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NAG HAMMADI CODEX II,2-7

TOGETHER WITH

XIII,2*, BRIT. LIB. OR.4926(1), AND P.OXY. 1, 654, 655

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VOLUME TWO

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, EXPOSITORY TREATISE

ON THE SOUL, BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER



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LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KØBENHAVN • KØLN

1989

NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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XXI

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INTRODUCTION

HANS-GEORG BETHGE*

1. Tractate II,5, whose title has not come down to us, is an encyclopedic compendium of basic Gnostic ideas, above all on protology and eschatology; terrestrial history is largely excluded from discussion, and the upper world and its development are not described in any detail. Partly academic in style (with numerous etiologies and etymologies), it has the form of an apologetic essay intended for public dissemination. The work was probably composed in Alexandria at the end of the third century A.D. or beginning of the fourth. It does not represent any known Gnostic system, and draws upon a variety of sources and traditions. The anonymous and otherwise unknown author refers to the subject of the treatise in his opening; on this basis the work is now often referred to by a modern, hypothetical title *On the Origin of the World* (*OnOrgWld*).¹

2. GENRE. In many places, above all where the creation and destruction of the world are treated, *OnOrgWld* exhibits numerous parallels to apocalyptic literature, especially Jewish (e.g., Ethiopic *Enoch* and *Jubilees*), raising the question of whether it belongs to the genre of apocalypse. This possibility is excluded by the lack of certain elements essential to apocalyptic literature, for example, narration of visions, periodization of history, the fundamental view of God as creator and lord of the two aeons (realms), as also by the absence of esotericism, which is found in many apocalypses. In certain ways *OnOrgWld* is more similar to Jewish or Christian Sibylline literature. Above all it seems to have been written with the purpose of disseminating Gnostic ideas, offering to the interested public a defence of the Gnostic world view. Against the assumption that *OnOrgWld* belongs to the literary genre of apocalypse is the fact that the author presents his material soberly, without pathos, and argues in a distanced and factual manner. With a view to the entirety of the work, one could best designate it as a treatise or apologetic essay.

*Translated from the German by Bentley Layton.

¹ Also known as the *Untitled Work*, *Schrift ohne Titel*, and *Ecrit sans Titre*.

3. DATE AND PROVENANCE. The date of composition can be only approximately determined. Certain ideas in the work appear to presuppose Manichaean theology. Thus in its received form—as the deliberate literary product of a single author (and quite apart from the historical development of the traditions or materials that he used)—*OnOrgWld* probably was not composed before the time when Manichaeism began to have influence in Egypt (end of the third century A.D.) and not later than the early fourth century. Any estimate of the date must take into account the time necessary for Greek transmission of the text, its eventual translation into Coptic, and further Coptic transmission before the mid-fourth century copies found at Nag Hammadi.

The juxtaposition of various kinds of Jewish thought, Manichaean elements, Christian ideas, Greek philosophical concepts, forms of Greek or Hellenistic mythology, magical practices, and astrology, together with the special prominence given to Egyptian lore, points to Alexandria as the place in which the original Greek text was composed.

4. COMPOSITION. The author of *OnOrgWld* drew upon both Gnostic and non-Gnostic works, according as their ideas were useful to his purpose. Because at least some of these works presupposed a quite special system of their own or moved in a direction different from the author's own thought, there sometimes are tensions, disharmonies, and contradictions in the text. The relatively academic way in which he works is especially evident in his citation, both direct and indirect, of other texts (now lost), and in cross-references, summaries, etymologies, explanatory matter, and systematization, all of which present a striking contrast to the narrative style that otherwise predominates in the work. But the author not only adduces foreign material by way of completing or explaining; he also can pass over in silence things that to him seem obvious. Despite the clear fact that he has utilized various prior sources—he himself refers to seven or eight of them—in most cases it is not possible for the critic to delimit or to reconstruct these sources with any conviction.

There is obviously a close connection between *OnOrgWld* and the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (CG II,4),² reflected in many parallels (some quite detailed) and by a notable similarity of style. But because of their respective literary characters (the *Hypostasis*, unlike *OnOrgWld*, gives the impression of an apocalypse), their different pictures of the universe, and clear differences of detail, a direct literary relationship seems to be excluded. Both works could, in any case, be based upon some of the same source material;³ this would account for the connection better than

² Edited in volume I.

³ E.g., an apocalypse of Norea, and possibly a Gnostic paraphrase of Genesis as well.

assuming a relationship of direct dependence or of immediate successive acts of composition. *OnOrgWld* might have utilized the source or sources in question more exhaustively than the *Hypostasis*, or might have elaborated upon them while maintaining the original style; or else the *Hypostasis* might contain a terse summary of the underlying material. It is also conceivable that the author of the *Hypostasis* knew this material in a somewhat different form (see also § 6, below).

The author of *OnOrgWld* thinks of himself as an educated apologist or propagandist for his Gnostic world view. For this reason he tries to argue in a factual and convincing way, and to support his opinion by reference or allusion to other works, non-Gnostic ones among them, and thus to lend it more weight. *OnOrgWld* is directed to an interested, or potentially interested, public at large, whom the author desires to persuade. Thus it is by no means a product of Gnostic esotericism.

5. THEOLOGICAL CONTENTS. The work begins with a point of philosophical controversy concerning the primeval chaos, but quickly passes to a detailed depiction of primeval events. The complete absence of any description of the upper world or any account of its development is striking. In contrast to what is found in many other Gnostic writings or systems, all these matters are presupposed, occasionally being alluded to without further ado. In connection with the problem discussed in the opening, the origin of the boundary (so-called "veil" or curtain) between the upper and lower worlds is described, then the production of the demiurge Yaldabaoth in a deliberate act of creation by Pistis Sophia (Faith Wisdom), the main actor in the upper world. Thenceforth Yaldabaoth usually acts either alone, or else in concert with his "sons," the other rulers (archons) created by him. The creation of the world and of man follows Genesis, despite some discrepancies in sequence and detail. But it also follows concepts known especially from the pseudepigraphic literature of Judaism; Jewish influence and background is otherwise a dominant and especially characteristic element in *OnOrgWld*, as in the case of angelology, demonology, eschatology, and the etymologies that are used. The Gnostic interpretation of the given material varies considerably. It ranges from a total revaluation, as with the arrogance of the demiurge (using Isa 45:5, 46:9 LXX) and the events of Genesis 3, to the relatively unaltered adoption of given Jewish ideas and motifs, e.g., in the description of Paradise (which, moreover, is created according to the account of Genesis 1, and not by the rulers).

The high point of primeval events is the creation of terrestrial man; this must be understood in the context of the doctrine of primeval man exhibited by this text, a doctrine that is obscured by the presence of a variety of motifs and concepts of differing origins. According to it, after

the arrogance of the demiurge Yaldabaoth, his correction, and his renewed expression of arrogance, there appeared a heavenly primal man (called *aggelos* [angel, messenger] or “Adam of Light”), not unlike the “Third Emissary” of Manichaeism or the Anthropos (Man) of the Hermetic tractate *Poimandres*.⁴ He unites with the consort of the demiurge, who for her part corresponds to Physis (Nature) in *Poimandres*. Terrestrial man is then made by the rulers, corresponding to Gen 1:26 and 2:7 LXX, “according to the image” (*kat’ eikona*) of the rulers and “according to the likeness” (*kath’ homoiōsin*) of Adam of Light. In a counter-reaction, Wisdom (Life), who functions as redeemer in *OnOrgWld* and who also completes the rulers’ imperfect creation of man, creates a “psychic” (animate) man. The psychic man appears in various roles as the dispenser of gnosis: as the spiritual wife of Adam, as the snake (“the beast”), as a helpful instructor in Paradise—yet all these beings are also fundamentally equatable with Wisdom (Life) herself. The original lifespan of man was determined by fate (*heimarmene*), who is neither the rulers’ creature nor dependent upon them, and amounted to 1,000 years. At the instigation of the rulers, however, this time span is reduced to 930 years for Adam, because he has disobeyed the commandment not to eat from the tree of acquaintance (gnosis): while the life span of the posterity of Adam and Eve, corresponding to the years taken away from Adam, is seventy. The picture of events from Genesis 3, with inclusion of Gen 2:19–20, is clearly a Gnostic paraphrase of the Biblical text.

In contrast to primeval history which, after Eve’s violation by the rulers and the birth of Abel and her other children, ends with the expulsion from Paradise, terrestrial history is not an explicit theme for the author—even though events important to salvation take place in this period. In the beginning of cosmic history and at its end Wisdom (Sophia) functions as savior, either in the form of Faith Wisdom (Pistis Sophia) or, in connection with Adam and Eve, as Wisdom Life (Sophia Zoe). Afterwards in historical time the “blessed little innocent spirits” (124:10–11) collectively play the part of savior amongst mankind; a similar function is exercised by Jesus the Word (Logos), whose role as revealer of the unknown⁵ is basically unnecessary, and the “savior,” a figure whose identity and specific role are not made clear.

⁴Greek text: A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, eds., *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. I (Collection Budé; Paris: Belles lettres, 1960), tractate 1. English translation: F. C. Grant in R. M. Grant, ed., *Gnosticism, A Source Book* (New York: Harper, 1961) 211–19.

⁵The role and importance of Jesus is emphasized in 125:17–19 by citation of a logion or saying that shows similarities to Mark 4:22 (with parallels) and *Gospel According to Thomas* sayings 4 and 5, but is not a direct quotation from any known writing.

Despite its long account of primeval history, *OnOrgWld* is all in all strongly oriented towards universal eschatology. This is clear from its repeated references to the last times and the long description of eschatological events, drawing upon many ideas, motifs, concepts, and technical terms proper to apocalyptic literature. No final day of judgement is envisaged; those who are redeemed apparently already have become saved before the end of the first aeon (age). They partake of blessedness according to two distinct grades: along with the "perfect," *OnOrgWld* also recognizes the "saved," who attain to a lower step of beatitude. The essential nature of the final time, which is brought to pass at the instigation of the upper world and above all by Faith Wisdom (Pistis Sophia), is qualitatively superior to that of primeval time; a repetition of primeval events like those depicted in *OnOrgWld* is impossible in the eschaton.

6. AFFILIATIONS, IMPORTANCE. The quantity of heterogenous material used by the author makes classification of *OnOrgWld* within the categories of the history of religions a difficult task. The work represents no independent closed system of its own, and its author is obviously not concerned with such a thing. But neither does it represent any of the known Gnostic systems, even though its mythology offers numerous parallels to the Gnosticism described by Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3,⁶ and above all to the Sethian Gnostic system. It is impossible to determine its affiliations with more certainty, in the absence of information about the structure of the upper world. In many places *OnOrgWld* is reminiscent of Valentinian Gnosticism, especially in its tripartite anthropology, in the integration of Christianity into a larger viewpoint, and in certain aspects of soteriology. Yet it is not essentially Valentinian, as is shown, e.g., by the predominant or presupposed universal anthropological dichotomy. In many passages Manichaean influence is undeniable.⁷ Nevertheless in world view, mythology, doctrine of cosmic and human creation, anthropology, and eschatology *OnOrgWld* is not basically Manichaean. The author has simply used Manichaean elements in fundamentally the same way and to the same end as the other concepts, images, motifs, technical terms, etc., that he has borrowed.

⁶Latin translation of the original Greek text: W. Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei . . . Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1957) 1. 226–41.

⁷108:14–19 recalls the appearance of the Manichaean Third Emissary. Also noteworthy is the origin of vegetation from the sperm of the rulers (109:25–110:1). The differentiation of the Gnostics, spoken of in 124:25–125:7, likewise recalls corresponding Manichaean concepts (cf. H. J. Polotsky, "Manichäismus," Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*, Suppl. VI [1935] 265–66 = Polotsky, *Collected Papers* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971] 711).

The world outlook underlying *OnOrgWld* and the way in which it is expressed show that the work is Gnostic; so too, the recurrent Gnostic motifs and the much used concept of “acquaintance” (gnosis), balanced negatively by “lack of acquaintance” or “ignorance.” In anthropology, the principle of Gnostic determinism predominates (cf. especially 127:14–17).

Among the noteworthy peculiarities of *OnOrgWld* are its recurrent résumés, numerical combinations, summaries, and systematizations. Especially curious is the introductory phrase “since (from) that day” (Greek retroversion: ἄπ’ ἐκεῖνης τῆς ἡμέρας) used before résumés or before remarks that permit avoidance of a fuller description. Since two parallels between *OnOrgWld* and the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (see above § 4) contain this phrase, it could be a characteristic of a common source utilized in the two tractates. However, it also occurs ten times in *OnOrgWld* without any parallel in the *Hypostasis*, a fact that is harder to account for. The author is characterized by interest in numbers, either alone or in combinations. The number seven or twelve in reference to the rulers, or seventy-two in reference to the nations and their languages, is a commonplace; much more odd is the reference to the forty-nine demons or the sixty-four forms on the throne of the penitent ruler Sabaoth (who deliberately takes up a mediating position, while himself partly showing traits of the demiurge his father). The author is especially interested in the number three; apart from a virtually unknown triad of archangels here associated with Sabaoth, and the three-fold testimony of the animals of Egypt, there occur no less than four other trichotomies, which neither follow from the overall context nor can be brought into harmony with one another (first, second, and third Adam; three men or human classes; three phoenixes; three baptisms). In contrast to the latter, a four-fold principle of organization also appears (four races, consisting of the three kings of the ogdoad [eighth and highest heaven] and the race without king). The constant use of etymologies, especially for personal names, is striking. The etymological explanations, which in part can be verified, are a further indication of the author’s level of education.

In many respects *OnOrgWld* is an important Gnostic work. On the one hand, in this relatively lengthy text we get a good insight into the thought, method, and argumentation of a Gnostic author presenting to the public at large his thoughts on the origin and end of the world and of man. On the other hand, it shows the high level, freedom, and mastery with which such a writer could utilize foreign, non-Gnostic materials, especially those of very diverse character; indeed some of the Jewish views with which he works are otherwise unknown to us. In this work we see a clear example of how an author’s attitude toward the world and existence has priority over the concrete mythical form in which he expresses it. *OnOrgWld* can

help us to understand why and how the Gnostic world view could assert itself in dialogue with other spiritual movements and partly even replace them.

7. TRANSMISSION. The text is relatively well transmitted; in a few passages, however, emendation appears to be unavoidable. The seeming corruption of quite a few Coptic passages—as also of other remarkable, and often barely understandable, parts—may in fact indicate that the received text of the tractate has descended from what was only a provisional state in a multistage process of translation from the original Greek into Coptic. In this perspective the text that comes down to us would represent an “opus imperfectum”⁸ and editorial correction to a more standard kind of Coptic would be a useless exercise. Where restoration of lacunas has been necessary, this could usually be done in a satisfactory way, especially with the help of two parallels: (a) a short fragment of an identical text (only the opening lines), preserved in the fragmentary CG XIII; and (b) fragments of a Subachmimic Coptic version now conserved in the British Library (olim British Museum). Although the text is not attested in the original Greek, this manifold Coptic transmission permits the deduction that *OnOrgWld* was a work that Gnostics considered to be important and meaningful and therefore disseminated widely. The main text printed below is that of CG II; against it are quoted all variants from CG XIII; they are found in the apparatus criticus. The Subachmimic text from the British Library is edited separately as an appendix, and a selection of its readings is given in a special register of the apparatus to the main text.

The division of the text into numbered paragraphs has been introduced by the translators and has no textual or graphic basis in the ancient manuscripts.

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⁸ Cf. B. Layton, in *Revue biblique* 83 (1976) 465. With this hypothesis one could explain the textual state of not only *OnOrgWld* but also other Nag Hammadi works, e.g., the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (CG VII,2).

Adam, Eros et les animaux d'Égypte (Paris: Etudes augustinienes, 1974) 1–83.

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DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Highest *God*, the *infinite*, the *father* or *immortal father*, the *unbegotten*, the *immortal (luminous) man*, *true man*, or simply *the man*

Angel of acquaintance (gnosis) in the company of God

The *savior*, prototype of Jesus Christ

Immortal beings that dwell above in the infinite realm (eighth heaven)

Blessed little innocent spirits, portions of light sent from the eighth heaven into Gnostic mankind

The *Adam of Light*, *first Adam*; descends as an emissary (angel) from the pleroma after Yaldabaoth's arrogance, and after his reascent takes a position below the veil owing to his defilement

Psyche, the first soul, a mythical figure

Eros, her beloved

Pistis Sophia (Faith Wisdom), or simply *Pistis* (Faith) or *the woman*, creator of the veil at the limit of the pleroma, also creator of the demiurge Yaldabaoth; main actress in the events of the end

Her daughter *Sophia Zoe* (Wisdom Life), or simply *Sophia* (Wisdom) or *Zoe* (Life); *second Adam*; also manifested as the wife of the earthly Adam, etc.; see *Eve of Life*

Fate (heimarmene); not created by the rulers; acts independently of them

Seven *evildoers*, agents of fate

Justice, creator of Paradise

Seven androgynous *rulers* (archons) of chaos, also called *forces* (dynameis) and *authorities* (eksousiai), accompanied by retinue:¹

Glories, *virgin spirits*, etc., hosts of *gods* and *angels*, *archangels*, viz.,

Yaldabaoth the *chief* or *first ruler*, also called *prime parent* (archigēnētōr), *Samael*. and *Ariael*, a creature of Pistis Sophia; face of a lion; thinks he is God; main actor among the lower forces in the drama of creation

His female counterpart *Pronoia* (Forethought) *Sambathas*

His six sons:

Yao, and his female counterpart *Lordship*

¹ Loosely speaking, *authorities* may be used more inclusively than *rulers*, so as to mean also the diabolical retinue of the rulers.

Sabaoth, and his female counterpart *Deity*; elevated above Yaldabaoth after the latter's arrogance; installed together with Sophia Zoe, ten archangels, and his own innumerable retinue in the Seventh Heaven; here he creates:

Jesus Christ, also called *the Word (Logos)*, and
A virgin of the holy spirit

Adonaios, and his female counterpart *Kingship*

Eloaios, and his female counterpart *Envy*

Oraios, and his female counterpart *Wealth*

Astaphaios, and his female counterpart *Sophia* (Wisdom who is in the lower heaven), who creates the sun, moon and stars

Death, an additional son created to replace Sabaoth after his defection; his female counterpart is not identified

Death's seven androgynous offspring and their offspring

Evil angels, evil spirits (*daimones*), created by the rulers

Seven androgynous good forces, likewise *good spirits*, created by Sophia Zoe

Adam, the first earthly man, but in sequence the *third Adam*, created by the rulers after the image of their body and after the likeness of Adam of Light; set in motion by Sophia Zoe, viz., Eve of Life, and made to stand erect

Eve of Life (Eve of Zoe), *True Eve*, the female *instructor*, a luminous earthly manifestation of Sophia Zoe; in sequence the *second Adam*, prototype of the earthly (third) Adam; also manifested as the *tree of acquaintance*; called *Beast* by the rulers; see *Sophia Zoe*

Eve, Adam's carnal wife, fleshly counterpart of Eve of Life

Abel, a son of Eve by Yaldabaoth

Other children of Eve by the rulers, unnamed

Mankind, descendents of Adam:

Pneumatics (men of spirit), the Gnostics, the *perfect* or *pure*

Psychics (men of soul), less-than-perfect Christians

Choics (men of earth), *hylics*, the damned

Instructor of Adam and Eve in Paradise (snake); a manifestation of the spiritual *Eve of Life* or *second Adam*, but sometimes spoken of as her offspring

<p><i>Beasts</i> <i>Creeping things, etc.</i> <i>Birds</i></p>	}	<p>Creatures of the rulers</p>
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Cherubin guarding the tree of life in Paradise

Symbolic creatures in Egypt:

Phoenixes

Two *bulls*

Water hydri, perhaps meaning water serpents or crocodiles (*hydriai*);
or, otters (*enhydries*)

PLOT

I. PROLOGUE: Topic and occasion (polemical); premise (§§ 1–3)

II. COSMOGONY (Primeval Time)

A. Theogony

Epiphany of Sophia Zoe as a veil; delimitation and organization of chaos (§§ 4–7)

The demiurge Yaldabaoth creates a realm and offspring; his fall to Tartaros (§§ 8–22)

His arrogance:

He reascends and is rebuked by Pistis Sophia; she reascends (§§ 23–26)

Sabaoth elevated and enthroned with Sophia Zoe in the seventh heaven (§§ 27–35)

The demiurge envies Sabaoth; creation of Death to replace Sabaoth; Sophia Zoe creates the retinue of Sabaoth (§§ 36–40)

Shame and renewed arrogance of the demiurge (§§ 41–42)

B. Anthropogony

1. Adam of Light (a) appears (§§ 43–48, cf. § 66)

[Epiphany of Eros (§§ 49–53)

Paradise: creation and description (§§ 54–58)

Creation of plants, animals, etc. (§§ 59–60)

(b) reascends (§ 61)

Creation of luminous bodies and stars (§ 62)]

(c) remains below the veil; creates another universe between the seventh and eighth heavens (§§ 63–65)

[Plan for creation of a man (human being) as a snare for the Adam of Light (§§ 66–69)]

2. Sophia Zoe creates a psychic man (human being), the instructor (§§ 70–73)

[Hymn to Eve of Life (§§ 74–75)]

Epiphany of the blessed little innocent spirits (cf. §§ 130–38) to Sabaoth (§ 76)

3. Rulers create Adam, a choic human being; this being is vivified by Sophia Zoe (§§ 77–84)

4. Pistis Sophia sends Sophia Zoe as Eve of Life to make Adam arise (§§ 85–86)

5. Rulers fail to defile the Eve of Life, but they rape the earthly

Eve (§§ 87–94)

Eve bears Abel and other offspring of the rulers (§§ 95–97)

The three Adams (§§ 98–99)

6. The protoplasts in Paradise:

Forbidden to eat the fruit of acquaintance (§§ 100–2)

The beast instructs the woman: the protoplasts discover they are naked of acquaintance (§§ 103–4)

The Rulers curse the protoplasts, beast, and mankind (§§ 105–13)

7. Banishment of the rulers to earth by Sophia Zoe (§ 114)

III. Allegorical digression: the Egyptian phoenixes, water hydri, and the two bulls of Egypt; trichotomy of mankind and of baptism (§§ 115–22)

IV. HUMAN HISTORY (Intermediate Time)

False religion and ignorance established by the rulers (§§ 123–27, 129)

Sending of the blessed little innocent spirits to awaken Gnostic mankind (§§ 128, 130–38)

Mission of the Word (Jesus Christ); suffering for the sake of *gnōsis* (139–40)

False religion ended; the rulers defeated by the perfect (§ 141)

V. ESCHATOLOGICAL POEM (End of Time): Description of the imminent end

Heavenly and earthly catastrophes (§§ 142–44)

Destruction of the rulers by Pistis Sophia (§ 145)

Collapse of the heavens (§§ 145–47)

Light gathered up into itself, no longer mixed with darkness (§ 148)

Salvation of the perfect and the less-than-perfect (§§ 149– 50)

SCENE

Prologue (§§ 1–3)

- i. The infinite realm of light (§ 4)
- ii. Outside that realm, in chaotic darkness (the visible universe)
 - a. The whole depth of chaotic darkness from the veil of the eighth heaven down through all seven heavens as far as the waters of chaos and the abyss (§§ 5–29)
 - b. Seventh heaven (§§ 30–35)
 - c. Sixth heaven (§§ 36–44)
 - d. The whole depth of chaotic darkness again (§§ 45–53)
- iii. The Land of Wantonness, outside the orbit of the moon and sun, in the East: Paradise, atop a high mountain (§§ 54–60)

- iv. Chaos again
 - a. The whole depth of chaotic darkness (§§ 61–62)
 - b. Between seventh and eighth heaven (§§ 63–65)
 - c. The whole depth of chaotic darkness (§§ 66–76)
- v. Earth: (a) The navel of the earth (§§ 77–83)
(b) Paradise again (§§ 84–113)
- vi. Chaos again, in all its depth (§ 114)
(Allegorical interlude: symbolic creatures of Egypt, §§ 115–22)
- vii. Earth (§§ 123–41)
- viii. The entire universe, from the abyss up into the realm of light (§§ 142–50)

TIME

- i-vii. From the very beginning of chaotic darkness until the present day
- viii. The imminent future

SIGLA

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- Kasser Rodolphe Kasser, *Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum* (Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes 7; Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1964)
- Layton Editor of this text
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- photographs Various Cairo manuscript photographs (as detailed by S. Emmel, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 14 [1977] 109–121) recording an earlier, more complete state of the papyrus; recollated by the present editor. But photographs of the British Library manuscript are *penes* Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library, London, collated by the present editor
- Polotsky H. J. Polotsky, private communication

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- Quecke² Idem, in *Le Muséon* 76 (1963) 236–240
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- Schenke² Idem, private communication
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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 97 ²⁴ b5 Labib	επειδη ογον νιμ` ηνογτε μηκος μος αγω ρρωμε σεχω μημος χε μñ λααγε ψοοπ` ζα τεζη μηπαος ανοκ` δε †να̅ραποδικνυε χε α[γ]̅ρηλανα τηρου εν`σεσοογν ανητ[ςγστας]̅ς μηπαος μñ	§ 1
30	τεχνογνε τα̅[ει δε τε τα̅]||ποδιζεισ	
*p. 98 ¹ (146 L.)	εψχε σ̅ρ̅ς̅γ̅μ̅`[φωνει μñ] * [ρ̅]ρωμε τηρου ετβε πχα[ος] χε ου- κα|κε πε` ογεβολ δε πε ζñ̅ ογζα̅ιβες | αγμογτε εροχ χε	§ 2
5	κακε` εζα̅ιβες δε | ογει εβολ πε ζñ̅νογεργον εψχοοπ` || χιν τεζογειτε φογονζ δε εβολ χε νεϛ̅|ψοοπ` εμ`πατε πχαος ψω- πε η̅ταχογ|ωζ δε η̅σα πσορπ` η̅εργον`	

SOURCES

COD. XIII = Cairo, Copt. Mus. CG XIII, inv. 10545; all its differences from pap. are reported in the critical apparatus

OR.4926(1) = London, Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1); textual variants from pap. are reported in the critical apparatus; stylistic and dialectal differences are listed on p. 99 (Table 1)

(§ 1) PAP., COD. XIII.

(§ 2) PAP., COD. XIII (breaks off at 98:5 χιν τε).

AUXILIARY NOTES

98:3 i.e. τζα̅ιβες. 4 Sah. ογεβολ πε ζñ̅ : cf. Subachmimic John 7:28 ed. Thompson, ανακ ογει αβαλ το; ibid. 10:16; *Gospel of Truth* CG I 34:18; Middle Egyptian Matthew 21:25 ed. Schenke; poss. *ExSoul* 134:34. ζñ̅νογ- : i.e. ζñ̅ ογ-.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

97:24 επειδη : [ε]πιδη cod. XIII 26 λααγε : λααγ cod. XIII ζα τεζη : ζ[α]̅τη cod. XIII 27 δε : η̅δε cod. XIII α[γ]̅ : αγ cod. XIII 28 τ[ςγστας]̅ς : τςγστας̅ cod. XIII 29–30 τα̅[ει δε τε τα̅]||ποδιζεισ : τα̅ει δε τε τ̅α̅ποδιζεισ cod. XIII

30 σ̅ρ̅ς̅γ̅μ̅`[φωνει μñ] : σ̅ρ̅ς̅μ̅φ̅ων̅ει̅ μ̅[ñ] cod. XIII 98:1 [ρ̅]ρωμε : ρ̅ρωμε cod. XIII ετβε πχα[ος] χε : ετβε πχ̅α̅ος χε cod. XIII 2 ζñ̅ : η̅ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 5 χιν τε : cod. XIII fragment ends with τε[- - -]

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

TRANSLATED BY

HANS-**GEBHARD BETHGE**, **BENTLEY LAYTON**
AND THE SOCIETAS COPTICA HIEROSOLYMITANA *

p. 9724

1. Seeing that everybody, gods of the world ²⁵ and mankind, says that nothing ' existed prior to chaos, I ' in distinction to them shall demonstrate that they are ' all mistaken, because they are not acquainted with the origin ' of chaos, nor with its root. Here is the demonstration. ³⁰

2. How well it suits **98** all men, on the subject of chaos, to say that ' it is a kind of darkness! But in fact it comes from a shadow, ' which has been called by the name darkness. And the shadow ' comes from a product that has existed ⁵ since the beginning. It is, moreover, clear that it (viz., the product) ' existed before chaos came into being, and that the latter ' is posterior to the first product.

* Revised by Layton, on the basis of Bethge's German and discussion of codex pp. 97–106 by the Societas (Polotsky, *praeses*; Emmel, Layton, and Shisha-Halevy).

- 10 ΜΑΡῆΕΙ ΔΕ | ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΕΤΜΕ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΔΕ` ΔΑΝ` ΕΠΨΟΡΡ` | ἸΕΡΓΟΝ ΠΑΕΙ § 3
 ἸΤΑ ΠΧΑΟΣ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤῆ` || ἸΥΩ ἸΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΣΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΒΙ
 ΤΑ|ΠΟΔΙΖΕΙΣ ἸΤΜΕ
 ΤΦΥΣΕΙΣ ΔΕ ἸΝΙΑΤ`|ΜΟΥ ἸΤΑΡΕΣΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΕΤΕ ΜῆΤεῆ` | § 4
 ΑΡΗΧῆ ΤΟΤΕ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΑῆΖῆ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΠ|ΣΤΙΣ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟῆ ΧΕ
 15 ΤΣΟΦΙΑ Αῆ`ΟΥ||Ωῆ ΑῆΨΩΠΕ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ Εῆ<Ι>ΝΕ | ἸΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ`
 ΕΤΨΟΡΡ` ἸΨΟΡΡ` ἸΥΩ | ἸΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑῆΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΒΙ ΠΕΣΟΥ|Ωῆ`
 ΕῆΟ ἸΝΙΝΕ ἸΠΕ ΕΥἸΤΑῆ ἸΜΜΑῆ | ἸΝΟΥΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΕΝΣΕΑΨΜΕΕΥ ΔΑΝ`
 20 ΕΡΟῆ` || ΕῆΖῆ ΤΜΗΤΕ ἸΝΙΑΤ`ΜΟΥ Μῆ ΝΕΝΤΑΖ`|ΩῆΠΕ ἸΜῆἸΝ`ΣΩΟΥ ἸΘΕ
 ΕΤῆΠΕ` Ε|ΣΟ ἸΠΑΡΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΕῆΠΩΡΧ` ΟΥΤΕ | ῆΡΩΜΕ Μῆ ΝΑ ΠΣΑ
 ΝΤΠΕ
 25 ΠΙΑΩΝ` ΔΕ | ἸΤΕ ΤΜΕ ΜῆΤεῆ ΖΑῆΒΕΣ ἸΜΜΑῆ † ἸΠεῆ`|ΒΟΛ ΧΕ § 5
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΜῆΤεῆ ΨΙ Ζῆ | ΜΑ ΝΙΜ` ἸΖΗΤῆ ΠΕῆΣΑ ΝΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΟΥΖΑ-
 ΕΙΒΕ ΠΕ` ἸΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟῆ` ΧΕ ΚΑΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ | ἸΖΗΤῆ` ἸΥΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ
 30 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ|Χῆ ΠΚΑΚΕ † ΖΑΕΙΒΕ ΔΕ ἸΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ || ἸΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ
 ΜῆἸΝ`ΣΩΟΥ ἸΥΜΟΥΤΕ † ΕΡΟῆ` | ΧΕ ΠΧΑΟΣ <ΕΤ>ΕΜῆΤεῆ` ΑΡΗΧῆ` Ε-
 ΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤῆ` | ἸΓΕΝ[ΟC ΝΙ]ῆ ἸΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΩ ΕΖΡΑῆ ἸΥ[.]-
 *p. 99¹
 (147 L.) ῆΠΟΥΑ` Μῆ ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡῆ` ΖΩC|[ΤΕ ΑΘΖΑΕΙΒ]Ε ΔΑΝ ΟΥΖΑΣ ἸΣΑ ΠΨΟΡΡ` *
 ἸΕΡΓΟΝ Ἰ[ΤΑC]ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ <ῆ>ΠΝΟΥΝ` Ε|ΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΠΙCΤ|C`

(§§3–21) PAP

8 ΔΑΝ: Sah. ON.

11 i.e. φύσις. 15 i.e. ἸΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ. 18 i.e. ἸΕΙΝΕ. 19 i.e. ἸΟΥΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ. σεα: Sah. σενα.

34 Sah. ΑΤΖΑΕΙΒΕC ON.

13 poss. emend to ΟΥΕΙΝΕ <Ε>Αῆ 14–22 ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟῆ . . . ΑῆΟΥΩῆ . . . Ε|ΣΟ ἸΠΑΡΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ: expected is ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC . . . ΑCΟΥΩῆ . . . ΕῆΟ ἸΠΑΡΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ (Schenke emends thus): cf. *HypArch* 94:4–10 14 Αῆ`ΟΥ|Ωῆ ΑῆΨΩΠΕ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ: ΑCΟΥΩῆ <ΧΕ> Εῆ<ΝΑ>ΨΩΠΕ ἸΒΙ ΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ em. Bethge: also possible is ΑΠΕCΟΥΩῆ ΑῆΨΩΠΕ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ 15 Α<ΤΡΕ>ΨΩΠΕ Funk Ε<Ι>ΝΕ Schenke, Böhlig 21 ΕΤῆΠΕ: prob. corrupt

24–25 † ἸΠεῆ`|ΒΟΛ: emend to ἸΠεῆζΟΥΝ (thus Böhlig) 30–31 † ΕΡΟῆ` . . . ἸΖΗΤῆ`: emend to ΕΡΟC . . . ἸΖΗΤῆ: ΕΡΟC . . . ἸΖΗΤC em. Schenke 31 <ΕΤ>Ε Layton 32 ΓΕΝ[ΟC ΝΙ]ῆ Layton: ΓΕΝ[εα ΝΙ]ῆ sim. rest. Wisse 33 ΖΩC|[ΤΕ - - -] Schenke 34 rest. Wisse: also palaeographically possible is [- - - ἸΤΕ ΘΑῆΒ]Ε (for this spelling cf. 99:3) 99:1 Ἰ[ΤΑC] rest. Wisse: Ν is definite, superlin. stroke restored: Ἰ[ΤΑῆ] Schenke² <ῆ> (i.e. Ζῆ) Layton

3. Let us therefore concern ourselves ' with the facts of the matter; and in particular, with the first ' product, from which chaos was projected. ¹⁰ And in this way the truth will be clearly demonstrated. '

4. After the natural structure of the immortal beings ' had completely developed out of the infinite, ' a likeness then emanated from Pistis (Faith); ' it is called Sophia (Wisdom). It exercised volition ¹⁵ and became a product resembling ' the primeval light. And ' immediately her will manifested itself ' as a likeness of heaven, having ' an unimaginable magnitude; ²⁰ it was between the immortal beings and those things that ' came into being after them, like . . . : she (Sophia) ' functioned as a veil dividing ' mankind from the things above.

5. Now the eternal realm (aeon) ' of truth has no shadow outside it, ²⁵ for the limitless light is everywhere ' within it. But its exterior is shadow, ' which has been called by the name darkness. From ' it there appeared a force, presiding over ' the darkness. And the forces ³⁰ that came into being subsequent to them called the shadow ' "the limitless chaos." From it, ' every [kind] of divinity sprouted up ' [. . .] together with the entire place, [so that] ' also, [shadow] is posterior to the first **99** product. It was (in) the abyss that [it] (shadow) appeared, ' deriving from the aforementioned Pistis.

98:13 likeness (*here and elsewhere*) renders Coptic εἶνε = ὁμοίωσις of Gen 1:26 and is distinct from image in the same Genesis passage; cf. § 67 below

98:21 like : *following text probably erroneous*

98:24 outside; *error for inside*

98:31 "the limitless chaos" : *the manuscript has (erroneously) "chaos" since it was limitless.*

Ν̄ΤΑΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΣ

- 5 ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΔΕΖΑΪΒΕC` Ρ̄ΑΙCΘΑΝΕ ΧΕ ΟῩΝ ΠΕΤ`|ΧΟΟΡ` ΕΡΟC` ΔC- § 6
 ΚΩZ ΑῩW Ν̄ΤΑΡΕCΟΥΟ`Υ` || ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤC̄ ΟῩΑΔΤC̄ Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔC|
 ΧΠΟ Μ̄ΠΚΩZ ΧΙΝ` Μ̄ΦΟΥC ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ | ΔCΟΥΩΝZ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄CΙ ΤΑΡΧΗ Μ̄-
 10 ΠΚΩZ Z(Ν̄) | ΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ` Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΚΟCΜΟC` ΠΚΩZ | ΔΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΔΥ-
 ΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ` ΕCΟ Ν̄ΟΥΖΕ Ε||Μ̄Ν Π̄ΝΔ̄ Ν̄ΖΗΤΥ` ΑCΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΖΑ|ΕΙΒΕC
 Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥΝΟC Ν̄ΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄ΜΟΥC ΤΟ|ΤΕ †ΧΟΛΗ Ν̄ΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΘΑ|
 ΕΙΒΕC ΔΥΝΟΧC̄ ΔΥΜΕΡΟC Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΧΑΟC |
- 15 ΧΙΜ ΦΟΥC ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΔΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄ΜΟΥC || ΟῩΩΝZ ΕΒΟΛ ΑῩW ΠΕΝΤΑΖ- § 7
 ΩΤΕ ΖΡΑΪ | Ν̄ΖΗΤC̄ ΔΥC†Ε ΕΒΟΛ ΕCΟΥΟΝZ ΕΒΟΛ | Ζ̄Μ ΠΧΑΟC Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄-
 ΤΕΤΜΙCΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΚΟΥ|ΕΙ ΝΕCΠΕΡΙC CΟΝ` ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΑΥΖΑΕΙΕ | ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ Ν̄-
 20 ΘΥΛΗ Ν̄ΤΑCΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ || Ζ̄Ν̄ ΘΑΕΙΒΕC ΔΥΝΟΧC̄ ΕΥCΑ ΑῩW Μ̄ΠΕC|ΕΙ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΧΑΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕCΖ̄Μ ΠΧΑ|ΟC Ν̄CΙ ΘΥΛΗ ΕCΖ̄Ν̄ ΟῩΜΕΡΟC Μ̄-
 ΜΟΥC |
- 25 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΝΑΕΙ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΔCΕΙ Ν̄CΙ | ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΔCΟΥΩΝ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧ̄Ν § 8
 ΘΥΛΗ Μ̄||ΠΧΑΟC ΤΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΝΟΧC̄ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΖΟΥΕ ΝΕ Μ̄Ν Π̄ΝΔ̄ ΓΑΡ
 Ν̄ΖΗΤῩ ΧΕ ΠΗ ΓΑΡ | ΤΗΡΥ ΟΥΚΑΚΕ ΠΕ ΕΜ̄ΝΤΑΥ` ΔΡΗΧΥ` | ΔΥW ΟῩΜΟΥC
 ΕΜ̄ΝΤΑΥ` ΨΙΚ` Μ̄ΜΑΥ` |
- 30 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΔΕ ΝΑΥ ΔΠΕΝΤΑΖΨΩ||ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕCΨΤΑ ΔCΨΤΟΡ- § 9
 ΤΡ̄ | ΠΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄ ΔΕ ΔΥ`ΟῩΩΝZ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΕΡΓΟΝ Ν̄ΖΡ̄ΤΕ ΔΥΠΩΤ
 ΔΕ [ΕΡΑΤ]C̄ Ζ̄Μ | ΠΧΑΟC ΑCΚΟΤC̄ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ` Δ[CΝΙCΕ Ε]||ΖΟΥΝ Ζ̄Μ

99:3 i.e. ΔΤΖΑΪΒΕC. 9 i.e. Ν̄ΖΟΥΖΕ. 11 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ΟΥΝΟC.

14 i.e. ΔΟΥCΙΑ (Böhlig emends sim.). 17 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΚΟΥΕΙ.

24 i.e. ΟῩΩΝZ ΕΒΟΛ (Schenke emends thus). 25–26 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΖΟΥΖΕ (ΖΟΥCΖΕ em. Böhlig).

31–32 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ.

12 ΧΟΛΗ: ΖΥΛΗ em. Bethge 195, with hesitation

15 ΕΒΟΛ^V pap.: uninscribed space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus ωτε ΖΡΑΪ: for the word ωτε cf. *Gospel of Truth* CG I 34:21: poss. emend to <P>ωτ εΖΡΑΪ or <Π>ωτ εΖΡΑΪ (Polotsky, with hesitation): also possible is <P̄>ζωτ εΖΡΑΪ (Emmel, with hesitation)

26 Ν̄ΖΗΤῩ: Ν̄ΖΗΤC̄ em. Bethge

32 [ΕΡΑΤ]C̄ Layton: for C̄ can also be read β, ε, θ, ϕ, ρ or ζ (not η): [εCΟΪΛ]ε Schenke² 33 for Δ can also be read χ or Δ 33–34 rest. Polotsky, Schenke²: χ[ε εCΝΙCΕ Ε]||ΖΟΥΝ Schenke, Böhlig (also possible is εCα for εCνα, cf. 117:21)

6. Then ' shadow perceived that there was something ' mightier than it, and felt envy; and when it had become pregnant ⁵ of its own accord, suddenly it ' engendered jealousy. Since that day, ' the principle of jealousy among ' all the eternal realms (aeons) and their worlds has been apparent. Now as for that jealousy, ' it was found to be an abortion without ¹⁰ any spirit in it. Like a shadow it came into existence ' in a vast watery substance. Then ' the bile that had come into being out of the shadow ' was thrown into a part of chaos. '

7. Since that day, a watery substance ¹⁵ has been apparent. And what sank within ' it flowed away, being visible ' in chaos : as with a woman giving birth to a child ' —all her superfluities flow out; ' just so, matter came into being out of ²⁰ shadow and was projected apart. And it (viz., matter) did not ' depart from chaos; rather, matter was in chaos, ' being in a part of it. '

8. And when these things had come to pass, then Pistis came ' and appeared over the matter of ²⁵ chaos, which had been expelled like an ' aborted foetus—since there was no spirit in it. For all of it (viz., chaos) ' was limitless darkness ' and bottomless water. '

9. Now when Pistis saw what had resulted ³⁰ from her defect, she became disturbed. ' And the disturbance appeared, as a ' fearful product; it rushed [to] her in ' the chaos. She turned to it and [blew] into '

99:15 sank : *the exact meaning of this Coptic verb is not certain*

99:18 superfluities : *Greek περισσία (viz., the afterbirth [?])*

- *p. 100¹ (148 L.) πεϋζο ζῆ πνου[ν πετῆ]*πιτῆ νῆππῆϋε τη[ρο]ϋ
 5 τ[πι]ϋτις δε | τσοφια ἤταρεσοϋωψ [α]τρε πηεε | μῆτεϋ` πῆᾶ § 10
 10 χι τυπος ἠνοϋεινε | ἠϋῤαρχει εϋἠ ἠϋλη` αϋω εϋἠ νεσ|δϋναμικ
 15 τηροϋ αϋοϋωνε εβολ` ἠϋωροπ` ἠβει οϋαρχων εβολ ζῆ ἠμο|οϋ εϋο ἠ-
 10 nine ἠμοϋει εϋζοϋτςιμε | πε εϋἠταϋ` ἠοϋνοε ἠεζοϋγια ἠζραῖ |
 20 ἠζητῆ εϋσοοϋν δε αν ξε ἠταϋωψ||πε εβολ των τπιϋτις δε
 25 τσοφια ἠ|ταρεσναϋ εροϋ` ζῆ πωικ` ἠῆμοοϋ εϋ|κιμ` πεχασ ναϋ` ξε
 15 πνεανικκοε εριδιαπερα ψα νιμα` ετε πεϋβωλ πε | ἱᾶλδαβαωθ
 30 χιμ φοοϋ ετῆμαϋ αταρ|χη ἠπψαξε οϋωνε παει ἠταεζπωε | ψα ἠ-
 10 νοϋτε ἠῆ ἠαγ`γελοε ἠῆ ἠῤωμε | αϋω πεν`ταεζωπε ζιτῆ πψαξε
 20 αϋ|χοκϋ` εβολ` ἠβει ἠνοϋτε ἠῆ ἠαγγε|λοε ἠῆ ἠῤωμε
 25 παρχων σε ἱᾶλταβαωθ || ϋο ἠατσοοϋν` ατδϋναμικ ἠτπιϋτις § 12
 | ἠπεϋναϋ απεεζο αλλα αϋναϋ απει|νε ἠταεζψαξε ἠῆμαϋ`
 30 ζῆ πμοοϋ | αϋω εβολ ζῆ τεεμη ετῆμαϋ αϋμοϋ|τε εροϋ ξε
 25 † ἱᾶλδαωθ` ἠτελειοε δε || εϋμοϋτε εροϋ` ξε αριανλ ξε
 10 νεϋει|νε ἠμοϋει πε
 ἠταρε παει δε ψωπε | εϋἠταϋ ἠμαϋ ἠτεζοϋγια` ἠἠϋλη | § 13
 ατπιϋτις τσοφια ῤαναχωρει εεραῖ | επεσοϋοειν`
 30 ἠταρε πιαρχων ναϋ` || επεϋμεγεεοε αϋω ἠταϋ` οϋαατϋ` | § 14
 πενταϋναϋ εροϋ ἠπεϋναϋ εκεοϋα | ειμητι αμοοϋ ζι κακε τοτε
 αϋμεεϋε | ξεῆ[τοϋο]ϋαατϋ` πετψοοπ` πεϋμε|[. . . . αϋ]χωκ`
 *p. 101¹ (149 L.) εβολ ζιτῆ πψαξε αϋ`*οϋωνε εβ[ολ] ἠοϋπῆᾶ εϋἠνα εϋἠνηϋ | ζι-
 5 χῆ ἠμοοϋ ἠταρε πῆᾶ δε ετῆμαϋ | οϋωνε εβολ` απαρχων
 10 πωρϋ` ἠτοϋγια | ἠμοοϋ αϋμεροε αϋω πετψοϋωϋ || αϋπορϋϋ`
 15 ακεμεροε αϋω εβολ ζῆ ἠϋλη αϋταμιο ναϋ` ἠοϋμα ἠψωπε
 20 αϋμοϋ|τε εροϋ ξε τπε αϋω εβολ ζῆ ἠϋλη α|παρχων ταμιο

100:3 i.e. ἠοϋεινε. 7 i.e. ἠεινε. 13 ψα νιμα : Sah. επεειμα.

34 rest. Wisse, sim. rest. Schenke ("in der Tiefe unterhalb der Himmel"): for the construction cf. 103:2 100:1 sim. rest. Böhlig

19 ἱᾶλταβαωθ : ωθ written very small because of margin 24 em. to ἱᾶλδαβαωθ (thus Schenke)

32 αμοοϋ : reading of pap. cannot be ἠμοοϋ 33 rest. Schenke 33-34 πεϋμε-[γεεοε αϋ]χωκ` εβολ Polotsky : πεϋμε|[εϋε ἠταϋ]χωκ` εβολ Wisse : πεϋμε|[εϋε δε αϋ]χωκ` εβολ Schenke 101:1 εβ[ολ] ἠ Schenke : also possible is εβ[ολ ζ]ῆ (thus Böhlig) 5 αϋπορϋϋ : expected is αϋπορϋϋ (thus em. Schenke)

its face in the abyss, which is below **100** all the heavens.

10. And when Pistis ' Sophia desired to cause the thing ' that had no spirit to be formed into a likeness ' and to rule over matter and over all her ⁵ forces, there appeared for the first time ' a ruler, out of the waters, ' lion-like in appearance, androgynous, ' having great authority within ' him, and ignorant of whence he had come into being. ¹⁰ Now when Pistis Sophia ' saw him moving about in the depth of the waters ' she said to him, "Child, ' pass through to here," whose equivalent is ' "yalda baōth."

11. Since that day there appeared the principle ¹⁵ of verbal expression, which reached ' the gods and the angels and mankind. ' And what came into being as a result of verbal expression, ' the gods and the angels and mankind finished. '

12. Now as for the ruler Yaltabaoth (sic), ²⁰ he is ignorant of the force of Pistis: ' he did not see her face, rather he saw ' in the water the likeness that spoke with him. ' And because of that voice, he called ' himself Yal-daoth. But ²⁵ Ariel is what the perfect call him, for he was like ' a lion.

13. Now when he had come ' to have authority over matter, ' Pistis Sophia withdrew up ' to her light.

14. When the ruler saw ³⁰ his magnitude—and it was only himself ' that he saw: he saw nothing else, ' except for water and darkness—then he supposed ' that it was he alone who existed. His ' [. . .] was completed by verbal expression: **101** appeared as a spirit moving to and fro ' upon the waters. And when the spirit ' appeared, the ruler set apart the watery substance. ' And what was dry ⁵ was divided into another place. And from matter ' he made for himself an abode, and he called ' it heaven. And from matter, ' the ruler made

100:24 Yaldaoth : *error for* Yaldabaoth

100:33–34 *possibly*, His [magnitude]; *or*, His [thought]; *two letters of the word survive*

100:34 by verbal expression : *or*, by the Word (Logos)

ΝΟΥΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ | ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨΕ ΠΚΑΖ

- 10 $\bar{m}[\bar{n}]\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\sigma}\omega\varsigma$ || ΑΠΑΡΧΩΝΨ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΨΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΥΤΑ|ΜΙΟ ΕΒΟΛΨ § 15
 ΖΙΤΨ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΝΟΥΖΟΥΤΣΙΜΕ ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΕΥΤΑΠΡΟ ΑΥΟΥΨΟΥ
 ΕΡΟΥΨ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ ΑΥΝΑΥ | ΑΠΕΥΨΕΙΩΤΨ ΑΥ ΠΕΧΑΥ
 15 ΝΑΥ ΧΕ Ψ ΑΠΕΥΨΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ ΕΨΑΨ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΥΨΤΑ-
 ΜΙΟ ΠΜΑΖΣΝΑΥ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΟΥΨΟΥ | ΕΡΟΥΨ ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ
 ΑΥΧΟΟΣ Μ|ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ [[Α]] ΕΨ ΑΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΟΥΤΕ | ΕΡΟΥΨ ΧΕ
 20 ΕΨΑΨ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ Μ|ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΤΨ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΟΥΨΟΥ
 ΕΡΟΥΨ ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛΨ ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΜΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΑΣ ΑΠΕΥ-
 ΕΙΩΤΨ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ ΧΕ ΑΣΤΑΦΑΙΟΣ ΝΑ|ΕΙ ΝΕ ΨΨΟΜΤΨ ΝΨΗΡΕ Μ-
 ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤΨ
 25 Α|ΣΨΥΨ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΧΑΟΣ ΝΖΟΥΤΨ|ΣΙΜΕ ΟΥΝΨΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ § 16
 ΜΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΖΟ|ΟΥΤΨ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ † ΠΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ † | ΠΕ ΤΠΡΟ-
 ΝΟΙΑ ΣΑΜΒΑΘΑΣ ΕΤΕ ΘΕΒΔΟ|ΜΑΣ ΤΕ ΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ
 30 ΕΡΟΥΨ | ΧΕ ΨΑΨ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΨΑΕΙΣ || ΣΑΒΑΨΘ
 ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΟΥΨΤΕ ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ ΤΕ
 ΤΜΝΤ|ΡΡΟ ΕΛΩΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ | ΠΕ ΠΚΩΖ | ΨΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ
 *p. 102¹ ΝΣΙΜΕ ΤΕ [ΤΜΝΤ]ΡΜ|ΜΑΟ ΑΣΤΑΦΑΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΥΡΑ[Ν ΝΣΙΜΕ] * ΨΤΕ
 (150 L.) ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΑΕ|Ι ΝΕ Τ|ΣΟ[ΨΥΕ] ΝΔΥΝΑ|ΜΙΣ ΝΤΣΟΨΥΕ ΜΠΕ ΜΠ[ΧΑ]ΟΣ
 ΑΥΨΨ|ΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΙΜΕ ΑΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΝΑΘΑ|ΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΨΨΟΟΨΨ ΖΙ ΤΟΥΕ- § 17
 5 ΖΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΨΨ ΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΠΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΤΨΨΨΟΟΨ ΨΙΝΨ ΝΨΨΡΠΨ
 ΕΥΝΑΑΡΧΕΙ ΨΑ | ΝΑΡΗΧΨΨ

101:11 i.e. ΝΟΥΖΟΥΤΣΙΜΕ. 16 i.e. ΤΑΜΙΕ.

102:4 Sah. ΨΕΥΖΗ.

9 [[N]] cancelled by the copyist : i.e. $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\sigma}\omega\varsigma$: cf. 113:26, 35; 114:35; etc. 11 ΟΥ-
 ΖΟΥΤΨ : ζ added above the line 12 ΧΟΥΧΟΥΨ : cf. Mani Ps 157:17, 158:11, 182:32 :
 explained by Polotsky 13 ΝΤΑΡΟΥΨ : expected is ΝΤΑΡΕΥ (Bethge emends thus) 15
 ΨΑΨ : bottom stroke of α prob. omitted by copyist, giving the impression of λ 18 [[Α]] :
 copyist wrote and then cancelled a false start of ΑΠΕΥ 20 ΑΥΟΥΨΟΥΨ ΕΡΟΥΨ : this phrase
 added above the line

24 ΣΨΥΨ : ψ altered from γ 24–25 also possible is a new sentence beginning Ν-
 ΖΟΥΤΨΨΙΜΕ ΟΥΝΨΑΥ 26 † . . . † : poss. emend to ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΝΣΙΜΕ or sim.
 (Layton) 28 ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ : ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ em. Bethge 33 [ΤΜΝΤ]ΡΜ : ρ read from small,
 ambiguous trace; of Μ, superlin. stroke is definite, Μ restored 34 ΡΑ[Ν ΝΣΙΜΕ] : cf.
 101:26, 29–33 102:1 rest. Schenke ΣΟ[ΨΥΕ] Ν : Ν is definite, superlin. stroke
 restored 2 rest. Schenke

a footstool, ' and he called it earth.

15. Next, ¹⁰ the ruler had a thought—consistent with his nature—and ' by means of verbal expression he created an androgyne. ' He opened his mouth and cooed to ' him. When his eyes had been opened, he looked ' at his father, and he said to him, “Eee!” then his ¹⁵ father called him Eee-a-o (Yao). Next he ' created the second son. He cooed ' to him. And he opened his eyes and said to ' his father, “Eh!” His father called ' him Eloai. Next he created ²⁰ the third son. He cooed to him. And he opened his ' eyes and said to his father, “Asss!” His ' father called him Astaphaios. These ' are the three sons of their father. '

16. Seven appeared in chaos, androgynous. ²⁵ They have their masculine names ' and their feminine names. The feminine name ' is Pronoia (Forethought) Sambathas, which ' is “week.” And his son is called ' Yao: his feminine name is Lordship. ³⁰

Sabaoth: his feminine name is Deity. '

Adoniaos: his feminine name is Kingship. '

Eloaios: his feminine name is Jealousy. '

Oraios: his feminine name is Wealth. '

And Astaphaios: his [feminine] name **102** is Sophia (Wisdom).

These are the [seven] forces ' of the seven heavens of [chaos].

17. And they were born ' androgynous, consistent with the immortal pattern ' that existed before them, according to the wish ⁵ of Pistis: so that the likeness of what had ' existed since the beginning might reign to ' the end.

