Marvin W. Meyer

The Letter of Peter to Philip

SBL Dissertation Series 53
SOCIETY
OF BIBLICAL
LITERATURE

DISSERTATION SERIES

Howard C. Kee, Editor

Number 53
THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP
Text, Translation, and Commentary
by Marvin W. Meyer
THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

Scholars Press
THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

Marvin W. Meyer

Copyright © 1981
Society of Biblical Literature

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Letter of Peter to Philip. English & Coptic.
   The letter of Peter to Philip.
   (Dissertation series ; no. 53)
   Text of the letter in Coptic and English.
   Originally presented as the author's thesis.
   Bibliography: p.
   Includes index.
1. Letter of Peter to Philip. 2. Gnosticism.
I. Meyer, Marvin W. II. Series: Society of Biblical
   Literature. Dissertation series ; no. 53.
BT1390.L3813 1981  229'93    80-28612
ISBN 0-89130-463-0 (pbk.)

Printed in the United States of America
1 2 3 4 5
Edwards Brothers, Inc.
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
To my grandmother, my mother, and my wife:
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA ........................................... ix

PREFACE TO THE PUBLISHED EDITION. .............................. xi

PREFACE ........................................................................... xiii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ........................................ 1

CHAPTER TWO: TEXT, TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND INDICES .... 17

   Text and Translation .................................................. 18
   Notes to the Text and Translation .................................. 34
   Indices to the Text ...................................................... 47

CHAPTER THREE: GRAMMAR ........................................... 69

CHAPTER FOUR: COMMENTARY ....................................... 91

   Title (132,10-11) ...................................................... 91
   Letter (132,12-133,8) ................................................. 93
   Account of the Gathering (133,8-17) ............................. 98
   Account of the Two Prayers (133,17-134,9) .................... 101
   Account of the First Appearance (134,9-10) .................... 105
   Account of the Questions Raised by the Apostles
     (134,18-135,2) ..................................................... 113
   Introduction to the Revelatory Answers Given by
     the Savior (135,3-8) ................................................. 118
   The First Revelatory Answer (135,8-136,15) .................... 121
   The Second Revelatory Answer (136,16-137,4) ................ 128
   The Third and Fourth Revelatory Answers (137,4-13) ....... 135
   An Additional Question and Answer, and the
     Conclusion (137,13-138,10) ...................................... 141
   Scene on the Road to Jerusalem (138,10-139,9) ............... 144
   Account of the Speech of Peter (139,9-140,1) ................ 150
   Account of the Final Meetings of the Apostles
     (140,1-27) .......................................................... 157

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION ........................................... 189

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................. 201

INDEX OF ANCIENT SOURCES ......................................... 211

vii
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 SBLLS, this dissertation is here published in a form nearly identical with that of the dissertation as originally 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 pre-
served 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 inven-
toried 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 num-
bers 1-54.\(^5\) As Martin Krause and Fahor Labib report,

\begin{quote}
Alle anderen Seiten waren, meist in mehrere Teile
zerbrochen und nicht mehr in der richtigen Reihenfolge,
von den Findern oder Händlern aus dem Leder-
einbänd genommen und in Cellophantäten gelegt
worden...Die Fragmente der übrigen Seiten 27-112,
die ungeordnet in den Cellophantäten lagen, wurden
in der vorgefundenen Reihenfolge verglast und er-
hielten die Nummern 55-128.\(^6\)
\end{quote}

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. Dark-
ened 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 dimen-
sions of the cover, the presence or absence of a flap, the use
of staining and tooing, 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
Introduction

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.\footnote{10}

Codex VIII is dominated by the first long tractate, entitled \textit{Zostrianos}.\footnote{11} Most of the tractates in the Nag Hammadi corpus are relatively short. \textit{Zost.}, however, like \textit{Marcanes}, is an exception to this tendency, and occupies most of Codex VIII: pages 1-132. \textit{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. \textit{Zost.} is provided with the subscribed title \textit{Zostrianos} as well as an appended cryptogram which mentions both \textit{Zostrianos} and Zoroaster. \textit{Zostrianos} is also mentioned in the \textit{Instit} \textit{(i,3)}, and although the reference is partially in a lacuna (\textit{zwa[\ldots]}), the restoration seems certain. Zoroaster was the founder of the Persian Zoroastrian religious heritage, and an exceedingly significant figure in late antiquity, while \textit{Zostrianos} was said to have been a close relative of Zoroaster.\footnote{12}

\textit{Zost.} is a Gnostic tractate which provides a series of revelations about the heavenly realm. \textit{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, \textit{Zostrianos} finally is visited by the angel of the knowledge of the Light, and is given a guided tour of the glorious heavens. Consequently, \textit{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 γνώσεις 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. 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.

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
Introduction

Ep. Pet. Phil. was of an appropriate length to function as the concluding tractate to Codex VIII.\(^5\)

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 Goe. Truth and the Goe. 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. D oresse 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.\(^6\)

During the following spring, D oresse 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.\(^7\)

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.\(^8\)

In an essay by Jean D oresse 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 (six) tractates of the codex,\(^9\) and providing a few remarks on Eost. 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."\(^10\) 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 Epistle 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 épitre de 'Pierre à Philippe, son frère ainé 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 Tuni, 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. 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. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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, \textit{La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe},\textsuperscript{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. Luttikhuizen also read a brief paper on "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament." Luttikhuizen 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.\textsuperscript{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-Georg Bethge.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{33} Wisse has contributed the brief introduction and translation of the Ep. Pet. Phil., in \textit{The Nag Hammadi Library},\textsuperscript{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 *Apos. Pet.* and *Taetum. 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 Nag-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 Sp. Pet. Phil., while pointing out important parallels and significant allusions. Finally, a selected bibliography is appended to the conclusion.

To cite the Gsc. Thom.: may we find ἡ εἰρήνη ἡ νεοερεῖα! 38
CHAPTER I
NOTES


2 On 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, 1977-77); 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.


4 The *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 Bobitig and Frederik Wisse; NHS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1975); and *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyriæ Berolinenses 5608, 1 and 4* (ed. Douglas M. Farro; 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.


6 Martin Krause and Pabor Labib (eds.), *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus den Codices II und Codex XII* (Abhandlungen

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

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


11An introduction to Zost. is provided by John H. Sieber, "An Introduction to the Tractate Zostrianos from Nag Hammadi," NovT 15 (1973) 213-40; also see The Nag Hammadi Library, 368-93.


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.

16Dorese, Secret Books, 120.

17Ibid., 122.


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

Introduction

Dorese, Secret Books, 236; his inventory is on p. 142.

H.-Ch. Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte (premier inventaire et essai d'identification)," Copto 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 Dorese's brief description from VC.

H.-Ch. Puech, "Découverte d'une bibliothèque gnostique en Haute-Egypte," Encyclopaedia Francaise 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.

Krause 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] 18,120). As Krause notes, both Dorese and Puech had previously assumed that Codex VIII contained three tractates rather than two.

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

The 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.


Several of the papers, including those by Jacques-E. Ménard and Gerard P. Luttikhuiizen, have recently been published in Nag Hammadi and Gnostic (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).

J.-E. Ménard; La Lettre de Pierre à Philipe (Bibliotheque coppte de Nag Hammadi 1; Quebec: Université Laval, 1977).

Baumeister has recently published an article which I have not yet seen; "Montanismus und Gnostizismus. Die Frage der
Letter of Peter to Philip


34 The Nag Hammadi Library, 394-98.


pietas Sophia, that of C. Schmidt; for Irenaeus, the text of W. W. Harvey; for Hippolytus, that of P. Wendland; for the Excerpta ex Theodore, 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
τενίστολαν Νηστορες εκατ

11 χοούς Νηστιούσιος:

12 πεττοκος πανούστολος λέει Τ[δ]

13 ΠΔΙΖΠΟΝ Νηστιούσιος πενσον Π[ό]

14 μεγίτη ην πεντενταποστο[ο]

15 λος ην ήζεινη ετήσιμακ ηξ

16 λογισας δε ήζεινη πενσον [ξε]

17 δακη Πενεπτολομ Χ[τ]οοτ [Ψ Π]

18 πενχοκες ην πεσω[τ]ηρ Π[τε]

19 ποσοκος την ην [επ]αή ην [γ]

20 [η]ν τε εκαφ εκω λυ[ω] ποπητα

21 ου οειν γραι ην πε [ο]υκατ ην

22 ταγιρνη ηνοη παρ εκολ η

133,1 [την πενχοκες δε πεκτε'] Ἑτοκ ην

2 [η]ενακτητε εκολ ηνοηην' λυν

3 ηπιεμερεν πιτερενει εύμα

4 λυμ λυκεμεν εκ επανονεν Π

5 ην ηνε εκαφ εκωνονεν'

6 εφηκεν ουν δετ δεκεν πενσον ηε

7 εκεν ηατα πεντεπολη ηνε πεν

8 ηνους Τη'] λατε ζετερεχιτου

9 θει φεηλις πεος λυμ ζετετο

10 εαε εμνος ερατε Νηστορος

11 ην ομερεν εντελη ηνοηην'

12 τοε δεντροκος ηνοοεθην:

13 ηπιεσεσες λυμοκ εξη

14 ληνεος ετε δελαμουτε ερνομ

15 ηε λακοξειτ πηα ετε εομ ηαη

16 επεος εμακ ηη πεκαργος

17 ηες ζοται ευξη ευμα το

18 τε ζετετοη κεμα θει πηαος

19 τολος λυμ λυκοκου εξη

20 νεαματ λυμαλα ηπε ην
The letter (ἐπιστολή) of Peter which he sent to Philip:

"Peter the apostle (ἀπόστολος) of Jesus Christ, to Philip our beloved brother and our fellow apostle (ἐκαθορίστηκεν), and the brothers who are with you: greetings (χαίρετε)! Now (δὲ) I want you to understand, our brother, [that]

we received orders (ἐντολή) from our Lord and the savior (σωτήρ) [of] the whole world (κόσμος), that [we] should come together to teach and preach in the salvation that was promised to us by our Lord Jesus Christ. But (δὲ) as for you, you did not desire that we come together and learn how to orient ourselves that we might tell the good news. So (οὖν) would it be agreeable to you, our brother, to come according to (κατά) the orders (ἐντολή) of our God Jesus?"

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

Then (τότε) Peter gathered the rest. They went upon the mountain which is called "Olivet," the place where they used to gather with the blessed (μακαριώδης) Christ when (ὅταν) he was in (the) body (σώμα) of God Jesus.

Then (τότε) when the apostles (ἀπόστολος) had come together, and had thrown themselves upon their knees, they prayed in this way,
Letter of Peter to Philip

22 πιετ Ἡ[ν]τε ποιοειν παί ε
23 τετιγάτη Μιαθα[ν]εσιά
24 σώοι[ν] ηρον κατα θε ο[ν][α]σ
25 Ἡτε[λ]γι [η]ν περαλλού ετ
26 οὐγάλξ [Τ]ΤΕ πεκέξ[ν] Ἡτε γαρ
27 λαξόει τα οὐν Ποῦςθερ

134, 1 ζη Ἡν Πκ[ν]ης δέστε σωμ έρ[γ]ε[ρ]
2 λα λυκότογ Νεκσον αγ
3 ὦνα σεκο ὸνος χε ποι
4 ζη Ἡνε πιετ πιετε πιετ η[ν]
5 πητατμοῦ ε[κ]τοσον ζην
6 ποιοειν πιετε πιετε πιετ
7 πητατμοῦ πενηράσσοε[ν]
8 η[ν] μα[ν] οὐγνειν εμι[ν]α σε
9 κανονικον εσοντιν [τ]ιτε αγ
10 οὐγαλξ εκολ Ταει οὐνοειν Τογοει[ν]
11 κανονικον εσοντιν Τ ουνειν
12 εκολ ζη πιετ η[ν]τε πιετ ετ[α]
13 κανονικον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
14 εκολ πιετ η[ν]τε πιετ εται
15 κανονικον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
16 κανονικον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
17 οὐγαλξ εκολ Ταει οὐνοειν Τογοει[ν]
18 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
19 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
20 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
21 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
22 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
23 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
24 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
25 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται
26 καιρον εσοντιν η[ν]τε πιετ εται

135, 1 [Ψ]εκο][ν] η[ν]τε ἡραγνεσια
2 [Ψ]εκο][ν] η[ν]τε ἡραγνεσια
saying, "Father, Father,
Father of the light, who
possesses the incorruptions (δωσις αιωνος),
hear us just as (οντω) [you] have
taken pleasure in your holy child
Jesus Christ. For (γινε) he
became for us an illuminator (φωστηρ) in the darkness. Yea, hear us!"

And they resumed again and prayed, saying, "Son of life, Son of immortality, who is in the light, Son, Christ of immortality, our redeemer, give us power, because (ενωθη) they are searching for us in order to kill us."

Then (τοτε)
a great light appeared so that (δεικτοι) the mountain shone from the sight of him who appeared. And a voice cried out to them, saying, "Listen to my words that I may speak to you. Why are you seeking me? I am Jesus Christ who is with you for ever."

Then (τοτε)
the apostles (απολογει) answered and said, "Lord, we would like to understand the deficiency of the aeons (αιων) and their fullness (νασονους)." And, "How (νικος) are we detained in this dwelling place? Or (αι), how (νικος) have we come to this place? Also (αι), in what way shall we leave? Also (αι), how (νικος) do we possess [the] authority (εξουσια) of boldness (νασονους)? Also (αι), why do the powers fight against us?"
135,3 

tote λύσθη σοφεις οι αυτοι 

136,1 

ας εις [συνε] αυτοις μεταθε 

5 πως ουσιωθηναι ειτε ου 

6 τοις αυτοις ημεισι τη 

7 ημεισι την 

8 αγαθιγ 

9 [ποι] 

10 [πη] 

11 

12 

13 

14 

15 

16 

17 

18 

19 

20 

21 

22 

23 

24 

25 

26 

27 

28 

136,2 

ας ημεισι 

2 ουδενες 

3 μοι ημοι νε 

4 κοινω 

5 αγαθι 

6 αγαθι 

7 αγαθι 

8 αγαθι 

9 με 

10 με

11 με

12 με

13 με

14 με

15 με

16 με

17 με

18 με

19 με

20 με

21 με

22 με

23 με

24 με

25 με

26 με

27 με

28 με

136,3 

τοις αγαθι 

2 [πα] 

3 [πα] 

4 [πα] 

5 [πα] 

6 [πα] 

7 [πα] 

8 [πα] 

9 [πα] 

10 [πα] 

11 [πα] 

12 [πα] 

13 [πα] 

14 [πα] 

15 [πα] 

16 [πα] 

17 [πα] 

18 [πα] 

19 [πα] 

20 [πα] 

21 [πα] 

22 [πα] 

23 [πα] 

24 [πα] 

25 [πα] 

26 [πα] 

27 [πα] 

28 [πα]
Then (τότε) a voice came to them from
the light, saying,
"It is you yourselves who bear
witness that I said all these things to you.
But (ἀλλά) because of your unbelief
I shall speak again.

"To begin with (μέν), concerning
[the deficiency] of the aeons (αἰώνες), this
[is] the deficiency. Now (δὲ) <when> the
disobedience and the foolishness
of the mother appeared,
without the command of the majesty
of the Father, she wanted to
set up aeons (αἰώνες). And when she
spoke, the Arrogant One (αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδειας) followed.
So (δὲ) when she left behind a
portion (μέρος), the Arrogant One (αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδειας) grabbed it,
and it became
a deficiency. This is the deficiency
of the aeons (αἰώνες).

"So then, when the Arrogant One (αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδειας)
had taken a portion (μέρος), he sowed it.
And he placed powers
and authorities (ἐξουσία) over it.
And he confined it within the mortal aeons (αἰώνες).
And all the powers
of the world (κόσμου) rejoiced
that they had been brought forth. But (δὲ) they
do not know the preexistent [Father],
since (ἐν ὑπηκοό) they are strangers
to him. But (ἀλλά) this one is he to whom
power was given; and they served him
after having praised him.

"So (δὲ) he, the
Arrogant One (αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδειας), became haughty because of
the praise of the powers. He became
a rival, and he wanted [to]
make an image (εἰκόνα) in place [of an image (εἰκών)],
136,10 οὐχ ὠνομᾷ εἰπὼν ἦλθον [ορ]
11 ϕθ' ἄχτων δὲ ἦθενον ἑκατοντάδες ἔτη
12 τεχναγούσια εἰς εὐεξίαν ἤπειρο
13 οἵματα εὐθυμοῦτ' ἀληθέω ἄλλω
14 πε ἐξολκ οὐκ ὀφειλεταίνειε εἰς ἔκειν
15 ἐκ δὲ ἐπερατομεῖς:
16 ἐτεο πιεραρίων δὲ ἀνόκην περὶ λυχν]
17 λυγανούοσι ἐτεο ἐὰν ποιμένα ἕν
18 τεο ποιητήοσι εὔτεος ἔκειν
19 αὐθαλοῦσι ποιούς ἐκοινωνίας ἕτε
20 ἔμεο οὐκ ἦτοολ ἐποιοῦς [οὐ]
21 οὐκ εὐνοεύωνοι ἐφέσεοι καὶ ἀν[οκ]
22 οὕχονε εὐθυμοῦτ' ἀληθεῖς [αἰ]
23 εἰ δὲ ἔχε εἰς τὸ θοῦ [καὶ ἐργοὺ]
24 ἔνε ἐπὶ κατὰ τεφές [κ] ἔσω
25 ἔνε ἐπὶ κατὰ ἐσχος [κ] ἔπει
26 δισαν οὐκ ἦλθοι ὡς τεχναγούσια
27 ἤπειρον ἐκοινωσομεῖν ἀληθεῖς
28 ἔτεο τερμηνεύων' ἀληθεῖς ἅπασ
137,1 [ α] ἤγγι τε ἐξελαβὴ 
2 [ ] ἐν ἐν οὐκχαλ' ἐπιάν 
3 [α] καὶ ἐπιὸνουσι περὶ ἐτεο παῖ ἄλ 
4 [ο]νομ ["]οφρομα' ἐτεο π 
5 [α] καὶ σαμακτεοί Ναοὺς ἐπὶ ἡτοῦ ο 
6 [ε]τεο οὐξείτ' ἐφίνει ἐκτεθάρακ 
7 την καινη ἐπιατε ἐπικαυοῦντ' το 
8 τε ἐκτεθάρακε αἰειφότετο 
9 ἐν την ἔγγονε ἐκοινωνεῖ 
10 ὡς [α] καὶ ["]οτοῦ οὐκ 
11 καὶ ["]οτοῦ ἔκειν ἤπειρο 
12 [κα] ἐπικαυοῦν αἰ 
13 [ο]νομ ["]οφρομεῖν' τοτε ἀναπο
and a form (μορφή) in place of a form (μορφή).

So (ὅδε) he assigned the powers within
his authority (ἐξουσία) to mold (πλάσσοντι)
mortal bodies (σώμα); and they came
into being from a misrepresentation of
the semblance (ὁμοιόμοιον) that had come forth.

"Now (ὅδε) concerning the fullness (πλήρωμα),
it is I. [And]
I was sent down in the body (σώμα)
for the sake of the seed (σπέρμα) that had fallen away.
And I came down to their mortal model (πλάσμα).
But (ὥσπερ) as for them, they did not recognize
me; they were thinking of me that I
was a mortal person. And I spoke
with him who is mine, and (ὅδε) he hearkened
to me just (μαθά) as you
also who hearkened today.
And I gave him authority (ἐξουσία) that
he might enter into the inheritance (κληρονομὸν)
of his fatherhood. And I took

[was] filled
in his salvation. [So (ὅδε)]
since (ἐπειδή)
he was deficiency, for this reason he
became fullness (πλήρωμα).

"Now (ὅδε) concerning this,
that you are being detained; (this is) because you
are mine. When you strip
yourselves of that which is corruptible, then (τότε)
you will become illuminators (φωτάρη);
in the midst of mortal people.
"Now (ὅδε) (concerning) this, that it is you who
will fight against the powers;
(this is) because they do not have rest like (μαθά)
you, since (ἐπειδή) they do not want
(γὰρ) you to be saved."
137,14 [t]ολος σου σου του παλαιοτέρου ευαγγελίου Ν
15 μοι παλαιότερον καλύτερον δι' αυτ
16 τις εν εφήμερας μνήμες παλαιότερον ευαγγελί
17 του λόγου σου σου εν εφήμερας μνήμες τοτέ
18 λογος του παλαιότερου ευαγγελίου εσφυγός
19 εν εφήμερας μνήμες παλαιότερον ευαγγελί
20 μοι παλαιότερον καλύτερον δι' αυτ
21 σου παλαιότερον καλύτερον δι' αυτ
22 τοτέ εν εφήμερας μνήμες τοτέ
23 αυτοί τις σου παλαιότερες μνήμες αυτά
24 είναι ευμαρτήματα σου συμφωνίας σου
25 αυτοί τις σου παλαιότερες μνήμες αυτά
26 συμφωνίας σου παλαιότερες μνήμες σου
27 παλαιότερον καλύτερον δι' αυτ
28 παλαιότερον καλύτερον δι' αυτ
29 εν εφήμερας μνήμες τοτέ
30 εν εφήμερας μνήμες τοτέ

138,1 κατά σε' ετοίμασες συμφωνίας μνήμης [σου]
2 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
3 τοτέ εν εφήμερας μνήμης [σου]
4 αυτοί τις σου παλαιότερες μνήμες σου
5 εν εφήμερας μνήμες σου τοτέ
6 αυτοί τις σου παλαιότερες μνήμες σου
7 κατά σε' ετοίμασες συμφωνίας μνήμης [σου]
8 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
9 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
10 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
11 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
12 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
13 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
14 εν εφήμερας μνήμης μνήμης [σου]
Then (tòte) the apostles (διάτοτολογούν) worshiped again, saying,

15 "Lord, tell us, how shall we fight against the archons (Διοκουν), since (ηπείρων)
16 [the] archons (Διοκουν) are over us?"

Then (tòte)

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

138,1 Do not [ ]

2 just as (κατά) I previously said [to]
3 you when (διά) I was in the body (οσμόν)."

Then (tòte)

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

Then (tòte)

8 the apostles (διάτοτολογούν) 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 other on the way about the light which had come forth. And a statement was made
12 about the Lord, for it was said,
138,15 Ἡμῶς οὖν ἐγὼ ἅττιν ὑπερθυλχρε[εις]
16 ἅττι ὑπερθυλχρε τε δούρα τε ἀνω[ι]
17 ἀνωτάτῳ ὑπερθυλχρε εὐκρι
18 Ἡμῶς οὖν ἅττι ὑπερθυλχρε εἰσίν[ε]
19 ἅττι τε ἐπὶ ἄρα ἐπὶ ἐπικοί[ε]
20 ἅττι ὑπερθυλχρε τε τεκνὶ περιγονόμον[ι]
21 τοῦτο ἄγαν ὑπερθυλχρε εὐρο[ο]
22 εἰςο[φ] Ἡμῶς οὖν ἅττι ἀνωτάτῳ[
23 ἅττι ὑπερθυλχρε τε δούρα εὐρο[ο]
24 ἅττι ὑπερθυλχρε τε δούρα εὐρο[ο]
25 δι' αὐτῶν ἅπειραι εὐερο[ο]
26 ἅπειραι εὐερο[ο]
27 ἅπειραι εὐερο[ο]
28 ἅπειραι εὐερο[ο]

139,1 [ ]
2 [ ] ᾕ[ερ] ὑπερθυλχρε
3 [ ] ἃ ἐν)
4 [ε.] f. [ ] παποποτοκός ἀν ἀ[ε]
6 [ε] τε[ε] ἀν ἀν ἀν ἀν ἀν[ε]
7 [ε] τε[ε] ἀν ἀν ἀν ἀν ἀν[ε]
8 [ε] τε[ε] ἀν ἀν ἀν ἀν ἀν[ε]
20 [ε] ἢ[ε] ἢ[ε]
21 [ε] ἢ[ε] ἢ[ε]

Letter of Peter to Philip
"If he, our [Lord],
suffered, then how much (more are) we (to suffer)?"

Peter answered, saying,

"He suffered on account of [us],
and it is necessary for us also to
suffer on account of our smallness."

Then (τότε) a voice came unto them,
saying, "I have said to you
often: it is necessary for you
to suffer. It is necessary
for you to be brought to
synagogues (οὐαγώνις) and governors (Ἀγώνων),
so that (ὅτε) you will suffer. But (όδε) the one
who will not suffer nor (οὖδέ)

[ ]

our] Father

[ ] so that he

[may

And (όδε) the apostles (ἀπόστολος)

rejoiced [greatly], and they went up

[to] Jerusalem. And they went up to the temple and
taught concerning salvation in the name of

[the] Lord Jesus Christ. And they healed

[a] crowd.

Now (όδε) Peter opened his mouth

and said to his disciples (μαθητής),

"[Indeed], our Lord Jesus, when (ὅταν) he was in
(the) body (ὁμώμια),

indicated everything to us. For (γὰρ)

he came down. My brothers, listen to my voice."

