



Marvin W. Meyer

**The Letter
of Peter to Philip**

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THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

Text, Translation, and Commentary
by Marvin W. Meyer

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**TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND
COMMENTARY**

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To my grandmother, my mother, and my wife:

ΝΤΩΤΗ ΝΕΝΤΑ₂† ΝΑΕΙ ΗΗΩΝ₂

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A dot under a letter signifies that the letter is visually uncertain. Occasionally a dot is used without a letter to indicate an ink trace that is so ambiguous that no letter may confidently be suggested.

- [] Square brackets indicate a lacuna in the manuscript. When the text cannot be reconstructed, dots occasionally may be used to indicate the approximate number of letters suggested by the size of the lacuna.
- < > Pointed brackets indicate a correction of a scribal omission or error. The correction may insert letters unintentionally omitted by the scribe, or replace letters erroneously inserted with what the scribe presumably intended to write.
- { } Braces signify superfluous letters or words added by the scribe.
- () Parentheses indicate helpful material supplied by the editor or translator. Although this material may not directly reflect the text being examined, it provides useful information for the reader. Greek forms of the Greek loan words are included in the translation in parentheses.

PREFACE TO THE PUBLISHED EDITION

In keeping with the principles of the SBLDS, this dissertation is here published in a form nearly identical with that of the dissertation as original submitted to the faculty of Claremont Graduate School. It has been shortened a bit, and several typographical errors and stylistic infelicities have been improved. In addition, bibliographical entries have been updated when an article or book previously available only in typescript has now appeared, and a few new references also have been included.

My thanks to the staff of Scholars Press, and particularly Joann Burnich, for help in the final preparation of the manuscript.

Claremont, CA

March, 1981

PREFACE

This dissertation grew out of my participation as research associate in the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California, from the spring of 1975 until the spring of 1978. My experience on the Project piqued my interest in Gnostic studies, and also provided me with a unique opportunity for access to photographs as well as published and unpublished materials pertaining to the Nag Hammadi library. Furthermore, during late January and early February of 1978, after the conclusion of the archaeological season at Nag Hammadi (Faw Qibli), I was able to spend valuable time at the Coptic Museum in Cairo, and work on the papyrus of Codex VIII. Such opportunities have all been very formative for the present investigation of the second tractate from Codex VIII, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*.

I would like to acknowledge the support and assistance I have received from several people. To my supervisory committee, James Brashler, Elaine H. Pagels, and the chairman, James M. Robinson, I extend a hearty word of thanks, for they have provided useful guidance and saved me from many a foolish blunder. James M. Robinson deserves a special expression of appreciation. He has functioned as my professor, supervisor, advisor, and friend, and I am indebted to him in many ways. Hans Dieter Betz and Kathleen O'Brien Wicker also offered helpful counsel during an earlier stage of the research.

I wish to single out three other people who have been most influential in the production of this study. From my early years my mother and father instilled within me a love of learning, and to them I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude. And to my wife Bonita I offer my most profound thanks. She not only endured but also typed this dissertation.

New York, NY
March, 1979

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Letter of Peter to Philip (Ep. Pet. Phil.) is one of the tractates located in the collection of codices known as the Nag Hammadi library.¹ The Nag Hammadi library consists of twelve codices along with eight additional leaves, now designated Codex XIII, which were removed from a codex in antiquity and slipped inside the front cover of Codex VI. These thirteen codices contain some fifty-two tractates, with additional scribal notes and colophons; in addition, tractate 2 from Codex XI includes five appended subtractates on sacramental matters. Of these tractates, forty are texts which are neither duplicates nor texts previously known, and of those forty texts about thirty have survived in rather complete condition. One of the well-preserved texts is the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

The Nag Hammadi library was discovered, according to reports, in December of 1945 by Muhammad Ali al-Samman Muhammad Khalifah, the fertilizer-hunter and blood-avenger.² Subsequent to the discovery, these codices were treated in a rather harsh manner. They were transported about, passed from hand to hand, put up for sale, apparently even partly burned in the oven of the widowed mother of Muhammad Ali, and taken into protective custody by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. In the case of Codex I, the "Jung Codex," most of it was sold abroad to the Jung Institute, and has only recently been returned to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, where all the codices now reside in their conserved state. Although over thirty years have passed since this discovery, the major portion of the Nag Hammadi library was not made available for some time on account of various political and monopolistic roadblocks.³ However, since the involvement of UNESCO in the 1960s, and the appointment of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices at the end of 1970, the materials have become increasingly available to the scholarly world, and now at last the Coptic text and one or more modern translations of each of the tractates are at the disposal of the reading public.⁴

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) VIII was one of the very last codices to be made available, and finally was published in the *Facsimile Edition* in 1976. Among the more fragmentary of the codices, Codex VIII has received comparatively little attention while some of the more complete and seemingly spectacular codices have attracted the interest of the scholarly world. This fragmentary codex is best preserved at the beginning and the end; the first and the last twenty or thirty pages are preserved fairly well. In fact, the loose central portion of the codex was removed from the cover before the photographs by Jean Doresse were taken in late 1948, and in 1949 Codex VIII was packed in a suitcase by Doresse. In 1958 the codex was inventoried as consisting of twenty-seven folios (or fifty-four pages) together with a collection of fragments in envelopes. In 1961 the pages of Codex VIII which were still in the cover (pages 1-26 and 113-40) were conserved, and labeled with numbers 1-54.⁵ As Martin Krause and Pahor Labib report,

Alle anderen Seiten waren, meist in mehrere Teile zerbrochen und nicht mehr in der richtigen Reihenfolge, von den Findern oder Händlern aus dem Leder einband genommen und in Cellophantüten gelegt worden...Die Fragmente der übrigen Seiten 27-112, die ungeordnet in den Cellophantüten lagen, wurden in der vorgefundenen Reihenfolge verglast und erhielten die Nummern 55-128.⁶

Since then the pagination of the central section has been established, fragments have been placed, and the codex has been presented in facsimile edition in 1976.⁷

The cover of Codex VIII is of particular interest. Like the covers of most of the Nag Hammadi codices, the cover of Codex VIII was made from a piece of sheepskin leather. Darkened on the outside, the hair side, the cover was tooled with various lines, some of which form a St. Andrew's cross when the cover is fully opened, and provided with thongs for closing and tying the codex.⁸ On the basis of such features as the dimensions of the cover, the presence or absence of a flap, the use of staining and tooling, the characteristics of the thongs and the binding, and the rigidity of the cartonnage-backed leather, James M. Robinson has suggested a classification of the leather covers of the various codices.⁹ On those bases Robinson

proposes that the covers of VIII and IV, and to some extent V, can be said to belong together. Such correlations between codices, like those between scribal hands, may provide valuable information on the production of the codices within the Nag Hammadi library. Furthermore, the cartonnage lining the cover of Codex VIII has yielded a Greek document which can be dated after 309 C.E. Such a date would suggest that Codex VIII was manufactured at a time well into the fourth century, a date which relates well to other datable clues for the manufacture of the codices in the Nag Hammadi collection.¹⁰

Codex VIII is dominated by the first long tractate, entitled *Zostrianos*.¹¹ Most of the tractates in the Nag Hammadi corpus are relatively short. *Zost.*, however, like *Marsanes*, is an exception to this tendency, and occupies most of Codex VIII: pages 1-132. *Zost.* actually occupies more pages than any other tractate in the Nag Hammadi library, although many of the pages have deteriorated so badly that a clear translation and comprehension of the text is often impossible.

Zost. is provided with the subscribed title $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\rho\iota\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$ as well as an appended cryptogram which mentions both *Zostrianos* and *Zoroaster*. *Zostrianos* is also mentioned in the *incipit* (1,3), and although the reference is partially in a lacuna

] the restoration seems certain. *Zoroaster* was the founder of the Persian Zoroastrian religious heritage, and an exceedingly significant figure in late antiquity, while *Zostrianos* was said to have been a close relative of *Zoroaster*.¹²

Zost. is a Gnostic tractate which provides a series of revelations about the heavenly realm. *Zostrianos*, it seems, is living a life of separation in this world of darkness, and raises some difficult questions concerning the meaning of existence and the nature of the heavenly realm. Deeply troubled about these questions he raises, *Zostrianos* finally is visited by the angel of the knowledge of the Light, and is given a guided tour of the glorious heavens. Consequently, *Zostrianos* ascends on high, is baptized in the names of powers at the various levels, and receives instruction about the beings and glories in the heavenly regions. Following those revelations,

Zostrianos concludes his ecstatic trip, returns back to earth, and records his γνῶσις on three tablets. The tractate closes with a stirring sermon in which Zostrianos awakens "an erring crowd" (130,14) by proclaiming, "Know those who are living, and the holy seed of Seth" (130,16-17). Continuing, Zostrianos cautions against a wanton participation in corporeality: "Flee from the madness and the bondage of femaleness, and choose for yourselves the salvation of maleness" (131,5-8). For "the gentle Father has sent you the savior, and has given you power" (131,14-16).

Zost. stands as representative of a non-Christian Gnosticism, with notable Jewish and Neoplatonic affinities.¹³ On account of the several references to Seth as well as other names and distinctive features, *Zost.* is claimed by some to be a representative document of Sethian Gnosticism.¹⁴

If such is the nature of *Zost.*, how does this tractate relate to the second and concluding tractate in Codex VIII, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*? The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is tucked away quite unobtrusively into the final eight and one-half pages of the codex; is there any particular reason for its inclusion with *Zost.* in Codex VIII? We do suspect that scribes may have selected documents for inclusion in certain codices on account of characteristics shared by all the tractates. Thus Codex I may be a collection of Valentinian tractates, and Codex V is, in large part, an "apocalyptic" codex. When we look for corresponding comparisons between *Zost.* and the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, we note a few similarities in terminology, perspective, and revelatory concern, including some general similarities between the Sophia material in *Zost.* and the non-Christian "Sophia" myth embedded within the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Yet it is clear that, as they now stand, *Zost.* is a non-Christian Gnostic tractate while the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* has a Christian Gnostic character. Hence it may be the case that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* was included in Codex VIII not so much because of affinities with *Zost.* as because of the amount of valuable space available to the scribe after the conclusion of *Zost.* The scribe apparently had a number of tractates and codices to copy, and the

Ep. Pet. Phil. was of an appropriate length to function as the concluding tractate to Codex VIII.¹⁵

For around two decades little was known or written about the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* While the attention of the scholarly world was riveted upon the few tractates which were coming to light, such as the *Gos. Truth* and the *Gos. Thom.*, practically the only information on the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* available to the reading public came from a couple of early inventories by Jean Doresse. Doresse describes his experiences in Cairo during the autumn of 1948 as exciting but traumatic. He was asked to assist in the examination of the Nag Hammadi codices while war raged all around.

I was allowed to make no more than a rapid inspection of them--given just time enough to identify, to my personal satisfaction, the principal works they contained and to take notes of a few characteristic passages. Egypt was then at war with Israel, and on several occasions air-raid warnings (sounded on the slightest justification) cut short the few evenings upon which I was allowed access to the documents.¹⁶

During the following spring, Doresse was commissioned by the Council of the Coptic Museum

to draw up an expert description, more detailed than the first notes I had been able to make, and this second description remains, up to the present, *the only complete and direct inventory of the documents* that has been made: no other title of any work has yet been added to the list that I then prepared.¹⁷

Just when it seemed that the documents were about to be made available, however, political and military chaos broke loose, and much of the Nag Hammadi library was inaccessible for years.¹⁸

In an essay by Jean Doresse and Togo Mina which was composed shortly before the death of Togo Mina in 1949, a very brief reference is made to our tractate. After mentioning the three (*sic!*) tractates of the codex,¹⁹ and providing a few remarks on *Zost.* and its cryptogram, the authors finally mention the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*: "Le volume se termine enfin par une *Epître de Pierre à Philippe*, moins chrétienne toutefois que son titre ne le ferait supposer."²⁰ This terse reference passes on little information other than the title and the marginally Christian character of at least part of the

tractate. Even in 1958 Doresse had little to say about the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Although he comments extensively on *Zost.*, he breezes by the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* by noting that just as we can leave aside the *Apoc. Pet.* from further discussion, so too "we can also pass by the *Epist+l of Peter to Philip* (No. 15)."²¹ Apparently Doresse had not directed much attention, during his early inventories, to our tractate. Thus later, secondary descriptions also reflect this paucity of knowledge about the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* In 1950 Henri-Charles Puech writes, "L'ignorance où nous sommes du contenu de l'*Épître de Pierre à Philippe* (36) interdit de hasarder à son propos la moindre hypothèse,"²² and in 1957 he must be content merely to refer to "une épître de 'Pierre à Philippe, son frère aîné et son compagnon.'"²³ In 1971 Martin Krause and Pahor Labib only quote the title, provide the line numbers, and add in a footnote, "Zum Inhalt machen weder Doresse noch Puech Angaben."²⁴

Meanwhile, exciting events were transpiring elsewhere.²⁵ While in attendance at the Messina Colloquium in April of 1966, James Robinson spoke with Martin Krause concerning the materials in the Nag Hammadi library which were still unassigned. In particular they discussed the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Krause indicated that he had made a German précis of the tractate for Wilhelm Schneemelcher, who was making plans for the third edition of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*. In addition, Krause mentioned that he had a transcription of the tractate in his notebook of transcriptions in Münster, transcriptions made while he was working at the Coptic Museum in Cairo. Krause invited Robinson to come to Münster and copy his transcription of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* While still in Messina, however, Krause showed Robinson a photograph of the first page, page 132, of the tractate. Robinson stayed up late into the night studying the photograph; he prepared a preliminary transcription and translation, and showed it to Krause the next morning. Subsequently, Robinson did in fact visit Münster, and was able to obtain copies of Krause's transcription of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

These copies of the tractate were carried by Robinson to Claremont, and were the focus of attention for some time. Already during the summer of 1966 Ernest Tune, Robinson, and several graduate students began to study the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* During this summer, too, the newspapers began to pick up the story of this tractate. In July the Los Angeles *Times*, the Pomona *Progress-Bulletin*, and other newspapers printed articles on the Nag Hammadi library and the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* On July 13, for example, the *Times* published a story which was entitled as follows: "Letter Tells of Risen Christ's Unrecorded Visit: Coptic Document Found in Egypt Rivals Dead Sea Scrolls, Claremont Scholar Says." The *Progress-Bulletin* carried stories on both July 13 and July 14; the July 14 account was accompanied by a photograph with a caption which stated that Robinson was pictured holding a letter of Peter in his hands, a letter which Robinson had found while in the Near East. Not wishing to be taken for a thief or a smuggler, Robinson quickly corrected this and other errors in a letter to the editor of the *Progress-Bulletin*.

During the autumn semester of 1966-67 Ernest Tune offered a course at Claremont Graduate School entitled "Religion 234: Coptic Gnostic Literature." In this seminar various people from Claremont were initiated into Coptic and Gnostic studies through an exposure specifically to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* During the fall of 1966 the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity was also being founded, and the Coptic Gnostic Library Project was envisaged. The Project team was even able to travel to Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the summer of 1967, in order to study with H. J. Polotsky. Members of the team took on various tasks and tractates within the Nag Hammadi corpus, and the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* was assigned to Frederik Wisse.

Currently more attention is being shown to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*²⁶ Part of the reason for this increased attention involves the greater willingness of scholars to share insights and materials relating to the tractate. In 1972 Krause published a lengthy summation of the contents of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* as a part of a discussion which focused upon *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*²⁷ In 1974 Pheme Perkins presented a paper at the

annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature on the place of Peter in Gnostic revelatory documents, and included a brief analysis of our tractate.²⁸

Later, in December of 1976, several papers read at the Colloquium on the Future of Coptic Studies in Cairo provided hints of research taking place on the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*²⁹ On December 10, Jacques-E. Ménard read a brief introductory paper entitled "La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe: sa structure." Later, in 1977, Ménard published one of his contributions in the Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, *La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe*,³⁰ a booklet in which he provides primarily a Coptic text, a French translation, and notes on the transcription of the tractate, although he does also add (pp. 40-47) a very brief "Commentaire." On that same day in Cairo Gerard P. Luttikhuisen also read a brief paper on "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament." Luttikhuisen is cooperating with Krause and Theofried Baumeister on a German edition of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, to appear as a volume in the Nag Hammadi Studies series.³¹ On December 12, Hans-Martin Schenke presented his paper "On the Middle Egyptian Dialect of the Coptic Language," a paper which relates importantly to our tractate. Schenke is leader of the Berlin Arbeitskreis, which has published a study of the tractate under the particular leadership of Hans-Gebhard Bethge.³² This study by the members of the Arbeitskreis presents, in the usual fashion, a brief introduction, German translation, and notes for the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Also in typical fashion, the Arbeitskreis offers some very engaging suggestions, particularly the thesis that the tractate is actually the opening of a Gnostic version of the *Acts of Philip*. Finally, on December 13 Frederik Wisse presented his paper on "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt," a paper which relates to Wisse's interest in the relationship between the Nag Hammadi corpus and the monastic communities.³³ Wisse has contributed the brief introduction and translation of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* in *The Nag Hammadi Library*,³⁴ and currently he is working with me at finalizing our analysis of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* for the critical edition of Codex VIII, to

be published in a volume of Nag Hammadi Studies. Furthermore, as his Cairo paper intimated, Wisse is preparing a volume on Gnosticism and the Nag Hammadi codices, and an analysis of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* will function as one portion of this study.

Now that texts, translations, and studies of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are becoming available, we expect to notice an increasing number of references to the tractate in dissertations and secondary literature. Such references can already be noted. In his Th.D. dissertation, Klaus Koschorke has produced a study of Gnostic polemics with particular attention to the *Apoc. Pet.* and *Testim. Truth* of the Nag Hammadi library.³⁵ As a part of his discussion he provides an analysis of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, since it is clear that this tractate contributes to our understanding of Christian Gnosticism in relation to the Great Church. On the basis of this dissertation Koschorke has also explored certain themes in the tractate, for example, the Gnostic "Pentecost" sermon in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*,³⁶ and the similarities between the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 136,16-137,4 and the prologue to the Gospel of John.³⁷ Again, Jesse Jeremiah Sell has completed a Ph.D. dissertation at Duke University (1976) on "A Study of the Self-Predication Statements Attributed to 'Jesus Christ' in the Naga-Hammadi Coptic 'Gnostic' Corpus," and has spent some time analyzing the relevant self-predication statements in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

The present volume is intended to contribute to the discussion of this tractate by providing what is most needed at this time: a commentary on the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* This study reflects the accomplishments already made by colleagues who previously have turned their attention to this fascinating text. It is hoped that my work is inspired by their wise insights, and will advance our knowledge of Gnosticism and the Nag Hammadi library. I begin by establishing a Coptic text and offering an English translation. The text provided builds upon the pioneering works of others, particularly Frederik Wisse, who first turned his attention to this text over a decade ago. The text suggested was also established by comparison with the Coptic text provided by Ménard, who was able to do an ultraviolet

collation in preparing his edition. Another (ultraviolet) collation was accomplished by Bentley Layton, John Sieber, and Frederik Wisse; and during January and February of 1978 I was also able to do my own ultraviolet collation at the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo. Indices to proper names, Greek loan words, and Coptic words in the text are also provided. These indices are more complete and helpful than previous indices compiled by Wisse and Ménard. The grammatical discussion which follows the indices considers the sorts of questions which have been discussed among members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project at Claremont for some time, and portrays the philological side of our tractate. The commentary, with the conclusion, seeks to clarify the message of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, while pointing out important parallels and significant allusions. Finally, a selected bibliography is appended to the conclusion.

To cite the *Gos. Thom.*: may we find $\Theta\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\chi\epsilon!$ ³⁸

CHAPTER I

NOTES

¹For a general introduction to the Nag Hammadi library, see James M. Robinson, "Introduction," *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco: Harper & Row; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 1-25; idem, *The Nag Hammadi Codices* (Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1977); George MacRae, "Nag Hammadi," *IDBSup*, 613-19, with additional bibliography; also the popular book by John Dart, *The Laughing Savior* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); or the somewhat outdated volume by Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: Viking, 1960). A comprehensive bibliography is provided by David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969* (NHS 1; Leiden: Brill, 1971), supplemented annually in the autumn issue of *NovT*.

²On the story of the discovery of the library, see James M. Robinson, "The Discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices," *BA* 42 (1979) 206-24, as well as his prefaces to the volumes in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Leiden: Brill, 1972-77); the introductory volume, currently in preparation, will give a full account of the discovery. More briefly, see his "Introduction" and his booklet published by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, as cited above, n. 1.

³See James M. Robinson's review article, "The Jung Codex: The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly," *RelSRev* 3 (1977) 17-30.

⁴The *Facsimile Edition* is now reaching completion. The photographs of the Coptic pages have all been available since the end of 1977, when the last of these volumes appeared; the cartonnage was published in 1979, and the introductory volume should be available in the near future. In conjunction with the publication of the last volume of codex pages, the one-volume edition of *The Nag Hammadi Library* appeared, with English translations of all the tractates (except the duplicates) in the Nag Hammadi codices plus the Berlin Gnostic (BG) Codex 8502. Furthermore, two of the eleven volumes in The Coptic Gnostic Library have been completed: *The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)* (ed. Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse; NHS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1975); and *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (ed. Douglas M. Parrott; NHS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1979). The other volumes are all nearing completion. In addition, German and French translations have also been appearing during the past few years.

⁵See James M. Robinson, "Preface," *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, xi-xiii.

⁶Martin Krause and Pahor Labib (eds.), *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI* (Abhandlungen

des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Koptische Reihe, Band 2; Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1971) 4-5.

⁷For an acknowledgement of those who effected the pagination and fragment placement, see the "Preface," *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, especially xxi.

⁸For a more complete description of the cover, see Robinson, "Preface," *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, ix-xi.

⁹J. M. Robinson, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices," *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (ed. Martin Krause; NHS 6; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 170-90, esp. 184-86. More briefly, see his "Preface," *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, ix.

¹⁰See Robinson, "Introduction," *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 15-16; idem, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices," 189.

¹¹An introduction to *Zost.* is provided by John H. Sieber, "An Introduction to the Tractate Zostrianos from Nag Hammadi," *NovT* 15 (1973) 233-40; also see *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 368-93.

¹²See Sieber, "An Introduction to the Tractate Zostrianos from Nag Hammadi," 235-37; Doresse, *Secret Books*, "Index," s.v. "Zoroaster" and "Zostrian."

¹³See Robinson, "The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus," *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism* (ed. Geo Widengren; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977) 132-42, esp. 136-42.

¹⁴The question of Sethian Gnosticism is currently being debated, and the issues are by no means resolved. Note especially A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), with bibliography.

¹⁵Cp. the scribal note at NHC VI 65,8-14, where the scribe states that he copied only certain tractates from a larger collection.

¹⁶Doresse, *Secret Books*, 120.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁸See Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," *NTS* 12 (1968) 357.

¹⁹Doresse and Mina refer to our codex as Codex VII, though later in his *Secret Books* Doresse calls it Codex IV; Puech numbers it Codex IX; and Krause and Robinson opt for Codex VIII.

²⁰Jean Doresse and Togo Mina, "Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Egypte: La bibliothèque de Chenoboskion," *VC* 3 (1949) 136. See also Doresse, "Une bibliothèque gnostique copte," *La Nouvelle Clio* 1 (1949) 64.

²¹Doresse, *Secret Books*, 236; his inventory is on p. 142.

²²H.-Ch. Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte (premier inventaire et essai d'identification)," *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1950) 117. Note also p. 108, where Puech lists the title of the document, stating that it is "de huit pages seulement," and quotes Doresse's brief description from *VC*.

²³H.-Ch. Puech, "Découverte d'une bibliothèque gnostique en Haute-Egypte," *Encyclopédie Française* 19: *Philosophie, Religion* (Paris: Société Nouvelle de l'Encyclopédie Française, 1957) 10. It is apparent from his use of quotation marks that Puech must intend to provide a quotation or close paraphrase of the *incipit* of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* It is equally apparent that he is somewhat mistaken in his citation of this *incipit*.

²⁴Krause and Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 6-7. See also the notation by Krause, in his publication of 1962, of the title of the tractate and the page and line numbers ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund bei Nag Hammadi: Umfang und Inhalt," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962] 18.128). As Krause notes, both Doresse and Puech had previously assumed that Codex VIII contained three tractates rather than two.

²⁵The following paragraphs are based on materials in the Nag Hammadi Archive at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, and conversations with James Robinson.

²⁶The following paragraphs will cite relevant contributions on the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* In the body of the work we shall discuss many of these contributions in greater detail.

²⁷M. Krause, "Die Petrusakten in Codex VI von Nag Hammadi," *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honor of Alexander Böhlig* (ed. M. Krause; NHS 3; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 42-45.

²⁸P. Perkins, "Peter in Gnostic Revelation," *SBL 1974 Seminar Papers* (ed. George MacRae; Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974) 2.1-13, esp. 4.

²⁹Several of the papers, including those by Jacques-E. Ménard and Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, have recently been published in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis* (ed. R. McL. Wilson; NHS 14; Leiden: Brill, 1978); Hans-Martin Schenke's paper has appeared in *Enchoria* 8 (1978, Sonderband) 43*(89)-58*(104).

³⁰J.-E. Ménard, *La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi 1; Quebec: Université Laval, 1977).

³¹Baumeister has recently published an article which I have not yet seen: "Montanismus und Gnostizismus. Die Frage der

Identität und Akkommodation des Christentums im 2. Jahrhundert," *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 87 (1978) 44-60. From reports I understand that this article considers certain passages in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

³²H.-G. Bethge, "Der sogenannte 'Brief des Petrus an Philippus': Die zweite 'Schrift' aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VIII," *TLZ* 103 (1978) cols. 161-70.

³³See F. Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche und das Problem der gnostischen Ethik," *Zum Hellenismus in den Schriften von Nag Hammadi* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 6. Reihe: Hellenistica, Band 2; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) 55-86.

³⁴*The Nag Hammadi Library*, 394-98.

³⁵K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi-Traktate 'Apokalypse des Petrus' (NHC VII,3) und 'Testimonium Veritatis' (NHC IX,3)* (NHS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 192-95 [previously Th.D. dissertation, Ruprecht-Karl-Universität zu Heidelberg, 1976, cp. 187-90].

³⁶K. Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen gnostischem und kirchlichem Christentum am Beispiel der 'Epistula Petri ad Philippum' (NHC VIII,2)," *ZTK* 74 (1977) 323-43.

³⁷K. Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Paraphrase des johan-nischen Prologs: Zur Interpretation von 'Epistula Petri ad Philippum' (NHC VIII,2) 136,16-137,4," *VC* 33 (1979) 383-92.

³⁸The Coptic and Greek texts used in this study are taken from a variety of sources. In most instances the references to texts from the Nag Hammadi library are based upon transcriptions prepared by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. Exceptions to this are the following: for Codex I, the several volumes of the *editio princeps* edited by Kasser, Malinine, Puech, Quispel, et al., and published by Rascher Verlag and Franke Verlag, 1968-1975; for the *Ap. John*, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (ed. Martin Krause and Pahor Labib; Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Koptische Reihe, Band 1; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962), with corrections by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project; for the *Gos. Thom.*, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (ed. A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1959), with corrections; for the *Gos. Phil.*, J.-E. Mé-nard, *L'Évangile selon Philippe* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1967); for the *Hyp. Arch.*, Bentley Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons, or *The Reality of the Rulers*," *HTR* 67 (1974) 351-425; for *Orig. World*, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, "Vom Ursprung der Welt": Die fünfte Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex II neu herausgegeben und unter bevorzugter Auswertung anderer Nag-Hammadi-Texte erklärt" (Th.D. dissertation, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1975). For BG 8502, the edition of W. C. Till is used; for

Pistis Sophia, that of C. Schmidt; for Irenaeus, the text of W. W. Harvey; for Hippolytus, that of P. Wendland; for the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, that of R. P. Casey; for the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, that of R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

CHAPTER II

TEXT, TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND INDICES

- 132,10 τενιστολη Ππετροс втач
 11 χοοус Πφιλιπποс: >—
- 12 Ππετροс Παποστολοс Πτε Γ[ε]
 13 Ππε[ε]с Πφιλιπποс Πенсон Π
 14 мерит МН Πенψвнр[α]ποσ[ο]
 15 λοс МН Πснн[υ] εтннмак хе
 16 †ουψω δε Πκime Πенсон [хе]
 17 ληχι Πεенентоλη Π[т]оот[ε] Π
 18 Πенχοеic МН Псω[т]ηр Π[те]
 19 Πκοσμοс тнр[ε] хе [ен]λε[ι] ε[γ]
 20 [м]λ хе ена† сβω λγ[ω] Π[т]η[τ]α
 21 ψε оеiψ εрλ[ι] ε[т]η Π[ο]γχα[ι] ε
 22 тλγερηт Πмоч ηλη εβολ ε[ι]
 133,1 [т]η Πенχοеic тс Πε[ε]с[ε] Π[т]ок δε
 2 [н]εψακпω[ε] εβολ Πмон* λγω
 3 ΠΠекмере Πитренε[ι] εγма
 4 λγω Π[т]ηεime хе ена[т]о[μ]η Π
 5 λψ Π[ε] хе енаε[ι] ψ[т]ηноу[ε]*
 6 εψхе о[υ]η ас[ε] ληак Πенсон хе
 7 екеε[ι] κ[α]т[α] ηεντολη Πте Πен
 8 но[υ]т[ε] тс* ηλ[ι] Πтерε[χ]ιτο[υ]
 9 Πβ[ι] φ[ι]λ[ι]πποс λγω Πтерε[χ]ο
 10 ψо[υ] λ[ε]ψακ ерλ[ε]ч Ππετροс
 11 ε[т]η о[υ]р[α]ψε е[т]εβληη Πмоч*
 12 тоте λπετροс λ[ε]с[ω]у[ε]
 13 ΠΠкесеε[и]ε λ[ε]ψακ ε[χ]η
 14 Πтоо[υ] ε[т]ε ψαγмо[υ]т[ε] е[р]о[υ]
 15 хе Πληηχοе[и]т Πма ε[т]ε ψαγ
 16 с[ω]у[ε] εμαγ МН Πмаκ[α]р[и]ос
 17 Π[ε]с εот[α]η е[ε]ε[т]η с[ω]μα* то
 18 те Πтеро[υ]ε[ι] εγма Πβ[ι] ηαποс
 19 толос λγω λ[υ]но[υ]о[υ] ε[χ]η
 20 ηεγπα[т] λ[υ]ψαηη Π[ε]ε[ι] ε[γ]

132,10 The letter (ἐπιστολή) of Peter which he
11 sent to Philip:

12 "Peter the apostle (ἀπόστολος) of Jesus
13 Christ, to Philip our beloved
14 brother and our fellow apostle (-ἀπόστολος),
15 and the brothers who are with you: greetings (χαίρειν)!

16 "Now (δέ) I want you to understand, our brother,
[that]

17 we received orders (ἐντολή) from
18 our Lord and the savior (σωτήρ) [of]
19 the whole world (κόσμος), that [we] should come
20 together to teach and
21 preach in the salvation
22 that was promised to us by

133,1 our Lord Jesus Christ. But (δέ) as for you,
2 you were separated from us; and
3 you did not desire that we come together
4 and learn how to orient ourselves
5 that we might tell the good news.

6 So (οὖν) would it be agreeable to you, our brother, to
7 come according to (κατά) the orders (ἐντολή) of our
8 God Jesus?"

When Philip had received these (words)
9 and had read
10 them, he went to Peter,
11 rejoicing with gladness.

12 Then (τότε) Peter gathered
13 the rest. They went upon
14 the mountain which is called
15 "Olivet," the place where they used to
16 gather with the blessed (μακάριος)
17 Christ when (ὅταν) he was in (the) body (σῶμα).

Then (τότε)
18 when the apostles (ἀπόστολος) had come together,
19 and had thrown themselves upon
20 their knees, they prayed in this way,

- 133,21 [x]ω ἢ[mo]c xe πιωτ πιωτ
 22 ηιωτ ἡτε πογοειν παῖ ε
 23 τεγῆταγ ἡνιαφθαρσια
 24 σωτῆ[η] ερον κατα θε ετα[κ]
 25 ἡτω[ο]γ εἰη πεκαλλου ετ
 26 ογλαε [τ]ε πεεε* ἡτογ γαρ
 27 λχωυπε нан ἡογφωστηρ
 134,1 εἰη ηκα[κ]ε λετο σωτη ερο[η]
 2 λγω λγκοτου ἡκεσον λγ
 3 ψληλ εγχω ἡμος xe πωη
 4 ρε ἡτε πωηε πωηρε ἡτε †
 5 ἡἡτατμου* παῖ ετωοοп εἰη
 6 πογοειν* πωηρε πεεε ἡτε
 7 †ἡἡτατμου* πεηρεεεωте
 8 μα† нан ἡηουεам* εἰηηη σε
 9 κωте ἡσων εεοτῆη [τ]οτε λγ
 10 ογωηε εβολ ἡεи ογηοε ἡογοει[η]
 11 εωте ἡτεπитоογ ῑ ογοειη
 12 εβολ εἰη πωηε ἡτε ηη εταχογ
 13 ωηε εβολ* λγω λγсμη λсиху
 14 εβολ ψαροογ εсхω ἡμος xe
 15 χи сμη εηλωαхе xe εεῖεx[oc]
 16 ηηῆη* εтве ογ τεῆηωηηε ἡ
 17 μοεи ληοκ ηε τεεεε ετω[ο]
 18 οη ἡη τηγῆη ψα εηεε* тот[ε]
 19 ληηηστολос λγογωη[ε]
 20 λγω ηαγχω ἡμος xe ηx[ο]
 21 εис τῆηογωη εεηηε εηωη
 22 ωт ἡτε ηεωη ἡη ηεγληη
 23 ρωма* λγω xe ηφ[с] σεληη[ε]
 24 те ἡηηη εἰη ηηηη ηωηηε*
 25 ἡη ηωс ληεῖ εηηηη ἡη εηεωκ
 26 ἡηηη ἡηηηε* ἡη ηωс ογῆηηη
 135,1 [ἡ†εεο]γсiα ἡτε †ηηηηηηηη*
 2 [ἡ] ε[τ]ве ογ ηηεοη σε† ἡηηηηηηη*

- 133,21 saying, "Father, Father,
 22 Father of the light, who
 23 possesses the incorruptions (ἀφθαρσία),
 24 hear us just as (κατά) [you] have
 25 taken pleasure in your holy child
 26 Jesus Christ. For (γάρ) he
 27 became for us an illuminator (φωστήρ)
 134,1 in the darkness. Yea, hear us!"
 2 And they resumed again and
 3 prayed, saying, "Son
 4 of life, Son of
 5 immortality, who is in
 6 the light, Son, Christ of
 7 immortality, our redeemer,
 8 give us power, because (ἐπειδή) they
 9 are searching for us in order to kill us."
 Then (τότε)
 10 a great light appeared
 11 so that (ὥστε) the mountain shone
 12 from the sight of him who
 13 appeared. And a voice cried
 14 out to them, saying,
 15 "Listen to my words that I may speak
 16 to you. Why are you seeking
 17 me? I am Jesus Christ who is
 18 with you for ever."
 Then (τότε)
 19 the apostles (ἀπόστολος) answered
 20 and said, "Lord,
 21 we would like to understand the deficiency
 22 of the aeons (αἰών) and their
 23 fullness (πλήρωμα)." And, "How (πῶς) are we detained
 24 in this dwelling place?
 25 Or (ἤ), how (πῶς) have we come to this place?
 Also (ἤ), in what way
 26 shall we leave? Also (ἤ), how (πῶς) do we possess
 135,1 [the] authority (ἐξουσία) of boldness (παρρησία)?
 2 [Also (ἤ)], why do the powers fight against us?"

135,3 τοτε λυσμη ωυπε ηλυ εβολ
4 ε̄μη π[ο]υοειη εκσω ημοσ κε η̄
5 τωτῆ̄ ουαττηγῆ̄ ετῆ̄ μη̄
6 τρε κε λειχε ηλῆ̄ τηρου ηητῆ̄
7 λ[λλ]λ [ε]τβε τετῆ̄μη̄η̄τατηα2τε
8 †[η]λωαχε η̄κεσον' ετβε
9 [πιωω]τ μεη η̄τε ηεων πλῆ̄
10 [πε] πῆ̄ωωωτ ετ<λ>†μη̄η̄τατ
11 ζωτῆ̄ δε μη̄ †μη̄η̄τατωοχνε
12 η̄τε τηαλυ ετασογωη̄2 εβολ
13 εχῆ̄ πογλ2 σα2νε η̄τε †μη̄η̄τ
14 μοε η̄τε πιωτ' λσογωω ε
15 τογνοс η̄2εηεωη̄' λγω εταс
16 ωαχε λσογω2 εβολ η̄β1 π1λγ
17 ελαηс' εταсωωχῆ̄ δε η̄ογ
18 μεροс λγλμλ2τε η̄μοч η̄β1 π1
19 λγθαηс' λγω λγωυπε η̄
20 ογωωωτ η̄λῆ̄ πε πωωωτ
21 [η̄]τε η̄εωη̄' εταπ1λγθαηс
22 εε εταχх1 η̄ογμεροс λчоч
23 λγω λчкω η̄2εηεом ε2ρλῆ̄
24 εχωγ η̄η̄ 2εηεχογс1λ
25 λγω [λ]чолῆ̄ ε2оγη̄ εη1εωη̄
26 ετμο[ο]γт' λγω λγρλωε
27 η̄β1 η̄1εом τηρου η̄τε η̄кос
28 μοс κε λγχпооγ' η̄тооγ
136,1 де η̄сεε[ο]сγη̄ λη̄ η̄η̄! [ωт ετῆ̄]
2 ωῆ̄η̄ η̄ωοοη̄' εη1αη̄ 2εη̄ωῆ̄
3 μο η̄μοч η̄ε' λλλλ η̄λῆ̄ π[ε]τελ[γ]
4 †εом η̄λч λγω λγωη̄ωε η̄μοч
5 ελγсмоγ ероч' η̄точ δε π1λγ
6 εлаηс λчх1сε η̄2ηт ε2ρλῆ̄ εχῆ̄
7 π1смоγ η̄те η̄1εом' λγ[ω]ωη̄[ε] η̄
8 ογρεчкω2' λγω λчо[γ]ω[ω ε]та
9 η̄1ο η̄η̄ογ2ῆ̄кωη̄ εηη[λ η̄η̄ογ2ῆ̄кωη̄]

135,3 Then (τότε) a voice came to them from
 4 the light, saying,
 5 "It is you yourselves who bear
 6 witness that I said all these things to you.
 7 But (ἀλλά) because of your unbelief
 8 I shall speak again.

 "To begin with (μέν), concerning
 9 [the deficiency] of the aeons (αἰών), this
 10 [is] the deficiency. Now (δέ) <when> the
 11 disobedience and the foolishness
 12 of the mother appeared,
 13 without the command of the majesty
 14 of the Father, she wanted to
 15 set up aeons (αἰών). And when she
 16 spoke, the Arrogant One (αὐθάδης) followed.
 17 So (δέ) when she left behind a
 18 portion (μέρος), the Arrogant One (αὐθάδης) grabbed it,
 19 and it became
 20 a deficiency. This is the deficiency
 21 of the aeons (αἰών).

 "So then, when the Arrogant One (αὐθάδης)
 22 had taken a portion (μέρος), he sowed it.
 23 And he placed powers
 24 and authorities (ἐξουσία) over it.
 25 And he confined it within the mortal aeons (αἰών).
 26 And all the powers
 27 of the world (κόσμος) rejoiced
 28 that they had been brought forth. But (δέ) they
 136,1 do not know the preexistent [Father],
 2 since (ἐπειδή) they are strangers
 3 to him. But (ἀλλά) this one is he to whom
 4 power was given; and they served him
 5 after having praised him.

 "So (δέ) he, the
 6 Arrogant One (αὐθάδης), became haughty because of
 7 the praise of the powers. He became
 8 a rival, and he wanted [to]
 9 make an image (εἰκών) in place [of an image (εἰκών)],

- 136,10 μῆν οὐμορφῆν ἐπιμα ἡνοῦμ[ορ]
 11 φη· λχτωψ δε ἡνιβομ ερραϊ εἴη
 12 τεθεροусиа же еуепласса ἡεε[η]
 13 сшма еумооуτ· λχω λχψ
 14 пе ввол εἴη οὐμῆταεине ввол
 15 εἴη †εиδεа етеλсщпе:
 16 ετве пипληρωма δε ανοκ пе λ[χω]
 17 λγτῆнооуτ εεραϊ εἴη псшма е
 18 тве писперма етеλρε ввол
 19 λχω λῖεῖ εεραϊ епегулассма е[т]
 20 мооуτ· ἡтооу δε ἡноуε[οу]
 21 шῆт неүмееуе ероеи же λн[ок]
 22 оуρωме есмооуτ· λχω λῖ[λ]
 23 же ἡη пете пωῖ ἡтоу де λчсω
 24 τῆн нλῖ ката τετῆε [ε] εωт
 25 тнγτῆн нλῖ етаγсω[τῆн ἡпооу
 26 λχω λῖ† нλч ἡноуεροусиа же
 27 εчεεῖ εεоуη е†κληροномiа
 28 ἡте теχῆῆтеиωт· λχω λῖч
 137,1 λ]γμοуε ввол
 2].. εραϊ εἴη πεчоухαῖ· епiдн
 3 [де] χε η[ε]οуχψт пе εтве пλῖ λч
 4 щпе [ἡ]οуῆληρωма· εтве пн
 5 [λ]ε же σελμαεте ἡμωτῆн же ἡτωτῆн
 6 нете ноуεῖ· εщпе ететнаκκ
 7 тнне κλεηу ἡпλῖ еттакноуτ· то
 8 те ететнащпе ἡεεφωстнр
 9 εἴη тнте ἡεερωме еүмооуτ
 10 пн λ[ε] χε [ἡ]τωτῆн етнλ† ἡἡн иβομ
 11 же ἡ[т]οоу мῆηταу ἡоуῆтои ка
 12 [та] τετῆε· епiдн ἡсеоушψ λн
 13 [εῖ]ηλ ἡтеτῆноуεἴη· тоте ληηос

136,10 and a form (μορφή) in place of a form (μορφή).
11 So (δέ) he assigned the powers within
12 his authority (ἐξουσία) to mold (πλάσσειν)
13 mortal bodies (σώμα); and they came
14 into being from a misrepresentation of
15 the semblance (ἰδέα) that had come forth.
16 "Now (δέ) concerning the fullness (πλήρωμα),
it is I. [And]
17 I was sent down in the body (σώμα)
18 for the sake of the seed (σπέρμα) that had fallen away.
19 And I came down to their mortal model (πλάσμα).
20 But (δέ) as for them, they did not recognize
21 me; they were thinking of me that I
22 was a mortal person. And I spoke
23 with him who is mine, and (δέ) he hearkened
24 to me just (κατά) as you
25 also who hearkened today.
26 And I gave him authority (ἐξουσία) that
27 he might enter into the inheritance (κληρονομία)
28 of his fatherhood. And I took
137,1 [was] filled
2 [] in his salvation. [So (δέ)]
since (ἐπειδή)
3 he was deficiency, for this reason he
4 became fullness (πλήρωμα).
"Now (δέ) concerning this,
5 that you are being detained; (this is) because you
6 are mine. When you strip
7 yourselves of that which is corruptible, then (τότε)
8 you will become illuminators (φωστήρ)
9 in the midst of mortal people.
10 "Now (δέ) (concerning) this, that it is you who
will fight against the powers;
11 (this is) because they do not have rest like (κατά)
12 you, since (ἐπειδή) they do not want
13 (ἵνα) you to be saved."

- 137,14 [τ]ολος οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο πᾶσι
 15 ἄλλο καὶ πᾶσι ματαμον καὶ λα
 16 [τ]ε θε εἶπεν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἐπιδή
 17 [ν]αρχων σεβῆτε ἡμῖν· τότε
 18 [α]υτῶν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ἡμῖν εἶπεν
 19 [εἶ]πεν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ἡμῖν εἶπεν
 20 [ἡ]μῖν καὶ ἡμῖν δε εἶπεν ἡμῖν
 21 [ἡ]μῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· ἡμῖν γὰρ εἶπεν
 22 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ἡμῖν· ἡμῖν
 23 [α]ε εἶπεν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· ἀλλ
 24 εἶπεν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν πᾶσι
 25 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· ἡμῖν
 26 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 27 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 28 περὶ τῶν θεῶν εἶπεν· ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 29 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 30 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν·
 138,1 ἡμῖν [.] ἡμῖν []
 2 κατὰ θε εἶπεν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν []
 3 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· [τ]οτε
 4 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 5 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ἡμῖν· ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 6 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 7 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν· τότε
 8 ἀναπτοσολος ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 9 πᾶσι ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 10 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 11 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 12 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 13 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
 14 ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν

Then (τότε) the
 137,14 apostles (ἀπόστολος) worshiped again, saying,
 15 "Lord, tell us, how
 16 shall we fight against the archons (ἄρχων), since
 (ἐπειδή)
 17 [the] archons (ἄρχων) are over us?"

Then (τότε)
 18 [a] voice cried out unto them from
 19 what was appearing, saying,
 20 "Well (δέ), you will fight
 21 against them in this way, for (γάρ) the archons
 (ἄρχων) fight
 22 against the inner person. So (δέ) you
 23 shall fight against them in this way:
 24 come together and teach in the world (κόσμος)
 25 the salvation with a promise. And
 26 gird yourselves with the power
 27 of my Father, and express
 28 your prayer. And surely the
 29 Father will help (βοηθεῖν) you, as (ὡς) he
 30 helped (βοηθεῖν) you by sending me.

138,1 Do not []
 2 just as (κατά) I previously said [to]
 3 you when (ὅταν) I was in the body (σῶμα)."

Then (τότε)
 4 came lightning and
 5 thunder from heaven, and
 6 what appeared to them there was carried
 7 up to heaven.

Then (τότε)
 8 the apostles (ἀπόστολος) gave thanks to
 9 the Lord with every praise. And
 10 they returned to Jerusalem.

11 Now (δέ) as they were going up, they spoke with each
 12 other on the way about the light
 13 which had come forth. And a statement was made
 14 about the Lord, for it was said,

- 138,15 ΠΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΟЧ ΠΕΝΧΟ[ΕΙC]
 16 ΛΧΧΙ ΠΚΛ₂ ΖΓΕ ΛΟΥΗΡ ΒΕ ΛΝΟΗ[:]
 17 ΛϞΟΥΨΩΒ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΕϞΧΨ
 18 ΠΜΟC ΧΕ ΛΧΧΙ ΠΚΛ₂ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ[Ν]
 19 ΛΥΩ ΖΛΠC ΕΡΟΗ ΖΩΩΗ ΕΤΡΕ[Η]
 20 ΧΙ ΠΚΛ₂ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝΗΝΤΚΟΥ[Ι]
 21 ΤΟΤΕ ΛΥCΜΗ ΨΩΠΕ ΨΑΡΟΟΥ
 22 ΕCΧΩ ΠΜΟC ΧΕ ΛΪΧΟC ΝΗΤΗ
 23 Ν₂Λ₂ ΝCΟΠ ΧΕ ΖΛΠC ΕΡΩΤΗ
 24 ΕΤΡΕΤΕΤΗΧΙ ΠΚΛ₂* ΖΛ
 25 ΠC ΕΤΡΕΥΗΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΖΕΗΣΥ
 26 ΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΗΝ ΖΕΝΖΗΓΕΜΩΗ
 27 ΖΩCΤΕ ΠΤΕΤΗΧΙ ΠΚΛ₂* ΠΗ ΔΕ
 28 ΕΤΕ ΝΞΗΛΧΙ ΠΚΛ₂ ΔΗ ΟΥΔΕ
- 139,1 []
 2 [] Η[ΕΝ]ΙΩΤ
 3 [] . ΧΕΚΛΑC ΕΨ
 4 [Ε.]Ρ.[] Δ]ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΔΕ
 5 [ΛΥ]ΡΛΩ[Ε ΕΜΛ]ΤΕ ΛΥΩ ΛΥΒΙ ΕΖΡΛΪ
 6 [ΕΘΤ]ΗΗ ΛΥΩ ΛΥΒΙ ΕΖΡΛΪ ΕΠΡΠΕ ΛΥΤ
 7 [CΒ]Ω ΖΗ ΟΥΟΥΧΛΪ ΖΡΛΪ ΖΗ ΠΡΑΗ ΠΤΕ
 8 [ΠΧ]ΟΕΙC ΤC ΠΕΨC* ΛΥΩ ΛΥΡ ΠΛΖΡΕ
 9 [ΕΥ]ΜΗΗΩΕ* ΛϞΟΥΩΗ ΔΕ ΕΡΩϞ ΝΒΙ
 10 [ΠΕΤ]ΡΟC Π[Ε]ΧΛϞ ΠΝΕϞΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΧΕ
 11 [Ε₂]Ε ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΤC ΖΟΤΑΗ ΕϞΖΗ CΩΜΛ
 12 [ΛϞ]Τ ΜΛΕΙΗ ΝΔΗ ΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ ΝΤΟЧ ΓΔΡ
 13 [ΛϞ]ΒΙ ΕΖΡΛΪ* ΝΔCΗΗΥ ΧΙ CΜΗ ΕΤΔCΜΗ
 14 [ΛΥ]Ω ΛϞΜΟΥΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΟΥΠΠΛ ΕϞΟΥΔΔΒ
 15 [ΠΕ]ΧΛϞ ΠΤ₂Ε ΧΕ ΠΕΗΦΩCΤΗΡ ΤC
 16 [ΛϞΒΙ] ΕΖΡΛΪ ΛΥΩ ΛΥΔΩΤΞ* ΛΥΩ ΛϞΡΦΟ
 17 [ΡΕΙ ΝΟ]ΥΚΛΟΗ ΝΨΟ<Η>ΤΕ* ΛΥΩ ΛϞΤ ΖΓ
 18 [ΩΩϞ] ΠΝΟΥCΤΟΛΗ ΝΧΗΒΕ ΛΥΩ ΛΥ
 19 [ΔΩ]ΤΞ ΕΞΗ ΟΥΨΕ ΛΥΩ ΛΥΤΟΜCΞ ΖΗ
 20 Ο[Υ]Μ₂ΛΟΥ ΛΥΩ ΛϞΤΩΗΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕΤ
 21 Μ[ΟΟ]ΥΤ: ΝΔCΗΗΥ ΟΥΨΗΜΟ Π

138,15 "If he, our [Lord],
 16 suffered, then how much (more are) we (to suffer)?"
 17 Peter answered, saying,
 18 "He suffered on account of [us],
 19 and it is necessary for us also to
 20 suffer on account of our smallness."
 21 Then (τότε) a voice came unto them,
 22 saying, "I have said to you
 23 often: it is necessary for you
 24 to suffer. It is necessary
 25 for you to be brought to
 26 synagogues (συναγωγή) and governors (ἡγεμόνων),
 27 so that (ὥστε) you will suffer. But (δέ) the one
 28 who will not suffer nor (οὐδέ)

139,1 []
 2 [] our] Father
 3 [] so that he
 4 [may]."

And (δέ) the apostles (ἀπόστολος)
 5 rejoiced [greatly], and they went up
 6 [to] Jerusalem. And they went up to the temple and
 7 taught concerning salvation in the name of
 8 [the] Lord Jesus Christ. And they healed
 9 [a] crowd.

Now (δέ) Peter opened his mouth
 10 and said to his disciples (μαθητής),
 11 "[Indeed], our Lord Jesus, when (ὅταν) he was in
 (the) body (σῶμα),
 12 indicated everything to us. For (γάρ)
 13 he came down. My brothers, listen to my voice."