101:11 by means of verbal expression : *or*, by the Word (Logos)

101:26 The feminine name : *text erroneous: correct text* Now as for the ruler, his feminine name *or the like*

- ΚΝΑΖΕ ΔΤΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΝΝΕΕΙΡΑΝ | ΜΝ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝΝΖΟΟΥΤ` ΖΝ ΤΑΡΧΑΓ` | § 18
 10 ΓΕΛΙΚΗ ΜΜΩΨΧΗC ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC Ν||ΡΑΝ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΝ ΤΨΟΡΠ` Ν-
 ΒΙΒΛΟC | ΝΝΩΡΑΙΑC`
- ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΗΤΩΡ` ΔΕ ΤΑΛΔΑ|ΒΑΘΘ ΕΥΝΤΑΥ ΖΝΝΟC ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΔΥ`ΤΑ- § 19
 ΜΙΟ ΝΖΜΠΗΥΕ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΕΥ`ΨΗΡΕ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΕΝΕCΨΟΥ ΜΜΑ
 15 Ν||ΨΩΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕ ΖΝΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΕΥ|CΟΤΠ` ΝCΩΨΥ` ΝΚΩΒ ΖΝ-
 ΘΡΟΝΟC ΜΝ | ΖΜΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΖΝΡΠΗΥΕ ΔΥΩ ΖΝ|ΖΑΡΜΑ ΔΥΩ ΖΜΠΑΡΘΕ-
 20 ΝΟC ΜΠΝΑ † ΕΖΡΑΪ | ΑΥΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ` † ΜΝ ΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ || ΟΥΝ-
 ΤΑΥCΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΠΕ ΖΝCΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ Ν|ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙ ΧΟΕΙC ΖΙ ΔΓ`ΓΕ-
 ΛΟC | ΖΙ ΑΡΧΑΓ`ΓΕΛΟC ΖΝΤΒΑ ΕΜΝΤΑΥ ΗΠΕ Δ`ΤΡΟΥΡ̄ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙ
 25 ΧΙCΤΟΡΙΑ ΝΝΑΕΙ ΚΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΟC ΑΚΡΙΒΩC ΖΜ ΠΨΟΡΠ` ΝΛΟΓΟC || ΝΩ- § 20
 ΡΑΙΑC
- ΔΥ ΧΟΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ † ΠΕ ΨΑ|ΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΜΕΖCΟΕ ΜΠΕ ΤΑ ΤCΟΦΙΑ § 21
 ΔΥ|ΨΟΡΨΡ̄ ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΚΑΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ | ΠΕΤΨΟΡΤΡ̄ ΕΤΜΠΙΤΝ ΜΜΑΥ § 22
 30 ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΔΥΩ ΔΤCΟΕ ΜΠΕΝΟΕΙΝ ΝΕCΕCΟΟΥΝ || ΓΑΡ` ΝΒΙ ΝΔΥΝΑ-
 ΜΙC ΜΠΧΑΟC ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ(Ν)|ΤΑΖΤΑΚΟ ΝΤΠΕ ΕΤΜΠΙΤΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ Ν|ΤΑ-
 ΡΕCΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΑΨΩΨΥ | ΜΠΕΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄ ΔCΧΟΟΥ ΜΠΕCΝΙΥΕ
 35 ΔC|Μ|ΟΡΥ` ΔC|ΝΟΧΥ` ΕΠΙΤΝ ΕΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΝ || [ΧΙΜ` ΦΟΟ]Υ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ

(§ 22) PAP. OR.4926(1) (begins at 102:33 ΔCΜ|ΟΡΥ).

11 ΝΝΩΡΑΙΑC : i.e. ΝΝΩΡΑΙΑ (τῆς Νωραίας) or poss. Νωραια (τῆς Ὁραίας); cf. 102:25 and Layton *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974) 366.

11 i.e. ἀρχιγενέτωρ. 19 also possible is ΜΝΝΟΥΕΟΟΥ, i.e. ΜΝ ΟΥΕΟΟΥ. 23 i.e. τψιC-ΤΟΡΙΑ, ἡ ἱCτορία (sim. passim). 25 ΝωραιαC : i.e. Νωραια (τῆς Ὁραίας) or poss. ΝΝωραια (τῆς Νωραίας; Schenke emends thus); cf. 102:11 and note on 111:23.

28 Sah. ΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ. 29 ΝΕCΕ : i.e. ΝΕΥ.

8-9 ΤΑΡΧΑΓ`ΓΕΛΙΚΗ ΜΜΩΨΧΗC : cf. R. Reitzenstein *Poimandres* 186, 292-99, A. Dietrich *Abraxas* 202, K. Preisendanz *Pap. Graec. Mag.* 2. 13:972

18-19 † . . . † prob. corrupt : <εγδωψτ> ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΥΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ Bethge

25 † ΠΕ : †ZE em. Bethge

27 ΠΕΥΚΑΖ : ΠΕCΚΑΖ em. Bethge 29-30 ΝΕCΕCΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ` <ΔΝ> sim. em. Bethge 32 ΨΩΨΥ : i.e. Achmimic ΨΩΨΥ (Crum 629b), cf. ΨΩΠΕ = ΞΩΠΕ (Crum 577b); explained by Polotsky 33 ΠΕCΤ>ΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄ sim. Bethge 33-34 ΔC|Μ|ΟΡΥ` ΔC|ΝΟΧΥ` rest. Schenke : ΔCΩΨΕΖ ΜΜΑΥ ΔC|Ν|ΟΥΨΕ ΜΜ[ΔΥ - - -] Or.4926(1) 35 [ΧΙΜ` ΦΟΟ]Υ : ΞΜ ΦΟΟΥ Or.4926(1)

18. You (sg.) will find the effect of these names ' and the force of the male entities in the *Archangelic (Book) ' of the Prophet Moses*, and the ¹⁰ names of the female entities in the first *Book (biblos) ' of Noraia*.

19. Now the prime parent (*archigenetōr*) Yaldabaoth, ' since he possessed great authorities, ' created heavens for each of his ' offspring through verbal expression—created them beautiful, as dwelling places ¹⁵ —and in each heaven he created great glories, ' seven times excellent. Thrones and ' mansions and temples, and also ' chariots and virgin spirits up ' to an invisible one and their glories, each one ²⁰ has these in his heaven; mighty ' armies of gods and lords and angels ' and archangels—countless myriads ' —so that they might serve.

20. The account of these matters you (sg.) will ' find in a precise manner in the first *Account (logos) ²⁵ of Oraia*.

21. And they were completed from this (cf. § 14) heaven to as far up as ' the sixth heaven, namely that of Sophia. '

22. The heaven and his earth were destroyed by ' the troublemaker that was below them all. ' And the six heavens shook violently; ³⁰ for the forces of chaos knew who it was ' that had destroyed the heaven that was below them. ' And when Pistis knew about the breakage ' resulting from the disturbance, she sent forth her breath and ' bound him and cast him down into Tartaros. ³⁵ Since that day,

102:8–9 a work of this title is cited also in Greek magical literature; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904)*, 186, 292–299

102:10–11 or, Book (*biblos*) of Oraia

102:11 *archigenetōr* : the Greek word is usually spelled thus in the manuscript (but here and 104:12, *archigenētōr*)

102:18–19 up to an invisible one: text probably erroneous

102:25 or, Account (*logos*) of Noraia

*p. 103¹ (151 L.) ατπε σμντ̄ μ̄ν * πεσκαζ εβ[ολ] ζιτ̄ν τσοφια ν̄ιαλλαδ̄αβα | ω̄θ̄ τ̄ετ̄μ̄-
πιτ̄ν̄ μ̄μοοϋ τηροϋ

5 ἦτα|ρε μ̄πηγε δε σμ̄ντοϋ μ̄ν νοϋβομ̄ | μ̄ν τοϋδιοικησις τηρ̄ε
απαρχιγενε|τωρ̄ σιζε μ̄μοϋ` αϋω αϋχι εσοϋ ζιτ̄ν | <τ>στρατεια
τηρ̄ε ἦναγγελος αϋω † ἦνοϋ|νε τηροϋ μ̄ν νοϋγαγ̄γελος οϋσμοϋ
| μ̄ννοϋεσοϋ αϋτααϋ ναϋ` ἦτοϋ δε αϋοϋνοϋ` ζ̄μ̄ πεϋζητ̄` αϋω
10 αϋψοϋψοϋ || μ̄μοϋ ἦναϋ νιμ̄ εϋϋω μ̄μοσ̄ ναϋ` | χε †ρ̄ χρεια αν̄ λ̄-
λααϋ πεχαϋ χε α|νοκ̄` πε πνοϋτε αϋω μ̄ν κ̄εογα ψοοπ̄` |
αχ̄ντ̄`

15 ἦταρεϋχε ναει δε αϋρ̄ νοβε α|νατμοϋ τηροϋ ετ̄χε οϋω αϋω
αγα|ρηζ̄ ναϋ`

ἦταρε τ̄πιστις δε ναϋ ατ̄μντ̄|ασεινης μ̄πνοβ̄ ἦαρχων̄ αςβωακ̄`
| νεϋναϋ αν̄` ερος̄ πεχας̄ χε κ̄ρ̄πλανα | саманл̄` ετε παει
20 πε πνοϋτε β̄βαλε | οϋν̄ οϋρωμε̄ ἦαθανατος̄ ρ̄ρ̄μοϋοει(ν) ||
ψοοπ̄` ζι τεκζη παει ετ̄ναοϋωνζ̄ εβολ | ζ̄ν̄ νετ̄μ̄πласма̄ ϋναρ̄-
καταπατεῑ μ̄|μοκ̄ ἦθε ἦνιομε̄ ἦκεραμεϋς̄ ψαϋ|σομοϋ αϋω κ̄να-
25 βωκ̄` μ̄ν̄ νετε νοϋκ̄` | νε απ̄ιτ̄ν̄ ψα τεκ̄`μααϋ πνοϋν̄ ζ̄ν̄ || τ̄σϋν̄`-
τελεια γαρ̄ ἦνετ̄ν̄ζ̄βηγε̄ σε|ναρ̄καταλυε̄ μ̄ψωτα τηρ̄ε` ἦταϋ`οϋ|ωνζ̄

(§ 23) PAP.. OR.4926(1) (breaks off ca. 103:8 ναϋ).

(§ 24) PAP.

(§ 25) PAP.. OR.4926(1) (begins at 103:25 νετ̄ν̄ζ̄βηγε).

103:3-4 Sah. νεϋ- . . . τεϋ-. 7 Sah. νεγαγγελος. 8 i.e. μ̄ν̄ οϋεοϋϋ.

14 χε οϋω : cf. Middle Egyptian Matthew ed. Schenke, where equals Sahidic οϋωψα.

19 i.e. ρ̄μ̄νοϋοειν. 21 i.e. νετ̄ν̄πласма. 22 Sah. εψαϋ (Böhlig emends thus).

102:35-103:1 ατπε . . . τσοφια ν̄ιαλλαδ̄αβαω̄ : ατσοφ[α ν̄ιαλλα]βαω̄· αςσμ̄ντ̄ τ̄π[ε
μ̄]ν̄ π̄κας Or.4926(1) 103:1 πεσκαζ : π̄κας Or.4926(1) 2 τ̄ετ̄μ̄πιτ̄ν̄ μ̄μοοϋ τηροϋ
absent in Or.4926(1) τ̄ετ̄μ̄πιτ̄ν̄ : poss. emend to πετ̄μ̄πιτ̄ν̄

4 απαρχιγενετωρ̄ : <τοτε> απαρχιγενετωρ̄ em. Oeyen 133 : το[τε] απα[ρχι]γε[ν]ε-
τωρ̄ Or.4926(1) 5 χι εσοϋ : ψοϋψ[οϋ] μ̄μαϋ Or.4926(1), sim. rest. Oeyen 6
<τ>στρατεια : τστρατεια Or.4926(1) τηρ̄ε : absent in Or.4926(1) ἦνοϋνε : emend
to ἦνοϋτε (thus Or.4926[1]) : cf. 107:29, 109:8

14 ετ̄χε οϋω : εϋχε οϋα is poss. expected, but the desired sense is not
apparent 14-15 αρ̄ρηζ̄ ναϋ : i.e. ζαρεζ̄ ναϋ : poss. corrupt

§ 23

§ 24

§ 25

the heaven, along with 103 its earth, has consolidated itself through Sophia the daughter of Yaldabaoth, ' she who is below them all. '

23. Now when the heavens had consolidated themselves along with their forces ' and all their administration, the prime parent ⁵ became insolent. And he was honored by ' all the army of angels. And ' all the gods and their angels ' gave blessing and honor to him. And for his part he ' was delighted and continually boasted, ¹⁰ saying to them, ' "I have no need of anyone." ' He said, ' "It is I who am God, and there is no other one that exists ' apart from me." '

24. And when he said this, he sinned against ' all the immortal beings who give answer. And they laid it ¹⁵ to his charge.

25. Then when Pistis saw the impiety ' of the chief ruler she was filled with anger. ' She was invisible. She said, "You are mistaken, ' Samael," that is, "blind god." ' "There is an immortal man of light who ²⁰ has been in existence before you and who will appear ' among your modelled forms (*plasmata*); he will trample you to scorn ' just as potter's clay is ' pounded. And you will descend ' to your mother, the abyss, along with those that belong to you. ²⁵ For at the consummation of your (pl.) works ' the entire defect that has become visible ' out of the truth will be abolished,

103:2 she who is below them all : *this phrase is absent in the British Library manuscript*

103:14 who give answer : *the exact meaning of this Coptic phrase is not certain*

103:14–15 laid it to his charge : *the Coptic verb does not usually have this sense: text possibly erroneous*

- ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑΩΧΝ̄ Ν̄ϞΡ̄ | ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕϞΨΩΠΕ
 30 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΤΠ|ΣΤΙΣ ΧΕ ΝΑΕΙ ΔΣΩΛΠ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄Ν̄Μ̄||ΜΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΣΕΙΝΕ Ν̄- § 26
 ΤΕΣΜΝΤΝΟΣ ΑΥ|Ω Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΔΣΡ̄ΑΝΑ ΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε|ΠΕΣΟΥΟΕΙΝ
 CAB̄Δ̄ΩΘ̄ ΔΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ | Ν̄ΙΑΛΔΑΒ̄Δ̄ΩΘ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕϞΨΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΔΤΨ|CΜΗ Ν̄ΤΠΙCΤΙC § 27
 35 ΔϞΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΕΡΟ[C ΔϞΡ̄]||ΚΑΤΑΓΕΙΝΩCΚΕ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ [. 4½:6. .] * ΕΧΝ̄
 *p. 104¹
 (152 L.) ΠΩΑΧΕ Ν̄ΤΠΙCΤΙC [ΔϞ]† ΕΟΥ ΝΑC | ΧΕ ΔCΤΑΜΟΥ ΔΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΔΘΑ-
 ΝΑΤΟC \ | Μ̄ ΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΔΕ ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΔC|ΩΤΨ̄ Μ̄ΠΕCΤΗΝ-
 5 ΒΕ † ΕΒΟC ΔCΠΩΖΤ ΔΧΩΨ̄ || ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ̄ ΠΕCΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΔΥΚΑ|ΤΑ-
 ΚΡΙΜΑ Μ̄ΠΕϞΨΩΤΨ̄ CΑΒΑΩΘ̄ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΑΨ̄|ΡΕϞΧΙ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΔϞΧΙ ΟΥΝΟC
 Ν̄ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ \ | ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΧΑΟC | ΧΙΜ ΠΖΟΥ ΕΤΜ̄-
 10 ΜΑΥ ΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ || ΠΧΟΕΙC Ν̄Ν̄CΟΜ̄
 ΔϞΜΕCΤΕ ΠΕϞΨΩΤΨ̄ ΠΚΑ|ΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΕϞΜΑΔΥ ΠΝΟΥΝ ΔϞCΙΧΑΝΕ § 28
 ΔΨ̄|ΤΕϞΨΩΝΕ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Μ̄ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΗΤΩΡ̄ | ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΝΑ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΝΗ ΖΙΧ̄Ν̄ Μ̄-
 15 ΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ | ΠΕϞΨΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΔΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΩΖ || ΕΡΟϞ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΠΧΑΟC ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΨΤΟΡ̄Τ̄Ρ̄ | ΑΥΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΟΥΝΟC Μ̄ΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΖΝ̄
 ΤCΑΨ|ϞΕ Μ̄ΠΕ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΤCΟΦΙΑ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕC|ΝΑΥ ΔΠΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΔCΧΟΥ Ν̄CΑ- § 29
 20 ΒΑΩΘ̄ | ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ̄ ΠΕCΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν̄CΑΨϞ Ν̄ΑΡΧΑΓ̄||ΓΕΛΟC ΑΥΤΟΡΠϞ̄
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΜΑΖCΑΨϞΕ Μ̄|ΠΕ ΑΥΩΕΖΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΙ ΤΕϞΖΗΨ̄ ΖΩC ΔΙΑΚΟ|
 ΝΟC ΠΑΛΙΝ̄ ΔCΧΟΥ ΝΑϞ̄ Ν̄ΚΕΨΟΜ̄ΤΨ̄ | Ν̄ΑΡΧΑΓ̄Ψ̄ ΓΕΛΟC ΔCΜ̄Ν̄

(§ 26) PAP., OR.4926(1)

(§ 27) PAP., OR.4926(1) (breaks off ca. 103:35 ΚΑΤΑΓΕΙΝΩCΚΕ).

(§§ 28–34) PAP.

29–30 i.e. ΖΝ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ.

104:5 i.e. ΝΟΥΟΥΟΕΙΝ (Bethge emends thus).

12 i.e. ἄρχιγενέτωρ

21 i.e. ωζε ερατου (poss. emend thus with Böhlig).

27 ΦΝΑΩΧΝ̄: absent in Or.4926(1)

28–29 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΤΠ|ΣΤΙΣ ΧΕ ΝΑΕΙ: ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ Ν̄ΤΑCΧΟΥ Ν̄† (sic) ΤΠΙCΤΙC [Δ]ΥΩ Or.4926(1) 29–30 ΔCΩΛΠ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ... Μ̄ΠΕCΕΙΝΕ: ΔCΘΖΒΕ ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΠΕ|C]ΪΝΕ Or.4926(1) 30 Μ̄ΠΕCΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΕCΜΝΤΝΟC: Μ̄ΠΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΕCΜΝΤΝΟC em. Schenke: Μ̄ΠΕC- ΕΙΝΕ (without Ν̄ΤΕCΜΝΤΝΟC) Or.4926(1) 31 Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ: absent in Or.4926(1)

33–34 ΑΤΨ|CΜΗ Ν̄ΤΠΙCΤΙC: ΑΤΠΙCΤΙC Or.4926(1) 34 ΕΡΟ[C ΔϞΡ̄] Schenke: ΑΡΑC Δ[Ϟ ---] Or.4926(1): cf. 107:33 35 [Μ̄Ν ΤΕϞΜΑΔΥ] rest. Schenke (cf. *HypArch* 95:16): ΕΙΩΤ[Ψ̄ ΕΖΡΑΪ] Wisse 104:2 Ν̄: Ν̄ not definite, superlin. stroke restored 3 ΠΕϞ- ΟΥΟΕΙΝ: Ϟ added above the line 4 † ΕΒΟC: emend to ΕΒΟΛ

and it will cease to be and will be ' like what has never been.' ' '

26. Saying this, Pistis revealed ³⁰ her likeness of her greatness in the waters. And ' so doing she withdrew up ' to her light.

27. Now when Sabaoth the son ' of Yaldabaoth heard the ' voice of Pistis, he sang praises to her, and [he] ³⁵ condemned the father [. . .] **104** at the word of Pistis; and he praised her ' because she had instructed them about the immortal man ' and his light. Then Pistis Sophia ' stretched out her finger and poured upon him ⁵ some light from her light, to be a condemnation ' of his father. Then when Sabaoth ' was illumined, he received great authority ' against all the forces of chaos. ' Since that day he has been called ¹⁰ "Lord of the Forces."

28. He hated his father, the darkness, ' and his mother, the abyss, and loathed ' his sister, the thought of the prime parent, ' which moved to and fro upon the waters. And because of ' his light all the authorities of chaos were jealous ¹⁵ of him. And when they had become disturbed, ' they made a great war in the seven ' heavens.

29. Then when Pistis Sophia ' had seen the war, she dispatched ' seven archangels to Sabaoth from her light. ²⁰ They snatched him up to the seventh ' heaven. They stood before him as attendants. ' Furthermore she sent him three more ' archangels and established

103:29–30 revealed her likeness : *the British Library manuscript has showed (?) to the ruler her likeness; the exact meaning of this Coptic verb ("showed") is unknown*

30 of her greatness : *this phrase is absent in the British Library manuscript*

103:35 possibly, his father [and his mother] (*cf. Hypostasis of the Archons 95:16*)

- 25 ΤΜΝ̄ΠΕΡΟ ΝΑϞ | Ν̄ΤΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ || Μ̄ΠΣΑ ΝΖΡΕ
 Μ̄ΠΜΝΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ | Μ̄ΠΧΑΟΣ
 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΣΑΒΑΘΘ ΔΕ ΧΙ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ | Ν̄ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΕΠΜΑ Ν̄ΤΕϞΜΕΤΑ- § 30
 ΝΟΙΑ | ΕΤΙ ΑΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ † ΝΑϞ | Ν̄ΤΕΣΨΕΕΡΕ Ν̄ΖΩΗ | Μ̄ΝΝΟΥΝΟΣ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ
 30 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΣΝΑ||ΤΑΜΟϞ | ΔΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΤΜΑΖΨΜΟΥΝΕ
 ΖΩΣ ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑϞ ΔΕ Ν̄ΟΥΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ | ΑϞΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑϞ | Ν̄ΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΟΥΜΑ Ν̄- § 31
 ΨΩ|ΠΕ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΕϞΤΑΕΙΝΥ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕϞΟ Ν̄|ϞΑ[Ψ]Ϟ Ν̄ΚΩΒ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΕΤ-
 35 ΨΟΟΠ ΤΗΡΟΥ || [Ζ̄Ν ΤΣ]ΑΨϞΕ Μ̄ΠΕ
 *p. 105¹ Μ̄ΠΜ̄ΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ * Μ̄ΠΕϞΜΑ Ν̄ΨΩΠΕ ΑϞΤΑΜΕΙΟ Ν̄ΟΥΘΡΟ|ΝΟΣ ΕῩΝΟΣ § 32
 (153 L.) ΠΕ ΕϞΖΙΧ̄Ν ΟΥΖΑΡΜΑ ΕϞΟ | Ν̄ϞΤΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΕῩΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ | ΧΕ
 5 ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ ΠΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ ΔΕ ΟῩΝ̄ΤΑϞ || Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΨΜΟΥΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠϞ|ΤΟΥΚΟΟΣ Ζ̄Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ Μ̄ΜΟΥΕΙ ΑῩΩ Ζ̄Μ̄|ΜΟΡΦΗ Μ̄ΜΑΣΕ ΑῩΩ Ζ̄Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ
 ΡΡΩ|ΜΕ ΜΝ Ζ̄Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ Ν̄ΑΕΤΟΣ ΖΩΣΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟΡ|ΦΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΕΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΣΕΤΑϞΤΕ
 10 Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ || ΑῩΩ ΣΑΨϞ̄ Ν̄ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕῩΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ | ΖΙ ΤΕϞΖΗ Ν̄ΤΟϞ
 ΠΕ ΠΜΑΖΨΜΟΥΝ ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑϞ | ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΕΕΙΡΕ | Ν̄-
 ΨΩΒΕΣΝΟΟΥΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΕΙΖΑΡΜΑ | ΑῩΧΙ ΤΥΠΟΣ Ν̄ΒΙ
 15 ΠΨΩΒΕΣΝΟΟΥΣ Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΤΕ ΑῩΧΙ ΤΥΠΟΣ ΑΤΡΟῩΡΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΧ̄Ν ΤΧΒΕ|
 ΣΝΟΟΥΣ Ν̄ΑΣΠΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΠΕΡΟ|ΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΑϞΤΑΜΙΕ
 Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΕΑΓ̄ΓΕ|ΛΟΣ Μ̄ΜΟΡΦΗ Ν̄ΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΕῩΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ|ΟΥ ΧΕ ΣΑΡΑΦΙΝ ΕῩ†
 20 ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑϞ | Ν̄ΝΑΥ || ΝΙΜ̄
 Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΩΣ ΑϞΤΑΜΙΟ Ν̄ΟΥΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ | Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ζ̄Ν̄ΨΟ Μ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΒΑ Ε- § 33
 Μ̄Ν̄ΤΟΥ | ΗΠΕ ΕΣΤ̄Ν̄ΤΟΝΤ̄ ΕΤΕΚ̄ ΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΤ̄Ζ̄Ν̄ | ΤΜΑΖΨΜΟΥΝΕ ΑῩΩ
 25 ΟῩΨΡΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΙΣΕ | ΕῩΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ | ΧΕ ΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ || ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑῩΩ ΚΕ|ΟΥΑ ΧΕ ΙΗ̄Σ ΠΕ Χ̄Σ ΕϞΤ̄Ν̄ΤΩΝ ΕΠΣΩΤΗΡ̄ | ΕΤ̄ΖΙ
 ΠΣΑ Ν̄ΤΠΕ Ν̄ΤΜΑΖΨΜΟΥΝΕ ΕϞ|ΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙ ΟῩΝΑΜ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΟῩΘΡΟ|ΝΟΣ
 30 ΕϞΤΑΕΙΝΥ ΖΙ ΣΒΟΥΡ ΔΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΣ|ΖΜΟΟΣ Ν̄ΒΙ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ Μ̄ΠΠ̄ΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥ|ΔΑΒ ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΟῩΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΣ† ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑϞ | ΑῩΩ ΣΕΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΙ

24 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΟΝ (Böhlig emends thus).

28 Ν̄ΖΩΗ : i.e. ΖΩΗ : cf. *HypArch* 95:18 and Layton *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 184. 29 i.e. Μ̄Ν̄ ΟῩΝΟΣ.

105 : 9 Sah. Ν̄ΣΕΕΙΡΕ. 15 i.e. ΤΨΩΒΕ ΣΝΟΟΥΣ.

33 ΟῩΝΟΣ ΠΕ : ΕῩΝΟΣ ΠΕ is expected (Schenke emends thus) 35 rest. Schenke, Böhlig

the kingdom for him ' over everyone so that he might dwell ²⁵ above the twelve gods ' of chaos.

30. Now when Sabaoth had taken up the place ' of repose in return for his repentance, ' Pistis also gave him her daughter Zoe (Life) ' together with great authority so that she might ³⁰ instruct him about all things that exist in the eighth heaven. '

31. And as he had authority, ' he made himself first of all a mansion. ' It is huge, magnificent, ' seven times as great as all those that exist ³⁵ [in the] seven heavens.

32. And before **105** his mansion he created a throne, ' which was huge and was upon a ' four-faced chariot called ' "Cherubin." Now the Cherubin was ⁵ eight shapes per each of ' the four corners, lion forms and ' calf forms and human forms ' and eagle forms, so that all the forms ' amount to sixty-four forms ¹⁰ —and (he created) seven archangels that stand ' before it; he is the eighth, and has ' authority. All the forms amount to ' seventy-two. Furthermore, from this chariot ' the seventy-two gods took shape; ¹⁵ they took shape so that they might rule over the seventy-two ' languages of the peoples. And by that throne ' he created other, ' serpentlike angels, called ' "Saraphin," ' which praise him at all times. ²⁰

33. Thereafter he created a congregation (*ekklēsia*) ' of angels, thousands and myriads, numberless, ' which resembled the congregation (*ekklēsia*) in ' the eighth heaven; and a firstborn ' called Israel—which ²⁵ is, "the man who sees God"; and another being, ' called Jesus Christ, who resembles the savior ' above in the eighth heaven and who ' sits at his right upon a ' revered throne. And at his left there ³⁰ sits the virgin of the holy spirit, ' upon a throne and glorifying him. ' And

105:11 before it : *or*, before him

*p. 106¹
(154 L.)

TECEZH N̄BI TCA|Ψ<Ϸ>E M̄PARΘENOC EȲM MAABE N̄BIΘA|PA N̄TOOTOY
M̄N ZMΨAΛTHPION [M]N̄ * ZHCAΛΠIΓZ` EȲT̄ EOȲ NAQ` AȲW N̄CTPA|
TEYMA THPOY N̄N̄AΓΓEΛOC CE T̄ EOȲ NAQ` | AȲW CECEMOY EPQ`
EȲZMOOC ΔE ZI X̄N̄ OȲ|EPONOC OȲOEIN N̄<OY>NOC N̄K LOOLE EC- § 34
5 CKE||ΠACE M̄MOQ` AȲW NE M̄N̄ ΛAAY N̄M̄MAQ` | Z̄N̄ TEK LOOLE EI MH TI
ATCOΦIA <N̄>TPICTIC | EC TCEBO M̄MOQ` ANETΨOOP` THPOY Z̄N̄ TMAZ|
ΨMOYNE XEKAAC EȲNATA MEIO N̄N̄TON|T̄N̄ N̄NH ΨINA TM̄N̄TEPO ECNA-
10 MOY N̄ EBOL` || NAQ ΨA TCȲNTEΛEIA N̄M̄PHYE M̄PXAC | M̄N̄ NOYΔYNA-
MIC

TPICTIC ΔE TCOΦIAC|ΠOPX̄ Q̄ EPKAKE [[C]] ACMOYTE EPQ EOȲNAM | § 35
M̄MOC ΠAPXIGENETWP ΔE ACKAAC ZI BBOYR` | M̄MOC XIM ΦOY
15 ET̄M̄MAQ AȲMOYTE EOȲ|NAM` XE ΔIKAIOCȲNH BBOYR ΔE AȲMOY|TE
EPOC XE TADIKIA ETBE ΠAEI BE AȲX I THPOY † N̄OYKOCMOC N̄-
TEK`KΛHCIA N̄TΔIKAI|OCȲNH M̄N̄ TADIKIA AZE EPAT̄ E X̄N̄ OȲCΩNT` | TH-
POY †

(§ 35) PAP.. OR.4926(1) (begins at 106:14 AȲMOYTE).

33 i.e. κιθάρα.

106:4 i.e. N̄OYOEIN : cf. on 104:24. N̄<OY>NOC : i.e. Z̄N̄ OȲNOC. 11 Sah. NEYΔYNA MIC.

11–12 i.e. TCOΦIA ACΠOPX̄ Q̄. 15 i.e. TΔIKAIOCȲNH (Böhlig emends thus), cf. 106:16
TADIKIA : cf. Worrell *Coptic Sounds* 85 for pronunciation of Δ as T.

105:32 CAΨ<Ϸ>E Schenke, Böhlig 33–34 EȲM MAABE <EȲN̄ Z̄N̄BIΘA|PA N̄TOOTOY
Bethge 34 [M]N̄ : superlin. stroke is definite, N restored

106:4 rest. Layton : <Z̄N̄ OȲ<OY>OEIN N̄NOC N̄K LOOLE Böhlig, but unlikely 6 <N̄>
TPICTIC Bethge, with hesitation : cf. 103:1 TCOΦIA N̄IΔAΔBΔΩΘ̄

12 [[C]] cancelled by the copyist 14–15 OȲNAM` ... BBOYR : <TEΨOȲNAM` ...
<TEΨBBOYR Layton² 108 15 XE : X altered from Δ 15–16 BBOYR ΔE AȲMOY|TE
EPOC XE TADIKIA : lacuna in Or.4926(1), but too short for this phrase 16–19 ETBE ΠAEI
... THPOY : Z̄M̄ ΠE EI E|E TΔIKAIOCȲNH M̄N̄ TADIKI|A AZE AP[E]T̄|OȲ ΔX̄N̄ NOȲCΩNT̄ TH|
[PO]Y Or.4926(1), sim. rest. Oeyen 17–19 † ... † : desired sense is not apparent : poss.
emend to AȲX I THPOY N̄OYKOCMOC N̄TEKκHCIA (i.e. Z̄N̄ TEKκHCIA) N̄TΔIKAIOCȲNH M̄N̄
TADIKIA <EY>AZE EPATOY E X̄N̄ <N>OȲCΩNT̄ THPOY (Layton) 17 N̄TE TEKκHCIA is
expected unless N̄ is for Z̄N̄ 18 <EC>AZE Böhlig, with hesitation (p. 15) : <EΨ>AZE
Bethge 265, with hesitation AZE EPAT̄ E X̄N̄ : AZE EPAT̄ E X̄N̄ is expected (cf. SHA I 116
cited by Crum 538b 22) : AZI AP[E]T̄[- - -] Or.4926(1) : AZE ECZ̄PA I E X̄N̄ Böhlig, Bethge,
but unlikely 18–19 OȲCΩNT̄ | THPOY : NOȲCΩNT̄ THPOY em. Bethge : OȲCΩNT̄ | THPOY|
Schenke, Böhlig

the seven virgins stand before her, ' possessing thirty harps, ' and psalteries and **106** trumpets, glorifying him. And ' all the armies of the angels glorify him, ' and they bless him.

34. Now where he sits is upon a ' throne of light (within a) great cloud that covers ⁵ him. And there was no one with him ' in the cloud except Sophia (the daughter of) Pistis, ' instructing him about all the things that exist in the eighth heaven, ' so that the likenesses of those things might be created, ' in order that his reign might endure ¹⁰ until the consummation of the heavens of chaos ' and their forces.

35. Now Pistis Sophia ' set him apart from the darkness and summoned him to her right, ' and the prime parent she put at her left. ' Since that day, right has been called ¹⁵ justice, and left called ' wickedness. Now because of this they all received ' a realm (*kosmos*) in the congregation (*ekklēsia*) of justice ' and wickedness, . . . stand . . . upon a creature . . . ' all.

105:33–106:1 possessing thirty harps . . . , glorifying him : *text possibly erroneous; correct text possibly while thirty (others), possessing harps . . . , glorify him*

106:18–19 . . . stand . . . all : *text erroneous; correct text possibly where they all stand upon their foundations; this conjecture is partly supported by the British Library manuscript*

- 20 ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΔΕ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΝΤΑ||ΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΕϞΨΗΡΕ ΣΑΒΑΘΕ` § 36
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕ|ΟΟΥ ΕΤϞΝΖΗΤϞ` ΧΕ Ϟ`ΣΟΤΠ` ΔΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ | ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΔϞ-
 ΚΩΣ ΕΡΟϞ` ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑ|ΡΕϞΔΩΝΤ` ΔϞΧΠΟ ΜΠΠΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕϞ|-
- 25 ΜΟΥ ΔΥΚΑΘΙΣΤΑ ΜΜΟϞ` ΕΧΝ ΤΜΑΣΟΕ || ΜΠΕΑΥΤΑΡΠ` ΣΑΒΑΘΘ Μ-
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑϞ` | ΑΥΩ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΔϞΧΚ` ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΙ ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ | ΝΤΣΟΕ
 ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ | ΕϞΟ ΝΖΟΥΤ`ΣΖΙΜΕ ΔϞΤΩΖ ΜΝ
- 30 ΤΕϞΦΥΣΙΣ | ΔϞΧΠΟ ΝΣΑϞϞ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΖΙΜΕ ||
 ΝΔΕΙ ΝΕ ΡΡΑΝ ΝΝΖΟΥΤ` ΠΚΩΣ ΠΔΩΝΤ` | ΠΡΙΜΕ ΠΑΨ ΕΖΟΜ ΠΠΕΝ- § 37
 ΘΟΣ ΠΨΩ ΛΟΥ|ΛΑΕΙ ΠΡΙΜΕ ΝΨΤΒΟ ΝΔΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΝΡΑΝ | ΝΝΣΖΙΟΜΕ
 ΤΟΡΓΗ` ΤΛΥΠΗ ΘΗΔΟΝΗ | ΠΑΨ ΕΖΟΜ` ΠΣΑΖΟΥΕ ΤΠΙΚΡΙΑ ΤΜΝ<Τ>† ΤΩ(Ν)
- 35 || ΔΥΡΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΔΠΟΥΑ | Δ[Ε ΠΟ]ΥΑ ΧΠΕ ΣΑΨϞ
 *p. 107¹ ΖΩΣΤΕ ΣΕΕΙΡΕ Ν*ΖΜΕΨΙ[Τ]` ΝΔ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΖΙΜΕ |
 (155 L.) ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΚΝΑΖΕ | ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ` | § 38
- 5 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ` ΝΝΔΕΙ ΖΩΗ` ΕΤ`||ΨΟΟΠ` ΜΝ ΣΑΒΑΘ ΔΣΤΑΜΙΟ § 39
 ΣΑΨϞ | ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΖΙΜΕ | ΝΡΑΝ ΝΝΖΟΥΤ ΝΕ
 ΝΔΕΙ` ΠΕΤΕ ΜΑϞΚΩΣ` ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ Π<ΕΤ>ΟΥΝΟϞ` ΠΑΛΗΘ|ΝΟΣ ΠΕΤΕ
- 10 ΜΑϞΦΘΟΝΕΙ` ΠΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ || ΠΕΤΝΖΟΤ` ΝΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΩΟΥ † ΝΕ ΝΔΕΙ
 ΝΟΥΡΑΝ † †ΡΗΝΗ` ΠΟΥΡΑΤ` ΠΤΕΛΗΛ Τ<ΜΝΤ>ΜΑΚΑ|ΡΙΟΣ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΤΑ-
 ΓΑΠΗ ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΔΕΙ ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΝΑ ΝΑΓΑ|ΘΟΝ ΑΥΩ Β-
 ΒΑΛΖΗΤ`

(§ 36) PAP., OR.4926(1) (breaks off at 106:19 ΝΤΑΡΕϞΝΑΥ).

(§§ 37–61) PAP.

24–25 i.e. ΤΜΑΣΟΕ ΜΠΕ ΕΑΥΤΑΡΠ. 25 Sah. ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑϞ. 26 i.e. ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ.

35 Sah. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ. 36 Sah. ΝΣΕΕΙΡΕ.

107:2 Sah. ΝΕΥ- . . . ΝΕΥ-.

5 i.e. ΤΑΜΙΕ. 10 Sah. ΝΟΥΡΑΝ.

22 ΔϞΚΩΣ : copyist first wrote ΑΥ, then cancelled γ and added Ϟ above the line

33 ΝΝΣΖΙΟΜΕ : ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ Bethge 269, poss. rightly (yet cf. *GTh* 51:20 and *ThCont* 139:38, 139:42 ΝΣΖΙΟΜΕ) 34 ΜΝ<Τ>† Böhlig 36 Δ[- - -]ΥΑ read in photographs 107:1 ΨΙ[Τ]` : τ inexplicably cancelled by the copyist; ΨΙΤ or ΨΙΣ is the expected form

107:3 ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ : cf. Doresse *Secret Books* 170–71; Layton *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976) 35 n. 71; Reitzenstein *Poimandres* 186–87

5 ΣΑΨϞ : ΣΑΨϞΕ is expected 8 Π<ΕΤ> Layton 10 † ΝΕ ΝΔΕΙ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ † : emend to ΝΔΕΙ ΝΕ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ (thus Böhlig) 11 Τ<ΜΝΤ> Böhlig

36. Thus when the prime parent of chaos ²⁰ saw his son Sabaoth and the glory ¹ that he was in, and perceived that he was greatest of all the authorities ¹ of chaos, he envied him. And ¹ having become wrathful he engendered Death out of his ¹ death: and he (viz., Death) was established over the sixth ²⁵ heaven, (for) Sabaoth had been snatched up from there. ¹ And thus the number ¹ of the six authorities of chaos was achieved. Then Death, ¹ being androgynous, mingled with his (own) nature ¹ and begot seven androgynous offspring. ³⁰

37. These are the names of the male ones: Jealousy, Wrath, ¹ Tears, Sighing, Suffering, Lamentation, ¹ Bitter Weeping. And these are the names ¹ of the female ones: Wrath, Pain, Lust, ¹ Sighing, Curse, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. ³⁵ They had intercourse with one another, and each ¹ one begot seven, so that they amount to **107** forty-nine androgynous demons. ¹

38. Their names and their effects you will find ¹ in the *Book of Solomon*. ¹

39. And in the presence of these, Zoe, who ⁵ was with Sabaoth, created seven ¹ good androgynous forces. ¹ These are the names of the male ones: the Unenvious, ¹ the Blessed, the Joy(ful), the True, ¹ the Unbegrudging, the Beloved, ¹⁰ the Trustworthy. Also, as regards the female ones, these are their ¹ names: Peace, Gladness, Rejoicing, Blessedness, ¹ Truth, Love, Faith (Pistis). And ¹ from these there are many good ¹ and innocent spirits.

107:3 it is not possible to identify precisely the work cited here; some possibilities are discussed by J. Doresse. *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: Viking, 1960), 170–171

- 15 ΝΟΥΑΠΟΤΕΛΕC||ΜΑ Μ̄Ν ΝΟΥΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΚΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ | Ν̄CΧΗΜΑ Ν̄Χ Ι- § 40
 ΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ` Ν̄ΤΠΕ ΕΤ̄Μ|ΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΠΙΜ̄Ν̄ΤCΝΟΟΥC
- 15 ΠΑΡΧΙ|ΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕC|ΝΑΥ Α ΠΙΝΕ Ν̄|ΤΠΙCΤΙC Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΑCΛΥ- § 41
 20 ΠΕΙ ΕΜΑ||ΤΕ ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕC|`CΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΑΤΕCСМН | ΕCΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΩΟΡΠ` Ν̄CΜΗ
 25 ΤΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΖ|ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ | Ν̄ΤΑΡΕCΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ
 25 ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ Ν̄ΤΑΖ† ΡΑΝ | ΕΡΟC` ΑCΕΩ ΕΖΟΜ ΑCΩΠΕ ΕCΝ̄ ΤΕC`||ΠΑΡΑΒΑ-
 CΙC ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕC`ΕΙΜΕ ΝΑ|ΜΕ ΧΕ ΟῩΝ̄ ΟῩΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΑΤΜΟΥ Ρ̄Ρ̄Μ̄|ΟΥΟΕΙΝ
 30 ΨΟΟΠ` ΖΙ ΤΕCΕΖΗ ΑCΩΤΟΡ`|ΤΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ ΝΕ ΑCΩΡ̄Π̄Ν̄ΧΟΟC` | Ν̄Ν̄-
 30 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC || ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ` ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΚΕΟΥΑ |
 30 ΨΟΟΠ` ΑCΗ̄Τ ΝΕ ΑCΡ̄ ΖΟΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ|ΠΩC Ν̄CΕΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΟῩΝ̄ ΚΕΟΥΑ |
 30 ΨΟΟΠ` ΖΙ ΤΕCΕΖΗ Ν̄CΕΡ̄ΚΑΤΑΓ|ΙΝΩCΚΕ Μ̄ΜΟC`
- 35 Ν̄ΤΟC ΔΕ ΖΩC ΑΝΟ||ΗΤΟC ΑCΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ Ν̄ΤΚΑΤΑΓΝΩ|CΙC ΑΥΩ § 42
 *p. 108¹ ΑCΤΟΛΜΑ ΠΕCΑC ΧΕ ΕC*ΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΨΟΟΠ` ΖΙ ΤΑΕΖΗ ΜΑΡΕCΟΥΩΝΖ |
 (156 L.) ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑC` ΕΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΕC`ΟΥΟΕΙΝ
- 35 ΑΥΩ | Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΙC ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΜΑΖ|ΨΜΟΥΝΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΠCΑ § 43
 5 ΝΖΡΕ ΑCΧΩΒΕ Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΥ||Ε ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ`
- 5 Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ` | ΝΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΧΕ ΝΕCΩC` ΕCΠ̄Ρ̄ΙΩΟΥ` | § 44
 ΑCΡ̄ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑCΩΠΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΤΑΡΕ | ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 10 ΑΥΕΙΝΕ Ρ̄Ρ̄ΩΜΕ | CΩΛΠ` ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤC` ΕCΟ Ν̄ΨΠΗΡΕ ΕΜΑ||ΤΕ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕ
 10 ΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟC` ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ` Α|ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ` ΟΥΑΑC` Μ̄Ν̄ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ |
 ΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑC` ΠΕC`ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΑC`ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ` | Ν̄Ν̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ
 10 Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ | ΑCΩΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ̄ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤC`
- 15 ΤΟΤΕ ΤΠΡΟ||ΝΟΙΑ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕCΝΑΥ ΑΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑCΜΕΡΙΤC` | Ν̄ΤΟC` § 45
 ΔΕ ΝΕC`ΜΟCΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟC` ΧΕ ΝΕCΖΙ ΠΚΑ|ΚΕ ΝΕCΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΔCΟΛΧ C̄
 Μ̄ΜΟC` Μ̄ΠΕC|C̄Μ̄ CΟΜ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕCΤ̄Μ̄ΨΤ̄ΛCΟ Μ̄ΠΕCΜΕΕΙΕ | ΑCΠΩΖΤ`
 Μ̄ΠΕCΟΥΟΕΙΝ` ΕCΜ̄ ΠΚΑΖ

14–15 Sah. ΝΕΥ- . . . ΝΕΥ-. 16 i.e. τψιμαρμενη, ή είμαρμένη (sim. passim).

19 i.e. ζ̄ν̄ μ̄μοου (poss. emend thus). 26–27 i.e. ρ̄μ̄νοουοειν. 29 Sah. νεγαγγελος.

108:2 καc : Sah. κεκαc.

3 i.e. ουουοειν (Böhlig emends thus).

12 ετ̄ν̄μ̄μαc : i.e. ετ̄ν̄μ̄μαc.

21 εινε : ι added above the line

108:1 οῡν̄ ουα ψοοπ is expected (prob. emend thus)

7 νταρε : no superlin. stroke could be inscribed above ν because of an original imperfection in the papyrus

40. Their influences ¹⁵ and their effects you will find in ' the *Configurations of the Fate of Heaven That Is* ' beneath the Twelve. '

41. And having seen the likeness ' of Pistis in the waters, the prime parent grieved very much, ²⁰ especially when he heard her voice, ' like the first voice that had ' called to him out of the waters. And ' when he knew that it was she who had given a name ' to him, he sighed. He was ashamed on account of his ²⁵ transgression. And when he had come to know in truth ' that an immortal man ' of light had been existing before him, he was greatly disturbed; ' for he had previously said ' to all the gods and their angels, ³⁰ "It is I who am god. No other one ' exists apart from me." For he had been afraid ' they might know that another ' had been in existence before him, and might condemn ' him.

42. But he, being devoid of understanding, ³⁵ scoffed at the condemnation ' and acted recklessly. He said, "If **108** anything has existed before me, let it appear, ' so that we may see its light."

43. And ' immediately, behold! Light came out of the eighth heaven ' above and passed through all of the heavens ⁵ of the earth.

44. When the prime parent ' saw that the light was beautiful as it radiated, ' he was amazed. And he was greatly ashamed. As ' that light appeared, a human likeness ' appeared within it, very wonderful. ¹⁰ And no one saw it except for ' the prime parent and Pronoia, ' who was with him. Yet its light appeared ' to all the forces of the heavens. Because of this ' they were all troubled by it.

45. Then ¹⁵ when Pronoia saw that emissary (*aggelos*), she became enamored of him. ' But he hated her because she was on the darkness. ' But she desired to embrace him, and she was not ' able to. When she was unable to assuage her love, ' she poured out her light upon the earth.

- 20 ΧΙΜ` || ΦΟΥ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΙ|Τ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ` § 46
 ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΟΥΩΖΜ̄ | ΠΕ ΠΡ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΣΝΟΥ` ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΠΚΑΣ |
 <Ν̄ΤΑϚ>ΠΩΡΨ` ΕΒΟΛ` ΕΧΩϚ` ΑΔΑΜΑΝ ΕΤ`ΟΥΑΑΒ` | ΕΤΕ ΠΕϚ`ΟΥΩΖΜ`
- 25 ΠΕ ΠΚΑΣ Ν̄ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙ||ΝΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
 ΧΙΜ ΦΟΥ` ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΡ̄|ΤΙΜΑ Μ̄ΠΣΝΟΥ` Ν̄ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕ|ΖΟΥ- § 47
 ΣΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΚΑΣ ΔΕ ΑϚΤΟΥΒΟ ΕΤΒΕ | † ΠΣΝΟΣ Ν̄ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ
- 30 Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ | ΑΠΜΟΥ ΤΟΥΒΟ ΖΙΤ̄Μ ΠΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ || ΤΣΟΦΙΑ § 48
 ΤΑΕΙΝ̄ΤΑΖΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ` Μ̄|ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ` ΖΝ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΕΥ-
 ΛΟΓΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ | ΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΠΕΙ ϚΤ̄Ν̄ΖΟ
 *p. 109¹ Μ̄ΠΤΗΡϚ` * ϚΤΟΥΒΟ Μ̄ΜΟΥ
 (157 L.) ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΣΝΟΥ` Ν̄ΨΟΡΠ` | ΑΠΕΡΩΣ ΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕϚΟ Ν̄ΖΟΥΤ- § 49
 ΣΖΙΜΕ | ΤΕϚΜ̄Ν̄ΤΖΟΥΤ` ΠΕ ΖΙΜ̄Ρ̄Η̄Γ̄ΙΣ ΕϚΟ Ν̄|ΚΩΖΤ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΟΥ-
 5 ΟΕΙΝ ΤΕϚΜ̄Ν̄ΤΣΖΙ|ΜΕ ΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑϚ` ΟΥΨΥΧΗ Ν̄ΣΝΟΥ` ΟΥΕ|ΒΟΛ ΤΕ
 Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΟΥΣΙΑ Ν̄ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΝΕΣΩϚ` | ΕΜΑΤΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕϚΣΑ ΕῩΝ̄ΤΕϚ` ΧΑΡΙΣ
 ΠΑΡΑ | Ν̄ΣΩΝΤ` ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΧΑΟΣ
- 10 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΝΟΥ|ΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΑΓ`ΓΕΛΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ || ΑΠΕΡΩΣ ΑΥ- § 50
 ΜΕΡΙΤϚ` Ν̄ΤΑΡΕϚ`ΟΥΩΝΣ ΔΕ | ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑϚΡΑΚΖΟΥ Ν̄-
 ΘΕ | ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΖΗΒ̄ ΟΥΩΤ ΨΑΡΕ ΖΑΖ Ν̄ΖΗΒ̄ | ΧΕΡΟ ΑΥΩ ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ
 15 ΟΥΩΤ` Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΠΖΗΒ̄ | ΔΕ ΜΑϚΩΧΒ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΑΠΕΡΩΣ ||
 ΧΩΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΣΩΝΤ` ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΧΑ|ΟΣ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕϚΩΧΒ̄
 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ | ΤΜΕΣΟΤΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΤΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΚΑ|ΚΕ ΑϚ- § 51
 ΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΡΩΣ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΜΕ|ΣΟΤΗΣ Ν̄Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Μ̄Ν̄ Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ ΔΣ-
 20 ΧΩΚ || ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ ΤΣΥΝΟΥΣΙΑ Μ̄ΠΕΡΩΣ ΤΕΪΖΕ | ΕΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ ΠΚΑΣ ΔΣ †
 ΟΥΩ Ν̄ΣΙ ΤΨΟΡΙ; Ν̄|ΖΗΔΟΝΗ

21 i.e. ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ (Böhlig emends thus).

31 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ.

109:5 i.e. ΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑϚ.

9 Sah. ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ. 12 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ. 13 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ.

20 i.e. Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ.

23 <Ν̄ΤΑϚ> Layton 24–25 ΠΚΑΣ Ν̄ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙ|ΝΗ : for the incongruous feminine ending (-τήνη) cf. Kasser *Kēmi* 20 (1970) 52, Layton *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976) 52

28 † ΣΝΟΣ : emend to ΣΝΟΥ (thus Schenke)

109:3 ΖΙΜ̄Ρ̄Η̄Γ̄ΙΣ : i.e. Himeros : ΖΙΜ̄ΡΙΣ em. Böhlig (comparing Ἰμέριος)

12 ΟΥΖΗΒ̄ : η added above the line

46. Since ²⁰ that day, that emissary has been called ' "Adam of Light," whose rendering ' is "the luminous man of blood," and the earth ' (upon which it (her light)) spread, (has been called) "holy Adamas," ' whose rendering is "the Holy Land of Adamantine." ²⁵

47. Since that day, ' all the authorities have honored the blood of the virgin. ' And the earth was purified on account of ' the blood of the virgin.

48. But most of all, ' the water was purified through the likeness of Pistis ³⁰ Sophia, who had appeared to ' the prime parent in the waters. Justly, ' then, it has been said: "through the waters." ' The holy water, since it vivifies the all, **109** purifies it.

49. Out of that first blood ' Eros appeared, being androgynous. ' His masculinity is Himireris (i.e., Himeros), being ' fire from the light. His femininity⁵ that is with him—a soul of blood—is from ' the stuff of Pronoia. He is very lovely ' in his beauty, having a charm beyond ' all creatures of chaos.

50. Then all the gods ' and their angels, when they beheld ¹⁰ Eros, became enamored of him. And appearing ' in all of them he set them afire: just as ' from a single lamp many lamps ' are lit, and one and the same light is there, but the lamp ' is not diminished. And in this way Eros ¹⁵ became dispersed in all the created beings of chaos, ' and was not diminished.

51. Just as from ' the midpoint of light and darkness ' Eros appeared and at the midpoint ' of the angels and mankind ²⁰ the sexual union of Eros was consummated, so ' out of the earth the primal pleasure blossomed. '

108:23 Adamas : *or*, Adaman

- 25 ατςιμε ογαζϙ̄ ἵσα πκαζ | αῶ απγαμος οῦηζ ἵσα τςι- § 52
 με απ̄|χο οῦηζ ἵσα πγαμος απβωλ εβολ || † οῦαζϙ̄ ἵσα
 πεχο
- 30 ἡμῆῆσα περωσ | ετῆμαῦ ατβενελααλε † οῦω εζραῖ | εβολ ζῆ § 53
 πισνοϙ̄ ἡταῦπαζτῆ̄ εχῆ | πκαζ ετβε παῖ νετ̄`σω ἡμοϙ̄ ψαῦ|χο
 ναῦ ἡτεπιϑῆμια ἡτςῦνοϙ̄ςια || ἡμῆῆσα τβενελοολε αῦβεῆκῆ|
 τε ἡῆνοῦβεῆλαζμεν † οῦω εζραῖ ζῆ πκαζ ἡῆ πεκεσεεπε ἡψην |
 κατα γενος εῦῆταῦ ἡμαῦ ἡποϙ̄|σπερμα ζραῖ ἡζητοϙ̄ εβολ ζμ
 *p. 110^l
 (158 L.) π̄*σπερμα ἡῆεζοϙ̄ςια ἡῆ νοῦαγγελοσ | § 54
- 5 τοτε τδικαιοϙ̄νη ασταμειο ππα|ραδεισοσ ενεσωϙ̄ εϙ̄ῆπβολ̄ § 54
 ἡπκ ῥκλοσ ἡποοζ ἡῆ πκ ῥκλοσ ἡπρη ζῆ || πκαζ ἡτρῦφῆ` ετ<ῆ>ῆμα
 ἡψα ζῆ τμητε | ἡῆωνε αῶ τεπιϑῆμια ζῆ τμητε ἡῆψην ενε-
 σωϙ̄ εϙ̄ο ἡλαζλζ αῶ | ψην ἡπωνζ ἡῆατμοϙ̄ ἡθε ἡταϙ̄`οϙ̄ωνζ
 10 εβολ ζῆ ποϙ̄ψ ἡπνοϙ̄τε || ζῆ πσα μζιτ̄` ἡππαραδεισοσ ατρεϙ̄ | ἡ-
 ψῦχη ἡνετοῦααβ̄` ἡαθανατοσ ναει | ετῆῆνη εβολ̄` ζῆ ἡπλασμα ἡ-
 τῆῆτ|ζηκε ἡτςῦν̄`τελεια ἡπαιων πεϙ̄αν | δε ἡψην ἡπωνζ ἡθε
 15 ἡπρη αῶ || νεϙ̄κααδοσ νεσωϙ̄ νεϙ̄ωβε ἡθε | ἡῆα πκῥπα-
 ρισσοσ πεϙ̄καρποσ ἡθε | ἡῆισμαζ ἡελοολε εϙ̄οϙ̄οβ̄ϙ̄ πεϙ̄χι-
 σε βηκ ψαζραῖ ετπε
- 20 αῶ ατοϙ̄ωϙ̄ ψη(η) | ἡτγῆωςις εῦῆταϙ̄` ἡμαῦ ἡτδῦναμικ || ἡ- § 55
 πνοϙ̄τε πεϙ̄`εοοϙ̄ ο ἡθε ἡποοζ εϙ̄|πῆριωοϙ̄ εματε αῶ
 νεϙ̄ταρ̄` νεσωϙ̄ | νεϙ̄ωωβε ο ἡθε ἡῆισωωβε ἡκῆτε
 | πεϙ̄καρποσ ο ἡθε ἡῆιβῆῆε` ετῆαοϙ̄|οϙ̄ ἡλεζλζ παει δε
 25 εϙ̄ι πσα μζιτ̄` ἡπα||ραδισοσ ατρεϙ̄`τωοῦν ἡῆψῦχη εβολ | ζῆ τῶϙ̄ε̄`
 ἡῆδαიმων χεκααδ εῦῆηῦ | εζοῦν̄` επσηῆ` ἡπωνζ ἡσεοϙ̄ωμ̄` ἡ|
 πεϙ̄καρποσ αῶ ἡσεῆκατακρине ἡῆ|εζοϙ̄ςια ἡῆ νοῦαγ̄`γελοσ
- 30 παποτελεσ||μα ἡππειψην ϙ̄ςηζ ζῆ χιερα βιβλοσ | χε ἡτοκ πε § 56

23–24 οῦηζ . . . οῦηζ (infinitives) : Sah. οῦαζϙ̄ . . . οῦαζϙ̄ : cf. Funk³ n. 1.

