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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY MANY SCHOLARS

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

VOLUME ONE

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS. AND INDEXES



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XX

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INTRODUCTION

BENTLEY LAYTON

§ 1 ARRANGEMENT OF THIS EDITION

So far as possible one and the same *plan* has been followed in each chapter of this edition:

introduction
critical edition of the Coptic text
Coptic notes, viz., (a) on non-standard forms, (b) apparatus criticus,
and where appropriate (c) apparatus fontium
English translation¹
select textual notes in English

An index and grammatical tables for each Coptic text are given at the end of the volume in which the text appears.

For the *method* followed in *editing* the Coptic texts, see below, pp. 27–36.

Owing to differences among the tractates, it was not practical to impose an inflexible arrangement upon the *introductions*. Nevertheless each one will be seen to treat the following topics so far as relevant, often in the order given below:

short account of the work
literary genre and title
author, date, provenance
composition
contents and theology
affiliation with other works
select bibliography

¹The English translation corresponds to the *text* register of the facing page; accordingly, corruptions that are obelized († . . .) in the text have been translated literally wherever possible and corrected only in the notes, while corrections introduced in the text by means of the signs < > and { } appear in the translation. Line divisions in the translation are approximate.

The principal manuscript is not paginated; *manuscript page numbers* in this edition are the assigned pagination of the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition* published in 1974 (Leiden: Brill). Since most older items of bibliography make reference only to *plate numbers* in Pahor Labib's facsimile edition, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo* (vol. 1 [Cairo: Government Press, 1956]), also Labib's numbers have been given in the margin, e.g. "80 Labib" or "81 L." Labib's numeration was extrapolated by Böhlig for his edition of tractate 5, and the extrapolated numbers are cited as "Böhlig" or "Bö." There is no additional numeration for tractates 6 and 7.

I have divided the Coptic text into sense paragraphs in accord with the translations; the manuscript itself gives us no more warrant for these divisions than it does for our separation of the text into sentences. Both kinds of division are here merely a convenience to the modern reader, and enjoy no ancient authority.

§ 2 DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES

The principal manuscript may be described as follows.

Nag Hammadi Codex II (CG II),² Cairo, Coptic Museum, Department of Manuscripts, inv. 10544.—Papyrus codex, nearly perfect. 284 × 158 mm. Some leaves formerly in several pieces, now repaired. In its ancient binding until 1956 or 1957, now disbound. Sheets (leaves separated in 1957, rejoined in 1974–75) conserved in Plexiglas frames.³ Ancient binding conserved separately (inv. 10544); described below, pp. 19–25. Originally 76 unnumbered leaves of which the first was a stub, now 74 leaves and 18 (formerly 20) small unidentified fragments, the latter mostly blank. No ancient pagination. No modern European foliation. Assigned pagination in the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition* (1974): A–B, <1>–<48>, C–D, <49>–<145>, E. A modern numbering written on the papyrus between 1949 and 1952⁴ in Arabic script corresponds to the assigned pagination in the *Facsimile Edition* as follows: pp. A–B (blank) unnumbered, ١–١ = <1>–<2>, ٢ = part of <4>, ٣ = part of <3>, ٤ = part of <3>, ٥ = part of <4>, ٦–٧ = <5>–<48>, C–D (blank) un-

² Doresse's Codex I (1949), later X (1958); Puech's III (1950); Labib's II (1956).

³ The frames are labelled according to the assigned pagination of the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition* (1974).

⁴ Apparently by the librarian of the Museum, Yassah 'Abd al-Masīḥ (A. Böhlig and P. Labib, *Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi* [Berlin: Akademie, 1962] 13).

numbered, 18V-91 = <49>-<145>, E (blank page) unnumbered. Most leaves well preserved except for damage by insects, especially at the two outer corners (worst near center of the quire); in addition, front flyleaf A/B, the four leaves following, and last leaf 145/E very dilapidated; blank stub wanting before front flyleaf; one blank leaf (C/D) now wanting after p. 48. Run of ink at top of p. 92 and its mirror-image on the facing page perhaps associated with the modern numbering in Arabic script. Various small parts of the leaves, 2 of the unidentified fragments, and the blank C/D have been lost or have deteriorated since 1952, but are still attested in photographic records: this evidence was incorporated into the *Facsimile Edition* (1974) and has been collated by S. Emmel (see p. 30).

Contents: Untitled miscellany of Gnostic texts with diverse sectarian affiliations, in Sahidic (Crypto-Subachmimic)⁵ Coptic. The correct folio nos. not including the stub A1 (f. 1 = pp. A–B) and the hypothetical page nos. of the *Facsimile Edition* are given below.