[And] he was filled with holy spirit (πνεῦμα)
 15 and spoke in this way: "Our illuminator (φωστήρ) Jesus
 16 [came] down and was crucified. And he
 17 [wore (φορεῖν)] a crown of thorns. And he put
 18 [on] a purple robe (στολή); and he was
 19 [crucified] upon a cross; and he was buried in
 20 a tomb; and he rose from the
 21 dead.

139,22 πει̅ξι̅ μα̅κα̅2̅ πε̅ τε̅·̅ α̅λλα̅ αν̅ον̅ πε̅τε̅
 23 λ̅[Ν]̅χι̅ μα̅κα̅2̅ ε̅ν̅ τ̅η̅ πα̅ρα̅βα̅σι̅ς̅ η̅τ̅μα̅λυ̅
 24 λ̅υ̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅βε̅ πα̅ι̅ λ̅υ̅ει̅ρε̅ η̅2̅ω̅β̅ η̅ι̅μ̅
 25 κα̅τα̅ ο̅υ̅β̅ει̅νε̅ 2̅ρα̅ι̅ η̅2̅η̅τ̅η̅·̅ η̅χο̅β̅ι̅ς̅
 26 γ̅αρ̅ τε̅ π̅ω̅η̅ρε̅ η̅τε̅ η̅ε̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ η̅π̅ι̅ω̅τ̅
 27 η̅λα̅τ̅ι̅ ω̅ι̅ ε̅ρο̅υ̅ πα̅ι̅ πε̅ η̅ι̅α̅ρ̅χη̅γ̅ο̅ς̅
 28 η̅τε̅ πε̅νω̅η̅2̅·̅ η̅α̅ς̅η̅η̅υ̅ η̅π̅ρ̅
 29 τ̅ρε̅ν̅ς̅ω̅τ̅η̅ ο̅υ̅ν̅ η̅ς̅α̅ η̅ε̅ι̅α̅νο̅
 30 μο̅ς̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ η̅τ̅η̅μο̅ο̅ω̅βε̅ 2̅ρα̅ι̅ ε̅ν̅

140,1

2 τ̅ρο̅ς̅ λ̅υ̅[ς̅]ω̅[υ̅2̅
 3 [.]η̅ε̅ ε̅χ̅ω̅ [η̅μο̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅ πε̅ν̅χο̅ε̅]ι̅ς̅ ι̅[τε̅]
 4 πε̅χ̅ε̅ πα̅ρ̅χη̅γ̅ο̅ς̅ η̅[τε̅ πε̅]η̅μ̅το̅[η̅]
 5 μα̅τ̅ η̅α̅ν̅ η̅ο̅υ̅π̅η̅α̅ η̅τε̅ ο̅υ̅ε̅π̅ι̅[ς̅]
 6 τ̅η̅μ̅η̅ ε̅ι̅η̅α̅ αν̅ον̅ 2̅ω̅ω̅η̅ χ̅ε̅ ε̅νε̅
 7 ει̅ρε̅ η̅2̅ε̅ν̅ε̅ο̅μ̅·̅ το̅τε̅ α̅η̅ε̅τ̅[ρο̅ς̅]
 8 η̅η̅ η̅ικ̅ε̅λ̅πο̅ς̅το̅λο̅ς̅ λ̅υ̅η̅α̅υ̅ ε̅[ρο̅υ̅]
 9 λ̅υ̅ω̅ λ̅υ̅μο̅υ̅2̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ [ε̅ν̅] ο̅υ̅π̅η̅[α̅]
 10 ε̅χο̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅·̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ λ̅πο̅υ̅α̅ πο̅υ̅α̅
 11 ει̅ρε̅ η̅2̅ε̅η̅τ̅α̅α̅β̅ο̅·̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ λ̅υ̅π̅ω̅ρ̅χ̅
 12 ε̅βο̅λ̅ χ̅ε̅ ε̅υ̅ε̅τ̅α̅ω̅ε̅ ο̅β̅ι̅ω̅ η̅π̅χο̅
 13 ει̅ς̅ τε̅ λ̅υ̅ω̅ λ̅υ̅ς̅ω̅ο̅υ̅2̅ ω̅α̅ η̅ε̅[υ̅]
 14 ε̅ρ̅η̅υ̅ λ̅υ̅ρ̅α̅ς̅π̅α̅2̅ε̅ η̅μο̅ο̅υ̅ [ε̅υ̅]
 15 χ̅ω̅ η̅μο̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅ ε̅λ̅μ̅η̅η̅:̅ το̅[τε̅]
 16 λ̅χο̅υ̅ω̅η̅2̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ η̅β̅ι̅ ι̅τε̅ ε̅χ̅ω̅ [η̅]
 17 μο̅ς̅ η̅α̅υ̅ χ̅ε̅ ι̅ρ̅η̅η̅η̅ η̅η̅τ̅η̅ [τ̅η̅ρ̅]
 18 τ̅η̅ η̅η̅ ο̅υ̅ο̅ν̅ η̅ι̅μ̅ ε̅τ̅η̅α̅2̅τε̅ ε̅
 19 πα̅ρ̅α̅η̅·̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅β̅ω̅κ̅ δε̅ ε̅χ̅ε̅
 20 ω̅ω̅π̅ε̅ η̅η̅τ̅η̅ η̅β̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅ρ̅α̅ω̅ε̅ η̅η̅
 21 ο̅υ̅2̅μο̅τ̅ η̅η̅ ο̅υ̅β̅α̅μ̅·̅ η̅π̅ρ̅ρ̅

- "My brothers, Jesus is a stranger to
 139,22 this suffering. But (ἀλλά) we are the ones who
 23 have suffered through the transgression (παράβασις)
 of the mother.
- 24 And for this reason he did everything
 25 in (κατά) a likeness to us. For (γάρ) the Lord
 26 Jesus, the Son of the immeasurable glory of the
 Father,
 27 is the author (ἀρχηγός)
 28 of our life.
- "So (οὖν), my brothers, let us not
 29 hearken to these lawless
 30 ones (ἄνομος) and walk in
 140,1 []."
- 2 Peter [gathered]
- 3 [], saying, "[Our Lord Jesus]
 4 Christ, author (ἀρχηγός) [of our] rest,
 5 give us a spirit (πνεῦμα) of understanding (ἐπιστήμη),
 6 so that (ἵνα) we also may
 7 perform mighty deeds."
- Then (τότε) Peter
 8 and the other apostles (ἀπόστολος) saw [him],
 9 and they were filled with holy spirit (πνεῦμα).
 10 And each one
 11 performed healings. And they parted
 12 so that they might preach the
 13 Lord Jesus.
- And they gathered with their
 14 companions and greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) them,
 15 saying, "Amen (ἀμήν)!"
- Then (τότε)
 16 Jesus appeared, saying
 17 to them, "Peace (εἰρήνη) to [all] of you
 18 and everyone who believes in
 19 my name! Now (δέ) as you go,
 20 there shall be for you joy and
 21 grace and power. So (δέ) do not be

140,22 6ΛΒΖΗΤ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΤΕ †ΝΕΜΗΤ̄Ν
 23 ΩΔ ΕΝΘΕ* ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝ<Λ>Π[Ο]ΣΤΟ
 24 ΛΟΣ ΑΥΠΩΡ̄Ξ̄ Ν̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 25 ΕΞΡΑΪ̄ ΕΠΙΧΤΟΟΥ Ν̄ΩΛΧΕ ΧΕ ΕΥ
 26 ΕΤΑΩΕ ΟΒΙΩ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΒΩΚ
 27 Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΒΟΜ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ Τ̄C̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΒΕΙΡΗΝ[Η]:>_____

140,22 afraid; behold, I am with you
23 for ever."

Then (τότε) the apostles (ἀπόστολος)
24 parted from each other
25 with four messages, so that they
26 might preach. And they went
27 in the power of Jesus, in peace (εἰρήνη).

Notes to the Text and Translation

- 132,10 Two sets of decorative lines added by the scribe above the superscribed title of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* separate this tractate from the previous tractate, *Zost.*, with its subscribed title and cryptogram.
- 13 The reading $\overline{\text{M}}$ is based on an apparent minute trace of ink, and provides the anticipated $\overline{\text{M}}$ for $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{T}}$.
- 15 $\text{x}\epsilon$ seems likely, on account of the usual length of a line. The ϵ appears certain under ultraviolet light, though part of the ϵ is in a lacuna. $\text{x}\epsilon[\text{I}\rho\epsilon]$ would necessitate an unusually long line, although the scribe does not hesitate to employ a longer line occasionally to avoid clumsy word divisions, particularly with Greek loan words (see 133,16.18.27; 135,25; 137,16). On $\text{x}\epsilon$ as an abbreviation, among others, for the greeting in Greek letters, see below, p. 93. It also remains a distinct possibility that some sort of punctuation, perhaps a supralinear dot, was placed after the $\text{x}\epsilon$, although the position of the \dagger in line 16 may have provided such an indication of the opening of a new "paragraph" or section.
- 16 \dagger is written noticeably to the left of the left margin, perhaps to emphasize the beginning of the body of the letter.
- 19 A less likely translation of lines 19-21 would be as follows: "that [we] should come together, teach, and preach." The syntax of the sentence, however, with the two $\text{x}\epsilon$ clauses and second future verbs, and the third clause containing a conjunctive form, substantiates the translation given above. The reading $\epsilon\overline{\text{I}} \epsilon[\overline{\gamma\text{M}}]\lambda \text{x}\epsilon$, "come together," represents a common verbal construction in the tractate, and thus is preferable to a variant restoration, $\epsilon\overline{\text{I}} \epsilon[\overline{\text{H}\lambda\text{M}}]\lambda \text{x}\epsilon$, "come to speak." See Bethge, col. 168 n. 1, as well as 133,3.18; 137,24.
- 21 The reading $[\text{o}]\gamma$ remains visually ambiguous. Under ultraviolet light ink traces or shadows are somewhat clearer for γ .
- 133,1 The restoration of the supralinear punctuation mark is supported by the size of the lacuna.
- 4 Here it is most appropriate to translate $\tau\alpha\upsilon\psi$ with a verb like "orient." Hence Wisse suggests "locate," MÉnard "répartir," and Bethge "verteilen." $\tau\alpha\upsilon\psi$ can also be translated as "limit," "determine," "appoint," and even "prepare."

- 133,6 εϣϣε is here translated as an interrogative; see Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Saidischer Dialekt)* (Leipzig: VEB, 1966) §434. εϣϣε could also be understood in an intensive or exclamatory sense, and be translated "surely." Again, the clause could possibly be translated as follows, with εϣ plus the third future verb functioning to express a wish (see *ibid.*, §361): "So if it would be agreeable to you, our brother, may you come."
- 10 In οϣοϣ λϣϣωκ, the γ and the ϣ are visually certain, especially under ultraviolet light. Both the ink traces (the tip of the left stroke and the base of the γ, and the right vertical stroke of the ϣ) and the spacing contribute to this certainty.
- 15 The Berlin Arbeitskreis suggests the possibility of emending the text as follows: ετε<νε>ϣλγ; see Bethge, col. 168 n. 6. This emendation to the preterite does not seem necessary; see the discussion of the temporal value of the habitude (*praesens consuetudinis*) in Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §304; and C. C. Walters, *An Elementary Coptic Grammar* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972) §61.
- 16 μακρῖος intrudes somewhat into the right margin; see above, the note to 132,15.
- 17 Here εϣῖν σωμα is used without the article; the clause could be translated "he was embodied." See especially 139,11, and also 136,17; 138,3.
- 18 λνος- intrudes somewhat into the right margin; see above, the note to 132,15.
- 19 The first perfect appended to the past temporal is awkward. An alternate translation would be as follows: "when the apostles had come together, they threw themselves upon their knees and prayed." In such a translation, however, the λϣω in line 19 becomes problematic. On the possibility of using a series of first perfect verbs without the conjunction, see the *Gos. Thom.* II 34,3 and following, and the comments of Orval Wintermute ("Coptic Grammar to the Gospel of Thomas" [unpublished typescript available at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity] 53). In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, note similar constructions elsewhere, for example at 134,2; 139,9-10; 140,13-14.
- 22 Syntactically ετεϣῖταϣ can modify either ϣωτ or ϣοϣεῖν; the use of ναῖ would seem to tip the balance in favor of ϣωτ. See also 134,5, where the structure parallels that of the first prayer, but where the gender of ναῖ makes it highly unlikely that it refers to Ηῖτατμοϣ.

- 133,24 On the restoration of the lacunae at the end of line 24 and the beginning of line 25, see below, pp. 80-81. Both of the lacunae are of such a size as to suggest that one Coptic letter may be restored in each case; were two letters to be restored in either case, these letters would have to be exceedingly small. Furthermore, the scribe's system of dividing words at the end of lines suggests the plausibility of a pronominal prefix at the end of line 24. Our English translation of the clause in lines 24-25 could also make use of the sense of the present tense: "just as [you] take pleasure in"; see below, pp. 103-04.
- 27 $\phi\omega\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ intrudes considerably into the right margin; see above, the note to 132,15.
- 134,2 $\lambda\gamma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma$ is literally "they turned themselves, returned, repeated" (Crum, 125a). A freer translation might be as follows: "they returned again to prayer" or "they prayed again another time" (so Wisse).
- 5 See 133,22, and the relevant note.
- 7 The ϵ is based upon minute ink traces or shadows visible under ultraviolet light.
- 15 On $\kappa\epsilon$ with $\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\epsilon\chi[oc]$, see below, p. 75; the usual form for the prefix is $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\epsilon-$. The sentence remains difficult, and has prompted additional suggestions for emendation. Ménard (pp. 16-17) suggests $\epsilon\langle\bar{\iota}\rangle\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\rho}\ \eta\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$, "<je> viens pour vous parler." Such an emendation is not unreasonable, and the suggested omission by the scribe of the $\bar{\iota}$ in this context would be understandable enough. (At the end of line 15, I was unable to ascertain, even under ultraviolet light, whether or not ink traces are indeed visible; the rough papyrus surface, faded and with lacuna, is now difficult to read and interpret.) Bethge (cols. 166, 168 n. 12) opts for a reading of Wisse, $\chi[\epsilon]\eta\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$, and translates this as a form of $\chi\eta\lambda$, "send" (Crum, 774a). We have opted for $\chi\sigma$ as being most reasonable (see also 138,22: $\lambda\bar{\iota}\chi\omicron\sigma$). A form of $\chi\omega$ fits the context well; $\chi\omega$ is rarely used as an intransitive verb (see Crum, 754a), and the space at the end of the line could easily accommodate [oc].
- 18 Note the misprint in Ménard: $\eta\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$.
- 22 γ is written in conjunction with a κ on the papyrus, the result being Υ . From the regular shape of the κ and the heavy character of its vertical stroke, it is apparent that the scribe first copied κ ; later a scribe or reader modestly added γ over the κ . Hence

- 134,22 the reading was changed from "your fullness" to "their fullness." See also 136,16, and the discussion below, p. 113.
- 23 Although most of the ω in $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\lambda$ is missing, the size of the space, the shape of the ink remnants, and the lack of the tail of a ω make ω visually certain. The rather unusual translation and punctuation of this section are derived from the Coptic. $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \chi\epsilon\ \pi\omega[c]$ accounts for the translation "And, 'How...!'" Bethge (col. 166) suggests, parenthetically after "und," that "sie fuhren fort" be understood as providing the sense of this passage. On the peculiar syntax of this section, see the discussion below, p. 113. The clause which opens in line 23 is translated as a passive; the active voice could also be used, although the pronominal subject then would have an uncertain antecedent: "How do they detain us in this dwelling place?" For another such pronominal subject with an uncertain antecedent, see 134,8. Also note the beginning of the answer to this question at 137,4-5.
- 135,1 † is provided for the article in the lacuna in part on the basis of the parallel in the same line; also see the discussion below, p. 70. η is certain on the basis of ink traces and space.
- 9 [$\eta\iota\phi\omega\omega$]† is certain on the basis of 134,21-22 and 135,10. $\eta\iota$ - rather than η - is suggested by 135,10. Between lines 9 and 10 the scribe left extra space on account of a bad horizontal papyrus fiber.
- 10 < λ > follows the suggestion of Wisse, also adopted by both Bethge and Ménard. The manuscript has ϵ .
- 16 It is very tempting to follow Wisse, Bethge, and Ménard in emending $\lambda\gamma\omega\gamma\omega\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ to $\lambda\gamma\omega\gamma\omega\langle\eta\rangle\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$, "appeared." $\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ frequently means "set down, bring down, pause"; see Bethge, col. 168 n. 17, where he maintains that the meaning of $\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta$ with $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ "hier nicht passt," and the discussion of this passage below, pp. 124-25.
- 17 Under ultraviolet light, ink traces of θ and the certainty of the following λ are established.
- 19 The first λ of $\lambda\gamma\theta\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$ is verified under ultraviolet light: the loop and tail are visible.
- 25 The ink remnants and space for the vertical stroke make certain the first γ in [λ]40λγ.
- 26 The first \omicron in $\epsilon\tau\mu\omicron[0]\gamma\tau$ is verified by the pattern and thickness of the ink traces, which conform to the scribe's usual method of writing \omicron .

- 136,1 Wisse suggests $\overline{\text{Mn}}[\epsilon\tau\overline{\text{P}}]$, but this suggestion is unlikely. Not only does the probable space used after the n (about 2.5-2.8 cm.) appear sufficient to have contained five or six letters; but also a vertical stroke, most likely a i , seems to appear to the right of the n . Hence we select, with Ménard, a different emendation better suited to the data.
- 3 Within this context the passive, "he to whom power was given," seems the most appropriate translation. An active construction, however, is possible, though vague: "they gave power." Bethge (col. 168 n. 18) also suggests the following as a possible text and translation: $\text{n}[\epsilon]\tau\epsilon\lambda[\text{c}]\dagger\text{ } \overline{\text{MOM}}$, "he to whom [she] (viz. the mother) gave power."
- 8 From line 8 through line 14, a bad vertical fiber caused the scribe to leave extra space between c and o in line 8, c and o in line 11, and τ and c in line 14. Evidence of this fiber can also be seen within the first n of $\overline{\text{MNOYMH}}[\text{OP}]\overline{\text{PH}}$ (line 10).
- 9 The conjecture that $\overline{\text{MNOY}\zeta\overline{\text{IKOMH}}}$ concludes line 9 is based on the weighty evidence of the parallel in line 10. On similarly long lines, see the note to 132,15.
- 10 Minute ink traces of m are visible under ultraviolet light.
- 14 Wisse translates the difficult phrase in lines 14-15 as follows: "from an untrue copy, from the semblance which had emerged." The division of the phrase into two parallel phrases, à la Wisse, seems to make matters unnecessarily complicated; see the discussion on this passage below, p. 128.
- 16 The λ of $\lambda[\gamma\omega]$ is quite certain under ultraviolet light; the ink traces even hint at the curved loop of the λ .
- 17 On $\lambda\gamma\overline{\text{FHNOOY}\tau} \epsilon\zeta\overline{\text{P}\lambda\text{i}}$, "I was sent down," see Crum, 420a and 700ab. From the context, the translation "down" seems much preferable to "up." On $\zeta\overline{\text{M}} \text{PCOM}\lambda$, see the slightly different construction at 133,17, as well as the note there.
- 20 Instead of the c , an o would also be theoretically possible. The consistently thin character of the top of the stroke, however, makes a c almost certain, as an examination of the scribal hand would seem to indicate.
- 21 The n of $\lambda\text{N}[\text{OK}]$ is certain under careful examination in both natural and ultraviolet light.

- 136,25 The γ of $\bar{\eta}\nu\theta\theta\gamma$ is verified by the height, thickness, and angle of the opening (left) stroke.
- 26 A dot of ink (confirmed by ultraviolet light) appears after the $\kappa\epsilon$ at the end of the line; this could indicate a drop of ink that splashed onto the papyrus, or a punctuation mark of unknown purpose. See also Ménard (pp. 20 and 34), who makes a highly unlikely suggestion, considering the length of the line: "est-ce le début d'une autre lettre?"
- 137,1 Lines 1 and 2 cannot be restored with any degree of confidence. Bethge (col. 168 n. 21) suggests that line 2 be restored with $[\mu\eta\epsilon\chi\alpha]\omega\kappa$, so that the clause could be translated as follows: "es [wurde] vollkommen gemacht [seine Vollendung in seiner Erlösung." The ink traces, however, of the two letters to the right of the lacuna at the beginning of line 2 may not suggest $\omega\kappa$ as the most likely restoration. (The ink traces could indicate o , ϵ , or c for the first letter, and perhaps μ for the second letter.) Ménard (p. 22) is more ambitious in his restoration: $\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota[\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon\beta\theta\lambda\bar{\eta}\mu\mu\omega\tau\lambda\gamma\mu\theta\gamma\epsilon\beta\theta\lambda[\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\gamma\lambda\tau\bar{\eta}]\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\bar{\eta}\mu\mu\epsilon\theta\theta\gamma\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}$, "je la fis passer [de Déficience à Plénitude, l'établissant] dans son salut." While this restoration is provocative, one might question both the inconsistency in the definite article before $\mu\mu\omega\tau$ and the indefinite article before $\mu\theta\gamma\epsilon$ (the transcription of the former, however, could be modified easily enough), and the likelihood of using $\mu\theta\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\beta\theta\lambda$ practically as a Coptic equivalent of $\mu\lambda\eta\pi\omega\mu\alpha$ in the tractate. Many restorations are possible, of course. Even if we retain the $\mu\mu\omega\tau$, a reasonable conjecture, and emphasize the concept of being filled, we can still restore the passage as follows: $\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota[\tau\bar{\eta}\epsilon\beta\theta\lambda\bar{\eta}\mu\mu\omega\tau\lambda\gamma\mu\theta\gamma\epsilon\beta\theta\lambda[(\Delta\epsilon)\bar{\eta}\mu\theta\gamma]\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\bar{\eta}\mu\mu\epsilon\theta\theta\gamma\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}$, "I took [him out of deficiency, and he] was filled with his salvation." The $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\bar{\eta}\mu\mu$ with ϵ is quite awkward, however, and does not fit the apparent syntax and style of this tractate (cp. 137,26: $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\bar{\eta}\mu\mu$). The juxtaposition of first perfect verbs without $\lambda\gamma\omega$ presents no problem; see above, the note to 133,19. More serious may be the placement of the $\Delta\epsilon$, which is desirable for reasons of spacing in the construction suggested above; this postpositive particle is not placed precisely where one would expect it, though it seems that the scribe could easily compromise the position in the interest of maintaining the unity of a phrase (see 136,16; 137,4-5). We may also consider the following for 137,2: $[\bar{\eta}\mu\theta\gamma\bar{\eta}\mu(\theta\gamma)\bar{\eta}\tau\theta\eta\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\bar{\eta}\mu\mu\epsilon\theta\theta\gamma\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}$, "[he] (was filled) [with peace] in his salvation." Yet another possibility for the very end of the lacuna: con , "brother."

- 137,3 The x could conceivably be χ , though the beginning of the bottom horizontal stroke of the x seems to be visible.
- 15 A rough and imperfect vertical fiber near the left margin extends downward from approximately line 15. Hence the scribe was compelled to leave extra space between certain letters in order to avoid writing upon the rough papyrus. Space is clearly noticeable between o and c of line 15, i and τ of line 24, ϵ and τ of line 28, τ and φ of line 29, and s and o of line 30.
- 27 The λ of $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ is verified by ultraviolet light. $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ is used here, after $\mu\lambda-$, instead of the more usual $\iota\omega\tau$; a trace of ink from the ϵ seems visible.
- 30 Blotting from p. 136 is apparent near the right margin of several lines on p. 137, and creates difficulties in determining the text at the end of line 30. The o of $\epsilon\lambda\varphi\tau\lambda\gamma\omicron\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ is quite clear, especially under ultraviolet light. The ϵ is very likely, and the i and the supralinear stroke are likewise quite certain. Images of the following letters from 136,28 can be discerned in the blotted ink on p. 137: n , τ , apparently ϵ , τ , ϵ , φ , m , n , and so on, plus the tail of the φ from 136,27. Though the blotting is certain, for some reason Ménard suggests a curious sort of phenomenon involving "une surimpression visible par transparence de la p. 139 sur la p. 138" (p. 35). The end of 137,30 has created problems for some time. Wisse and Ménard suggest that the last two letters are $\bar{\iota}$, and even maintain that the $\bar{\iota}$ is certain. Such a suggestion, however, creates problems in the transition from 137,30 to 138,1, where the first few letters are visible. Bethge once suggested (p. 14 n. 30 of his earlier typescript) that "vielleicht liegt hier der Versuch einer Verbesserung und Rasur eines versehentlich geschriebenen hitn und dem Anfang eines weitergehenden Wortes zu ei vor"; Bethge did not have access to the manuscript itself, and apparently was not aware of the blotting problem. Yet, as Stephen Emmel has suggested to me privately, Bethge's conjecture was essentially correct, apart from the misinterpretation of the blotted ink. Following correspondence with Emmel, Bethge modified his comment somewhat (col. 168 n. 30). When the blotted ink traces are mentally removed, the remaining ink traces on 137,30 include an upper and lower arc (appropriate for a $\bar{\iota}$ but also for an ϵ) and probably a supralinear dot. On the supralinear stroke over the suffix $-\epsilon\bar{\iota}$, compare 137,6: $\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$.

- 138,1 In the first line μ is clear; ν is quite certain, since a τ does not fit the remaining ink traces; ρ is clear, and a minute trace of ink above the ρ (verified under ultraviolet light) must be a portion of a supralinear stroke; the lacuna contained one or two letters; the λ is very likely on the basis of the part of the tail that has been preserved; and the ε is obvious. Unfortunately line 1 cannot be restored with confidence. It seems likely, however, that 138,1 begins with a negative imperative. Ménard (pp. 24-25, 36) conjectures that the passage may possibly be restored with $[\bar{\mu}]$ (*sic!* He must have meant to place only the supralinear stroke in square brackets.) $\bar{\mu}\rho$ [$\bar{\rho}$] $\lambda\varepsilon$ [λ] τ , "Ne craignez pas," and also refers to 140,21-22 for a parallel construction. Also note Bethge, col. 168 n. 31.
- 2 The ρ in $\varepsilon\lambda\bar{\rho}$ is very probable, since there does not seem to be sufficient room for the left portion of a φ , the other possible interpretation of the ink traces. Likewise, the χ of $\bar{\nu}\chi\sigma$ [σ] ζ is quite likely from the pattern of ink traces remaining.
- 3 On the phrase "in the body," see the note to 133,17.
- 4 The ε and ρ of $\sigma\varepsilon\rho\mu\sigma\sigma$ are verified by the spacing and ink traces observed under ultraviolet light.
- 9 The λ in $\lambda\gamma\omega$ nearly attains visual certainty; λ is much less likely, for the pattern of ink traces is not quite appropriate. The γ is not certain, since only a trace of the ink from the tip of the right tail is visible.
- 10 The η of $\sigma\tau\eta\bar{\eta}$ is certain enough; part of the horizontal stroke can be observed. In other manuscripts, "Jerusalem" ($\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\lambda\eta\eta\mu$) can also be abbreviated $\sigma\tau\lambda\eta\eta$; see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §26.
- 14 Apparently the γ of $\varepsilon\gamma\chi\omega$ has been corrected over a φ . This correction is apparent from the increased dimensions of the γ , and the traces of the left curved arm and the right vertical stroke of the φ . Slight papyrus damage may indicate an attempt to erase part of the φ .
- 16 It seems reasonable to follow Wisse's suggestion of [:], particularly on account of the *paragraphus* in the left margin. Line 16 also seems to be slightly shorter than many other lines, and thus easily could accommodate such a *dicolon*. See also 136,15; 140,15. An alternate English translation of the apodosis in line 16 is as follows: "then how much (are) we (to suffer)?"

- 138,20 A supralinear dot possibly may be restored after the ι .
- 21 The two letters \omicron in $\omega\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ were written with some extra space between them, on account of an imperfect vertical papyrus fiber running down toward the bottom of the page.
- 23 From about line 23 down to the last lines on the page some blotting is visible near the left margin. In this case the blotting does not interfere with the reading of the text of p. 138.
- 25 The English active voice could also be used here: "that they bring you."
- 139,1 The additional line at the top of the page seems likely for several reasons. Toward the end of the tractate (and thus also the codex) the pages tend to have an increasing number of lines per page. Thus pp. 132 and following have, successively, 22, 27, 26, 28, 30, and 28 lines; hence it is by no means unlikely that p. 139 could have as many as 30 lines. Again, it seems, on the basis of profile, that 138,1 begins one-half to one full line higher on the page than most of the other pages in the tractate, and even 137,1 begins slightly higher than most pages. Yet 138,1 is nearly a line higher than the line here termed 139,2, thus suggesting that a line once existed above 139,2. Again, as both Wisse and Ménard (after Wisse) rightly note, an extra line at the top of p. 139 would be very helpful in making the transition from p. 138 to p. 139 as smooth as possible. It may also be mentioned that Ménard suggests in his transcription and notes that he observed just a trace of ink which derived, perhaps, from a ρ , φ , ψ , or ϕ in 139,1; see his pp. 26-27, 37.
- 2 Instead of $\eta[\epsilon\omega]\iota\omega\tau$ we may possibly read $\eta[\lambda\epsilon]\iota\omega\tau$, as at 137,27.
- 3 The trace of ink before $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ seems to be from a rather thick stroke at an angle, and could suggest μ , λ , ω , $\omega\rho$, or perhaps even ν . Ménard suggests μ , perhaps as good a judgment as can be made.
- 4 The $[\epsilon]$ is suggested by the use of the third future with $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$. One additional letter seems probable in the lacuna. An apparent trace of a tail visible under ultraviolet light would suggest an λ before the ρ , though the trace is ambiguous enough so that Ménard can suggest ϵ . Following the certain ρ , the ink traces may indicate an \omicron or ϵ or even α (so Ménard).

- 139,9 Ménéard suggests [ΠΟΥ]ΜΗΝΘΕ. Not only does the reconstruction suggested here fit the size of the lacuna better than the reconstruction of Ménéard, but Π ΠΑΞΡΕ Ε- is also clearly attested (see Crum, 282b).
- 11 The approximate distance from the left margin (which can no longer be located precisely) to the extant π is 1.5 cm., enough space for two or more probably three letters. Hence ε₂ε is a reasonable suggestion for the restoration. A photograph taken some time ago by Jean Dorese shows a clear ε (before πενχοε₁ς) on a fragment of papyrus which since then has been broken off and been lost. This Dorese photograph is located at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, where I examined it; it shows the papyrus pages when still located within their cover. Furthermore, it was used for Plate 6 of the *Facsimile Edition: Codex VIII*, and is entitled "Codex VIII Open to Pages [138]-[139]." The examination of old photographs may provide valuable evidence for papyrus fragments which have been lost over the years because of the handling and examination of the manuscripts. The pages of the Nag Hammadi codices in particular have been extensively photographed, and hence provide a fine opportunity for such examination. Note, for example, the work already done by Stephen Emmel, ("Unique Photographic Evidence for Nag Hammadi Texts: CG II 2-7, III 5 and XIII 2*," *BASP* 14 [1977] 109-21 [continued]). Earlier transcriptions of line 11, before the evidence of the Dorese photographs had come to light, suggested [ΜΗ] instead of [ε₂]ε, and presented the sentence as a question introduced by the Greek loan word μῆ. Thus note Bethge's translation, as well as his comment (col. 169 n. 41): "Die erwartete Antwort auf diese Frage kann nur 'nein' lauten, und d.h.: er hat nicht alles gezeigt." On the phrase "in (the) body," see above, the note to 133,17.
- 12 The † seems certain; the spacing is inappropriate for a ϣ, and no ink traces are present for the loop of a ϣ.
- 15 The x of [νε]χλϣ is certain under ultraviolet light; the slight loop on the right diagonal, consistent with the scribal hand, verifies the x. On account of an apparent imperfection in the papyrus, a slightly larger space was left between Ν and †.
- 16 Literally λϣλϣϣ is "he was hanged"; also see line 19. Instead of φο[ρε₁] we may prefer φο[ρ₁]; cp. εονθ₁ (137,29-30), and the discussion below, p. 69. If φο[ρ₁] is used, then there may be enough space for a doubled η before οϣ, as in line 18.

- 139,17 The μ of the manuscript has been corrected (with Wisse and Ménéard) to ν . μ and ν may easily be confused because of their similarity in sound and appearance; thus whether the scribe was copying from dictation or from another manuscript, the error was simple enough. On $\omega\mu\tau\epsilon$ as "three" (fem.), see Crum (566b). Bethge (cols. 168, 169 n. 43) prefers to emend $\lambda\psi$ to $\lambda<\gamma>\psi$. This emendation, however, does not seem necessary; see John 19:5, and the discussion below, pp. 152 and 185 n. 208.
- 19 Instead of the $\lambda\gamma[\lambda\omega]\tau\eta$ suggested by Wisse, Ménéard prefers $\lambda\gamma[\omicron\psi\tau]\eta$, "they [nailed] him." Ménéard's reading remains a possibility, and the occurrence of $\omega\psi\tau$ with $\epsilon\chi\eta$ is attested. Yet $\epsilon\iota\omega\epsilon$ with $\epsilon\chi\eta$ is also well attested (Crum, 88b; it is found elsewhere with "cross" also), and fits the context better. Here it may also be noted that $\omega\epsilon$, like $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$, literally means "wood." From about line 19 down an imperfect vertical fiber near the right margin caused the scribe occasionally to leave extra space between letters, so that he would not be forced to write upon a poor papyrus surface; note the space between λ and γ (of $\lambda\gamma\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\eta$) in line 19, ψ and ϵ in line 20, μ and \omicron in line 22, ω and ϵ in line 24, μ and χ in line 25, μ and η in line 26, ρ and χ as well as χ and η in line 27, μ and η in line 28, and μ and \omicron in line 29. In addition, the μ of $\mu\tau\mu\lambda\lambda\gamma$ in line 23 is written somewhat defectively because of this imperfect papyrus; the right vertical stroke is disconnected from the body of the μ .
- 20 The phrase "he rose" can be understood more literally in two ways: "he (viz. God) raised him (viz. Jesus) from the dead," or "he (viz. Jesus) raised himself from the dead."
- 21 Extra space was left between $\mu[\omicron\omicron]\gamma\tau$: and $\nu\alpha\chi\eta\eta\psi$. In conjunction with the *dicolon*, this space seems to provide an indication of something comparable to our paragraph. The two clauses in lines 21-23 are nicely constructed as a chiasm: $\dots\eta\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\ \lambda\omicron\eta\omicron\nu\ \eta\epsilon\dots$
- 23 From approximately line 23 down, some blotting from p. 138 occurs near the right margin of p. 139.
- 26 Instead of "the immeasurable glory of the Father," we may also translate this passage as "the glory of the immeasurable Father."
- 27 To avoid writing upon a rough spot on an imperfect part of the papyrus, the scribe left a bit of extra space between τ and ψ .

- 139,28 As in line 21, extra space was left after the supralinear dot and before $\mu\alpha\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$.
- 140,1 A line, of which no ink traces remain, is posited as line 1 of the page; see the note to 139,1. Here the line seems necessary for the transition from 139,30 to 140,1. It is quite possible that $\rho\tau\epsilon$ may have existed in the lacuna of line 1, so that the new paragraph may begin as follows: $[\rho\tau\epsilon \lambda\eta\epsilon]\tau\rho\varsigma \lambda\tau[c]\omega\varphi[\gamma\epsilon]$, "[Then] Peter [gathered]."
- 2 For lines 2 and 3, Bethge (cols. 168, 169 n. 51) suggests $\lambda\tau[c]\omega\varphi[\gamma\epsilon \epsilon\tau\theta\gamma\mu \mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon]\eta\epsilon$, "he [gathered together the rest]." Based on 133,12-13, this reading is appropriate to the context, and accounts for the ink traces as well as the space available in the lacunae. Ink traces, apparently of the left leg of the μ in line 3, are clearly visible under ultraviolet light. It is also conceivable, though probably less likely, that τ should be read instead of η , and that the ink traces derive from a letter just to the left of τ .
- 4 The c and the η before the lacuna are clear enough from the ink traces. The μ is based upon ink traces of the right vertical stroke. The μ and the τ are obvious; and the θ seems quite certain under ultraviolet light, which shows that the visible ink marks from the sides of the θ appear closed at the top and the bottom. Ménard and Bethge agree with this analysis of the ink traces, and suggest, very plausibly, the restoration of the lacunae adopted here.
- 10 The final λ of the line is verified, under ultraviolet light, by the ink traces of the tail of the λ .
- 11 The ρ and χ of $\lambda\gamma\eta\omega\varphi\chi$ are certain on the basis of the ink traces which clearly outline the letters and the supralinear stroke under ultraviolet light.
- 15 The scribe left some extra space after the *dicolon* and before the $\rho\tau\epsilon$; see also 139,21.28. At the left margin, between lines 15 and 16, the scribe has used a *paragraphus*; see 136,15; 138,16.
- 21 From line 21 to the bottom of the page an imperfect vertical papyrus fiber near the left margin prompted the scribe to leave extra space occasionally between letters, thereby to avoid writing upon a rough surface; thus note the space between γ and ϵ in line 21, ν and ϵ in line 22, ϵ and ϵ in line 25, and ϵ and τ in line 26. In addition, the first θ of line 27 is poorly written on account of the rough papyrus.

- 140,23 The <λ> corrects the o of the manuscript.
- 25 Bethge (cols. 168, 169-170 n. 58) suggests the possibility of dittography in order to explain the difficult words ἐπιγροογ ἄφλαε χε. Bethge posits that perhaps the original text was ἐπιγροογ ἄλα χε, "in the four directions, so that," which through dittography became ἐπιγροογ ἄλα χε {χε}; this text could have been modified to ἐπιγροογ ἄφλαε χε, "eine Verschlimmbesserung zum normalen Sahidisch." See additional discussion below, pp. 160-61.
- 27 As is the case with many of the Nag Hammadi codices, blotted ink is visible at the beginning and here at the end of Codex VIII. The blotted ink visible on the verso of the front flyleaf has proved very helpful in reconstructing part of the text of VIII 1,1-2. Blotted ink from p. 140 likewise is visible on the recto of the back flyleaf, particularly near the bottom of the page, but this ink does not influence any of the readings on p. 140.

Indices to the Text

The following indices include indices of proper names, Greek loan words, and Coptic words. The Greek loan words are listed as they appear in the Coptic script, although allowances have been made for those unaccustomed to the peculiarities of the Coptic alphabet. At the left margin of the index of Coptic words are listed the appropriate page and column references in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. The abbreviations used for nouns (masc., fem., sing., pl.) are obvious.

Proper Names

- αἰών cр. εων
 ⲉⲧⲏⲙ ('Ιερουσαλήμ) Jerusalem 138,10; 139,6
 ⲧϯ ('Ιησοῦς) Jesus 139,22; 140,16.27
 ⲧϯ ⲛⲉϫϯ Jesus Christ 132,12-13; 133,26; 134,17
 ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲧϯ our God Jesus 133,7-8
 ⲛⲉⲛⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲧϯ our illuminator Jesus 139,15
 ⲛⲉⲛϫⲟⲓϥ ⲧϯ our Lord Jesus 139,11
 ⲛϫⲟⲓϥ ⲧϯ the Lord Jesus 139,25-26; 140,12-13
 ⲛⲉⲛϫⲟⲓϥ ⲓϯ ⲛⲉϫϯ our Lord Jesus Christ 133,1; 140,[3-4]
 ⲛϫⲟⲓϥ ⲓϯ ⲛⲉϫϯ the Lord Jesus Christ 139,8
 ⲛⲁⲛⲓϫⲟⲓⲉⲓⲧ cр. ⲫⲟⲓⲉⲓⲧ (Coptic word)
 ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ (Πέτρος) Peter 132,10.12; 133,10.12; 138,17; 139,10;
 140,1-2.7
 ⲫⲓⲁⲓⲛⲛⲟⲥ (Φίλιππος) Philip 132,11.13; 133,9
 ⲫϯ (Χριστός) Christ 133,1.17; 134,6; 139,8; 140,4
 ⲧϯ ⲛⲉϫϯ Jesus Christ 132,12-13; 133,26; 134,17

Greek Loan Words

- αἰών cр. εων
 ἀλλὰ (ἀλλά) but 135,7; 136,3; 139,22
 ἀμήν cр. ⲉⲁⲙⲏⲛ
 ἀνομος (ἄνομος) lawless 139,29-30
 ἀποστολος (ἀπόστολος) masc. apostle 132,12.14-15; 133,18-19;
 134,19; 137,13-14; 138,8; 139,4; 140,8.23-24
 cр. also ⲫⲱⲥⲏⲣ
 ἀρχηγος (ἀρχηγός) masc. author 139,27; 140,4
 ἀρχων (ἀρχων) masc. archon 137,16.17.21

- ασπασε (ἀσπάζεσθαι) greet
 140,14 αγ̃ασπασε
 αγουαυς (αὐθάδης) masc. arrogant one 135,16-17.19.21;
 136,5-6
 αφουαρσια (ἀφθοαρσία) fem. incorruption 133,23
 βοηοι (βοήθειν) help
 137,29 φνα̃βοηοι
 137,29-30 ελα̃βοηοι
 (γάρ) for 133,26; 137,21; 139,12.26
 αυ (δέ) and, but, well, so 132,16; 133,1; 135,11.17;
 136,1.5.11.16.20.23; 137,[3].5.10.20.23; 138,11.27;
 139,4.9; 140,19.22
 εικων̃ ср. э̃ικων̃
 ειρηνη̃ ср. ειρηνη̃
 εντολη̃ (έντολή) fem. order 132,17; 133,7
 εχογσια̃ (έξουσία) fem. authority 135,1.24; 136,12.26
 επιαν̃ (έπειδή) since 134,8; 136,2; 137,2.12.16
 επιστημη̃ (έπιστήμη) fem. understanding 140,5-6
 επιστολη̃ (έπιστολή) fem. letter 132,10
 εων̃ (αίων) masc. aeon 134,22; 135,9.15.21.25
 ѿ (һ) or, also 134,25(bis).26; 135,[2]
 η̃γεμων̃ ср. з̃ηγεμων̃
 ειδαε̃ (ιδέα) fem. semblance 136,15
 ινα̃ ср. э̃ινα̃
 ειρηνη̃ (ειρήνη) fem. peace 140,27
 †ρηνη̃ 140,17
 κατα̃ (κατά) according to, like, as, in 133,7.24; 136,24;
 137,11-12; 138,2; 139,25
 ср. also з̃ε
 κληρονομια̃ (κληρονομία) fem. inheritance 136,27
 κοσμος̃ (κόσμος) masc. world 132,19; 135,27-28; 137,24-25
 μαθητης̃ (μαθητής) masc. disciple 139,10
 μακαριος̃ (μακάριος) blessed 133,16
 мен̃ (μέν) to begin with, now 135,9
 μέρος̃ (μέρος) masc. portion 135,18.22
 μορφη̃ (μορφή) fem. form 136,10.[10-11]
 ο̃ταν̃ ср. з̃οταν̃
 ου̃δε̃ ср. о̃υ̃δε̃
 ο̃υν̃ ср. о̃υν̃

- ΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΙΣ (παράβασις) fem. transgression 139,23
 ΠΑΡΖΗΣΙΑ (παρρησία) fem. boldness 135,1
 ΠΛΑΣΜΑ (πλάσμα) masc. model 136,19
 ΠΛΑΣΣΑ (πλάσσειν) mold
 136,12 ΕΥΕΠΛΑΣΣΑ
 ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (πλήρωμα) masc. fullness 134,22-23; 136,16; 137,4
 ΠΝᾶ (πνεῦμα) masc. spirit 139,14; 140,5.9
 ΠΩΣ (πῶς) how? 134,23.25.26
 ΣΠΕΡΜΑ (σπέρμα) masc. seed 136,18
 ΣΤΟΛΗ (στολή) fem. robe 139,18
 ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ (συναγωγή) fem. synagogue 138,25-26
 ΣΩΜΑ (σῶμα) masc. body 133,17; 136,13.17; 138,3; 139,11
 ΣΩΤΗΡ (σωτήρ) masc. savior 132,18
 ΤΟΤΕ (τότε) then 133,12.17-18; 134,9.18; 135,3;
 137,7-8.13.17; 138,3.7.21; 140,7.15.23
 ΟΥΔΕ (οὐδέ) nor 138,28
 ΟΥΝ (οὖν) so 133,6; 139,29
 ΦΟΡΕΙ (φορεῖν) bear, wear
 139, [16-17] ΛΑΨΦΟΡΕΙ
 ΦΩΣΤΗΡ (φωστήρ) masc. illuminator 133,27; 137,8; 139,15
 ΧΕΙΡΕ (χαίρειν) greet
 132,15 χε
 ὡς cp. ζωσ
 ὥστε cp. ζωστε
 ΖΑΜΗΝ (ἀμήν) amen 140,15
 ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ (ἡγεμών) masc. governor 138,26
 ΖῆΚΩΝ (εἰκών) fem. image 136,9.[9]
 ΖῆΝΑ (ἵνα) that, so that 137,[13]; 140,6
 ΖΟΤΑΝ (ὅταν) when 133,17; 138,3; 139,11
 ΖΩΣ (ὡς) as 137,29
 ΖΩΣΤΕ (ὥστε) so that 134,11; 138,27

Coptic Words

- (2a) ΛΕῖΟ cp. ΖΛΕῖΟ
 (5a) ΛΛΟΥ masc. child 133,25
 (7b) ΛΜΟΥ, ΛΜΗΕΙΤΗ (pl.) come (used as imperative of
 εἶ)
 ΛΜΗΕΙΤΗ ΕΥΜΑ come together 137,23-24
 cp. εἶ

- (9a) **ΑΜΑΖΤΕ** hold, detain, grab
 134,23-24 **ΣΕΛΜΑΖΤΕ**
 135,18 **ΛΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ**
 137,5 **ΣΕΛΜΑΖΤΕ**
- (10b) **ΑΝ** not (negative particle used with $\bar{\nu}$: $\bar{\nu}$ - **ΑΝ**)
 136,1; 137,12; 138,28
- (11a) **ΑΝΑΙ** be pleasing
 $\bar{\phi}$ **ΑΝ*** be agreeable to
 133,6 **ΑΣ $\bar{\phi}$ ΑΝΑΚ**
- (11b) **ΑΝΟΚ** personal pronoun
 ΑΝΟΚ I 134,17; 136,16.21
 $\bar{\nu}$ **ΤΟΚ** you (masc. sing.) 133,1
 ΝΤΟϞ he 133,26; 136,5.23; 137,28; 138,15;
 139,12
 ΑΝΟΝ we 138,16; 139,22; 140,6
 $\bar{\nu}$ **ΤΩ $\bar{\nu}$** you (pl.) 135,4-5; 137,5.10.20.22.26
 $\bar{\nu}$ **ΤΟΟΥ** they 135,28; 136,20; 137,11
- ΑΝΟΝ** personal pronoun ср. **ΑΝΟΚ**
- (19b) **ΑΥΩ** and 132,20; 133,2.4.9.19; 134,2.13.20.23;
 135,15.19.23.25.26; 136,4.8.13.[16].19.22.
 26.28; 137,24.25.27.28; 138,5.9.13.19;
 139,5.6.8.[14].16 (bis).17.18.19.20.24.30;
 140,9.10.11.13.26
- (21b) **ΑΟΥΗΡ** ср. **ΟΥΗΡ**
- (22a) **ΑΩ** what? 137,15
 $\bar{\nu}$ **ΑΩ** $\bar{\nu}$ **ΡΗΤΕ** in what way? 134,26
 $\bar{\nu}$ **ΑΩ** $\bar{\nu}$ **ΖΕ** how? 133,4-5
- ΑΩΤ*** ср. **ΕΙΩΕ**
- (25b) **ΑΧ $\bar{\nu}$ -Ν $\bar{\nu}$** , **ΕΧ $\bar{\nu}$ -** without
 ΕΧ $\bar{\nu}$ - 135,13
- (29a) **ΒΩΚ** leave, depart
 134,25 **ΕΝΔΒΩΚ**
 140,19 **ΕΤΕΤΝΔΒΩΚ**
 140,26 **ΑΥΒΩΚ**
 ΒΩΚ **ΕΡΛΤ*** go to
 133,10 **ΑΥΒΩΚ** **ΕΡΛ $\bar{\nu}$**
 ΒΩΚ **ΕΧ $\bar{\nu}$ -** go up upon
 133,13 **ΑΥΒΩΚ** **ΕΧ $\bar{\nu}$ -**
- (32a) **ΒΩΛ** loosen, **ΒΟΛ** masc. outside
 ΕΒΟΛ out, forth, away ср. **ΜΟΥΖ**, **ΠΩ $\bar{\phi}$** , **ΟΥΩ $\bar{\nu}$** ,
 ΟΥΩΖ, **ΩΥ**, **ΖΕ**

- εβολ ε̄ν- ср. ε̄ν-
εβολ ε̄ν̄ῑν- ср. τωρε
(50a) ε-, ερω^ς, ερω^ς (with 2nd pl. suffix; once, 139,9, with 3rd masc. sing.)
to, for 132,19; 133,3.10.14.16.18.24;
134,1.9.15.21.25; 135,14.25(bis);
136,5.[8].9.10.21.27(bis); 137,24.29.30;
138,19.23.24.25(bis); 139,[9].9.12.13.27;
140,18
direct object indicator 134,21; 140,[8]
εερᾱῑ ε- ср. ερᾱῑ
(53b) εερηεεс fem. lightning 138,4
(56a) εεατε ср. мате
εεау ср. мау
(57a) εнеε2 masc. eternity
оу εнеε2 for ever 134,18; 140,23
εрат^ς ср. рат
(58a) ернт promise
132,21-22 етлүернт
masc. promise 137,25
(59a) ерну masc. companion, each other 138,12; 140,14
(61a) ет-, ете- who, which, that 132,10.15.21-22;
133,14.15.22-23.24.25; 134,5.12.17; 135,5.26;
136,[1].3.15.18.19.23.25; 137,6.7.10.16.19.
22; 138,2.6.7.12-13.28; 139,20.22; 140,18
(61a) етве-, етвннт^ς because of, on account of,
for the sake of, concerning, about 135,7.8;
136,16.17-18; 137,4; 138,12.14.18.20
етве п̄а̄ӣ for this reason 137,3; 139,24
етве оу why? 134,16; 135,2
(62a) εооу masc. glory 139,26
(63b) εоупε ср. оупε
(63b) εоуε interrogative, if 133,6; 138,15
(64b) εεε indeed 139,[11]
(65b) ε̄ν-, ε̄νω^ς upon, on, over ср. хω
(65b) ε̄ν- without ср. λ̄ν-
(70a) ε̄ι, п̄ннү† (used as qualitative), λ̄моу (used as
imperative) come, go
133,7 екеε̄ῑ
134,25 λ̄не̄ῑ

- εἶ εὔμα come together
 132,19 εναεἶ εὔμα
 133,3 πιτρειεἶ εὔμα
 133,18 πτερογεἶ εὔμα
 137,23-24 ληνειτη εὔμα
- εἶ εζοϋν ε- enter into
 136,27 εχεεἶ εζοϋν ε-
- εἶ εζραῖ (ε-) come, go down (to), up (to)
 136,19 λιεἶ εζραῖ ε-
 138,10-11 εϋπηνη εζραῖ
 139,5-6 λγεἶ εζραῖ ε-
 139,6 λγεἶ εζραῖ ε-
 139,13 λχεἶ εζραῖ
 139,[16] λχεἶ εζραῖ
- (74a) εἶε, εἶε then
 εἶε 138,16
- (77b) εἶμε, ἴμε know, understand
 132,16 πκιμε
 133,4 πτινειμε
 134,21 εειμε
- (78b) εἶνε, πτ^ε bring
 εἶνε ε- bring to
 138,25 ετρεϋπτηϋτη ε-
- (80b) εἶνε masc. likeness 139,25
 ππτατεινε fem. misrepresentation 136,14
- (83a) εἶρε do, perform
 139,24 λχεἶρε
 140,6-7 ενεεἶρε
 140,10-11 λ- εἶρε
 π- be (used with verbs)
 Greek verbs
 137,29 чна̄βонθ̄ι
 137,29-30 ελγ̄βонθ̄ι
 139,16-17 λγ̄φορεἶ
 140,14 λγ̄λσнaze
 ср. ληλι, η̄ντρε, η̄λзρε, οϋοειη, ῡαρ̄π̄, ε̄εεε
- (84b) εἰω̄ε̄, ἰω̄ε̄ masc. sight
 ἰω̄ε̄ 134,12

- (85a) εἰς behold
εἰς εἰρητῆ 140,22
- (86b) εἰωτ, ἰωτ masc. father 133,21(bis).22; 135,14;
136,[1]; 137,28-29; 139,2.26
εἰωτ 137,27
ἡἱτῆεἰωτ fem. fatherhood 136,28
- (88b) εἰωε, λωτ^ε hang, crucify
139,16 λγλωτ^ε
139,[18-19] λγλωτ^ε
- (90b) κε other, rest 133,13; 140,8
ηκεσον another time, again 134,2; 135,8;
137,14
- (92b) κογι small
ἡἱτκογι fem. smallness 138,20
- (94b) κω place
κω ε₂ραῖ εχω^ε place over
135,23-24 λγκω ε₂ραῖ εχω^ε
- (100b) κωκ, κაკ^ε strip off
κωκ κλ₂ηγ strip
137,6-7 ετετηακακ τηηε κλ₂ηγ
- (101b) κлке masc. darkness 134,1
- (104b) κлом masc. crown 139,17
- (124a) κωτε, кот^ε turn, go round
кот^ε (reflexive) resume, return, repeat
134,2 λγκотου
138,10 λγκотου
κωτε ἡσω^ε seek
134,8-9 σεκωτε ἡσων
- (132b) κω₂ be envious, imitate
ρεγκω₂ masc. rival 136,8
κλ₂ηγ ср. κωκ
- (153a) μα masc. place 133,15; 134,25
μα ἡωωηε dwelling place 134,24
εημα ἡ- in place of 136,9.10
εγμα together 132,[19-20]; 133,3.18; 137,24
ἡηημα εἴηημαγ there 138,7
- (156a) με, मेरे- desire
133,3 ἡηεκμεरे-
मेरित beloved 132,14

- (159a) **MOY** die, **MOOY†** be mortal
 135,26 **ETMOOYT**
 136,13 **EYMOOYT**
 136,19-20 **ETMOOYT**
 136,22 **EYMOOYT**
 137,9 **EYMOOYT**
 139,20-21 **NETMOOYT**
MMTATMOY fem. immortality 134,5.7
- (163a) **FKAZ** be painful
XI FKAZ suffer
 138,16 **ACHXI FKAZ**
 138,18 **ACHXI FKAZ**
 138,19-20 **ETRENXHI FKAZ**
 138,24 **ETRETEFNXHI FKAZ**
 138,27 **NTEFNXHI FKAZ**
 138,28 **CHAXI FKAZ**
 139,22-23 **NETELNCHI FKAZ**
XI FKAZ masc. suffering 139,22
- (166b) **MMN-** there is not, **MMNTA'** not have
 137,11 **MMNTAY**
 ср. also **OYON**
- (169b) **MM-**, **MMMA'**, **MEMH'** (with 2nd pl. suffix)
 and, with 132,14.15(bis).18; 133,16;
 134,18.22; 135,2.11.24; 136,10.23; 137,10.
 16.21.22.23; 138,4.11.26; 140,8.18.20.21.22
- (170b) **MΛEIN** masc. sign
 † **MΛEIN E-** indicate
 139,12 **ACH† MΛEIN E-**
- (177a) **MMTPe** masc. witness
P MMTPe bear witness
 135,5-6 **ETP MMTPe**
- MEPE-**, **MEPIT** ср. **ME**
- (189a) **MATE, FTWOY** enjoy, take pleasure
FTWOY ZN have, take pleasure in
 133,24-25 **ETAKFTWOY ZM-**
- (190a) **MATE, EMATE** greatly
EMATE 139, [5]
- (190b) **MHTE** fem. midst 137,9
- (191b) **MOYTE** call
 133,14 **ΦAYMOYTE**

- (193b) $\bar{\text{M}}\text{TON}$ masc. rest 137,11; 140,4
 $\bar{\text{M}}\text{T}\omega\text{OY}$ ср. мате
- (196b) MAY the place there (noun), $\bar{\text{M}}\text{MAY}$ there
 EMAY there
 133,16 (MMA) ETEMAY where
 $\text{ET}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MAY}$ that, there 138,7
- (197a) MAY fem. mother 135,12; 139,23
- (199a) MEEYEM think
 136,21 MEYMEEYEM
- (202a) MNNOMEM masc. crowd 139,9
- (203b) MOOMEM walk
 MOOMEM ZPAI ZM - walk in
 139,30 $\bar{\text{M}}\text{T}\bar{\text{M}}\text{MOOMEM}$ ZPAI ZM -
- (208a) MOY_2 fill
 MOY_2 EBOA be filled
 137,1 AYMOY_2 EBOA
 139,14 AYMOY_2 EBOA
 140,9 AYMOY_2 EBOA
- (212b) MZAOU masc. tomb 139,20
- M -, MI - definite article ср. M -
- (215a) $\bar{\text{M}}$ -, $\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}^*$, $\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\omega^*$ ¹
 of (genitive particle) 132,10.13.[17];
 133,5.10.11.17; 134,10.24.26; 136,2.[9].
 10; 137,9; 138,5.23; 139,17.18.23.26.27;
 140,25
 ср. also $\bar{\text{M}}\text{TEM}$
 direct object indicator 132,17.22; 133,13.
 21.23.27; 134,3.8.14.16-17.20.24; 135,[1].
 4.15.17.18.19.22.23; 136,1.4.6.7.9.11.12.
 26; 137,[4].5.8.11.14-15.20.25.27; 138,6.
 15.18.22; 139,17.18.24; 140,[3].5.7.11.
 12.14.15.16-17
- (215b) $\bar{\text{M}}$ -, $\bar{\text{M}}\text{MO}^*$ in, on, from 133,2.4.20; 134,2.26;
 135,8; 136,3.25; 137,7.14.17(bis).21.23.26;
 138,2.7(bis).23; 139,15.21; 140,24
- (216a) $\bar{\text{M}}$ -, $\text{M}\Delta^*$, MH^* to, for 132,11.13.22; 133,27;
 134,8.16; 135,3.6; 136,4.24.26; 138,[2].6.
 22; 139,10.12; 140,5.17(bis).20

¹The entries for the varieties of $\bar{\text{M}}$ - are listed according to the distinctions made in Crum 215a and following. In some cases, however, a precise categorization is difficult.

