20, 139:21, 140:1-2, 140:15, 142:4). The demonstrative pronoun is spelled παῖ, ταῖ, ναῖ with but two exceptions in 141:16 (see *ap*) [α]εῖ and 145:15 ταεῖ. The corresponding demonstrative article, however, is spelled πει-, τεει-, νεει- (except for the anomalous ναῖ- in 141:6).<sup>54</sup> Word-initial εῖ becomes ἰ in π-ιτῆ (*passim*) and π-ιωτ (121:1\*, 133:19), though in the latter case π-ειωτ seems to be the preferred spelling (121:5, 129:20-21\*, 134:15*ap*, 144:9\*, 145:11, 146:20).<sup>55</sup> The spelling of Greek verbs in -έω varies between -εῖ (two, possibly three, instances: επικαλεῖ [?], μετανοεῖ, φορεῖ) and -ι (three instances: συμφῶνι, φορι).<sup>56</sup>

Two nouns are abbreviated as *nomina sacra*, ΠΝΑ (*passim*) and

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 235-36, and Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 234-35, and Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup>ῃ- does not assimilate to either λ (e.g. 134:6) or ρ (e.g. 133:19). It is noteworthy that the words subject to assimilation include the possessive article νετῆ- (147:22).

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>Although this evidence suggests a preference for ῖ after α, cf. μαεῖν, χραεῖτ, αεῖ-, and ῆταεῖ-.

<sup>55</sup>Cf. 131:5, where ετ-εῖνε is spelled ετνε.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. τελιος, χρια.

$\overline{\text{CHP}}$  (*bis*;  $\text{C}\omega\text{T}\eta\text{P}$  is spelled out in full in the super- and subscript title of the text, and once within the text).

The long spelling of the definite article ( $\text{ΠE-}$ ,  $\text{TE-}$ ,  $\text{NE-}$ ) is used where expected in Sahidic,<sup>57</sup> with but three exceptions: 125:9  $\overline{\text{ΠΠNA}}$ , 129:7  $\overline{\text{N}\zeta\text{BHOY}\epsilon}$ , 130:2  $\overline{\text{ΘI}\eta}$ .

Further orthographic fluctuation is evidenced by variations in the spelling of individual words and grammatical forms:  $\overline{\text{AMA}\zeta\text{TE}}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{EMA}\zeta\text{TE}}$  (2x),  $\overline{\text{AP-}}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{EP-}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{ENE}\zeta}$  (10x)/ $\overline{\text{AN}\eta\zeta\epsilon}$  (3x),  $\overline{\text{EPAT-}}$  (13x)/ $\overline{\text{EPET-}}$  (142:19  $\overline{\text{EPET-THOY}\tau\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$ ),  $\overline{\text{KE-}}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{BE-}}$  (if my analysis of 144:20 is correct),  $\overline{\text{MMO-}}$  (*passim*)/ $\overline{\text{MMA-}}$  (138:12-13),  $\overline{\text{MEEY}\epsilon}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{MEOY}\epsilon}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{COY}\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  (2x)/ $\overline{\text{COY}\omega\text{N-}}$  (3x),  $\overline{\text{THOY}\tau\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  (7x)/ $\overline{\text{THNOY}}$  (3x),  $\overline{\text{OY}\omega\psi}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{OY}\omega\psi\epsilon}$  (2x),  $\overline{\omega\zeta\epsilon}$  (6x)/ $\overline{\alpha\zeta\epsilon}$  (1x),  $\overline{\zeta\eta}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\epsilon\zeta\eta}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{MARI}\zeta\text{AM}}$  (4x)/ $\overline{\text{MARI}\zeta\text{AM}\eta\eta}$  (7x), Rel Pres  $\overline{\text{ETOY-}}$  (4x)/ $\overline{\text{ETEY-}}$  (1x), Fut 2 pl.  $\overline{\text{TET}\eta\bar{\text{N}}\text{A-}}$  (4x)/ $\overline{\text{TETNA-}}$  (7x),<sup>58</sup> III Fut neg  $\overline{\text{NNE}\zeta\text{-}}$  (2x)/ $\overline{\text{NE}\zeta\text{-}}$  (2x),  $\overline{\text{EN}\omega\text{AN-}}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{EN}\omega\alpha\text{-}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{EP}\omega\text{AN-}}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{EP}\omega\alpha\text{-}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{EP}\omega\text{AT}\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  (1x)/ $\overline{\text{EP}\tau\eta\bar{\text{N}}\text{TE-}}$  (5x), possessive art 3 pl.  $\overline{\text{PEY-}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{TEY-}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{NEY-}}$  (5x)/ $\overline{\text{POY-}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{TOY-}}$  (3x), demonstrative art  $\overline{\text{PEE-}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{TEE-}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{NEE-}}$  (*passim*)/ $\overline{\text{NAI-}}$  (141:6).

In addition, there are a number of words and forms which occur in more or less unexpected spellings, without variants:  $\overline{\text{MHE}}$  (12x),  $\overline{\text{NAE}}$  (1x), absolute possessive pron pl.  $\overline{\text{N}\omega\text{-}}$  (2x),  $\overline{\text{NNA}\zeta\text{P}\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{CAEIE}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\text{CE}\chi\text{P-}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\zeta\text{IE}}$  (2x),  $\overline{\zeta\text{OLEB}}$  (1x),  $\overline{\chi\omega\text{BE}}$  (2x),  $\overline{\text{MONOXOC}}$  (2x), III Fut neg 3 pl.  $\overline{\text{NNOY-}}$  (1x), Cond 2 sing. f  $\overline{\text{EP}\omega\text{AN-}}$  (1x).<sup>59</sup> Vocalic reduction is not orthographically expressed in  $\overline{\text{NT}\omega\tau\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  (2x),  $\overline{\text{OY}\omega\psi}$  (1x), and  $\overline{\omega\text{MK-}}$  (1x).

The Relative Perfect forms are spelled with initial  $\overline{\text{n}}$  (as also the II Perfect forms), never with  $\overline{\text{EN}}$ . But  $\overline{\text{ETATET}\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  is the only attested spelling of the 2 pl. form (145:20), and the paradigm also contains the forms  $\overline{\text{PENTAZ-}}$  (146:18\*),  $\overline{\text{ETA}\zeta}$  (132:16), and  $\overline{\text{EP-}}$  (133:10).<sup>60</sup>

Special mention deserves to be made of the peculiar form of the prenominal Conditional negative  $\overline{\text{EP}\tau\eta\bar{\text{N}}\text{TE-}}$  (127:1, 134:1, 134:5, 134:8, 134:11),<sup>61</sup> for which I have no explanation.

Clauses of purpose introduced by  $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$ - or  $\overline{\chi\epsilon\text{KA}\alpha\text{C}}$  are formed with the III Future in the negative, but in the affirmative they are formed

<sup>57</sup>Including with  $\overline{\text{OYNOY}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{OYOE}\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\zeta\eta}$ ,  $\overline{\zeta\text{OY}\zeta}$ , and  $\overline{\zeta\text{OY}\zeta}$ .

<sup>58</sup>Cf. Rel Fut 1 pl.  $\overline{\text{ET}\eta\bar{\text{N}}\text{A-}}$  and II Fut 1 pl.  $\overline{\text{ENA-}}$ .

<sup>59</sup>Note also  $\overline{\text{EMMON}}$  (if this means "truly" in 122:16),  $\overline{\text{TAXPHOY}\tau}$  (if this is the correct restoration in 129:4), and  $\overline{\text{NTAPE-}}$  (if this is the Temporal 2 sing. f in 137:7).

<sup>60</sup>But cf. 136:24  $\overline{\text{NENTAY-}}$ , 141:24  $\overline{\text{P}\omega\text{ME N}\tau\alpha\zeta}$ , and probably 121:1 [ $\overline{\text{NAI}}$   $\overline{\text{NTAY-}}$ .

<sup>61</sup>The more standard form  $\overline{\text{EP}\omega\text{AT}\eta\bar{\text{N}}}$  occurs once, in 133:23.

with the II Future. There is but a single instance of the III Future affirmative in the text (135:3  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$ ), though it is questionable because it is followed immediately by a lacuna.

Negation by  $\bar{\eta}- \dots \alpha\eta$ , where expected, predominates only slightly (ten instances) over negation by  $\alpha\eta$  alone (nine instances: 133:13, 134:6, 134:22-23, 141:2, 141:3-4, 143:18, 143:24, 144:20-21, 144:22-23).

Greek verbs are used with and without  $\bar{\rho}-$  ( $\alpha\rho\iota-$ ,  $\epsilon\rho\iota-$ ) as an auxiliary in equal measure (seven instances of each).

There are five instances of  $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron-$  standing for  $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau-$  in the expression  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron-$  (see also 140:23), and a few possible instances of  $\bar{\eta}$ -standing for  $\zeta\bar{\eta}-$  (see esp. 136:13). Conversely, in the expression  $\zeta\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\epsilon \bar{\eta}\mu\alpha-$  (138:12-13),  $\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\epsilon$  is rather to be expected.

The basis of the  
 including a  
 violet light) du  
 Haven in 1980  
 the members of the  
 this transcription  
 Crabbler, C. J. d  
 pages M. Parrott,  
 from Francis E. V  
 The present edition  
 of the, and is inter  
 and gramma  
 being overly specu  
 accompanying transla  
 which is slightly  
 to non-Coptop  
 less securely  
 the translation, the  
 able of untranslat  
 paragraphs, as v  
 convenient refer  
 the sigla and abbr  
 as follows:  
 See Stephen Emmet  
 Yale Univ. 1974.  
 used for transcriptions  
 preliminary tran  
 1974-78. The pa  
 translation of the  
 changed. The new  
 the Hase-Martin Sch  
 originally prior to pub



## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

STEPHEN EMMEL

The basis of the present edition is my own study of NHC III in Cairo (including a complete collation of *Dial. Sav.* with the aid of ultra-violet light) during 1975 and 1976, and of the Yale fragment in New Haven in 1980.<sup>1</sup> I have benefitted, however, from the work of other members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project in the form of various transcriptions and notes made by Harold W. Attridge, James A. Brashler, C. J. de Catanzaro, Bentley Layton, Dieter Mueller, Douglas M. Parrott, H. J. Polotsky, James M. Robinson, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, and Frederik Wisse.<sup>2</sup>

The present edition is an attempt to recover the *Coptic* version of *Dial. Sav.*, and is intentionally conservative, both in leaving the orthographic and grammatical irregularities of the text unaltered, and in avoiding overly speculative restorations of the many lacunas. In the accompanying translation, I have enclosed in square brackets much which is only slightly paleographically uncertain, preferring to risk giving to non-Coptophones the impression that some portions of the text are less securely established than may actually be the case. Within the translation, three dots (... or [...]) indicate an unspecified number of untranslatable letters. The division of the translated text into paragraphs, as well as the numeration of these paragraphs for more convenient reference, is an entirely modern convention.

The sigla and abbreviations used in the text and critical apparatus are as follows:

<sup>1</sup>See Stephen Emmel, "A Fragment of Nag Hammadi Codex III in the Beinecke Library: Yale inv. 1784," *BASP* 17 (1980), 53-60. In the present edition I have improved the transcriptions of 145:7.9.22.24 and 146:8.

<sup>2</sup>A preliminary translation of *Dial. Sav.* was published by Attridge in *NHLib-Eng*, pp. 229-38. The paperback edition of this book issued in 1981 incorporates a revised translation of the end of the text based on my edition and translation of the Yale fragment. The new translation in the present volume has benefitted from comments by Hans-Martin Schenke, to whom I am grateful for his willingness to study my work carefully prior to publication.

represents a letter which cannot be identified with complete certainty. A dot placed beneath a letter indicates that the letter is but one of at least two possible identifications of the ambiguous trace of the letter. A dot placed beneath a letter with a superlinear stroke, circumflex, diaeresis, or articulation mark (e.g.  $\bar{\eta}$ ) indicates that the letter is paleographically uncertain but the superlinear stroke, circumflex, diaeresis, or articulation mark is clearly legible, unless a note in the critical apparatus explains otherwise (e.g. 120:19).

[ ] enclose letters completely lost through deterioration of the papyrus. Dots within square brackets (e.g. [ . . . . . ]) indicate the approximate number of letters lost, measured by an average letter space (including interlitteral space) of 0.5 cm. Dashes are used within square brackets (e.g. [ — — — ]) to indicate that the entire lacuna could have contained ten letters or more.

⌈ ⌋ enclose letters deleted from the text by the scribe.

{ } enclose letters deleted from the text by the modern editor.

< > enclose letters added to the text by the modern editor.

( ) enclose optional restorations.

cod. = the reading of the codex is

corr. = corrected

Doresse = uncorrected printer's proofs (January 1952) of an edition of NHC III 120–133 by Togo Mina and Jean Doresse; a photocopy of the proofs is kept at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. Although it is quite possible that portions of the text were more legible at the time this transcription was made than they are now, the proofs contain too many typographical errors to warrant giving the few unique readings preserved in them more than passing notice in the critical apparatus.

Krause = Martin Krause, "Der *Dialog des Soter* in Codex III von Nag Hammadi" in Martin Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th–13th 1975)* (NHS 8; Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 13–34.

poss. = possibly

prob. = probably

Schenke = Hans-Martin Schenke (by personal correspondence)



PK

ΠΑΙΛΛΟΓΟC ΜΠCΩΤΗΡ·  
 2 ΠCΗΡ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΝΕϞΜΑΕΗΤΗC  
 ΧΕΝΔΗ ΑΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕ  
 4 CΗΝΟΥ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΝΑΚΩ ΝCΩΝ  
 ΜΠΕΝΖΙCΕ· ΝΤΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΤἢ Ζἢ  
 6 ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC· ΠΕΤΝΑΩΖΕ ΓΑΡ Ε  
 ΡΑΤῆ ΖἢΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC ϞΝΑΜΤΟΝ  
 8 ΜΜΟϞ ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ † >  
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤἢ ΧΕΨΩΠΕ Ν  
 10 ΤΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ [.....]  
 ΟΥΟΕΙΩ Χ. [ — — — ]  
 12 ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤἢ [ — — — ]  
 ΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗ[Τ — — — ]  
 14 ΕΡΩΤἢ †[ — — — ]  
 ΧΕ ΤΟΡΓΗ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ Τ[Ε.....]  
 16 ΚΙΜ ΕΤΟΡΓΗ ΟΥΡ.[.....]  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩC ΑΤΕΤἢΑΝ[.....]  
 18 ΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ [ — — — ]  
 ΑΥΧΙ ΝΝΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΖἢΟΥΖ[Ο]  
 20 ΤΕ ΜἢΟΥCΤΩΤ· ΑΥΩ ΑCΤΑΖΟ Μἢ  
 ΜΟΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΜἢΖΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ  
 22 ΧΕΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟC ΜΠΕΛΑΑΥ ΕΙ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΤΕΡΙΕΙ ΔΕΙ  
 24 ΟΥΩΝ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ ΔΕΙΤCΑΒΟΟΥ Ε  
 ΤΔΙΑΒΑCΙC ΕΤΕΥΝΑΧΩΒΕ ΜἢΜ[ΟC]  
 26 ΝΒΙἢCΩΤ· Π· ΜἢἢΜΟΝΟΧΟC

120: pagination lacuna over PK; PK Doreisse

120:11 trace prob. from Γ, Ι, Κ, Μ, Ν, Π, or Τ

120:16 trace prob. from ο or ω; prob. restore ΠΕ or ΤΕ in the lacuna

120:19 ἢ: Ν certain, superlinear stroke restored

120:20 ἢ: Μ certain, superlinear stroke restored

120:23–24 A fingerprint is visible under ultra-violet light between ΔΝ (line 23) and ΕΤΕ (line 24); cf. NHC III 68:11–12.

120:25 ΕΤΕΥ: i.e. ΕΤΟΥ

120:26 CΩΤ· Π·: sic (cf. NHC III 65:7)

\*p. 120

## \* The Dialogue of the Savior |

(1) The Savior said to his disciples, | “Already the time has come, | brothers, for us to abandon <sup>5</sup> our labor and stand at | rest. For whoever stands | at rest will rest | forever. And I | say to you, [be] always <sup>10</sup> [above ...] | time ...[...]| ... you [...] | be afraid [of ...] | ... you ...[...]<sup>15</sup> ... anger [is] fearful [...] | arouse anger ...[...]| but since you have ...[...]| ...[...]| they accepted these words [concerning it] with [fear] <sup>20</sup> and trembling, and it set | them up with governors, | for from it nothing was forthcoming. | But when I came, I | opened the path and I taught them about <sup>25</sup> the

(1) 120:9 you: *Throughout the translation, “you” is plural unless it is indicated otherwise in a note or by the context (e.g. 121:6).*

120:16 prob. ...[... is ...]

120:19,20 it (bis): *i.e. anger?*

120:21 governors: *Throughout the translation, “governor” is used to translate a word usually transliterated as “archon.”*

120:22 it: *i.e. anger?*

## [PKA]

- [NAI] NTAΥCΘOYH MΠIΩT' EAΥ  
 2 [Π]ICTEYE ETMH EAY NEOOY  
 [T]HPOY ETETHT' NOYEOOY ETE  
 4 TNHANTEO OY BE T' NTEEIZE  
 XECWTM EPON PEIWT' KATAΘE  
 6 NTAKCWTM EPEKMONOΓENHC  
 NHPE EAY AKOΠOY EPOK'  
 8 [K]THTON NAQ EBOΛ ZNHZAZ N  
 [ . . . . . NT]OK PE [PA]I ETETEQBOM  
 10 [ — — — ]EKZOΠΛON ZEN  
 [ — — — ]OYOEIN  
 12 [ — — — ]OYEFONZ  
 [ — — — ]EMAYBMBWMQ  
 14 [ — — — ]HZΠLOGOC M >  
 [ . . . . . ]METANOIA MPWNZ'  
 16 [ . . . . . ]BOΛ MMOK NTOC PE  
 [Π]MOYE EAY TMHTATPOOYΩ  
 18 [T]HPC' NMMONOXOC' PALIN CW  
 [T]M EPON KATAΘE NTAKCWTM E  
 20 NEKCWTΠ' NAI ZHTEKΠPOCΦO  
 [P]A E.NHOY EZOYH ZHNEYZBHOYE  
 22 [ETNA]NOYOY NAI NTAYCOTE  
 [NN]EYCYXO OYE EBOΛ ZHNIKW  
 24 [Λ]ON MBΛΛE XEKAAAC EYNAΩWΠE

121:1 N: n certain, superlinear stroke restored; CΘOYH read from very ambiguous traces obscured by ink run along a papyrus fiber; M: m virtually certain, superlinear stroke restored; ΠIΩT': for the spelling cf. 133:19; T': τ not certain, articulation mark restored

121:2-3 EAY . . . NOYEOOY: passage poss. corrupt; poss. emend NOYEOOY to MMOOY

121:8 [AK] or [EK]

121:9 poss. [ZICE' NT]OK (cf. 120:4-6); ηε erased at the end of the line

121:10 poss. [πε — — — ] or the like (cf. erasure at end of 121:9); prob. n]EK

121:11 prob. [ — — — NE — — — ]

121:13 BM: cod. BM (see above, p. 32)

121:17 [π]: cod. [ . . . ], but cf., e.g., π<sup>1</sup> in 124:23; ME OYE: i.e. ME EYE

121:21 undeciphered trace from κ, γ, or χ; prob. EYHNOY; EKHHOY Doresse

121:24 BΛΛE: sic; prob. emend to BΛΛE

\*p. 121

passage which they will traverse, | the elect and solitary, \* [who have known the Father, having | believed] the truth and [all] the praises | while you offered praise. |

(2) "So when you offer praise, do so like this: <sup>5</sup> Hear us, Father, just as | you heard your only-begotten | son and received him | [...]... him rest from many ... | [... You are the one] whose power <sup>10</sup> [...] your] armor ... | [...]... light | [...]... living | [...]... touch ... | [...]... the word ... <sup>15</sup> [...] repentance ... life | [...]... you. You are | [the] thinking and the [entire] serenity | of the solitary. Again, [hear] | us just as you heard <sup>20</sup> your elect. Through your [sacrifice, | ...] will enter by means of their | [good] works. These have saved | their souls from these | blind [limbs] so

120:25-121:3 *poss.* the passage which the elect and solitary will traverse. [By having believed] the truth and [all] the praises while you offered praise (*or* [all] the praises <which> you offered), [these have known the Father].

121:3 *poss.* <which> you offered.

(2) 121:7-8 received him [and] gave him rest *or* received him, giv[ing] him rest

121:8-9 *poss.* many [labors. You

121:10 *poss.* [...] is ... your] armor ...

121:11 *prob.* [...] is ...] ... light

121:20-22 *if the repetition of ΝΑΙ is tolerable, poss.* These, entering through your [sacrifice] by means of their [good] works, have saved

121:21 *prob.* these] will enter *but poss.* you] will enter

read from ver 2  
W H  
121:10; 121:11

and Νογεοοοη

of the line  
of 121:9); prob 12

eeeye  
KNHOY Dares

[PKB]

- ψΑΝΙΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ· †ΝΑ  
 2 ΤΣΑΒΩΤἼ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΨΑΝΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΝΒΙΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΜΠΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ  
 4 ΤΨΟΡΠ· ΝΒΟΜ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΑ >  
 ΤΩΜἼΤ ΕΡΩΤἼ· ΜΠΡῚΡΖΟΤΕ  
 6 ΝΤΕΤἼΧΟΟΣ ΧΕΕΙΣΠΕΟΥΟ >  
 ΕΙΨ ΑΨΩΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΑΤΕΤἼΝΑΥ  
 8 ΕΥΒΕΡΩΒ ΝΟΥΩΤ· Ε.....[.]  
 ΠΕ· ΠΑΪ Ε.[....]..[.....]  
 10 ΝΕΑΝἼΝΟΥ[ — — — ]  
 ΕΡΕΤἼΝ[ — — — ]  
 12 ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ.[ — — — ]  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΖΩΒ Π[.....]  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ [.....]  
 ΤΩΜἼΤ ΕΡΩΤἼ Μ[.....]  
 16 ΕΜ·ΜΟΝ ΘΟΤΕ ΤΒΟ[.....]  
 ΤΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΒΕ ΕΤΕΤἼΝΑῚΖΟΤ[Ε]  
 18 ΖΗΤἼ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΤΩΜἼΤ ΕΡΩΤ[ἼΝ]  
 ΠΕΤἼΜΑΥ ΚΝΑΩΜΚΤΗΟΥΤἼ  
 20 ΕΠΕΙ ΜἼΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΚΝΑ  
 †ΣΟ ΕΡΩΤἼ Ἡ ΕΚΝΑΝΑΕ Ν[Η]ΤἼΝ  
 22 ΑΛΛΑ Ν†ΖΕ ΒΩΨΤ· ΝΣΑ.[. . Ἴ]  
 ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤἼ· ΕΑΤΕΤἼΧΡΟ ΕΨΑ  
 24 ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΙΧἼΜΠΚΑΖ· ἼΤΟϚ

122:7 εΨΑΤΕΤἼ: ψα added above ΤΕΤ; γ: for the shape, cf. the ends of 131:16.19

122:9 trace before first lacuna from π or τ

122:12 trace before lacuna from the bottom of a vertical stroke

122:15 lacuna over Μ<sup>2</sup> (poss. read Ἴ)

122:16 prob. ΒΟ[Μ; poss. ΒΟ[Μ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ] (cf. 122:4)

122:19 Ἴ: Ἴ restored, superlinear stroke certain

122:22 trace before lacuna from π or τ



\*p. 122

that they might exist \* eternally. Amen.

(3) "I will | teach you. When | the time of dissolution arrives, | the first power of darkness will <sup>5</sup> come upon you. Do not be afraid | and say, 'Behold! The time | has come!' But seeing | a single staff ...[...] | ... this ...[...]...[...] <sup>10</sup> ...[...] | ...[...] | understand ...[...] | ... the work ...[...] | and the governors ...[...] <sup>15</sup> come upon you ...[...]. | Truly, fear ...[...] | .... So if you are going to be [afraid] | of what is about to come upon [you], | it will engulf you. <sup>20</sup> For there is not one among them who will | spare you or show [you] mercy. | But in this way, look at ...[...] | in it, since you have mastered every word | on earth. It

(3) 122:16-17 *prob.* Truly, fear is the [power ...] and *poss.* Truly, fear is the [power of darkness]

122:20 *them: i.e.* "what is about to come upon [you]" (*the first power of darkness?*) and *others like it*

122:22 *prob.* look at [the ...]

122:23 *it: i.e.* "what is about to come upon [you]" (*the first power of darkness?*)

122:23-24 *poss.* in it. Since you have mastered every word on earth, it (or he)

122:24 *It: or He*

## PKΓ

- [.....]ΧΙΤΗΟΥΤἩ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΤΟ  
 2 [.....]ΜΑ ΕΤΕΜἩΡΧΗ ΝΖΗΤἩ  
 [.... ΤΥ]ΡΑΝΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΤἩΨΑΝ >  
 4 [.....].ϛ[Τ]ΕΤἩΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΤΕ  
 [.....].ΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΤΕ  
 6 [ — — — Τ]ΑΜΟ ΜἩΩΤἩ ΧΕ  
 [ — — — ]. ΝΒΙΠΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ  
 8 [ — — — ]ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΦΨΟ  
 [ — — — ].ΟC ΝΤΜΗΕ  
 10 [ — — — ]ΟΥΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ CΕ  
 [ — — — ]ΝΤΩΤἩ ΔΕ  
 12 [ — — — ].ΝΤΜΗΕ ΠΑΪ  
 [ — — — ].C ΕΤΟΝΖ' ΕΤΒΕ  
 14 [ — — — ].ΝΠΕΤἩΡΑΨΕ  
 [ — — — ].Ν ΒΕ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ  
 16 [ — — — Ν]ΕΤἩΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ  
 [ — — — ]ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝϞ  
 18 [ — — — ]ΝΒΙΠΨΑΧΕ  
 [ — — — ]ΤΑΥΤΑΛΟ Μ >  
 20 [.....].[.....]ΩΜΠΟΥΕΨ  
 [.....]Ϟ Ν[.....]ΕΠΕΤἩCΑΝ  
 22 [.....].ΝΠΕ[.....]ΟΛ ΑΑϞ Ν  
 [ — — — ]ΒΕ ΠΜΑἩ

123: pagination lacuna over PKΓ; PKΓ Doresse

123:1-23 The location of the left margin on this page is very uncertain.

123:1 prob. restore Ϟ in the lacuna

123:1-2 poss. ΤΟ| [ΟΥ ΠΕΕΙ] or ΤΟ| [ΠΟC ΠΙ]

123:8-9 prob. ΨΟ| [ΟΠ' — — — Τ]ΦΠΟC

123:11 Ἡ: Ν restored, superlinear stroke certain

123:12 trace from Δ, Λ, Μ, C, or Ζ; lacuna over Ν (poss. read Ἡ)

123:13 poss. ΝΟ]ΥC

123:14 prob. ]ΜἩ

123:15 trace from Π or Τ

123:17 Ϟ corr. over false start of some letter (κ?), giving false impression that ΝϞ' is to be read

123:18 Ἡ: Ν not certain, superlinear stroke restored

123:19 prob. Ἡ]ΤΑΥ, poss. Ε]ΤΑΥ

123:20 trace from Ρ, Φ, Ψ, Ϟ, or †

123:21 lacuna over Ϟ (poss. read ḡ)

123:21-22 poss. CΑΝ|[ΖΟΥΝ] ΜἩΠΕ[ΤἩCΑΝΒ]ΟΛ; ΑΑϞ: Δ<sup>1</sup> corr. over erased Ο

\*p. 123

\* [... take] you up to the ... | [... place] where there is no rule  
 | [... tyrant]. When you | [... you] will see those who 5 [...].  
 and also ... | [... tell] you ... | [...]. the reasoning power  
 | [...] reasoning power ... | [...]. truth <sup>10</sup> [...]. but ...  
 | [...]. But you | [...]. truth, this | [...]. living ... |  
 [...]. your joy <sup>15</sup> [...]. So [...]. in order that | [...] your  
 souls | [...] lest it | [...] the word [... | ...]. raise ... <sup>20</sup>  
 [...]. [...]. | [...]. [...]. your ... | [...]. [...].

123:1-2 *poss.* [... take] you up to the [mountain, that place] where there is no rule *or*  
 [... take] you up to the [place], where there is no rule

123:4 *who: or things which or whom*

123:9 *prob.* [... place] of truth

123:13 *poss.* [...] living [mind] ...

123:14 *prob.* [...] and] your joy

123:17 *it: or he*

123:17-18 *poss.* [...] lest the word [...

123:21-22 *poss.* your [in]side [and your outside] ...

uncertain

expression that

over erased

## PKA

- 1 χιοορ γαρ ουζοτε πε μπ[... μ̄]  
 2 το εβολ· αλλα ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ μ̄[ν̄ογ]  
 3 ρητ̄ ν̄ογωτ̄ παραγε μ̄μ̄[οφ]  
 4 πεφωικ γαρ ουνοβ̄ πε[· πεφ]  
 5 χισε ουνοβ̄ εματ̄[ε πε ....]  
 6 ουζητ̄ ν̄ογωτ̄ χ[.....]  
 7 αγω πκωζτ̄ ε.[.....]  
 8 πεμ̄μογειω.[ — — — ]  
 9 ν̄βομ̄ τηρ̄.[ — — — ]  
 10 ρωτ̄ν̄ σενα.[ — — — ]  
 11 αγω ν̄βο[ — — — ]  
 12 ν̄τοογ̄ π[ — — — ]  
 13 εζη· †ταμ̄.[ — — — ]  
 14 †ψυχη̄ ν̄το[ — — — ]  
 15 ωπε ν̄νο[ — — — ]  
 16 ρ̄ν̄ογον̄ ν̄ιμ̄[ — — — ]  
 17 τωτ̄ν̄ νε̄ ν̄.[ — — — ]  
 18 αγω χε̄ν̄τ̄[ — — — ]  
 19 πωβω̄ αν̄[ — — — ]  
 20 ν̄ωηρε̄ μ̄[ — — — ]  
 21 αγω ετετ̄ν̄[.....]γν̄[.....]  
 22 ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ .[.....]ε̄μπ̄[.....]  
 23 πεχαφ̄ ν̄[βιμαθ̄]θαλιο̄ς [χε ..]  
 24 αω̄ ν̄ζε [ — — — ]

124:1-2 prob. π[ετ̄ν̄μ̄]το, though other possessives are also possible

124:7 trace prob. from π, τ, or γ

124:9 trace prob. from ο (prob. τηρ̄ο[γ]), σ, or ς

124:11 prob. βο[μ]

124:16-17 prob. ν̄ | τωτ̄ν̄

124:17 trace from ο, σ, ω, φ, or β

124:21 ν̄: n restored, superlinear stroke certain; lacuna over n<sup>2</sup> (poss. read ν̄)

124:23 prob. [χε̄ν̄], [χεογ̄], or [χεζε̄ν]

\*p. 124

| [...].... For the crossing place \* is fearful [before...]. | But you, [with a] | single mind, pass [it] by! | For its depth is great; [its] 5 height [is] enormous [...] | a single mind ...[...] | and the fire ...[...] | ...[...] | ... power ...[...] <sup>10</sup> ... you, they ...[...] | and ...[...] | they ...[...] | ...[...] | ... soul ...[...] <sup>15</sup> ...[...] | in everyone [...] | ... are ...[...] | and ...[...] | ... forget ...[...] <sup>20</sup> ... son ...[...] | and you [...]...[...] | you ...[...]...[...].” |

124:1 *though other pronouns are possible, prob.* [before you].

124:9 *prob.* [all] the powers [...]

124:10 *poss.* they will ...[...]

124:11 *prob.* and the [powers ...]

124:16-17 *prob.* [... you] are the ...[...]

possible

poss. read

## [PK]ϵ

- [ — — — ] πεχαϩ  $\bar{\eta}$ βιπ $\bar{\sigma}$ ηρ  
 2 [χε — — — ].ωννηετ $\bar{\eta}$ ζητκ  
 [ — — — ].ναψωχπ'  $\bar{\eta}$ τοκ  
 4 [ — — — ]ιουδας χεπχοεις  
 [ — — — ]ε ενεζβηοϥε  
 6 [ — — — ]ιψυχοοϥε ναϊ  
 [ — — — ]νικοϥει ζοταν  
 8 [ — — — ε — — — ψα(η) — — — ]γναψωπε των  
 [ — — — ][. . .]αν χεπ'πνα  
 10 [ — — — πεχα]ϩ  $\bar{\eta}$ βιπχοεις  
 [χε — — — ]π' ευ $\bar{\eta}$  >  
 12 [ — — — ]παρалам  
 [ване  $\bar{m}$ μ]οοϥ ναϊ μεϥμοϥ >  
 14 [ . . . . . ]. μεϥτακο χεαϥσοϥων  
 [ . . . ]ϥυνζυγος αυω πετναψο  
 16 [πο]ϥ εροϥ' τμηε γαρ ψασωιηε  
 [ $\bar{\eta}$ σα]η $\bar{\sigma}$ αβε  $\bar{m}$  $\bar{\eta}$ πδικαιος' πε  
 18 [χαϩ  $\bar{\eta}$ β]ιπ $\bar{\sigma}$ ωτηρ χεπζηβ $\bar{\sigma}$   
 [ $\bar{m}$ π $\bar{\sigma}$ ]ωμα πε πνοϥς εφ οσον  
 20 [νετ $\bar{\eta}$ ζη]τκ σοϥτων ετεταϊ τε  
 [ . . . . . ]ς νετ $\bar{\eta}$ σωμα ζενοϥ  
 22 [οειν]νε' εφ οσον πετ $\bar{\eta}$ ζητ'  
 [οϥκα]κε πε' πετ $\bar{\eta}$ οϥοειν ετετ $\bar{\eta}$

125:1 αϩ corr. over erased ϩ

125:3 trace from ρ, ε, ο, π, or τ

125:4 prob. [ — — — πεχαϩ (ναϩ)  $\bar{\eta}$ βι] or [ — — — πεχε]

125:6 prob. ] $\bar{\eta}$

125:8 prob. ε]γνα

125:10 poss. [ — — — πεχαϩ να]ϩ

125:14 trace from ρ, η, ι, π, or τ (lacuna over this letter); poss. [οϥδε να]ϩ (ι not certain, diaeresis restored)

125:15 prob. [νεγ] or [νογ], though other possessives are possible

125:20 [νετ $\bar{\eta}$ ζη]τκ: cf. 125:2

125:21 trace prob. from η, ι, ν, ω, ψ, or ϩ

\*p. 125

(4) [Matthew] said, “[...] | ... [...] \* [...]?”

(5) The Savior said, | “[...]... the things inside you | [...]... will remain, you | [...].”

(6) Judas [said], “Lord, 5 [...]... the works | [...]... souls, these | [...] these little ones, when | [...] where will they be? | [...]... [...]... the spirit <sup>10</sup> [...].”

(7) The Lord [said], | “[...]... | [...] receive] | them. These do not die, | [...]... they are not destroyed, for they have known <sup>15</sup> [...] consort and him who would [receive | them]. For the truth seeks | [out the] wise and the righteous.” |

(8) The Savior [said], “The lamp | [of the body] is the mind. As long as <sup>20</sup> [the things inside] you are set in order, that is, | [...]... , your bodies are [luminous]. | As long as your hearts | are [dark], the

(4) 124:23–125:1 *prob.* “[How ... ]?” or “[Of what sort ... ]?”

(5) 125:2–3 you (*bis*): *masc. sing.*

(6) 125:6 *prob.* [...] these] souls

(7) 125:10 *poss.* The Lord [said to him]

125:14 *poss.* [nor] are they destroyed

125:15 *though other possessives are possible, prob.* [their] consorts and

(8) 125:20 you: *masc. sing.*

## [PKS]

- 2 βωϣτ' εβολ ρη[τῆ̄ — — — ]  
 2 ανοκ αειμογτ[ — — — ]  
 3 χε †ναβωκ χ[ — — — ]  
 4 ᾠπαψαχε ρατ[ — — — ]  
 5 †τῆ̄νοογ ψα[ — — — πεχαγ (ναγ)]  
 6 ᾠβινεϣμαθητ[ης χεπχοεις]  
 7 νιμ πετψινε ἡ̄ [.....]  
 8 βωλπ' εβολ' πεχ[ — — — πχοεις — — — ]  
 9 χεπετψινε[ — — — ]  
 10 βωλπ' εβολ π[ — — — πεχαγ (ναγ)]  
 11 ᾠβιμαθ[θαιος χεπχοεις ρο]  
 12 ταν εειψ[α(ν) — — — ]  
 13 ᾠταψαχε νιμ πετ.[.....]  
 14 πετσωτῆ̄' πεχαγ ᾠβιπ[χοεις]  
 15 χεπετψαχε ᾠτογ ον πετς[ωτῆ̄]  
 16 αγω πετναγ εβολ ᾠτογ ον [πε]  
 17 τβωλπ' εβολ' πεχας ᾠβιμ[αρι]  
 18 ραμ χεπχοεις' ειςρηη[τε .. ]  
 19 φορι ᾠπσωμα εβολ των [εει]  
 20 ριμε ἡ̄ εβολ των εει[.....]  
 21 πεχαγ ᾠβιπχοεις χε[.....]  
 22 ριμε ετβενεϣρβηογε [.....]  
 23 ψωχπ αγω πνογς σωβε [].[.]

126:7 ἡ̄: η certain, circumflex restored; poss. [νιμ (ον) πετ] (cf. 126:13-14)

126:8 prob. πεχ[επχοεις ναγ] or πεχ[αγ ᾠβιπχοεις]

126:9 poss. [ᾠτογ ον πετ] (cf. 126:15-17)

126:12 poss. εειψ[α(ν)σωτῆ̄ — — — ] (cf. 126:13-15)

126:13 trace from ω or ψ; poss. ψ[αχε ἡ̄ νιμ] (cf. 126:15)

126:15 χεπετψαχε: πε added above τψ; c[ωτῆ̄]: cf. 126:14

126:16-17 [πε]†: cf. 142:23-24

126:18 prob. ρηη[τε †], ρηη[τε εει], or ρηη[τε αει]

126:19 [εει]: cf. 126:20

126:20 poss. [σωβε'] (cf. 126:22-23 ριμε ... σωβε)

126:23 ψωχπ: sic; emend to ψωχπ'; trace between lacunas from the bottom of a vertical stroke



\*p. 126

luminosity you \* anticipate [...] | I have ... [...] | ... I will go ... [...] | ... my word ... [...] <sup>5</sup> I send ... [...].” |

(9) His [disciples said, “Lord], | who is it who seeks, and [...] | reveals?”

(10) [The Lord said ...], | “He who seeks [...] <sup>10</sup> reveals ... [...].” |

--- | (11) [Matthew said, “Lord, when] | I [...] | and [when] I speak, who is it who ... [...] | ... who listens?”

(12) [The Lord] said, <sup>15</sup> “It is the one who speaks who also [listens], | and it is the one who can see who also | reveals.”

(13) [Mary] said, | “Lord, behold! | Whence [...]... the body [while I] <sup>20</sup> weep, and whence while I [...]?” |

(14) The Lord said, “[...] | weep on account of its works [...] |

(9) 126:6-8 *poss.* His [disciples said to him, “Lord], who is it who seeks, and [who is it (*poss. add also*) who] reveals?”

(10) 126:8 *prob.* [The Lord said to them] *or just* [The Lord said]

(cf. 126:13-14) 126:9-10 *poss.* “[It is] the one who seeks [who also] reveals *or* “[It is] that which seeks [that also] reveals

(11) 126:11-14 *poss.* [Matthew said to him, “Lord, when] I [listen ...] and [when] I speak, who is it who [speaks, and who] is it who listens?”

(12) 126:15-17 *or* “It is that which speaks that also [listens], and it is that which can see that also reveals.”

(13) 126:17 *Mary: In the manuscript this name is variously spelled Mariham (Greek Mariam) and Mariammē (Greek Mariammē).*

126:19 Whence [do I] bear the body *or* Whence [have I] borne the body

126:20 *poss.* and whence while I [laugh]?

as from the bot (14) 126:22 its works: *i.e. the works of the body*

## [PK]Z

- [.....].ε̄π̄νᾱ ε̄ρ̄τ̄μ̄τε̄ο̄γᾱ  
 2 [ — — — ]κακε̄ φ̄νᾱψ̄νᾱγ  
 [.....]†ταμο̄ βε̄ μ̄μ̄ω̄τ̄η̄  
 4 [ — — — ]ο̄ῡο̄εῑν̄ πε̄ π̄κακε̄  
 [ — — — ]ᾱω̄ζε̄ ε̄ρᾱτ̄η̄ ζ̄μ̄ >  
 6 [.....]νᾱγ̄ αν̄ ε̄πο̄ῡο̄εῑν̄  
 [ — — — ]π̄β̄ολ̄ [ — — — ].ᾱγ̄ψ̄ῑτ̄ο̄ῡ ε̄β̄ολ̄ ζ̄η̄  
 8 [ — — — ]β̄[... ]ω̄ς̄ τε̄τ̄νᾱ†  
 [ — — — ]εῑν̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ >  
 10 [ — — — ]ψ̄]ο̄ο̄π̄̄ ψ̄ᾱε̄νε̄ζ̄.  
 [ — — — ]η̄τ̄μ̄η̄τ̄  
 12 [ — — — ]η̄ε̄η̄ο̄γᾱ  
 [ — — — ]ε̄νε̄ζ̄ το̄τε̄ σε̄νᾱ  
 14 [.....]ζε̄ μ̄μ̄ω̄τ̄η̄ η̄β̄ῑη̄β̄ο̄μ̄  
 [....]γ̄ ε̄τ̄μ̄π̄σᾱν̄τ̄πε̄. ᾱγ̄ω̄ η̄ε̄  
 16 [τ̄μ̄π̄]σᾱν̄π̄ῑτ̄η̄. ζ̄μ̄π̄μᾱ ε̄τ̄μ̄μᾱγ  
 [ε̄φ̄νᾱ]ψ̄ω̄πε̄ η̄β̄ῑπ̄ρῑμε̄ μ̄η̄  
 18 [π̄....] η̄η̄ο̄β̄ζε̄ ε̄χ̄η̄θᾱη̄ η̄η̄νᾱῑ τη̄  
 [ρο̄ῡ. π̄]ε̄χᾱφ̄ η̄β̄ῑο̄ῡδᾱς̄ χ̄ε̄ᾱχῑς̄  
 20 [ε̄ρο̄ν̄ π̄χ̄]ο̄εῑς̄ χ̄ε̄ζ̄ᾱθη̄ ε̄μ̄πᾱτε̄  
 [τ̄πε̄ μ̄η̄]π̄κᾱζ̄ ψ̄ω̄πε̄. νε̄ο̄ῡ πε̄  
 22 [.....] πε̄χᾱφ̄ η̄β̄ῑπ̄χο̄εῑς̄ χ̄ε̄  
 [ο̄ῡ]κακε̄ πε̄ μ̄η̄ο̄ῡμο̄ο̄ῡ ᾱγ̄ω̄

127: pagination Z read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:1 trace (ligatured) from ρ, ε, θ, π, σ, τ, or γ; ερτμτε: i.e. ερ(ψαν)τμ

127:2-3 poss. [ωζε ερατ̄η̄ ζ̄μ̄π̄]κακε̄... |[αν̄ ε̄πο̄ῡο̄εῑν̄] or |[ε̄πο̄ῡο̄εῑν̄ αν̄]  
 (cf. 127:5-6, 133:23-134:1)

127:5 ᾱ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:5-6 poss. [ᾱγ̄ω̄ ε̄ρ̄τ̄μ̄τε̄ο̄ῡ]ᾱ (or [ᾱγ̄ω̄ ε̄ρ̄ψ̄ᾱτ̄μ̄ο̄ῡ]ᾱ)... |[π̄κακε̄ (η̄)φ̄νᾱψ̄]  
 (cf. 127:1-3, 133:23-134:1)

127:6 ναγ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:7 πβ and [ — — — ].ᾱ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120); ]πβολ̄  
 added above ]ᾱγψι; undeciphered trace prob. from ρ, π, σ, τ, γ, χ, or ξ

127:8 β read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:14 η̄: η̄ certain, superlinear stroke restored; τ corr. over η̄

127:15 prob. [τηρο]γ

127:17-18 [ε̄φ̄νᾱ]... |[π̄....]: Some spelling of χαζαζ is to be restored at the  
 beginning of line 18; cf. Matt 8:12, 13:42-50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30, Luke 13:28.

127:18 η̄: η̄ certain, superlinear stroke restored

127:20 [ε̄ρο̄ν̄: cf. 128:12-13, though [ε̄ρο̄εῑ is also possible

127:21-22 poss. πε̄ | [ε̄τ̄ψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄] or πε̄ |[ε̄τ̄ψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄]

\*p. 127

remain and the mind laughs [...]...[... ] \* [...]... spirit. If one does not | [...] darkness, he will be able to see | [...]. So I tell you | [...] light is the darkness <sup>5</sup> [...]... stand in | [...] not see the light | [...] the lie [...]... they brought them from | [...]... [...].... You will give | [...]... and <sup>10</sup> [...] exist] forever. | [...]... | [...]... | [...] ever. Then | the powers <sup>15</sup> [...]... which are above as well as those | [below] will [...] you. In that place | [there will] be weeping and | [gnashing] of teeth over the end of [all] these things.” |

(15) Judas [said], “Tell <sup>20</sup> [us, Lord], what was [...] before | [the heaven and the] earth existed.” |

127:2-3 *poss.* [stand in the] darkness, he will [not] be able to see [the light].

127:4 *poss.* [...] is [...] light. The darkness

127:4-6 *poss.* [...] light is the darkness. [And if one does not] stand in [the darkness, he will] not [be able] to see the light.

127:7 the lie: *These words, and possibly others before them, lost in the lacuna, are a superlinear addition by the scribe.*

127:14-15 *prob.* [all] the powers which are above

(15) 127:19-20 *poss.* Tell [me, Lord]

127:20 *poss.* what [there] was before

127:23 ἄ... πτε (at the beginning of the line) Doresse

## ρ[κΗ]

- ΟΥΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΦΖΙΧ̄Ν̄ΟΥΜ[ΟΟΥ· ΑΝΟΚ]  
 2 ΔΕ †ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ Ν[ΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ . . . ]  
 ΠΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΩΙΝΕ Ν̄ΣΩ[ . . . . . ]  
 4 ΖΟΤΖΤ' Ν̄ΣΩΦ ΕΙΦ[ . . . . . ]  
 Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΗΝΟΥ ΑΥ[ . . . . . ]  
 6 Ν̄ΤΒΟΜ Μ̄ΠΜΥÇ[ΤΗΡΙΟΝ . . . ]  
 Π̄Ν̄Α ΧΕΕΒΟΛ Ν̄Ζ[ . . . . . ]  
 8 ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΙ Ε[ — — — ]  
 ΠΝΟΥÇ Μ̄.[ — — — ]  
 10 ΕΙÇΖΗΗΤΕ Ε[ — — — ]  
 ΝΕΜ̄Π.[ — — — ]  
 12 ΠΕΧΑΦ Ν[ — — — ΧΕΠΧΟ]  
 ΕΙÇ ΑΧΙÇ ΕΡΟΝ Χ[ΕΤ . . . . ΕΣΩ]  
 14 ΖΕ ΕΡΑΤ̄ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΩ Π̄Ν[ΟΥÇ Μ̄]  
 ΜΝΕ ΕΦΩΟΠ' ΤΩΝ ΠΕ[ΧΑΦ]  
 16 Ν̄ΒΙΠΧΟΕΙÇ ΧΕΠΚΩΖΤ' Μ̄[ΠΕ]  
 Π̄Ν̄Α Ν̄ΤΑΦΩΠΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥ[ . . . ]  
 18 Μ̄ΠΕCΝΑΥ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ ΑΠ[ . . . ]  
 ΦΩΠΕ' ΑΦΩΠΕ Ν̄ΖΡΑ[Ϊ Ν̄ΖΗ]  
 20 ΤΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙΠΝΟΥÇ Μ̄ΜΗ[Ε . . . ]  
 ΠΕ ΕΡΨΑΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΤΑ[ΖΕΤ(Ε)ΨΥ]  
 22 ΧΗ ΕΡΑΤ̄ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΧΙÇΕ ΤΟΤ[Ε . . . ]  
 ΧΙÇΕ' ΜΑΘ'ΘΑΙΟC ΔΕ ΑΦΧ̄Ν̄Ο[ΥΦ]

128:1 Μ[ΟΟΥ: cf. Gen 1:2

128:3 prob. Ν̄ΣΩ[φ; poss. Ν̄ΣΩ[φ αΥω ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄]

128:4 poss. ΕΙÇ[ΖΗΗΤΕ ΦΩΟΠ']

128:5 ΤΗΝΟΥ: i.e. ΤΗΟΥΤ̄Ν̄; trace from ω or φ

128:6 ΥÇ[ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

128:7 Ν̄Ζ[ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

128:9 poss. Μ̄Μ[ΗΕ (cf. 128:14–15.20)

128:11 trace from ε or ε

128:12 lacuna over Ν; prob. Ν̄[ΒΙΜΑΘΘΑΙΟC ΧΕ or Ν[ΑΦ Ν̄ΒΙΟΥΔΑC ΧΕ

128:13 ΕC: cf. 128:14 (-C) and 128:15 (Εφ-); poss. Χ[ΕΤ(Ε)ΨΥΧΗ ΕC (cf. 128:21–22)

128:14–15 Ν[ΟΥÇ Μ̄]|ΜΝΕ: cf. 128:20

128:17 ΤΟΥ: i.e. ΤΕΥ (?); poss. [ΜΗΤΕ] or [ΒΟΜ]

128:18 poss. Π[(Ε)Π̄Ν̄Α] or Π[ΝΟΥÇ] (but against the latter, cf. 128:19–20, which would be made a bit redundant thus)

128:20–21 poss. Μ̄Η[Ε ΕΨΩ]|ΠΕ

128:21 ΕΡΨΑ: i.e. ΕΡΨΑΝ

128:22 prob. ΤΟΤ[Ε ΦΝΑ]

\*p. 128

(16) The Lord said, | “There was darkness and water and \* spirit upon [water]. | And I say [to you, ...] | ... you seek ...[...]| inquire after ...[...]<sup>5</sup> within you ...[...]| ... the power and the [mystery ...]| spirit, for from ...[...]| wickedness [...] come ...[...]| mind ...[...]<sup>10</sup> behold ...[...]| ...[...].” |

(17) [...] said, “[Lord], | tell us | where [the ... is established] and <sup>15</sup> where [the true mind] exists.” |

(18) The Lord [said], “The fire [of the] | spirit came into existence ...[...]| both. On this account, the [...] | came into existence, and <sup>20</sup> the [true] mind came into existence [within] them [...]. | If someone [sets his soul] | up high, [then ...] | be exalted.”

(16) 128:3-4 *poss.* what you seek [and] inquire after, [behold it is]

128:9 *poss.* the [true] mind [...]

(17) 128:12 *prob.* [Matthew] said, “[Lord] or [Judas] said [to him, “Lord]

128:14 *poss.* where [the soul is established]

(18) 128:17-18 *poss.* came into existence [amidst] them both *or* came into existence as the [power] of them both

128:18 *poss.* the [spirit] *or* the [mind]

128:20-21 *poss.* came into existence [within] them. If someone [sets his soul]

128:22 *prob.* [then he will]

## PKΘ

- [ — — — ]βε νταϣιτῆ νβι  
 2 [ — — — ]ε ντοϣ πε ετῆτα  
 [ — — — πεχα]ϣ νβιπχοεις χε  
 4 [.....τ]αχροϣτ' επετῆ >  
 [.....].βολ ἄμωτῆ ἄ  
 6 [.....][...]. ἄμοϣ εοϣαζῆ  
 [ἄσω]τῆ ἄϣω ἄζβνοϣε τηροϣ  
 8 [.....]πρετῆζητ' ἄθε γαρ ετοϣ  
 [.....] ἄμοϣ ἄβινετῆζητ' ετε  
 10 [....]θε ετετναχρο ενβομ ετῆ  
 [псант]πε ἄἄνετῆпсанпитῆ  
 12 [.....] †ϣω ἄμοϣ нηтῆ χε  
 [πετε... ]τῆβομ μαρεϣῤαρνα ἄ  
 14 [.... ἄϣμε]τаноει ἄϣω петсо  
 [... ма]ρεϣωине ἄϣβине ἄϣρα  
 16 [ϣε' πε]χαϣ νβιϣοϣδас χεειςζη  
 [ητε.]наϣ χεζωв ним сеϣооп'  
 18 [.....] ἄθε ἄἄнимаειν ετзиχῆ  
 [.....] εтвеπαῖ ἄϣωπε ἄ†ζε  
 20 [πεχαϣ] νβιπχοεις χεἄтереpei  
 [ωτ' таз]ϣ εратῆ ἄпкoсmоs аϣ  
 22 [.....]οϣμοοϣ εβολ ἄζηтῆ  
 [.....]λογоs ει εβολ ἄμοϣ' >>

129:2-3 poss. та|[χροϣτ' πεχα]ϣ (cf. 129:4)

129:3 poss. [ — — — πεχαϣ на]ϣ

129:5 trace prob. from н (not ε); lacuna over this letter

129:6 trace before ἄ prob. from а or м; lacuna over this letter; poss. [παῖ  
 етем]ἄ[βο]м or [πετεοϣ]ἄ[βο]м (ἄ: н not certain, superlinear stroke restored;  
 cf. 137:16-18, 141:10-11)

129:9-10 poss. ετε|[тнабῆ]

129:12 prob. [τηροϣ'] or [анок ае]

129:13 prob. [πετε(ο)γῆ]τῆ or [πετεμῆ]τῆ

129:13-14 prob. [πετε(ο)γῆ]τῆ... ἄ|[моs ἄϣῤме]τаноει (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 81b  
 [NHC II 47:16-17] πετεγῆтаϣ ἄοϣδγнаmic μαρεϣарна); for the syntax, cf.

129:14-15

129:14-15 poss. со|[οϣн ма]ρεϣ or со|[тп' ма]ρεϣ

129:15 ма]ρεϣ: cf. 129:13

129:17 prob. †]

129:19 poss. [пκαζ]

\*p. 129

(19) And Matthew [asked him] \* [ . . . ] . . . took . . . | [ . . . ] . . . it is he who . . . | [ . . . ].”

(20) The Lord [said], | “[ . . . stronger] than . . . <sup>5</sup> [ . . . ] . . . you . . . | [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . to follow | [you] and all the works | [ . . . ] your hearts. For just as | your hearts [ . . . ], so <sup>10</sup> [ . . . ] the means to overcome the powers | [above] as well as those below | [ . . . ]. I say to you, | let him [who . . . ] power renounce | [ . . . and repent]. And <sup>15</sup> [let] him who [ . . . ] seek and find and [rejoice].” |

(21) Judas [said], “Behold! | [ . . . ] see that all things exist | [ . . . ] like signs upon | [ . . . ]. On this account did they happen thus.” <sup>20</sup>

(22) The Lord [said], “When the [Father | established] the cosmos,

(19) 129:2-3 *poss.* it is he who . . . [ . . . ].” The Lord [said to him] or it is he who [is strong].” The Lord [said]

(20) 129:3 *poss.* The Lord [said to him] (*see the previous note*)

129:6 *poss.* [that which is (*poss. add not*) able] to follow

129:10-12 *poss.* [you will find] the means to overcome [all] the powers [above] as well as those below. I say to you or [you will find] the means to overcome the powers [above] as well as those below. [And] I say to you

129:13 *poss.* let him [who does not possess] power renounce or let him [who is able] renounce or let him [who is unable] renounce; *see the next note*

129:13-14 *prob.* let him [who possesses] power renounce [it and repent].

129:15 *poss.* [let] him who [knows] seek or [let] him who [is chosen] seek

(21) 129:17 *prob.* [I] see

129:18 or like a sign upon

129:18-19 or like signs over [the earth].

129:19 happen: or come into existence

(22) 129:21 *just poss.* established] himself in the cosmos, he

129:20  $\bar{\eta}$ :  $\eta$  restored, superlinear stroke certain

129:20-21 *just poss.*  $\pi\epsilon\iota|\omega\tau' \omega\zeta|\epsilon \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$  if  $\bar{\eta}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  be understood as  $\zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (cf. 136:13  $\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\mu\alpha = \zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\mu\alpha$  [?], 140:23  $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma = \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$  [?], and *passim*  $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma = \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ ; but cf. 144:9-10, 133:10-11)

129:22 *poss.* [σωουζ  $\bar{\eta}$ ] (cf. 130:4)

129:23 *prob.* [απερ], but *poss.* [ετρεπ]

er this letter, p  
superlinear stroke

061 cf. Cas. 10  
42 p. 21: for this

## ΡΛ

- 2 αϕωπε ρ̄̄ζαζ ἄ[.....]  
 2 αϕχιε ἄζογο εθι[η .....]  
 τε επκαζ τηρϕ αγ[.....]  
 4 χεπμοοϕ ετσοοϕ[ζ .....]  
 ωοοπ̄ ἄπεϕβολ̄ [.....]  
 6 ἄπμοοϕ οϕνοβ̄ ἄκωζτ̄ εϕ[κω]  
 τε εροοϕ ἄθε ἄνισοβτ̄ αγ[...]  
 8 ἄσοπ̄ ἄτερεζαζ πωρϕ ἄ[πε]  
 τἄπσανζοϕν ἄτερεπ[...]  
 10 ωζε ερατ̄ϕ̄ αϕβωϕτ̄ ε.[...] ]  
 πεχαϕ ναϕ χεβωκ ἄγν[....]  
 12 εβολ ἄζητκ̄ χεκαας ἄἄ[....]  
 βρωζ χἄἄχωμ ψαχ[ωμ αγ]  
 14 ω χἄενεζ ψαενεζ̄ τϕ[τε αϕ]  
 νοϕχε εβολ ἄμοϕ ἄζε[ἄπἄ]  
 16 γη ἄερωτε̄ ἄἄζενπἄ[γη ἄ]  
 εβειω ἄἄοϕνεζ̄ ἄἄοϕἄ[ρπ̄]  
 18 ἄἄζενκαρποσ̄ εἄἄνο[ϕοϕ]  
 αγω οϕτ̄πε εσζολεβ̄ ἄἄ[ζεν]  
 20 νοϕνε εἄἄνοϕοϕ̄ χ[εκαας]  
 ἄνεϕϕτα χἄἄχωμ [ψα]  
 22 χωμ̄ αγω χἄἄἄνηζε ψ[αα]  
 ἄνηζε̄ ἄτοϕ δε ϕἄτ̄πε ἄ.[.]

130:2-3 prob. κω]τε; poss. θι[η ἄἄσιου ετκω]τε, providing a plural antecedent for πεϕ- (line 5) and -οϕ (line 7), and poss. αγ- (lines 3 and 7)

130:5 poss. [αγω ἄπβολ] or [αγω ἄπζοϕν]

130:6 poss. emend to ἄπμοοϕ οϕνοϕνοβ̄ (haplography; for οϕν without superlinear stroke, cf. 135:10, 137:17, 140:20); τ̄: τ certain, articulation mark restored

130:7 trace from ω or ψ; poss. αγω[π ἄ]; αγω[ ] Doriesse

130:9 prob. π[ειωτ̄] or π[λογοσ] (cf. 129:20-23)

130:11 poss. ἄ[οϕχε] or ἄ[οϕοϕ] (cf. 130:15)

130:12 poss. ἄἄ[επκαζ]

130:23 lacuna over ἄ<sup>4</sup> (poss. read ἄ)



\*p. 130

he | [...] water from it | [...] word came forth from it \* and it inhabited many ...[...]. | It was higher than the [path ...] | ... the entire earth ...[...]. | ... the [collected] water [...] <sup>5</sup> existing outside them. [...] | ... the water, a great fire [encircling] | them like a wall. ...[...]. | ... time once many things had become separated [from what] | was inside. When the [...] <sup>10</sup> was established, he looked ...[...]. | and said to it, 'Go, and ...[...]. | from yourself in order that ...[...]. | be in want from generation to [generation, and] | from age to age.' [Then it] <sup>15</sup> cast forth from itself [fountains] | of milk and [fountains of] | honey and oil and [wine] | and [good] fruits | and sweet flavor and <sup>20</sup> good roots, [in order that] | it might not be deficient from generation [to] | generation, and from age [to age]. |

129:22 *poss.* [collected] water from it (*i.e. the cosmos? or from himself*)

129:23 *prob.* [and his] Word came forth from it (*i.e. the cosmos? the water? or from him*) or [in order to have the] Word come forth from it (*as above*)

130:1.2 it (*bis*): *i.e. the Word, or he*

130:2-3 *poss.* It (*or He*) was higher than the [path of the stars which surround] the entire earth ...[...]

130:5-7 them (*bis*): *i.e. the stars? (see the previous note)*

130:5-8 *poss.* [And outside (*or inside*)] the water, a great fire [encircled] them, like a wall (*or <there was> a great fire [encircling] them like a wall*). The temporal periods [were measured] once many things had become separated

130:9 *poss.* When the [Father] *or* When the [Word]

130:11 it: *i.e. the Word; poss.* Go, and [spew] forth *or* Go, and [cast them] forth

130:12 *poss.* in order that [the earth might not]

130:14 it: *i.e. the Word*

130:21 it: *i.e. the earth*

TE, providing  
i. ay- (lines 3-5)  
capiv: for op  
certain, amical

## [PΛ]ⲁ

- [ — — — ]εϕαρε ερατῆ ἄβι  
 2 [ — — — ].επεϕσαειε ἄβι  
 [.....]. .... β' αἰω ἄβι  
 4 [.....]β ἄβι πε εϕβῆβι  
 [.....]πεϕνε ἄβι χεῖντοϕ  
 6 [...].εμαρτε εχῆναιων ετῆ  
 [πσαντ]πε αἰω ετῆπεσντ'  
 8 [.....].ϕι εβλ ρῆπεκρω ἄβι  
 [.....].ἄβι αἰω εβλ ρῆπε  
 10 [.....]ωμα ετῆπσαντπε αἰω  
 [ετῆπς]ανπιτῆ νερβνοϕε τη  
 12 [ροϕ ..]ⲁϕε ἄβι ρῆτοϕ πε  
 [.....]εχῆτπε ετῆπσαντπε  
 14 [αἰω εχ]ἄβι πε ετῆπσανπι  
 [τῆ' ἄβι]ἄβι ρῆτοϕ εἰαϕε ἄβι  
 16 [νερβ]νοϕε τηροϕ' ἄβι  
 [δασ δ]ε σωτῆ εναῖ αἰω ρῆτῆ αἰω  
 18 [.....]τ' αἰω εβλ ἄβι  
 [αμαρ]ῆβι πε ετῆπσαντπε  
 20 [.....]ετῆπσαντπε ἄβι  
 [.....]εβλ ετῆπσαντπε  
 22 [πεχεπχ]οεις ἄβι ετῆπσαντπε >  
 [.....]ἄβι πε ετῆπσαντπε  
 24 [.....].. εἰαϕε ἄβι

- 131:1-24 The location of the left margin on this page is rather uncertain.  
 131:2 trace from a rounded letter, prob. ω or ϕ  
 131:4 prob. [νεϕνο]β; βῆ: cod. βῆ (see above, p. 32)  
 131:5 poss. [ἄβι ε] (cf. 130:2; [εβλ] would seem to suit the length of the lacuna better but is not attested elsewhere in the text)  
 131:6 trace is a non-descript blur; poss. [... ]εμαρτε or [πε ε]εμαρτε  
 131:8 trace prob. from τ or γ; prob. [τηροϕ α]ϕι  
 131:9 poss. [ποϕε]ἄβι  
 131:10 poss. [στερε]ωμα or [πληρ]ωμα  
 131:12 prob. ετῆⲁϕε (cf. 131:15-16), poss. εϕ or σε  
 131:13 what may be an articulation mark is preserved over the last letter in the lacuna; poss. [ετῆπ]ῆ  
 131:14 ῆ: ῆ not certain, superlinear stroke restored  
 131:15 ϕ: ϕ not certain, diaeresis restored  
 131:16 [νερβ]νοϕε: cf. 131:11-12  
 131:18 poss. [οἰω]τ'

\*p. 131

(23) "And it is above ... [ ... ] \* [ ... ] standing | [ ... ] ... its beauty ... | [ ... ] ... and outside | [ ... ] is ... luminous, powerful 5 [ ... ] ... resemble it, for it | [ ... ] ... rules over the aeons | [above] and below | [ ... ] ... take from the fire ... | [ ... ] ... it was scattered in the <sup>10</sup> [ ... ] ... above and | [below. All] the works | [ ... ] depend on them. It is they | [ ... ] over the heaven above | [and over] the earth [below]. <sup>15</sup> On them depend | all [the works]."

(24) [And] when [Judas] | heard these things, he bowed down and he | [ ... ] and he offered praise to the Lord. |

(25) [Mary] hailed her brethren <sup>20</sup> [ ... ] ... you ask the son ... | [ ... ] ... them, where are you going to put them?" |

(26) [The Lord said] to her, "Sister, | [ ... ] will be able to inquire

(23) 130:23, 131:2 it (*bis*): *i.e.*, *prob.*, *the Word*

131:3-14 *poss.* and outside [there was a great] light, [more] powerful [than] the one resembling it (*i.e. the sun?*), for that [is] the one [which] rules over [all] the aeons [above] and below. [The light was] taken from the fire and it (*i.e. the light*) was scattered in the [firmament (*or fullness*)] above and [below. All] the works [which] depend on them, it is they [that exist] over the heaven above [and over] the earth [below].

131:5 it ... it: *or* him ... he

131:11-12 *poss.* On them depend [all] the works. *or* [All] the works depend on them.

(24) 131:18 *poss.* [worshipped]

(25) 131:19 *her:* *or* the; *either translation represents an emended text*

131:19-21 *poss.* [Mary] hailed her brethren, [saying], "Where are you going to put [these things] about which you ask the Son of [Man]?"

(26) 131:23-132:5 *poss.* [who], *making the entire passage a question, or* [no one] will be able to inquire about these things [except for someone who] has somewhere to put them in his [heart, and who is able] to come [forth from this cosmos] and enter [the place of life] so that [he] might not be held back [in] this impoverished cosmos.

131:19 [C] cancelled by the scribe with diagonal strokes (the scribe may have written first  $\text{N}\epsilon\text{C}\text{C}\text{N}\text{H}\Upsilon$ , adding the superlinear stroke at the same time as he cancelled c); *prob.* emend to  $\text{N}\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\text{C}\text{C}\text{N}\text{H}\Upsilon$  or  $\text{N}\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\text{C}\text{N}\text{H}\Upsilon$  (though for  $\bar{\text{n}}$  =  $\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{n}}$  elsewhere in NHC III, cf. 96:2  $\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}$  =  $\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}$ ); cf. above, p. 30

131:20 *prob.* [XENAI] (cf. 131:21 -OY)

131:21 *poss.* [ΠΡΩΜΕ] (so Krause, p. 25; cf. 135:16-17, 136:21)

131:23 *prob.* [ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤ] or [ΜΝΛΑΔΥ]

131:23-24 *prob.* ε | [ΜΗΤΙ Ε]ΠΕΤΕ, though the traces are most uncertain

131:24 [ ]ΤΕΥΝΤΑϞ Doresse

## PΛB

- 2   εκαλυ ζ̄μπερζη[τ' — — — ]  
 2   μμοϑ εει εβο[λ — — — ]  
    ν̄ϑβωκ εροϑν̄ .[.]...[.....]  
 4   χεκαας ν̄νουκατεχε μ̄.[.....]  
    πικοςμος ν̄ζηκε πεχαϑ [ν̄βιμαϑ]  
 6   θαιος χεπχοεις †οϑωϑ [εναϑ]  
    επμα μ̄πωνϑ ετ̄μμαϑ [.....]  
 8   ετεμ̄κακ[[ε]]ια μ̄μαϑ αλλ[α ποϑο]  
    ειν πε ετ'τ̄βνοϑ' πεχ[αϑ ν̄βι]  
 10  πχοεις χεπσον μαθα[ι[ο]ς]  
    κναϑναϑ αν' εροϑ εφ ο[σον εκ]  
 12  φορι ν̄τσαρχ' πεχαϑ ν̄β[ι]μαϑ  
    θαιος χεπχοεις κα[.....]  
 14  ναϑ εροϑ αν μαρισο[..... πε]  
    χαϑ ν̄βιπχοεις χεοϑον ν[ι]μ  
 16  εταρσοϑων̄ μ̄μιν μ̄μοϑ αϑναϑ ερο[ϑ ..]  
    ζωβ νιμ ετ̄το ναϑ εααϑ [ ... ]  
 18  μμοϑ αϑω αϑωπε εϑ[.....]  
    μμοϑ ζ̄ντεϑμ̄ταγαϑ[ο]ς αῑ  
 20  οϑλας οϑωϑβ̄ εϑχω μ̄[μο]ς  
    χεχοος εροει πχοεις χ[ε ... ]  
 22  το ετκιμ επκαρ ν̄αϑ ν̄[ζε ε.]  
    κιμ' απχοεις χι ν̄οϑω[νε αϑ]  
 24  εμαρτε μ̄μοϑ ζ̄ντεϑβιχ [ . . ]

132:1 poss. ζη[τ' αϑω εϑν̄βομ] or the like

132:2 poss. εβο[λ ζ̄μπ(ι)κοσμο] (cf. 132:4-5)

132:3 traces virtually indecipherable; poss. εροϑν̄ ε[π]μα [μ̄πωνϑ'] (cf. 132:6-7)

132:4 ν̄νοϑ': i.e. ν̄νεϑ; poss. μ̄μ[ο]ϑ ζ̄μ̄

132:5 ν̄ζηκε' πεχαϑ Doresse

132:6 οϑωϑ [εναϑ] (poss. οϑωϑ[ναϑ]; cf. 137:13): cf. 132:11

132:7 poss. [π̄εεμα] or the like

132:8 [[ε]] cancelled by the scribe with diagonal strokes, ια added above [[ε]]

132:8-9 ποϑο|ειν πε ετ'τ̄βνοϑ': i.e. ποϑοειν ετ'τ̄βνοϑ' πε

132:10 The restoration leaves the line a little short; perhaps μαθα[ι[ο]ς >] or μαθα[ι[ο]ς ν̄]?

132:13 prob. κα[ν εειναϑ] or κα[ν ν̄†ναϑ]

132:14-15 prob. σο[ϑων̄ πε] | χαϑ (cf. 132:16)

132:16 εταρ: i.e. ν̄ταϑ; μ̄μιν μ̄μοϑ added above αϑναϑε; prob. ερο[ϑ ζ̄ν̄]

132:17 poss. [μ̄μιν]

132:18 poss. [εινε]

132:20 μ̄: μ restored, superlinear stroke certain

\*p. 132

about these things ... | [...]... he has somewhere \* to put them in his [heart ...] | ... to come [forth ...] | and enter ...[...]. . . [ ... ] | so that they might not hold back ... [ ... ] <sup>5</sup> this impoverished cosmos.”

(27) [Matthew] said, | “Lord, I want [to see] | that place of life [...] | where there is no wickedness, [but rather] | there is pure [light]!”

(28) The Lord [said], <sup>10</sup> “Brother [Matthew], | you will not be able to see it [as long as you are] | carrying flesh around.”

(29) [Matthew] said, | “Lord, ... [ ... ] | not see it, let me ... [ ... ]!” <sup>15</sup>

(30) The Lord [said], “[Everyone] | who has known himself has seen [it ...] | everything given to him to do [ ... ] | ... and has come to [ ... ] | it in his [goodness].”

(31) [Judas] <sup>20</sup> responded, saying, | “Tell me, Lord, [how it is that ...] | ... which shakes the earth | moves.”

(32) The Lord picked up a [stone and] | held it in his hand [ ... ]

(27) 132:7 *poss.* that place of life, [this place]

132:8 wickedness: *altered by the scribe from darkness*

(29) 132:13–14 *prob.* “Lord, [even if I will] not [be able] to see it, let me [know it]!”

(30) 132:16 himself: *translation guaranteed by a superlinear addition by the scribe, the text prior to which could also be translated it; prob. has seen [it in]*

132:17–19 *poss.* everything given to him [alone] to do, and has come to [resemble] it in his (or its) [goodness].

132:19 his: *or its*

(31) 132:21–22 *poss.* that this quaking] which shakes the earth

(32) 132:24–133:1 *prob.* held it in his hand, [saying, “What] am I holding *or* held it in his hand [and said (*poss. add to him or to them*), “What] am I holding

132:21–22 *poss.* χ[επικῆ] | το ... ἦ[ρε εἰ]

132:22 ἦ: *n* certain, superlinear stroke restored

132:24–133:1 *prob.* [εἰ] | [χῶ ἦμος χεοῦ] or [αἰ] | [χοοο χεοῦ] or [πε] | [χαἰ ναἰ (or ναῦ) χεοῦ] or the like

## ΡΛΓ

[ . . . . . χεοϥ] πε παϊ εϣαμαρτε  $\bar{m}$   
 2 [μοϥ] ρ $\bar{n}$ ταβ[ι]χ πεχαϥ χεοϥωνε  
 [πε· π]εχαϥ ναϥ χεπετϥι ερραϊ ρα  
 4 [πκα]ρ·  $\bar{n}$ τοϥ πετϥι ερραϊ ρατπε  
 ροϣαν εϥωανει εβολ  $\bar{n}$ βιοϥλογοϥ  
 6 εβολ ρ $\bar{n}$ τμ $\bar{n}$ τνοβ ϥναϥε εχ $\bar{m}$ παϊ  
 ετϥι ερραϊ ρατπε  $\bar{m}$ πκαρ· πκαρ  
 8 γαρ  $\bar{n}$ ϥκιμ αν ενεϥκιμ· νεϥνα  
 ρε πε αλλα χεκααϥ  $\bar{n}$ νεπωαχε  $\bar{n}$   
 10 ροϥειτ· οϥωϥϥ χε $\bar{n}$ τοϥ ερταρε  
 πκοϥμοϥ ερατ $\bar{q}$  αϥω αϥωωπε  
 12  $\bar{n}$ ρητ $\bar{q}$  αϥω αϥχιϥτοει εβολ  $\bar{n}$ ρη  
 [τ] $\bar{q}$ ·  $\bar{n}$ [.]. $\bar{n}$ ιμ γαρ ετκιμ αν ανοκ †  
 14 [ . . . . . ]οϥ  $\bar{n}$ ητ $\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}$ ωηρε τηροϥ  $\bar{n}$  $\bar{n}$ ρω  
 [με χ]ε $\bar{n}$ τωτ $\bar{n}$ ρενεβολ ρ $\bar{m}$ πμα  
 16 [ετ $\bar{m}$ ]μαϥ νετωαχε εβολ ρ $\bar{m}$ πρα  
 [ω]ε  $\bar{m}$ τμ $\bar{n}$ ε ετετ $\bar{n}$ ωοοπ  $\bar{n}$ ρραϊ  
 18 [ρ] $\bar{m}$ ποϥρητ· καν εϥωανει εβολ ρ $\bar{m}$   
 [πϥ]ωμα  $\bar{m}$ πιωτ ριτ $\bar{n}$  $\bar{n}$ ρωμε >  
 20 [αϥ]ω  $\bar{n}$ ϥετ $\bar{m}$ χιτ $\bar{q}$  εροοϥ παλιν >  
 [ . . ]ϥκοτ $\bar{q}$  ερραϊ επεϥμα πετϥοοϥν  
 22 [ . . ]ωβ  $\bar{n}$ τμ $\bar{n}$ τ·τελιοϥ  $\bar{n}$ ϥϥο  
 [οϥν αν]  $\bar{n}$ λααϥ ερωατ $\bar{m}$ οϥα ωρε  
 24 [ερα]τ $\bar{q}$  ρ $\bar{m}$ πκακε  $\bar{n}$ ϥναϥωναϥ εποϥ

133:2  $\bar{n}$ :  $\bar{n}$  certain, superlinear stroke restored

133:4 [πκα]ρ . . . τπε: cf. 133:7 (τπε . . . πκαρ)

133:10 ροϥειτ· articulation mark obscured by following corrected letter ο; οϥω  
 corr. over erased αρχ; ερ: i.e. πενταϥ

133:13 trace prob. from α, ε, ζ, κ, λ, μ, ϥ, χ, or ρ, poss. from β, δ, or χ: If it were  
 not for the position of γαρ,  $\bar{n}$ [κ]α  $\bar{n}$ ιμ would be a very attractive restoration.

133:14 τηροϥ added above  $\bar{n}$  $\bar{n}$ ρ

133:17 ωοοπ: sic; emend to ωοοπ'

133:18  $\bar{m}$ :  $\bar{m}$  not certain, superlinear stroke restored; ποϥ: i.e. πεϥ

133:19 ιωτ: sic; emend to ιωτ'

133:21 prob. [με]ϥ or [ωα]ϥ

133:22 trace is from a superlinear stroke; prob. [αν]  $\bar{m}$ [πρ]ωβ

133:23 ερωατ $\bar{m}$ : i.e. ερ(ωαν)τ $\bar{m}$

133:24  $\bar{q}$ :  $\bar{q}$  certain, superlinear stroke restored;  $\bar{m}$ :  $\bar{m}$  certain, superlinear stroke  
 restored; οϥ corr. over erased οϥοειν αν

\*p. 133

\* [..., "What] am I holding | [in] my [hand]?"

(33) He said, "[It is] a stone." |

(34) He [said] to them, "That which supports | [the earth] is that which supports the heaven. <sup>5</sup> When a Word comes forth | from the Greatness, it will come on what | supports the heaven and the earth. For the earth | does not move. Were it to move, it would | fall, though in order that the First Word might not <sup>10</sup> fail. For it was that which established | the cosmos and inhabited | it and inhaled fragrance from | it. For, ...[...]. which do not move I | [...]. you, all the sons of [men. <sup>15</sup> For] you are from [that] place. | [In] the hearts of those who speak out of [joy] | and truth you exist. | Even if it comes forth in | [the body] of the Father among men <sup>20</sup> and is not received, still | it [...] return to its place. Whoever knows | [...] ...[...]. perfection [knows] | nothing. If one does not stand | in the darkness, he will not be able to see the light.

(34) 133:13-14 *poss.* For, [all things] which do not move I [...] them ... you

133:14 all: *This word is a superlinear addition by the scribe.*

133:18 *or* Even if he (*or* it) comes forth from

133:21-23 *it: or* he; *prob.* it (*or* he) [does (*poss. add not*)] return to its (*or* his) place.

Whoever [does not] know [the work] of perfection [knows] nothing.





\*p. 134

(35) \* “If [one] does not [understand | how] fire came into existence, | he will burn in it, because | he does not know the root of it. 5 If one does not first understand | water, he knows nothing. For what | use is there for him to be baptized | in it? If one does not understand | how blowing wind <sup>10</sup> came into existence, he will blow away | with it. If one does not understand | how body, which he bears, | came into existence, he will [perish] with | it. And how will someone who does [not] know [...] <sup>15</sup> ... know the ... [...]? | And to someone who will not know the [root] | of all things, they remain hidden. Someone who | will not know the root of wickedness | is no stranger to it. Whoever <sup>20</sup> will not understand how | he came will not understand how | he will go, and he is no [stranger] | to this cosmos which ... [...], | which will be humiliated.”

(35) 134:14-15 *prob.* And how will someone who does [not] know [the Son] know the [Father]?

134:17-19 Someone ... it: *altered by the scribe from* To someone who will not know the root of wickedness, it (*i.e. the root, or wickedness*) is no stranger.

134:23 *prob.* which [will ...]

134:24 poss.  $\alpha\eta\chi[\iota]$  or  $\alpha\eta\kappa[\alpha]$ , though the trace is very ambiguous;  $\jmath$ :  $\iota$  not certain, diaeresis restored

134:25-135:1 poss.  $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\zeta[\alpha\mu]|\mu\eta$

## [ρλε]

[...] [...] .η ἡ π̄χωκ ἡ τ̄πε  
 2 [ἡ] π̄καζ [αγ]ω ἡ τερεφκατεφ >  
 [...] εχωου αγελπιζε χεεγε  
 4 [...] . εροφ αἰουδας φινεφβαλ εζραἰ  
 αφναγ εγτοπος εφχοσε εματε  
 6 αγω αφναγ επτοπος ἡ π̄ωικ  
 ετἡ π̄σανπιτἡ πεχεἰουδας ἡ  
 8 μαθαἰος χεπсон ηη πε ετνα  
 φβωκ εζραἰ επειχιζε ἡ επσα  
 10 ἡ πιτἡ ἡ π̄ωικ χεογνογνοβ  
 ἡ κωζτ' ἡ μαγ ἡ νογνοβ ἡ ζοτε  
 12 ἡ τεγνογ ετἡ μαγ αφει εβολ ἡ >  
 ἡ ρφ ἡ βιογλογος ζωσ εφαζε ε  
 14 [ρατ]ἡ αφναγ εροφ ἡ θε ἡ ταφει ε  
 [πιτ]ἡ· τοτε πεχαφ ναφ χεετβε  
 16 [ου] ακει επιτἡ· αγω απωηρε  
 ἡ πρωμε φἡ τογ πεχαφ ναγ  
 18 χεογβλβιλε εβολ ζἡ νογβομ ασ  
 φτα αγω ασβωκ επσαἡ πιτἡ ε  
 20 [π]ωικ ἡ π̄καζ αγω ατἡ ἡ τ̄νοβ  
 [ρ̄πεс]ἡ εεγε αφτἡ νοογ ἡ π̄λο  
 22 [γος ψα]ρoс αφεινε ἡ μοс εζραἰ ἡ  
 [πε]φἡ [το] εβολ χενεφoγωсφ ἡ βἰ

135:1 first trace from α or χ; second trace from α or λ

135:3 prob. [βιχ]

135:4 poss. [να]γ

135:12-13 ἡ | ἡ ρφ: virtually certain

135:14 ἡ: φ certain, superlinear stroke restored

135:15 [πιτ]ἡ: cf. 135:16

135:19 φτα: α corr. over erased ο

135:22 ψα]ρoс: poss. ε]ρoс

135:23 ἡ: ἡ not certain, superlinear stroke restored; νεφ: i.e. ἡ νεφ

\*p. 135

(36) Then he [ . . . Judas] <sup>25</sup> and Matthew and [Mary] \* [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . the edge of heaven | [and] earth. [And] when he placed his | [ . . . ] upon them, they hoped that they might | [ . . . ] . . . it. Judas raised his eyes <sup>5</sup> and saw an exceedingly high place, | and he saw the place of the abyss | below. Judas said to | Matthew, “Brother, who will | be able to climb up to such a height or down to the <sup>10</sup> bottom of the abyss? For there is a tremendous | fire there and something very fearful!” | At that moment, a Word came forth from | it. As it stood there, | he saw how it had come <sup>15</sup> [down]. Then he said to it, “[Why] | have you come down?”

(37) And the Son | of Man greeted them and said to them, | “A seed from a power was | deficient and it went down to <sup>20</sup> [the] abyss of the earth. And the Greatness | remembered [it] and he sent the

(36) 134:24 *poss.* Then he [took Judas] or Then he [put Judas]  
135:3 *prob.* [hand]

135:4 it: *antecedent ambiguous, or him; poss.* [see] it (or him).

135:13 it (1<sup>o</sup>): *i.e. the high place?* it (2<sup>o</sup>): *i.e. the Word, or he (see the next note)*

135:14 he: *i.e. Judas?* it: *i.e. the Word*

(37) 135:21 he: *i.e. the Father = the Greatness?*

## ΡΛΣ

2 πωορπ' ν̄ωαχε τ[οτε α]νε[γμα]  
 3 ΘΗΤΗΣ Ρ̄ωπηρε ν̄[ζω]β̄ nim̄ [ν̄]  
 4 ταφχοογ ναγ αχιτογ ζ̄νωγ[να]  
 5 ζτε αγω αγειμε χε̄ν̄ς̄ ρ̄χρια β̄ε  
 6 αν̄ ναγ ετκακια τοτε πεχαγ ν̄  
 7 νεγμαεθτης χεμη̄ μπιχοος  
 8 νητ̄ν̄ χε̄ν̄θε̄ νογσμη̄ μ̄νογε  
 9 βρηβε εσαγναγ εροογ τᾱι τε  
 10 θε̄ εγναχῑ ν̄ναγαθος̄ εζρᾱῑ ε  
 11 πογοειν̄ τοτε ανεγμαεθτης  
 12 τηρογ †εοογ ναγ πεχαγ χεπχο  
 13 εις̄ ζατεζη̄ εμπατεκογωνζ̄ εβολ  
 14 μ̄πιμᾱ νενιμ̄ πε ετ†εοογ νακ  
 15 χεερενεοογ τηρογ ωροπ̄ [εβολ]  
 16 ζιτοοτκ̄ η̄ nim̄ πε ετναςμογ [εροκ]  
 17 χεερεπесмоγ̄ τηρϣ̄ нноӯ εβο[λ̄ μ̄]  
 18 μοκ'̄ ζωс̄ εγαζε̄ ερατογ̄ αφναγ̄  
 19 επ̄νᾱ снаγ̄ εγϣ̄ῑ νογψ̄γχη̄ νογ  
 20 ωτ'̄ н̄μαγ̄ ζ̄νωγ̄ноб̄ ν̄εβρηβ̄ε  
 21 αγω̄ ογωαχε̄ αϣ̄εῑ εβολ̄ ζιτοοτ̄  
 22 μ̄πωηρε̄ μ̄πρωμε̄ εϣ̄ω̄ μ̄  
 23 мос̄ χεμα†̄ ναγ̄ ν̄τεγ̄ζ̄β̄с̄ω̄ [αγω]  
 24 απκογεῑ ρ̄θε̄ μ̄πноб̄ νεγ[.]̄ . [.]̄  
 25 ν̄νентаγ̄παρаламβανε̄ μ̄м[ο]

136:1-2 for the restoration cf. 136:10

136:3-4 for the restoration cf. 142:11-13

136:4 β̄ε: for the syntax cf. Luke 22:71

136:13 μ̄πιμα: i.e. ζ̄μ̄πιμα (though one could also understand πιμα as the dir obj of ογωνζ̄, or ογωνζ̄ εβολ̄ μ̄- to be for ογωνζ̄ εβολ̄ εβολ̄ μ̄-, i.e. εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄-; see above, on 129:20-21)

136:14 just poss. read ωροπ̄' (π certain, articulation mark restored)

136:20 ϣ̄: ϣ restored, superlinear stroke certain

136:23 poss. νεγ[ει]ν[ε]

\*p. 136

[Word | to] it. It brought it up into | [his presence] so that \* the First Word might not fail." [Then his disciples] were | amazed at [all the things] | he had said to them, and they accepted them on [faith]. | And they concluded that it is useless <sup>5</sup> to regard wickedness.

(38) Then he said to | his disciples, "Have I not told | you that like a visible voice and flash of | lightning | will the good be taken up to <sup>10</sup> the light?"

(39) Then all his disciples | offered him praise and said, "Lord, | before you appeared | here, who was it who offered you praise? | For all praises exist on your account. <sup>15</sup> Or who is it who will bless [you]? | For all blessing derives [from] | you."

(40) As they stood there, he saw | two spirits bringing a single soul | with them in a great flash of lightning. <sup>20</sup> And a Word came forth from | the Son of Man, saying, | "Give them their garment!" [And] | the small one did as the big one. They were [...]... [ ... ] |

135:22 It brought it: *i.e. the Word brought the seed*

135:23 his: *See above, on 135:21.*

(39) 136:12-13 *poss.* before you revealed that (or this) place, who was it who offered you praise? or before you appeared out of that place, who was it who offered you praise?

(40) 136:17 he: *sic (see above, 135:14)*

136:23 did as: *or became like*

136:23-137:1 *poss.* They were [like] those who received them.

[PΛZ]

οὐ νε.[ — — — ]νεϋερηοϋ  
 2 τοτε ανω[ — — — ]μαθητης  
 ναϊ νταϗχ[ — — — πεχας — — — ] νβιμα  
 4 ριζαμμη [χε — — — ]ναϋ επ'  
 πονηρο[ — — — ]ερο[[ϗ]]οϋ χν̄ν̄  
 6 ψορπ' [ — — — ]ερηοϋ· πε  
 χεπχοε[ις .....]. νταρεναϋ  
 8 εροοϋ α[.....]ψωπε ννοβ σε  
 ναμοϋ[....].α. ροταν δε ερωαν  
 10 ναϋ επετσοοπ' ψαενεϋ τετ̄μαϋ  
 τε τνοβ ν̄ρορασις· τοτε πεχαϋ ναϋ  
 12 τηροϋ χεματαμον ερος πεχαϋ ναϋ  
 χεϋν̄οϋ ετετ̄νοϋψωναϋ ερος  
 14 [ϋν̄ο]ϋρορασις εснаοϋωσϗ χ̄νοϋρο  
 [ρας]ις ν̄ψαενεϋ· παλιν πεχαϋ χε  
 16 [αρι]γ̄ωνιζε ν̄τετ̄νοϋϋν̄ μ̄παϊ  
 [ετε]οϋν̄βομ̄ ν̄μοϗ εογαϋϗ ν̄σω  
 18 [..] αϋω ν̄τετ̄νωινε ν̄σωϗ ν̄τε  
 [τ̄ν̄]ψαχε ν̄ρ̄αϊ ν̄ρητ̄ϗ· χεκαас  
 20 [ν̄κ]ᾱ ним̄ ετετ̄νωινε ν̄σωϗ εϋ  
 [ναϋ]сϋμφωνι ν̄μ̄μηт̄ν̄· ανοκ γαρ  
 22 [..χω] ν̄μοс̄ н̄ηт̄ν̄ χεαληωс̄  
 [....].. ϋν̄τηοϋт̄ν̄ ν̄βιπ̄νοϋτε

137:1 trace prob. from м (lacuna over this letter)

137:5 πονηρο[с or πονηρο[н; [ϗ] cancelled by the scribe with a diagonal stroke, οϋ added above [ϗ]

137:7 χε (and before it poss. ναс) is to be restored in the lacuna; νταρε: i.e. νтере

137:9 ερωαν: i.e. ερεωαν

137:16 αρι: cf. 146:21, but poss. [ερι]γ̄ωνιζε (cf. 144:19)

137:17-18 prob. ν̄σω|[τ̄ν̄] (cf. 141:10-11), poss. ν̄σω|[ει]

137:20 One might expect either ν̄σωοϋ εϋ or ν̄σωϗ εϋ; poss. emend thus.

137:21 poss. [να]сϋμφωνι

137:22 [†χω] is to be expected.

137:23 poss. [εϗω]οη' (π not certain, articulation mark restored)

\*p. 137

... those who received \* them. ... [ ... ] each other. | Then ... [ ... ] disciples, | [whom] he had ... [ ... ].

(41) Mary [said, | “ ... ] see 5 [evil ... ]... them from the | first [ ... ] each other.” |

(42) The [Lord] said, “[ ... ]... when you see | them ... [ ... ] become huge, they | will ... [ ... ]... But when you <sup>10</sup> see the Eternal Existent, that | is the great vision.”

(43) Then they all said to him, | “Tell us about it!”

(44) He said to them, | “How do you wish to see it? | [By means of a] transient vision or an <sup>15</sup> eternal [vision]?” He went on and said, | “[Strive] to save that | [which] can follow | [ ... ], and to seek it out, and to | speak from within it, so that, <sup>20</sup> as you seek it out, [everything] | might be in harmony with you! For | I [say] to you, truly, |

(41) 137:5 them: *altered by the scribe from him or it*

(42) 137:7 *poss.* The [Lord] said [to her, “ ... ]; you: *fem. sing.*

137:9 you: *fem. sing.*

(43) 137:12 it: *i.e. the great vision*

(44) 137:13 it: *i.e. the great vision*

137:16–20 *poss.* “[Strive] to save him [who] can follow [me (or you)], and to seek him out, and to speak from within him, so that, as you seek him out, [everything]

137:18 *prob.* [you], *poss.* [me]

137:19–21 *poss. emend to* speak from within it, so that [everything] you seek out might be in harmony with you!

## [ΡΛΗ]

2 ετονζ .[ — — — ]. ἡζη  
 2 τῆ· ἰοῦδ[ας . . . . . κεαλλ]ἠῆως †  
 οὔωψ[ — — — πεχ]αῖ ναῖ ἡ  
 4 βιπχ[οεις κε — — — ]ετονζ εῖ  
 ψοοπ̄ [ — — — ]. τηρῆ·  
 6 ἡπεβρω[ζ — — — ἰο]ῦδας κε  
 νιμ πε ετη[ — — — ] πεχαῖ  
 8 ἡβιπχοεις [κε . . . . . ]ζβνοῦε  
 τηροῦ ετσο[ . . . . . ]πκεσε  
 10 επε ἡτοοῦ πε ετε[τ]η[ . . . ].[.]χωοῦ  
 πεχαῖ ἡβιῖοῦδας κεειςζηητε  
 12 ειςἡρχων ψοοπ̄ ζἡτπε ἡ  
 μαν ἡτοοῦ βε πε ετναῖχοεις  
 14 εχων· πεχαῖ ἡβιπχοεις κεἡ  
 τωτῆ πε ετναῖχοεις εχωοῦ  
 16 ἀλλα ζοταν ετετῆψανῖ ἡπ[ε]  
 φθονος εβολ ζἡτηοῦτῆ τοτε  
 18 τετνα† ζιωτ'τηοῦτῆ ἡποῦο  
 ειν ἡτετῆβωκ εζοῦν επμα  
 20 ἡψελεετ' πεχεῖοῦδας κεἡ  
 αῦ ἡζε εῦναεине ναν ἡνε[ν]  
 22 ζῆσῶ· πεχεπχοεις κεζεν  
 κοοῦε νετναεине ηητῆ [αῦω]  
 24 ζενκοοῦε νετναχι ἡμ[ . . . ]

138:2 prob. ἰοῦδ[ας πεχαῖ κεαλλ]ἠῆως, though the word order would be unusual (only 120:2 can be compared); poss. ἰοῦδ[ας αῖχοος κεαλλ]ἠῆως, though χω is not to be expected in such a phrase in this text

138:4 poss. χ[οεις κεπνοῦτε] (cf. 137:23–138:1) or χ[οεις κεπειωτ']

138:5 π': π not certain, articulation mark restored

138:6 prob. βρω[ζ πεχαῖ ἡβιῖο]ῦδας, though poss. βρω[ζ — — — πεχεῖο]ῦδας

138:7 lacuna over η² (poss. read ἡ)

138:8 prob. [κε . . . . νε] or [κε . . . . ἡ]

138:10 lacuna over η² (poss. read ἡ)

138:12 ζἡτπε: i.e. ἡτπε (cf. 120:9–10, 130:23)

138:12–13 ἡ|μαν: i.e. ἡ|μον

138:16–17 poss. ἡπ|φθονος

138:24 prob. ἡμ[ωτῆ] or ἡμ[οοῦ]

ing God [ . . . ]  
 (Udas said, "  
 The [Lord sai  
 . . . the (defi  
 (Udas said, I  
 The Lord sai  
 sider, "it is the  
 Udas said, "B  
 who will rule  
 The Lord said  
 as you rid yoursel  
 in light I and e  
 Udas said, I  
 The Lord said

the living God  
 2:17  
 2:18 [The] livi  
 the . . . the (defici



\*p. 138

the living God [...]... in you \* ... [...]... in | him.”

(45) [Judas said, “Truly], I | want [...].” |

(46) The [Lord said] to him, “[...] living [...] 5 dwells [...]... entire | ... the [deficiency ...].”

(47) [Judas said], | “Who ... [...]?” |

(48) The Lord said, “[...] all [the] works | which ... [...] the remainder, <sup>10</sup> it is they [which you ...]... [...]....” |

(49) Judas said, “Behold! | The governors dwell above | us, so it is they who will rule | over us!”

(50) The Lord said, <sup>15</sup> “It is you who will rule over them! | But when you rid yourselves of | jealousy, then | you will clothe yourselves in light | and enter the bridal chamber.” <sup>20</sup>

(51) Judas said, | “How will [our] garments be brought to us?” |

(52) The Lord said, “There are | some who will provide for you,

word order in  
αποδοσει  
απειρα  
απειρα

137:23 *poss.* the living God [dwells] in you

138:2 *him:* or it

(46) 138:4 *poss.* [The] living [God] or [The] living [Father]

138:6 *poss.* ... the [deficiency].” [Judas said],

## ρ[λθ]

1     ἸΤΟΟΥ ΓΑΡ Ν[ΕΤΝΑ† Ν]ΗΤῆ̄ ἸΝΕΤῆ̄  
 2     Ζῆ̄σ̄ω· ΝΙΜ Γὰ[ρ ΠΕΤΝΑ]ΨΧΩΒΕ Ἰ  
       ΠΜΑ ΕΤῆ̄ΜΑΥ ... [.]ἜἸΠΨΑ ΠΕ  
 4     ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ†ἸΖῆ̄σ̄ω ἸΠΩΝΖ Ἰ >  
       ΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕἸΤΟϚ ϚΣΟΟΥΝ ἸΤΕ  
 6     ΖΙΗ ΕΤῆ̄ΝΑΒΩΚ ἸΖΗΤῆ̄· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ  
       ΒΑΡΟΣ ΝΑΪ ΖΩΩΤ' ΟΝ ΤΕ ΕΧΟΟΒΕΣ  
 8     ΠΕΧΑΣ ἸΒΙΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΕΖΙΝΑΪ ΕΤ  
       ΚΑΚΙΑ ἸΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΡ  
 10    ΓΑΤΗΣ ἸΠΨΑ ἸΤΕϚΤΡΟΦΗ· ΑΥΩ  
       ΠΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ἸϚΕΙΝΕ ἸΠΕϚΣΑΖ' ΠΕ  
 12    ΕΨΑΧΕ ΑΣΧΟΟΥ ΖΩΣ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΑΣΕΙ  
       ΜΕ ΕΠΤΗΡῆ̄· ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϚ ἸΒΙἸΜΑ  
 14    ΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ  
       ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΨΩΩΤ' ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ  
 16    ἸΤΩΤῆ̄ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΖἸΠΕΠΛΗΡΩ  
       ΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤῆ̄ΨΟΟΠ' ΖἸΠΜΑ Ε  
 18    ΤΕΠΨΩΩΤ' ἸΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΙΣΖΗ  
       [ΗΤ]Ε ΕΙΣΠΕϚΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑϚΠΩΖΤ' Ε  
 20    [ΖΡ]ΑΪ ΕΧΩΕΙ· ΠΕΧΑϚ ἸΒΙΜΑΘΘΑΙ  
       [ΟС] ΧΕΧΟΟС Ε(Ε)ΡΟΕΙ ΠΧΟΕΙС ΧΕἸ  
 22    [Α]Ψ ἸΖΕ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ' СΕΜΟΥ >  
       [ΑΥ]Ω ἸΑΨ ἸΖΕ ΝΕΤΟΝΖ СΕΩΝΖ >

139:1 Ἰ: Ν certain, superlinear stroke restored

139:3 [.] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120); Ἔ virtually certain; prob. ἜΤΕ[Π]ἜἸΠΨΑ ΠΕ, unless ἸΠΨΑ be for ΕΜΑΤΕ (in which case ΕΥ[.]Ἔ ἸΠΨΑ ΠΕ could be read)

139:4 ω<sup>1</sup> read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120)

139:8 ΖΙΝΑΪ Ε: poss. ΖΙΝΑΪ is an error for ΖΩ or emend to ΖΙΝΑΪ <ΖΩ> Ε (cf. *Matt* 6:34)

139:11 ἸϚ: poss. corrupt; poss. understand ἸΠΨΑ (139:10) before ἸϚΕΙΝΕ (Schenke), or poss. emend to ἸϚΕΙΝΕ <ΑΝ>

139:14 ΠΕ<sup>2</sup> added above ΠΛ

\*p. 139

and | there are others who will receive [ . . . ]. \* For [it is] they [who will give you] your | garments. [For] who [will] be able to reach | that place . . . [ . . . ] . . . ? | But the garments of life were given to 5 man because he knows the | path by which he will leave. And | it is difficult even for me to reach it!" |

(53) Mary said, "Thus with respect to 'the | wickedness of each day,' and 'the laborer <sup>10</sup> is worthy of his food,' and | 'the disciple resembles his teacher.'" | She uttered this as a woman who had understood | completely.

(54) The disciples said to him, | "What is the fullness and <sup>15</sup> what is the deficiency?"

(55) He said to them, | "You are from the fullness | and you dwell in the place | where the deficiency is. And lo! | His light has poured [down] <sup>20</sup> upon me!"

(56) [Matthew] said, | "Tell me, Lord, | how the dead die | [and] how the living live."

(52) 138:24 *prob.* [you] or [them]

139:3 *prob.* that place [which] is [the] reward? or *poss.* that place [which] is very [ . . . ] . . . ?

139:7 it (2<sup>o</sup>): *i.e.* the path

(53) 139:8-9 *poss. emend* to Mary said, "The (or "Thus, 'the) wickedness of each day <is sufficient>,' and 'the laborer

139:11 *tense of the verb uncertain, poss. due to corruption; or poss. understand* the disciple *deserves* to resemble his teacher; or *poss. emend* to the disciple is <not> like his teacher

139:13 *completely: or everything*

[PM]

1 πεχεπχοε[ις χε . . ]ϣινε ἄμο  
 2 ει εγψαχε [ . . . πα]ϊ ετεῖπε  
 3 вал нау ероу [ο]γδε ἄπισοτμεϗ  
 4 ει μητι ἄτοοτκ †χω δε ἄμο  
 5 нηтн χεζοταν εγψανσωκ ἄ  
 6 παϊ ετκim επρωμε σεναμοу  
 7 τε ероу χεπετμοоуτ' аγω ζοταν  
 8 ерψанпетонз кω ἄпетмооуτ'  
 9 сенамоуτε епетонз' πεχεῖοу  
 10 дас χεετвеоу гар еχἄтмне се  
 11 моуоуτ' аγω сеωνз' πεχεпχο  
 12 εις χεπετεоуевол зἄтмне пе >  
 13 меϗмоу петеоуевол зἄтесзi  
 14 ме пе ψαϗмоу πεχεμαризам  
 15 μη χεχοос ероеi пχοеiс χеε  
 16 твеоу дειеi еπεеiма ебἄзноу  
 17 ἦ е†осе πεχεпχοеiс χеереоу  
 18 ωнз евол ἄπεζоуо ἄпмнну  
 19 тнс πεχεмаризамμη наϗ' χ[ε]  
 20 пχοеiс оунтoпoc гар еϗарi.  
 21 н еϗбрωз евол зἄтмне пеχε  
 22 пχοеiс χεпма анок етеἑ†  
 23 ἄмоϗ аη' πεχεмаризамμη  
 24 χεпχοеiс ἄткoузoтe зiϣп[н]

140:1 prob. χεακ]

140:2 πα]ϊ: cf. 140:3 (-ϗ . . . -ϗ)

140:3 [ο]γ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

140:5 нηтн: sic; emend to нηтἄ

140:8 π<sup>2</sup> corr. over erased κ or η

140:9 poss. corrupt: poss. μοуте ε&lt;роу χε&gt;петонз (haplography) or μοуте епетонз &lt;χε — — — &gt;

140:11 μοуоуτ': γ<sup>1</sup> added above оо; prob. emend to μοу(оуτ') (cf. 140:13-14 меϗмоу . . . ψαϗмоу)

140:16 бἄ: cod. бн (see above, p. 32)

140:20 poss. еϗарi.[.]

140:21 η: If this is the Greek word ἦ, and not the last letter of the final word in 140:20, one may expect ἦ.

140:22 poss. етеἑ†[. . .]

140:23 ἄмоϗ: i.e. ἄηтἄ (unless something be restored at the end of 140:22)

\*p. 140

(57) \* The [Lord] said, “[ . . . ] ask | me about a saying [ . . . ] which | eye has not see, [nor] have I heard it | except from you. But I say <sup>5</sup> to you that when | what invigorates a man is removed, | he will be called ‘dead.’ And when | what is alive leaves what is dead, | what is alive will be called upon.”

(58) Judas said, <sup>10</sup> “Why else, for the sake of truth, do they | kill and live?”

(59) The Lord said, | “Whatever is born of truth | does not die. Whatever is born of woman | dies.”

(60) Mary said, <sup>15</sup> “Tell me, Lord, why | I have come to this place to profit | or to forfeit.”

(61) The Lord said, “You make clear | the abundance of the revealer!” |

(62) Mary said to him, <sup>20</sup> “Lord, is there then a place which is . . . , | or lacking truth?” |

(63) The Lord said, “The place where I | am not!”

(57) 140:1 *prob.* [You (*masc. sing.*) have] asked

140:4 you: *masc. sing.*

140:8 what is dead: *altered by the scribe, poss. from the dead (plural)*

140:9 *poss. emend to <he> will be called ‘alive.’ or what is alive will be called < . . . >.*

(58) 140:10–11 do they kill and live: *altered by the scribe from are they dead and do they live, but see the following note*

140:11 *prob. emend to <die> and live*

(60) 140:16–17 *poss. place. For profit or for loss?*

(62) 140:20–21 *or “Lord, is there then a place which is . . . [ . . . ] . . . , lacking truth?”*

(63) 140:22–23 *poss.* “The place which I do not [ . . . ]!”

capitulation:

oy, 097, 16.

er of the text

end of 140:

## PM[λ]

ρε αγω ου.[ . . . . . ]ωτϛ ε >  
 2 βολ ἡνετσοογν ἡμ[ο.] αν̄ πε  
 χεμαθθαιος χεετ[β]εου τῆἡ  
 4 τον ἡμον αν̄ ριογ[ς]οπ̄ πεχε  
 πχοεις χεεтетῆψανκω επι  
 6 τῆ ἡναίετπω̄ πεχεμαθθα  
 ος χεἡαψ ἡζε ψαρεπκογει  
 8 κολλα ἡμοϛ επινοβ πεχεπχο  
 εις χεροταν εтетῆψανκω ἡ  
 10 νερβνογε ἡσωτῆ ετεἡσенаψ  
 ουαροϛ ἡσωτῆ αν̄ τοτε тетῆναἡ  
 12 τον ἡμωτῆ πεχεμαριζαμμἡ  
 χετογωψε εειμε ερωβ ним ἡ  
 14 [θε] ετογωοοπ̄ ἡμος πεχεπχο  
 [εις] χεπεтнаψине ἡсапωνρ̄  
 16 [α]ει γαρ τε τογμῆτρῆμαο̄ τα  
 [ . . . ]αγςις γαρ ἡπεεικοσμος ου  
 18 [ . . τ]ε αγω περνοϛβ ἡἡπερζατ̄  
 [ους]ωρῆ πε̄ πεχαγ ναϛ ἡβινεϛ  
 20 [μα]θητης χεου πετῆἡααϛ χε  
 [καα]ς ερεπενρωβ ναχωκ εβολ̄  
 22 [πεχ]επχοεις ναγ χεωωπε ετε  
 [τῆς]ῆτωτ̄ ἡναρῆπτηρϛ̄ ου >  
 24 [μα]καριος πε πρωμε ἡταϛβινε

141:1 prob. κ]ωτϛ or ϛ]ωτϛ

141:2 ἡ: μ certain, superlinear stroke restored; prob. ἡμ[οκ]

141:6 ναἡ: i.e. νεει

141:9 τ̄ corr. over erased η (incomplete) or poss. λ

141:16 prob. [τα]ει, poss. [πα]ει (for the spelling, cf. 145:15); τογ: i.e. τεγ

141:16-17 poss. α|[πολ]αγςις or α|[ναπ]αγςις

141:18 . . . : space for 2½ letters; poss. [βολ τ]ε

141:21 ωβ corr. over erased ητ̄ (articulation mark not erased)

141:23 ῆ: β certain, superlinear stroke restored (cf. 145:7)

Mary said, I  
 . . . those  
 Matthew said,  
 The Lord said,  
 Matthew said,  
 The Lord said,  
 able to follow  
 Mary said, I  
 The Lord said,  
 wealth. I For the  
 silver I are  
 His [disciples] s  
 our work will be  
 The Lord said

prob. and  
 those  
 those who do n  
 the (rest)  
 false  
 work altered

\*p. 141

- (64) Mary said, | “Lord, you are fearful and [wonderful], \* and  
 ...[...]. . . | . . . those who do not know [ . . . ].” |
- (65) Matthew said, “[Why] do we | not rest [at once]?” 5
- (66) The Lord said, “When you lay down | these burdens!”
- (67) Matthew said, | “How does the small | join itself to the big?”
- (68) The Lord said, | “When you abandon <sup>10</sup> the works which will  
 not be able | to follow you, then you will rest.” |
- (69) Mary said, | “I want to understand all things, | [just as] they  
 are.”
- (70) The [Lord] said, <sup>15</sup> “He who will seek out life! | For [this] is  
 their wealth. | For the . . . [ . . . ] . . . of this cosmos | is [ . . . ], and its  
 gold and its silver | are [misleading].”
- (71) His [disciples] said to him, <sup>20</sup> “What should we do to ensure  
 that | our work will be perfect?” |
- (72) The Lord [said] to them, “Be | [prepared] in face of every-

(64) 141:1-2 *prob.* and . . . [ . . . turn] away (*poss. add* from) those *or* and . . . [ . . . obliterate] those

141:2 *prob.* those who do not know [you].

(70) 141:17 *poss.* the [rest] of this cosmos *or* the [pleasure] of this cosmos

141:18 *poss.* is [false]

(71) 141:21 *work: altered by the scribe from* minds

[PMB]

1 ἸΠ.ΟΛ.[ . . . . . ].ΥΕΠΑΓΩΝ Ἰ  
 2 ΝΕΦΒΑΛ' [. . .]. ἸΠΕΦΖΩΤῸΥ ΔΕ Ἰ  
 4 ΕΙΤ' ΠΕΧΕΙ[Ο]ΥΔΑΣ ΧΕΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΠΧΟ  
 6 ΕΙΣ ΧΕΑΨ ΤΕ ΤΑΡΧΗ ἸΤΕΖΙΗ ΠΕΧΑΨ  
 8 ΧΕΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜἸΤΜἸΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΕΝΕ  
 10 ΟΥἸΟΥΕΙ ΓΑΡ ἸΝΑἸ ΨΟΟΠ' ΖΑΤἸἸ  
 12 ΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΕΜἸΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ Α  
 14 ΝΗΖΕ' ΠΕΧΕΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΣ ΧΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
 16 ΑΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΒΕΘΑΝ ἸΠΤΗΡΨ' ΑΧἸΖΙ  
 18 ΣΕ ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ' ἸΤΑ  
 20 ΕΙΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΩΤἸ ΑΤΕΤἸΕΙΜΕ ἸΜΟ  
 22 ΟΥ ΑΨ ΑΤΕΤἸΧΙΤΟΥ ΖἸΟΥΝΑΖΤΕ  
 24 ΕΨΧΕΑΤΕΤἸΣΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΖΙΕ ΝΩΤἸ  
 ΝΕ ΕΨΧΕἸΠΕ ΖΙΕ ΝΩΤἸ ΑΝ ΝΕ  
 ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΨ ΧΕΑΨ ΠΕ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ [Ε]  
 ΤἸΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΨ' ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙ[Σ]  
 ΧΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΤἸΝΑΨΠΩΖ Ψ[ . . . ]  
 ΩΖΕ ΕΡΕΤ'ΤΗΟΥΤἸ ἸΜΑΨ' Π[Ε]  
 ΧΕΜΑΡΙΖΑΜΜΗ ΧΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ [Ε.]  
 ΣΜΟΝΤ' ἸΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΣΕΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΨ [ΠΕ]  
 ΧΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΔΕΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤἸ [ΧΕ]  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΤΟΨ ΠΕΤῸΒΩΛ[Π']  
 ΕΒΟΛ' ΑΨΧΝΟΥΨ ἸΒΙΝΕΨΜΑΘΗ[ΤΗΣ]  
 ΕΨΜΑΖΜἸΤῸΝΟΟΥΣ ΧΕΠΣΑΖ [. . ]

142:1 first trace very obscure, second trace from ε or ο, third trace prob. from λ, ε, ο, or λ: poss. ΠΟΛΕ[ΜΟΣ] (Schenke)

142:2 [. . .]: space for 2½ letters in the lacuna, trace very ambiguous; prob. [ΟΥΔ]ε; Ἰ: Ἰ certain, superlinear stroke restored

142:5 ΑΡΧ corr. over erased ΕΖΙ

142:6 Ἰ: Ἰ restored, superlinear stroke certain

142:7 Ἰ: Ἰ certain, superlinear stroke restored

142:14 ΝΩΤἸ: i.e. ΝΟΥΤἸ; Ἰ: Ἰ restored, superlinear stroke certain

142:15 ΝΩΤἸ: i.e. ΝΟΥΤἸ

142:18 prob. Ψ[ΑΡΟΨ], poss. Ψ[ΑΤΕΤἸ]

142:20 prob. [ΕΤ], poss. [ΕΨ]

142:23 ῸΒΩΛ[Π']: cf. 126:16-17

142:25 ΜἸΤῸΝΟΟΥΣ: sic



\*p. 142

thing. | [Blessed] is the man who has found \* ... [ ... ] ... the contest ... | his eyes. [ ... ] ... he did not kill, nor | was [he] killed, but he came forth victorious." |

(73) [Judas] said, "Tell me, Lord, <sup>5</sup> what the beginning of the path is."

(74) He said, | "Love and goodness. For if | one of these existed among the | governors, wickedness would never have come into existence." |

(75) Matthew said, "Lord, <sup>10</sup> you have spoken about the end of everything without concern." |

(76) The Lord said, "You have understood all the things | I have said to you | and you have accepted them on faith. | If you have known them, then they are [yours]. <sup>15</sup> If not, then they are not yours." |

(77) They said to him, "What is the place | to which we are going?"

(78) The [Lord] said, | "The place you can reach ... [ ... ], | stand there!" <sup>20</sup>

(79) Mary said, "Everything [ ... ] | established thus is seen." |

(80) The Lord [said], "I have told you [that] | it is the one who can see who [reveals]." |

(81) His [disciples], numbering twelve, asked him, <sup>25</sup> "Teacher,

(72) 142:1 *poss.* the [battle ... ] ...

142:2 *prob.* [Neither] did he kill, nor

(78) 142:18-19 *prob.* "Stand in the place you can reach!" *poss.* "[You will] stand in the place you can reach."

(79) 142:20-21 *prob.* "Everything established thus is seen." or "Is everything thus established seen?" *but poss.* "Thus [is] everything established. It is seen." or "[Is] everything thus established? Is it seen?" or *the like*

(80) 142:23 or it is that which can see that [reveals].

P[Mr]

[T]MNT'ATPOO[γω — — — ]μα  
 2 τσαβον χ[ — — — ]πεχε  
 πχοεις χε.[.....]ε ερω  
 4 ΝΙΜ ΝΤΑΕΙΧ[.....]ΤΕΤΝΑΡΑ  
 [. . .].Υ.ΕΤΕΤΝ[....].ερω  
 6 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΧΕΜΑΡΙ[ζαμ χ]εογυα  
 χε νογωτ' πετ'να[χο]οq μηχο  
 8 εις ετβεπμυστηριον ντμηε >  
 παϊ ντανωζε ερατν νζητq' αγω  
 10 ενογονζ εβολ ννκοσμικον >  
 πεχεϊουδας νμαθθαιος χετν  
 12 [ο]γωω εειμε χεζεναω νμινε  
 [ν]ε νζβςω ετογνα[τ]ααυ ζιωων  
 14 [ε]νψανει εβολ ζμπακο ντ  
 [σαp]ζ: πεχεπχοεις χεναρχων  
 16 [M]νδαιοικητης ουνταγ νμαγ  
 [νζ]ενζβςω ευ† νμοογ προσογ  
 18 [οει]ω ευμην εβολ αν: ντωτν  
 [δε] ζωσ ψηρε ντμηε ετετνα†  
 20 [ζι]ωττηογτν αν ννιζβςω ετωο  
 [οπ'] προσογοειω: αλλα †χω νμοσ  
 22 [ν]ητν χετετνψαωπε νμακα  
 [ρι]οσ: ζοταν ετετνψανβεωτη  
 24 [νο]γ' ογνοб γαρ αν νρω πε

143:3 χοεις χε.[.....] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120, 15 [1978] 205); first trace prob. from ε, second trace prob. from α, Δ, κ, λ, μ, or ρ; poss. ε[τετνψανει]με or ε[τετντμει]με (cf. 142:11-13)

143:4 νταειχ[.....] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120); poss. χ[οογ ερωτν] (cf. 142:11-13)

143:4-5 poss. Pα|T[M]OY χε; if the line break (for which cf. above, p. 33-34) is acceptable, poss. Pα|T[M]OY χε (Schenke)

143:5 first undeciphered trace from π or τ, second undeciphered trace poss. from ο; γ read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120); third undeciphered trace prob. from χ, poss. from x; lacuna over τν (poss. read τν); fourth undeciphered trace poss. from ε

143:6 M' read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120)

143:9 ν: n certain, superlinear stroke restored

143:11 M: emended, with hesitation, by Krause (p. 17 n. 33) to Mν

143:22 [ν]ητν: sic; emend to [ν]ητν

143:23-24 TH|[NO]Y: cf. 128:5; i.e. τηογτν

... serenity  
 The Lord sa  
 you will ...  
 (Mary) said, "  
 concerning the  
 and to the cos  
 Judas said to M  
 garments we are  
 of the 15 [flesh]."  
 The Lord said  
 garments gr  
 you, I as childr  
 are you to cloth  
 will become [bless

... you  
 you will be  
 ... emend to  
 ... or wh

\*p. 143

[...] \* [... serenity ...] teach | us ... [...].” |

(82) The Lord said, “... [...]. . . everything | which I have  
... [...]. you will ... 5 ... [...]. . . you [...]. . . everything.” |

(83) [Mary] said, “There is but one saying | I will [speak] to the  
Lord | concerning the mystery of truth: | In this have we taken our  
stand, and <sup>10</sup> to the cosmic are we transparent.” |

(84) Judas said to Matthew, “We | [want] to understand the sort  
| of garments we are to be [clothed] with | [when] we depart the  
decay of the <sup>15</sup> [flesh].”

(85) The Lord said, “The governors | [and] the administrators  
possess | garments granted [only for a time], | which do not last.  
[But] you, | as children of truth, <sup>20</sup> not with these transitory gar-  
ments are you to clothe yourselves. | Rather, I say | [to] you that  
you will become [blessed] | when you strip [yourselves]! | For it is

(82) 143:3-5 *poss.* “[If you have (*poss. add not*) understood] everything which I have  
[told you], you will [be unworthy (*or become immortal*), for] you [...] . . . every-  
thing.”

(84) 143:11 *poss. emend to* Judas <and> Matthew said, “We

(85) 143:17 *granted: or which they grant*

[PMA]

ε[ — — — ]ΝΠCΑΝΒΟΛ  
 2 ΠΕΧ[ — — — ΧΕ — — — ]†ΨΑΧΕ †  
 ΨΩΠ[.....]. ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟ  
 4 ΕΙC ΧΕ[.....]ΑΡΜΠΕΤΝΕΙ  
 ΩΤ' ΝΜ[.....]ϞϞ ΠΕΧ[ΕΜΑ]  
 6 ΡΙΖΑΜ' Χ[ΕΟΥΑ]Ψ ΝΖΕ ΤΕ †ΒΛΒ[Ι]ΛΕ  
 ΝΨΛΤΑ[Μ] ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΠΕ ΤΕ Η ΟΥ  
 8 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΠΚΑΖ ΤΕ' ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC  
 ΧΕΝΤΕΡΕΠΕΙΩΤ' ΤΑΖΟ ΕΡΑΤ῀ ΜΠ  
 10 ΚΟΣΜΟC ΝΑϞ' ΑϞCΕΧΠ'ΖΑΖ ΖΙΤῆ  
 ΤΜΑΑΥ ΜΠΤΗΡϞ' ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ ϞΧΩ ΑΥ  
 12 Ω ϞΕΙΡΕ ΠΕΧΕΪΟΥΔΑC ΧΕΝΤΑΚ  
 ΧΩ ΜΠΑΪ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΝΟΥC Ν  
 14 ΤΜΗΕ ΖΟΤ[Α]Ν ΕΝΨΑΨΛΗΛ ΕΝΑ  
 ΨΛΗΛ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ' ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC [ΧΕ]  
 16 ΨΛΗΛ ΖΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΜΝCΖΙΜΕ Μ[ΜΑΥ]  
 ΠΕΧΕΜΑΘΘΑΙΟC ΧΕΕϞΧΩ ΜΜ[ΟC]  
 18 ΝΑΝ ΧΕΨΛΗΛ ΖΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΜ[ΝCΖΙ]  
 ΜΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΧΕΕΡΙΚΑΤΑΛΥΕ ΝΝ[Ε]  
 20 ΖΒΗΟΥΕ ΝΤΜΝΤCΖΙΜΕ ΧΕΒΕΧ[ΠΟ]  
 ΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕCΕΝΑΟΥΩ ΝCΕ[ΧΠΟ]  
 22 ΠΕΧΕΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΕCΕΝΑϞΟΤΟΥ Ε[ΒΟΛ]  
 ΑΝ ΨΑΕΝΕΖ' ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΕ[ΝΙΜ]  
 24 ΠΕ ΕΤCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕCΕΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ [ΑΝ]

144:2 Some form of ΠΕΧΕ- is to be restored at the beginning of the line.

144:3 lacuna over π' (poss. read π'); [.....]. ΠΕΧΕ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 121); trace from ο or β

144:4 undeciphered trace from π or τ; [.....] ΑΡΜΠΕ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 121)

144:6 λ̄: λ not certain, superlinear stroke restored (cf. 135:18); Ϟ[Ι] read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 121)

144:7 εΗ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 121)

144:8 ΖΝΠΚΑΖ ΤΕ': ΑΖΤ corr. over erased ΕΤΕ' (raised point not erased; prob. ΠΚΑΖΤ corr. over erased ΤΠΕ ΤΕ')

144:10 CΕΧΠ': i.e. ΨΕΧΠ'

144:12 ΝΤΑΚ: poss. read ΝΤΟΚ

144:14 ΕΝΨΑ: i.e. ΕΝΨΑΝ

144:16 Μ[ΜΑΥ]: cf. 144:18-19

144:18-19 ΕΤΕΜ[ΝCΖΙ] ΜΕ: cf. 144:16

144:19-20 lacuna over Ν² (poss. read Νῆ | ΖΒΗΟΥΕ)

144:20 βΕ: i.e. ΚΕ

\*p. 144

no great thing \* ... [ ... ] outside." |

(86) [ ... said ... ] ... speak, I | ... [ ... ] ...."

(87) The Lord said, | "... [ ... ] ... your Father <sup>5</sup> ... [ ... ] ...."

(88) [Mary said, | "Of what] sort is that [mustard seed]? | Is it something from heaven or | is it something from earth?"

(89) The Lord said, | "When the Father established the <sup>10</sup> cosmos for himself, he left much over from | the Mother of the All. Therefore, he speaks and | he acts."

(90) Judas said, "You have | told us this out of the mind of | truth. When we pray, <sup>15</sup> how should we pray?"

(91) The Lord said, | "Pray in the place where there is no woman." |

(92) Matthew said, | "Pray in the place where there is [no woman], he tells us, | meaning, 'Destroy the <sup>20</sup> works of womanhood,' not because there is any other [manner of birth], | but because they will cease [giving birth]." |

(93) Mary said, "They will never be obliterated." |

(94) The Lord said, "[Who] | knows that they will [not] dissolve

(93) 144:22 *poss.* "Will they never be obliterated?"

## [ρμε]

- [α]γω ἡσεκ[ — — — ].  
 2 [.]ε ἡτμῆτ[.....].. πος  
 πεχειουδαζ [ἡμαθθ]αιος χε  
 4 [c]εναβωλ εβ[ολ .... ρβ]ηογε ἡ  
 [τ]μῆτc[ — — — ]ἡαρχων  
 6 [..]ἡαρεπι....[....].α εναψω  
 [π]ε ἡ†ρε εινcβτωτ' [ε]ροου πε  
 8 [χεπ]χοεις χεμη γαρ cεναγ ερω  
 [τῆ]μη cε[ν]αγ ενετπαρаламβανε  
 10 [ἡμω]τῆ· ειcρηhte βε ουψαχε  
 [πατ]πε ηνοу εβολ ριτῆπειωτ'  
 12 [επ]ωικ ρῆουκαρωμ ἡηογεβρη  
 [βε] εμχοπο cεναγ ερομ ἡ cεβῆ  
 14 [βom] ερομ· αλλα ἡτωτῆ ἡρηουо  
 [ψατε]τῆcоуων[τερι]η таει ем  
 16 [παταг]τ[ε]λοc оуα[ε ε]χοуcиa >  
 [..... α]λλα тап[ει]ωτ' ἡηпωη  
 18 [ρε τ]ε χε[ἡτοо]γ ἡп[ε]cнаγ оуа ἡ  
 [...] ηε· α[γω] тетη[α]μοоуе ρῆ  
 20 [τερι]η етатетῆcоу[ωνc·] кан е  
 [ω]пπε ἡαρχων ε[γω]ἡηρnob  
 22 [cε]ἡαψχοоbc аη αλ[λα ει]c†  
 [χ]ω ἡηmoc ηηтῆ χ[εоу]βαpoc  
 24 [ἡαί] ρωωτ' он те ε[χοо]βес пе

145:1-2 poss. κ[ατα]γε он ἡηερβ]η|[о]γε (cf. 144:19-20)

145:2 poss. μῆτ[cρι]με ρῆπει]τοπος (cf. 144:19-20)

145:3 π read from ink blotted onto 144:3; for the restoration cf. 135:7-8, 143:11

145:4 prob. εβ[ολ ἡβинеρβ]ηογε

145:5 prob. μῆτc[ρι]με — — — ] (for the superlineation cf. 142:25 μῆτcῆноуc)

145:6 prob. [cε]ἡα; first undeciphered trace prob. from κ, poss. from η; second undeciphered trace prob. from λ, poss. from γ, κ, μ, π, or τ; third undeciphered trace from α, ε, θ, ο, c, ρ, or β; fourth undeciphered trace prob. from η; poss. ρεπικ[α]λε[i] η[....].α (lacuna over η; poss. read ἡ), though α would be a bit crowded

145:7 τ: τ not certain, articulation mark restored

145:10 ἡ: η certain, superlinear stroke restored

145:12 traces of ικ rather ambiguous, but cf. 135:8-136:1

145:13 βῆ: cod. βη (see above, p. 32)

145:15 [τερι]η: cf. 120:23-26, 139:2-6, 142:5-9

145:15-17 See *BASP* 17 (1980) 57-58 *ad loc.*

145:17 poss. [..... c α]λλα; αλλα: virtually certain

... [ ... ]  
 Judas said [to  
 ...] the  
 ...] prepar  
 [The] Lord [sai  
 who receive<sup>10</sup> [y  
 heaven is comi  
 set with a [flash o  
 power] | it? But  
 before] | either [a  
 Father] and the  
 [you [will] go via  
 the governors be  
 [tact] | | [tell] y

... and (the  
 ... The wo  
 ...  
 ... (his): i.e. the  
 ... it (i.e. the  
 ... altered by the sc  
 ... (his): i.e. the pa  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ... see above  
 ... sic (xoo  
 ... for the restora

\*p. 145

\* and ...[...]. . . | [...]. . .[...]. . . ?” |

(95) Judas said [to Matthew], | “[They] will dissolve [... works] of 5 [...]. . .[...]. . . the governors | [...]. . . will ...[...]. . . . Thus will we [become] | prepared [for] them.” |

(96) [The] Lord [said], “Right. For do they see | [you? Do they see] those who receive <sup>10</sup> [you]? Now behold, a Word! | [The one belonging to] heaven is coming forth from the Father | [to the abyss], in silence with a [flash of lightning], | giving birth. Do they see it or [overpower] | it? But you are even more <sup>15</sup> aware of [the path], this one, [before] | either [angel or authority has | . . . . Rather it belongs to the Father] and the [Son | because they] are both a single | [ . . . . And] you [will] go via <sup>20</sup> [the path] which you have [known]. Even [if] | the governors become huge | [they will] not be able to reach it. [But listen!] I | [tell] you [that] it is difficult | even [for] me [to reach] it!”

(94) 145:1-2 *poss.* and [the works] of [womanhood here] be [destroyed as well]?

(95) 145:4-6 *poss.* “[The works] of [womanhood] will dissolve [...] the governors will [call upon . . . ] . . . .

(96) 145:13-14 *it (bis): i.e. the Word*

145:17 *poss.* . . . *it (i.e. the path)*. Rather; *it: i.e. the path*

145:19 *via: altered by the scribe from to*

145:22.24 *it (bis): i.e. the path*

145:18 [ε]c read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121)

145:19 first lacuna too short for οϋωτ';  $\mathfrak{N}^1$  corr. over erased π; [α]μοο read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121); 2̄ corr. over erased ψα

145:20 [τε21]η: see above, on 145:15; ετατετ̄η: i.e. ητατετ̄η

145:22 χοοβс: sic (χοοβес is expected); ε1]ϕ: cf. 122:6

145:23-24 for the restoration cf. 139:6-7

[PMS]

2 χε[μαριζαμ̄ μπχο]εις χερο  
 2 ταν ε[γ]ψ[α(ν) . . . . .]. ἡβινεζ  
 4 βνογε ο[ . . . . . ε]τβωλ εβολ  
 4 ἡογζω[. πεχεπχοε]ις χετε  
 6 σοογν γα[ρ . . . . .].. εειψαν  
 6 βωλ εβολ[λ . . . . .] . . . . . ναβωκ ε  
 8 περτοπ[οc] πεχεϊογδασ χεζἡ  
 8 ογ εφογονζ εβολ ἡβιπεπἡ[α]  
 10 πεχεπχοεις χεζἡογ [εσογονζ]  
 10 εβολ ἡβιτσηε πεχεϊογδ[αc]  
 12 χεζἡογ εφογονζ εβολ ἡβιπο[γ]  
 12 οειν· πεχεπχοεις χεε . . . . [ . . . ]  
 14 ἡζητῆ ἡψαε νεζ· πεχεϊογδ[αc]  
 14 χενιμ πε ετκω ἡνεζβηο[γε]  
 16 ἡνιμ εβολ [νεζ]βνογε ετκ[ . . . ]  
 16 πκοcμοc [ . . . . . ] [ . . . ε]  
 18 τκω ἡνεζ[β]ηογε εβολ[λ· πεχε]  
 18 πχοεις χε[ν]ιμ π[ε . . . ]επε[ν]  
 20 ταζειμε εν[ε]ζβηο[γε] πωq π[ε ε]  
 20 ειρε ἡπ[ογω]ψε ἡπειωτ· ἡ[τω]  
 22 τἡ δε αρ[ιαγω]μιζε ερι ἡτο[ργη]  
 22 ἡἡπε[φθο]νοc εβολ ζἡτηνο[γ]  
 24 αγω ἡτ[ετἡ]κω ἡμωτἡ καζη[ογ]  
 24 ἡνετἡ[ . . . . . ]·ε· ἡτετἡτἡ[ . . . ]

146:1 [μαριζαμ: cf. 146:4 (τε-); not enough room for μαριζαμμη

146:2 poss. ε[γ]ψ[ανβωλ εβολ]

146:3 poss. read εβολ·

146:4 prob. ἡογζω[β; poss. ἡογζω[π', i.e. ζἡογζωπ' (see *BASP* 17 [1980] 58 *ad loc.*, and above, on 129:20-21)

146:5 trace of ι could also be from ρ or τ

146:6 prob. a nominal subject for ναβωκ (qna cannot be read)

146:9 [εσογονζ]: cf. 146:8.11, but poss. [εcβολπ']

146:13 ῖ: ι not certain, diaeresis restored

146:16 A connective superlinear stroke is preserved over the fifth and sixth undeciphered traces.

146:17 poss. εβολ αν πεχε]

146:18 π virtually certain

146:18-19 πε[ν]! ταζ: i.e. πενταq

146:19 εν[ε] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121); ε restored at the end of the line, though not strictly necessary, is recommended for a usual line length

146:20 ἡ: μ certain, superlinear stroke restored; ειωτ: ειωτ' is expected



\*p. 146

- (97) \* [Mary] said [to the Lord], "When | the works [...]... | ...[... which] dissolves | a ...[...]."
- (98) [The Lord said, "Right. For] you <sup>5</sup> know [...]... if I | dissolve [...]... will go to | his [place]."
- (99) Judas said, "How | is the [spirit] apparent?" |
- (100) The Lord said, "How [is] <sup>10</sup> the sword [apparent]?"
- (101) [Judas] said, | "How is the [light] apparent?" |
- (102) The Lord said, "...[... ] | in it forever."
- (103) [Judas] said, | "Who forgives the [works] <sup>15</sup> of whom? [The works] which ...[... ] | the cosmos [...]...[... | who] forgives the [works]."
- (104) The Lord [said], "[Who ...]...? | It behooves whomever has understood [the works] <sup>20</sup> to do the [will] of the Father. | And as for [you, strive] to rid [yourselves] of [anger] | and [jealousy], | and [to strip] yourselves | of your [...]... s, and not to ...[...]

(97) 146:1-3 *poss.* When the works [dissolve] ...[... which] dissolves

146:3 which: *or* who; dissolves: *or* dissolve

146:3-4 *poss.* ...[... which] dissolves a [work]." The Lord said *or* ...[... which] dissolves." [Privately, the Lord said

(98) 146:4 *poss.* [Privately, the Lord said (*see the previous note*); you: *fem. sing.*

146:7 his: *or* its

(99) 146:7 How: *or* In what

(100) 146:9 How: *or* In what

146:10 sword: *or* reed

(101) 146:11 How: *or* In what

(102) 146:13 in it: *or* by means of it

(103) 146:15 *poss.* [The works] which you (*masc. sing.*) [...]

146:17 *poss.* who] does [not] forgive the [works] *or* who] do [not] forgive the [works] *or* who] forgive the [works]

(104) 146:18-19 *or* "[Who ...]... the one who has understood [the works]? It behooves him

146:21-22 for the restoration cf. 138:16-17

146:22 ΤΗΝΟ[Υ]: cf. 128:5; i.e. ΤΗΟΥΤῆ

146:24 first trace from π *or* τ, *or* *poss.* from γ; second trace from ω *or* υ

[PMZ]

- [Approximately 7 lines are missing.]
- 8 [ — — — ].  
[ — — — ]νε
- 10 [ — — — ]ωδε  
[ — — — ]ε.. †πε
- 12 [ — — — ].μῆτρεϚ >  
[ — — — ].ανοβνεβ
- 14 [ — — — ]†χω γαρ ᾠ  
[ — — — ]ετῆχι ἄζεν
- 16 [ — — — ]τητῆζαζου  
[ — — — ]ταϚωινε εαϚ
- 18 [ — — — ].επαῖ ναᾠ >  
[ — — — ]φναωνζ ψα
- 20 [.....].ε†χω ᾠμοc νη  
[τῆ.....].εχεῖνετῆcωρᾠ >
- 22 [ἄνετᾠ]ῆνα μῆνετᾠψυχοογε  
[πδιδαλο]γοc ᾠπcωτηρ'

147:8-23 The location of the left margin on this page is very uncertain.

147:14-15 prob. ᾠ|[μοc — — — χε — — — ], poss. ᾠ|[μοc νητῆ  
χε — — — ] (similarly Krause [p. 26 n. 102])

147:17 prob. ᾠ]ταϚ, poss. ε]ταϚ

147:18-19 poss. ᾠ|[τον ᾠμο — — — ]

147:20 prob. [ενεζ (or ἀνηζε) ανοκ] δε †

147:21 prob. χε is to be restored in the lacuna; trace prob. from ρ, η, ι, ν, π, or τ,  
poss. from λ, μ, or γ

147:23 For the decoration above and below this line, see *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pl.  
141; for the restoration cf. 120:1.

\*p. 147

\*[...]. . . | [...] . . . <sup>10</sup>[...] . . . | [...] . . . | [...] . . . | [...] . . .  
 reproach | [...]. For I say . . . <sup>15</sup>[...] . . . you take . . . | [...] . . .  
 you . . . | [...] who has sought, having | [...] . . . this, will . . .  
 | [...] he will live . . . <sup>20</sup>[...] . . . I say to | [you . . .] . . . so that you  
 will not lead | [your] spirits and your souls into error.” |

[The Dialogue] of the Savior

<sup>147:14-15</sup> *poss.* For I say [to you, . . .] . . . you take . . .

<sup>147:18</sup> *poss.* . . . ] . . . this one will . . .

<sup>147:18-19</sup> *poss.* . . . ] . . . this, will [rest . . .] he will live . . . or . . . ] . . . this one will  
 [rest . . .] he will live . . .

<sup>147:19-20</sup> *prob.* [ . . . ] he will live [forever. And] I say

uncertain  
 ss. 4/12

am r. H. 1. A<sup>1</sup>

Codex III:

main entry is always  
in the text, this  
is followed by  
(Oxford: Cla

:= transitive verb  
mediately by an o  
object is govern  
direct object afte  
by "med"

:= medium, middle  
without a direct  
otherwise descri

:= intransitive  
mediately by an o

:= attributive co  
comes a preceding

:= a reference,  
struction is whol

:= a reference,  
struction is to be

abbreviations a  
basic (not con

= Second Tens  
= Third

adv = adverb, a  
= affirma

= Circ  
= Condi

adv = Co  
= dative, u

other wor

## INDEXES

The main entry is always the standard Sahidic form; if not actually attested in the text, this form is given in parentheses, e.g. (ⲁⲛⲦ-). The entries are followed by a reference to W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), e.g. 9a.

vb tr = transitive verb, the infinitive of which can be followed immediately by an object (dir obj); after the *status absolutus* the direct object is governed by the preposition  $\bar{\text{n}}$ -,  $\bar{\text{m}}\text{m}\text{o}$ -; the absence of a direct object after the *status absolutus* is indicated by “no dir obj” or by “med”

med = *medium*, middle voice, in which the infinitive of a transitive verb without a direct object describes the entry of the actor into the state otherwise described by the qualitative of that verb

vb intr = intransitive verb, one which can never be followed immediately by an object

attrib = attributive construction, in which  $\bar{\text{n}}$ - with a bare noun modifies a preceding noun

\* after a reference, e.g. 133:1\*, indicates that the key word or construction is wholly or partially restored or read from uncertain letters

ap after a reference, e.g. 129:12ap, indicates that the key word or construction is to be found in the *apparatus* to the text

Other abbreviations are as in Crum, with the following additions:

I = basic (not converted) tense

II = Second Tense

III Fut = Third Future

advb = adverb, adverbial

affirm = affirmative

Circumst = Circumstantial

Cond = Conditional

Conjunctv = Conjunctive

dat = dative, used to distinguish the preposition  $\bar{\text{n}}$ -,  $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ - from other words spelled  $\bar{\text{n}}$ -

dir obj = direct object; see above under vb tr  
 foll. by = followed by  
 Fut = Future  
 Gk = Greek  
 Imperat = Imperative  
 infin = infinitive, including the Causative Infinitive  
 neg = negative  
 Perf = Perfect  
 Pres = Present  
 suffix vb = verb of suffix conjugation  
 t-caus = t-causative verb  
 w. = with

## I. WORDS OF EGYPTIAN ORIGIN

- aa-**, see **ειρε**.  
**αμαρτε**, **εμαρτε** (9a) vb  
 intr.  
 — **εχνη-** <sup>1</sup>131:6.  
 — **μομο...** **2η-** <sup>1</sup>132:24,  
<sup>1</sup>133:1\*.  
**(ανγ-)**, **νηκ-**, **νητωτη-** (11b  
 4up) copular pron. <sup>1</sup>133:15,  
<sup>1</sup>139:16, 140:24.  
 See also **πε** (2°).  
**ανок**, **νηток**, **2ηтоқ**, **3ητωτη**,  
**4ηтооу** (11b) pron. <sup>2</sup>122:24,  
<sup>3</sup>123:11\*, <sup>4</sup>124:12, <sup>3</sup>124:16–  
 17ap, <sup>3</sup>124:22, <sup>1</sup>125:3, <sup>2</sup>131:5.  
 in extraposition to subject  
 120:8, 120:23, 126:2, 128:1\*,  
 129:12ap, <sup>2</sup>130:23, 133:13,  
 137:21, <sup>2</sup>139:5, 140:22, <sup>3</sup>143:18,  
<sup>3</sup>145:14\*, <sup>4</sup>145:18\*, 147:20ap;  
 before Imperat: <sup>3</sup>124:2,  
<sup>3</sup>146:20\*.  
 predicate of a nominal sen-  
 tence: <sup>1</sup>121:9\*, <sup>1</sup>121:16; of a  
 cleft sentence <sup>2</sup>126:9ap,  
<sup>2</sup>126:15, <sup>2</sup>126:16, <sup>2</sup>129:2,  
<sup>4</sup>131:12 (see 131:13ap), <sup>2</sup>133:4,  
<sup>2</sup>133:10, <sup>4</sup>138:10, <sup>4</sup>138:13,  
<sup>3</sup>138:14, <sup>4</sup>139:1, <sup>2</sup>142:23.  
 See also **анг-**.  
**anhze**, see **enez**.  
**api-**, see **ειρε**.  
**ат-** (18b) prefix forming nn.  
 See **моу**.  
**мнт-ат-**, see **pooy**.  
**ayw** (19b) conjunction. 122:14,  
 123:5, 124:7, 124:11, 124:18,  
 124:21, 127:9, 129:7, 131:3,  
 141:1.  
 joining independent clauses  
 120:20, 126:16, 126:23, 127:5–  
 6ap (bis), 128:14, 129:14,  
 130:5ap (bis), 132:18, 133:11,  
 133:12\*, 134:14, 134:16,  
 134:22, 135:2\*, 135:6, 135:16,  
 135:19, 135:20, 136:4, 136:20,  
 136:22\*, 138:23\*, 139:14,  
 139:17, 139:18, 139:23\*, 140:7,  
 140:11, 141:18, 142:13, 143:9,

144:11\*, 145:19\*.

joining dependent clauses  
121:7, 128:3*ap*, 131:7, 131:10,  
132:1*ap*.

before Conjunction 133:20\*,  
137:18, 145:1\*, 146:23.

joining prep phrases 130:13\*,  
130:22, 131:14\*.

joining nns 121:2, 121:17,  
125:15, 127:15, 127:23, 130:19,  
139:9 (?), 139:10 (?).

**αω** (22*a* 1) interrog pron. 142:5,  
142:16.

**αω**  $\bar{n}$ - 124:24, 132:22\*, 134:2\*,  
134:10, 134:15, 134:20,  
134:21\*, 138:21, 139:22\*,  
139:23, 141:7, 143:12, 144:6\*,  
144:15.

**αωε**†, see **ειωε**.

**αζε**, **αζε**†, see **ωζε**.

**αχι**†, see **χω**.

**αχ $\bar{n}$** - (25*b*) prep. 142:10.

**βωκ** (29*a*) vb intr. 126:3, 130:11,  
134:22.

— **ε**-, **ερο**† 142:17, 146:6.

— **ἄρητ**† 139:6.

— **επσα-ἄ-πιτἄ** **ε**-  
135:19.

— **εζοϋν** 132:3\* (?).

— **εζοϋν ε**- 132:3\* (see  
*ap*), 138:19.

— **εζραι ε**- 135:9.

**βαλ** (31*b* 8) nn m. 135:4, 140:3,  
142:2.

**βολ** (33*b* 9*up*) nn m. 121:16,  
129:5.

attrib: **σα-ν-βολ** 123:21-22*ap*,  
144:1 (for advb expression see  
**σα** [1<sup>0</sup>]).

**εβολ** 120:18, 122:13, 128:7; w.  
vb: see **βωλ**, **ει**, **κω**, **κωτε**,  
**μοϋν**, **ἄτο**, **ναγ**, **οϋωνη**,  
**φωτε**, **χωκ**, **χωωρε**,  
**δωλπ**, **δωψτ**; also, cf.  
further below.

**εβολ**  $\bar{z}$  $\bar{n}$ -,  $\bar{n}$ **ρητ** 121:8,  
121:23, 122:20, 127:7, 129:22,  
131:8, 133:6, 133:12\*, 133:16,  
135:18, 138:17, 140:21, 144:13,  
146:22; as nn 133:15, 139:16,  
140:12, 140:13, 144:7, 144:8;  
also, see further below.

**εβολ** **ζητοοτ**† 136:14\*; also,  
see further below.

**εβολ** **των** 126:19, 126:20.

**εβολ** **χε**- 134:3\*.

**ἄπβολ** 131:3.

**εβολ**  $\bar{n}$ -,  $\bar{m}$ **μο**† 120:22, 141:2  
(?); also, see further below.

$\bar{m}$ **πβολ**  $\bar{n}$ - 130:5, 130:5*ap*.

**εβολ** between vb and prep,  
prob. to be taken w. both  
(**εβολ** for **εβολ εβολ**):

**εβολ**  $\bar{z}$  $\bar{n}$ -,  $\bar{n}$ **ρητ** 130:12,  
132:2*ap*, 133:18 (?), 143:14.

**εβολ** **ζητἄ**-, **ζητοοτ**†  
136:20, 145:11.

**εβολ**  $\bar{n}$ -,  $\bar{m}$ **μο**† 129:23,  
130:15, 135:12\*, 136:13*ap*,  
136:16\*.

**βωλ** (32*a*) vb tr.

— **εβολ** 146:3 (see  
146:4*ap*), 146:6\* (?); med  
144:24\*, 145:4\*, 146:2*ap*,  
146:3 (see 146:3 & 4*ap*); as nn  
m 122:3.

**βλβιλε** (37*b*) nn f. 135:18,  
144:6\*.

ΒΛΛΕ, <sup>1</sup>ΒΛΛΕ (38a) nn m.

attrib 121:24, <sup>1</sup>121:24*ap*.

(ΒΩΨ), ΒΕΨ- (46b) vb tr.  
143:23.

ε-, <sup>1</sup>ερο- (50a) prep. <sup>1</sup>120:14,  
<sup>1</sup>120:19\*, 125:5, <sup>1</sup>134:19,  
134:23, <sup>1</sup>137:5, 139:8; see ΒΩΚ,  
ΕΙ, ΕΙΜΕ, ΚΙΜ, ΚΩΤΕ,  
ΜΟΥΤΕ, ΝΑΥ, ΝΗΥ, ΣΟΒΤΕ,  
ΣΜΟΥ, ΣΩΤ῀, †, ΤΑΜΟ,  
ΤΩΜΤ, ΤῆΝΟΟΥ, ΤΣΑΒΟ,  
ΤΑΧΡΟ, ΟΥΩΝ, ΨΙΝΕ, ΨΩΠ,  
ΖΩ, ΖΩΠ, ΧΙ, ΧΩ, ΧΡΟ,  
ΒΙΝΕ, ΚΟΛΛΑΩ, ΠΙΣΤΕΥΩ.

before infin: 129:23*ap*, 134:7,  
139:7, 140:16, 140:17, 145:24\*,  
146:19\*; see also †, ΟΥΝ-,  
ΟΥΝΤΕ-, ΟΥΩΨ, ἀγωνίζομαι.

ΕΠСА-Ḡ-ΠΙΤῆ ε- 135:19.

ΕΖΟΥΝ ε- 132:3*ap*, 138:19.

ΕΖΡΑΪ ε- 123:1, 133:21, 135:9,  
136:9.

ḠΖΟΥΟ ε- 130:2, 131:5*ap*.

ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ε- 131:23-24*ap*.

forms advb expressions and  
compound preps w. ΒΟΛ,  
ΕΙΤΝ, ΜΑΤΕ, СА (1<sup>o</sup>), ΤΗΡ-,  
ΖΟΥΝ, ΖΡΑΪ, ΖΟΥΟ.

(ΕΒΙΩ), ΕΒΕΙΩ (52b) nn m.

attrib 130:17\*.

ΕΒΡΗΒΕ (53b) nn f. 136:7,  
136:19\*, 145:12\*.

ΕΜΜΟΝ, see ΜΜΟΝ.

ΕΜΑΖΤΕ, see ΑΜΑΖΤΕ.

ΕΝΕΖ, <sup>1</sup>ΑΝΗΖΕ (57a) nn m.  
127:13\* (context unclear).

as advb <sup>1</sup>142:8.

ḠΨΑ-ΕΝΕΖ 120:8, 137:15,  
146:13.

ΨΑ-ΕΝΕΖ 127:10, 137:10,  
144:23, 147:20*ap*, <sup>1</sup>147:20*ap*.

ΨΑ-ΝΙΕΝΕΖ 122:1.

ΧḠ-ΕΝΕΖ ΨΑ-ΕΝΕΖ 130:14,  
<sup>1</sup>130:22\*.

ΕΡΙ-, see ΕΙΡΕ.

ΕΡΟ-, see ε-.

ΕΡΑΤ-, <sup>1</sup>ΕΡΕΤ-(ΤΗΟΥΤῆ) (303a  
8up) prep. 120:5, 120:6,  
120:21, 127:2-3*ap*, 127:5,  
128:14, 128:22, 129:21, 130:10,  
131:1, 133:11, 133:24\*,  
135:13\*, 136:17, <sup>1</sup>142:19,  
143:9, 144:9.

ΕΡΩΤΕ (58b) nn m f.

attrib 130:16.

(ΕΡΗΥ), ΕΡΗΟΥ (59a) nn m f.  
137:1, 137:6\*.

ΕСНТ (60a) nn m.

ḠΠЕСНТ 131:7.

ΕΤΒΕ- (61a) prep. 123:13,  
126:22, 142:10, 143:8.

ΕΤΒΕ-ΠΑΪ 128:18, 129:19\*,  
144:11.

ΕΤΒΕ-ΟΥ 135:15\*, 140:10,  
140:15, 141:3\*.

ΕΤΠΩ (532b 4) nn f. 141:6.

ΕΟΟΥ (62a) nn m. 121:2, 121:3,  
136:14.

†-ΕΟΟΥ 121:4; foll. by Ḡ-, ΝΑ-  
131:18, 136:11, 136:13.

ΕΨΩΠΕ (580b 16) conjunction.  
122:17, 128:20-21*ap*, 145:20\*.

ΕΨΧΕ- (63b) conjunction.  
142:14, 142:15.

ΕΖΗ, see ΖΗ.

ΕΧḠ-, <sup>1</sup>ΕΧḠ-, <sup>2</sup>ΕΧΩ- (757a 3)  
prep. 127:18, 131:6, 131:13,  
<sup>1</sup>131:14\*, <sup>1</sup>133:6, <sup>2</sup>135:3,  
<sup>2</sup>138:14, <sup>2</sup>138:15, 140:10.



- ε2ΡΑΙ εΧḠ-<sup>2</sup>139:20\***.  
**HP (66b) nn m.** 130:17\*.  
**ει, IḠI** (70a, see also **NHY**) vb  
 intr. 120:23, 128:8, 134:21.  
 — **ε-** 140:16.  
 — **εΒΟΛ** 132:2\* (?), 133:18  
 (?), 142:3.  
 — **εΒΟΛ εΒΟΛ ḠMO-**  
 120:22; w. one **εΒΟΛ** standing  
 for both 129:23, 135:12\*.  
 — **εΒΟΛ εΒΟΛ 2N-** 133:5;  
 w. one **εΒΟΛ** standing for both  
 132:2\* (see *ap*), 133:18 (?),  
 143:14.  
 — **εΒΟΛ** (for **εΒΟΛ εΒΟΛ**)  
**2ITOT-** 136:20.  
 — **εΠITN** 135:14\*, 135:16.  
**ειμε, IḠIME** (77b) vb intr.  
 139:12 (?).  
 — **ε-** 134:5, 139:12 (?),  
 141:13, 143:3*ap* (bis), 146:19;  
 foll. by **χε-** 134:8, 134:11.  
 — **ḠMO-** 142:12.  
 — **χε-** 122:12 (?), 134:1\*,  
 134:20, 134:21, 136:4, 143:12.  
**εινε** (78b) vb tr “bring.”  
 — **να-** 138:21; no dir obj  
 138:23.  
 — **ε2ΡΑΙ** 135:22.  
**εινε** (80b) vb intr “resemble.”  
 — **N-**, **ḠMO-** 131:5,  
 132:18*ap*, 136:23*ap*, 139:11.  
**(ειοορ)**, see **χιοορ**.  
**ειρε, IḠ-**, **2αα-**, Imperat **3αρι-**,  
**4ερι-** (83a) vb tr. 120:13,  
 122:5, 122:17, 2123:22,  
 2132:17, 1135:21\*, 1136:2,  
 1136:4, 1136:23, 1138:13,  
 1138:15, 2141:20, 1143:4 (cf.  
 143:4–5*ap*), 1145:6, 1145:21,  
 146:20; no dir obj 144:12.  
**Ḡ-**, **αρι-**, **ερι-** before Gk vbs:  
 see *ἀγωνίζομαι, ἀρνέομαι,*  
*ἀτιμόω, ἐπικαλέω, καταλύω,*  
*μετανοέω, συμφωνέω, φορέω.*  
**ειC-** (85a) deictic particle. 122:6,  
 128:4\* (?), 145:22\*.  
**ειC-2HHTE** 126:18\*, 128:4*ap*,  
 128:10 (?), 129:16\*, 145:10.  
**ειC-2HHTE ειC-** 138:11–12,  
 139:18–19\*.  
**ειωτ, IḠOT** (86b) nn m. 1121:1\*,  
 121:5, 129:20\*, 130:9*ap*,  
 1133:19, 134:15*ap*, 138:4*ap*,  
 144:4, 144:9\*, 145:11, 145:17\*,  
 146:20.  
**(ειτN), ITN** (87b) nn m.  
**ca-N-ΠITN** 127:16\*, 129:11,  
 131:11\*, 131:14\*, 135:7,  
 135:10, 135:19 (for advb  
 expressions and compound  
 prep see **ca** [1<sup>0</sup>]).  
**εΠITN** 135:15\*, 135:16, 141:5.  
**(ειψε), αψε†** (88b) vb tr.  
 — **N2HT-** †131:12\*.  
 — **N2PAI N2HT-** †131:15\*.  
**κα-**, see **κω**.  
**καα-**, see **κω**.  
**(κε), κε-**, **1Ḡε-**, pl **2κοογε**  
 (90b) nn m f. 138:9, 2138:23,  
 2138:24, 1144:20.  
**(κογι), κογει** (92b) nn m f.  
 125:7, 136:23, 141:7.  
**κω, 1κα-**, **2καα-** (94b) vb tr.  
 2131:21, 1134:24*ap*, 140:8.  
 — **εχω-** 1135:2.  
 — **Ncω-** 120:4, 141:9.  
 — **2N-** 2132:1.

- **ΕΒΟΛ** 146:14\*, 146:17\*.  
 — **ΕΠΙΤῆ** 141:5.  
 — **ΚΑΖΗΟΥ ᾠ-** 146:23\*.  
**κα-ρω-Ϸ** as nn m <sup>1</sup>145:12.  
**κακε** (101*b* 4) nn m. 122:4,  
 122:16*ap*, 125:23\*, 127:2,  
 127:4, 127:5-6*ap*, 127:23\*,  
 132:8 (see *ap*), 133:24.  
**κιμ** (108*a*) vb intr. 132:23, 133:8  
 (bis), 133:13.  
 — **ε-** 120:16, 132:22, 140:6.  
**κῆτο** (109*a* 18*up*) nn m.  
 132:21-22*ap*.  
**κρωμ** (115*b*) nn m. 131:8.  
**κωτε**, **1κοτ-** (124*a*) vb tr.  
 — **ε-**, **ερω-**: no dir obj  
 130:2-3*ap* (bis), 130:6\*.  
 — **ΕΒΟΛ** 141:1*ap* (?).  
 — **ΕΒΟΛ ᾠ-**: med  
 141:1*ap* (?).  
 — **εζραῖ ε-** <sup>1</sup>133:21.  
**κοογε**, see **κε**.  
**καζ** (131*a*) nn m. 122:24, 127:21,  
 129:19*ap*, 130:3, 130:12*ap*,  
 131:14, 132:22, 133:4\*, 133:7  
 (bis), 135:2\*, 135:20, 144:8\*.  
**κωζτ** (133*b*) nn m. 124:7,  
 128:16, 130:6\*, 134:2, 135:11.  
**καζηου**, see **κω**.  
**λααγ** (146*a*) nn. 120:22,  
 131:23*ap*, 133:23, 134:6.  
**ᾠ-**, see **ᾠ-** (1<sup>0</sup>, 2<sup>0</sup>).  
**μα-**, see **†**.  
**μα**, **1μα-** (153*a*) nn m. 123:2\*,  
 127:16, 132:3*ap*, 132:7,  
 132:7*ap*, 133:15, 133:21,  
 138:19, 139:3, 139:17, 140:16,  
 140:22, 142:18, 144:16, 144:18.  
**μα-ᾠ-χιοορ** <sup>1</sup>123:23.  
**ᾠπιμα** 136:13 (?).  
**(με)**, **μηε** (156*b* 6*up*) nn f.  
 121:2, 123:9, 123:12, 125:16,  
 133:17, 140:10, 140:12, 140:21,  
 143:8, 143:19, 144:14.  
 attrib 128:9*ap*, 128:15\*,  
 128:20\*.  
**μογ**, **μοογ†** (159*a*) vb intr.  
 125:13, †139:22, 139:22, †140:7,  
 †140:8, 140:11*ap* (1<sup>0</sup>),  
 †140:11*ap*, 140:13, 140:14.  
**ατ-μογ** nn 143:4-5*ap*.  
**ᾠμα-**, see **ᾠ-** (1<sup>0</sup>).  
**ᾠμο-**, see **ᾠ-** (1<sup>0</sup>).  
**(mmn-)**, **mᾠ-** (neg existential  
 predicate), see **ογн-**.  
**ᾠmin** (168*b*).  
**ᾠmin ᾠμο-** 132:16, 132:17*ap*.  
**(mmon)**, **εμμον** (169*a*)  
 interjection. 122:16.  
**mᾠ-** (neg existential predicate),  
 see **ογн-**.  
**mᾠ-**, **1ᾠᾠμα-** (169*b*) prep.  
 120:21, 124:2\*, <sup>1</sup>134:11,  
<sup>1</sup>134:13, <sup>1</sup>136:19, <sup>1</sup>137:21.  
 joining nns 120:20, 120:26,  
 123:14*ap* (?), 123:21-22*ap*,  
 125:17, 127:17, 127:21\*, 127:23,  
 128:6, 129:11, 130:16, 130:17  
 (bis), 130:18, 130:19\*, 133:7,  
 133:17, 134:25 (bis), 135:2\*,  
 135:11, 136:7, 141:18, 142:6\*,  
 143:11*ap*, 143:16\*, 145:12,  
 145:17, 146:22, 147:22.  
**μαεин** (170*b*) nn m. 129:18.  
**(моγн)**, **μηн†** (171*b*) vb intr.  
 — **ΕΒΟΛ** †143:18.  
**mine** (172*a*) nn f.  
**αϷ ᾠmine**: w. indefinite art

143:12.

MNT-, see MHT.

MNT-, see OYNTЕ-.

MNT- (176a) prefix forming nn f.

127:11 (?).

See ноб, p̄mmao, c2ime,

ἀγαθός, τέλειος.

MNT-AT-: see POOYU.

MPE (178a 16).

εωχε-MPE 142:15.

MΠYA (179a) vb intr.

— n̄- 139:10.

w. Conjunction 139:11ap.

as nn m 139:3ap.

MΠYA (180a) advb. 139:3ap.

(MHT), MNT- (187b) nn m f.

MNT-ĀNOOYC 142:25.

MOOYT†, see MOY.

MATE (190a) nn.

EMATE 124:5\*, 135:5.

MHTЕ (190b) nn f.

NTMHTЕ n̄- 128:17ap.

MOYTE (191b) vb intr.

— e- 140:9.

— e-, epo- ... xe- 140:6,  
140:9ap (bis).

MTO (193a) (vb as) nn m.

MΠMTO EBOΛ n̄- 124:1\* (see  
124:1-2ap), 135:23\*.

MTON (193b) vb intr.

— MMO- refl 120:7, 141:3,  
141:11, 147:18-19ap.as nn m: †-MTON nA- ...  
EBOΛ 2n̄- 121:8.

MAY (196b) nn.

MMAU 132:8, 135:11, 139:18,  
142:19, 144:16\*, 144:19; ET-  
MMAU 122:19, 127:16, 132:7,  
133:16\*, 135:12, 137:10,  
139:3\*; see also OYNTЕ-.

MAAY (197a) nn f. 144:11.

MOOY (197b) nn m. 127:23,  
128:1\*, 129:22, 130:4, 130:6,  
134:6.MEEYE, MEOYE (199a) vb intr.  
as nn m 121:17; p̄-PMEEYE  
(cf. EPE) n̄- 135:21\*.MOYOYT (201a) vb tr. no dir obj  
140:11.

MOOYE (203b) vb intr.

— YA- 145:19\* (see ap).

— 2n̄- 145:19\*.

(MOY2), MA2- (208a) vb tr "fill."  
142:25.n̄-, 1n̄-, 2m̄-, 3mm̄-, 4mma-  
(215a, b) prep. 3120:12,  
2121:15, 3121:16, 2122:13 (?),  
123:9, 2126:4, 3127:14\*, 128:6,  
3129:5, 3129:9, 133:22, 2135:1,  
2138:6, 145:2, 145:18 (?).genitive 2120:1, 121:18, 2122:3,  
2122:4, 2122:16ap, 2125:19\*,  
1127:16, 127:18\*, 127:18,  
2128:16\*, 1129:11, 130:2-3ap,  
1131:11, 1131:14, 2131:20 (see  
131:21ap), 2132:3ap, 2132:7,  
133:14, 2133:19, 134:17,  
134:18, 135:1, 2135:6, 1135:7,  
135:10, 2135:17\*, 135:19,  
2135:20, 2136:21, 2136:23,  
2139:4, 2139:9, 2140:18,  
2141:17, 142:1, 142:5, 142:7\*,  
2142:10, 143:8, 143:14, 143:19,  
2144:11, 144:13, 144:20, 145:4,  
146:15, 2146:20\*, 2147:23; see  
also compound preps formed  
w. BOΛ, CA (1°), TPE, ZE  
(2°), ZOYN (see also MMIN).

continues suffix after ZHT-,

ΖΙΤΟΟΤ- (see ΖΙΤῆ-).

forms attrib construction: (a) before ΒΟΛ, ΒΛΛΕ, ΕΒΙΩ, ΕΡΩΤΕ, ΜΕ, ΤΠΕ, ΟΥΩΤ, ΨΕΛΕΕΤ, ΨΛΔΟΜ, ΖΗΚΕ, ΖΟΥΝ, ΖΟΥΕΙΤ, ΧΙΟΟΡ; (b) after ΝΟΒ, ΨΟΡΠ, ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝῆς. partitive after ΑΨ, ΖΑΖ.

governs dir obj after vbs tr: see ΒΩΛ, ΕΙΝΕ (1<sup>0</sup>), ΕΙΡΕ, ΚΩ, ΚΩΤΕ, ΝΟΥΖῆ, ΝΟΥΧΕ, ΣΩΚ, ΣΩΡῆ, ΣΩΤΕ, ΣΟΟΥΝ, ΣΩΟΥΖ, †, ΤΑΜΟ, ΤῆΝΟΟΥ, ΤΑΖΟ, ΟΥΝΤΕ-, ΟΥΩΝΖ, ΩΠ, ΨΙΝΕ, ΨΙ, ΨΩΤΕ, ΧΙ(1<sup>0</sup>), ΧΩ, ΧΩΩΒΕ, ΒΙΝΕ.

w. Gk vbs: see ἀρνέομαι, καταλύω, κατέχω, κολλάω, παράγω, παραλαμβάνω, φορέω.

forms various expressions after ΑΜΑΖΤΕ, ΕΙΜΕ, ΕΙΝΕ (2<sup>0</sup>), ΚΩ, ῆΠΨΑ (1<sup>0</sup>), ῆΤΟΝ, ΠΩΡΧ, ΟΥΝ-, ΨΩΠΕ, (ῆ-) ΨΠΗΡΕ.

governs infin after (ῆ-)χρεία.

forms advb expressions w. ΒΟΛ, ΕΝΕΖ, ΕΣΗΤ, ΜΑΥ, ΣΑ (1<sup>0</sup>), ΣΝΑΥ, ΤΠΕ, ΟΥΝΟΥ, ΟΥΟΕΙΨ, ΨΟΡΠ, ΖΕ (2<sup>0</sup>), ΖΡΑΪ, ΖΟΥΟ, ΧΩΜ.

forms compound preps w. ΒΟΛ, ΜΗΤΕ, ῆΤΟ, ΖΕ (2<sup>0</sup>), ΖΟΥΝ.

= Ζῆ- <sup>2</sup>129:20-21*ap*, <sup>2</sup>136:13 (?), <sup>3</sup>140:23 (?), 146:4*ap*.

ῆ-, <sup>1</sup>ῆ-, <sup>2</sup>ῆ- (216*a* 1*up*) prep. <sup>2</sup>120:12, <sup>2</sup>133:14, <sup>2</sup>139:7, <sup>2</sup>145:24\*; see also ΕΙΝΕ (1<sup>0</sup>), ῆΑ, ΠΕΧΕ-, †, ΤΑΖΟ,

ΟΥΩΝΖ, ΧΩ.

(ῆΑ), ῆΑΕ (216*b*) vb intr.

— ῆΑ- 122:21\*.

(ΝΟΥ, ῆΑ†), Fut auxiliary ῆΑ- (219*a*, 217*b*) vb intr. 120:4, 120:6, 120:7, 120:25, 121:24, 122:1, 122:4, 122:17, 122:18, 122:19, 122:20, 122:21, 123:4, 125:3, 125:8, 125:15, 126:3, 127:2, 127:5-6*ap*, 127:8, 127:13, 127:17\*, 128:22*ap*, 129:9-10*ap*, 129:10, 131:21, 131:23, 132:11, 132:13*ap* (bis), 133:6, 133:8, 133:24, 134:3, 134:10, 134:13, 134:15, 134:20, 134:21, 134:22, 134:23*ap*, 134:24, 135:8, 136:9, 136:15, 137:9, 137:14, 137:21\*, 138:13, 138:15, 138:18, 138:21, 138:23, 138:24, 139:1\*, 139:2\*, 139:6, 140:6, 140:9, 141:10, 141:11, 141:15, 141:20, 141:21, 142:8, 142:17, 142:18, 143:4, 143:7, 143:13, 143:19, 143:22, 144:14, 144:21, 144:22, 144:24, 145:4, 145:6 (bis), 145:19\*, 145:22\*, 146:6, 147:18, 147:19.

See also ῆΗΥ.

ΝΟΥΒ (221*b*) nn m. 141:18.

ῆΚΑ (223*a*) nn m. 133:13*ap*, 137:20\*.

ῆΙΜ (225*a*) interrog pron. 126:7, 126:7*ap*, 126:13, 126:13*ap*, 131:23*ap*, 135:8, 136:13, 136:15, 138:7, 139:2, 144:23\*, 146:14, 146:15, 146:18\*.

ῆΙΜ (225*b*) adj. 120:10, 122:24, 124:16\*, 129:17, 132:15\*, 132:17, 133:13*ap*, 134:17, 136:2\*, 137:20, 141:13, 142:11,

142:20, 143:4, 143:6.  
**ἄμα**-, see **ἄν-** (2°).  
**(ἄνου-), ἄνου-** (227*a*)  
 suffix vb. 121:22\*, 130:18\*,  
 130:20.  
**νοῦνε** (227*b*) nn f. 130:20,  
 134:4\*, 134:16\*, 134:18.  
**ἄναρῖν-**, see **ἄρῖν-**.  
**ἄσα-**, **ἄσῶ-** (314*a* 3) prep.  
 120:4, 122:22, 125:17\*,  
 128:3\*, 128:4, 129:7\*,  
 131:23, 137:17, 137:18,  
 137:20, 141:10, 141:11,  
 141:15.  
**νοῦτε** (230*b*) nn m. 137:23,  
 138:4*ap*.  
**(ἄτν-), ἄτοοτ-** (427*b* 15*up*)  
 prep. 140:4.  
**ἄγ** (233*b*) vb intr.  
 — **ε-**, **ερο-** 122:7\*, 123:4,  
 127:2\* (see 127:2–3*ap*), 127:6\*,  
 132:6\*, 132:11, 132:14, 132:16,  
 133:24, 135:4*ap*, 135:5, 135:6,  
 135:14, 136:5, 136:8, 136:17,  
 137:4\*, 137:7, 137:10, 137:13,  
 140:3, 142:21, 145:8, 145:9\*,  
 145:13.  
 — **εβολ** 126:16, 142:23.  
 — **χε-** 129:17.  
**(ἄηγ), ἄηογ** (219*b* 5, see also  
**ει**) vb intr (qual).  
 — **εβολ** (for **εβολ εβολ**)  
**ἄμο-** 136:16\*.  
 — **εβολ** (for **εβολ εβολ**)  
**ἄτῖν-... ε-** 145:11\*.  
 — **εζοῦν** 121:21.  
**ἄηε** (238*b*) vb tr. no dir obj  
 134:9.  
**ἄεζ** (240*b*) nn m. 130:17.  
**ἄογῖμ** (243*b*) vb tr. 137:16.

**(ἄρῖν-), ἄναρῖν-** (649*b*  
 26*up*) prep. 141:23.  
**ἄητ-**, see **ἄη-**.  
**ἄρῖτε** (246*a*) vb tr.  
 as nn m: **ἄη-οῦναρῖτε**  
 136:3\*, 142:13.  
**ἄογχε**, **ἄνοχε-** (247*a*) vb tr.  
 — **εβολ** (for **εβολ εβολ**)  
**ἄμο-** 130:15.  
 — **εβολ** (for **εβολ εβολ**)  
**ἄητ-** 130:11*ap*; no dir obj  
 130:11*ap*.  
**ἄοβ** (250*a*) nn m f. 124:4, 124:5,  
 136:23, 137:8, 141:8, 145:21.  
**ἄοβ ἄη-** (attrib) 130:6, 131:4*ap*,  
 135:10, 135:11, 136:19, 137:11,  
 143:24.  
**ἄητ-ἄοβ** nn f 133:6, 135:20.  
**ἄβι-** (252*a*) introducing subject.  
 120:26, 122:3, 123:7, 123:18\*,  
 124:23\*, 125:1, 125:4*ap*,  
 125:10, 125:18\*, 126:6,  
 126:8*ap*, 126:11, 126:14\*,  
 126:17, 126:21, 127:14, 127:17,  
 127:19, 127:22, 128:12*ap* (bis),  
 128:16, 128:20, 129:1, 129:3,  
 129:9, 129:16, 129:20\*, 131:1,  
 131:15, 132:5\*, 132:9\*,  
 132:12\*, 132:15, 133:5,  
 135:13\*, 135:23, 137:3, 137:23,  
 138:3, 138:6*ap*, 138:8, 138:11,  
 138:14, 139:8, 139:13, 139:20,  
 141:19, 142:24, 145:4*ap*, 146:2,  
 146:8, 146:10, 146:11.  
**ἄοβνεβ** (252*b*) vb tr. 147:13.  
**ἄβε** (254*a*) nn f. 127:18.  
**ἄν** (255*b*) advb. 123:5, 126:7*ap*,  
 126:9*ap*, 126:15, 126:16, 139:7,  
 145:1–2*ap*, 145:24.

ONZ†, see ΩN2.

OCЄ (256*b*) nn m.

†-OCЄ 140:17.

πα-, <sup>1</sup>τα-, <sup>2</sup>πω-, <sup>3</sup>νω- (259*a*,  
260*b* 8up) possessive pron.  
3142:14, 3142:15, 145:11\*,  
1145:17\*, 2146:19\*.

παί, <sup>1</sup>παει, <sup>2</sup>ταί, <sup>3</sup>ταει, <sup>4</sup>ναί  
(259*a*) demonstrative pron.  
4121:20, 4121:22, 122:9, 123:12,  
4125:6, 4125:13, 4125:14*ap*,  
4127:18, 4131:17, 4131:23,  
4137:3, 3141:16*ap*, 1141:16*ap*,  
4142:7, 143:9, 144:13, 3145:15,  
147:18\*.

as antecedent of Relative  
4121:1\*, 121:9\*, 129:6*ap*,  
4131:20*ap*, 133:1, 133:6,  
137:16\*, 140:2\*, 140:6.

ταί τε οε 2136:8.

ετε-ταί τε 2125:20.

ετβε-παί 128:18, 129:19\*,  
144:11.

21-ναί 4139:8.

πε (259*a*) nn f. 127:21\*, 131:13,  
133:4, 133:7, 135:1, 144:7,  
145:11.

πε, <sup>1</sup>τε, <sup>2</sup>νε (260*b* 21) copular  
pron. 120:16*ap*, 1120:16*ap*,  
121:9*ap*, 121:10*ap*.

in final position of nominal  
sentence: (a) binary 1125:20  
(?), 127:23, 131:4 (see *ap*),  
132:9, 133:3\*, 1134:19 (see *ap*),  
134:23, 139:3 (see *ap*), 1139:7,  
140:12, 140:14, 2142:15,  
2142:15\*, 143:24, 1144:7,  
1144:8, 144:21, 1145:18\*,

1145:24, 146:18\* (?), 146:19\*;  
(b) ternary 1120:15\*,  
2121:11*ap*, 1122:17 (see  
122:16*ap*), 124:1, 124:4\*,  
124:5\*, 2125:22, 125:23, 134:19,  
1141:18\*, 141:19, 2145:19.

in medial position of ternary  
nominal sentence 121:9\*,  
121:16, 2124:17 (?), 125:19,  
127:4 (?), 133:1\*, 1134:7,  
1136:8 1137:11, 139:14, 139:15,  
1141:16, 141:24, 1142:5, 142:16,  
2143:13\*, 1144:6.

forming cleft sentence: (a) πε  
fused w. Relative converter  
126:7, 126:7*ap*, 126:9*ap*,  
126:13, 126:14 (see 126:13*ap*),  
126:15, 126:16\*, 127:21-22*ap*,  
131:23*ap*, 133:4, 2138:23,  
2138:24, 2139:1\*, 139:2\*,  
141:20, 142:23, 143:7; (b) πε  
not fused w. Relative converter  
127:21-22*ap*, 129:2, 131:6*ap*,  
131:12 (see 131:13*ap*), 135:8,  
136:13, 136:15, 138:7, 138:10,  
138:13, 138:15, 144:24, 146:14;  
(c) πε omitted 133:10.

See also αηγ-.

πω-, <sup>2</sup>νω-, see πα-.

πωρχ (271*b*) vb tr.

—  $\bar{\eta}$ -: med 130:8\*.

πωτ (274*a*) vb intr. 134:10.

πω2 (281*a*) vb intr "reach."

—  $\omega$ αρο- 142:18\* (see  
*ap*).

πω2τ, <sup>1</sup>πα2τ- (283*a*) vb tr.  
1131:17.

— ε2ραί εχω-: med  
139:19\*.

**πεχε-**, **ἰπεχα-** (285*a*) suffix  
vb.

— **ἄ-**, **να-** ... **χε-** <sup>1</sup>120:2,  
<sup>1</sup>125:4*ap*, <sup>1</sup>125:10*ap*, <sup>1</sup>126:5\*,  
<sup>1</sup>126:8*ap*, <sup>1</sup>126:10\*, <sup>1</sup>128:12\*  
(see *ap*), <sup>1</sup>129:3*ap*, <sup>1</sup>130:11,  
<sup>1</sup>131:22\*, <sup>1</sup>132:24–133:1*ap*,  
<sup>1</sup>133:3\*, <sup>1</sup>135:7, <sup>1</sup>135:15,  
<sup>1</sup>135:17\*, <sup>1</sup>136:5\*, <sup>1</sup>137:6\* (see  
<sup>1</sup>137:7*ap*), <sup>1</sup>137:11, <sup>1</sup>137:12\*,  
<sup>1</sup>138:3\*, <sup>1</sup>139:13, <sup>1</sup>139:15,  
<sup>1</sup>140:19\*, <sup>1</sup>141:19, <sup>1</sup>141:22\*,  
<sup>1</sup>142:16, <sup>1</sup>143:11\*, <sup>1</sup>145:3\*,  
<sup>1</sup>145:24\*.

— **χε-** <sup>1</sup>124:23\*, <sup>1</sup>125:1\*,  
<sup>1</sup>125:4*ap*, <sup>1</sup>125:10\*, <sup>1</sup>125:17\*,  
<sup>1</sup>126:8*ap*, <sup>1</sup>126:14, <sup>1</sup>126:17,  
<sup>1</sup>126:21, <sup>1</sup>127:19\*, <sup>1</sup>127:22,  
<sup>1</sup>128:12\* (see *ap*), <sup>1</sup>128:15\*,  
<sup>1</sup>129:3\*, <sup>1</sup>129:16\*, <sup>1</sup>129:20\*,  
<sup>1</sup>132:5, <sup>1</sup>132:9\*, <sup>1</sup>132:12,  
<sup>1</sup>132:14\*, <sup>1</sup>133:2, <sup>1</sup>136:11,  
<sup>1</sup>137:3\*, <sup>1</sup>137:6\* (?), <sup>1</sup>137:15,  
<sup>1</sup>138:2*ap*, <sup>1</sup>138:6*ap*, <sup>1</sup>138:6*ap*,  
<sup>1</sup>138:7\*, <sup>1</sup>138:11, <sup>1</sup>138:14,  
<sup>1</sup>138:20, <sup>1</sup>138:22, <sup>1</sup>139:8, <sup>1</sup>139:20,  
<sup>1</sup>140:1\*, <sup>1</sup>140:9, <sup>1</sup>140:11, <sup>1</sup>140:14,  
<sup>1</sup>140:17, <sup>1</sup>140:21\*, <sup>1</sup>140:23, <sup>1</sup>141:2,  
<sup>1</sup>141:4, <sup>1</sup>141:6, <sup>1</sup>141:8, <sup>1</sup>141:12\*,  
<sup>1</sup>141:14, <sup>1</sup>142:4, <sup>1</sup>142:5, <sup>1</sup>142:9\*,  
<sup>1</sup>142:11, <sup>1</sup>142:17, <sup>1</sup>142:19\*,  
<sup>1</sup>142:21\*, <sup>1</sup>143:2\*, <sup>1</sup>143:6\*,  
<sup>1</sup>143:15, <sup>1</sup>144:2*ap*, <sup>1</sup>144:3, <sup>1</sup>144:5\*,  
<sup>1</sup>144:8, <sup>1</sup>144:12, <sup>1</sup>144:15\*, <sup>1</sup>144:17,  
<sup>1</sup>144:22, <sup>1</sup>144:23, <sup>1</sup>145:7\*, <sup>1</sup>146:4\*,  
<sup>1</sup>146:7, <sup>1</sup>146:9, <sup>1</sup>146:10, <sup>1</sup>146:12,  
<sup>1</sup>146:13\*, <sup>1</sup>146:17\*.

**ḫ-**, see **ειρε**.

**(ρο)**, **ρω-** (288*a*) nn m “mouth.”  
**κα-ρω-ϩ** (cf. **κω**) 145:12.

**ρωκϩ** (293*a*) vb tr.

— **ἄρπαῖ ἄρητ-**: med  
134:3.

**ριμε** (294*a*) vb intr. 126:20,  
126:22.

as nn m 127:17.

**ρωμε** (294*b*) nn m f. 128:21,  
131:21*ap*, 133:14\*, 133:19,  
135:17, 136:21, 139:5, 140:6,  
141:24.

**ρῖμαο** (296*a* 19) nn m f.

**ἄρητ-ρῖμαο** nn f 141:16.

**ρατ-**, see **ερατ-**.

**ροοϩϩ** (306*b*) vb intr.

**ἄρητ-ατ-ροοϩϩ** nn f 121:17,  
143:1\*.

**ραϩε** (308*b*) vb intr. 129:15\*.

as nn m 123:14, 133:16\*.

**(σα)**, **σα-** (313*a*) nn m “side.”

**σα-ν-βολ** 123:21–22*ap*.

**ἄρητ-σα-ν-βολ** 144:1.

**σα-ἄ-πιτῆ**

**ερητ-ἄ-πιτῆ** 135:19.

**ερητ-ἄ-πιτῆ ἄ-** 135:9.

**ἄρητ-σα-ν-πιτῆ** 127:16\*,

129:11, 131:11\*, 131:14\*,

135:7.

**ἄρητ-σα-ν-τπε** 127:15, 129:11\*,

131:7\*, 131:10, 131:13.

**σα-ν-ροϩν** 123:21–22*ap*.

**ἄρητ-σα-ν-ροϩν** 130:9.

See also **ἄρητ-**.

**(σα)**, **σαεε** (315*a* 10*up*) nn m.  
131:2.

**σο** (317*a*) nn.

**†-σο ερο-** 122:21.

- САВЕ** (319*a*) nn m f. 125:17.  
**(СНВЕ), СНҢЕ** (320*b* 11) nn f.  
 146:10 (?).  
**СΩВЕ** (320*b*) vb intr. 126:20*ap*,  
 126:23\*.  
**СОВТ** (323*a*) nn m. 130:7.  
**(СОВТЕ), СБТΩТ†** (323*a*) vb tr.  
 — **ЕРО-** †145:7\*.  
 — **ННАΖР̄Н-** †141:23\*.  
**СΩК** (325*a*) vb tr. 140:5.  
**СМН** (334*b*) nn f. 136:7.  
**СМОУ** (335*a*) vb intr.  
 — **ЕРО-** 136:15\*.  
 as nn m 136:16.  
**(СМINE), СМОНТ†** (337*a*) vb tr.  
 †142:21.  
**СОН**, pl <sup>1</sup>СННУ, <sup>2</sup>СННОУ (342*b*)  
 nn m. <sup>2</sup>120:4, <sup>1</sup>131:19, 132:10,  
 135:8.  
**СΩНЕ** (343*a* 18) nn f. 131:22.  
**СНАУ** (346*b*) nn m f.  
 immediately after nn 136:18.  
**МПЕСНАУ** 128:18, 145:18\*.  
 See also **СНОΟΥС**.  
**СНН(О)У**, see **СОН**.  
**СНОΟΥС** (347*a* 12) nn m f.  
**МНТ-СНОΟΥС** (cf. **МНТ**)  
 142:25.  
**СОП** (349*b*) nn m. 130:8.  
**ΖΙ-ΟΥСОП** 141:4\*.  
**СЕЕПЕ** (351*b* 5) nn m f.  
**КЕ-СЕЕПЕ** 138:9.  
**СΩРМ** (355*a*) vb tr. 147:21.  
 as nn m 141:19\*.  
**СΩТЕ** (362*a*) vb tr.  
 — **ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Н-** 121:22.  
**(СТОI), СТОЕI** (362*b*) nn m.  
 133:12.  
**СΩТМ̄, <sup>1</sup>СОТМЕ-** (363*b*) vb tr.  
 126:12*ap*, <sup>1</sup>140:3; no dir obj  
 126:14, 126:15\*.  
 — **ε-**, **ЕРО-**: no dir obj  
 121:5, 121:6, 121:18\*, 121:19,  
 131:17.  
**СОУТΩН†**, see **СООУТН**.  
**СΩТП, СОТП†** (365*a*) vb tr.  
 †129:14–15*ap*.  
 as nn m 120:26, 121:20.  
**СТΩТ** (366*b*) vb intr.  
 as nn m 120:20.  
**СIOУ** (368*a*) nn m. 130:2–3*ap*.  
**СООУН, <sup>1</sup>СОУН̄-, <sup>2</sup>СОУΩН-,**  
**<sup>3</sup>СОУΩН-** (369*b*) vb tr.  
 121:1\*, <sup>2</sup>125:14, <sup>3</sup>132:14–15*ap*,  
 3132:16, 133:21 (see 133:22*ap*),  
 133:22\*, 134:4, 134:6, 134:14  
 (see 134:14–15*ap*), <sup>2</sup>134:15,  
<sup>1</sup>134:16, <sup>1</sup>134:18, 139:5, 141:2,  
 3142:14, <sup>2</sup>145:15, 3145:20\*,  
 146:5 (?); no dir obj 129:14–  
 15*ap*.  
 — **αε-**: no dir obj 144:24.  
**(СООУТН), СОУТΩН†** (371*a*) vb  
 tr. †125:20.  
**СΩΟΥΖ, СООУΖ†** (372*b*) vb tr.  
 †130:4\*.  
 — **ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖНТ-** 129:22*ap*.  
**СНҢЕ** (379*a* 12) nn f “sword.”  
 146:10 (? cf. **СНВЕ**).  
**САΖ** (383*b* 22) nn m f. 139:11,  
 142:25.  
**СΖIME** (385*a*) nn f. 139:12,  
 140:13, 144:16, 144:18\*.  
**МНТ-СΖIME** nn f 144:20,  
 145:2*ap*, 145:5*ap*.  
**СЕХП-**, see **ΩУХП**.  
**†, <sup>1</sup>†-, <sup>2</sup>ТАА-, ТО†**, Imperat  
**3МА-** (392*a*) vb tr. 121:3,  
<sup>1</sup>121:4, 127:8 (?), <sup>1</sup>140:17,



- 143:17; no dir obj 121:4.  
 — **ερο-** <sup>1</sup>122:21.  
 — **ἡ-, να-** <sup>1</sup>121:8, <sup>1</sup>131:18,  
<sup>1</sup>136:11, <sup>1</sup>136:13, 136:22,  
 139:1\*, <sup>1</sup>139:4.  
 — **ζιωτ-, ζιωω-** 138:18,  
<sup>2</sup>143:13\*, 143:19\*.  
**с-то на-**... **ε-**infin †132:17.  
**μα-** before: † <sup>3</sup>136:22; t-caus  
<sup>3</sup>137:12, <sup>3</sup>143:1\*.  
**(твво), тѣвнoу†** (399*b*) vb tr.  
 †132:9.  
**такo** (405*a*) vb tr. med 125:14,  
 134:13\*.  
 as nn m 143:14.  
**тало** (408*a*) vb tr. 123:19.  
**тамо, <sup>1</sup>тамо-** (413*b*) vb tr.  
 123:6\*, 127:3.  
 — **ερο-** <sup>1</sup>137:12.  
**(тoмт), тoмнѣт** (416*b* 20) vb  
 intr “meet.”  
 — **ερο-** 122:5, 122:15,  
 122:18.  
**των** (417*b*) interrog advb. 125:8,  
 128:14, 128:15, 131:21.  
**εβολ των** 126:19, 126:20.  
**тѣнноoу** (419*b*) vb tr.  
 — **ερο-** 135:21\* (see  
 135:22*ap*).  
 — **ωapo-** 126:5\* (?),  
 135:21\*.  
**тπε** (259*a* sub **πε**, in part;  
 corrected by Layton in D. W.  
 Young [ed.], *Studies Presented*  
*to Hans Jakob Polotsky*  
 [Gloucester, MA: Pirtle &  
 Polson, 1981], pp. 262–63) nn  
 m.  
 attrib: **ca-n-тπε** 127:15,  
 129:11\*, 131:7\*, 131:10, 131:13  
 (for advb expression see **ca**  
 [1°]).  
**ἡтπε** 120:10\*, 130:23.  
**ἡἡ-тπε ἡμα-** 138:12.  
**†тπε** (423*a* 25 up) nn f “taste.”  
 130:19.  
**тпp-** (424*a*). 121:3\*, 121:18\*,  
 124:9, 127:15*ap*, 127:18\*,  
 129:7, 129:12*ap*, 130:3,  
 131:8*ap*, 131:11\*, 131:16,  
 133:14, 136:11, 136:14, 136:16,  
 137:12, 138:5, 138:9.  
**тпp-ϙ** as nn m: 141:23, 142:10,  
 144:11; **επтпp-ῥ** 139:13 (?).  
**(тwpe), тἡ-, тоот-**, see **нтн-**,  
**ἡтἡ-, ἡтἡ-**.  
**(тcавo), тcавo-** (434*b*) vb tr.  
 122:2, 143:2.  
 — **ε-** 120:24.  
**(тнγ), тноу** (439*b*) nn m.  
 134:9.  
**тооу** (440*b*) nn m. 123:1–2*ap*.  
**таzo, <sup>1</sup>таze-** (455*a*) vb tr.  
 — **εpαт-**: 120:20,  
<sup>1</sup>128:21\*, 129:21\*, <sup>1</sup>133:10; foll.  
 by **на-** 144:9.  
**(ѳвbio), ѳвbio-** (457*b*) vb tr.  
 134:24.  
**(таxpо), таxpнoу†** (462*b*)  
 vb tr. †129:2–3*ap*.  
 — **ε-** †129:4\*.  
**oу** (467*b* 16 up) interrog pron.  
 127:21, 133:1\*, 134:6, 139:14,  
 139:15, 141:20.  
**εтвe-oу** 135:16\*, 140:10,  
 140:16, 141:3\*.  
**ἡἡ-oу** 137:13, 146:8, 146:9,  
 146:11.  
**oуa**, f <sup>1</sup>oуeи (469*a*) nn m f

- "one." 127:1, 127:5-6*ap* (bis), 133:23, 134:1\*, 134:5, 134:8, 134:11, <sup>1</sup>142:7, 145:18.
- ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ- 122:20.
- ΟΥΩ (473*b*) vb intr.  
w. Coniunctv 144:21\*.
- ΟΥΝ-, <sup>1</sup>ΟΥΝ-, neg <sup>2</sup>ΜΝ- (481*a* 20, 166*b* 4up) existential predicate. <sup>2</sup>122:20, <sup>2</sup>123:2, 130:6*ap*, <sup>2</sup>131:23*ap*, <sup>2</sup>132:8, 135:10, 140:20, <sup>1</sup>142:7, <sup>2</sup>142:8, <sup>2</sup>144:16, <sup>2</sup>144:18\*.
- ΟΥΝ-ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟ-... ε-infin <sup>2</sup>129:6*ap*, <sup>1</sup>129:6*ap*, <sup>1</sup>132:1*ap*, 137:17.  
See also ΟΥΝΤΕ-.
- ΟΥΟΕΙΝ (480*a*) nn m. 121:11, 125:21\*, 125:23, 127:2-3*ap* (bis), 127:4\*, 127:6, 131:4, 131:9*ap*, 132:8\*, 133:24, 136:10, 138:18\*, 139:19, 146:11\*.
- (ΟΥΟΝ-), see ΟΥΝ-.
- ΟΥΟΝ (482*a*) indefinite pron.  
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 124:16\*, 132:15\*.
- ΟΥΩΝ (482*b*) vb intr.  
— ε- 120:24.
- (ΟΥΝΤΕ-), ΟΥΝΤΑ-, <sup>1</sup>ΟΥΝΤ-, neg (ΜΝΤΕ-), <sup>2</sup>ΜΝΤ- (481*a* 20, 167*b* 5) suffix vb tr.  
w. ΜΜΑΥ between vb and Ν- (dir obj) 143:16\*.  
foll. immediately by nominal dir obj: <sup>1</sup>129:13*ap*, <sup>2</sup>129:13*ap*, <sup>1</sup>129:13-14*ap*; foll. by ΜΜΑΥ ε-infin 131:24.
- ΟΥΝΟΥ (484*b*) nn f.  
ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤ-ΜΜΑΥ 135:12.
- ΟΥΩΝ2, ΟΥΟΝ2† (486*a*) vb tr.  
— ΕΒΟΛ: 136:12 (see 136:13*ap*), 140:17, †146:8\*, †146:9\*, †146:11; med 136:12 (?).
- ΕΒΟΛ Ν- dat †143:10.
- ΕΒΟΛ (for ΕΒΟΛ ΕΒΟΛ) Ν-: med 136:12 (see 136:13*ap*).
- ΟΥΩCQ (492*b*) vb tr. med 133:10, 135:23, 137:14.
- ΟΥΩΤ (494*a*).  
Ν-ΟΥΩΤ (attrib) 122:8, 124:3, 124:6, 136:18, 143:7.
- ΟΥΟΕΙΩ (499*b*) nn m. 120:3, 120:11, 122:3, 122:6.  
ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ 120:10.  
ΠΡΟC-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ 143:17\*, 143:21.
- ΟΥΩΨ, <sup>1</sup>ΟΥΩΨΕ, <sup>2</sup>ΟΥΩΨ- (500*a*) vb tr. <sup>2</sup>132:6*ap*, <sup>2</sup>137:13, 138:3\* (?).  
— ε-infin: no dir obj 132:6\*, <sup>1</sup>141:13, 143:12\*.  
as nn m <sup>1</sup>146:20\*.
- ΟΥΩΨΒ (502*b*) vb tr. no dir obj 132:20.
- ΟΥΩΨΤ (504*a*) vb intr. 131:18*ap*.
- (ΟΥΩ2), ΟΥΑ2- (505*b*) vb tr.  
— refl, foll. by ΝCΩ- 129:6\*, 137:17, 141:11.
- ΩΒΨ (518*b*) vb tr.  
as nn m 124:19.
- (ΩΜΚ), ΩΜΚ- (523*a*) vb tr. 122:19.
- ΩΝΕ (524*a*) nn m. 132:23\*, 133:2.
- ΩΝ2, ΟΝ2† (525*a*) vb intr. †121:12, †123:13, †138:1, †138:4, †139:23, 139:23, †140:8, †140:9, 140:11, 147:19.

as nn m 121:15, 132:3*ap*, 132:7,  
139:4, 141:15.