1. (f. 2^r = p. 1) ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ “Secret Book According to John” (subscript title) or *Apocryphon of John*. The long recension, parallel to CG IV,1. Other recensions are III,1 and Berlin BG,2.
2. (f. 17^v = p. 32) ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ “The Gospel According to Thomas” (subscript title). Pages C–D blank. Parallel to three Greek fragments from Oxyrhynchus, P. Oxy. 1, 654, and 655.
3. (f. 28^r = p. 51) ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ “The Gospel According to Philip” (subscript title)
4. (f. 45^v = p. 86) ΤΕΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ “The Reality of the Rulers” (subscript title) or *Hypostasis of the Archons*
5. (f. 51^r = p. 97) Tractate without recorded title, now called *On the Origin of the World*. Parallel to CG XIII 50*:10 up-ult. and British Library MS Or.4926(1).
6. (f. 66^r = p. 127) ΤΕΞΗΓΗCΙC ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ “The Expository Treatise on the Soul” (title at head and as subscript) or *Exegesis on the Soul*.
7. (f. 71^v = p. 138) ΠΧΩΜΕ ΝΘΩΜΑΣ “The Book of Thomas” (subscript title) or *Book of Thomas the Contender Writing to the Perfect*. Ends p. 145 (verso blank).

Secondary literature on these texts is listed exhaustively by D. M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948–1969* (Nag Hammadi Studies 1; Leiden: Brill, 1971), with annual supplements in *Novum Testamentum* starting with vol. 13 (1971).

⁵See below, pp. 6–14.

Colophon: Memorial prayer p. 145, anonymous, no place or date. Numerous corrections by the original copyist, apparently made at the time of copying.⁶ Original provenance unknown (no cartonnage found in the binding of this codex); discovered near Ḥamra Dūm opposite Nag Hammadi. Dated, by its association with the other Nag Hammadi manuscripts, to the fourth century;⁷ and, by the handwriting, to the first half of the same century.⁸

Collation: (A)⁷⁶ (A1 a blank stub, A2 and A27 blanks); A1 and A27 (pp. C/D) wanting (A27 photographed in 1958). No catchwords or headlines. Papyrus: Relatively thin and therefore of fine quality.⁹ A1–27 ↓/→, A28–38 →/↓, A39–49 ↓/→, A50–76 →/↓. A few original patches (e.g. p. 35. top). Black ink.

Script: Written by two copyists, viz. Scribe A, who copied all folios save p. 47, lines 1–8, and is identical with the copyist of Codex XIII;¹⁰ Scribe B, who copied only the first 8 lines of page 47 and is not otherwise represented in the Nag Hammadi collection (his letters have serifs and are spaced out; he uses no apostrophes, but writes : as a line filler at 47:7). Styles employed by Scribe A in this codex: (1) his usual upright capital script, often with ligature;¹¹ (2) a slightly smaller and more compact version of the same, in which is copied the last tractate (pp. 138–145); (3) a much smaller version of the same used in superlinear additions throughout the codex (e.g. 63:12, 101:20, 141:9); (4) a tiny, sloping semicursive used but rarely for extensive superlinear corrections, cf. 12:18. At 47:1–8, Scribe A appears to have left blank space in lieu of text, where perhaps the model from which he copied was imperfect or illegible; Scribe B will then have filled in the missing text subsequently, from another exemplar of the text. It is

⁶His techniques of correction include: (1) cancellation of error by a diagonal stroke (e.g. 36:15); (2) cancellation of error by superlinear dots (63:30); (3) insertion of correction above the line (50:32); (4) combination of (1) and (3) (50:27); (5) deletion with a sponge and then rewriting (62:16); (6) alteration of false letter (83:17); (7) stopping half way through a false letter, so that part of it remains in place (38:24, a false start of α between τ and κ α c); (8) combination of (7) and (1) (114:17).

⁷For Nag Hammadi codexes that can be dated by cartonnage found in their bindings, see now J. M. Robinson, preface to the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition . . . Cartonnage* (1979) xix.

⁸See B. Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974) 358–359.

⁹Opinion of the late Prof. John Barns, expressed to me in December 1973, at the Coptic Museum after lengthy examination of the manuscripts.

¹⁰B. Layton, in *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976) 84; S. Emmel, in *American Research Center in Egypt, Newsletter* 104 (1978) 28 note 3.

¹¹For a brief description see Layton, "Hypostasis" (1974), 357–358.

conceivable that also pages C–D (coming immediately after 48:35) were left blank by Scribe A, where he perceived his model to be defective: if such was the case, a major block of text is missing in logion 95 after the opening phrase “If you have money.” Similar may be the blank at 56:20.

No marginal signs. Superlineation according to the single-stroke system (with its usual exceptions), being written above single consonants where there is, presumably, the resonant peak of a syllable; stroke usually displaced slightly to the right, but sometimes very broad and centered above its letter.¹² A few instances of the other (*Bindestrich*) system. Proper names and compendia marked by continuous superlinear stroke.