[And] he was filled with holy spirit (πνεῦμα)

and spoke in this way: "Our illuminator (φωτήρ) Jesus

[came] down and was crucified. And he

[wore (οφεσπρόν) a crown of thorns. And he put

[on] a purple robe (στολή); and he was

[crucified] upon a cross; and he was buried in

tomb; and he rose from the
dead.
30

Letter of Peter to Philip

139,22

πείξα η παρενθετηκα ζ άλλα ανοιν πετε

23

Δ [ι] η παρενθετηκα ζ άλλα ανοιν πετε

24

λας εκε εκει οικειοι δεικνυμενοι κατα

25

κατα ουγενει πατερεφοι δεικνυμενοι πεκοεις

26

γαρ το περιπ το ίπτε περιπ ήπιν ήπιν

27

Πατερεφοι δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικνυμενοι

28

ινα δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικνυμενοι

29

τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικνυμενοι

30

ινα δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικνυμενοι

140,1

[πατερεφοι δεικνυμενοι]

2

γρος [δ]ις [εις] [ευαγειαν]

3

 [. .]εις ινα δεικνυμενοι [ιπτε] [πεκοεις]

4

πεκοεις ινα δεικνυμενοι [πεκοεις]

5

πεκοεις δεικνυμενοι [ιπτε] [ευαγειαν]

6

τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικνυμενοι

7

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

8

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

9

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

10

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

11

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

12

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

13

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

14

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

15

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

16

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

17

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

18

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

19

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ

20

πεκοεις τρισαυτε δεικνυμενοι κατα πεκοεις ινα δεικ
"My brothers, Jesus is a stranger to
this suffering. But (ἀλλὰ) we are the ones who
have suffered through the transgression (παράδοσις)
of the mother.
And for this reason he did everything
in (καὶ) a likeness to us. For (γὰρ) the Lord
Jesus, the Son of the immeasurable glory of the
Father,
is the author (ἀποκαθήγησις)
of our life.
"So (οὖν), my brothers, let us not
hearken to these lawless
ones (ἀνωτάτους) and walk in
Peter [gathered ]
[ ], saying, "[Our Lord Jesus]
Christ, author (ἀποκαθήγησις) [of our] rest,
give us a spirit (πνεῦμα) of understanding (ἐπιστήμη),
so that (ἐν) we also may
perform mighty deeds."
Then (τότε) Peter
and the other apostles (ἀπόστολοι) saw [him],
and they were filled with holy spirit (πνεῦμα).
And each one
performed healings. And they parted
so that they might preach the
Lord Jesus.
And they gathered with their
companions and greeted (ἀνακαινίζομαι) them,
saying, "Amen (ἀμὴν)!
Then (τότε)
Jesus appeared, saying
to them, "Peace (εἰρήνη) to [all] of you
and everyone who believes in
my name! Now (ἐὰν) as you go,
there shall be for you joy and
grace and power. So (ἐὰν) do not be
140,22 ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς εἰς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡμέρας
23 ὅτα ἐν τῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
24 λοιπὸν λοιπὸν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
25 εἰς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ
26 εἴη εἴη ἐμοῦ ἐμοῦ
27 ἐν ἐν ὑμεῖς ἐν ὑμεῖς ὑμῶν ὑμῶν.
140, 22 afraid; behold, I am with you
23 for ever."
Then (τότε) the apostles (ἄμφοτερος)
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 (ἐἰρήνη).
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 Ἱ is based on an apparent minute trace of ink, and provides the anticipated Ἱ for Ἱγρἠθ.

15 xe seems likely, on account of the usual length of a line. The e appears certain under ultraviolet light, though part of the e is in a lacuna. xe|xe 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 xe 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 xe, although the position of the + in line 16 may have provided such an indication of the opening of a "paragraph" or section.

16 † 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 xe clauses and second future verbs, and the third clause containing a conjunctive form, substantiates the translation given above. The reading ει ε[xe]νει xe, "come together," represents a common verbal construction in the tractate, and thus is preferable to a variant restoration, ει ε[ενει]xe, "come to speak." See Bethge, col. 168 n. 1, as well as 133,3,18; 137,24.

21 The reading [ο]γ 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 ὑμω with a verb like "orient." Hence Wisse suggests "locate," Ménard "répartir," and Bethge "verteilen." ὑμω can also be translated as "limit," "determine," "appoint," and even "prepare."
133,6 εκείνη is here translated as an interrogative; see Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Goldischer Dialekt) (Leipzig: VEB, 1966) §434. εκείνη could also be understood in an intensive or exclamatory sense, and be translated "surely." Again, the clause could possibly be translated as follows, with ξε 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 οὖν ἔγνωσα, the γ and the ν 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 ν) and the spacing contribute to this certainty.

15 The Berlin Arbeitskreis suggests the possibility of emending the text as follows: εὐθέων; 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 consecutivum) in TILL, *Koptische Grammatik*, §304; and C. C. Walters, *An Elementary Coptic Grammar* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972) §61.

16 ΝΑΡΑΤΟΣ intrudes somewhat into the right margin; see above, the note to 132,15.

17 Here εἰσὰρ οὐκ ἔμαθε is used without the article; the clause could be translated "he was embodied." See especially 139,11, and also 136,17; 138,3.

18 ΑΝΩΣ- 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 ἅγιο 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 Wintemute ("Coptic Grammar to the Gospel of Thomas" [unpublished typescript available at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity] 53). In the *Ep. Epst. Phil.*., note similar constructions elsewhere, for example at 134,2; 139,9-10; 140,13-14.

22 Syntactically εὐθέων can modify either οὐκ or οὐκοίμη; the use of αἱ would seem to tip the balance in favor of οὐκ. See also 134,5, where the structure parallels that of the first prayer, but where the gender of αἱ makes it highly unlikely that it refers to ἘΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΥ.
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. 133-84.

27 ἐφύκηθε intrudes considerably into the right margin; see above, the note to 132.15.

134.2 ἀγκοτογ 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" (see Wisse).

5 See 133.22, and the relevant note.

7 The $ is based upon minute ink traces or shadows visible under ultraviolet light.

15 On $κε with ἐκέκλησ(ος), see below, p. 75; the usual form for the prefix is ἐκ-. The sentence remains difficult, and has prompted additional suggestions for emendation. Ménard (pp. 16-17) suggests ἐκτενεία ἐκπόνησ, "<κ> viens pour vous parler." Such an emendation is not unreasonable, and the suggested omission by the scribe of the $ 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.) Bethege (cols. 166, 168 n. 12) opts for a reading of Wisse, $κεκλήσθη, and translates this as a form of κλήσι, "send" (Crum, 754a). We have opted for $κε as being most reasonable (see also 138.22: ἀξίως). A form of κλήσι fits the context well; κλήσι is rarely used as an intransitive verb (see Crum, 754a), and the space at the end of the line could easily accommodate (ος).

18 Note the misprint in Ménard: ἁργηνῆ

22 γ is written in conjunction with κ on the papyrus, the result being $κ. 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
the reading was changed from "your fullness" to "their fullness." See also 136,16, and the discussion below, p. 113.

Although most of the \( \omega \) in \( \text{παρεμανε} \) is missing, the size of the space, the shape of the ink remnants, and the lack of the tail of a \( \omega \) make \( \omega \) visually certain. The rather unusual translation and punctuation of this section are derived from the Coptic. \( \lambda \chi \nu \tau \chi \eta \nu \gamma \eta \chi \varepsilon \nu \) accounts for the translation "And, 'How...!"' Bethge (col. 166) suggests, parenthetically after 'und,' that "sie führen 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.

† 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. \( \eta \) is certain on the basis of ink traces and space.

\[ \text{[\underline{\alpha\omega\alpha\omega}]\gamma} \] is certain on the basis of 134,21-22 and 135,10. \( \eta \) rather than \( \alpha \) is suggested by 135,10. Between lines 9 and 10 the scribe left extra space on account of a bad horizontal papyrus fiber.

\(<\alpha>\) follows the suggestion of Wisse, also adopted by both Bethge and Ménard. The manuscript has \( \nu \).

It is very tempting to follow Wisse, Bethge, and Ménard in emending \( \alpha\omega\gamma\omega\nu \varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha\varepsilon \) to \( \alpha\omega\gamma\omega\nu\hat{\beta} \varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha\varepsilon \), "appeared." \( \omega\nu\hat{\beta} \varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha \) frequently means "set down, bring down, pause"; see Bethge, col. 168 n. 17, where he maintains that the meaning of \( \omega\nu\hat{\beta} \) with \( \varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha \) "hier nicht passt," and the discussion of this passage below, pp. 124-25.

Under ultraviolet light, ink traces of \( \varphi \) and the certainty of the following \( \lambda \) are established.

The first \( \lambda \) of \( \gamma\nu\nu\delta\gamma\varepsilon \) is verified under ultraviolet light: the loop and tail are visible.

The ink remnants and space for the vertical stroke make certain the first \( \gamma \) in [\( \lambda \)\( \nu\delta\gamma \).

The first \( \circ \) in \( \varepsilon\tau\mu\omega[\circ]\gamma \) is verified by the pattern and thickness of the ink traces, which conform to the scribe's usual method of writing \( \circ \).
Wisse suggests ἄν[ερ], but this suggestion is unlikely. Not only does the probable space used after the σ (about 2.5-2.8 cm.) appear sufficient to have contained five or six letters; but also a vertical stroke, most likely a π, seems to appear to the right of the σ. Hence we select, with Ménard, a different emendation better suited to the data.

Within this context the passive, "he to whom power was given," seems the most appropriate translation. An active construction, however, is possible, though vaguer: "they gave power." Bethge (col. 168 n. 18) also suggests the following as a possible text and translation: ἄν[ερ] ἐλα[ε]τεσον, "he to whom [she] (viz. the mother) gave power."

From line 6 through line 14, a bad vertical fiber caused the scribe to leave extra space between η and ο in line 8, ε and ο in line 11, and γ and e in line 14. Evidence of this fiber can also be seen within the first η of Ἠνοῦρμεν (line 10).

The conjecture that Ἠνοῦρμεν 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.

Minute ink traces of η are visible under ultraviolet light.

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.

The η of λα[γ] is quite certain under ultraviolet light; the ink traces even hint at the curved loop of the η.

On λα[γ]νούγε ἐπά, "I was sent down," see Crum, 420a and 700ab. From the context, the translation "down" seems much preferable to "up." On λα[γ]νούγε, see the slightly different construction at 133, 17, as well as the note there.

Instead of the γ, an η would also be theoretically possible. The consistently thin character of the top of the stroke, however, makes a η almost certain, as an examination of the scribal hand would seem to indicate.

The η of λα[γ] is certain under careful examination in both natural and ultraviolet light.
The γ of Ἰνοογ is verified by the height, thickness, and angle of the opening (left) stroke.

A dot of ink (confirmed by ultraviolet light) appears after the ξε 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?"

Lines 1 and 2 cannot be restored with any degree of confidence. Bethge (col. 168 n. 22) suggests that line 2 be restored with [ινοογ], so that the clause could be translated as follows: "es [wurde] vollkommen gemacht [seine Vollendung] in seiner Erbliung." The ink traces, however, of the two letters to the right of the lacuna at the beginning of line 2 may not suggest ιω as the most likely restoration. (The ink traces could indicate α, ε, or ι for the first letter, and perhaps μ for the second letter.) Ménard (p. 22) is more ambitious in his restoration: Αυτηὶ γίνοι, ἐν γνώσει, λαλήσει, εἰσο [εἰσογαη] ἐγγέλται ἐν πνεύματι, "je la fis passer [de l'Exigence à la Plénitude, l'établissant] dans son salut." While this restoration is provocative, one might question both the inconsistency in the definite article before γινοτ and the indefinite article before γινοι; (the transcription of the former, however, could be modified easily enough), and the likelihood of using γινοι εἰσο practically as a Coptic equivalent of πάντως ἐνάκα in the tractate. Many restorations are possible, of course. Even if we retain the γινοτ, a reasonable conjecture, and emphasize the concept of being filled, we can still restore the passage as follows: λαλήσει ἐν γνώσει, λαλήσει [εἰσο] γίνοι, "I took [him out of deficiency, and he] was filled with his salvation." The εἰσογαη ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ is quite awkward, however, and does not fit the apparent, syntax and style of this tractate (cp. 137, 26: ἐγγέλται ἐν). The juxtaposition of first perfect verbs without γινοτ presents no problem; see above, the note to 133, 19. More serious may be the placement of the λαλήσει, 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: [εἰσο ἐν (οὐ)πνεύμα ἐγγέλται, "he was filled] [with peace] in his salvation." Yet another possibility for the very end of the lacuna: com., "brother."
The χ could conceivably be χ, though the beginning of the bottom horizontal stroke of the χ seems to be visible.

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 r of line 24, e and r of line 26, r and u of line 29, and s and o of line 30.

The λ of ραςμετ is verified by ultraviolet light. ραςμετ is used here, after ραςμετ, instead of the more usual ραςμετ; a trace of ink from the ϵ seems visible.

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 εαςταγον is quite clear, especially under ultraviolet light. The η is very likely, and the ι 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: ι, τ, apparently ι, τ, ε, ι, ι, ι, ι, and so on, plus the tail of the ι 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 ηί, and even maintain that the ζ is certain. Such a suggestion, however, creates problems in the transition from 137,30 to 138,1, where the first few letters are visible. Bethe once suggested (p. 14 n. 30 of his earlier typescript) that "vielleicht liegt hier der Versuch einer Verbesserung und Rasur eines versehentlich geschriebenen hinz und dem Anfang eines weitergehenden Wortes zu ei vor"; Bethe 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, Bethe's conjecture was essentially correct, apart from the misinterpretation of the blotted ink. Following correspondence with Emmel, Bethe 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 ι but also for an ι) and probably a supralinear dot. On the supralinear stroke over the suffix -ει, compare 137,6: ηουει.
136,1 In the first line the is clear; m is quite certain, since a r does not fit the remaining ink traces; r is clear, and a minute trace of ink above the r (verified under ultraviolet light) must be a portion of a supralinear stroke; the lacuna contained one or two letters; the is very likely on the basis of the part of the tail that has been preserved; and the 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 [W] (die! He must have meant to place only the supralinear stroke in square brackets) (ac [of the] [unwritten]). "Ne craignez pas," and also refers to 140,21–22 for a parallel construction. Also note Bethge, col. 168 n. 31.

2 The r in erayf is very probable, since there does not seem to be sufficient room for the left portion of a r, the other possible interpretation of the ink traces. Likewise, the of ἐρασί: 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 and r of ὁμαλός are verified by the spacing and ink traces observed under ultraviolet light.

5 The is nearly attains visual certainty: is much less likely, for the pattern of ink traces is not quite appropriate. The is not certain, since only a trace of the ink from the tip of the right tail is visible.

6 The m of ἐρατίων is certain enough; part of the horizontal stroke can be observed. In other manuscripts, "Jerusalem" (ἐρατίων) can also be abbreviated ἐράτιων; see Till, Koptische Grammatik, §26.

7 Apparently the d of ἐράτιων has been corrected over a r. This correction is apparent from the increased dimensions of the r, and the traces of the left curved arm and the right vertical stroke of the r. Slight papyrus damage may indicate an attempt to erase part of the r.

8 It seems reasonable to follow Wisse's suggestion of [i], 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 dislocation. 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 r.

21 The two letters o in οναρ 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 γ, ι, τ, or ψ in 139,1; see his

3 Instead of η[εν]ωτ we may possibly read η[ακ]ωτ,
as at 137,27.

2 The trace of ink before ακακακ seems to be from a
rather thick stroke at an angle, and could suggest
η, λ, ω, γ, or perhaps even η. Ménard suggests η,
perhaps as good a judgment as can be made.

4 The [ε] is suggested by the use of the third future
with ακακακ. One additional letter seems probable
in the lacuna. An apparent trace of a tail visible
under ultraviolet light would suggest an λ before
the γ, though the trace is ambiguous enough so that
Ménard can suggest η. Following the certain γ
the ink traces may indicate an ο or ε or even ι
(so Ménard).
Ménard suggests (Ρω)μαρκα. Not only does the reconstruction suggested here fit the size of the lacuna better than the reconstruction of Ménard, but (π) μαρκα is also clearly attested (see Crum, 282b).

The approximate distance from the left margin (which can no longer be located precisely) to the extant m is 1.5 cm., enough space for two or more probably three letters. Hence μαρκα is a reasonable suggestion for the restoration. A photograph taken some time ago by Jean Dorese shows a clear m (before μαρκα) on a fragment of papyrus which since then has 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 [136]-[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: CU II 6-7, III 6 and XIII 6," BASP 14 (1977) 109-21 (continued). Earlier transcriptions of line 11, before the evidence of the Dorese photographs had come to light, suggested μαρκα instead of μαρκα, and presented the sentence as a question introduced by the Greek loan word μψει. 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 nicht alles gezeigt." On the phrase "in (the) body," see above, the note to 133,17.

The + seems certain; the spacing is inappropriate for a υ, and no ink traces are present for the loop of a +.

The χ of μαρκα is certain under ultraviolet light; the slight loop on the right diagonal, consistent with the scribal hand, verifies the χ. On account of an apparent imperfection in the papyrus, a slightly larger space was left between m and +.

Literally αγαθος is "he was hanged"; also see line 19. Instead of φοιτητει we may prefer φοιτητα; cp. φοιτητα (137,29-30), and the discussion below, p. 69. If φοιτητα is used, then there may be enough space for a doubled m before αγαθος, as in line 18.
139,17 The μ of the manuscript has been corrected (with Wisse and Ménard) to ν. m and μ 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 υποτε as "three" (fem.), see Crum (566b). Bethge (cols. 369, 169 n. 43) prefers to emend λτ to λγντ. 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 λγ[ν]τ suggested by Wisse, Ménard prefers λγ[ν]τττ, "they [nailed] him." Ménard's reading remains a possibility, and the occurrence of ὑγτ with μα is attested. Yet κατα with μα is also well attested (Crum, 80b; it is found elsewhere with "cross" also), and fits the context better. Here it may also be noted that μα, like ἔξομο, 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 α and γ (of ἀργομεν) in line 19, γ and ω in line 20, μ and ο in line 22, ω and η in line 24, η and ξ in line 25, η and η in line 26, η and η as well as η and η in line 27, η and η in line 28, and η and ο in line 29. In addition, the μ of ημμαγ 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 μ[οι]γτ: and μακαρι. In conjunction with the διολογη, 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: ...κα του Πατερου Αυτον τον Πατερον... .

23 From approximately line 23 down, some blotting from p. 136 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 γ and τ.
As in line 21, extra space was left after the supralinear dot and before ἀγαθῷ.

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 τοῦτο may have existed in the lacuna of line 1, so that the new paragraph may begin as follows: τοῦτο λέγει Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν Ἰουδαίον. "Then Peter [gathered]."

For lines 2 and 3, Bethge (cols. 168, 169 n. 51) suggests ἐκ τοῦ νόου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 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 η 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.

The η and the ω before the lacuna are clear enough from the ink traces. The τ is based upon ink traces of the right vertical stroke. The ω and the η are obvious; and the η seems quite certain under ultraviolet light, which shows that the visible ink marks from the sides of the η appear closed at the top and the bottom. Münard and Bethge agree with this analysis of the ink traces, and suggest, very plausibly, the restoration of the lacunae adopted here.

The final η of the line is verified, under ultraviolet light, by the ink traces of the tail of the η.

The γ and χ of ἀγαθῷ are certain on the basis of the ink traces which clearly outline the letters and the supralinear stroke under ultraviolet light.

The scribe left some extra space after the διάλεξε and before the τοῦτο; see also 139,21,28. At the left margin, between lines 15 and 16, the scribe has used a paragraphs; see 136,15; 138,16.

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 ζ in line 21, η and ζ in line 22, η and ζ in line 25, and η and τ in line 26. In addition, the first η of line 27 is poorly written on account of the rough papyrus.
The <a> corrects the o of the manuscript.

Bethge (cols. 168, 169-170 n. 58) suggests the possibility of dittography in order to explain the difficult words ἐνὶ τὸν Ἔλαζε ἔσε.

Bethge posits that perhaps the original text was ἐνὶ τὸν Ἔλαζε, "in the four directions, so that," which through dittography became ἐνὶ τὸν Ἔλαζε (ἐς); this text could have been modified to ἐνὶ τὸν Ἔλαζε ἐς, "eine Verschlimmbesserung zum normalen Sahidisch." See additional discussion below, pp. 160-61.

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**

Δύσλας cp. Greek loan word

οἶνος (Ὄινος) Jerusalem 138,10; 139,6

Τέ (Ὑποτέ) Jesus 139,22; 140,16.27

Τέ Νέρε Jesus Christ 132,12-13; 133,26; 134,17

ΠΕΡΙΟΥΕ ΤΕ our God Jesus 133,7-8

ΠΕΡΙΟΥΕ ΤΕ our illuminator Jesus 139,15

ΠΕΡΙΟΥΕ ΤΕ our Lord Jesus 139,11

ΠΕΡΙΟΥΕ ΤΕ the Lord Jesus 139,25-26; 140,12-13

ΠΕΡΙΟΥΕ ΤΕ Νέρε our Lord Jesus Christ 133,1; 140,1[3-4]

ΠΕΡΙΟΥΕ ΤΕ Νέρε the Lord Jesus Christ 139,8

Πανκοσίτ cp. Coptic word

Πέτρος (Πέτρος) Peter 132,10.12; 133,10.12; 138,17; 139,10; 140,1-2.7

Φίλιππος (Φίλιππος) Philip 132,11.13; 133,9

Χριστός (Χριστός) Christ 133,1.17; 134,6; 139,8; 140,4

Τέ Νέρε Jesus Christ 132,12-13; 133,26; 134,17

**Greek Loan Words**

αἵβον cp. αἰων

αλλά (αλλά) but 135,7; 136,3; 139,22

αἱμα cp. ἁμά

ἀνομος (ἀνομος) lawless 139,29-30

ἀποστόλος (ἀποστόλος) masc. apostle 132,12.14-15; 133,18-19; 134,19; 137,13-14; 138,8; 139,4; 140,8.23-24

cp. also ὁμήρ

ἀρχισ (ἀρχισ) masc. author 139,27; 140,4

ἀρχισ (ἀρχιν) masc. archon 137,16.17.21
 Алексе (αλέξεως) greet
140,14 αυγαλη

Аγαλмас (αγαλμάτος) masc. arrogant one 135,16-17,19.21; 136,5-6

Афаресиа (αφαρασία) fem. incorruption 133,23

Κενθεί (κενθείν) help
137,29 ταηθονεί
137,29-30 εαηθονεί

Γαρ (γάρ) for 133,26; 137,21; 139,12.26

Ας (ἄς) 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

Εἰκὼν cp. εἰκών

Εἰρήνη cp. εἰρήνη

Εὐτολή (εὐτολή) fem. order 132,17; 133,7

Εξοδεία (εξοδεία) fem. authority 135,1.24; 136,12.26

Επιθεί (ἐπιθεί) since 134,8; 136,2; 137,2.12.16

Επιστείης (ἐπιστείης) fem. understanding 140,5-6

Επιστολή (ἐπιστολή) fem. letter 132,10

Εὐνοι (εὐνοι) masc. aeon 134,22; 135,9.15.21.25

Πάντα (πάντα) or, also 134,25(bis).26; 135,[2]

Πέρα ὁ cp. ΠΕΡΙΠΕΙΜΩΝ

Πειξαι (πειξαι) fem. semblance 136,15

Πρίν cp. Γίνα

Πρίνθη (πρίνθη) fem. peace 140,27

Πρώται 140,17

Χάρον (χάρον) according to, like, as, in 133,7.24; 136,24; 137,11-12; 138,2; 139,25

στ. also σε

Χαλκωνία (χάλκωνία) fem. inheritance 136,27

Χορσος (χόρσος) masc. world 132,19; 135,27-28; 137,24-25

Χωνήθα (χωνήθα) masc. disciple 139,10

Χωροφης (χωροφης) blessed 133,16

Μην (μην) to begin with, now 135,9

Μεγάς (μέγας) masc. portion 135,18.22

Μερίς (μέρις) fem. form 136,10.[10-11]

Δύπον cp. ἰδιαί

Οπόδε cp. ογκος

Οὖν cp. οὖν
Text, Translation, Notes, Indices 49

παράβαιος (παράβαιος) fem. transgression 139, 23
παράβελα (παράβελα) fem. boldness 135, 1
πανάκμη (πανάκμη) masc. model 136, 19
παράσχεται (παράσχεται) mold 136, 12 eγενέθηκα
παράσαμα (παράσαμα) masc. fullness 134, 22-23; 136, 16; 137, 4
πνεύμα (πνεύμα) masc. spirit 139, 14; 140, 5, 9
πως (πως) how? 134, 23, 25, 26
περίστασις (περίστασις) masc. seed 136, 18
πόλη (πόλη) fem. robe 139, 18
πυραμίδα (πυραμίδα) fem. synagogue 138, 25-26
παμάκα (παμάκα) masc. body 133, 17; 136, 13, 17; 138, 3; 139, 11
παλαιός (παλαιός) masc. savior 132, 18
ποτέ (ποτέ) then 133, 12, 17-18; 134, 9, 18; 135, 3; 137, 7-8, 13, 17; 138, 3, 7, 21; 140, 7, 15, 23
ποιός (ποιός) nor 138, 28
ποινή (ποινή) so 133, 6; 139, 29
φορέω (φορέω) bear, wear 139, [16-17] άνάφορεω
φωτιστής (φωτιστής) masc. illuminator 133, 27; 137, 8; 139, 15
χαίρει (χαίρει) greet 132, 15 χε
δός cp. δος
δώτε cp. δώτε
δόνη (δόνη) Amen 140, 15
δομή (δομή) masc. governor 138, 26
δράση (δράση) fem. image 136, 9, [9]
δύνα (δύνα) that, so that 137, [13]; 140, 6
δύο (δύο) when 133, 17; 138, 3; 139, 11
δυσ (δυς) as 137, 29
δύστε (δύστε) so that 134, 11; 138, 27