ωπ (526*a*) vb tr. 130:7*ap*.

(ωππ), for derived nn see  
εππω.

ωζε, <sup>1</sup>ωζε, <sup>2</sup>αζε, αζε† (536*b*  
3*up*) vb intr.

— ερατ-, ερετ- refl  
<sup>2</sup>120:5, 120:6, 127:2-3*ap*,  
127:5, 128:13\*, 129:20-21*ap*,  
130:10, †131:1, 133:23\*,  
†135:13\*, †136:17, <sup>1</sup>142:19,  
143:9.

ω- (541*a*) vbal auxiliary. 127:2,  
127:5-6*ap*, 131:23, 132:11,  
132:13*ap* (bis), 133:24, 135:9,  
139:2, 141:10, 142:18, 145:22.

ωα-, <sup>1</sup>ωαρο- (541*b*) prep.  
126:5\* (?), <sup>1</sup>135:22\*,  
<sup>1</sup>142:18*ap*, 145:19 (see *ap*).

χñ-... ωα- 130:13, 130:14,  
130:21\*, 130:22\*.

ωα-ნიენეჲ 122:1.

ωα-ენეჲ 127:10, 137:10,  
144:23, 147:19\* (see  
147:20*ap*).

ñωα-ენეჲ 120:8, 137:15,  
146:13.

ωე (544*b*) vb intr.

— εχñ- 133:6.

ωικ (556*a* 8) nn m. 124:4, 135:6,  
135:10, 135:20, 145:12\*.

ωληλ (559*a*) vb intr. 144:14,  
144:15, 144:16, 144:18.

ωελεეტ (560*b*) nn f.  
attrib: მა ñ-ωελεეტ 138:20.

(ωלבომ), ωლтам (563*a*) nn m  
f.

attrib: влвиле ñ-ωлтам

144:7\*.

ω̄მო, f <sup>1</sup>ω̄მოω (565*b*) nn m f.  
134:19, <sup>1</sup>134:19 (see *ap*),  
134:22\*.

ωინე, <sup>1</sup>ω̄ნტ- (569*a*) vb tr.  
<sup>1</sup>135:17; no dir obj 126:7,  
126:9\* (see *ap*), 129:15, 147:17.

— ე-, ეო- 131:20\*, 140:1.

— ñცა-, ñცω-: no dir obj  
125:16\*, 128:3\*, 131:23,  
137:18, 137:20, 141:15.

— ჯე- 131:19\* (see 131:19  
& 20*ap*).

ωოპ-, see ωωპ.

ωოოპ†, see ωωპე.

(ωωპ), ωოპ- (574*b*) vb tr.

— ეო- 121:7, 125:15\*.

ωωპე, ωოოპ† (577*b*) vb intr.

120:3, 120:9\*, 120:18, 121:24,  
122:2, 122:7, †123:8-9*ap*,  
124:15, 125:8, †127:10\*,  
127:17\*, 127:21, †127:21-22*ap*

(bis), †128:4*ap*, †128:15, 128:19  
(bis), †129:17, 129:19, 130:1,  
†130:5, †131:13*ap*, 133:11,  
†133:17, 134:2, 134:10, 134:13,  
†136:14\*, †137:10, †137:23*ap*,  
†138:5\*, †138:12, †139:17,  
†142:7, 142:8, †143:20\*.

— ñ-, ñმო- 128:17 (?),  
137:8, †141:14, 143:22.

foll. by complementary  
Circumst 132:18, 141:22,  
145:6\*.

For derived conjunction see  
εωωპე.

ωპიჲე (581*a*) nn f. 140:24\*.

ř-ωპიჲე (cf. ეიჲე) ñ- 136:2.

ωაო-, see ωა-.

ωჲე (584*a*) nn m. 121:7,

- 124:20, 131:20, 133:14, 134:14-15*ap*, 135:16, 136:21, 143:19, 145:17\*.
- Ϡορπ (587*a* 11) nn m f.
- Ϡορπ  $\bar{\eta}$ - (attrib) 122:4, 136:1.
- $\bar{\eta}$ Ϡορπ 134:5.
- χ $\bar{\eta}$ - $\bar{\eta}$ Ϡορπ 137:6.
- Ϡωωτ (593*a* 21*up*) nn m. 139:15, 139:18.
- Ϡτα (593*b* 1*up*) vb intr. 130:21, 135:19\*.
- Ϡαχε (612*b*) vb intr. 126:13, 126:13*ap*, 126:15, 144:2.
- ετβε- 142:10.
- εβολ 2 $\bar{\eta}$ - 133:16.
- $\bar{\eta}$ 2ρα $\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\eta}$ 2ητ- 137:19.
- as nn m 120:19, 122:23, 123:18, 126:4, 133:9, 136:1, 136:20, 139:12, 140:2\*, 143:6, 145:10.
- Ϡωχπ, <sup>1</sup>σεχπ- (616*b*) vb tr. no dir obj 125:3, 126:23.
- 21τ $\bar{\eta}$ - <sup>1</sup>144:10.
- Ϡι, <sup>1</sup>Ϡι-, <sup>2</sup>Ϡιτ- (620*a*) vb tr.
- $\bar{\eta}$ μα- 136:18.
- εβολ 2 $\bar{\eta}$ - <sup>2</sup>127:7\*, 131:8 (see 131:9*ap*), 138:16, 146:21.
- ε2ρα $\bar{\iota}$  <sup>1</sup>135:4.
- ε2ρα $\bar{\iota}$  2α-: no dir obj 133:3, 133:4, 133:7.
- Ϡωτε, <sup>1</sup>Ϡοτ- (624*a*) vb tr.
- εβολ 141:1*ap*, <sup>1</sup>144:22\*.
- 2α- (632*a*) prep.
- ε2ρα $\bar{\iota}$  2α- 133:3, 133:4, 133:7.
- 2α-θη, 2α-τε2η εμπате- 127:20, 136:12.
- (2αε), f 2αη (635*a* 25*up*) nn m f. 127:18, 142:10.
- 2ε (637*a*) vb intr. 133:9.
- 2ε (638*b*) nn f.
- τα $\bar{\iota}$  τε οε 136:9.
- αϠ  $\bar{\eta}$ 2ε: w. indefinite art 124:24\* (see 124:23*ap*), 144:6\*.
- $\bar{\eta}$ αϠ  $\bar{\eta}$ 2ε 124:24\* (see 124:23*ap*), 132:22\*, 134:2\*, 134:10, 134:15, 134:20\*, 134:22\*, 138:21\*, 139:22\*, 139:23, 141:7, 144:15.
- $\bar{\eta}$ τее $\bar{\iota}$ 2ε 121:4, 142:21.
- $\bar{\eta}$ τ2ε 122:22, 129:19, 145:7.
- $\bar{\eta}$ οε foll. by Relative 129:8, 135:14, 141:14\*.
- $\bar{\eta}$ οε  $\bar{\eta}$ -: 136:7;  $\bar{\eta}$ οε  $\bar{\eta}$ - $\bar{\eta}$ - 129:18, 130:7.
- κατα-οε foll. by Relative 121:5, 121:19.
- π-οε (cf. ε $\bar{\iota}$ ρε)  $\bar{\eta}$ - 136:23.
- 6 $\bar{\eta}$ -οε (cf. 6 $\bar{\eta}$ νε) foll. by Relative 129:10\* (see 129:9-10*ap*).
- 2η, <sup>1</sup>ε2η (640*b*) nn f "fore part."
- 2α-θη, 2α-τε2η εμπате- 127:20, <sup>1</sup>136:12.
- See also 2ητ-.
- 2ι-, <sup>1</sup>2ιωτ-(τ $\bar{\eta}$ ο $\bar{\upsilon}$ τ $\bar{\eta}$ ), <sup>2</sup>2ιωω- (643*b* 19*up*) prep. <sup>1</sup>138:18, <sup>2</sup>143:13, <sup>1</sup>143:20\*.
- joining nns 140:24.
- 2ι- $\bar{\eta}$ α $\bar{\iota}$  139:8.
- 2ι-ο $\bar{\upsilon}$ сοπ 141:4\*.
- 2ιε (645*b* 2*up*) conjunction. 142:14, 142:15.
- 2ιη (646*a*) nn f. 120:24, 130:2\*, 139:6, 142:5, 145:15\*, 145:20\*.
- 2ιωω-, see 2ι-.
- (2ο), 2ρ $\bar{\eta}$ -, see  $\bar{\eta}$ α2ρ $\bar{\eta}$ -.
- 2ω (651*a*) vb intr.
- ε- 139:8*ap* (bis).
- 2ωω- (651*b*). 139:7, 145:24\*.
- 2ωβ, pl <sup>1</sup>2β $\bar{\eta}$ ο $\bar{\upsilon}$ ε (653*a*) nn m.

<sup>1</sup>121:21, <sup>1</sup>122:13, <sup>1</sup>125:5, <sup>1</sup>126:22,  
<sup>1</sup>129:7, <sup>1</sup>129:17, <sup>1</sup>131:11,  
<sup>1</sup>131:16\*, <sup>1</sup>132:17, <sup>1</sup>133:22*ap*,  
<sup>1</sup>134:17, <sup>1</sup>136:2\*, <sup>1</sup>138:8\*,  
<sup>1</sup>141:10, <sup>1</sup>141:13, <sup>1</sup>141:21, <sup>1</sup>142:11,  
<sup>1</sup>142:20, <sup>1</sup>143:3, <sup>1</sup>143:5, <sup>1</sup>143:24,  
<sup>1</sup>144:20, <sup>1</sup>145:1-2*ap*, <sup>1</sup>145:4\*,  
<sup>1</sup>146:2, <sup>1</sup>146:4*ap*, <sup>1</sup>146:14\*,  
<sup>1</sup>146:15\*, <sup>1</sup>146:17\*, <sup>1</sup>146:19\*.

2HVĀ (658*a*) nn m. 125:18.

2BĀCΩ (660*a* 23) nn f. 136:22\*,  
 138:22, 139:2, 139:4\*, 143:13,  
 143:17, 143:20.

2BHOYĒ, see 2ΩB.

2HKĒ (664*a* 3) nn m f.

Ā-2HKĒ (attrib) 132:5.

(2ΛOB), 2OLEB† (673*a*) vb intr.  
 †130:19.

2N̄-, 2M̄-, 2N̄2HT- (683*a*) prep.  
 120:5, 120:7, 120:19\*, 121:20,  
 121:21, 2123:2, 124:16, 2125:2,  
 2125:20\*, 1127:2-3*ap*, 1127:5,  
 1127:16, 128:5, 1128:22, 130:1,  
 1131:9, 2131:12, 1132:1,  
 1132:4*ap*, 132:16*ap*, 132:19,  
 132:24, 133:2\*, 2133:12,  
 1133:18 (?), 1133:24\*, 136:19,  
 137:14\*, 137:23, 2138:1,  
 138:17, 2139:6, 1139:17,  
 2143:9\*, 1144:16, 1144:18,  
 1145:2*ap*, 145:12, 145:19,  
 2146:13.

EBOL 2N̄- 121:8, 121:23,  
 2122:20, 127:7, 2129:22,  
 2130:12, 1131:8, 1132:2*ap*,  
 133:6, 2133:12\*, 1133:16,  
 1133:18 (?), 135:18, 140:21,  
 1143:14, 1144:13, 146:22; as nn  
 1133:15, 1139:16, 140:12,  
 140:13, 144:7, 144:8.

Ā2PRAĪ 2N̄- 2122:23\*, 2128:19\*,

2131:15\*, 1133:18\*, 2134:3,  
 2134:8, 2137:19.

forms advb expressions and  
 compound prep w. NA2TE,  
 TPE, OY.

2OYN (685*b*) nn m.

attrib: CA-N-2OYN 123:21-  
 22*ap*, 130:9 (for advb  
 expression see CA [1°]).

Ē2OYN 121:21.

Ē2OYN Ē- 132:3\* (see *ap*),  
 138:19.

Ā2P2OYN N̄- 130:5*ap*.

2ΩΠ, 2HT† (695*a*) vb tr.

— EP0- †134:17.

as nn m: N̄OY2ΩΠ 146:4*ap*.

2PAĪ (698*a*, 700*a*) nn m.

Ē2PAĪ 135:4, 135:22.

Ē2PAĪ Ē- 123:1, 133:21, 135:9,  
 136:9.

Ē2PAĪ ĒXΩ- 139:20\*.

Ē2PAĪ 2A- 133:3, 133:4, 133:7.

Ā2PRAĪ 2N̄-, Ā2HT- 122:23\*,  
 128:19\*, 131:15\*, 133:17\*,  
 134:3, 134:8, 137:19.

2ICE (710*b*) vb tr.

as nn m 120:5, 121:9*ap*, 142:10.

2AT (713*b* 1) nn m "silver."  
 141:18.

2HT (714*a*) nn m "heart." 124:3,  
 124:6, 125:22, 129:8, 129:9,  
 132:1\*, 133:18, 141:21 (see *ap*).

2HT- (640*b* 23) (nn as) prep.  
 120:13\*, 126:1\*.

w. suffix continued by N̄-  
 122:18.

2IΩT-, see 2I-.

2HHTĒ (85*b* 19) deictic particle.

ĒIC-2HHTĒ 126:18\*, 128:4*ap*,  
 128:10 (?), 129:16\*, 145:10.

ĒIC-2HHTĒ ĒIC- 138:11,

- 139:18\*.  
**20TE** (720*b*) nn f "fear." 120:15,  
 120:19\*, 122:16, 124:1, 135:11,  
 140:24.  
**ḡ-20TE** (cf. **εἶρε**): 122:5; foll.  
 by **2HT** 120:13\*, 122:17\*.  
**20TḄ**, **120TBE** (723*b*) vb tr.  
<sup>1</sup>142:3\*; no dir obj 142:2.  
**2ITḄ**-, see **2ITḄ**-.  
**2ATḄ**- (428*b* 11) prep. 142:7.  
**2ITḄ**-, **12ITḄ**-, **22ITOOT**- (428*b*  
 3 up) prep. 133:19, 144:10.  
**εβολ 2ITḄ**:- <sup>2</sup>136:15\*,  
<sup>1</sup>145:11; w. suffix continued by  
**Ḅ**- <sup>2</sup>136:20.  
**20T2T** (728*a*) vb tr.  
 — **ḄCω**:- no dir obj 128:4.  
**(2HY)**, **2HOY** (729*a*) nn m.  
**ḄḄ-2HOY** (cf. **Ḅἰνε**) 140:16.  
**2OOY** (730*a*) nn m.  
**πε2OOY πε2OOY** 139:9.  
**2OYO**, **12OYE**- (735*a*) nn m.  
 140:18.  
**ε2OYE**- <sup>1</sup>131:5*ap*.  
**Ḅ2OYO** 145:14.  
**Ḅ2OYO ε**- 130:2, 131:5*ap*.  
**2OYEIT** (738*a*) nn m f.  
**Ḅ-2OYEIT** (attrib) 133:10.  
**2A2** (741*b*). 130:8, 144:10.  
**2A2 Ḅ**- 121:8 (?), 130:1 (?).  
**2IXḄ**-, **12IXḄ**- (758*b* 10) prep.  
<sup>1</sup>122:24, 128:1, <sup>1</sup>129:18.  
**XE**- (746*b* 3) conjunction. 125:9  
 (context unclear).  
 introduces discourse after  
**πεXE**-, **ωἰνε**, **XHOY**.  
 same, w. discourse anticipated  
 by neutral pron, after **XW**.  
 same, elliptical 121:5\*, 144:19.  
 w. vbs of perception: see **εἰμε**,  
**ναγ**, **COOYN**, **ἐλπίζω**.  
 amplifies objs after **εἰμε** (**ε**-),  
**MOYTE** (**ε**-, **εPO**-).  
 introducing explicative clause  
 120:22, 124:18 (?), 125:14,  
 128:7 (?), 131:5, 133:10,  
 133:15\*, 135:10, 136:14,  
 136:16, 139:5, 143:4-5*ap* (bis),  
 144:20, 144:21, 145:18\*.  
**εβολ XE**- 134:4\*.  
 introducing clause of purpose  
 w. III Fut neg 135:23, 147:21  
 (?).  
**XI**, **1XI**-, **2XIT**- (747*b*) vb tr  
 "receive." 120:19, <sup>2</sup>129:1,  
 132:23, <sup>1</sup>134:7, <sup>1</sup>134:24*ap*,  
<sup>2</sup>136:3, 138:24 (see *ap*),  
<sup>2</sup>142:13, 147:15.  
 — **εPO**- <sup>2</sup>133:20.  
 — **εβολ Ḅ2HT**- <sup>1</sup>133:12\*.  
 — **ε2PAI ε**- <sup>1</sup>123:1\*,  
 136:9.  
**XI** (751*b* 9 up), see **XIOOP**.  
**XW**, **1XOO**-, Imperat **2AXI**-  
 (754*a*) vb tr. <sup>1</sup>139:12; no dir obj  
 144:11.  
 — **εPO**- <sup>1</sup>142:12, <sup>1</sup>143:4*ap*.  
 — **Ḅ**-, **NA**- <sup>1</sup>136:3, <sup>1</sup>143:7\*,  
 144:13\*.  
**XW ḄMO-C**, **XOO-C**, foll. by:  
**εPO**... **XE**- <sup>2</sup>127:19\*,  
<sup>2</sup>128:13\*, <sup>1</sup>132:21\*, <sup>1</sup>139:21,  
<sup>1</sup>140:15, <sup>1</sup>142:4.  
**NA**... **XE**- 120:9, 128:2\*,  
 129:12, <sup>1</sup>136:6, 137:22\*,  
 140:4, <sup>1</sup>142:22\*, 143:21\*,  
 144:17\*, 145:23\*, 147:14\*

(see 147:14-15*ap*), 147:20\*  
(see 147:21*ap*).

**χε-** <sup>1</sup>122:6, 132:20\*,  
132:24-133:1*ap*, <sup>1</sup>132:24-  
133:1*ap*, 136:21\*, <sup>1</sup>138:2*ap*,  
147:14\* (see 147:14-15*ap*).

**χω-**, **χῆ-**, see **εχῆ-**, **ζιχῆ-**.  
(**χωβε**), (**χῶβε**), <sup>1</sup>**χοοβ(ε)-**  
(759*b*) vb tr. 120:25, 139:2,  
<sup>1</sup>139:7, <sup>1</sup>145:22 (see *ap*),  
<sup>1</sup>145:24\*.

**χωκ** (761*a*) vb tr.

— **εβολ**: med 141:21.  
as nn m 135:1.

**χεκαακ** (764*a*) conjunction.

123:15 (context unclear).  
w. II Fut affirm 120:4, 121:24,  
137:19\*, 141:20\*.

w. III Fut neg 130:12\*,  
130:20\*, 132:4, 133:9.

**χωμ** (770*b* 5) nn m  
“generation.”

**χῆ-ῆχωμ** **ψα-χωμ** 130:13\*,  
130:21-22\*.

**χῆ-** (772*a*) conjunction. 137:14.

(**χιν-**), **χῆ-** (772*b*) prep.

**χῆ-... ψα-** 130:13, 130:14,  
130:21\*, 130:22\*.

**χῆ-ῆψορπ** 137:5.

(**χνογ**), **χνογ-** (774*b*) vb tr.  
128:23\*.

— **χε-** 142:24.

**χπο** (778*b*) vb tr. no dir obj  
144:21\*, 145:13\*.  
as nn m 144:20\*.

**χιοορ** (82*b* 17, 751*b* 9 up) nn m.  
attrib: **μα-ῆ-χιοορ** 124:1.

(**χωρε**), **χοορε-** (782*a*) vb  
tr.

— **εβολ... ζῆ-** 131:9.

**χρο**, **χραιτ†** (783*a*) vb intr.  
†142:3.

— **ε-** 122:23, 129:10.

**χοεic** (787*b*) nn m. 125:4,  
125:10, 126:6\*, 126:8\*,  
126:11\*, 126:14\*, 126:18,  
126:21, 127:20\*, 127:22,  
128:12\*, 128:16, 129:3, 129:20,  
131:18, 131:22\*, 132:6, 132:10,  
132:13, 132:15, 132:21, 132:23,  
136:11, 137:7\*, 138:4\*, 138:8\*,  
138:14, 138:22, 139:21, 140:1\*,  
140:11, 140:15, 140:17, 140:20,  
140:22, 140:24, 141:5, 141:8,  
141:14\*, 141:22, 142:4, 142:9,  
142:11, 142:17\*, 142:22, 143:3,  
143:7\*, 143:15, 144:3, 144:8\*,  
144:15, 144:23, 145:8\*, 146:1\*,  
146:4\*, 146:9, 146:12, 146:18.

**ῆ-χοεic** (cf. **ειρε**) **εχω-**  
138:13, 138:15.

**χιε**, **χοε†** (788*b*) vb tr.  
†135:5; med 128:23, 130:2.  
as nn m 124:5, 128:22, 135:9.

**χит-**, see **χι**.

**χαχχ** (798*b*) vb tr.

as nn m 127:17-18*ap*.

**βε-**, see **κε**.

**βε** (802*a*) conjunction. 121:4,  
122:17, 123:15, 127:3, 136:4\*,  
138:13, 145:10.

**βολ** (806*b* 5) nn m. 127:7,  
141:18*ap*.

**βολπ**, **βολπ†** (812*a*) vb tr.

— **εβολ**: †146:9*ap*; no dir  
obj 126:8, 126:10, 126:17,  
142:23\*.

**ὄμ-**, see **ὄινε**.

**ὄομ** (815*b*) nn f. 121:9, 122:4,  
122:16*ap* (bis), 124:9,  
124:11*ap*, 127:14, 128:6,  
128:17*ap*, 129:10, 129:13,  
135:18.

**ὄυν-**, **μῆ-ὄομ** **ῆμο-**... **ε-**  
infin 129:6*ap* (bis), 132:1*ap*,  
137:17.

**ὄμ-ὄομ** (cf. **ὄινε**): 131:4; foll.  
by **ερο-** 145:14\*.

(**ὄομὄεμ**), **ὄμὄωμ-** (818*b*) vb  
tr. 121:13.

**ὄινε**, <sup>1</sup>**ὄμ-**, <sup>2</sup>**ὄμ-** (820*a*) vb tr.

<sup>1</sup>140:16, 141:24; no dir obj  
129:15.

**ὄμ-θε** foll. by Relative  
<sup>1</sup>129:9-10*ap*.

**ὄμ-ὄομ**: <sup>2</sup>131:4; foll. by **ερο-**  
<sup>2</sup>145:13\*.

**ὄερωβ** (828*a*) nn m. 122:8.

**ὄρωζ** (829*b*) vb intr. 130:13.

— **εβολ** **ζῆ-** 140:21.

as nn m 138:6\*.

**ὄωυτ** (837*a*) vb intr. 130:10.

— **ῆσα-** 122:22.

— **εβολ** **ζητ-** 126:1\*.

**ὄιχ** (839*b*) nn f. 132:24, 133:2\*,  
135:3*ap*.

## II. WORDS OF GREEK DERIVATION

**ἀγαθός**. 136:9.

**ῆπτ-αγαθος** nn f 132:19\*,  
142:6.

**ἀγάπη**. 142:6.

**ἄγγελος**. 145:16\*.

**ἄγων**. 142:1.

(**ἀγωνίζομαι**), Imperat **αρι-**  
**αγωνιζε**, <sup>1</sup>**επι-αγωνιζε**.  
137:16\*, <sup>1</sup>137:16*ap*.

— **ε-**infin 146:21\*.

**αἰών**. 131:6.

**ἀληθῶς**. 137:22, 138:2\*.

**ἀλλά**. 120:17, 120:23, 122:7,  
122:22, 123:10, 124:2, 132:8\*,  
133:9, 138:16, 139:4, 142:3,  
143:21, 144:21, 145:14,  
145:17\*, 145:22\*.

(**ἀμήν**), **ζαμην**. 122:1.

**ἀνάπαυσις**. 120:6, 120:7, 141:16-  
17*ap*.

**ἀπόλαυσις**. 141:16-17*ap*.

(**ἀρνέομαι**), **ῆ-αρνα**.

— **ῆμο-** 129:13\* (see  
129:13-14*ap*).

**ἀρχή**. 123:2, 142:5.

**ἄρχων**. 120:21, 122:14, 138:12,  
142:8, 143:15, 145:5, 145:21.

(**ἀτιμόω**), **ῆ-ατιμογ**. 143:4-5*ap*.

**βάπτισμα**. 134:7.

**βάρος**. 139:7, 145:23.

**γάρ**. 120:6, 124:1, 124:4, 125:16,

129:8, 133:8, 133:13, 134:6,

137:21, 139:1, 139:2\*, 140:10,

140:20, 141:16, 141:17, 142:7\*,

143:24, 145:8, 146:5\*, 147:14.

**καὶ γὰρ** 139:6.

**δέ**. 120:8, 123:11, 128:2, 128:23,



- 129:12*ap*, 130:23, 131:17\*, —  $\bar{\nu}$ -<sup>1</sup>144:19, 145:1-2*ap*.  
 137:9, 140:4, 143:19\*, 146:21, (κατέχω), ΚΑΤΕΧΕ.  
 147:10 (?), 147:20*ap*. —  $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$  ...  $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ - 132:4\*  
 (see *ap*).  
 διάβασις. 120:25. (κολλάω), ΚΟΛΛΑ.  
 διάλογος. 120:1, 147:23\*. —  $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$  ...  $\epsilon$ - 141:8.  
 δίκαιος. 125:17. (κοσμικός), -όν. 143:10.  
 διοικητής. 143:16. κόσμος. 129:21, 132:2*ap*, 132:5,  
 133:11, 134:23, 141:17, 144:10,  
 146:16.  
 εἰ μήτι. κῶλον. 121:23\*.  
 ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ  $\epsilon$ - 131:23-24*ap*.  
 ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ  $\bar{\nu}$ ΤΟΟΤ' 140:4.  
 (ἐλπίζω), ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ.  
 —  $\chi\epsilon$ - 135:3.  
 ἐξουσία. 145:16\*.  
 ἐπί. 122:20.  
 (ἐπί), ἐφ', see ἐφ' ὅσον.  
 (ἐπικαλέω),  $\bar{\rho}$ -ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ. μαθητής. 120:2, 126:6\*, 136:1\*,  
 145:6*ap*. 136:6, 136:10, 137:2, 139:11,  
 139:13, 141:20\*, 142:24\*.  
 ἐργάτης. 139:9. μακάριος. 141:24\*, 143:22\*.  
 ἐφ' ὅσον. 125:19, 125:22, (μετανοέω), ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ,  $\bar{\rho}$ -  
 132:11\*. ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ. 129:14\*, <sup>1</sup>129:13-  
 14*ap*.  
 ἦ, ἦ. <sup>1</sup>122:21, <sup>1</sup>126:7\*, <sup>1</sup>126:13*ap*,  
<sup>1</sup>126:20, <sup>1</sup>135:9, <sup>1</sup>136:15, μετάνοια. 121:15\*.  
<sup>1</sup>140:17, 140:21 (but see *ap*), μή. 136:6, 145:8, 145:9\*.  
<sup>1</sup>144:7, <sup>1</sup>145:13. μηνυτής. 140:18.  
 ἦδη. 120:3. μήποτε.  
 w. Conjunction 123:17\*.  
 καί. μήτι, see εἰ μήτι.  
 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ 139:6. (μοναχός), ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ. 120:26,  
 121:18.  
 κακία. 128:8, 132:8, 134:18, 136:5, μονογενής.  
 139:9, 142:8. ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ  $\bar{\nu}$ - (attrib)  
 121:6\*.  
 κᾶν. 132:13*ap* (bis), 133:18, 145:20. ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ, see μοναχός.  
 καρπός. 130:18. μυστήριον. 128:6\*, 143:8\*.  
 κατά. νοῦς. 123:13*ap*, 125:19, 126:23,  
 128:9, 128:14\*, 128:18*ap*,  
 128:20, 144:13.  
 κατα- $\theta\epsilon$  foll. by Relative  
 121:5, 121:19.  
 (καταλύω), καταλυε, Imperat  
 ἑρι-καταλυε.

(ὄπλον), **ῶΠΛΟΝ**. 121:10.

(ὄρασις), **ῶΡΑΣΙΣ**. 137:11,  
137:14, 137:14\*.

ὄργή. 120:15, 120:16, 146:21\*.

(ὄσος), -ον, see ἐφ' ὄσον.

(ὄταν), **ῶΤΑΝ**.

w. Cond: 122:2, 125:7, 126:11\*,  
133:5\*, 137:9, 140:5, 140:7,  
143:23, 144:14\*, 146:1; and  
foll. by **ΤΟΤΕ** 138:16, 141:9.

οὐδέ. 125:14*ap*, 140:3\*, 142:2*ap*,  
142:2, 145:16\*.

πάλιw. 121:18, 133:20, 137:15.

(παράγω), **ΠΑΡΑΓΕ**.

— **ΜΜΟ**- 124:3\*.

(παραλαμβάνω), **ΠΑΡΑΛΑΜ-  
ΒΑΝΕ**.

— **ΜΜΟ**- 125:12\*, 136:24\*,  
145:9\*.

πηγή. 130:15\*, 130:16\*.

(πιστεύω), **ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ**.

— **Ε**- 121:2\*.

πλήρωμα. 131:10*ap*, 139:14,  
139:16.

(πνεῦμα), **ΠΝΑ**. 125:9, 127:1,  
128:1\*, 128:7, 128:17,  
128:18*ap*, 136:18, 146:8\*,  
147:22\*.

πόλεμος. 142:1*ap*.

πονηρός, **ῶ-όν**. 137:5*ap*,  
137:5*ap*.

πρός.

**ΠΡΟΣ-ΟΓΟΕΙΩ** 143:17\*,  
143:21.

προσφορά. 121:20\*.

πῶς. 134:13.

σάρξ. 132:12, 143:15\*.

στερέωμα. 131:10*ap*.

(σύζυγος), **ΣΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ**. 125:15\*.

(συμφωνέω), **ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ**, **ῶ-  
ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙ**.

— **ΝΜΜΑ**- 137:21\*,  
137:21*ap*.

**ΣΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ**, see σύζυγος.

σῶμα. 125:19\*, 125:21, 126:19,  
133:19\*, 134:12.

σωτήρ, **ῶΣΗΡ**. 120:1, 120:2,  
125:1, 125:18, 147:23.

(τέλειος), **ΤΕΛΙΟΣ**.

**ΜΝΤ-ΤΕΛΙΟΣ** **ΠΗ** f 133:22.

τόπος. 123:1-2*ap*, 123:8-9*ap*,  
131:24, 135:5, 135:6, 140:20,  
142:16, 145:2*ap*, 146:7\*.

τότε. 127:13, 128:22\*, 130:14\*,  
134:24, 135:15, 136:1\*, 136:5,  
136:10, 137:2, 137:11.

introducing apodosis after  
**ῶΤΑΝ** 138:17, 141:11.

τροφή. 139:10.

τύραννος. 123:3\*.

φθόνος. 138:17, 146:22\*.

(φορέω), **ΦΟΡΙ**, **ῶ-ΦΟΡΕΙ**.

— **ῶ-**, **ΜΜΟ**-: 132:12,  
134:12; foll. by **ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ**  
126:19.

(χρεία), **ΧΡΙΑ**. 134:7.

**ῶ-ΧΡΙΑ** (cf. **ΕΙΡΕ**) **ῶ**-*infin*  
136:4.

**ΨΥΧΗ**, **Π** 137:23,  
123:16, 124:14, 125:6,  
128:13*ap*, 128:21\*, 136:18,  
147:22.

(ὥς), **ῶΣ**. 120:17.

w. Circumst 135:13, 136:17.

as prep 139:12, 143:19\*.

ΖΑΜΗΝ, see ἀμήν.

ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ, see ἐλπίζω.

ΖΟΠΛΟΝ, see ὄπλον.

ΖΟΡΑΣΙΣ, see ὄρασις.

ΖΟΤΑΝ, see ὅταν.

ΖΩΣ, see ὡς.

### III. PROPER NAMES

(Ἰούδας), ἸΟΥΔΑΣ. 125:4, 135:8, 139:20\*, 141:3, 141:6, 127:19, 128:12*ap*, 129:16, 142:9, 143:11, 144:17, 145:3\*.  
 131:16\*, 132:19\*, 134:24\*, (Μαριάμ), ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ, (Μαριάμ-  
 135:4, 135:7, 138:2\*, 138:6\*, μη), ἸΜΑΡΙΖΑΜΜΗ. 126:17\*,  
 138:11, 138:20, 140:9, 142:4\*, Ἰ131:19\*, 134:25\* (?), Ἰ134:25-  
 143:11, 144:12, 145:3\*, 146:7, 135:1*ap*, Ἰ137:3, 139:8,  
 146:10\*, 146:13\*. Ἰ140:14, Ἰ140:19, Ἰ140:23\*,  
 Μαθθαῖος. 124:23\*, 126:11\*, Ἰ141:12, Ἰ142:20, 143:6\*,  
 128:12*ap*, 128:23, 132:5\*, 144:5\*, 144:22, 146:1\*.  
 132:10\*, 132:12\*, 134:25,

### IV. GRAMMATICAL FORMS

#### A. BIPARTITE SENTENCE

†-, neg Ἰ $\bar{\eta}$ †-... ἂΝ 120:8, 122:1, 128:4*ap*, 128:22*ap*, 130:23,  
 126:3, 126:5(?), 126:18*ap*, 133:6, Ἰ133:8, Ἰ133:22\*,  
 127:3(?), 128:2, 129:12, 134:10, 134:13, 134:15,  
 129:17*ap*, 132:6, Ἰ132:13*ap*, Ἰ134:21, 139:5\*, Ἰ139:11*ap*,  
 133:13, 137:22*ap*, 138:2, 140:4, 144:11, 144:12, 147:19(?).  
 141:13, 143:21, 144:2 (bis), 145:22, 147:14, 147:20.

neg Ἰ $\bar{\eta}$ κ-... ἂΝ, Ἰκ-... ἂΝ  
 132:10*ap*, Ἰ132:11(?).

ΤΕ- 146:4.

ϕ-, neg Ἰ $\bar{\eta}$ ϕ-... ἂΝ, Ἰϕ-... ἂΝ  
 120:7, 121:12(?), 122:19, 128:4*ap*, 128:22*ap*, 130:23,  
 2127:2\* (see 127:2-3*ap*), 127:13, 129:17, 131:12*ap*,  
 1127:5-6*ap*, 2127:5-6*ap*, 134:17, 137:8, 139:22, 139:23,

neg Ἰ $\bar{\eta}$ ς-... ἂΝ 136:4.

τἸ $\bar{\eta}$ -, neg ἸτἸ $\bar{\eta}$ -... ἂΝ Ἰ141:3,  
 143:11.

ΤΕΤἸ $\bar{\eta}$ -, in Fut ἸΤΕΤἸ $\bar{\eta}$ - Ἰ127:8,  
 Ἰ138:18, 139:17, 141:11, Ἰ143:4,  
 143:5\* (see 143:4-5 & 5*ap*),  
 143:22, Ἰ145:19\*.

ςΕ-, neg ἸςΕ-... ἂΝ 124:10,  
 127:13, 129:17, 131:12*ap*,  
 134:17, 137:8, 139:22, 139:23,

140:6, 140:9, 140:10, 140:11,  
142:21, 144:21, <sup>1</sup>144:22,  
<sup>1</sup>144:24\*, 145:4\*, 145:6*ap*,  
145:8, 145:9\*, 145:13 (bis),  
<sup>1</sup>145:22\*.

## Preterite

**νεϚ-** ... **πε** 133:8.

**νεϚ-** 136:23(?).

## Circumst Preterite

**ενεϚ-** 133:8.

## Circumst

**εει-**, neg <sup>1</sup>**εει-** ... **αν** 126:19\*,  
126:20\*, <sup>1</sup>132:13*ap*.

**εκ-** 121:8*ap*, 121:21*ap*(?),  
132:11\*.

**εϚ-** 122:20, 122:21, 123:8(?),  
128:1, 130:6\*(?), 131:4,  
132:18\*, 132:20, 132:24-  
133:1*ap*, 135:5, 135:13, 136:21,  
140:20, 140:21, 142:3, 145:13.

**εϚ-** 130:19, 137:14.

**εν-** 145:7.

**ετετῆ-** 121:3, 122:7*ap*, 122:17,  
123:4\*(?), 124:21\*(?), 137:20,  
141:22\*.

**εϚ-**, neg <sup>1</sup>**εϚ-** ... **αν**  
121:21*ap*(?), 131:12*ap*(?),  
136:17, 136:18, 142:25, 143:17,  
<sup>1</sup>143:18.

## Relative

**ετ-**, neg <sup>1</sup>**ετεῆτ-** ... **αν** 133:1,  
<sup>1</sup>140:22, 143:7.

**ετκ-** 146:15(?).

**ετῆ-**, <sup>1</sup>**ετεϚ-**, neg <sup>2</sup>**ετεῆϚ-**  
... **αν** <sup>1</sup>134:12, <sup>2</sup>134:19, 139:6.

**ετῆ-** 132:17.

**ετῆ-** 141:20, 142:16\*.

**ετετῆ-**, in Fut <sup>1</sup>**ετετῆ-**  
121:3(?), 123:4\*(?), 124:21\*(?),  
125:23, 128:3 (see *ap*), 128:3*ap*,  
<sup>1</sup>129:10, 131:20, 137:20(?),  
138:10\* (see *ap*), 142:18.

**ετοϚ-**, <sup>1</sup>**ετεϚ-**, neg <sup>2</sup>**ετεῆϚ-**  
... **αν** <sup>1</sup>120:25, 129:8(?),  
134:24, <sup>2</sup>141:10, 141:14,  
143:13.

**ετ-** (subject = definite  
antecedent), **ετ-ει** > <sup>1</sup>**ετ-**,  
neg <sup>2</sup>**ετ-** ... **αν** 120:6, 122:18,  
122:19, 122:24, 123:13, 125:2,  
125:15, 125:20\*, 126:7,  
126:7*ap*, 126:9, 126:9*ap*, 126:13  
(see *ap*), 126:14, 126:15 (bis),  
126:16, 126:16\*, 127:15,  
127:15\*, 127:16, 127:21-22*ap*  
(bis), 129:2, 129:4(?), 129:10,  
129:11, 129:14, 129:18, 130:2-  
3*ap*, 130:4, 130:8\*, <sup>1</sup>131:5,  
131:6, 131:6*ap*, 131:7, 131:10,  
131:11\*, 131:12*ap*, 131:13,  
131:13*ap*, 131:14, 131:23*ap*,  
132:7, 132:9, 132:22, 133:3,  
133:4, 133:7, <sup>2</sup>133:13, 133:16\*,  
133:16, <sup>2</sup>133:21\* (see  
133:22*ap*), 134:9, <sup>2</sup>134:14\*,  
134:23, 135:7, 135:8, 135:12,  
136:13, 136:15, 137:10 (bis),  
138:1, 138:4, 138:7, 138:9\*,  
138:13, 138:15, 138:23, 138:24,  
139:1\*, 139:2\*, 139:3, 139:22,  
139:23, 140:6, 140:7, 140:8  
(bis), 140:9, <sup>2</sup>141:2\*, 141:15,  
142:20*ap*, 142:23 (bis), 143:20,  
144:24, 145:9, 146:3\*, 146:14,  
146:15(?), 146:16\*, <sup>2</sup>146:16\*  
(see 146:17*ap*).

**ετε-** (before definite nm)  
139:17\*.

- II**  
**εει-** 126:18*ap*.  
**εκ-** 121:21*ap*.  
**ερε-** 140:17.  
**εϕ-** 123:8(?), 127:17\*, 128:15,  
 130:6\*(?), 132:21-22*ap*,  
 134:22, 137:20*ap*, 137:23*ap*,  
 138:4(?), 142:20*ap*, 144:17,  
 146:8, 146:11.  
**ες-** 128:13\*, 146:9\*.  
**εν-**, in Fut <sup>1</sup>ενα- <sup>1</sup>120:4,  
 143:10\*, <sup>1</sup>144:14, <sup>1</sup>145:6.  
**ετετῆ-**, in Fut <sup>1</sup>ετετνα-, neg  
 in Fut <sup>2</sup>ετετνα-... αν  
 123:4\*(?), 124:21\*(?), <sup>1</sup>129:9-  
 10*ap*, <sup>1</sup>131:21, 133:17, 137:13,  
<sup>2</sup>143:19.  
**εϕ-** 121:21*ap*, 121:24, 125:8*ap*(?),  
 131:12*ap*(?), 131:15, 136:9,  
 137:20, 138:21.  
**ερε-** (before definite nn) 136:14,  
 136:16, 141:21.
- B. TRIPARTITE SENTENCE**
- I. Sentence Conjugations**
- a. Perfect**
- αι-**, neg <sup>1</sup>ἄπι- 120:23, 120:24,  
 126:2, 126:18*ap*, <sup>1</sup>136:6,  
<sup>1</sup>140:3\*, 140:16, 142:22.  
**ακ-** 121:7, 121:8*ap*, 135:16,  
 140:1*ap*, 142:10.  
**αϕ-**, neg <sup>1</sup>ἄπεϕ- 122:7, 128:19,  
 128:23, 129:21, 130:1, 130:2,  
 130:10, 130:14\*, 131:17 (bis),  
 131:18, 132:16, 132:18,  
 132:23\*, 132:24-133:1*ap*,  
 133:11, 133:12, 134:13, 134:21,  
 134:24, 135:5, 135:6, 135:12,  
 135:14, 135:21, 135:22, 136:17,
- 136:20, 138:2*ap*, 139:19,  
<sup>1</sup>142:2\*, 142:3, 144:10.  
**ας-** 120:20, 135:18, 135:19,  
 139:12.  
**ατετῆ-** 120:17, 142:12, 142:13,  
 142:14.  
**αϕ-**, neg <sup>1</sup>ἄποϕ- 120:19, 125:14,  
 129:19, 130:7 (see *ap*), 131:8*ap*,  
 131:9, 135:3, 136:3, 136:4,  
 139:4, <sup>1</sup>142:2, 142:24.  
**α-** (before nn), neg <sup>1</sup>ἄπε- 120:3,  
<sup>1</sup>120:22, 128:18, 129:23*ap*,  
 131:19\*, 132:19\*, 132:23,  
 135:4, 135:16, 135:20, 136:1\*,  
 136:10, 136:23.
- Circumst**
- εαϕ-** 147:17(?).  
**εας-** 139:12.  
**εατετῆ-** 122:23.  
**εαϕ-** 121:1\*.
- Relative**
- ἄταει-** 142:11, 143:4.  
**ἄτακ-** 121:6, 121:19.  
**ἄταϕ-**, <sup>1</sup>εταϕ- 129:1(?), 135:14,  
 136:2\*, 137:3(?), 141:24,  
 147:17*ap*(?), <sup>1</sup>147:17*ap*.  
**ετατετῆ-** 145:20.  
**ἄταϕ-**, <sup>1</sup>εταϕ-, <sup>2</sup>εταϕ-  
 121:1\*, 123:19*ap*(?), <sup>2</sup>123:19*ap*,  
<sup>1</sup>136:24.  
**-εταϕ-** (subject = definite  
 antecedent), <sup>1</sup>εταϕ-, <sup>2</sup>εϕ-  
<sup>1</sup>132:16, <sup>2</sup>133:10, 146:18\*.  
 neg ετεἄπε- (before nn) 140:2.
- II**
- ἄτακ-**, <sup>1</sup>ἄτοκ- 144:12\*,  
<sup>1</sup>144:12*ap*.  
**ἄταϕ-** 128:17, 129:1(?), 134:9,

137:3(?), 147:17*ap*(?).

НТАН- 143:9.

НТАУ- 121:1\*(?), 121:22.

НТА- (before nn) 134:1\*.

b. "not yet"

Circumst

ЕМПАТЕК- 136:12.

ЕМПАТЕ- (before nn) 127:20,

145:15\*.

c. Aorist

УАУ-, neg <sup>1</sup>МЕУ- <sup>1</sup>133:21*ap*,

133:21*ap*, <sup>1</sup>140:13, 140:14.

УАС- 125:16.

УАТЕТН- 142:18*ap*, 145:15\*.

neg МЕУ- 125:13, 125:14.

УАРЕ- (before nn) 141:7.

Circumst

ЕУАТЕТН- 122:7(?).

ЕУАУ- 136:8.

d. III Fut

neg ННЕУ-, <sup>1</sup>НЕУ- 130:21,

<sup>1</sup>135:23.

neg ННЕТН- 147:21.

ЕУЕ-, neg <sup>1</sup>ННОУ- <sup>1</sup>132:4,

135:3(?).

neg ННЕ- (before nn) 130:12*ap*,

133:9.

Relative

neg ЕТЕННЕУ-, <sup>1</sup>ЕТЕНЕУ-

<sup>1</sup>134:16, 134:17\*.

## 2. Clause Conjugations

a. Conjunctv

НТА- 126:13.

НГ- 130:11.

НУ- 123:17, 129:14\*, 129:15 (bis),

132:3, 139:11 (but see *ap*).

НТН- 120:5.

НТЕТН-, neg <sup>1</sup>НТЕТНТМ- 122:6,

137:16, 137:18, 137:18\*,

138:19, 146:23\*, <sup>1</sup>146:24.

НСЕ-, neg <sup>1</sup>НСЕТМ- <sup>1</sup>133:20,

144:21\*, 145:1.

b. Temporal

НТЕРИ- 120:23.

НТАРЕ- 137:7.

НТЕРЕУ- 135:2.

НТЕРЕ- (before nn) 129:20,

130:8, 130:9, 131:16, 144:9.

c. Cond 125:8\* (person  
uncertain).

ЕЕУАН-, <sup>1</sup>ЕЕУА- 126:12\*,

<sup>1</sup>126:12\*(?), 146:5\*.

ЕРУАН- 137:9.

ЕУУАН- 122:2, 133:5, 133:18.

ЕНУАН-, <sup>1</sup>ЕНУА- 143:14\*,

<sup>1</sup>144:14.

ЕТЕТНУАН-, neg <sup>1</sup>ЕТЕТНТМ-

121:3\*, 123:3, 138:16, 141:5,

141:9, 143:3*ap*, <sup>1</sup>143:3*ap*,

143:23.

ЕУУАН-, <sup>1</sup>ЕУУА- 140:5,

145:21\*, 146:2\*, <sup>1</sup>146:2\*(?).

ЕРУАН- (before nn), <sup>1</sup>ЕРУА-

neg <sup>2</sup>ЕРУАТМ-, ЗЕРТМТЕ-

3127:1, 3127:5-6*ap*, <sup>2</sup>127:5-

6*ap*, <sup>1</sup>128:21, <sup>2</sup>133:23, 3134:1,

3134:5, 3134:8, 3134:11, 140:8.

C. IMPERAT neg МПР- 122:5.

D. CAUSATIVES

Infin ТРЕУ- 134:7; ТРЕ- (before

nn) 129:23*ap*.

Imperat **МАРІ-** 132:14; **МАРЕԳ-** 129:13, 129:15\*.

130:12, 136:13, 136:15,  
136:15\*, 136:17, 140:4,  
141:2*ap*.

### E. CONVERSIONS OF THE EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE

Preterite **NE-** 142:8.

Circumst Preterite **ENE-** 142:6.

Circumst **Ե-** 132:1*ap*.

Relative **ԵԵԵ-** 123:2, 129:6*ap* (bis), 129:13\*, 131:23-24*ap*, 132:8, 137:17\*, 144:16, 144:18\*.

-Գ, <sup>1</sup>-Գ, <sup>2</sup>-ԵԳ (after vb III<sup>ae</sup> liqu.)

120:2, <sup>1</sup>120:7, 120:8, 121:7,  
121:8, 121:13, <sup>1</sup>122:18, <sup>1</sup>122:23,  
<sup>1</sup>123:2, 123:22, 124:3\*, 124:9*ap*,  
124:23, 125:1, 125:4*ap* (bis),  
125:10\*, 125:10*ap* (1<sup>o</sup>), 125:16,  
125:18\*, <sup>1</sup>126:1\*, 126:5\*,  
126:8*ap*, 126:10\* (bis), 126:14,  
126:21, <sup>1</sup>127:2-3*ap*, <sup>1</sup>127:5,  
127:19, 127:22, 128:3*ap* (bis),  
128:4, 128:12, 128:12*ap*,  
128:15\*, 128:23\*, <sup>1</sup>129:1, 129:3,  
129:3*ap* (1<sup>o</sup>), 129:6, <sup>1</sup>129:6,  
<sup>1</sup>129:13, 129:16, 129:20\*,  
<sup>1</sup>129:21, <sup>1</sup>129:22, 129:23, 130:3,  
<sup>1</sup>130:10, 130:11 (bis), 130:15,  
<sup>1</sup>131:1, 131:5, <sup>2</sup>131:9, <sup>1</sup>131:17,  
131:24, 132:2, 132:4*ap*, 132:5,  
132:9\*, 132:11, 132:12, 132:14,  
<sup>1</sup>132:14-15*ap*, 132:15, <sup>1</sup>132:16,  
132:16, 132:16\*, 132:17,  
132:17\*, 132:18, 132:19,  
132:24, 132:24-133:1*ap* (bis),  
133:2\*, 133:2, 133:3, <sup>1</sup>133:11,  
<sup>1</sup>133:12, <sup>1</sup>133:13, <sup>1</sup>133:20,  
<sup>1</sup>133:21, <sup>1</sup>133:24\*, <sup>1</sup>134:3,  
<sup>1</sup>134:8, 134:11, 134:12, 134:14,  
134:17, 134:19 (see *ap*), 134:24,  
135:4, 135:13\*, <sup>1</sup>135:14\*,  
135:14, 135:15 (bis), 135:17,  
136:5, 136:11, 136:16,  
<sup>1</sup>136:20\*, 137:5 (see *ap*),  
137:11, 137:12, 137:15, 137:17  
(bis), 137:18, <sup>1</sup>137:19, 137:20,  
<sup>1</sup>138:2, 138:2*ap*, 138:3 (bis),  
<sup>1</sup>138:5, 138:6*ap*, 138:7, 138:11,  
138:14, 139:12, <sup>1</sup>139:13,  
139:13, 139:15, 139:20, 140:3\*,

### F. CONVERSIONS OF VERBS OF SUFFIX CONJUGATION

Circumst **Ե-** 130:18, 130:20.

Relative **ԵԵ-** (subject = definite antecedent) 121:22\*.

### G. NEGATION AND CONVERSIONS OF THE NOMINAL SENTENCE

neg **Ն-... ԱՆ**, <sup>1</sup>ԱՆ 134:19,  
<sup>1</sup>134:23, <sup>1</sup>142:15, <sup>1</sup>143:24,  
<sup>1</sup>144:21.

Preterite **NE-** 127:21, 131:4*ap*, 136:13.

Circumst **Ե-** 139:3*ap*.

Relative **ԵԵԵ-** 121:9 (see 121:10*ap*), 125:20, 139:3*ap*, 140:12, 140:13.

### H. PERSONAL SUFFIXES

-Դ, <sup>1</sup>-ԵԻ, <sup>2</sup>-Ի <sup>1</sup>127:20*ap*, <sup>1</sup>132:21,  
<sup>1</sup>137:17-18*ap*, <sup>2</sup>139:7, 139:7,  
<sup>1</sup>139:20, <sup>1</sup>139:21, <sup>1</sup>140:2,  
<sup>1</sup>140:15, <sup>1</sup>142:4, <sup>2</sup>145:24\*,  
145:24.

-Կ 121:7, 121:16, 125:2, 125:20,

130:12, 136:13, 136:15,  
136:15\*, 136:17, 140:4,  
141:2*ap*.

- <sup>2</sup>140:3, 140:7, 140:9*ap*, 140:19, 140:23, 141:8, 141:19, 141:20, 141:23, <sup>2</sup>142:3\*, 142:5, 142:10, 142:16, 142:17, 142:18*ap*, 142:21, 142:24, 143:7, <sup>1</sup>143:9, <sup>1</sup>144:9, 144:10, 144:11, 145:12, 145:13, 145:14, <sup>1</sup>146:13, 146:19.
- C, <sup>1</sup>-ċ, <sup>2</sup>-ec (after vb III<sup>ae</sup> liqu.)  
120:9, 120:12, 120:19\*, 120:22, 120:25\*, <sup>1</sup>121:18, 122:6, 124:9*ap*, 126:17, 127:19, 128:2, 128:13, <sup>1</sup>128:14, <sup>1</sup>128:22, 129:9, 129:12, 129:13-14*ap*, 131:22, 132:20\*, 132:21, 132:24-133:1*ap* (bis), 134:19, 135:22 (bis), 136:6, 136:22, 137:3\*, 137:7*ap*, 137:12, 137:13, 137:22, 138:2*ap*, <sup>1</sup>139:6, <sup>2</sup>139:7, 139:8, 139:21, 140:4, 140:15, 141:14, 142:4, 142:22, 143:21, 144:17\*, 145:17*ap*, <sup>1</sup>145:20\*, 145:22, <sup>2</sup>145:22*ap*, 145:23, <sup>2</sup>145:24, 147:14-15*ap* (bis), 147:20.
- N, <sup>1</sup>-ñ 120:4, <sup>1</sup>120:5, 121:5, 121:19, 127:20\*, 128:13, 137:12, 138:13, 138:14, 138:21, 141:4, 143:2, <sup>1</sup>143:9, 143:13, 144:13, 144:18.
- Tñ (stem-final a > h, o > ω), <sup>1</sup>-тнoутñ, <sup>2</sup>-тнnoу 120:9, 120:12, 120:14, 122:2, 122:5, 122:15, 122:18\*, <sup>1</sup>122:19\*, 122:21, 122:21\*, <sup>1</sup>123:1, 123:6, 124:10, 127:3, 127:14, 128:2\*, <sup>2</sup>128:5, 129:5, 129:7\*, 129:12, 133:14, 136:7, 137:17-18*ap*, 137:21, 137:22, <sup>1</sup>137:23, <sup>1</sup>138:17, <sup>1</sup>138:18, 138:23, 138:24*ap*, 139:1\*, 140:5 (see *ap*), 141:10, 141:11, 141:12, 142:12, 142:14\*, 142:15, <sup>1</sup>142:19, 142:22\*, 143:4*ap*, <sup>1</sup>143:20, 143:22 (see *ap*), <sup>2</sup>143:23\*, 145:9\*, 145:10\*, 145:23, <sup>2</sup>146:22\*, 146:23, 147:14-15*ap*, 147:21\*.
- OY, <sup>1</sup>-γ 120:21 (bis), 120:24, 121:2-3*ap*, 121:3, 121:22, 122:20, 123:5(?), 124:9*ap*, 125:13, 125:16\*, <sup>1</sup>126:5\*, <sup>1</sup>126:8*ap*, 127:7\*, 127:15*ap*, 127:19\*, 128:20, 129:7, 129:12*ap*, 130:7, 130:11*ap*, 130:18\*, 130:20, <sup>1</sup>131:4*ap*, 131:8*ap*, 131:12\*, 131:12, 131:15, 131:16, 131:21, <sup>1</sup>131:21, <sup>1</sup>132:1, <sup>1</sup>132:24-133:1*ap*, <sup>1</sup>133:3, 133:14(?), 133:14, 133:20, 135:3, 135:17, <sup>1</sup>135:17, <sup>1</sup>136:3 (bis), 136:3, 136:8, 136:11, <sup>1</sup>136:11, 136:14, 136:17, <sup>1</sup>136:19, <sup>1</sup>136:22, 137:1, 137:5, 137:8, <sup>1</sup>137:11, 137:12, <sup>1</sup>137:12, 137:20*ap*, 138:9, 138:10, 138:15, 138:24*ap*, <sup>1</sup>139:13, <sup>1</sup>139:15, 141:11, <sup>1</sup>141:19, <sup>1</sup>141:22, <sup>1</sup>142:12, 142:13 (bis), 142:14, <sup>1</sup>142:16, <sup>1</sup>143:4*ap*, <sup>1</sup>143:13, <sup>1</sup>143:16, 143:17, 144:22, 145:7.

## I. ARTICLES

1. *Definite*

- π-, <sup>1</sup>πe- 120:1 (bis), 120:2, <sup>1</sup>120:3, 120:6, 121:1\*, 121:5, 121:14, 121:15, 121:17\*, <sup>1</sup>122:3, 122:3, 122:4, <sup>1</sup>122:6, 122:13, 122:16*ap*, 122:18, 122:19,



- 122:24, 123:1, 123:7, 123:18,  
 123:23, 124:7, 124:19, 125:1,  
 125:4, 125:9, 125:10, 125:15,  
 125:17\*, 125:17, 125:18 (bis),  
 125:19\*, 125:19, 126:6\*,  
 126:8\*, 126:9, 126:11\*,  
 126:14\*, 126:15, 126:16,  
 126:18, 126:19, 126:21, 126:23,  
 127:2-3*ap* (ter), 127:4, 127:5-  
 6*ap*, 127:6, 127:7, 127:15,  
 127:16\*, 127:16 (bis), 127:17,  
 127:18\*, 127:20\*, 127:21\*,  
 127:22, 128:3 (see *ap*), 128:6,  
 128:9, 128:12\*, 128:14\*, 128:16  
 (bis), <sup>1</sup>128:16\*, <sup>1</sup>128:18,  
<sup>1</sup>128:18*ap*, 128:18*ap* (bis),  
 128:20, 128:22, 129:3, 129:4(?),  
 129:6*ap*, 129:11\*, 129:11 (bis),  
 129:13\*, 129:14, 129:19*ap*,  
 129:20 (bis), 129:21, 129:23*ap*,  
 130:3, 130:4, 130:5*ap* (bis),  
 130:8\*, 130:6, 130:9, 130:9 (see  
*ap*), 130:12*ap*, 131:3, 131:5,  
 131:7\*, 131:7, <sup>1</sup>131:8,  
<sup>1</sup>131:9(?), 131:9*ap*, 131:10,  
 131:11\*, 131:11, 131:13, 131:14  
 (ter), 131:18, 131:20, 131:21*ap*,  
 131:22\*, 131:23-24*ap*, 132:2*ap*,  
 132:3*ap* (bis), 132:6, 132:7  
 (bis), 132:8\*, 132:10 (bis),  
 132:13, 132:15, 132:21, 132:22,  
 132:23, 133:3, 133:4\*, 133:7  
 (bis), 133:9, 133:11, 133:15,  
 133:16, 133:19\*, 133:19,  
 133:21, 133:22*ap*, 133:24 (bis),  
 134:2, 134:9, 134:12, 134:14,  
 134:14-15*ap*, 134:15 (see *ap*),  
 134:16, 134:17, 134:19, 135:1,  
 135:2\*, 135:6 (bis), 135:7 (bis),  
 135:8, 135:9, 135:10 (bis),  
 135:15\*, 135:16 (bis), 135:17,  
 135:19 (bis), 135:20\*, 135:20,  
 135:21, 136:1, 136:10, 136:11,  
<sup>1</sup>136:16, 136:21 (bis), 136:23  
 (bis), 137:4, 137:7, 137:10,  
 137:23, 138:4, 138:4*ap* (bis),  
<sup>1</sup>138:6, 138:8, 138:9, 138:14,  
<sup>1</sup>138:16\*, 138:16-17*ap*, 138:18,  
 138:19, 138:22, 139:3,  
<sup>1</sup>139:3*ap*, 139:4, 139:5, <sup>1</sup>139:9  
 (bis), 139:9, 139:11, 139:13,  
<sup>1</sup>139:14, 139:15, <sup>1</sup>139:16,  
 139:17, 139:18, 139:21, 140:1,  
 140:6, 140:7, 140:8 (bis), 140:9,  
 140:11, 140:12, 140:13, 140:15,  
 140:17, <sup>1</sup>140:18, 140:18,  
 140:20, 140:22 (bis), 140:24,  
 141:5 (bis), 141:7, 141:8 (bis),  
 141:14, 141:15 (bis), 141:22,  
 141:23, 141:24, 142:1 (see *ap*),  
 142:1, 142:4, 142:9, 142:10,  
 142:11, 142:16, 142:17, 142:18,  
 142:22, 142:23, 142:25, 143:3,  
 143:7, 143:8, 143:14, 143:15,  
 144:1, 144:3, 144:8\*, 144:8,  
 144:9\*, 144:9, 144:11, 144:13,  
 144:15, 144:16, 144:18, 144:23,  
 145:8\*, 145:11, 145:12\*, 145:17  
 (bis), <sup>1</sup>145:18\*, 146:1\*, 146:4\*,  
<sup>1</sup>146:8\*, 146:9, 146:11, 146:12,  
 146:16, 146:18, 146:18\*,  
 146:20\*, 146:20, <sup>1</sup>146:22,  
 147:23\*, 147:23.
- T-, T-2 > <sup>1</sup>Θ, <sup>2</sup>TE-** 120:6, 120:7,  
 120:15, 120:16, <sup>2</sup>120:24, 120:25,  
 121:2, <sup>1</sup>121:5, 121:17, <sup>1</sup>121:19,  
 122:4, <sup>1</sup>122:16, 122:16, 123:9,  
 123:12(?), 125:16, 127:11,  
<sup>1</sup>127:18, <sup>1</sup>127:20, 127:21\*,  
 128:6, 128:8, 128:13\*,  
<sup>2</sup>128:13*ap*, 128:21\*, <sup>2</sup>128:21\*,  
<sup>1</sup>129:8, <sup>1</sup>129:10, <sup>1</sup>129:18,

<sup>1</sup>130:2, <sup>1</sup>130:7, 131:13, 131:22,  
132:12, 133:4, 133:6, 133:7,  
133:17, 133:22, <sup>2</sup>134:7, 134:16,  
134:18 (bis), 135:1, <sup>2</sup>135:12,  
<sup>1</sup>135:14, 135:20, 136:5, <sup>1</sup>136:7,  
<sup>1</sup>136:9, 136:12, <sup>1</sup>136:23, 137:10,  
137:11, <sup>2</sup>139:5, 139:8, 140:10,  
140:12, <sup>2</sup>140:13, 140:21,  
<sup>1</sup>141:14\*, 141:16, 142:5, <sup>2</sup>142:5,  
142:6 (bis), <sup>1</sup>142:10, 143:1\*,  
143:8, 143:14, 143:19, 144:7,  
144:11, 144:14, 144:20, 145:2,  
145:5\*, 145:11\*, <sup>2</sup>145:15\*,  
<sup>2</sup>145:20\*, 146:10, 146:21.

**ñ-**, <sup>1</sup>**n-**, <sup>2</sup>**m-**, **3ne-** 3120:3, 120:26  
(bis), <sup>1</sup>121:2, <sup>2</sup>121:18, 122:14,  
<sup>1</sup>123:4, 124:9(?), 124:11(?),  
124:17(?), 124:20(?), <sup>1</sup>125:2,  
3125:5, <sup>1</sup>125:20\*, 127:14,  
<sup>1</sup>127:15, 127:18, 129:7, <sup>1</sup>129:10,  
<sup>1</sup>129:11, 130:2-3*ap*, <sup>1</sup>131:6,  
3131:11, 3131:16\*, 3131:19*ap*,  
133:14 (bis), <sup>1</sup>133:16, 133:19,  
136:9, <sup>1</sup>136:14, <sup>1</sup>136:24,  
3138:8*ap*, 138:8*ap*, 138:12,  
139:4, <sup>2</sup>139:13, <sup>1</sup>139:22,  
<sup>1</sup>139:23, <sup>1</sup>140:8*ap*, <sup>1</sup>141:2,  
3141:10, 142:7, 143:10, 143:13,  
143:15, 143:16, 3144:19\*,  
144:19-20*ap*, 3145:1-2*ap*,  
3145:4*ap*, 145:5(?), <sup>1</sup>145:9,  
145:21, 3146:2, 3146:14,  
3146:15\*, 3146:17, 3146:19\*.

## 2. Indefinite

**oy-**, <sup>1</sup>**γ-** 120:15, 120:16, 120:19,  
120:20, 121:3, <sup>1</sup>122:8, 124:1,  
124:2\*, 124:4, 124:5, 124:6,  
124:23*ap*, 125:23\*, 127:23\*,  
127:23, 128:1 (bis), 128:21,

129:22(?), 130:6, 130:17 (bis),  
130:19, 132:23, 133:2, 133:5,  
134:19, 134:22, <sup>1</sup>135:5, 135:10,  
135:11, 135:13, 135:18 (bis),  
136:3\*, 136:7 (bis), 136:18,  
136:19, 136:20, 137:14\*,  
137:14, <sup>1</sup>139:3*ap*, 139:6,  
<sup>1</sup>140:2, 140:12, 140:13, 140:24,  
141:4, 141:17, 141:19\*, 141:23,  
142:13, 143:6, 143:24, 144:6\*,  
144:7\*, 144:7, 145:10, 145:12  
(bis), 145:23\*, 146:4.

**2en-** 120:21, 121:10, 124:23*ap*,  
125:21, 130:15\*, 130:16,  
130:18, 130:19\*, 133:15,  
138:22\*, 138:24, 139:16,  
143:12\*, 143:17\*, 147:15.

## 3. Possessive

**па-**, <sup>1</sup>**та-** 126:4, <sup>1</sup>133:2.

**пек-**, <sup>1</sup>**тек-**, <sup>2</sup>**нек-** 121:6,  
<sup>2</sup>121:10*ap*, <sup>2</sup>121:20\*, <sup>1</sup>121:20.

**печ-**, <sup>1</sup>**теч-**, <sup>2</sup>**неч-** <sup>2</sup>120:2,  
<sup>1</sup>121:9, 124:4, 124:4\*, <sup>2</sup>126:6,  
<sup>2</sup>126:22, 129:23*ap*, 131:2, 132:1,  
<sup>1</sup>132:19, <sup>1</sup>132:24, 133:21,  
<sup>1</sup>134:4, <sup>1</sup>135:2, <sup>2</sup>135:4, 135:23\*,  
<sup>2</sup>136:1\*, <sup>2</sup>136:6, <sup>2</sup>136:10,  
<sup>1</sup>139:10, 139:11, 139:19, 141:18  
(bis), <sup>2</sup>141:19, <sup>2</sup>142:2, <sup>2</sup>142:24,  
146:7.

**пес-**, <sup>1</sup>**нес-** <sup>1</sup>131:19*ap*, 135:21\*.

**пен-**, <sup>1</sup>**нен-** 120:5, <sup>1</sup>138:21\*,  
141:21.

**петñ-**, <sup>1</sup>**нетñ-**, <sup>2</sup>**нетм-** 123:14,  
<sup>1</sup>123:16\*, 123:21, 123:21-22*ap*,  
124:1-2*ap*, <sup>1</sup>125:21, 125:22,  
125:23, 129:4(?), 129:8\*,  
<sup>1</sup>129:9, <sup>1</sup>139:1, 144:4\*, <sup>1</sup>146:24,  
<sup>2</sup>147:22\*, <sup>2</sup>147:22.

<sup>1</sup>ΠΕΥ-, <sup>1</sup>ΠΟΥ-, <sup>2</sup>ΤΕΥ-, <sup>3</sup>ΤΟΥ-, <sup>2</sup>Ι20:19, <sup>1</sup>Ι21:4, <sup>1</sup>Ι23:1-2*ap*,  
<sup>4</sup>ΝΕΥ-, <sup>5</sup>ΝΟΥ- <sup>4</sup>Ι21:21, <sup>1</sup>Ι32:7*ap*, <sup>1</sup>Ι35:9, <sup>1</sup>Ι39:11, <sup>1</sup>Ι40:16,  
<sup>4</sup>Ι21:23\*, <sup>4</sup>Ι25:15*ap*, <sup>3</sup>Ι41:6, <sup>1</sup>Ι41:17, <sup>1</sup>Ι42:21,  
<sup>5</sup>Ι25:15*ap*, <sup>3</sup>Ι28:17 (see *ap*), <sup>1</sup>Ι45:2*ap*.  
<sup>1</sup>Ι30:5, <sup>1</sup>Ι33:18, <sup>2</sup>Ι36:22, <sup>4</sup>Ι37:1, ΠΙ-, <sup>1</sup>†-, <sup>2</sup>ΝΙ- <sup>2</sup>Ι21:23, <sup>2</sup>Ι22:1,  
<sup>3</sup>Ι41:16. <sup>1</sup>Ι22:22, <sup>1</sup>Ι23:1-2*ap*, <sup>2</sup>Ι25:6*ap*,  
<sup>2</sup>Ι25:7, <sup>2</sup>Ι29:18, <sup>1</sup>Ι29:19,  
<sup>2</sup>Ι30:7, <sup>1</sup>Ι32:2*ap*, <sup>1</sup>Ι32:5, <sup>1</sup>Ι32:21-  
<sup>22ap</sup>, <sup>1</sup>Ι34:5\*, <sup>1</sup>Ι34:23, <sup>1</sup>Ι36:13,  
<sup>2</sup>Ι43:20, <sup>1</sup>Ι44:6, <sup>1</sup>Ι45:7.

## 4. Demonstrative

ΠΕΙ-, <sup>1</sup>ΤΕΕΙ-, <sup>2</sup>ΝΕΕΙ-, <sup>3</sup>ΝΑΙ-



NAG HAMMADI STUDIES  
VOLUME XI

# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

EDITED BY

MARTIN KRAUSE - JAMES M. ROBINSON  
FREDERIK WISSE

IN CONJUNCTION WITH

ALEXANDER BÖHLIG - JEAN DORESSE - SØREN GIVERSEN  
HANS JONAS - RODOLPHE KASSER - PAHOR LABIB  
GEORGE W. MACRAE - JACQUES-É. MÉNARD  
TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH  
WILLEM CORNELIS VAN UNNIK† - R. McL. WILSON  
JAN ZANDEE

XI

GENERAL EDITOR OF THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY  
JAMES M. ROBINSON



LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL

1979

DIES  
ROBINSON  
REN GIVERES  
ROR LARIE  
MENARD  
L. WILSON  
STIC LIBRAH

# THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY

EDITED WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

*published under the auspices of*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ANTIQUITY AND CHRISTIANITY

---

## NAG HAMMADI CODICES

V, 2-5 AND VI

WITH

PAPYRUS BEROLINENSIS 8502, 1 AND 4

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES BRASHLER - PETER A. DIRKSE - CHARLES W. HEDRICK  
GEORGE W. MACRAE - WILLIAM R. MURDOCK  
DOUGLAS M. PARROTT - JAMES M. ROBINSON  
WILLIAM R. SCHOEDEL - R. McL. WILSON - FRANCIS E. WILLIAMS  
FREDERIK WISSE

VOLUME EDITOR

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT



LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL

1979

ISBN 90 04 05798 6

*Copyright 1979 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands*

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

James  
Douglas  
Tractates  
and  
Signs  
Canon  
Analogy  
Berol  
M. Robi  
The Ap  
R. Mu  
The Fi  
R. Sch  
The (Se  
W. He  
The Ap  
W. Mac  
The A  
Wilson  
The T  
W. Mac  
Autho  
W. Mac  
The C  
Wisse  
Plato  
Bachel  
The D  
A. Dirks  
The P  
A. Dirks



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword James M. Robinson . . . . .	VII
Preface Douglas M. Parrott . . . . .	XI
Table of Tractates in the Coptic Gnostic Library . . . . .	XIII
Abbreviations and Short Titles . . . . .	XV
Textual Signs . . . . .	XXI
Introduction . . . . .	I
Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 . . . . .	9
James M. Robinson	
NHC V,2: The Apocalypse of Paul . . . . .	47
William R. Murdock and George W. MacRae	
NHC V,3: The (First) Apocalypse of James . . . . .	65
William R. Schoedel	
NHC V,4: The (Second) Apocalypse of James . . . . .	105
Charles W. Hedrick	
NHC V,5: The Apocalypse of Adam . . . . .	151
George W. MacRae	
NHC VI,1: The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles . . . . .	197
R. McL. Wilson and Douglas M. Parrott	
NHC VI,2: The Thunder: Perfect Mind . . . . .	231
George W. MacRae	
NHC VI,3: Authoritative Teaching . . . . .	257
George W. MacRae	
NHC VI,4: The Concept of Our Great Power . . . . .	291
Frederik Wisse and Francis E. Williams	
NHC VI,5: Plato, Republic 588b-589b . . . . .	325
James Brashler	
NHC VI,6: The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth . . . . .	341
Peter A. Dirkse, James Brashler and Douglas M. Parrott	
NHC VI,7: The Prayer of Thanksgiving . . . . .	375
Peter A. Dirkse and James Brashler	

ms.  
 divided on  
 manuscript  
 publisher

NHC VI,7a: Scribal Note . . . . . 389  
 Douglas M. Parrott

NHC VI,8: Asclepius 21-29 . . . . . 395  
 Peter A. Dirkse and Douglas M. Parrott

BG,1: The Gospel of Mary. . . . . 453  
 R. McL. Wilson and George W. MacRae

BG,4: The Act of Peter . . . . . 473  
 James Brashler and Douglas M. Parrott

Word Indices . . . . . 495

    Coptic Words . . . . . 497

    Greek Loan Words. . . . . 528

    Proper Nouns . . . . . 541

References to Ancient Works and Authors . . . . . 543

The Coptic Gospels  
 and Codices  
 dealt with E.  
 create, notes,  
 the edition the  
 and Edition o  
 the more deta  
 the studies of th  
 the Hamman  
 the Coptic relig  
 Christianity an  
 the Coptic religio  
 the modern insig  
 the original source m  
 ed. It is thus u  
 and these larg  
 the prepared.  
 the edition is a  
 the Clarend  
 the W. Attri  
 the Böhlig,  
 the Peter A.  
 the W. Hedrick  
 the George W.  
 the M. Parrott  
 the William  
 the John H.  
 the Wilson, C  
 the The proje  
 the of tractates  
 the increasingly  
 the in Cod  
 the for im  
 the the editi  
 the complement  
 the volume,

## 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 largely unique documents that the present edition has been prepared.

This edition is a project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. The translation team consists of Harold W. Attridge, J. W. B. Barns †, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Alexander Böhlig, James Brashler, G. M. Browne, Roger A. Bullard, Peter A. Dirkse, Joseph A. Gibbons, Søren Giversen, Charles W. Hedrick, Wesley W. Isenberg, T. O. Lambdin, Bentley Layton, George W. MacRae, Dieter Mueller †, William R. Murdock, Douglas M. Parrott, Birger A. Pearson, Malcom 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. In view of the fact that the bulk of the material in Codices I-VI had at that time either been published or announced for imminent publication in complete editions in other languages, the edition in *The Coptic Gnostic Library* was envisaged in the complementary role of providing merely English translations in a single volume, which in subsequent planning was then envisaged

as two volumes. It was at this stage that preliminary announcements were made in *NTS* 16 (1969/70), 185-90 and *Nov. Test.* 12 (1970), 83-85, reprinted in *Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970). Whereas three volume editors were mentioned for Codices I-VI, due to other assignments in The Coptic Gnostic Library John D. Turner did not enter into this activity; James Brashler was quite active in the editorial process in early stages of the work, but then shifted his activity to preparing *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* for the press. Thus Douglas M. Parrott, who had initially been commissioned as Volume Editor of Codices I-VI and BG, has seen the present volume through to completion.

The publisher and editorial board of Nag Hammadi Studies at their meeting in Uppsala, Sweden, in August 1973, recommended that The Coptic Gnostic Library edition be complete for Codices I-VI and BG as well as for VII-XIII. This plan was adopted by the volume editors at their September 1973 work session in Cairo. This resulted in Codices I-VI being planned for six volumes. The volumes and the editors for the whole edition are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1, III,1 and IV,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John*, edited by Frederik Wisse; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,2-7 and III,5*, volume editor Bentley Layton; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, Nag Hammadi Studies, no. 4, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3-4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3: Eugnostos the Blessed and the Wisdom of Jesus Christ*, edited by Douglas M. Parrott; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott; *Nag Hammadi 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. Thus, as now envisaged, the full scope of the edition is eleven volumes. The English translation of the texts of all thirteen codices has also been published in a single volume, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, by E. J. Brill and Harper & Row (1977).

The team research of the project has been supported through the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity primarily by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt, and Claremont Graduate School. 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 reconstitution 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. Especially collation with the help of ultraviolet lamps by Stephen Emmel, Charles W. Hedrick, and Bentley Layton from 1975 to 1977, brought unexpected improvements to the transcription. 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 gratefully acknowledge the continued interest and support of F. C. Wieder, Jr., Director, and T. A. Edridge, Adjunct Director, of E. J. Brill.

JAMES M. ROBINSON

has been  
case of the  
preparation  
of the  
displacing  
and passi  
then imposs  
and needs t  
may conside  
when it wa  
the volume w  
keyword. T  
exercise as po  
the present  
possible, si  
made it impos  
extensively  
better to ac  
advantage of ful  
number of pers  
who are not  
the Cop  
possible  
M. Robinson.  
wise guidance  
and design of  
has been  
to find a  
careful and  
help in  
And the wo  
to Patristic  
been improv  
examinat  
also grateful t  
Lewentrat, an

## PREFACE

This has been a team effort. The names attached to the tractates are those of the persons who have had primary responsibility for their preparation. But in every case they have been aided by other members of the Coptic Gnostic Library team who have done such things as placing fragments, collating transcriptions, checking translations, and passing along ideas and references. This volume would have been impossible without these combined labors.

A word needs to be said about the tractate introductions, since they vary considerably in fullness. Most of them were originally written when it was thought that the tractates presented here would be in the volume with only translations of Codices I-VI, mentioned in the foreword. To conserve space the contributors were asked to be as concise as possible. When it was decided to publish the tractates in the present volume, fuller treatment of introductory matters became possible, since fewer tractates were involved. Pressures of time made it impossible for some contributors to revise their introductions extensively. Others, however, were able to do so. It has seemed better to accept the imbalance thus created than to forego the advantage of fuller treatment where that has been possible.

A number of persons have made substantial contributions to this volume who are not elsewhere acknowledged. Neither the volume, nor, indeed, the Coptic Gnostic Library project as a whole would have been possible without the imagination and tireless efforts of James M. Robinson. As volume editor, I am particularly conscious of his wise guidance and counsel at various stages in the development and design of the volume. George W. MacRae, as special consultant, has been more than generous with his time. It would be difficult to find a portion of the volume that has not benefited from his careful and judicious eye. Charles W. Hedrick has been of considerable help in reading and reacting to various parts of the volume. And the work of Francis E. Williams, who researched parallels to Patristic literature, has been most useful. The volume has also been improved in numerous ways by Stephen Emmel's painstaking examination of it at a late stage in the editorial process.

I am also grateful to the following for their help: James Crowell, Peter Lowentraut, and James Strodtbeck, for initial copy editing,

and for compiling and checking indices, while students at the University of California at Riverside; James E. Goehring, for correcting the proofs of word indices; Lenore Brashler, Joy Cronk, Sandra Grajeda, Kathleen Hutton, Sharleen Martenas, and Mary Anne Parrott, for typing.

Société d'Édition "*Les Belles Lettres*" has generously agreed to allow reproduction of the Latin text of *Asclepius 21-29* found in *Hermès Trismégiste*, Vol. II, ed. by A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, 1946; reprinted, 1973 (p. 321, line 10, to p. 336, line 2; p. 353, line 1, to p. 355, line 14).

The editing of this volume was made possible in part by grants from the Graduate Theological Union and the Committee on Research of the University of California at Riverside.

In a work of this sort errors are inevitable. Readers are requested to communicate with the general editor of the Coptic Gnostic Library regarding any that are found so that a list of corrections may be published.

Finally I want to express a special measure of appreciation to my wife, Anne, and to our children, Elizabeth and Kirk, for their help and patience during the years when this volume was being prepared.

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

TAB  
C  
Following tab  
Augustus Berol  
table titles  
themselves  
tractate  
and the ab  
The Prayer  
The Apocry  
The Gospel  
The Treatise  
The Tripartite  
The Apocry  
The Gospel  
The Gospel  
The Hypothesis  
On the Origin  
The Exegesis  
The Book of  
The Apocry  
The Gospel  
Eugenios  
The Sophia  
The Dialogue  
The Apocry  
The Gospel  
Eugenios  
The Apocry  
The First  
The Second  
The Apocry  
The Acts of  
The Thirteen  
Authoritat  
The Conce  
Plato, Ref  
The Disc  
The Prayer  
Asclepius  
The Paraph  
The Second



## TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE COPTIC Gnostic LIBRARY

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

I,1	<i>The Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>	<i>Pr. Paul</i>
I,2	<i>The Apocryphon of James</i>	<i>Ap. Jas.</i>
I,3	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Gos. Truth</i>
I,4	<i>The Treatise on the Resurrection</i>	<i>Treat. Res.</i>
I,5	<i>The Tripartite Tractate</i>	<i>Tri. Trac.</i>
II,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
II,2	<i>The Gospel of Thomas</i>	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>
II,3	<i>The Gospel of Philip</i>	<i>Gos. Phil.</i>
II,4	<i>The Hypostasis of the Archons</i>	<i>Hyp. Arch.</i>
II,5	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>
II,6	<i>The Exegesis on the Soul</i>	<i>Exeg. Soul</i>
II,7	<i>The Book of Thomas the Contender</i>	<i>Thom. Cont.</i>
III,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
III,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
III,3	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Eugnostos</i>
III,4	<i>The Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>
III,5	<i>The Dialogue of the Savior</i>	<i>Dial. Sav.</i>
IV,1	<i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>Ap. John</i>
IV,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Gos. Eg.</i>
V,1	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Eugnostos</i>
V,2	<i>The Apocalypse of Paul</i>	<i>Apoc. Paul</i>
V,3	<i>The (First) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>1 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,4	<i>The (Second) Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>2 Apoc. Jas.</i>
V,5	<i>The Apocalypse of Adam</i>	<i>Apoc. Adam</i>
VI,1	<i>The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>	<i>Acts Pet. 12 Apost.</i>
VI,2	<i>The Thunder: Perfect Mind</i>	<i>Thund.</i>
VI,3	<i>Authoritative Teaching</i>	<i>Auth. Teach.</i>
VI,4	<i>The Concept of our Great Power</i>	<i>Great Pow.</i>
VI,5	<i>Plato, Republic 588b-589b</i>	<i>Plato Rep.</i>
VI,6	<i>The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth</i>	<i>Disc. 8-9</i>
VI,7	<i>The Prayer of Thanksgiving</i>	<i>Pr. Thanks.</i>
VI,8	<i>Asclepius 2I-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>

ABBRE

I. Abbrevia

Daniel

Deuteronom

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

### I. Abbreviation of Biblical Books and Related Texts

#### a. Old Testament

Dan	Daniel	Lev	Leviticus
Deut	Deuteronomy	Mic	Micah
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Num	Numbers
Exod	Exodus	Pr	Proverbs
Ezek	Ezekiel	Ps	Psalms
Gen	Genesis	SongofS	Song of Solomon
Hab	Habakkuk		
Isa	Isaiah		
Jer	Jeremiah		

#### b. New Testament

Ac	Acts of the Apostles	Mk	Mark
Col	Colossians	Mt	Matthew
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Phil	Philippians
Eph	Ephesians	Rev	Revelation
Gal	Galatians	Rom	Romans
Heb	Hebrews	1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
Jas	James	2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
Jn	John	1 Tim	1 Timothy
1 Jn	1 John	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke		

#### c. Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Apoc. Mos.	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>	1QS	<i>Serek hayyahad (Rule of the Community or Manual of Discipline) from Qumran Cave 1.</i>
2 Bar	2 Baruch	Sibyl	Sibyline Oracles
1 En	Ethiopic Enoch	Test. Abr.	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
2 En	Slavonic Enoch	Test. Sol.	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
2 Esdr	2 Esdras	WisSol	Wisdom of Solomon
1QH	<i>Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) from Qumran Cave 1.</i>		
1QpHab	<i>Peshet on Habakkuk from Qumran Cave 1.</i>		

## 2. Other Abbreviations and Short Titles

Works are listed by editor or author, when he/she is referred to in the footnotes and tractate bibliographies. Omitted are abbreviations commonly found in standard English dictionaries.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>Act. Jn.</i>                                      | <i>Acts of John</i>  |
| <i>Act. Phil.</i>                                    | <i>Acts of Philip</i>  |
| <i>Act. Pil.</i>                                     | <i>Acts of Pilate</i>  |
| <i>Act. Pl.</i>                                      | <i>Acts of Paul</i>  |
| <i>Act. Pt.</i>                                      | <i>Acts of Peter</i>   |
| <i>Act. Thom.</i>                                    | <i>Acts of Thomas</i>  |
| Allberry, <i>Manichaeaeon Psalm Book</i>             | Allberry, C.R.C. <i>A Manichaeaeon Psalm Book</i> . Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.  |
| <i>Amer Journ Phil</i>                               | <i>American Journal of Philology</i>   |
| <i>Athenag. Suppl.</i>                               | <i>Athenagoras, Supplicatio</i>  |
| Bauer, <i>Lexicon</i>                                | Arndt, W.F. and Gingrich, F.W. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . A translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's <i>Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. |
| Baynes, <i>Coptic Gnostic Treatise</i>               | Baynes, C.A. <i>A Coptic Gnostic Treatise Contained in the Codex Bruceanus (Bruce MS 96, Bod. Lib. Oxford): A Translation from the Coptic; Transcription and Commentary</i> . Cambridge: University Press, 1933.   |
| BG   | Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (cf. Till-Schenke <i>Papyrus Berolinensis 8502</i> <sup>2</sup> in this list)  |
| Bianchi, ed., <i>Le origini dello gnosticismo</i>    | Bianchi, U., ed., <i>Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966</i> . Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to <i>Numen</i> ) 12. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967.   |
| Böhlig, <i>Mysterion und Wahrheit</i>                | Böhlig, A. <i>Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte</i> . Arbeiten zur Geschichte des späteren Judentums und des Urchristentums 6. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968.   |
| Böhlig-Labib, <i>Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen</i> | Böhlig, A. and Labib, P., eds. <i>Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo</i> . Sonderband, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität. Halle-Wittenberg, 1963.   |

Böhlig-Wisse, <i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	Böhlig, A. and Wisse, F., eds. <i>Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians. (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)</i> . The Coptic Gnostic Library. Nag Hammadi Studies 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.
Cic.	Cicero
<i>Nat. deor.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>
2 Clem.	2 Clement
Cl. Al. <i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromata</i>
Cod. Bruc. (Untitled text)	Text in Codex Brucianus (cf. Baynes, <i>Coptic Gnostic Treatise</i> in this list)
<i>Corp. Herm.</i>	<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> (edited in Nock-Festugière, cited in this list)
Crum	Crum, W.E. <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
Doresse, <i>Secret Books</i>	Doresse, J. <i>The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts Discovered at Chenoboskion</i> . Translated by P. Miret. New York: Viking Press; London: Hollis and Carter, 1960.
Epiph. <i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>
<i>Ep. apostol.</i>	<i>Epistula apostolorum</i>
Eus.	Eusebius of Caesarea
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Praep. Ev.</i>	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
<i>Ev. Barth.</i>	<i>Evangelium Bartholomaei</i>
<i>Ex orbe religionum</i>	<i>Ex orbe religionum</i> : Studia Geo Widengren. 2 volumes. Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to <i>Numen</i> ) 21-22. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.
<i>Exc. Theod.</i>	<i>Excerpta ex Theodoto</i> (Clement of Alexandria)
Festugière, <i>La Révélation</i>	Festugière, A.-J. <i>La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste</i> . 4 volumes. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1949-54.
Foerster, ed., <i>Gnosis</i>	Foerster, W., ed. <i>Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts</i> . Translation edited by R. McL. Wilson. 2 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972-74.
frag.	fragment
GCS	Die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>Gos. Eve</i>	<i>Gospel of Eve</i>
Grant, ed., <i>Gnosticism: A Source Book</i>	Grant, R.M., ed. <i>Gnosticism: A Source Book of Heretical Writings from the Early Christian Period</i> . New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961.

- Hennecke, *NT Apocrypha* Schneemelcher, W., ed. Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*. Translated by R. McL. Wilson. 2 volumes. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963-65.
- Hipp.  
*Antichr.*  
*Ref.*  
*HTHR*  
 Hippolytus  
*Demonstratio de Christo et antichristo*  
*Refutatio omnium haeresium*  
*Harvard Theological Review*
- Ign. *Pol.*  
 Iren. *Haer.*  
 Ignatius, *Epistula ad Polycarpum*  
 Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adversus haereses* (Massuet's division)
- Jos.  
*Ant.*  
*Bell.*  
 Just.  
*1 Apol.*  
*Dial.*  
 Josephus  
*Antiquitates Judaicae*  
*Bellum Judaicum*  
 Justin Martyr  
 (First) *Apologia*  
*Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*
- Kore Kosmou*  
 Extract of Stobaeus XXIII (Nock-Festugière IV, 1-50)
- Krause, ed., *Essays in Honour of Böhlig*  
 Krause, M., ed. *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*. Nag Hammadi Studies 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.
- Krause, ed., *Essays in Honour of Labib*  
 Krause, M., ed. *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib*. Nag Hammadi Studies 6. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975.
- Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*  
 Krause, M. and Labib, P. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Koptische Reihe 2. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1971 (appeared 1972).
- Lampe, *Lexicon*  
 Lampe, G.W.H., ed. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Liddell-Scott  
 Liddell, H.G.; Scott, R.; and Jones, H.S. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edition (with supplement). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*  
 Mahé, J.-P., ed. *Hermès en Haute-Égypte: Les Textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*. Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi; section "textes" 3. 2 volumes. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval 1978-
- Ménard, ed., *Les Textes de Nag Hammadi*  
 Ménard, J.-É., ed. *Les Textes de Nag Hammadi: Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions (Strasbourg, 23-25 octobre 1974)*. Nag Hammadi Studies 7. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975.

Mishnah <i>Mid.</i>	Mishnah tractate <i>Middoth</i>
Mishnah <i>Sanh.</i>	Mishnah tractate <i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Muséon</i>	<i>Le Muséon</i>
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codices
Nilsson, <i>GGR</i>	Nilsson, M.P. <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> . 2 volumes. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5. 2nd ed. Munich: Beck, 1961.
Nock-Festugière	Nock, A.D. and Festugière, A.-J., eds. <i>Hermès Trismégiste</i> . 4 volumes. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1946-54.
<i>NovTest</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Orig. <i>Comm. in Joh.</i>	Origen, <i>In Johannem commentarius</i>
P.Ryl.	Papyrus listed in A. Hunt et al., eds., <i>Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester</i> . Manchester: University Press, 1911-52.
par(r).	parallel(s)
Philo	Philo of Alexandria
<i>Conf.ling.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>Congr.</i>	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>
<i>Det.pot.ins.</i>	<i>Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat</i>
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>De fuga et inventione</i>
<i>Leg. all.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
<i>Mut.nom.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Op.mund.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione</i>
<i>Poster.C.</i>	<i>De posteritate Cain</i>
<i>Praem.poen.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>
<i>Rev.div.her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
<i>Spec.leg.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>Pist.Soph.</i>	<i>Pistis Sophia</i>
Plat.	Plato
<i>Polit.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
Plin. <i>Ep.</i>	Pliny, the Younger, <i>Epistulae</i>
Plut.	Plutarch of Chaeronea
<i>Def.orac.</i>	<i>De defectu oraculorum</i>
<i>Pyth.or.</i>	<i>De pythiae oraculis</i>
<i>Ser.num.pun.</i>	<i>De iis qui sero a numine puniuntur</i>
Ps.-Clem.	Pseudo-Clement
<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Recg.</i>	<i>Recognitiones</i>

- Reitzenstein, *Poim.* Reitzenstein, R. *Poimandres*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904.
- RevSR* *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*
- RHR* *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
- Robinson et al. Robinson, J.M. et al. *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*. 12 volumes. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972-
- RThPh* *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*
- SBTh* Studies in Biblical Theology
- Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography* Scholer, D.M. *Nag Hammadi Bibliography: 1948-1969*. Nag Hammadi Studies 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971. (Updated annually in *NovTest*.)
- Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl. Studies in Honor of Crum* Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*. Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1950.
- s.v. *sub verbo*
- TDNT* Kittel, G. and Friedrich, G., eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. 10 volumes. Translated and edited by G.W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1964-76.
- ThLZ* *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
- Till, *Koptische Grammatik* Till, W. *Koptische Grammatik (saïdischer Dialekt) mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnissen*. Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen und afrikanischen Sprachen 1. 3rd improved ed. Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966.
- Till, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* Till, W.C., ed. *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*. TU 60. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955.
- Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*<sup>2</sup> Till, W.C., ed. *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*. 2nd expanded edition. Revised by H.-M. Schenke. TU 60<sup>2</sup>. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972.
- Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und NT* Tröger, K.-W., ed. *Gnosis und Neues Testament*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973.
- TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
- VigChr* *Vigiliae Christianae*
- Vit.Ad.* *Vita Adae et Evae (Books of Adam and Eve)*
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
- ZKG* *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*



## TEXTUAL SIGNS

A dot placed under a letter in the transcription indicates that the letter is visually uncertain, even though the context may make the reading certain. Dots on the line outside of brackets in the transcription indicate missing letters that cannot be reconstructed but of which vestiges of ink remain.

[ ] Square brackets in the transcription indicate a lacuna in the MS in which there is every reason to believe that writing existed at one time. When the text cannot be reconstructed, or when it can only be partially reconstructed, the number of estimated missing letters, up to five, is indicated in the transcription by dots; beyond that an Arabic number is used, followed by a plus or minus sign ( $\pm$ ). An exception to this is made when a lacuna comes at the end of a line. Then only the left bracket is shown (so that the line is left open), and no attempt is made to estimate the number of letters, since wide variations are possible. In the translation, brackets indicate not only lacunae but also letters or portions of letters that do not make a translatable sense unit. Also no estimates are given in the translation of the number of letters missing, and a bracket is not allowed to divide a word. In the latter case, a word is placed either entirely inside brackets or wholly outside, depending on an estimate of the certainty of the Coptic word it translates.

< > Pointed brackets indicate an editorial correction of a scribal omission or error. In the latter case only, a footnote records the MS reading.

{ } Braces indicate letters or words unnecessarily added by the scribe.

High strokes indicate that the letter so designated was either written above the line by the scribe, or obviously inserted by him into an already completed word.

( ) Parentheses in the translation indicate material supplied by the translator for the sake of clarity. Greek loan words in the Coptic are also placed in parentheses in the translation, except when transliterated.

- † † Two daggers in the Latin text indicate that the words between them are considered corrupt.
- [ ] Double square brackets in P. Ryl. 463 indicate an erased letter in the MS.

between cod  
 number, 1945  
 other cliffs t  
 ge from the  
 e volumes  
 century A.L.  
 volume con  
 (epistol) is o  
 series in syn  
 ed BG.3 (So  
 able to encom  
 ge parallel  
 eze would h  
 ed to BG may  
 ge. 1-23, 33-7

(CONCES

the leather ce  
 reader is  
 ed Facsim  
 ximile edit  
 an *Introductio*  
 esse, who w  
 ed that the se  
 es IV, VIII,  
 However a  
 to M. Man  
 ay, Italy, su  
 He do

the account  
 ceptor of th  
 publication  
 1945  
 ed Books, pp. 7  
 and her

## INTRODUCTION

The thirteen codices of the Nag Hammadi library were discovered in December, 1945, opposite the town of Nag Hammadi, at the base of the sheer cliffs that are set back from the right bank of the Nile.<sup>1</sup> Evidence from the cartonnage used in the leather covers suggests that the volumes were bound sometime in the last half of the fourth century A.D. and subsequently hidden.

This volume contains NHC V,2-5, VI,1-8, and BG,1 and 4. NHC V,1 (*Eugnostos*) is omitted because it will appear in another volume in this series in synopsis with NHC III,3 (*Eugnostos*), 4 (*Soph. Jes. Chr.*), and BG,3 (*Soph. Jes. Chr.*). BG,1 and 4 are included in order to be able to encompass in our edition all the BG tractates: BG,2 and 3 are parallel versions of texts in the Nag Hammadi library and hence would have been published in any case. Introductory material to BG may be found in Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1-23, 331-36.

### CODICES V AND VI: COMMON CONSIDERATIONS

On the leather covers, book construction, page size and appearance, the reader is referred to Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex V* and *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*. Additions and corrections to the facsimile edition are published in Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

J. Doresse, who was the first scholar to examine the whole library, believed that the same scribe copied Codices V and VI, as well as Codices IV, VIII, and IX.<sup>2</sup> M. Krause concurred with his judgment.<sup>3</sup> However a more recent, although rapid, survey of the library by M. Manfredi of the G. Vitelli Papyrological Institute in Florence, Italy, suggests that Codices V and VI are not by the same scribe. He does not find the hand of V in any other codex,

---

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the discovery and subsequent events leading to the bringing together of the codices at the Coptic Museum in Cairo, their conservation, and publication in facsimile, see Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Introduction*.

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Books*, pp. 141-42.

<sup>3</sup> *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 26.

but the hand of VI may also be that of VIII.<sup>4</sup> It is hoped that a definitive study of the scribal hands in the library will be made in the near future so that this issue can be resolved.

Not unrelated to the question of the scribal hands is the fact, demonstrated by J. M. Robinson, that a grouping of the codices based on the characteristics of their leather covers places V and VI in different groups: V is akin to IV and VIII; VI, to IX, X, and to a lesser extent II. Since no tractates are duplicated within groups (of which at least three can be distinguished), it seems clear that this way of dividing the codices is significant, although further investigation will be required to determine its full meaning.<sup>5</sup>

The Coptic dialect of V,2-5 has been investigated by A. Böhlig,<sup>6</sup> that of VI, by Krause, who examined each tractate individually and then drew general conclusions.<sup>7</sup> Both find that the dominant dialect, in each case, is Sahidic. Böhlig perceives a significant Fayumic influence in V,2-5. However, H.-M. Schenke disagrees, contending that V,2-5 really displays a pre-classical Sahidic dialect with strong Subachmimic features, and with only occasional signs of Fayumic.<sup>8</sup> His position is supported by the recent recognition that the use of πι-, †-, νι- as articles (common in Codex V) is by no means confined to the dialects of Lower and Middle Egypt, as had been previously thought.<sup>9</sup> In regard to Codex VI, Krause finds, in addition to the dominant Sahidic dialect, the influence of Subachmimic, and a few signs of Achmimic.<sup>10</sup> It may be that a somewhat different, and perhaps more precise, understanding of the dialectal situation in these codices will result from the current discussion of the origins of the Coptic dialects and their relationships to each other.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J.M. Robinson, "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Les Textes de Nag Hammadi*, ed. by Ménard, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J.M. Robinson, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Essays in Honour of Labib*, ed. by Krause, pp. 186-87, 190.

<sup>6</sup> *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*, pp. 11-14.

<sup>7</sup> *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>8</sup> Review of Böhlig-Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*, *OLZ* 61 (1966), col. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the brief summary of this discussion to 1975 in M. Krause, "Zur Bedeutung des gnostisch-hermetischen Handschriftenfundes von Nag Hammadi," in *Essays in Honour of Labib*, ed. by Krause, pp. 74-75.

## CODEX V

Codex V includes five tractates. *Eugnostos* (V,1) contains authoritative, but not revealed, cosmic speculation in the framework of a letter from a teacher to his disciples. *Apoc. Paul* (V,2) is a revelation in the sense that it describes the experiences of Paul as he journeys to the tenth heaven. 1 *Apoc. Jas.* (V,3), 2 *Apoc. Jas.* (V,4), and *Apoc. Adam* (V,5) share the characteristic of containing revelations spoken by revealers without the recipients being involved in heavenly journeys or dreams and visions of supernatural places and events. Christian elements are absent from *Eugnostos* and are probably also absent from *Apoc. Adam* (cf. introduction to V,5). *Apoc. Paul*, 1 *Apoc. Jas.*, and 2 *Apoc. Jas.*, of course, clearly display Christian influence. The dominant influence throughout the codex, however, is gnostic. A common theme that runs through the last four tractates is the heavenly and earthly opposition that is faced by the faithful (presumably Gnostics). It is not apparent why *Eugnostos* would have been included with the other tractates.

The codex has 84 pages of text. One page (68) is uninscribed but is nonetheless, following Böhlig, considered here as numbered.<sup>12</sup> Thus the total of pages assigned numbers in modern times is 85. The pages were numbered by the scribe on the upper outside corners. The numbers on 4, 5, 26, 57-64 remain clearly visible, while those on 24, 28, and 35 are only partially so; the rest are in lacunae.<sup>13</sup>

The MS is in an uneven state of preservation. The condition of each tractate is described in detail in its introduction (and that of *Eugnostos* in the synopsis mentioned above), but if one looks at the codex as a whole, it is clear that no single page is without lacunae, that the text at the bottoms of pages suffers throughout, and that only on pp. 21-34, 58, 64-66 and 74-85 is the text at the tops of the pages largely intact. Also extensive lacunae are found in the middle of pp. 1-4, 9-22, 35-59, and 69-70. In addition one finds much flaking, fading, and blotting throughout. To these problems, having to do

<sup>12</sup> This view seemed to be supported by the fact that the pagination of p. 69 was transcribed by Böhlig as extant. However in a letter to J. M. Robinson of April 12 1977, he has conceded the photographs he used do not show the pagination and hence that the omission of square brackets here may be an oversight in his edition. Hence the numeration of pp. 69-85 may have been 68-84.

<sup>13</sup> On the establishment of the page sequence, see the preface to Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex V*.

with the preservation of the MS, may be added the fact that the quality of the papyrus sheets in Codex V is among the poorest in the library.<sup>14</sup> This resulted in a good deal of unevenness in the scribe's copying as he attempted to adapt to it. It appears that the scribe left p. 68 blank because he found it unsuited and inappropriate for writing, since it is a *protokollon*.<sup>15</sup>

Due to fragment placements since the publication of the *editio princeps* of V, 2-5, this edition contains more text than that edition on pp. 35-44, 59-60, 65-66, and 79-80. Also many readings have been improved through intensive examination of the text, including the aid of ultraviolet light. It should be noted that in regard to 65-66, the fragment was placed there after the publication of the facsimile edition. It was frag. 15 on plates 99/100 (Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex V*), and was placed at 65,32-33 and 66,29-30.

Scribal errors in the text are numerous. Although Böhlig examined them,<sup>16</sup> a new presentation is in order in view of our improved knowledge of the text. For convenience of reference the errors are listed in outline form.

#### I. Errors corrected by the scribe.

A. Omission of letters or words, corrected by insertion above the line at the place of the omission: 6,6.24; 26,6.10.18; 27,3; 28,8.22; 31,9.13; 56,23. A whole line appears to have been inserted at 24,10.

B. Omission of letter, corrected by insertion of letter into the body of the word: 27,3.

C. Letter(s) deleted by dotting: 7,25-26; 7,33; 85,5.

D. Letter(s) deleted by crossing out: 14,4; 73,7.

E. Letter(s) deleted both by crossing out and dotting: 60,3; 81,6.

F. Letters deleted and replaced by letter above line: 41,22; 77,3.

G. Letters corrected by changing the incorrect letter to the correct one: 26,7.10; 27,3; 28,8; 31,4; 51,10; 53,1 (?).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. vertical sides, pp. 3, 5, 17, 25, 29, 31, 41, 46, 58, 62, 70, 80; horizontal sides, pp. 6, 14, 36, 47, 61, 65, 67, 77, 79.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. J.M. Robinson, "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Les Textes de Nag Hammadi*, ed. by Ménard, pp. 21-22.

<sup>16</sup> *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*, pp. 10-11.

## II. Errors not corrected by the scribe.

A. Omission of letter(s): 4,16; 8,10; 27,13 (whole line); 33,5; 36,13,22; 45,22; 49,20; 51,14; 54,21; 55,8; 56,22; 59,22. Also material has been omitted between 24,18a and 18b, and between 47,20 and 21, although the extent of the omission in each case is uncertain.

B. Unnecessary letter(s), probably the result of dittography: 25,4; 33,19; 35,21; 49,20; 69,6-9; 84,23.

C. Incorrect letter(s): 23,30; 39,19,20; 70,20; 72,21; 74,12.

Of considerable interest in this codex are the glosses, apparently in the scribal hand, that provide alternative letters (81,18; 82,12) and words (33,11; 34,23; 78,10; 79,10; 80,1.4; 81,16.19). All but those at 33,11 and 34,23 are written above the appropriate letter or word. In the case of 33,11 and 34,23 (apparently) a Greek loan-word in the text is glossed by a Coptic expression in the margin, to which the reader is referred by a special mark that appears both over the glossed word and in the margin. Böhlig reasonably suggests that the individual letter glosses may be explained by the linguistic uncertainty of the scribe, noting that in 81,18 the alternative letter has no etymological basis. He also proposes that the glosses of whole words are for clarification.<sup>17</sup> But this does not explain 81,16 and 81,19, where the same two words (ⲃⲏⲡⲉ and ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ) are alternately glosses for, and glossed by, each other. It may be that at least some of the glosses represent another text tradition to which the scribe had access. Another kind of gloss is the placing of numeral signs either over or (at the end of a line) next to the written number. These all occur in V,5, and are discussed in its introduction.

## CODIX VI

Codex VI contains eight tractates and one scribal note. It is set apart from the other codices in the library in that it contains three tractates that are Hermetic (*Disc. 8-9* [VI,6], *Pr. Thanks.* [VI,7], and *Asclepius* [VI,8]). The tractates that precede these in the codex, on the other hand, offer nothing that would allow a significant common characterization. They seem to have neither Hermetism, nor Gnosticism, nor Christianity in common, although individual tractates display at least influences of the latter two. They have no common form. Nor do they share a common theme.

<sup>17</sup> *Koptisch-agnostische Apokalypsen*, p. 11.

Codex VI has 78 pages of text. The pages were numbered by the scribe on the upper outside corner. The numbers of 61-66 remain clearly visible, while those on 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 36, 44, 46, 56, and 58 are only partially so; the rest are in lacunae.<sup>18</sup>

The text is well preserved except at the tops of most of the pages. Only on 31, 33, 34, 43, and 45 have lacunae not affected the upper part of the text. In addition blotting is a serious problem on 3-7.

As a result of fragment placements since the appearance of the *editio princeps* and the facsimile edition, this edition has more text than either on p. 10 (frag. 8 on plates 83/84 [Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*]) and a fragment previously conserved with Codex IV, placed at 10,2-3), pp. 17-18 (a fragment previously conserved with Codex IV, placed at 17,8-9 and 18,7-8), p. 26 (a fragment previously conserved with Codex IV, placed at 26,7), pp. 27-28 (a fragment previously conserved with Codex IV, placed at 27,6-7 and 28,6-8), and pp. 77-78 (frag. 1 on plates 83/84 [Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*], placed at 77,5-7 and 78,5-7). Many readings have also been improved through intensive examination of the text both with and without the aid of ultraviolet light.

Although Krause has examined the scribal errors,<sup>19</sup> it will be useful to deal with them here in view of the differences between the two editions. For convenience of reference, they are listed in outline.

#### I. Errors corrected by the scribe.

A. Omission of letters or words, corrected by insertion above the line at the place of the omission: 20,34; 40,7; 44,19; 58,29; 59,15; 63,17; 64,20; 71,17.

B. Omission of letter, corrected by insertion of letter into the body of the word: 49,29.

C. Omission of letters, corrected by writing letters in margin: 72,33-34.

D. Letter(s) deleted by dotting: 19,28-9 (dittography); 35,6.

E. Letter(s) deleted by crossing out: 6,21; 13,10 (dittography) 27,25; 40,23; 43,21; 77,16.

F. Letter(s) deleted by both crossing out and dotting: 60,15; 63,21.

G. Letter erased: 17,34.

<sup>18</sup> On the page sequence, see Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>19</sup> *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, p. 26.



H. Letter(s) deleted and replaced by letter(s) above line: 55,30 (deletion by dotting); 71,8 (deletion by dotting and crossing out).

I. Letters corrected by changing the incorrect letter to the correct one: 33,4; 54,25.

## II. Errors not corrected by the scribe.

A. Omission of letter(s): 5,4; 13,17; 15,11; 35,1; 36,13; 37,35; 39,3,24; 40,12; 43,2,23; 52,29; 59,20; 63,21,22; 74,21.

B. Unnecessary letter(s): 2,27; 6,21; 9,17; 42,30; 43,5; 45,4,13; 56,14; 63,21; 67,30. The following are probably the result of dittography: 30,22; 44,26; 52,31; 54,13; 62,8; 64,6; 73,19.

C. Incorrect letter(s): 6,7; 9,31; 13,20; 23,26; 27,32; 28,27; 30,22,32; 32,16; 36,24; 38,3; 41,12; 43,13; 45,10; 48,13; 58,22.

D. Word misplaced in line: 40,14.

E. Metathesis: 39,9.

F. Interchange of words: 61,23,25.

G. Scribal error the nature of which cannot be exactly determined: 60,1.

For a discussion of how the original layout of the codex was apparently modified by the scribe, the reader is referred to the introduction to the *Scribal Note* (VI,7a).

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

*Tractate bibliographies.* The bibliographies at the beginning of each tractate introduction are arranged in the following order: texts and translations; translations; secondary literature. They are not intended to be complete, but have as their purpose to draw attention to the most significant works consulted. These works are cited subsequently within the introduction and notes of that tractate by author or editor only. In cases where more than one work of an author or editor is listed, numbers are assigned so that the source is always clear. For complete bibliographical information, Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography*, and its annual supplements in *NovTest* (beginning in 1971) should be consulted.

*Superlinear strokes.* Because of printing limitations it has not normally been possible to show superlinear strokes spanning two or more consonants. Hence when a stroke spans two consonants in the MS, it is in most instances shown over the second only. In cases where an initially sounded **m** (em) or **n** (en) in first position in a

word has a stroke that continues over an immediately following consonant (common in BG), the stroke is placed over the first letter. The same policy is followed throughout in regard to the conjunctive conjugation.

When a stroke spans three letters in the MS, it is here placed over the middle letter only. Exceptions are made in the case of proper nouns and in those instances where the stroke is in effect the sign of an abbreviation. In addition, it has seemed impractical to attempt to place superlinear strokes alone in brackets in cases where a letter can be seen in the MS but the stroke over it is in lacuna. On the ground that the stroke and the letter in fact form a unit, we have shown both the letter and the stroke unbracketed. (The same policy has been followed in regard to circumflexes.) For more exact determination the reader is referred to the facsimile edition. A related policy has been adopted where the stroke is visible but its letter is in lacuna. In that case both stroke and letter are bracketed. Instances where this occurs in this volume are found in the following lines: V 23,2; 33,3; 48,7; 51,11; 55,28. VI 4,5; 21,8; 30,2; 30,6; 54,5; 56,2; 72,1.

*Lines above and below Coptic page numbers.* Because of printing limitations it has not been possible to make clear when such lines are visible and when they are not, where the number itself is bracketed. Again the reader is referred to the facsimile edition for exact determination.

*Circumflexes.* Circumflexes, when they appear with more than one letter, connect two vowels (ϵι), or a consonant and a vowel (ϱι). Unfortunately scribes are not always careful to make the circumflex so that it can be distinguished from the superlinear stroke. Rather than attempting to follow the vagaries of the scribes in this matter, we have used circumflexes throughout Codices V and VI in the instances mentioned above. For more exact determination the reader is referred to the facsimile edition. The problem does not occur in BG.

*Title and tractate decorations.* No attempt has been made here to reproduce the often elaborate decorations with which the scribes set off and surrounded superscript and subscript titles, and indicated the conclusion of tractates. For these, the reader is referred to the facsimile edition. For a general discussion of the titles in the library, Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, pp. 16-21, should be consulted.

# CODICOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF NAG HAMMADI CODICES V AND VI AND PAPYRUS BEROLINENSIS 8502

JAMES M. ROBINSON

## A. *Annotated Bibliography*

The foundations of papyrus codicology were laid by Hugo Ibscher, working as conservator in the papyrus collection of the royal museums of Berlin from the opening of the century, and were largely published in his maturity in the *editiones principes* of Manichaean codices from Medinet Madi and, posthumously, a codex of Proverbs in Achmimic. These publications contain the insights that cumulatively produced the generalizations upon which a science of papyrus codicology can be built. — “Beobachtungen bei der Papyrusaufrollung,” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 5 (1909), 191-94: Evidence that factories put rolls rather than individual *kollemata* on the market; explanation of why horizontal fibres are on the inside of a roll; explanation of the reversed fibre directions of the *protokollon*. — “Beschreibung der Handschrift,” in *Der achmimische Proverbientext nach Ms. Berol. orient. oct. 987*, Part I, *Text und Rekonstruktion der sahidischen Vorlage*, ed. by A. Böhlig, *Studien zur Erforschung des christlichen Aegyptens* 3, ed. by A. Böhlig (Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche, 1958), pp. xix-xxvii (Hugo Ibscher’s son Rolf reported that this codicological analysis had been composed in the 1920s, “Umkonservierung des Papyruscodex Ms. or. oct. 987,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 73 [1959], 367; it is presupposed by W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 2nd rev. ed. [Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1921], pp. 129 and 186.): Existence of a back flyleaf; one quire constructed from more than one roll; calculation of the breadth of each roll; the use of half-sheets plus stub attributed not to scribal error but (like the use of a *protokollon*) to economy in using the remainder of a roll that was narrower than a full sheet; existence of *eschatokollia* as well as *protokolla*. Ibscher erred in assuming that the sheets were cut to a standard breadth, rather than progressively narrower, as can be demonstrated on the basis of the information he supplied. As a result of his study of the Chester Beatty biblical papyrus II (P 46) he himself later adopted the view that sheets were cut progressively

narrower. Hence one may infer that he would have edited out this error had he been alive at the time the manuscript was being prepared for publication. The Achmimic Proverbs codex, dated to the Third or Fourth Century, is, in contrast to the Manichaean codices, constructed much like the Nag Hammadi codices.—“Die Handschriften,” in “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler,” by C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1933, I (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933), 82-85: The codex form as characteristic of early Christian texts; in contrast to the low quality of most Coptic codices, remarkably high-quality, silken papyrus used in the Manichaean codices; in distinction from earlier transitional codices, these codices not made from rolls but from individual *kollemata* (measuring 31.5 cm. high by 36 cm. wide or 27 cm. high by 35 cm. wide), with a plurality of quires, and with facing pages having the same fibre directions. — “Die Handschrift,” in *Manichäische Homilien*, ed. by H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty 1* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934), pp. ix-xiv: Description of the reassembling of a codex on the basis of codicological observations. — “Der Kodex,” *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst*, 4 (1937), 3-15: The first effort at a broad systematic statement on papyrus codicology, including generalizations on the decreasing breadth of *kollemata* over three millennia, the methodological policy of hypothetically reconstructing the rolls from which codices were constructed, the recognition that the stationer cut sheets progressively narrower in constructing a quire from a roll, and the unfortunate retention of the view he never transcended that there were only one-quire codices until the beginning of the Fourth Century, in spite of the fact that he had conserved Chester Beatty biblical papyrus I (P 45) constructed of a plurality of one-sheet quires from the early Third Century. — “Die Handschrift,” in *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, ed. by C. R. C. Allberry, *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection 2* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938), pp. vii-xviii: The first explicit attempt to produce a data base of codicological analysis in terms of which a given codex can be put in profile, in that the reconstruction of the rolls used in the codices of the Achmimic Proverbs, the Chester Beatty Pauline letters (P 46), the Pierpont Morgan Greek Homer, and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (inaccurately called a Psalms

codex) points to the codicological distinctiveness of the Manichaean codices and in passing draws attention to the then unheard-of phenomenon of a *kollema* a meter and a half in breadth, a phenomenon frequent in the Nag Hammadi codices. — "Die Handschrift," in *Kephalaia*, first half (fascicles 1-10), ed. by H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1940), pp. v-xiv: The presence both of *kolleseis* with the right *kollema* overlapping the left as well as the usual practice of the left *kollema* overlapping the right in the Hamburg Greek papyrus codex containing Act. Pl.; front flyleaves; the numeration of quires as well as pages as an indication of progress in the Manichaean codices.

The same codicological analysis of BG has been published twice by H.-M. Schenke: "Ergänzungen zur zweiten Auflage", in Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 330-41, esp. pp. 331-32; "Bermerkungen zum koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502," in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner ägyptischen Museums*, *Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 8* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974), pp. 315-22, esp. pp. 315-17. This analysis has been superseded by data Schenke was kind enough to collect anew as a basis for the codicological analysis of BG published in the present volume.

An analysis of the construction of the leather covers of the Nag Hammadi codices, with a resultant grouping of the codices, including the measurements of representative leaves of each codex, and a codicological analysis of the construction of the quires, are provided in two essays of 1975 by J. M. Robinson: "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Essays in Honour of Labib*, ed. by Krause, pp. 170-90; "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Les textes de Nag Hammadi*, ed. by Ménard, pp. 15-31. A survey of the history and present status of codicology related to the Nag Hammadi codices is forthcoming: "The Future of Papyrus Codicology," in *The Future of Coptology* in the new series *Coptic Studies* ed. by M. Krause (Leiden: E. J. Brill).

The most authoritative work on papyrus codicology is by E. G. Turner: *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977). The technical terms *kollema* and *kollesis* used below are derived from parts of that work he was kind enough to make available in typescript. The book itself appeared

too late to be presupposed in the present text, and such data as are included in the codicological analyses in *The Coptic Gnostic Library*, collected in part through the encouragement of Turner, at times supersede information supplied to him earlier and incorporated in his book.

### *B. The Current Terminology and Generalizations of Papyrus Codicology*

The basic unit of a papyrus roll was produced by laying thin strips of the pith of the triangular stalk of the papyrus plant vertically side by side on a smooth surface; a second layer was superimposed horizontally, at right angles to the lower layer. When pressed, dried and polished this became the basic papyrus writing surface, called a *kollema* (pl. *kollemata*). Though often about 20 cm. broad, *kollemata* do occur (especially in the Nag Hammadi codices) that are over one meter in breadth. The term *kollema*, meaning that which is pasted, derives from the custom of pasting side by side such individual *kollemata* into a roll. This is done by overlapping a few centimeters of the right end of the *kollema* on the left over the left end of the *kollema* on the right, with the result that as one writes from left to right the writing instrument will move downward at the seam, rather than bumping into a sudden rise in the writing surface. The few overlapping centimeters at such a seam are called a *kollesis* (pl. *kolleseis*).

A papyrus roll was rolled up with the horizontal fibres on the inside and the vertical fibres on the outside. In this way the horizontal fibres are not strained when rolled, and are stretched back out flat for reading when the roll is opened, whereas the vertical fibres on the outside are bent away from each other when rolled; if the vertical fibres had been on the inside, the rolling would have pushed them one against the other, causing some to spring loose and buckle. Since it was the protected inner surface that was used for writing, it became customary to write on the horizontal side. At the left end or beginning of the roll the first *kollema* was attached with reversed fibre directions, in order that, when the roll was rolled up from right to left, what remained exposed on the outside were the horizontal fibres, which were less likely to fray. This outside *kollema* with reversed fibre directions was intended to protect the rest of the roll. It itself was not inscribed with the text of the document, though it later came to be used as a convenient

place to record stationers' information or something approaching a table of contents. The term protocol derives from the designation of this first *kollema* as the *protokollon* (Martial also mentions an *eschatokollion*).

A codex in distinction from a roll or scroll is a book produced more like a modern book, by stacking sheets one on top of the other and folding the stack down the middle, thus producing a quire. Each sheet consisted of two leaves, called conjugate leaves, that met at the fold, thus producing four pages. The terms sheet, leaf and page should be clearly distinguished: a sheet has four pages, a leaf two pages, a page one page. All the sheets to be used for a book were often put in one stack and produced a single quire. Such a stack if at all thick would put pressure on the spine of the quire and cause leaves to break loose. This problem was solved by replacing the single-quire codex with a codex of comparable size consisting of several smaller quires. All the Nag Hammadi codices have a single quire except Codex I, which consists of three quires.

The manufacture of papyrus rolls had behind it a tradition of millennia by the time the codex format emerged in the first centuries A.D. The power of this tradition explains in part the fact that the sheets for a quire were not produced directly from individual *kollemata*. The Manichaean codices first document the liberation of the codex from the scroll tradition to the extent that the sheets seem to be *kollemata* produced at a standardized breadth specifically with the codex rather than the roll in view. But traditionally *kollemata* of varying breadth were first pasted together into a roll, and then this roll cut back up into sheets. This meant a saving of papyrus. For if such *kollemata* had not been first pasted together, some would have been too narrow to be used as a sheet in the quire and others so broad as to leave considerable amounts to be discarded. But when the *kollemata* were first pasted together into a roll and then cut into sheets for the quire, each *kollema* could be fully used, in that what was left of a *kollema* after one sheet had been cut from it would be used in the next sheet, and a *kollema* narrower than a sheet could nonetheless, since pasted to another, be used in a sheet.

Papyrus would need to be discarded only if there were a remainder at that end of the roll which was the last to be cut (or at the beginning, if calculations were made in advance and the remainder were cut first). Since rolls were usually cut from right to left, this problem would usually occur at the *protokollon*, which seems to have

been usually omitted from the quire. Although in one case a *protokollon* seems to have been used to produce a whole sheet (II,49/50 + 91/92), the other three instances of a *protokollon* among the Nag Hammadi codices may be due to a concern not to discard the remainder of the preceding *kollema* (V,67/G; VII,115/116; VIII, 89/90). No instance of an *eschatokollion* has been detected in the Nag Hammadi codices. The presence of a *protokollon* (or *eschatokollion*) in a quire is an indication that one stands at the transition from one roll to another in the stack of sheets.

There was a more common way to make use of such a remainder, so long as it was only slightly broader than half a sheet. For if there was breadth enough for the remainder of the roll to produce one leaf and as much as a few centimeters of the conjugate leaf, then the binding thongs passing through this half-sheet at the fold would hold it securely in place. The papyrus at the inner margin of what would have been the conjugate leaf is called a stub. One might expect to find such half-sheets plus stub more or less frequently, since rolls do not seem to have been made of a breadth calculated to produce an exact number of sheets. A standard breadth could in any case hardly have been economically adopted in view of the varying breadth of the sheets from codex to codex and the progressive narrowing of the sheets within a quire. A half-sheet plus stub is in the Nag Hammadi codices an indication of the transition from one roll to another in the stack of sheets cut from rolls for the quire. A half-sheet plus stub occurs in Codex I, rolls 1 and 3 (without stub); Codex II, roll 1; Codex III, rolls 1 and 2; Codex V, roll 1; Codex VII, rolls 2 and 3 and between rolls 1 and 2; Codex VIII, rolls 1 and 2; Codex XI, roll 1. Usually the half-sheet plus stub occurs at the end of the cutting process for a roll, but at times it seems from its position as the bottom sheet to have been at the beginning of the cutting process (Codex I, rolls 1 and 3; Codex II, roll 1; Codex VII, roll 3). The edge of the end of the roll is not necessarily used for the edge of the stub itself, since the edge of the end of the roll can be made flush with the edge of the stack of sheets, thus making the edge that had been created when the last whole sheet had been cut from the half-sheet plus stub in fact the edge of the stub (Codex II, roll 1; Codex VIII, roll 1; Codex XI, roll 1).

A roll to be used in a quire was usually cut from right to left and the sheets stacked in the sequence in which they were cut. The next roll used for the quire would be similarly cut and stacked on the



sheets of the first roll. From two to six rolls per codex were used in the Nag Hammadi codices (two rolls: Codices IV?, V, VI, IX, X?, XI, XII?, XIII?; three rolls: BG; four rolls: Codices I [in 3 quires], II, VII, VIII; six rolls: Codex III), a total of about 38 rolls in the Nag Hammadi codices. Thus it is usually possible to trace the horizontal fibres of a *kollema* from one leaf across the fold to its conjugate leaf, i.e., across the breadth of a sheet, and then from the left edge of one sheet to the right edge of the next sheet above it in the stack. Once the stack of sheets was folded and bound into the cover, the leading edges of the leaves must have been trimmed flush. This would mean that there would be a small amount of papyrus missing between the left edge of one sheet and the right edge of the next sheet above it. One can calculate the breadth of the trim rather easily when there is a horizontal fibre that is irregular and hence lies at an angle, by separating the sheets by the amount of space needed to make the angling fibre align on the two sheets.

If all the sheets in a quire were cut at a standard breadth, the sheets higher in the stack when folded would be nearer the center of the quire and hence would protude further at the leading edge. When the leading edges were trimmed flush, there would be an increasing waste as one moved toward the center of the quire. It may well be that this problem was anticipated and circumvented by initially cutting the sheets progressively narrower, with the result that the amount trimmed off would be reduced and would be more nearly constant from sheet to sheet. The fact that the succeeding rolls used in individual Nag Hammadi codices tend to produce more sheets than the preceding rolls suggests that the sheets were cut in this way. For otherwise one would have to make the improbable assumption that the stationer rather arbitrarily used successively broader rolls.

Only if the trim had been rather broad would it be possible for a whole *kollesis* to be trimmed away, unless the stationer in cutting the roll intentionally trimmed off a *kollesis* lying at the edge of a sheet. Except where there is such a *kollesis* lost in the trim, one should be able to trace horizontal fibres from sheet to sheet throughout a roll, noting the extant *kollesis* and shifting at each *kollesis* from the fibre pattern of one *kollema* to that of the next. A trimmed-off *kollesis* and the end of a roll may seem indistinguishable, although cumulative experience as to the breadth of rolls usually permits one to identify the instances where a break in fibre conti-

nunity may reasonably be attributed to the end of a roll. Only Codex IV (if one may exclude the all-too-incomplete Codices X, XII and XIII) has not been clearly analyzed in terms of where rolls begin and end.

Usually the *kolleseis* in the codex, as in the roll, present the left *kollema* overlapping the right. At times however the reverse is the case, with the right *kollema* overlapping the left (Codex I, rolls three and four; Codex II, roll one; Codex V, roll two; Codex VIII, roll four; Codex IX, rolls one and two; Codex XI, rolls one and two; Codex XII, roll two; and BG, rolls one through three). In such cases one may assume that the roll, being a much more traditional artifact than the codex, has been produced conventionally. For the irregularity can readily be explained in terms of the construction of the codex. If a roll to be used for the codex had been rolled up from the right to the left rather than from left to right, the stationer might well have rotated it 180° in a horizontal plane so as to have the loose edge to the right ready for cutting, with the result that the *kolleseis* seem backwards. When one encounters within a quire such a shift from one direction to the other in the overlapping of the *kolleseis*, one may assume one has moved from one roll to another.

Since the rolls are usually cut from right to left, the left edge of one sheet usually has continuity of horizontal fibres with the right edge of the next sheet above it. At times the reverse is the case, in that the right edge of one sheet has continuity of horizontal fibres with the left edge of the next sheet above it (Codex II, roll four; Codex V, roll one; Codex VII, roll one; BG, rolls one through three). This may occur in the same roll that has the unusual overlapping of the *kolleseis* (Codex VII, roll one; BG, rolls one through three). When both of these irregularities occur together, it is simplest to infer that the roll was cut as usual from right to left but then the stack of sheets rotated 180° in a horizontal plane, thus giving the impression of having been cut from left to right. Of course other and more complex conceptualizations are possible to explain how in each case the sheets came to be stacked as they are, since the actual procedure of the stationer is not known but must be inferred on the basis of the way the sheets lie.

### C. Codex V

The goatskin cover of Codex V is part of a sub-group among the eleven extant Nag Hammadi covers, of which Codices IV and VIII

are the main representatives. For they are the only two of the eleven covers to lack a flap on the leading edge of the front cover, whereas the cover of Codex V, though originally cut without making provision for a flap, was made to conform to the usual practice by sewing on an extra piece of leather. For details concerning the cover of Codex V see Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex V*, pp. ix and xi and plates 1-6.

The single quire of Codex V, which reaches a height of 24.3 cm., seems to have been constructed from two rolls. For the eleventh sheet from the bottom of the stack of sheets is actually a half-sheet plus stub, which usually occurs at the end of the roll. And the twelfth sheet from the bottom contains a *protokollon*, which should be the beginning of a roll. Furthermore both the direction in which the rolls seem to have been cut and the direction of the overlap at the *kolleseis* change between the eleventh and twelfth sheet. Thus this seems to be a clear break in the construction of the quire, perhaps the most obvious instance of a shift from one roll to another in the Nag Hammadi library. Further corroborating evidence will also emerge in the detailed analysis of the rolls.

Each of the two rolls diverges in some regards from the usual practice in the Nag Hammadi codices. Roll one comprises the lower part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the outer part of the quire. The right edge of one sheet has continuity of horizontal fibres with the left edge of the next sheet above it in the stack of sheets that, when folded, forms the quire. This seems to indicate that the roll was laid open with the horizontal fibres facing upward, cut from left to right, and stacked one sheet on the other in the order in which the sheets were cut. This is the reverse of the usual pattern in the Nag Hammadi codices, where the left edge of one sheet joins the right edge of the sheet above it, leading to the assumption the rolls were usually cut from right to left.

Only roll four of Codex II, roll one of Codex VII, and the three rolls of BG present, like roll one of Codex V, continuity of horizontal fibres from the right edge of one sheet to the left edge of the next sheet above it, as if the roll were cut from left to right. Now it is the usual practice at the *kolleseis* that the left-hand *kollema* overlaps the right-hand *kollema*, so that one may normally assume the rolls, at the time they were cut, lay unrolled in the usual writing position, with the horizontal fibres facing upward and the *protokollon* at the left. But in the case of roll one of Codex VII and the three rolls of

BG the right-hand *kollema* overlaps the left-hand *kollema*. Both of these unusual traits shared by roll one of Codex VII and the three rolls of BG can be reduced to the usual practise if one may postulate that the roll had been laid out in the usual writing position, was cut from right to left, and then the stack rotated horizontally  $180^\circ$ , thus producing the secondary appearance of having been cut from left to right. In the case of roll four of Codex II, the stack of sheets from roll four has been turned over so that the vertical fibres face upward. If one assumes that the stack of sheets from roll four was turned over from side to side, this would explain as secondary the impression of having been cut from left to right; when the sheets are hypothetically turned back over from side to side, the original impression of having been cut from right to left is restored. One can hence interpret the situation with Codex II, roll four, Codex VII, roll one, and the three rolls of BG as minor variants in the usual practice. But in roll one of Codex V the *kolleseis* present the usual practice of the left-hand *kollema* overlapping the right-hand *kollema*, thus providing no reason to assume the roll or stack of sheets had been rotated  $180^\circ$ . Thus roll one of Codex V seems to be the only instance in the Nag Hammadi library of a roll cut from left to right rather than from right to left (unless one were to assume some more complicated procedure, such as the roll having been rotated in a horizontal plane  $180^\circ$ , then cut from right to left, then the stack of sheets rotated back in a horizontal plane  $180^\circ$ , thereby producing the appearance of having been cut from left to right; or the roll turned over from top to bottom so that the vertical fibres face upward, cut from right to left, and then the stack of sheets turned back over from top to bottom).

Roll two comprises the upper part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the inner part of the quire. The left edge of one sheet has continuity of horizontal fibres with the right edge of the next sheet above it in the stack of sheets, suggesting that the roll was cut from right to left, the usual practice. But at the *kolleseis* the right-hand *kollema* overlaps the left-hand *kollema*, with an extant *protokollon* at the right end of the roll. Hence the roll seems to have been cut when lying open with the horizontal fibres facing upward but in the reverse to the usual writing position, i.e., with the *protokollon* at the right. One may assume that the roll had been rotated  $180^\circ$  in a horizontal plane prior to cutting (or, in view of the possibility that the first roll seems actually to have been cut from left to right, one

could conjecture this to be also the case with roll two, after which the stack of sheets would have been rotated in a horizontal plane 180°).

*Roll one.* When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge) to the end (the right edge) and designated by the pagination of the horizontal-fibre side of the sheets into which the roll was cut, i.e., the upper or inner surface, the original roll was as follows:

Flyleaves B + I, pp. 2 + 85, pp. 4 + 83, pp. 6 + 81, pp. 8 + 79, pp. 10 + 77, pp. 12 + 75, pp. 14 + 73, pp. 16 + 71, pp. 18 + 69, p. 20 + [stub] (missing).

*Sheets.* Measurements of the sheets of Codex V were made from the center of the sheet, rather than from the outer edges, since the latter cannot always be identified with assurance as the original extent of the sheet, whereas the distance outward from the inner edges of a leaf can be determined by measuring from the center of the sheet even if the inner edge is not extant due to lacunae at the spine, to the extent the positioning of the conjugate leaves is accurate. Thus instances where the inner edge of a leaf is not extant are not distinguished from those where it is extant. But in the case of the outer edge, when it is clear that it is not extant, the empirical measurement of what is extant is listed, but this is then followed, in square brackets (the normal indication of non-extant material), by the hypothetical measurement of the original leaf, as can be inferred from preceding and succeeding leaves, in order that the averages and other generalizations may not be distorted arbitrarily, but can be considered to be reliable with a fluctuation of no more than a millimeter or so.

The stack of sheets cut from roll one, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as they lay before being folded into the quire.

Sheet 11	p. 20 + [stub]	12.4 cm. + [5.0] cm.	= 12.4 [17.4] cm.
Sheet 10	pp. 18 + 69	12.6 cm. + 12.8 cm.	= 25.4 cm.
Sheet 9	pp. 16 + 71	12.8 cm. + 13.0 cm.	= 25.8 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 14 + 73	12.9 cm. + 12.9 cm.	= 25.8 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. 12 + 75	13.0 cm. + 13.0 cm.	= 26.0 cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 10 + 77	13.3 cm. + 13.1 cm.	= 26.4 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 8 + 79	13.4 cm. + 13.0 cm.	= 26.4 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 6 + 81	13.5 cm. + 13.1 cm.	= 26.6 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 4 + 83	13.7 cm. + 13.4 cm.	= 27.1 cm.
Sheet 2	pp. 2 + 85	13.6 cm. + 13.4 cm.	= 27.0 cm.
Sheet 1	pp. B + I	10.1 [13.6] cm. + 13.5 cm.	= 23.6 [27.1] cm.

The total breadth of the sheets is hence 281.0 cm., the average (if one may ignore the half-sheet plus stub) 26.0 cm. The breadth diminishes 1.7 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.17 cm. per sheet or 0.085 cm. per leaf.

These empirical measurements, based on the leaves as conserved, may in part reflect inexactitudes in the positioning of the conjugate leaves in the plexiglass panes, but may also in part reflect inexactitudes in the folding and trimming of the quire when bound. One would normally expect conjugate leaves to be of the same breadth and successive sheets to become narrower in a regular progression. In the conservation process in 1974 the conjugate leaves were placed by centering the thong holes and by using the outline of the cover and of preceding and succeeding sheets to align the often fragmentary leaves. On the basis of the subsequent measurements made for the present codicological analysis a more precise alignment might at times perhaps be attained in a future reconseruation, from which more nearly regular measurements would result. But rather than anticipating conjecturally such an outcome, the empirical data, inexact though they may be by a millimeter or so, are here employed, so that averages and other generalizations can be derived from the empirical data, from which one may infer the theoretical standardized measurements the quire can be conjectured ideally to have had.

*Kollemeta*. Roll one consists of twenty-one *kollemeta*. Their measurements are presented in tabular form below. After the number of the *kollema* there are listed the leaves derived from the *kollema*, followed by the measurements on each leaf that produce the total breadth of the *kollema*. When the measurement given for a leaf is narrower than the total breadth of the leaf, one may infer that the *kollema* does not cover the whole leaf. In such cases the position of the *kollema* on the leaf can be readily inferred, in that the left part of a *kollema* would fall on the right part of a leaf and the right part of a *kollema* on the left part of a leaf. A plus sign is used to connect conjugate leaves, a comma to connect leaves of successive sheets.

<i>Kollema</i>	1	pp. B + I	10.1 [13.6] cm. + 11.2 cm.	= 21.3 [24.8] cm.
<i>Kollema</i>	2	p. I, p. 2	4.6 cm., 10.5 cm.	= 15.1 cm.
<i>Kollema</i>	3	pp. 2 + 85	6.0 cm. + 13.4 cm.	= 19.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i>	4	p. 85, p. 4	1.5 cm., 13.0 cm.	= 14.5 cm.
<i>Kollema</i>	5	pp. 4 + 83, p. 6	1.8 cm. + 13.4 cm., 0.7 cm.	= 15.9 cm.

<i>Kollema</i> 6	pp. 6 + 81	13.5 cm. + 2.5 cm.	= 16.0 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 7	pp. 6 + 81, p. 8	4.3 cm. + 13.1 cm., 1.0 cm.	= 18.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 8	pp. 8 + 79	13.4 cm. + 3.5 cm.	= 16.9 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 9	pp. 8 + 79	0.9 cm. + 13.0 cm.	= 13.9 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 10	p. 10		13.3 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 11	pp. 10 + 77	1.3 cm. + 13.1 cm.	= 14.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 12	p. 12		13.0 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 13	pp. 12 + 75	2.2 cm. + 13.0 cm.	= 15.2 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 14	pp. 14 + 73	12.9 cm. + 0.3 cm.	= 13.2 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 15	pp. 14 + 73	3.1 cm. + 12.9 cm.	= 16.0 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 16	p. 73, p. 16	1.6 cm., 11.6 cm.	= 13.2 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 17	pp. 16 + 71	3.9 cm. + 13.0 cm.	= 16.9 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 18	p. 18		7.9 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 19	pp. 18 + 69	6.9 cm. + 10.0 cm.	= 16.9 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 20	p. 69, p. 20	6.8 cm., 2.7 cm.	= 9.5 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 21	p. 20 + [stub]	11.8 cm. + [5.0 cm.]	= 11.8 [16.8] cm.

The total breadth of the twenty-one *kollemata* of roll one is 320.6 cm. The average breadth of a *kollema* is 15.27 cm. Since all the *kollemata* except *kollema* 19 extend to the edge of a sheet and perhaps into the trim beyond, an indeterminate amount may have been trimmed off at least one edge. Hence the average breadth of a *kollema* may actually have been nearer that of *kollema* 19, 16.9 cm.

*Kolleseis*. Roll one contains twenty *kolleseis*. The *kolleseis* are numbered according to the numeration of the two *kollemata* that join at the given *kollesis*. This numeration is followed by the pagination of the two pages on which the beginning and end of the *kollesis* are visible, or, if its beginning or end falls between two sheets, then the page (in parentheses) the *kollesis* would have reached if it had extended a bit further. This localization of the *kollesis* is then followed by the breadth of the *kollesis*, which is broken down into its component parts if it begins on one leaf and ends on another. *Kolleseis* are often not exactly vertical; their measurements are taken at the top margin.

<i>Kollesis</i> 1/2	pp. J/I		2.3 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 2/3	pp. 1/2		2.9 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 3/4	p. 86, p. (4)	1.5 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 1.5 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 4/5	pp. 3/4		1.6 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 5/6	p. (84), p. 6	0.0 cm., 0.7 cm.	= 0.7 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 6/7	pp. 5 + 81	4.3 cm. + 2.5 cm.	= 6.8 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 7/8	p. (82), p. 8	0.0 cm., 1.0 cm.	= 1.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 8/9	pp. 7 + 79	0.9 cm. + 3.5 cm.	= 4.4 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 9/10	p. (80), p. (10)	0.0 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 0.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 10/11	pp. 9 + (77)	1.3 cm. + 0.0 cm.	= 1.3 cm.

<i>Kollesis</i> 11/12	p. (78), p. (12)	0.0 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 0.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 12/13	pp. 11/12		2.5 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 13/14	p. (76), p. (14)	0.0 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 0.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 14/15	pp. 13 + 73	3.1 cm. + 0.3 cm.	= 3.4 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 15/16	p. 74, p. (16)	1.6 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 1.6 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 16/17	pp. 15/16		2.7 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 17/18	p. (72), p. (18)	0.0 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 0.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 18/19	pp. 17/18		2.2 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 19/20	pp. 70/69		4.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 20/21	pp. 19/20		2.1 cm.

The average extant breadth of the twenty *kolleseis* is 2.05 cm. But since an indeterminate amount has been trimmed off eight *kolleseis* at the edge of the sheets, the average breadth of the twelve *kolleseis* not involved in the trimming, 3.39 cm., may be a more accurate average breadth of the *kolleseis*. Two *kolleseis* (5/6 and 7/8) begin in the trim between sheets (between sheets 3 and 4 and between sheets 4 and 5) and end on the left edge of the higher of the two sheets (sheets 4 and 5). The extant material measures 0.7 cm. in one case and 1.0 cm. in the other, an average of 0.85 cm., 2.54 cm. less than the general average. Unless the average of the two *kolleseis* was unusually narrow, the amount of trim would have been an average of at least 2.56 cm. per sheet or 1.27 cm. per leaf. Two *kolleseis* (3/4 and 15/16) begin near the right edge of a sheet and end in the trim before the next sheet begins. Since the extant material measures 1.5 cm. in one case and 1.6 cm. in the other, the two *kolleseis* must have been unusually narrow or the amount of trim an average of at least 0.92 cm. per leaf. Four *kolleseis* (9/10, 11/12, 13/14 and 17/18) are completely missing, which suggests that the trim must have been an average of at least 3.39 cm. per sheet or 1.7 cm. per leaf, unless the *kolleseis* were unusually narrow. Such irregularities in the breadth of the trimming may actually be irregularities in the average breadth of the *kolleseis*. But one may also conjecture that in some cases the stationer, when first cutting the sheets, would, on finding a *kollesis* at the cutting edge, either cut the sheet unusually broad so that the *kollesis* would in whole or part be cut away when the quire was trimmed, or himself cut it away while cutting the roll, in order to eliminate it or at least relegate it to a margin.

*Roll.* There are a total of 41.0 extant cm. involved in the overlap at the *kolleseis*. When this overlap is subtracted from the total breadth of the *kollemata*, 320.6 cm., one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 279.6 cm. But if one may conjecture that the average



breadth of all the *kolleseis* was the same as the average breadth of the twelve that are fully extant, 3.39 cm., then the total breadth of the twenty *kolleseis* would rise beyond what is extant to a total of 67.8 cm. This conjectural increase of 26.8 cm. could then be added to the total breadth of the roll, bringing it to 306.4 cm. Since the trim of only 8 out of 11 sheets is at least partially accounted for in this increment, the actual breadth of the roll would have been greater. The total breadth would be even greater if one assumes that there was a *protokollon* in the roll that was not employed in the quire (though it may be extant on the pastedown, which however is not included in the present calculations, even though its quality is so comparable to that of the quire as to suggest it could have, as in Codex VII, been part of the roll). Thus one may conjecture that roll two originally had a breadth of about three and a quarter meters.

*Two rolls.* In addition to the striking indications listed above that there is a shift from one roll to another between the eleventh and twelfth sheets from the bottom of the stack, the analysis of roll one provides further indications that sheets one through eleven are in fact parts of the same roll. It is of course the continuity of horizontal fibres from one sheet to the next that, when present, provides the most certainty that the fibres belong to the same *kollema* and hence the sheets to the same roll. But there is such continuity in only four cases, between sheets 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 4 and 5, and 10 and 11, i.e., *kollemata* 2, 5, 7 and 20. In other cases the continuity of the roll from one sheet to the next may however be inferred. When a *kollesis* (*kolleseis* 3/4 and 15/16) begins near the right edge of a sheet (sheets 2 and 8), but does not continue onto the left edge of the next sheet above it (sheets 3 and 9), continuity from one sheet to the next cannot be proven, since the horizontal fibres of the *kollema* beginning at the right edge of sheets 2 and 8 are hidden under the *kollema* ending there. One may assume that the next sheet above lacks at its left edge the rest of the *kollesis* because the *kollesis* ended in the trim between the sheets. The very fact that a *kollesis* occurs near the right edge of the sheet suggests that one has not reached the end of the roll. Similarly when a *kollesis* (*kolleseis* 5/6 and 7/8) ends at the left end of a sheet (sheets 4 and 5), but does not begin at the right edge of the sheet below, one may assume it begins in the trim between sheets (between sheets 3 and 4 and between sheets 4 and 5), rather than assuming that the lack of fibre continuity indicates the

beginning of a new roll. For it would be unlikely that a new roll would begin with a *kollesis*, unless the *kollesis* displayed the reversal of fibre direction characteristic of a *protokollon*.

It is when the *kollesis* is wholly absent and its very existence a postulate (between sheets 5 and 6, 6 and 7, 7 and 8, and 9 and 10, i.e., *kolleseis* 9/10, 11/12, 13/14 and 17/18) that alternate assumptions to that of a trimmed-off *kollesis* should be more seriously considered. One such assumption might be that the sheets were stacked out of order. But this is statistically improbable. For this phenomenon is remarkable rare in the Nag Hammadi codices. Although it may not be excluded that this may be partly responsible for the difficulty in analyzing Codex IV, a rearrangement of sheets has actually been detected only twice, both times in Codex III. A stub and conjugate leaf (p. 143) from the end of roll one was inserted out of sequence between sheets 1 (pp. 8 + 145) and 2 (pp. 10 + 141) of roll two. And a stub and conjugate leaf (p. 129) from the end of roll two was inserted out of sequence between sheets 1 (pp. [20] + 131) and 2 (pp. 22 + 127) of roll three.

Another assumption might be that one has to do with an isolated sheet that is not part of a roll, even though composed of more than a single *kollema*. This possibility emerges only when both ends of the sheet lack continuity of horizontal fibres with the next sheets above and below in the stack of sheets, which is the case with only two sheets (sheets 6 and 7). In the case of sheet 6, its two *kollemata* (10 and 11), measuring 13.3 cm. and 14.4 cm. broad, an average of 13.85 cm., would be brought up to the average breadth of a *kollema* (15.27 cm., perhaps even 16.9 cm.), if one postulates an average *kollesis* (3.39 cm.) trimmed off at the outer edge of the sheet (*kollema* 10: [3.39] cm. + 13.3 cm. = 16.69 cm.; *kollema* 11: 14.4 + [3.39] = 17.79 cm.). The assumption that a *kollesis* was trimmed off at the beginning of *kollema* 10 is strengthened by reference to *kollema* 9, which would be brought up to an average breadth if one postulates an average *kollesis* trimmed off at its right edge: 13.9 cm. + [3.39] cm. = 17.29 cm. Similarly in the case of sheet 7, its two *kollemata* (12 and 13), as well as *kollema* 14 on the left side of sheet 8, fall below the average breadth of *kollemata* in this roll, unless one takes into account the part cut off in the *kollesis* (*kollema* 12: 13.0 cm. + [3.39] cm. = 16.39 cm.; *kollema* 13: 15.2 cm. + [3.39] cm. = 18.59 cm.; *kollema* 14: 13.2 cm. + [3.39] cm. = 16.59 cm.). Thus in terms of the breadth of the *kollemata* one may well assume that *kolleseis*

were trimmed off at the edges of these sheets that otherwise might have been considered independent sheets, and hence that they may well belong to roll one, rather than being isolated sheets. The very fact that each sheet consists of more than one *kollema* tends to suggest the sheets are not isolated from a roll, but have been cut from a roll, and hence most probably from the same roll as the sheets just above and/or below in the stack.

There would be a further difficulty in considering them as isolated sheets, since this would imply that the rolls used below and above in the stack of sheets would be unusually narrow. For then roll one would consist of only 5, 6 or 7 sheets, followed possibly by one or two individual sheets, and then by a roll of  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  sheets, before reaching the stub conjugate with p. 20. Now this small a number of sheets may be all that can be cut from a roll when it is the first or second roll of the broadest or next to the broadest codex (Codex VII, roll one:  $8\frac{1}{2}$  sheets [including the pastedown]; then roll two:  $7\frac{1}{2}$  sheets; Codex III, roll one:  $4\frac{1}{2}$  sheets; then roll two:  $6\frac{1}{2}$  sheets), but not when it is one of the narrower codices (Codex VI, roll one: 9 sheets; and roll two: 11 sheets; Codex IX, roll one: 9 sheets; and roll two: 10 sheets). Codex V is the narrowest codex (apart from Codex X, which is too fragmentary to provide usable codicological data, as is also the case with Codex IV, the third from narrowest codex).

*Roll two.* Since the *kollemata* on the right overlap those on the left, one may assume that the material was rotated  $180^\circ$  in a horizontal plane. This must have been done before the roll was cut, since the sheets as they lie indicate the roll was cut from right to left. Hence to analyze the roll in the usual position of a roll when written or read one would need hypothetically to rotate it back  $180^\circ$ . As a result the pages in question have to be envisaged with the writing upside down, a factor also to be recalled in subsequent references to right and left. When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge after having been rotated back  $180^\circ$ ) to the end (the right edge) and designated by the pagination of the horizontal-fibre side of the sheets into which the roll was cut, i.e., the upper or inner surface, the original roll was as follows:

Pp. 67 + 22, pp. 65 + 24, pp. 63 + 26, pp. 61 + 28, pp. 59 + 30, pp. 57 + 32, pp. 55 + 34, pp. 53 + 36, pp. 51 + 38, pp. 49 + 40, pp. 47 + 42, pp. 45 + 44, pp. E + D (the uninscribed sheet at the top of the stack).

*Sheets.* The stack of sheets cut from roll two, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as they lay before being folded into the quire.

Sheet 13	pp. E + D	11.4 cm. + 11.2 cm. = 22.6 cm.
Sheet 12	pp. 45 + 44	11.5 cm. + 11.0 cm. = 22.5 cm.
Sheet 11	pp. 47 + 42	12.4 cm. + 12.2 cm. = 24.6 cm.
Sheet 10	pp. 49 + 40	12.3 cm. + 11.9 cm. = 24.2 cm.
Sheet 9	pp. 51 + 38	12.5 cm. + 11.9 cm. = 24.4 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 53 + 36	12.9 cm. + 11.7 cm. = 24.6 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. 55 + 34	12.6 cm. + 12.1 cm. = 24.7 cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 57 + 32	12.7 cm. + 12.1 cm. = 24.8 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 59 + 30	12.7 cm. + 12.2 cm. = 24.9 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 61 + 28	13.0 cm. + 12.3 cm. = 25.3 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 63 + 26	12.8 cm. + 12.3 cm. = 25.1 cm.
Sheet 2	pp. 65 + 24	12.9 cm. + 12.3 cm. = 25.2 cm.
Sheet 1	pp. 67 + 22	10.1 cm. + 12.4 cm. = 22.5 cm.

The total breadth of the sheets is hence 315.4 cm., the average (if one may ignore sheet 1, which is unusually narrow, perhaps as a result of the *protokollon*) 24.4 cm. The breadth diminishes 2.6 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack of roll two, an average of 0.22 cm. per sheet, or 0.11 cm. per leaf.

*Kollemeta.* Roll two consists of twenty-three *kollemata*. Their measurements are presented in a tabular form similar to that of roll one.

<i>Kollema</i> 1	p. 67		7.2 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 2	pp. 67 + 22	5.9 cm. + 12.4 cm.	= 18.3 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 3	pp. 65 + 24	12.9 cm. + 2.5 cm.	= 15.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 4	pp. 65 + 24, p. 63	1.3 cm. + 12.3 cm.,	3.9 cm. = 17.5 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 5	pp. 63 + 26	11.1 cm. + 8.5 cm.	= 19.6 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 6	p. 26, p. 61	5.5 cm., 9.3 cm.	= 14.8 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 7	pp. 61 + 28	5.9 cm. + 11.2 cm.	= 17.1 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 8	p. 28, p. 59	3.0 cm., 11.4 cm.	= 14.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 9	pp. 59 + 30	4.2 cm. + 12.1 cm.	= 16.3 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 10	p. 30, p. 57	2.7 cm., 11.7 cm.	= 14.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 11	pp. 57 + 32	3.7 cm. + 12.1 cm.	= 15.8 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 12	p. 32, pp. 55 + 34	1.5 cm., 12.6 cm. + 0.3 cm.	= 14.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 13	pp. 55 + 34, p. 53	1.3 cm. + 12.1 cm., 1.5 cm.	= 14.9 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 14	p. 34, pp. 53 + 36	3.8 cm., 12.9 cm. + 3.1 cm.	= 19.8 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 15	p. 36, p. 51	11.3 cm., 3.8 cm.	= 15.1 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 16	pp. 51 + 38	11.8 cm. + 5.9 cm.	= 17.7 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 17	p. 38, p. 49	9.6 cm., 9.1 cm.	= 18.7 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 18	pp. 49 + 40	6.3 cm. + 10.1 cm.	= 16.4 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 19	p. 40, pp. 47 + 42	5.9 cm., 12.4 cm. + 1.9 cm.	= 20.2 cm.

<i>Kollema</i> 20	pp. 47 + 42, p. 45	2.0 cm. + 11.2 cm.,	2.5 cm. = 15.7 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 21	pp. 45 + 44	11.5 cm. + 1.5 cm.	= 13.0 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 22	pp. 45 + 44, p. E	1.0 cm. + 11.0 cm.,	2.2 cm. = 14.2 cm.
<i>Kollema</i> 23	pp. E + D	11.4 cm. + 11.2 cm.	= 22.6 cm.

The total breadth of the twenty-three *kollemata* of roll two is 373.5 cm. The average breadth of a *kollema* (if one may ignore *kollema* 1, the *protokollon*) is 16.65 cm. Since an indeterminate amount has been trimmed off all *kollemata* except five (*kollemata* 5, 7, 9, 16 and 18, measuring 19.6 cm., 17.1 cm., 16.3 cm., 17.7 cm., and 16.4 cm.) the average breadth of a *kollema* may actually have been nearer their average, 17.4 cm.

*Kolleseis*. Roll two contains twenty-two *kolleseis*. The measurements of the *kolleseis* of roll two, presented in tabular form as in the case of roll one, are as follows:

<i>Kollesis</i> 1/2	pp. 68/76		3.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 2/3	p. (21), p. (65)	0.0 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 0.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 3/4	pp. 66 + 24	1.3 cm. + 2.5 cm.	= 3.8 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 4/5	pp. 64/63		2.2 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 5/6	pp. 25/26		1.7 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 6/7	pp. 62/61		2.2 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 7/8	pp. 27/28		1.9 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 8/9	pp. 60/59		2.9 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 9/10	pp. 29/30		2.6 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 10/11	pp. 58/57		2.7 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 11/12	p. 31, p. (55)	1.5 cm., 0.0 cm.	= 1.5 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 12/13	pp. 56 + 34	1.3 cm. + 0.3 cm.	= 1.6 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 13/14	p. 33, p. 53	3.8 cm., 1.5 cm.	= 5.3 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 14/15	pp. 35/36		2.7 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 15/16	pp. 52/51		3.1 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 16/17	pp. 37/38		3.6 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 17/18	pp. 50/49		3.1 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 18/19	pp. 39/40		4.1 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 19/20	pp. 48 + 42	2.0 cm. + 1.9 cm.	= 3.9 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 20/21	p. (41), p. 45	0.0 cm., 2.5 cm.	= 2.5 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 21/22	pp. 46 + 44	1.0 cm. + 1.5 cm.	= 2.5 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 22/23	pp. (43) + E	0.0 cm. + 2.2 cm.	= 2.2 cm.

The average breadth of the twenty-two *kolleseis* is 2.69 cm. But since an indeterminate amount has been trimmed off five *kolleseis* (2/3, 11/12, 13/14, 20/21 and 22/23) at the edge of the sheets, the average breadth of the seventeen *kolleseis* not involved in the trimming, 2.8 cm., may be a more accurate average breadth of the *kolleseis*. One *kollesis* (13/14) begins on one sheet and ends on the next, so that the trim took place near the middle of the *kollesis*.

Since this *kollesis* though trimmed is the broadest in the roll (5.3 cm.), it must originally have been unusually broad, even if the trim was relatively narrow. Two *kolleseis* (20/21 and 22/23) begin in the trim between sheets (between sheets 11 and 12 and between sheets 12 and 13) and end on the left edge of the higher of the two sheets (sheets 12 and 13). The extant material measures 2.5 cm. in one case and 2.2 cm. in the other, an average of 2.35 cm., only 0.45 cm. less than the general average. Unless the average of the two *kolleseis* was unusually broad, the amount of trim would have been an average of no more than 0.45 cm. per sheet or 0.225 cm. per leaf. One *kollesis* (11/12) begins near the right edge of sheet 6 and ends in the trim before sheet 7 begins. Since the extant material measures 1.5 cm., the amount of trim was about 1.3 cm. per sheet or 0.65 cm. per leaf, if the *kollesis* was of average breadth. One *kollesis* (2/3) is completely missing, which suggests that the trim must have been as much as 2.8 cm. per sheet or 1.4 cm. per leaf, unless the *kollesis* was unusually narrow. Since this *kollesis* is missing between sheets 1 and 2, it is of course possible that sheet 1 is a sheet independent of the roll; but since it begins with a *protokollon*, it may be assumed to be the beginning of roll two. Such irregularities in the breadth of the trimming may actually be irregularities in the average breadth of the *kolleseis*. But one may also conjecture that in some cases the stationer, when first cutting the sheets, would, on finding a *kollesis* at the cutting edge, either cut the sheet unusually broad so that the *kollesis* would in whole or in part be cut away when the quire was trimmed, or himself cut it away while cutting the roll, in order to eliminate it or at least relegate it to a margin. Perhaps in the case of *kollesis* 13/14 the *kollesis* was so broad that the stationer could not afford the waste of cutting it down, e.g., at least to the breadth of the margin. Or this may be an indication that the stationer did not seek to discard *kolleseis*.

*Roll.* There are a total of 59.1 extant cm. involved in the overlap at the *kolleseis*. When this overlap is subtracted from the total breadth of the *kollemata*, 373.5 cm., one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 314.4 cm. But if one may conjecture that the average breadth of all the *kolleseis* was the same as the average breadth of the seventeen that are fully extant, 2.8 cm., then the total breadth of the twenty-two *kolleseis* would rise beyond what is extant to a total of 61.6 cm. This conjectural increase of 2.5 cm. could then be added to the total breadth of the roll, bringing it to 316.9 cm. Since

the trim of only 5 out of 13 sheets is at least partially accounted for in this increment, the actual breadth of the roll would have been greater. Thus one may conjecture that roll two originally had a breadth of about three and a quarter meters.

*Summary.* When the data for the two rolls of Codex V are combined, one reaches the following conclusions:

The average breadth of the sheets (if one may ignore the half-sheet plus stub of roll one and the unusually narrow sheet with the *protokollon* of roll two) is 25.3 cm. The breadth diminishes 4.5 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.2 cm. per sheet or 0.1 cm. per leaf.

Both rolls made use of rather narrow *kollemata*, averaging 15.27 cm. and (if one may ignore the *protokollon*) 16.65 cm., a general average of 15.97 cm. Such narrow *kollemata* are familiar to papyrology, in contrast to the broad *kollemata* occurring in the Nag Hamadi codices (except Codices IV and V and roll four of Codex VIII) and BG. The correlation of exclusively narrow *kollemata* with the sub-group of covers where the hide is too narrow to produce a flap suggests economy. In the case of Codex V, the use of a *protokollon* (as in the case of Codex VIII) and the relatively poor quality of the papyrus add to this impression.

The two rolls of 10½ and 13 sheets measure 279.6 cm. and 314.4 cm. respectively, a total of 594.0 cm., an average of 297.0 cm. per roll.

If one were to assume all sheets were cut of equal breadth, namely that of the bottom sheet of the stack (flyleaves B + I), estimated to have been 27.1 cm. broad, one would postulate the rolls were 289.55 cm. and 349.6 cm. broad, a total breadth of 639.15 cm., an average of 319.58 cm. per roll. There would thus have been an additional and unnecessary waste of 45.15 cm., if the sheets were cut to a standard breadth rather than progressively narrower. This would seem to suggest that in fact the sheets were not cut to a standard breadth.

These measurements do not include the indeterminate amounts discarded by the stationer in cutting the rolls or trimmed off in justifying the leading edge of the folded quire. When the assumption is made that the *kolleseis* that are not fully extant are of the same breadth as those that are fully extant, the breadth of the rolls becomes 306.4 cm. and 319.9 cm., a total of 626.3 cm., an average of 313.15 cm. per roll. The divergence in the breadth of the two rolls may be due in part to the fact that use is made of the *proto-*

*kollon* of roll two (7.2 extant cm. broad), whereas that of roll one is not used. If the approximate amount of trim that is perhaps to be inferred in the instances of a *kollesis* at an edge is extended to the sheets without a *kollesis* at the edge and a *protokollon* is postulated for roll one, the breadth of each roll becomes about three meters and a quarter.

In sum, from two rolls a one-quire codex of 24 sheets (or 23 sheets and 1 half-sheet plus stub), 47 leaves, or 94 pages was made.

#### D. Codex VI

The sheepskin cover of Codex VI is part of a sub-group among the eleven extant Nag Hammadi covers, to which Codices IX, X and to a lesser extent II also belong. For details concerning the cover of Codex VI, see Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*, p. ix and plates 1-4.

The single quire of Codex VI, which reaches a height of 27.9 cm., seems to have been constructed from two rolls. This is a reasonable conjecture since the lack of continuity of horizontal fibres between the ninth and tenth sheets from the bottom of the stack occurs where one might, on the analogy of other codices such as Codex V, expect to find the transition from one roll to another. The detailed analysis will tend to provide some support for this working hypothesis.

Each of the two rolls used to produce the sheets of the quire of Codex VI conforms to the usual practice in the Nag Hammadi codices. Since the *kollesis* present the left-hand *kollema* overlapping the right-hand *kollema*, one may assume that the rolls when cut lay open with the horizontal fibres facing upward in the usual writing position, i.e., with the *protokollon* at the left end. The left edge of one sheet has continuity of horizontal fibres with the right edge of the next sheet above it in the stack. Hence, one may assume that the rolls were cut from right to left and the sheets stacked one on top of the other in the order in which they were cut. The first roll, comprising the lower part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the outer part of the quire, produced nine sheets. The second roll, comprising the upper part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the inner part of the quire, produced eleven. The minor variations in alignment as the fibres on one sheet are continued on the next sheet are about the same at the top of the stack as they are at the bottom, suggesting that about the same amount of papyrus is missing between sheets due to the trimming when the leading edge of



the folded quire was justified. Hence one may conjecture that when the rolls were cut the sheets were cut progressively narrower, in anticipation of the narrowing effect of trimming the leading edges to make them flush once the quire was folded. This tends to be confirmed by data presented below. In any case the measurements below do not include the indeterminate amount trimmed off or the indeterminate amount that may not have been used at one or both ends of the rolls.

*Roll one.* When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge) to the end (the right edge) and designated by the pagination of the horizontal-fibre side of the sheets into which the roll was cut, i.e., the upper or inner surface, the original roll was as follows:

Pp. 16 + 61, pp. 14 + 63, pp. 12 + 65, pp. 10 + 67, pp. 8 + 69, pp. 6 + 71, pp. 4 + 73, pp. 2 + 75, pp. [B] + 77.

*Sheets.* Measurements of the sheets of Codex VI were made in the same way as in the case of Codex V. But the relative intactness of Codex VI permits measurements having relatively few uncertainties and indeterminate factors.

The stack of sheets cut from roll one, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as they lay before being folded into the quire.

Sheet 9	pp. 16 + 61	14.6 cm. + 14.2 cm.	= 28.8 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 14 + 63	14.7 cm. + 14.2 cm.	= 28.9 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. 12 + 65	14.8 cm. + 14.3 cm.	= 29.1 cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 10 + 67	14.5 cm. + 14.4 cm.	= 28.9 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 8 + 69	14.7 cm. + 14.4 cm.	= 29.1 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 6 + 71	14.8 cm. + 14.5 cm.	= 29.3 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 4 + 73	14.7 cm. + 14.6 cm.	= 29.3 cm.
Sheet 2	pp. 2 + 75	14.6 cm. + 14.7 cm.	= 29.3 cm.
Sheet 1	pp. [B] + 77	[14.7] cm. + 14.6 cm.	= 29.3 cm.

The total breadth of the sheets is hence 262.0 cm., the average 29.11 cm. The breadth diminishes 0.5 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.055 cm. per sheet or 0.03 cm. per leaf.

*Kollemata.* Roll one consists of three *kollemata*. Their measurements are presented in tabular form below, much as in the case of Codex V above.

*Kollema* 1: pp. 16 + 61, pp. 14 + 63, pp. 12 + 65, pp. 10 + 67,  
p. 8

14.6 cm. + 14.2 cm., 14.7 cm. + 14.2 cm., 14.8 cm. +  
14.3 cm., 14.5 cm. + 14.4 cm., 5.1 cm. = 120.8 cm.

*Kollema* 2: pp. 8 + 69, pp. 6 + 71, pp. 4 + 73, pp. 2 + 75, pp.  
[B] + 77

13.5 cm. + 14.4 cm., 14.5 cm. + 14.5 cm., 14.7 cm. +  
14.6 cm., 14.6 cm. + 14.7 cm., [14.7] cm. + 0.2 cm.  
= 130.7 cm.

*Kollema* 3: pp. [B] + 77

[3.7] cm. + 14.6 cm. = 18.3 cm.

(The beginning of *kollema* 3 on the front flyleaf [B] can only be estimated, see under *kolleseis* below). The total breadth of the three *kollemata* is 269.8 cm. *Kollemata* 1 and 2 are of comparable breadth, an average of 125.75 cm., similar in breadth to those of BG, whereas *kollema* 3, 18.3 cm., is comparable in breadth to the *kollemata* of Codex V.

*Kolleseis*. Roll one contains two *kolleseis*. The *kollesis* joining *kollemata* 1 and 2 on pp. 7/8 is 3.9 cm. broad. The *kollesis* joining *kollemata* 2 and 3 is extant for only 0.2 cm. on p. 77, but if one may assume its breadth to have been the same as that of *kollesis* 1/2, then as much as 3.7 cm. is missing both from *kollesis* 2/3 and from *kollemata* 2 and 3, distributed in an indeterminate way between the front flyleaf [A] and the trim.

*Roll*. When the overlap of the two *kolleseis*, up to 7.8 cm., is subtracted from the total breadth of the three *kollemata*, 269.8 cm., one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 262.0 cm. Since the trim is not included, the actual breadth of the roll would have been somewhat greater. The total breadth would be even greater if one assumes that there was a *protokollon* in the roll that was not employed in the quire. Thus one may conjecture that roll one originally had a breadth of about three meters.

*Two rolls*. The similarity of the breadth of roll one to the breadth of roll two and to that of the rolls of Codex V and BG is not the only indication that a shift from roll one to roll two takes place between sheets 9 and 10, rather than there having been a *kollesis* lost in the trim between the sheets. For it is probable that the narrow *kollemata* were added at the end of the roll to approximate more

closely a standard breadth, rather than having been added toward the middle of the roll. But if there is not a shift between rolls at this juncture, the next two *kollemata*, designated below as *kollemata* 3 and 4 of roll two, though narrow, would occur near the middle of the unusually broad single roll that would then have to be postulated for Codex VI. Although this is of course possible, it seems more reasonable to assume that there were two rolls of similar breadth each ending with one or two narrow *kollemata* to bring the breadth up to something approaching a standardized breadth.

*Roll two.* When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge) to the end (the right edge), the original roll was as follows:

Pp. 38 + 39, pp. 36 + 41, pp. 34 + 43, pp. 32 + 45, pp. 30 + 47, pp. 28 + 49, pp. 26 + 51, pp. 24 + 53, pp. 22 + 55, pp. 20 + 57, pp. 18 + 59.

*Sheets.* The stack of sheets cut from roll two, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as they lay before being folded into the quire.

Sheet 11	pp. 38 + 39	13.2 cm. + 13.6 cm. = 26.8 cm.
Sheet 10	pp. 36 + 41	13.8 cm. + 13.6 cm. = 27.4 cm.
Sheet 9	pp. 34 + 43	13.9 cm. + 13.7 cm. = 27.6 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 32 + 45	13.9 cm. + 13.8 cm. = 27.7 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. 30 + 47	13.9 cm. + 13.9 cm. = 27.8 cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 28 + 49	14.1 cm. + 13.9 cm. = 28.0 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 26 + 51	14.2 cm. + 14.0 cm. = 28.2 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 24 + 53	14.2 cm. + 14.0 cm. = 28.2 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 22 + 55	14.3 cm. + 14.0 cm. = 28.3 cm.
Sheet 2	pp. 20 + 57	14.5 cm. + 13.9 cm. = 28.4 cm.
Sheet 1	pp. 18 + 59	14.5 cm. + 14.0 cm. = 28.5 cm.

The total breadth of the sheets is hence 306.9 cm., the average 27.9 cm. The breadth diminishes 1.7 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.15 cm. per sheet or 0.08 cm. per leaf.

*Kollemata.* Roll two consists of four *kollemata*. Their measurements are presented in tabular form below.

*Kollema* 1: pp. 38 + 39, pp. 36 + 41, pp. 34 + 43, pp. 32 + 45, pp. 30 + 47  
 13.2 cm. + 13.6 cm., 13.8 cm. + 13.6 cm., 13.9 cm. + 13.7 cm., 13.9 cm. + 13.8 cm., 13.9 cm. + 11.9 cm.  
 = 135.3 cm.

*Kollema* 2; p. 47, pp. 28 + 49, pp. 26 + 51, pp. 24 + 53, pp. 22 + 55, pp. 20 + 57  
 5.2 cm., 14.1 cm. + 13.9 cm., 14.2 cm. + 14.0 cm.,  
 14.2 cm. + 14.0 cm., 14.3 cm. + 14.0 cm., 14.5 cm.  
 + 2.5 cm. = 134.9 cm.

*Kollema* 3: pp. 20 + 57, p. 18  
 1.5 cm. + 13.9 cm., 12.4 cm. = 27.8 cm.

*Kollema* 4: pp. 18 + 59  
 4.6 cm. + 14.0 cm. = 18.6 cm.

The total breadth of the four *kollemata* of roll two is 316.6 cm. *Kollemata* 1 and 2 are of comparable breadth, an average of 135.1 cm., similar in breadth to those of BG, whereas *kollemata* 3 and 4 are of comparable breadth, an average of 23.2 cm., similar in breadth to those of Codex V.

*Kolleseis*. Roll two contains three *kolleseis*. The measurements of the *kolleseis* of roll two, presented in tabular form as in the case of Codex V, are as follows:

<i>Kollesis</i> 1/2	pp. 48/47	3.2 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 2/3	pp. 19 + 57	1.5 cm. + 2.5 cm = 4.0 cm.
<i>Kollesis</i> 3/4	pp. 17/18	2.5 cm.

The average breadth of the three *kolleseis* is 3.23 cm.

*Roll*. When the total extant overlap at the *kolleseis*, 9.7 cm., is subtracted from the total breadth of the *kollemata*, 316.6 cm., one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 306.9 cm. Since the trim is not included, the actual breadth of the roll would have been somewhat greater. The total breadth would have been even greater if one assumes that there was a *protokollon* in the roll that was not employed in the quire. Thus one may conjecture that roll two originally had a breadth of about three and a quarter meters.

*Summary*. When the data for the two rolls of Codex VI are combined, one reaches the following conclusions:

The average breadth of the sheets is 28.4 cm. The breadth diminishes 2.5 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.12 cm. per sheet or 0.06 cm. per leaf.

Both rolls made use of rather broad *kollemata*, averaging at least 125.75 cm. and 138.1 cm., a general average of at least 131.9 cm., comparable in breadth to the broad *kollemata* present in all the rolls

of BG and all the Nag Hammadi rolls except those of Codices IV and V and roll four of Codex VIII. There is one narrow *kollema* in roll one, 18.3 cm., and two narrow *kollemata* in roll two, averaging 23.2 cm., a general average of 21.57 cm., comparable in breadth to those of Codex V. This suggests that there are *kollemata* of two rather standard breadths, one around 10-30 cm., the other around 125-140 cm. Although there are rolls made exclusively of the narrow (Codex V) or the broad (BG) *kollemata*, the two sizes can be mixed, with the narrow *kollemata* being added at the end of the roll perhaps to approximate by small increments a standardized breadth.

The two rolls of 9 and 11 sheets measure 262.0 cm. and 306.9 cm., a total breadth of 568.9 cm., an average of 284.45 cm. The divergence in breadth between the two rolls of Codex VI is due primarily to the absence in roll one of a *kollema* comparable to *kollema* 3 of roll two (27.8 cm.), i.e., to the presence of two, rather than just one, supplementary *kollemata* in roll two.

If one were to assume all sheets were cut of equal breadth, namely that of the bottom sheet of the stack (pp. [B]-77), 29.3 cm. broad, one would postulate the rolls were 263.7 cm. and 322.3 cm. broad, a total breadth of 586.0 cm., an average of 293.0 cm. There would thus have been an additional and unnecessary waste of 17.1 cm., if the sheets were cut to a standard breadth rather than progressively narrower. This would seem to confirm the suggestion made above that in fact the sheets were not cut to a standard breadth.

These measurements do not include the indeterminate amounts discarded by the stationer in cutting the rolls or trimmed off in justifying the leading edge of the folded quire. When such material is taken into account, one could think of rolls about three meters and three-and-a-quarter meters in breadth.

In sum, from two rolls a one-quire codex of 20 sheets, 40 leaves, or 80 pages was made.

Although the measurements made for Codices V and VI may in some cases be imprecise by a few millimeters, and some conceptual uncertainties remain, the basic picture seems to be clear. In each case the codex was constructed of two three-meter or three-and-a-quarter-meter rolls. The fact that Codex V has 23½ sheets and Codex VI only 20 is due primarily to the fact that the sheets of Codex V are narrower than those of Codex VI. The basic difference between the rolls used in the two codices is that the rolls of Codex V consist

exclusively of narrow *kollemata*, whereas those of Codex VI consist primarily of wide *kollemata*. This divergence in kind of *kollemata* corresponds to the poorer quality of the papyrus of Codex V, its use of a *protokollon* and a stub, and its belonging to a sub-group of codices with covers made from skins too small to include a flap, in each of which aspects Codex VI seems to reflect a higher quality.

#### E. *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*

The cover of BG is not extant. To judge by the sheets, it must have been about 13.5 cm. high and 21.6 cm. broad when open.

The single quire of BG, which reaches a height of 13.5 cm., was constructed from three rolls. Roll one comprises the lower part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the outer part of the quire, roll two the middle part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the central part of each half of the quire, and roll three the top part of the stack of sheets, or, when folded, the inner part of the quire. The construction of the quire diverges from the usual practice in the Nag Hammadi codices but does conform to the practice in roll one of Codex VII, where there are two irregularities that in a sense compensate for each other. First, there is continuity of horizontal fibres from the right edge of one sheet to the left edge of the next sheet above it in the stack of sheets that, when folded, forms the quire. This seems at first glance to indicate that the opened roll was cut from left to right. This is the reverse of the usual pattern in the Nag Hammadi codices, where the left edge of one sheet joins the right edge of the sheet above it, leading to the assumption the rolls were usually cut from right to left. Furthermore it is the usual practice at the *kolleseis* that the left-hand *kollema* overlaps the right-hand *kollema*, so that one may assume the rolls, when cut, lay unrolled in the usual writing position with the *protokollon* at the left end. But in the case of roll one of Codex VII and all three rolls of BG, the right-hand *kollema* overlaps the left-hand *kollema*. Both irregularities can be adequately understood by assuming the roll was laid out in the usual writing position and was cut from right to left, after which the stack was rotated horizontally 180°, thus producing the secondary appearance of having been cut from left to right. In this way one can interpret the construction of the quire in BG as but a minor variation from the usual practice in the Nag Hammadi codices, a variation attested once in the Nag Hammadi codices.

There is a half-sheet plus stub at one end of each of the three rolls of BG. There are also twelve half-sheets plus stub in the Nag Hammadi codices. In the case of rolls one and two of BG, the half-sheet plus stub is the last sheet cut, indicating that at the conclusion of the cutting process there was not enough papyrus left to produce a whole sheet. Similarly there are eight half-sheets plus stub at the conclusion of the cutting process in Nag Hammadi codices: III, roll one; III, roll two; V, roll one; VII, roll one; VII, roll two; VIII, roll one; VIII, roll two; XI, roll one. But in the case of roll three of BG the half-sheet plus stub is the first sheet cut, suggesting that the stationer must have calculated the measurements of the sheets before cutting and hence anticipated the problem by beginning the cutting process with the half-sheet plus stub. Similarly there are three stubs at the beginning of the cutting process in Nag Hammadi codices: I, rolls one and three; II, roll one; VII, roll three. Since both BG, roll three and II, roll one present the unusual practise of the right-hand *kollema* overlapping the left-hand *kollema* as well as the unusual practise of continuity of horizontal fibres from the right edge of one sheet to the left edge of the next sheet above it, one may assume some deviation from the usual position in which the material lay. The stationer would have followed the usual practise of cutting from right to left and cutting the half-sheet plus stub last if he had first turned the roll over from top to bottom so that it lay open with the vertical fibres facing upward, cut from right to left, and then turned the stack of sheets back over from side to side. But in the other two instances (I, roll one, and VII, roll three), it is easiest to assume the usual procedure, since they present the usual position with the left-hand *kollema* overlapping the right-hand *kollema* and continuity of horizontal fibres from the left edge of one sheet to the right edge of the next sheet above it. In these two cases the stationer must have calculated in advance the measurements and begun by cutting the half-sheet plus stub; therefore he could also have begun by cutting the half-sheet plus stub in the other two cases, thus making the conjecture of the more complicated cutting procedure with vertical fibres facing upward unnecessary.

Roll one produced at least  $9\frac{1}{2}$  sheets. The lowest complete sheet in the stack is pp. 8 + 139; the lowest leaf is p. 141, conjugate with the missing p. 6. It is indeterminate how many sheets were still lower in the stack, although one may conjecture two sheets [4] + [a first back flyleaf A], and [2] + [a second back flyleaf C], on the

basis of the pagination; whether there were one or more front flyleaves and conjugate back flyleaves (conjectured by Schenke, in analogy to the Achmimic Proverbs codex, to have been used as the pastedown and perhaps even cartonnage) remains too uncertain for statistics to be based on that possibility, even though the conjecturing of three further sheets would more nearly standardize the breadth of the *kollemata* and rolls. Roll two produced  $12\frac{1}{2}$  sheets, roll three  $14\frac{1}{2}$  sheets. In view of this trend, also found in the Nag Hammadi codices, to derive increasing numbers of sheets from the rolls as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack of sheets, one must either assume that increasingly broad rolls were usually employed, for which no practical value is apparent, or that, as seems to be the case in Codices V and VI (see above), the sheets were cut progressively narrower, which seems reasonable as an economy measure in anticipation of the fact that, once the quire is folded and the leading edge cut flush, the inner leaves of the quire will in fact be narrower than the outer leaves. In any case, the measurements below do not include the indeterminate amount trimmed off when justifying the leading edge of the folded quire, nor what may have been cut off by the stationer to eliminate part of a *kollesis* (p. 8) or discarded at one or both ends of the roll (e.g., no *protokollon* was used in the quire). In view of the fact that *kolleseis* are often not exactly vertical, the policy adopted is to derive the measurements from the top of the sheet. The sheets of BG are conserved leaf by leaf; at times part of the inner margin of one leaf is actually conserved with the conjugate leaf. However the measurements are in terms of the original center of the sheets, irrespective of the point at which they may have broken into individual leaves. When a leaf or stub is missing, it is listed in square brackets [ ], as are its measurements, inferred from the preceding and succeeding sheets in the case of a missing leaf, or in terms of the average of the extant stubs in the case of a missing stub. By including such non-extant material in the measurements, the averages and other generalizations will be protected from arbitrary distortion and can be considered reliable with a fluctuation of no more than a millimeter or so.

*Roll one.* Since the *kollemata* on the right overlap those on the left, one may assume that the roll was rotated  $180^\circ$  in a horizontal plane. Hence, to analyze the roll in the usual position of a roll when written or read, one would need hypothetically to rotate it back



180°. As a result the pages in question have to be envisaged with the writing upside down, a factor also to be recalled in subsequent references to right and left. When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge, after having been rotated back 180°) to the end (the right edge) and designated by the pagination of the horizontal-fibre side of the sheets into which the roll was cut, i.e., the upper or inner surface, the original roll was as follows:

Stub + p. 20, pp. 129 + 18, pp. 131 + 16, pp. [133] + [14], pp. 135 + [12], pp. 137 + 10, pp. 139 + 8, pp. 141 + [6], back flyleaf [A] + p. [4], back flyleaf [C] + p. [2].

*Sheets.* The stack of sheets cut from roll one, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as they lay before being folded into the quire.

Sheet 10	stub + p. 20	1.2 cm. + 10.6 cm. = 11.8 cm.
Sheet 9	pp. 129 + 18	10.5 cm. + 11.0 cm. = 21.5 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 131 + 16	10.5 cm. + 10.9 cm. = 21.4 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. [133] + [14]	[10.6] cm. + [10.8] cm. = [21.4] cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 135 + [12]	10.6 cm. + [10.8] cm. = 21.4 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 137 + 10	10.7 cm. + 10.7 cm. = 21.4 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 139 + 8	10.6 cm. + 10.8 cm. = 21.4 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 141 + [6]	10.7 cm. + [10.8] cm. = 21.5 cm.
Sheet 2	back flyleaf [A] + p. [4]	[10.8] cm. + [10.8] cm. = [21.6] cm.
Sheet 1	back flyleaf [C] + p. [2]	[10.8] cm. + [10.8] cm. = [21.6] cm.

The total breadth of the sheets is hence 205.0 cm., the average (if one may ignore the half-sheet plus stub) 21.47 cm. The breadth diminishes 0.1 cm. from the highest complete sheet to the lowest as one moves from the top to the bottom of the stack, an average of 0.011 cm. per sheet or 0.005 cm. per leaf.

*Kollemata.* Roll one consists of two *kollemata*. Their measurements are presented in tabular form below, much as in the case of Codex V above.

*Kollema 1:* stub + 20, pp. 129 + 18, pp. 131 + 16, pp. [133] + [14], pp. 135 + [12], pp. 137 + 10, pp. 139 + 8  
 1.2 cm. + 10.6 cm., 10.5 cm. + 11.0 cm., 10.5 cm. + 10.9 cm., [10.6] cm. + [10.8] cm., 10.6 cm. + [10.8] cm., 10.7 cm. + 10.7 cm., 10.6 cm. + 10.8 cm. = 140.3 cm.

*Kollema 2:* p. 8, pp. 141 + [6], pp. [A] + [4], pp. [C] + [2]  
 1.3 cm., 10.7 cm. + [10.8] cm., [10.8] cm. + [10.8] cm., [10.8] cm. + [10.8] cm. = 66.0 cm.

The total breadth of the two *kollemata* of roll one is 206.3 cm., the average 103.15 cm. If there were, e.g., three further missing un-inscribed sheets at the bottom of the stack, the breadth of *kollema* 2 would have been doubled, bringing it nearer to that of the other *kollemata* of BG.

*Kolleseis*. The only *kollesis* in roll one, on pp. 7/8, measures 1.3 cm. Since the *kolleseis* in the other rolls have an average breadth of 3.3 cm. and the *kollesis* in roll one ends at the right edge of the sheet, it may have been broader. For some must have been trimmed off when the quire was folded and trimmed flush with the leading edge of the cover, and some may have been intentionally removed as undesirable by the stationer when cutting the roll.

*Roll*. When the extant overlap at the *kollesis* (1.3 cm.) is subtracted from the total breadth of the two *kollemata* (206.3 cm.), one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 205.0 cm. Since the trim is not included, the actual breadth of the roll would have been somewhat greater. The total breadth would have been even greater if one assumes that there was a *protokollon* in the roll that was not employed in the quire. Thus one may conjecture that roll one originally had a breadth of about two and a quarter meters, unless there were further missing un-inscribed sheets that would make roll one similar in breadth to rolls two and three.

*Roll two*. Since the *kollemata* on the right overlap those on the left, one may assume that the roll was rotated 180° in a horizontal plane. Hence, to analyze the roll in the usual position of a roll when written or read, one would need hypothetically to rotate it back 180°. As a result the pages in question have to be envisaged with the writing upside down, a factor also to be recalled in subsequent references to right and left. When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge, after having been rotated back 180°) to the end (the right edge) and designated by the pagination of the horizontal-fibre side of the sheets into which the roll was cut, i.e., the upper or inner surface, the original roll was as follows:

[Stub] + p. 46, pp. 105 + 44, pp. 107 + 42, pp. 109 + 40, pp. 111 + 38, pp. 113 + 36, pp. 115 + 34, pp. 117 + 32, pp. 119 + 30, pp. 121 + 28, pp. 123 + 26, pp. 125 + 24, pp. 127 + 22.

*Sheets*. The stack of sheets cut from roll two, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as

they lay before being folded into the quire. Measurements of sheets lacking an edge are given twice, first the extant breadth, then in square brackets the original breadth, inferred from the preceding and succeeding sheets, to be used in calculating averages and other generalizations.

Sheet 13	[stub] + p. 46	[1.0] cm. + 10.3 cm.	= 11.3 cm.
Sheet 12	pp. 105 + 44	10.3 cm. + 10.2 cm.	= 20.5 cm.
Sheet 11	pp. 107 + 42	10.2 cm. + 10.2 cm.	= 20.4 cm.
Sheet 10	pp. 109 + 40	10.2 cm. + 10.4 cm.	= 20.6 cm.
Sheet 9	pp. 111 + 38	10.3 cm. + 10.4 cm.	= 20.7 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 113 + 36	10.5 cm. + 10.4 cm.	= 20.9 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. 115 + 34	10.5 cm. + 10.5 cm.	= 21.0 cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 117 + 32	10.5 cm. + 10.5 cm.	= 21.0 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 119 + 30	9.6 [10.5] cm. + 10.5 cm.	= 20.1 or 21.0 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 121 + 28	9.6 [10.5] cm. + 10.6 cm.	= 20.2 or 21.1 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 123 + 26	9.8 [10.5] cm. + 10.6 cm.	= 20.4 or 21.1 cm.
Sheet 2	pp. 125 + 24	9.8 [10.5] cm. + 10.6 cm.	= 20.4 or 21.1 cm.
Sheet 1	pp. 127 + 22	10.5 cm. + 10.6 cm.	= 21.1 cm.

The total original breadth of the sheets is hence 261.8 cm., the average (if one may ignore the half-sheet plus stub) 21.82 cm. The breadth diminishes 0.6 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.05 cm. per sheet or 0.025 cm. per leaf.

*Kollemata*. Roll two consists of two *kollemata*. Their measurements are presented in a tabular form similar to that of roll one.

*Kollema 1*: [stub] + p. 46, pp. 105 + 44, pp. 107 + 42, pp. 109 + 40, pp. 111 + 38, pp. 113 + 36, pp. 115 + 34, pp. 117  
 [1.0] cm. + 10.3 cm., 10.3 cm. + 10.2 cm., 10.2 cm. + 10.2 cm., 10.2 cm. + 10.4 cm., 10.3 cm. + 10.4 cm., 10.5 cm. + 10.4 cm., 10.5 cm. + 10.5 cm., 8.6 cm.  
 = 143.8 cm.

*Kollema 2*: pp. 117 + 32, pp. 119 + 30, pp. 121 + 28, pp. 123 + 26, pp. 125 + 24, pp. 127 + 22  
 5.4 cm. + 10.5 cm., [10.5] cm. + 10.5 cm., [10.5] cm. + 10.6 cm., [10.5] cm. + 10.6 cm., [10.5] cm. + 10.6 cm., 10.5 cm. + 10.6 cm. = 121.3 cm.

The total breadth of the two *kollemata* of roll two is 265.1 cm. The average breadth of a *kollema* is 132.55 cm.

*Kollesis*. The only *kollesis* in roll two, on pp. 118/117, measures 3.5 cm.

*Roll.* When the overlap at the *kollesis* (3.5 cm.) is subtracted from the total breadth of the two *kollemata* (265.1 cm.), one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 261.6 cm. Since the trim is not included, the actual breadth of the roll would have been somewhat greater. The total breadth would have been even greater if one assumes that there was a *protokollon* in the roll that was not employed in the quire. Thus one may conjecture that roll two originally had a breadth approaching three meters.

*Roll three.* Since the *kollemata* on the right overlap those on the left, one may assume that the roll was rotated 180° in a horizontal plane. Hence, to analyze the roll in the usual position of a roll when written or read, one would need hypothetically to rotate it back 180°. As a result the pages in question have to be envisaged with the writing upside down, a factor also to be recalled in subsequent references to right and left. When listed from the beginning of the roll (the left edge, after having been rotated back 180°) to the end (the right edge) and designated by the pagination of the horizontal-fibre side of the sheets into which the roll was cut, i.e. the upper or inner surface, the original roll was as follows:

Pp. 77 + 76, pp. 79 + 74, pp. 81 + 72, pp. 83 + 70, pp. 85 + 68, pp. 87 + 66, pp. 89 + 64, pp. 91 + 62, pp. 93 + 60, pp. 95 + 58, pp. 97 + 56, pp. 99 + 54, pp. 101 + 52, pp. 103 + 50, stub + p. 48.

*Sheets.* The stack of sheets into which roll three was cut, with the measurements of each, is presented in tabular form from top to bottom as they lay before being folded into the quire.

Sheet 15	pp. 77 + 76	9.4 cm. + 9.5 cm. = 18.9 cm.
Sheet 14	pp. 79 + 74	9.5 cm. + 9.6 cm. = 19.1 cm.
Sheet 13	pp. 81 + 72	9.6 cm. + 9.8 cm. = 19.4 cm.
Sheet 12	pp. 83 + 70	9.6 cm. + 9.8 cm. = 19.4 cm.
Sheet 11	pp. 85 + 68	9.7 cm. + 9.8 cm. = 19.5 cm.
Sheet 10	pp. 87 + 66	9.8 cm. + 9.8 cm. = 19.6 cm.
Sheet 9	pp. 89 + 64	9.8 cm. + 9.9 cm. = 19.7 cm.
Sheet 8	pp. 91 + 62	9.9 cm. + 9.9 cm. = 19.8 cm.
Sheet 7	pp. 93 + 60	9.9 cm. + 10.1 cm. = 20.0 cm.
Sheet 6	pp. 95 + 58	9.8 cm. + 10.1 cm. = 19.9 cm.
Sheet 5	pp. 97 + 56	10.1 cm. + 10.1 cm. = 20.2 cm.
Sheet 4	pp. 99 + 54	10.1 cm. + 10.1 cm. = 20.2 cm.
Sheet 3	pp. 101 + 52	10.2 cm. + 10.1 cm. = 20.3 cm.
Sheet 2	pp. 103 + 50	10.2 cm. + 10.1 cm. = 20.3 cm.
Sheet 1	stub + p. 48	0.8 cm. + 10.2 cm. = 11.0 cm.

The total breadth of the sheets is hence 287.3 cm., the average (if one may ignore the half-sheet plus stub) 19.81 cm. The breadth diminishes 1.4 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.1 cm. per sheet or 0.05 cm. per leaf.

*Kollemata*. Roll three consists of two *kollemata*. Their measurements are presented in a tabular form similar to that of roll one.

*Kollema* 1: pp. 77 + 76, pp. 79 + 74, pp. 81 + 72, pp. 83 + 70,  
pp. 85 + 68, pp. 87 + 66, pp. 89 + 64, pp. 91 + 62  
9.4 cm. + 9.5 cm., 9.5 cm. + 9.6 cm., 9.6 cm. + 9.8  
cm., 9.6 cm. + 9.8 cm., 9.7 cm. + 9.8 cm., 9.8 cm.  
+ 9.8 cm., 9.8 cm. + 9.9 cm., 9.9 cm. + 8.4 cm. =  
153.9 cm.