- (218b) κλ-, κευ-, κευ- possessive adjective cp. κλ-
κλι, κει- demonstrative pronoun cp. κλι
κΟΥ^ε possessive pronoun cp. κω^ε
- (219a) ΚΟΥ, ΚΙΝΗΥ[†] (used as qualitative of εἶ) come, go
ΚΙΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ go up
138,10-11 ΕΥΚΙΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ
- (225b) ΚΙΜ every 138,9; 139,12.24; 140,18
ΚΙΤ^ε cp. ΚΙΝΕ
- (230a) ΚΙΤΕ of (genitive particle) 132,12.[18];
133,7.22; 134,4(bis).6.12.22; 135,1.9.12.
13.14.21.27; 136,7.28; 137,27; 139,7.26.28;
140,[4].5.27
cp. also Κ-
- (230b) ΚΟΥΤΕ masc. God 133,8
- (231b-232b) ΚΙΤΟΚ, ΚΙΤΩΤΙ, ΚΙΤΟΥ, ΚΙΤΟΧ personal pronoun
cp. ΚΙΟΚ
- (232a) ΚΙΤΙ-, ΚΙΤΟΤ^ε cp. ΚΙΤΕ
- (233b) ΚΑΥ see
140,8 ΚΥΝΑΥ
- (235b) ΚΗΥ, ΚΙΝΗΥ cp. ΚΟΥ
- (239b) ΚΟΥΧΡ be good, ΚΟΥΧΕ good
ΚΥΝΟΥΧΕ cp. ΚΙΝΕ
- (243b) ΚΟΥΖΙ be saved
137,13 ΚΙΤΕΤΙΝΟΥΖΙ
- (246a) ΚΑΖΤΕ believe
ΚΑΖΤΕ Ε- believe in
140,18 ΕΤΗΚΑΖΤΕ Ε-
ΚΙΝΤΑΤΗΚΑΖΤΕ fem. unbelief 135,7
- (247a) ΚΟΥΧΕ, ΚΟΧ^ε throw
ΚΟΧ^ε ΕΚΙ- throw upon
133,19 ΚΥΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΚΙ-
- (250a) ΚΟΕ great 134,10
ΚΙΝΤΟΕ fem. majesty 135,13-14
- (252a) ΚΕΙ subject indicator 133,9.18; 134,10;
135,16.18.27; 138,4.13-14.17; 139,9;
140,16.20
- (254b) ΚΑ^ε cp. ΚΑ
ΚΩ^ε cp. ΚΩ
- (257b) ΚΕΙΩ cry, crying (noun)

- τλωε οειω preach
 132,20-21 ἡτῆτωε οειω
 140,12 εγεταιω οειω
 140,25-26 εγεταιω οειω
- (258b) π-, πε-, πι- (masc.), τ-, τε-, †- (fem.),
 η-, ηϊ- (pl.) definite article 132,10.12.
 13.15.18.19.21; 133,1.3.7.13.14.15(bis).16.
 18.21(bis).22(bis).23.24.26; 134,1.3.
 4(tris).6(tris).7.11.12.17(bis).19.20.21.22;
 135,[1].1.2.4.[9].9.[10].10(bis).11.12.
 13(bis).14.16.18.20(bis).21(bis).25.27(bis);
 136,1.3(bis).5.7(bis).9.10.11.15.16(bis).
 17.18.23.25.27; 137,3.6.9.10.13.15.16(tris).
 [17].17.21.22.24.25.26.28; 138,2.3.5.6.7.8.
 9.12(bis).14; 139,4.6.7.[8].8.20.22(bis).
 23(bis).25.26(tris).27(bis); 140,4(bis).8.
 10(bis).12.17.23.25
- (258b) πλ- possessive adjective
 πλ-, τλ-, ηλ- my 134,15; 137,27;
 139,13(bis).21.28; 140,19
 πεκ- your (masc. sing.) 133,25
 πεч-, τεч-, ηеч- his 136,12.28; 137,2;
 139,10
 πεη-, तेη- our 132,13.14.16.18; 133,1.6.7;
 134,7; 138,15.20; 139,[2].11.15.28;
 140,[3].[4]
 πετῆ-, τετῆ- your (pl.) 136,24; 137,12.28
 πεγ-, ηег- their 133,20; 134,22; 136,19;
 138,11; 140,13
- (259a) πλ- possessive article
 133,15 πληιχοειτ the (Mount) of (the)
 Olives, Olivet
- (259a) πλῖ, πεῖ-, πι- (masc.), †- (fem.), ηλῖ, ηεῖ-
 (pl.) this, these (demonstrative pronoun)
 133,8.20.22; 134,5.24.25; 135,6.9.20;
 136,3.25; 137,3.7.21.23; 138,7; 139,15.
 22.24.27.29
- (259a) ηε fem. heaven 138,5(bis).7
 ἡτπε ἡ- over, above 137,17
- (260b) ηη (masc.) that (demonstrative pronoun)
 134,12; 137,4.10.19; 138,27
- (260b) ηω* (masc.), ηου* (pl.) possessive pronoun
 ηωῖ, ηουεῖ mine 136,23; 137,6

- (271b) $\eta\omega\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}$ separate
 $\eta\omega\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ($\bar{\eta}$ -) part, separate (from)
 133,2 $\eta\epsilon\psi\lambda\kappa\eta\omega\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\eta$
 140,11-12 $\lambda\gamma\eta\omega\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$
 140,24 $\lambda\gamma\eta\omega\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}$ $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$
- (273b) $\eta\lambda\tau$ fem. knee 133,20
- (277a) $\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ср. $\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$
- (282b) $\eta\lambda\gamma\rho\epsilon$ masc. drug, medication
 $\bar{\rho}$ $\eta\lambda\gamma\rho\epsilon$ ϵ - heal
 139,8-9 $\lambda\gamma\bar{\rho}$ $\eta\lambda\gamma\rho\epsilon$ ϵ -
- (285a) $\eta\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ -, $\eta\epsilon\chi\lambda$ ^o said
 139,10 $\eta\epsilon\chi\lambda\gamma$
 139,15 $\eta\epsilon\chi\lambda\gamma$
- (288a) $\rho\omicron$, $\rho\omega$ ^o masc. mouth
 $\rho\omega$ ^o 139,9
- (294b) $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ masc. person, man 136,22; 137,9.22
- (297b) $\rho\lambda\eta$ masc. name 139,7; 140,19
- (298b) $\bar{\rho}\eta\epsilon$ masc. temple 139,6
- (302b) $\rho\lambda\tau$ masc. foot
 $\epsilon\rho\lambda\tau$ ^o to the foot of, to ср. $\beta\omega\kappa$
- (304b) $\rho\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ masc. manner, way
 $\bar{\eta}\lambda\psi$ $\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ср. $\lambda\psi$
- (308b) $\rho\lambda\psi\epsilon$ rejoice
 135,26 $\lambda\gamma\rho\lambda\psi\epsilon$
 139,5 $\lambda\gamma\rho\lambda\psi\epsilon$
 masc. gladness, joy 133,11; 140,20
- (313a) $\sigma\lambda$ masc. side
 $\bar{\eta}\sigma\lambda$ -, $\bar{\eta}\sigma\omega$ ^o behind, after ср. $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\sigma\omega\bar{\tau}\eta$
 $\sigma\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$ within, inner ср. $\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$
- (319a) $\sigma\lambda\beta\epsilon$ masc. wise person, $\sigma\beta\omega$ fem. teaching
 \dagger $\sigma\beta\omega$ teach
 132,20 $\epsilon\eta\lambda\dagger$ $\sigma\beta\omega$
 137,24 \dagger $\sigma\beta\omega$
 139,6-7 $\lambda\gamma\dagger$ $\sigma\beta\omega$
- (334b) $\sigma\mu\eta$ fem. voice 134,13; 135,3; 137,18; 138,21;
 139,13
 $\chi\iota$ $\sigma\mu\eta$ ϵ - listen to
 134,15 $\chi\iota$ $\sigma\mu\eta$ ϵ -
 139,13 $\chi\iota$ $\sigma\mu\eta$ ϵ -

- (335a) **сμοу** praise
 136,5 **ελγсμοу**
 masc. praise 136,7; 138,9
- (342b) **сон, сннү** (pl.) masc. brother 132,13.15.16;
 133,6; 139,13.21.28
- (349b) **сон** masc. time
нкесон another time, again 134,2; 135,8;
 137,14
н̄₂λ₂ нсон many times, often 138,23
- (351a) **сөөне** masc. remainder, others 133,13
- (362a) **сωте** redeem
речсωте masc. redeemer 134,7
- (363b) **сωт̄м** hear, hearken
 133,24 **сωт̄м**
 134,1 **сωт̄м**
 136,23-24 **λчсωт̄м**
 136,25 **εтλγсωт̄м**
сωт̄м н̄сλ- hearken to, obey
 139,28-29 **н̄п̄рт̄ренсωт̄м н̄сλ-**
н̄п̄т̄λт̄сωт̄м fem. disobedience 135,10-11
- (369b) **сооүн, соүшн'** know, recognize
 136,1 **сесооүн**
 136,20-21 **н̄ноүсoүшн̄т̄**
- (372b) **сωоү₂** gather
 133,12 **λчсωоү₂**
 133,15-16 **ωλγсωоү₂**
 140,[2] **λчсωоү₂**
 140,13 **λγсωоү₂**
- (385b) **сλ₂не** masc. provision, agreement
оүλ₂ сλ₂не masc. command 135,13
сλ₂оүн ср. **зoүн**
- (390a) **т-, те-, †** definite article ср. **п-**
- (390a) **тλ-, теч-, тен-, тет̄н-** possessive adjective
 ср. **нλ-**
- (390b) **†-** demonstrative pronoun ср. **нλ̄**
- (392a) **†** give
 134,8 **нλ†**
 136,26 **λ̄†**
 140,5 **нλ†**

- † $\overline{\text{MH}}$ - fight against
 135,2 $\text{ce}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{MH}}\text{MH}\overline{\text{H}}$
 137,10 $\text{ETHA}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{MH}}$ -
 137,16 $\text{E}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{MH}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{MH}}$ -
 137,20-21 $\text{ETETHA}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{MH}}\text{MH}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Y}}$
 137,21-22 $\text{EY}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{MH}}$ -
 137,23 $\text{ETETHET}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{MH}}\text{MH}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Y}}$
- † $\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{C}}$ put on
 139,17-18 $\text{A}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{C}}$
- † $\text{M}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{H}}$ ср. $\text{M}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{H}}$
- † $\text{C}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{W}}$ ср. $\text{C}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{E}}$
- † BOM ср. BOM
- $\text{A}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{I}}$ ср. $\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{I}}$
- (402a) $\text{T}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{z}}$ masc. prayer 137,28
- (405a) TAKO , $\text{TAKHOY}\overline{\text{t}}$ be corruptible
 137,7 $\text{ETAKHOY}\overline{\text{T}}$
- (410a) $\text{TEA}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$ rejoice
 133,11 $\text{E}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$
- (411b) TALBO masc. healing 140,11
- (413a) TAMIO make
 136,8-9 ETAMIO
- (413b) TAMO , $\text{TAMO}\overline{\text{C}}$ tell
 137,15 MATAMON
- (416a) TOMC , $\text{TOMC}\overline{\text{C}}$ bury
 139,19 $\text{AYTOMC}\overline{\text{C}}$
- (419b) $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}$, $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{C}}$ send
 $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{C}}$ $\text{E}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{H}}$ - send down in
 136,17 $\text{AY}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{T}}$ $\text{E}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{H}}$ -
- (424a) $\text{THP}\overline{\text{C}}$ whole, all 132,19; 135,6.27; 140,[17]
- (425a) THPE fem. hand
 $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}$ -, $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}$ in, to, from 132,17; 138,8
 ср. $\text{X}\overline{\text{I}}$, $\text{z}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}$
 $\text{E}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}$ - by 132,22-133,1
- (430b) $\text{THP}\overline{\text{H}}$ carry
 138,5-6 $\text{AYTHP}\overline{\text{H}}$
- (440b) TOOY masc. mountain 133,14; 134,11
- (441b) TAYO , $\text{TAYO}\overline{\text{C}}$ send
 137,30 $\text{E}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}$

- (445a) τωοῦν, τῶν^ϛ rise
 τῶν^ϛ εβολ εἰ̄- rise from
 139,20 λϣτωῦν^ϛ εβολ εἰ̄-
- (446b) τοῦνος set up
 135,14-15 ετοῦνος
- (449b) ταχῳ, τοῳ^ϛ orient, situate, assign
 133,4 εηλτοῳῖν
 136,11 λϣταχῳ
- (452b) ταχο, ταχοε- increase ср. οεἰω
- (467b) οὔ-, ὕ-, εἰεν- (pl.) indefinite article
 132,17.[19]; 133,3.11.18.27; 134,8.10.13;
 135,3.15.17.20.22.23.24; 136,2.8.9.[9].
 10(bis).12.14.22.26; 137,3.4.8.9.11.[18].
 24.25; 138,4(bis).14.21.25.26; 139,7.[9].
 14.17.18.19.20.21.25; 140,5(bis).7.9.11.
 20.21(bis).27(bis)
- (467b) οὐ what?
 ετβε οὐ why? 134,16; 135,2
- (469a) οὔλ masc. one
 ηοὔλ ηοὔλ each one 140,10
- (470a) οὔλλ^ϛ, οὔλτ^ϛ -self, alone
 135,5 οὔλττηῦτῖ
- (480a) οὔοεἰν masc. light 133,22; 134,6.10; 135,4;
 138,12
 ῑ οὔοεἰν shine
 134,11 ῑτε- ῑ οὔοεἰν
- (481a) οὔον there is, οὔῖτλ^ϛ have, possess
 133,22-23 ετεῦῖτλϣ
 134,26 οὔῖτλν
 ср. also ηῖῖ-
- (482a) οὔον someone
 οὔον ηἰν everyone 140,18
- (482b) οὔων open
 139,9 λϣοὔων
- (486a) οὔωνῖ, οὔονῖ† reveal
 οὔωνῖ εβολ appear, express
 134,9-10 λϣοὔωνῖ εβολ
 134,12-13 ετλϣοὔωνῖ εβολ
 135,12 ετλϣοὔωνῖ εβολ
 137,19 ηεϣοὔονῖ εβολ

- 137,27-28 ογωñε εβολ
 138,6 ηεταχογωñε εβολ
 140,16 λχογωñε εβολ
- (487b) ογον, ογλλε† be holy
 133,25-26 ετογλλε
 139,14 εχογλλε
 140,10 εχογλλε
- (488b) ογнр, λογнр how much?
 138,16 λογнр
- (500a) ογυη want, would like
 132,16 †ογυη
 134,21 τñογυη
 135,14 λσογυη
 136,[8] λχογυη
 137,12 σεογυη
- (502b) ογυηε answer
 134,19 λγογυηε
 138,17 λχογυηε
- (504a) ογυητ worship
 137,14 λ- ογυητ
- (505b) ογωε, ογλε- set, put
 ογωε εβολ set down, bring down, follow
 135,16 λχογωε εβολ
 ογλε σεεε ср. σεεε
- (511b) ογλαï masc. salvation 132,21; 137,2.25; 139,7
- (520a) ωλ, ολ^ε hold, enclose
 ολ^ε εεογн ε- confine within
 135,25 λχολ^ε εεογн ε-
- (525a) ωñε masc. life 134,4; 139,28
- (533a) ωη, οη^ε read, sound
 133,9-10 ητερεχοωογ
 ωη εβολ cry out
 134,13-14 λσωη εβολ
 137,18 λσωη εβολ
- (541b) ωλ-, ωλρο^ε to 134,14; 137,18; 138,21; 140,13
 ωλ ενεεε for ever 134,18; 140,23
- (546a) ωε masc. tree, cross 139,19

- (547b) $\omega\iota$ measure
 $\lambda\tau\uparrow \omega\iota$ immeasurable 139,27
- (553a) $\omega\psi\nu\rho$ friend, fellow
 $\omega\psi\nu\rho\lambda\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ fellow apostle 132,14
- (559a) $\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$ pray
 133,20 $\lambda\gamma\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$
 134,2-3 $\lambda\gamma\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$
- (565b) $\omega\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron$ stranger (noun) 136,2-3; 139,21
- (567a) $\omega\bar{\mu}\omega\epsilon$ serve
 136,4 $\lambda\gamma\omega\bar{\mu}\omega\epsilon$
- (569a) $\omega\iota\nu\epsilon$ seek
 134,16 $\tau\epsilon\bar{\tau}\eta\omega\iota\nu\epsilon$
 $\omega\bar{\mu}\eta$ - news, $\omega\bar{\mu}\eta\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ good news,
 $\xi\bar{\iota}$ $\omega\bar{\mu}\eta\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ tell good news
 133,5 $\epsilon\nu\lambda\xi\bar{\iota}$ $\omega\bar{\mu}\eta\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon$
- (573a) $\omega\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon$ fem. thorn 139,<17>
- (574b) $\omega\psi\pi$, $\omega\bar{\mu}\eta$ - take
 $\omega\bar{\mu}\eta$ $\xi\mu\omicron\tau$ ср. $\xi\mu\omicron\tau$
- (577b) $\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ become, come into being, come forth, make
 $\omega\omicron\omega\pi\uparrow$ be
 133,27 $\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 134,5 $\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\pi$
 134,17-18 $\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\pi$
 135,19 $\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 136, [7] $\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 136,15 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 137,3-4 $\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 137,8 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 138,12-13 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 138,13 $\lambda\chi\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 140,19-20 $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\xi\bar{\eta}$ - come from, come into being from
 135,3-4 λ - $\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\xi\bar{\eta}$ -
 136,13-14 $\lambda\gamma\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\xi\bar{\eta}$ -
 138,4-5 $\lambda\varsigma\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\xi\bar{\eta}$ -
 $\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\omega\lambda\rho\circ$ come unto
 138,21 λ - $\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\omega\lambda\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$
 $\epsilon\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ when 137,6
 $\bar{\rho}$ $\omega\bar{\rho}\eta$ $\bar{\eta}\omega\omega\pi$ ср. $\omega\psi\bar{\rho}\eta$
 $\mu\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ ср. $\mu\lambda$

- (584a) $\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ masc. son 134,3-4.4.6; 139,26
- (586b) $\omega\omega\rho\tau\iota$ be early, $\omega\rho\tau\iota$ first, before
 $\bar{\rho}\ \omega\rho\tau\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\chi\omicron\omicron^*$ say previously
 138,2 $\epsilon\tau\lambda\iota\bar{\rho}\ \omega\rho\tau\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron$
 $\bar{\rho}\ \omega\rho\tau\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\omega\omicron\omicron\omicron$ be preexistent
 136,1-2 $\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\ \omega\rho\tau\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\omega\omicron\omicron\omicron$
- (590b) $\omega\omega\kappa\tau$ masc. deficiency 134,21-22; 135,[9].10.
 20(bis); 137,3
- (612b) $\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ speak
 135,8 $\dagger\eta\lambda\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$
 135,15-16 $\epsilon\tau\lambda\sigma\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$
 $\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ - speak with
 136,22-23 $\lambda\iota\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ -
 138,11 $\eta\lambda\gamma\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ -
 masc. word, statement, message 134,15;
 138,14; 140,25
- (615b) $\omega\omicron\chi\eta\epsilon$ take counsel, consider
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\lambda\tau\omega\omicron\chi\eta\epsilon$ fem. foolishness 135,11
- (616b) $\omega\omega\lambda\tau\iota$ leave behind
 135,17 $\epsilon\tau\lambda\sigma\omega\omega\lambda\tau\iota$
- (620a) $\chi\iota$ take
 136,28 $\lambda\iota\chi\iota$
- (625a) $\chi\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron$ four 140,25
- (636b) $\chi\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omicron$, $\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omicron$ yea
 $\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\omicron$ 134,1
- (637a) $\chi\epsilon$ fall
 $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ fall away
 136,18 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\chi\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$
- (638b) $\chi\epsilon$ fem. way, manner 137,16
 $\bar{\eta}\lambda\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\chi\epsilon$ how? 133,4-5
 $\bar{\eta}\dagger\chi\epsilon$ in this way, thus 133,20; 137,21.23;
 139,15
 $\kappa\lambda\tau\lambda$ $\omicron\epsilon$, $-\chi\epsilon$ as, just as, like 133,24;
 136,24; 137,11-12; 138,2
- (643b) $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}$ - cp. $\chi\tau\omicron\omicron\epsilon$
- (643b) $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}$ -, $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\omega\omega^*$ on, in 139,[17-18] (cp. \dagger)
 $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\eta$ on the way 138,12
- (645b) $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ cp. $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$
- (646a) $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\eta$ fem. road, way
 $\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\eta$ on the way 138,12

- (651b) zaw° too, also, self 138,19; 140,6
 zaw° 136,24-25
- (653a) zaw masc. thing 139,12.24
- (661b) zawak , zaw° gird
 zaw° $\bar{n}zpa'i$ $zn-$ gird with
 137,26 zaktuyt'n $\bar{n}zpa'i$ $zn-$
- (681a) zmot masc. grace 140,21
 q'n zmot $\bar{n}t'n-$ give thanks to
 138,8 $\lambda yq'n$ zmot $\bar{n}t'n-$
- (683a) $zn-$, $zn-$ before n , $\bar{n}znt^{\circ}$ in, with, through
 133,11.17.25; 134,1.5.24; 137,9.24.25;
 138,3; 139,7.11.14.19.23; 140,[9].27(bis)
 evol $zn-$ from, with, (out) of 134,12;
 135,3-4; 136,14.14-15; 137,18-19;
 138,5; 139,20
 zpa'i $zn-$ in, with, within 132,21; 136,11;
 137,2; 138,9; 139,7.25.30
 zpa'i $zn-$ down in 136,17
 $\bar{n}zpa'i$ $zn-$ with 137,26 (cp. zawak)
- (685b) zoyn masc. inner
 ezoyn $e-$ within, into 135,25; 136,27
 cazoyn within, inner 137,22
- (696a) zantc it is necessary 138,19.23.24-25
- (698a,700a) zpa'i masc. upper part, zpa'i masc. lower part
 zpa'i $zn-$ cp. $zn-$
 zpa'i up, over, down
 cp. e'i , kw , f'nhooy
 zpa'i $e-$ to, down to, up to 136,19;
 138,7.10; 139,5-6.6; 140,25
 zpa'i exn- cp. xw
 $\bar{n}zpa'i$ $zn-$ cp. $zn-$
- (704b) zpooy masc. voice, sound
 zpoynne masc. thunder 138,5
- (714a) znt masc. heart
 xice $\bar{n}znt$ cp. xice
 \bar{f} bavznt cp. bve
- (719b) znte cp. eic
- (723b) zawf , zotf° kill
 134,9 ezotf'n
- (724b) $\bar{z}t'n-$ cp. twpe

- (730a) ροοϥ masc. day
 ἡροοϥ today 136,25
- (732b) ρῖοϥε, ρῖ- throw
 ρῖ ὤῤῥηοϥε ср. ѱиηε
- (741b) ρλρ many
 ἡρλρ ἡсоп many times, often 138,23
- (746b) ρε that, so that, because; quotation indicator
 132, [16].19.20; 133,4.5.6.15.21; 134,3.
 14.15.20.23; 135,4.6.28; 136,12.21.26;
 137,3.5(bis).10.11.15(bis).20; 138,15.18.
 22.23; 139,10.15; 140, [3].6.12.15.17.25
- (747b) ρι, ριτ^ρ receive, take
 133,8 ἡτєρερχιτοϥ
 135,22 єтλчχι
 ρι ἡтоот^ρ receive from
 132,17 ληχι ἡтоот^ρ
 ρι ἡκλρ ср. ἡκλρ
 ρι смн ср. смн
- (752a) ρο, ρο^ρ sow
 135,22 λчροч
- (754a) ρω, ρε-, ρο^ρ, ροο^ρ say
 133,20-21 єϥρω
 134,3 єϥρω
 134,14 єсρω
 134,15 єεῖ εχοс
 134,20 ηλϥρω
 135,4 єсρω
 135,6 λεῖρε-
 137,14 єϥρω
 137,19 єсρω
 138,14 єϥρω
 138,17 єчρω
 138,22 єсρω
 138,22 λῖχοс
 140,3 єчρω
 140,14-15 єϥρω
 140,16 єчρω
 ῤ ὤῤῥῥ ἡχοο^ρ ср. ѱωῤῥ

- (756a) $\chi\omega^{\rho}$ masc. head
 $\epsilon\chi\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}-$, $\epsilon\chi\omega^{\rho}$ upon, on, over 133,13.19;
 135,24; 139,19
 $\epsilon\zeta\rho\lambda\bar{\iota}\epsilon\chi\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}-$, $\epsilon\chi\omega^{\rho}$ because of, over 136,6;
 135,23-24 (cp. $\kappa\omega$)
- (764a) $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\lambda\varsigma$ so that 139,3
- (778b) $\chi\pi\omicron$, $\chi\pi\omicron^{\rho}$ bring forth
 135,28 $\lambda\gamma\chi\pi\omicron\omicron\gamma$
- (787b) $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ masc. lord 132,18; 133,1; 134,20-21;
 137,15; 138,9.14.[15]; 139,8.11.25;
 140,[3].12-13
- (788b) $\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ exalt, be high
 $\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau$ be high-hearted, become haughty
 136,6 $\lambda\gamma\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau$
- (790b) $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$ masc. olive
 $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$ masc. the (Mount) of Olives,
 Olivet 133,15
- (793a) $\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$, $\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma^{\rho}$ send
 132,10-11 $\epsilon\tau\lambda\gamma\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma\varsigma$
- (800b) $\chi\omega\omega\epsilon\epsilon$ be stained
 $\chi\eta\epsilon\epsilon$ purple 139,18
- (802a) $-\epsilon\epsilon$ so, then 135,22; 138,16
- (805a) $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ be weak
 $\bar{\Gamma} \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau$ be weak-hearted, afraid
 140,21-22 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\Gamma}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau$
- (815b) $\epsilon\omicron\mu$ fem. power, mighty deed 135,2.23.27;
 136,7.11; 137,10.26; 140,7.27
 $\epsilon\lambda\mu$ 134,8; 140,21
 $\dagger \epsilon\omicron\mu$ give power
 136,3-4 $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\gamma\dagger \epsilon\omicron\mu$
 cp. also 134,8 $\dagger \bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\mu$

CHAPTER III

GRAMMAR

Pages 132-40 of Codex VIII, preserved in a much better state than most of the pages of this fragmentary codex,¹ present a tractate written in reasonably good Coptic. The Coptic may be termed Sahidic, and conforms to standard Sahidic to a large extent. This Coptic text, like the texts of the Nag Hammadi library in general, appears to be written in translational Coptic. Such may be intimated by the Greek loan words, which include certain important technical terms (for example ἀποστολος, εωη, ππλ, κτ, and the like),² as well as a number of more mundane words, such as particles (for example λε and μεη), prepositions (for example κατα), and conjunctions (for example λλλλ and η). This evidence is not conclusive, however, since such loan words were widely used in Coptic literature.³ A Greek *Vorlage* to the Coptic tractate is not extant, as far as we know; thus the Coptic translation of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* provides one of the many texts in the Nag Hammadi library which were previously unavailable in the original Greek or in some translation.

The focus of this section of our study is the Coptic text of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* In our brief grammatical analysis⁴ we shall discuss nonverbal elements, the verbal system, certain scribal techniques, and dialectical variants.

In general, the nonverbal elements in the Coptic text of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* present few surprises. The nouns usually conform in spelling to standard Sahidic. An exception to this conformity is the noun εομ, which in two instances (134,8; 140,21) departs from the standard Sahidic spelling and is copied as ελμ. According to Crum (815b), ελμ is the spelling attested in the Achmimic, Subachmimic, and Fayyumic dialects.⁵ In addition, the tractate illustrates itacism, using ε instead of λι in εωη.⁶ In this connection we might also note the spelling of επιδη (134,8; 136,2; 137,2.12.16), εοηοι (137,29.29-30), and κε(ι)ρε (132,15). Special plural forms can be utilized in the tractate: σηηγ, plural of σον, is used at

132,15; 139,13.21.28. In typical Coptic fashion, neuter Greek nouns become masculine in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*; ⁷ for example, $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ is used with the masculine definite article at 136,17 and 138,3.

The tractate naturally makes extensive use of both definite and indefinite articles, and they are generally used in a regular fashion. Among the definite articles, π -, τ -, and ν - are the usual forms, though $\pi\iota$ -, $\tau\iota$ -, and $\nu\iota$ - are also attested. ⁸ $\pi\iota$ -, $\tau\iota$ -, and $\nu\iota$ - may be utilized instead of $\pi\epsilon$ -, $\tau\epsilon$ -, and $\nu\epsilon$ - before words beginning with double consonants, ⁹ such as $\pi\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ (136,7) and $\tau\iota\pi\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\chi\eta\epsilon$ (135,11); $\tau\iota$ - may also be used with $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$, hence $\tau\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$ (140,17). ¹⁰ Before $\bar{\rho}\eta\eta$, however, a mere π - is used, for the $\bar{\rho}$ is sonant. ¹¹ In the other cases where the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* prefers $\pi\iota$ -, $\tau\iota$ -, and $\nu\iota$ -, it may very well be that the definite article has more demonstrative force. ¹² $\pi\epsilon$ - is used in two cases: $\tau\epsilon\bar{\zeta}\eta$ (138,12) and $\nu\epsilon\bar{\chi}$ (passim). In the former case, $\tau\epsilon$ is to be anticipated before a word beginning with double consonants or a consonant followed by a semi-consonant ($\bar{\zeta}\eta$), though as we have seen the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* prefers $\pi\iota$ -, $\tau\iota$ -, and $\nu\iota$ - in such situations. In the latter case, the use of $\pi\epsilon$ - may have been established by the Christian tradition in Egypt, where Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός was translated as $\tau\bar{\epsilon}\ \nu\epsilon\bar{\chi}$. ¹³ $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, and $\nu\epsilon$ are also used as copulas in non-verbal sentences; ¹⁴ and the definite article in general functions in a vocative manner. ¹⁵ A couple of times (133,17; 139,11) the phrase $\bar{\zeta}\eta\ \sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ is used without the definite article--indeed, without any article at all--and seems to function in an idiomatic fashion. This *artikellos* phrase may be contrasted with the similar phrases making use of the definite article (136,17; 138,3), though no difference in nuance of meaning can be detected.

The indefinite articles are used in an even more regular manner. Only two features deserve special mention. The singular indefinite article $\omicron\upsilon$ contracts to γ several times (132,[19]; 133,3.18; 134,13; 135,3; 136,12; 137,[18].24; 138,21; 139,[9]); in each instance the contraction takes place, in the usual fashion, after λ or ϵ . A few times--six to be precise--an initial ν is doubled before the singular indefinite

article: $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$ (134,8), $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\zeta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\iota}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\omega}\overline{\eta}$ (136,9), [$\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\zeta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\iota}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\omega}\overline{\eta}$] (136,[9], on the basis of 136,9-10), $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\mu}\overline{o}\overline{\rho}\overline{\phi}\overline{\eta}$ (136,10-11), $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\lambda}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\varsigma}\overline{\iota}\overline{\alpha}$ (136,26), and $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\varsigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{o}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\eta}$ (139,18). In each case but one the root word before which the η is doubled is a Greek loan word. Each doubled η functions as a *nota accusativi* with \dagger or $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron$, except for 136,[9] and 136,10-11, where the η functions as the genitive particle in the phrase $\epsilon\overline{\nu}\overline{\mu}\overline{\alpha}$ $\overline{\eta}$ -.¹⁶ Yet it should be acknowledged that more often in this tractate the η is not doubled before $\omicron\gamma$.¹⁷

Although the pronominal prefixes and suffixes of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are used in a normal manner, and present no difficulties, the independent pronouns merit a few additional comments. Sometimes a pronoun can be used as the subject of a nonverbal clause (134,17; 135,4-5; 136,16.21; 137,5.10; 139,22), with or without the copula, and often (135,4-5; 137,5.10; 139,22) with the relative in a cleft sentence. In the case of $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}$ at 137,5, the relative uses the plural η -; with the $\lambda\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\eta}$ at 139,22, the relative utilizes the masculine singular η -, as we have already noted; in the other instances only $\epsilon\tau$ - occurs. When the nonverbal clause includes the personal pronoun $\lambda\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\kappa}$, the resultant construction is reminiscent of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$, the self-declaration often termed an aretalogical statement; the $\lambda\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\kappa}$ can be used with (134,17; 136,16) or without (136,21) a copula. Often the personal pronouns of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are used in order to emphasize the subject of the clause, frequently after a change in subjects or a contrast in moods. Occasionally it has been possible to reflect this emphasis in the translation itself (thus 133,1: "But as for you"; 136,20: "But as for them"). Usually, however, such additions to the translation constitute overtranslation (thus 137,26, where $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}$ is the emphatic subject of the imperative $\zeta\overline{o}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}$). In three instances (136,5; 137,28; 138,15) $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}$ is utilized to emphasize the noun functioning as subject of a clause, and acts practically as a pronominal demonstrative; thus at 137,28 $\overline{\eta}\overline{\tau}\overline{o}\overline{\gamma}$ is translated as "surely." At 138,16 the pronoun $\lambda\overline{\nu}\overline{o}\overline{\eta}$ functions as the subject of the elliptical verb.

The verbal system of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* presents the translator with certain difficult problems and unusual

constructions. Thus we shall briefly examine the verbs of the tractate, and shall discuss the suffix conjugation, the infinitive, the imperative, the present system, the future system, the perfect system, the habitude, the optative, the conjunctive, and the past temporal. We shall also add a few remarks concerning the passive voice.

The Coptic suffix conjugation is represented in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* by only a few verbal forms. $\pi\epsilon\chi\lambda^{\circ}$ is used upon two occasions ($\pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\alpha\gamma$: 139,10.15), both times as part of a quotation formula in the context of the speech of Peter. Elsewhere in the tractate the use of a first perfect verb, with $\epsilon\gamma/c/\gamma\chi\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$, is a more customary quotation formula.¹⁸ $\omicron\gamma\eta-$ and $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta-$ are not used in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, but $\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ and $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ are; the former occurs as $\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\eta$ (134,26) and the relative $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\gamma$ (133,22-23; the $\omicron\gamma$ contracts to γ after ϵ), the latter occurs as $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta\tau\alpha\gamma$ (137,11).

The infinitives of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are of two types, simple and causative. The simple infinitives (134,9.21; 135, 14-15; 136,8-9) are all prefixed with the customary $\epsilon-$,¹⁹ and complement the main verb; at 134,9 the infinitive seems to indicate purpose or objective. The main verb in the last three of these cases is a form of $\omicron\gamma\omega\upsilon$, a verb which is complemented by the conjunctive at 132,16, and by $\bar{\epsilon}\eta\eta\lambda$ with the conjunctive at 137,12-13. The causative infinitives ($\eta\iota\tau\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$, 133,3; $\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\chi\bar{\iota}$, 138,19-20; $\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\eta\chi\bar{\iota}$, 138,24; $\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\eta\gamma\eta\bar{\eta}$, 138,25) also are introduced with $\epsilon-$ in all but one of the examples; in this case $\eta\iota\tau\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$ functions as a noun after $\bar{\eta}\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$, and consequently is prefixed with the masculine singular definite article or demonstrative $\eta\iota-$.²⁰ The three causative infinitives introduced with $\epsilon-$ all function in proper Coptic fashion, as complements of the impersonal verbal form $\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}$.²¹

The imperatives are used in a regular fashion. In most instances, the imperative is expressed by means of the simple infinitive, such as $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ (133,24; 134,1), $\chi\bar{\iota}$ (134,15; 139,13), \dagger (+ $\varsigma\bar{\epsilon}\omega$; 137,24), $\bar{\epsilon}\omega\kappa^{\circ}$ (137,26), and $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\bar{\epsilon}$ (137,27). In a few cases certain of the special forms are used: $\mu\lambda\dagger$ (134,8; 140,5), the imperative prefix $\mu\lambda-$ along with the infinitive \dagger , which is used in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* as well as \dagger to express the

imperative of †; ²² ΜΑΤΑΜΟ' (137,15), which uses the prefix ΜΑ- to express the imperative of ΤΑΜΟ; and ΑΜΗΕΙΤΗ (137,23-24), which is used to express the plural imperative of ΕΙ. The negative imperative is in evidence on one or two occasions in the tractate: certainly at 140,21-22 (ΜΗΠΡΕΓΑΒΕΖΗΤ), and probably also at 138,1 (ΜΗΠ[.]ΔΒ[]).

The verbs of the present system are also regular in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* As would be anticipated, verbs of the present system are frequent in the tractate, and include several constructions. The first present indicative is used nine times (132,16; 134,8-9.16.21.23-24; 135,2; 136,1; 137,5.12), each time in a regular fashion; two of those occurrences (136,1; 137,12) utilize the negative form of the $\bar{\mu}$ - prefix with ΑΝ. In ten other instances the present relative ²³ occurs (ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕΒ, 133,25-26; ΕΤΩΟΟΠ, 134,5; ΕΤΩΟΟΠ, 134,17-18; ΕΤΡ, 135,5; ΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ, 135,26; ΕΤΡ, 136,[1]; ΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ, 136,19-20; ΕΤΤΑΚΗΟΥΤ, 137,7; ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ, 139,20-21; ΕΤΝΑΖΤΕ, 140,18); in several of these cases the verb is a qualitative, and in one instance (139,20-21) the relative is prefixed with the definite article Η- and functions as the object of the preposition. The relative is used adjectivally to modify definite nouns and pronouns, of course, and at 135,5 the relative is used with ΝΤΩΦΗ in a cleft sentence. The present circumstantial is the most common of the constructions in the present system, and occurs some twenty times in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (ΕΤΕΛΗΛ, 133,11; ΕΥΧΩ, 133,20-21; ΕΥΧΩ, 134,3; ΕΣΧΩ, 134,14; ΕΣΧΩ, 135,4; ΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ, 136,13; ΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ, 136,22; ΕΥΜΟΟΥΤ, 137,9; ΕΥΧΩ, 137,14; ΕΣΧΩ, 137,19; ΕΥ†, 137,21; ΕΥΠΗΝΥ, 138,10-11; ΕΥΧΩ, 138,14; ΕΥΧΩ, 138,17; ΕΣΧΩ, 138,22; ΕΥΟΥΛΛΕΒ, 139,14; ΕΥΧΩ, 140,3; ΕΥΟΥΛΛΕΒ, 140,10; ΕΥΧΩ, 140,14-15; ΕΥΧΩ, 140,16). These circumstantials often function like the Greek participle, modifying a noun in the sentence; the most common example of such a construction utilizes a circumstantial form of ΧΩ in a quotation formula. ²⁴ A circumstantial is used instead of a relative to modify a noun when the antecedent is indefinite; ²⁵ thus a circumstantial form of ΜΟΟΥΤ is utilized instead of ΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ after ΖΕΝΣΩΜΑ (136,13), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ (136,22), and ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ (137,9), and ΕΥΟΥΛΛΕΒ is used after ΟΥΠΗΤΑ at 139,14 and 140,10. Furthermore, ΕΥ† (137,21) has an almost independent character, ²⁶ and seems to function with ΡΑΡ

to communicate a causal meaning, while εὐῆνῆ (138,10-11) has more of a temporal meaning.²⁷

The present is converted to the imperfect by means of a prefixed *νε-* to form *νεῦμεσσε* (136,21) and *νεφογονε* (137,19). In the latter case the imperfect is constructed as a relative. On two occasions the verbal stem is converted with a prefixed *να-* to form *ναλχω* (134,20) and *ναψυαχε* (138,11); a precise analysis of this form is difficult, since it could be described as either an imperfect or a second perfect form.²⁸ It is true that *νε-* is used to form the imperfect in two other passages of the tractate, but a diversity of forms for the imperfect is not necessarily to be excluded in such a tractate as the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*²⁹ Furthermore, it is reasonable to surmise that these two verbs with *να-* are intended to emphasize the more continuous action characteristic of the imperfect. In the case of 134,20, the apostles are speaking in a manner which entails, literally, the stringing together of a series of separate questions; and in the case of 138,11, the apostles are speaking as they are in the process of traveling up to Jerusalem. On the other hand, although *νωτα-* is the usual prefix for the second perfect in Sahidic, *ετα-* and *να-* are attested as dialectical forms, and the prefix *ετα-* also occurs elsewhere in the tractate, apparently as a second perfect form replacing the past temporal. It is not readily apparent why a second perfect would be employed in 134,20, unless the scribe meant to emphasize the direct statement; in 138,11 it may be suggested that the scribe could have intended to emphasize the adverbial element of the sentence, the introductory temporal clause or, more probably, the concluding *ετσε* phrase. Here we are suggesting that the two verbal forms with *να-* be understood as imperfects, although the evidence is not decisive. In either interpretation these two verbs can be described as dialectical variants.

The future system is represented in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* by first, second, and third future forms. The first future occurs in the indicative (*†ναψαχε*, 135,8; *†ναφβοηοι*, 137,29³⁰), the relative (*ετνα†*, 137,10, with *νωτωτῆ* in a cleft sentence; *εῆννα†*, 137,16, with *αψ τε εε*; and in addition *ετε νχναχι λη*, 138,28, with the negative prefix and particle), and the circumstantial

(εΤΕΤΗΛΑΚΑΚ, 137,6, used with εϷΩΠΗΕ in a temporal or conditional clause; εΤΕΤΗΛΑΒΩΚ, 140,19, used in a temporal clause). Here and elsewhere in the tractate, the scribe of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* shows a preference for shorter forms; the scribe chooses not to double the η for the second person plural, and consequently does not use a supralinear stroke in that connection, since the η is followed by a vowel. The second future occurs when the scribe wishes to emphasize an adverbial element in the sentence: the εΗΛΤΟΥΠΗ at 133,4 provides stress for ΠΑΩ ΠΖΕ; the use of εΗΛΒΩΚ at 134,25 places stress on the concluding interrogative phrase; the use of εΤΕΤΗΛΑΩΠΗΕ at 137,8 may give added emphasis to the ΤΟΥΕ or, more plausibly, to the concluding prepositional phrase; and the εΤΕΤΗΛ† at 137,20 emphasizes the Π†ΖΕ. The scribe of the tractate can also utilize the second future with χε in final clauses (so with εΗΛΕ†, 132,19; εΗΛ†, 132,20; εΗΛΖ†, 133,5). Such a use of the second future with χε is attested in Coptic literature, although, as in this tractate, it is more customary to find a final clause utilizing χε with the third future.³¹ The third future occurs in a final clause with χε at several places in the tractate (so with εκεε†, 133,7; εε†εχοc, 134,15; εϷεΗΛΑCCA, 136,12; εϷεε†, 136,27; εϷεΤΑΩϷΕ, 140,12; εϷεΤΑΩϷΕ, 140,25-26). In addition, the third future may be used in a final sense with χεΚΑΛC (εϷ[ε], 139,3) and, in one instance, with both ζ†ΗΛ and χε (εΗεε†ϷΕ, 140,6-7).³² In two other instances the third future is also used (εΤΕΤΗΕ†, 137,23; εϷεΩΠΗΕ, 140,19-20); in both cases the sense of the future occurs in a much stronger fashion than with the first future.³³ In the first case εΤΕΤΗΕ† seems to strengthen the second future form εΤΕΤΗΛ† in 137,20, and thus places added emphasis upon the statement, almost to the point of making it an order: "you shall fight" or even "you must fight." In the second case εϷεΩΠΗΕ also seems to provide added emphasis for the statement, and gives the impression of a wish: "there shall be," even "may there be."