31 i.e. ἡῆ οῦβε-. 33–34 Sah. ἡπεϙ̄σπερμα.

110:5 i.e. poss. πκαζ ἡτρῦφῆ. 8 i.e. ἡατμοϙ̄. 13 i.e. ζῆ τςῦντελεια.

24 i.e. ππαραδισοσ (Böhlig emends thus). 26 Sah. χεκααδ εϙ̄εει cf. *l Clem.* 48:2 Achmimic = Ps. 117:19 Sahidic : explained by Polotsky. 29 Sah. ἡεαγγελοσ.

30 i.e. τῶιερα, ἡῆιερά.

22 ατςιμε ογαζϙ̄ ἵσα πκαζ : απσοϙ̄τ ογαζϙ̄ ἵσα πκαζ ατςιμε ογαζϙ̄ ἵσα
 πσοϙ̄τ em. Bethge 25 † οῦαζϙ̄ : em. το ογαζϙ̄

110:5 <ῆ> Layton 13 <ζ>ῆ τςῦντελεια Böhlig πεϙ̄αν : ποῦαειν em. Schenke

52. The woman followed earth. ' And marriage followed woman. Birth followed marriage. Dissolution ²⁵ followed birth.

53. After that Eros, ' the grapevine sprouted up ' out of that blood, which had been shed over ' the earth. Because of this, those who drink of it ' conceive the desire of sexual union. ³⁰ After the grapevine, a fig tree ' and a pomegranate tree sprouted up from ' the earth, together with the rest of the trees, ' all species, having ' within them their seed from the **110** seed of the authorities and their angels. '

54. Then Justice created Paradise, ' being beautiful and being outside the orbit ' of the moon and the orbit of the sun in ⁵ the Land of Wantonness, in the East in the midst ' of the stones. And desire is in the midst of ' the beautiful, appetizing trees. And ' the tree of eternal life is as it ' appeared by God's will, ¹⁰ to the north of Paradise, so that it might make ' eternal the souls of the pure, ' who shall come forth from the modelled forms (*plasmata*) of poverty ' at the consummation of the age (aeon). Now the color ' of the tree of life is like the sun. And ¹⁵ its branches are beautiful. Its leaves are like ' those of the cypress. Its fruit is like ' a bunch of grapes when it is white. Its height ' goes as far as heaven.

55. And next to it (is) the tree ' of acquaintance (*gnōsis*), having the strength (*dynamis*) ²⁰ of God. Its glory is like the moon ' when fully radiant. And its branches are beautiful. ' Its leaves are like fig leaves. ' Its fruit is like a good appetizing date. ' And this tree is to the north of Paradise, ²⁵ so that it might arouse the souls from ' the torpor of the demons, in order that they might approach ' the tree of life and eat of ' its fruit and so condemn the ' authorities and their angels.

56. The effect ³⁰ of this tree is described in the *Sacred Book*, ' to wit: "It is you who are

*p. 111¹
(159 Böhlig)

ΠΩΗΝ ΝΤΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΠΑΕΙ | ΕΤΖΜ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ ΠΑΕΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΩΟΡΠ` | ΡΩΜΕ
ΟΥΟΜϷ` ΔΟΥΗΝ` ΔΠΕϷΝΟΥΣ | ΔϷΜΡΕ ΤΕϷ`ΩΒΡΕΙΝΕ ΔϷΡΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ *
<Ν>ΝΚΕΕΙΝΕ ΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ ΔϷΣΙΧΑΝΕ ΕΡΟ|ΟΥ`

ΜΝ̄Ν̄ΣΑ ΠΑΕΙ ΔΕ ΔΤΒΕΝΧΟΕΙΤ` † ΟΥΩ | ΕΖΡΑΪ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΝΑΤΟΥΒΟ ΝΡ- § 57
5 ΡΩΟΥ Μ̄Ν̄ Ν|ΔΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΝΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΝΑ|ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν-
ΖΑΕῩ Ν̄ΝΕΖΟΥ` ΕΑ|ΤΒΕΝΧΟΕΙΤ ΔΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥ|ΕΙΝ Μ̄ΠΩΟΡΠ`
Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΧΡΙΣΜΑ | ΕΤΟΥ<ΝΑ>ΧΙΤϷ`

10 ΤΩΟΡΠ` ΔΕ Μ̄ΨΥΧΗ ΔΣΜ̄ΡΕ | ΠΕΡΩΣ ΕΤ̄Ν̄Ν̄Μ̄Μ̄ΑΣ ΔΣΠΩΖΤ` Μ̄ΠΕΣ|| § 58
<Σ>ΝΟΥ` ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩϷ` ΑΥΩ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΕΒΟΛ | ΔΕ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΣΝΟΥ` ΕΤ̄Μ̄-
Μ̄ΑΥ ΑΤΟΥΡΤ` † ΟΥΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ Ν̄ΩΟΡΠ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ | ΠΩΟΝΤΕ ΕΥΡΑ-
ϷΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΑΪ ΕΤ`ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΒΑΤΟΣ

15 Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΑ || ΠΑΕΙ ΔΝ` Ν̄ΖΡΗΡΕ ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΕΤΟ Ν̄ΣΤΟΕΙ | ΕΝΑΝΟΥϷ` ΔΥ† § 59
ΟΥΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑ|ΤΑ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ Μ̄ΠΑΡ|ΘΕΝΟΣ Ν̄-
20 ΤΕ Ν̄ΩΕΕΡΕ Ν̄ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ` | ΝΑΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΜΕΡΕ ΠΕΡΩΣ ΑΥΠΩΖΤ` || Μ̄-
ΠΟΥΣΝΟΥ` ΕΧΩϷ` ΑΥΩ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ`

Μ̄|Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΑ ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΒΟΤΑΝΗ ΝΙΜ` † ΟΥΩ ΕΖ|ΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟΣ § 60
ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑΥ Μ̄|Μ̄ΑΥ Μ̄ΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥ|ΑΓ`ΓΕΛΟΣ Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΑ
25 ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ || ΣΩΝΤ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ Ν̄ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ | ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕ-
ΝΟΣ ΑΥΩ Ν̄Χ ΑΤΒΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΖΑ`|ΛΑΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑΥ Μ̄Μ̄ΑΥ Μ̄|ΠΣΠΕΡ-
ΜΑ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ |

30 ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΑΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕϷ`ΟΥ||ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ` Μ̄ΠΩΟΡΠ` Ν̄ΖΟΥ § 61
ΔϷΩ | ΖΙΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑ[Ζ] Μ̄ΠΡΗΤΕ Ν̄ΖΟΥ ΣΝΑΥ ΔϷ|ΚΩ Ν̄ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΠΣΑ
Μ̄ΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ | ΤΠΕ ΔϷΒΩΚ` ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕϷ`ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ | Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ

32 i.e. παραδεισος (Böhlig emends thus). 33 Sah. αουων ε.

111:9 i.e. ετν̄μ̄μας.

15 ΔΝ : Sah. ον. 20 Sah. μ̄πεγсноϷ.

23 i.e. ν̄νεζουσια (Böhlig emends thus). 23–24 Sah. νεγαγγελος. 28 i.e. ν̄ν-
εζουσια (Böhlig emends thus). νοαγγελος : Sah. νεγαγγελος.

111:1 <ν̄> Layton (cf. 111:2 εροου)

8 <να> Quecke²

10 <σ>νοϷ sim. Böhlig

23 μ̄πεσπερμα : μ̄<ποϷσπερμα ζραΪ ν̄ζητου εβολ ζ̄μ̄> πεσπερμα Quecke, with hesi-
tation

the tree of acquaintance (*gnōsis*), ' which is in Paradise, from which the first ' man ate and which opened his mind; ' and he loved his female counterpart and condemned **111** the other, alien likeness and loathed him.' ' '

57. Now after it, the olive tree sprouted up, ' which was to purify the kings and the ' high priests of righteousness, who were to ⁵ appear in the last days, since ' the olive tree appeared out of the light ' of the first Adam for the sake of the unguent ' that they were to receive.

58. And the first soul (Psyche) loved ' Eros, who was with her, and poured her blood ¹⁰ upon him and upon the earth. ' And out of that blood the rose first sprouted up, ' out of the earth, out of ' the thorn bush, to be a source of joy for the light that ' was to appear in the bush. ¹⁵

59. Moreover after this the beautiful, good-smelling flowers ' sprouted up from the earth, ' different kinds, from every single virgin ' of the daughters of Pronoia. ' And they, when they had become enamored of Eros, poured out ²⁰ their blood upon him and upon the earth. '

60. After these, every plant sprouted up ' from the earth, different kinds, containing ' the seed of the authorities and their ' angels. After these, the authorities ²⁵ created out of the waters all species of beast, ' and the reptiles and birds ' —different kinds—containing ' the seed of the authorities and their angels. '

61. But before all these, when he had appeared ³⁰ on the first day, he remained ' upon the earth, something like two days, and ' left the lower Pronoia in ' heaven, and ascended towards his light. And ' immediately

111:6 appeared out of : *or*, appeared in

- *p. 112¹ (160 Bö.) ἀπκακε ψωπε ἀχῃ̄ πκ̄ο̄ςμο̄[ς] * τηρμ̄`
 τσοφια δε ετῆ̄ν̄ τπε̄ ῃ̄πσᾱ ῃ̄πιτῆ̄ | ῃ̄ταρεσοῦωψ̄ ἀσχῑ οὔε̄ζοῦσ̄ια § 62
 ῃ̄τοοτ̄ε̄ | ῃ̄τπιςτις̄ ἀσταμιο̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄νος̄ ῃ̄ρεϋ̄ῤ̄ οὔο|ειν̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄σ̄ιοῡ τη-
 5 ροῡ ἀσκαδῦ̄ ζῆ̄ τπε̄ ἀτροῦ||ῤ̄ οὔοειν̄ εχῃ̄ πκαζ̄ ἀγῶ̄ σεσχωκ̄` εβολ̄
 ῃ̄|ζῆ̄σ̄ημειον̄ ῃ̄χρονος̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄καρος̄ ῃ̄ | ζῆ̄ῤ̄πποοὔε̄ ἀγῶ̄ ζῆ̄νεβατε̄
 ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄σοῦ | ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄οὔσ̄οῡ ῃ̄ ῃ̄κεσεεπε | τηρμ̄` ἀγῶ̄
 10 ῃ̄τεε̄ιζε̄ ἀπμᾱ τηρμ̄` ῤ̄κοσ̄μ̄ει || ζιχῆ̄ τπε̄
 ἀδ̄αμ̄` δε̄ οὔοειν̄` ῃ̄ταρεϋ̄`οὔωψ̄ | ἀβωκ̄` εζοῦν̄` επεϋ̄`οὔοειν̄ § 63
 ετε̄ πᾱεῑ πε | ετμαζψ̄μοῦνε̄ ῃ̄πεψ̄ωῃ̄ ῃ̄ομ̄` ετβε̄ | τῃ̄ῃ̄τ̄ζηκε̄
 ῃ̄τατ̄ωζ̄ ῃ̄ πεϋ̄`οὔοειν̄ τοτε̄ | ἀϋ̄ταμ̄ειο̄ ναϋ̄` ῃ̄οὔνο̄ς ῃ̄-
 15 ᾱιων̄ ἀγῶ̄ ζῆ̄ || παιων̄` ετῃ̄μαῦ̄ ἀϋ̄ταμ̄ιο̄ ῃ̄σοῦῤ̄ ῃ̄αιων̄ | ῃ̄νοὔ-
 κοσμο̄ς εϋ̄ειρε̄ ῃ̄σοῦ εϋ̄σοτ̄π̄` | ἀῃ̄ῃ̄πηγε̄ ῃ̄πχᾱος̄ ῃ̄νοὔκοσμο̄ς
 ῃ̄|σαψ̄ϋ̄` ῃ̄κωβ̄
 ῃ̄ε̄ειδ̄αιων̄ δε̄ τηροῡ ῃ̄νοὔκοσμο̄ς εϋ̄ψ̄οοπ̄` ζῆ̄ πετε̄ ῃ̄ῃ̄τεϋ̄ § 64
 20 ἀρησ̄ϋ̄` || εϋ̄οὔτε̄ τμαζψ̄μοῦνε̄ ῃ̄ πχᾱος̄ ετῃ̄π̄|τῆ̄ ῃ̄μο̄ς εϋ̄ηπ̄` ῃ̄
 πκοσμο̄ς ετε̄ πᾱ τ`ῃ̄ῃ̄τ̄ζηκε̄ πε̄
 εψ̄χε̄ κοῦωψ̄ ε̄ειμε̄ ῃ̄τ̄δ̄ιᾱ|ῃ̄ε̄σις̄ ῃ̄νᾱεῑ κναζε̄ ερος̄ ε̄σ̄χη̄ζ̄ ζῆ̄
 25 πμαζ̄|σαψ̄ϋ̄ ῃ̄κοσμο̄ς ῃ̄ψ̄ιερᾱλιας̄ πεπ̄ροφ̄η||τ̄η̄ς̄
 ζᾱ τε̄ζη̄ δε̄ ῃ̄πατε̄ ἀδ̄αμ̄ ῃ̄οὔοειν̄ ῤ̄|ἀνᾱχωρεῑ ζῆ̄ πχᾱος̄ ἀνε̄ζοῦ- § 66
 σ̄ιᾱ ναῦ̄ ε̄ροϋ̄` ἀγ̄σωβε̄ ῃ̄σᾱ παρ̄χιγε̄νετ̄ωρ̄` χε̄ ἀϋ̄|χε̄ βο̄λ̄ εϋ̄χω̄

(§ 62) PAP., OR.4926(1) (begins at 112:3 ῃ̄τπιςτις̄, breaks off ca. 112:10 ῃ̄ταρεσοῦωψ̄).

(§§ 63–65) PAP.

(§ 66) PAP., OR.4926(1) (begins at 112:27 παρ̄χιγε̄νετ̄ωρ̄).

34 i.e. εχῃ̄.

112:5 Sah. ἀγῶ̄ ῃ̄σεσχωκ̄. 7 i.e. ζε̄νεβατε̄.

10 i.e. ῃ̄οὔοειν̄ (Böhlig emends thus). 13 i.e. ῃ̄τατ̄ωζ̄ (Böhlig emends thus). 16–17 Sah. νεῦ- . . . νεῦ-.

17 ἀῃ̄ῃ̄πηγε̄ : Sah. ἀῃ̄πηγε̄

18–19 Sah. νεῦκοσμο̄ς.

24 Sah. ζιερᾱλιας̄.

34 ἀχῃ̄ : also ἀχῆ̄ can be read πκ̄ο̄ςμο̄[ς] : μο̄[ς] exceeding letters, written below the line

112:2 ἀσχῑ : ἀσῑ Funk : cf. 98:14 ῃ̄τοοτ̄ε̄ read in photographs 3 ῤ̄ οὔο read in photographs ϋ̄εϋ̄ῤ̄ οὔοειν̄ : οὔ[ǣ]ῃ̄ναῦ[e]ῃ̄[ε] Or.4926(1) 5 ἀγῶ̄ σεσχωκ̄ : ῃ̄σεε̄ιρε̄ Or.4926(1) 9 ἀγῶ̄ . . . ῤ̄κοσ̄μ̄ει : shorter text (but mostly in lacuna) in Or.4926(1)

darkness covered all the universe. **112**

62. Now when she wished, the Sophia who was in the lower heaven ' received authority from ' Pistis, and fashioned great luminous bodies ' and all the stars. And she put them in the sky to ⁵ shine upon the earth and to render ' temporal signs and seasons and ' years and months and days ' and nights and moments and so forth. ' And in this way the entire region upon the sky was adorned. ¹⁰

63. Now when Adam of Light conceived the wish ' to enter his light— i.e., ' the eighth heaven—he was unable to do so because of ' the poverty that had mingled with his light. Then ' he created for himself a vast eter— nal realm (aeon). And within ¹⁵ that eternal realm he created six eternal realms ' and their adornments, six in number, that were seven times better ' than the heavens of chaos and their adornments. '

64. Now all these eternal realms and their ' adornments exist within the infinity ²⁰ that is between the eighth heaven and the chaos below ' it, being counted with the universe that belongs to ' poverty.

65. If you (sg.) want to know the arrangement ' of these, you (sg.) will find it written in the *Seventh ' Universe of the Prophet Herialias*. ²⁵

66. And before Adam of Light had ' withdrawn in the chaos, the authori— ties saw him ' and laughed at the prime parent because he had ' lied when he said,

ἄμμος κε ἀνοκ` πε πνου|τε μᾶ λααυ ψοοπ` ζι ταεζη

30 ἦταρογει ψα|ροϋ` πεχαυ κε μη παει πε πνουτε ἦταζ|τακο ἄ- § 67

πῆεργον αϋ`οϋψωβ̄ πεχαυ κε | εζε` εψχε τετῆοϋψω κε-
 κας νεϋ`ψδῆ | σομ ἦτακο ἄπῆεργον ἀμheitῆ μαρῆ|ταμειο ἦοϋρω-

35 με εβολ ζῆ πκαζ κατα || τζικων` ἄπῆσωμα` αϋω κατα πεινε * ἄπῆ

*p. 113¹
 (161 B6.)

ἄψωῖψε ναν κεκαασε πη εϋψα(ν)|ναυ επεϋ`εινε ἄψμε-

ρειτῖ` οϋκετι ϋνα|τακο ἄπῆεργον ἀλλὰ νετοϋναχπο-

5 οϋ | εβολ ζῆ ποϋοειν ἦτῆαυ ἦζμζᾶλ ναν || ζῆ πχροнос τηρῖ ἄ-
 πειαιων

παει δε | τηρϋ` ἦταϋ`ψωπε κατα τηρονοια ἦτπι|στις ψινα επρω- § 68

με ναοϋωνζ εβολ` ἦ|ναζρῆ πεϋ`εινε ἄψκατακρине ἄμμοϋ | εβολ ζῆ

10 ποϋπλασμα αϋω ποϋπλασμα || αϋψωπε ἦχολαχᾶ ἄποϋοειν

τοτε ἦε|ζοϋγια αϋχι ἦτηνωσις ατροϋταμие | πρωμε αςῖ § 69

ψορπ` εροοϋ ἦβι τσοφια | ζων [ε] ταει ετ`ζατῆ σαβαωθ` αϋω

15 αςσω|βε ἦσα τοϋγνωμη κε ζῆβᾶλεεϋε νε ζῆ || οϋμῆτ-

ατσοοϋν αϋταμιοϋ` εροοϋ οϋα|αϋ αϋω σεσοοϋν αν κε οϋ πε
 ετοϋνα|αϋ`

δια τοϋτο` αςῖ ψορπ` εροοϋ αςταμιο | ἦψορπ` ἄπесρωμε ψινα § 70

20 εϋναταме | ποϋπλασμα ἦθε εϋναῖκαταφρονει ἄ||μοϋ αϋω ἦτεει-
 ζε ϋνανοϋζμ` εροοϋ |

πχπο δε ἄπρεϋταμο ἦταϋψωπε ἦ|τεειζε τσοφια ἦτα- § 71

ресноϋχε ἦοϋτᾶ|τλε οϋοειν αςζα|ε εχῆ ἄμμοϋ ἦτεϋ|νοϋ απρω-

25 με οϋωνζ εβολ εϋο ἦζοϋτ`|ςζιμε

τᾶ|τλε ετῆμαϋ αςῖτϋποϋ ἄ|μμοϋ ψορп` ἦνοϋσωμα ἦςζιμε ἄ- § 72

μῆἦσως αςῖτϋποϋ ἄμμος ζῆ πσω|μα ἄπεινε ἦτμααϋ ἦταζοϋωνζ

(§ 67) PAP., OR.4926(1) (breaks off at l 12:34 ζῆ πκαζ).

(§§ 68–79) PAP.

113:9 Sah. πεϋ- . . . πεϋ-.

14 Sah. τεϋγνωμη. 16–17 i.e. ετοϋναααϋ.

19 i.e. πεϋπλασμα.

23 i.e. ἦοϋοειν (Böhlig emends thus).

25 i.e. τᾶ|τλε. 26 i.e. ἦψορп (Böhlig emends thus) ἦοϋσωμα.

29 μᾶ λααυ : ἄπ σε Or.4926(1)

29 ἦταρογει : τοτε ζα|ϋειαζο|ϋν Or.4926(1) 35 πεινε : ι added above the line

113:13 [ε] cancelled by the copyist

25–26 αςῖτϋποϋ ἄ|μμοϋ : αςῖτϋποϋ ἄμμοϋ (i.e. ἄπμοϋ) em. Bethge

“It is I who am God. ' No one exists before me.”

67. When they came to ³⁰ him, they said, “Is this not the god who ' ruined our work?” He answered and said, ' “Yes. If you do not want him to be able ' to ruin our work, come let us ' create a man (i.e., human being) out of earth, according to ³⁵ the image (*eikōn*) of our body and according to the likeness **113** of this being (viz., Adam of Light), to serve us; so that when he (viz., Adam of Light) ' sees his likeness he might become enamored of it. No longer will he ' ruin our work; rather, ' we shall make those who are born out of the light our servants ⁵ for all the duration of this eternal realm (aeon).

68. Now all of this ' came to pass according to the forethought (*pronoia*) of Pistis, ' in order that man should appear after ' his likeness, and should condemn them ' because of their modelled form (*plasma*). And their modelled form ¹⁰ became an enclosure of the light.

69. Then the authorities ' received the acquaintance (*gnōsis*) necessary to create ' man. Sophia ' Zoe—she who is with Sabaoth—had anticipated them. And she laughed ' at their decision. For they are blind: ¹⁵ against their own interests they ignorantly created him. ' And they do not realize what they are about to do. '

70. The reason she anticipated them and made her own man (i.e., human being) ' first, was in order that he might instruct ' their modelled form (*plasma*) how to despise ²⁰ them and thus to escape from them. '

71. Now the production of the instructor came about ' as follows. When Sophia let fall a droplet ' of light, it flowed onto the water, ' and immediately a human being appeared, being androgynous. ²⁵

72. That droplet she moulded ' first as a female body. Afterwards, ' using the body she moulded it ' in the likeness of the mother, which had appeared. '

112:29 No one exists before me : *the British Library manuscript has* No other exists before me

113:25 That droplet she molded : *text possibly erroneous; correct text possibly* That droplet gave form to the water

- 30 ΕΒΟΛ | ΔΣΧΟΚ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν Μ̄Ν̄ΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ Ν̄ΒΟΤ̄ || ΔΥΧΠΟ Ν̄ΟΥ-
ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΖΟΥΤ̄`ΣΖΙΜΕ ΠΑΕΙ | ΕΝΓΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΖΕΡΜΑΦΡΟ|ΔΙ-
ΤΗΣ ΤΕΨΜΑΔΥ Ν̄ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΥΖΑ Ν̄ΖΩΗ ΕΤΕ
ΤΡΕΨΤΑΜΟ | ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΩΝΖ
- 35 ΠΕΣΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΧΠΟ || ΕΤΟ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄CΩC` ΔΝ[Ε]ΖΟΥCΙΑ § 73
*p. 114^f * ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ` ΧΕ ΠӨНΡΙΟΝ ΑΤΡΕΨ̄Ρ̄ΠΛΑΝΑ | Ν̄ΝΟΥΠΛΑCΜΑ ΘΕΡΜΗ-
(162 Bö.) ΝΕΙΑ Μ̄ΠӨНΡΙΟΝ` | ΠΕ ΠΡΕΨ`ΤΑΜΟ ΔΥΖΕ ΓΑΡ` ΕΡΟQ` ΕQO Ν̄CΑΒΕ | ΠΑ-
ΡΑΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
- 5 ΕΥΖΑ ΒΕ ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠ` Μ̄||ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΤΑΕΙ ΔΧ̄Ν̄ ΖΟΟΥΤ` ΔCΨΑΜΙCΕ § 74
| Ν̄ΤΟC ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΑΖ̄Ρ̄ CΟΕΙΝ ΕΡΟC ΟΥΑΔΤ̄
ΔΙΑ | ΤΟΥΤΟ CΕΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΔCΧΟΟC ΧΕ Δ|ΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΕ-
ΡΟC Ν̄ΤΑΜΑΔΥ ΔΥΩ ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ | ΤΜΑΔΥ` ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΖΙΜΕ Δ-
10 ΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC || ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕΤΕΕΤ` ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ Τ`CΟ-
ΕΙΝ ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΡΕΨ`|CΟΛC̄ Ν̄Ν̄ΝΑΚΕ ΠΑΖΑΕΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΧΠΟ-
ΕΙ ΔΥ|Ω ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΕΨ`ΜΑΔΥ ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΟQ` ΠΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ` | ΔΥΩ ΠΑ-
ΧΟΕΙC Ν̄ΤΟQ` ΠΕ ΤΑΒΟΜ` ΠΕΤQ`ΟΥ|ΔΨ̄Q̄ Q̄ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟQ` ΕΥΛΟΓ-
15 ΩC †ΨΩΠΕ ΑΛ|ΛΑΖΙΧΠΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC
ΝΑΕΙ ΔΕ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥ|ΩΨ < - - - > ΔΥΒΩΛΠ` ΕΒΟΛ` Ν̄Μ̄ΨΥΧΗ Ν̄CΑΒΑΩΘ` § 76
| Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΕQ̄Χ̄C [.] ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΝΗΥ ΑΜ`ΠΛΑCΜΑ | Ν̄ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ
ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΤΕCΜΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ` | ΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΑΨΑΕΙ ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΑΝΑΕΙ` ΕΡΙ
20 ΧΟ||ΕΙC ΕΧ̄Ν̄ Ν̄CΩΝΤ` ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΑΕΙ ΝΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥ|Ρ̄ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ Μ̄-
ΜΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΛΗΡΟC Ε|ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΨΡ` ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ |
ΔΥΟΤ`ΠΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΨΤΕΚΩΟΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΠΛΑC|ΜΑ † Η Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤCΥΝ`ΤΕΛΕΙΑ Μ̄-
ΠΑΙΩΝ †
- 25 Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑ||ΡΟC ΔΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΨΡ | ΑQ† ΟΥΓΝΩΜΗ Ν̄- § 77
ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑQ` ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΩ|ΜΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΟΥ ΧΕ | Μ̄-
ΠΕQ̄`CΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΜΗΤΕ Ν̄ΘΖ̄ΛΠΕ Μ̄|ΠΚΑΖ

114:14–15 i.e. ἀλλὰ ἀζιχπε (Böhlig emends thus).

18 i.e. ἡνεζουσια (Bethge emends thus).

26 i.e. ἡνετημμαq. 28 i.e. ἡτζλπε.

114:15–16 ζ̄μ̄ πογ|ωψ < - - - > : main clause accidentally omitted : ζ̄μ̄ πογ|ωψ <ἡσαβαωθ
μ̄ν̄ πεq̄χ̄c> em. Bethge removing text from line 17 and transposing it to line 16 17 [.] :
copyist wrote and then cancelled a false start of ε or c 24 † η ζ̄ν̄ τcυν`τελεια μ̄-
παιων † : this phrase is poss. a gloss, not part of author's text : desired sense is not appar-
ent : ψα τcυντελεια μ̄παιων em. Böhlig

And she finished it in twelve months. ³⁰ An androgynous human being was produced, ' whom the Greeks call Hermaphrodites; ' and whose mother the Hebrews call ' Eve of Life (Eve of Zoe), namely, the female instructor ' of life.

73. Her offspring is the creature ³⁵ that is lord. Afterwards, the authorities 114 called it "Beast," so that it might lead astray ' their modelled creatures (*plasmata*). The interpretation of "the beast" ' is "the instructor." For it was found to be the wisest ' of all beings.

74. Now, Eve is the first ⁵ virgin, the one who without a husband bore her first offspring. ' It is she who served as her own midwife.

75. For ' this reason she is held to have said: '
 "It is I who am the part of my mother: And it is I who am ' the mother.
 It is I who am the wife; It is I who am the virgin. ¹⁰
 It is I who am pregnant; It is I who am the midwife.
 It is I who am the one that ' comforts pains of travail.
 It is my husband who bore me; And ' it is I who am his mother.
 And it is he who is my father ' and my lord.
 It is he who is my force; What he desires, ' he says with reason.
 I am in the process of becoming; Yet ¹⁵ I have borne a man as lord."

76. Now these through the will ' (. . .). The souls ' that were going to enter the modelled forms (*plasmata*) of the authorities were manifested to Sabaoth and his Christ. ' And regarding these the holy voice ' said, "Multiply and improve! Be lord ²⁰ over all creatures." And it is they who were ' taken captive, according to their destinies, by ' the prime parent. And thus ' they were shut into the prisons of the modelled forms (*plasmata*). ' Or: at the consummation of the age (aeon).

77. And at that time, ²⁵ the prime parent then ' rendered an opinion concerning man to those who were with him. ' Then each of them cast ' his sperm into the midst of the navel of ' the earth.

114:15–17 Now these . . . were manifested to Sabaoth and his Christ : *some words possibly omitted here in error; or else the text has been disarranged, the correct text being* Now this was manifested through the will of Sabaoth and his Christ to the souls that were going to enter

114:24 Or: . . . of the age (aeon) : *the text of this sentence is erroneous*

- 30 χ IM ΦOΟΥ EΤ̄M̄MAΥ AΠCAYC ȠAP`||XΩN ȠΠAACC E M̄PΩME EΠEY- § 78
CΩMA | MEN EINE M̄ΠOYCΩMA ΠEY`EINE ΔE EY`EINE M̄PΩME N̄TAZ-
OYΩN Z EBOL NAY | ΠEYΠAACCMA AYΩYΠE K[A]TA MEPOC M̄|ΠOYA
- 35 ΠOYA ΠOYNOC ΔE AYTA MEIE || ΠEΓKEΦAΛON M̄N ΠATKAC
*p. 115¹ M̄M̄N̄NCWC | † AYΦYΩN Z EBOL ZWC AT EY`EZH † AYΩYΠE * N̄OY- § 79
(163 Bö.) PΩME M̄ΨYXIKOC AYΩ AYMOYTE EPYQ` XE AΔAM` ETE ΠAEI ΠE
ΠEY T` KATA | ΠPAN M̄ΠET`ZI TEY`EZH
- 5 N̄TAPYXWK ΔE N̄|AΔAM` AYKAAQ N̄NOYCKEYOC EAQXIMOP||ΦH N̄ΘE § 80
N̄NIZOYZE EM̄N ΠNEYMA N̄ZHTY` | ETBE ΠEIZΩB N̄TAP EΠOC N̄-
APXΩN | Ƞ ΠMEEYE M̄ΠYAXE N̄TΠICTIC AYȠ ZO TE | MHΠWC N̄QI N̄BI ΠP̄M̄-
ME EZOYN` EΠEY`|ΠAACCMA N̄QȠ XOEIC EXΩY`
- 10 ETBE ΠAEI AY`Kω M̄ΠEYΠAACCMA N̄ZME N̄ZOY XWPIC | ΨYXH AYΩ § 81
AY`ANAXWP E AYKAAQ` ZȠ ΠM̄[AZ]ZME ΔE N̄ZOY ATCOΦIA N̄ZΩH
T̄N̄NOY | M̄ΠE CNICE EZOYN AΔAM ΠAEI ETE M̄N | ΨYXH M̄-
- 15 MOY` AYAPXEI N̄KIM ZIXM̄ PKAZ || AYΩ M̄ΠEYΩB̄M̄ BOM` ETWOYN § 82
ΠCAYȠ | ΔE N̄APXΩN N̄TAPY E AYNAY EPYQ` AYΩYTOPȠ E MA-
TE AY† ΠEYOOYEI EZOYN EPYQ` AYEMAZTE M̄MOY` AYΩ ΠE-
- 20 XAY` M̄|ΠNICE ETN̄ZHTȠ XE N̄TOK` NIM` AYΩ N̄|TOK`EI EBOL TΩN § 82
ENIMA AY`OYΩYB̄ | ΠEXAY` XE N̄TAEIEI EBOL ZIT̄N̄ TAYNA|MIC M̄-
PΩME ETBE ΠTAKO M̄ΠET̄N̄EP̄YON

(§80) PAP., OR.4926(1) (? begins ca. 115:4 εαχχι, ? breaks off at 115:9 ἡὐρ χοεῖς).

(§81–89) PAP.

31 Sah. ἡπενύσωμα. 34 Sah. πένυνοσ.

36 i.e. ζα τεφεζη.

115:4 Sah. ζῆ ούσκευος. 8 i.e. ἡφει.

12 ἡζων : i.e. ζων : cf. on 104:28.

19–20 Sah. ἡτακει (Bethge emends thus). 20 ενίμα : Sah. επείεμα.

36 αφοζωνζ : for ζ can also be read ω; ογ read from small, ambiguous traces <ζ>α-
τεφ`εζη Böhlig

115:6 ετβε πεεζωβ : lacuna in Or.4926(1), too short for this phrase

11 ζῆ : ῃ is definite, superlin. stroke restored πῃ[αζ] sim. rest. Wisse : the word μαζ
must have extended far into the right margin and may have been written as an afterthought

18 πεχαζ : for the abrupt shift to singular cf. *HypArch* 88:3 and Layton *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976) 50 n. 41 : πεχαγ em. Böhlig

78. Since that day, the seven rulers ³⁰ have fashioned (*plassein*) man with his body 'resembling their body, but his likeness 'resembling the man that had appeared to them. ' His modelling (*plasma*) took place by parts, ' one at a time. And their leader fashioned ³⁵ the brain and the nervous system.

79. Afterwards ' he appeared as prior to him. He became **115** a soul-endowed (*psykhikos*) man. And he was called ' Adam, that is, "father," according to ' the name of the one that existed before him.

80. And when they had finished ' Adam, he abandoned him as an inanimate vessel (*skeuos*), since he had taken form ⁵ like an abortion, in that no spirit was in him. ' Regarding this thing, when the chief ruler ' remembered the saying of Pistis, he was afraid ' lest the true man enter his ' modelled form (*plasma*) and become its lord.

81. For this reason he ¹⁰ left his modelled form (*plasma*) forty days without ' soul, and he withdrew and abandoned it. Now on the fortieth ' day, Sophia Zoe sent ' her breath into Adam, who had no ' soul. He began to move upon the ground. ¹⁵ And he could not stand up.

82. Then when the seven ' rulers came, they saw him and ' were greatly disturbed. They went up to ' him and seized him. And he (viz., the chief ruler) said to ' the breath within him, "Who are you? And ²⁰ whence did you come hither?" It answered ' and said, "I have come from the force (*dynamis*) ' of the man for the destruction of your work." '

114:36 appeared as prior to him : *text erroneus*

- < - - - > ΝΤΑΡΟΥΣΩΤΜ ΑΥΤ ΕΘΟΥ ΝΑϞ` ΧΕ ΑϞΤ ΝΑΥ ΜΤΟΝ ΕΘΕΡΕ § 84
 25 ΜΝ ΠΡΟΟΥΨ ΕΤΟΥΝ|ΖΗΤϞ` ΤΟΤΕ ΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΦΘΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ | ΧΕ ΤΑ-
 ΝΑΠΑΥΣΙϞ ΧΕ ΔΥΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ | ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΙϞ
 ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΑΔΑΜ` | ΧΕ ΜΠΕϞΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΥΡΑΨΕ ΔΥϞΙΤϞ` | ΔΥ-
 30 ΚΑΑϞ ΖΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙϞϞ ΔΥΩ ΔΥΡΑ||ΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΟΥΜΠΗΥΕ § 87
 ΜΝΝ|ϞΑ ΠΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙϞ ΔΤϞΦΙΑ | ΧΟΥ ΝΖΩΗ ΤΕϞΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΥ-
 ΜΟΥΤΕ | ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕ ΕΥΖΑ ΖΩϞ ΡΕϞ`ΤΑΜΟ ΔΤΡΕϞ|ΤΟΥΝΟϞ ΑΔΑΜ` ΠΑΕΙ § 88
 35 ΕΜΝ ΨΥΧΗ ΝΖΗΤϞ || ΧΕΚ ΑΑϞ ΝΕΤΕϞΝΑΧΠΟΥ [Ε]ΥΝΑΨΩ|ΠΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΙΟΝ
 ΜΠΟΥϞ|ΕΙΝ`
 *p. 116¹ ΝΤ]Δ[Ρ]Ε * ΕΥΖΑ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΕϞΨΒΡΕΙΝΕ ΕϞΗΝΧ` ΔϞΨΝ | ΖΤΗϞ ΖΑ-
 (164 Bö.) ΡΟΥ` ΔΥΩ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ` ΩΝΖ | ΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΤΕΥ- § 89
 5 ΝΟΥ ΑΠΕϞΨΑ|ΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ ΝΤΑΡΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΓΑΡ` || ΤΩΟΥΝ Ν-
 ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔϞΟΥΕΝ` ΝΝΕϞΒΑΛ` | ΝΤΑΡΕϞΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ ΝΤΟ
 ΕΥΝΑΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟ ΧΕ ΤΜΑΔΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΝΖ ΧΕ ΝΤΟ ΠΕΤΑΖ|Τ ΝΑΕΙ Μ-
 ΠΩΝΖ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΔΥΤΑΜΕ ΝΕΖΟΥϞΙΑ` | ΧΕ ΠΟΥΠΛΑϞΜΑ ΟΝΖ` ΔΥΩ ΑϞΤΩΟΥΝ § 91
 10 ΔΥ|ΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ` ΔΥΧΟΥϞ ϞΑΨϞ` ΝΑΡΧΑΓ`|ΓΕΛΟϞ ΑΤΡΟΥΝΑΥ
 ΕΠΕΝΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ
 ΔΥΕΙ | ΨΑ ΑΔΑΜ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΕΥΖΑ ΕϞΨΑ ΧΕ ΝΜ|ΜΑϞ` ΠΕΧΑΥ Ν- § 89
 ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΧΕ ΟΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΕΙΡΜ|ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕϞΙΝΕ ΜΠΙΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΑΖ-
 15 ΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΝ ΖΜ ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΜΗ|ΕΙΤΝ ΜΑΡΝΕΜΑΖΤΕ Μ-
 ΜΟϞ ΝΤΝΟΥΧΕ | ΜΠΝϞΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕΚΑΑϞ ΕϞΨΑ ΧΩΖΜ | ΝΝΕϞΨΩΜ
 ϞΟΜ` ΝΒΩΚ` ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕϞΟΥΟΕΙ(Ν) | ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤ`ϞΝΑΧΠΟΥϞ ϞΕΝΑΡ-
 20 ΖΥΠΟΤΑϞϞ || ΝΑΝ
 ΜΠΡΤΡΝΧΟϞ ΔΕ ΝΑΔΑΜ ΧΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ | ΝΖΗΤΝ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ § 89
 ΜΑΡΝΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΒΨΕ | ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩϞ` ΔΥΩ ΜΑΡΝΤϞΕΒΟΥ` ΖΜ ΠΕϞ`|ΖΙΝΗΒ

30 Sah. ενευπηγε.

116:9 Sah. πευπλασμα.

13 Sah. ννευερηυ. 13-14 i.e. ρμνοοειν. 14 i.e. εσεινε.

23 < - - - > : some words accidentally omitted (Bethge explains thus) 24 ετνζητηϞ is expected (poss. emend thus) 27 ζν <Ν>ουζιϞε em. Bethge, prob. rightly

34 εμν ψυχη : εμν πνευμα em. Bethge 364, with hesitation 35 χπουϞ read in photographs 36 sim. rest. Böhlig

116:21 ανπε : αντε em. Bethge

83. (. . .) When they heard, they glorified him, since he ' gave them respite from the fear and the anxiety in which they found themselves. ²⁵ Then they called that day ' "Rest" (*anapausis*), in as much as they had rested ' from toil.

84. And when they saw that Adam ' could not stand up, they were glad, and they took him ' and put him in Paradise. And they withdrew ³⁰ up to their heavens.

85. After ' the day of rest Sophia ' sent her daughter Zoe, being called ' Eve, as an instructor in order that she might ' make Adam, who had no soul, arise ³⁵ so that those whom he should engender might become ' containers (*aggeia*) of light.

86. When **116** Eve saw her male counterpart prostrate she had pity ' upon him, and she said, "Adam! Become alive! ' Arise upon the earth!" Immediately her word ' became accomplished fact. For Adam, having ⁵ arisen, suddenly opened his eyes. ' When he saw her he said, "You shall be called ' 'Mother of the Living.' For it is you who have ' given me life."

87. Then the authorities were informed ' that their modelled form (*plasma*) was alive and had arisen, and they ¹⁰ were greatly troubled. They sent seven archangels ' to see what had happened.

88. They came ' to Adam. When they saw Eve talking to ' him they said to one another, "What sort of thing is this luminous woman? ' For she resembles that likeness which appeared ¹⁵ to us in the light. Now come, ' let us lay hold of her and cast our ' seed into her, so that when she becomes soiled ' she may not be able to ascend into her light. ' Rather, those whom she bears will be under ²⁰ our charge.

89. "But let us not tell Adam, for he is not one ' of us. Rather let us bring a deep sleep ' over him. And let us instruct him in his ' sleep

115:23 (. . .) : *some words (possibly several sentences) may have been erroneously omitted here*

116:20–21 for he is not one of us : *text possibly erroneous; correct text possibly for she is not one of us*

- 25 $\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{\mu}$ | $\pi\epsilon\zeta\`{\sigma}\pi\iota\rho$ $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\bar{\rho}\zeta\gamma\text{-}$
 $\pi\omicron||\tau\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\epsilon\`{\eta}\zeta\bar{\rho}$ $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ § 90
 30 $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$ $\epsilon\varsigma|\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\`{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\delta\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\omega\beta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\omega|\mu\bar{\eta}\`{\eta}$ $\alpha\varsigma\uparrow$ § 90
 $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\alpha\varsigma\kappa\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ | $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}\`{\eta}$
 35 $\alpha\varsigma\beta\omega\kappa\`{\eta}$ | $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\psi\eta\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\gamma}\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\varsigma\beta\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ || $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ § 91
 $\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta$ $\bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\varsigma$ $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\varsigma\beta\omega\kappa\`{\eta}$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\psi\eta\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\varsigma\bar{\rho}$ |
 $\psi\eta\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $[\zeta]\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\omicron\delta$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{\rho}\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\pi\omega\tau\`{\eta}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota$ \uparrow $\beta\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$
 35 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau[\alpha\rho]$ $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\phi\epsilon$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\bar{\beta}\psi\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ (N) || $\psi[\alpha]$ § 92
 *p. 117¹ $\alpha[\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}\`{\eta}$ $\alpha] \gamma\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\pi\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}$ * $\zeta\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\gamma\psi\tau\omicron\rho\tau\bar{\rho}$ $\epsilon\gamma\text{-}$
 (165 Bō.) $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ | $\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\lambda\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha$ $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ |
 $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\`{\psi}\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\gamma\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon|\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ $\epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma$
 5 $\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ || $\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\pi\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\omicron|\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\phi\gamma\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ § 93
 $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\omega\omega\zeta\`{\eta}$ $\epsilon\gamma|\chi\omega\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\varsigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\varsigma$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\zeta\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\pi\`{\eta}$ | $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\zeta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\text{-}$
 10 $\mu\alpha\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\`{\eta}$ | $\zeta\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\omega\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\chi\omega$ $\bar{\mu}||\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$
 $\zeta\iota\tau\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\chi\pi\omicron$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ | $\zeta\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\varsigma\upsilon\bar{\nu}\`{\tau}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\zeta\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\lambda\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\bar{\eta}\text{-}$
 $\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$
 15 $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\pi\lambda\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ | $\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\pi\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ § 94
 $\pi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}|\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\zeta\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota$ $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ $\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\mu\omicron\tau\`{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}$ || $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 $\alpha\varsigma\omega$ $\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\pi\`{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$ | $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\bar{\mu}$ $\pi\psi\omicron\rho\pi\`{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu}$. $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\pi\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon|\pi\epsilon$ § 95
 $\bar{\eta}\psi\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma\chi\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\zeta\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\varsigma\alpha\psi\zeta\epsilon$ | $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

(§ 90) PAP., OR.4926(1) (begins ca. 116:26 $\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\omega\beta\epsilon$).

(§ 91) PAP., OR.4926(1) (breaks off at 116:30 $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\zeta$).

(§§ 92–95) PAP.

26–27 Sah. $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\omega\mu\bar{\eta}$. . . $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$. 27 Sah. $\alpha\varsigma\uparrow$ $\zeta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\tau\bar{\eta}$.

117:4 Sah. $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$.

13–15 Sah. $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\alpha$. . . $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

18 Sah. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

27 $\kappa\omega$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$: $\kappa\omega\epsilon$ (without $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$) Or.4926(1)

29 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$: $\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{\eta}\tau\zeta$ Or.4926(1) 32 $[\zeta]\bar{\eta}$: $\bar{\nu}$ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 33
 \uparrow $\beta\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$: emend to $\bar{\beta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$, or poss. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$ (thus Böhlig)

34 $\bar{\eta}\tau$ [. . .] $\omicron\gamma$ read in photographs 35 $\psi[\alpha]$ rest. Wisse $\alpha[\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}\`{\eta}$ $\alpha] \gamma\omega$ sim. Böhlig
 117:8 $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $<\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon>$ Bethge 374, with hesitation 9 $<\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$
 $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\beta}\omicron\mu>$ $\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\omega\zeta\bar{\mu}$ Bethge

to the effect that she came from ' his rib, in order that his wife may obey,
²⁵ and he may be lord over her.'''

90. Then Eve, ' being a force (*dynamis*), laughed at their decision. ' She put mist into their eyes and secretly left ' her likeness with Adam.

91. She entered ' the tree of acquaintance (*gnōsis*) and remained there.
³⁰ And they pursued her, and she revealed ' to them that she had gone into the tree and become ' a tree. Then, entering a great ' state of fear, the blind creatures fled.

92. Afterwards, ' when they had recovered from the daze, they came ³⁵ [to Adam]; and seeing the likeness of this woman 117 with him, they were greatly disturbed, thinking it was she ' who was the true Eve. And they acted rashly; they came ' up to her and seized her and cast ' their seed upon her.

93. They did so ⁵ wickedly, defiling not only ' in natural ways but also in foul ways, ' defiling first the seal of her voice ' —that had spoken with them, saying, ‘‘What is it that exists ' before you?’’ —intending to defile those who might say ¹⁰ at the consummation (viz., of the age) that they had been born ' of the true man through verbal expression. '

94. And they erred, not knowing ' that it was their own body that they had defiled: it was the likeness that ' the authorities and their angels defiled in every way. ¹⁵

95. First she was pregnant with Abel, ' by the first ruler. And it was ' by the seven authorities and their angels ' that she bore the other offspring.

116:33 the blind creatures fled : *the manuscript has (erroneously) new fled*

117:8–9 *text possibly erroneous; correct text possibly saying, ‘‘(Do you not know) what it is that exists before you? (Nay, it is impossible) to defile . . .’’*

- 20 ΠΑΕΙ ΔΕ | ΤΗΡΨ` ΑΨΩΨΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΑΡ||ΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΞΕΚΑΑΣ § 96
 ΤΨΩΡΠ` ΜΜΑΔΥ | ΕΣΑΧΠΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤĪ ΝΪΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΙΜ | ΕΨΤΗΣ ΕΨΡΖΑΡΜΟ-
 ΣΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΕΧΙΜΑΡ|ΜΕΝΗ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΣΣΧΗΜΑ ΔΥ|Ω ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥ-
 ΝΗ`
- 25 ΑΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ || ΕΤΒΕ ΕΥΖΑ ΞΕΚΑΑΣ Μ̄ΠΛΑΣΜΑ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ | § 97
 ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΧΟΛΧ̄Λ̄ Μ̄ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΨΝΑΡ̄ΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΖΙ-
 Τ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΠΛΑΣΜΑ
- ΠΨΩΡΠ ΔΕ Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ` Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΟΥ|ΘΕΙΝ ΟΥΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΕ ΑΨΟΥΩΝΖ § 98
- 30 || ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΨΩΡΠ` Ν̄ΖΟΥΨ ΠΜΑΖΣΝΑΥ | Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ` ΟΥΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ
 ΠΕ ΑΨΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ | Μ̄ΠΜΑΖ[ΣΟ]ΟΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥΨ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ
- 35 Χ[Ε Α]ΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΤ | Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ ΟΥΧΟΪΚΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ||
 ΠΡ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΝΟΜΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΖΟΥ[ΩΝΖ] ΕΒΟ[Λ] Ζ̄Μ̄ | ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΟΥΝ Ν̄ΖΟΥΨ [. 4-5½. .
- *p. 118¹
 (166 Bō.) ΤΑΝΑ]*ΠΑΥΣΙΣ Ν̄ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΖΗΚΕ ΤΔΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ | ΕΡΟΣ ΞΕ ΖΗΜΕΡΑ ΗΛΙΟΥ
 ΠΧΠΟ ΔΕ Μ̄Π`|ΧΟΪΚΟΣ Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ ΑΨΑΨΕΕΙ ΑΨΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ` | ΑΨΧΠΟ § 99
 5 ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤΨ` Ν̄ΨΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΝΙΜ` Μ̄||ΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ` ΠΤΗΡΨ` ΔΕ
 ΝΕΨ`Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥ|Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ`
- ΜΜ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΩΣ ΨΝΑΧΟΣ | Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ` Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ Μ̄Ν̄ | ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄- § 100
 Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΨ` ΕΥΡ̄ΠΛΑΝΑ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤ`|ΣΟΟΥΝ` Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΤ̄Β̄ΝΗ ΔΥΡΑΨΕ Μ̄-
 10 ΠΨΑ` ||
- < - - - > Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΕΙΜΕ ΞΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΑΤΜΟΥ ΨΝΑΡ̄|ΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΑΝ` ΕΡΟΥΨ § 101
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΝΑΡ̄ΠΚΕΨ ΖΟ|ΤΕ ΖΗΤĪ Ν̄ΤΕΝΤΑΖΡ̄ ΨΗΝ ΑΨΨΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ̄ ΠΕ|ΧΑΥ ΞΕ

(§ 96) PAP.. OR.4926(1) (begins ca. 117:20 ΞΕΚΑΑΣ).

(§ 97) PAP.. OR.4926(1) (117:24, frg. of the word ΑΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ).

(§§ 98–103) PAP.

21 i.e. ΕΣΝΑ.

25 i.e. Ν̄ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ (Bethge emends thus). 27–28 Sah. ΝΕΥΠΛΑΣΜΑ.

118:5 i.e. ΠΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ (Böhlig emends thus).

8 i.e. ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΨ.

23 Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ : prob. Μ̄ΠΦ[ΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ] Or.4926(1)

32 ΠΜΑΖ[ΣΟ]ΟΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥΨ sim. rest. Wisse : i.e. ἡμέρα Ἄφροδίτης, *dies Veneris* (cf. 117:33) : cf. Gen 1:26–31 : ΠΜΑΖ[ΨΤΟ]ΟΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥΨ res. Böhlig 33 Χ[Ε <ΖΕΡΜ>Α]ΦΡΟΔΕΙ-
 ΤΗΚΣ> Bethge (reading ΜΑΖ[ΨΤΟ]ΟΥ at 117:32) 36 [Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΑ ΤΑΝΑ] Wisse, sim. Bethge

118:8 ΕΥ : poss. emend to ΑΥ

10 < - - - > Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥ Bethge 386, with hesitation 10–11 ΞΕ <ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ> . . . ΑΛΛΑ
 . . . Schenke²

96. And all this ' came to pass according to the forethought (*pronoia*) of the prime parent, ²⁰ so that the first mother ' might bear within her every seed, ' being mixed and being fitted to the fate ' of the universe and its configurations, and ' to Justice.

97. A prearranged plan (*oikonomia*) came into effect ²⁵ regarding Eve, so that the modelled forms (*plasmata*) of the authorities ' might become enclosures of the light, whereupon ' it (*viz.*, the light) would condemn them through their ' modelled forms.

98. Now the first Adam, (Adam) of Light, ' is spirit-endowed (*pneumatikos*), and appeared ³⁰ on the first day. The second ' Adam is soul-endowed (*psykhikos*), and appeared ' on the sixth day, which is called ' Aphrodite. The third ' Adam is a creature of the earth (*khoikos*), that is, ³⁵ the man of the law, and he appeared on ' the eighth day [. . . the] tranquility (*anapausis*) **118** of poverty, which is called ' Sunday (*hēmera Hēliou*).

99. And the progeny of the ' earthly Adam became numerous and was completed, ' and produced within itself every kind of scientific information of ⁵ the soul-endowed Adam. But all were in ' ignorance.

100. Next let me say ' that once the rulers had seen him and ' the female creature who was with him erring ignorantly ' like beasts, they were very glad. ¹⁰

101. (. . .) When they learned that the immortal man was not going to ' neglect them, rather that they would even have to fear ' the female creature that had turned into a tree, they were disturbed, and they said, '

118:10 *some words (possibly several sentences) may have been erroneously omitted here*

- 15 ΜΗΠΩΣ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΛΗ`|ΘΕΙΝΟΣ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΖ† ΛΟСТН̄ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ||
 ΑΥΤΣΕΒΟΝ ΕΤΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΑΖΜΕΣ ΕΣΙΝΕ | ΜΜΟϚ` ΨΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑ ΧΡΟ ΕΡΟΝ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΧΙ | ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΜΠΣΑΨϚ` ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΨΑ Α|ΔΑΜ` ΜΝ § 10^o
 ΕΥΖΑ ΖΝΝΟΥΦΟΒΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϚ` | ΧΕ ΨΗΝ ΝΙΜ` ΕΤΖΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ
 20 ΝΤΑΥΣΟΝ||ΤΟΥ ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΕΥ<ΝΑ>ΟΥΩΜ ΠΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΨΗΝ | ΔΕ ΝΤΓΝΩ-
 ΣΙΣ ΕΡΗΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄ ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ` | ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϚ` ΕΨΩΠΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΜ`
 ΤΕ|ΤΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΤΑΡΟΥ† ΝΑΥ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΦΟΒΟΣ | ΑΥΡΑΝΑ ΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΝΟΥΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ
 25 ΤΟ||ΤΕ ΑϚΕΙ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΣΑΒΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΠΑΕΙ ΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ Ε- § 10^o
 ΡΟϚ` ΧΕ ΠΘΗΡΙΟΝ | ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΡΕϚΝΑΥ ΕΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ | ΕΥΖΑ` ΠΕ-
 ΧΑϚ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ | ΧΟΟϚ` ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ
 30 ΖΜ ΠΨΗ(Ν) || ΝΤΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΑϚΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟ|ΝΟΝ ΧΕ
 ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟ[Λ Ν̄]ΖΗΤϚ` ΑΛΛΑ | ΜΠΡ`ΧΩΖ ΕΡΟϚ` ΨΙΝΑ Χ[Ε ΝΕ]-
 ΜΟΥ ΠΕΧΑϚ | ΝΑϚ ΧΕ ΜΠΡ̄ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΝΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ|Μ|ΟΥ
 *p. 119^l
 (167 Bδ.) ΑΝ` ϚΣΟΟ|ΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΜ` * ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϚ` ΠΕΤΝ̄ΝΟΥΣ ΝΑΡ̄-
 ΝΗΦΕ ΑΥΩ | ΤΕΤΝ̄ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΕΤΝ|ΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ`
 5 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ` ΟΥΤΕ Μ|ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΤΑϚ||ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΓΑΡ
 ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΕϚΡ̄ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΧΕ ΝΕΤΝ̄|ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϚ`
 ΕΥΖΑ ΔΕ ΑΣΘΑΡΡΕΙ | ΑΝΨΑ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΕϚΤΑΜΟ ΑΣΩΨΤ` ΕΖΟΥΝ | ΖΜ § 10^o
 ΠΨΗΝ ΑΣΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϚ ΧΕ ΝΕΣΩϚ ΑΥΩ | ΟΥΛΕΖΛΖ ΠΕ ΑΣΜΕΡΙΤϚ` ΑΣΧΙ
 10 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ || ΠΕϚΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΑΣΟΥΩΜ` ΑΣ† ΜΠΕΣΚ[Ε]|ΖΑΪ ΑϚ`ΟΥΩΜ`
 ΖΩΩϚ` ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΟΥΝΟΥΣ | ΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΟΥΩΜ` ΓΑΡ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ |

(§ 104) PAp., ?Or.4926(1) (? begins at 119:7 ΕΖΟΥΝ, ? breaks off at 119:16 ΝΤΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ).