Coptic Words

(2a) δόθο cp. δάθο
(5a) αλαύ masc. child 133, 25
(7b) αμφί, αμφίθεν (pl.) come (used as imperative of ελ)
αμφίθεν συνά come together 137, 23-24 cp. ελ
(9a) ἀμαῖτο, hold, detain, grab
     134,23-24 ἀλαμαῖτο
     135,18 ἀραμαῖτο
     137,5 σεμαῖτε

(10b) ἀν not (negative particle used with ἦ: ἦ—ἀν)
     136,1; 137,12; 138,28

(11a) ἀνθαί be pleasing
     ἃ ἀν' be agreeable to
     133,6 ἄντο γ' ἀνάκ

(11b) ἀνοή personal pronoun
     ἀνοὴ I 134,17; 136,16,21
     ὦνος you (masc. sing.) 133,1
     ὦνος he 133,26; 136,5,23; 137,28; 138,19; 139,12
     ἀνοή we 138,16; 139,22; 140,6
     ὦνος you (pl.) 135,4-5; 137,5.10.20.22.26
     ὦνος they 135,28; 136,20; 137,11

(19b) ἀγων 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) ἀοὐς cp. οὐσ

(22a) ἄν what? 137,15
     ἰδὲ ἤτε in what way? 134,26
     ἰδὲ ἠς how? 133,4-5

(25b) ἀὰρ' cp. eare
     ἀὰρ- eah- without
     eah- 135,13

(29a) εἰσκ leave, depart
     134,25 εἰσεῖσκ
     140,19 εἰσεσθαίσκ
     140,26 αὐσκ
     εἰσκ εἰσ' go to
     133,10 αὐσκ εἰσάψ
     εἰσκ εἰσ- go up upon
     133,13 αὐσκ εἰσ-

(32a) εἰσκ loosen, ἐκά masc. outside
     εἰσκ out, forth, away cp. ἀπετεῖν, πορεί, ὡπεῖτ, ὄποι, ἔσκ, ἐκ, ἐκ
e- & e- (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]
eραῖ ἐ- cp. z ραῖ
εραῖος fem. lightning 138,4
εμαθεί cp. nath
εμαυ cp. may
εμείς masc. eternity
eνα ενείς for ever 134,18; 140,23
εματ' cp. mat
εματ' promise
132,21-22 εταγμητ
masc. promise 137,25
εμαυ masc. companion, each other 138,12; 140,14
ετ-, ετε- who, which, that 132,10.15.21-22;
133,14.15.22-23.24.25; 134,9.12.17; 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
ετεκ ετη because of, on account of,
for the sake of, concerning, about 135,7,8;
136,16.17-18; 137,4; 138,12.14.16.20
ετεκ ναί for this reason 137,3; 139,24
ετεκ γι' why? 134,16; 135,2
εμοῦ masc. glory 139,26
εμονε cp. monē
εμονε interrogative, if 133,6; 138,15
ειέ indeed 139,[11]
eμει upon, on, over cp. me
εμει without cp. me
(70a) ει. μει (used as qualitative), μοι (used as imperative) come, go
133,7 εκεῖν
134,25 άνει
Letter of Peter to Philip

come together
enter into
come, go down (to), up (to)
then
the
know, understand
bring
masc. likeness
fem. misrepresentation
do, perform
Greek verbs
be (used with verbs)
masc. sight
(85a) eic behold
   eic ἴντε 140,22
(85b) εἰσορ. ἐν masc. father 133,21(bis).22; 135,14; 136,[1]; 137,28-29; 139,2,26
   εἰσορ. 137,27
   ἴδιος masc. fatherhood 136,28
(86b) εἰμί, ἐντ hang, crucify
   139,16 ἀνάψθω
   139,[18-19] ἔλαφη
(90b) κε other, rest 133,13; 140,8
   κεκομεν another time, again 134,2; 135,8; 137,14
(92b) κοίτι small
   κοίταικοιτί fem. smallness 138,20
(94b) κιν place
   κιν ἐφάτο κακ' place over
   135,23-24 ἄκακο ἐφάτο κακ' ἀναρχη
t(100b) κακ, κακ' strip off
   κακο κακ' strip
   137,6-7 ἐπετραπάκατι τινες κακίνα
(101b) κάκε masc. darkness 134,1
(104b) καλον masc. crown 139,17
(124a) κυρτε, κυρ' turn, go round
   κυρ' (reflexive) resume, return, repeat
   134,2 αὐκτοῦ
   138,10 αὐκτοῦ
   κυρ&tau;α seek
   134,2-9 οἰκοτη αἰωνι
(132b) κε: be envious, imitate
   ρέσκοι masc. rival 136,8
κακίνα cf. κακ
(153a) Μα masc. place 133,15; 134,25
   Μα Μας&tau; Dwelling place 134,24
   Μα 및 in place of 136,9,10
   Μα &tau; together 132,[19-20]; 133,3,10; 137,24
   Μα Μας&tau; there 138,7
(156a) Με, μερε- desire
   133,3 Μεκε&tau;ere-
   μετ&tau; beloved 132,14
Letter of Peter to Philip

(159a) χαιρε die, χαιρετε be mortal
135,26 ουμαυτη
136,13 ενυμωνυτ
136,19-20 ενοικουτ
136,22 ενοικουτ
137,9 ευςμουτ
139,20-21 επεμυκονυτ
πεπαθμουτ fem. immortality 134,5,7

(163a) αχαι be painful
χαιρε αχαι; suffer
138,16 αχαι ηρω
138,18 αχαι ηρω
138,19-20 ενεκνω συν αηρω
138,24 ενεκνω μας συν αηρω
138,27 ενεκνω συν αηρω
138,28 μας συν αηρω
139,22-23 πετενω μας συν αηρω
χαιρε αηρω masc. suffering 139,22

(166b) ηνηκε there is not, ηνηκεν not have
137,11 ηνηκαν ηνηκαν
cp. also ουκον

(169b) ηνηκε, ηνηκεν', ηνηκαν (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) ουκον masc. sign
† ουκον ε- indicate
139,12 αν ουκον ε-

(177a) ηνηκε masc. witness
† ηνηκε bear witness
135,5-6 εν ηνηκε
ηνηκε και ενηκε cp. he

(189a) ηνηκε, ηνηκαν enjoy, take pleasure
ηνηκαν ναι have, take pleasure in
133,24-25 ηνηκαν ναι

(190a) ηνηκε, emete greatly
emete 139,[5]

190b) ηνηκε fem. midst 137,9
(191b) ηνηκε call
133,14 φαινομενε
Text, Translation, Notes, Indices

(193b) ἤθος masc. rest 137,11; 140,4
(196b) ἡμείς cp. mate

(197a) ἡμέρα the place there (noun), ἡμέρα there

(202a) ἡμέρα fem. mother 135,12; 139,23

(203b) ἡμέρα think

(208a) ἡμέρα walk

(212b) ἡμέρα fill

(215a) ἡμέρα be filled

(215b) ἡμέρα masc. tomb 139,20

(216a) ἡμέρα definite article cp. ἡ-

(216a) ἡμέρα 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

(197a) ἡμέρα 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. 15,10,22; 139,17,18,24; 140,[3].5,7,11. 12,14,15,16-17

(215b) ἡμέρα 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) ἡμέρα 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

The entries for the varieties of ἡ- are listed according to the distinctions made in Crum 215a and following. In some cases, however, a precise categorization is difficult.
Letter of Peter to Philip

(218b) ἡ, ἡς, ἡν - possessive adjective cp. ἡν -
(219a) οὗτος - demonstrative pronoun cp. οὗτος -
(219b) οὗτος - possessive pronoun cp. οὗτος -
(219c) οὗτος (used as qualitative of ἐκ) come, go
(225b) ἐν - every 139,12, 140,18
(230a) ἔτος 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; 140,41.5.27
(230b) cp. also ἐς -
(230c) ἔχει masc. God 133,8
(231b-232b) ἔτος, ἔτη, ἔτος, ἔτος - personal pronoun cp. ἐς -
(232a) ἔτος -
(233b) ἔτος -
(235b) ἔμπνευσι - cp. ὑπνεύσι -
(239b) ἔμπνευσι - be good, ἔμπνευσι - good cp. ὑπνεύσι -
(243b) ἔμειναι - be saved 137,13 ἔμειναι -
(246a) ἐγίνθη - believe in
(247a) ἐγίνθη - believe
(247b) ἐγίνθη - believe
(250a) ἐγίνθη - believe
(250b) ἐγίνθη - believe
(251a) ἐγίνθη - believe
(252a) ἐγίνθη - believe
(253a) ἐγίνθη - believe
(254b) ἐμφανίζει - cp. ἐμφανίζει -
(257b) ἐμφατίζει - cp. ἐμφατίζει -
Text, Translation, Notes, Indices

τάσσαι οὖσιν preach
132,20-21 άστερα οὖσιν
140,12 οὖσιν εὐστήρα οὖσιν
140,25-26 εὐστήρα οὖσιν


(258b) η- possessive adjective

η-: τ-, τα-, η-: my 134,15; 137,27;
139,13 (bis).21,28; 140,19

η: your (masc. sing.) 133,25

η-, τη-, η-: his 136,12,28; 137,2; 139,10

η-, τη-: our 132,13,14,16,18; 133,1,6,7; 134,7; 138,15,20; 139, [2].13,15,28; 140, [3]. [4]

η-, τη-: your (pl.) 136,24; 137,12,28

η-, τη-: their 133,20; 134,22; 136,19;
138,11; 140,13

(259a) η- possessive article

133,15 ηάλικος: the (Mount) of (the) Olives, Olivet

(259a) η-: τ-, τα-, η- (masc.), η-: (fem.), η-, η- (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) με fem. heaven 138,5 (bis).7

(260a) η τα: over, above 137,17

(260b) μ (masc.) that (demonstrative pronoun)
134,12; 137,4.10,19; 138,27

(260b) η- (masc.), η- (pl.) possessive pronoun

μου, μου: mine 136,23; 137,6
Letter of Peter to Philip

(271b) παρεκλήσαι separate

παρεκλήσαι εἰκόνα (πορτρέτο) part, separate (from)

133,2 ἀνεκλήσαι εἰκόνα Ἰησοῦ
140,11-12 ἀνεκλήσαι εἰκόνα
140,24 ἀνεκλήσαι εἰκόνα 

(273b) πεπάτω fem. knee 133,20

(277a) ποιεῖς cp. ποιεῖν

(282b) μάρτυς masc. drug, medication

μάρτυς ε- heal

139,8-9 αὐτὸς μάρτυς ε-

(285a) ἔθεα, ἔθεα' said

139,10 ἔθεα
139,15 ἔθεα

(288a) πορεύσασθε masc. mouth

πορεύσασθε 139,9

(294b) ἰδιος masc. person, man 136,22; 137,9,22

(297b) ἰδιος masc. name 139,7; 140,19

(298b) ἱππας masc. temple 139,6

(302b) πατέρας masc. foot

πατέρας to the foot of, to cp. συν

(304b) ὑπερετήσει masc. manner, way

(308b) ἀγάλλιστον rejoice

135,26 ἀγάλλιστον
139,5 ἀγάλλιστον

(313a) ἐμαῖς masc. side

ἐμαῖς, ἐμοῖ back, after cp. κατά, ὑπὲρ ἐμαῖς

ἐμαῖς ὑπέρ within, inner cp. ἐμαῖς

(319a) καθιστά masc. wise person, καθιστά fem. teaching

† καθιστά teach

132,20 καθιστά καθιστά
137,24 † καθιστά
139,6-7 αὐτὸς καθιστά

(334b) σῆμα fem. voice 134,13; 135,3; 137,10; 138,21; 139,13

σῆμα ε- listen to

134,15 σῆμα ε-
139,13 σῆμα ε-
(335a) choy praise
   136,5 eaychoy
     masc. praise 136,7; 138,9
(342b) con, chwy (pl.) masc. brother 132,13.15.16;
     133,6; 139,13.21.28
(349b) con masc. time
     Wrecon another time, again 134,2; 135,8;
     137,14
     W reel: Reon many times, often 138,23
(351a) seehe masc. remainder, others 133,13
(362a) conse redeem
     recscere masc. redeemer 134,7
(363b) cawh hear, hearken
     133,24 cawh
     134,1 cawh
     136,23-24 aycawh
     136,25 etaycauh
     cawh -Nca- hearken to, obey
     139,28-29 Ncawcawh -Nca-
     Ncawcawh fem. disobedience 135,10-11
(369b) cooyh, cooyh know, recognize
     136,1 cecooyn
     136,20-21 Nooycooyh
(372b) cooyh gather
     133,12 aycawoyh:
     133,15-16 eaycooyh:
     140,[2] aycowoyh:
     140,13 aycowoyh:
(385b) cawhe masc. provision, agreement
     oya: cawhe masc. command 135,13
     cawhe cp. coyn
(390a) τ-, τε-, τα- definite article cp. n-
(390a) τα-, τετ-, τεθ-, τεθα- possessive adjective
     cp. na-
(390b) τα- demonstrative pronoun cp. na-
(392a) τα- give
     134,8 naτ
     136,26 aττ
     140,5 naτ
Letter of Peter to Philip

† ἠμ— fight against
135,2 σεφ ἠμακ
137,10 ετεραφ ἠμ—
137,16 ετεραφ ἠμ—
137,20–21 ετεραφ ἠμακαγ
137,21–22 εὑρ ἠμ—
137,23 ετεραφ ἠμακαγ
† γυματ put on
139,17–18 ἄντρο γυματ
† ματιν cp. ματιν
† κοθ cp. καρκ
† σομ cp. σομ
πατω cp. πατω

(402a) tωμει masc. prayer 137,29
(405a) τακο, τακοντι be corruptible
137,7 ετακοντι
(410a) τεματα rejoice
133,11 ετεματα
(411b) τακεστο masc. healing 140,11
(413a) ταθιο make
136,8–9 εταθιο
(413b) τασο, τασο’ tell
137,15 καταθιο
(416a) τυμεσ, τοματ’ bury
139,19 ατυματι
(419b) τραγου, τραγοτ’ send
τραγοτ’ εσται ζν— send down in
136,17 ατραγοτι εσται ζν—
(424a) τηθ’ whole, all 132,19; 135,6,27; 140,[17]
(425a) τοφε fem. hand
Εθικ—, Ετοτι in, to, from 132,17; 138,8
cp. xi, ιντο
εσολ γιθι— by 132,22–133,1
(430b) τωφ’ carry
138,5–6 ατωφθη
(440b) τογο masc. mountain 133,14; 134,11
(441b) ταγο, ταγ’ send
137,30 αταγοτι
(445a) τωγος, τως' rise
τως' εσων γη- rise from
139,20 άττωμα εσων γη-

(446b) τογος set up
135,14-15 ετογος

(449b) τωρη, τωρ' orient, situate, assign
133,4 εντογη
136,11 αττωρ

(452b) τωρη, τωρε- increase cp. ωιεω

(467b) ογ-, γ-', γε-, γερ' (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.[9].
20.21(bis).27(bis)

(467b) ογ what?
 στης ογ why? 134,16; 135,2

(469a) ογα masc. one

(470a) ογαλ', ογατ' -self, alone
135,5 ογατηγη

(480a) ογοειν masc. light 133,22; 134,6.10; 135,4;
138,12
ʃ oγοειν shine
134,11 ιτη- ʃ oγοειν

(481a) ογον there is, ογητα' have, possess
133,22-23 ετεγηται
134,26 ογηται

(482a) ογον someone
ογον ηιι everyone 140,18

(482b) ογον open
139,9 άγονη

(486a) ογονάτ, ογονάτε reveal
ογονάτ εσων appear, express
134,9-10 άγονη την εσων
134,12-13 άταγονειν εσων
135,12 άταγονειν εσων
137,19 λευγονάτε εσων
Letter of Peter to Philip

137,27-28 οὐκ ἀνεισόλοικος
138,6 οὐκ ἀνεισόλοικος
140,16 ἀνεισόλοικος

(487b) οὐ νήμ, οὐ νήμ be holy
133,25-26 τοιούτα
139,14 οὐ νήμ
140,10 οὐ νήμ

(488b) οὐ νήμ, οὐ νήμ how much?
138,16 οὐ νήμ

(500a) οὐ νήμ want, would like
132,16 οὐ νήμ
134,21 οὐ νήμ
135,14 οὐ νήμ
136,8 οὐ νήμ
137,12 οὐ νήμ

(502b) οὐ νήμ answer
134,19 οὐ νήμ
138,17 οὐ νήμ

(504a) οὐ νήμ worship
137,14 οὐ νήμ οὐ νήμ

(505b) οὐ νήμ set, put
οὐ νήμ set down, bring down, follow
135,16 οὐ νήμ
οὐ νήμ γίγνεται ch. γίγνεται

(511b) οὐ νήμ masc. salvation 132,21; 137,2,25; 139,7

(520a) οὐ νήμ οὐ νήμ hold, enclose
οὐ νήμ οὐ νήμ confine within
135,25 οὐ νήμ οὐ νήμ

(525a) οὐ νήμ masc. life 134,4; 139,28

(533a) οὐ νήμ read, sound
133,9-10 καταληφθὼς
οὐ νήμ cry out
134,13-14 λόγῳ οὐ νήμ
137,18 λόγῳ οὐ νήμ

(541b) οὐ νήμ, οὐ νήμ to 134,14; 137,18; 138,21; 140,13
οὐ νήμ for ever 134,14; 140,23

(546a) οὐν masc. tree, cross 139,19
(547b) αἷο measure
αὐτῷ αἷο immesurablen 139,27
(553a) οὖθε friend, fellow
φίλος fellow; apostle 132,14
(559a) οἴην pray
133,20 ἀνασάμα
134,2-3 ἀνασάμα
(565b) οἴησο stranger (noun) 136,2-3; 139,21
(567a) οἴησε serve
136,4 ἀνασάμα
(569a) οἴην seek
134,16 τῆς γνώσης
οἴη news, ὡρογγίσε good news,
γίνεται tell good news
133,5 καὶ ὃς ὡρογγίσε
(573a) φαντε feem, thorn 139,17
(574b) οἴην, ὁνε take
οἴη λοιπὸν cp. οἴην
(577b) οἴην become, come into being, come forth, make
φαντε be
133,27 ἀνασάμα
134,5 εὐγγέλ
134,17-18 εὐγγέλ
135,19 ἀνασάμα
136,17[1] ἀνασάμα
136,15 εὐγγέλ
137,3-4 ἀνασάμα
137,8 εὐγγέλ
138,12-13 εὐγγέλ
138,13 ἀνασάμα
140,19-20 εὐγγέλ
φαντε ἐξ ὁνε come from, come into being from
135,3-4 αἰ νομε ἐξ ὁνε
136,13-14 ἀνασάμα ἐξ ὁνε
138,4-5 ἀνασάμα ἐξ ὁνε
φαντε ἐξ ὁνε come unto
138,21 αἰ νομε ἐξ ὁνε
οἴην when 137,6
ἐφ αὐτον cp. ἐφαν τον
ἐφ αὐτον cp. ἐφαν
Letter of Peter to Philip

(584a) ὧμερος masc. son 134,3-4.4.6; 139,26
(586b) ὑπάρχει be early, ὑπάρχει first, before

Ἰ. ὑπάρχον ἔχον may previously

138,2 ἐκ τοῦ ὑπάρχον ἔχον

Ἱ. ὑπάρχον be preexistent

136,1-2 ἐκ τοῦ ὑπάρχον

(590b) ἀκούω masc. deficiency 134,21-22; 135,[9].10. 20(bis); 137,3

(612b) ἀκούει speak

135,8 ἀκούει

135,15-16 ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούει

ἀκούει ἐκ- speak with

136,22-23 ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούει ἐκ-

138,11 ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούει ἐκ-

masc. word, statement, message 134,15; 138,14; 140,25

(615b) ἀνακυκλώσως take counsel, consider

ἡμιακυκλώσως fem. foolishness 135,11

(616b) ἀφαίρεσθαι leave behind

135,17 ἐκ τοῦ ἀφαίρεσθαι

(620a) ἡ take

136,28 ἡ

(625a) τριῶν four 140,25

(630b) ἄνω, ἄνω yea

ἄνω 134,1

(637a) ἐκ fall

ἐκ εἰσορα fall away

136,18 εἰσορα εἰσορα

(638b) ἐς fem. way, manner 137,16

ὡς ἐς how? 133,4-5

ὡς in this way, thus 133,20; 137,21.23; 139,15

κατὰ ὡς, ἐς as, just as, like 133,24;

136,24; 137,13-12; 138,2

(643b) ἐς- cp. ἔνως

(643b) ἐς, ἐς ὡς on, in 139,[17-18] (cp. ὡς)

ἐντὸν on the way 138,12

(645b) ἐς cp. ἔνως

(646a) ἐς fem. road, way

ἐντὸν on the way 138,12
(651b) ζωντ' too, also, self 138,19; 140,6
ζω'- 136,24-25
(653a) ζων masc. thing 139,12,24
(661b) ζωοκ; ζωοκ' gird
ζωοκ' ἔφατι ζήν- gird with
137,26 ζωοκευτόν ἔφατι ζήν-
(681a) ζμότ masc. grace 140,21
ζμότ ζμότ ζήν- give thanks to
138,8 ζμότ ζμότ ζήν-
(683a) ζήν- ζήν- before n, ζήντε in, with, through
133,11.17.23; 134,1.5.24; 137,9.24.25;
138,3; 139,7.11.14.19.23; 140,9.27(bis)
εξοικ ζήν- from, with, (out) of 134,12;
135,3-4; 136,14.14-15; 137,18-19;
138,5; 139,20
ἔφατι ζήν- in, with, within 132,21; 136,11;
137,2; 138,9; 139,7.25.30
ἔφατι ζήν- down in 136,17
Ῥεφαί ζήν- with 137,26 (cp. ζωοκ)
(685b) ζούν masc. inner
ζούν ε- within, into 135,25; 136,27
ζαούν within, inner 137,22
(696a) ζωότε it is necessary 138,19.23,24-25
(698a,700a) ἔφατι masc. upper part, ἔφατι masc. lower part
ἔφατι ζήν- cp. ζή
ἔφατι ε- up, over, down
cp. κα', κα', ζευογ
ἕφατι ε- to, down to, up to 136,19;
138,7.10; 139,5-6.6; 140,25
ἕφατι εἐκ- cp. κα'
Ῥεφαί ζήν- cp. ζή
(704b) ζοοῦ masc. voice, sound
ζοούθε masc. thunder 138,5
(714a) ζητ masc. heart
ζητε ἔπιτ cp. ζητε
᾿ἐκζητε cp. ζητε
(719b) ζητε cp. ζητε
(723b) ζωθ' ζωθ' kill
134,9 ζωθ' ζωθ'
(724b) ζίζη cp. τυρπ
Letter of Peter to Philip

(730a) ὀνυ τις masc. day
ἔονυ today 136,25

(732b) ἔνυος, ἔνυ— throw
ἔνυ ἐνυοῦσε cp. ὡμεν

(741b) ἀλα many
ἀλα ἀλα many times, often 138,23

(746b) ἕρ that, so that, because; quotation indicator
132,[16].19.20; 133.4.5.6.15.21; 134.3.15.20.23; 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) ἄξι, ἄξι ἁρεί receive, take
133.8 ἄγερες ἄξιον
135.22 ἀξιωματικος
ἀξι ἀξιοῦ receive from
132.17 ἀρχι; ἀξιοῦ
ἀξι ἐκαῖ cp. ἐκαῖ
ἀξι σεῖ cp. σεῖ

(752a) ἔσε, ἔσε cp. σεῖ
135.22 ἐκσει

(754a) ἔσε, ἔσε cp. σεῖ cp. σεῖ say
133.20-21 εὐχε
134.3 εὐχε
134.14 εὐχεω
134.15 εὐχεως
134.20 εὐχεω
135.4 εὐχεω
135.6 ἐκμεταλλεύον
137.14 εὐχεω
137.19 εὐχεω
138.14 εὐχεω
138.17 εὐχεω
138.22 εὐχεω
138.22 ἐξικεσ
140.3 εὐχεω
140.14-15 εὐχεω
140.16 εὐχεω

℗ ἀνήρ ἔσε cp. ἀνήρ
Text, Translation, Notes, Indices

(756a) ἔκωε masc. head
   ἔκωε, ἔκωε upon, on, over 133,13.19;
   135,24; 139,19
   ἐπὶ ἔκωε, ἔκωε because of, over 136,6;
   135,23-24 (cp. κω).