In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* more verbs occur in the perfect than in any other tense, as we would expect in a tractate dominated in the framework and the revelation itself by narrative constructions. The first perfect indicative occurs some eighty

times in the tractate;³⁴ two of these times it is used in the negative, which is constructed in the normal fashion in the tractate, with $\overline{\text{MN}}(\epsilon)$ prefixed to the verbal stem. When the subject of the first perfect verb is a noun, the noun often is prefixed with λ -, though the verb sometimes has no prefixed letters (135,3; 137,13-14; 138,21; 140,10-11). More often, however (at 133,12; 134,13.19; 137,18; 138,8; 139,[4-5]; 140, [1-2].7-8.23-24), both the subjects and the verbs possess all the appropriate prefixes. We may also note that at 134,9-10; 135,16.18.26-27; 138,4.13-14.17; 139,9; 140,16, the verbs possess all the appropriate prefixes and the subjects are indicated by $\overline{\text{MEI}}$. In the speech of Peter at 139,11-12 and 15-16, on the other hand, the nouns seem to function without the first perfect prefixes, or $\overline{\text{MEI}}$, as subjects of the first perfect verbs. The perfect relative occurs in two forms: more often than not the prefix $\epsilon\tau\lambda$ is attached to the verbal stem ($\epsilon\tau\lambda\chi\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, 132,10-11; $\epsilon\tau\lambda\upsilon\beta\epsilon\pi\eta\tau$, 132,21-22; $\epsilon\tau\lambda\kappa\overline{\text{PTW}}\omicron\gamma$, 133, 24-25; $\epsilon\tau\lambda\theta\omega\eta\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Z}}$, 134,12-13; $\epsilon\tau\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{M}}$, 136,25; $\epsilon\tau\lambda\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{R}}$, 138,2; $\overline{\text{NETA}}\theta\omega\eta\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Z}}$, 138,6), but on five occasions the prefix $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda$ is utilized ($\overline{\text{NETE}}\lambda\gamma\overline{\text{T}}$, 136,3-4; $\overline{\text{ETE}}\lambda\sigma\omega\eta\overline{\text{NE}}$, 136,15; $\overline{\text{ETE}}\lambda\gamma\overline{\text{ZE}}$, 136,18; $\overline{\text{ETE}}\lambda\theta\omega\eta\overline{\text{NE}}$, 138,12-13; $\overline{\text{NETE}}\lambda\eta\chi\overline{\text{I}}$, 139,22-23). Both of these forms differ from the usual Sahidic form. $\epsilon\tau\lambda$ as a first perfect relative prefix is a dialectical form attested in Bohairic, Achmimic, and Fayyumic, and only occasionally in Subachmimic, and $\overline{\text{ETE}}\lambda$ also represents a different dialect.³⁵ Finally, the first perfect circumstantial occurs three times as well in the tractate ($\epsilon\lambda\gamma\sigma\mu\omicron\gamma$, 136,5; $\epsilon\lambda\chi\overline{\text{FB}}\overline{\text{ONEI}}$, 137,29-30; $\epsilon\lambda\chi\tau\lambda\gamma\omicron\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}$, 137,30); in each of these instances the perfect circumstantial may connote a sense of time prior to that of the main verb.³⁶

A precise identification of the two verbal forms prefixed with $\eta\lambda$ - ($\eta\lambda\gamma\chi\omega$, 134,20; $\eta\lambda\psi\lambda\chi\epsilon$, 138,11) is, as we have seen, not easy to make. The forms could conceivably indicate a dialectical form of either the imperfect or the second perfect.

Three verbs occur in the first habitude (*praesens consuetudinis*) in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, and these three verbal forms are constructed in a regular manner. $\overline{\text{NE}}\overline{\text{W}}\lambda\kappa\overline{\text{PW}}\overline{\text{X}}$ (133,2) is the preterite form of the habitude, $\overline{\text{ETE}}\overline{\text{W}}\lambda\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\overline{\text{TE}}$ (133,14) is the

relative form, and ετε φιλωσωγ₂ (133,15-16) is likewise the relative form. In each case these verbs express, though perhaps somewhat subtly, the sort of action connoted by the habitude: the state of affairs with or typical posture of Philip (133,2), or the usual or habitual action on the part of the people or the apostles (133,14.15-16).

The optative is utilized only once in the tractate, and there it is found in the negative. ΠΠΤΡΕΝΩΤΗ occurs at 139, 28-29, and is constructed in the usual manner, with ΠΠΤ- prefixed to the causative infinitive form τρε'.

Seven conjunctive verbal forms are observed in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, and they are used in a regular manner. They can be used after the second future (ΠΤΗΤΑΦΕ, 132,20-21), after the causative infinitive (ΠΤΗΕΙΜΕ, 133,4), and after the negative optative (ΠΤΗΜΟΦΕ, 139,30). In addition, the conjunctive is used twice after the Greek conjunction ρωστε in a result clause (ΠΤΕ- ρ, 134,11; ΠΤΕΤΗΧΙ, 138,27). Two other times the conjunctive functions as a verbal complement after ουκω (ΠΚΙΜΕ, 132,16; ΠΤΕΤΗΝΟΥΖΗ, 137,13).³⁷ In the first instance the ΠΚ- is of interest, since this prefix is used frequently in Fayyumic, Πr- being the more usual form in Sahidic.³⁸ In the second instance, the conjunctive is introduced by the Greek loan word ρηνα.

The seven past temporal (*temporalis*) verbal forms deserve particular attention. Three times (ΠΤΕΡΕΧΙΤΟΥ, 133,8; ΠΤΕΡΕΦΩΦΟΥ, 133,9-10; ΠΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ, 133,18) the past temporal conforms to standard Sahidic, but on four other occasions the dialectical form ετα' is utilized (ετασοφωη₂, 135,12, with the ετα- prefixing the subject partly emended at 135,10; ετασφαχε, 135,15-16; ετασφωη₃, 135,17; εταχι, 135,22, with ετα- prefixing the subject). The context makes it clear that past temporal forms are desired here, and the Bohairic ετα' is utilized in these four instances.³⁹

A few words should be devoted to the use of the passive voice in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* The passive may be formed when a third person plural pronominal subject is utilized with a verb whose object is the one acted upon. This circumlocutory construction is used several times in this tractate, though it is

not always clear whether a passive construction or a somewhat ambiguous subject is the intention of the author. It may be suggested that the passive is intended at 132,21-22 (εταυρηθη ἡμοις), 133,14 (ψαλυομετε εροισι), 134,23-24 (σελαμαστε ἡμων), 135,28 (αυχνοου), apparently 136,3-4 (πνευματι βοις ηλας), 136,17 (αυτηνοου), possibly 137,1 (αυμου εβου []), most likely 137,5 (σελαμαστε ἡμων), 138,5-6 (αυτωτη η-), probably 138,25 (ετρευνητη), 139,16 (αυχου), 139,18-19 (αυχου), and 139,19 (αυτοισι).

When we examine the peculiar techniques of the scribe of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, we discover some important matters of style. To begin with, we should note that the scribal hand of Codex VIII--the so-called "majority hand"⁴⁰--is a clear and attractive hand; the letters are formed with considerable consistency and grace. Such a scribal hand--in contrast to the scribal hand of, for example, the first two tractates of Codex XI--allows for some confidence in the restoration of letters where only a portion of the letter now remains.⁴¹ The scribe of Codex VIII also made use of a system of decoration and punctuation. Not only are the title, the opening, and the conclusion of the tractate set off by clear scribal marks. The scribe also utilized indentation or *eisthesis* (for the title, 132,10-11); extra space between lines (between 132,11, the conclusion of the title, and 132,12, the opening of the tractate itself); perhaps *ekthesis* (132,16, a possible "paragraph" designation); supralinear dots (passim, used to separate sentences and sense units) and *dicola* (132,11, at the end of the title where it is followed by a *diple obelismene*, or "forked paragraphus"; 136,15, at the end of the myth of the mother; probably at 138,16, at the end of the question on suffering; 139,21, at the end of the traditional kerygmatic formulae; 140,15, after the liturgical "Amen"; and 140,27, at the conclusion of the tractate, where it is also followed by a *diple obelismene*); scribal strokes like the *coronis* or *paragraphus* in the margin (after 132,11; 136,15; 138,16; and 140,15--always, it seems, in conjunction with the *dicola*); and extra space on the line itself (139,21.28; 140,15--after the *dicolon*, or after a supralinear dot at a clear break in the text of the speech of

peter).⁴² Again, the scribe also made extensive use of abbreviations, particularly of common *nomina sacra*: $\overline{\text{TC}}$ for IHCYC , $\overline{\text{XC}}$ for XCPCCTOC , $\overline{\text{PNA}}$ for PNEYMA , $\overline{\text{ETHH}}$ for ETHPOYCAΛHM , and perhaps $\overline{\text{XE}}$ for XAIPEIN .

Furthermore, in at least two instances a scribe (or a later reader) emended the text that was first written. At 134, 22 a κ apparently has been corrected to an γ , and at 138,14 an γ seemingly has been corrected over a φ . In both instances the apparent mistake was reasonable enough, and the correction was accomplished by utilizing the ink already present and adding additional strokes for the desired emendation; in the latter instance some attempt may also have been made to erase part of the φ .

Particular mention should be made of the word divisions at the ends of the Coptic lines. It is obvious that the scribe did not divide the words in an arbitrary manner, but was careful to divide words in a manner approaching our division on the basis of syllables. A cursory examination of the text would suggest that the scribe preferred to end a line with a completed word, if possible, but also was able to divide a word between consonants, or after a vowel and before a consonant. In numerous instances it seems as if the scribe divided a word according to the separable components, for example by separating prefixed elements from the verbal or substantival base. Apparently the scribe felt less confident in dividing Greek words, and clearly wished to finish a Greek word on a line, even if it meant extending the line noticeably into the right margin. Such an obvious tendency allows us to suggest the unusually long line at 136,9, and could also provide an argument for $\overline{\text{XE}}[\text{IPE}]$ rather than $\overline{\text{XE}}$ at 132,15.

Finally, a few comments should be made on the matter of dialectal variants in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, a topic already discussed in a number of contexts in the preceding pages. As we have seen, in two instances the noun $\overline{\text{CAM}}$ does not conform to the standard Sahidic spelling $\overline{\text{COM}}$, the imperfects (or second Perfects) represent forms attested in dialects other than Sahidic, the $\overline{\text{ETA}}$ perfect relative and past temporal verbs are forms known in the dialects, and the conjunctive prefix $\overline{\text{NK}}$ - is

also found in Fayyumic. In addition, it may be noted that the interjection $\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\sigma$ (134,1) is attested in this form in Bohairic, and $\lambda\bar{\iota}\sigma$ is also to be found in Fayyumic, but the usual form in standard Sahidic is $\lambda\bar{\iota}\sigma$ or $\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\sigma$; the forms $\lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\sigma$ and $\lambda\bar{\iota}\sigma$, however, are also known in Sahidic and old idiomatic Coptic.⁴³ The interrogative pronoun $\lambda\sigma\eta\eta$ (138,16) is to be found in Bohairic manuscripts, $\sigma\eta\eta$ being the usual form in Sahidic; here too, however, the form $\lambda\sigma\eta\eta$ is also used in both Sahidic and Bohairic manuscripts, and sometimes in the sense of a *qal wa-homer*.⁴⁴ Again, the prepositional form $\eta\epsilon\mu\eta$ with the second plural suffix (140,22) is found in Fayyumic, though with the second plural suffix $\eta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ (Achmimic and Subachmimic)⁴⁵ ought also to lengthen the second ϵ to η .⁴⁶ According to Crum (169b), the form $\eta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ is also known in "Sa"⁴⁷ and Fayyumic. $\tau\lambda\kappa\eta\sigma\tau$ (137,7) is described by Crum (405a) as the Bohairic form of the qualitative of $\tau\lambda\kappa\sigma$, the standard Sahidic form being $\tau\lambda\kappa\eta\tau$.⁴⁸ $\tau\eta\eta\epsilon$ occurs at 137,7 as the pronominal suffix of the verb, in the form known in Achmimic and Subachmimic rather than the more usual Sahidic form $\tau\eta\eta\tau$.⁴⁹ $\sigma\gamma\lambda\epsilon$ (135,13) has been identified as an Achmimic, Bohairic, and Fayyumic form of $\sigma\gamma\epsilon$ ($\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon$) in the expression $\sigma\gamma\lambda\epsilon$ $\sigma\lambda\eta\epsilon$, though $\sigma\gamma\lambda\epsilon$ is attested in certain Sahidic constructions as well.⁵⁰ Again, $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\omega}\eta\eta\sigma\eta\sigma\epsilon$ (133,5) makes use of the Sahidic and Subachmimic form of $\bar{\omega}\eta\eta\sigma\eta\sigma\epsilon$, the Bohairic and Fayyumic form being $\bar{\omega}\epsilon\eta\eta\sigma\eta\sigma\epsilon$; yet, as Crum (570a) points out, the Bohairic seems to prefer this expression, while the Sahidic often utilizes the Greek or some other Coptic expression.⁵¹ Once again, the particle $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$ (138,16) is utilized in the usual Subachmimic form; but although the standard Sahidic form is $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$, Crum (645b) cites one instance where $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$ is also attested in Sahidic.⁵² Finally, the pronominal form $\chi\sigma$ (138, 22; probably also at 134,15) is known as a Subachmimic and Bohairic pronominal form of $\chi\omega$, the Sahidic (and also the Subachmimic) being attested as $\chi\sigma\sigma$.⁵³

Furthermore, Hans-Martin Schenke and Orval Wintermute have also contributed some additional observations on dialectical matters. Schenke⁵⁴ has suggested that 133,24-26 be restored as $\epsilon\tau\lambda[\kappa]\bar{\eta}\tau\omega[\sigma]\gamma$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}$ $\eta\epsilon\kappa\lambda\lambda\sigma\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau\sigma\gamma\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}$ $\eta\epsilon\bar{\chi}\bar{\tau}$, and thus has solved the dilemma of this lacuna. It has been known, of course, that

ΜΑΤΩΟΥ is the Sahidic form of the qualitative of ΜΑΤΕ, and already at the end of June of 1967, H. J. Polotsky suggested that he expected some form of the verb for "to be pleased" in this passage.⁵⁵ In the Oxyrhynchite text of Acts 9:22 a clause occurs which is not to be found in either the Sahidic or the Bohairic: ετε γαππ̄τ̄ ἴτροου γρηϊ ἴζητη, "in whom God has taken pleasure." This clause, which is also found in Old Latin as "in quo deus bene sensit," bears a striking resemblance to the restored passage at 133,24-26. Not only are both clauses perfect relatives, but also both utilize a form of ε̄η-, ἴζητ̄. Wolf-Peter Funk⁵⁶ has thus suggested that ἴτροου is an Oxyrhynchite and πτωου a Sahidic form of the infinitive of ΜΑΤΕ.

Orval Wintermute has provided a couple of additional suggestions on some constructions in our tractate. According to him, the difference in form between ἴλαϣ ἴζε (133,4-5) and ἴλαϣ ἴρητε (134,26) may be due to dialectical influence, the former being Sahidic and the latter perhaps Bohairic.⁵⁷ Again, Wintermute suggests that the use of the relative with the demonstrative πη (134,12; 137,19; 138,27-28) illustrates the Bohairic type of relative substantive, without the aspirated stops of true Bohairic.⁵⁸ Indeed, as we have seen, elsewhere in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the relative substantive may be found with the definite article, for example πεγαγοϣωῃ̄ at 138,6.

Hence, although the Coptic of our tractate may be designated as Sahidic, a considerable number of dialectical variants may also be noted. Besides the dialectical forms which may be described as Subachmimic, to which the Nag Hammadi tractates in general bear ample witness, additional variants in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* also suggest particularly Bohairic forms. How are we to interpret this data relating to dialectical peculiarities? Although our present knowledge of the character and development of Coptic dialects is incomplete and imperfect, we may suggest three possible answers.

First of all, it could be suggested that the dialectical variants provide hints of sources which reflect the dialectical peculiarities of the Delta (Bohairic) or some other area to the north of Chenoboskeia and Pabau. Such a suggestion might be supported by the observation that certain dialectical forms

occur exclusively in particular sections of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* which on other grounds may be identified as unique units. Thus the Bohairic past temporal form ⲉⲧⲁ- is used four times in the tractate (135,12.15-16.17.22), each time within the context of the Savior's first revelatory answer (135,8-136,15),⁵⁹ which constitutes a section set off from the tractate by means of its opening subtitle (ⲉⲧⲉⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ, 135,8-9), its unchristianized character, and the concluding punctuation marks.⁶⁰

This source theory, however, assumes that sections of the tractate had an independent history as Coptic traditions, within areas of Egypt where certain dialects were dominant. Subsequently, this theory suggests, dialectically divergent materials were brought together and combined into a single tractate, with their dialectical peculiarities still evident. Such a theory, we would judge, cannot be maintained on the basis of the evidence in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* To begin with, this theory calls into question the usual assumption about the literary history of the Coptic materials in the Nag Hammadi library, namely that they were initially composed in Greek and later translated into Coptic, with only minor editorial work being done at the Coptic level. The dialectical evidence of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not suffice to contradict this supposition. Our tractate is too short to provide numerous examples, and the dialectical variants which can be observed do not usually cluster as neatly as the examples of the past temporal forms just noted.⁶¹

Two other possible explanations for the dialectical variants are more reasonable. On the one hand, it is conceivable that the scribe, with a native dialect other than Sahidic, was able to conform to standard Sahidic in only an imperfect and somewhat inconsistent manner. Such an explanation may be made more complex by the suggestion that a plurality of translators, scribes, and copyists may have turned their attention, at one time or another, to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, and may have approached the text with different philological standards and abilities. On the other hand, it may also be proposed that it is misleading even to suggest a truly standard Sahidic for the early Coptic of the Nag Hammadi library. Perhaps such early Coptic had not yet been sufficiently standardized and identified with

particular regions, but rather existed in a "mixed" state. According to this explanation, "standard Sahidic" is a term which is meaningful only at a later stage of the Coptic language.⁶²

Whatever may be the case with the dialectical variants, the philological peculiarities of our tractate remain, and provide a variegated texture for the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

NOTES

CHAPTER III

¹In addition to the minor lacunae, which can be filled with considerable confidence, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* presents us with only four major lacunae, all at the top of the latter pages of the codex: 137,1-2; 138,1; 139,1-4; 140,1-2.

²See the indices of proper names and Greek loan words above, pp. 47-49. These Greek loan words include terms which themselves have come into Greek as Semitic loan words: ἀμῆν (ⲁⲙⲏⲛ), Ἰεροσολῆμ (Ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲙ), Ἰησοῦς (Ⲓⲉⲥⲟῦⲥ).

³More conclusive would be the evidence of a Greek title, or Greek endings, or Greek idioms translated into clumsy Coptic; such evidence proves helpful in the analysis of other Coptic tractates. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the title utilizes Greek loan words, but the syntax is Coptic. Similarly, the nominal forms among the Greek loan words uniformly use the nominative singular endings, and the verbal forms imperatival endings (see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §280). Greek idioms (for example ἐν τῷ σώματι) are represented in our tractate, and certain difficult passages could conceivably be explained by referring to a suggested Greek *Vorlage* (see below, p. 188 n. 237).

⁴This grammatical analysis is based, in part, on discussions and unpublished studies by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. These studies are available in the Nag Hammadi Archive of the Institute; the most significant study for the following discussion is the paper of Orval Wintermute ("The Verbal System of VIII,2").

⁵For a brief introduction (with bibliography) to the Coptic dialects and the Coptic language in general, see Bentley Layton, "Coptic Language," IDBSup, 174-79.

⁶ⲉⲱⲏ occurs at 134,22; 135,9.15.21.25; ⲁⲓⲱⲏ is never used in the tractate. Note also ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲏ at 136,9. On the other hand, ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲏⲏ is used at 140,27, and ⲉⲓⲁⲉⲗ at 136,15. On itacism in the Greek of the period see BDF, §§22-25. Here it may also be observed that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* tends to prefer the ⲓ alone instead of ⲉⲓ in Coptic words. Thus ⲓⲱⲫⲓ rather than ⲉⲓⲱⲫⲓ occurs at 134,12. ⲓⲱⲧ is used consistently except for 136,28; 137,27: in the former instance the use of the abstract form may account for the retention of the ⲉⲓ, and in the latter instance the prefixed possessive adjective ⲏⲁ- (with its concluding ⲁ) may account for the spelling ⲉⲓⲱⲧ. (Though still likely, the ⲉ of ⲉⲓⲱⲧ is visually uncertain, since only a trace of ink is visible in this damaged section of papyrus.)

⁷See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §76.

⁸ ⲙⲓ-: 132,21; 133,3; 134,11; 135,[9].10.16.18.21; 136,5. 7.16.18; 137,22.25; 138,12; 139,27; 140,25. †-: 134,4.7; 135,[1].1.10.11.13; 136,15.27; 137,26; 140,17. ⲙⲓ-: 133,15.23; 135,2.21.25.27; 136,7.11; 137,10.16.[17].21; 140,8.

⁹On ⲛⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-, and ⲛⲉ- before words beginning with double consonants, see Till (*Koptische Grammatik*, §88) and Crum (258b).

¹⁰See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §87: †ⲣⲏⲏⲏ, when ⲧ is often written as † before an introductory ⲉⲓ.

¹¹See Walters, *An Elementary Coptic Grammar* (§20), where Ⲣⲛⲉ is cited as an example.

¹²The definite article is, after all, a demonstrative, albeit a weak demonstrative. Hence it becomes somewhat arbitrary to distinguish between ⲙⲓ-, †-, and ⲙⲓ- as comparable to our definite article on the one hand, and to our demonstrative on the other.

¹³Cp. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §96.

¹⁴Note ⲛⲉ as a copula at 134,17; 135,[10].20; 136,16; 137,3; 139,22.27; ⲧⲉ at 137,16; ⲛⲉ at 136,3. ⲛ- is used with a relative clause in a cleft sentence at 136,3 and 139,22, and ⲛ- at 137,6; see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §247; H. J. Polotsky, "Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen," *Or* 31 (1962) 413-30; more examples above, p. 71. ⲛⲉⲧⲉ with ⲁⲛⲟⲛ at 139,22 presents no real difficulty, and is attested in Coptic (Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §246; Polotsky, "Nominalsatz," 419-20). ⲛⲉ can also be used with the feminine ⲛⲥⲓ (Isis) in line 94 of the great magical papyrus of Paris (Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574); see *PGM* 1.70.

¹⁵See 133,21(bis).22; 134,3.4.6(bis).20; 137,15; 140,4. Possessive adjectives also function in a vocative fashion at 132,16; 133,6; 134,7; 139,13.21.28; 140,[3].

¹⁶See Crum, 154a.

¹⁷See 133,27; 135,17.19-20.22; 136,7-8; 137,4.11; 139,[17]; 140,5.

¹⁸Note the entries in the index of Coptic words, s.v. "ⲭⲱ."

¹⁹The ⲉ of ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲟ at 136,8 is in a lacuna, but may be restored with total confidence.

²⁰See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §348.

²¹Crum, 696a.

²²See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §298; Crum, 392b. Perhaps † is utilized as the imperative in 137,24 because of the idiomatic phrase † ⲥⲱ; note also the opinion of Lefort cited in Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (§298 n. 11).

²³The relative prefix can also be used in a nonverbal manner, as at 132,15; 136,23; 137,6.22; 138,7.

²⁴The same sort of quotation formula can be used in the Coptic (Sahidic) NT. Note, for example, Acts 8:24: $\lambda\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\delta\epsilon\ \iota\ \varsigma\iota\mu\omicron\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon;$ or again, Luke 19:16: $\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \Delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon.$

²⁵See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §475: "Der unechte Relativsatz."

²⁶On the independent use of such verbal forms, see *ibid.*, §334. $\epsilon\gamma\uparrow$ could be understood as a second present form, in which case the $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ phrase of 137,22 could be stressed.

²⁷On the nonverbal use of the circumstantial prefix $\epsilon-$ with a preposition, note 133,17; 138,3; 139,11.

²⁸See W. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (Munich: Beck, 1961) §264 ($\eta\lambda-$ for second perfect in Achmimic), §270 ($\eta\lambda-$ for imperfect in Bohairic, Achmimic, and Fayyumic).

²⁹No neat pattern can be seen in the use of $\eta\epsilon-$ and $\eta\lambda-$ in our tractate. Although the imperfects with $\eta\epsilon-$ occur within the general context of the revelatory answers of Christ, the second occurrence is in the quotation formula of the additional revelatory answer. $\eta\lambda-$ occurs once within the quotation formula introducing the questions raised by the apostles, and once in the description of the apostles discussing matters on the road to Jerusalem.

³⁰On the use of $\bar{\eta}-$ with Greek verbs in Sahidic and the dialects, see Crum (84a) and Till (*Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §187). In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, $\bar{\eta}-$ is used with a Greek verb at 137,29.29-30; 139,16-17; 140,14; a Greek verb is used without $\bar{\eta}-$ at 136,12.

³¹See Marvin R. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970) 25-27, 48-51; Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §361. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, $\chi\epsilon$ with the second future occurs only at the very beginning of the tractate, in the letter itself.

³² $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}$ with the conjunctive at 137,13 is discussed below.

³³See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §308; Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses*, 52-64.

³⁴First perfect: 132,17; 133,6.10.12.13.19.20.27; 134,2.2-3.9-10.13.19.25; 135,3.6.14.16.18.19.22.23.25.26.28; 136,4.6.[7].8.11.13-14.17.19.22-23.23-24.26.28; 137,1(?) .3-4.13-14.18; 138,4.5-6.8.10.13.16.17.18.21.22; 139,[5].5.6(bis) .8.9.[12].13.14.[16].16.16-17.17.18-19.19.20.24; 140,[2].8.9.10-11.11.13.14.16.24.26. First perfect negative: 133,3; 136,20-21.

³⁵ See Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §347. For both ⲉⲣⲁⲛ and ⲉⲣⲉⲗⲛ note may be taken of the discussion and references in Wintermute ("The Verbal System of VIII,2," 8-9) where he attempts to suggest a possible Middle Egyptian origin of the form ⲉⲣⲉⲗⲛ, in a setting where the ⲁⲗ- prefix was utilized to form the perfect and ⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲗ- was used for the relative; see also the example above, p. 81. In this connection, note Till (*Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §262) on the Subachmimic and Fayyumic forms.

³⁶ In the case of ⲉⲗϣⲙⲟⲩ at 136,5 it is also possible that the circumstantial functions in a manner analogous to the conjunctive (see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §331), and could be understood as a coordinate clause parallel to ⲗⲩⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲩ. In this interpretation the two clauses could be translated as follows: "they served him and praised him." Cp. the similar use of the Greek participle (BDF, §§419-20). Our interpretation, however, an interpretation which fits very well the use of the Coptic circumstantial as well as the Greek participle, seems to function better in the context: after the powers praised the Arrogant One (cp. also 135,26-28), they assumed their stance as his servants. Other adverbial ideas than the temporal are also possible, for example the instrumental: "they served him by praising him."

³⁷ On ⲟⲩⲩⲩ with the conjunctive, see Crum (500b). As we have seen, ⲟⲩⲩⲩ may be complemented by the infinitive elsewhere in the tractate. Wintermute ("The Verbal System of VIII,2," 4-5) may be consulted for his suggestions concerning the use of the conjunctive after ⲟⲩⲩⲩ. Among other things, he suggests that the conjunctive is used with ⲟⲩⲩⲩ much more frequently in Bohairic than in Sahidic. Such a tendency is also apparent from the few examples cited by Crum.

³⁸ See Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §267; *Koptische Grammatik*, §321.

³⁹ As Till claims (*Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §265) with regard to the *temporalis*, "Im B (ist es) durch Perf. II (= ⲉⲣⲁ- ersetzt" (parenthetical insertions mine).

⁴⁰ Cp. James M. Robinson, "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices," pp. 17-18 in *Les textes de Nag Hammadi* (NHS 7; ed. J.-E. Ménard; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

⁴¹ For example, the mere presence of the tail of a letter at 138,1 makes ⲗ a very likely restoration, for the scribe writes ⲗ's in a consistent way.

⁴² For a discussion of these scribal conventions, see Eric Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (London: Oxford University, 1971) 9-15.

⁴³ See Crum, 2a, 636b.

⁴⁴See Crum, 21b, 488b. In both Matt 7:11 and Heb 9:14, a *qal wa-homer* is utilized. In both instances the Bohairic has ⲓⲈ ΔΥΗⲢ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ , but the Sahidic uses the Greek loan words ΠΟΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ .

⁴⁵So with Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §153.

⁴⁶So also $\bar{\pi}$ -, $\bar{\pi}\mu\sigma$ °, at 137,5: $\bar{\pi}\mu\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$; $\bar{\pi}$ -, $\eta\lambda$ °, at 134,16: $\eta\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$; ϵ -, $\epsilon\rho\sigma$ °, at 138,23: $\epsilon\rho\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$ (also consider $\epsilon\rho\omega\epsilon$ at 139,9).

⁴⁷"Sa'idic with Achmimic tendency (mostly Theban)"; Crum, xiii b.

⁴⁸See also Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §218.

⁴⁹Ibid., §120. Elsewhere, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* can make use of ⲧⲏⲩⲧ̅ⲏ , for example at 137,26.

⁵⁰According to Crum (505b), $\sigma\gamma\lambda\epsilon$ occurs as a standard spelling in several dialects, Sahidic included, of the pronominal form and conjunctive participle of $\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon$. Also see Crum, 385b, s.v. "ⲘⲁⲗⲎⲈ."

⁵¹Consider, for example, Acts 8:4, where the Bohairic has $\text{ⲈⲮⲔⲓ ⲬⲈⲚⲨⲐⲠⲠⲠⲓ ⲎⲏⲓⲘⲁⲕⲓ}$ and the Sahidic $\text{ⲈⲮⲔⲁⲬⲈ ⲐⲈⲓⲠⲠ ⲎⲏⲠⲠⲁⲕⲈ}$; or 1 Cor 15:2, where the Bohairic reads ⲁⲓⲔⲓ ⲬⲈⲚⲨⲐⲠⲠⲓ and the Sahidic ⲎⲧⲁⲓⲈⲮⲁⲢⲢⲈⲁⲓⲔⲈ . Also see Crum, 257b, s.v. "ⲧⲁⲬⲈ ⲐⲈⲓⲠⲠ."

⁵²Also note Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §§322, 341.

⁵³See Crum, 754a; Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §§193, 200. Till classifies $\chi\sigma\sigma$ ° as a Sahidic, Achmimic, and Subachmimic form, and $\chi\sigma$ ° as a Bohairic form. The sole example of $\chi\sigma\sigma$ ° in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* occurs at 138,2, where there is considerable uncertainty about the restoration.

⁵⁴Schenke, "On the Middle Egyptian Dialect of the Coptic Language," 58*(104); also see Bethge, col. 168 n. 8. Schenke has advised me privately, in letters of 11 May and 21 September 1978, of an additional occurrence of the verb $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\gamma$ in a Coptic fragment (to be published by Dr. Bernd Jörg Diebner).

⁵⁵Notes of Frederik Wisse's consultation with Prof. Polotsky, on file at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (p. 1).

⁵⁶W.-P. Funk, "Zur Syntax des koptischen Qualitativs," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 104 (1977) 31-32.

⁵⁷Wintermute, "The Verbal System of VIII,2," 3. Note the examples cited by Crum at 305a; $(\bar{\pi})\lambda\omega \bar{\pi}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ is often used in Bohairic, and a construction utilizing $\epsilon\epsilon$ or the Greek in Sahidic.

⁵⁸Wintermute, "The Verbal System of VIII,2," 14-15, where an additional example from the Gospel of John is given. See also Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §§358-60.

⁵⁹Note also the use of ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, 135,10-11. This section is discussed below, pp. 121-28.

⁶⁰In three other instances (133,8.9-10.18) the past temporal conforms to standard Sahidic, and these three forms occur in the narrative framework of the tractate.

⁶¹Here we may also note that the evidence of the grammatical peculiarities is similarly inconclusive as evidence for the independent transmission of particular Coptic sections of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* In most cases where certain sections show grammatical peculiarities, this situation may be traced to the character of the Greek *Vorlage*; see below, p. 190 (with the notes). But also see the use of ⲕⲉ with the second future in a final clause, discussed above, p. 75, and esp. n. 31.

⁶²For a general discussion of these issues, see Layton, "Coptic Language," IDBSup, 175-77.

CHAPTER IV

COMMENTARY

Title (132,10-11)

The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* opens with a superscribed title: $\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\ \eta\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\phi\iota\lambda\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$, "The letter of Peter which he sent to Philip," usually shortened and simplified in the secondary literature to "The Letter of Peter to Philip." That these two lines are intended to designate the tractate title cannot be doubted. The use of *eisthesis*, the extra space between 132,11 and 132,12, the *dicolon* and *diple obelismene* at the end of 132,11, and the marginal punctuation after 132,11 and decoration at 132,13 all point to the fact that the scribe considered 132,10-11 to function as the tractate title. The superscription is the only indication of a title for the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, for no titular *incipit* and no subscription appear.¹

According to its title, then, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is an $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$, and like a few other tractates in the Nag Hammadi library the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* has some relationship to this popular *Gattung* of the letter.² The *Ap. Jas.* takes the form of a letter from James to a certain unknown addressee ([...] $\theta\omicron\varsigma$, I 1,2); James claims that he has written this work $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \alpha\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\sigma\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \mu\mu\eta\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\beta\tilde{\nu}\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, "in Hebrew characters" (1,15-16), and can use the terms $\lambda\omicron\kappa\rho\gamma\gamma\phi\omicron\eta$ (1,10.30-31) and $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (1,28) to describe his letter. Again, the *Treat. Res.* claims to be written by some teacher to a certain Rheginos, and although no opening of the letter is given, a closing is provided at 50,11-16. *Eugnostos*, too, is in the form of a letter, apparently with the appropriate opening and closing elements.³ In addition to these letters in the Nag Hammadi library, we know of other letters which were in use among the Gnostics; besides Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora*, we can cite letters of Valentinus, Monoimus the Arabian, and Marcion.

Furthermore, just as a magnificent epistolary tradition developed around Paul and the Pauline school, so also a more modest collection of letters came to be ascribed to Peter. These Petrine or pseudo-Petrine letters include, in addition to

the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, the two catholic letters of Peter in the NT, the *Epistula Petri* at the opening of the Pseudo-Clementines, and perhaps another letter of Peter known only from a brief quotation in Optatus.⁴ Of these letters the *Epistula Petri* is of particular interest, since it shares a number of features with our tractate. Not only is it prefixed to the beginning of a collection of materials relating to Peter; it also is intended to attest the authority of Peter, and as it concludes the *Contestatio* begins by referring to the recipient--here James the Just--reading and responding to the letter in a manner reminiscent of 133,8-11 in our tractate.⁵ The *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, is not identical with any of these letters of Peter. It must represent a newly discovered work in the Petrine corpus, and it constitutes an additional witness to the popularity of the epistolary genre in the early church.⁶

A problem emerges, however, when we compare the title of this tractate with the actual contents. Though the tractate is entitled $\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\ \pi\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, this letter of Peter actually constitutes only a small part of the entire tractate; clearly the letter itself concludes at 133,8, and the remainder of the tractate is of a genre quite different from that of the letter. Much of the balance of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* may be described, with certain qualifications, as a "dialogue" between the resurrected Christ and the apostles, and thus may represent yet another example of the use of this famous and popular *Gattung* among Gnostic Christians.⁷ In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, the setting provided and the questions presented bring some unique features to the tractate, and should caution us against a facile classification of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

What is the relationship, then, between the title and the letter, on the one hand, and the nonepistolary remainder of the tractate on the other hand? Though for the scribe of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, 132,10-11 functions as the tractate title, we may assume that at some prior point in the literary history of the materials in our tractate the situation may have been quite different. It seems probable that something similar to 132,10-11 once functioned as an *incipit* or title for only the letter itself. As the literary materials were reworked, however, the

title was utilized not only for the letter but also for additional materials from the traditions relating to Peter. In this way a somewhat misleading title was appropriated for the tractate.

Letter (132,12-133,8)

Following the tractate title, the tractate begins with the prefixed letter of Peter. The letter opens (132,12-15) in typical Greek epistolary fashion, and provides an identification of the sender (by name and description), an identification of the principal addressee (by name and twofold description) as well as his companions, and a typical greeting. Unfortunately, the greeting cannot be restored with complete confidence. Clearly a form of the Greek $\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ is utilized, but the lacuna at 132,15 does not allow us to ascertain precisely which form it is. The extraordinary length required for the line if $\chi\epsilon\{(\imath)\rho\epsilon\}$ is to be read would suggest that an abbreviated greeting, perhaps followed by a punctuation mark, is to be preferred; extant Greek letters illustrate that the greeting can be abbreviated as χ , $\chi\alpha$, $\chi\alpha\iota$, or $\chi\alpha\iota\rho$.⁸ On the other hand, unusually long lines, particularly with Greek loan words, are by no means unknown in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, so that $\chi\epsilon\{(\imath)\rho\}$ and $\chi\epsilon\{(\imath)\rho\epsilon\}$ must remain at least possible readings. After the greeting, the body of the letter begins, in good epistolary fashion, with $\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$.⁹ At the conclusion of the body of the letter, however, no closing elements are to be found; except for this lack the letter of Peter resembles private Hellenistic letters in form and content.¹⁰

The descriptions of Peter and Philip deserve special mention.¹¹ Peter is described as $\eta\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\varsigma$, a description which is in no way a surprise, considering the universal testimony in early Christian literature that Peter is not only an apostle but often the first of the apostles. The depiction of Philip is somewhat more problematic. He is termed $\eta\epsilon\mu\sigma\omicron\eta$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$, a common and appropriate enough phrase for Philip,¹² but he is also described as $\eta\epsilon\mu\theta\upsilon\beta\eta\rho$ $\eta\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. When we note that the particular Philip here addressed seems to

be none other than the Philip of Acts 6:5, 8:4-40, and 21:8, we may be surprised by the title *ὑπηραποστολος*. After all, in the NT Acts this Philip is described as one of the seven "deacons," and is called *ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς* (21:8). Philip the apostle is one of the Twelve, and is also listed as one of this group in Acts (1:13). For the author of Acts, who goes to such lengths to provide apostolic sanction for the Hellenistic mission of Philip in Samaria, there is a clear distinction between these two Philips. Furthermore, Luke is somewhat jealous in his use of the term *ἀπόστολος* in Acts; in general it is reserved for the exclusive group of the Twelve, though in at least two instances (14:4, 14) Paul and Barnabas can be described as *οἱ ἀπόστολοι*, Christian missionaries in a rather wide sense.¹³ Other sources, however, some as early as the second century C.E., tend to identify these two Philips; such seems to be the case with the Bishop Polycrates of Ephesus as well as Clement of Alexandria,¹⁴ and may also be the case in our tractate. In other words, just as the various women named Mary may merge at times into a "universal Mary," particularly in certain tractates within the Nag Hammadi corpus, so also Philip the apostle and Philip the evangelist may no longer be distinguished in certain documents from the second century and on.

The body of the letter of Peter presents the request of Peter that Philip join the gathering of the apostles. Peter begins with a reminder of the previous instructions from *πενχοεῖς ἡν̄ πωτηρ̄ ἡτε̄ πκοσμος̄ τη̄ρ̄* (132,18-19), whom Peter can also identify as *πεννογτε̄ τ̄ε̄* (133,7-8).¹⁵ In a manner reminiscent of the end of Luke and the beginning of Acts, the apostles have been instructed to come together before going forth to preach. In Luke 24:49 Jesus issues the command, "ὁμοῖς δὲ καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν," a command also mentioned in Acts 1:4, where Jesus alludes to the *ἐπαγγελία τοῦ πατρὸς*. Similarly in the letter of Peter, the promise is mentioned as characteristic of the salvation to be preached and taught.¹⁶ Philip, however, had kept himself separate from the apostles, and was unwilling to participate in the apostolic gathering. Hence Peter now reiterates the request that Philip and the others come together.

The theme of the separation of Philip is also to be found in Acts 8:4-40, and especially the account of the mission to the Samaritans in 8:4-25. According to Luke, Philip the evangelist, one of the Seven, flees from Jerusalem on account of the persecution, and in Samaria preaches the gospel to the people there. The official ministry to the Gentiles has not yet begun. That ministry is to begin through the apostles, especially Peter (Acts 10:1-11:18) and Paul (Acts 9:1-31; chapters 13 and following, and especially 15:1-35). Apparently, Luke suggests later (Acts 11:19), this mission abroad was restricted to Jews; but Luke must qualify this statement by acknowledging that *τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Κύπριοι καὶ Κυρηναῖοι* did indeed speak to Gentiles as well (11:20)--hence the origin of the church at Antioch. In other words, Luke wishes to emphasize the primary role and authority of the apostles: it is from the apostles that the ministry to the Gentiles must begin. While Philip, then, is a successful preacher and magician, and even moves Simon Magus to belief and baptism, he cannot confer the crucial gift of the Holy Spirit. That gift requires the attention of *οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι* (8:14). Thus Peter and John travel to Samaria so that the believers there might receive the Spirit; *οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιπεπτωκός, μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ* (8:16). In this way Luke portrays the mission of Philip as subordinate to the central authority of the apostles: his separation is due to persecution, and his mission is dependent on that of the apostles.

In this connection we must remember that Luke's portrayal of life in the early church is, as Ernst Haenchen has convincingly demonstrated, a portrayal characterized by specific theological, historical, apologetic, and dramatic concerns.¹⁷ Luke as historian traces the "ideal curve"¹⁸ of the primitive Christian mission: "Everything that might interfere with its straightforward movement is smoothed out or omitted."¹⁹ As a result, the prominent place of Peter and the apostles in the first half of Acts, and the development of the Christian mission from Jerusalem with the apostles to the ends of the earth with Paul, leave little room for a dynamic and autonomous

mission on the part of missionaries like Philip. On the one hand, Philip must be subservient to the apostles, and particularly Peter; on the other hand, any real friction or disagreement between Philip and Peter must be smoothed over. Thus Luke provides a placid portrayal of the innovative mission of the pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christians, and presents us with rather domesticated pictures of Stephen, Philip, and Nicolaus.²⁰

The opening letter of Peter in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, acknowledges the separation and disagreement between Peter and Philip. As Peter writes, Philip not only remained separated from the apostolic group, but also was initially unwilling to join the others (133,1-5). Thus, whether through insight into the text of Acts, or through exposure to additional sources of information, the author of this pseudo-apostolic letter indicates more clearly than Luke the independence of Philip and his mission. It is tantalizing to speculate that perhaps the author of this letter of Peter was aware of additional traditions regarding Philip and the emergence of Samaritan Christianity. Even in Acts, the positive association between Philip and Simon Magus in Samaria, along with the character of Philip himself, may suggest that the historical Philip was involved in some way with an esoteric and perhaps proto-Gnostic Samaritan Christian movement. Yet it must also be admitted that the place of Philip in our tractate is less that of the assertive founder of a religious movement than that of the repentant and submissive apostle. As in Acts, so also here Philip ultimately is submissive to the will of the apostle Peter; he returns from his separation, and gathers with the other apostles. Hence in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, as in Acts, the day belongs to Peter. His is the preeminent authority, and the letter and tractate champion his cause.

Our tractate, then, opens with a pseudonymous letter attributed to Peter. Philip occupies a place in the plot only at the very opening of the tractate. In fact, after the reference to his willing submission to the authority of Peter at 133,9, Philip disappears from the scene, and is only implicitly present as an anonymous member of the apostolic group. Thus Philip provides the occasion for the manifestation of the authority of

Peter, and the letter of Peter bears witness to that authority in a manner not unlike the *Epistula Petri* at the beginning of the *Kerygmata Petrou*.²¹

Hans-Gebhard Bethge has suggested that the curious role of Philip, limited as it is to the first part of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, reflects the nature of the tractate. The *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, he proposes, "ist gar kein Text, sondern nur ein Textfragment und 'Buchfüller.'"²² Bethge entitled the earlier typescript of his article "Der sogenannte 'Brief des Petrus an Philippus,' oder: Die Einleitung gnostischer Acta Philippi." For, Bethge suggests,

Es ist nur der Anfang einer Schrift. Und da, wo der Codex VIII zu Ende ist, müsste man sich vorstellen, dass diese Schrift weiterging etwa mit den Worten: "Philippus aber wurde ausgesandt und ging in das Land der Phrygier." Kurzum, wir hätten hier eine Art erstes Kapitel von gnostischen Philippus-Akten vor uns.²³

Bethge's theory is an exciting hypothesis. The evidence of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles indicates that portions of these works were frequently copied in the form of a single Act; even the manuscript BG 8502 contains, as its fourth and final tractate, a work with the subscribed title $\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\iota\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ (141,7). Yet this theory seems too clever and too ingenious. If we accept this proposal, we must be willing to assume that this "Textfragment" just happens not to mention Philip except at the beginning, and is about to turn back to Philip again as the Act conveniently comes to a close. In other words, Bethge's suggestion is certainly not impossible, but requires the supposition of an extremely interesting coincidence. Furthermore, Bethge's hypothesis implies that Philip is the leading actor in the tractate, or at least in the document of which the tractate is only the first part, or introduction. Our analysis of the tractate, however, leads us to conclude that Peter is clearly the protagonist throughout the document, even at the very beginning.

Hence we prefer to think of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* as a complete document in its own right, with an integrity of its own. Indeed, it has a rather definite focus: a Christian Gnostic

interpretation of traditional Christian and Gnostic materials, particularly materials resembling those in the NT Acts and the Gnostic Sophia myths.

Account of the Gathering (133,8-17)

Peter the chief apostle gathers the apostles together. After receiving the letter, Philip becomes properly submissive to the authority of Peter and the orders of Jesus, and gladly joins in the gathering. In fact, 133,8-11 functions as the conclusion of the Philip scene; we may even detect a seam at this point in the tractate, as the author resets the stage by having Peter gather the rest of the apostles as well (133,12-13). In any event, with the *τοτε* of 133,12 the focus turns to Peter and the anonymous apostolic group gathering together.²⁴ This motif of gathering together, reminiscent of the closing verses of Luke 24 and the opening verses of Acts 1,²⁵ occurs a number of times in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, and constitutes a major theme in the tractate. Thus the verb *συναγω* is utilized four times in our tractate (133,12.15-16; 140,[2].13), while the similar phrase *ἐν ἑγμᾶ* occurs an additional four times (132, 19-20; 133,3.18; 137,23-24).

The first meeting takes place on the Mount of Olives, depicted as a customary place for gathering.²⁶ Acts 1:12 provides a close parallel for this scene and its conclusion; the apostles return to Jerusalem *ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου ἑλαιῶνος*.²⁷ In addition, as the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* intimates in 133, 15-17, the Mount of Olives is described in the NT and early Christian literature as a favorite gathering place for Jesus and the disciples. Thus elsewhere the Mount of Olives is designated as the place where Jesus and his followers gather for the sake of apocalyptic revelations (Mark 13:3; Matt 24:3), prophetic utterances (Mark 14:26 par. Matt 26:30, also Luke 22:39), perhaps prayer and solace (Luke 21:37; John 8:1), and the final revelatory dialogue with the risen Christ before the ascension (Acts 1:12). In other Christian literature, too, the Mount of Olives is noted as a place of revelatory utterances, dialogue, and marvelous disclosures,²⁸ a place appropriate for

apocalyptic revelations.²⁹ To be sure, in the ancient world in general, mountains figure as holy places, perfectly fitting for the disclosure of divinity in hierophanies. The sacred becomes manifest on the holy mountain, whether that be Fuji, Olympus, Saphon, Sinai, Carmel, Zion, or Olivet.³⁰ Prophecy, prayer, sacrifice, and cultic activities are most appropriate on a mountain, for there God is present. Hence the mountain becomes the scene, in the OT, NT, and especially apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature, for prophetic and apocalyptic disclosures of various sorts; and Jesus is depicted as withdrawing, praying, preaching his so-called "Sermon on the Mount," teaching his disciples, and appearing in transfigured glory upon one mountain or another.³¹

It is hardly surprising, then, that Gnostic documents which include revelatory dialogues and disclosures of the resurrected Christ frequently take place, as with the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, on mountains. *Pistis Sophia* describes the disciples and a glorious Jesus upon the Mount of Olives. The *Soph. Jes. Chr.* depicts a gathering of the twelve disciples and the seven women on a mountain in Galilee called "Place of Harvesttime (and) Joy" (III 91,1-2), where the resurrected Savior appears in glorious light; reference is also made to teachings on Olivet, which is said to be in Galilee. The *Apoc. Paul* has Paul standing on "the mountain of Jericho" (V 19,12-13), perhaps the Mount of Olives, about to learn of hidden mysteries.³² And thus the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, reflecting the Christian traditions and anticipating the revelation which is to follow, also has the apostles assembled on that favorite mountain, Olivet.

The locale is described as the place where the apostles used to assemble when "the blessed Christ"³³ was in the body. Such a statement is important for its reference back to the bodily life of Jesus before his death. Indeed, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* provides a positive evaluation of previous traditions regarding Jesus, and consciously seeks to build upon and reinterpret these traditions. Also interesting in this present context is the phrase $\tau\eta\ \sigma\omega\mu\alpha$. This phrase is utilized in two forms in our tractate: with the definite article (136,17; 138,3) and without any article (133,17; 139,11).³⁴ Obviously

a Greek phrase lies behind the Coptic of our tractate, but the precise meaning of this phrase is not immediately apparent. How docetic is this phrase, and how literally are we to understand $\xi\bar{\eta}$ (n) $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$?

Greek phrases of a very similar sort are well attested, and provide some aid in clarifying the meaning of our text. The phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ and similar phrases are used in the NT upon several occasions. In 2 Corinthians 5, where Paul speaks about the nature of $\tau\acute{o}$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (5:2), he declares that now our life is lived $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (5:6), and we are responsible for what we do $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (5:10); yet he admits to a desire to be away $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (5:8). Later, in the section depicting the ecstatic experience, Paul states that he was not sure whether he was $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ -- $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$, δ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu$ (12:2). Again, the author of Hebrews recommends compassion, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ (viz. $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) $\theta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (13:3). In the *Acts of Thomas*, too, the apostle Thomas states that certain things cannot be declared $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi'$ $\theta\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ (36). Later, in chapter 66, Thomas expresses the same thought a bit differently when he emphasizes that he also is a man $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\delta\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$. Near the end of the *Acts*, in the section on the $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ of the apostle, Thomas realizes that henceforth he will speak no more $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (159); soon he will experience an apparent death which is actually release from $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (160).

The examples could be multiplied,³⁵ but the matter has by now become clear. The phrases $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ seem to refer most often to mortal life, earthly existence in a mortal body. This existence $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ($\tau\acute{\eta}$) $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ can be transcended, however, in ecstasy and death, when one may experience a reality $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. This new reality may be described as a disembodied existence, at least in the sense of no longer being in this mortal body.

In such a manner the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* can also utilize the phrases $\xi\bar{\eta}$ $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$ and $\xi\bar{\eta}$ $\kappa\epsilon\omega\mu\alpha$. The references back to the time when Jesus was $\xi\bar{\eta}$ (n) $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$ refer to his life in relation to an earthly body. The precise relationship between the heavenly Christ and the earthly body is not made clear by the phrase

ἔτι (n) σωμα; the author will attempt to clarify this matter later in the tractate (136,16-137,4; 139,15-28). It is obvious from the parallels cited, however, that this phrase need not be taken in a docetic sense, but simply may refer to the time when Jesus was alive on the earth, and subject to a physical body.