Morpheme dividers (apostrophes) very common; see below pp. 14–18. Superlin. strokes and apostrophes often ornamentally extended at end of the line. No logical punctuation. $\bar{\iota}$ common. ω “conceive” (tract. 3) and “O!” (tract. 7). The usual abbreviations for nomina sacra; $\text{c}\phi\text{c}$. $\text{z}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ and $\text{z}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ “servant”. κ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ at 72:34. At end of line: final letters or penultimate *omicron* on rare occasion written small; final z sometimes in a special form (8:17, 25:23, 72:32, 101:32); final vowel plus n optionally written $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\epsilon}$, $\bar{\iota}$, $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$, $\bar{\eta}$, $\bar{\omicron}$, $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}$, $\bar{\upsilon}$, or $\bar{\omega}$; also \bar{z} for $\text{z}\bar{\text{n}}$ 99:7. Titles set off by ornamental horizontal rules; colophon in a frame of rules. Ornamental line-filler marks (diple signs with loops) at the end of tractates 1, 2, 4, and 6; double point (:) at conclusion of the text of tractates 4–7. No colors or other decoration.

In a single column, without ekthesis. Written area, ca. 22×11 cm (23×12 in tractate 7); ca. 35 lines per column (42 in tractate 7). Letters that exceed the last line of the page written beneath the end of the line on pp. 18, 25, and 111.

On the history of the manuscript, see James M. Robinson, “The Discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices,” *Biblical Archeologist* 42 (1979) 206–224.

P. Oxy. 1, 654, and 655 are described below, pp. 96–99.

CG XIII has been described by J. M. Robinson in the introductory volume of the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*.

London, British Library MS Or.4926(1) is described in vol. 2.

¹²See further Layton, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 189–190.

§ 3 THE PATRON OF CODEX II

If one asks which Gnostic sect would have found the miscellany of texts in Codex II most congenial with its own beliefs and practices, the answer is not hard to find. (1) Valentinian cosmogonic myths (as known from other Gnostic manuscripts or from the church fathers) are clearly based at some remove on Sethian ones like those in the *Apocryphon of John* and *Hypostasis of the Archons*. To an ancient Valentinian reader, the myths of these texts would have seemed familiar, perhaps (reversing the historical truth of the matter) even seemingly Valentinian in character. That the *Apocryphon* and the *Hypostasis* were ultimately of interest to Christian Gnostics is proven by the fact that they have come down to us in a slightly, though not essentially, Christianized form. (2) In some passages, the *Valentinian Gospel According to Philip* closely parallels the *Gospel According to Thomas*, suggesting the attractiveness of *Thomas*, and the Jude Thomas tradition, to Valentinian Gnosticism. (3) It is important to note that *Philip* is not merely a speculative theological work, but contains much about specific Valentinian ritual, and is thus in some sense a practical work of limited sectarian application. (4) The *Expository Treatise on the Soul*, while not easy to classify (indeed it may not even be Gnostic at all), will surely bear a Valentinian reading in the light of the Valentinian sacrament of bridal chamber.

Thus despite the presence of only one originally Valentinian work in Codex II, we have strong circumstantial evidence to conclude that the manuscript as such was compiled with a view to Valentinian needs and tastes (needless to say, this tells us nothing about the sectarian affiliation of the individual authors represented in the miscellany). It may be no mere accident that in the colophon, the scribe of Codex II speaks of his readership as “pneumatics,” a term used by the Valentinian church for members of its elect.¹³

§ 4 DIALECT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Superficially the Coptic of Codex II appears to consist of a random mixture of forms from the Sahidic (*S*) and Subachmimic (*A*²) dialects, with a preponderance of Sahidic. Both in morphology (especially vocalization) and in the more superficial aspects of spelling, the text is inconsistent, and it is likely to present a certain amount of difficulty to the reader for that reason. Indeed, the inconsistency with which forms are

¹³The association of the codex with the Subachmimic dialect (below, pp. 8–14) may be yet another sign of Valentinian transmission.

selected from one or the other dialect raises doubts that the language of the codex corresponded to oral speech habits of any real dialect group within the Coptic community.