14 i.e. ΖΛΟСТН̄ (Böhlig emends thus). 15 i.e. ΕΣΕΙΝΕ.

18 i.e. ΖΝ ΟΥΦΟΒΟΣ. 19 i.e. ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ (Böhlig emends thus). 20 Sah. ΟΥΕΜ ΠΕΥ-
 ΚΑΡΠΟΣ. 24 Sah. ΕΝΕΥΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ.

27 Sah. ΝΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ. 33 i.e. ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ.

119:11 Sah. ΑΠΕΥΝΟΥΣ.

20 ΕΥ<ΝΑ>ΟΥΩΜ : ΕΥΕΟΥΩΜ em. Bethge², with hesitation

32 cf. Gen 3:3 ἴνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε 33 ΝΑϚ : cf. Gen 3:3 εἶπεν ὁ θεός : also palaeo-
 graphically possible is ΝΑΥ ΜΠΡ̄ : no superlin. stroke was written above Μ 33–34 cf.
 Gen 3:4–5 οὐ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε· ἥδει γάρ

119:10–11 πεσκ[ε]ζαΐ : cf. Gen 3:6 καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς

“Perhaps this is the true man ' —this being who has brought a fog upon us and ¹⁵ has taught us that she who was soiled is like ' him—and so we shall be conquered!”

102. Then ' the seven of them together laid plans. They came up to Adam ' and Eve timidly: they said to him, ' “The fruit of all the trees created for you in Paradise ²⁰ shall be eaten; but as for the tree ' of acquaintance (*gnōsis*), control yourselves and do not eat ' from it. If you eat you ' will die.” Having imparted great fear to them ' they withdrew up to their authorities.

103. Then ²⁵ came the wisest of all creatures, ' who was called Beast. ' And when he saw the likeness of their mother ' Eve he said to her, “What did God ' say to you (pl.)? Was it ‘do not eat from the tree ³⁰ of acquaintance (*gnōsis*)?’” She said, “He said, ‘Not only ' do not eat from it, but ' do not touch it, lest you (sg.) die.’” He said ' to her, “Do not be afraid. In death you (pl.) shall not ' die. For he knows that when you eat **119** from it, your intellect will become sober and ' you will come to be like gods, ' recognizing the difference that obtains between evil ' men and good ones. ⁵ Indeed, it was in jealousy that he said this to you, so that you ' would not eat from it.”

104. Now Eve had confidence ' in the words of the instructor. She gazed ' at the tree and saw that it was beautiful and ' appetizing, and liked it; she took some of ¹⁰ its fruit and ate it; and she gave some also to her husband, ' and he too ate it. Then their intellect ' became open. For when they had eaten, the light '

- 15 $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\iota}\gamma\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma\bar{\iota}\varsigma \bar{\rho} \circ\upsilon\circ\epsilon\bar{\iota}\nu \bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma \quad \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\upsilon\uparrow \zeta\omega\mid\circ\upsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\omega\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon \lambda\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon \bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\text{-}$
 $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta\gamma \parallel \alpha\tau\bar{\iota}\gamma\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma\bar{\iota}\varsigma \quad \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\upsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\eta\phi\epsilon \lambda\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma \epsilon\rho\circ\upsilon\gamma \mid \chi\epsilon \varsigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta\gamma$
 $\lambda\upsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon \bar{\nu}\circ\upsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma \quad \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\mid\rho\circ\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma \alpha\bar{\nu}\circ\upsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\circ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\circ\rho\phi\eta \mid \bar{\nu}\theta\eta\text{-}$
 $\rho\bar{\iota}\circ\bar{\nu} \lambda\upsilon\varsigma\bar{\iota}\chi\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon \epsilon\rho\circ\upsilon\gamma \quad \lambda\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \epsilon\bar{\mu}\alpha\mid\tau\epsilon$
- 20 $\tau\circ\tau\epsilon \bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon \lambda\upsilon\pi\alpha\parallel\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha \bar{\nu}\tau\circ\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\circ\lambda\eta \lambda\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota} \zeta\bar{\nu}$ § 105
 $\circ\gamma\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\tau\circ \mid \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\circ\gamma\bar{\nu}\circ\varsigma \bar{\nu}\alpha\pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\lambda\eta \epsilon\zeta\circ\upsilon\bar{\nu}\text{`}$ $\epsilon\pi\pi\alpha\mid\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\circ\varsigma \psi\alpha \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}\text{`}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\text{-}$
 $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha \epsilon\tau\rho\circ\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma \mid \epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\circ\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\bar{\mu}\alpha \bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\nu}\circ\eta\theta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\alpha \quad \tau\circ\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}$
 25 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha \lambda\upsilon\psi\tau\circ\rho\tau\bar{\rho} \epsilon\bar{\mu}\alpha\tau\epsilon \parallel \lambda\upsilon\bar{\kappa}\omega\pi\text{`}$ $\zeta\alpha \bar{\nu}\psi\eta\bar{\nu} \epsilon\tau\zeta\bar{\mu} \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\text{-}$
 $\varsigma\circ\varsigma \mid \quad \tau\circ\tau\epsilon \bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu} \bar{\mu}\pi\circ\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon \epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\bar{\nu} \mid \pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon \chi\epsilon \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}\text{`}$
 $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\text{`}$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon \chi\epsilon \uparrow\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\alpha \quad \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon \tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\zeta\bar{\rho}\tau\epsilon \delta\epsilon \lambda\zeta\bar{\iota}\kappa\omega\pi\text{`}$ $\mid \bar{\nu}\text{-}$
 30 $\tau\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon\text{`}$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon \delta\epsilon \bar{\nu}\alpha\upsilon\text{`}$ $\zeta\bar{\nu} \circ\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\mid\alpha\tau\varsigma\circ\circ\upsilon\bar{\nu} \chi\epsilon \bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu} \pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta\chi\omega$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa\text{`}$ $\bar{\mu}\mid\pi\omega\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon \bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\alpha}\kappa\text{`}$ $\tau\alpha\alpha\upsilon \zeta\bar{\iota}\omega\bar{\kappa}\text{`}$ $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\eta\tau\bar{\iota} \chi\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa\text{`}$ $\circ\upsilon\psi\mid\bar{\mu} \epsilon\bar{\nu}\circ\lambda \zeta\bar{\mu} \pi\bar{\iota}\text{-}$
 $\psi\eta\bar{\nu}\text{`}$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon \mid \chi\epsilon \tau\varsigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\mid\epsilon\text{`}$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\alpha}\kappa\text{`}$ $\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma \bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota} \bar{\nu}\tau\circ\varsigma \pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\mid\tau\alpha\varsigma\uparrow$
 *p. 120¹
 (168 Bö.) $\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota} \lambda\epsilon\bar{\iota}\circ\upsilon\omega\bar{\mu}\text{`}$ $\tau\circ\tau\mid\epsilon \pi\epsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon\text{`}$ $\bar{\nu}\mid\tau\mid\eta \text{`}$ * $\chi\epsilon \circ\upsilon\gamma \pi\epsilon \pi\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota} \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\text{-}$
 $\alpha\alpha\upsilon\text{`}$ $\alpha\varsigma\circ\upsilon\omega\psi\bar{\nu} \pi\epsilon\mid\chi\alpha\varsigma \chi\epsilon \pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\text{`}$ $\tau\alpha\bar{\mu}\circ \pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\circ\bar{\nu}\varsigma\tau\text{`}$ $\lambda\zeta\bar{\iota}\text{-}$
 $\circ\gamma\omega\bar{\mu}\text{`}$
- 5 $\tau\circ\tau\epsilon \alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu} \epsilon\bar{\iota} \psi\alpha \pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\mid\bar{\mu}\circ \quad \alpha\bar{\nu}\circ\upsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda\text{`}$ $\bar{\rho} \zeta\bar{\iota}\circ\sigma\tau\bar{\nu} \epsilon\bar{\nu}\circ\lambda \zeta\bar{\iota}$ § 106
 $\tau\circ\circ\tau\text{`}$ $\parallel \bar{\mu}\pi\rho\circ\upsilon\psi\bar{\nu} \bar{\delta}\circ\bar{\mu} \bar{\nu}\bar{\rho} \lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon \bar{\nu}\alpha\upsilon\text{`}$ $\lambda\upsilon\varsigma\circ\upsilon\zeta\omega\rho\text{`}$ $\mid \zeta\omega\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\circ \bar{\nu}\text{-}$
 $\alpha\tau\bar{\delta}\circ\bar{\mu}$
- 10 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega\varsigma \lambda\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota} \psi\alpha \tau\varsigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\mid\bar{\mu}\epsilon \lambda\upsilon\varsigma\circ\upsilon\zeta\omega\rho\bar{\varsigma} \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\psi\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon \quad \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha \mid$ § 107
 $\tau\varsigma\zeta\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\text{`}$ $\lambda\upsilon\varsigma\zeta\circ\upsilon\omega\rho\text{`}$ $\alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}\text{`}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\kappa\alpha\zeta \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\eta\tau\text{`}$ $\mid \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\kappa\alpha\rho\bar{\rho}\circ\varsigma \quad \lambda\upsilon\omega$
 $\zeta\omega\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu} \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\circ\parallel\circ\upsilon\gamma \lambda\upsilon\varsigma\zeta\circ\upsilon\omega\rho\circ\upsilon$
- 15 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon \bar{\nu}\varsigma\bar{\mu}\circ\gamma \bar{\nu}\tau\circ\circ\mid\tau\circ\upsilon \quad \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \bar{\delta}\circ\bar{\mu} \bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon\chi\pi\epsilon \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\circ\bar{\nu} \epsilon\bar{\nu}\circ\lambda \zeta\bar{\mu} \mid$ § 108
 $\pi\pi\circ\bar{\nu}\eta\rho\circ\bar{\nu}$

(§§ 105–109) PAP.

16–17 Sah. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma \dots \alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$.

20 Sah. $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\circ\lambda\eta$. 21 i.e. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \circ\gamma\bar{\nu}\circ\varsigma$. 22 i.e. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$. 24 i.e. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu} \epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$. 25 i.e. $\pi\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\circ\varsigma$ (Böhlig emends thus). 27–28 $\uparrow\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\alpha$: Sah. $\uparrow\zeta\bar{\mu} \pi\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\mu\alpha$.

120:4 Sah. $\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda$.

32 cf. Gen 3:11 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\circ\upsilon \zeta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\circ\upsilon \dots \acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ 33 $\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\alpha}\kappa$: $\bar{\nu}$ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 34 $\bar{\nu}$: superlin. stroke is definite, $\bar{\nu}$ restored $[\tau\mid\eta]$ sim. rest. Wisse

120:8 $\varsigma\circ\upsilon\omega\rho$: ζ added above the line

of acquaintance (*gnōsis*) had shone upon them. When they clothed ' themselves with shame, they knew that they were naked ¹⁵ of acquaintance (*gnōsis*). When they became sober, they saw that ' they were naked and became enamored of one another. When ' they saw that the ones who had modelled them had the form ' of beasts, they loathed them: they were very aware. '

105. Then when the rulers knew that they had broken ²⁰ their commandments, they entered Paradise ' and came to Adam and Eve with earthquake and great threatening, ' to see ' the effect of the aid (*boētheia*). Then ' Adam and Eve trembled greatly ²⁵ and hid under the trees in Paradise. ' Then the rulers did not know where they were ' and said, “Adam, where are you?” He said, ‘I am here, ' for through fear of you I hid, ' being ashamed.’’ And they said to him ignorantly, ³⁰ “Who told you about ' the shame with which you clothed yourself?—unless ' you have eaten from that tree!’’ He said, ‘“The woman whom you gave me—it is she that ' gave to me and I ate.’’ Then they said to the latter, **120** “What is this that you have done?’’ She answered and said, ‘“It is the instructor who urged me on, and I ' ate.’’

106. Then the rulers came up to the instructor. ' Their eyes became misty because of him, ⁵ and they could not do anything to him. They cursed him, ' since they were powerless.

107. Afterwards, they came up to the woman ' and cursed her and her offspring. After ' the woman, they cursed Adam, and (cursed) the land because of him, ' and the crops; and all things that they had created ¹⁰ they cursed.

108. They have no blessing. ' Good cannot result from ' evil.

- 15 **Σ**ΙΜ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΔΝΕΞΟΥ|CΙΑ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΔΛΗΘΩC ΟῩΜ ΠΕΤΧΟΟΡ` ΖΙ § 10
 | ΤΟΥΕΖΗ ΝΕΥCΟΟΥΝ` ΔΝ ΠΕ ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ΧΕ || Μ̄ΠΟΥΡ̄ΤΗΡΕΙ Ν̄ΤΟΥΕΝΤΟ-
 ΛΗ ΔῩΝ̄ΟΥΝΟC | Ν̄ΚΩC ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΚΟCΜΟC ΜΟΝΟΝ` ΕΤΒΕ | ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄-
 ΑΤΜΟΥ
- 20 **Ν̄**ΤΑΡΕ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΕ ΝΑΥ | ΕΠΟΥΑΔΑΜ` <ε>ΔΥΨΩΠΕ Ζ̄Ν ΚΕΓΝΩCΙC ΔΥ| § 11
 ΟΥΨΩ ΑΡ̄ΠΕΙΡΑCΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΔΥCΩΟΥΖ` Ε||ΖΟΥΝ` Ν̄Ν̄ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄Ν
 Ν̄ΘΗΡΙΟΝ | Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΖΑΛΑΤΕ Ν̄ΤΠΕ ΔῩΝ̄ΤΟΥ ΨΑ Δ`ΔΑΜ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΝΑΥ
 ΧΕ ΨΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ | ΝΙΜ` **Ν̄**ΤΑΡΕΥ`ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ` ΔΥΨ ΡΑΝ`
 ΕΝΟΥ|ΚΤΙCΜΑ`
- 25 **Δ**ΥΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄ ΧΕ ΔΥΦ̄Ρ̄ΝΗΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ || Ζ̄Ν ΑΓΩΝΙΑ ΝΙΜ` Ν̄CΙ ΑΔΑΜ` ΔΥ- § 12
 CΩΟΥΖ ΔΥ|ΧΙ CΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΙC ΑΔΑΜ` | ΔΥΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΘΕ ΟΥΑ
 ΕΒΟΛ` Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΑΤΡΕΥ`|ΕΙΜΕ Ν̄ΤΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Μ̄Ν ΠΚΑ|ΚΕ ΤΕ-
 ΝΟΥ ΜΗΠΩC Ν̄CΕΡ̄ Ζ̄ΔΛ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` Ν̄ΘΕ || Μ̄ΠΨΗΝ Ν̄ΤΓΝΩCΙC Ν̄ΨΙ ΟΝ Ε-
 30 ΖΟΥΝ | ΕΠΨΗΝ` Μ̄ΠΩΝΖ Ν̄ΨΟΥCΜ` ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤΥ` | Ν̄ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΑΤΜΟΥ`
 Ν̄ΨΥ Χ̄Ο|ΕΙC| Ν̄ΨΚΑΤΑ|ΦΡΟΝΕΙ Μ̄ΜΟΝ Ν̄ΨΒΑΒ|ΩΩΝ Μ̄|Ν̄ ΤῙΝ̄ΝΕ|ΟΟΥ
 35 ΤΗΡ|Υ] Μ̄Ν̄CΩC ΨΝΑΡ̄|Κ] ΔΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ Μ̄||Μ̄|ΟΝ Μ̄Ν Π̄Ν̄ΚΟ|CΜΟC ΔΜΗΐ-
 *p. 121¹ Τ̄Ν ΜΑΡ̄Ν̄ΝΟΧΥ` * ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΚΑΖ | ΠΜΑ
 (169 Bō.) ΕΝΤΑῩΝ̄Τ̄Υ` ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤΥ` ΧΕΚΑΔC Ν̄ΝΕΨ|ΨΩΜ̄ ΒΟΜ` ΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔCΟΥΩΝ`
 5 ΛΑΔΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥ|Ο ΕΡΟΝ ΔΥΨ Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΔΥΝΟΥΧ` ΑΔΑΜ ΕΒΟΛ || Ζ̄Μ ΠΠΑ-
 ΡΑΔΙCΟC Μ̄Ν ΤΕΨΙΜΕ
- Δ**ΥΨ Μ̄ΠΕ ΠΑ|ΕΙ ΡΩΨΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΥΑΔΥ ΔΛΛΑ Ν̄ΤΑΥΡ̄ ΖΟ| § 13
 ΤΕ ΔΥΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΨΗΝ Μ̄ΠΩΝΖ ΔΥΤΚΤΟ | Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΟC Ν̄Ζ̄Ρ̄ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ`

(§ 110) PAP.. ?OR.4926(1) (? begins ca. 120:23 **Ν̄**ΤΑΡΕΥΝΑΥ).

(§ 111) PAP.. ?OR.4926(1) (? breaks off at 120:31 **Μ̄**ΠΩΝΖ).

(§§ 112–133) PAP.

14–15 Sah. ΤΕΥΖΗ... Ν̄ΤΕΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ.

18 Sah. ΕΠΟΥΑΔΑΜ. 23–24 Sah. ΕΝΕΥΚΤΙCΜΑ.

27 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΑ (Böhlig emends thus) ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ν. 30 i.e. Ν̄ΨΕΙ. 33 i.e. ΠΕΝΕΟΟΥ.

18 <ε>ΔΥ Böhlig

24 ΚΤΙCΜΑ: [ΚΤΙCΜΑ] ΤΗΡΟΥ[Υ ---] ?Or.4926(1) 25 ΑΓΩΝΙΑ: ΑΓΝΩCΙΑ em. Bethge, poss. rightly 29 ΜΗΠΩC: used like μήποτε: [--- ΜΗ]ΠΟΤ[ε ---] Or.4926(1): cf. Gen 3:22 LXX μήποτε 32 sim. rest. Böhlig 33 rest. Böhlig 34 sim. rest. Böhlig ΨΝΑΡ̄: ρ is definite, superlinear stroke restored 34–35 Μ̄|Μ̄|ΟΝ Μ̄Ν ---] rest. Böhlig 35 [--- Π̄Ν̄ΚΟ|CΜΟC Layton (cf. 120:33): [--- ΠΚΟ|CΜΟC Böhlig

109. From that day, the authorities ' knew that truly there was something mightier than ' they: they recognized only that ¹⁵ their commandments had not been kept. Great ' jealousy was brought into the world solely because of ' the immortal man.

110. Now when the rulers saw ' that their Adam had entered into an alien state of acquaintance (*gnōsis*) they ' desired to test him, and they gathered together ²⁰ all the domestic animals and the wild beasts ' of the earth and the birds of heaven and brought them to Adam ' to see what he would call them. ' When he saw them he gave names to their ' creatures.

111. They became troubled because Adam had recovered from ²⁵ all the trials. They assembled and ' laid plans, and they said, ‘Behold Adam! ' He has come to be like one of us, so that he ' knows the difference between the light and the darkness. ' Now perhaps he will be deceived as in the case of ³⁰ the tree of acquaintance (*gnōsis*) and also will come to ' the tree of life and eat from it ' and become immortal and become lord and despise ' us and disdain [us] and all our glory! ' Then he will denounce ³⁵ [us along with our] universe. Come, let us expel him **121** from Paradise down to the land ' from which he was taken, so that henceforth he might not ' be able to recognize anything better ' than we can.’’ And so they expelled Adam from ⁵ Paradise, along with his wife.

112. And this deed ' that they had done was not enough for them. Rather, they were afraid. ' They went in to the tree of life and surrounded it ' with great fearful things,

120:25 trials (ἄγωνία) : *although appropriate to the context, possibly an error for ignorance (ἄγνωσία, lack of gnōsis)*

10 ζῆζων̄ ἡκωζτ̄ | εὔμογτε εροογ χε χερογβιν ἄγῳ ἄγκω || ἡ-
ογσχηε ἡσατε ζῆ τογμhte εκκ[ω]τ̄ε | ἡναγ nim ζῆνογνος ἡζῆτε
ψινα [x]ε | νε λααγ ενεζ ζῆ <ῤ>ρμῆκαζ βωκ εζογν̄ ε|πτοποс
ετῆμαγ

15 ἡῆῆσα ναεῑ ἡτα|ρε ναρχων̄ κωζ ααδαμ ἄγογωψ̄ ἄσωχβ̄ || ἡ-
νογχροнос ἡπογψβ̄ сом εтве χ|ῆμαρμενη εтκн εзраї χин ἡ-
ψορп̄ ἄγῆζοpice γαρ̄ ἡνογχροнос ἡπογα πογα | ψο ῤοmπε

20 κατα παρομοс ἡῆρεψ̄ ογ|οειн ἡπογψβ̄ сом δε ἡσι ναρχων̄ ||
δειρε ἡπαεῑ ἄπογα πογα ζῆ νετ̄ρε ἡ|ππεθοογ ἄσωχβ̄ ἡμhte ῤ-
ροmπε | ἄγῳ πεῖχροнос τηρψ̄ ἄψ̄ ψит̄ ἡψе μα|αβε ἡροm-
πε ἄγῳ ναεῑ ζῆ ογλγпн ἡῆ | ογῆῆтσωβ̄ ἄγῳ ζῆ ζῆπεpиспас-

25 μοс || ἡπονηρον ἄγῳ ἡтееize χим пзооγ | εтῆμαγ ἄπβιοс
ῤκαταпта ψα тсγн̄ τε|λεια ἡπαιων

τοτε тсофия ζῆн ἡта|ρεснаγ χε αναρχων̄ ἡпκαке χε ἄγ|сзоγψ̄
30 несψβ̄εине асῤаγанаκτει || ἄγῳ ἡтаρεσει εβολ ζῆ тψοрп̄ ἡπε
ἡῆ | ἄγῆαμис nim̄ асῤаике ἡниарχων̄ ε|βολ ζῆ [ноγῆ]пнγе ἄγῳ
асноχογ еп|тῆ епкo[сmо]с ἡρεψ̄ ноβе ψиνα εγ|наψωπε ἡмаγ ἡ-
35 θε ἡῆ[Δ]ἄιμψ̄ || ἡπονηροс ζιχῆ пκαζ

*p. 122¹
(170 Bδ.)

[. . . 8:10½ . . .] * χεκααс тψο ῤοmπε εтгῆ παραδειсoс |
5 εψнааγ ἡпоγκοсмос оγζωон̄ ἡεμ̄|ψγχοн̄ εὔμογте εροψ̄ χε φoи-
низ ψαψ̄|μοоγтψ̄ оγαатψ̄ ἡψтῆзоψ̄ ἄγῆῆтρε || ἡпоγзап χе
ἄγῤадики ἡадам̄ ἡῆ теψ̄|гeнeа ψα тсγн̄ τε|λεια ἡпαιων

< - - - > ψοmт̄ | ῤρωме νε̄ ἄγῳ неψгeнeа ψα тсγн̄ τε|λεια ἡ-
πκοсмос πνεγμαтiкoс ἡпαιω(н) | ἡῆ пψγῆкос ἡῆ пχοῆкос

121 : 10 Sah. τεγμhte. 11 i.e. ζῆ ογνος.

17 i.e. ἡογχροнос.

19 i.e. εmпоγψ.

32 Sah. неγпнγе.

122 : 1 i.e. πпараδειсoс (Böhlig emends thus). 2 i.e. εψнааγ (Böhlig emends thus).

5 Sah. ἡπεγзап.

8 i.e. πпνεγμαтiкн (Böhlig emends thus). 9 i.e. ψγχicoс

121 : 10 κ[ω]τ̄ε : cf. Gen 3:24 LXX στρεφομένην 11 ψиνα [x]ε : cf. 118:22 12 <ῤ>
Bethge (cf. 103:19, 107:26) : <ῆ> Böhlig

21 ἄγσωχβ̄ <ἡпоγaze> Bethge

28 ναγ χε α : prob. emend to ναγ α 32 [- - - ἡ]пнγе : for the form cf. 112:17,
115:30, 123:5, 126:29 33 sim. rest. Böhlig 34 sim. rest. Böhlig

122 : 6 < - - - > : some words accidentally omitted, or else the following passage is corrupt

fiery living creatures ' called "Cheroubin," and they put ¹⁰ a flaming sword in their midst, fearfully ' twirling at all times, so that ' no earthly being might ever enter ' that place.

113. Thereupon ' since the rulers were envious of Adam they wanted to diminish ¹⁵ their (viz., Adam's and Eve's) lifespan. They could not because of ' fate (*heimarmenē*), which had been fixed since the beginning. ' For to each had been allotted a lifespan ' of 1,000 years according to the course of the luminous bodies. ' But although the rulers could not ²⁰ do this, each of the evildoers ' took away ten years. ' And all this lifespan (scil., which remained) amounted to 930 ' years: and these are in pain and ' weakness and evil ²⁵ distraction. And so ' life has turned out to be, from that day until the consummation ' of the age (aeon).

114. Then when Sophia Zoe ' saw that the rulers of the darkness had ' laid a curse upon her counterparts, she was indignant. ³⁰ And coming out of the first heaven with ' full power she chased those rulers out of ' [their] heavens, and cast them down into ' the sinful [world], so that there they ' should dwell, in the form of evil ³⁵ spirits (*daimones*) upon the earth.

115. [. . .], **122** so that in their world it might pass the thousand years in Paradise ' —a soul-endowed (*empsychon*) living creature ' called "phoenix." It ' kills itself and brings itself to life as a witness ⁵ to the judgment against them, for they did wrong to Adam and his ' generation, unto the consummation of the age (aeon).

116. (. . .) are (. . .) three ' men, and also his posterities (*geneai*), unto the consummation ' of the world: the spirit-endowed (*pneumatikos*) of eternity (aeon), ' and the soul-endowed (*psychikos*), and the earthly (*khoikos*).

122:6 (. . .) are (. . .): either some words have been erroneously omitted here or the text is erroneous

122:7 his : or, its

- 10 ται τε θε ε̄||ψομτ` μφοινιζ` <μ>παραδεισοσ ψωρπ` | [ο § 11`
 ἡ]θανατοσ πμαζσναυ ψαϕ̄ ψο ρ̄ρομπε πμαζωμ`τ` ϕσζ
 ζἡ χιερα βιβλοσ ζε ψαγογομ̄
- 15 τειζε ον ογ̄ἡ | ψομτ` ἡχωκ̄μ ψοοπ` ψωρπ` πε πνευ||ματι- § 118
 κον πμαζσναυ ογκωζτ πε πμαζ|ψομτ` ουμοου πε
 ἡθε μφοινιζ` εϕ`|ογονζ εβολ ζωσ μἡτρε ἡἡαγγελοσ | ται τε θε § 119
- 20 ἡἡζγδρια ἡμοου ετζἡ κἡμε ασωπε αὑμἡτρε ἡνετβηκ` απι||τἡ
 απχωκ̄μ ἡνογρωμε ἡαληεινοσ |
 πμασε σναυ ετζἡ κἡμε εὑἡταυ ἡμαυ | ἡοὑμὑστηριον πρη μἡ § 120
 ποοζ εὑω|οπ` αὑμἡτρε ἡσαβαωθ̄ ζε εζραἱ εχω|οϕ ασχι ἡσι τσο-
 25 φια ἡπκοσμοσ χιμ || φοοϕ ἡτασταμιο ἡπρη μἡ ποοζ ασ̄|σφρα-
 ριζε ἡτεςπε ψα ζογἡ` απαιωἡ |
 πϕἡτ δε ἡταυ χποϕ` εβολ ζἡ φοινιζ` | οὑρωμε ανπε ϕσζ § 121
 30 ετβητϕ` ζε πα|ικαιοσ να† οϕω ἡθε ἡνοϕφοινιζ αῶ || φοινιζ`
 ψαϕ`οϕωνζ εβολ ἡωρπ` εϕ|ονζ αῶ ψαϕμοϕ παλιν ἡϕτωοἡν |
 εϕωοοπ` ἡσἡμειον ἡπενταζοϕωνζ | εβολ ζἡ τσὑντελεια ἡ[παιωἡν]
 35 νεει|νοσ ἡσἡμειον ἡτα[ϕοϕω]ἡζ εβολ || ζἡ κἡμ[ε] ογααϕ` ζἡ κε- § 122
 *p. 123¹ χωρα αν εϕσἡ`*μανε ζε εστἡτων εππαραδεισοσ ἡπνοϕ|τε
 (171 Bö.) παλιν μαρἡε|εζοἡν εναρχωἡν ἡ|τανψαζε εροοϕ ζεκαασ εναρ̄- § 123
 παρζιστα | ἡτοϕαποδιζεισ

12 i.e. τψιερα, ἡ ἱερά.

13 τειζε ον: Sah. ται τε θε. 14 i.e. ππνευματικον.

16 i.e. ἡπφοινιζ (Böhlig emends thus). 20 i.e. ἡοὑρωμε.

27 i.e. ζἡ πφοινιζ (Böhlig emends thus). 28 Sah. ον. 29 i.e. ἡοϕφοινιζ. 30 i.e. πφο-
 νιζ (Böhlig emends thus).

123:4 Sah. ἡτεγαποδιζεισ.

10 ψομτ` <ἡεινε> μφοινιζ` Bethge <μ>π Böhlig 11 rest. Böhlig 13
 ογομϕ: poss. for (κατ)αναλίσκειν (Böhlig 17 explains thus)

18 ἡζγδρια: understood by Puech in Tardieu *Trois mythes* 267 as αἱ ἐνύδριες or as τὰ
 ἐνύδρα (ibid. 265): ἡζγδρια em. Böhlig (i.e. αἱ ὑδρα), comparing Slavonic *Enoch* 12:1: ἡ-
 ζγδρια understood as αἱ ὑδρία by Doresse *Les livres secrets* 194: explained by Tardieu
Trois mythes 264–69

23 εζραἱ εχωοϕ: poss. corrupt 26 ψα ζογἡ` ατσὑντελεια ἡπαιωἡν Bethge

28–29 Ps 91:13 LXX δίκαιοσ ὡσ φοἡνιξ ἀνθήσει 33 ἡ: m is definite, superlin. stroke
 restored rest. Böhlig: cf. 110:13, 114:24, 121:26, 122:6, 123:30, 125:32

34 rest. Böhlig 35 ζἡ: superlin. stroke is definite, n restored rest. Böhlig εϕ:
 cf. Shisha-Halevy *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975) 256–57: εϕ em. Bethge

117. Likewise, ¹⁰ the three phoenixes (in) Paradise—the first ' [is] immortal; the second lives 1,000 ' years; as for the third, it is written in the *Sacred Book* ' that it is consumed.

118. So too there are ' three baptisms—the first is the spiritual, ¹⁵ the second is by fire, the third ' is by water.

119. Just as the phoenix ' appears as a witness concerning the angels, ' so the case of the water hydria in Egypt, ' which has been a witness to those going down ²⁰ into the baptism of a true man. '

120. The two bulls in Egypt possess ' a mystery, the sun and moon, being ' witness to Sabaoth: namely, that over ' them Sophia received the universe; from ²⁵ the day that she made the sun and the moon she ' put a seal upon her heaven, unto eternity (aeon). '

121. And the worm that has been born out of the phoenix ' is a human being as well. It is written (Ps 91:13 LXX) concerning it, "the just man ' will blossom like a phoenix." And ³⁰ the phoenix first appears ' in a living state, and dies, and rises again, ' being a sign of what has become apparent ' at the consummation of [the age (aeon)]. '

122. It was only in Egypt that these great signs [appeared] ³⁵ —nowhere else—as an indication **123** that it is like God's Paradise. '

123. Let us return to the aforementioned rulers, ' so that we may offer ' some explanation of them.

122:18 water hydria : *the hydria or hydriai spoken of in this passage have been variously identified as water serpents, crocodiles, and (understanding enhydries) otters; cf. M. Tardieu, Trois mythes gnostiques (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1974), 264–269*

122:29 phoenix : *in the Greek version (= Ps 92:12 of the Hebrew text) phoiniks is usually thought to mean 'palm tree'*

- 5 ΠΙΣΩΨ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ Ν||ΤΑΡΟΥΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΟΥΜΠΗΥΕ ΕΠΙ|ΤΝ § 124
 ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΣ` ΑΥΣΩΝΤ ΝΑΥ ΝΖΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ | ΕΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΕ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΑΤΡΟΥΡ-
 ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙ | ΝΑΥ ΝΑΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΣΕΒΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΑΖΑΖ ΜΠΛΑ|ΝΗ ΖΙ ΜΑΓΕΙΑ
- 10 ΖΙ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΙΑ ΖΙ ΜΝΤΨΜΨΕ || ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ` ΖΙ ΠΕΤΣ ΣΝΟΨ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΨΗΥΕ ΖΙ |
 ΡΠΕ ΖΙ ΘΥΣΙΑ ΖΙ ΣΠΟΝΔΗ ΝΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ | ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΣ ΕΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ Ν-
 ΤΟΥΨΒΡ|Ρ ΖΩΒ ΧΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΤΑΕΙ ΝΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ ΚΑ|ΤΑ ΤΣΥΜ`ΦΩΝΙΑ ΖΙΤΝ Ν-
- 15 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑ ΔΙΚΕΙΑ || ΜΝ ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΝΤΑΡΕ ΠΚΟΣ|ΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝΝΟΥΧΙ ΖΡΑΨ` ΑΨΡΠΛΑΝΑΣ| § 125
 ΘΕ ΖΜ ΠΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΨ` ΑΝΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΕΤΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΣ ΑΥΨΜΨΕ
 20 ΝΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΧΙΝ | ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΨΑ ΤΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ || ΜΕΝ ΝΤ ΔΙ-
 ΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΜΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΔΙΚΙΑ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΑΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝΝΟΥ|ΧΙ
 ΖΡΑΨ` ΖΝΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΝΝΟΥΒ|ΨΕ ΑΥΠΛΑΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΑ ΖΟΥΝ
 ΑΤΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ | ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΣ
- 25 ΟΥΑΨΡΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ || ΨΑ ΝΕΕΙΜΑ ΕΙΤΑ ΤΝΝΗΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΚΟΣ|ΜΟΣ § 126
 ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΝΑΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ` ΝΤΕΨ`ΣΥΣΤΑ|ΣΙC ΜΝ ΤΕΨ`ΔΙΟΥΚΗCΙC ΚΑΤΑ
 ΟΥΜΝΤΑΚΡΙΒΗC
 ΤΟΤΕ ΨΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ|ΖΕ ΕΤΠΙCΤΙC ΝΝΕΘΗΠ` ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ § 127
 30 ΕΒΟΛ || ΧΙΝ ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ` ΨΑ ΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ | ΜΠΑ|Ι]ΩΝ
 †ΝΝΗΥ ΔΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟ(Ν) | ΕΤΧΙ Ε[ΖΟΥΝ Ε]ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΘΑΝΑ- § 128
 ΤΟΣ †ΝΑ|ΨΑΧΕ ΕΝ[ΕΤΕ] ΝΟΥΨ` ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ | ΝCΜΟΤ` ΕΥΝ-
 ΝΕΕΙΜΑ
- 35 ΝΤΑ|ΡΕ Ο]ΥΜ[Η]Η|ΨΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟ[Λ ΖΝ ΑΔΑΜ ΠΑ|Ϊ] * Ν- § 129
 *p. 124¹ ΤΑΥΠΛΑCCE ΜΜΟΨ` ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΘΥΛΗ` | ΗΔΗ ΝΤΑΡΕ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΟΥΖ
 (172 Bö.)

5 Sah. νευπηυε.

16 i.e. ζν ουχι.

21-23 i.e. ντεειζε . . . ζν ου- . . . ζν ου- . . . μν ου-.

25 ψα νεειμα : Sah. επειιμα.

33 i.e. ενετε νουμ νε τηρου. 34 ννεειμα : Sah. ζμ πεειμα.

123:7 εζαζ νε is expected

19 τσυντελεια <μπαιων> Bethge (cf. on 122:33)

29 νετουονζ εβολ : poss. emend to <νει> νετουονζ εβολ

32 rest. Layton : ετχι ε[ουου ζα] Schenke² : ετχι ο[υω ζα] Böhlig 33 rest. Wisse : for the construction cf. Layton *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 182

35 εβο[λ ζν αδαμ - - -] rest. Böhlig 35-124:1 [- - - παϊ] | νταυ rest. Layton 124:1-2 μμοϑ` αυω εβολ ζν . . . ηδη νταρε : μμοϑ` εβολ ζν . . . αυω ηδη νταρε em. Bethge 427, with hesitation

124. Now, when the seven rulers ⁵ were cast down from their heavens ' onto the earth, they made for themselves angels, ' numerous, demonic, to serve ' them. And the latter instructed mankind in many kinds of error ' and magic and potions and worship of ¹⁰ idols and spilling of blood and altars and ' temples and sacrifices and libations to all the spirits ' of the earth, having their coworker ' fate (*heimarmenē*), who came into existence by ' the concord between the gods of injustice ¹⁵ and Justice.

125. And thus when the world ' had come into being, it distractedly erred ' at all times. For all men ' upon earth worshipped the spirits (*daimones*) from ' the creation to the consummation—both the angels ²⁰ of righteousness and the men of unrighteousness. ' Thus did the world come to exist in distraction, ' in ignorance, and in a stupor. ' They all erred, until the appearance (*parousia*) ' of the true man.

126. Let this suffice ²⁵ so far as the matter goes. Now we shall proceed to consideration of our world, ' so that we may accurately finish the description of its structure ' and management. '

127. Then it will become obvious how ' belief in the unseen realm, which has been apparent ³⁰ from creation down to the consummation ' of the age, was discovered.

128. I come, therefore, to the main points ' [regarding] the immortal man: I shall ' speak of all the beings that belong to him, explaining how ' they happen to be here.

129. When a multitude ³⁵ of human beings had come into existence, through the parentage of [the Adam] **124** who had been fashioned, and out of matter, ' and when the world had already become full,

124:1 *text possibly erroneous; correct text possibly who had been fashioned out of matter*

ΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ Π̄ ΧΟΙΕΙΣ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩϞ̄ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΑΥΚΑΤΕΧΕ Μ̄|ΜΟϞ̄ Ζ̄Ν
ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ

5 αψ πε παιτιον || παει πε επει πειωτ̄ ἄθανατος σοοῡν | § 130

χε αψτα ψωπε εβολ ζ̄ν τμε ζραΐ ζ̄ν να|ω̄ν ἄ μ̄ν πογκοσμος ετβε
παϊ ἄταρεϞ̄ οῡ|ω̄ψ αοῡω̄Ϟ̄ ἄ ἄρχων ἄ μ̄πτακο ζιτν νοϞ̄|πλασμα

10 αϞ̄σοοῡ ἄνετ̄νεινε εζραΐ επκοσ||μος μ̄πτακο ετε ναει νε μ̄π̄νᾱ ἄ-
βαλζητ̄ | ἄκοϞ̄ει μ̄μακαριος σεο αν ἄψ̄μμο ετ̄ ἄνωσις § 131

τγ̄νωσις γαρ τηρ̄ς ζ̄ννοαγ̄ ἄ γελος | † ετοοῡονζ εβολ ζι τοϞ̄ε-

ζη παει οῡατσομ̄ | αν πε ἄναζρ̄μ̄ πειωτ̄ ἄ αϞ̄ω αϞ̄>† ναϞ̄ ἄ-

15 τγ̄νω||σις {τγ̄νωσις γαρ τηρ̄ς ζ̄ννοαγ̄ ἄ γελος | ετοοῡονζ εβολ ἄ ζι
τοϞ̄εζη παει οῡατσομ̄ | αν πε ἄναζρ̄μ̄ πειωτ̄ ἄ αϞ̄ω α† ναϞ̄ ἄ-
τγ̄νω|σις}

ἄ τεϞ̄οῡ εϞ̄ψαοῡωνζ εβολ ζ̄μ̄ πκοσ|μος μ̄πτακο σεναδωλπ̄ ἄ § 132

20 εβολ ἄψορπ̄ ἄ μ̄|π̄τ̄π̄ος ἄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ ατ̄ ἄ τακο αϞ̄κατα κρισις | ἄ ἄρχων μ̄ν
νοϞ̄ δϞ̄ναμ̄ις

ἄ ταρε μ̄μα|καριος δε οῡωνζ εβολ ἄ ζ̄ν πλασμα ἄνε|ζοῡγια αϞ̄κωζ § 133

εροοῡ ἀνεζοῡγια δε ετβε | πκωζ αϞ̄τωζ ἄ νοϞ̄οσπερμα ἄ μ̄μαϞ̄

25 ατροῡ||σαζμοϞ̄ μ̄ποϞ̄ψ̄δ̄μ̄ σομ̄ ἄ

μ̄μακαριος | δε ἄ ταροϞ̄ωνζ εβολ ζ̄ννοϞ̄οειν κατα | διαφορα § 134

αϞ̄οῡωνζ εβολ αϞ̄ω πογα πογα | ἄζητοϞ̄ εβολ ζ̄μ̄ ποϞ̄καζ αϞ̄-

30 δωλπ̄ εβολ | ἄ τοϞ̄γ̄νωσις ἄ τεκ̄ ἄ κλησια ἄ ταζοῡωνζ || εβολ ζ̄ν ἄμ̄-

(§ 134) PAP., OR.4926(1) (begins 124:27 πογα πογα, breaks off ca. 124:32 το[τ]ε).

124:7–9 Sah. πεγκοσμος . . . νεϞ̄πλασμα. 12 i.e. ζ̄ν οῡαγγελος.

21 i.e. νεϞ̄δϞ̄ναμ̄ις.

26 i.e. ἄ ταροϞ̄οῡωνζ . . . ζ̄ν οῡοϞ̄οειν. 28–29 Sah. πεϞ̄καζ . . . ἄ τεϞ̄γ̄νωσις. 30 i.e. ζ̄ν ἄμ̄-

13 † ετοοῡονζ : emend to εϞ̄οῡονζ (thus Böhlig) 13–14 παει οῡατσομ̄ | αν πε ἄ-
ναζρ̄μ̄ πειωτ̄ ἄ αϞ̄ω α† pap. : παει ἄναζρ̄μ̄ πειωτ̄ αϞ̄ω οῡατσομ̄ αν πε α† em. Bethge
432 14 αϞ̄> Layton 15–18 {τγ̄νωσις . . . ἄ τγ̄νωσις} : erroneously repeated by
copyist

22 ζ̄ν <μ̄>πλασμα em. Bethge, poss. rightly ἄνεζοῡγια : poss. for ἄνεζοῡγια
(Bethge emends thus) : cf. on 111:23

28–29 εβολ ζ̄μ̄ ποϞ̄καζ αϞ̄δωλπ̄ εβολ ἄ : <αϞ̄οῡωνζ> εβολ ζ̄μ̄ ποϞ̄καζ αϞ̄δωλπ̄
εβολ ἄ em. Oeyen 133 : αϞ̄οῡψ̄|η̄ζ̄ αβαλ [μ̄πκα]ζ̄ αϞ̄δωλπ̄ αβαλ ἄ Or.4926(1) 29 ἄ-
τοϞ̄γ̄νωσις : ἄ τεϞ̄γ̄|η̄ψ̄Ϟ̄[ι]Ϟ̄ Or.4926(1)

the rulers were master ' over it—that is, they kept ' it restrained by ignorance.

130. For what reason? ⁵ For the following: since the immortal father knows ' that a deficiency of truth came into being amongst the eternal realms (æons) ' and their universe, when he wished ' to bring to naught the rulers of perdition through the ' creatures they had modelled (*plasmata*) he sent your (pl.) likenesses down into the world ¹⁰ of perdition, namely, the blessed little ' innocent spirits. They are not alien to ' acquaintance (*gnōsis*).

131. For all acquaintance (*gnōsis*) is vested in one angel ' who appeared before them; he is not without power ' in the company of the father. And (he) gave them acquaintance (*gnōsis*). ^{15 18}

132. Whenever they appear in the world ' of perdition, immediately and first of all they reveal ²⁰ the pattern of imperishability as a condemnation ' of the rulers and their forces.

133. Thus when the blessed beings ' appeared in forms modelled (*plasmata*) by authorities, ' they were envied. And out of envy the authorities ' mixed their seed with them, in hopes of ²⁵ polluting them. They could not.

134. Then when the blessed beings ' appeared in luminous form, ' they appeared in various ways. And each one ' of them, starting out in his land, revealed ' his (kind of) acquaintance (*gnōsis*) to the visible church ³⁰ constituted of the

124:13–14 he is not without power . . . And (he) gave them : *or*, he is in the company of the father and is not without power to give them: *the manuscript has (erroneously) he is not without power And to give them*

124:15–18 in *this passage the copyist erroneously repeated the text of § 131; the repetition has not been translated into English*

124:27–29 *the British Library manuscript probably had [And each] one of them appeared [on earth] and revealed his (kind of) acquaintance (gnōsis)*

πλασμα μ̄πτακοῦ ἄγχε εἶρος εὐν̄τας σπερμα νιμῶ εἵβε
 ἡ[ς]περ̄μα ἡνεζουσια ἡταστω[ς ἡμ̄μας]

το[τ]ε | πωτηρῶ ἀϋταμιο ἡο[γ. . . .]εἶ εβολ | ἡ[ς]ητοῦ [τ]ηροῦ
 35 ἄγω μ̄π̄ν̄ ἡν̄αι οὔ[[ονς εβολ εὔς]οτπῶ εὔο μ̄μακαριοςῶ * ἄγω
 *p. 125¹ εὔψβειοειτῶ ἀνεκῶ λογη ἄγω ἡἡκοογε εἵαψωοῦ εὔο ἡατῆρο εὔ-
 (173 Bö.) σοτπῶ | ἀοῦον νιμ εἵτι τοὔεζη

5 ζωστε οὔἡ ὑτο|οῦ ἡγενος ὑσοοπῶ οὔἡ ὑσομτ εἵτηπῶ ἀηρ̄ρωοῦ § 136
 ἡτμαζψμοῦνε πμαζϋτοοῦ δε | ἡγενος οὔατῆρο πε ἡτελειον
 εὔμ̄ποῦσα ηζρε τηροῦ

ἡαι γαρ εὔναβωκῶ | εὔοῦνῶ εὔποπος εὔοὔααβ μ̄ποῦειωτῶ § 137
 10 | ἄγω σεναμ̄τον μ̄μοοῦ ἡἡ οὔαηαπαῦ[[ς]ς μ̄ἡνοῦεοοῦ ὑα εἵεζ
 εὔαῦψῶαε | εὔοῦ ἄγω ἡἡ οὔραψε ἀἡἡ ὡἡἡ

σεο δε | ἡῆρο ἡμ̄ π̄νητον ζωσ ἀθανατος σε|ηαῆκατακρινε § 138
 ἡἡνοῦτε μ̄πχαος μ̄ἡ | νοῦ δῦναμικ

15 πλογος δε εὔχοσε εὔο[[ον νιμ ἄὔτῆἡνοοῦῶ εὔπειζωβ μονο(η) | § 139
 ἀτρεῦῆκῆρῦσσε εἵβε πετοῦσοοῦν ἀ(η) | μ̄μοῦ [[ς] πεχαῦῶ ἡε
 μ̄ἡ πεθηπῶ εὔοῦ|ονς εβολ ἀη ἄγω πε τε μ̄ποῦσοῦωηῶ | σενα-
 σοῦωηῶῶ

(§ 135–138) PAP.

(§ 139) PAP. OR.4926(1) (begins 125:17 εὔοῦονς).

32 i.e. ἡνεζουσια (Bethge emends thus).

125:3 Sah. τεὔζη.

6 Sah. εὔμ̄πεῦσα.

8 Sah. μ̄πεῦειωτ. 10 i.e. μ̄ἡ οὔεοοῦ.

14 Sah. ηεὔδῦναμικ.

32 τω[ς ἡμ̄μας] rest. Böhlig

33 ταμιο ἡο[γούχα]εἶ rest. Schenke²: desired sense is not apparent 34–35 οὔ[ονς
 εβολ - - -] Layton: οὔ[ωνς εβολ - - -] Böhlig 35 [- - - εὔς]οτπ rest. Böhlig

125:17 [[ς] cancelled by the copyist πεχαῦ: ῦ altered from false start of χ (which
 has been erased) 17–19 μ̄ἡ . . . σενασοῦωηῶ: [μ̄ἡ πεθηπ εὔη]ἀοῦωης ἀβα[η] εν
 ἀγ[ω μ̄ἡ | ρω]με εὔηασοῦωηῶ [ε]η OR.4926(1)

modelled forms (*plasmata*) of perdition. ' It (viz., the church) was found to contain all kinds of seed, because of the seed ' of the authorities that had [mixed with it].

135. Then ' the savior created [. . .] of ' them all—and the spirits (*pneumata*) of these [are manifestly] ³⁵ superior, being blessed **125** and varying in election (*eklogē*)—and ' also (he created) many other beings, which have no king and are superior ' to everyone that was before them.

136. Consequently, four ' races (*genē*) exist. There are three that belong to the kings ⁵ of the eighth heaven. But the fourth ' race is kingless and perfect, being ' the highest of all.

137. For these shall enter ' the holy place of their father. ' And they will gain rest in repose (*anapausis*) ¹⁰ and eternal, unspeakable glory ' and unending joy.

138. Moreover they are ' kings within the mortal domain, in that they are immortal. They ' will condemn the gods of chaos and ' their forces.

139. Now the Word (*Logos*) who is superior to ¹⁵ all beings was sent for this purpose alone: ' that he might proclaim the unknown. ' He said (Mark 4:22 parr.), “There is nothing hidden that is ' not apparent, and what has not been recognized ' will be recognized.”

125:17 nothing : *or*, no one

125:17–19 *the British Library manuscript has* [There is nothing (*or*, no one) hidden that] will not become apparent, and [there is no] person who will not be recognized

- 20 ΝΑΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤῆΝ ΟΥΣΕ || ΑΤΡΟΥ ΟΥΩΝΖ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΜΠΠΕΘΗΠ` Μῆ | § 140
 ΤΣΑΨϞΕ ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ Μῆ ΤΟΥ|ΜῆΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΑΥΨ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΑΥΚΑ-
 ΤΑΚΡΙ|ΝΕ ΜῆΜΟΥ ΕΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ
- 25 ἸΤΑΡΕ ἸΤΕΛΕΙ|ΟC ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΜΠΛΑΣ||ΜΑ ἸῆΑΡΧΩΝ § 141
 ΑΥΨ ἸΤΑΡΟΥΔΩΛΠ` Ε|ΒΟΛ ἸΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΕΜῆ ΠΕΤ`ΤῆΤΩΝ Ε|ΡΟC ΑΥΨ ΨΙ-
 ΠΕ ἸCΟΦΙΑ ΝΙΜ ἸῆΝΟΥ|ΤΕ ΑΥΨ ΤΟΥΨΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ` ΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟC | ΕCΟ
- 30 ἸΚΑΤΑΓΝΩCΙC ΑΥΨ ΤΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC || ΔCΨΩΜ` ΤΟΥΜῆΤΧΟΕΙC
 ΑΥῤΚΑΤΑΛΥΕ | Μῆ|Ο|C ΤΟΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΔCΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΠΕΤ`Ψ|ΟΥΕΙΤ` Μῆ
 Π|ΟΥΕΟΟΥ
- ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ ἸΤCΥ(Ν)|ΤΕΛΕΙΑ [ΜΠΑΙΩ]Ν ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡϞ ΝΑΝΟΕΙΝ | ΖΙΤῆ- § 142
 35 ΝΟΥ|Ν|ΟC ἸΖΡΟΥΒΒΑ[ΕΙ] ΤΟΤΕ ἸΑΡ||ΧΩΝ ΝΑῤΠΕΝΘΕΙ ΕΥ[.
 *p. 126¹ ΠΟ|Υ`*ΜΟΥ ἸΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΑῤ ΖΗΒΕ ἸΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ | ΑΥΨ ἸΔΑΙΜΩΝ
 (174 Bö.) ΝΑΡΙΜΕ ἸΝΟΥΚΑΙΡΟC | ΑΥΨ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ CΕΝΑΝΕΖΠΕ ἸCΕΑΨΚΑΚ`
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧῆ ΠΟΥΜΟΥ
- 5 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΙΩΝ || ΝΑῤΑΡΧΕΙ ἸCΕΨΤΟΡῤῤ ΝΕϞῤῤΨΟΥ ΝΑ|ΨΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ § 143
 ΤCΗϞΕ ἸCΑΤΕ ΑΥΨ CΕΝΑ|ῤ ΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΖΩCΤΕ | Ἰ-
 ΤΕ ΠΚΑΖ ΨΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ἸCΝΟΥ` ΕΤΠΟΖΤ` | ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΨ ἸΘΑΛΑCΑ
- 10 ΝΑΨΤΟΡῤῤ ΖΙΤῆ || ΜΠΟΛΕΜΟC ΕΤῤΜΑΥ

(§ 140) PAP., OR.4926(1).

(§ 141) PAP., OR.4926(1) (breaks off ca. 125:24 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ).

(§§ 142–150) PAP.

20 Ζῆ : i.e. ῆ (Böhlig emends thus). 21–22 Sah. ΤΕΥΜῆΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ. 22 i.e. ἸΤΕΕΙΖΕ.

28–32 Sah. ΤΕΥ- . . . ΤΕΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC . . . ΤΕΥΜῆΤΧΟΕΙC . . . ΤΕΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ . . . ΠΕΥΕΟΟΥ.

34 i.e. ΖΙΤῆ ΟΥΩΝΟC. 35–126:4 Sah. ΠΕΥΜΟΥ . . . ἸΝΕΥΡΩΜΕ . . . ἸΝΕΥΚΑΙΡΟC . . . ΝΕΥ-
 ΡΩΜΕ . . . ΠΕΥΜΟΥ.

126:7 Sah. ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.

20 Μῆ : [ΕΥΩΝΖ] Ἰ . . . ΑΒΑΛ Or.4926(1) 21 ΜΠΧΑΟC : absent in Or.4926(1) 23
 ΕΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ : Or.4926(1) different

32 rest. Wisse, Bethge

33 sim. rest. Böhlig : cf. on 122:33 34–35 ἸΑΡ|ΧΩΝ : superlin. stroke is definite, Ν
 restored 35 ΕΥ|ῤ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΧῆ ΠΟ|Υ` sim. Wisse : desired sense is not apparent

126:5 ΑΡΧΕΙ ἸCΕΨΤΟΡῤῤ : poss. corrupt : ΑΡΧΕΙἸΨΤΟΡῤῤ em. Bethge

140. And these were sent ²⁰ to make known what is hidden, and ' the seven authorities of chaos and their ' impiety. And thus they were condemned ' to death.