Account of the Two Prayers (133,17-134,9)

Introduced by τοτε, the account of the two prayers opens (133,17-21) with a reiteration of the gathering theme and proceeds to offer a brief description of the preparation of the apostles for prayer. Their posture for prayer is the well-known, respectful posture of genuflection. This posture of humility in the presence of an honorable person or a divine being has been utilized from ancient times, particularly in the Near East, and was a significant part of Jewish and Christian piety. Such a posture must have been used in the church from the earliest days, since even the NT reflects such genuflection. Thus not only does the NT present scenes where genuflection suggests homage to a worthy person, especially Jesus (for example Mark 1:40, Matt 17:14, and the like); frequently genuflection also accompanies prayer and thus reflects the emerging custom in the early church. Such a description of the appropriate posture for prayer is especially common in Luke-Acts (Luke 22:41; Acts 9:40, 20:36, 21:5, and apparently 7:60), and is also used rather extensively in the later Christian sources.³⁶ The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* reflects such a Christian custom, and may suggest that some Christian Gnostic believers also practiced genuflection in their communal prayers.³⁷

Two prayers are presented by the kneeling apostles. In structure these two prayers are remarkably similar, and may reflect the prayers in use among the Christians behind the tractate. The first prayer (133,21-134,1) is directed to the Father, the second (134,3-9) to the Son; their similar structure and complementary forms would suggest that they may also have had a complementary function in a Christian community. Both prayers open with a compound statement of address, utilizing appropriate vocatives and descriptive clauses.³⁸ In the

first case a triple vocative is used; the third vocative in the series is expanded, and a descriptive clause is appended. In the second case more vocatives are used, and the third element functions as a descriptive clause; the vocatives in this case seem to reflect some of the favorite titles in use for Christ. Following the statement of address, both prayers present a petition;³⁹ in each case the request itself is simple, consisting of a very short imperatival clause, with additional elements added for the sake of substantiation or reiteration. In the first case reference is made to $\tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau$, and the petition is reiterated at the conclusion of the prayer. The emphasis upon $\tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau$ in the first prayer not only suggests that Jesus functioned in a mediatorial role, but also indicates that the first prayer could lead quite naturally into the second. In the second case the $\epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\eta$ clause attached to the petition provides the grounds for the request, and suggests that the prayer is literally a matter of life and death;⁴⁰ the theme of suffering and persecution, so prevalent particularly near the conclusion of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, thus plays a significant role in the prayer as well.

The themes and terms utilized in the two prayers provide important hints for our understanding of the origin and function of the prayers. "Father" ($\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$) is such a common term used to describe and address God in Jewish and Christian prayers that it serves practically as a universal term of address; it is to be found in the so-called Lord's Prayer, but it is also used in numerous other early Christian prayers. "Father of the light" is a more specific phrase. It is reminiscent of Johannine themes, and reminds us of the statement that $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \phi\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (1 John 1:5).⁴¹ Furthermore, $\tau\omicron\ \phi\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ is now shining in the world (1 John 2:8; John 1:9), and that light is Christ (John 3:19; 8:12); hence God is $\tau\omicron\ \phi\omega\varsigma$ and the Father of $\tau\omicron\ \phi\omega\varsigma$. John apparently reflects Gnostic usage of "light," a term which is dearly loved by most Gnostics and is used to designate what is characteristic of and derived from the heavenly realm: God is light, his world is light, his Christ is light, his seeds are light.⁴²

This Father, the apostles in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* confess, possesses *ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ*. Elsewhere God can be called *ἄφθαρτος* (Rom 1:23; 1 Tim 1:17; *Kerygma Petrou* 2), and it can be said that *ἀφθαρσία* is characteristic of the new life of the future (for example, 1 Cor 15:42-54); in *2 Clem.* 20.5 Jesus can even be termed *ἀρχηγός τῆς ἀφθαρσίας*. In the *Epistola Apostolorum* Jesus also speaks in a similar manner of "the incorruptibility of my Father."⁴³ In the Gnostic sources *ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ* functions particularly as a descriptive term for the powers, the glories, and the aeons of heaven. The *Gos. Eg.*, for example, depicts heaven filled with the pleroma of the glories, the lights, the thrones, and *ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ*; included in the description is a discussion of how *ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ* are established (III 55,1) and how the praise of *ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ* is offered (III 50,8).⁴⁴

The first prayer in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* proceeds to refer to Jesus as *πεκαλογ ετογαβ τϵ πεϵτ* (ὁ ἄγιος παῖς σου Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός).⁴⁵ This phrase was a primitive element in Christian confession and prayer; it occurs in similar form and in the context of prayer in Acts 4:27 and 4:30, as well as *Did.* 9.2, 9.3, 10.2, and 10.3.⁴⁶ It is derived from OT discussions on the *παῖς θεοῦ* (for example in Deutero-Isaiah) and was apparently utilized in the earliest Palestinian Christian community as a Christological title. The meaning of *παῖς θεοῦ* seems to have shifted, however, from "servant of God" to "child of God," particularly in Gentile communities; we can see this latter meaning clearly reflected in the Coptic *αλογ*.⁴⁷ It should be noted that the relevant phrases in Acts 4:27 and 4:30, utilizing forms of *ὁ ἄγιος παῖς σου Ἰησοῦς*, come extremely close to the phrase in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*; the Sahidic NT uses *πεκαμπε* in both instances, but the Bohairic resembles our tractate in using *πεκαλογ*. Furthermore, it is said that the Father takes pleasure in or is well pleased with (*Ἰτωου εἶν; εὐδοκεῖν ἐν*)⁴⁸ Jesus Christ. Such a statement recalls the declaration of God on the occasion of the baptism or transfiguration of Jesus. In Mark 1:11, Matt 3:17, and Luke 3:22 the heavenly *φωνή* of God utters the decree of election at the time of the baptism of Jesus; in Matt 17:5 and 2 Pet 1:17 the heavenly voice makes a similar utterance on the occasion of the transfiguration.⁴⁹

The *Gos. Eb.* fragment 3 also uses an εὐδοκεῖν clause in its account of Jesus' baptism, and adds that a great light accompanied this marvelous occurrence. In addition, in Isa 42:1-4, quoted in Matt 12:18-20, use is made of παῖς in conjunction with an εὐδοκεῖν clause, as apparently was also the case in the Greek *Vorlage* to the Coptic *Ep. Pet. Phil.* It may also be noted that in each of these instances εὐδοκεῖν is used in the aorist, and the sense is comparable to the English present perfect; these aorist verbs may account for the first perfect verbs utilized in the Coptic NT as well as in our tractate. To complete the picture we should also recall that in some Latin and Coptic (Oxyrhynchite) texts of Acts 9:22 a similar phrase is introduced, and forms of *sentio bene* and ἡτοοῦ are employed.

Several additional terms and phrases are used to describe Christ. He is called φωστῆρ, a term used occasionally in the NT (Phil 2:15;⁵⁰ Rev 21:11), but never to depict Christ-- although, as we have seen, NT traditions can indeed link Christ and τὸ φῶς. φωστῆρ and φωστήρ are commonly utilized within Gnosticism, however, where these terms can function in a dualistic way, just as φῶς can function over against σκοτία in John; hence in our tractate, at 133,27-134,1 the φωστῆρ is contrasted with the κἄκε. In Gnostic documents φωστῆρ can be used to describe the heavenly lights, as in the *Ap. John*, or the Gnostic illuminator or revealer, whether that be Christ or some other illuminator.⁵¹

Certain other titles and epithets are provided for Christ in the second prayer. Some of these titles are very familiar from the NT and other early Christian literature, titles such as ἡγῆρ (ὁ υἱὸς) and ἡκστ (ὁ Χριστός). These titles, however, are qualified by such terms as ἡωῆ and ἡμῆτῆρ; in addition, the descriptive clause makes mention of πογοειν. Roughly similar phrases can be found in the NT, to be sure. We need only think of υἱὸς εἰρήνης (Luke 10:6), υἱὸς (τοῦ) φωτός (Luke 16:8; John 12:36; 1 Thess 5:5), τέκνα φωτός (Eph 5:8), υἱοὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως (Luke 20:36), υἱὸς παρακλησέως (Acts 4:36), and the like, which may be Hebraisms.⁵² Furthermore, they are not used to depict Jesus, who is more frequently described in the NT as υἱὸς Δαυίδ, υἱὸς (τοῦ) θεοῦ, or υἱὸς (τοῦ) ἀνθρώπου. Such

phrases as are used in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are also to be found in other Gnostic sources, which can use these titles independently or with abstract qualifiers; and the particular qualifying terms utilized in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*-- $\text{ΠΩΝ}\tilde{\eta}$, ἸΜΠῚΑΤΜΟΥ , ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ --constitute some of the favorite terms of the Gnostics.⁵³

A final title depicting Christ is ΡΕΨΩΤΕ (ΛΥΤΡΩΤῆς), a term which is employed only once in the NT, at Acts 7:35, where it is used of Moses. The term ΩΤΕ , however, is more common in the NT, and can be utilized as both a noun and a verb. In the Nag Hammadi corpus ΡΕΨΩΤΕ is to be found in several other contexts. In the *Tri. Trac.*, for example, ΡΕΨΩΤΕ is used as a title of Christ the Logos at I 81,17 and particularly 87,7.⁵⁴

The two prayers of 133,17-134,9 thus are complementary prayers preserving primitive Christian elements. The terms employed and the perspective taken are not indisputably Gnostic, to be sure. In fact, as we have seen, the prayers illustrate traditional Christian features to be found in a number of diverse sources. Yet it cannot be denied that the particular constellation of terms in these prayers is especially appropriate for Christian Gnostics, who frequently emphasize the glorious and luminous nature of God and Christ. This observation suggests that the various elements within the prayers may have been selected and shaped by such Christian Gnostics. They pray in a more general manner to the glorious Father to be heard, and in a more specific manner to the glorious Son to be given power in the midst of adversity. The request for power is especially important in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, for such power will enable the believers to combat the archons (137,25-28) by going forth to preach (140,19-21.26-27). It is in response to these prayers, then, that Christ comes forth to speak.

Account of the First Appearance (134,9-18)

After the two prayers have been offered, then (ΤΟΥΤΕ : 134,9) a theophany occurs: ΟΥΝΟΣ ἸΟΥΟΕΙΝ and ΟΥΣΜΗ come in answer to the prayers of the apostles. This theophany constitutes the first appearance of the resurrected Christ recorded in our

tractate, though the oblique references to the orders received from Christ (132,17-133,1; 133,7-8) could conceivably refer to some earlier appearance or appearances of the resurrected Christ.⁵⁵

The appearance of the resurrected Christ as a light and a voice represents a common way of speaking about the resurrection appearances in Gnostic circles. Such a portrayal of a glorious resurrection appearance constitutes an extremely early portrayal, apparently going back to the very early days of the primitive church. Paul, after all, uses similar terms to present his understanding of the resurrection of believers and, by analogy, the resurrection of Christ in 1 Corinthians 15; Christ has risen from the dead, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων (15:20). On the question of the nature of the resurrected σῶμα, Paul emphasizes that it is a σῶμα πνευματικόν (15:44), raised in ἀφθαρσία (15:42), δόξα, and δύναμις (15:43). Indeed, τὸ φθαρτὸν must be clothed with ἀφθαρσία, and τὸ θνητὸν with ἀθανασία (15:54). The last Adam, the ἐπουράνιος Man, became a πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν (15:45); for σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται, οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ (15:50). Hence the resurrected person must be changed; and the resurrected σῶμα, the new form, self, personality, or individuality,⁵⁶ is described by Paul as something heavenly, spiritual, glorious, bright. Paul even enters into an appropriate discussion of the varieties of δόξα (15:41).⁵⁷

Elsewhere in the NT glorious resurrection appearances can be described in a similar fashion. In Rev 1:12-16 John hears a φωνή and sees the resurrected, exalted Christ, who appears as a glorious and luminous being with a pure white head and pure white hair, fiery eyes, and a face shining like ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ (1:16), shining as his face shone on the occasion of the so-called transfiguration. This portrait of the resurrected Christ is painted with the colors prescribed by passages dealing with apocalyptic materials and the heavenly מַלְאָכִים (Daniel, Ezekiel), and the brightness, glory, and transcendent nature of the portrait cannot be missed. Likewise the face of the transfigured Christ can be described as shining ὡς ὁ ἥλιος (Matt 17:2)--and just as the face of Moses shone after he had

spoken with God on Mount Sinai (Exod 34:29-35), so that ἐπέθικεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κάλυμμα (34:33).

The transfiguration story (Mark 9:2-8; Matt 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36) has frequently been recognized as a narrative which originally may have been a resurrection story.⁵⁸ Like a resurrection account, it functions as an epiphany story on a mountain, it discloses the divine δόξα of Christ, it has a heavenly φωνή declare that Jesus is God's Son, and in general it reflects the triumph of faith in the crucified one who becomes the glorious one. In fact, the commands to secrecy at the conclusions of the accounts and the additional references to the coming resurrection of Christ further suggest that belief in this transfigured Christ was closely linked to the resurrection;⁵⁹ after the resurrection the earthly Jesus could be proclaimed from the viewpoint of post-resurrection faith. Furthermore, 2 Pet 1:16-19 describes an epiphany scene very similar to the transfiguration accounts. It makes no mention of the transfiguration, however, and seems to function as an account of a resurrection appearance.⁶⁰ Peter states that when he and the others were on the holy mountain, they were ἐπόπται τῆς ἐκείνου (viz. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) μεγαλειότητος (1:16); Christ received τιμὴ and δόξα from God, and the φωνή spoke out from heaven. Hence, it is said, take heed to this ὡς λύχνω φαίνονται ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ (1:19).⁶¹ Thus, whether we consider the transfiguration accounts to function as narratives proclaiming the glory revealed in the life of the earthly Jesus, or as resurrection stories placed back into the lifetime of Jesus, it is clear that these accounts anticipate the exaltation of Jesus in the post-Easter faith of the believers.

Glorious resurrection appearances of Christ are also included in the Lucan Acts. As we shall see, Luke polemicizes extensively against docetic accounts of the risen Christ; but in his depictions of the appearance of the risen Christ to Paul, he allows the glorious light and the heavenly voice to describe the resurrected Christ. This appearance, however, in the Lucan scenario, occurs after the ascension, and thus does not need to have the same emphasis as the appearances which took place between the resurrection and the ascension. In Acts

9:1-9, 22:4-11, and 26:9-18, Luke provides similar accounts of this appearance. In all three accounts a heavenly φῶς flashes forth from heaven; in 22:6 it is designated a φῶς ἱκανόν, and in 26:13 it is described as being even brighter than the sun. Along with the heavenly φῶς comes a φωνή, which identifies the source of this glorious vision (ἐγὼ εἶμι Ἰησοῦς, with variations) and orders Paul to respond with obedience. In the accounts of the appearance of the risen Christ to Paul, then, Luke is willing to include a description of a glory appearance after the ascension.⁶²

These accounts of glorious appearances of the resurrected Christ, commonly with a light and a voice, mean to display the divine majesty of the exalted Jesus before mortals. Hence it is not at all surprising that they resemble the accounts of theophanies in various religious sources, and especially the OT. Phenomenologically, the appearance of the divine as light and voice is closely related to the experience of lightning and thunder, as is clear even from the OT and NT.⁶³ Like sky and storm gods such as Baal, Hadad, and Zeus, the OT God also can become manifest in a glorious and awesome manner, flashing forth in the lightning and uttering his voice in the thunder. Thus, for example, at Mount Sinai the revelation of the Torah is given in the context of thunder and lightning (Exod 19:16, 20:18); Moses speaks to God, and God answers him φωνῆ, λῆρη (19:19). In Deuteronomy the numinous character of the theophany is even more striking. Yahweh speaks from the middle of the fire with a φωνῆ μεγάλη, λῆρη λῆρη (5:22); though the sound of words (φωνῆ ῥημάτων, ὁμιλήσῃ ῥῆμα) was heard, no form could be observed, ἀλλ' ἦ φωνήν, λῆρη λῆρη (4:12). The voice, then, functions in a central way in the theophany, though other developments in the religion of Israel also brought an emphasis upon the revealing presence of God in φωνῆ αὐραῶν λεπτῆς (1 Kgs 19:12), the quiet inspiration in contrast to the roaring thunder. Along with the voice of God on Sinai there is also the smoke, fire, and cloud--the δόξα, the ἱμάτιον of God which came down upon the mountain (Exod 24:15) and looked like a roaring fire. Moses asked to see God's δόξα (Exod 33:18); and though he only caught a glimpse of God from behind, still Moses' face was aglow with a holy luminosity from this mountaintop experience.

To return, then, to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*: it is to this theophany tradition that the account of the glorious appearances of the resurrected Christ, often as φῶς and φωνή, belongs. As we have seen, this tradition is an exceedingly old tradition, and appears very early within Christian circles. This early tradition is preferred by the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, and indeed by many Gnostic Christians, who in general emphasize the heavenly light and the revelatory divine voice.⁶⁴ Christ appears gloriously, for example, in the *Gos. Truth*, where Jesus the heavenly revealer comes to reveal the Father to the world; as the believers can confess, using parallelism, ελαφειε αβλα εἰν ρωη ἡβι πογαιειν ογλαεἰν †σμη ἡτοοῦϛ ἡτασμιεε ἡνωῖεε, "Light spoke through his mouth, and his voice brought forth life" (I 31,13-16). In the *Ap. John*, a divine light shines, and the resurrected Christ appears⁶⁵ εἰν πογαιειν, "in the light" (II 2,1-2.7), in a variety of forms, as a youth, an old man, and a servant. As the risen Christ, he reveals to John that he is indeed the light: ανοκ πε πογαιειν ετωοον εἰν πογαιειν ανοκ πε ἡῖημεεεε ἡτηροηια, "I am the light which is in the light; I am the remembrance of the forethought" (II 30,33-35)--the light which speaks out to call the forgetful to remembrance. In the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* the resurrected Christ also appears in glory on a mountain; he appears not in "his first form" (τετωορη ἡμορφη), but rather in "invisible spirit" (ἡεἡἡ ἡλαορατον), thus resembling "a great angel of light" (ογνοε ἡαγγελοε ἡτε πογαιειν; III 91,10-13). In this glorious form he proceeds to provide revelatory answers to the queries of the twelve disciples and the seven women. Again, in the *Apoc. Pet.* the heavenly Savior shows and tells Peter that the living, laughing Jesus is a being of light, with a σωμα ἡτε ἡῖογαιειν (VII 71,32-33), a σωμα ἡατωμα (83,7-8). For, the Savior declares, ανοκ πινοερον ἡἡἡ ἡἡ εἡεε εεολ ἡογαιειν εηῖραιοο εεολ, "I am the noetic spirit, he who is full of radiating light" (83,8-10). We might also observe that in the *Trim. Prot.* the heavenly redeemer Protennoia reveals itself as Father, or voice (εροογ), as Mother, or sound (σμη), and as Son, or word (λοροε). Perhaps anticipating the Logos hymn in John 1,⁶⁶ where Christ the Son is depicted as λόγοε and φῶε, this tractate describes the heavenly redeemer as a glorious and

radiant being from the realm of light, and emphasizes that the Word dwells in the Light and communicates the Light. As Protennoia says, ἄ[ΝΟΚ] ΠΕ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤΙ ΟΥΘΕΙΝΕ ΞΠΤΗ[ΡΥ], "[I] am the light which illumines the All" (XIII 47,28-29). Again, according to the *Pistis Sophia*, after the resurrection Christ appears to the disciples, on the Mount of Olives, a great light (ΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΑΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΞΟΥΘΕΙΝ) from heaven surrounds Jesus, and he ascends to heaven. When he descends again, he has a brilliance, an indescribable light, which is truly breathtaking in its awesome splendor, and he proceeds to reassure the disciples and relate the mysteries to them (2-5). Finally, in the *Acts of Thomas* the apostle addresses the risen Lord, who has spoken through a wild ass. Using *parallelismus membrorum*, Thomas addresses Christ as ὁ ἐπουράνιος λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς and τὸ ἀπόκρυφον φῶς τοῦ λογισμοῦ (80). In addition, the "Hymn of the Pearl" embedded within the *Acts of Thomas* proclaims how the marvelous heavenly letter, like a Gnostic redeemer, calls upon the slumbering human and awakens him. It gives forth a φωνή and a φῶς; with its φωνή it rouses him, and with its φῶς it guides him (111).

More examples of glorious appearances of the risen Christ, or the heavenly revealer, in Gnostic literature could be cited,⁶⁷ but the matter is now evident. The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* and numerous other Christian Gnostic sources portray the resurrected Christ in glorious light, and describe his appearance as a theophany, with a heavenly light and a revealing voice. Furthermore, these sources frequently have the voice disclose itself in aretalogical utterances, in the self-predications of the revealer.⁶⁸

These accounts of glorious appearances of Christ were often opposed, however, by authors and heresiologists who feared the specter of docetism. Such tendencies can be seen already in the NT. Luke is emphatic in his insistence upon the physical reality of the body of the resurrected Christ, at least during the vital period between the resurrection and ascension. The first known Christian author to distinguish specifically between the resurrection and the ascension, Luke maintains that during the period before the ascension and exaltation the risen Christ appears in a mundane rather than a pneumatic manner. For Luke,

who has his feet firmly planted upon the ground and wishes likewise to plant the church firmly in history, the physical reality and the "real presence" of the resurrected Christ are of paramount importance. Luke cannot tolerate the possibility of the risen Christ as only πνεῦμα, as simply one of the disembodied spirits with which the Hellenistic world was familiar, as the exalted Savior who appears as a heavenly ὤς and φωνή. Hence during this "sacred period between the times,"⁶⁹ before the outpouring of the Spirit, Luke has Jesus appear as a traveler on the Emmaus road (Luke 24:13-35), eat and drink with the disciples (Luke 24:41-43; Acts 10:41), and function in many ways as an ordinary, physical being. Clearly Luke is polemical against Christians suggesting appearances of a pneumatic sort. In Luke 24:37 he even refers to the claim brought forward by these pneumatic Christians: ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν!⁷⁰ In opposition to such a claim, the Lucan Jesus quickly points to his hands and feet, and invites the disciples to observe his σὰρξ and ὀστέα (24:39). Yet, in spite of his opposition to this primitive Christian position on the spiritual resurrection and appearances, Luke cannot totally deny the glorious nature of the resurrection appearances; Christ has attained to δόξα αὐτοῦ (24:26), he seems to come and go in a supernatural manner (24:31, 36-37), and he even has his glorious heavenly companions by the tomb (24:4).⁷¹

The situation is somewhat similar in the Gospel of John. It has long been suggested that John writes in the context of Gnostic or gnosticizing thinking; his intellectual setting seems to reflect Gnostic sorts of styles, concerns, and terms.⁷² But John and especially the Johannine school stand firm in their emphasis upon the physical reality of the Christ: ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (John 1:14). 1 John 4:3 even provides a test for whether or not a person confesses Christ in the true manner; the true confession is that Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, and whoever does not make this confession is not of God. If 1 John 4:1-3 thus can polemicize against ψευδοπροφῆται (4:1), those who reflect the spirit τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου (4:3), 2 John 7 can decry those deceiving docetists who will not confess that Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Hence, considering the Johannine stance

against a docetic Christology, John's statements about the appearances of the resurrected Christ may be anticipated. Christ can be mistaken for the gardener (John 20:14-15) or a passer-by (21:4), show the disciples his hands and his side (20:20), invite doubting Thomas to touch his wounds (20:24-29), and make a cultic breakfast for his disciples (21:9-14). Yet the risen Christ also has his heavenly angels in white (20:12), an ability to move about supernaturally (20:19, 26) and know things miraculously (21:6), and the πνεῦμα ἄγιον to bestow on the Johannine "Pentecost" (20:22).

In the *Epistula Apostolorum*, a document which bears some resemblance to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* in genre, general outline, and certain themes, the doubting Thomas story of John is also used, with a few modifications intensifying its stance,⁷³ to polemicize against Gnostic docetism. The *Epistula* thus seems to participate, at a later day, in this continuing battle with docetism, and may in fact reflect and oppose, among other traditions, a tradition similar to that which is represented by the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*⁷⁴

The *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, then, presents a glorious appearance of the risen Christ as οὔνοσ Ἰσοῦσιν and οὔσμη; the mountain on which the appearance takes place shines from the glory of the theophany. The voice cries out (134,15-18) with a command, a question, and a declaration. The introductory command provides a natural opening for a discourse by commanding the attention of the listeners.⁷⁵ The question, practically a rhetorical question,⁷⁶ and the declaration, appropriately given as an aretalogical self-predication, tie in nicely with the prayers that have been offered, particularly the second prayer; the declaration identifies the φῶσ and φωνή as Christ, and includes a promise. Given here and reiterated at 140,22-23, the promise functions like the promise given by the risen Savior in a similar context in Matt 28:20, a promise to the apostles--the church: Ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕωσ τῆσ συντελείασ τοῦ αἰῶνοσ. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, the concluding apocalyptic reference would hardly be appropriate, and was not part of the tradition utilized by our tractate.

The stage is prepared, then, for a climactic portion of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*: the revelatory words of the risen Christ for his followers.

Account of the Questions Raised by the Apostles (134,18-135,2)

Following the quotation formula, which utilizes the customary $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$, several questions are raised by the apostles for the resurrected Christ to answer. The syntax of these questions is somewhat unusual, and suggests the juxtaposition of several questions for the sake of the revelatory answers that are to follow. The first question is given as an indirect question, and the next five questions are presented as direct questions, each introduced by the conjunction κ except for the first direct question.⁷⁷ The first direct question is introduced by $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \kappa\epsilon$, so that the grammatical construction suggests, though in an elliptical fashion, that the questions of the apostles are resumed with a series of direct questions.⁷⁸

Furthermore, the correspondence between the questions asked and the answers provided--particularly the opening formulae of the answers--is not uniformly close. The indirect question is of two parts, and corresponds quite closely to the first two answers provided by the Savior (135,8-136,15; 136,16-137,4). These two parts naturally complement each other very well; in the *Dial. Sav.* the same two queries similarly can be linked together, where the disciples ask, $\omicron\gamma\ \mu\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \omicron\gamma\ \mu\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\tau$, "What is the fullness and what is the deficiency?" (III 139,14-15). In the second part of the indirect question a scribe or a reader apparently emended the text from "your fullness" to "their fullness." Indeed, either reading is quite appropriate for the answer which is to follow;⁷⁹ the orientation of the question was merely changed from the Savior to the aeons, or from Christology to soteriology. The first of the series of direct questions relates quite well to the formula introducing the third answer (137,4-9), although the formula is rather abbreviated. In our text the third answer provides something of a response to the third direct question as well. In fact, it could be concluded that the third answer may, in a

very general way, speak to the issues of the first four direct questions, for the fourth and concluding answer in the series (137,10-13) clearly responds to the fifth direct question. In spite of the fact that the Coptic syntax differs a bit, the fifth direct question and the fourth response both have to do with the war being waged between the powers and the Gnostic Christians. It is also feasible that in fact a discrepancy exists between the questions listed and the answers provided; the list of questions and the suggested answers may have been brought together into their present form secondarily. In any case, several of the questions raised illustrate the typical fears and hopes of Gnostics, and also show the fundamental concern for the origin and resolution of the unhappy human condition. In addition, it should be noted that the fourth direct question reflects a concern for $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$, particularly, it seems, boldness and power in speaking and preaching, and perhaps also in performing mighty deeds. Such a concern may reflect the use of $\mu\alpha\rho\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ and related terms in the NT Acts and the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.⁸⁰

Such a list of questions is by no means unknown in Gnostic documents. In fact, it seems as if the Gnostics had a special appreciation for particular questions grouped in different ways, and frequently included lists of questions in their literature. A variety of lists can be observed. At times a list of questions can appear near the beginning of a discourse or dialogue, and can provide, as in our tractate, something approaching a table of contents for what is to follow. Thus in the *Hyp. Arch.* Norea asks the great angel Eleleth several questions about the origin of $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ (II 93,32-94,2), and Eleleth responds with an account of the fall of Sophia. Again, *Zost.* has its protagonist ponder a number of troubling and vital questions concerning existence (VIII 2,24-3,13). These questions have to do with the origin, nature, and character of existence, and constitute the matters to be revealed in the ecstatic heavenly journey which follows. Similarly, the *Ap. John* also opens with a troubled John asking himself difficult questions concerning matters of ultimate concern to Christian Gnostics: the origin, person, and work of the Savior, and the

nature of the aeon that is the destiny of the Savior and of all Gnostics (II 1,17-29). Immediately after these questions are posed, the vision of the risen Christ occurs, and the revelation ensues. Likewise, the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* also utilizes introductory indirect questions near the opening of the tractate; the twelve disciples and the seven women were troubled, it is said, εἶσε τὴ γνῶστας ἰσῆπτηρ, τῆπρονοῖα, ηεχογσία, ηεωτηρ, and so on (III 91,2-9).

At other times a series of questions can appear within the body of a text. In the rather fragmentary *Testim. Truth* a long series of questions appears (IX 41,21[?]-42,16[?]) within a homily for the Gnostic Christian. These questions have to do with numerous themes of a cosmological and soteriological sort, and the answers to these questions constitute true wisdom. Furthermore, in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78.2 it is emphatically stated that we are liberated not only through baptism but also through knowledge (γνώσις): τίνας ἤμεν, τί γεγόναμεν· ποῦ ἤμεν, ἦ ποῦ ἐνεβλήθημεν· ποῦ σπεύδομεν, πόθεν λυτρούμεθα· τί γέννησις, τί ἀναγέννησις.⁸¹

Such passages as these illustrate how significantly questions and lists of questions function in Gnostic self-understanding. Gnosticism is a religion of knowledge, of an insightful illumination which breaks through the categories of mundane existence. For the Gnostics true liberation necessitates the transmission of true knowledge. This knowledge is passed from the heavenly revealer, the risen Christ, to his disciples, and from the knower, the bearer of the tradition, to the inquiring person or group. The lists of questions passed down within the tradition thus represent the key issues which must be truly understood if salvation is to occur. Sometimes, as with the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, the questions can stand alone, as abbreviations for the essential knowledge to be embraced. At other times, as with *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, the questions are followed with revelatory answers which provide the essential knowledge, practically like a Gnostic catechism.

Consequently, we are not surprised to observe how frequently Gnostics made use of the literary genre of the dialogue, of questions and answers presented within the framework of a

conversation between a master and the students, and often between the risen Christ and his disciples. As questers for divinely revealed truth, the Gnostics eagerly adopted the dialogue as a most appropriate format for the presentation of truth as they perceived it. Kurt Rudolph defines the dialogue as "eine bekannte antike Literaturform, in der ein wirkliches oder fiktives Gespräch zwischen zwei oder mehr Personen literarisch gestaltet ist."⁸² Utilized in classical times for philosophical dialogues, dramatic comedies, and the like, the dialogue was widely used in Hellenistic times by such people as the Gnostics, who found some variety of this *Gattung* of the dialogue to be an excellent means of presenting their message. The Gnostic teacher, often depicted as the resurrected Christ discoursing on a mountain, communicates divine truths to the followers. Thus the Gnostics stress the revelatory character of the teachings, and employ a form of the dialogue which differs considerably from the classical dialogue: indeed, their dialogues often resemble the "question and answer" (*Erotapokrisis*) literature in significant ways.⁸³ Hence the Gnostic dialogue is an adapted dialogue, which proved suitable for the mediation of revelatory knowledge.

To what extent, then, does the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* conform to the style of the Gnostic dialogue? To begin with, we should observe that only a portion of our tractate is actually anything like a dialogue between the risen Christ and the apostles. 133,8-138,10 provides the setting, the questions, the revelatory answers, and the dismissal typical of the Gnostic dialogue. In addition, 138,21-139,4 provides another revelation imparted by the voice to the disciples as they are discussing matters together, and 140,15-23 has the appearing Jesus provide words of reassurance to the apostles as they are going forth. These latter utterances, however, are authoritative and supportive declarations that function as elements in a dialogue only in a very oblique fashion. Again, as we have seen, the tractate opens with a passage representing the letter genre of literature (132,10-133,8). Furthermore, the tractate concludes with a description of the return to Jerusalem, the speech of Peter, the reception of the spirit, and the divine commission to

preach (138,10-140,27). Thus the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* includes a number of different literary forms. As a whole it resembles in genre the NT Acts to a considerable extent, with a similar diversity and a similar progression.

But even when we consider the climactic series of questions and answers within our tractate, we note that it differs rather markedly from more typical Gnostic dialogues. Indeed, certain features suggest that 133,8-138,10 is not really a dialogue at all! After all, the only verbal response of the disciples to the revelatory answers of the Savior occurs at 137, 13-17, where an additional question and answer is juxtaposed to the first set of questions and answers. Here a different tradition may even be reflected, as we shall see later. Hence in some ways 133,8-138,10 resembles a revelatory discourse (given in two parts) more than a revelatory dialogue.

To understand better what is transpiring here, we might consider the relationship between *Eugnostos* and the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* It has been proposed⁸⁴ that the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is a Christian tractate which was composed as a Christian version of a non-Christian document very much like *Eugnostos*. Formally *Eugnostos* is a letter, complete with an epistolary opening and closing; it claims to have been written by a Gnostic teacher to his followers. Some version of this philosophical epistle, an epistle with no clear Christian motifs,⁸⁵ was apparently transformed by a Gnostic Christian into the *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, a Gnostic dialogue between the resurrected Christ and his disciples. By means of various interpolations a Christian framework for the tractate was established. The truths of *Eugnostos* the Blessed⁸⁶ were adopted and slightly adapted to become the truths of the risen Christ, who now provides revelatory answers to the queries of the disciples on the mountain. As a part of the Christian framework twelve questions are addressed to Jesus; and although these questions are inserted into the text in a somewhat artificial manner, such a loose relationship between the questions and the answers of a Gnostic dialogue is by no means rare. Thus the tractate *Eugnostos* is appropriated by Gnostic Christians, and Christ becomes the revealer of Gnostic truths.

The situation is somewhat analogous in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Several mythological descriptions and soteriological statements have been used as the revelatory utterances of the resurrected Christ. Although the framework of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is thoroughly Christian, the utterances of Christ are not uniformly Christianized. In fact, the first answer offered by the Savior (135,8-136,15) shows no discernable Christian elements, while the other answers are perhaps only marginally Christian. Unlike the *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, however, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not have the questions of the apostles interrupt the discourses of the Savior, except in the case of the additional question (137, 13-17); and the questions that are raised in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* relate rather closely to the answers that are given, with the exception of certain of the direct questions.

Thus the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, particularly 133,8-138,10, illustrates another way in which traditional Gnostic materials can be integrated into the authoritative teaching of the risen Christ. If Gnostic dialogues in general are adapted dialogues, the series of questions and answers in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* functions even less as a true dialogue. Rather, this series of questions and answers provides the occasion for Christ to present a revelatory discourse on Gnostic themes. The resultant "dialogue" provides a summation of essential Gnostic Christian doctrine, as perceived by the author and the community: a revelation for those who would truly know.

Introduction to the Revelatory Answers Given by the Savior (135,3-8)

After the questions have been presented by the apostles, then (τοτε) the revelatory response may begin. Once again mention is made of the voice and the light, here described as ουσμη coming to the apostles εβαλ εἰς ποροειν (135,3-4). Before the questions are answered seriatim, the voice of the resurrected Christ provides an introductory statement to put his answers in proper perspective. This statement refers back to previous disclosures and ahead to the impending revelation.

The reference to previous disclosures is particularly noteworthy. The apostles themselves, Christ the glorious voice

declares, are witnesses to the fact that he had told them all of these things previously, that he had already given them all the answers to these most vital questions which the apostles had just asked. Presumably the risen Christ is referring to revelations given when he was "in the body"; such reminders of previous declarations while "in the body" occur several times in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*⁸⁷ Yet, in spite of these previous revelations, the apostles did not believe. Other Christian literature can also refer to the unbelief of the followers of Jesus while he was still alive, before Easter faith came alive in their hearts. Here in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, the unbelief of the apostles may be interpreted more precisely. For it is these apostles who are the witnesses, the bearers of the tradition, the guarantors of the authenticity of the tradition since primitive times. It is these apostles who establish the oral and the written traditions, and to them the church looks for guidance. And their unbelief may be taken as the unbelief of the Great Church, which has not acknowledged the spiritual truths of Christian Gnosis.

In other words, the affirmation of the traditions and the charge of unbelief reflect the self-understanding of the people behind the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* The author and community represented by the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* do not deny or reject their heritage, the Christian tradition handed down to the church. Christ has provided words of revelation, written words, spoken words--if only the apostles would believe! The revelatory words are present--if only the Christians would apply the proper interpretation! The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* affirms its heritage, understood and interpreted in accordance with the theological guidelines of Gnostic Christian belief, and thus looks to the new revelation of the risen Christ to bring, at last, a faithful presentation of spiritual truths.

Seeking thus to legitimate its message by maintaining continuity between the teachings of Jesus and those of the Gnostic Community, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* offers a latter-day revelation of the risen Christ to transcend the unbelief of the Great Church. Elsewhere in Gnostic literature revelatory utterances can function in a similar fashion by presenting the authoritative words

of the risen Christ to his followers for a considerable time after the resurrection. In the *Ap. Jas.*, for example, Christ remains five hundred fifty days after the resurrection, and then appears to the disciples as they are writing their memoirs or gospels (χρηόμε, "books," I 2,15); consequently, before returning to heaven, Christ takes James and Peter aside and fills them with revelatory knowledge. In addition, the Savior claims that the disciples have compelled him to stay another eighteen days ἐτῶς ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ, "on account of the parables" (8,2-3). In a similar fashion Irenaeus claims that other Gnostics, apparently Ophites and Valentinians, maintain that Jesus lingered for eighteen months (five hundred forty days) after the resurrection, and taught great mysteries to the few followers who could assimilate such marvelous teachings.⁸⁸ This period of time also corresponds rather closely to the five hundred forty-five days between the resurrection and ascension in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 9.16. Later, it seems, the period of resurrection appearances can be prolonged even further. The *Pistis Sophia* and the two *Books of Jeu* have the resurrected Jesus conversing and discoursing with his disciples for twelve years after the resurrection;⁸⁹ the former work discloses the revelation of the supreme mysteries during the twelfth year of Jesus' resurrection sojourn, after the luminous and glorious journey of Jesus through the aeons. Thus Gnostic sources can appeal to authoritative appearances of the resurrected Christ which occur much later than many of those recorded in the NT; certainly such appearances would not be acceptable to Luke, whose periodization of history allows only forty days for "canonical" appearances of the risen Christ before his ascension.⁹⁰

The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not make use of a precise periodization of the resurrection appearances of Jesus. In fact, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not really propose a single ascension account at all.⁹¹ Unlike Luke-Acts, *Ep. Pet. Phil.* merely portrays the coming and going of the heavenly light and voice, which can appear when necessary in order to bring the apostles and followers of the light to knowledge. Yet our tractate, like the other Gnostic documents, utilizes the appearances of the risen Christ to speak against unbelief and for the true

presentation and interpretation of Gnostic Christian beliefs. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the Gnostic Jesus speaks forth with clarity to provide revelatory answers to questions of ultimate concern.

The First Revelatory Answer (135,8-136,15)

The revelatory discourse of Jesus in answer to the questions posed by the apostles begins with an answer to the first part of the indirect question; the disciples have asked about ΚΩΝΩΤ ΠΤΕ ΚΕΩΗ (134,21-22). In answering this question Jesus utters an abbreviated version of the myth of the mother, who remains otherwise unnamed in the tractate. This first revelatory answer is constructed in a careful manner, and its structure parallels that of the other answers in this set of four answers. In particular the first two answers are very similar to each other; just as the two parts of the indirect question are linked together, so also the first two answers complement each other nicely. Both are fairly long; both correspond closely to the two parts of the indirect question; both are introduced by subtitles and summary statements; both close with a final statement intended to bring the answer to a reasonable conclusion. The last two answers are quite similar to the first two, but are even more similar to each other. Both of these last two answers are very brief; both tend to paraphrase somewhat the direct questions that have been raised; both are introduced by similar subtitles⁹² and terse causal statements introduced by xε ; both close with short explanatory statements. Hence we may see these four questions as paralleling each other, with the first two and last two sharing particular features of structure.

The Savior's first revelatory answer contains no clearly Christian features. Such an observation is especially remarkable when we consider how overwhelmingly Christian the framework of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is. Furthermore, the other three answers in the series also are only vaguely Christian at best; the Christian character of these three answers can be disputed, though the best case for Christian motifs can be made for the

second answer εἶπε ΠΙΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ. Thus we observe that the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* has taken non-Christian or marginally Christian traditions, has woven them into the Christian framework of the tractate, and thus has baptized these traditions as revelatory utterances of the risen Christ.

Like the other three answers in this series, the first answer opens with a subtitle referring back to the original question: εἶπε ΠΙΠΛΩΤ ΜΕΝ ΠΤΕ ΝΕΩΝ (135,8-9).⁹³ Such a title or subtitle is very common in the literature of antiquity; Paul, for example, can utilize similar subtitles in 1 Corinthians, where he also seems to be referring back to questions raised by the Corinthians.⁹⁴ After the subtitle comes a very brief and somewhat enigmatic statement: ἡϊ ἡ ΠΙΠΛΩΤ (135,9-10). The meaning of this statement is not obvious, though it does seem to function as an introductory or summary statement; particularly ambiguous is the antecedent of the demonstrative pronoun ἡϊ. On the one hand, ἡϊ could easily refer to the words and sentences which follow, and which attempt to describe the origin and nature of ΠΙΠΛΩΤ. In this case ἡϊ could point ahead to the revelatory answer which is just beginning: "The deficiency is as follows." On the other hand, ἡϊ could also refer to this world around us, this mortal creation which is the tragic result of the fall of the mother. This interpretation of ἡϊ is more difficult and provocative, and suggests that ἡϊ could point to the evidence of deficiency all around: "This world illustrates the deficiency."⁹⁵ Although we cannot be entirely certain, a comparison with the parallel statement in the second answer (ἀνοκ ἡε, 136,16) encourages us to opt for the latter interpretation.

The body of the answer begins with the Savior presenting a brief account of the origin of the deficiency (135,10-21). The mother, who is named Sophia in most versions of the myth,⁹⁶ is the one whose tragic blunder has led to the deficiency. It is said that this blunder can be traced back to her disobedience and foolishness (ΜΗΝΤΑΤΩΤΗ and ΜΠΤΑΤΩΧΗΕ), for apart from the command and will of the Father's greatness⁹⁷ she wished to create aeons.⁹⁸ In certain versions of the myth Sophia is said to be motivated by desire (ἐνθύμησις) and passion (πάθος);

festering for a while in the Pleroma, this πάθος burst forth in the transgression of Sophia. Supposedly motivated by love (ἀγάπη) for the Father, a love which in reality was audacity (τολμή), Sophia searched for the Father in order, if possible, to embrace the greatness of his inscrutable, incomprehensible divinity. Of course, she was doomed to failure, and destined for distress and grief.⁹⁹ Other versions of the myth, which may resemble more closely the description of the mother's creative actions in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (135,10-17), claim that Sophia wanted to imitate the mighty, unbegotten Father: ἠθέλησε μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ γεννηῆσαι καθ' ἑαυτὴν δίχα τοῦ συζύγου, ἵνα μὴδὲν ἢ ἔργον ὑποδεέστερον τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰργασμένη.¹⁰⁰ According to the *Ap. John*, she wanted to create or procreate ἀκῆ [πρωγῶ] μὴ ἐπιπῆ, "without [the consent] of the Spirit" (II 9,29; also see II 9,34), and without her consort,¹⁰¹ and the result was a ζογρε μῆκακε, an "abortion of darkness."¹⁰² The ἠῆτατρωτῆ and ἠῆτατρωκῆ of the mother in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is reminiscent of the transgression and fall of Eve as depicted in Genesis and early Christian literature.¹⁰³ To be sure, elsewhere in Gnostic literature Sophia and Eve can be brought together in some significant ways.¹⁰⁴ Other sources also can refer to this fall of Sophia as the fall of this erring aeon (τοῦτον τὸν παρατραπέντα),¹⁰⁵ of the transgressing aeon (ὁ παρελθὼν αἰών).¹⁰⁶

It is reasonable to see how the mother's blunder could be termed disobedience, foolishness, and even a transgression (παρβασις, 139,23). After all, she did passionately exceed the bounds of propriety, and impulsively desired to do what was quite inappropriate in the realm of the Pleroma; in other words, she transgressed the law of the Pleroma.¹⁰⁷ As a result of her passion and ignorance, this fallen world of mortality came into being.¹⁰⁸

From the misdeed of the mother, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* continues, emerges the Arrogant One, ἀγθαλῆς. ἀγθαλῆς seems to function practically as a proper noun in our tractate; a Greek loan word, this adjective is taken over and used in a substantival manner. Of course, there is an exceedingly fine line in such mythological literature between a proper noun per se and a key epithet. ἀγθαλῆς is used elsewhere in the literature of

and about the Gnostics,¹⁰⁹ but in the *Ap. John* the usage of this technical term is especially close to its use in our tractate. At II 13,27, as well as IV 21,16 and BG 46,1, ΠΑΘΑΛΛΗΣ is utilized, as in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, in a substantival manner, and it is said that ignorant ΠΑΘΑΛΛΗΣ took power from his mother. According to the simple and similar myth of the Barbelognostics of Irenaeus, *mater* Sophia "generavit opus, in quo erat ignorantia et audacia" ("ἄγνοια καὶ ἄουθᾶδεια)--namely, the Proarchon, the demiurge who stole a "virtutem magnam" from the mother.¹¹⁰ In numerous Gnostic sources the arrogance of the chief archon is made abundantly clear. It is he who is so ignorant and blind¹¹¹ that he boasts that he is God, and God alone. Thus in the *Hyp. Arch.*, for example, it is said that ΛϞϞ (viz. ΠΑΡΧΩΝ) ΧΑΣΙ ΖΗΤ ΕϞΧΩ ἸΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΛΗΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΗΟΥΤΕ ΛΥΩ ΜἪ ΕΕ ΛΧΠΤ, "he (viz. the archon) became haughty, saying, 'I am God, and there is no other besides me'" (II 94,21-22).¹¹²

In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the author seems to suggest that ΑΥΘΑΛΛΗΣ emerged when the mother spoke, just as Υaldabaoth appeared (λ- οϞωηζ) as ΤΑΡΧΗ ΠΠΥΛΛΕ, "the first principle of the word," when Pistis Sophia spoke to him and uttered his name, according to the mythological account in *Orig. World*.¹¹³ This passage in our tractate, however, remains difficult to interpret; it is said of ΑΥΘΑΛΛΗΣ that ΛϞΟΥΩΖ ΕΒΟΛ. According to Crum (505b-508b), οϞωζ has the general meaning of "put," "set," or "be (there)," on the one hand, and the intransitive meaning of "be placed" or "dwell" on the other. With the adverb ΕΒΟΛ this verb ordinarily can be translated as "set down," "pause," or (transitively) "let, bring down." It is conceivable, though very unlikely, that this passage in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* could state that ΑΥΘΑΛΛΗΣ "paused" or "halted in his tracks" when the mother spoke; such an understanding could then reflect the shock and consternation in the realm of the chief archon when the mother spoke forth from heaven in response to his bold, ignorant claims.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, οϞωζ with the preposition ΠϞΑ- can mean "follow," and it seems reasonable to suggest a similar sort of meaning for οϞωζ ΕΒΟΛ: "set forth," "set out," "emerge," "follow."¹¹⁵ Yet, as we have noted, it remains tempting to follow the scholars who have suggested that a " has been

omitted by the scribe, and that consequently this passage should be emended to ογω<η> εβολ.

How, then, did the deficiency come to be? The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* states that the mother left behind a μερος, which was taken by αγθλαης and became a ψωωτ; and παϊ, the concluding summary statement of our tractate says, ηε παρωωτ ητε ηιεωη (135,20-21). The Greek loan word μερος is used to denote the portion of light or spirit which has fallen out of the world of the Pleroma and has been imprisoned in this world of darkness.¹¹⁶

As we have already seen, the *Ap. John* explains this by describing how λχι ηε ηι αγθλαης ηογεοη εβολ ζιγη τεγμλλυ, "the Arrogant One took power from his mother" (II 13,26-28).¹¹⁷ Mother Sophia was aware of the fact that part of her heavenly brightness was gone. She was aware of this defect or deficiency (ψρα),¹¹⁸ for the glowing of her light (ηρριε ηηεσογοειη) lessened (13,14-15), and she began to darken with the darkness of ignorance (ηκακε ητηητατσοοη, 13,24-25). Not only did the mother transgress against the divine Pleroma; she also lost a portion of her spiritual power. In some versions of the myth this loss can be described as the expulsion of the passions of erring Sophia, or of the εκτωρωμα that she had produced. According to Irenaeus' account of the Valentinian teacher Ptolemaeus, Sophia was purified and restored, την δε ενθύμησιν αύτης σὺν τῷ πάθει ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὁρου ἀφορισθῆναι καὶ ἀποστερηθῆναι (Latin: crucifixam), καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ (viz. τοῦ Πληρώματος) γενομένην (*Adv. Haer.* 1.2.4). Though this desire and passion was shapeless, formless, and frail, yet it was a πνευματικὴ οὐσία, since it emerged from one of the aeons; and this spiritual substance was destined to be lost and imprisoned in the lower world of the demiurge. In the account of Hippolytus, too, the shapeless and formless εκτωρωμα of Sophia is left behind, abandoned outside the Pleroma (*Ref.* 6.31.4); and steps must be taken to ensure that this substance, this deficiency (ὕστέρημα), does not approach the heavenly aeons of the Pleroma (6.31.6). In the *Ap. John* it is said that the mother threw away from herself (λσηοχῶ ζιςα ηεολ ηηος) the monstrous lion-headed product of her desire, Yaltabaoth, and put him away from that place, the Pleroma (II 10,7-19).

Thus the mother Sophia has left behind a portion that came from herself, and is in need of healing, of wholeness. According to the *Ap. John*, the mother prays fervently and repents with tears, and consequently her deficiency is healed and her wholeness is restored through the action of the Pleroma. The whole Pleroma hears her prayer, the invisible Spirit gives his consent, and the holy Spirit anoints her from ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΑ, "all their fullness" (II 14,6). Meanwhile, her consort also comes down to her ΖΗΤῆ ΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΧΕΚΛΑΣ ΕΦΗΛΩΣΩΣΕ ΠΠΕΣΩΤΑ, "through the Pleroma, so that he might correct her deficiency" (II 14,8-9).

It should also be noted that the wholeness of the heavenly aeons will not really be restored until the μέρος of divine light is reclaimed from the wicked ΑΥΘΑΛΗΣ. The deficiency has become firmly entrenched in the realm outside the Pleroma; hence this world below is also caught up in the cosmic drama of restoration. The world below is characterized by deficiency; as Hippolytus notes, that is why Horos, the limit, cross, and guardian of the Pleroma, ἀφορίζει ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος ἔξω τὸ ὑστέρημα...ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲν τοῦ ὑστερήματος καταγενέσθαι ἔγγυς τῶν ἐντὸς πληρώματος αἰώνων (6.31.6). In contrast to the divine Pleroma, this world of ignorance and all that is connected with it--the passion of Sophia, the demiurge, the fragmented existence--can be described as defective and deficient, in need of restoration to the unity and fullness of the One.¹¹⁹

The Arrogant One is now on center stage in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* It remains for him to organize a cosmic bureaucracy by setting up powers, and to erect a prison by creating a mortal world. ΑΥΘΑΛΗΣ begins by setting up his empire. Just as the first archon of the *Ap. John* takes a great power (ΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΑΥΝΑΜΙΣ, II 10,20-21) from his mother and, with a fiery light-flame (ΖῆΚΕΛΙΩΝ Ζῆ ΟΥΨΑΣ ΝῆΚΩΤ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ, 10,24-25), creates other aeons as well as additional authorities (ΖΕΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ, 10,28), so also ΑΥΘΑΛΗΣ in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* establishes powers (ΖΕΝΕΘΟΜ) and authorities (ΖΕΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ) for the governance of the world. ΑΥΘΑΛΗΣ sows the μέρος from the mother, the spiritual seed from heaven, "the seed (ΠΙΣΗΕΡΜΑ) that had fallen away" (136,18). This image of the heavenly seed on earth is a common motif among

the Gnostics, and epitomizes the Gnostic sense of estrangement from this world and identification with the world above, the divine world of light; thus the heavenly race of Seth can refer to themselves as the imperishable and holy seed.¹²⁰ The actual sowing of the seed can be attributed to the demiurge, though sometimes he and his cohorts function as lackeys for the higher beings. Thus, among the Valentinians some suggested that Achamoth, the lower Sophia, as the real power behind the throne of the demiurge, secretly prompted and enabled him to sow the spiritual seed of the mother.¹²¹ For such Gnostics, as for the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, the divine origin of the seed is of utmost importance; the $\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ or $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ has come ultimately from the mother.