If due attention is paid to syntax and the membership of paradigms, a clearer picture emerges: for then we can see that the underlying dialect is A^2 in character, with the "spelling" or selection of vocalized forms most often approaching S . It is reasonable to assume that the Coptic of Codex II is the kind that might have been *written* by a speaker of A^2 attempting, artificially, to conform to S , the prestigious and orthodox dialect of the greater Nile Valley and monasticism. In other words the language of Codex II is a literary language, which can be classed as "Crypto-Subachmimic" (Crypto- A^2), showing "the characteristics of a text written or translated by a native speaker of Subachmimic in which he attempts (without total success) to correct his own speech habits in conformity with another dialect—Sahidic in the case of Codex II—with the result that (a) vocalization of lexical forms according to the other dialect is common or prevalent (sometimes even with hyper-correction), but (b) important A^2 traits, especially in syntax and the spelling of grammatical forms, remain. Characteristically one finds A^2 vocalizations or forms freely alternating with their equivalents in the dialect being imitated."¹⁴ Most of the clearly A^2 literature that is known to us is heretical or dubious (Manichaean texts, Gnostica, *Acta Pauli*); the adoption of S vocalization in Codex II would partly mask its affiliation with this group. Furthermore, S was the most neutral of the Coptic dialects—it was unusual in the number of features it shared with other dialects and the small number unique to itself: thus Sahidicism would have rendered a Gnostic text more accessible to the reading public and, to judge from the eventual emergence of S as the universal ecclesiastical dialect, might have lent the text prestige.

The discovery of a pure A^2 version of one of these Crypto- A^2 texts—the British Library fragments of tractate 5 (edited in vol. 2)—is of great interest in this respect, raising the possibility that our Crypto- A^2 texts may actually be transpositions from A^2 . In this regard it should be noted that also the *Gospel of Truth* has been transmitted both in A^2 and S (CG I,3 and XII,2).

Vocalization. In view of the artificial nature of the dialect mixture and the resultant randomness and inconsistency in selection of forms, it would be insignificant to tabulate statistics for S versus A^2 forms in the codex. An immediate impression of the range of forms can be obtained from the indexes, since each word is filed under its standard S form (enclosed in

¹⁴The term Crypto-Subachmimic was coined by Layton, in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 14 (1977) 66 note 2.

parentheses if not actually occurring in the text), followed by any other forms that occur.

*Non-standard features.*¹⁵ Apart from A² vocalization in the tractates of Codex II, the following are the divergences from standard Sahidic that are most likely to give difficulty to an unprepared reader. Most can be explained as Subachmimicisms or Achmimicisms; in some cases it is hard to distinguish a difference of orthographic convention from one of dialect. In the description that follows, I take account of only tractates 2–7. A fuller discussion of grammatical peculiarities, limited to tractates 1–5, is given by P. Nagel in his pioneering article, “Grammatische Untersuchungen zu Nag Hammadi Codex II,” in F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt* 5/2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 393–469, cited below as “Nagel”.¹⁶

Subachmimicisms

1. Assimilations not in standard S. The following are common in A².

1.1 \bar{b} , $\bar{\lambda}$, and \bar{p} = \bar{n} (in junction before /b/, /l/, /r/). Found also in S though not standard. Also $m\bar{n}$ and $z\bar{n}$ are affected.

1.2 Final \bar{m} = \bar{n} (in junction before /p/), optionally, where standard S has \bar{n} : e.g. $z\bar{m}$ = $z\epsilon n$ (A² $z\bar{n}$); $p\bar{m}$ 88:1, $t\bar{m}$ 59:28 = $p\epsilon n$, $t\epsilon n$ (A² $p\bar{n}$, $t\bar{n}$); $\text{pet}\bar{m}$, $\text{tet}\bar{m}$ 93:29, $\text{net}\bar{m}$ 35:19 = $\text{pet}\bar{n}$, $\text{tet}\bar{n}$, $\text{net}\bar{n}$; $\text{net}\bar{m}$ 43:10 = $\bar{n}\text{net}\bar{n}$ (A² $\text{net}\bar{n}$) ‘you shall not’; $\epsilon\text{mmo}\bar{y}\text{te}$ 76:9 = ϵnmoyte (circumstantial); $\text{petet}\bar{m}$ 33:19 = $\text{petet}\bar{n}$ (subs. relative); $\bar{n}\text{t}\bar{m}\text{mo}\bar{y}\text{te}$ 135:4 = $\bar{n}\text{t}\bar{n}\text{mo}\bar{y}\text{te}$ (conjunctive); $\bar{n}\text{tet}\bar{m}\text{mo}\bar{y}\epsilon$ 35:20 = $\bar{n}\text{tet}\bar{n}\text{mo}\bar{y}\epsilon$ (conjunctive); χim 90:34 = χin .

2. ω = z for Greek spiritus asper (before /i/).

Typical A² feature. τ - ‘the’ + ω is written χ , thus $\chi\text{ictoria}$ ‘the account’ 102:23 (note hyper-usage of the latter principle at 105:15, $\text{t}\chi\text{ve}$ for $\text{t}\omega\text{ve}$ or χve).

¹⁵ In what follows I make use of my remarks in “Hypostasis” (1974), 374–383.