*Kollema* 2: p. 62, pp. 93 + 60, pp. 95 + 68, pp. 97 + 56, pp. 99 +  
54, pp. 101 + 52, pp. 103 + 50, stub + p. 48  
4.6 cm., 9.9 cm. + 10.1 cm., 9.8 cm. + 10.1 cm., 10.1  
cm. + 10.1 cm., 10.1 cm. + 10.1 cm., 10.2 cm. +  
10.1 cm., 10.2 cm. + 10.1 cm., 0.8 cm. + 10.2 cm.  
= 136.5 cm.

The total breadth of the two *kollemata* of roll three is 290.4 cm., the average 145.4 cm.

*Kollesis*. The only *kollesis* in roll three, on pp. 61/62, measures 3.1 cm.

*Roll*. When the overlap of the *kollesis* (3.1 cm.) is subtracted from the total breadth of the two *kollemata* (290.4 cm.), one reaches a total breadth for the roll of 287.3 cm. Since the trim is not included, the actual breadth of the roll would have been somewhat greater. The total breadth would have been even greater if one assumes that there was a *protokollon* in the roll that was not employed in the quire. Thus one may conjecture that roll three originally had a breadth of about three meters.

*Summary*. When the data for the three rolls of BG are combined, one reaches the following conclusions:

The average breadth of the sheets (if one may ignore the half-sheets plus stub) is 20.57 cm. The breadth diminishes 2.7 cm. as one moves from the bottom to the top of the stack, an average of 0.077 cm. per sheet or 0.039 cm. per leaf.

All three rolls made use of rather broad *kollemata*, 140.3 cm., 66.0 cm., 143.8 cm., 121.3 cm., 153.9 cm. and 136.5 cm. broad, an average

breadth of 127.0 cm. If one excludes the *kollema* at the bottom of the stack, which would have been broader if there were additional missing unscribed sheets, the average breadth is 139.16 cm. Thus BG has the same broad *kollemata* as are characteristic of the Nag Hammadi rolls, except those of Codices IV and V and roll four of Codex VIII. Indeed it lacks the narrow *kollemata* that usually accompany broad *kollemata* in the rolls of the Nag Hammadi codices.

The three rolls of  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  sheets measure 205.0 cm., 261.6 cm. and 287.3 cm., a total breadth of 753.9 cm., an average of 251.3 cm. If one excludes roll one, which would have been broader if there were additional missing unscribed sheets, the average is 274.45 cm.

If one were to assume all sheets were cut of equal breadth, namely that of the bottom sheet of the stack (pp. 2 + C), [21.6] cm. broad, one would postulate the rolls were 206.4 cm., 271.0 cm., and 314.0 cm. broad, a total breadth of 791.4 cm., an average of 263.8 cm. If one excludes roll one, which would have been broader if there were additional missing unscribed sheets, the average breadth would have been 292.5 cm. There would thus have been an additional and unnecessary waste of 37.5 cm., if the sheets were cut to a standard breadth rather than progressively narrower. This would seem to confirm the suggestion made above that in fact the sheets were not cut to a standard breadth.

These measurements do not include the indeterminate amounts discarded by the stationer in cutting the rolls or trimmed off in justifying the leading edge of the folded quire. When such material is taken into account, one could think of rolls about three meters in breadth, similar to those of Codices V and VI.

In sum, from three rolls a one-quire codex of at least 38 sheets (or 35 sheets plus 3 half-sheets plus stub), 73 leaves, or 146 pages was made.

Whereas BG is approximately half as high as the average of the Nag Hammadi codices, its breadth is only slightly less than that of the narrowest Nag Hammadi codices. Although no Nag Hammadi codex is the product of three rolls, this is a median figure between the two-roll and four-roll pattern characteristic of the Nag Hammadi codices (except Codex III, which made use of six rolls). The unusual pattern of the right *kollema* overlaying the left *kollema* and the right edge of one sheet having continuity of horizontal fibres with the left edge of the next sheet above it occurs only once in the Nag Hammadi

codices (Codex VII, roll one), but, like that instance, can, as only a minor variation, be readily resolved into the predominant pattern in the Nag Hammadi codices. BG is also similar to the Nag Hammadi codices (except Codex I) in having but a single quire, in comparison with the multiple-quire codices, be it those of one sheet (e.g., Chester Beatty Papyrus 1, P 46) or those of four sheets (e.g., the Hamburg codex containing the Greek *Act. Pl.*), both found in the period just before the Nag Hammadi codices, or be it the codices of a plurality of quires of various sizes characteristic of the subsequent period. Thus one may say that the codicological analysis supports the inference from the parallel texts to the effect that BG is closely related to the Nag Hammadi codices. Though BG would seem to be a bit later than the Nag Hammadi codices in manufacture, one need only think of the more-or-less contemporary Manichaean codices, with their strikingly different pattern of a distinct *kollema* being used for each sheet, to realize how similar BG is to the Nag Hammadi codices in terms of codicology.

WILLIAM R.

Abraham K. ...  
W. R. "The  
Published Th  
1968.  
et. Gnosis in

list of the fe  
gnostic ver  
The opening  
the codex is be  
gramae at the  
can be readi  
(fragment  
literary rela  
the latter als  
Whether it  
fied by the "G  
possible to t  
découvert  
pp. 134-37), b  
the "Ascension  
ness of the pr  
birth to the t  
point.  
Paul begins  
and on the  
who is P  
called the Hol  
epistles, who  
with heaven P  
living souls

R. Murdoch  
MacRae con



## THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL

V,2:17,19-24,9

WILLIAM R. MURDOCK AND GEORGE W. MACRAE\*

Böhlig-Labib. *Koptisch-agnostische Apokalypsen*. Pp. 15-26.

Murdock, W. R. "The Apocalypse of Paul from Nag Hammadi."

Unpublished Th.D. dissertation, School of Theology at Claremont, 1968.

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 43-44.

The first of the four apocalypses in Codex V is a highly syncretistic, gnostic version of the ascension of Paul through the heavens. The opening lines of the work are unfortunately lost because the codex is badly damaged in the first few pages. There are minor lacunae at the top and bottom of each page, in some of which the text can be readily reconstructed. The title appears both at the beginning (fragmentary) and at the end (complete). *Apoc. Paul* bears no literary relationship to the Greek work of the same name, though the latter also deals with Paul's vision of judgment in the heavens. Whether it had affinities with the now lost "Ascension of Paul" used by the "Gnostics" according to Epiphanius (*Pan.* 38.2.5), it is impossible to tell (see H.-Ch. Puech, "Les Nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte," in *Studies in Honor of Crum*, pp. 134-37), but it should be noted that in Epiphanius' account the "Ascension" refers only to three heavens, whereas it is the uniqueness of the present work that it describes Paul's experience of the fourth to the tenth heavens; the third is mentioned only as a starting point.

*Apoc. Paul* begins with a narrative of Paul's encounter with a small child on the "mountain of Jericho" en route to Jerusalem. The child, who is Paul's guiding spirit or *angelus interpres*, sometimes called the Holy Spirit, takes him to the heavens to meet his fellow apostles, who accompany him during his further ascent. In the fourth heaven Paul witnesses the judgment of souls; in the fifth, angels driving souls to judgment. The sixth heaven is illuminated

---

\*William R. Murdock prepared a preliminary transcription and translation. George W. MacRae completed the work along the lines begun by Murdock.

by a light from above, and in the seventh Paul meets an old man on a shining throne who threatens to block his further ascent. He continues, however, into the Ogdoad and the ninth and tenth heavens, and when he reaches the last he has been transformed so that he greets, no longer his fellow-apostles, but his fellow-spirits. The language of the narrative fluctuates from third person to first at 19,8, back to third person at 19,18, and finally to first person again from 20,5 on. The inconsistency may perhaps be attributed to literary carelessness rather than to multiple sources, for at these points in the narrative no clear "seams" can be detected on other grounds.

For purposes of analysis, the contents of *Apoc. Paul* may be divided into three distinct episodes: an epiphany scene, a scene of judgment and punishment, and a heavenly journey. In the first, the little child who meets Paul on the mountain and gives him a revelation most naturally suggests an epiphany of the risen Christ, who is sometimes described as a small child, e.g., in *Ap. John* (BG,2) 20,19-21,4, *Act. Jn.* 88, and other passages. This experience, as the allusion to Gal 1:15 (Jer 1:5) in 18,15-16 suggests, functions as the calling of Paul to be an apostle and thus interprets Gal 1:11-17. The heavenly visitor not only reveals to Paul but conducts him above to (the heavenly) Jerusalem, to the apostles, thus interpreting Gal 2:1-2 also. The ascent itself builds on 2 Cor 12:2-4.

The scene of the judgment and punishment of souls in the fourth and fifth heavens has its closest parallel in Jewish apocalyptic literature, notably in the *Test. Abr.* 10 (long recension) and even more closely in the Coptic version of the short recension, which has several details peculiar to it. The author of *Apoc. Paul* is indebted to other traditions, however, for his picture of the three angels who rival (ἐρίζειν) one another in whipping the souls forward to judgment (22,5-10). This is clearly an evocation of the Erinyes of Greek mythology. Likewise the τελώνης who is also judge belongs to Babylonian and Hellenistic astrology. The scene is thus the result of popular syncretism.

The third main element of the work, the heavenly journey, is concentrated for the most part in the sixth and seventh heavens. The ascent theme may have been borrowed from Jewish apocalyptic tradition, but its gnostic coloring is obvious in the depiction of the "old man" on the throne in the seventh heaven (Dan 7:13; 1 En 46-47) as a hostile figure who tries to block the gnostic soul's ascent

to the Ogdoad and the higher heavens. And the interrogation of Paul also recalls similar dialogues or formulas in several gnostic works, e.g., 1 *Apoc. Jas.* (V,3), *Gos. Mary* (BG,1), *Gos. Thom.* (II,2) 41,30-42,7 (logion 50).

The date and provenance of the document cannot be determined with any certainty. That it comes from gnostic circles with a typical anti-Jewish bias seems assured by the negative view of the deity in the seventh heaven. The portrayal of Paul as exalted even above the other apostles is at home in second-century Gnosticism, especially Valentinianism, and, according to *Iren. Haer.* II.30.7, there was a gnostic tradition of interpreting Paul's experience in 2 Cor 12:2-4. Nothing in *Apoc. Paul* demands any later date for its composition.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL

V,2:17,19-24,9

12

[            ταποκαλυψις παυλος  
20 [            10±            ] γ. [...]νβι π[  
[            14±            ] ευ[  
(4± lines lacking)

[1H]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 [.]ωφε δε [...]ν α[  
[N]τεζηη [α]γω [αφογωψβ ναq]  
4 [ε]φχω μμοc δε [ειναβωκ ζη αω]  
νηηη εζραϊ εθ[η]μ[ αφογωψβ]  
6 νβι πκογει ψη[μ εφχω μμοc]  
δε αχι πεκραν δεκ[ααc εϊεταμο μ]  
8 μοκ ετεζηη· νερ[επκογει ψημ]  
νεφσοογν πα[γλοc δε νι]μ [πε]  
10 αφογωψ ερ ψβη[ρ ηψα]δε νμ  
μαq ζη νεφψαδε ζ[ι]να χ]ε εq  
12 ναβινε ηνογλαε[ιβε] ηψαδε  
ημμαq· αφογωψβ νβι πκογει  
14 ψημ εφχω μμοc δε †σοογν  
μμοκ παγλοc δε ητκ ηιμ· δε  
16 ητοκ πε ηταγcμογ εροκ χιη  
ζη οη ητεqμααγ· επιδη αι[ει]  
18 εροκ δε εκνα[βωκ εζρα]ι [εθ]η[ημ]  
ψα νεκψβη[ρ αποcτολοc αγω]  
20 ετ[βε] παϊ αγ[μουτε εροκ αγω]  
ανοκ πε πεπ[να] ετμοοψε ημ

18,5 "to [Jerusalem]": The reading is not certain, and the letter θ seems to be a correction. Cf. Gal 1:17-21; 2:1-2.

16-17 "blessed from his mother's womb": Cf. 23,3-4; Jer 1:5; Gal 1:15.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL

V,2:17,19-24,9

[17]

[ The Apocalypse of] Paul

20

[

(4± lines lacking)

[18]

(Line 1 lacking)

2

[ the road. And [he spoke to him],

4

saying: “[By which]  
road [shall I go] up to [Jerusalem]?”

6

The little child [replied, saying]:

“Say your name, so that [I may show]

8

you the road.” [The little child]

knew [who Paul was].

10

He wished to make conversation with

him through his words [in order that (ἵνα)] he

12

might find an excuse for speaking

with him. The little child spoke,

14

saying: “I know  
who you are, Paul.

16

You are he who was blessed from

his mother’s womb. For (ἐπειδή) I have [come]

18

to you that you may [go up to Jerusalem]

to your fellow [apostles. And]

20

for this reason [you were called. And]

I am the [Spirit (πνεῦμα) who accompanies]

18,17-18 “I have [come] to you”: αἶ[ΝΑΥ] would also be possible (though long), and the translation would be: “I have [seen] that you are to [go up].”

22 μακ· ματογ[νος πεκνογς]  
 [πα]γλ[ος] μῆ[  
 (6± lines lacking)

[10]

γαρ[            ΙΙ±            ] εβ[  
 2 μο[...].[...].[...τη]ρῃ ετ·[  
 2̄ ἡ ἡ[αρ]χη [μῆ ἡ]εειεξογςια [μῆ]  
 4 ζεναρχα[ρχ]ελοσ· μῆ ζενδου  
 μῆ πρε[ν]οσ τηρῃ ἡτε ἡδα  
 6 μων[...].ε πη ετδωλῃ ἡ  
 ζενσωμα εγβραδ ἡψυχη·  
 8 αγω μῆῆσα τερωκ ἡπιωα  
 κε εβολ αρωγωψῃ ερω ἡμοσ  
 10 ναῖ κε ματογνος πεκνογς  
 πα[γλ]οσ· αγω εναγ κε πιτοογ  
 12 ετεκρωμ ερω πε ἡτορ πε πτοογ  
 ἡῆεριχω· κε εκεσογων νετ  
 14 ζηῆ εζραῖ ἡῆ νετογονζ εβολ  
 πιμῆτςνοογς δε ἡναποστολοσ  
 16 ετεκναρωκ ψαροογ· ζενῆῆ  
 γαρ εγσοτῃ νε· αγω εγναρ  
 18 ασπαζε ἡμοκ· αρωγω ἡ  
 νερωαλ εζραῖ αρωαγ εροογ  
 20 [ε]γρασπαζε ἡμοκ· τοτε πι  
 [ῆῆ] ετ[ογ]ααβ ετε νερωακε  
 22 ἡῆ[μαρ αρ]τωρῃ ἡμοκ εζραῖ  
 ετχισε· ψαζραῖ ετμε[ρωμ]  
 24 τε ἡπε· αγω αρωγω[τῃ ε]  
 ζραῖ ετμερωτο ἡ[πε· αρωγ]  
 26 ωψῃ ἡα ἡβι πιῆῆ[α ετογααβ]  
 ερω ἡμοσ κε δωψ[τ]  
 28 αγω εναγ επεκει[ε ρι]  
 χῆ πκαζ αγω αρω[ωψτ ε]

18,22-23 "Let [your mind awaken, Paul]": The text is reconstructed on the analogy of 19,10-11. The name Paul is very uncertain here, however.

19,3-4 "authorities [and] archangels": Cf. the list in Rom 8:38.

13-14 Cf. *Eugnostos* (III,3) 74,14-19; *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) 87,10-11.

22 you. Let [your mind (νοῦς) awaken,  
 [Paul,] with [  
 (6± lines lacking)

[19]

For (γάρ) [  
 2 [ ] whole which [  
 among the [principalities (ἀρχή) and] these authorities  
 (ἐξουσία) [and]  
 4 archangels and powers  
 and the whole race (γένος) of demons (δαίμων),  
 6 [ ] the one that reveals  
 bodies (σῶμα) to a soul (ψυχή)-seed.”  
 8 And after he brought that speech  
 to an end, he spoke, saying  
 10 to me: “Let your mind (νοῦς) awaken,  
 Paul, and see that this mountain  
 12 upon which you are standing is the mountain  
 of Jericho, so that you may know the  
 14 hidden things in those that are visible.  
 Now (δέ) it is to the twelve apostles  
 16 that you shall go,  
 for (γάρ) they are elect spirits (πνεῦμα), and they will  
 18 greet (ἀσπάζεσθαι) you.” He raised  
 his eyes and saw them  
 20 greeting (ἀσπάζεσθαι) him. Then (τότε) the  
 Holy [Spirit (πνεῦμα)] who was speaking  
 22 with [him] caught him up  
 on high to the third  
 24 heaven, and he passed  
 beyond to the fourth [heaven].  
 26 The [Holy] Spirit (πνεῦμα) spoke to him,  
 saying: “Look  
 28 and see your [likeness]  
 upon the earth.” And he [looked]

19,17 “elect spirits”: Cf. 24,8.

20 [ε]ΥΡΑΣΠΑΖΕ: An alternative reconstruction, [α]ΥΡΑΣΠΑ-  
 ΖΕ, would be rendered, “they greeted him.”

23-24 “to the third heaven”: Cf. 2 Cor 12:2.

30 ΠΕΣΗΤ̅ ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΝΗ Ε[Τ̅Ζ̅ΙΧΜ̅]  
 ΠΚΑ[Ζ̅] ΑΦΕΙΩΡ̅Μ̅ [ΑΥΩ ΑΦΝΑΥ]  
 32 ΕΝΕ[Τ̅]Ζ̅ΙΧ̅Ν̅ Τ[... ΤΟΤΕ]

[Κ]

[ΑΦ]ΕΙ[Ω]Ρ̅Μ̅ [ΕΠΕΣΗΤ̅ ΑΥΩ ΑΦ]ΝΑΥ  
 2 [Ε]ΠΙΜ̅Ν̅Τ̅Ϟ̅ΝΟ[ΟΥϞ] Ν̅ΝΑΠ̅Ο̅Σ̅Τ̅Ο̅Λ̅Ο[Ϟ]  
 [ΖΑ] ΤΕΦΟΥΝΑΜ [ΑΥΩ] ΖΑ ΤΕΦΒΑΧΗ  
 4 Ζ̅Ν̅ †ΚΤΙϞΙϞΙϞ· ΝΕΡ[Ε]ΠΙΠ̅Ν̅Α ΔΕ ΝΕΦ  
 ΜΟΟΥΕ ΖΑΧΩΟΥ· Α̅ΙΝΑΥ ΔΕ  
 6 Ζ̅Ν̅ †ΜΕΖϞΤΟ Μ̅Π̅Ε ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟΣ Α̅Ι  
 ΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΝΙΑΓ̅Γ̅ΕΛΟΣ ΕΥ̅ΕΙΝΕ Ν̅  
 8 ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΝΙΑΓ̅Γ̅ΕΛΟΣ ΕΥ̅[Ε]Ι̅Ν̅Ε  
 Ν̅ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Μ̅ ΠΚΑΖ̅ Ν̅ΤΕ  
 10 ΝΕΤ̅Μ̅ΟΟΥΤ̅· ΑΥΚΑΑΣ Ζ̅Ν̅ †ΠΥΛΗ  
 Ν̅ΤΕ †ΜΕΖϞΤΟ Μ̅Π̅Ε· Α̅[Υ]Ω ΝΕ  
 12 ΡΕΝΙΑΓ̅Γ̅ΕΛΟΣ Ρ̅Μ̅ΑΣΤΙΓΟΥ Μ̅Μ̅ΟϞ·  
 ΑϞΟΥΩΨ̅Β̅ Ν̅ΒΙ †ΨΥΧΗ ΕϞΧΩ Μ̅  
 14 ΜΟϞ ΧΕ ΟΥ Ν̅ΝΟΒΕ ΠΕΝΤΑ̅Ι̅Α̅Α̅Α̅  
 Ζ̅Μ̅ ΠΚΟϞΜΟϞ· ΑΦΟΥΩΨ̅Β̅ Ν̅ΒΙ ΠΙ  
 16 ΤΕΛΩΝΗϞ ΕΤ̅Ζ̅Μ̅ΟΟϞ Ζ̅Ν̅ †ΜΕΖ  
 ϞΤΟ Μ̅Π̅Ε ΕϞΧΩ Μ̅Μ̅ΟϞ ΧΕ ΝΕΡΕ  
 18 Μ̅Π̅ΨΑ ΑΝ Ν̅ΕΙΡΕ Ν̅ΝΕ̅Ι̅Α̅ΝΟΜΙ[Α]  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤ̅Ζ̅ΡΑ̅Ι̅ Ζ̅Μ̅ ΠΚΟϞΜΟϞ  
 20 Ν̅ΤΕ ΝΕΤ̅Μ̅ΟΟΥΤ̅· ΑϞΟΥΩΨ̅Β̅  
 Ν̅ΒΙ †ΨΥΧΗ ΕϞΧΩ [Μ̅Μ̅ΟϞ] ΧΕ Α  
 22 ΝΙ Μ̅Ν̅ΤΡΕ ΜΑΡΟΥ[ΤΑΜΟ]Κ̅ ΧΕ  
 [Ν̅ΤΑ]̅Ι̅Ρ̅ ΑΝΟΜΙΑ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΑΨ̅ Ν̅ϞΩΜ[Α]  
 24 [ΚΟΥ]Ψ̅ ΕΙΝΕ Ν̅ΝΟΥΧΩΜ̅  
 [ΕΩΨ̅ Ζ̅]Ψ̅ΩϞ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥ̅Ε̅Ι̅ Ν̅ΒΙ  
 26 [ΠΨΟ]Μ̅ΕΤ̅ Μ̅Μ̅Ν̅ΤΡΕ· ΑΦΟΥΩ  
 [Ψ̅Β̅] Ν̅ΒΙ ΠΨΟΡ̅Π̅ ΕϞΧΩ Μ̅Μ̅ΟϞ

19,31-20,2 The scene suggests *Test. Abr.* 10 (long recension).

20,5-10 The passage is confused as it stands, with the phrase *κατὰ γένος* clearly out of place and perhaps one or more dittographies. The simplest rearrangement would give, "But in the fourth heaven I saw angels resembling gods in race (*κατὰ γένος*), and I saw the angels bringing a soul."

9-10 "the land of the dead": Cf. also 20,19-20; 23,13-14. In all cases the phrase may be translated "the land (world) of mortals."



30 down and saw those [who were upon]  
 the earth. He stared [and saw]  
 32 those who were upon the [ Then (τότε)]  
 [20]  
 [he] gazed [down and] saw  
 2 the [twelve] apostles  
 [at] his right [and] at his left  
 4 in the creation (κτίσις); and (δέ) the Spirit (πνεῦμα) was  
 going before them. But (δέ) I saw  
 6 in the fourth heaven according to (κατά) class (γένος)—I  
 saw (+ δέ) the angels resembling  
 8 gods, the angels bringing  
 a soul (ψυχή) out of the land of  
 10 the dead. They placed it at the gate (πύλη)  
 of the fourth heaven. And  
 12 the angels were whipping (μαστίγουν) it.  
 The soul (ψυχή) spoke, saying:  
 14 “What sin was it that I committed  
 in the world (κόσμος)?”  
 16 The toll-collector (τελώνης) who dwells in the  
 fourth heaven replied, saying:  
 18 “It was not right to commit all those lawless deeds  
 (ἀνομία)  
 that are in the world (κόσμος)  
 20 of the dead.”  
 The soul (ψυχή) replied, saying:  
 22 “Bring witnesses! Let them [show] you  
 in what body (σῶμα) I committed lawless deeds (ἀνομία).  
 24 [Do you wish] to bring a book  
 [to read from]?” And  
 26 the three witnesses came.  
 The first spoke, saying:

20,16 “dwells in”: or “sits at.” Cf. 22,21, “who was in.”  
 23 “in what body”: The sense is obscure, but cf. 21,20. One could  
 also translate: “against what person.”  
 24-25 “[Do you wish] to bring a book [to read from]?”: It is possible  
 to reconstruct the imperative [ογ]ωψ (though the lacuna has  
 room for another letter), “Please bring.”

28 [χε μη] ἀνοκ αν αἰψωπε  
 [εἰζῆ] πσωμα χεπ̄ cnaγ  
 30 [... α]ἴτων εἰραῖ εχω

[κα]

ωαν[τεψωπ]ε ζῆ [ο]γῶωντ̄ [μῆ]  
 2 ογβω[λ]κ̄ μ[ῆ] [ο]γκω[ζ]· αγω α[q]  
 ογωψβ̄ ἄ[βι] πμερcnaγ εq[χω]  
 4 ἄμοc χε μ[η] ἀνοκ αν ετε νεῖ  
 ζῆ πκοcμοc [α]γω αἰεῖ ερογν̄ ἄ  
 6 πnaγ ἄχπ̄†· αγω αἴnaγ ερο  
 αἰρεπιθῶμι ερο· αγω ειc ζητε  
 8 βε †νογ †coze ἄμο εтве ni  
 ζωтв̄ εταααγ· αqογωψβ̄ ἄβι  
 10 πμερψομε† εqχω ἄμοc  
 χε μ[η] ἀνοκ αν αἰει ψαρο ἄχπ̄  
 12 ἄντ̄cnooγc ἄπεροογ ερε  
 πρη naζωтπ̄ αἴ† κακε νε  
 14 ψαντεχωκ̄ neнове εβολ·  
 naῖ εтaccωтῆ̄ εροογ ἄβι †  
 16 ψγχη ασειωρῆ̄ епечн† есqι  
 ψηζη†· αγω тоте ασειωρῆ̄  
 18 етπε αγноχ̄ епечн†·  
 †[ψ]γχη εταγноχ̄ епечн†  
 20 [αcῆ] ε[ο]γcωμα εαγcβтωтq̄  
 [nac αγ]ψ ειc ζητε αγχωκ̄ εβολ  
 22 [ἄβι ne]cmῆтpeoγ· an[ок δε]  
 [αἴωp]ῆ̄ етπε αγ[ω] αἴn[αγ]  
 24 [επιπ̄]na εqχω ἄμ[oc naῖ]  
 [χε π]αγλοc αμογ ογα[твк̄]  
 26 [ερο]†· ἀνοκ δε εἴm[ooψe]  
 αcoγων ἄβι тпγλ[η αγω]  
 28 αἰεῖ εἰραῖ ε†μερ† ἄ[πε]  
 αἴnaγ δε εnaψβh[р αποc]  
 30 толо[с ε]γμφο[ψe] ἄ[ἄμαῖ]

20 29 χεπ̄ cnaγ: Perhaps to be emended to <ἄχπ̄> cnaγ;  
 cf. 2I,6.II.

30 The lacuna might be filled with ἄφοογ, "of the day" (cf.  
 2I,12) or ἄψωpπ̄, "of morning."

2I,1 Also possible: ψαν[τογῶнт]ε, "until you [were found]."

28 "Was I [not (μή)]  
 [in] the body (σῶμα) the second hour  
 30 [ ]? I rose up against you

[21]

until [you fell] into anger [and]  
 2 [rage] and envy." And  
 the second spoke, saying:  
 4 "Was I not (μή)  
 in the world (κόσμος)? And I entered at  
 6 the fifth hour, and I saw you  
 and desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) you. And behold,  
 8 then, now I charge you with the  
 murders you committed."  
 10 The third spoke, saying:  
 "Did I not (μή) come to you at  
 12 the twelfth hour of the day when  
 the sun was about to set? I gave you darkness  
 14 until you should accomplish your sins."  
 When the soul (ψυχή) heard these things,  
 16 it gazed downward in  
 sorrow. And then (τότε) it gazed  
 18 upward. It was cast down.  
 The soul (ψυχή) that had been cast down  
 20 [went] to [a] body (σῶμα) which had been prepared  
 [for it. And] behold,  
 22 [its] witnesses were finished. [Then (δέ) I]  
 [gazed] upward and [saw]  
 24 [the] Spirit (πνεῦμα) saying [to me]:  
 "Paul, come! [Proceed]  
 26 [toward] me!" Then (δέ) as I [went],  
 the gate (πύλη) opened, [and]  
 28 I went up to the fifth [heaven].  
 And (δέ) I saw my fellow apostles  
 30 [going with me]

21,19-21 Reincarnation is apparently seen as the lower powers' punishment for sins against them.

22 **AN[ΑΒΑΛ]**, "my eyes," is also possible for the second lacuna, but note the form "I saw" in line 23.

[KB]

1 ερεπεπ̄να νεφμοοψ[ε] ν̄μαν·  
 2 αγω̄ αῑναγ̄ εγ̄νοβ̄ νᾱγγελος  
 3 ζ̄ν̄ †μερ̄† μ̄π[ε] εφ̄αμαρ̄τε  
 4 ν̄νογ̄βερ̄ωβ̄ μ̄πεν̄ιπε̄ ζ̄ν̄ τεφ̄  
 5 β̄ιχ̄· εγ̄ν̄ ζ̄εν̄κεᾱγγελος̄ ν̄μ̄  
 6 μαφ̄ ̄ αγω̄ αῑωρ̄μ̄ εζο̄υν̄ ε  
 7 πεγ̄ζο· ν̄τοογ̄ δε̄ νεγ̄ρε̄ρισε̄  
 8 μ̄ν̄ νεγ̄ερ̄νογ̄· ερεζ̄εν̄μαστι  
 9 κος̄ ν̄τοοτογ̄ εγ̄τωβ̄εσ̄ ν̄ν̄ι  
 10 ψ̄υχοογ̄ε̄ εζ̄ρᾱῑ ετεκ̄ρισῑς·  
 11 ανοκ̄ δε̄ νε̄ιμοοψ̄ε̄ μ̄ν̄ πεπ̄νᾱ  
 12 αγω̄ ασογ̄ων̄ νᾱῑ ν̄β̄ῑ τ̄πγ̄λη̄  
 13 τοτε̄ αν̄εῑ εζ̄ρᾱῑ ε†μερ̄σο̄ μ̄πε̄  
 14 αγω̄ αῑναγ̄ εναψ̄ωβ̄ηρ̄ αποστολος̄  
 15 εγ̄μοοψ̄ε̄ ν̄μ̄μᾱῑ· αγω̄ πιπ̄νᾱ  
 16 ετογ̄ααβ̄ νεφ̄χῑ μ̄μοεῑ ζ̄αχ̄ωογ̄·  
 17 αγω̄ αῑωρ̄μ̄ επ̄χῑσε̄ αῑναγ̄ εγ̄  
 18 νοβ̄ ν̄ογ̄οεῑν̄ εφ̄ρ̄ ογ̄οεῑν̄ ε̄π̄εσ̄ητ̄  
 19 εζ̄ρᾱῑ ζ̄ν̄ †μερ̄σο̄ μ̄πε̄· λ̄ει[ο]γ̄ω  
 20 ψ̄β̄ εῑχ̄ω̄ μ̄μοσ̄ μ̄πιτελ̄ω[ν̄η]ς̄  
 21 ε†ζ̄ν̄ †μερ̄σο̄ μ̄πε̄ [χε̄ λογ̄ων̄]  
 22 νᾱῑ· αγω̄ πιπ̄νᾱ ετο[γ̄ααβ̄ ε†]  
 23 [ζ̄ατα]ε̄ρη̄ αφογ̄ων̄ ν[ᾱῑ· τοτε̄]  
 24 [αν̄εῑ]! εζ̄ρᾱῑ ε†μερ̄σα[ψ̄φε̄ μ̄πε̄]  
 25 [αῑναγ̄] εγ̄ζ̄λλο̄ ν̄ρω[με̄  
 26 [. . .]ε̄ μ̄πογ̄οεῑν̄· [αγω̄ ερε̄]  
 27 [πεφ̄ζοεῑ]τε̄ ογ̄οβ̄εψ̄· νερ̄[επεφ̄ερο̄]  
 28 [νος̄ ε]†ζ̄ν̄ †μερ̄σαψ̄φε̄ μ̄πε̄  
 29 [νεφ̄]ε̄ ν̄ογ̄οεῑν̄ ν̄ζογ̄ο̄ επ̄ρη̄ ν̄  
 30 [σαψ̄]̄ ν̄κ̄ωβ̄ ν̄σοπ̄[·] αφογ̄ω

[KF]

ψ̄β̄ ν̄β̄ῑ πιζ̄λλο̄ εφ̄χ̄ω̄ μ̄μοσ̄ νᾱ[ῑ]

22,4  
16

“iron rod”: Cf. Rev 19:15; Ps 2:9.

“leading me before them”: This implies giving Paul preeminence over the other apostles. A slight emendation would produce

while th  
 And I s  
 in the fr  
 an iron  
 hand. T  
 him, an  
 their fac  
 each oth  
 in their  
 souls  
 But (Be)  
 and the  
 Then (r  
 And I sa  
 going wi  
 was lead  
 And I ge  
 great lig  
 on the si  
 saying to  
 who was  
 to me an  
 is before  
 we went  
 and I sa  
 whose g  
 which is  
 was br  
 by (seven

The old

leading t  
 xωογ̄.

[22]

while the Spirit (πνεῦμα) accompanied us.  
 2 And I saw a great angel  
 in the fifth heaven holding  
 4 an iron rod in his  
 hand. There were three other angels with  
 6 him, and I stared into  
 their faces. But (δέ) they were rivalling (ἐρίζειν)  
 8 each other, with whips (μάστιξ)  
 in their hands, goading the  
 10 souls (ψυχή) on to the judgment (κρίσις).  
 But (δέ) I went with the Spirit (πνεῦμα)  
 12 and the gate (πύλη) opened for me.  
 Then (τότε) we went up to the sixth heaven.  
 14 And I saw my fellow apostles  
 going with me, and the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα)  
 16 was leading me before them.  
 And I gazed up on high and saw a  
 18 great light shining down  
 on the sixth heaven. I spoke,  
 20 saying to the toll-collector (τελώνης)  
 who was in the sixth heaven: “[Open]  
 22 to me and the [Holy] Spirit (πνεῦμα) [who]  
 [is] before [me].” He opened [to me. Then (τότε)]  
 24 [we went] up to the seventh [heaven]  
 [and I saw] an old man [  
 26 [ ] light [and]  
 [whose garment] was white. [His throne (θρόνος),]  
 28 which is in the seventh heaven,  
 [was] brighter than the sun  
 30 by [seven] times.

[23]

The old man spoke, saying to [me]:

“leading the way before them,” νεφχι {᾿}μοει<τ> ζα-  
 χωογ, but is probably unnecessary.

2 ΧΕ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ  
 ΠΕΤΣΜΑΜΑΑΤ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝΤΑ[Υ]  
 4 ΠΟΡΧῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΙΝ ΝΖΗΤῆ ΝΤΕΦΜΑΑΥ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΙΒΩΨῆ ΝСА ΠΙΠΝᾶ  
 6 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΚΙΜ ΝΤΕΦΑΠΕ ΕΦΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΕΦ·  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΑΙΟΥΨΩΒ ΕΪΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ  
 ΜΠΙΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΕΪΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ  
 10 ΝΤΑΪΕΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῆ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦΟΥ  
 ΨΩΒ ΝΑΪ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΕΚΤΩΝ ΠΕ·  
 12 ΑΙΟΥΨΩΒ ΖΩ ΕΪΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
 ΕΪΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΝΤΕ  
 14 ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥῆ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΪΝΑΡΑΙ  
 ΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ Ν†ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩСΙΑ  
 16 ΤΗ ΕΤΑΥΡΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΣ  
 ΖΝ †ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩСΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΤΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ·  
 18 ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΑΪ ΝΒΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΕΦ  
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΕΚΑΒΝ  
 20 ΒΟΜ' ΕСΙΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΤΟΟΥ· ΒΩ  
 Ψῆ ΑΥΩ Ν†ΝΑΥ ΕΝΙΑΡΧΗ ΜΝ  
 22 ΝΙΕΞΟΥСΙΑ· ΑΦΟΥΨΩ[Β ΝΒΙ ΠΙ]  
 ΠΝᾶ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ † ΝΑΦ Μ[ΠΙ]  
 24 СΗΜΙΟΝ ΕΤῆΤΟΟΥῆ· ΑΥΩ [ΦΝΑ]  
 ΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΚ· ΑΥΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΪ† [ΝΑΦ]  
 26 ΜΠΙСΗΜΙΟΝ· ΑΦΩΤΕ ΜΠΕΦΖ[Ο]  
 ΕΠΕСΗῆ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΦСΩΝ[ῆ]  
 28 ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΝΩΦ ΝΝΕΞΟΥС[ΙΑ ΝΕ]  
 ΑΥΩ ΤΟΥῆ [Α]СΟΥΩΝ ΝΒΙ †М[ΕΖ]  
 30 <САΨΦЕ> ΜΠ[Ε] ΑΥΩ ΑΝΕΪ ΕΖΡΑΪ [ΕΤ]

[Κ]Δ

ΖΟΥΔΟΑΣ· ΑΪΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΜΝ  
 2 ΤСНОΟΥС ΝΝΑΠΟСТОЛОС· ΑΥ  
 ΡΑСΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΪ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΕΪ Ε

- 23,3-4 "blessed one...womb": Cf. 18,15-16 and especially Gal 1:15.  
 9-10 The formulaic response recalls the Marcosian formula in *Iren.  
 Haer.* I.21.5 and *I Apoc. Jas.* (V,3) 35,24-25.  
 14-17 "to lead captive (αἰχμαλωτίζειν)": Cf. Eph 4:8 (Ps 68:19).

2 "Where are you going, Paul,  
 O blessed one and the one who was  
 4 set apart from his mother's womb?"  
 But (δέ) I looked at the Spirit (πνεῦμα),  
 6 and he was nodding his head, saying  
 to me: "Speak with him!"  
 8 And I replied, saying  
 to the old man: "I am going to the place (τόπος)  
 10 from which I came." And  
 the old man responded to me: "Where are you from?"  
 12 But I replied, saying:  
 "I am going down to the world (κόσμος) of  
 14 the dead in order to lead captive (αἰχμαλωτίζειν)  
 the captivity (αἰχμαλωσία)  
 16 that was led captive (αἰχμαλωτίζειν)  
 in the captivity (αἰχμαλωσία) of Babylon."  
 18 The old man replied to me,  
 saying: "How will you be  
 20 able to get away from me? Look  
 and see the principalities (ἀρχή) and  
 22 authorities (ἐξουσία)." [The  
 Spirit (πνεῦμα) spoke, saying: "Give him [the]  
 24 sign (σημεῖον) that you have, and [he will]  
 open for you." And then (τότε) I gave [him]  
 26 the sign (σημεῖον). He turned his face  
 downwards to his creation  
 28 and to those who are his own authorities (ἐξουσία).  
 And then (τότε) the  
 30 <seventh> heaven opened and we went up to [the]

[2]4

Ogdoad. And (δέ) I saw the  
 2 twelve apostles. They  
 greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) me, and we went

especially G<sup>1</sup>  
 sian forms:  
 25-  
 4:8 (Ps 68)

23,24 "sign": or "token."  
 "that you have": Lit. "that is in your hand."  
 30 MS reads CO, "sixth."

- 4 ρραϊ εϑμερ πσιτε μηπε· αιρασ  
 παζε ννη τηρου ετρη ν ϑμαρ  
 6 πσιτε μηπε· αγω ανει ερραϊ  
 εϑμερμητε μηπε· αγω αιρ  
 8 ασπαζε ννασβηρ μηπνα:

ταποκαλυψις μηπαυλος



- 4 up to the ninth heaven. I  
greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) all those who were in the  
6 ninth heaven, and we went up  
to the tenth heaven. And I  
8 greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) my fellow spirits (πνεῦμα).

The Apocalypse of Paul



## THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V,3:24,10-44,10

WILLIAM R. SCHOEDEL

- Böhlig-Labib. *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*. Pp. 29-54. (Hereafter, Böhlig [1]).
- Kasser, R. "Bibliothèque gnostique VI: Les Deux Apocalypses de Jacques." *RThPh* 18 (1968), 163-86. (Hereafter, Kasser [1]).
- Böhlig. *Mysterion und Wahrheit*. Pp. 102-18. (Hereafter, Böhlig [2]).
- Kasser, R. "Textes gnostiques: Remarques à propos des éditions récentes du Livre secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam." *Muséon* 78 (1965), 71-98. (Hereafter, Kasser [2]).
- . "Textes gnostiques: Nouvelles remarques à propos des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam." *Muséon* 78 (1965), 299-306. (Hereafter, Kasser [3]).
- Schenke, H.-M. Review of Böhlig-Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*. *OLZ* 61 (1966), cols. 23-34.
- Schoedel, W. R. "Scripture and the Seventy-two Heavens of the First Apocalypse of James." *NovTest* 12 (1970), 118-29.
- Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp 44-45.

The third tractate in Codex V is entitled *The Apocalypse of James* in the subscription (44,9-10) and in a secondary superscription (24,11). To distinguish this tractate from the following one, which bears the same title, we have followed the lead of Böhlig (1) and have added the word "first." The text has been lost at the bottom few lines of pp. 25-34; and pp. 35-44 show increasingly severe damage to both the top and bottom of each page.

This document is an apocalypse in the sense that it conveys the secret teachings of the Lord to James. It is cast in the form of a dialogue within a narrative framework. Although most of the report is in the third person, there are three places where the author speaks of himself in the first person (24,11; 25,12; 27,18). This may indicate the artificiality of the narrative framework. The reference near the beginning (24,26-27) to an earlier question which is now missing may indicate some rearrangement and loss of materials.

Whether there is sufficient evidence to justify a source theory, such as that of Kasser ([2], 78-81), cannot be decided here.

The theme of this document is suffering, or more specifically, the death of the Lord and the soul's ascent after death. The allusion to the crucifixion (30,12-13) is the turning point of the discussion and divides it into two parts. The passion serves as a visible symbol of a cosmic struggle centered in Jerusalem, a "dwelling place of a great number of archons" (25,18-19), from which James must flee. Since both the Lord and James function as prototypes of the Gnostic, the crucifixion and its aftermath become a representation of the agony through which every Gnostic must pass at death. We learn, however, that in the last analysis no fear or distress actually touches the Lord or his follower.

James, who is called "the Just" and whose martyrdom was probably described in the concluding section, now almost entirely lost, is the brother of the Lord. Although the figure of James enjoyed considerable prominence among the Gnostics, he is more especially connected with the Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem. Perhaps our apocalypse reflects contacts with Jewish-Christian as well as gnostic circles, as Böhlig suggests ([2], p. 103). Unfortunately our major source of information for Jewish Christianity, Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* and *Recg.*, seems to include gnostic features in its earliest strata. Thus it is often difficult to identify Jewish-Christian elements clearly, and no theme in our apocalypse can be assigned a Jewish-Christian provenance without reservation. Compatible with both Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity are the rejection of sacrifice (41,7-15?), the discounting of a scriptural passage (26,2-7), the secret tradition (36,7-38,11), and the devaluation of "femaleness" (38,12-23; 40,21-41,20). Our apocalypse's interest in martyrdom is, however, unusual in a gnostic milieu and suggests the influence of a rival spirituality.

A clear connection between this apocalypse and Valentinian Gnosticism is shown by the formulas in 33,11-35,25. Irenaeus provides close parallels to them at the end of his discussion of the Marcosians (*Haer.* I.21.5), and Epiphanius gives almost the same report in his description of the Heracleonites (*Pan.* 36.3.1-6). The major difference is a matter of form: our apocalypse has a long series of replies to questions raised by three celestial "toll collectors," whereas the Patristic sources pull the answers together into two formulas taught to a dying Gnostic in connection with a sacra-

ment of extreme unction. Although the cultic context provided by the heresiologists is lacking here, and the formulas are not used at the same points in the ascent of the soul, there is obviously a close connection between our apocalypse and the Valentinian rite. Other elements in this tractate that are not peculiar to Valentinianism but in harmony with it are the description of the Father as unnameable and ineffable (24,20-21) and the doctrine of the transformation of the female into the male (41,17-19).

Another significant item in determining the historical context of this document are the references to Addai (36,15; 36,22), the reputed founder of Syrian Christianity. Eusebius refers to him as Thaddaeus in connection with an exchange of apocryphal letters between Jesus and Abgar, King of Edessa (*Hist.Eccl.* 1.13). The name also occurs in later Syrian documents, the *Doctrine of Addai* and the *Chronicle of Arbela*. The connection here between James and Addai may reflect a strong Jewish element in the earliest Christianity of eastern Syria. (See also our note on 30,20). To what degree Syria was also the home of gnostic or semi-gnostic forms of religion is difficult to say, although a syncretistic Syrian Christianity embracing gnostic elements would come as a surprise to no one. Perhaps *1 Apoc. Jas.* may be best understood as a product of Syrian Jewish Christianity penetrated by a variety of forms of Gnosticism. It can be provisionally dated after the rise of Valentinianism (the formulas were known to Irenaeus in Gaul around A.D. 180), but no *terminus ad quem* can yet be assigned save what is suggested by the dating of the library as a whole.

THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V,3:24,10-44,10

[κ]Δ

10                   ταποκαλύψις ν̄ϊακωβος  
 12                   πχοεις δε πενταρψαχε ν̄μμαι  
 14                   χε εναυ βε επχωκ ν̄τε πασωτε  
 16                   αιτ̄ μαειν νακ εναϊ ιακωβος  
 18                   πασον· εικη γαρ αν αιμουτε  
 20                   εροκ χε πασον· εντοκ πασον  
 22                   ζραι ζ̄ν̄ θυλη αν· ουτε ν̄τε ν̄  
 24                   νατειμε εροκ αν· χεκαας ει  
 26                   ψαντ̄ μαειν νακ ειμε αυω  
 28                   σωτ̄μ̄· νεμ̄ν̄ λααυ ψοοπ̄ ν̄σα  
 30                   πετ̄ψοοπ̄· ογατ̄τ̄ ραν εροϋ  
                   μ̄ν̄ν̄ ογατ̄ψαχε μ̄μοϋ πε·  
                   ανοκ ζω ανοκ ογατ̄τ̄ ραν εροϋ  
                   εβολ ζ̄μ̄ πετ̄ψοοπ̄· ν̄θε εταϋ  
                   [τ̄ ν̄οϋ]ηπε ν̄ραν εροει ζ̄ν̄σναϋ  
                   [εβ]ολ ζ̄μ̄ πετ̄ψοοπ̄· ανοκ δε  
                   [τ̄]ψοοπ̄ ζατεκζη· επιδη ακωι  
                   [ν̄]ε ν̄σα †μ̄ν̄τ̄ςζ̄ιμε· νεσψοοπ̄  
                   [ν̄]βι †μ̄ν̄τ̄ςζ̄ιμε· αλλα νεσ̄ρ̄ ψο  
                   [ρ̄π̄ ν̄βι] †μ̄ν̄τ̄ςζ̄ιμε αν· αυω  
                   [αc]σoβτε ναc ν̄ζ̄[ε]ν̄βοm μ̄ν̄ νοϋτε<sup>[1]</sup>  
                   [ν̄]ε[c]ψοοπ̄ δε αν [ε]ᾱῑει εβολ

[κε]

εανοκ ογ̄ζ̄ικων ν̄τε πετ̄ψο[οπ]

- 24,10           The title in the MS is in a box connected to a grapevine decoration that precedes the text.
- 13              or "I have shown you these things."
- 18              or "if I show you." Since **χεκαας** does not take the imperative it is likely that some text has dropped out between **νακ** and **ειμε**.
- 26              There is insufficient space for Böhlig's [νει]ψοοπ (1).

THE (1  
 24  
 It is (-  
 "See now  
 I have g  
 my brot  
 you my  
 material  
 concern  
 when I g  
 hear. No  
 Him-who  
 and ineff  
 I myself  
 from Him  
 given a  
 from Him  
 I am be  
 asked co  
 but (add  
 not first  
 prepa  
 But (be)  
 since I at  
 "Pema  
 tem seem  
 94,15 (not  
 that it is a  
 our cosmo  
 "it". Sche

THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V,3:24,10-44,10

[2]4

- 10 The Apocalypse of James  
It is (+ δέ) the Lord who spoke with me:  
12 "See now the completion of my redemption.  
I have given you a sign of these things, James,  
14 my brother. For (γάρο) not without reason (εἰκῆ) have I  
called  
you my brother, although you are not my brother  
16 materially (ὕλη). And I am not (οὔτε) ignorant  
concerning you; so that,  
18 when I give you a sign,—know and  
hear. Nothing existed except  
20 Him-who-is. He is unnameable  
and ineffable.  
22 I myself also am unnameable,  
from Him-who-is, just as I have been  
24 [given a] number of names—two  
from Him-who-is. And (δέ) I,  
26 [I] am before you. Since (ἐπειδή) you have  
[asked] concerning femaleness, femaleness existed,  
28 but (ἀλλά) femaleness was  
not [first]. And  
30 [it] prepared for itself powers and gods.  
But (δέ) [it did] not exist [when] I came forth,

[25]

since I am an image (εἰκὼν) of Him-who-is.

24,26-31 "Femaleness" may also be translated "womanhood." This section seems to be connected with the discussion beginning at 38,15 (note especially 41,17); in both places it becomes clear that it is a question not only of femaleness but of the nature of our cosmos as the product of "a female from a female" (35,12-13). "it": Schenke reads [N]ε[γ]ωοοπ, hence, "they."

31

2 αἴεινε δε εβολ ἡτῆκων ἡτε[ϩ]  
 κεκαας ερενηρηρε ἡτε πετω[οοπ]  
 4 {χε} εγγειμε χε αψ νε νετε νωοϩ  
 αϩω χε αψ νε ἡψῆμο· εις ρητε  
 6 †ναβωλῆ̄ νακ εβολ ἡρωβ νιμ  
 ἡπιμϩστηριον· χε σενααμαρ  
 8 τε ἡμοει ἡσα ραστε· αλλα πα  
 σωτε ϩναψωπε ερρην ερρυν·  
 10 πεχε ἱακωβος χε ρραββι ακχο  
 ος χε σενααμαρτε ἡμοει· ανοκ  
 12 δε οϩ πε†ναψ ααϩ· πεχαϩ ναἱ  
 χε ἡπῆρῆ ροτε ἱακωβος· ἡ  
 14 τακ ρωωκ σενααμαρτε ἡ  
 μοκ· αλλα πωρϫ εβολ ἡῆτημ·  
 16 ταἱ γαρ τε†† ἡπαπο† ἡπσι  
 ψε ἡοϩοειψ νιμ ἡἡρηρε ἡ  
 18 τε ποϩοειν· οϩμα ἡψωπε  
 πε ἡνοϩηπε ἡναρχων·  
 20 αλλα πεκσωτε νασωτε  
 εβολ ἡμοοϩ· κεκαας ε  
 22 κεἡμε χε νιμ νε· α[ϩω χε]  
 ρεναψ ἡμινε νε κναπ[  
 24 αϩω σωτῆ ἡτοοϩ [   
 αν αλλα ρεναρ[χων  
 26 πιἡἡ†ϩ[ἡ]οοϩ [   
 ἡτοϩἡ[ . . . ]ε [ . . . ]επε]  
 28 ση†[   
 αρχ[ων  
 30 ποϩ[

κς

ερραἱ εχἡ τετε τωϩ ἡρεβαομας·

2 πεχε ἱακωβος χε αρα οϩν ρραβ  
 βει ἡἡτςνοοϩς ἡρεβαομας νε

25,2 ἡτε[ϩ], "of him": Suggested by Richard Parker (Brown University). There is insufficient space for Böhlig's [πετωοοπ] (1).  
 5-7 Cf. I Cor 15:51.  
 8-9 Cf. Mk 13:29.  
 16 Cf. Mk 10:38; 14:34,36; Jn 18:11.



- 2 But (δέ) I have brought forth the image (εἰκῶν) of [him]  
 so that the sons of Him-who-is  
 4 might know what things are theirs  
 and what things are alien (to them). Behold,  
 6 I shall reveal to you everything  
 of this mystery (μυστήριον). For they will seize  
 8 me the day after tomorrow. But (ἀλλά) my  
 redemption will be near.”
- 10 James said: “Rabbi, you have said:  
 ‘They will seize me.’ But (δέ) I,  
 12 what can I do?” He said to me:  
 “Fear not, James.  
 14 You too will they seize.  
 But (ἀλλά) leave Jerusalem.  
 16 For (γάρ) it is she who always gives the cup of bitterness  
 to the sons  
 18 of light. She is a dwelling place  
 of a great number of archons.  
 20 But (ἀλλά) your redemption will be preserved  
 from them. So that  
 22 you may understand who they are [and]  
 what kinds they are, you will [  
 24 And listen. They [are] not [  
 but (ἀλλά) [archons  
 26 These twelve [  
 [ ] down  
 28 [  
 archons [  
 30 [  
 26  
 upon his own hebdomad.”
- 2 James said: “Rabbi, are there then (ἄρα οὖν)  
 twelve hebdomads

25,20-21 or “your redemption will preserve (you) from them.”  
 21-23 The purpose clause may be taken with what precedes or with  
 what follows. The latter alternative seems better here.  
 24 Kasser (2) and Schenke supply [ΖΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ], “gods.”

4 αῦω σαψϣε εν βε νε ἄε ε  
 τοῦωοοῖ ῶν νεγραφῆ· πεχε  
 6 πχοεις χε ἱακωβος πετα'ϑ' ψαχε  
 ῶα τεῖγραφῆ ἄταρσοοῦν ψα  
 8 πεῖμα· ανοκ δε †ναδωλῖ· νακ  
 εβολ ἄπη εταρῖ εβολ ῶἄ πιατ  
 10 † 'η'πε εροϑ· †να† μαειν ῶα τεῦ  
 ηπε· πενταρῖ εβολ ῶἄ πιατ  
 12 † ψι εροϑ· †να† μαειν ῶα πεῦ  
 † ψι· πεχε ἱακωβος χε αρα  
 14 οῦν ῶραββι· εις ῶηητε αῖχι ἄ  
 τεῦηπε ψβεςνοοῦς ἄψα  
 16 ψοῦ νε· πεχε πχοεις χε ναῖ  
 νε †ψβεςνοοῦς ἄπε ετε  
 18 ἄκοῦει ἄτεῦ 'νει' νε νιδαμ ἄτε  
 πεγαμαρτε τηροῦ· αῦω αῦ  
 20 ωρε ερατοῦ εβολ ῶῖτοοτοῦ·  
 αῦω ναῖ νε ηη εταῦπωψ  
 22 ῶἄ μα νιμ· εῦωοοῖ ῶα τε  
 [ῶουσι]α ἄπιμἄτςνοοῦς ἄαρ  
 24 [χ]ψν· †κοῦει ἄβομ ετἄρητοῦ  
 [αϣπ]ο ναϣ ἄρεναῖγελοϣ  
 26 [ἄἄ Ͽενστ]ρατια ἄνατ† ηπε  
 [εροοῦ π]ε[τψο]οῖ δε αῦ†  
 28 [ 7 ± ]η[ . . . ]ῦ· ετβε  
 [ 9 ± πε]†ψοοῖ  
 30 [ 8 ± νατ†] ηπε εροοῦ

[KZ]

νε· εψωπε εκψανοῦωψ

2 ε† ηπε εροοῦ †νοῦ· ἄκν[α]  
 βἄβομ αν ψαντεκ'ν'ο'ῦ· χε ε[β]ολ  
 4 ἄμοκ ἄ†διανοια ἄβελλη·

26,7

10

15-16

An original ῶN was corrected by the scribe to ῶα.

An original † πι was corrected by the scribe to † ηπε.

ψαψοῦ, "pot" or "jar", is also used of a certain liquid measure (Crum, 609a). The preceding remarks (26,8-14) about "number" and "measure" suggest that the reference is to "number" and "measures" here as well.

- 4 and not seven, as  
there are in the scriptures (γραφή)?”
- 6 The Lord said: “James, he who spoke  
concerning this scripture (γραφή) had a limited under-  
standing.
- 8 I, however (δέ), shall reveal to you  
what has come forth from him
- 10 who has no number. I shall give a sign concerning their  
number. As for what has come forth from him
- 12 who has no measure, I shall give a sign concerning their  
measure.” James said.
- 14 “Rabbi, behold then (ἄρα οὖν), I have received  
their number. There are seventy-two measures!”
- 16 The Lord said: “These  
are the seventy-two heavens, which
- 18 are their subordinates. These are the powers of  
all their might; and they were
- 20 established by them;  
and these are they who were distributed
- 22 everywhere, existing under the [authority (ἐξουσία)]  
of the twelve archons.
- 24 The inferior power among them  
[brought forth] for itself angels
- 26 [and] unnumbered hosts (στρατιά).  
He-who-is, however (δέ), has been given
- 28 [            ] on account of  
[            ] He-who-is
- 30 [            ] they are unnumbered.

[27]

If you want

- 2 to give them a number now, you [will]  
not be able to (do so) until you cast away
- 4 from yourself blind thought (διάνοια),

26,22-23 **ΖΑ ΤΕ[ΞΟΥCΙΑ]**, “under the authority”: With Kasser (3) (for the syllabification **ε-ΞΟΥCΙΑ**, see NHC II 108,26-27). Böhlig (1) has **ΖΑΤΕ[ΖΗ ΜΜ]**, “before the places.”

27,3 An original **ΟΥΕΕ** was corrected by the scribe to **ΝΟΥΧΕ**.

ΠΕΪCΝΑΖ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΕ  
 6 ΤCΑΡΑΞ· ΑΥΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΕΚΝΑΚΑ  
 ΤΑΝΤΑ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ·  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΚΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΒΕ ΕΝΤΚ  
 ΪΑΚΩΒΟC ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ  
 10 ΠΗ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ· ΑΥΩ ΝΙΑΤ†  
 ΗΠΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΕΨΩ  
 12 ΠΕ ΕΑΥ† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ·  
 <ΠΕΧΕ ΪΑΚΩΒΟC ΧΕ ΑΡΑ ΟΥΝ>  
 14 ΖΡΑΒΒΙ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ †ΝΑΚΑΤΑΝ  
 ΤΑ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΕΡΕ  
 16 ΝΕΪΒΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΕΙ  
 CΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΕΥΖΗΚ ΟΥΒΗΕΙ·  
 18 ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΪΒΟΜ  
 ΖΗΚ ΟΥΒΗΚ ΟΥΑΑΚ ΑΝ·  
 20 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΖΗΚ ΟΥΒΕ ΒΕ·  
 ΕΡΕ ΝΕΪΒΟΜ ΖΗΚ ΟΥΒΗΕΙ  
 22 ΑΥΩ CΕΖΗΚ ΜΝ ΚΕϞ[ΟΜ]  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΖΗΚ ΟΥΒΗΕΙ [ΖΝ]  
 24 ΟΥΚΡΙCΙC ΜΠΟΥ†[  
 ΕΡΟΪ ΝΖΗΤC ΕΒΟ[Α  
 26 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΤΟΟΤΟΥ [  
 ΑΪ ΜΠΕΪΜΑ ΨΑ[  
 28 ΜΚΟΟΖ †ΝΑΚΑ·[  
 ΖΗΤϞ[Υ . . ]Ν ΕϞΕΝ[

**[Κ]Η**

ΟΥΤΕ Ν†ΝΑCΑΖΩΟΥ ΑΝ· ΕCΕ  
 2 ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΖΗ† ΝΒΙ ΟΥCΙΓΗ ΜΝ  
 [Ο]ΥΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕϞΖΗΠ· ΑΛΛΑ †  
 4 Ε ΝΒΑΒΖΗ† ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΕΥΒΩΛΚ·  
 ΠΕΧΕ ΪΑΚΩΒΟC ΧΕ ΖΡΑΒΒΙ· ΕΨ  
 6 ΧΕ CΕΝΑΖΟΚΟΥ ΟΥΒΗΚ· ΕΪΕ ΜΝ  
 ΑΡΙΚΕ ΑΚΕΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΓΝΩCΙC· ΧΕ Ε

27,23

[ΖΝ], "in": Kasser (2).

27

ΜΠΕΪΜΑ, "in this place": Kasser (3).

28,2-4

Cf. Mk 14:34,61; 15:4-5.

this bond of flesh (σάρξ), which encircles you.  
 6 And then (τότε) you will reach (καταντᾶν)  
 Him-who-is.  
 8 And you will no longer be  
 James; rather (ἀλλά) you are  
 10 The One-who-is. And all those who are  
 unnumbered will  
 12 all have been named.”  
 <James said: “Then (ἄρα οὖν),>  
 14 Rabbi, in what way shall I reach (καταντᾶν)  
 Him-who-is, since  
 16 all these powers and these  
 hosts (στρατιά) are armed against me?”  
 18 He said to me: “These powers  
 are not armed against you specifically,  
 20 but (ἀλλά) are armed against another.  
 It is against me that they are armed.  
 22 And they are armed with other [powers].  
 But (ἀλλά) they are armed against me [in]  
 24 judgment (κρίσις). They did not give [  
 to me in it [  
 26 through them [  
 In this place [  
 28 suffering, I shall [  
 [            ]. He will [  
 [2]8

and I shall not (οὔτε)  
 rebuke them. But (δέ) there shall  
 2 be within me a silence (σιγή) and  
 a hidden mystery (μυστήριον). But (ἀλλά) I  
 4 am fainthearted before their anger.”  
 James said: “Rabbi,  
 6 if they arm themselves against you, then  
 is there no blame? You have come with knowledge (γνώ-  
 σις), that

8 ΚΕΣΟΖΕ 'Ν' ΤΕΥΒΨΕ· ΑΚΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 ΜΝΗΜΗ ΧΕ ΕΚΕΣΑΖΕ ΤΕΥΜΝΤ  
 10 ΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΪΦΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ  
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ· ΑΚΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΥ  
 12 ΝΟΒ ΜΜΝΤ'ΑΤΜΜΕ· ΑΛΛΑ Μ  
 ΠΕΚΤΩΛΜ ΕΛΑΑΥ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤ·  
 14 ΑΚΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΥΜΝΤ'ΑΤΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ †ΜΝΗΜΗ ΝΕΣΜΗΝ  
 16 ΕΡΟΚ· ΑΚΜΟΟΥΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΟΜΕ  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥΤΩΛΜ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΚΖΟ  
 18 ΕΙΤΕ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΚΤΩΜ·  
 ΖΝ ΤΕΥΛΑΕΙΖΕ· ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΥΤΑ  
 20 ΖΟ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΝ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΪΨΟΟΠ  
 ΝΤΕΥΖΗ ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΪ† ΖΩΒ  
 22 ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΥ ΖΪΩΤ· 'Ε'ΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤ  
 [ΝΒΙ Ο]ΥΒΨΕ· ΑΥΩ †ΕΙΡΕ Μ  
 24 [ΠΜΕ]ΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΤΕ ΝΩΟΥ ΑΝ·  
 [ΣΨΟΟ]Π ΝΖΗΤ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΜΝΤ  
 26 [ . . . . ] ΑΥΩ †ΖΝ ΤΕΥΜΝΤ  
 [ β ± ] ΑΪΖΕ ΝΝΟΥΓΝΩΣΙΣ  
 28 [ . . . . ] ΑΪ ΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΕΥΜΚΟΟΖ  
 [ . . . . ] Λ· ΑΛΛΑ ΔΕΙΡ ΖΟΤΕ  
 30 [ΝΖΗΤΟ]Υ ΕΥΑΜ[ΑΖ]ΤΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ

ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΑΑΑ· ΟΥ ΠΕ†ΝΑΨ  
 2 ΧΟΟΦ· Η ΑΨ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΠΕ†ΝΑΨ  
 ΧΟΟΦ· ΨΑΝ†Ρ ΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΠΕΧ[Ε]  
 4 ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ †ΤΜΑΕΙΟ  
 ΝΤΕΚΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΖΟΤΕ·  
 6 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΜΗΝ ΕΚΕΛΦΙΛΟΠ  
 ΝΙ ΜΠΡΤΕΣΡΜΕΛΙ ΝΑΚ ΖΑ ΚΕΟΥΑ  
 8 ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΚΣΩΤΕ· ΕΙΣ  
 ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ †ΝΑΧΩΚ ΠΕΪΚΛΗΡΟΣ  
 10 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΧΜ ΠΕΪΚΑΖ· ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ

8 you might rebuke their forgetfulness. You have come  
with  
recollection (μνήμη), that you might rebuke their  
10 ignorance. But (ἀλλά) I was concerned  
because of you. For (γάρ) you descended into a  
12 great ignorance but (ἀλλά)  
you have not been defiled by anything in it.  
14 For (γάρ) you descended into a great mindlessness,  
and your recollection (μνήμη) remained.  
16 You walked in mud,  
and your garments were not soiled,  
18 and you have not (οὔτε) been buried  
in their filth and  
20 you have not (οὔτε) been caught. And I was  
not like them, but (ἀλλά) I clothed myself with every-  
thing  
22 of theirs. There is in me  
forgetfulness, yet I  
24 remember things that are not theirs.  
There is in me [  
26 [ ] and I am in their  
[ ] knowledge (γνώσις)  
28 [ ] not in their sufferings  
[ ]. But (ἀλλά) I have become afraid  
30 [before them], since they rule. For what

[29]

will they do? What will I be able  
2 to say? Or (ἤ) what word will I be able  
to say that I may escape them?"  
4 The Lord said: "James, I praise  
your understanding (διάνοια) and your fear.  
6 If you continue to be distressed (φιλοπονεῖν),  
do not be concerned (μέλειν) for anything else  
8 except (εἰ μήτι) your redemption.  
For (γάρ) behold, I shall complete this destiny (κλήρος)  
10 upon this earth as (κατά)

12 ΕΤΑΪΧΟΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΜΠΗΟΥΕ·  
 ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΒΩΛΠ̄ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄  
 ΠΕΚΩΤΕ· ΠΕΧΕ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ  
 14 ΧΕ ΖΡΑΒΒΙ ΠΩΣ ΜΝ̄ΝΣΑ ΝΑΪ  
 ΚΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ·  
 16 ΜΝ̄ΝΣΑ ΣΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟΚ  
 ΑΥΩ ΚΧΩΚ Μ̄ΠΕΪΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ  
 18 ΑΥΩ ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΨΩ  
 ΟΠ̄· ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ  
 20 ΜΝ̄ΝΣΑ ΝΑΪ †ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΝΑΚ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ· ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ̄  
 22 ΟΥΑΑΚ ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒ[Ε ΤΜ̄ΝΤ]  
 ΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΙΡΩΜ[Ε]  
 24 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΠ[ΙΣΤΙC ΝΑ]  
 ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ [ΟῩΝ ΟΥ]  
 26 ΜΗΗΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ[ΑΤΑΝΤΑ]  
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΙCΤ[ΙC ΑΥΩ]  
 28 ΣΕΝΑΑΪ[Α]ΕΙ ΖΡΑΪ [ΖΝ̄  
 ΨΑΝ[ 6 ± ]·[

[Λ]

[Α]ΥΩ ΜΝ̄ΝΣΑ ΠΑΪ †ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ̄  
 2 ΕΥCΟΖΕ Ν̄ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ· Ν̄ΤΑΟΥ  
 ΨΝΖ̄ Μ̄ΠΑΪ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΤΕ  
 4 ΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟQ ΠΕ· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΥ  
 ΨΑΝΑΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟQ· ΤΟΤΕ  
 6 ΨΑQΑΜΑΖΤΕ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄Ν ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ·  
 †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ †ΝΑΒΩΚ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕ  
 8 ΕΥΕ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΪΧΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΜΑ  
 ΡΟΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΖΗΤΚ̄· ΠΕΧΕ  
 10 ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC †ΝΑΒΕΠΗ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΑΚΧΟΟΣ· ΑQΨΝ̄ΤQ̄  
 12 ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΥΩ ΑQΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ν̄ΝΗ ΕΤΕΨΨΕ· ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑ

29,11

"from the heavens" may be taken with what follows if the **ΑΥΩ** at the beginning of 29,12 be understood in the sense of "also," like the Greek *καί*. In view of the dot set after the expression in the manuscript, the scribe probably understood it as we have translated.

(FRS)

I have

12 And I s

your rec

14 "Rabbi,

will you

16 After th

and you

18 you will

who-is."

20 after the

everything

22 alone but

unbelief

24 so that f

exist in t

26 For (yaz

to faith

28 they will

[

[

30]

And after

1 for a repr

reveal to

4 he cannot

seize him,

6 he will ov

But (he) r

8 the things

go up bet

10 James sai

as (xaz)

12 The Lord

what was

Böhlig (1)

understand

certainty t

ουνη[ct



I have said from the heavens.

- 12 And I shall reveal to you  
your redemption.” James said:  
14 “Rabbi, how (πῶς), after these things,  
will you appear to us again?  
16 After they seize you,  
and you complete this destiny (κληροσ),  
18 you will go up to Him-  
who-is.” The Lord said: “James,  
20 after these things I shall reveal to you  
everything, not for your sake  
22 alone but (ἀλλά) for the sake of [the]  
unbelief of men,  
24 so that [faith (πίστις)] may  
exist in them.  
26 For (γάρ) [a] multitude will [attain (καταντᾶν)]  
to faith (πίστις), [and]  
28 they will increase [in  
[

[30]

And after this I shall appear

- 2 for a reproof to the archons. And I shall  
reveal to them that  
4 he cannot be seized. If they  
seize him, then (τότε)  
6 he will overpower each of them.  
But (δέ) now I shall go. Remember  
8 the things I have spoken and let them  
go up before you.”  
10 James said: “Lord, I shall hasten  
as (κατά) you have said.”  
12 The Lord said farewell to him and fulfilled  
what was fitting. When James

29,16

Böhlig (1) reads **ΜΝ̄Ν̄ϸΑ <ΝΑΪ>**, “after these things.” We understand the Coptic translator to be rendering with some uncertainty the Greek μετά with a substantivized infinitive.

24

**ΟΥΠ[ΙΣΤΙΣ]**, “faith”: Kasser (3).

14 ρεϕσωτῃ ετβε νεϕῃκκοοζ  
 αγω αϕῃκαζ ἄρητῃ εματε·  
 16 νεϕβαψῃ εβολ ζα πτυπος  
 ἄτεϕῃβῃ· αϕει δε μῃῃσα  
 18 ζενζοοϕ· αγω ἱακωβος  
 νεϕμοοψε πε ζῆχῃ πτοοϕ  
 20 ετε ψαγμοϕτε εροϕ χε γαϕ  
 γηλαν μῃ νετε νωϕ ἄμαθῃ  
 22 τῆς νετε νεϕσωτῃ εροϕ  
 [εαϕζ]ωψ ἄρητῃ· αγω ναϕῃ  
 24 [ . . . ]· ἄμεοϕ ἄνοϕρεϕτῃ nam  
 [τε εϕ]χῃ ἄμοσ χε παῖ πε  
 26 [ 7 ± ]ω ἄμερснаϕ·  
 [τοτε π]μῃηψε αϕχωωρε  
 28 [εβολ ἱα]κωβ[ος] δε αϕωω  
 [χῃ . . . ]· ἄ[ . . ]προσεϕ  
 30 [χῃ 9 ± ] ἄεε ετε

[λα]

οϕῃῃταϕ ἄοϕτωπῃ ἄμαϕ  
 2 αγω αϕοϕονζῃ εροϕ ἄβῃ πχοϕ[ιϕ]  
 ἄτοϕ δε αϕκα τεπροσεϕχ[ῃ]  
 4 εβολ αϕμαλζῃ ἄρητῃ· αϕτῃ πῃ  
 ερωϕ εϕχῃ ἄμοσ χε ζραββῃ  
 6 αῖζε εροκ· αεισωτῃ ενεκ  
 ἄκκοοζ ετακχῃτοϕ· αγω  
 8 αῖῃκαζ ἄρητῃ εματε· εκσο

30,20

Gaugélan is probably Golgotha. In Syriac the name of the  
 mount is Gāgūlthā (R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* [Ox-  
 ford: Clarendon Press, 1879], I, 648) of which the feminine  
 plural absolute would be Gāgūlān. (On a restricted basis, ab-  
 solutes are used for place names in Syriac. Cf. Theodor Nöldeke,  
*Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaft-  
 liche Buchgesellschaft, 1966], p. 145). There may also be a  
 link with Gaugal, a mountain near Amida, mentioned by Syriac  
 writers (Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, I, 673) and the church  
 historian Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 14.30). From the fourth  
 century, monks and ascetics lived about it. Sozomen calls it  
 Gaugalius. Could the name of a Syrian holy mountain have  
 migrated? David Petersen (University of Illinois) has recalled

(FIRST  
 heard o  
 and wa  
 they aw  
 of his co  
 several  
 was wall  
 which is  
 with his  
 who liste  
 [because  
 [ . . . ]  
 saying  
 Then  
 but  
 I have be  
 was his cu  
 And the I  
 Then  
 and embr  
 him, sayin  
 I have fou  
 sufferings,  
 I have bec  
 a similar m  
 et. Richar  
 the Old Test  
 1972, pp. 1  
 Greek form  
 that we hav  
 Cl. In 14: 11  
 I owe the  
 Browne (U  
 eq[χ]ω, "I  
 is said,"  
 is problema  
 The second

- 14 heard of his sufferings  
and was much distressed,  
16 they awaited the sign (τύπος)  
of his coming. And (δέ) he came after  
18 several days. And James  
was walking upon the mountain,  
20 which is called "Gaugelan,"  
with his disciples (μαθητῆς),  
22 who listened to him  
[because they had been distressed], and he was . . .  
24 [ ] . . . a comforter,  
[saying]: "This is  
26 [ ] the (or "a") second [  
[Then (τότε) the] crowd dispersed,  
28 but (δέ) James remained  
[ ] prayer (προσευχή)  
30 [ ], as

[31]

was his custom.

- 2 And the Lord appeared to him.  
Then (δέ) he stopped (his) prayer (προσευχή)  
4 and embraced him. He kissed  
him, saying: "Rabbi,  
6 I have found you! I have heard of your  
sufferings, which you endured. And  
8 I have been much distressed. My

a similar migration of Zaphon to Zion in the Biblical period (cf. Richard S. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972], pp. 131-60). It is possible that our apocalypse knew a Greek form of the name with a feminine ending (Gaugala) and that we have the accusative in the text.

Cf. Jn 14:16,26; 15:26; 16:7,8.

I owe the suggested reconstruction of this line to G. Michael Browne (University of Illinois).

30,24 23 25 **εϛ]χω**, "saying": Schenke. Böhlig (1) reads **εϛχ]ω**, "for it is said," and he regards what follows as a citation. This is problematical.

31,4 The second **ϛ** is written over another letter, probably an **λ**.

ΟΥΝ ΝΤΑΜΝΤΨΑΝ'Τ'ΖΗΤ' Ε  
 10 ΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΝΕΪΟΥΩΨ ΕΪΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΧΕ ΝΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΪΛΑΟΣ ΕΥΕ  
 12 † ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΥΑΑΥ  
 ΝΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΥΑΑΥ 'ΖΕΝ'ΠΑΡΑ ΠΕ  
 14 ΤΕΨΨΕ ΝΕ· ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC  
 ΧΕ ΪΑΚΩΒΟC ΜΠΡΤΕCΡΜΕΛΙ  
 16 ΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΕΪΛΑΟC· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ  
 18 ΝΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤ' ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ  
 ΝΙΜ ΜΠΙΧΙ ΜΚΑΖ ΖΝ ΛΑΑΥ  
 20 ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΥ† ΖΪCΕ ΝΗΕΙ  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΠΕΪΛΑΟC ΕΙΡΕ  
 22 ΝΑΪ ΝΛΑΑΥ ΜΠΕΤ'ΖΟΟΥ  
 ΝΕΡΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΕ ΚΗ ΕΖΡΑ[Ϊ Ν]  
 24 ΟΥΤΥΠΟC ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΡΧΩ[Ν]  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΜΠΨΑ ΝΦ[ΒΩΛ]  
 26 ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΤΟΟΤΟΥ [   
 ΔΕ ΝΙΑΡΧ[Ω]Ν [   
 28 ΕΤΑΦΧ[   
 ΔΕ ΕCΡ· [   
 30 ΒΩΝΤ̄ Ε· [   
 ΝΔΙΚ[ΑΙΟC

## [ΛΒ]

[ΟΥ]ΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΑΦ ΠΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΟΥΝ  
 2 ΤΑΚ ΜΠΕΪΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΪΑΚΩΒΟC  
 ΠΙΔΙΚΑΙΟC· ΚΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ  
 4 ΝΖΕ ΚΝΑΡΝΗΦΕ ΕΤΑΚΝΑΥ  
 ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΑΚΚΩ ΝΤΕΪΠΡΟC  
 6 ΕΥΧΗ· ΕΠΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΚ ΟΥΔΙΚΑΙ  
 ΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΒΕ ΑΚ  
 8 ΜΟΛΖΚ̄ ΝΖΗΤ' ΑΚ† ΠΙ ΕΡΩΕΙ·  
 ΖΑΜΗΝ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΑΚ ΧΕ  
 10 ΑΚΚΙΜ ΕΥΝΟΒ ΝΒΩΝΤ̄ ΜΝΝ ΟΥ  
 ΒΩΛΚ̄ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΚ· ΑΛΛΑ

31,25  
32,6

The suggestion for the lacuna is that of Schenke.  
Reading ΕΠΙΔΕ as ἐπει δέ rather than as a mistake for ἐπειδή.

compassion you know.

10 Therefore, on reflection, I was wishing  
that I would not see this people (λαός). They must  
12 be judged for these things that they have done.  
For (γάρ) these things that they have done are contrary  
to (παρά)

14 what is fitting." The Lord said:  
"James, do not be concerned (μέλειν)  
16 for me or (οὐδέ) for  
this people (λαός). I am he who  
18 was within me. Never  
have I suffered in any way,  
20 nor (οὔτε) have I been distressed.  
And this people (λαός) has done  
22 me no harm.  
But (δέ) this (people) existed [as]  
24 a type (τύπος) of the archons,  
and it deserved to be [destroyed]  
26 through them. But (δέ) [  
the archons, [  
28 who (or, "which") has [  
but (δέ) since it (fem.) [  
30 angry with [  
[The] just (δίκαιος) [  
[32]

is his servant. Therefore

2 your name is 'James  
the Just' (δίκαιος). You see  
4 how you will become sober (νήφειν) when you see  
me. And you stopped this prayer (προσευχή).  
6 Now since (ἐπει δέ) you are a just (δίκαιος)  
man of God, you have  
8 embraced me and kissed me.  
Truly (ἀμήν), I say to you that  
10 you have stirred up great anger and  
wrath against yourself. But (ἀλλά)

---

I owe this suggestion to G. Michael Browne (University of Illinois).

12 ρΩΣΤΕ ΝΤΕΝΕΪΚΟΟΥΕ ΨΩΠΕ  
 ΪΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΒΑΒΖΗΤ ΠΕ  
 14 ΕΦΡΙΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ  
 ΕΜΑΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΖΜΟΟΣ Μ  
 16 ΠΕCΝΑΥ ΖΙΧΝ ΟΥΠΕΤΡΑ· ΠΕΧΕ  
 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΪΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΡΩCΤΕ  
 18 ΚΝΑΧΙ ΝΝΕΪΜΚΟΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΡ  
 ΦΙ ΨΝΖΗΤ †CΑΡΑΧ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΒΑΒ  
 20 ΖΗΤ ΤΕ· CΝΑΧΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ  
 ΨΦ ΝΑC· ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΠΡΡ  
 22 [ΒΑΒ]ΖΗΤ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ  
 [ΑΦΛ]Φ ΝΒΙ ΠΧΟΕΙC· ΪΑΚΩΒΟΣ  
 24 [ΔΕ Ν]ΤΑΡΕΦCΩΤΜ ΕΝΑΪ· ΑΦΦΩ  
 [ΤΕ ΝΝΕ]ΦΡΜΕΙΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΖΙ  
 26 [ΝΕΦΒΑΛ Α]ΥΨ ΨΕCΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ  
 [ IO ± ]ΗΤ ΕΤΨΟ  
 28 [ΟΠ . . . . ΠΕΧΕ] ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑ[Φ]  
 [ΧΕ ΪΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΕΙC] ΖΗΤΕ †ΝΑ

βωλπ̄ νακ εβολ̄ μπεκσωτε  
 2 εψωπε εψωψαναμαρτε̄ μμ[OK]  
 αυω [N]r̄χῑ ννεϊμκοου· ουν̄  
 4 ουμνηψε̄ ναζακοοῡ ουβηκ  
 χε̄ ε<γ>να<α>μαρτε̄ μμοκ· νζοοῡ  
 6 δε̄ ψομτ̄ εβολ̄ νζητοῡ ce  
 νααμαρτε̄ μμοκ· ναΪ ετ̄  
 8 ρμοος̄ εντελωνηc̄ νε· οῡ  
 μονον̄ εψετ̄ τελος· αλλᾱ  
 10 νικεψυχοοῡε̄ ευφῑ μμο  
 οῡ στερεcιμοc̄· εψωπε̄  
 12 δε̄ εκψανεῑ ετοοτοῡ· ουν̄  
 ογᾱ εβολ̄ νζητοῡ ναχοοc̄  
 14 νακ· ευρεφारेz̄ νταῡ πε  
 χε̄ ντκ̄ nim̄ h̄ ντκ̄ ουεβολ̄  
 16 των· εκεχοοc̄ ναφ̄ χε̄ ανακ

12 (this has happened) so that (ὥστε) these others might  
come to be.”

But (δέ) James was timid  
14 (and) wept. And he was very distressed.  
And they both sat down  
16 upon a rock (πέτρα). The Lord said  
to him: “James, thus (ὥστε)  
18 you will undergo these sufferings. But (ἀλλά) do not  
be sad. For (γάρ) the flesh (σάρξ) is  
20 weak. It will receive what has been  
ordained for it. But (δέ) as for you, do not  
22 be [timid] or (οὔτε) afraid.”  
The Lord [ceased]. [Now (δέ)] when James  
24 heard these things, he  
wiped away [the] tears in  
26 [his eyes] and very bitter (?)  
[ ] which is  
28 [ ] The Lord [said] to [him:]  
[“James,] behold, I shall

[33]

reveal to you your redemption.  
2 When [you] are seized,  
and you undergo these sufferings,  
4 a multitude will arm themselves against you,  
that <they> may seize you. And (δέ), in particular,  
6 three of them  
will seize you—they who  
8 sit (there) as toll collectors (τελώνης). Not  
only (οὐ μόνον) do they demand toll (τέλος), but (ἀλλά)  
10 they also take away souls (ψυχή)  
by theft (στερεσίμως). When  
12 you come into their power,  
one of them who is their guard will say  
14 to you:  
‘Who are you or (ἦ) where are you from?’  
16 You are to say to him: ‘I am

ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ  
 18 ΖΜ ΠΙΩΤ· ϞΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΧΕ  
 ΝΤΚ {πα}ΑΨ ΝΨΗΡΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 20 ΝΤΚ ΠΑΝΙΜ ΝΕΙΩΤ· ΕΚΕ  
 ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ  
 22 ΖΜ ΠΙΩΤ ΕΤΡ ΨΟΡΠ̄ [ΝΨΟΟΠ·]  
 ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΕϞΖΜ ΠΕΤ[Ρ]  
 24 ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΨΟΟΠ<sup>1</sup> ΕϞ[ΝΑΧΟΟΣ]  
 ΝΑΚ ΧΕ ΑΥ[  
 26 ΕΚΕ Χ[ΟΟΣ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ  
 ΖΜ ΠΗ[  
 28 ΧΕ ΕΙΕ[  
 [ . . ]ΕΤ[  
 30 [

[ΛΔ]

[Ν]ΝΙΨΜ̄ΜΟ· ΕΚΕΧΟΟΣ ΝΑϞ  
 2 ΧΕ ΖΕΝΨΜ̄ΜΟ ΑΝ ΕΠΤΗΡῶ ΝΕ  
 [Δ]ΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄Ν Δ[ΧΔ]Μ̄ΩΘ̄  
 4 ΝΕ· ΕΤΕ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΙ  
 ΑΣΤΑΜΙΟΟΥ ΕΣΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΙΓΕ  
 6 ΝΟΣ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΗ ΕΤΡ  
 ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΨΟΟΠ· ΑΡΑ ΖΕΝΨΜ̄  
 8 ΜΟ ΑΝ ΝΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΝ ΝΕ·  
 ΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΝ ΜΕΝ ΝΕ· ΧΕ ΤΕ  
 10 ΤΟ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΟΥΕΒΟΛ  
 ΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΤΡ ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΨΟΟΠ·  
 12 ΖΕΝΨΜ̄ΜΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΙ  
 ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡ ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΨΟΟΠ̄ Μ̄ΠΕϞ  
 14 Ρ̄ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ ΕΡΟΣ<sup>1</sup> ΤΟΤΕ ΕΣΝΑ  
 ΤΑΜΙΟΟΥ· ΕϞΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΟΝ  
 16 ΧΕ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ· ΕΚΕΧΟ

33,20-34,18 A parallel passage is found in *Iren. Haer.* I.21.5 (preserved in Greek by Epiphanius in *Pan.* 36.3.2) and reads as follows: "I am a son from the Father, the preexistent Father, and a son for the present (Latin: in him who is preexistent). I came to see all the things that are mine (ours) and all those that are alien; they are not entirely alien, however, but are of Achamoth who is



a son, and I am from  
 18 the Father.' He will say to you:  
 'What sort of son are you, and  
 20 to what father do you belong?' You are to  
 say to him: 'I am from  
 22 the Pre-[existent] Father,  
 and (δέ) a son in the  
 24 Pre-existent One.' [When he says]  
 to you: [  
 26 You are to [say to him:  
 in the [  
 28 that I might [  
 [            ] that [  
 30 [

[34]

[of] alien things?' You are to say to him:  
 2 'They are not entirely alien,  
 but (ἀλλά) they are from Achamoth,  
 4 who is the female. And these  
 she produced as she brought this race (γένος)  
 6 down from the  
 Pre-existent One. So then (ἄρα)  
 8 they are not alien, but (ἀλλά) they are ours.  
 They are indeed (μὲν) ours because she who  
 10 is mistress of them is from  
 the Pre-existent One.  
 12 At the same time (δέ) they are alien because (+ κατά)  
 the Pre-existent One did not  
 14 have intercourse (κοινωνεῖν) with her, when (τότε) she  
 later  
 produced them.' When he also says to you:  
 16 'Where will you go?' you are to

female and made these things for herself. I bring down (Latin:  
 for she brought down) this race from him who is preexistent,  
 and I go again to the things that are mine (ours) whence I  
 came."

18 ΟC ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΜΜΑΥ ΕΪΝΑΒΩΚ ΟΝ ΕΜΑΥ·  
 ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΕΚΨΑΝΧΟΟΥ ΚΝΑΡ̄  
 20 ΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟC· ΕΨΩ  
 ΠΞ ΔΕ ΕΚΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ  
 22 [Ν̄ΝΙ]ΨΟΜΕΤ̄ Ν̄ΡΕϞΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 [ΝΗ Ε]Τ̄ϞΙ Ν̄Ν̄ΨΥΧΗ CΤΕΡΕ  
 24 [CΙΜΟC Ϟ]Μ̄ ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ  
 [ II ± ]ΝΙ ΝΑΪ ΕΚΞ  
 26 [ II ± ]Ϟ ΟΥCΚΕ[Υ]  
 [ΟC IO ± ]ϞΟΥΟ Ν[  
 28 [ II ± ]·Ϟ Π[

λ[ε]

[ 6 ± ] . . [ 7 ± ] ΤΕ ΝΤΞ  
 2 ΤΕΤΕΤ̄Ν·Ε·[ . . . ]CΕ ΓΑΡ [  
 ΝΑΤ̄Ν [ . . . ]Ξ ΤΕCΝΟΥΝΕ· ΝΤΩ  
 4 Τ[Ν ϞΩΤ]ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΤΕΤΝΑΡ̄ΝΗ  
 ΦΙ ΑΝ[ . . . ] ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ †ΝΑΩΨ  
 6 ΕΖΡΑΪ [ΕΧ̄Ν] †ΓΝΩCΙC Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄  
 ΤΑΚΟ ΕΤΕ [Τ]CΟΦΙΑ ΤΕ ΤΗ ΕΤ̄  
 8 ΨΟΟΠ̄ Ϟ̄ ΠΙΩΤ̄· ΕΤΕ ΤΜΑΑΥ  
 ΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΑΧΑΜΩΘ̄· ΜΠΕ ΕΙΩΤ̄  
 10 ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΝΑΧΑΜΩΘ̄· ΟΥΤΕ  
 [ΟΥCΥ]ϞΥΓΟC Ν̄ϞΟΟΥΤ̄· ΑΛΛΑ  
 12 [Ο]Υ[CϞΙ]ΜΕ ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ϟ̄Ν̄ ΟΥ  
 CϞΙΜ[Ε Α]CΤΑΜΙΕ ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν Ε  
 14 Χ̄Ν Ϟ̄[ΟΟ]ΥΤ̄ ΕCΨΟΟΠ̄ ΟΥΑ  
 ΑC· ΕCΕ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΜΜΕ ΕΝΕΤ̄

34,23 Although the left margin is missing, the sign over CΤΕΡΕ may well have the same significance as that in 33,11.

26-35,19 The appearance of what may be part of the term "vessel" in 34,26 and the term "root" in 35,3, along with the language that follows, suggest that in 34,26 there begins some variant of the formula in Iren. *Haer.* I.21.5 (Epiph. *Pan.* 36.3.4-5), which reads thus: "They will reach the powers about the Demiurge and will say: 'I am a vessel more precious than the female who made you. If your mother is ignorant of her own root, I know myself and understand whence I am, and I call upon the incorruptible Sophia which is in the Father, mother of your mother

say to him: 'To the place from which I have come,  
 18 there shall I return.'  
 And (δέ) if you say these things, you will  
 20 escape their attacks (πόλεμος). But (δέ) when  
 you come to  
 22 [these] three detainers  
 [who] take away souls (ψυχή) by  
 24 theft (στερεσίμως) in that place  
 [                    ] these . You  
 26 [                    ] a vessel (σκεῦος)  
 [                    ] much more than [  
 28 [

3[5]

[                    ] of the one (fem.) whom  
 2 you [                    ] for (γάρ) [  
 [                    ] her root. You,  
 4 too, will  
 be sober (νήφειν) [                    ]. But (δέ) I shall call  
 6 [upon] the imperishable knowledge (γνώσις),  
 which is Sophia, who  
 8 is in the Father (and) who is the mother  
 of Achamoth.  
 10 Achamoth had no father nor (οὔτε)  
 male consort (σύζυγος), but (ἀλλά)  
 12 she is female from a  
 female. She produced you (pl.)  
 14 without a male, since she was alone  
 (and) in ignorance as to what

who has no father nor male consort. A female born of a female made you, who was ignorant of her mother and thought that she herself was alone. But I call upon her mother.' "

The last lines of 34 may be reconstructed in the following way:

26 [ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΟ]Κ ΟΥΣΚΕ[Υ]  
 [ΟC ΕΓΓΑΕΙΗΥ Ε]ΖΟΥΟ Ν[Τ]  
 28 [CΖΙΜΕ 6± ].Φ Π[

They are translated: "You are [to say to them: 'I am] a vessel more [precious] than [the female].'"

- 16 [Ο]Ν̄ [Ζ̄Ν̄] ΤΕCΜΑΑΥ· ΕCΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΟC ΟΥΑΑC ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄  
 18 [ΑΝΟ]Κ ΔΕ †ΝΑΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΟΥΒΕ ΤΕCΜΑΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΤΟ  
 20 ΤΕ ΕΥΕΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄ ΕΥΕΒ̄Ν  
 {Θ̄Ν̄} ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΥ  
 22 ΝΟΥΝΕ Μ̄Ν ΠΓΕΝΟ[C Ν̄]  
 ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ· Ν̄ΤΟΚ [ΔΕ]  
 24 ΕΚΕΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε[ΝΕΤΕ]  
 ΝΩΚ ΝΕC[  
 26 ΝΕ Τ[ΕΤ]ΝΑΥ[  
 [. . .]. Τ[  
 (2 ± lines lacking)

## [ΛS]

- ΠΕΤΡ̄ Ψ[ΟΡΠ̄ ΝΨΟΟ]Π̄· [C]Ε[Ο]  
 2 [Ν̄Τ]ΥΠΟC [Μ̄ΠΙ]Μ̄Ν[ΤC]Ν̄ΟΟΥ[C]  
 Μ̄ΜΑΘΗΤΗC· Μ̄Ν [ΠΙΜ̄Ν̄Τ]  
 4 CΝΟΟΥC Ν̄CΟΕΨ Ν[. . .]. . . Ε  
 ΑΚΧΑΜ̄Θ̄' Τ̄Ε[ΤΟΥ]Ρ̄ΖΕΡ  
 6 Μ̄ΗΝΕΥΕ Μ̄Μ[ΟC] ΧΕ CΟΦΙΑ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΙΜ'  
 8 Μ̄Ν ΤCΟΦΙΑ Ν̄ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΤΕΤ̄  
 ΚΝΑCΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄C·  
 10 Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΤ̄  
 ΨΟΟΠ̄· ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΤΑΥCΟ[ΥΩ]  
 12 ΝΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΖΩΠ̄ Ζ̄[ΡΑΪ] Ν̄  
 ΖΗΤΟΥ· ΕΚΕΖΩΠ̄ <Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ> Ζ̄Ρ[ΑΪ Ν̄]ΖΗΤΚ̄·  
 14 ΕΚΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΚΩ Ν̄ΡΩΚ·  
 ΕΚΕΒΟΛΠΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΑΔ  
 16 ΔΑΙΟC· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΚ[Ν]ΑΕ[Ῑ Ε]ΒΟΛ

- 35,20-21 **Θ̄Ν̄{Θ̄Ν̄} ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε**: This difficult phrase is made intelligible by regarding the second **Θ̄Ν̄** as a dittography. The idiom **Θ̄Ν̄ ΖΩΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-** means "to blame" (Crum, 820b). This is supported by the parallel in the Greek text that goes on after the second formula (Epiph. Pan. 36.3.6): "At this, those about the Demiurge who hear are greatly disturbed and *condemn their root* and the race of their mother . . ."
- 36,1-4 For the 12 as a type, cf. Iren. Haer. II.21.1. For a similar description of types, cf. V,1 (Eugnostos) 12,4-21.

(FIRST)  
 16 [lives thr  
 that she  
 18 But (δὲ)  
 to her mo  
 20 they will  
 blame the  
 22 root and t  
 their mot  
 24 will go up  
 yours [   
 26 you will [   
 [   
 (   
 [36]   
 the Pre-e  
 1 [a] type (ε  
 disciples   
 4 pairs, [   
 Achamoth  
 6 translated  
 And (δὲ)   
 8 and (who)  
 through w  
 10 and (who)  
 is-these  
 12 and have  
 them. Yo  
 14 and (δὲ)   
 But (δὲ)   
 16 Addai. W

There are  
 lacuna (br  
 four letter  
 the final ε  
 "those wi  
 member),  
 Kasser (3

- 16 [lives through] her mother because she thought  
that she alone existed.  
18 But (δέ) [I] shall cry out  
to her mother.' And then (τότε)  
20 they will fall into confusion (and) will  
blame their  
22 root and the race (γένος) [of]  
their mother. [But (δέ)] you  
24 will go up to [what is]  
yours [  
26 you will [  
[  
(2 ± lines lacking)

[36]

- the [Pre-existent One]. [They are]  
2 [a] type (τύπος) [of the] twelve  
disciples (μαθητής) and [the] twelve  
4 pairs, [  
Achamoth, which is  
6 translated (ἐρμηνεύειν), 'Sophia.'  
And (δέ) who I myself am,  
8 and (who) the imperishable Sophia (is)  
through whom you will be redeemed,  
10 and (who are) all the sons of Him-who-  
is—these things they have known  
12 and have hidden within  
them. You are to hide <these things> within you,  
14 and (δέ) you are to keep silence.  
But (δέ) you are to reveal them to  
16 Addai. When you [depart],

36,4

There are traces of what may be an **Ν** at the beginning of the lacuna (but no trace of a line over it); a vertical stroke three or four letters from the end; and part of the tail of a **λ** or **λ** before the final **ε**. A possible reconstruction would be **Ν[ΕΤΨΛ]ΗΛ Ε**, "those who pray to." For the twelve pairs (counting each member), cf. V,1 (*Eugnostos*) 10,15-11,2.

16

Kasser (3) reads **ΕΚ[Ψ]Λ[ΝΡ]ΒΟΛ**, "escape."

18  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$   $\epsilon\gamma\nu\alpha[\bar{\rho}]\pi[\omicron]$   
 $\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota$   $\bar{m}\bar{n}$   $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\zeta$ ·  $\mu\alpha[\dagger]$   $\rho\mu\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$   
 20  $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$   $\zeta\bar{n}$   $\bar{i}\lambda\eta\bar{m}$   
 $\alpha\delta\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varrho\varphi\iota$   $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$   
 $\zeta\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}$ ·  $\zeta\bar{n}$   $\tau\mu\epsilon\zeta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$   
 22  $\bar{n}[\rho\omicron]$  $\mu\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varphi<\epsilon>$   $\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\bar{n}\beta\iota$   $\alpha\delta\delta\epsilon$   
 $[\omicron\varsigma]$   $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omicron\gamma$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   
 24  $[\epsilon\psi\omega]$  $\mu\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varphi\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}\varsigma\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$   
 $[\dots]\tau\omicron[\dots]$   $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\gamma$   
 26  $[\quad 9 \pm \quad ]\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\tau\alpha\varrho$   $\bar{m}\pi$   
 $[\quad 8 \pm \quad ]\mu\alpha\varrho$   
 (2  $\pm$  lines lacking)

λζ

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

$[\quad 7 \pm \quad ]$ ·  
 4  $\varphi[\dots]$   $\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $[\quad 6 \pm \quad ]$ ·  
 $\mu\iota\mu[\dots]$   $\bar{n}\beta\iota$   $\pi[\dots]$   $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}$   
 6  $\bar{n}\psi[\dots]$ ·  $\psi\alpha\gamma\dagger$   $\mu\epsilon\varrho[\rho\alpha]$  $\bar{n}$   
 $\chi\epsilon$   $\lambda\epsilon\gamma[\epsilon\iota]$ ·  $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$   
 8  $\bar{n}\nu\omicron\gamma[\dots]$   $\bar{n}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   
 $\cdot n$ ·  $[\dots]\tau\omicron\gamma$ ·  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\zeta\bar{n}$   
 10  $[\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\bar{\rho}]$   $\psi\omicron\rho\pi$   $\bar{n}\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$   
 $[\dots]$   $\bar{n}\nu\omicron\gamma\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$   $\bar{n}$   
 12  $[\dots]\zeta\iota\epsilon$   $\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha\lambda\eta\bar{m}$   $\zeta\bar{m}$   $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$   
 $[\quad 6 \pm \quad \alpha\gamma]$   $\omega$   $\epsilon\varphi\chi\pi\omicron$   $\bar{n}\psi\eta$   
 14  $[\rho\epsilon$   $\varsigma\eta\alpha]$   $\gamma$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}$ ·  
 $[\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\bar{\rho}]$   $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\bar{\nu}\omicron\mu\iota$   $\bar{n}\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$   
 16  $[\bar{m}\bar{n}]$   $\dagger\delta\iota\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\iota\alpha$   $\bar{m}\pi\eta$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$   
 $[\dots]$ ·  $\epsilon\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varphi\iota$   
 18  $\bar{n}[\dots]$   $\bar{n}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$   $\zeta\bar{m}$   $\mu\epsilon\varrho$   
 $\nu\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ ·  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$   $\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$   
 20  $\epsilon\varrho\alpha\epsilon\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   
 $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\psi\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\nu\alpha\varrho$   
 22  $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\eta\pi$   $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}$   $\psi\alpha[\eta\tau\varrho]$

36,18-19 Böhlig (1) reads  $\mu[\bar{n}$   $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma]$   $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}$  etc., "nothing, then, is left in Jerusalem." The stroke over the  $\bar{m}\bar{n}$  would have left a trace, however, to judge from other examples.

37,10 For restoration cf. III,71,8; 74,10; 83,3; 83,11.

immediately war (πολεμεῖν) will be [made]  
 18 with this land. [Weep],  
 then (οὖν), for him who dwells in Jerusalem.  
 20 But (δέ) let Addai take these things  
 to heart. In the tenth  
 22 year let Addai sit  
 and write them down.  
 24 And when he writes them down  
 [     ] and they are to give them  
 26 [                     ] he has the [  
 [  
                           (2± lines lacking)

[37]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[  
 4 [  
 [  
 6 [                     ] he is [called]  
 Levi. Then (τότε) he is to bring  
 8 [                     ] word  
 [                     ] from  
 10 [what I] said earlier  
 [                     ] a woman  
 12 [     ] Jerusalem in her  
 [                     ] and] he begets  
 14 [two] sons through her.  
 [They are to] inherit (κληρονομεῖν) these things  
 16 [and] the understanding (διάνοια) of him who  
 [     ] exalts. And they are to receive  
 18 [     ] through him from his  
 intellect (νοῦς). Now (δέ), the younger of them  
 20 is greater. And  
 may these things remain  
 22 hidden in him until [he]

nothing<sup>37</sup>  
 could have been

37,17

The suggestions that have been advanced to fill the lacuna are too uncertain to merit translation. There is probably space for only two letters; and that which follows may be either an  $\gamma$  or a  $\text{C}$ .

,11.

24  $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$   $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$   $\epsilon\tau\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\eta$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}$ [ $\bar{\nu}\tau$ ]  
 $\zeta\alpha\psi\zeta\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}$ ρομπε[  
 [. . .  $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ ]ολ[  
 (4  $\pm$  lines lacking)

[ $\lambda\eta$ ]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[ 8  $\pm$  ]ηι[ 7  $\pm$  α]ρ  
 4  $\chi\eta$ [. . . . .].  $\bar{\nu}$ . [. . . . .]. [. ]ογ  
 $\zeta\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\rho$ [ $\lambda$   $\zeta\bar{\iota}$ ]τοο[τογ  $\epsilon$ ]γεπωτ  
 6  $\bar{\nu}\zeta\psi\zeta$   $\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon$ [ $\gamma\zeta\bar{\iota}$ ]τοοτογ  
 $\bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon\zeta\psi\bar{\nu}\eta\rho$   $\bar{\nu}$ [. . ].  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha$   
 8  $\psi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\psi$   $\bar{\mu}$ [ $\mu\omicron$ ]γ  $\zeta\bar{\iota}$ τοο[τογ  
 $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$  [ $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau$ ]αψ[ $\epsilon$ ]  
 10  $\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}\psi$   $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\gamma$ · τ[οτε  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ ]ψ[ω]  
 $\pi\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\beta}\rho\alpha\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$  [  
 12  $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$   $\bar{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omega\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\alpha$ [ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$   $\Delta\epsilon$  †]  
 $\tau\omega\tau$   $\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau$ [  
 14  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\sigma\epsilon\psi\omicron\omicron\tau$  κ.[  
 $\tau\alpha\psi\gamma\chi\eta$ ·  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\iota}$   $\pi\bar{\iota}\kappa$ [ $\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ ]  
 16 †ψι $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\kappa$   $\epsilon\rho$ [ογ] †[ $\zeta\alpha\psi$ ]ζε  
 $\bar{\nu}\sigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\mu$   $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma$ [ $\bar{\rho}$   $\mu\alpha$ ]  
 18  $\omicron\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa$ ·  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$   $\zeta$ [ $\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ]  
 $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\rho}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}\zeta\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\kappa$  [ $\bar{\nu}$ ]βι  $\sigma\zeta\bar{\iota}$   
 20  $\mu\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\mu$ ·  $\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa$   $\zeta\omega$  † $\bar{\rho}$   $\psi\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$   
 $\chi\epsilon$   $\pi\omega\varsigma$   $\zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}\gamma\bar{\iota}\omicron\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\eta\alpha\tau$   
 22 [ $\bar{\beta}\omicron\mu$ ]·  $\alpha\gamma\bar{\beta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\beta}\omicron\mu$   $\zeta\bar{\nu}$   $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta$ [ $\eta$ ]  
 [ $\varsigma\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ ]  $\epsilon\sigma\psi\omicron\omicron\tau$   $\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ ·  $\pi$ [ $\epsilon$ ]  
 24 [ $\chi\epsilon$   $\pi\alpha$ ]οε $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$   $\kappa\bar{\rho}$ [  
 [ 9  $\pm$  ]··[  
 (4  $\pm$  lines lacking)

[ $\lambda\theta$ ]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 [ 7  $\pm$  ]·[  
 $\tau$ · $\psi$ [. . . . ο]γπ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ [  $\bar{\nu}$   
 4 ογπ[ $\bar{\nu}\alpha$   $\bar{\mu}$ ]π $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ [ $\epsilon$  ογπ $\bar{\nu}$ ]α

38,4  
8

A letter that is perhaps a curiously shaped  $\tau$  precedes the  $\bar{\nu}$ .  $\zeta'$  is written in the left margin.



comes to the age of  
24 seventeen years [

[

(4 ± lines lacking)

[38]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[ ] beginning (ἀρχή)

4 [

through [them]. They will pursue  
6 him exceedingly, since [they are] from  
his [ ] companions. He will be  
8 proclaimed [through] them,  
and [they will] proclaim this word.

10 [Then (τότε) he will become]  
a seed of [

12 James said: "[I am]  
satisfied [

14 and they are [  
my soul (ψυχή). Yet (ἔτι) [another thing]

16 I ask of you: who are the [seven]  
women who have [been] your disciples (μαθητῆς)?

18 And behold,  
all women bless (μακαρίζειν) you.

20 I also am amazed  
how (πῶς) [powerless] vessels (ἀγγεῖον)

22 have become strong by a perception (αἴσθησις)  
which is in them."

24 [The] Lord [said]: "You [ ] well (καλῶς)  
[

(4 ± lines lacking)

[39]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 [

[ ] a spirit (πνεῦμα) [of

4 a [spirit (πνεῦμα)] of thought, [a spirit (πνεῦμα)]

38,16 I owe the suggested reconstruction of this line to G. Michael  
Browne (University of Illinois).

39,1-8 Appears closely parallel to Isa 11:2.

ΝΨΟΧ[ΝΕ] ΝΝΟ[Υ  
 6 ΟΥΠΝΑ[ 6 ± ΟΥ]ΠΝΑ  
 ΝΓΝΩ[ΣΙΣ] Ο[. . .] ΝΤΕΥ  
 8 Τ ΖΟΤ[Ε. . .]ΠΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΝΣΙΝΕ  
 ΖΝ [ΠΙΟΥ]ΨΨ̄ ΝΤΕ  
 10 [ΠΕΪΑΡ]ΧΩΝ· ΠΗ ΕΨΑΥ  
 [ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ] ΧΕ ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ·  
 12 [ II ± ]ΕΡΟQ ΑΥΩ  
 [. . .Ν]ΑΦΕ ΝΝΑΤΕΙΜΕ·  
 14 [. . .ΝΤ]ΑΡΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ  
 [ΑQ̄ ΠΜ]ΞΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ  
 16 [ΟΥ]ΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑQ· ΑQ̄ ΖΜΟΤ  
 [ΝΑΙ] ΜΠΙΟΥΘΕΙΨ ΖΩΣ ΕΥ  
 18 ΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑQ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΟ  
 ΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΑΘΗ ΕΜΠΑ<†> ΟΥ  
 20 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΪΜΑ Α<Q>  
 ΝΟΥΧΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΜ [ΠΕΙ]  
 22 ΛΑΟΣ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΜ Π[ΜΑ]  
 ΜΠΕ ΝΙΠΡΟΦ[ΗΤΗΣ  
 24 ΠQ[  
 ̄[

(4 ± lines lacking)

**[M]**

(Line 1 lacking)

2 [ I8 ± ]·  
 [ 6 ± ]ΜΕ[. . . . .]ΧΨΚ·  
 4 [. . .ΠΕΧΕ Ι]ΑΚΨ[ΒΟΣ Χ]Ε ΖΡΑΒΒΙ  
 Α[. . . . .]. ΑΖΗ. [. . .]. ΝΑΙ·  
 6 †[ I0 ± ]Υ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ  
 ΝΙΜ.[ 7 ± ]† ΝΖΗΤΟΥ  
 8 ΝΖΟΥ[Ο 6 ± ]Ε[. . .]ΥΕ·  
 ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΞΙΣ ΧΕ Ι[ΑΚΩΒ]ΟΣ †  
 10 ΤΜΑΕΙΟ ΜΜΟQ[. . . . .]·  
 ΤΑΛΕ ΠΤΟ ΝΜΠ[  
 12 ΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΦΕ ΝΜ[  
 ΧΜ ΠΨ.[

39,14 Schenke reads [ΧΕ ΝΤ]ΑΡΙΕΙ, "for when I came."  
 19 MS reads ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥ.  
 20 MS reads ρ.

of counsel of [a  
 6 a spirit (πνεῦμα) [                    a] spirit (πνεῦμα)  
 of knowledge (γνώσις) [                    ] of their  
 8 fear. [                    ] when we had passed  
 through [the breadth] of  
 10 [this] archon who  
 is [named] Adonaios  
 12 [                    ] him and  
 [                    ] he was ignorant  
 14 [                    ] when I came forth from him,  
 [he] remembered that I  
 16 am [a] son of his. He was gracious  
 [to me] at that time as (ὥς)  
 18 his son. And then (τότε),  
 before <I>  
 20 appeared here, <he>  
 cast them among [this]  
 22 people (λαός). And (δέ) from the [place]  
 of heaven the prophets (προφήτης) [  
 24 [  
 [

(4 ± lines lacking)

[40]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 [  
 [  
 4 James [said]: "Rabbi,  
 [  
 6 I [                    ] all together  
 [                    ] in them  
 8 especially [  
 The Lord said: "[James], I  
 10 praise [you  
 walk upon the earth [  
 12 the words while he [  
 on the [  
 [

39,21

"among": or perhaps "from."

22

Böhlig (1) reads **ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΜ [ΠΜΛ]**, "and from the place," but regards it as tenuous. The **Π**, however, is visible.

14 ΝΟΥΧΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜ[ΟΚ ΜΠΑ]  
 ΠΟΤ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠCΙΩ[Ε ΟΥΝ ΖΕΝ]  
 16 ΛΑΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ[  
 ΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΟΥΒΗΚ<sup>13</sup> Α[ΚΖΙ ΤΟ]  
 18 ΟΤΚ ΓΑΡ ΕCΟΥΩΝ ΝΕ[ΥΝΟΥ]  
 ΝΕ ΧΙΝ ΨΟΡΠ ΨΑ ΖΑΕ· ΝΟΥΧΕ  
 20 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΑΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΑ† ΖΤΗΚ ΜΗΠΩC Ν  
 22 ÇΕΚΩΖ ΕΡΟΚ· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΚ  
 [ΨΑ]ΝΧΕ ΝΕΪΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΪ  
 24 [ΕCΘ]ΗCΙC ΤΩ† ΝΖΗ† ΜΠΕΕΙ  
 [ÇΤΟΟΥ] CΑΛΩΜΗ ΜΝ ΜΑΡΙΑΜ  
 26 [ΜΝ ΜΑΡΘΑ ΜΝ ΑΡC]ΙΝΟΗ  
 [ 14 ± ]ΤΚ  
 28 [ 14 ± ]†·  
 [ 15 ± ].

MΔ

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

ε . . [  
 4 ΧΗ ΕΥ[ 12 ± ]Ν  
 ΜΝ†[ 13 ± ]Ε  
 6 ΠΟΥΗ[ 9 ± ]C ΕΨΑÇ  
 ΧΙ ΝΖΕΝ[ 7 ± ]Ω ΝΑΪ  
 8 ΨΑÇ . [ . . . . ] ΖΕΝΒΛΙΑ  
 ΜΝ[ . . . . ] ΦΟΡΑ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ  
 10 [ 7 ± Ν]ΤΕΪΖΕ ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 [ . . . . Α]ΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑ†  
 12 [ 14 ± ] ΕΤΠΕ  
 [ . . . . ] ΑΡΟΥ [Χ]ΕΚΑΑC  
 14 [ΕCΕΟΥ]ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΤΒΟΜ  
 [ΜΠΝΟΥΤ]Ε ΑΠΙΤΑΚΟ ΑÇΡΧΩΡ!  
 16 [ΕΖΡ]ΑΪ ΕΠΙΑ†ΤΑΚΟ· ΑΥΩ  
 [Φ]ΩΒ Ν†ΜΝ†CΖΙΜΕ ΑÇΡ  
 18 ΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΦΩΒ ΝΤΕΪ  
 ΜΝ†ΖΟΟΥ† ΠΕΧΕ ΙΑΚΩΒΟC

40,18

25

ε<Υε>CΟΥΩΝ, "they are to understand": Schenke.  
 Possibly [CΑΨΥΕ], "seven", should be read instead of "four"  
 (cf. 38,16). But line 27 contains a few letters which do not look

(FIRST) A

1 For (yā) s  
 cup, which

2 For (yā) s  
 set themsel

3 to understa  
 from begin

4 away from  
 And beware

5 they envy y  
 speak these

6 [perception  
 your · Salo

7 and Marthe

L

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

- 14 For (γράφ) cast away from [you the]  
cup, which is the bitterness.
- 16 For (γράφ) some from [  
set themselves against you. For (γράφ) [you have begun]
- 18 to understand [their roots]  
from beginning to end. Cast
- 20 away from yourself all lawlessness (ἀνομία).  
And beware, lest (μήπως)
- 22 they envy you. When you  
speak these words of this
- 24 [perception (αἰσθησις)], encourage these  
[four]: Salome and Mariam
- 26 [and Martha and Arsinoe]  
[
- 28 [
- [

[41]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

- [
- 4 [
- [
- 6 [ ] since he takes  
some [ ] to me
- 8 he is [ ] burnt offerings  
and [ ]. But (δέ) I
- 10 [ ] not in this way; but (ἀλλά)  
[ ] first-fruits (ἀπαρχή) of the
- 12 [ ] upward  
[ ] so that
- 14 the power [of God might] appear.  
The perishable has [gone (χωρεῖν)]
- 16 [up] to the imperishable and  
the female element has
- 18 attained (καταντᾶν) to this male element.”  
James said:

like they are parts of a name. The four mentioned are, as Böhlig (1) notes, brought together twice in Allberry, ed., *Manichaean Psalm Book*, pp. 192, 21-24; 194, 19-22.

20 **ⲭⲈ ⲒⲠⲞⲞⲐ ⲈⲧⲰⲞⲠⲤⲈ ⲠⲮⲚ Ⲛ**  
**ⲦⲀⲮⲚⲠⲠⲮⲈ ⲚⲠⲈⲮ. [**  
 22 **ⲁⲮ' ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲒⲀⲠ ⲕⲁ! Ⲓ[ⲁⲠ ⲁⲮ]**  
**ⲠⲠⲧ ⲚⲠⲠⲠⲠ . . Ⲡ[**  
 24 **Ⲡⲧ[ . . ]Ⲛ[**  
**ⲁⲮ[**

(4 ± lines lacking)

**[MB]**

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ 15 ± ]ⲚⲚⲁ.  
 [ 12 ± ⲈⲘⲤ ] ⲒⲚⲤⲈ  
 6 ⲁ[ 10 ± ]ⲚⲒⲠⲠ  
 ⲚⲘⲠ. ⲁ[ 9 ± ]ⲈⲞⲠⲠ ⲒⲚ  
 8 ⲁⲁⲁⲮ ⲁ[ 7 ± ]. Ⲉ.  
 ⲁⲕⲕⲁ ⲒⲀⲠ Ⲛ[ . . . . ]Ⲛ ⲚⲤⲈ  
 10 ⲠⲮⲒⲚⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ. ⲁⲮ[Ⲡ  
 ⲚⲠⲠ ⲭⲈ ⲁⲠⲠ ⲠⲈ Ⲡ[  
 12 ⲚⲠⲠⲠ[Ⲉ]. [   
 ⲕⲚⲁⲞ[ⲘⲚⲈ  
 14 ⲁⲚⲠⲕ ⲁ[Ⲉ] ⲧⲚⲁⲞⲠ[ⲕ ⲈⲞⲠ]  
 ⲁⲮⲠ ⲧⲚⲁⲠⲠⲠ[ⲚⲒ ⲈⲞⲠ]ⲁ  
 16 **ⲭⲈ ⲁⲮⲚⲁⲒⲤⲈ ⲈⲠⲠⲕ ⲭ[Ⲉ ⲈⲮⲈ]**  
**ⲤⲠⲧ ⲚⲒⲚⲧ ⲈⲒⲒⲁⲘ ⲈⲮⲤⲚ[ⲠⲠ]**  
 18 **ⲚⲁⲮ ⲚⲚ ⲠⲠⲠⲠⲁⲧ. ⲁⲮⲠ ⲚⲤⲈ**  
**ⲠⲈⲘⲠⲠⲚⲒ ⲈⲞⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲈ.**  
 20 **ⲁⲮⲠ ⲁⲠⲞⲠⲕ ⲚⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ Ⲛ**  
**[ⲕⲁ]ⲧ[Ⲡ]ⲠⲠⲠ ⲁⲠⲕⲠⲒⲈ ⲚⲠⲠⲚⲚⲧ**  
 22 **[ⲕⲚⲠ]ⲠⲠⲠ. ⲁⲮⲠ ⲁⲠⲚⲠⲠⲠⲈ**  
**[ⲈⲞⲠ] ⲚⲒ[Ⲛ]ⲤⲠⲠ ⲚⲠⲠⲤⲠⲧ ⲚⲒⲚⲧ**  
 24 **[ⲈⲤⲞⲈ ⲧⲠ]ⲠⲠⲠⲠⲁ ⲚⲤⲈ [Ⲡ]ⲠⲚⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ**  
 [ 14 ± ]Ⲛⲧ ⲭⲈ  
 26 [ 16 ± ] . ⲤⲠⲠ

(3 ± lines lacking)

**[MT]**

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

41,22  
 42,4

The scribe corrected **ⲕⲁⲠ** to **ⲕⲠⲠ**.  
 Perhaps the name here was Anna, Joanna, or Susanna.

20 "Rabbi, into these three (things) then (οὖν),  
 has their [ ] been cast.  
 22 For (γάρ) they have been reviled, [and (καὶ γάρ) they  
 have been]

persecuted [

24 [

(4 ± lines lacking)

[42]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ ] Behold  
 6 [ ] everything  
 [ ] from  
 8 anyone [ ] of  
 For (γάρ) you have received [ ] of  
 10 knowledge (γνώσις). [And  
 [ ] that what is the [ ]  
 12 go [ ]  
 you will [find  
 14 But (δέ) I shall go [forth]  
 and shall reveal  
 16 that they believed in you [that they may]  
 be content with their [blessing]  
 18 and salvation, and  
 this revelation may come to pass."  
 20 And he went at that time  
 [immediately] and rebuked the  
 22 twelve, and cast  
 [out] of them contentment  
 24 [concerning the] way (πορεία) of knowledge (γνώσις)  
 [ ]  
 26 [ ]

(3 ± lines lacking)

[43]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[.]Ν . [  
 4 ΝΕΪΑ[  
 ΠΕΪΟC[  
 6 ΕΠΜΑ[ 8 ± ]ΝΤ῀  
 ΝΝΑ Ζ·[ 6 ± ] ΠΕΖΟΥΟ  
 8 ΔΕ ΝΤ[ΕΥ . . . ]Τ̄ ΝΤΕΡΟΥ  
 ΝΑ[Υ ΑΠΙΡ]Μ̄ΝΖΩΒ ΧΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 10 [ 6 ± ]ΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΙΚΕ  
 [ 6 ± ]·ΠΛ . . ΑΥΑ  
 12 [ 12 ± Χ]Ω ΜΜΟC  
 [ . . . . . ] ΟΥΝ ΕΖΡ[Α]Ϊ· ΧΕ ΜΑ  
 14 [ . . . . ΜΠ]ΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΪΚΑΖ  
 [ΝϞΜΠ]Ψ[Α] ΓΑΡ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΑΝ·  
 16 [ΑΥ]ῚΖΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΒΙ ΝΑΪ ΑΥΤΩ  
 ΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ Τ̄Ν  
 18 ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ ΕΠΕΪCΝΟϞ ΑΝ·  
 ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC  
 20 ΕϞΝΑΤΑΚΟ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥΜ[ΝΤ]  
 ΑΔΙΚΟC· ΑϞΒΩΚ [Ν]Ὶ[Ι ΪΑ]  
 22 ΚΩΒΟC ΧΕΚΑΑ[Ϟ] . [  
 Ν[

(6 ± lines lacking)

**[ΜΔ]**

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ 14 ± ]Ψ·  
 .[ 13 ± ]ΩΤ̄  
 6 .[ 12 ± ]ΝΑΥ  
 ΕΒ[ΟΛ 7 ± ] ΓΑΡ  
 8 ΑΝΜ[ 6 ± ] ΜΜΟϞ:  
 ΤΑΠϞΚΑΛ[ΥΨΙϞ]  
 10 ΝΪΑΚΩΒ[ΟC]

43.17-18 Cf. Mt 27:24.



[
   
 4 these [
   
 this [
   
 6 to the [
   
 [                    ] And (δέ) the majority
   
 8 of [them                    ] when they
   
 [saw, the] messenger took in
   
 10 [                    ] The others
   
 [
   
 12 [                    ] said:
   
 [
   
 14 [                    ] him from this earth.
   
 For (γάρ) [he is] not [worthy] of life."
   
 16 These, then (οὖν), [were] afraid. They arose,
   
 saying: "We
   
 18 have no part (κοινωνεῖν) in this blood,
   
 for (γάρ) a just man (δίκαιος)
   
 20 will perish through
   
 injustice (ἀδίκως)." James departed
   
 22 so that [ .
   
 [
   
 (6 ± lines lacking)

[44]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [
   
 [
   
 6 [                    ] look
   
 [                    ] for (γάρ)
   
 8 we (?) [                    ] him.
   
 The Apocalypse
   
 10 of James

bibl. *Kopis*  
 Böhlig [1]  
 W.P., ed. *D*  
*Hammadi-Codex*  
 R. "Biblioth  
 apoc." *RTPh*  
*Mysterion un*  
 S. K. "James  
 Jewish, G  
 pid through a  
 Lord's broth  
 iversity, 1972.  
 Jewish and G  
 (CG V, 4)  
 D. H. "The  
 ublished doctor  
 H. M. Revi  
*Wippen. OLZ 6*  
 "Zerzetische  
 Hammadi-C  
 Ed. by P. N  
 lthe-Universi  
 Schenke  
 ed. *Grossis*  
 fourth tractat  
 Apocal  
 both doc  
 erty pages of  
 With two  
 pp. 44-52 h  
 preserves

## THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V,4:44,11-63,32

CHARLES W. HEDRICK

- Böhlig-Labib. *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*. Pp. 56-85. (Hereafter, Böhlig [1]).
- Funk, W.-P., ed. *Die zweite Apokalypse des Jakobus aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V*. TU 119. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976.
- Kasser, R. "Bibliothèque gnostique VI: Les Deux Apocalypses de Jacques." *RThPh* 18 (1968), 163-86.
- Böhlig. *Mysterion und Wahrheit*. Pp. 102-18. (Hereafter, Böhlig [2]).
- Brown, S. K. "James: A religio-historical study of the relations between Jewish, Gnostic and Catholic Christianity in the early period through an investigation of the traditions about James the Lord's brother." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1972. (Hereafter, Brown [1]).
- . "Jewish and Gnostic Elements in the Second Apocalypse of James (CG V,4)." *NovTest* (1975), 225-37. (Hereafter, Brown [2]).
- Little, D. H. "The Death of James the Brother of Jesus." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rice University, 1971.
- Schenke, H.-M. Review of Böhlig-Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*. *OLZ* 61 (1966), cols. 24-34. (Hereafter, Schenke [1]).
- . "Exegetische Probleme der zweiten Jakobus-Apokalypse in Nag-Hammadi-Codex V." *Probleme der koptischen Literatur*. Edited by P. Nagel. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität. Halle-Wittenberg, 1968. Pp. 109-14. (Hereafter, Schenke [2]).
- Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 45-46.

The fourth tractate in Codex V has been given the modern title *The (Second) Apocalypse of James* in order to distinguish it from V,3, since both documents have the same ancient title (44,8-12). The twenty pages of the tractate (44-63) are preserved in a fragmentary state. With two exceptions (53/54,63), the bottoms of the pages are lost. Pp. 44-52 have broken away at the top except for a small strip that preserves part of the first line; 53-63 are all missing text

in varying degrees at the top of the page. Page numbers are visible only on pp. 57-63.

The literary form of the tractate is difficult to describe. The title (44,11-12) refers to it as an apocalypse, and the incipit (44,13-15) describes it as a discourse. In the sense that James relates a revelation received from the resurrected Jesus, it may be called a revelation discourse. However, the actual structure of the tractate is cast in the form of a two-part report to Theuda, the father of James, by Mareim, a priest and relative of Theuda, who apparently was present at the stoning of James.

Due to the fragmentary character of the tractate the beginnings and endings of the discourses reported by Mareim are not always clear. The following outline will help the reader recognize when the speakers change.

- I. Prologue: 44,11-20.
- II. The report of Mareim: 44,21-63,32.
  - A. Mareim comes to Theuda with the report: 44,21-45,30(?).
  - B. The discourses of James: 46,1(?)-60,29(?).
    1. James claims to be the revelation bearer: 46,1(?)-47,30(?).
    2. The first discourse of Jesus reported by James: 48,1(?)-49,30(?).
    3. The report of James on the appearance of Jesus: 50,1(?)-30(?).
    4. The second discourse of Jesus reported by James: 51,1(?)-57,11.
    5. The reaction of James to the appearance of Jesus: 57,12-19.
    6. The final exhortation of James: 57,20-60,29(?).
  - C. The death of James: 61,1(?)-63,29.
    1. The setting: 61,1(?)-14.
    2. The account of the stoning: 61,15-62,12.
    3. The prayer of James: 62,12-63,29.
    4. Conclusion: 63,30-32.

The tractate contains at least four sections artistically arranged in a systematic structure. Because of their balance and stylized form they have been described by Böhlig as "harmonic prose" possessing a "hymnic" quality. Böhlig argues that a considerable part of the tractate has a similar stylized form, but because of lacunae

and basic changes in structure such stylized arrangements for the entire tractate are not certain ([1], p. 57).

Three of these units are aretologies. One (49,5-15) is a series of self-assertions by the resurrected Jesus in the ἐγώ εἰμι style. Another (58,2-20) is a series of predications about the resurrected Jesus made by James in the third person (αὐτός ἐστιν). In a further aretology (55,15-56,13) the resurrected Jesus describes James's special role in the second person (σὺ εἶ). He is called "illuminator" (55,17) and "redeemer" (55,18). People will be astonished because of his "powerful deeds" (55,22-23). He is the one whom the "heavens will bless" (55,24-25). It is because of James that people will "reign and become kings" (56,4-5). In short, the entire description suggests that James is intended to perform the function of a gnostic redeemer.

The fourth unit (62,16-63,29) is a prayer attributed to James. The present setting of the prayer requires that one read it as the prayer of a martyr shortly before his death. However, it is by no means certain that the present setting of the prayer was its original setting. Apart from its context, it has the character of a prayer that one might pray if one were facing some future period of persecution or trial. The request in 62,21-22 suggests that there was a prospect of continued existence in the world. 63,23-24 speaks of something other than a painful death, already mentioned in 63,5-6, and in fact suggests trials and tribulations such as a man might anticipate in his daily experience. It is true that 63,24-25 suggests an imminent crisis, but it is not immediately evident that this crisis is death. Compare the prayer in Tobit 3:1-6 where one observes similar requests without hint of immediate death in either prayer or context.

Funk recognizes correctly that there is a difference in both style and perspective between the first part of the tractate (44-60) and the second part (61-63) and convincingly argues that they are in reality two separate documents brought together at the expense of the conclusion of the former and the beginning of the latter (pp. 193-98). He suggests that the prayer is an independent piece of liturgical tradition whose life setting may be found either in some sort of gnostic sacrament such as the celebration of final anointing described in Iren. *Haer.* I.21.5, or the confession that the ascending soul makes before its "jailers" on its journey to the Father (pp. 211-20). Böhlig (2), p. 118, on the other hand, sees no compelling reason on the basis of the content of the prayer to regard it as having a gnostic provenance.

The tractate as a whole is clearly gnostic in character, yet it shows remarkable restraint in treating certain gnostic themes. For example, aeons (53,8) and archons (56,19), common in gnostic texts, are each only mentioned once. There is no involved or speculative cosmogony, and in only a few places does one sense the cosmology of the author (54,7-23; 58,2-6). The tractate cannot be identified with any of the known gnostic systems of the second century (Böhlig [1], p. 28). Such motifs as salvation through knowledge (57,4-8) and a contrast between the arrogant boastful creator (56,20-57,3), who is responsible for man's imprisonment in the world (54,10-15), and the unknown gracious father, who exists without the creator's knowledge (58,2-6), are too general to permit such an identification.

On the other hand, the author has made extensive use of Jewish-Christian traditions. He regards James, who held a position of special prominence in Jewish-Christian circles, as the possessor of a special revelation from Jesus and assigns him a role in the gnostic tradition that rivals, and perhaps exceeds, that of Peter in the canonical tradition. For example, James is the "escort" who guides the Gnostic through the door of the heavenly kingdom and even rewards him (55,6-14; cf. 55,15-56,13). The description is similar to Peter's charge as the keeper of the keys of heaven (Mt 16:19).

As Böhlig has indicated, the relationship to Jewish-Christian traditions is more than superficial ([2], pp. 107-10, 114-16). The report on the stoning in *2 Apoc. Jas.* and the Hegesippus report on the martyrdom of James (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II.23) have certain verbal similarities. Further, *2 Apoc. Jas.* follows exactly the Jewish legal regulations for execution as described in the Mishnah (Sanh. 6.6). Even the structure of the tractate, Böhlig argues, can be understood as the combination of a traditional report on the preaching of James on the steps of the temple (Ps.-Clem. *Recg.* I.66-73) and a second report on the stoning of James describing his death as a martyr, following the model of Stephen's martyrdom in Ac 6-7 (but cf. Brown [2], pp. 226-27, note 6).

As to the date and place of composition, little can be said with certainty. Because of the basic Jewish-Christian traditions out of which the tractate is composed, it is probable that its origin is to be associated with Jewish-Christian circles. The absence of allusions to the later developed gnostic systems, the issues to which the author addresses himself (Böhlig [1], p. 28; Funk, pp. 208-09), and the almost total absence of allusions to the New Testament tradition suggest an early date for the origin of the tractate.

(SECOND)  
presence and  
attributed  
stress differ  
ent one an  
cial prior to  
suffering

The presence and order of the two James apocalypses in Codex V may be attributed to deliberate scribal organization. The two apocalypses stress different aspects of the James tradition and actually complement one another. The setting of *1 Apoc. Jas.* emphasizes the period prior to the suffering of James, while *2 Apoc. Jas.* describes his suffering and death in line with the predictions in *1 Apoc. Jas.*

THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V,4:[44],II-63,32

**[ΜΔ]**

12            **ΤΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨ[ΙC]**  
               **Ν̄ΙΔ[ΚΩΒOC]**  
 12            **ΠΑΙ ΠΕ [Π]ΨΑΧΕ Ε[ΤΑΦΨΑ]**  
 14            **ΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟΦ Ν̄ΒΙ ΙΑΚΩ[ΒOC ΠΔΙ]**  
               **ΚΑΙOC Ζ̄Ν̄ Θ̄ΙΗΜ̄ Π[Ε]Τ[ΑΦ]**  
 16            **CΑΖ̄Φ̄ Ν̄ΒΙ Μ̄ΑΡΕΙΜ̄ ΟΥΑ [Ν]**  
               **ΝΙΟΥΗΗΒ ΑΦΧΟΟΦ Ν̄**  
 18            **Θ̄ΕΥΔΑ ΠΙΩΤ̄ Μ̄ΠΙΔΙΚΑΙΟC**  
               **ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕΥCΥΓ̄ΓΕΝΗC Ν̄**  
 20            **ΤΑΦ ΠΕ ΕΦΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΧΕ**  
               **[ΒΕΠ]Η Μ̄ΜΟΚ ΑΜΟΥ Μ̄Ν**  
 22            **[ΜΑΡ]ΙΑ ΤΕΚC̄Ζ̄ΙΜΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΙ**  
               **[CΥΓ̄]Γ̄Ε[Ν]ΗC Ν̄ΤΑΚ Ν̄ΝΕΦ**  
 24            **[       8 ±       ]. [   6 ±       ]ΠΟ[**  
                                   (6 ± lines lacking)

**[ΜΕ]**

**[.]ΨΑ ΒΕ Ν[**  
 2            **ΑΥΩ ΧΕ .[**  
               **ΝΕ ΝΕ.[**  
 4            **Μ̄ΠΕΤ[**  
               **Μ̄ΠΕΙ.[   6 ±       ]ΔΝ[. .]. [**  
 6            **ΕΡΟΦ̄ Β̄ΕΠΗ Β̄Ε [Μ]ΕΨΑΚ [Ν̄]**  
               **ΤΟΚ Ζ̄ΩΩΚ̄ [ΕΤΑΚ]Χ̄Ι ΜΟΕ[Ι]Τ̄**  
 8            **ΝΑΝ ΨΑΡΦ̄Φ [ΦΝΑΡ̄]ΝΟΕῙ**  
               **ΕΙC Ζ̄ΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ [ΟΥ]Ν̄ ΟΥΜΗ**

44,II        By matching the profile of p. 44 with p. 45, where a part of line 1 is extant, one is able to extrapolate the number of lines at the top of p. 44. On this basis there appears to have been one line more than Böhlig conjectured.

15-18       or "which Mareim wrote. One [of] the priests told it to Theuda...."



JAMES

# THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V,4:[44],II-63,32

[44]

## The Apocalypse

12 of [James]

This is [the] discourse that James

14 [the] Just (δικαιος) spoke  
in Jerusalem, [which]

16 Mareim, one [of] the priests,  
wrote. He had told it to

18 Theuda, the father of the Just One (δικαιος),  
since (ἐπειδὴ) he was a relative (συγγενής)

20 of his. He said:

“[Hasten]! Come with

22 [Mary], your wife and  
your relatives (συγγενής)

24 [

(6 ± lines lacking)

[45]

therefore [

2 and [

[

4 [

of this [

6 to him. Hasten then! Perhaps

[after] you yourself [have led]

8 us to [him, he will] understand (νοεῖν).

For (γάρ) behold, a multitude

where a p...  
number of...  
to have been...

44,21  
24

Reconstruction following Schenke (1), col. 29.

Where it can be ascertained, the total number of lines per page varies from 26 to 32. Conjectured totals are based on the nearest complete page.

priests...

45,6  
8

Reconstruction following Schenke (1), col. 29.

ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲩ: Reconstruction following Funk.

10 ΗΨΕ ΕΥΨΤΡ̄ΤΩΡ ΕΧΜ̄  
 ΠΕϞ[. . .]ΥΩ ΣΕΒΑΝ̄  
 12 [ΕΡΟϞ Ζ̄Ν Ο]ΥΝΟΒ Ν̄ΒΩΝ̄Τ̄  
 [ 7 ± ] . ΔΕ ΣΕ[Ψ]ΛΗΛ  
 14 [ 13 ± ]ΟΥ  
 [ 6 ± ] . ΝΕΪΨ[Α]ΧΕ ΓΑΡ  
 16 [ΝΕϞ]Ψ[ΑΧ]Ε Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Ν̄ΟΥ  
 [ΜΗΗ]ΨΕ Ν̄ΣΟΠ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΚΟ  
 18 ΟΥΞ ΟΝ ΝΕΪΨΑΧΕ ΝΕϞΧΩ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΥΖΜΟΟΣ Ν̄ΒΙ  
 20 ΠΑΨΑΪ Ν̄Ν̄ΛΑΟΣ· ΑϞΕ̄Ι Ε  
 ΖΟΥΝ Ν̄ΤΟϞ ΑϞΖΜΟΟΣ Ζ̄Ρ[ΑΪ]  
 22 Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΜΑ <ΑΝ> ΕΠΕϞΣΩΝ̄Τ̄ [ΠΕ]  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΑϞΖΜΟΟΣ Ν̄ΣΑΤ[ΠΕ]  
 24 Μ̄ΠΜΑΖ̄ΤΟΥ Ν̄ΤΩΡ̄Τ̄ [ΠΕΤ]  
 ΤΑΪΝΟΥΤ̄· ΕΡΕΠΕΝ[ΛΑ]  
 26 ΟΣ ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ̄.[  
 ΕΝΨ[Α]ΧΕ[  
 28 ΤΕ . . [  
 [ . . . ]Ψ . [  
 30 [ . . . ]Ψ[

## [MS]

[ 13 ± ]ΠΕ ΠΡΩ  
 2 [ 13 ± ]ΞΒΟΛ Ν  
 [ 15 ± ]ΥΨΑ  
 4 [ 15 ± ]ΜΠΗ  
 [ 14 ± ]ΧΕ ΟΥ  
 6 [ . . ] . . [ . ]Ε· Α[Ν]ΟΚ Π[Ε Π]Η ΕΤΑΥ  
 [Β]ΨΛ̄Π̄ Ν[ΑϞ ΕΒ]ΟΛ̄ Ζ̄ΙΤ̄Ν  
 8 Π̄ΠΛΗΡΩ[ΜΑ Ν̄ΤΕ] †ΑΦΘΑΡ

45,22 Emendation following Funk.

23 Reconstruction following Funk.

24 "fifth flight of steps": See Jos. *Bell.* V.194-201 and Mishnah *Mid.* 2.3,6. The place meant is probably the Nicanor gate leading into the court of Herod's temple from the east side. On three sides of the temple area there were nine flights of five steps leading up to nine gates: four on the north; four on the south; one on the east. (There was also a gate inside the court of women that led into the sanctuary proper. Apparently it did not have a flight of steps.)

10 are disturbed over  
 his [            ] and they are greatly  
 12 angry [at him].  
 [                            ] and (δέ) they pray  
 14 [                            ]  
 [                            ] For (γάρ)  
 16 [he would] often say these words,  
 and others  
 18 also. He used to speak these words  
 while the multitude of people (λαός)  
 20 were seated. But (on this occasion) he entered  
 and did <not> sit down  
 22 in the place, as was his custom.  
 Rather (ἀλλά) he sat above  
 24 the fifth flight of steps, [which]  
 is (highly) esteemed, while all our people (λαός)  
 26 [                            ]  
 the words [                            ]  
 28 [                            ]  
 [                            ]  
 30 [                            ]  
 [46]  
 [                            ]  
 2 [                            ]  
 [                            ]  
 4 [                            ]  
 [                            ]  
 6 [                            ] I am he who  
 received revelation from  
 8 the Pleroma [of] Imperishability (ἀφθαρσία).

If one counts from either side of the temple area, the Nicanor gate is at the head of the "fifth flight of steps." According to Josephus this gate was made of heavy Corinthian bronze that far exceeded the other eight gates in value. The other gates were simply overlaid with gold and silver. It has been identified with the "beautiful gate" of Ac 3:2. The location seems to have been a gathering place for the community leaders to deliberate matters of importance (Jos. *Bell.* II.411). See Funk, pp. 94-96.

CIA· ΠΕΝ[ΤΑΥ]Ρ̄ ΨΟΡ̄Π̄ ΝΤΑΖ  
 10 ΜΕΦ Ζ̄Μ ΠΗ ΕΤΝΕΑΦ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΦΣΩΤ̄Μ Ν̄ΣΑ Π̄Χ[ΟΕΙC]  
 12 ΠΕΝΤΑΦΟΥΩΤ̄Β̄ [ΕΒΟΛ Ν]  
 ΝΚΟC[ΜΟC]  
 14 ΠΗ Ε[Τ . . . ]ΑΦ[ . . ΠΕΝΤΑΦ]  
 ΚΑΚ̄ ΑΖΗΟΥ· Ο[ΥΑΑ]Φ [ΑΥΩ]  
 16 ΑΦΜΟΟΨΕ ΕΦΚΗΚ ΑΖ[ΗΟΥ]  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΒ̄Ν̄Τ̄ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥ  
 18 ΤΑΚΟ· ΕΥΝΑΟΥΑΤΒΕΦ  
 [Ε]ΖΡΑΪ ΕΨΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ·  
 20 [ΠΕ]ΙΧΟΕΙC ΕΤ̄ΜΠΕΪΜΑ·  
 [ΑΦΕ̄Ι] ΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΕΦΝΑΥ  
 22 [ΕΒ]ΟΛ' ΑΥΩ ΕΥCΟΝ ΠΕ  
 [ΑΥ]Ψ̄Ν̄Τ̄ ΕΦ̄Ν̄ΝΗΟΥ ΨΑ  
 24 [ . . . . . ]· Ε[ . . ]· [ . ]ΧΠΟΦ ΧΕ  
 [        10 ±        ]ΑΥΩ ΦΤΩΤ̄  
 26 [        10 ±        ]Α[Α]Φ ΝΡ̄Μ̄ΖΕ  
 [        14 ±        ]· ΟΥ[  
 (3 ± lines lacking)

[M2]

Ζ̄Ν· [ . ]· Ε[        9 ±        ΠΕΝ]  
 2 ΤΑΦΕΙ Ψ[ΑΡΟ  
 ΤΙC· Α[  
 4 ΠΙΚ[  
 Ζ̄Ν Ο[Υ  
 6 ΕΪΕ[ . . . ]Α· [ . ]ΤΚ[ . . ]Α[  
 †ΝΟΥ ΟΝ †Ε Ν[Ρ̄Μ̄]ΜΑΟ Ζ̄Ν  
 8 ΟΥΓΝΩ[CΙC ΑΥ]Ω ΕΥ[Ν]  
 ΤΑΪ Ν̄ΝΟΥΕ[ΙΜΕ Ν]ΟΥΩΤ̄  
 10 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄CΑ  
 ΠΨΦΕΙ ΟΥΑΑΦ· Μ̄Ν ΠΙΨΟ  
 12 [    6 ±    ]Ε̄[Ι] ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜΕ  
 [    6 ±    ]ΗΤ̄· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙ

46,11 Reconstruction following Schenke (1), col. 29.

12-13 "passed through the [worlds": Cf. Heb 4:14.

15 The translation ignores the punctuation mark following ΑΖΗΟΥ·

17-19 "perishable (state)" and "imperishability": Cf. 1 Cor 15:42-54.



14 [ 10 ± ] . [ . ] ΝΝΟΥ  
 . [ 7 ± ] ψ [ . ] . [ . ] . τ̄ ΕΤΑΪ  
 16 ϜΟΥ[ΩΝΩ]· ΠΕΤΑΦΟΥΩΝΩ  
 ΝΑΪ ΑΦ[Ω]Π̄ ΝΣΑΒΟΛ ΝΟΥ  
 18 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΕΦΕΟΥΩΝΩ  
 ΕΒΟΛ' ΕΒΟΛ ΩΪΤΟΥΤΩ· ΠΙ  
 20 ΣΝΑΥ ΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ' ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΑΥΡ̄ ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΤΑΨΕΦ[ΕΙΨ]  
 22 ΕΒΟΛ ΩΪΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΨ[ΑΧΕ]  
 ΕΥΕ† ΖΑΠ̄ ΕΡΟΦ ΜΝ [ΝΑΔΙ]  
 24 ΚΟC· ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΝΩ Χ[ΩΡΙC]  
 ΟΥΑ· ΑΦΜΟΥ ΩΝΝ ΟΥ[Α]  
 26 ΠΗ ΕΤΑ[Υ]Ν[Ο]ΧΩ [ΕΒ]ΟΛ  
 CΕ. [ ]  
 28 ΕΝ[ ]

(2 ± lines lacking)

**[MH]**

[ 12 ± ] ΤΑΦΩΑ  
 2 [ 13 ± ] ΝΒΑΛ  
 [ 15 ± ] ΕΙ  
 4 [ 15 ± ] ΕΪ  
 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . . Τ ] CΑΡΩ  
 6 [ΑΥ]Ψ ΦΕΙΝ[Ν]ΗΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΝ  
 Τ[CΑ]ΡΑΩ ΩΝΝ ΟΥΓ[Ν]ΩCΙC·  
 8 ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΜ[ΟΥ] ΩΝΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ·  
 ΕΥΝΑΒΙΝ[Ε] ΔΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΩΝ  
 10 ΟΥΩΝΩ· ΑΝΟΚ ΑΪΕ[Ι] ΦΖΟΥΝ  
 ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑ† ΖΑ[Π 6 ± †]

47,16-19 The subject of these sentences is assumed to be the content of revelation. They may, however, refer to Jesus: "He who was revealed to me was hidden from everyone and shall (only) be revealed through it" (i.e., "understanding," line 9).

19-22 Böhlig (1) and Kasser regard the text as corrupt. Funk, following Schenke (1), col. 29, takes 47,19-20 as a two part nominal sentence. However, it seems most probable that at least one line has been lost through scribal error following ΑΝΟΚ. The missing text would have resumed ΠΙCΝΑΥ ΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ in the suffix pronoun as the object of the missing verb. A certain identification of "these two who see" is not possible. Funk, following

(SECOND)  
 14 [ ]  
 16 knew. The  
 to me was  
 and shall  
 through h  
 two who s  
 (and) they  
 through ti  
 "He shall  
 He who liv  
 blasphemy  
 He who w  
 they [ ]  
 (2  
 45  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 6 [and] it is  
 that I shal  
 I am surel  
 but (he) it  
 I entered  
 in order th  
 Schenke (1),  
 two blind m  
 If the fragm  
 contained a  
 would then  
 Cl. Isa 53: 1  
 "blasphemy  
 in the lacu  
 course by J  
 d. also Böh  
 discourse by

14 [ ] whom I  
 16 knew. That which was revealed  
 to me was hidden from everyone  
 18 and shall (only) be revealed  
 through him. These  
 20 two who see I—  
 (and) they have already proclaimed  
 22 through these [words]:  
 "He shall be judged with the [unrighteous (ἄδικος)]."  
 24 He who lived [without (χωρίς)]  
 blasphemy died by means of [blasphemy].  
 26 He who was cast out  
 they [  
 28 [ ]  
 (2 ± lines lacking)

[48]

[ ]  
 2 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 4 [ ]  
 [ ] the] flesh (σάρξ)  
 6 [and] it is by knowledge (γνώσις)  
 that I shall come forth from the [flesh (σάρξ)].  
 8 I am surely dying,  
 but (δέ) it is in life that I shall be found.  
 10 I entered  
 in order that they might judge [ ] I]

Schenke (1), col. 29, understands this to be a reference to the two blind men in Mt 9:27-31; 20:29-34. However, cf. Jn 12:41. If the fragmentary section following the Isaiah citation (47,23) contained a citation from another prophet, the "two who see" would then refer to Isaiah and the other prophet.

47,23 Cf. Isa 53:12; Lk 22:37.

24-25 "blasphemy": Cf. Gal 3:13.

27-48,6 In the lacuna the text passes from James's discourse to a discourse by Jesus as related to James (cf. Schenke [2], p. 109, and cf. also Böhlig [1], p. 57, who does not take what follows to be a discourse by Jesus).

12  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}} \bar{\text{Z}}[\bar{\text{N}}]$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\dagger \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{P}} \bar{\text{A}}[ \quad 7 \pm \quad \dagger\dagger\text{T} ]\omega$   
 14  $\lambda\bar{\text{M}} \lambda\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}}\omega[\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{N}}]\bar{\text{N}}$   
 $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{L}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{E}}[ \dots ] \cdot \bar{\text{A}}$   
 16  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{E}}\dagger\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{I}}$   
 $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}} \cdot \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\omega \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}$   
 18  $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\omega\psi \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\omega\psi \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}} \bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}$   
 20  $[\bar{\text{E}}]\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{X}}\omega\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \cdot \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}\omega\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 $[\bar{\text{E}}]\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   
 22  $[\bar{\text{A}}]\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   
 $[\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}] \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{E}} \cdot \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}$   
 24  $[\bar{\text{A}}]\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{O}}[\bar{\text{E}}] \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\omega\bar{\text{T}}\dagger \bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}$   
 $[\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Q}} \quad 7 \pm \quad ] \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}$   
 26  $[ \quad \quad \quad 14 \pm \quad \quad ]\omega$   
 (4 ± lines lacking)

**ME**

$\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}[$   
 2  $\bar{\text{P}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}} \cdot \bar{\text{A}}[$   
 $\dagger\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{F}}[\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \dots \dots \omega\bar{\text{O}}]$   
 4  $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{Z}}[\bar{\text{N}}]$   
 $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} [\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{P}}\omega\bar{\text{O}}]\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}} [\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}]$   
 6  $[\bar{\text{E}}]\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Q}} \cdot \bar{\text{Q}}[\bar{\text{N}}]\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}$   
 $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}[\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}]\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}} [\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}]$   
 8  $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \cdot \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} [\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}] \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}$   
 $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\Delta}[\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{K}}]\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \cdot$   
 10  $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 $[\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\omega\bar{\text{T}}\dagger] \dagger\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 12  $[\bar{\text{E}}]\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}[\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}]\omega\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}} \cdot \dagger\dagger \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}} [\bar{\text{E}}]\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}[\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}] \bar{\text{N}}\dagger\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{H}} \dagger$

- 48,13 Both Böhlig (1) and Funk emend the text as follows:  $\bar{\text{N}} < \dagger > \dagger \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{P}} \bar{\text{A}}[\bar{\text{N}}]$ .
- 17 The first letter in the line (€) is oversized and occupies the space that normally accommodates two letters.
- 23 Reconstruction following Schenke (1), col. 30.
- 23-25 Cf. Mt 6:6; Lk 11:5-8.
- 49,6-8 The sentence seems to be a scribal gloss, since it interrupts the series of self-assertions in the first person by introducing a third person pronoun.



- 12 shall come forth [in  
 judge [ I do]  
 14 not bring blame against the  
 servants of his [  
 16 I hasten  
 to make them free and  
 18 want to take them above  
 him who wants to rule  
 20 over them. If  
 they are helped (βοηθεῖν),  
 22 I am the brother in  
 secret, who prayed (ἄρασθαι)  
 24 to the Father [until]  
 [he ] in  
 26 [  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[49]

- [  
 2 reign: [  
 [imperishability (ἀφθαρσία) ] first  
 4 in [  
 I [am the] first [son]  
 6 who was begotten.—He will destroy  
 the dominion of [them] all—  
 8 I am the beloved.  
 I am the righteous one (δίκαιος).  
 10 I am the son of  
 [the Father]. I speak even as  
 12 [I] heard. I command  
 even as I [received] the order (ἐντολή). I

49,8-15 Cf. Jn 8:28; 12:49; 17:25-26.

9 ΠΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ is translated as "the righteous one" to avoid con-  
 fusing the speaker with James.

11 or [ΠΑΙΩΤ], "[My Father]."

14 ΤΑΜ[Ο] ΜΜ[Ω]Τῼ· ΝΘΕ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑΪΘ[ΙΝ]Ε ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ †ΨΑΧΕ  
 16 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΪΝΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ· ΜΑ  
 † ΖΤΗΤῼ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΖΙΝΑ ΝΤΕ  
 18 ΤῼΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΕΨΧΕ ΑΪ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΙΜ· ΕΝ†  
 20 {Τ}ΑΪΕΙ ΓΑΡ <ΑΝ> ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΕΙΕ Μ̄  
 ΜΟC· ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΪΝΑΟ[Υ]  
 22 ΩΝῶ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ Ε†[ΨΟ]  
 ΟΠ̄ ΜΜΟC· ΝΕΪΨΟΟΠ  
 24 ΓΑΡ ΖῼΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΕΙ ΝΗΠ[Ε]  
 ΝΝΟΥΟΕΨ[. . .]ΩΝΕ[  
 26 Μῼ ΤΑ[ 9 ± ]Υ·[  
 ΑΥ[  
 28 Ω[

(2 ± lines lacking)

[N]

[ 11 ± ]· ΕΠΙΑΗ  
 2 [ 12 ± ]· ΑΥΩ  
 [ 13 ± ]ΕΟΥ  
 4 [ . . . ]· [ 8 ± ]ΩΑ  
 [ . . ]· ΕΪΖΜ[Ο]ΟC ΝΝ[Ο]ΥΟ  
 6 [ΕΙ]Ψ· ΕΪ[ΨΟ]ΧΝΕ Ν[Ζ]Η†·  
 [ΑΦ]ΟΥΩ[Ν ΜΠ]ΡΟ Α[Φ]ΕΙ ΝΑΪ  
 8 ΕΖΟΥΝ Ν[Θ]! ΠΑΪ ΕΤῼΜΑΥ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤῼΜΕ[С]ΤΩΦ  
 10 ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤῼΠΨ[Τ ΝCΩΦ]  
 / ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΧΑ[ΙΡ]Ε Π[Α]  
 12 / CΟΝ· ΠΑCΦ[Ν] ΧΑΙΡ[Ε]·  
 / ΝΤΕΡΙΤΩΩΝ [Μ]ΠΑ[Ζ]Φ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 14 / ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΪΕΕΙΩΡῼ ΝCΩΦ·  
 / ΠΕΧΕ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ Μ̄  
 16 ΠῼΝΟΥΨῼ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ

49,19-21 Emendation following Schenke (1), col. 30. Cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (III 4) 91,10-15 and *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 57,29-58,2. Funk transcribes 19-21, as ΕΝ†{Τ}ΑΪΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΕΙΕ Α[Ν Μ]ΜΟC and translates 19-23 thus: "For I have come the way I am not; and I shall not reveal the way I am."



αϕχοος εροκ χε πασον·  
 18 λυσανϠ τηγτḡ γαρ ζḡ  
 [τ]ειρωτε ḡογωτ· ε  
 20 [τ]βε παί ψαμογυτε  
 εροί χε ταμααγ· ḡνογ  
 22 ψḡμο γαρ ḡμον αν πε·  
 πσον [ζα] πεκειωτ πε·  
 24 ḡα[ 10 ± ]ετḡ  
 [ 13 ± ]αρεσ  
 26 [ 16 ± ].  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[NΔ]  
 ναγ χε πα[ 9 ±  
 2 [N]ειψαχ[ε 6 ± ]αφ[  
 ḡζητ α[ 6 ± ]φο[  
 4 ḡμοσ χε[ . . . . ]εζ· [   
 νοβ ḡμε[ . ] . [ . ] . . . [   
 6 [α]νοκ ετḡναβ[ḡτ]ογ ḡ[σεει]  
 εβολ· ανοκ [δε π]ε πι[ψ]ḡ  
 8 μο αγω ḡḡ[τα]γ σοογν  
 [ḡ]μοει ζḡ ḡε[γ]ḡεεγε  
 10 χε σε[с]οογн ḡμοει ζḡ  
 [πει]τοπ[ο]с· αλλα νεπε  
 12 [τε]ψψε δε πε ḡτεзенко  
 [ο]γε ειμε ε[β]ολ ζḡτοοτκ·  
 14 <παί> πετḡω ḡμοσ νακ χε  
 σωτḡ αγω ειμε· ογḡ  
 16 ογḡḡψε γαρ ευψαν  
 σωτḡ σεναρḡ βαβζητ·  
 18 ḡτοκ δε ειμε ḡεε ετḡ  
 ναψ χοος νακ· πεκειω[τ]  
 20 ḡπαίωτ εν πε· αλλα  
 παίωτ αγψωπε να[κ]  
 22 ḡνογειωτ· τείπαρ

50,23

"step-brother": Lit. "brother by your father." Böhlig (x) has emended the text to read: πσο[ḡ ḡτ]εκερωτε: "milk-brother." Funk emends it to read: π<ψн>с[он ḡπ]εκειωτ: "nephew."

he said 'My brother' to you (sg.).

18 For (γάρ) you (pl.) were nourished with  
this same milk. Because of

20 this he calls  
me 'My mother.'

22 For (γάρ) he is not a stranger to us.  
He is your [step-brother].

24 [

[

26 [

(4 ± lines lacking)

[51]

[  
2 these words [

[

4 [  
great [

6 I shall [find] them, and [they shall come]  
forth. [However (δέ)], I am the stranger,

8 and they have no knowledge  
of me in [their] thoughts,

10 for they know me in  
[this place (τόπος)]. But (ἀλλά, δέ) it

12 was fitting that others  
know through you.

14 <This is> what I say to you:  
Hear and understand—

16 for (γάρ) a multitude, when they  
hear, will be slow witted.

18 But (δέ) you, understand as I  
shall be able to tell you. Your father

20 is not my father. But (ἀλλά)  
my father has become a father

22 to [you]. This virgin (παρθένος)

her." B  
εκερωτε  
N>C(OH)

51,10

The last two letters of **ΜΜΟΞΙ** appear to have been written  
originally as **ϰ** and then corrected to **ΞΙ**.

24 **ΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΕΚCΩΤΜ ΕΤΒ[Η]**  
**ΗΤC· ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ[. . .]· Κ CΕ[**  
**ΠΕΜΤ· [ 8 ± Ε]ΒΘΛ[**  
 26 **ΝΤΑΡΙ[**  
**ΧΕ Ε··[ 7 ± ΠΑΡ]**  
 28 **ΘΕΝΟ[С**  
 (2 ± lines lacking)

**[NB]**

[ 9 ± Ν]ΘΙ †ΠΑΡ  
 2 [ΘΕΝΟ]C· Α[ . . . ]Ε ΧΕ ΠΩC  
 [ . . . ]ΑΧΩ[ . . . ]· Α[ . ]ΝΑΙ ΧΕ  
 4 [ . . . ]ΤΗ[ . . . Ε]ΙΜΕ ΠΑ  
 [ . . . ]ΝϞ[ . . ]ΡΕ ΝΘΕ ΑΝ  
 6 [ . . . ]Ε†[ . . . ]ΨC· ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ  
 [ . . . ]· ΡΕ ΖΡΑ[ . . ] ΟΥΖῆ ΕΡΟϞ  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΠΑ[Ι Ο]Ν ΕΤ῔ ΝΟϞΡΕ  
 ΝΑΚ· ΠΕΚΕΙΩ† ΕΤΕΚ  
 10 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ Ο[Υ]ΡῆΜΑ[Ο]  
 ΠΕ· ΕϞΕ† ΝΑΚ Ε῔ΚΛΗΡ[Ο]  
 12 ΝΟΜΙ ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΤΚ  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑΝΟΚ ††  
 14 ΨῆΝΟΥϞΕ ΝΑΚ Ε† ΝΑΚ  
 ΝΝΗ Ε†ΝΑΧΟΟΥ· ΕΨΩ  
 16 ΠΕ ΕΚΨΑΝCΩΤΜ †ΝΟΥ  
 ΒΕ ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΚΜΑΑΧΕ  
 18 ΑΥΩ ΕΙΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΟΟΥΕ  
 [Ε]ΥCΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΥ῔  
 20 [ΕΝ]ΕΡΓΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ῆ  
 ΤΟΥΤῆ ῆΠΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΝΕΟΟΥ  
 22 ΕΥΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΟΥ  
 ΨΤΟΡ†[῔ Μ]Νῆ [ΟΥ]ΑΜΑΖΤΕ

52,6 The superlinear stroke over C is circumflex in form.

8 Reconstruction following Funk.

13 "proclaim": Lit. "I give good news."

13-16 Taking the dependent clause in lines 15-16 with the sentence that precedes one might translate: "I proclaim to you to tell you these (words) that I shall speak if you hear (them). Therefore...." See Funk and Kasser.

about whom you hear—

24 this is how [

[

26 [

[

] virgin (παρθένος)

28 [

[

(2 ± lines lacking)

[52]

[ ] namely, the virgin (παρθένος).

2 [ ]: 'How (πῶς)

[ ] to me for

4 [ ] to know

[ ] not as

6 [ ] whom I [ ]. For (γάρ) this one (masc.)

[ ] to him,

8 and this also is profitable  
for you. Your father, whom you

10 consider to be [rich],  
shall grant that you inherit (κληρονομεῖν)

12 all these (things) that you  
see. I proclaim

14 to you to tell you  
these (words) that I shall speak. When

16 you hear, therefore,  
open your ears

18 and understand and walk (accordingly)!  
It is because of you that they pass by,

20 activated (ἐνεργεῖν) by  
that one who is glorious.

22 And (δέ) if they want to make a  
disturbance and (seize) possession

52,14 "to tell you": Lit. "in order to give to you."

17-21 The translation ignores the sentence divider in line 18 after **ΕΙΜΕ**. If one observes the divider, **ΕΥCINE** might be circumstantial, dependent upon **ΜΟΟΥΕ**.

21 Lit. "who is as the glories." Cf. *Zost.* (VIII,1) 47,16; 125,14.





24 [ ]  
 [ ] but (ἀλλά)  
 26 [ ] and  
 [ ]

(3 ± lines lacking)

[53]

[ ] he began [ ]  
 2 not, nor (οὔτε) those who are [coming],  
 who were sent forth [by]  
 4 him to make this present [creation].  
 After [these things],  
 6 [when he] is ashamed, he shall be disturbed  
 that his labor, which is far [from]  
 8 the aeons, is nothing. And  
 his inheritance (κληρονομία),  
 10 which he boasted  
 to be great, shall appear  
 12 small. And (τέ) his  
 gifts (δωρεά) are not  
 14 blessings (ἀγαθόν). His promises are evil  
 schemes. For (γάρ) you are not an (instrument)  
 16 of his compassion,  
 but (ἀλλά) it is through you  
 18 that he does violence. He wants  
 to do injustice (ἀδικία) to us and  
 20 will exercise dominion for a time (χρόνος)  
 allotted to him. But (ἀλλά)  
 22 understand and know the Father  
 who has compassion.  
 24 He was not given

53,20-21 "time allotted to him": Cf. 1 *Apoc. Jas.* (V,3) 26,8-10 and Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm Book*, p. 215, lines 20-24.

23 Lit. "who has the compassions."

24-28 Böhlig (1) senses a difficulty in the double negative in lines 24-25. To say that the compassionate Father was *not* given an "unlimited" inheritance implies that he was given a "limited" inheritance. However, the idea seems to be that the compassionate Father had not been given any inheritance—either limited or unlimited. His inheritance is eternal.

26 Ἰ ΝΠΕ ΕΡΟΣ· ΟΥΤ[Ε] ΜΜἸ[ΤΑΣ]  
 ΝΝΟΥΗΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΕΝΖΟΟ[Υ]  
 28 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΣΨΟΟΠ [ΜΠΖΟ]ΟΥ Ν  
 ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΜἸ . [ . . . . ] . Ν[  
 30 ΕΣΨΟΟΠ[ . ] . Ϛ . Μ[ . . . . ] . [

**[NΔ]**

[ . . . . αΙς]ΘΑΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΡ[  
 2 [ . . . ]ΑϚ· Α[Υ]Ψ ΑϚΡΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ  
 [ . . . ] ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΝΝΟΥΕΒΟΛ Μ  
 4 [ΜΟΟ]Υ ΑΝ ΠΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΨΑϚ  
 [ΧΙ ΣΩ]Ψ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ϚΨΟΥ  
 6 [ΨΟ]Υ ΜΜΟϚ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΣΟΖΕ  
 [ΜΜ]ϚϚ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ϚΟΥΟ  
 8 ΤΒ ΝΝΕΤΣΑΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΝΗ  
 ΕΤΑΥΒΩΨΤ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ Ε  
 10 ΧΩΚ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΤΑϚΡΑΙ  
 ΧΜΑΛΩΤΙ ΝΝΙΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ [ΠΙ]  
 12 ΩΤ· ΑϚΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΑΥΩ ΑϚΤΑΜΙΟΟΥ ΕΥΕΙ  
 14 ΝΕ ΜΜΟϚ· ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥ  
 ΨΟΟΠ ΝΜΜΑϚ· ΑΝΟΚ ΑΪ  
 16 ΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΧΝ  
 ΜΠΧΙΣΕ· ΑΥΩ ΔΕΙΤ ΜΑΕΙΝ  
 18 ΧΕ ΠΩΣ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 [Α]ΥΒΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ ΕΥ  
 20 ΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΚΕΣΜΟΤ· ΑΥΩ  
 [ΑΥ]ΣΟΟΥΝ <ΜΜΟΪ> ΖΝ ΝΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ  
 22 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ  
 ΜΜΟΣ ΕΪΒΑΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 24 ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥ  
 [Ψ]ΩΠΕ ΕΥΝΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥ

54,15-18 or "I saw from the height those that came to be, and I have explained how they came to be."

21 "watching": Regarding the use of βαψτ̄ as an infinitive, cf. Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm Book*, p. 162, 15, and p. 206, 7-9.

- an inheritance (κληρονομία) that was unlimited,  
 26 [nor (οὔτε)] does it (his inheritance) [have]  
 a (limited) number of days,  
 28 but (ἀλλά) it is as [the] eternal [day]  
 [  
 30 it is [  
 [54]  
 [ ] perceive (αἰσθάνεσθαι) [  
 2 [ ]. And he used (χρᾶσθαι)  
 [ ] For in fact (καὶ γάρ) he is not  
 4 one (come) from [them], (and) because of this he  
 [is despised]. Because of this he [boasts], so  
 6 that he may not be reproved.  
 For (γάρ) because of this he is superior to  
 8 those who are below, those  
 by whom you  
 10 were looked down upon. After he imprisoned (αἰχμαλω-  
 τεύειν)  
 those from [the] Father,  
 12 he seized them  
 and fashioned them to resemble  
 14 himself. And (δέ) it is  
 with him that they exist. I  
 16 saw from the height  
 those (things) that happened, and I have explained  
 18 how (πῶς) they happened.  
 They were visited while they  
 20 were in another form, and,  
 while I was watching,  
 22 [they] came to know <me> as I am  
 through those whom I know.  
 24 Now (μέν) before those (things)  
 [have happened] they will make a

00YN

e to be, and:

ωτ̄ as ei:  
52, 15, and p:

54,21-23 Cf. Jn 10:14.

26 [ . . ]κ εβολ· εἴσοοϋν  
 [χ]ε πφ[с] αϋϋ [τ]οοτοϋ  
 28 [εε]ι επ[εс]ηт επееιμα

[χε] εφεζων εζοϋν ε[  
 2 [ . . . ]νικοϋει νναλο[γ] αλλα  
 [εἶο]γωψ εοϋωνζ [εβολ ε]  
 4 [βολ] ϋἱτοοτκ· мн πι[πνα]  
 [ντб]ομ νφοϋωνζ εβ[ολ]  
 6 [νн]οϋκ αϋω σεοϋφ[н м]  
 πιρο ετнανοϋφ εβολ [ϋἱτο]  
 8 [ο]τκ· <νби> νετοϋωψ εεἰ εζοϋν  
 [α]ϋω εϋκωτε χεκαас  
 10 [ε]ϋεμοοψε ϋἱ τεϋἱη ετψο  
 [οп ϋ]αθн мπιρο· αϋω нсе  
 12 [οϋαϋ]οϋ нсωк нсеεἰ εζοϋн  
 [нг]εποοϋ εζοϋн нг† пве  
 14 [κ]ε мпоϋα ποϋα ετпηζ εροφ  
 нтоκ γαρ αν πε πιρεφсωте  
 16 мнн οϋβонθос нте ϋен  
 ψммо· нтк οϋρεφтоοτε  
 18 εζοϋн мн οϋρεφсωте  
 нте нете νοϋει· †ноϋ δε  
 20 нте нете νοϋк· нтоκ εκ[ε]  
 οϋωνζ εβολ· екеñ αγαθ[н]  
 22 нζηтоϋ τηροϋ· нтоκ ε[ϋερ]  
 ψпнре ммоκ εχн бом н[им]  
 24 нтоκ петεϋрмакарize м  
 моκ нби мпноϋε· нт[οκ]

- 54,26 Böhlig (1) reconstructs [χω]κ εβολ, "completion." Funk reconstructs [βω]κ εβολ, "exodus."
- 55,1-5 Schenke (1), col. 30, is correct in observing that a new thought must begin after νναλο[γ] (line 2). The context on the preceding page suggests that the "approaching" (55,1) is a negative act. If this is correct the evident contrast between the negative "approaching" and the positive revelation of p. 55 suggests αλλα following νναλο[γ].
- 3-15 For the role of James, cf. *Gos. Thom.* (II,2) 34,25-30 (logion 12); *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 64,12-13.

NE

(SECOND)

[how (πῶς,  
 to come]

that he m  
 th  
 I wish to  
 through yo  
 of Power,  
 to those; w  
 those who w  
 and who see  
 walk in the  
 before the d  
 open the go  
 follow you;  
 and you; e  
 to each one  
 For (γάρ) γ  
 nor a helpe  
 You are an  
 and a redee  
 of those wh  
 of those wh  
 reveal (to t  
 among them  
 admire, bec  
 You are he  
 bless (μακα

The Spirit of  
 (line 4) or the  
 is questionab  
 Unless lines 8-  
 subject of ce  
 the conjunctiv  
 (line 10). But  
 Emendation  
 Reconstructio  
 or "You shall

26 [                    ]. I know  
 [how (πῶς)] they attempted  
 28 [to come] down to this place

[55]

[that] he might approach [  
 2 [                    ] the small children, [but (ἀλλά)]  
 [I] wish to reveal  
 4 through you and the [Spirit (πνεῦμα)]  
 [of Power], in order that he might reveal  
 6 [to those] who are yours. And  
 those who wish to enter,  
 8 and who seek to  
 walk in the way that is  
 10 before the door,  
 open the good door through you. And they  
 12 follow you; they enter  
 [and you] escort them inside and give a reward  
 14 to each one who is ready for it.  
 For (γάρ) you are not the redeemer  
 16 nor a helper (βοηθός) of strangers.  
 You are an illuminator  
 18 and a redeemer  
 of those who are mine, and (δέ) now  
 20 of those who are yours. You shall  
 reveal (to them); you shall bring good (ἀγαθόν)  
 22 among them all. You [they shall]  
 admire, because of every powerful (deed).  
 24 You are he whom the heavens  
 bless (μακαρίζειν). You

55.4-5 The Spirit of Power may be a second object of the preposition (line 4) or the subject of **ΝΦΟΥΩΝ** (line 5). The reconstruction is questionable. The title appears in 2 Tim 1:7.

8-11 Unless lines 8-11 (**ΝΕΤΟΥΩΩ . . . ΜΠΙΡΟ**) are regarded as the subject of **CEOYΦ[N]** in line 6, one is required to regard all the conjunctives in lines 11-13 as 3rd future after **[ε]ΥΕΜΟΩΕ** (line 10). But cf. Funk for another translation of 55,6-14.

8 Emendation following Schenke (1), col. 30.

13 Reconstruction following Funk.

20-21 or "You shall appear (to them)."

- 26 εφεκωζ εροκ ν̄βι π̄η [εταϚ]  
 † πιραν εροϚ χε π̄[χοεις]  
 28 [ν̄]τακ̄ αν̄[ο]κ̄ επ̄ε[  
 [ 8 ± ]γε εβο[λ  
 30 [ 8 ± ]ση[ . . ]ρ[  
 [ 8 ± ]βο[ . . ]. [

## [NS]

- [νη ε]†χῑ σβω̄ εναί̄ ν̄μ̄[μακ]  
 2 [ετβ]ηητ̄κ̄ εγ̄ναταμ̄[οοϚ]  
 [εναί̄] ν̄σε̄μ̄τον̄ μ̄μ̄[οοϚ]  
 4 [ετβη]ηητ̄κ̄ εγ̄νᾱρ̄ ρ̄ρο̄ [ν̄σε]  
 [ω]φ̄πε̄ ν̄ρ̄ρο̄ ετβηη[τ̄κ̄]  
 6 [εγ̄]νᾱνᾱ ν̄νεί̄ ετοϚ̄νᾱ  
 [νᾱ ν̄]αγ̄ ν̄τοκ̄ γαρ̄ ρ̄ωσ  
 8 εν̄τ̄κ̄ ογ̄ωορ̄π̄̄ εακ̄†  
 ρ̄ιω̄ωκ̄ ν̄τοκ̄ ον̄ πε̄ π̄  
 10 ωορ̄π̄̄ ετ̄νακαακ̄̄ [α]  
 ρ̄ηοϚ̄ αγ̄ω̄ εκ̄εω̄φ̄  
 12 πε̄ ν̄θε̄ εν̄εκ̄ωορ̄π̄̄ ν̄  
 μοσ̄ ρ̄ᾱην̄ εμπ̄ατεκκα  
 14 ακ̄ ρ̄ηοϚ̄ αγ̄ω̄ αϚ† πι  
 ερω̄ί̄ αϚ̄μολ̄ρ̄̄ ν̄ρ̄ητ̄ εϚ̄  
 16 χω̄ ν̄μοσ̄ χε̄ παμεριτ̄  
 εις̄ ρ̄ηητε̄ †ναδ̄ωᾱπ̄̄  
 18 [ν̄]ακ̄ εβολ̄ ν̄νη̄ ετε̄ ν̄πε̄  
 [ν̄π̄]ηγε̄ ειμε̄ εροοϚ̄ οϚ̄  
 20 τε̄ νεγ̄αρ̄χων̄ εις̄ ρ̄η  
 ητε̄ †ναοϚ̄ων̄̄ νακ̄  
 22 [εβ]ο̄λ̄ ν̄νη̄ ετ̄<ε> ν̄πεϚ̄σοϚ̄

- 55,27-28 There are other possibilities: π̄[ρεϚ̄κωζ], "the Jealous One" (Funk), π̄[ιωτ], or π̄[νοϚ̄τε].  
 56,4-5 "reign, [and will] become kings": Cf. 1 Cor 4:8.  
 7-10 Regarding clothing and stripping, cf. Col 1:15,18 and *Ap. Jas.* (I,2) 14,35-36.  
 15 "took hold of" **μολ̄ρ̄̄**: The literal meaning given by Crum is "to be hooked into, twisted into, attached to." Yet the context clearly calls for a meaning of "embrace." Either "embrace" is a variant meaning for **μοϚ̄λ̄ρ̄** or **μολ̄ρ̄̄** was incorrectly written for **μολ̄χ̄̄**.

(SECOND)  
 he shall e  
 called him  
 I am the  
 [  
 [  
 [  
 56)  
 (those who  
 For your sa  
 these (thir  
 For your sa  
 become kin  
 they will he  
 For (γὰρ) j  
 you are fir  
 yourself, yo  
 first who w  
 and you sh  
 as you were  
 before you  
 And he kiss  
 my mouth.  
 "My love  
 Behold, I sh  
 to you thos  
 [the] heav  
 have know  
 I shall reve  
 those (thing

εμπ̄ατεκκα  
 with pron  
 There is actu  
 at the  
 two letters of  
 in compariso  
 the first ν̄ of  
 wrote ν̄, π̄η  
 (II,1) 31,6-7

26 he shall envy, he [who has]  
called himself your [Lord].

28 I am the [  
[

30 [

[

[56]

[those who] are instructed in these (things) with [you.]

2 For your sake they will be told

[these (things)], and will come to rest.

4 For your sake they will reign, [and will]

become kings. For [your] sake

6 they will have pity on whomever they pity.

For (γάρ) just as (ὥς)

8 you are first having clothed

yourself, you are also the

10 first who will strip himself,

and you shall become

12 as you were

before you stripped yourself.”

14 And he kissed

my mouth. He took hold of me saying:

16 “My beloved!

Behold, I shall reveal

18 to you those (things) that (neither)

[the] heavens nor (οὐρα) their archons

20 have known. Behold,

I shall reveal to you

22 those (things) that he did not know,

56,13-14 **ΕΜΠΑΤΕΚΛΑΚ**: Translation assumes elision of final κ of verb with pronominal suffix.

18-19 There is actually room for only one letter of normal size in the lacuna at the beginning of line 19. However, because the final two letters of line 18 are squeezed in (the letters are undersized in comparison to the rest of the letters in the line) I assume that the first **Μ** of 19 was also squeezed in. Apparently the scribe wrote **Μ/ΠΗΥΕ** and corrected to **ΜΠΕ/ΜΠΗΥΕ**. Cf. *Ap. John* (II,1) 31,6-7 for a similar phenomenon.

[ΩΝΟ]Υ ΝΒΙ ΠΗ ΕΤΑ'Ϟ'ΨΟΥ  
 24 [ΨΟΥ] ΜΜΟϞ[  
 [ . . . ] ΧΕ Α[  
 26 [ . . . ] . Τ[ . . ] . [ . . . ΜΝ]

[ΚΕ]ΟΥΑ ΝСА ΑΝΟΚ· †ΟΝΖ Α[Ν]  
 2 [ΕΒΟΛ] ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΕΙΩ† ΑΝΟΚ  
 [ΜΝ ΒΟ]Μ ΜΜΟΪ ΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ·  
 4 [ΕΙC Ζ]ΗΗΤΕ †ΝΑΒΩΛΠ̄ ΝΑΚ  
 [ΕΒΟΛ] ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΜΕ[ΡΙ†]  
 6 [ΕΙΜ]Ε ΑΥΩ CΟΥΩΝΟΥ [ΧΕΚ]Α  
 [Α]Ϟ ΕΚΕΒΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΪΖΗ Ν[Θ]Ε  
 8 [Ε]†Ε ΜΜΟC· ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ †  
 [Ν]ΑΒΩΛΠ̄ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΗ Ε†  
 10 [ΖΗ]†<sup>LJ</sup> †ΝΟΥ ΔΕ CΟΥΤΝ ΤΕΚ  
 [ΒΙ]Χ ΕΒ]ΟΛ †ΝΟΥ ΜΟΛΖΚ ΝΖΗ†·  
 12 [ΑΥ]Ψ †ΝΟΥ ΔΕΙCΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΑ  
 [ΒΙ]Χ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΙΖΕ ΕΡΟϞ  
 14 ΝΘΕ Ε†ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟC· ΑΛ  
 ΛΑ ΜΝ̄ΝCΩC ΑΪCΩΤΜ̄ ΕΡΟϞ  
 16 ΕϞΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΟΛΖΚ ΝΖΗ†· ΤΟΤΕ ΑΪΕΙ  
 18 ΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΪΡ ΖΟΤΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΔΕΙΡΑΨΕ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΑΨΕ  
 20 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
 ΝΗΤΝ ΝΙΡΕϞ† ΖΑΠ· ΑΥ†  
 22 ΖΑΠ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ  
 ΤΝ† CΟ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ† CΟ  
 24 ΕΡΩΤΝ̄· ΑΡΙΝΗΦΕ ΑΥΨ  
 Ϟ[ . . . ] Ν· Ν[ . ]· [ . ]· ΕΥΑ  
 26 [ I0 ± ]Η[ . . ]ΑΤΕ  
 [ I4 ± ]Ω·  
 28 [ I4 ± ]ΥϞ

56,23-57,3 For the motif of "father" being woven into the boast of the demiurge, cf. *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) 43,35-44,2; *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 64,19-22 and *Iren. Haer.* I.30.6.

56,26-57,1 Reconstruction following Funk, who cites a close parallel in *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 53,30-31. Cf. *Isa* 43:11; 44:6; 45:5-6,14,18,21-22; 46:9; 47:8,10.

ΝΖ

(SECOND  
 he who [  
 [  
 [  
 other exc  
 : Because I  
 (do) I (not  
 Behold, I  
 everything  
 (Understa  
 (that) you  
 I am. Be  
 (shall) rev  
 (is hidden  
 (hand). No  
 (And) the  
 hands and  
 as I thoug  
 afterwar  
 saying: "I  
 take hold  
 and I was  
 I was exc  
 Therefore  
 you (pl.),  
 have been  
 did not sp  
 Be sober  
 ICA ANO  
 Reconstruc  
 who (is hi  
 using the G  
 cf. also Ste  
 For incorp



he who [boasted],  
 24 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 26 [ ] there is no]

[57]

other except me. Am I not alive?  
 2 Because I am a father,  
 [do] I [not have power] for everything?’  
 4 Behold, I shall reveal to you  
 everything, my beloved.  
 6 [Understand] and know them  
 [that] you may come forth just as  
 8 I am. Behold, I  
 [shall] reveal to you him who  
 10 [is hidden.] But (δέ) now, stretch out your  
 [hand]. Now, take hold of me.”  
 12 [And] then I stretched out my  
 hands and I did not find him  
 14 as I thought (he would be). But (ἀλλά)  
 afterward I heard him  
 16 saying: “Understand and  
 take hold of me.” Then (τοτέ) I understood  
 18 and I was afraid. And  
 I was exceedingly joyful.  
 20 Therefore, I tell  
 you (pl.), judges, you  
 22 have been judged. And you  
 did not spare, but (ἀλλά) you were spared.  
 24 Be sober (νήφειν) and  
 [ ]  
 26 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 28 [ ]

57,1 ΝCα ANOK : Cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, sec. 235.

3 Reconstruction following Funk.

9-10 “who [is hidden]”: The title appears frequently in *Zost.* (VIII,1) using the Greek loan word ΚΑΛΥΠΤΟΣ. Cf. VIII 121,3,5; 125,12; cf. also *Steles Seth* (VII,5) 123,1 and *Allogenes* (XI,3) 62,15.

12-14 For incorporeal existence; cf. *Act. Jn.* 93.

NH

- ΝΤΩΤἩ ΝΕΤΕΤἩСО[ΟΥΝ]  
 2 ΑΝ ΠΕ· ΝΕἩΤΟϞ ΠΕ [ΠΗ Ε]  
 ΤἩΜΑϞ ΕΤΕ ἩΠΕϞ[ΝΑϞ]  
 4 ΕΡΟϞ ἩΒΙ ΠΕΝΤΑϞΤΑ[ΜΙΕ]  
 ΤἩΠΕ ΜἩ ΠΚΑϞ ΕϞΨΟϞ[Ἡ]  
 6 [Μ]ΜΟϞ· ΝΕἩΤΟϞ ΠΕ ΠΑἪ [Ε]  
 [Τ]Ε ΠΩΝḐ ΠΕ· ΝΕἩΤΟϞ  
 8 ΠΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΝΕἩΤΟϞ  
 ΠΕ ΠΗ ΕΤΝΕΨΩΠΕ·  
 10 ΑϞΩ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕϞΕ† [ἩΟΥ]  
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ἩΤΕ ΝΗ [ΕΤ]  
 12 / ΑϞῤΑΡΧΕΙ ΜἩΝ ΟϞΑΡΧἩ  
 ἩΤΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΝΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 14 ΝΕἩΤΟϞ ΠΕ ΠἩΠἩΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ  
 / ΑΑΒ· ΜἩ ΠΙΑΤΝΑϞ ΕΡΟϞ·  
 16 ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ἩΠΕϞΕἪ ΕΠΕCἩΤἪ  
 / ΕΧἩ ΠΚΑϞ· ΝΕἩΤΟϞ ΠΕ  
 18 †ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΑϞΩ ΠΕ  
 ΤΕ ΨΑϞΟΥΟΨḐ ΨΑϞΨΩ  
 20 / ΠΕ ἩΜΟϞ· ΑΝΟΚ ΑἪΝΑϞ  
 ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΝΕϞΚΗΚ ΑḐΗΟΥ  
 22 ΑϞΩ ΝΕΜἩ ΕΝΔΥΜΑ ΤΟΕ  
 ḐἪΩΩϞ· ΠΕΤΕ ḐΝΑϞ ΨΑϞ  
 24 ΨΩ[ΠΕ] ἩΜΟϞ . [ . ] . [ . . ]·  
 CϞ! . [ . ] ΕΝ[  
 26 Τ. Α[  
 ΤḐ[

NE

- [Κ]Ψ ἩCΩΤἩ ἩΤΕἪḐἩ ΕΤΝΑΨἪ  
 2 [ΤΑἪ] ΕΤΕ ἩΟΥΑΤΟ ἩCΜΟΤ·  
 [ΑϞΩ] ΜΟΟΨΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ ḐΝΑϞ  
 4 [ΧΕ Ε]ΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ἩḐΕΝῤἪḐΕ

58,6-8 For life and light, cf. *Teach. Silv.* (VII,4) 98,22-23; Jn 14:6.  
 10-13 For beginning and ending, cf. *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) 42,18-22.  
 18-20 or "that one whom he loves comes to be in him."  
 23-24 or "that which he wills happens in him."



[NMM]αἰ εατετῆρ σατπε ἄμῃ  
 6 [χοε]ἰς νιμ· οὐ γὰρ ἄνα[† ζα]ῖ  
 [α]ν εχῆν ἡ εατετῆρα  
 8 [α]λλὰ ἄνα ἡτῆρ· ἄτωτῆρ  
 [γα]ρ ἂν ατετῆρα· ἀλλὰ πε  
 10 [τῆρ]ορεῖς πε· νευρεῖωντῆρ  
 [αν πε] ἀλλὰ νευεῖωτῆρ ἄμῃ πε  
 12 [ἄτωτ]ῆρ δε ατετῆρ ζαῖ ερω  
 [τ]ῆρ· ἀγω ετβε παῖ τετῆρα  
 14 ζῆρ νευεῖωντῆρ· ἄτωτῆρ ατε  
 τῆρρα εχῆν τῆρ· ἀγω τε  
 16 τῆρμετανοεῖν· τετῆρ  
 ζῆρ ἄλλὰ ἂν· εναγ επῆ  
 18 εῖρα· ἀγω κωτε ἄνα  
 πετῆρ ἄρω· σογῶν πῆ  
 20 εταρεῖ επεῖμα· ἀγω εἰμε  
 επεταρεῖ εβολ· ἀνοκ πε  
 22 πῆραῖος ἀγω ἄτῆρ ζαῖ <αν>  
 ἄνοκ οὐχοεῖς δε ἂν ἀλλὰ  
 24 ἀνοκ οὐβοῆος· ἀγῶρα  
 ἄμορ εβολ ζαῖ εμπατερ  
 26 σογῶν τερεῖρα ε[β]ολ· ἀνοκ  
 [ 14 ± ]ογῶν  
 28 [ 17 ± ]ζ  
 [ ]  
 30 [ 17 ± ]ολ  
 Ⲙ  
 ἀγω ρκω ἄμορ ερωτ[ῆρ]

59.5 Böhlig's reconstruction of [ογρ]αἰ is problematic (1). The circumstantial clause is in the perfect tense and therefore must be prior to the time of the main clause. It would be awkward to have James admonish his hearers to "be saved *after* they have passed above every dominion." Once they had ascended above these powers they would have been "saved," and James would not need to admonish them.

6-8 For judgment, cf. *I Apoc. Jas.* (V,3) 31,11-12.

[with] me, after you have passed above  
 6 every [dominion]. For (οὐ γάρ) he will not [judge] (you)  
 for those (things) that you did  
 8 but (ἀλλά) will have mercy on you.  
 For (γάρ) (it is) not you who did them, but (ἀλλά) it is  
 10 [your] Lord (who did them). [He was not]  
 a wrathful one but (ἀλλά) he was a kind (χρηστός) Father.  
 12 But (δέ) you have judged [yourselves],  
 and because of this you will remain  
 14 in their fetters. You  
 have oppressed yourselves and you  
 16 will repent (μετανοεῖν), (but) you will  
 not profit at all. Behold him  
 18 who speaks and seek  
 him who is silent. Know him  
 20 who came to this place and understand  
 him who went forth (from it). I am  
 22 the Just One (δίκαιος) and I do <not> judge.  
 I am not a master, then, but (ἀλλά)  
 24 I am a helper (βοηθός). He was cast  
 out before he  
 26 stretched out his hand. I  
 [  
 28 [  
 [  
 30 [  
 60  
 and he allows me to hear.

59,28-30

In 1973 in Cairo I placed a previously unidentified fragment at the bottom of p. 59. The fragment proves the existence of at least three lines beneath what Böhlig (1) had assumed to be the last line (27) and renders impossible a continuous text connection between 59,27 (ϞΥΩΝ) and the top of p. 60, as assumed by Kasser, and as Schenke ([1], col. 31) must have assumed in reconstructing the first part of 59,27.

- 2 **ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄** **САΛΠΙΓ̄ΓΟС** **Μ[̄Ν]**  
**ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄** **СΗΒΕ** **ΧΩ** **Μ̄ΜΟΟ[Υ]**  
4 **Μ̄Ν** **ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄** **ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ** **Ν̄[ΤΕ]**  
**Π[Ι]ΗΙ'** **ΠΧΟΕΙС** **ΠΕΝΤΑϞΡ̄Α[Ι]**  
6 **Χ[Μ]** **ΑΛΩΤΕΥΕ** **Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν**  
**Ε[Β]ΟΛ** **Μ̄ΠΧΟΕΙС'** **ΕϞΤΩΜ** **Ν̄**  
8 **ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄** **ΜΑΑΧΕ** **ΧΕΚΑΑС** **Ε**  
**ΝΕΥСΩΤ̄Μ** **ΕΤΕСΜΗ** **Ν̄ΤΕ**  
10 **ΠΑΩΑΧΕ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΤΕΤΝ[ΑΥ †]**  
**ΖΤΗΤ̄Ν** **Ζ̄Ν** **ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄** **ΖΗΤ̄** **[ΑΥΩ]**  
12 **ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ** **ΕΡΟΪ** **ΧΕ** **ΠΑΙ**  
**ΚΑΙΟС'** **ΕΤΒΕ** **ΠΑΪ** **†ΧΩ** **Μ̄**  
14 **ΜΟС** **ΝΗΤ̄Ν** **ΧΕ** **ΕΙС** **ΖΗΤΕ** **ΑΪ†**  
**ΝΗΤ̄Ν** **Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΗΙ'** **ΠΕΤΕ**  
16 **Τ̄Ν̄ΧΩ** **Μ̄ΜΟС** **ΧΕ** **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**  
**ΑϞΤΑΜΙΟϞ'** **ΠΗ** **ΕΤΕ** **ΖΡΑΪ**  
18 **Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄** **ΑϞΕΡΗΤ̄** **Ε†** **ΝΗΤ̄Ν**  
**Ν̄ΝΟΥΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ** **Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄**  
20 **ΠΑΪ** **†ΝΑΚΑΑϞ** **ΕΖΡΑΪ** **ΕΥ**  
**ΤΑΚΟ** **Μ̄Ν** **ΟΥСΩΒΕ** **Ν̄ΤΕ** **ΝΗ**  
22 **Ε†ΨΟΟΠ̄** **Ζ̄Ν** **ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑ†**

60,2-3

**САΛΠΙΓ̄ΓΟС**: This form of *σάλπιγξ* is found in NT only in Bohairic. In Sahidic only **САЛПИГ̄Ξ** is attested. It is therefore possible that **САΛΠΙΓ̄ΓΟС** here is a genitive form. Cf. A. Böhlig, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im sahidischen und bohairischen Neuen Testament* (Münich: Verlag Robert Lerche, 1954), s.v.

"play": **ΧΩ** is usually translated "sing" or "say". However, the sense of the passage here clearly argues that it be translated as "play." **ΑΥΩ** at the beginning of the sentence is awkward. One can only assume that it links **ΧΩ** to a preceding imperative now lost in the lacuna at the bottom of p. 59. Before **ΧΩ** the scribe deleted **Ν̄**.

5-6

"The Lord has taken you captive": Cf. Isa 6:9-10; Jn 12:40.

5-7

The double use of "Lord" is a problem. I understand the first "Lord" to be the evil creator who has imprisoned men in the body (54,10-14), and who keeps them enslaved through the temple ritual. The second "Lord" is either Jesus or the compassionate Father (53,21-23). However, it is possible that the scribe has incorrectly written **ΧΟΕΙС** for **ΧΙСΕ** in line 7: "The Lord has taken you captive from the height."

7-12

Cf. Funk, for a different treatment of the text.

- 2 And play your trumpets (σάλπιγξ),  
your flutes  
4 and your harps (ψαλτήριον) [of]  
[this house]. The Lord has taken  
6 you captive (αἰχμαλωτεύειν)  
from the Lord, having closed  
8 your ears, that  
they may not hear the sound of  
10 my word. Yet you [will be able to pay]  
heed in your hearts [and]  
12 you will call me "the Just One (δίκαιος)."  
Therefore, I tell  
14 you: Behold, I gave  
you your house, which  
16 you say that God  
has made—that (house) in which  
18 he promised to give you  
an inheritance (κληρονομία) through it.  
20 This (house) I shall doom to  
destruction and derision of those  
22 who are in ignorance.