(764a) ἔκαλας so that 139,3

(778b) ἔκαγ, ἔκαγ bring forth
   135,28 ἀγγάγογ

(787b) ἔχος masc. lord 132,18; 133,1; 134,20-21;
   137,15; 138,9.14.[15]; 139,8.11.25;
   140,[3].12-13

(788b) ἔχει exalt, be high
   ἔχει εἶναι be high-hearted, become haughty
   136,6 ἄχει εἶναι

(790b) ἔχειτ masc. olive
   ἔχειτο masc. the (Mount) of Olives,
   Olivet 133,15

(793a) ἔχομ, ἔχομ send
   132,10-11 ἐγάμμογεν

(800b) ἔχομε be stained
   ἔχομε purple 139,18

(802a) -εις so, then 135,22; 138,16

(805a) ἐλθε be weak
   ἐλθείν be weak-hearted, afraid
   140,21-22 ἐλθείν

(815b) ἐχων fem. power, mighty deed 135,2.23.27;
   136,7.11; 137,10.26; 140,7.27
   ἐχων 134,8; 140,21
   Ῥ ἐχων give power
   136,3-4 ἐρείατ ἐχων
   cp. also 134,8 ἐχων
CHAPTER III

GRAMMAR

Pages 132-40 of Codex VIII, preserved in a much better state than most of the pages of this fragmentary codex, 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 ἀποστόλος, έμω, ἔνοχος, ἔνθα, and the like), as well as a number of more mundane words, such as particles (for example ἀ κός and ἦν), prepositions (for example κατά), and conjunctions (for example ἀλλά and ἢ). This evidence is not conclusive, however, since such loan words were widely used in Coptic literature.

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 analysis 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 σωμ, which in two instances (134,8; 140,21) departs from the standard Sahidic spelling and is copied as σώμ. According to Crum (815b), σώμ is the spelling attested in the Achimic, Subachimic, and Fayyumic dialects. In addition, the tractate illustrates itacism, using ɛ instead of ʌ in σώμ. In this connection we might also note the spelling of σώμ (134,8; 136,2; 137,2.12.16), σώμ (137,29.29-30), and σώμ (132,15). Special plural forms can be utilized in the tractate: σώμ, plural of σωμ, is used at
132,15; 139,13.21.28. In typical Coptic fashion, neuter Greek nouns become masculine in the Ep. Pet. Phil.; for example, ἀριστα 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 α- are the usual forms, though συ-, †-, and α- are also attested. π-, †-, and α- may be utilized instead of τε-, τε-, and α- before words beginning with double consonants, such as πισογ (136,7) and άρισταν (135,11); † may also be used with ειρήνηn, hence †ειρήνη (140,17). Before τε, however, a more α- is used, for the τε is sonant. In the other cases where the Ep. Pet. Phil. prefers π-, †-, and α-, it may very well be that the definite article has more demonstrative force. In the former case, τε is to be anticipated before a word beginning with double consonants or a consonant followed by a semi-consonant (τι), though as we have seen the Ep. Pet. Phil. prefers π-, †-, and α- in such situations. In the latter case, the use of α- may have been established by the Christian tradition in Egypt, where ἥπερ δ Χριστός was translated as το αυτό. He, τε, and α are also used as copulas in non-verbal sentences; and the definite article in general functions in a vocative manner. A couple of times (133,17; 139,11) the phrase ἀριστα is used without the definite article—indeed, without any article at all—and seems to function in an idiomatic fashion. This article 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 oμ contracts to γ several times (132,19; 133,3.18; 134,13; 135,3; 136,12; 137,10.24; 138,21; 139,9); in each instance the contraction takes place, in the usual fashion, after α or ε. A few times—six to be precise—an initial α is doubled before the singular indefinite
article: ἤνογεαν (134,8), ἤνογεικέοι (136,9), [ἵνογικέαι] (136,[9], on the basis of 136,9-10), ἤνογεικάφε (136,10-11), ἤνογεικτούσα (136,26), and ἤνογεικται (139,18). In each case but one the root word before which the ἦ is doubled is a Greek loan word. Each doubled ἦ functions as a nota accusativi with ἃ or τὰ ἂν, except for 136,[9] and 136,10-11, where the ἦ functions as the genitive particle in the phrase εἰς ἦνα ἀκοι 16 yet it should be acknowledged that more often in this treatise the ἦ is not doubled before ἀν.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 ἅνωθεν at 137,5, the relative uses the plural ἦς; with the ἅνως at 139,22, the relative utilizes the masculine singular ἦς, as we have already noted; in the other instances only ἄν occurs. When the nonverbal clause includes the personal pronoun ἅνως, the resultant construction is reminiscent of ἔγω εἶμι, the self-declaration often termed an aretological statement; the ἅνως 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 ἅνως is the emphatic subject of the imperative ψυχής). In three instances (136,5; 137,28; 138,15) ἅνως is utilized to emphasize the noun functioning as subject of a clause, and acts practically as a pronominal demonstrative; thus at 137,28 ἅνως is translated as "surely." At 138,16 the pronoun ἅνως 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. μεξα is used upon two occasions (μεξα: 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 ε/α/γ γνωμενα χε, is a more customary quotation formula. 18 ουμ- and ηνη- are not used in the Ep. Pet. Phil., but ουματα and ηνητα are; the former occurs as ουματα (134,26) and the relative ουματα (133,22-23); the υ contracts to γ after ε), the latter occurs as ηνηταγ (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 ε-, 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 ουμω, a verb which is complemented by the conjunctive at 132,16, and by γινα with the conjunctive at 137,12-13. The causative infinitives (πατερειν, 133,3; επεμεληει, 138,19-20; εσπεμεληει, 138,24; εσπεμεληει, 138,25) also are introduced with ε- in all but one of the examples; in this case πατερει serves as a noun after ηνητηενε, and consequently is prefixed with the masculine singular definite article or demonstrative ηι-. 20 The three causative infinitives introduced with ε- all function in proper Coptic fashion, as complements of the impersonal verbal form ομην. 21

The imperatives are used in a regular fashion. In most instances, the imperative is expressed by means of the simple infinitive, such as ουμθε (133,24; 134,1), χε (134,15; 139,12), ἃ (νουμ; 137,24), ιματ (137,26), and ουμηπ (137,27). In a few cases certain of the special forms are used: ματ (134,8; 140,5), the imperative prefix μα- along with the infinitive ἃ, which is used in the Ep. Pet. Phil. as well as ἃ to express the
imperative of ἀνδραῖον (137,15), which uses the prefix ἀν- to express the imperative of ἀνδραίος and ἀνδριθοῦ (137,23-24), which is used to express the plural imperative of ἀν. The negative imperative is in evidence on one or two occasions in the tractate: certainly at 140,1-22 (ὦ Πρεσβύτερο! and probably also at 138,1 ἤμεν; [1] ἦς). The verbs of the present system are also regular in the ἐπ. Pet. Φιλ. 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; 134,6-9.16.21.23-24; 135,6-7; 135,12), each time in a regular fashion; two of those occurrences (136,1-2; 137,12) utilize the negative form of the Ἰ- prefix with ἄν. In ten other instances the present relative occurs (ἐπιστολή, 133,25-26; ἐπιστολή, 134,5; ἐπιστολή, 134,17-18; ἐπιστολή, 135,5; ἐπιστολή, 135,26; ἐπιστολή, 136,11; ἐπιστολή, 136,19-20; ἐπιστολή, 137,7; ἐπιστολή, 139,20-21; ἐπιστολή, 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 ὁ- 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 ἡ τρόπη 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 ἐπ. Pet. Φιλ. (ἐπιστολή, 133,11; ἐπιστολή, 133,20-21; ἐπιστολή, 134,3; ἐπιστολή, 134,14; ἐπιστολή, 135,4; ἐπιστολή, 136,13; ἐπιστολή, 136,22; ἐπιστολή, 137,9; ἐπιστολή, 137,14; ἐπιστολή, 137,19; ἐπιστολή, 137,21; ἐπιστολή, 138,10-11; ἐπιστολή, 138,14; ἐπιστολή, 138,17; ἐπιστολή, 138,22; ἐπιστολή, 139,14; ἐπιστολή, 140,3; ἐπιστολή, 140,10; ἐπιστολή, 140,14-15; ἐπιστολή, 140,16). These circumstantial forms 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 ἠμας in a quotation formula. A circumstantial is used instead of a relative to modify a noun when the antecedent is indefinite; thus a circumstantial form of ἡμοῖος is utilized instead of ἡμοῖοι after σιναχά (136,13), ὁμόμοιος (136,22), and ἀνθρωπε (137,9), and ἔννοια is used after ὁμοίων at 139,14 and 140,10. Furthermore, ἀντὶ (137,21) has an almost independent character, and seems to function with ἦς.
to communicate a causal meaning, while ἐγέρθη (138,10-11) has
more of a temporal meaning. 27

The present is converted to the imperfect by means of a
prefixed ἦν- to form ἐγείρεσα (136,21) and ἐθνοῦσα (137,19).
In the latter case the imperfect is constructed as a relative.
On two occasions the verbal stem is converted with a prefixed
ὅλ- to form ἀγαθόν (134,20) and Ἐτούμα (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 ἦν- 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 ἦν- are intended to emphasize the more continu-
ous 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 ἦν- is the usual prefix for the sec-
ond perfect in Sahidic, ἐτα- and ἦν- are attested as dialectical
forms, and the prefix ἐτα- 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 empha-
size the direct statement; in 138,11 it may be suggested that
the scribe could have intended to emphasize the adverbial ele-
ment of the sentence, the introductory temporal clause or, more
probably, the concluding ἐταθε phrase. Here we are suggesting
that the two verbal forms with ἦν- 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 (ἔρχομαι, 135,0; ἐφανεῖον, 137,29. 30), the
relative (ἔταθα, 137,10, with ἐρχομαι in a cleft sentence; ἔτασθα,
137,16, with ἔρχεται; and in addition ἔτε ἔτασθα: αὐτοῦ, 138,28,
with the negative prefix and particle), and the circumstantial
(ETYTHAK, 137,6, used with XE in a temporal or conditional clause; ETYTHAK, 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 ΕΗΑΤΟΗ at 133,4 provides stress for ΗΑΗ ΗΞ: the use of ΗΑΗ at 134,25 places stress on the concluding interrogative phrase; the use of ΕΘΥΜΑΝΕ at 137,8 may give added emphasis to the ηο ηο, or, more plausibly, to the concluding prepositional phrase; and the ΕΘΥΜΑ at 137,20 emphasizes the ΗΞ. The scribe of the tractate can also utilize the second future with ηε in final clauses (so with ΕΗΑΗ, 132,19; ΕΗΑΗ, 132,20; ΕΗΑΗ, 133,5). Such a use of the second future with ηε is attested in Coptic literature, although, as in this tractate, it is more customary to find a final clause utilizing ηε with the third future. 31 The third future occurs in a final clause with ηε at several places in the tractate (so with ΕΕΗ, 133,7; ΕΕΕΕ, 134,15; ΕΕΕΕΕ, 136,12; ΕΕΗ, 136,27; ΕΕΕΕ, 140,12; ΕΕΕΕ, 140,25-26). In addition, the third future may be used in a final sense with ΗΗΑΑΑ (ΕΕΕ ηε, 139,3) and, in one instance, with both ηηηη and ηε (ΕΕΕΕΕ, 140,6-7). 32 In two other instances the third future is also used (ΕΕΕΕΕ, 137,23; ΕΕΕΕ, 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 ΕΕΕΕEEE seems to strengthen the second future form ΕΕΕΕ at 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 ΕΕΕΕ 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;\textsuperscript{34} two of these times it is used in the
negative, which is constructed in the normal fashion in the
tractate, with ἡ (στ.) 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; 139,14-5; 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 pos-
sess all the appropriate prefixes and the subjects are indi-
cated by ἡςι. 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 ἡςι, as subjects of the first perfect
verbs. The perfect relative occurs in two forms; more often
than not the prefix ἔτα is attached to the verbal stem
(ἔσταξονος, 132,10-11; ἔγειον, 132,21-22; ἔκαθησόμενος, 133,
24-25; ἔσταξομεν, 134,12-13; ἔκαθησθεν, 136,25; ἔταγο, 138,2;
πετάγομεν, 138,6), but on five occasions the prefix ἔτα is
utilized (πετάγη, 136,3-4; ἔκαθησε, 136,15; ἔσταξε, 136,18;
πετάγησε, 138,12-13; πετάξας, 139,22-23). Both of these
forms differ from the usual Sahidic form. ἔτα as a first
perfect relative prefix is a dialectical form attested in
Bohairic, Achnamic, and Fayyumic, and only occasionally in
Subachnamic, and ἔτα also represents a different dialect.\textsuperscript{35}
Finally, the first perfect circumstantial occurs three times as
well in the tractate (ἵκαπος, 136,5; ἔκαθησα, 137,29-30;
πετάγει, 137,30); in each of these instances the perfect
circumstantial may connote a sense of time prior to that of the
main verb.\textsuperscript{36}
A precise identification of the two verbal forms prefixed
with ἡ- (ἵκαπος, 134,20; ἔσταξε, 138,11) is, as we have seen,
not easy to make. The forms could conceivably indicate a dia-
lectical form of either the imperfect or the second perfect.
Three verbs occur in the first habitus (πραγματεύεσθαι) in the Ῥ. Pet. Phil., and these three verbal forms
are constructed in a regular manner. ηὐδακτρίη (133,2) is the
preterite form of the habitus, ἔτε θαυμάζετε (133,14) is the
relative form, and ἔτε ὑπαγέων (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 habitus: 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. ἡ ὑπαγέων occurs at 139, 28-29, and is constructed in the usual manner, with ἡ ὑ- prefixed to the causative infinitive form ἔτε’.

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 (Ἐντέκατε, 132,20-21), after the causative infinitive (Ἐνέργεια, 133,4), and after the negative optative (Ἐνεπικοινώνει, 139,30). In addition, the conjunctive is used twice after the Greek conjunction τοῦτο in a result clause (Ἐνε- 7, 134,11; Ἐνε-ανατ, 138,27). Two other times the conjunctive functions as a verbal complement after γίνομαι (Ἐνεγίνε, 132,16; Ἐνε-εισ, 137,13). 37 In the first instance the ἐν- is of interest, since this prefix is used frequently in Fayumic, ἐν- being the more usual form in Sahidic. 38 In the second instance, the conjunctive is introduced by the Greek loan word σείμα.

The seven past temporal (temporalia) verbal forms deserve particular attention. Three times (Ἐνε-εισ, 133,8; Ἐνε-ποιεῖοντο, 133,9-10; Ἐνε-γύοι, 133,18) the past temporal conforms to standard Sahidic, but on four other occasions the dialectical form ἔτα’ is utilized (Ἐνε-γίνε, 135,12, with the ἔτα- prefixing the subject partly emended at 135,10; Ἐνε-ανατέ, 135,15-16; Ἐνε-εισ, 135,17; Ἐνε-εισ, 135,22, with ἔτα- prefixing the subject). The context makes it clear that past temporal forms are desired here, and the Bohairic ἔτα’ 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 (εὐαγγέλις Ἰησοῦ), 133,14 (ἐμαυωτε ἐρωτ.), 134,23-24 (ἐκαθήσατε Ἰησοῦ), 135,28 (λεγενδο), apparently 136,3-4 (μετεωρεύοντες αὐτῷ), 136,17 (ἀκυροῖς), possibly 137,1 (ἐμοί, ἐγώ | ἔμετο), most likely 137,5 (ἐκαθήσατε Ἰησοῦ), 136,5-6 (λυτρώς ῥή-), probably 138,25 (ἐκτεῖσθαι ὑμῖν), 139,16 (ἀγγελία), 139,18-19 (ἀγγελία), and 139,19 (ἀγγελικά).

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 scribe hand of Codex VIII—the so-called “majority hand”—is a clear and attractive hand; the letters are formed with considerable consistency and grace. Such a scribe hand—in contrast to the scribe hand of, for example, the first two tracts of Codex XI—allows for some confidence in the restoration of letters where only a portion of the letter now remains. 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 scribe marks. The scribe also utilized indentation or ekthesis (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, to separate sentences and sense units) and διολο (132,11, at the end of the title where it is followed by a διπλο ὑπελείμμα, 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 διπλο ὑπελείμμα; scribal strokes like the coronis of paragraphae in the margin (after 132,11; 136,15; 138,16; and 140,15—always, it seems, in conjunction with the διολο); and extra space on the line itself (139,21,28; 140,15—after the διολο, or after a supralinear dot at a clear break in the text of the speech of
Again, the scribe also made extensive use of abbreviations, particularly of common nomina sacra, Æ for ἀγαθός, άτι for χριστός, άθη for ἀθήνα, άτη for ἀθηναί, and perhaps χε for χαίρειν.

Furthermore, in at least two instances a scribe (or a later reader) emended the text that was first written. At 134, 22 a λ apparently has been corrected to a γ, and at 138,14 an γ seemingly has been corrected over a ά. 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 ά.

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 a 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 χε[πε] rather than χε at 132,15.

Finally, a few comments should be made on the matter of dialectical 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 εάν does not conform to the standard Sahidic spelling εάμ, the imperfects (or second perfects) represent forms attested in dialects other than Sahidic, the εάν perfect relative and past temporal verbs are forms known in the dialects, and the conjunctive prefix έᾱ- is
also found in Fayyumic. In addition, it may be noted that the interjection ἀλο (134,1) is attested in this form in Bohairic, and ἀλο is also to be found in Fayyumic, but the usual form in standard Sahidic is ἀλο or ἀλο; the forms ἀλο and ἀλο, however, are also known in Sahidic and old idiomatic Coptic.43 The interrogative pronoun ἀγνη (138,16) is to be found in Bohairic manuscripts, ἀγνη being the usual form in Sahidic; here too, however, the form ἀγνη is also used in both Sahidic and Bohairic manuscripts, and sometimes in the sense of a qal wa-homer.44 Again, the prepositional form ἀρή with the second plural suffix (140,22) is found in Fayyumic, though with the second plural suffix ἀρή (Achmimic and Subachmimic)45 ought also to lengthen the second e to ἀ.46 According to Crum (169b), the form ἀρή is also known in “Sar”47 and Fayyumic. ἀρην (137,7) is described by Crum (405a) as the Bohairic form of the qualitative of ἀρη, the standard Sahidic form being ἀρη(τ).48 Thee 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 ἀρη.49 ὁναξ- (135,13) has been identified as an Achmimic, Bohairic, and Fayyumic form of ὁναξ (ὤναξ) in the expression ὁναξ ἀρη, though ὁναξ is attested in certain Sahidic constructions as well.50 Again, ὁν (133,5) makes use of the Sahidic and Subachmimic form of ὁν (ὤν), the Bohairic and Fayyumic form being ὁν; 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 ἀ (138,16) is utilized in the usual Subachmimic form; but although the standard Sahidic form is ἀ, Crum (645b) cites one instance where ἀ is also attested in Sahidic.52 Finally, the pronominal form χο (138,22; probably also at 134,15) is known as a Subachmimic and Bohairic pronominal form of χο, the Sahidic (and also the Subachmimic) being attested as χο.53

Furthermore, Hans-Martin Schenke and Orval Wintemute have also contributed some additional observations on dialectical matters. Schenke has suggested that 133,24–26 be restored as ετα[χ]ρώματί ἅν ἐκάλα τοῦ γαλακτο καὶ ἐπεχείρησε, and thus has solved the dilemma of this lacuna. It has been known, of course, that
Grammar

MATTOY is the Sahidic form of the qualitative of MATE, 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. In the Oxyrhynchite text of Acts 9:22 a clause occurs which is not to be found in either the Sahidic or the Bohairic: τῷ άμω σε αυτῷ τῶν υπέρ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, "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 βεγ', ΧΡΙΣΤ', Wolf-Peter Funk has thus suggested that άμω is an Oxyrhynchite and ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ a Sahidic form of the infinitive of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

Oval Winternute has provided a couple of additional suggestions on some constructions in our tractate. According to him, the difference in form between ἐν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ (133,4-5) and ἐν ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ (134,26) may be due to dialectical influence, the former being Sahidic and the latter perhaps Bohairic. 57 Again, Winternute suggests that the use of the relative with the demonstrative ἡ (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 μετὰ τοῦ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ 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 Subachmic, 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 Fabrau. 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 ετα- 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 (ετα ημερες και γης και φωνη, 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.51

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.\textsuperscript{62}

Whatever may be the case with the dialectical variants, the philological peculiarities of our tractate remain, and provide a variegated texture for the \textit{Ep. Pat. Phil.}
NOTES

CHAPTER III

1 In addition to the minor lacunae, which can be filled with considerable confidence, the Σp. Πet. Φιλ. 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.

2 See 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: δύναμις (δύναμις), ἤπατος (ἡπάτος), ἑπτά (ἑπτά).

3 More 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 tracts. In the Σp. Πet. Φιλ. 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 imperativial endings (see Till, Koptische Grammatik, §§280). Greek idioms (for example ἕν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνόματος) 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. 217).

4 This 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 Wintzermute ( "The Verbal System of VIII, 8").

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

6 ὀμνοὐ occurs at 134,22; 135,9,15,21,25; ἀσώμον is never used in the tractate. Note also ἄγων at 136,9. On the other hand, ἀγων is used at 140,27, and ἄγων at 136,15. On itacism in the Greek of the period see BFV, §§22-25. Here it may also be observed that the Σp. Πet. Φιλ. tends to prefer the ἕ alone instead of ἕν in Coptic words. Thus two rather than ὀμνοῖ occurs at 134,12. ἠν 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 ἕ, and in the latter instance the prefixed possessive adjective as- (with its concluding i) may account for the spelling ἠν. (Though still likely, the ἕ of ἠν is visually uncertain, since only a trace of ink is visible in this damaged section of papyrus.)

7 See Till, Koptische Grammatik, §76.
Letter of Peter to Philip

8. n- at 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. n- at 134, 7; 135, [1]; 10, 11, 13; 136, 15, 27; 137, 26; 140, 17. n-: at 133, 15, 23; 135, 2, 21, 25, 27; 136, 7, 11; 137, 10, 16, [17], 21; 140, 8.

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

10. See Till, Koptische Grammatik, §87: ὅθεν ὁμον, when τ is often written as ὅ before an introductory ει.

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

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


14. Note ὅ as a copula at 134, 17; 135, [10], 20; 136, 16; 137, 3; 139, 22, 27; ὅ at 137, 16; ὅ at 136, 1; ὅ is used with a relative clause in a cleft sentence at 136, 3 and 139, 22, and ὅ at 137, 6; see Till, Koptische Grammatik, §247; H. J. Polotsky, "Nominalsätze und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen." Gr 31 (1932) 413-30: more examples above, p. 71. ὅθεν with ἀνοίγω at 139, 22 presents no real difficulty, and is attested in Coptic (Till, Koptische Grammatik, §246); Polotsky, "Nominalsätze," 419-20. ὅ can also be used with the feminine ὅ (ISIS) in line 94 of the great magical papyrus of Paris (Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574); see PGM 1.70.

15. See 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].


17. See 133, 27; 135, 17-19-20, 22; 136, 7-8; 137, 4, 11; 139, [17]; 140, 5.

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

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


22. See Till, Koptische Grammatik, §298; Crum, 392b. Perhaps ὅ is utilized as the imperative in 137, 24 because of the idiomatic phrase ὅ μοι; note also the opinion of Lefort cited in Till, Koptische Grammatik (§298 n. 11).
Grammar 87

23 The relative prefix can also be used in a nonverbal manner, as at 132.15; 136.23; 137.6.22; 138.7.

24 The same sort of quotation formula can be used in the Coptic (Sahidic) NT. Note, for example, Acts 8:24: ἔνθεν ἦν γείων ἀνήκοι εἰς Ἰτεόν Χαί; or again, Luke 19:16: Ἀναγόρασος δὲ εἰς ἔρχεσθαι Ἰτεόν Χαί.

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

26 On the independent use of such verbal forms, see ibid., §334. ετή could be understood as a second present form, in which case the καθ phrase of 137.22 could be stressed.

27 On the nonverbal use of the circumstantial prefix ε- with a preposition, note 133.17; 138.3; 139.11.


29 No neat pattern can be seen in the use of καθ- and καθ- in our tractate. Although the imperfects with καθ- occur within the general context of the revelatory answers of Christ, the second occurrence is in the quotation formula of the additional revelatory answer. καθ- 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.

30 On the use of ὃ- with Greek verbs in Sahidic and the dialects, see Crum (84a) and Till (Koptische Dialektgrammatik, §187). In the Ep. Pet. Phil., ὃ- is used with a Greek verb at 137.29; 29-30; 139.16-17; 140.14; a Greek verb is used without ὃ- at 136.12.


32 ἐκ with the conjunctive at 137.13 is discussed below.

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

35See Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §347. For both ετα and ετα note may be taken of the discussion and references in Wintermute ("The Verbal System of VIII, 5," 8-9) where he attempts to suggest a possible Middle Egyptian origin of the form ετα, in a setting where the ε prefix was utilized to form the perfect and the εεω was used for the relative; see also the example above, p. 91. In this connection, note Till (*Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, §262) on the Subachmic and Fayumic forms.

36In the case of εαγωγος 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 εαγωγος ἄνεας. 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."

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


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


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

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

43See Crum, 2a, 636b.
See Crum, 21b, 488b. In both Matt 7:11 and Heb 9:14, a qal npi-homer is utilized. In both instances the Bohairic has ως γὰρ τὸν Παλαιόν, but the Sahidic uses the Greek loan words τὸν Παλαιόν.

So with Till, Koptische Dialektgrammatik, §153.

So also πίς, Πνημός, at 137,5: Πνημόθεν; πίς, Προς, at 134,16: Προς: εὖ, ἐφο, at 138,23: ἐφορά (also consider ἐφοι at 139,9).

Saidic with Achimmic tendency (mostly Theban)"; Crum, xii 1 b.

See also Till, Koptische Dialektgrammatik, §218.

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

According to Crum (505b), οὐας occurs as a standard spelling in several dialects, Sahidic included, of the pro-nominal form and conjunctive participle of οὐας. Also see Crum, 385b, s.v. "οὐαινέ.