¹⁶ The readings of some of Nagel’s examples are incorrect; all his examples must be verified against good editions. [Long after the manuscript of the present book had been closed, W.-P. Funk published a revolutionary article, “How Closely Related Are the Subachmimic Dialects,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 112 (1985) 124–139, in which he argues convincingly that “the” Subachmimic dialect must be seen as three dialects, on a par with Achmimic. His discovery has many implications for the classification of dialect forms in Codex II.—B. L.]

3. Omission of initial \bar{n} in adverbial expressions of instrument, time, manner, etc.

While occurring in *S* (P. Kahle *Bala'izah* p. 109), this is especially common in Achmimic (Rösch *Vorbemerkungen* § 4, Till *Achm.-kopt. Gramm.* § 33g): (\bar{n}) $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon$ 106:26, 109:20, 123:21, 125:22; (\bar{m}) $\pi\sigma\alpha\mu\pi\iota\bar{\tau}\bar{n}$ 95:21; (\bar{m}) $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ 74:3; (\bar{n}) $z\bar{n}\sigma\pi$ 80:18; (\bar{n}) $\alpha\psi\bar{n}z\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ 42:9; (\bar{n}) $\psi\sigma\rho\pi$ 113:26; (\bar{n}) $\theta\zeta\alpha\eta$ 128:16.

4. Omission of π -, τ -.

Omission of the definite articles π - and τ - before words in initial /p/ and /t/. Known in *S* but especially common in *A*². Not found in tractate 7. π - omitted before $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\Delta(\epsilon)\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha$, $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\pi\bar{n}\bar{\alpha}$, $\pi\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\psi\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\phi\omicron\iota\iota\zeta$; τ - omitted before $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\upsilon\eta\eta$ /tikaiosunē/, $\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}$, $\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$, and possibly $\tau\rho\upsilon\phi\eta$.

5. $\pi\bar{n}$, $\tau\bar{n}$, and $z\bar{n}$ = $\pi\epsilon\eta$, $\tau\epsilon\eta$, and $z\epsilon\eta$.

An *A*² trait. The word $z\bar{n}$ 'some' thus becomes homonymous with the preposition $z\bar{n}$ 'in' and, like it, can assimilate as $z\bar{m}$.

6. $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\eta\omicron\upsilon$ = $\pi\epsilon\upsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\upsilon$.

In the paradigms of the possessive article, causative infinitive, and third future negative, $\omicron\upsilon$ marks 3rd plur. and ϵ the 2nd fem. sing.; while in standard Sahidic $\omicron\upsilon$ is 2nd fem. sing. and the 3rd plur. has a different termination ($\epsilon\upsilon$). Furthermore, the standard Sahidic allomorphs of the definite article $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon$ are relatively rare in Codex II (see table in Nagel § 26a).

	CODEX	STD. SAHID.
'that they'	$\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon$ -	$\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon$ -
'their'	$\pi\omicron\upsilon$ -	$\pi\epsilon\upsilon$ -
	$\tau\omicron\upsilon$ -	$\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ -
	$\eta\omicron\upsilon$ -	$\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ -
'they shall not'	$\eta\omicron\upsilon$ -	$\bar{n}\eta\epsilon\upsilon$ -
'your (fem. sing.)'	$\pi\epsilon$ -	$\pi\omicron\upsilon$ -
	$\tau\epsilon$ -	$\tau\omicron\upsilon$ -
	$\eta\epsilon$ -	$\eta\omicron\upsilon$ -
'the'	π -, τ -, η -	π -, τ -, η -
'the' (allomorph)	—————	$\pi\epsilon$ -, $\tau\epsilon$ -, $\eta\epsilon$ -

In every one of the features tabulated in the middle column, Codex II is following *A*² rather than *S*. For $\eta\omicron\upsilon$ III future negative see 60:33, 77:11, 78:23. The other forms occur passim, but not persistently.

7. \bar{p} - auxiliary to Greek verbs.

Greek verbs are often, though not always, governed by an untranslatable auxiliary \bar{p} - (which otherwise means 'do'). This use of the form, like the randomness of its appearance, is typical of A^2 . Standard Sahidic uses Greek verbs without the auxiliary, but has \bar{p} - as the verb 'do, make, perform'.

8. . . . $\Delta N = \bar{n}$ - . . . ΔN .

The simple negation usurps the role of \bar{n} - . . . ΔN , a Subachmimicisim. This difference has its greatest effect in the structure of the conversions. See tables of attested grammatical forms, with the indexes.

9. $\Delta = N\Delta$ futuri.

A Subachmimicisim. Not in tractates 4, 7. 32:13, 40:26-29, 42:25, 49:32-34, 50:28, 57:4, 76:33, 78:19, 84:29, 86:7, 98:19, 117:21, 126:36, 128:3, 132:28.

10. $M\bar{n} = \bar{m}\pi\bar{p}$.

A Subachmimicisim. Only in tractates 2-4: 32:14, 39:24, 44:2, 66:4-5, 74:11, 78:21, 90:3.