60,14-22

It is difficult to reconcile this part of the discourse with James, who is evidently the speaker. In it he exceeds the limits of his own ability and makes statements that presume on the divine prerogative. For example, in what sense can James be said to have given the temple to the Jews (60,14-17)? Since the temple has a negative value in this context, it is doubtful that James would make such a claim. It is apparently this difficulty that prompted Schenke to insert **ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC**, "from the Lord," after **ΝΗΤἩ** "to you" in line 14, after he had removed it from line 7. The double emendation solved two problems. It corrected a difficult reading in line 7 and in line 14 it made James speak with "prophetic" authority (cf. Schenke [1], col. 31). The identity of the divine personage for whom James is made to speak is unclear, however. Something may have been omitted from the text through scribal error (haplography). One possible solution to the problem would be to emend the text at line 14 as follows: **ΑΙΤ' <ΖΑΠ> ΝΗΤἩ ΜΠΕΤἩΗΙ**, "Behold I have (judged) you by your house—which you say that God has made." However, compare the similarity of the discourse with Jeremiah's temple sermon (Jer 7:2-15), particularly Jer 7:14.

ΕΙΜΕ· ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΣΕ  
 24 ΨΟΧΝΕ ΝΒΙ ΝΗ ΕΤ† ΖΑΠ  
 ΕΙΡΕ[            12 ±            ]Μ  
 26 Μ . [            14 ±            ] .  
 (3 ± lines lacking)

[Μ]ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΕΡΕ  
 2 Π[ΛΑΟ]C ΤΗΡ῀ ΝΕΦΩΤ῀ΡΤΩΡ  
 ΜΝ ΠΜΗΗΨΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥ  
 4 ΟΥΟΝῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩC ΕΜΠΟΥΤΩ†  
 ΝΖΗΤ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦΤΩΩΝ ΑΦΕΙ  
 6 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΤΕΙ[Ζ[Ε]  
 ΑΦΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΙΖΟΥ [Α]Φ  
 8 ΨΑΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ·  
 [Α]ΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΕΙΜΝ ΝΙΟΥΗΗΒ  
 10 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΙΟΥΩΝῆ ΛΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ  
 ΠΕ ΝΤΕ †ΜΝ†CΥΝΓΕΝΗC·  
 12 [Ε]Π[Ι]ΔΗ ΝΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΖῆΝ ΟΥCΜΗ ΟΥΟΤΕ ΧΕ ΑΜΗ  
 14 ΕΙΤῆ ΝΤῆῆ ὶ ΩΝΕ ΕΧῆ ΠΑΙΚΑΙ  
 ΟC· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝΟΥ  
 16 ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΖΕ ΜΑ  
 ΡῆΖΩΤῆ ΜΠΙΡΩΜΕ ΝCΕ  
 18 ΦΙΤ῀ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΕΝΜΗΤΕ· ΦΝΑ  
 Π ΨΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΝ ΑΝ Ζῆ ΛΑΑΥ·  
 20 ΝΕΥΜΜΑΥ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟΦ  
 / ΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤ῀ ΖΑΤῆ ΠΙΤῆῆ ΝΤΕ  
 22 / ΠΕΡΠΕ ΖΑΤῆ ΠΙΩΝΕ ΕΤΧΟΟΡ  
 / ΝΚΟΟΖ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΩΨ ΕΝΟΥ  
 24 / ΧΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΠΕCΗ† ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ

61,1-62,12 In addition to those reports on the death of James already cited in the introduction, see Jos. *Ant.* XX.200; Eus.*Hist.Eccl.* II. 1.4-5; Allberry, *Manichaean Psalmbook*, p. 142,25-26 and p. 192, 8-9. See Brown (1) and Little for a discussion of the reports.

12-19 "he will be of no use to us": Cf. Isa 3: 10 (LXX); WisdSol 2:12-20; Eus. *Hist.Eccl.* II.23.15.

21 "columns": Τῆῆ is difficult to translate in terms of the situation in the text. Böhlig (1) translates it as "pinnacle" (cf. Mt 4:5),



For (γάρ) behold,  
 24 those who judge deliberate

[  
 26 [

(3 ± lines lacking)

61

[On] that day  
 2 all the [people (λαός)] and the crowd  
 were disturbed and they  
 4 showed that (ώς) they had not been persuaded.  
 And he arose and went  
 6 forth speaking in this [manner].  
 And (δέ) he entered (again) on that same day and  
 8 spoke a few hours.  
 And (δέ) I was with the priests  
 10 and revealed nothing  
 of the relationship (συγγενής),  
 12 since (ἐπειδή) all of them were saying  
 with one voice: 'Come,  
 14 let us stone the Just One (δικαιος).'  
 And they arose  
 16 saying: 'Yes, let  
 us kill this man, that  
 18 he may be taken from our midst.  
 For (γάρ) he will be of no use to us.'  
 20 And (δέ) they were there and found him  
 standing beside the columns of  
 22 the temple beside the mighty corner  
 stone. And they decided to throw  
 24 him down from

and Kasser translates it as "cornice." I have translated it as "columns," since ΤΝΖ can be used to translate πτερόν. In Greek architecture πτερόν identified the rows of columns along the sides of Greek temples. It is difficult to imagine James standing beside the "pinnacle" of the temple at the same time he was standing beside the corner stone. But see Funk, who understands the tension as a literary combination from tradition.

/ ΠΧΙΣΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΝΟΥΧΕ  
 26 / ΜΜΟQ ΕΠΕCΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ  
 / ΔΕ [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . ] ΑΥΝΑ.  
 28 ΕΙ . . [ ΙΟ ± ] . ΥΤΩ  
 . [

ΞΒ

ΑΓΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟQ ΑΥCΩ[Ω Μ]  
 2 ΜΟQ ΕΥCΥΡΕ ΜΜΟQ Ζ̄Ι Π[Κ]ΑΖ·  
 ΑΥΚΕCΚΩCḄ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΚΑ  
 4 ΟΥΩΝΕ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄Ν ΝΕQΜΑΖΤ̄·  
 ΑΥΚΑ ΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄ΩQ  
 6 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑQCΩΡ̄Μ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ  
 8 ΑΥΤΟΥΝΟCḄ ΕΦΟΝ̄Ζ̄ ΑΥΤΡΕQ  
 ΨΙΚΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΖ̄ΙΕΙΤ̄ ΑΥΤΑΖΟQ  
 10 ΕΡΑΤḄ Ν̄ΖΗΤḄ ΕΑΥΖΟQCḄ  
 ΨΑΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΕQΜΑΖΤ̄· ΑΥΖ̄Ι  
 12 ΩΝΕ ΕΧΩQ Ν̄ΤΕΪΖΕ· Ν̄ΤΟQ  
 ΔΕ ΑQCΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΕQΒΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ  
 14 ΑQΧΩ Ν̄ΤΕΪΠΡΟCΕΥΧΗ  
 ΤΕΪ ΑΝ ΕΤΕQCΥΝΗΘΙ ΠΕ ΧΟΟC  
 16 ΧΕ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΪΩΤ̄  
 ΠΕΝΤΑQΝΑΖΜΕΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
 18 †ΖΕΛΠΙC ΕCΜΟΟΥΤ̄·  
 ΠΕΝΤΑQΤΑΝΖΟΕΙ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥ  
 20 ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΤΕ Ζ̄ΝΑQ·  
 ΝΕΚΤΡΕΥΩCḄ ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΒΙ  
 22 ΝΕΪΖΟΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΪΚΟCΜΟC·  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΚ  
 24 ΟΥΟΕ[ΙΝ 6 ± ]Ḅ[ . . ]ΨΟΧ̄Π̄

62,7

“You have erred”: ΠΕΝΤΑQCΩΡ̄Μ has also been translated as “seducer” (Böhlig [1]). The form here seems to be intransitive. Cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II.23.15: καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη. The crowd believed that James had erred, and understood his discourses as an attempt to mislead them. This is precisely the reason for James’s ceremonial execution. The crowd regarded him as a πλάνος (Π'רמ'ה) and Jewish law required death by stoning for whoever attempted to lead the community astray (Mishnah

(SECON

the heig

6 him dow

they

[

[

[

62

They seiz

him as th

They stre

a stone on

They all p

6 saying

You have

they raise

dig a hole

in it. Afte

up to his

him in thi

he stretch

and said th

not that (

6 My God a

who saved

this dead h

who made

mystery (μ

do not let

be prolong

but (ב'ז'ז')

light

—

Suk. 7.4; De

against Jesus

6 Cl. Ap. Jas. (

in the sand, a

which als

a "Do not let . .

ωCΚ as a n

the height, and they cast  
 26 him down. And (δέ)  
 they [                    ] they

28 [                    ]  
 [                    ]  
 62

They seized him and [struck]  
 2 him as they dragged (σέρειν) him upon the ground.  
 They stretched him out, and placed  
 4 a stone on his abdomen.  
 They all placed their feet on him  
 6 saying  
 'You have erred!' Again (πάλιν)  
 8 they raised him up, since he was alive, and made him  
 dig a hole. They made him stand  
 10 in it. After having covered him  
 up to his abdomen, they stoned  
 12 him in this manner. And (δέ)  
 he stretched out his hands  
 14 and said this prayer (προσευχή)—  
 not that (one) which it is his custom (συνήθεια) to say:  
 16 'My God and my Father,  
 who saved me from  
 18 this dead hope (ἐλπίς),  
 who made me alive through a  
 20 mystery (μυστήριον) of what he wills,  
 do not let these days of this world (κόσμος)  
 22 be prolonged for me,  
 but (ἀλλά) the day of your (sg.)  
 24 [light                    ] remains

*Sanh.* 7.4; Deut 13:14). Cf. Jn 7:12 where the same charge is made against Jesus.

62,10-12 Cf. *Ap. Jas.* (I,2) 5,18-20 where Jesus claims to have been buried in the sand, and notes that James has not yet been so treated.

15 or "which also it is his custom to say."

21-22 "Do not let. . . be prolonged for me": See Funk, for ΝΕΚΤΡΕΥ-ΩCΚ as a negative third future.

26     $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{H}\bar{\text{T}}\text{[}$              $\text{II} \pm$             ] $\bar{\text{Y}}$   
           $\bar{\text{W}} \cdot \text{[}$              $\text{I2} \pm$             ]  $\cdot \bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{N}}$   
           $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{[}$

[ΟΥ]χαί· βολῆ̅ εβολ̅ ἄσβολ̅ ἄπει̅  
 2    ἄ[α ἄβ]οειλε· ἄπῆ̅τρεφω̅χῆ̅  
          ἄζη̅τ̅ ἄβι̅ πεκζμοτ̅· ἀλλὰ μα  
 4    ρεφω̅πε εφογα̅αβ̅ ἄβι̅ πεκ  
          ζμοτ̅· ναζμετ̅ εβολ̅ ἄνοῦ  
 6    μοῦ εφζοοῦ· ἀνιτ̅ εβολ̅ ζῆ̅  
          ἄ οὔμ̅ζαοῦ εἶον̅ζ̅· χε̅ φον̅ζ̅ ἄ  
 8    ζη̅τ̅ ἄβι̅ πεκζμοτ̅· περω̅ς  
          εῖρ̅ ζωβ̅ ἄοῦζωβ̅ ἄτε̅ οὔπλη  
 10    ρωμα· ναζμετ̅ εβολ̅ ζῆ̅ν̅ οὔ  
          σαρξ̅ ἄνοβε· χε̅ αἰτω̅τ̅ ἄ  
 12    ζη̅τ̅κ̅ ζῆ̅ ταβom̅ τηρ̅ς̅· χε̅ ἄτοκ  
          πε̅ πων̅ζ̅ ἄτε̅ πων̅ζ̅· ναζμετ̅  
 14    εβολ̅ ζῆ̅τοοτ̅ῆ̅ ἄνοῦχα̅χε̅ ἄ  
          ρεφῶβ̅βιο· νεκτα̅ατ̅ ετοοτ̅ῆ̅  
 16    ἄνοῦρεφ̅τ̅ζαπ̅· ἄρεφω̅ωτ̅  
          εβολ̅ ζῆ̅ πνοβε· κω̅ ναἰ̅ εβολ̅  
 18    ἄνη̅ ετεροῖ̅ τηροῦ̅ ἄτε̅ νε  
          ζοοῦ̅ χε̅ τ̅ον̅ζ̅ ἀνοκ̅ ζραἰ̅ ἄ  
 20    ζη̅τ̅κ̅· φον̅ζ̅ ἄζη̅τ̅ ἄβι̅ πεκ  
          ζμοτ̅· αἰ̅ρ̅αρ̅νι̅ς̅ε̅ ἄνοῦον̅  
 22    ἄνιμ̅· ἄτοκ̅ δε̅ αἰ̅οῦον̅ζ̅κ̅ εβολ̅·  
          ναζμετ̅ εβολ̅ ζῆ̅ν̅ οὔε̅λι̅ψ̅ι̅ς̅  
 24    ες̅ζοοῦ̅· τ̅νοῦ̅ δε̅ ποῦο[ει̅ω]  
          ἄε̅ ἀγω̅ τοῦνοῦ̅ τε̅· πι̅π̅[ἄνα]  
 26    ετογα̅αβ̅· ματ̅ἄνοῦ̅ ζα[ροἰ̅]

63,2-3    “grace”: Kasser suggests that the scribe or Coptic translator has incorrectly written ζμοτ̅ for βωντ̅.

8-9        “Love...to accomplish a work of fullness” is thought by both Funk and Böhlig (1) to be an interpolation.

16-17     “who is severe with sin”: The meaning of ἄρεφω̅ωτ̅ εβολ̅ ζῆ̅ πνοβε is unclear. It can be understood in at least three ways. If one takes φω̅ωτ̅ by itself and links εβολ̅ ζῆ̅ with πνοβε, it could be translated, “one who torments through sin.” If one links εβολ̅ with φω̅ωτ̅ and ζῆ̅ with πνοβε, it could

(SECOND)  
 in [  
 6 [  
 [  
 31  
 salvation.  
 1 [place of  
 in me, but  
 4 your grace  
 Save me fr  
 6 evil death  
 a tomb ali  
 8 love (ἐρω)  
 to accompl  
 9 Save me fr  
 sinful flesh  
 11 in you wit  
 are the life  
 12 from a hum  
 enemy! Do  
 13 of a judge  
 with sin! F  
 14 all my deb  
 days (of m  
 15 you, your  
 I have ren  
 16 but be yo  
 Save me fr  
 17 affliction (t  
 and the ho  
 18 Spirit (ἁγ  
 be translated  
 εβολ̅ ζῆ̅ π  
 off from sin”  
 19 weῖ before  
 20 Cf. Mt 6:13  
 temptation.  
 21 Cf. Mt 6:12.  
 22 “unfessed”  
 Reconstruct

in [  
26 [  
[

63

salvation. Deliver me from this  
2 [place of] sojourn! Do not let your grace be left behind  
in me, but (ἀλλά) may  
4 your grace become pure!  
Save me from an  
6 evil death! Bring me from  
a tomb alive, because your grace—  
8 love (ἔρωσ) —is alive in me  
to accomplish a work of fullness (πλήρωμα)!  
10 Save me from  
sinful flesh (σάρξ), because I trusted  
12 in you with all my strength! Because you  
are the life of the life, save me  
14 from a humiliating  
enemy! Do not give me into the hand  
16 of a judge who is severe  
with sin! Forgive me  
18 all my debts of the  
days (of my life)! Because I am alive in  
20 you, your grace is alive in me.  
I have renounced (ἀρνεῖσθαι) everyone,  
22 but (δέ) you I have confessed.  
Save me from evil  
24 affliction (θλιψις)! But (δέ) now is the [time]  
and the hour. O Holy  
26 [Spirit (πνεῦμα)] send [me]

be translated, "one severe through sin" (Böhlig [1]). If one takes  
**ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ** with **ΨΩΩΤ** it could be translated, "one who cuts  
off from sin" (Kasser). Funk emends the text by inserting **ΝΑΖ-**  
**ΜΕΤ** before **ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΝΟΒΕ**. I take **ΕΒΟΛ** with **ΨΩΩΤ**.  
63,15-17 Cf. Mt 6:13 where the request is that one might not be led into  
temptation.

17-19 Cf. Mt 6:12.

21-22 "confessed": Cf. Lk 12:8-9.

26 Reconstruction suggested by Schenke (1).

- ΝΟΥΟΥΧ[ΑΙ .]ΠΟΥΟΥΕΙΝ[  
 28 ΠΟΥΟΥΕΙΝ [ . . ]ΕΤ . ΗΨ[  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΒΟΜ [ . . . ]Ε[ . . ]ΚΟ Ν[  
 30 ΝΤΕΡΕΟΥΟΥ[ΟC ΑΟΥΟΥ]ΑΡΩ[ΟΥ  
 ΨΑΟΥΟΥ Χ[ . . . ] . Α[ . . ]ΟΥΟΥ[ . . . . ΜΝ]  
 32 ΝCΩ[C . . . ]ΠΛΟΥΟΥC . [

---

63, end      Contrary to Böhlig's transcription (1) the title of the tractate does not appear on a final line 33. What Böhlig reads as τ

(SECON

salvation  
 the light  
 in a powe  
 After he  
 word  
 the

beneath line  
 lar to those

salvation [ ] the light [  
28 the light [  
in a power [  
30 After he [spoke, he] fell silent [  
word [ afterward]  
32 [ ] the discourse (λόγος) [  

---

beneath line 32 in the left margin is a large paragraph sign similar to those in *Apoc. Adam*.

Abbas, Koptisc  
M. "The Apo  
II. Pp. 13-23  
ed. Gressis un

ical tractate of  
is wholly blank  
at the tops an  
to be reconstru  
end, perhaps  
both the num  
a number  
graph signs  
81, 15; 82, 5  
written-out num  
at the end of  
82, 4, 10  
of it (79, 1  
Coptic wo  
of alternative  
crosses the inser  
the case of *AA*  
the beginning  
ization. Epi  
in use amon  
of Seth," but  
The Cologne  
of Adam," whi  
In its conte  
three heav  
explains the  
its transmiss  
despite the



## THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

V,5:64,1-85,32

GEORGE W. MACRAE

Böhlig-Labib. *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen*. Pp. 86-117.

Krause, M. "The Apocalypse of Adam." *Gnosis*. Edited by Foerster.

Vol. II. Pp. 13-23.

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 46-47.

The final tractate of Codex V is the best preserved: of its 22 pages (one left wholly blank, p. 68) none is completely intact, but the lacunae at the tops and bottoms are sometimes minor and in a few cases can be reconstructed with confidence. The papyrus is of poor quality and, perhaps as a consequence, the scribal hand is very uneven; both the number and the length of lines vary considerably. There are a number of scribal peculiarities: the frequent use of forked paragraph signs in the left-hand margin (extant after 79,18; 80,9.20.29; 81,15; 82,5.11; 85,19); the insertion of numeral signs above written-out numbers (72,8; 73,15; 78,6.27; 79,28; 81,2.24; 82,7) or at the end of a line in addition to written-out numbers (80,9.20; 81,14; 82,4.10); the use of the numeral sign alone (64,4) or the omission of it (79,19); the insertion of Coptic synonyms written above other Coptic words (78,10; 79,10; 80,1.4; 81,16.19); and the insertion of alternative letters above the line (81,18 and 82,12). In all these cases the insertions appear to be written *prima manu*.

As in the case of *Apoc. Paul* and *1 Apoc. Jas.*, the title appears both at the beginning (complete) and at the end (fragmentary) and without variation. Epiphanius (*Pan.* 26.8.1) refers to "apocalypses of Adam" in use among the "Gnostics," along with the "books in the name of Seth," but no closer identification with this tractate is possible. The Cologne Mani Codex (48,16-50,7) also cites an "Apocalypse of Adam," which, however, has no apparent relation to our document. In its content, *Apoc. Adam* is a revelation received by Adam from three heavenly visitors and narrated by him to his son Seth. He explains the loss of saving knowledge by himself and Eve (the fall), its transmission to Seth and his descendants, and its preservation, despite the attempts of the creator-god to destroy man-

kind by flood and by fire, until the third coming of a savior figure, the "Illuminator." The latter is persecuted by the powers of the world but will ultimately triumph over them. At the mention of his coming there is a long hymnic passage (77,27-83,4), which may be an interpolation into an original apocalypse, in which thirteen false or inadequate explanations of his origin are contrasted with a true one by the "generation without a king," i.e., the Gnostics. This unusual passage is a remarkable example of gnostic syncretism.

In terms of literary form the work embodies a whole succession of the traditional literary devices of revelation (see Festugière, *La Révélation* I, 309-54). First, the revelation comes to Adam in a dream vision (65,24-66,23) in which it is not clearly stated that he sees the events of the future but perhaps is merely told them. Secondly, Adam's narration to Seth takes the form of a secret *traditio* from father to son (85,19-22). Thirdly, though not written in a book, these words are hidden on a high mountain (85,3-11). Finally, since Adam's revelation takes place just before his death, the work assumes the form of a testament. Though it is clearly dependent on certain episodes of the Genesis story which are often found in gnostic revelation literature, *Apoc. Adam* does not follow closely the text of Genesis as do *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) and *Ap. John* (II,1), for example.

The most notable feature of this work is the absence of any explicit or clear borrowings from the Christian tradition. This has led several interpreters to see in it a witness to a non-Christian Gnosticism which contains an already well developed redeemer myth. On the other hand, its close dependence on Jewish apocalyptic tradition suggests that it may represent a transitional stage in an evolution from Jewish to gnostic apocalyptic. In this case the document may be a very early one, perhaps first or second century A.D., but no clear indications of its date have been perceived. *Apoc. Adam* is a Sethian work in the sense that Seth and his posterity are the tradents of the saving knowledge; it does not have any uniquely close affinities to the description of the Sethians found in *Hipp. Ref.* V.19-21 or *Epiph. Pan.* 39. Within the Nag Hammadi collection it has a great deal in common with *Gos. Eg.* (III,2), which seems to suppose a christianized version of the story. Using as a key the three sets of angel names, which are not common in the gnostic writings (Abraxas, Sablo, and Gamaliel, 75,22-23; Micheu, Michar, and Mnesinous, 84,5-6; Iesseus Mazareus Iessedekus, 85,30-31), we find

APOC  
 Adam is  
 to Zostrian  
 several of t  
 and some co  
 at least a r  
 following tr  
 here they are

that *Apoc. Adam* is related to the untitled work of Cod. Bruc., to *Gos. Eg.*, to *Zostrianos* (VIII,1), and to *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1). In addition several of these works share an interest in the personage of Seth and some concern with the interpretation of baptism, thus reflecting at least a remote connection with (Jewish) baptist circles.

In the following translation reconstructions have been introduced only where they are highly probable.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

V,5:64,1-85,32

ΞΔ

ταποκαλύψις παadam  
 2 †αποκαλύψις εταααα[μ τ]α  
 με περψηρε σ̄ηθ̄ εροσ̄ ρ̄ν̄  
 4 τμερ̄ψ̄ η̄ρομπε· εφ̄χω̄ μ̄  
 μοσ̄ χε̄ σωτ̄μ̄ εναψαχε̄ πα  
 6 ψηρε̄ σ̄ηθ̄· οταν̄ η̄ταρερ̄τα  
 μιοεῑ η̄βῑ πνουτε̄ εβολ̄ ρ̄μ̄  
 8 πκαρ̄ μ̄η̄ εῡρᾱ τεκμααῡ·  
 νε̄ιμοοψ̄ε̄ η̄μ̄μασ̄ πε̄ ρ̄η̄ οῡε̄  
 10 οοῡ ετασ̄ναῡ εροφ̄· εβολ̄ ρ̄μ̄  
 πiew̄n̄ εντανψωπε̄ εβολ̄  
 12 η̄ρη̄τ̄q̄· ασταμο̄ῑ εῡψαχε̄  
 η̄τε̄ οῡγ̄νωσ̄ις̄ η̄τε̄ πνουτε̄  
 14 πιψᾱ ενε̄ρ̄· αῡω̄ η̄νε̄νε̄ῑνε̄  
 πε̄ η̄η̄η̄οβ̄ η̄ᾱη̄γελοσ̄ η̄ψᾱ  
 16 ενε̄ρ̄· η̄εν̄χοσε̄ γαρ̄ πε̄ ε̄  
 πνουτε̄ εταρ̄ταμ̄ιον̄ η̄η̄  
 18 η̄ιβ̄ομ̄ ετη̄η̄μαφ̄· η̄η̄ ετε̄  
 η̄εν̄σοο̄υν̄ η̄μοο̄ῡ αν̄·  
 20 τοτε̄ αρ̄τωψ̄ η̄αν̄ η̄βῑ πνοῡ  
 τε̄ παρ̄χων̄ η̄τε̄ η̄εων̄  
 22 η̄η̄ η̄ιβ̄ομ̄ ρ̄η̄ οῡβ̄ωλ̄κ̄· το  
 τε̄ αν̄ψωπε̄ εεων̄ σ̄ναῡ·  
 24 αῡω̄ αρ̄κααν̄ η̄σ̄ωφ̄ η̄βῑ  
 πiew̄ooȳ ετ̄ρ̄μ̄ πεη̄ρη̄τ̄

64,4

“seven hundredth year”: Of the several possibilities (reference to Adam or Seth), it seems best to take this as a reference to Gen 5:4 (LXX—Adam lived 700 years after the birth of Seth). Thus Adam’s revelation is a deathbed “testament,” though his death is not referred to in the text except in his own prediction (67,22-27).

THE  
64  
The revela  
taught his  
the seven  
“Listen to  
son Seth.  
god had cr  
the earth  
I went abo  
glory that  
the aeon fr  
forth. She  
of knowled  
And we res  
the great  
for (γὰρ) w  
the god wi  
the powers  
we did not  
Then  
the ruler  
and the pe  
we becam  
And the g  
left us,  
“divided us  
the Demurr  
especially in  
in the gnos  
female into  
Parallel to  
righteousne

## THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

V,5:64,1-85,32

64

### The Apocalypse of Adam

- 2 The revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) which Adam  
taught his son, Seth, in  
4 the seven hundredth year, saying:  
“Listen to my words, my  
6 son Seth. When (ὅταν)  
god had created me out of  
8 the earth along with Eve, your mother,  
I went about with her in a  
10 glory that she had seen in  
the aeon from which we had come  
12 forth. She taught me a word  
of knowledge (γνώσις) of the eternal God.  
14 And we resembled  
the great eternal angels,  
16 for (γάρ) we were higher than  
the god who had created us and  
18 the powers with him, whom  
we did not know.  
20 Then (τότε) god,  
the ruler (ἄρχων) of the aeons  
22 and the powers, divided us in wrath. Then (τότε)  
we became two aeons.  
24 And the glory in our heart(s)  
left us,

---

64,20-22 “divided us,”: Lit. “set a limit, made a division, for us,” i.e., the Demiurge split the primordial androgyne, a theme stressed especially in *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 68,22-24 and 70,9-11, and indirectly in the gnostic commonplace of the restoration of the male and female into a unity.

24-27 Parallel to the loss of glory and knowledge here is the loss of righteousness and glory in *Apoc. Mos.* 20,1-2 and 21,6.



26 me and your mother Eve,  
 along with the first knowledge (γνώσις)  
 28 that breathed within us. And  
 it (glory) fled from us;  
 30 it entered into [ ] great  
 [  
 32 [ ] which (fem.)

65

[had come] forth, not from this aeon from which [we had]  
 2 come forth, I  
 and Eve your mother. But (ἀλλά)  
 4 it (knowledge) entered into the seed (σπορά) of  
 great aeons. For this reason  
 6 I myself have called you  
 by the name of that man  
 8 who is the seed (σπορά) of the great generation (γενεά)  
 or (ἡ) from whom (it comes). After  
 10 those days the eternal knowledge (γνώσις)  
 of the God of truth  
 12 withdrew from me  
 and your mother Eve.  
 14 Since that time we  
 learned about dead things,  
 16 like (ὡς) men. Then (τότε)  
 we recognized the god who had  
 18 created us. For (γάρ) we were not  
 strangers to his powers. And  
 20 we served him in fear  
 and slavery.  
 22 And (δέ) after these (events) we became  
 darkened in our heart(s).  
 24 Now (δέ) I slept in the  
 thought of my heart.

a gloss. For the expression "the seed (σπορά) of Seth," see *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 54,10-11; *Steles Seth* (VII,5) 120,10; *Zost.* (VIII,1) 130,16-17. And see below 85,22.

65,20-21 "fear and slavery": Cf. Ps 2:11; Deut 6:13; and similar OT formulas.

26 ΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΨΟΜΕΤ̄  
 ἸΡΩΜΕ ἸΠΑΜ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
 28 ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ἸΠΙΒ̄Μ̄ΒΟΜ ΕΣΟΥ  
 ΩΝ ΠΕΥΕΙΝΕ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕ  
 30 ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΝΕ Ζ[Ἰ] ΝΙΒΟΜ  
 ἸΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑϞΤ[ΑΜΙ]Ϟ Ἰ  
 32 [ΜΟΝ Ν]ΕΥ[Ο]ΥΟΤḂ Ε[  
 [. . . . .]ΕΟΟΥ· ΑΥ[Ω  
 34 [. . . . .]ἸΡ[Ω]ΜΕ Ε[

[X̄S]

[ΕΥ]Χ̄Ω ἸΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ Τ[ΩΟΥ]ἸἸ  
 2 ἸΜΑΥ ἈΔΑΜ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸ ΠΙἸΚΟΤ̄  
 ἸΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΣΩΤḂ  
 4 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΕΩΝ ἸἸ ḒΣΠΟΡΑ  
 ἸΠΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤἸΜΑΥ· ΠΗ  
 6 ΕΤΑΠΙΩΝḒ ΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΟϞ· ΠΗ  
 ΕΤΑϞΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤḂ· ΑΥΩ  
 8 ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸ ΕΥḒḒ ΤΕΚΣΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ  
 ΤΟΤΕ ἸΤΕΡΙΣΩΤḂ ΕΝΕΪΨΑ  
 10 ΧΕ ἸΤΟΟΤΟΥ ἸΝΙΝΟΒ ἸΡΩΜΕ  
 ΕΤἸΜΑΥ· ΝΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΑΖΕΡΑ  
 12 ΤΟΥ ἸΝΑΖΡΑΪ· ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝϞΙ Α  
 ΖΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ἸἸ ΕΥḒḒ ΖΡΑΪ ΖἸ  
 14 ΠΕΝΖΗΤ̄· ΑΥΩ ΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΤΑϞΤΑΜΙΟΝ ΑϞΑΖΕΡΑΤḒ  
 16 ἸΠΕΝἸΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΝ  
 ΧΕ ἈΔΑΜ̄ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΕΤΕΤἸ  
 18 ϞΙ ΑΖΟΜ ΖἸ ΠΕΤἸΖΗΤ̄· ΖἸΕ  
 ἸΤΕΤἸΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ  
 20 ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑϞΤΑΜΙΕ

65,26-27 "three men": Cf. Gen 18:2 (Abraham) and the traditional references to the three men (angels) in Abraham literature, e.g., *Test. Abr.* 6. In the Armenian Adam literature the motif is sometimes interpreted by Christians as a Trinitarian vision; see e.g., M. Stone, "The Death of Adam—an Armenian Adam Book," *HThR* 59 (1966), 283-91. The alien appearance of angelic visitors is also stressed in the *Test. Abr.* 3 (long recension). The motif of

APC  
 3 And (γάρ)  
 men before  
 4 whose like  
 to recogni  
 were not  
 of the god  
 [us.] They  
 [ ] m  
 (66)  
 saying to m  
 1 Adam, from  
 of death, a  
 about the a  
 of that man  
 to whom li  
 who came f  
 from Eve.  
 When (ἔπειτα)  
 words from  
 who were si  
 before me,  
 sighed, I an  
 our heart(s  
 who had cr  
 before us. F  
 'Adam, why  
 sighing in y  
 Do you not  
 am the god

a triad of bea  
 Manichaean, a  
 Eg. (III, 2) 50  
 sibly the "th  
 15, 30-31.  
 Although exp  
 are all plural



26 And (γάρ) I saw three  
 men before me  
 28 whose likeness I was unable  
 to recognize, since (ἐπειδή) they  
 30 were not from the powers  
 of the god who had [created]  
 32 [us.] They surpassed [  
 [                    ] glory, and [  
 34 [                    ] men [  
 [66]  
 saying to me: 'Arise,  
 2 Adam, from the sleep  
 of death, and hear  
 4 about the aeon and the seed (σπορά)  
 of that man  
 6 to whom life has come,  
 who came from you and  
 8 from Eve, your wife (σύζυγος).'  
 When (τότε) I had heard these  
 10 words from the great men  
 who were standing  
 12 before me, then (τότε) we  
 sighed, I and Eve, in  
 14 our heart(s). And the lord, the god  
 who had created us, stood  
 16 before us. He said to us:  
 'Adam, why were you (pl.)  
 18 sighing in your heart?  
 Do you not know that I  
 20 am the god who created

a triad of heavenly personages is a commonplace in Mandaeen, Manichaeen, and gnostic literature; cf. e.g., *Eugnostos* (V,1); *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 50,23-26 (Trinitarian). Cf. also Mk 9:2-9, par. Possibly the "three men" are identified by the *nomina barbara* in 85,30-31.

66,17-23 Although explicitly addressed to Adam, the "you" pronouns are all plural in this speech; cf. 66,16, "He said to us."

and the  
 trinitarian liter-  
 ature the man-  
 daean vision  
 of the  
 (extension). The

22 ΤΗΥΤἸ· ΑΥΩ ΑἸΝΙϞΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΡΩΤἸ ἸΟΥΠἸΝΑ ἸΤΕ ΠΩΝἸ  
 24 ΕΖΡΑἸ ΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΕΣΟΝἸ· ΤΟ  
 ΤΕ ΑΥΚΑΚΕ ΨΩΠΕ ἸΙΧἸ ἸΕΝ  
 ΒΑΛ· ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑϞ  
 26 ΤΑΜΙΟΝ ΑϞΤΑΜΙΟ ἸΝΟΥ  
 ΨΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤἸ [Μ]Ἰ Ε[Υ]  
 28 ΖΑ ΤΕ[Κ]ΜΑ[Α]Υ ΕΠΕ[.] ΒΑ[  
 [...]ΚΣ ΑΝ· [ ]  
 30 [...] ΕΚΕ [.]· [ ]  
 [...]Λ ΖἸ ΠΕ[ ]

Τ[... ΖἸ] ΠΜΕΕΥΕ [ἸΤ]Ε  
 2 ΠΑΨ[.]· Ἰ· ΑἸΣΟΥΨΝ  
 ΟΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΕΣΖΟΛḂ  
 4 ἸΤΕ ΤΕΚΜΑΑΥ· ΤΟ  
 ΤΕ ΑΣΤΑΚΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗ  
 6 ΤἸ ἸΒΙ ΤΑΚΜΗ ἸΤΕ  
 ΠΕΝΣΟΟΥΝ ἸΨΑ Ε  
 8 ΝΕΖ· ΑΥΩ ΑΣἸΑΙΩΚΕ  
 ἸΣΩΝ ἸΒΙ ΟΥΜἸΤḂΩΒ  
 10 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑἸ ΑΥἸ ΚΟΥΕΙ  
 ἸΒΙ ΝΕΖΟΥἸ ἸΤΕ ΠΕΝ  
 12 ΩΝἸ· ΑἸΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΑἸ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ  
 14 ἸΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ· ἸΝΟΥ ḂΕ  
 ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ḂἸΘ ἸΝΑ  
 16 ḂΩΛἸ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΑἸ  
 ΕΤΑΥΒΟΛΠΟΥ ΝΑἸ Ε  
 18 ΒΟΛ· ΧΕ ΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤἸ  
 ΜΑΥ ΝΗ ΕΤΑἸΝΑΥ  
 20 ΕΡΟΥἸ ἸΨΟΡἸ Ἰ  
 ΠΑἸΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ΧΕ  
 22 ἸΜἸἸΣΑ ΤΡΑΧΩΚ

66,21-23 "breathed, etc.": Cf. Gen 2:7 (LXX), of which the gnostic interpretation in *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) 88,3-15 and elsewhere is much more complicated.

32

you? And  
 you a spiri  
 as a living  
 Then (τότε)  
 eyes. Then  
 created us,  
 son from his  
 [your mother  
 [ ]  
 [ ] in t

[ in] ti  
 my [ ]  
 a sweet desir  
 for your mot  
 the vigor (ζύ  
 our eternal ki  
 was destroye  
 and weaknes  
 pursued (διώ  
 Therefore the  
 our life becam  
 For (γάρ) I k  
 come under t  
 of death. Now  
 my son Seth,  
 reveal to you  
 which those m  
 whom I saw  
 before me  
 at first  
 revealed to m  
 after I have c

the days of our  
 at first". Perha

you? And I breathed into  
 22 you a spirit (πνεῦμα) of life  
 as a living soul (ψυχή).'  
 24 Then (τότε) darkness came upon our  
 eyes. Then (τότε) the god, who  
 26 created us, created a  
 son from himself [and] Eve,  
 28 [your mother], for [  
 [  
 30 [  
 [ ] in the [

[67]

[ ] in] the thought [of]  
 2 my [ ]. I knew  
 a sweet desire (ἐπιθυμία)  
 4 for your mother. Then (τότε)  
 the vigor (ἀχμῆ) of  
 6 our eternal knowledge  
 was destroyed in us,  
 8 and weakness  
 pursued (διώκειν) us.  
 10 Therefore the days of  
 our life became few.  
 12 For (γάρ) I knew that I had  
 come under the authority (ἐξουσία)  
 14 of death. Now then,  
 my son Seth, I will  
 16 reveal to you the things  
 which those men  
 18 whom I saw  
 before me  
 20 at first  
 revealed to me:  
 22 after I have completed

which the  
 et al.  
 67,10-11 "the days of our life became few": Cf. Gen 6:3.

20 "at first": Perhaps ΝΥΟΡΠ here translated πάλαι, "of old."

ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΙΟΥΘΕΙΩ  
 24 ΝΤΕ ΤΕΙΓΕΝΕΑ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΣΕΜΟΥΝΙ  
 26 [ΝΒΙ ΝΙ]ΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΤΕ  
 [†ΓΕΝΕ]Α· [ΤΟ]ΤΕ  
 28 [ . . . ]Θ[ . . Ζ]ΜΖΑΛ  
 [ 8 ± ]ΤΑ  
 30 [

page 68 blank

(Line 1 lacking)

2 ϚΕΝΑ[Ο]ΥΘΤΝΟ[Υ ΕΒΟ]Λ  
 ΓΑΡ Ν[Β]Ι ΖΕΝΜΟΥ[†ΕΥ]Ε  
 4 ΝΖΩΟΥ ΝΤΕ Π[ΝΟΥΤ]Ε Π  
 ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑ[ΤΩΡ· ΧΕ] ΕΨΕ  
 6 ΤΑΚΟ ΝΣΑΡΑΧ [ΝΙΜ] {ΝΤΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑ[ΝΤΟ]ΚΡΑ  
 8 ΤΩΡ· ΧΕ ΕΨΕΤ[ΑΚ]Ε ΣΑ  
 ΡΑΧ ΝΙΜ} ΕΒΟΛ [ΖΜ] ΠΚΑΖ  
 10 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΨΚΩ  
 ΤΕ ΝΣΩΟΥ· ΖΙ Ν[ΙΕΒ]ΟΛ  
 12 ΖΝ †ΣΠΟΡΑ Ν[ΤΕ] ΝΙΡΩ  
 ΜΕ· ΝΗ ΕΤΑ[ΨΟΥ]ΨΤΒ Ε  
 14 ΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟΟΥ [ΝΒΙ ΠΙ]ΩΝΖ Ν  
 ΤΕ †ΓΝΩΣΙΣ [ΠΑ]ΕΙ ΕΤΑΨ  
 16 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ Μ[Ν] ΕΥΖΑ  
 ΤΕΚΜΑΑΥ· ΝΨΕ ΓΑΡ  
 18 ΝΨΜΜΟ ΜΜΟΨ ΠΕ·  
 ΜΝΝΣΑ ΝΑΪ ϚΕΝΝΗΟΥ Ν  
 20 ΒΙ ΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΝΑΪΓΕΛΟΣ  
 ΖΝ ΖΕΝΚΛΟΟΨ ΕΥΧΟΣΕ  
 22 ΕΥΝΑΧΙ ΝΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΜ

68 The entire page is left blank. Cf. volume introduction, section on Codex V, and J. M. Robinson's codicological analysis of V (pp. 16-30).

69,2-11 The flood: Cf. Gen 6:17 and 7:4 especially.

the times  
 of this gener  
 and [the] ye  
 the generati  
 have been ac  
 {  
 {  
 {

pag

30

(Lin

For (ψα) rai  
 of god the  
 almighty (π  
 will be poure  
 might destro  
 god the almi  
 so that he m  
 from the eart  
 on account o  
 after, along  
 the seed (π  
 to whom pas  
 the life of  
 the knowled  
 came from m  
 your mother  
 strangers to  
 Afterwards  
 angels will c  
 high clou  
 who will bri

that (pl.) wh  
 the rain-showe  
 "the life", [N  
 [ΝΒΙ ΝΙΟΥ]  
 and normally

the times  
 24 of this generation. (γενεά)  
 and [the] years of  
 26 [the generation (γενεά)]  
 have been accomplished, [then (τότε)]  
 28 [ ] slave  
 [  
 30 [

page 68 blank

[69]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 For (γάρ) rain-showers  
 of [god] the  
 4 almighty (παντοκράτωρ)  
 will be poured forth [so that] he  
 6 might destroy [all] flesh (σάρξ) {of  
 god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ),  
 8 so that he might destroy all flesh (σάρξ)}  
 from the earth  
 10 on account of the things that it seeks  
 after, along with [those from]  
 12 the seed (σπορά) [of] the men  
 to whom passed  
 14 the life of  
 the knowledge (γνώσις), which  
 16 came from me [and] Eve,  
 your mother. For (γάρ) they were  
 18 strangers to him.  
 Afterwards great  
 20 angels will come  
 on high clouds,  
 22 who will bring those men

69,10-11 "that (pl.) which is around them": The plural refers either to the rain-showers (line 2) or implicitly to the flood waters.

introduction  
 logical as

14 "the life", [ΝΟΙ ΠΙ]ΩΝΩ: One might expect "the revelation," [ΝΟΙ ΠΙΟΥ]ΩΝΩ, but the lacuna does not seem large enough, and normally one would expect ΕΒΟΛ to follow ΟΥΩΝΩ.

24     ΜΑΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕΥ  
 ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΖΗΤ[Ϛ] ΝΒΙ ΠΕΠΝ[α]  
 [ΝΤΕ Π]ΩΝΖ̄ Ν[  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[O]

[     9 ±     ]ΗΤ Ε[.]Ν[.] ΝΕΟ  
 2     [ΟΥ.]ΤΕ[.]Ν ΕΤΜΜΑΥ.  
 [.]ΤΕ[.]ΨΠΕ ΧΙΝ ΤΠΕ  
 4     ΨΑ ΠΚ[αζ·] ΤΟΤΕ[.] ϚΝΑΨΩΧΠ̄  
 ΝΒΙ ΠΙ[ΜΗΗΨΕ Τ]ΗΡϚ̄ ΝΤΕ ΤΣΑ  
 6     ΡΑΞ Ζ̄Ι Ν[ΙΜΟΟΥ·] ΤΟΤΕ ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΝΑΜ[Τ]ΟΝ ΜΜΟϚ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄  
 8     ΠΕϚΒΩ[Ν]Τ̄· [α]ΥΩ ϚΝΕΝΟΥ  
 ΧΕ ΝΤΕϚ[β]ΟΜ ΕΧΝ ΝΙΜΟΟΥ.  
 10    ΑΥΩ [ϚΝΑ]† [β]ΟΜ ΝΝΕϚΨΗΡΕ  
 ΜΝ ΝΕ[ΥΖ̄Ι]Ο[Μ]Ε ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν †ΚΙ  
 12    ΒΩΤΟΣ· ΜΝ̄ [ΝΙ]ΤΒ̄ΝΟΟΥΕ Ε  
 ΤΑϚ† ΜΕΤΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ· ΜΝ̄ Ν̄  
 14    ΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΝΤ[Ε] ΤΠΕ ΕΤΑϚΜΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑϚΚΑΛΥ Ζ̄Ι  
 16    ΧΜ̄ ΠΚΑ[ζ·] ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΝΩΖΕ· ΠΗ Ε  
 18    ΤΕ ΝΙΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϚ  
 ΧΕ ΔΕΥΚΑΛΙΩΝ· ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΖΗ  
 20    ΗΤΕ ΔΙΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟ<κ> Ζ̄Ν †ΚΙΒΩΤΟΣ  
 ΜΝ̄ ΤΕΚΣΖ̄ΙΜΕ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΚΨΗ  
 22    ΡΕ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΥΖ̄ΙΟΜΕ· ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΥ  
 [ΤΒ̄]ΝΟΟΥΕ [Μ]Ν̄ ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ [Ν]Τ[Ε]  
 24    [ΤΠΕ Ν]Η ΕΤΑϚΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΡΟ]  
 [ΟΥ· ΑΚΚΑ]Α[Υ] Ζ̄[Ι]ΧΜ̄ ΠΚΑΖ  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[OΔ]

ΕΤΒΕ [Π]ΑΪ †ΝΑ† ΜΠΚ[αζ Ν]ΑΚ

70,10

“and [he will] give power to his sons”: Either Noah is the implied subject or, more likely, God is, and in the latter case there is a omission: “he will give power to (Noah and his wife and) his sons.”

ΑΡΟΧ

into the pla

where the s

(4

70

to earth. [Th

the whole [m

will be left be

will rest from

his wrath. At

his power up

and [he will]

and their wiv

along with [t

whichever he

birds of heav

called and rel

upon the ear

will say to N

whom the gen

Deucalion—

I have protec

along with y

and their wiv

animals and

[heaven], wh

[and released

(4

Therefore I

which he call

reference were

expect the fut

MS reads ερ

The reconstruc

into the place (τόπος)  
 24 where the spirit (πνεῦμα) [of] life dwells  
 [  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[70]  
 [  
 ] glory  
 2 [  
 ] there.  
 [  
 ] come from heaven  
 4 to earth. [Then (τότε)]  
 the whole [multitude] of flesh (σάρξ)  
 6 will be left behind in the [waters]. Then (τότε) god  
 will rest from  
 8 his wrath. And he will cast  
 his power upon the waters,  
 10 and [he will] give power to his sons  
 and their wives by means of the ark (κιβωτός)  
 12 along with [the] animals,  
 whichever he pleased, and the  
 14 birds of heaven, which he  
 called and released  
 16 upon the earth. And god  
 will say to Noah—  
 18 whom the generations (γενεά) will call  
 Deucalion—: ‘Behold,  
 20 I have protected <you> in the ark (κιβωτός)  
 along with your wife and your sons  
 22 and their wives and their  
 animals and the birds of  
 24 [heaven], which you called  
 [and released upon the earth.]  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[71]

Therefore I will give the [earth] to you—

70,14-15 “which he called and released”: or “called and placed.” If the  
 reference were to releasing the birds after the flood, one would  
 expect the future tense.  
 20 MS reads ερω, “him”.  
 25 The reconstruction is modeled on lines 15-16 above.

2 ΝΤΟΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΚΨΗΡΕ [2]Ν ΟΥ  
 ΜΝΤΡ̄ΡΟ ΚΝΑΡ̄ Ρ̄ΡΟ ΕΧΨΦ ΝΤΟΚ  
 4 ΜΝ ΝΕΚΨΗΡΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΜΝ  
 ΣΠΟΡΑ ΝΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΚ  
 6 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ ΝΣΕΝΑΑΖΕ  
 ΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΝ ΜΠΑΜ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 8 ΚΕΕΟΟΥ· ΤΟΤΕ ΣΕΝΑΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν†ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙ  
 10 ΝΟΒ̄ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΣΕΝΝΗΥ ΝΒΙ  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ· ΝΗ ΕΤΑΥ  
 12 ΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ †ΓΝΩΣΙC Ν  
 ΤΕ ΝΙΝΟΒ̄ ΝΝΕΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΙΑΓ̄  
 14 ΓΕΛΟC ΣΕΝΑΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ Μ  
 ΠΕΜΤΟ ΝΝΩΖΕ ΜΝ ΝΙΕΩΝ·  
 16 ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΧΟΟC Ν  
 ΝΩΖΕ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΚ̄Ρ̄ CΑΒΟΛ  
 18 ΝΠΕΝΤΑΪΧΟΟΦ ΝΑΚ· ΑΚ  
 ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΓΕΓΕΝΕΑ ΧΕ ΕΚΕ  
 20 † CΩΨ ΝΤΑΒΟΜ· ΤΟΤΕ ΦΝΑ  
 ΧΟΟC ΝΒΙ ΝΩΖΕ ΧΕ †ΝΑ  
 22 Ρ̄ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΜΠΕΚ  
 ΧΝΑΖ· ΧΕ ΝΤΑΤΓΕΝΕΑ Ν  
 24 ΤΕ ΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 [Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟ]† ΑΝ· ΟΥΤΕ ΕΒ[ΟΛ Ζ̄Ι]  
 26 [Τ̄Ν ΝΑ]Ψ[ΗΡ]Ε [Α]Ν· [  
 [ . . . ]ΨΠ [ . . . . ]Ν [  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[OB]

[ . . . †ΓΝ]ΩCΙC· [Α]Υ[Ω Φ]ΝΑ  
 2 [ . ]Ψ[ . . ]Α ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ  
 [Ν]Φ̄ΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΥΚΑΖ  
 4 ΕΤ̄ΜΠΨΑ ΝΦΚΩ† ΝΑΥ ΝΝΟΥ  
 ΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ  
 6 ΣΕΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΡΑΝ  
 ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΝCΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΑΥ  
 8 ΝCΟΟΥ ΝΨΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥ

71,2-3  
7-8

"In kingly fashion": or "In a kingdom."  
 "in another glory": or possibly "in honor (of me)."  
 "cast forth from the numeral



2 you and your sons. In  
 kingly fashion you will rule over it—you  
 4 and your sons. And no  
 seed (σπορά) will come from you  
 6 of the men who will not  
 stand in my presence in  
 8 another glory.' Then (τότε) they will  
 become as the cloud of the  
 10 great light. Those  
 men will come who have  
 12 been cast forth from the knowledge (γνώσις)  
 of the great aeons and the  
 14 angels. They will stand  
 before Noah and the aeons.  
 16 And god will say to  
 Noah: 'Why have you departed from  
 18 what I told you? You have  
 created another generation (γενεά) so that you  
 20 might scorn my power.' Then (τότε)  
 Noah will say: 'I shall  
 22 testify before your  
 might that the generation (γενεά)  
 24 of these men did not come  
 [from me] nor (οὔτε) [from]  
 26 [my sons,  
 [

(4 ± lines lacking)

[72]

[ ] knowledge (γνώσις). And [he] will  
 2 [ ] those men  
 and bring them into their proper  
 4 land and build them a  
 holy dwelling-place. And  
 6 they will be called by that  
 name and dwell there  
 8 six hundred years in a

71,12 "cast forth from": or perhaps "set apart from."

72,8 The numeral sign Χ (600) appears above the written number.

10 αῦω σεναψωπε νῆμαγ νβι  
 2 εναγγελος ἄτε πινοβ ἄογῶ  
 12 εἰν· ἄνελααγ ἄζωβ ἄβοτε  
 ψωπε ζῆ πευζητ· εβολ  
 14 εἰγνωσις οὔαας ἄτε πνοῦ  
 τε· τότε νωζε ναπεψ πκαζ  
 16 τηρῶ εζραγ ἄνεφωηρε·  
 χαμ· μῆ ἰαφεθ· μῆ σῆμ·  
 18 φναχοος ναγ χε ναψηρε  
 σωτῆ εναψαχε· εἰς πκαζ  
 20 αἰποψῶ εχῆν τηγῆτ· ἀλλα  
 ψῆψ<η>τῶ ζῆ οὔζοτε μῆ  
 22 οὔμῆτῆζῆζαλ ἄνζοοῦ τη  
 ροῦ ἄτε πετῆωνζ· ἄπῆρτε  
 24 [π]ετῆσπερμα ῆ σαβολ ἄπζ[ο]  
 [ἄπ]ῆ[ο]ὔτε ἄπαντοκ[ρατωρ]  
 26 [ . . . . ] ἄνοκ μῆ π[ε]τῆ[  
 [ 6 ± ] ῆ[ . . . ] ῆῆ[  
 (4 ± lines lacking)

[or]

[ . . . . ] ψῆρε ἄνωζε χε [πα]  
 2 βροβ ἄ[α]ῆ ἄναγ ἄπεκῆτο εβ[ολ·]  
 αῦω ἄπεμτο ἄτεκβομ·  
 4 ἀρισφραγίζε ἄμοφ ζῆ τεκ  
 βἰχ εἰχοορ ζῆ οὔζοτε μῆ  
 6 οὔαζ σαζνε· χε πιβροβ τη  
 ρῶ εταφῆἰ εβολ ἄζητ ἄσε  
 8 ναρακτοῦ ἄσαβολ ἄμοκ  
 ἀν μῆ πνοὔτε πιπαντο  
 10 κρατωρ· ἀλλα σεναψῆ  
 ψε ζῆ οὔεββιο χωφ μῆ  
 12 οὔζοτε ἄτε πεγεἰμε·  
 τότε ερεζενκοοῦε εβολ  
 14 ζῆ πσπερμα ἄτε χαμ μῆ

72,15-17  
21

The sons of Noah: Cf. Gen 9:18-19.

“serve him,” ψῆψητῶ, emended from ψῆψῆτῶ. It is understood here as referring to God the almighty (cf. 73,9-12), but it

is possible to  
ie, till the s  
A letter ε is

knowledge of imperishability (ἀφθαρσία).

- 10 And angels of the great  
light will dwell with them.  
12 No foul deed  
will dwell in their heart(s), but  
14 only the knowledge (γνώσις) of God.  
Then (τότε) Noah will divide the  
16 whole earth among his sons,  
Ham and Japheth and Shem.  
18 He will say to them: 'My sons,  
listen to my words. Behold,  
20 I have divided the earth among you. But (ἀλλά)  
serve him in fear and  
22 slavery all the days  
of your life. Let not  
24 your seed (σπέρμα) depart from the face  
of god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ).

26 [                    ] I and your [  
[

(4 ± lines lacking)

[73]

- [                    ] son of Noah: '[My]  
2 seed [will be] pleasing before you  
and before your power.  
4 Seal (σφραγίζειν) it by your  
strong hand with fear and  
6 commandment, so that the whole  
seed which came forth from me  
8 may not be inclined away from you  
and god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ),  
10 but (ἀλλά) it will serve  
in humility and  
12 fear of its knowledge.'  
Then (τότε) others  
14 from the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and

is possible to refer it to the earth and translate "minister to it,"  
i.e., till the soil. Cf. Gen 9:20.

A letter ε is crossed out before ΝCε at the end of the line.

73.7  
ty (cf. 73.7)

[Ι]ΑΦΕΘ̄· ΕΥΕΒΩΚ ΝΒΙ ϞΤΟΟΥ ΝΨΕ  
 16 ΝΨΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΝΣΕΒΩΚ Ε  
 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΚΑΖ ΝΣΕΒΟΕΙΛΕ  
 18 ΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΜ̄ΜΑΥ· ΝΗ Ε  
 ΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ †ΝΟΒ  
 20 ΝΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ· ΧΕ  
 ΘΑΕΙΒΕΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΥΒΟΜ ΝΑ  
 22 ΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΒΟΕΙΛΕ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΘΟΟΥ  
 24 ΜΝ̄ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ̄ΣΟΟΥ·  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΧΑΜ ΜΝ̄  
 26 [Ι]ΑΦΕΘ̄ ΝΑΡ̄ ΜΝ̄Τ̄ΣΝΟΟΥ[Σ]  
 ΜΜΝ̄Τ̄Ρ̄Ρ̄Ο· ΑΥΩ Π[Ε]Υ[ΚΕ]  
 28 [Σ]ΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥ[Ν]  
 ΕΤΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄Ρ̄Ρ̄[Ο] ΝΚΕΛΑΟΣ[·]  
 30 [ΤΟΤ]Ε ΣΕΝ[Α]ΨΟΧ̄ΝΕ ΝΒΙ [·]  
 [·]Ψ[·] . . . [Ν]ΕΨ̄Ν ΖΑ ΝΕ[·]

[ΟΔ]

[·]ΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΟΟΥΤ̄ [Ν]Τ[Ε] Ν̄ΝΟΒ  
 2 [Ν]ΝΕΩΝ ΝΤΕ †ΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑ·  
 [Α]ΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΒΩΚ ΖΑ ΣΑΚΛΑ  
 4 ΠΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ· ΣΕΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΙΒΟΜ ΕΥΡ̄ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙ Ν̄ΝΙΝΟΒ  
 6 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΗ ΕΤ̄ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΜ̄ ΠΕΥΕ  
 ΟΟΥ· ΣΕΝΑΧ̄ΟΟΣ ΝΣΑΚΛΑ ΧΕ  
 8 ΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΒΟΜ ΝΝΕΪΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΑΥ  
 ΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΜ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
 10 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΑΥϞΙΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ̄ ΠΙ  
 ΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΧΑΜ ΜΝ̄ ΙΑΦΕΘ̄  
 12 ΕΥΝΑΡ̄ ϞΤΟΟΥ ΝΨΕ <ΝΨΟ> ΝΡΩΜΕ

73,15 "hundred": ΝΨΕ may have been first omitted then written in with small letters. The numeral sign Ψ̄ (400) is written above the written numeral.

15-16 "Four hundred thousand men": cf. 74,12. Böhlig refers to Manichean *Homilies* 68,18: "400,000 righteous." This is also the number of the tribe of Judah in Jos. *Ant.* VII.320.

26-27 "twelve kingdoms": Cf. Gen 10:2 and 6 (LXX) where the sons of Japheth and Ham are twelve in number. The twelve plus one (line 29) may be connected with the thirteen kingdoms of 77,27-82,19. Cf. *Gos. Eg.* (III 2) 63,18: "the god of the thirteen aeons."

Japheth will come, four hundred  
 16 thousand men, and enter into  
 another land and sojourn  
 18 with those men who  
 came forth from the great  
 20 eternal knowledge (γνώσις). For  
 the shadow of their power will  
 22 protect those who have sojourned  
 with them from every evil thing  
 24 and every unclean desire (ἐπιθυμία).  
 Then (τότε) the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and  
 26 Japheth will form twelve  
 kingdoms, and their  
 28 seed (σπέρμα) [also] will enter into  
 the kingdom of another people (λαός).  
 30 [Then (τότε) ] will take counsel  
 [ ] aeons [

[74]

[ ] who are dead, of the great  
 2 aeons of imperishability (ἀφθαρσία).  
 And they will go to Sakla  
 4 their god. They will go in  
 to the powers, accusing (κατηγορεῖν) the great  
 6 men who are in their  
 glory. They will say to Sakla:  
 8 'What is the power of these men who  
 stood in your presence,  
 10 who were taken from the  
 seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and Japheth,  
 12 who will number four hundred <thousand> men?

74.3

"Sakla": One of the common names for the demiurge, Yaldabaoth, Sammael, in the Nag Hammadi library; cf., e.g., *Ap. John* (II,1) 11,17; *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) 95,7. In *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 57-58, passim, Sakla is called "the great angel" and is paired with "Nebruel the great demon."

12

"<thousand>": Inserted to conform to 73,15-16. The MS reads only "four hundred," and there is no number written above the line; at 73,15 the number 400 (Ϸ) appears above the line.

14 ΑΥΧΙΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΕΩΝ ΠΗ  
 ΕΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῶ ΑΥΩ  
 16 ΑΥΚΤΟ ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ΤΗΡῶ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΚ  
 ΒΟΜ ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤῚΡΟ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΚΒΙΧ  
 ΧΕ ΑΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΩΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 18 ΖῚ ΠΕΨΩΗΡΕ ΑΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΚΟΥ  
 ΨΩ ΤΗΡῶ ΜΝ ΝΙΒΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 20 ΖῚ ΝΙΕΩΝ ΕΤΑΠΕΚΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 Ρ ΡΡΟ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ· ΜΝ ΝΙΡΩ  
 22 ΜΕ ΕΤῚΜΜΑΥ ΜΝ ΝΗ ΕΤΕ Ν  
 ΡῚ ΝΒΑΕΙΛΕ ΖῚ ΠΕΥΕΟΟΥ·  
 24 [Ε]ΜΠΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΤΕΖΝΑΚ·  
 [ΑΛΛ]Α ΑΥΨΩΝΕ ΜΠΕΚ  
 26 [ΜΗ]ΗΨΕ ΤΗΡῶ· ΤΟΤΕ ΠΝΟΥ  
 [ΤΕ] Ν[Τ]Ε ΝΙΕΩΝ ΓΝΑ† ΝΑΥ  
 28 [ΕΒΟ]Λ ΖῚ ΝΗ ΕΨῚΨΩΕ ΜΜΟ[Ϛ]  
 [. . . ]ΑῚ ΝΣΑ †Β[. ]ΥΣ ΝΚ[  
 30 ΣΕῚΝΗΟΥ ΕΧῚ Π[Κ]ΑΖ Ε[Τ]Ὶ

[OE]

[Μ]Α[Υ·]ΠΗ [Ε]ΤΟΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν[ΖΗ]  
 2 Τῶ ΝΒΙ ΝΙΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΝΗ ΕΤ[Ε]  
 ΜΠΟΥΧΩΖῚ· ΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΕΝΑ  
 4 ΧΩΖῚ ΑΝ ΖῚΝ ΕΜΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ  
 ΧΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ  
 6 ΖῚ ΟΥΒΙΧ ΕΣΧΑΖῚ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΣΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῚ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΑΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ  
 8 ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ·  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΣΕΝΑΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΟΥΚΩΖῚ  
 10 ΜΝ ΟΥΘΗΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΑΜΡΗΖΕ ΕΧῚ  
 ΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤῚΜΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ  
 12 ΟΥΚΩΖῚ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΛΟCΤῚ ΕΙ ΕΧῚ  
 ΝΙΕΩΝ ΕΤῚΜΜΑΥ ΝΣΕῚ ΚΑΚΕ

74.13-14 "another aeon from which": The sense seems to demand "aeon other <than> the one from which," but no comparison is indicated in the syntax.

75.9-10 "fire and sulphur and asphalt": If the Genesis narrative is alluded to here, the incident is probably the destruction of Sodom;

They hav  
 from whic  
 they have  
 power and  
 For the se  
 his son ha  
 all your w  
 in the aeon  
 rules, whil  
 men and t  
 sojourners  
 have not d  
 But (22:2)  
 whole thro  
 of the aeon  
 (some) of t  
 they will c

where the  
 will be wh  
 have not b  
 defiled by  
 For their s  
 from a def  
 came from  
 of an etern  
 Then  
 and sulphu  
 those men  
 fire and (t  
 those aeon

d Gen 19:2  
 Sodom" is asse  
 R. Goetticke  
 in 79  
 that this de  
 Ep. VI.16 a

14 They have been received into another aeon  
 from which they had come forth, and  
 they have overturned all the glory of your  
 16 power and the dominion of your hand.  
 For the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah through  
 18 his son has done  
 all your will, and (so have) all the powers  
 20 in the aeons over which your might  
 rules, while both those  
 22 men and the ones who are  
 sojourners in their glory  
 24 have not done your will.  
 [But (ἀλλά)] they have turned (aside) your  
 26 whole throng.' Then (τότε) the god  
 of the aeons will give them  
 28 (some) of those who serve [him]  
 [  
 30 they will come upon that land

[75]

where the great men  
 2 will be who  
 have not been defiled, nor (οὔτε) will be  
 4 defiled by any desire (ἐπιθυμία).  
 For their soul (ψυχή) did not come  
 6 from a defiled hand but (ἀλλά) it  
 came from a great commandment  
 8 of an eternal angel.  
 Then (τότε) fire  
 10 and sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon  
 those men, and  
 12 fire and (blinding) mist will come over  
 those aeons, and

cf. Gen 19:24. In *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 60,9-18 the "seed of the great Seth" is associated with Sodom and Gomorrah.

H. Goedicke, "An Unexpected Allusion to the Vesuvius Eruption in 79 A.D.," *Amer Journ Phil* 90 (1969), 340-41, suggests that this description is based on the Vesuvius disaster (cf. *Plin. Ep.* VI.16 and 21).

75,9-21

seems to describe  
no comparison

Genesis name:  
destruction

14 ΝΒΙ ΝΒΑΛ ΝΝΙΒΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΦΩΣ  
 ΤΗΡ ΝΣΕΤΜΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 16 ΝΒΙ ΝΙΕΩΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΖΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΒΙ ΖΕΝ  
 18 ΝΟΒ ΝΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΣΕ  
 ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΖΕΝΚΕ  
 20 ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 ΝΙΝΟΒ ΝΝΕΩΝ· ΣΕΝΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 22 ΝΒΙ ΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ ΜΝ ΣΑΒΛΩ ΜΝ  
 ΓΑΜΑΛΙΗΛ· ΝΣΕΕΙΝΕ ΝΝΙ  
 24 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ  
 ΠΙΚΩΖΤ ΜΝ ΠΙΒΩΝΤ Ν  
 26 ΣΕΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΣΑΤΠΕ ΝΝΙΑΙ[ΩΝ]  
 ΜΝ ΝΙΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΒΟΜ ΝΣΕ  
 28 [ΧΙ]ΤΟΥ· ΕΒΟΛ [  
 [. ]ΟΥ ΝΩΝΖ Α[  
 30 [Ν]ΣΕΧΙΤΟΥ Ε[ΒΟΛ  
 ΝΝΕΩΝ· ΠΑ.[ . . . . ΜΑ]

[ΩΣ]

[ΝΩ]ΩΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΝ[Ο]Θ Μ[ . . ]ΒΑ  
 2 [ . ]Ρ ΝΜΑΥ ΜΝ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ε  
 [Τ]ΟΥΓΑΑΒ ΜΝ ΝΙΕΩΝ· ΣΕΝΑ  
 4 ΩΠΕ ΝΒΙ ΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ  
 ΝΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝ  
 6 ΩΜΜΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ ΖΝ †ΣΠΟΡΑ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ·  
 8 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΦΝΑΣΙΝΕ ΜΠΜΕΖ  
 ΩΟΜΕΤ ΝΣΟΠ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΦΩΣ

- 75,17 "clouds of light": a common image of ascent; cf. e.g., *Test. Abr.* 9 (long recension); in Nag Hammadi literature, *Zost.* (VIII,1) 4,21-23.
- 22-23 In Cod.Bruc. (untitled text), f. 110<sup>v</sup>,34-35 Gamaliel appears with Strempsoukos and Agramas as one of the three "guardians" (φύλακες). All three names occur, but not as a trio, in the long list of names in *Zost.* (VIII,1) 47: Abrasax (line 13), Samblo the παραλήμπτωρ (line 24), and Gamaliel, paired with Strempsouchos (line 2). With the addition of Gabriel, these are the διάκονοι of the four great φωστῆρες in *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 52,19-53,9 and elsewhere. See also *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) 48\*,27-29.
- 26 "the aeons," ΝΝΙΑΙ[ΩΝ]: It is possible to read ΝΝΙΑΙ[ΓΕΛΟΣ], "the angels," but the line would be unusually long.



- 14 the eyes of the powers of the illuminators (φωστήρ) will  
 be darkened,  
 and the aeons will not see by  
 16 them in those days.  
 And great clouds of light  
 18 will descend, and  
 other clouds of light  
 20 will come down upon them from  
 the great aeons.  
 22 Abrasax and Sablo and  
 Gamaliel will descend, and bring  
 24 those men out of  
 the fire and the wrath, and  
 26 take them above the aeons  
 and the rulers (ἀρχή) of the [powers], and  
 28 [take] them away [  
 [ ] of life [  
 30 and take them away [  
 aeons [  
  
 [76]  
 [dwelling-place] of the [great  
 2 [ ] there with the holy angels  
 and the aeons.  
 4 The men will be like  
 those angels for they  
 6 are not strangers to them. But (ἀλλά)  
 they work in the imperishable seed (σπορά).  
 8 Once again (πάλιν), for the  
 third time, the illuminator (φωστήρ)

76,8-9

“Once again, for the third time”: Though the Illuminator’s coming was not mentioned before, this is the third time in relation to the flood and the fire. Cf. *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 63,4-8, where the great Seth is said to have passed through “three parousias”: “the flood, and the conflagration, and the judgment of the archons and the powers and the authorities.”

9

“illuminator”: As a title φωστήρ is so common as to be of little help in placing the document; e.g., *Hipp. Ref.* V.8.40 (the Savior in the Naassene exegesis); *Act. Phil.* 21 (Jesus); *Kephalaia* 68 (Mani); *Kephalaia*, Introduction (7,27; Zarathustra).

cf. e.g. Is  
 Zost. VIII.  
 Gamaliel app.  
 the three  
 as a trio. In  
 time 13). See  
 with Streng  
 are the be  
 32,19-33: #  
 19.  
 to read Av.  
 usually:

10 ΤΗΡ ΝΤΕ †ΓΝΩCIC ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ  
 ΝΝΕΟΟΥ· ΖΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΕΦΕΨΩΧΠ̄  
 12 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΙCΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΩΖΕ  
 ΜΝ ΝΙΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΧΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΑΦΕΘ̄  
 14 ΧΕ ΕΦΕΨΩΧΠ̄ ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΨΗΝ  
 ΝΡΕϞ† ΟΥΤΑΖ· ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑCΩ  
 16 ΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟ  
 ΟΥ ΜΠΜΟΥ· ΧΕ ΠΙΠΛΑCΜΑ  
 18 ΤΗΡ῀ ΕΤΑϞΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ  
 ΠΙΚΑΖ ΕΤΜΟΟΥ†· CΕΝΑΨΩ  
 20 ΠΕ ΖΑ ΤΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΜΟΥ·  
 ΝΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ Ε†ΓΝΩCIC  
 22 ΝΤΕ ΠΙΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΖΜ ΠΕΥΖΗ† ΝCΕΝΑΤΑΚΟ  
 24 ΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΧΙ ΠΝΑ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΙΜΝΤΡ̄ΡΟ ΝΟΥΩ†  
 26 [Α]ΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΟΟ†῀ ΝΟΥ[  
 [ . . ] ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ·  
 28 [ 10 ± ] ΜΦΩCΤΗ[Ρ]  
 [ 9 ± ΝΝ]ΗΟΥ ΕΧΝ̄  
 30 [ 6 ± ΕΤΜ]ΟΟΥ†· ΤΗ  
 [ 10 ± ]ΙΖΕ ΜΜΟ·

[OZ]

[ . ] Π [ . . ] ΝCΗΘ̄· ΝΦΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝ  
 2 ΜΑΕΙΝ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΕΦΕ  
 †CΩΨ· ΝΝ'Ι'ΒΟΜ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΑΡΧΩ[Ν]  
 4 ΤΟΤΕ ΦΝΑΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄ ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΒΟΜ· ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΨ  
 6 ΤΕ Τ'ΒΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΡΩΜΕ Ε†  
 ΧΟCΕ ΕΡΟΝ· ΤΟΤΕ ΦΝΑΤΟΥ  
 8 ΝΟC ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΒΩΝ† ΕΧΜ ΠΙ  
 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΦΕ  
 10 ΟΥΩΤΒ̄ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΕΟΟΥ ΝΦΨΩ

76,30-77,1 One might reconstruct ΤΗ  
 [ΕΤ῀ΝΑΡCΦΡΑΓ]ΙΖΕ ΜΜΟ[C]  
 [ΖΜ] Π[ΡΑΝ] ΝCΗΘ̄

“which he will seal with the name of Seth.”

77.3

“the powers”: The MS originally read ΝΝΕΥΒΟΜ, “their powers,” but dots over the letters ΕΥ indicate an erasure.

10 of knowledge (γνώσις) will pass by in great  
 glory, in order to (ἵνα) leave  
 12 (something) of the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah  
 and the sons of Ham and Japheth—  
 14 to leave for himself  
 fruit-bearing trees. And he will  
 16 redeem their souls (ψυχή) from the  
 day of death. For the whole creation (πλάσμα)  
 18 that came from  
 the dead earth will be  
 20 under the authority (ἐξουσία) of death.  
 But (δέ) those who reflect upon the knowledge (γνώσις)  
 22 of the eternal God  
 in their heart(s) will not perish.  
 24 For they have not received spirit (πνεῦμα)  
 from this kingdom alone,  
 26 but (ἀλλά) they have received (it) from an[  
 [ ] eternal angel.  
 28 [ ] illuminator (φωστήρ)  
 [ ] will] come upon  
 30 [ that is] dead [  
 [

[77]

[ ] of Seth. And he will perform  
 2 signs and wonders in order to  
 scorn the powers and their ruler (ἄρχων).  
 4 Then (τότε) the god  
 of the powers will be disturbed, saying: 'What  
 6 is the power of this man who  
 is higher than we?' Then (τότε) he will  
 8 arouse a great wrath against  
 that man. And  
 10 the glory will withdraw and

77.4-27 The theme of the deception or blindness of the powers in the face of the savior is very widespread in gnostic literature; cf. e.g. the docetic passion narrative in *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 55,30-56,19, and without reference to Jesus, *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 36,12-22.

πε ζῆν ζεννει εγογααβ νη  
 12 εταφσοτπου ναφ· αγω ἡ  
 σεναναγ εροφ αν ἡβι νιβομ  
 14 ζῆν νευβαλ· ουτε ἡσενα  
 [N]αγ αν επικεφωστηρ·  
 16 τοτε σεναρκολαζε ἡτσα  
 ραζ ἡπιρωμε εταπιῆνα  
 18 ετογααβ εἰ εχωφ· τοτε  
 σεναρχρασθαι ἡπιραν ἡβι  
 20 νιαγγελος ἡἡ νιγενεα  
 τηρου ἡτε νιβομ ζῆν ου  
 22 πλανη ευχω ἡμοσ χε  
 ασωωπε εβολ των ἡ ἡ  
 24 ταγεἰ εβολ των ἡβι νιψα  
 χε ἡἡἡἡἡνουχ· ναἰ ε  
 26 τε ἡπουδῆτοῦ ἡβι νιφ[ομ]  
 τηρου· †ζουεἰτε ου[N]  
 28 ἡἡἡἡἡρ[ο χω ἡμοσ εροφ]  
 [χε α]φωωπ[ε εβολ ζῆν  
 30 [. . . . .] ἡτ[  
 [. . . . .].. [

## [OH]

ετπε ἡβι ουῆἡνα α[υς]ανοῦ  
 2 ψῆ ζῆν ἡπηγε αφχι πεοοῦ  
 ἡπη ετἡμαγ ἡἡ †βομ· αφεἰ  
 4 εχἡ κοῦἡἡἡ ἡτεφμααγ·  
 αγω ἡ†ζε αφεἰ εχἡ πιμοοῦ·  
 6 †μερςἡτε δε ἡἡἡἡἡρο χω  
 ἡμοσ ετβἡἡἡἡ χε αφωωπε  
 8 εβολ ζῆν ουῆνοβ ἡπροφἡἡἡς·  
 αγω αφεἰ ἡβι ουζαἡἡἡ αφχι

- 77,16 "punish the flesh": Cf. 1QpHab 9,2: they committed "vengeance upon his body of flesh."
- 21-22 "use of name in error": If one may suppose the Greek to be χρῆσθαι ὡς, one might render "treat the name as a deception."
- 78,5 "he came to the water": In all its occurrences this refrain might be translated "he came on the water." The statement might be a reference to baptism (of Jesus?) but probably refers to coming

dwell in holy houses which  
 12 it has chosen for itself. And  
 the powers will not see it  
 14 with their eyes nor (οὔτε) will they  
 see the illuminator (φωστήρ) either.  
 16 Then (τότε) they will punish (κολάζειν) the flesh (σάρξ)  
 of the man upon whom the  
 18 holy spirit (πνεῦμα) has come. Then (τότε)  
 the angels and all the  
 20 generations (γενεά) of the powers  
 will use (χρησθαι) the name  
 22 in error (πλάνη), asking:  
 'Where did it (the error) come from?' or (ἤ)  
 24 'Where did the  
 words of deception, which  
 26 all the powers have failed  
 to discover, come from?' [Now (οὖν)] the first  
 28 kingdom [says of him]  
 [that] he came [from  
 30 [  
 [  
 [78]

A spirit (πνεῦμα) [ ] to heaven. He was nourished

2 in the heavens. He received the glory  
 of that one and the power. He came  
 4 to the bosom of his mother.  
 And thus he came to the water.  
 6 And (δέ) the second kingdom says  
 about him that he came  
 8 from a great prophet (προφήτης).  
 And a bird came, took

into the world. Cf. *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 50,16-18: ΠΙΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ  
 ΕΧΜ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΝΙΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΣΑΠΕΣΗΤ, "the descent  
 upon the water, that is the regions below." Cf. also *Paraph. Shem*  
 (VII,1) 32,5-12. In *Zost.* (VIII,1) 18,2-3 the phrase "come to  
 the water" (ΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΟΟΥ) seems to refer to baptism.  
 The numeral sign Β (two) appears over the written numeral.

10 ΠΙΛΛΟΥ ΕΤΑΥΧΠΟQ ΑQΧΙΤḲ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΤΟΟΥ ΕQΧΟCΕ·  
 12 ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΑΝΟΥΨḲ ΕΒΟΛ ΖḲ  
 ΠΙΖΑΛΗΤ̄ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΕ· ΑΥΑΓΓΕ  
 14 ΛΟC ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ḲΜΑΥ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑ[Q]  
 ΧΕ ΤΩΟΥΝΓ̄ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΕΟΟΥ  
 16 ΝΑΚ· ΑQΧΙ ΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ ΜḲ ΟΥΧΡΟ·  
 ΑΥΩ Ν†ΖΕ ΑQΕΙ ΕΧḲ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ·  
 18 †ΜΕΖΨΟΜΤΕ ḲΜḲΤḲΡΟ ΧΩ  
 ḲΜΟC ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΑQΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 20 ΖḲ ΟΥΜΗΤΡΑ ḲΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC  
 ΑΥΝΟΧḲ ΕΒΟΛ ΖḲ ΤΕQΠΟΛΙC  
 22 ΝΤΟQ ΜḲ ΤΕQΜΑΑΥ ΑΥΧΙΤḲ  
 ΕΥΜΑ ΝΕΡΗΜΟC· ΑQCΑΝΟΥ  
 24 ΨḲ ḲΜΑΥ· ΑQΕΙ ΑQΧΙ ΝΟΥΕ  
 [Ο]ΟΥ ΜḲ ΟΥΒΟΜ· ΑΥΩ Ν†  
 26 [ΖΕ] ΑQΕΙ ΕΧḲ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ·  
 †[†]ΜΕΖ[Q]Τ[Ο]Ε Ḳ[Μ]ḲΤḲΡΟ Χ[Ω]  
 28 [ḲΜΟC ΕΡΟQ Χ]Ε ΑQΨΩ[ΠΕ]  
 [ΕΒΟΛ ΖḲ ΟΥΠΑΡ]ΘΕ[ΝΟC]  
 30 [        9 ±        ]Τ ΑC[ΟΛΟΜΩΝ]

[09]

[Κ]ΨΤΕ [Ν]CΩC ΝΤΟQ ΜḲ ΦΗΡCΑΛΨ  
 2 ΜḲ CΑΥΗΛ ΜḲ ΝΕQCΤΡΑΤΙΑ  
 ΕΤΑΥΤΑΟΥΟΥ· ΑCΟΛΟΜΩΝ  
 4 ΖΩΩQ ΤΑΥΟ ΝΤΕQCΤΡΑΤΙΑ Ν  
 ΤΕ ΝΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΕΚΩΤΕ ΝCΑ †  
 6 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC· ΑΥΩ ḲΠΟΥΒḲ  
 ΤΗ ΕΤΟΥΚΩΤΕ ΝCΩC· ΑΛΛΑ  
 8 †ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΑΥΤΑΑC ΝΑΥ·

- 78,10 "child": The synonym ΚΟΥΕΙ is written above the word ΑΛΟΥ.
- 18-26 With this explanation and details from some of the others, especially nourishment of the child in the desert, cf. Rev 12.
- 23 "He was nourished": Lit. "he nourished himself," or emend to ΑΥCΑΝΟΥΨḲ. In the repeated refrain the verb is given various subjects.
- 24 "He came and received": The word "came" does not fit in the pattern of the refrain and may be a scribal error.

10 the child who was born and brought him  
 onto a high mountain.  
 12 And he was nourished by  
 the bird of heaven. An angel  
 14 came forth there. He said to him:  
 'Arise! God has given glory  
 16 to you.' He received glory and strength.  
 And thus he came to the water.  
 18 The third kingdom says  
 of him that he came  
 20 from a virgin (παρθένος) womb (μήτρα).  
 He was cast out of his city (πόλις),  
 22 he and his mother; he was brought  
 to a desert (ἔρημος) place. He was nourished  
 24 there. He came and received  
 glory and power. And thus  
 26 he came to the water.  
 [The fourth] kingdom says  
 28 [of him that] he came  
 [from a virgin (παρθένος).]  
 30 [ Solomon]

[79]

[sought] her, he and Phersalo  
 2 and SaueI and his armies (στρατιά),  
 which had been sent out. Solomon  
 4 himself sent his army (στρατιά)  
 of demons (δαίμων) to seek out the  
 6 virgin (παρθένος). And they did not find  
 the one whom they sought, but (ἀλλά)  
 8 the virgin (παρθένος) who was given to them.

78,27

The numeral sign  $\bar{\Delta}$  (four) appears over the written numeral.

79,2

On the name SaueI, see Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, p. 194.

4-5

Solomon's army of demons is a feature of magic literature and is often found elsewhere; cf. e.g., *Test. Sol.*, passim; *Jos. Ant.* VIII.45-49; in the Nag Hammadi library, *Testim. Truth* (IX,3) 72,5-8.

above the verb  
 some of the  
 is not  
 himself, or  
 the verb is  
 does not  
 error.

ΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΤῚ· ΑΡΧΙΤῚ  
 10 ΝΒΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ· ΑΣΕΡ ΒΑΚΕ  
 ΝΒΙ †ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΣΜΙΣΕ Μ  
 12 ΠΙΑΛΟΥ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤῚΜΑΥ·  
 ΑΣΣΑΝΟΥΨῚ ΖῚ ΟΥΨΩΛῚ  
 14 ΝΤΕ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ· ΝΤΕ  
 [Ρ]ΟΥΣΑΝΟΥΨῚ ΑΡΧΙ ΝΟΥΕΟ  
 16 ΟΥ ΜῚ ΟΥΒΟΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῚ †ΣΠΟ  
 ΡΑ ΕΤΑΥΧΠΟQ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῚ  
 18 ΑΥΩ Ν†ΖΕ ΑΡΕΙ ΕΧῚ ΠΙ  
 † ΜΟΟΥ· †ΜΕΖ† ΔΕ ΜῚ  
 20 ΤῚΡΟ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ  
 ΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῚ ΟΥΤῚ  
 22 †ΛΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΕ· ΑΥΣΑΤῚ  
 ΕΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ ΑΠΝΟΥΝ  
 24 ΨΟΠῚ ΕΡΟQ ΑΡΧΠΟQ  
 ΑΦΟΛῚ ΕΤΠΕ ΑΡΧΙ ΝΟΥΕ  
 26 ΟΟΥ ΜῚ ΟΥΒΟΜ· ΑΥΩ  
 Ν†ΖΕ ΑΡΕ[Ι] ΕΧῚ [ΠΙΜΟΟΥ·]  
 28 [†]ΜΕΖΣΟ Δ[Ε] Μ[Μ]ΝΤῚΡΡ[Ο]  
 [ΧΩ] ΜΜΟΣ [ΧΕ Ο]ΥΜΝΤ[.].  
 30 [. . . .] ΕΤ [. . ΕΖΡ]ΑΙ ΕΠΙῚΩΝ

## [Π]

ΕΤΣΑΖΡΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΦΕΤ[ΟΟΥ]ΤΕ Ν  
 2 ΖΕΝΖΡΗΡΕ· ΑΣΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῚ  
 ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΝΙΖΡΕΡΕ ΑΣ  
 4 ΜΕΣΤῚ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤῚΜΑΥ  
 ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΣΑΝΟΥΨῚ Ν  
 6 ΤΕ ΠΙΑΝΘΕΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΙ Ν  
 ΟΥΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤῚΜΑΥ  
 8 ΜῚ ΟΥΒΟΜ· ΑΥΩ Ν†ΖΕ ΑΡΕΙ  
 ΕΧῚ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ· †ΜΕΖ

- 79,10 ΕΡ ΒΑΚΕ is unattested in Sahidic; cf. Bohairic ΒΟΚΙ. The synonym ΩΩ is written above ΕΡ ΒΑΚΕ.
- 13 "border": Lit. "stake" or "mark," also used as a boundary marker.
- 28 The numeral sign ̅ (six) appears over the written numeral.
- 80,1 ΤΟΟΥΤΕ is rare in Sahidic and perhaps should be written ΤΟΥ-

It was she  
 Solomon to  
 The virgin  
 the child th  
 She nourish  
 of the deser  
 he had been  
 and power  
 from which  
 And thus h  
 water. And  
 kingdom sa  
 he came fro  
 drop from  
 into the sea  
 received hi  
 and brough  
 glory and p  
 thus he can  
 And (θε) [ti  
 says that  
 [

[ko]

which is be  
 flowers. Sh  
 the desire  
 gave birth  
 The angels  
 flower garc  
 glory there  
 and power  
 to the wat

re here. Its  
 in lacuna, m  
 ΧΠΟQ, a sy  
 ΡΤΕ ΠΙΑΝ  
 very unusua  
 The numera



It was she whom they fetched.  
 10 Solomon took her.  
 The virgin (παρθένος) became pregnant and gave birth to  
 12 the child there.  
 She nourished him on a border  
 14 of the desert (έρημος). When  
 he had been nourished, he received glory  
 16 and power from the seed (σπορά)  
 from which he had been begotten.  
 18 And thus he came to the  
 water. And (δέ) the fifth  
 20 kingdom says of him that  
 he came from a  
 22 drop from heaven. He was thrown  
 into the sea (θάλασσα). The abyss  
 24 received him, gave birth to him,  
 and brought him to heaven. He received  
 26 glory and power. And  
 thus he came to [the water].  
 28 And (δέ) [the] sixth kingdom  
 [says] that a [  
 30 [ down] to the aeon  
 [80]  
 which is below, in order to [gather]  
 2 flowers. She became pregnant from  
 the desire (ἐπιθυμία) of the flowers. She  
 4 gave birth to him in that place (τόπος).  
 The angels of the  
 6 flower garden (άνθεώνος) nourished him. He received  
 glory there  
 8 and power. And thus he came  
 to the water. And (δέ) the

**TE** here. Its synonym, written above the line, but now largely in lacuna, might have been either **ϺΦ[ΩΛ]ϛ** or **ϞΦ[ΟΥ]Ϻ**. **ΧΠΟΥ**, a synonym of **ΜΕCΤῸ**, is written above it.  
**ΝΤΕ ΠΙΑΝΘΕΩΝΟΣ**: The occurrence of a Greek genitive is very unusual.  
 9 The numeral sign **Ϻ** (seven) appears at the end of the line.

Bohairi: 80,4  
 used as a  
 5-6  
 written mss  
 could be written



10 seventh kingdom says  
of him that he is a drop.  
12 It came from heaven to earth.  
Dragons (δράκων) brought him down to caves.  
14 He became a  
child. A spirit (πνεῦμα) came upon him and  
16 brought him on high to the place where the  
drop had come forth.  
18 He received glory and power  
there. And thus  
20 he came to the water. And (δέ) the  
eighth kingdom says  
22 of him that a cloud came  
upon the earth and enveloped a  
24 rock (πέτρα). He came  
from it. The angels  
26 who were above the cloud  
nourished him. He [received] glory  
28 [and] power [there].  
And [thus he] came to [the water].

[81]

And (δέ) the [ninth] kingdom says  
2 of him that from the nine  
Muses (πιερίδες) one separated away.  
4 She came to a high mountain and spent  
(some) time seated there, so that (ὥστε)  
6 she desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) herself alone  
in order to become androgynous.  
8 She fulfilled her desire (ἐπιθυμία)  
and became pregnant from her desire (ἐπιθυμία).  
10 He was born. The  
angels who were over the desire (ἐπιθυμία) nourished him.  
12 And he received glory there  
and power. And  
14 thus he came to the water. The

81,2 The numeral sign Θ (nine) appears above the written numeral.  
6 The letter ε is crossed out after ΝC in ΝCΡΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ.  
14 The numeral sign Ι (ten) appears at the end of the line.

[Μ]ΗΤΕ ΜΜΝΤΡΡΟ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΡΟQ  
 16 ΧΕ ΑΠΕQΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΡΕ ΟΥΒΗΠΕ  
 ΝΤΕ †ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΑQΧΠΟ ΜΜΟQ  
 18 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΕQΒΙΧ· ΑΥΩ ΑQΝΟΥΧΕ  
 [Ε]ΧΝ †ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΕΡΟQ  
 20 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ †ΤΛ†ΛΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ  
 ΧΠΟQ· ΑQΧΙ ΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥ  
 22 [Β]ΟΜ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ  
 Ν†ΖΕ ΑQΕΙ ΕΧΜ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ·  
 24 †ΜΕΖΜΝΤΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΝ  
 [Τ]ΡΡΟ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΠΙΩΤ  
 26 [ΡΕΠ]ΙΘΥΜΙ Ε[Τ]ΕQΨΕΕΡΕ  
 [ΟΥΑΑ]ΤC ΑCΩΩ ΖΩΩC ΕΒΟ[Λ]  
 28 [ΖΜ ΠΕ]CΕΙΩΤ ΑCΝΟΥΧΕ Μ[  
 [. . . . .]Υ Ν[. . .]ΥΜΖΕΟΥ[

## [ΠΒ]

ΝΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΠΑΓΓΕ  
 2 ΛΟΣ CΑΝΟΥΨQ ΜΠΜΑ Ε  
 ΤΜΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ Ν†ΖΕ ΑQΕΙ Ε  
 4 ΧΜ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ· †ΜΕΖ  
 † ΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC ΜΜΝΤΡΡΟ ΧΩ  
 6 ΜΜΟΣ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΑQΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΜ ΦΩCΤΗΡ CΝΑΥ· ΑΥCΑ  
 8 ΝΟΥΨQ ΜΜΑΥ· [Α]QΧΙ ΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ  
 ΜΝ ΟΥΒΟΜ· ΑΥ[Ω] Ν†ΖΕ ΑQΕΙ  
 10 ΕΧΜ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ· †ΜΕΖ  
 † ΜΝ†ΨΟΜΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΝΤΡΡΟ ΧΩ  
 12 ΜΜΟΣ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΒΙΝΜΙCΕ ΝΙΜ  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΕΥΑΡΧΩΝ ΟΥΛΟQ[C ΠΕ·]  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΑQΧΙ ΝΟΥΤΩΨ ΜΠΜ[Α]  
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΪΛΟQ· ΑQ  
 16 ΧΙ ΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΒΟΜ·  
 ΑΥΩ Ν†ΖΕ ΑQΕΙ ΕΧΜ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ

81,16 ΚΛΟΟΛΕ, a synonym of ΒΗΠΕ, is written above it.

18 β is written above χ in ΝΟΥΧΕ.

19 ΒΗΠΕ, a synonym of ΚΛΟΟΛΕ, is written above it.  
 "near him": Following P. Nagel, "Die Wolke neben ihm" (Apk  
 Ad 81,19)" in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-  
 Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 22 (1973), III-15.

tenth kingdom says of him  
 16 that his god loved a cloud  
 of desire (ἐπιθυμία). He begot him  
 18 in his hand and cast  
 upon the cloud near him  
 20 (some) of the drop, and  
 he was born. He received glory and  
 22 power there. And  
 thus he came to the water.  
 24 And (δέ) the eleventh  
 kingdom says that the father  
 26 desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) his [own]  
 daughter. She herself became pregnant  
 28 [from] her father. She cast [  
 [ ] tomb

[82]

out in the desert (ἐρημος). The angel  
 2 nourished him there.  
 And thus he came  
 4 to the water. The  
 twelfth kingdom says  
 6 of him that he came from  
 two illuminators (φωστήρ). He was  
 8 nourished there. He received glory  
 and power. And thus he came  
 10 to the water. And (δέ) the  
 thirteenth kingdom says  
 12 of him that every birth  
 of their ruler (ἄρχων) is a word (λόγος).  
 14 And this word (λόγος) received  
 a mandate there. He  
 16 received glory and power.  
 And thus he came to the water,

81,24 The numeral sign  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  (eleven) appears above the written number.  
 82,4 The numeral sign  $\overline{\text{IB}}$  (twelve) appears at the end of the line.  
 7 The numeral sign  $\overline{\text{B}}$  (two) appears above the written number.  
 7-8 "he was nourished": or "they (i.e., the illuminators, the sun and  
 the moon) nourished him."  
 10 The numeral sign  $\overline{\text{IF}}$  (thirteen) appears at the end of the line.  
 12  $\chi$  is written above  $\theta$  in  $\theta\text{INMICE}$ .

18 **ΖΙΝΑ** **ΧΕ** **ΕΥΕΤΩΤ** **ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥ**  
**ΜΙΑ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΝΕΪΒΟΜ**· **†ΓΕΝΕΑ** **ΔΕ**  
20 **ΝΝΑΤΡ** **ΡΡΟ** **ΕΖΡΑΪ** **ΕΧΩΣ** **ΧΩ**  
**ΜΜΟC** **ΧΕ** **ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **CΩΤΠ**  
22 **ΜΜΟQ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΖΝ** **ΝΙΕΩΝ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ**  
**[Α]QΤΡΕ** **ΟΥΓΝΩCΙC** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΙΑ†**  
24 **[Χ]ΩΖΜ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΤΜΕ** **ΨΩΠΕ** **Ν**  
**[ΖΗΤ]Q** **ΠΕΧΑQ** **ΧΕ** **ΑQΕΙ** **Ε[ΒΟΛ**  
26 **[ΖΝ]** **ΟΥΑΗΡ** **ΝΨΜΜQ** **Ε[ΒΟΛ** **ΖΝ]**  
**[ΟΥ]ΝΟΒ** **ΝΝΕΩΝ** **ΝΒΙ** **[ΠΙ]**  
28 **[ΝΟΒ]** **ΜΦΩCΤΗΡ**· **ΑΥ[Ω** **ΑQΤΡΕ]**

**†ΓΕΝ[Ε]Α** **ΝΤΕ** **ΝΙΡΩΜΕ** **ΕΤΜΜΑΥ**  
2 **Ρ** **ΟΥΟΕΙΝ** **ΝΗ** **ΕΤΑQCΟΤΠΟΥ** **ΝΑQ**  
**ΖΩCΤΕ** **ΝCΕΡ** **ΟΥΟΕΙΝ** **ΕΧΜ** **ΠΙ**  
4 **ΕΩΝ** **ΤΗΡQ**· **ΤΟΤΕ** **†CΠΟΡΑ** **ΝΑ†**  
**ΟΥΒΕ** **†ΒΟΜ** **ΝΗ** **ΕΤΝΑΧΙ** **ΜΠΕQ**  
6 **ΡΑΝ** **ΖΙΧΜ** **ΠΙΜΟΟΥ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΝΤΟΤΟΥ**  
**ΤΗΡΟΥ**· **ΑΥΩ** **ΟΥΝ** **ΟΥΚΛΟΟΛΕ**  
8 **ΝΚΑΚΕ** **ΝΝΗΥ** **ΕΧΩΟΥ**· **ΤΟΤΕ**  
**CΕΝΑΩΨ** **ΕΒ[Ο]Λ** **ΖΝ** **ΟΥΝΟΒ** **ΝCΜΗ**  
10 **ΝΒΙ** **ΝΙΛΑΟC** **ΕΥΧΩ** **ΜΜΟC** **ΧΕ**  
**ΝΑΪΑΤC** **ΝΤΨΥΧΗ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΝΙΡΩ**  
12 **ΜΕ** **ΕΤΜΜΑΥ** **ΧΕ** **ΑΥCΟΥΩΝ**  
**ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΖΝ** **ΟΥΓΝΩCΙC** **Ν**  
14 **[Τ]Ε** **ΤΜΕ**· **CΕΝΑΩΝQ** **ΨΑ** **ΝΕ**  
**[Ω]Ν** **ΝΤΕ** **ΝΕΩΝ** **ΧΕ** **ΜΠΟΥ**  
16 **ΤΑΚΟ** **ΖΝ** **ΤΕΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ**

82,19-20 “the generation without a king”: A common designation for the Gnostics; cf. e.g., *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) 97,4-5; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (BG,3) 92,5-6. With the thirteen kingdom theories, compare the thirteen “seal” explanations in *Marsanes* (X,1) 2,14-4,23 and the “thirteen aeons” in *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 63,18; 64,4.

22 “from all the aeons”: or “from all eternity.” In the latter case, cf. the election of Christians *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* in Eph 1:4 (cf. 2 Tim 1:9 *πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνιων*), with its OT and Jewish background in the election of Israel.

25 **ΠΕΧΑQ** may be supported by a minute trace of ink. The reading **ΠΕΧΑC**, “It (the generation or the gnosis) said,” seems less likely. In addition, it is uncertain where to terminate the quotation.

18 in order that (ἐνα) the desire (ἐπιθυμία)  
of those powers might be satisfied. But (δέ) the genera-  
tion (γενεά)  
20 without a king over it says  
that God chose  
22 him from all the aeons.  
He caused a knowledge (γνώσις) of the  
24 undefiled one of truth to come to be  
[in] him. [He (or "it")] said: '[Out of]  
26 a foreign air (ἀήρ),  
[from a] great aeon [the]  
28 [great] illuminator (φωστήρ) came forth. [And he made]

[83]

the generation (γενεά) of those men  
2 whom he had chosen for himself shine,  
so that (ὥστε) they should shine upon the  
4 whole aeon.' Then (τότε) the seed (σπορά),  
those who will receive his  
6 name upon the water and (that) of them all, will fight  
against the power.

And a cloud  
8 of darkness will come upon them. Then (τότε)  
the peoples (λάος) will cry out with a  
10 great voice, saying:  
'Blessed is the soul (ψυχή) of those  
12 men because they have known  
God with a knowledge (γνώσις)  
14 of the truth! They shall live forever (αἰών, bis),  
because they have not been  
16 corrupted by their desire (ἐπιθυμία),

83.4-6 "Then . . . power": By emending to <N> NH (line 5), one might translate, "Then the seed will fight against the power <of> those who will receive his name upon the water and yield to them all." Here ΝΤΟΤΟΥ (line 6) is taken with † (line 4).  
6 "and (that) of them all": Lit. "and of them all," taken here to refer to the name (of Seth and of the Sethians). The awkward expression may well be a gloss corresponding to the probable gloss at 65,9.

ΜΝ̄ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· ΟΥΤΕ Μ̄  
 18 ΠΟΥΧΕΚ ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΙ  
 ΒΟΜ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ  
 20 ΜΠΕΦ̄Μ̄ΤΟ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΓΝΩΣΙC  
 Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥΟ  
 22 ΕΙΝ ΕΑΦ̄ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΚΩ  
 Ζ̄Τ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ ΟΥCΝΟΦ· ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ  
 24 ΑΝ̄Ρ̄ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤ̄  
 ΖΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΙΒΟΜ· ΑΝΨΟΥ  
 26 ΨΟΥ Μ̄ΜΟΝ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΠΑΡΑ  
 [ΒΑ]CΙC Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ  
 28 [ΤΗΡ]ΟΥ ΑΝΨΟΥ ΟΥΒΕ [ΠΝΟΥ]  
 [Τ]Ε Ν̄ΤΕ [ΤΜΕ] ΧΕ ΝΕΦΖΒΗ[ΥΕ]  
 30 [Τ]ΗΡΦ[Υ . . .]. ΑΜ . . . [

[ΠΔ]

ΟΥΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΠΕ· ΝΕΪ Ζ̄Α ΝΕΝ  
 2 Π̄Ν̄Α· ΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ †ΝΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΝΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΜΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜΟΥ  
 4 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥCΜΗ ΨΩΠΕ ΨΑΡΟΥ  
 ΕCΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΧΕ Μ̄ΙΧΕῩ Μ̄Ν̄  
 6 Μ̄ΙΧΑΡ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΝΗCΙΝΟΥC· ΝΗ  
 ΕΤ̄Ζ̄ΙΧ̄Ν̄ ΠΙΧΩΚ̄Μ̄ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ  
 8 Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΙΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΝ̄ Ζ̄ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΟΥ ΝΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΨΟΥ ΟΥΒΕ ΠΝΟΥ  
 10 ΤΕ ΕΤΟΝ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄[Ε]ΝCΜΗ Ν̄ΑΝΦ  
 ΜΟC Μ̄Ν̄ ΖΕΝΛΑC ΕΜ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΜΟ[C]  
 12 ΤΕ ΕΤΟΤΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΖΕΝΨΥΧΗ

84,1-2 "against": Translation is uncertain because the immediately preceding line is in lacuna.

5-6 "Micheu and Michar and Mnesinous": Cf. Cod. Bruc. (untitled text), f. 136<sup>v</sup>, 18-23: "These are the names of the powers who are over the living water: Michar and Micheu, and they are purified by Barpharanges." The name Mnesinous does not occur in this work. In *Zost.* (VIII,1) 6,8-17 there is an almost literal parallel to the Cod. Bruc. passage, and in addition there is a second list: "[Michar and] Micheus, and Seldao and Elainos and Zogenethlos." Mnesinous occurs in this work in the long list of names on 47.4. The names are also found in *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 64,14-20, "they who preside over the baptism of the living, and the purifiers,



along with the angels, nor (οὔτε)  
 18 have they accomplished the works of the  
 powers, but (ἀλλά) they have stood  
 20 in his presence in a knowledge (γνώσις)  
 of God like light  
 22 that has come forth from  
 fire and blood. But (δέ) we  
 24 have done every deed of the powers  
 senselessly. We have  
 26 boasted in the transgression (παράβασις)  
 of [all] our works.  
 28 We have [cried] against [the God]  
 of [truth] because all his works  
 30 [

[84]

is eternal. These are against our  
 2 spirits (πνεῦμα). For (γάρ) now we have known that  
 our souls (ψυχή) will die the death.'  
 4 Then (τότε) a voice came to them  
 saying: 'Micheu and  
 6 Michar and Mnesinous, who  
 are over the holy baptism  
 8 and the living water, why  
 were you crying out against the  
 10 living God with lawless (ἄνομος) voices,  
 and tongues without law (νόμος)  
 12 over them, and souls (ψυχή)

and Seseggen(̄)pharaggan, and they who preside over the gates of the waters, Micheus and Michar. . . ." In *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) 48\*,18-21 these three are called βαπτιστής who baptize in the πηγῇ of the water of life.

84,5-8

The role of these three personalities in the passage is unclear. The statement may be direct address, or an affirmation ("Micheu . . . are over"), or a parenthesis (or gloss) identifying the voice, i.e., it is these three personalities who reproach the people who have just been speaking, thus: "A voice came to them saying (Micheu and Michar and Mnesinous, who are over the holy baptism and the living water): 'Why were you crying out. . . .?'"

14 ΕΥΜΕΖ Ν̄CΝΟϞ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΖ[ΒΗΥΕ]  
 ΕΥCΟΟϞ· ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΕΖ Ε[ΒΟΛ]  
 Ζ̄Ν ΖΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΑ ΤΜΕ ΑΝ ΝΕ  
 16 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤ̄ΝΖ̄ΙΟΟΥΕ ΜΕΖ Ν̄  
 ΟΥΝΟϞ Μ̄Ν ΠΤΕΛΗΛ· ΕΑΤΕ  
 18 Τ̄ΝΧΕΖ̄Μ ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝ[Ζ]  
 ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝCΩΚ Μ̄ΜΟϞ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 20 ΕΠΟΥΩΨ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΒΟΜ  
 ΝΗ ΕΤΑΥ† ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΕΤΟΟ  
 22 ΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΕΨ̄ΜΨΕ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕ{ΠΕ}  
 24 Τ̄ΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΑ ΝΙ  
 [Ρ]ΨΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΑΝ ΝΗ  
 26 [Ε]ΤΕΤ̄ΝΠΩΤ̄ Ν̄CΩΟ[Υ]  
 [. . .]ΠΟΥC[. . .] [. . .]Ν̄CΑ ΝΕ  
 28 [. . .]ΕΠΙΘΥΜ[ΙΑ . . .]. ΖΕ

ΠΕ

Μ̄ΑΡΕΠΕΥΟΥΤΑΖ ΛΩΩΜ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 2 CΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥCΟΟΥΝ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ  
 ΨΑ ΝΙΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΝΕΩΝ· ΧΕ ΝΙΨΑΧΕ  
 4 ΕΤΑΥΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΝΤΕ ΝΕΩΝ Μ̄ΠΟΥΖ̄ΙΤΟΥ Ε  
 6 ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΟΥΤΕ Ν̄CΕCΖΗΟΥ† ΑΝ·  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟC ΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ  
 8 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ Ν̄CΕΝΑΜ̄ΜΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΝ Ν̄  
 ΒΙ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ]Υ Ν̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ· CΕ  
 10 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΓΑ[Ρ Ε]Χ̄Ν ΟΥΤΟΟΥ ΕϞ  
 ΧΟCΕ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄Ν ΟΥΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΤΕ ΤΜΕ·  
 12 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ CΕΝΑ† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
 ΧΕ ΝΙΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΕ †ΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ  
 14 [Μ̄Ν †]Μ̄ΝΤΜΕ Ν̄ΝΗ Ε†CΟΟΥΝ

- 84,23 Regarding the dittography, the scribe may have thought of a negative first perfect, Μ̄ΠΕΠΕΤ̄ΝΜΕΕΥΕ, since the negation ΑΝ is so far from the verb (line 25).
- 85,1 Μ̄ΑΡΕ- is a dialectal (Subachmimic) variant of ΜΕΡΕ-.
- 5 Μ̄ΠΟΥΖ̄ΙΤΟΥ, from Ζ̄ΙΟΥΕ, lit. (ἐπι)βάλλειν. The MS reads Μ̄ΠΟΥΖ̄ΙΤΟΟΥ with dots indicating the erasure of ΤΟΟ.
- 10-11 "on a high mountain, upon a rock": For the scheme of Sethian

APC  
 full of blo  
 [deeds]?  
 works tha  
 but (ἀλλά)  
 joy and re  
 Having de  
 you have  
 the will of  
 to whom y  
 to serve  
 them. And  
 thought is  
 those men  
 you persec  
 [ . . . ] de  
 Their fruit  
 they will b  
 up to the g  
 they have  
 of the aeon  
 the book n  
 But (ἀλλά)  
 them, who  
 of men wil  
 For (γάρ)  
 mountain,  
 Therefore  
 "The Wor  
 and; Trut  
 revelations p  
 Jos. Aw. I.  
 written by S  
 throughout  
 (VII,5); AH  
 "for those".

full of blood and foul  
 14 [deeds]? You are full of  
 works that are not of the truth,  
 16 but (ἀλλά) your ways are full of  
 joy and rejoicing.  
 18 Having defiled the water of life,  
 you have drawn it within  
 20 the will of the powers  
 to whom you have been given  
 22 to serve  
 them. And your  
 24 thought is not like that of  
 those men whom  
 26 you persecute  
 [  
 28 [        ] desire (ἐπιθυμία) [

[85]

Their fruit does not wither. But (ἀλλά)  
 2 they will be known  
 up to the great aeons, because the words  
 4 they have kept, of the God  
 of the aeons, were not committed to  
 6 the book nor (οὔτε) were they written.  
 But (ἀλλά) angelic (beings) will bring  
 8 them, whom all the generations (γενεά)  
 of men will not know.  
 10 For (γάρ) they will be on a high  
 mountain, upon a rock (πέτρα) of truth.  
 12 Therefore they will be named,  
 "The Words of Imperishability (ἀφθαρσία)  
 14 [and] Truth," for those who know

revelations preserved from flood and fire on brick and stone, see  
 Jos. *Ant.* I.67-70 and *Vit. Ad.* 50,1-2. The *Gos. Eg.* is a book  
 written by Seth and placed in a high mountain unknown to men  
 throughout history (III,2) 68,1-13. Cf. also the title *Steles Seth*  
 (VII,5); *Allogenes* (XI,3) 72,1-6.  
 "for those": or "of those."

85,14

[Μ]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 16 [C]ΟΦΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΓΝΩCIC ΜΝ  
 ΟΥCΒΩ ΝΤΕ ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΨΑ  
 18 ΕΝΕΖ ΧΕ ϞCΟΟΥΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ:  
 Τ ΝΑΪ ΝΕ ΝΙΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙC ΕΤΑ  
 20 [Α]ΔΑΜ ΒΑΛΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΗΘ ΠΕϞ  
 ΨΗΡΕ· ΑΓΩ ΑΠΕϞΨΗΡΕ ΤΑΜΕ  
 22 ΤΕϞCΠ[Ο]ΡΑ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΤΑΪ ΤΕ †ΓΝΩ  
 CIC ΝΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΔΔΑΜ  
 24 ΕΤΑϞΤΑΑC ΝCΗΘ· ΕΤΕ ΠΙΧΩ  
 ΚΜ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕ ΝΝΗ ΕΤCΟ  
 26 ΟΥΝ Ν†ΓΝΩCIC ΝΕΝΕΖ ΕΒΟ[Λ]  
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΛΟΓΟΓΕΝΗC Μ[Ν]  
 28 ΝΙΦΩCΤΗΡ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΝΗ [ΕΤΑΥ]  
 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ †CΠ[Ο]ΡΑ ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΑΒ]  
 30 ΪΕCCEΥC ΜΑ[Ζ]ΑΡΕΥC ΪΕCCE  
 ΔΕΚΕΥC [ΠΙ]ΜΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΟ[ΝΖ]  
 32 ΤΑΠΟ[ΚΑΛΥ]ΨΙC ΝΑΔ[ΑΜ]

- 85,17-18 “angels forever”: With a slight emendation one might read “eternal angels,” ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC <Ν> ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ, as at 64,15-16; 75,8; 76,27.
- 18 The translation supposes that the quotation of “the voice” (84,4-5) ends here, but this is uncertain; it may end in the lacuna at the end of p. 84. In any case Adam’s words end here.
- 28 “the imperishable illuminators”: The translation supposes these are Iesseus, etc., but the reference may be to the four φωστῆρες,

the etern  
 wisdom  
 and teach  
 forever, fr  
 These are  
 Adam ma  
 son. And  
 his seed (o  
 hidden  
 which he g  
 holy bapti  
 know the e  
 through th  
 and the im  
 came from  
 Yeseus, Ma  
 Yeseu/deke  
 The

Harmoni, Cr  
 Eg. Ap. John  
 Yeseus, Maz  
 are called  
 (cf. 66,10-11)  
 Yeseu/ekens, t  
 U. Gos. Eg. (II

the eternal God in  
 16 wisdom (σοφία) of knowledge (γνώσις)  
 and teaching of angels  
 18 forever, for he knows all things.' ”  
 These are the revelations (ἀποκάλυψις) which  
 20 Adam made known to Seth his  
 son. And his son taught  
 22 his seed (σπορά) about them. This is the  
 hidden (ἀπόκρυφον) knowledge (γνώσις) of Adam,  
 24 which he gave to Seth, which is the  
 holy baptism of those who  
 26 know the eternal knowledge (γνώσις)  
 through those born of the word (λογογενής)  
 28 and the imperishable illuminators (φωστήρ), who  
 came from the holy seed (σπορά):  
 30 Yesseus, Mazareus,  
 [Yesse]dekeus, [The Living] Water.  
 32 The Apocalypse of Adam

Harmozel, Oroiael, Dauithe, and Eleleth, prominent in *Gos. Eg., Ap. John*, and numerous gnostic and magical sources.

85,30-31 “Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekus”: In *Zost.* (VIII,1) 47,5-6 these are called “the immortal spirits.” In *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 65,10-11 (cf. 66,10-11): “the great attendant (παραστάτης) Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekus, the living water.”

31 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 64,10-11.

R. Mc

Abih. G.  
Hereafter  
H.M.  
1908 (1977)  
M. "Die  
says in Ho  
reuter, Kr

of the text is  
damage occur  
the remainder  
edge of the  
transcriber oc

for this hith  
the text: "Th  
Although at  
Peter plus the  
probably  
(4, 30-5.5) and  
House 2, p. 3  
number twelve  
that the num  
Schenke, col. 15,  
one who had not  
the common pract  
number twelve  
in Henneke, N  
state can be divi

M. Wilson prepared  
significantly to the  
provided the introduc  
and translation to co

## THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

VI,1:1,1-12,22

R. McL. WILSON AND DOUGLAS M. PARROTT\*

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 36-41, 107-21. (Hereafter, Krause [1]).

Schenke, H.-M. "Die Taten des Petrus und der zwölf Apostel." *ThLZ* 98 (1973), cols. 13-19.

Krause, M. "Die Petrusakten in Codex VI von Nag Hammadi." *Essays in Honour of Böhlig*. Edited by Krause. Pp. 36-58. (Hereafter, Krause [2]).

Some of the text is missing at the tops of all the pages. On pp. 1-8 serious damage occurs through line 10. On pp. 9-12 only minor gaps occur. The remainder of the text is intact, except for a few letters along the edge of the text on the lower right side of p. 2. Problems for the transcriber occur because of severe blotting on parts of pp. 2-6.

A title for this hitherto unknown tractate is found only at the end of the text: "The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles" (12,20-22). Although at first it might seem to be referring to thirteen apostles (Peter plus the twelve), a reading of the text makes it clear that the title probably has to do with two different "acts": an act of Peter (1,30-5,5) and an act of the apostolic group (5,5-12,19) (so also Krause [2], p. 38). The title, however, must be secondary, since the number twelve is in contradiction to the explicit statement of the text that the number of the disciples was eleven (9,20-21) (so also Schenke, col. 15). The title, then, was probably provided by someone who had not read the tractate carefully or who followed the common practice of the second and third centuries of using the number twelve to refer to the apostles as a group (cf. W. Bauer in Hennecke, *NT Apocrypha* II, 35).

The tractate can be divided into four major units:

---

\* R.McL. Wilson prepared a preliminary version. James Brashler contributed significantly to the transcription and translation. Douglas M. Parrott provided the introduction and footnotes, and brought the transcription and translation to completion.

A. *The introductory section (1,1-2,10)*. 1,1-7a, which is too fragmentary to reconstruct, might well have contained some indication of purpose and initial setting. The speaker is Peter (1,30), and the time is after the crucifixion, since the apostles undertake their journey on their own immediate initiative and Jesus is not with them. The similarity of their reaction when they finally meet Christ (9,10-20) to that of the disciples in Mt 28:17 suggests that at the beginning of the account they have not yet seen the resurrected Christ (see also 2,14), although there is no reason to think that they would not have been aware of the resurrection itself. The fact that there are only eleven disciples also supports the placing of the narrative in the post-crucifixion pre-ascension period (Krause [2], p. 38).

The apostles determine to undertake their ministry together (1,9-13). They then find a ship and set sail (1,16-26). Since they make no inquiry about destination, we should probably assume that that is being left to the Lord (cf. 1,22-23). The ship arrives at an island city called Habitation (1,26-2,4), and Peter goes to find out about lodgings (2,7-10).

B. *Peter's meeting with Lithargoel, and the response of the rich and the poor to him (2,10-5,18)*. Peter meets a pearl-merchant whose garb suggests both that he is a divine being and that he has been dead (cf. notes to 2,10-13 and 2,14) (2,10-25). He carries the staff of a traveler and a book (2,26-29) and is also a stranger in the city (2,34-3,11). Peter observes that the rich turn away from him when he hawks his wares because they think he really has none (3,11-31). The poor, however, flock to him. Although they have nothing with which to buy a pearl, they would still like to see one. But the merchant says they may have one for nothing if they come to his city (3,32-5,1).

They are concerned about the hardships involved in getting to the city, and ask Peter about them. Peter tells them what he has heard, and turns to the merchant, asking about his name and the hardships of the way. He learns that the name is Lithargoel, which is interpreted in the text as a light-weight, gazelle-like (i.e., gleaming; cf. note to 5,18) stone; that is, a pearl (5,1-18).

C. *The journey of Peter and his friends to Lithargoel's city (5,19-8,11)*. The hardships of the way, according to Lithargoel, are caused by robbers and various kinds of wild beasts, all of which prey upon those who carry food and belongings with them. The only way to avoid them is complete renunciation of possessions and a regimen



of fasting, so that one will have nothing that the predators might want (5,19-6,8). Lithargoel encourages Peter to believe that the name of Jesus will give power to walk in the way (6,9-19) and also tells him that the name of the city is "Nine Gates" (6,19-26).

Peter is about to go and call his friends when he notices the walls of the city and the waves surrounding them. This leads to a discussion with an old man about the name of the city (6,27-7,2). Those who inhabit the city do so because they are able to endure, Peter is told. He then observes that the same is true for those who endure trials for their faith: they have habitations in the kingdom of heaven (7,3-19). Peter then goes and calls his friends, and they successfully make the journey because they have prepared themselves as Lithargoel had instructed (7,19-8,3). At the gate of the city they rejoice and talk piously among themselves (8,4-11).

*D. The appearance of Lithargoel as a physician, his revelation of himself as Jesus Christ, and the commissioning of the eleven disciples* (8,11-12,19).

Lithargoel comes out of the city disguised as a physician and says that he will show them where Lithargoel lives (8,11-35). However, instead of doing that, he reveals that he is Jesus Christ (9,1-19). After the disciples prostrate themselves in worship and indicate their willingness to do his will, the Lord gives them a box and pouch of medicine and commissions them to return to Habitation. There they are to teach the faithful and minister to the poor (9,1-10,13). Peter objects that they have nothing to give the poor, since they have renounced everything, but the Lord points out that they have his name, which is of more value than anything else (10,13-30). Once again he gives them the medicine pouch and commands them to heal the sick. But John objects that they have had no training as physicians. The Lord instructs them that physical healing is important to open the way for spiritual healing. Physical healing is to be done "without medicines of the world" (10,31-11,26). Finally they are to avoid contact with the rich, and are not to show partiality toward them in the churches (11,26-12,13). The disciples agree to do as he wills and once again prostrate themselves in worship. He causes them to stand and departs (12,15-19).

The intention of the author appears to have been to depict the disciples' preparation for apostolic activity. The narrative shows their initial determination to start their ministry, apparently without a clear idea of where they were going or what they were to do

(1,9-13). When they arrive at Habitation, Peter learns that it is the poor, not the rich, who respond to the Lithargoel (Christ). Then he and the other apostles go through a disciplinary journey in which they themselves become poor, denying themselves possessions and food. Finally, when they are fully prepared by their own poverty to respond to Jesus, he appears to them and gives them their apostolic commission. In this way then they ready themselves, and are readied by the Lord, to carry out their work.

The tractate, as we have just described it, is not simply another of the apocryphal acts of the apostles. As Krause has observed, at the center of the narrative is not the activity of the apostles (as is the case in other apocryphal acts) but the person and activity of Lithargoel-Christ ([2], p. 55; for the criteria for apocryphal acts of the apostles, cf. Hennecke, *NT Apocrypha* II, 168-69, 174-78). It is only at the end that the reader is prepared for true apostolic activity to begin.

Krause has analysed the sources of VI,1 and divides the text into three originally independent parts: a framework section (1,3-1,29); a first narrative (1,29-7,23); a second narrative (8,13-12,19). He takes the division of the narratives from the title (cf. above), each act being a narrative. The first narrative is Peter's act and has as its central figure Lithargoel, "the god of the glistening stone," i.e., the god of the pearl, who sets ascetic requirements for salvation. This narrative was originally non-Christian but has been Christianized by insertions and the addition of Peter's name. The second narrative is the act of the apostolic group. In the process of bringing the two narratives together, the editor Christianized the pearl as the name of Christ (10,25-30) (Krause [2], pp. 49-51).

This analysis is weakened by its dependence upon a division of the text suggested by a secondary and inaccurate title. A more persuasive division would be based on the forms and structures of the text itself (this has been attempted above in the description of the tractate). Krause supports his divisions by reference to contradictions that he finds among the sections ([2], p. 49-50). But some are more convincing than others, and the more convincing ones can be interpreted in more than one way, as we will see below in the discussion of the physician material.

As to Lithargoel's having been originally a non-Christian deity, in the absence of evidence for a Lithargoel cult in late antiquity (implied by Krause [2], p. 50; suggested by Schenke, col. 15) it seems

more reasonable to think that the identification of Lithargoel with Jesus Christ (9,8-15) was the intention when the word was first coined. Support for this view is found in *Act. Pt.* 20, where Jesus is called a pearl. The figure of Lithargoel and elements in the surrounding narrative could well have been developed out of Rev 2:17.

Although it is not our purpose here to offer a detailed source analysis of the text, there is one portion that ought to be mentioned, because it seems quite clearly secondary, namely, the sections where Lithargoel-Christ is identified as a physician (8,15-9,1; 9,30-2; 10,31-2). The reasons for thinking that this material is secondary are the following: (1) It compromises the identification of Lithargoel with Jesus, which is most important for the narrative. The physician is the intermediate figure between the two, but within the narrative itself the physician is never recognized as Lithargoel but only as Christ by Peter and the disciples. To be sure, Peter, as narrator, makes the identification of Lithargoel with the physician, but we do not know how, since the text says explicitly, "We did not recognize him" (the physician as Lithargoel) (8,20). Only in 10,12-13 do the words of the Lord himself make clear the connection, and these are not said in such a way as to make the reader think that something new is being revealed to the disciples. If the physician material is removed, the identification problem disappears. (2) There is no reason within the narrative why Lithargoel, who is already a disguised figure, should appear in a second disguise to the disciples. (3) This material produces three significant contradictions with other parts of the text: (a) In 8,20 (quoted above) the assumption is that all the disciples were involved in the earlier discussion with Lithargoel and therefore might have been able to recognize him. In fact, however, only Peter was present earlier (Krause [2], p. 49). (b) In 8,28-32 Lithargoel-Christ, as the physician, wonders how Peter came to know Lithargoel, since he does not reveal himself to everyone. But earlier Lithargoel had appeared to both rich and poor and he himself told Peter his name (5,16) (Krause [2], p. 49). (c) In 9,30-32 and 10,31-32 Christ gives the eleven various medicines for use in healing, but when they ask him how to heal bodies he tells them to do it "without medicine of the world" (11,23-24).

The intent of this physician material may be to identify Christ and Asclepius (Schenke, col. 14). The identification of Asclepius with other gods of healing was not at all uncommon (H. J. Rose,

*Religion in Greece and Rome* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959], p. 112), and probably symbolized the belief in the ultimate unity of all healing power. An alternative explanation is that this material was added to convince believers that since Christ himself is a physician they do not need Asclepius. (On the cult of Asclepius and Christianity, cf. A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. and ed. by J. Moffatt, Harper Torchbooks [New York: Harper and Bros., 1962; originally published in 1908 as vol. I of a two volume translation of the 2nd German edition (1906)], pp. 101-24).

The thought-world of the text is mixed, but there is little here that would have offended developing orthodoxy. The Christology is that of the divine sonship (6,14-19; 9,11-12), and, although the crucifixion and death of Jesus are not mentioned in the extant text, they may well be implied (cf. 2,14 and note). The theme of apostolic poverty is rooted in the Gospels (Mt 10:9-10) and finds expression in such a clearly orthodox work as *The Didache* (11:3-6). The polemic against the rich is likewise based on the New Testament (Mk 10:17-31, parr.; Jas 2:1-9). Encratite influence may be present in the prohibition of the eating of meat (6,4-6), although the characteristic Encratite teaching against sexual intercourse and marriage is absent. No distinctively gnostic views are found here, but gnostic interpreters could have made good use of such elements as the stranger motif (2,34-3,11), the hidden pearl, the journey, and the costly garment of the world (5,31-2).

Krause contends that *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* is the long-lost introductory section of the apocryphal *Act. Pt.* He argues for this by attempting to demonstrate a close connection between *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* and *Act Pet.* (BG,4), which tractate is now widely accepted as belonging to the first third of *Act. Pt.*—a part entirely lost for so long (cf. introduction to *Act Pet.* in this volume) (Krause [2], pp. 56-58). This bold thesis needs to be supported by more fully developed arguments than Krause was able to include in his article (cf. Schenke, col. 15, for opposing view); we will therefore await with interest his forthcoming commentary.

*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* almost certainly is to be grouped with the apocryphal Acts of the second and third centuries, rather than with the later ones, with which it has little in common (cf. Hennecke, *NT Apocrypha* II, 571). A more precise date will have to await the results of a detailed literary analysis of the text.

and Brother  
the ultimate  
is that the  
ist himself  
le of Astor  
Expansion  
d ed. by J. I.  
Steele  
translation of

where is little  
The Christian  
although it  
the expanse  
the theme of  
and links  
the New Testa  
may be  
although the  
course and  
found here. It  
such elemen  
the journey.

is the long  
He argues for  
between do  
now widely  
entirely  
(Kraus  
by more  
in his  
therefore

be grouped  
ries, rather  
mon (cf. B  
will have to  
t.

THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

VI,1:1,1-12,22

[ 8 ± ]χε ετ[  
 2 [ . . . . π]ροφας[ις  
 [ . . . . ]ς· χε ασψ[ωπ]ε ν[ταρ  
 4 [ . . . . ]ωτ̄ ἄμον̄ εβολ ε.[  
 [ . . . . ]ιον ναποστολος· α[  
 6 [ . . . . ] . [ . . ]ε αν̄ρ̄ ζωτ̄ εν . [ . ] . ἄ  
 [ . . . . ] ἄπισωμα· μ̄ν̄ ζενκε  
 8 [κοογ]ε εγο̄ ἄροογω̄ ζ̄μ̄ πε[γ]  
 [ζητ̄] αγω̄ ἄσᾱ ζητ̄ν̄ αν̄ρ̄ ογ  
 10 [ζητ̄] ογωτ̄· αν̄τ̄ μετε εχεκ  
 †διακονια εβολ εταρτοω̄ν̄  
 12 ερος ἄβῑ π̄χοεις· αγω̄ αν̄τ̄  
 ἄοῡσυνταγη̄ ἄνε̄νερηογ  
 14 αν̄ε̄ῑ εβολ εχ̄ν̄ θαλασσα· κα  
 τα ογεγκαιρια εασωπε  
 16 νᾱν̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ιτ̄ν̄ π̄χοεις· αν̄βῑ  
 νε̄ ἄοῡχοεῑ εφ̄μονε̄ επεκρο  
 18 εφ̄σοβτε̄ ἄμοφ̄ εβωογ̄ εβολ·  
 αγω̄ αν̄ψαχε̄ μ̄ν̄ ἄνεεφ̄ ἄτε  
 20 π̄χοεῑ ετρεναλε̄ ἄμ̄μαγ· ἄ  
 τοογ̄ ζωογ̄ αγ̄ρ̄ ογ̄νοβ̄ ἄ  
 22 μ̄ν̄τ̄μαειρω̄με̄ ἄμ̄μαν̄ κα  
 τᾱ νετ̄τηω̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ιτ̄ν̄ π̄χοεις·  
 24 ασωπε̄ δε̄ ἄταρ̄ἄβωογ̄  
 εβολ̄ αν̄ρ̄ ζωτ̄· αν̄ρ̄ ογ̄ζοογ̄  
 26 μ̄ν̄ ογ̄ογ̄ω̄η· μ̄ν̄ἄσᾱ νᾱεῑ  
 αγ̄τ̄ηογ̄ νιφ̄ε̄ ἄσᾱ π̄χοεῑ αφ̄  
 28 βεκ̄ν̄ εζ̄ρᾱῑ εγ̄κογ̄εῑ ἄπολις  
 ες̄ζ̄ν̄ τ̄μητε̄ ἄθαλασσα· ανοκ

1,1-7 No satisfactory reconstruction of these lines as a unit has yet been proposed.

2 Reconstruction follows Schenke.

THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

VI, 1: 1, 1-12, 22

[1]

[ ] which [  
 2 [ ] purpose (πρόφασις) [  
 [ ]: [After  
 4 [ ] us [  
 [ ] apostles [  
 6 [ ]. We sailed [  
 [ ] of the body (σῶμα). [Others] were not  
 8 anxious in [their]  
 [hearts.] And in our hearts, we were  
 10 united. We agreed to fulfill  
 the ministry (διακονία) to which  
 12 the Lord appointed us. And we made  
 a covenant (συνταγή) with each other.  
 14 We went down to the sea (θάλασσα) at (κατά)  
 an opportune moment (εὐκαιρία), which came  
 16 to us from the Lord. We  
 found a ship moored at the shore  
 18 ready to embark  
 and we spoke with the sailors of  
 20 the ship about our coming aboard with them.  
 They showed great  
 22 kindness toward us as (κατά)  
 was ordained by the Lord.  
 24 And (δέ) after we had embarked,  
 we sailed a day  
 26 and a night. After that,  
 a wind came up behind the ship and  
 28 brought us to a small city (πόλις)  
 in the midst of the sea (θάλασσα).

1,10-12 Cf. Mk 3:13-19, parr., but see also Mt 28:19-20; Ac 1:8.

30 ΔΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΛΕΙΨΙΝΕ Ν̄СА ΠΡΑΝ  
 Ν̄ΤΕΪΠΟΛΙΣ Ν̄ΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̄ΖΟΕΙ  
 32 ΝΕ Μ̄ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ· ΕΥΑΖΕ  
 ΡΑΤΟΥ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄Ν ΤΕΜΡΩ· ΑΦΟΥΩΨ̄

## [B]

[Ν̄ΒΙ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν̄]ΖΗΤ[ΟΥ ΕΦΧΩ Μ̄]  
 2 [ΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΡΑΝ Ν̄]ΤΕΪΠ[ΟΛΙΣ ΠΕ ΧΕ]  
 [ΒΩΡ̄Β̄ ΕΤΕ Π]Α[Ι] ΠΕ ΤΑΧΡΟ [·  
 4 [· · ΖΥ]ΠΟ[ΜΟ]ΝΗ· ΑΥΩ · [·  
 [Ν̄ΒΙ] ΠΕΖΗΓΕ[Μ]ΩΝ ΕΤ̄Ν̄Ζ[ΗΤΟΥ]  
 6 [ΕΦΧΙ] Μ̄ΠΒΑΕ Μ̄ΦΗΤ̄ Ν̄[ΤΕΜΡΩ]  
 ΑΦ[Ψ]ΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΑΡ̄Ν̄ΒΨ[Κ Μ̄Ν ΠΙ]  
 8 ΣΚΕΥΟΣ ΕΠΙΚΡΟ· ΛΕΙΒΨ[Κ ΕΖΟΥΝ]  
 Ε[†]ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΕΙΚΩΤΕ ΑΠΙ[ΨΟΧΝΕ]  
 10 Ν̄Са ΟΥΜΑ Ν̄СΘΟ· ΑΦ̄ΕῙ ΕΒ[ΟΛ]  
 Ν̄ΒΙ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΦΟΡΙ Ν̄ΟΥΛ[Ε]ΝΤ[Ι]  
 12 ΟΝ ΕΦΜΗΡ Μ̄ΜΟΦ ΕΧ̄Ν ΤΕΦ†ΠΕ·  
 ΕῩΝ ΟΥΜΟΧ̄Ζ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΥΒ ΕΦΜΗΡ Μ̄Μ[ΟΦ]  
 14 ΕΟῩΝ̄ ΚΕСОУΔΑΡΙΟΝ ΜΗΡ ΕΧ̄Ν ΤΕ[Φ]  
 ΜΕСТ̄ΘΗТ̄· ΕΦΤΑΛΗΟΥТ ΕΧ̄Ν  
 16 ΝΕΦΨΩΠ̄Ψ̄ ΕΦΖΩΒ̄С̄ Ν̄ΤΕΦΑΠΕ  
 Μ̄Ν ΝΕΦΒΙΧ̄· ΝΕΕΙΜΟΥΖ̄ ΠΕ Ν̄Са ΠΙ  
 18 ΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΟΥСАΕΙΕ ΠΕ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΦ  
 ΜΟΥΝ̄Κ̄ Μ̄Ν ΤΕΦΒΙΝΑΖΕРАТ̄· ΦΤΟ  
 20 ΟΥ Μ̄ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΑΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
 Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΦСΩΜΑ· Ν̄ΒΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΦ  
 22 ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΦ  
 ΜΕСТ̄Ζ̄ΗТ̄· Μ̄Ν ΘΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΕΦ  
 24 ΒΙΧ̄ Μ̄Ν ΤΕΦΖ̄ΙΚΩΝ· ΝΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΪ

- 1,31 "residents": Lit. "some of that place."  
 2,3 For reconstruction of name, cf. 10,3; for meaning, cf. note to 7,1-2.  
 6 "palm stick": Lit. "branch of a date palm". Perhaps used in measuring. ΜΡΩ: Cf. 1,33.  
 8 ΒΨ[Κ]: The tiny trace of ω in the MS may be of another letter, but the context makes this unlikely.  
 9 "advice," ΨΟΧΝΕ: Other terms are possible here: "knowledge," СООУΝ; "message, word," ΨΑΧΕ. Krause (1) reconstructs ΑΠΙ[Τ̄Ν̄], but this does not fill the space.



30 And (δέ) I, Peter, inquired about the name  
of this city from residents  
32 who were  
standing on the dock.

[2]

[A man] among [them] answered [saying:]  
2 ["The name] of this [city (πόλις) is]  
[Habitation, that is,] Foundation [  
4 [ ] endurance (ὑπομονή)."] And  
the leader (ἡγεμόν) [among them  
6 [holding] the palm stick at the edge of [the dock.]  
And (δέ) after we had gone ashore [with the]  
8 baggage (σκευός), I [went]  
into [the] city (πόλις) to seek [advice]  
10 about lodging. A man came out  
wearing (φορεῖν) a cloth (λέντιον)  
12 bound around his waist,  
and a gold belt girded [it].  
14 Also a napkin (σουδάριον) was tied over [his]  
chest, extending over  
16 his shoulders and covering his head  
and his hands. I was staring at the  
18 man, because he was beautiful in his  
form and stature. There were four  
20 parts (μέρος) of his body (σῶμα) that  
I saw: the soles of his  
22 feet and a part (μέρος) of his  
chest and the palms of his  
24 hands and his visage (εἰκόν).

2,10-13 The cloth and the golden belt are the garb of a divine being (so also Schenke, col. 14); cf. Ezek 9:2,11; Dan 10:5; Rev 1:13; 15:6.  
14 "napkin," **ΣΟΥΔΑΡΙΟΝ**: A cloth used to cover the head of one who has died; cf. Jn 11:44; 20:7.  
24 "visage": Lit. "likeness." Perhaps his whole form is referred to.

26 βῆβoм εναγ εροογ· εγῆ ογ  
 κρειζε ἄωμε ἄπρητε ἄνα  
 28 ἄ ογψωωτῆ ἄψε ἄστυραξ ἄν  
 τερβιχ ἄογναμ· νερετερ  
 30 σμη σῆσῆ πε ερζορϰ ερψαχε  
 ερωψ εβολ ἄν ἄπολις χε μα[ρ]  
 32 γαριθς μαργαριθς· ανοκ  
 ζω νεῖμεεγε πε χε ογρω[με ἄ]  
 34 ἄπολις ετῆμαγ πε· πεχαῖ  
 ναρ χε πασον αγω πασβηρ

[αρογωψῆ] ναῖ ρψ[ωρ ερχω ἄμοσ]  
 2 [χε καλ]ωσ ακχο[οσ χε πασον]  
 [αγω π]ασβηρ ογ πετ[κψινε]  
 4 [ερορ ἄ]τοοτῆ· πε[χ]αῖ ναρ χε [ἄψι]  
 [νε ἄσα ο]γμα ἄσθο εροκ ἄ[ν]οκ  
 6 [ἄῆ ἄ]κεσνηγ εβολ χε ἄ[νο]ν  
 [ζενψ]ἄμο ἄπιμα· πεχαρ [ν]αῖ  
 8 [χε ε]τβε παῖ λειρ ψορῆ ἄχο[ο]ς  
 [ανο]κ ζω χε πασον αγω πασβη[ρ]  
 10 εβολ χε ανοκ ογψβηρ ἄψῆ  
 μο ζω ἄπεκρητε· ναῖ δε  
 12 ἄταρχοογ αρωψ εβολ χε  
 μαργαριθς μαργαριθς·  
 14 αγσωτῆ ετερσμη ἄβι ἄρῆ  
 μαο ἄἄπολις ετῆμαγ·  
 16 αγει εβολ ἄν νεγταμιον  
 εθηῆ· ζενκοογε δε νεγ  
 18 βωψτῆ εβολ ἄν ἄταμιον ἄ  
 τε πογνει· ζενκοογε αγ  
 20 βωψτῆ εβολ ἄν νεγψογ  
 ψτῆ ετχοσε· αγω ἄπογναγ  
 22 ελαγ ἄτοοτῆ εβολ χε ἄ

2,28 "staff of styrax wood": Probably a traveler's staff; cf. Mk 6:8.  
 29-32 Cf. Pr 8:1-4; Mt 13:45-46.

ACTS OF I  
 These thin  
 A book cov  
 books was  
 A staff of s  
 his right ha  
 voice was r  
 crying out  
 "Pearls (uz  
 indeed, tho  
 that city (=  
 to him: "M  
 [He answer  
 "Rightly (=  
 [and] my fr  
 from me?"  
 [ask] you [a  
 and the] br  
 are strange  
 "For this re  
 "My brother  
 because I a  
 like you."  
 having said  
 "Pearls (uz  
 The rich m  
 city (=  
 They came  
 And (θ): sc  
 looking out  
 of their ho  
 looked out  
 upper win  
 anything t

: Q. Mt 7:19-21

- These things I was able to see.
- 26 A book cover like (those of) my books was in his left hand.
- 28 A staff of styrax (στύραξ) wood was in his right hand. His
- 30 voice was resounding as he slowly spoke, crying out in the city (πόλις):
- 32 "Pearls (μαργαρίτης)! Pearls (μαργαρίτης)!" I, indeed, thought he was a man [of]
- 34 that city (πόλις). I said to him: "My brother and my friend!"

[3]

- [He answered] me, [then, saying:]
- 2 ["Rightly (καλώς)] did you say: ['My brother [and] my friend.' What is it you [seek] from me?"] I said to him: "[I [ask] you [about] lodging for me [and the] brothers also, because we are strangers here." He said [to] me:
- 8 "For this reason have I myself just said: 'My brother and my friend,'
- 10 because I also am a fellow stranger like you." And (δέ)
- 12 having said these things, he cried out: "Pearls (μαργαρίτης)! Pearls (μαργαρίτης)!"
- 14 The rich men of that city (πόλις) heard his voice.
- 16 They came out of their hidden store rooms (ταμειῶν). And (δέ) some were
- 18 looking out from the store rooms (ταμειῶν) of their houses. Others
- 22 looked out from their upper windows. And they did not see (that they could gain)
- 22 anything from him, because

3.14-27 Cf. Mt 7:19-21; Mk 10:17-25, parr.

ΜΝ ΠΗΡΑ ΖΗ ΤΕΦΝΑΖΒ· ΟΥΔΕ  
 24 ΜΝ ΜΟΥΡ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΛΕΝΤΙΟΝ  
 ΜΝ ΠΙΣΟΥΔΑΡΙΟΝ· ΕΤΒΕ ΤΟΥ  
 26 ΜΝΤΨΑCΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥ  
 ΨΝΤΩ ΡΩ ΕΖΡΑΦ· ΝΤΟΦ ΖΩ  
 28 ΩΦ ΜΠΩΟΥΟΝΖΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΑΥΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥΤΑ  
 30 ΜΙΟΝ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ  
 ΠΕΪΡΩΜΕ CΩΒΕ ΜΜΟΝ·  
 32 ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΩΤΜ ΝΒΙ ΝΖΗΚΕ

[Δ]

[Ν†ΠΟΛΙC ΕΤ]ΜΜΑΥ [ΕΤΕΦCΜΗ·]  
 2 [ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ε]ΠΡΩΜΕ Π[ΑΙ ΕΤ†] Μ  
 [ΠΕΪΜΑ]ΡΓ[ΑΡΙΤ]ΗC ΕΒΟΛ· Π[ΕΧΑΥ]  
 4 [ΝΑΦ ΧΕ] † ΖΟΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ Ν†Τ[ΑΜΟΝ]  
 [ΕΠΙ]ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗC· ΚΑΝ [·]ΤΝΝΑΥΖΕΝ  
 6 Ε[Ρ]ΩΦ ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ· ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ [ΝΖΗΚΕ·]  
 Μ[Ν]ΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΪ[ΤΙΜΑ]  
 8 ΜΗ ΕΤΑΑC ΖΑΡΟΦ· ΑΛΛΑ Μ[ΑΤΑΜΟΝ]  
 ΝΤΝΧΟΟC ΝΝΕΝΨΒΕΕΡ' Χ[Ε ΑΝΝΑΥ]  
 10 ΕΥΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗC ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ· ΑΦΟΥ  
 ΩΨΒ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΨΧΕ  
 12 ΟΥΝ ΨΒΟΜ' ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ ΕΤΑΠΟΛΙC·  
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΤΑΤΑΜΩΤΝ ΕΡΟΦ  
 14 ΝΝΕΤΝΒΑΛ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΤΑΑΦ ΝΗ  
 ΤΝ ΝΧΙΝΧΗ· ΑΥCΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ  
 16 ΝΒΙ ΝΖΗΚΕ Ν†ΠΟΛΙC ΕΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΑΝΟΝ  
 18 ΖΕΝΨΑΤΜΝΤΝΑΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΝCΟ  
 ΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΡΩΜΕ † ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗC  
 20 ΝΨΑΤΜΝΤΝΑΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΟΕΙΚ  
 ΜΝ ΟΥCΑΤΕΕΡΕ ΕΨΑΥΧΙΤC· ΤΕ

3,23-24 Cf. Mt 10:9-10.

27 "acknowledge him": Lit. "seek him in his face."

28 Cf. Mt 11:27, par.

4,2 "and they came to": Following Schenke. Krause (1) has ΑΥΩ ΑΥΝΑΥ Ε-, "and they saw."

there was no pouch (πήρα) on his back nor (οὐδέ)  
 24 bundle inside his cloth (λέντιον)  
 and napkin (σουδάριον). And (δέ) because of their  
 26 disdain they did not  
 even acknowledge him.  
 28 He, for his part, did not reveal himself to them.  
 They returned to their  
 30 store rooms (ταμειῶν) saying:  
 "This man is mocking us."  
 32 And the poor [of that city (πόλις)] heard

[4]

[his voice],  
 2 [and they came to] the man [who sells]  
 [this pearl (μαργαρίτης)]. [They said:]  
 4 Please take the trouble to [show us]  
 [the] pearl (μαργαρίτης) [so that we may], then (κἄν), [see]  
 6 it with our (own) eyes. For we are [poor.]  
 And (δέ) we do not have this price (τίμημα)  
 8 to pay for it. But (ἀλλά) [show us]  
 that we might say to our friends that [we saw]  
 10 a pearl (μαργαρίτης) with our (own) eyes." He  
 answered, saying to them: "If  
 12 it is possible, come to my city (πόλις),  
 so that I may not only (οὐ μόνον) show it  
 14 before your (very) eyes but (ἀλλά) give it to  
 you for nothing." And indeed they,  
 16 the poor of that city (πόλις), heard  
 and said: "Since (ἐπειδή) we  
 18 are beggars, we surely  
 know that a man does not give a pearl (μαργαρίτης)  
 20 to a beggar, but (it is) bread  
 and money that is usually received.

4,15-34 This is a somewhat expanded repetition of 3,32-4,15.

22 ΝΟΥ ΒΕ ΠΝΑΕ ΕΤΝΟΥΕΨ ΧΙΤῆ  
 ΝΤΟΟΤῆ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΚΕΤΣΑΒΟΝ  
 24 ΕΠΙΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗΣ ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤῆΧΟΟΣ ΝΝΕΝΨΒΕΕΡ Ζῆ  
 26 ΟΥΨΟΥΨΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΥΜΑΡ  
 ΓΑΡΙΤΗΣ ΝΝΕΝΒΑΛ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ  
 28 ΜΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΝΤῆ ΖΗΚΕ ΜΑΛΙΣΤ[Α]  
 ΝΙΡΕϞΤΩΒῆ ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ· ΑϞΟΥΨ  
 30 Ψῆ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥῆ  
 ΨΒΟΜ· ΑΜΗΕΙΤῆ ΖΩΤῆ ΤΗΥΤῆ  
 32 ΕΤΑΠΟΛΙΣ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΤΑ  
 ΤΣΑΒΩΤῆ ΕΡΟϞ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΤΑΑϞ  
 34 ΝΗΤῆ ΝΧΙΝΧΗ· ΑΥΡΑΨΕ ΝΒΙ  
 ΝΙΖΗΚΕ Μῆ ΝΙΡΕϞΤΩΒῆ ΕΤΒΕ

ΠΙΡ[ΕϞΤῆ ΝΧ]ΙΝΧΗ· Α[ΥΨΙΝΕ ΝΒΙ ΝΙ]  
 2 ΡΩ[ΜΕ ΝΣ]Α ΝΙΖΙϞΕ Ε[ΠΕΤΡΟΣ·]  
 Α[ϞΟΥ]ΨΨῆ ΝΒ[Ι] Π[ΕΤ]ΡΟΣ [ΑΥΩ ΑϞ]  
 4 ΧΟ[ΟΥ·] ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑϞΣΩΤῆ <ΜΜΟΟΥ> ΕΝ[ΙΖΙ]ΣΕ  
 ΝΤ[Ε]ΖΙΗ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΡ[ΕϞΒ]ΨΛ [ΝΝΙ]  
 6 ΖΙ[Σ]Ε Ρ]Ψ ΝΕ Ζῆ ΤΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ·  
 ΠΕ[ΧΑ]Ϟ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤῆ ΜΠΕΕ!  
 8 Μ[ΑΡΓ]ΑΡΙΤΗΣ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΟΥΨΩ  
 Ε[Μ]ΜΕ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ Μῆ ΝΖΙΣΕ Ν  
 10 ΤΕΖΙΗ ΕΤΕΚΠΟΛΙΣ· ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ  
 ΖΕΝΨῆΜΜΟ Μῆ ΖΕΝΒΑΙΛΙΚ ΝΤΕ  
 12 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΝΑΓῆ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΣῆ ΠΙ  
 ΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ  
 14 ΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΙΜ Ζῆ ΟΥΤῆ ΜΕΤΕ· ΑϞ

4,28 Krause (1) emends to <Ν> ΖΗΚΕ, but this seems unnecessary in the light of Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, sec. 107.

5,1-6 A careful study of the text, including the use of ultra-violet light, has revealed more details than observed by either Krause or Schenke, both of whose reconstructions differ considerably from each other, and from ours. More space exists between the fragment at the left and the rest of the text than is shown in Robinson et al.,

ACTS OF  
 Now then  
 from you  
 the pearl  
 And we wi  
 proudly th  
 pearl (μαρ  
 it is not fo  
 such begga  
 (and) said  
 possible, y  
 to my city  
 show you i  
 to you for  
 The poor a

Ε

the man [w  
 asked Pete  
 Peter answe  
 told those  
 of the wa  
 hardships i  
 he said to  
 pearl (μαρ  
 to know yo  
 the way to  
 are strange  
 God. It is  
 the word o  
 every city

Facsimile Edi  
 cm. at the  
 Edition: Intro  
 The reconstru  
 might ex  
 regarding the

- 22 Now then, the kindness which we want to receive  
 from you (is) that you show us  
 24 the pearl (μαργαρίτης) before our eyes.  
 And we will say to our friends  
 26 proudly that we saw a  
 pearl (μαργαρίτης) with our (own) eyes"—because  
 28 it is not found among the poor, especially (μάλιστα)  
 such beggars (as these). He answered  
 30 (and) said to them: "If it is  
 possible, you yourselves come  
 32 to my city (πόλις), so that I may not only (οὐ μόνον)  
 show you it but (ἀλλά) give it  
 34 to you for nothing."  
 The poor and the beggars rejoiced because of

[5]

- the man [who gives for] nothing. [The men]  
 2 [asked Peter] about the hardships.  
 Peter answered [and]  
 4 [told] those things that he had heard about the [hardships]  
 of [the] way. Because they are [interpreters of the]  
 6 hardships in their ministry (διακονία),  
 he said to the man who sells this  
 8 pearl (μαργαρίτης): "I want  
 to know your name and the hardships of  
 10 the way to your city (πόλις) because we  
 are strangers and servants of  
 12 God. It is necessary (ἀνάγκη) for us to spread  
 the word of God in  
 14 every city (πόλις) harmoniously." He

*Facsimile Edition: Codex VI, plate 9 (0.2 cm. at the top and 0.1 cm. at the bottom). See "Addenda et Corrigenda," Facsimile Edition: Introduction.*

5.5 The reconstruction extends two letters to the right further than one might expect. But the scribe exhibits considerable freedom regarding the right margin throughout the codex.

ΟΥΩΨΒ̄ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΨΙ  
 16 ΝΕ Ν̄СА ΠΑΡΑΝ ΛΙΘΑΡΓΟΗΛ  
 ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΦΟΥΩΖΜ̄ ΠΕ  
 18 ΧΕ ΠΩΝΕ Ν̄ΒΑΖСЕ ΕΤΑΣΙΩΟΥ  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΚΕΜΟΕΙΤ̄ ΕΤΑΚΨΝ̄Τ̄  
 20 ΕΡΟϞ Ν̄ΤΕ †ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΕΙΕΤΑΜΟΚ  
 ΕΡΟϞ· ΜΑΡΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΨ ΕΙ  
 22 Ζ̄Ι ΘΙΗ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ· ΕΒΟΛ ΕΟΥΑ  
 Ν̄ϞΡ̄ΑΠΟΤΑΣСЕ Ν̄Ν̄ΚΑ ΝΙΜ Ε  
 24 Τ̄Ν̄ΤΑϞ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ϞΡ̄ΝΗСТΕΥΕ  
 Μ̄ΜΗΝΕ ΧΙΝ ΜΟΝΗ ΨΑ ΜΟΝΗ·  
 26 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΑΨΕ Ν̄ΛΗСТΗΣ Μ̄Ν  
 Ν̄ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤ̄Ζ̄Ι ΤΕΖ̄ΙΗ ΕΤ̄Μ̄  
 28 ΜΑΥ· ΠΕΤΝΑϞΙ ΟΕΙΚ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑϞ  
 ΕΠΙΜΟΕΙΤ̄ ΨΑΡΕΝΙΟΥΖΟΟΡ̄ Ν̄  
 30 ΚΑΜΕ ΖΟΤΒΕϞ Ν̄ΤΛΟΕΙΒΕ Ν̄  
 ΝΙΟΕΙΚ· ΠΕΤΝΑϞΙ Ν̄ΟΥΖ̄Β̄СΩ  
 32 ΝΑϞ ΕСТАΕΙНОУ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΚΟ  
 СМОС ΨΑΡΕ̄Ν̄ΛΗСТΗΣ ΖΟΤΒΕϞ

[5]

[Ν̄ΤΛΟΕΙΒΕ Ν̄†Ζ̄]Β̄СΩ· Π[ΕΤΝΑϞΙ] ΜΟ[Ο]Υ  
 2 [ΝΑϞ ΨΑΡΕ̄Ν̄ΟΥ]ΩΝΨ [ΖΟΤΒΕϞ Ν̄]ΤΛΟ  
 [ΕΙΒΕ Μ̄ΠΜΟΟ]Υ [Ε]ΝΕΥΟΒΕ [Μ̄ΜΟ]Ϟ·  
 4 [ΠΕΤΝ]ΑϞΙ [Π]ΡΟΟΥΨ Ν̄ΖΕΝ[ΑϞ] Μ̄Ν̄  
 [ΖΕΝΟΥ]ΟΟΤΕ· ΨΑΡΕΝΙΜΟ[ΥΕΙ Ο]ΥΟ  
 6 [Μ]Ϟ̄ [Ν̄Τ]ΛΟΕΙΒΕ Ν̄ΝΙΑϞ· ΕϞΨ[ΑΝ]Ρ̄ ΒΟΛ

5,16

"Lithargoel": Not the name of a Jewish angel (as Schenke, col. 14), but a neologism (there is no evidence of its use in other literature of this or earlier periods) meaning "divine being who is a glistening stone": λιθος, stone; ἀργός, "glistening"; ἕλξ, *el*, "divine being" (similarly, Krause [2], p. 51). Krause takes Lithargoel to be a god's name. However names constructed in a similar fashion tend to be those of angels (e.g., Michael and Gabriel), and in later usage Lithargoel was an angel (cf. C. D. G. Müller, ed., *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel*, CSCO 225 [Louvain, 1962], V, 71, 3-5; VI, 5, 16; 8, 14). If one assumes that the name originated with this story, it is noteworthy that *el* is

ACTS OF  
 answered  
 seek my r  
 is my nam  
 the light,  
 And also  
 which you  
 about it.  
 on that ro  
 who has fo  
 he has and  
 daily from  
 For many  
 wild beasts  
 The one w  
 on the roa  
 kill becaus  
 the bread.  
 of the worl  
 the robbers  
 [6]  
 [because of  
 with him,  
 of the wat  
 The one w  
 green vege  
 because of  
 quired in 3, 13  
 the divine cha  
 cease until la  
 peal merchan  
 the possible sc  
 peal is found  
 gazelle  
 me to the fle  
 Liddell  
 (1925)  
 1915: 8-34, 1



answered and said: "If you  
 16 seek my name, Lithargoel  
 is my name, the interpretation of which is,  
 18 the light, gazelle-like stone.  
 And also (concerning) the road to the city (πόλις),  
 20 which you asked me about, I will tell you  
 about it. No man is able to go  
 22 on that road, except one  
 who has forsaken (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) everything that  
 24 he has and has fasted (νηστεύειν)  
 daily from stage (μονή) to stage (μονή).  
 26 For many are the robbers (ληστής) and  
 wild beasts (θηρίον) on that road.  
 28 The one who carries bread with him  
 on the road, the black dogs  
 30 kill because of  
 the bread. The one who carries a costly garment  
 32 of the world (κόσμος) with him,  
 the robbers (ληστής) kill

[6]

[because of the] garment. [The one who carries] water  
 2 [with him, the wolves kill because]  
 [of the water,] since they were thirsty [for] it.  
 4 [The one who] is anxious about [meat] and  
 green vegetables, the lions eat  
 6 because of the meat. [If] he evades

ignored in 5,18. It may be that the writer wished only to hint at the divine character of the pearl merchant, saving a fuller disclosure until later (cf. 9,11-15). Here the name suggests that the pearl merchant is being identified with the pearl (cf. 10,25-30). For possible source, cf. Rev 2:17. The identification of Jesus with a pearl is found also in *Act. Pt.* 20, and suggested in *Just. Dial.* 34. "light, gazelle-like": "light" refers to weight. "gazelle-like" refers here to the flashing, gleaming character of the gazelle's eyes (cf. *δέρκας* Liddell, Scott, s.v. [622C] is the Coptic translation of *δέρκας*).

22-23 Cf. Mk 8:34, parr.

q1] μο[ο]ή  
 q n]πλο  
 μο]g  
 q] m  
 ο]γο  
 [αν]π βοα

age] (as S  
 of its use in  
 "divine being"  
 "glorifying"  
 Krause has  
 constructed  
 Michael and Gab  
 cf. C. D. G. M.  
 hael und Gabi  
 4. If one as  
 noteworthy

5,18

8  $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\tau<\bar{o}\bar{y}> \bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{i}\cdot \psi\alpha\rho\epsilon[\bar{n}\bar{i}]\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon$   
 10  $\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{k}\bar{q} \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{b}\bar{e} \bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{e}[\cdot \bar{n}]\bar{\alpha}\bar{i} \bar{\eta}$   
 12  $\tau\bar{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\bar{q}\chi\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y} \bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{q}\bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{m} [\bar{\eta}\bar{z}]\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$   
 14  $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau} \bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{i}\chi\bar{\omega} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{c} \chi\bar{e} \bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{b}$   
 16  $\bar{\eta}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{e} \bar{z}\bar{i} \bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\cdot \bar{z}\bar{\alpha}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{e}\bar{i} \bar{p}\bar{\omega} \bar{\eta}$   
 18  $\tau\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{c} \bar{\dagger} \bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m} \bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n} \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{v}\bar{\omega}\bar{k} \bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\cdot$   
 20  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y} \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{i} \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{o} \bar{o}\bar{k}\bar{m} \bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{i}$   
 22  $\bar{q}\bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{m}\cdot \bar{p}\bar{e}\chi\bar{\alpha}\bar{q} \bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i} \chi\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{\tau}\bar{v}\bar{e} \bar{o}\bar{y}$   
 24  $\bar{k}\bar{q}\bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{m}\cdot \bar{e}\psi\chi\bar{e} \bar{k}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n} \bar{p}\bar{\omega} \bar{m}$   
 26  $\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n} \chi\bar{e} \bar{i}\bar{c} \bar{\alpha}\bar{y}\bar{\omega} \bar{k}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{\tau}\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{q}\cdot$   
 28  $\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{b} \bar{\eta}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m} \bar{p}\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{\dagger} \bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}\cdot \bar{e}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{l}$   
 30  $\chi\bar{e} \bar{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{k} \bar{z}\bar{\omega} \bar{\dagger}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{\tau}\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{\dagger}$   
 32  $\bar{p}\bar{h} \bar{e}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{q}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{q}\cdot \bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{\tau}$   
 34  $\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{q} \bar{e}\bar{i}\psi\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{e} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{q} \chi\bar{e} \bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m} \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{\eta}$   
 { $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n} \bar{\eta}$ } $\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha} \bar{e}\bar{\tau}\bar{k}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha} \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{q}$   
 36  $\bar{e}\bar{\tau}\bar{e}\bar{k}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{c}\cdot \bar{p}\bar{e}\chi\bar{\alpha}\bar{q} \bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i} \chi\bar{e}$   
 38  $\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i} \bar{p}\bar{e} \bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n} \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{c} \chi\bar{e} \bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}$   
 40  $\bar{\theta} \bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{o} \bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{r}\bar{\eta}\bar{\dagger} \bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y} \bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}$   
 42  $\bar{\tau}\bar{e}\cdot \bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha} \chi\bar{e} \bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$   
 44  $\bar{p}\bar{e} \bar{\dagger}\bar{\alpha}\bar{p}\bar{e}\cdot \bar{m}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha} \bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{e}\bar{i} \bar{e}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{l}$   
 46  $\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{q} \bar{z}\bar{\eta} \bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{h}\cdot \bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{h}$   
 48  $\bar{o}\bar{y} \bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{\tau}\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\psi\bar{v}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{r}\cdot \bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}$   
 50  $\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y} \bar{e}\bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{m} \bar{m}\bar{\eta} \bar{z}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{b}$   
 52  $\bar{\eta}\chi\bar{o}\bar{l}\chi\bar{\lambda} \bar{e}\bar{y}\chi\bar{o}\bar{c}\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{k}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{e}$   
 54  $\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{o} \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{e} \bar{\dagger}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{c}\cdot \bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{p}$   
 56  $\psi\bar{p}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{e} \bar{\eta}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m} \bar{e}\bar{\dagger}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y} \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}$   
 58  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}\bar{y} \bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{z}\bar{\lambda}\bar{l}\bar{o} \bar{\eta}\bar{r}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{e} \bar{e}\bar{q}$   
 60  $\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{c} \bar{\alpha}\bar{e}\bar{i}\psi\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{q} \bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n} \bar{\eta}\bar{\dagger}\bar{p}\bar{o}$   
 62  $\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{c} \chi\bar{e} \bar{n}\bar{e} \bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{c} \bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{c}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$

6,7 MS has  $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{q}$ .

17  $\bar{e}\bar{\dagger} \bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}$ , "for giving strength": Krause (1) suggests emending to  $\bar{e}\bar{\dagger}\bar{\dagger} \bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{m}$ , "who gives power."

20-21  $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m} \dots \bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{q}$ : The scribe shows signs of confusion here.  $\bar{e}\bar{\tau}\bar{k}$  is deleted in MS by diagonal lines, between  $\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}\bar{n}$  and  $\bar{\eta}\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}$ . On line 20, Krause (1) incorrectly identifies a blot from the opposite page as a  $\bar{\pi}$  written above the line by the scribe. Also, incorrectly, he considers that the two letters at the end of the line ( $\bar{p}\bar{\eta}$ ) are crossed out. In fact they are badly blotted by ink from the opposite page.

the lions,  
 devour him  
 When he h  
 within mys  
 hardships  
 Jesus woul  
 He looked  
 sighed. He  
 do you sigh  
 this name  
 He is a gre  
 For I too b  
 who sent hi  
 asking him  
 of the place  
 your city (7  
 This is the  
 Nine Gates  
 as we are m  
 is the head.  
 from him in  
 about to go  
 saw waves  
 high walls s  
 the bounds  
 marveled at  
 I saw an ol  
 sitting and  
 city (7:12)

these suggest  
 (Disc. 8-9) 12  
 case in VI.6. h  
 of introduction  
 identified with  
 pt. of the H  
 believe  
 (pl. 13).

the lions, the bulls  
 8 devour him because of the green vegetables.”  
 When he had said [these] things to me, I sighed  
 10 within myself saying: “[Great]  
 hardships are on the road! If only  
 12 Jesus would give us power to walk it!”  
 He looked at me since my face was sad, and I  
 14 sighed. He said to me: “Why  
 do you sigh, if you, indeed, know  
 16 this name ‘Jesus’ and believe him?  
 He is a great power for giving strength.  
 18 For I too believe in the Father  
 who sent him.” I replied,  
 20 asking him: “What is the name  
 of the place to which you go,  
 22 your city (πόλις)?” He said to me:  
 “This is the name of my city (πόλις),  
 24 ‘Nine Gates.’ Let us praise God  
 as we are mindful (μελετᾶν) that the tenth  
 26 is the head.” After this I went away  
 from him in peace (εἰρήνη). As I was  
 28 about to go and call my friends, I  
 saw waves and large  
 30 high walls surrounding  
 the bounds of the city (πόλις). I  
 32 marveled at the great things I saw.  
 I saw an old man  
 34 sitting and I asked him if the name of the  
 city (πόλις) was really (ὄντως)

6,23-26 Krause suggests a connection between “Nine Gates” and VI,6  
 (*Disc. 8-9*) ([2], p. 54, note 4). “The tenth” is not referred to by  
 name in VI,6, but may be the sphere of the highest level of deity  
 (cf. introduction to VI,6). Schenke sees behind this the 9 gates  
 decorated with gold and silver, plus the still more elegant Nicanor  
 gate, of the Herodian Temple (*Jos. Bell. V.5.2-3*), all of which,  
 Schenke believes, the text intends to identify with the ten heavens  
 (col. 13).



[7]

[Habitation.] He [  
 2 [ ] “[Habitation  
 [ ] He said to me: [“You]  
 4 [speak] truly, for we [inhabit] here  
 because [we] endure (ὑπομένειν).” [I]  
 6 [responded] saying: “Justly (δικαίως)  
 [ ] have men named it  
 8 [ ], because (by) everyone  
 [who] endures (ὑπομένειν) his trials (πειρασμός),  
 10 cities (πόλις) are inhabited,  
 and a precious kingdom  
 12 comes from them, because  
 they endure (ὑπομένειν) in the midst of the  
 14 apostasies and the difficulties of the storms.  
 So that in this way, the city (πόλις) of everyone  
 16 who endures the burden of his yoke  
 of faith will be inhabited  
 18 and he will be included in  
 the kingdom of heaven.” I hurried  
 20 and went and called my  
 friends so that we might go to the city (πόλις)  
 22 that he, Lithargoel, appointed for us.  
 In a bond  
 24 of faith we forsook (ἀποτάσσεσθαι)  
 everything as (κατά)  
 26 he had said (to do). We evaded  
 the robbers (ληστής), because they did not  
 28 find their garments with us.  
 We evaded the  
 30 wolves, because they did not find the water  
 with us for which they thirsted.  
 32 We evaded the lions,

7,10 “are inhabited”: Following Schenke; Krause (1) translates, “are prepared.”

17 “be inhabited”: Following Schenke; Krause (1) translates, “be prepared.”

34 ΕΙ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΒΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥ  
 ΜΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΑΖ ΝΤΟΟΤΝ·  
 [H]  
 [ΑΝΡ ΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΟΤΟ]Υ Ν[ΝΙΜΑΣΕ  
 2 [ ΙΟ ± ]ΑΝΚ[  
 [. . . ΜΠΟΥΒΙΝΕ Ν]ΝΟΥΦΟΤΕ[· ΑΦΩ]  
 4 [ΠΕ ΝΑ]Ν ΝΒΙ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΑΨ[Ε ΜΝ ΟΥ]  
 [ΜΝΤ]ΑΤΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡ[ΗΝΗ ΝΘΕ Μ]  
 6 [Π]Ε[Τ]Ν ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ· ΑΝ[ΜΤΟΝ Μ]  
 ΜΟΝ ΖΙΡΩΣ Ν†ΠΥΛΗ· Α[ΥΩ]  
 8 [Α]ΝΧΙ ΝΖΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΟΥ [ΕΠΕ]  
 ΤΕ ΝΟΥΧΙ ΖΡΑΦ ΑΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΟ[ΣΜΟΣ]  
 10 ΠΑΪ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΝΜΗΝ ΠΕ ΕΥ[ΜΕ]ΛΕ  
 ΤΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΑΖΤΕ· ΕΝΤΑΥΟ ΝΝΙ  
 12 ΛΗΣΤΗΣ ΕΤΖΙ ΠΜΟΕΙ† ΕΤΑΝΡ  
 ΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
 14 ΝΒΙ ΛΙΘΑΡΓΟΝΑ ΕΦΨΒΒΙΟΕΙ† ΝΤΟΟ  
 ΤΝ· ΕΦΟ ΜΠΕΣΜΟ† ΝΟΥΣΑΕΙΝ  
 16 ΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΑΡΤΟΣ ΜΠΑΖΡΕ ΖΑ  
 ΠΕΦΧΟ· ΕΥΝ ΟΥΑΛΟΥ ΝΣΒΟΥΕΙ  
 18 ΜΟΟΥΕ ΝΣΩΦ ΕΦΦΙ ΝΟΥΓΛΟΣ  
 ΣΟΚΩΜΟΝ ΕΦΜΕΖ ΜΠΑΖΡΕ  
 20 ΑΝΟΝ ΜΠΝΣΟΥΩΝΩ ΑΦΟΥΩ  
 ΨΒ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ  
 22 ΤΝΟΥΩΨΕ ΕΤΡΕΚΡ ΟΥΜΝ†  
 ΜΑΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΝΜΑΝ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ  
 24 ΖΕΝΨΜΜΟ Ν†ΧΙΤΝ ΕΠΗΕΙ ΝΛΙ  
 ΘΑΡΓΟΝΑ ΕΜΠΑΤΕΡΟΥΖΕ ΨΩ  
 26 ΠΕ· ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΣΟΟΥΤΝ  
 ΝΖΗ† †ΝΑΤΑΜΩΤΝ ΕΡΟΦ·  
 28 ΑΛΛΑ †Ρ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΠΩΣ ΑΤΕ  
 ΤΝΣΟΥΩΝ ΠΙΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ

8,1-3 Schenke translates: "[We escaped] the [bulls, for when they surrounded us they found no] vegetables [with us]."

1-6 Krause (1) reconstructs: [ΑΝΡ ΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΟΤΟ]Υ Ν[ΝΙΟΥΖΟΟΡ] / [ΜΝ ΝΙΜΑΣΕ ΧΕ ΜΝΤ] ΑΝ Κ[ΡΕΑΣ ΑΥΩ] / [ΜΝΤΑΝ ΛΑΑΥ] ΝΟΥΦΟΤΕ [ΑΣΨΩ] / [ΠΕ ΝΑ]Ν ΝΒΙ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΑΨ[Ε ΕΝ] / [Ο Ν]ΑΤΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡ[ΗΝΗ] / Ε[.].

ACTS OF  
 because t  
 for meat  
 [8]  
 [We evade  
 they did n  
 A great joy  
 peaceful (a  
 that of)  
 ourselves  
 we talked v  
 which is no  
 Rather (zi  
 of the faith  
 robbers (Ap  
 evaded, beh  
 Lithargoel,  
 us. He had  
 since an unq  
 his arm, an  
 following hi  
 full of medic  
 We did not  
 Peter respon  
 "We want y  
 us a favor, t  
 strangers, as  
 Lithargoel t  
 He said: "I  
 of heart I w  
 But (ἀλλά)  
 you know t

ΝΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ·  
 had no meat] / [I  
 we carefree in  
 "gent box"  
 224

because they did not find the desire (ἐπιθυμία)  
34 for meat with us.

[8]

[We evaded the bulls

2 [ [they did not find] green vegetables.

4 A great joy [came upon] us [and a] peaceful (εἰρήνη) carefreeness [like]

6 [that of] our Lord. We [rested] [ourselves] in front of the gate (πύλη) [and]

8 we talked with each other [about that] which is not a distraction of this [world (κόσμος)].

10 Rather (ἀλλά) we continued in contemplation (μελετή) of the faith. As we discussed the

12 robbers (ληστής) on the road, whom we evaded, behold

14 Lithargoel, having changed, came out to us. He had the appearance of a physician,

16 since an unguent box (νάρθηξ) was under his arm, and a young disciple was

18 following him carrying a pouch (γλωσσόκομον) full of medicine.

20 We did not recognize him.

Peter responded and said to him:

22 "We want you to do us a favor, because we are

24 strangers, and take us to the house of Lithargoel before evening comes."

26 He said: "In uprightness of heart I will show it to you.

28 But (ἀλλά) I am amazed at how (πῶς) you know this good (ἀγαθός) man.

**ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC**· "[We escaped the dogs] / [and the bulls, because we had no meat] / [nor] herbs. A great joy [came upon us, since we] / were carefree in a [peace] / of our Lord . . . ."

8,16 "unguent box": Taking **ΝΑΡΤΟC** for **νάρθηξ**; cf. Krause [2], p. 58, note 4.

30 ΕΜΑΦΟΥΟΝΖῆ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΟΦ ΕΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΝΙΜ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΖΩΩΦ  
 32 ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΡΟ ΠΕ·  
 ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΩΤῆ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΕΙ Ν  
 34 ΤΑΒΩΚ ΝΤΑΡ ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΠΕΪΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΝΤΑΕΙ· ΑΦΕΛΩΛ ΜΜΟΦ ΑΦΕΙ

[τ]αχυ πεχαφ μητροс· χε  
 2 [π]ετροс· αφουωπ δε νβι  
 πετροс χε πως αφουωп  
 4 πεφραν χε πετροс· αφου  
 ωψβ νβι πετροс μηсωτηр  
 6 χε εκсоουп μμοει των  
 χε ακμουτε μηпаран· αφ  
 8 ουωψβ νβι λιθαργονη χε †  
 ουωψ ψντκ χε ним αφ† πι  
 10 ραν ерок χε πετροс· πε  
 χαφ ναφ χε τс πεхс πε ψηп  
 12 ρε μηпnouτε етонз нтоф  
 αφ† πιραν ероеι· αφουωψβ  
 14 πεχαφ χε ανοκ πε соуωпт  
 петре· αφвоψῆ ν†зβсω  
 16 етстоε зiωωφ таi етафψβ  
 τῆ нтоотῆ нзнтс е{та}φου  
 18 ωнз ерон зῆ ουμнтме χε  
 нтоф пе· анпазтῆ ехῆ  
 20 пκαз ανοуωψт μμοф аноп  
 непмаз мнтоуе ммаөн  
 22 тнс· αφсouтῆ теφβix εβολ  
 αφтаزون ератῆ аψαχε нῆ  
 24 маф зῆ ουεβbio· неρεχωп  
 болх епитῆ зῆ ουμнтхпи  
 26 н† енχω μμοс χε петек

9,11 An inexplicable horizontal mark is over the third π.

11-13 Cf. Mt 16:16-18.

20-21 "We . . . disciples": Word division and translation is that of Gerald M. Browne in "Textual Notes on Nag Hammadi VI," ZPE

ACTS OF  
 For (yag) A  
 every man  
 is the son  
 Rest yours  
 that I may  
 and come  
 quickly (ex  
 "Peter" A  
 for how (πс  
 that his nar  
 Peter respon  
 "How do yo  
 for you calle  
 Lithargoel a  
 want to ask  
 name Peter  
 said to him  
 son of the li  
 gave this na  
 and said: "I  
 Peter." He  
 which cloth  
 he had char  
 revealing to  
 it was he. V  
 on the grou  
 comprised e  
 He stretche  
 and caused  
 him humbl  
 bowed dow  
 as we said:

1974, 305.  
 "We we  
 relative pronoun  
 he has no



30 For (γάρ) he does not reveal himself to  
 every man, because he himself  
 32 is the son of a great king.  
 Rest yourselves a little so  
 34 that I may go and heal this man  
 and come (back).” He hurried and came (back)

[9]

quickly (ταχύ). He said to Peter:  
 2 “Peter!” And (δέ) Peter was frightened,  
 for how (πῶς) did he know  
 4 that his name was Peter?  
 Peter responded to the Savior (σωτήρ):  
 6 “How do you know me,  
 for you called my name?”  
 8 Lithargoel answered: “I  
 want to ask you who gave the  
 10 name Peter to you?” He  
 said to him: “It was Jesus Christ, the  
 12 son of the living God. He  
 gave this name to me.” He answered  
 14 and said: “It is I! Recognize me,  
 Peter.” He loosened the garment,  
 16 which clothed him,—the one into which  
 he had changed himself because of us—  
 18 revealing to us in truth that  
 it was he. We prostrated ourselves  
 20 on the ground and worshipped him. We  
 comprised eleven disciples (μαθητῆς).  
 22 He stretched forth his hand  
 and caused us to stand. We spoke with  
 24 him humbly. Our heads were  
 bowed down in unworthiness  
 26 as we said: “What you

13 (1974), 305. Krause (1) considers **MAQ** a scribal error and translates, “We were the eleven disciples.” Schenke takes **NE** as a sentence pronoun and translates in the present; but the **N** following **NE** has no superlinear stroke. Cf. Ac 1:26.

28 ΟΥΘΥΩ ΤΗΝΝΑΑΑΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑ  
 † ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΒΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΝΕΙΡΕ  
 ΜΠΕΤΕΖΝΑΚ ΝΣΗΟΥ ΝΙΜ·  
 30 ΑΥ† ΝΑΥ ΜΠΙΝΑΡΔΟΣ ΝΤΕ  
 † ΜΝΤΣΑΕΙ<N> ΜΝ ΠΙΓΛΟССО  
 32 ΚΩΜΟΝ ΕΤΝΤΟΟΤΩ ΜΠΙΑΛΟΥ  
 ΑΥΠΑΡΑΓΓΙΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ

[1]

ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟ[С] ΧΕ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ [Ε†]  
 2 ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖ[Η]ΤΣ·  
 ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΒΩΡΒ  
 4 ΜΟΥΝ ΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΤΕΤΝ†  
 СΒΩ ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΥΝΑΖΤΕ  
 6 ΕΠΑΡΑΝ· ΧΕ ΔΕΙΡΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ  
 ΖΝ ΖΕΝΖΙΣΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΝΑΖΤΕ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 8 † ΝΑ† ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΕΤΝΒΕΚΕ· ΝΙ  
 ΖΗΚΕ Ν† ΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΜΑΥ † ΝΑΥ  
 10 ΝΤΟΥΧΡΙΑ ΖΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑΩΝΖ ΕΡΟΣ·  
 ΨΑΝ†† ΝΑΥ ΜΠΗ ΕΤΣΟΤ†·  
 12 ΠΗ ΕΤΑΕΙΧΟΟQ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ † ΝΑΤΑ  
 ΑΥ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΧΙΝΧΗ· ΑΥΟΥΩΨΒ  
 14 ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΠΧΟ  
 ΕΙC ΝΤΟΚ ΑΚ† СΒΩ ΝΑΝ ΕΡΑ  
 16 ΠΟΤΑССЕ ΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC ΜΝ Ν  
 ΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΤΑΥ ΑΝΚΑΑΥ ΝCΩΝ  
 18 ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ· ΕΡΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΟΥ  
 Ω† ΠΕΤΝQΙ ΜΠΕCΡΟΟΥΨ·  
 20 ΕΝΑΨ ΒΝ † ΧΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΤΚΩΙΝΕ  
 ΜΜΟΝ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΑΑC ΝΝΖΗΚΕ·  
 22 ΑΥΟΥΩΨΒ ΝΒΙ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΧΑΥ  
 ΧΕ Ω ΠΕΤΡΕ ΝΕCΜΨΑ ΠΕ

9,30 "unguent box": Cf. note to 8,16.

31 MS has † ΜΝΤCΑΕΙΤ.

10,1-3 Cf. Epiph. *Pan.* 31.4.1; 34.20.11.

3-4 Schenke takes the name to be βωρβ μουν ευζυπομονη and translates, "Dwell and Remain in Endurance."

wish we will do. But (ἀλλά)  
 28 give us power to do  
 what you wish at all times."  
 30 He gave them the unguent box (νάρθηξ)  
 and the pouch (γλωσσόκομον)  
 32 that was in the hand of the young disciple.  
 He commanded (παραγγέλλειν) them like this,

[10]

saying: "Go into [the]  
 2 city (πόλις) from which you came,  
 which is called Habitation.  
 4 Continue in endurance (ὑπομονή) as you  
 teach all those who have believed  
 6 in my name, because I have endured (ὑπομένειν)  
 in hardships of the faith. I  
 8 will give you your reward. To the  
 poor of that city (πόλις) give  
 10 what they need (χρεία) in order to (ἵνα) live  
 until I give them what is better,  
 12 which I told you that I will give  
 you for nothing." Peter answered  
 14 and said to him:  
 "Lord, you have taught us to  
 16 forsake (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) the world (κόσμος) and  
 everything in it. We have renounced them  
 18 for your sake. What we are concerned about (now)  
 is the food for a single day.  
 20 Where will we be able to find the needs (χρεία) that you  
 ask  
 us to provide for the poor?"  
 22 The Lord answered and said:  
 "O (ὦ) Peter, it was necessary

10,7-8 Cf. Jn 14:1-3.

9 † ΝΑΥ, "give them": Schenke translates, "I will give them,"  
 assuming, apparently, that haplography has occurred. But cf.  
 lines 20-21.

18 Cf. Mt 6:11,34.

24 ΕΤΡΕΚΣΟΥΩΝ †ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ  
 ΕΤΑΕΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ· ΚΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ  
 26 ΧΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΕΤΚ† ΣΒΩ ΝΜΟΦ  
 ΦΟΥΟΤΒ ΕΜΝΤΡΜΑΟ ΝΙΜ·  
 28 ΑΥΩ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΣΟΥΟΤΒ ΕΠΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΦΑ†  
 30 ΜΝ ΠΩΝΕ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΣΟΥΝΤḂ·  
 ΑΦ† ΝΑΥ ΜΠΙΓΛΟССΟΚΩΜΟΝ  
 32 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΝΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
 ΑΡΙ ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΝΙΡΕΦΨΩΝΕ ΤΗ  
 34 ΡΟΥ ΝΤΕ †ΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΗ ΕΤΝΑΖΤΕ

[ε]παρὰν· ἀφῶ ῥοτε ἄβι πετροσ  
 2 [ε]οῦαζμεφ εροφ ἄπμερσεπ  
 [с]ναγ· ἀρκιμ ἐπὴ εἰτῆτοῦ  
 4 ωφ ἐτε ἰωζαννης πε χε ψα  
 χε ρωωκ ἄπισοπ· ἀφοῦω  
 6 ψβ ἄβι ἰωζαννης πεχαφ  
 χε πχοεис τῆρ ῥοτε ρα тек  
 8 ερῆ εχε οὔμνηψε ἄψαχε·  
 ἀλλὰ ἄτοκ εἰψινη ἄμον  
 10 ετεἰτεχνη εαас ἄποῦтсе  
 вон ερος εῖ σαειν· πωс бе  
 12 τῆναἄме εῖ παρρε ερенисω  
 ма ката прηте етакχοос нан·  
 14 ἀφοῦωψβ ναφ χε καλωс ἀκ  
 χοос ἰωζαννης χε †сσοῦн  
 16 χε ἄсаеиn ἄте πικосмос·  
 εψαγῶ παρρε εна πкосмос·  
 18 нисаеиn ἄтооῦ ἄте нιψχн  
 εψаγῶ παρρε епизн†· ἀρι па  
 20 ρре оῦн енисωма ἄψорῖи χε  
 каас εвол ῥῆтоотоῦ ἄни  
 22 бон εἰψооῖи ἄте питалбо

10,24 "the parable": Probably refers to 2,10-5,1, the understanding of which is given in 5,16-18.

25-30 Cf. Ac 3:6.

33 Cf. Mt 10:8, par.

ACTS OF I  
 2 that you  
 that I tol  
 4 that my n  
 surpasses  
 6 and the w  
 surpasses  
 8 and precio  
 He gave th  
 10 of medicin  
 "Heal all t  
 12 of the city

13  
 14 in my nar  
 15 to reply t  
 He signale  
 16 him, who v  
 talk this tr  
 17 John answe  
 "Lord, bet  
 18 to say man  
 But (22.2)  
 19 to practice  
 taught to t  
 20 will we kn  
 as (22.2) y  
 21 He answer  
 spoken, Jo  
 22 that the pl  
 heal what  
 23 The physic  
 heal the he  
 24 the bodies  
 that throu  
 25 real power

"beside him"  
 normally have  
 27, in view

- 24 that you understand the parable (παραβολή)  
that I told you! Do you not understand  
26 that my name, which you teach,  
surpasses all riches,  
28 and the wisdom (σοφία) of God  
surpasses gold and silver  
30 and precious stone(s)?”  
He gave them the pouch (γλωσσόκομον)  
32 of medicine and said:  
“Heal all the sick  
34 of the city (πόλις) who believe

## II

- [in] my name.” Peter was afraid  
2 [to] reply to him for the second time.  
He signaled to the one who was beside  
4 him, who was John: “You  
talk this time.”  
6 John answered and said:  
“Lord, before you we are afraid  
8 to say many words.  
But (ἀλλά) it is you who asks us  
10 to practice this skill (τέχνη). We have not been  
taught to be physicians. How (πῶς) then  
12 will we know how to heal bodies (σῶμα)  
as (κατά) you have told us?”  
14 He answered him: “Rightly (καλῶς) have you  
spoken, John, for I know  
16 that the physicians of this world (κόσμος)  
heal what belongs to the world (κόσμος).  
18 The physicians of souls (ψυχή), however,  
heal the heart. Heal  
20 the bodies first, therefore (οὖν), so  
that through the  
22 real powers of healing

11,3-4 “beside him”: Lit. “at his breast.” The Coptic idiom does not normally have its literal meaning (cf. Crum, 444b). But here it may, in view of Jn 13:23.

ΜΠΟΥCΩΜΑ ΑΧΝ ΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΤΕ  
 24 ΠΙΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΪ ΝCΕΝΑΖΤΕ ΕΡΩΤΗ·  
 ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΨΟΜ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΕΤΑΛΒΕ  
 26 ΝΙΚΕΨΩΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΖΗΤ· ΝΙΡΜ  
 ΜΑΟ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΕ †ΠΟΛΙC ΝΗ  
 28 ΝΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΜΠΨΑ  
 ΡΩ ΕΨΝ† ΕΖΡΑΪ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥ  
 30 ΟΥΝΟϞ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΜΝ  
 ΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΜΝ†CΑΨ  
 32 ΡΩΜΕ· ΝΑΪ ΟΥΝ ΜΠΙΡΗΤΕ

IB

ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΖΜ ΠΟ[Υ]Η!  
 2 ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΡΡ ΨΒΗΡ ΕΡΟΟΥ· [Ν]  
 ΝΕCΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΤΗ ΝΒΙ ΤΟΥΜΝ  
 4 ΤΡΕϞΧΙ ΖΟ· ΧΕ ΑΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΓΑΡ  
 ΧΕΙ ΠΖΟ ΝΝΙΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ  
 6 CΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΙΕΚΚΛΗ  
 CΙΑ· ΑΥΩ CΕ† ΜΟΕΙ† ΝΖΕΝ  
 8 ΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΕΙΡΕ· ΑΛΛΑ † ΖΑΠ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥCΟΟΥΤΗ· ΧΕ  
 10 ΚΑΑC ΕCΝΑΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΤΕ  
 ΤΗΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ  
 12 ΝϞΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΖΝ ΝΙ  
 ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ· ΑΥΟΥΩΨΒ ΝΒΙ  
 14 ΝΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΖΕ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ· ΠΑΪ ΠΕΤΕΥΜΠΨΑ  
 16 ΝΑΑϞ· ΑΥΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ  
 ΑΥΟΥΩΨ† ΜΜΟϞ· ΑϞΤΑΖΟ  
 18 ΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΑϞΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ†  
 ΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ  
 20 ΝΙΠΡΑΞΙC ΝΤΕ ΠΕ  
 ΤΡΟC ΜΝ ΠΙΜΝ†CΝΟ  
 22 ΟΥC ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC

12,3

“their partiality”: This probably refers to their preference for their riches rather than Christ. But in view of lines 4-5, it could refer to the special treatment accorded the rich in some churches (following Schenke).

ACTS OF P

for their be  
 2 this world  
 that you h  
 4 the illness  
 rich men of  
 6 who did no  
 even to ack  
 8 revealed in t  
 wealth and  
 10 with such a

12

do not dine  
 2 nor (old) b  
 lest their pe  
 4 influence yo

shown parti  
 4 they also an  
 and they gr  
 6 others to de  
 them with  
 8 that your m  
 be glorified.

10 my name al  
 churches  
 12 answered al  
 truly this is  
 14 to do." The  
 and worshi  
 16 to stand an  
 them in pe

18 The  
 and t  
 20 Apos

22 the church  
 (so Kra  
 24 Jas 2:1-9.

for their bodies, without medicine of  
 24 this world (αἰών), they may believe in you,  
 that you have power to heal  
 26 the illnesses of the heart also. The  
 rich men of the city (πόλις), however, those  
 28 who did not see fit  
 even to acknowledge me, but (ἀλλά) who  
 30 reveled in their  
 wealth and pride—  
 32 with such as these, therefore (οὖν),

12

do not dine in [their] houses  
 2 nor (οὐδέ) be friends with them,  
 lest their partiality  
 4 influence you. For (γάρ) many in the churches (ἐκκλησία)  
 have  
 shown partiality to the rich, because  
 6 they also are sinful,  
 and they give occasion for  
 8 others to do (likewise). But (ἀλλά) judge  
 them with uprightness, so  
 10 that your ministry (διακονία) may  
 be glorified, and that  
 12 my name also, may be glorified in the  
 churches (ἐκκλησία).” The disciples (μαθητῆς)  
 14 answered and said: “Yes,  
 truly this is what is fitting  
 16 to do.” They prostrated themselves on the ground  
 and worshipped him. He caused them  
 18 to stand and departed from  
 them in peace (εἰρήνη). Amen.

20 The Acts (πράξεις) of Peter  
 and the Twelve  
 22 Apostles

their prefer-  
 es 4-5, it con-  
 some church

12,4-6 “in the churches”: This could also be placed after “they also are  
 sinful” (so Krause [1], and similarly, Schenke).  
 4-11 Cf. Jas 2:1-9.

THE

ed. G. G. "Ne  
Hereafter, K  
VI." TML  
M. "Der Sta  
Le origi  
Hereafter, K  
G. W. "The  
of Jesus. E  
z. SCM Pr  
ed. G. G. G. G. G.

ent tractate  
of the first  
lines of the  
the beginnin  
lines at the  
"The Thur  
is separate  
in the body  
mind" at 18  
Thund. is  
unusual. It  
concept possib  
The work  
throughout in  
types of statem  
seems to heed  
love, etc. Th  
seems are mos  
of form su  
dynamic struc



## THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND

VI,2:13,1-21,32

GEORGE W. MACRAE

- Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 41-44, 122-32. (Hereafter, Krause [1]).
- Bethge, H.-G. "'Nebront.' Die zweite Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI." *ThLZ* 98 (1973), cols. 97-104.
- Krause, M. "Der Stand der Veröffentlichung der Nag Hammadi-Texte." *Le origini dello gnosticismo*. Edited by Bianchi. Pp. 82-83. (Hereafter, Krause [2]).
- MacRae, G. W. "The *Egō*-Proclamation in Gnostic Sources." *The Trial of Jesus*. Edited by E. Bammel. SBTh Second Series 13. London: SCM Press. Pp. 129-34.
- Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 47-48.

This short tractate is nearly intact, having very minor lacunae at the top of the first four pages and more substantial damage to the top ten lines of the remaining pages. It is set off in the codex by a title at the beginning, with over- and underlining, and by several decorative lines at the end filling out the page. The title appears to be double: "The Thunder" is not syntactically related to "Perfect Mind" but is separated by a mark of punctuation (:). It is nowhere referred to in the body of the work (unless one should reconstruct "[perfect] mind" at 18,9).

In content *Thund.* is virtually unique in the Nag Hammadi library and very unusual. It is a revelation discourse by a female figure who is, except possibly for the title, otherwise not specifically identified. The work has no apparent structural divisions but is written throughout in the first person, interweaving and combining three types of statement: self-proclamation in the "I am" style, exhortations to heed the speaker, and reproaches for failures to heed or love, etc. The most distinctive feature is that the self-proclamations are most often antithetical or even paradoxical. The parallelism of form suggests that originally these may have been part of a hymnic structure.

Parallels for this revelatory genre can be adduced from a variety of sources. In *Orig. World* (II,5) 114,7-15, the heavenly Eve utters a hymnic self-proclamation that is very similar to *Thund.* 13,19-14,9 (pointed out by Krause [2], p. 82), and a trace of the same material, though not in the form of self-proclamation, occurs in a similar context in *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) 89,14-17. It may be significant that the *Thund.* passage thus paralleled is not repeated in the work, whereas many of the other self-proclamations occur more than once in *Thund.*, sometimes in varying forms. In such other Nag Hammadi works as *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) and the longer ending of *Ap. John* (II,1:30,11-31,25), there are examples of the "I style" of proclamation by a revealer figure, but without the antithetical context. There are three interesting parallels to *Thund.*, in content or in style or in both, outside the Nag Hammadi corpus. One is the well-known "Hymn of Christ" in *Act. Jn.* 94-96, in which Christ sings of himself in a succession of antitheses and contrasts, without, however, the use of "I am" formulas. The second example is a passage in the Mandaean *Ginza R*, Book VI (M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1925], pp. 205-12), the so-called "Book of Dinanukht," which is generally thought to be one of the older sections of the *Ginza*. There the spirit Ewath recites a formula which contains antitheses similar to, but for the most part not identical with, those in *Thund.*: "I am death, I am life. I am darkness, I am light. I am error, I am truth, etc." The third example is a series of passages in ancient Indian literature in which contrasting or contradictory assertions are made of the Deity either in the "I am" form (Bhagavad-Gita IX,16-19) or in the second or third person (Atharva-Veda X, viii,27-28; Śvetāśvatara Upanishad IV,3). These examples include both personal categories ("Thou art woman, Thou art man") and non-personal ones ("Death am I and deathlessness, What is not and that which is." Cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu Scriptures* [London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1966], pp. 25-26, 210, 287).

In terms of the religious traditions represented in the Nag Hammadi collection, *Thund.* is difficult to classify. It contains no distinctively Christian, Jewish, or gnostic allusions and does not seem clearly to presuppose any particular gnostic myth. There are resemblances to the tone and style of the wisdom hymns in the Biblical and intertestamental wisdom literature, and the self-proclamations are similar to the Isis aretology inscriptions. But if the multiple assertions in these works are intended to assert the universality of

Isis or of God's wisdom, perhaps the antithetical assertions of *Thund.* are a way of asserting the totally otherworldly transcendence of the revealer.

References to Biblical and gnostic passages in the notes are merely a sampling of obvious parallels.

THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND

VI,2:13,1-21,32

II

ΤΕΒΡΟΝΤΗ: ΝΟΥΣ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ

2 [N]ΤΑΥΤΑΟΥΘΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 [Τ]ΘΟΜ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΨΑ ΝΕΤ  
 4 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΙ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΒΙΝΕ Μ  
 ΜΟΙ ΖΝ ΝΕΨΩΙΝΕ ΝCΩΕΙ· Ε  
 6 [N]ΑΥ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΝΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΙ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΡΕCΩΤΜ CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΙ·  
 8 ΝΕΤΒΟΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤ ΨΟΠΤ  
 ΕΡΩΤΝ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΡΠΩΤ ΝCΩΙ  
 10 ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΝΝΕΤΝΒΑΛ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΕΤΝΖΡΟΟΥ ΜΕC  
 12 ΤΩΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝCΩΤΜ· Μ  
 ΠΡΡ ΑΤCΑΥΝΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ  
 14 ΜΑ· Η ΚΑΤΑ ΝΚΕΟΥΑΕΙΨ· ΑΡΕΖ  
 ΜΠΡΡ ΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 16 ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠ ΑΥΩ ΘΑΗ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΤΕ ΤΕ<Τ>ΤΑΕΙΑΕΙΤ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΨΗC·  
 18 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΠΟΡΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΤCΕΜΝΗ·  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΠΑΡ  
 20 ΘΕΝΟC· ΑΝΟΚ <Τ>ΕΤΜ<ΑΑ>Υ{Ε}  
 ΑΥΩ ΤΨΕΕΡΕ· ΑΝΟΚ ΜΜΕΛΟC

13,1 "The Thunder": Cf. Ezek 1:24; Job 26:14; Jn 12:29; Rev 6:1; Epiph. *Pan.* 26.3.1, citing *Gos. Eve.* H.-M. Schenke and others have read **ΝΕΒΡΟΝΤΗ**, i.e., "Nebront, or..." cf. H.-M. Schenke, Review of Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI, OLZ 69* (1974), col. 230-31. However Schenke has recently accepted our reading of the text in personal correspondence with J. M. Robinson (October 2, 1976). "Perfect Mind": cf. *Ap. John* (II,1) 8,29, and often elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi writings.

4-5 "found...seek": Cf. Isa 65:1; Rom 10:20; Pr 8:17.

THE T  
 The Thun  
 I was sent  
 [the] powe  
 reflect upo  
 among tho  
 Look upon  
 and you he  
 You who a  
 to yourselv  
 from your  
 And do not  
 me, nor yo  
 Do not be  
 or (f) any  
 Do not be  
 For (y-z) I  
 am the hor  
 I am the w  
 I am the w  
 virgin  
 and the da

THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND

VI,2:13,1-21,32

13

The Thunder (βροντή): Perfect (τέλειος) Mind (νοῦς).

- 2 I was sent forth from  
[the] power, and I have come to those who  
4 reflect upon me, and I have been found  
among those who seek after me.  
6 Look upon me, you (pl.) who reflect upon me,  
and you hearers, hear me.  
8 You who are waiting for me, take me  
to yourselves. And do not banish me  
10 from your sight.  
And do not make your voice hate  
12 me, nor your hearing.  
Do not be ignorant of me anywhere (κατά)  
14 or (ἤ) any (κατά) time. Be on your guard!  
Do not be ignorant of me.  
16 For (γάρ) I am the first and the last. I  
am the honored one and the scorned one.  
18 I am the whore (πορνή) and the holy one (σεμνή).  
I am the wife and the  
20 virgin (παρθένος). I am <the mother>  
and the daughter. I am the members (μέλος)

13,10 The letters ΤΝ are written at the beginning of the line and subsequently crossed out.

16 "the first and the last": Cf. Isa 44:6; 48:12; Rev 1:17.

18 "the holy one": Another possible translation would be "the chaste one"; cf. J. Drescher, "Graeco-Coptica," *Muséon* 82 (1969), 92-93.

20 "I am the mother": The MS reads **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ**, which can be translated, "I am the one who thinks." The sense demands "mother," and one must either emend or consider **ΜΕΕΥΕ** a variant form. The form **ΜΕΕΥ** is attested; this text uses **ΜΑΛΥ** in 13,22.

22 ΝΤΕ ΤΑΜΑΑΥ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΑΒΡΗΝ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΨΕ ΝΕΣΨΗΡΕ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 24 ΤΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΣΓΑΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΠΙΧΕΙ ΖΑΪ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΜΕΣΙΩ  
 26 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΕ ΜΑΣΜΙΣΕ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΠΕ ΠΣΟΛΣΧ̄ ΝΝΑΝΑΑΚΕ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 28 ΤΕ ΤΨΕΛΕΕΤ· ΑΥΩ ΠΡ̄ΜΨΕΛΕ  
 ΕΤ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΖΟΟΥΤ̄ ΠΕΝΤΑϞ  
 30 ΧΠΟΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΝΤΕ  
 ΠΑΕΙΩΤ· ΑΥΩ ΤΣΩΝΕ ΜΠΑ  
 32 ΖΟΟΥΤ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟϞ ΠΕ ΠΑΧΠΟ·  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ Τ̄ΒΑΟΥΟΟΝΕ ΜΠΕΝ  
 34 ΤΑϞΣΒ̄ΤΩΤ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ Τ̄ΧΟΕΙΣ

## [I]A

ΜΠΑΧΠΟ· ΝΤΟϞ ΔΕ ΠΕΝΤΑϞΧ[ΠΟΪ]  
 2 ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΖΟ[Υ]  
 ΜΙΣΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟϞ ΠΕ ΠΑΧΠΟ Ζ[Μ]  
 4 ΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ· ΑΥΩ ΤΑΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ Ο[Υ]  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ̄ ΤΕ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΒΕΡΨ[Β]  
 6 ΝΤΕϞΒΟΜ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕϞΜ̄Ν̄ΤΨΗΜ [ΑΥΩ]  
 ΝΤΟϞ ΠΕ Τ̄ΚΕΛΕΕΛΕ ΝΤΑΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄  
 8 Ζ̄ΛΛΩ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤ̄ϞΟΥΟΨ̄ ΨΑϞ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΚΑΡΩϞ  
 10 ΕΤΕ ΜΑΥΨΤΑΖΟϞ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙ  
 Α ΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΣ̄Ρ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ·  
 12 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕΣΜΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΣ  
 ΖΡΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ  
 14 ΠΕϞΕΙΝΕ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΨΑΧΕ Μ  
 ΠΑΡΑΝ· ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΕΤ̄ΜΟΣΤΕ Μ  
 16 ΜΟΕΙ ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΜΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΜΟΣΤΕ ΝΝΕΤ̄ΜΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ·

13,22-23 "the barren one": Cf. Ps 113:9; Isa 54:1; *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 59,31-60,1.

28 "bridegroom": The form is also attested in *Exeg. Soul* (II,6) 132,9.15.

34 "prepared": In this context **СОВТЕ** may imply something more, such as "created." Or the sense may be that of *κοσμεῖν*, suggesting the image of a slave who adorns her mistress.

22 of my mother. I am the barren one  
 and many are her sons. I  
 24 am she whose wedding (γάμος) is great, and  
 I have not taken a husband. I am the midwife  
 26 and she who does not bear. I  
 am the solace of my labor pains. I  
 28 am the bride and the bridegroom,  
 and it is my husband who  
 30 begot me. I am the mother of  
 my father and the sister of my  
 32 husband, and he is my offspring.  
 I am the slave of him who  
 34 prepared me. I am the ruler

[I]4

of my offspring. But (δέ) he is the one who [begot me],  
 2 before the time, on a birthday.  
 And he is my offspring [in]  
 4 (due) time, and my power (δύναμις)  
 is from him. I am the staff  
 6 of his power in his youth, [and]  
 he is the rod of my  
 8 old age. And whatever he wills  
 happens to me. I am the silence  
 10 that is incomprehensible and the idea (ἐπίνοια)  
 whose remembrance is frequent.  
 12 I am the voice whose sound is  
 manifold and the word (λόγος) whose appearance  
 14 is multiple. I am the utterance of  
 my name. Why, you who hate me,  
 16 do you love me and  
 hate those who love me?

14,2 "on a birthday": The reading is not entirely clear. G. M. Browne, "Textual Notes on Nag Hammadi Codex VI," *ZPE* 13 (1974), 306, suggests that the scribe corrected ε to ο in the word ζφ[γ].

15-17 By emending ΜΜΟΕΙ in line 16 to ΜΜΟΟΥ one might translate with strict parallelism: "Why do you love those who hate me and hate those who love me?" In Pr 8:17, Wisdom says, "I love those who love me."

18 ΝΕΤΡΑΡΝΑ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΕΡΙΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
 ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΡΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
 20 ΜΜΟΕΙ ΕΡΙΑΡΝΑ ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΝΕΤΧΕ  
 ΜΕ ΕΡΟΪ ΧΙ ΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕ  
 22 ΤΑΥΧΕ ΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΧΕ ΤΜΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ·  
 ΝΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΕΡΙΑΤΣΟ  
 24 ΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥ  
 ΣΟΥΩΝΤ ΜΑΡΟΥΣΟΥΩΝΤ·  
 26 ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ  
 28 ΠΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΠΑΡΖΗΣΙΑ·  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΑΤΩΠΕ· ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥ  
 30 ΧΠΙΗΤ· ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΝΑΨΤΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΖΡΤΕ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΠΟ  
 32 ΛΕΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ †ΡΗΝΗ· † ΖΤΗ  
 ΤΝ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΒΑΕΙΝΟΥ  
 34 ΑΥΩ ΤΝΟΒ· † ΖΤΗΤΝ ΕΤΑΜΝΤ

[ΖΗ]ΚΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΑΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ·  
 2 [Μ]ΠΡΧΙΣΕ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΕΕΙ  
 ΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ· Α[ΥΩ]  
 4 ΤΕΤΝΑΒΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΖΝ Ν[Ε]  
 [Τ]ΝΝΗΟΥ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΝΑΥ  
 6 [ΕΡ]ΘΕΙ ΖΙ ΤΚΟΠΡΙΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΒΩΚ  
 [Ν]ΤΕΤΝΚΑΑΤ ΕΕΙΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΝΑΒΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΖΝ  
 ΜΜΝΤΡΡΑΕΙ· ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΡΝΑΥ  
 10 ΕΡΟΕΙ ΕΕΙΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΒΑ  
 ΕΙΝΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΖΝ ΝΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ <Ν>  
 12 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΩΒΕ ΝΣΩΕΙ·  
 ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΡΝΟΧΤ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΕΤ  
 14 ΨΑΑΤ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΥΣΤΗΡΟΣ·

- 14,18-22 The independent verbs "confess, deny, lie, tell" are all imperatives. For the passage as a whole, cf. Mt 10:32-33; Lk 12:8-9; Jn 1:20.  
 20-22 "tell the truth about me...lie about me": The rendering "tell me the truth...lie to me" is also possible.  
 15,4-5 "in [those that] are to come": Translation uncertain; possibly "those who are to come," or even "in your houses."

[1E]

THUN  
 18 You who  
 19 me, and y  
 20 me, deny  
 21 the truth  
 22 who have  
 23 You who  
 24 of me, and  
 25 known me  
 26 For (γάρ)  
 27 ignorance.  
 28 shame and  
 29 I am sham  
 30 ashamed.  
 31 I am fear.  
 32 war (πόλεμ  
 33 to me. I a  
 34 and the gr

poverty an  
 1 Do not be  
 2 cast out u  
 3 you will fi  
 4 that are t  
 5 upon] me  
 6 and leave  
 7 and you w  
 8 the kingde  
 9 upon me v  
 10 are disgra  
 11 places  
 12 And (ὅτι)  
 13 are slain i

"for go": He  
 is understood  
 "among": or  
 "best places"  
 phrase  
 with or the



18 You who deny (ἀρνεῖσθαι) me, confess (ὁμολογεῖν)  
 me, and you who confess (ὁμολογεῖν)  
 20 me, deny (ἀρνεῖσθαι) me. You who tell  
 the truth about me, lie about me, and you  
 22 who have lied about me, tell the truth about me.  
 You who know me, be ignorant  
 24 of me, and those who have not  
 known me, let them know me.  
 26 For (γάρ) I am knowledge and  
 ignorance. I am  
 28 shame and boldness (παρρησία).  
 I am shameless; I am  
 30 ashamed. I am strength and  
 I am fear. I am  
 32 war (πόλεμος) and peace (εἰρήνη). Give heed  
 to me. I am the one who is disgraced  
 34 and the great one. Give heed to my

[15]

poverty and my wealth.

2 Do not be arrogant to me when I am  
 cast out upon the earth, [and]  
 4 you will find me in [those]  
 [that] are to come. And (οὔτε) do not look  
 6 [upon] me on the dung-heap (κοπρία) nor go  
 and leave me cast out,  
 8 and you will find me in  
 the kingdoms. And (οὐδέ) do not look  
 10 upon me when I am cast out among those who  
 are disgraced and in the least (ἐλάχιστος)  
 12 places (τόπος), nor laugh at me.  
 And (οὐδέ) do not cast me down among those who  
 14 are slain in violence (αὐστηρός).

15,6 "nor go": Here and frequently hereafter the Coptic conjunctive is understood as a continuation of a negative imperative.

10 "among": or possibly "from."

11-12 "least places": In *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 14,5-6 (see also 43,1) the same phrase (but with the connective) seems to refer to the lower world or the earth.

ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΨΑΝ ΖΤΗΣ·  
 16 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΑΖΙΗΤ· ΑΡΗΖ  
 ΜΠΡΜΕΣΤΕ ΤΑΜΝΤΣΤΜΗΤ·  
 18 ΑΥΩ ΤΑΕΓΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΝΤΕΤΝ  
 ΜΕΡΙΤΣ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΒΩΒ· ΜΠΡ  
 20 ΒΩ ΤΗΝΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΝΤΜΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΣ ΝΤΑΒΟΜ·  
 22 ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΤΕΤΝΡΚΑΤΑ  
 ΦΡΟΝΙ ΝΤΑΖΡΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕ  
 24 ΤΝΣΑΖΟΥ ΜΠΑΨΟΥΨΟΥ·  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ Ν  
 26 ΦΟΒΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΠΝΨΑΤ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΣΤΩΤ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕΤ  
 28 ΒΟΟΒ· ΑΥΩ ΕΕΙΟΥΑΧ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 ΖΗΔΟΝΗ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ· ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥ  
 30 ΛΘΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΣΑΒΗ·  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΤΕΤΝΜΕΣΤΩΕΙ  
 32 ΖΝ ΝΕΤΝΨΟΧΝΕ· ΧΕ †ΝΑΚΑ  
 ΡΩΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΚΑ ΡΩΟΥ·  
 34 ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΑ  
 ΨΑΧΕ

## [1]S

ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΒΕ ΑΤΕΤΝΜΕΣΤΩΕΙ ΝΖ[ΕΛ]  
 2 ΛΗΝ· ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΖΝ[Ν]  
 [Β]ΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ· ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΤΣΟΦ[ΙΑ]  
 4 [ΝΝΖ]ΕΛΛΗΝ· ΑΥΩ ΤΓΝΩΣΙΣ Ν[Ν]  
 Β[Α]Ρ[Β]ΑΡΟΣ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΦΑΠ Ν[Ν]  
 6 ΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΝ ΝΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ· Α[ΝΟΚ]  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΣΕΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΚΗΜΕ  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΝΒΑΡ  
 ΒΑΡΟΣ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΝΤΑΥΜΕΣΤΩΨ  
 10 ΖΝ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΝΤΑΥΜΕΡΙΤΣ  
 ΖΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥ

15,18-19 The division of sentences is uncertain.

26-27 The passage is ambiguous and perhaps should be understood: "and

But (δέ) I, I am compassionate  
 16 and I am cruel. Be on your guard!  
 Do not hate my obedience  
 18 and do not love my self-control (ἐγκράτεια).  
 In my weakness, do not  
 20 forsake me, and do  
 not be afraid of my power.  
 22 For (γάρ) why do you despise (καταφρονεῖν)  
 my fear and  
 24 curse my pride?  
 But (δέ) I am she who exists in  
 26 all fears (φόβος), and strength  
 in trembling. I am she who is  
 28 weak, and I am well in a  
 pleasant (ἡδονή) place (τόπος). I am  
 30 senseless and I am wise.  
 Why have you hated me  
 32 in your counsels? For I shall be  
 silent among those who are silent.  
 34 and I shall appear and  
 speak.

[1]6

Why then have you hated me, you Greeks ("Ελλην)?  
 2 Because I am a barbarian (βάρβαρος) among [the]  
 barbarians (βάρβαρος)? For (γάρ) I am the wisdom (σοφία)  
 4 [of the] Greeks ("Ελλην) and the knowledge (γνώσις) of  
 [the]  
 barbarians (βάρβαρος). I am the judgment of [the]  
 6 Greeks ("Ελλην) and of the barbarians (βάρβαρος). [I]  
 am the one whose image is great in Egypt  
 8 and the one who has no image among the  
 barbarians (βάρβαρος). I am the one who has been hated  
 10 everywhere and who has been loved  
 everywhere. I am the one whom they call

(I am) strength in trembling." The form  $\bar{\nu}\omega\lambda\tau$ , "strength," is otherwise unattested as a noun.

12 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΩΝΖ̄· ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄Ν  
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΠΜΟΥ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΕ  
 14 ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ·  
 16 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΠΩΤ̄ Ν̄CΩΕΙ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 18 Μ̄ΜΟΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΧΟ  
 ΟΡΕΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝCΟΟΥ  
 20 Ζ̄Τ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄Ν  
 ΨΙΠΕ ΖΗΤ̄C· ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΡ̄ ΑΤΨΙ  
 22 ΠΕ ΝΗΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΕ ΜΑCΡ̄ ΨΑ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΝΕCΨΑ·  
 24 ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΠΕCΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 26 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΪ  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΟCΤ̄· ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥ  
 28 ΑΤCΒΩ· ΑΥΩ ΕΥΧΙ CΒΩ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄Ν  
 30 ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ Μ̄ΜΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝ  
 32 ΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΖΩΠ̄ ΕΡΟΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΟΥΟΝΖ̄ ΝΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ  
 34 ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΝΖΩΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν·  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩΩΤ̄ †ΝΑΟΥΟΝΖ̄Τ̄

[ΕΒΟΛ ΖΟΤΑΝ] ΓΑΡ ΕΡ[Ψ]ΑΝΤΕΤ̄Ν  
 2 [ΟΥΟΝΖ̄Τ̄Ν Ε]ΒΟΛ· ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩΩΤ̄  
 [†ΝΑΖΩΠ̄ Ε]ΡΩΤ̄Ν· ΝΕΝΤΑΥ· [  
 4 [ 6 ± ] Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄Q̄ Μ̄Π[  
 [ 6 ± ] Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΑΘ[ΗΤ̄  
 6 [ 6 ± ]ΤΕ· QI Μ̄ΜΟΕΙ· [·]ΤΟΥ  
 [ΕΠΙCΤΗ]ΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥ[Μ̄]ΚΑΖ  
 8 Ν̄Ζ[Η]Τ̄· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΟΠ̄Τ̄  
 Ε[ΡΩ]Τ̄Ν̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΕΠΙCΤΗΜ[Η]  
 10 [Μ̄Ν ΟΥ]Μ̄ΚΑΖ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄· Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΟ

16,18-19 Cf. Epiph. *Pan.* 26.9.4.

17,7-9 It is possible that in this context ἐπιστήμη should be translated

[12]

For (γὰρ)  
 appear  
 will hide  
 understand  
 and take  
 to yourself  
 and grie

collection  
 Museum 82 (1

- 12 Life, and you have  
called Death. I am the one whom  
14 they call Law (νόμος),  
and you have called Lawlessness (ἀνομία).  
16 I am the one whom you have pursued,  
and I am the one whom you have seized.  
18 I am the one whom you have scattered,  
and you have gathered me together.  
20 I am the one before whom you have  
been ashamed, and you have been  
22 shameless to me. I am she who does not keep festival,  
and I am she whose festivals are many.  
24 I, I am godless, and  
I am the one whose God is great.  
26 I am the one whom you have reflected upon,  
and you have scorned me. I am  
28 unlearned, and they learn from  
me. I am the one whom you have  
30 despised (καταφρονεῖν), and you  
reflect upon me. I am the one  
32 whom you have hidden from, and you  
appear to me. But (δέ) whenever (ὅταν)  
34 you hide yourselves,  
I myself will appear.

[17]

- For (γάρ) [whenever (ὅταν)] you  
2 [appear], I myself  
[will hide] from you. Those who have [  
4 [ ] to it [  
[ ] senselessly [  
6 [ ]]. Take me [  
[understanding (ἐπιστήμη)] from grief,  
8 and take me  
to yourselves from understanding (ἐπιστήμη)  
10 [and] grief. And take

---

“recollection” or “sobriety”; cf. J. Drescher, “Graeco-Coptica,”  
*Muséon* 82 (1969), 86.



me to yourselves from places (τόπος)  
 12 that are ugly and in ruin,  
 and rob from those  
 14 which are good even though (καὶν) in ugliness.  
 Out of shame, take me  
 16 to yourselves shamelessly;  
 and out of shamelessness  
 18 and shame, upbraid my members (μέλος)  
 in yourselves. And  
 20 come forward to me,  
 you who know me and you who  
 22 know my members (μέλος), and  
 establish the great ones among the small  
 24 first creatures (κτίσμα). Come  
 forward to childhood  
 26 and do not despise it  
 because it is small and it is little.  
 28 And (οὔτε) do not turn away  
 greatnesses in some parts (μέρος) from  
 30 the smallnesses, for (γάρ)  
 the smallnesses are known  
 32 from the greatnesses. Why  
 do you curse me  
 34 and honor me?  
 You have wounded and you have  
 36 had mercy. Do not separate me from the first

[1]8

ones whom you have [known. And (οὐδέ)]  
 2 do not cast anyone [out nor]  
 turn anyone away [  
 4 [ <sup>αὐ</sup> ] turn you away and [

17,29 "in some parts": Translation and syntax uncertain; perhaps "individually."

34 "honor": The MS reads **τὸ**λαεῖο, "condemn," with an apparent erasure of the letter **θ**. **ταεῖο**, "honor," provides an antithetical statement. Elsewhere in the tractate erasures are indicated by dots above letters or by strokes through them; here the letter **θ** has been rubbed out.

[COO]YH NMOQ AN AN[  
 6 [ . . . ] . q . TETE TWEI [  
 †C[O]OYN ANOK N N W[OR]N [ . ] AYW  
 8 NETMNNCA NA I CECPO[YH N] MOEI [ . ]  
 ANOK DE PE PNOYC N[  
 10 AYW TANAPAUCIC NP[ . ] . . [ . ] . A  
 NOK PE PCSOYN NPAWINE AYW  
 12 PBINE NNETWINE NCWEI AYW  
 POYAZCAZNE NNETPATEI NMOEI  
 14 AYW TBAH NNBAM ZN TAGHWA  
 CIC N N A R G E L O C . N T A Y T A O Y O  
 16 OY ZM PALOGOC AYW NNOYTE  
 ZN NOYTE EBOL ZM PAWOXNE  
 18 AYW M P N A N P W M E N I M E Y  
 W O O P N M M A E I . AYW N Z I O M E  
 20 EYW O O P N Z H N T . ANOK TE TET  
 TAEINOY AYW TETOYCSMOY  
 22 EP OC . AYW TETOYFKATAFPO  
 NI NMOC ZN OYWOC ANOK  
 24 TE TRHNH AYW N T A P P O L E M O C  
 W O P E E T B H N T . AYW ANOK  
 26 OYWNMWA AYW OYRM NPOLIC  
 ANOK TE TOYCIA AYW TETE MN  
 28 TES OYCIA NETW O O P N E B O L  
 ZN TACYNOCIA CEPATCOOYN  
 30 NMOEI AYW NETW O O P N Z N T A  
 OYCIA NETCOOYN NMOEI  
 32 NETZHN EP O E I . AY P A T C O O Y N  
 NMOEI AYW NETOYHOY N  
 34 CA N B O L N M O E I N E N T A Y C O Y  
 W N T . Z M P E Z O O Y E E I Z H N E Z O Y

18,9 The lacuna could be filled with **NTEΛEIOC**. Thus "I am the perfect mind" would be the only allusion in the body of the work to the title.

12 "finding": Cf. *Gos. Truth* (I,3) 17,3-4.

15-17 Translation uncertain, especially "gods in their seasons by my

[know] him  
 [ . . . ] Who  
 I know the  
 those after  
 But (ðe) I  
 and the res  
 I am the k  
 the finding  
 the comma  
 and the po  
 of the ange  
 sent at my  
 in their sea  
 and of spiri  
 exists with  
 who dwell  
 is honored,  
 and who is  
 scornfully.  
 am peace  
 has come b  
 am an alier  
 I am the su  
 has no subs  
 without ass  
 of me, and  
 substance  
 Those who  
 of me, and  
 away from  
 me. On the

"The  
 W O O Y T E  
 Alternatively  
 (omis)  
 There seems  
 him does no



[know] him not. [  
 6 [     ]. What is mine [  
 I know the [first ones] and  
 8 those after them [know] me.  
 But (δέ) I am the mind (νοῦς) of [  
 10 and the rest (ἀνάπαυσις) of [  
 I am the knowledge of my inquiry, and  
 12 the finding of those who seek after me, and  
 the command of those who ask of (αἰτεῖν) me,  
 14 and the power of the powers in my knowledge (γνώσις)  
 of the angels, who have been  
 16 sent at my word (λόγος), and of gods  
 in their seasons by my counsel,  
 18 and of spirits (πνεῦμα) of every man who  
 exists with me, and of women  
 20 who dwell within me. I am the one who  
 is honored, and who is praised,  
 22 and who is despised (καταφρονεῖν)  
 scornfully. I  
 24 am peace (εἰρήνη), and war (πόλεμος)  
 has come because of me. And I  
 26 am an alien and a citizen (-πόλις).  
 I am the substance (οὐσία) and the one who  
 28 has no substance (οὐσία). Those who are  
 without association (συνουσία) with me are ignorant  
 30 of me, and those who are in my  
 substance (οὐσία) are the ones who know me.  
 32 Those who are close to me have been ignorant  
 of me, and those who are far  
 34 away from me are the ones who have known  
 me. On the day when I am close to

counsel." The translation takes **ΝΟΥΤΕ** as **ΝΕΥΤΗ**. Alternatively, **ΝΝΟΥΤΕ 2N <N> ΝΟΥΤΕ**, "gods among the gods."

18,18-19 Alternatively one might translate: "every male spirit...female (spirits)."

27-31 There seems to be a play on οὐσία and συνουσία, which the translation does not reflect.

[ΕΡΩΤῆ ΤΕΤ] ἸΟΥΗΟΥ ἸСАМОΛ  
 2 [ἸΜΟΕΙ· ΑΥ]ψ Ζῆ ΠΕΖΟΥ Εἶ  
 [ΟΥΗΟΥ ἸСА] ἸΒΟΛ ἸΜΦ[Τῆ ὀ]  
 4 [ΖΗΝ ΕΖΟ]ΥΝ ΕΡΩΤῆ[·] ΑΝ[ΟΚ ΠΕ]  
 [. . . . .]ψβ̄ ἸΦῆΤ· Α[ΝΟΚ ΠΕ]  
 6 [ 7 ± ] ἸΜΦΥCIC· Α[ΝΟΚ ΠΕ  
 [ 6 ± ]τε ἸΤΚΤICIC ἸΝἸΜῆ[Α]  
 8 [. . . . .]ΑἴΤΗΜΑ ἸΝΨΧΟΟΥΕ  
 [ΑΝΟΚ] ΠΕ ΠΑΜΑΖΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΤΑ  
 10 [ΜΑ]ΖΤ[Ε·] ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΖΩΤῆ ἸΜῆ  
 ΠΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ὀΜΟΝΗ·  
 12 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΒΩΛ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΠΕ ΠΙΕΠΙΤῆ ΑΥΩ ΕΥἸΝΗΟΥ  
 14 ΕΖΡΑἶ ΕΤΟΟῑ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΦΑΠ  
 ἸΜῆ ΠΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΟΚ  
 16 ΟΥΑΤΝΟΒΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΝΟΥΝΕ  
 ἸΠΝΟΒΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗῑ ΤΕ·  
 18 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ Ζῆ ΟΥ  
 ΖΟΡΑCIC· ΑΥΩ ΤΕἶΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ  
 20 ἸΦῆῑ ΕCΨΟΟῑ ἸΖΗῑ· ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΠΕ ΠCΩΤῆ ΕῑΨΗῑ ἸΟΥΟΝ  
 22 ΝΙΜ· ἸΜῆ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΨΨΕ  
 ΜΑΖΤΕ ἸΜΟῑ· ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΕΒΩ  
 24 ΕΜΑCΨΑΧΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΨΕ  
 ΤΑΜἸῑΖΑΖ ἸΨΑΧΕ· CΩΤῆ  
 26 ΕΡΟΕΙ Ζῆ ΟΥΒΩΝ· ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕ  
 ΤἸΧΙ CΒΩ ΕΡΟΕΙ Ζῆ ΟΥἸΨΟῑ·  
 28 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕΤΑΨ ΒΗΛ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΕ Ἰ  
 30 ΜΟΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸΧῆ ΠΖΟ ἸΠΚΑΖ·  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΕῑCΟΒΤΕ ἸΠΟΕΙΚ ἸΜῆ

- 19,1-2 "away from": ἸСАМОΛ is taken as a form of ἸСА ἸΒΟΛ.
- 8 "request": Uncertain because of a lacuna before the word. Other possible Greek words are διαίτημα, ἐνδιαίτημα, συνδιαίτημα, or ἀπαίτημα; "food, dwelling-place, intercourse, demand."
- 20-23 The meaning is obscure. An alternative would be: "I am the report that is acceptable to everyone, and the word that cannot be grasped."

[e]

you, you  
 (from me,  
 am far aw  
 close] to y  
 I am, cont  
 I am the w  
 the dissolu  
 and I am t  
 am the one  
 up to me. I  
 and the acc  
 am sinless,  
 of sin deriv  
 I am lust (I  
 and interior  
 exists withi  
 am the hear  
 everyone as  
 grasped. I  
 who does n  
 is my mult  
 me in gent  
 learn of me  
 I am she w  
 and I am c  
 forth upon  
 I prepare t

ces out": Cf  
 between ΕΒΟ  
 red dots abo  
 "the earth,"  
 head": Cf. I  
 Phil. (II,  
 isolation ut

1[9]

- [you, you] are far away  
 2 [from me, and] on the day when I  
 [am far away] from you, [I am]  
 4 [close] to you. [I am]  
 [ ] within. [I am]  
 6 [ ] of the natures (φύσις). I am  
 [ ] of the creation (κτίσις) of the [spirits (πνεῦμα)]  
 8 [ ] request (αἴτημα?) of the souls (ψυχή).  
 [I am] control and the uncontrollable.  
 10 I am the union and  
 the dissolution. I am the abiding (μονή)  
 12 and I am the dissolution. I  
 am the one below, and they come  
 14 up to me. I am the judgment  
 and the acquittal. I, I  
 16 am sinless, and the root  
 of sin derives from me.  
 18 I am lust (ἐπιθυμία) in (outward) appearance (ὄρασις),  
 and interior self-control (ἐγκράτεια)  
 20 exists within me. I  
 am the hearing which is attainable to  
 22 everyone and the speech which cannot be  
 grasped. I am a mute  
 24 who does not speak, and great  
 is my multitude of words. Hear  
 26 me in gentleness, and  
 learn of me in roughness.  
 28 I am she who cries out,  
 and I am cast  
 30 forth upon the face of the earth.  
 I prepare the bread and

19,28 "cries out": Cf. Pr 1:20-21, 8:1-4.

28-29 Between ΕΒΟΛ and ΑΥΩ ("out" and "and") the scribe deleted (with dots above the letters) ΖΙΧΜ ΠΖΟ ΜΠΚΑΖ, "upon the face of the earth," recognizing that it was a dittography (cf. line 30).

31 "bread": Cf. Ps 78:24; Pr 9:5; WisdSol 16:20-21; Jn 6:31-34; Gos. Phil. (II,3) 55,6-14.

31-32 Translation uncertain.

32 ΠΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ Τ  
 ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΜΠΑΡΑΝ· ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ  
 34 ΤΑΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤ  
 ΧΙ ΣΜΗ·

## [K]

†ΟΥΟΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥ[Ω  
 2 ΜΟΟΨΕ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΠ[  
 ϜΦ[Ρ]ΑΓΙΣ ΝΤΑΜΑ[  
 4 [. . . .]· ΕΙΟΝ ΜΠΧ̄Ν· [  
 [. . .]αε[·] ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ[  
 6 [. . . .]ΤΕ ΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ· [  
 ΑΝ[Ο]Κ ΤΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤ[Ε ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ]  
 8 ΤΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΠΧΙ ΝΒΟΝϜ̄ [  
 ΤΕΤ̄ΝΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΜΟΕΙ Ν[  
 10 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΚΑΣΚ̄ ΕΡ[ΟΙ] Ν[ΕΤ]ΟΥ  
 ΧΡΟΕΙ† ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΕΡΙΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΜΟ  
 12 ΟΥ ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥ† ΖΑΠ̄ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν·  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΕΚΡΙΤΗΣ Μ̄Ν ΠΧΙ ΖΟ ΕΥ  
 14 ΨΟΟΠ̄ Ζ̄Ν ΤΗΝΕ· ΕΥΨΑΝΒΑΕΙΕ  
 ΤΗΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΑΪ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑ  
 16 ΚΑ ΤΗΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ· Η̄ ΕΥΨΑΝΚΑ ΤΗ  
 ΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ̄Ϊ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΑ  
 18 ΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν· ΠΕΤ̄ΝΠΕΤ̄Ν  
 ΣΑΝΖΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΤ̄ΝΠΕΤ̄ΝΣΑΝ  
 20 ΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤ̄Ρ̄ΠΛΑΣΣΕ ΝΣΑΒΟΛ  
 Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν· ΝΤΑϜ̄Ρ̄ΤΥΠΟΥ Μ̄ΜΟϜ  
 22 Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΣΑΝΖΟΥΝ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϜ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΣΑΝΒΟΛ·  
 24 ΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϜ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΣΑΝΖΟῩ  
 ϜΟΥΟΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΖ̄Β̄ΣΩ  
 26 ΤΕ· ΣΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΕΡΟΪ ΝΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΧΙ ΣΒΩ ΕΝΑΨΑΧΕ·  
 28 ΝΕ†ΣΟΟΥΝ Μ̄ΜΟΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ  
 ΠΣΩΤ̄Μ̄ Ε†ΨΗΠ̄ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ·

20,18-19 or "he who is inside of you," etc., referring to the judge.



30 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΥ  
 ΨΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟϞ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ  
 32 ΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΣΜΗ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΣΜΗ  
 ΜΠΡΑΝ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΧΗΜΕΙ  
 34 ΟΝ ΜΠΣ'Ζ'ΑΙ· ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΤΑΙΖΕΡΕΣΙϞ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ 7 ± ]ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ [  
 [ 7 ± ]· ΑΥΩ Θ[  
 6 [ 6 ± ]ΑΚΡΟΑΤ[ΗϞ  
 [ . . . . . ] ΕΡΩΤΗ· ΦΟ Ν[ . . . ]· [  
 8 [ . . . . . Ν]ΤΝΟΒ ΝΒΟΜ· ΑΥΩ Π·  
 [ . . . . . ]ΤḲ ΝΑΚΙΜ ΑΝ ΜΠΡΑΝ·  
 10 [ . . . . . ] ΕΡΑΤḲ ΠΕΝΤΑϞΤΑΜΙΟḲ·  
 Α[Ν]ΟΚ ΔΕ †ΝΑΧΩ ΜΠΕϞΡΑΝ·  
 12 ΑΝΑΥ ΒΕ ΕΝΕϞΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΣΖΑἶ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ· †  
 14 ΖΤΗΤḲ ΒΕ ΝΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ ΑΥΩ Ν  
 ΤΩΤḲ ΖΩΤḲΤΗΥΤḲ ΝΝΑἶΓΕ  
 16 ΛΟϞ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΟΥΟΟΥ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΝΑ ΝΤΑΥΤΩΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 18 ΖḲ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ· ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤ  
 ΨΟΟΠ ΟΥΑΑΤ· ΑΥΩ ΜΜḲΤΑΕΙ  
 20 ΠΕΤΝΑΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ· ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ  
 ΝΕΙΔΟϞ ΕΥΖΟΛΕΒ ΝΕ ΝΕΤ  
 22 ΨΟΟΠ ΖḲ ΖΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΕΝΑΨΩ  
 ΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΜḲΤΑΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 24 ΜΝ ΖΕΝΠΑΘΟϞ ΕΥΒΑΕΙΗΥ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΖΗΔΟΝΗ ΠΡΟϞ ΠΕ  
 26 ΟΥΟΕΙΨ· ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟ  
 ΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥḲΡḲΗΦΕ ΝΣΕ

20,33-35 Meaning unclear. Perhaps σημειῶν is contrasted with σημασία (ΠΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ, "designation").

21,10 It is possible to reconstruct [ΠΕΤΑΖΕ] ΕΡΑΤḲ or [ΠΕΤΑΖ]ΕΡΑΤḲ, "the one who stands (firm) is the one who created me." The expression might be the equivalent of ὁ ἑστώς.

18-19 or possibly: "For I am alone, and . . ."

[K2]

I am the  
 be graspe  
 the name  
 of the na  
 of the let  
 of the div

And (θε): I  
 Look then  
 writings w  
 heed then,  
 you also, t  
 and those  
 and you sp  
 the dead. I  
 alone exist  
 who will ju  
 are the ple  
 exist in nu  
 and incont  
 and disgra  
 and fleetin  
 which (με  
 until they

being pleas  
 tragic comm  
 the adjectiv  
 rendered πρ

30 I am the speech that cannot  
be grasped. I am  
32 the name of the sound and the sound  
of the name. I am the sign (σημεῖον)  
34 of the letter and the designation  
of the division (διαίρεσις). And I

[21]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ ] light [ ]  
[ ] and [ ]  
6 [ ] hearers (ἀκροατής) [ ]  
[ ] to you [ ]  
8 [ ] the great power. And [ ]  
[ ] will not move the name.  
10 [ ] the one who created me.  
And (δέ) I will speak his name.  
12 Look then at his words and all the  
writings which have been completed. Give  
14 heed then, you hearers (ἀκροατής) and  
you also, the angels  
16 and those who have been sent,  
and you spirits (πνεῦμα) who have arisen from  
18 the dead. For I am the one who  
alone exists, and I have no one  
20 who will judge (κρίνειν) me. For (γάρ) many  
are the pleasant forms (εἶδος) which  
22 exist in numerous sins,  
and incontinencies,  
24 and disgraceful passions (πάθος),  
and fleeting (πρόξ-) pleasures (ἡδονή),  
26 which (men) embrace  
until they become sober (νηφεῖν) and

contrasted

ερατῆ

one who

δ

21,25-26 "fleeting pleasures, which (men) embrace": Despite the lack of syntactic connection, the translation takes **ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΘΟΕΙΩ** as the adjective *πρόσκαιρος*, which in *Auth. Teach.* (VI,3) 31,27-33 is rendered **ΠΡΟΣ ΟΥΘΟΕΙΩ**.

28 ΠΩΤ̄ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΟΥΚΗΜΗ  
ΤΗΡΙΟΝ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΒΙΝΕ Μ̄  
30 ΜΟΕΙ Μ̄ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΣΕ  
ΩΝΖ̄· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΣΕΤ̄Μ̄ΣΩΤ̄  
32 ΕΜΟΥ:

THU  
3 go up to  
And they  
4 me there,  
live, and  
5 again.



- 28 go up to their resting-place (κοιμητήριον).  
And they will find  
30 me there, and they will  
live, and they will not die  
32 again.

*Adhib. Gnost.*

ed. L.

Sectio

Laval, 19

"Authen

Index VI."

W. "A. N

ppam. Vol. I

*Ad Gnost. und*

tractate o

odes or to w

of the origin.

is substantia

lines at the

22 it is im

ing as well a

in both

the beginn

in translati

the words

of several

however, tha

several time

respect to its co

as a comp

origin, fall, a

at 25, 26

where it h

are several

Moreover

several success

## AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING

VI,3:22,1-35,24

GEORGE W. MACRAE

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 44-47, 133-49.

Ménard, J.-É., ed. *L'Authentikos Logos*. Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi; Section "Textes" 2. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1977.

Funk, W.-P. "Authentikos Logos: Die dritte Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI." *ThLZ* 98 (1973), cols. 251-59.

MacRae, G. W. "A Nag Hammadi Tractate on the Soul." *Ex orbe religionum*. Vol. I. Pp. 471-79.

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 49-50.

The third tractate of Codex VI is not obviously related either to what precedes or to what follows. It is a heavily metaphorical exposition of the origin, condition, and ultimate destiny of the soul. The work is substantially well preserved, although there are lacunae of several lines at the top of the first seven pages. Because of the lacuna on p. 22 it is impossible to ascertain whether a title stood at the beginning as well as at the end, and if it did, whether the title was the same in both places. The preceding tractate (VI,2) has a title only at the beginning, the following (VI,4), at both beginning and end. In translating the title at the end—which is unusually anarthrous—the words *αὐθεντικός λόγος* have been understood on the model of several Hermetic and other titles using *λόγος*; it is possible, however, that it refers to the role of the medicinal *λόγος* mentioned several times in the tractate itself.

With respect to its contents, there are some reasons for regarding *Auth. Teach.* as a composite or collection of several explanations of the soul's origin, fall, and victory over the material world. There is a major break at 25,26, where the narrative returns to the world of the Father where it has (presumably) begun, and from 26,20 onward there are several sections containing statements in the first person plural. Moreover, a number of different extended metaphors are introduced successively to explain the same phenomenon, the

condition of the soul in the world, although some key metaphors such as those of the food, the medicine, the bridal relationship, occur in several sections of the work. Some of these metaphors are extremely common in the literature of the Roman Hellenistic era, e.g., the bridegroom and life as an ἀγών, but others are highly distinctive and almost unparalleled in their elaborateness, e.g., the fisherman and the dealers in bodies.

*Auth. Teach.* contains no typical gnostic cosmogonic myth—unless it is alluded to in the passages now lost through some of the early lacunae—but it seems to presuppose a generally gnostic, i.e., anticosmic dualist, understanding of the fate of the soul in the material world. It has a number of parallels in the remainder of the Nag Hammadi library, notably with *Gos. Phil.* (II,3), *Exeg. Soul* (II,6), *Teach. Silv.* (VII,4), and the Hermetic tractates of Codex VI, as well as with the *Corp. Herm.* There is nothing in *Auth. Teach.*, however, to suggest that it is itself a Hermetic composition. It is also distinctively different from the *De anima* literature of the early Christian centuries, whether of Tertullian and his sources, or of Porphyry or Iamblichus, in that it is totally non-philosophical in its forms of expression. Apart from a few expressions such as “evangelists,” “hearing the preaching,” and the like, there is nothing specifically Christian in the document, nor is there any trace of the heavy dependence on Jewish speculation which we find in so many other Nag Hammadi tractates.

Perhaps there is a clue, though a veiled one, to be sure, to its origin in the section 33,4-34,34, which contains a polemic against the ἀνόητοι who are distinguished both from the “we” with whom the writer identifies and from the ἔθνη, who are more or less excusable on grounds of ignorance. One is tempted to think of a Christian berating the Jews for their failure to heed the message which they have heard preached to them, but again there is no unambiguous allusion to either Christian or Jewish belief or practice. In its emphasis on the evil character of the material world, on the heavenly origin of the spiritual soul, on the role of revealed knowledge as salvific, *Auth. Teach.* appears to be a gnostic work. But it lacks the tone of self-assurance and confidence, almost arrogance, which characterizes many unquestionably gnostic treatises. The soul is in perpetual danger of succumbing to the “adversary,” or to the false attraction of the material, and consequently she must maintain a practiced vigilance.

The notes indicate the few textual emendations and uncertainties in the text and suggest some of the more obvious parallels without implying any direct relationship to Biblical or other literature. Reconstructions within lacunae have been held to minimum and are included only when the probabilities are extremely high.

AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING

VI,3:22,1-35,24

[KB]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ . . . . . ] ααϞ παρ . [   
 [ 6 ± ] π εϞμοτ[ν   
 6 [ 6 ± ] ρν τπε να . [   
 [ 6 ± ] π ρραϊ νρητϞ[   
 8 [ . ] λλαγ ογωνζ εβολ[λ   
 μπηογε ετρηπ̄ ο[   
 10 ογονζ εβολ· αγω εμ[π]α[το]γ   
 ογωνζ εβολ νβι νκοσμοσ   
 12 ναρορατοσ ννατψαχε μμο   
 ογ· ναϊ ντατψυχη ναρορα   
 14 τοσ ντε ταικαιοσυνη ντασ   
 ει εβολ νρητογ εσσοπ̄   
 16 νψβρ μμελοσ· αγω νψβρ   
 νσωμα· αγω νψβρ μπνᾱ·   
 18 ειτε εσσοπ̄ ρν τκαταβασισ   
 ειτε εσσοπ̄ ρμ πληρωμα·   
 20 εσπορϞ αν εροογ· αλλα σαναγ   
 εροσ· αγω σβαψ̄τ̄ εροογ ρραϊ   
 22 ρμ πλογοσ ναρορατοσ· ρν ογ   
 πετρηπ̄ νταπεσνυμφιοσ   
 24 εινε μμοϞ αϞτααϞ ερωσ ε   
 τρεσογωμ μμοϞ νθε νογ   
 26 τροφη· αγω αϞτ̄ μπλογοσ   
 ενεσβαλ νθε νογπαρρε   
 28 ετρεσναγ εβολ ρμ πεσνογσ   
 νσρ̄νοει ννεσσῡγενησ·

22,11 "invisible . . . worlds": The notion of a κόσμος ἀόρατος is not uncommon; cf. e.g. Philo *Spec.leg.* I.302.

23 "bridegroom": Cf. 35,11: "bride-chamber." The imagery is common in the Bible, the Fathers, Gnosticism (especially Valentinian). See e.g., *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 65,10-11 and passim; R.M. Grant, "The

## AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING

VI,3:22,1-35,24

[22]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 6 [ ] in heaven [ ]  
 [ ] within him [ ]  
 8 [ ] anyone appears [ ]  
 the hidden heavens [ ]  
 10 appear, and [before]  
 the invisible (ἀόρατος), ineffable worlds (κόσμος)  
 12 appeared.  
 From these the invisible (ἀόρατος)  
 14 soul (ψυχή) of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)  
 came, being  
 16 a fellow member (μέλος), and a fellow  
 body (σῶμα), and a fellow spirit (πνεῦμα).  
 18 Whether (εἴτε) she is in the descent (κατάβασις)  
 or (εἴτε) is in the Pleroma,  
 20 she is not separated from them, but (ἀλλά) they see  
 her and she looks at them  
 22 in the invisible (ἀόρατος) word (λόγος).  
 Secretly her bridegroom (νυμφίος)  
 24 fetched it. He presented it to her mouth  
 to make her eat it like  
 26 food (τροφή), and he applied the word (λόγος)  
 to her eyes as a medicine  
 28 to make her see with her mind (νοῦς)  
 and perceive (νοεῖν) her kinsmen (συγγενής)

---

Mystery of Marriage in the Gospel of Philip," *VigChr* 15 (1961), 129-40.

"The image  
 (especially the  
 ssim; R.M. Gs  
 22,24-29 On the nutritive and medicinal character of the word, see Philo  
*Leg.all.* III.174-78; on the relation between the word as food and  
 seeing, see Philo *Rev.div.her.* 79.

30 ΝΣΧΙ ΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΣΝΟΥΝΕ·  
 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΣΝΑΤΩΒΕ ΕΠΕΣΚΛΑ  
 32 ΔΟΣ ΝΤΑΣΡ ΨΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
 ΖΗΤΩ· ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΣΝΑΧΙ ΜΠΕ  
 34 ΤΕ ΠΩΣ ΝΣΚΩ ΝΣΩΣ ΝΘΥ

[ΛΗ  
 2 [  
 [  
 4 [ 6 ± ] . ΝΘΕ ΖΩ[  
 [ 6 ± ] . Ε ΑΡΖΜΟ[ΟΣ  
 6 [ 6 ± ] Ε ΕΥΝΤΑΓ [   
 [ . . . . ] ΨΗΡΕ· ΝΨΗΡΕ . Ε  
 8 [ . . . . ] ΜΕ ΝΑΜΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΥ  
 [ΨΩΠΕ] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΡΣΠΕΡ  
 10 [ΜΑ·] ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΨΗΡΕ  
 ΝΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΝΣΗΟΥ·  
 12 ΤΑΪ ΖΩΩΣ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΨΥΧΗ  
 ΜΠΝΑΤΙΚΗ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΟΧΤ  
 14 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΣΩΜΑ· ΑΣΨΩΠΕ  
 ΝΣΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΜΝ ΠΜΟΣ  
 16 ΤΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΩΖ· ΑΥΩ ΜΨΥΧΗ  
 ΝΖΥΛΙΚΗ· ΖΩΣΤΕ ΒΕ ΠΣΩ  
 18 ΜΑ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΠΙΘΥ  
 ΜΙΑ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ Ν  
 20 ΤΑΣΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΖΥ  
 ΛΙΚΗ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΤΨΥΧΗ  
 22 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΣΟΝ· ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ  
 ΖΕΝΨΡ ΜΠΟΛ ΝΕ· ΜΝ ΒΟΜ

22,30-32 "root . . . branch": Cf. Rom 11:16-21.

23,13-14 "cast into": alternatively, simply "put into." Of itself ΝΟΥΧΕ sometimes translates τιθέναι, and even βάλλειν εις does not always stress the metaphor of throwing.

16-17 "material soul": Cf. *Exc.Theod.* 50.1 and 51.2, where, however, the implications of this notion are quite different.

23 "outsiders": Cf. 23,29-30 and 24,33. The expression ΨΡ ΜΠΟΛ (once ΝΠΟΛ) is understood here as ΨΡ (= ΨΗΡΕ) ΜΠΒΟΛ. The meaning might be either "bastards" or "orphans"; for the latter cf. *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 52,21-24. Funk translates "stepsons," i.e., the

ΚΓ



30 and learn about her root,  
 in order that she might cling to her branch (κλάδος)  
 32 from which she had first come forth,  
 in order that she might receive what  
 34 is hers and renounce [matter (ὕλη)]

[23]

[  
 2 [  
 [  
 4 [           ] as [  
 [           ] he [dwelt  
 6 [           ] having [  
 [           ] sons. The sons [  
 8 [           ] truly, those who have  
 [come] from his seed (σπέρμα),  
 10 call the sons  
 of the woman "our brothers."  
 12 In this very way, when the spiritual (πνευματική)  
 soul (ψυχή) was cast  
 14 into the body (σῶμα), it became  
 a brother to lust (ἐπιθυμία) and hatred  
 16 and envy and a material (ὕλική)  
 soul (ψυχή). So therefore (ὥστε) the body (σῶμα)  
 18 came from lust (ἐπιθυμία),  
 and lust (ἐπιθυμία)  
 20 came from material (ὕλική) substance (οὐσία).  
 For this reason the soul (ψυχή)  
 22 became a brother to them. And yet (καίτοι γε)  
 they are outsiders, without power

mother's children by a former marriage; this fits the context well (similarly, Ménard). Krause refers to Lev 18:9. Compare the expressions "insiders" and "outsiders," **ΝΑΠΖΟΥΝ Μἆ ΝΑΠΒΟΛ**, in Cod. Bruc., f. 128<sup>v</sup>, lines 2-3, and 130<sup>v</sup>, line 3 (Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*). For the unusual form **ΜΠΟΛ** see Jn 6:18 in Fayoumic: **ΜΠΔΛ** for **ΜΠΒΔΛ** (E. M. Husselman, *The Gospel of John in Fayoumic Coptic* [Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archeology, 1962], and compare **ΝΣΑΜΟΛ** for **ΝΣΑΝΒΟΛ**, *Thund.* (VI,2) 19,1-2.

24 ΕΤΡΕΥΡ̄ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙ ΖΑ ΠΖΟ  
 ΟΥΤ̄· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΝΑΡ̄ΚΛΗΡΟ  
 26 ΝΟΜΙ ΖΑ ΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ ΟΥΑΑ<C>·  
 ΖΟΤΑΝ ΒΕ ΕΡΨΑΝΤΨΥΧΗ  
 28 ΟΥΩΨΕ ΕΡ̄ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ  
 ΜΝ̄ ΝΨΡ̄ ΜΠΟΛ· ΧΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ  
 30 ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΝΙΨΡ̄ ΝΠΟΛ· ΝΕ ΝΙΠΑ  
 ΘΟΣ Ν̄ΛΑΖΛΕΖ· Ν̄ΖΗΔΟΝΗ  
 32 Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΒΙΟΣ· Ν̄ΚΩΖ Μ̄ΜΟΣ  
 ΤΕ· Μ̄ΠΕΡΠΕΡΟΣ· Μ̄ΦΛΟΙ  
 34 ΑΡΟΣ· Ν̄ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ·

[ΚΔ]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ 6 ± ]... ΝΖΜ· [ . . . . . ]ΑΝ ΟΥΕΙΕ[  
 6 [ . . . . . ]ΤΠ̄ ΝΑΣ Ν̄ . . [ ΤΠ[ΟΡΝΙ]Α· ΨΑΦΩΝΕ[C ΝΦΝΟ]  
 8 Χ̄C̄ ΕΠ̄ΠΟΡΝΙΟΝ· Α[ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΣ Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΨΥ[Α· ΑCΚΩ]  
 10 Ν̄CΩC Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΨΑΥ[· ] Π[Μ]ΟΥ  
 ΓΑΡ Μ̄Ν ΠΩΝ̄Ζ CΕΚΑΑΤ̄ ΕΖΡΑῙ Ν̄  
 12 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ΠΕΤΟΥΟΥΩ̄ ΒΕ Ζ̄Μ̄  
 ΠΕΙCΝΑΥ CΕΝΑCΟΤ̄Π̄ ΝΑΥ·  
 14 ΤΑῙ ΒΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ CΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤCΑΥ ΖΑΖ̄ Ν̄ΗΡΠ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄  
 16 ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΨΝΑ· ΠΨΝΑ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ  
 ΠΗΡΠ̄· ΜΑC̄Ρ̄ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΒΕ Ν̄  
 18 ΝΕCСΝΗΥ Μ̄Ν ΠΕCΕΙΩΤ̄· ΧΕ  
 ΘΗΔΟΝΗ ΓΑΡ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΖΗΟΥ ΕΤ̄  
 20 ΖΟΛΕΒ CΕΡΑΠΑΤΑ Μ̄ΜΟΣ· ΕΑC  
 ΚΩ Ν̄CΩC Μ̄ΠCΟΟΥΝ ΑCΨΩ  
 22 ΠΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄Τ̄Β̄ΝΗ· ΟΥΑΝΟ  
 ΗΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΨΟΟΠ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄

23,26 MS reads ΟΥΑΑΥ.

24,10-13 For the choice between death and life, cf. Deut 30:15,19; Jer 21:8, and the widespread doctrine of the "two ways." On the importance of the choice in Hermetism, see Festugière, *La Révélation* III, 97-118.

- 24 to inherit (κληρονομεῖν) from the male,  
 but (ἀλλά) they will inherit (κληρονομεῖν)  
 26 from their mother only.  
 Whenever (ὅταν), therefore, the soul (ψυχὴ)  
 28 wishes to inherit (κληρονομεῖν)  
 along with the outsiders—for (γάρ) the possessions (χρῆ-  
 μα) of  
 30 the outsiders are  
 proud passions (πάθος), the pleasures (ἡδονή)  
 32 of life (βίος), hateful envies,  
 vainglorious things (πέρπερος), nonsensical things (φλύα-  
 ρος),  
 34 accusations (κατηγορία),

[24]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

- 4 {  
 [  
 6 [ ] for her [  
 [prostitution (πορνεία)], he excludes her [and puts]  
 8 her into the brothel (πορνεῖον). For (γάρ) [  
 [debauchery] for her. [She left]  
 10 modesty behind. For (γάρ) death  
 and life are set before  
 12 everyone. Whichever of these two they wish, then,  
 they will choose for themselves.  
 14 That one (fem.) then will fall  
 into drinking much wine in  
 16 debauchery. For (γάρ) wine is  
 the debaucher. Therefore she does not remember  
 18 her brothers and her father, for (γάρ)  
 pleasure (ἡδονή) and sweet profits  
 20 deceive (ἀπατεῖν) her. Having  
 left knowledge behind, she fell  
 22 into bestiality. For (γάρ) a senseless person (ἀνόητος)  
 exists in

24,15-17 "wine...debauchery": Cf. Eph 5:18 οἴνω ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀσωτία.

24 τβ̄νη· εφσοογν αν̄ μ̄πετες  
 ψε εχοοφ· μ̄ν̄ πετεςψε ε  
 26 χοοφ αν̄· πψηρε δε̄ ν̄τοφ̄ ν̄  
 ρ̄μ̄ραψ· ψαφ̄ρκληρονομει  
 28 μ̄πεφειωτ̄ ρ̄ν̄ ογζλοβ· ερε  
 πεφειωτ̄ ραψε εζραϊ εχωφ  
 30 χε φχι εοογ ετβ̄ηητ̄ ν̄το  
 οτ̄ ν̄ογον̄ ν̄ιμ· εφψινε ον̄  
 32 ν̄σᾱ πρητε̄ ν̄τογκωβ̄ ν̄βῑ νε̄ν  
 ταφχιτογ· ν̄ψ̄ μ̄πολ̄ γαρ̄

[ΚΕ]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ . . . . . ] ετωζ μ̄ν̄ τ̄ [ . . . ]  
 6 [ . . ] α<sup>[1]</sup> ογμεεγε γαρ̄ [ρ̄ ν̄ε] π̄ι  
 [ε]γμια εφψαν̄εῑ ε[ρ̄ο]γν̄  
 8 [ε]γρωμε̄ μ̄παρθενος· αφ  
 [ογ]ω εφχωζμ̄· αγω τογ  
 10 [μ̄ν̄]τογαν̄ ραζ· μ̄μ̄ν̄ ψβομ  
 ετρεστωζ μ̄ν̄ τμ̄ν̄τμετρι  
 12 ος· πτωζ γαρ̄ εφψαντωζ  
 μ̄ν̄ πσογο· πτωζ αν̄ πε εψαφ  
 14 χωζμ̄· αλλᾱ πσογο πε· εγ  
 τηζ γαρ̄ μ̄ν̄ νεγερηγ· μ̄ν̄  
 16 λααγ̄ ναταγ̄ π̄σσογο χε φχα  
 ρμ̄· σεναρ̄κολλακεγε δε̄  
 18 εροφ χε μᾱ νᾱν̄ πεειτωζ ε  
 βολ̄ εγναγ̄ επσογο εφτηζ  
 20 ν̄μ̄μαφ· ψαντογχιτ̄ ν̄σε  
 νοχ̄ μ̄ν̄ ρενκετωζ τηρογ·  
 22 ν̄τεπτωζ ετ̄μ̄μαγ̄ ν̄φ  
 τωζ μ̄ν̄ ρενκερ̄γλη̄ τηρογ·  
 24 ογσπερμᾱ ν̄τοφ εφογαβ̄

25,1-34 A profile and line comparison between the top of this page and the tops of preceding and subsequent pages (where line numbering had already been established) has led to the conclusion that 4 lines are missing at the top of the page rather than 3, as Krause, followed

- 24 bestiality, not knowing what it is  
 proper to say and what it is proper  
 26 not to say. But (δέ), on the other hand, the  
 gentle son inherits (κληρονομεῖν)  
 28 from his father with pleasure, while  
 his father rejoices over him  
 30 because he receives honor on account of him from  
 everyone, as he looks again  
 32 for the way to double the things  
 that he has received. For (γάρ) the outsiders

[25]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

- 4 [ ]  
 [ ] to mix with the [ ]  
 6 [ ]. For (γάρ) if a thought [of] lust (ἐπιθυμία)  
 enters into  
 8 [a] virgin (παρθένος) man, he has  
 [already] become contaminated. And their  
 10 gluttony cannot  
 mix with moderation (-μέτριος).  
 12 For (γάρ) if the chaff is mixed  
 with the wheat, it is not the chaff that is  
 14 contaminated, but (ἀλλά) the wheat.  
 For (γάρ) since they are mixed with each other, no  
 16 one will buy her wheat because it is contaminated.  
 But (δέ) they will coax (κολακεύειν)  
 18 him, "Give us this chaff!"  
 seeing the wheat mixed  
 20 with it, until they get it and  
 throw it with all other chaff,  
 22 and that chaff  
 mixes with all other materials (ὕλη).  
 24 But a pure seed (σπέρμα)

by Funk and Ménard, assumed. Hence the extant lines numbered  
 4-33 by Krause are here numbered 5-34.

25.5 The word ἐπιθυμία is an attractive conjecture to fill the lacuna:  
 "to mix with [lust]," in contrast perhaps with lines 10-11.

12-26 Wheat and chaff: For the imagery, cf. Mt 3:12, par.

26 ψΑΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟϞ ΖΝ ΖΕΝΑΠΟ  
 ΕΗΚΗ ΕΥΟΡΕΧ· ΝΑΪ ΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 28 ΝΤΑΝΧΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΖΑΤΕΖΗ  
 ΕΜΠΑΤΕΛΑΑΥ ΨΩΠΕ·  
 ΠΕΙΩΤ ΟΥΑΑϞ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ·  
 30 ΕΜΠΑΤΕΝΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΖΝ  
 ΜΠΗΟΥΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 32 ΟΥΤΕ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΖΙΧΜ  
 ΠΚΑΖ· ΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΧΗ· ΟΥΤΕ  
 34 ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ· ΟΥΤΕ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ·

[ΚΣ]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [. . . . ΟΥ]ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν[  
 [. . . . ]ΑΓΜΑ· ΑΥΩ Ψ[  
 6 ΖΕΝ[ . . . ]ΟΥΕ· ΜΠΕΛΑΑΥ [ΔΕ]  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΦΟΥΨ[Ε·] Ν  
 8 ΤΟϞ ΒΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΦΟΥΨ[ΨΕ]  
 ΕΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΦΜ[ΝΤΡΜ]  
 10 ΜΑΟ· ΜΝ ΠΕΦΕΟΟΥ· ΑϞΚΩ  
 ΜΠΕΕΙΝΟΒ ΝΑΓΩΝ ΝΖΡΑΪ  
 12 ΖΜ ΠΕΪΚΟΣΜΟΣ· ΕΦΟΥΨ  
 ΨΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ ΟΥ  
 14 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΤΕΝΕΨΩΧΕ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΕΚΩ ΝΩΟΥ  
 16 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ· ΝΣΕΡ  
 ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 18 ΣΟΟΥΝ ΕϞΧΟΣΕ ΝΑΤΤΕΖΟϞ·  
 ΝΣΕΠΩΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΨΑ ΠΕΤΨΟ  
 20 ΟΠ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΨΩΧΕ ΝΜΜΕΝ  
 ΕΥΟ ΝΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΥ  
 22 ΨΩΧΕ ΕΖΗΤΝ ΝΤΝΧΡΟ ΕΤΕΥ  
 ΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΝ  
 24 ΣΟΟΥΝ· ΕΝΡ ΨΡΠ ΝΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΑΠΙΑΤΝΡΕΤḂ ΕΝΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ

25,33-34 "principality, or authority, or the powers": Cf. 1 Cor 15:24, where the same terms occur in the same order.

26,6-7 Cf. Jn 1:3.

is kept in storehouses (ἀποθήκη)  
 26 that are secure. All these things, then,  
 we have spoken. And before  
 28 anything came into being,  
 it was the Father alone who existed,  
 30 before the worlds (κόσμος) that are in  
 the heavens appeared,  
 32 or (οὔτε) the world (κόσμος) that is on  
 the earth, or (οὔτε) principality (ἀρχή), or (οὔτε)  
 34 authority (ἐξουσία), or (οὔτε) the powers (δύναμις).

[26]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [            ] appear [  
 [            ] (-αγμα), and [  
 6 [            And (δέ)] nothing  
 came into being without his wish.  
 8 He, then, the Father, wishing  
 to reveal his [wealth]  
 10 and his glory, brought about  
 this great contest (ἀγών)  
 12 in this world (κόσμος), wishing  
 to make the contestants (ἀγωνιστής) appear,  
 14 and make all those who contend  
 leave behind  
 16 the things that had come into being, and  
 despise (καταφρονεῖν) them with a  
 18 lofty, incomprehensible knowledge,  
 and flee to the one who  
 20 exists. And (as for) those who contend with us,  
 being adversaries (ἀντικείμενος) who  
 22 contend against us, we are to be victorious over their  
 ignorance through our  
 24 knowledge, since we have already known  
 the Inscrutable One from whom we have

26,11-12 The metaphor of the ἀγών is extremely widespread; see V. Pfitzner,  
*Paul and the Agon Motif* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967).

26 ΝΖΗΤῶ· ΕΜΜΝΤΑΝ ΛΑΛΥ Ζῆ  
 ΠΕΪΚΟΣΜΟΣ· ΜΗΨΟΣ ΝΤΕ  
 28 ΤΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑΣΨΩΠΕ ΝΣΡΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΜΜΟΝ  
 30 Ζῆ ΝΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΖῆ ΜΠΗΥΕ·  
 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ  
 32 ΨΟΟΠ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΕΥ  
 ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΒΙ ΜΜΕΡΙΚΟΣ

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ . . . . . ]ΥΝΟΥ ΕΒΟ[Λ  
 [ . . . . . ]ῆ ΝΚΟΣΜΙΚ[ΟΣ· ΑΝ]ΨΩ  
 6 Π[Ε] ΟΝ [Ε]ΝΧΙ ΨΙΠΕ [Ζῆ Ν]ΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
 ΕΣΡΜΕΛΕΙ ΝΑΝ ΑΝ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ· ΕΥ  
 8 [ΨΑ]ΧΕ ΝΣΩΝ· ΑΥΩ ΕΝΩΒῶ  
 [ΜΜ]ΟΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΕΥΖΟΟΥΨ  
 10 ΕΡ[Ο]Ν ΕΥ† ΨΙΠΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖῆ  
 ΠΕΝΖΟ· ΕΝΒΑΨῆ ΝΣΩΟΥ· Ν  
 12 ΤῆΤῆΨΑΧΕ· ΝΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΕΤῆ  
 ΜΑΥ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ ΕΤΟΥΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ·  
 14 ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΜΟΟΥΕ ΖΑ ΠΖΚΟ  
 ΖΑ ΠΙΒΕ· ΕΝΒΑΨῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤῶ  
 16 ΜΠΕΝΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ· ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕ  
 ΤῆΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑ Μῆ ΤῆΣΥΝΕΙ  
 18 ΔΗΣΙΣ ΒΑΨῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤῶ· ΕΝ  
 ΤΩΒΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΝ  
 20 ΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΝΣΙΖΕ  
 ΜΜΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΕΡΕΖΤΗΝ  
 22 ΚΑΑ† ΑΝΕ†ΨΟΟΠ· ΕΝΨΩ  
 ΝΕ ΕΝΒΟΟΒ ΕΝΜΟΚῆ· ΕΥῆ  
 24 ΟΥΝΟΒ ΔΕ ΜῆΝῆ†ΧΩΩΡΕ ΖΗΤῆ  
 ΜΠῆΣΑΝΖΟΥΝ ΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ·

26,26-27 Cf. Jn 15:19 and chs. 14-17, passim.

33 The precise meaning of μερικὸς is uncertain here because of the following lacuna; it may be set in contrast to καθολικόν in line 31. In the translation a passive construction is used to indicate where

[KZ]



26 come forth. We have nothing in  
 this world (κόσμος), lest (μήπως)  
 28 the authority (ἐξουσία) of the world (κόσμος) that  
 has come into being should detain (κατέχειν) us  
 30 in the worlds (κόσμος) that are in the heavens,  
 those in which universal (καθόλιον) death  
 32 exists,  
 surrounded by the individual (μερικός)

[27]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ ]  
 [ ] worldly (κοσμικός). [We have]  
 6 also become ashamed [of the] worlds (κόσμος),  
 though we take no interest (μέλειν) in them when they  
 8 [malign] us. And we ignore  
 them when they curse  
 10 us. When they cast shame in  
 our face, we look at them  
 12 and do not speak. For (γάρ) they  
 work at their business (ἐργασία),  
 14 but (δέ) we go about in hunger (and)  
 in thirst, looking toward  
 16 our dwelling-place, the place which  
 our conduct (πολιτεία) and our conscience (συνείδησις)  
 18 look toward,  
 not clinging to the things  
 20 which have come into being, but (ἀλλά) withdrawing  
 from them. Our hearts  
 22 are set on the things that exist, though we are ill,  
 (and) feeble, (and) in pain.  
 24 But (δέ) there is a great strength hidden  
 within us. Our soul (ψυχή)

the lacuna occurs; in the Coptic **ΜΜΕΡΙΚΟΣ** [ ] is the subject of "surround."

27,17-18 For an example of the collocation of **συνείδησις** and **πολιτεύεσθαι**, see Ac 23:1.

25 The letter **Ν** has been crossed out before **ΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ**.

in here beca  
 εσ καθόλιον  
 used to indic

26 ΜΕΝ ΕΨΩΝΕ ΧΕ ΕΨΟΟΠ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΗΕΙ ΜΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ· ΕΡΕ  
 28 ΘΥΛΗ † ΨΒΑ ΝΝΕΣΒΑΛ ΕΣ  
 ΟΥΩΨΕ ΕΑΣ ΝΒΛΛΗ·  
 30 ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΨΑΣΠΩΤ̄ ΝСА  
 ΠΛΟΓΟС ΝСТАαϑ ΕΝΕΣΒΑΛ  
 32 ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΕСОΥΩ<N>  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΕСНОУΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ

[KH]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

4 [ . . . . ] ΜΞΕΥΕ ΝΟΥ[  
 [ . . . ΜΝ ] ΤΒΛΛΕ ΖΡΑΪ Ζ[Ν  
 6 ΕΙϢ[ . . ] Ξ· ΜΝΝСωϢ ΟΝ ΕΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 8 ΜΝΤΑΤ̄СООУΝ· ΟΥΚΑ[ΚΕ Τ]Η  
 ΡḠ ΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΖΥΛΙΚΟ[С ΠΕ·]  
 10 ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΨΥΧΗ ΕϢ[ . ]·  
 ΝΟΥΛΟГОС ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙМ ΕΤΑ  
 12 ΑϢ ΕΝΕСΒΑΛ· ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ·  
 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕСНАΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ· Ν  
 14 ΤΕΠЕСΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΖΩΠ̄ ΝΝΠΟ  
 ΛΕМОС ΕΤḠΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ ΝΜ  
 16 ΜΑС· ΝСААΥ ΝΒΛΛΕ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ  
 ΠЕСΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΝСОТΠΟΥ Ε  
 18 ΖΟΥΝ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΤЕСΠΑΡΟΥСΙΑ·  
 ΝСӨΙООУ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤ̄  
 20 ΖΙΝΗВ· ΝСḠΠΑΡΖΗСΙΑΖΕ ΜМОС  
 ΖḠ ΠЕСКРАТОС· ΑΥΩ ΖΝ ΤЕС  
 22 ΒΡΗΠΕ· ΕΡΕΝЕСΧΑΧΕ ΒΑΨḠ  
 ΝСωС ΕΥΧΙ ΨΠΕ· ΕСПΗТ̄  
 24 ΕΠCΑΝТΠЕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠЕСΑΖΟ·  
 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΠЕСНОУС ΨΟΟΠ̄  
 26 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗТḠ· ΑΥΩ ΤЕСΑΠΟ

27,32 “(opening)”: MS reads ΕСОУΩМ. It is conceivable, however, that ΟΥΩМ was intended as an expression for the action of a medicine. Crum (478a) cites an example from J. Leipoldt, ed., *Sinuthii Archimandritae vita et opera omnia*, CSCO 42 (Louvain, 1908), no. 195, which uses ΟΥΩМ with ΠΑΖΡΕ, “medicine,” but

AUTH  
 indeed (t  
 in a hous  
 matter (t  
 wishing t  
 For this  
 the word  
 as a medi  
 them, cas  
 [68]  
 [ t  
 b  
 a  
 that one is  
 ignorance,  
 and is me  
 Thus the s  
 a word (2/3  
 it to her ey  
 in order th  
 and her lig  
 that fight  
 her, and sh  
 her light, a  
 her presenc  
 and make  
 and she me  
 with her st  
 septr. W  
 at her in s  
 upward int  
 the one in  
 and (m

in Semonite th  
 21. For the  
 198.  
 22 Mt 6:19-21

- 26 indeed (μέν) is ill because she dwells  
 in a house of poverty, while  
 28 matter (ὕλη) strikes blows at her eyes,  
 wishing to make her blind.  
 30 For this reason (διὰ τοῦτο) she pursues  
 the word (λόγος) and applies it to her eyes  
 32 as a medicine, <opening>  
 them, casting away

[28]

(Lines 1-3 lacking)

- 4 [        ] thought of a [        ]  
 [        ] blindness in [        ]  
 6 [        ] afterwards when  
 that one is again in  
 8 ignorance, he is completely [darkened]  
 and [is] material (ὕλικός).  
 10 Thus the soul (ψυχή) [        ]  
 a word (λόγος) every hour, to apply  
 12 it to her eyes as a medicine  
 in order that she may see,  
 14 and her light may conceal the hostile forces (πόλεμος)  
 that fight (πολεμεῖν) with  
 16 her, and she may make them blind with  
 her light, and enclose them in  
 18 her presence (παρουσία),  
 and make them fall down in sleeplessness,  
 20 and she may act boldly (παρρησιάζεσθαι)  
 with her strength (κράτος) and with her  
 22 sceptre. While her enemies look  
 at her in shame, she runs  
 24 upward into her treasure-house—  
 the one in which her mind (νοῦς)  
 26 is—and (into) her

in Shenoute the afflicted organ is not the object of the verb "to eat." For the metaphor of using medicine on the eyes, see Rev 3:18.

28,23-29 Cf. Mt 6:19-21, par.

28 ΘΗΚΗ ΕΤΑΡΕΧ· Ε<Μ> ΠΕΛΛΑΥ  
 ΖΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 ΜΜΟΣ· ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΣΧΙ ΝΟΥ  
 30 ΨΜΜΟ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΣΧΕΙ·  
 ΧΕ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΣ  
 32 ΜΕΣΖΝΗΕΙ ΕΥΤ ΟΥΒΗΣ Μ  
 ΠΕΖΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΥΨΗ·  
 34 ΕΜΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕΜΤΟΝ

[ΚΘ]

ΜΠΕΖΟ[Ο]Υ Ο[Υ]ΤΕ ΤΕΥΨΗ·  
 2 ΧΕ ΤΟΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ ΓΑ[Ρ] ΣΜΟΥ  
 ΚΖ ΜΜΟΥ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ [Β]Ε ΕΝΖΙ  
 4 ΝΗΒ ΑΝ· ΟΥΔΕ ΕΝΟΒΕΨ ΑΝ [ΕΝ]  
 ΨΗΝΟΥ ΕΤΣΗΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 6 ΖΩΠ· ΕΥΒΑΡΕΒ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΡΩΖΤ  
 ΜΜΟΝ· ΕΥΨΑΝΡΑΖΤΝ ΓΑΡ ΖΝ  
 8 Ο[Υ]ΨΝΕ ΟΥΩΤ· ΦΝΑΣΑΖΠΝ  
 Ε[ΖΡ]ΑΙ ΖΝ ΡΩΦ· ΕΡΕΠΜΟΥ ΣΩΚ  
 10 Ε[Χ]ΩΝ ΕΦΤ ΕΖΡΑΝ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑ  
 ΧΙΤΝ ΕΠΙΤΝ ΕΤΑΒΩ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΝ  
 12 ΝΑΨΒΜΒΑΜ ΑΝ ΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗ  
 ΤΣ· ΧΕ ΜΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ ΣΕΧΟΣΕ  
 14 ΕΧΩΝ· ΕΥΨΟΥΟ ΧΙΝ ΤΠΕ ΨΑ  
 ΠΙΤΝ ΕΥΩΜΣ ΜΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΖΡΑΙ  
 16 ΖΜ ΠΟΜΕ ΝΤΛΑΕΙΖΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΝ  
 ΝΑΨΡ ΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ· ΖΕΝ  
 18 ΟΥΑΜ ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΤΝΑΒΩΠΕ  
 ΜΜΟΝ ΝΣΕΟΜΚΝ ΕΥΡΑΨΕ  
 20 ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΑΛΙΕΥΣ ΕΦΝΕΧ  
 ΟΕΙΜ ΕΠΜΟΥ· ΨΑΦΝΟΥΧΕ  
 22 ΓΑΡ ΝΖΑΖ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΝΤΡΟΦΗ  
 ΕΠΜΟΥ· ΧΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΥΑ  
 24 ΝΝΤΒΤ ΟΥΝΤΑΦ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΦ

28,27 MS reads ΕΝΠΕΛΛΑΥ.

29,18 "man-eaters": In *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 62,35 God is said to be a "man-eater"; the reference is no doubt to the inferior creator-god.

zoff. The "positive" use of the metaphor of "fishers of men" in the Bible is well known; the "negative" use (as here) is quite rare:

AUTH  
 storehous  
 among th  
 her, nor  
 stranger i  
 For (y4p)  
 homeborn  
 by day an  
 having no  
 by day no  
 for (y4c) th  
 them. For  
 not sleep  
 nets that a  
 hiding, lyin  
 us. For (y4  
 a single net  
 down into  
 over us, str  
 be taken do  
 will not be  
 it because t  
 over us, flo  
 downward,  
 in the filthy  
 will not be  
 For (y4c) m  
 ns and swa  
 like a fisher  
 a hook into  
 he casts m  
 into the wa  
 of the fish  
 Hab 1:14  
 MacRae, P  
 the idea th  
 Cl.A1. Stro  
 zoff.

storehouse (ἀποθήκη), which is secure, since nothing  
 28 among the things that have come into being has seized  
 her, nor (οὐδέ) has she received a  
 30 stranger into her house.  
 For (γάρ) many are her  
 32 homeborn ones who fight against her  
 by day and by night,  
 34 having no rest

[29]

by day nor (οὔτε) by night,  
 2 for (γάρ) their lust (ἐπιθυμία) oppresses  
 them. For this reason, then, we do  
 4 not sleep, nor (οὐδέ) do we forget [the]  
 nets that are spread out in  
 6 hiding, lying in wait for us to catch  
 us. For (γάρ) if we are caught in  
 8 a single net, it will suck us  
 down into its mouth, while the water flows  
 10 over us, striking our face. And we will  
 be taken down into the dragnet, and we  
 12 will not be able to come up from  
 it because the waters are high  
 14 over us, flowing from above  
 downward, submerging our heart down  
 16 in the filthy mud. And we  
 will not be able to escape from them.  
 18 For (γάρ) man-eaters will seize  
 us and swallow us, rejoicing  
 20 like a fisherman (ἀλιεύς) casting  
 a hook into the water. For (γάρ)  
 22 he casts many kinds of food (τροφή)  
 into the water because (γάρ) each one  
 24 of the fish has his own

e.g., Hab 1:14-17; 1QH III,26; V,7-8. For additional references see MacRae, pp. 474-75.

29,21-25 For the idea that each soul has its own food (perhaps a maxim?) see Cl.A1. *Strom.* I.1 (GCS I, p. 6, line 21). Cf. *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 80,28ff.

τροφή· εψαφψωλῃ ερος  
 26 ἄρρωτῆ ἄσα πεσστοει·  
 28 ζοταν βε εφψανογομῶ  
 ψασβωπε ἄμοφ ἄβι τοειμ  
 30 εῶηπῆ ἄπσανζογῆ ἄττρο  
 φη ἄσεινε ἄμοφ εζραῖ ἄ  
 32 βια εβολ ζἄ ζενμοογ ενα  
 ψωογ· εμν ψβομ βε πε ἄ  
 34 λααγ ἄρωμε εαμαζτε ἄπτβῆ

[λ]

1 εῖτναψωογ· εἰ μ[η]τι επεκροφ  
 2 ενταφααφ [ἄβ]ι πζαλιεγς· ἄτλα  
 εἰβε ἄτροφη αφεινε ἄπτβῆ  
 4 εζρα[ῖ] ζἄ τοειμ· ταῖ ζωωσ τε  
 6 ῶε ενψοοπῆ ἄζραῖ ζἄ πεῖκοσμοσ  
 [ἄ]θε ἄἄτβῆ· παντικειμε  
 8 νοσ δε εφροεισ ογβην εφβο  
 ρεβ ερον· ἄθε ἄογζαλιεγς  
 10 εφογωψε εβοπἄ εφρ[α]ψε  
 χεκαασ εφαομκἄ· ψ[αφ]νο[γχε]  
 12 γαρ ἄζαζ ἄτροφη ἄπεμτο  
 εβολ ἄνενβαλ εναπεῖκο  
 14 σμοσ νε· εφογωψε ετρεν  
 ῖρεπιῶμει· εογῆ ἄμοογ  
 16 ἄτἄχι †πε ἄματε ἄογ  
 κογεί ἄρβωπε ἄμον ἄζραῖ  
 18 ζἄ τεφπαζρε εῶηπῆ ἄφεινε  
 ἄμον εβολ ζἄ ογμἄτελεγ  
 20 θεροσ· ἄφχιτἄ εζογῆ εγ  
 μἄτῆζἄζαλ· εφψανραζτἄ γαρ  
 22 ἄζραῖ ζἄ ογτροφη ογωτῆ  
 ταναῖκη γαρ τ{ρ}ε ετρε<ν> ῖ  
 24 επιῶμει επκεσεεπε·  
 εῶαν βε ψαρεναῖ ἄτεῖζε

30,17

“poison”: Here and in line 23 the word is **παζρε**, elsewhere rendered “medicine.” In Greek *φάρμακον* can also have both senses.

food (τροφή). He smells it  
 26 and pursues its odor.  
 But when (ὅταν) he eats it,  
 28 the hook  
 hidden within the food (τροφή)  
 30 seizes him and brings him up by  
 force (βία) out of the deep waters.  
 32 No man is able, then,  
 to catch that fish  
 34 down in the deep waters,

[30]

except (εἰ μήτι) for the trap  
 2 that the fisherman (ἀλιεύς) sets.  
 By the ruse of food (τροφή) he brought the fish  
 4 up on the hook. In this very  
 way we exist in this world (κόσμος),  
 6 like fish. The adversary (ἀντικείμενος, + δέ)  
 spies on us, lying in wait  
 8 for us like a fisherman (ἀλιεύς),  
 wishing to seize us, rejoicing  
 10 that he might swallow us. For (γάρ) [he places]  
 many foods (τροφή) before  
 12 our eyes, (things) which belong to this  
 world (κόσμος). He wishes to make us  
 14 desire (ἐπιθυμεῖν) one of them  
 and to taste only a  
 16 little, so that he may seize us  
 with his hidden poison and bring  
 18 us out of freedom (-ἐλεύθερος)  
 and take us into  
 20 slavery. For (γάρ) whenever he catches us  
 with a single food (τροφή),  
 22 it is indeed (γάρ) necessary (ἀνάγκη) for <us> to  
 desire (ἐπιθυμεῖν) the rest.  
 24 Finally, then, such things

30,17-20 "freedom...slavery": Cf. Gal 5:1.

22-23 MS reads ΕΤΡΕΦΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ.







22  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \cdot \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}$   
 $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}} \text{ TO } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}} \cdot \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{B}}$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}} \text{ C}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}$   
 24  $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \cdot \bar{\text{T}}\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{H}}$   
 $\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}} \cdot$   
 26  $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   
 $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{B}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\Psi}$   
 28  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}} \text{ C}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$   
 $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{C}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \cdot \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 30  $\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \cdot \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 32  $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\Psi} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \cdot \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}$   
 34  $\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{H}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$   
 $\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{C}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}} \cdot$

[ $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{B}}$ ]

$\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{W}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{H}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Q}}$   
 2  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}} \text{ C}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}} \cdot \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}$   
 4  $\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \cdot \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 $\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \cdot$   
 6  $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}$   
 $\text{TO } \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}$   
 8  $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}} \cdot \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}} \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Z}} \cdot$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}} \text{ C}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}$   
 10  $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{T}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{H}} \cdot \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}[\bar{\text{E}}]$   
 $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{Q}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}} \cdot$   
 12  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}} \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 14  $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \cdot \bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{B}} \bar{\text{N}}$   
 $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{V}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{O}}$   
 16  $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \cdot \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}}\bar{\text{T}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}}\langle\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\rangle$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{I}}$   
 18  $\bar{\Psi}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \cdot \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{S}}$   
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{S}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}$

32,6-8 The bridal clothing is a well-known Biblical image, e.g., Rev 19:7-8.

16 MS reads  $\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{Q}}$ .

desires (ἐπιθυμία),  
 22 covetousnesses, while  
 fleshly (σαρκικόν) pleasure draws her in  
 24 ignorance. But (δέ) the soul (ψυχή)—  
 she who has tasted these things—  
 26 realized that sweet passions (πάθος)  
 are transitory (πρός +).  
 28 She had learned about evil (κακία);  
 she went away from them and she entered  
 30 into a new conduct (πολιτεία).  
 Afterwards she  
 32 despises (καταφρονεῖν) this life (βίος)  
 because it is transitory (πρός +). And she  
 34 looks for those foods (τροφή) that will  
 take her into life,

[32]

and leaves behind her those deceitful foods (τροφή).  
 2 And she learns about her light, as she  
 goes about stripping off this  
 4 world (κόσμος), while her true garment  
 clothes her within,  
 6 (and) her bridal clothing  
 is placed upon her in beauty of  
 8 mind, not in pride of flesh (σάρξ).  
 And she learns about her depth (βάθος) and  
 10 runs into her fold (αὐλή), while  
 her shepherd (ποιμήν) stands at the door.  
 12 In return for all the shame and scorn, then,  
 that she received in this  
 14 world (κόσμος), she receives  
 ten thousand times the grace (χάρις) and  
 16 glory. She gave the body (σῶμα) to  
 those who had given it to her, and they were  
 18 ashamed, while the dealers (πραγματευτής)  
 in bodies (σῶμα) sat down and wept

20 ΜΕ· ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΨΩΒΜΒΟΜ ΝΡ  
 ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΝСА ΠΙCΩ  
 22 ΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΒΝ  
 ΛΑΑΥ ΝΕΙΕΠ ΨΩΩΤ ΝCΩQ·  
 24 ΑΥΨΩΠ ΝΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΝΖΙCΕ ΨΑΝ  
 ΤΟΥΠΛΑCCE ΜΠCΩΜΑ ΝΤΕ  
 26 ΕΙΨΥΧΗ· ΕΥΟΨΩΨΕ ΕΡΩ  
 ΖΤ̄ ΝΤΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΖΟΡΑΤΟC ΕΖΡΑΪ·  
 28 ΑΥΧΙ ΨΙΠΕ ΒΕ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΟΥ  
 ΖΩΒ· ΑΥ† ΟCΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΥ  
 30 ΨΠ̄ ΖΙCΕ ΕΡΟQ· ΜΠΟΥΜΜΕ  
 ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥCΩ  
 32 ΜΑ ΜΠΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΝΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ·  
 ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΕC  
 34 ΠΟΙΜΗΝ ΕΤΜΟΟΝΕ ΜΜΟC·  
 ΜΠΟΥΜΜΕ ΔΕ ΧΕ CCOOYN

ΝΚΕΖΙΗ ΕCΖΗΠ̄ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΤΑΪ  
 2 ΝΤΑΠΕCΠΟΙΜΗΝ ΝΑΛΗΘΙΝΟC  
 ΤCΑΒΟC ΕΡΟC ΖΝ ΟΥCΟΟΥΝ·  
 4 ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΟ ΝΝΑΤCΟ  
 ΟΥΝ ΕΥΨΙΝΕ ΑΝ ΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥ  
 6 ΤΕ· ΟΥΔΕ ΕΥΖΟΤΖΤ̄ ΑΝ ΝCΑ  
 ΠΟΥΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄  
 8 ΖΝ ΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥ  
 ΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝ̄ΤΤΒ̄ΝΗ· ΝΑΪ  
 10 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ CΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΝ  
 ΖΕΘΝΟC· ΧΕ ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΜΕΝ CΕ  
 12 ΖΟΤΖΤ̄ ΑΝ ΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΧΕ  
 ΠΟΥΤΩΜ ΝΖΗΤ̄ ΠΕΤCΩΚ  
 14 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΜΝ̄ΤΟΥ  
 ΑΖΙΗΤ̄ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟC·

32,26 "strike down": ΡΩΖΤ̄ . . . ΕΖΡΑΪ. In other contexts (e.g., 30,20) the same or a similar expression is rendered "catch," in keeping with the fishing metaphor.

32 "spiritual body": Cf. 1 Cor 15:44.

33,2 "true shepherd": The precise expression is not Johannine but in-

ⲬⲚ

because the  
 do any bus  
 that body  
 any (other)  
 They endur  
 until they h  
 soul (ψυχή)  
 down the in  
 They were t  
 work; they  
 for whom th  
 that she has  
 invisible (ἀό  
 thinking: "V  
 shepherd (ποι  
 But (ὅτι) the  
 another way  
 her true (ἀλη  
 taught her in  
 But (ὅτι) the  
 do not seek  
 Nor (οὐδέ) d  
 their dwellin  
 in rest (κατα  
 go about in  
 are more wis  
 pagans (ἔθνο  
 do not inquir  
 their hardne  
 them down  
 exercise their

comparison  
 other context  
 that τ is a scri  
 for polemic ag  
 1 Jn 5:11 (th  
 exercise their

- 20 because they were not able to  
do any business (πραγματεύεσθαι) with  
22 that body (σῶμα), nor (οὔτε) did they find  
any (other) merchandise except it.  
24 They endured great labors  
until they had shaped (πλάσσειν) the body (σῶμα) of this  
26 soul (ψυχή), wishing to strike  
down the invisible (ἀόρατος) soul (ψυχή).  
28 They were therefore ashamed of their  
work; they suffered the loss of the one  
30 for whom they had endured labors. They did not realize  
that she has an  
32 invisible (ἀόρατον) spiritual (πνευματικόν) body (σῶμα),  
thinking: "We are her  
34 shepherd (ποιμήν) who feeds her."  
But (δέ) they did not realize that she knows

[33]

- another way, which is hidden from them. This  
2 her true (ἀληθινός) shepherd (ποιμήν)  
taught her in knowledge.  
4 But (δέ) these—the ones who are ignorant—  
do not seek after God.  
6 Nor (οὐδέ) do they inquire about  
their dwelling-place, which exists  
8 in rest (ἀνάπαυσις), but (ἀλλά) they  
go about in bestiality. They  
10 are more wicked than the  
pagans (ἔθνος), because first of all (+ μέν) they  
12 do not inquire about God, for  
their hardness of heart draws  
14 them down to make them  
exercise their cruelty.

vites comparison with Jn 10:11 and the Johannine use of ἀληθινός in other contexts.

Final **T** is a scribal correction of †.

For polemic against those who do not inquire or seek after God, cf. 1QS V,11 (the men of falsehood).

"exercise their cruelty": Lit. "to their cruelty, to do it."

16 αγω ον ευψανβινε νεκε  
 ογα εφψινε ετβε πεφοϋ  
 18 χαι· ψαρεποϋτωμ νε  
 ρητ̄ ρενεργει εροϋν ε  
 20 πρωμε ετ̄μαγ· εφτ̄μ  
 καρωϋ δε εφψινε· ψαγ  
 22 ροτβεϋ εβολ ριτοοτ̄ε νε  
 τοϋμ̄νητογαρζειητ̄· ευ  
 24 μεεϋε χε νταγειρε νενοϋ  
 αγαθον ναγ· καιτοι γε νε  
 26 ψηρε νε μηδιαβολος·  
 νερεθνος γαρ ρωοϋ σε†  
 28 μητνα· αγω σεσοοϋν  
 χε πνοϋτε ετ̄νε μηηγε  
 30 ψοοη· πιωτ̄ μηπηρ̄ε εϋ  
 χοσε ενεϋειδωλον ετοϋ  
 32 οϋωψ̄τ̄ μημοοϋ·

## [λδ]

μηποϋσωτ̄μ δε επλογος χε  
 2 ευναροτ̄ρ̄τ̄ νεσα νεϋϋοοϋε·  
 ταῑ δε τε θε μηπρωμε νεανον  
 4 τοσ εϋσωτ̄μ μεν επτωρ̄μ·  
 ϋο νεδε νενατσοοϋν επμα  
 6 ενταγταρμεϋ εροϋ· αγω  
 μηπεϋψινε ρραῑ ρμη̄ πταψε  
 8 οειψ· χε ερεπερπε νεαψ̄ μη  
 μα· παί ε†नावωκ νεταοϋω  
 10 ψ̄τ̄ νεταρελπις νεραί̄ νερητ̄ϋ·  
 ετβε τεϋμη̄νητ̄ανονητος δε  
 12 ϋροοϋ νεροϋο ευρεθνος·  
 χε νερεθνος γαρ σεσοοϋν  
 14 νεοιη̄ νεβωκ εποϋρ̄πε νεωνε  
 ετνατακο νεσοϋωψ̄τ̄ μη

33,16-27 Cf. Mt 23:13.

21 Translation follows Funk.

28-32 Cf. Ac 17:24-31; Rom 1:19-21.

34,1-7 Cf. Rom 10:14-17.

16 Furthermore, if they find someone else  
 who asks about his salvation,  
 18 their hardness of  
 heart sets to work (ἐνεργεῖν) upon  
 20 that man.  
 And (δέ) if he does not stop asking, they  
 22 kill him by  
 their cruelty,  
 24 thinking that they have done a  
 good thing (ἀγαθόν) for themselves. Indeed (καίτοι γε)  
 26 they are sons of the devil (διάβολος)!  
 For (γάρ) even the pagans (ἔθνος) give  
 28 charity, and they know  
 that God who is in the heavens  
 30 exists, the Father of the universe,  
 exalted over their idols (εἰδωλον), which  
 32 they worship.

[34]

But (δέ) they have not heard the word (λόγος), that  
 2 they should inquire about his ways.  
 Thus the senseless (ἀνόητος) man  
 4 hears (+ μέν) the call,  
 but (-δέ) he is ignorant of the place  
 6 to which he has been called. And  
 he did not ask during the preaching:  
 8 "Where is the temple  
 into which I should go and worship  
 10 my hope (ἐλπίς)?"  
 On account of his senselessness (-ἀνόητος), then,  
 12 he is worse than a pagan (ἔθνος),  
 for (γάρ) the pagans (ἔθνος) know  
 14 the way to go to their stone temple,  
 which will perish, and they worship

34.3-32 For the judgment upon the "senseless man," cf. *Pist. Soph.* III, ch. 124.

8-10 The association of hope with the temple is also found in Heb 6:19.

16 ΠΕΥΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΡΕΖΤΗΟΥ  
 ΚΗ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΝΤΟQ ΠΕ ΤΟΥΖΕΛ  
 18 ΠΙC· ΠΕΕΙΑΝΟΗΤΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥ  
 ΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ ΝΑQ ΜΠΛΟΓΟC·  
 20 ΕΥ† CΒΩ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΡΖΟ†  
 Ζ† Ν̄CΑ Ν̄ΖΙΟΟΥΕ ΕΤ̄ΚΝΑΒΩΚ  
 22 Ζ̄ΙΩΟΥ· ΕΜ̄Ν ΒΕΛΛΑΑΥ Ν̄ΖΩΒ  
 ΕΝΑΝΟΥQ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΕΪΖΩΒ·  
 24 ΧΕ ΨΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΤΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄ΠΤΩΜ  
 Ν̄ΖΗ† C† Κ̄ΛΨ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ̄Μ  
 26 ΠΕQΝΟΥC· Μ̄Ν ΤΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ  
 Α Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν†Α†CΟΟΥΝ Μ̄Ν  
 28 ΠΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ Ν̄ΤΠΛΑΝΗ  
 ΕΥΚΩ ΑΝ Μ̄ΠΕQΝΟΥC  
 30 ΕΤΩΩΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΧΕ ΝΕQΖΕC  
 Τ̄Q ΕQΨΙΝΕ Ν̄QΜ̄ΜΕ ΑΤΕQ  
 32 ΖΕΛΠΙC· ΤΨΥΧΗ ΔΕ ΝΤΟC

ΝΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΝΤΑCΖΕC†<C> ΕCΨΙΝΕ  
 2 ΑCΧΙ CΟΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΑCΜΟΚΖC ΕCΖΑ†Ζ† ΕCΡ̄ΤΑ  
 4 ΛΑΙΠΩΡΙ Ζ̄Μ ΠCΩΜΑ· ΕCΖ̄ΙΤΕ  
 Ν̄ΝΕCΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Ζ̄ΙΡΩΟΥ  
 6 Ν̄ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC ΕC  
 ΧΙ CΟΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΑΤ̄ΝΡΑ†Q·  
 8 ΑCΒΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΕCΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ  
 ΑCΜΟΤΝΕC ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕ†  
 10 ΜΟ†Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟQ· ΑCΝΟΧC ΖΡΑΪ  
 Ζ̄Μ ΠΜΑ Ν̄ΨΕΛΕΕ†· ΑCΟΥ  
 12 ΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΑΙΠΝΟΝ ΕΤΕ  
 ΝΕCΖΚΑΕΙ† Μ̄ΜΟQ· ΑCΧΙ  
 14 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΡΟΦΗ Ν̄ΝΑΤΜΟΥ·  
 ΑCΒΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΕ†CΨΙΝΕ Ν̄CΩQ·

35.1 MS reads ΝΤΑCΖΕC† [ ], but lacuna is too small for C.  
 4-5 "wearing out her feet after": The metaphor is somewhat uncertain;  
 ΕCΖ̄ΙΤΕ Ν̄ΝΕCΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Ζ̄ΙΡΩΟΥ, without ΕΒΟΛ, may  
 possibly mean simply "moving her feet to and fro," or "following."

[ΛΕ]

their idol  
 are set on  
 But (de) to  
 the word  
 teaching hi  
 inquire abo  
 since there  
 that is as g  
 The result  
 of heart str  
 his mind (w  
 of ignoranc  
 the demon  
 They do not  
 to rise up, b  
 himself in se  
 hope  
 who also w  
 she learned  
 she labored  
 mistress (zi  
 her feet after  
 the evangelis  
 learning abo  
 She found he  
 She came to  
 is at rest. Sh  
 in the bride-  
 of the banqu  
 she had hung  
 of the immor  
 She found w  
 evangelists'  
 see TDNT  
 indicating es  
 rising": Or  
 Sallier), Lk



- 16 their idol (εἰδωλον), while their hearts  
are set on it because it is their hope (ἐλπίς).  
18 But (δέ) to this senseless man (άνόητος)  
the word (λόγος) has been preached,  
20 teaching him: "Seek and  
inquire about the ways you should go,  
22 since there is nothing else  
that is as good as this thing."  
24 The result is that (ἵνα) the substance (οὐσία) of hardness  
of heart strikes a blow upon  
26 his mind (νοῦς), along with the force (ἐνέργεια)  
of ignorance and  
28 the demon (δαιμόνιον) of error (πλάνη).  
They do not allow his mind (νοῦς)  
30 to rise up, because he was wearying  
himself in seeking that he might learn about his  
32 hope (ἐλπίς). But (δέ) the rational (λογική) soul (ψυχή)

[35]

- who (also) wearied herself in seeking—  
2 she learned about God.  
She labored with inquiring, enduring  
4 distress (ταλαιπωρεῖν) in the body (σῶμα), wearing out  
her feet after  
6 the evangelists (εὐαγγελιστής),  
learning about the Inscrutable One.  
8 She found her rising (ἀνατολή).  
She came to rest in him who  
10 is at rest. She reclined  
in the bride-chamber. She ate  
12 of the banquet (δειπνον) for which  
she had hungered. She partook  
14 of the immortal food (τροφή).  
She found what she had sought after.

35.6 "the evangelists": On the almost exclusively Christian use of the word, see *TDNT* II, 736-37 (G. Friedrich). MS reads  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}} \cdot \dot{\lambda}$ , the dots indicating erasure.

8 "her rising": On the meaning of ἀνατολή see *TDNT* I, 352-53 (H. Schlier); *Lk* 1:78; Philo *Conf.ling.* 60-63; Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v.

16 αςχι ἄτον ρα νεςῆισε·  
 ερεπογοειν εἰπῆριωογ  
 18 ερραῖ εχως εμαρζωτῆ·  
 παῖ ετε πωq πε πεοογ  
 20 μῆ παμαρτε μῆ πογω  
 νῆ εβολ ψα ενεζ ἄτε  
 22 νιενεζ ραμην:

αὔθεντικος

24 λογος:

AUTI

She receiv  
 while the  
 upon her  
 To it belo  
 and the pe  
 revelation  
 ever. Amen

Auth

4

16 She received rest from her labors,  
while the light that shines forth  
18 upon her does not sink.  
To it belongs the glory  
20 and the power and the  
revelation for ever and  
22 ever. Amen.

Authoritative (αὐθεντικός)

24 Teaching (λόγος)

schönb. *Gm*

§

z. K. M. "D"

ette Schrift

1975

ed. *Gross*

katolate is

title see

in, and may

is the doc

(1733-34)

go unme

derived

know o

thought of C

excerpt

now stands

an apocalyp

would be con

the flood, the

bles and hu

figure to rule

merged into

ed by the f

which the se

(13, 11).

the work bris

against serio

is vague

of the person

al inconsis

ednik Wisse c

the intro

## THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER

VI,4:36,1-48,15

FREDERIK WISSE AND FRANCIS E. WILLIAMS\*

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 48-52, 150-65.

Fischer, K. M. "Der Gedanke unserer grossen Kraft (Noema): Die vierte Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi Codex VI." *ThLZ* 98 (1973), 170-75.

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 50-52.

This tractate is titled both in superscription and subscription. The initial title seems to be an expansion of the latter, intended to explain it, and may well be the work of another writer. "Our great Power" is the document's Supreme Being, he who is "above all powers" (47,33-34). His "thought," "perception," "intellect," or "concept" go unmentioned in the body of the work; the title may have been derived from the incipit, which promises rewards to "those who know our great Power." The document Doresse named "The Thought of Our Great Power" is not this tractate, but VI,5, an untitled excerpt from Plato's *Republic* (*Secret Books*, p. 143).

As it now stands the document is a complete salvation-history cast in an apocalyptic form, with a number of ideas and expressions which would be congenial to Gnostics. It deals, in order, with creation, the flood, the origin of evil, and work of a savior who descends into Hades and humbles hostile archons, the attempt of an anti-christ figure to rule the world, and the final consummation. History is schematized into three aeons: the "aeon of the flesh" (38,13-14), destroyed by the flood; the "natural aeon" (39,16-18; 40,23-27), during which the savior appears; and the "indestructible aeon" of the future (43,11).

But the work bristles with difficulties. The text is often so unclear as to suggest serious corruption. The reference of the pronouns is sometimes vague (e.g., in 38,22.26.29-30), making it difficult to identify the personae of the story. There are various grammatical and logical inconsistencies. Although most of the narration is in the

---

\* Frederik Wisse contributed the translation and transcription; Francis E. Williams, the introduction. The notes are the work of both authors.

third person, nine passages employ an unidentified "I"; these invariably display some inconsistency with the rest of the narrative, or interrupt its flow. We also find occasional exhortations phrased in the second person plural, and some of these seem to stem from a thought-world at variance with that of their context.

Theologically the tractate reads like a hodge-podge of incompatible systems. At one extreme we find obviously gnostic mythology (38,6-9); at the other an apparent warning against the Anomoean heresy (39,33-40,9), two identifications of the savior with the Logos (43,25-28; 44,2-4), and other orthodox-sounding passages. The term "aeon" is used in a confusing and inconsistent fashion (e.g., in 43,3-20); the consistency of the accounts of creation and salvation is dubious (36,3-5; 37,10-19; 37,35-38,4; 46,6-21; 48,7-8). Archons appear abruptly as the savior's opponents without having been mentioned in connection with creation. Technical terms and expressions not obviously compatible with the thought of the document as a whole appear once, and thereafter go unmentioned (e.g., in 36,15-16.24-26; 40,29-30; 42,17-18; 44,32-34; 45,1-3). The translator has suggested that the work is composite; identification of its *Grundschrift* will be a task for patient scholarship.

At this point neither the tractate's date nor its provenance is clear, though the reference to the Anomoeans provides a rough *terminus a quo* after the middle of the fourth century, and 44,2-4 suggests that its author lived west of Palestine, but both may be interpolations.

The account of creation, including the origin of the soul, seems to be gnostic (37,34-38,9). So does the characterization of the Old Testament god as "father of the flesh" (38,19-20). As in many gnostic documents, archons are the enemy (43,29-44,2 etc.); the community rejects what they have created (48,7-13). Other ideas in the tractate seem to tend in a gnostic direction: entrance into the flesh is "defilement" (38,17-19; 39,16-19), and the "sons of matter" are destroyed at the end (47,7-8). He who knows the great Power will "become invisible" (to escape the archons' scrutiny?) (36,1-3). To attain final beatitude is to "become as reflections in (the great Power's) light" (47,23-24).

Because of its complex literary history "The Concept of Our Great Power" is difficult to classify. Tentatively we may call it a Christian gnostic apocalypse, or else a Christian apocalypse with gnosticizing features. An ultimate origin in Jewish apocalyptic is not impossible.

"I", the  
of the  
rations  
to see  
ext.  
age of  
osic  
the  
with  
essages  
fashion  
on and  
48, 7, 5, 1  
out  
terms  
of the  
entional  
) The  
ntinuate  
)  
covenance  
a rough  
4 steps  
be inter  
of the  
ization  
As in  
ere, the  
Other  
nce into  
ns of  
great  
any?)  
ons in  
Concept  
we may  
apocalyp  
ish apocal

THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER

VI,4:36,1-48,15

[λ]ς

ΤΕΣΘΗCIC ΝΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ:

2 ΠΝΟΗΜΑ ΝΤΝΑΘ ΝΒΑΜ:

3 **Ζ** ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΑCΟΥΩΝ ΤΉΝΟΘ  
 4 ΝΒΟΜ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΖΟΡΑ  
 [Τ]ΟΝ· ΑΥΩ ΜΜΝ ΚΩΖΉ  
 6 ΝΑΨΡΟΚΖΪ· ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑ  
 ΤΒΒΟ· ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 8 ΝΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΗΤΝ· ΧΕ  
 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΡΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ  
 10 ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΪ ΦΝΑ  
 ΟΥΧΑΪ· ΧΙΝ CΑΨΪ ΝΖΟΟΥ  
 12 ΨΑ ΨΕ ΧΟΥΩΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ·  
 ΕΤΕ ΝΕΕΙ<P> ΖΤΟΡ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥ  
 14 CΕΥΖ ΠΖΑΕΙΕ ΤΗΡΪ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΝCΖΑΪ ΝΤΉΝΑΘ ΝΒΑΜ· ΖΉΝΑ  
 16 ΧΕ ΕCΑCΖΑΕΙ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΖΡΑΪ

- 36,2 The great Power, also called "the Power who is exalted above all powers" (47,11-12.33-34), appears to be the supreme God. In Hipp. Ref. VI.4.13 the "great indefinite Power" is the supreme being. In Ac 8:10 and Epiph. Pan. 21.1.2 "great Power" is God's highest emanation. Cf. also *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 10,20.
- 5-6 Cf. 40,9-23; 46,11-12.16-18.29-32.
- 6-7 Cf. 46,21-32. "Purify," here and in 36,20, must mean "purge"; cf. καθαρίζειν in 40,19. The subject in line 3 may continue here (so Krause and Fischer).
- 8 or "all your powers." Many or all of the sections that use the second person plural may have been added by the final redactor; cf. 36,27-37,5; 37,23-29; 39,33-40,9; 42,23-31; 45,29-30.
- 9 The question of the speaker's identity is complicated because the tractate is composite and the text in places corrupt. The first person singular also occurs in 36,13.25; 37,14.16.32.34; 38,7; 40,28; 45,12.16; 46,6.7.14; 47,13.14. In 36,9 the savior is not the speaker (cf. 40,28). Like the great Power, the speaker has writings (36,15; 37,15), and is associated with the light (47,10; 37,34); knowledge of him is conducive to salvation (36,3; 46,6-7;

THE CON  
 [3]6  
 The Percep  
 The Concep  
 He who wo  
 Power will  
 And fire  
 will not be  
 purify and  
 all your (pl  
 every one in  
 will appear  
 saved, from  
 up to one h  
 (those) who  
 gather the v  
 the writings  
 she may ins  
 (7,13-14). Th  
 great Power;  
 that "my im  
 that of the s  
 For related sa  
 Ref. V.2  
 "one hundre  
 number 120  
 The antecede  
 shows no rel  
 lows. The tra  
 word could c  
 The sentenc  
 following ser  
 here and in  
 The hero is  
 also Lk 10:  
 our great P



THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER

VI,4:36,1-48,15

[3]6

- The Perception (αἴσθησις) of Understanding (διάνοια).  
2 The Concept (νόημα) of the Great Power.  
He who would know our great  
4 Power will become invisible (ἀόρατον).  
And fire  
6 will not be able to consume him. But it will  
purify and destroy  
8 all your (pl.) possessions. For  
every one in whom my form (μορφή)  
10 will appear will be  
saved, from (the age of) seven days  
12 up to one hundred and twenty years,  
(those) whom I <compelled> to  
14 gather the whole destruction,—and  
the writings of our great Power, in order that (ἵνα)  
16 she may inscribe your (sg.) name

47,13-14). This suggests that the speaker is identical with the great Power; cf. *Ap. John* (II,1) 14,21-15,9, which indicates that "my image" (cf. 38,7), which the powers desire to see, is that of the supreme God.

36,10-11 For related sayings cf. *Gos. Thom.* (II,2) 33,5-10 (logion 4); *Hipp. Ref.* V.2.

12 "one hundred and twenty years": Cf. Gen 6:3. In 43,21-22 the number 120 is associated with perfection.

13-14 The antecedent of the relative pronoun is obscure. The sentence shows no relationship either to what precedes or to what follows. The translation, "destruction" (ΖΑΕΙΕ), is uncertain. The word could come from ΖΕ ("fall") or from ΖΑΕ ("end").

14-17 The sentence is incomplete and unrelated to the preceding or following sentence. The second person singular is used only here and in 43,25-28, another incomplete sentence.

15-17 The hero is "written in the glory" in *Zost.* (VIII,1) 129,13; cf. also Lk 10:20; Phil 4:3; Heb 12:23. The subject may be our great Power: **ΘΟΜ** is fem.

18 ΖΜ ΠΝΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ  
 ΝΣΧΟΚΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΝΟΥΕ  
 ΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΖΒΗΥΕ·  
 20 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΤΟΥΒΑΟΥ  
 ΣΕΧΟΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΟ  
 22 ΧΝΟΥ· ΝΣΕΣΟΟΥΖΟΥ ΖΜ  
 ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΜΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ  
 24 ΝΖΗΤῼ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ<Ι>· ΑΥΩ ΤΕ  
 ΤΝΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ·  
 26 ΤΝΣΟΒΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΜΑ ΝΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΝΝΟΒ ΝΒΟΜ· ΣΟΥ  
 28 ΩΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΚ ΧΕ ΠΩΣ  
 ΑΦΨΩΠΕ· ΖΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΕΤΕ  
 30 ΤΝΑΣΟΥΩΝ ΠΕΤΑΝῼ ΑΨΩ  
 ΠΕ· ΧΕ ΑΨ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΡΝΟΕΙ  
 32 ΜΜΟΦ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΨ ΝΕΟΥΑΝ ΠΕ  
 ΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤῼΜΑΥ· Η ΟΥ

[ΛΖ]

1 ΑΨ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ· Η ΧΕ Ε[ΝΤΑΦ]  
 2 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ· ΕΤΒ[Ε ΟΥ]  
 ΤΕΤΝΨΙΝΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΑΨ [ΜΜΙΝΕ]  
 4 ΕΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΣ[· ΑΨ]  
 ΝΖΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΠΕ[·]  
 6 ΑΡΙΝΟΕΙ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΨ ΝΑΕΙΗ ΠΕ  
 ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΨΙΤῼ ΠΕ  
 8 ΝΑΤΤΕΖΑΦ· ΜΝ ΤΕΦΑΡΧΗ  
 ΜΝ ΤΕΦΖΑΗ ΕΦΦΙ ΖΑ ΠΚΑΖ· ΕΦ  
 10 ΝΙΦΕ ΖΜ ΠΑΗΡ· ΠΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΝ  
 ΖΗΤῼ ΝΒΙ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΪ  
 12 ΓΕΛΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΧΟΣ Ε

- 36,17-18 It appears that unrelated sentences were joined together. The object is introduced by ΝΒΙ, which is very unusual. The only possible antecedent for "their" is in 36,13-14.
- 22-24 Cf. Jude 6; 1 En 10:4-5; Iren. *Haer.* I.4.1; *Thom. Cont.* (II,7) 142,13.34-39; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 48,17-19.
- 24 MS reads ΕΡΟΦ. "Sees him" or "it" makes no sense in the context, although "sees himself" could. The emendation is suggested by the contrast implied in 36,25. Krause emends to ΕΡΟΟΥ ("them").

CONCE  
 in our gr  
 3 may brin  
 and their  
 in order  
 and be se  
 destroyed  
 the place  
 2 sees <me  
 will see m  
 3 you will p  
 our gre  
 how  
 came to b  
 may know  
 what exist  
 of what ap  
 that aeon  
 what kind  
 in what wa  
 do you not  
 you will be  
 (or), rather  
 Discern (w  
 this water  
 both its be  
 and its enc  
 blowing in  
 the gods as  
 are. But

Cl. Ap. Joh  
 Cl. 43,4-8.  
 Cl. Gen 1:7  
 or MHTEQ  
 (Krause an

- in our great light, and  
 18 may bring to an end their thoughts (ἐπίνοια)  
 and their works,  
 20 in order that they may be purified,  
 and be scattered, and be  
 22 destroyed, and be gathered in  
 the place (τόπος) where no one  
 24 sees <me>. But you (pl.)  
 will see me and  
 26 you will prepare your dwelling places  
 in our great Power. Know  
 28 how (πῶς) what has departed  
 came to be, in order that (ἵνα) you  
 30 may know how to discern (νοεῖν)  
 what exists to become:  
 32 of what appearance  
 that aeon is, or (ἤ)

[37]

- what kind it is, or (ἤ)  
 2 in what way [it] came into being. [Why]  
 do you not ask what [kind]  
 4 you will become?  
 (or), rather, how you came into being?  
 6 Discern (νοεῖν) what size  
 this water is, that it is incomprehensibly immeasurable,  
 8 both its beginning (ἀρχή)  
 and its end, supporting the earth (and)  
 10 blowing in the air (ἀήρ) where  
 the gods and the angels  
 12 are. But

36,31-37,1 Cf. *Ap. John* (II,1) 1,24-25.29.

37,6-7 Cf. 43,4-8.

6-12 Cf. Gen 1:7; Ps 136:6.

8-9 or ΜἨΤΕQ ΑΡΧΗ ΜἨΤΕQ QΑΗ, "It has no beginning, no end"  
 (Krause and Fischer).

14 **ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΕΘΡΤΕ ΝΖΗ**  
**Τῆ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΑΕΙΝ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑ**  
**ΣΖΑΪ ΕΥΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῆ**  
 16 **ΛΕΙΤΑΑΥ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ**  
**ΝΤΚΤΙΣΙΣ ΝΝΣΑΡΑΞ· ΧΕ**  
 18 **ΜΜΝ ΒΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΩΖΕ ΕΡΑ**  
**Τῆ ΟΥΕΨ ΝΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΟΥ**  
 20 **ΤΕ ΜΜΝ ΒΟΜ ΜΠΑΙΩΝ ΝΩΝΖ**  
**ΝΟΥΕΨ ΝΒΛΛΑΥ· ΕΥΝΤΑΥ**  
 22 **ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕΤΝΖΗΤῆ ΕΦΡΝΟ**  
**ΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΤΟΤΕ**  
 24 **ΕΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΜΕ**  
**ΧΕ ΟΥΕΙ ΤΟ ΠΕ· ΑΥΤΑΑΥ Ν**  
 26 **ΝΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΧΙ ΩΝΖ**  
**ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῆ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΙΜ**  
 28 **ΕΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΠΕΦΩΝΖ ΝΖΗ**  
**Τῆ· ΕΦΤ ΝΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΤΟ**  
 30 **ΤΕ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΜΝΝ ΕΜΝΤΕ**  
**ΑΥΧΕ ΠΚΩΖΤ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕ**  
 32 **ΤΕ ΠΩΕΙ ΕΦΝΑΒΟΛῆ ΕΒΟΛ**  
**ΝΖΗΤῆ· ΜΠΕΝΕΦΒΑΛ ΕΨ**  
 34 **ΦΙ ΖΑ ΠΑΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΕΑΥΚΙΜ**  
**ΝΒΙ ΜΠΝΑ ΜΝ ΜΜΟΥΕΙ<ΟΟΥΕ>**

[ΛΗ]

[ΑΥ]Ψ ΑΠΚΕΨΩΧΠ ΨΩΠΕ·  
 2 [ΑΥ]Ψ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡῆ ΝΤΕ ΤΚΤΙ  
 [ΣΙΣ] ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΒΟ<Μ> ΝΤΑ  
 4 [Π]ΚΩΖΤ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Μ  
 ΜΟΥ· ΑΤΒΟΜ ΨΩΠΕ Ν  
 6 ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΝΒΟΜ· ΑΥΩ ΑΝ  
 ΒΟΜ ΡΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΑ

37,17 or "of the creation to the fleshly ones."

25 The translation, "where he is," is uncertain. Krause divides the phrase ΟΥΕΙΤ Ο ΠΕ, and translates "he is a great father."

28-29 Cf. Jn 5:26.

29-38,14 This section is obscure. 37,29-34, if part of the *Grundschrift*, may represent the work of salvation before creation, as in *Paraph. Shem*; 37,35-38,4 represents the creation of the aeon of

CONCE  
 fear and  
 1 above all  
 through  
 4 I have pr  
 for the cr  
 3 it is not p  
 without t  
 2 is it possi  
 without h  
 2 what is in  
 in purity.  
 2 behold th  
 where he  
 3 men in or  
 from him  
 3 since he h  
 him, givin  
 3 the darkn  
 received t  
 3 he (the da  
 His eyes w  
 3 to endure  
 The spirit  
 3  
 And, the  
 1 and the w  
 and their  
 1 the fire c  
 The Powe  
 3 the midst  
 powers de  
 the flesh; 3  
 see Ap. Jo  
 Lxx; Tr  
 the powers  
 Cf. Ap. Jo  
 MS reads

fear and light are in him who is exalted  
 14 above all these, and  
 through him are my writings revealed.  
 16 I have provided them as a service (δ<sup>ι</sup>ακονία)  
 for the creation (κ<sup>τ</sup>ίσις) of the physical things (σάρξ), for  
 18 it is not possible for anyone to stand  
 without that One, nor (οὔτε)  
 20 is it possible for the aeon to live  
 without him, since he possesses  
 22 what is in it, discerning (νοεῖν) (it)  
 in purity. Then (τότε)  
 24 behold the Spirit (πνεῦμα) and know  
 where he is. He gave him (the Spirit) to  
 26 men in order that they may receive life  
 from him every day,  
 28 since he has his life within  
 him, giving to them all. Then (τότε)  
 30 the darkness and Hades  
 received the fire. And  
 32 he (the darkness) will release from it what is mine.  
 His eyes were not able  
 34 to endure my light.  
 The spirits (πνεῦμα) and the waters moved.

[38]

[And] the remainder came also into being,  
 2 and the whole aeon of the creation (κ<sup>τ</sup>ίσις),  
 and their <powers> from which  
 4 [the] fire came into being.  
 The Power came into  
 6 the midst of the powers. And the  
 powers desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) to see my

the flesh; 38,5-9 represents the creation of the soul. For the myth see *Ap. John* (II,1) 14,21-15,9; *Epiph. Pan.* 23.1.4; *Iren. Haer.* I.24.1; *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 51,24-31. Elsewhere in the tractate the powers are called archons.

37,33-34 Cf. *Ap. John* (BG,2) 23,1-3.

38,3 MS reads **ΟΝ**.

am. Keres:  
 he is a great  
 of the Gnost  
 fore creat  
 ation of the

8 ΖΙΚΩΝ· ΑΥΩ ΑΤΨΥΧΗ ΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΜΠΕΣΤΥΠΟΣ· ΠΑΪ ΠΕ  
 10 ΠΖΩΒ ΕΤΑΖΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ  
 ΟΥΑΨ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ· ΧΕ Μ  
 12 ΠΑΤΕΡΨΩΠΕ ΟΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΧΕ ΝΑΡΨΩΠΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΙΩΝ  
 14 ΝΤΣΑΡΑΞ ΖΝ ΝΝΟΒ ΝΣΩΜΑ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΨΑΥΩΠ ΕΡΟΟΥ Ν  
 16 ΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΚΤΙCΙC·  
 ΖΟΤΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΧΑΖΜΟΥ  
 18 ΝΤΑΡΟΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤCΑ  
 ΡΑΞ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤΨ ΝΤCΑ  
 20 ΡΑΞ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΑΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΡ  
 ΖΑΠ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΓΑΡ  
 22 ΝΤΑΡΕΦΒΝ ΝΩΖΕ ΕΦΟ ΝΕΥ  
 CΕΒΗC ΕΦΜΠΨΑ· ΑΥΩ  
 24 ΠΕΙΩΤΨ ΝΤCΑΡΑΞ ΕΦΡΖΥ  
 ΠΟΤΑCCE ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC·  
 26 ΑΥΩ ΑΡΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ ΝΤΕΥ  
 CΕΒΕΙΑ ΝΨΕ ΧΟΥΩΤΕ Ν  
 28 ΡΟΜΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΛΑΑΥ  
 CΩΤΜ ΝΑΦ· ΑΥΩ ΑΡΤΑ  
 30 ΜΙΟ ΝΝΟΥΒΙΒΩΤΟC ΝΨΕ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΒΝΤΦ ΑΦΒΩΚ  
 32 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟC· ΑΥΩ ΑΠΚΑ  
 ΤΑΚΛΥCΜΟC ΨΩΠΕ·

[ΛΘ]

ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ ΑΝΩΖΕ ΟΥ[Χ]ΛΕΙ  
 2 ΜΝ ΝΕΦΨΗΡΕ· ΧΕ ΕΝΕ[Ρ]Ε ΜΠΕ  
 <Τ> ΒΙΒΩΤΟC ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΡΩΜΕ  
 4 ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟC· ΝΕΠΜΟ

38,13-14 Perhaps the giants of Gen 6:4 (LXX). The phraseology of the verse in the LXX may have influenced the strange use of "aeon" here.

15-16 Cf. the life-spans in Gen 5.

17-18 Cf. Gen 6:1-8. See also 39,16-33.

19-20 The "father of the flesh" is the Old Testament god.

CONCE  
 image (ei  
 its (my i  
 the thing  
 what it is  
 before it  
 because t  
 of the fles  
 And ther  
 great day  
 For (y:z)  
 and had e  
 the father  
 the water  
 himself. F  
 he had fo  
 (and) wor  
 the father  
 the angels  
 preached  
 for one hu  
 years. An  
 listened to  
 made a wo  
 and he wh  
 it. And th  
 took place

And thus  
 with his s  
 <the> ar  
 to enter, t

As the acc  
 throughout  
 behind  
 Cf. Gen 6:4  
 Noah hims  
 Cf. Gen 7:  
 Cf. Gen 7:

8 image (εικόν). And the soul (ψυχή) became  
 its (my image's) replica (τύπος). This is  
 10 the thing that came into being. See  
 what it is like, that  
 12 before it comes into being it does not see,  
 because the aeon  
 14 of the flesh (σάρξ) came to be in the great bodies (σῶμα).  
 And there were apportioned to them  
 16 great days in the creation (κτίσις).  
 For (γάρ) when (ὅταν) they had been corrupted  
 18 and had entered into the flesh (σάρξ),  
 the father of the flesh (σάρξ),  
 20 the water, avenged  
 himself. For (γάρ) when (ὅταν)  
 22 he had found Noah, who was pious (εὐσεβής)  
 (and) worthy,  
 24 the father of the flesh (σάρξ), who holds  
 the angels in subjection (ὑποτάσσειν),  
 26 preached piety (εὐσέβεια)  
 for one hundred and twenty  
 28 years. And no one  
 listened to him. And he  
 30 made a wooden ark (κιβωτός),  
 and he whom he had found entered  
 32 it. And the flood (κατακλυσμός)  
 took place.

[39]

And thus Noah was saved  
 2 with his sons. For if [indeed]  
 <the> ark (κιβωτός) had not been meant for man  
 4 to enter, then the water

38,21-33 As the account stands the father of the flesh is the subject  
 throughout. A tradition similar to that of 1 Pet 3:19-20 may  
 lie behind this account.

22-23 Cf. Gen 6:9.

26 Noah himself does this in *Ap. John* (II,1) 29,2-5.

31-32 Cf. Gen 7:7-13.

32-33 Cf. Gen 7:11-12.

The phrase  
 the strange use of

ament god

ΟΥ Μ̄ΠΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ ΝΑ  
 6 ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ· Ν̄†ΖΕ ΑΦ̄Ρ̄ΝΟΕΙ  
 ΑΦΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΝΟΥΖ̄Μ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΥ  
 8 ΤΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΒΟΜ  
 <Ν̄Τ> Μ̄Ν̄ΤΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ·  
 10 ΑΥΩ ΤΡΥΦΗ Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΤΡΟΠΟΣ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΕΦΠΩΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄  
 12 ΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΦΣΑΝΕΨ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ  
 Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗ· ΑΥΩ ΦΑΠ̄  
 14 Ν̄ΤΣΑΡΑΞ· ΑΦΒΩΛ· ΑΦΩΒ' Ν̄  
 ΟΥΩΤ' Ν̄ΤΒΑΜ̄ ΩΖΕΡΑΤ̄·  
 16 ΤΟΤΕ †ΝΟΥ ΠΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ  
 Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ Ζ̄ΩΩΦ· ΟΥΚΟΥΕΙ  
 18 ΠΕ ΕΦΤΗΖ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΣΩΜΑ·  
 ΕΦΧΠΟ Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΨΥΧΗ ΕΦΧΩΖ̄Μ̄·  
 20 ΧΕ ΠΧΩΖ̄Μ̄ Ν̄ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΤΚΤΙ  
 ΣΙΣ ΑΦΒ̄Ν̄ ΧΙΝ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦΧΠΕ  
 22 ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΝΙΜ· Ζ̄ΑΖ̄ Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΡ  
 ΓΕΙΑ Ν̄ΟΡΓΗ· ΤΒΛ̄ΚΕ·  
 24 ΠΚΩΖ· Π<Φ> ΘΟΝΟΣ· ΟΥΜΑΣ  
 ΤΕ· ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄†ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ· ΨΩΣ·  
 26 Ζ̄Ι ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ· ΠΒΑΛ' Μ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄ΕΝ  
 ΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΥΖΟΟΥ· Ζ̄ΕΝΛΥ  
 28 ΠΗ Μ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄ΕΝΖΗΔΟΝΗ· Ζ̄ΕΝ  
 Μ̄Ν̄†ΕΣΧΡΟΣ· Μ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄ΕΝΤΩ  
 30 Λ̄Μ̄· Ζ̄ΕΝΚΡΟΦ Μ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄ΕΝΨΩ  
 ΝΕ· Ζ̄ΕΝΖΑΠ̄ Ν̄ΧΙ Ν̄ΒΟΝ̄·  
 32 ΕΥΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥ  
 ΟΥΩΨΕ· ΕΤΙ ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΚΟΤ̄·

- 39,9 MS reads Τ̄Ν̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΝΟΒ̄.  
 15 "the work of the Power": Cf. 39,7-10.  
 16-17 The translation "next" is uncertain. For "psychic" cf. 1 Cor  
 2:14; 15:44,46; Jas 3:15; Jude 19; Iren. *Haer.* I.6.1-2; Hipp.  
*Ref.* VI.29.  
 16-19 This passage is obscure, and perhaps corrupt. It contains a  
 strange use of "aeon," as does 38,13-14. The reference may be  
 to the mixing of body and soul. Or, if aeon here is some sort of  
 a collective term referring to a group of supernatural beings,

of the fl  
 not have  
 and) ple  
 and the  
 of the  
 and want  
 by movin  
 the aeon  
 in the per  
 of the fles  
 Only the  
 Next, 20-2  
 aeon. It is  
 which is n  
 begetting  
 For the fir  
 bound stre  
 every wor  
 of wrath (i  
 envy, mal  
 slander (-s  
 and war (s  
 evil counse  
 and pleasu  
 businesses  
 falsehoods  
 evil judgm  
 that they  
 desires. Ye

it may mean  
 Ref. VI.29,  
 soul and de  
 or "that the  
 passively.  
 Cf. G.W. M  
 Le origini d  
 Cf. note on  
 escharist an



of the flood (κατακλυσμός) would  
 6 not have come. In this way he intended (νοεῖν)  
 (and) planned to save the gods  
 8 and the angels, and the powers  
 <of the> greatness of all of these,  
 10 and wantonness (τρυφή) and the way of life (τρόπος),  
 by moving them from  
 12 the aeon (and) nourishing them  
 in the permanent places (διαμονή). And the judgment  
 14 of the flesh (σάρξ) was unleashed.  
 Only the work of the Power stood up.  
 16 Next (τότε) the psychic (ψυχικός)  
 aeon. It is a small one,  
 18 which is mixed with bodies (σῶμα),  
 begetting in the souls (ψυχή) (and) being defiled.  
 20 For the first defilement of the creation (κτίσις)  
 found strength. And it begot  
 22 every work (ἐνέργεια): many works (ἐνέργεια)  
 of wrath (ὀργή), anger,  
 24 envy, malice (φθόνος), hatred,  
 slander (-διάβολος), contempt  
 26 and war (πόλεμος), lying and  
 evil counsels, sorrows (λύπη)  
 28 and pleasures (ἡδονή),  
 basenesses (-αἰσχρός) and defilements,  
 30 falsehoods and diseases,  
 evil judgments  
 32 that they abandon according to (κατά) their  
 desires. Yet (ἔτι) you (pl.) are sleeping,

it may mean that evil powers took possession of man. Cf. Hipp.  
*Ref.* VI.29, where it is said that some bodies are inhabited by  
 soul and demons.

39,32 or "that they decree . . ." Krause and Fischer translate the verb  
 passively.

33-40,1 Cf. G.W. MacRae, "Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts," in  
*Le origini dello gnosticismo*, ed. by Bianchi, pp. 496-507.

33-40,9 Cf. note on 36,8. The food and water probably refer to the  
 eucharist and baptism.

## [M]

εΤ[Ε]ΤΝΠΕΡΕ ΡΑΣΟΥ· ΝΕΖΣΕ  
 2 ΝΤΕΤΝΝΟΥΟΥΖ ΤΗΝΕ· ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΝΧΙ †ΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΜ Ν  
 4 ΘΡΕ ΜΜΕ· † ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΛΟΓΟΣ  
 ΜΝ ΠΜΟΥ ΜΠΩΝΖ· ΑΛΩΤΝ  
 6 ΖΝ ΝΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΕΘΟΥ ΜΝ  
 ΝΙΟΥΩΨΕ ΜΝ ΝΙΑΝ'Ζ'ΟΜΟΙΟΝ·  
 8 ΖΕΝΜΝΤΖΕΡΕΣΙC ΕΥΖΟΥ  
 ΕΜΝΤΑΥ ΡΑΤΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕC  
 10 ΒΜΒΑΜ ΝΒΙ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΝΤCΑΤΕ  
 ΑCΝ ΠΚΩΖΤ̄ ΕΧΝ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ  
 12 ΠΚΑΖ· ΑΥΩ ΑCΡΩΚΖ Ν<Ν> ΗΕΙ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΖΗΤC·  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΑΠΕCΜΑΝΕ {ΕΒΟΛ} ΩΧΝ <ΕΒΟΛ>·  
 ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΕCΤΜΒΙΝΕ ΕΡΩΚΖ·  
 16 CΝΑΤΑΚΟC ΟΥΑΑC· ΑΥΩ  
 ΚΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΑCΩΜΑΤΟΝ  
 18 ΝΝΑΤCΩΜΑ· ΝΚΡΩΚΖ ΝΘΥ  
 ΛΗ ΨΑΝΤΕΚΡΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ Μ  
 20 ΠΤΗΡ̄· ΑΥΩ ΤΚΑΒΙΑ ΤΗΡC·  
 ΖΟΤΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΨΑΝΤΝΤΜΒΝ  
 22 ΛΑΑΥ ΕΡΩΚΖ· ΚΝΑΝΟΟΥΖ̄  
 ΕΡΟΚ ΟΥΑΑΚ ΨΑΝΤΕΚΟΧΝΚ·  
 24 ΤΟΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΪΔΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ  
 ΠΕ ΜΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ· ΚΝΑΨΩ  
 26 ΠΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΤ  
 CΟΟΥΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΝΟΒ ΝΒΟΜ·

- 40,4-5 For "water of life" or "living waters," cf. SongofS 4:15; Jer 2:13; 17:13; Jn 4:10-11; Rev 7:17; 21:6; 22:17.
- 7 "Anomoeans": Lit. "the dissimilar things" (so Krause, and similarly, Fischer). Lampe (*Lexicon*) indicates that the word in the Patristic period could refer to the Anomoean heresy. The neuter used as a substantive would refer to the doctrines of the Anomoeans. Epiphanius (*Pan.* 76.4.7-9) reports libertinism among the Anomoeans.
- 8-9 Cf. *Apoc. Pet.* (VII,3) 74,15-22.
- 9-16 Cf. 40,16-23; 46,21-32. The meaning of "mother of fire" is obscure. In *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 26,33-27,6 Physis gives birth to fire.

dreami  
and ret  
taste an  
the true  
and the  
from the  
desires a  
evil here  
that hav  
the moth  
See brou  
the earth  
that are  
And its  
Moreover  
she will  
it will be  
without b  
until it h  
everything  
For (74)  
anything  
to itself u  
Then  
is the psy  
the man v  
who know

"shepherd"  
II 6) 129.1  
Cf. Iren. H  
"It" is ma  
ably refers  
εΚΨΑΝΤ  
An ε has  
letters of t  
"psychic";  
For the rec  
15-17: 1 T

[40]

dreaming dreams. Wake up  
 2 and return,  
 taste and eat  
 4 the true food! Hand out the word (λόγον)  
 and the water of life! Cease  
 6 from the evil lusts (ἐπιθυμία) and  
 desires and (the teachings of) the Anomoeans (ἀνόμοιον),  
 8 evil heresies (-αἵρεσις)  
 that have no basis! And  
 10 the mother of the fire was impotent.  
 She brought the fire upon the soul (ψυχή) and  
 12 the earth, and she burned all <the> dwellings  
 that are in it (fem.) (the soul and the earth).  
 14 And its (fem.) shepherd perished.  
 Moreover, when she does not find (anything else) to burn,  
 16 she will destroy herself. And  
 it will become incorporeal (ἄσώματον),  
 18 without body (-σῶμα), and it will burn matter (ὕλη),  
 until it has purged (καθαρίζειν)  
 20 everything and all wickedness (κακία).  
 For (γάρ) when (ὅταν) it does not find  
 22 anything else to burn, it will turn  
 to itself until it has destroyed itself.  
 24 Then (τότε), in this aeon, which  
 is the psychic one (ψυχικόν),  
 26 the man will come into being  
 who knows the great Power.

40,14 "shepherd": Cf. *Auth. Teach.* (VI,3) 32,11.34; 33,2; *Exeg. Soul* (II,6) 129,14.18. The scribe misplaced **ΕΒΟΛ**.

15-20 Cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.7.1.

17 "It" is masculine, and hence cannot refer to the soul. It probably refers to the fire.

21 **ΕΦΨΑΝΤῆΝΤῆΜῆΝ**: Cf. 46,30-31.

23 An **Ε** has been crossed out by the scribe between the last two letters of the line.

25 "psychic": Cf. 39:16-17.

26 For the redeemer as "the man", or some similar title, cf. 1 Cor 15:47; 1 Tim 2:5; *Hipp. Ref.* V.1.2; *Apoc. Adam* (V,5) 66,5.

28 ραχει αγω ρασουωντ̄.  
 ρασω εβολ ἡπερωτε ἡ  
 30 τμααγ ἡφωβ· ραφαχε  
 2ἡ 2ενπαρβολη· ρατα  
 32 ψε οειψ ἡπαιων ετ̄ἡνη

[Ma]

ογ· ἡεε εταρφαχε 2ἡ  
 2 πωορἡ ἡαιων ἡτε τσα  
 ραχ ἡνω2ε· αγω ετβε  
 4 νερφαχε ετε ρχω ἡμοογ·  
 αρφαχε ἡ2ητογ τηρογ  
 6 2ἡ ψβε σνοογς ἡλας·  
 αγω αρουων ενπγλη  
 8 ἡἡἡπνογε 2ἡ νερφα  
 χε· αγω αρ† ωιπε ἡπα†  
 10 ετ̄2ιχἡ ενἡτε· αρτογ  
 nos νετ̄μοογτ̄· αγω  
 12 τερἡἡτ̄χοεις αρβαλε<с>  
 εβολ· τοτε αγνοβ ἡωτορ  
 14 τἡ ωωπε· αγτωων ε2ρα†  
 εχωρ ἡβι ἡαρχων ἡτογ  
 16 βλκε· αγουωψε ετααγ  
 ετοοτἡ ἡπετ̄2ιχἡ ενἡ  
 18 τε· τοτε ογα εβολ 2ἡ  
 νετογην2 ἡσωρ αγσογ  
 20 ωνἡ· αγκω2ἡ χι ετερ  
 ψγχη αρἡπαρραδιου  
 22 ἡμογ· εμπελααγ соγ

40,30-31 "in fact": translation uncertain.

31-32 Cf. *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) 42,20-21.

32 "The aeon that is to come": Cf. Mt 12:32; Mk 10:30, par.; Heb 6:5.

41,5-6 Derdekeas speaks in all languages in *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 41,10-11. After beginning his account of the savior in the prophetic future tense, the author reverts to the past. The omission of specific references to Jesus and Judas may be a device to make the passage look like genuine prophecy.

9-10 Cf. Heb 2:14.

CONCE

He will

He will

the mot

in parab

the aeon

just as h

the first

Now con

his words

in all of t

he spoke

And he o

of time hec

And he p

ruler of E

the dead,

he destro

Then (2:5)

took plac

The arch

They wan

to the rul

Furtherm

his follow

A fire too

soul (2:7)

him over,

Cf. Mt. 5:4

MS reads

A commo

49:19-22;

31:24-29;

Christ cru

Treat. Sek

Cf. Mt. 26

For ignore

13:15; Pa

- 28 He will receive (me) and he will know me.  
 He will drink from the milk of  
 30 the mother, in fact. He will speak  
 in parables (παραβολή); he will proclaim  
 32 the aeon that is to come,

[41]

- just as he spoke to Noah in  
 2 the first aeon of the flesh (σάρξ).  
 Now concerning  
 4 his words, which he uttered:  
 in all of them  
 6 he spoke in seventy-two tongues.  
 And he opened the gates (πύλη)  
 8 of the heavens with his words.  
 And he put to shame the  
 10 ruler of Hades; he raised  
 the dead, and  
 12 he destroyed his dominion.  
 Then (τότε) a great disturbance  
 14 took place.  
 The archons raised up their wrath against him.  
 16 They wanted to hand him over  
 to the ruler of Hades.  
 18 Furthermore (τότε), they knew one of  
 his followers.  
 20 A fire took hold of his (Judas')  
 soul (ψυχή). He handed (παραδιδόναι)  
 22 him over, since no one knew

41,10-11 Cf. Mk 5:41; Lk 7:14; Jn 5:21 et al.

12 MS reads βαλεϛ.

13-14 A common motif in gnostic mythology; cf. *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,1) 40,19-22; 43,8-26; *Ap. John* (II,1) 30,19-20; *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 51,24-29; 52,10-14; 53,20-21; 54,25-27.

15-17 Christ crucified by archons: Cf. 1 Cor 2:8; *Iren. Haer.* I.30.13; *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 54,31-55,10.

18-23 Cf. Mt 26:14-16 et al. "since no one knew him": Cf. Ac 3:17. For ignorance of the savior's identity, cf. *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 64,13-15; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 36,14-22.

32; Mk 10:3  
 Paraph. Shem  
 the savior in  
 the past. The  
 that may be  
 hecy.

24 ΩΝῘ· ΑΥΕΙΡΕ ΑΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 ΜΜΟϞ· ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟ  
 ΟΥ ΝΟΥΖΑΠ ΟΥΑΑΥ·  
 26 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ Μ  
 ΜΟϞ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΟΟΤῘ ΜΠΕΤ  
 28 ΖΙΧΝ ΕΜΝΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΑ  
 ΑϞ ΕΤΟΟΤῘ ΝCΑCΑΒΕΚ  
 30 ΑΖΕΝΒΕΡΩΤ Θ· ΑϞCΒΤΩ  
 ΤῘ ΕΤΡΕϞΒΩΚ ΕΠΙΤΝ ΝϞ  
 32 ΡΕΛΕΪΧΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΤΟΤΕ  
 ΠΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΕΜΝΤΕ ΑϞΧΙΤῘ·

**MB**

ΑΥΩ ΠΤΡΟΠΟC ΝΤΕϞCΑΡΑΞ  
 2 ΜΠΕϞΒΝΤῘ ΑΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟϞ  
 ΕΤΡΕϞΟΥΟΝΖῘ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΑΡΧΩ·  
 4 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕϞΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ  
 ΠΑΪ· ΟΥΟΥ ΠΕ· ΑΠΕϞΛΟΓΟC  
 6 ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΜΟC ΜΠΑΙΩΝ·  
 ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΠΕ ΝΤΒΟΜ  
 8 ΜΠΩΝΖ· ΑΥΩ ΑϞΧΡΟ ΕΠΟΥ  
 ΑΖ CΑΖΝΕ ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ· ΑΥΩ  
 10 ΜΠΟΥΨΒΜΒΟΜ ΕΠΟΥΖΩΒ  
 ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΩϞ· ΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ  
 12 ΚΩΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΝΤΑϞΨΩΠΕ  
 ΜΠΟΥΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠCΗ  
 14 ΜΕΙΟΝ ΜΠΟΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΠΨΙΒΕ ΜΠΑΙΩΝ ΠΕ· ΑΠΡΗ  
 16 ΖΩΤΠ ΜΦΟΟΥ· ΑΠΖΟΟΥ  
 Ρ ΚΑΚΕ· ΑΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΨΤΟΡ  
 18 ΤΡ· ΑΥΩ ΜΝΝCΑ ΝΑΪ ϞΝΑΟΥ  
 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΕϞΜΟΟΥΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ·

41,30

Cf. Mt 26:15; 27:3.

42,4-5

Cf. *Act. Pil.* (Latin A) 5.2; *Ev. Barth.* 1,12; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII, I) 43,17-31.

5-6

Abolition of the Law: Cf. Rom 10:4; Eph 2:15.

him. They acted and seized  
 24 him. They brought  
 judgment upon themselves.  
 26 And they delivered him up (παραδιδόναι)  
 to the ruler  
 28 of Hades. And they handed  
 him over to Sasabek  
 30 for nine bronze coins. He prepared  
 himself to go down and  
 32 put them to shame (ἐλέγχειν). Then (τότε)  
 the ruler of Hades took him.

[42]

And he found that the nature (τρόπος) of his flesh (σάρξ)  
 2 could not be seized,  
 in order to show it to the archons.  
 4 But (ἀλλά) he was saying: "Who is  
 this? What is it? His word (λόγος) has  
 6 abolished the law (νόμος) of the aeon.  
 He is from the Logos of the power  
 8 of life." And he was victorious over the command  
 of the archons, and  
 10 they were not able by their work  
 to rule over him. The archons  
 12 searched after that which had come to pass.  
 They did not know that this is the sign (σημεῖον)  
 14 of their dissolution, and (that)  
 it is the change of the aeon. The sun  
 16 set during the day; the day  
 became dark. The evil spirits (δαιμόνιον) were  
 18 troubled. And after these things he will appear  
 ascending.

---

42,7 Logos personified: Cf. 43,28; 44,3-13.  
 12 or "him who had come into being"; cf. Mt 2:3-8 (?).  
 15-17 Cf. Mk 15:33.  
 17-18 Archons distressed: Cf. *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 51,24-29; 52,10-14;  
 53,20-21.  
 19 or "descending"; cf. 43,35.

20 ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΧΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΜΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΝΗ  
 22 ΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΟΥΩΤΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΒΙ ΝΑΙΩΝ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΨΩ  
 24 ΠΕ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΝΑ  
 ΡΝΟΕΙ ΝΝΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΨΑΧΕ  
 26 ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕ  
 ΝΑΟΥΟΝΖΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ Ν  
 28 ΣΕΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ· ΧΕ  
 ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΡΝΟΕΙ ΝΤΜΕ·  
 30 ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝΑΝΑΠΑΥ{Ρ}Ε ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΑΝΠΗΟΥΕ· ΤΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ  
 32 ΝΑΟΥΩΖ ΝΣΩΦ· ΑΥΩ ΕΥΝΑ  
 ΡΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΖΝ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΝΟΥ  
 34 ΧΠΟ·

ΣΕΝΑΜΟΟΥΕ ΣΕΝΑΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 2 ΝΝΕΦΨΑΧΕ ΚΑΤΑ Π<ΟΥ> ΟΥΩΨΕ  
 ΑΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΥΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΒΙ ΝΙΑΙ  
 4 ΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΕ· ΧΕ ΟΥΑΨ  
 Ν{Α}ΜΑΕΙΗ ΠΕ ΠΕΦΜΟΟΥ Ν  
 6 ΤΕ ΠΙΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΑΖ  
 ΟΥΩΤΖ ΕΒΟΛ· ΧΕ ΖΕΝΑΙΩΝ  
 8 ΝΑΨ ΝΑΕΙΗ ΝΕ· ΧΕ ΑΨ ΤΕ  
 ΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΣΒΤΩΤΟΥ  
 10 ΝΣΕΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ· ΝΣΕΨΩΠΕ  
 ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΑΤΩΧΝ· ΨΟΡΠ̄ ΔΕ  
 12 ΜΝ̄ΝΣΑ ΠΕΦΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ·  
 ΕΦΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ ΜΠΜΑΖ ΝΑΙ  
 14 ΩΝ ΣΝΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΠΨΟΡΠ̄·  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΨΑ  
 16 ΡΕΦΩΧΝ Ζ̄ΙΤ̄Μ ΠΟΥΑΕΙΨ·  
 ΑΦ̄ ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΦΜΟ

- 42,31-43,2 or "they will activate a birth in the places" (Krause). As here translated this section refers to the expansion of the church, and the perversion of "orthodox" Christianity; cf. 45,15-22.
- 43,1-2 or "they will make known his words" (Krause), or "they will write down his words" (Fischer).

CONCEPT

10 And  
 the sign (C  
 20 And the a  
 And those  
 22 know (voc  
 that were  
 24 blessed (μ  
 will reveal  
 26 they will  
 they will  
 28 For you (μ  
 the heaven  
 30 will follow  
 labor  
 [MΓ] They will  
 his words  
 Behold, th  
 What size  
 is the wat  
 that aeon  
 dissolved  
 What dim  
 will men  
 and how  
 destruct  
 after his  
 he proclai  
 and the fr  
 -and the  
 perishes  
 He made  
 Cl. 36,27-  
 and fo  
 "endure"  
 should be  
 aeons," c  
 Hier. 1,3



- 20 And  
 the sign (σημείον) of the aeon that is to come will appear.  
 22 And the aeons will dissolve.  
 And those who would  
 24 know (νοεῖν) these things  
 that were discussed with them, will become  
 26 blessed (μακάριος). And they  
 will reveal them, and  
 28 they will become blessed (μακάριος), since  
 they will come to know (νοεῖν) the truth.  
 30 For you (pl.) have found rest (ἀναπαύειν) in  
 the heavens. Then (τότε) many  
 32 will follow him, and they will  
 labor (ἐνεργεῖν) in their birth places (τόπος).

[43]

- They will go about; they will abandon  
 2 his words according to (κατά) their desire.  
 Behold, these aeons have passed.  
 4 What size  
 is the water of  
 6 that aeon that has  
 dissolved?  
 8 What dimensions do aeons have? How  
 will men prepare themselves,  
 10 and how will they endure, and how will they become  
 indestructible aeons? But (δέ) at first,  
 12 after his preaching,  
 he proclaims the second aeon,  
 14 and the first  
 —and the first aeon  
 16 perishes in the course of time.  
 He made the first aeon, going about

43,3-8 Cf. 36,27-37,11. This section appears unrelated to the preceding and following.

10-11 "endure": Lit. "stand." "become . . . aeons": Perhaps this should be emended to read, "come to be (in) indestructible aeons," cf. 47,15-16; 48,12-13. "indestructible aeon": Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.30.14.



18 in it until it perished  
 while preaching one hundred and twenty  
 20 years in number.  
 This is the perfect (τέλειος) number (ἀριθμός)  
 22 that is highly exalted.  
 He made the border of the West  
 24 desolate, and he  
 destroyed the East (ἀνατολή). Then (τότε)  
 26 your (sg.) seed (σπέρμα) and those who wish  
 to follow our  
 28 great Logos and his proclamation—  
 Then (τότε) the wrath of the archons  
 30 burned. They were ashamed  
 of their dissolution.  
 32 And they fumed and were angry  
 at the life. The cities (πόλις) were <overturned> ;  
 34 the mountains dissolved.  
 The Archon came, with the

44

archons of the western regions, to  
 2 the East (ἀνατολή), i.e., that place (τόπος)  
 where the Logos appeared  
 4 at first. Then (τότε)  
 the earth trembled, and the cities (πόλις)  
 6 were troubled. Moreover (τότε), the birds  
 ate and were filled  
 8 with their dead. The earth

---

43,33 MS reads **ωορω̄**.  
 35-44,2 For "the Archon," perhaps cf. "the Great Archon," Hipp. Ref. VII.11,12,13; "the archon," Epiph. Pan. 26.17.6; the "First Archon," Ap. John (II,1) 10,20, etc., or the figures mentioned at Treat. Seth (VII,2) 64,18; Thom. Cont. (II,7) 142,31-32. In Paraph. Shem (VII,1) 44,6-10 "the demon" is said to "rest in the depth of the east."  
 44,2-4 Apparently refers to Palestine. Cf. Mt 2:2.  
 5 Cf. Isa 24:19-20; Joel 2:10; Mt 24:7; 27:51-52.  
 6-8 Cf. Ezek 39:17-20; Rev 19:21.  
 8-10 Cf. Isa 24:4.

ῤΠΕΝΘΕΙ ΜἸ ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ  
 10 ΑἸϣ̄ ΧΑΕΙΕ· ΤΟΤΕ ΝΤΑΡΕἸ  
 ΧΡΟΝΟC ΧΩΚ· ΤΟΤΕ ΑΤΚΑΒΙΑ  
 12 ΧΙCΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ· ΑἸΩ ΨΑΘΑΝ  
 ΜΠΤΕΛΟC ΜΠΛΟΓΟC· ΤΟΤΕ  
 14 ΑἸΤΩΩΝ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΝἸCΑ  
 ΝἸΩΤἸ· ΑἸΩ ΕΒΟΛ ἸἸ ΤΑΝΑ  
 16 ΤΟΛΗ ΕἸΝΑῤ ΟἸἸΩΒ ΝἸΤ CΒΩ  
 ΝἸῤΩΜΕ ΕἸΟΥΝ ΕΤΕἸΚΑΒΙΑ·  
 18 ΑἸΩ ΕἸΟΥΩΨ ΕΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝCΒΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΛΟΓΟC 'ΝCΟΦΙΑ' ΝΤΕ ΤΜΕ·  
 20 ΕἸΜΕ ΝΤCΟΦΙΑ ΝΒΟΛ· ΑἸἸΟΥ  
 ΤΟΟΤἸ ΓΑῤ ΕΠΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΕἸΟΥ  
 22 ΩΨΕ ΕΕΙΝΕ ΕἸΟΥΝ ΝΤΚΑ  
 ΒΙΑ ΝἸΤ ἸἸΩΩἸ ΝΟΥΜἸΤ  
 24 CΕΜΝΟC· ΜΠΕἸἸΜΒΟΜ'  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΑΨΕ ΠΕἸΧΩἸἸ  
 26 {Μ}ΝΝΕἸΕΝΔἸΜΑ· ΤΟΤΕ ΑἸ  
 ΒΩΛἸ ΑἸΟΥΩΝἸ ΕΒΟΛ ΑἸΟΥ  
 28 ΩΨΕ ΕΤΑΛΟ ΝἸΟΥΩΤἸ ΕἸῤΑἸ  
 ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΕἸἸΜΑἸ· ΤΟΤΕ  
 30 ΑΠΚΑΙΡΟC ΕἸ ΑἸἸΝΑΝ ΑἸΩ  
 ἸΨΙΒΕ ΝἸΔΙΑΤΑΓἸ· ΤΟΤΕ  
 32 ΑἸΕἸ ΝΒΙ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΩ· ἸΕΩC  
 ΨΑΝΤΕΠΩἸῤΕ ΨἸΜ· ΑΕΙ  
 34 ΑΕἸ· ΝΤΑἸἸΕἸ ΕΤΕἸΚΑΚΜἸ·

**ΜΕ**

ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΤἸΝΝΟΟΥ

2 ΜΠΑΝΤΙΜΕΙΜΟΝ ΨΑ ΠΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΕἸἸΜΑἸ ΝCΕCΟΥΩΝ

- 44,10-11 "the times were completed": Cf. Lk 21:24; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 38,29-31.
- 11-12 Cf. Mic 7:4-6; Mt 10:35-36, par.; 2 Thess 2:3; 2 Tim 3:1-5; Mishnah *Sotah* 9.15; Job 23:19; 1 En 100:2; 2 Esdr 5:1-2,6,24 et al.; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 43,31-44,2; *Asclepius* (VI,8) 72,20-73,12.
- 19 or "every teaching of wise words of truth" (Krause).
- 23-24 Cf. 2 Thess 2:4.
- 30 or "...came. And he drew near and..." (Krause).

mourned (πενθεῖν) together with the inhabited world (οἰ-  
κουμένη);  
 10 they became desolate. Then (τότε) when the  
 times (χρόνος) were completed, then (τότε) wickedness  
 (κακία)  
 12 arose mightily even until the final  
 end (τέλος) of the Logos. Then (τότε)  
 14 the archon of the western regions arose,  
 and from the East (ἀνατολή)  
 16 he will perform a work, and he will instruct  
 men in his wickedness (κακία).  
 18 And he wanted to nullify  
 all teaching, the words (λόγος) of Sophia of truth,  
 20 while loving the lying Sophia. For (γάρ) he attacked  
 the old (ἀρχαῖον), wishing  
 22 to introduce wickedness (κακία)  
 and to put on  
 24 dignity (-σεμνός). He was incapable,  
 because the defilement  
 26 of his garments (ἔνδυμα) is great. Then (τότε) he  
 became angry. He appeared and desired  
 28 to go up and to pass beyond  
 that place (τόπος). Then (τότε)  
 30 the appointed time (καιρός) came and drew near. And  
 he changes the commands (διαταγή). Then (τότε)  
 32 the time came until (ἕως)  
 the child would grow up.  
 34 When he had come to his maturity (ἀκμῆ),

[45]

then (τότε) the archons sent  
 2 the imitator (ἀντίμιμον) to  
 that man, in order that they may know

44.32-45.4 Apparently the temptation of Jesus. The imitator is probably the devil (cf. Lampe, *Lexicon*). In other senses, "imitations" also occur in *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4) 87,33-35; 88,1; 89,30; 90,34; 96,33-34; *Apoc. Pet.* (VII,3) 71,23-24; 78,16; 79,9. In *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) there is a whole series of "counterfeit" figures: 60,20-21; 62,27-30.35-39; 63,19-24.

4 {N}TÑNOB ÑBOM· AYW Ñ  
 TOOY NEYCONT̄ EBOL ZH  
 6 TQ̄ XE QNAEIRE NAY NOY  
 CHMEION· AYW AQFI NZEN  
 8 NOB ÑCHMEION· AYW AQP̄  
 P̄RO EXM̄ PKAZ THP̄Q̄· AYW  
 10 A<X> Ñ NETZA TPE THPOY·  
 AQKA PEQ̄ΘRONOC Q̄IXN̄ ΘA  
 12 H ÑTE PKAZ· XE ÑTOK †NA  
 {T}AAK ÑNOYTE M̄PKOCMOC·  
 14 QNAEIRE NZENCHMEION  
 M̄N ZENΨHPHPE· TOTE CE  
 16 NAWNE NZHT̄ ÑCEP̄PLA  
 NA· TOTE ÑPOME ETMMAY  
 18 ETNAOYAZOY ÑCWA CE  
 NAEINE EZOYN̄ M̄PCB̄BE·  
 20 AYW ÑQT̄ ZAP̄ ENETZN̄ †  
 M̄N†ATCB̄BE ETE PAI PE  
 22 PLAOC· KAI GAP AQXOY ZAZ  
 ÑKHRYZ̄ ÑΨOP̄T̄ EYTA  
 24 ΨE OEIΨ ZAPOQ· ZOTAN  
 EQΨANXWK EBOL M̄PXPO  
 26 NOC ETAYCM̄NTQ̄ ÑTM̄N̄  
 TP̄RO M̄PKAZ· TOTE QNHY  
 28 ÑBI PKATHPCOCMOC ÑNΨY  
 XH· EBOL XE AC̄P̄ ZOYEPW  
 30 TÑ ÑBI TKABIA· CENANOEin  
 ÑBI ÑBAM ÑΘALLACCA THPOY  
 32 ÑCEΨOOYE· AYW PECTE

- 
- 45.4-7 Cf. Mt 12:38; 16:1, par.; Lk 11:16; Jn 6:30.  
 5-15 Probably refers to the imitator.  
 7-8 Cf. Mk 13:22, par.; Rev 13:13-14; 16:14.  
 7-15 Cf. *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 44,31-45,8.  
 8-9 Cf. Hipp. *Antichr.* 49.  
 10 MS reads AZÑ.  
 11-13 Cf. *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 45,6-8; 2 Esdr 5:6.  
 13 "god of the world": Cf. 2 Cor 4:4.

1 our great  
 they were  
 2 him that  
 sign (σημ  
 3 great sign  
 reigned ov  
 4 <over> a  
 He placed  
 5 of the ear  
 <make>  
 6 He will pe  
 and wond  
 7 will turn f  
 Then (τό  
 8 who will f  
 will introd  
 9 And he w  
 uncircumc  
 10 the (true)  
 preachers  
 11 on his beh  
 he has cor  
 12 time (χρό  
 of the ear  
 13 the purg  
 will come,  
 14 wickednes  
 All the pe  
 15 and dry w

4 Cf. 2 The  
 10,29-35;  
 5 The subje  
 6 Hipp. *Ant  
 7 Hipp. *Ant**

4 our great Power. And  
 they were expecting from  
 6 him that he would perform for them a  
 sign (σημεῖον). And he bore  
 8 great signs (σημεῖον). And he  
 reigned over the whole earth and  
 10 <over> all those who are under heaven.  
 He placed his throne (θρόνος) upon the end  
 12 of the earth, for "I shall  
 <make> you (sg.) god of the world (κόσμος)."  
 14 He will perform signs (σημεῖον)  
 and wonders. Then (τότε) they  
 16 will turn from me, and they will go astray (πλανῶν).  
 Then (τότε) those men  
 18 who will follow after him  
 will introduce circumcision.  
 20 And he will pronounce judgment upon those who are  
 from the  
 uncircumcision, who are  
 22 the (true) people (λαός). For in fact (καὶ γάρ) he sent  
 many  
 preachers (κῆρυξ) beforehand, who preached  
 24 on his behalf. When (ὅταν)  
 he has completed the established  
 26 time (χρόνος) of the kingdom  
 of the earth, then (τότε)  
 28 the purging (καθαρισμός) of the souls (ψυχή)  
 will come, since  
 30 wickedness (κακία) is greater than you (pl.).  
 All the powers of the sea (θάλασσα) will tremble  
 32 and dry up. And the firmament (στερέωμα)

45,15-16 Cf. 2 Thess 2:3; 1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 4:3-4; *Asclepius* (VI,8)  
70,29-35; 72,19-73,12.

18-30 The subject is still the imitator.

20-22 Hipp. *Antichr.* 5.

22-24 Hipp. *Antichr.* 6.

34 ΡΕΩΜΑ ΦΑΨΟΥΕ ΕΙΩΤΕ  
 ΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ· Μ̄ΠΗΓΗ ΣΕΝΑΩ  
 Χ̄Ν· ΝΙΕΡΩΟΥ ΣΕΝΕΖΕ† ΑΝ

[Μ]̄§

ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΟΥΠΗΓΗ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄  
 2 ΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ Ν̄Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΓΗ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 ΠΚΑΖ ΣΕΝΑΩΧ̄Ν· ΤΟΤΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΝ  
 4 ΣΕΝΑΣΩΛΕΧ Ν̄ΣΕΟΥΩΝ· Ν̄ΣΙΟΥ  
 ΣΕΝΑΔΕΙΔΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΠΡΗ ΦΝΑΩ  
 6 Χ̄Ν· ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΡ̄ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ Μ̄Ν  
 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΣΟΥΩΝ†·  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΟΥ  
 ΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΑΜΕΤΡΗΤΟΝ· ΕΜ̄Ν  
 10 ΛΑΑΥ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΣΑΡΑΞ ΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ· ΟΥΤΕ ΤΡΥΦΗ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 12 ΠΚΩΖ† ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΕΣΙ  
 ΩΟΥ ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒ· ΕΜ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥ  
 14 ΣΩΚ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν· ΕΕΙΡ̄  
 ΣΚΕΠΑΖΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟ†·  
 16 ΕῩΝΤΑΥ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΝΕΝΔΥ  
 ΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ Μ̄Μ̄Ν  
 18 ΨΟΜ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΚΩΖ† ΧΩΖ ΕΡΟ  
 ΟΥ· ΕΙΤΑ ΟΥΚΑΚΕ Μ̄Ν ΟΥ  
 20 ΤΗΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΣΤΙΓΜΗ· ΖΩΣ  
 ΤΕ ΑΤΕΦΤΩΜ Ν̄ΝΒΕΛ· ΤΟΤΕ  
 22 ΦΗΝΟΥ ΕΦΟΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΡ̄ΚΟΛΑ  
 24 ΖΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΤ̄ΒΒΟ·  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΟΥΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΑΥΤΑ  
 26 ΑΦ ΝΑΥ ΑΤΡΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ Ε  
 ΤΑΥΟΠ̄ ΕΡΟΟΥ· Μ̄Μ̄ΝΤΑΦ  
 28 ΤΕ Ν̄ΨΕ Ν̄ΡΟΜΠΕ ΣΕ Μ̄Ν ΨΜΟΥ  
 ΝΕ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΨΑΝΠΚΩΖ†

45,34-46,5 Cf. *Asclepius* (VI,8) 73,14-22.

46,16-17 "holy garments": Cf. Rev 3:5; 1 En 62:15-16; 2 Esdr 2:39-40; *Dial. Sav.* (III,5) 138,20-139,5; 143,11-21.

21-33 Cf. 40,9-23.



will not pour down dew.

- 34 The springs (πηγή) will  
cease. The rivers will not flow

[4]6

- down to their springs (πηγή). And the  
2 waters of the springs (πηγή) of  
the earth will cease. Then (τότε) the depths  
4 will be laid bare and they will open. The stars  
will grow in size, and the sun will cease.  
6 And I shall withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) with  
everyone who will know me.  
8 And they will enter into the  
immeasurable (ἀμέτρητον) light, (where) there is  
10 no one of the flesh (σάρξ) nor (οὔτε)  
the wantonness (τρυφή) of the fire  
12 to seize them. They will be unhampered  
(and) holy, since nothing  
14 drags them down. I  
myself protect (σκεπάζω) them,  
16 since they have  
holy garments (ἕνδυμα), which  
18 the fire cannot touch,  
nor (εἴτε) darkness nor  
20 wind nor a moment (στιγμή), so as (ὥστε)  
to cause one to shut the eyes. Then (τότε)  
22 he will come to destroy all of them.  
And they will be chastised (κολάζω)  
24 until they become pure.  
Moreover (τότε) their period (χρόνος), which was  
26 given to them to have power, which  
was apportioned to them, (is) fourteen  
28 hundred and sixty eight years.  
When (ὅταν) the fire has

46,22

"he": Perhaps the fire.

23-24

Cf. *Ap. John* (II,1) 26,32-27,11; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 48,17-22.

29-32

Cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.7.1.

30 ΡΑΚΖΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ Ε  
 ΨΑQTNTM6N ΛΑΑΥ ΕΡΩΚΖ·  
 32 ΤΟΤΕ QΝΑΩΧN ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤQ  
 ΟΥΑΑQ· ΤΟΤΕ QΝΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ

**MZ**

ΝΒΙ Π[.]Ζ[  
 2 ΤΕ ΤΜΑΖ ΒΑΜ [CΝΤΕ  
 ΤΕ ΠΝΑ ΝΝΗΟΥ[ . . . ΕΒΟΛ]  
 4 ΖΙΤN ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΕΙ[  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΝCΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ [ΝΑΖΕ]  
 6 ΕΠΙΤN ΕΠΝΟΥΝ· ΤΟΤΕ [N]  
 ΨΗΡΕ ΝΘΥΛΗ ΝΑΩΧN· ΝCΕ  
 8 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΧΙΝ ΜΠΕΙΝΑΥ·  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΜΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ  
 10 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒΕ ΖΙΤM ΠQ[Υ]  
 ΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΒΟΜ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΧΟCΕ  
 12 ΕΝΒΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ· †ΑΤΨΙ[ΤC]  
 †ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ· ΑΝΟΚ ΜN  
 14 ΝΕΤΝΑCΟΥΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ·  
 ΑΥΩ CΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖM ΠΑΙ  
 16 ΩΝ ΝΤΜNΤCΑΕΙΕ· ΝΤΕ  
 ΠΑΙΩΝ ΜΦΑΠ ΕΥCΒΤΑΤ  
 18 ΖN ΤCΟΦΙΑ· ΕΑΥ† ΕΟΟΥ  
 ΜΠΕΤΖN ΤΜNΤΟΥΑ ΝΟΥ  
 20 ΩΤ ΝΑΤΤΕΡΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΥ  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΦΟΥΩ  
 22 ΨΕ ΕΤNΖΗΤΟΥ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΥΩΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΙ  
 24 ΚΩΝ ΖM ΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΑΥ  
 P ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΑΥMΤΟΝ

46,30-31  
 47,5

ΕΨΑQTNTM6N: Cf. 40,21.

There are several firmaments in *Ap. John* (II,1) 12,25-26; cf. also *Iren. Haer.* I.24.3-7.

6-7

Cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.5.1; 6.1. In *Iren. Haer.* I.7.1 all matter is finally destroyed by fire. Cf. also *Mt* 24:29; *Mk* 13:25; *Rev* 6:13.

7

Cf. *Auth. Teach.* (VI,3) 28,9.

9-10

or "...will prove to be holy..." Salvation of the soul alone: Cf. *Iren. Haer.* I.24.5.

CONCE

consum

it does

then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

Then (rō

30 consumed them all, and when  
 it does not find anything else to burn,  
 32 then (τότε) it will perish by its own hand.  
 Then (τότε) the [                    ] will be completed

[47]

[  
 2 the [second] power [  
 the mercy will come [  
 4 through wisdom (σοφία) [  
 Then (τότε) the firmaments (στερέωμα) [will fall]  
 6 down to the depth. Then (τότε) [the]  
 sons of matter (ύλη) will perish; they  
 8 will not be, henceforth.  
 Then (τότε) the souls (ψυχή) will appear,  
 10 who are holy through the  
 light of the Power, who is exalted  
 12 above all powers, the immeasurable,  
 the universal one (καθολική), I and  
 14 all those who will know me.  
 And they will be in the aeon  
 16 of beauty of  
 the aeon of judgment, since they are ready  
 18 in wisdom (σοφία), having given glory  
 to him who is in the  
 20 incomprehensible unity; and they  
 see him because of his will,  
 22 which is in them. And  
 they all have become as reflections (εἰκόν)  
 24 in his light. They  
 all have shone, and they have found rest

47,13

"the universal one": Cf. *Treat. Seth* (VII,2) 57,26; 62,26.

16-17

There is a full stop after "beauty." It is not clear how "of the aeon of judgment" fits into the sentence.

21

"will": or "love" (Krause and Fischer).

24-25

Cf. Dan 12:3; WisdSol 3:7.

25-26

Cf. Heb 3:18-4:11; *Gos. Thom.* (II,2) 43,12-22 (logion 60); *Auth. Teach.* (VI,3) 33,8; *Ap. John* (II,1) 26,31.

26 ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΟΥΡΚΟ  
 28 ΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΦΑΒΟΛΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΩ ΝΣΕΨΩΠΕ  
 30 ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥΒΟ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑ  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΣΕΝΑ  
 32 ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΝΑ ΝΑΝ ΤΒΟΜ· ΤΑΪ ΕΤΗΤΠΕ  
 34 ΝΝΒΟΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΖΟΤΙ ΧΕ

[MH]

[ IO ± ] ΑΥΩ ΖΜ ΠΩΗ  
 2 [ΝΜΝΤΧΙ Ν]ΦΟΝC ΕΤΨΟΟΠ Ε  
 [ 6 ± ] ΕΡΟΦ ΝΝΟΥΒΑΛ·  
 4 [ΑΥΩ ΣΕ]ΚΩΤΕ ΝCΩΦ ΑΝ·  
 [ΕΒΟ]Λ ΧΕ ΣΕΚΩΤΕ ΝCΩΝ ΑΝ·  
 6 Φ[Υ]ΔΕ ΝCΕΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΑΝ·  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΕΙΡΕ ΑΤΚΤΙCΙC Ν  
 8 ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕCΚΕΑΡΧΩΝ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΡΠΡΑCΣΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΝ  
 10 ΓΕΝΕCΙC ΝΤΕ ΤCΑΡΑΧ ΝΤΚΤΙ  
 CΙC ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΕC† ΝΟΜΟC·  
 12 ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΕΑΝΨΩΠΕ  
 ΖΜ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΝΑΤΡ<Ε>ΠΤΟC·  
 14 ΠΝΟΗΜΑ ΝΤΝΝΟΒ  
 ΝΒΟΜ·

- 
- 47,27-34 Cf. *Paraph. Shem* (VII,1) 48,19-22; *Ap. John* (II,1) 26,33-27,11.  
 31-34 Cf. Lk 16:22-24.  
 48,5-6 The first person plural is used only here, in 36,17, and 48,9,12,  
 and with the name "our great Power."  
 7 "according to": or "for the benefit of" (Krause).  
 9 ΚΑΤΑ, "according to": It may be that κατά in the Greek *Vor-*

26 in his rest (ἀνάπαυσις).  
 And he will release the souls (ψυχή) that  
 28 are being punished (κολάζειν),  
 and they will come to be  
 30 in purity. And they will  
 see the saints and  
 32 cry out to them:  
 "Have mercy on us, O Power who art above  
 34 all powers." For (ὅτι)

[48]

[ ] and in the tree  
 2 [of] iniquity that exists  
 [ ] to him their eyes.  
 4 [And they] do not seek him  
 because they do not seek us  
 6 nor (οὐδέ) do they believe (πιστεύειν) us,  
 but (ἀλλά) they acted according to the creation (κτίσις) of  
 8 the archons and its other rulers (ἄρχων).  
 But we have acted (πράσσειν) according to (κατά) our  
 10 birth (γένεσις) of the flesh (σάρξ), in the creation (κτίσις)  
 of the archons, which gives law (νόμος).  
 12 We also have come to be  
 in the unchangeable (ἄτρεπτος) aeon.  
 14 The Concept (νόημα) of our great  
 Power.

*lage* meant "against," and was misunderstood by the Coptic translator.

48,10 "in": Krause has "over against."

12 MS reads ΑΤΡΟΠΤΟΣ. Krause emends to ΑΤΡΟΠΟΣ, "unchangeable."

*Albino Gnostics*

H.-M. Revier  
OLZ 69 (1974)

damage to t  
state as well a  
made this doct  
it as a ver  
in (§88b-§89b).  
with the t  
books, p. 143).  
to, Krane pr  
is an untitled  
comparison wi  
on the part  
cept from P  
have been dist  
recognizabl  
was attempt  
Schenke  
typical begin  
zeaming the  
of dialogue . . .  
difficult to ac  
ulation. It  
ulates in th  
related from  
e. Perhaps or  
ize in Plat  
ulations (§c  
handbooks  
little phil

PLATO, REPUBLIC 588b-589b

VI,5:48,16-51,23

JAMES BRASHLER

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 52-53, 166-69.

Schenke, H.-M. Review of Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI. OLZ* 69 (1974), cols. 236-42.

Severe damage to the top four or five lines of each page of this brief tractate as well as the extremely difficult Coptic in which it is written made this document an unsolved riddle until H.-M. Schenke identified it as a very poor translation of a section from Plato's *Republic* (588b-589b). Prior to this discovery it had been wrongly associated with the title of the preceding tractate by J. Doresse (*Secret Books*, p. 143). Without recognizing that it was an excerpt from Plato, Krause published the *editio princeps* and described this writing as an untitled work with Hermetic affinities.

As a comparison with the Greek parallel text clearly shows, this attempt on the part of a Coptic translator to translate a summarizing excerpt from Plato's *Republic* is a disastrous failure. Plato's words have been distorted and misunderstood so badly that they are hardly recognizable. While there can be no doubt that the Coptic translator was attempting to provide a faithful rendering of his Greek text, Schenke's description of the translator as one who "makes typical beginner's mistakes . . . and is completely in the dark concerning the periods of the Platonic style and of the complicated dialogue . . ." (col. 239) is apt.

It is difficult to account for the survival of this hopelessly confused translation. It certainly represents an exception to the rest of the tractates in the Nag Hammadi codices, which generally have been translated from the Greek with considerable skill and understanding. Perhaps one may assume that this succinct statement of a main theme in Plato's *Republic* was taken from a collection of edifying quotations (*δοξογραφαί*) said to have circulated in late antiquity as handbooks for students and others with intellectual aspirations but little philosophical sophistication. Evidence for such an

assumption is provided by Eusebius, who includes almost the exact excerpt in *Praep.Ev.* XII.46.2-6. Allusions to this passage can also be found in the Neoplatonic philosophers Plotinus and Proclus (cf. Schenke, col. 238). If this excerpt did come from a handbook of quotations, it was separated from its original context and need not have been expressly associated with Plato. Schenke, on the other hand, suggests that Plato was honored by Hermetic writers as a student of Hermes, and therefore he considers it plausible that this Platonic excerpt was at one time recognized as such and included in a collection of Hermetic writings for that very reason. While this may have been true at an earlier stage of the transmission of this tractate, by the time it was transformed into the scarcely comprehensible moralistic homily now preserved in Codex VI, its Platonic character had probably long been forgotten. Perhaps the theme of justice and the ethical rigor prescribed by the injunction to stamp out the images of the beast (50,24-28) and pictured in the concluding simile of the farmer (51,13-23) were sufficiently attractive to insure the preservation of this tractate.

To characterize this tractate as gnostic or Hermetic is hazardous. Although its basic tenor is compatible with gnostic or Hermetic views, it does not betray a marked gnostic tendency, nor do the translator's errors reveal a gnosticizing approach to the text. Rather, the theme of justice and the high moral tone evident in this document would have been congenial to the vast majority of its readers in the late Hellenistic period. The inferior quality of the Coptic translation suggests that it is a product of an intellectually unsophisticated person who has lost contact with a living philosophical tradition.



almost the  
passage of  
us and the  
from a hard  
context and  
enke, on the  
metric water  
plausible  
such and  
reason. We  
transmission  
he scarcely  
dex VI, is  
perhaps the  
injunction  
ed in the  
attractive

erment is  
gnostic of  
endency, an  
to the ten  
evident in  
majority of  
quality of  
an intell  
a living phi

PLATO, REPUBLIC 588b-589b

VI,5:48,16-51,23

[MH]

16 **Ζ** ΕΠΙΔΗ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥ  
 ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΙΜΑ· ΜΑΡΝΧΙ ΒΕ  
 18 ΝΑΝ ΝΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΥ  
 ΝΑΝ· ΑΥΩ Τ̄ΝΝΑΒΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ  
 20 ΕΡΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ· ΧΕ ΝΑΝΟΥ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤ̄Ḳ̄ ΝΒΟΝ̄ ΤΕΛΕ  
 22 ΩΣ· ΨΑΧΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ·  
 ΜΗ ΝΤΑΪ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 24 ΧΠΙΟQ· ΤΕΪ ΜΕΝΤΟΙΓΕ ΤΕ ΘΕ  
 ΕΤΕΨΨΕ· ΠΕΧΑΪ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΤΕ  
 26 ΝΟΥ ΒΕ· ΑΝΨΑΧΕ· ΕΠΙΔΗ

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b

(Burnet, Ioannes, ed. *Platonis Opera* IV. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. Oxford: 1902 [reprint, 1962]).

588b,1 ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα λόγου γεγόναμεν, ἀναλά/βωμεν τὰ πρῶτα λε-  
 χθέντα, δι' ἃ δεῦρ' ἤκομεν. ἦν δέ που / λεγόμενον λυσιτελεῖν ἀδικεῖν τῷ  
 τελέως μὲν ἀδίκῳ, δοξάζο/μένῳ δὲ δικαίῳ· ἦ οὐχ οὕτως ἐλέχθη; 588b,5  
 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν. / Nūn δὴ, ἔφην, αὐτῷ διαλεγώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ

48,19 **Τ̄ΝΝΑΒΙΝΕ** translates εὐρήσομεν, a corruption or misreading of  
 δεῦρ' ἤκομεν, and is followed by an object clause in the circum-  
 stantial (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, sec. 420). Schenke (col. 236)  
 translates, "We will find it! He said . . ."

20-25 **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤ̄Ḳ̄ ΝΒΟΝ̄** changes the active "to  
 do injustice," in the Greek, to the passive "he who has been  
 done injustice." This may be the result of misreading ἀδικεῖν τῷ  
 as ἀδικεῖτο. By not translating μὲν ἀδίκῳ and taking δοξάζεσθαι to  
 mean "to be praised" rather than "to be reputed" the Coptic  
 translator has produced a moralistic exhortation, as the addition  
 of ετεψψε, "which is fitting," also suggests. Perhaps under

PLATO, REPUBLIC 588b-589b

VI,5:48,16-51,23

[48]

- 16 "Since (ἐπειδὴ) we have come  
to this point in a discussion (λόγος), let us again take up  
18 the first things that were said  
to us. And we will find  
20 that he says, 'Good is  
he who has been done injustice completely (τελέως).  
22 He is glorified justly (δικαίως).'  
Is not (μή) this how he was  
24 reproached?" "This is certainly (μέντοιγε) the  
fitting way!" And (δέ) I said:  
26 "Now then, we have spoken because (ἐπειδὴ)

---

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b

588b,1 "Since we have come to this point in the discussion, let us  
take up again / the first things that were said, by which we have  
come to this point. Was it not somehow / stated that to do injustice  
is profitable for the completely unjust man who is reputed / to be  
just? Or was it not so stated?" 588b,5 "Yes, in just that way."  
/ "Now then," I said, "let us discuss with him, because

---

the influence of the preceding *τελέως*, *δικαίω* has become *δικαίως*.  
The confusion of *ἐλέχθη* with *ἠλέγχθη* has resulted in the mistrans-  
lation **ΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΙΟQ** in 48,23-24 and may also reflect a moraliz-  
ing tendency, although this is more likely an indication of corrup-  
tion in the Greek text tradition, since the translator rendered the  
same Greek word *λεχθέντα* correctly in 48,18.

48,26-27 The omission of a translation of *αὐτῷ* after **ΑΝΨΑΧΕ** and the  
incorrect translation of *διωμολογησάμεθα* by means of **ΑQXOOC**  
completely destroy the development of thought by attributing  
Socrates's summary statement to his opponent.

28 ἀρχοὺς καὶ πέτραι ἄνθρωποι  
 ὄντες· μὴ πέτραι ἄνθρωποι  
 30 οὐδὲν· ἄρα οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων  
 32 εἶνεπε λόγος ἄνθρωπων·  
 ἕκαστος ἐφῆκεν ὅτι οὕτως

[ME]

τ[α]ρχαὶ καὶ πέτραι  
 2 [. . .] ἄρα οὐδὲν ἔστιν  
 4 οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων  
 6 ἀνθρώπων· ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπων  
 8 πρῶτον· ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπων  
 μὴ ἕκαστος ἐφῆκεν ὅτι οὕτως

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

διωμολογησά-

μεθα τό τε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ δίκαια πράττειν ἢν ἑκάτερον ἔχει / δύναμιν. /  
 Πῶς; ἔφη. 588b,10 Εἰκόνα πλάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς λόγῳ, ἵνα εἰδῆ ὁ ἐκεῖνα /  
 λέγων οἷα ἔλεγεν. 588c,1 Ποῖαν τινά; ἦ δ' ὅς. / Τῶν τοιούτων τινά, ἢν δ'  
 ἐγώ, οἷα μυθολογοῦνται παλαιαὶ / γενέσθαι φύσεις, ἣ τε Χιμαίρας καὶ ἡ  
 Σκύλλης καὶ Κερ/βέρου, καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς συχναὶ

48,30-32 ΟΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΝΤΑΘ ΕΙΝΕ presupposes the misreading εἰκῶν  
 ἄπλαστος instead of εἰκόνα πλάσαντες.

49,1-5 Possibly reconstruct as follows: ἀρχ[αὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ] / [παί  
 ρ] ἄρα οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων / νε ἢ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ ἄνθρωποι / οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων / τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀνθρώπων / [ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων] / "He [asked:] / 'Is [this] then (γάρ) that which  
 [acts in this manner] / or (ἢ) not?' We [agree that it] / is for me.  
 But (ἀλλά) all these [myths (μῦθος)] / that the rulers (ἀρχῶν) told  
 now have . . ." If this is a correct reconstruction, then we must assume  
 that the translator rendered ποῖαν as if it were ποιῶν by means of  
 πέτραι. For ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ cf. 50,30. ἢ ἄνθρωποι translates ἦ δ' οὐ instead of  
 ἦ δ' ὅς. [ἔ] οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων may be an attempt to translate ἦν δ'  
 ἐμοὶ instead of ἦ δ' ἐγώ. Traces at the end of 49,4

he said that he who does injustice  
 28 and he who does justice (δικαιον)—  
 each has  
 30 a force.” “How then?”  
 “He said, ‘An image (εἰκῶν) that has no  
 32 likeness is the rationality (λόγος) of the soul (ψυχή),’  
 so that he who said these things will

[49]

understand. He [  
 2 [  
 [ ] or (ἤ) not?’ We [  
 4 is for me. But (ἀλλά) all [  
 who told them [  
 6 ruler (ἄρχων), these now have  
 become natural creatures (φύσις)—even  
 8 Chimaera, and Cerberus,  
 and all the rest that

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

we have  
 agreed on / what force ‘to do injustice’ and ‘to do justice’ / each  
 has.” / “How?” he said. 588b,10 “By forming in speech an image  
 of the soul, so that he who said those things might know / what he  
 was saying.” 588c,1 “What kind (of an image)?” he said. / “One of  
 those,” I said, “like the ancient ones said in myths / to have become  
 natural forms,—those of Chimaera, and Scylla, and Cerberus, / and  
 many others

most likely belong to the letter Μ, and the Greek parallel text  
 suggests Μ[ΜΥΘΟΣ] be reconstructed.

49,6 The occurrence of ἄρχων need not betray a gnosticizing tendency  
 on the part of the translator. It is not inconsistent with the  
 limited knowledge of Greek demonstrated by the translator to  
 suggest that he understood ἄρχων as a synonym of παλαιαί possibly  
 as the result of confusing it with ἀρχαῖοι.

8 The translator has taken over the genitive forms of the names of  
 these mythological creatures without concern for gender or cor-  
 rect spelling. What appears to be a χ in ΧΙΜΑΡΡΑΙΣ is most  
 likely the result of the scribe’s having dragged his pen between  
 strokes.

10 ΤΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑΥΡ̄ΚΑ  
 ΤΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΤ̄ ΟΥΩ  
 12 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΕΝΜΟΡΦΗ ΜΝ ΖΕΝ  
 ΕΙΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΤΗ  
 14 ΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΩΤ̄· ΕΥ  
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΖΩΒ ΤΕ  
 16 ΝΟΥ· ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝΤΟΙΓΕ  
 ΝΟΥΩΤ̄ ΠΕ· ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΨΩ  
 18 ΠΕ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΓ  
 ΨΒ̄ΒΙΟΕΙΤ̄ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ̄ ΝΑΠΕ·  
 20 ΖΕΝΖΟΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΟ ΝΘΕ Μ  
 ΠΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΓΡΙΟΝ·  
 22 ΤΟΤΕ ΨΑΦ̄Μ̄ΒΟΜ̄ ΝΝΟΥΧΕ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΝΨΟΡ̄Π̄· ΝΤΕ  
 24 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΙΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΕΤ̄  
 ΝΑΨ̄Τ̄· ΑΥΩ ΕΤ̄ΜΟΚ̄Ζ̄ ΝΣΕ  
 26 † ΟΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ̄Ϊ ΖΝ ΟΥ  
 ΕΡΓΟΝ· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΡ̄  
 28 ΠΛΑΣΣΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ †ΝΟΥ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΛΑ·Ζ'ΛΕΖ· ΑΥΩ ΜΝ  
 30 ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ ΤΗΡ̄Ϊ ΕΤ̄Τ̄Ν  
 ΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥΡ̄ΠΛΑΣΣΕ  
 32 †ΝΟΥ ΖΜ̄ ΠΨΑΧΕ· ΤΕΝΟΥ

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

λέγονται συμπεφυκυῖαι  
 ιδέαι 588c,5 πολλαὶ εἰς ἓν γενέσθαι. / Λέγονται γάρ, ἔφη. / Πλάττε τοῖνυν  
 μίαν μὲν ιδέαν θηρίου ποικίλου καὶ πολυ/κεφάλου, ἡμέρων δὲ θηρίων  
 ἔχοντος κεφαλᾶς κύκλω καὶ / ἀγρίων, καὶ δυνατοῦ μεταβάλλειν καὶ φύειν  
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα 588c,10 ταῦτα. 588d,1 Δεινοῦ πλάστου, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον·  
 ὅμως δέ, ἐπειδὴ εὐπλα/στότερον κηροῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγος, πεπλά-  
 σθω. /

- 49,10-14 This material is lacking in the citation of Plato by Eusebius, *Praep.Ev.* XII.46.2-6, probably due to homoeoteleuton, which caused the omission of the words between the first λέγονται and the repetition of the same word a few lines later.
- 18-19 ΕΓΨΒ̄ΒΙΟΕΙΤ̄ translates ποικίλου while ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ̄ ΝΑΠΕ expresses in acceptable Coptic idiom (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, sec. 119) the term πολυκεφάλου.
- 20 ΖΕΝΖΟΟΥ is the result of reading ἡμέρων, "tame" as ἡμερῶν, "days". The same error occurs again at 51,21.

10 were me  
 came do  
 11 off form  
 images.  
 14 a single i  
 said, "W  
 16 Certainly  
 single im  
 18 the image  
 with man  
 20 Some day  
 the image  
 22 Then (το  
 off the fir  
 24 all these h  
 and diffic  
 26 emanate fr  
 effort (εργ  
 28 formed (ε  
 with arrog  
 30 all the rest  
 like them  
 32 now throug

Republic 588b-  
 said to h  
 ze" / "Yes, so  
 a manifold ar  
 beasts in a ci  
 588c,10 thes  
 he said, "bu  
 and such ma

The translat  
 εἰσεναι and n  
 suggestion (ε  
 attempt to fi  
 correct in see  
 The translat

10 were mentioned. They all  
 came down (καταντᾶν) and they cast  
 12 off forms (μορφή) and  
 images. And they all became  
 14 a single image. It was  
 said, 'Work now!'  
 16 Certainly (μέντοιγε) it is a  
 single image that became  
 18 the image of a complex beast (θηρίον)  
 with many heads.  
 20 Some days indeed (μέν) it is like  
 the image of a wild (ἄγριον) beast (θηρίον).  
 22 Then (τότε) it is able to cast  
 off the first image. And  
 24 all these hard  
 and difficult forms (πλάσμα)  
 26 emanate from it with  
 effort (ἔργον), since (ἐπειδή) these are  
 28 formed (πλάσσειν) now  
 with arrogance. And also  
 30 all the rest that are  
 like them are formed (πλάσσειν)  
 32 now through the word. For (γάρ) now

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

said to have grown many 588c,5 forms together to be-  
 come one." / "Yes, so they say," he said. / "Make, then, a single  
 image of a manifold and many-headed beast / having heads of tame  
 and wild beasts in a circle / and being able to cast off and grow from  
 itself all 588c,10 these things." 588d,1 "It is the task of a clever  
 artisan," he said, "but nevertheless, since / speech is more malleable  
 than wax and such materials, let it be formed." /

49,27-29 The translator may have understood εὐπλαστότερον as οἱ πλασ-  
 σόμενοι and mistakenly linked it with καὶ τῶν τοιούτων. Schenke's  
 suggestion (col. 241) that ἄΝ ΟΥΛΑΖΛΕΖ is the translator's  
 attempt to find an equivalent for εὐ- is dubious. He is probably  
 correct in seeing †ΝΟΥ as the result of mistaking κηροῦ for καιροῦ.  
 32 The translator read λογῶ instead of λόγος.

34 γαρ ουεινε ογωτ πε· ογ  
 ετ πινε γαρ μπμογει  
 αγω ογετ πινε μπρωμε

[N]

[ 6 ± ο]γωτ πε η[ . . . ] M  
 2 [ 6 ± ]τωδε· α[γ]ω παί  
 [ . . . . ω]ββιαειτ μπωα νρογο  
 4 [επωο]ρη· αγω πμαρσναγ  
 [πε ογ]ωM· αγρπλασσε μπμογ·  
 6 [τ]ενογ δε τωδε μπμοογ ενεγ  
 ερνογ νtetnααγ νογα n  
 8 ογωτ· ωομετ γαρ νε· ζωc  
 τε nceτ ογω Mη νεγερηγ  
 10 nceωωπε τηρογ zn ογει  
 νε ογωτ cαβολ nθικων  
 12 μπρωμε· nθε ζωωγ Mπε  
 τε Mη ωβοM μπμογ ετρεqναγ  
 14 ενετMπεqρογn· αλλα πετ  
 zιβολ Mματε πετqναγ ερογ·  
 16 αγω εqρφενεcθαι xε ερε  
 πεqεινε zn αω nζωον· αγω  
 18 xε nταγρπλασσε μπμογ  
 zn ογεινε nρωμε· πεxαι

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

Μίαν δὴ τοίνυν ἄλλην ιδέαν λέοντος, μίαν δὲ ἀνθρώπου· πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον ἔστω τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον τὸ 588d,5 δεύτερον. / Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ῥάγω, καὶ πέπλασται. / Σύνναπτε τοίνυν αὐτὰ εἰς ἓν τρία ὄντα, ὥστε πη συμ/πεφυκέναι ἀλλήλοις. / Συνῆπτται, ἔφη. 588d,10 Περίπλασον δὴ αὐτοῖς ἕξωθεν ἑνὸς εἰκόνα, τὴν τοῦ / ἀνθρώπου, ὥστε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τὰ ἐντὸς ὄραν, ἀλλὰ τὸ 588e,1 ἕξω μόνον ἔλυτρον ὀρῶντι, ἐν ζῶον φαίνεσθαι, ἀνθρώπων. / Περιπέπλασται, ἔφη. / Λέγωμεν δὴ

50,1-2

The lack of parallel material in the Greek text makes reconstruction extremely speculative. Schenke (col. 238) proposes that [αγω ον ο]γετ πει[nε] M/[πειρεqτ]ωδε α[γω] παί/be read. The first lacuna requires at least one more letter, however, and the second is not filled with νε. Taking the traces



it is a single image.