The Arrogant One proceeds with the construction of aeons of death, "mortal aeons," which are modeled after the immortal aeons above. As the *Ap. John* explains, the creator made everything $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\pi\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\eta$ $\pi\lambda\iota\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\lambda\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$, "after the likeness of the first aeons which had appeared, that he might create them like the imperishable ones" (II 12,34-13,1). Created in ignorance--he had not actually seen the imperishable aeons, but was moved by the power ($\tau\epsilon\omicron\mu$) within him, which he got from his mother--, the lower aeons are but a dim and deadly reflection of the glory of the heavenly aeons.

The prison of the $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ has been constructed, and the petty powers are elated. They rejoice at their status,¹²² though they are ignorant. Like many of the accounts about Yaldabaoth, this account about $\mu\iota\beta\omicron\mu$ illustrates how foolish they are; they are quite oblivious of the great preexistent Father in heaven,¹²³ and offer their service to little $\lambda\gamma\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$. The powers, after all, are $\zeta\epsilon\eta\upsilon\eta\mu\omicron$ (136,2-3) to the great Father; according to the *Hyp. Arch.*, when the divine image appeared on the waters, $\eta\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta$ $\lambda\eta$ $\pi\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\mu$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\iota\mu$ $\eta\epsilon$, "they did not know whose power it was" (II 88,9-10). Just as elsewhere the children of light can be considered as strangers with respect to the world of darkness, so also here the powers of this darkened world are presented as strangers with respect to the Father of light.¹²⁴

ΛΥΘΑΛΗΣ, haughty of heart, becomes a ρεγκωz (136,8).¹²⁵ According to Marcus and other Valentinians, the demiurge wished τῆς ἄνω οὐδοῶδος τὸ ἀπέραντον, καὶ αἰώνιον, καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἄχρονον μιμήσασθαι; but he was doomed to failure because he is the fruit of ὑστέρημα. Hence his imitation is a bastardization, a falsehood.¹²⁶ In one way of conceptualizing this imitation, the creator and his comrades can be said to model their mortal creation after the reflection that appears in the water. An exalted divine being--the first Man,¹²⁷ or Pistis Sophia,¹²⁸ or Incorruptibility¹²⁹--peers down, and its image reflects upon the water. Seen by the demiurge, this fascinating image or form becomes the model for the human being that is to be produced. ΛΥΘΑΛΗΣ thus creates in the image of God (Gen 1:26-27); and as a substitute for the image which appeared he makes an inferior copy, ΟΥΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΠΝΟΥΣΤΙΚΩΝ Μῆ ΟΥΜΟΡΦΗ ΕΠΜΑ ΠΝΟΥΜΟΡΦΗ (VIII 136,9-11).¹³⁰

The powers begin to mold mortal bodies. Some tractates give detailed descriptions of the powers, procedures, and parts involved in the assembling of these bodies. The *Ap. John*, for instance, provides an exotic picture of the precise powers involved in the creation of the psychic form (II 15,1-29) and particularly the material body (15,29-19,14); a total of three hundred sixty-five powers work on this chore, ΟΥΑΝΤΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΘΛ ΖΙΤΘΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΛΟΣ ΠῆΓΙ ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ ΛΥΩ ΠΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ ΠῆΩΜΑ, "until the psychic and the material body was finished, limb by limb, by them" (19,4-6). Similarly, in *Orig. World* the authorities are depicted as enslavers producing models or molded bodies (ΜΠΛΑΣΜΑ) in order to entrap the souls, which then are imprisoned within these models; each of the seven ΠΑΡΧΩΝ contribute a portion to the ΠΛΑΣΜΑ of this Adam (II 114,15-115,3). Thus is the ΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ (VIII 136,19-20) of ΛΥΘΑΛΗΣ and the powers completed. Yet the mortal bodies are only poor imitations of the ΕΙΚΩΝ or ΙΔΕΑ which had appeared, and veritable prisons of death.¹³¹

The Second Revelatory Answer (136,16-137,4)

Without going into further detail in the account of the fall of the mother and the origin of the deficiency, the author

of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* allows the risen Christ to provide a revelatory answer to the second portion of the indirect question raised by the apostles. If the first answer analyzes the human and cosmic dilemma, the second proclaims how this broken existence can attain to fullness. Following the section subtitle (εἶτε πληρωμα, 136,16), a concise statement of the resurrected Christ summarizes the answer in the briefest of aretalogies: ἀνοκ πε.¹³² Thus the author of our tractate has Christ claim identity with the fullness.

Such a statement is reminiscent of similar statements in the NT. In Col 1:19 the Paulinist presents part of the Christ-hymn which states that ἐν αὐτῷ (viz. Χριστῷ) εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι, while in 2:9 it is said that ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς. Similarly in Eph 1:22-23 the Paulinist says that the Father has made Christ head over all things for the ἐκκλησία, which is τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου, and in 3:19 a prayer is offered for the readers, that πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ. In these passages, God can be referred to as the πλήρωμα that fills Christ with divine power; Christ can also be intimately related to the πλήρωμα that fills and empowers him; and the church, the saved people of God, is also saved by being filled with all the πλήρωμα of God. Hence in such passages of the NT, πλήρωμα can function in a theological, Christological, and soteriological manner, and can approach the Gnostic usage of the term.¹³³

Among the Gnostics πλήρωμα is a favorite term to depict the world of the divine. Often the divine realm is termed the Pleroma, and then the term functions in a spatial manner: the Pleroma is the divine world of light, inhabited by the aeons of light, over which the Father of all dwells, a world which can be separated and insulated by ὄρος, "Limit," from this lower fallen realm. Yet πλήρωμα can also function in a more qualitative fashion, as in our passage: the fullness is the quality of life enjoyed by spiritual beings, perfect beings of light, particularly the divine aeons of heaven, and such spiritual beings can be termed πληρώματα.¹³⁴ Thus, as Irenaeus has Ptolemaeus explain, Jesus as redeemer comes forth from the Pleroma,

as the perfect representative, star, and fruit of the Pleroma (*Adv. Haer.* 1.2.6); but, as the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* makes abundantly clear, he also is to be characterized by fullness. Coming from the πλήρωμα, filled with the light and spirit of the divine, he comes down to the cosmos lost in deficiency.¹³⁵

As the divine fullness, Christ was sent down from the world above to the cosmos below, εἰς τὸν κόσμον, for the sake of the fallen light-seed. It is said that Christ descended to περὶ πλάσμα ἑπιμοῦν, "their mortal model" (136,19-20). While this phrase could be a reference to this world, with its mortal aeons and deadly features, the parallel at 136,12-13 would suggest that mortal bodies are of particular interest here. Christ descended to their mortal bodies, that is, to the bodies molded by the powers; and presumably he clothed himself in περὶ πλάσμα ἑπιμοῦν. For the sake of this descent the redeemer apparently put on a body as a disguise, and went unrecognized by the cosmic powers.

Such a salvific ploy is described in greater detail in other Gnostic sources. In the *Ap. John*, for example, the revealer states that he entered the region of darkness, and even went into τῆντι ἡμέρῃ, "the middle of the prison" (II 30, 18-19). This phrase is picked up again a few lines later and is explained very clearly: τῆντι ἡμέρῃ ἐστὶ πᾶσι πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, "the middle of their prison, which is the prison of the body" (31,3-4). Thus the heavenly redeemer was hidden from the powers of this world, ἀγνοοῦσάν με, "and they did not recognize me" (30,21). Again, in the *Treat. Seth* Jesus Christ claims that he visited οὐρανίου σώματος, "a bodily house" (VII 51,20-21); after throwing out the previous inhabitant, the Savior himself entered and occupied it. The Savior, however, does not resemble that first occupant, ἡ γὰρ πρῶτος ἡ κοσμικὸς ἦν ἄλλος δὲ ἐγὼ οὐρανίου ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν, "for he was a man of the cosmos, but as for me, I am from above the heavens" (51,34-52,3). Hence, says the Savior, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν, "I revealed that I am a stranger to the regions which are below" (52,8-10). Later the Savior explains how no one saw him as he descended, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν, "for I was changing my

forms, going from semblance to semblance" (56,23-25). While at the various gates (πύλη) of the powers, the descending savior took on their likeness (ἡΐχι εἶνε ἡμοῦ), and thus passed by them quietly and unobtrusively.¹³⁶ In fact, the ignorant and blind powers did not even recognize that they were not crucifying the Savior at all! Once again, the so-called Docetists depicted by Hippolytus are said to suggest that the heavenly Son, wishing to save the souls trapped in cosmic darkness, came down from above in a peculiar manner; ὁ μονογενὴς παῖς ἀνωθεν αἰώνιος ἐπενδυσάμενος κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τοῦ τρίτου αἰῶνος αἰῶνα καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τριακοντάδι αἰῶνων εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον (*Ref.* 8.10.5). The Son was not recognized: he was ἀφανής, ἀγνωστος, ἄδοξος, ἀπιστούμενος. Finally the Son from on high clothed himself with τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, τὴν σάρκα φησὶν (8.10.6), and thus he put on the offspring of Mary.

Although the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not proclaim the radical docetism of some of the texts cited here, two themes are shared among all the examples: in some way the Savior puts on a mortal body; and thus he is able to travel incognito within the cosmos, as οὐρῶμε ἐκμοογτ (136,22).

The question of the origin of this account of the descending Christ has prompted Klaus Koschorke to provide certain suggestions in his recent article "Eine gnostische Paraphrase des johanneischen Prologs." As his title intimates, Koschorke argues that this section of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* illustrates the Gnostic use and interpretation of the Gospel of John, the NT authority who, along with Paul, was especially beloved by Gnostic thinkers. Koschorke terms the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* "eine gnostische Paraphrase der Apostelgeschichte (v.a. Lk 24-Act 8)." Furthermore,

Weniger offensichtlich als diese Abhängigkeit vom lukanischen Werk ist der Bezug des im Folgenden erörterten Abschnittes 136,16-137,4 auf Joh 1. Doch dürften die hier bestehenden Übereinstimmungen kaum zufällig sein; und sie gewinnen doppeltes Gewicht dadurch, dass sie sich in einem Traktat finden, der-- wie der Vergleich mit der Apostelgeschichte zeigt-- ja ohnehin in seiner ganzen Anlage geprägt ist durch den Bezug auf eine neutestamentliche Schrift.¹³⁷

Thus, Koschorke proceeds to illumine this suggested dependency of our tractate upon the prologue to the Gospel of John. He sees the phrase "sent down in the body" (136,17) as reflecting σάρξ ἐγένετο of John 1:14, and suggests that the reference to the "fallen" seed (136,18) may reflect ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον (1:9). Furthermore, both documents refer to the nonrecognition of the Savior ("they did not recognize me," 136,20-21; ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω, 1:10), the word ("I spoke," 136,22; ὁ λόγος, 1:1, 14), coming to one's own ("him who is mine" [sing.], 136, 23; οἱ ἴδιοι [pl.], 1:11), the reception of the word ("he hearkened to me just as you also who hearkened today," 136, 23-25; ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, 1:12), the bestowal of authoritative power ("I gave him authority (ἐξουσία)," 136,26; ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν, 1:12), and the eventual inheritance ("the inheritance of his fatherhood," 136,27-28; τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, 1:12). Finally, Koschorke judges that the reference to the "fullness" to be enjoyed (137,4) resembles the πλήρωμα in which all believers participate (1:16).¹³⁸ Thus, Koschorke concludes, "Den bislang bekannten Belegen gnostischer Exegese von Joh 1 ist nun, wie unser Beitrag zu zeigen versuchte, EpPt hinzuzufügen."¹³⁹ He suggests that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* provides a paraphrase of the Johannine prologue, and apparently a re-mythologized paraphrase at that.

Our evaluation of Koschorke's thesis should begin by noting that Koschorke is correct in recognizing that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is written with a considerable awareness of other Christian and Gnostic literature. Indeed, as we are suggesting, our tractate does mean to provide a Christian Gnostic interpretation of various traditional materials. Hence Koschorke's thesis is by no means rendered impossible or even unlikely by the character of the document. Furthermore, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 136,16-137,4 has a general purpose similar to that of John 1; both passages proclaim that the heavenly Savior has come down to this world and has put on a body, for the sake of the salvation and fullness of his people.

When we look at the particular parallels highlighted by Koschorke, however, we note that they are not altogether convincing. As he also notes,¹⁴⁰ the parallel concerning the

εἰσογία which is given is the closest and most impressive similarity. But as for the other parallels, the evidence is not persuasive. The account of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not emphasize the Johannine concern for the λόγος becoming σάρξ; in fact, 136,21-22 seems to suggest that the divine Savior was not really σάρξ at all! Some of the other parallels are trivial or even farfetched. For example, the λόγος of John is hardly a close and meaningful parallel to the ἀΐψαχε (136,22-23) of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* The most important parallels between these two passages seem to be precisely in those areas where numerous Gnostic sources agree. The fall of the seed, the descent of the Savior, his encounter with a body, the lack of recognition of the powers--such themes as these are treated in various Gnostic sources, and often the parallels with the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are more significant in these sources. Furthermore, the theme of the obedience of ηερε ηωϊ is also nicely paralleled in Gnostic documents, as we soon shall notice.

Hence, most of the similarities between the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 136,16-137,4 and John 1 seem to reflect terms and themes shared with other versions of the Gnostic account of the descent of the heavenly redeemer. In this way the Gnostic background of the Johannine λόγος hymn is underscored, to be sure, but the suggested dependence of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* upon the Gospel of John is called into question. In spite of its current context within a set of revelatory answers delivered by the resurrected Christ, we may even wonder whether 136,16-137,4 could reflect a non-Christian Gnostic redeemer myth, a myth with certain affinities to the λόγος hymn adopted and adapted by John.¹⁴¹

It remains to be discovered what is meant by ηερε ηωϊ (136,23), a phrase paralleled in the third revelatory answer at 137,5-6. This rather ambiguous phrase apparently functions as the antecedent for the masculine singular pronouns that are used in the succeeding lines, which provide an account of the salvation of ηερε ηωϊ. Several interpretations have been given. Bethge proposes that perhaps Adam the Primal Man is meant; "Was Jesus dann den Aposteln sagt, ist im Grunde nur eine Wiederholung dessen, was in der Urzeit bereits Adam mitgeteilt wurde."¹⁴² Koschorke maintains that "das menschliche Gefäss

strangers. He proclaims to James, who himself has an exalted role, $\bar{\text{N}}\tau\text{OK } \gamma\alpha\rho \lambda\eta \pi\epsilon \pi\iota\rho\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon \mu\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{N}} \omicron\upsilon\beta\omicron\nu\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \bar{\text{N}}\tau\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\nu\omega\mu\bar{\text{M}}\omicron' \bar{\text{N}}\tau\bar{\text{K}} \omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\text{N}} \mu\bar{\text{N}} \omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota' \text{†}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{N}}\omicron\upsilon\zeta \Delta\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\kappa$, "For you are not the redeemer or a helper of strangers; you are an illuminator and a redeemer of those who are mine, and now of those who are yours" (V 55,15-20). Likewise, in the *Treat. Seth* Christ speaks in very similar terms: "I came to those who are mine ($\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota \bar{\text{N}}\epsilon$) and united them with me" (VII 59,9-11). $\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\omega\bar{\iota}$ and $\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ are thus two ways of referring to the light trapped below, awaiting salvation and restoration through the $\phi\omega\sigma\tau\eta\rho$.

The light has fallen into $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\omega\tau$, but is to be restored to $\omicron\upsilon\pi\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\omega\mu\alpha$: this is the message of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 136,16-137,4. In fact, the first two revelatory answers, which as we have seen are structurally related, come together at the conclusion of the second answer to provide a soteriological climax. Unfortunately, 137,1-2 cannot be reconstructed with any confidence.¹⁴⁵ The sense of the passage, however, is clear. The fallen light, dimmed in the deficiency of this world and estranged from the heavenly realm, returns to the fullness. As Christ is the $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\omega\mu\alpha$, so also the light becomes $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\omega\mu\alpha$, since Christ and the light are essentially the same. Hence the destiny of Christ and the Gnostic coincide: both attain to the $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\omega\mu\alpha$ of light.¹⁴⁶

The Third and Fourth Revelatory Answers (137,4-13)

The last two of the set of four revelatory answers are very brief, and also very similar to each other in structure and function. If the first two answers provide insights into basic Gnostic soteriology--the fall and restoration of the light--, the last two answers provide specific answers to the questions of the daily struggles of Gnostic believers. What about their imprisonment here below? What about their struggle with the powers of the world?

The third revelatory answer of the resurrected Christ (137,4-9) speaks most clearly to the first (and possibly also the third) of the direct questions raised by the apostles.¹⁴⁷

The third answer opens, like the fourth, with a slightly different formula for the section subtitle (εἶπε ἢν δε χε, 137,4-5.10) than that of the first two answers. This third answer purports to speak to the problem of the detention, the incarceration in this dwelling place (134,24). Although the answer provided is very brief, it does give a reason for the detention and suggest a solution. The reason given is one that suggests hostility, the conflict between the forces of light and the powers of darkness. The megalomaniacal demigods of the world, in their jealousy and wickedness, imprison the heavenly light within a cosmos of death. In spite of their ignorance, they attempt to browbeat, coerce, curse, and even rape the beings under their control, those who have fallen from the light. Because you are children of the light, strangers to this dark world but at home in the light, χε ἠτωῖν νετε νογῆι (137,5-6), Christ says, therefore you are opposed by the powers of this mortal world. And just as these powers persecuted Christ, so also do they persecute those belonging to Christ.¹⁴⁸

According to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, the way out of this predicament involves stripping away the corruptible part of our being, the mortal bodies (ζενσωμα εγμοογτ, 136,12-13). This motif is well known in Gnostic documents. In the *Dial. Sav.* the problem is described with great clarity; as the Lord tells Matthew, you cannot see the glorious place of life and light εφο[σον εκ]φορι ἠτσαρῶ, "as long as you wear the flesh" (III 132,11-12). In the *Gos. Thom.* Jesus compares his disciples to children who are placed in a field belonging to others. When these owners return to claim their field, the children σεκακ λζην ἠπογμτο εβολ ετρογκαλς εβολ ηαγ ἠσε† τογσωγε ηαγ, "strip themselves before them in order to release it to them and to give back their field to them" (II 37,4-6). Though the metaphor is mixed, the message is apparent: the children of the light are to let go of this world, take off the bodies that are clothing them, and be released from mortal existence to immortal life.¹⁴⁹ Similarly in the *2 Apoc. Jas.* Christ speaks to James about his entry into the body and his release from the body: ἠτοκ γαρ ζωσ εντῆ ογωορῆ εακ† ζῆωκ' ἠτοκ οη ηε πωορῆ ετηακαακῆ [λ]ζηνογ' λγω εκεωωπε ἠε ενεκωοοη ἠμοσ ζαθη

ΕΜΠΑΤΕΚΚΑΛΚ ΑΞΗΟΥ, "For even as you are the first to have clothed yourself, so also are you the first who will strip himself, and you shall become as you were before you stripped yourself" (V 56,7-14). Perhaps here a new, transformed sort of glorious clothing, fitting for an exalted being of light, may be alluded to, though elsewhere in the tractate (46,14-19; 58,20-23) the imperishable Christ can be described as naked.

In similar fashion the stripping of the mortal flesh and the reclothing with the spiritual garment can be indicated in other Gnostic sources. In the *Ap. Jas.*, for example, the ascending Jesus states that he will strip himself so that he may clothe himself anew (I 14,35-36).¹⁵⁰ In the "Hymn of the Pearl" the king's son takes off the filthy garment (τὸ ῥυπαρὸν ἔνδυμα) that he has been using as a disguise in the worldly land of Egypt (*Acts of Thomas* 111), and puts on his glorious image, his royal robe (τὴν στολήν μου τὴν βασιλικήν), back at his father's house (112-13).

Though the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* here makes no mention of any heavenly garment to be worn, the emphasis remains essentially the same: strip yourselves of what is perishable, and shine like the light that you are! In the words attributed to the Naassenes by Hippolytus, the house of God is the place ὅπου ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεὸς κατοικεῖ μόνος, εἰς ὃν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται, φησὶν, ἀκάθαρτος οὐδεὶς, οὐ ψυχικὸς, οὐ σαρκικὸς, ἀλλὰ τηρεῖται πνευματικοῖς μόνοις, ὅπου δεῖ γενομένους βαλεῖν τὰ ἐνδύματα καὶ πάντας γενέσθαι νυμφίους ἀπηρενωμένους διὰ τοῦ παρθενικοῦ πνεύματος (*Ref.* 5.8.44).¹⁵¹

The concept of souls wearing clothing was a common image during late Hellenism.¹⁵² During its descent the heavenly soul was thought to put on the qualities and passions of the seven cosmic spheres, and upon ascending it was believed to remove these garments again, so that it might live in purity and divinity in heaven. Such an image is exceedingly ancient, and already can be seen in an early form in the Sumerian and Akkadian myths of the descent of Inanna (Ishtar) into the underworld.¹⁵³ In order to see her older sister Ereshkigal, the queen of the underworld, Inanna must pass through seven gates on her descent, and take off clothes and jewels at each gate,

so that she arrives naked before the throne of Ereshkigal. Upon returning to the earth, however, her clothes are given to her once again at the appropriate gates, and she appears safe and sound in the realm of the living. In a similar fashion, in a different mythological context and at a much later time, Gnostics can also portray the light and the heavenly redeemer being progressively clothed with the various somatic and psychic garments during the descent to earth, and progressively unclothed again during the ascent. Thus in *Poimandres* 24-26 the narrator Nous-Poimandres describes how, after the fleshly body has been abandoned, with its senses and passions, the person ascends through the seven cosmic circles, and hands back the various capacities and inclinations to the appropriate circle. Thus stripped (γυμνωθεῖς), the person arrives in the presence of the Father, praises God, and becomes God (θεωθῆναι).

The naked soul is also discussed, though in a much more negative fashion, in the NT, where the possibility of a final condition without a body or clothing is denied or viewed with horror. Indeed, as in Judaism, so also in the NT, it is the unfaithful who arise without bodies or clothing; and in 2 Corinthians Paul emphasizes that there is a heavenly dwelling for us, so that we might put it on and οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα (5:2-3).¹⁵⁴

The *Gos. Phil.* enters into this debate concerning nakedness, physical bodies, and spiritual bodies, where the fear of some people at the prospect of rising naked is discussed. The *Gos. Phil.* maintains that in actuality those who wear the *καρπ* are naked, and those who strip themselves (*κακῶς ἐξηγ*, II 56, 31-32) are not naked; 1 Cor 15:50 is even brought in as evidence in the discussion (56,32-34). After additional comments about resurrection in the flesh, this section of the *Gos. Phil.* closes with the statement that "in this world those who put on clothes are better than the clothes; in the kingdom of heaven the clothes are better than those who have put them on" (57, 19-22)--that is, the spiritual person wears inferior fleshly clothing in this world, but superior clothing of heavenly glory in the next.

The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* has Jesus promise that when the corruptible is taken off, then the believer will become a φωστήρ. Presumably the full realization of this enlightened state will come at death, when the material body will be discarded, and the believer will finally leave this dwelling place (134,23-26). Yet the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* here emphasizes that the apostles are to become illuminators εἴη τμητέ πρῶσμε εὔμοογτ (137,9). Hence already the believers can realize salvation, already they can anticipate the freedom of living in the light and not in slavery to the flesh.¹⁵⁵ Such hope for the present life is also proclaimed in the *Hyp. Arch.*, which promises that all true Gnostics, all those who know the Way, have life: οὐον λε νιμ πτασσοῦων τεῖζοδος ηλεῖ σβοοον πθαλατος εἴη τμητέ πρῶσμε εὔαγμογ, "and all those who have known this Way are deathless in the midst of dying people" (II 96,25-27).

Thus, like Christ, the Gnostic Christians can also become εἴηφωστήρ. Just as Christ is a fullness and an illuminator, so also the Gnostics become fullnesses and illuminators. Christ's fate is their fate, his lot their lot. Among the Gnostics the realization of salvation can involve a mystical identification with Christ, so that the author of the *Gos. Phil.* can proclaim that one is mystically united with the divine: ακηλ[γ] απππλ ακωπνε πππλ ακηλ[γ λ]ππτε ακωπνε ππτε ακηλγ απ[ειωτ κ]ηκωπνε πειωτ, "You saw the Spirit, you became spirit; you saw Christ, you became Christ; you saw the [Father, you] will become the Father" (II 61,29-32).¹⁵⁶

The fourth revelatory answer of the risen Christ (137,10-13) functions as the answer to the fifth direct question of the apostles. While the question is worded in such a way as to emphasize the active hostility of the powers, the subtitle of the answer assumes the active participation of the apostles; in either case the issue being discussed is the struggle between the Gnostics and the powers of the cosmos.¹⁵⁷ The brief answer given seems to relate especially to the ερε ογ of the question at 135,2. The reason for the ongoing warfare between the people of the light and the powers of this world, Christ says, is that the powers do not have rest, and they oppose the salvation of the people of the light. πτω frequently

translates ἀνάπαυσις, and these two terms function in a technical manner within Gnostic documents.¹⁵⁸ These terms designate the salvific state of the enlightened person, the state of being filled with knowledge, of being whole. As 137,11-12 hints, already the believers "have rest." But ultimately, we are suggesting, the final rest or repose for the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* comes with the new world, the total liberation.

In the *Gos. Thom.*, on the other hand, the focus is clearly on the repose which is attainable now. The disciples ask Jesus a question, and place the phrases ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΠΗΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ (II 42, 8-9) and ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΒΕΡΡΕ (42,10) in balanced parallelism: "When will the rest for the dead happen, and when will the new world come?" Jesus responds to this apocalyptic question by destroying any preoccupation with the future: ΤΗ ΕΤΕΡΩΣΑΩΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΕ ΛΣΕΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΩΤΗ ΤΕΤΗΣΟΟΥΗ ΛΗ ΠΜΟΣ, "What you look forward to has come, but you do not know it" (42,11-12). According to the *Gos. Thom.*, then, the ΠΤΩΗ or ἀνάπαυσις is now; as the *Gos. Truth* also proclaims, the Gnostic is the one who has rest, for "since he knows, he does the will of him who called him; he wants to please him; he receives rest (ΠΤΑΗ)" (I 22,9-12).

Yet some Gnostic sources maintain that ultimate rest lies in the fullness of the heavenly light, the final oneness with the Father. Hence the *Ap. John* states that the soul which has left the flesh, and upon which the spirit of life (ΠΝΑ ΠΠΩΗΣ) and the power (ΤΣΟΜ) have come, will be saved, ΑΥΩ ΦΑΥΧΙΤΕ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΠΑΙΩΗ, "and it is taken up to the repose of the aeons" (II 26,21-32).¹⁵⁹

This, then, is the perfect rest, beyond all the difficulties and sufferings described in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* And this perfect rest, anticipated as it is in the present, is precisely what the cosmic powers do not have. They are not of the light, and in spite of their bravado they are weak and ignorant. Strangers to the light, they oppose the creatures of the light, and want to keep them imprisoned below.

An Additional Question and Answer, and the Conclusion
(137,13-138,10)

The author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does not conclude the revelatory section of the tractate with the selection of prefixed questions and four revelatory answers. Rather, the author provides an indication of a seam in the tractate by pausing to reset the stage appropriately with a quotation formula which harks back to the setting for the first group of questions and answers. This appended question (137,13-17) builds upon the previous question and answer, where the cosmic battle is described. The specific request in this additional question has to do, once again, with the struggle with the cosmic powers: $\lambda\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon?$ In this question and answer, however, the Greek loan word $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta$ is utilized, a technical term used only here in the tractate. The fearful nature of this struggle is suggested by the apostles in their concluding clause: $\eta\ \alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta\ \sigma\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\eta\epsilon\ \tilde{\eta}\mu\omicron\kappa$. The same fear is expressed by the disciple Judas in the *Dial. Sav.*, where he says, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \zeta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tilde{\eta}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta\ \psi\omicron\omicron\eta\ \zeta\tilde{\eta}\ \tau\eta\epsilon\ \tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha\eta\ \tilde{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\epsilon\ \tilde{\eta}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\chi\omega\eta$, "Behold, the archons are above us, so surely they will lord it over us" (III 138,11-14). In this latter instance, however, Jesus quickly points out that, on the contrary, the disciples and the Gnostics will lord it over these archons.

The revelatory answer (137,17-138,3) is introduced by means of a statement referring to the mode of revelation; the quotation formula refers to the $\sigma\mu\eta$ which calls out from the appearance. Whether $\tilde{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \tilde{\eta}\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tilde{\eta}$ (137,19) is best translated as "him who was appearing" or "that which was appearing" is difficult to say. To be sure, the appearance is that of the resurrected Christ, but Christ is appearing as a light. Hence this phrase seems patterned after the opening formula at 135, 3-4. The answer itself opens with a preliminary statement in two parts. The first of the two parts (137,20-22) provides an introduction to the answer which follows, and concludes with a statement of substantiation. The second part (137,22-23) reiterates the introduction provided by the first part, but strengthens the impact by means of a verb with a third future form. Such a repetition has encouraged Bethge to suggest the

possibility of dittography. The statement of substantiation, he posits, "dürfte eine sekundäre Glosse sein, die eine Dittographie verursacht hat."¹⁶⁰ Such a suggestion is not unreasonable, and deserves some consideration. Yet the significant place of the statement of substantiation, and the intensification provided by the reiteration with the verb in the third future, should caution us against dismissing the supposed intrusions in too facile a manner. The preliminary statement thus concludes with an exceedingly strong declaration, almost a demand: "you should, you must fight against them in this way."

The brief statement of substantiation reflects the true character of the struggle between the people of the light and the cosmic powers: *ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ σπλάγχνῳ* (137,21-22). The archons oppose the light, the spirit within, the *ἔσω ἀνθρώπου πνευματικός*;¹⁶¹ their war is a spiritual war, and so the tactics of the believers must make use of the spiritual weapons at their disposal. According to Irenaeus, some of the Valentinian Gnostics around Marcus emphasize *τὴν γνῶσιν (εἶναι) ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἐνδον ἀνθρώπου*. Such redemption is not somatic, for the *σῶμα* is *φθαρτόν*; it is not psychic, for the *ψυχὴ* is also from the *ὕστερημα*. No, this redemption is spiritual (*πνευματικὴ*); *λυτροῦσθαι γὰρ διὰ γνώσεως*¹⁶² *τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρώπου τὸν πνευματικόν, καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τῇ τῶν ὄλων ἐπιγνώσει· καὶ ταύτην εἶναι λύτρωσιν ἀληθῆ (Adv. Haer. 1.21.4)*. The battle described in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is reminiscent of the spiritual warfare depicted by the Paulinist in Eph 6:10-20, where it is emphasized that since the believers are not fighting *πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα* but rather *πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* (6:12), therefore their weaponry ought to be correspondingly spiritual.¹⁶³

The spiritual weaponry and strategy recommended by Christ in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* seems to reflect the life of the Gnostic Christians who are behind our tractate. The believers are to combat the archons (137,23-25) through the gathering and the preaching also mentioned at the very opening of the tractate (132,19-133,1).¹⁶⁴ This emphasis in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* illustrates the concern of this author and group for both the

ecclesiastical meetings and the missiological programs. A rhythm of life, a plan of action, is present in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*; the apostles, and the community, ought to neglect neither the worship of the group nor the mission in the world. In the gatherings the voice of Christ is heard, and in the mission the light of Christ is disseminated. In addition, God the Father will provide help (βοηθῆι); he provides power with which the people of the light can gird themselves (137,25-27),¹⁶⁵ he is responsive to prayer (137,27-28),¹⁶⁶ and thus he helps continually just as he helped by sending Christ (137,28-30).¹⁶⁷ As a result, the apostles have nothing to fear¹⁶⁸ in the struggle with the archons, for they will certainly prevail over them. The revelatory answer closes with an additional reference to the continuity between the teachings of the historical Jesus and those of the resurrected Christ (138,2-3). Thus reassured and mandated, the disciples may go forth, and the revelatory appearance may come to an end.

As *τορε* was used to introduce both the additional question (137,13) and the additional answer (137,17), so also *τορε* is used for both parts of the account of the meeting's conclusion (138,3.7). The ascension of the risen Christ (138,3-7) concludes the revelatory appearance, and emphasizes the special character of the appearance. Lightning and thunder accompany this ascension, for there has been a theophany.¹⁶⁹ This ascension should not be confused, however, with the ascension as depicted in Luke-Acts. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the portrayal depicts a glorious appearance of the light and voice of Christ from heaven, while in Luke-Acts the author wishes to have the ascension function in a particular way within his scenario of redemptive history. Hence in Acts the emphasis is placed upon the ascension as an event quite separate from the resurrection. The resurrection and ascension accounts in Acts agree, however, in emphasizing the corporeality of both of these events, and the ascension account pictures Christ almost being levitated.¹⁷⁰ Luke is concerned about continuity, the continuity from the earthly Jesus to the earthly church, and he shapes his resurrection and ascension accounts to speak to these concerns. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, on the other hand, the revelatory appearance

of the risen Christ is a theophany, and the withdrawal of the light and voice is depicted as a return to heaven, though it is true that the language of 138,5-7 approaches that of Acts.¹⁷¹ The author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is not fighting the theological battles of Luke, and operates with a different scenario. For the author of our tractate the glorious Christ speaks authoritatively not only to the apostles but also in the church of the author's day.

After the return of the glorious Christ to heaven, the apostles themselves give thanks and return to Jerusalem (138, 7-10). Here the scene comes to a natural conclusion, and does so in a manner reminiscent of Luke 24:52-53 and Acts 1:12. As in Luke-Acts, the apostles in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* return to Jerusalem,¹⁷² and offer worship to the Lord.¹⁷³

Scene on the Road to Jerusalem (138,10-139,9)

An additional scene is inserted into the narrative at 138,10. The seams of the insertion are apparent in the clause (138,10-11) linking this scene to the preceding scene, and in the conclusion to this scene (139,4-6), where the account of the return to Jerusalem is reiterated.¹⁷⁴ The scene on the Jerusalem road focuses upon a theme which is crucial for the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* in general, and which dominates the concluding pages of the tractate: suffering, both the suffering of the apostles and the suffering of Christ. Such a preoccupation with suffering may derive in part from the traditions reflected in our document. Lucan materials, with which the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* was generally familiar, certainly illustrate a great concern for the sufferings of the early church, the persecutions which characterized the beginnings of the history of Christianity.¹⁷⁵ Likewise, the traditional credo of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (139,15-21), with formulae familiar from early Christian literature, echoes the concern of the early church for the proclamation and interpretation of the passion and death of Christ.

Yet the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* also indicates that the community which produced this tractate is a Gnostic Christian group experiencing hostility and persecution. Their prayer to Christ

(134,8-9), the questions asked of the risen Christ (134,23-135,2; 137,15-17) or raised by the group (138,15-16), and the supportive words of the resurrected Christ (137,20-138,3; 138,22-139,4; 140,17-23) and the apostle Peter (139,15-140,1) all indicate that the Gnostic Christian community of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* was intimately involved with the problem of suffering and persecution. The struggle of the believer for survival and victory in a hostile world was very real to this community, and very much a part of the self-understanding of the group. This concern may reflect the hostile political environment during portions of the first three centuries C.E.; Christians were forced to cope practically and theologically with the problem of persecution. Gnostic Christians, too, experienced suffering and death at the hands of the persecutors,¹⁷⁶ although such opponents of heresy as Ignatius and Irenaeus could level at the Gnostics the blanket charge that they were doctests with regard to Christ's passion and opponents of martyrdom.¹⁷⁷ These Gnostic Christians could also assert that they suffered at the hands of others who claimed to be Christians, probably from an oppressive Great Church, which may come $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\eta\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau$, "in the name of a dead man,"¹⁷⁸ and impose its will upon the Gnostic believers.

Furthermore, many Gnostics were acutely aware of the hostility of the cosmic environment. Numerous powers and archons, heavenly authorities, angels of darkness and death, and the countless minions of the world rulers make mortal existence a constant struggle against imprisonment and death. In the words of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, $\sigma\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\omega\eta\ \epsilon\sigma\omicron\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\eta$ (134,8-9)! But these cosmic rulers also have their earthly accomplices; as the author of the *Apoc. Pet.* puts it, the ignorant opponents of the Gnostics are belligerent fools, $\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon\ \rho\lambda\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \xi\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\bar{\iota}\lambda\alpha\rho\omega\kappa$, "because they stand through (the) power of the archons" (VII 74,28-30). In a similar fashion, in the *1 Apoc. Jas.* Jesus warns his brother James to flee from Jerusalem, since this city always treats the children of light with bitterness, and $\omicron\upsilon\mu\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\omega\eta\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\lambda\alpha\rho\omega\eta$, "it is a dwelling place of a large number of archons" (V 25,18-19). Presumably these archons designate not simply heavenly powers, but also human powers

within the churches or synagogues of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁹ Thus the struggle against the hostility of the archons may involve politics and ecclesiology as well as cosmology; the archons are not only the cosmic bureaucrats, the *τελώναι* or heavenly tax-collectors, but also the political and religious officials.¹⁸⁰

The scene on the Jerusalem road, then, opens with an introductory question (138,10-16). After a statement referring back to the appearance of Christ as the light (138,10-13), a quotation formula is used to introduce the question per se. Part of this quotation formula has been altered by the scribe or a later reader.¹⁸¹ At 138,14 the last word in the line originally had been written as a third person masculine singular (active) circumstantial, *ερχω*, but subsequently the form was changed to a third person common plural (passive) circumstantial, *ερχω*. Apparently it had been noted that the main clause includes no speaker, and thus a passive circumstantial construction is more appropriate. The question raised seems to be a rhetorical question in the form of a *qaḷ wa-homer* (*a minorī ad maior*); the argument seems to proceed from Christ's participation in suffering to the even more certain suffering in store for his followers. This question appears quite abruptly, since it is the first specific indication of the passion of Christ, a theme to be treated extensively in the ensuing lines.

As in the first section of the NT Acts, and also throughout the narrative framework of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, Peter functions as the leader and spokesman of the apostles. Hence in response to the query that has been raised, Peter as a Gnostic Christian speaks to the matter of the suffering of Christ and of believers. After Peter's insightful remarks the voice of the resurrected Christ again comes forth to amplify upon the matter of the suffering of the believers.

Peter's speech (138,17-20) contrasts the suffering of Christ with that of his followers. To be sure, the suffering of Christ is assumed in both the introductory question and the answer of Peter, although the precise nature of that suffering is not to be addressed until Peter's longer speech is presented (139,9-140,1). Christ suffered, Peter maintains, *εἰς ἡμᾶς*, "on account of us" or "for our sakes." The Coptic

preposition εἵνε can translate a variety of Greek prepositions, including διὰ, περί, and ὑπέρ, although, as Gerard Luttikhuisen notes, in the Sahidic NT εἵ usually is used for ὑπέρ and εἵνε for διὰ or περί.¹⁸² εἵνηνητῆ reproduces a common and ancient soteriological theme: the passion of Christ has taken place *pro nobis*, for us and for our benefit. Thus in the NT we read that Christ suffered διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν (Rom 4:25; Sahidic: εἵνε κεννοβε), περί ἡμῶν (1 Thess 5:10; Sahidic: εἵνηνητῆ).¹⁸³

The followers of Christ, on the other hand, suffer on account of themselves. Not exempt from suffering, we must suffer, Peter declares, εἵνε τεινητῆκογι, "on account of our smallness." "Smallness" can be used in a number of technical ways in Gnostic documents. In one way of thinking of smallness, it is a state to be cherished and praised, the state of childlike simplicity and innocence. Just as Jesus can praise children in the NT gospels (Mark 9:33-37 par. Matt 18:1-5, Luke 9:46-48; Mark 10:13-16 par. Matt 19:13-15, Luke 18:15-17), so also in the *Gos. Thom.* he can consider little children in an exemplary fashion. The disciples are like children (εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ, *logion* 21; II 37,1), those entering the Kingdom are like little babies at the breast (εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ, *logion* 22; 37,20, also 37,21-22), and a little child of seven days (οὔνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ, *log'ion* 4; 33,7-8) knows of life; πενηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ, "whoever of you becomes a child will know the Kingdom" (*log'ion* 46; 41,10-12). Here and in numerous other Gnostic, Manichaean, and Mandaean sources smallness is valued highly as being characteristic of the true Gnostics, or even of the Savior himself.¹⁸⁴

In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, such a positive evaluation is not made.¹⁸⁵ Here smallness is considered as characteristic not of innocent childhood but rather of mortal existence. If the life above is one of fullness, greatness, and glory, the life below is one of deficiency, smallness, and humility. The *Treat. Res.* makes this contrast very clear in a portion of the Valentinian quotation inserted into its text: οὔνηνητῆ πενηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ εἵνηνητῆ, "Strong is

the system of the fullness, small is what broke away and became (the) world" (I 46,34-38). In other words, the Pleroma or fullness is potent, but the deficiency or smallness is impotent, weak, mortal. As the *Gos. Phil.* maintains, this mortal world is not directly derived from the immortal Sophia above, but rather from Echmoth, the Sophia of death, $\tau\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota \ \eta\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$, "the little Sophia" (II 60,15). For this world is little, full of ignorance and death, a place reflecting the character of the pathetic rulers of this place, $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota \ \eta\epsilon \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \eta\lambda\tau\epsilon\omega$, "for they are small and ignorant."¹⁸⁶ Hence, Peter states to the apostles, because we are entangled and imprisoned in this realm of darkness, deficiency, and smallness, we must suffer, and endure the hostility of the powers, until we finally attain to fullness and light.¹⁸⁷

Following Peter's speech the voice of Christ breaks forth to expand upon the matter of the suffering of the believers (138,21-139,4).¹⁸⁸ The voice comes unsolicited, although as usual it comes when the apostles are gathered together, and it speaks to the question just raised by the apostles. The other experiences of revelation occur when the apostles are gathered for prayer or worship; they call to Christ in prayer (133,17-134,9; 137,13-17; 140,1-7) and they offer liturgical utterances (140,13-15). In this instance, at a more informal gathering of the apostles, the revelatory voice comes forth to indicate the necessity of suffering. The voice emphasizes the continuity between this revelation and previous revelatory utterances. Previously, when Christ was embodied, it is suggested, he had already spoken many times of the necessity of suffering. Indeed, as we scan the NT gospels, we note that various statements regarding suffering are attributed to Jesus. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* reference is made to suffering of a specific sort, and the reference seems to reflect particular NT passages. In the so-called "Little Apocalypse" in Mark 13, along with the parallel passages (Mark 13:9 par. Matt 10:17-18, Luke 21:12), a statement occurs which closely parallels 138,24-27.¹⁸⁹ Of the three forms of this statement, all relate nicely to the passage in our tractate, but the versions in Matthew and Luke are closer than that in Mark to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* A form of $\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$

occurs in 138,25, and it is most likely a passive form; εἶπε could conceivably reflect either the ἀχθήσεσθε of Matt 10:18¹⁹⁰ or the ἀπαγομένους¹⁹¹ of Luke 21:12, since εἶπε is attested as a Coptic translation for both ἀγεῖν or ἀπάγειν.¹⁹²

The conclusion to the speech presented by the voice is, unfortunately, damaged beyond repair, but the general contents can be surmised. After having emphasized the necessity of suffering, Christ gives a warning concerning the fate or character of the one who attempts to avoid suffering. Such a person's lot will not be promising, for that person refuses to heed and follow the Savior, and participate in the struggle for salvation.¹⁹³

Following the apparent conclusion of the comments by the revelatory voice in 139,4, the scene draws to a close with a summary statement reminiscent of the materials presented in the NT Acts. Here (139,4-9) and possibly at a later occasion (140,7-13) summary statements are given which possess a character and function quite similar to those in the Lucan Acts (2:42-47; 4:32-37; 5:12-16, 42).¹⁹⁴ Here, as in Acts, the summary statement seems very general in character, and provides generalizations of material very much like that in Acts. Picking up the theme of 138,9-10, before the intruding scene, the author reiterates that "they went up to Jerusalem" (139,5-6). They were filled with joy (Luke 24:52: οὐκ ἦν ἡράδι), and returned to the city of Jerusalem (Luke 24:52; Acts 1:12). In Jerusalem they went to the temple (Luke 24:53; Acts 2:46; 3:1-26; 5:20-21, 42), and taught about salvation in Christ's name (Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38; 3:6, 16; 4:10, 17-18, 30; 5:28, 40-41; 8:12),¹⁹⁵ while they also healed many (Acts 3:1-10; 5:12-16). Thus the summary statement at 139,4-9 includes a number of themes also found in the early chapters of the NT Acts, unites these themes into a general statement, and perhaps uses this statement "to divide and to connect."¹⁹⁶ While providing an indication of the typical activities of the apostles, the narrative summary separates the speeches and yet unites the story. It maintains the narrative framework within which the vital speeches and revelations are given.

Account of the Speech of Peter (139,9-140,1)

Following the summary statement, with little stage-setting, Peter's speech is presented as a paradigm of the proclamation of a devout Gnostic Christian. As the apostle par excellence, and the guarantor of the Gnostic Christian heritage, Peter is able to preach a fine Gnostic sermon which presents and interprets traditional kerygmatic formulae.

It is said that Peter speaks to ΠΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ (139,10). This term is striking for a couple of reasons. First of all, this Greek loan word is utilized only here in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*; elsewhere the Greek loan word ἀποστολος is used. As we have noted previously, the verb ΠΕΧΛΥ is also to be found only at 139,10.15 in our tractate, and adds to the grammatical peculiarity of this section of the tractate. Secondly, the word ΠΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ is also of interest because of the ambiguity of its prefixed possessive adjective: whose disciples does Peter address? It is possible that these followers are thought to be Peter's disciples, students in the entourage of the master. It may even be that the position of Peter as the apostolic leader is so exalted that the other apostles are here considered as his disciples.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, it is also feasible that these disciples are Christ's disciples and Peter's fellow disciples.¹⁹⁸ It could be the case that the prefix ΠΕΦ- once had "Christ" as a less ambiguous antecedent in a source, and that the abrupt presentation of the speech in our tractate created the present ambiguity.

Klaus Koschorke has devoted a considerable amount of attention to the speech of Peter in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*¹⁹⁹ As the title of his article indicates, he judges that the speech of Peter in our tractate is a Gnostic version of the Pentecost sermon of Peter. Koschorke rightly notes the similarities between our tractate and the NT Acts, and hence concludes that the speech of Peter is a model of how Gnostic Christians ought to participate in the spiritual struggle with the archons (137,24-25):

Die Archonten werden durch die "Verkündigung in der Welt" bekämpft, wozu die Apostel durch die "verheissene" Gabe des Pfingstgeistes (bzw. der "Kraft

meines Vaters") befähigt sein werden (137,22ff). Das Modell solcher den Aposteln aufgetragenen Verkündigung scheint die Pfingstpredigt des Pt. zu sein.²⁰⁰

It is very true that spiritual power is a dominant theme in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* This spiritual power is probably intimated in the salvific promise (132,21-22; 137,25); it is requested in the prayer to the Son (134,8) and the prayer for the "spirit of understanding" (140,3-7); it is available for the strengthening of the apostles (137,26-27), who are mandated with a blessing of power (140,19-21) by a Christ who is eternally present (134,17-18; 140,22-23). Thus Peter, too, delivers his exemplary sermon when $\lambda\chi\mu\omicron\gamma\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \xi\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\eta\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$,²⁰¹ just as in the NT Acts Peter can speak when $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\zeta\ \pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (4:8; Sahidic: $\lambda\chi\mu\omicron\gamma\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \xi\bar{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\eta\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$).²⁰²

But it is not completely accurate to speak of the speech of Peter in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* as a Pentecost sermon in the Lucan sense. It is an exemplary, spirit-filled sermon, to be sure, but it functions in our tractate in a different fashion from the Pentecost sermon of Acts 2. It occurs before the general apostolic group is filled with holy spirit (140,9); indeed, the fact that here Peter is already spirit-filled²⁰³ illustrates that the "Pentecost," the outpouring of holy spirit, in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is interpreted in a different manner from the Lucan Pentecost. Spiritual power, holy spirit, a spirit of understanding, is available to the followers of Christ when they request and appropriate spiritual power. In our tractate the "Pentecost" event is portrayed less as the one great impartation of the Spirit on the day designated for the Feast of Weeks, as in Acts 2, than as the possession of spiritual power and discernment whenever the followers of Christ have need of it.

The sermon of Peter in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is an example of a Gnostic Christian sermon preached by one who has spiritual power and insight. Just as Peter can deliver several exemplary speeches in the NT Acts,²⁰⁴ speeches which Luke often presents as sermons which show "how the gospel is preached and ought to be preached,"²⁰⁵ so also in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Peter preaches a sermon which functions as a paradigm for the proclamation of

Gnostic Christian teachings. After a few introductory remarks (139,11-13), Peter proceeds to present the sermon per se, a sermon with three parts: the citation of a traditional credo (139,15-21), the interpretation of that credo (139,21-28), and a concluding exhortation (139,28-140,1). The introductory remarks again establish the continuity between the preaching of the Gnostic Christian Peter and the revelation of the earthly Jesus. When Jesus was embodied, when he descended to the cosmos, he showed the truth to his followers. This revelatory life of the heavenly Christ who came down--and suffered--is the basis for the sermon Peter is about to preach. Peter closes his introductory remarks with an appeal to the apostles for their attention.²⁰⁶ This appeal utilizes the vocative (ΠΑΤΗΡ), which also introduces the second and third parts of the sermon (139,21.28), and which is similar to the brotherly terms of address in the speeches of Acts (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, 1:16; 2:29; 15:7; ἀδελφοί, 3:17; 6:3). With this appeal for attention the body of the sermon may begin.

After the sermon has been formally introduced with an indication of its spirit-filled character and with a quotation formula, Peter cites the traditional credo upon which his sermon focuses. As at 133,27, Jesus is referred to as an illuminator (πενφωστήρ), the radiant light which descended and was crucified. The individual items in the Christological credo are all familiar from early Christian literature: "he [wore] a crown of thorns" (Matt 27:29; John 19:2; also Mark 15:17; *Gos. Pet.* 3.8; particularly John 19:5: φορῶν²⁰⁷ τὸν ἀκάνθινον στέφανον); "he put [on] a purple robe"²⁰⁸ (Mark 15:17, 20; *Gos. Pet.* 3.7; also Matt 27:28; perhaps Heb 9:19; *Barn.* 7.8-8.1; especially John 19:2, also 5: φορῶν...τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον); "he was [crucified] upon a cross"²⁰⁹ (Acts 5:30 and 10:39: κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου);²¹⁰ "he was buried in a tomb" (Mark 15:46; Matt 27:60; Luke 23:53; John 19:41-42; Acts 13:29; also 1 Cor 15:4); "he rose²¹¹ from the dead" (Mark 9:9; Matt 17:9; John 2:22; 20:9; 21:14; Acts 3:15; 4:10; 10:41; 13:30, 34; 17:3, 31; 1 Cor 15:4, 12, 20).²¹² Such items as these were combined very early in Christian circles to form kerygmatic formulae testifying to the passion of Christ. Already in the NT we can see such credos in

1 Cor 15:3-5, a pre-Pauline formulation which Paul has received from the church tradition and passes on to his readers, and in several passages in Acts (for example 2:22-24; 3:13-15; 5:30-31; 10:36-42), where Luke has Peter and the apostles bear witness to the passion and resurrection of Christ. The credo in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* also affirms the passion and resurrection of Christ, and is a formulation which reflects the common affirmation of the Great Church and these Gnostic Christians.