141. So when all the perfect (*teleioi*) ' appeared in the forms modelled (*plasmata*) ²⁵ by the rulers and when they revealed ' the incomparable truth, ' they put to shame all the wisdom of the gods. ' And their fate (*heimarmenē*) was found ' to be a condemnation. And their force ³⁰ dried up. Their lordship was dissolved. ' Their forethought (*pronoia*) became [emptiness, ' along with] their glory.

142. Before the consummation ' [of the age], the whole place will shake ' with great thundering. Then the rulers ³⁵ will be sad, [. . .] their **126** death. The angels will mourn for their mankind, ' and the demons (*daimones*) will weep over their seasons, ' and their mankind will wail and scream ' at their death.

143. Then the age (aeon) ⁵ will begin, and they will be disturbed. Their kings will ' be intoxicated with the fiery sword, and they will ' wage war against one another, so that ' the earth is intoxicated with bloodshed. ' And the seas will be disturbed by ¹⁰ those wars.

125:21 of chaos : *this phrase is absent in the British Library manuscript*

125:35 sad : *two letters of the following word survive, indicating that it was the equivalent of a participle (e.g., [fear]ing their death)*

126:4–5 *text possibly erroneous; correct text possibly* Then the realm (aeon) will begin to be disturbed

- 15 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΗΡ ΝΑΡ̄ ΚΑ|ΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΟΣ ΝΑΤΑΚΟ Μ̄ΠΕΥΟΥΟΕΙΝ | Ν̄ΣΙΟΥ § 144
 Ν̄ΤΠΕ ΝΑΡ̄ΑΘΕΤΕΙ Μ̄ΠΟΥΔΡΟΜΟΣ | ΑΥΩ ΟῩΝΝΟΥΝΟΣ Ν̄ΖΡΟΥΒΒΑΕΙ
 20 ΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΝΟΥΝΟΣ Ν̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΤ̄ΜΠΙΣΑ Ν̄|ΤΠΕ Ν̄ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ̄-
 ΠΧΑΟΣ ΠΜΑ | ΕΤΕ ΠΣΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΤΣΖΙΜΕ Ν̄ΤΑ|ΡΕ ΤΗ ΤΑΜΙΟ Μ̄-
 ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΕΡΓΟΝ ΣΝΑ|ΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ Μ̄ΠΚΩΖΤ̄ Ν̄ΣΑΒΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΕΠ|ΙΝΟΙΑ ΣΝΑ†
 25 ΖΙΩΩΣ Ν̄ΟΥΟΡΓΗ Μ̄ΜΝΤ̄||ΑΘΗΤ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΣΝΑΡ̄ΔΙΩΚΕ Ν̄ΝΝΟΥΤΕ | Μ̄ΠΧΑΟΣ ΝΑΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΣΣΟΝΤΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΠΑΡ̄|
 ΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΨΡ̄ ΣΝΑΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΠΝΟΥ(Ν) | ΣΕΝΑΨΟΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 30 ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΤΟΥΔΑΚΙΑ \ ΣΕΝΑ|ΨΩΠΙΕ ΓΑΡ \ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΤΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΧΕΡΕ ΚΩΖΤ̄ ||
 Ν̄ΣΕΟΥΩΜ Ν̄ΣΑ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΩΧ̄Ν̄ | ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ̄ Μ̄ΠΟΥΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕ-
 ΤΨΡ̄ | ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΨΑΝΟΧΝΟΥ ΨΝΑΚΟΤ̄ \ ΕΡΟΥ \ ΟΥΔΑΨ \ Ν̄ΨΟΧΝΕΨ̄
 ΨΑΝΤΕΨ̄ \ ΨΧ̄Ν̄
 35 ΑΥΩ | ΝΟῩΜ̄ΠΗΥΕ ΝΑΖΑΕΙΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ || ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ [Υ] ΝΟΥΔΥΝΑ- § 146
 ΜΙΣ ΡΟΚΖ † Ν̄ΟΥΚΕ|ΔΙΩΝ ΣΕΝΑΨΟΡΨ̄
 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΨΠ̄Ε ΝΑ|ΖΑΕΙΕ Ν̄ΣΡ̄ ΣΝΑΥ ΠΕΨΚ Ν̄ [2½.] ΝΑ|ΖΑΕΙΕ ΑΠΕ- § 147
 ΣΗΤ̄ \ ΕΠΚΑ[.] . |ΨϰΙ ΖΑΡΟΥΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΖΑΨ[ΙΕ ΕΠΙΤ̄]Ν̄ ΕΠΝΟΥ(Ν)
 35 || Α[Υ]Ψ Π̄Ν̄[ΟΥ]Ν † ΝΑΨΟΡ̄Ψ̄
 *p. 127¹ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΑ\ [. . . 4½. . . Μ̄ΠΚΑ]ΚΕ Ν̄ΨΟΤ̄ \ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΡ̄ ΘΕ * Μ- § 148
 (175 Bō.) ΠΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕΨΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΡΓΟΝ Ν̄ΤΑ | ΠΚΑΚΕ ΟῩΗΖ Ν̄ΣΨΨ̄ ΨΝΑΒΩΛ \
 ΕΒΟΛ \ ΑΥΩ | ΨΨΤΑ ΝΑΠΩΡΚ \ ΖΑ ΤΕΨΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ Ε|ΠΙΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ
 5 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΑΡ̄ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΖ|ΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΨΝΟΥΝΕ

13–14 i.e. οϋ̄ν οϋ- . . . ζ̄ν οϋ-.

23–26 Sah. τεϋδακία . . . νεϋερηϋ . . . μ̄πεϋαρχιγενετΨρ̄.

29–31 Sah. νεϋπ̄ηϋε . . . νεϋερηϋ . . . νεϋδϋναμις . . . νεϋκεαιων.

36 Sah. ψναρ̄. 127:2 οϋ̄ηζ (infinitive) : Sah. οϋαζϣ : cf. Funk³, n. 1.

30 [Υ] cancelled by the copyist 30–31 † Ν̄ΟΥΚΕ|ΔΙΩΝ : emend to ΝΟΥΚΕΔΙΩΝ (thus Bethge 459)

32 pap. poss. πεϋκϋζ̄ν . Ν̄[. .] (first letter trace (ο) cannot be ε) : reading of pap. cannot have been πεϋκϋσμοϋ : πεϋκ . . . Ν̄[σιοϋ] sim. Wisse, with hesitation 33 επκα[.] . : επκα[ε ---] . rest. Böhlig : επκα[ε αῡν̄νε πκα]ε rest. Schenke : reading of pap. cannot have been επκα[.]α 34 rest. Böhlig [---]Ν̄ επνοϋ(Ν) : of Ν̄, Ν is definite, superlin. stroke restored 35 Π̄Ν̄[ΟΥ]Ν : sim. rest. Böhlig † ΨΟΡ̄Ψ̄ : ο added above the line; copyist first wrote ΨΡ̄Ψ̄, then corrected to ΨΟΡ̄Ψ̄, neglecting to erase the first superlin. stroke : em. το ΨΟΡ̄Ψ̄

36 [οϋϋϋϣ̄ ---] Wisse : [σκεϋαε ---] Bethge [--- μ̄πκα]κε Böhlig 127:1 μ̄πετε : no superlin. stroke could be inscribed above μ because of an original imperfection in the papyrus

144. Then the sun will become dark. ' And the moon will cause its light to cease. ' The stars of the sky will cancel their circuits. ' And a great clap of thunder will come out ' of a great force (*dynamis*) that is above ¹⁵ all the forces of chaos, where ' the firmament of the woman is situated. ' Having created the first product, she will ' put away the wise fire of intelligence (*epinoia*) ' and clothe herself with irrational wrath. ²⁰

145. Then she will pursue the gods ' of chaos, whom she created along with the prime parent. ' She will cast them down into the abyss. ' They will be obliterated because of their wickedness. For they will ' come to be like volcanoes ²⁵ and consume one another until they perish ' at the hand of the prime parent. ' When he has destroyed them, he will turn against himself ' and destroy himself until he ceases to exist.

146. And ' their heavens will fall one upon the next ³⁰ and their (the rulers') forces will be consumed by fire. Their eternal realms (aeons), too, ' will be overturned.

147. And his (the prime parent's) heaven will ' fall and break in two. His . . . will ' fall down upon the [. . .] ' support them; they will fall into the abyss, ³⁵ and the abyss will be overturned.

148. The light will ' [. . . the] darkness and obliterate it: it will be like 127 something that has never been. And the product ' to which the darkness had been posterior will dissolve. And ' the deficiency will be plucked out by the root (and thrown) down into ' the darkness. And the light will withdraw up ⁵ to its root.

126:32–33 His . . . will fall down : *part of the text is damaged and undecipherable*

- 10 ἀγω περοογ ᾠπαγεν|νητος ναογωνζ εβολ ἀγω φναμογζ | ᾠ- § 149
 ναιων τηρογ ερωα τπροφητεια μᾷ | χιστορια ᾠνετο ᾠρρο σωλπᾶ
 15 εβολ ἀγω | ᾠσχωκᾶ εβολ ζιτᾷ νετογμογτε εροογ || χε τελειος
 νετε ᾠπογρᾶ τελειος δε | ζᾷ παγεν<νητος ειωτᾶ σεναχιᾶ ᾠνογ-
 ε|ροογ ζᾷ νογαιων ἀγω ζᾷ ᾠμντᾶρο ᾠ|νατμογ σεναβωκᾶ δε αν
 ενεζ εζογν | ετμᾷτ ατᾶρο
 15 ζαπᾶ γαρ ετρε ογον νιμᾶ || βωκᾶ επτοπος ᾠταφει εβολ ᾠ- § 150
 ζητᾶ πογ|α γαρ πογα εβολ ζᾷ τεφπραζις μᾷ τεφ|γνωσις νασωλπᾶ
 εβολᾶ ᾠτεφφγσις:

127:8 i.e. τῆς ιστορια, ἡ ἱστορία. 11 i.e. ᾠειωτ (Böhlig emends thus). Sah. νεγεροογ.

11 ἀγεν<νητος Böhlig

17 after this line the copyist wrote the title of tractate 6 (τεζηγσις ετβε τψγχι) instead of the one belonging to the present work, whose own title is in consequence unknown

149. And the glory of the unbegotten ' will appear. And it will fill ' all the eternal realms (aeons). When the prophecy and ' the account of those that are king becomes known and ' is fulfilled by those who are called ¹⁰ perfect, those who—in contrast—have not become perfect ' in the unbegotten father will receive their glory ' in their realms (aeons) and in the kingdoms of ' the immortals: but they will never enter ' the kingless realm.

150. For everyone must ¹⁵ go to the place from which he has come. ' Indeed, by his acts and his ' acquaintance (*gnōsis*) each person will make his nature known.

127:17 *The other tractates in this codex have a subscript title at the end. Here, however, the copyist has written a superscript title for the following work, tractate 6, Expository Treatise on the Soul, in the place that should be occupied by the subscript title belonging to tractate 5. Consequently, the title of our tractate is not recorded, while tractate 6 has its own title twice, once as a superscription and once as a subscription*

APPENDIX ONE: THE FRAGMENT IN CODEX XIII
CG XIII 50*:10^{up}–ult.

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

The text and its translation are identical with CG II,5 97:24–98:5.

p. 50*^{10 up}

[ε]πιδη ογον nim ἥνουτε ἄπκοσμος ἀγ(ω) | [ῥ]ῥωμε σεχω ἄμος
xe mñ λααγ ψοοπ` ζ[α] | τζη ἄπχαος ἀνοκ ἥδε †ναῤαποδικνυε |
xe ἀγῥπλανα τηροϋ ενσεσοϋν ^{vacat} | ἀν ἥτςϋστασις ἄπχαος mñ
5^{up} τεφνοϋνε τα||ει δε τε τ`ἀποδιζις

εψχε σῥςϋμφωνει μ[ῆ] | ῥῥωμε τηροϋ ετβε πχαος xe ο[γ]κακε
πε | ογεβολ δε πε ζῆ ογζαῖβ[ε]ς ἀμοϋτε εροϋ | xe κα-
κε εζαῖβες δε ο[γ]ει εβολ πε ζῆνοϋερ]]γον εψσοοπ` [[ζ] χιν
τε[---]

50:8^{up} τζη read in photographs 7^{up} xe read in photographs 6^{up} ἀν read in
photographs 5^{up} ει δε read in photographs
4^{up} ῥῥωμε read in photographs ult. [[ζ]] cancelled by the copyist

APPENDIX TWO
THE BRITISH LIBRARY FRAGMENTS

BENTLEY LAYTON

INTRODUCTION

THE British Library Fragments (Oeyen Fragments) are small pieces of an ancient papyrus codex. This codex contained, perhaps inter alia, a Subachmimic version of CG II,5; no other pieces of the codex have been found. Although the fragments have been known since 1905, it is to the great credit of Dr. Christian Oeyen to have first recognized (in 1972) their true identity and so to have established the significance of the fragments for scholarship. After his announcement of this important discovery,¹ Dr. Oeyen was able to make further refinements in his work, and he kindly provided a copy of his improved text to Dr. Bethge; his new text was consulted in the preparation of the present, new edition. Dr. Oeyen's generosity and the cooperation of Mr. Peter Lawson, Head of Conservation, Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library, must be gratefully acknowledged.

The fragments were acquired by the British Museum, and now belong to the British Library, Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, London, where they are MS. Or.4926(1). It appears that when Crum studied and catalogued the fragments² nothing was known of their *provenance* except that they were "from the binding of a book"; that is, in antiquity after the original Subachmimic codex was withdrawn from circulation its leaves were reused by a bookbinder to pad and stiffen the leather covers of a new codex. In fact, the reuse of leaves from old religious books was common enough, and in no way implied a judgment upon the merits of the texts being destroyed; thus we find discarded biblical texts reused in the bindings of ecclesiastical libraries, Brit. Lib. Or.6783 (a discarded Psalter leaf), 6799 (discarded gospels), 7021 (discarded biblical lectionary), 7597 (discarded John), etc.

As might be expected, the *present state* of the Oeyen Fragments is necessarily poor. In some cases, they are still glued to one another forming little pieces of cartonnage. A considerable amount of ancient glue and single layers of papyrus obscure parts of the text; much of the extant surface has been abraided or stripped; also there is a considerable amount

¹ See Bibliography. Crum, indeed, had already noted (*Catalogue . . . British Museum*, No. 522) the "Ophite" character of the text.

² The MS number is in fact Or.4926(1); Crum's catalogue entry contains a typographical error in this detail.

of offset, which seriously impairs study of the fragments in photographs. For all these reasons decipherment is extremely difficult; it can be facilitated somewhat by infrared light (though not by ultraviolet), and in one case—fragment *iva*—the readings were briefly improved by wetting the fragment with trichlorethylene to allow an obscured layer to show through. Yet despite the extensive damage of the manuscript very many decipherments and a number of restorations can be established with certainty by comparison with parallel passages in the Cairo manuscripts. While no means of ungluing or cleaning pieces of cartonnage is yet known in which the papyrus does not risk serious damage, it seems likely that such a procedure will eventually be developed and that the Oeyen Fragments will someday be able to provide a more complete witness to the Subachmimic text. In anticipation of that day, I have tried to exercise restraint in transcribing and editing the papyrus in its present state.

Crum estimated the *date* of the fragments by comparison of the script of a Vienna manuscript, which Kenyon had put in the fourth century: this is about the time in which the two Cairo manuscripts of our tractate were copied. Nothing can be ascertained of the *codicological characteristics* of the manuscript to which the fragments belonged, and they are too scant to give any idea of the quality of *textual transmission* of the Subachmimic branch. No ancient *corrections* have been discovered in the fragments. Word division marks (apostrophes) are not employed.

The “fragments” edited below are *fragments* in the sense not of individual pieces of papyrus, but rather of excerpts from the original text (somewhat as one might speak of the “fragments” of the Presocratics). Oeyen’s original edition (1975) contained only twelve fragments, that being the number whose contents he believed he had specifically identified at the time; subsequently he was able to add nos. *iii*a, *iv*a, and *iv*b. To these I have added transcriptions of yet another sixteen small pieces, all unidentified and probably insignificant, in order to provide the completest possible record of the extant papyrus pieces in their present state. Oeyen’s own numbering of the fragments remains unchanged, though I have not accepted all of his identifications. Improvements in the transcription have made it necessary to revise the line numbering in certain cases.

This edition, as already stated, is a conservative one, in anticipation of further physical restoration of the fragments. My transcriptions are based upon extended autoptic study of the manuscript on two occasions, in June, 1978 and in December-March, 1979–80, and of two sets of photographs (one shot in 1973 with infrared light). Between these two study sessions the Conservation Section of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library, reassembled and reconserved the fragments according to Dr. Oeyen’s recommendations.

The details of transcription in the present edition represent advances over previous transcriptions. However, the only *significance of the fragments* lies not in their readings, which add little to our knowledge of the text, but in the dialect in which they are written: in view of the crypto-Subachmimic character of all the tractates in CG II, it is of no small interest to have indubitable attestation of a frankly Subachmimic version of one of them. This value was fully evident as soon as Oeyen's first edition appeared.

The text of the *two Coptic versions* of our tractate is virtually the same in both cases; very few (if any) of the differences between them reflect variants in the Greek original. Clearly one of the Coptic versions has been transposed from the other; but no evidence within the manuscripts points to the order of precedence.

The *variants* between the two dialect versions fall into two classes: (a) differences attributable merely to dialect and style (see Table I), (b) true textual differences (some or all of which, however, may have occurred within the Coptic transmission). The true textual variants (b) are all cited in the critical apparatus of CG II,5. Variants of the other class³ are not.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905), no. 522 (pp. 251–252). C. Oeyen, "Fragmente einer subachmimischen Version der gnostischen 'Schrift ohne Titel'," *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (M. Krause, ed.; Nag Hammadi Studies 6; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 125–144. [See now also volume 1, p. 8, note 16.]

³For variant spellings of the same word (e.g. London ⲙⲙⲉⲩ for Cairo ⲙⲙⲁⲩ) attributable to dialect, the index should be consulted.

TABLE 1

Dialectal and Stylistic Variants in the London (Brit. Lib.) Fragments

CAIRO			
CG II	Reading	LONDON READING	DIFFERENCE
102:34	μ[ορϣ]	Ϸωνεζ μμαϣ	diction
102:34	μ[ορϣ] . . . νοϣϣ	Ϸωνεζ μμαϣ . . . [N]ΟΥϣε μμ[αϣ]	syntagm
103:2-3	ν̄ταρε μ̄πηγε . . . σμ̄ν̄του	ν̄τα[ροϣ]σμ̄μ̄ν̄του . . . ν̄[σι] μ̄πηγε	word order
103:3	βομ	[ΔΥ]N[α]M[i]ϣ	diction
103:4-5	απαρχιγενετωρ χιϷε	απα[ρ]χιγε[N]ετωρ αϣχιϷε	syntagm
103:27-28	ν̄ϣ̄ρεε μ̄πετε μ̄πεϣ-	αϣκαβ̄ν̄τ[ο]ϣ εϷε μ̄πεϣ-	diction
103:32	σαβ̄αω̄ε . . . ν̄ταρεϣ-	ν̄ταρε ϣαβα[ω]ε . . . ν̄ταρε[ϣ]-	syntagm
106:16	ετβε παει	ζ̄μ̄ πεει	diction
112:3	ταμιο	τ̄αν̄ο	diction
112:3	ζ̄ν̄νοϷ	ν̄ιναϷ	syntagm
112:4	κααϣ	κϣε μ̄μ[α]ϣ	syntagm
112:4	ατροϣ-	ν̄Ϸε-	syntagm
112:5	αϣϷε-	ν̄Ϸε-	syntagm
112:5-6	ϣωκ εβολ ν̄ζ̄ν̄χημ̄ειον	ειρε ν̄ζ̄ν̄χημ̄ιον	diction
112:7	αϣ ζ̄ν̄νεβατε	μ̄ν̄ ζ̄[ν̄ν]εβατ	diction
115:8	μηπως ν̄ϣ-	[αρη]οϣ ϣ-	diction
116:27-28	αϷ . . . αϷ-	αϷ . . . αϣ αϷ-	syntagm
116:28	ν̄χιοϣε ατοϣν̄ αδαμ	[ατοϣ]ν̄ αδαμ [ν̄χ]ιοϣε	word order
116:30	αϣοϣωζ ν̄ϷωϷ	[αϣο]ϣαζοϣ ν̄[ϷωϷ]	diction
117:22	ζαρμοϷε εζοϣν̄ ε-	[Ϸ]ετατϣ α-	diction
117:23	αϣ	[α]ϣ μ̄ν̄	diction
120:29	μηπως ν̄Ϸε-	[μη]ποτ[ε ν̄Ϸε-]	diction
124:28-30	αϣ . . . αϣ-	αϣ . . . [αϣ αϣ-]	syntagm
125:20	ατροϣ-	α-	syntagm
125:20	οϣωνζ εβολ ζ̄μ̄-	(ο)ϣν̄ε . . . αβα[λ]	syntagm
125:22	τεειζε "thus"	τεει τε εε	diction

COPTIC MUSEUM CG II

§§ 22–23

- p.102³³ ας|μ[ορϣ` ας]νοϣϣ` επιτῆ επταρτα-
35 ρον || [χιμ` φοο]γ ετῆμαγ ατπε σμῆτῆ μῆ * πεсκαз
*p.103¹ εβ[ολ] ζιτῆ τσοφια ἡλλῆλα-
βᾶ|ωθ` τετῆπιτῆ ἡμοογ τηρογ ἡτα|ρε
ἡπηγε δε σμῆτογ ἡῆνογβομ` |
μῆ τογδιοικησις τηρῆ
5 ἀπαρχιγενε||τωρ χισε ἡμοϣ` αγ-
ω αϣι εοογ ζιτῆ | <τ>στρατεια τηρῆ ἡ-
ἡαγγελος αγω † ἡνογ|νε τηρογ ἡῆνογ-
αγ`γελος ογсμογ | ἡῆνογεοογ αγτααϣ ναϣ` ἡτοϣ
δε αϣ|ογνοϣ` etc.

BRIT. LIB. OR.4926(1)

Fr. i (Oeyen)

fibers ↓

1 ἀσσωνεζ ᾠμαϋ ἀς[Ν]ΟΥΧε ᾠΜ[αϋ ἀπταρτα]-
ρον ᾠΜ φοου ετᾠμεϋ ατσοφι[α ᾠΐαλλα]-

βαϷθ· ἀσσᾠᾠτ̄ τη[ε ᾠ]Ν ᾠκαζ ᾠτα[ρου]-
σᾠᾠᾠτοϋ ᾠδε ᾠ[σι] ᾠπηγε ᾠΝ νο[υδϋ]-

5 Ν[α]Μ[ι]ς ᾠΝ τοϋδ[ιοικησις τηρς το[τε]
απα[ρ]χιγε[Ν]ετωρ ἀϷιϷε ᾠμαϋ ἀϷ-
Ϸ ἀϷουϷ[ου] ᾠμαϋ ζιτᾠ τστρατεια ᾠ-
ᾠᾠ[γγελοσ ἀϷ]ᾠ ᾠνοϷτε τηρου ᾠΝ νοϷ-
[- - -] . [.] . [.] ᾠνεϷ[. .]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame C (back)

The lines are laid out as in the manuscript.

i 1 reading of pap. cannot be [Ν]ΟΥΧε ᾠΜ[αϋ ἀπᾠτᾠ ἀπταρτα]ρον ᾠΜ[αϋ - - -] :
first ᾠ not definite, superlin. stroke restored 3 σᾠᾠτ̄ : ᾠΝ not definite, superlin. stroke
restored 4 σᾠᾠᾠτοϋ : ᾠΜΝ not definite, second superlin. stroke restored ᾠπηγε : ᾠ
not definite, superlin. stroke restored 5 το[τε] Oeyen

§§ 25–27

- p.10325 ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΒΗΥΕ ΣΕ|ΝΑΡ̄ΚΑΤΑΛΥΕ
 Μ̄ΠΩΤΑ ΤΗΡϚ̄ Ν̄ΤΑϚ̄`ΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΜΕ ΑΥΩ ϚΝΑΩΧ̄Ν̄ Ν̄Ϛ̄Ρ̄ | ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕϚ̄`-
 ΩΩΠΕ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΤΠΙ|ΣΤΙΣ ΧΕ ΝΑΕΙ
- 30 ΑΣΩΛΠ̄` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄Ν̄Μ̄||ΜΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΣΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΕΣΜΝΤΝΟΣ
 ΑΥ|Ω Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΑΣ̄Ρ̄ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 Ε|ΠΕΣΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΣΑΒ̄ΑΩΘ̄ ΔΕ ΠΩΗ-
 ΡΕ | Ν̄ΙΑΛΔΑΒ̄ΑΩΘ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕϚ̄`ΣΩΤ̄Μ̄ Δ̄Τ̄`|ΣΜΗ Ν̄ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ
- 35 ΑϚΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΕΡΟ[Σ ΑϚ̄Ρ̄]||ΚΑΤΑΓΕΙΝΩΣΚΕ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ etc.

Fr. ii

fibers →. The other side of Fr. i.

- 1 [- - - ΝΕΤῚ]ΖΒΗΟΥΕ ΣΕΝ[Α]Ρ̄ΚΑΤΑΛ[ΥΕ]
 [Ὶ]ΠΩΤΑ ΤΗΡϣ ΠΕΕΙ ῚΤΑΖΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ
 [ῚῚ] ΤΜΗΕ ΑΥΩ ΚΑῚΝΤ[Ο]Υ ΕΣΧΕ ῚΠΕϣ-
 [ϣ]ΩΠΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ ῚΤΑΣΧΟΟΥ Ὶ† ΤΠΙΣΤΙC
 5 [Α]ΥΩ ΑΣΘΖΒΕ ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΠΕ[Σ]ῚΝΕ ῚῚ Ὶ[Ὶ]-
 ΜΟΥΕΙΔΥΕΙΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΣῚΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΑΖΡΗΕΙ
 ΑΠΕΣΟΥΑΕΙΝ ῚΤΑΡΕ ΣΑΒΑ[Ω]ΘῚ ῚΔΕ ΠΩΗ-
 ΡΕ ῚῚΑΛΔΑΒΑΘΕ ῚΤΑΡΕ[ϣΣΩ]ῚῚ ΑΤΠΙΣΤΙC
 ΑϣῚΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΑΡΑC Α[ϣ - - -]... [2.3.]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame C (front)

ii 1 Ὶ : ϣ not definite, superlin. stroke restored 3 palaeographically the most obvious reading would be ῚΝΤῚῚ ΕΣΧΕ: also palaeographically possible are ῚῚ ῚῚ ΕΣΧΕ and ῚῚ ῚῚ ΕΣΧΕ; the reading is obscured by bits of glued-over papyrus and (poss.) offset 4 Ὶ† : expected is ῚῚ (poss. emend thus) 9 letter traces very indistinct

§§ 35–36

p.106^{14,15} αΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΟΥ||ΝΑΜ` ΧΕ ΔΙ-
 ΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΒΒΟΥΡ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΑ ΔΙΚΙΑ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΒΕ ΑΥΧΙ | ΤΗΡΟΥ † ΝΟΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΝΤΕΚ`ΚΛΗΣΙΑ
 ΝΤΔΙΚΑΙ|ΟΣΥΝΗ ΜΝ ΤΑ ΔΙΚΙ-
 Α ΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΣΩΝΤ` | ΤΗ-
 ΡΟΥ † ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΒΕ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ
 20 ΝΤΑ||ΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΕϚ`ΩΗΡΕ ΣΑΒΑΘΕ` etc.

Fr. iia

fibers →. The text is on the back of a thin layer of horizontal fibers glued face-down to the fragment in Frame D (back). The ink shows through this layer, in mirror-image. The reading was somewhat improved by reference to a photograph (Brit. Lib. Or. neg. no. 3448) made while the papyrus was wetted with trichlorethylene, and also to an infrared photograph (Brit. Lib. Or. neg. no. 2863).

- 1 [. .]ΟΥΜ[- - -]
 [.]ΔΙΟΣΥΝ[- - -]
 ζῆ̄ π̄ε̄εῑ ς[- - -]
 ἀ̄ ἀ̄ζε̄ ἀρ[.]τ[- - -]
- 5 [. .] . . . [- - -]
 [. . .] ρ[- - -]

Restoration of Fr. iia by Dr. Oeyen:

- 1 [αζ]ΟΥΜ[ΟΥΤΕ ΔΟΥΝΕΜ ΧΕ ΤΔΙ]-
 [κ]ΔΙΟΣΥΝ[Η ΒΒΟΥΡ ΧΕ ΤΑΔΙΚΙΑ]
 ζῆ̄ π̄ε̄εῑ ς[Ε ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ Μ̄Ν ΤΑΔΙΚΙ]-
- ἀ̄ ἀ̄ζε̄ ἀρ[ε]τ[ΟΥ Δ̄Χ̄Ν ΝΟΥΣΩΝΤ ΤΗ]-
- 5 [ΡΟ]Υ Π̄ΑΡ[ΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΒΕ Μ̄ΠΧΑΟΣ]
 [Ν̄ΤΑ]ρ[ε]ϋνεϋ απεϋψηρε σαβαθω

§ 62

- p.112² α σ χ ι ο γ ε ζ ο γ ς ι α ἦ τ ο ο τ ῆ | ἦ τ π ι σ τ ι ς
 α σ τ α μ ι ο ἦ ζ ἦ ν ο ς ἦ ρ ε ς ᾿ ρ ο γ ο | ε ι ν μ ἦ ἦ -
 ς ι ο γ τ η ρ ο γ α σ κ α α γ ζ ἦ τ π ε α τ ρ ο γ ᾿ ρ
- 5 ο γ ο ε ι ν ε χ ἦ π κ α ζ α γ ω σ ε χ ω κ ᾿ ε β ο λ ἦ ζ ἦ σ η μ ε ι ο ν
 ἦ χ ρ ο ν ο ς μ ἦ ζ ἦ κ α ι ρ ο ς μ ἦ | ζ ἦ ρ ῆ π ο ο γ -
 ε α γ ω ζ ἦ ἢ ε β α τ ε μ ἦ ζ ἦ ζ ο ο γ | μ ἦ ζ ἦ ο γ -
 ω η μ ἦ ζ ἦ σ ο γ σ ο γ μ ἦ π κ ε σ ε ε -
- 10 π ε | τ η ρ ῶ α γ ω ἦ τ ε ε ι ζ ε α π μ α τ η ρ ῶ ρ κ ο σ μ ε ι || ζ ι χ ἦ τ π ε
 α δ α μ ᾿ δ ε ο γ ο ε ι ν ᾿ ἦ τ α ρ ε ς ᾿ ο γ ω ω | α β ω κ ᾿ ε ζ ο γ ἦ ᾿ ε π ε ς ᾿ ο ε ι ν
 etc.

Fr. iii

fibers ↓

- 1 [- - - $\bar{\nu}\tau$]π $\bar{\iota}$ ç[τ]!ç ετ-
 άçτ $\bar{\alpha}$ νο̅ $\bar{\nu}$ ν $\bar{\iota}$ ν $\bar{\alpha}$ ς̅ $\bar{\nu}$ ο $\bar{\gamma}$ [$\alpha\epsilon$]!ν $\bar{\alpha}$ γ[ε]! [ε] $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\bar{\nu}$ -
 ç! [ο]γ τ[η]ρ \bar{o} [γ] $\bar{\alpha}$ çκωε̅ $\bar{m}\bar{m}$ [α]γ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ τπε̅ \bar{n} çε̅φ̅
 ο $\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\alpha}$ ειν̅ $\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{x}\bar{m}$ $\bar{\eta}$ ç[α]z̅ \bar{n} çε̅ειρε̅ \bar{n} z̅ \bar{n} çμ $\bar{\iota}$ ον̅
- 5 \bar{n} χρον \bar{o} ç̅ [\bar{m}] \bar{n} z̅ $\bar{\eta}$ κ $\bar{\alpha}$ ιρ[οç]̅ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ [ρ] $\bar{\mu}$ παγ-
 ειε̅ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ \bar{z} [$\bar{n}\bar{n}$]εβ $\bar{\alpha}$ τ̅ \bar{m} [\bar{n} $\bar{z}\bar{n}$]zooγ̅ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ ο $\bar{\gamma}$ -
 ψ $\bar{\alpha}$ γειε̅ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ [.] . [. . ^{4½} .] γειε̅ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{\eta}$ κ $\bar{\alpha}$ ιçε̅ [ε]-
 πε̅ τ $\bar{\eta}$ ρ $\bar{\mu}$ [.] . . . [. . . . z $\bar{\iota}$ χ] $\bar{\eta}$ [τ]πε̅ \bar{n} ταψ $\bar{\omega}$ χ[.]
 [- - -] . [.] . [.] . [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame E (front)

iii 2 τ $\bar{\alpha}$ νο̅ $\bar{\nu}$: second \bar{n} not definite, superlin. stroke restored 5 \bar{n} χρον \bar{o} ç̅ : \bar{n} not definite, superlin. stroke restored first $\bar{z}\bar{n}$: superlin. stroke is definite, \bar{n} restored 5-6 [ρ] $\bar{\mu}$ παγειε̅ : \bar{m} not definite, superlin. stroke restored 6 εβ $\bar{\alpha}$ τ̅ : extraneous ink gives false impression of εβ $\bar{\alpha}$ τ̅ 7 $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ $\bar{z}\bar{n}$: letter traces not definite, two superlin. strokes restored [.] . [. . ^{4½} .] γειε̅ : Subachmimic plural of $\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$ or its synonym

§§ 66–67

p.112²⁷

αγσωβε ἦσα παρχιγενε-

τωρ` xe αγ`|xe βολ εφχω ἦμος xe α-

νοκ` πε πνου|τε μᾶ λααγ ψοοπ` ζι ταεζη

30 ἦταρογει ψα||ροϋ` πεχαγ xe

μη παει πε πνουτε ἦταζ|τακο ἦπῆεργον

αγ`ογωψῆ πεχαγ xe | εζε` εψxe τετῆ`ογωψ

χεκας νεϋ`ψῆ | βομ ἦτακο ἦπῆεργον

ἄμheitῆ μαρῆ|ταμειο ἦογρωμε εβολ ζῆ πκαζ

etc.

Fr. iv

fibers →. The other side of Fr. iii.

α [- - - παρχιγενε]-
 1 τωρ χ[ε αχχε σ]αλ εϋχψ [ῃμας χε α]-
 νακ πε [πνοϋτε] ῃῃ δε ψο[οπ ζ]ι ταε[ζη]
 τοτε ζα[γει αζο]γν ψαραϋ παχεϋ [χε]
 μη η[εει πε πη]οϋτ[ε - - -]... [- - -]
 5 ζ . [.] .. [- - - τ]ετῃ[οϋω]-
 ψε [- - -]... [- - -]
 αμητῃ [ῃτῃτανο ῃοϋρωμε αβ]αλ ῃπκ[αζ]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame E (back)

iv 7 αμητῃ : η not definite, superlin. stroke restored ῃτῃ : μαρῃ Oeyen [- - -]
 αβ]αλ read from small ambiguous traces

§ 80

p.115^{4,5} εαϣχι μορ||φη ν̄θε ν̄νιζου-
 ze em̄n pneuma n̄zhtq` | etve peizwb n̄tare
 πνοδ ν̄αρχων | ῥ̄ πμεεγε ῃπψα-
 xe n̄tπictic aq̄p zote | mh-
 πως ν̄φι ν̄δ̄ι πρ̄μ̄με εζογν` επεϣ`|πλασμα
 ν̄q̄p χοεις εχωϣ`` etc.

Fr. iva

fibers →

1	.... ἀ[- - -]
	ζε εϛ[- - -]
	πνα [?] π[- - -]
	χε ἀ[.] . [- - -]
5	ογϛ[- - -]
	αϛ[- - -]

The following restoration is based upon Oeyen's, adjusted to the new readings of the manuscript. The fragment is so slight, and the traces so uncertain owing to surface damage, that identification of the fragment as corresponding to CG II 115:5–10 is far from certain.

1	..... ἀ[	- - - ΝΙΖΟΥ] -
	ζε ε[ΜΝ	- - -]
	πναϛ Ν[ΑΡΧΩΝ	- - - ΜΠΩΕ] -
	χε ἀ[ϛ]̄ [ΖΑΤΕ	- - - ΑΡΗ] -
5	ογ ϛ[εῙ ΝΣΙ	- - -]
	α ϛ[̄ ΧΑΕΙϛ	- - -]

§§ 90–91

p.116²⁶

ασσωβε ἦσα

τοῦγνω|μη` ας† ελαστῆ̄ ενουβαλ

ακω ἠμαγ | ἠπεσεινε ἦχιουε ατοῦῆ̄ αδαμ`

ασωκ` | εζοῦν επωην ἠτηνωσις αςω

30 ἠμαγ || ἦτοοῦ δε αγωωζ ἦσως ασοωηζ

etc.

Fr. ivb

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. iva. Several papyri are here stuck together. At some places ink traces of the various layers can be seen. The text cannot be edited in its present state.

Fr. v

fibers →. Two non-contiguous pieces, (a) and (b). There is a kollesis approximately 48 mm from the left edge of (a), stepping down from left to right, between $\bar{\mu}$ and $\pi\epsilon\zeta[\text{ινε}]$.

(a)	(b)
1 [- - -	- - -]... [- - -]
το[ΥΓ]ΝΩ[ΜΗ - - -	- - -].. [. . . .].. [- - -]
ακκωε $\bar{\mu}$ πεζ[εινε	ατοϋ] $\bar{\nu}$ ἀδὰμ [ν $\bar{\nu}$ χ]! οϋε
αϋω ἀσβω[κ αζοϋν	απω] $\bar{\eta}$ ν $\bar{\eta}$ τ[ΓΝωσι]ς ἀ[σβω]
5 $\bar{\nu}$ ζητϋ $\bar{\nu}$ [ταϋ $\bar{\nu}$ δε	αϋο]ϋαζοϋ $\bar{\nu}$ [σωσ] ἀσοϋ[ωνε]
<i>bottom margin</i>	

Fr. ivb: Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame B (back)

Fr. v: Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame A (front)

v 1] ... [indistinct traces read in infrared photograph (*penes* Layton) made Nov. 1973 4 $\bar{\eta}$ ν $\bar{\eta}$ τ read *ibid.*

§§ 96–97

p.117²⁰ χεκαας τωορπ` μαααυ | εσααπο γραϊ νζη-
 τ̄ς̄ ν̄σπερμα νιμ | εϙτηζ εϙϙαρμοσε εζοϙν` εχι-
 μαρ|μενη μ̄πκοσμοс μ̄ν̄ νεссχημα
 αυ|ω τ̄δικαιοσυνη` αυοικονομια etc.

Fr. vi

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. v, q.v. Two non-contiguous pieces, (b) and (a).

(b)	(a)
1 [. .] . [.] ΤΨ[ΔΡΠ] ΜΜ[ΕΕΥ ΕΣΑΧΠΟ ΝΖ]ΡΗΪ ΝΖΗ-	
[Τ]Ϛ ΝΣΠΕΡΜΑ [ΝΙΜ ΕΨΤΗΖ . . Σ]ΒΤΑΤϚ ΔΧΙ-	
[Μ]ΔΡΜΕΝΗ ΜΠΟ[ΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕ]ϚΧΗΜΑ	
[Δ]ΥΨ ΜΝ ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ[ΥΝΗ ΔΥΟΙΚΟΝ]ΟΜΙΑ	
<i>bottom margin</i>	

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame A (back)

vi 1]ΜΜ[read in infrared photograph (*penes* Layton) made Nov. 1973 3 reading of pap. cannot be [--- ΝΕΣ]ϚΧΗΜΑ for reason of space; prob. emend thus 4 [--- ΟΙΚΟΝ]ΟΜΙΑ : after this word there is offset from another page

§ 104

p.119⁷

αϑωψτ` εζοϋν |

ζ̄μ πψην ασναϋ εροϋ ρε νεσωϋ αϋω |

10 οϋλεζαζ πε ασμεριτϋ` ασχι εβολ ζ̄μ || πεϋ-

καρπος ασουωμ` ασ† μ̄πεσκ[ε]|ζαϊ αϋ`ουωμ`

ζωωϋ` τοτε αποϋνοϋς | ουων ἄταροϋουωμ` γαρ αποϋ-

οειν | ἄτγνωσις ῑ ουοειν ναϋ ἄταροϋ† ζω|οϋ

15 ἄπψιπε αϋειμε ρε νεϋκακαζηϋ ||

ατγνωσις ἄταροϋῑνηφε αϋναϋ εροου |

ρε σεκακαζηϋ αϋμῑρε νοϋερηϋ ἄτα|

ροϋναϋ ανοϋπλαστις εις.

Fr. vii

fibers →

1 [- - -]ζΟΥΝ
 [- - -]. εΙ
 [- - -]. πεϋ
 [- - -]ωΜ
 5 [- - -]. ποΥ
 [- - -]. χοα
 [- - -]καζηΥ
 [- - -]ραΥ
 [- - -].

Fr. viii

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. vii.

1 τΟ[- - -]
 ζ[- - -]
 ἄ[- - -]
 α[- - -]
 5 ζ[- - -]
 .. [- - -]
 . [- - -]
 ς[- - -]

The following restoration of Fr. vii, based upon Oeyen's (adjusted to the new readings of the manuscript), is very hypothetical and in some ways unsuccessful. The fragment is so slight, and the traces so uncertain owing to surface damage, that identification of the fragment as corresponding to CG II 119:7-17 is far from certain.

1 [- - - α]ζΟΥΝ
 [ζ̄Μ ΠΩΗΝ - - -]. εΙ
 [- - - αβαλ ζ̄]Μ πεϋ-
 [καρπος - - - αϋΟΥ]ωΜ
 5 [ζωϋ - - -]α ποϋ-
 [αειΝ ἄΤΓΝΩσις - - -]. χοα
 [- - - ΝΕΥΚΗ]καζηΥ
 [αΤΓΝΩσις - - - αΥΝΕΥ α]ραΥ
 [χε - - - ἄΤ]α-
 9a [ΡΟΥΝΕΥ - - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame B, Fr. vii = (front), Fr. viii = (back)

vii 2 [- - -] . : bottom of an upright stroke (e.g. τ) preceded by an ambiguous trace 3
 [- - -] . : the letter trace can be read α, η, κ (?), λ, μ, η, χ (?), or else ζ 5 [- - -] . : the
 letter trace can be read α, κ, λ, μ, χ, or else ζ; ink trace above this letter is prob. offset 6
 [- - -] . : letter trace obscured by a layer of papyrus; poss. ε

viii 1 τΟ[τε ἄε παχεύ χε - - -] Oeyen, comparing Copt. Mus. CG II 119:34 τΟτ[ε
 πεχα]Υ ἄ[τ]η χε etc.

§§ 110–111

p.120²³ ἸΤΑΡΕϞ᾽ΝΑϞ ΕΡΟΟΥ᾽ ΑϞ†ΡΑΝ᾽ ΕΝΟΥΚΤΙΣΜΑ᾽
 ΑΥΨΤΟΡΤ᾽ ΧΕ ΑϞ᾽ΡΝΗΦΕ
 25 ΕΒΟΛ || Ζ᾽Ν ΑΓΩΝΙΑ ΝΙΜ᾽ ΝΒΙ ΑΔΑΜ᾽ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ
 ΑΥ|ΧΙ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΑΜ᾽ |
 ΑϞΨΩΠΕ ἸΘΕ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ᾽ ἸΜΜΟΝ ΑΤΡΕϞ᾽|ΕΙΜΕ Ἰ-
 ΤΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ἸΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ἰ᾽ ΠΚΑ|ΚΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΜΗ-
 30 ΠΩΣ ἸΣΕ᾽ ἸΑ᾽ ἸΜΜΟϞ᾽ ἸΘΕ ||
 ἸΠΨΗΝ ἸΤΓΝΩΣΙΣ ἸϞΙ ΟΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ | ΕΠΨΗΝ᾽
 ἸΠΩΝΖ ἸϞΟΥΩΜ᾽ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤϞ᾽ etc.

Fr. ix

fibers →

1	. ε[- - -]
	τηρο[- - -]
	αδδμ[- - -]
	αζουχ[- - -]
5	αψω[- - -]
	τδ[- - -]
	ποτ[- - -]
	μπ[- - -]
	μ[- - -]

The following restoration of Fr. ix is by Oeyen, adjusted to the new readings of the manuscript. Since so little of the text is preserved it must be considered hypothetical.

1	. ε[	- - -	αϣ†	ρεν	ανουκτισμα]
	τηρο[	γ	αζουψταρτρ	χε	αϣρνηφε ν̄σι]
	αδδμ	[αβαλ	ζ̄ν	αγωνια	νιμ αζουσωουζ]	
	αζουχ[	ι	συμβουλιον	παχευ	χε εις αδδμ]
5	αψω[πε	ν̄θε	ν̄ουεει	αβαλ μ̄μαν	ατρεμ̄με ν̄]-
	τδ[	ιαφορα	μ̄πογαειν	μ̄ν	πκεκε †νου μη]-
	ποτ[ε	ν̄σερ̄	ζελ	μ̄μαϣ - - -	ν̄θε]
	μπ[ωνη	ν̄τγνωσις	ν̄χει	αν αζουγν	αψωνη]
	μ[	πωνη	- - -	- - -	- - -]

§ 134

p.124²⁷

αγω που-

α πογα | νζητου εβολ

z̄m̄ πογκαz αγωαπ` εβολ | ντουγνωσιc

30 ντεκ `κλησια νταzουωνz || εβολ z̄n̄n̄m̄π-
 λασμα m̄πτακο` αγωε ε|ροc εγ̄νταc
 cπερμα νιm̄` ετβε ν̄[c]περ|μα ν̄εzογ-
 cια νταzτω[z̄ n̄m̄μαc] το[t]ε | πcωτηρ`
 etc.

Fr. x

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. ix.

1 [- - -]ε
[- - -]ζ
[- - -].
[- - -]. ṁ
5 [- - -].
[- - -]
[- - -]. μ
[- - -]κο
[- - -].

Fr. xi

fibers →

α [- - -] αγω πογ]-
1 [εει π]οϋεει ṁζητοϋ αχογψ[ṁ]ζ αβαλ
[ṁπκα]ζ αψωλπ αβαλ ṁτεϋτ[ṁ]ψς[ι]ς
[ṁτεκκ]λησια ṁτ[αχογωνζ αβαλ] ζṁṁ ṁ[π]-
[λασμα ṁ]πτεκο [αγω ατζεΐε αραc ε]γṁτες
5 [ṁcπερ]μα nim ε[тве ṁcπερμα ṁṁ]εξοϋ-
[cια - - -] [- - -]?? [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Fr. x = Frame B (back), Fr. xi = Frame D (back)

xi 2 reading of pap. prob. cannot be [ζṁπ κα]ζ 3 ṁ : μ is definite, superlin. stroke restored

§§ 139–141

p.125¹⁷

M̄N̄ ΠΕ-

ΘΗΠ` ΕΤΟΥ|ΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ

M̄ΠΟΥC ΟΥΩΝΗ` | CΕΝΑC ΟΥΩΝΗ` ΝΔΕΙ ΔΕ

20 ΔΥΤN̄ΝΟΟΥCΕ || ΔΤΡΟΥΟΥΩΝΖ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖM̄ΠΠΕΘΗΠ` M̄N̄ |

ΤCΑΨϞΕ N̄ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ M̄ΠΧΑΟC M̄N̄

ΤΟΥ|M̄N̄ΤΑCΕΒΗC ΔΥΩ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΔΥ-

ΚΑΤΑΚΡΙ|N̄Ε M̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ N̄-

25 ΤΑΡΕ N̄ΤΕΛΕΙ|ΟC ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖN̄ M̄ΠΛΑC||M̄Α

Fr. xii

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. xi.

- α [- - - M̄N̄ ΠΕ]-
- 1 [ΘΗΠ ΕΦΝ]ΔΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑ[Λ] ΕΝ ΔΥ[ω Μ̄N̄]
 [ΡΩ]ΜΕ ΕΥΝΑΣΟΥΝΩΥ [Ε]Ν ΝΕΕΙ Ν̄[ΔΕ]
 [ΔΥΤ]Ν̄ΝΑΥΣΕ ΔΥΝ̄Ζ ΠΕΘΗΠ ΑΒΑ[Λ ΕΥ]-
 [ΩΝΖ] Ν̄Τ̄ΑΨΒΕ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΑΒΑΛ Μ̄N̄
- 5 [ΤΟΥΜ]Ν̄ΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΔΥΩ ΤΕΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ· [ΔΥ]-
 [ΡΚΑΤ]ΔΚΡ[Ι]ΝΕ Μ̄[ΜΑΥ Μ̄N̄] ΗΕΙΑΩ[Ν] Ν̄-
 [ΤΑΡΕ - - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame D (front)

xii 1 [- - - ΕΦΝ]Δ Layton 2 [ΡΩ]ΜΕ Layton 3-4 [ΕΥΩΝΖ] (i.e. ΕΥΟΥΩΝΖ) . . . ΑΒΑΛ
 Layton : [ΔΥΝΖ ΤΜ]Ν̄Τ̄ΑΨΒΕ Oeyen 6 i.e. ΠΕΙΑΩ[Ν] (poss. read thus)

Fr. xiii

fibers →

1] . [

Brit. Lib. MS. Or. 4926(1), Frame D (front)

Fr. xiv

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. xiii.

1] . . [

] . . [

Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1), Frame D (back)

Fr. xv

fibers →. The readings are confused by offset.

1 ἦ[- - -]

. [- - -]

ΤΑΡΟΥΝ[- - -]

α . α . . [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xvi

fibers ↓. Not the other side of Fr. xv, but rather a distinct fragment glued to the other side of it.

1 [- - -] ΜΝ [- - -]
 [- - -] ΠϚΑΤ [- - -]

Brit.Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (back)

Fr. xvii

fibers →. The surface of the other side has been stripped away.

1 [- - -] ΟΝ ΣΙΝ [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xviii

fibers →

1 . [- - -]
 ΠΝ . [- - -]
 ΡΕ . [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xix

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. xviii.

1 [- - -] . .
 [- - -] γϕγ
 [- - -] . γ̄M
 [- - -] εccι

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (back)

Fr. xx

fibers ↓. The surface of the other side has been stripped away.

1 [- - -] . . [- - -]
 [- - -] . . . [- - -]
 [- - -] . N̄ . [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xxi

fibers ↓. The surface of the other side has been stripped away.

1] . [
] . [

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (back)

Fr. xxii

fibers ↓. The surface of the other side has been stripped away.

1] . . [
] . [
] . [
] . [
 5] . [
] . [

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xxiii

fibers ↓. The surface of the other side has been stripped away.

1] . [
] . [
] . [
] . [



Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xxiv

fibers ↓

1 [- - -] . [- - -]
[- - -] n e [- - -]
[- - -] . [- - -]



Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xxv

fibers →. The other side of Fr. xxiv.

1 [- - -] . [- - -]
 [- - -] μ . [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (back)

Fr. xxvi

fibers ↓

1 [- - -] η . [- - -]
 [- - -] . . [- - -]
 [- - -] ε . [- - -]

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1), Frame F (front)

Fr. xxvii

fibers →. The other side of Fr. xxvi.

1] . . [

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1). Frame F (back)

Fr. s.n.

Both sides of this fragment are blank.

Brit. Lib. Or.4926(1). Frame F (bottom row, center)

TRANSLATION

Frg. i

22. . . . and bound him and cast him [into] Tartaros. ' Since that day, Sophia [the daughter of] Yaldabaoth ' has consolidated the heaven, along with the earth. '

23. Now when the heavens had consolidated themselves along with their forces ⁵ and all their administration, then ' the prime parent became insolent. And ' he boasted on account of the army of ' the angels. [And] all the gods and their ' . . . him (?) . . .

Frg. ii

25. . . . [your (pl.)] works ' the entire defect that has become visible ' [out of] the truth will be abolished, ' and it will be like what has never ' been.

26. This is what Pistis said. ⁵ And she showed (?) to the ruler her likeness in the ' waters. And she withdrew up ' to her light.

27. Now when Sabaoth the son ' of Yaldabaoth [heard] Pistis, ' he sang praises to her, and [he] . . .

Frg. iia (hypothetical restoration)

35. . . . [right has] been called justice, ' [left wickedness.] ' Now because of this [justice and wickedness] ' stand [over all their creatures.]

36. ⁵ [Thus when] the prime [parent of chaos ' saw his son Sabaoth] . . .

ii 5 (§ 26) showed (?): *the exact meaning of this Coptic verb is not certain*

Frg. iii

62. . . . Pistis, who (?) ' fashioned great lights and ' all the stars. And she put them in the sky to ' shine upon the earth and to render temporal signs ⁵ and seasons and years ' and months and days and nights ' and [moments] and so forth. ' . . . [upon the] sky . . . he . . . ' . . .

Frg. iv

66. ^α . . . [the prime] parent ' because [he had] lied when he said, ' "It is I who am [God.] No other exists before me." ' '

67. Then they gathered unto him and said, ' " [Is this] not the god . . . " ' ⁵ . . . " . . . you . . . want ' . . . ' come [let us create a man (i.e., human being)] out of [earth] . . . " '

Frg. iva (hypothetical restoration)

80. . . . [an] abortion, ' in that [no] . . . ' the chief [ruler] . . . [the] saying, ' he was [afraid] . . . lest ⁵ . . . ' . . .

Frg. ivb

(Untranslatable.)

Frg. v

90. . . . ' their decision. . . . ' (she) secretly left her [likeness with] Adam. '

91. And she entered [the] tree of [acquaintance (*gnōsis*) and [remained] ⁵ in it. [And they] pursued [her], and she revealed . . .

iii 1 (§ 62) who (?): *text damaged*

iva (§ 80): *so few letters survive that the identification of this fragment is uncertain*

Frg. vi

96. . . . the first mother [might bear] within ' her [every] seed, [being mixed and . . .] . . . to the ' fate of their [universe] and [the] configurations, ' and to Justice.

97. [A] prearranged plan (*oikonomia*) . . .

Frg. vii (doubtful restoration)

104. . . . at ' [the tree] . . . ' . . . of its ' [fruit] . . . ate ⁵ . . . the [light ' of acquaintance (*gnōsis*)] . . . ' . . . [they were] naked ' [of acquaintance (*gnōsis*) . . . they saw] that they ' . . . [When they ^{9a} saw] . . .

Frg. viii

(Untranslatable.)

Frg. ix (hypothetical restoration)

110. . . . [he gave names to] all [their creatures]. '

111. [They became troubled because] Adam [had recovered ' from all the trials. They assembled] ' and laid [plans, and they said, "Behold Adam!"] ⁵ He has come to be [like one of us, so that he knows] ' the [difference between the light and the darkness. Now] perhaps ' [he will be deceived . . . as in the case] ' of the [tree of acquaintance (*gnōsis*) and also will come to the tree] ' of [life] . . .

vi 3 (§ 96) [the] configurations: *there is not room in the lacuna for [their] configurations*
 vii (§ 104): *so few letters survive that the identification of this fragment is uncertain; furthermore, the proposed restoration is not entirely successful because some letters remain unaccounted for*

ix (§§ 110–111): *so few letters survive that the identification of this fragment is uncertain*

Frg. x

(Untranslatable.)

Frg. xi

134. ^α . . . [And each] ' one of them appeared ' [on earth] and revealed his (kind of) acquaintance (*gnōsis*) ' [to the visible] church constituted of the ' [modelled forms (*plasmata*) of] perdition. [And it (viz., the church) was found to] contain ⁵ all kinds of seed, [because of the seed of the] authorities ' . . .

Frg. xii

139. ^α . . . [There is nothing (*or*, no one) ' hidden that] will not become apparent, and [there is no] ' person who will not be recognized.