- 34 For (γάρ) the image of the lion is one thing and the image of the man is another.

[50]

- [ ] single [ ] is the [ ] of  
 2 [ ] join. And this  
 [ ] much more complex  
 4 [than the first]. And the second  
 [is small].” “It has been formed (πλάσσειν).”  
 6 “Now then, join them to  
 each other and make them a single  
 8 one—for (γάρ) they are three—so  
 that (ὥστε) they grow together  
 10 and all are in a  
 single image outside of the image (εἰκῶν)  
 12 of the man just like him  
 who is unable to see  
 14 the things inside him. But (ἀλλά) what  
 is outside only is what he sees.  
 16 And it is apparent (φαίνεσθαι)  
 what creature (ζῷον) his image is in and  
 18 that he was formed (πλάσσειν)  
 in a human image. And (δέ) I spoke

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

“Now, then, (form) one other image of a lion and one of a man. / Let the first be very large and the 588d,5 second smaller.” / “These are easier,” he said, “and have been formed.” / “Now join these which are three into one, so that somehow they grow / together.” / “They are joined,” he said. 588d,10 “Now make for them outwardly an image of one thing, that of the / man, so that for him who is not able to see what is inside but only what is 588e,1 outside, it appears as one creature, a man.” / “It has been formed,” he said. / “Let us say, then,

in line 1 after πε as a π, one could reconstruct [ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΓΩΤ ΠΕ Π[ΙΝΕ] Μ /, cf. 49.34-35 for ΠΙΝΕ.

50,12 ΝΘΕ ΖΩΩΦ translates ὥς τε instead of ὥστε.

17 The translator mistook εν for εν and ἀνθρωπον for ἀνθρώπου.

- 20 ΔΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ CΡ̄ ΝΟQ  
 ΡΕ ΜΠΧΙ ΝΒΟΝC̄ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ·  
 22 ΠΕΤ̄ΧΙ ΝΒΟΝC̄ ΝΤΟQ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ  
 CΡ̄ ΝΟQΡΕ ΝΑQ ΑΝ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ̄  
 24 ΤΑQ ΟΦΕΛΕΙΑ ΜΜΑΥ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΠΕΤ̄Ρ̄ ΝΟQΡΕ ΝΑQ ΠΕ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΡΕQ  
 26 ΤΕΥΟ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΘΗ  
 ΡΙΟΝ ΕΤ̄ΘΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝQZΟ  
 28 ΜΟΥ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΜΟΥΕΙ·  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ QZ̄Ν ΟΥΜΝ̄Τ̄ΩΒ  
 30 ΝΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ̄Q̄  
 ΝΑΑΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΕΝΩΒ ΝΕ·  
 32 ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝCΕCΩΚ ΜΜΟQ Ε  
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄Q̄Ρ̄ ΖΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΩO

[NA]

[P̄Π̄] ΑΥΩ ΝQ[

2 [ . . . ] ΝΗΘΕΙ[Α

ΝΑQ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΕΠΙC[

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

τῶ λέγοντι ὡς

λυσιτελεῖ τούτῳ ἀδικεῖν τῶ / ἀνθρώπῳ, δίκαια δὲ πράττειν οὐ συμφέρει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο 588e,5 φησὶν ἢ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῶ τὸ παντοδαπὸν θηρίον εὐωχοῦντι / ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸν λέοντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν λέοντα, τὸν 589a,1 δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν λιμοκτονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀσθενῆ, ὥστε ἔλκεσθαι / ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκείνων ὁπότερον ἄγῃ, καὶ μὴδὲν ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ / συνεθίζειν μὴδὲ φίλον ποιεῖν,

50,23-24 ΟΥΤΕ may be confused with οὐδὲν in the Greek text and ΑΛΛΑ is no doubt a misreading of ἄλλο.

25-30 The translator's errors have totally distorted the text. ΝQZΟ-ΜΟΥ may be the result of understanding ποεῖν ἰσχυρὸν as ποιεῖν ἴχνος.

33-5I,1 ΝΩO[P̄Π̄] corresponds to ὁπότερον misunderstood as πρότερον. 5I,1-5 Schenke (col. 238) suggests the following reconstruction of these badly damaged lines: [P̄Π̄] ΑΥΩ ΝQ̄[Τ̄Μ̄ΕΙΡΕ Ν] / [ΤΟΥCΥ] ΝΗΘΕΙ[ΙΑ ΝCΕΡ̄ΩΒΗΡ] / ΝΑQ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΕΠΙC[ΤΡΟΦΗ] / ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΑQΕΙΡΕ Ν[ΟΥZΩ] / Β ΕΜΝ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΧΑΧΕ ΖΡΑΙ ΝZ [ΗΤΟΥ]. However this reconstruction is two or three letters too short to fill the lacuna at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line

- 20 to him who said that there is profit  
in the doing of injustice for the man.  
22 He who does injustice truly  
does not profit nor (οὔτε)  
24 does he benefit (ὠφέλεια). But (ἀλλά)  
what is profitable for him is this: that he  
26 cast down every image of the  
evil beast (θηρίον) and trample  
28 them along with the images of the lion.  
But (δέ) the man is in weakness  
30 in this regard. And all the things that he  
does are weak.  
32 As a result (ὥστε) he is drawn to  
the place where he spends the day with them.

[51]

[            ]. And he [  
2 [            ]  
to him in [

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

to him

who says that it is profitable for this man to do injustice / but to do  
justice is not profitable, that he is saying nothing other than 588e,5  
that it is profitable for him who lavishly feeds the manifold beast / to  
make strong both the lion and those around the lion, 589a,1 but to  
starve the man and to make him weak, so that he is drawn / to  
wherever one of them leads, and in no way accustoms the one to  
the other / nor makes friends.

2 cannot accommodate the five letters proposed. The end of line 4  
and the beginning of line 5 in this reconstruction are quite un-  
likely, since both the superlinear stroke over the first **μ** in line 5  
and the **β** at the beginning of the line indicate that the **ε** belongs  
with the **β** rather than the following word. An alternative recon-  
struction would be as follows: [ρπ α]γω βϵ[τμτοπουζν] /  
[ουσυ]νηθε[α βϵτμρ ψβηρ] / ναϵ ζν ουεπιζ[υν-

4    αλλα εψαφειρε ν[  
       βε ἡμῆντ'χαχε ρραϊ νρ[  
 6    αγω μῆ ογμιψε εγογ  
       ωμ· μῆ νεγερνογ ρραϊ  
 8    νρητογ· ναϊ γαρ τηρογ  
       αφχοογ νογον νιμ ετῆ  
 10    επαينوγ ἡπχι νδοντ·  
       ογκογν δε πετ'φαχε  
 12    ρωωφ ρῆ ογδικαιον σῆ  
       νοφρε ναφ· αγω εφψαν  
 14    ειρε ἡναϊ ἡφφαχε νρητογ  
       ἡφογν ἡπρωμε σεα  
 16    μαρτε ρῆ ογταχρο· ετβε  
       παϊ ἡρογο ψαφψινε ἡσα  
 18    ρι πεγροογψ ἡφσανογ  
       ψογ· ἡεε ρωωφ ἡπγε  
 20    ωργος εψαφσαανῶ ἡπεφ  
       γενημα ἡμῆνε· αγω ἡ  
 22    τεῆθηριον ἡαριον ῆ  
       κωλυε ἡμοφ ετρεφρωτ·

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

ἀλλ' ἔἄν αὐτὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς / δάκνεσθαί τε καὶ μαχόμενα ἐσθίειν  
 ἄλληλα. 589a,5 Παντάπασι γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτ' ἂν λέγοι ὁ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἐπαινωῖν.  
 / Οὐκοῦν αὖ ὁ τὰ δίκαια λέγων λυσιτελεῖν φαίη ἂν δεῖν / ταῦτα πράττειν  
 καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς 589b,10 ἄνθρωπος ἔσται  
 ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦ πολυκεφάλου θρέμ/ματος ἐπιμελήσεται ὥσπερ  
 γεωργός, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα τρέφων / καὶ τιθασέων, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια ἀποκωλύων  
 φύεσθαι,

αγωγη·] / αλλα εψαφειρε ν[ογ† ογ]/βε ἡμῆντ'χα-  
 χε ρραϊ νρ[ητῆ] “[first.] And he does [not reconcile them] /  
 customarily (συνηθεῖα) [nor does he take them] / to himself  
 [together (ἐπισυναγωγῆ)],/ but (ἀλλά) he makes hostile [enmity] /  
 within [himself.]”

51,8-9

The translator wrongly separated παντάπασι into πάντα, which he  
 associated with ταῦτα to arrive at ναϊ τηρογ, and πασι which  
 he translated by means of νογον νιμ.

4 But (ἀλλά) he brings about [  
 [ ] enmity [  
 6 And with strife they  
 devour each other among  
 8 themselves. Yes (γάρ), all these things  
 he said to everyone who  
 10 praises the doing of injustice.”  
 “Then (οὐκοῦν) is it not  
 12 profitable for him who speaks  
 justly (δίκαιον)?” “And if he  
 14 does these things and speaks in them,  
 within the man they  
 16 take hold firmly.  
 Therefore especially he strives  
 18 to take care of them and he nourishes  
 them, just as the  
 20 farmer (γεωργός) nourishes his  
 produce (γέννημα) daily. And  
 22 the wild (ἄγριον) beasts (θηρίον)  
 keep (κωλύειν) it from growing.”

---

Plato, *Republic* 588b-589b, cont.

But he allows them to bite each other / and to devour each other as they fight.” 589a,5 “Yes, by all means,” he said, “he who praises the doing of injustice would say these things.” / “On the other hand, would not he who says that just deeds are profitable say that it is necessary / to do and say these things, whence the inner man 589b,1 will be completely in control of the man, and he will take charge of the many-headed creature, / just like a farmer who nourishes and domesticates the tame ones, on the one hand, / and keeps the wild ones from growing, on the other hand . . . ?”



## THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH

VI,6:52,1-63,32

PETER A. DIRKSE, JAMES BRASHLER AND DOUGLAS M. PARROTT\*

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 54-57, 170-84.

Mahé. *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*. Vol. I. (Hereafter, Mahé [1]).

Keizer, L. S. *The Eighth Reveals the Ninth: A New Hermetic Initiation Discourse (Tractate 6, Nag Hammadi Codex VI): Translated and Interpreted*. Academy of Arts and Humanities Monograph Series 1. Seaside, CA: Academy of Arts and Humanities, 1974.

Tröger, K.-W. "Die sechste und siebte Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI." *ThLZ* 98 (1973), cols. 495-503. (Hereafter, Tröger [1]).

Mahé, J.-P. "Le Sens et la composition du traité hermétique, 'L'Ogdoadé et l'ennéade,' conservé dans le Codex VI de Nag Hammadi." *RevSR* 48 (1974), 54-65. (Hereafter, Mahé [2]).

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 53-54. (Hereafter, Tröger [2]).

Tröger, K.-W. "Die hermetische Gnosis." *Gnosis und NT*. Edited by Tröger. Pp. 97-119. (Hereafter, Tröger [3]).

In the MS the text is well preserved in the bottom and mid-page areas throughout. However the text at the top of every page is damaged, although the condition steadily improves as one moves through the tractate.

Evidence remains in 52,1 of the title that once was there, but a reconstruction is impossible. No title appears at the tractate's end. In view of this Krause simply calls VI,6, "Hermetic Writing Whose Title Has Not Been Preserved." It seems desirable, however, to avoid titleless tractates where possible. Titles for the largest part of the tractate are found in 53,24-26, "The Discourse on the Eighth

---

\* Peter A. Dirkse prepared a preliminary version with the editorial assistance of James Brashler. Following Dirkse's withdrawal from the project, Brashler made extensive improvements in the transcription and translation. Douglas M. Parrott provided the introduction and footnotes and brought the transcription and translation to completion.

and the Ninth," and in 61,21-22, "The Eighth Reveals the Ninth." Although these are not titles for the tractate as a whole, they do refer to the main subject matter. Hence we have adopted for the title *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*.

The expression "eighth and ninth" (or "ogdoad and ennead") is understandable in the context of the belief in late antiquity that concentric spheres surround the earth. The first seven (counting from earth) were connected with the known planets (including the sun and moon), and some, at least, were popularly thought to be dominated by powers inimical to the best interests of mankind (cf. Martin P. Nilson, "The New Conception of the Universe in Late Greek Paganism," *Eranos* 44 [1946], pp. 20-27). The eighth sphere began the area beyond the control of the lower powers, and hence marked the beginning of the divine realm. The Gnostics believed that at death the soul would have to find its way through the seven spheres in order to be saved and that at each sphere it was possible that the soul might be denied passage to the next sphere. However, once beyond the seventh, the soul need no longer fear, but could move from one level of blessedness to the next (cf. *Apoc. Paul* [V,2]). This tractate displays the (later?) conviction that the spheres can be gone through in a spiritual sense during the present life. Thus the names of the spheres can also be attached to the stages in spiritual progress. The prayer for illumination in VI,6 speaks, for example, of the suppliant's having attained the seventh (stage) (56,27); and at other points the eighth and the ninth are spoken of as both stages and spheres (52,2-6; 56,23-26). Thought of as a sphere, the eighth is where the souls and angels are found who "sing a hymn to the ninth and its powers" (59,29-32). The ninth sphere is where the powers of universal mind dwell (59,31-32). Mind, however, is not the same as the highest God (60,30-31). Therefore, whether the ninth sphere is also thought of as the place of God is not clear (cf. Mahé [2], p. 63, where this issue is raised). In *Corp. Herm.* I.26, the ninth seems to be intermediary between the eighth and God himself. And in *Apoc. Paul* (V,2) 24,7, a tenth sphere is mentioned. It may be then that the writer of this tractate assumes a still higher sphere than the ninth, a sphere where God himself dwells.

In addition to the conception of spheres, the writer seems to have been working with a cosmological view close to that of the Middle Platonist Albinus, in which First God (who is himself unmoved, as in Aristotle) by attraction moves Mind (his active part) (60,17-61,2),



which in turn influences the world soul (58,5-6) (cf. Albinus, *Didaskalikos* 163-64).

Considered as stages in spiritual development, the eighth and ninth are preceded by stages one through seven. These are not described individually in VI,6, but it is clear that two things must occur in order for one to pass through them to reach the eighth and ninth: the attainment of purity of life according to the standard of divine law (56,27-57,1) and the banishing of ignorance by mastering the knowledge found in certain books (54,6-18). When one has done these, he is ready for the eighth and ninth.

For the initiate to attain these two stages, it is first necessary that the mystagogue himself achieve a sense of unity with universal mind (the ninth); this occurs in his ecstatic vision in 58,1-22. The initiate enters the eighth when he recognizes that this unity has occurred and responds by what amounts to joining the chorus of the eighth and singing a silent hymn to universal mind, as he has apprehended it in the mystagogue (58,16-59,9). The ninth is reached when the initiate experiences his own unity with universal mind and receives the confirmatory vision in which the chorus of the eighth sings to him (59,24-60,1).

The form of VI,6 is a dialogue between a teacher and a pupil. It begins as a school dialogue depicting the passage of information from the one to the other. But then at 55,22 the form shifts to a dramatic dialogue, in which the immediate reactions to direct experience are expressed (noted also by Mahé [2], pp. 64-65). The purpose of this was no doubt to involve the reader in the experience being described. Another example of this mixed school-dramatic dialogue form is *Corp. Herm.* XIII, which is also closely related to VI,6 both structurally and conceptually, as Mahé has shown ([2], pp. 58-65).

Tröger reasonably suggests that the Hermetic tractates (of which VI,6 is one, as is shown below) were used in the context of small groups devoted to secret knowledge, in which those who were more advanced would teach the neophytes and others who were curious, and in which certain cultic activities were engaged in (note the prayers and hymns in VI,6 and *Corp. Herm.* I, XIII and *Asclepius*). The tractates would have served as the basis for discussions and as texts for individual meditation ([3], p. 119).

The participants in the dialogue in VI,6 are Trismegistus (identified also as Hermes in 58,28; 59,11; 63,24), and an unnamed initiate.

The dialogue may be outlined in the following manner:

- I. Introductory discussion in which the initiate refers to an earlier promise by the mystagogue to bring him into the eighth and ninth (52,2-7), and the mystagogue sets down the condition (52,12-14) and indicates that he considers that both the initiate and he are ready (52,16-18). He also impresses on him the fact that he has brothers in the mystical fraternity, which he is about to enter, and that he should honor them (53,6-21).
- II. The formal request for the discourse on the eighth and ninth (53,24-27).
- III. The prayer for the experience of the eighth and ninth. The preliminary instruction deals with the communal nature of the prayer (53,28-33), a reminder of the progress that the initiate has made (54,6-32), the initiate's affirmation of that progress (54,6-32), and the roles the mystagogue and the initiate are to play (55,10-22). The prayer (perhaps said jointly) consists of a doxology (55,22-56,22), a request for wisdom of speech (56,22-26), an assertion of the participants' worthiness (56,27-57,3), a request for the visionary experience (57,3-9), a plea that the spirit in them be acknowledged (57,10-18), and finally a request that the prayer be accepted (57,18-25).
- IV. The embrace between mystagogue and initiate (57,26-27).
- V. The vision of the mystagogue (57,28-58,22).
- VI. The entering of the eighth by the initiate (58,22-59,9).
- VII. The entering of the ninth by the initiate (59,15-60,1).
- VIII. The exhortation to silence about the vision by the mystagogue (60,1-4).
- IX. The singing by the initiate of a hymn of praise to God for the experience, in which the initiate acknowledges his attraction to the being of the divine (60,4-61,17).
- X. Arrangements for the preservation and use of the book. The book is to be written on steles and deposited in the temple at Diospolis (61,19-62,15). This is to be done at the correct astrological time (62,16-20). An oath is to be included indicating that the book is only for those who have attained the proper stage of development (62,22-63,14). A second oath is added making the user promise that he will guard the words of Hermes (63,15-30).

The dialogue form, the use of the names Trismegistus and Hermes, close similarities to *Corp. Herm.* XIII, and significant affinities with *Corp. Herm.* I.20-32, mark VI,6 as a heretofore unknown Hermetic tractate. Tröger groups VI,6 with *Corp. Herm.* I, IV, VI, VII, and XIII ([3], pp. 103, 111), since in his judgment these exhibit a dualistic type of Gnosticism characterized by a conviction of the divine nature of the spirit (pneuma), a sense of estrangement from the world, disengagement from the body, and the desire to return to the heavenly home ([3], p. 107). These characteristics are combined with elements common to Egyptian mystery communities, namely visions, ecstasy as a means of uniting with the divine, purification and asceticism, baptism and sacred meal conceptions, secret teaching and the emphasis on the passing on of tradition, special symbols, sacrifice, and secret discipline ([3], p. 103). He sees this combination resulting from the influence of Gnosticism upon Hermetic mystery communities in Egypt ([3], pp. 101-02). Hence he describes the system of beliefs found in these tractates as Hermetic Gnosticism.

Illuminating as Tröger's analysis is, one would like to see a clearer delimitation of the term "Gnosticism" before accepting it as applying to this tractate. It may be that what is reflected here is a variant of the dualistic Weltanschauung of the Graeco-Roman world that is unrelated to Gnosticism.

Affinities with the thought of Albinus (noted above) make it likely that VI,6 was composed sometime in the second century A.D.

THE DISCOURSE  
ON THE EIGHTH AND THE NINTH

VI,6:52,1-63,32

[NB]

[ 10 ± ] . . [  
 2 [Ω ΠΑΕΙΩ]† ΑΚΕΡΗ[†] ΝΑ[†] ΝΣΑΦ  
 [ΕΤΡΕΚΝ] ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 4 [ΕΤΜ]ΑΖΩΜΟΥΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΝ  
 [Ν]ΨΩΣ ΝΚΝ† ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΑΖ  
 6 ΨΕΙΤΕ· ΠΕΧΑΚ ΧΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ †  
 ΤΑΞΙΣ ΝΤΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΣ Ω ΠΑ  
 8 ΩΗΡΕ· ΤΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΕ †ΤΑΞΙΣ·  
 ΠΕΡΗ† ΔΕ ΑΦΩΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΜΝ  
 10 ΤΡΩΜΕ· ΔΕΙΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ  
 ΝΤΑΡΙΡΑΡΧΕΙ ΜΠΕΡΗ† ΔΕΙ  
 12 ΧΟΟΣ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Μ  
 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΒΑΘΜΟΣ· Ν  
 14 ΤΑΡΙΧΕΙ ΠΠΝΑ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΑΥΝΑ  
 ΜΙΣ· ΔΕΙΚΩ ΝΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΤΕΝΕΡ  
 16 ΓΕΙΑ· ΕΤΝΟΗΣΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΨΟΟ†  
 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΚ· ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗ† ΖΩΣ  
 18 ΕΣΕΕ† ΝΒΙ ΤΑΥΝΑΜΙΣ· Ν  
 ΤΑΡΙΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΗΓΗ  
 20 ΕΤΖΕ† ΝΗΕΙ ΔΕΙΧΠΟ· Ω  
 ΠΑΕΙΩ† ΨΑΧΕ ΝΙΜ· ΑΚΧΟΟΥ  
 22 ΝΑΪ ΚΑΛΩΣ· †Ρ ΘΑΥΜΑ ΔΕ  
 ΜΠΕΕΪΨΑΧΕ †ΝΟΥ ΕΤΑΚ  
 24 ΧΟΟ† ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΤΑΥ  
 ΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΤΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗ† ΠΑ  
 26 ΧΕ† ΧΕ ΔΕΙΧΠΑΣ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΩΗ  
 ΡΕ ΕΨΑΥΧΠΟΟΥ· ΑΡΑ Ω ΠΑ

52,12-13

For a similar formula referring to an earlier promise, cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.1; Stobaeus I.21.9 (Nock-Festugière III, Frag. VI.1).

THE DISCOURSE  
ON THE EIGHTH AND THE NINTH

VI,6:52,1-63,32

[52]

[  
2 ["O (ὁ) my father,] yesterday you promised [me]  
[that you would bring] my mind into  
4 [the] eighth and after-  
wards you would bring me into the  
6 ninth. You said that this is the  
order (τάξις) of the tradition (παράδοσις).” “O (ὁ) my  
8 son, indeed (μέν) this is the order (τάξις).  
But (δέ) the promise was according to (κατά)  
10 human nature. For (γάρ) I told you  
when I initiated (ἄρχεσθαι) the promise, I  
12 said: ‘If you hold in mind  
each one of the steps (βαθμός).’  
14 After I had received the spirit (πνεῦμα) through the power  
(δύναμις),  
I set forth the action (ἐνέργεια) for you.  
16 Indeed (μέν) the understanding (νόησις) dwells  
in you; in me (it is) as though (ὡς)  
18 the power (δύναμις) were pregnant.  
For (γάρ) when I conceived from the fountain (πηγή)  
20 that flowed to me, I gave birth.” “O (ὁ)  
my father, you have spoken every word  
22 well (καλῶς) to me. But (δέ) I am amazed (θαῦμα)  
at this statement that you have just  
24 made. For (γάρ) you said: ‘The  
power (δύναμις) that is in me—.’ ”  
26 He said: “I gave birth to it (the power), as  
children are born.” “Then (ἔρα), O (ὁ) my



- 28 father, I have many brothers, if  
I am to be numbered among the offspring.”  
30 “Right (καλῶς), O (ὁ) my son! This  
good thing (ἀγαθόν) is numbered by

[53]

(Line 1 lacking)

- 2 [ ]  
[ ]  
4 [ ] And [ ]  
[ ] at all times.  
6 Therefore, O (ὁ) my son,  
it is necessary (ἀνάγκη) for you to  
8 recognize your brothers and  
to honor them rightly (καλῶς) and  
10 properly, because (ὧς) they  
come from the same father.  
12 For (γάρ) each generation I have  
called (προσφωνεῖν). I have named  
14 it, because they were offspring  
like these sons.” “Then (ἄρα), O (ὁ)  
16 my father, do they have  
(a) day?” “O (ὁ) my son  
18 they are spiritual ones (πνευματικόν). For (γάρ)  
they exist as forces (ἐνέργεια) that grow (αὐξάνειν)  
20 other souls (ψυχή). Therefore I say  
that they are immortal.”  
22 “Your word is true; it has no  
refutation (ἀντιλογία) from now on.  
24 O (ὁ) my father, begin (ἄρχεσθαι) the

of elision caused by the **αγ** of the preceding word. Probably birthdays are referred to, in view of the preceding context. This form of **ζοογ** is not found elsewhere in Codex VI. Krause takes **ζωογ** to mean “also” and translates, “O my father, do they also have?” An object is needed. Tröger (1) (followed by Mahé [1]) takes **ἄμαγ** to mean “mothers,” and translates, “My father, do they then have mothers also?” The latter is doubtful because of the commonness of **ἄμαγ**, the adverb, with **οὔντα**, and because nowhere else in the codex is the word for mother spelled **μαγ**.

ψαχε π̄τμαζωμοϋνε μ̄ν  
 26 τμαζψιτε· π̄ροπ̄τ̄ ζωωτ̄  
 μ̄ν νασνηοϋ· μαρ̄νψλη  
 28 ω̄ παψηρε απειωτ̄ μ̄πτη  
 ρ̄q̄ μ̄ν νεκςνηοϋ ετε να  
 30 ψηρε νε· χεκαας ερατ̄ μ̄  
 π̄π̄να π̄τ̄ ψαχε· αψ τε θε  
 32 ετοϋψλη μ̄μος ω̄ παειωτ̄  
 ευζοτ̄ρ̄ εζοϋν ενχωμε·  
 34 †οϋωψ ω̄ παειωτ̄ ατριπιθεε  
 θαι

## [NΔ]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[. . . .α]λλα .[. . .].γα[  
 4 [. . .α]ν πε· ουτε ουνο . . .  
 [. . π]ε· αλλα qμοτ[π̄ ν̄ζη]τς  
 6 [. . .]ε μ̄μοq· αϋω ουμε πε  
 [νακ] ατρεκ̄ρ̄ π̄μεεϋε π̄τ̄προ  
 8 κ̄ρη ερωψε νακ π̄τ̄μ̄ν  
 τ̄ρ̄μ̄ν̄ζητ̄ ζ̄ν̄ ν̄χωμε· ω̄  
 10 παψηρε τ̄ν̄τωνκ̄ ετ̄ω  
 ρ̄π̄ ν̄ζηλικια· ν̄θε ν̄νικοϋ  
 12 ει ακχω ν̄νιπροβλημα π̄  
 ναθητ̄· ν̄νανοητον· ω̄ πα{I}  
 14 ειωτ̄ τ̄προκοπη ερωψε  
 ν̄νει †νοϋ μ̄ν τ̄προνοια  
 16 κατα ν̄χωμε ερωψε ναI  
 εςχοσε απωτα· ναI ν̄ζραI  
 18 ν̄ζητ̄ ν̄ωορ̄π̄· ω̄ παψηρε·  
 ζοταν εκψαν̄ρ̄νοει π̄τα  
 20 ληθεια μ̄πεκψαχε· κ̄να  
 βινε π̄νεκςνηοϋ ευψλη  
 22 ν̄μ̄μακ ετε ναψηρε νε·

- 53.3I "of eloquence," π̄τ̄ ψαχε: Mahé (I) emends to <ψα> N-†ψαχε, "⟨in order that⟩ I may speak."  
 54.3-5 Mahé (I) reconstructs α]λλα ϕ[υτε] ϕγα[ναρ]/[καιο]N πε· ουτε ουνομικ/[ον π]ε·, "However [that] (depends) [neither] on a [necessity] / nor a law."



discourse on the eighth and  
 26 the ninth, and include me also  
 with my brothers." "Let us pray,  
 28 O (ὦ) my son, to the father of the  
 universe, with your brothers who are my  
 30 sons, that he may give  
 the spirit (πνεῦμα) of eloquence." "How  
 32 do they pray, O (ὦ) my father,  
 when joined with the generations?  
 34 I want to obey (πειθεσθαι), O (ὦ) my father."

[54]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[            ] But (ἀλλά) it is [not  
 4 [            ]. Nor (οὔτε) [is it] a [  
 But (ἀλλά) he is satisfied [with] it (fem.).  
 6 [            ] it (masc.). And it is right  
 [for you] to remember the progress (προκοπή)  
 8 that came to you as  
 wisdom in the books. O (ὦ)  
 10 my son, compare yourself to the  
 early years of life. As children (do),  
 12 you have posed senseless,  
 unintelligent (ἀνόητος) questions (πρόβλημα)." "O (ὦ) my  
 14 father, the progress (προκοπή) that has come  
 to me now and the foreknowledge (πρόνοια),  
 16 according to (κατά) the books, that has come to me,  
 exceeding the deficiency—these things are  
 18 foremost in me." "O (ὦ) my son,  
 when (ὅταν) you understand (νοεῖν) the  
 20 truth (ἀλήθεια) of your statement, you will  
 find your brothers, who are my sons,  
 22 praying with you."

- 54,5-6 Mahé (1) reconstructs **ϕΜΟΤ[Ν ΕΡ]ϞΣ / [ΕΣΜ]Ε ΜΜΟϞ**,  
 "that one rests [in] her / and she [loves] him."  
 6-7 Mahé (1) reconstructs **ΟΥΜΕ ΠΕ / [ΠΑΪ]**, "[it] is loving (that  
 makes you remember)."  
 16 "according to the books": Cf. 63,2-3.  
 17 **ΝΑΪ**: Krause and Mahé (1) emend to <Π> **ΑΪ**.

emends to <ϕ  
 "   
 γα[ΝΑΪ]   
 However   
 w."

24  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{F}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   
 26  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   
 28  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{B}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   
 30  $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{C}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   
 32  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{V}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{D}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   
 $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   
 $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{D}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$

[ 8 ± ε ]  $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$  [   
 2 [ . . . . . ]  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  . [   
 [ . ]  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$  . [ . . . ] . .  $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$  [ . . ] . [   
 4 [ . ]  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{V}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$  [  $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$  ]   
 $\text{\textcircled{N}}$  [  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  ]  $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$  [  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{F}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$  ]   
 6  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{F}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$  ]   
 $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{F}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Q}}$   $\text{\textcircled{D}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$  [  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{C}}$  ]   
 8  $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$  [  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  ]   
 $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{C}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$    
 10  $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$  :  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$    
 $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$  [  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  ]   
 12  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Q}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Q}}$    
 $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{C}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$    
 14  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  :  $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$    
 $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$    
 16  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{S}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$    
 $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$  :  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$    
 18  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{V}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Q}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Q}}$    
 $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$    
 20  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$  :  $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$    
 $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{R}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{B}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{B}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{M}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{W}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{X}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$    
 22  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{V}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{P}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{G}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$  :

NE

54,25

The scribe changed an original  $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{K}}$  into  $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{A}}$   $\text{\textcircled{I}}$ . Keizer continues the initiate's speech through line 28; Krause and Mahé (1) to the middle of line 27.

32-55,1

Mahé (1) reconstructs  $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Y}}$  / [  $\text{\textcircled{L}}$   $\text{\textcircled{H}}$  6 ± c ]  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$   $\text{\textcircled{T}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{O}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$   $\text{\textcircled{Z}}$   $\text{\textcircled{N}}$ , "matter [ they ] are in."  $\text{\textcircled{T}}$  seems more likely than  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  in 55,1.

DISCOURSE  
 "O (ō) I  
 except (e  
 came to  
 what you  
 of the so  
 came to  
 May the  
 and you  
 O (ō) my  
 the books  
 [ in p  
 (those who  
 "O (ō) my  
 I will recei  
 discourse [e  
 to both (of  
 "O (ō) my  
 what is fir  
 to God with  
 and all our  
 soul (ψυχή)  
 him that th  
 eighth exte  
 us, and tha  
 receive from  
 is his. Your  
 to understa  
 to be able t  
 from the fo  
 Mahé (1) reco  
 that [you ha  
 Cf. 57,21-23;



μαρῆ ψληλ ὦ παειωτ  
 24 †ρεπικαλει ἡμοκ πε  
 ταμαρτε εχῆ τμητῆρο  
 26 ἡτβομ· παί ετε περλογοc  
 ψωπε ἡχπο ἡογοειν  
 28 νερψαχε δε ρενατμογ  
 νε ρενωα ενερ νε ἡνατ  
 30 ψιβε· παί ετε περ'ογωψ  
 χπο ἡπωνῆ ἡνινε ρῆ μα  
 32 νιμ· τερφγςιc † μορφη  
 ἡτογςια· εβολ ἡρητῆ εγκιμ'

[N]ῆ

ἡβι ἡψυχη ἡτ[μαρψμογνε]  
 2 [MḤ] ἡαγγελοc [  
 [. . . .]. [. . .]οc. [. . . .]εια[  
 4 [. . .]ἡ νετψοοπ· τερπ[ρ]οφο[ι]  
 [α π]ψρ ψα ογον νιμ [. . . .] το  
 6 [. . .]ρ εβολ ἡπαιων ρῆ ρῆπῆ  
 8 ρρωνῆ ἡκα νιμ· πετε ογῆ  
 ταρ ογααρ ρραῖ ἡρητῆ· ερρι  
 10 ρα ογον νιμ· ερμερ· πνογ  
 τε ἡαρορατοc ετογψαχε  
 12 ερορ ρῆ ογκαρωρ· σεκιμ  
 ετερῆικων εγῆδιοκει ἡ  
 14 μοc αγω c{ε}ῆδιοκει· πχω  
 ωρε ἡταγναιμικ πετῆοce  
 16 ατῆῆνοβ· πετῆοτῆ αν  
 ταειθ ρωξαθαζω α ωω

- 55,23 It may be that this phrase should be taken to mean that the prayer is spoken in common, as Mahé proposes ([2], p. 56).
- 24-57,25 On prayers in Hermetism, cf. Nock-Festugière I,27, note 79.
- 30 ογωψ replaces λογοc, which is deleted by the scribe.
- 31 "life for the forms": or, if one takes the double N before INE as an example of the normal doubling of a single initial N before an initial vowel (as Krause does), one could translate, with Krause, "the life form."
- 56,1 Reconstruction supported by 58,15-20 and 59,28-30. Mahé restores MḤ [ἡΔΥΝΑΜΙC], "and [the powers]."

"Let us  
 I call up  
 rnest ov  
 of power,  
 comes as  
 And (86)  
 They are  
 changing  
 begets life  
 every plac  
 to substan

36

the souls  
 and the a  
 [ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] those  
 extends to  
 [ . . . ] beget  
 [ . . . ] the ae  
 He created  
 self-contain  
 for everyth  
 invisible  
 in silence,  
 image (εἰκό  
 and it gover  
 one mighty  
 above maje  
 honored (on

Mahé (1) re  
 η[ορψ] ψ  
 [reaches] to  
 Mahé (1) reco  
 Mahé (1) rec  
 divided . . .  
 "for every  
 "for all being  
 This sentence  
 proposal.  
 As Krause po

“Let us pray, O (ὦ) my father:  
 24 I call upon thee, who  
 rulest over the kingdom  
 26 of power, whose word (λόγος)  
 comes as (a) birth of light.  
 28 And (δέ) his words are immortal.  
 They are eternal and un-  
 30 changing. He is the one whose will  
 begets life for the forms in  
 32 every place. His nature (φύσις) gives form (μορφή)  
 to substance (οὐσία). By him

[5]6

the souls (ψυχή) of [the eighth]  
 2 [and] the angels are moved [  
 [  
 4 [ ] those that exist. His providence (πρόνοια)  
 extends to everyone [  
 6 [ ] begets everyone. He is the one who  
 [ ] the aeon among spirits (πνεῦμα).  
 8 He created everything. He who is  
 self-contained cares  
 10 for everything. He is perfect, the  
 invisible (ἀόρατος) God to whom one speaks  
 12 in silence,—his  
 image (εἰκὼν) is moved when it is directed (διοικεῖν),  
 14 and it governs (διοικεῖν)—the  
 one mighty in power (δύναμις), who is exalted  
 16 above majesty, who is better than the  
 honored (ones), Zoxathazo a ὄῶ

56,2-4 Mahé (1) reconstructs [παῖ γαρ ετε] / [περ]φ[ρ]ο[ς]  
 π[ορ]φ[ω] ψα ο[γ]ον] / [νι]μ, “For he it is] / [whose] word  
 [reaches] to [all] / . . .”

5-6 Mahé (1) reconstructs [2M Π]το/[πο]ς, “in the place.”

6-7 Mahé (1) reconstructs περ/[χω]ρ, “(The one who) has  
 divided. . .”

10 or “for everything and is perfect. You are the” (Tröger [1]), or  
 “for all beings in his fullness” (Mahé [1]).

12-14 This sentence seems parenthetical. Emendation follows Krause’s  
 proposal.

14-16 As Krause points out, this section may be taken vocatively.

18 ΕΕ ΩΩΩ ΗΗΗ ΩΩΩ Ω  
 ΗΗ ΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΩΩΩΩΩ  
 20 ΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ  
 ΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΩΩΩΩΩΩ  
 22 ΩΩΩ ΖΩΖΑΖΩΘ ΠΧΟΙϚ  
 ΜΑ† ΝΑΝ ΝΝΟΥϚΟΦΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ  
 24 ΖΝ ΤΕΚΔΥΝΑΜΙϚ ΕΤΠΗΖ  
 ΨΑΡΟΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ ΝΑΝ ΝΘΕ  
 26 ΩΡΙΑ ΝΘΟΓΔΟΑϚ ΜΝ ΘΕΝΝΑϚ·  
 ΗΔΗ ΑΝΡ ΨΡΠ ΜΠΩΖ ΕΘΕΒΔΟ  
 28 ΜΑϚ ΕΝΟΕΙ ΝΝΕΥϚΕΒΗϚ ΕΝ  
 ΡΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕϚΘΑΙ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΝΟ  
 30 ΜΟϚ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΚΟΥΨ  
 ΤΝΧΩΚ ΜΜΟϚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΟ  
 32 ΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ· ΑΝΜΟΟΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΝ

[ΤΕΚΖΙΗ ΑΥΩ ΑΝ]ΚΩ ΝϚΩΝ  
 2 [ 9 ± ]ΝΤΡΕϚΨΩΠΕ  
 [ΝΒΙ] ΤΕΚ[ΘΕΩ]ΡΙΑ· ΠΧΟΕΙϚ ΜΑ†  
 4 [ΝΑ]Ν ΝΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΖΝ ΘΙΚΩΝ·  
 Μ[Α]† ΝΑΝ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΝΑ ΕΤΡΕΝ  
 6 ΝΑΥ [Ε]ΤΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΘΙΚΩΝ  
 ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΕϚ ΨΤΑ ΜΜΑΥ·  
 8 ΝΓΧΙ ΜΠΤΥΠΟϚ ΜΠΛΗΡΩ  
 ΜΑ ΝΤΟΟΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΝ  
 10 ΣΜΟΥ· ΝΓϚΟΥΩΝ ΠΠΝΑ  
 ΕΤΝΖΗΤΝ· ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΖΙΤΟΟ  
 12 ΤΚ ΝΤΑΠΤΗΡῆ ΧΙ ΨΥΧΗ·  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΤΚ ΠΑΓΕΝ  
 14 ΝΗΤΟϚ ΝΤΑΠΓΕΝΗΤΟΝ ΨΩ  
 ΠΕ· ΠΧΠΟ ΜΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΤΟϚ·  
 16 ΕϚΨΟΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ·  
 ΠΧΠΟ ΝΝΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ ΤΗ  
 18 ΡΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΧΕΙ ΝΝΛΟ

[NZ]

- 18 ee ððð ēēē ðððð  
ēē ðððððð ðððððð
- 20 ðððððð uuuuuu  
ðððððððððððððð
- 22 ððð Zozazoth. Lord,  
grant us a wisdom (σοφία) from
- 24 thy power (δύναμις) that reaches  
us, so that we may describe to ourselves the
- 26 vision (θεωρία) of the eighth (ὄγδοα) and the ninth (ἐν-  
νεάς).
- We have already (ἤδη) advanced to the seventh (ἑβδομάς),
- 28 since we are pious (εὐσεβής) and  
walk (πολιτεύεσθαι) in thy law (νόμος).
- 30 And thy will  
we fulfill
- 32 always. For (γάρ) we have walked in

[57]

- [thy way, and we have] renounced
- 2 [                    ], so that  
thy [vision (θεωρία)] may come. Lord, grant
- 4 us the truth (ἀλήθεια) in the image (εἰκῶν).  
Allow us through the spirit (πνεῦμα) to
- 6 see the form (μορφή) of the image (εἰκῶν)  
that has no deficiency;
- 8 and receive the reflection (τύπος) of the pleroma  
from us through our praise.
- 10 And acknowledge the spirit (πνεῦμα)  
that is in us. For (γάρ) from
- 12 thee the universe received soul (ψυχή).  
For (γάρ) from thee, the unbegotten one (ἀγέννητος),
- 14 the begotten one (γεννητόν) came into being.  
The birth of the self-begotten one (αὐτογέννητος)
- 16 is through thee,  
the birth of all begotten things (γεννητόν)
- 18 that exist. Receive

Platonism taken over from Plato's *Timaeus*; cf. Albinus,  
*Didaskalikos* 169.26-28.

ΓΕΙΚΗ ΘΥCΙΑ ΝΤΟΟΤḢ·  
 20 ΝΑΪ ΕΤḢΤḢΝΝΟΟΥ ḢΜΟΟΥ  
 ΝΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ· ΖḢ ΠḢΖΗΤ ΤΗ  
 22 ΡḢ ΜḢ ΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΜḢ ΤΕΝ  
 ΒΟΜ ΤΗΡḢ· ΜΑΤΟΥΧΕ ΠΕΤ  
 24 ΨΟΟΠḢ ΝΖΗΤḢ ΝḢΤḢ ΝΑΝ  
 ΝΤCΟΦΙΑ ḢΝΑΤḢΜΟΥ·  
 26 ΜΑΡḢΡΑCΠΑΖΕ ḢΝΝΕΝ  
 ΕΡΗΟΥ Ḣ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΖḢ ΟΥ  
 28 ΜΕ· ΡΑΨΕ ΕΧḢ ΠΑΪ· ΗΔΗ ΓΑΡ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ḢΜΟΟΥ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC  
 30 ΕΤΟ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ḢΝΗΥ ΨΑΡΟΝ·  
 †ΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ †ΝΑΥ ΕΖΕΝΒΑ  
 32 ΘΟC ΕΜΑΥḢ ΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ·  
 ΑΨ ΤΕ ΘΕ Ε†ΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΚ

## [N]H

ὠ παΨḢρη· ΕΤ[  
 2 ΘΑΙ ΧΙΝ ΤΟ[  
 ḢΜΑ· ΑΨ ΤΕ Θ[Ε Ε†ΝΑΧΟΟC Ε]  
 4 ΠΤΗΡḢ· ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ [ΠΝΟ]Υ[C ΑΥΩ]  
 †ΝΑΥ ΕΚΕΝΟΥC ΠΕ†Κ[ΙΜ] Ε†  
 6 ΨΥΧΗ· †ΝΑΥ ΕΠΕ[†]ΚΙΜ ΕΡΟΪ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖḢ ΟΥḢΨΕ ΕCΟΥΑΑΒ· Κ†  
 8 ΝΗΕΙ ΒΑΜ· †ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΕΙ †ΟΥΨΨ  
 ΕΨΑΧΕ· ΟΥḢ ΟΥΦΟΒΟC ΡΚΑ  
 10 ΤΕΧΕ ḢΜΟΕΙ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕΙḢḢ ΤΑΡ  
 ΧΗ ḢΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC Ε†ΖḢΧḢ ḢΔΥ  
 12 ΝΑΜΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΕΤΕ ΜḢΤΕC  
 ΑΡΧΗ· †ΝΑΥ ΕΥΠΗΓΗ ΕCΒḢΒḢ  
 14 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖḢ ΟΥΩΝΖ· ΔΕΙΧΟΟC Ḣ  
 ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥC

- 57,19 "spiritual sacrifices": Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.31; XIII.18-19,21; Rom 12:1; Heb 13:15; Eph 5:19; Col 3:16.  
 27 "affectionately": or "in truth."  
 28 "rejoice": Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.8.  
 31-32 Tröger (1) and Mahé (1) assign these lines to the initiate.  
 58,1-2 Mahé (1) reconstructs: Ε†[ΑΝḢΡΑΡΧΕC]/ΘΑΙ ΧΙΝ ΤΟ[ΤΕ ΕΝΑΥ], "[We have begun / to see immediately.]"

from us t  
 20 which we  
 to thee w  
 and our s  
 our streng  
 4 is in us ar  
 the immo  
 25 "Let us en  
 each other  
 28 Rejoice ov  
 from them  
 30 which is li  
 For (†) (†)  
 32 indescriba  
 How shall

O (†) my  
 from the (†  
 the places.  
 the univers  
 I see anothe  
 soul (†) (†)  
 from pure  
 me power!  
 to speak! I  
 me. I have  
 beginning  
 all powers  
 beginning  
 with life. I  
 my son, th

Reconstruct  
 "another M  
 Tröger (1) a  
 "I see... w  
 "I see mys  
 or "Fear o



from us these spiritual (λογική) sacrifices (θυσία),  
 20 which we send  
 to thee with all our heart  
 22 and our soul (ψυχή) and all  
 our strength. Save that which  
 24 is in us and grant us  
 the immortal wisdom (σοφία)."  
 26 "Let us embrace (ἀσπάζειν)  
 each other affectionately, O (ὦ) my son.  
 28 Rejoice over this! For (γάρ) already (ἤδη)  
 from them the power (δύναμις),  
 30 which is light, is coming to us.  
 For (γάρ) I see! I see  
 32 indescribable depths (βάθος).  
 How shall I tell you,

[5]8

O (ὦ) my son? [  
 2 from the (fem.) [  
 the places. How [shall I describe]  
 4 the universe? I [am Mind (νοῦς) and]  
 I see another Mind (νοῦς), the one that [moves] the  
 6 soul (ψυχή)! I see the one that moves me  
 from pure forgetfulness. Thou dost give  
 8 me power! I see myself! I want  
 to speak! Fear (φόβος) restrains (κατέχειν)  
 10 me. I have found the  
 beginning (ἀρχή) of the power (δύναμις) that is above  
 12 all powers (δύναμις), the one that has no  
 beginning (ἀρχή). I see a fountain (πηγή) bubbling  
 14 with life. I have said, O (ὦ)  
 my son, that I am Mind (νοῦς).

58,4 Reconstruction follows Tröger (1) and Mahé (1).

5 "another Mind": Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.21-23.

5-14a Tröger (1) assigns these lines to the initiate.

6-14 "I see . . . with life.": Mahé (1) assigns this speech to the initiate.

8 "I see myself!": Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.13.

9 or "Fear overcomes me" (following Keizer).

16 ΛΕΙΝΑΥ ϞΒΜΒΑΜ ΑΝ ΝΒΙ ΠΩΑ  
 ΧΕ ΕΥΩΝΖ ΠΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ· ΘΟΓΔΟ  
 18 ΑΣ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡϞ Ω ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ  
 ΝΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΝΖΗΤϞ ΜΝ ΝΑΓ  
 20 ΓΕΛΟC CΕΡΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΚΑ  
 ΡΩϞ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΝΟΥC ϞΡ  
 22 ΝΟΕΙ· ΑΨ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤ<Ϟ>  
 ΕΡΖΥΜΝΕΙ· ΑΚΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΝΑΨ  
 24 ΨΑΧΕ ΑΝ ΕΡΟΚ· ϞΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ  
 Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ· ϞΟΥΨ ΕΡΖΥ  
 26 ΜΝΕΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΕΙΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΧΟΟϞ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥC·  
 28 ϞΡΝΟΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥC ΦΕΡΜΗC  
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΨ 'Ζ'ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ  
 30 ΜΜΟϞ ΕϞΑΡΕΖ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤϞ:  
 ϞΡΑΨΕ ΔΕ Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΙΝΑΥ  
 32 ΕΡΟΚ ΕΚCΩΒΕ' ΠΤΗΡϞ ΔΕ

[ΡΑΨ]Ε· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ  
 2 [ΝΚ]ΤΙCΙC ΕϞΝΑΡ ΘΡΩΖ ΖΜ  
 [Π]ΕΚΩΝΖ· ΝΤΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΧΟ  
 4 [ΕΙ]C ΝΝΜΠΟΛΕΙΤΗC ΖΜ ΜΑ  
 Ν[Ι]Μ· ΤΕΚΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΖΑΡΕΖ·  
 6 ϞΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΙ  
 ΩΝ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΠΝΑ Ο ΝΘΕΙΟΝ  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΕϞϞ ΜΠΜΟΥ  
 ΝΖΩΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ΟΥ  
 10 ΠΕΤΚΧΩ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΑΙ' Ω ΠΑ  
 ΕΙΩΤ ΦΕΡΜΗC ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΙ Ϟ  
 12 ΧΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΑΝ Ω ΠΑΩΗΡΕ· ΟΥΔΙ  
 ΚΑΙΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ

58,16-17 Tröger (1) and Mahé (1) assign this to the initiate. Cf. *Corp. Herm.* X.5.

17-22 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.15; I.26; Festugière, *La Révélation* III, 133-40.

22 MS has ΖΗΤΟΟΤϞ. Presumably the scribe translated the Greek fem. pronoun (for σιγή) without considering that the noun had changed gender.

28-29 Note the word-play, ἐρμῆς and ἐρμηνεύειν (Mahé [2], p. 57).

[NΘ]

DISCOURSE  
 16 I have s  
 to reveal  
 18 eighth (8  
 the souls  
 20 angels, st  
 silence. A  
 22 understan  
 a hymn  
 24 you cann  
 O (8) my  
 sing a hyn  
 sing it, fo  
 28 "I unders  
 who cann  
 because he  
 And (8) I  
 three smili  
 rejoices.  
 creature (8  
 thy life. F  
 lord of the  
 every plac  
 I call thee  
 of the aeon  
 And by a  
 rain upon  
 do you say  
 father, He  
 do not say  
 For (γῶ)  
 Krause rec  
 TICIC mor  
 "aeon": Fo  
 Herm. XI.1  
 Keizer ascr  
 Cf. 60,3-4;

16 I have seen! Language is not able  
to reveal this. For (γάρ) the entire  
18 eighth (ὀγδοάς), O (ὦ) my son, and  
the souls (ψυχή) that are in it, and the  
20 angels, sing a hymn (ὕμνεϊν) in  
silence. And (δέ) I, Mind (νοῦς),  
22 understand (νοεῖν).” “What is the way to sing  
a hymn (ὕμνεϊν) through it (silence)?” “Have you  
become such that  
24 you cannot be spoken to?” “I am silent,  
O (ὦ) my father. I want to  
26 sing a hymn (ὕμνεϊν) to you while I am silent.” “Then  
(ἀλλά)  
sing it, for (γάρ) I am Mind (νοῦς).”  
28 “I understand (νοεῖν) Mind (νοῦς), Hermes,  
who cannot be interpreted (ἑρμηνεύειν)  
30 because he keeps within himself.  
And (δέ) I rejoice, O (ὦ) my father, because I see  
32 thee smiling. And (δέ) the universe

[59]

[rejoices]. Therefore there is no  
2 creature (κτίσις) that will lack  
thy life. For (γάρ) thou art the  
4 lord of the citizens (πολίτης) in  
every place. Thy providence (πρόνοια) protects.  
6 I call thee father, aeon  
of the aeons, great divine (θεῖον) spirit (πνεῦμα).  
8 And by a spirit (πνεῦμα) he gives  
rain upon everyone. What  
10 do you say to me, O (ὦ) my  
father, Hermes?” “Concerning these things I  
12 do not say anything, O (ὦ) my son.  
For (γάρ) it is right (δίκαιον) before God

59,2 Krause reconstructs [NNO]HCIC, but the traces make [NK]-  
TICIC more likely.

6-7 “aeon”: For the conception of aeon in Hermetism, cf. *Corp.*  
*Herm.* XI.1-5, 15, 20.

8-9 Keizer ascribes this sentence to Trismegistus.

11-14 Cf. 60,3-4; *Corp. Herm.* XIII.13,22.

14 ΕΤΡΕΝΚΑΡΩΝ ΑΠΕΤΘΗΠ·  
 Ω ΠΤΡ'Ι'ΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΜΝΤΡΕ  
 16 ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΡΧΗΡΑ ΑΤΘΕΩΡΕΙΑ  
 Ο ΝΘΕΙΟΝ· ΟΥΝ ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ  
 18 ΜΜΟΚ ΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ' ΖΩC CΑΖ  
 ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡḲ· ΚΟΤḲ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε  
 20 Π<C> ΜΟΥ Ω ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΝΓΧΟΟC  
 ΕΚΚΑΡΑΕΙΤ'· ΕΡΙΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΕ  
 22 ΤΚΟΥΑΨḲ ΖΝ ΟΥΚΑΡΩQ·  
 ΝΤΑΡΕQΟΥΩ ΕQCΜΟΥ ΑQ  
 24 ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΧΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΠΤΡΙC  
 ΜΕΓΙCΤΟC ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΧΟΟQ  
 26 ΑΝΧΕΙ ΜΠΕΕΙΟΥΘΕΙΝ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΕΙΘΕΩΡΙΑ  
 28 ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤḲ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΝΑΥ ΕΘΟΓΔΟΑC ΜΝ ΝΨΥ  
 30 ΧΗ ΕΤΝΖΗΤḲ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC  
 ΕΥΡΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΕΘΕΝΝΑC ΜΝ  
 32 ΝΕCΔΥΝΑΜΙC· ΑΥΩ ΤΝΑΥ  
 ΕΡΟQ ΕΥΝΤΑQ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΥ  
 34 ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕQCΩΝΤ

[Σ]

Ν<NET> ΖΜ ΠΠΝΑ· CΡ ΨΑΥ ΧΙΝ [ΤΝΟΥ]  
 2 ΝΤΝΚΑΡΩΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤ[ΠΡΟ]  
 ΠΕΤΗC· ΜΠΡΨΑΧΕ ΑΤΘΕΩ[ΡΙΑ]  
 4 ΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ· ΨΨΕ ΑΡΖΥ[ΜΝΕΙ]  
 ΑΠΕΙΩΤ ΨΑ ΦΟΟΥ ΝΚΑ [C]Ψ

- 59,15 Krause omits translating ΜΝΤΡΕ because he believes the scribe crossed it out. The apparent line through the letters seems to be only the bleeding of ink along a horizontal fiber, a situation that may be observed elsewhere on the MS page.
- 15-16 Cf. Philo *Det.pot.ins.* 149; *Spec.leg.* II.31.
- 20 MS has ΠΜΟΥ, "the death," which Krause, Keizer, and Mahé ([2], p. 56) translate as it stands. Our emendation is accepted by Tröger (1) and Mahé (1).
- 26-60,5 Keizer ascribes this speech to Trismegistus.
- 28 "in you": Probably the Coptic word order is significant here so that this means, in effect, "the same vision that is in you."

14 that we  
 "O (ō) I  
 16 my soul  
 great div  
 18 everything  
 of the un  
 20 <praising  
 while you  
 22 you want  
 When he  
 24 shouted:  
 megistus!  
 26 We have  
 I myself se  
 28 in you. An  
 I see the e  
 30 that are in  
 singing a h  
 32 its powers  
 him who h  
 34 power (bōw  
 [60]  
 those <tha  
 3 that we kee  
 Do not spe  
 4 from now o  
 to the fath

Mahé, howe  
 mediator of  
 3 Cf. Corp. He  
 4 MS has εq  
 Two other p  
 CΩΝΤ ΝΖ  
 ΠΠΝΑ "cre  
 "in a rever  
 or drooping  
 inclination."  
 sentence, an

- 14 that we keep silent about what is hidden.”  
 “O (ὦ) Trismegistus, let not  
 16 my soul (ψυχὴ) be deprived (χῆρα) of the  
 great divine (θεῖον) vision (θεωρία). For (γάρ)  
 18 everything is possible for you as (ὡς) master  
 of the universe.” “Return to  
 20 <praising>. O (ὦ) my son, and sing  
 while you are silent. Ask (αἰτεῖν) what  
 22 you want in silence.”  
 When he had finished praising he  
 24 shouted: “Father Tris-  
 megistus! What shall I say?  
 26 We have received this light. And  
 I myself see this same vision (θεωρία)  
 28 in you. And  
 I see the eighth (ὀγδοάς) and the souls (ψυχὴ)  
 30 that are in it and the angels  
 singing a hymn (ὕμνεῖν) to the ninth (ἐννεάς) and  
 32 its powers (δύναμις). And I see  
 him who has the  
 34 power (δύναμις) of them all, creating

[60]

- those <that are> in the spirit (πνεῦμα).” “It is advan-  
 tageous from [now on]  
 2 that we keep silence in a reverent posture (-προπετής).  
 Do not speak about the vision (θεωρία)  
 4 from now on. It is proper to [sing a hymn (ὕμνεῖν)]  
 to the father until the day to quit (the) body (σῶμα).”

Mahé, however, takes this to mean that Trismegistus is the mediator of the vision ([2], p. 60).

59,30-31

Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.26.

34-60,1

MS has  $\epsilon\varrho\zeta\omega\nu\tau\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ , an impossible construction. Two other possible emendations are suggested by Krause:  $\epsilon\varrho\zeta\omega\nu\tau\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$  “creating spirits,” or  $\epsilon\varrho\zeta\omega\nu\tau\ \{\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$  “creating in the spirit.”

2

“in a reverent posture”: *προπέτης* means a forward inclination or drooping, hence our translation. Krause translates, “in an inclination.” Tröger (1) and Mahé (1) take it with the next sentence, and translate, “hastily.”

6 μα πετκχω ἡμοϋ· ὦ παῖ  
 7 ωτ̄ τ̄ουωψ̄ ζωωτ̄ εχοοϋ  
 8 †ρ̄ζυμνει ρραῖ ἡρητ̄· ζωσ  
 ακ̄μητον ἡμοκ σ̄ρ̄ϋε απ̄σμοϋ·  
 10 ακ̄βινε γαρ ἡπετκψινε ἡ  
 σωϋ· οϋπετεψ̄ψε δε πε·  
 12 ω παειωτ̄ ετασμοϋ εει  
 μηζ εβολ ρ̄μ̄ παρητ̄· πετεψ̄  
 14 ψε δε πε πεκσμοϋ ετ̄κ  
 ναχοοϋ ερραῖ επ̄νοϋτε·  
 16 ἡσεσαρ̄ϋ̄ επ̄εειχωωμε  
 ἡνατ̄τακο· †ναχοοϋ ἡ  
 18 πσμοϋ ερραῖ ρ̄μ̄ παρητ̄ εῖ  
 σοπ̄σπ̄ ἡθαν ἡπ̄τηρ̄ϋ̄· αϋω  
 20 ταρχη ἡταρχη ἡπ̄ζητη  
 μα ἡἡρωμε· φευρεμα  
 22 ἡατ̄μοϋ· προϋαπο ἡποϋ  
 οειν ἡἡ ταληθ̄εια· προϋ  
 24 σιτε ἡπ̄λογος ταγαπ̄η ἡ  
 πων̄ζ̄ ἡνατ̄μοϋ· οϋλοϋος  
 26 ερρητ̄ ϋναψ̄ ψαχε αν̄ εροκ  
 π̄χοεις· ετ̄βε παῖ πανοϋς  
 28 οϋωψ̄ ρ̄ζυμνει εροκ ἡ  
 μηνε· ανοκ πε ποργανον  
 30 ἡπεκ̄π̄να· π̄νοϋς πεκ  
 π̄ληκτρον· πεκψοχ̄νε  
 32 δε ρ̄ψαλλει ἡμοει· †ναϋ

εροῑ δεῑχῑ βομ̄ ἡτοοτ̄κ̄ λ

- 60,6-9 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.21.  
 8 Tröger (1) and Mahé (1) ascribe this to the initiate.  
 8-9 "I am . . . yourself": Krause takes this as one sentence and ascribes it to the initiate.  
 8-10 Keizer ascribes this to the initiate.  
 10 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.20; Mt 7:7-8; Ac 17:27; Rom 10:20.  
 11 Krause takes ΟΥ as the interrogative pronoun and translates, "But what is fitting?"  
 11-62,1 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XIII.21.

DISCOURSE  
 6 "What y  
 father, I  
 7 "I am sin  
 8 While (δ  
 9 For (γρ)  
 "But (δ  
 10 O (ὁ) my  
 am filled i  
 11 is your pr  
 will sing to  
 12 so that it  
 "I will offe  
 13 the praise  
 pray to the  
 14 the beginn  
 of man's q  
 15 immortal d  
 light and t  
 16 sower of re  
 immortal li  
 17 hidden wor  
 Lord. Ther  
 18 wants to si  
 daily. I am  
 19 of thy spiri  
 plectrum (α  
 20 plucks (α  
 myself! I h  
 The scribe f  
 deleted the  
 "the beginn  
 "Mithras Li  
 67" Misson  
 Cf. 58,10-11  
 "the sower  
 For metaph

- 6 "What you sing, O (ὦ) my  
father, I too want to sing."  
8 "I am singing a hymn (ὕμνεϊν) within myself.  
While (ὥς) you rest yourself, be active in praise.  
10 For (γάρ) you have found what you seek."  
"But (δέ) is it proper,  
12 O (ὦ) my father, that I praise because I  
am filled in my heart?" "What (+ δέ) is proper  
14 is your praise that you  
will sing to God  
16 so that it might be written in this imperishable book."  
"I will offer up  
18 the praise in my heart, as I  
pray to the end of the universe and  
20 the beginning (ἀρχή) of the beginning (ἀρχή), to the ob-  
ject  
of man's quest (ζήτημα), the  
22 immortal discovery (εὕρημα), the begetter of  
light and truth (ἀλήθεια), the  
24 sower of reason (λόγος), the love (ἀγάπη) of  
immortal life. No  
26 hidden word (λόγος) will be able to speak about thee,  
Lord. Therefore my mind (νοῦς)  
28 wants to sing a hymn (ὕμνεϊν) to you  
daily. I am the instrument (ὄργανον)  
30 of thy spirit (πνεῦμα); Mind (νοῦς) is thy  
plectrum (πλῆκτρον). And (δέ) thy counsel  
32 plucks (ψάλλειν) me. I see

61

myself! I have received power from thee.

- 60,15 The scribe first wrote **ΝΑΧΟΟΥΓ**, "will send him," and then  
deleted the **Υ**.  
20 "the beginning of the beginning": For a similar phrase, cf. the  
"Mithras Liturgy," 488 (M. W. Meyer, ed., *The "Mithras Litur-  
gy,"* Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).  
20-21 Cf. 58,10-11; 60,10.  
23-24 "the sower of reason": Cf. Mk 4:14-20.  
29-32 For metaphor, cf. Plut. *Def. orac.* 436F, and *Pyth. or.* 402B.

2 ΠΕΚΜΑΕΙΕ ΓΑΡ Τ[Ε]ΖΑΝ ΚΑ  
 ΛΩC Ω ΠΑΨΗΡΕ· Ω ΠΖΜΟΤ  
 4 [Μ]ΝΝCΑ ΝΑΙ· †ΨΠ ΖΜΟΤ  
 [ΕΕΙ]ΡΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΕΡΟΚ· ΝΤΑΕΙ  
 6 Χ[Ι] ΠΩΝΖ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ· Ν  
 ΤΑΡΕΚΑΑΤ ΝCΟΦΟC· †  
 8 CΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ †ΜΟΥΤΕ Μ  
 ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΤΖΗΠ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ  
 10 Α Ω ΕΕ Ω ΗΗΗ ΩΩΩ ΙΙΙ  
 ΩΩΩΩ ΟΟΟΟΟ ΩΩΩ  
 12 ΩΩ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩ  
 ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ  
 14 ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ  
 ΩΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΨΟ  
 16 ΟΠ ΜΝ ΠΠΝΑ †ΡΖΥΜΝΙ  
 ΕΡΟΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ  
 18 Ω ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΠΕΙΧΩΜΕ  
 CΑΖΩ ΑΠΕΡΠΕ ΝΔΙΟCΠΟΛΙC·  
 20 ΖΝ ΖΕΝCΖΑΙ ΝCΑΖΠΡΑΝΩ  
 ΕΚΡΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΕΘΟΓΔΟΑC  
 22 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕΝΝΑC·  
 †ΝΑΑΑC Ω ΠΑ<ΕΙΩΤ> ΝΘΕ  
 24 ΕΤΕ ΚΟΥΑΖ CΑΖΝΕ ΜΜΟC †  
 ΝΟΥ· Ω ΠΑ<ΨΗΡΕ> ΠΨΑΧΕ  
 26 ΜΠΧΩΩΜΕ CΑΖΩ ΑΝCΤΗ  
 ΛΗ ΝΚΑΛΛΕΙΝΟC· Ω ΠΑΨΗ  
 28 ΡΕ ΠΕΙΧΩΜΕ ΨΨΕ ΕCΑΖΩ

- 61,3 Tröger (1) does not begin a second quotation at the end of the line, hence the speech of Trismegistus continues through 61,22.
- 8-15 Cf. 56,17-22; *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 66,12-22.
- 9 "name": For the use of name (ὄνομα) in Hermetic prayers, cf. Reitzenstein, *Poim.*, p. 15, line 2; p. 18, line 12; p. 20, line 6; p. 27, line 8.
- 19 "Diospolis": It is uncertain whether this is the ancient town of Diospolis Parva (modern Heou near Nag Hammadi), or Diospolis Magna (ancient Thebes at Luxor). Cf. J. M. Robinson, "Coptic Gnostic Library Today," *NTS* 14 (1968), 369-70.
- 20 "hieroglyphic characters": Lit. "letters of a scribe of the house of life." Our translation is supported by a similar Demotic phrase with this meaning; cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library, Manchester* III (Man-

DISCOUR  
 1 For (γὰρ)  
 "Right  
 After the  
 by singin  
 received  
 when the  
 praise the  
 thy name  
 a o e e o e  
 ooooo  
 oo uuuuu  
 ooooooo  
 ooooooo  
 oo. Thou  
 with the s  
 to thee rev  
 "O (ὦ) my  
 write this  
 in hierogly  
 writing (ἱε  
 Reveals th  
 "I will do  
 you comma  
 now." "O  
 write the la  
 of turquois  
 it is proper

chester: Uni  
 Sherratt & F  
 13, p. 81. Fo  
 Enzo Lucche  
 of Egyptian  
 MS has ΠΑΘ  
 MS has ΠΑΘ  
 emend here.  
 translates th  
 write..."  
 On the role  
 texts, cf. F  
 Poim., p. 20.



- 2 For (γάρ) thy love has reached us.”  
 “Right (καλῶς), O (ὦ) my son.” “O (ὦ) grace!  
 4 After these things I give thanks  
 by singing a hymn (ὕμνεϊν) to thee. For (γάρ) I have  
 6 received life from thee,  
 when thou madest me wise (σοφός). I  
 8 praise thee. I call  
 thy name that is hidden within me.  
 10 a o ee o eēē oōō iii  
 oōōō ooooo oōō  
 12 oō uuuuuu oō  
 oōōōōōōōō  
 14 oōōōōōōōō  
 oō. Thou art the one who exists  
 16 with the spirit (πνεῦμα). I sing a hymn (ὕμνεϊν)  
 to thee reverently.”  
 18 “O (ὦ) my son,  
 write this book for the temple at Diospolis  
 20 in hieroglyphic characters,  
 entitling (ὀνομάζειν) it ‘The Eighth (ὀγδοάς)  
 22 Reveals the Ninth (ἐννεάς).’ ”  
 “I will do it, O (ὦ) my <father>, as  
 24 you command  
 now.” “O (ὦ) my <son>,  
 26 write the language of the book on steles (στήλη)  
 of turquoise (καλάϊνος). O (ὦ) my son,  
 28 it is proper to write this book

chester: University Press, London; Bernard Quaritch, and Sherratt & Hughes, 1909), no. IX, 7.16; 13.19; 14.21; n.b. note 13, p. 81. For a philological discussion of **CAZPpANW**, cf. Enzo Lucchesi, “A propos du mot copte ‘Sphransh’,” *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 61 (1975), 254-56.

61,23 MS has **παωηρε**, “my son.” Keizer does not emend here.

25 MS has **παειωτ**, “my father.” Neither Tröger (1) nor Keizer emend here. Tröger (1) emends in line 26 <†**NA**> **CAZQ**, and translates the sentence as a question: “My father, shall I write...”

25-30 On the role of steles as vehicles of revelation in Hellenistic texts, cf. Festugière, *La Révélation* I, 319-24; Reitzenstein, *Poim.*, p. 20, Prayer to Hermes, sentence 6; *Steles Seth* (VII,5).

ΕΖΕΝCΤΗΛΗ ΝΚΑΛΛΑΕΙΝΟC  
 30 ΖΝ ΖΝCΖΕΕΙ ΝCΑΖΠΡΑΕΙΨ·  
 ΠΝΟΥC ΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΑϸ ΝΤΑϸ  
 32 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC

ΞΒ

ΝΝΑΪ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ †ΡΚΕΛΕΥΕ  
 2 ΑΤΡΕΥΨΟΧ† ΜΠΕΕΨΑΧΕ  
 ΑΠΩΝΕ ΝΡΚΑΑϸ ΝΖΟΥΝ [Μ]  
 4 ΠΑΟΥΠΕ· ΕΥΝ ΨΜΟΥ[Ν Μ]  
 ΦΥΛΑΞ' ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟϸ ΜΝ [.]. .  
 6 ΜΦΗΛΙΟC· ΝΖΟΟΥ† Μ[Ε]Ν  
 Ζ† ΟΥΝΑΜ ΕΥΕ ΜΠΡΟCΨ  
 8 Π{Ρ}ΟΝ ΝΚΡΟΥΡ· ΝΖ†ΟΜΕ ΔΕ  
 Ζ† ΒΒΟΥΡ ΕΥΕ ΜΠΡΟCΨΠΟΝ  
 10 ΝΕΜΟΥ· ΚΩ ΝΔΕ ΝΟΥΩΝΕ  
 ΝΓΑΛΑΚΤΙΤΗC ΜΠΙΤΗ ΝΝ  
 12 ΠΛΑΞ ΝΚΑΛΛΑΕΙΝΗ ΕΦΕ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΡΑΓΩΝΟΝ ΝΡCΖΑΪ ΠΡΑΝ Ε†  
 14 ΠΛΑΞ ΝΩΝΕ ΝCΑΠΠΕΙΡΙΝΟΝ·  
 ΖΝ ΖΝCΖΑΕ† ΝCΑΖΠΡΑΕΙΨ·  
 16 Ω ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΕΚΝΑΚΩ ΜΠΑΪ  
 ΕΪΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC  
 18 ΜΝ ΠΡΗ ΖΝ ΠΒC ΟΥΕΙΕ ΜΠΕ  
 ΖΟΟΥ· ΑΜΝΤΗ ΜΜΟΙΡΑ ΡΠΑ

62,3-4 ΟΥΩΠΕ, translated here "sanctuary," is not attested elsewhere. It may be related to ΟΥΟΠ, "be pure, holy." Cf. H.-M. Schenke, Review of Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*, *OLZ* 69 (1974), col. 242, where ΟΥΩΠΕ is linked with the Egyptian *w'ḥ*, "sanctuary." Sanctuaries were popular places to deposit revelations; cf. 2 Kings 22:8; Festugière, *La Révélation* I, 320-24; Reitzenstein, *Poim.*, p. 20, line 6.

5 Krause sees ΨΙC, "nine," at the end of the line, but this is unsupported by ultra-violet collation and would be difficult in any case, since the following word has the article, which would be surprising in a number construction. Schenke proposes [Π]ΑΤΟ, "the multitude," but the meaning is unclear (Review of Robinson et al., *Facsimile Edition: Codex VI*, *OLZ* 69 [1974], col. 242).

4-9 Perhaps an allusion to the gods making up the primeval Ogdoad in Egyptian mythology. It was a well-known tradition that

DISCOURSE  
 on steles  
 in hierog  
 For (yiq)  
 become o  
 62  
 of these.  
 that this  
 on stone,  
 my sanctu  
 guardians  
 of the sun  
 on the righ  
 and (be) t  
 on the left  
 And be: p  
 milk (yala  
 turquoise  
 and write  
 azure  
 in hierogly  
 O (ō) my s  
 when I am  
 and the sun  
 day, and fi  
 some of thes  
 there does n  
 gods with fac  
 Roallexikon  
 de Gruyter a  
 The meaning  
 the morning  
 viz, the exal  
 at night in t  
 Maternus, M  
 "the first hal  
 because OΥ  
 requires a m  
 conjectures  
 that βC sta  
 Aries. But d

on steles (στήλη) of turquoise (καλάϊνος),  
 30 in hieroglyphic characters.  
 For (γάρ) Mind (νοῦς) himself has  
 32 become overseer (ἐπίσκοπος)

62

of these. Therefore I command (κελεύειν)  
 2 that this teaching be carved  
 on stone, and that you place it in  
 4 my sanctuary. Eight  
 guardians (φύλαξ) guard it with [  
 6 of the sun (ἥλιος). The males (+ μέν)  
 on the right are frog-faced (πρόσωπον),  
 8 and (δέ) the females  
 on the left are cat-faced (πρόσωπον).  
 10 And (δέ) put a square (τετράγωνος)  
 milk(γαλακτίτης)-stone at the base of the  
 12 turquoise (καλάϊνος) tablets (πλάξ)  
 and write the name on the  
 14 azure (σαπφείρινος) stone tablet (πλάξ)  
 in hieroglyphic characters.  
 16 O (ὦ) my son, you will do this  
 when I am in Virgo (παρθένος),  
 18 and the sun is in the first half of the  
 day, and fifteen degrees (μοῖρα) have

some of these gods were supposed to have faces of frogs, but there does not seem to be any well-established tradition that gods with faces of cats were part of the Ogdoad; cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1952), under Achtheit, Frosch, and Kätze.

62,16-20 The meaning here seems to be that the work should be done in the morning immediately following the most auspicious time, viz., the exaltation of Hermes (our Mercury), which takes place at night in the fifteenth degree of the sign of Virgo (Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* II.3.4-5).

18-19 "the first half of the day," Πῶτ οὐειε ἄπεροου: Difficult because ΟΥΕΙΕ is elsewhere fem., while the construction here requires a masc. form. Hence Mahé (1) emends to ΟΥΑ. Keizer conjectures (on the basis of an early suggestion of Peter Dirkse) that ὦτ stands for the Greek Κτ, an abbreviation for κριός, i.e., Aries. But diligent search has uncovered no such abbreviation.

20 ραγε ἡμοεῖ: ὠ παειωτ ψα  
 χε nim ετκχω ἡμοοϋ †να  
 22 ααϋ ρἡ οϋοϋρατ· ραῖ δε ἡ  
 οϋαναψ επχωμε μηπωσ  
 24 τονομασια ἡνοϋἡτῶ εροϋν  
 ρἡ οϋκακοϋργια ἡβι νετ  
 26 ναωψ ἡπχωμε· οϋτε  
 ετἡ† οϋβε ἡρβνοϋε ἡχι  
 28 μαρμενη· εϋναρστοιχει  
 ἡτοϋ επνομοσ ἡπνοϋτε·  
 30 εμποϋρπαρaba ρω τηρῶ·  
 αλλα ρἡ οϋτῶβο εϋραῖτεῖ  
 32 ἡπνοϋτε ἡνοϋσοφια ἡἡ  
 οϋγνωσις· αϋω πετοϋ

ναχποϋ αν ἡψορἡ ρἡ πνοϋ  
 2 τε· ρωωπε ρἡ ἡ[ρ]ενικοσ  
 λογοσ ἡἡ ἡεξωδιακοσ·  
 4 ρναψ ωψ αν ἡνετσηρ  
 ρἡ πεῖχωωμε ετεϋσϋν  
 6 ειδησις τοϋβαειτ εροϋ· εϋ  
 ειρε αν ἡλααϋ ἡρωβ εϋψα  
 8 λεϋ· εϋρῥσϋνεϋδοβει αν  
 ἡἡμαϋ· αλλα κατα βαθοσ  
 10 εϋμοοϋε εϋἡἡἡϋ εροϋν  
 εοἡἡ ἡτἡἡ†ατμοϋ· αϋω  
 12 ἡ†ρε εϋἡἡἡϋ εροϋν ετ  
 νοησις ἡθοῖδοασ ετοϋ  
 14 ωνῆ εβολ ἡεἡἡασ †ρε

62,22-63,14 Krause and Keizer ascribe this speech to the initiate.

27 "fate": For fuller treatment of the Hermetic belief, cf. *Asclepius* 39-40.

29 "law": Cf. 56,29, where it is associated with the seventh step of initiation. What follows is a description of the requirements for those who would eventually attain the illumination described in the book (63,12-14).

63,2-3 "the general and guiding discourses," ἡ[ρ]ενικοσ / λογοσ ἡἡ ἡεξωδιακοσ: Evidently the books mentioned in 54,13-

DISCOURSE  
 20 passed h  
 everything  
 22 do eager  
 an oath  
 24 read the  
 the langu  
 26 abuse (ca  
 to oppose  
 28 Rather, t  
 to the law  
 30 without h  
 but (iiz)  
 32 God for w  
 knowledge

31

will not be  
 2 comes to b  
 and guidin  
 4 He will not  
 in this book  
 6 conscience  
 does not do  
 8 nor does he  
 to it. Rath  
 10 he advance  
 the way of  
 12 thus he ent  
 understand  
 14 reveals the

32; cf. also F  
 La Revelation  
 from ἡσοἡα,  
 taining to a  
 those design  
 ward enlight  
 (Krause, foll  
 Krause prefer  
 But the tran

20 passed by (παραγεῖν) me.” “O (ὦ) my father,  
 everything that you say I will  
 22 do eagerly.” “And (δέ) write  
 an oath in the book, lest (μήπως) those who  
 24 read the book bring  
 the language (ὀνομασία) into  
 26 abuse (κακουργία), and not (οὔτε) (use it)  
 to oppose the acts of fate (εἰμαρμένη).  
 28 Rather, they should submit (στοιχεῖν)  
 to the law (νόμος) of God,  
 30 without having transgressed (παραβαίνειν) at all,  
 but (ἀλλά) in purity asking (αἰτεῖν)  
 32 God for wisdom (σοφία) and  
 knowledge (γνώσις). And he who

63

will not be begotten at the start by God  
 2 comes to be by the general (γενικός)  
 and guiding (ἐξοδικός) discourses (λόγος).  
 4 He will not be able to read the things written  
 in this book, although his  
 6 conscience (συνείδησις) is pure within him, since he  
 does not do anything shameful,  
 8 nor does he consent (συνευδοκεῖν)  
 to it. Rather (ἀλλά), by (κατά) stages (βαθμός)  
 10 he advances and enters into  
 the way of immortality. And  
 12 thus he enters into the  
 understanding (νόησις) of the eighth (ὀγδοάς) that  
 14 reveals the ninth (ἐννεάς).” “So

32; cf. also Festugière's discussion of Hermetic courses of study, *La Révélation* II, 39-42. ἐξοδικός is an unattested adjective from ἐξοδία, “marching out, journey,” and hence means “pertaining to a journey.” Thus the discourses so described are those designed to help the initiate on his spiritual journey toward enlightenment. There is no need to emend to ἐξοδικός (Krause, followed by Mahé [1]) or ἐξοτικός (Keizer, pp. 83-86). Krause prefers this word division: ΚΝΑΨΩΨ ΑΝ ΝΝΕΤΧΖ. But the translation makes doubtful sense.

†ΝΑΑΑΣ· Ω̄ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ† ΠΑΪ  
 16 ΠΕΝΑΨ †ΤΑΡΚΟ Μ̄ΠΕΤΝΑ  
 ΩΨ Μ̄ΠΕΕΙΧΩΩΜΕ `ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ' Ν̄ΤΠΕ  
 18 Μ̄Ν ΠΚΑΖ Μ̄Ν ΠΚΩΖΤ̄ Μ̄Ν ΠΜΟ  
 ΟΥ· Μ̄Ν ΣΑΨΩ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΥΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ  
 20 Μ̄Ν Π̄ΠΝᾹ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤΟῩ Ν̄ΡΕΩ  
 ΣΩΝΤ̄· Μ̄Ν ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄<ΑΓΕ> Ν{Η}  
 22 ΝΗΤΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΝΗ<Σ>  
 Μ̄Ν ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΩ ΕΤΡΕΩΡ̄ΤΗ  
 24 ΡΕΙ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΦΕΡΜΗΣ ΧΟΟΥ·  
 ΝΕΤΝΑΡ̄ΤΗΡΕΙ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΑΝΑΨ  
 26 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΩΤ̄Π̄ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ  
 Μ̄Ν ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΤΑΝ̄ΡΟΝΟ  
 28 ΜΑΖΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ· ΝΕΤΝΑΡ̄  
 ΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΑΝΑΨ· ΤΟΡΓΗ  
 30 Μ̄ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ Ν̄ΝΗΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΕΧΩΩ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΕΤ̄  
 32 ΨΟΟΠ̄ Ω ΠΑΨΗΡΕ:

- 63,15-30 A second statement of the oath. The first (62,22-63,14) is presented indirectly.
- 19 "rulers of substance": Cf. *Asclepius* 19.
- 21 MS reads Ν̄ΓΕΝΗ, with ΓΕ crossed out. Krause holds that the dots above these letters indicate the desire of the scribe to restore them after he had crossed them out (p. 238). Elsewhere such dots are a way of indicating deletions, cf. VI 55,30; 60,15.
- 29-30 The Coptic sentence is awkward. Krause, followed by Tröger (1) and Mahé (1), translates, "The wrath of each one will come upon those who break the oath."

shall I  
 is the o  
 read th  
 and ear  
 water ar  
 and the  
 and the  
 and the  
 and him  
 guard (-  
 And (δè)  
 God will  
 and ever  
 named (δ  
 But (δè)  
 of those  
 This is th  
 O (Ω) my

Probably re  
 veing mat  
 statement  
 to "he who  
 and transla  
 argues for  
 son" (12), p

shall I do it, O (ὦ) my father." "This  
 16 is the oath: I make him who will  
 read this holy book swear by heaven  
 18 and earth and fire and  
 water and seven rulers of substance (οὐσιάρχης)  
 20 and the creating spirit (πνεῦμα) in them  
 and the <unbegotten (ἀγεννητός)> God  
 22 and the self-begotten (αὐτογενής) one  
 and him who has been begotten, that he will  
 24 guard (τηρεῖν) the things that Hermes has said.  
 And (δέ) those who keep (τηρεῖν) the oath,  
 26 God will be reconciled with them  
 and everyone whom we have  
 28 named (ὀνομάζειν).  
 But (δέ) wrath (ὀργή) will come to each one  
 30 of those who violate (παρβαίνειν) the oath.  
 This is the perfect one (τέλειος) who is,  
 32 O (ὦ) my son."

63,31-32

Probably refers to the initiate described in lines 11-14. The intervening material may have been inserted, since it is the second statement of the oath. The relative clause "who is" may relate to "he who . . . comes to be" in 62,33-63,2. Tröger (1) emends and translates, "This is the really complete <logos>." Mahé argues for "This initiation is the most complete possible, O my son" ([2], p. 65, note 18).

Labib, *Coosti*

P.P. "La Priè

and et Le Di

estugière. Vol.

lane, K. *Papy*

richs. Vol. I.

stein, R. *Die h*

issenschaftliche

35-37.

W, ed. *Herm*

Mall, 1968

77 (Vol. I); 2

K.W. "Die s

VI." *ThLZ*

short, almost p

ally constructe

erived deifying

be regularly u

ing. "This is

incipit. Toge

ing forms a

his tractate s

an appendix to

the knowledge

of The partici

to be ident

to the discov

ensions were k

Mimaut (Pa

A. Dirkse pr

to completion



## THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

VI,7:63,33-65,7

PETER DIRKSE AND JAMES BRASHLER\*

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 57-59, 185-86.

Mahé, J.-P. "La Prière d'actions de grâces du Codex VI de Nag-Hamadi et Le Discours parfait." *ZPE* 13 (1974), 40-60.

Nock-Festugière. Vol. II. Pp. 353-55, 399-401.

Preisendanz, K. *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2nd ed. rev. Edited by A. Henrichs. Vol. I. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973. Pp. 56-59.

Reitzenstein, R. *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966 (reprint of 1927 ed.). Pp. 285-87.

Scott, W., ed. *Hermetica*. Vols. I and III. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968 (originally published, 1924 and 1926). Pp. 374-77 (Vol. I); 284-300 (Vol. III).

Tröger, K.-W. "Die sechste und siebte Schrift aus Nag Hammadi-Codex VI." *ThLZ* 98 (1973), cols. 495-503.

This short, almost perfectly preserved Hermetic prayer expresses in carefully constructed liturgical language the gratitude of one who has received deifying knowledge. Although set off with decorations like those regularly used with titles in the Nag Hammadi codices, the heading, "This is the prayer that they spoke," was originally only an incipit. Together with the concluding statement (65,3-7), this heading forms a narrative framework for the prayer. The location of this tractate suggests that the scribe of Codex VI intended it as an appendix to the immediately preceding tractate, *Disc. 8-9*, where the knowledge for which this prayer gives thanks has been revealed. The participants, referred to as "they" in the title, are probably to be identified with Hermes Trismegistus and his pupil.

Prior to the discovery of the Coptic version of *Pr. Thanks.*, two other versions were known to exist, the Greek version found in the Papyrus Mimaut (Paris, Louvre, Papyrus 2391) col. XVIII, 591-611,

---

\* Peter A. Dirkse prepared a preliminary version. James Brashler brought the work to completion.

and the Latin version preserved in the *Corp. Herm. Asclepius* 41b. Attempts by Reitzenstein and Scott to reconstruct the difficult and poorly preserved Greek version relied heavily upon the Latin text. In 1928 Preisendanz published a more reliable Greek text in his edition of the Greek magical papyri. More recently J.-P. Mahé's valuable study provided a synopsis of the Greek, Latin, and Coptic versions with a French translation and critical notes. His Coptic text differs only slightly (cf. 64,3.6) from that published by Martin Krause in 1972. The text of Papyrus Mimaut used here follows Preisendanz with variations based on Mahé and an independent collation from published photos.

A comparison of the three versions of *Pr. Thanks.* reveals that this relatively independent unit of tradition has had a complicated textual history. The Latin text retains the substance and frequently the exact language of the other two versions, but it is expanded to the point where it can appropriately be called a paraphrase (cf. Mahé, p. 54). It is especially noteworthy that the Latin concludes with the narrative statement also found after the prayer in the Coptic text but not in the Greek. The Greek and the Coptic texts correspond very closely, although it is evident that both have suffered some corruption. The Coptic text contributes significantly to the reconstruction of the Greek text at the following places: 63,35; 64,3-4.7.15-16.22.23-24.25.34. Conversely the Greek text is superior to the Coptic at 64,7-8 and possibly 64,33.

The literary contexts in which *Pr. Thanks.* appears are different in each case. In Papyrus Mimaut it is part of a longer prayer embedded in a magical composition. In the Latin *Asclepius* it forms the conclusion of that tractate. In Codex VI it is an independent unit of tradition loosely appended to *Disc. 8-9*. It seems likely that the Coptic text reflects the independent character of *Pr. Thanks.*, and its inclusion in Papyrus Mimaut and the Latin *Asclepius* are unrelated redactional uses of the prayer.

*Pr. Thanks.* is especially significant for the clear evidence it presents of the existence of Hermetic cultic practices. The prayer itself is certainly liturgical, as its balanced language attests. Moreover the concluding statement mentions a ritual embrace or kiss (also found in VI,6 at 57,26-27) after the prayer, and a cultic meal. These references to cultic practices suggest that the primary *Sitz im Leben* for *Pr. Thanks.* was a Hermetic gnostic community dedicated to the preservation and transmission of the knowledge celebrated in

this prayer (cf. K.-W. Tröger, "Die hermetische Gnosis," in *Gnosis und NT*, ed. by Tröger, pp. 118-19). While it is not possible to assign a date to such communities, it is reasonable to assume that they flourished in the second and third centuries A.D. and possibly even earlier.

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

VI,7:63,33-65,7

ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΩΛΗΛ ΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΓ:

34 τῆϣπ̄ ρμοτ̄ ἄτοοτ̄κ̄ ψυχη  
 ΝΙΜ· ΑΓΩ ΦΗΤ̄ ΠΟΡϣ̄ ΨΑΡΟΚ  
 36 Ω ΠΙΡΑΝ ΕΥΡΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ ΝΑϩ ΑΝ·

ΞΔ

ΕΡΤΑΕΙΑΕΙΤ̄ ρ̄Ν ΤΟΝΟΜΑϩΙΑ

2 ἸΠΝΟΥ[Τ]Ε· ΑΓΩ ΕΥϢΜΟΥ

Papyrus Mimaut (Paris, Louvre, Papyrus 2391), col. XVIII, 591-611  
 591 Χάριν σοι οἶδαμεν· Ψυχή πᾶσα καὶ καρδιά{ν} πρὸς / σ[ε] ἀνατετα-  
 μένη{ν} ἄφραστον ὄνομα τετιμημένον / [τῆ] τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ καὶ  
 εὐλογοῦμενον

Latin *Asclepius* 41b (Nock-Festugière II, 353-55)

353,1 gratias tibi summe, exsuperantissime; tua enim / gratia tan-  
 tum sumus cognitionis tuae lumen conse/cuti, nomen sanctum et  
 honorandum, nomen unum, 354,1 quo solus deus est benedicendus

- 63,33 The heading at the beginning of this tractate is an incipit that has become a title and is decorated as one. Similar decorations mark the end of the tractate, although the title is not repeated there. For a discussion of the meaning of the title, see introduction.
- 34 Numerous parallels to the opening thanksgiving formula can be found in J. M. Robinson, "Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristentums," in *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen*, ed. by W. Eltester, Beiheft 30 to *ZNW* (Berlin: Töpelmann Verlag, 1964), pp. 194-235. For Hermetic parallels, cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.29 and NHC VI,6 (*Disc.* 8-9) 61,4.

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

VI,7:63.33-65,7

63

This is the prayer that they spoke:

- 34 "We give thanks to Thee! Every soul (ψυχή)  
and heart is lifted up to Thee,  
36 O (ὁ) undisturbed (ἐνοχλεῖν) name,  
64  
honored with the name (ὀνομασία),  
2 'God,' and praised

---

Papyrus Mimaut (Paris, Louvre, Papyrus 2391), col. XVIII, 591-611  
591 We give thanks to Thee. Every soul and heart (is) stretched  
out to / Thee, O inexpressible Name, honored / with [the] desig-  
nation of God, and blessed

---

Latin *Asclepius* 41b

353,1 Thanks be to Thee, Most High, Most Excellent, for by Thy /  
grace we have received the great light of Thy knowledge. / (Your)  
name (is) holy and to be honored, the only name 354,1 by which God  
alone is to be blessed

- 
- 63,35 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.31: ἀπό ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεταμένης.  
The Coptic text, which presupposes καρδία . . . ἀνατεταμένη, pro-  
vides the basis for emending the corrupt Greek text, cf. Mahé,  
p. 43. The photograph published by Mahé confirms the reading  
σ[έ] given by Preisendanz, p. 58.  
36 The use of ἐνοχλεῖν where the parallel Greek text has ἄφραστον is  
one of several instances (cf. Mahé, p. 52) where vocabulary varia-  
tions suggest that the Coptic text was a translation of a different  
Greek recension from the one found in Papyrus Mimaut.

ΕΡΟϞ ΖΝ ΤΟΝΟΜΑCΙΑ ΜΠΙΩ[Τ]  
 4 ΧΕ ΨΑ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΨΑ ΠΤΗ  
 ΡḲ· ΤΕΥΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ  
 6 ΠΜΕ ΜΝ ΠΟΥ{ΟΥ}ΩΨ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥḲ ΟΥCΒΩ ΕCΖΑΛΕΒ  
 8 ΕCΟ ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥC· ΕCḲΧΑΡΙΖΕ  
 ΝΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥC ΜΠΛΟΓΟC Ν  
 10 ΤΓΝΩCΙC· ΠΝΟΥC ΜΕΝ ΧΕ  
 ΚΑΑC ΕΝΑḲΝΟΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ· ΠΛΟ  
 12 ΓΟC ΔΕ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΝΑΖΕΡΜΗ  
 ΝΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΚ· ΤΓΝΩCΙC ΔΕ

Papyrus *Mimaut*, col. XVIII, cont.

τῆ τοῦ / <πατρὸς ὀνομασίᾱ·> Ὅc πρ[ὸ]c πάνταc καὶ πρὸc  
 πάντα{c} πατρικὴν 595 [εὔ]νοιοιαν καὶ στοργὴν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ἐπιγλυκυντά/  
 [τη]ν ἐνεργίαν ἐν<ε>δίξω, χαρισάμενοc ἡμῖν νοῦν / [λόγ]ον γνῶσιν· νοῦν  
 μέ<ν> ἵνα σε νοήσωμεν, λόγον / [δὲ ἴν]α σε ἐπικαλέσωμεν, γνῶσιν <δὲ>

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

religione paterna, / quoniam omnibus paternam pietatem et religio-  
 nem / et amorem et, quaecumque est dulcior efficacia, / praebere  
 dignaris condonans nos sensu, ratione, 354,5 intellegentia: sensu, ut  
 te cognouerimus; ratione, / ut te suspicionibus indagemus; cog-  
 nitione,

- 64.3-4 Krause's restoration of ΜΠΙΩ[Λ]ΧΕ is unacceptable because the expected trace of the bottom of the ω is lacking. Mahé (p. 50) correctly equates the χε with οc (= ὦc) and, following the Coptic emends [θε]οῦ to πατρὸc. This emendation corrects the repetition of the preceding parallel phrase, which is probably the result of dittography. The Coptic suggests that ὀνομασίᾱ should also be included in the emendation.
- 6 Krause reads ΠΟΥΟΥΩΨ, "their demand," and overlooks the dittography.
- 6-8 ΑΥΩ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥḲ ΟΥ... confirms the suggestion by Scott (III, 289) that καὶ εἰ τι is the basis for the Latin *et quaecumque est*. While it is conceivable that the original Greek text had καὶ εἰ τι (cf. Rom 13:9, where the same idiom occurs in an analogous

PRA  
 with the r  
 for to ever  
 (comes) th  
 affection a  
 and any te  
 and plain  
 us mind (v  
 (and) know  
 so that we  
 speech (λόγ  
 expound (έ  
 Mimaut, col.  
 with the ' <na  
 Thou has  
 sweeter /  
 knowledge: min  
 in order that  
 Asclepius 41b, c  
 wi  
 to display  
 whatever v  
 354-5 (a  
 and Thee; reas  
 Thee; know

context), it see  
 perhaps ἐν  
 the Coptic ca  
 found in Pap  
 rather than ἐ  
 translator mi  
 ΖΑΠΛΟΥC is  
 has been con  
 suggested by  
 ἡργίαν (= ἐ  
 basis of the I  
 Cl. Corp. Her

- with the name (ὄνομασία), 'Father,'  
 4 for to everyone and everything  
 (comes) the fatherly kindness (εὐνοία) and  
 6 affection and love,  
 and any teaching there may be that is sweet  
 8 and plain (ἀπλοῦς), giving (χαρίζεσθαι)  
 us mind (νοῦς), speech (λόγος),  
 10 (and) knowledge (γνώσις): mind (νοῦς + μέν),  
 so that we may understand (νοεῖν) Thee,  
 12 speech (λόγος + δέ), so that we may  
 expound (ἐρμηνεύειν) Thee, knowledge (γνώσις + δέ)

Papyrus *Mimaut*, col. XVIII, cont.

with the / <name of > the < Father.> For to everyone and  
 to all things Thou hast displayed paternal 595 kindness, devotion,  
 love, and yet sweeter / action, having granted to us mind, / [speech],  
 (and) knowledge: mind, in order that we may understand Thee;  
 speech, / [in order that] we may call upon Thee; knowledge,

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

with ancestral reverence, / because Thou think-  
 est it good to display to all things, paternal kindness, devotion, /  
 love, and whatever virtue may be more sweet, / granting to us  
 mind, reason, 354,5 (and) knowledge: mind, in order that we may  
 understand Thee; reason, / in order that by means of hints we may  
 investigate Thee; knowledge,

context), it seems more likely that the unusual word ἐπιγλυκύτατην  
 or perhaps εἴ τι γλυκύτατην was misread as εἴ τι γλυκύτατον. Although  
 the Coptic can be translated as it stands, the superior text is  
 found in Papyrus *Mimaut*. **CBW** translates ἐνδειξιν (cf. 64,17)  
 rather than ἐνδείξω (= ἐνδειξω) found in Papyrus *Mimaut*. The  
 translator misread ω as ω and changed the verb into a noun.  
**ΖΑΠΛΟΥΣ** is best explained as a translation of ἐναργήν, which  
 has been confused with ἐνεργήν (cf. Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 261), as  
 suggested by F. Wisse in private communication, or possibly with  
 ἐνεργίαν (= ἐνεργεῖαν), as proposed by Preisendanz, p. 58, on the  
 basis of the Latin *efficacia*. Mahé (p. 43) reads ἐνεργ[ει]α<ν> .  
 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* XII.12 and *Asclepius* (VI,8) 66,30-34.

- 14 ΧΕΚΑΛC ΕΝΝΑCΟΥΩΝΚ̄  
 Τ̄ΝΡΑΨΕ ΝΤΑΡ̄ΝΧΙ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ  
 16 Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΚΓΝΩCΙC· Τ̄ΝΡΑΨΕ  
 ΧΕ ΑΚΤCΕΒΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ· Τ̄ΝΡΑ  
 18 ΨΕ ΧΕ ΕΝΖ̄Ν CΩΜΑ ΑΚΑΑΝ  
 ΝΝΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΚΓΝΩCΙC·  
 20 ΠΨΠ Ζ̄Μ'ΑΤ̄ ΝΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΠΗΖ  
 ΨΑΡΟΚ· ΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΧΕΚΑC ΑΤΡ̄Ν  
 22 CΟΥΩΝΚ̄· ΑΝCΟΥΩΝΚ̄  
 Ω ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΝΟΗΤΟΝ· Ω  
 24 ΠΩΝΖ̄ ΝΠΩΝΖ̄ ΑΝCΟΥΩΝΚ̄

Papyrus *Mimaut*, col. XVIII, cont.

ἵνα σε ἐπιγνώ/σωμεν. Χα[ι]ρομ[ε]ν ὅτι σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἔδειξας· 600 Χαί-  
 ρομεν ὅτι ἐν [π]λάσμασιν ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἀπεθέω/[σ]ας τῇ σεαυτοῦ γνώσει.  
 Χάρις ἀνθρώπου πρὸς σὲ μία· τὸ / [γ]νωρίσαι <σε>· Ἐγνωρίσαμεν  
 <σε> ὦ <φῶς νοητόν, ὦ> τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς / <ζωή>, ἐγνωρί-  
 σαμεν <σε>.

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

ut te / cognoscentes gaudeamus. ac numine saluati tuo gau-  
 355,1 demus, quod te nobis ostenderis totum; gaudemus, / quod nos  
 in corporibus sitos aeternitati fueris con/secrare dignatus. haec est  
 enim humana sola gra/tulatio, cognitio maiestatis tuae. cognoui-  
 mus te et 355,5 lumen maximum solo intellectu sensibile; intelle-  
 gimus te, o uitae uera uita,

64,15-16 The Coptic indicates that a line has been lost in the Greek by  
 homoeoteleuton, cf. Mahé, p. 45. ΟΥΟΕΙΝ in the Coptic version  
 supports the suggestion of Scott (III, 291) that *numine* in the  
 Latin version be emended to *lumine*.

18-19 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.26 and IV.7. *Corp. Herm.* X.6 states that divi-  
 nization can not occur "ἐν σώματι" and in *Corp. Herm.* XIII.10  
 divine regeneration occurs after physical perception has been  
 transcended.

21-22 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.27,32.



- 14 so that we may know Thee.  
 We rejoice, having been illumined  
 16 by Thy knowledge (γνωσις). We rejoice  
 because Thou hast shown us Thyself. We rejoice  
 18 because while we were in (the) body (σῶμα), Thou hast  
 made us  
 divine through Thy knowledge (γνωσις).  
 20 The thanksgiving of the man who attains  
 to Thee is one thing: that we know  
 22 Thee. We have known Thee,  
 O (ὁ) intellectual (νοητόν) light. O (ὁ)  
 24 life of life, we have known Thee.

Papyrus *Mimaut*, col. XVIII, cont.

in order  
 that we may know Thee. / We rejoice because Thou hast shown  
 Thyself to us. 600 We rejoice because, while we were (yet) in molded  
 shapes, Thou deified us / by the knowledge of Thyself. (The) thanks-  
 giving of a man to Thee (is) one: / to know <Thee>. We have known  
 <Thee>, O <intellectual Light, O Life> of human life. / We have  
 known <Thee>.

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

in order that / knowing Thee, we may  
 rejoice. And, redeemed by Thy power, 355,1 we do rejoice that Thou  
 hast shown Thyself to us completely. We rejoice / that Thou hast  
 thought it good to deify us for eternity while we are yet situated in  
 bodies. / For this is the only human / gratitude: the knowledge of  
 Thy majesty. We know Thee and 355,5 the greatest light percep-  
 tible to the intellect alone. We understand / Thee, O true life of life.

64,22-24 On the deity as light and life, cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.9,12,21,32; XIII.18. The Coptic and Latin indicate what has been omitted in the Greek, probably by homoeoteleuton with ὁ. Mahé is most likely correct in emending γνωσεως to φωσεως on the basis of the Coptic and the Latin.

Ω ΤΜΗΤΡΑ ΝΧΟ ΝΙΜ ΔΝΣΟΥ  
 26 Ω ΝΕ Ω ΤΜΗΤΡΑ ΕΤΧΠΟ ΖΝ  
 ΤΦΥΣΙΣ ΜΠΙΩΤ ΔΝΣΟΥΩ  
 28 ΝΕ Ω ΠΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ  
 ΜΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΧΠΟ ΤΕΪΖΕ ΔΝ  
 30 ΟΥΩΨΤ ΜΠΕΚΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΟΥ  
 ΟΥΩΨΕ ΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΝΡΑΙΤΕΙ  
 32 ΜΜΟΦ· ΕΝΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΡΕΥΡ  
 ΤΗΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΝ ΖΝ ΤΓΝΩΣΙΣ·  
 34 ΟΥΑΡΕΖ ΔΕ ΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΕΝ

ΟΥΟΨΩ ΕΤΜΤΡΕΝΣΛΑΑΤΕ  
 2 ΖΜ ΠΕΕΙΒΙΟΣ Ν†[Μ]ΙΝΕ· Ν  
 ΤΑΡΟΥΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΥΨΛΗΛ' ΑΥΡ  
 4 ΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΟΥ· ΑΥΩ

Papyrus *Mimaut*, col. XVIII, cont.

ὦ > μήτρα πάσης <φύ>σεως, ἐγνωρίσ<α>με/ν <σε> ὦ  
 μήτρα κυηφόρε ἐμ πατρὸς φυτῖα ἐγνω- 605 <ρί>σαμεν <σε>, ὦ πατρὸς  
 κυηφοροῦν[τ]ος αἰώνιος διαμο/νή. Οὗτο <τὸ[>ν] σοῦ ἀγαθὸν προσκυ-  
 γήσαντες, μηδεμίαν / ἠτήσαμεν [χ]ἀ[ριν πλῆ]ν Θέλησον ἡμᾶς δια[τ]ηρη-  
 θῆναι / ἐν τῇ σῆ γνῶσ[ει]. Μί]α δὲ τῆ[ρησις,] τὸ μὴ σφαλῆναι / τοῦ τοιοῦτου  
 [βίου] τοῦτου. (Only unintelligible portions of the last 2½ lines  
 remain.)

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

o naturarum omnium / fecunda praeg-  
 natio; cognouimus te, totius naturae / tuo conceptu plenissimae  
 [cognouimus te] aeterna / perseueratio. in omni enim ista oratione  
 adorantes 355,10 bonum bonitatis tuae hoc tantum deprecamur, ut /  
 nos uelis seruare perseuerantes in amore cognitio/nis tuae et num-  
 quam ab hoc uitae genere separari. / haec optantes

64,33

Perhaps emend to Τ<ΕΚ>ΓΝΩΣΙΣ as in the Latin and Greek versions and also at 64,16.19.

O (ὃ) womb (μήτρα) of every creature, we have  
 26 known Thee. O (ὃ) womb (μήτρα) pregnant with  
 the nature (φύσις) of the Father, we have known  
 28 Thee. O (ὃ) eternal permanence  
 of the begetting Father, thus have we  
 30 worshipped Thy goodness (ἀγαθόν).  
 There is one petition that we ask (αἰτεῖν):  
 32 we would be  
 preserved (τηρεῖν) in knowledge (γνώσις).  
 34 And (δέ) there is one protection that we

65

desire: that we not stumble  
 2 in this kind of life (βίος)."  
 When they had said these things in prayer, they  
 4 embraced (ἀσπάζεσθαι) each other and

Papyrus *Mimaut*, col. XVIII, cont.

O > Womb of all <nature>. We have known / <Thee>, O  
 Womb pregnant in the nature of the Father. We have known 605  
 <Thee>, O eternal Continuation of the impregnating Father. /  
 Thus having worshipped Thy goodness, / we ask only one favor:  
 that thou might will that we be preserved / in Thy knowledge; and  
 one protection: that we not fall away / from a life such as this.  
 (Only unintelligible portions of the last 2½ lines remain.)

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

O pregnancy fertile with all natures, / we know Thee, Eternal con-  
 tinuation of all nature / most full of Thy impregnating activity. /  
 For worshipping the good of Thy goodness in this whole prayer,  
 355,10 we pray for just one thing: that Thou wilt keep us  
 persevering in the love of Thy knowledge / and never to be sepa-  
 rated from a life such as this. / Wishing these things,

64,34-65,2 Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.32.

αὐτῶν ἐναοῦσιν ἢ τεύ  
 6 τροφῆ ἐσοῦσιν ἐμῆ σνοῦ  
 ἢ ζῆτῶ:

---

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

conuertimus nos ad puram et sine / animalibus cenam.

PR  
 they went  
 holy food  
 in it.  
 Asclepius 41b,  
 to a pure me

- they went to eat their  
6 holy food (τροφή), which has no blood  
in it.
- 

Latin *Asclepius* 41b, cont.

οεναν.

we turn to a pure meal without / any flesh of animals.

alabb. Gnost  
J.P. "La Pri  
et Le Di  
ad Gnosis un

... Note is f  
... by a box c  
... on both side  
... the text is  
... in the Scri  
... to which it r  
... it refers t  
... has taken the p  
... one: Asc  
... that the scri  
... from *Asclepius*  
... those who ha  
... Krause argues,  
... This accounts  
... before it but sy  
... a careful e  
... by other sch  
... has failed  
... the *Scriba*  
... Hence it is  
... do with P  
... course, pos  
... together. A  
... of VI,7 very  
... ends, he either  
... leaves space  
... p. 65 the S  
... count agai

## THE SCRIBAL NOTE

VI,7a:65,8-14

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 25, 187.

Mahé, J.-P. "La Prière d'actions de grâces du Codex VI de Nag-Hamadi et Le Discours parfait." *ZPE* 13 (1974), 58.

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. P. 55.

The *Scribal Note* is found between VI,7 and VI,8, and is separated from both by a box drawn by the scribe, which he has decorated modestly on both sides. Except for the last letter, which is partially in a lacuna, the text is intact.

Interest in the *Scribal Note* has centered on the question of the tractate to which it refers. The language itself would lead one to think that it refers to the immediately preceding tractate. But Krause has taken the position that in fact it refers to the immediately following one: *Asclepius* (p. 25, followed by Mahé, p. 58). He contends that the scribe was unable to include all that he had intended from *Asclepius* for lack of space and therefore desired to explain to those who had commissioned him why this had happened. Hence, Krause argues, he erased the title of *Asclepius* and inserted this note. This accounts for the fact that a note referring to *Asclepius* appears before it but speaks about the copying in the past tense.

However, a careful examination of the MS by J. M. Robinson in 1970, and by other scholars subsequently (using ultraviolet light in some cases), has failed to detect any indication of erasure. This means that the *Scribal Note* was written prior to the copying of *Asclepius*. Hence it is more reasonable to think that the *Scribal Note* has to do with *Pr. Thanks*. (so also Tröger, p. 55).

It is, of course, possible that the scribe was speaking of both VI,6 and 7 together. After all, he joins the end of VI,6 and the beginning of VI,7 very closely on p. 63, whereas elsewhere, when a tractate ends, he either leaves the rest of the page blank (pp. 12, 21, 35, 51) or leaves space before the beginning of the next tractate (p. 48; on p. 65 the *Scribal Note* serves as a separator). However two things count against this. First, there is the decoration sur-

rounding the title of VI,7. Such decoration is found elsewhere in this codex only at the beginnings and endings of tractates. Secondly, the fact that the scribe says that he has copied only one discourse and indicates that he will copy no more (lines 11-13) implies that the kind of discourse he is speaking of is different from VI,8, which is the next thing he copies. Therefore the "one discourse" most probably did not include VI,6, which resembles VI,8 in that they are both Hermetic dialogues, but rather refers only to *Pr. Thanks*.

The *Note* is apparently addressed to the persons who had asked the scribe to inscribe the codex. The scribe admits to having copied the immediately preceding discourse (line 8). Since he also copied all the other tractates in the codex, this most probably means that he is taking personal responsibility for this one, whereas he was perhaps instructed to copy the others. He says he has collected many discourses like this one (line 9) but that he has not copied them because he thought those for whom he was working might also have collected them (lines 9-10). He then repeats the latter statement in other words, adding to his reason for not copying them that he thought those for whom he was working might be burdened by them (lines 11-13)—presumably because they would then have duplicate copies. Finally he begins a new sentence with a reiteration of what he had already said in line 9 (lines 13-14)—and leaves the sentence incomplete, apparently not wishing to use any more space.

The significance of this is not clear. Is the scribe excusing himself for not including more of his collection? Is he offering to provide additional prayers if those who have commissioned him desire them? Or is he trying to explain why he added *Pr. Thanks*?

Some help in understanding the *Note* comes when we observe the crowding of the pages subsequent to *Pr. Thanks*., for which, presumably, the inclusion of *Pr. Thanks*. and the *Scribal Note* was responsible. Whereas pages before the *Scribal Note* (other than final pages of tractates) have between 32 and 35 lines (except for pp. 17 and 52), after it such pages have between 35 and 38 lines, and the final page of the codex (78) has 43. The scribe's exercise of independent judgement, then, seems to have forced a revision in a well-plotted arrangement of lines per page resulting in the crowding of the last 14 pages of the codex. (It should be noted that the pages of the last tractate of NHC II are also crowded compared with earlier pages.) It is possible that it also required him to shorten the final tractate, but there is no way to be certain.



The scribe may well have had reason to think that those who had commissioned him would be unhappy with what he had done. It is quite possible, then, that he was attempting to excuse himself. But the excuse is very indirect. It involves his explaining why he did not do more than he did (he did not wish to burden them), while avoiding any explanation of what he in fact did do. In essence he would be excusing himself by commending himself to them for not having taken up any more space in the codex than he did.

SCRIBAL NOTE

VI,7a:65,8-14

8 ΠΙΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΤΑΕΙCΑΖῶ ΝΤΑϞ  
ΑΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΝΩ ΝΤΑϞΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΜΠΙ  
10 CΑΖΟΥ ΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΤΝΤΗΝΕ  
ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ †ΔΙCΤΑΖΕ ΕΙCΖΑΪ ΝΝΑΪ ΝΗ  
12 ΤΝ ΧΕ ΜΕΨΑΚ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΤΝΤΗΝΕ ΝΤΕ  
ΠΖΩΒ ῑ ΖΙCΕ ΝΗΤΝ· ΕΠΙ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ  
14 ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙ ΝΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΗ

65,8

ΠΙΟΥΑ may simply be a demonstrative, in which case "one" should be removed from the translation. ΝΤΑΕΙCΑΖῶ, taken here as a second perfect, may also be a relative first perfect, but in that case the first line would be an incomplete sentence. ΝΤΑϞ: Rendered here "of his," is considered by Krause to be an independent pronoun, serving to emphasize the resumptive pronoun. Hence he omits "of his." This form of the independent pronoun is not found elsewhere in the codex (although Krause holds that it is used also in 67,30). "his" probably refers to Hermes (cf. Mahé, p. 58).

36

§ I have co

Indeed (

copied th

Also (xai

you beca

the matte

the discou

Since... num

ever Krause (fc

related to the

'father' are in

hand." There is

for Krause's re

SCRIBAL NOTE

VI,7a:65,8-14

65

- 8 I have copied this one (+ μέν) discourse (λόγος) of his.  
 Indeed (γάρ), very many have come to me. I have not  
 10 copied them because I thought that they had come to  
 you (pl.).  
 Also (καὶ γάρ), I hesitate (διστάζειν) to copy these for  
 12 you because, perhaps, they have (already) come to you,  
 and  
 the matter may burden you. Since (ἐπεὶ, γάρ)  
 14 the discourses (λόγος) of that one, which have come to  
 me, are numerous—

---

65,13-14 "Since . . . numerous": Taken here as an incomplete sentence. However Krause (followed by Mahé) translates as an independent clause, related to the preceding sentence, "for (ἐπεὶ) the treatises of the [father] are indeed (γάρ) numerous, which have come into my hand." There is not enough space in the area lined off by the scribe for Krause's restoration of ΠΙΩΤ, "the father."

slabib. *Gnost*  
 (Hereafter,  
*Hermès en Ha*  
 Mahé [1])  
 Fatigière. Vol.  
 P. "L'Aut  
 Hermeti  
 M. "Ëgypti  
 egyptus." *ZDh*  
 [2].  
 P. "Remar  
 Hammadi."  
 ed. *Hermet*  
 (originally p  
 ed. *Gnosis un*  
 K.W. "Die h  
 Inger. Pp. 97

p. 68, the  
 two or thr  
 dex, the MS d  
 or three line  
 and signific  
 missing or d  
 has no title eith  
 ever, is foun  
 blocked-off rec  
 Codex VI era

A. Dirkse prep  
 of James Brash  
 the rest of

ASCLEPIUS 21-29

VI,8:65,15-78,43

PETER A. DIRKSE AND DOUGLAS M. PARROTT\*

Krause-Labib. *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*. Pp. 59-62, 187-206. (Hereafter, Krause [1]).

Mahé. *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*. Vol. II (preliminary draft). (Hereafter, Mahé [1]).

Nock-Festugière. Vol. II. Pp. 257-401.

Derchain, P. "L'Authenticité de l'inspiration égyptienne dans le 'Corpus Hermeticum'." *RHR* 161 (1962), 175-98.

Krause, M. "Ägyptisches Gedankengut in der Apokalypse des Asclepius." *ZDMG*, Supplementa I (1969), 48-57. (Hereafter, Krause [2]).

Mahé, J.-P. "Remarques d'un Latiniste sur l'Asclepius copte de Nag Hammadi." *RevSR* 48 (1974), 136-55. (Hereafter, Mahé [2]).

Scott, W., ed. *Hermetica*. Vol. III. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968 (originally published, 1926).

Tröger, ed. *Gnosis und NT*. Pp. 55-57. (Hereafter, Tröger [1]).

Tröger, K.-W. "Die hermetische Gnosis." *Gnosis und NT*. Edited by Tröger. Pp. 97-119. (Hereafter, Tröger [2]).

Through p. 68, the MS is well preserved, with only small lacunae in the top two or three lines of each page. From p. 69 to the end of the codex, the MS deteriorates steadily: in pp. 69-72 much of the first two or three lines is missing, pp. 73-77 lack most of the first four lines, and significant amounts of the first nine lines of p. 78 are either missing or difficult to read.

VI,8 has no title either at its beginning or end. Between VI,7 and VI,8, however, is found a brief seven-line scribal note, written in a neatly blocked-off rectangular area. Krause maintains that the scribe of Codex VI erased the title that he had originally placed at

---

\* Peter A. Dirkse prepared a preliminary version with the editorial assistance of James Brashler. Douglas M. Parrott provided the introduction and brought the rest of the work to completion.

the beginning of VI,8 and replaced it with the *Note* (VI,7a). A careful study of the MS, however, shows that an erasure between VI,7 and VI,8 is unlikely (cf. introduction to VI,7a). What then could be the reason for the lack of a title? If the introduction to the *Scribal Note* is correct in suggesting that *Pr. Thanks.* (VI,7) was added to the codex on the initiative of the scribe, then the original plan of the codex was for VI,6 and VI,8 to be side by side. This plan would have taken VI,8 to be a continuation of VI,6 (as the reference to a preceding mystery in 65,16 suggests); therefore the lost title of VI,6 (52,1) might well have been intended for VI,8 as well.

The Hermetic tractate *Asclepius* (originally  $\delta$  λόγος τέλειος—*The Perfect Teaching*) was composed in Greek but exists *in toto* now only in a Latin translation. Although differing from the Latin at many points, VI,8 is still recognizably from the same source because of the similarity of contents and the way they are ordered. It is stylistically closer to the two extant Greek passages from *Asclepius* 21-29 than to the rather expansive and rhetorical Latin.

The form is that of a school dialogue between an Hermetic initiate, Asclepius (Tat and Amon are also mentioned in 72,30-31), and the mystagogue, Trismegistus (Hermes). As with VI,6 (*Disc.* 8-9), *Asclepius* as a whole was probably used in a Hermetic instructional-cultic context (see introduction to VI,6). The contents are arranged in five general areas.

- A. 65,15-37, in which the mystery experience (here undescribed) is likened to sexual intercourse, in that it requires an intimate interaction between two parties in which (according to Trismegistus's view) each receives something from the other.
- B. 65,37-68,19, which deals with the separation between the pious and the impious, with the former being distinguished by having learning ( $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\eta$ ) and knowledge ( $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ), and the latter, ignorance. Man needs learning and knowledge to restrain harmful passions (67,24-28) and to become good and immortal (67,30-32). Indeed, with learning and knowledge man becomes better than the gods, since then he is both mortal and immortal (67,32-68,12).
- C. 68,20-70,2, where Trismegistus argues that men create gods according to human likeness (69,26-27).
- D. 70,3 marks the beginning of the apocalyptic section. It seems to extend only to 74,6, in contrast to the Latin *Asclepius*,

where it clearly continues through 331,11 (parallel to 74,11). Here are described the woes that will come upon Egypt and the final action of the creator god to end them and bring the universe to birth. The original independence of this section has been argued convincingly, on the basis of the two additional initiates (mentioned above) and the poor connection with the previous section (Krause [2], pp. 51-52). There are a significant number of parallels to Egyptian conceptions that can be traced back to the Ptolemaic period and before. But parallels are also found to Plato, Stoicism, the Sibylline Oracles, and the New Testament. Some have held that the apocalypse was originally a Jewish writing, while the researches of Krause and others on the Egyptian parallels suggest that it was originally Egyptian because of the greater number and antiquity of these parallels (Nock-Festugière II, 288-89; Krause [2], pp. 52-57). The two concepts need not be mutually exclusive in view of the large, ancient, and literarily active Jewish community in Egypt.

- E. In VI,8 the major motif of the final section is individual eschatology. In the Coptic text this section appears to begin at 74,7 and to continue to the end of the tractate, in contrast to the Latin *Asclepius*, where the shift to individual eschatology begins later and is followed by other sections with differing themes. The restoration of the nature of the pious ones (74,7-8) is founded upon the eternal will of God, which expresses itself in the design of the good universe (74,12-32). The plan of the universe is then described. The "heights of heaven" are controlled by God (75,8-10). Other areas, including the earth, are controlled by other gods (75,13-25). Every person must go to the city in the west (place of the dead?). The soul separates from the body and goes to "the middle of the air" to be judged by the great daimon (76,22-33), who determines reward or punishment (76,28-78,42).

Tröger includes the Latin *Asclepius* in a group of Hermetic tractates that stands between those Hermetic tractates that are pantheistic, and hence distinctively Hellenistic, and those that display a gnostic dualism. The tractates in this group contain a mixture of both emphases. In addition to *Asclepius* they are *Corp. Herm.* IX, X, and XII ([2], pp. 102-03). The excerpt from *Asclepius* that is VI,8 has both pantheism and dualism. The pantheism is explicitly

expressed in 75,10-11 ("He [God] is in every place, and he looks out over every place."). It can also be seen in the conviction that the universe is good (74,33-36) and that the demiurge and the earth goddess are beneficent (75,13-24), as well as in the panegyric on Egypt (70,3-9). The dualism is found in the discussion of the two natures of man (66,9-67,34), but whether this should be attributed to Gnosticism, or is merely an expression of the dualism common in the Graeco-Roman world generally, is not clear. Its combination here with an emphasis on the importance of knowledge and understanding for salvation, however, would seem to move the balance in the direction of Gnosticism.

We have not included here the numerous textual notes for the Latin *Asclepius* from Nock-Festugière. With a few exceptions neither have we attempted to reproduce the excellent explanatory material found in the notes of that edition.



and the  
conviction  
age and  
the para  
cession of  
could be  
the dualism  
ar. Its om  
knowledge  
move the

textual notes  
or exceptions  
explanatory

ASCLEPIUS 21-29

VI,8:65,15-78,43

36

ΕΨΧΕ ΚΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΦΩΒ Μ  
 16 ΠΕΪΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ· ΑΨΩ ΘΙΚΩΝ  
 ΝΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΣΥΝ  
 18 ΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΨΑΣΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ  
 ΦΟΟΥΤ ΜΝ ΤΣΖΙΜΕ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΒΕ  
 20 ΕΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΤΑΚΜΗ ΨΑΨΩΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΒΙ ΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ· ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΜ  
 22 ΜΑΨ ΨΑΡΕΤΣΖΙΜΕ ΧΙ ΝΤΒΟΜ  
 ΜΦΟΟΥΤ· ΦΟΟΥΤ ΖΩΩΨ ΨΑΨ  
 24 ΧΙ ΝΤΒΟΜ ΝΤΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΨ· ΖΩΣ  
 ΕΡΕΠΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΡΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΜΠΑΪ·

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning) (Nock-Festugière II, 322-36)

322,10 (21) hoc ergo omni uero uerius manifestiusque mente / percipito, quod ex domino illo totius naturae deo / hoc sit cunctis in aeternum procreandi inuentum / tributumque mysterium, cui summa caritas, laeti/tia, hilaritas, cupiditas amorque diuinus innatus est. 322,15 et dicendum foret quanta sit eius mysterii uis atque / necessitas, nisi ex sui contemplatione unicuique ex / intimo sensu nota esse potuisset. si enim illud extre/mum temporis, quo ex crebro adritu peruenimus, / ut utraque in utramque fundat natura progeniem, 322,20 animaduertas, ut altera auide alterius rapiat <semen> / interiusque recondat, denique eo tempore ex 323,1 commixtione communi et uirtutem feminae marum / adipiscuntur et mares femineo torpore lassescunt. /

- 65,16 For sexual love understood as a "mystery," cf. Eph 5:31-32; also Nock-Festugière II, note 180, pp. 376-77.
- 17 Krause (1) takes ΝΤΕ as the nominal subject form of the conjunctive and therefore assumes that an infinitive has been omitted.
- 19 N.B. sexual union is not viewed as a fallen state or cosmic evil here, as it is elsewhere in Hermetic literature (e.g., *Corp. Herm.* I.14-19,24).

"And (86  
 this myst  
 of the int  
 that take  
 the male  
 the semen  
 In that m  
 the female  
 of the mal  
 receives th  
 the semen  
 Asclepius 21 (1  
 hake  
 "Grasp w  
 than any ot  
 / discover  
 of eternal pr  
 being, and c  
 sary to state  
 if it could no  
 as a result o  
 ment when  
 the nature po  
 seizes the  
 ment, then, th  
 the strength  
 of the females  
 Cf. 1 Cor



26 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤΣΥ  
 ΝΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟQ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΩΠ  
 28 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΝΕΤΣΟΕΙΩ ΜΦΥΣΙC  
 ΡΑΣΧΗΜΟΝΙ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΖΑΖ ΕΥΧΟ  
 30 ΝΤ̄ ΑΝ ΜΦΩΒ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΠΟΥΑ  
 ΓΑΡ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ Q† ΜΠΕQΧΠΟ·  
 32 ΝΕΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΑΤ̄CΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΙΖΩΒ  
 ΕΨΧΕ QΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΝΑΖΡΑΥ ΝCΩΒΕ  
 34 ΑΥΩ ΝΝΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ· ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ  
 ΖΕΝΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕ  
 36 ΝΤΕ ΝΛΟΓΟC ΜΝ̄ ΝΖΒΗΥΕ·  
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΕΥΤΜCΩΤΜ̄  
 38 ΑΛΛΑ ΝCΕΝΑΥ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ

Ξ

ΝΑΪ Ν†ΜΙΝΕ ΖΕΝΡΕQΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΕ  
 2 ΖΕΝΑΤ̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ ΖΕΝΑCΕΒΗC ΝΕ  
 ΝΑΪ ΔΕ Ν†ΜΙΝΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΕΝ ΝΕ·  
 4 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΝΕ ΕΥΗΠ̄ Ν  
 ΒΙ ΝΡΜ̄ΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ  
 6 ΨΑΡΕΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΖΑΖ·  
 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΤΕΠΙCΤΗΜΗ ΨΟΟΠ̄  
 8 ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ̄·

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

effectus itaque huius tam blandi  
 necessariiue mys/terii in occulto perpetratur, ne uulgo inriden-  
 tibus 323,5 inperitis utriusque naturae diuinitas ex commix/tione  
 sexus cogatur erubescere, multo magis etiam / si uisibus inreligio-  
 sorum hominum subiciantur. / (22) sunt autem non multi aut admo-  
 dum pauci, / ita ut numerari etiam in mundo possint, religiosi.  
 323,10 unde contingit in multis remanere malitiam defectu / pru-  
 dentiae scientiaeque rerum omnium, quae sunt. /

65,28-29 Cf. Rom 1:26-27.

34-38

This places the sex act in two of the categories usually em-  
 ployed to classify the practice of the mysteries, the so-called  
 λεγόμενα and the δρώμενα (for this cf. Nilsson, *GGR* I, 661).

66,4

Cf. Mt 7:14, par.; 22:14; 1 Pet 3:20.

- 26 Therefore the mystery (μυστήριον) of intercourse (συν-  
ουσία)  
is performed in secret,  
28 in order that the two sexes (φύσις)  
might not disgrace themselves (ἀσχημονεῖν) in front of  
many who do not experience  
30 that reality.  
For (γάρ) each of them (the sexes) contributes its (own  
part in) begetting.  
32 For (γάρ) if it happens in the presence of those who do  
not understand the reality,  
(it is) laughable  
34 and unbelievable. And (δέ), moreover,  
they are holy mysteries (μυστήριον)  
36 of both words (λόγος) and deeds  
because not only (οὐ μόνον) are they not heard  
38 but also (ἀλλά) they are not seen. Therefore

66

- such people( the unbelievers) are blasphemers.  
2 They are atheistic and impious (ἀσεβής).  
But (δέ) the others are not many;  
4 rather (ἀλλά), the pious who are counted are few.  
Therefore  
6 wickedness (κακία) remains among (the) many,  
since learning (ἐπιστήμη)  
8 concerning the things which are ordained does not exist  
among them.

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

Thus the performance of this mystery—so enticing and so urgent— / is carried out in secret, lest 323,5 each nature's divinity, which arises from the mingling / of the sexes, be forced to blush openly before the jeers of the ignorant, especially / if subjected to the glances of the impious. / (22) There are not many pious people, however—so few / in fact that they can be counted even throughout the world. 323,10 Whence it is the case that malice persists in the many as a result of their lack / of prudence and knowledge of all things that exist. /

ΤΓΝΩCIC ΓΑΡ ΝΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ̄  
 10 NAME ΝΤΟC ΠΕ ΠΤΛΒΟ ΝΜΠΑ  
 ΘΟC ΝΘΥΛΗ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΤΕ  
 12 ΠΙCΤΗΜΗ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΓΝΩ  
 CIC ΤΕ· ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥ  
 14 ΜΝΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΜΝ ΟΥΕΠΙCΤΗ  
 ΜΗ ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΑΝ ΖΝ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΜΠΡΩ  
 16 ΜΕ· ΨΑΡΕΜΠΑΘΟC ΒΩ ΝΖΗ  
 ΤC̄ ΕΜΝΤΕΥ ΤΑΛΒΟ· ΝΤΕΤΚΕ  
 18 ΚΑΚΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΜΠ  
 CΜΟΤ̄ ΝΟΥCΑΨ ΕΜΝΤΕΥ ΤΑΛΒΟ·  
 20 ΠCΑΨ ΔΕ ΨΑΦΟΥΩΜ ΝCΑ ΤΨΥ  
 ΧΗ ΝCΡ̄ ϞΝΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄ Ν  
 22 ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΝCΡ̄ C̄ΤΒΩΩΝ· ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΔΕ ϞΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΑΝΑΙΤΙΟC Ν  
 24 ΝΑΙ ΖΩC ΕΑΡΤ̄ΝΝΟΟΥ ΝΝΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΝΤΓΝΩCIC ΜΝ ΤΕΠΙCΤΗ  
 26 ΜΗ· Ω ΠΤΡΙCΜΕΓΙCΤΟC Ν  
 ΤΑΡΤ̄ΝΝΟΟΥCΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ  
 28 ΟΥΑΑΥ· ΕΖΕ Ω ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΕ Ν  
 ΤΑΡΤ̄ΝΝΟΟΥCΕ ΝΑΥ ΟΥΑΑΥ  
 30 ΟΥΑΖΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΟ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

ex enim intellectu  
 rationis diuinae, qua constituta / sunt omnia, contemptus medela-  
 que nascitur uitio/rum mundi totius. perseuerante autem inperitia  
 323,15 atque inscientia uitia omnia conualescunt uulne/rantque  
 animam insanabilibus uitiiis, quae infecta / isdem atque uitiata quasi  
 uenenis tumescit nisi / eorum, quorum animarum disciplina et intel-  
 lectus / summa curatio est. 323,20 si solis ergo et paucis hoc proderit,  
 dignum est / hunc persequi atque expedire tractatum,

66,9-11 Cf. 66,16-17; 66,19-22; Plut. *Ser.num.fun.* 549f, 551d, 559f,  
 561f, 562d, etc., Philo *Postev.C.* 74; *Leg.all.* III.124; *Congy.*  
 138, etc.; *Corp. Herm.* XII.3; 2 Clem 9:7; 1 Pet 2:24.  
 14 "Ignorance" at the root of sinful behavior: Cf. *Corp. Herm.*  
 X.8; *TDNT* I, 118 (R. Bultmann); and numerous places in  
 NT, e.g., Ac 3:17; 1 Tim 1:13; Eph 4:18.

For (γάρ) the knowledge (γνώσις) of the things which are  
 ordained  
 10 is truly the healing of the passions (πάθος)  
 of matter (ὕλη). Therefore learning (ἐπιστήμη)  
 12 is something derived from knowledge (γνώσις).  
 But (δέ) if there is  
 14 ignorance, and learning (ἐπιστήμη)  
 does not exist in the soul (ψυχή) of man,  
 16 (then) the incurable passions (πάθος) persist in it (the  
 soul).

And additional  
 18 evil (κακία) comes with them (the passions) in the  
 form of an incurable sore.  
 20 And (δέ) the sore constantly gnaws at the soul (ψυχή),  
 and through it the soul produces worms from  
 22 the evil (κακία) and stinks. But (δέ) God  
 is not the cause (ἀνάιτιος) of  
 24 these things, since (ὥς) he sent to men  
 knowledge (γνώσις) and learning (ἐπιστήμη)."  
 26 "O (ὦ) Trismegistus,  
 did he send them to men  
 28 alone?" "Yes, O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
 he sent them to them (men) alone.  
 30 And (δέ) it is fitting (ἄξιον) that we tell

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

For it is from understanding of the divine reason by which all things are constituted / that contempt for the vices / of the totality of matter, and a remedy for them, arise. While inexperience and ignorance continue, 323,15 however, all the vices gain strength and wound / the soul with incurable defects. Once infected / and vitiated by them, the soul swells up as though by poisons, / except in the case of those for whom the supreme remedy is the knowledge / and understanding of souls. 323,20 If this situation benefits only the few, therefore, it is worthwhile / to pursue and advance this discussion

66,22-25 Cf. Jas 1:13; Rom 3:3-5; 9:12-14.

28-34 Cf. Philo *Mut.nom.* 63; *Corp. Herm.* X.9; XII.19.

32 ΟΥΑΑΥ ΑΦΡΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΤ  
 ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ  
 34 ΠΜΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΕΡΑΓΑΘΟΝ· †  
 ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΣΩΤΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ  
 36 ΠΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΦΤΑ  
 ΜΙΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΝΝΣΑ ΝΝΟΥ  
 38 ΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦΧΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ

[32]

2 ΖΝ ΤΜΕΡΙΣ ΝΘΥΛΗ [ΑΦΚΩ Θ]ΥΛ[Η]  
 2 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΑΜΙΟ Μ[ΠΡΩ]ΜΕ  
 ΜΠ[ . . ] ΝΕ· ΨΑΡΕΜΠ[ΑΘΟ]Σ ΨΩ  
 4 ΠΕ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤ· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΑΪ  
 ΨΑΡΟΥΖΕ†Ε ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΦ  
 6 ΣΩΜΑ· ΝΕΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ  
 ΝΚΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ΧΕ ΦΧΙ ΝΤΕΪ  
 8 ΤΡΟΦΗ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΪΖΩΟΝ ΖΩΣ  
 ΕΥΡΕΦΜΟΥ ΠΕ· ΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ  
 10 ΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΖΕΝΚΕΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΝΑΤΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΥ  
 12 ΡΒΛΑΠΤΕΙ· ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΩΣ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

quare solis /  
 hominibus intellegentiam et disciplinam diuinitas / suam sit imper-  
 tire dignata. audi itaque. deus pater / et dominus cum post deos  
 homines efficeret ex parte 323,25 corruptiore mundi et ex diuina  
 pari lance conpon- 324,1 derans, uitia contigit mundi corporibus  
 commixta / remanere et alia propter cibos uictumque, quem / neces-  
 sario habemus cum omnibus animalibus com/munem; quibus de  
 rebus necesse est cupiditatum 324,5 desideria et reliqua mentis uitia  
 animis humanis / insidere. diis uero, utpote

67,8-9

“since . . . mortal”: Mahé argues from the Latin that this belongs with the following sentence ([2], p. 142).





εαγψωπε εβολ ζῆ ογζγλη  
 14 εσογααβ· σεῤχρια γαρ αν νογ  
 επιστημη μῆ ογρνωσις  
 16 τμῆῤαῤμογ γαρ ἢἢνογτε  
 τε τεπιστημη μῆ τρνωσις  
 18 ζωσ αγψωπε εβολ ζῆ ογ  
 λη ετογααβ· ασψωπε ναγ  
 20 ἢταξις ἢτρνωσις μῆ τεπις  
 τημη· κατα ογαναῤκη αγ  
 22 ῤροριζε ἢπρωμε αγκααγ  
 ζῆ ογεπιστημη μῆ ογρνω  
 24 σις· ετβε νετανχοογ  
 χιν ἢψορῆ αγχοκογ εβολ·  
 26 χεκαασ εβολ ζῆῤῆ ναῤ ἢπα  
 οος μῆ ἢκαβια ἢγψωπῆ ερο  
 28 ογ ἢμαγ κατα περογωψ·  
 περονητον αγἢῤῆ ερογν  
 30 εγμῆῤαῤμογ· ἢταγ{α}ψωπε  
 ἢαγαθος ἢναῤμογ ἢεε ἢ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

ex mundissima parte /  
 naturae effectis et nullis indigentibus rationis dis/ciplinaeque ad-  
 miniculis, quamuis immortalitas et / unius semper aetatis uigor ipse  
 sit eis prudentia et 324,10 disciplina, tamen propter unitatem ratio-  
 nis pro dis/ciplina et pro intellectu, ne ab his essent alieni, /  
 ordinem necessitatis lege conscriptum aeterna lege / constituit,  
 hominem ex animalibus cunctis de sola / ratione disciplinaeque cog-  
 noscens, per quae uitia cor- 324,15 porum homines auertere atque  
 abalienare potuis/sent, ipsos ad immortalitatis spem intentionem-  
 que / protendens. denique et bonum hominem et qui posset / in-  
 mortalis esse

67,13

"pure matter": Cf. *Koré Kosmou* 14-17; 24-30. According to  
*Koré Kosmou* the gods ("souls") were created from the purest  
 portion of a primordial alchemical mixture. Man was created  
 later out of the "baser" remains of this same mixture (cf.  
 66,37).

22

Cf. Ac 17:26.

they cam  
 4 (+ γὰρ) d  
 learning (t  
 5 For (γὰρ)  
 is learning  
 6 since (ἀφ'  
 It (immort  
 7 the positio  
 By (κατὰ)  
 8 set a bound  
 in learning  
 9 Concerning  
 from the be  
 10 in order th  
 he might re  
 11 according to  
 He brought  
 12 immortality  
 good (ἀγαθὸν)

*Asclepius* 21 (m  
 as  
 are and have n  
 Although imm  
 are as their pruc  
 of the unity of h  
 22-30 that the  
 ted by eternal l  
 The distinguish  
 and knowledge  
 the vices of bod  
 of immortalit  
 ty) of being im  
 For learnin  
 goodness  
 Corp. Her

- they came into being out of a pure matter (ύλη),  
 14 (+ γάρ) do not need (χρεία)  
 learning (ἐπιστήμη) and knowledge (γνώσις).  
 16 For (γάρ) the immortality of the gods  
 is learning (ἐπιστήμη) and knowledge (γνώσις),  
 18 since (ὥς) they came into being out of pure matter (ύλη).  
 It (immortality) assumed for them  
 20 the position (τάξις) of knowledge (γνώσις) and learning  
 (ἐπιστήμη).  
 By (κατά) necessity (ἀνάγκη) he (God)  
 22 set a boundary (ὀρίζειν) for man; he placed him  
 in learning (ἐπιστήμη) and knowledge (γνώσις).  
 24 Concerning these things (learning and knowledge), which  
 we have mentioned  
 from the beginning, he perfected them  
 26 in order that by means of these things  
 he might restrain passions (πάθος) and evils (κακία),  
 28 according to (κατά) his will.  
 He brought his (man's) mortal existence (θνητόν) into  
 30 immortality; he (man) became  
 good (ἀγαθός) (and) immortal, just as

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

as they were created from the purest element / of nature and have no need of the assistance of reason and knowledge, / although immortality and / the vigor of a single perennial age serve as their prudence and 324,10 knowledge, nevertheless because of the unity of his design, in place of knowledge / and understanding—so that they would not be unfamiliar with them— / he appointed by eternal law an order of necessity set down as a law for them. / He distinguished man from all other animals by virtue of / reason and knowledge alone, by which 324,15 men could avert and repel the vices of bodies, / and directed them toward the hope and purpose of immortality. / In a word, he composed man, as good and capable / of being immortal,

---

67,29-32

For learning (ἐπιστήμη) and knowledge (γνώσις) as constituting goodness and immortality within man's mortal nature, cf. *Corp. Herm.* X.7-9.

32 ΤΑΕΙΧΟΟΣ· ΑΓΤΑΜΙΕ ΦΥΣΙΣ  
 34 ΤΕΤΕΨΑΣΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΑΣ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΤΖΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΨΕ

[ΞΗ]

Μ[ΠΝΟΥΤ]Ε ΕΤΡΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΩ  
 2 Π[Ε ΕΦC]ΑΤΠ̄ ΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΩC  
 Ε[ΙC ΝΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΥ[ΨΟ]ΟΠ̄  
 4 ΝΝ[Α]Τ̄ΜΟΥ· ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΩ  
 ΟΥ CΕΕ ΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΡΕC  
 6 ΜΟΥ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΠΡΩΜΕ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝCΥΓΓΕΝΗC Ν̄ΝΝΟΥ  
 8 ΤΕ· CΕCΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΖΒΗΟΥΕ  
 ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΨΡΧ· Ν̄  
 10 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΥCΟΟΥΝ ΝΝΑ  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΡΩΜΕ CΕ  
 12 CΟΟΥΝ ΝΝΑ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΕΙ  
 ΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΑΝΡΩΜΕ Ω ΑCΚΛΗ  
 14 ΠΙΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΖΜΕΤΕ ΕΤΕΠΙC  
 ΤΗΜΗ Μ̄Ν ΤΓΝΩCΙC· ΝΕΤ̄  
 16 ΨΟΥΕΙΤ̄ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΪ ΝΨΨΕ  
 ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΕ ΛΑΑΥ Μ̄ΦΑΥΛΟΝ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

ex utraque natura composuit, diuina / atque mortali, et sic compositum est per uoluntatem 324,20 dei hominem constitutum esse meliorem et diis, qui / sunt ex sola immortali natura formati, et omnium / mortalium. propter quod homo diis cognatione coniunctus ipsos religione et sancta mente ueneratur / diique etiam pio affectu humana omnia respiciunt 324,25 atque custodiunt. (23) sed de hominibus istud 325,1 dictum paucis sit pia mente praeditis. de uitiosis / uero nihil dicendum est,

67,32-34  
 68,6-12

Cf. 68,4-5; *Corp. Herm.* I.15; Philo *Op. mund.* 135.

Cf. 68,20-22; *Corp. Herm.* X.22; XII.19; Cic. *Off.* I.153; *Nat. deor.* I.116.

I have s

for him:  
 the mort  
 happened

[68]

of God t

be better

indeed (μ

immortal,

are both in

Therefore

become ak

and (δὲ) t

of each oth

gods (- μ

men, and n

know the t

And (δὲ) I

who have a

and knowl

But (δὲ) (a

that we sa

*Asclepius* 21 (m

And thus it w

ould be constit

immortal n

reason, while

piety and ho

guard all hu

has been said

nd. But of th

Cf. Eph 5

- 32 I have said. For (γάρ) he (God) created (a) two-fold  
nature (φύσις)  
for him: the immortal and  
34 the mortal. And it  
happened this way because of the will  
[68]  
of [God] that men  
2 be better than the gods, since (ὥς)  
indeed (μέν) [the] gods are  
4 immortal, but (δέ) men alone  
are both immortal and mortal.  
6 Therefore man has  
become akin (συγγενής) to the gods,  
8 and (δέ) they know the affairs  
of each other with certainty. The  
10 gods (+ μέν) know the things of  
men, and men  
12 know the things of the gods.  
And (δέ) I am speaking about men, O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
14 who have attained learning (ἐπιστήμη)  
and knowledge (γνώσις).  
16 But (δέ) (about) those who are more vain than these, it  
is not fitting  
that we say anything base (φαῦλον),

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

with a twofold nature, divine / and mortal. And thus it was the disposition of God's will 324,20 that man should be constituted better than the gods, who / were formed from the immortal nature alone, and all / other mortal beings. For this reason, while man, joined to the gods in kinship, / worships them in piety and holy dispositions, / the gods themselves watch over and guard all human affairs with loyal affection. 324,25 (23) Now this has been said of the few men 325,1 who are endowed with a pious mind. But of the wicked / nothing is to be said,

18 ΖΩC ΕΝΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΘΕΙΟC ΕΝ  
 ΧΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΥ  
 20 ΟΥΛΑΒ̄· ΕΠΙΔΗ ΑΝΕῙ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ Ν̄Ν  
 22 ΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΡΩΜΕ· Μ̄ΜΕ  
 Ω̄ ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΠΕΤΕΡΕΠΡΩ  
 24 ΜΕ ΝΑΨΒ̄Μ̄ΒΟΜ ΝΖΗΤ̄· Ν  
 ΘΕ ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΠΙΩΤ̄ ΠΧΟΕΙC Μ̄  
 26 ΠΤΗΡ̄ ΕΦΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΖΩΩC ΟΝ Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ  
 28 ΠΕΙΖΩΟΝ ΕΤ̄ΖΙΧ̄Μ ΠΚΑΖ Ν  
 ΡΕΦΜΟΥ· ΠΑῙ ΕΤ̄Τ̄Ν̄ΤΩΝ ΑΝ  
 30 ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΤΟC ΖΩΩC ΟΝ  
 ΦΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ  
 32 ΦΤΑΧΡΟ ΑΛΛΑ CΕΤΑΧΡΟ Μ̄ΜΟC  
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ C̄Ρ̄ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ  
 34 ΦΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ· Κ̄Ρ̄ΘΑΥΜΑ  
 ΖΕ Ω̄ ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩ  
 36 ΩΚ ΚΕ Ν̄ΝΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΑΖ·

30

Ω ΤΡΙCΜ[ΕΡΙCΤΕ †CΙ Μ̄Ν] ΝΨ[Α]  
 2 ΧΕ ΕΧΩ †ΠΙCΤΕ[ΥΕ Μ]ΕΝ ΝΑΚ  
 ΕΚ[ΨΑ]ΧΕ· ΑΥΩ Α[Ε]! Ρ̄ ΨΠΗΡΕ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

ne sanctissimus sermo /  
 eorum contemplatione uioletur. / et quoniam de cognatione et con-  
 sortio hominum 325,5 deorumque nobis indicitur sermo, potestatem  
 homi/nis, o Asclepi, uimque cognosce. dominus et pater / uel,  
 quod est summum, deus ut effector est deorum / caelestium, ita  
 homo factor est deorum, qui in tem/plis sunt humana proximitate  
 contenti, et non solum 325,10 inluminatur uerum etiam inluminat.  
 nec solum ad / deum proficit, uerum etiam conformat deos. mira-  
 ris, o Asclepi, an numquid et tu diffidis ut multi? / — Confundor,  
 o Trismegiste,

68,33-34

Cf. 68,18. For the belief that the redeemed man is god, cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.26; X.6; XIII.10; *Disc.* 8-9 (VI,6) 61,17; *Pr. Thanks.* (VI,7) 64,18-19. N.B. the difference of the Latin at this point.

since (όε)  
 introducing  
 Since (επει-  
 the matter  
 gods and m  
 O (ὦ) Ascle-  
 can be stro  
 For (γάρ) j  
 the univers  
 in this very  
 this mortal  
 the one who  
 God, also hi  
 creates gods  
 does he stre  
 Not only (ο  
 he also crea  
 O (ὦ) Ascle-  
 another dis

"O (ὦ) Tris-  
 to me. [And  
 as you spea

*Asclepius* 21 (m

discourse / be d  
 mission about th  
 gods has been  
 and strength  
 first title, God-  
 of gods who  
 325,10 does  
 he advanc  
 trised, / Ascl  
 ?" / "I am as  
 "gods": T  
 the Latin

- 18 since (ὥς) we are divine (θεῖος) and are  
introducing holy matters.
- 20 Since (ἐπειδή) we have entered  
the matter of the communion (κοινωνία) between the  
22 gods and men, know,  
O (ὦ) Asclepius, that in which man  
24 can be strong!  
For (γάρ) just as the Father, the Lord of  
26 the universe, creates gods,  
in this very way man too,  
28 this mortal, earthly, living creature (ζῶον),  
the one who is not like  
30 God, also himself  
creates gods. Not only (οὐ μόνον)  
32 does he strengthen, but (ἀλλά) he is also strengthened.  
Not only (οὐ μόνον) is he god, but (ἀλλά)  
34 he also creates gods. Are you astonished (θαυμάζειν),  
O (ὦ) Asclepius? Are you yourself  
36 another disbeliever like the many?"

[69]

- "O (ὦ) Trismegistus, [I agree with] the words (spoken)  
2 to me. [And (μέν)] I believe (πιστεύειν) you  
as you [speak]. But (δέ) I have also been astonished

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

lest this most  
sacred discourse / be defiled by consideration of them. / Now that  
the discussion about the kinship and fellowship between men 325,5  
and the gods has been mentioned, Asclepius, you must learn the  
power / and strength of man. Just as the Lord and Father— / or,  
his highest title, God—is the creator of heavenly gods, / so man is  
a maker of gods who are held in temples / in proximity to men.  
Not only 325,10 does man receive light, but he also gives light; not  
only / does he advance toward God, but he also fashions gods. Are  
you surprised, / Asclepius, or like the many are you too a dis-  
believer?" / "I am astonished, Trismegistus,

68,34

"gods": The Coptic could be translated in the singular, but  
the Latin supports the plural.

4 ΔΕ ΜΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠ[ΑΙ]· ΑΥΩ ΔΕΙ  
 ΕΠ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ  
 6 ΠΕ· ΕΑΦΜΕΤΕ ΕΤΕΙΝΟΒ ΝΒΟΜ  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΕΑΦ ΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 8 Ω ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΦΜΠΨΑ ΝΡΘΑΥ  
 ΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ· ΦΟΥΟΝΖ ΜΕΝ ΝΑΝ  
 10 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΓΕΝΟC ΝΝΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΑΥΩ ΤΝΡΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ·  
 12 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΥΛΗ ΕCΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ  
 14 ΝΕΥCΩΜΑ ΖΕΝΑΠΕ ΜΜΕΤΕ·  
 ΠΕΤΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ CΩΝΤ ΜΜΑΦ  
 16 ΠΕ ΠΙΝΕ ΝΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΕ ΖΜ ΦΔΕ ΝΜΕΡΟC ΝΤΕ ΘΥΛΗ  
 18 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΖΜ ΠΖΔΕ ΝΕΙ  
 ΝΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ  
 20 ΖΕΝΑΠΗΥΕ ΝΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΚΕΜΕΡΟC  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠCΩΜΑ· ΑΥΩ ΚΑ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

sed tuis uerbis / libenter adsensus felicissimum hominem iudico, qui 325,15 sit tantam felicitatem consecutus. / — Nec inmerito miraculo dignus est, qui est / omnium maximus. deorum genus omnium confes/sione manifestum est de mundissima parte naturae / esse prognatum signaque eorum sola quasi capita 325,20 pro omnibus esse. species uero deorum, quas con/format humanitas, ex utraque natura conformatae / sunt; ex diuina, quae est purior multoque diuiniore, 326,1 et ex ea, quae intra homines est, id est ex materia, / qua fuerint fabricatae, et non solum capitibus solis / sed membris omnibus totoque corpore figurantur. / ita humanitas semper memor naturae et originis 326,5 suae in illa diuinitatis imitatione perseuerat,

69,7

Krause (1) takes this line with the previous one, rather than the following.

17-18

ΕΙΝΑΙ: The use of this Greek term is most unusual. The text here could be emended to ΕΙΝ<Ε>, and the whole expression translated, "the outer (part) of the likeness of men."



- 4 at the discourse about [this]. And I have  
decided that man is blessed (μακάριος),  
6 since he has enjoyed this great power.”  
“And that which is greater than all these things,  
8 O (ὦ) Asclepius, is worthy of admiration (θαυμάζειν).  
Now (μέν) it is clear to us  
10 concerning the race (γένος) of the gods,  
and we confess (ὁμολογεῖν) it  
12 along with everyone else, that it (the race of the gods)  
has come into being  
out of a pure matter (ύλη). And  
14 their bodies (σῶμα) are heads only.  
But (δέ) that which men create  
16 is the likeness of the gods. They (the gods) are from  
the farthest part (μέρος) of matter (ύλη),  
18 and it (the object created by men) is from the outer  
(part) of the being (εἶναι)  
of men. Not only (οὐ μόνον)  
20 are they (what men create) heads but (ἀλλά) (they are)  
also all the other members (μέρος)  
of the body (σῶμα) and according to (κατά)

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

but gladly giving my  
assent to your words, / I judge man supremely blessed 325,15 for  
having attained such blessedness.” / “And he who is the greatest of  
all is worthy of admiration. / It is clear, by the acknowledgement  
of all, that the race of gods / is descended from the purest element  
of nature / and their symbols are as it were only heads 325,20 in  
place of the whole. But the images of the gods which / humanity  
fashions, are fashioned from the twofold nature: / from the divine,  
which is the purer and by far the more godlike, 326,1 and from that  
which is within men, that is from the material / of which they were  
made, and they are represented not only with heads / but with all  
the members and the whole body. / Thus humanity, always mind-  
ful of its own nature and origin, 326,5 continues in such an imitation  
of the divinity

22 ΤΑ ΠΟΥΕΙΝΕ· ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΩΨΕ ΕΤΡΕΠΡΩ  
 24 ΜΕ ΕΤΨΙ ΠΣΑΝΖΟΥΝ ΤΑΜΙΟ ΚΑ  
 ΤΑ ΠΕΦΤΟΝΤῆ· ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΖΩΩΦ  
 26 ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΙ  
 ΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΕΙΝΕ· Ω ΤΡΙΣ  
 28 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΕ ΜΗ ΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΑΝΤΟΥΩΤ·  
 Ω ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ  
 30 ΕΝΤΟΥΩΤ· ΚΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩ  
 ΩΚ ΟΝ Ω ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΚΕ ΝΝΑ  
 32 ΤΝΑΖΤΕ ΕΠΨΑΧΕ· ΕΚΨΑΧΕ  
 ΕΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΨΥΧΗ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΨΙ  
 34 ΝΙΦΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΥΟΤΕ· ΝΑΪ ΕΤΡΕ  
 ΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΕΝΕΪΝΟΒ ΝΖΒΗΟΥΕ·  
 36 ΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΝΑΪ ΕΤΨ ΝΖΕΝΠΡΟ  
 ΦΗΤΙΑ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΥΟΤΕ· ΝΑΪ ΕΤΨ

[Ω]

ΝΨ[ΩΝΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ Π]ΕΤΤΛΒΟ

2 ΕΤ[. . . . .]ΝΜΜΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ·

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

ut, / sicuti pater ac dominus, ut sui similes essent, deos /  
 fecit aeternos, ita humanitas deos suos ex sui uultus / similitudine  
 figuraret. / (24) — Statuas dicis, o Trismegiste? 326,10 — Statuas,  
 o Asclepi. uidesne, quatenus tu ipse / diffidas? statuas animatas  
 sensu et spiritu plenas / tantaque facientes et talia, statuas futuro-  
 rum praes/cias eaque sorte, uate, somniis multisque aliis rebus /  
 praedicentes, inbecillitates hominibus facientes eas- 326,15 que cu-  
 rantes, tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis.

69,22-27

“inner man”: Cf. Rom 7:22; 2 Cor 4:16; Eph 3:16. For Philo,  
 the “man” created “in the image of God” (κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ)  
 is a “heavenly man” (οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος) (*Leg.all.* I.31,33); the  
 corresponding figure in *Corp. Herm.* I.12,14 is called the “image”  
 or the “form of God.” Philo also describes the human mind  
 (νοῦς), when fully created, as “in the image of God” (*Op.mund.*  
 134; *Leg.all.* III.95-96; *Plant.* 18-19, etc.).

their like.  
 God has  
 be create  
 his image.  
 man on ea  
 according  
 you are no  
 “O (ō). Asc  
 about idol  
 O (ō). Asc  
 disbeliever  
 about thos  
 breath, th  
 bring abou  
 You are s  
 that they  
 [70]  
 [men sickn  
 that i

*Asclepius* 21 (n  
 that /  
 was to be lik  
 the likeness of  
 Trismegistus  
 ment you you  
 intellect and  
 which have fo  
 through lo  
 illnesses  
 and joy acc

On the P  
 p. 187.

- 22 their likeness. Just as (κατά)  
 God has willed that the inner man  
 24 be created according to (κατά)  
 his image, in the very same way  
 26 man on earth creates gods  
 according to (κατά) his likeness." "O (ὦ) Trismegistus  
 28 you are not (μή) talking about idols, are you?"  
 "O (ὦ) Asclepius, you yourself are talking  
 30 about idols. You see that again you yourself,  
 O (ὦ) Asclepius, are also a  
 32 disbeliever of the discourse. You say  
 about those who have soul (ψυχή) and  
 34 breath, that they are idols—these who  
 bring about (ἐνεργεῖν) these great events.  
 36 You are saying about these who give prophecies (προ-  
 φητεία)  
 that they are idols—these who give

[70]

[men sickness and] healing

- 2 that [ ] them.

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

that / just as the Father and Lord made the gods  
 eternal so as to be like him, / so humanity would represent its gods  
 with / the likeness of its own countenance." / (24) "Do you mean  
 statues, Trismegistus?" 326,10 "Statues, Asclepius—do you see to  
 what extent you yourself / are an unbeliever?—animated statues,  
 full of intellect and spirit, / which accomplish such great things;  
 statues which have foreknowledge of future things / and which pre-  
 dict them through lots, oracles, dreams, and many other things, /  
 which cause illnesses for men and cure them, which cause 326,15  
 sadness and joy according to one's deserts.

69,32-70,2 On the Egyptian idea that idols are animated, cf. Derchain,  
 p. 187.

Η Ε[ΚΕ ΝΝ]ΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ Φ [ΑΣ]ΚΛΗ  
 4 ΠΙΕ ΧΕ Κ[Η]ΜΕ ΕΣΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΖΙ  
 ΚΩΝ ΝΤ[Π]Ε· ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΠΜΑ  
 6 ΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΤΠΕ ΤΕ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΝΕΡ  
 ΓΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤ̄Ζ̄Ν ΤΠΕ· ΕΨΧΕ  
 8 ΕΨΨΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ ΝΤΜΕ· ΠΝ̄  
 ΚΑΖ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΡΠΕ ΜΠΚΟΣ  
 10 ΜΟΣ· ΕΨΨΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ρ̄  
 ΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ̄ ΟΥΟΕΙΨ  
 12 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤ̄Q̄ ΣΕΝΑ  
 ΟΥΩΝΖ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΝΡ̄Μ̄ΝΚΗΜΕ  
 14 ΕΑΥΖ̄ΙΣΕ ΕΤΜ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ Ε  
 ΠΧΙΝΧΗ· ΑΥΩ ΤΟΥΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΑ  
 16 ΤΗΡC̄ Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΝΑ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΨΗΣ· ΤΜ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ  
 18 ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡC̄ ΝΑΛΟ Ζ̄Ν ΚΗΜΕ ΝC̄  
 ΠΩΤ̄ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΚΗΜΕ  
 20 ΝΑΡ̄ΧΗΡΕΥΕ· Q̄ΝΑΡ̄ ΧΑΕΙΕ ΝΝ̄  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΑΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ Ν̄

Latin *Asclepius 21* (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

an / ignoras, o Asclepi,  
 quod Aegyptus imago sit caeli / aut, quod est uerius, translatio aut  
 descensio om/nium, quae gubernantur atque exercentur in caelo? /  
 et si dicendum est uerius, terra nostra mundi totius 326,20 est tem-  
 plum. / et tamen, quoniam praescire cuncta prudentes 327,1 decet,  
 istud uos ignorare fas non est: futurum tem/pus est, cum adpareat  
 Aegyptios incassum pia mente / diuinitatem sedula religione seruasse;  
 et omnis eorum / sancta ueneratio in inritum casura frustrabitur.  
 e 327,5 terris enim et ad caelum recursura diuinitas lin/queturque  
 Aegyptus terraque, sedes religionum quae / fuit, uiduata numinum  
 praesentia destituetur. alie/nigenis enim

70,3-10 The transition to the apocalypse seems to draw its content  
 primarily from 71,31-33. For Egypt as the image (εἰκών) of  
 heaven, focus of heavenly events, and the temple of the entire  
 cosmos, cf. Derchain, pp. 190-92.

11-16 Cf. Sibyl VIII.29-31.

17-21 Cf. 71,11-16; 73,5-6. For the deity abandoning its land and

Or (H) ar  
 that EGYPT  
 of heaven  
 it is the  
 that are in  
 it is propo  
 land is (th  
 And (H) i  
 ignorant th  
 will come  
 (when) Eg  
 to have ser  
 vain, and  
 in their rel  
 be despise  
 will leave  
 flee upwar  
 will be wid  
 gods. For

Asclepius 21 (m  
 that Egypt  
 the transfe  
 eated in hea  
 our earth 32  
 it is propo  
 327,1 the  
 time is comin  
 the divin  
 and all their  
 some a decept  
 with to heaven  
 was once the h  
 of their pr

people, c  
 Egyptian

- Or (ἤ) are you ignorant, O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
 4 that Egypt is (the) image (εἰκῶν)  
 of heaven? Moreover (+ δέ),  
 6 it is the dwelling place of heaven and all the forces  
 (ἐνεργεῖα)  
 that are in heaven. If  
 8 it is proper for us to speak the truth, our  
 land is (the) temple of the world (κόσμος).  
 10 And (δέ) it is proper for you not to be  
 ignorant that a time  
 12 will come in it (our land)  
 (when) Egyptians will seem  
 14 to have served the divinity in  
 vain, and all their activity (πραγματεῖα)  
 16 in their religion will  
 be despised. For (γάρ) all divinity  
 18 will leave Egypt and will  
 flee upward to heaven. And Egypt  
 20 will be widowed (χρηρεύειν); it will be abandoned by the  
 gods. For (γάρ) foreigners (ἄλλόφυλος)

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

Do / you not realize,

Asclepius, that Egypt is an image of heaven, / or—to be more accurate—the transferral or descent of everything / that is controlled and operated in heaven? / And, if one can speak even more accurately, our earth 326,20 is the temple of the whole world. / And yet, since it is proper for the prudent to have foreknowledge of everything, 327,1 there is something that you must not be unaware of: the time is coming / when it will appear that the Egyptians / have served the divinity, with pious mind and assiduous reverence, in vain; and all their / holy worship, about to fall into worthlessness, will become a deception. 327,5 For the divinity is about to return from earth to heaven, / and Egypt will be forsaken, and the land, which was once the home of religions, / widowed of its gods, will be despoiled of their presence. / For once foreigners

---

people, cf. Ezek 8:12; 9:9; Jer 12:7-8; Plat. *Polit.* 272e, 274b.  
 Egyptian parallels are found in Krause (2), pp. 52-53.

22 ΝΗΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΗΜΕ ΝΣΕΡ̄ ΧΟ  
 ΕΙΣ ΕΡΟQ ΚΗΜΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ Ν  
 24 ΡΜ̄ΝΚΗΜΕ ΣΕΝΑΡ̄ΚΩΛΥΕ  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥΩΜ̄ΨΕ ΜΠ  
 26 ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΣΕΝΑΨΩ  
 ΠΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΘΑΗ ΝΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ· ΠΕΤΟΥ  
 28 ΝΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕQΨΜ̄  
 ΨΕ ΕQΡ̄ΣΕΒΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 30 ΜΦΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΜ̄ΜΑΥ ΤΧΩΡΑ  
 ΕΤΕ ΝΡ̄Μ̄ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΧΩ  
 32 ΡΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΕ Ν  
 ΑΣΕΒΗΣ· ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΣΑΜΟΥΖ  
 34 ΝΡ̄ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΑΜΟΥΖ ΝΤΑΦΟΣ·  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΣΑΜΟΥΖ ΑΝ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ  
 36 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΚΩΩΣ· Ω̄ ΚΗΜΕ  
 ΚΗΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙ  
 38 ΨΒΩΩΣ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΘΕΙΟΝ

ΣΕΝΑΝ[. . ]ΥΤΟΥΑ[. . .] ΝΖΒ[Η]

2 ΟΥΕ ΝΨΠΗΡΕ Μ̄Ν . [ . . . ]ΧΕ  
 Ε . [ . . ] . ΑΥΩ ΕΨ[Χ]Ε ΖΕΝΩΝΕ  
 4 ΝΕ ΝΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤ[Ε] ΝΨΠΗΡΕ

□□

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

regionem istam terram-  
 que conplenti/bus non solum neglectus religionum, sed, quod est  
 327,10 durius, quasi de legibus a religione, pietate cultuque / diuino  
 statuetur praescripta poena prohibitio. tunc / terra ista sanctissima,  
 sedes delubrorum atque tem/plorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorum-  
 que plenissi/ma. o Aegypte, Aegypte, religionum tuarum solae  
 327,15 supererunt fabulae eaeque incredibiles posteris tuis / solaque  
 supererunt uerba lapidibus incisa tua pia / facta narrantibus

70,30-36

For impiety and atheism, conjoined with unimaginable horrors and pogroms, as signs of the end, cf. Sibyl III.330,568-79; V.93-97.



ΑΥΩ ΠΒΑΡΒΑΡΟϞ ΝΑϞΩΤΠ̄  
 6 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΚ· ΝΤΟΚ Ω [Π]ΡΜ̄Ν  
 ΚΗΜΕ ΖΝ ΤΕϞΜ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ Η ΟΥ  
 8 ΣΚΥΘΗϞ Η 'Ν'ΖΝΤΟΥ· Η ΒΕ Ν  
 ΤΕΪΜΙΝΕ· ΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕ†ΧΩ ΜΜΟϞ  
 10 ΕΠΡΜ̄ΝΚΗΜΕ· ΣΕΝΑΚΩ ΓΑΡ Ν  
 ΣΩΟΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΑΝ· ΠΣΟΠ̄ ΓΑΡ Ν  
 12 ΤΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩ ΝΣΩΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΖ  
 ΝΚΗΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΠΩ† ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε  
 14 ΤΠΕ· ΤΟΤΕ ΝΡΜ̄ΝΚΗΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΝΑΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΚΗΜΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 16 ΕϞΨΗϞ Ν̄ΝΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΡΜ̄Ν  
 ΚΗΜΕ· ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ Ω ΠΙ'Ε'ΡΟ ΟῩΝ  
 18 ΟΥΖΟΥ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν'ΖΕ†Ε  
 ΝΣΝΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΠΜΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ  
 20 ΝΣΩΜΑ ΕΤΜΟΟΥ† ΣΕΝΑΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΕΥΧΟϞΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΑΝΤΗΝΕ·  
 22 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΡΙΜΕ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΜΟ  
 ΟΥ† ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΤΟΝ̄· ΣΕΝΑ  
 24 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΜ̄Ν  
 ΚΗΜΕ ΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕϞΑΣΠΕ Μ̄

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

et inhabitabit Aegyptum Scythes / aut Indus aut aliquis talis, id est uicina barbaria. 328,1 diuinitas enim repetit caelum, deserti homines toti / morientur atque ita Aegyptus deo et homine uiduata / deseretur. te uero appello, sanctissimum flumen, / tibi que futura praedico: torrenti sanguine plenus 328,5 adusque ripas erumpes undaeque diuinae non solum / polluentur sanguine, sed totae rumpentur et uiuis / multo maior numerus erit sepulcrorum; superstes / uero qui foret, lingua sola cognoscetur Aegyptius, / actibus uero uidebitur alienus.

71,8

15-17

ΟΥ is crossed out before ΖΝΤΟΥ in the MS.

Cf. Ezek 29:8-12; Isa 19:5-7; Nock-Festugière II, note 210, p. 380.

18-20

Cf. Exod 7:17-25; Nock-Festugière II, note 211, pp. 380-81.

22-24

Cf. Eccl 7:1; Sibyl VIII.353-54; Krause (2), p. 53.

And the  
6 better th  
in his rel  
8 (he is) a  
of this so  
10 about the  
not aban  
12 (when) th  
of Egypt  
14 heaven, th  
will die. A  
16 made a de  
And (86) a  
18 will be a d  
with blood  
20 dead bodie  
(stacked) l  
22 And he wh  
as much as  
24 known as a  
on account

*Asclepius* 21 (m  
and other, that  
for the divinity  
and so Egypt,  
you you, mos  
full of roaring l  
and your divine  
completely be  
and graves than  
named as Egypt  
as a foreigner.

"in ... per  
rather than



And the barbarian (βάρβαρος) will be  
 6 better than you, O Egyptian,  
 in his religion, whether (ἤ)  
 8 (he is) a Scythian, or (ἤ) the Hindus, or (ἤ) some other  
 of this sort. And (δέ) what is this that I say  
 10 about the Egyptian? For (γάρ) they (the Egyptians) will  
 not abandon Egypt. For (γάρ) (in) the time  
 12 (when) the gods have abandoned the land  
 of Egypt and have fled upward to  
 14 heaven, then (τότε) all Egyptians  
 will die. And Egypt will be  
 16 made a desert by the gods and the Egyptians.  
 And (δέ) as for you, O River, there  
 18 will be a day when you will flow  
 with blood more than water. And  
 20 dead bodies (σῶμα) will be  
 (stacked) higher than the dams.  
 22 And he who is dead will not be mourned  
 as much as he who is alive. Indeed (μέν) the latter will be  
 24 known as an Egyptian  
 on account of his language in

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

And the Scythian / or the Indian or  
 some such other, that is, barbarian neighbors, will inhabit Egypt.  
 328,1 For the divinity will return to heaven; men, abandoned, / will  
 all die; and so Egypt, widowed of god and man, / will be deserted.  
 I call upon you, most sacred River, / and to you I foretell the  
 future: full of roaring blood 328,5 to the very banks, you will burst  
 forth, and your divine waters not only / will be polluted with blood  
 but will completely be burst apart, and / there will be a far greater  
 number of graves than of living men. But he who may survive / will  
 be recognized as Egyptian by his language alone, / by his deeds he  
 will seem a foreigner.

---

71,25-26

"in . . . period": Krause (1) takes this phrase with what follows,  
 rather than with what precedes.

26 ΠΜΕΖ ΣΟΠ̄ ΣΝΑΥ· Ω̄ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ  
 ΑΖΡΟΚ ΕΚΡΙΜΕ· ΦΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ̄  
 28 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΣ ΑΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΝΕΦΖΒΗΟΥΕ· ΚΗΜΕ ΝΘΕΙΟΝ  
 30 ΦΝΑΨΕΠ̄ ΖΕΝΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΛΥ  
 ΕΝΑΙ· ΚΗΜΕ Μ̄ΜΑΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 32 ΑΥΩ ΠΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ  
 Μ̄ΜΑ Ν† ΣΒΩ ΝΤΜ̄Ν†ΝΟΥΤΕ  
 34 ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΖΙΚΩΝ ΝΤΜ̄Ν†  
 ΑΣΕΒΗΣ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄Μ̄  
 36 ΜΕΥ ΣΕΝΑΡ̄ ΘΑΥΜΑ ΑΝ Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ

[OB]

. [ . . . . . ] Μ̄Ν ΤΜ̄[Ν†Α]†ΜΟΥ  
 2 ΟΥ[ΤΕ Σ]ΕΝΑΟΥΨΨ† Μ̄[ΜΟΦ]  
 ΑΝ[ . . . . . ]· ΕΝΧΩ Μ̄Μ[ΟC Χ]Ε ΝΑ  
 4 ΝΟΥΦ Ν . [ . ]ΩΦ ΑΝ· ΟΥΤ[Ε] Μ̄  
 ΠΕΦΨΩ[ΠΕ] ΝΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΩ†· ΟΥ  
 6 ΤΕ ΝΘΕΨ[Ρ]ΙΑ· ΑΛΛΑ Φ̄ΡΚΙΝΑΥ  
 ΝΕ[Υ]Ε ΕΤΡΕΦΨΩΠΕ ΝΒΑΡΟΣ  
 8 Ν̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ  
 ΣΕΝΑΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙ Μ̄ΜΟΦ· ΠΚΟ  
 10 ΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΝΕCΩΦ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

328,10 (25) quid fles, o Asclepi? et his amplius multo/que deterius ipsa Aegyptus suadebitur inbueturque / peioribus malis, quae sancta quondam, diuinitatis / amantissima, deorum in terras suae religionis me/rito sola deductio, sanctitatis et pietatis magistra, 328,15 erit maximae crudelitatis exemplum. et tunc taedio / hominum non admirandus uidebitur mundus nec / adorandus. hoc totum bonum, quo melius nec fuit / nec est nec erit, quod uideri possit, periclitabitur / eritque graue hominibus ac per hoc contemnetur 328,20 nec diligetur totus hic mundus, dei opus inimita/bile,

71.35-72,16 The vision of the goodness, order, and beauty of the cosmos is described here in typical Stoic fashion. Cf. elsewhere in Hermetism, esp. *Corp. Herm.* V.1-5.

72,6-7 For the prediction that men will become world-weary in the

the seco  
 why are  
 like (6c)  
 his custo  
 will suffe  
 than the  
 and the  
 school of  
 will becom  
 impiou  
 the world

[72]

nor (67c)  
 [  
 not good  
 a single th  
 a vision (6  
 of becomin  
 to all men  
 it will be

of God,

*Asclepius* 21 (r  
 and far worse  
 will be stain  
 of the di  
 her reveren  
 example of  
 the world will  
 This total  
 will be anything  
 to men,  
 and not love

end-time,  
 Mt 24:12

26 the second period (of time). O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
 why are you weeping? He will seem  
 28 like (ὡς) (a) foreigner (ἀλλόφυλος) in regard to (κατά)  
 his customs. Divine (θεῖον) Egypt  
 30 will suffer evils greater  
 than these. Egypt, lover of God,  
 32 and the dwelling place of the gods,  
 school of religion,  
 34 will become an example (εἰκῶν) of  
 impiousness (-ἀσεβής). And in that day  
 36 the world (κόσμος) will not be marveled (θαῦμα) at,  
 [72]

[ ] and [immortality]  
 2 [nor (οὔτε)] will it be worshipped  
 [ ] since we say that it is  
 4 not good [ ]. It has become neither (οὔτε)  
 a single thing nor (οὔτε)  
 6 a vision (θεωρία). But (ἀλλά) it is in danger (κινδυνεύειν)  
 of becoming a burden (βάρος)  
 8 to all men. Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο),  
 it will be despised (καταφρονεῖν)—the beautiful world  
 (κόσμος)  
 10 of God,

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

328,10 (25) Why do you weep, Asclepius? To  
 greater and far worse / than this, Egypt herself will be dragged along,  
 and she will be stained / with worse evils. She who once was holy,  
 the beloved of the divinity, / sole dwelling of the gods on earth in  
 return for her reverence, / mistress of holiness and piety—328,15 she  
 will be an example of the utmost cruelty. And then to the disgust /  
 of men the world will appear worthy neither of admiration / nor of  
 reverence. This total good, than which there has not been, / is not,  
 nor will be anything better to be seen, will be imperiled / and will  
 be a burden to men, and through it 328,20 this whole world will be  
 scorned and not loved—this inimitable work of God, /

---

end-time, cf. Plat. *Polit.* 273d; Rev 6:15-17; 9:6; 16:9,11,21;  
 Mt 24:12; Lk 21:26.

ΤΕ· ΦΩΒ ΕΜΝ ΠΕΤΤΝΤΩΝ  
 12 ΕΡΟQ· ΤΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝ  
 ΤΑΣ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΘΕΩΡΙΑ  
 14 ΕΤΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΣΜΟΤ· ΤΧΟΡΗΓΙΑ  
 ΕΜΑΣΡΦΘΟΝΙ· ΠΕΤΜΕΖ  
 16 ΝΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΝΙΜ· ΣΕΝΑΣΕΤΠ  
 ΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ·  
 18 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΣΕΤΠ ΠΜΟΥ Ε  
 ΠΩΝΖ· ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΕΙΩΡΜ  
 20 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ· ΠΡΜΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ  
 ΣΕΝΑΟΠQ ΖΩΣ ΡΕQΛΟΒΕ· ΠΑ  
 22 ΣΕΒΗΣ ΔΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΣΕΝΑΤΑ  
 ΕΙΟQ ΖΩΣ ΣΑΒΕ· ΠΣΑΝΡ ΖΟΤΕ  
 24 ΣΕΝΑΟΠQ ΖΩΣ ΧΩΡΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΣΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΠΑΓΑΘΟΣ Ν  
 26 ΡΩΜΕ ΖΩΣ ΡΩΜΕ ΕQΖΟΥQ·  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΔΕ ΜΝ ΝΖΒΗΥΕ  
 28 ΝΤΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ ΝΑ ΤΜΝΤΑΤΜΟΥ  
 ΜΝ ΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΝΤΑΕΙΧΟΥQ  
 30 ΕΡΩΤΝ Ω ΤΑΤ ΜΝ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ  
 ΜΝ ΑΜΜΩΝ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΣΕ  
 32 ΝΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΥQ ΧΕ ΟΥCΩ  
 ΒΕ ΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΝΑΡ ΠΚΕCΠΑ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

gloriosa constructio, bonum multiformi ima/ginum uarietate con-  
 positum, machina uoluntatis dei / in suo opere absque inuidia suf-  
 fragantis, in unum / omnium, quae uenerari laudari amari denique a  
 329,1 uidentibus possunt, multiformis adunata congestio. / nam et  
 tenebrae praeponentur lumini et mors uita / utilior iudicabitur;  
 nemo suspiciet caelum; reli/giosus pro insano, inreligiosus puta-  
 bitur prudens, 329,5 furiosus fortis, pro bono habebitur pessimus.  
 anima / enim et omnia circum eam, quibus aut immortalis / nata est  
 aut immortalitatem se consecuturam esse / praesumit, secundum  
 quod uobis exposui, non solum / risui sed etiam putabitur uanitas.

72,20-33 For inversion of standards and values, cf. Isa 5:20; 2 Bar 70;  
 Plat. *Polit.* 272e-73a; Sibyl VII.43-45; VIII.35-54, 81-85.  
 33-34 CΠΑΤΑΛΑ: ΤΑ is in the left margin of the MS.

the inco  
 12 the ener  
 goodness  
 14 the abun  
 that doe  
 16 of every  
 Darkness  
 18 and deat  
 life. No o  
 20 into heav  
 will be co  
 22 and (δὲ) t  
 as (ὅτι) wi  
 24 will be co  
 the good n  
 26 like (ὅτι) a  
 And (ὅτι) c  
 28 of the sou  
 along with  
 30 to you, O  
 and Amm  
 32 be consider  
 but (ἀλλά)

*Asclepius* 21 (m  
 in, a good comp  
 of the will of G  
 329,1 / mani  
 can be revered  
 For darkness  
 more useful th  
 329,5 / will be t  
 329,5 the ma  
 had a good ma  
 immortal / or  
 sed to you, are  
 nothingness.

the incomparable work,  
 12 the energy (ἐνέργεια) that possesses  
 goodness (ἀρετή), the many-formed vision (θεωρία),  
 14 the abundance (χορηγία)  
 that does not envy (φθονεῖν), that is full  
 16 of every vision (θεωρία).  
 Darkness will be preferred to light  
 18 and death will be preferred to  
 life. No one will gaze  
 20 into heaven. And (δέ) the pious man  
 will be counted as (ὡς) insane,  
 22 and (δέ) the impious (ἀσεβής) man will be honored  
 as (ὡς) wise. The man who is afraid  
 24 will be considered as (ὡς) strong. And  
 the good man (ἀγαθός) will be punished (κολάζειν)  
 26 like (ὡς) a criminal.  
 And (δέ) concerning the soul (ψυχή), and the things  
 28 of the soul (ψυχή), and the things of immortality,  
 along with the rest of what I have said  
 30 to you, O (ὦ) Tat, Asclepius,  
 and Ammon, not only (οὐ μόνον) will they  
 32 be considered ridiculous  
 but (ἀλλά) they will also be thought of as a vanity (σπα-  
 τάλῃ).

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

glorious con-

struction, a good composed of a manifold variety of images, / instru-  
 ment of the will of God, / which proceeds with favor in its work  
 ungrudgingly, / manifold accumulation uniting in one all things  
 which can be revered, praised, loved 329,1 by those who behold  
 them. / For darkness will be preferred to light and death will be /  
 judged more useful than life. No one will look up to heaven. The  
 pious man / will be taken for a fool, the impious will be thought  
 prudent, 329,5 the madman will be thought brave, the most wicked  
 will be held a good man. The soul / and everything about it by which  
 it is born immortal / or believes it will attain immortality, / as I have  
 explained to you, are regarded not only / as the object of derision  
 but as nothingness.

34 ΤΑΛΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡΙΠΙΣΤΕΥ  
 Ε ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΕΪΜΙΝΕ ΣΕΝΑ  
 36 ΒΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ ΖΜ ΠΖΑΕ ΝΒΙΝΔΥ  
 ΝΟΣ ΝΤΟΥΨΥΧΗ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕ  
 38 ΝΑΣΜΝ ΟΥΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΒΡΡΕ

[Or]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 [            I9 ±            ]ΑΝ  
 [            I8 ±            C]ΕΝΑ  
 4 [            I9 ±            ]ΩΝ  
 ΝΑΓΑΘ[ΟC·] ΝΑ[ΓΓΕ]ΛΟ[C Μ]ΠΟ  
 6 ΝΗΡΟC [C]ΕΝΑΨΩΧΠ̄ Ο[ΓΑ]ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ̄ ΝΜΜΑΥ  
 8 ΕΥCΩΚ ΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΜΠΕΤ  
 ΖΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΟΛΜΗΡΙΑ· ΑΥΩ ΑΖΟΥΝ  
 10 ΑΝΜΝ̄ΤΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΠΟΛΕ  
 ΜΟC ΜΝ ΖΕΝΤΩΡΠ̄ ΕΥ† CΒΩ ΝΑΥ  
 12 ΕΖΜΠΑ[Ρ]ΑΦΥCΙC· ΖΝ ΝΖΟΟΥ Ε  
 ΤΜΜΑΥ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΑΣΜΝ[Τ]̄ ΑΝ·  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΠΛΕΑ ΑΝ ΖΝ ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΝΑCΟΥΩΝ ΝCΙΟΥ ΑΝ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

sed, mihi credite, 329,10 et capitale periculum constituetur in eum, qui se / mentis religioni dederit. noua constituentur iura, / lex noua; nihil sanctum, nihil religiosum nec caelo / nec caelestibus dignum audietur aut mente credetur. / fit deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio; soli 329,15 nocentes angeli remanent, qui humanitate commixti / ad omnia audaciae mala miseros manu iniecta con/pellunt, in bella, in rapinas, in fraudes et in omnia / quae sunt animarum naturae contraria. tunc nec / terra constabit nec nauigabitur mare nec caelum 329,20 astrorum cursibus nec siderum cursus constabit in / caelo;

73,6

Krause (1) reconstructs Ε[ΥΜΟΧ]ΕΤΟΥ, but the lacuna is too small for four letters.

But (ἀλλ)  
 me (ἡ)  
 be endar  
 to their  
 a new lav

2 [ good (ἀγα)  
 [ will remain  
 [ men, (and  
 [ (and) lead  
 [ recklessly  
 [ atheisms,  
 [ and plund  
 [ things con  
 [ the earth  
 [ and men w  
 [ nor (οὐκ)

Asclepius 21 (n  
 B  
 read for one w  
 New laws will b  
 religious wor  
 heard or believ  
 gods from me  
 mingled  
 of audacity:  
 to the natur  
 the sea be  
 of the stars n

Cf. Sibyl

- 34 But (ἀλλά) believe (πιστεύειν)  
 me (when I say) that people of this kind will  
 36 be endangered (κινδυνεύειν) by the ultimate danger (κίν-  
 δυνος)  
 to their soul (ψυχή). And  
 38 a new law (νόμος) will be established.

[73]

(Line 1 lacking)

- 2 [ ]  
 [ ] they will  
 4 [ ]  
 good (ἀγαθός). [The] wicked (πονηρός) angels  
 6 will remain among  
 men, (and) be with them  
 8 (and) lead them into wicked things  
 recklessly (τολμηρία), as well as into  
 10 atheisms, wars (πόλεμος),  
 and plunderings, by teaching them  
 12 things contrary to nature (παράφυσικς). In those days  
 the earth will not be stable,  
 14 and men will not sail (πλεῖν) the sea (θάλασσα)  
 nor (οὔτε) will they know the stars in heaven.

---

 Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

But believe me, 329,10 a capital sentence will be decreed for one who / dedicates himself to the religion of the mind. New laws will be enacted, / a new prescription; nothing holy, nothing religious worthy of either heaven / or the heavenly beings will be heard or believed in the mind. / There is a mournful departure of the gods from men. Only 329,15 the injurious angels remain, who, having mingled with humanity, / drive men by force to all the evils of audacity: / wars, plunderings, crimes, and everything / contrary to the nature of souls. Then neither / will the land remain fixed nor the sea be navigated nor heaven 329,20 be set with the courses of the stars nor the course of the stars be set in / heaven.

16 ΕΤΖΝ ΤΠΕ· ΣΜΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΝΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΝΑ  
 18 ΚΑΡΩΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ· ΠΑΗΡ ΔΕ ΝΑΨΩ  
 ΝΕ· ΤΑΙ ΤΕ {ΤΕ} ΤΜΝΤΖΛΛΟ ΜΠΚΟ  
 20 ΣΜΟΣ· ΤΜΝΤΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ  
 ΤΜΝΤΑΤΕΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΤΜΝΤΑΤ  
 22 ΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ·  
 ΕΡΕΨΑΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΕ Ω ΑΣΚΛΗ  
 24 ΠΙΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΨΟΡΠ ΟΥΑΑΦ· ΠΝΟΥ  
 26 ΤΕ ΠΑΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΕΑΦΩΨΤ Ε  
 ΧΝ ΝΕΡΨΩΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΨΩ  
 28 ΧΝΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΦΣΑ  
 ΖΩΦ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΕΧΝ ΤΑΤΑΞΙΑ· ΑΦΦΙ Ν  
 30 ΤΠΛΑΝΗ ΜΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΤΚΑΒΙΑ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

omnis uox diuina necessaria taciturnitate / mutescet; fructus terrae conrumpentur nec fecunda / tellus erit et aër ipse maesto torpore languescet. / (26) haec et talis senectus ueniet mundi: inre- 329,25 ligio, inordinatio, inrationabilitas bonorum omnium. 330,1 cum haec cuncta contigerint, o Asclepi, tunc ille / dominus et pater, deus primipotens et unius guber/nator dei, intuens in mores factaque uoluntaria, / uoluntate sua, quae est dei benignitas, uitiiis resistens 330,5 et corruptelae omnium, errorem reuocans,

73,19

Cf. 2 Esdr 5:55; 14:10,16; 2 Bar 85,10.

23-74,2(?)

Lactantius, in his *Divinae institutiones* (7.18.3-5), has preserved the following Greek parallel to this passage (quoted in Nock-Festugière II, 330): ἐπὶ δὴ ταῦτα γένηται, ὦ Ἀσκληπιέ, τότε ὁ κύριος καὶ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς καὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἐνὸς θεοῦ δημιουργός, ἐπιβλέψας τοῖς γενομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀντερείσας τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενος τὴν πλάνην, καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἐκκαθάρας, πῆ μὲν ὕδατι πολλῶ κατακλύσας, πῆ δὲ πυρὶ δξύτάτῳ διακαύσας, ἐνίοτε δὲ πολέμοις καὶ λοιμοῖς ἐκπαίσας, ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόσμον. "Now when these things happened, O Asclepius, then the Lord, and Father, and god, even the creator from the first and only God, when he beheld the things that happened, firmly set his

16 Every  
of the v  
18 be silen  
Such is  
20 atheism  
dishonor  
22 of noble  
And (de  
24 then (de  
god from  
26 the creat  
the thing  
28 which is  
against th  
error (de

Asclepius 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.  
will grow mut  
destroyed, th  
weak with gloo  
upon the worl  
thing good. 330  
Lord and Father  
God, / lookin  
stop by hi  
led to the corr

purpose,  
(to accor  
flooding  
est fire,  
plagues.  
(so) rest  
743 Cf. Plat.  
Derchain  
catastroph  
note 222



- 16 Every sacred voice  
of the word (λόγος) of God will  
18 be silenced, and (δέ) the air (ἀήρ) will be diseased.  
Such is the senility of the world (κόσμος):  
20 atheism,  
dishonor, and the disregard (-λόγος)  
22 of noble words.  
And (δέ) when these things had happened, O (ὦ) Ascle-  
pius,  
24 then (τότε) the Lord, the Father and  
god from the only first (God), god  
26 the creator (δημιουργός), when he looked upon  
the things that happened, established his design,  
28 which is good (ἀγαθόν),  
against the disorder (ἀταξία). He took away  
30 error (πλάνη) and cut off evil (κακία).

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

Every divine voice will grow mute with forced silence. / The fruits of the land will be destroyed, the soil will not be fertile, / and the air itself will grow weak with gloomy torpor. / (26) Such is the old age that will come upon the world: irreligion, 329,25 disorder, the disregard of everything good. 330,1 When all this has happened, Asclepius, then the / Lord and Father, the god first in power and the governor from the one God, / looking upon these practices and deliberate actions, / putting a stop by his own will, which is God's kindness, to vices 330,5 and to the corruption of all things, revoking error,

---

purpose, which is good, against disorder. He summoned error (to account) and cleaned out wickedness, sometimes (by) flooding with much water, sometimes (by) burning with fiercest fire, and sometimes (by) casting out through wars and plagues. (And thus) he brought (it) to (its) ancient state and (so) restored his world."

73,27-74,3

Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 22c-23a; Nock-Festugière II, note 224, p. 382; Derchain, pp. 193-94. Here the Stoic myth of recurring cosmic catastrophe and restoration appears; cf. Nock-Festugière II, note 222, p. 382.

32 αϑωχε ἄμος· ζενσοπ̄ μεν  
 34 κωζῖ εϑχαβαατ̄· ζενκεσοπ̄  
 36 μοc m̄n ζενλοιμοc· ψαντῖεινε

[OΔ]

(Line 1 lacking)

2 .[  
 .[  
 4 ἄ[ I4 ± ]εϑ[  
 n[ 6 ± ]...[. . n]τε πιζω[β·]  
 6 α[γω] παί πε πχπο ἄποκ  
 μο[c· τ]αποκατασταcic ἄτ  
 8 φύcic ἄνευσεβηc ετνα  
 νογοϑ εcναψωπε ζῖ οϑ  
 10 περιοδοc ἄχρονοc εμ  
 πεcχι αρχη ενεζ· ποϑω  
 12 ψε γαρ ἄπνοϑ[τ]ε ἄντεϑ  
 ζοϑ[ει]τε· κατα θε ἄτεϑϑϑ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

maligni-  
 331,1 tatem omnem uel inluuione diluens uel igne consu/mens uel  
 morbis pestilentibus iisque per diuersa / loca dispersis finiens ad  
 antiquam faciem mundum / reuocabit, ut et mundus ipse adorandus  
 uideatur 331,5 atque mirandus et tanti operis effector et restitutor /  
 deus ab hominibus, qui tunc erunt, frequentibus / laudum praeconiis  
 benedictionibusque celebretur. / haec enim mundi genitura: cunc-  
 tarum reformatio / rerum bonarum et naturae ipsius sanctissima et  
 reli- 331,10 giosissima restitutio percoacta temporis cursu, <sed /  
 uoluntate>, quae est et fuit sine initio sempiterna. / uoluntas etenim  
 dei caret initio, quae eadem est et, /

74,7-8  
8

Cf. Ac 3:21.

“of the pious ones”: or “for the pious ones” (Krause [2]), or  
 “of holy (things)” (Mahé [1]).