11. II future affirmative = III future affirmative.

II fut. affirm. usurps all the functions of III fut. affirm, but III fut. negative is used as in standard Sahidic. A Subachmimicisim. (Non-occurrence of III fut. affirm. is found also in the *S* writer Shenute, under Achmimic influence.)

12. Use of $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta$.

As in A^2 generally, the distinction expressed in the present relative by bare $\epsilon\tau$ versus $\epsilon\tau\eta$ has a counterpart in the I perfect relative, viz. bare $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta$ (also $\epsilon\tau\alpha$) versus $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\eta$. This distinction is unknown to standard Sahidic in the I perfect, where $(\epsilon)N\tau\alpha\eta$ performs both functions.

13. $\epsilon = \epsilon\pi\epsilon$.

The standard Sahidic distinction of ϵ versus $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ in the II tenses and circumstantial paradigms is lost as in A^2 , putting extra weight upon the polyvalent form ϵ .

	CODEX	STD. SAHID.
I perfect base	Δ -, $\Delta\zeta$ -, $\Delta\zeta\zeta$	Δ -, $\Delta\zeta$
'to'	Δ -/ ϵ -	ϵ -

II tense base	ε-	ερε-
	ες	ες
circumstantial base	ε-	ερε-
	ες	ες

14. αϥ = εϥ (II bipartite).

A subachmimicism. Rare in Codex II: 53:28, 80:28, 82:32, 83:10, 83:11, 96:29 (-να), 138:9, 139:26, 144:30. Not in tractates 2, 5 or 6.

15. νεϥ = ενεϥ, ψαϥ = εψαϥ.

Apparent omission of the converter ε with the preterite (ενεϥ) and the aorist (εψαϥ) may in some cases be explained as asyndeton (thus Nagel § 64a). νες = ενες relative 34:19, 52:21, 55:8, 68:23, 133:22–23, 135:11–12; ψας = εψας relative 61:14, 103:22; νες = ενες protasis of irrealis 42:20, 45:7, 47:33, 66:2, 70:9; ψας = εψας circumstantial expressing relative 63:15. νες for ενες irrealis is an Achmimicism (Till *Achm.-kopt. Gramm.* § 227a), and is found also in A² (John 11:21 ed. Thompson) but not persistently (Nagel § 38a). I have no information on the dialect affinities of the other forms.

16. There is confusion (from the standard Sahidic viewpoint) about the correct selection of the infinitive state before a suffixed object. This is common in A² and abnormal in standard Sahidic except in a few fixed cases (e.g. κοϥων 'know'). For details see the *nominalis* and *pronominalis* states of the verbs catalogued in the indexes.17. Lexical ambiguity because of A² features, especially vocalization.

The most glaring examples are glossed in the apparatus to the Coptic texts. E.g. αν = ον 'again', βαλ = βολ 'outside', ἄμαγ = ἄμοογ 'them', ἄκε = ἄκα 'thing', σαν = сон 'brother'; conjugated forms, imperfect ναϥ 85:9 = νεϥ, neg. aorist μαροϥ 70:6 = μεϥ, neg. III fut. νι 44:7 = ἄνα, conjunctive σε 43:7 = ἄσε, causative infin. τε 77:13 = τρε.

18. α = ε (preposition).

The A² preposition α- 'to' occurs frequently, alternating with its standard Sahidic equivalent ε-. The form α- is open to confusion for a speaker of standard Sahidic, who will expect a I perfect conjugation.

19. ἄεεεμα (component) = πεεεμα.

A Subachmimicism, as was first pointed out to me by H. J. Polotsky. E.g. ἄνεεεμα 49:23 = ζἄ πεεεμα 'here', ψα νεεεμα 100:13 or ενεεεμα 115:20 = επεεεμα '(to) here'.

20. $\bar{n}zpa\bar{i} z\bar{n} = zpa\bar{i} z\bar{n}$.

A Subachmimicisim. Rare in Codex II.