140. [And] these ' [were] sent to make known what is hidden, [making ' known] the seven authorities and ⁵ [their] impiety. And thus [they ' were condemned [along with] this age (aeon). '

141. [. . . when] . . .

Fragments xiii-xxvii

(Untranslatable.)

TRACTATE 6

THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL

INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM C. ROBINSON, JR.

1. The *Expository Treatise on the Soul*¹ (*ExSoul*) is an anonymous treatise in the form of an exhortation to otherworldliness, using narrative, paraenesis, and proof texts. It must have been composed in Greek, perhaps as early as A.D. 200. No trace of the original Greek text survives, except for the present Coptic translation. The place of composition has not been ascertained.

Two narrative episodes tell of the soul's fall from the presence of the heavenly father into this life, where she is violated, degraded, and abandoned. She bears deformed children, weeps at her desolation, and prays to the father. Heeding her prayer the father restores her to her original state, and from heaven sends her bridegroom and brother with whom she is reunited in spiritual marriage. For this marriage she is reborn in youthfulness, and in union with the heavenly bridegroom she ascends back to the father. Biblical and Homeric proof texts are adduced (attached to catchwords), a chain of Old and New Testament quotations characterizes life in this world as prostitution, and the treatise concludes with an exhortation to repentance.

2. **GENRE, PURPOSE.** *ExSoul* exemplifies no distinct literary type. It treats topics which were discussed in philosophical treatises on the soul starting in the second century A.D. (the nature of the soul, her incarnation, her lot in this life, eschatology), and follows in part a typical Platonic outline found also in various Hermetic and pagan Gnostic systems. For a clear statement of this outline cf. Plotinus 6.9.9. Nevertheless *ExSoul* is neither philosophical argument nor sketch nor pure myth nor even novella, despite its story of risk and disaster and a happy ending of reunited lovers. Its aim, which becomes apparent not only in the closing exhortation but also in the paraenetic sections of the narrative, is exhortation to otherworldliness.

3. **ARRANGEMENT.** The work divides into a narrative, followed by an exhortation, and then a recapitulation (in two parts) which focuses upon the theme of repentance. Apart from quotations of the bible and Homer,

¹ Also known as *Exegesis on the Soul*.

the literary components easiest to identify are narrative, exhortation (135:4 to the end), and a self-contained exegetical composition on the prostitution of the soul (129:5–131:13). There are also exegetical glosses to the quotations (130:20–28; 133:3–9, 20–28), hortatory comments (128:20–26; 130:31–131:2), didactic comparisons and definitions (131:22–27, 31–34 [?]; 131:34–132:2, 27–35; 134:4–6, 11–15, 28–34), gnomic sentences (135:21–22, 25–29; 136:21–22, 25–27), narrative links (132:10–12, 15–17; 133:11–13, cf. 128; 131:13–16), and two summaries near the end (137:5–11 and 11–15).

The guiding concepts of the composition are evident in (1) gnomic sentences in the hortatory conclusion (“The beginning of salvation is repentance. . . . And repentance takes place in distress and grief. But the father is good and loves humanity, and he hears the soul that calls upon him and sends it the light of salvation”); (2) various expressions which recur throughout the composition: sigh and repent, weep, mourn; suffering, affliction, distress, and defilement to designate the soul’s bodily existence; and (3) two concluding summaries, one patterned on Homer’s Helen, the other on the biblical Exodus from Egypt, which also denigrate earthly existence and predicate deliverance on sighing and repenting. The first part of the narrative aims to show that the reality of earthly existence is indeed suffering and defilement and that those who recognize it for what it is (cf. 131:13–22) weep and repent. By showing that God is merciful and graciously heeds the penitent’s prayer, the narrative itself—and not just the hortatory conclusion—encourages the readers to repent.

4. CONTENTS AND OVERALL UNITY. Despite overall compositional unity the narrative motifs are not wholly coherent. The story begins, after prefatory remarks (127:18–21), with a general statement on the soul’s preexistence and fall (127:21–27). In contrast to her preexistent asexual state (virginity and androgyny), the soul’s earthly state is characterized by sexual identity (female or male); thus sexuality in itself is the soul’s plight; deliverance would entail restoration of the original state of asexuality. Such, in general, is the tenor of the second part of the narrative (from 132:2 on): yet in the first part of the narrative the soul’s plight is not described as sexuality itself, but as the state of sexual violation. She is raped, prostituted, defiled, abandoned, and corrupted—she finally defiles herself in promiscuity. The first narrative episode leaves no doubt that suffering is her lot on earth, and yet what she confesses in her prayer is not the narrated defilement but the abandonment of her pristine state (“I abandoned my house and fled from my maiden’s quarters. Restore me to thyself again”). And the same seems implied in the father’s response: he “will have mercy on her, and he will make her womb turn from the external domain and will turn it again inward, so that the soul

will regain her proper character.” Here, as in the opening generalization, her plight is sexuality, which compared with a nonsexual androgynous state is an inferior mode of existence.

The second narrative episode, the love story which begins at 132:2 (132:2–10, 13–15, 18–27; 133:10–11, 14–15, 31–134:3, 8–11, 25–28), does not follow from what preceded. The first narrative section neither requires a sequel, having reached its resolution with the implication that the father has answered the soul’s prayer (128:26–129:5) and restored her to her original state (131:13–132:2), nor does it imply the love story which follows. (Since it may be assumed that cleansing preparatory to the wedding was part of the ceremony—like perfuming the bridal chamber and waiting there for the bridegroom [132:13–15]—the cleansing motif is inherent in the wedding story and hence not motivated by the defilements of the first narrative episode, despite narrative links in the second episode which make that connection.) Instead of being set in motion by the preceding narrative, the wedding story seems to originate in theory, in the doctrine of deficiency as the mark of this earthly life: “But since she is female, by herself she is powerless to beget a child. From heaven the father sent her her man, who is her brother, the firstborn” (132:6–9).

5. USE OF QUOTATIONS. The argument is sanctioned by quotations from scripture, biblical and Homeric. They occur in two blocks, one in each of the narrative episodes, and are interspersed throughout the concluding exhortation. At the end of the narrative, Psalm 102 (LXX) is quoted to support assertions about the soul’s resurrection, rejuvenation, and ransom, and John 6:44 certifies that the happy outcome is indeed the father’s gracious doing.

As probably in the case of the love story, the quotations may have had a literary history prior to their use in *ExSoul*. It has been shown that florilegia on themes found in *ExSoul* existed at the presumed time of composition and that some of them contained quotations which also occur in *ExSoul*. But the attempt to demonstrate that *ExSoul* actually used such florilegia has not succeeded; it has not been shown that two or more quotations in a given context in *ExSoul* also occur together in any identifiable florilegium. Yet even without strict demonstration, it seems quite likely that these quotations were not all excerpted specifically for the composition of this one work. The first and last quotations in the hortatory section—the beatitude on those who mourn and weep and Psalm 6—were treated together in Origen’s commentary on Psalm 6, where he, as in *ExSoul*, referred the groaning and weeping of Psalm 6 to Israel’s suffering under oppression in Egypt. Psalm 102 (LXX) was connected with rejuvenation and resurrection in the myth of the phoenix, and in *ExSoul* the

quotation concludes with the words, "Your youth will be renewed like an eagle's."

The most complicated and most interesting use of quotations occurs in the second narrative episode. First of all, the block of quotations (133:1–31), which interrupts the story, is itself interrupted by part of the story—the recognition scene (133:10–11) and the account of the soul's self-adornment (133:14–15), motifs which connect the preceding narrative with that which follows the block of quotations. The most interesting aspect of the composition here is that an exegetical gloss (133:3–9)—a reference to what stands in Genesis between the two statements quoted by *ExSoul* (Gen 2:24 and 3:16)—supplies what a reader might have inferred but what the narrative had not told, viz., that the marriage is to reunite and so to reconstitute a syzygy. (The gloss has other allusions to the Genesis story incompatible with the narrative in *ExSoul*; viz., that "the woman led astray the man" and that originally "they were with the father"—while in the *mise-en-scène* the soul was "alone with the father," even though androgynous.) Here we see a narrative that is otherwise uninfluenced by the Genesis account skillfully augmented from it.

Furthermore, this block of quotations introduces motifs which digress from the narrative frame in which it is set: the soul's "true master" (in the two glosses [133:3–9, 20–28]; cf. her "master" in the quotations from Gen 3:16 and Psalm 44 [LXX]) and the soul's forgetting the house of her earthly father and "turning her face from her people and the multitude of her adulterers" (Psalm 44 [LXX] and the second gloss). But what here stands in tension with its immediate narrative context helps unite the whole of *ExSoul*; in the first narrative episode the soul had turned her face from the adulterers only to run to others who treated her "as if they were her masters" and whom she dared not leave (128:7–13). Not only is the past nullified, in that in union with her true master she finally turns her face from the false masters, but this section also suggests what is to come, the soul's departure from earth by ascending to her father who is in heaven. It is primarily within this block of quotations that the diverse components of *ExSoul* are tied together.

6. EDITORIAL HISTORY. There is disagreement on how *ExSoul* was composed, ranging from the view that the quotations stood first in the process, furnishing both concepts and materials for the treatise, to considering them as final additions to a prior composition. The question is inherently difficult: proof texts are by definition both foreign and fitted to their contexts. Hence from one view point it can be argued that the quotations are removable and therefore secondary; while from another it is possible to stress their aptness, as an argument that the whole work was composed in a single effort. Both kinds of argumentation beg the question. In

fact the quotations are set alongside the narrative but not fused with it—they do not affect the context—and therefore seem to be later additions to a previous composition comprising narrative and exhortation. But even granting this, it would still remain unclear whether such a previous composition had been used directly in written form or from memory of written or oral presentations. Some of the data seem better explained by assuming a written model: unresolved differences in vocabulary and nuance remain; the narrative seems to have maintained its integrity both from fusion with the quotation and—in matters of some importance (e.g., 133:3–9)—against assimilation to the editing; and identifiable parts of the narrative survive in the midst of complex editing at 133:10–11, 14–15.

7. AFFILIATIONS WITH OTHER TEXTS. *ExSoul* has points of contact with several other works of the Nag Hammadi collection. The *Authoritative Teaching* (VI,3) speaks of the spiritual soul being thrown down into a body, where involvement in the desires and vanities of this life causes her to forget her brothers and her father. Then coming to despise this transitory life, she strips off this world and puts on bridal clothing; she reclines in the bridal chamber; her bridegroom brings her the word and gives it to her as food which enables the eyes of her mind to know her origins in order that she might leave matter behind and receive what is hers. *The Gospel According to Philip*² connects salvation and the bridal chamber. Like *ExSoul*, the *Gospel According to Philip* and the *Gospel According to Thomas*³ reflect the androgyne myth. Similarities have also been noticed between *ExSoul* and the Naasenes, the *Sophia Salvanda* form of Valentinianism, Simonian Gnosticism, and the Wisdom myth.

ExSoul is important in that it reflects a simple form of the androgyne myth without any anti-Jewish aspects; in its treatment of Helen and thus what it may contribute towards an understanding of Simonian Gnosticism; and in furnishing an instance of the image used in Eph 5:22–23 (bridegroom who saves the bride) which may be independent of the passage in Ephesians (the bridegroom as “brother” of the bride [132:8; 133:5–6; 134:27] is not derived from the Christian image of the church as the bride of Christ, and if “who is her brother” is not a secondary addition in *ExSoul*, then *ExSoul* documents the existence of the figure apart from its use in Ephesians).

The text of *ExSoul* is well transmitted and survives in a relatively good state of preservation.

² Edited in volume I.

³ Edited in volume I.

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THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 127¹⁸

ΤΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ |

20 ΑΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΤΨΟΟΡ ΖΙ ΤἼΝΕΞΗ ΑΥ† Ο||ΝΟΜΑCΙΑ ΕΤΨΥΧΗ ἼΝΟΥΡΑΝ Ἴ-
CΖΙΜΕ | ΟΝΤΩC ΟΝ ΖἼ ΤΕCΦΥCΙC ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ | ΟΥἼΤΑC ἸΜΜΑΥ
ΖΩΩC ἸΤΕCΜΗΤΡΑ

 ΖΕΩC | ΜΕΝ ΕCΨΟΟΡ` ΟΥΑΑΤḶ ΖΑΖΤḶ ΠΕΙΩΤ` | ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
25 ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΖΟΥΤCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ || ΖḶ ΠΕCΕΙΝΕ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕCΨΑΝΖΑΕΙΕ
| ΕΠΙΤἼ ΕCΩΜΑ ἸCΙ ΕΠΕΕΙΒΙΟC ΤΟΤΕ ΑC|ΖΑΕΙΕ ΑΤΟΟΤΟΥ ἸΖΑΖ Ἰ-
ΛΗCΤΗC ΑΥΩ Ἰ|ΖΥΒ[ΡΙ]CΤΗC ΑΥΝΟΧC ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ | ΑΥ[. . . .

30 ]ΟC ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΧΡΩ || ΝΑC Ζ[ἸΝΟΥΒΙ]Ḷ ΖἸΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ
ΕΥΠΕΙΘΕ | ἸΜΜΟC ΖἼ [Ο]ΥΑΠΑΤΗ ἸΔΩΡ[Ο]Ν ΖΑΡΑΞ | ΖΑΠΛΩC ΑΥ-
*p. 128¹ ΧΟΖΜḶ ΑC[. . . . ΤΕCΜἸ]Τ`*ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC

 ΑΥΩ ΑCΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΖḶ ΠΕC|CΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑCΤΑΑC ἸΤΟΟΤḶ` ΟΥΟΝ
ΝΙΜ` | ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤCΑΒΟΛΧḶ ἸΜΜΟḶ` ΕCΜΕΕΥΕ | ΧΕ ΠΕCΖΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΖΟ-
5 ΠΟΤΕ ἸΤΑCΤΑΑC Ἰ||ΤΟΟΤΟΥ ἸΖἸΜΟΙΧΟC ἸΖΥΒΙCΤΗC ἸΑ|ΠΙCΤΟC
ΑΤΡΟΥΡΧΡΩ ΝΑC ΤΟΤΕ ΑCΑΨ ΕΖΟΜ` | ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΑCΜΕΤΑ-
ΝΟΕΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕCΨΑ(Ν)ΚΤΕ ΠΕCΖΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΕΕΙΜΟΙΧΟC ΨΑCΠΩΤ |
10 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖἸΚΟΟΥΕ ἸCΕΡΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ ἸΜΜΟC || ΑΤΡΕCΨΩΠΕ ἸΜΜΑΥ ἸCḶ

AUXILIARY NOTES

127:19 Sah. za TENZH. 20 i.e. ἸΟΥΡΑΝ.
26 i.e. ἸCει. 28 Sah. ἸΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ. 30 i.e. ΖἼ ΟΥΒΙΑ.
128:2 i.e. ἸΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ. 3 Sah. ΠΕΤCΝΑΒΟΛΧḶ.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

127:22 ΖΕΩC : prob. for ἸώC οὐ` : cf. Layton 26 ε<π>CΩΜΑ Hedda Bethge ("in (den) Leib'") 29 ΑΥ[ω ΑΥΧΩΖḶ ἸΜ]ΟC Krause 30 Ζ[ἸΝΟΥΒΙ]Ḷ Layton, sim. Krause 32 [ἸἸ]Τ` : or else [Ἰ]Ἰ[Τ]` poss. [ΤΕΚΟ ἸΤΕCΜἸ]Τ` (Polotsky)
128:4 poss. ἸΤΑ<ΡΕ>C : cf. Layton

THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM C. ROBINSON, JR.

Expository Treatise on the Soul'

p. 127¹⁸

Wise men of old gave ²⁰ the soul a feminine name. ' Indeed she is female in her nature as well. ' She even has her womb.

As long as ' she was alone with the father, ' she was virgin and in form androgynous. ²⁵ But when she fell ' down into a body and came to this life, then she ' fell into the hands of many robbers. And ' the wanton creatures passed her from one to another ' and [. . .] her. Some made use of ³⁰ her [by force], while others did so by seducing ' her with a gift. In short, ' they defiled her, and she [. . . her] **128** virginity.

And in her body she prostituted herself ' and gave herself to one and all, ' considering each one she was about to embrace ' to be her husband. When she had given herself ⁵ to wanton, unfaithful adulterers, ' so that they might make use of her, then she sighed ' deeply and repented. But even when she ' turns her face from those adulterers, she runs ' to others and they compel her ¹⁰ to live with them and

ζμζάλ ναγ` | νθε ννχοεις ζιχν πογμα νγκοτκ` | εβολ δε μπι-
 πε ουκετι μαστολμα | εκααυ νσως ντοου δε ψαγαπατα μ|μοc
 15 ννογνος νχρονος νθε ννιζα||ει ετνζοτ νρμμμε ζωc εψχε ευτιμα
 | μμοc εματε αυω θζαν νναει τηρω | ψαγκαας νσωου νσεωκ
 ντος δε ψαρεσψωπε νχηρα νζηκε νερημοc` | εμνταc βοηθεια
 20 μμαγ ουδε ψαγμα||αχε μντα[[q]c] εβολ ζμ πεcμκαζ μ-
 πεcβν ζηγ γαρ αλααυ ντοοτοου ει μη|τι ανχωζμ νταυτααυ ναc ζμ
 πτρουρ|κοινωνει νμμαc αυω νενταc χπο|ου εβολ ζν νμοιχοc
 25 νκωφοc νε αυ||ω ζνβλλααυ νε αυω ceο νρμνλαχ|-
 λεχ` πογζητ` ποψc

ζοταν δε ερψα(ν) | πειωτ` ετμπca ντπε δμ πεcψινε ν|ψωψτ`
 30 επιτν εχωc νqναυ εροc εce|ψ εζομ μν νεcπαθοc μν ταcχημο|-
 cυνη αυω εcμετανοει εχν τεcπορ|νεια νταcaac αυω νcαρχει ν-
 νρε|πικαλει (νρεπικαλει) εζρα ι επ|εφ]αν | ατρεφβονθει ναc ε[
 35 π]εcζητ` τηρ` εcχω μμο[
 *p. 129¹ εcχε μα]το|υχο||ει παειωτ` χε
 ειcζηηε †να† λογοc | [νακ χε αζικω] νcωει μπανει αυω` *
 αζιπωτ` εβολ μπαπαρ`θενων παλι(ν) | τκτοει ψαροκ` ζο-
 5 ταν εψωανναυ εροc | εcψοοπ` μπεειcμοτ` τοτε qναρ|κρινε | αac
 ναζιοc ατρεqνα ναc χε ναψε μμοκζc|| νταζι εχωc χε ακω μ-
 πεcνει νσωc

εχν | τιπορνια δε ντψυχη qπροφητεγε ν|ζαζ μμα νβι πεπνα
 ετογααβ πεχαq` | γαρ ζν ιερημιαc πεπροφηηc χε

10 ζοτα(ν) | ερψα πζαει τογειε τεqζιμε αυω νc]- Jer 3:1→
 βωκ` νcχι κεογα μη cνακοτc εροq χιν | τε-

11 Sah. πεγμα. νγκοτκ : i.e. ννκοτκ. 14 i.e. νογνος. 16 i.e. νθαν.
 19 i.e. ψα ουμααχε (Crum 213a). 24 i.e. ζνκωφοc νε. 26 Sah. πεγζητ.
 31 i.e. νρεπικαλει. 129:4 i.e. ααc, Sah. εααc (Schenke emends thus). 5 Sah. ν-
 ταγει.

11 νθε ννι is expected 20 [[q]] : copyist wrote and then cancelled a false start of q for
 the construction cf. Layton 72-73 22 ανχωζμ : ν added above the line 26
 <ε>πογζητ Hedda Bethge ('(insofern als ihr Verstand verwirrt ist')
 29 poss. emend to τ<ε>cαcχημοcυνη 32 π[εφ]αν Krause 33 ε[ceψ εζομ ζμ
 π]εc Krause : ε[ψαλ ναq μπ]εc W. Robinson 34 rest. Krause 36 rest. Krause

render service to them ' upon their bed, as if they were her masters. ' Out of shame she no longer dares ' to leave them, whereas they deceive ' her for a long time, pretending to be faithful, true husbands, ¹⁵ as if they greatly respected ' her. And after all this ' they abandon her and go.

She then ' becomes a poor desolate widow, ' without help; not even a measure of food ²⁰ was left her from the time of her affliction. ' For from them she gained nothing except ' the defilements they gave her while they had ' sexual intercourse with her. And her offspring ' by the adulterers are dumb, ²⁵ blind, and sickly. ' They are feebleminded.

But when ' the father who is above visits her ' and looks down upon her and sees her ' sighing—with her sufferings and disgrace ³⁰—and repenting of the prostitution ' in which she engaged, and when she begins to call ' upon [his name] ' so that he might help her, [. . .] all ' her heart, saying, “Save ³⁵ me, my father, for behold I will render an account ' [to thee, for I abandoned] my house and **129** fled from my maiden’s quarters. ' Restore me to thyself again” —when he sees her ' in such a state, then he will count ' her worthy of his mercy upon her, for many are the afflictions ⁵ that have come upon her because she abandoned her house.

Now concerning ' the prostitution of the soul the holy spirit prophesies in ' many places. For he said ' in the prophet Jeremiah (3:1–4 LXX),

If ' the husband divorces his wife and she ¹⁰ goes
and takes another man, can she return to him after '
that?

ΝΟΥ ΜΗ ΖἼ ΟΥ ΧΩΖΜ` Μ̄ΠΕΣΧΩΖΜ` | Ἰ̄ΒΙ
 ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ Ἰ̄ΤΟ ΑΡΕΠΟΡ|ΝΕΥΕ Μ̄Ν
 ΖΑΖ Ἰ̄ΨΩC ΑΥΩ ΑΡΕΚΟΤΕ ΨΑ|ΡΟΕΙ ΠΕ-
 15 ΧΑϞ` Ἰ̄ΒΙ ΠΧΟΕΙC ϞΙ Ἰ̄ΝΕΒΑΛ` ΕΖ||ΡΑΪ
 ΕΠCΟΟΥΤἸ ΑΥΩ Ἰ̄ΤΕΝΑΥ ΧΕ Ἰ̄ΤΑΖΕ|ΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ
 ΤΩΝ ΜΗ ΝΕΡΕΖΜΟΟC ΑΝ ΖἼ ΝΕ|ΖΙΗ ΕΡΕΧΩΖΜ
 Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ ΖἼ ΝΕΠΟΡΝΙΑ | Μ̄Ν ΝΕΚΑΚΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΡΕ-
 20 ΧΙ ΖΑΖ Ἰ̄ΨΩC ΕΥ|ΧΡΟΠ` ΝΕ ΑΡΕΨΩΠΕ Ἰ̄ΑΤ`-
 ΨΙΠΕ Μ̄Ν ΟΥ||ΟΝ ΝΙΜ` Μ̄ΠΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΡΟΕΙ ΖΩC | Ρ̄Μ̄ΝΗΕΙ` Η ΖΩC ΕΙΩΤ` Η ΑΡΧΗΓΟC Ἰ̄-
 ΤΕ|Μ̄ΝΤ̄ΠΑΡΕΕΝΟC

ΠΑΛΙΝ` ϞCΗΖ ΖἼ ΩCΗΕ | ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΧΕ

ΑΜΗΕΙΤἸ ΧΙ ΖΑΠ` ΜΝ | ΤΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΑΥ ΧΕ
 25 CΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΕΙ ΑΝ Ἰ̄ΖΙ||ΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ` †ΝΑ-
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑC ΑΝ Ἰ̄ΖΑ|ΕΙ †ΝΑϞΙ Ἰ̄ΤΕCΠΟΡΝΙΑ Μ̄-
 ΜΑΥ Μ̄ΠΑΜ̄ΤΟ | ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ †ΝΑϞΙ Ἰ̄ΤΕCΜΟΙ-
 ΧΕΙΑ ΖἼ | ΤΜΗΤΕ Ἰ̄ΝΕCΚΙΒΕ †ΝΑΚΑΑC ΕCΚΑ-
 30 ΚΑ|ΖΗΥ Ἰ̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΦΟΟΥ Ἰ̄ΤΑΥ ΧΠΟC Μ̄ΜΟϞ ΑΥ||Ω
 †[Ν]ΔΑC Ἰ̄ΡΗΜΟC Ἰ̄ΘΕ Ἰ̄ΟΥΚΑΖ ΕΜ̄ | Μ[ΟΟΥ Ἰ̄-
 ΖΗΤϞ Α]ΥΩ †ΝΑΑC Ἰ̄ΑΤΨΗΡΕ | ΖἼΝΟ[ΥΕΙ-
 ΒΕ †]ΝΑΝΑ ΑΝ Ἰ̄ΝΕCΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ | ΖἼΨΗΡΕ
 [Ν]Ε Μ̄ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ ΧΕ ᾹΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ | Ρ̄ΠΟΡΝΕΥ-
 *p. 130^l Ε ΑΥΩ ΑC† Ψ[ΙΠΕ Ἰ̄ΝΕCΨ]ΗΡ[Ε] * ΧΕ
 † ΑCΧΟΟΥ ΧΕ †ΝΑΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤ`|ΜΕ

Hos 2:4-9
(LXX)

15 i.e. Ἰ̄ΤΑΡΕ-.

30-31 i.e. †ΝΑΑΑC ... †ΝΑΑΑC. 32 i.e. ΖἼ ΟΥΕΙΒΕ. 33 Sah. ΑΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ.

129:24 ΑΝ : Ν added above the line 30-31 rest. Krause : cf. ΟΥΚΑΖ Ἰ̄ΑΤΜΑΥ Hos 2:5 Achmimic (2:3, ed. Till) 31-32 rest. Schenke, Krause : without exact parallel, but cf. Hos 2:5 ἀποκτενῶ αὐτήν ἐν δίσπει, †ΝΑΜΑΥΤC ΕἸ ΟΥΕΙΒΕ Achmimic (2:3, ed. Till) 33 Ἰ̄ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ : Μ definite, superl̄in. stroke restored 34 rest. Krause : without exact parallel, but cf. Hos 2:7 κατήσχυεν ἡ τεκούσα αὐτά, †[ΕΤΑ]CΜΕC†[Ω]ΟΥ Ᾱ[CΧΙ] ΨΙΠΕ Achmimic (2:5, ed. Till) 130:1 † ΑCΧΟΟΥ : emend to ΑCΧΟΟC (thus Krause)

Has not that woman utterly ' defiled herself?
 ‘‘And you (sg.) ' prostituted yourself to many
 shepherds and you returned ' to me!’’ said the
 lord. ‘‘Take an honest ¹⁵ look and see where you '
 prostituted yourself. Were you not sitting in the '
 streets defiling the land with your acts of prostitu-
 tion ' and your vices? And you took many
 shepherds for a ' stumbling block for yourself.
 You became shameless ²⁰ with everyone. You did
 not call on me as ' kinsman or as father or author of
 your ' virginity.’’

Again it is written in the prophet Hosea (2:4–9 LXX = 2:2–7 MT), '

Come, go to law with ' your (pl.) mother, for she
 is not to be a wife to me ²⁵ nor I a husband to her. '
 I shall remove her prostitution from my presence, '
 and I shall remove her adultery from ' between her
 breasts. I shall make her naked ' as on the day she
 was born, and ³⁰ I [shall] make her desolate like a
 land without ' [water], and I shall make her [long-
 ingly] childless. ' [I] shall show her children no
 pity, for ' they are children of prostitution, since
 their mother ' prostituted herself and [put her chil-
 dren to shame]. **130** For she said, ‘‘I shall prosti-
 tute myself to ' my lovers.

129:14–15 *literally*, Lift up your eyes towards uprightness and see . . .

129:31 *literally*, I shall make her childless with [a thirst]

5 ΜΜΟΕΙ ΝΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΝΕΥ† ΝΑΕΙ Μ̄ΠΑ|ΟΕΙΚ` Μ̄
 ΠΑΜΟΟΥ Μ̄ ΝΑΨΤΗΝ` Μ̄ ΝΑ|ΖΒΟΟΣ Μ̄ ΠΑΗΡΠ`
 10 Μ̄ ΠΑΝΗΖ Μ̄ ΖΩΒ` || ΝΙΜ ΕΤ̄Ρ ΨΑΥ ΝΑΕΙ ΔΙΑ
 ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ | ΑΝΟΚ` †ΝΑΨΤΑΜ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΧΕ
 ΝΕCΨΔ̄Μ | ΔΟΜ` Μ̄ΠΩΤ` Ν̄CΑ ΝΕCΝΟΕΙΚ` ΑΥΩ
 15 ΕCΨΑ|ΨΙΝΕ Ν̄CΩΟΥ Ν̄CΤ̄Μ̄C̄Ν̄ΤΟΥ CΝΑΧΟΟΣ | ΧΕ
 †ΝΑΚΟΤ` ΕΠΑΖΑΕΙ ΧΙΝ ΨΟΡΠ` ΧΕ ΝΕ||ΕΙΡ̄
 ΨΑΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ ΑΤΕ|ΝΟΥ

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΠΕΧΑΨ` Ζ̄Ν ΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΧΕ

15 ΔC|ΨΩΠΕ Μ̄Ν̄CΑ ΖΑΖ Ν̄ΚΑΚΙΑ` ΠΕΧΑΨ Ν̄CΙ |
 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΕ ΑΡΕΚΩΤ ΝΕ Ν̄ΟΥΠΟΡΝΙΟΝ | ΑΥΩ
 ΑΡΕΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΝΕ Ν̄ΟΥΤΟΠΟC Ν̄CΑΕ||Ε Ζ̄Ν Ν̄ΠΛΑ-
 ΤΕΑ` ΑΥΩ ΑΡΕΚΩΤ` ΝΕ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν|ΠΟΡΝΙΟΝ ΖΙ ΖΙΗ
 20 ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΑΡΕΤΕΚΟ Ν̄|ΤΕΜ̄Ν̄ΤCΑΕΙΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΡΕCΩΤ` Ν̄ΝΕΥΕΡΗΤΕ | ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧ̄Ν ΖΙΗ
 ΝΙΜ` ΑΥΩ ΑΡΕΤΑΨΟ Ν̄ΤΕΠΟΡ|ΝΙΑ ΑΡΕ-
 25 ΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ Μ̄ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΚΗΜΕ || ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΟ Ν̄ΤΕΨΕ
 ΝΑ ΝΑ ΝΙΝΟC Ν̄CΑΡ̄Ζ`

Ez 16:23-9

25 ΝΙΜ | ΔΕ ΝΕ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΚΗΜΕ ΝΑ ΝΙΝΟC Ν̄CΑΡ̄Ζ | ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ΔΑΝCΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ ΑΥΩ
 Ν̄ΑΙCΘ̄ΝΤΟΝ | Μ̄ Ν̄ΖΒΗΥΕ Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ ΝΑΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑ ΤΨΥΧΗ | ΧΩΖ̄Μ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ Ν̄-
 30 ΝΕΕΙΜΑ ΕCΧΙ ΟΕΙΚ` Ν̄||ΤΟΟΥΤΟΥ ΕCΧΙ ΗΡΠ` ΕCΧΙ ΝΕΖ ΕCΧΙ ΖΒΟ|ΟC ΑΥΩ
 ΤΚΕΦΛΟΙΑΡΙΑ ΕΤ̄Μ̄CΑ ΝΒΟΛ | Μ̄ΠΚΩΤΕ Μ̄ΠCΩΜΑ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤCΜΕΕΥΕ | ΧΕ
 CΕΡ̄ ΨΑΥ ΝΑC
 30 ΤΕΕΙΠΟΡΝΙΑ ΔΕ ΑΝΑ|ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC Μ̄ΠCΩΤΗΡ ΠΑΡΑΓ`ΓΕΙΛΕ ΧΕ ||

ΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΡΟC ΤΟΥΒΕ ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΡΟC |

130:2 i.e. ενευ†.

20 Sah. ἡτέψε νε (Quecke emends thus, with hesitation).

24 Sah. ἡπειμα.

2 ΝΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ <ε>ΝΕΥ† Hedda Bethge ("jenen, (die) mir . . . gaben")

20 {ΝΑ} ΝΙΝΟC Nagel

It was they who gave me my ' bread and my water and my garments and my ' clothes and my wine and my oil and everything ⁵ I needed." Therefore behold ' I shall shut them up so that she shall not be able ' to run after her adulterers. And when she ' seeks them and does not find them, she will say, ' "I shall return to my former husband, for ¹⁰ in those days I was better off than now." '

Again he said in Ezekiel (16:23–26 LXX), '

It came to pass after much depravity, said ' the lord, you built yourself a brothel ' and you made yourself a beautiful place ¹⁵ in the streets. And you built yourself ' brothels on every lane, and you wasted ' your beauty, and you spread your legs ' in every alley, and you multiplied your acts of prostitution. ' You prostituted yourself to the sons of Egypt, ²⁰ those who are your neighbors, men great of flesh.

But what ' does "the sons of Egypt, men great of flesh" mean ' if not the domain of the flesh and the perceptible realm ' and the affairs of the earth, by which the soul ' has become defiled here, receiving bread from ²⁵ them, as well as wine, oil, clothing, ' and the other external nonsense ' surrounding the body—the things she thinks ' she needs.

But as to this prostitution the ' apostles of the savior commanded (cf. Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25; 1 Thess 4:3; 1 Cor 6:18; 2 Cor 7:1), ³⁰

Guard yourselves against it, purify yourselves from it '

35 ΕΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ ΟΥΑΔΤΣ ΔΝ Μ̄ΠCΩ|ΜΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑ ΤΨΥΧΗΝ̄-
 ΖΟΥΟ ΕΤ[ΒΕ Π]ΔΕΙ | Ν̄ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΥCΖ[ΔΪ Ν̄Ν̄ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ] Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 *p. 131¹ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΝΟC | [Ν̄ΑΓΩΝ ΕΨ]ΟΟΠ̄ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΟΡΝΑ * Ν̄ΤΨΥΧΗ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄ΖΗΤC ΨΑΡΕ ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ Μ̄ΠΚΕCΩΜΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΨ-
 CΖΑΪ Ν̄ΓΚΟΡΙΘΙΟC ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ

5 ΔΕΙCΖΑΪ ΝΗ|Τ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΧΕ Μ̄ΠΡ̄ΤΩC Μ̄Ν I Cor 5
 ΠΟΡ||ΝΟC ΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΩC Μ̄ΠΡ̄ΝΟC Μ̄ΠΕΕΙΚΟC|ΜΟC Η
 ΠΛΕΟΝΖΕΚΤΗC Η Ν̄ΡΕΨΤΩΡΠ̄ Η Ν̄Ρ̄ΕΨΩΜ̄ΨΕ ΕΙΔΩ-
 ΛΟΝ ΕΠΕΙ ΔΡΑ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΗΠ̄ | ΕΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΚΟCΜΟC

ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΨ|ΨΑ|ΧΕ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΩC

10 ΧΕ ΕΠ̄ΝΑΓΩΝ ΨΟΟΠ̄ || ΝΑΝ ΔΝ̄ ΟΥΒΕ CΑΡΞ̄ ΖΙ Eph 6:4
 CΝΟΨ̄

ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝ|ΤΑΨΧΟΟC

ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΒΕ Ν̄ΚΟCΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ̄ | Μ̄ΠΕΕΙΚΑΚΕ Μ̄Ν̄ Μ̄- ibid.
 ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ̄ Ν̄ΤΠΟ|ΝΗΡΙΑ

15 ΨΑ ΖΟΥΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΟΟΥ ΕΤΨΥΧΗ̄ | ΠΗΤ̄ Ν̄CΑ ΕCΑ ΕCΚΟΙΝΩΝΙ Μ̄Ν
 ΠΕΤCΝΑ||ΤΩΜΤ̄ ΕΡΟΨ̄ ΕCΧΩΖΜ̄ CΨΟΟΠ̄ ΖΑ ΠΑC|ΧΑ Ν̄ΝΕΤCΜ̄ΨΑ
 ΕΤΡΕCΧΙΤΟΥ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ | ΕCΨΑΡ̄ΑΙCΘΑΝΕ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΟΚΖC̄ ΕΤCΝ̄ΖΗΤΟΥ |

131:3 $\bar{\eta}$: i.e. $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$ (Krause emends thus) : for the form cf. 128:11.

15 i.e. $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha$.

31 ΠΟΡΝΙΑ : i altered from false start of α 32 rest. Krause : also possible is ΕΤ[ΒΕ Τ]ΔΕΙ 33 cζ[ΔΪ ---] Krause [--- Ν̄Ν̄ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ] W. Robinson² : [--- Ν̄ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ] Browne, Wisse : [--- ΧΕ Τ̄ΝCΟΠ̄C] Schenke 34 ΝΕ[ΥΠΟΡΝΙ]Δ̄ rest. W. Robinson² : ΝΕ[Ν̄ΖΒΗΥ]Ε Wisse 35 Ν̄ΖΗΤ[Ν̄] W. Robinson², Schenke : Ν̄ΖΗΤ[C] Krause

36 rest. Browne, Wisse (sim. Krause), cf. 131:9 : [Ν̄Ρ̄ΟΟΥΨ ΕΨ]ΟΟΠ̄ Schenke (Nachtrag) 131:3 ο² altered from η; copyist erroneously wrote ΚΟΡΙΘΙΩΝ (for ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙ-), perceived an error and merely wrote ο over η as the correction : prob. emend to ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟC

5 Μ̄ΠΡ̄ΝΟC : Μ̄ΠΡ̄CΤΩC Μ̄Ν Μ̄ΠΟΡ̄ΝΟC Wisse, with hesitation : Μ̄ΠΟΡΝΟC em. Krause 6 ◀Μ̄▶ΠΛΕΟΝΖΕΚΤΗC Hedda Bethge

speaking not just of the prostitution of the ' body but especially of that of the soul. For this reason ' the apostles [write to the churches] of ' God, that such [prostitution] might not ³⁵ occur among [us].

Yet the greatest ' [struggle] has to do with the prostitution **131** of the soul. From it arises the prostitution ' of the body as well. Therefore Paul, ' writing to the Corinthians (1 Cor 5:9–10), said,

I wrote ' you in the letter, “Do not associate with prostitutes,” ⁵ not at all meaning the prostitutes of this world ' or the greedy or the thieves or the idolaters, since then you would have to ' go out from the world.

here he is speaking ' spiritually—

For our struggle is ¹⁰ not against flesh and blood— as he ' said (Eph 6:12)—but against the world rulers ' of this darkness and the spirits of ' wickedness.

As long as the soul ' keeps running about everywhere copulating with whomever ¹⁵ she meets and defiling herself, she exists suffering ' her just deserts. But when ' she perceives the straits she is in '

20 ἀϋω ἡσριμε εζραϊ επεισῳτ ἡσμετανο|ει τοτε ἡνανα νασ ἡσι πεισῳτ
 ἡ|κτο || ἡτεςμῳτρα εβολ ζῆ να πσα νβολ παλι(ν) | ἡκτος εζοϋν
 ἡτε τψϋχη χι ἡπес|μερικον † εϋσοоп гар ан ἡθε ἡνεzi-
 25 оме ἡмῳтра гар ἡпсωма εϋσοоп | ἡφοϋν ἡпсωма ἡθε нке-
 мазт тмῳ||тра ἡтоϋ ἡтψϋχη εсκωте ἡпса нвол | ἡθε ἡмфϋси-
 кон ἡφοоϋт εϋσοоп | ἡпвол
 ерῳа тмῳтра σε ἡтψϋχη | ткτος ζῆ ποϋωϋ ἡπειсῳт εпса
 30 н|зоϋн ψαρεс|рβαпτιζε ἀϋω ἡтоϋ||ноϋ ψαстоϋво εпсωζῆ ἡпса
 н|во[λ] παει ενταϋавϋ εχωс ἡθε ἡни|ψ[тнн εϋ]ψа[λ]ωωм ῳαϋте-
 лооϋ ε|п[мооϋ ἀϋω ἡс]εтктооϋ ψантоϋῆ тоϋ|лаам[ε εβολ] ἀϋω
 35 ἡсетоϋво птоϋво || δε ἡтψϋχη пе χι тесмῳт[в]р[р]е оῆ * ἡ-
 *р. 132¹ песфϋсikon ἡψорп ἡсктос ἡке|соп паει пе песваптисма
 тоте сна|рархеи ἡвωлк εрос оϋаатс ἡθε ἡнет|ψаϋмисе
 5 ἡтеϋноϋ εϋψаχπε пψηре || ψаϋкотоϋ ерооϋ оϋааϋ ζῆноϋ-
 влке | алла еπει оϋсzime те мῆ сом атресχπε | ψηре
 оϋаатс απειсῳт тῆнаϋ нас εβολ | ζῆ тπε ἡпесзооϋт ете
 10 пессон пе | пшорп ἡмисе тоте απрῳψелеет еи || απитῆ ψа
 χелеет аскω мен ἡсωс ἡ|теспорνια ἡψорп астоϋвос
 ансωζῆ | ἡῆноεικ асῆ вῆре де аϋмῆтψελεет | астоϋвос
 ζῆ <п>ма ἡψελεет асмазϋ ἡс†|ноϋϋе асzмоос ἡзоϋн ἡзнтῆ
 15 εсδωψт || εβολ знтῆ ἡпрῳψελεет ἡме оϋкети | спнт зῆ та-
 гора εсκοинωνει мῆ петс|оϋоϋϋ алла асδω εсδωψт εβολ
 знтῆ | χε аψ ἡзооϋ еϋῆннϋ есῆ зоте знтῆ | нессооϋн гар ан
 20 ἡπεϋειне оϋке||ти сῆ пме εϋе χим ποϋοειϋ ἡтасze ε|βολ ζῆ

24 i.e. ἡῆке-

132:3-4 Sah. ἡнетεψаϋ. 5 i.e. ζῆ оϋвлке. 10 i.e. тψελεет.

19 ἡκτο : η definite, superlin. stroke restored 22 † εϋσοоп : emend to εсψооп (Layton³) ἡθε ἡни is expected

31 авϋ : в added above the line 31-34 cf. Layton² 32 ψ[тнн] Krause [λ]ωωм Krause 33 п[мооϋ ---] Layton² : п[χωκῆ ---] W. Robinson : п[ωне ---] Wisse, with hesitation [--- ἀϋω ἡс]ε Wisse 34 лаам[ε ---] Polotsky in Layton, sim. Krause [--- εβολ] Krause 35 мῆт without superlin. stroke [в]р[р]ε sim. Krause : cf. 132:12; 134:10, 25; 134:7 оῆ deciphered by Schenke

132:13 <п>ма Krause 16 <не>спнт Hedda Bethge 19 нес¹¹ pap. : uninscribed space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus 20 <ε>сῆ Hedda Bethge

and weeps before the father and repents, ' then the father will have mercy on her and he will make ²⁰ her womb turn from the external domain ' and will turn it again inward, so that the soul will regain her ' proper character. For it is not so with a woman. ' For the womb of the body is ' inside the body like the other internal organs, but the womb ²⁵ of the soul is around the outside ' like the male genitalia, which are ' external.

So when the womb of the soul, ' by the will of the father, turns itself inward, ' it is baptized and is immediately ³⁰ cleansed of the external pollution ' which was pressed upon it, just as ' [garments, when] dirty, are put into ' the [water and] turned about until their ' dirt is removed and they become clean. And so the cleansing ³⁵ of the soul is to regain the [newness] **132** of her former nature and to turn herself back again. ' That is her baptism.

Then she will ' begin to rage at herself like a woman ' in labor, ⁵ who writhes and rages in the hour of delivery. ' But since she is female, by herself she is powerless to beget ' a child. From heaven the father sent her ' her man, who is her brother, ' the firstborn. Then the bridegroom came ¹⁰ down to the bride. She gave up ' her former prostitution and cleansed herself of the pollutions ' of the adulterers, and she was renewed so as to be a bride. ' She cleansed herself in the bridal chamber; she filled it with perfume; ' she sat in it waiting ¹⁵ for the true bridegroom. No longer does she ' run about the market place, copulating with whomever she ' desires, but she continued to wait for him— ' (saying) "When will he come?"—and to fear him, ' for she did not know what he looked like; ²⁰ she no longer remembers since the time she fell ' from

ΠΝΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕΣΕΙΩΤ` Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ | ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ` < - - - > ΔΣΠ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ ΡΑ-
 ΣΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΡΟϞ Ν̄ΘΕ | Ν̄ΝΙΖΙΟΜΕ ΕΤΜΕ Ν̄ΝΙΖΟΥΟΤ`

- 25 ΤΟΤΕ ΔΕ | Π̄Ρ̄Μ̄ΨΕΛΕΕΤ` ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΩΨ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ` || ΔΨΕΙ ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν ΨΑΡΟΣ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΑ Ν̄ΨΕ|ΛΕΕΤ` ΕΤΣΒ̄ΤΩΤ` ΔΨΚΟΣΜΕΙ` ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΝΥΜ|ΦΩΝ
 ΕΠΓΑΜΟΣ ΓΑΡ` ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΨΩΟΠ` | ΔΝ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΓΑΜΟΣ Ν̄ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ
 30 ΝΕΤΑΡ`|ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ` ΨΑΥΣΙ Ν̄ΤΚΟΙ||ΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ
 Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΕΤΠΩ | ΨΑΥΚΩ Ν̄ΣΩΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕΝΩΧΛΗΣΙϞ [Ν̄]ΤΕ|ΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ ΑΥΩ Ν̄-
 ΣΕΤϞ[ΤΟ] Ν̄[ΝΟΥΖΟ ΕΒ]ϞΛ | Ν̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΕ| [.] . [.] Ν
 35 ΠΕ | ΠΕΕΙΓΑΜΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΨΑΝ[Π]ϞΖ̄Ν̄ΖΩΤ̄Ρ̄ || ΔΝ[Ο]Υ[ΕΡΗ]Υ ΨΑΥΨΩΠΕ
 *p. 133¹ ΔΥΩΝΖ ΟΥΩΤ` * ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΣΑϞ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ | ΕΤΒΕ ΠΨΟΡΠ`
 Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΤΨΟΡΠ` Ν̄ΣΖΙ|ΜΕ ΣΕ

ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΥΣΑΡΖ ΟΥΩΤ`

Gen 2:24

- 5 ΝΕΥ|ΖΟΤ̄Ρ̄ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Ν̄ΨΟΡΠ ΖΑΖΤ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΙΩΤ` || ΕΜΠΑΤΕ ΤΣΖΙΜΕ ΣΨΡΜ
 Μ̄ΦΟΟΥΤ` ΕΤΕ | ΠΕΣΣΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΑΠΕΕΙΓΑΜΟΣ | ΣΟΟΥΖΟΥ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΤΨΥ|ΧΗ ΖΩΤ̄Ρ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΣΜΕΡΕΙΤ` ΝΑΜΕ
 ΠΕΣ|ΦΥΣΙΚΟΣ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΥΧΗΖ ΣΕ

- 10 ΠΧΟ||ΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΣΖΑΪ

Gen 3:16
 1 Cor 11:1
 Eph 5: 23

ΔΣΣΟΥΩΝϞ` | ΔΕ ΨΗΜ` ΨΗΜ` ΑΥΩ ΔΣΡΑΨΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΕΣΟΠ` ΕΣΡΙ|ΜΕ
 ΖΑΤΟΟΥϞ` Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΣ̄Ρ̄ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν̄ΤΕΣΑϞΧΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ Ν̄ΤΕΣΜ̄Ν̄ΤΧΗΡΑ

22 i.e. ΠΕΡΕ : for the form cf. Acts 19:26, ed. Thompson (Π̄Ν̄ΝΕ for ΠΕΝΕ) : explained by Polotsky.

28 Sah. ΝΕΤΝᾹΡ̄. 29 Sah. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ. 32-35 Sah. Ν̄ΝΟΥΖΟ . . . Ν̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ . . . ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ.
 35 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ.

133:3 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ. 4-7 Sah. ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ . . . ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ.

11 i.e. Ν̄ΚΕΣΟΠ (emended thus by Krause).

22 < - - - > main clause accidentally omitted : {Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ} Wisse

32 ΤϞ[ΤΟ] : for Ϟ (lacuna above this letter) can also be read β, γ, η, ι, μ or η Ν̄[ΝΟΥΖΟ
 - - -] : of Ν̄, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored [- - - ΕΒ]ϞΛ : omicron deformed by an
 original imperfection in the papyrus ΤϞ[ΤΟ] Ν̄[ΝΟΥΖΟ ΕΒ]ϞΛ Emmel : cf. 128:8, 133:21,
 136:29 33] . [: the bottom of a long vertical stroke ΠΕΕ|ΡΗΤΕ ΖΩΩ]Ϟ [Δ]Ν Schenke,
 but ΡΗΤΕ is not used elsewhere in this text 34 ΕΥΨΑΝ[Π]Ϟ Layton : ΕΥΨΑΠ[Ω]Ϟ sim.
 Hedda Bethge 35 ΔΝ[Ο]Υ[ΕΡΗ]Υ Browne. Schenke

133:5 ΣΨΡΜ (without superlin. stroke) : ω poss. written over the false start of another
 letter (c ?)

her father's house. But by the will ' of the father (. . .). and she dreamed of him like ' a woman in love with a man.

But then ' the bridegroom, according to the father's will, ²⁵ came down to her into the bridal chamber, ' which was prepared. And he decorated the bridal chamber.

For since that marriage is ' not like the carnal marriage, those who are to have intercourse ' with one another will be satisfied with ³⁰ that intercourse. And as if it were a burden ' they leave behind them the annoyance of physical ' desire and they [turn their faces from] ' each other. But this marriage [. . .]. ' But [once] they unite ³⁵ [with one another], they become a single life. **133** Wherefore the prophet said (Gen 2:24 LXX) ' concerning the first man and the first woman, '

They will become a single flesh. '

For they were originally joined to one another when they were with the father ⁵ before the woman led astray the man, who ' is her brother. This marriage ' has brought them back together again and the ' soul has been joined to her true love, her ' real master, as it is written (cf. Gen 3:16; 1 Cor 11:1; Eph 5:23), ¹⁰

For the master of the woman is her husband.

Then gradually she recognized him, ' and she rejoiced once more, weeping ' before him as she remembered the ' disgrace of her former widowhood. '

15 Ἰψορπᾶ | ἀγῶ ἀσκόσμεϊ μῆμος ἡζογο ψινα εσ||ναρ εναϷ ἡβω ζα-
τοοτῶ

πεχαϷ δε ἡβι | πεπροφητης ζῆνῆψαλμος χε

σψ|τῆ ταψεερε ἡτεναγ ἡτερικε ἡπεμα|αχε

ψ 44:11-1

ἡτερῆ πωψῶ ἡπογλαος μῆ πνει | ἡ-

20 πεειωτ χε ἀπῆρο ἐπιθῦμει ἐπογσα||-

ειε χε ἡτοϷ πε πογχοειс

Ϸῆραζιογ γαρ | μῆμος ἀτρεσκτη πεсzo εβολᾶ ἡπεс|λαος μῆ πμνηψε

ἡнесмоихос να|ει несζῆ τοῦμντε ἡψορп несῆпр[о]с|εχε ἀπεсῆро

25 ογαατϷᾶ πεсфүсiкoс || ἡχοειс ἀγῶ ἡсῆр πωψῶ ἡπνει ἡπει|ωτᾶ ἡ-

пказ паеи енесψооp ζατοοτϷᾶ | κακωс ἡсῆр ἡμееεε ἡтоϷ ἡ-

πεсeiωт | етῆн ἡпнѳе тееи он те θε εнтаγχο|oс ἡαβραζам χε

30 ἀμογ εβολ ζῆμ πεκᾶ||καζ μῆ тексунгенεια

Gen 12:1

ἀγῶ εβολ ζῆμ | πн[е]! ἡпекᾶειωтᾶ

таеи те θε ἡтаре тψγ|χ[н ῆк]o[с]ме! μῆμος ζῆ тесῆнтсaeie | он

[.]μеете епесмереитᾶ | ἀγῶ ἡ[тоϷ ζω]ωϷ αϷме-

35 реитῶ ἀγῶ ἡ||таресῆкo[и]нωνει нῆμαϷ | α|схи ἡ*πεсперма εβολ

*p. 134¹

ζιτοοτῶ ете πпῆᾶ | пе етᾶῆго ψантесχпо ἡζῆψнре | εβολ ἡзнтϷᾶ

ενανογογ ἡссаноγψоγ | паеи γαρᾶ пе πнос ἡтелеион ἡθαγμα

5 || ἡχпо ζωсте пеειгамос еϷακᾶ εβολ | ζῆμ πογωψῶ ἡπειωтᾶ

ψϷе де атре тψγ|χн χпос оγαатῶ ἡсψωпе онᾶ ἡтес|ze ἡ-

ψорпᾶ тψγχн де ψарескiмᾶ оγa|атῶ ἀγῶ асхи пθειон ἡтῆμ

10 пейωтᾶ аᾶ||тресῆ вῆре χекаас он еγнаχитῶ е|пма енесῆμμαγ

χинᾶ ψорпᾶ таеи те | тапастасiс етᾶψооp εβολ ζῆ нетмо|-

оγтᾶ паеи пе псωте ἡтаиχмаλωсiа та|еи те тапабасiс

16 Sah. ζῆ неψαλμος.

22-23 i.e. ναει несζῆ. 23 Sah. теῦμнте. несῆ- : i.e. ἡсῆ- (Schenke emends thus).

24 ογαατϷ : ο altered from false start of α

32 rest. Wisse, sim. Krause 33 он |асεπн ε]μеете sim. Schenke (Nachtrag) : он [παλιν ас]μеете sim. Wisse : он|тωс он ас]μеете Browne : cf. Layton 34 rest. Krause 134:2 етᾶᾶ pap. : unscripted space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus

9 <ψ>асхи Hedda Bethge 13 паеи : а added above the line

And she adorned herself still more so that ¹⁵ he might be pleased to stay with her.

And the ' prophet said in the Psalms (44: 11–12 LXX = 45:10–11 MT),

Hear, ' my daughter, and see and incline your ear '
and forget your people and your father's house,
for the king has desired your beauty, ²⁰ for he is
your lord.

For he requires her ' to turn her face from her ' people and the multitude of her adulterers, ' in whose midst she once was, to devote herself ' only to her king, her real ²⁵ lord, and to forget the house of the ' earthly father, with whom things went ' badly for her, but to remember her father ' who is in heaven. Thus also it was said ' (Gen 12:1 LXX) to Abraham,

Come out from your ³⁰ country and your kinsfold
and from ' your father's house.

Thus when the soul [had adorned] ' herself again in her beauty ' [. . .] enjoyed her beloved, ' and [he also] loved her. And ³⁵ when she had intercourse with him, she got **134** from him the seed that is the life-giving ' spirit, so that by him she bears good children ' and rears them. ' For this is the great, perfect marvel ⁵ of birth. And so this marriage is made perfect ' by the will of the father.