Consider, for example, Acts 8:4, where the Bohairic has οὐας φησινοίς Χριστάς and the Sahidic εἴπτε μού τούτοις: or 1 Cor 15:2, where the Bohairic reads άις φησινοίς and the Sahidic δέητε μού τούτοις. Also see Crum, 257b, s.v. "οὐας σφθράς.

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


Schenke, "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 φοι in a Coptic fragment (to be published by Dr. Bernd Jörg Diebner).

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


Wintemute, "The Verbal System of VIII,3." 3. Note the example cited by Crum at 305a; (N)ιμ Πρεστ is often used in Bohairic, and a construction utilizing οὐ or the Greek in Sahidic.
58. Wintemute, "The Verbal System of VIII, II," 14-15, where an additional example from the Gospel of John is given. See also Till, Koptische Dialektgrammatik, §§358-60.

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

60. In 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.

61. Here 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 xe with the second future in a final clause, discussed above, p. 75, and esp. n. 31.

62. For a general discussion of these issues, see Layton, "Coptic Language," IDQ8up, 175-77.
CHAPTER IV
COMMENTS

Title (132,10-11)

The Ep. Pet. Phil. opens with a superscribed title: τὸν Ἐλπίδος Ἰωάννην τὴν Ἱραμίαν. "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 εἰσθήσεως, the extra space between 132,11 and 132,12, the διοίκησις and διπλα ὁμολογίας 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 insipit and no subscription appear.¹

According to its title, then, the Ep. Pet. Phil. is an ἐπιστολή, and like a few other tracts 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 addresser (Jas 1,2); James claims that he has written this work ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπῳ, "in Hebrew characters" (1,15-16), and can use the terms ἀποκρύφων (1,16.30-31) and ἀροτ (1,28) to describe his letter. Again, the Tres. 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. 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. 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.

A problem emerges, however, when we compare the title of this tractate with the actual contents. Though the tractate is entitled τιμεῖται θεός, 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. 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 insipit 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 χαίρετον 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 χαίρετον 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 χαίρε, χαίρα, χαίρει, or χαίρετον. On the other hand, unusually long lines, particularly with Greek loan words, are by no means unknown in the Ep. Pet. Phil., so that χαίρετον and χαίρετον must remain at least possible readings. After the greeting, the body of the letter begins, in good epistolary fashion, with ἄνωθεν. 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.

The descriptions of Peter and Philip deserve special mention. Peter is described as ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀπόστολος, 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 ἔξωκον ἅρματος, a common and appropriate enough phrase for Philip, but he is also described as ἀπόστολος. 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 θησαυρός. After all, in the NT Acts this Philip is described as one of the seven "dea-
cons," and is called δέοδος ἀγγέλου (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 mis-
sion of Philip in Samaria, there is a clear distinction between these two Phileps. Furthermore, Luke is somewhat jealous in
his use of the term δήστολος in Acts; in general it is re-
served for the exclusive group of the Twelve, though in at least two instances (14:4, 14) Paul and Barnabas can be de-
scribed as of δήστολοι, Christian missionaries in a rather
wide sense. Other sources, however, some as early as the
second century C.E., tend to identify these two Phileps; such
seems to be the case with the Bishop Polycrates of Ephesus as
well as Clement of Alexandria, 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
θησαυρός ἢ θησαυρό γνωρίζετε της (132,18-19), whom Peter can
also identify as ὑπηρετής τοῦ (133,7-8). In a manner reminis-
cent 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, "οὓς ὅ
cαθόσαι εἴν τῇ πάλαι ἡμῶν ὧν ἡ ἀνδρὸν ζωὴν ἡμῶν δόγμαιν," a com-
mand also mentioned in Acts 1:4, where Jesus alludes to the
διαγγελή τοῦ πατρός. Similarly in the letter of Peter, the
promise is mentioned as characteristic of the salvation to be
preached and taught. Philip, however, had kept himself sep-
arate from the apostles, and was unwilling to participate in
the apostolic gathering. Hence Peter now reiterates the re-
quest 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 Ἐν δὲ οὖν ἀνδρεῖς Κύριοι καὶ Κυριακοὶ 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 ὁ ἐν Ἰσραήλ ὁ ἐν ὁσιότεροι (8:14). Thus Peter and John travel to Samaria so that the believers there might receive the Spirit; οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν οὐδὲν ἐπιθέτους ἢμών δὲ ἐβεβαιωτοὺς ὑπηρέτων εἶς τὸ δῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰσραήλ (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. Luke as historian traces the “ideal curve” of the primitive Christian mission: “Everything that might interfere with its straightforward movement is smoothed out or omitted.” 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 Nicodemos.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
Commentary

peter, and the letter of Peter bears witness to that authority in a manner not unlike the Epistula Petri at the beginning of the Kerygma Petri. 31

Hans-Geobhard Betge 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 'Buchfueiler.'"22 Betge entitled the earlier typescript of his article "Der sogenannte 'Brief des Petrus an Philippus,' oder: Die Einleitung gnostischer Acta Philippi." For, Betge suggests,


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 θεοφανις ναογγος (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, Bethe'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 vore of 133,12 the focus turns to Peter and the anonymous apostolic group gathering together. This motif of gathering together, reminiscent of the closing verses of Luke 24 and the opening verses of Acts 1, occurs a number of times in the Ep. Pet. Phil., and constitutes a major theme in the tractate. Thus the verb συναντάω is utilized four times in our tractate (133,12.15-16; 140,[2].13), while the similar phrase δέ συναντάω 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. Acts 1:12 provides a close parallel for this scene and its conclusion; the apostles return to Jerusalem ἀπό Ὀροὺς τοῦ καλουμένου ἑλισσωτος. 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, a place appropriate for
apocalyptic revelations. 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. 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.

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. 

Platis 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 Apos. Paul has Paul standing on "the mountain of Jericho" (V 19,12-13), perhaps the Mount of Olives, about to learn of hidden mysteries. 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" 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 "in Christ." 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). 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 ἐν (n)σωμα;?

Greek phrases of a very similar sort are well attested, and provide some aid in clarifying the meaning of our text. The phrase ἐν σώματι and similar phrases are used in the NT upon several occasions. In 2 Corinthians 5, where Paul speaks about the nature of τὸ σώματος τοῦ Ἐξ οὖρανοῦ (5:2), he declares that now our life is lived ἐν τῷ σώματι (5:6), and we are responsible for what we do διὰ τοῦ σώματος (5:10); yet he admits to a desire to be away ἐκ τοῦ σώματος (5:8). Later, in the section depicting the ecstatic experience, Paul states that he was not sure whether he was ἐν σώματι or ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος—οἷς ὀφθαλμοί, ὁ δὲ σῶμα οἶκον (12:2). Again, the author of Hebrews recommends compassion, ὡς καὶ σῶμα (viz. ὕπερος) ὑπὲρ ἐν σώματι (13:3). In the Acts of Thomas, too, the apostle Thomas states that certain things cannot be declared ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐν σώματι ἐποιεῖ (36). Later, in chapter 66, Thomas expresses the same thought a bit differently when he emphasizes that he also is a man σῶμα ἐν σώματι. Near the end of the Acts, in the section on the παράσκευα of the apostle, Thomas realizes that henceforth he will speak no more ἐν σώματι (159); soon he will experience an apparent death which is actually release from τοῦ σώματος (160).

The examples could be multiplied, but the matter has by now become clear. The phrases ἐν σώματι and ἐν τῷ σώματι seem to refer most often to mortal life, earthly existence in a mortal body. This existence ἐν τῷ σώματι can be transcended, however, in ecstasy and death, when one may experience a reality ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος. 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 ἐν σώμα and ἐν σώμα. The references back to the time when Jesus was ἐν (n)σωμα 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.
The author will attempt to clarify this matter later in the tractate (136,16-137,4; 139,15-20). 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 τότε, 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; in each case the request itself is simple, consisting of a very short imperative clause, with additional elements added for the sake of substantiation or reiteration. In the first case reference is made to ТΩ ΜΑΛΧΩ, and the petition is reiterated at the conclusion of the prayer. The emphasis upon ТΩ ΜΑΛΧΩ 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 еσιαμ clause attached to the petition provides the grounds for the request, and suggests that the prayer is literally a matter of life and death; the theme of suffering and persecution, so prevalent particularly near the conclusion of the Ἐπ. Παύτ. Φιλ., 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" (πατέρα, πάτερ) 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 ὁ θεὸς ὁ Λαμπάδας ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐν τῷ σώματι ὁ θεὸς ὁ Λαμπάδας (1 John 1:5). Furthermore, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀμαρτίαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (1 John 2:8; John 1:9), and that light is Christ (John 1:9; 8:12); hence God is τὸ φῶς and the Father of τὸ φῶς. 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.
This Father, the apostles in the Ep. Pet. Phil. confess, possesses παράσκευα. Elsewhere God can be called δόξωνος (Rom 1:23; 1 Tim 1:17; Kerygma Petrou 2), and it can be said that ἄρθρωμα is characteristic of the new life of the future (for example, 1 Cor 15:42-54); in Πλ. Clem. 20.5 Jesus can even be termed ἄρχητος τῆς ἄρθρωμα. In the Epistola Apostolorum Jesus also speaks in a similar manner of "the incorruptibility of my Father." 43 In the Gnostic sources παράσκευα 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 παράσκευα; included in the description is a discussion of how παράσκευα are established (III 55,1) and how the praise of παράσκευα is offered (III 50,8). 44

The first prayer in the Ep. Pet. Phil. proceeds to refer to Jesus as ημιλιόν εὐγενεῖς ΤΩ ΜΩΣ (ὁ ἅγιος μας 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 πατίς ὁσοί (for example in Deutero-Isaiah) and was apparently utilized in the earliest Palestinian Christian community as a Christological title. The meaning of πατίς ὁσοί 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 λαοῦ. 47 It should be noted that the relevant phrases in Acts 4:27 and 4:30, utilizing forms of ὁ ἅγιος μας σου Ἰησοῦς, come extremely close to the phrase in the Ep. Pet. Phil.; the Sahidic NT uses ἠμιλιόν in both instances, but the Bohairic resembles our tractate in using ἠμιλιόν. Furthermore, it is said that the Father takes pleasure in or is well pleased with (ἔχων ὁ Πατήρ) 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 *Goo. Et.* fragment 3 also uses an εὐδοκέων 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 μετάσωσιν in conjunction with an εὐδοκέων clause, as apparently was also the case in the Greek Vorlage to the Coptic Ep. Petr. Phil. It may also be noted that in each of these instances εὐδοκέων 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 treatise. 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 *πνευμα* are employed.

Several additional terms and phrases are used to describe Christ. He is called Φωτισμός, a term used occasionally in the NT (Phil 2:15; Rev 21:11), but never to depict Christ—although, as we have seen, NT traditions can indeed link Christ and τὸ Ἄνω. Φωτισμός and Φωτήρ are commonly utilized within Gnosticism, however, where these terms can function in a dualistic way, just as Ἀνω can function over against ὁμοία in John; hence in our tractate, at 133,27-134,1 the Φωτισμός is contrasted with the πνεῦμα. In Gnostic documents Φωτισμός 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 μαθητής (ὁ Ἰησοῦς) and σωτήρ (ὁ Χριστός). These titles, however, are qualified by such terms as μετανάστης and παρακλητός; in addition, the descriptive clause makes mention of μυστήριον. Roughly similar phrases can be found in the NT, to be sure. We need only think of υἱὸς τερμάτων (Luke 10:6), υἱὸς τοῦ Φωτός (Luke 16:9; John 12:36; 1 Thess 5:15), τὸν Φωτήρ (Eph 5:8), τὸν θεασμόν (Luke 20:36), υἱὸς Παρακλήτων (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 ζωοῦ, υἱὸς (τοῦ) θεοῦ, or υἱὸς (τοῦ) ἀνδρόκοπου. 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.*—/, ἡ ἑρμήνευτος, ἄγγελος οὐρανοῦ, ὁ θεογόνος—constitute some of the favorite terms of the Gnostics.53

A final title depicting Christ is ἔναντις (αὐτοῦ τῆς), a term which is employed only once in the NT, at Acts 7:35, where it is used of Moses. The term ἐναντίος, however, is more common in the NT, and can be utilized as both a noun and a verb. In the Nag Hammadi corpus ἔναντιος is to be found in several other contexts. In the *Tri. Trac.*., for example, ἔναντιος 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 (τοῦτο: 134,9) a theophany occurs: ὁ θεογόνος οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ θεογόνος comes 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.  

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, ἄναπηκτὴν τῶν κεκοιμημένων (15:20). On the question of the nature of the resurrected άναμνήσῃ. Paul emphasizes that it is a σώμα πνευματικόν (15:44), raised in φωτισμῷ (15:42), ὅπως, and ὅπως ὁ κόσμος (15:43). Indeed, τὸ φως τῶν must be clothed with φωτισμῷ, and τὸ θνητὸν with δόματα (15:54). The last Adam, the ἐξουσίας Κυρίου, became a πνεῦμα ζωοκοιμητέριον (15:45), for σώμα καὶ σώμα θεοῦ κηρυσσόμενον ὅπως άνακοιμητέριον (15:41). Hence the resurrected person must be changed; and the resurrected σώμα, the new form, self, personality, or individuality, is described by Paul as something heavenly, spiritual, glorious, bright. Paul even enters into an appropriate discussion of the varieties of σώμα (15:41).  

Elsewhere in the NT glorious resurrection appearances can be described in a similar fashion. In Rev 1:12-16 John hears a σῶμα 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 ὦ ἡλιος ἐν τῇ ὄμοια 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 (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 ὦ ἡλιος (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 ἐπάθησεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κάλυμα (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 Ὀξα 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 ἐμπυήμα τῆς ἐκείνου (viz. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) μεγαλειώτητος (1:16); Christ received τιμή and Ὀξα from God, and the φωνή spoke out from heaven. Hence, it is said, take heed to this ὡς λόγῳ γελάνων ἐν ἀγάπης 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 θεὸς flashes forth from heaven; in 22:6 it is designated a θεὸς ἱερατικός, and in 26:13 it is described as being even brighter than the sun. Along with the heavenly θεὸς comes a φως, which identifies the source of this glorious vision (τοὺς εἰκονομένους, 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 φως θεοῦ, λευκὸν (19:19). In Deuteronomy the numinous character of the theophany is even more striking. Yahweh speaks from the middle of the fire with a φως μεγάλου, λευκὸν φως (5:22); though the sound of words (φως ὁμορραγεῖν, φως ἀκούειν) was heard, no form could be observed, διαλέκτῳ φως ἐνυπόθη (19:12). 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 φως ὁδότης λευκά (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 ὅσιος, the ἀκριβῆς of God which came down upon the mountain (Exod 24:15) and looked like a roaring fire. Moses asked to see God's ἅπαξ (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 ως 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. 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, ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θεός. In the Ap. John, a divine light shines, and the resurrected Christ appears in the light, "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: ἐστιν ὁ ἀλήθεια ἡ ὄψις ἡ ἔνδοξη ἡ ἀλήθεια. "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" (τοῦ πρώτου ἀρχηγοῦ), but rather in "invisible spirit" (ἄνεγκριτον ἄνεγκριτος), thus resembling "a great angel of light" (οὐμοί ἁγγέλως ἐστε ὄψις; 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 σωμάτικα ἐστε ὄψις (VII 71,32-33), a σωματικός (83,7-8). For, the Savior declares, ἐστιν πεπλήρωμα καθότι ἐστιν: εἶναι ὄψις εἰς ἔνδοξον ἐστίν, "I am the poetic spirit, he who is full of radiating light" (83,8-10). We might also observe that in the Trim. Prot. the heavenly redeemer Protenuoia reveals itself as Father, or voice (γένος), as Mother, or sound (ἐχόν), and as Son, or word (ἀγορα). Perhaps anticipating the Logos hymn in John 1,66 where Christ the Son is depicted as ἀγορα and φωνή, 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 Pro- tennola says, ἐγώ ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος ὁ θεός ἡ ἀλήθεια. "[I] am the light which illumines the All" (XIIII 47,28-29). Again, according to the Pseudepigrapha, after the resurrection Christ appears to the disciples, on the Mount of Olives, a great light (οὐρας ἀναμνήσεις ὁ λόγος) 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 paralēγεισας membrandum, Thomas addresses Christ as ὁ ἐπουροθείος λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς and τὸ ὕποκειμένον ψυχός τοῦ λοιπού (50). 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 χῦς; with its φωνή it rouses him, and with its χῦς it guides him (111).

More examples of glorious appearances of the risen Christ, or the heavenly revealer, in Gnostic literature could be cited, 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.

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 νεκρός, as simply one of the disembodied spirits with which the Hellenistic world was familiar, as the exalted Savior who appears as a heavenly χριστός and υἱός. Hence during this "sacred period between the times," 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 polemicizing against Christians suggesting appearances of a pneumatic sort. In Luke 24:37 he even refers to the claim brought forward by these pneumatic Christians: ἐκδόσαν νεκρόμα 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 σῶμα and ὄστη (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 ἑστήκειν (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 σώμα ἐστέ (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 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν σωματί ἐκλησία, and whoever does not make this confession is not of God. If 1 John 4:1-3 thus can polemicize against ἐφεύρετο (4:1), those who reflect the spirit of ἀντιχριστοῦ (4:3), 2 John 7 can decry those deceiving docetists who will not confess that Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν σωματί. 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 Θεοῦ 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, 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 οὐκ ὤφθη and οὐκ ὢν; 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 aretological self-predication, tie in nicely with the prayers that have been offered, particularly the second prayer; the declaration identifies the θεός and θεοὶ 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: ἂν δὲ ἐγὼ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰμί πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς σωτηρικῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. 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. Past. 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 τὰ μὲν, 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 ὅτι except for the first direct question. The first direct question is introduced by ἀνάλ. τὸν αὐτόν, 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. 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 St. Sav. the same two queries similarly can be linked together, where the disciples ask, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνάλ. τὸν αὐτόν, "What is the fullness and what is the deficiency?" (III 39,14-15). 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; the orientation of the question was merely changed from the Savior to the aces, 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 ἀρχηγεία, 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 ἀρχηγὸς and related terms in the NT Acts and the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.

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 Ἱερο Ἀρχ. Norea asks the great angel Eleleth several questions about the origin of Ἑνοῦς (II 93,32–94,2), and Eleleth responds with an account of the fall of Sophia. Again, Sost. 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 Ἄρ. Ἰων 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. Jea. Chr. also utilizes introductory indirect questions near the opening of the tractate; the twelve disciples and the seven women were troubled, it is said, οί δὲ γυναῖκες ἡμῶν, τηροῦσιν, μελῶσαν, καὶ ἠκούσαν, 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 Euseb. ex Thad. 78.2 it is emphatically stated that we are liberated not only through baptism but also through knowledge (γνῶσις): τίνας ἔμεν, τί γεγόναμεν· ποῦ ἄμεν, ἢ ποῦ ἑνεβλάθημεν· ποῦ σκέφτομεν, πόθεν λατρεύμεθα. τί γέννωσις· τί ἀναγέννησις.\footnote{1}

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 Euseb. ex Thad., 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." 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" (epistapa-krisis) literature in significant ways. 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. 113,8-138,10 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 appealing 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. Petr. 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 Eunostos and the Soph. Jes. Chr. It has been proposed that the Soph. Jes. Chr. is a Christian tractate which was composed as a Christian version of a non-Christian document very much like Eunostos. Formally Eunostos 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, 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 Eunostos the Blessed 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 Eunostos is appropriated by Gnostic Christians, and Christ becomes the revealer of Gnostic truths.
The situation is somewhat analogous in the Ep. Pet. Phil. Several mythical 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 (νῦν) the revelatory response may begin. Once again mention is made of the voice and the light, here described as οὐχὶν coming to the apostles ἐκ τῆς ὑπομνήματος (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 those things previously, that he had already given them all the answers to those 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. 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 legitimize 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. Iac., 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 (σημεία, "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 
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "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 Assumption 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 Seth 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 ΠΗΝΑΟΤ ἢν ἡμᾶι (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 subtitles and terse causal statements introduced by ης; 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 ἐτσε ριπανίμεα. 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: ἄσημος καὶ ἄτόμος μὴ περά (135,8-9). 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. After the subtitle comes a very brief and somewhat enigmatic statement: οὐκ ὅτι ριπανίμεα (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 οὗτως. On the one hand, οὗτως could easily refer to the words and sentences which follow, and which attempt to describe the origin and nature of ριπανίμεα. In this case οὗτως could point ahead to the revelatory answer which is just beginning: "The deficiency is as follows." On the other hand, οὗτως 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 οὗτως is more difficult and provocative, and suggests that οὗτως could point to the evidence of deficiency all around: "This world illustrates the deficiency." Although we cannot be entirely certain, a comparison with the parallel statement in the second answer (ἀπεκαθάρισε, 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, 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 (παρατίθεμεν καὶ παρατίθομεν), for apart from the command and will of the Father's greatness she wished to create aeons. In certain versions of the myth Sophia is said to be motivated by desire (ἐπιθυμησίς) and passion (πάθος);
festered for a while in the Pleroma, this πάθος burst forth in
the transgression of Sophia. Supposedly motivated by love
(αγάπη) 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. Other versions of the myth, which
may resemble more closely the description of the mother’s crea-
tive actions in the Ep. Pet. Phil. (135,10-17), claim that
Sophia wanted to imitate the mighty, unbegotten Father: οὐκέτας
μεμοίρωθαί τὸν Πατέρα καὶ γεννήσαι καθ’ οὐκήν δὲ τὸν σώζοντος,
Τὸν μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς δυσεξιοντος τὸν Πατέρα εἰργασμένον. According
to the Ap. John, she wanted to create or procreate Λόγος
[ποιοῦ] Ἡσυχία, "without [the consent] of the Spirit" (II 9,29;
also see II 9,34), and without her consort, and the result
was a γυνική μορμοκλήμα, an "abortion of darkness." The πτατσώμαν
and ὑπαταπόκη of the mother in the Ep. Pet. Phil. is reminis-
cent of the transgression and fall of Eve as depicted in Genesis
and early Christian literature. To be sure, elsewhere in
Gnostic literature Sophia and Eve can be brought together in
some significant ways. Other sources also refer to this
fall of Sophia as the fall of this erring aeon (τοῦ ἄων τῆς
παρατριπτικῆς), of the transgressing aeon (ὁ παραπλάνων αἰών). It
is reasonable to see how the mother’s blunder could be
treated as disobedience, foolishness, and even a transgression
(Ναζαρακίας, 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. As a result of her
passion and ignorance, this fallen world of mortality came into
being.

From the misled of the mother, the Ep. Pet. Phil. con-
tinues, emerges the Arrogant One, Ἀκήραστος. Ἀκήραστος seems to
function practically as a proper noun in our tractate; a Greek
loan word, this adjective is taken over and used in a substan-
tival manner. Of course, there is an exceedingly fine line in
such mythological literature between a proper noun per se and a
key epithet. Ἀκήραστος is used elsewhere in the literature of
and about the Gnostics, but in the Ep. 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, ἀγωγάς is utilized, as in the Ep. Pet. Phil., in a substantival manner, and it is said that ignorant ἀγωγάς 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” (Ἀγωγάς καὶ Ἀυτόκτων)—namely, the Proarchon, the demiurge who stole a “virtutem magnum” from the mother. In numerous Gnostic sources the arrogance of the chief archon is made abundantly clear. It is he who is so ignorant and blind that he boasts that he is God, and God alone. Thus in the Ἀγωγάς, for example, it is said that ἀγωγάς (viz. ἐπηκαλύπτει τις ἐνος τοῦ ἀρχόν ἐν πυγίᾳ ἐς ἄλλης ἀγωγάς ἐς ἄλλης, “he (viz. the archon) became haughty, saying, ‘I am God, and there is no other besides me’” (II 94,21-22).

In the Ep. Pet. Phil. the author seems to suggest that ἀγωγάς emerged when the mother spoke, just as Valdaboath appeared (ἀ- ὁμώμα) as τὰρτα θεράς, “the first principle of the word,” when Pistas Sophia spoke to him and uttered his name, according to the mythological account in Orig. World. This passage in our tractate, however, remains difficult to interpret; it is said of ἀγωγάς that ἄγωγα ἐστός. According to Crum (505b-506b), ἄγωγα 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 ἐστός 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 ἀγωγάς “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. On the other hand, ἄγωγα with the preposition ἦς- can mean “follow,” and it seems reasonable to suggest a similar sort of meaning for ἄγωγα ἐστός: “set forth,” “set out,” “emerge,” “follow.” Yet, as we have noted, it remains tempting to follow the scholars who have suggested that a ἦς has been
omitted by the scribe, and that consequently this passage should be emended to ἥξως ἢτοι ἢγος.