The structure of this credo deserves special mention. According to Luttikhuizen, the credo "is rather unskillfully interpolated with the sentence" which includes the formulae on the crown of thorns and the purple robe.²¹³ "This interpolation," Luttikhuizen continues, "focuses the attention on the passion of Jesus."²¹⁴ While we do not deny the emphasis upon the passion of Jesus, it does seem that Luttikhuizen's interpretation may betray a misunderstanding of the structure of the credo. In our interpretation the citation of the traditional kerygmatic formulae opens with a twofold formula which introduces the credo and may show the hand of a Gnostic Christian editor. Jesus is termed $\pi\epsilon\mu\phi\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\rho$; and his descent, already mentioned in the introductory remarks at 139,13, is mentioned once again. Such a reference to the descent of the Savior in the content of his suffering is not unusual, since his descent and incarnation are key elements in his suffering, particularly in Gnostic Christological systems. Furthermore, the initial reference to his crucifixion (139,16) seems to be of an introductory sort, intended to provide, in a word, a comprehensive reference to the passion of Christ. Following this introductory formula five terse formulae are listed as witnesses to specific moments in the passion and resurrection of Christ. These five formulae follow in a regular and logical order; the first two of these five formulae are listed in the same order as John 19, an order which diverges from that of Mark, Matthew, and the *Gos. Pet.* The punctuation mark at 139,17 comes as something of a surprise, and could lead one to postulate that the statement concerning the crown of thorns may have been added as an additional formula for the credo. On the other hand, such a conclusion on the basis of an ambiguous point of Punctuation is probably too subtle.

Opening with the vocative $\mu\alpha\sigma\chi\eta\eta\gamma$, the second part of the sermon provides a Gnostic Christian interpretation of the credo that has just been affirmed. The various formulae in this credo are not considered individually; rather, Jesus' suffering is addressed in a more general manner, as a life of suffering while he was embodied. Thus Peter begins by contrasting Jesus' sufferings and his followers'; this contrast is emphasized syntactically by means of a fine chiasm.²¹⁵ Peter maintains that "Jesus is a stranger to this suffering" (139,21-22). As the cosmic powers are strangers to the Father (136,2-3), so also Jesus is a stranger to suffering.

Elsewhere in Gnostic literature the Gnostic redeemer or believer can also be depicted as a stranger, a foreigner, an alien in this world.²¹⁶ Such a person's plight is essentially that of the prince in the "Hymn of the Pearl"; he found himself in worldly Egypt, $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma \delta\grave{\epsilon} \acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\iota\zeta\acute{o}\mu\eta\nu \tau\acute{o} \sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\mu\eta\nu$. In order to cope in this worldly environment, in order to obtain the pearl, he dressed up in a disguise: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\delta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu \delta\grave{\epsilon} \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \tau\acute{\alpha} \phi\omicron\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha, \acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \mu\grave{\eta} \xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ (109). Thus also in the *Treat. Seth*, as we have already seen, the heavenly Christ presents himself as a stranger to the lower realms (VII 52,8-10).

In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Jesus is also presented as a stranger, a stranger to suffering. Jesus has come down from above, and in no way was he previously involved with suffering. Indeed, suffering is as foreign to the essence of Jesus as darkness is foreign to light and as deficiency is foreign to fullness. We humans, on the other hand, endure suffering for good reason; we have been born, have fallen into a corruptible world, and are entangled in the web of evil that has come into being on account of "the transgression of the mother" (139,23), the fall of the mother as portrayed by the revelatory voice of the risen Christ earlier in the tractate (135,8-136,15).²¹⁷ We humans have been cast into deficiency, mortality, and corruptibility, and have been detained in this cosmic dungeon--hence for us suffering is inevitable as long as we are bound with the fetters of this world.

Yet the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* also wishes to proclaim that Jesus did suffer for humans. Just as he came down into a body for the

sake of the heavenly seed (136,17-18), and suffered for us (138,18), so also has he accomplished everything "in a likeness to us" (139,25). Although this phrase "in a likeness to us" is somewhat obscure and difficult to understand, it is clear that the tractate means to highlight the similarity between the suffering of Christ and human sufferings. It may even be that this phrase intends to denote a similarity which approaches a virtual identity between the experiences of Christ and human experiences, so that *κατα ομοεινε* resembles *κατα θε* in meaning.²¹⁸ We can assume that a Greek *Vorlage* underlies *κατα ομοεινε*, and the original Greek could very well have been *καθ' ομοιωμα* or *καθ' ομοιωσιν*.²¹⁹ A similar expression occurs in Ignatius' *Trall.* where the author affirms that God the Father raised Christ from the dead just as (*κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα*) he also will raise believers (9.2).²²⁰ *καθ' ομοιωσιν*, on the other hand, is used in the Greek of Gen 1:26, where God creates man according to the image and likeness of God, that is, similar to God in important ways. Not surprisingly, this passage is cited frequently in early Christian literature,²²¹ and the phrase *κατα ηνεινε* is to be found, in various forms, in such Gnostic documents as the *Ap. John* (II 15,3; also 12,34; 15,10; 19,31; 22,35), where the creation and formation of a world meant to be similar to a heavenly prototype is under discussion--though, as the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* notes, this creation is actually a dissimilarity, a misrepresentation (*ουμνηταεινε*, 136,14), because the creators are blind and impotent.²²² Elsewhere in the *Ap. John* *κατα ηνε* can be used in a different context; the angels who cavorted with the daughters of men (Gen 6:1-4) changed themselves to resemble (*κατα ηνε*, 29,27) the husbands of those women, and produced offspring from the darkness, like (*κατα ηεινε*, 30,8-9) their spirit of darkness.

The use of the phrase *κατα ομοεινε* in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, then, like similar phrases found in other documents, emphasizes the similarity between Christ's experiences in the world and those of his followers. As Peter proclaims to the disciples, Christ did everything like us. He came into the world embodied, like us. He allowed himself to descend and endure the suffering of incarnation, to live among mortals--even though he was

actually not a mortal person. He, the stranger to suffering, suffered like us--and he did this for us, for "the seed that had fallen away" (136,18). We are fallen, imprisoned, suffering; and for this reason (εἶπε ἡλί, 139,24) our illuminator Jesus came down to his own to lead us to fullness, life, and light. Hence he can be termed ΠΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ ΠΤΕ ΠΕΝΩΝΩΣ (139,27-28) and ΠΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ Π[ῤε ΠΕ]ΝΩΤΟ[Ν] (140,4). Like the Peter of the NT Acts, who can proclaim Christ as ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς (3:15),²²³ the Gnostic Christian Peter of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* also preaches that Jesus is "the author of our life." For Jesus is the leader of the restoration of the light, and it is those who hearken to him who will receive their inheritance (136,27-28), and be restored from deficiency to fullness (137,2-4) and life (139, 28). Jesus, the fullness and the illuminator, "the Son of the immeasurable glory of the Father" (139,26),²²⁴ was not implicated in the fall of the mother; but because he descended to this world and voluntarily suffered, his people also can become fullness and illuminators like him.

Thus the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* proclaims a heavenly Jesus whose sufferings are still taken seriously. On the one hand, Jesus is the heavenly light, the fullness, the illuminator, the "Son of immortality" (134,4-5) who descends to earth in disguise (136,19), goes unrecognized (136,20-21), and is mistaken for a mortal person (136,21-22)--indeed, he is a stranger to suffering. On the other hand, Jesus comes in the body, lives like a human being, and endures his passion and death--indeed, he suffers for his people. The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* presents a paradoxical portrait of a Jesus who is both invulnerable and vulnerable, both immortal and dying, a Jesus whose body is both a mortal disguise and a body of death. Like the *Gos. Truth*,²²⁵ the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* maintains a kerygmatic tension in its Christology. Here there is no thought of the laughing Jesus whose body is illusory and who suffers and dies only in appearance;²²⁶ but yet Jesus' divinity is uncompromised, and Jesus is proclaimed as the immortal light and heavenly fullness. The Christological tension is allowed to remain, and the result is a proclamation with power and mystery, which still manages to keep its feet on the ground. For the Gnostic Christians of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, like

Christ, have their true home and identity in the light above, yet their place and task is on the earth, as "illuminators in the midst of mortal people" (137,8-9).

The third and final part of the sermon of Peter is a concluding exhortation, which unfortunately is poorly preserved. Also beginning with the vocative, this exhortation functions as a call to response and action. The exhortation includes encouragement to pay no heed to "these lawless ones" (139,29-30). The word *ἀνομος* is used frequently in early Christian literature, and may be applied to unjust judges, Gentiles without the law, wicked people, and even the lawless one of the last days.²²⁷ The plural form is used without a noun in Acts 2:23 to describe those who killed Jesus, in *Mart. Pol.* 16.1 to depict those responsible for the execution of Polycarp, in Mark 15:28 and Luke 22:37 to cite Isa 53:12. In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* it is difficult to ascertain precisely who the "lawless ones" are. Presumably they could include the archons as well as the hostile collaborators of the archons on the earth, the opponents afflicting the Gnostic Christians. Thus the concluding exhortation seems to be a call to continue the struggle in which Jesus also participated, the struggle against darkness and death and toward light and life. Hence, Peter may exhort, let us not bow to the will and pleasure of the wicked ones, but rather follow the light!²²⁸

Account of the Final Meetings of the Apostles (140,1-27)

Following the sermon of Peter, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* provides accounts of two final meetings of the apostles, after which they are sent forth on their mission. The first of these meetings focuses upon the reception of the spirit (140,1-13), the second upon the final commission (140,13-23). Thus are the apostles qualified for their task, the preaching of the gospel with power.

The account of the first of these two meetings opens with a familiar theme, the gathering of the apostles. As we have already seen, this theme occurs frequently in the tractate: in Peter's letter concerning the Lord's command (132,19; 133,3.7), in the account of Peter gathering the other apostles

(133,12-13.18) in a customary gathering place (133,15-16), in the advice of the resurrected Christ on strategy against the archons (137,24), possibly in the informal meeting on the Jerusalem road (138,11-139,4), implicitly in the sermon of Peter to the disciples (139,9-140,1), as well as in the accounts of the final meetings of the apostles (140,2.13-14). More than mere indications of seams or doublets²²⁹--though seams and doublets may be observed in our tractate--the gatherings and dispersings function for the author of the tractate as a model for the life of Gnostic Christians. Like the apostles, these Gnostic Christians also gather for worship and retreat, so that they might obtain revelatory guidance from the Lord and power for living. It is important to note the liturgical items which are mentioned in connection with the apostolic gatherings, and which seem to reflect the worship of the Gnostic Christian group behind the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*: the kneeling posture (133,19-20), the two initial prayers (133,21-134,1; 134,3-9) and later prayer of Peter (140,3-7), the sermon of Peter, and the liturgical "Amen" (140,15). Like the apostles, those Gnostic Christians also disperse to teach and preach the gospel, to function as lights in the darkness, to fight against the cosmic powers with spiritual power and mighty deeds. They too must go forth "in the power of Jesus, in peace" (140,27).

Peter offers a prayer for $\sigma\upsilon\eta\eta\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\upsilon\epsilon\eta\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\eta\iota$ (140,5-6).²³⁰ The first of the two meetings thus seems to be our author's "Pentecost" account, an account which resembles the Lucan account in some important ways but also shows crucial differences. As in the Lucan account, here Peter functions in a central role, Christ is termed the ἀρχηγός, and the empowering πνεῦμα, a πνεῦμα ἄγιον, enables the apostles to do marvelous things and to preach. Here, however, in contrast to the Lucan Pentecost, the spirit is specified as a πνεῦμα ἐπιστήμης, so that knowledge, understanding, and insight are of particular concern. Furthermore, the little "Pentecost" in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* seems to be accompanied by an appearance of the resurrected Christ (140,8), like the "Pentecost" of John 20:19-23, where the disciples^s are happy, ἰδόντες τὸν κύριον (20:20), who greets them with a greeting of peace, commissions them, and imparts πνεῦμα ἄγιον

to them (20:22). Once again, the "Pentecost" of our tractate is to be seen in the context of the previous account of apostolic preaching and healing in the summary statement of 139, 4-9, where it may be implied that the apostles already have spiritual power. In addition, Peter too has previously been described as filled with holy spirit (139,14) before the delivery of the sermon. Thus the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* provides another account of the acquisition of the spirit, the reception of spiritual power. Just as the Lucan and Johannine accounts show the peculiar interests of their authors, so also the present account illustrates the special concerns of this author: a knowledge of salvation, the power to do mighty things, and the preaching of the gospel.

The second and final meeting of the apostles is begun with the liturgical "Amen." It is said that the apostles gathered together, greeted (ἀγῶασιμασε) each other, and utilized this acclamation; hence this acclamation probably refers to the use of "Amen" in Christian worship, where the "Amen" could function as an acclamation of response to prayer and thanksgiving, and as an element within a prayer or doxology. Usually "Amen" comes at the conclusion of such prayers or doxologies, though in Rev 7:12 it occurs at both the beginning and the end, and serves as a response to the doxological statement of 7:10. ἀμήν is, of course, merely a transliteration of the Hebrew אָמֵן, "it is sure," and its use among Christians is derived from its use within Judaism. The meaning of this Hebrew utterance is retained within the Greek-speaking world, so that ἀμήν can be utilized before the sayings of Jesus as a witness to their reliability. In fact, the "Amen" can even be hypostasized, so that in Rev 3:14 Christ seems to be called ὁ ἀμήν, and in some Gnostic documents the heavenly powers can be termed "the Amens."²³¹

In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the apostles say "Amen," and in answer to this liturgical statement of verification the resurrected Christ appears to them once again to give them a final blessing and commission. The greeting, a blessing of peace, is extended²³² not only to the apostles as they are about to go forth, but also to "everyone who believes in my name"

(140,18-19). Hence the believing readers of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are explicitly included in the blessing. The apostles go forth with the blessing of Jesus, and especially the blessing of power (140,21). They are not to fear; as Jesus has already promised at 134,17-18, he will be with them for ever. Thus, as in the NT gospels and Acts,²³³ the resurrected Christ of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* sends the apostles forth with his blessing.

Consequently the apostles part to preach (140,23-27). It is said that they went out εἰς τετράρις ἑπιφθοῶν ἑξακτε, literally "into four words," here translated "with four messages" (140, 25). It is extremely tempting to emend the text here,²³⁴ since the text as transmitted is somewhat obscure, to say the least. Within this context we might rather expect a reference to the four directions, perhaps πικροῦ ἑκα.²³⁵ After all, such references to a Christian mission to the four directions, that is, to the whole world, are very common in early Christian literature. We need only think of the *Acts of Thomas* 28, where it is said that the gospel is being proclaimed εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης; or the *Epistula Apostolorum* 30, where the apostles are commissioned by the risen Christ to go and preach to the East, West, North, and South; or the gospel which the heretics "in quattuor tomos secantes librum quattuor angulorum et cardinum mundi appellarunt," mentioned by Bishop Maruta of Maiperkat in his *De sancta synodo Nicaena*;²³⁶ or the *Pistis Sophia*, which closes with the apostles going out by threes to preach the gospel in the four directions, in the whole world. Yet it may still be possible to interpret the present text of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* in an understandable manner.²³⁷ For, as Irenaeus proposes, the concept of four directions may be related to that of four gospels; since there are τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν εἰσί, and the church is all over the earth, and the gospel is the στύλος of the church, therefore it is concluded that τέσσαρας ἔχειν αὐτὴν στύλους, that is, the fourfold gospel (*Adv. Haer.* 3.11.8). While this is certainly a curious bit of argumentation for four gospels, such an argument may provide added meaning for the text transmitted in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* The gospel is to be preached in the whole world, to be sure; but that task may be depicted as one involving four

messages--perhaps the four gospels--for the four regions of the world.

Finally, the apostles depart from their gathering in order to proclaim the gospel. The tractate thus closes like the *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, the *Gos. Mary*, and the *Pistis Soph'ia*, on a positive note of challenge: the departure of the apostles to preach.²³⁸ They, like the Gnostic Christians of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, have a task in the world. And they, like the Gnostic Christians, have the spiritual power and peace of Jesus with them.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹The title of a tractate in the Nag Hammadi library may be indicated by means of an *incipit*, a subscription, a superscription, or several combinations of these indicators. Sometimes multiple titles are given. At other times tractates have been transcribed or transmitted without titles, and the modern title has been supplied by means of some relevant phrase or the general contents of the tractate, while in a few instances an untitled tractate was found to be a Coptic translation of a previously known document. It may be suggested, in general, that a title implied in an *incipit* could be earlier than a title added in a subscribed or superscribed fashion. On the question of titles see Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," 383-401; idem, "Logoi Sophon: on the Gattung of Q," esp. pp. 91-92 in *The Future of Our Religious Past* (ed. J. Robinson; New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Johannes Munck, "Evangelium Veritatis and Greek Usage as to Book Titles," *ST* 17 (1963) 133-38; Krause and Labib, *Die drei Versionen*, 28-29; idem, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 16-21.

²For a discussion of this genre of literature within early Christianity, see William G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship, NT Series; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973).

³On the question of the interpretation of ρΑΥΘΕ at III 70,2 (ΧΑΡΙΣ[ΤΕ] at V 1,3), see Paulinus Bellet, "The Colophon of the Gospel of the Egyptians: Concessus and Macarius of Nag Hammadi," *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, 56-59, esp. n. 16.

⁴Optatus of Milevis, *De schismate Donatistarum* 1.5: "Cum in epistula Petri apostoli legerimus, 'Nolite per opinionem iudicare fratres vestros,'" "Since in the Letter of Peter the Apostle we have read, 'Refrain from judging your brothers through prejudice.'" See Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits," 117 n. 4; Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 2.91; also compare this passage with Jas 2:1 and 4:11.

⁵The *Epistula Petri* and *Contestatio* have been analyzed as elements within the so-called *Kerygmata Petrou*. See especially Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958); "The Kerygmata Petrou," Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 2.102-27; "On the Problem of Jewish Christianity," in Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 241-85. After the closing of the *Epistula*, the *Contestatio* opens as follows: 'Αναγνούς ούν ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μετακαλέσαιο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγνούς, he spoke to the assembled group about the kerygmatic materials of Peter; this transition may be compared with 133,8-11 in our tractate.

⁶See Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 65-81; Edgar J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (rev. and enlarged by R. M. Grant; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1966) 7-29. Grant (p. 29) mistakenly refers to our tractate as "a letter of Peter and Philip." For a similarly mistaken reference, see Roland K. Harrison (*Archaeology of the New Testament* [New York: Association, 1964] 84) where he mentions "the *Epistle of Philip to Peter*."

⁷See the discussion above, pp. 113-18; additional discussion and analysis in Kurt Rudolph, "Der gnostische 'Dialog' als literarisches Genus," pp. 85-107 in *Probleme der koptischen Literatur* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge, K2; Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1968); also Robinson, "*Logoi Sophon*," 96-100.

⁸χ: P. Merton 86; χα: P. Oxy. 120; χαι: P. Oxy. 62; χαιρ: P. Oxy. 61 (additional data on file in the Nag Hammadi Archive, Institute for Antiquity and Christianity). On the itacism, see above, p. 69.

⁹See Bellet, "The Colophon," 57-59 n. 16; also Jack T. Sanders, "The Transition from Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus," *JBL* 81 (1962) 348-57.

¹⁰Letters lacking closing elements are known, of course, and can be observed even in the NT. The letter of James has a typical epistolary opening, but no conclusion; James, however, is less a true letter than a paraenetical tractate with an epistolary veneer. Of the two private or semi-private letters in Acts (15:23-29; 23:26-30), the former utilizes the final greeting ἔρωσθε, while the latter does not include a final greeting in P⁷⁴, B, A, et al. (but ἔρωσο is used in K and other manuscripts, and ἔρωσθε is found in H, P, and a few other sources).

¹¹Peter and Philip both figure importantly in Gnostic literature. Peter is particularly prominent, and can function as an anti-Gnostic sexist, a subordinate disciple, or--as in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*--an enlightened Gnostic teacher. See Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 1.271-78; 2.45-50, 57-58; Perkins, "Peter in Gnostic Revelation."

¹²Not only is such an endearing description appropriate for an epistolary opening (Acts 15:23; Rom 1:7; 2 Cor 1:1; Col 1:1-2; 2 Tim 1:2; Phlm 1; 3 John 1); Philip also can be described elsewhere in such a manner (see *Pistis Sophia* 44). On ἀδελφός, "spiritual brother," a very common term within Christianity, see Hans F. von Soden, "ἀδελφός κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 1.145-46.

¹³See Karl H. Rengstorff, "ἀπόστολος," *TDNT*, 1.420-24; Kirsopp Lake, "The Twelve and the Apostles," pp. 37-59 (esp. 51) in *The Beginnings of Christianity*. Part I: *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 5 (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; London: Macmillan, 1920-33).

¹⁴ See Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.31.3; Clement, *Stromateis* III.6 §52.4-5; in general, H. H. Platz, "Philip," *IDB*, 3.785, where additional sources are cited.

¹⁵ On "God" as a title of Jesus, see (with Bethge) John 20:28; Ign. *Rom.* 3.3; *Smyrn.* 1.1; also note the occurrence of this title in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, *passim*.

¹⁶ Note the parallel at 137,23-25. On teaching and preaching closely linked together, note, with Edmund W. Fisher ("The Letter of Peter to Philip and Its Relationship to New Testament Apocrypha" [seminar paper, Claremont Graduate School, 1967] 16-18), that the couplet "teach and preach" is also found frequently in the *Epistula Apostolorum* (for example, chaps. 19, 23, 30, 31, and 46). On the use of ἐπαγγελία in Luke-Acts and elsewhere, see Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960) 220-21; also Julius Schniewind and Gerhard Friedrich, "ἐπαγγέλλω κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 2.581-82.

¹⁷ E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 90-112.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁰ On pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity, and the Hellenists in Acts, see Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 259-69; Hans Conzelmann, *History of Primitive Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973) 56-59, 68-77; Henry J. Cadbury, "The Hellenists," pp. 59-74 in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. 5; Walter Schmithals, *Paul and James* (SBT 46; London: SCM, 1965) 16-37; Charles H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," *NTS* 19 (1972-73) 390-414; Marcel Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church* (London: Longmans, Green, 1958).

²¹ We might speculate that the rivalry between Peter and Philip in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* could reflect the concern of certain Gnostic Christians for the status of these two apostles. Then, by the willing submission of Philip to Peter, the author of our tractate could mean to suggest that the Gnostic Christian advocates of Philip likewise should acknowledge the supreme authority of Peter, and join his advocates in following Peter as the chief apostle. Also see Ménard (7-8) on "l'impression d'un rapprochement entre le groupe de Pierre et celui de Philippe," and "l'Unité originelle."

²² Bethge, col. 162. See also Ménard (5-6), where he cautiously presents a slightly different "hypothèse de travail": "Notre opuscule appartiendrait à des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres dont ne nous aurait été conservé au début qu'un fragment de Lettre suivi d'un traité dogmatique. On pourrait alors donner comme titre à l'ensemble: Fragment apocryphe des Actes des Apôtres...."

²³Bethge, col. 162. Note may also be taken of the paper of François Bovon, "Gnostic Traditions in Certain Unpublished Fragments of the Apocryphal Acts of Philip?" presented at the International Conference on Gnosticism, Yale University, 29 March 1978. Unfortunately, a comparative study of the *Acts of Philip*, and the possible gnosticizing motifs to be found there, lies beyond the scope of our analysis.

²⁴In the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, τοτε is nearly always a signal for a new beginning of some sort: a new paragraph, a new action, a new scene. In addition to this passage, see also 133,17-18; 134,9.18; 135,3; 137,13.17; 138,3.7.21; 140,7.15.23. The only exception is the use of τοτε at 137,7-8, where τοτε is utilized emphatically to introduce the apodosis of the sentence.

²⁵Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4, and esp. 1:6 (Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνεληθόν-τες; Sahidic: πτοογ σε λγγωυγ).

²⁶On the Mount of Olives as a customary gathering place for Christ and the disciples, see the references in BAG, s.v. "ἐλαία," "ἐλαιών;" note esp. Luke 22:39 (κατὰ τὸ ἔθος!), perhaps also John 18:2.

²⁷Sahidic: εβουα εη πτοογ εωλαμογτε εροα κε πτοογ ηηχοειτ; Bohairic uses merely κε φανιχωιτ, like our text. In the Greek NT the name is usually given with a form of ὄρος; but in three instances a form of ἐλαιών is used without a titular ὄρος, and all three occurrences are in Luke-Acts (Luke 19:29; 21:37; Acts 1:12).

²⁸See, for example, the *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4.1-12; *Acts of John* 97 and following.

²⁹See, for instance, the *Ethiopic Apoc. Pet.* 1; 15-17; the *Greek Apocalypse of Paul* 51.

³⁰For a brief phenomenological survey of the sacred mountain, see Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: New American Library, 1963) 99-102.

³¹See Werner Foerster, "ὄρος," *TDNT*, 5.483-87.

³²Passing reference should also be made to the preservation of revelatory materials upon mountains. See the *Gos. Eg.* III 68,1-5 and IV 80,15-19; *Allogenes* XI 68,20-23.

³³Cp., for example, *Gos. Mary* BG 8,12, where Christ is termed ημακαριος.

³⁴At 136,13 ωμα is utilized with the plural indefinite article, but the construction is quite different.

³⁵See BAG, s.v. "σῶμα" lb; Eduard Schweizer, "σῶμα κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 7.1060-62.

³⁶See Heinrich Schlier, "γόνυ," *TDNT*, 1.738-40; Heinrich Greeven, "προσκυνέω," *TDNT*, 6.758-66.

³⁷ It may also be the case that the description is merely traditional, and that the verb has outlived the custom. We judge, however, that the description of genuflection could easily function as one of several liturgical elements reflecting the communal worship of the Christian Gnostic group of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

³⁸ Such descriptive clauses, which are Coptic translations of Greek participial or relative clauses, have been analyzed as characteristic of hymns. See Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913) esp. 166-76, 201-39, also 240-76.

³⁹ On the petition of the first prayer, cp. the *Dial. Sav.* III 121,5-7: *σωτηρ ερον ποιωτ κατα ες ντακωτη ενεκμονογενης νωηρε*, "Hear us, Father, just as you have heard your only begotten Son."

⁴⁰ A lucid translation and precise understanding of the *ενιαη* clause (134,8-9) is difficult to achieve. Either the third plural subject of *κωτε* is indefinite here, perhaps because of its original use in another context, or a passive construction is intended.

⁴¹ Also note, with Bethge, *Jas* 1:17, where God is described as *ο πατηρ των φωτων*.

⁴² See the brief summation in Hans Conzelmann, "φως κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 9.327-43.

⁴³ *Epistula Apostolorum* 19, trans. from the Ethiopic by Hugo Duensing ("Epistula Apostolorum," Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 1.203).

⁴⁴ *αφθαρσια* and *αφθαρτος* are used in the Codex III version of the *Gos. Eg.* but not the Codex IV version. The latter prefers a form of the Coptic *ατχωτη* rather than a Greek loan word. See Böhlig and Wisse, *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, 11-17.

⁴⁵ *αλογ* is attested as translating *παυς*, particularly in Bohairic; see Crum, 5a.

⁴⁶ Also cp. *Acts* 3:13, 26; *1 Clem.* 59.2-4; *Mart. Pol.* 14.1-3; 20.2; *Diogn.* 8.9-11; 9.1.

⁴⁷ Cp. Walther Zimmerli and Joachim Jeremias, "παυς θεου," *TDNT*, 5.654-717, esp. 700-12; also Richard F. Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse* (SBLMS 15; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971) 48-49.

⁴⁸ On the use of *ματε* to translate *εδοκεν*, see Crum, 189b-90a.

⁴⁹ On the transfiguration accounts, and 2 *Pet* 1:17 in particular, see above, p. 107.

⁵⁰ *Phil* 2:15 encourages believers to shine as *φωστηρες εν κδομη*; cp. 137,8-9 in our tractate.

⁵¹See, for example, the use of φωστήρ in the *Apoc. Adam*; at V 85,28-31 the term is used in conjunction with the enigmatic words Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekus. On Mani as apostle and φωστήρ, see the *Kephalaia*, passim, esp. in the formulae near the openings of the chapters. Also see the *Acts of Philip* 21, where reference is made to τὸν φωστῆρα τῆς ζωῆς Ἰησοῦν. In general, on φωστήρ as applied to holy men and Christ, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) s.v. "φωστήρ." Literally, of course, φωστήρ refers to the heavenly bodies, e.g. the sun, the moon, or the stars.

⁵²See BDF, §162,6.

⁵³For examples of such phrases, see Son of Light (*Treat. Seth* VII 51,2) and Son of Compassion (*Acts of Thomas* 10).

⁵⁴For the use of ρεγρωρε, λυρωτής, and related words in the OT and in Coptic literature, see BAG, s.v. "λυρωτής κ.τ.λ.," O. Procksch and F. Büchsel, "λύω κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 4.328-56; Crum, 362b. In the OT, λυρωτής (לְיָרָא) is used of God in Ps 18:15 (19:14) and 77:35 (78:35), and in both instances λυρωτής is used in conjunction with βοηθός.

⁵⁵See Luke 24:49 and Acts 1:4, where the resurrected Christ has similar instructions to give. The witness of several of the early Christian sources is that Peter was the first (or among the first) to whom the risen Christ appeared. See 1 Cor 15:5; Luke 24:34; John 20:1-10 (first into empty tomb; cp. Luke 24:12); also Mark 16:7; 9:2-8 and parallels; 1 Pet 1:3; 2 Pet 1:16-19; John 21:1-23; Matt 16:17-19. Also see Oscar Cullmann, *Peter* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 57-66, esp. n. 93.

⁵⁶The meaning of σῶμα in Paul is still the subject of considerable debate. Note the discussions in Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner's, 1951) 1.192-203; Schweizer, "σῶμα κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 7.1060-62; Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 281-83.

⁵⁷That Paul reflects Jewish and Hellenistic concepts regarding the resurrection is undoubted. To be sure, within Judaism there are a variety of ways of understanding eternal life: something approaching immortality of the soul (Essenes, Therapeutae), or a resurrection of spirits or souls (1 *Enoch* 102-04), or some variety of resurrection of the body (Pharisees); transformation of the body into a glorious body of splendor (2 *Apoc. Bar.* 51), or re-creation of the body (2 *Mac-cabees* 7); exaltation to shining, starlike glory (Daniel 12), and ascension to the glory of heaven (*As. Mos.* 10, 2 *Apoc. Bar.* 51); and so forth. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr., *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972); Kirsopp Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (New York: Putnam's, 1907) esp. 13-43. It is difficult to ascertain whether Paul has a single, definite position

concerning the resurrection. Here in 1 Corinthians 15 he emphasizes the spiritual and glorious bodies, but in Rom 8:11 he states that God ζωοποιήσῃ καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα. Here he seems to speak of transformation, but elsewhere he can speak of καὶνὴ κτίσις (Gal 6:15). Here Paul has a rather unified view of human existence, but in 2 Corinthians 5 and 12 he suggests some contrast between the inner person over against the earthly, somatic cloak.

⁵⁸ See Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 259-61; Charles E. Carlston, "Transfiguration and Resurrection," *JBL* 80 (1961) 233-40; Hans Dieter Betz, "Jesus as Divine Man," p. 120 in *Jesus and the Historian: Written in Honor of Ernest Cadman Colwell* (ed. F. Thomas Trotter; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968); reconsidered by Robert H. Stein, "Is the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2-8) a Misplaced Resurrection-Account?" *JBL* 95 (1976) 79-96.

⁵⁹ Mark 9:9; Matt 17:9; Luke 9:36. The witnesses to the transfiguration are told to keep silence εἰ μὴ ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆ.

⁶⁰ See Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 259.

⁶¹ Note also the Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet.*; the *Acts of Peter* 20; esp. the *Treat. Res.* I 48,3-19.

⁶² Also see Acts 7:54-60, where Stephen beholds the δόξα θεοῦ; 10:9-16, where Peter has a vision and hears a φωνή; note also the accounts of Jesus walking on the water (Mark 6:45-52; Matt 14:22-23; John 6:16-21).

⁶³ See Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, "Subject Index," s.v. "lightning" and "thunder"; Helmer Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1973) esp. 61-62, 132-34, 155-56. From the tablets discovered at Ras Shamra see the Baal cycle 2.5.6-9, where Baal is said to speak forth with a voice (ql) from the clouds. In the OT see Ps 18:13-14, where God's thundering in heaven and the uttering of his voice (φωνή, לִיָּק), as well as his arrows and his lightnings, are used in poetic parallelism; also Ps 77:18; 104:7; Exod 19:16; 20:18. In the NT, see esp. John 12:28-29; also Rev 6:1; 10:3-4; 14:2; 19:6. On thunder, lightning, and light in the writings of Jewish apocalyptic, see the sources cited by Otto Betz, "φωνή κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 9.285-86; Conzelmann, "φῶς κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 9.323-27. Also, in the Greek magical papyri, cp. the so-called "Mithras Liturgy," passim, esp. lines 692 and following; and Papyrus 46 of the British Museum (= *PGM* 5), lines 150-51 (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν).

⁶⁴ In general, see Otto Betz, "φωνή κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 9.299-301; Conzelmann, "φῶς κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 9.327-43.

⁶⁵ According to the version of the *Ap. John* in BG 8502, this appearance takes place on a mountain, a desert(ed) place (ἡτοογ ογμλ ἄχλαιε, 20,5); this passage must be restored at II 1,19.

⁶⁶*Trim. Prot.* seems to have been secondarily Christianized, and the few references to Christ (XIII 37, [31]; 38, 22; 39, 7; 49, 8) are probably Christian interpolations. See Gesine Schenke of the Berlin Arbeitskreis, "'Die dreigestaltige Protennoia': Eine gnostische Offenbarungsrede im koptischer Sprache aus dem Fund von Nag Hammadi," *TLZ* 99 (1974) 733-34.

⁶⁷Also note the *Acts of John*, a document permeated with the glory, light, and voice of the exalted Christ; the *Gos. Pet.*, a gospel with certain gnosticizing affinities, 9-14 (35-60); *Poimandres*, with its vision and revelation of light and λόγος.

⁶⁸For a brief discussion (with additional bibliography) on aretalogies, see Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 225-26 n. 3; Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), "Appendix IV: *Egō Eimi*--'I am,'" 1.533-38; George MacRae, "The *Ego*-Proclamation in Gnostic Sources," pp. 122-34 in *The Trial of Jesus* (SBT 13, 2nd series; ed. Ernst Bammel; Naperville: Allenson, 1970).

⁶⁹Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 203. Also note p. 204, where Conzelmann observes that for Luke the post-ascension appearances from heaven "are of a different kind, for they establish no relationship with the Lord in the special sense that the Resurrection appearances do."

⁷⁰Here Western texts (D and Marcion) have φάντασμα rather than πνεῦμα.

⁷¹Cp. also Matt 28:2-4.

⁷²See Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2.10-14; idem, *The Gospel of John*, esp. 24 and following; also Ernst Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), including his own interpretation of John and docetism on p. 26. It is thus appropriate that countless Gnostics, from the commentator Heracleon and on, found in John a kindred spirit.

⁷³For example, Peter now plays a primary role as the first examiner, along with Thomas as well as Andrew, who looks to see whether Jesus' feet leave footprints (Ethiopic) or touch the ground (Coptic); cp. the *Acts of John* 93.

⁷⁴A further exploration of the traditions relating to the appearances of the resurrected Christ exceeds the bounds of this study. On the matter of divine appearances in human likeness, a phenomenon attested in both Greek (e.g. Hermes and Zeus appearing in human guise, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.611-724; cp. Acts 14:8-20) and Jewish sources (e.g. Yahweh appearing to Abraham via the visit of the three men, Gen 18:1-8), as well as the matter of the empty tomb traditions, see the summary article, with a citation of some of the most recent secondary literature, by John E. Alsup, "Theophany in the NT," *IDBSup*, 898-900; also Jörg Jeremias, "Theophany in the OT," *IDBSup*, 896-98.

⁷⁵ Cp. *Apoc. Adam* V 64,5-6; *Pistis Sophia* 6.

⁷⁶ Cp. the questions given, with laughter, by the Savior, near the opening of the *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, esp. the last question: εἰς τί ποιεῖς ἡμεῖς οὐ, "for what are you seeking?" (III 92,3); also the opening of the *Ap. John*, where the risen Christ asks John about his doubts and his fears, provides reassurance, and continues with a self-predication and promise: [ἀν]θρ κ περὸν ἡμῶν [τῆν νοῦ]θεῖω ἡμῖν, "I am the one who is with you for all time" (BG 21,18-19).

⁷⁷ On π (π) used to link questions in a series, cp. the citations below from *Zost.*, *Testim. Truth*, and the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*; also *Great Pow.* VI 36,27-37,2; *Pistis Sophia* 6.

⁷⁸ The direct questions should not (in opposition to the translations of Wisse and Bethge) be considered as five individual questions which may be separated with sets of quotation marks for each; the introductory κε in 134,23 functions for the whole series.

⁷⁹ It is particularly easy to see how πεκκληρωμα could be a desirable reading, since the Savior identifies himself with the fullness at 136,16. Yet, as the answer suggests, the restoration of the fullness of others is the purpose of the work of the Savior. On the emendation, see above, pp. 36-37 n. to 134,22.

⁸⁰ Acts 4:29, 31; esp. the *Acts of Philip* 97, where Philip is asked, by the marvelous leopard, ἵνα δώσῃς μοι ἔξουσίαν κηρῶσθαι παρρησίαν. See Heinrich Schlier, "παρρησία κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 5.882-86.

⁸¹ For similar lists of questions, see Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7.8; 7.26.2; also see Bethge, col. 165 n. 4. In addition to such questions, we might also note the prominence of the motifs of asking and seeking at the opening of such tractates as the *Treat. Res.*, the *Gos. Thom.*, the *Hyp. Arch.*, *Thom. Cont.*, *Eugnostos*, and the *Soph. Jes. Chr.*

⁸² Rudolph, "Der gnostische 'Dialog,'" 85.

⁸³ A lengthy discussion of the genre of the Gnostic dialogue exceeds the limits of this volume. A few additional remarks, however, should be added here. It is important that we distinguish between dialogues, "questions and answers," and revelatory discourses, though in Gnostic literature such distinctions frequently are difficult. Indeed, the general consensus today is that the Gnostic dialogue is not a true dialogue at all in the classical sense. Thus Wilhelm Schneemelcher ("Types of Apocryphal Gospels," Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 1.82) observes that this literature includes "practically no genuine dialogues, the questions merely giving occasion to the revelation discourses of the Redeemer"; see also Rudolph, "Der gnostische 'Dialog,'" 86. According to Heinrich Dörrie and Hermann Dörries ("Erotopokriseis," *RAC*, 6.368), a distinction

can be made between the dialogue and the "question and answer": "Deutlicher ist die Abgrenzung zwischen den E. u. dem Dialog; denn wenn auch sie in förmliche Gespräche übergehen können, der Schüler sich mit einer Antwort nicht zufrieden gibt, neue Fragen daran knüpft, so begehrt er doch Auskunft oder Weisung: die Antwort soll dem Frager sichere Wahrheit übermitteln, während der Dialog, sofern es sich nicht lediglich um ein Streitgespräch handelt, unter aller Mitwirken unerkannte Wahrheit finden möchte." Rudolph (p. 88 n. 12), on the other hand, judges that this distinction "zu sehr am idealen frühplatonischen Dialog orientiert ist." Rather, Rudolph (p. 89) proposes a "Mischung von Dialog und (orakelhaftem) 'Frage-Antwort-Schema' oder der Problemataform ('Probleme und Lösungen')," especially in Gnostic literature. For, Rudolph insists, the Gnostic "dialogue" consistently retains the dramatic framework of a dialogue, but also stresses the "Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis" and the authority of the teacher, as in the "question and answer" literature. To be sure, the Gnostic dialogues do highlight the revelatory character of the authoritative disclosures, and thus resemble "die Offenbarungsliteratur." This revelatory emphasis is also noted by Douglas M. Parrott, who takes a different approach to the question of genre in his dissertation, "A Missionary Wisdom *Gattung*: Identification, *Sitz im Leben*, History and Connections with the New Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1970). Parrott (p. 1) offers the following brief descriptive definition of the *Gattung* he is exploring: "A person, or persons, with usually some special preparation and/or character, receives a revelation from a divine being. This revelation is characterized by the fact that it encompasses great spans of time (past, present and future) and vast historical or cosmological events, that it is presented without visions, dreams, or any modes of expression that could be considered deliberately cryptic or enigmatic, and that it often contains dialogue as well as discourse. Those who receive the revelation are expected to convey it to a larger number." He judges this *Gattung* to be "a previously unrecognized *Gattung*," with features of wisdom and apocalyptic literature, and he traces its development out of "the seething ferment of the Judaism of the Maccabean period" (p. 111). According to Parrott, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is one example of this missionary wisdom genre of literature.

⁸⁴ See especially Martin Krause, "Das literarische Verhältnis des Eugnostosbriefes zur Sophia Jesu Christi," pp. 215-23 in *Müllus: Festschrift für Theodor Klauser* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 1; ed. Alfred Stuiber and Alfred Hermann; Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); more briefly, his introduction to these two tractates in Foerster, 2.24-27; also Douglas M. Parrott's introduction in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 206-07.

⁸⁵ But note the references to the Son of Man (III 81,13. 21-22; 85,11-12.<13>), the Savior (III 82,2-3.7; 84,[2].8; 85,14), and the Church or Assembly (εκκλησία; III 81,5; 86,16-17.22-23; 87,4-5).

⁸⁶ On the alternate interpretation of the name and title, "Macarius the Cognizant One," see Bellet, "The Colophon," 54-56.

⁸⁷ 138,2-3.22-23; 139,11-12; perhaps also 133,15-17.

⁸⁸ *Adv. Haer.* 1.30.14; 1.3.2. In the former account, on the Ophites, a distinction is made between the heavenly Christ who, with Sophia, descends upon Jesus at baptism and ascends again just before the crucifixion; and Jesus, who functions as the vessel or vehicle upon which Christ rides, but who is not forgotten in death. See above, pp. 133-34, with n. 143.

⁸⁹ *Pistis Sophia* 1; *Books of Jeu* 44.

⁹⁰ See Acts 1:3-12; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, esp. 140-42. For further discussion on this phenomenon of periodization, see *Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha* (ed. Michel Malinine et al.; Zürich: Rascher, 1968) xii and 40; also James M. Robinson, "Ascension," *IDB*, 1.246-47.

⁹¹ 138,3-7 does function as something of an ascension account, complete with apocalyptic accompaniments; yet for the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* this departure by no means precludes the possibility of additional appearances of Jesus (see 138,21-139,4; 140,15-23).

⁹² εἶσε πη δε κε (137,4-5); in the second case (137,10) the εἶσε is elided.

⁹³ μεν, used only here in the tractate, seems to function with the later occurrences of δε (esp. 136,16; also 137,5.10) to bind this section together.

⁹⁴ 1 Cor 7:1, 25; 8:1, 4; 12:1. The use of περί or de in titles of Greek and Latin works in general is well known.

⁹⁵ Cp. the short answer given in the *Dial. Sav.*: τεῖνωσον εἶ πη δε εἶσε πη δε κε, "you are in the place where the deficiency is" (III 139,17-18).

⁹⁶ Note the *Ap. John* II 9,25 (σοφία); 10,21 (τεμελλυ); 13,32 (τμελλυ); *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 114,14-15 (σοφία τμελλυ μητηρη); 104,17-18 par. *Eugnostos* V 9,4-5; *Eugnostos* III 82,21 (παρημητωρ σοφία); Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.29.4; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.34.8; and so on. For further references, see *The Nag Hammadi Library*, "Index of Proper Names," s.v. "Mother," "Sophia," and related terms; Foerster, "Index of Gnostic Concepts," s.v. "Mother" and "Sophia, wisdom." It must be kept in mind, however, that the term "Mother" can be applied to any number of female deities (see, for example, in *Thund. and Trim. Prot.*), and that Sophia can be considered an inhabitant of the Pleroma as well as the fallen mother outside the Pleroma. For additional discussion and bibliography, see Ulrich Wilckens, "σοφία κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 7.509-14; G. C. Stead, "The Valentinian Myth of Sophia," *JTS* 20 n.s. (1969) 75-104.

97 Greatness or majesty (ΜΗΤΗΣΟΣ, μέγεθος, and similar terms) is a common epithet used to describe the Father. See the *Ap. John* II 4,1-2 (Μεγεθος); 6,15 (ΜΗΤΗΣΟΣ); Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.2.1-2; it can also be hypostacized, as in the *Dial. Sav.* and the *Paraph. Shem.* See W. Grundmann, "μεγαλωσύνη" and "μέγεθος," *TDNT*, 4.544.

98 In spite of the punctuation mark in 135,14, it seems clear that the phrase beginning with εχμ (135,13-14) belongs most naturally with what follows. The phrase provides the circumstances for the creative desire of the mother, and relates well to similar descriptions in other versions of the myth.

99 Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.2.2: version A in Stead; on this nomenclature see p. 77 n. 2 of his article.

100 Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.30.7: version B in Stead.

101 Cp. also *Val. Exp.* XI 34,23-38. According to Irenaeus, the Barbelognostics claimed that Sophia, also known as Holy Spirit and Prunikos, found herself without a consort. Noting that all the other aeons had their own consorts, she began to look about for a consort, and even examined the realm below; but she made her great leap "sine bona voluntate patris" (1.29.4).

102 BG 46,10-11; the other versions have different readings. On Sophia producing a ζογζε or εκτρομα, see Foerster, "Index of Gnostic Concepts," s.v. "Abortion."

103 Genesis 3; 1 Tim 2:14; *Barn.* 12.5.

104 Note, for example, Sophia Zoe (Zoe=Eve) and Zoe daughter of Sophia in *Orig. World*; Zoe the daughter of Pistis Sophia in the *Hyp. Arch.*; Zoe as the Epinoia of light, and Sophia who is called Zoe, ΤΜΑΛΥ ΠΝΚΤΟΝΖ, "the mother of the living" (II 23,24), in the *Ap. John*. See George MacRae, "The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth," *NovT* 12 (1970) 86-101.

105 Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.2.2.

106 *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 23.2.

107 She transgressed by attempting to approach the unapproachable, or by acting without the approval of the Father, or by trying to create without a consort. Also note *Val. Exp.* XI 36,28-31, on the will of the Father and the significance of the syzygy.

108 We should note that a single Sophia is assumed by our tractate, and not two Sophias, as is the case in many of the more developed traditions. It is theoretically possible, of course, that the abbreviated character of the Sophia myth in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* accounts for the deceptively simple presentation of the myth, with the omission of details. Yet the

clear indication of only one Sophia is important, and suggests that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* may reflect a relatively simple and early version of the myth.

¹⁰⁹Note, for instance, the *Hyp. Arch.* II 90,29; 92,27; 94,17; in each of these three cases $\lambda\gamma\theta\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$ is used together with a noun.

¹¹⁰*Adv. Haer.* 1.29.4. Note also the use in Latin of *Authadiae* for the Greek Αὐθαδεία .

¹¹¹Hence he can be called, in addition to Yaldabaoth, Sakla(s), "Fool," and Samael, "Blind God"; see *Ap. John* II 11, 16-18.

¹¹²*Cp.* Isa 45:5-6, 46:9. Additional examples and discussion of such Gnostic statements can be found in MacRae, "The Ego-Proclamation," 123-29.

¹¹³*Orig. World* II 100,10-16. Yaldabaoth proved to be ignorant, but he did know what he could call himself from that voice ($\sigma\mu\eta$) of Pistis Sophia. In general the author of *Orig. World* claims that "the gods and the angels and the people complete what came into existence by means of the word" ($\epsilon\iota\pi\eta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$; 100,17-19). On the mother calling out the name of the archon, see also the *Ap. John* II 10,19.

¹¹⁴See the *Hyp. Arch.* II 86,27-87,4; *Orig. World* II 102, 35-103,32.

¹¹⁵*Cp.* *Orig. World* II 109,22-25, where a description is given of the consequences of the cosmic fall following one after another, until death reigns; $\omicron\upsilon\omega\zeta\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha-$ is used for "follow."

¹¹⁶On $\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *cp.* especially *Trim. Prot.* XIII 40,13 and 41,21; also *Hyp. Arch.* II 87,12.21; 94,14.32.

¹¹⁷Also see the *Ap. John* II 10,19-21; 13,22-23. In Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.29.4, the verb *abstulisse*, "steal," is used.

¹¹⁸On the substantival use of $\alpha\upsilon\omega\omega\tau$ in the Codex III version of the *Ap. John*, see Krause and Labib, *Die drei Versionen*, "Indices: Koptische Wörter," s.v. " $\alpha\upsilon\omega\omega\tau$." In some instances II uses $\psi\tau\alpha$ where III uses $\alpha\upsilon\omega\omega\tau$.

¹¹⁹On seeking to go from the place of the left, the ninety-nine, the $\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$, to the place of the right, the completed one hundred, the $\epsilon\upsilon$, see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.16.2; *Gos. Truth* I 31,35-32,34; additional references in Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. " $\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ "; and Ulrich Wilckens, " $\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 8.598-601.

¹²⁰See, for example, the *Apoc. Adam* V 76,8; 85,29; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 1.2; 26.3; 38.3; 41.1-2; 42.2.

121 See Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.5.6, on Ptolemaeus; these Gnostic believers claim to have τὸν πνευματικὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἀχαμῶθ. Also see the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 53.1-5; 2.1-2; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.34.6; and Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970) 259-60.

122 On the joy and service of the powers, as well as the haughtiness of Yaldabaoth, see *Orig. World* II 102,11-23.35-103,15; the myriads and hosts of angels, powers, gods, and lords give glory, praise, and service to Yaldabaoth.

123 "The Preexistent One" and "the Preexistent Father" are common names for the high God; note, for example, the *1 Apoc. Jas.* V 33,22, "the Preexistent Father." See *The Nag Hammadi Library*, "Index of Proper Names," s.v. "Father," "Preexistent One."

124 Cp. the *Ap. John* II 10,1-19 on the imperfect and different character of Yaldabaoth in comparison with his heavenly mother.

125 κωζ, and thus also ρεκκωζ, connotes both envy and imitation (Crum, 132b); the translation of ρεκκωζ as "rival" seems to capture both of these levels of meaning. Also cp. *Exod* 20:5; *Ap. John* II 13,8-9.

126 Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.17.2; ἐκφυγούσης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπηκολουθηκέναι τὸ ψεῦδος, and so his work is sure to fall apart one day.

127 *Ap. John* II 14,13-15,13.

128 *Orig. World* II 107,18-108,14.

129 *Hyp. Arch.* II 87,11-33.

130 On the opposite substitution, where one's body and entire existence are transformed in a most glorious way, see the *Gos. Thom. logion* 22 (II 37,20-35). The same sorts of formulae and constructions, however, are utilized in both passages; note esp. 37,34-35, which includes the phrase οὐζῆκων εἴματα ἡοζῆκων. See also 1 Cor 15:49.

131 On the misrepresentation of the image, see the *Hyp. Arch.* II 87,15-20, where it is shown how the powerless rulers are unable to grasp the likeness (μῆνε) which had appeared in the waters, for such psychic beings from below cannot grasp the spiritual from above. In fact, as the *Hyp. Arch.*, the *Ap. John*, and other documents claim, the rulers cannot even make their human model arise; he grovels in the dust until finally he is given some of his mother's spiritual power.