- Sometimes (+ μέν)  
 32 he submerged it in a great flood,  
 at other times (+ δέ) he burned it in a  
 34 searing fire, and at still (δέ) other times,  
 he crushed it in wars (πόλεμος)  
 36 and plagues (λοιμός), until he brought

[74]

(Line 1 lacking)

- 2 [ ]  
 4 [ ] of the work.  
 6 And this is the birth of the world (κόσμος).  
 The restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of the  
 8 nature (φύσις) of the pious ones (εὐσεβής) who are good  
 will take place in a  
 10 period (περίοδος) of time (χρόνος) that  
 never had a beginning (ἀρχή).  
 12 For (γάρ) the will of God has no  
 beginning, even as (κατά) his nature (φύσις),

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

331,1 either

washing away in a flood or burning up in a fire all malice / or putting  
 an end to it with pestilential diseases spread through various /  
 places—he will recall the world to its former appearance / so that  
 the world itself may appear worthy of reverence 331,5 and admir-  
 ation, and god, the creator and restorer of such a great work, / may  
 be honored by the men who will then exist, with many / hymns of  
 praise and with blessings. / For this is the birth of the world: the  
 restoration of all / good things and the most holy and pious 331,10  
 restitution of nature itself enforced in the course of time, <but / by  
 a will> which is and was eternal, without beginning. / For the will  
 of God has no beginning, since it is the same and /

14 CΙC ΕΤΕ ΠΕΦΟΥΩΨΕ ΠΕ·  
 ΤΦΥCΙC ΓΑΡ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΟΥ  
 16 ΩΨΕ· ΠΕΦΟΥΩΨΕ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΑ  
 ΓΑΘΟΝ· Ω ΠΤΡΙCΜΕΓΙCΤΕ  
 18 ΖΙΕ ΤΒΟΥΛΗCΙC ΠΕ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ·  
 ΕΖΕ Ω ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΕΡΕΠΟΥ  
 20 ΩΨΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΨΟΧΝΕ·  
 ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑϞϞ <Ϟ> ΟΥΑΨϞ  
 22 ΑΝ ΖΜ ΠΨΤΑ· ΖΩC ΕϞΨΟΟΠ  
 ΜΜΟΥΖ ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡϞ· ϞΟΥ  
 24 ΩΨ ΠΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑϞϞ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥΖ·  
 ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΜ ΟΥΝΤΑϞCΕ·  
 26 ΠΕΤϞΟΥΑΨϞ ΔΕ ϞΟΥΑΨϞ·  
 ΟΥΝΤΑϞ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ  
 28 ΕΤϞΟΥΑΨϞ· ΑΡΑ ΟΥΝΤΑϞ Μ  
 ΜΑΥ ΜΠΤΗΡϞ· ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥ  
 30 ΤΕ ϞΟΥΩΨ ΠΕΤϞΟΥΑΨϞ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΝΑΓΑΘΟC  
 32 ΕϞΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΙΚΩΝ ΜΠΑΓΑΘΟC·  
 Ω ΠΤΡΙCΜΕΓΙCΤΕ ΖΙΕ ΟΥΑΓΑ  
 34 ΘΟC ΠΕ ΠΚΟCΜΟC· Ω ΑCΚΛΗ  
 ΠΙΕ ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟC ΠΕ· ΝΘΕ Ε  
 36 ΕΙΑ† CΒΩ ΝΑΚ· ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΓΑΡ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

sicuti est, sempiterna. dei enim  
 natura consilium est / uoluntatis. 331,15 — Bonitas summa consi-  
 lium, o Trismegiste? / — Voluntas, o Asclepi, consilio nascitur et  
 ipsum / uelle e uoluntate. neque enim inpense aliquid uult, / qui est  
 omnium plenissimus et ea uult, quae habet. / uult autem omnia bona  
 et habet omnia, quae uult. 331,20 omnia autem bona et cogitat et  
 uult. hoc est autem / deus; eius imago mundus, boni <bonus>. /  
 (27) — Bonus, o Trismegiste? 332,1 — Bonus, o Asclepi, ut ego te  
 docebo. sicuti / enim deus omnibus speciebus uel generibus, quae /  
 in mundo sunt, dispensator distributorque est bono/rum,

14 which is  
 For (ϞϞ)  
 16 And (θϞ)  
 "O (δ) T  
 18 is purpos  
 "Yes, O  
 20 is (includ  
 For (ϞϞ)  
 22 from defic  
 complete  
 24 what he (Ϟ  
 And (θϞ) h  
 26 And (θϞ) v  
 And (θϞ) h  
 28 that he wi  
 everything  
 30 wills what  
 And the go  
 32 is an imag  
 "O (δ) Tri  
 34 is the worl  
 it is good  
 36 I shall tea

*Asclepius* 21 (m  
 in the nature o  
 liberation the hi  
 born of delibe  
 27 For he who  
 does not w  
 and he possess  
 all good thi  
 from the God  
 as I shall t  
 in the wor

- 14 which is his will, (has no beginning).  
 For (γάρ) the nature (φύσις) of God is will.  
 16 And (δέ) his will is the good (ἀγαθόν)."  
 "O (ὦ) Trismegistus,  
 18 is purpose (βούλησις), then, will?"  
 "Yes, O (ὦ) Asclepius, since will  
 20 is (included) in counsel.  
 For (γάρ) <he> does not (οὐ) will what he has  
 22 from deficiency. Since (ὥς) he is  
 complete in every part, he wills  
 24 what he (already) fully has.  
 And (δέ) he has every good (ἀγαθόν).  
 26 And (δέ) what he wills, he wills.  
 And (δέ) he has the good (ἀγαθόν)  
 28 that he wills. Therefore (ἄρα) he has  
 everything. And God  
 30 wills what he wills.  
 And the good (ἀγαθός) world (κόσμος)  
 32 is an image (εἰκὼν) of the Good One (ἀγαθός)."  
 "O (ὦ) Trismegistus,  
 34 is the world (κόσμος) good (ἀγαθός)?" "O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
 it is good (ἀγαθός), as  
 36 I shall teach you. For (γάρ) just as (κατά)

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

is eternally as it is. For the nature of God is the deliberation / of his will." 331,15 "Is deliberation the highest good, Trismegistus?" / "The will, Asclepius, is born of deliberation and / the act of willing itself is born of the will. For he who is filled with all things and wills what he possesses / does not will anything excessively. / But he wills all good things and he possesses all that he wills. 331,20 He both thinks of and wills all good things. But this is God; the world is his image, <good> from the Good." / (27) "Good, Trismegistus?" 332,1 "Good, Asclepius, as I shall teach you. For just as / God is for all the classes and types / in the world the dispenser and distributor of good things,

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[ 7 ± ΝΤΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ Π]ΩΝΖ  
 4 [ 6 ± ]ΜΠΚ[ΟCΜΟC . . .]. ΡΗ  
 [Ε]Ι ΕΒ[ΟΛ] ΝΘΥΛΗ Ν[Α]Ι [Ε]ΤΗ[ΑΝ]ΟΥ  
 6 [Ο]Υ· ΠΨΙΒΕ ΜΠΑΗΡ· ΑΥ[Ω Π]ΑΝΑΙ  
 ΜΝ ΠΧΦΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΚΑΡΠΟC ΜΝ  
 8 ΝΕΤΝΕ ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗ[Ρ]ΟΥ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΦΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΜ ΠΧΙCΕ  
 10 ΝΤΠΕ· ḠΖΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΦΙΑΡΜ  
 ΕΧΝ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ· ΠΕΦΤΟΠΟC ΔΕ ΜΝ  
 12 ΠΕ ΜΜ[Α]Υ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ CΙΟΥ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΦΤΟΥΦΗΟΥ ΑΦΩΜΑ· Π[Δ]ΗΜΙΟΥΡ  
 14 ΡΟC ΔΕ ΕΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC Ε  
 ΤΟΥΤΕ ΠΚΑΖ ΜΝ ΤΠΕ· ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥ  
 16 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ ΖΕΥC ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΩΝΖ ΠΕ· ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΙΟC ΝΖΕΥC  
 18 ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕ ΕΤΕ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ  
 ΜΝ ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ· ΑΥΩ ΜΝΤΑΦ ΤΡΟ  
 20 ΦΗ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΝΖΩΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν  
 ΘΝΗΤΟΝ· ΤΚΟΡΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΦΟΡΙ  
 22 ΜΠΚΑΡΠΟC· ΝΕΪΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ Ν

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

id est  
 sensus, animae et uitae, sic et mundus 332,5 tributor est et praestitor omnium, quae mortalibus / uidentur bona, id est et alternationis partuum tem/poralium, fructuum natiuitatis, augmentorum et / maturitatis et horum similium; ac per hoc deus / supra uerticem summi caeli consistens ubique est 332,10 omniaque circum inspicit. sic est enim ultra caelum / locus sine stellis ab omnibus rebus corpulentis alie/nus. dispensator qui est, inter caelum et terram / obtinet locum, quem Iouem uocamus. terrae uero / et mari dominatur Iuppiter Plutonium et hic nutritor 332,15 est animantium mortalium et fructiferarum. horum / omnium uiribus

75,8-25

For the distinction between the wordly gods (ἐγκόσμιοι θεοί—Zeus, Kore, etc. understood as natural forces) and the otherworldly gods (ὑπερκόσμιοι θεοί—the highest transcendent God and those who directly attend him), cf. Sallustius VI.2-3;

[  
 4 [  
 come fo  
 6 the chan  
 and the  
 8 the thing  
 God has  
 10 of heaver  
 over ever  
 12 heaven n  
 he is free  
 14 has contr  
 between t  
 16 is called  
 life. Pluto  
 18 is lord ov  
 and sea (E  
 20 for all mo  
 for (γάρ)  
 22 the fruit  
 Asclepius 21 (1  
 ris of intellect,  
 and bestower  
 possession of  
 tion of fruits.  
 the high poin  
 and he behol  
 beyond heave  
 3: He who is  
 between heave  
 all) and the se  
 fruit-bearing m  
 Koré Ko  
 notes 22

[75]

(Lines 1 and 2 lacking)

[  
 4 [ of soul (ψυχή) and] life  
 ] of the [world (κόσμος)  
 come [forth] in matter (ύλη), [those that are good],  
 6 the change of the climate (ἀήρ), and [the] beauty  
 and the ripening of the fruits (καρπός), and  
 8 the things similar to all these. Because of this,  
 God has control over the heights  
 10 of heaven. He is in every place and he looks out  
 over every place. And (δέ) (in) his place (τόπος) there is  
 neither  
 12 heaven nor (οὔτε) star. And  
 he is free from (the) body (σῶμα). Now (δέ) the creator  
 (δημιουργός)  
 14 has control in the place (τόπος) that is  
 between the earth and heaven. He  
 16 is called Zeus, that is,  
 life. Plutonium Zeus  
 18 is lord over the earth  
 and sea (θάλασσα). And he does not possess the nourish-  
 ment (τροφή)  
 20 for all mortal (θνητόν) living creatures (ζῶον),  
 for (γάρ) (it is) Kore who bears (φορεῖν)  
 22 the fruit (καρπός). These forces (ἐνέργεια)

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

/ that is of intellect, soul, and life, so too the world 332,5 is the  
 granter and bestower of all things that seem good to mortals, / that  
 is, the succession of births in time, / the generation, increase, and  
 maturation of fruits, / and similar things. And thus, / positioned  
 above the high point of the highest heaven, God is everywhere  
 332,10 and he beholds everything all around. For thus there is a  
 place beyond heaven / without stars, distant from all corporeal  
 things. / He who is the dispenser, whom we call Jupiter, has his  
 place between heaven and earth. / But Jupiter Plutonium rules over  
 the land / and the sea, and he is the nourisher 332,15 of all animated  
 and fruit-bearing mortal things. / It is by the forces of all these

---

*Koré Kosmou* 28-29; *Corp. Herm.* I.9-11; Nock-Festugière II,  
 notes 228-30, pp. 383-84.

ΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΣΕΒΜΒΟΜ ΜΠΚΩ  
 24 ΤΕ ΜΠΚΑΖ· ΝΑ ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ Ν  
 ΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΨΟΟΠ  
 26 ΣΕΝΑΣΕΖΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ Ν  
 ΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΚΑΖ· ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΤΕ  
 28 ΖΟΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΙ ΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΣΖΙ  
 ΟΥΚΟΟΖ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ· ΕΥΝΑΚΟ  
 30 ΤΣ ΖΝ ΝΣΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ ΝΤΕ ΠΡΗ·  
 ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΣ  
 32 ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΗΗΟΥ ΖΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ  
 ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΗΗΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΙΚΡΟ·  
 34 Ω ΠΤΡΙΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΑΙ †ΝΟΥ  
 ΕΥΝΑΚΑΑΥ ΤΩΝ· Ω ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ  
 36 ΖΝ ΤΝΟΒ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΖΙ ΠΤΟΥ

[ΟΣ]

[ΝΛΙΒΗ

2 [

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

fructus, arbusta, et terra uegetan/tur. aliorum uero uires et effectus per omnia quae / sunt distribuentur. † distribuentur uero, † qui terrae / dominantur, et conlocabuntur in ciuitate in summo 332,20 initio Aegypti, quae a parte solis occidentis conde/tur, ad quam terra marique festinabit omne mor/tale genus. 333,1 — Modo tamen hoc in tempore ubi isti sunt, o / Trismegiste? / — Conlocati sunt in maxima ciuitate in monte / Libyco. et haec usque eo narrata sint. 333,5 de inmortalis uero aut de mortali modo disseren/dum est. multos enim spes timorque mortis

75,26-76,1  
76,2-15

Cf. Rev 21:1-2; Sibyl III.288-98, 573-79; VII.144-45. Stobaeus has preserved the following Greek parallel to this section (quoted in Nock-Festugière II, 333): Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου νῦν λεκτέον, τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ὁ θάνατος φοβεῖ ὡς κακὸν μέγιστον, ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πράγματος. θάνατος γὰρ γίγνεται διάλυσις καμόντος σώματος καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ πληρωθέντος τῶν ἀρμῶν τοῦ σώματος· ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἀρμογή τοῦ σώματος, ἀποθνήσκει δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὅταν μηκέτι δύνηται φέρειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι θάνατος,



- always are powerful in the circle  
 24 of the earth, but (δέ) those of others  
 are always from Him-who-is.  
 26 And (δέ) the lords of the earth will withdraw themselves.  
 And they will establish  
 28 themselves in a city (πόλις) that is in  
 a corner of Egypt and that will be built  
 30 toward the setting of the sun.  
 Every man will go into it,  
 32 whether (εἴτε) they come on the sea (θάλασσα)  
 or (εἴτε) on the shore.”  
 34 “O (ὦ) Trismegistus,  
 where will these be settled now?” “O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
 36 in the great city (πόλις) that is on the [Libyan] mountain  
 [76]

[  
 2 [

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

(gods) that fruits, trees, and the earth are invigorated. / But the forces and operations of other (gods) will be distributed through all that / exists. Those who rule over the land will be restored / and will be located in a city at the farthest 332,20 limit of Egypt, one which will be founded in the direction of the setting sun, / to which by land and sea the whole mortal / race will hasten.” 333,1 “But where are these at the present time, / Trismegistus?” / “They are located in a very great city on a Libyan mountain. / And let that be enough discussion on this matter. 333,5 But now we must discourse on the immortal and the mortal. / For the expectation and the fear of death

διάλυσις σώματος καὶ ἀφανισμὸς αἰσθήσεως σωματικῆς. “But one must speak now about death, for death frightens many as the greatest evil by ignorance of the matter. For death is the dissolution of the outworn body and—since the number has been completed—of the joints of the body. For the joining of the body is the number, and the body dies when it is unable any longer to support the man. And this is death, dissolution of the body and destruction of bodily sensation.”

[ 10 ± q]ϣ [ϩ]ϣ[τε  
 4 [. . . . ΝΘΕ ΝΟ]ΥΝΟ[ϩ ΜΠΕ]ΘΡ[ΟΥ]  
 [ϩΝ Τ]ΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥ[Ν] ΜΦΩ[Β·]  
 6 Π[ΜΟΥ] ΓΑΡ ΕΨΑϩΨΨΠΕ Ε[ΤΕ]  
 ΠΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΝΝϩΙΣΕ ΜΠϩ[Ω]  
 8 ΜΑ· ΑΥΩ ΤΗΠ[Ε] ΕϩΨΑΧΩΚ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΜΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΜΠΨΩΜΑ  
 10 ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΦΩΤΡ Μ  
 ΠΨΩΜΑ· ΨΑϩΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΨΩ  
 12 ΜΑ ϩΡΟΤΑΝ ΕϩΤΜϩ[ϩΜ]ϩ[Ο]Μ ΝϩΙ  
 ϩΑ Π[Ρ]ΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΜΟΥ  
 14 ΠΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΨΩΜΑ· ΑΥΩ ΠΤΕ  
 ΚΟ ΝΤΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΣ ΜΠΨΩΜΑ·  
 16 ΑΥΨ ΕΨΨΕ ΑΝ ΕΡ ϩΟΤΕ ϩΗΤϩ  
 ΜΠΑΪ· ΟΥΤΕ ϩΑ ΠΑΪ· ΑΛΛΑ ϩΑ  
 18 ΠΕΤΟΥΕ ΝΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΡΟϩ  
 ΕΥΕ ΝΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝϩΗΤϩ· ΕΥ  
 20 ΔΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΕ ΝΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΡΟϩ  
 Η ΕΥΕ ΝΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΡΟϩ· ΣΩ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

excru/ciat uerae rationis ignaros. mors enim efficitur / dissolutione corporis labore defessi et numeri con/pleti, quo corporis membra in unam machinam ad 333,10 usus uitalis aptantur. moritur enim corpus, quando / hominis uitalia ferre posse destiterit. haec est ergo / mors, corporis dissolutio et corporalis sensus inte/ritus; de qua sollicitudo superuacua est. sed et alia / necessaria, quam aut ignoratio aut incredibilitas 333,15 contemnit humana. 334,1 — Quid est, o Trismegiste, quod aut ignorant / aut esse posse diffidunt? / (28) — Audi ergo,

76,3-5 Restorations follow those proposed by Gerald M. Browne in "Textual Notes on Nag Hammadi Codex VI," *ZPE* 13 (1974), 308-09.

8-9 or "And as for the number—, it (death) completes the number of the body" (Krause [1]). The problem of this passage is that ΤΗΠΕ has no clear grammatical relationship to its context. The Coptic translator seems to have intended that the reader

- [ it frightens]
- 4 [ as a] great [evil],  
[in] ignorance of the matter.
- 6 For (γάρ) death occurs, [which] is  
the dissolution of the labors of the body (σῶμα)
- 8 and (the dissolution of) the number (of the body), when  
it (death) completes  
the number (ἀριθμός) of the body (σῶμα).
- 10 For (γάρ) the number (ἀριθμός) is the union of  
the body (σῶμα). Now (δέ) the body (σῶμα) dies
- 12 when (ὅταν) it is not able to support  
the man. And this is death:
- 14 the dissolution of the body (σῶμα) and the destruction  
of the sensation (αἰσθησις) of the body (σῶμα).
- 16 And it is not necessary to be afraid  
of this, nor (οὔτε) because of this, but (ἀλλά) because of
- 18 what is not known  
and is disbelieved (ἄπιστος) (one is afraid).” “But (δέ)  
what is
- 20 not known  
or (ἤ) is disbelieved (ἄπιστος)?” “Listen,

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

torment many / who are ignorant of the true explanation. For death is brought about / by the dissolution of the body wearied by labor, once the number is completed / in which the body's members are fitted into one instrument for 333,10 the functions of life. For the body dies when / it ceases to be able to support the vital operations of man. This is what / death is, then: the dissolution of the body and the destruction of bodily sensation; / and solicitude about this is useless. But there is another solicitude / that is necessary, which either human ignorance or incredulousness 333,15 despises.” 334,1 “What is it, Trismegistus, which either they ignore / or they do not believe possible?” / (28) “Listen,

---

carry over the context of the previous sentence and fit **ΤΗΤΕ** into it.

76,21-27

Cf. *Corp. Herm.* I.23; X.21; Plut. *Ser.num.pun.* 564e-f (Adrasteia); Rev. 1:13-18; Nock-Festugière II, note 238, pp. 385-86.

22 τῆ ὤ ασκληπιδε· οὐν οὐνοβ  
 ἡδαιμωνων ψοοπ̄ απνοβ ἡνοϋ  
 24 τε τοϷῳ̄ εφε ἡεπισκοπος  
 ἡ ἡδικαστης εχἡ ἡψυχη  
 26 ἡἡρωμε· απνοϷτε δε κααϷ  
 Ϸἡ τμητε ἡπαἡρ οϷτε πκαϷ  
 28 ἡἡ τπε· Ϸοταν βε ερεϷα  
 τψυχη εἰ εβολ Ϸἡ Ϸωμα τα  
 30 ναἡκη τε Ϸνατωἡἡτ̄ επεἡ  
 δαιμων· ἡτεϷνοϷ Ϸνατκτη  
 32 πεἡ ἡϷμαϷτῳ̄ απϷματ̄ ἡταϷ  
 ααϷ Ϸἡ πεϷβιος· εϷωπε δε  
 34 εϷναβιἡε ἡμοϷ εαϷῖρ̄ νεϷ  
 ϷβἡοϷε τηροϷ Ϸἡ οϷἡἡτ̄  
 36 νοϷτε ἡταϷει επκοϷμοϷ  
 ετβἡἡτοϷ· παἡ ϷνακααϷ

[        ΙΙ ±            ]τῳ̄ . [

2 [        7 ±            ]εκοτῳ̄[

[        7 ±            ]αν δε ε[ϷϷανἡα]Ϸ αϷ

4 [ . . . . . ]ἡἡτ̄ [Ϸ]ἡ παἡ ἡ . [ . . . ]αϷειἡ[ε]

ἡπεϷβιος Ϸἡ ἡβἡἡϷε ε[τϷο]οϷ·

6 ϷαρεϷαἡαϷτε ἡμοϷ εϷ[π]ἡἡτ̄ εϷραἡ

επϷ[α] ἡϷρε· ἡϷνοϷῳ̄ επϷα ἡπιτη

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

o Asclepi. cum fuerit ani- /  
 mae e corpore facta discessio, tunc arbitrium exa- 334,5 menque  
 meriti eius transiet in summi daemoneis / potestatem, isque eam cum  
 piam iustamque perui/derit, in sibi competentibus locis manere  
 permittit; / sin autem delictorum inlitam maculis uitisue obli- /  
 tam uiderit, desuper ad ima deturbans procellis tur- 334,10 binibus-  
 que aëris, ignis et aquae saepe discordantibus 335,1 tradit,

76,23-24 or "The great God has appointed him, since he is . . ." (Krause [1]).

27-32 Cf. Plut. *Ser.num.pun.* 565a-b.

- 22 O (ὦ) Asclepius! There is a great  
 daimon (δαίμων). The great God has  
 24 appointed him to be overseer (ἐπίσκοπος)  
 or (ἤ) judge (δικαστής) over the souls (ψυχή)  
 26 of men. And (δέ) God has placed him  
 in the middle of the air (ἀήρ) between the earth  
 28 and heaven. Now, when (ὅταν)  
 the soul (ψυχή) comes forth from (the) body (σῶμα), it is  
 necessary (ἀνάγκη)  
 30 that it meet this  
 daimon (δαίμων). Immediately he (the daimon) will sur-  
 round  
 32 this one (masc.) and he will examine him in regard to the  
 character that he has  
 developed in his life (βίος). And (δέ) if  
 34 he finds that he piously performed  
 all of his actions  
 36 for which he came into the world (κόσμος),  
 this (demon) will allow him

[77]

- [  
 2 [ ] turn him [  
 [ ]]. But (δέ) [if he sees]  
 4 [ ] in this one [ ] he brought  
 his life (βίος) into [evil] deeds,  
 6 he grasps him, as he [flees] upward  
 and throws him down

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

Asclepius. When the departure of the soul / from the body has taken place, then a judgment and examination 334,5 of its merit will follow under the power of the supreme daimon. / When he has discerned that it is pious and just, / he allows it to dwell in the regions under his authority. / But if he observes that it is smeared with the stains of crimes and defiled with vices, / then casting it down from the heights to the depths, he hands it over to the storms and whirlwinds 334,10 that are frequently in discord in the air, fire, and water,

8 ΝϞϞ[ω]πε εϞαϞε ΝΤπε επιτ̄Ν  
 εϞϞϞολαζε ΜμοϞ Ϟ̄Ν οϞνοβ Ντι  
 10 μωρια· ΝτοϞ δε ϞναϞωπε εϞϞ  
 αποστερι ΜμοϞ ΝτεϞϞελπιϞ εϞ  
 12 Ϟοοη̄ [Ϟ]̄Ν οϞνοβ Νλυπη· τψϞ  
 χη δε [ετ]̄ΜμαϞ· ουτε [Μ]̄ποϞκααϞ  
 14 Ϟ̄Μ πκαϞ ουτε ΜποϞκααϞ Ϟ̄Ν τπε·  
 αϞωπε δε Ϟ̄Μ π̄πελαϞοϞ Μπα  
 16 ηρ ΜπκοϞμοϞ πμα ετερεοϞνοβ  
 ΝκωϞτ̄ ΜμαϞ· Μ̄Ν οϞμοοϞ Νκρυ  
 18 Ϟταλλον Μ̄Ν Ϟεντνοομ ΝϞατε  
 Μ̄Ν οϞνοβ ΝϞτορτ̄<sup>[1]</sup> ερεϞϞωμα  
 20 Ϟτ̄ρτωρ νε†νε αν ΝνεϞερνοϞ  
 ϞενϞοη̄ μεν εϞρωϞτ̄ ΜμοοϞ ε  
 22 χ̄Ν ΜμοϞειη ε†Ϟωκ· ϞενκεϞοη̄  
 δε ϞερωϞτ̄ ΜμοοϞ επιτ̄Ν επκω  
 24 Ϟ̄τ̄ ετρεϞτακοοϞ· αϞω †ναχο  
 οϞ αν χε πᾱι πε πμοϞ ΝτψϞχη·  
 26 αϞπωλδ̄ γαρ εβολ Ϟ̄Ν ΜπεθοοϞ  
 αλλα οϞκαταδικη ΜμοϞ τε·  
 28 Ω ασκληπτε εϞϞε απιϞτεϞε  
 ενᾱι αϞω Νκ̄ρ Ϟοτε ϞητοϞ· χε  
 30 κααϞ ενεϞζε εροοϞ· νετε γαρ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

ut inter  
 caelum et terram mundanis fluctibus / in diuersa semper aeternis  
 poenis agitata rapiatur, / ut in hoc animae obsit aeternitas, quod sit  
 inmor/tali sententia aeterno supplicio subiugata. ergo ne 335,5 his  
 implicemur, uerendum timendum cauendumque / esse cognosce.

- 77,16 MS has as the third letter a Ϟ, which is crossed out.  
 20 Lit. "are tormented—those that do not resemble each other."  
 24-27 For the distinction between sins that entail the death of the  
 soul and those that do not, cf. 1 Jn 5:16-17; Philo *Postev.C.*  
 73-74; *Leg.all.* I.105-06; *Fug.* 55-56.  
 27-28 Between these two lines, in the left margin of the MS, is a  
 horizontal mark that may be intended as a paragraph sign,  
 but it lacks the lower curved portion found at the beginning  
 of VI,5.

so that h  
 and is p  
 And (δὲ)  
 deprived  
 be in grea  
 has been p  
 on the ear  
 But (ἀλλὰ) it  
 of the worl  
 fire, and c  
 and furrow  
 and a grea  
 are tormen  
 Sometimes  
 upon ragin  
 (+ δὲ), the  
 in order th  
 that this is  
 for (ὅτι) it  
 but (ἀλλὰ)  
 O (ὦ) Ascle  
 these thing  
 in order th

ut inter  
*Asclepius* 21 (m  
 be dragged aw  
 ch. / forever to  
 Thus even e  
 to eternal  
 nize that, les  
 fear, tremble,

Cf. Plut.  
 2:11-12.

- 8 so that he is suspended between heaven and earth  
and is punished (κολάζειν) with a great punishment  
(τιμωρία).
- 10 And (δέ) he will be  
deprived (ἀποστρεῖν) of his hope (ἐλπίς) and  
12 be in great pain (λύπη). And (δέ) that soul (ψυχή)  
has been put neither (οὔτε)  
14 on the earth nor (οὔτε) in heaven.  
But (δέ) it has come into the open sea (πέλαγος) of the  
air (ἀήρ)  
16 of the world (κόσμος), the place where there is a great  
fire, and crystal (κρύσταλλον) water,  
18 and furrows of fire,  
and a great upheaval. The bodies (σῶμα)  
20 are tormented (in) various (ways).  
Sometimes (+ μέν) they are cast  
22 upon raging waters; at other times  
(+ δέ), they are cast down into the fire  
24 in order that it may destroy them. Now, I will not say  
that this is the death of the soul (ψυχή),  
26 for (γάρ) it has been delivered from evil,  
but (ἀλλά) it is a death sentence (καταδίκη).
- 28 O (ὦ) Asclepius, it is necessary to believe (πιστεύειν)  
these things and to fear them  
30 in order that we might not encounter them. For (γάρ)

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

335,1 in order that it  
might be dragged away by the cosmic turbulence between heaven  
and earth, / forever tossed about in all directions by eternal punish-  
ments. / Thus even eternity is harmful to the soul because it is /  
subjected to eternal punishment by an immortal decree. So you  
must realize that, lest 335.5 we become involved in this fate, we  
should fear, tremble, and beware. / For

32  $\bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ <sup>L1</sup>  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   
 $\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\rho}$   $\nu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ·  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}\omega\varsigma$   $\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$   
 $\kappa\alpha\zeta\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\omicron\upsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$   
 34  $\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$   $\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\zeta\bar{\nu}$   $\omicron\upsilon\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}$   
 $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ·  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$   $\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon\iota\bar{\rho}\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\bar{\mu}$   
 36  $\phi\omega\upsilon$ ·  $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$   $\gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon$   
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\psi\alpha\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\iota}$   $\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ ·  $\omicron\upsilon$ ·  $\mu\omicron\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\nu}$ ·  $\bar{\nu}\alpha\psi\alpha\bar{\pi}$

[OH]

[ 8 ± ] . . . [  
 2 [ 7 ± ]  $\bar{\nu}\psi\omicron\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}$   $\mu\epsilon$ [ $\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\omega}$   $\alpha\varsigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\iota\epsilon$ ]  
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ [ $\bar{\iota}$   $\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\kappa$ ] $\alpha\zeta$   $\tau\eta\bar{\rho}\omicron$ [ $\gamma$ ]  $\psi$ [ $\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ]  
 4  $\alpha\gamma$ [ $\omega$   $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$ ] $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\psi$ [ $\alpha\gamma$ ] $\omicron$ [ $\gamma\omega$ ]  
 $\tau$ ·[ . . . ] $\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  [ . ] $\bar{\iota}$  $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ ·  $\bar{\iota}$  $\bar{\mu}$ · [ . ] $\gamma$   
 6  $\bar{\nu}\alpha$ [ . . . ] $\upsilon$   $\zeta\alpha\tau\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\eta$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$  $\zeta\epsilon$ ·  $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$ [ $\bar{\nu}$ ] $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$   
 $\bar{\mu}\alpha$   $\bar{\iota}$ [ $\alpha$ ] $\bar{\rho}$   $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\nu}$   $\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ [ $\tau$ ] $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\alpha$   
 8  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ ·  $\bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\Delta$ [ $\alpha$ ] $\bar{\iota}$  $\bar{\mu}\omega\bar{\nu}$   $\epsilon$ [ . ] $\omicron$ [  
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon$   $\varsigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau$ [ $\alpha$ ] $\bar{\phi}\bar{\rho}\omicron\bar{\nu}$ ! [ . ] $\bar{\iota}$  $\alpha$ [  
 10  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ ·  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$  $\zeta\epsilon$   $\alpha\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$   $\tau\epsilon$ ·  $\alpha\lambda$   
 $\lambda\alpha$   $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\alpha$ ·  
 12  $\bar{\mu}\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{\rho}\omicron\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\alpha$   
 $\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa\omicron\zeta\alpha\zeta\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\upsilon$   $\bar{\mu}$ [ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ ] $\bar{\nu}\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ <sup>L1</sup>

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

in-  
 credibiles enim post delicta cogen/tur credere, non uerbis sed  
 exemplis, nec minis sed / ipsa passione poenarum. / — Non ergo,  
 Trismegiste, hominum delicta sola 335,10 humana lege puniuntur? /  
 — Primo, Asclepi, terrena quae sunt, omnia sunt / mortalia; tunc  
 ea etiam, quae sunt corporali ratione / uiuentia et a uiuendo eadem  
 corporum ratione defi/cientia. ea omnia pro uitae meritis aut delic-  
 tis poenis 335,15 obnoxia tanto post mortem seuerioribus subiciun-  
 tur, quanto in uita forsitan fuerint celata, dum / uiuerent. praescia  
 etenim omnium rerum diuinitate / reddentur, perinde ut sunt, pro  
 delictorum quali/tatibus poenae.

unbeliev  
 32 commit s  
 to believ  
 34 and they  
 but (ἀλλ  
 36 the realit

not endur

78

all [those  
 4 [and those

are not lik  
 8 there. So  
 men, they  
 10 there. Thu  
 truly (ἀλη  
 12 will punish

every day

*Asclepius* 21 (1

to believe after

threats but /

status, the crim

ze?" "First o

el, thus also the

ing in the s

ents in acco

will undergo p

onnes may p

ishments v

age of all thin



32 unbelievers (ἄπιστος) are impious (ἀσεβής) and  
 commit sin. Afterwards they will be compelled (ἀναγκάζειν)  
 to believe (πιστεύειν),  
 34 and they will not hear by word of mouth only  
 but (ἀλλά) will experience  
 36 the reality itself. For (γάρ) they kept believing (πιστεύειν)  
 that they would  
 not endure these things. Not only (οὐ μόνον)

[78]

[   
 2 [ ] First (+ μέν), [O (ὦ) Asclepius,  
 all [those of the earth die]  
 4 [and those who are of the] body (σῶμα) [cease  
 [ ] of evil (κακός) [  
 6 [ ] with these of this sort. For (γάρ) those who  
 are here  
 are not like those who are  
 8 there. So with the demons (δαίμων) who [  
 men, they despise (καταφρονεῖν) [  
 10 there. Thus it is not the same. But (ἀλλά)  
 truly (ἀληθῶς) the gods who are here  
 12 will punish (κολάζειν) more (μᾶλλον) whoever has hidden  
 it here  
 every day."

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

the incredulous will be com-  
 pelled to believe after their crimes, / not by words but by example,  
 not by threats but / by actually suffering punishment." / "Then,  
 Trismegistus, the crimes of men 335,10 are not punished by / human  
 law alone?" "First of all, Asclepius, all things that are earthly are  
 / mortal, thus also those that have life in a bodily manner / and cease  
 from living in the same manner of bodies. / All these, liable to  
 punishments in accordance with the merits or crimes of their life,  
 335,15 will undergo penalties after death so much the more severe /  
 as the crimes may perhaps have been concealed during / their life-  
 time. Punishments will be allotted by the divinity, / who has fore-  
 knowledge of all things, / in proportion to the nature of the crimes."

14 Ω ΠΤ[ΡΙ]ΣΜΕΓΙΣ[ΤΕ] ΑΨ [ΠΕ Π]ΣΜΟΤ̅ Ν  
 ΤΜΝΤΨΑϞΤ̅ ΕΤ̅ΝΝΕ[Ι]ΜΑ· ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ  
 16 ΔΕ Ω ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΨΑΟΥΑ QI Ν  
 ΟΥ̅Ν̅ΚΑ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥ̅Ρ̅ΠΕ ΕϞΕ ΝΑΣΕΒΗΣ·  
 18 ΟΥ̅Λ̅Η[С]ΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΑΪ Ν†ΜΙΝΕ ΑΨΩ  
 ΟΥ̅[Ρ]ΕϞΧΙΟΥΕ ΠΕ· ΑΠΕΪΖΩΒ ΔΕ Ρ̅ ΡΟ  
 20 ΟΥ̅Ψ Ν̅ΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΡΩΜΕ· ΝΑ ΠΕΪ  
 ΜΑ ΔΕ Μ̅Ν̅ ΝΑ ΠΚΕΜΑ Μ̅Π̅Ρ̅Τ̅Ν̅Τ̅ΩΝΟΥ  
 22 ΕΝΕΥΕΡ[Η]ΟΥ· †ΟΥΨΩ ΔΕ ΕΧΩ  
 ΝΑΚ̅ Ν̅ΠΕΪΨΑΧΕ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥ̅ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
 24 ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΣΕΝΑΤ̅Ν̅ΖΟΥΤ̅Γ̅ ΑΝ· ΜΨΥΧΗ  
 ΓΑΡ ΕΥΜΕΖ Μ̅Π̅ΨΑ Ν̅ΚΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΝΑΨΕ  
 26 ΕΙ̅ Ν̅Μ̅ΟΟΥ ΑΝ Ζ̅Μ̅ ΠΑΗΡ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΝΑΚΑ  
 ΑΥ Ζ̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΤΟΠΟΣ Ν̅Ν̅ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΝΑΪ ΕΤ̅  
 28 ΜΕΖ̅ Ν̅ΜΟΚΖ̅C̅· ΝΑΪ Ν̅ΟΥΟΕΨ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΥΜΕΖ̅ Ν̅C̅ΝΟΥ Ζ̅Ι̅ Ζ̅ΕΤΒΕ· ΑΨΩ ΤΟΥ  
 30 Ζ̅ΡΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΡΙΜΕ ΠΕ Μ̅Ν̅ ΠΝΕΖΠΕ  
 Μ̅Ν̅ ΠΑΨΕΖΟΜ· Ω ΠΤΡΙCΜΕΓΙCΤΟC  
 32 ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΑΪ· Ω ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΕ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΥ  
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΕ ΧΕ Ν̅ΡΕϞΩΒ̅Τ̅ ΝΕ Μ̅Ν̅  
 34 ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΥCΚΟΡΚ̅Ρ̅ Ν̅Ν̅ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ Ζ̅Ι̅  
 Χ̅Ν̅ Ν̅C̅ΙΒΕ† ΕΠΙΤ̅Ν̅· Μ̅Ν̅ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΥ  
 36 Μ̅ΑCΤΙΓΟΥ Ν̅Μ̅ΟΟΥ· Μ̅Ν̅ ΝΕΤ̅ΝΟΥΧΕ  
 ΕΠ̅Μ̅ΟΟΥ Μ̅Ν̅ ΝΕΤ̅ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΠ̅Κ̅ΩΖ̅Τ̅  
 38 Μ̅Ν̅ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΥΡ̅ Ζ̅ΩΒ ΑΝΜΟΚΖ̅C̅ Ν̅Ν̅  
 ΡΩΜΕ Μ̅Ν̅ Ν̅C̅ΥΜΦΟΡΑ· ΝΑΪ ΓΑΡ Ν̅  
 40 †ΜΙΝΕ ΕΥΨΟΟ† ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥ̅ΨΥ

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

335,20 (29) — Qui sunt digni maioribus poenis, o Tris/megiste? / — Qui dammati humanis legibus uitam uiolenter / amittunt, ut non naturae animam debitam sed-poe/nam pro meritis reddidisse uideantur.

78,30

“food”: ΖΡΕ could be an unattested absolute form of ΖΡΟΥΥ (Crum, 704b), which would make “sound” a possible translation here.

14 "O (δ)  
 the iniqu  
 16 O (δ): A  
 somethin  
 18 For (γδφ)  
 a bandit.  
 20 gods and  
 But (βέ)  
 22 Now (δέ)  
 this disco  
 24 no part of  
 that are fi  
 26 in the air  
 in the pla  
 28 are filled v  
 filled with  
 30 food, whic  
 and groan  
 32 who are th  
 are called  
 34 those who  
 the dirt, a  
 36 scourge (z  
 into the w  
 38 and those  
 and calam  
 40 such as th

*Asclepius* 21 (n  
 14) "Who are  
 16) "regisus?" / "  
 18) in a violent  
 20) in soul, not as  
 22) they deserve.

- 14 “Ο (ὦ) Trismegistus, what [is the] character of  
the iniquity that is there?” “Now (δέ) you think,  
16 Ο (ὦ) Asclepius, that when one takes  
something in a temple, he is impious (ἀσεβής).  
18 For (γάρ) that kind of a person is a thief (ληστής) and  
a bandit. And (δέ) this matter concerns  
20 gods and men.  
But (δέ) do not compare those here with those of the  
other place.  
22 Now (δέ) I want to speak  
this discourse to you confidentially (μυστήριον);  
24 no part of (πάντως) it will be believed. For (γάρ) the souls  
(ψυχή)  
that are filled with much evil (κακία) will not come and go  
26 in the air (ἀήρ), but (ἀλλά) they will be put  
in the places (τόπος) of the demons (δαίμων), which  
28 are filled with pain, (and) which are always  
filled with blood and slaughter, and their  
30 food, which is weeping, mourning,  
and groaning.” “Ο (ὦ) Trismegistus,  
32 who are these (demons)?” “Ο (ὦ) Asclepius, they are the  
ones who  
are called stranglers, and  
34 those who roll souls (ψυχή) down on  
the dirt, and those who  
36 scourge (μαστιγοῦν) them, and those who cast  
into the water, and those who cast into the fire,  
38 and those who bring about the pains  
and calamities (συμφορά) of men. For (γάρ)  
40 such as these are not from a

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

335,20 (29) “Who are those who deserve the greater punishments,  
/ Trismegistus?” / “Those who, condemned by human laws, lose  
their life in a violent manner, / so that they appear to have given  
up their soul, not as a debt to nature, but as a punishment / for  
what they deserve.

ΧΗ ΝΘΕΙΟΝ· ΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ  
 42 ΑΝ ΝΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ ΝΕ ΖΝ ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΘΟΟΥ

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

contra iusto 336,1 homi-  
 ni in dei religione et in summa pietate praesi/dium est. deus enim  
 tales ab omnibus tutatur malis. /

divine (t  
 μ rational  
 they are

Asclepius 21

T  
 in the wor  
 such men fr

divine (θεῖον) soul (ψυχή), nor (οὔτε) from a  
 42 rational (λογική) soul (ψυχή) of man. Rather (ἀλλά),  
 they are from the terrible evil (κακία)."

---

Latin *Asclepius* 21 (middle)-29 (beginning), cont.

The just man, on the other hand, 336,1 has his  
 protection in the worship of God and in the loftiest piety, / for God  
 protects such men from all evils . . . ."

*Myrus Berlin*

*Schenke, Papyrus*

*et al. Gnosticism*

*ntz. NT Apoc*

*ospel according*

*33. C. H. Catal*

*ary, Vol. III.*

*11. C. "Ein vo*

*cher Sprache."*

*issenschaften (3*

*renaus und so*

*üenert zum LX*

*el Sohn, 1907.*

*W. and Carrate*

*Wassato I (194*

*R. McL. Gnos*

*33, 1968. Pp. 1*

*ospel of Mar*

*ed in the Ber*

*own from 1896*

*est until 1955*

*Schenke's re-ec*

*(Schenke). 1*

*the textual var*

*2 463. In his*

*with the follo*

*er corrected*

*from failure to*

*the disciples a*

*ospel according*

*R. McL. Wilson p*

*the work to co*

## THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARY

BG, 1:7,1-19,5

R. McL. WILSON AND GEORGE W. MACRAE\*

Till. *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*. Pp. 24-32, 62-79.

Till-Schenke. *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502<sup>2</sup>*. Pp. 24-32, 62-79.

Grant, ed. *Gnosticism: A Source Book*. Pp. 65-68.

Hennecke. *NT Apocrypha*. Vol. I. Pp. 340-45 (H.-Ch. Puech, "The Gospel according to Mary").

Roberts, C. H. *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*. Vol. III. Manchester: University Press, 1938. Pp. 18-23.

Schmidt, C. "Ein vorirenäisches gnostisches Originalwerk in koptischer Sprache." *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1896). Pp. 839-47.

—. "Irenäus und seine Quelle in adv. haer. I,29." *Philotesia. Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag dargebracht*. Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1907. Pp. 315-36.

Till, W. and Carratelli, G. P. "Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαριάμ." *La parola del passato* 1 (1946), 260-67.

Wilson, R. McL. *Gnosis and the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968. Pp. 101-03.

The *Gospel of Mary* is the first of the three gnostic documents contained in the Berlin codex. Although the existence of the MS was known from 1896, and parts of it had appeared in translation, it was not until 1955 that the full text was eventually published (Till). Schenke's re-edition, with several new readings, appeared in 1972 (Till-Schenke). A Greek fragment of *Gos. Mary* showing considerable textual variation was found in the Rylands collection, Papyrus 463. In his original report (1896) Schmidt identified *Gos. Mary* with the following tractate in the codex, *Ap. John*, an error later corrected (1907). Another error sometimes committed results from failure to recognize the subscript at the end as the title, so that the disciples are made "to go forth to proclaim and to preach the Gospel according to Mary." All four works in the codex have

---

\* R. McL. Wilson prepared a preliminary version. George W. MacRae brought the work to completion.

titles at the end: whether *Gos. Mary* had one at the beginning also, as does tractate 3, *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, is no longer possible to say. The tractate is apparently unrelated to the works called "The Questions of Mary," which Epiphanius ascribed to the "Gnostics" in *Pan.* 26.8.1-3.

The date of composition of *Gos. Mary* is unknown. Schmidt and others dated the Coptic MS in the early fifth century (Till-Schenke, p. 7), and the Greek fragment, dated by Roberts in the early third century, suggests a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the tractate.

The document originally extended over the first 18 pages of the codex with 5 lines on p. 19 (according to Till, the Greek version must have been somewhat longer [p. 25]), but pp. 1-6 and 11-14 are now completely missing. Most of the 8 surviving pages have slight damage at the top and bottom, and in some places the ink has faded so that many letters are no longer legible.

The text falls into two distinct and well-marked parts. In the first, as in other Christian gnostic works, e.g., *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, *Dial. Sav.*, *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, *Pist. Soph.*, the risen Jesus in conversation with his disciples provides answers to the questions that they raise. On his departure, they are downcast and perplexed at the magnitude of the task laid upon them, to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. In their despair they are encouraged by Mary, who now appears for the first time, and they ask her to impart to them the words of the Savior, which she alone knows and they do not. This introduces the second part, unfortunately interrupted by the lacuna at pp. 11-14, containing the savior's words to Mary, and the disciples' reaction. The negative attitude of Andrew and Peter here corresponds to that ascribed to them in the *Pist. Soph.*, and to that of Peter in the final saying of *Gos. Thom.*

The contrast between Mary's dominant role in the second part and the modest place assigned her in the first, together with the diversity of content, prompted Till (p. 26) and Puech (Hennecke, p. 344) to the conclusion that two small independent writings had been artificially combined through the introduction of Mary at the end of the first part, where she has no real function, to provide a connection. This conclusion seems to be confirmed by the fact that the NT echoes are most thickly clustered precisely at the point of transition (R. McL. Wilson, "The New Testament and the Gospel of Mary," *NTS* 3 [1956-57], 236-43), although it may remain open

GOSPEL  
 state whether  
 material, an  
 Another  
 form is the  
 the title stric  
 text printed  
 greatly fr  
 Pasquier for  
 very gene  
 Schenke ha



to debate whether we should think of written sources or merely of older material, and whether such older material was itself non-Christian. Another indication of the unity of the two parts in their present form is the fact that 18,17-21 alludes to 8,21-9,4. In any event, the title strictly applies only to the second part of the document.

The text printed here has been collated with photos and has benefited greatly from an ultraviolet collation of the MS done by Anne Pasquier for the *Projet canadien Nag Hammadi* in 1978, which she very generously made available to us. Major divergences from Till-Schenke have been noted.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARY

BG, 1:7,1-19,5

(Pp. 1-6 lacking)

[z]

[.]·[ 8 ± ]·· ϕ[γ]λη βε να  
 2 οϋϖ[δ]π χν μμον πεχε π̄ωρ̄ χε  
 φ̄υσ̄ις νιμ π̄λασμα νιμ κ̄τισις  
 4 νιμ εϋωπ ρ̄ν̄ νεϋερηϋ {μ}ν̄μ̄  
 μαϋ αϋω ον εϋναβωλ εβολ ε  
 6 τοϋνοϋνε μ̄μιν μμοοϋ χε τε  
 φ̄υσ̄ις νεϋλη εσβωλ εβολ ε̄να  
 8 τεσφ̄υσ̄ις οϋαας πετε οϋν μαα  
 χε μ̄μοϋ εσωτ̄μ̄ μαρεϋσωτ̄μ̄  
 10 πεχε πετρος ναϋ χε ρ̄ωσ ακτα  
 μον ερ̄ωβ νιμ χω μπικεοϋα  
 12 ερον οϋ πε π̄νοβε μπ̄κοσμοϋϋ  
 πεχε π̄ωρ̄ χε μ̄ν̄ νοβε ωοπ αλ  
 14 λα ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ πετ̄ρε μ̄π̄νοβε ετε  
 τ̄ν̄ειρε ν̄νετ̄νε ν̄τ̄φ̄υσ̄ις ν̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄  
 16 νοεικ ετ<οϋ>μοϋτε ερος χε π̄νο  
 βε ετβε πᾱι αϋει ν̄β̄ι παγαϑ̄ϑ̄  
 18 ρ̄ν̄ τετ̄μ̄μητε ψα να φ̄υσ̄ις  
 νιμ εϋνακαϑ̄ιςτα μ̄μοϋ ερ̄οϋ  
 20 ετεσνοϋνε ετι αϋοϋωρ̄ ετοτ̄ϋ  
 πεχαϋ χε ετβε παι τετ̄ν̄ψω  
 22 [N]ε αϋω τετ̄μ̄μοϋ χε τ[

7,2 οϋϖ[δ]π: The traces of letters seem to fit οϋϖδπ (Till-Schenke) better than οϋχαλ, "saved" (Schmidt in Till-Schenke), though the former does not occur elsewhere in this codex. Lit. "be broken (up)."

5 "will be resolved again": Cf. *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 53,20-21.

7 "the (roots) of": Coptic να-, "the things of" or possibly "the essence of." The context suggests "roots."

8-9 "He who has ears to hear, let him hear": Cf. Mt 11:15 and elsewhere in the Synoptics and in *Gos. Thom.* (II,2); *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (BG,3) 89,4-6 and several times thereafter.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARY

BG, 1:7,1-19,5

(Pp. 1-6 lacking)

[7]

[ ] will matter (ύλη) then  
2 be [destroyed] or not?" The Savior (σωτήρ) said:  
"All natures (φύσις), all formations (πλάσμα), all crea-  
tures (κτίσις)  
4 exist in and with one another,  
and they will be resolved again into  
6 their own roots. For the  
nature (φύσις) of matter (ύλη) is resolved into the (roots)  
of  
8 its nature (φύσις) alone. He who has  
ears to hear, let him hear."  
10 Peter said to him: "Since (ώς) you have  
explained everything to us, tell us this also:  
12 What is the sin of the world (κόσμος)?"  
The Savior (σωτήρ) said: "There is no sin,  
14 but (ἀλλά) it is you who make sin when  
you do the things that are like the nature (φύσις) of  
16 adultery, which is called 'sin.'  
That is why the Good (ἀγαθόν) came  
18 into your midst, to the (essence) of every nature (φύσις),  
in order to restore (καθιστάναι) it  
20 to its root." Then (ἔτι) he continued and  
said: "That is why you  
22 [become sick] and die, for [ ]

7,12 "the sin of the world": Cf. Jn 1:29.

16 MS reads ΕΤΕΜΟΥΤΕ.

18 "the (essence) of": Coptic ΝΑ-; see note on 7,7.

21-22 ψω[Ν]ε: Reconstruction follows Till-Schenke; cf. 1 Cor 11:30.

ψω[Π]ε, "come into being," is also possible (Till).

22-8,1 Till-Schenke reconstructs ΧΕ Τ[ΕΤΝΜΕ] ΜΠΕΤΑΡ[Α]ΠΑ[ΤΑ] ΜΜΩΤΝ, "for you [love] that which will [deceive (ἀπατᾶν) you."

## [H]

1 Ἰπεταρ. πα[ 7 ± π]ετ[ρ]  
 2 νοί μαρεφρνοει [αθ]γλη χ[π]ε ου  
 παθος εμῆταφμμαγ Ἰπεινε  
 4 εαφει εβολ ρν ουπαραφυσικ το  
 τε ψαρεογταραχη ψωπε ρῃ  
 6 πσωμα τηρφ ετβε παί αἶχος νη  
 τῆν χε ψωπε ετετῆτητ Ἰρητ  
 8 αγω ετετῆο Ἰναττωτ ετε  
 τῆτητ μεν Ἰναρρῃ πινε πινε  
 10 ντεφυσικ πετε ουν μααχε Ἰ  
 μοφ εσωτῃ μαρεφρσωτῃ ντα  
 12 ρεφχε ναί νβι πμακαριος αφας  
 παζε Ἰμοοογ τηρογ εφχω Ἰμο'ς'  
 14 χε ουειρηνη νητῆ ταειρηνη  
 χπος νητῆ αρεζ μπρτρελααγ ρ  
 16 πλανα μμωτῆ εφχω μμος χε  
 εις ρηπε μπεισα η εις ρηπε Ἰ  
 18 πειμα νψηρε γαρ μπρωμε εφ  
 ψοπ μπετῆρουν ουερτητῆ  
 20 Ἰσωφ νετψινε Ἰσωφ σενα  
 ὄντῃ βωκ βε Ἰτετῆταψεοειψ  
 22 μπεγαγγελιον Ἰτμντερο μπρ

## Θ

1 κα λαγ Ἰρσορος ερραί παρα πεν  
 2 ταίτωψῃ νητῆ ουδε μπρ† νο  
 μοσ Ἰθεε μπνομοθετς μηπο  
 4 τε Ἰσεαμαρτε Ἰμωτῆ ρητηφ

- 8,3 "equal": Lit. "image, likeness."  
 7 "Be of good courage": Cf. Mt 28:10 and many other passages in the Synoptics.  
 14-15 "Peace be with you": Cf. Jn 14:27; 20:19-21,26; Lk 24:36 (var.); *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (BG,3) 79,10-12; *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (VIII,2) 140,17. Till-Schenke emends to †ΡΗΝΗ, but this is unnecessary; cf. NHC VI 8,5.  
 15-16 Cf. Mt 24:4, parr.  
 17-19 Cf. Lk 17:21; Mt 24:23, parr.  
 20-21 "seek . . . find": Cf. Mt 7:7; *Gos. Thom.* (II,1), Logion 2; 92.

[8]

of the one who [ He who]  
 2 understands (νοεῖν), let him understand (νοεῖν). [Matter  
 (ὕλη) gave birth to] a  
 passion (πάθος) that has no equal,  
 4 which proceeded from (something) contrary to nature  
 (παρά, φύσις).  
 Then (τότε) there arises a disturbance (ταράχη) in  
 6 the whole body (σῶμα). That is why I said to  
 you, 'Be of good courage,'  
 8 and if you are discouraged  
 (be) encouraged (+ μέν) in the presence of the different  
 forms  
 10 of nature (φύσις). He who has ears  
 to hear, let him hear."  
 12 When the blessed one (μακάριος) had said this, he  
 greeted (ἀπαύξεισθαι) them all, saying:  
 14 "Peace (εἰρήνη) be with you. Receive  
 my peace (εἰρήνη) to yourselves. Beware that no one  
 16 lead you astray (πλανᾶν) saying,  
 'Lo here!' or (ἦ) 'Lo  
 18 there!' For (γάρ) the Son of Man  
 is within you. Follow  
 20 after him! Those who seek him will  
 find him. Go then and preach  
 22 the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) of the kingdom. Do not

9

lay down any rules (ἔρος) beyond (παρά) what  
 2 I appointed for you, and (οὐδέ) do not give  
 a law (νόμος) like the lawgiver (νομοθέτης) lest (μήποτε)  
 4 you be constrained by it."

8,21-22 "preach the gospel of the kingdom": Cf. Mt 4:23 and many other passages in the Synoptics.

22 "Do not": **μη̅ϛ̅** rather than **μη̅[πι]**, "[I have not]" (Till-Schenke). See following note.

9,2 "do not give": **μη̅πι̅†** rather than **μη̅πι̅†** (Till-Schenke). H.-M. Schenke kindly verified these two readings in the original MS. Note the later allusion to this passage at 18,19-21.

ΝΤΑΡΕΦΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΑΦΒΩΚ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ  
 6 ΝΕΥΡΛΥΠΕΙ ΑΥΡΙΜΕ ΜΨΑ ΕΥ  
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΕΝΝΑΒΩΚ  
 8 ΨΑ ΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΝΤΝΤΑΨΕΟΕΙΨ Ν  
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΜΨΨ'Η'  
 10 ΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ Μ  
 ΠΟΥΨΣΟ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΕΥ  
 12 ΝΑΨΣΟ ΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΤΩ  
 ΟΥΝ ΑΣΑΨΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 14 ΠΕΧΑΣ ΝΝΕΣ'Σ'ΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΡΙΜΕ  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΡΡΛΥΠΕΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΡΡ ΖΗΤ  
 16 ΣΝΑΥ ΤΕΦΧΑΡΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 ΝΜΜΗΤΝ ΤΗΡΨ ΑΥΩ ΝΣΡΣΚΕΠΑ  
 18 ΖΕ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΡΝ  
 ΣΜΟΥ ΕΤΕΦΜΝΤΝΟΒ ΧΕ ΑΦΣΒ  
 20 ΤΩΤΝ ΑΦΑΑΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΜΑ  
 ΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΑΣΚΤΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ  
 22 [ΕΖ]ΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΑΡΧΕ  
 [ΣΘΑΙ] ΝΡΓΥΜ[Ν]ΑΖΕ ΖΑ ΠΡΑ ΝΝΨΑ  
 24 [Χ]Ε ΜΠ[ΣΩΡ]

## I

ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΜΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΕ ΤΣΩ  
 2 ΝΕ ΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΝΕΡΕΠΣΩΡ ΟΥΑΨΕ  
 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ  
 4 ΧΩ ΝΑΝ ΝΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΣΩΡ ΕΤΕΕΙΡΕ  
 ΜΠΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΜΟ  
 6 ΟΥ ΝΝΑΝΟΝ ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΝΣΟΤΜ'Ο'Υ  
 ΑΣΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΒΙ ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΠΕΧΑΣ  
 8 ΧΕ ΠΕΘΗΠ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΨΝΑΤΑΜΑ ΤΗΥ  
 ΤΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΑΥΩ ΑΣΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΧΩ ΝΑΥ  
 10 ΝΝΕΪΨΑΧΕ ΧΕ Α{Ϊ}ΝΟΚ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΑΙ  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΠΧΣ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΕΙ

9,9-10 "kingdom of the Son of Man": Cf. Mt 13:41; 16:28; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (BG,3) 101,6-9.

10-12 For a positive evaluation of apostolic suffering in relation to Christ's suffering, see *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (VIII,2) 138,15-28.

17 ΤΗΡΨ: The trace is very uncertain, but there is room for only one letter. Till-Schenke emends to ΤΗΡ<Τ>Ν, "with you all."

6 When he had said this, he departed. But (δέ) they  
 6 were grieved (λυπεῖσθαι). They wept greatly  
 saying: "How shall we go  
 8 to the gentiles (ἔθνος) and preach  
 the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) of the kingdom of the Son  
 10 of Man? If they did  
 not spare him, how will  
 12 they spare us?" Then (τότε) Mary  
 stood up, greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) them all,  
 14 and said to her brethren: "Do not weep  
 and do not grieve (λυπεῖσθαι) nor (οὐδέ) be  
 16 irresolute, for (γάρ) his grace (χάρις) will be  
 entirely with you and will protect (σκεπάζειν)  
 18 you. But (δέ) rather (μᾶλλον) let us  
 praise his greatness, for he has  
 20 prepared us and made us into men." When  
 Mary said this, she turned their hearts  
 22 to the Good (ἀγαθόν), and they began (ἄρχεσθαι)  
 to discuss (γυμνάζεσθαι) the words  
 24 of the [Savior (σωτήρ).]

## 10

Peter said to Mary: "Sister,  
 2 we know that the Savior (σωτήρ) loved you  
 more than (παρά) the rest of women.  
 4 Tell us the words of the Savior (σωτήρ) which you  
 remember—which you know  
 6 (but) we do not, nor (οὐδέ) have we heard them."  
 Mary answered and said:  
 8 "What is hidden from you I will proclaim to you."  
 And she began (ἄρχεσθαι) to speak to them  
 10 these words: "I," she said, "I  
 saw the Lord in a vision (ὄραμα) and I

9,20 "made us into men": Cf. *Gos. Thom.* (II,2) 51,18-26 (logion 114), and see below 18,11.

10,2-3 "the Savior loved you": Cf. Jn 11:5. See also 18:14-15 below; *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 63,34-64,5.

12 **ΧΟΟΣ** **ΝΑϞ** **ΧΕ** **ΠΧ̄C** **ΑΪΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟΚ** **Μ**  
**ΠΟΥ** **ΖΝ** **ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ** **ΑΦΟΥΩΨ** **ΠΕ**  
 14 **ΧΑϞ** **ΝΑΪ** **ΧΕ** **ΝΑΪΑΤΕ** **ΧΕ** **ΝΤΕΚΙΜ** **ΑΝ**  
**ΕΡΕΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟΕΙ** **ΠΜΑ** **ΓΑΡ** **ΕΤΕΡΕΠΝΟΥC**  
 16 **ΜΜΑΥ** **ΕΦΜΜΑΥ** **ΝΒΙ** **ΠΕΖΟ** **ΠΕΧΑΪ**  
**ΝΑϞ** **ΧΕ** **ΠΧ̄C** **ΤΕΝΟΥ** **ΠΕΤΝΑΥ** **ΕΦΟ**  
 18 **ΡΟΜΑ** **ΕΦΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟϞ** **<ΖΝ̄>** **ΤΕΨΥΧΗ** **<Η>**  
**ΠΕΠΝ̄Α** **ΑΦΟΥΩΨ** **ΝΒΙ** **ΠC̄ΩΡ** **ΠΕ**  
 20 **ΧΑϞ** **ΧΕ** **ΕΦΝΑΥ** **ΑΝ** **ΖΝ̄** **ΤΕΨΥΧΗ** **ΟΥ**  
**ΔΕ** **ΖΜ** **ΠΕΠΝ̄Α** **ΑΛΛΑ** **ΠΝΟΥC** **ΕΤΨ[ΟΠ]**  
 22 **ΖΝ** **ΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ** **ΜΠΕΥCΝΑΥ** **ΝΤΟ[Ϟ** **ΠΕΤ]**  
**ΝΑΥ** **ΕΦΟΡΟΜΑ** **ΑΥ[Ω]** **ΝΤΟϞ** **Π[ΕΤ**

(Pp. 11-14 lacking)

!ϛ

**ΜΜΟϞ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΠΕΧΕ** **ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ**  
 2 **ΧΕ** **ΜΠΙΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟ** **ΕΡΕΒΗΚ** **ΕΠΙΤΝ̄**  
**ΤΕΝΟΥ** **ΔΕ** **†ΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟ** **ΕΡΕΒΗΚ** **Ε**  
 4 **ΤΠΕ** **ΠΩC** **ΔΕ** **ΤΕΧΙ** **ΒΟΛ** **ΕΡΕΠ'** **Ε**  
**ΡΟΕΙ** **ΑCΟΥΩΨ** **ΝΒΙ** **ΤΕΨΥΧΗ** **ΠΕ**  
 6 **ΧΑC** **ΧΕ** **ΑΪΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟ** **ΜΠΕΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟΪ**  
**ΟΥΔΕ** **ΜΠΕΕΙΜΕ** **ΕΡΟΕΙ** **ΝΕΕΙΨΟ**  
 8 **ΟΠ** **ΝΕ** **ΝΖΒC̄Ω** **ΑΥΩ** **ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΝΤ**  
**ΝΤΑΡΕCΧΕ** **ΝΑΪ** **ΑCΒΩΚ** **ΕCΤΕΛΗΛ**  
 10 **ΝΖΟΥΟ** { **ΠΑΛΙΝ** **ΑCΕΙ** **ΕΤΝ̄** **ΤΜΕΖ**  
**Τ** **ΨΟΜΝΤΕ** **ΝΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ** **ΤΕΤΟΥΜ'Ο'Υ**  
 12 **ΤΕ** **ΕΡΟC** **ΧΕ** **ΤΜΝΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ** [ΑC]ϛ̄  
**ΕΧΕΤΑΖΕ** **ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ** **ΕCΧ[Ω** **Μ]**  
 14 **ΜΟC** **ΧΕ** **ΕΡΕΒΗΚ** **ΕΤΩΝ** **ΖΝ** [Ο]ΥΠΟ  
**ΝΗΡΙΑ** **ΑΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ** **ΜΜΟ** **ΑΥ[Α]ΜΑΖ**  
 16 **ΤΕ** **ΔΕ** **ΜΜΟ** **ΜΠΡ̄ΚΡΙΝΕ** **ΑΥ[Ω]** **ΠΕ**  
**ΧΕ** **ΤΕΨΥΧΗ** **ΧΕ** **ΑΖΡΟ** **ΕΡΕΚΡΙΝΕ**

10,16 "the treasure": Taking **ΠΕΖΟ** as the noun **ΑΖΟ**; it is also possible to translate "your countenance." For this variant of Mt 6:21, see G. Quispel, "Das Hebräerevangelium im gnostischen Evangelium nach Maria," *VigChr* 11 (1957), 139-44.

17 "now": Till-Schenke reads **ΤΕΝΟΥ**, where others had read **ΠΝΟΥC**, "Does the mind (νοῦς) which sees...?" The sense is "Now (tell me), does he...?"



- 12 said to him: 'Lord, I saw you  
today in a vision (ὄραμα).' He answered and  
14 said to me: 'Blessed are you, that you did not waver  
at the sight of me. For (γάρ) where the mind (νοῦς)  
16 is, there is the treasure.' I said  
to him: 'Lord, now does he who sees the  
18 vision (ὄραμα) see it <through> the soul (ψυχή) <or (ἤ)>  
through  
the spirit (πνεῦμα)?' The Savior (σωτήρ) answered and  
20 said: 'He does not see through the soul (ψυχή)  
nor (οὐδέ) through the spirit (πνεῦμα), but (ἀλλά) the  
mind (νοῦς) which [is]  
22 between the two—that is [what]  
sees the vision (ὄραμα) and it is [

(Pp. 11-14 lacking)

## 15

- "... it. And desire (ἐπιθυμία) said:  
2 'I did not see you descending  
but (δέ) now I see you ascending.  
4 Why (πῶς δέ) do you lie, since you belong to  
me?' The soul (ψυχή) answered and  
6 said: 'I saw you. You did not see me  
nor (οὐδέ) recognize me. I served  
8 you as a garment, and you did not know me.'  
When it had said this, it went away rejoicing  
10 greatly. Again (πάλιν) it came to the  
third power (ἐξουσία), which is  
12 called ignorance. [It (the power)]  
questioned (ἐξετάζειν) the soul (ψυχή) saying:  
14 'Where are you going? In  
wickedness (πονηρία) are you bound.  
16 But (δέ) you are bound; do not judge (κρίνειν)!' And  
the soul (ψυχή) said: 'Why do you judge (κρίνειν)

10,18 MS reads **Η ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΖΜ**.

15,15-16 "bound...bound": Possibly a dittography.

16 "do not judge": Cf. Mt 7:1. It is possible to read (with Till-Schenke)

**ΜΠΡΚΡΙΝΕ** as a noun, "in judgment."

18 **Μ**ΜΟΪ ΕΜΠΙΚΡΙΝΕ ΑΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ  
**Μ**ΜΟΪ ΕΜΠΙΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΟΥÇΟΥ  
 20 **Ω**ΝΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΙÇΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΕΥ  
**Β**ΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΤΗΡÇ ΕΙΤΕ ΝΑ Π  
 22 **Κ**ΑΖ

## 15

ΕΙΤΕ ΝΑ ΤΠ[Ε] **Ν**ΤΕΡΕΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΟΥ  
 2 **Ω**Ç **Ν**ΤΜΕΖΨΟΜΝΤΕ **Ν**ΝΕΞΟΥÇΙ  
**Α** ΑÇΒΩΚ ΕΠÇΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑÇΝΑΥ  
 4 ΕΤΜΑΖÇΤΟΕ **Ν**ΝΕΞΟΥÇΙΑ ΑÇ **Ç** Α  
**Ψ**ÇΕ **Μ**ΜΟΡΦΗ ΤΨΟΡΠ **Μ**ΜΟΡ  
 6 **Φ**Η ΠΕ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΜΕΖÇΝΤΕ ΤΕΠΙ  
**Θ**ΥΜΙΑ ΤΜΕΖΨΟΜΝΤΕ ΤΜ**Ν**ΤΑΤ  
 8 ÇΟΟΥΝ ΤΜΕΖÇΤΟΕ ΠΕ ΠΚΩΖ **Μ**Π  
**Μ**ΟΥ ΤΜΕΖΨΕ ΤΕ ΤΜ**Ν**ΤΕΡΟ **Ν**ΤÇΑΡΞ  
 10 ΤΜΕΖÇΟΕ ΤΕ ΤΜ**Ν**ΤÇΑΒΗ ΝÇΕΒΗ  
**Ν**ÇΑΡΞ ΤΜΕΖÇΑΨÇΕ ΤΕ ΤÇΟΦΙ  
 12 **Α** [**Ν**]ΡΕÇΝΟΥÇΒÇ ΝΑΪ ΝΕ ΤÇΑΨÇΕ **Ν**  
**Ν**Ç[Ξ]ΟΥÇΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΤΟΡΓΗ ΕΥΨΙΝΕ  
 14 **Ν**ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΝΗΥ ΧΙΝ ΤΩΝ  
**Τ**ΖΑΤΒΡΩΜΕ Η ΕΡΕΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ  
 16 **Τ**ΟΥΑÇÇΜΑ ΑÇΟΥΨ **Β** **Ν**ΒΙ ΤΕ  
**Ψ**ΥΧΗ ΠΕΧΑÇ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕΜΑΖΤΕ **Μ**  
 18 **Μ**ΟΪ ΑΥΚΟΝÇ **Ç** ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ **Μ**  
**Μ**ΟΪ ΑΥΟΥÇÇ<Ç> ΑΥΩ ΤΑΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ  
 20 **Α**ÇΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΤΜ**Ν**ΤΑΤÇΟΟΥ  
**Α**ÇΜΟΥ 'Ζ**Ν**' ΟΥΚΜΟÇΟÇ **Ν**ΤΑΥΒΟΛΤ' Ε

## 12

**Β**ΟΛ Ζ**Ν**Ν ΟΥΚΟÇΜΟÇ [ΑΥ]Ω Ζ**Ν** ΟΥ  
 2 **Τ**ΥΠΟÇ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ**Ν** ΟΥΤΥΠΟÇ ΕΤ**Μ**  
**Π**ÇΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΜ**Ρ**ΡΕ ΝΤ**Β**ΨΕ ΕΤ  
 4 **Ψ**ΟΟΠ ΠΡΟÇ ΟΥΟΪΨ ΧΙΝ **Μ**ΠΙΝΑΥ

- 16,2 "overcome": or "left behind." Also lines 16 and 19.  
 5 **Μ**ΜΟΡΦΗ: The MS has **ΝΜ**ΜΟΡΦΗ, but the **Ν** and **Μ** are joined  
 —presumably the scribe's attempt to correct a false start.  
 8-9 "excitement of death": or "envy of death."

18 me although I have not judged (κρίνειν)? I was bound  
 though I have not bound. I was not  
 20 recognized. But (δέ) I have recognized that  
 the All is being dissolved, both (εἴτε) the  
 22 earthly (things)

## 16

and (εἴτε) the heavenly.' When the soul (ψυχή)  
 2 had overcome the third power (ἐξουσία),  
 it went upwards and saw  
 4 the fourth power (ἐξουσία), (which) took  
 seven forms (μορφή). The first form (μορφή)  
 6 is darkness, the second  
 desire (ἐπιθυμία), the third  
 8 ignorance, the fourth is the excitement of  
 death, the fifth is the kingdom of the flesh (σάρξ),  
 10 the sixth is the foolish wisdom  
 of flesh (σάρξ), the seventh is the  
 12 wrathful wisdom (σοφία). These are the seven  
 [powers (ἐξουσία)] of wrath (ὀργή). They ask  
 14 the soul (ψυχή): 'Whence do you come,  
 slayer of men, or (ἤ) where are you going,  
 16 conqueror of space?' The soul (ψυχή) answered  
 and said: 'What binds  
 18 me has been slain, and what surrounds  
 me has been overcome, and my desire (ἐπιθυμία)  
 20 has been ended, and ignorance  
 has died. In a [world (κόσμος)] I was released

## 17

from a world (κόσμος), [and] in a  
 2 type (τύπος) from a heavenly type (τύπος),  
 and (from) the fetter of oblivion which  
 4 is transient (πρόσ-). From this time on

16,10-11 "wisdom of flesh": Cf. 2 Cor 1:12 σοφία σαρκική. See also the wisdom-foolly contrast of 1 Cor 1-3, esp. 3:19.

13 "[powers (ἐξουσία)]: Till-Schenke reads **ΜΕ[Τ]ΟΥΣΙΑ**, "participants," but the traces seem to fit **ΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ** equally well.

17,2 "heavenly type": or "higher type."

ΕΕΙΝΑΧΙ ΝΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΜΠΕ  
 6 ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΜΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΜΠ'ΑΙ'ΩΝ ΖΝ  
 ΝΟΥΚΑΡΩΦ ΝΤΕΡΕΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΕ  
 8 ΝΑΪ ΑΣΚΑ ΡΩΣ ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΤΑΠ̄ΩΡ  
 ΨΑΧΕ Ν̄ΜΑΣ ΨΑ ΠΕΕΙΜΑ  
 10 ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΠΕΧΑΦ  
 Ν̄ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΑΧΙ ΠΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΧΩ  
 12 ΜΜΟΦ ΖΑ ΠΡΑ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΣΧ[Ο]ΟΥ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΜΕΝ †Ρ̄ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ  
 14 ΑΠ̄ΩΡ ΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΙCΒΟΥΥ  
 Ε ΓΑΡ ΖΝ̄ΚΕΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΕ ΑΦΟΥΨ  
 16 ΨΩΒ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΖΑ ΠΡΑ  
 Ν̄ΝΕΕΙΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΑΦ  
 18 ΧΝΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ Π̄ΩΡ ΧΕ ΜΗΤΙ  
 ΑΦΨΑΧΕ Μ̄Ν ΟΥCΖ̄ΜΕ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ  
 20 ΕΡΟΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΕΝ̄Α  
 ΚΤΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ Ν̄Τ̄ΝCΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΤΗΡ̄Ν  
 22 ΝCΩC ΝΤ<Α>ΦCΟΥΠC ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΝ

ΙΗ

ΤΟΤΕ Α[Μ]ΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΡΙΜΕ ΠΕΧΑΣ Μ

P. Ryl. 463 (The extant leaf of a Greek version of *Gos. Mary*, with a substantial lacuna at the bottom of the recto and with considerable variation in the text. The provenance of the fragment is Oxyrhynchus, and Roberts dates it in the early third century.)

κα το λοιπον δρομου και[ρο]υ χρονου / αιωνος αναπαυσιν ε[ν] σιγη·  
 ταυ/τ[α] ε'ι'πουσα η Μαριαμμη εισιωπη/σε[ν] ως του σωτηρος μεχρι ωδε  
 (5) ειρηκοτος Ανδρεας λεγε[ι α]δελ/φοι τι υμειν δοκει πε[ρ]ι των {πε- /  
 ρι των} λαληθεντων εγω μεν / γαρ ου πιστευω ταυτ[ε]'α' <τ> (MS has  
 σ)[ο]ν σ[ω]/τηρα ειρηκηναι· εδοκει γ[α]ρ ετε] (10) ρογνωμονειν τη εκ-  
 [ε]ιν[ου εν]/νοια περι τοιουτ[ω]ν πρα[γμα]/των εξεταζομενος ο σω[τηρ] /  
 λαθρα γυγ[α]ικι ελαλει και <ου> φ[α]/νερωσ ινα παντες ακουσα[ιμεν]  
 (15) [τι α]ξιολογωτερον α[.]ωγ[· · ·] / [...]ε[· · · · ·] / [· · ·]·[· · ·]

17, 15 "strange ideas": Lit. "other thoughts."

19 "speak with a woman": Cf. Jn 4:27.

- will I attain to the rest (ἀνάπαυσις) of the  
 6 time (χρόνος), of the season (καιρός), of the aeon, in  
 silence.' " When Mary had said  
 8 this, she fell silent, since (ὥστε) it was to this point that  
 the Savior (σωτήρ)  
 had spoken with her.  
 10 But (δέ) Andrew answered and said  
 to the brethren: "Say what you (wish to) say  
 12 about what she has said.  
 I at least (μέν) do not believe (πιστεῦειν) that  
 14 the Savior (σωτήρ) said this. For (γάρ) certainly these  
 teachings  
 are strange ideas."  
 16 Peter answered and spoke concerning  
 these same things. He  
 18 questioned them about the Savior (σωτήρ): "Did he real-  
 ly (μήτι)  
 speak with a woman without our  
 20 knowledge (and) not openly? Are we to  
 turn about and all listen  
 22 to her? Did he prefer her to us?"

18

Then (τότε) Mary wept and said to

---

P. Ryl. 463

21 "... for the rest of the course of season, of time, / of aeon  
 (I will attain to) rest in silence." / When she had said this, Mary  
 fell silent, / since the Savior had spoken up to this point. (5) Andrew  
 said: / "Brethren, what do you think about / what has been said?  
 For I at least / do not believe that <the> Savior / said this, for she  
 seems to (10) have views that differ from his / thought. When he  
 was being questioned / about such things, did the Savior / speak  
 secretly with a woman and <not> / openly, so that we all might  
 hear (15) something more remarkable. . ." / [        /        ]

17,19-20 The peculiar Coptic word order is rendered here with the aid of  
 the Greek fragment.

22 MS reads ΝΤΟϞ.

2 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΖΪΕ ΕΚ  
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΟΥ ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΪ  
 4 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΑΓΑΑΤ ΖΜ ΠΑ  
 ΖΗΤ Η ΕΕΙΧΙ ΒΟΛ ΕΠΣΩΡ ΑΦΟΥ  
 6 ΩΨΒ ΝΒΙ ΛΕΥΕΙ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΜΠΕΤΡΟ΄Σ΄  
 ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΧΙΝ ΕΝΕΖ ΚΨΟΠ ΝΡΕΦ  
 8 ΝΟΥΒΣ †ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΚΡ  
 ΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ ΕΖΝ ΤΕΣΖΪΜΕ ΝΘΕ Ν  
 10 ΝΙΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΨΧΕ ΑΠ  
 ΣΩΤΗΡ ΔΕ ΑΑΣ ΝΑΖΙΟΣ ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ  
 12 ΔΕ ΖΩΩΚ ΕΝΟΧΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΑΝΤΩ΄Σ΄  
 ΕΡΕΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΑΣ  
 14 ΦΑΛΩΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΦΟΥΨΩΤ ΝΖΟΥ  
 Ο ΕΡΟΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΜΑΡΝΨΙΠΕ ΝΤΝ  
 16 † ΖΪΩΩΝ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ  
 ΝΤΝΧΠΟΦ ΝΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦ  
 18 ΖΩΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΝΤΝΤΑΨΕΟΕΙΨ  
 ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΚΩ ΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 20 ΝΚΕΖΟΡΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΕΝΟΜΟΣ ΠΑ  
 ΡΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΠΣΩΡ ΧΟΟΦ ΝΤΕΡΕ

[Ι]ϑ

[ 8 ± ]αΪ αγω αγϱαρχει Ν

P. Ryl. 463, cont.

κβ του σωτηρος Λευε[ι]ς λεγει Πητρω / Πητρε α[ει] σο[ι] το οργιλο  
 παρακει (20) ται και αρτι ουτως συνζητει[ς] τη / γυναικι ως αντικει-  
 μενος αυτη / ει ο σωτη[ρ] αξιαν αυτην ηγησατο / σϑ τις ει εξουθενω  
 αυτην παν/τως γαρ εκεινος ειδως αυτην ασ (25) φ[αλ]ω[ς] ηγαπησεν  
 μαλλ[ο]ν αισχυ[ν]/θω[με]ν και ενδυσασμενο[ι] τον / τ[ε]λειον αν(θρωπ)ον  
 εκεινο το προστα<χ>/θ[ε]νη]μειν π[ο]ιησωμεν κηρυσ{ε}/σ[ειν] το ευαγγ-  
 [ε]λιον μηδεν ο[ρ]ιζον (30) τ[ε]ς μ]ηδε νομοθετ[ο]υντες ως ει/π[εν] ο] σωτηρ  
 [ταυ]τα ειπων ο Λευ/[εις με]ν απ[ε]λθων] ηρχεν

18,11 "made her worthy": Cf. *Gos. Thom.* (II,2) 51,18-26 (logion 114).13-14 On the relationship of Jesus to Mary, cf. Lk 10:38-42; Jn 11:5; *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 59,8-11.16 "put on the perfect man": Cf. *Gos. Phil.* (II,3) 75,20-35; Gal 3:27.

17 Till-Schenke has ΝΤΝΑΠΟΧΩΡΙ, "and separate."

- 2 Peter: "My brother Peter, what do you  
think? Do you think that I  
4 thought this up myself in my  
heart, or (ἤ) that I am lying about the Savior (σωτήρ)?"  
6 Levi answered and said to Peter:  
"Peter, you have always been  
8 hot-tempered. Now I see you  
contending (γυμνάζεσθαι) against the woman like  
10 the adversaries (ἀντικείμενος). But (δέ) if the  
Savior (σωτήρ) made her worthy (ἄξιος), who are you  
12 indeed (+ δέ) to reject her? Surely (πάντως)  
the Savior (σωτήρ) knows her  
14 very well (ἀσφαλώς). That is why he loved her more  
than us. Rather (μᾶλλον) let us be ashamed and  
16 put on the perfect (τέλειος) man  
and acquire him for ourselves as (κατά) he  
18 commanded us, and preach  
the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον), not laying down  
20 any other rule (ἄρος) or (οὐδέ) other law (νόμος)  
beyond (παρά) what the Savior (σωτήρ) said." When

[1]9

[ ] and they began (ἄρχεσθαι) to

P. Ryl. 463, cont.

22 "... (I am lying about) the Savior?" Levi said to Peter: / "Peter, your hot temper is always with you, (20) and now you are questioning the / woman as though an adversary to her. / If the Savior deemed her worthy, / who are you to scorn her? / For surely, knowing her, (25) he loved her very well. Rather let us / be ashamed, and having put on the / perfect man, let us do / what was commanded us: preach / the gospel, not laying down any rule (30) or law, as / the Savior said." When he had said this, / Levi departed and began

18,17-21 Cf. 8,21-9,4.

19,1 Till-Schenke reconstructs  $\text{ἩΤΕΡΕ/[ΛΕΥΕΙ ΔΕ ΧΕ Ν]ΑΙ}$ , "When [Levi had said this]," which seems to crowd the lacuna slightly and leaves the following "and" unaccounted for.

2 ΒΩΚ [ΕΤΡΕΥΤ]ΑΜΟ ΝΣΕΤΑΨΕΘΕΙΨ  
 Π[Ε]ΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ  
 4 ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΜΑΡΙΖΑΜΜ

P. Ryl. 463, cont.

κη[ρυσσ]/[σειν το ευαγγελι]ου [

P. Ryl. 463:22,33: Roberts' reconstruction "gospel [of Mary]" is not supported by the Coptic parallel. It is possible, however, that κηρυσσειν ended on line 32 and that line 33 was wholly occupied by the title, which would no doubt have been parallel to that of *Gos. Mary*. As the transcription stands, a more reasonable reconstruction would be '[gospel of the kingdom]' in the light of BG 8,22.



2 go forth [to] proclaim and to preach.

[The] Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον)

4 according to (κατά)

Mary

---

P. Ryl. 463, cont.

[to preach] / [the gospel.]

gospel of Mar  
scribble, however  
scribble  
scribble to scribble  
reasonable  
scribble of B.C.

JAMES B.

Ch. C. *Die alt-*  
die Buchhand

Stenke. *Papyrus*

u. L., ed. *La-*  
Et. 1922. Pp.

die. *NT Apoc-*  
The Acts of P

7:6. "Petrusal-

Wpken. Edite-

Paul Siebeck),

7:27-28, pres-

2: M. "Die Pe-

ssys in *Homo-*

7:7.

7: C. "Studie-

7:48. (Hereaf

text is gener-

small lacuna

large lacuna

35 and the er

the first lin

post-script).

optic dialect

etic forms:

130.3; 131.2

perfect (132

now known t

for *erpe*

error resulti

as Brashler p

Douglas

the rest

## THE ACT OF PETER

BG, 4: 128,1-141,7

JAMES BRASHLER AND DOUGLAS M. PARROTT\*

- Schmidt, C. *Die alten Petrusakten*. TU 24. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903. Pp. 1-25. (Hereafter Schmidt [1]).
- Till-Schenke. *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502<sup>2</sup>*. Pp. 296-321, 333.
- Vouaux, L., ed. *Les Actes de Pierre*. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1922. Pp. 35-38, 221-27.
- Hennecke. *NT Apocrypha*. Vol. II. Pp. 259-78 (W. Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter").
- Ficker, G. "Petrusakten." *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*. Edited by E. Hennecke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1904. Pp. 400-04. (The second edition of 1924, pp. 227-28, presents the same position).
- Krause, M. "Die Petrusakten in Codex VI von Nag Hammadi." *Essays in Honour of Böhlig*. Edited by Krause. Pp. 36-58, esp. 56-57.
- Schmidt, C. "Studien zu den alten Petrusakten I." *ZKG* 43 (1924), 321-48. (Hereafter, Schmidt [2]).

The text is generally well preserved, with the following exceptions: a small lacuna in the middle of pp. 129-32, close to the outside margin; a large lacuna affecting the beginning of the last eight lines of p. 135 and the end of lines 11-14 on p. 136; a lacuna affecting most of the first lines of pp. 139-40; severe fading on p. 142 (the scribal post-script). In addition, all of pp. 133-34 is missing.

The Coptic dialect is Sahidic, with the presence of the following non-Sahidic forms: second person, feminine, singular, possessive article (130,3; 131,2); third person, plural, possessive article (140, 15); imperfect (132,5). Other variants noted by Schmidt (1) are either now known to be Sahidic (as  $\text{MAY}$  for  $\text{MAAY}$  in 132,17, and  $\text{ETRET\bar{N}}$  for  $\text{ETRETET\bar{N}}$  in 135,18) or can be accounted for as scribal error resulting from dictation (cf. 136,11; 138,13; 139,17;

---

\* James Brashler prepared a preliminary version of the transcription and translation. Douglas M. Parrott provided the introduction and footnotes and brought the rest of the work to completion.

140,14). Striking here is the sparing use of superlinear strokes (true throughout the codex), as well as the frequent appearance of the first perfect used conjunctively with another first perfect.

The title is found at the conclusion of the tractate only (141,7), and is set off from the rest of the text by a space of three lines width and much decoration. The title is in the singular, and the text in fact includes only one act.

The setting of *Act Pet.* is a Sunday (the place is not mentioned; cf. discussion below), when, it appears, it was customary for Peter to conduct his healing ministry. A challenge by one of the bystanders leads Peter to employ the power of God to heal his daughter of paralysis, which healing he immediately reverses (128,7-131,9). Peter's narrative, which constitutes most of the remainder of *Act Pet.*, begins with an explanation of how his daughter came to be paralyzed. When she had grown to maturity, the girl was so attractive that a rich man named Ptolemy burned with desire to marry her. Her mother refused permission, whereupon Ptolemy abducted her. Peter's prayers caused her to be paralyzed before Ptolemy could have intercourse with her, and hence her virginity was preserved (131,12-135,17). Ptolemy went blind with grief, but a vision spared him from suicide, revealed his guilt, and sent him to Peter, where his sight was restored and his soul was made to see also (135,17-138,10). Thereafter he lived an exemplary life and gave Peter and his daughter a parcel of land when he died. This Peter sold and gave the proceeds to the poor (138,12-139,17). Peter draws the moral that God cares for his own, and the whole account ends with Peter distributing bread to the crowd and retiring to his home.

Although the physical setting is not mentioned in the text, it is reasonable to think of Jerusalem (Schmidt [1], p. 13; Hennecke, p. 270). Peter's home is mentioned (141,6), where he lives with his wife and daughter (135,1-6) (Peter goes to Rome alone—*Act.Pt.* 5). In addition, the action of Ptolemy in abducting the girl seems to presuppose that the operative law is Jewish (cf. note to pp. 133-34).

Scholarly discussion of *Act Pet.* has focused largely on its relationship to the early collection of *Act.Pt.*, about two-thirds of which has been preserved in the Latin MS, *Actus Vercellenses*. Schmidt contended that *Act Pet.* was part of the otherwise lost beginning third of the *Act.Pt.* His argument rested on a demonstration of the extensive conceptual and literary agreement between *Act Pet.* and the *Actus Vercellenses Acts* ([1], pp. 21-25) and was supported

by a number of testimonies of church fathers and other apocryphal acts ([I], pp. 13-21). Schmidt's stand was accepted by Vouaux (pp. 35-38) but was contested by Ficker, who proposed alternate ways of interpreting the most significant testimonies (pp. 402-03). Schmidt responded definitively (2), and his position has now gained general acceptance (Hennecke, p. 270).

Recently Krause has argued for the close relationship between *Act Pet.* and *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* (VI,1), in order to support his contention that *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* also belonged to the first part of the ancient *Act.Pt.* and in fact was its initial section (cf. introduction to VI,1).

Conceptually the emphasis of *Act Pet.* is Encratite. As Schmidt says, the story is essentially "about the preservation of the virginity of a young Christian." It is not clear, however, that the Encratism expressed here is as extreme as his characterization, "Better death or a broken body, than marriage" ([2], p. 329). After all, Peter was married and still living with his wife. Also it is probably significant that we do not learn the grounds for Peter's wife's objection to Ptolemy as a husband for her daughter (132,17-18). A strict Encratite (cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.28.1) could have used this as an opportunity to denounce marriage and sexual relations as such. What is denounced, however, is the attempt to deprive a Christian maiden forcibly of her virginity (137,1-11), probably as a means of gaining her as a wife without her parents' consent. Thus this section does not display the extreme view attributed to it by Schmidt and found in *Act.Pt.* 33-34. Its Encratism consists in its advocacy of rigorous sexual self-control, which is little different from the view generally held among Christians in the second century (cf. Ign. *Pol.* 5.1-2; 2 Clem 12:5-6; Just. *1 Apol.* 15; Athenag. *Suppl.* 33). However there is no doubt that the silence of the text mentioned above, as well as the lack of any conceptualization of the meaning of the story, would have allowed it to be interpreted in a more extreme sense by those who chose to. The difference in emphasis between *Act Pet.* and *Act.Pt.* as we know it in Actus Vercellenses suggests that they may represent different recensions of the ancient *Acts* (similarly, Vouaux, p. 36).

Schmidt suggests that the reason for the inclusion of *Act Pet.* in a codex containing three explicitly gnostic tractates is that the scribe needed to fill up the pages after copying the first three tractates ([I], p. 2), and that he was attracted to *Act Pet.* by its appro-

ropriate length and by the Encratite ideas in it ([I], p. 13). But considering the large amount of explicitly gnostic writing available one wonders why he chose a work that was only marginally related. The choice becomes somewhat more understandable when we note the immediately preceding tractate (*Soph. Jes. Chr.* [BG,3]), which is devoted to the teachings of the resurrected Christ given to the disciples and seven women (77,9-78,2). When, at its end, Christ disappears from them (126,17-127,1), we learn that "his disciples began to preach the Gospel of God, the eternal Father" (129,5-9). Thus the compiler of the codex may have intended to provide continuity at this point, by having the next account be about apostolic activity. But since many such accounts were circulating at the time, this does not yet answer fully why this particular account should have been chosen.

Perhaps the sufficient reason is the rich possibilities for allegorization this story would have presented to the Gnostics. Ptolemy could have represented the soul, whose attraction to the things of the world (represented by the beauty of Peter's daughter) leads to ignorance (represented by grief and blindness), and would have led to death except for the coming of the light of true knowledge (in *Act Pet.*, the vision of light and the voice of Christ [136,17-137,17]), which removes blindness (138,7-10). The paralysis of the daughter could have represented the power of divine knowledge over the powers of this world; and, of course, the daughter could also have been seen as a type of the fallen Sophia. (For related gnostic views in BG, cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* [BG,3] 103,10-106,9; 117,13-126,16.) It may thus have been the deeper meanings seen in this text that attracted the gnostic compiler to it and led him to use it in the codex.

*Act.Pt.* are dated toward the end of the second century (Hennecke, p. 275). Hence *Act Pet.* would have been extant by that time, although it might well have had an earlier, independent existence.

The text is essentially that of Till-Schenke, with minor divergences noted. Professor Schenke kindly provided us with photos of the MS so that it was possible to verify uncertain readings.

... 131. ...  
... g ...  
... by ...  
... en ...  
... G ...  
... given ...  
... is ...  
... at ...  
... the ...  
... ded ...  
... count ...  
... were ...  
... y ...

... for ...  
... cons ...  
... to ...  
... (laughter) ...  
... would ...  
... be ...  
... of ...  
... knowledge ...  
... could ...  
... red ...  
... in ...  
... to ...

... century ...  
... extant ...  
... er, ...

... minor ...  
... us ...  
... in ...

THE ACT OF PETER

BG, 4: 128,1-141,7

Р̄К̄Н

2 2̄М ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠСАВВА  
 2 ΤΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΕ  
 ΑΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟῩ  
 4 ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΨΑ ΠΕ>>  
 ΤΡΟΣ ΝΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΕΥ  
 6 ΨΩΝΕ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΦΕΡ̄>  
 ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΟΥΑ ΔΕ Ρ̄  
 8 ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΜΗ  
 ΗΨΕ ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ  
 10 ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ Μ̄  
 Π̄ΝΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΚΤΡΕ ΖΑΖ  
 12 ΝΒ̄ΛΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΚ  
 ΤΡΕ Ν̄ΚΩΦΟΣ ΣΩΤ̄Μ̄  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΒΑΛΕ ΜΟ  
 ΟΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΚΡ̄ΒΟΗΘΕΙ  
 16 Ν̄Β̄ΩΒ ΑΚ† ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥ  
 ΒΟΜ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΚ  
 18 ΨΕΕΡΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ Ε  
 ΑΣΑΪΑΪ ΕΣΟ Ν̄САΪΗ ΕΑΣ

Р̄К̄Θ

ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΝ'Ο'Υ  
 2 ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕΚΡ̄ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΝΑΣ  
 ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΣΟΥΑ  
 4 СА СНБ ΤΗΡϞ ΑΥΩ СΝΗΧ  
 ΜΠΙСА Ν†К̄ΛΧΕ ΕССΩΨΤ  
 6 СЕНΑΥ ΕΝΕΤΚΤΑΛΒΟ Μ̄

128,1

The second Π is the result of a correction by the scribe of an original Ν.

1-2

The literalness of the translation from the Greek is clear here; the Greek would probably have been: ἐν δέ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτου (cf. 1 Cor 16:2).

Nov (Be)  
 2 which is  
 a crowd  
 4 brought  
 many wh  
 6 sick, in o  
 heal them  
 8 from the  
 to say to  
 10 "Peter, b  
 our prese  
 12 blind to s  
 caused th  
 14 and you l  
 walk. An  
 16 the weak  
 strength.  
 18 virgin (τ  
 has grow

believed  
 2 why have  
 For (γὰρ)  
 4 side of he  
 crippled  
 6 Those wi

Cf. Ac  
 129,10 For a  
 41.



## THE ACT OF PETER

BG, 4: 128, 1-141, 7

128

Now (δέ) on the first (day) of the week (σάββατον),  
2 which is the Lord's day (κυριακή),  
a crowd gathered and  
4 brought to Peter  
many who were  
6 sick, in order that he might  
heal them. And (δέ) a person  
8 from the crowd made bold (τολμᾶν)  
to say to Peter:  
10 "Peter, behold, in  
our presence you have caused many  
12 blind to see, and you have  
caused the deaf (κωφός) to hear,  
14 and you have caused the lame to  
walk. And you have helped (βοηθεῖν)  
16 the weak and have given them  
strength. But your  
18 virgin (παρθένος) daughter, who  
has grown up to be beautiful and who has

129

believed (πιστεύειν) in the name of God,  
2 why have you not helped (βοηθεῖν) her?  
For (γάρ) behold, one  
4 side of her is completely paralyzed and she lies  
crippled there in the corner.  
6 Those whom you have healed are seen (about us);

128, 1-6 Cf. Ac 5: 16; Act. Pt. 31.

10-129, 19 For a similar scene, with the opposite result, cf. Act. Thom.  
41.

ΜΟΟΥ ΤΕΚΨΕΕΡΕ ΖΩΚ>  
 8 ακ̄ραμελι ερος απетро'ς>  
 δε σωβε πεχαᾱ ναᾱ  
 10 χε πασηρε εφογον[ζ] ε  
 πνουτε ουααᾱ χε ετβε  
 12 ου πεσσωμα μοτ̄ν ε  
 ρος αν ειμε 'βε' χε ν̄νερε  
 14 πνουτε ο̄ αν ν̄ωβ η̄  
 νατβομ ετρεφχαριζε  
 16 ντεφωρεα νταψεερε  
 χεкас δε еρετεκψυχη̄  
 18 ναρπιθε̄ μ̄ν̄ νετ̄μ̄πι  
 ма ε̄ῡναπιστε̄υε̄ ν̄>

ⲡⲗ

ΖΟΥΟ ΑΦΩΨΤ ΒΕ ΝСА>  
 2 τεψεερε πεχαᾱ нас  
 χε τωουν̄ η̄πεμα εμ  
 4 πελααγ̄ † τοοτε̄ ν̄са̄ τ̄с̄  
 ουααᾱ ν̄εμοοωε̄ μ̄  
 6 π̄μ̄το̄ εβολ̄ ν̄νᾱῑ τηρογ̄  
 ερεμοτ̄ν̄ ν̄τε̄εῑ ψαρο  
 8 εῑ ν̄то̄с̄ δε̄ αστωουν̄  
 аσεῑ епеснт̄ ψαρο̄ а  
 10 π̄μ̄νη̄ψε̄ τελη̄η̄ εχ̄μ̄  
 πε̄ν̄τᾱᾱψω̄πε̄ πε̄χε̄  
 12 петрос̄ ναγ̄ χε̄ εῑс̄ ζη̄  
 н̄те̄ апет̄н̄з̄н̄т̄ τ̄ω̄т̄>  
 14 χε̄ οῡᾱт̄βο̄μ̄ а̄н̄ пе̄ π̄  
 > н̄ο̄ῡте̄ ε̄т̄βε̄ ζω̄в̄ н̄ӣμ̄  
 16 > е̄т̄н̄ρ̄а̄ῑт̄ӣ μ̄μ̄ο̄q̄ то̄те̄  
 а̄γ̄ρ̄а̄ψ̄ε̄ ν̄ζ̄ο̄γ̄ο̄ а̄γ̄†̄ ε̄ο̄  
 18 ογ̄ η̄π̄но̄ῡτε̄ πε̄χε̄ пе̄

129,7-8

10-11

Till-Schenke takes this as a question.

"It is apparent to God alone": In view of the remainder of the story, this can only mean that up to this time Peter had not told anyone. For a similar expression, cf. 139,10-12.

but you  
 you had  
 smiled a  
 "My son  
 God alone  
 her body  
 Know, th  
 God was  
 unable to  
 his gift  
 But (he) so  
 may be pers  
 here may ha

Then he look  
 his daughter a  
 arise from y  
 nobody help y  
 alone, and wal  
 the presence of  
 come to  
 "And (he) s  
 went over t  
 the crowd rejoic  
 that happened  
 Peter said to the  
 your hearts have  
 that God is not p  
 regarding anything  
 wish (that) of  
 they rejoiced even  
 Peter said

meye: Schmidt (
 is not clash with

but your daughter  
 8 you have neglected (ἀμελεῖν).” Then (δέ) Peter  
 smiled and said to him:  
 10 “My son, it is apparent to  
 God alone why  
 12 her body (σῶμα) is not healthy.  
 Know, then, that  
 14 God was not weak or (ἥ)  
 unable to give (χαρίζειν)  
 16 his gift (δωρέα) to my daughter.  
 But (δέ) so that your soul (ψυχή)  
 18 may be persuaded (πείθειν) and those who are  
 here may have more faith (πιστεύειν)—”

## 130

Then he looked at  
 2 his daughter and said to her:  
 “Arise from your place! Let  
 4 nobody help you except Jesus  
 alone, and walk restored in  
 6 the presence of all these (people)!  
 Come to  
 8 me!” And (δέ) she arose  
 and went over to him.  
 10 The crowd rejoiced on account of  
 what happened.  
 12 Peter said to them: “Behold,  
 your hearts have been persuaded  
 14 that God is not powerless  
 regarding anything  
 16 we ask (αἰτεῖν) of him.” Then (τότε)  
 they rejoiced even more and praised  
 18 God. Peter said

129,13

**νηρε**: Schmidt (1) emends to **νερε**, but the imperfect does not clash with the context (with Till-Schenke).

$\overline{\rho\lambda\alpha}$ 

ΤΡΟΣ ΝΤΕϞΨΕΕΡΕ ΧΕ  
 2 ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΜΑ ΝΤΕΖΜΟΣ  
 ΝΤΕΨΩΠΕ ΖΜ ΠΨΩ  
 4 ΝΕ ΝΚΕСОП ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ  
 ΤῚ ΝΟϞΡΕ ΝΕ ΝῢΜΑΕΙ  
 6 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΤΨΕΕΡΕ ΨΗΜ  
 ΠΩΤ ΑΣΖΜΟΟΣ ΜΠЕС  
 8 ΜΑ ΑΣΨΩΠΕ ΟΝ ΝΤЕС  
 ΖΕ ΑΠΜΗΗΨΕ ΤΗΡϞ ΡΙ  
 10 ΜΕ ΑΥΣΕΠСП ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΧΕ  
 ΚΑΑΣ ΕϞΝΑΤΡЕСМΤῚН  
 12 ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ  
 ϞΟΝΖ ΝΒΙ ΠᾶϞ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙ  
 14 Ὶ ΝΟϞΡΕ ΝΑΣ ΝῢΜΑΕΙ  
 ΖМ ΠΖООУ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΣ  
 16 ΝΑΪ ΑΪΝΑΥ ΑΥΖΟРОМА  
 ΕΡΕΠΧΟΕΙС ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ  
 18 ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΑΥΧΠΟ>  
 ΝΑК ῢΠООУ ΝΟΥΝΟΒ

 $\overline{\rho\lambda\beta}$ 

ῢΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ ΤΑΪ ΓΑΡ  
 2 СΝΑΨΩΩΒЕ ΝΖΑΖ ῢ  
 ΨΥΧΗ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΠЕССΩ  
 4 ΜΑ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕϞΜΟТῢ  
 ΕΡΟΣ ΑΝΟК ΖΩ ΝΑΪΜΕ  
 6 ΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΕРЕФОРОМА>  
 СΩВЕ ῢМОЇ ΝΤΕРЕТ  
 8 ΨΕΕΡΕ ΨΗМ Ὶ ΜΗΤΕ  
 ΝΡΟМΠЕ ΑΥΜΗΗΨΕ  
 10 ῚСКАНДАΛΙΖЕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪ  
 ΤΟΟТῚ ΑΥΩ ΟΥРММАО  
 12 Ζῢ ΠΒΙОС ΧΕ ПТОЛЕ  
 ΜΑΙОС ΝΤΕРЕϞΝΑΥ ΕТ  
 14 ΨΕΕΡΕ ΨΗМ ЕСΧΩКῢ

132,5

Schmidt (1) and Till-Schenke divide ΖΩΝ ΑΪΜΕ, but this results in an error (ΖΩΝ with ΑΝΟК), which both deal with by emendation.

to his da  
 2 "Go to y  
 and beco  
 4 again. Fo  
 is benefi  
 6 The girl  
 sat down  
 8 place, an  
 was befor  
 10 wept and  
 to make le  
 12 Peter saic  
 "As the L  
 14 is benefica  
 For (viz:  
 16 to me I se  
 the Lord:  
 18 to me: 'P  
 to you too

trial (τῶν  
 2 will woun  
 souls (ψυ  
 4 remains h  
 But I  
 6 thought t  
 was mock  
 8 the girl b  
 years old,  
 10 tempted  
 her. And  
 12 in proper  
 after he l  
 14 girl bathi

17,21,22  
 For visi

## 131

to his daughter:

- 2 "Go to your place, sit down,  
and become an invalid  
4 again. For (γάρ) this  
is beneficial for you and me."  
6 The girl went back again (πάλιν),  
sat down in her  
8 place, and became again as she  
was before. The whole crowd  
10 wept and begged Peter  
to make her healthy.  
12 Peter said to them:  
"As the Lord lives, this  
14 is beneficial for her and me.  
For (γάρ) on the day she was born  
16 to me I saw a vision (δραμα) and  
the Lord said  
18 to me: 'Peter, there has been born  
to you today a great

## 132

- trial (πειρασμός). For this (daughter)  
2 will wound many  
souls (ψυχή) if her body (σῶμα)  
4 remains healthy.'  
But I  
6 thought the vision (δραμα)  
was mocking me. When  
8 the girl became ten  
years old, many were  
10 tempted (σκανδαλίζειν) by  
her. And a man rich  
12 in property (βίος), Ptolemy,  
after he had seen the  
14 girl bathing

131,15-16 For visions and heavenly voices in *Act.Pt.*, cf. *Act.Pt.* 1,5,6,16,  
17,21,22,28,35.

ΜΝ ΤΕCΜΑΛΥ ΑΡΧΟΟΥ  
 16 > ΝCΩC ΧΕ ΕΡΕΧΙΤC ΝΑQ  
 > ΝCΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΕΤΕCΜΑΥ  
 18 ΠΙΘΕ ΑΡΧΟΟΥ ΝΑC ΝΖΑΖ  
 ΝCΟΠ ΜΠΕΡΩΒΩ Μ

(Pp. 133-134 lacking)

[134,19] [ 7 ± ΝΡΩΜΕ Μ ]

ΡΛΕ

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟC ΝΤΨΕΕ  
 2 ΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΑΥΚΑΑC ΖΙΡΜ  
 ΠΡΟ ΜΠΗΕΙ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΝΤΕ  
 4 ΡΕΙΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΝ>  
 ΤΕCΜΑΛΥ ΑΝΕΙ ΕΠΙΤΝ  
 6 ΑΝΖΕ ΕΤΨΕΕΡΕ ΨΗΜ Ε  
 > ΑΠΟΥΑCΑ ΤΗΡQ ΜΠΕCCΩ  
 8 ΜΑ ΧΙΝ ΝΕCΕΙΒ ΨΑ ΤΕCΑ  
 ΠΕ CΩΒ ΑΥΩ ΑΡΨΟΟΥΕ  
 10 ΑΝQΙΤC ΕΝ† ΕΟΟΥ ΜΠ  
 ΧΟΕΙC ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑQΤΟΥ  
 12 [ΧΟ Ν]ΤΕQΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΥCΩΩQ  
 [ΜΝ ΟΥ]ΧΩΖΜ ΜΝ ΟΥΤΕ  
 14 [ΚΟ] ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΑΙΤΙΑ Μ  
 [Φ]ΩΒ ΕΤΡΕΤΨΕΕΡΕ ΨΗ'Μ'  
 16 [ΒΩ] ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΨΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΟ  
 [ΟΥ] ΝΖΟΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ Ψ  
 18 [Ψ]Ε ΕΡΩΤΝ ΕΤΡΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ  
 [ΕΝ]ΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ

ΟCΓ

ΡΛC

ΑQΨΩΠΕ ΕQ† ΕΖΟΥ

133-134

The sense of these two lost pages can be restored from the context with the aid of a brief notice by Augustine in his treatise against Adimantus, in which he refers to an apocryphal work "about the daughter of Peter himself who became

with her mother, sent  
 16 for her so that he might take her for his  
 wife. Her mother was not  
 18 persuaded (πεῖθειν). He sent for her many  
 times. He could not cease

(Pp. 133-134 lacking)

[134,19] [ The men-servants of]

135

Ptolemy [returned] the girl,  
 2 and put her down  
 before the house, and departed.  
 4 And (δέ) when I and her mother realized it,  
 we went down  
 6 and found the girl  
 with one whole side of her body (σῶμα),  
 8 from her toes to her  
 head, paralyzed and withered.  
 10 We picked her up, praising the  
 Lord who had  
 12 saved his servant from defilement,  
 [and] pollution, and [destruction].  
 14 This is the cause (αἰτία) of  
 [the fact] that the girl  
 16 [remains] thus to this  
 day. Now then, it is  
 18 fitting for you to know  
 the (subsequent) deeds of Ptolemy.

136

He was smitten

---

paralysed through the prayers of her father" (quoted in Hennecke, 266). Ptolemy, in his passionate desire, apparently abducted the girl and was about to force her to have intercourse with him (thus making her his wife without the parents' consent—Deut 22:28-29), when she was suddenly paralysed by a divine act that had been sought by Peter in prayer.  
 Cf. *Act.Pt.* 2.

2 ΖΜ ΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΕΦΡ ΖΗ  
 ΒΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΜΝ ΠΕ  
 4 ΖΟΟΥ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΝΤΑΦ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΑΓΩ  
 6 ΕΤΒΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΡΙΜΕ ΕΦ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΦΨΩ  
 8 ΠΕ ΝΒΛΛΕ ΕΦΜΕΕΥ  
 Ε ΕΤΡΕΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΦ  
 10 ΟΤΒΦ ΑΓΩ ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ  
 ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΧΠ<Ψ>ΙΤΕ>  
 12 ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΜ[ΑΥ]  
 ΕΦΝΖΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΑ[ΑΦ]  
 14 ΖΜ ΠΕΦΚΟΙΤΩΝ [ΑΦ]  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΪΝ  
 16 ΕΑΦΡ ΟΥΟΪΝ ΕΠΗΕΙ  
 ΤΗΡΦ ΑΓΩ ΑΦCΩΤΜ  
 18 ΕΥΖΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΧΩ {Μ}>

ΡΛΞ

ΜΜΟC ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ  
 2 ΟC ΝΕCΚΕΥΟC ΜΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΥ>  
 4 ΤΑΚΟ ΜΝ ΟΥΧΩΖΜ Ν  
 ΤΟΚ ΖΩΑΚ ΝΕCΨΕ Ε  
 6 ΡΟΚ ΖΩC ΕΑΚΡΠΙCΤΕΥ  
 Ε ΕΡΟΕΙ ΝΓΤΜCΩΩΦ  
 8 ΝΤΑΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΤΑΪ ΕΤ  
 ΚΝΑCΟΥΩΝC ΝΑΚ ΝCΩ  
 10 ΝΕ ΖΩC ΕΑΪΨΩΠΕ ΝΗ  
 ΤΝ ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ ΝΝΟΥΠΝΑ  
 12 ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΩΟΥΝ>  
 ΝΓΒΩΚ ΖΗ ΟΥΒΕΠΗ ΨΑ  
 14 ΠΗΕΙ ΜΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΑΠΟC  
 ΤΟΛΟC ΑΓΩ ΚΝΑΝΑΥ Ε  
 16 ΠΑΕΟΟΥ ΦΝΑΤΟΥ<Ν> ΕΙΑΤΚ

136,11  
137,3

MS has ΝΧΠCΙΤΕ.

“vessels”: Probably here “believers” (cf. *Act.Pt.* 2, where it is used in the same sense as Rom 9:23). But it could refer to women, as in 1 Thess 4:4.

2 in his  
 night a  
 4 day on  
 happen  
 6 because  
 shed he  
 8 blind. F  
 to go ar  
 10 hang hi  
 in the n  
 12 of that  
 and (he)  
 14 in his b  
 saw a g  
 16 shining  
 and hea  
 18 a voice

to him:  
 2 God did  
 give his  
 4 corrupti  
 But it w  
 6 for you,  
 in me, t  
 8 my virg  
 you sho  
 10 since (δ  
 one Spiri  
 12 But (δ  
 and go  
 14 the hous  
 apostle  
 16 my glor

10 Cf. 1  
 10 Cf. 1



2 in his heart and grieved  
 night and  
 4 day on account of what  
 happened to him. And  
 6 because of (the) many tears he  
 shed he became  
 8 blind. He intended  
 to go and  
 10 hang himself. And behold  
 in the ninth hour  
 12 of that day,  
 and (δέ) when he was alone  
 14 in his bedroom (κοιτών), [he]  
 saw a great light  
 16 shining in the whole house  
 and heard  
 18 a voice saying

## 137

to him: 'Ptolemy,  
 2 God did not  
 give his vessels (σκεῦος) for  
 4 corruption and pollution.  
 But it was necessary  
 6 for you, since (ὥς) you believed (πιστεύειν)  
 in me, that you not defile  
 8 my virgin (παρθένης), whom  
 you should have recognized as your sister,  
 10 since (ὥς) I have become  
 one Spirit (πνεῦμα) for you both.  
 12 But (ἀλλά) arise  
 and go quickly to  
 14 the house of Peter the  
 apostle and you will see  
 16 my glory. He will explain

137,9

Cf. 1 Tim 5:2.

10

Cf. 1 Cor 12:13.

18 εβολ εφωβ πτολεμαι  
 18 ος δε μπερ̄αμελι αφογ  
 ερσαρνε ννεφρωμε ε

ϱλ̄η

2 ΤΡΕΥΧΙ ΜΟΕΙΤ ΖΗΤϱ  
 2 νσεν̄τϱ ψαροει ν>  
 ΤΕΡΕϱΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑΕΙ  
 4 ψαροει αϱϱω ν̄νε  
 ΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ν̄μοϱ ΤΗ  
 6 ΡΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΤΒΟΜ Ν̄ΙϞ ΠΕ  
 ϱ̄Ϟ Π̄ΝϱΟΕΙϞ ΤΟΤΕ Αϱ  
 8 ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΝΒΑΛ  
 ΝΤΕϱϞϞΑΡϱ ΑΥΩ Ν>  
 10 ΒΑΛ ΝΤΕϱΨΥΧΗ ΑΥ>  
 Ω ΑΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΖΕΛΠΙ  
 12 ΖΕ ΕΠΕϱϞ ΑϱΕΙΡΕ ΝΑΥ  
 ΝΖΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ>>  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΑϱΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΥ>  
 ΝΤΔΩΡΕΑ ν̄πνοϱτε  
 16 Μ̄Ν̄ϞϞΩϞ ΑΠΤΟΛΕ  
 ΜΑΙΟϞ Μ̄ΤΟΝ Μ̄ΜΟϱ>  
 18 ΑϱΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΒΙΟϞ>  
 ΑϱΒΩΚ ΨΑ ΠΕϱϱϞ̄Ϟ Ν

[ϱλ̄ϑ]

2 Τ[ερεϱκ]ϱ Δε [ν̄]τεϱ  
 2 ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΑϱϞΖΑΙ ΝΟΥ  
 ϞΩΤ ΝΒΩΜ ΕΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΑ  
 4 ΨΕΕΡΕ ϱε ΕΤΒΗΗΤϞ Ν  
 ΤΑϱΠΙϞΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΝΟΥ

138,5-6

Between these lines Schmidt (1) suggests that the scribe may have left out something like the following: "Then I placed my hands on his eyes and said, 'Receive your sight . . .'" (pp. 21-22); cf. *Act. Pt.* 21.

139,1

κω is one of two Coptic words used to translate the verb in the Greek expression for making a will (*διατιθέναι*). The other, *ϞΜΙΝΕ*, was used by Schmidt (1) and was rightly

the m  
 18 did n  
 comm

to lea  
 2 and to  
 And (8  
 4 to me  
 had ha  
 6 in the  
 Christ  
 8 saw wi  
 of his  
 10 eyes of  
 many  
 12 in Chr  
 good th  
 14 and he  
 the gif  
 16 Afterw  
 died.  
 18 He dep  
 went t

And (8  
 2 will (8  
 piece o  
 4 daugh  
 he bel

rejec  
 the  
 howe  
 one  
 sible  
 one  
 139,5  
 The

the matter to you. And (δέ) Ptolemy  
 18 did not hesitate (ἀμελεῖν). He  
 commanded his men-servants

138

to lead him  
 2 and to bring him to me.  
 And (δέ) when he had come  
 4 to me he narrated everything that  
 had happened to him  
 6 in the power of Jesus  
 Christ our Lord. Then (τότε) he  
 8 saw with the eyes  
 of his flesh (σάρξ) and the  
 10 eyes of his soul (ψυχή). And  
 many hoped (ἐλπίζειν)  
 12 in Christ. He did  
 good things for them  
 14 and he gave (χαρίζειν) them  
 the gift (δωρέα) of God.  
 16 Afterwards Ptolemy  
 died.  
 18 He departed from life (βίος) and  
 went to his Lord.

[139]

And (δέ) [when he made] his  
 2 will (διαθήκη), he wrote in a  
 piece of land in the name of my  
 4 daughter, since because of her  
 he believed (πιστεύειν) in God

rejected by Till-Schenke because of its incompatibility with the remaining letter traces. Till-Schenke's choice, **ΤΑΧΡΟ**, however, is not used to translate *διατιθέναι*, and is at least one letter too long for the lacuna. **ΚΩ** seems the only possible choice but provides a reconstruction that is shorter by one or two letters than one would like.

The scribe erased an unnecessary **ε** between **ε** and **ΠΝΟΥ**.

6 τε αφοῦχαει ανοκ ζω  
 τοικονομια νταγτῆ  
 8 ζουτ ερος ζωσ σπου  
 δαιος αἰερεζ ερος αει  
 10 † μπῶμῃ εβολ: αγω  
 πνουτε ογααα πετσο  
 12 ουν ουτε ανοκ ουτε  
 ταψεερε {αἰ† μπῶμ  
 14 εβολ} μπικα λααγ επα  
 ζουζν τασου μπῶμ  
 16 αλλα περημα τηρη  
 αἰχοογῃ ἡνετμοχζ  
 18 ειμε δε ω̄ πζῆζαλ ἡτε  
 πεχ̄ς ῑς δε πνουτε

[PM]

ῥοι[κ]ον[ομι ηνετε]  
 2 νουγ νε αγω ρζοβτε  
 μππετνανουγ ῃ  
 4 πογα πογα ανον ζω  
 ων εμμεεγε δε απ  
 6 νουτε οβωῃ ερον  
 τενου δε νεσνηγ μα  
 8 ρῆρ ζηβε ἡτῆωωπε  
 ενροεις αγω ἡτηωλη'λ'  
 10 αγω τῆῆταγαθος ἡ  
 τε πνουτε σναδω  
 12 ωτ εχων αγω τῆ  
 βωωτ εβολ ζητ̄ς αγ  
 14 ω ζῆκεωαχε {τηρου}  
 απετρος ααγ μπου  
 16 ῃτο εβολ τη

139,10-17

11-12

Cf. Ac 5:1-11.

"God alone knows": For a similar expression, cf. 129,11. Here, however, it has the character of an oath, which may explain the lack of a connective with the rest of the sentence. Ficker and Vouaux add "that."

13-14

ΜΠΙΚΑ: A plural would have been normal.

6 and w  
 took o  
 8 entrus  
 I sold  
 10 the la  
 God a  
 12 knows  
 my da  
 14 kept a  
 back f  
 16 But i  
 entire  
 18 Know  
 Christ

[watch  
 2 are his  
 what i  
 4 each o  
 think  
 6 God h  
 Now  
 8 us be  
 watch  
 10 And t  
 of Go  
 12 down  
 wait t  
 14 {all}  
 Peter  
 16 prese

139,18-19

40,14

16

Per  
 dre  
 tio  
 {τ  
 Th

6 and was saved. I myself  
 took care of the administration (οἰκονομία)  
 8 entrusted to me most carefully (ὡς σπουδαίως).  
 I sold  
 10 the land. And  
 God alone  
 12 knows, neither (οὔτε) I, nor (οὔτε)  
 my daughter, {I sold the land}  
 14 kept anything  
 back from the price of the land.  
 16 But (ἀλλά) I sent the  
 entire sum of money (χρῆμα) to the poor.  
 18 Know, then, O (ὦ) servant of  
 Christ Jesus, that God

[140]

[watches over (οἰκονομεῖν) those who]  
 2 are his and he prepares  
 what is good for  
 4 each one. But we  
 think that  
 6 God has forgotten us.  
 Now then, brothers, let  
 8 us be penitent, and  
 watchful, and pray.  
 10 And the goodness (-ἀγαθός)  
 of God will look  
 12 down upon us — and we  
 wait for it." And  
 14 {all} other teachings  
 Peter spoke in the  
 16 presence of them all.

139,18-19

Perhaps the person who originally questioned Peter is addressed (Ficker) (128,7-8), but this may also be an exhortation to the reader.

140,14  
16

{ΤΗΡΟΥ}: Following both Schmidt (1) and Till-Schenke. The scribe erased a second ΕΒΟΛ between ΕΒΟΛ and ΤΗ.

ΡΟΥ ΕϞ† ΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΡΑ

ΡΜΑ

ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΧ̄C

2 ΑϞ† ΝΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΟΕΙΚ

4 ΝΤΕΡΕϞΠΟΨϞ ΑϞ

ΤΩΟΥΝ ΑϞΒΩΚ Ε

6 ΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕϞΗΕΙ>>—

ΤΕΠΡΑΞΙC ΜΠΕΤΡΟC

141

The whole page is decorated, and the title is boldly set off from the last line of the text.

2-3

Probably a eucharistic celebration (cf. *Act.Pt.* 5). P. 142 has a badly faded invocation. Till-Schenke reconstructs it, ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝ[ΟΥΤΕ] / ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΠΧ̄C /

## Praising the name

141

- of the Lord Christ,  
2 he gave them all  
bread.  
4 When he had distributed it, he  
arose and went  
6 into his house.

## The Act (πραξις) of Peter

---

**ΝΧΘΕΙC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΡΩ[ΟΥ]**, and translates, "O God of [gods], O God of gods, O Lord of lords, O King of kings!" An alternative translation would be, "O divine God, O divine God of the lordly Lord, O kingly King!"

Words in the Coptic Dictionary  
Coptic Words and  
Alphabet, with  
ending at the en  
Coptic nouns are  
here that is clea  
by v. † designate  
Coptic Words  
mitted as unnece  
series refer. Whe  
text, only the  
Coptic the Coptic  
Coptic and Greek  
Greek rough brea  
Omissions from  
occurrence and mi  
rejunctions α γ ω  
relative pronouns,  
(ous), the negativ  
Coptic Word index  
from the Proper  
extracted from vert  
single common not



## WORD INDICES

Words in the Coptic Words index are ordered according to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*, with minor exceptions. In the indices of Greek Loan Words and Proper Nouns the order is according to the Greek alphabet, with words beginning with letters peculiar to Coptic coming at the end of the Proper Nouns index. In the Coptic Words index nouns are indicated simply by gender designation (m. or f.), where that is clear. Where it is not, nn. is used. Verbs are indicated by v. † designates the qualitative form of the Coptic verb in both the Coptic Words and Greek Loan Words indices. Definitions are omitted as unnecessary in view of the translations to which the entries refer. Where a word or phrase is split between two lines in the text, only the first line is indicated. In the Greek Loan Words index the Coptic form of Greek loan words is not shown when the Coptic and Greek are identical in spelling; in this connection, a Greek rough breathing mark and a Coptic ϣ are considered identical.

Omissions from the Coptic Words index because of frequency of occurrence and minor grammatical and lexical interest include the conjunctions ⲁⲮⲱ and ⲙⲛ̅, demonstratives (except ⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲮ), possessive pronouns, articles, the preposition ϣⲛ̅ (except in combinations), the negative particle ⲁⲛ, and ⲛ̅ⲟⲓ. Omissions from the Greek Loan Word index include the conjunctions μέν, δέ, γάρ, and ἄλλά. From the Proper Nouns index are omitted all proper nouns constructed from verbs or adjectives, and those derived directly from single common nouns (except ⲉⲟⲫⲓⲁ and ⲉⲱⲣⲃ̅).



COPTIC WORDS

- α** VI 56,17; 61,10.  
**αειαι** v. VI 44,33; 46,5. **αϊαι** V 29,28. **αειαι** V 37,20. **αϊαι** BG 128,19.  
**αειη** f. V 37,23. VI 37,6; 43,8. **αμαειη** VI 43,5.  
**αβω** f. VI 29,11.  
**αλε** v. VI 1,20. **αλωτῆ** imperat. VI 40,5.  
**αλοу** m. V 55,2; 78,10; 79,12; 80,15. VI 8,17; 9,32.  
**αμοу** v. imperat. V 21,25; 44,21.  
**αμηειτῆ** V 61,13. VI 4,12.31.  
**αμῆτε** m.: **εμῆτε** VI 37,30; 41,10.17.28.33.  
**αμρηε** m. V 75,10.  
**αμαε** v. V 22,3; 25,7.11.14; 28, [30]; 29,16; 30,5.6; 33,2.5.7; 54,12; 62,1.  
 VI 16,17; 20,17.31; 21,26; 28,28; 29,33; 41,23; 46,10; 51,15; 55,25; 75,  
 14; 77,6. BG 9,4; 15,18.19. **εμαε** VI 19,22; 42,2; 46,26; 75,9. BG  
 15,18; 16,17. **αмаε** m. V 26,19; 52,23; 74,20. VI 19,9; 35,20; 36,8.  
**αταмаε** VI 19,9. **αтемаε** V 30,3. **мῆταмаε** VI 21,23.  
**реқамаε** V 34,22.  
**анаі** m. VI 54,24.26; 75,6. **ḫ ana** v. V 73,22.  
**анок** pronoun V 18,21; 20,28; 21,4.11.26; 22,11; 23,5; 24,22.22.25; 25,1.11;  
 26,8; 31,17; 33,17.21; 35,5.[18]; 36,7.7; 38,[12].20; 39,15.19; 41,9;  
 42,14; 46,6; 47,13.20; 48,8.10.16.22; 49,5.8.9.10.19; 51,6.7; 52,13; 54,15;  
 55,28; 57,1.2.2; 58,20; 59,21.23.24.26; 61,9; 63,19; 64,26; 65,2.6.11.24;  
 66,13.19.28; 72,26. VI 1,29; 2,32; 3,[5].[9].10; 6,18; 9,14; 10,7.12.11; 13,2.  
 15.16.18.19.20.21.22.23.25.26.27.30.33.34; 14,5.9.12.14.26.27.29.29.30.  
 31.31.33; 15,15.15.16.25.27.29.30.33; 16,2.3.5.[6].9.11.13.16.17.18.20.  
 22.23.24.24.25.26.27.29.31.35; 17,2; 18,7.9.10.20.23.25.27; 19,[4].[5].  
 [6].[9].10.11.12.12.14.15.15.18.20.23.28.31.32.33.34; 20,5.[7].28.30.31.  
 33.35; 21,[11].18; 47,13; 58,4.10.15.21.27; 59,27; 60,29. BG 10,10;  
 15,20; 17,13; 132,5; 135,4; 139,6.12. **анак** V 33,16.  
**анон** pronoun V 83,23. VI 3,[6]; 4,6.17; 5,10; 8,20.23; 9,20; 27,14; 32,33;  
 48,12.16. BG 9,11; 10,6; 140,4.  
**ансῆме** m.: **ḫ ансῆме** V 49,12.  
**анаω** m. VI 62,23; 63,25.29. **εнаω** VI 63,16.  
**апе** f. V 23,6. VI 2,16; 6,26; 49,19; 69,14. BG 135,8. pl. **απηε** 69,20.  
**апот** m. V 25,16; 40,[14].  
**арике** m. V 28,7.  
**арεε** Cf. **εареε**  
**асай** v.: **асіωουῥ** VI 5,18. **εсіωουῥ** VI 46,12.  
**аспе** f. VI 71,25.  
**асоу** f. BG 139,15.  
**ато** m. V 59,2.  
**ауан** m.: **εουан** VI 36,32.  
**ау** V 20,23; 23,19; 25,4.5.23; 27,14; 29,2; 32,3; 33,19; 42,11; 77,5. VI  
 34,8; 36,31.32; 37,1.2.3.[4].6; 38,11; 43,4.8.8; 48,30; 50,17; 53,31; 57,  
 33; 58,3.22; 78,14. BG 9,7.11.

**αψαί** m. V 45,20.

**αψ** m. VI 6,[4].6; 7,34.

**αζο** m. VI 28,24.

**αζομ** m.: **αζομ** V 66,12.18. VI 6,9.14.15. **αψ εζομ** m. VI 78,31.

**αζρο** = VI 71,27. BG 15,17.

**αζερατ** = Cf. **ωζε ераτ** =.

**αχ̄ν** VI 11,23. **εχ̄ν** V 35,13. VI 26,[7].

**αβρην** f. VI 13,22.

**βαε** m. VI 2,6.

**βηβ** m. V 80,13.

**βωκ** v. V 18,[18]; 19,16; 23,2.9.13; 29,18; 30,7.9; 34,16.18; 35,24; 42,20; 43,21; 73,15; 74,3. VI 2,[7].[8]; 6,12; 7,20.21; 8,34; 12,18; 15,6; 34,9; 36,28; 65,5. BG 8,21; 9,5.7; 15,9; 16,3; 19,2; 131,2; 135,3; 137,13; 138,19; 141,5. **βεκ** = VI 1,28. **βωκ εβολ** V 42,[14]. **βωκ епит̄н** VI 41,31. BG 15,2 (**βηκ†**). **βωκ εζοϋν** V 64,30; 65,4; 73,16.28; 74,4. VI 10,1; 38,18.31; 39,4; 46,8; 75,31. **βωκ ριω** = VI 6,12; 34,21. **βηκ†** BG 15,2.3.14; 16,15. **βωκ** nn. VI 34,14.

**βωκ** m.: pl. **βαιαικ** VI 5,11.

**βεκε** m. V 55,13. VI 10,8.

**βοки** nn.: **ερ βακε** V 79,10.

**βαλ** m. V 19,19; 32,[26]; 48,2; 66,25; 75,14; 77,14. VI 4,6.10.14.24.27; 13,10; 22,27; 27,28.31; 28,12; 30,12; 37,33; 48,3. BG 138,8.10. **βελ** VI 46,21.

**βωλ** v. VI 39,14. **βωλ εβολ** V 31,[25]; 49,6. VI 42,6; 43,34. BG 7,5.7; 15,21. **βολ** = **εβολ** V 63,1. VI 37,32; 47,29. BG 16,21. **βαλ** = **εβολ** VI 41,12. **βωλ** m. VI 19,12. **βωλ εβολ** m. VI 19,11; 42,14; 43,31; 76,7.14. **βολ** m.: **ριβολ** VI 50,15. **ρ̄ βολ** V 29,3; 34,19. VI 6,6; 7,26.29.32; 8,[1].12; 29,17. **ρ̄ саβολ** V 71,17; 72,24. **βωλλα** = VI 37,12. (**ν̄**)**са** (**ν̄**)**βολ** V 47,17; 57,1; 63,1; 73,8. VI 20,19.20.23; 50,11. **εβολ** Used nominally with prep. V 33,17.21; 34,3.10; 53,16; 54,3.11; 69,11. VI 19,17; 42,7; 69,16.18; 78,43. **εβολ ε-** VI 5,22. **εβολ χε** VI 3,6.10.22; 4,27; 5,5.26; 6,17; 7,[4].8; 8,31; 20,13; 38,12; 44,25; 45,29; 48,5. **ρεφωλ** m. VI 5,[5].

**βωλκ̄** v. V 21,2; 28,4; 32,11; 64,22. VI 43,32; 44,27.

**βλκε** f. VI 39,23; 41,16; 43,29.

**βλλε** nn. VI 28,16. BG 128,12; 136,8. **βελλη** V 27,4. **βλλη** VI 27,29.

**μ̄нтв̄λλε** VI 28,[5].

**βενιπε** m.: **πενιπε** V 22,4.

**βρ̄βρ̄** v. VI 58,13.

**βρ̄ρε** VI 31,31; 72,38.

**βερωт** m. VI 41,30.

**βοτε** f. V 72,12.

**βωψ** v.: **βοψ** = VI 9,15. **βψ** = **ερο** = VI 15,20.

**βψε** f. V 28,8.23. VI 58,7. BG 17,3.

**ε** VI 56,18.18; 61,10.10.

**εβн** nn. V 65,23.

ρου f. VI 62,  
 ηντε Cf. αμ  
 ηντε V 30,15  
 ηντε Cf. αμ  
 ηντε interrogati  
 ηντε Cf. αμ  
 ηντε m. V 85,  
 ηντε BG 16,  
 76,22. 27; 84,  
 ηντε v. V 60,18  
 ηντε m. V 56,  
 ηντε V 22,8. VI  
 37,27; 65,4;  
 ηντε m.: επε  
 54,9. [28]; 61  
 ηντε V 18,20; 2  
 39,13; 60,13;  
 33,17; 34,11;  
 130,15; 136,6  
 2,1. 3,5; 78,7  
 V 54,4-5,7; 5;  
 33,20; 59,1  
 86; 18,4. εт  
 VI 6,14; 14,1  
 ηντε, εтоот =  
 ρου m. V 52,21  
 39,15; 35,19;  
 VI 6,24; 47,1  
 15,25; 80,7. 18  
 εтoтe V 27,1;  
 VI 28,[6]; 66,  
 εтoтe V 28,5; 4  
 BG 9,10; 17,  
 εтe V 61,16. VI  
 εтo (= ατο) m  
 εтн Cf. 2н  
 εтн: εтpa =  
 εтн V 45,10; 5  
 77,8; 81,19;  
 45,9.10. αα  
 εтoт = V 19  
 ην VI 56,18.18.  
 ην m. V 77,11.  
 137,14; 141,6  
 ηνe L V 24,24;  
 † ηνe V 2  
 ην m. VI 24,1

εμοу f. VI 62,10.

εμντε Cf. αμντε.

εmate V 30,15; 31,8; 32,15.26; 38,6. VI 8,25; 44,12.

εμαzte Cf. αμαzte.

ενε interrogative particle VI 39,2. νε VI 6,35.

εναψ Cf. анаψ.

ενεz m. V 85,26. VI 74,11. ψα ενεz нте niενεz VI 35,22. χιν  
ενεz BG 18,7. ψα ενεz V 53,29; 64,14.16; 65,12; 67,7; 73,20; 75,8;  
76,22. 27; 84,1; 85,15.17. VI 55,29; 64,28.

εpнт v. V 60,18; VI 52,1. εpнт m. V 53,14. VI 52,9.11.

εpωte m. V 50,19. VI 40,29.

εpнy V 22,8. VI 50,9. BG 7,4. εpнoу VI 1,13; 8,8; 25,15; 50,7; 51,7;  
57,27; 65,4; 68,9; 77,20; 78,22.

εснт m.: επεснт V 19,29; 20,[1]; 21,16.18.19; 22,18; 23,27; 25,27; 34,6;  
54,9. [28]; 61,24.26. BG 130,9.

εтве- V 18,20; 21,8; 26,28; 29,8.22; 30,14; 31,9.12.16; 32,1; 42,24; 50,19;  
59,13; 60,13; 66,4; 67,10; 79,[30]; 84,8; 85,12. VI 3,25; 4,35; 30,31;  
33,17; 34,11; 41,3; 47,21; 66,8; 67,24.35; 69,10; 71,25; 72,27. BG 17,18;  
130,15; 136,6. εтвннт = V 28,11; 29,21; 31,16; 51,23; 52,19; 56,  
[2].[4].5; 78,7. VI 10,18; 18,25; 24,30; 76,36. BG 139,4. εтве пa(ε)I  
V 54,4.5.7; 57,20; 59,13; 60,13; 65,5; 71,1. VI 3,8; 23,21; 29,3; 51,16;  
53,5.20; 59,1; 60,27; 62,1; 65,26.38; 66,5.11; 68,6; 75,8. BG 7,17.21;  
8,6; 18,4. εтве пa(ε)I VI 59,11. εтве oу V 33,25; 66,17; 71,17.  
VI 6,14; 14,15; 15,22.31; 16,1; 17,32; 37,[2]; 66,31. BG 128,17; 129,11.

εтн-, εтоот = Cf. тupe

εооу m. V 52,21; 64,9.25; 65,33; 70,1; 74,6.15.23; 76,11; 77,10. VI 26,10;  
32,15; 35,19. BG 137,16. мнтateооу VI 73,21. † εооу V 78,15.  
VI 6,24; 47,18. BG 130,17; 135,10; 140,17. χι εооу V 78,16.24; 79,  
15,25; 80,7.18.[27]; 81,12.21; 82,8.16. VI 12,10.12; 24,30; 48,22.

εψωπε V 27,1; 29,6; 30,4; 33,2.11; 34,20; 36,16.[24]; 40,22; 48,20; 52,15.  
VI 28,[6]; 66,7.13; 76,33. BG 132,3.

εψχε V 28,5; 49,18. VI 4,11.30; 5,15; 6,15; 52,12.28; 64,7; 65,15.33; 70,7.  
BG 9,10; 17,14; 18,10.

εze V 61,16. VI 12,14; 66,28; 74,19.

εzo (= azo) m. BG 10,16.

εzh Cf. zh

εzрн: εzpa = V 72,16.

εχн- V 45,10; 55,23; 58,17; 59,7.15; 61,14; 70,9; 72,20; 74,30; 75,10.12;  
77,8; 81,19; 83,3; 85,10. VI 2,12.15; 9,19; 12,16; 31,13; 34,25; 43,31;  
45,9.10 (αχн-); 57,28; 59,9; 75,9.11; 76,25; 77,23. BG 130,10; 136,4.  
εχω = V 19,12; 54,9; 62,12; 71,3; 75,19; 77,18; 83,8. VI 29,14; 42,11.

н VI 56,18.18.18.19.19; 61,10.10.10.

нeи m. V 77,11. VI 3,19; 8,24; 12,1; 27,27; 28,30; 40,12. BG 135,3; 136,16;  
137,14; 141,6. нI V 60,[5].15. мeсzннeи VI 28,32.

нпe f. V 24,24; 25,19; 26,11.15; 49,24; 53,27. VI 43,20; 76,8.

† нпe V 27,2; 53,21.26. ат† нпe V 26,9.26.30; 27,9.

нрп m. VI 24,15.17.

ΘΗΝ m. V 75,10.

Ι VI 61,10.10.10.

ΕΙ V 18,[17]; 20,25; 21,11.[20]; 28,7.8; 30,17; 33,12; 34,21; 39,14; 46, [21]; 47,2; 48,3; 49,20; 59,20; 78,9.24. VI 2,3; 5,21; 8,35.35; 13,3; 44,30.32.34; 65,20; 76,36. BG 7,17; 8,4; 15,10; 130,7.9; 138,3.18. ΕΙ ΕΤΝ- (ΕΤΟΤ=) VI 65,9.14. BG 15,10. ΕΙ ΕΧΝ- V 75,12; 77,18; 78, 3.5.17.26; 79,18.27; 80,8.12.15.20.22.[29]; 81,4.14.23; 82,3.9.17. ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ V 23,10; 24,31; 26,9.11; 34,17; 36,[16]; 47, [12]; 49,16; 51,[6]; 57,7; 59,21; 61,5; 66,7; 69,16; 73,7.[13]; 77,24; 78,14; 82,[25]; 83,22; 85,29. VI 1,14; 2,10; 3,16; 4,[2]; 6,26; 7,12; 8,13; 10,2; 22,15; 23,18.20; 26,25; 44,7; 75,5; 76,29. Π ΨΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ= VI 22,32. ΕΙ ΕΠΕCHT V 58,16. BG 130,9. ΕΙ ΕΠΙΤΝ VI 65,10.12. BG 135,5. Ι ΕΠΙΤΝ VI 19,13. ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ V 21,5; 45,20; 48,10; 50,7; 55,8.12; 61,7. VI 25,7; 68,20. ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ V 21,28; 22,13.[24]; 23,30; 24,3.6; 28,11.14; 37,23; 75,19. VI 29,12; 43,34. BG 138,3 (ΕΖΡΑΕΙ). ΘΝΕΙ f. V 30,17.

ΕΙΕ V 28,6. ΖΙΕ V 49,19; 66,18.

ΕΙΒ m. BG 135,8.

ΕΙΒΕ v.: ΟΒΕ† VI 6,3; 7,31. ΙΒΕ m. VI 27,15.

ΕΙΜΕ v. V 24,17.18; 25,4; 51,13.15.18; 52,[4].18; 53,22; 56,19; 57,[6].16. 17; 59,20; 67,12; 84,2. BG 15,7; 129,13; 135,4.18; 139,18. ΜΜΕ V 25, 22; 85,8. VI 5,[9]; 11,12; 31,26; 32,30.35; 34,31; 37,24; 42,13; 48,33; 68,22. ΕΙΜΕ m. V 47,[9]; 73,12. ΑΤΕΙΜΕ V 24,17; 39,13. ΜΝΤΑΤΕΙ- ΜΕ V 60,22. ΑΤΜΜΕ V 30,24; 35,15. ΜΝΤΑΤΜΜΕ V 28,12.

ΕΙΝΕ v. (carry) V 20,8.24; 34,5; 37,7. VI 22,4; 73,36; 77,4. BG 128,4. Ν- V 55,21. ΝΤ= V 79,9; 85,7. BG 138,2. ΑΝΙ imperat. V 20,21; 63,6. ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ V 25,2; 75,23. ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ- VI 30,17. ΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ VI 44,22; 45,19; 62,24; 67,29. BG 128,4. Ν- ΕΧΝ- VI 40,11. Ν- ΕΖΟΥΝ VI 52,[3]. ΝΤ= ΕΖΟΥΝ V 72,3. VI 52,5; 62,24; 67,29. ΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ VI 29,30; 41,24. ΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ- VI 30,3.

ΕΙΝΕ v. (resemble) V 20,7; 64,14; 76,4; 84,24. VI 75,8; 77,20. BG 7,15. ΕΙΝΕ m. V 19,28; 54,13; 65,29. VI 14,14; 16,7.8; 48,32; 49,13.14.16. 33; 50,10.17.19.28; 69,22.27. BG 8,3. ΙΝΕ m. VI 49,18.21.23.34.35; 50,26; 55,31; 69,16. BG 8,9.9.

ΕΙΕΡΟ m.: ΙΕΡΟ VI 71,17. pl. ΙΕΡΩΟΥ VI 45,35.

ΕΙΡΕ v. V 20,18; 28,23; 31,21; 52,22; 53,4; 54,25; 60,25; 74,18.24; 77,1. VI 9,28; 12,8; 33,15.24; 38,20; 41,23; 43,23; 45,6.14; 48,7.27.28; 51, 4.14; 63,7; 65,27; 77,35. BG 7,14.15; 10,4; 136, 7; 138,12. Π- V 20, 23; 31,29; 38,[17].20; 39,[15]; 63,9; 67,10; 73,26; 74,12; 76,7; 81,4; 83,24. VI 1,9.21.25; 8,22; 43,17; 76,34. BG 16,4. (Π- is found in various other combinations throughout the Coptic and the Greek Loan Words indices). ΕΡ- V 53,19; 79,10; 81,6. ΕΛ- V 29,6. ΑΑ= V 20,14; 21,9; 25, 12; 29,1; 31,12.13; 48,17; 59,7.9. VI 9,27; 11,10; 12,16; 27,29; 28,16; 30,2; 50,7.31; 61,7.23; 62,22; 63,15; 64,18; 76,33. BG 9,20; 18,11; 140,15. ΑΡΙ- imperat. V 30,7. Ε† V 22,29; 24,16; 28,4; 35,15; 39,13; 40,12; 47,7; 49,20; 52,21; 56,18; 57,8; 65,23; 69,10.17; 84,12. VI 62, 7.9.12; 65,32; 68,5; 70,[3].32; 72,14; 76,19.21.24; 78,17. Ο† V 34,10;

36,[1]; 65,1  
BG 8,8; 128  
ΕΙΩΡΠ V 19,3  
72,19. 12 PF  
ΕΙC 2H(H)TE  
56,17.20; 57  
136,10. ΕΙC  
ΕΙΩΤ V 33,20  
81,28. VI 13  
11.24.28.32.3  
12; 61,(23);  
18; 51,20.21  
64,27; 66,3  
ΕΙΩΤΕ m. VI 4  
Π m.: ΕΠΙΤΝ  
VI 29,15. Cf.  
ΕΙΩΕ v.: ΑΩΕ

16- V 22,5; 33,1  
36; 5,19; 11  
9,30; 53,19;  
22; 78,21. BG  
V 32,12; 45  
74,19.  
ΙΟΥΕΙ V 18,8.1  
39,16.31; 39,  
10 v. V 32,5; 6  
62,3.5. ΚΑΑ  
77,13.14. BG  
ΠCα (ΠCω  
57,1; 71,10.1  
[25]. VI 45,1  
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗ  
33; 43,1; 52,  
VI 24,11. ΚΑ  
cf. PO.  
ΙΩB v. VI 24,32  
ΙΩΚΑΖΗΥ v.:  
46[16]; 58,2  
ΙΚΕ m. V 66,24  
V 21,13. Π Κ  
ΚΑΕΑΕΑΕ f. VI  
ΙΩΟΑΕ f. V 6  
ΙΩΠ v.: ΝΚC  
ΙΑΨ m.: † ΚΑ  
ΙΩΛΞ v.: 607  
ΙΩ v. V 23,6;  
BG 10,14.

36,[1]; 65,18. VI 1,8; 8,15; 21,7; 26,21; 34,5; 38,22; 49,20; 57,30; 64,8.  
BG 8,8; 128,19; 129,14. **OEI†** VI 56,28.

**ΕΙΩΡΜ** V 19,31; 20,[1]; 21,16.17.[23]; 22,6.17; 50,14. **ΕΙΩΡΜ ΕΖΡΑΪ** VI  
72,19. **ΙΑΡΜ† ΕΧΝ-** VI 75,10.

**ΕΙC 2H(H)TE** V 21,7.21; 26,14; 29,8; 32, [29]; 38,18; 42,5; 45,9; 49,15;  
56,17.20; 57,[4].8; 60,14.23; 70,19. VI 8,13. BG 128,10; 129,3; 130,12;  
136,10. **ΕΙC 2HΠE** BG 8,17.17. **ΕΙC** V 72,19.

**ΕΙΩΤ** V 33,20; 35,9; 48,24; 49,[11]; 50,23; 51,19.22; 52,9; 57,2; 59,11;  
81,28. VI 13,31; 24,18.28.29; 25,29; 26,8; 38,19.24; 52,[2].21.28; 53,  
11.24.28.32.33.34; 54,14.23.21; 55,6.10.23; 58,25.31; 59,6.11.24; 60,5.  
12; 61,(23); 62,20; 63,15; 64,5.29; 73,24. **ΙΩΤ** V 33,18.22; 35,8; 44,  
18; 51,20.21; 53,22; 54,11; 62,16; 81,25. VI 6,18; 33,30; 53,16; 60,6;  
64,3.27; 66,36; 68,25.

**ΕΙΩΤE** m. VI 45,33.

**ΙΤΝ** m.: **ΕΠΙΤΝ** VI 77,8.23; 78,35. **ΜΠΙΤΝ Ν-** VI 62,11; 77,7. **ϠΑ ΠΙΤΝ**  
VI 29,15. Cf. also **ΒΩΚ**, **ΕΙ**, **ΚΩΛΧ**, **ΝΟΥΧE**, **CΑ**, **CΩΚ**, **ΖE**, **ΧΙ**.  
**ΕΙΩE** v.: **ΑϠE†** VI 77,8.

**ΚE-** V 22,5; 33,10; 38,15; 54,20; 71,8; 74,13; 75,19; 77,15. VI 1,7; 2,14;  
3,6; 5,19; 11,26; 13,14; 25,21.23; 30,23; 31,4; 33,1.16; 38,1; 48,8; 49,  
9.30; 53,19; 54,23; 58,5; 66,17; 67,7.10; 69,20; 72,29.33; 73,33.34; 77,  
22; 78,21. BG 7,11; 10,3; 17,15; 18,20. **ΘE** V 27,20. VI 71,8. pl. **ΚΟΟΥE**  
V 32,12; 45,17; 51,12; 73,13. VI 1,[8]; 3,17.19; 12,8; 75,24. **ΓE-** V  
71,19.

**ΚΟΥEΙ** V 18,8.13; 26,18.24; 78,10 (scribal gloss). VI 1,28; 17,23.27; 8,33;  
30,16.31; 39,17; 54,11; 66,4. **ΜΝΤΚΟΥEΙ** VI 17,30.31.

**ΚΩ** v. V 32,5; 60,1. VI 26,10; 34,29; 62,10.16. BG 139,[1]. **ΚΑ-** V 31,3;  
62,3.5. **ΚΑΑ=** V 20,10; 64,24; 70,15. VI 15,7; 67,22; 75,35; 77,26.36;  
77,13.14. BG 135,2. **ΚΗ†** VI 34,17. **ΚΑΑ†** VI 27,22. **ΚΩ (ΚΑΑ=)**  
**ΝCΑ (NCΩ=)** V 59,1; 64,24. VI 10,17; 22,34; 24,[9].21; 26,15; 32,1;  
57,1; 71,10.12. **ΚΑ- ΕΠΑΖΟΥ** BG 139,14. **ΚΑ- (ΚΑΑ=) 2ΙΧΝ-** V 70,  
[25]. VI 45,11. **ΚΩ (ΚΑ-) ΕΒΟΛ** V 62,3; 63,17. VI 19,15; 20,16. **ΚΑ-**  
**ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤ=** VI 20,16. **ΚΩ (ΚΑ-, ΚΑΑ=) ΕΖΡΑΪ** V 60,20. VI 39,  
32; 43,1; 52,15. BG 9,1; 18,19. **ΚΗ† ΕΖΡΑΪ** V 31,23. **ΚΑΑ† ΕΖΡΑΪ**  
VI 24,11. **ΚΑΑ= Ν2ΟΥΝ** VI 62,3. **ΚΑ CΩΜΑ** VI 60,[5]. For **ΚΑΡΩ=**  
cf. **ΡΟ**.

**ΚΩΒ** v. VI 24,32. **ΚΩΒ** m. V 22,30. VI 32,14.

**ΚΩΚ Α2ΗΥ** v.: **ΚΑ(Α)Κ= Α2ΗΟΥ** V 46,15; 56,10.13. **ΚΗΚ† Α2Η(Ο)Υ** V  
46,[16]; 58,21. VI 32,3.

**ΚΑΚE** m. V 66,24; 83,8. VI 28,[8]; 37,30; 46,19; 72,17. BG 16,6. **† ΚΑΚE**  
V 21,13. **Ρ ΚΑΚE** V 75,13. VI 42,17.

**ΚΕΛΕΕΛE** f. VI 14,7.

**ΚΛΟΟΛE** f. V 69,21; 71,9; 75,18; 80,22.27; 81,16 (scribal gloss).19; 83,7.

**ΚΩΛΠ** v.: **ΝΚΩΛΠ** V 33,11; 34,23 (both scribal glosses).

**ΚΛΨ** nn.: **† ΚΛΨ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ-** VI 34,25.

**ΚΩΛΧ** v.: **ΒΟΛΧ† ΕΠΙΤΝ** VI 9,25. **ΚΛΧE** f. BG 129,5.

**ΚΙΜ** v. V 23,6; 32,10. VI 11,3; 21,9; 37,34; 44,5; 55,33; 56,12; 58,[5].6.  
BG 10,14.

- καμε** VI 5,30.  
**κημε** Cf. Proper Nouns index.  
**κουνηт** = mn. V 78,4.  
**κωνε** v.: **κονс** = BG 16,18.  
**καρω** = Cf. **ρο**.  
**κρο** m. VI 1,17; 2,8; 6,31; 75,33.  
**κρογρ** m. VI 62,8.  
**κροq** m. VI 30,1; 32,1; 39,30.  
**κωωс** mn. VI 70,36.  
**κασкe** v. VI 20,10.  
**коскe** v.: **кескωс** = **εβολ** V 62,3.  
**κωт** v. V 72,4. **кот** = VI 75,29. **κωт** m. VI 54,27.  
**κωте** v. V 27,5; 55,9. VI 6,30; 26,33. **коте** = VI 77,2. **κωте** **ncα-**  
**(ncω=)** V 59,18; 69,10; 79,[1].5.7; VI 42,12; 48,4.5. **κωте** **επεснт**  
**V 23,26. κωте α-** (**ερο=**) VI 2,9. **κωте** (**кот=**) **εζογν** V 80,23.  
**VI 3,29. кот= εζραї ε-** VI 59,19. **κωте** m. VI 75,23.  
**κτο** v. V 74,15. BG 16,18. **кте-** BG 9,21. **κτο** = BG 17,21. Cf. also  
**ткτο**.  
**καz** m. V 19,29.31; 20,9; 29,10; 36,18; 43,14; 58,5.17; 62,2; 64,8; 69,9; 70,  
**[4].16.[25]; 71,[1]; 72,3.15.19; 73,17; 74,30; 76,19; 80,12.23. VI 9,20;**  
**12,16; 15,3; 19,30; 25,33; 37,9; 40,12; 44,5.8; 45,9.12.27; 46,3; 63,18;**  
**68,28; 69,27; 70,9; 71,12; 73,13; 75,15.18.24.27; 76,27; 77,14; 78,3.**  
**BG 15,22.**  
**κοειz** m.: **κλειze** m. VI 2,26.  
**κοоз** mn. V 61,23; VI 75,29.  
**κωz** v. V 40,22; 55,26. VI 31,4. **κωz** m. V 21,2. VI 23,16.32; 31,3.4; 39,24.  
**κωzт** m. V 75,9.12.25; 83,22. VI 36,5; 37,31; 38,4; 40,11; 41,20; 46,12.18.  
**29; 63,18; 73,34; 77,17; 17,23; 78,37.**  
  
**λο** v. V 32,[23]. **ло zн** VI 70,18.  
**λιβε** m. **peqloue** VI 72,21.  
**λωωм** v. V 85,1.  
**лас** m. V 84,11. VI 41,6.  
**лааγ** V 24,19; 28,13; 31,19.22; 40,16; 42,8; 53,8; 59,17; 61,10.19; 72,12.  
**VI 3,22; 18,2.3; 22,8; 25,16.28; 26,6.26; 28,27; 29,33; 32,23; 34,22;**  
**36,23; 37,18; 38,28; 40,22; 41,22; 46,10.13.31; 59,1.12; 63,7; 68,17;**  
**72,19. BG 8,15; 9,1; 130,4; 139,14.**  
**лаzлеz** m. VI 23,21; 32,8; 49,29.  
**λοιze** f.: **лаειze** V 28,19. VI 29,16. **лаїze** V 28,27.  
**λωxz** m. VI 73,35.  
**λοιβε** f.: **нτλο(ε)ιβε н-** VI 5,30; 6,[1].2.[6].8. **нτлаειβε** V 18,12.  
**VI 30,2.**  
  
**ма** m. V 26,8.22; 34,17.24; 39,20.[22]; 45,22; 46,20; 53,5; 54,28; 59,20;  
**78,23; 79,12; 80,7.16.19.[28]; 81,12.22; 82,2.[14]. VI 1,32; 3,7; 6,21;**  
**7,5; 16,10.11; 21,30; 27,16; 34,5.9; 48,17; 50,33; 55,31; 58,3; 59,4.19;**  
**71,33; 74,23; 75,10.11; 77,16; 78,7.[7].11.12.15.21. BG 10,15; 16,16;**  
**17,9; 130,3; 131,2.8. BG 8,18; 129,18. ма нсθο** VI 2,10; 3,5. **ма**

**ноαεεт**  
**36,26; 70,5;**  
**не v. (love) VI 14**  
**ннтмаεиp**  
**64,6. маεие**  
**εε ε. (truth) V**  
**14,21.22; 20,**  
**22. ннтме**  
**66,10.**  
**оу v. V 47,25; 4**  
**нооγт† V**  
**21,18; 41,11;**  
**17,20; 84,3. V**  
**77,25.27. кω**  
**ноγ VI 35,14**  
**ноγ VI 68,5**  
**ноγei m. VI 6**  
**ноγкz v. VI 29,**  
**122 v. мокz†**  
**28,28; 30,14;**  
**V 30,15; 31,8;**  
**нокzε i. VI 78,2**  
**ноγkz v.: мол**  
**иεε Cf. εиεε.**  
**иин нмо = VI**  
**ион VI 49,3. E**  
**иин (negation**  
**34,22; 36,5.23**  
**V 51,[8]; 53,**  
**19. BG 8,3. M**  
**74,12. Cf. also**  
**кλειн m. V 77,2**  
**и negative impes**  
**50,15; 72,23.**  
**оγн v. VI 10,4**  
**иинε VI 5,25;**  
**иинε f. V 25,23.**  
**78,18.40. BG**  
**ионε v. VI 32,**  
**оγнк m. (a for**  
**оγнк v. (cease**  
**иγтpe m. V 20,2**  
**иπο m.: εβω**  
**иπωα v. V 20**  
**иπωα m. V**  
**оγт v.: маp =**  
**m. VI 3,24; 7**  
**иπω f. VI 1,33;**



- Ἰψελεετ** VI 35,11. **μα Ἰψωπε** V 25,18; 75,31. VI 27,16; 33,7; 36,26; 70,5; 71,32. **μα Ἰζωτῆ** VI 44,1. **κατα μα** VI 13,13.  
**με** v. (love) VI 14,16.17; 44,20. **μερε-** V 81,16. **μεριτ-** VI 15,19; 16,10.  
**μῆτμαειρωμε** VI 1,22; 8,22. **μῆτμαειτο** VI 31,21. **με** m. VI 64,6. **μαειε** VI 61,2. **μεριτ** adj. V 49,8; 56,16; 57,[5].  
**με** f. (truth) V 47,12; 65,13; 82,24; 83,14.[29]; 84,15; 85,11. VI 12,15; 14,21.22; 20,8; 42,29; 44,19; 54,6; 57,28; 70,8. **μιε** VI 32,4; 40,4; 53,22. **μῆτμε** V 85,14. **ζῆ οὐμῆτμε** VI 7,4; 9,18. **ναμε** VI 23,8; 66,10.  
**μοу** v. V 47,25; 48,8. VI 21,32; 67,34; 71,15; 76,11; 78,[3]. BG 7,22; 16,21.  
**моуτ†** V 20,10.20; 23,14; 48,[8]; 62,18; 65,15; 74,1; 76,19.30. VI 21,18; 41,11; 44,8; 71,20.22. **моу** m. V 48,8; 63,6; 66,3; 67,14; 76,17.20; 84,3. VI 16,13; 24,10; 26,31; 30,25; 59,20; 72,18; 76,[6].13; 77,25.27. **κωζ Ἰπμοу** BG 16,8. **реқмоу** VI 67,9; 68,5.6.29. **ат-моу** VI 35,14; 53,21; 55,28; 57,25; 60,22.25; 67,31.33; 68,4. **ε† Ἰат-моу** VI 68,5. **μῆтатмоу** VI 63,11; 67,16.30; 72,[1].28.  
**моуеи** m. VI 6,[5].7; 7,32; 49,34; 50,28.  
**моуқз** v. VI 29,2. **моқз** VI 35,3. **мохз** BG 139,17.  
**Ἰκαζ** v.: **моқз†** VI 27,23; 49,25. **Ἰκαζ** m. VI 7,14. pl. **Ἰкооз** V 27,28; 28,28; 30,14; 31,7; 32,18; 33,3. **χι Ἰκαζ** V 31,19. **Ἰκαζ Ἰζηт** v. V 30,15; 31,8; 32,14. VI 30,30. **Ἰκαζ Ἰζηт** m. VI 17,[7].10.  
**моқзс** f. VI 78,28.38.  
**моуλз** v.: **молаз-** V 32,8; 56,15; 57,11.17. **малз-** V 31,4.  
**Ἰме** Cf. **ειμε**.  
**Ἰмин Ἰмо-** VI 38,21. BG 7,6.  
**Ἰмон** VI 49,3. BG 7,2.  
**(м)ἸἸ** (negation of existence) V 28,6; 58,22; 84,11. VI 3,23.24; 25,15; 34,22; 36,5.23; 46,9.13; 59,1; 65,6; 72,11.19; 75,11.12. BG 7,13. **μῆта-** V 51,[8]; 53,[26]. VI 4,7; 21,19; 26,26; 28,34; 40,9; 48,31; 50,23; 75,19. BG 8,3. **μῆте-** VI 16,8; 18,27; 37,8; 53,22; 57,7; 58,12; 66,17.19; 74,12. Cf. also **бom**.  
**μαειн** m. V 77,2. **† μαειн** V 24,13.18; 26,10.12; 54,17.  
**ἸἸ** negative imperat. prefix. VI 59,15. **ἸпἸ-** V 29,7; 31,15; 32,18.21.22; 50,15; 72,23. VI 60,3; 78,21. BG 8,22; 9,2.14.15.15; 15,16.  
**моун** v. VI 10,4. **μῆн†** V 28,15; 29,6. VI 8,10. **моун εвол** m. VI 64,28.  
**Ἰμῆне** VI 5,25; 51,21; 60,28; 78,[13].  
**μине** f. V 25,23. VI 29,22; 37,1; 38,11; 50,30; 65,2; 66,1.3; 71,9; 72,35; 78,18.40. BG 17,17.  
**мооне** v. VI 32,34. **манε εвол** m. VI 40,14. **мone** v. with **ε-** VI 1,17.  
**моунк** m. (a form) VI 2,19.  
**моунк** v. (cease): **моунк** V 67,25.  
**μῆтρε** m. V 20,22.26. **Ἰ μῆтρε** V 71,22. **μῆтμῆтρεоу** (pl.) V 21,22.  
**Ἰпо** m.: **εω** VI 19,23.  
**Ἰпψа** v. V 20,18; 31,25; 43,[15]; 72,4. VI 10,23; 11,28; 38,23; 69,8.  
**Ἰпψа** m. VI 12,15. **Ἰпψа** adv. VI 43,22; 50,3; 78,25. BG 9,6.  
**моур** v.: **мар-** V 41,13. **μῆр†** VI 2,13. **μῆр† εχἸ-** VI 2,12.14. **моур** m. VI 3,24; 7,23.  
**Ἰрω** f. VI 1,33; 2,[6].

**м̄ре** f. BG 17,3.

**мерит** Cf. **ме** (love)

**мисе** v. V 79,11. VI 13,26; 31,18. **мест** = V 80,4. **мисе** m. VI 14,3.

**масе** m. VI 6,7; 8,[1]. **бинмисе** f. V 82,12. **зоумисе** VI 14,2.

**месиω** f. VI 13,25.

**мосте** v. VI 1,4; 15,17. **месте-** VI 15,17. **местω** = V 50,9. VI 13,11; 15,31; 16,1,9; 17,26. **мосте** m. VI 23,15,32. **масте** m. VI 39,24.

**местзнт** f. VI 2,23. **местѠнт** VI 2,15.

**мнт**, **м̄нт**- cardinal number occurring in the following cardinal and ordinal numbers. **мазмнт** VI 6,25. **мезмнте** V 24,7; 36,21; 81,14. BG 132,8. **мазмн̄тоуе** VI 9,21. **мезмн̄тоуе** V 81,24. **м̄нтс-нооуе** V 19,15; 20,[2]; 21,12; 24,1; 25,[26]; 26,3,23; 36,[2].[3]; 42,[21]; 73,26. VI 12,21. **мезм̄нтс-нооуе** V 82,4-5. **мезм̄нтшом-те** V 82,11. **м̄нтацте** VI 46,27. **м̄нтн** VI 62,19. **м̄нтсауце** V 37,[23].

**моєит** m. VI 5,19,29; 6,11; 8,12. † **моєит** VI 12,7. **Ѡи моєит** V 45,7. BG 138,1.

**мате** v.: **мете** VI 68,14; 69,6. † **мете** V 70,13. VI 1,10. **з̄н оу† мете** VI 5,14.

**м̄мате** VI 30,15; 50,15. **м̄мете** VI 69,14; 77,34.

**мнте** f. (middle) V 61,18. VI 1,29; 7,13; 38,6; 50,22; 76,27. BG 7,18; 10,22.

**моуѠе** v. V 18,[20]; 24,14; 30,20; 39,[11]; 50,20; 60,12; 65,6; 70,14,18. [24]; 72,6. VI 6,28; 7,20; 9,7; 10,3; 16,11,13,14,15; 20,7; 23,10; 59,6; 61,8; 75,16; 78,33. BG 7,16; 15,11.

**м̄то** m.: **м̄п̄то евол** V 65,27; 66,16; 67,21; 71,7; 73,2; 74,9 (without **евол**); 83,20. VI 31,11. BG 128,10; 130,5; 140,15. **м̄п̄е̄м̄то** V 71,15,22; 73,3. **м̄п̄е̄м̄то евол** VI 13,10; 30,11.

**м̄тон** **mmo** = v. V 56,3; 70,[7]. VI 8,[6].33; 60,9. BG 138,17. **м̄тон м̄мо** = **з̄н** VI 47,25. **мот̄н† м̄мо** = VI 22,[5]; 35,10; 54,5. BG 129,12; 130,7; 131,11. **м̄тон** m. VI 28,34. **Ѡи м̄тон з̄а-** VI 35,16.

**моуѠн** v.: **мотн** = **з̄раї з̄н** VI 35,9.

**мау:** **м̄мау** V 31,1; 34,18; 61,20; 66,2; 76,2; 78,14,24; 80,17; 81,5; 82,8. VI 28,34; 29,24; 32,31; 37,22; 46,16; 50,24; 53,16,23; 57,7; 59,33; 67,28; 72,13; 73,30; 74,27,28; 75,12,20,26; 77,13,17. **емау** V 34,18. **ет̄мау** V 34,24; 65,7,10,14; 66,5,11; 69,22; 71,11; 72,2,7; 73,18; 74,22,30; 75,11,13,16,24; 76,5; 77,9; 79,12; 80,4,19; 80,28; 81,13; 82,3,15; 83,1,12; 84,25. VI 1,32; 2,34; 3,15; 4,1,16; 5,22,27; 10,9; 21,30; 24,14; 25,20; 27,12; 28,7; 29,34; 32,22; 33,10,20; 36,33; 37,19; 43,6; 44,2,29; 45,3,17; 65,21,30; 70,30; 72,13; 77,13; 78,8,10. BG 9,10; 136,12. **ет̄м̄еу** VI 71,35.

**мау** f. V 18,17; 23,4; 35,8,16,19,23; 50,15,21; 64,8,26; 65,3,11; 66,[28]; 67,4; 69,17; 78,4,22. VI 13,(20),22,30; 23,26; 40,10,30. BG 132,15,17; 135,5.

**моу** m. V 60,3; 70, [6].9; 78,5,17,26; 79,19,[27]; 80,9,20,[29]; 81,14,23; 82,4,10,17; 83,6; 84,8,18; 85,31. VI 6,[3]; 7,30; 29,9,21,23,31; 37,7; 38,20; 39,4; 40,5; 43,5; 63,18; 71,19; 73,32; 77,17; 78,37. **моӯн̄шоу** VI 59,8. pl. **моӯѠеӯ н̄шоу** V 69,3. pl. **моӯѠн** VI 37,35; 77,22. pl. **моӯѠоӯе** VI 29,13,34; 46,2.

оуаа = VI 6,10  
еуеуе v. V 31,  
34; 32,33; 3  
5; 136,8; 140,  
VI 25,6; 52,3  
44,7; 52,12;  
V 28,14.  
еуе: меуаа  
н̄шоу m. V 2  
VI 11,8; 12,4  
шоу m. VI 51,6  
шоуе v. V 18,  
18; 55,10; 59,  
130,5. **моӯоӯ**  
V 28,16. VI 33  
V 20,5. **моӯоӯ**  
оӯоӯ† v.: маӯ  
шоу v. (ш) VI  
BG 15,10; 16,  
35,28,29. **м̄н̄ш̄**  
оуа, снау,  
н̄нт.  
шоу v. (look): м̄  
н̄ш̄† m. V 62,4,11  
шоу m. V 63,7  
оуае m. V 52,1  
оӯа̄ m. VI 2,13.

н̄т. (pity) V 56,6  
4,22. † **н̄нт̄н**  
н̄т. (go) VI 6,21.  
н̄т v.: неа = V  
† **н̄т̄** ене.  
н̄т̄: † **н̄н̄е̄**  
шоу v.: **н̄н̄Ѡ†** V  
71,10. **н̄н̄оӯ**  
евол з̄н-н̄  
н̄н̄оӯ† ца  
74,30; 76,29. **н̄н̄**  
73,17,21. **н̄н̄**  
етоот = VI  
шоу m. V 20,14  
н̄е̄ m. V 20,14;  
32. **ат̄но̄е**  
цакe f. VI 13,2  
ца m. VI 5,23;  
н̄оӯ† v. VI 39,

**μαγαα** = VI 6,10. BG 18,4.

**meeye** v. V 31,10; 35,16; 52,10; 57,14; 76,21. VI 2,33; 13,4,6; 16,26,31; 28,4; 32,33; 33,24; 39,7; 65,10; 71,24; 72,32; 78,15. BG 18,3,3,4; 132,5; 136,8; 140,5. **me(e)ye** m. V 28,[24]; 39,4; 51,9; 65,24; 67,1; 84,24. VI 25,6; 52,3; 55,11. BG 17,15. **p meeeye** V 30,7; 39,15. VI 14,11; 24,17; 52,12; 54,7. **eire mpe = meeeye** BG 10,5. **mntatmeeye** V 28,14.

**mece**: **meçak** VI 65,12.

**mnhce** m. V 29,26; 30,27; 33,4; 45,9.[17]; 51,16; 61,3; 70,[5]; 74,[26]. VI 11,8; 12,4. BG 128,3,5,8; 130,10; 131,9; 132,9; 138,11.

**miçe** m. VI 51,6.

**moowe** v. V 18,[21]; 21,[26].[30]; 22,1,11,15; 30,19; 42,12; 46,16; 52,18; 55,10; 59,3; 64,9. VI 20,2; 32,3; 43,1; 56,32; 63,10. BG 128,14; 130,5. **moowe nca-(ncw-)** VI 8,18; 43,27. **moowe zn-(nzht=)** V 28,16. VI 33,9; 43,17. **moowe za-** VI 27,14. **moowe zaxw =** V 20,5. **moowe ezaï** VI 42,19.

**moçw** v.: **maçw** = VI 76,32.

**moçz** v. (fill) VI 70,33-34-35. **maç-** VI 9,21; 43,13; 47,2. BG 16,4. **meç-** BG 15,10; 16,2,6,11. **meçt** V 84,13,14,16. VI 8,19; 56,10; 72,15; 78,25,28,29. **mhzt eboł zn-** VI 60,13. **moçz** m. VI 74,23,24. Cf. also **oça, cnaç, çomnt, çtooy, cooy, caçce, çmoyn, çit, mht.**

**moçz** v. (look): **moçz nca-** VI 2,17.

**maçt** m. V 62,4,11. **mntçantmaçt** V 53,16,23.

**mzaoy** m. V 63,7. **mzeoy** V 81,29.

**maaxe** m. V 52,17; 60,8. BG 7,8; 8,10.

**moçz** m. VI 2,13.

**na** v. (pity) V 56,6.[7]; 59,8. VI 17,36; 47,33. **na** m. VI 47,3. **nae** m. VI 4,22. **t mntna** VI 33,27. **çatmntnae** nn. VI 4,18,20.

**na** v. (go) VI 6,21.

**naa** v.: **nea** = V 46,10. VI 69,7; 71,30.

**ne** Cf. **ene**.

**nei** f.: **t nheie** VI 7,22.

**noy** v.: **nhyt** VI 45,27. BG 16,14. **nhoçt** VI 42,21; 46,22. **nnhyt** V 71,10. **nnhoçt** V 53,[2]; 69,19. VI 6,27; 15,5; 40,32; 47,3. **nnhoçt eboł zn-(nzht=)** V 48,6,12; 71,5. **nnhyt çaro =** VI 57,30. **nnhoçt ça-** V 46,23. **nnhyt exw =** V 83,8. **nnhoçt exn-** V 74,30; 76,29. **nnhyt ezoyn** VI 63,10,12; 70,22. **nnhyt ezaï** V 75,17,21. **nnhoçt ezaï exw =** VI 63,30. **nnhoçt ezaï etoot =** VI 19,13.

**noyb** m. V 20,14; 21,14; 63,11,17. VI 2,13; 10,29.

**nove** m. V 20,14; 21,14; 63,11,17. VI 19,17; 21,22. **p nove** VI 12,6; 77,32. **atnove** VI 19,16.

**naake** f. VI 13,27.

**nka** m. VI 5,23; 7,25; 10,16; 56,8; 78,17.

**nkotk** v. VI 39,33. **nkot** V 65,24. **nkot** m. V 66,2.

- NIM** interrog. pronoun V 18,15; 25,22; 33,15.20; 36,7; 38,17; 49,19. VI 6, 20; 9,9; 20,15.17; 42,4; 78,32.
- NIM** indefinite pronoun V 25,6.17; 26,22; 28,22; 29,21; 31,19; 38,20; 40,7. 20; 42,7; 55,[23]; 57,3.5; 59,6; 69,[6].9; 73,23.24; 75,4; 82,12; 83,24; 85,18. VI 5,14.21.23; 7,25; 8,31; 9,29; 10,17.27; 16,10.11; 18,18; 20,29; 28,11; 36,8; 37,27; 39,22; 44,19; 50,26; 52,21; 53,[5]; 55,32; 56,8.32; 59,5.18; 62,21; 63,35; 64,25; 72,16; 73,16; 74,25; 75,10.11.23.25.31; 78,28. BG 7,3.3.4.11.19; 18,11. Cf. also **ΟΥΟΝ NIM**.
- ΝΑΜΤΕ** f.: **ρεϋ† ΝΑΜΤΕ** V 30,24.
- ΝΟΕΙΝ** v. VI 45,30.
- ΝΟΥΝ** m. V 79,33. VI 46,3; 47,6.
- ΝΑΝΟΥ** = v. V 55,7. VI 17,14; 24,5; 34,23; 48,20; 72,3; 73,22; 74,8; 75, [5]. BG 138,13; 140,3.
- ΝΟΥΝΕ** f. V 35,3.22; 40,[18]. VI 19,16; 22,30. BG 7,6.20.
- ΝΕΣΕ** v.: **ΝΕΣΩ** = VI 72,10.
- ΝΑΪΑΤ** = v. V 83,11. BG 10,14.
- ΝΟΥΤΕ** m. V 20,8; 24,30; 32,7; 41,[15]; 60,16; 62,16; 64,7.13.17.20; 65, 13.17.31; 66,14.20.25; 69,[4].7; 70,6.16; 71,16; 72,14.25; 73,9; 74,4. [26]; 76,22; 77,4; 78,15; 81,16; 82,21; 83,13.21.[28]; 84,9; 85,4.15. VI 5,12.13; 6,24; 9,12; 10,28; 16,25; 18,16.17; 33,5.12.29; 35,2; 37,11; 39,7; 45,13; 55,14; 56,10; 59,13; 60,15; 62,29.32; 63,1.21.26; 64,2.19; 66,22.35.37; 67,12.16; 68,[1].2.[3].7.10.12.22.26.30.31.34; 69,10.16.23. 26; 70,21.26.29.35; 71,12.16.32; 72,10; 73,17.25.25; 74,12.15.29; 75,9; 76,23; 76,26; 78,11.20. BG 129,1.11.14; 130,15.18; 137,2; 138,15; 139, 5.11.19; 140,6.11. **ῤ ΝΟΥΤΕ** VI 68,33. **ΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ** VI 61,17; 70,14. 16.17; 71,7.33; 76,36. **ΜΑΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ** VI 71,31. **ῤΜΝΝΟΥΤΕ** VI 66,5; 70,31; 72,20. **ΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ** VI 16,24; 66,2. **ΜΝΤΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ** VI 73,10.20.
- ΝΤΟΚ** pronoun V 18,16; 24,15; 27,9; 32,21; 35,23; 45,6; 51,18; 55,15.20. 22.24.[25]; 56,7.9; 63,12.22; 71,2.3. VI 10,15; 11,9; 45,12; 59,3; 61,15; 68,35; 69,29.30; 71,6.17. BG 137,4. **ΝΤΑΚ** V 25,13. **ΝΤΚ**- V 18,15; 27, 8; 33,15.15.19.20; 53,15; 55,17; 56,8. BG 18,11. **ΝΤЕК**- V 32,6.
- ΝΤΟС** pronoun V 35,17; 79,9. VI 31,25; 34,32; 66,10. BG 128,17; 130,8.
- ΝΤΩΤἢ** pronoun V 35,3; 58,1; 59,8.[12],14. VI 21,14. BG 7,14.
- ΝΤΟΥ** pronoun V 22,7; 54,14; 61,26. VI 1,20; 11,18.27.28; 33,4; 45,4. BG 9,5.
- ΝΤΟΥ** pronoun V 19,12; 31,3; 45,21; 58,2.6.7.8.14.17; 62,12; 78,22; 79,1. VI 3,27; 8,30.31; 9,12.19; 13,32; 14,1.3.7; 24,26; 25,24; 26,7; 34,17; 37,5; 50,22; 62,29; 68,30; 75,18; 77,10.35. BG 10,[22].23.
- ΝΑΥ** v. V 19,19.30; 20,1.5.7; 21,6.[23].29; 22,2.14.17.[25]; 23,21; 24,1; 31,11; 32,3.28; 43,9; 49,18; 51,1; 52,13; 54,16; 58,[3].20; 64,10; 65, 26; 67,19; 75,15; 77,13.15. VI 2,20.25; 3,21; 4,[5].[9].26; 6,13.29.32.33; 15,5.9; 20,23.24; 22,20; 25,19; 36,24.25; 38,7.10.12; 47,21.31; 50,13.15; 57,6.31.31; 58,5.6.8.13.16.31; 58,5.6.8.13.16.31; 59,27.29.32; 60,32; 65,15. 17.38; 69,30; 77,[3]. BG 10,11.12.15.17.18.20.23; 15,2.3.6.6; 16,3; 18,8; 128,12; 129,6; 131,16; 132,13; 136,15; 137,15; 138,8. **ΑΝΑΥ** imperat. VI 21,12; 43,3. **ΕΝΑΥ** imperat. V 19,11.28; 24,12; 59,17. VI 13,5; 37,24. **ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ** V 44,6; 46,21; 47,20; 75,15. VI 22,28; 28,13. **ΑΤΝΑΥ** V 58,15.
- ΝΑΥ** m. V 21,6. VI 28,11; 47,8. BG 17,4; 136,11.

ΝΟΥΤΕ v.: Ν  
 ΝΟΥΕ v.: ΝΑ  
 24; 44,25; Ν  
 ΝΟΥΠἢ v.: V 5  
 ΝΟΥΤ v.: ΝΑ  
 15,26; ΝΑ  
 ΝΕΕ m. VI 1,  
 ΝΙΕ v.: ΝΙ  
 e- V 66,21.  
 ΝΟΥΡΕ f.: ῤ Ν  
 ΝΑΤἢ f. VI 3,23  
 ΝΟΥΤἢ v.: VI 3  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ m. VI 7  
 ΝΑΤἢ: ῤΝΑ  
 ΝΟΥΕ v.: VI 4  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ v.: V 42,  
 10,7; ΑΤΝΑ  
 VI 68,36; 69,  
 ΝΟΥΧ: ΜΝΤΝ  
 ΝΟΥΧΕ v.: V 3  
 VI 18,2; 29,  
 ῤΝ- V 71,12  
 ΕΧἢ- VI 1  
 ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΤ  
 ΝΟΥΧ ΕΡῤ  
 ῤΝ- VI 35,10  
 ΕΒΟΛ VI 1  
 ΝΟΥ V 22,2.18;  
 66,10; 69,20;  
 82,27.[28]; 8  
 27,24; 31,6;  
 48,14; 49,19;  
 19; 136,15.  
 ΜΝΤΝΑΒ V  
 ΝΟΥС v.: Ρε  
 O VI 36,19 (5 ti  
 O VI 39,7,17.  
 ΟΕ ῤ. ΕΙΒΕ.  
 ΟΕΙΚ m. VI 4,  
 ΟΕ m. V 28,  
 ΟΕΙΜ f. VI 29,  
 ΟΝ V 34,15.18  
 40,15; 68,2;  
 ΟСE m.: ῤ Ο  
 ηε f. V 19,24,  
 24,4.6,7; 2

- ΝΟΟΥΖΕ** v.: **ΝΟΥΟΥΖ** VI 40,2. **ΝΟΟΥΖ** VI 40,22.  
**ΝΑΨΕ** v.: **ΝΑΨΕ** VI 5,26; 10,30; 13,23.24; 14,11.12.13; 16,7.23.25; 19,24; 44,25. **ΝΑΨΩ** VI 21,22; 28,31; 29,31; 30,1; 65,13.  
**ΝΟΥΨΠ** v. V 50,16. VI 9,2.  
**ΝΨΟΤ** v.: **ΝΑΨΤ†** V 59,1. VI 49,25. **ΝΨΟΤ** m. VI 19,27. **ΝΨΑΤ** m. VI 15,26. **ΝΑΨΤΕ** nn. VI 14,30.  
**ΝΕΕϩ** m. VI 1,19.  
**ΝΙϩΕ** v.: **ΝΙϩΕ** **ΝСА**-VI 1,27. **ΝΙϩΕ** **ϩ̄**-V 64,28. VI 37,10. **ΝΙϩΕ** **Ε****ϩΟΥΝ** **Ε**-V 66,21. **ΝΙϩΕ** m. VI 69,34.  
**ΝΟΥΡΕ** f.: **̄** **ΝΟΥΡΕ** V 52,8. VI 50,20.23.25; 51,12. BG 131,5.14.  
**ΝΑϩ̄** f. VI 3,23; 7,16.  
**ΝΟΥϩ̄** v.: VI 39,7. **ΝΑϩ** **Ε****ΒΟΛ** V 62,17; 63,5.10.13.23.  
**ΝΕϩΠΕ** m. VI 78,30.  
**ΝΑϩΡ̄**-: **̄****ΝΑϩΡ̄**- VI 65,29. **̄****ΝΑϩΡΑ** = V 66,12. VI 65,33.  
**ΝΕϩΣΕ** v. VI 40,1.  
**ΝΑϩΤΕ** v. V 42,16. VI 6,16.18; 10,5.34; 11,24. **ΝΑϩΤΕ** m. VI 7,17.24; 8,11; 10,7. **ΑΤΝΑϩΤΕ** VI 65,34. **Μ̄****ΤΑΤΝΑϩΤΕ** V 29,22. **Ε†** **̄****ΝΑΤΝΑϩΤΕ** VI 68,36; 69,31.  
**ΝΟΥΧ**: **Μ̄****ΤΝΟΥΧ** V 77,25.  
**ΝΟΥΧΕ** v. V 39,21; 41,21; 81,28. VI 29,21; 30,[10].29; 78,36.37. **ΝΕΧ**-VI 18,2; 29,20. **ΝΟΧ** = V 47,[26]. **ΝΟΧ** = **Ε**-VI 24,[7]. **ΝΟΧ** = **Ε****ΒΟΛ** **ϩ̄**-V 71,12; 78,21. BG 18,12. **ΝΟΥΧΕ** **ΕΧ̄**-V 70,8; 75,9. **ΝΟΧ** = **ΕΧ̄**-VI 12,16. **ΝΟΥΧΕ** **Ε****ΒΟΛ** V 27,3; 40,14.19; 42,[22]; 59,24. **ΝΟΥΧΕ** **Ε****ΠΕСНТ** V 61,23.25; 81,18. **ΝΟΧ** = **Ε****ΠΕСНТ** V 21,18.19. **ΝΟΧ** = **Ε****ΡΑΪ****Α**-VI 15,13; 23,13. **ΝΟΧ** = **Μ̄**-VI 25,31. **ΝΟΧ** = **ϩ****ΡΑΪ** **ϩ̄**-VI 35,10. **ΝΟΧ** = **Ε****ΠСА** **Μ****ΠΙΤ̄** VI 77,7. **ΝΗΧ†** BG 129,4. **ΝΗΧ†** **Ε****ΒΟΛ** VI 15,3.7.10.  
**ΝΟΒ** V 22,2.18; 28,12; 32,10; 45,12; 51,5; 53,12; 57,19; 64,15.30; 65,5.8; 66,10; 69,20; 71,10.13; 72,11; 73,19; 74,1.5; 75,2.7.18.21; 76,1.10; 77,8; 82,27.[28]; 83,9; 85,3. VI 1,21; 6,17.29; 8,4.32; 14,34; 17,23; 21,8; 26,11; 27,24; 31,6; 32,24; 36,3.17.27; 38,14.16; 40,27; 41,13; 43,28; 45,4.8; 48,14; 49,19; 69,6.35; 73,32; 75,36; 76,4.22.23; 77,9.12.16.19. BG 131,19; 136,15. **ΝΑΒ** VI 36,2.15. **Μ̄****ΤΝΟΒ** VI 17,32; 39,9; 56,16. BG 9,19. **Μ̄****ΤΝΑΒ** VI 17,29.  
**ΝΟΥΒС** v.: **РЕϩ****ΝΟΥΒС** BG 16,12; 18,8.  
  
**ο** VI 56,19 (5 times); 61,11 (5 times).  
**ο** VI 59,7.17.  
**οβΕ** Cf. **ειβε**.  
**οεικ** m. VI 4,20; 5,28.31; 19,31. BG 141,3.  
**ομε** nn. V 28,16. VI 29,16.  
**οειм** f. VI 29,21.28; 30,4; 31,14.  
**οη** V 34,15.18; 45,18; 47,7; 56,9; 62,7; 76,8. VI 24,31; 27,6; 28,6; 33,16; 40,15; 68,27.30; 69,31. BG 7,5; 131,8. **αν** VI 71,11.  
**οσε** m.: **†** **οσε** VI 32,29.  
  
**πε** f. V 19,24.[25]; 20,6.11.17; 21,19.[24].[28]; 22,3.13.19.[24].28; 23,30; 24,4.6.7; 26,17; 39,23; 41,12; 55,28; 56,18; 58,5; 70,3.14.[24]; 78,1.13;

- 79,22.25; 80,12. VI 22,6; 29,14; 45,10; 47,33; 63,17; 70,[5]. 6.7.19; 71,14; 72,20; 73,16; 75,10.12.15; 76,28; 77,8.14. BG 15,4; 16,1.3; 17,3. pl. πηγε V 56,[19]; 78,2. VI 7,19; 26,30; 33,29. pl. πνογε V 29,11; 55,25. VI 22,9; 25,31; 41,8; 42,31. Cf. also σα.
- πει f.: † πι V 31,4; 32,8; 56,14.
- πωλδ v.: πωλδ εβολ ρ̄ν VI 77,26.
- πωωνε v. V 74,25. πωωνε VI 39,11; 45,16.
- π̄ριε v.: π̄ριωου† εγραϊ εχω = VI 35,17. пере расоу VI 40,1.
- πωρω v.: πορω† VI 63,35.
- πωρξ v. V 25,15; 81,3. πορξ = εβολ ρ̄ν-(̄νητ =) V 23,4. VI 17,36. πορξ† VI 22,20.
- ψιτ cardinal number: ψιτε V 81,2. μαρψιτε VI 53,26. μαρπιτε V 25,5. μερψιτε V 81,[1]. μερπισιτε V 24,4. μαρψειτε VI 52,5. χπ < ψ > ιτε BG 136,11.
- πωτ v. V 64,29. BG 131,7. πωτ ἄσα- V 38,5; 41,23; 50,[10]; 84,26. VI 27,30; 29,26. πωτ ἄσω = VI 13,9; 16,16. πωτ ερουν VI 26,19; 32,10. πωτ εγραϊ VI 21,28; 70,19; 71,13. πητ† ἄσα- VI 31,20. πητ† επса VI 28,23. πητ† εγραϊ εпса ἄρη VI 77,6.
- πωψ v. V 26,21. πεψ- V 72,15. ποψ = V 72,20. BG 141,4.
- πωζ v.: πωζ ψα-(ψαρο =) V 66,6. VI 55,16; 56,5. ρ̄ ωρ̄π μπωζ VI 56,27. πηζ† (ψαρο =) V 55,14. VI 56,24; 64,20; 56,25; 64,20.
- παρρε m. VI 8,16.19; 10,32; 11,23; 22,27; 27,32; 28,12; 30,17.33. ρ̄ παρρε VI 8,34; 10,33; 11,12.17.19. BG 128,6.
- πωζτ v.: παζτ = εχ̄ν- VI 9,19.
- παροу m.: επαροу BG 139,14.
- πεχε- V 25,10; 26,2.5.13.16; 27,(13); 28,5; 29,3.13.19; 30,9; 31,14; 32,16; 38,12.[23]; 40,[4].9; 41,19; 50,15. BG 7,2.10.13; 10,1; 15,1.16; 130,11.18; 131,12. πεχα = V 25,12; 27,18; 32,[28]; 50,11; 66,16; 78,14; 82,25. VI 2,34; 3,[1]; 4,7.30; 5,[7].15; 6,14.22; 7,[3].6; 8,21.26; 9,1.10.14; 10,14.22; 11,6; 12,14; 48,25.30; 50,19; 52,6. BG 9,14; 10,7.10.13.16; 15,5; 16,17; 17,10.16; 18,1.6; 129,9; 130,2. παχε = VI 52,25.
- ρα m.: ρα пра BG 9,23; 17,12.16.
- ρη m. V 21,13; 22,29. VI 42,15; 46,5; 62,18; 75,30.
- ρο m. V 50,7; 55,7.11. VI 6,24; 32,11. BG 135,3. ρω = V 31,5; 32,8; 56,15. VI 22,24; 29,9. ρ̄ιρω = VI 8,7; 35,5. καρω = V 63,30. VI 15,32.33; 33,21; 59,14; 60,2; 76,18. BG 17,8. κα- ἄρω = V 36,14; 59,19. καραιτ† VI 58,24.26; 59,21. καρωq m. VI 14,9; 56,12; 58,20; 59,22.
- ρω VI 3,27; 5,[6]; 6,11.15; 11,29; 62,30.
- ριке v.: ρакт = V 73,8. рект = VI 31,13.
- ρωκξ v. VI 40,12.15.18.22; 46,31. ρокξ = VI 36,6; 73,33. ρакξ = VI 46,30.
- ριме v. V 32,14. VI 32,19; 71,22.27. BG 9,6.14; 18,1; 131,9. ριμε m. VI 78,30. BG 136,6. ρ̄μειн f.: pl. ρ̄μειооуе V 32,25. † ρ̄μειн V 36,[18].
- ρωме m. V 22,[25]; 29,23; 43,19; 46,[1]; 61,17; 65,7.16.27.34; 66,5.10; 67,18; 69,12.22; 71,6.11.24; 72,2; 73,16.18; 74,6.8.12.21; 75,2.11.24;

70,4; 77,6.9.17  
 51[2],7.21; 6,33  
 38,3; 40,26; 43  
 60,21; 64,20; 66  
 5,15.19.23.26; 7  
 BG 8,18; 9,9.20  
 ειρωме VI 1  
 ме VI 11,31. M  
 ρ̄μειн Cf. ριμε.  
 ρ̄μαо V 47[7]; 5  
 VI 10,27; 11,31  
 ρ̄μπε f. V 36[22]  
 28. BG 132,9  
 ρ̄ε m. V 48,17;  
 ρ̄m. V 18,7; 24,2  
 2[2]; 5,9.16.17;  
 15; 19,33; 20,32  
 140,17. ερ̄π- VI  
 VI 7,7. Δτ† ρα  
 ρ̄ε m. VI 34,8.14;  
 ρ̄o m. V 49,2; 56,5  
 Δτ† ρ̄o V 82,  
 17; 79,20.28; 80,  
 8,22; 9,9; 16,9. M  
 ρ̄εic v. VI 25,25;  
 ρ̄εте m. V 25,8  
 ρ̄и VI 40,9. Δτ̄н  
 ρ̄и v. VI 51,23  
 ρ̄ите m. VI 2,26; 3  
 ρ̄оуу v.: οτ̄ ἄρ  
 ρ̄и ρ̄оуу m.  
 ρ̄и: ρ̄и ρ̄ау VI  
 ρ̄и v. V 57,19. V  
 130,17. ρ̄ауе  
 ρ̄ауе m. V 57  
 ρ̄ӯе m. VI 8,25  
 ρ̄ӯт v. VI 29,6  
 ρ̄ӯт̄ εχ̄н- V  
 2 m. BG 8,17; 129,  
 38,5; 75,26. VI 1  
 ρ̄оӯн VI 20,  
 43,23; 44,14; 75,  
 17; 25,8; 67,9; 8  
 ἄσα- V 47,10.  
 ρ̄ӣ22; 69,19. VI  
 V 57,15. VI 28,6  
 V 42[20]; 45,2

76,4; 77,6.9.17; 83,1.11; 84,25; 85,9. VI 2,1.11.18.[33]; 3,31; 4,2.19; 5.[2].7.21; 6,33; 7,7; 8,29.30.34; 18,18; 25,8; 29,33; 33,20; 34,3; 37,26; 39,3; 40,26; 43,9; 44,17; 45,2.17; 49,35; 50,12.19.21.29; 51,15; 56,[1]; 60,21; 64,20; 66,15.24.27.31.37; 67,2.22; 68,1.4.6.11.11.13.22.23.27; 69, 5.15.19.23.26; 70,[1]; 72,8.22.26.26; 73,7; 75,31; 76,13.26; 78,9.20.39.42. BG 8,18; 9,9.20; 18,16;[134,19]; 137,19. **МНТРΩМЕ** VI 52,9. **МНТМА-ΕΙΡΩМЕ** VI 1,22; 8,22. **МНТ-ΨΑΣΡΩМЕ** VI 3,26. **МНТСАΨΡΩ-ΜΕ** VI 11,31. **МНТΖΑΥΡΕΡΩМЕ** VI 31,5. **ТΖΑТВРΩМЕ** BG 16,15.