Other non-standard features

21. Elision and crasis.

21.1 Simplification of vowel pairs $\alpha\alpha$, $\epsilon\epsilon$, $\iota\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota$, $\gamma\omicron\gamma$ or $\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ in the junction (close or open) of two morphemes. Common in *S* manuscripts as well as *A*² and Achmimic: $\eta\alpha\text{-}(\alpha)\alpha\bar{\zeta}$ 34:22, $\tau\sigma\text{-}\phi\iota\alpha$ (α) $\sigma\text{p}\rho\chi\bar{\eta}$ 106:11–12, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ (α) $z\iota\chi\text{p}\epsilon$ 114:14–15, $\alpha\text{-}(\alpha)\alpha\bar{\zeta}$ 129:4, $\chi\epsilon$ (ϵ) $\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\text{-}$ 35:11, $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (ϵ) $\eta\omicron$ 37:23, $\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$ (ϵ) $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 85:17, $\tau\mu\alpha\zeta\sigma\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\text{p}\epsilon$ (ϵ) $\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\rho\text{p}$ 106:24–25; $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ ($\epsilon\iota$) 67:31, $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ ($\epsilon\iota$) $\eta\epsilon$ 34:32, $z\iota$ ($\epsilon\iota$) $\alpha\lambda$ 69:11; $\omicron\gamma$ ($\omicron\gamma$) $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ 37:33–34, α (γ) $\omicron\gamma\sigma\iota\alpha$ 99:14, $\eta\omicron\gamma$ ($\omicron\gamma$) $\omega\sigma\text{p}$ 41:9, $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma$ ($\omicron\gamma$) $\omega\mu$ 73:20.

21.2 Crasis. $\eta\alpha\text{b}\omicron\lambda = \eta\alpha(\gamma \epsilon)\text{b}\omicron\lambda$ 64:8.

22. Reduplication of \bar{n} (as $\bar{n}\bar{n}$) before vowel or syllabic consonant.

Not to my knowledge peculiarly associated with any single dialect. Nearly absent in tractate 7 (138:34. 140:27).

22.1 $\bar{n}\bar{n} = \bar{n}$: before $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$, $\alpha\beta\alpha\delta\eta\epsilon\iota\eta$, $\alpha\iota\omega\eta$, $\alpha\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\eta\alpha\omega$, $\alpha\text{p}\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\text{-}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\eta$, $\alpha\sigma\text{p}\epsilon$, $\alpha\tau\text{-}$, $\alpha\omega$, $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, $\iota\eta\epsilon$, $\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$, $\omicron\gamma\text{-}$. Before $\bar{\eta}$ 92:4. Before $\kappa\alpha\bar{\iota}\eta$ 91:20, under influence of $\bar{n}\eta\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$ 91:19. Note that $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ before $\omicron\gamma\text{-}$ is liable to confusion with $\bar{n}\text{-}\eta\omicron\gamma\text{-}$.

22.2 $\bar{n}\bar{n} = \eta$: $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta = \eta\bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\zeta$ 111:9, 118:8.

22.3 $\bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-} = \bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-}$: before $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha$, $\omicron\gamma\text{-}$.

22.4 $\bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-} = \bar{n}\tau\alpha\zeta\bar{n}\text{-}$: before $\alpha\alpha\bar{\zeta}$.

22.5 $\bar{p}\bar{n}\text{-}$, $\bar{t}\bar{n}\text{-} = \bar{p}\epsilon\eta\text{-}$, $\bar{t}\epsilon\eta\text{-}$.

22.6 $\bar{t}\bar{n}\text{-}$ (pronominal preformative of bipartite pattern) = $\bar{t}\bar{n}\text{-}$ 83:22–23, 83:26.

22.7 $\omicron\gamma\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-} = \omicron\gamma\bar{n}\text{-}$.

22.8 $z\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-} = z\bar{n}\text{-}$ (also $z\bar{n}\text{-}$ for $z\epsilon\eta\text{-}$): before $\alpha\tau\text{-}$, $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$, $\epsilon\beta\alpha\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$, $\omicron\gamma\text{-}$. Before \bar{m} - 87:13.

22.9 $z\iota\bar{t}\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-} = z\iota\bar{t}\bar{n}\text{-}$.

For attestation, see indexes.

23. Omission of \bar{n} .

- 23.1 Before $\sigma\gamma$. As recently described by S. Emmel, \bar{n} is sometimes omitted before $\sigma\gamma$ - (once) 44:20 or words in initial $\sigma\gamma$ (viz. $\sigma\gamma\alpha$ 35:11, $\sigma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\iota\omicron$ 104:24, $\sigma\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\iota\omicron$ 106:4, $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau$ 109:13, $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\psi$ 33:23 in $\bar{n}\sigma\gamma\epsilon\psi$ \bar{n} -, $\sigma\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$ 58:22). The phenomenon may extend also to initial $\epsilon\iota$ (54:9, 127:11 $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ for $\bar{n}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$). There are no instances in tractate 7. Note $\bar{r}\bar{m}\sigma\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta\iota\omicron$ 103:19 and $\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ 33:18 where $\sigma\iota$ is for $\sigma\iota\eta$, i.e. * $\sigma\iota$ \bar{n} - (Egyptian $\bar{k}'n$ -). Omission of \bar{n} before $\sigma\gamma$ also occurs in S manuscripts, e.g. Quecke's Mark (9:35, 9:47, 15:4; Crum s.v. $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau$).
- 23.2 $\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{n}$. Simplification of $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ ('... the') to \bar{n} . Occurs mostly in the phrase $\bar{n}\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\alpha$ 'of *the* authorities' (86:27, 91:1, 96:31, 111:23, 111:28, 114:18, 117:25, 124:32), but also in $\bar{n}\alpha\iota\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ '(dir. obj.) the captives' 85:29, $\bar{n}\alpha\iota\omega\eta\eta$ 'of the eternal realms' 87:10, $\bar{n}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ '(dative) the free' 72:18.