Now it is fitting that the soul ' regenerate herself and become again as ' she formerly was. The soul then moves of her own accord. ' And she received the divine nature from the father ¹⁰ for her rejuvenation, so that she might be restored to ' the place where originally she had been. This is ' the resurrection that is from the dead. ' This is the ransom from captivity. ' This is the upward journey

15 $\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\kappa^{\prime}$ εζραϊ ετπε ταιε || τε θοδος $\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\kappa^{\prime}$ εζραϊ ψα
πειωτ^ν δια | τουτο πεχε πεπροφητης^ν χε

ταψυ|χη εριελογει $\bar{m}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ αγω να $\bar{p}\varsigma\alpha$ ψ 102:
(\bar{n})ζογν τηρου $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon\varphi\rho\alpha\bar{n}^{\prime}$ ετογαδ^ν ταψυ|
20 χη εριελογει $\bar{m}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon^{\prime}$ πενταζκω || εβολ \bar{n} -
 $\bar{n}\epsilon[\bar{n}]$ ανομια^ν τηρου πενταζταλ|σο $\bar{n}\eta\epsilon\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$
τηρου πενταζσωτε | $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon\omega\eta\zeta$ εβολ $\zeta\bar{m}$ πμογ
πενταζ† | [κ]λομ^ν εχω $\zeta\bar{n}$ ογνα^ν πετ^ν†<ς>ειο
 $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\epsilon\pi\iota[\theta]$ γμια $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ τεμντκογει
25 να || \bar{p} $\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ ογαετος

εσψα \bar{r} $\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ | σε $\varsigma\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa^{\prime}$ εζραϊ εςσμογ επειωτ^ν | $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πεσσον
παι $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ σοχ δει εβολ | ζιτοοτ \bar{q} ταιε τε θε $\bar{n}\tau\psi\chi\eta$ εςναογ|
30 χαιε ζιτ \bar{n} πεχπο $\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta^{\prime}$ παιε δε || εβολ $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ αν $\bar{n}\alpha\varsigma\kappa\eta$ -
 $\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ εψα ζ^{\prime} | ει ουδε εβολ αν $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$ ογ[Δ]ε $\zeta\bar{n}$ |εσω $\bar{n}\varsigma\zeta\alpha\iota^{\prime}$ αλ-
λα τχαρ|[ς] $\bar{m}\pi$ [... τ]ε | αλλα τδωρεα $\bar{m}\pi\eta$ [.....]δε
35 | πεειζωβγαρ ογειει πε \bar{m} [$\bar{p}\varsigma\alpha$] $\bar{n}\tau\eta\pi\epsilon$ δια || τουτο $\psi[\alpha]$ ψκακ^ν
*p. 135¹ εβολ $\bar{n}\beta\iota$ πσωτηρ^ν * χε

$\bar{m}\bar{n}$ λααγ ναψει ψαροει ει μητι \bar{n} |τε παιωτ^ν Jo 6:44
σωκ^ν $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\mu\eta^{\prime}$ $\bar{n}\chi\eta\tau\bar{q}$ $\bar{n}\alpha\epsilon\iota$ | αγω <α>νοκ^ν ζω
† $\eta\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\sigma\zeta^{\prime}$ $\zeta\bar{m}$ φζαε \bar{n} |ζοογ

5 ψψε σε εψαηλ^ν επειωτ $\bar{n}\tau\bar{m}\mu\omicron\gamma$ || τε εζραϊ ερο ζ^{\prime} $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{t}\bar{m}\psi\chi\eta$ τηρ \bar{c}

134:34 ογειει πε : i.e. ογει πε (for the reduplication see Polotsky *Orientalia* 26 [1957] 348–49).

135:3 i.e. $\zeta\bar{m}$ φαε.

4 i.e. $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$.

20 [\bar{n}] cancelled by the copyist 23 <ς> W. Robinson, Nagel : $\tau\varsigma\iota\omicron$ em. Krause : cf. Ps 102:5 τὸν ἐμπιπλῶντα $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$: ε added above the line 24 $\zeta\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ (i.e. Sahidic $\zeta\bar{n}$ αγαθων) em. Nagel, poss. rightly (cf. Ps 102:5 ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, Sah. ed. Budge $\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\eta$)

31–32 $\zeta\bar{n}\epsilon\psi\omega$ (read with ultraviolet light) : poss. emend { ζ } $\bar{n}\epsilon\psi\omega$ 32 $\bar{m}\eta$ [ειωτ τ]ε W. Robinson : also possible are $\bar{m}\eta$ [$\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}$ τ]ε and $\bar{n}\eta$ [ογτε τ]ε : cf. Layton 33 e.g. $\bar{m}\pi\eta$ [ογτε τε ετη]δε ογ $\bar{m}\pi\eta$ [εγμα τε ετη]δε : cf. Layton 34 [$\bar{p}\varsigma\alpha$] Layton 35 ογ written close together

135:1 ψαροει : ψ altered from ε 3 <α>νοκ Krause

4 ε<τρην>ψαηλ Hedda Bethge

of ascent to heaven. This ¹⁵ is the way of ascent to the father. Therefore ' the prophet said (Ps 102:1–5 LXX = 103:1–5 MT),'

Praise the lord, O my soul, and, all that is ' within me, (praise) his holy name. My ' soul, praise God, who forgave ²⁰ all your sins, who healed ' all your sicknesses, who ransomed ' your life from death, who crowned ' you with mercy, who satisfies your longing ' with good things. Your youth will ²⁵ be renewed like an eagle's.

Then when she becomes young ' again she will ascend, praising the father ' and her brother, by whom she was rescued. ' Thus it is by being born again that the soul will ' be saved. And this ³⁰ is due not to rote phrases ' or to professional skills or to ' book learning. Rather it [is] the grace of the [. . . , ' it is] the gift of the [. . .]. ' For such is this heavenly thing. ³⁵ Therefore the savior cries out (John 6:44), **135**

No one can come to me unless ' my father draws him and brings him to me; ' and I myself will raise him up on the last ' day.

It is therefore fitting to pray to the father and to call ⁵ on him with all our soul—

ζῆ̄ ἡ̄σπο|τοῦ ἀν̄ ἡ̄ψα νβολ` ἀλλὰ ζῆ̄ πνεῦμα | ἐτ̄ζι ψα νζοῦν
 πενταζι εβολ ζῆ̄ πβα|θος ἐνεψ ἐζομ ἐν̄ῤετανοεὶ εχ̄ῃ | πβιος ἡ̄-
 10 τὰζῆ̄ναααζ` ἐν̄ῤεζζομολογεῖ || ἡ̄ν<ἡ̄>νοβε ἐναϊσθανε ἐτ`πλανη
 ἐτσογ|εῖτ` τὰεἰνεन`ψοοπ` ἡ̄ζητ̄ε ἀγῶ ἀτςποῦ|δη ἐτσογεῖτ` ἐν̄ῤ-
 με ἡ̄ε νεנψοοπ` | ζῆ̄ πκακε μῆ̄ φοεῖμ ἐν̄ῤπενθεῖ ναν | οὔα ἀν̄ χε-
 15 καας ἐφ̄νανα ναν ἐμμοστε || ἡ̄μον ἡ̄ε ἐτ̄ἡ̄ζητ̄ε τ̄ενοῦ π̄α-
 λιν | πεσααζ ἡ̄σι π̄σωτηρ χε

ζῆ̄ἡ̄μακαριος | νε ναεῖ ἐπ̄ενθεῖ χε ἡ̄τοοῦ
 πε ἐτοῦνα|να ναγ ζῆ̄ἡ̄μακαριος νετ-
 ζκαεῖτ` χε ἡ̄|τοοῦ πε ἐτ̄νασει

Matt 5:4, 6
Luke 6:21

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΠΕΣΑΑΖ ΧΕ

20 ε̄|ρ̄||τ̄ῃ̄ οὔα μεστε τεψψυχη φ̄ναψοῦζααζ | ἀν̄
 ἡ̄σῶεἰ

Luke 14:20

ΤΑΡΧΗ ΓΑΡ ἡ̄ΠΟΥΣΑΕΙ ΠΕ Τ`|ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ

25 ζα τεζη ἡ̄τ̄πα`|ροῦσια ἡ̄πεχρ̄ε ἀφ̄ι ἡ̄σι ἴωζαν-
 η̄ς [εφ̄]|`κηρ̄υσε ἡ̄πβαπτισμα ἡ̄τ̄μετανοια` ||

Acts 13:24

30 τ̄μετανοια δε ψαςψωπε ζῆ̄ οὔαλῦπῆ` | μῆ̄ οὔἡ̄καζ ἡ̄ζητ` π̄ειωτ
 δε οὔμαεῖ|ρωμε πε` ἡ̄αγαθος ἀγῶ ἐψ̄σῶτ̄ῃ̄ ἀτ`|ψυχη ἐτ̄ῤεπικα-
 λει ἐζραῖ ἐροαζ` ἀγῶ ἡ̄αζ`|τ̄ἡ̄ναγ νας ἡ̄πογοεῖν ἡ̄νοῦσαεῖ δια ||
 τοῦτο πεσααζ ζῆ̄τ̄ῃ̄ πεπ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄πεπροφ̄|η̄τ̄]η̄ς χε

χοος ἡ̄ἡ̄ψηρε ἡ̄παλαος | χ[ε ερ̄|ψ[α] νετ̄ἡ̄νο-
 βε ψωπε ἐγ̄οῦνοῦ | χ[ιμ πκαζ ψα τ̄]πε ἀγῶ

1 Clem. 8:3

6 i.e. π̄πνεῦμα. 7 Sah. πενταζει. 9 i.e. ἡ̄ταζῆ̄ναααζ. 11–12 i.e. ἐνεנ ... ἐνεנ (Quecke emends thus, with hesitation).

23 i.e. αζει.

29 i.e. ἡ̄οῦσαεῖ.

18 poss. emend <νε> νετ̄ζκαεῖτ 19 or else ε̄|ρ̄ε] 21 π̄ε : poss. emend to τε 23 rest. Krause 28–29 poss. emend to ἐτ̄ἡ̄ναγ 33 1 Clem. 8:3 Achmimic χῆ ἡ̄πκαζ ψα τ̄πε (ed. Schmidt)

not externally with the lips ' but with the spirit, ' which is inward, which came forth from the ' depth—sighing; repenting for ' the life we lived; confessing ¹⁰ our sins; perceiving the empty deception ' we were in, and the empty zeal; ' weeping over how we were ' in darkness and in the wave; mourning for ourselves, ' that he might have pity on us; hating ¹⁵ ourselves for how we are now. Again ' the savior said (cf. Matt 5:4, 6; Luke 6:21),

Blessed ' are those who mourn, for it is they who will be pitied; ' blessed, those who are hungry, for ' it is they who will be filled.

Again he said (cf. Luke 14:26),

If ²⁰ one does not hate his soul he cannot follow ' me.

For the beginning of salvation is ' repentance. Therefore (cf. Acts 13:24),

Before ' Christ's appearance came John, ' preaching the baptism of repentance. ²⁵

And repentance takes place in distress ' and grief. But the father is good and loves ' humanity, and he hears the ' soul that calls upon him and ' sends it the light of salvation. Therefore ³⁰ he said through the spirit to the ' prophet (cf. *1 Clem.* 8:3; *Clem. Al. Paed.* 1.91.2; Ezekiel apocryphon?),

Say to the children of my people, ' '[If your] sins extend ' [from earth to] heaven, and

35
*p. 136^l

εγψαψωπε | εγτρε[ψρω]ψ̄ ἡθε ἡπκοκ`κος
 αυ || εγκην ἡζογο εγσο[ο]γ[νε αυ]ψ̄ [ἡτε]-
 *Τἠκοττηγτἡ ψαροει ζἡ τετἡψγχη | τηρ̄ αυ
 ἡτετἡχοος εζραῖ εροει χε | παειωτ` †ναςω-
 τἡ ερωτἡ ἡθε ἡνογ|λαος εϵ`ογαδβ

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΕΜΑ

5 ϵψω ἡμοσ || ἡτεειζε ἡβι πχοεις πετογαδβ ἡ-
 τε πι|σραηλ χε ζοταν εκψακτοκ` ἡκεψ
 εζομ` | τοτε κναου χαιει αυ κναειμε χε
 νεκτω(ν) | ἡζοου εκναζε τε ανιπετ`ψογειτ`

Isa 30:19

ΠΑΛΙΝ | ΠΕΧΑϵ ἡκεμα χε

10 θειρογσαλημ` ζἡ ου||ριμε αςριμε χε να
 ναει ϵνανα ἡτεςμη | ἡπεριμε αυ ἡ-
 ταρεϵναγ αϵσωτἡ ερο` | αυ πχοεις να-
 † ηητἡ ἡογοεικ` ἡθλι|ψις ἡἡνογμοου
 ἡλωσζ ϵεναςωτε αν | χιν` τενου
 15 ετρογτζνο εζογν ερο ἡβι || † πετῤπλα-
 να νεβαλ ναναγ αν`ετῤπλανα | ἡμο

Isa 30:19

 ζωστε ψψε αρ̄προσευχεςθαι ε|πνουτε ἡτογψη ἡἡ πεζοου εμ`-
 20 πωρω | ἡἡβιχ εζραῖ εροϵ` ἡθε ἡνετζἡ τημητε | ἡθαλασσα ετπλαε
 ψαυψλη επνου||τε ζἡ πογζητ τηρϵ` ζἡἡνογζυποκρισις | αν χε
 νετ`προσευχεςθαι ζἡἡνογζυ|ποκρισις εγαπα τα ἡμοου ογα-

136:3-4 i.e. ἡογλαος.

13 i.e. ἡ ογμοου . . . ϵεναςωτ (W. Robinson emends thus): for the form σωτε cf. *Gospel of Truth* CG I 38:2.

18 i.e. ἡἡβιχ, Sah. ἡἡεβιχ. 20 Sah. πεγζητ. ζἡἡνογ-: i.e. ζἡ ου-.

34 εγ read in photographs cf. *I Clem.* 8:3 Achmimic τρεψραψτ 35 εγκην read in photographs 35-136:1 cf. *I Clem.* 8:3 Achmimic αυδαγνε [τ]ετ[ἡ]νογζ τηνε

136:4 <ἡ>κεμα Hedda Bethge

15 † πετῤπλανα : emend to νετῤπλανα (thus Krause)

if they become ' [red] like scarlet and ³⁵ blacker than [sackcloth and if] **136** you return to me with all your ' soul and say to me, ' 'My father, ' I will heed you as a ' holy people.'''

Again another place (Isa 30:15 LXX),

Thus says ⁵ the lord, the holy one of ' Israel: "If you (sg.) return and sigh, ' then you will be saved and will know where you were ' when you trusted in what is empty.'"

Again ' he said in another place (Isa 30:19–20 LXX),

Jerusalem wept ¹⁰ much, saying, "Have pity on me." He will have pity on the sound ' of your (sg.) weeping. And when he saw he heeded you. ' And the lord will give you (pl.) bread of ' affliction and water of oppression. ' From now on, those who deceive will not approach you (sg.) again. ¹⁵ Your eyes will see those who are deceiving ' you.

Therefore it is fitting to pray to ' God night and day, spreading out ' our hands towards him as do people sailing in the middle ' of the sea: they pray to God ²⁰ with all their heart without hypocrisy. ' For those who pray ' hypocritically deceive only themselves. '

25 ΤΟΥ ΕΙΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΩΨΤ` ΝΣΑ ΝΒΛΑΤΕ ΑΨΩ | ΕΨΜΟΥΨΤ` ΜΦΗΤ`
 ΕΤΜΠΣΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ || ΕΤΡΕΨ`ΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΑΖΙΟΣ ΝΝΟΥΧΑΕΙ ΜΝ ΛΑ|ΑΨ ΓΑΡ
 ΟΕΙ ΝΑΖΙΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΧΑΕΙ ΕΤΙ ΕΨΜΕ | ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ-
 ΤΟ ΨΣΖ | ΖΜ ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ

30 ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ ΝΕΨΖΜΟΟΣ | ΖΙ ΤΜΟΥΕ ΕΨΡΙΜΕ ΑΨΩ Od. 1.48
 ΕΨΛΨΠΕΙ ΕΨΚΤΟ || ΜΠΕΨΖΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΨΑ ΧΕ ΝΚΑ-
 ΛΨΨΩ | ΜΝ ΝΕΣΑΠΑΤΗ ΕΨΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΤΡΕΨΝΑΨ |
 ΕΠΕΨΤΜΕ ΑΨΩ ΕΨΚΑΠΝΟΣ ΕΨΝΝ[ΗΨ] Ε|ΒΟΛ`
 35 ΜΜΟΨ` ΑΨΩ ΣΑΒΗ[Λ`] Ψ[Ε ΑΨΧΙ ΝΝΟΥ]ΒΟ|Η-
 ΘΕΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ` ΖΝ ΤΠΕ Ν[ΕΨΝΑΨ]Κ|Ο[ΤΨ] Α(Ν) || Od. 4.558
 ΕΠΕΨΤΜΕ`

ΠΑΛΙΝ` ΤΚΕΖ[ΕΛΕ]ΝΗ ΕΣΧΩ | [ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ]

*p. 137¹ ΠΑ[Ζ]ΗΤ` ΑΨΚΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ` ΠΑΛΙ(Ν) * ΕΕΙ- 4.260-61
 ΟΨΨΩ ΒΩΚ` ΕΠΑΝΕΙ

ΝΕΣΑΨ ΕΖΟΜΓΑΡ` | ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ

5 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΤΕΝΤΑΖΡΑ|ΠΑΤΑ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΔΣΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ` 4.261-64
 ΜΠΑΤΜΕ ΤΑΨΡ|ΟΥΟΟΤΕ ΑΖΙΚΑΑΣ ΝΨΩΕΙ ΑΨΩ
 ΠΑΖΑΕΙ || ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ` ΡΡΜΝΖΗΤ` ΝΣΑΕΙΕ

ΖΟΤΑΝ | ΓΑΡ ΕΨΨΑΝ ΤΨΨΧΗ ΚΩ ΝΨΩΣ ΜΠΕΣΖΑΪ | ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑ-
 ΠΑΤΗ ΝΤΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ | ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΨ` ΖΜ ΠΕΨΠΟ ΜΠΕΕΙΜΑ ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΣΝΑΡ-

25 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota$. 28 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$.

33 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\gamma\upsilon\omega\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$.

137:3-4 $\psi\bar{\rho}\omega\omega\tau\bar{\epsilon}$: for the form cf. $\psi\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\gamma\omega\omega\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ Judg 11:34, Tob 3:14, ed. Maspero: explained by Polotsky.

32 rest. W. Robinson, Hedda Bethge 33 rest. Hedda Bethge, Wisse: $\chi[\epsilon \lambda\psi\epsilon\pi \omicron\gamma]$ Browne (exempli gratia): $\chi[\epsilon \nu\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\psi]$ Schenke 34 rest. Layton: cf. Homer *Od.* 4.558 οὐ δύναται ἴην πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι 35 $\zeta[\epsilon\lambda\epsilon] \nu\eta$ W. Robinson and independently Fischer poss. <---> $\epsilon\sigma\chi\omega$ (main verb omitted by accident): * $\nu\epsilon\sigma\lambda\psi\epsilon\iota$ is to be supplied from the preceding passage, or else . . . emend . . . to $\nu\epsilon\sigma\chi\omega$ Browne $\epsilon\sigma\chi\omega$ read in photographs

36 $\pi\alpha$ indistinct traces of ink: conjectured by W. Robinson, Browne, Wisse: cf. Homer *Od.* 4.260-61 μοι κραδίη τέτραπτο νέεσθαι ἄψ οἴκονδ' $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota(\nu)$ read in photographs

Indeed, it is in order that he might know who is worthy of salvation ' that God examines the inward parts and ²⁵ searches the bottom of the heart. For no ' one is worthy of salvation who still loves ' the place of deception. Therefore it is written ' in the poet (Homer *Od.* 1.48–59; 4.558),

Odysseus sat ' on the island weeping and grieving and turning ³⁰ his face from the words of Calypso ' and from her tricks, longing to see ' his village and smoke coming ' forth from it. And had he not [received] ' help from heaven, [he would] not [have been able to return] ³⁵ to his village.

Again [Helen] (. . .) saying (*Od.* 4.260–61), '

[My heart] turned itself from me. **137** It is to my house that I want to return.

For she sighed, ' saying (*Od.* 4.261–64),

It is Aphrodite who ' deceived me and brought me out of my village. My only daughter ' I left behind me, and my ⁵ good. understanding, handsome husband.

For when ' the soul leaves her ' perfect husband because of the treachery of Aphrodite, ' who exists here in the act of begetting, then ' she will

- 10 βλαπτεσθαι εσψαναψ εζομ` || δε ν̄σρ̄μετανοει σενακτος
εζογν` επεσ|νει
και γαρ πικραηλ` μ̄πουδ̄ν πεψωινε | ν̄σωρπ` ετρογ̄ντ̄ε̄ εβολ ζ̄μ
πκαζ ν̄κημε | ζ̄μ̄ π̄νει ν̄τμ̄ν̄τ̄ζ̄μ̄ζ̄ᾱλ̄ ε̄ιμητι σε αψ̄ε|ψ̄ εζομ` εζρᾱϊ
15 επνουτε αφριμε μ̄πλωσζ || ν̄νεψζβηγε παλιν ψχηζ ζ̄ν̄ μ̄ψαλλμος |
σε

- λειζισε εματε ζ̄μ̄ πα αψ̄ εζομ` †να|χω
κ̄μ̄ μ̄παδλοσ μ̄ν̄ παπρηψ̄ κατα ο̄γ|ψη ζ̄ν̄ να-
ρ̄μ̄μειη αζιρ̄ ας ζρᾱϊ ζ̄ν̄ νᾱζ̄[α]||σε τη-
20 ροῡ σαζε τηγ̄τ̄ν̄ εβολ μ̄μοει ο[γ]||ον̄νιμ̄`
ετ̄ρ̄ ζωβ` ετανομια σε εις π̄σ̄ο̄εις αψ̄-
σωτ̄μ̄ επαψ̄κακ` μ̄παριμε αγ̄|ω̄ απ̄σοεις
σωτ̄μ̄ επασοπ̄

ψ 6:7-10

- εψωπ[ε] | τ̄ναρ̄μετανοει ναμε π̄νουτε να|σωτ̄μ̄ ερον π̄ζαρψ̄-
25 ζητ` αγω̄ πα π̄νοσ || ν̄να † ναεῑ ετε π̄ωψ̄ πε πεσογ̄ ψᾱνιε|νεζ̄ ν̄-
ενεζ̄ ζ̄αμην: |

ΤΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ

24–25 poss. understand as πα π̄νοσ̄ ν̄αναει.

137:17 μ̄πλαδλοσ : μ̄ altered from false start of π

25 † ναει : emend to παει (thus Krause)

suffer harm. But if she sighs ¹⁰ and repents, she will be restored to her ' house.

Certainly Israel would not have been visited ' in the first place, to be brought out of the land of Egypt, ' out of the house of bondage, if it had not sighed ' to God and wept for the oppression ¹⁵ of its labors. Again it is written in the Psalms (6:7-10 LXX = 6:6-9 MT), '

I was greatly troubled in my groaning. I will ' bathe my bed and my cover each ' night with my tears. I have become old in the midst of all my enemies. ' Depart from me, all ²⁰ you who work at lawlessness, for behold the ' lord has heard the cry of my weeping and ' the lord has heard my prayer.

If ' we repent, truly God will ' heed us, he who is long-suffering and abundantly ²⁵ merciful, to whom is the glory for ' ever and ever. Amen. '

Expository Treatise on the Soul

INTRODUCTION

JOHN D. TURNER

1. The *Book of Thomas the Contender*¹ (*ThCont*) is a revelation dialogue, with extended peroration, between the resurrected Jesus and his twin brother Judas Thomas, ostensibly recorded by Mathaias (the apostle Matthew?) and set just before Jesus' ascension. It is a literary exponent of traditions about the apostle Thomas such as were native to the ascetic Christianity of Syrian Edessa,² traditional resting place of the bones of Thomas, and was probably composed there in the first half of the third century A.D. The present Coptic version was doubtless translated from Greek. The existence of the text is otherwise unattested in antiquity. But one of its sources was apparently a collection of sayings of Jesus attributed to Mathaias; sayings collections attributed to such a person are mentioned by Papias (ca. A.D. 130), Clement of Alexandria (late second century), and Hippolytus (early third century).

2. TITLE AND GENRE. Two titles occur: (a) the subscript title, which designates the work as a "book" (χωμε, i.e., βιβλίον) of "Thomas the *athlētēs* writing to the perfect"; and (b) the incipit (138:1–4), which designates it as "secret sayings" (ψαχε εθηπ, i.e., ἀπόκρυφοι λόγοι) spoken by Jesus to Judas Thomas and recorded by Mathaias as he overheard them speaking. To some extent this designation as λόγοι ("sayings"), like the isolated intrusion of Mathaias into the setting, does not correspond to the actual genre of the work. This discrepancy can best be explained by hypothetical isolation of the sources from which the work has been composed (see below § 3).

The genre of *ThCont* is the Gnostic revelation dialogue, typically occurring between the resurrected savior and a trusted apostle or apostles during the period between his resurrection and ascension. This type of dialogue is not the same as Plato's, where one discovers truth by a maieutic dialectic of statement, counterstatement, and clarification—in which knowledge is recalled or "delivered to birth." Rather it is closely related to the literature now sometimes called *erotapokriseis* ("questions and

¹ *athlētēs* here meaning "one who struggles," like a wrestler, against the fiery passions of the body.

² Now Urfa, Turkey.

answers’), for in it a would-be initiate elicits revealed truth from a revealer figure or similar spiritual authority in the form of a catechetical question (topic) and interpretive answer (commentary).

The present genre is represented both by the pagan Hermetic Corpus and by Christian Gnostic texts, including many from Nag Hammadi (*Apocryphon of John, Sophia of Jesus Christ, Dialogue of the Savior, Letter of Peter to Philip*). In its Christian variety this genre permitted the resurrected Christ, whose earthly, preresurrection teaching was regarded as hidden or obscure owing to his flesh, to appear in a true, divine, heavenly form so as to present clearly revealed teaching, unclouded by the impediment of materiality. Such teaching might be commentary (the true meaning) of his earthly sayings, or it might even be new, supplementary doctrine granted to special apostles. As the savior’s twin, Thomas (Jewish Aramaic *t’ōm(ā)*, Syriac *tā(’)mā*, “twin”) had a claim to direct insight into the nature of the savior and his teaching. Hence by “knowing himself,” Thomas would also know the “depth of the all” whence the savior came and whither he was going to return, and could therefore become a missionary possessed of the true (here, ascetic) teaching of Jesus.

3. COMPOSITION. Stylistically and in terms of its constituent material the work falls clearly into two major sections. These are approximate representations of two distinct and once independent literary works or sources that were subsequently combined—without perfect consistency—by a later author.

The first section, § A (138:4–142:21), was a revelation dialogue between Jesus and Thomas. The dialogue framework appears to have been its original principle of composition, serving to draw popular Hellenistic ascetic and Gnostic doctrine into the orbit of the teachings of Jesus, in the form of postresurrection revelation (see above, § 2). Its original title may have been “The Book of Thomas the Contender Writing to the Perfect.” As a source § A probably ends with Thomas’s declaration to Jesus that “your word”—i.e., what you have said—“is abundant” (ἄφθονος, i.e., sufficient [?]). This statement, which occurs only a bit more than half way through, is Thomas’s last appearance in the work as we have it. Thereafter begins Jesus’ concluding homily.

The material of § A consists of similes (139:13–20, 142:11–18), proverbial sayings (138:16–18, 138:28–30, 139:21, 140:1–4, 140:13–18, 140:38–40, 140:41–141:1), and a quotation of Psalm 1:3 (140:17–18).

The remaining section, § B (142:21–end), now occurs as a long monologue by the savior (it occupies two-fifths of the tractate). In it the dialogue framework is completely absent. This fact allows us to recognize its original unity as a collection of sayings (not unlike the *λόγοι* of

Matt 5:1–7:28, 11:1–12:30, 13:1–53, 18:1–19:1, 24:1–26:1). Its formal character is possibly designated by the plural *ἱωαχαι* (οἱ λόγοι) in 142:21–22, “these words (sayings) that you speak to us.” The original incipit of §B, before it was attached to §A, may have been almost identical to the opening line of the present work: “The secret words (hidden sayings)³ which the savior spoke, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias” (138:1–2, omitting “to Judas Thomas”).

When §B is inserted in its present position, it becomes the final testamentary speech of Jesus before his departure from the world (cf. §A, 128:22–23, “tell me the things about which I ask before your ascension”); its concluding woes and blessings bear a striking structural and functional resemblance to the blessings and curses in Moses’ testamentary speech of Deut 27–28.

In its original, independent form §B would have existed as a late and decadent reflection of the literary genre of sayings of Jesus, in which original sayings have been so expanded with interpretations that whatever may have been the original saying has been obliterated by accretion of the interpretation: virtually all that remains of the content of early sayings are the stereotyped beginnings like “Amen I say to you,” “Woe to you who,” “Blessed are you who,” “Watch and pray that.” The eleventh woe contains a parable (144:21–36).

Originally §B, with its use of obvious (but nevertheless atavistic) sayings formulas, would have counted as earthly teachings of Jesus transcribed by Mathaiias (see above, §I). But by being appended to §A it has come to count as postresurrection teaching—authenticated by the figure of Thomas, the twin of the revealer, the apostle who directly received the teachings of the savior in his unambiguous, nonearthy form.

The figure of Mathaiias (only mentioned in 138:2–4) as amanuensis would have occurred only in source §B, where he would have been regarded as the recipient of Jesus’ earthly teaching, as he is in the Gospel of Matthew (note, however, the different spelling of the name). But just as the *Gospel According to Thomas* (saying 13) favors the testimony of Thomas to that of Peter, who dominates the canonical tradition, so also the subordination of source B to source A shows evidence of a preference for the testimony of Thomas (cf. the Gospel of John) over that of Mathaiias who, like the Matthew of the canonical tradition, was not singled out for a special resurrection appearance.

ThCont thus fits into a natural interpretive development of the genre of sayings of Jesus—beginning perhaps with relatively unadulterated individual sayings, which were gradually collected and expanded by means of

³Compare the same genre designation in the incipit of the *Gospel According to Thomas*, edited in volume 1.

new interpretive material (as in Q or *GTh*), and then later embedded in larger interpretive frame story (e.g. a life of Jesus concluding with passion or resurrection; a postresurrection revelation dialogue; etc.).

4. CONTENTS. The doctrine of *ThCont* is consistently ascetic. If a single theme or catchword runs throughout it is “fire”—the fire of bodily passions that weigh down the soul, and its counterpart the fire of hell (142:42–143:7): with that by which one sins shall he be punished. The prominence of this motif may constitute the literal motivation for combining not only § A and § B, but many of the individual sayings (within each of the sections) as well.

In § A occur a number of conceptual oppositions: divine light versus earthly fire (the passions of the body; cf. 139:32–34); hidden vs. visible (138:17–139:31); the wise man who understands the truth vs. the fool who is ignorant and guided by the illusion of truth, fire (140:6–31; 140:41–141:2). § A, with its stress on the bestiality of the body, displays strong dependence on motifs from Plato (visible vs. invisible, dragging down and staking the soul to the body, the wings by which the wise man flees bodily appetites). “Knowledge,” “illuminate,” and “appear/reveal” are characteristic terms of § A.

§ B shows influence of the Hellenic *nekylia* (description of the underworld; 142:30–143:8, again compare Plato) as well as solar theology (144:2–21). In this section lust is seen as resulting from the body’s domination by malevolent celestial powers.

In general § A appears to be the more Gnostic of the two: it stresses the move from ignorance to knowledge, made possible by the presence of the savior. He is the emissary of the light, who descends to illumine hidden realities for the eyes of the darkened world, where formerly only perceptually visible (hence illusory) things could be seen. The earthly light is an illusory fire; but the divine light is the savior, who makes visible hidden truth (139:12–31).

§ B is ascetic rather than Gnostic. Compared with § A its eschatology is more futuristic (142:30–143:8; 145:8–16); here the vehicle of divine enlightenment is not the savior but the sun (144:2–6, 17–36), whose rays dispel the smoky darkness of the fiery passions (143:30–37, 144:15–19).

The dualism displayed by both sections is much more anthropological (body oriented) than cosmological (world oriented). The Gnostic myth of world creation by an evil power is not mentioned and does not even seem to be presupposed. In this, *ThCont* is not typically Gnostic.

The editorial history of *ThCont* is in fact more complicated than the general account given here; for a detailed account see below, bibliography § 6.

5. PROVENANCE AND DATE. *ThCont* represents a tradition about the apostle Judas Thomas as Jesus' twin and the recipient of his most secret teachings, whose literary and doctrinal development can be traced for more than a century. Scholars have dated two products of this tradition with fair certainty: the *Gospel According to Thomas*,⁴ composed ca. A.D. 150, and the *Acts of Thomas*⁵ composed ca. A.D. 225. Both are usually thought to come from an ascetic, pre-Manichaean Christianity of the Osrhoëne (Eastern Syria, between Edessa and Mesene). Their similarities to *ThCont* suggest a common provenance; furthermore the *Gospel According to Thomas* and the *Acts of Thomas* seem to provide a chronological bracket for *ThCont* (see below).

All three texts have a dualistic view of man. In the *Gospel* the motif of sexual abstinence is merely present, being neither dominant nor explicit (sayings 22, 79, 101, 105, 114). While in *ThCont* and the *Acts of Thomas* asceticism is more developed, and Thomas's apostolic mission is to exhort mankind to abandon sexual passion.

Moreover § A of *ThCont* (and consequently the final redacted version of the work [see above, § 3]) occupies a median position between the *Gospel* and the *Acts* in terms of the relative dominance of the apostle Thomas. In the *Gospel* he is merely recipient and guarantor of Jesus' secret teaching, and figures as a character in only one episode (saying 13); while in the *Acts*, Thomas is always and everywhere the central character. In *ThCont*, which hesitates halfway between these two extremes, the savior still dominates—but Thomas is the interlocutor of the dialogue, comes to self-knowledge, makes crucial confessions and observations, and is to conduct a preaching mission. Correspondingly the trajectory of literary genres conveying the Judas Thomas tradition moves from sayings collection (*Gospel According to Thomas*) to dialogue (*ThCont*) to romance (*Acts of Thomas*) as the dominance of the savior diminishes and the theme of sexual asceticism increasingly predominates. Thus *ThCont*, or at least its § A, may have been composed ca. A.D. 200–225 in the ascetic milieu of East Syrian Christianity.

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- Turner³ Idem, private communication (after 1970)

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

- *p. 138¹ * $\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\theta\eta\pi\` \nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \bar{\rho}\sigma\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\nu}\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\iota}\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\delta\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma\` \delta\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \zeta\omega\omega\tau\` \mu\alpha|\theta\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}|\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma$
- 5 $\bar{\rho}\alpha\chi\epsilon\eta\bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \bar{\rho}\sigma\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\` \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\varsigma\ ||\ \epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa\` \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$
 $\zeta\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\rho}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\ |\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\delta\omega\lambda\bar{\rho}\` \eta\alpha\kappa\` \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\` \mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\ |\ \zeta\bar{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\rho}\epsilon\kappa\` \zeta\eta\tau\`$
- $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\` \bar{\rho}\alpha\` \varsigma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi\` \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\rho}\alpha\psi\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\eta\epsilon\` \zeta\epsilon\tau\text{-}$
- 10 $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ |\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\kappa\ \eta\iota\mu\` \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\kappa\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\` \bar{\eta}\delta\alpha\psi\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\ \epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\psi\omega\|\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{-}$
 $\eta\alpha\psi\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon\ \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa\` \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\alpha\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ |\ \bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega\epsilon\ \alpha\eta$
 $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\` \epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\kappa\` \psi\omega\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \epsilon\` |\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\kappa\` \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\iota\bar{\nu}\` \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\kappa\` \ \alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\dagger\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\` \ \alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma|\omega\ \gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}\ \epsilon\kappa\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \chi\epsilon\ \delta\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \bar{\rho}\epsilon$
- 15 $\bar{\rho}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\mu}\eta\epsilon\ |\ \ \zeta\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa\` \omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\text{-}$
 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` ||\ \alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\kappa\ \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \epsilon\ \ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\kappa\` \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\eta\` \text{-}$
 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \epsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\eta\` \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\iota\bar{\nu}\` \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\eta\` \ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\eta\` \varsigma\omicron\gamma|\omega\eta\eta\eta\ \gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}\` \bar{\mu}\text{-}$
 $\bar{\rho}\eta\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\ \lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\` \ \bar{\rho}\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\eta\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma|\alpha\alpha\tau\eta\` \alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\ \omicron\eta\` \epsilon\eta\chi\iota$
- 20 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\` \alpha\bar{\rho}\beta\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\eta\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\ |\ \ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\` \bar{\rho}\alpha\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\`$
 $\alpha\kappa\eta\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\theta\eta\eta\` ||\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\ \chi\iota\ \chi\bar{\rho}\omicron\pi\` \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\eta\`$
 $\epsilon\eta\` \varsigma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\eta\`$

AUXILIARY NOTES

138:1 Sah. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\omicron\gamma$. 4 Sah. $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma$.
4 i.e. $\bar{\rho}\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}$. 5 i.e. $\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$
9 Sah. $\epsilon\kappa\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

138:3 $\mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon$ < $\gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ > Kirchner, with hesitation
7 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon$: $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ em. Turner², with hesitation 8 $\bar{\rho}\alpha\psi\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\eta\epsilon$: understood by Nagel
as mistranslation of Greek συναληθής as though συναληθής: as Greek $\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\text{-}$
 $\theta\iota\eta\bar{\nu}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Kirchner 18 $\beta\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$: β written over erasure of π 19 $\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$: prob. emend to $\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$
(but cf. 143:3)

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN D. TURNER

1 The secret words that the savior spoke to ' Judas Thomas which I, even I Mathaias, ' wrote down, while I was walking, listening to them speak with ' one another.

The savior said, "Brother Thomas, while ⁵ you (sg.) have time in the world listen to me, ' and I will reveal to you the things you have pondered ' in your mind.

"Now since it has been said that you are my ' twin and true companion, examine yourself and learn ' who you are, in what way you exist, and ¹⁰ how you will come to be. Since you will be called my brother, ' it is not fitting that you be ignorant ' of yourself. And I know that you have understood, ' because you had already understood that I am the knowledge of the truth. ' So while you accompany me, although you are uncomprehending, ¹⁵ you have (in fact) already come to know, and you will be called 'the one who ' knows himself.' For he who has not known himself ' has known nothing, but he who has known himself ' has at the same time already achieved knowledge about the depth of the all. ' So then you my brother Thomas have beheld what is obscure ²⁰ to men, that is, what they ignorantly stumble against." '

138:2 Mathaias: *not the same spelling as Matthew or Matthaias*

138:8 true companion: *possibly an error for fellow contender*

- παχεϋ δε ν̄σι θωμας̄ μ̄πχοεις χε | ετβε παει σε †σοπ̄ μ̄μοκ
 χεκαας εκνασω ναϊ | [ν̄ν]ε†ψινε μ̄μοκ̄ εροοϋ̄ †α θη ν̄τεκ̄ ανα-
 25 λημ̄ψις | [αγ]ω ζοταν̄ εειψαν̄ σωτ̄μ̄ εβολ ζιτοοτκ̄ †α πρα ||
 ν̄νεθηπ̄ τοτε οϋν̄ δομ̄ μ̄μοει εψαχε ετβη†τ[ο]γ̄ αγω σογονζ
 εβολ ναει χε τμηε σμοκζ ᾱ|α[ς] ν̄ναζρ̄ν̄ ν̄ρωμε̄
- αϋ̄ ογωψ̄β̄ ν̄σι π̄σωρ̄ εϋχω μ̄|μ̄[ο]ς̄ χε εψπε νετογονζ εβολ νητ̄ν̄
 30 σεζηπ̄ | ν̄[ν]αζρ̄ν̄ τηνε ν̄αψ̄ ν̄ζε̄ εϋν̄ δαμ̄ μ̄μωτ̄ν̄ ασωτ̄μ̄ || ανετε
 ν̄σεογονζ εβολ αν̄ εψπε ν̄ζβηγε ν̄τμηε | ετογονζ εβολ ζ̄μ̄
 πκοσμοσ σεμοκζ ατρετ̄ν̄ᾱ|αϋ̄ εειε πως δε ετετναειρε ν̄να πμεγε-
 θεοσ ετ̄|χοσε̄ αγω να πληρωμα ετε ν̄σεογονζ εβολ | αν̄ ν̄-
 35 ναψ̄ δε ν̄ζε εϋναμοϋτε ερωτ̄ν̄ χε εργατης || ετβε παϊ ν̄τωτ̄ν̄
 ζενσβοϋει αγω μ̄πατετν̄χι μ̄|πμεγεθεοσ ν̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄τελειοσ
- αϋ̄ ογωψ̄β̄ δε ν̄σι | θωμας̄ πεχαϋ̄ μ̄π̄σωρ̄ χε χοσ νααν̄ ετβε [ν]αει |
 ετκ̄χω μ̄μοοϋ χε σεογονζ εβολ αν̄ ᾱ|λα σε]ζηπ̄ | ερον̄
 40 παχε π̄σωρ̄ χε σωμα [νι]μ̄ [.⁹] ν̄ || ν̄τβνοοϋε̄ εϋχπο
 μ̄μοοϋ . [.] [. .] ε | εϋ[οϋ]ονζ ε[β]ολ μ̄πρητε ν̄θε
 ν̄[. . .] ψ[.] τ̄ εϋ̄ϋοϋ||^{10½}] τ̄ε[.^{2½} .] παϊ ζωωϋ̄ νετ̄μ̄π̄σα
 *p. 139¹ ν̄τπε | [.¹⁵] . νετογονζ εβολ αλλα ε[γ]̄*ονζ
 εβολ ζ̄ν̄ τοϋνοϋνε οϋαατοϋ αγω νεγκαρ|ποσ πετ̄σααν̄ ψ̄-
 μοοϋ νεεισωμα ν̄τοοϋ ετοϋ|ονζ εβολ̄ εϋωμ̄ εβολ ζ̄ν̄ ν̄σωντ̄
 ε†νε μ̄μοοϋ | ετβε παϊ δε ν̄σωμα σεψιβε πετ̄ψιβε δε ϋνα-
 5 τε||κο ν̄ϋωσ̄ν̄ αγω μ̄ντεϋ ζελπις ν̄ωνζ χ̄μ̄ πιναϋ | χε πισωμα

26–27 i.e. ααας.

34 i.e. ν̄αψ̄.

43–139:1 prob. i.e. εϋογονζ. 139:1 Sah. τεϋνοϋνε. 3 i.e. εϋογωμ . . . ετεινε.

38 rest. Turner, Krause

39 [νι]μ̄ : rest. Krause [ν̄τε ν̄ρωμε μ]ν̄ rest. Schenke, with hesitation : [σεψοοπ̄ ν̄θε] ν̄ rest. Kirchner : [αγωψινε ν̄θε] ν̄ rest. Krause 40 ο[γωψ̄ν̄ λορ]οϋ̄ ε[ει]ε sim. rest. Turner² 41 ν̄[. . .] : ν̄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored prob. ν̄[οϋ .] or ν̄[νι .] for ψ can also be read ν̄ ν̄[οϋς]ψ[ν]τ̄ sim. Turner : ν̄[οϋκ]ψ[ζ]τ̄ Schenke² εϋ̄ϋοϋ read in photographs : for ϋ can also be read ο, ψ, or ϋ 41–42 ϋοϋ||τωμ̄ - - -] rest. Kirchner 42 [10½] τ̄ : or else [10½] η [- - - εκεσων]τ̄ Kirchner : [- - - κεκωζ]τ̄ sim. Schenke² παϊ pap. ε[τβε] παϊ rest. Schenke² σα ν̄τπε^{vocal} read in photographs 43 . . : only a superlin. stroke survives [σεψοοπ̄ αν̄ μ̄πρητε] ν̄ rest. Kirchner 43–139:1 ε[γ]̄|ονζ : ε[ϋοϋ]ονζ Krause, poss. rightly : also possible is ε[γ]̄|ωνζ (thus Turner)

Now Thomas said to the lord, '“Therefore I beg you to tell me ' what I ask you before your ascension, ' and when I hear from you about ²⁵ the hidden things, then I can speak about ' them. And it is obvious to me that the truth is difficult to ' perform before men.”'

The savior answered, saying, ' “If the things that are visible to you (pl.) are obscure ' to you, how can you hear ³⁰ about the things that are not visible? If the deeds of the truth ' that are visible in the world are difficult for you (pl.) to perform, ' how indeed, then, shall you perform those that pertain to the ' exalted height and to the pleroma, which are not visible? ' And how shall you be called 'laborers'? ³⁵ In this respect you are apprentices, and have not yet received ' the height of perfection.”'

Now Thomas answered ' and said to the savior, “Tell us about these things ' that you say are not visible, [but are] hidden ' from us.”'

The savior said, “[All] bodies [. . .] ⁴⁰ the beasts are begotten [. . .] . . . ' it is evident like [. . .] . . . ' [. . .] . . . this, too, those that are above ' [. . .] things that are visible, but [they are] visible **139** in their own root, and it is their fruit ' that nourishes them. But these visible bodies ' survive by devouring creatures similar to them ' with the result that the bodies change. Now that which changes will ⁵ decay and perish, and has no hope of life from then on, ' since that body

138:43–139:1 *or, but [they] live from their own root*

ΓΑΡ ΟΥΤΒ̄ΝΗ ΠΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΘΕ ΔΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ` | ΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΣΜΑ` ΤΕΚΟ
 ΤΕΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΕΙΠΛΑΣΜΑ` | ΣΕΝΑΤΕΚΟ` ΜΗΤΙ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΠΕ Ζ̄Ν
 10 ΤΣΥΝΟΥΣΙΑ Ν̄|ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΑ Ν̄ΤΒ̄ΝΟΟΥΕ` ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Σ ΖΩ||ΩΨ ΠΕ
 Ν̄ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΕ ΕΨΝΑΧΠΟ Ν̄ΟΥΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ | ΕΡΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΩ-
 Τ̄Ν ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΨΑΝΤΕ|Τ̄Ν̄Ρ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ`

ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ̄ ΔΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΧΕ Ε|ΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ †ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΝΑΚ` ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ
 15 ΝΕΤΨΑΧΕ | ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΕ Ν̄ΣΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ` ΑΨΩ ΝΕΤ`ΜΟΚΖ || ΝΒΟΛΟΥ
 ΕΥΤ̄Ν̄ΤΩΝ ΔΝΕΤΧΩΛΚ` Ν̄ΝΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΑΥ|ΜΗΪΝΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΨΗ ΣΕΧΩΛΚ`
 ΜΕΝ Ν̄ΝΕΥΣΟΤΕ Ν̄ΘΕ | Ν̄ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΧΩΛΚ` ΑΠΜΑΪΝΕ` ΑΛΛΑ
 ΦΟΥΟΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ` ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ` ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ϸ|ΖΩΠ`
 20 Μ̄ΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΖΩΒ Μ̄ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ || ΕΒΟΛ` Ν̄ΤΟΚ` ΔΕ Π̄Ν-
 ΟΥΟΕΙΝ` ΕΚ̄Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ` |

ΠΑΧΕϸ Ν̄ΣΙ ῙΣ ΧΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ` ΕΨΩΟΟΠ` Ζ̄Μ ΠΟΥ|Ο|ΪΕΙΝ`

ΠΑΧΕϸ Ν̄ΣΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ` ΕΨΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ` ΧΕ ΠΧΟ|ΕΙΣ| | ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΠΙΟΥΟ-
 ΕΙΝ` ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤ̄Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ | ΕΤΒΕ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ` ΨΑϸΠ̄Ρ̄ΡΙΕ ΑΨΩ ΨΑϸ-
 ΖΩΤΠ`

25 ΠΑΧΕϸ || Ν̄ΣΙ Π̄ΣΩ̄Ρ ΧΕ Ω ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ ϸ[Α]Ρ |
 ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Αϸ̄Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΧΕΚΑ[ΔΣ] | ΔΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΔΩ Μ̄-
 ΠΙΜΑ` ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΕΒ[ΟΛ] | Ν̄ΖΗΤϸ` ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΕΨΑ Ν̄-
 30 ΣΩΤΠ` ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΨ [Ε]Ζ|ΡΑΪ Ν̄†Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄Β̄ΝΗ` ΤΟΤΕ ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΦΝᾹΡΑΝΑ||ΧΩΡΕΙ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΕϸ`ΟΥΣΙΑ ΑΨΩ ΤΕϸ`ΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΑΨΟΠϸ` | ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΖΥ-
 ΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΝΟΥϸ` ΠΕ

ΤΟΤΕ | ΑΦΟΥΨΩ ΖΕΤΟΥΤϸ` Ν̄ΣΙ Π̄ΣΩ̄Ρ ΠΑΧΕϸ` ΧΕ Ω ΤΕΤΕ | ΜΑΨΩ̄Ν ΡΑΤ̄Σ
 ΤΑΓΑΠΗ Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ` Ω ΠΣΙΨΕ Μ̄|ΠΚΩΖΤ` ΕΤΧΕΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Ν Ν̄ΣΩΜΑ Ν̄Ν̄-
 35 ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄Ν || ΝΕΥΑΤΚΑΣ` ΕΨΧΕΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ Ν̄ΤΟΥΨΗ Μ̄Ν | Φ[ΟΟΥ] ΑΨΩ
 ΕΤΡΩΧΖ Ν̄ΜΜΕΛΟΣ Ν̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ` ΑΨΩ | Ε[ΤΤΡΕ Ν]ΕΥΖΗΤ †ΖΕ` ΑΨΩ ΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ

6 Ν̄Ν̄Θε : i.e. Ν̄Θε. 7 Sah. πεϸσμα.

26 Sah. εϸ̄ρ.

139:22 rest. Turner, Krause

25 ϸ[Α]Ρ sim. Schenke² 27 rest. Turner, Krause

36 rest. Turner, Krause 37 ε[ΤΤΡΕ Ν] Layton : for the syntax cf. 139:36 ΕΤΡΩΧΖ and

139:39 ΕΤΚΙΜ : ε[ΣΤΡΕ Ν] Godron

is bestial. So just as the body of the beasts ' perishes, so also will these formations ' perish. Do they not derive from intercourse ' like that of the beasts? If it (the body) too derives from intercourse, ¹⁰ how will it beget anything different from ' beasts? So, therefore, you are babes until ' you become perfect.''

And Thomas answered, ' "Therefore I say to you, lord, that those who speak ' about things that are invisible and difficult ¹⁵ to explain are like those who shoot their arrows at a ' target at night. To be sure, they shoot their arrows as ' anyone would—since they shoot at the target—but it is not visible. ' Yet when the light comes forth and ' hides the darkness, then the work of each will appear. ²⁰ And you, our light, enlighten, o lord." ' '

Jesus said, "It is in light that light exists." ' '

Thomas spoke, saying, "Lord, ' why does this visible light that shines ' on behalf of men rise and set?"'

The savior ²⁵ said, "O blessed Thomas, of course this visible light ' shines on your (pl.) behalf—not in order [that] ' you (pl.) remain here, but rather that you might come forth ' —and whenever all the elect abandon ' bestiality, then this light will withdraw ³⁰ up to its essence, and its essence will welcome it, ' since it is a good servant."

Then ' the savior continued and said, "O ' unsearchable love of the light! O bitterness of ' the fire that blazes in the bodies of men and in ³⁵ their marrow, kindling in them night and ' day, and burning the limbs of men and ' [making] their minds become drunk and their souls

139:9–11 *literally*, If it too derives from it, how can it beget anything different from them?

139:15–17 *or*, are like those who extend their (signal) fires for a signal at night. To be sure, they extend their fires as anyone would— since they extend (them) for a signal—but it is not visible

- εστρωπωω̄ | α |] ερ[ο]ογ ζραϊ̄ zñ̄ n̄zoγτ` mñ̄ n̄cziome |
 40 [.] . εζ . [. το]γψη αγω εκιμ` εροογ [zñ̄] ογ[[. .]μ` εϛ[. . .]zñ̄
 *p. 140¹ ογζωπ` mñ̄ ογψηζ εβο[λ ce]||κ|μ γαρ` n̄σῑ n̄zoογτ` c[- - -] αχñ̄
 n̄cziom̄||με` αγω n̄cziome` αχ[ñ̄ n̄zoογτ ετβε παϊ ce]*χω m̄μοc
 χε ογον nim` ετψινε n̄ca τμηε εβολ | zñ̄ τcαβη m̄μηε φναςμινε
 ναϛ` n̄zen̄tñz̄ ατρεϛ`ζωλ` εϛπητ` ζητc̄ n̄τεπιθγμια ετρωκ n̄m̄πn̄a |
 5 n̄ñ̄ρωμε` αγω φναςμινε ναϛ` n̄zen̄tñz̄ εϛπωτ` || ζητϛ` m̄πn̄a
 nim` ετογονζ εβολ`
 αϛογωψβ̄ n̄σι | θωμαc` εϛχω m̄μοc` χε πχοειc` παϊ ρω πεϛψηνε
 m̄μοκ` ετβητϛ` ζωc̄ επιδη̄ δειm̄με χε n̄τοκ` | πετp̄ νοϛρε ναn` κατα
 θε εκχω m̄μοc
 10 παλιν αϛ`ογωψβ̄ n̄σῑ πcωp̄ πεχαϛ χε ετβε παϊ ογαναγκη || ερον
 τε αχοοc̄ n̄ηtñ̄ χε ταεῑ γαρ τε εcβω n̄ñ̄τε|λειοc̄ εϛπε
 τετñ̄ογωψε σε` αp̄ τελειοc̄` τετνα|αρεζ̄ εναει` εϛωπε m̄μον`
 πετñ̄ραν̄ πε ατcβω` | επιδη̄ m̄ψβοm̄` n̄τε ογp̄m̄ñ̄ζητ` ογωζ m̄ñ̄
 15 ογ`οc̄οc̄̄ πp̄m̄ñ̄ζητ` γαρ` φχηκ` εβολ̄ n̄cοφια nim` || πcοc̄ n̄-

40 i.e. ογωψηζ εβολ. 140:3 i.e. ρωκz (Krause emends thus).
 12 i.e. ζαρεζ.

εστρωϛ : prob. emend to ετpρωϛ; for the syntax cf. 139:36 and 139:39 38 α[- - -] read in photographs ερ[.]ογ : for ε̄ can also be read ϕ, ϝ or ϙ; for ϛ̄ can also be read β̄ rest. Krause 38-42 Turner² compares Mani K 26:15-17 and 27:3-4 39 [.] . εζ . [.] : first letter trace can be read η, ι, ϛ, η or ϙ; second letter trace is not distinct [m̄]πεζο[ογ - - -] : sim. rest. Krause, but unlikely (elsewhere text has φοογ) [- - - το]γψη rest. Turner. Krause [zñ̄] rest. Turner², Krause 40 [. .]μ` : [cο]μ` rest. Layton, with hesitation : [κ|μ] rest. Krause εϛ[χερο z]ñ̄ rest. Krause, with hesitation εβο[2¹/₂-5] pap. 40-41 εβο[λ ce]||κ|μ rest. Krause 41 zoογτ`c[13-15] pap. 41-42 zoογτ`c[zimē eneγep̄nȳ αχñ̄ czi]||με` sim. rest. Kirchner (αχñ̄ "without") : zoογτ` c[εκιμ` εζραϊ̄ αχñ̄ n̄cziom̄]||με` Turner², but unlikely; another verb may be needed restore [- - - αχñ̄ n̄cziom̄]||με` . . . αχ[ñ̄ n̄zoογτ - - -] if αχñ̄ is for εχñ̄ (sim. rest. Krause) or else [- - - αχñ̄ czi]||με` . . . αχ[ñ̄ zoογτ - - -] if αχñ̄ means "without" (Crum 25b) 42 αχ[13¹/₂-15¹/₂] pap. : cf. on 138:41-42 42-140:1 [- - - ετβε παϊ ce]||χω m̄μοc rest. Turner² : [- - - αϛογωψβ̄ οn̄ εϛ]||χω m̄μοc rest. Kirchner, but unlikely 140:1-5 the source of this quotation has not been identified 4 τñz̄ <ατρ>εϛπωτ Kirchner : for the syntax cf. 145:2 5 πn̄ā nim` <- - - > ετογονζ Kirchner 7 ζωc̄ <- - - > επιδη̄ Kirchner, poss. rightly 13 ογωζ m̄ñ̄ : ογωζm̄ñ̄ Turner, Krause, with hesitation

become deranged ' [. . .] them within males and females ' . . . [. . .] night and moving them, [. . .] ⁴⁰ . . . secretly and visibly. ' For the males [move . . . upon the females] ' and the females upon [the males. Therefore it is] **140** said, 'Everyone who seeks the truth from ' true wisdom will make himself wings so as to ' fly, fleeing the lust that scorches the spirits ' of men.' And he will make himself wings to flee ⁵ every visible spirit."

And Thomas answered, ' saying, "Lord, this is exactly what I am asking ' you about, since I have understood that you ' are the one who is beneficial to us, as you say."