**РМЕИΗ** Cf. **РМЕ**.

**РММАО** V 47,[7]; 52,10. VI 3,14; 11,26; 12,5. BG 132,11. **МНТРММАО** VI 10,27; 11,31; 15,1; 26,9.

**РОМΠЕ** f. V 36,[22]; 37,24; 64,4; 67,26; 72,8. VI 36,12; 38,28; 43,20; 46, 28. BG 132,9.

**РМZE** m. V 48,17; 59,4.

**РАН** m. V 18,7; 24,24; 32,2; 46,26; 55,27; 65,7; 72,6; 77,19; 83,6. VI 1,30; 2,[2]; 5,9.16.17; 6,16.21.23.34.35; 9,4.7.10.13; 10,6.26; 11,1; 12,12; 14, 15; 19,33; 20,32.33; 21,9.11; 36,16; 61,9; 62,13; 63,36. BG 129,1; 139,3; 140,17. **ЕРН-** VI 6,20. **† РАН** V 27,12; 37,6; 85,12. VI 53,13. **† РНТ =** VI 7,7. **АТ† РАН** V 24,20.22.

**РПЕ** m. VI 34,8.14; 61,19; 70,9.34; 78,17. **ЕРПЕ** V 61,22.

**РРО** m. V 49,2; 56,5. VI 8,32. **Р РРО** V 56,4; 71,3; 74,21. VI 45,8; 78,19.

**АТР РРО** V 82,20. **МНТРРО** V 73,27.29; 74,16; 76,25; 77,28; 78,6.18.

27; 79,20.28; 80,10.21; 81,1.15.25; 82,5.11. VI 7,11; 45,26; 55,25. BG

8,22; 9,9; 16,9. **МНТРРО ННПНУЕ** VI 7,19. pl. **МНТРРАЕΙ** VI 15,9.

**РОЕΙC** v. VI 25,25; 62,5. BG 140,9. **РОЕΙC ΟΥΒΗ =** VI 30,7.

**РАСТЕ** m. V 25,8.

**РАТ =** VI 40,9. **АТНРАТ =** VI 35,7. **АТНРЕТ =** VI 26,25.

**ΡΩТ** v. VI 51,23.

**РНТЕ** m. VI 2,26; 3,11; 4,29; 7,25; 9,33; 11,13.32; 24,32; 67,7.

**РОΟΥΨ** v.: **ο† ΝΡΟΟΥΨ** VI 1,8. **ϸΙ (Ν)ΡΟΟΥΨ** V 28,10. VI 6,4; 10,19.

**ϸΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ** m. VI 51,18. **МНТАТРОΟΥΨ** VI 8,5.

**РАУ:** **РМРАУ** VI 24,27.

**РАУЕ** v. V 57,19. VI 4,34; 29,19; 30,[9]; 58,31; 59,[1]; 64,15.16.17. BG

130,17. **РАУЕ ΕΧΝ-** VI 57,28. **РАУЕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ =** VI 24,29.

**РАУЕ** m. V 57,19. VI 8,4.

**ΡΟΥZE** m. VI 8,25.

**ΡΩZТ** v. VI 29,6. **ΡΩZТ ΕΠΙТН-** VI 77,23. **ΡΩZТ ΕΖΡΑΙ** VI 32,26.

**ΡΩZТ ΕΧН-** VI 77,21. **ΡΑZТ =** VI 29,7. **ΡΑZТ = ΝΖΡΑΙ ΖН-** VI 30,21.

**СА** m. BG 8,17; 129,4.5; 135,7. **СА МΠΙТН** VI 77,7. **СА(Ν)ТΠЕ** V 48,18;

59,5; 75,26. VI 28,24. BG 16,3; 17,3. **СА ΝΖРЕ** VI 20,19; 77,7. **СА**

**ΝΖΟΥΝ** VI 20,19.22.24; 27,25; 29,29; 32,5; 69,24. **СА ΝΖΩТΠ** VI

43,23; 44,14; 75,30. **НСА ΖНТ =** VI 1,9. **НСА-(НCΩ =)** V 23,5; 24,19.

27; 25,8; 67,9; 84,27. VI 1,30; 27,8; 32,21.23. BG 17,22; 132,16. **ΕΒΟΛ**

**НСА-** V 47,10. **МННCА** V 19,8; 29,14.16.20; 30,1.17; 53,5; 65,9.21;

67,22; 69,19. VI 1,26; 6,26; 18,8; 42,18; 43,12; 61,4; 66,37. **МННCΩC**

V 57,15. VI 28,6; 30,34; 31,31; 52,4; 77,32. BG 138,16. **НCАТ(Ο)ΟТ =**

V 42,[20]; 45,23. Cf. also **ΒΩΛ**.

- ca** v.: **caeiε** nm. VI 2,18; 31,4. **caih** adj. BG 128,19. **mhtcaeiε** VI 32,7; 47,16.  
**† co** v. V 57,23.23.  
**ce** cardinal number VI 46,28.  
**ci** v.: **cei** VI 44,27.  
**cw** v.: **cw eboλ n-** VI 40,29. **mhtcaγ-** VI 24,15.  
**caβε** VI 72,23. **caβh** f. VI 15,30. **mhtcaβh** BG 16,10. **cwoyei** m. VI 8,17. **cwω** f. V 85,17. VI 44,19; 64,7. pl. **cwooye** BG 17,14. **† cwω** VI 10,4.15.26; 34,20; 44,16; 71,33; 73,11; 74,36. **xi cwω** V 56,1; 65,15. VI 16,28; 19,27; 20,27. **atcwω** VI 16,28.  
**chβε** f. V 60,3.  
**cwβε** v. VI 3,31; 15,12; 58,32. BG 129,9; 132,7. **cwβε** m. V 60,21. VI 65,33; 72,32.  
**cbβε** m. VI 45,19. **mhtatcbβε** VI 45,21.  
**cbok** v.: **cbek†** VI 17,27.  
**cibt** f.: **cibet** VI 78,35.  
**cbote** v. V 24,30. VI 1,18; 19,31; 36,26. BG 140,2. **cbwt** = V 21,20. VI 13,34; 41,30; 43,9. BG 9,19. **cbtat†** VI 47,17.  
**cwk** v. VI 31,15.23; 50,32; 77,22. **cwk eχw** = VI 29,9. **cwk ezoyn** V 84,19. **cwk zht** = **azoyn** VI 73,8. **cwk eзраi ε-** VI 33,13. **cwk eπitn-** VI 46,14.  
**ckorkp̄** v. VI 78,34.  
**clwl** v. VI 8,35.  
**colcl̄** m. VI 13,27.  
**clate** VI 65,1.  
**clwλ̄** v.: **clwlex** VI 46,4.  
**cmh** f. V 60,9; 61,13; 83,9; 84,4.10. VI 2,30; 3,14; 4,[1]; 14,12; 20,32.32; 73,16. **xi cmh** VI 19,35.  
**cmoy** v. V 18,16. VI 18,21; 59,23; 60,12; 61,8; 64,2. BG 9,19. **cmamaat†** V 23,3. **cmoy** m. V 42,[17]; VI 55,4; 57,10; 60,9.14.18.  
**cmine** v. VI 17,23. **cm̄n-** VI 72,38. **cm̄nt** = VI 45,26; 73,13. **cmont†** VI 66,8,9.  
**cmot** m. V 54,20; 59,2. VI 66,19; 72,14; 78,14. **cmat** VI 76,32. **ot̄ m̄πε-  
cmot** VI 8,15.  
**caein** m. VI 8,15; 11,16.18. **p̄ caein** VI 11,11. **mhtcaein** VI 9,31.  
**con** m. V 24,14.15.15; 46,22; 48,22; 50,12.12.17.23. VI 2,35; 3,[2].9; 23,15.22; 52,28. BG 18,2. pl. **cnhy** VI 3,6; 24,18. BG 9,14; 17,11; 140,7. pl. **cnhoγ** VI 23,11; 53,8.27.29; 54,21. **cwne** f. VI 13,31. BG 10,1; 137,9.  
**cine** v. V 39,8; 52,19; 76,8.  
**cnc̄n** v. VI 2,30.  
**cwn̄t** v. (be created) VI 56,8; 59,34; 69,15. **peq̄cwn̄t** VI 63,21. **cwn̄t** nm. V 23,27; 45,22; 53,[4].  
**cwn̄t** v. (look): **con̄t† eboλ zht** = VI 45,5.  
**cnay** cardinal number V 20,29; 24,24; 32,16; 37,[14]; 47,20; 64,23; 82,7. VI 24,13. BG 10,22. **mazcnay** VI 50,4. **mezcnay** V 21,3; 30,26. **mezcn̄te** V 78,6. BG 16,6. **maz̄naiwn cnay** VI 43,13. **maz̄bam c̄nte** VI 47,2. **m̄п(ε)cnay** VI 55,9. BG 137,11. **c̄nte** VI 67,33. Cf. also **mht**, **cop**, **cyβε**.

1100 v. VI 51,2  
 1101.12.23; 79,  
 109 m. V 43,18  
 1102 v.: **cnaz**  
 1103 m. V 22,30;  
 134,4; 132,19. B  
 1104 **cop** **cnay**  
 1105 **cepe** m. VI 30,  
 1106 **cn̄t** v. VI 60,1  
 1107 v. V 62,1. **c̄p̄**  
 1108 v. V 62,7.  
 1109 **pe** VI 60,9.  
 1110 v. (repeat) VI  
 1111 m. BG 139,3.  
 1112 **ate** f. VI 40,10; 7,  
 1113 v.: **cat** = V  
 1114 v. V 25,20; 3,  
 1115 **peq̄cwt** V  
 1116 m. VI 29,26  
 1117 v. V 21,15; 2,  
 1118.17.23; 32,1  
 1119; 13,7; 19,25;  
 1120; 8,11; 125,13  
 1121; 20,29. **peq̄c**  
 1122 nm.: **mhtc**  
 1123 v. V 82,21. V  
 1124 **con̄t†** V 19,17  
 1125 **ateere** f. VI 4,  
 1126 v. VI 15,27.  
 1127 m. VI 9,29.  
 1128 m. VI 40,4. 7,  
 1129 m. VI 25,13.  
 1130 m.: **coyn**  
 1131 cardinal num  
 V 79,28. BG 16,  
 1132 v. V 18,9,12  
 1133; 85,2.11.18.2  
 1134; 57,18; 31;  
 BG 10,2,5; 18,1  
 1135 **coyn-**  
 1136; 9,3; 10,24;  
 1137; 16; 56,22;  
 1138; 46,7; 47,  
 1139 m. V 67,7; 72,9  
 1140; 30; 31,28;  
 1141.10. **p̄ atca**  
 1142 **m̄natcoyn**  
 1143; 26,23; 2



- саан** v. VI 51,20. **сан** v. V 50,18. **санеу** VI 39,12. **саноу** = V 78,1.12.23; 79,13.15; 80,5.25; 81,10; 82,2.7. VI 51,18.  
**сноу** m. V 43,18; 83,23; 84,13. VI 65,6; 71,19; 78,29.  
**сων** v.: **сна** m. V 27,5. pl. **снаоу** V 59,14.  
**соп** m. V 22,30; 45,17; 76,9. VI 32,15; 71,11; 73,31.33.34; 77,21.22. BG 131,4; 132,19. **мписоп** VI 11,5. **нкесоп** BG 131,4. **мпме** **сеп** (соп) **снау** VI 11,2; 71,26. **ѡиоусоп** V 40,6.  
**сеепе** m. VI 30,23; 49,9.30; 72,29. BG 10,3.  
**сопсп** v. VI 60,19. **сепсп**- BG 131,10.  
**сѡр** v. V 62,1. **ср**- VI 5,12. **сор** = **ево** VI 31,10. **снр†ево** VI 29,5.  
**сѡрм** v. V 62,7.  
**срѣ** VI 60,9.  
**сѡт** v. (repeat) VI 21,31.  
**сѡт** nn. BG 139,3.  
**сате** f. VI 40,10; 77,18.  
**сите** v.: **сат** = V 79,22. **реқсите** VI 60,23.  
**сѡте** v. V 25,20; 36,9; 76,15. **сѡте** m. V 24,12; 25,9.20; 29,8.13; 33,1. **реқсѡте** V 55,15.18.  
**стои** m. VI 29,26. **р с† вѡн** VI 66,22.  
**сѡтм** v. V 21,15; 24,19; 25,24; 30,14.22; 31,6; 32,24; 46,11; 48,25; 49,12; 51,15.17.23; 52,16; 57,15; 60,1.9; 64,5; 66,3.9; 72,19. VI 3,14.32; 4,15; 5,4; 13,7; 19,25; 20,26; 34,1.4; 38,29; 65,37; 66,35; 76,21; 77,34. BG 7,9; 8,11; 128,13; 136,17. **сотм** = BG 10,6. **сѡтм** m. VI 13,12; 19,21; 20,29. **реқсѡтм** VI 13,7.  
**стмнт** nn.: **мнтстмнт** VI 15,17.  
**сѡтп** v. V 82,21. VI 71,5. **сотп** = V 77,12; 83,2. VI 24,13. BG 17,22. **сотп†** V 19,17. VI 10,11; 56,16. **сатп†** VI 68,2.  
**сатеере** f. VI 4,21.  
**сѡт** v. VI 15,27.  
**сноу** m. VI 9,29.  
**сиоу** m. VI 46,4; 73,15; 75,12.  
**соуо** m. VI 25,13.14.16.19.  
**соуен** m.: **соунт** = VI 10,30.  
**соу** cardinal number V 72,8. **меꝛсо** V 22,13.19.21.; 23,29. **меꝛсое** V 79,28. BG 16,10.  
**соуѡн** v. V 18,9.14; 26,7; 31,8; 51,8.10; 54,21.21.26; 58,[1]; 64,19; 66,19; 85,2.14.18.25. VI 4,18; 6,15; 9,6; 10,25; 11,15; 14,23; 17,21.22; 18,[5].7.[8].31; 20,28; 24,24; 32,35; 33,28; 34,13; 40,27; 68,8.10.12. BG 10,2.5; 18,13; 139,11. **р ѡрп нсоуѡн** VI 26,24. **соуѡн** VI 45,3. **соуѡн**- V 19,13; 40,18; 53,22; 59,19; 65,17.28; 67,2; 83,12. VI 8,29; 9,3; 10,24; 17,31; 36,3.27.30; 57,10; 73,15. **соуѡн** = V 36,[11]; 47,[16]; 56,[22]; 57,6. VI 8,20; 9,14; 14,25.25; 18,[1].34; 40,28; 41,19.22; 46,7; 47,14; 64,14.22.22.24.25.27. BG 15,8.19.20; 137,9. **соуѡн** m. V 67,7; 72,9. VI 14,26; 18,11; 24,21; 26,18.24; 33,3. **ѡи соуѡн** VI 22,30; 31,28; 32,2.9; 35,2.7. **р атсоуѡн** VI 13,15; 14,32; 18,29.32; 70,10. **р атсауѡне** VI 13,13. **от ннатсоуѡн** VI 33,4; 34,5. **ет ннатсоуѡн** VI 65,32; 70,3; 76,18.20. **мнатсоуѡн** V 28,9. VI 14,27; 26,23; 28,8; 31,6.16.24; 34,27; 66,14; 76,5. BG 15,12; 16,7.20.

COOYTN̄ v.: COYTN̄- V 57,20. COYTΩN- V 57,12; 59,26; 62,13. COY-  
TN̄- EBOΛ VI 9,22. COYTN̄ m. VI 8,26. 2N̄ OYCOOYTN̄ VI 12,9.  
CWOY2 (EZOYH) v. BG 128,3. CEY2- VI 36,14. COOY2= 2N̄ VI 36,22.  
COOY2= EZOYH VI 16,19.

COEIΩ m. V 36,4. VI 65,28.

CWOY v.: CAW= V 41,22. VI 66,22. WOC= VI 16,27. WHCT VI 13,17;  
70,17. CAW nn. VI 66,19. WWC m. VI 18,23; 32,12; 39,25. † CWOY  
V 71,20; 77,3. X1 CWOY V 54,[5]. MNTWACPOME VI 3,26.

CIWE m. V 25,16; 40,15.

CWOT v.: COWT† BG 129,5.

CAWQ cardinal number V 22,[30]. VI 36,11; 63,19. CAWQE V 26,4; 38,  
[16]. BG 16,4,12; 16,12. MEZCAWQE V 22,[24].28; 23,[29]; 80,9.  
BG 16,11.

CAQ m.: NCAQ VI 52,2.

CWAW v. BG 137,7. COOY† V 73,24; 84,14. CWAW nn. BG 135,12.

CIZE v. V 23,20. VI 27,20. CEZT= VI 75,26.

COOZE v. V 21,8; 28,8; 30,2; 42,21; 54,6. CAZE- V 28,9. CAZW= V 28,1.  
CAZW= EPAT= EXN̄- VI 73,28.

CZAI v. VI 62,13,22; 65,11. BG 139,2. CZAEI VI 36,16. CAZ= V 44,16.  
VI 60,16; 61,19,26,28; 65,8,10. CZAI= V 36,23. CZHT= V 36,24.

CHZ† VI 63,4. CZHOYT† V 85,6. CZAI m. VI 20,34; 21,12; 36,15;  
37,15; 61,20. CZAEI m. VI 62,15. CZEEI m. VI 61,30. CAZ nn. VI  
59,18. CAZPpANW (PpAEIW) VI 61,20,30; 62,15.

CZIME f. V 34,4; 35,[12].13; 37,11; 38,17,19; 44,21; 70,21. VI 13,19; 23,  
11; 65,19,22,24. BG 10,3; 17,19; 18,9; 132,17. pl. ZIME V 70,[11].  
22. VI 18,19; 62,8. MNTCZIME V 24,27,28,29; 41,17.

CWZP v.: CAZP= VI 29,8.

CAZNE Cf. OYEZ CAZNE.

CAZOY v. VI 15,24; 17,33.

CWXE v. VI 26,20.

CWB v. BG 135,9. CHB† BG 129,4.

CEBH f. BG 16,10.

TAEIO v. VI 17,34; 20,9. TAEIO= VI 53,9; 72,22. TAEINOY† VI 5,32;  
18,21. TAEINOYT† VI 7,11. TAIHOYT† V 45,25. TAEIAEIT† VI 13,  
17; 64,1. TAEIO m. VI 56,17.

† v. V 23,23,25; 24,[24]; 25,16; 26,27; 58,10; 60,14,18; 71,1; 74,27. VI 1,12;  
4,19; 5,7; 9,30; 10,8,9,11,31; 22,26; 37,29; 53,30; 55,32; 57,24; 58,7;  
59,8; 65,31; 69,36,37. BG 128,16; 141,2. †- V 21,13; 26,10; 55, 27. VI  
48,11. BG 9,2; 19,10; 130,17; 135,10; 140,17. TAA= V 36,25; 63,15;  
79,8; 85,24. VI 4,8,14,33; 10,12,21; 22,24; 27,31; 28,11; 32,17; 37,16,25;  
45,13; 46,25. BG 137,3. MA EBOΛ imperat. VI 25,18. MATOYXE- im-  
perat. VI 57,23. MA† imperat. VI 9,27; 56,23; 57,3,5. TO† VI 32,5. †  
ETOOT= V 84,21. VI 32,16; 41,16,28. TET ETOOT= V 84,12. †  
TOOT= NCA- BG 130,4. † OYBH= VI 28,32; 62,27. † ZIWA= V  
20,[25]; 56,8. VI 44,23. BG 18,16. † ZIWA= V 28,21. TO† ZIWA=  
VI 32,7. TOET ZIWA= V 58,22. VI 9,16. † EZOYH 2M PEQZHT  
BG 136,1. † EBOΛ VI 4,3; 5,7; 40,4. BG 139,10. Cf. also EOY, KAW,

MAEIN, M  
OYΩ, OYO  
m. V 40,11.  
OET v. Cf. †.  
OE f.: MNTMA  
m. cardinal  
OYO v. VI 36,7  
TOYQHOY†  
OYH f.: pl. TBN  
OT m. VI 29,24  
OPEC v. V 22,  
OPE v. PEQT  
TKO v. V 43,20; 6  
TAKO= VI 40  
137,4. TEKO  
VI 60,17.  
TO v.: TKT-  
TLO v. VI 44,28.  
TANA v. V 84,17  
TAN m. V 28,13  
TAE f. V 79,21  
TALO v. BG 129,  
22; 66,17,19. T  
TOM v. V 60,7. VI  
TMO v. V 65,[31]  
[4]; 66,20. VI  
54,13; 60,17; 6  
TMO v. V 18,[7];  
21. TAMO= V  
MO= imperat.  
TMO v. V 29,4  
TMC v. V 28,18.  
TNT v.: TONN̄  
TOY Cf. TENOY  
TON V 23,2,11; 34  
33,35; 77,23,24  
TONOY: TONW  
TMO Cf. TMO.  
TME m. VI 71,21  
TME pronoun VI  
V 50,18; 66,21;  
TMOH m. VI 77,  
TMO v.: TANO  
TMOY v. VI 45  
TONT v.: TONTW  
TONT  
TONTY Cf. OYNO  
TOM m. V 61,21.

ΜΑΕΙΝ, ΜΕΤΕ, ΜΟΕΙΤ, ΜΝΤΝΑ, ΝΗΕΙΕ, ΟΣΕ, ΡΑΝ, ΣΒΩ,  
ΟΥΩ, ΟΥΟΕΙ, ΨΙΠΕ, ΨΑΧΕ, ΨΒΑ, ΖΟ, ΖΑΠ, ΖΗΤ, ΒΟΜ.

ΤΟ m. V 40,11.

ΤΟΕ† v. Cf. †.

ΤΟΕ f.: ΜΝΤΜΑΕΙΤΟ ΝΖΟΥΟ VI 31,21.

ΤΒΑ m. cardinal number VI 32,15.

ΤΒΒΟ v. VI 36,7; 46,24. ΤΟΥΒΑ = VI 36,20. ΤΟΥΒΑΕΙΤ† VI 63,6.

ΤΟΥΦΗΟΥ† VI 75,13. ΤΒΒΟ m. VI 62,31. ΤΟΥΒΟ VI 47,30.

ΤΒΝΗ f.: pl. ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ V 70,12.[23]. ΜΝΤΤΒΝΗ VI 24,22.23; 39,9.

ΤΒΤ m. VI 29,24.33; 30,3.6.

ΤΩΒΕC v. V 22,9.

ΤΩΒΖ v.: ΡΕΦΤΩΒΖ VI 4,29.35.

ΤΑΚΟ v. V 43,20; 67,5; 69,6; 76,23; 83,16. VI 34,15; 43,25. ΤΑΚΕ- V [69,8].

ΤΑΚΟ = VI 40,16; 77,24. ΤΑΚΟ m. V 41,15; 46,18; 60,21. BG 135,13;  
137,4. ΤΕΚΟ m. VI 76,14. ΑΤΤΑΚΟ V 35,6; 36,8; 41,16; 76,7; 85,28.

VI 60,17.

ΤΚΤΟ v.: ΤΚΤΕ- VI 76,31. Cf. also ΚΤΟ.

ΤΑΛΟ v. VI 44,28. ΤΑΛΕ- V 40,11. ΤΑΛΗΟΥΤ† VI 2,15.

ΤΕΛΗΛ v. V 84,17. BG 15,9; 130,10.

ΤΩΛΜ m. V 28,13.17; 48,13. VI 39,29.

ΤΛ†ΛΕ f. V 79,21; 80,11.17; 81,20.

ΤΑΛΒΟ v. BG 129,6. ΤΛΒΟ VI 70,1. ΤΑΛΒΕ- VI 11,25. ΤΑΛΒΟ m. VI 11,  
22; 66,17.19. ΤΛΒΟ m. VI 66,10.

ΤΩΜ v. V 60,7. VI 46,21. ΤΩΜ ΝΖΗΤ m. VI 33,13.18; 34,24.

ΤΑΜΙΟ v. V 65,[31]; 66,26; 71,19. VI 38,29; 69,24. ΤΑΜΙΕ- V 35,13; 58,  
[4]; 66,20. VI 66,36; 67,32; 68,26.31.34; 69,26. ΤΑΜΙΟ = V 34,5.15;  
54,13; 60,17; 64,6.17; 65,18; 66,15.26. VI 21,10. ΤΑΜΙΟ m. VI 67,2.

ΤΑΜΟ v. V 18,[7]; 49,14. BG 19,[2]. ΤΑΜΑ- BG 10,8. ΤΑΜΕ- V 64,2; 85,  
21. ΤΑΜΟ = V 56,2; 64,12. VI 4,[4].13; 5,20; 8,27. BG 7,10. ΜΑΤΑ-  
ΜΟ = imperat. VI 4,8.

ΤΜΑΕΙΟ v. V 29,4; 40,10.

ΤΩΜC v. V 28,18.

ΤΩΜ† v.: ΤΩΜΝ† VI 76,30.

†ΝΟΥ Cf. ΤΕΝΟΥ.

ΤΩΝ V 23,2.11; 34,16. VI 9,6; 10,20; 75,35. ΤΟ VI 37,25. ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ V  
33,15; 77,23.24. ΕΤΩΝ BG 15,14; 16,15. ΧΙΝ ΤΩΝ BG 16,14.

ΤΩΝΟΥ: ΤΟΝΩ VI 65,9.

ΤΑΝΟ Cf. ΤΝΝΟ.

ΤΗΝΕ m. VI 71,21.

ΤΗΝΕ pronoun VI 15,20; 18,14; 20,14.15.16.16; 40,2; 65,10.12. ΤΗΥΤ†  
V 50,18; 66,21; 72,20; 84,21. VI 4,31; 17,19. ΤΗΝΟΥ V 59,15.

ΤΝΟΟМ m. VI 77,18.

ΤΝΝΟ v.: ΤΑΝΟ m. VI 17,12.

Τ†ΝΝΟΟΥ v. VI 45,1; 57,20; 66,24. Τ†ΝΝΟΟΥ = V 63,26. VI 66,27.29.

ΤΟΝ† v.: Τ†ΝΤΩΝ = VI 54,10; 78,21. Τ†ΝΤΩΝ† VI 49,30; 68,29; 72,11;  
78,7. ΤΟΝ† m. VI 69,25.

ΤΕΝΟΥ Cf. ΟΥΝΟΥ.

Τ†ΝΖ m. V 61,21.

**ΤΑΝΖΟ** v.: **ΤΑΝΖΟ** = V 62,19.

**ΤΑΝΖΟΥΤ** v.: **ΤΝΖΟΥΤ** = VI 78,24. BG 139,7

**ΤΑΠ** m. VI 43,23.

**ΤΩΠ** m. V 31,1.

**†πε** f. (loins) VI 2,12.

**†πε** f. (taste): **χι †πε** VI 30,15; 31,25; 40,3.

**ΤΗΡ** = V 19,2.5; 20,19; 24,5; 26,19; 27,11.12.16; 36,10; 45,26; 49,[7]; 52,12; 55,22; 61,2.12; 62,6; 63,12.18; 70,5; 72,16.22; 73,6; 74,15.19.19.26; 76,18; 77,21.27; 82,22; 83,4.7.28.[30]; 85,9. VI 10,5.33; 15,26; 21,13; 25,21.23.26; 26,15; 28,8; 31,6.8; 32,12; 36,14; 37,13.29; 38,2; 39,9; 40,13.20; 41,5; 45,9.10.31; 46,22.30; 47,12.14.23.25.34; 49,5.9.11.13.24.30; 50,10.31; 51,8; 55,12.12; 56,[1]; 57,17.21.23; 58,12.18; 59,19.34; 62,30; 69,7.21; 70,7.16.18.32; 71,14; 72,8; 74,23; 75,8.20; 76,35; 78,3. BG 9,13.17; 17,21; 131,9; 135,7; 136,17; 138,5; 139,16; 140,16; 141,2.

**ΤΗΡῶ** m. VI 33,30; 40,20; 53,28; 57,12; 58,4.32; 60,19; 64,4; 68,26; 74,29. BG 15,21. **ΕΠΤΗΡῶ** adv. V 34,2.

**ΤΩΡε** f. occurring in the following prepositions: **ετοοτ** = V 33,12; 34,21; 63,15; 84,12.21. VI 7,26. **ἄτην** - VI 4,28. BG 18,15. **ἄτο(ο)τ** = V 22,9; 23,24; 37,18; 66,10; 76,26; 83,6. VI 1,31; 3,22; 6,7; 7,28.29.31.32.34; 8,[1].14; 9,32; 24,30; 61,6; 63,34. **ζατῆν** - V 61,21.22. (**εβολ**) **ῥιτῆν** - V 46,7; 69,10; 71,[25]. VI 1,16.23; 52,31; 57,9; 65,18; 67,26. (**εβολ**) **ῥιτοοτ** = V 23,20; 26,20; 27,26; 36,9; 38,[5].[8]; 47,19.22; 51,[13]; 52,20; 53,[3].18; 55,[7]; 63,14; 71,[24]; 85,26. VI 11,21; 12,18; 16,28; 17,4; 33,22; 46,15.32; 55,18; 57,11.16; 58,22; 66,21. BG 132,10.

**ΤΑΡΚΟ** v. VI 63,16.

**ΤΩΡῆ** v. V 19,22. VI 17,13. **ΤΩΡῆ** m. VI 73,11.

**ΤΩΡῆ** m. V 45,24.

**ΤΣΑΒΟ** v.: **ΤΣΕΒΟ** VI 54,30. **ΤΣΑΒΟ** = VI 4,23.33; 33,3. **ΤΣΕΒΟ** = VI 11,10; 64,17.

**†σο ε-** v. BG 9,11.12.

**ΤΣΤΟ** v. VI 17,28. **ΤΣΤε-** VI 18,3. **ΤΣΤα** = VI 18,4.

**ΤΩΤ** v. V 46,25; 82,18. BG 130,13. **ΤΗΤ†** BG 8,9. **αττωτ** BG 8,8. **ΤΩΤ** m. V 42,23. **ΤΩΤ ἄρητ** v. V 38,13; 40,24; 42,17.23; 61,4; 63,11. **ΤΗΤ† ἄρητ** BG 8,7.

**ΤΑΑΤε** v. V 80,1. **ρεττοοτε εζογν** V 55,17.

**ΤΗΥ** m. BG 10,8. **ΤΗΟΥ** VI 1,27; 7,14; 46,20.

**†ου** cardinal number: **†** V 21,6. **μαζ†ου** V 45,24. **μεζτ** V 21,28; 22,3; 79,19.

**ΤΟΟΥ** m. V 19,11.12; 30,19; 78,11; 81,4; 85,10. VI 43,34; 75,36.

**ΤΟΟΥ** v.: **ταγ-** VI 25,16.

**ΤΑΥΟ** v. VI 8,11. **ΤΑΥΟ εβολ** V 79,4. **τεγο εζραί** VI 50,26. **ΤΑΥΟ** = V 53,3; 79,3. **ταογο** = VI 6,19; 13,2; 18,15; 21,16.

**ΤΟΥΕΙΑΤ** = v. BG 137,16.

**ΤΟΥΩ** = nn.: **ῥιτουω** = VI 11,3.

**ΤΩΟΥΝ** v. V 19,18. BG 9,12; 130,3.8; 136,9; 137,12; 141,5. **ΤΩΩΝ** VI 44,14. **ΤΩΩΝ εβολ ῥῆ** VI 21,17. **ΤΩΩΝ εζραί** V 20,[30]; 50,13; 61,5. VI 34,30. **ΤΩΩΝ εζραί εχω** = VI 41,14. **ΤΩΟΥΝΟΥ** V 43,16. 61,15. **ΤΩΟΥΝΓ** imperat. V 66,[1]; 78,15.

ῥυνοc v. VI  
 ῥωτ m. VI  
 ῥωχο v. BG 1  
 ῥωφ v. V 61,23  
 τηω† VI 1,  
 ῥωε οειω n  
 45,23. BG 8,2  
 ῥωτ m. VI 25,12.  
 ῥωτ v.: τωτ  
 ἡῖνα = VI 1  
 ῥω v. V 28,19.  
 61,9. VI 9,23;  
 47,20. αττετ  
 ῥω v.: θιο = ε  
 εῖλιον: εῖβιο  
 V 65,15.  
 ῥωῖ v.: ταζm  
 ῥω = εζογν v.  
 ῥωρο v. VI 3  
 ῥωε v. VI 22,31  
 ῥωο v.: τῶαε  
 15,10; 17,12; 2  
 ῥω V 20,14; 25,12  
 59,25; 71,27  
 ῥω m. V 47,25.25  
 ῥω cardinal numb  
 16,50,7; 34,24  
 V 81,3. VI 30,12  
 BG 7,11. π ογ  
 63,30; 65,30. BG  
 ῥω = V 27,19; 20  
 19; 23,26; 25,2  
 25. BG 7,8; 129  
 ῥε εβολ v. V  
 ἡνο = VI 15,  
 ῥοε m. † π =  
 ῥω v. VI 25,19;  
 ῥω m.: † ογω  
 ῥωε V 27,20; 34,  
 V 83,4.  
 ῥωα (qualitativ  
 75,76,3; 77,4  
 53; 63,47; 65,  
 47,10. ογωπ  
 ῥω v.: ογο  
 ῥω v. VI 12,1  
 39,27. ογωm  
 ῥωε VI 29

- ΤΟΥΝΟΣ** v. VI 41,10. **ΤΟΥΝΟΣ-** V 19,10; 77,7. **ΤΟΥΝΟΣ** = V 62,8.  
**ΤΟΥΩΤ** nn. VI 69,28.30. pl. **ΤΟΥΟΤΕ** VI 69,34.37.  
**ΤΟΥΧΟ** v. BG 135,11. **ΜΑΤΟΥΧΕ-** imperat. VI 57,23.  
**ΤΩΨ** v. V 61,23; 64,20. **ΤΑΨ** = V 32,20. **ΤΩΨ** = VI 1,11; 76,24. BG 9,2.  
**ΤΗΨ†** VI 1,23. **ΤΩΨ** m. V 82,14.  
**ΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ** nn. V 38,7.[9]; 47,[21]. VI 34,19; 38,26; 40,31; 43,13.19;  
45,23. BG 8,21; 9,8; 18,18; 19,2. **ΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ** nn. VI 34,7; 43,12.28.  
**ΤΩΖ** m. VI 25,12.18.21.22.  
**ΤΩΖ** v.: **ΤΩΖ ΜΝ** VI 25,5.11.23. **ΤΗΖ† ΜΝ** VI 25,15; 39,18. **ΤΗΖ†**  
**ΜΝΜΑ** = VI 25,19.  
**ΤΑΖΟ** v. V 28,19. **ΤΑΖΟ** = VI 14,10. **ΤΕΖΑ** = VI 61,2. **ΤΑΖΟ** = **ΕΡΑΤ** = V  
62,9. VI 9,23; 12,17. **ΤΕΖΟ** = **ΕΡΑΤ** = VI 75,27. **ΑΤΤΕΖΑ** = VI 26,18;  
47,20. **ΑΤΤΕΖΑ** = VI 37,8.  
**ΤΖΙΟ** v.: **ΘΙΟ** = **ΕΖΡΑ† ΖΝ** VI 28,19.  
**ΘΒΒΙΟ** v.: **ΘΒΒΙΟ ΧΩϞ** m. V 73,11. **ΖΝ ΟΥΘΒΒΙΟ** VI 9,24. **ΡΕϞΘΒΒΙΟ**  
V 63,15.  
**ΤΩΖΜ** v.: **ΤΑΖΜ** = V 46,9. VI 34,6. **ΤΩΖΜ** m. VI 34,4.  
**ΘΠΟ** = **ΕΖΟΥΝ** v. V 55,13.  
**ΤΑΧΡΟ** v. VI 2,3; 68,32.32. **ΤΑΧΡΟ†** VI 51,16.  
**ΤΩΒΕ** v. VI 22,31; 50,2.6. **ΤΩΒΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ** VI 27,19.  
**ΤΒΑΙΟ** v.: **ΤΒΑΙΟ** VI 17,34. **ΒΑΙΕ-** VI 20,14. **ΒΑΙΗ(Ο)Υ†** VI 14,33;  
15,10; 17,12; 21,24. **ΜΝΤΒΑΙΕ** VI 17,14.  
  
**ΟΥ** V 20,14; 25,12; 28,30; 29,1; 66,17; 71,17; 74,8; 84,9. VI 3,[3]; 42,5;  
59,9.25; 71,9; 76,19.21. BG 7,12; 18,3; 128,17; 129,12.  
**ΟΥΑ** m. V 47,25.25. **ΡΕϞΧΕ ΟΥΑ** VI 66,1.  
**ΟΥΑ** cardinal number V 33,13; 44,16; 57,1; 76,[26]. VI 5,22; 31,13; 33,17; 41,  
18; 50,7; 54,24; 64,21; 65,8; 72,5; 78,16. BG 128,1.7; 129,3; 135,7. **ΟΥΕ†**  
V 81,3. VI 30,14. BG 19,6; 128,1.7. **ΟΥΕΙΕ** VI 62,18. **ΚΕΟΥΑ** V 29,7.  
BG 7,11. (Π)**ΟΥΑ** (Π)**ΟΥΑ** V 55,14. VI 29,23; 48,29; 52,13; 54,31; 55,17;  
63,30; 65,30. BG 140,4. **ΜΝΤΟΥΑ** VI 47,19. **ΜΝΤΟΥΕ** VI 9,21.  
**ΟΥΑΑ** = V 27,19; 29,22; 35,14.17; 46,[15]; 47,11; 72,14; 81,6.[27]. VI 21,  
19; 23,26; 25,29; 40,16.23; 41,25; 46,33; 56,9; 61,31; 66,28.29.32; 73,  
25. BG 7,8; 129,11; 130,5; 136,13; 139,11. **ΟΥΑΕΤ** = VI 73,6.  
**ΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ** v. V 65,10. **ΟΥΗΟΥ†** V 53,[7]. **ΟΥΗΟΥ† ΝСА-** (Н)**ΒΟΛ**  
**ΜΜΟ** = VI 18,33; 19,[3]. **ΟΥΗΟΥ† ΝСАМОΛ ΜΜΟ** = VI 19,1.  
**ΟΥΟΕΙ** m. † **Π** = **ΟΥΟΕΙ** VI 17,20.24.  
**ΟΥΩ** v. VI 25,[9]; 59,23; 78,[4].  
**ΟΥΩ** nn.: † **ΟΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ** VI 49,11.26. † **ΟΥΩ ΜΝ** VI 50,9.  
**ΟΥΒΕ-** V 27,20; 84,9. **ΟΥВН** = V 27,17.19.21.23; 28,6; 33,4; 40,17. † **ΟΥВЕ-**  
V 83,4.  
**ΟΥΑΑВ** (qualitative of **ΟΥΟΠ**) V 19,21.[26]; 22,16.[22]; 58,14; 63,4.26;  
72,5; 76,3; 77,11.18; 84,7; 85,25.[29]. VI 25,24; 37,23; 46,13.17; 47,31;  
58,7; 63,17; 65,6.35; 67,14.19; 68,20; 69,13; 71,[1]; 73,16. **ΟΥΑΑВЕ** VI  
47,10. **ΟΥΩΠЕ** m. VI 62,4. **ΟΥΗНВ** m. V 44,17; 61,9.  
**ΟΥΒΑΨ** v.: **ΟΥΟΒЕΨ†** V 22,27.  
**ΟΥΩМ** v. VI 12,1; 22,25; 27,32; 40,3; 44,7; 51,6; 65,5. **ΟΥОМ** = VI 6,5;  
29,27. **ΟΥΩМ ΕΒΟΛ ΖН-** VI 35,11. **ΟΥΩМ НСа-** VI 66,20. **ΟΥАМ-**  
**ΡΩМЕ** VI 29,18. **ΜΝΤΟΥАМΖΑΖ** VI 25,[10].

- ΟΥΘΕΙΝ** m. V 22,18,26; 25,18; 58,8; 62,[24]; 63,[27].28; 71,10; 72,11; 75,18,20; 83,21. VI 21,4; 28,14,17; 32,2; 35,17; 36,17; 37,34; 46,8; 47,10,24; 55,27; 59,26; 60,22; 64,23; 72,17. BG 136,15. **ΟΥΛΕΙΝ** VI 37,14. **ΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ** V 22,18; 83,2,3. VI 47,25. BG 136,16. **ΕΤ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ** V 22,29. **ΟΤ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ** VI 57,30. **ΧΙ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ** VI 64,15.
- ΟΥΝ** (affirmation of existence) v. V 22,5; 29,[25]; 33,3,12; 40,[15]; 51,16; 83,7. VI 2,13,14,25,27; 8,16,17; 27,23; 42,31; 58,9; 62,4; 64,7; 66,13; 69,33; 70,11; 71,17; 76,22. BG 7,8; 8,10. **ΟΥΝΤΑ** = V 31,1; 32,1; 36,26; 47,8; 53,23. VI 23,6; 29,24; 32,31; 37,21,28; 46,16; 48,29; 52,28; 53,16; 56,8; 59,33; 72,12; 74,21,24,25,27,28. Cf. also **ΒΟΜ**.
- ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ** V 30,6; 47,17; 63,21. VI 7,8,15; 19,21; 24,12,31; 36,9; 46,7; 51,9; 56,5,6,10; 59,9; 63,27; 64,4; 69,12.
- ΟΥΩΝ** v. V 21,27; 22,12.[21].23; 23,25,29; 50,7; 55,6; 59,27. VI 41,7; 46,4. **ΑΥΟΥΩΝ** imperat. V 52,17.
- ΟΥΕΙΝΕ** v. VI 43,3.
- ΟΥΝΑΜ** f. V 20,3. VI 2,29; 62,7.
- ΟΥΝΟΥ** f. V 61,8; 63,25. **ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ** V 36,17. VI 65,21; 76,31. **ΤΕΝΟΥ** VI 4,21; 48,25; 49,15,32; 50,6; 60,4. BG 10,17; 15,3; 18,8; 135,17; 140,7. **† ΝΟΥ** V 21,8; 27,2; 30,7; 47,7; 52,16; 55,19; 57,10,11,12; 63,24; 67,14; 84,2. VI 39,16; 49,6,28,32; 52,23; 53,23; 54,15; 60,[1]; 61,24; 66,34; 75,34.
- ΟΥΝΟϚ** v. VI 11,30. **ΟΥΝΟϚ** m. V 84,17.
- ΟΥΩΝΩ** m. VI 6,[2]; 7,29.
- ΟΥΩΝΩ** v. V 47,16. VI 9,17. **ΟΥΩΝΩ** V 31,2. **ΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ** V 29,15,20; 30,2; 39,19; 41,[14]; 42,[15]; 47,18; 49,21; 53,9; 55,3,5,21; 56,21. VI 15,34; 22,8,11; 25,31; 26,[4].9,13; 42,18,20; 44,27; 47,9; 58,17; 61,22; 63,13; 70,13; 71,27. **ΟΥΩΝΩ-** V 30,1; 61,10. **ΟΥΩΝΩ** = V 63,22. VI 8,30. BG 129,10. **ΟΥΩΝΩ** = **ΕΒΟΛ** VI 3,28; 16,35; 17,[2]; 42,3,27. **ΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΗΤ** = VI 36,10; 44,3. **ΟΥΩΝΩ†** BG 129,10. **ΟΥΩΝΩ† ΕΒΟΛ** V 19,14; 61,4. VI 16,33; 20,[1].25; 22,10; 69,9. **ΟΥΩΝΩ† ΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΗΤ** = VI 37,15. **ΟΥΩΝΩ** m. V 42,19; 69,14. VI 20,34; 35,20. **ΩΝ ΟΥΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ** BG 17,20.
- ΟΥΡΟΤ** v.: **ΩΝ ΟΥΟΥΡΑΤ** adv. VI 62,22.
- ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ** f. V 62,5. VI 2,22; 35,5.
- ΟΥΩCϚ** v. BG 16,1. **ΟΥOCϚ** = BG 16,19. **ΟΥΑCϚ-** participle BG 16,16.
- ΟΥΟΟΤΕ** m. VI 6,5. **ΟΥΟΤΕ** VI 6,8; 8,3.
- ΟΥΩΤ** V 47,9; 50,19; 76,25. VI 1,10; 10,18; 29,8; 30,21; 49,14,33; 50,1,11; 64,31,34. BG 137,12. **ΝΟΥΩΤ** VI 39,14; 49,17; 50,7; 53,11; 59,28; 72,5; 78,10. **ΟΥΟΤΕ** V 61,13.
- ΟΥΤΕ** VI 75,15; 76,27.
- ΟΥΩΤΕ** v.: **ΟΥΕΤ** VI 49,33-35.
- ΟΥΩΤΒ** v. V 19,[24]; 69,13; 77,10. **ΟΥΩΤΒ ΕΒΟΛ** V 46,12. **ΟΥΩΤΒ ΕΖΡΑΪ** VI 44,28. **ΟΥΑΤΒ** = V 21,[25]. **ΟΥΟΤΒ† Ε-** V 54,7; 65,32. VI 10,27,29.
- ΟΥΩΤΝ** v.: **ΟΥΟΤΝ** = V 69,2.
- ΟΥΤΑΩ** m. V 85,1. **ΡΕϚ† ΟΥΤΑΩ** V 76,15.
- ΟΥΩΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ** v. VI 42,22; 43,7.
- ΟΥΕΩ Ν-** VI 37,19; 78,20. **ΝΟΥΕΩ Ν** VI 37,21.

ΟΥΘΕΙΩ m. V 2  
81,5. VI 14,24  
ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΘ  
ΕΙΩ VI 43,16  
ΟΥΩ v. V 18,  
VI 5,8; 9,9; 4  
22. ΟΥΩΕ  
41,16; 43,26,3  
VI 9,27; 14,8;  
28,30. BG 10,2,2  
67,28. ΟΥΩ  
14,15,16,18,19.  
ΟΥΩ Η f. VI 1,26  
ΟΥΩΩ v. V 18,  
18,22. VI 1,33  
22; 11,5,14; 12  
ΟΥΩΩC m. V 39  
ΟΥΩΩ† v. VI 9;  
ΟΥΩ v.: ΟΥΩ  
ΝCΩ = VI 45;  
ΟΥΩ v.: ΟΥΑΩ  
ΟΥΑΩΗΗΤ V  
ΟΥΩΩ v.: ΟΥΑΩ  
ΟΥΩΩ m.: pl. O  
ΟΥΩΩ CΑΩΝΕ v.  
m. V 73,6; 75,7  
ΟΥΩΩ v. VI 36,11.  
m. V 42,18; 63,  
ΟΥΩΩ† v. BG 7,  
VI 56,20 (6 times  
VI 56,17,17,18 (3  
(3 times); 61,10  
(2 times).13 (9 t  
30 v. V 80,2; 81,2  
VI 52,18.  
ΩΩ v. VI 27,8.  
ΩΩ v.: ΟΚΩ† V  
ΩΩ v.: ΩΩ = V 79,  
ΩΩ v.: ΩΩ =  
ΩΩ v. VI 29,15.  
ΩΩ m. V 61,14,2  
ΩΩ V 47,24; 83,  
63,7,7,19,20; 6  
VI 56,30. ΩΩ  
35; 72,23; 75;  
33; 55,31; 58,  
37,26; 61,6.

ογοειψ m. V 25,17; 31,18; 39,17; 42,20; 49,25; 50,[5]; 63,24; 65,14; 67,23; 81,5. VI 14,2.4; 44,32; 53,5; 56,31; 70,11; 75,23.25; 78,28. BG 17,4.

προς πεογοειψ VI 21,25. προς ογοειψ VI 31,27.33. ογαειψ VI 43,16. κατα ηκεογαειψ VI 13,14. ατογοειψ VI 67,11.

ογωψ v. V 18,10; 20,[24]; 27,1; 31,10; 48,18.19; 52,22; 53,18; 55,3.8. VI 5,8; 9,9; 44,18; 53,35; 58,8.25; 60,7.28; 64,32; 65,15; 74,23.30; 78,22. ογωψε VI 8,22; 23,28; 26,[8].12; 27,29; 30,9.13; 31,12; 32,26; 41,16; 43,26.32; 44,21.27; 69,23. ογεψ- VI 4,22. ογοψ = V 58,19. VI 9,27; 14,8; 24,12; 65,1. BG 18,14. ογαψ = VI 59,22; 74,21.26.26.28.30. BG 10,2. ογωψ m. V 74,18; 84,20. VI 26,7; 55,30; 56,30; 64,6; 67,28. ογωψε m. VI 39,33; 40,7; 43,2; 47,21; 64,31; 67,35; 74,11. 14.15.16.18.19.

ογωη f. VI 1,26; 28,33; 29,1. BG 136,3.

ογωψ̄ v. V 18,13; 19,9.25; 20,13.15.[20].26; 21,3.9; 22,19.30; 23,8.10.12. 18.22. VI 1,33; 3,[1]; 4,10.29; 5,[3].15; 7,[6]; 8,[20]; 9,4.8.13; 10,13.22; 11,5.14; 12,13. BG 10,7.13.19; 15,5; 16,16; 17,10.15; 18,5.

ογωψ̄c m. V 39,9.

ογωψ̄t v. VI 9,20; 12,17; 33,32; 34,9.15; 64,30; 72,2.

ογωϝ v.: ογωϝ ετοτ = BG 7,20. ογωϝ nca- VI 42,32. ογαϝ = nca- VI 45,18. ογεϝ- nca- BG 8,19. ογηϝ† nca- VI 41,19.

ογιϝε v.: ογαϝιητ participle VI 15,16. μητογαϝιητ VI 33,14. μητογαϝειητ VI 33,23.

ογωϝ̄m v.: ογαϝ̄m = VI 6,19; 11,2. ογωϝ̄m m. VI 5,17.

ογϝορ nm.: pl. ογϝοορ VI 5,29.

ογεϝ caϝne v. BG 137,18. ογαϝ caϝne VI 61,24. ογαϝ caϝne m. V 73,6; 75,7. VI 18,13; 42,8.

ογχαί v. VI 36,11. BG 139,6. ογχαει VI 39,1. ογαχ† VI 15,28. ογχαί m. V 42,18; 63,[1].27. ογχαει m. VI 33,17.

ογωβ̄π v. BG 7,[2].

γ VI 56,20 (6 times); 61,12 (6 times).

ω VI 56,17.17.18 (3 and 4 times).19 (6 times).20 (6 times).21 (12 times).22 (3 times); 61,10 (1 time, 1 time, 3 times).11 (4 and 3 times).12 (2 and 2 times).13 (9 times).14 (9 times).14 (9 times).15.15.

ωω v. V 80,2; 81,27. ω V 81,9. VI 31,17. ω εβολ ϝ̄n- VI 52,19. εετ† VI 52,18.

ωβ̄ψ v. VI 27,8. οβεψ VI 29,4. οβψ = ε- BG 140,6.

ωκ̄m v.: οκ̄m† VI 6,13.

ωλ v.: ολ = V 79,25.

ωκ̄ v.: οκ̄ = VI 6,8; 29,19; 30,10.

ω̄nc v. VI 29,15. οmc = VI 73,32.

ωne m. V 61,14.22; 62,4.12. VI 5,18; 10,30; 34,14; 62,3.10.14; 71,3.

ωνϝ V 47,24; 83,14. VI 10,10; 21,31; 37,20. ονη† V 35,[16]; 57,1; 62,8; 63,7.7.19.20; 66,23; 84,8.10; 85,[31]. VI 9,12; 71,23. BG 131, 13. ανϝ† VI 36,30. ωnϝ m. V 43,15; 48,10; 58,7; 63,13.13; 66,6.22; 67,12; 69,25; 72,23; 75,29; 84,18. VI 16,12; 24,11; 31,35; 37,28; 40,5; 42,8; 43,33; 55,31; 58,14; 59,3; 60,25; 64,24.24; 72,19; 75,3.17. χι ωnϝ VI 37,26; 61,6.

- ωπ v. VI 7,18; 38,15; 52,31. επ- VI 69,5. οπ = VI 46,27; 53,26; 72,21.24.  
 λπ = VI 52,29. ηπ† VI 66,4. BG 15,4.  
 ωρϛ v.: ορεχ† VI 25,25. αρεχ† VI 28,27. ϛ̄̄ ογωρϛ VI 68,9.  
 ωσκ̄ v. V 62,21.  
 ωτ̄̄ v.: οτ̄̄ = ερογν VI 28,17.  
 ωτ̄̄ v.: οτ̄̄ = BG 136,10.  
 ωψ v. V 20,[25]; 84,9. VI 62,26; 63,4.17. ωψ εβολ V 83,9. VI 2,31; 3,12.  
 ωψ εγραί εχ̄̄- V 35,[5]. ωψ ογβε- V 83,28. Cf. also αρομ.  
 ωρε ерат = v. V 26,20. VI 37,18. ωзерат = VI 39,15. αзерат =† V  
 40,17; 61,21; 66,11.15; 71,6.14; 74,9; 83,19. VI 1,32; 32,11; 43,10.  
 βιναзерат = f. VI 2,19.  
 ωχ̄̄ v. VI 40,14; 43,16.18; 45,34; 46,3.5.32; 47,7. οχ̄̄ = VI 36,21; 40,23.  
 ατωχ̄̄ VI 43,11.  
 ωβ̄̄ v.: ρερωβ̄̄ VI 78,33.  
 ω- v. V 25,12; 29,1.2; 51,19; 60,[10]. VI 10,20; 14,10; 19,22; 20,17.31;  
 29,12.17; 32,20; 36,6; 42,10; 46,18; 57,32; 58,23.29; 60,26; 63,4; 68,24;  
 76,12. BG 132,19. εω- VI 5,21; 37,33. Cf. also βομ.  
 ωα- V 18,20; 26,7; 40,19; 46,23; 53,29; 64,14.15; 65,12; 67,7; 70,4; 73,20;  
 75,8; 76,22.27; 83,14; 84,1; 85,3.15.17. VI 5,25; 13,3; 26,19; 36,12;  
 44,1.12; 45,2; 56,5; 60,5; 64,4.4. BG 7,18; 9,8; 17,9; 128,4; 135,8; 137,13;  
 138,19. ωαρο = V 19,16; 21,11; 66,6; 84,4. VI 63,35. BG 130,7,9;  
 138,2.4.  
 ωα nn. VI 16,23. ρωα VI 16,22.  
 ωε nn. VI 2,28; 38,30.  
 ωε cardinal number V 72,8; 73,15; 74,12. VI 36,12; 38,27; 43,19; 46,28.  
 ωε v.: ωεε VI 78,25.  
 ωι m.: ατωι† = VI 37,7; 47,12. † ωι m. V 26,13. ατ† ωι V 26,11.  
 ωο cardinal number V 73,16; 74,[12].  
 ωωει m. V 47,11.  
 ωβε cardinal number: ωβеснооус V 26,15.17. VI 41,6.  
 ωιβε v. VI 44,31. ωвт = нтоот = нзнт = VI 9,16. ωββιαεит† VI  
 50,3. ωββιοεит† VI 8,14; 49,19. ωιβε m. VI 42,15; 75,6. ατωιβε  
 VI 55,29.  
 ωβнр m. V 18,19; 24,8; 38,7. VI 2,35; 3,3.9.10. ωβ̄̄ VI 22,15.15.16. pl.  
 ωβεер VI 4,9.25; 6,28; 7,20. ωβнр- V 21,29; 22,14. ρ̄̄ ωβнр еро =  
 VI 12,2. ρ̄̄ ωβнр н- V 18,10.  
 ωβωс nn. VI 70,38.  
 ωβωт m. VI 2,28.  
 ωικε v. V 62,9.  
 ωкак евол v.: ащкак евол VI 19,34. χι ψкак V 35,18. VI 47,32;  
 59,24.  
 ωηη v. V 45,13. VI 53,27.32; 54,21; 55,9.13.23; 65,3. BG 140,9. ωηη  
 m. VI 63,33.  
 ωωλ̄̄ VI 29,25.  
 ωεεет f. VI 13,28; 32,6. ρ̄̄ωεεет VI 13,28. ма ηωεεет VI  
 35,11.  
 ωλορ v.: ωαλερ† VI 63,7.  
 ωωλ̄̄ m. V 79,13.

ωηη nn. V 18,  
 ηηο V 25,5  
 VI 3,7.10; 5,  
 ηηογν cardinal  
 VI 54,4; 53,2  
 ηηηт cardinal  
 VI 50,8. με  
 ηεζωηηη  
 ηηηογε nn.  
 ηηηε v. V 65,  
 ηηη m. V 76,14  
 ηηε v. V 24,25;  
 3. ηηηεεε  
 VI 1,30; 3,[4]  
 17,60,10. BG  
 ερρα = VI 3,5  
 ηηηε v. VI 27,2  
 30; 70,[1]. BG  
 ηηηηε v.: ηηηη  
 ηηηη m. V 24,16  
 ηηηε m. VI 29,5  
 ηηηηε f. V 41,20  
 ηηηη v. VI 32,24;  
 V 79,24. VI 13,  
 32,30.  
 ηηηε v. BG 18,15,  
 32,12. † ηηηη  
 17,28; 43,30. ατ  
 VI 27,16.17  
 ηηηε v. V 20,28  
 16,14; 37,21; 38,  
 10. 24; 56,4  
 72,10.13; 73,1  
 28; 79,21; 80,14  
 11,3; 25; 12,3;  
 27,5.20; 28,28; 3  
 39,3,6; 49,17.25  
 49,12; 49,7.13.1  
 14; 58,23; 61,32  
 69,12; 70,12.17;  
 75,10.15. BG  
 138,5; 140,8. ηη  
 17,29; 27,7.10  
 35,8.14.17; 36,1  
 [10]; 56,12; 58,  
 19,20; 20,14; 2  
 27,25; 30,5; 3  
 37,16.18.24; 61



- ϣHM** nn. V 18,6.[8].14. VI 44,33. **МНТϣHM** VI 14,6. **ϣM** VI 50,5.  
**ϣMMO** V 25,5; 34,1.2.7.12; 50,22; 51,7; 55,17; 65,19; 69,18; 76,6; 82,26.  
 VI 3,7.10; 5,11; 8,24; 28,30. **ϣMMO** VI 18,26.  
**ϣMOYN** cardinal number VI 62,4. **ϣMOYNE** VI 46,28. **MAZϣMOYNE**  
 VI 52,4; 53,25; 55,15; 56,[1]. **MEZϣMOYNE** V 80,20. Cf. also *dydodas*.  
**ϣOMNT** cardinal number: **ϣOMT** V 33,6. **ϣOMET** V 20,26; 34,22; 65,26.  
 VI 50,8. **MEZϣOMET** V 21,10; 76,8. **MEZϣOMTE** V 19,[23]; 78,18.  
**MEZϣOMNTE** BG 15,11; 16,2.7.  
**ϣMNOYCE** nn. V 52,14.  
**ϣMϣE** v. V 65,20; 73,10; 74,28; 84,22. VI 70,25.28. **ϣMϣHT** V 72,21.  
**ϣHN** m. V 76,14. VI 48,1.  
**ϣINE** v. V 24,25; 38,16. VI 3,[3]; 6,20; 10,20; 11,9; 33,21; 34,20.31; 35,1; 37,  
 3. **ϣINE ETBE**-VI 33,17. **ϣINE N**-BG 16,13. **ϣINE NCa**-(**NCO**=)  
 VI 1,30; 3,[4]; 5,[1].15; 13,5; 18,12; 24,31; 31,34; 33,5; 34,7; 35,15; 51,  
 17; 60,10. BG 8,20. **ϣNT**= V 30,11; 46,[23]. VI 5,19; 6,34; 9,9. **ϣNT**=  
**EZPA**= VI 3,27; 11,29. **ϣINE** m. VI 18,11. Cf. also **ϣMNOYCE**.  
**ϣONE** v. VI 27,22.26; 73,18. BG 7,[21]; 128,6. **ϣONE** m. VI 11,26; 39,  
 30; 70,[1]. BG 131,3. **PEQϣONE** VI 10,33.  
**ϣOANE** v.: **ϣON**= VI 24,7.  
**ϣNA** m. VI 24,16. **МНТϣNA** VI 24,16.  
**ϣNE** m. VI 29,8. pl. **ϣNHOY** VI 29,5.  
**ϣONTE** f. V 41,20.  
**ϣOP** v. VI 32,24; 48,16; 67,27. **ϣAP**-VI 77,37. **ϣEP**-VI 71,30. **ϣOP**=  
 V 79,24. VI 13,8; 17,8.10.15. **ϣHT** VI 19,21; 20,29. **ϣNTICE** VI  
 32,30.  
**ϣIPE** v. BG 18,15. **ϣIPE ZHT**= VI 16,21. **ϣIPE** m. VI 14,28; 17,15.18;  
 32,12. † **ϣIPE** VI 27,10; 41,9. **ϣI ϣIPE** V 53,6. VI 27,6; 28,23; 32,  
 17.28; 43,30. **ATϣIPE** VI 14,29. **PAATϣIPE** VI 16,21. **МНТАТϣIPE**  
 VI 17,16.17.  
**ϣOPE** v. V 20,28; 21,[1]; 25,9; 27,8.11; 28,2; 29,25; 30,28; 32,12; 35,10;  
 36,14; 37,21; 38,10; 42,19; 49,19; 51,21; 54,16.18.[25]; 56,[5].11; 58,  
 9.19.[24]; 59,4; 63,4; 64,11.23.32; 65,2.22; 66,24; 67,13; 70,3; 71,8.24;  
 72,7.10.13; 73,19; 74,14; 75,1.5.6; 76,1.4.18.19; 77,10.23.29; 78,7.19.  
 28; 79,21; 80,14.17.24; 81,7; 82,6.24; 84,4; 85,2.10. VI 1,[3].15.24; 2,7;  
 8,[3].25; 12,3; 14,9; 18,25; 23,[9].14.22; 24,14.21; 25,28; 26,7.16.29;  
 27,5.20; 28,28; 30,25; 31,30; 36,4.29.30; 37,2.4.5; 38,1.4.5.8.10.12.13.33;  
 39,3.6; 40,17.25; 41,14; 42,12.23.28.29; 43,10; 46,12.23; 47,8.15.23.29;  
 48,12; 49,7.13.17; 50,10; 52,9; 53,10; 54,8.14.16.24.27.29; 55,27; 57,2.  
 14; 58,23; 61,32; 63,2; 65,18; 66,6.18; 67,3.6.11.13.18.19.30.35; 68,1.7;  
 69,12; 70,12.17.26.32.37; 71,15.18.20.34; 72,5.7; 73,23.27; 74,9; 76,6;  
 77,8.10.15. BG 8,5.7; 9,16; 130,11; 131,3.8; 132,4; 136,1.5.7; 137,10;  
 138,5; 140,8. **ϣOOP**† V 24,19.20.23.25.26.27.31; 25,[1].[3]; 26,5.22.  
 [27].29; 27,7.10.15; 28,20.22.[25]; 29,18; 31,18; 32,[27]; 34,7.11.13;  
 35,8.14.17; 36,11.19; 38,14.23; 49,[22].23; 53,28.30; 54,15.20.22; 55,  
 [10]; 56,12; 58,5; 60,22; 69,24; 74,6. VI 11,22; 15,25; 18,19.20.28.30;  
 19,20; 20,14; 21,19.22; 22,15.18.19; 24,23; 25,29; 26,19.32; 27,22.26;  
 28,7.25; 30,5; 33,7.30; 40,13; 48,2; 49,4; 52,16; 53,14.18; 55,1; 56,4;  
 57,16.18.24; 61,15; 62,17; 63,32; 65,33; 66,7.15.23; 68,[3].18; 70,4.9;

- 73,7; 74,20.22.32; 75,25; 76,23; 77,12; 78,40. BG 7,4.13; 8,19; 15,7; 17,4; 18,7.
- ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ** nm. V 77,2. VI 45,15; 65,17. **Ⲣ ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ** V 38,20; 55,22. VI 6,31; 8,28; 69,3; 71,2. **ⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ** VI 71,4.
- ϣⲱⲡⲩ** m. VI 2,16.
- ϣⲏⲣⲉ** m. V 25,3.17; 33,17.19.23; 36,10; 39,16.18; 46,21; 49,[5].10; 50,16; 64,3.6; 66,27; 67,15; 70,10.21; 71,2.4.[26]; 12,16.18; 73,1; 74,18; 76,13; 85,21.21. VI 8,32; 9,11; 13,23; 23,7.7.10; 24,26; 33,26; 39,2; 47,7; 52,8.26.30; 53,6.15.17.28.30; 54,10.18.22; 55,2.10; 57,27; 58,1.15.18; 59,12.20; 61,3.18.<25>.27; 62,16; 63,32. BG 129,10. **ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ** VI 44,33. **ⲙⲏⲧⲱⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ** VI 17,25. **ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ** BG 8,18; 9,9. **ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ** f. V 81,26. VI 13,21. BG 128,18; 129,7.16; 130,2; 131,1; 139,4.13. **ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ** BG 131,6; 132,8.14; 135,1.6.15. **ϣⲢⲏⲡⲟⲕ** VI 23,23.29; 24,33. **ϣⲢⲏⲡⲟⲕ** VI 23,30.
- ϣⲟⲣⲡ** ordinal number V 20,27; 40,19; 49,[5]; 56,8.10; 64,27. VI 13,16; 17,24.36; 18,[7]; 30,28; 33,11; 41,2; 43,11.14.15.17; 48,18; 54,10; 73,25; 78,2. BG 16,5. **ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ** V 67,20. VI 11,20; 39,20; 44,4; 45,23; 49,23; 50,[4].33; 54,18; 63,1; 67,25. **Ⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ** V 24,28. **Ⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ-** V 37,10; 46,9; 47,21. VI 3,8. **ⲉⲧⲢ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ** V 33,[22].23; 34,6.11.13; 36,[1]. **Ⲣ ϣⲣⲡ ⲛ-** VI 22,32; 26,24.
- ϣⲟⲣϣⲢ** v. VI 43,33.
- ϣⲏⲥⲧ, ϣⲟⲥⲱ, ϣⲱⲥ** Cf. **ⲥⲱϣ**.
- ϣⲉⲥ** m. (from **ⲥ**ⲱϣ?) V 32,26.
- ϣⲱⲧ** m.: **ⲉ**ⲓⲉⲡⲱⲱⲧ VI 32,23.
- ϣⲱⲱⲧ** v.: **ϣⲉⲧ-** V 33,9. **ϣⲱⲱⲧⲧ** VI 15,14. **ϣⲱⲧⲱ** m. VI 54,17; 57,7; 74,22. **ⲣⲉⲓⲓⲱⲱⲧ** V 63,16.
- ϣⲱⲧⲏ** f. VI 30,35.
- ϣⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲢ** v. V 35,20; 53,[6]; 77,4. VI 42,17; 44,6. **ϣⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲱⲧ** V 45,10; 61,2. VI 77,20. **ϣⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲢ** m. V 52,23. VI 41,13; 77,19.
- ϣⲱⲓ** m.: **Ⲣ ϣⲱⲓ** V 61,19. VI 60,1. **ⲙⲏⲧϣⲱⲓ** VI 24,9.10.
- ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉ** v. VI 45,32. BG 135,9.
- ϣⲱⲟⲩ** v. VI 29,14. **ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉ-** VI 45,33.
- ϣⲱⲟⲩⲉⲧ** v. VI 68,16.
- ϣⲱⲟϣⲟⲩ** v. V 53,11; 54,5; 56,[23]; 83,25. VI 15,24; 30,35; 31,2.
- ϣⲱⲟϣ** m.: **ϣⲏ ϣⲟⲩⲟϣⲟⲩ** VI 4,25.
- ϣⲱⲉ** v.: **ⲉϣⲱⲉ** V 30,13; 31,14; 51,12. VI 24,25; 48,25; 53,10; 55,11; 60,4.11.13; 61,28; 68,16; 70,8.10; 76,16; 77,28. BG 135,17. **ⲥϣⲉ** VI 24,24. BG 137,5.
- ϣⲟⲩϣⲧ** m. VI 3,20.
- ϣⲟϣⲟⲩ** m.: **ϣⲱϣⲟⲩ** m. V 26,15.
- ϣⲱϣ** v.: **ϣⲏϣⲧ** VI 71,16.
- ϣⲱϣⲧⲉ** m.: **ⲙⲏⲧϣⲱϣⲧⲉ** VI 78,15.
- ϣⲱϣⲉ** v. V 18,[10].11.12; 19,21; 23,7; 24,11; 26,6; 44,13; 45,[16]; 49,11.15; 59,18; 61,8; 63,31. VI 1,19; 2,30; 7,[3]; 9,23; 11,4; 15,35; 19,24; 27,[8].12; 40,30; 41,1.5; 42,25; 48,26; 49,10; 51,11.14; 54,26; 55,[8]; 56,11; 57,32; 58,9.24; 60,3.26; 68,13; 69,[3].28.29.32.36. BG 17,9.19. **ⲁⲧϣⲱϣⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲱ** V 24,20. VI 22,12. **ϣⲱϣⲉ** m. V 18,12; 19,8; 29,2; 37,8; 38,9.[15]; 40,23; 44,13; 45,15.18; 51,2; 60,10; 64,5.12; 66,9; 72,

19; 77,24;  
48; 43,2;  
62,20; 68  
10; 149,14  
ϣⲱϣⲉ v. VI  
ϣⲱϣⲏⲉ v. V  
15,32; 18,17  
ϣⲱϣⲏⲧ v. V 6  
VI 38,1.  
ϣⲱϣⲏⲧ v. VI 62  
ϣⲱϣⲏⲉ v. BG  
ϣⲱⲱⲱ m.: ϣ

VI v. V 33,10; 3  
78,16. q1- V  
135,10. q1 2  
q1 m.: ϣ q1  
q1ⲧⲉ v. V 32,  
q1ⲟⲩ cardinal  
ⲛⲉⲓⲓⲱⲱⲧ  
16,4.  
q1ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲕ v.  
q1- V 20,[3]; 26;  
q1,1. VI 7,9;  
48; 45,24.  
q1ⲏⲧ. VI 37,9; 45  
V 40,19. VI 6  
q1 m.: xei 2a  
q1 v. V 31,6; 57,1  
47,5. 2aⲉⲓⲉ  
q1ⲧ. V 48,[23]. V  
VI 7,15; 30,2  
79,18.27; 80,8  
78,6.10. 2a(ⲉ  
69,25. 2aⲉⲓⲉ  
56,12; 57,[7].  
29,20; 30,6.8;  
55,8; 61,23; 6  
18,9. 2aⲉⲓⲉ  
VI 69,22; 74,1  
4; 48,30. BG  
q1 v. 28,21.  
q1ⲉⲧⲏ f. (forep  
VI 14,2. 2aⲧ  
VI 23,26.  
q1 f. (womb) v

19; 77,24; 85,3.13. VI 5,13; 11,8; 14,14; 19,22.25; 20,27.30; 21,12; 41,4.8; 43,2; 49,32; 52,21.23; 53,22.25; 54,20; 55,6.21.28; 58,16; 61,25; 62,2.20; 68,19.21; 69,1.4.32; 71,4; 73,22; 77,34; 78,23. BG 9,23; 10,4.10; 140,14. **ϣαχε** v. or nn. ? V 40,12; 45,27. † **ϣαχε** VI 53,31.

**ϣωχε** v. VI 26,14,22. **сωχε** VI 26,20.

**ϣοχνε** v. V 50,[6]; 60,24; 73,30. **ϣοχνε** m. V 39,5; 53,14. VI 2,[9]; 15,32; 18,17; 39,27; 60,31; 73,27; 74,20.

**ϣωχπ** v. V 63,2; 70,4; 76,11.14. VI 73,6. **ϣοχπ†** V 62,24. **ϣωχπ** m. VI 38,1.

**ϣοχт** v. VI 62,2.

**ϣωωβε** v. BG 132,2. **ϣωβε** VI 17,35.

**ϣβα** m.: † **ϣβα** VI 27,28.

**ϣι** v. V 33,10; 34,23. VI 5,28.31; 6,[1].4; 8,18; 17,6; 45,7; 69,[1]; 73,29; 78,16. **ϣι-** V 36,20; 78,9. **ϣιт** = V 37,17; 61,18; 74,10. VI 31,29. BG 135,10. **ϣι ρα-** VI 7,16; 37,9.34; 56,9; 76,12. Cf. also **αρομ**, **ροουϣ**.

**ϣнт** nn.: **π ϣнт** VI 66,21.

**ϣωτε** v. V 32,[24]. **ϣωτε εβολ** VI 36,7. **ϣот = εβολ** VI 46,22.

**ϣтооу** cardinal number V 40,[25]; 74,12. VI 2,19. **ϣтооу-** V 73,15. **μερϣтоε** V 19,25; 20,6.11.16; 78,[27]. BG 16,8. **μαρϣтоε** BG 16,4.

**ϣωβε εβολ** v. VI 65,20.

**ρα-** V 20,[3]; 26,7.10.12; 28,28; 29,7; 30,16; 50,[23]; 67,13; 74,3; 76,20; 84,1. VI 7,9; 8,16; 23,24.26; 45,10; 76,17.17. **ραρο =** V 63,[26]. VI 4,8; 45,24.

**ραη** f. VI 37,9; 45,11; 60,19. **εοαη** VI 30,24. **ϣαοαη** VI 44,12. **ραε** adj. V 40,19. VI 69,17.18; 72,36. **ραη** VI 13,16; 70,27.

**ραї** m.: **χει ραї** VI 13,25.

**ρε** v. V 31,6; 57,13; 61,20. VI 4,28; 70,28; 77,30. BG 135,6. **ρε епитн** VI 47,5. **раеи** m. VI 36,14.

**ре** f. V 48,[23]. VI 14,2; 48,23.24; 63,14. **нтеїре** V 41,10; 61,[6]; 62,12. VI 7,15; 30,24; 31,8; 39,1; 64,29. BG 135,16. **н†ре** V 78,5.17.[26]; 79,18.27; 80,8.[19].[29]; 81,[14].23; 82,3.9.17. VI 39,6; 63,12; 67,35; 78,6.10. **та(е)и те ее** V 51,24. VI 23,12; 28,10; 30,4; 34,3; 68,27; 69,25. **нее** V 24,23; 26,4; 30,30; 49,11.13.14.20.22; 51,18; 52,5; 54,22; 56,12; 57,[7].14; 71,9; 83,21. VI 8,[5]; 22,25.27; 23,4; 27,32; 28,12; 29,20; 30,6.8; 31,14; 34,23; 41,1; 50,12; 51,19; 52,26; 53,15; 54,11; 55,8; 61,23; 67,31; 68,24.36; 70,37; 71,23; 74,35; 76,[4]; 78,8. BG 9,3; 18,9. **нтесре** BG 131,9. **отнее** VI 49,20. **κατα ее** V 29,10; 30,11. VI 69,22; 74,13.36. BG 18,17. **αϣ нре** V 23,19; 27,14; 32,3. VI 37,2. 4; 48,30. BG 9,7.11. **αϣ те ее** VI 36,31; 43,8; 53,31; 57,33; 58,3.22. **ρη** V 28,21.

**ρη**, **ερη** f. (forepart): **ραοη** V 28,4; 39,19; 54,24; 55,11; 56,13; 59,25. VI 14,2. **ρατερη** V 22,[23]; 24,26; 26,22. VI 11,7. **ρατερη епπατε** VI 25,26.

**ρη** f. (womb) V 18,17; 57,7. **ρηт =** V 23,4.

- ῥι-** (**ῥιω** =) V 28,22; 55,10; 62,2; 69,11; 70,6; 82,1. VI 3,23; 5,22.27; 6,11; 8,7.12; 11,3; 15,6; 32,15; 34,22; 39,26; 62,7.9; 69,24.33; 75,28.28.36; 78,29. **ῥιρн-** BG 135,2. Cf. also **τωρε**.
- ῥιε** VI 74,18.33. BG 18,2.
- ῥιη** f. V 18,3.5.8; 55,10; 59,1. VI 5,5.10.22.27; 33,1; 34,14; 57,[1]; 63,11. pl. **ῥιοογε** V 84,16. VI 34,2.21.
- ρο** m. V 22,7; 23,[26]; 50,[13]; 72,[24]. VI 6,13; 19,30; 27,11. † **ερρα** = VI 29,10. **χει ρο** VI 12,5. **χι ρο** m. VI 20,13. **μητρειχι ρο** VI 12,3. **χι ἄρρα** = **μη** VI 8,8. **χι ρρα** VI 8,9.
- ροι** nn.: † **ροει** imperat. VI 4,4.
- ρωω** = V 23,12; 24,22; 25,14; 35,[4]; 38,20; 65,6; 79,4; 81,27. VI 3,[1].27; 8,31; 11,5; 16,35; 17,2; 23,12; 30,4; 39,17; 48,12; 50,12; 51,12.19; 53,26; 55,20; 60,7; 65,23; 68,27.30.35; 69,30. BG 17,21; 18,12; 137,5; 139,6; 140,4. **ρω** = VI 1,21; 2,33; 3,9.11; 4,15.31; 6,18; 7,6; 12,6.11; 21,15; 33,27; 59,9; 68,4; 69,25. BG 129,7; 132,5.
- ρωв** m. V 25,6; 28,21; 29,21; 35,21; 41,17.18; 42,6; 43,9; 57,3.5; 63,9; 72,12; 73,23; 76,7; 83,24; 85,18. VI 20,29; 30,31; 32,29; 34,22.23; 38,10; 39,14; 40,30; 42,10; 59,18; 63,7; 65,13.15.30.32; 72,11; 74,[5]; 76,[5]; 77,36; 78,19. BG 7,11; 130,15; 135,15; 137,17. pl. **ρвнγε** V 65,15; 83,18.27.[29]; 84,[13].15. VI 36,19; 65,36; 72,27; 77,5. BG 17,17; 135,19. **ρвнογε** VI 62,27; 68,8; 69,35; 71,[1].29; 76,35. **ρ ρωв** V 63,9. VI 27,13; 44,16; 49,15; 78,38.
- ρнве** nn.: **ρ ρнве** BG 136,2; 140,8.
- ραειвес** f. V 73,21.
- ρвоур** f. VI 2,27. **бвоур** VI 62,9.
- ρωвс** v. VI 2,16. **ροφс** = V 62,10. **ρвс** m. VI 19,[5]. **ρвоос** nn.: **χι ρвоос** **ἄφелеет** VI 32,6. **ρвсω** f. VI 5,31; 6,[1]; 7,28; 9,15; 20,25; 32,4. BG 15,8.
- ρωк** v.: **рок** = V 28,6. **рак** = V 33,4. **ρнκ†** V 27,17.19.20.21.22.23.
- ρко** v.: **ρκαει†** VI 35,13. **ρко** m. VI 27,14.
- ρнке** nn. VI 3,32; 4,[6].16.28.35; 10,9.21. **μητρηке** VI 14,34; 27,27.
- ρλο** nn. V 22,25; 23,1.9.11.18. VI 6,33. **μητρρλο** VI 73,19. **μητρρλω** VI 14,7.
- ρлостн** m. V 75,12.
- ρалнт** m. V 78,9.13. pl. **ρалате** V 70,14.23. VI 44,6.
- ρлоб** v.: **ρолб†** V 67,3. **ρолеб†** VI 21,21; 24,20; 31,27. **ρалеб†** VI 64,7. **ρлаб** m. VI 31,22. **ρн оγρлоб** VI 24,28.
- ροειм** m. VI 6,29.
- ρωм** v.: **ром** = VI 50,27.
- ρамαι** VI 6,11.
- ρωм** v. V 19,12.
- ρωме** f. VI 2,23.
- ρомнт** m.: **μητрмаειρромнт** VI 31,1.
- ρмоос** v. V 20,16; 32,15; 33,8; 36,22; 45,19.21.23; 50,5; 81,5. VI 6,34; 23,[5]; 32,19. BG 131,2.7.
- ρмот** m. V 63,3.5.8.21. VI 61,3. **ρ ρмот** V 39,16. **ωπ ρмот** VI 61,4; 63,34. **ωπ ρмот** m. VI 64,20.

ῥηαα nn. V 3,  
 72,22; 30,20  
 ρογн m. VI 5,  
 ρογн v. (be nee  
 VI 55,1. 2H  
 ρογн v. (comm  
 ρογн v. VI 1,3  
 ρε- nn. formim  
 62,20; 74,24  
 ρннв v. VI 29,  
 ρт m. VI 16,5;  
 23; 48,11.13  
 ρап V 57,21  
 ρоп v. V 36,12  
 ρнп† V 19,  
 1; 59,14; 60,  
 ρнс Cf. εис 2  
 ρал m. (No att  
 part." and ρр  
 13; 29,[28]; 3  
 23; 26,32; 28,  
 53,17,17.25; 5  
 43,13; 46,19.  
 27,7.15; 29,18  
 30; 20,13; 81,  
 εχн- (εχω  
 ερρα† ογв  
 34. ερρα† ρ  
 V 18,18. ωα  
 ρε nn. VI 10,18  
 ρнρε nn. V 80,2  
 ρηε f. VI 14,31  
 ροογ m. VI 13,  
 ροω v.: ρραω  
 ρρε2 v. VI 59,3  
 ερε2 BG 130  
 64,34  
 ρсе v. VI 70,14  
 52,[4].6,9; 6,1  
 ρсе V 31,20  
 ρт m. VI 10,29  
 ρт m. V 60,11; 6  
 11,19.26; 19,5  
 63,35. BG 9,2  
 снay BG 9,  
 ρн оγннт2  
 49,17; 60,10.  
 V 21,16; 32,1

Ⲛⲙⲁⲗ nn. V 32,1; 48,15; 67,28. BG 135,12; 139,18. ⲙⲛⲧⲚⲙⲁⲗ V 65,21; 72,22; 30,20. VI 30,20.

ⲁⲟⲩⲛ m. VI 50,14; 51,15. BG 8,19. ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛ passim. ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛ BG 136,13.

ⲁⲟⲩ v. (be near): ⲁⲛⲁⲛ VI 44,30. ⲁⲛⲛⲧ V 25,9. VI 18,32. ⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛ VI 55,1. ⲁⲛⲛⲧ ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲛ VI 18,35; 19,[4].

ⲁⲟⲩ v. (command): ⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ = BG 18,18.

ⲁⲟⲩⲛⲉ VI 1,31.

ⲁⲛⲉ- nn. forming verbal phrases: ⲁⲛⲁ = VI 9,29. ⲉⲁⲛⲁ = V 58,23; 59,3; 62,20; 74,24.

ⲁⲛⲛⲃ v. VI 29,3. ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲛⲛⲃ VI 28,19.

ⲁⲛⲛ m. VI 16,5; 19,14; 38,21; 39,13.31; 41,25; 47,17. † ⲁⲛⲛ V 31,12; 47,23; 48,11.13; 57,21; 59,[6].12.22; 60,24. VI 12,8; 20,12; 45,20. ⲛⲉⲩⲧ ⲁⲛⲛ V 57,21; 63,16.

ⲁⲛⲛ v. V 36,12.13; 47,17. VI 16,32.34; 17,[3]; 28,14. ⲁⲛⲛ = VI 78,12. ⲁⲛⲛⲧ V 19,14; 28,3; 37,22. VI 3,17; 22,9.23; 27,24; 29,29; 30,17; 33,1; 59,14; 60,26; 61,9. BG 10,8. ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛ VI 29,5; 65,27.

ⲁⲛⲛⲉ Cf. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲛⲉ.

ⲁⲛⲛⲓ m. (No attempt is made here to distinguish between ⲁⲛⲛⲓ, "upper part," and ⲁⲛⲛⲓ, "lower part"): ⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲛⲓ (ⲛⲁⲛⲛⲓ =) V 20,19; 24,16; 28,13; 29,[28]; 36,12.13.21; 45,22; 60,17; 63,19; 66,13. VI 22,7.21; 26,11.23; 26,32; 28,5.16.18.26; 29,15; 30,5.16.33; 32,28; 34,7; 36,16; 51,5.7; 52,17.17.25; 54,17; 56,9; 58,14.30; 59,28; 60,8; 61,9; 70,12. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ V 43,13; 46,19. BG 9,1. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲉ- V 18,5; 19,22.24; 22,10.24; 23,13.27; 27,7.15; 29,18.27; 35,24; 37,23; 41,[16].18; 42,17; 66,23; 69,13; 79,30; 80,13; 81,18. VI 1,28; 42,30; 46,1. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ = V 30,9. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ (ⲉⲁⲛⲓ =) V 26,1; 32,11; 48,14.20; 53,[11]; 74,21; 75,19; 82,20. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲩⲉ- V 35,18. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ = VI 41,27. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲛ- VI 45,34. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲛ- V 19,14; 22,19. VI 29,9.34; 30,4; 57,21. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲩⲁ- V 18,18. ⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓ ⲉ- V 19,23; 62,11. ⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓ V 80,1.

ⲁⲛⲛⲉ nn. VI 10,18; 40,4; 78,30.

ⲁⲛⲛⲉ nn. V 80,2. pl. ⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 80,3.

ⲁⲛⲛⲉ f. VI 14,31; 15,23; 37,13.

ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ m. VI 13,11; 14,13. BG 136,18.

ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ v.: ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ V 59,15. ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ VI 2,30.

ⲁⲛⲛⲉ v. VI 59,5. ⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 70,20; 73,22; 85,4. VI 13,14; 58,30. BG 8,15. ⲉⲁⲛⲛⲉ BG 139,9. ⲁⲛⲛⲉ VI 15,16. ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 33,14. ⲁⲛⲛⲉ m. VI 64,34.

ⲁⲛⲛⲉ v. VI 70,14. ⲁⲛⲛⲉ = VI 34,30; 35,1. ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲧ V 53,7. ⲁⲛⲛⲉ m. VI 5,2.[4].6.9; 6,11; 7,16; 10,7; 32,24; 35,16; 76,7. ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲉ VI 65,13. † ⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 31,20. ⲩⲛⲛ ⲁⲛⲛⲉ VI 32,30. ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲛⲛⲉ VI 31,7.

ⲁⲛⲛ m. VI 10,29.

ⲁⲛⲛ m. V 60,11; 64,25; 65,23.25; 66,14.18; 72,13; 76,23. VI 1,[9]; 2,6; 8,27; 11,19.26; 19,5.20; 29,15; 30,30; 31,12; 32,8; 55,12; 57,21; 60,13.18; 63,35. BG 9,21; 18,5; 130,13; 136,2. ⲁⲛⲛ = VI 27,21; 34,16. ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ BG 9,15. ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛ ⲟⲩⲩⲉ VI 1,9. ⲁⲛⲛ VI 15,30; 54,13. ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲛⲛⲉ VI 17,5. ⲙⲛⲧⲛⲙⲛⲁⲛⲛⲉ VI 54,8. † ⲁⲛⲛ = V 40,21; 49,17; 60,10. VI 14,32.34; 21,13. ⲩⲁⲛⲛⲉ = VI 15,15. ⲥⲓ ⲩⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 21,16; 32,19. ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 83,24. ⲙⲛⲧⲩⲁⲛⲛⲉ V 31,9.

ΖΗΗΤΕ Cf. ΕΙC ΖΗ(Η)ΤΕ.

ΖΙΕΙΤ m. V 62,9.

ΖΩΤ nm.:  $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΩΤ VI 1,6,25.

ΖΑΤΕ v.: ΖΕ† VI 45,35; 55,22. ΖΕ†Ε VI 52,20; 71,18. ΖΕ†Ε ΕΖΡΑΙ  
ΕΧΝ- VI 67,5.

ΖΙΤΕ v. VI 35,4.

ΖΟΕΙΤΕ nm. V 22,27; 28,17.

ΖΟΤΕ f. V 29,5; 39,[8]; 65,20; 72,21; 73,5.12.  $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΟΤΕ V 25,13; 32,22; 43,  
16; 57,18. VI 11,1.  $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΟΤΕ ΝΖΗΤ= V 28,29.  $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΟΤΕ ΖΑ- VI 11,7.  
 $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ= VI 15,21; 76,16; 77,29.  $\text{CAN}\bar{\rho}$  ΖΟΤΕ VI 72,33.

ΖΩΤΒ v. V 61,17. ΖΟΤΒ= VI 5,30,33; 6,[2]; 33,22. ΖΑΤΒ- participle BG 16,  
[15]. ΖΩΤΒ m. V 21,9. ΖΕΤΒΕ m. VI 78,29.

ΖΑΤΝ- Cf. ΤΩΡΕ.

ΖΙΤΝ-, ΖΙΤΟΟΤ= Cf. ΤΩΡΕ.

ΖΩΤΠ v. V 21,13. VI 35,18; 42,16; 63,26. ΜΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ VI 43,23; 44,1.  $\text{CA}$   
ΝΖΩΤΠ VI 44,14; 75,30.

ΖΩΤΡ v.: ΖΟΤΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ VI 53,33. ΖΩΤΡ m. VI 19,10; 76,10.

ΖΤΟΡ m.:  $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΤΟΡ VI 36,13.

ΖΟΤΖΤ v.: ΖΟΤΖΤ ΝСА- VI 33,6.12; 34,2.20. ΖΑΤΖΤ† VI 35,3.

ΖΗΟΥ m. VI 24,19. † ΖΗΟΥ V 59,16.

ΖΟΟΥ m. V 21,12; 30,18; 53,27.[28]; 61,1.7; 62,22.23; 63,19; 65,9; 67,11; 72,  
22; 75,16; 76,16. VI 10,18; 18,35; 19,2; 28,33; 29,[1]; 36,11; 37,27; 38,  
16; 42,16.[16]; 49,20; 60,5; 62,19; 70,30; 71,18.35; 73,12. BG 131,15; 136,  
4.12. ΖΩΟΥ VI 53,16. ΜΠΟΟΥ BG 10,12; 131,9.  $\bar{\rho}$  (ΟΥ)ΖΟΟΥ VI 1,25;  
50,33. ΨΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ BG 135,16. ΖΟΥΜΙΣΕ VI 14,3.

ΖΟΟΥ† V 31,22; 53,15; 63,6.24; 73,23. VI 33,10; 34,12; 39,27; 40,6.8; 50,  
27; 71,30; 72,26; 73,9; 76,[4]; 77,[5].26; 78,43.

ΖΩΟΥ Cf. ΜΟΟΥ.

ΖΙΟΥΕ v.: ΖΙ- V 61,14; 62,11. ΖΙΤ= V 85,5. ΖΟΥ ΤΟΟΤ= VI 44,20. ΖΙ  
ΤΟ(Ο)Τ= V 40,17; 53,1; 54,27.

ΖΟΥΟ m. V 34,27; 43,7. ΝΖΟΥΟ V 33,5; 40,8. VI 31,22; 33,10; 34,12; 50,3;  
51,17; 65,34; 70,5.23.26; 71,6.19.21; 72,17. BG 10,3; 15,10; 17,22; 18,  
14; 129,19; 130,17. ΝΖΟΥΟ Ε- V 22,29. ΕΖΟΥΕ Ε- V 81,19.  $\bar{\rho}$  ΖΟΥΕ-  
VI 45,29.

ΖΟΟΥΡΕ v.: ΜΝΤΖΑΥΡΕΡΩΜΕ VI 31,5.

ΖΟΥΕΙΤ ordinal number: ΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ V 77,27. VI 74,13.

ΖΟΟΥΤ V 35,11.[14]. VI 13,29.32; 23,24; 62,6; 65,19.23.23. ΖΟΟΥΤCΖΙΜΕ  
V 81,7. ΜΝΤΖΟΟΥΤ V 41,19.

ΖΟΟΥΨ v. VI 27,9.

ΖΩΨ ΝΖΗΤ v. V 30,23.

ΖΩΨ V 45,7.

ΖΑΖ VI 21,20; 24,15; 25,10; 29,22; 30,11; 31,20; 39,22; 42,31; 45,22; 52,  
28; 65,9.29; 66,3.6; 68,36; 72,14. BG 128,11; 132,2.18; 136,6. ΜΝΤΖΑΖ  
ΝΨΑΧΕ VI 19,25.

ΖΑΧΝ-: ΖΑΧΩ= V 20,5; 22,16.

ΖΙΧΝ- V 19,[28].32; 29,10; 30,6.19; 32,16; 62,4; 66,24; 70,15; 80,[26]; 81,  
11; 83,6; 84,7; 85,11. VI 1,33; 15,3; 19,30; 25,32; 41,10.17.28.33; 45,11;  
58,11; 68,28; 69,26; 78,34. ΖΙΧΩ= V 62,5.

11ΕΙΕ m. VI 43,  
11: ΧΙΝΧΗ m.  
VI 5,[1].

11 v. V 22,16; 26,  
79,15, 25; 89,  
32,2.9. 14; 41

ΧΕΙ VI 40,2

76,24; 78,2. V

26,[28].30; 78,  
41,33. BG 132,  
11 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ

VI 68,19. ΧΙΤ

VI 29,11. Cf. al

ΟΕΙΝ, ΩΝΖ

10 m. (sowing) VI

10 m. (armpit) VI

10ΕΙ m. VI 1,17-2

10 v. V 18,4,6.14

8.12.19.23; 30,  
57,16.20; 60,3.7

6.18,[27]; 79,20

VI 2,[1]; 3,[1].

20; 49,15; 53,2

72,3; 78,22. BG

138,4. ΧΕ- V 4

8,12; 9,5. ΧΟΟ

34,1.15.16.19; 4

18,21; 72,18; 74

11,13,15; 24,25.2

57; 57,33; 58,[3

29; 77,24. BG 10

V 18,7. BG 17,1

10 m. VI 9,24.

10ΑΑΤ† (related

10Κ v. V 40,3. VI 4

81,8. VI 21,13;

21,14; 29,9. ΧΕ

67,23. ΧΩΚ Ε

10ΚΗ v. V 84,7; 8

10ΚΑC V 23,14; 2

57,6; 60,8. VI 4

48,33; 53,30; 64,

VI 64,21. BG 12

10ΑΚ v.: ΧΟΛΚ

10ΑΧ m. VI 6,3

10ΩΜΕ m. (boo

26; 63,5.17. Χ

62,23. ΧΑΜΕ

**χαειε** m. VI 43,24. **ⲫ χαειε** VI 44,10; 70,20.

**χη: χινχη** m. VI 4,15.34; 10,13. **επχινχη** VI 70,14. **ρεϥ† ηχινχη** VI 5,[1].

**χι** v. V 22,16; 26,14; 32,18; 33,3; 41,7; 42,9; 43,9; 49,[13]; 76,26; 78,16.24; 79,15, 25; 80,6.18.[27]; 81,12.21; 82,8.14.16; 83,5. VI 2,[6]; 8,8; 22,30; 32,2.9. 14; 41,20; 48,17; 55,18; 57,12; 65,22.24; 66,38; 67,7. BG 17,5. **χει** VI 40,28; 52,14; 59,26. **χε-** VI 37,31. **χι-** V 31,19; 32,20; 76,24; 78,2. VI 74,11. **χει-** VI 13,25. **χит** = V 31,7; 48,18; 74,13; 75, 26.[28].30; 78,10.22; 79,9; 80,13.16. VI 4,21.22; 8,24; 24,33; 25,20; 32,13; 41,33. BG 132,16. **χι нтоот** = VI 55,7; 57,8. **χει нтоот** = VI 57,18. **χι εβολ η̄ν** VI 35,13. **χι ερουν** V 69,22. VI 28,29. **χει ερουν** VI 68,19. **χит** = **ερουν** 74,13; 78,10; VI 30,19; 31,35. **χит** = **επιτη̄** VI 29,11. Cf. also **εοογ, μοειт, нтон, свω, сооун, †πε, ογ-οειн, ωн2, ψκακ, ψипε, 20, 2βοос, бол, бом, нбонс.**

**χο** m. (sowing) VI 64,25.

**χο** m. (armpit) VI 8,17.

**χοει** m. VI 1,17.20.27.

**χω** v. V 18,4.6.14; 19,9.27; 20,13.17.21.27.30; 21,[3].10.24; 22,20; 23,1.6. 8.12.19.23; 30,25; 31,5; 32,9; 43,[12].17; 44,19; 45,18; 51,14; 56,16; 57,16.20; 60,3.13.16; 61,6.12.16; 62,6.14; 64,4; 66,[1]; 77,5.22.[28]; 78, 6.18.[27]; 79,20.[29]; 80,10.21; 81,1.15.25; 82,5.11.14.20; 83,10; 84,5. VI 2,[1]; 3,[1].30; 4,11.17; 6,10; 9,26; 10,1.32; 21,11; 41,4; 42,4; 48, 20; 49,15; 53,20; 54,12; 55,21; 56,25; 59,10; 60,6; 62,21; 70,8; 71,9; 72,3; 78,22. BG 7,11; 8,13.16; 9,7; 10,4.9; 15,[13]; 17,11; 131,17; 136,18; 138,4. **χε-** V 40,23. VI 11,8; 14,20.22.22; 49,1; 59,12; 65,3; 68,17. BG 8,12; 9,5. **χοο** = V 25,10; 29,2.3.11; 30,8.11; 33,13.16.18.21. [24].[26]; 34,1.15.16.19; 44,17; 50,17; 51,19; 52,15; 62,15; 63,[30]; 70,17; 71,16. 18.21; 72,18; 74,7. VI 3,[2].[8].12; 4,9.25; 5,[4]; 6,9; 7,26; 10,12.25; 11,13.15; 24,25.26; 25,27; 48,18.27; 49,5; 50,20; 51,9; 52,10.12.21.24.24; 5,7; 57,33; 58,[3].14.25; 59,20.25; 60,7.15; 63,24.33; 66,30; 67,24.32; 72, 29; 77,24. BG 10,12; 17,12; 18,21; 128,9. **χο** = BG 8,6. **αχι-** imperat. V 18,7. BG 17,11.

**χω** = m. VI 9,24.

**χαβαат†** (related to **χοуq** [1]?) VI 73,34.

**χωκ** v. V 40,3. VI 44,11. **χωκ εβολ** V 21,21; 29,17; 30,12; 58,13; 67,22; 81,8. VI 21,13; 45,25; 46,33; 56,31; 76,8. BG 16,20. **χωκ- εβολ** V 21,14; 29,9. **χεκ- εβολ** V 83,18. VI 1,10. **χοκ** = **εβολ** VI 36,18; 67,25. **χωκ εβολ** m. V 19,8; 24,12; 58,11. VI 75,7.

**χωκ̄** v. V 84,7; 85,24. BG 132,14.

**χεкаас** V 23,14; 24,17; 25,3.21; 29,24; 41,[13]; 43,22; 49,16; 50,14; 55,9; 57,6; 60,8. VI 4,23; 7,15.21; 11,20; 12,9; 22,31.33; 28,13; 30,10; 36,20; 48,33; 53,30; 64,10.12.14; 65,28; 67,26; 77,29. BG 128,6; 130,10. **χεкас** VI 64,21. BG 129,17.

**χωλκ̄** v.: **χολκ** = VI 31,14.

**χολχ̄** m. VI 6,30.

**χωωме** m. (book/generation) V 85,6. VI 52,29; 53,33; 60,16; 61,26; 62, 26; 63,5.17. **χωωме** V 20,24. VI 2,26; 53,12.12; 54,9.16.25; 61,18.28; 62,23. **хаме** VI 54,32. pl. **хаме** VI 2,27.

- χΝ** BG 7,2.  
**χΝΟΥ** v.: **χΝΟΥ** = BG 17,18.  
**χΙΝ**- V 40,19; 65,14; 70,3. VI 5,25; 29,14; 36,11; 47,8; 53,23; 58,2; 60,1.4; 67,25. BG 17,4; 135,8. **χΝ Ν**- V 54,16. **χΙΝ ΖΝ** V 18,16; 23,4.  
**χΙΝ** v.: **β̄ΝχΙΝ** VI 39,21.  
**χΩΝΤ** v.: **χΟΝΤ†** VI 65,29.  
**χΝαζ** m. V 71,23.  
**χΙΝχΗ** Cf. **χΗ**.  
**χπ**- nm. V 21,6.11. BG 136,11. **χεπ**- V 20,29.  
**χπιο** v. VI 17,18. **χπιο** = VI 48,24. **χπινт** VI 14,30. **ζ̄Ν οϋμ̄нт-χπинт** VI 9,25.  
**χπο** v. V 26,[25]; 37,13; 81,17. VI 39,19; 52,20; 55,31; 56,6; 64,20.29. BG 131,18. **χπε**- VI 39,21. BG 8,[2]. **χπο** = V 46,24; 47,10; 49,6; 78,10; 79,17.24; 81,10.21. VI 13,30; 14,1; 52,27; 63,1.23. BG 8,15; 18,17; 131,15. **χπα** = VI 52,26. **χπο** m. VI 13,32; 14,1.3; 42,34; 53,14; 55,27; 57,15. 17; 65,31; 74,6. **ρεϋχπο** VI 60,22.  
**χερο** v. VI 43,30.  
**χωωρε** v.: **χωωρε εβολ** V 30,[27]. **χοор** = **εβολ** VI 16,18. **χορ** = **εβολ** VI 36,21.  
**χρο** v. V 78,16. VI 26,22; 42,8. **χροειт†** VI 20,11. **χοорт** V 61,21; 73,5. **χωρε** VI 72,24. **χωωρε** m. VI 56,14. **м̄нтχωωρε** VI 27,24.  
**χοεις** m. V 24,11; 26,6.16; 29,4.19; 30,10.12; 31,[2].14; 32,17.23.28; 34,10; 38,24; 40,9; 46,[11].20; 55,[27]; 59,[10].23; 60,5.7; 66,14. VI 1,12.16. 23; 8,6; 10,14.22; 11,7; 13,34 (f.); 57,3; 59,3; 60,27; 66,36; 68,25; 73,24; 75,27. BG 131,17; 135,11; 138,7; 141,1. **χс** BG 10,11.12.17; 131,13; 138,19. **χοис** VI 56,22. **ρ̄ χοεις** V 48,19; 53,20. VI 42,11; 70,22. **ε† н̄χοεις** VI 75,18. **м̄нтχοεις** V 49,7; 59,[5]. VI 41,12.  
**χисе** v. VI 44,12. **χοсе†** V 64,16; 69,21; 77,7; 78,11; 81,4; 85,11. VI 3,21; 6,30; 26,18; 29,13; 33,31; 37,12; 43,22; 47,11; 54,17; 56,16; 71,21.  
**χисе** m. V 19,23; 22,17; 37,17; 54,17; 61,25; 80,16. VI 75,9. **χисе н̄знт** v. VI 15,2. **χисе н̄знт** m. VI 31,3.  
**χοογ** v. V 37,10. VI 45,22. BG 132,15.18. **χοογ εζραї ζ̄м** VI 60,17. **χοογ** = BG 139,17. **χοογ** = **εζραї ε**- VI 60,15.  
**χιоуе** V 48,23. **н̄хиоуе еро** = BG 17,19. **ρεϋхиоуе** VI 78,19.  
**χοуωте** cardinal numeral VI 36,12; 38,27; 43,19.  
**χωζ** v. VI 46,18.  
**χωζм** v. V 75,3.4. VI 25,9.14; 39,19. **χαζм** = VI 38,17. **χεζм**- V 84,18. **χαζм†** V 75,6. VI 25,6. **χωζм** m. VI 31,20; 39,20; 44,25. **ατχωζм** V 82,23. BG 135,13; 137,4.  
**χαхе** m. V 63,14. VI 28,22. **м̄нтχαхе** VI 51,5.  
**βαειε** Cf. **τ̄βαιο**.  
**-βε** V 21,8; 24,12; 26,4; 27,8; 32,7; 33,12; 45,6; 52,17; 59,23; 67,14. VI 4,22; 11,11; 16,1; 21,12.14; 23,17.27; 24,12.14.17; 25,26; 26,8; 29,3.32; 30,24; 31,8; 32,12.28; 34,3.11.22; 48,17.26.30; 50,6; 51,11; 65,19; 76,28. BG 7,1; 8,21; 129,13; 130,1; 135,17; 139,18; 140,7.  
**бω** v. V 59,13. BG 132,19; 135,[16]. **бω н̄знт** VI 66,16.

бве v.: бов  
 м̄нтбω  
 б̄знт  
 боур Cf. 2  
 б̄л m.: аψ  
 бол m. VI 7  
 (еро) V  
 б̄лае BG 128  
 боилае v. V  
 бошале v.: C  
 бош† Cf. к  
 б̄ла m. V 41  
 бош† (ево  
 67,16. бол  
 б̄м l. V 194;  
 18,22; 65,15  
 13,21.[26];  
 25; 54,20. V  
 5,6,7; 39,8;  
 65,22.4; 69  
 39,15; 45,3  
 б̄ом V 70,  
 VI 23,23. м̄  
 убоm VI  
 н̄тоот =  
 21; 75,23. 6  
 VI 32,20; 44  
 б̄ом m. BG 13  
 б̄ом m. VI 38;  
 б̄ме v. V 18,1  
 48; 21,29;  
 10,20; 32,22  
 б̄нт = V 4  
 езоун е-  
 б̄ом.  
 б̄ом (from б̄  
 б̄ом m.: χ1  
 χ1 н̄бон  
 VI 48,[2].  
 б̄онт v. V 31  
 75,25; 77,8  
 б̄ом l. VI 2.21  
 б̄ом v. V 39,  
 б̄ме f. V 81,  
 б̄ме v. VI 2  
 б̄р̄ωb m. V  
 б̄р̄ме f. VI  
 б̄ωz m.: ρ



- бвве** v.: **боов†** VI 15,28; 27,23; **бѡв** adj. VI 50,31. BG 128,16; 129,14.  
**мнѣбѡв** V 67,9. VI 15,19; 50,29. **бавзнт** V 28,4; 32,13.19. **Რ**  
**бавзнт** V 32, [21]; 51,17.  
**бвоур** Cf. **звоур**.  
**бнл** m.: **аѡ бнл** VI 19,28.  
**бол** mn. VI 7,14; 44,20. **бал** VI 39,26. **ѡ бол** BG 15,4. **ѡ бол е-**  
**(еро=)** VI 14,21.22. BG 18,5.  
**бале** BG 128,14.  
**боеиле** v. V 73,17.22. **ма нбоеиле** V 63,[2]. **Რмнбаеиле** V 74,23.  
**бѡале** v.: **боле** VI 32,5.  
**болѡ†** Cf. **кѡлѡ**.  
**блил** mn. V 41,8.  
**бѡлᲠ (евол)** v. V 19,6; 25,6; 26,8; 29,12; 33,1; 46,7; 56,17; 57,[4].9;  
67,16. **болп= евол** V 36,15; 67,17. **балп= евол** V 85,20.  
**бом** f. V 19,4; 24,30; 26,24; 27,16.18.21.[22]; 41,14; 55,5.23; 63,12.29; 64,  
18.22; 65,19.30; 70,9; 71,20; 73,3.21; 74,5.8.16.19; 75,14.[27]; 77,3.5.6.  
13.21.[26]; 78,3.25; 79,16.26; 80,8.18.28; 81,13.22; 82,9.16.19; 83,5.19.  
25; 84,20. VI 6,17.32; 9,28; 11,22; 13,3; 14,6; 15,21; 21,8; 36,4.27; 38,  
5.6.7; 39,8; 40,27; 42,7; 45,4; 47,11.12.33.34; 48,15.30; 55,26; 57,23;  
65,22.24; 69,6. BG 128,17; 138,6. **бам** V 26,18. VI 18,14.14; 36,2.15;  
39,15; 45,31; 47,2; 58,8. **атбом** V 38,[21]. BG 129,15; 130,14. **†**  
**бом** V 70,10. VI 6,12.17. **оуᲠ бом** VI 59,17. **мн бом** V 57,[3].  
VI 23,23. **Რмн бом** VI 37,18.20. **мн ѡбом** VI 29,32; 50,13. **Რмн**  
**ѡбом** VI 25,10; 46,17. **оуᲠ ѡбом** VI 4,12.30; 11,25. **ѡ бом**  
**Რтоот=** VI 61,1. **бᲠбом** V 38,22; 65,28. VI 2,25; 44,24; 49,22; 55,  
21; 75,23. **бᲠбом** V 23,19; 27,3. **бᲠбам** VI 40,10; 58,16. **ѡбᲠбом**  
VI 32,20; 42,10; 68,24; 76,[12]. **ѡбᲠбам** VI 29,12.  
**бѡм** m. BG 139,3.10.15.  
**бон** m. VI 38,3.  
**бине** v. V 18,12; 42,[13]; 48,9; 49,[15]. VI 1,16; 7,28.33; 8,[3]; 13,4; 15,  
4.8; 21,29; 33,16; 35,8.15; 40,15; 48,19; 54,21; 60,10; 76,34. **бн-** VI  
10,20; 32,22; 38,22; 39,21; 40,21; 46,31; 58,10. **бн-** V 79,6. VI 7,30.  
**бнт=** V 46,17; 51,[6]; 77,26. VI 38,31; 42,2. BG 8,21. **бн оуѡв**  
**εροуᲠ е-** V 35,20. **бине Რпѡине** V 54,19. **бине** m. VI 18,12. Cf.  
**бом**.  
**бѡн** (from **бнон**, soft): **ᲡᲠ оуѡн** VI 19,26.  
**бонс** mn.: **ѡ нбонс** v. V 53,17. VI 50,22. **ѡит= нбонс** VI 48,21.  
**ѡ нбонс** m. VI 20,8; 39,31; 48,27; 50,21; 51,10. **мнтѡ нбонс**  
VI 48,[2].  
**бонт** v. V 31,30. **бант†** V 45,11. **бонт** m. V 21,1; 32,10; 45,12; 70,8;  
75,25; 77,8. **реѡбонт** V 59,10.  
**боп** f. VI 2,21.  
**бепн** v. V 30,10; 44,[21]; 45,6; 48,16. VI 7,19. **ᲡᲠ оуѡбепн** BG 137,13.  
**бнпе** f. V 81,16 (as a gloss).19.  
**бѡпе** v. VI 29,18.28; 30,16.32. **боп=** VI 30,9.  
**берѡв** m. V 22,4. VI 14,[5].  
**брнпе** f. VI 28,22.  
**брѡᲡ** m.: **Რ брѡᲡ** VI 59,2.

- δωρῶ** v. (waylay) VI 30,27. **δορεῶ**† VI 30,7. **δαραῶ**† VI 29,6.  
**δωρῶ** v. (prepare): **δαρῶ** = VI 31,9.  
**δωρῶ** v. (dwell) VI 7,[4].10.17. Cf. also Proper Nouns index.  
**δροβ** m. V 73,2.6. **δραβ** V 19,7; 38,11.  
**δῶ** m. VI 62,18.  
**δωοῦ** v.: **δωοῦ εβολ** VI 1,18.24.  
**δαρον** nn.: **δαογοονε** VI 13,33.  
**δωψ** v. V 19,27; 23,20. **δωψ** εχῆν- VI 73,26. BG 140,11. **δωψ**  
 ἦσα- V 23,5. BG 130,1. **δωψ** εβολ ρητ = VI 3,18.20. BG 140,13.  
**δωψ**† VI 22,21. **δωψ**† ἦσα = VI 27,11; 28,22. **δωψ**† εβολ V  
 54,23. **δωψ**† εβολ ρα- V 30,16. **δωψ**† εβολ ρητ = VI 13,8.  
**δωψ**† εβολ ρητ = VI 27,15.18. **δωψ**† επερητ V 19,[29];  
 54,9.  
**δαρσε** f. VI 5,18.  
**δισ** f. V 22,5; 57,[11].13; 59,26; 62,13; 73,5; 74,16; 75,6. VI 2,17.24.27.29;  
 9,22.  
**δαχη** f. V 20,3.  
**δωχε** nn. VI 73,31.

## GREEK LOAN WORDS

- ἀγαθός** VI 8,29; 67,31; 72,25; 73,5; 74,31.32.33.35. **ἀγαθόν** V 53,13; 55,21.  
 VI 33,25; 52,30; 64,30; 66,34; 73,28; 74,16.25.27. BG 7,17; 9,22.  
**ΜΗΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ** BG 140,10.  
**ἀγάπη** VI 60,24.  
**ἀγγεῖον**. **ΑΓΓΙΟΝ** V 38,21.  
**ἀγγελικός** V 85,7.  
**ἄγγελος** V 20,7.8.12; 22,2.5; 26,25; 64,15; 69,20; 71,13; 72,11; 75,8; 76,2.5.27;  
 77,20; 78,13; 80,5.26; 81,11; 82,1; 83,17; 85,17. VI 18,15; 21,15; 37,11;  
 38,25; 39,8; 56,2; 58,19; 59,30; 73,5.  
**ἀγέννητος** VI 57,13; 63,21.  
**ἄγριον** VI 49,21; 51,22.  
**ἄγων** VI 26,11.  
**ἀγωνιστής** VI 26,13.  
**ἀδικία** V 53,19.  
**ἀδικος** V 47,23. **ΜΗΤΑΔΙΚΟΣ** V 43,21.  
**ἀήρ** V 82,26. VI 37,10; 73,18; 75,6; 76,27; 77,15; 78,26.  
**αἰρεσις**. **ΜΗΤΖΕΡΕΣΙΣ** VI 40,8.  
**αἰσθάνεσθαι** V 54,1.  
**αἰσθησις** VI 76,15. **ΕΣΘΗΣΙΣ** V 38,22; 40,24. VI 36,1.  
**αἰσχροός**. **ΜΗΤΕΣΧΡΟΣ** VI 39,29.  
**αἰτεῖν**. **ΡΑΙΤΙ** BG 130,16. **ΡΑΙΤΕΙ** VI 18,13; 55,14; 62,31; 64,31. **ΕΡΙ ΑΙΤΕΙ**  
 VI 59,21.  
**αἴτημα** VI 19,8.  
**αἰτία** BG 135,14.

- αἰχμαλωσία V 23,15.17.  
 αἰχμαλωτεύειν. **ΡΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΕΥΕ** V 60,5. **ΡΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙ** V 54,10.  
 αἰχμαλωτίζειν. **ΡΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ** V 23,14.16.  
 αἰών V 53,8; 65,1. VI 11,24; 36,33; 37,20; 38,2.13; 39,12.17; 40,24.32; 41,2;  
 42,6.15.21; 43,3.6.7.11.13.15.17; 47,15.17; 48,13; 56,7; 59,6.7. BG 17,6.  
**ΕΩΝ** V 64,11.21.23; 65,5; 66,4; 71,13.15; 73,31; 74,2.13.20.27; 75,13.  
 16.21.31; 76,3; 79,30; 82,23.27; 83,4.14.15; 85,3.5.  
 ἀκμή V 67,6. VI 44,34; 65,20.  
 ἀκροατής VI 20,26; 21,6.14.  
 ἀλήθεια VI 54,19; 57,4; 60,23.  
 ἀληθινός VI 33,2.  
 ἀληθῶς VI 78,11.  
 ἀλιεύς VI 29,20; 30,2.8.  
 ἀλίτημα VI 19,8.  
 ἀλλόφυλος VI 70,21; 71,28.  
 ἀμελεῖν. **ΡΑΜΕΛΙ** BG 129,8; 137,18.  
 ἀμέτρητος: ἀμέτρητον VI 46,9.  
 ἀμήν. **ΖΑΜΗΝ** V 32,9. VI 12,19; 35,22.  
 ἀναγκάζειν. **ΡΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ** VI 77,32.  
 ἀνάγκη VI 5,12; 30,22; 53,6; 67,9.21; 76,29.  
 ἀνάτιος VI 66,23.  
 ἀναπαύειν. **ΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ** VI 42,30.  
 ἀνάπαυσις VI 18,10; 33,8; 47,26. BG 17,5.  
 ἀνατολή VI 35,8; 43,25; 44,2.15.  
 ἀναχωρεῖν. **ΡΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ** VI 46,6.  
 ἀνθεῶν: ἀνθεῶνος V 80,6.  
 ἀνόητος VI 24,22; 34,3.18. ἀνόητον VI 54,13. **ΜΗΤΑΝΟΗΤΟΣ** VI 34,11.  
 ἀνομία V 20,18.23; 40,20. VI 16,15.  
 ἀνόμοιον. **ΑΝΖΟΜΟΙΟΝ** VI 40,7.  
 ἄνομος V 84,10.  
 ἀντικείμενος VI 30,6; 31,9. BG 18,10. **ΟΨ ΝΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΣ** VI 26,21.  
 ἀντιλογία VI 53,23.  
 ἀντίμιμος. **ΑΝΤΙΜΕΙΜΟΝ** VI 45,2.  
 ἄξιος BG 18,11. ἄξιον VI 66,30.  
 ἀόρατος. **ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΣ** VI 22,12.13.22; 32,27; 56,11. **ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ** VI 32,32;  
 36,4.  
 ἀπαρχή V 41,11.  
 ἀπατᾶν. **ΡΑΠΑΤΑ** VI 24,20; 31,16.  
 ἄπιστος. **ΕΨ ΝΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ** VI 76,19.21; 77,30.  
 ἀπλοῦς. **ΟΨ ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΣ** VI 64,8.  
 ἀποθήκη VI 25,25; 28,26.  
 ἀποκάλυψις V 17,[19]; 24,9; 24,10; 44,9.11; 63,[33]; 64,1.2; 85,19.32.  
 ἀποκατάστασις VI 74,7.  
 ἀπόκρυφον V 85,23.  
 ἀπολογία VI 20,6.  
 ἀποστερεῖν. **ΡΑΠΟΣΤΕΡΙ** VI 77,10.  
 ἀπόστολος V 18,[19]; 19,15; 20,2; 21,29; 22,14; 24,2. VI 1,5; 12,22. BG 137,14.  
 ἀποτάσσεσθαι. **ΡΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ** VI 5,23; 7,24; 10,15.

- ἄρα V 26,13; 34,7. VI 52,27; 74,28.  
 ἄρα (interrogative particle) V 26,2; <27,13>. VI 53,15.  
 ἀρετή VI 72,13.  
 ἀριθμός VI 43,21; 76,9.10.  
 ἀρνεῖσθαι. **ῬΑΡΝΙCΘΕ** V 48,23; 63,21. **ῬΑΡΝΑ** VI 14,18.20.  
 ἀρχάγγελος V 19,4.  
 ἀρχαῖον VI 44,21.  
 ἀρχεσθαι. **ΕΡΙΑΡΧΕCΘΑΙ** VI 53,24. **ῬΑΡΧΕCΘΑΙ** BG 9,[22]. **ΑΡΧΕΙ** BG 10,9. **ῬΑΡΧΕΙ** V 58,12. VI 52,11. BG 19,1.  
 ἀρχή V 19,[3]; 23,21; 38,3; 58,12; 75,27. VI 25,32; 37,8; 58,10.13; 60,20.20.  
**ΧΙ ΑΡΧΗ** VI 74,11.  
 ἀρχων V 19,3; 25,19.25.29; 26,23; 30,2; 31,24.27; 39,10; 56,20; 64,21; 77,3; 82,13. VI 41,15; 42,3.9.11; 43,29.35; 44,1.14; 45,1; 48,8.8.11; 49,6.  
 ἀσεβής VI 66,2; 72,21. **ΕΤ ΝΑCΕΒΗC** VI 70,32; 77,31; 78,17. **ΜΝΤΑCΕΒΗC** VI 71,34.  
 ἀσπάζεσθαι. **ΑCΠΑΖΕ** BG 8,12; 9,13. **ῬΑCΠΑΖΕ** V 19,18.20; 24,3.4.8. VI 57,26; 65,3.  
 ἀσφαλῶς BG 18,13.  
 ἀσχημονεῖν. **ῬΑCΧΗΜΟΝΙ** VI 65,29.  
 ἀσώματος: ἀσώματον VI 40,17.  
 ἀταξία VI 73,29.  
 ἄτρεπτος VI 48,13.  
 αὐθεντικός VI 35,23.  
 αὐλή VI 32,10.  
 αὐξάνειν. **ῬΑΥΞΑΝΕ** VI 53,19; 55,5.  
 αὐστηρός. **ΜΝΤΑΥCΤΗΡΟC** VI 15,14.  
 αὐτογενής. **ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΝΗC** VI 63,22.  
 αὐτογέννητος. **ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΤΟC** VI 57,15.  
 ἀφθαρσία V 46,8.19; 49,[3]; 72,9; 74,2; 85,13.  
  
 βαθμός VI 52,13; 54,28; 63,9.  
 βάθος VI 32,9; 57,31.  
 βάρβαρος VI 16,2.3.5.6.8; 71,5.  
 βάρος VI 72,7.  
 βία. **ΝΒΙΑ** VI 29,30; 31,15.  
 βίος VI 23,32; 30,32; 31,32; 65,2; 76,33; 77,5. BG 132,12; 138,18.  
 βλάπτειν. **ῬΒΛΑΠΤΕΙ** VI 67,12.  
 βοηθεῖν. **ῬΒΟΗΘΙ** V 48,21. **ῬΒΟΗΘΕΙ** BG 128,15; 129,2.  
 βοηθός V 55,16; 59,24.  
 βούλησις VI 74,18.  
 βροντή VI 13,1.  
  
 γαλακτίτης VI 62,11.  
 γάμος VI 13,24.  
 γενεά V 65,8; 67,24.[27]; 70,18; 71,19.23; 77,20; 82,19; 83,1; 85,9.  
 γένεσις VI 48,10.  
 γενικός VI 63,2.  
 γένος V 19,5; 20,6; 34,5; 35,22. VI 69,10.

- γέννημα. ΓΕΝΗΜΑ VI 51,21.  
γεννητός: γεννητόν VI 57,17. ΓΕΝΗΤΟΝ VI 57,14.  
γεωργός VI 51,19.  
γλωσσόκομον. ΓΛΩΣΣΟΚΩΜΟΝ VI 8,18; 9,31; 10,31.  
γνώσις V 28,7.27; 35,6; 42,10.24; 47,8; 48,7; 64,13.27; 65,12; 69,15; 71,12;  
72,1.14; 73,20; 76,10.21; 82,23; 83,13.20; 85,16.22.26. VI 16,4; 18,14;  
19,33; 62,33; 64,10.13.16.19.33; 66,9.12.25.33; 67,15.17.20.23; 68,15.  
γραφή V 26,5.7.  
γυμνάζεσθαι. ΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ BG 9,23; 18,9.  
δαιμόνιον VI 34,28; 42,17.  
δαίμων V 19,5; 79,5. VI 76,23.31; 78,27.  
δείπνον. ΔΙΠΝΟΝ VI 35,12.  
δημιουργός VI 73,26; 75,13.  
διὰ τοῦτο VI 27,30; 72,8.  
διάβολος VI 30,27; 33,26. ΜΗΤΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ VI 39,25.  
διαθήκη BG 139,2.  
διαίρεσις. ΔΙΖΕΡΕCIC VI 20,35.  
διακονία VI 1,11; 5,6; 12,11; 37,16.  
διαμονή VI 39,13.  
διάνοια V 27,4; 29,5; 37,16. VI 36,1.  
διαταγή VI 44,31.  
δίκαιος V 31,31; 32,3.6; 43,19; 44,14.18; 49,9; 59,22; 60,12; 61,14.  
δίκαιον VI 48,28; 51,12; 59,12.  
δικαιοσύνη VI 22,14.  
δικαίως VI 7,6; 48,22.  
δικαστής VI 76,25.  
διοικεῖν. ΡΔΙΟΙΚΕΙ VI 56,13.14.  
διστάζειν. ΔΙCΤΑΖΕ VI 65,11.  
διώκειν. ΡΔΙΩΚΕ V 67,8.  
δράκων V 80,14.  
δύναμις VI 14,4; 25,34; 52,14.18.24; 55,7; 56,15.24; 57,29; 58,11.11; 59,32.34.  
δωρεά V 53,13. VI 55,15. BG 129,16; 138,15.  
ἐβδομάς V 26,1.3. VI 56,27.  
ἐγκράτεια VI 15,18; 19,19.  
ἔθνος. ΖΕΘΝΟC VI 33,11.27; 34,12.13. BG 9,8.  
εἶδος VI 21,21.  
εἶδωλον VI 33,31; 34,16.  
εἰκῆ. ΕΙΚΗ V 24,14.  
εἰκών. ΖΙΚΩΝ V 25,1.2. VI 2,24; 38,8; 47,23; 48,31; 50,11; 56,13; 57,4.6;  
65,16; 70,4; 71,34; 74,32.  
εἰμαρμένη. ΧΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ VI 62,27.  
εἰ μήτι V 29,8. VI 30,1; 54,24; 67,7.  
εἶναι VI 69,18.  
εἰρήνη VI 6,27; 8,[5]; 12,19. BG 8,14.14. ΙΡΗΝΗ VI 14,32; 18,24.  
εἶτα VI 46,19.  
εἶτε—εἶτε VI 22,18.19; 75,32.33. BG 15,21; 16,1.

- ἐκκλησία VI 12,6.13.  
 ἐλάχιστος VI 15,11.  
 ἐλέγχειν. **ΡΕΛΕΓΧΕ** VI 41,32.  
 ἐλεύθερος. **ΜΗΤΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ** VI 30,18.  
 ἐλπίζειν. **ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ** BG 138,11.  
 ἐλπίς. **ΖΕΛΠΙΣ** V 62,18. VI 34,10.17.32; 77,11.  
 ἔνδυμα V 58,22. VI 44,26; 46,16.  
 ἐνέργεια VI 34,26; 39,22.22; 52,15; 53,19; 72,12; 75,22. **ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ** VI 70,6.  
 ἐνεργεῖν. **ΡΕΝΕΡΓΙ** V 52,20. **ΡΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ** VI 33,19; 42,33; 65,25; 69,34.  
 ἐνεός. **ΖΕΝΝΑΣ** VI 56,26; 59,31; 61,22; 63,14.  
 ἐνοχλεῖν. **ΡΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ** VI 63,36.  
 ἐντολή V 49,13.  
 ἐξετάζειν. **ΡΕΞΕΤΑΖΕ** BG 15,13.  
 ἐξοδιακός. **ΕΞΩΔΙΑΚΟΣ** VI 63,3.  
 ἐξουσία V 19,3; 23,22.28; 26,[22]; 67,13; 76,20. VI 25,34; 26,28. BG 15,11;  
 16,2.4.[13].  
 ἐπαινεῖν. **ΡΕΠΑΙΝΟΥ** VI 51,10.  
 ἐπί. **ΕΠΙ** V 32,6. VI 65,13.  
 ἐπειδή. **ΕΠΙΔΗ** V 18,17; 24,26; 44,18; 50,1; 61,12; 65,29. VI 4,17; 48,16.26;  
 49,27; 68,20.  
 ἐπιθυμεῖν. **ΡΕΠΙΘΥΜΙ** V 21,7; 81,26. **ΕΡΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ** V 81,6. **ΡΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ**  
 VI 30,14.22; 38,7.  
 ἐπιθυμία V 67,3; 73,24; 75,4; 80,3; 81,6.8.9.11.17; 82,18; 83,16; 84,28. VI  
 7,33; 19,18; 23,15.18.19; 25,6; 30,34; 31,21; 40,6; 67,10. BG 15,1;  
 16,6.19. **ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ** VI 29,2.  
 ἐπικαλεῖν. **ΡΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ** VI 55,24.  
 ἐπίνοια VI 14,10; 36,18.  
 ἐπίσκοπος VI 61,32. **ΕΪ ΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ** VI 76,24.  
 ἐπιστήμη VI 17,[7].9; 66,7.11.14.25.33; 67,15.17.20.23; 68,14.  
 ἐργασία VI 27,13.  
 ἔργον VI 49,27.  
 ἔρημος V 78,23; 79,14; 82,1.  
 ἔρμηνεύειν. **ΡΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ** V 36,5. **ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ** VI 58,29; 64,12.  
 ἐρίζειν. **ΕΡΙΣΕ** V 22,7.  
 ἔρωσ V 63,8.  
 ἔτι V 38,15. VI 39,33. BG 7,20.  
 εὐαγγέλιον BG 8,22; 9,9; 18,19; 19,[3].  
 εὐαγγελιστής VI 35,6.  
 εὐκαιρία VI 1,15.  
 εὖνοια VI 64,5.  
 εὕρεμα VI 60,21.  
 εὐσέβεια VI 38,26.  
 εὐσεβής VI 74,8; **Ο(ΕΙ)Ϊ ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ** VI 38,22; 56,28.  
 ἕως VI 44,32.

ζήτημα VI 60,20.

ζῶον VI 50,17; 67,8; 68,28; 75,20.

ἤ V 29,2; 33,15; 65,9; 77,23. VI 13,14; 20,16; 36,33; 37,1; 49,3; 71,7.8.8;  
76,21.25. BG 8,17; 10,18; 16,15; 18,5; 129,14.

ἡγεμών VI 2,5.

ἡδη VI 56,27; 57,28.

ἡδονή VI 15,29; 21,25; 23,31; 24,19; 39,28.

ἡλικία VI 54,11.

ἥλιος VI 62,6.

θάλασσα V 79,23. VI 1,14.29; 45,31; 73,14; 75,19.32.

θαῦμα. **ῬΘΑΥΜΑ** VI 52,22; 71,36.

θαυμάζειν. **ῬΘΑΥΜΑΖΕ** VI 68,34; 69,8-9.

θεῖος VI 68,18. θεῖον VI 59,7.17; 70,38; 71,29; 78,41.

θεωρία VI 56,25; 57,[3]; 59,27; 60,3; 72,6.13.16. **ΘΕΩΡΕΙΑ** VI 59,16.

θηρίον VI 5,27; 49,18.21; 50,26; 51,22.

θλίψις V 63,23.

θηητός: θνητόν VI 67,29; 75,21.

θρόνος V 22,[27]. VI 45,11.

θυσία VI 57,19.

ἴνα V 49,17. VI 10,10; 36,15.29. **ἸΝΑ ΧΕ** V 18,[11]; 76,11; 82,18. **ΨΙΝΑ ΧΕ**  
VI 34,24.

καθαρίζειν. **ῬΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ** VI 40,19.

καθαρισμός VI 45,28.

καθιστάναι. **ΚΑΘΙΣΤΑ** BG 7,19.

καθολικός: καθολική VI 47,13. καθολικόν VI 26,31.

καί γάρ V 41,22; 54,3. VI 45,22; 65,11.

καιρός VI 44,30. BG 17,6.

καίτοι γε VI 23,22; 33,25.

κακία VI 66,6.18.22; 78,25.43; **ΚΑΒΙΑ** VI 31,28; 40,20; 44,11.17.22; 45,30;  
67,27; 73,30.

κακός VI 78,5. τὸ κακόν VI 31,17.

κακουργία VI 62,25.

καλάϊνος VI 61,27. **ΚΑΛΛΑΕΙΝΟΣ** VI 61,29. **ΚΑΛΛΑΕΙΝΗ** VI 62,12.

καλῶς V 38,24. VI 3,2; 11,14; 31,10; 52,22.30; 53,9; 61,2.

κάν VI 4,5; 17,14.

καρπός VI 31,18; 75,7.22.

κατά V 20,6; 29,10; 30,11; 34,12; 59,3. VI 1,14.22; 7,25; 11,13; 13,13.14;  
39,32; 43,2; 48,9; 52,9; 54,16.28; 63,9; 67,21.28; 69,21.22.24.27; 71,28;  
74,13.36. BG 18,17; 19,4.

κατάβασις VI 22,18.

καταδίκη VI 77,27.

κατακλυσμός VI 38,32; 39,5.

καταντᾶν. **ΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ** V 27,6.14; 29,[26]. **ῬΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ** V 41,18. VI 49,10.

καταφρονεῖν. **ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙ** VI 16,30; 31,32; 72,9; 78,9. **ῬΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΙ** VI  
15,22; 18,22; 26,16.

κατέχειν. **ῬΚΑΤΕΧΕ** VI 26,29; 58,9.

κατηγορεῖν. **ῬΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙ** V 74,5.

- κατηγορία VI 23,34.  
 κελεύειν. **ῤΚΕΛΕΥΕ** VI 62,1.  
 κῆρυξ VI 45,23.  
 κιβωτός V 70,11.20. **ΒΙΒΩΤΟΣ** VI 38,30; 39,3.  
 κινδυνεύειν. **ῤΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ** VI 72,6. **ΒΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ** VI 72,36.  
 κίνδυνος. **ΒΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ** VI 72,36.  
 κλάδος VI 22,31.  
 κληρονομεῖν. **ῤΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ** VI 23,28; 24,27. **ῤΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙ** V 37,15;  
 52,11. VI 23,24.25.  
 κληρονομία V 53,9.25; 60,19.  
 κλῆρος V 29,9.17.  
 κοιμητήριον. **ΚΗΜΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ** VI 21,28.  
 κοινωνεῖν. **ῤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ** V 34,14. **ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ** V 43,18.  
 κοινωνία VI 68,21.  
 κοιτών BG 136,14.  
 κολάζειν. **ΚΟΛΑΖΕ** VI 72,25; 78,13. **ῤΚΟΛΑΖΕ** V 77,16. VI 46,23; 47,27;  
 77,9.  
 κολακεύειν. **ῤΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕ** VI 25,17.  
 κοπρία VI 15,6.  
 κοσμικός VI 27,5.  
 κόσμος V 20,15.19; 21,5; 23,13; 46,13; 62,22. VI 5,32; 8,9; 10,16; 11,16.17;  
 22,11; 25,30.32; 26,12.27.28.30; 27,6; 30,5.12; 32,4.13; 45,13; 70,9; 71,36;  
 72,9; 73,19; 74,6.31.34; 75,[3]; 76,36; 77,16. BG 7,12; 16,[21]; 17,1.  
 κράτος VI 28,21.  
 κρίνειν. **ΚΡΙΝΕ** VI 21,20. BG 15,16.17.18. **ῤΚΡΙΝΕ** VI 20,11.  
 κρῖσις V 22,10; 27,24.  
 κριτής VI 20,13.  
 κρύσταλλον VI 77,17.  
 κτίσις V 20,4. VI 19,7; 37,17; 38,2.16; 39,20; 48,7.10; 59,2. BG 7,3.  
 κτίσμα VI 17,24.  
 κυριακή BG 128,2.  
 κωλύειν. **ῤΚΩΛΥΕ** VI 51,22; 70,24.  
 κωφός BG 128,13.  
  
 λάος V 31,11.17.21; 39,22; 45,20.[25]; 61,[2]; 73,29; 83,10. VI 45,22.  
 λέντιον VI 2,11; 3,24.  
 ληστής VI 5,26.33; 7,27; 8,12; 78,18.  
 λογικός: λογική VI 35,1; 78,42. **ΛΟΓΕΙΚΗ** VI 57,18.  
 λογογενής V 85,27.  
 λόγος V 63,32; 82,13.15. VI 14,13; 18,16; 22,22.26; 27,31; 28,11; 34,1.19;  
 35,24; 40,4; 42,5.7; 43,28; 44,3.13.19; 48,17.32; 55,26; 60,24.25; 63,3;  
 64,9.11-2; 65,8.14.36; 73,17. **ΜῆΤΑΤΛΟΓΟΣ** VI 73,21.  
 λοιμός VI 73,36.  
 λυπεῖσθαι. **ῤΛΥΠΕΙ** BG 9,6.15.  
 λύπη VI 30,29; 39,27; 77,12.  
  
 μαθητής V 30,21; 36,3; 38,17. VI 9,21; 12,14.  
 μακαρίζειν. **ῤΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΕ** V 38,19; 55,24.

ἀπόδος VI 42,2  
 ἀποδο VI 4,28  
 ἀβών VI 54,32;  
 ἀρραβών VI 2,3  
 ἀρραβών. ΜΑΣΤΙ  
 ἀρραβών. ΜΑΣΤ  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΕΛΙ V  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΕΛΙ  
 ἀρραβών VI 8,10.  
 ἀρραβών VI 13,21; 17  
 ἀρραβών VI 48,24;  
 ἀρραβών VI 26,33;  
 ἀρραβών VI 67,1.  
 ἀρραβών VI 2,20.22;  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΕΤΑ  
 ἀρραβών BG 16,13.  
 ἀρραβών. ΜΗΤΜΕΤ  
 ἀρραβών VI 20,38; 21,4  
 ἀρραβών BG 9,3.  
 ἀρραβών V 49,21. VI  
 ἀρραβών BG 17,18.  
 ἀρραβών V 78,20. VI  
 ἀρραβών V 28,15.  
 ἀρραβών VI 62,19.  
 ἀρραβών VI 5,25.25; 1  
 ἀρραβών VI 36,9; 49;  
 ἀρραβών V 25,7;  
  
 ἀρραβών. ΜΑΡΤΟΣ  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΗΣΤ  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΗΦΕ V  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΟΕΙ VI  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΗ.28; 64.  
 ἀρραβών VI 36,2; 48.  
 ἀρραβών VI 52,16; 5  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΗ.28; 64.  
 ἀρραβών. BG 9,3.  
 ἀρραβών V 84,11. VI  
 ἀρραβών V 18,22; 19  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΜΗ.28; 64.  
 ἀρραβών VI 22,23.  
  
 ἀρραβών. ΖΟΓΑΟΑ  
 ἀρραβών VI 44-9  
 ἀρραβών BG 139.  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΖΟΜ  
 ἀρραβών. ῤΖΟΝΟ  
 ἀρραβών VI 62,2



- μακάριος VI 42,24.28; 69,5. BG 8,12.  
 μάλιστα VI 4,28.  
 μάλλον VI 54,32; 78,12. BG 9,18; 18,15.  
 μαργαρίτης VI 2,31.32; 3,13.13; 4,3.5.10.19.24.26; 5,8.  
 μάστιγξ. ΜΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ V 22,8.  
 μαστιγοῦν. ΜΑΣΤΙΓΟΥ VI 78,36. Ρ̄ΜΑΣΤΙΓΟΥ V 20,12.  
 μέλειν. Ρ̄ΜΕΛΙ V 29,7; 31,15. Ρ̄ΜΕΛΕΙ VI 27,7.  
 μελετᾶν. Ρ̄ΜΕΛΕΤΑ VI 6,25.  
 μελέτη VI 8,10.  
 μέλος VI 13,21; 17,18.22. Ψ̄Β̄Ρ̄ Μ̄ΜΕΛΟΣ VI 22,16.  
 μέντοιγε VI 48,24; 49,16.  
 μερικός VI 26,33.  
 μερίς VI 67,1.  
 μέρος VI 2,20.22; 17,29; 66,34; 69,17.20.  
 μετανοεῖν. Ρ̄ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙΝ V 59,16.  
 μετουσία BG 16,13.  
 μέτριος. Μ̄ΗΤΜΕΤΡΙΟΣ VI 25,11.  
 μή V 20,[28]; 21,4.11. VI 48,23; 69,28; 70,2.  
 μήποτε BG 9,3.  
 μήπως V 40,21. VI 26,27; 62,23.  
 μήτι BG 17,18.  
 μήτρα V 78,20. VI 64,25.26.  
 μνήμη V 28,9.15.  
 μοῖρα VI 62,19.  
 μονή VI 5,25.25; 19,11.  
 μορφή VI 36,9; 49,12; 55,32; 57,6. BG 16,5.5.  
 μυστήριον V 25,7; 28,3; 62,20. VI 65,16.26.35; 78,23.
- νάρθηξ. ΝΑΡΤΟΣ VI 8,16. ΝΑΡΔΟΣ VI 9,30.  
 νηστεύειν. Ρ̄ΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ VI 5,24.  
 νήφειν. Ρ̄ΝΗΦΕ V 32,4. VI 21,27. Ρ̄ΝΗΦΙ V 35,4. ᾹΡΙΝΗΦΕ V 57,24.  
 νοεῖν. Ρ̄ΝΟΕΙ VI 22,29; 36,31; 37,6.22; 39,6; 42,25.29; 54,19.23; 55,20;  
 58,21.28; 64,11. BG 8,2. Ρ̄ΝΟΪ VI 54,30. BG 8,1.  
 νόημα VI 36,2; 48,14.  
 νόησις VI 52,16; 54,29; 63,13.  
 νοητός: νοητόν VI 64,23.  
 νομοθέτης BG 9,3.  
 νόμος V 84,11. VI 16,14; 42,6; 48,11; 56,29; 62,29; 72,38. BG 9,2; 18,20.  
 νοῦς V 18,[22]; 19,10; 37,19. VI 13,1; 18,9; 19,32; 22,28; 28,25; 34,26.29;  
 58,[4].5.15.21.27.28; 60,27.30; 61,31; 64,9.10. BG 10,15.21.  
 νυμφίος VI 22,23.
- ὀγδοάς. Ζ̄ΟΓΔΟΑΣ V 24,1. VI 56,26; 58,17; 59,29; 61,21; 63,13.  
 οἰκουμένη VI 44,9.  
 οἰκονομία BG 139,7.  
 ὀμολογεῖν. Ρ̄Ζ̄ΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ VI 14,18.19; 69,11.  
 ὀνομάζειν. Ρ̄ΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ VI 61,21; 63,27.  
 ὀνομασία VI 62,24; 64,1.3.

- ὄντως VI 6,35.  
 ὀπώρα. **ΟΠΟΡΑ** V 41,9.  
 ὄραμα. **ΖΟΡΟΜΑ** BG 10,11.13.17.23; 131,16; 132,6.  
 ὄρασις VI 19,19.  
 ὄργανον VI 60,29.  
 ὄργή VI 39,23; 63,29. BG 16,13.  
 ὀρίζειν. **ῬΖΟΡΙΖΕ** VI 67,22.  
 ὄρος BG 9,1; 18,20.  
 ὅταν VI 16,33; 17,[1]; 23,27; 29,27; 38,17.21; 40,21; 45,24; 46,29; 54,19;  
 65,19; 76,12.28. **ΟΤΑΝ** V 64,6.  
 ὅτι VI 47,34.  
 οὐ V 59,6. VI 74,22.  
 οὐδέ V 31,16; 56,19. VI 3,23; 12,2; 15,9.13; 18,[1]; 28,29; 29,4; 33,6; 48,6.  
 BG 9,2.15; 10,6.20; 15,7; 18,20.  
 οὐκέτι VI 70,33.  
 οὐκοῦν VI 51,11.  
 οὐ μόνον—ἀλλά V 33,8-9. VI 4,13-4.32-3; 65,37-8; 68,31-2.33; 69,19-20; 72,31-  
 3; 77,37-78,[1].  
 οὖν V 26,2.14; 27, <13>; 36,19; 41,20; 43,16. VI 11,20.32.  
 οὐσία V 24,28. VI 18,27.28.31; 23,20; 34,24; 55,33.  
 οὐσιάρχης VI 63,19.  
 οὔτε V 24,15; 28,1.18.19; 31,20; 32,22; 35,10; 49,21; 53,2.26; 71,25; 75,3;  
 77,14; 83,17; 85,6. VI 15,5; 17,28; 25,32.33.33.34; 29,1; 32,22; 37,19;  
 46,11; 50,23; 54,4; 62,26; 70,35; 72,[2].4.5; 73,15; 75,12; 76,17; 77,13.14;  
 78,41. BG 139,12.12.  
  
 πάθος VI 21,24; 23,30; 31,26; 66,10.16; 67,3.26. BG 8,3.  
 πάλιν V 58,10; 62,7; 76,8. BG 15,10; 131,6.  
 παντοκράτωρ V 69,5.7; 72,25; 73,9.  
 πάντως VI 78,24. BG 18,12.  
 παρά V 31,13. VI 70,31. BG 9,1; 10,3; 18,20.  
 παραβαίνειν. **ῬΠΑΡΑΒΑ** VI 62,30; 63,28.  
 παράβασις V 83,26.  
 παραβολή VI 10,24; 40,31.  
 παραγγέλλειν. **ΠΑΡΑΓΗΛΕ** VI 9,33.  
 παράγειν. **ῬΠΑΡΑΓΕ** VI 62,19.  
 παραδιδόναι. **ῬΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ** VI 41,21.26.  
 παράδοσις VI 52,7.  
 παράφυσις VI 73,12. BG 8,4.  
 παρθένος V 51,22.27; 52,1; 58,18; 78,20.29; 79,6.8.11. VI 13,19; 25,8; 62,17.  
 BG 128,18; 137,8.  
 παρουσία VI 28,18.  
 παρρησία. **ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ** VI 14,28.  
 παρρησιάζεσθαι. **ῬΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΖΕ** VI 28,20.  
 πείθειν. **ΠΙΘΕ** BG 132,18. **ῬΠΙΘΕ** BG 129,18. **ΠΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ** VI 53,34.  
 πειρασμός. **ΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ** VI 7,9. BG 132,1.  
 πέλαγος VI 77,15.  
 πενθεῖν. **ῬΠΕΝΘΕΙ** VI 44,9.

φάθος VI 74.  
 φάθος VI 23.  
 φάθος V 32,16;  
 φάθος VI 45,34;  
 φάθος VI 3,23.  
 φάθος ΠΙΣΤ.  
 τεγε VI 7.  
 φάθος V 29,24.27.  
 φάθος ῬΠΑΛΑ.  
 φάθος V 77,22. V.  
 φάθος VI 62,12.14.  
 φάθος V 76,17.  
 φάθος ῬΠΑΛΑ.  
 φάθος ΠΛΕΑ VI.  
 φάθος VI 60,3.  
 φάθος V 46,8.  
 φάθος VI 75.  
 φάθος ΠΝΑ V 18.  
 φάθος 38,34[4][4].6.  
 φάθος 80,15; 84,2. V.  
 φάθος 38,7,8; 60,13.  
 VI 22,17.  
 φάθος ΠΝΑ.  
 φάθος V 32,11.34.  
 φάθος ῬΠΟΛΕ.  
 φάθος V 34,20.  
 φάθος V 78,21. V.  
 φάθος 62,23.31.34.  
 ῬΠΗΠΟΛΙ.  
 φάθος VI 27,17.  
 φάθος ῬΠΟ.  
 φάθος ΠΟΛΕΙΤ.  
 φάθος BG 15,14.  
 φάθος VI 73,5.  
 φάθος V 42,24.  
 φάθος ΠΟΡΝΙΑ.  
 φάθος ΠΟΡΝΙ.  
 φάθος VI 13,18.  
 φάθος ΠΡΑ.  
 φάθος ΠΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ.  
 φάθος ΠΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ VI.  
 φάθος VI 12,20.  
 φάθος ῬΠΡΑ.  
 φάθος VI 54,1.  
 φάθος VI 54,7.  
 φάθος VI 54,15.  
 φάθος ΜΗΤΠ.  
 φάθος VI 21,25; 3.

- περίοδος VI 74,10.  
 πέρπερος VI 23,33.  
 πέτρα V 32,16; 80,24; 85,11.  
 πηγή VI 45,34; 46,1.2; 52,19; 55,22; 58,13.  
 πήρα VI 3,23.  
 πιστεύειν. ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ VI 48,6; 69,2; 77,28,33. BG 129,1.19; 139,5. ΡΠΙΣ-  
 ΤΕΥΕ VI 72,34; 77,36. BG 17,13; 137,6.  
 πίστις V 29,24.27.  
 πλανᾶν. ΡΠΛΑΝΑ VI 45,16. BG 8,16.  
 πλάνη V 77,22. VI 34,28; 73,30.  
 πλάξ VI 62,12.14.  
 πλάσμα V 76,17. VI 49,24. BG 7,3.  
 πλάσσειν. ΡΠΛΑΣΣΕ VI 20,20; 49,27; 50,5.18. ΠΛΑΣΣΕ VI 32,25.  
 πλεῖν. ΠΛΕΑ VI 73,14.  
 πλήκτρον VI 60,31.  
 πλήρωμα V 46,8; 63,9. VI 22,19; 57,8.  
 πλουτώνιος VI 75,17.  
 πνεῦμα. ΠΝᾶ V 18,[21]; 19,16.21.26; 20,4; 21,24; 22,1.11.15.22; 23,5.23; 24,8;  
 39,3.4].[4].6.6; 55,[4]; 58,14; 63,25; 66,22; 69,24; 76,24; 77,17; 78,1;  
 80,15; 84,2. VI 18,18; 19,[7]; 21,17; 37,24.35; 52,14; 53,31; 56,7; 57,5.10;  
 59,7.8; 60,1.30; 61,16; 63,20. BG 10,19.21; 127,4; 137,11. ΨΒΡ ΜΠΝᾶ  
 VI 22,17.  
 πνευματικός. ΠΝᾶΤΙΚΟΝ VI 32,32; 53,17. ΠΝᾶΤΙΚΗ VI 23,13.  
 ποιμήν VI 32,11.34; 33,2.  
 πολεμεῖν. ΡΠΟΛΕΜΙ V 36,17. VI 28,15.  
 πόλεμος V 34,20. VI 14,31; 18,24; 28,14; 39,26; 73,10.35.  
 πόλις V 78,21. VI 1,28.31; 2,[2].9.31.34; 3,15; 4,[1].12.16.32; 5,10.14.20;  
 6,22.23.31.34; 7,10.18.21. 10,2.9.34; 11,27; 43,33; 44,5; 75,28.36.  
 ΡΜῆΠΟΛΙΣ VI 18,26.  
 πολιτεία VI 27,17; 31,30.  
 πολιτεύεσθαι. ΡΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ VI 31,19; 56,29.  
 πόλιτης. ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ VI 59,4.  
 πονηρία BG 15,14.  
 πονηρός VI 73,5.  
 πορεία V 42,24.  
 πορνεία. ΠΟΡΝΙΑ VI 24,[7].  
 πορνείον. ΠΟΡΝΙΟΝ VI 24,8.  
 πόρνη VI 13,18  
 πραγματεία. ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΑ VI 70,15.  
 πραγματεύεσθαι. ΡΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ VI 32,20.  
 πραγματευτής VI 32,18.  
 πράξις VI 12,20. BG 141,7.  
 πράσσειν. ΡΠΡΑΣΣΑ VI 48,9.  
 πρόβλημα VI 54,12.  
 προκοπή VI 54,7.14.  
 πρόνοια VI 54,15; 56,4; 59,5.  
 προπετής. ΜῆΤΠΡΟΠΕΤΗΣ VI 60,2.  
 πρός VI 21,25; 31,27.33. BG 17,4.

προσευχή V 30,29; 31,3; 32,5; 62,14.  
 πρόσταγμα VI 26,5.  
 προσφωνεῖν. **ῤ̄ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΕΙ** VI 53,12.  
 πρόσωπον. **εἶ Ἰ̄ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ** VI 62,7,9.  
 πρόφασις VI 1,2.  
 προφητεία. **ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ** VI 69,36.  
 προφήτης V 39,23; 78,8.  
 πύλη V 20,10; 21,27; 22,12. VI 8,7; 41,7.  
 πῶς V 29,14; 36,21; 52,2; 54,18.27. VI 8,28; 9,3; 11,11; 36,28. BG 15,4.

ῤ̄αββί V 25,10; 26,2.14; 27,14; 28,5; 29,14; 31,5; 40,4; 41,20.

σάββατον BG 128,1.  
 σάλπιγξ. **ΣΑΛΠΙΓΓΟΣ** V 60,2.  
 σαπφείριος. **ΣΑΠΠΕΙΡΙΝΟΝ** VI 62,14.  
 σαρκικός: σαρκικόν VI 31,23.  
 σάρξ V 48,5; 63,11. BG 138,9. **ΣΑΡΑΞ** V 27,6; 32,19; 48,7; 69,6.8; 70,5; 77,16.  
 VI 32,8; 37,17; 38,14.18.19.24; 39,14; 41,2; 42,1; 46,10; 48,10. **ΤΜ̄Ν-  
 ΤΕΡΟ Ἰ̄ΤΣΑΡΞ** BG 16,9. **ΤΜ̄ΝΤΣΑΒΗ Ἰ̄ΣΕΒΗ Ἰ̄ΣΑΡΞ** BG 16,10.  
 σέβεσθαι. **ῤ̄ΣΕΒΕΣΘΑΙ** VI 70,29.  
 σεμνός: σεμνή VI 13,18. **Μ̄ΝΤΣΕΜΝΟΣ** VI 44,23.  
 σημείον VI 20,33; 42,13.21; 45,7.8.14. **ΣΗΜΙΟΝ** V 23,24.26.  
 σιγή V 28,2.  
 σκανδαλίζεσθαι. **ῤ̄ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ** BG 132,10.  
 σκεπάζειν. **ῤ̄ΣΚΕΠΑΖΕ** VI 46,14. BG 9,17.  
 σκεῦος VI 2,8. BG 137,2.  
 σουδάριον VI 2,14; 3,25.  
 σοφία V 35,7; 36,6.8; 85,16. VI 10,28; 16,3; 44,19.20; 47,4.18; 56,23; 57,25;  
 62,32. BG 16,11.  
 σοφός VI 61,7.  
 σπατάλη. **ῤ̄ ΠΚΕΣΠΑΤΑΛΑ** VI 72,33.  
 σπέρμα V 72,24; 73,14.25.28; 74,11.17; 76,12. VI 23,9; 25,24; 43,26; 65,21.25.  
 σπορά V 65,4.8; 66,4; 69,12; 71,5; 76,7; 79,16; 83,4; 85,22.29.  
 σπουδαῖος BG 139,8.  
 στερεσίμως. **ΣΤΕΡΕΣΙΜΟΣ** V 33,11; 34,23.  
 στερέωμα VI 45,32; 47,5.  
 στήλη VI 61,26.29.  
 στιγμή VI 46,20.  
 στοιχεῖν. **ῤ̄ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ** VI 62,28.  
 στρατιά V 26,26; 27,17; 79,2.4.  
 στύραξ VI 2,28.  
 συγγενής V 44,19.23. VI 22,29; 68,7. **Μ̄ΝΤΣΥΝΓΕΝΗΣ** V 61,11.  
 σύζυγος V 35,11. **ΣΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ** V 66,8.  
 συμφορά VI 78,39.  
 συνείδησις VI 27,17; 63,5.  
 συνευδοκεῖν. **ῤ̄ΣΥΝΕΥΔΟΒΕΙ** VI 63,8.  
 συνηθεῖν. **ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙ** V 62,15.  
 συνουσία VI 18,29; 65,17.26.

σπατή V 1,13.  
 ἴσως. **ΣΥΡΕ** V 6.  
 ἴσως. **ῤ̄ΣΥΡΕ**  
 ἴσως. VI 20,3.  
 ἴσως. V 19,7; 20,2.  
 32,16.19.21.25.  
 75,13; 76,7.9.1.  
 ὡς **Ἰ̄ΣΩΜ**  
 ἴσως. VI 9,5. BG  
 15,5.21.

σκαπτεῖν. **ῤ̄ΤΑΛ**  
 ἴσως. **ΤΑΜΙΟΝ**  
 ἴσως. VI 52,7.8; 67.  
 ἴσως. BG 8,5.  
 ἴσως. VI 70,34.  
 ἴσως. VI 9,1.  
 ἴσως. VI 13,1; 43.  
 ἴσως. VI 48,21.  
 ἴσως. V 33,9. VI 44.  
 ἴσως. V 20,16; 2.  
 ἴσως. **εἶ Ἰ̄Τ**  
 ἴσως. VI 11,10.  
 ἴσως. **ῤ̄ΤΗΡΕΙ** V  
 ἴσως. VI 4,7.  
 ἴσως. VI 70,27;  
 ἴσως. VI 73,9.  
 ἴσως. V 23,9; 51,1.  
 ἴσως. 11,14; 78,2.  
 ἴσως. V 19,20; 32;  
 30,7; 38,10;  
 ἴσως. 71,8.20;  
 VI 37,23.29;  
 66,29.31; 45.  
 BG 5,4; 9.12  
 ἴσως. VI 5.  
 74,17.33; 78;  
 ἴσως. VI 39,10;  
 ἴσως. V 30,16; 3.  
 ἴσως. **ῤ̄ΤΥΠΟ**  
 ἴσως. V 24,16. VI  
 1,13.18; 69.  
 ἴσως. VI 28,9.  
 ἴσως. **ῤ̄ΤΥΜΝ**

συνταγή VI 1,13.

σύρειν. **ΣΥΡΕ** V 62,2.

σφραγίζεῖν. **ΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ** V 73,4.

σφραγίς VI 20,3.

σῶμα V 19,7; 20,23.29; 21,20. VI 1,7; 2,21; 11,12.20.23; 23,14.17; 31,5.11;  
32,16.19.21.25.31; 35,4; 38,14; 39,18; 60,5; 64,18; 67,6; 69,14.21; 71,20;  
75,13; 76,7.9.11.11.14.15.29; 77,19; 78,4. BG 8,6; 129,12; 132,3; 135,7.

**Ψῆρ Ἰσώμα** VI 22,16; **Ἰσώμα** VI 40,18.

σωτήρ VI 9,5. BG 18,11.13. **ΣΩΡ** BG 7,2.23; 9,[24]; 10,2.4.19; 17,8.14.18;  
18,5.21.

ταλαιπωρεῖν. **ΡΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΙ** VI 35,3.

ταμειῖον. **ΤΑΜΙΟΝ** VI 3,16.18.29.

τάξις VI 52,7.8; 67,20.

ταραχή BG 8,5.

τάφος VI 70,34.

ταχύ VI 9,1.

τέλειος VI 13,1; 43,22; 63,31. **ΤΕΛΙΟΣ** BG 18,16.

τελέως VI 48,21.

τέλος V 33,9. VI 44,13.

τελώνης V 20,16; 22,20; 33,8.

τετράγωνος. **ΕΤ ἸΤΕΤΡΑΓΩΝΟΝ** VI 62,12.

τέχνη VI 11,10.

τηρεῖν. **ΡΤΗΡΕΙ** VI 63,23.25; 64,32.

τιμή VI 4,7.

τιμωρία VI 70,27; 77,9.

τολμηρία VI 73,9.

τόπος V 23,9; 51,11; 69,23; 80,4. VI 15,12.29; 17,11; 36,23; 42,33; 44,2.29;  
75,11.14; 78,27.

τότε V 19,20.[32]; 21,17; 22,13.[23]; 23,25.29; 27,6; 30,5.27; 34,14; 35,19;  
37,7; 38,[10]; 39,18; 57,17; 64,20.22; 65,16; 66,9.12.23.25; 67,4.[27];  
70,6; 71,8.20; 72,15; 73,13.25.[30]; 74,26; 75,9; 77,4.7.16.18; 83,4.8; 84,4.  
VI 37,23.29; 39,16; 40,24; 41,13.18.32; 42,31; 43,25.29; 44,4.6.10.11.13.  
26.29.31; 45,1.15.17.27; 46,3.21.25.32.33; 47,5.6.9; 49,22; 71,14; 73,24.  
BG 8,4; 9,12; 18,1; 130,16; 138,7.

τρισεμίσιος VI 59,15.24; 66,26; 75,34; 78,31. **ΤΡΙΣΕΜΙΣΙΕ** VI 69,1.27;  
74,17.33; 78,14.

τρόπος VI 39,10; 42,1.

τροφή VI 22,26; 29,22.25.29; 30,3.11.21.25.26; 31,34; 32,1; 35,14; 65,6; 67,8;  
75,19.

τρυφή VI 39,10; 46,11.

τύπος V 30,16; 31,24; 36,2. VI 38,9; 57,8. BG 17,2.2.

τυπούν. **ΡΤΥΠΟΥ** VI 20,21.

ὄλη V 24,16. VI 22,[34]; 25,23; 27,28; 31,18; 40,18; 47,7; 54,32; 66,11; 67,1.  
1.13.18; 69,13.17; 75,5. BG 7,[1].7; 8,[2].

ὄλιχος VI 28,9. ὄλική VI 23,17.20.

ὄμνεῖν. **ΡΖΥΜΝΕΙ** VI 58,20.23.25; 59,31; 60,4.8.28; 61,5. **ΡΖΥΜΝΙ** VI 61,16.

ὑπομένειν. **ῤΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ** VI 7,5.9.13; 10,6.  
 ὑπομονή. **ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ** VI 2,4; 10,4.  
 ὑποτάσσειν. **ῤΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ** VI 38,24.

φαίνεσθαι. **ῤΦΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ** VI 50,16.  
 φαῦλος: φαῦλον VI 68,17.  
 φθονεῖν. **ῤΦΘΟΝΙ** VI 72,15.  
 φθόνος. **ΠΘΟΝΟΣ** VI 39,24.  
 φιλοπονεῖν. **ΕΛΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΙ** V 29,6.  
 φλύαρος. **ΦΛΟΙΑΡΟΣ** VI 23,33.  
 φόβος VI 15,26; 58,9.  
 φορεῖν. **ΦΟΡΙ** VI 2,11. **ῤΦΟΡΙ** VI 75,21.  
 φύλαξ VI 62,5.  
 φύσις VI 19,6; 49,7; 55,32; 64,27; 65,28; 67,32; 74,8.13.15. BG 7,3.7.8.15.18;  
 8,10.  
 φωστήρ V 75,14; 76,9.28; 77,15; 82,7.28; 85,28.

χαίρειν: χαῖρε V 50,11.12.  
 χαρίζειν. **ΧΑΡΙΖΕ** BG 129,15; 138,14. **ῤΧΑΡΙΖΕ** VI 64,8; 66,32.  
 χάρις VI 32,15. BG 9,16.  
 χήρα. **ῤΧΗΡΑ** VI 59,16.  
 χηρεύειν. **ῤΧΗΡΕΥΕ** VI 70,20.  
 χορηγία VI 72,14.  
 χρεία. **ΧΡΙΑ** VI 10,10.20. **ῤΧΡΙΑ** VI 67,14.  
 χρῆμα VI 23,29. BG 139,16.  
 χρῆσθαι. **ῤΧΡΑΣΘΑΙ** V 54,2; 77,19.  
 χρηστός. **ΧΤ** V 59,11.  
 χρόνος V 53,20. VI 44,11; 45,25; 46,25; 74,10. BG 17,6.  
 χώρα VI 70,30.31.  
 χωρεῖν. **ῤΧΩΡΙ** V 41,15.  
 χωρίς V 47,[24].

ψάλλειν. **ῤΨΑΛΛΕΙ** VI 60,32.  
 ψαλτήριον V 60,4.  
 ψυχή V 19,7; 20,9.13.21; 21,16.19; 34,23; 38,15; 66,23; 75,5; 76,16; 83,11;  
 84,3.12. VI 11,18; 22,13; 23,12.16.21.27; 27,25; 28,10; 31,12.24; 32,26.  
 27; 34,32; 38,8; 39,19; 40,11; 41,21; 45,28; 47,9.27; 48,32; 53,20; 54,27;  
 55,13; 56,1; 57,12.22; 58,6.19; 59,16.29; 63,34; 66,15.20; 69,33; 72,27.  
 28.37; 75,[3]; 76,25.29; 77,12.25; 78,24.40.41. BG 10,18.20; 15,5.13.17;  
 16,1.14.17; 129,17; 132,3; 138,10. **ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ** V 22,10; 33,10. VI 19,8;  
 78,34.  
 ψυχικός VI 39,16. ψυχικόν VI 40,25.

ὄ VI 10,23; 52,[2].7.20.27.30; 53,6.15.17.24.28.32.34; 54,9.13.18.23.31; 55,[2].  
 6.10.10.23; 57,27; 58,1.14.18.25.31; 59,10.12.15.20; 60,6.12; 61,3.3.18.  
 23.25.27; 62,16.20; 63,15.32.36; 64,23.23.25.26.28; 66,26.28; 68,13.23.35;  
 69,1.8.27.29.31; 70,3.36; 71,6.17.26; 72,30; 73,23; 74,17.19.33.34; 75,34.  
 35; 76,22; 77,28; 78,2.14.16.31.32. BG 139,18.

V 39,17; 56,7;  
 67,8.12.18;  
 139,8.  
 V 32,12.17;  
 οφέλε

ῤΡΑΣΑ V 75,2;  
 ῤΑΜ V 64,1.2;  
 ῤΑΛΙΟΣ V 36;  
 ῤΑΘΗΛΙΟΣ V 3;  
 ῤΑΝΩΝ VI 72,3;  
 ῤΑΡΕΑΣ BG 1;  
 ῤΑΙΝΩΝ V 40,4;  
 ῤΑΚΗΠΙΟΣ (Α  
 73,30; 73,23;  
 ῤΑΚΩΘ V 34,3;

ῤΑΓΩΝ V 23;

ῤΑΛΙΝΑ V 75;  
 ῤΑΛΛΑΝ V 30;

ῤΑΚΑΙΩΝ V  
 ῤΑΠΟΛΙΣ VI

ῤΑΛΗΝ VI 16,2;  
 ῤΑΡΗΝΣ VI 58,3;  
 ῤΑ V 64,8.26;

ῤΥΣ VI 75,16.18;  
 ῤΑΖΩΘ VI 5;  
 ῤΑΘΑΖΩΘ VI

ῤΥΔΑ V 44,18;

ῤΩΒΟΣ V 24;  
 13,18.28; 31,  
 12.14; 63,133;

ῤΦΕΘ V 72,17;

ῤΡΗΚΩ V 19,

ῤΡΟΥΣΑΛΛΗΝ

ῤΣΣΑΚΕΥ

ῤΣΣΥΣ V 85;

ῤΟΥΣ BG 13;  
 ῤΥΑΝΗΝΣ V

ῤΡΟΥ (Κέρρ

ὤς V 39,17; 56,7; 61,4; 65,16. VI 52,17; 53,10.14; 59,18; 60,8; 65,24; 66,24;  
67,8.12.18; 68,2.18; 71,28; 72,21.23.24.26; 74,22. BG 7,10; 137,6.10;  
139,8.  
ὥστε V 32,12.17; 81,5; 83,3. VI 23,17; 46,20; 50,8.32. BG 17,8.  
ὠφέλεια. ὠφέλεια VI 50,24.

## PROPER NOUNS

αβρασαξ V 75,22.  
αδამ V 64,1.2; 66,2.17; 85,20.23.32.  
αδδαιος V 36,15. αδδεος V 36,20.22.  
αδωναιος V 39,11.  
αμμων VI 72,31.  
ανδρεας BG 17,10.  
αρσινον V 40,26.  
ακληπιος (ακληπιε) VI 66,28; 68,13.23.35; 69,8.29.31; 70,3; 71,26;  
72,30; 73,23; 74,19.34; 75,35; 76,22; 77,28; 78,2.16.32.  
αхамωθ V 34,3; 35,9.10; 36,5.  
  
βαβυλων V 23,17.  
  
γαμαλιηλ V 75,23.  
γαυγηλαμ V 30,20.  
  
δευκαλιων V 70,19.  
διοςπολις VI 61,19.  
  
zeλλην VI 16,1.4.6.  
zeρμηс VI 58,28; 59,11; 63,24.  
εγza V 64,8.26; 65,3.12.27; 66,8.13.27; 69,16.  
  
zeγс VI 75,16.17.  
zωzαzωθ VI 56,22.  
zωzαθαzω VI 56,17.  
  
θeγda V 44,18.  
  
ιακωβос V 24,10.13; 25,10.13; 26,2.6.13; 27,9.[13]; 28,5; 29,4.13.19; 30,10.  
13.18.28; 31,15; 32,2.13.17.23.29; 38,12; 40,[4].[9]; 41,19; 43,21; 44,10.  
12.14; 63,[33].  
ιαφεθ V 72,17; 73,15.26; 74,11; 76,13.  
ziepих V 19,13.  
ziepoucaллm V 37,12.  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{M}}$  V 36,19.  $\overline{\text{Θ}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{M}}$  V 18,5.[18]; 25,15; 44,15.  
iecceδεкеγс V 85,30.  
iecceγс V 85,30.  
ihcoγс BG 130,4; 138,6; 139,19.  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$  VI 6,12.16.  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}$   $\overline{\text{Π}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{C}}$  VI 9,11.  
ίωzαnnηс VI 11,4.6.15.  
  
кервоу (Кέρβερος) VI 49,8.

ΚΗΜΕ VI 16,7; 70,4.18.19.22.23.36.37; 71,11.13.15.29.31; 75,29. ΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ  
VI 70,13.24; 71,6.10.14.16.24.

κορη VI 75,21.

λεγει V 37,7. BG 18,6.

λιβη VI 76,[1].

λιθαργονη VI 5,16; 7,23; 8,14.24; 9,8.

μαζαρευς V 85,30.

μαρειμ V 44,16.

μαρθα V 40,[26].

μαρια V 44,22.

μαριαμ V 40,25.

μαριζαμ BG 9,12.20; 10,1.7; 17,7; 18,1; 19,5.

μιχαρ V 84,6.

μιχευ V 84,5.

μνησινους V 84,6.

νωζε V 70,17; 71,15.17.21; 72,15; 73,1; 74,17; 76,12. VI 38,22; 39,1; 41,3.

παυλος V 17,[19]; 18,9.15.[23]; 19,11; 21,25; 23,2; 24,9.

περιδων (Περιδες) V 81,3.

πετρος VI 1,30; 5,[2].3; 8,21; 9,1.2.3.4.5.10; 10,14; 11,1; 12,20. BG 7,10;

10,1; 17,16; 18,2.6; 128,4.9; 129,8; 130,12.18; 131,10.12; 137,14; 140,15;

141,7. πετρε VI 9,15; 10,23. BG 18,2.7; 128,10; 131,18.

πτολεμαιος BG 132,12; 135,1.19; 137,1.17; 138,16.

σαβλω V 75,22.

σακλα V 74,3.7.

σαλωμη V 40,25.

σασαбек VI 41,29.

σαηηλ V 79,2.

σηθ V 64,3.6; 67,15; 77,1; 85,20.24.

σημ V 72,17.

σκυθης VI 71,8.

σολομων V 78,[30]; 79,3.10.

σοφια V 35,7; 36,6.8.

τατ VI 72,30.

φηρσαλω V 79,1.

χαμ V 72,17; 73,14.25; 74,11; 76,13.

χιμαρραις (Χιμαιρα) VI 49,8.

χс (Χριστος) BG 138,7; 139,19; 141,1. Cf. also ΙΗΣΟΥС.

Zenō pro VI 6,23.

Zenōy VI 71,8.

βωρδ VI 2,[3]; 7,[1].[2]; 10,3.

References to tract  
are omitted.  
the end of section

A. NHC A

1: Ap. Jas.

18-20

1435-56

2: Gos. Truth

1734

3: Ap. John

124-25,29

139

10,20

11,17

1125-26

141-15,9

1531

1532-27,11

1633-27,11

1725

1811-31,25

1819-20

1967

General

4: Gos. Thom.

1814-19 (logion 4

185-10 (logion 4

1845-50 (logion

18126-27

18130-42,7 (logion

1812-22 (logion

18126-29 (logion

18118-21 (logion

18118-26 (logion

General

5: Gos. Phil.

1821-24



## REFERENCES TO ANCIENT WORKS AND AUTHORS

References to tractates in this volume in their own introductions and foot-  
notes are omitted, General references (e.g. to a whole tractate) are placed  
at the end of sections.

### A. NHC AND BG TRACTATES; OTHER Gnostic LITERATURE

I,2: <i>Ap. Jas.</i>		53,20-21	456
5,18-20	145	55,6-14	249
14,35-36	132	57,29-58,2	120
		59,8-11	468
I,3: <i>Gos. Truth</i>		59,31-60,1	236
17,3-4	246	62,35	274
		63,34-64,5	461
II,1: <i>Ap. John</i>		65,10-11 and passim	260
1,24-25,29	297	68,4-6	251
8,29	234	68,22-24	155
10,20	313	70,9-11	155
11,17	171	75,20-35	468
12,25-26	320	80,28ff	275
14,21-15,9	295, 299	General	258
26,31	321		
26,32-27,11	319	II,4: <i>Hyp. Arch.</i>	
26,33-27,11	322	87,10-11	52
29,2-5	301	87,33-35	315
30,11-31,25	232	88,1	315
30,19-20	307	88,3-15	160
31,6-7	133	89,14-17	232
General	152, 195	89,30	315
		90,34	315
II,2: <i>Gos. Thom.</i>		95,7	171
33,14-19 (logion 2)	458	96,33-34	315
33,5-10 (logion 4)	244, 295	97,4-5	188
34,25-30 (logion 12)	130	General	152
37,26-27	251		
41,30-42,7 (logion 50)	49	II,5: <i>Orig. World</i>	
43,12-22 (logion 60)	321	108,26-27	73
48,26-29 (logion 92)	458	114,7-15	232
51,18-21 (logion 114)	461		
51,18-26 (logion 114)	468	II,6: <i>Exeg. Soul</i>	
General	454, 456	129,14,18	305
		132,9,15	236
II,3: <i>Gos. Phil.</i>		General	258
52,21-24	262		

II,7: <i>Thom. Cont.</i>		12,4-21	90
142,13-34-39	296	General	159
142,31-32	313		
General	390	V,2: <i>Apoc. Paul</i>	
		24,7	342
III,1: <i>Ap. John</i>		General	151, 342
General	195		
III,2: <i>Gos. Eg.</i>		V,3: 1 <i>Apoc. Jes.</i>	
50,23-26	159	26,8-10	127
52,19-53,9	174	31,11-12	138
54,10-11	157	35,24-25	60
57-58, passim	171	General	49, 67, 109, 151
60,9-18	173	V,5: <i>Apoc. Adam</i>	
63,4-8	175	66,5	305
63,18	170, 188	General	149
64,4	188		
64,10-11	195	VI,1: <i>Acts Pet. 12 Apost.</i>	
64,12-13	130	General	475
64,14-20	190		
65,10-11	195	VI,2: <i>Thund.</i>	
66,10-11	195	19,1-2	263
66,12-22	366	General	257
68,1-13	193		
General	152, 153, 195	VI,3: <i>Auth. Teach.</i>	
		28,9	320
III,3: <i>Eugnostos</i>		31,27-33	253
71,8	92	32,11-34	305
74,10	92	33,2	305
74,14-19	52	33,8	321
83,3	92		
83,11	92	VI,4: <i>Great Pow.</i>	
		General	257
III,4: <i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>			
91,10-15	120	VI,5: <i>Plato Rep. 588b-589b</i>	
		General	291, 444
III,5: <i>Dial. Sav.</i>			
138,20-139,5	318	VI,6: <i>Disc. 8-9</i>	
143,11-21	318	52,1	396
General	454	57,26-27	376
		61,4	378
IV,1: <i>Ap. John</i>		61,17	412
General	195	General	217, 375, 376, 389, 390, 396
IV,2: <i>Gos. Eg.</i>			
General	153, 195	VI,7: <i>Pr. Thanks.</i>	
		64,18-19	412
V,1: <i>Eugnostos</i>		General	389, 390, 395, 396
10,15-11,2	91		

11: *Scribal N*  
General

11: *Asclepius*  
66,30-34  
70,29-35  
71,19-73,12  
71,20-73,12  
73,14-22  
General

11: *Paraph. S*  
26,33-27,6

10,20  
14,5-6  
35,12  
36,12-22  
36,14-22  
36,29-31  
41,10-11

11,1  
33,1-44,2  
46,10  
46,31-45,8  
66,8

48,17-19  
48,17-22  
48,19-22  
General

11: *Treat. Seth*

9,16-18  
31,24-29  
31,24-31  
31,10-14

31,20-21  
31,30-31  
34,3-27  
46,31-55,10

55,30-56,19  
37,26  
40,20-21  
41,26

42,27-30,35-39  
43,10-24  
44,13-15  
44,18

44,19-22

<i>VI,7a: Scribal Note</i>		<i>VII,3: Apoc. Pet.</i>	
General	396	71,23-24	315
<i>VI,8: Asclepius</i>		74,15-22	304
66,30-34	381	78,16	315
70,29-35	317	79,9	315
72,19-73,12	317	<i>VII,4: Teach. Silv.</i>	
72,20-73,12	314	98,22-23	136
73,14-22	318	General	258
General	389, 390	<i>VII,5: Steles Seth</i>	
<i>VII,1: Paraph. Shem</i>		120,10	157
26,33-27,6	304	123,1	135
10,20	294	General	193, 367
14,5-6	239	<i>VIII,1: Zost.</i>	
32,5-12	179	4,21-23	174
36,12-22	177	6,8-17	190
36,14-22	307	18,2-3	179
38,29-31	314	47	174
41,10-11	306	47,5-6	195
43,1	239	47,16	125
43,31-44,2	314	121,3-5	135
44,6-10	313	125,12	135
44,31-45,8	316	125,14	125
45,6-8	316	129,13	295
48,17-19	296	130,16-17	157
48,17-22	319	General	135, 153
48,19-22	322	<i>VIII,2: Ep. Pet. Phil.</i>	
General	298	138,15-28	460
<i>VII,2: Treat. Seth</i>		140,17	458
50,16-18	179	General	454
51,24-29	307, 309	<i>IX,3: Testim. Truth</i>	
51,24-31	299	72,5-8	181
52,10-14	307, 309	<i>X,1: Marsanes</i>	
53,20-21	307, 309	2,14-4,23	188
53,30-31	134	<i>XI,3: Allogenes</i>	
54,25-27	307	62,15	135
54,31-55,10	307	72,1-6	193
55,30-56,19	177	<i>XIII,1: Trim. Prot.</i>	
57,26	321	40,19-22	307
60,20-21	315	42,18-22	136
62,26	321	42,20-21	306
62,27-30.35-39	315	43,8-26	307
63,19-24	315		
64,13-15	307		
64,18	313		
64,19-22	134		

43,17-31	308	General	454, 476
43,35-44,2	134		
48,18-21	191	BG,4: <i>Act Pet.</i>	
48,27-29	174	General	202
General	153, 232		
		<i>Cod. Bruc.</i> (untitled text)	
BG,1: <i>Gos. Mary</i>		f. 110 <sup>v</sup> ,34-35	174
General	49	f. 128 <sup>v</sup> ,2-3	263
		f. 130 <sup>v</sup> ,3	263
BG,2: <i>Ap. John</i>		f. 136 <sup>v</sup> , 18-23	109
20,19-21,4	48	General	153
21,4-5	244		
23,1-3	299	<i>Exc. Theod.</i>	
General	453	50.1	262
		51.2	262
BG,3: <i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>		<i>Gos. Eve.</i>	
79,10-12	458	General	234
89,4-6	456		
92,5-6	188		
101,6-9	460	<i>Pist. Soph.</i>	
103,10-106,9	476	III, ch. 124	285
117,13-126,16	476	General	454

## B. HERMETIC LITERATURE

<i>Corp. Herm.</i> I		General	345
9,12,21,32	383		
9-11	437	<i>Corp. Herm.</i> VII	
12,14	416	General	345
14-19,24	400		
15	410	<i>Corp. Herm.</i> IX	
20-32	345	General	397
21-23	359		
23	441	<i>Corp. Herm.</i> X	
26	342, 360, 363, 382, 412	5	360
27,32	382	6	382, 412
29	378	7-9	409
31	358, 379	8	404
32	385	9	405
General	343, 345	21	441
		22	410
<i>Corp. Herm.</i> IV		General	397
7	382		
General	345	<i>Corp. Herm.</i> XI	
<i>Corp. Herm.</i> V		1-5,15,20	361
1-5	424		
<i>Corp. Herm.</i> VI		<i>Corp. Herm.</i> XII	
		3	404

ANCIENT WORKS AND AUTHORS

547

12	381	General	343, 345
19	405, 410	<i>Corp. Herm.</i>	258
General	397		
		<i>Asclepius</i>	
<i>Corp. Herm. XIII</i>		19	372
1	346	39-40	370
8	358	41b	376
10	382, 412		
13	359	<i>Korê Kosmou</i>	
13,22	361	14-17	408
15	360	24-30	408
18	383	28-29	437
18-19,21	358		
20	364	Stobaeus 1.21.9 (Nock-Festugière	
21	364	III, Frag. VI. 1)	346

C. BIBLICAL LITERATURE

I. *Old Testament (canonical order)*

Gen 1:7	297	Job 26:14	234
2:7 (LXX)	160	23:19	314
5	300		
5:4 (LXX)	154	Ps 2:9	58
6:1-8	300	2:11	157
6:3	161, 295	68:19	60
6:4 (LXX)	300	78:24	249
6:9	301	113:9	236
6:17	162	136:6	297
7:4	162		
7:7-13	301	Pr 1:20-21	249
7:11-12	301	8:1-4	208, 249
9:18-19	168	8:17	234, 237
9:20	169	9:5	249
10:2,6 (LXX)	170		
18:2	158	Eccl 7:1	422
19:24	173		
Exod 7:17-25	422	Song of S 4:15	304
Lev 18:9	263	Isa 3:10 (LXX)	142
Deut 6:5	353	5:20	426
6:13	157	6:9-10	140
13:14	145	11:2	95
22:28-29	485	19:5-7	422
30:15,19	264	24:4	313
2 Kings 22:8	368	24:19-20	313
		43:11	134
		44:6	134, 235
		45:5-6,14,18,21-22	134



4:23	459	6:8	208
6:6	118	8:34, parr.	215
6:11,34	225	9:2-9, parr.	159
6:12	147	10:17-25, parr.	209
6:13	147	10:17-31, parr.	202
6:19-21, par.	273	10:30, par.	306
6:21	462	10:38	70
7:1	463	13:22, par.	316
7:7	458	13:25	320
7:7-8	364	13:29	70
7:14, par.	402	14:34,36	70
7:19-21	209	14:34,61	74
9:27-31	117	14:38	84
10:8, par.	226	15:4-5	74
10:9-10	202, 210	15:33	309
10:32-33	238		
10:35-36, par.	314	Lk 1:78	287
11:15	456	7:14	307
11:27, par.	210	10:20	295
12:32	306	10:38-42	468
12:38	316	11:5-8	118
13:41	460	11:16	316
13:45-46	208	11:40	251
16:1, par.	316	12:8-9	147, 238
16:16-18	222	16:22-24	322
16:19	108	17:21	458
16:28	278, 460	21:24	314
18:2-6	244	21:26	425
20:29-34	117	22:37	117
22:14	402	24:36 (var.)	458
23:13	284		
24:4, parr.	458	Jn 1:3	268
24:7	313	1:20	238
24:12	425	1:29	457
24:23, parr.	458	4:10-11	304
24:29	320	4:27	466
26:14-16	307	5:21	307
26:15	308	5:26	298
27:3	308	6:18	263
27:24	102	6:30	316
27:51-52	313	6:31-34	249
28:10	458	7:12	145
28:17	198	8:28	119
28:19-20	205	8:52	278
		10:11	283
Mk 3:13-19, parr.	205	10:14	129
4:14-20	365	11:5	461, 468
5:41	307	11:44	207

12:29	234	2:8	307	2:11-12
12:40	140	2:14	302	Tim 1:13
12:41	117	4:8	132	2:5
12:49	119	7:3-4	401	4:1
13:23	227	11:30	457	5:2
14:1-3	225	12:13	487	Tim 1:7
14:6	136	15:24	268	1:9
14:16,26	81	15:42-54	114	3:1-5
14:27	458	15:44	282	4:3-4
14-17, <i>passim</i> .	270	15:44,46	302	20:14
15:19	270	15:47	305	3:10-4:11
15:26	81	15:51	70	4:14
16:7,8	81	16:2	478	6:5
17:25-26	119	2 Cor 1:12	465	6:19
18:11	70	4:4	316	11:23
20:7	207	4:16	416	13:15
20:19-21,26	458	12:2	53	11:13
Ac 1:8	205	12:2-4	48, 49	11:9
1:26	223	Gal 1:11-17	48	1:15
3:2	113	1:15	48, 50, 60	11:24
3:6	226	1:17-21	50	3:19-20
3:17	307, 404	2:1-2	48, 50	3:20
3:21	432	3:13	117	13:16-17
5:1-11	490	3:27	468	
5:16	479	5:1	277	
6-7	108	Eph 1:4	188	3:16, 88
8:10	294	2:15	308	93
17:24-31	284	3:16	416	94-96
17:26	408	4:8	60	Phil 21
17:27	364	4:18	404	Phil. (Latin A) 5:3
23:1	271	5:12	411	Phil. 1
Rom 1:19-21	284	5:18	265	2
1:26-27	402	5:19	358	5
3:3-5	405	5:31-32	400	6
7:22	416	Phil 4:3	295	16
8:38	52	Col 1:15,18	132	17
9:12-14	405	3:16	358	20
9:23	486	1 Thess 4:4	486	21
10:4	308	2 Thess 2:3	314, 317	
10:14-17	284	2:4	314	
10:20	234, 364			
11:16-21	262			
12:1	358			
13:9	380			
1 Cor 1-3, esp. 3:19	465			



ANCIENT WORKS AND AUTHORS

551

2:11-12	445	Jude 6	296
1 Tim 1:13	404	19	302
2:5	305	Rev 1:13	207
4:1	317	1:13-18	441
5:2	487	1:17	235
2 Tim 1:7	131	2:17	201, 215
1:9	188	3:5	318
3:1-5	314	3:18	273
4:3-4	317	3:20	281
Heb 2:14	306	6:1	234
3:18-4:11	321	6:13	320
4:14	114	6:15-17	425
6:5	306	7:17	304
6:19	285	9:6	425
12:23	295	12	180
13:15	358	13:13-14	316
Jas 1:13	405	15:6	207
2:1-9	202, 229	16:9,11,21	425
3:15	302	16:14	316
1 Pet 2:24	404	19:7-8	280
3:19-20	301	19:15	58
3:20	402	19:21	313
1 Jn 5:16-17	444	21:1-2	438
		21:6	304
		22:6-7,10-12	445
		22:17	304

4. *New Testament Apocrypha*

<i>Act. Jn.</i> 88	48	22	483
93	135	28	483
94-96	232	31	479
<i>Act. Phil.</i> 21	175	33-34	475
<i>Act. Pil. (Latin A)</i> 5.2	308	35	483
		General	474, 475
<i>Act. Pt.</i> 1	483	<i>Act. Thom.</i> 41	479
2	485, 486	147	251
5	474, 483, 492	<i>Ev. Barth.</i> 1,12	308
6	483	<i>Ps.-Clem.</i>	
16	483	<i>Hom.</i>	66
17	483	<i>Recg.</i> I.66-73	108
20	201, 215	General	66
21	483, 488		

D. APOSTOLIC AND CHURCH FATHERS

<i>Athenag. Suppl.</i> 33	475	<i>Cl. Al. Strom.</i> I.1 (GCS I, p. 6,
---------------------------	-----	---

line 21)	275	2	295
		2,14,15,16	312
2 Clem 9:7	404	8.40	175
12:5-6	475	19-21	152
		VI.4.13	294
<i>Didache</i> 11:3-6	202	5,8,10,24,25,30	312
		24,29	312
<i>Ep. apostol.</i> 17 (Coptic)	312	29	302, 303
		VII.11,12,13	313
<i>Epiph. Pan.</i> 21.1.2	294		
23.1.4	299	<i>Ign. Pol.</i> 5.1-2	475
26.3.1	234		
26.8.1	151	<i>Iren.</i>	
26.8.1-3	454	<i>Haer.</i> I.1.1-2	312
26.9.4	242	4.1	296
26.17.6	313	5.1	320
31.4.1	224	6.1	320
34.20.11	224	6.1-2	302
36.3.1-6	66	7.1	305, 319, 320
36.3.2	86	11.1	312
36.3.4-5	88	21.5	60, 66, 86, 88, 107
36.3.6	90	24.1	299
38.2.5	47	24.3-7	320
39	152	24.5	320
76.4.7-9	304	28.1	475
		30.6	134
<i>Eus.</i>		30.13	307
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i> I.13	67	30.14	311
II.1.4-5	142	II.21.1	90
23.15	142, 144	30.7	49
23	108		
<i>Praep. Ev.</i> XII.46.2-6	326, 332	<i>Just.</i>	
		<i>1 Apol.</i> 15	475
		<i>Dial.</i> 34	215
<i>Hipp.</i>		<i>Orig. Comm. in Joh.</i> XX.43	
<i>Antichr.</i> 5	317	(GCS IV, p. 387, line 4)	278
6	317		
49	316	<i>Sozomen, Hist. Eccl.</i> III.14.30	80
<i>Ref.</i> V.1.2	305		

## E. PHILOSOPHERS

<i>Albinus, Didaskalikos</i> 163-64	343	<i>Conf. ling.</i> 60-63	287
169.26-28	357	<i>Congr.</i> 138, etc.	404
		<i>Det. pot. ins.</i> 149	362
<i>Cic.</i>		<i>Fug.</i> 55-56	444
<i>Nat. deor.</i> I.116	410	<i>Leg. all.</i> I.31,33	416
<i>Off.</i> I.153	410	105-06	444
<i>Philo</i>		III.95-96	416

12  
17  
Mut. nom. 63  
Op. mund. 134  
135  
Plant. 18-19, etc.  
Poster. C. 73-74  
74  
Praem. poem. 65  
Rer. div. her. 79  
Spe. leg. I.302  
II.31  
Pat.  
Phil. 272e-73a  
272e, 274b  
Uharra-Veda X, vii  
Isagavad-Gita LX,  
Umside of Arbela  
Uspage Mani Codex  
Urine of Addai  
Jas.  
Isid. I.67-70  
VII.320  
45-49  
XX.200  
Bell. II.411  
V.32-3  
194-201  
Ephraïm, Introduc  
68  
Mozdean Ginza R,

ANCIENT WORKS AND AUTHORS

553

	124	404	273d	425
	174-178	261	<i>Tim.</i> 22c-23a	431
<i>Mut. nom.</i>	63	405	General	357
<i>Op. mund.</i>	134	416		
	135	410	Plut.	
<i>Plant.</i>	18-19, etc.	416	<i>Def. orac.</i> 436f	365
<i>Poster. C.</i>	73-74	444	<i>Pyth. or.</i> 402B	365
	74	404	<i>Ser. num. pun.</i> 549f	404
<i>Praem. poen.</i>	65	312	551d	404
<i>Rev. div. her.</i>	79	261	559f	404
<i>Spec. leg.</i>	I.302	260	561a-b	445
	II.31	362	561f	404
			562d	404
Plat.			564e-f	441
<i>Polit.</i>	272e-73a	426	565a-b	442
	272e,274b	419	Sallustius VI.2-3	436

F. MISCELLANEOUS

Atharva-Veda X, viii, 27-28	232	Manichean <i>Homilies</i> 68,18	170
Bhagavad-Gita IX, 16-19	232	<i>Manichean Psalm Book</i> (Allberry, ed.)	
<i>Chronicle of Arbela</i>	67	142,25-26	142
		162,15	128
		192,8-9	142
Cologne Mani Codex 48,16-50,7	151	192,21-24	99
		194,19-22	99
<i>Doctrine of Addai</i>	67	206,7-9	128
		215,20-24	127
Jos.		Maternus, Firmicus, <i>Mathesis</i>	
<i>Ant.</i> I.67-70	193	II.3-4-5	369
VII.320	170		
45-49	181	Mishnah	
XX.200	142	<i>Mid.</i> 2.3,6	112
<i>Bell.</i> II.411	113	<i>Sanh.</i> 6.6	108
V.5.2-3	217	7.4	144-45
194-201	112	<i>Sotah</i> 9.15	314
<i>Kephalaia</i> , Introduction (7,27)	175		
68	175	Plin. <i>Ep.</i> VI.16,21	173
Mandean Ginza R, Book VI	232	Svetasvatara Upanishad IV,3	232





Originally published by Brill Academic Publishers in fifteen hardback volumes between 1975 and 1995, *The Coptic Gnostic Library* is the only authoritative edition of many of the writings of the Gnostics from the first centuries A.D.

Volume 3:

Eugnostos the Blessed and The Sophia  
of Jesus Christ

The Dialogue of the Savior

The Apocalypse of Paul

The (First) Apocalypse of James

The (Second) Apocalypse of James

The Apocalypse of Adam

The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles

The Thunder: Perfect Mind

Authoritative Teaching

The Concept of Our Great Power

Plato, Republic 588a-589b

The Prayer of Thanksgiving

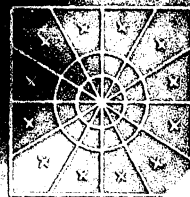
Scribal Note

The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth

Asclepius 21-29

The Gospel of Mary

The Act of Peter



ISBN 90-04-11702-4



9 789004 117020

ISBN 90-04-11702-4 (set)