Now, then, did the deficiency come to be? The Ep. Pet. Phil. states that the mother left behind a ἦγος, which was taken by ἀγολλάσας and became a ὑγατός; and ἦτοι, the concluding summary statement of our tractate says, περὶ γεγονότων ὄντων ἦγος (135,20-21). The Greek loan word ἦγος 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 ᾽Απ. Ἰωάννης explains this by describing how ἀρχὴ ἦτοι ἢγολλάσας ἦγος ἐκόλουθαι τοῦ τεκνίτης, "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 (ὑπότασις) for the glowing of her light (ὕππερ ἁπερισφαίρακος) lessened (13,14-15), and she began to darken with the darkness of ignorance (ἐλάχιστα εἰσιν, 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 ἐξωμάξαν that she had produced. According to Irenaeus' account of the Valentinian teacher Ptolemaeus, Sophia was purified and restored, ἦτοι δὲ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ῥήματι σὺν τῷ πάθει ὧν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνατρεπόμενον (Latia: crucifixion), καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀποτοῦ (viz. τοῦ Πλερώματος) γεγονότιν (ἀπὸ. Ἄσε. 1,2,4). Though this desire and passion was shapeless, formless, and frail, yet it was a πνευματικὴ ὀσία, 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 ἐξωμάξαν 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 (ὑπότασις), does not approach the heavenly aeons of the Pleroma (6.31.6). In the ᾽Απ. Ἰωάννης it is said that the mother threw away from herself (ἀπαγορίσας εἰς ἡγολλάσας) the monstrous lion-headed product of her desire, Valtabaooth, 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 sanctifies her from πέρας τῆς "all their fullness" (II 14,6). Meanwhile, her consort also comes down to her εἴτε πλερόμενα εξελαύσεις Ἱερούτα, "through the Pleroma, so that he might correct her deficiency" (II 14,6-9).

It should also be noted that the wholeness of the heavenly aeons will not really be restored until the μὴρος of divine light is reclaimed from the wicked αἰων. 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 Χρόνος, the limit, cross, and guardian of the Pleroma, ἀφόριζε ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος ἕως τὸν οὐσιόδοτον. The deficiency of Χρόνος is a "flame of the one and only pleroma (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 demigurge, the fragmented existence—can be described as defective and deficient, in need of restoration to the unity and fullness of the One.

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. αἰων begins by setting up his empire. Just as the first archon of the Ap. John takes a great power ιησοῦς καθισμός (II 10,20-21) from his mother and, with a fiery light-flame (ιησοῦς καθισμός), creates other aeons as well as additional authorities (κενεσιακια, 10,28), so also αἰων in the Ep. Pet. Phil. establishes powers (κενεσιακι) and authorities (κενεσιακια) for the governance of the world. αἰων shows the μὴρος from the mother, the spiritual seed from heaven, "the seed (μήκησις) 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. 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. For such Gnostics, as for the author of the Ep. Pet. Phil., the divine origin of the seed is of utmost importance; the μεγάλος or σερφία 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 κατὰ τὸν Ἱεροῦ τὸν εἰκόνισθεν υπὸ τοῦ αἰώνιον ἡμῶν, "after the likeness of the first aeons which had appeared, that he might create them like the imperishable ones" (I 12,34-13,1). Created in ignorance—he had not actually seen the imperishable aeons, but was moved by the power (νομον) 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 κοσμός has been constructed, and the petty powers are elated. They rejoice at their status, though they are ignorant. Like many of the accounts about Valdabaoth, this account about μηνῃ illustrates how foolish they are; they are quite oblivious of the great preexistent Father in heaven, and offer their service to little αὐτάκης. The powers, after all, are ἀγαθοῦ (136,2-3) to the great Father; according to the Eyp. Arch., when the divine image appeared on the waters, μὴνῃς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ οὗ οὐδὲς "they did not know whose power it was" (I 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.
According to Marcus and other Valentinians, the demiurge wished θεοῦ θεοδότος τὸ δημόσιον, καὶ αἰώνιον, καὶ ᾱδόστον, καὶ ἄξονον μεγαζυχαί; but he was doomed to failure because he is the fruit of ἀρτίας. 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 Incorruptibility 129—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. Διαφάνη 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, οὐράνιον εἰμι ἡ οὐρανική ἐν γῇ οὐρανοῖς εἰμι οὐρανοφόρος (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, ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ μέλος ἡ ἐν ζῷῳ ψυχική ἐν ψυχικῷ ἴδια, "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 (ὑαλάχα) in order to entrap the souls, which then are imprisoned within these models; each of the seven ἡβάλάχον contribute a portion to the ἑατάχα of this Adam (II 114,15–115,3). Thus is the ἑατάχα εὐσεβὴς (VIII 136,19–20) of Διαφάνη and the powers completed. Yet the mortal bodies are only poor imitations of the εἰκών or ιάτα 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 sub-title (έτείς πιλάρωμα, 136,16), a concise statement of the resurrected Christ summarizes the answer in the briefest of aretologies: ΄μοικ,ν.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 εν αὐτῷ (viz. Χριστῷ) εὐδοκήσατο πάντα τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικησάντα, while in 2:9 it is said that εν αὐτῷ κατοικῆσαν πάντα τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς φύσεως ουσιαστικῶς. Similarly in Eph 1:22-23 the Paulinist says that the Father has made Christ head over all things for the έκκλησία, which is τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τί πάντα ἐν πάσιν πληρουμένου, and in 3:19 a prayer is offered for the readers, that πληρωθῇ εἰς 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 ὤος, "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 πληρωματικα.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 ημερωμα, filled with the light and spirit of the divine, he comes down to the cosmos lost in deficiency.

As the divine fullness, Christ was sent down from the world above to the cosmos below, from ημέρωμα, for the sake of the fallen light-seed. It is said that Christ descended to ημερωμα ἐννοούτ, "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 ημερωμα ἐννοούτ. 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 τοντε ημερωμα, "the middle of the prison" (II 30, 18-19). This phrase is picked up again a few lines later and is explained very clearly: τοντε ημερωμα ετε πατε ημερωμα ημερωμα, "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, άγω ημερωμα, "and they did not recognize me" (30,21). Again, in the Trypt. Seth Jesus Christ claims that he visited ουνεί ἑκκοιμητικον, "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, μη γαρ ημερωμα ηκοιμητικον
εν' άνοικ εκ ενόκ ουγκολ ηκακαν ημερωμα, "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, ένοικον ενοικο αε ανοικ ουγκολ
το ημερωμα ετεκας, "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, ένοικον γαρ θημωφθη ηταν
ηταν' ένοικον ενοικο ημερωμα ευχεται, "for I was changing my
forms, going from semblance to semblance" (56,23-25). While at the various gates (μαχαί) of the powers, the descending savior took on their likeness (μείξεις εἰς τὸν κόσμον), 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 pseudepigraphs 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 ἀναλαμβάνει τὸν κόσμον (Ref. 8.10.5). The Son was not recognized: he was ἄμαρτωτος, ἀδιάβολος, ἀπεκαθοδημωτὸς. Finally the Son from on high clothed himself with the entire body of the cosmos, and thus he put on the offspring of Mary. 136

Although the Ep. Pet. Phil. does not proclaim the radical doceism 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 ὁ φυλακὴ ἐνθυμοῦται (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 johanneseischen 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 lukianischen Werk ist der Bezug des in Folgenden erörterten Abschnittes 136,16-137,4 auf Joh 1. Doch duchten 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 αὐτὸς ἐγένετο of John 1:14, and suggests that the reference to the "fallen" seed (136,18) may reflect ἐχθρῷκας εἰς τῶν κόσμων (1:9). Furthermore, both documents refer to the nonrecognition of the Savior ("they did not recognize me," 136,20-21; ὁ κόσμος ἄγαν ὁ γεννήθηκεν, 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; ὁ Γέωκτον [pl.], 1:11), the reception of the word ("he hearkened to me just as you also who hearkened today," 136, 23-25; ὁ λόγος ἐμφάνισεν ἄγαν, 1:12), the bestowal of authoritative power ("I gave him authority (ἐξουσία)," 136,26; ἐξουσίαν ἄγαν ἡγεῖται, 1:12), and the eventual inheritance ("the inheritance of his fatherhood," 136,27-28; τέκνα ἕκκατον 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). Thus, Koschorke concludes, "Dem bislang bekannten Belegem gnostischer Exegese von Joh 1 ist nun, wie unser Beitrag zu zeigen versuchte, ErPτι hinzuzufügen." 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, the parallel concerning the
Commentary

136,21-22 seems to suggest that the divine Savior was not really σωτήρ at all. Some of the other parallels are trivial or even far-fetched. For example, the λόγος of John is hardly a close and meaningful parallel to the λόγος (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 ἡσαΐας 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 ἡσαΐας (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 ἡσαΐας. 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
des Soter ('der Meinige') als Prototyp aller Erlösungsfähigen Menschen ('die Meinigen') erscheint," that is to say, the human Jesus, "der erste in der Reihe derer, denen der Soter έλαχεν... έξουσία τόκω θεοῦ γενόμενα..." In both his translation and his commentary Ménard refers to "la race" in this connection, "(la race) qui est mienne"; this suggestion may also be compared with the apparent concern of Jesus for the "seed" (σεμία), the pneumatic light trapped in the world of darkness.

The Ap. John illustrates some of the same ambiguity concerning the one who responds to the heavenly call. At II 24,32-25,16 Seth and the σεμία are the object of the saving activities of the Spirit, χεκάς ἑοταν εἰρήναθε εἰρήνα ηττεν σεμία ζών ἐν οὐρανῷ εὐγνώμονα τῆς πανίμου εἰσαγαλής λόγος θατότα, "so that, when the Spirit comes down through the holy aeons, he may raise him up and heal him of the deficiency, so that the entire fullness may become holy and without deficiency" (25,11-16). At a later point in the tractate, as the risen Christ is describing his descent from the light, he recounts how he issued the call to awaken. Christ proclaims, ξένωσθε τοὺς συκοῦν εἰς φίλους εὐτοίχον, "you (sing.) who hear, arise from heavy sleep!" (31,5-6). The one thus called responds, and this "primal sleeper" hearkens (οὐσίω, 31,15) and follows his root, Christ, into light and life, χεκάς ἐνεργὸς ἐξελίσσει εἰς θατότα, "so that death might not have power over him from now on" (31,24-25).

The point of these references, as Koschorke realizes, is the symbolic or prototypical character of the one who responds to the call of the heavenly redeemer. The heavenly redeemer, a stranger to this world of darkness, comes to the light-seed ensnared within the cosmos. Being from the light, he comes to save the light, and to return it to the fullness of the Father. Hence, depending upon whether it is considered collectively or individually, the μέρος or σεμία of light can be μέρος μοῦ or μέρος ημῶν.

In other Gnostic sources, too, such phrases become descriptions of the people of the light. In the Εἰκόν. Ιαν., for example, the Savior talks to his brother James the Just about those who belong to the light, as opposed to those who are
Commentary

strangers. He proclaims to James, who himself has an exalted role, ἵνα γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἴσχυς τε ὑπὸσομοῦ ἔτε γενόναι ἐκτε 
ὑπὸσομοῦ ἑύγον ἑτε ὑπὸσομοῦ ἐτε ὑπὸσομοῦ ὑπὸσομοῦ ἓτε ἴσχῳ ἐτε ἴσχῳ ἴσχῳ, "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 (ὑπὸσομοῦ ἓτε) and united them with me" (VII 59,9-11). ὑπὸσομοῦ ἓτε and ὑπὸσομοῦ ὑπὸσομοῦ are thus two ways of referring to the light trapped below, awaiting salvation and restoration through the ἰδανικὴ.

The light has fallen into ὑπὸσομοῦ, but is to be restored to ὑπὸσομοῦ: 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. 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 ὑπὸσομοῦ, so also the light becomes ὑπὸσομοῦ, since Christ and the light are essentially the same. Hence the destiny of Christ and the Gnostic coincide: both attain to the ὑπὸσομοῦ of light.

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 (ἐγένετο ὁ θεός ἐκ τῆς καρδίας, 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, ἐν ὁμοίωσιν μετὰ οὐρανοῦ (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 Ἐπ. Πετ. Φίλ., the way out of this predicament involves stripping away the corruptible part of our being, the mortal bodies (ἐρευνάμενος εὐμούς, 136,12-13). This motif is well known in Gnostic documents. In the Dial. Sau., the problem is described with great clarity: as the Lord tells Matthew, you cannot see the glorious place of life and light ἐφοίτησον ἐκ τῆς ὑπόστασάς ἡς (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 σκανάτω ἐν θελήματι καὶ ἐγκολπάσθω καὶ τούτῳ γινώσκετε γε, "strip yourselves before them in order to release it to them and to give back their field to them" (11 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 Σ Αποκ. Ἰάσ. Christ speaks to James about his entry into the body and his release from the body: ἦτοι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στηθῶν τὸν οὐρανόν ἐν τῇ ἐκκολπῇ καὶ στηθῶν ἐν μεταμορφώσει ἐνεκκολπήσας τον Θεόν.
Commentary

συνάτερεθάλαλ τάνγο, "For even as you are the first to have
clothed yourself, so also are you the first who will strip him-
self, 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 ascen-
ding Jesus states that he will strip himself so that he may
clothe himself anew (I 14,35-36). In the "Hymn of the
Pearl" the king's son takes off the filthy garment (τὸ βρυχαρὸν
ἐκσώμα) that he has been using as a disguise in the worldly
land of Egypt (Acts of Thomas lll), and puts on his glorious
image, his royal robe (τὴν στολὴν τοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς), 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
Nassenes by Hippolytus, the house of God is the place ὅπου ὁ
ἀνάμορφος θεός κατοικεῖ ἡμῶν, εἰς ὅν οὐκ εἰσακούσθηκε, φησίν,
ἀνάμορφος οὐδές, οὐ ψυκικός, οὐ ψυχικός, ἀλλὰ ἔρημος,
πνευματικός μόνος, ὅπου ὦ γενομένῳ βασιλέως τὰ ἐνδόματα
καὶ πάντας γενομένῳ μνημέος ἀποσκευασμένου 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 Ak-
kadian myths of the descent of Inanna (Ishtar) into the under-
world. 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 fash-
ion, in a different mythological context and at a much later 
time, Gnostics can also portray the light and the heavenly re-
deemer being progressively clothed with the various somatic and 
psychic garments during the descent to earth, and progressively 
unclothed again during the ascent. Thus in Polimandros 24-26 
the narrator Nous-Polimandros describes how, after the fleshly 
body has been abandoned, with its senses and passions, the per-
son ascends through the seven cosmic circles, and hands back 
the various capacities and inclinations to the appropriate 
circle. Thus stripped (γυμνωσθείς), the person arrives in the 
presence of the Father, praises God, and becomes God (θεός

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 Cor-
inthians Paul emphasizes that there is a heavenly dwelling for 
us, so that we might put it on and οὐ γυμνὸν ἐφοροῦμενεν (5: 2-3).134

The Gos. Phil. enters into this debate concerning naked-
ness, 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 cloth 
are naked, and those who strip themselves (κακοῦ εἰμι, II 56, 
31-32) are not naked; 1 Cor 15:50 is even brought in as evi-
dence 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 φωτισθής. 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 ἐν τῇ τήνῃ συνόννοι (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. Such hope for the present life is also proclaimed in the Ἱρυ. Ἀριθ., which promises that all true Gnostics, all those who know the Way, have life: οὐκ οὖν ας ἐν ἡμῖν ἔπεμψαν τοῖς ἄνδρες τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐν τῇ τήνῃ συνόννοι, "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 φωτισθής. 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: λόγον τοῦ τὰς ἀνθρώπους ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἁγια γι' ἐμ, λόγον ἁγια γι' ἐμ, ἁγια γι' ἐμ, ἁγια γι' ἐμ. "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).

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. The brief answer given seems to relate especially to the ἐπειδὴ γὰρ 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. ἢτοι frequently
translates ἄναμματος, and these two terms function in a technical manner within Gnostic documents. 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 ταπανακτικὸς ἱερόμοιον (II 42, 8-9) and μορφή τὴν θλή (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: ἐὰν εὐτυχίαν ἔχετε ἵνα ἰσχύσῃ ἀλλὰ ἦσσον τὴν θλήναν ἃν ἴστη, “What you look forward to has come, but you do not know it” (42,11-12). According to the Gos. Thom., then, the θλήνα or ἀνακτικὸς 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 (θλήνα)” (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 (ἡ εἰκών ημων) and the power (τερας) have come, will be saved, ὁμώμενος ἐνθαρρυνομένος ἡμὼν, “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 pre-
fixed questions and four revelatory answers. Rather, the au-
thor provides an indication of a seam in the tractate by paus-
ing 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:
κοιτάζει; In this question and answer, however, the Greek loan
word \( λέγειν \) 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: οἵοντες εἰς τὸν ἄνω
σοφόν. The same fear is expressed by the disciple Judas in the Dial.
See, where he says, \( εἰς τοῦτο εἰς τὸν ἄνω σοφόν ἐν τῷ ἅμα
σοφόν \) εἰς τὸν ἄνω σοφόν, "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 εἰς which calls out from the
appearance. Whether οἵοντες εἰς τὸν ἄνω σοφόν (137,19) is best tran-
slated 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 answer 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) re-
iterates 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 Glossie sein, die eine Dittography verursacht hat." 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: ημίρμαχος εγγίζει μετάφρασες (137,21-22). The archons oppose the light, the spirit within, the έσω άνθρωπος, 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 γνώσιν (εἰσαγαγὴ) ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ άνθρωπου. Such redemption is not somatic, for the σῶμα is ψυχικόν; it is not psychic, for the ψυχή is also from the ὠστήρχος. No, this redemption is spiritual (πνευματική); λιτοφθοδοσία γιὰ διὰ γνώσεως τῶν πνευματικῶν, καὶ ἀπεκτάθαι αὐτὸς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῶν ἥλιων ἐπιγνώσει. 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 χαίρει καὶ σωκόροι, but rather πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς, πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαίας πολιορκητικὰς τῆς φύσεως τοῦτον, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικά τῆς κοινωνίας ἐν τοῖς ἑπονομασίοις (6:12), therefore their weaponry ought to be correspondingly spiritual.

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). This emphasis in the Ep. Pet. Phil. illustrates the concern of this author and group for both the
Commentary

eclesiastical meetings and the missiological programs. A rhythm of life, a plan of action, is present in the Ep. Pet. Phili.: 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 (kome); he provides power with which the people of the light can gird themselves (137,25-27).\textsuperscript{165} he is responsive to prayer (137,27-28),\textsuperscript{166} and thus he helps continually just as he helped by sending Christ (137,28-30).\textsuperscript{167} As a result, the apostles have nothing to fear\textsuperscript{168} 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 τότε was used to introduce both the additional question (137,13) and the additional answer (137,17), so also τότε 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.\textsuperscript{169} This ascension should not be confused, however, with the ascension as depicted in Luke-Acts. In the Ep. Pet. Phili. 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.\textsuperscript{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. Phili., 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
ture that the language of 138,5-7 approaches that of Acts.\textsuperscript{171}
The author of the \textit{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 au-
thoritatively 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
Jerusalem,\textsuperscript{172} and offer worship to the Lord.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{174} The scene on the
Jerusalem road focuses upon a theme which is crucial for the
\textit{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
\textit{Ep. Pet. Phil.} was generally familiar, certainly illustrate a
great concern for the sufferings of the early church, the per-
secutions which characterized the beginnings of the history of
Christianity.\textsuperscript{175} Likewise, the traditional credo of the \textit{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 \textit{Ep. Pet. Phil.} also indicates that the community
which produced this tractate is a Gnostic Christian group ex-
periencing 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. Petr. 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, although such opponents of heresy as Ignatius and Irenaeus could level at the Gnostics the blanket charge that they were deceivers with regard to Christ's passion and opponents of martyrdom. 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 επάθανη ὑπὲρ ὑπηρεσιαν, "in the name of a dead man," 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. Petr. Phil., ἐκεῖνος ἦσαν εἰσόρθοι (134,8-9)! But these cosmic rulers also have their earthly accomplices; as the author of the Apos. Petr. puts it, the ignorant opponents of the Gnostics are belligerent fools, ἔχει εὐαγγελισμόν εἰς ὑγίον καὶ ἐνὶ καταραγόμενον, "because they stand through (the) power of the archons" (VII 74,28-30). In a similar fashion, in the 1 Apos. Ias. Jesus warns his brother James to flee from Jerusalem, since this city always treats the children of light with bitterness, and ὡτὸν τῷ πόλεμον εἰς φυσικὸν καταραγόμεν, "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. 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 telēōnai or heavenly tax-collectors, but also the political and religious officials.

The scene on the Jerusalem road, then, opens with an introductory question (1:10-16). After a statement referring back to the appearance of Christ as the light (1:10-13), 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. At 1:14 the last word in the line originally had been written as a third person masculine singular (active) circumstantial, ἐγὼ, but subsequently the form was changed to a third person common plural (passive) circumstantial, ἐγείρομαι. 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 qal wa-homer (a minori ad maxum); 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 (1:17-20) 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 (3:9-140,1). Christ suffered, Peter maintains, ἀνεκπήρτως, “on account of us” or “for our sakes.” The Coptic
preposition ἐκεῖ can translate a variety of Greek prepositions, including ἐκ, ἐν, ἐπί, and ὑπέρ, although, as Gerard Luttikhuizen notes, in the Sahidic NT ἐκ is usually used for ὑπέρ and ἐκεῖ for ἐκ or ἐπί. 182 ἐκεῖνος reproduces a common and ancient metarhological 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 ἐκ ἃ παντότια ἤλθον (Rom 4:25; Sahidic: ἐκεῖνος). ἐκαὶ ἤλθον (1 Thess 5:10; Sahidic: ἐκεῖνος). 183

The followers of Christ, on the other hand, suffer on account of themselves. Not exempt from suffering, we must suffer, Peter declares, ἐκεῖνος ἡμῶν, "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 (ὁ θυγατρὶς, logion 21; II 37,1), those entering the Kingdom are like little babies at the breast (ὁ θυγατρὶς ἐγκλης, logion 22; 37,20, also 37,21-22), and a little child of seven days (ὁ θυγατρὶς ἐγκλης, logion 4; 33,7-8) knows of life: ἐν θυγατρὶς ἐγκλης ἐγνώσεις ἤτοι γεγονότοι, "whenever of you becomes a child will know the Kingdom" (logion 46; 41,10-12). Here and in numerous other Gnostic, Manichaean, and Mandean 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: οὐχ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ θεός ὁ παντελεήμονα, "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 Echmuth, the Sophia of death, ἡ κοίμησις τοῦ Σοφήματος, "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, εὐθυκοί τε καὶ ἐγγυμπανοῦς, "for they are small and ignorant." 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. 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). 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 Sp. 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. 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 Sp. Pet. Phil. A form of
occurs in 138,25, and it is most likely a passive form; εἰς could conceivably reflect either the ἀγὼνος of Matt 10:18 or the ἀναγγέλλειν of Luke 21:12, since εἰς is attested as a Coptic translation for both ἀγὼν or ἀναγγέλλειν.

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.

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).

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 ἡράματι), 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), 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." 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 ἐκρανύθηκος (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 ἀνακτόρως is used. As we have noted previously, the verb ἔκρανυμι 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 ἐκρανύθηκος 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. On the other hand, it is also feasible that these disciples are Christ's disciples and Peter's fellow disciples. It could be the case that the prefix ἐκ- 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. 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 Ver-
kündigung 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 exam-
plary sermon when ἀναγορεύοντας εἰς ὑψίστας ἐν θυρήματι,201
just as in
the NT Acts Peter can speak when πᾶν ὄχλον και δύνατον ἰατρεῖν (4:8;202
Sahidic: ἀναγορεύουσιν εἰς ἅγια θυρήματα).

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 gen-
eral apostolic group is filled with holy spirit (140,9); in-
deed, 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 dis-
cernment 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 μάκαρι, 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 (δόξεις δόξας, 1:16; 2:29; 15:7; δόξας, 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 (νεφειότητα), 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: φοροῦν τὸν ἔσχατον 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: φοράμα...τὸ θρόνον θεοῦ); "he was crucified" 209 (Acts 5:30 and 10:39: καθίσας τὸν Σάλου); 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 rose from the dead" (Mark 9:9; Matt 17:9; John 2:22; 20:19, 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 Μακάριον; 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 ὅπως, 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. 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. Such a person's plight is essentially that of the prince in the "Hymn of the Pearl"; he found himself in worldly Egypt, μόνος ὡς ὁ ἐξ ζωής ἐξερχόμενος τοῖς ἑορτασίαις ἐκλείδωσα. In order to cope in this worldly environment, in order to obtain the pearl, he dressed up in a disguise: ἐκ ζωῆς ἐξ ἐκείνων τα ταυτάρατα, ἤνα μὴ ἐξερχομαι (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). 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 (136,18), 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 κατά ούσία ressembles κατά θέλει in meaning. A similar expression occurs in Ignatius' Ῥόη, where the author affirms that God the Father raised Christ from the dead just as (κατὰ τὸ θανάτον) he also will raise believers (9.2). Κατὰ θανάτον, 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, and the phrase κατὰ θανάτον is to be found, in various forms, in such Gnostic documents as the Ἱο. Φιλ. (II 15,3; also 12,24; 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 Ἱο. Φιλ. notes, this creation is actually a dissimilarity, a misrepresentation (οὐθεματιζομαι, 136,14), because the creators are blind and impotent. Elsewhere in the Ἱο. Φιλ. κατὰ θανάτον can be used in a different context: the angels who cavorted with the daughters of men (Gen 6:1-4) changed themselves to resemble (κατὰ θανάτον, 29,27) the husbands of those women, and produced offspring from the darkness, like (κατὰ θανάτον, 30,8-9) their spirit of darkness.