132 On the absolute use of ἀνοκ πε (ἐγὼ εἰμι) without a predicate, see Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 1.533-38, also 254-56.

¹³³On the use of the term πλήρωμα in the NT, early Christian literature, and Gnostic sources, see Gerhard Delling, "πλήρης κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 6.298-305; also Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 57-58, 99-101.

¹³⁴*Excerpta ex Theodoto* 32.1-2; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.14.2; *Gos. Truth* I 41,14-19.

¹³⁵An interesting parallel to this aretalogical statement in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is a similar self-predication in the *Gos. Thom. Logion* 77: ἀνοκ νε πουοειν παει ετξιχωου τηρου ἀνοκ νε πτηρη πταντηρη ει εβολ ηζητ' αυω πταντηρη πως ψαροει, "I am the light which is over them all. I am the All; from me the All has come forth, and to me the All has attained" (II 46,23-26). While the first portion of this self-predication resembles John 8:12, the second portion is quite similar to our tractate, except that "All" here replaces "fullness." Yet the theological message remains basically the same; in both cases Jesus is the heavenly redeemer, possessing all the fullness of the divine Unity. Also note the *Ap. John* II 30,15-16.

¹³⁶On the descent of Christ through the heavens, his resemblance to the forms of the angels of the various heavens, and the lack of recognition on the part of the angels, see the long account in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 10. In general, the descent of Christ to earth may be compared with the descent into Hades; see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York: David McKay, 1972) 378-83; J. M. Robinson, "Descent into Hades," *IDB*, 1.826-28 (with bibliography).

¹³⁷Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Paraphrase," 384.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, 385: the chart of parallels between the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* 136,16-137,4 and John 1.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 388.

¹⁴⁰"Hier ist die Abhängigkeit von Joh 1 am deutlichsten. 'Und ich gab ihm Vollmacht (ἐξουσία), in das Erbe seiner Vaterschaft einzugehen' entspricht fast wörtlich Joh 1,12b" (p. 387). In John 1:12, the Sahidic NT reads as follows: ηενταχυιτ̄ϥ λε αῡτ̄ ηαῡ ητερουγια ετρευωυνε π̄ωμηρε ητε ηνουγε.

¹⁴¹Still helpful in this regard is Rudolf Bultmann's essay, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums," *ZNW* 24 (1925) 100-46 (reprinted in *Exegetica* [Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1967] 55-104); more briefly, cp. his article "Johannesevangelium," *RGG*³, 3.846-47. In the former article, Bultmann catalogues twenty-eight parallels between the Gospel of John and the Gnostic literature under his examination. For our study of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, the following of his statements about the redeemer are especially appropriate: "2. Er ist vom Vater in die Welt gesandt" (cp.

136,17; 137,28-30); "3. Er ist in die Welt gekommen" (cp. 136, 19-20; 139,12-13.15-16); "5. Der Vater hat ihn mit Vollmacht ausgerüstet" (cp. 134,26-135,1; esp. 136,26-28); "6. Er hat das Leben und spendet Leben" (cp. 134,3-4; 139,27-28); "7. Er führt aus der Finsternis ins Licht" (cp. esp. 133,26-134,1; possibly 136,28-137,2; also 137,8-9); "11. In Offenbarungsreden spricht er von seiner Person (ἐγὼ εἶμι)" (cp. 134,17-18; 136,16; 140, 22-23); "12. Er kennt die Seinen, und sie kennen ihm" (cp. 136,22-25; 137,5-6); "14. Den Mächten dieser Welt erscheint der Gesandte als ein Fremder; sie kennen seine Herkunft nicht, denn er ist anders Ursprungs als sie" (cp. esp. 136,20-22; also 135,28-136,3; perhaps 139,21-22); "16. Der Gesandte ist in der Welt preisgegeben und gehasst" (cp. 138,15-16; 139,15-21; also 134,8-9; 135,2; 137,10-13.15-17.20-23; 138,18-139,4.22-23); "17. Wie er gekommen ist, wird er fortgehen, wie er herabgekommen ist, wird er emporsteigen" (cp. 136,16-137,4); "21. Als Erlöster führt der Gesandte die Erlösten mit sich" (cp. 136,28-137,4; also 139,27-28; 140,4); "25. Er befreit die Gefangenen" (cp. 136,26-137,9.28-30; 140,17-23). Such similarities provide further support for the conclusion suggested above, that the Gospel of John and the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* reflect motifs found in various versions of the Gnostic redeemer myth.

¹⁴²Bethge, col. 164.

¹⁴³Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Paraphrase," 389. See also p. 386, where Koschorke depicts $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\omega\acute{\iota}$ as "der Mensch..., in dem der Soter Wohnung nimmt"; also note, with Koschorke, an "'innerer,' pneumatischer 'Mensch'" at 137,22. On Jesus, as the *vas mundum* of Christ, being saved by Christ, see the so-called Ophites of Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.30.12-14; especially *Trin. Prot.* XIII 50,12-20, including the reference to the salvation of $\mu\alpha\varsigma\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\omega\acute{\iota}\ \mu\epsilon$ (50,18).

¹⁴⁴Ménard, 21, 44.

¹⁴⁵See above, p. 39, n. to 137,1. To the suggested restorations cited there, we may add the translation used by Koschorke ("Eine gnostische Paraphrase," 385, 387): "Und ich trug [ihn hinauf in die Äonen]. Sie füll[ten] sich [mit.....] durch Erlösung." He judges this restoration to be "ziemlich sicher," though we may not share his certainty.

¹⁴⁶As Christ and the $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ descend and ascend in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, so also the Primal Woman can be described as descending and ascending in the *Ap. John*. Many of the same terms and concepts are used. Indeed, the same phenomenon is being depicted in a different mythological form: the coming of the light to the mortal realm below, and its return to the fullness above. In the *Ap. John* II 20,9-28 God sends a helper ($\sigma\upsilon\psi\omicron\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$) to Adam, a Thought of Light ($\sigma\upsilon\psi\epsilon\nu\iota\sigma\iota\alpha\ \mu\omega\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\nu\iota\mu$), that is out of him ($\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \mu\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\epsilon$). This Thought, called Life ($\chi\omega\nu$), helps in the process of Adam's restoration to his fullness ($\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\omega\mu\alpha$). The Thought of Life is hidden in Adam, and the rulers ($\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$) do not recognize her, but she aids in the rectification of the deficiency of the mother ($\iota\kappa\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\tau\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\upsilon$).

¹⁴⁷ Compare the direct questions and answers in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, particularly the second direct question, with a similar question and answer in the *Dial. Sav.* III 140,14-19: "Mariamme said, 'Tell me, Lord, why have I come to this place (εἶπε οὐ λέγει ἐνεσίμα)? To gain or to lose?' The Lord said, 'You are to disclose the greatness of the revealer (μηνυτήρς).'"

¹⁴⁸ Cp. John 15:18-21; 17:14-19. Numerous examples could be cited of the hostility and opposition between the redeemer and the beings of light on the one hand, and the archons and the powers of darkness on the other. Note, for example, the accounts of the struggle in such tractates as the *Ap. John*, the *Hyp. Arch.*, *Orig. World*, the *Treat. Seth*, and the *Apoc. Pet.*

¹⁴⁹ See Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961) 184-86; esp. vivid is the citation from the *Manichaeian Psalm-Book*. In the *Gos. Thom.* also note *logion* 37, and the discussion in Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," *HR* 5 (1966) 217-38.

¹⁵⁰ Discussion and parallels in *Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha*, 72-79.

¹⁵¹ Elsewhere in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (137,25-27), the apostles can also be urged to gird themselves with power. In connection with the passage in Hippolytus, we should note that the Gnostic ἱερὸς γάμος can function in an analogous manner to the heavenly garments; by being reunited with one's heavenly counterpart, one's "better half," one attains to spiritual glory and wholeness (cp. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.7.1). On the use of both heavenly garments and the heavenly bridal chamber, see the *Dial. Sav.* III 138,16-20; *Exeg. Soul* II 131,27-132,26; 133,10-15.31-134,15.

¹⁵² On the naked and clothed souls, see Albrecht Oepke, "γυμνός," *TDNT*, 1.773-75; Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover, 1956) 125-26, 159, 269-70; idem, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover, 1960) 108; Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1963) 165-69; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 267-68.

¹⁵³ Translations of the relevant mythological materials by Samuel Noah Kramer and E. A. Speiser can be found in *ANET*, 52-57, 106-09.

¹⁵⁴ See also Rev 3:18, 16:15, and the comments and references in R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920) 1.98, 184-88, 2.194-99.

¹⁵⁵ Gnostic ethics may also reflect this experience of freedom from cosmic shackles, whether that ethics be more ascetic or more libertine. See Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 270-77, 320-40; Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche und das Problem der gnostischen Ethik." Cp. also the Hellenistic mystery cults,

in which initiation was thought to be an anticipation of the bliss of death (so Plutarch, Fragment 178 of his *Moralia*, comparing τελευτῶν and τελεῖσθαι; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, Bk. 11). In the *Metamorphoses* and elsewhere, for example in the Mithraic inscriptions under the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome, the one initiated can be said to be *renatus*, *creatus*, and *recreatus*, having already gone from death to new life. See Hans Dieter Betz, "The Mithras Inscriptions of Santa Prisca and the New Testament," *NovT* 10 (1968) 62-80, esp. 71-72.

¹⁵⁶ Also note *Pistis Sophia* 96, where Jesus declares identity with the truly enlightened: ἀνοκ νε ἡτοογ' λγω ἡτοογ νε ἀνοκ, "I am they, and they are I" (on this famous formulation, cp. E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* [New York: Norton, 1970] esp. 72-74); Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26.9.9, where the libertine Gnostic claims, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, ἐπειδὴ ἄνωθεν καταβέβηκα διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν τρεῖς ἀρχόντων. In the quotation from the *Gos. Phil.* the use of the future tense may suggest the same sort of eschatological reservation as we are suggesting for the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

¹⁵⁷ Cp. the emphasis upon struggling and suffering at 134,8-9; 137,13-138,3; esp. 138,10-140,1.

¹⁵⁸ Otto Bauernfeind, "ἀναπαύω κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 1.350-51; Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas*, 258-67; Philipp Vielhauer, "ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ: Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangeliums," pp. 281-99 (esp. 299) in *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (BZNW 30; ed. W. Eltester and F. H. Kettler; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964), on the use of ἀνάπαυσις in the *Gos. Thom.* in comparison with other Gnostic sources.

¹⁵⁹ The texts of the *Ap. John* in Codices IV (41,20) and BG 8502 (68,12-13) have more typical forms of ἡλιων with a double η. Also see the *Dial. Sav.* III 141,3-12, with its discussion on when and how rest will be attained, and whether suicide is an appropriate means to achieve final rest.

¹⁶⁰ Bethge, col. 168 n. 25; in his German translation he uses braces.

¹⁶¹ Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.27.6, on Basilides. Also cp. the *Interp. Know.* XI 20,23-38; *Val. Exp.* XI 38,11-33.

¹⁶² Here the Greek text reads Μωϋσεως, the Latin version *agnitionem*. We read γνώσεως with Harvey.

¹⁶³ On the use of Eph 6:12 in Gnostic literature, cp. *Hyp. Arch.* II 86,20-27; *Exeg. Soul* II 131,9-12; Elaine H. Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 119, 128-29. More generally, cp. Isa 11:5, 59:17; Wis 5:17-21; 1 Thess 5:8.

¹⁶⁴ See above, p. 94. To the NT references mentioned there we might add the following: on gathering together, Matt 18:20 (...ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν; cp. 134,17-18; 140,22-23); 1 Cor 5:4; Heb 10:25; on teaching or preaching, Matt 28:19-20; Luke 24:47-48; Acts 1:8 (programmatic for Acts).

¹⁶⁵Cp. Luke 12:35; 1 Pet 1:13; Pol. *Phil.* 2.1; and esp. Eph 6:14.

¹⁶⁶Cp. Luke 11:9-13 par. Matt 7:7-11; Matt 18:19; 21:22 par. Mark 11:24; John 14:13-14; 15:7; 16:23-24; 1 John 5:14-15; Phil 4:6; Jas 1:5-8.

¹⁶⁷Cp. the references in John to the Father sending Jesus; at 7:33 and 16:5, for example, the Father is referred to as τὸν πέμψαντά με. In both cases the Sahidic has ΠΕΝΤΑΚΤΑΓΟΙ, and thus utilizes the pronominal suffix, as is also the case at 137,30. On this phrase, see Ernst Haenchen, "Der Vater, der mich gesandt hat," *NTS* 9 (1963) 208-16; also Rudolf Bultmann, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen," 105-06 (pp. 60-61); Jesse Sell, "A Note on a Striking Johannine Motif Found at CG VI:6,19," *NovT* 20 (1978) 232-40.

¹⁶⁸138,1 cannot be restored with certainty; see above, p. 41 n. to 138,1. Ménard's suggestion is as good as any, and the context would make such a reassuring comment ("Do not be afraid!") quite appropriate. On such reassuring comments in the NT gospels, see Mark 5:36 par. Luke 8:50; Mark 6:50 par. Matt 14:27 and John 6:20; Matt 10:31 par. Luke 12:7; Matt 17:7; 28:5, 10; and so on.

¹⁶⁹See above, pp. 105-13.

¹⁷⁰See Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS 20; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974) 112-16; idem, *Luke and the Gnostics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 30-32.

¹⁷¹In the Sahidic version of Acts 1:9, a cloud "received him" (ⲁⲓⲧⲉ̅) and "he was taken up away from them" (ⲁⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩⲟⲩ). The Sahidic of the account of Peter's vision is even closer to our passage; see 10:16, where "the object was taken up to heaven" (ⲁⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲕⲉⲓⲃⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲛⲉ).

¹⁷²Acts 1-7 focuses upon Jerusalem, Luke's city of apostolic authority. On the special place of Jerusalem in Luke-Acts, see Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 73-94, 209-13; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 100-03, 143-44.

¹⁷³In Luke 24:53 the disciples are described as being in the temple εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν (Sahidic: ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ). In 24:52 it is noted that the disciples return to Jerusalem μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης; many texts (but not the Western texts!) also include a reference to them προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν (Sahidic: ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲩⲱⲩⲧⲉ̅ ⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ).

¹⁷⁴It could also be suggested that the first perfect ἀγκοτοῦ of 138,10 translates the inchoative aorist (see BDF, §§318, 331), and that the clause should be translated as follows: "they started to return to Jerusalem," or "they turned toward Jerusalem." In such a case 139,5-6 could be taken as

the natural conclusion to the scene: "they came to Jerusalem." We judge, however, that the interpretation suggested above explains the data better than this latter suggestion. Not only are seams apparent elsewhere in the tractate, but the two clauses at 138,10-11 and 139,5-6 also use very similar constructions (ἀγω λαγοτοῦ ἐρραΐ ἐθῆμ...ἀγω λαγῆ ἐρραΐ ἐθῆμ, καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ...καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ). See also Menard, 5 and esp. 46.

¹⁷⁵Conzelmann (*The Theology of St. Luke*) can rightly refer to the *ecclesia pressa* in Acts; see his discussion on pp. 137-49, 209-11, 233-34.

¹⁷⁶See the *Ap. Jas.* I 4,37-6,21; 2 *Apoc. Jas.* V 61,1-63,33; *Apoc. Pet.* VII 72,4-9; 84,6-10, and passim; *Melch.* IX 6,24-28; 16,6-12; 26,2-9; discussion in Pagels, "Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ's Passion: Paradigms for the Christian's Response to Persecution?" (paper presented at the International Conference on Gnosticism, Yale University, 28-31 March 1978) 11-15 (to be published in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* [ed. Bentley Layton; Leiden: Brill]).

¹⁷⁷*Ign. Trall.* 10.1; *Smyrn.* 2.1; 4.2; 5.1-3; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.16.9-3.18.5; but cp. also *Adv. Haer.* 4.33.9 for certain exceptions. See Pagels, "Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ's Passion," 5-11.

¹⁷⁸*Apoc. Pet.* VII 78,17. See James Brashler, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*: A Genre Analysis and Interpretation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1977) 216-35; Pagels, "Gnostic and Orthodox Views of Christ's Passion," 14-15.

¹⁷⁹Also see E. Pagels, "'The Demiurge and His Archons'-- A Gnostic View of the Bishop and Presbyters?" *HTR* 69 (1976) 301-24.

¹⁸⁰On the correspondence between the heavenly rulers and the earthly rulers, cp. also the archons as the guardians of the seventy nations (Dan 10:13, 20-21; 12:1; 1 *Apoc. Jas.* V 26,13-27,12), and the powers as the ἀγγελοι of the churches (Rev 2:1-3:22).

¹⁸¹On the alteration, see above, p. 41, n. to 138,14.

¹⁸²Luttikhuisen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, 100 n. 20. See also the *Concordance du Nouveau Testament Sahidique* (CSCO; ed. Michel Wilmet; Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1957) s.v. "εἶπε-", "εἶβηνητ", "εἶα-." As the *Concordance* indicates, εἶπε- or εἶβηνητ is used to translate ὑπέρ only three times in the Sahidic NT: John 1:30, 11:4; 2 Cor 12:8.

¹⁸³See Luttikhuisen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," 100 n. 20; also Harald Riesenfeld, "ὑπέρ," *TDNT*, 8.508-12. For a parallel passage in the Nag Hammadi library, see *Interp. Know.* XI 5,27-38.

184 See Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas*, 217-29; Albrecht Oepke, "παῖς κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 5.639-52; more generally cp. O. Michel, "μικρός," *TDNT*, 4.650-56. Note also *Ap. John* II 2,1-2, where Christ appears as a youth; *Apoc. Paul* V 18,3-19,20, where the little child appearing to Paul seems to be Christ; *Apoc. Pet.* VII 80,8-21, where μικροῦ is the name of the Christian Gnostics. On this last passage in the *Apoc. Pet.*, see Eduard Schweizer, "The 'Matthean' Church," *NTS* 20 (1973-74) 216; idem, "Zur Struktur der hinter dem Matthäusevangelium stehenden Gemeinde," *ZNW* 65 (1974) 139.

185 It may be possible to interpret τεινηπῆτκοῦι in a more positive fashion, as in the *Gos. Thom.* and other Gnostic documents. It could be argued that the followers of Christ must suffer because they are little ones, children of the light and true Gnostics. For this reason the struggle with the cosmic powers goes on, the struggle between light and darkness; see the discussion above, pp. 135-40, on 137,4-13. Such an interpretation, however, is not as convincing as the one we are suggesting here.

186 *Treat. Seth* VII 69,11-12; note the use of μῆτκοῦι for the archons' description of Adam at 54,4, and for the dwelling place of Adam at 54,10. Also see *Tri. Trac.* I 115,3-11 (Jesus takes on smallness when born in body and soul); similarly *Interp. Know.* XI 10,27-30.

187 For a Valentinian version of such a transformation, see the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 68.

188 If the speech of Peter is interpreted as a secondary Gnostic Christian addition, then the section could be described as originally consisting of an apostolic question and the answer of Jesus. In such a case, the section originally may have had no overtly Gnostic elements.

189 Also cp. Luke 12:11-12, as well as Matt 24:9-14 and John 16:2. On the necessity of suffering see, with Luttikhuisen, Luke 24:26 and perhaps Acts 14:22, although his conclusion concerning the Emmaus road story ("The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," 101) is not convincing. We might add 1 Thess 3:3-4, 2 Thess 1:5-8, 1 Tim 3:12-13; also *Ap. Jas.* I 4,37-6,21, esp. 6,15-17: ηενῆ λαγε ηαουχεει ἡνετῆ ρητε ρητ[ῆ] ἡνομοῦ, "none of those who fear death will be saved" (see *Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha*, 52).

190 The preference of Luttikhuisen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," 101 n. 21.

191 The Koine texts, A, W, and other manuscripts prefer ἀγομένους.

192 The Lucan passage may be preferred as a tradition possibly reflected in our tractate, if a single specific tradition is to be sought, on account of the numerous parallels between the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* and Luke-Acts.

¹⁹³ On the person who refuses to suffer, see Mark 8:34-9:1 par. Matt 16:24-28 and Luke 9:23-27; Matt 10:33 par. Luke 12:9; Matt 10:37-39 par. Luke 14:25-27; Luke 17:33; John 12:25; 2 Tim 2:12; *Gos. Thom. logion* 55; *Ap. Jas.* I 6,1-21.

¹⁹⁴ On the summaries in Acts, see Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 193-96; Henry J. Cadbury, "The Summaries in Acts," *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 5.392-402.

¹⁹⁵ 4:18: † $\epsilon\sigma\omega\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\tau\alpha\ \nu\tau\epsilon$; 5:28: † $\epsilon\sigma\omega\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\chi\omega\ \pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \nu$.

¹⁹⁶ Cadbury, "The Summaries in Acts," 401.

¹⁹⁷ See Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt," 328. Additional support for the disciples as Peter's disciples may be provided by the so-called "shorter ending of Mark" ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\omicron\nu$) and Ign. *Smyrn.* 3.2; cp. Kurt Aland, "Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums," *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (ed. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox; Edinburgh: Clark, 1969) esp. 162-63, 179-80. We may also note, with Aland, Luke 8:45, 9:32; Acts 2:14, 5:29.

¹⁹⁸ See Bethge, col. 169 n. 40.

¹⁹⁹ Koschorke, "Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum," 188-90 (published edition: 193-95); esp. "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt," 329-34.

²⁰⁰ Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt," 329.

²⁰¹ The construction which utilizes $\nu\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ with the indefinite article is also attested in the Sahidic NT (e.g. Acts 1:5, 7:55, 10:38), and may parallel the use of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \delta\chi\lambda\omicron\nu$ without an article in the Greek Acts (see BAG, s.v. " $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$," 5c β).

²⁰² Also see Acts 4:31; 7:55; 13:9, 52: the filling with the spirit for particular tasks. On the varied use of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ in Acts, see Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 187.

²⁰³ It may also be that the reference in 139,8-9 to the healings performed by the apostles assumes their possession of spiritual power; note 140,9-11.

²⁰⁴ Acts 2:14-36, 38-40; 3:12-26; 4:8-12; 5:29-32; 10:34-43; perhaps also 1:16-22; 4:19-20; 11:5-17; 15:7-11.

²⁰⁵ Martin Dibelius, "The Speech in Acts and Ancient Historiography," p. 165 in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Heinrich Greeven; London: SCM, 1956).

²⁰⁶ Cp. Acts 2:22; also 135,15-16 in our tractate.

²⁰⁷ ^{p66} and a few other manuscripts read $\epsilon\chi\omega\nu$ rather than $\varphi\omicron\rho\omega\nu$.

208⁸As noted above (p. 44, n. to 139,17), Bethge prefers to emend this to read "[he] <was> clothed with a purple robe." Such an emendation would bring this clause closer in form to the following clauses, to be sure; but the active sense of the text as given is also attested in John 19:5, and thus should be allowed to remain.

209⁹On Ménard's restoration, "they [nailed] him, see above, p. 44, n. to 139,19. On nailing Jesus to a tree, see also the *Gos. Truth* I 20,25; *Treat. Seth* VII 58,24-26.

210⁰Both the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* and Acts provide evidence for the application of Deut 21:22-23 to the Christian interpretation of Jesus' crucifixion; also see Gal 3:31. Deut 21:22 LXX reads, in part, as follows: κρεμάσθητε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου. On εἰως as the Coptic for κρεμάννυμι, see Acts 5:30 and 10:39 in the Sahidic NT, as well as Crum (88b).

211¹It is difficult to ascertain precisely how the verbal form should be translated; see above, p. 44, n. to 139,20. If this kerygmatic formula is derived from a tradition which, like Luke-Acts, emphasizes the fact that God raised Jesus from the dead (Acts 2:24, 32, etc.; Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 92, 180), then it could be reasoned that, in spite of the ambiguity of the present passage, originally this formula was meant to suggest that the active role in the resurrection was played by God. For the present Gnostic Christian author, however, such a subordinationist Christology does not seem appropriate.

212²See BAG, s.v. "νεκρός."

213³Luttikhuisen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," 101.

214⁴*Ibid.*, 101 n. 22.

215⁵See above, p. 44, n. to 139,21.

216⁶Heracleon, fragment 11, on John 2:12, in Origen, *In Joannem* 10.11; Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 33.3; *Stromateis* III.4 §31.3; *Gos. Truth* I 31,1-4; *Apoc. Adam* V 69,17-18; *Acts Pet.* 12 *Apost.* VI 3,8-11; the tractate *Allogenes*, and Seth as ἀλλογενής; also see Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 49-51, on the "alien."

217⁷On the peculiarity of the phrase "the transgression of the mother," and the similarity between descriptions of mother Sophia and mother Eve, see above, pp. 123, 174 (notes).

218⁸See Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Pfingstpredigt," 329-30. Koschorke also refers to the *Paraph. Shem* VII 3,11-15 for a similar use of εἰως with ἕνω.

219⁹According to Crum (80b), εἰως as a noun can translate either Greek word.

220 Discussion and references in BAG, s.v. "ὁμοίωμα."

221 BAG, s.v. "ὁμοίωσις."

222 On the use of Gen 1:26 by the Gnostics, see also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.5.5 (on Ptolemaeus: καθ' ὁμοίωσιν is the psychic man, whose substance is termed πνεῦμα ζωῆς); 1.18.2 (on Marcus and others); 1.24.1 (on Saturnilus); 1.30.6 (apparently on the Ophites); Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 50.2-3 (cp. Irenaeus on Ptolemaeus); 54.2; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.14.5-6 (the *Megale Apophasis*).

223 See also 5:31, in another speech by Peter and the apostles; also 2 *Clem.* 20.5 (τὸν σωτήρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας); Heb 2:10, 12:2; discussion in Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 205-6; Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse*, 47-48.

224 As noted above (p. 44, n. to 139,26), the Coptic syntax of 139,26 will also allow the following translation: "the Son of the glory of the immeasurable Father." If this latter translation is accepted, in spite of its apparent awkwardness, then it could conceivably reflect the sort of negatively defined transcendence of God as is proclaimed in the *Ap. John* (II 3,10.[17]; 4,2.9-10). Also see John 1:14, Eph 1:17, 2 Pet 1:17.

225 See *Gos. Truth* I 18,21-38; 20,15-21,2; 30,27-31,35. Also cp. the *Acts of John* 88-102, esp. the account of the round dance of Jesus and the mystery of the cross. In general, cp. Karl Wolfgang Tröger, "Doketistische Christologie in Nag-Hammadi-Texten: Ein Beitrag zum Dokerismus in frühchristlicher Zeit," *Kairos* 19 (1977) 45-52, esp. 49-50. Tröger discusses four Gnostic approaches to the suffering and death of Christ, and focuses his attention upon the doctrine of the two natures of Christ. He includes *Zost.* (cp. VIII 48,27-29), *Teach. Silv.* (cp. VII 101,33-102,5), 1 *Apoc. Jas.* (cp. V 31,14-22), and *Ep. Pet. Phil.* in his second group.

226 For example, elsewhere the heavenly Jesus can be described as passing through mother Mary like water passes through a pipe (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 31.7.4); Jesus may only seem to be a human being (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.24.2), and may have a body which is not real but δοκῆσει φαινόμενον (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 40.8.2); Jesus may claim, ἡεῖμογ ἡεῖραῖ εἴβ οὐταχρο ἀν' ἀλλὰ εἴβ ηετογοῦε, "I did not die in truth but in appearance" (*Treat. Seth* VII 55,18-19); also note the *Quran*, sura 4,157 (see Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an* [New York: Oxford University, 1977] 105-21; Tor Andrae, *Mohammed: The Man and His Faith* [New York: Harper & Row, 1960] 104, 112-13). A distinction may be made between those docetic traditions which assert that only the fleshly part of Jesus suffered (cp. *Apoc. Pet.* VII 81,3-24), and those which claim that another person (for example Simon of Cyrene) suffered in place of Jesus (cp. Basilides according to Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.24.2; *Treat. Seth* VII 55,9-56,19; early Islamic interpretations of sura 4,157).

See also Tröger, "Doketistische Christologie in Nag-Hammadi-Texten," esp. 47-51. In general, on docetism and the related concept of divine ἀπάρθεια in antiquity, see Wilhelm Michaelis, "πάρσχω κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT*, 5.904-39, esp. 906-07; Adolf von Harnack, *History of Dogma* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958) 1.258-60, esp. the long n. 1; 2.276-87; and Jung Young Lee, *God Suffers for Us: A Systematic Inquiry into a Concept of Divine Possibility* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974) 23-45.

227 See BAG, s.v. "ἀνομοσ."

228 Bethge (col. 168) suggests that the sense of the lacuna may be as follows: "dem Fleisch, sondern nach dem Geist" (cp. Rom 8:4). If we were to opt for Bethge's general suggestion for reconstruction, we might also consider something like the following as equally possible: "darkness, but in the light."

229 Luttikhuisen ("The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," 102) interprets 140,11-13 and 140,23-27 as doublets. See also Ménard (p. 5) where he speaks of "indices de fragments ou de morceaux réunis ultérieurement par le rédacteur final."

230 Cp. Acts 8:19, where Simon Magus requests τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην, to pass on πνεῦμα ἄγιον.

231 In the *Ap. John* II 16,1, ἀμην is credited with the creation of the lips of Adam; *Pistis Sophia* can refer to the three Amens and the seven Amens (1, 10, 86, 93, 96), like the *Books of Jeu* (42, 44, 48, 50). On ἀμήν in the NT and early Christian literature, see Heinrich Schlier, "ἀμήν," *TDNT*, 1.335-38; BAG, s.v. "ἀμήν." On ἀσπάζομαι understood as referring to the liturgical kiss of peace in Christian circles, see Bethge, cols. 168, 169 n. 55; also Rom 16:16, 1 Cor 16:20, 2 Cor 13:12, 1 Thess 5:26, 1 Pet 5:14. Ménard (pp. 46-47) remains less certain whether ἀναζε here refers to a kiss or simply a greeting.

232 Cp. the standard Semitic greeting, בָּרֵךְ דִּלְךָ. For parallels see John 20:19, 21, 26; Luke 24:36 (various manuscripts): εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, †ρηνηηη† (Sahidic).

233 Matt 28:18-20, with the promise of Jesus' presence; Luke 24:44-49, with the promise of δύναμις ἐξ ὕψους; John 20:19-23, where Jesus sends the disciples as the Father sent him; Acts 1:8, with the promise of power and the Holy Spirit; also see Mark 16:15-18; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* III 119,1-8, with a similar concluding commission.

234 See above, p. 46, n. to 140,25.

235 According to Crum (313a), κα can translate κλίμα.

236 Cited and discussed by Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 1.231-32.

²³⁷The Coptic $\omega\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* may very well translate $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ from the Greek *Vorlage* (cp. Crum, 613b). James Brashler has suggested to me privately that we take this presumed $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ in the sense of "section," "division," or "branch" (cp. LSJ, s.v. " $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$," VI 3d); according to this interpretation, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* closes, like the *Pistis Sophia*, with the apostles dividing themselves into four groups in order to preach. Such a suggestion, however, although it remains a possibility, probably pushes the meaning of $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ too far, since even the suggested translations "section," "division," and "branch" are given by the lexicon within the context of spoken or written disclosures.

²³⁸The appropriate conclusion for the tractate casts more doubt upon Bethge's theory about the tractate; see above, p. 97.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The *Ep. P t. Phil.* occupies most of the concluding nine pages of Codex VIII of the Nag Hammadi library. Situated immediately after the long revelatory tractate *Zost.*, our tractate bears little literary or theological relationship to *Zost.* Rather, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* seems to have been included in Codex VIII for a different reason: of the tractates the scribe was commissioned to copy, this tractate was of an appropriate length to fill the available pages of the codex. Like the scribe, we recognize "The letter of Peter which he sent to Philip" (132,10-11) as the tractate title, though the discrepancy between this title and the actual contents of the tractate suggests that it has been secondarily applied as the tractate title.

Like the other tractates within the Nag Hammadi library, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is a Coptic translation of a Greek text. The dialect represented by the Coptic of the tractate may be termed Sahidic, although various dialectical peculiarities, and particularly Bohairic forms, may be recognized. As we have concluded, these dialectical variants do not support a Coptic source theory for the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, but rather indicate either the dialectical disposition of the scribe or the dialectically "mixed" character of the Coptic language of that day. In a similar fashion the grammatical peculiarities noted in our tractate do not recommend a Coptic source theory either; where particular sections of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* show unique grammatical characteristics, these features usually may be taken to reflect the Greek *Vorlage*.

Although we have described the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* as a unified work, it must be acknowledged that various materials have been brought together to form this tractate. These diverse elements presumably were woven together in the Greek *Vorlage*. Indeed, as we have observed, at times seams may be detected. Such appears to be the case at 133,12-13, where the attention turns from Philip to the apostolic group; at 137,13-15, where the

quotation formula for the additional question resets the stage; probably at 138,10-11, where a scene on the road intrudes into the account of the return to Jerusalem, which is then mentioned again at 139,4-6; and possibly at 140,11-15, where the theme of dispersing and gathering is presented. Furthermore, certain sections of the tractate may be distinguished by the grammatical peculiarities of the Greek *Vorlage*. Thus the additional question and answer (137,13-138,3) makes use of the Greek loan word ἀρχων (137,16.17.21), whereas elsewhere terms such as 6OM^1 and εἰσογία are utilized to depict the cosmic rulers. Again, the framework for the account of the sermon of Peter is unique in its use of the Greek loan word μαθητης (139,10) rather than the usual ἀποστολος, and the verb πελαγ (139,10.15) rather than the usual quotation formula with xw^2 .

In its present form the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is clearly a Christian Gnostic tractate. The major sections that have been analyzed--the letter and the account of the gatherings and departures of the apostles--indicate the Christian focus of the tractate and its author. Taken as a whole, the tractate is to be seen in the Petrine tradition: Peter is the leader, the spokesman, and the preacher of the apostles.³ The only other apostle mentioned by name is Philip, who is submissive to the authority of Peter and whose place in the tractate seems intended to highlight the preeminent authority of Peter. Further, with their leader, Peter, the apostles gather at Olivet and are taught by the risen Savior; upon returning to Jerusalem, they teach in the temple and perform healings; and eventually they go forth to preach, filled with holy spirit. In other words, not only the place of Peter but also the scenario of the narrative would suggest that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* shares important features with part of the first--Petrine--section of the NT Acts of the Apostles.

That the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* makes use of Christian oral or written traditions cannot be doubted. In particular, numerous parallels between our tractate and the first half of the NT Acts have been noted throughout this study. Such parallels, we have seen, include scenes, themes, and terms which are similar in these two documents. Even the genre of

literature they represent--a narrative on Peter and the apostles within which are included revelatory, liturgical, and edificatory materials--is similar, although in the case of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* the narrative has been prefixed with a letter of Peter. Hence it may safely be surmised that the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is aware of Lucan materials; but the precise character of this awareness or the exact nature of the materials cannot be determined with confidence. For in addition to the striking similarities between the two documents, certain crucial differences call into question a direct dependence of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* on the NT Acts. For example, in spite of the similarities between Peter's letter to Philip (132,12-133,8) and Acts 8:4-25, the two accounts diverge precisely at the point where Luke's theological hand is seen most clearly. Again, in spite of the presence of an ascension account in both our tractate (138,3-7) and Luke-Acts (Luke 24:50-51; especially Acts 1:9-11), the accounts illustrate very different theological concerns in their portrayals of the significance and nature of this ascension. Once again, although the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (140,1-13), like Acts (2:1-13), includes a "Pentecost" account, our tractate seems not to recognize the unique Lucan concerns regarding this event, and seems rather to resemble John 20:19-23 in important ways. Furthermore, a number of the similarities in the use of technical terms (πεκαλοϋ ετογλαβε τῷ πεῖτῷ, ὁ ἄγιος παῖς σου Ἰησοῦς; ἀρχηγος, ἀρχηγός) occur in liturgical passages, which are notoriously conservative in their retention of such technical terms. Thus, we do best to conclude that the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is not consciously using a specific Lucan text at all, but is familiar with themes and motifs in the Lucan tradition.⁴

In addition to this acquaintance with Lucan materials, the author of our tractate is also familiar with other Christian traditions. We have seen that the Savior's second revelatory answer (136,16-137,4) resembles in part the Johannine λόγος hymn, though the similarities must not be overdrawn. Again, the traditional kerygmatic formulae in the credo (139,15-21) show certain affinities with John 19, and the little "Pentecost" of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* shares features with the Johannine

"Pentecost" account (20:19-23). Furthermore, the author of our tractate can mention previous revelatory utterances of the Savior (135,5-6; 138,2-3.22-24; 139,11-12), utterances frequently said to be given while Jesus was embodied. Presumably these revelations of the embodied Savior could refer to such teachings as are presented in the Christian gospels; and the "four messages" of 140,25 could have been understood as the four gospels. Hence, it is clear that our author is generally aware of early Christian materials, and desires to establish continuity with these earlier traditions. The author's understanding of the Christian message, it is maintained, is legitimate and authentic; indeed, Jesus said all these things before, but because of unbelief the message must now be proclaimed again (135,4-8)!

Within the narrative framework of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* are included various materials, and the Gnostic emphases can be seen with greatest clarity in these materials. In particular this observation applies to the Gnostic "dialogue," the revelatory discourse of the Savior uttered in answer to the questions of the apostles. The first four revelatory answers (135,8-137,13) are at most marginally Christian, though they are taken over and legitimated as revelations of the risen Lord. The first answer, which provides an abbreviated version of the myth of the mother, illustrates no overtly Christian features at all. It reflects a rather simple version of the myth, and is similar to the Christian Sophia myth of the *Ap. John* and the Barbelognostics of Irenaeus in terminology (ΤΗΛΑΥ, *mater*; ΠΑΥΘΑΛΗΣ, *Authadia*) and general presentation. This set of four revelatory answers furnishes a Gnostic perspective on the fall into deficiency and the attainment of fullness (the first two answers), and the imprisonment and the struggle of Gnostics in the world (the last two answers). To this set of answers has been appended an additional question and answer (137,13-138,3), which utilizes different terms and focuses upon the life and mission of the Gnostics. Gnostic in perspective like the other answers, this additional answer does show clear Christian concerns, and illustrates the emphases of the author and community of the *Ep. P t. Phil.*: they are struggling Gnostic Christians, who gather for worship and disperse to preach the gospel in the world.

In addition to the questions and answers in the Gnostic "dialogue," other materials used in our tractate similarly may show Gnostic proclivities. The two prayers of the gathered apostles (133,17-134,9) contain traditional terms and themes commonly found in early Christian prayers, but also proclaim a luminosity and glory which would make them especially appropriate and meaningful as the prayers of Gnostic Christians. Again, the description of the resurrected Christ as a light and a voice represents a primitive way of depicting the appearances of the risen Lord, but among Gnostic Christians such theophanic descriptions were particularly appreciated. Again, in the discussion of the sufferings of the Lord and the apostles, a motif occurs which would be very meaningful to Gnostics: human "smallness" (138,20). And again, the reception of "a spirit of understanding" (140,5-6) and spiritual power (140,21.27) from Christ would be especially important for Gnostic Christians.

In the brief sermon of Peter (139,9-140,1) Gnostic tendencies are even more clearly seen. To be sure, a traditional Christian credo (139,15-21) constitutes the first part of the sermon, and traditional terms are applied to Jesus (Ἰησοῦς τῷ, 139,25-26; πῶν ἦρ, 139,26; ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ περὶ τῶν, 139,27-28). But the traditional credo is interpreted according to the Gnostic Christian theology of the author of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* From his incarnation on Jesus suffered, it is true, but he suffered as one who is "a stranger to this suffering" (139,21-22). A Christological tension thus remains as the sermon stresses both the reality of Jesus' sufferings and the glory of his divinity. In contrast to the suffering illuminator Jesus (139,15), the sermon continues, the followers of Jesus suffer because of "the transgression of the mother" (139,23). This phrase is reminiscent of references to the fall of mother Eve, and refers, for the Gnostic Christian author, to the mother often named Sophia in other versions of the myth. She is also called "the mother" at 135,12, and her tragic fall is seen as the source of human sufferings. Hence this reference to "the transgression of the mother" may provide another important point of contact between the figures of Eve and Sophia in Gnostic literature. In short, the sermonette of Peter seems to function as the model of a

spirit-filled sermon delivered by an insightful Gnostic Christian.

It is possible, then, to suggest a general outline for the literary history of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* Writing around the end of the second century or into the third, the author of the Greek *Vorlage* is a Christian Gnostic who is thoroughly familiar with the Christian heritage, and who uses and interprets that heritage in a Christian Gnostic fashion. A Gnostic "dialogue" has been constructed, though it is less a true dialogue than a revelatory discourse of Christ in answer to questions raised by the apostles. Within this "dialogue" are included Gnostic materials which are non-Christian or perhaps only marginally Christian; these materials have been adopted, and baptized as revelatory disclosures of the risen Christ. On the basis of the Christian and Gnostic traditions with which the author is familiar, and the concerns of this person and the Christian Gnostic group, the author compiles a narrative document with a revelatory focus. In addition, the letter itself is added at the beginning of the narrative, in order to stress the authoritative place of Peter. Consequently, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* can receive its present title. Finally, the Greek tractate is translated into Coptic, and finds its way into Codex VIII of the Nag Hammadi library.

The *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is thus a tractate with Christian and Gnostic features. It reflects the theology of a Christian Gnostic community which legitimates itself and its message by using and adapting apostolic--particularly Petrine--traditions as its own. In fact, it claims to trace its roots and its message ultimately back to the embodied Jesus himself. Now, however, as the disembodied light and voice, the risen Savior must speak again to his followers, and provide a renewed revelation and reaffirmation of Christian Gnostic truths. The resultant tractate shows the author's concern for the apostles, and this Christian Gnostic group, gathered for worship and dismissed for the proclamation of their gospel.

It remains for us to summarize certain key features of the theology of this Christian Gnostic group. We shall briefly consider the Christology, soteriology, and ecclesiology of this group as reflected in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*

To begin with, the Christology of this Christian Gnostic group emphasizes Jesus as both the heavenly redeemer and the suffering savior. Various titles are applied to Jesus, some of which (for example $\overline{\text{ΠΕΧΤ}}$, $\overline{\text{Π(ΕΝ)ΧΟΕΙΣ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΣΩΤΗΡ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΧΤ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΕΚΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΤΣ ΠΕΧΤ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΩΗΡΕ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΕΝΡΕΓΩΣΤΕ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ}}$) are traditional, and common in their application. Other titles, however, are among the Christological titles that are preferred by Gnostic Christians, and these titles tend to occur in sections of the tractate in which Gnostic coloration is most striking. Thus Jesus is termed the $\overline{\text{ΦΩΣΤΗΡ}}$ both in the first prayer offered by the gathered apostles (133,27) and in the sermon of Peter (139,15).⁵ This Petrine sermon also speaks of Jesus as "a stranger" (139,21); and both the sermon and the second apostolic prayer provide glorious amplifications of the title $\overline{\text{ΠΩΗΡΕ}}$ (134,3-6; 139,26-27).

Furthermore, in the account of the descent of the Gnostic illuminator, Jesus refers to himself as the $\overline{\text{ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ}}$ (139,16).⁶ According to the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, the Savior, sent by the Father, came down (136,16-17.19-20, in the second answer; 137,30, in the additional answer; 139,12-13.15-16, in the Petrine sermon) from the fullness and glory of the divine light, into the world of deficiency and darkness (133,26-134,1, in the first prayer). A stranger here, Jesus traveled incognito, and was not recognized by the ignorant powers and inhabitants of the world (136,20-21, in the second answer). Indeed, Jesus was judged to be just another mortal person (136,21-22), for when he came down into the world he dressed himself in a body (136,16-17.19-20). He went about "in the body" (133,17; 138,3; 139,11), and from the moment of his incarnation he endured a life of suffering (138,15-20, in the discussion on suffering; 139,15-21, in the Petrine sermon). In fact, his entire cosmic experience could be considered uniformly as an experience of suffering. In the Gnostic Christian interpretation of the traditional credo in the sermon of Peter, the specific moments within the suffering of Jesus, from his incarnation until his ultimate release from the body when "he rose from the dead" (139,20-21), are not interpreted as particulars to be analyzed individually, but rather are considered only within a general assessment of Jesus' life of suffering.

Essentially Jesus' life of suffering is like that of his followers (139,24-25). Such a realization is important to the Gnostic Christians of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, for it is apparent that they see themselves as a suffering and struggling community. They suffer the deadly pains of being incarcerated within this cosmic prison and these mortal bodies (137,4-9; 138,19-20); they feel the murderous hostility of the powers, the authorities, the enslaving forces of heaven and earth (134,8-9; 137,10-13); they struggle against those who would entrap their souls or spirits, those described as archons (137,13-138,3), "synagogues and governors" (138,25-26), "lawless ones" (139,29-30). In various ways these Gnostic Christians are going through the same sort of suffering and persecution that Jesus experienced. In fact, Jesus proclaimed before, and here proclaims again, such suffering is inevitable and necessary, and must be faced with resolve (138,21-139,4). Jesus' suffering is like theirs, except that Jesus voluntarily took upon himself a mortal body, and suffered for them, the light-seed fallen into darkness (136,16-18; 138,18; 139,24-25); they, on the other hand, are caught in the cosmic web of the mother's fall, and suffer only what is their destiny (139,22-23).

The suffering savior is, paradoxically, the savior who is also "a stranger to suffering." He, the fullness and the illuminator, is both immortal and dying. And, having descended into the dark places of this dark world, the dying illuminator rises from the dead, to throw off the mortal cloak of his body⁷ and attain to the pleroma of light. Hence, as a disembodied light and voice, the Savior can appear at will from his heavenly glory. Referring to that past time when he was embodied, the divine voice, free of fetters, continues to lead his people with his divine word and glorious light. For he will be with them, with power and light, for ever (134,17-18; 140,22-23).

Secondly, the soteriology of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* stresses the importance of heeding the call of the Savior, and following his way. The call of the Savior goes forth to those who are his, and by hearkening to his call they can attain to a liberating peace and rest (136,22-28). The word of this heavenly illuminator is available to answer the most profound and

perplexing questions of a disoriented human condition, and to point to the correct path. In addition to such insightful answers, spiritual power and divine authority are also granted to help in the struggle along this path (134,8; 136,26; 137, 25-30; 140,19-21.26-27).

The way to follow, then, is that of Jesus, a way of understanding, of suffering and dying to the corruptible world. From his revelatory words may be gained an understanding of the true meaning of existence, and from his life may be obtained a pattern for the life of the Gnostic Christian. For Jesus is the ἀρχηγός, the author, founder, and originator of true life and rest (139,27-28; 140,4); he leads his followers back from deficiency to fullness (136,28-137,4), and his followers may become mystically identified with him. For, like Jesus, they too shall rise out of the darkness, strip off their bodily vestments, and return to fullness and light. Their destiny is the same as his: like Jesus, they shall finally live as children of the Father, they shall be full, as glorious illuminators. But even now, as they live in these bodies and suffer in this world, they can experience a partial realization of this salvation. As they free themselves from the slavery of this world, and throw off the corruptible yoke, they can become "illuminators in the midst of mortal people" (137,8-9). Even now, while suffering and struggling, they have rest (137,11-12) and peace (140,17-21.27).

Apart from the archetypical place of Christ as ἀρχηγός, and the traditional titles which are applied to him, the correspondence between the redeemer and the redeemed in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* is remarkable. They both have the same origin in the light, a similar fall or descent to earth, and similar sufferings, though the author of our tractate does point out that Jesus' sufferings are *pro nobis*. Again, both the redeemer and the redeemed in the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* experience the same glorious salvation, as fullness and illuminators. Thus, if we may speak of the "two natures" of Christ ("fullness" and "mortal model") in our tractate, we may also posit a dualistic anthropology, with "two natures" for the believers ("the inner person" and "that which is corruptible").

Finally, the ecclesiological perspective of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* reflects the self-understanding of this Christian Gnostic group: they are the struggling followers of Christ, worshipping together and preaching in the world. As we have seen, the themes of gathering and dispersing play a central role in our tractate, and seem to reflect the life of these Christian Gnostics. Like the apostles portrayed in the tractate, the Christian Gnostics gather for worship. It has been possible in this study to identify various liturgical elements which are mentioned in connection with these gatherings, and which apparently reflect the worship of the group behind the *Ep. Pet. Phil.*: the kneeling posture (133,19-20), the use of prayer (especially the two liturgical prayers at 133,21-134,1 and 134,3-9), the sermon of Peter, and the liturgical greeting (ἀσπάζε, 140,14) and "Amen" (140,15). In their gatherings for worship the believers realize the enlightening presence and spiritual power of the Savior; it is even possible that visions occur as the light dawns and the voice of understanding is heard within the group. Furthermore, the potent presence of holy spirit may prompt wonderful deeds of power, perhaps healings (139,8-9; 140,10-11) and other mighty and miraculous things (140,6-7).⁸

It is in teaching and preaching that the spiritual power of the Christian Gnostics comes to expression with most significance. In the programmatic statement describing their strategy in the world, the Savior recommends that his followers not only gather for worship but also "teach in the world the salvation with a promise" (137,24-25). For this group is neither passive nor escapist in the face of the world of darkness and death. Rather, this is an activist group, with a keen sense of mission in the world. As "illuminators in the midst of mortal people," they are to carry on the spiritual struggle against the world rulers by means of their mission to the world. Like the apostles, the Christian Gnostics are to go forth to preach, "in the power of Jesus, in peace" (140,27).

NOTES

CHAPTER V

¹ 60M almost certainly translates δόναμις. Cp. Crum, 815b; *Concordance du Nouveau Testament Sahidique*, s.v. "60M" (60M translates δόναμις one hundred twenty times, but other nouns only occasionally).

² ηεχαγ could translate εἶπεν or even ἔφη, and χω surely translates forms of λέγω, including participial forms. Cp. Crum, 285ab, 754ab; *Concordance du Nouveau Testament Sahidique*, s.v. "ηεχε-", "χω."

³ It could very well be that Peter is thought to have his own disciples; see 139,10 and the discussion above, p. 150.

⁴ It is tantalizing to suggest that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* depends upon a Petrine source or sources similar to or identical with those used in the compilation of Luke-Acts. At the same time, however, it cannot be maintained that our tractate represents, in its present form, a Petrine source that was used and modified in Acts. Such a theory would have to account for the apparent general awareness of various Christian traditions, and place the simple but mature myth of the mother back into the first century C.E. Furthermore, this sort of theory would also have to recognize that in certain instances, for example in the summary statement at 139,4-9, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* does resemble Acts at points where, as it is usually maintained, Luke's creative hand is seen with clarity. Naturally, the complex problems of the sources of Luke-Acts cannot be considered in this volume. In general, we here are concluding that the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* in its present form may be dated most safely and reasonably in the late second or early third century, when a vital Christian Gnosticism like that of our tractate could very well have existed.

⁵ On the soteriological use of φωστηρ in the context of the third revelatory answer of the Savior (137,8), see above, p. 197.

⁶ On the soteriological use of πληρωμα in this second revelatory answer of the Savior (137,3-4), see above, p. 197.

⁷ On the soteriological use of this stripping theme in the third revelatory answer (137,6-9), see above, p. 197.

⁸ Whether the Christian Gnostics of the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* remained within the Great Church or gathered by themselves for worship cannot be said with certainty. On the one hand, these Christian Gnostics consciously build upon earlier traditions, and use a traditional Christian credo with value. On the other hand, the *Ep. Pet. Phil.* shows an awareness of the "unbelief" of the Great Church, interprets traditional materials in a

distinctively Christian Gnostic way, and reflects liturgical elements with Christian Gnostic leanings. Hence, we would prefer to think of these believers as forming their own conventicles. If they did remain within the context of the Great Church, they probably functioned in a manner analogous to *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*.

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