Again ' the savior answered and said, "Therefore it is necessary ¹⁰ for us to speak to you (pl.), since this is the doctrine for the perfect. ' If, now, you (pl.) desire to become perfect, you shall ' observe these things: if not, your (pl.) name is 'Ignorant,' ' since it is impossible for an intelligent man to dwell with a ' fool, for the intelligent man is perfect in all wisdom. ¹⁵ To the fool, however,

139:41–42 upon . . . upon : *or*, without . . . without

τοϥ` ππετνανοϥϥ ππεθοοϥ πιωωϥ | ἵνοϥτ` ναϥ` πε xe πσο-
 φος γαρ` ἡνασαανϥ ζῆ | τμηε αϥω ἡναωωπε ἵθεε ἡπωην ετρητ`
 20 ζι|χῆ πμοϥ ν`σωρμ` επιδη οϥν ζοεινε ευῆ τῆζ | ἡμοοϥ ευπωτ`
 ζιχῆ νετοϥονζ εβολ ναει ε||τοϥηϥ εβολ ζῆ τμηε` πετχι μοειτ`
 γαρ ζητοϥ` | ε[τ]ε πκωστ πε` ἡνα† ναϥ ἵνοϥφαντασια ἡμμη
 | [αϥ]ω ἡναῤ οϥοειν εροοϥ ζῆ οϥσαειε εϥνατε|[κο] αϥω
 ἡναῤαιχμαλωτιζε ἡμοοϥ` ζῆ οϥζλ|βε ἡκακε` ἡϥτορποϥ ζῆ οϥζη-
 25 δονη ες† στοει || αϥω ἡνααϥ ἡβλλε ζραῖ ζῆ τεπιϥμια ἡατσει
 | αϥω ἡναχαϥχῆ ἡνεϥψϥχοοϥε` αϥω ἡϥωω|[πε] ναϥ ἡθε ἡ-
 νοϥωμοϥε` εστακῆ ζῆ ποϥζητ` | ε[μ]ἡ ψβομ` ἡμοοϥ ἡναζῆ ε-
 30 νεζ αϥω ἡθε ἡ|οϥχαλινος ζῆ οϥταπρο εϥσσκ` ἡμοοϥ απεϥ`||-
 οϥωϥε` ἡμιν` ἡμοϥ`
 αϥω αϥμοροϥ ζῆ νεϥ`|αλλυςις` αϥω νεϥμελος τηροϥ αϥ-
 conζοϥ ἡ|ζραῖ ζῆ πσιϥε` ἡτμηῤε ἡτεπιϥμιαε` ἡναει | ετοϥονζ
 εβολ ετνατεκο αϥω ετναωιβε | αϥω ετναπωνε κατα πσσκ` ἡ-
 35 ταϥσοκοϥ` || ἡτπε απιτη ἡοϥοειϥ νιμ` ευζωτῆ ἡμοοϥ | εϥσσκ
 ἡμοοϥ ζιχῆ ἡτῆνοοϥε` τηροϥ ἡπ|χωζῆ
 αϥ`οϥωωῆ ἡσι οωμας πα χ[εϥ xe] ϥ`|οϥονζ εβολ` αϥω αϥ-
 χοο[ς] xe ζ[αζ]` [νετ . .]` | ε[^{2½}.] ἡνετε ἡσεσοϥν α[ν] . .
 40 [^{2½}.]||[. . .]ψϥχη
 αϥοϥωωῆ δε ἡε[ι πσῶῤ] εϥχω | [ἡμο]ς χ[ε ναε]ῖατ[ϥ`] ἡπсавε

25 i.e. ἡναααϥ. 27 i.e. ἡοϥωμοϥε. ποϥζητ : Sah. πεϥζητ.

15 ππετνανοϥϥ <αϥω> ππεθοοϥ Kirchner 21 rest. Turner², sim. Krause 22 rest. Turner, Krause 23 rest. Turner 26 χαϥχῆ : first ϥ written over the false start of χ 27 rest. Turner, Krause 28 rest. Turner, Krause

37–38 ϥ`οϥονζ pap. : the reading of pap. cannot have been ϥ`οϥονζ : but cf. 138:26 and 142:20 (coϥονζ) 38 ζ[. .]^[4-5]` read in photographs : ζ[αζ]` [νετ - - -] sim. rest. Turner²; for the syntax cf. 142:5 38–39 ζ[ωκ]` [ἡμωτῆ]` ε[βολ] sim. Kirchner : also poss. is ζ[αζ]` [νετωϥ]` | ε[βολ] 39 α[⁶] . . [. .]^{vocal} read in photographs (*Facsimile Edition* incorrectly retouched here) : first letter trace can be read ϣ (ligatured), η, ι, μ, ν, π, ϣ, τ (ligatured), υ or ϥ; second letter trace can be read ε, ϥ, ο, ϥ, ω, ψ or ϥ α[⁶] : α[ν ἡμοοϥ] Schenke 40 [ἡῆ τ]ψϥχη Schenke²

40 ἡε[ι πσῶῤ] : cf. 138:27, 140:8–9, 142:5–6, 142:9–10, 142:26 40–41 χω | [ἡμο]ς χ[ε - - -] : also palaeographically possible is χω [ἡ][μο]ς [χε - - -] 41 [- - - ναε]ῖατ[ϥ`] ἡ : sim. rest. Turner ἡ : superlin. stroke is definite, μ restored

the good and bad are ' the same—indeed the wise man will be nourished by ' the truth and (Ps 1:3) 'will be like a tree growing by ' the meandering stream'—seeing that there are some who, although having wings, ' rush upon the visible things, things that ²⁰ are far from the truth. For that which guides them, ' the fire, will give them an illusion of truth, ' and will shine on them with a [perishable] beauty, ' and it will imprison them in a dark ' sweetness and captivate them with fragrant pleasure. ²⁵ And it will blind them with insatiable lust ' and burn their souls and become ' for them like a stake stuck in their heart ' which they can never dislodge. And like ' a bit in the mouth it leads them according to its ³⁰ own desire.

“And it has fettered them with its ' chains and bound all their limbs ' with the bitterness of the bondage of lust for those ' visible things that will decay and change ' and swerve by impulse. They have ³⁵ always been attracted downwards: as they are killed, ' they are assimilated to all the beasts of ' the perishable realm.”

Thomas answered and said, ‘‘It ' is obvious and has been said, ‘[Many ' are . . .] ' . . . those who do not know [. . .] . . . ⁴⁰ soul’.”

And [the savior] answered, saying, ' ‘‘[Blessed is] the wise

- *p. 141¹ $\bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\upsilon\psi[\iota][\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\alpha\ \tau\mu\eta\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}] \tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\delta\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\epsilon}\ \alpha\upsilon\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\mu}-$
 *μοϥ` εζραϊ εχωσ ψα ενεζ αγω μπϥρ̄ ζοτε ζητοϥ | $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\epsilon$
 αψτ̄ρτωρϥ`
 αϥοϥψβ̄ $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ |\ \pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \sigma\bar{\rho}\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\bar{\nu}\ |\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\`$
- 5 παχεϥ $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \pi\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\ \chi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\ \psi\alpha\gamma\ \|\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \pi\epsilon\` \alpha\gamma\omega\ \nu\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \nu\eta-$
 τ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ επιδη νετοϥονζ | εβολ ζ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\rho}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\` \sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omega\lambda\ \epsilon-$
 βολ $\pi\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \bar{\nu}[\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\rho\zeta\` \nu\alpha\bar{\nu}\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \chi\omega\rho\epsilon$
 εβολ | $\psi\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\nu}\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon[\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\omega$
- 10 τοτε πκωζτ` ετοϥναϥ εροϥ` εϥ† τκασ ναϥ || ετβε ταγαπη $\bar{\nu}-$
 τπιστις` ετε οϥ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ ταϥ` ζα θη $\bar{\mu}\pi[\iota\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \pi\alpha\lambda\iota\bar{\nu}\ \sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\sigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma$
 απετοϥονζ εβολ | $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\nu}\zeta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\chi\bar{\nu}$
 | $\tau\omega\rho\pi\` \bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\ \sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \pi\bar{\rho}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\psi\ \bar{\mu}\pi\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma\` |\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \pi\rho\omega\chi\zeta\` \bar{\mu}[\bar{\nu}]-$
- 15 πκωζτ` $\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega\ \psi\alpha\bar{\nu}[\tau\epsilon\upsilon\beta\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\` \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\nu}\zeta$
 εβολ $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\` \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\` \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\` \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ |\$
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\sigma\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \zeta\iota\chi\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\omega\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\ |\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\` \tau\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$
 οϥτακο $\bar{\mu}\psi\chi\eta$
- 20 αϥ`οϥψβ̄ δε $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\upsilon\` \|\ \alpha-$
 χοοϥ` $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\zeta\rho\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \eta\ \omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\` \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta$
 αϥ $\bar{\nu}\sigma\omega\tau\ \tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\` \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\iota\tau[\alpha\lambda]\alpha[\iota]\pi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\theta\eta\bar{\nu}\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\varsigma\`$
 χε ανει $\alpha[\bar{\rho}\ \pi\epsilon]\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\` \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \pi\alpha\lambda\iota\bar{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon\ \sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha-$
- 25 $\chi[\omicron\omicron\varsigma]\` |\ \chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\pi\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \tau\sigma\alpha\rho\zeta\` \bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\ [\psi]\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$
 πε

141:6-7 Sah. $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\zeta$.

41-141:1 rest. Turner : cf. 140:1-4, 16-18 141:1 μοϥ` read in photographs 2 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau$
 read in photographs

3 παχεϥ` read in photographs

8 νετοϥονζ εβολ <αγω> ζ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ Kirchner 9 αγω τοτε: τοτε added above the
 line 10 < $\bar{\nu}$ >ετε οϥ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ ταϥ` (with a sentence beginning ετβε ταγαπη) Kirchner 12
 < $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau$ > $\alpha\chi\bar{\nu}$ (beginning a new sentence) Kirchner 14 $[\bar{\nu}]$ cancelled by the copy-
 ist 17-18 ζιχ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ [$\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$] ζ̄ $\bar{\nu}$ οϥ† τκασ < $\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\zeta$ > Kirchner 18 οϥτακο
 < $\bar{\nu}$ > $\bar{\mu}\psi\chi\eta$ Kirchner

20 poss. $\bar{\nu}$ < $\bar{\nu}$ > $\bar{\nu}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ (thus Quecke) 22 rest. Turner : $\alpha[\pi\epsilon]\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ Krause, but
 unlikely 24 σϥων [.] $\alpha\upsilon\`$ ^{VAR⁰¹} read in photographs $[\psi]\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ rest. J. M. Robinson
 392

man who [sought ' after the truth, and] when he found it, he rested **141** upon it forever and was unafraid of those ' who wanted to disturb him.'"

Thomas answered ' and said, "Is it beneficial for us, lord, to rest ' among our own?"

The savior said, "Yes, it is useful. ⁵ And it is good for you (pl.) since things visible ' among men will dissolve—for the vessel of ' their flesh will dissolve, and when it is brought to naught ' it will come to be among visible things, among things that are seen. ' And then the fire which they see gives them pain ¹⁰ on account of love for the faith they ' formerly possessed. They will be gathered back to that which is visible. ' Moreover, those who have sight among things that are not visible, without ' the first love they will perish in the concern for this ' life and the scorching of the fire. Only a little while longer, ¹⁵ and that which is visible will dissolve; then ' shapeless shades will emerge and ' in the midst of tombs they will forever dwell upon the corpses ' in pain and corruption of soul.'" '

Thomas answered and said, "What have we ²⁰ to say in the face of these things? What shall we say to ' blind men? What doctrine should we express to these miserable ' mortals who say, 'We came to [do] ' good and not to curse,' and yet [claim], 'Had we not been begotten in the flesh, we would not have known ²⁵ [iniquity]?"

παχεϥ ⲛⲅⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲣ̅ ϫⲉ ϯⲛ ⲟϥⲙⲏⲉ ⲛ[ⲁⲉⲓ] ⲉϫⲓⲙⲙⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲣ̅ⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲕ` ⲛ-
 ϣⲙⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲡⲟϥ ϯ[ⲱϥ ⲧⲃ̅]ⲛⲟⲟϥⲉ` ⲛⲟⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲏⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟϥⲉ
 ⲉϥⲟϥⲱⲙ` ⲛⲛ[ⲉϥⲉ]ϫⲓⲣⲏϥ` ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ϯⲱⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛ[ⲉ
 30 ⲓⲉ]ⲟϥⲱⲙ` ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲣⲏϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲓⲉϯⲟϥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲧ` ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲣ̅[ⲣⲟ] || ⲉⲓⲡⲓⲏ
 ⲓⲙⲁⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲯⲗⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲱⲯⲧ` ⲁϥⲱ ⲓⲉⲟ ⲛⲓⲯⲙⲯⲁⲗ ⲙⲡⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲓⲉ-
 ⲡⲏⲧ` ⲁⲛⲯⲃⲏϥ ⲙⲡϫⲱⲯⲙⲉ | ⲓⲉ ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲡⲉϩⲙⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲓⲟ-
 35 ⲧⲉ ⲓⲉⲛⲁ[ⲛⲟ]ϫⲟϥ ⲉϯⲣⲁⲓ ⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲛ` ⲛⲓⲉⲣ̅ⲙⲁⲓⲧⲓϥⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲟⲟϥ | ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϯⲓ-
 ⲧⲏ ⲧⲁⲛⲁϥ`ⲕⲏ ⲙⲡⲓϫⲟⲉ ⲛⲧⲟϥϫⲟⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟ||ⲟϥ ⲓⲉⲛⲁⲫⲣⲁϥⲉⲗⲗⲟϥ ⲓⲁⲣ`
 ⲙⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲁⲧⲣⲟϥⲡⲱⲧ` ⲛⲓⲕⲁϫⲟϥ ⲁⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲟⲟϥⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ
 ⲁⲛ` ⲁϥⲱ | ⲓⲉⲛ[ⲁⲗ]ⲟ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ` ϯⲏ ⲟϥϯϥⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁ
 [ⲯⲏ ⲟϥ]ⲕⲁ ⲧⲟⲟⲕ` ⲉⲃⲟⲗ` ⲁϥⲱ ⲓⲉⲣⲁϫⲉ ⲉϫⲙ̅ [- - -] | ⲣ[. . . -
 40 . . . !1½ . . .] ⲡⲓⲃⲉ` ⲙⲏ ⲡⲡⲱϫ̅ ⲉϥⲟ [ⲛ - - -] || [ⲓⲉ]ⲡⲏⲧ
 ⲛ[ⲓⲁ ⲡⲓ]ⲡⲱϫ̅ ⲛⲯⲏⲧ` ⲉⲛ[ⲓⲉ]ⲙⲙⲉ ⲁ[ⲛ ⲙⲡⲟϥ]||[ⲗⲓ]ⲃⲉ` ⲉϥ[ⲙⲉⲉ]ϥⲉ ϫⲉ
 ϯⲏⲓⲃⲁⲃⲉⲉϥ ⲛ[ⲉ ⲓⲉ - - - - -] | [. .]ⲁⲉⲓⲉ ⲙⲡⲟϥⲓⲱⲙⲁ ϯ . [- - - - -
 *p. 142! - - - - -] * ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟϥⲏⲧ` ⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ` ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟϥⲙⲉⲉϥⲉ ϯⲓ |
 ⲛⲉϥⲡⲣⲁϯⲓϥ ⲧⲓⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲯ ⲙⲙⲟⲟϥ`
 ⲁϥⲟϥⲱϫ̅ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲅⲓ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ` ⲡⲁϫⲉϥ` ϫⲉ ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓϥ` ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲛⲟϫⲟϥ`
 5 ⲉϯⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲣ ⲟϥ ⲧⲣ̅ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲙⲛⲁ || ⲓⲁⲣ ⲙⲡϫⲱⲁ` ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟϥ ϯⲁϯ
 ⲓⲁⲣ` ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲟϥⲃⲏϥ
 ⲁϥⲟϥⲱϫ̅ ⲛⲅⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲣ̅ ⲡⲁϫⲉϥ` ϫⲉ ⲉϥ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ` ⲡⲉⲧⲟϥⲟⲛⲯ | ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲕ`
 ⲡⲁϫⲉϥ ⲛⲅⲓ ⲓⲟϥⲁⲥ` ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲙⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲣⲟϥ` ϫⲉ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ
 ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓϥ` ⲡⲉⲧⲓⲣ̅ⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ | ⲛⲁⲕ` ⲁϫⲉ ϫⲉ` ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲱⲧⲙ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ`

34 Sah. ⲛⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲓⲥⲓ. 43-142:1 Sah. ⲙⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲙⲁ . . . ⲡⲉϥⲏⲧ . . . ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲉϥ.

25 ⲛ[. . .] *vacat* read in photographs 26 rest. Funk: ϯ[ⲏ ⲛⲧⲃ̅]ⲛⲟⲟϥ Krause 28
 rest. Turner, Krause: for the syntax cf. 139:7 29 ⲙⲏⲧⲣ̅[ⲣⲟ]: of ⲛ̅, ⲛ is definite, superlin.
 stroke restored: sim. rest. Schenke²: also poss. is ⲙⲏⲧⲣ̅[ⲏⲉ] 38 sim. rest.
 Turner ⲉϫⲙ̅ [1-3½]: prob. ⲉϫⲙ̅ [ⲡⲓ] or ⲉϫⲏ̅ [ⲧ] or ⲉϫⲏ̅ [ⲛ] or ⲉϫⲏ̅ [ⲛⲓ] 39 ϣ [11½]
 pap.: ϣ[ⲟⲟϥⲱ ⲛⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲯⲙ̅] rest. Turner², cf. 141:13: ϣ[ⲱⲕⲯ ⲁϥⲱ ⲓⲉⲙⲉ ⲙ̅]
 Kirchner ⲉϥⲟ [1½-4] pap.: ⲉϥⲟ [ⲛⲓⲟⲥ] Schenke² 40 [ⲓⲉ]ⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ[ⲓⲁ - - -] rest.
 Kirchner [- - - ⲡⲓ]ⲡⲱϫ̅ rest. Turner²: [- - - ⲟϥ]ⲡⲱϫ̅ Schenke² ⲙⲙⲉ ⲁ[2-4½]
 pap. 40-41 ⲁ[ⲛ ⲙⲡⲟϥ]||[ⲗⲓ]ⲃⲉ` ⲉϥ[ⲙⲉⲉ]ϥⲉ sim. rest. Turner, Krause 41 ⲛ[9-11½]:
 ⲛ[- - - ⲓⲉ - - -] Layton 42 [ⲛⲓ]ⲁⲉⲓⲉ. Turner: also possible is [ⲡⲙ]ⲁⲉⲓⲉ (Turner²,
 with hesitation) ⲓⲱⲙⲁ ϯ . [12½-15] pap. 142:1 ϯⲓ *vacat* read in photographs

2 ⲁϥ *vacat* read in photographs 3 ⲡⲉⲛ *vacat* read in photographs

6-7 differently. ⲉϥⲏⲧⲁⲕ` ⲡⲉⲧⲟϥⲟⲛⲯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲕ` Turner

The savior said, ‘‘Truly, as for [those], do not esteem them as men, but regard them [as] beasts, for just as beasts devour one another, so also men of this sort devour one another. On the contrary, they are deprived of [the kingdom] ³⁰ since they love the sweetness of the fire and are servants of death and rush to the works of corruption. They fulfill the lust of their fathers. They will be thrown down to the abyss and be afflicted by the torment of the bitterness of their evil nature. ³⁵ For they will be scourged so as to make them rush backwards, whither they do not know, and they [will recede] from their limbs not patiently but [with] despair. And they rejoice over [...] madness and derangement . . . ⁴⁰ [They] pursue [this] derangement without realizing [their madness, thinking] that they are wise. [They . . .] . . . their body [. . .] **142** their mind is directed to their own selves, for their thought is occupied with their deeds. But it is the fire that will burn them!’’

And Thomas answered and said, ‘‘Lord, what will the one thrown down to them do? For I am most anxious ⁵ about them; many are those who fight them.’’

The savior answered and said, ‘‘What is your own opinion?’’

Judas—the one called Thomas—said, ‘‘It is you, lord, whom it befits to speak, and me to listen.’’

- 10 αϑ`ουγ`||ωψβ̄ ν̄βῑ π̄σω̄ρ̄ χε̄ σω̄τ̄μ̄ ᾱπε̄†νᾱχο̄υϑ` νᾱκ` | ν̄κ̄ρ̄πισ̄τε̄ῡε̄
 ζ̄ν̄ τ̄μ̄η̄ε̄ πε̄τ`χο̄ μ̄ν̄ πε̄το̄ῡχο̄ μ̄μο̄ῡ | σε̄νᾱβω̄λ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ζ̄μ̄ πο̄υ-
 κω̄ζτ` ν̄ζρᾱῑ ζ̄μ̄ π̄κω̄ζτ` | μ̄ν̄ π̄μο̄ο̄ῡ [α]γ̄ω̄ ν̄σε̄ζω̄π` ζ̄ν̄ ν̄τᾱφο̄ς` μ̄-
 15 π̄κᾱκε̄ | ᾱγ̄ω̄ μ̄ν̄ν̄σᾱ ζᾱζ̄ ν̄ο̄ῡο̄εῑω̄ σε̄νᾱο̄ῡων̄ζ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄||ν̄κᾱρ̄πο̄ς̄ ν̄-
 ν̄ψ̄η̄ν̄ ε̄βο̄ο̄ῡ ε̄γ̄ρ̄κο̄λᾱζε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ε̄γ̄ζω̄τ̄βε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ζ̄ν̄ τ`τᾱπ̄ρο̄` ν̄ν̄-
 τ̄β̄νο̄ο̄ῡε̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄ρ̄ω̄|με̄` ζ̄ν̄ τᾱφο̄ρ̄μ̄η̄ ν̄ν̄ζο̄ο̄ῡ μ̄ν̄ ν̄τ̄η̄γ̄ μ̄ν̄ πᾱη̄ρ` | μ̄ν̄
 πο̄ῡο̄εῑν` ε̄τ̄ρ̄ ο̄ῡο̄εῑν` μ̄π̄σᾱ ν̄ζ̄ρε̄
 ᾱφο̄γ̄ω̄ψ̄β̄ | δε̄ ν̄βῑ θ̄ω̄μᾱς` χε̄ ακ̄ρ̄πῑθε̄ με̄ν` μ̄μ̄ον̄` π̄χο̄εῑς`
 20 || αν̄ρ̄νο̄εῑ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ν̄ζ̄η̄τ` ᾱγ̄ω̄ σο̄ῡον̄ζ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ χε̄ τᾱεῑ | [τε̄
 θ̄]ε̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ πε̄κ̄ω̄ᾱχε̄ ο̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄φ̄θ̄ον̄ο̄ς̄ ᾱλλ̄ᾱ ν̄ῑω̄ᾱ|[χε̄ ε̄]τ̄κ̄χ̄ω̄ μ̄-
 μο̄ο̄ῡ νᾱν̄` ζ̄εν̄ς̄ω̄βε̄ νε̄ μ̄π̄κο̄ς̄|[μο̄]ς` ᾱγ̄ω̄ ζ̄ν̄λ̄κ̄ ψ̄ᾱεῑ ν̄ς̄ω̄ο̄ῡ
 νε̄` ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ σε̄σο̄|[ο̄ῡ]νε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ αν̄` ν̄ᾱψ̄ σε̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τε̄
 25 εν̄νᾱψ̄β̄ω̄κ` ᾱ`||[τᾱ]ψ̄ε̄ ο̄εῑω̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ χε̄ σε̄ω̄π` μ̄μ̄ον̄` | [αν̄`
 ζ̄]μ̄ π̄κο̄ς̄μο̄ς`
 ᾱφο̄γ̄ω̄ψ̄β̄ ν̄βῑ π̄σω̄ρ̄ πᾱχε̄ϑ̄ χε̄ | [ζᾱμ]η̄ν̄` †χ̄ω̄ μ̄μο̄ς̄ ν̄η̄τ̄ν̄ χε̄
 πε̄τ̄νᾱσω̄τ̄μ̄ ᾱπε̄|[τ̄ν̄ψ̄]ᾱχε̄` ᾱγ̄ω̄ ν̄ϑ̄κ̄το̄ μ̄πε̄ϑ̄ζο̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄` η̄ ν̄ϑ̄κ̄λ̄κ̄ ψ̄ε̄|[ε̄]
 30 ν̄ς̄ω̄ᾱ` [[ν̄]] η̄ ν̄ϑ̄ς̄ω̄τ̄ρ̄ ν̄νε̄ϑ̄`ς̄πο̄το̄ῡ ζ̄ῑ νᾱε̄[ῑ] ζᾱ||μ̄η̄ν̄` †χ̄ω̄ μ̄μο̄ς̄ ν̄η̄τ̄ν̄
 χε̄ σε̄νᾱτᾱᾱϑ̄` ᾱτο̄ο̄τ̄ϑ̄` | μ̄πᾱρ̄χ̄ων̄ ε̄τ̄μ̄π̄σᾱ ν̄`τ̄πε̄` πᾱῑ ε̄τᾱρ̄χεῑ
 ε̄ζ̄ρᾱῑ ε̄|χ̄ν̄ ν̄ε̄ζο̄ῡς̄ιᾱ τ̄η̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄ϑο̄ ν̄ρ̄ρο̄ ε̄χ̄ω̄ο̄ῡ ν̄ϑ̄κ̄το̄ | μ̄πᾱεῑ ε̄τ̄μ̄μᾱγ̄
 ν̄ϑ̄νο̄χ̄ϑ̄ χ̄ν̄ ν̄τ̄πε̄` ψ̄ᾱ πῑτ̄ν̄ ᾱ`π̄νο̄ῡν̄` ν̄ς̄ε̄ω̄ρε̄χ̄` ᾱρ̄ω̄ϑ̄` ζ̄ν̄ ο̄ῡμᾱ
 35 ε̄ϑ̄δ̄η̄γ̄ ε̄ϑο̄ || ν̄κᾱκε̄` μᾱϑ̄ψ̄β̄ν̄ β̄ο̄μ̄ σε̄ μ̄πο̄νε̄ϑ̄` η̄ ακ̄ῑμ̄` ε̄τ̄βε̄ | π̄ι-
 νο̄ς̄ ν̄βᾱθε̄ο̄ς̄` ν̄τε̄ π̄τᾱρ̄τᾱρο̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ πῑς̄[ῑω̄]ε̄ [[ε̄]] | [ε̄τ̄ζ̄]ο̄ρ̄ω̄ ν̄τε̄ ᾱμ̄ν̄τε̄

142:12 Sah. πεγκωζτ. 17 i.e. ζωου.

17 poss. emend to ζωου

20 π̄ν̄ζ̄η̄τ` <ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ χε̄ σε̄ω̄π̄ μ̄μ̄ον̄ αν̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄κο̄ς̄μο̄ς̄> (transposing from 142:25–26) Kirchner 21 rest. Turner : [τε̄ τ̄μ]ε̄ Krause, but unlikely (text uses μ̄η̄ε̄, not με̄) ψ̄α-
 χε̄ ο̄ ν̄: ο̄ added above the line 22 rest. Turner, Krause 24 rest. Turner, Krause 25–26 {ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ . . . κο̄ς̄μο̄ς̄} (and transposing to 142:20) Kirchner 26 sim. rest. Turner

27–28 rest. Turner : πε̄|[ε̄ῑω̄]ᾱχε̄ Krause 28–29 ψ̄ε̄[ε̄] : also poss. is ψ̄ε̄[ε̄ῑ] 29 [[ν̄]] : cancelled by the copyist 36 πῑς̄[ῑω̄]ε̄ : for ϑ̄ can also be read ε̄, θ̄, ο̄ or ϑ̄ rest. Schenke² : also palaeographically possible is πῑο̄[ο̄ρ̄]ε̄ (but cf. Turner² 208) [[ε̄]] : cancelled by the copyist 37 [ε̄τ̄ζ̄]ο̄ρ̄ω̄ sim. Krause

¹⁰ The savior replied, “Listen to what I am going to tell you (sg.) ¹ and believe in the truth. That which sows and that which is sown ¹ will dissolve in their fire—within the fire ¹ and the water—and they will hide in tombs of darkness. ¹ And after a long time they shall show forth ¹⁵ the fruit of the evil trees, being punished, ¹ being slain in the mouth of beasts and men ¹ at the instigation of the rains and winds and air ¹ and the light that shines above.”

Thomas ¹ replied, “You have certainly persuaded us, lord. ²⁰ We realize in our heart, and it is obvious, that this ¹ [is so], and that your word is sufficient. But these words ¹ that you speak to us are ridiculous and contemptible to the world ¹ since they are misunderstood. ¹ So how can we go ²⁵ preach them, since we are [not] esteemed ¹ [in] the world?”

The savior answered and said, ¹ “Truly I tell you (pl.) that he who will listen to ¹ [your] word and turn away his face or sneer ¹ at it or smirk at these things, truly ³⁰ I tell you that he will be handed over to ¹ the ruler above who rules over ¹ all the powers as their king, and he will turn ¹ that one around and cast him from heaven down to ¹ the abyss, and he will be imprisoned in a narrow ³⁵ dark place. Moreover, he can neither turn nor move on account of ¹ the great depth of Tartaros and the [heavy bitterness] ¹ of Hades

142:15 punished: *or*, pruned

- 40 παϊ ετ`ταχρηγ α[. . . ^{4½} . .]γ|[. . .] ἄμοου εζογν ερογ [ε]γψ-
[. . . ⁶⁻⁷ . .]α|[. . .] ` ἄσεν[α]κω αν` εβολ ἄ[. . .] | βε . [^{0-2½}] ||
[. . . ^{8½} . . .] γπωτ` ἄσα τῆνε σ[ενα] παραδι[ογ] | [.
*p. 143¹ παρ]γελος` παρταρογχορ [⁰⁻¹] | [. σ] ατε εφπῆτ`
ἄσωγ [⁰⁻²] * [. . .] ζεν` φραγελλογ ἄσατε` εγνεχ †κ̄ †κ̄ εβολ`
εζογ(ν) | [z]ḅ φο ἄπετογπῆτ` ἄσωγ` εφπῆτ` ἄπαμντε εφβ|[ν]ε
ἄτσατε` εφψανκτογ` ἀρηε εφεντ̄ οἰ ἄμμαι | εφψανκτογ
5 ἀζητ` ψαστωμτ ερογ` αν` ἄσι ταπιλῆ || ἄσατε` εσβ̄ρβ̄ρ μαφβῆνε
δε ἄτογ ἄβῆἰἠ ἄπαιβ̄β̄τε | ἀπωτ` εμαγ ἄγογχαεῖ ἄπεφεντ̄ γαρ
ἄφοογ εφ|zḅ σωμ[α] χεκααε εφναεεντ̄ ἄφοογ ἄτκρῖς|
τοτε ἀγ`ογωz ἀτοοτγ` ἄσι πσ̄ωρ εφψω ἄμμοσ | χε ογοεῖ ἠητḅ ἄ-
10 ἀτνογτε` ετε ἄῆτεγ zελπῖς || ετταχραῖτ` εζραῖ εχḅ ἠετῆψω-
πε αν
- ογοῖ ἠητḅ | ἠετḅzελπῖze ἀτσαρz ἀγω πψτεκο ετῆατε-
κο ψα(ν)τε ογ ψωπε ετετḅνωḅ ἀγω ἄτατ`τεκο ετετḅῆμε|
εγε εροογ χε σενατακο αν` ετε[τ]ḅzελπῖς ταχρηγ | ἀχḅ

143:2 Sah. επεμḅτ.

13 i.e. ον. 14 ἀχḅ: i.e. εχḅ.

α[γω εψα]γ rest. Kirchner 37-38 poss. [- - - ψα]γ|[. . .] ἄμοου, with a reflexive ver-
bal construction 38 [ωτπ] ἄμοου rest. Turner: [εἰνε] ἄμοου rest. Krause [ε]γψ:
for γ can also be read χ; for ψ can also be read φ or ω poss. restore [ε]γψ[αν - - -]:
[¹]χε[κααε - - -] sim. Krause, but unlikely: [^v]χε[κααε ἄνεγρ] sim. Turner², but
unlikely 39 [.] `: also possible is [. . .]γ [πβολ] ` rest. Turner² ἄσεν[α] - . . .
αν` : σενα- . . . αν is expected, poss. ἄ is part of the preceding word ἄ : ἄ is definite,
superlin. stroke restored poss. [πεα]β̄ε: also possible are [ποα]β̄ε (thus Turner²)
and [πεῆ]β̄ε (sim. Krause): [πετḅ]β̄ε sim. Kirchner, but unlikely: also possible is
[- - - ε]τ̄βε ε . [^{0-2½}] παρ. : letter trace can be read τ, γ, φ, or (if preceded by an unin-
scribed space) ρ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π or ρ : γ[να] rest. Kirchner 40 [- - - α]πωτ rest.
Kirchner: also palaeographically possible is [- - - σεν]απωτ (thus Krause) 40-41
σ[ενα] παραδι[ογ] || [- - -]: also possible is σ[ενα] παραδι[ογ] [- - -] σ[ε-
να] παραδι[ογ] ἄμογ ἄπῆνε ἄαρ[η] γελος rest. Kirchner 42 [ἄχι ἄνεμασῖz ἄ-
σ]ατε sim. rest. Turner: [ετο ἄογαγγελος ἄσ]ατε rest. Kirchner, but unlikely εφπῆτ
ἄσωγ: poss. expected is εφπῆτ ἄτοοτογ 42-143:1 ἄσωγ [^{vacat}]|[ḅ] rest. Turner
([ḅ]: i.e. zḅ, Krause restores thus): also possible is ἄσωγ [αγ]|[ω] or ἄσωγ
[ερ]|[ε] 143:2 [z]ḅ: ἄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 3 εφεντ̄: cf. A. Shisha-
Halevy, *Le Muséon* 68 (1973) 455-66 οἰ: prob. emend to ον (cf. 138:19)

9-10 zελπῖς | ετ : τ written over erasure of z

- 15 ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤῆΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΕΙΒΙΟΣ || ΕΤΕΤῆΝΤΑΚΟ ἸΝΕΤῆ-
 ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ`
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΖΡΑΪ | Ζῆ ΠΚΩΖΤ` ΕΤΡΩΚΖ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ΤΗΝΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΤΣΙ
 ΠΕ |
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΚΑΤ` ΕΤΚΩΤΕ Ζῆ | ΝΕΤῆΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ἸΤΟΟΤῆ ΜΠΜΟΥΖ | ΕΤΖ[ῆ] ΤΗΝΕ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΥΩΜ` Ἰ-
 20 ΝΕΤῆΣΑΡΖ` Ζῆ ΟΥΩΝΖ || ΕΒΟΛ` ΑΥΩ ΨΝΑΠΩΖ ἸΝΕΤῆΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ` Ζῆ
 ΟΥ|ΖΩΠ ἸΨϸΒΤΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ΝΕΤῆΡΗΥ`
 ΟΥΟΪ [Ν]Η|Τῆ ἸΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΤῆΜΗΡ` Ζῆ ἸΣΠΗΛ[ΑΙ]-
 ΟΝ` ΤΕΤῆΣΩΒΕ ΕΤΕΤῆΡΑΨΕ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ἸΣΩΒ[Ε] | ἸΛΙΒΕ ΤΕΤῆ-
 25 ἸΝΟΕΙ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΤῆΝΤΑΚΟ ΟΥΤΕ Τ[Ε]||ΤῆἸΝΟΕΙ ΑΝ` Ζῆ ΝΕΤΕΤῆ<ῆ>ΖΗ-
 ΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠ[ΕΤ]Ἰ|ἸΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΤῆΨΟΟΠ` Ζῆ ΠΚΑΚΕ` Μῆ ΠΜΟ[Υ]
 | ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΕΤῆΝΤΑΖΕ Ζῆ ΠΚΩΖΤ` ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤῆ[ΜΕΖ] | ἸΣΨΕ` ΕΡΕ
 ΠΕΤῆΖΗΤ` ΠΩϸ ΕΡΩΤῆ ΕΤΒΕ Π[Μ]ΟΥΖ | ΕΤ[Ζ]ῆ ΤΗΝΕ` ΑΥΩ ΨΟΛΘ
 30 ΝΗΤῆ ἸΒΙ ΠΚΛΟ Μῆ || ΤΠΛΗΓΗ ἸΝΕΤῆΧ ΑΧΕ` ΑΥΩ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΨΩΔΕ
 ΝΗ|Τῆ ἸΘΕ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ` ΤΕΤῆΜῆΝΤΡῆΖΕ ΓΑΡ` ΑΤΕΤῆ|ΤΑΑΣ ἸΤΜῆΝΤ-
 ΖΜΖΔΛ ΑΤΕΤῆΕΙΡΕ ἸΝΕΤῆΖΗΤ` ἸΖΗΤ` ἸΚΑΚΕ` ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤῆΜΕ-
 35 ΕΥΕ` ΑΤΕΤῆΝΤΑΑΥ | ἸΤΜῆΝΤΣΕΔΕ` ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤῆΜΟΥΖ ἸΝΕΤῆΜΕ||Ε[Υ]Ε
 Ζῆ ΠΚΑΠΝΟΣ` ΜΠΚΩΖΤ` ΕΤΖῆ ΤΗΝΕ ΑΥ|Ψ [ΑΨΖ]ΨΠ` ἸΒΙ ΠΕΤῆΟΥΟ-
 ΕΙΝΕ` Ζῆ ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ | [ῆ Α]ΥΨ ΤΖΒΩ ΕΤ`ΤΟ ΖΙ ΤΗΝΕ
 ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[1 1/2-4] | [.] ΡΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΚΑΤΕ ΧΕ ΜῆΜΩ[Τῆ
 40 ΖΙ][Τῆ] ΘΕΛ[ΠΙΣ ΕΤ]ΨΟΟΠ` ΑΝ ΑΥΨ Ἰ[Ι]Μ ΠΕΝΤ[ΑΤΕ]||[Τῆ]-
 ΠΙΣΤ[ΕΥΕ] ΕΡΟΥ` ΤΕΤῆΣΟΥ[ΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΤΕΤῆ]||[Ψ]ΟΟΠ ΤΗΡΤῆ Ζῆ

19–20 i.e. Ζῆ ΟΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ.

21 possibly corrupt: ϸΒΤΕ <ΤΗΝΕ ΕΜΕΣΤΕ> ΤΗΝΕ ΟΥ ϸΒΤΕ <ΤΗΝΕ ΕΤΡΕΤῆΜΕΣΤΕ>
 ΤΗΝΕ Kirchner (exempli gratia)

25 Ζῆ: ῆ em. Schenke, poss. rightly <ῆ>ΖΗΤΟΥ Turner rest. Turner, sim.
 Krause 26 ΜΟ[1-2] pap.: rest. Turner. Krause 27 rest. Turner, Krause 28 rest.
 Turner, sim. Krause 29 ΕΤ[.]ῆ read in photographs ΠΚΛΟ Μῆ: also poss. is ΠΚΛΟΜ ῆ
 (thus Turner) 32–33 {Ἰ|ΖΗΤ} Schenke 33 ΖΗΤ` read in photographs 34 ΤΜῆΝΤ read
 in photographs 35 Ε [.]Ε Ζῆ read in photographs 36 rest. Turner, Krause 37 prob.
 [ἸΚΑΚΕ Α]ΥΨ (thus Turner) ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[1 1/2-4] pap.: for ῆ can also be read β, γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν
 or ρ ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[ΟΥΖ] Turner² 37–38 ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[ΩΤ] | [ἸΣΩΨ Ζῆ ΟΥΚ]ΡΟΥ` rest.
 Turner³ 38 [- - - ϸϸ]ΟΥΟΥ` rest. Schenke² 38–39 ἸΜΜΩ[Τῆ ΖΙ][Τῆ] ΘΕΛ[ΠΙΣ ΕΤ]ΨΟΟΠ`
 ΑΝ rest. Turner² 39 ΠΕΝΤ[ΑΤΕ]||[Τῆ] Turner² 40–41 rest. Turner, Krause: sim. rest.
 Kirchner, but ϸΟΥ[ΥΝ ΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤῆ]

the world, and your god is this life! ¹⁵ You are corrupting your souls!

“Woe to you (pl.) within ' the fire that burns in you; for it is insatiable! '

“Woe to you because of the wheel that turns in ' your minds!

“Woe to you within the grip of the burning ' that is in you, for it will devour your flesh openly ²⁰ and rend your souls secretly, ' and prepare you for your companions!

“Woe to ' you, captives, for you are bound in caverns! ' You laugh! In mad laughter you rejoice! ' You neither realize your perdition, nor ²⁵ do you reflect on your circumstances, nor have [you] ' understood that you dwell in darkness and [death]! ' On the contrary, you are drunk with the fire and [full] ' of bitterness. Your mind is deranged on account of the burning ' that is in you, and sweet to you are the poison and ³⁰ the blows of your enemies! And the darkness rose for ' you like the light, for you surrendered your freedom ' for servitude! You darkened your hearts ' and surrendered your thoughts ' to folly, and you filled your thoughts ³⁵ with the smoke of the fire that is in you! And ' your light [has hidden] in the cloud ' [of . . .] and the garment that is put upon you, you [. . .] ' [. . .]. And [you] were seized [by] ' the hope that does not exist. And who is it [you ⁴⁰ have] believed? Do you [not know that you] ' all dwell among

^{143:29-30} or (*dividing the letters differently*), and sweet to you is the crown of your enemies' blows

- *p. 144¹ ΝΕΤ[.^{14½-17}] [^{1½}] ΟΥ ΜΜΩΤῆ ΖΩC ΕΤ[ΕΤῆ-
] * ΑΤΕΤῆΩΜC ἩΝΕΤῆΨΥΧΗῆ Ζῆ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΚ[Ε] | Α-
 ΤΕΤῆΠΩΤῆ Ζῆ ΝΕΤῆΟΥΩΨΕ ΜΜΙΝῆ ΜΜΩΤῆ
 ΟΥ|ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΝΕΤῆΨΟΟΠῆ Ζῆ ΠCΩΡῆ ΕΤΕΤῆCΩΨΤῆ | ΑΝ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Μ-
 5 ΠΡΗῆ ΠΕΤΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΠΤΗΡῆ ΕΤῆ|CΩΨΤῆ ΑΧῆ ΠΤΗΡῆ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΚΩΤΕ ΑΧῆ Ἡ-
 ΖΒΗΥΕ | ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΤΡΕ ἩΧΑ ΧΕ Ρ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΤΕΤῆΡῆΝΟΕΙ | ΑΝ Μ-
 ΠΟΟΖ ΧΕ ἩΨΥ ἩΖΕ ἩΤΟΥΨΗ Μῆ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΥῆ|CΩΨΤῆ ΕΖΡΑῆ ΕΨΝΑΥ ΑΝCΩΜΑ
 ἩΝΕΤ[Ἡ]ΖΕΤΒΕ
 10 ΟΥΟῆ | ΝΗΤῆ ΝΕΤΜΑΕΙΕ ἩΤCΥΝΗΘΕΙΑῆ ἩΤῆΜῆΤCΖΙΜΕ || Μῆ ΠΕCΨΩΠΕ
 ΝῆΜΜΑC ΕΤCΟΟΥῆ
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΕΙῆ | ΝΗΤῆ ἩΤΟCΤΟΥ ἩἩΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΕΤῆCΩΜΑ ΧΕ |
 ΝΕΤῆΜΜΟ ΓΑΡῆ CΕΝΑΘῆΚΕ ΤΗΝΕῆ
 ΟΥΟῆ ΝΗΤῆ ἩΤΟ|ΟΥΟΥ ἩἩΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ἩἩΔΑΙΜΩΝῆ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝῆ |
 15 ΟΥΟῆ ΝΗΤῆ ΝΕΤῆCΩΚῆ ἩΝΕΥΜΕΛΟCῆ Ζῆ ΠΚΩΖΤῆ || ΝΙΜῆ ΠΕΤΝΑ-
 ΖΩΟΥ ΝΗΤῆ ἩΟΥΕΙΩΤΕῆ ΝῆΜΤΟΝ | ΧΕΚΑΔC ΕCΝΑΖΩΤῆ ἩΖΑΖ ἩΚΩΖΤῆ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΗΝΕ | Μῆ ΠΕΤῆΡΩΚΖῆ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΗΤῆ ΜΠΡΗ ΑΠῆΡῆΙΕ ΑΧῆ
 ΤΗΝΕῆ ΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΑΚΕῆ ΕΤΖῆ ΤΗΝΕ | ΑΥΩ ΑΖΩΠῆ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ Μῆ
 ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΤCΟΟΥῆ
 20 ΠΡΗ || Μῆ ΠΟΖ ΝΑ† C†ΝΟΥΨΕ ΝΗΤῆ Μῆ ΠΑΝῆ Μῆ | ΠΠῆἩ Μῆ ΠΚΑΖ Μῆ
 ΠΜΟΟΥ ΠΡΗ ΓΑΡῆ ΕΥῆΤῆ|ΠῆΡῆΙΕ ΑΧῆ ΝΙCΩΜΑῆ CΕΝΑΛΟΨΕΥῆ ἩCΕ-
 [Τ]ΑΚΟ | [Μ]ΠΡΗΤΕ ΖΩΩΨῆ ἩΟΥἩΤΗC Ἡ ΟΥΧΟΡΤΟCῆ ΕΨΩΠΕ | [Μ]ΕΝ
 25 ΕΠΡΗ ΠῆΡῆΙΕ ΑΧΩΨῆ ΨΑΨCῆ ἩCΑΜῆ ἩΨΩCΤῆ || [Ἡ]ΤῆΒ ἩΕΛΟΟΛΕῆ ΕΨΩ-
 ΠΕ ΔΕ ΕCΨΑΝCῆ CΟΜ | [Ἡ]Cῆ ΤῆΒ ἩΕΛΟΟΛΕῆ ἩCῆ ΖΑῆΒΕC ΑΧῆ ΝΙἩῆΤῆCῆ |
 [Μ]ῆ ΝΙΚΕΨΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΗΤῆ ΕΖΡΑῆ ἩῆΜΜΑCῆ Ἡ[C]|[ΠΩΡ]Ψῆ ΕΒΟΛῆ ΑΥΩ
 ἩCΟΥΟCΤῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑCῆΚῆ|[ΡΟ]Ἡ[Ο]ΜΕΙ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΟΥΑΔΤC ΠΑῆ ΕΤCΡΗΤῆ

144:5 i.e. εχῆ . . . εχῆ.

12 Sah. νεῆμαγ.

16 ζωῆ: for the word cf. P. Bodmer 6 (Prov. 10:7, 13:9). 18 i.e. εχῆ.

22 i.e. εχῆ. 26 i.e. εχῆ.

41 νετ[ἩΜῆΡε ---] rest. Kirchner 41-42 [--- αυ τεῆψου]||ψουγ sim. rest. Kirchner 42 ζωc ετ[14-16½] pap.: ζωc ετ[εῆῆ Ἡελεγεροc αυ] rest. Kirchner 144:1 κα κ[---] read in photographs

2-3 ουοει read in photographs 3 cωψτῆ vacat read in photographs 4 τηρῆ ετῆ vacat read in photographs

27 rest. Turner, sim. Krause 28 rest. Turner, Krause

those that [. . .] ' [. . .] you as though [you . . .]. **144** You baptized your souls in the water of darkness! ' You walked by your own whims!

“Woe ' to you (pl.) who dwell in error, heedless ' that the light of the sun which judges and ⁵ looks down upon the all will circle around all things ' so as to enslave the enemies. You do not even notice ' the moon, how by night and day it ' looks down, looking at the bodies of your slaughters!

“Woe ' to you (pl.) who love intimacy with womankind ¹⁰ and polluted intercourse with them!

“And woe ' to you (pl.) in the grip of the powers of your body, ' for they will afflict you!

“Woe to you (pl.) in the grip of ' the forces of the evil demons!

“Woe to you (pl.) who beguile your limbs with fire! ¹⁵ Who is it that will rain a refreshing dew on you ' to extinguish the mass of fire from you ' along with your burning? Who is it that will cause the sun to ' shine upon you to disperse the darkness in you ' and hide the darkness and polluted water?

“The sun ²⁰ and the moon will give a fragrance to you (pl.), together with the air and ' the spirit and the earth and the water. For if the sun does not ' shine upon these bodies, they will wither and perish ' just like weeds or grass. If ' the sun shines on them, they prevail and choke ²⁵ the grapevine; but if the grapevine ' prevails and shades those weeds ' and all that other brush growing alongside and ' [spreads] and flourishes, it alone ' inherits the land in which it grows;

- 30 zpa'i n̄zhtq̄ || ayw acp̄ nap` ama nim` etacp̄ zaiv̄ec` axwq`
 | τοτε δε εσψαν` αυζανε` ψασp̄ nep` apkaz thpq | ayw ψασp̄
zenouqe` m̄pescxoeic n̄cp̄ anaq` | n̄zoyo xe nepqawwp` gar` n̄-
 35 zennos n̄zice | pe` etve niñthc ψantq̄porqoy alla tww || n̄-
eloolo oγaatc̄ acq̄toy m̄mag ayw acwct̄ m̄mmooy ay moy ay-
wp̄pe n̄ee m̄pkaz
τοτε [a]q̄`oywz etootq` n̄ci t̄c̄ paxeq̄nay xe oγo[ei n]h-
[tñ] xe m̄petñxi n̄tcbw` ayw nepo [: 4-5½ . .] || [. . .]` cenazic
 40 ce eytaqe oeiw` [. 8-10] || [. . .] ayw tet̄[n]p̄ht` azoyñ
a . [. .] . w̄n [: 1½-4] . n̄at̄nnooyc[ε ap] t̄ñ n̄na ||
 *p. 145¹] t̄ñmooytoy m̄mñ[ε] * xekazc̄ eyñatwoyñ z̄m̄pmoy
naeiat`thne | net̄wp̄r̄p̄n̄m̄me` anskandalon` ayw etpw` | † zht̄
t̄q̄ n̄n̄allotriõn`
naeiat`thne netoyñoc | neb̄ m̄mooy ayw eywp` m̄mooy an` etve
 5 pm̄aie || eteyñtaq̄` ezoyñ erooy n̄ci poy xoeic
naeiat`thne netrim̄e ayw etoyr̄balibe m̄mooy zit̄ñ | net̄em̄[n̄-
te]y zelpic xe cenabw̄l thne zit̄ñ m̄p̄re nim

30 Sah. ecp̄.

30 acp̄ : <ψ>acp̄ Turner, Krause 31 kaz thpq read in photographs 34 tww read in photographs 35 acq̄toy : c added above the line acwct̄ read in photographs

37 oγo[ei n] : cf. 144:10 38–39 nepo [n̄atco] || oγñ rest. Turner² : nepo[ywqe n̄] || [x̄itc] sim. Kirchner 39–40 taqe oeiw` [xe tet̄naxop] || [soy] rest. Kirchner 40 a . [. .] . w̄ : first letter trace can be read β, γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π, ρ or τ; second letter trace is indistinct, but perhaps η, ι, μ, ν, γ, ρ or apostrophe 40–41 an[et]n̄w̄n[h̄y m̄] || [min m̄-mwt̄ñ - - -] rest. Kirchner, Schenke² : a t̄[mn]t̄w̄n[a - - -] sim. rest. Turner², but palaeographically unlikely 41 [- - - tet̄n̄na Schenke² : also possible is [- - - e]yñā it̄ñ n̄na || [- - -] read in photographs possibly restore n̄na || [zr̄ñ - - -] 42 [- - - n̄te] t̄ñ Schenke² 145 : 1 xekazc̄ read in photographs

2 net̄wp̄r̄p̄n̄ read in photographs 3 † zht̄q̄ n̄ñ read in photographs : emend to zhtoy n̄ñ (Layton)

4 neb̄ m̄mooy read in photographs 5 eteyñtaq̄` ezoyñ read in photographs

6 thne netrim̄e ayw read in photographs 7 net̄em̄[. . .]y zelpic read in photographs rest. Turner, Krause 8 pe nim read in photographs

³⁰ and every place it has shaded it dominates. ' And then when it grows up, it dominates all the land ' and is bountiful for its master, and it pleases him ' even more, for he would have suffered great pains ' on account of these plants until he uprooted them. But the ³⁵ gravevine alone removed them and choked ' them, and they died and became like the soil.''

Then ' Jesus continued and said to them, ‘‘Woe to ' you (pl.), for you did not receive the doctrine, and those who are [. . .] ' will labor at preaching [. . .]. ⁴⁰ And you are rushing into . . . [. . .] ' [. . .] will send [them] down . . . ' [. . .] you kill them daily **145** in order that they might rise from death.

‘‘Blessed are you (pl.) ' who have prior knowledge of the stumbling blocks and who flee ' alien things.

‘‘Blessed are you (pl.) who are reviled ' and not esteemed on account of the love ⁵ their lord has for them.

‘‘Blessed are ' you (pl.) who weep and are oppressed by ' those without hope, for you will be released from ' every bondage.

10 ροῖς ετετῆσοπ̄ χε ετετῆσῳπ̄ε αν | ζῆ τσαρζ` αλλα χε
 ετετῆσαι εβολ ζῆ τμ̄ρρε μ̄π̄σι||ψε ἵτε πβιος αγω ετετῆσοπ̄
 τετῆσασινε | ἵογῆτον χε ατετῆκω ἵσῳτῆ ἵπ̄σισε μῆ π̄νοσ-
 νεσ ἵζητ` ετετῆσῳανει γαρ εβολ ζῆ ἵσισε μῆ | ἵπαθος ἵτε
 15 π̄σῳμα` τετῆσῳι [ἵο]γῆσῳπ̄αγσις | ἵτοοτ̄ ἵπαγαθος αγω
 τετῆσῳρ̄ ρρο` μῆ π̄ρρο ε||τετῆτῆτ` ἵμ̄μαϋ` εϋτῆτ` ἵμ̄μῆτῆ σῳν
 τενου ψα | εῆ[ε]ζ ἵανεζ ζαμῆν: |

20

π̄σῳμε ἵθῳμας |
 παθλητῆς εϋσζαῖ |
 ἵἵτελειος ||

following text within a simple ornamental frame

αρ̄ι παμεεϋε ζω νασῆνῳ |
 ζ[ἵ]νετῆπ̄ροσεϋχη` |
 ε[ἵ]ρῆνη τοῖς ἀγιοῖς |
 μῆ ἵπ̄νεϋματικος

8 ροῖς ετετῆσοπ̄ read in photographs 9 ζῆ τσαρζ` αλλα χε ετετῆσαι read in
 photographs 10 ψε ἵτε πβιος read in photographs 11 ἵογῆτον χε ατετῆκω read
 in photographs 12 νεσ ἵζητ` ετετῆσῳανει read in photographs 13 ἵπαθος ἵτε
 π̄σῳμα` read in photographs 14 ἵτοοτ̄ ἵπαγαθος read in photographs 15
 τετῆτῆτῆτ` ἵμ̄μαϋ` read in photographs 16 εῆ[ε]ζ ἵανεζ ζαμῆν read in photographs

17 π̄σῳμε read in photographs 18 παθλητῆς read in photographs 19 ἵἵτελειος
 read in photographs (of ἵ, π̄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored)

20–23 the colophon prob. belongs to the codex as such rather than this tractate
 alone 20 αρ̄ι παμεεϋε read in photographs 22 ε[ἵ]ρῆνη read in photographs 23
 μῆ ἵ read in photographs

“Watch and pray that you (pl.) not come to be ' in the flesh, but rather that you come forth from the bondage of the bitterness ¹⁰ of this life. And as you pray, ' you will find rest, for you have left behind the suffering and the disgrace. ' For when you come forth from the sufferings and ' passions of the body, you will receive rest ' from the good one, and you will reign with the king, ¹⁵ you joined with him and he with you, from now on, ' for ever and ever. Amen.” ’

The Book of Thomas '
The Contender Writing '
To the Perfect (pl.) ²⁰

* * * * *

Remember me also, my brethren, '
[in] your prayers: '
Peace to the saints '
and those who are spiritual.

143:23 those who are spiritual: *literally*, the pneumatics

145:20–23 *the concluding colophon probably belongs to the manuscript as such rather than this tractate alone*