The use of the phrase κατὰ ούσία in the Ἱο. Φιλ., 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" (1:18). We are fallen, imprisoned, suffering; and for this reason (ρητος σως, 139,24) our illuminator Jesus came down to his own to lead us to fullness, life, and light. Hence he can be termed παρακτης τοις ενσωματω (139,27-28) and παρακτης τοις ενσωματω (140,4). Like the Peter of the NT Acts, who can proclaim Christ as ὁ ἀνατλητής τὸς 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 ἀνόμωτος 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.  

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!  

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 Jeru-
salem 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 doublets—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 Chris-
tians 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 men-
tioned in connection with the apostolic gatherings, and which
seem to reflect the worship of the Gnostic Christian group be-
hind 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 spiri-
tual power and mighty deeds. They too must go forth "in the
power of Jesus, in peace" (140,27).

Peter offers a prayer for ὑπὲρ ὑπανήγειρης (140,5-6). The first of the two meetings thus seems to be our author's
"Pentecost" account, an account which resembles the Lucan ac-
count in some important ways but also shows crucial differences.
As in the Lucan account, here Peter functions in a central role,
Christ is termed θαυματουργός, and the empowering πνεύμα, a
πνεύμα ἁγίου, enables the apostles to do marvelous things and
to preach. Here, however, in contrast to the Lucan Pentecost,
the spirit is specified as a πνεύμα σοφίας, so that knowl-
dges, 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
are happy, ἵνα γίνητε τόν κόσμον (20:20), who greet them with a
greeting of peace, commissions them, and imparts πνεύμα ἁγίου
Commentary

...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 (αὐταῖς ἐναλείψατε) 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. ἄμην is, of course, merely a transliteration of the Hebrew יְהֹוָה, "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 ἄμην can be utilized before the sayings of Jesus as a witness to their reliability. In fact, the "Amen" can even be hypothesized, so that in Rev 3:14 Christ seems to be called ἄμην, and in some Gnostic documents the heavenly powers can be termed "the Amen." 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, 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 ἑπτά ἐννιάτος ἔργα, literally "into four words," here translated "with four messages" (140,25). It is extremely tempting to emend the text here, 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 τὸ ἔργον ἔκλεισεν. 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 26, where it is said that the gospel is being proclaimed εἰς τὰ ἔργα τὴς εἰσοδίας τῆς οἰκουμένης; or the Epistles of Peter 1:19 or the Epistles of Clement, 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. For, as Irenaeus proposes, the concept of four directions may be related to that of four gospels; since there are τὰ ἔργα τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῇ τοίχῳ, and the church is all over the earth, and the gospel is the στόλος of the church, therefore it is concluded that τὸς στόλος οὐκ οὐδὲν στόλος, 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 Sophia* , on a positive note of challenge: the departure of the apostles to preach. 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.
The title of a tractate in the Nag Hammadi library may be indicated by means of an insinpit, 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 insinpit 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 Ο," 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.

For 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).

On the question of the interpretation of Πρώτει at II 70,2 (καὶ ἔχετε at V 1,3), see Paulinus Bellet, "The Colophon of the Gospel of the Egyptians: Concessus and Macarius of Nag Hammadi," Nag Hammadi and Gnostics, 56-59, esp. n. 16.

Optatus of Milevis, De schismate Donatistarum 1.5: "Cum in epistula Petri apostoli legerimus, 'Solite per opinionem judicare frates vestros,'" "Since in the Letter of Peter the Apostle we have read, 'Refrain from judging your brothers through prejudice.'" See Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits," 177 n. 4; Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 2.91; also compare this passage with Jas 2:1 and 4:11.

The Epistula Petri and Contestatio have been analyzed as elements within the so-called Kerygmatika Petrou. See especially Georg Strecke, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958); "The Kerygmatika 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: "Ἀναγνώστε ὃν ὁ Ἰάκωβος τῆς ἑπτάοικης μετεκαλύσατο τοὺς προα- δικούντος τὰς ἑπτάοικος ἀναγνώστε, he spoke to the assembled group about the kerygmatic materials of Peter; this transition may be compared with 133.8-11 in our tractate.
See Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, 65-81;

See 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, Kl. Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1968); also Robinson, "Angeli Sophon," 96-100.

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


Letters 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 paraethical 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 ἄρακτος, while the latter does not include a final greeting (in p74, B, A, et al.). (but ἄρακτος is used in Β and other manuscripts, and ἄρακτος is found in H, P, and a few other sources).

Peter 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-Scheurlemmer, 1.271-78; 2.45-50, 57-58; Perkins, "Peter in Gnostic Revelation."

12: Not 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 Pista Sophia 44). On δούλος, "spiritual brother," a very common term within Christianity, see Hans F. von Soden, "δούλος κ.τ.λ.," *TNT*, 1.145-46.

11 See Eusebius, _Historia Ecclesiastica_ 3.31.3; Clement, _Stromata_ III.6 §§2.4–5; in general, H. H. Platz, "Philipp," _IDB_ 3.785, where additional sources are cited.

12 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.


15 Ibid., 103.

16 Ibid., 99.


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...."
Letter of Peter to Philip

23 Bethge, 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.

24 In the Ep. Pet. Phil., τοῦτο 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 τοῦτο at 137,7-8, where τοῦτο is utilized emphatically to introduce the apodosis of the sentence.


27 Sahidic: ἐσον ἐν θεῷ ἐμαυμαφθα ἐφόν τοῦ θεοῦ Παρθένου; Bohairic uses merely καὶ Φαρίσαίων, like our text. In the Greek NT the name is usually given with a form of ὁ δικαίος; but in three instances a form of ἔλαβα is used without a titular ὁ δικαίος, and all three occurrences are in Luke—Acts (Luke 19:29; 21:37; Acts 1:12).

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

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

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

31 See Werner Foerster, "ὁ δικαίος," TJDNT, 5,483-87.

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

33 Cp., for example, Gos. Mary BG 8,12, where Christ is termed ὁ δικαίος.

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

35 See BAG, s.v. "οὖσα" 1b; Eduard Schweizer, "οὖσα ὁ θεός," TJDNT, 7,1060-62.

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 Theo (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911) esp. 166-76, 201-39, also 249-76.

39 On the petition of the first prayer, cp. the Dial. Sav. III 121,5-7: οὐκ έχωμεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπάγωσεν εὐθυμονόμον τὸ προφήτης, "Hear us, Father, just as you have heard your only begotten Son."

40 A lucid translation and precise understanding of the enian clause (134,8-9) is difficult to achieve. Either the third plural subject of were 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 θεός τῶν φῶν.

42 See the brief summation in Hans Conzelmann, "φωνείς οὐκ εὐφόρω," TKE, 9.327-43.

43 Epistula Apostolorum 19, trans. from the Ethiopic by Hugo Dussung ("Epistula Apostolorum," Hennecke-Schniewelder, 1.203).

44 ἀπαρίστατος and ἀπαρίστος 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 ἀπαριστή rather than a Greek loan word. See Bühlig and Wisse, The Gospel of the Egyptians, 11-17.

45 Ἀκλούος is attested as translating ματάς, particularly in Bohairic; see Crum, 5a.


48 On the use of ματέ to translate εὗδοχεῖ, 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 φωτιζότας ἐν ἀμώμη, cp. 137,8-9 in our tractate.
Letter of Peter to Philip

51. See, for example, the use of φωτισμός in the Ἀποκ. Αδαμ; at V 55, 28-31 the term is used in conjunction with the enigmatic words Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedebick. On Mani as apostle and φωτισμός, see the Xepkalanca, passim, esp. in the formulae near the openings of the chapters. Also see the Acts of Philip 21, where reference is made to τὸν φωτισμὸν τῆς φωτός Ἰησοῦν. In general, on φωτισμός as applied to holy men and Christ, see G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) s.v. "φωτισμός." Literally, of course, φωτισμός refers to the heavenly bodies, e.g. the sun, the moon, or the stars.

52. See BDF, §162, 6.

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

54. For the use of ἔκφωτος, λαμπρός, and related words in the OT and in Coptic literature, see BAG, s.v. "λαμπρός ἡ τ.λ.", O. Procksch and F. Bühnlein, "ἀκώμικτα κ.τ.λ.", TDNT, 4:328-356; Crum, 362b. In the OT, λαμπρός (τῆς) is used of God in Ps 18:15 (19:14) and 77:35 (78:35), and in both instances λαμπρός is used in conjunction with ἔσχατος.

55. See 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, Feyer (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 57-66, esp. n. 93.


57. That 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 of souls (1 Enoch 102-94), 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 Macabees 7); exaltation to shining, starlike glory (Daniel 12), and ascension to the glory of heaven (Acts 1:10, 5 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 (δυνατόν) will raise the ως σώματος. Here he seems to speak of transformation, but elsewhere he can speak of υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ (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.


59 Mark 9:9; Matt 17:9; Luke 9:36. The witnesses to the transfiguration are told to keep silence εἰ μὴ δοκῶν ὅ νῦν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι.

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


62 Also see Acts 7:54-60, where Stephen beholds the άποστολοι σωτηρίας; 13:9-16, where Peter has a vision and hears a ωάς ωάς; note also the accounts of Jesus walking on the water (Mark 6:48-52; 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 (ωάς, ʔapr), 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, “ωάς ωάς τ.λ.α.,” TDNT, 9.282-86; Conzelmann, “οδώς ωάς τ.λ.α.,” TDNT, 9.323-27. Also, in the Greek magical papyri, cp. the so-called “Mitras Liturgy,” passim, esp. lines 692 and following; and Papyrus 46 of the British Museum (= PGM 4), lines 150-51 (συν εἰς ὁ δοτρόπων καὶ βορνηοῦ).”

64 In general, see Otto Betz, “ωάς ωάς τ.λ.α.,” TDNT, 9.299-301; Conzelmann, “οδώς ωάς τ.λ.α.,” 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 (πίερος οὐρα ἔκστασις, 20,5); this passage must be restored at Il 1,19.
66 Prim. 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 Schenkke of the Berlin Arbeitskreis, "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia: Eine gnostische Offenbarungsrede im koptischen Sprache aus dem Fund von Nag Hammadi," T8S 99 (1974) 733-34.

67 Also note the Acts of John, a document permeated with the glory, light, and voice of the exalted Christ; the Docet., a gospel with certain gnosticizing affinities, 9-14 (39-60); Petramnesia, with its vision and revelation of light and λύσις.


69 Conzelmann, 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."

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

71 Cp. also Matt 28:2-4.

72 See Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, 2,10-14; idem, The Gospel of John, esp. 24 and following; also Ernst Räsemann, 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.

73 For 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.

74 A 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.
Cp. Apoc. Adam V 64.5-6; Platis Sophia 6.

76. Cp. the questions given, with laughter, by the Savior, near the opening of the Soph. see Chr., esp. the last question: εἴποντες καί οὐ, "for what are you seeking?" (TIF 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: Ἄμὴ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχεις νῦν δεῖξαι μοι ἢν, "I am the one who is with you for all time" (BG 21,16-19).

77. On ὥ (явление) used to link questions in a series, cp. the citations below from Test., Testim. Truth, and the Excerpta ex Theodoto; also Great Pou. VI 36,27-37,2; Platis Sophia 6.

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 καί in 134,23 functions for the whole series.

79. It is particularly desirable to see how ἀπ’ ἑαυτοῦ 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. 104.

80. Acts 4:29, 31; esp. the Acts of Philip 97, where Philip is asked, by the marvelous leopard, τίνι ὁδοντί ὕπεκοψε τινὸς οὐκ ἔχεις ἀφέσεως ποιήσῃς; see Heinrich Schlier, "ποιήσῃς μ.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 tracts as the Test. Ref., the Cos. Thom., the Spp. Arch., Thom. cont., Eugnostos, and the Soph. see 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," Hennen-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 ("Erotapokriseis," RAC, 6.368), a distinction
can be made between the dialogue and the "question and answer": "Deutlicher ist die Abgrenzung zwischen den S. u. dem Dialog; denn wenn auch sie in förmliche Gespräche übergehen können, der Schüler mit einer Antwort nicht zufrieden gibt, neue Fragen daran knüpft, so begehrt er doch Auskunft oder Weisung; die Antwort soll dem Fragen 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 an idealen frühplato- nischen Dialog orientiert ist." Rather, Rudolph (p. 89) proposes a "Mischung von Dialog und (orakelhaftem) 'Frage-Antwort- Schema' oder der Problemateform ('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, 1978). 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 deliberate, 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 "Gottung," 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.


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 (Hkkangia; III 81.5; 86.16-17.22-23; 87.4-5).

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; Haench, 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: Bascher, 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 Sp. Pet. Phil., this departure by no means precludes the possibility of additional appearances of Jesus (see 138,21-139,4; 140,15-23).

92 οὕτως μὴ ἢ ἰδεῖ (137,4-5); in the second case (137,10) the ἰδεῖ is elided.

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

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

95 Cp. the short answer given in the Dial. Suv.: τῇ ἒρωτα πάντα ἐν τῷ καθ᾿ ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ ἡμῶν, "you are in the place where the deficiency is" (III 139,17-18).

96 Note the Ap. John II 9, 25 (τοιχία); 10, 21 (τετράχα); 13, 32 (τοίχα); Soph. J. E. Chr. III 114,14-15 (τοῖχος τετράχα); 104,17-18 par. Eugnostos V 9, 4-5; Eugnostos III 82,21 (παραφύτως κόσμου); Irenæus, Adv. Haer. 1.29.4; Hippolytus, Ref. 6.34.8; and so on. For further references, see The Nag Hammâdi 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 Pieroma as well as the fallen mother outside the Pieroma. For additional discussion and bibliography, see Ulrich Wilckens, "Ooçôô, n.t.a.,” PNT 7, 509-14; G. C. Stead, "The Valentinian Myth of Sophia," UTS 20 n.s. (1969) 75-104.
Greatness or majesty (Μεγαλεία, μεγαλοσοφία, and similar terms) is a common epithet used to describe the Father. See the Ap. John II 4,1-2 (μεγαλοσοφία); Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 1.2.1-2; it can also be hypostatized, as in the Phil. Soph. and the Paraph. Soph. See W. Grundmann, "μεγαλείαν" and μεγαλοσοφίαν, TDNT, 4.544.

In spite of the punctuation mark in 135,14, it seems clear that the phrase beginning with εἴσοδος (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.

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

Hippolytus, Ref. 6.30.7: version B in Stead.

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).

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

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


Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 1.2.2.

Sermo ex Thodoto 23.2.

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 36,20-31, on the will of the Father and the significance of the syzygy.

We should note that a single Sophia is assumed by our tractate, and not two Sophas, 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.

109 Note, for instance, the Ἱσ. Arch. II 90,29; 92,27;
94,17; in each of these three cases ἁγιασμὸς is used together
with a noun.

110 Adv. Haer. 1.29.4. Note also the use in Latin of
Authoritas for the Greek Ἀρχήν.

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

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

113 Orig. World II 100,10-16. Valbadaboeth proved to be igno-
ant, but he did know what he could call himself from that
voice (ウォ) of Pistis Sophia. In general the author of Orig.
World claims that "the gods and the angels and the people com-
plete what came into existence by means of the word" (τῷ ἔ
γερθῳ; 100,17-19). On the mother calling out the name of the
archon, see also the Ap. John II 10,19.

114 See the Ἱσ. 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; ovp; ἡ ὁμα is used for
"follow."

116 On Ἔφικτος, cp. especially Ἰρμ. Prot. XIII 40,13 and
41,21; also Ἱσ. Arch. II 87,12,21; 94,14,32.

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

118 On the substantival use of ἀγαθός in the Codex III ver-
sion of the Ap. John, see Krause and Labib, Dic drei Versionen,
"Indices; Koptische Wörter," s.v. ἀγαθός. In some instances II
uses ἠγαθός where III uses ἀγαθός.

119 On seeking to go from the place of the left, the
ninety-nine, the όρθονος, to the place of the right, the com-
pleted one hundred, the ἦ, see Irenæus, Adv. Haer. 1.16.2;
Gos. Truth I 31,35-32,34; additional references in Lampre, A
Πατριαρχικός Greek Lexicon, s.v. "ορθονος"; and Ulrich Wilckens,
"Ὀρθονος κ.λ.α.," TDNT, 8,598-601.

120 See, for example, the Apoc. Adam V 76,8; 85,29; Ex-
cerpta 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 the pneumatikov "Aionov and the πνευματικὸν τῶν Άγιων. Also see the Excerpta ex Theodoto 51.1-5; 2.1-2; Hippolytus, Ref. 6.34.6; and Wilhelm Boussuet, Kyrios Christos (trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970) 239-60.

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. v. 33,22, "the Preexistent Father." See The Nag Hammadi Library, "Index of Proper Names," s.v. "Father," "Preexistent One."


125. έχει, and thus also έγγραφος, connotes both envy and imitation (Crum, 132b); the translation of έγγραφος as "rival" seems to capture both of these levels of meaning. Also cp. Exod 20:15; Ap. John II 13,8-9.

126. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 1.17,2: ἐνέγκυως αὐτὸν τῆς ἡλίκιας, έπηκολουθησάμεν τὸ Ἄνθρωπον, and so his work is sure to fall apart one day.


130. On the opposite substitution, where one's body and entire existence are transformed in a most glorious way, see the Gcs. 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 οὐκ ἔχει αὐτῷ ἐνθα δώσῃ. 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 (μιμή) 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.


135. An interesting parallel to this aretological statement in the Ep. Pet. Phil. is a similar self-predication in the Cosm. Truth I 41.14-19. 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 Ep. John II 30,15-16.

136. On 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,” TDE, 1.826-28 (with bibliography).


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 (εξουσία), in das Erbe seiner Vaterschaft einzugehen" entspricht fast wörtlich Joh 1:12b (P. 1387). In John 1:12, the Sahidic NT reads as follows: υποτευχήτω ας ἐν αὐτῷ ηγεμονία ετέρως καὶ προσφέρω τῷ πατρὶ tau.

141. Still 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 Evangelien [Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1967] 55-104); more briefly, cp. his article “Johannesevangelium,” RGG, 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 Offenbarungsereden spricht er von seiner Person (ἐγώ εἰμί)" (cp. 134,17-18; 136,16; 140, 22-23); "12. Er kennt die Seinen, und sie kennen ihn" (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 anderen 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 Erlöser 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.

143Betzge, col. 164.

143Koschorke, "Eine gnostische Paraphrase," 389. See also p. 386, where Koschorke depicts ναι ως μαίναι ας "der Mensch... in dem der Soter Wohnung nimmt"; also note, with Koschorke, an "'immer,' pneumatischer 'Mensch'" at 137,22. On Jesus, as the άνω ουράνιον of Christ, being saved by Christ, see the so-called Ophites of Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I.30.12-14; especially Trim. Prot. XII 50,12-20, including the reference to the salvation of κατακείμενα τε μη ως (50,16).

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 Könen]. Sie fallen sich [mit....] durch Erlösung." He judges this restoration to be "ziemlich sicher," though we may not share his certainty.

146As Christ and the κατακείμενα 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 20,8-28 God sends a helper (οὐκομοθεκός) to Adam, a Thought of Light (οὐγιστικόν ούγοςιν), that is out of him (ταῖ ου γεγονεῖ Πάντα τε). This Thought, called Life (ζωή), helps in the process of Adam's restoration to his fullness (κάτακείμενα). The Thought of Life is hidden in Adam, and the rulers (μαίναι) do not recognize her, but she aids in the rectification of the deficiency of the mother (μητρί κατακείμενα).
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. Gau. III 140, 14-19: "Marianne said, 'Tell me, Lord, why have I come to this place (ἐστιν γὰρ ἔκειν; εἰς τὸν θεὸν).? To gain or to lose?' The Lord said, 'You are to disclose the greatness of the repealer (ἀπόρρητος).''


150 Discussion and parallels in Epistula Isaei 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 ἐπικαλεῖ εὐροοῖ 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. Gau. III 138, 16-20; Exeg. Soul III 131, 27-132, 26; 133, 10-15, 31-34, 15.


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


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-Spräche 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 τηκτάνα and τέλεον; 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 ressurrectus, resurrectus, and resurrectus, 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) 62-60, esp. 71-72.

156 Also note *Plēteia Sophia* 96, where Jesus declares identity with the truly enlightened: ἦνως ἐστιν τῷ ἀναληγμένῳ οὗτος ἄνω τῶν ἄνω. 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, ἢ παντὸς ημῶν ὁ Χριστός, ὅπως ἡ ἀναστάσις καταλήλπτε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρήμου τῶν τῶν ὀυγιασμένων. 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 134,9-9; 137,13-139,3; esp. 138,10-140,1.


159 The texts of the *Ap. John* in Codices IV (41,20) and BG 8502 (68,12-13) have more typical forms of Ἀλοιμ with a double μ. Also see the *Plēteia* V, III 141,1-12, with its discussion on when and how rest will be attained, and whether suicide is an appropriate means to achieve final rest.

160 Bethege, col. 168 n. 25; in his German translation he uses *μακαρισμος*.


162 Here the Greek text reads μυκτός, the Latin version *ignominiam*. We read γῶδας with Harvey.


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


167 Cp. the references in John to the Father sending Jesus; at 7:33 and 16:5, for example, the Father is referred to as τὸν ἐμὸν; in both cases the Sahidic has ἐστάντοις, 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,” ZNW 9 (1963) 208-16; also Rudolf Bultmann, “Die Bedeutung der neuerenschlossenen mandischen und nächtlichen Quellen,” 105-06 (pp. 60-61); Jesse Sells, “A Note on a Striking Johannine Motif Found at CG VI:6,19,” NovT 20 (1978) 232-40.

168 38,1 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.

169 See above, pp. 105-13.


171 In the Sahidic version of Acts 1:9, a cloud "received him" (κρυόνταῖς) and "he was taken up away from them" (λεγεν οὐρα ρωμαίοις). 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" (λεγεν οὐρανοις οὐρας ρωμαίοις).


173 In Luke 24:53 the disciples are described as being in the temple εὐχομένης τοῦ υἱοῦ (Sahidic: εὐχομαι εὐχομαι). In 24:52 it is noted that the disciples return to Jerusalem μετὰ χαιρεῖς μεγάλας; many texts (but not the Western text!) also include a reference to them προσκυνήσαντας αὐτῶν (Sahidic: ἀκούοντας εὐθείας τῆς).

174 It could also be suggested that the first perfect accusative of 138,10 translates the inchoative aorist (see BDB, §531, 311), 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 118,10-11 and 119,5-6 also use very similar constructions (λέγω ἀκόνον εἰς ἑαυτήν...λέγω ἀκόνον εἰς ἑαυτήν, καὶ ὑπάρχοντας εἰς ἑσορουσάμην...καὶ ἀνέβρασαν εἰς ἑσορουσάμην). See also Menard, 5 and esp. 46.

175 Conzelman (The Theology of St. Luke) can rightfully refer to the ἑσοροσάμην in Acts; see his discussion on pp. 137-49, 209-11, 233-34.


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," 3-11.


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

180 On 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. Jaa. V 26,13-27,12), and the powers as the ἄγγελοι of the churches (Rev 2:11-3:22).

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

182 Luttikhuisen, "The Letter of Peter to Philip and the New Testament," Hag. Rahmani and Gnostic, 100 n. 20. See also the Concordance du Nouveau Testament Syrtoque (CSCO; ed. Michel Willem; Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1951) s.v. "ετερον, "ετερον..." έτερον..." As the Concordance indicates, έτερον or έτερον is used to translate ἄνεφο only three times in the Sahidic NT: John 1:30, 11:4; 2 Cor 12:8.

Commentary


185 It may be possible to interpret τεταμένηνοι in a more positive fashion, as in the Gzt. 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. 138-40, on 137,4-13. Such an interpretation, however, is not as convincing as the one we are suggesting here.

186 Treut. Seth VII 69,11-12; note the use of ἀναντοίκος 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 et 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 16:12. On the necessity of suffering see, with Luttikhuiizen, 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 1:8-12, 1 Tim 3:12-13; also Ap. Jas. I 4,37-6,21, esp. 6,15-17: μεν οὖν χάριν μαρτυρεῖ οὖν ἐκ πατρών ἑαυτῷ ἐν οἷς ἦν, "none of those who fear death will be saved" (see Epistula Ioseb Apocrypha, 52).


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

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.


201 The construction which utilizes ἡν χῶρα with the indefinite article is also attested in the Sahidic NT (e.g. Acts 1:15, 7:55, 10:38), and may parallel the use of νεκρῶς ψωμίσαν without an article in the Greek Acts (see BDAG, s.v. "νεκρῶς," 598).


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.


206 Cp. Acts 2:22; also 135.15-16 in our tractate.

207 p66 and a few other manuscripts read ἔχων rather than ψωμίσαν.
As 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.

On 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 1 20,25; Treat. Seth VII 58,24-26.

Both 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: χερσόνες δούρου ἐν Εἶδον. On έκοι as the Coptic for ξεκοιλον, see Acts 5:30 and 10:19 in the Sahidic NT, as well as Crum (80b).

It 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.

See BAG, s.v. "έκοιος."


"Ibid., 101 n. 22.

See above, p. 44, n. to 139,21.

Berclecon, Fragment 11, on John 2:12, in Origen, In Joanne 10.11; Clement of Alexandria, Excerpta ex Theodoto 33.3; Stromata 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 Allelogenes; and Seth as Ἀλλογένης; also see Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, 49-51, on the "alien."

On 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).

discussion and references in BAG, s.v. "δόμωμα."

BAG, s.v. "δόμωμα."

On the use of Gen 1:26 by the Gnostics, see also Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 1.5.5 (on Ptolemaeus: καὶ δόμωμα is the psychic man, whose substance is termed ρύθμις [LAC]; 1.18.2 (on Marcus and others); 1.24.1 (on Saturninus); 1.30.6 (apparently on the Ophites); Clement of Alexandria, Excerpta ex Theodoto 50.2-3 (cp. Irenaeus on Ptolemaeus); 54.2; Hippolytus, Ref. 6.14.2-6 (the Neguis Apophthegmata).

See also 5:31, in another speech by Peter and the apostles; also 5 Clem. 20.5 (τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ ἄρχην τῆς δεόμω-


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.


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 δόμωμα λαβώμενον [Epiphanius, Panarion 40.8.2]; Jesus may claim, μὴ γενέσθαι ἐν θανάτῳ [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θάνατος [Rev. 20:14]; ἐνὶ γενέσθαι ὁ θά

Τ. VII 55,18-19; also note the Qur'an, sura 4,157 (see Geoffrey Parrinder, Jesus in the Qur'an [New York: Oxford University, 1977] 105-21; Tor Andrae, Muhammad: The Man and His Faith [New York: Harper & Row, 1968] 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; Teach. Seth VII 55,9-56,19; early Islamic interpretations of sura 4,157).

227 See BAG, s.v. "ἀνωτέρως."

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

229 Luttikhuizen ("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 ἔλθῃ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ θεοῦ, to pass on πνεῦμα ἁγίου.

231 In the Ap. John II 16,1, ἁμαρτία is credited with the creation of the lips of Adam; Platai Sophia can refer to the three Amens and the seven Amens (1, 10, 86, 93, 96), like the Books of Eve (42, 44, 48, 50). On ἁμαρτία in the NT and early Christian literature, see Heinrich Schlier, "ἁμαρτία," TDNT, 1,335-38; BAG, s.v. "ἁμαρτία." On ἁμαρτία here understood as referring to the liturgical kiss of peace in Christian circles, see Bethe, 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 ἁμαρτία here refers to a kiss or simply a greeting.

232 Cp. the standard Semitic greeting, דֶּ לֶבֶּ. For parallels see John 20:19, 21, 26; Luke 24:36 (various manuscripts); ἐλθῇ υἱόν ἁγίου, δεῦρε ἐναέριον (Sahidic).

233 Matt 28:18-20, with the promise of Jesus' presence; Luke 24:44-49, with the promise of Γόνης ἐς Γόνης; 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. Ιερ. Chr. III 119,1-8, with a similar concluding commission.

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

235 According to Crum (313a), ὁ can translate καίμα, 1,231-32.

236 Cited and discussed by Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 1,231-32.
The Coptic ωμε of the Ep. Pet. Phili. may very well translate λόγος from the Greek Vorlage (cp. Crum, 613b). James Brashear has suggested to me privately that we take this presumed λόγος in the sense of "section," "division," or "branch" (cp. BSJ, s.v. "λόγος." VI 36); according to this interpretation, the Ep. Pet. Phili. closes, like the Piatia 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 λόγος too far, since even the suggested translations "section," "division," and "branch" are given by the lexicon within the context of spoken or written disclosures.

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

The Ep. Pet. 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
Letter of Peter to Philip

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 ἀγωγάς (137,16.17.21), whereas elsewhere terms such as σωμάτων and ἔθνος 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 μάρτυρος (139,10) rather than the usual μακάριος, and the verb ἔχει (139,10.15) rather than the usual quotation formula with ἔδωκεν.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 mate-
rials 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 theologi-
cal concerns in their portrayals of the significance and nature
(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 similari-
ties in the use of technical terms (Ἀγαλματισμός, Στάσις, προσωπι-
σμός, ἀρχεῖον, καταλήψις) 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 spe-
cific 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 Ἀληθινός
hymn, though the similarities must not be overdrawn. Again,
the traditional kerygmatic formulae in the creed (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 (Μάραγος, mater; Ναγός, Anathadis) 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. Pet. 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 (αὐτὸν τῷ, 139,25-26; πάθει, 139,26; μαρτυρίας ἔχει ἡμών, 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 eccesioloogy of this group as reflected in the Ep. Pet. Phil.
Conclusion

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 ΠΝΗΜΑ, ΚΕΘΩ, ΧΡΩΣΤΗΡ, ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝ, ΠΣΗΦΑΡΑΚΙΟΣ ΗΧΟΣ, ΠΕΚΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΕ ΠΝΗΜΑ, ΠΛΗΡΗΣ, ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝ, ΠΑΡΙΣΙΑΝΟΣ) 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 ΦΙΛΟΤΗΤΑ both in the first prayer offered by the gathered apostles (133,27) and in the sermon of Peter (139,15). 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 ΠΛΗΡΗΣ (134,3-6; 139,26-27).

Furthermore, in the account of the descent of the Gnostic illuminator, Jesus refers to himself as the ΠΑΓΩΜΑ (139,16). 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 body 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 Ἱππ. 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 Ἱππ. 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, worshiping 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 (αρετή, 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).

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 activistic 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 ἕος almost certainly translates ὁδῶμ. Cp. Crum, 815b; Concordance du Nouveau Testament Sahidique, s.v. "héos" (héos translates ὁδῶμ one hundred twenty times, but other nouns only occasionally).

2 ἑκάστῳ could translate εἴμαι or even ἦμι, and ἡμί surely translates forms of ἵσον, including participial forms. Cp. Crum, 285ab, 754ab; Concordance du Nouveau Testament Sahidique, s.v. "hékt-," "hem-.

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. Phili. 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. Phili. 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. Phili. 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 φοιτήτης in the context of the third revelatory answer of the Savior (137,8), see above, p. 197.

6 On the soteriological use of ἀνάφορα 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. Phili. 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. Phili. 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 ecclesiolas in ecclesia.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Letter of Peter to Philip


-----


-----


Letter of Peter to Philip


Bibliography


Layton, Bentley. "Coptic (Sahidic Dialect)." Typescript on file at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, to be published.


---


Malinine, Michel; Puech, Henri-Charles; Quispe, Gilles; Till, Walter; and Kasser, Rodolphe, eds. *Epigraphia Jacobitico-coptica.* Zürich: Rascher, 1968.


Bibliography


Bibliography


---. "The Verbal System of VIII,8." Unpublished typescript, on file in the Nag Hammadi Archive of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

Wisse, Frederik. "The Letter of Peter to Philip (VIII,1)." Typescript of a portion of a book on Gnosticism and the Nag Hammadi codices, to be published.

---. Unpublished transcription and notes to The Letter of Peter to Philip, on file in the Nag Hammadi Archive of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.

INDEX OF ANCIENT SOURCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. JEWISH SOURCES</th>
<th>Wis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen 1:26</td>
<td>5:17-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:26</td>
<td>155, 186n.222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:26-27</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>174n.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:1-4</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:1-8</td>
<td>170n.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 19:16</td>
<td>169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:16ff.</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:1</td>
<td>176n.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:18</td>
<td>108, 169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:15</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33:18</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34:29-35</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 4:12</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:22</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:22-23</td>
<td>185n.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kgs 19:12</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 18:1-14</td>
<td>169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:15(19:14)</td>
<td>168n.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77:18</td>
<td>169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77:35(78:35)</td>
<td>168n.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104:7</td>
<td>169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 11:5</td>
<td>100n.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:1-4</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45:1-6</td>
<td>175n.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46:9</td>
<td>175n.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53:12</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59:17</td>
<td>180n.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 106</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan 10:13ff.</td>
<td>182n.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>168n.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:1</td>
<td>182n.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. NEW TESTAMENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt 3:17</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:7-11</td>
<td>181n.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:11</td>
<td>89n.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:1-18</td>
<td>148-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:31</td>
<td>181n.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:33</td>
<td>184n.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:37-39</td>
<td>184n.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:18-20</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:22-23</td>
<td>169n.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:27</td>
<td>181n.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:17-19</td>
<td>168n.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:24-28</td>
<td>184n.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:1-8</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:2</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:5</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:7</td>
<td>181n.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:9</td>
<td>152, 169n.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:14</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:1-5</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:19</td>
<td>181n.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:20</td>
<td>180n.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19:13-15</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:22</td>
<td>181n.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:3</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:9-14</td>
<td>183n.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26:30</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:28-29</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:60</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28:2-4</td>
<td>170n.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28:5ff.</td>
<td>181n.168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

211
### Matt

| 28:18-20 | 187n.233
| 28:19-20 | 180n.164
| 28:20 | 112

### Mark

| 1:1 | 103
| 1:40 | 101
| 5:36 | 181n.168
| 6:45-52 | 169n.62
| 6:50 | 181n.168
| 8:34-9:1 | 184n.193
| 9:2-8 | 107, 168n.55
| 9:9 | 152, 169n.59
| 9:33-37 | 147
| 10:13-16 | 147
| 11:24 | 181n.166
| 13:3 | 98
| 13:9 | 149
| 14:26 | 98
| 15:17 | 152
| 15:28 | 157
| 15:46 | 152
| 15:52 | 168n.55
| 16:7 | 187n.233
| 16:15-18 | 184n.197

### Luke

| 3:22 | 103
| 8:45 | 184n.197
| 8:50 | 181n.168
| 9:23-27 | 184n.193
| 9:29-36 | 107
| 9:32 | 184n.197
| 9:36 | 169n.59
| 9:46-48 | 147
| 10:3 | 104
| 11:9-13 | 181n.166
| 12:7 | 181n.168
| 12:9 | 184n.193
| 12:11-12 | 183n.189
| 12:35 | 181n.165
| 14:25-27 | 184n.193
| 16:8 | 104
| 17:33 | 184n.193
| 18:15-17 | 147
| 19:16 | 168n.27
| 19:29 | 104
| 20:36 | 148-49
| 21:12 | 98, 166n.27
| 21:37 | 147
| 22:37 | 157
| 22:39 | 166n.26

### John

| 1 | 180n.164
| 1:1-18 | 180n.164
| 1:9 | 169n.55
| 1:12 | 169n.55
| 1:14 | 169n.55
| 1:30 | 169n.55
| 1:12 | 169n.55
| 2:22 | 169n.55
| 3:19 | 169n.55
| 6:16-21 | 169n.55
| 6:20 | 169n.55
| 7:33 | 169n.55
| 8:1 | 169n.55
| 8:12 | 169n.55
| 11:4 | 169n.55
| 12:25 | 169n.55
| 12:28-29 | 169n.55
| 12:36 | 169n.55
| 14:13-14 | 169n.55
| 15:7 | 169n.55
| 15:18-21 | 169n.55
| 16:2 | 169n.55
| 16:15 | 169n.55
| 16:23-24 | 169n.55
| 17:14-19 | 169n.55
| 18:2 | 169n.55
| 19:2 | 169n.55
| 19:5 | 169n.55
| 19:41-42 | 169n.55
| 20:1-10 | 169n.55
| 20:19 | 169n.55
| 20:12ff. | 169n.55
| 20:19-23 | 169n.55
| 20:19ff. | 169n.55
John
20:28 165n.15
21:1-23 168n.55
21:4ff. 112
21:14 152

Acts
1:7 181n.172
1:10 173n.90
1:14 94, 166n.25, 168n.55
1:15 184n.201
1:16 166n.25
1:18 180n.164, 187n.233
1:19-21 191
1:21 183n.171
1:22 98, 144, 149, 166n.27
1:3 94
1:15-22 184n.204
1:16 152
1:17 151, 158
1:19-40 191
1:21-22 184n.204
2:2 184n.197
2:22-24 153
2:22 184n.206
2:23 157
2:24 185n.211
2:25 152
2:32 185n.211
2:38 149
2:42-47 149
3:1-26 149
3:12-26 184n.204
3:13-15 153
3:13 167n.46
3:15 152, 156
3:17 152
3:26 167n.46
4:8-12 184n.204
4:8 151
4:10 149, 152
4:17-18 149
4:18 184n.195
4:19-20 184n.204
4:27 103
4:29 171n.80
4:30 193, 149
4:31 171n.80, 184n.202
4:32-37 149
4:36 104
5:12-42 149
5:28 184n.195
5:29-32 184n.204
5:29 184n.197
5:30 152, 185n.210
5:30-31 153
5:31 186n.223
6:1 152
6:3 152
6:5 94
7:35 105
7:54-60 169n.62
7:55 184n.201-202
7:60 101
8:4-40 94-95
8:4-25 191
8:12 89n.51
8:14ff. 149
8:19 187n.230
8:24 87n.24
9:1-31 95
9:1-9 108
9:22 81, 104
9:49 101
10:1-11:18 95
10:9-16 169n.62
10:16 181n.171
10:34-43 184n.204
10:36-42 153
10:38 184n.201
10:39 152, 185n.210
10:41 111, 152
11:5-17 184n.204
11:19-20 95
13:9 184n.202
13:29ff. 152
13:52 184n.202
14:4 94
14:8-20 170n.74
14:14 94
14:22 183n.189
15:1-35 95
15:7-11 184n.204
15:7 152
15:23-24 164n.10
15:23 164n.12
17:3 152
17:31 152
20:36 101
21:5 101
21:8 94
22:4-11 108
23:26-30 164n.10
25:9-18 108
Rom
1:7 164n.12
1:23 103
4:25 147
8:4 187n.228
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rom</td>
<td>8:11</td>
<td>169n.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16:16</td>
<td>187n.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cor</td>
<td>5:4</td>
<td>180n.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:1</td>
<td>173n.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:25</td>
<td>172n.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8:1ff</td>
<td>173n.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:1</td>
<td>173n.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>169n.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:2</td>
<td>89n.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:3-5</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:4ff</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:5</td>
<td>168n.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:20ff</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:42-54</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:49</td>
<td>176n.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15:50</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16:20</td>
<td>187n.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Cor</td>
<td>1:1</td>
<td>164n.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>169n.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:2ff.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:2-3</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>169n.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:8</td>
<td>182n.182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13:12</td>
<td>187n.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal</td>
<td>3:31</td>
<td>185n.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6:15</td>
<td>169n.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eph</td>
<td>1:17</td>
<td>186n.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:22-23</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:19</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6:10-20</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6:12</td>
<td>180n.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6:14</td>
<td>181n.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil</td>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>104, 167n.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:6</td>
<td>181n.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col</td>
<td>1:1-2</td>
<td>164n.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:19</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2:9</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Thess</td>
<td>3:3-4</td>
<td>183n.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:5</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:8</td>
<td>180n.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:26</td>
<td>187n.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Thess</td>
<td>1:5-8</td>
<td>183n.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:17</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:12-13</td>
<td>183n.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Tim</td>
<td>1:2</td>
<td>164n.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2:12</td>
<td>184n.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phlm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>164n.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heb</td>
<td>2:10</td>
<td>186n.223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:14</td>
<td>89n.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9:19</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>180n.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:2</td>
<td>186n.223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13:3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas</td>
<td>1:5-8</td>
<td>181n.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:17</td>
<td>167n.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:11</td>
<td>163n.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Pet</td>
<td>168n.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:13</td>
<td>181n.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:14</td>
<td>187n.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pet</td>
<td>1:16-19</td>
<td>107, 168n.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:17</td>
<td>103, 186n.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 John</td>
<td>1:5</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2:8</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4:1-3</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5:14-15</td>
<td>181n.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 John</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 John</td>
<td>164n.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of the Apostles (apocryphal)</td>
<td>97, 165n.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of John</td>
<td>170n.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of Philip</td>
<td>168n.51, 171n.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of Thomas</td>
<td>168n.53, 160, 100, 100, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of Peter</td>
<td>169n.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Clement</td>
<td>154, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Clement</td>
<td>137, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel of Bartholomew</td>
<td>166n.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel of Eb.</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel of Pet.</td>
<td>152, 170n.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerygma Petrou</td>
<td>103, 163n.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo-Clementines</td>
<td>92, 97, 163n.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistula Petri</td>
<td>92, 97, 163n.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerygmati Petrou</td>
<td>97, 163n.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic Fathers</td>
<td>1 Clement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Clement</td>
<td>103, 186n.223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. THE APOCRYPHAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE

III. OTHER EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

- Hymn of the Pearl (hymn of the Pearl) | 159-60, 100 |
- Apocalypse of Paul (Greek) | 51, 166n.29 |
- Apost. Pet. (Ethiopic) | 169n.61 |
- Ascension of Isaiah | 166n.29, 166n.29 |
- Epistula Apostolorum | 112, 170n.73 |
- 23ff. | 165n.16, 167n.43 |
- 30 | 160 |
- Gospel of Bartholomew | 4.1-12, 166n.28 |
- Gos. Eb. | 3, 104 |
- Gos. Pet. | 152, 170n.67 |
- Kerygma Petrou | 2, 103 |
- Pseudo-Clementines | 92, 97, 163n.5 |
- Epistula Petri | 92, 97, 163n.5 |
- Kerygmati Petrou | 97, 163n.5 |
- Apostolic Fathers | 1 Clement | 167n.46 |
- 2 Clement | 103, 186n.223 |
Letter of Peter to Philip

Ignatius, Trall.
9.2  155
10.1 182n.177

Rom.
3.3  165n.15

Smyrn.
1.1  165n.15
2.1  182n.177
3.2  184n.197
4.2  182n.177
5.1-3 182n.177

Polycarp, Phil.
2.1  181n.165

Did.
9.2ff. 103

Barn.
7.8-8.1 152
12.5  174n.103

Mart. Pol.
14.1-3 167n.46
16.1  157
20.2  167n.46

Diogn.
6.2ff.  167n.46

Church Fathers
Clement of Alexandria
Excerpta ex Theodoto
1.2  175n.120
2.1-2  176n.121
23.2  174n.106
26.3  175n.120
32.1-2  177n.134
33.3  185n.216
38.3  175n.120
41.1-2  175n.120
42.2  175n.120
50.2-3  186n.222
53.1-5  176n.121
54.2  186n.222
68  183n.187
78.2  115

Strom.
III.4 §31.3  185n.216
III.6 §92.4-5  185n.14

Epiphanius, Panarion
26.9.9  180n.156
31.7.4  186n.226
40.8.2  186n.226

Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica
3.31.3  165n.14

Hippolytus, Ref.
5.7.8  171n.81
5.8.44 137
6.14.5-6 (Megale Apophatie)
  186n.222
6.30.7  174n.100
6.31.4  125
6.31.6  125-26
6.34.6  176n.21
6.34.8  173n.96
7.26.2  171n.81
7.27.6  180n.161
8.10.5-6 131

1.2.1-2  174n.97
1.2.2  174n.99, n.105
1.2.4  125
1.2.6  129-30
1.3.2  173n.88
1.5.5  186n.222
1.5.6  176n.121
1.7.1  179n.151
1.14.2  173n.134
1.16.2  175n.119
1.17.2  176n.126
1.18.2  186n.222
1.21.4  142
1.24.1  186n.222
1.24.2  186n.226
1.29.4  173n.96, 174n.101, 175n.110, n.117
1.30.6  186n.222
1.30.12-14 178n.143
1.30.14  173n.88
3.11.8  160
3.16.9-3.18.5 182n.177
4.33.9  182n.177

Maruta of Maiperkat,
De sancta synodo Nicenae
160
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,9-10</td>
<td>186n.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,15</td>
<td>174n.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,25</td>
<td>173n.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,29ff.</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,1-19</td>
<td>176n.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,7-19</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,19</td>
<td>175n.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,19-21</td>
<td>175n.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,20ff.</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,21</td>
<td>173n.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,16-18</td>
<td>175n.111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,34-13,1</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,34</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,6-9</td>
<td>176n.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,14-15</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,22-23</td>
<td>175n.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,24-28</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,27</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,32</td>
<td>173n.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14,4ff.</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14,13-15,13</td>
<td>176n.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,1-19,14</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16,5</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16,10</td>
<td>187n.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,31</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,9-28</td>
<td>178n.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22,35</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23,24</td>
<td>174n.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24,32-25,16</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26,21-32</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29,27</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,8-9</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,15-16</td>
<td>177n.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39,2ff.</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39,33-35</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43,3-4</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51,5ff.</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>171n.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33,7-8</td>
<td>(logion 4) 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34,3ff.</td>
<td>(logion 9) 35 n. to 133,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,1</td>
<td>(logion 21) 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,4-6</td>
<td>(logion 21) 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,20-35</td>
<td>(logion 22) 176n.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,20-22</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39,27-40,2</td>
<td>(logion 37) 179n.149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41,10-12</td>
<td>(logion 46) 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42,8-12</td>
<td>(logion 51) 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gos. Thom.</td>
<td>42, 25-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Legion 55)</td>
<td>184n.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Legion 77)</td>
<td>177n.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gos. Phil</td>
<td>56, 31-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57, 19-22</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 15</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 20-23</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyp. Arch.</td>
<td>171n.81, 174n.104, 179n.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86, 20-27</td>
<td>180n.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86, 27-87, 4</td>
<td>175n.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87, 11-33</td>
<td>176n.129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87, 15-20</td>
<td>176n.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87, 12</td>
<td>175n.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87, 21</td>
<td>175n.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, 9-10</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90, 29</td>
<td>175n.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92, 27</td>
<td>175n.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93, 32-94, 2</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 14</td>
<td>175n.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 17</td>
<td>175n.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 21-22</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 32</td>
<td>175n.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96, 25-27</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orig. World</td>
<td>174n.104, 179n.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100, 10-19</td>
<td>175n.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102, 11-103, 15</td>
<td>176n.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102, 35-103, 32</td>
<td>175n.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107, 16-108, 14</td>
<td>176n.128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 22-28</td>
<td>175n.115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114, 15-115, 3</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euseb. Soul</td>
<td>131, 9-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131, 27ff.</td>
<td>179n.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thom. Cont.</td>
<td>171n.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codex III</td>
<td>82, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gos. Eg.</td>
<td>84, 2ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84, 2ff.</td>
<td>172n.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soph. Jas.</td>
<td>91, 1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr.</td>
<td>117, 161, 171n.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91, 2-9</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91, 10-13</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92, 3</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114, 14-15</td>
<td>171n.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119, 1-8</td>
<td>173n.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dial. Sav.</td>
<td>187n.233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174n.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121, 5-7</td>
<td>167n.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132, 11-12</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138, 11-14</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138, 16-20</td>
<td>179n.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139, 14-15</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139, 17-18</td>
<td>173n.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140, 14-19</td>
<td>179n.147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143, 3-12</td>
<td>180n.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codex IV</td>
<td>21, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ap. John</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 20</td>
<td>180n.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codex V</td>
<td>80, 15-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eunostos</td>
<td>166n.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 3</td>
<td>163n.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 4-5</td>
<td>173n.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apoc. Paul</td>
<td>18, 3-19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 12-13</td>
<td>183n.184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Apoc. Jas.</td>
<td>25, 18-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 13-27, 12</td>
<td>182n.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 14-22</td>
<td>186n.225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 22</td>
<td>176n.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Apoc. Jas.</td>
<td>46, 14-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55, 15-20</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56, 17-14</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 20-23</td>
<td>136-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 1-63, 33</td>
<td>182n.176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Index

**Codex VII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>VN</th>
<th>BS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apoc. Adam</td>
<td>64,5-6</td>
<td>171n.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69,17-18</td>
<td>185n.216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76,8</td>
<td>175n.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85,28-31</td>
<td>168n.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85,29</td>
<td>175n.120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Codex VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>VN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zost.</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,24-3,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48,27-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>130,14ff.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Codex IX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>VN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melch.</td>
<td>6,24-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,6-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26,2-9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Codex XII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>VN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interp. Know.</td>
<td>5,27-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,27-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20,23-28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Codex XIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>VN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trim. Prot.</td>
<td>109, 173n.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37, [31]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38,22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47,28-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50,12-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG 8502</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8,12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Codex VII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VN</th>
<th>BS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>174n.97</td>
<td>3,11-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185n.218</td>
<td>51,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179n.148</td>
<td>51,1-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185n.218</td>
<td>51,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183n.186</td>
<td>51,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185n.218</td>
<td>51,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130-31</td>
<td>51,3-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185n.209</td>
<td>51,4-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183n.186</td>
<td>51,1-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179n.148</td>
<td>71,32-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182n.176</td>
<td>72,4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182n.176</td>
<td>74,23-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182n.178</td>
<td>76,17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183n.184</td>
<td>80,8-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186n.226</td>
<td>81,3-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182n.176</td>
<td>83,7ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>84,6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186n.225</td>
<td>101,33-102,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,5</td>
<td>PGM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21,18-19</td>
<td>4,94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46,1</td>
<td>86n.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46,10-11</td>
<td>4,692ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68,12-13</td>
<td>(&quot;Mithras&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liturgy&quot;) 169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,150-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act of Peter</td>
<td>(P. Brit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141,7</td>
<td>Mus. 46) 169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Merton 86 164n.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Askov Codex</td>
<td>P. Oxy. 61-62 164n.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pletis Sophia 99, 160-61,</td>
<td>P. Oxy. 120 164n.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>188n.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sumerian and Akkadian Myths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>Descent of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Inanna/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ishtar 137-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Ras Shamra Tablets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Baal cycle 2.5.6-9 169n.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Quran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Sura 4 186n.226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce Codex</td>
<td>Other Documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booke of Jesu</td>
<td>Kephalaia 168n.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Manichaean Psalm-Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>179n.149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Poimandres 170n.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>24-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. ADDITIONAL SOURCES

| Apuleius, Metamorphoses |              |
| bk. 11                  | 180n.155      |
| Ovid, Metamorphoses     |              |
| 8.611-724               | 170n.74       |
| Plutarch, Moralia       |              |
| frg. 178                | 180n.155      |