See also §§ 3 and 8.

24. Other peculiarities of junctural \bar{n} (\bar{m}).

Not, to my knowledge, characteristic of A^2 . Possibly just slips of the pen.

- 24.1 $\bar{n}\bar{m} = \bar{n}\bar{m}$: $\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\theta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma = \bar{n}\bar{m}\alpha\theta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ 55:37, 71:14, cf. 74:26, 78:10, 100:1.
- 24.2 $\bar{n}\bar{m} = \bar{n}\bar{m}$: $\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon = \epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{m}\alpha\upsilon$ 108:12, 109:5, 114:26.
- 24.3 $\bar{n}\bar{b} = \bar{n}$ (before /b/): $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{v}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\epsilon = \bar{n}\bar{v}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$ 87:4, 94:26.
- 24.4 $\bar{m}\bar{p} = \bar{m}$ (before /p/): $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{p}\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma = \bar{m}\bar{p}\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 90:10, cf. 91:8.
- 24.5 $\bar{n}\bar{n} = \bar{n}$: $\alpha\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{b}\bar{c}\omega = \epsilon\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{b}\bar{c}\omega$ 57:20–21, $\omicron\bar{n}\bar{n} = \omicron\bar{n}$ 62:6.
- 24.6 $\bar{n}\bar{n} = \bar{n}$: $\bar{n}\bar{n}\psi\eta\eta\epsilon = \bar{n}\psi\eta\eta\epsilon$ 72:20, 82:16–17; $\bar{n}\bar{n}\theta\epsilon = \bar{n}\theta\epsilon$ 139:6.
- 24.7 $\bar{n}\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}$: $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\sigma\iota\chi = \bar{n}\text{-}\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{n}\sigma\iota\chi$ (A^2 \bar{n} - $\bar{n}\bar{n}\sigma\iota\chi$) 136:18, cf. 92:6–7.
- 24.8 $\bar{m}\bar{m} = \bar{m}$: $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\omicron\gamma = \bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 76:18–19. By analogy with § 24.6?
- 24.9 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m} = \bar{n}\bar{m}$: $\bar{z}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\omicron\gamma = \bar{z}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 107:19, cf. 133:16.
- 24.10 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m} = \bar{n}\bar{m}$: $\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\varsigma = \epsilon\tau\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\varsigma$ 111:9, 118:8.
- 24.11 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m} = \bar{n}\bar{m}$: $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\theta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma = \bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\alpha\theta\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ 59:28.
- 24.12 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{n}$: $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma = \bar{n}\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma$ (A^2 $\bar{n}\bar{n}\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma$) 59:4–6.

25. Weakness of *z*.

A common feature of *S* as well as *A*² (well illustrated for *S* by W. Worrell, ed., *The Proverbs of Solomon*).

25.1 Omission of *z*: initial (z)α-, (z)β̄σω, (z)λοστ̄ν̄, (z)ν̄-, (z)αρεζ, (z)ογζε; medial κω(z)τ, ζογ(z)ε; final -ετα(z), -εντα(z)-, ν̄τα(z)-, ρωκ(z), ογων(z). See indexes.

25.2 Superfluous *z*: zν̄ = ν̄ 125:20, 133:11; φζαε = φαε 135:3, θζαν = θαν 36:16; θζη = θη 45:29, 47:4, 47:10; θζαῖβες = θαῖβες 98:3, 99:3; θζλπε = θλπε 114:28; φ[ζο]ογτ = φοογτ 65:26. Many of the examples are with /t/; note that θ also represents /h/ in ατθητ 89:24–25 = ατζητ, τθγποστασις 97:21 = θγποστασις, †θλαστ̄ν̄ 116:27 = †ζλοστ̄ν̄.

25.3 Metathesis of *z* and an adjacent letter: πεττ 123:10 = πεττ, ρωκ 35:14 = ρωκζ, ογζωμ 95:8 = ογωζμ, ωκζ 52:25 = ωκζ, etc. See indexes for further examples.

26. ετ = ετε.

Possibly just slips of the pen. ετογν̄τογ = ετεγν̄τογ 76:17, τετ̄μ̄ν̄τες = τετε μ̄ν̄τες 97:4, νετψαγ = νετε ψαγ 132:3–4.

27. τεειζε ον = ται τε εε, or possibly ν̄τεειζε.

Dialect associations? 53:29, 74:36, 79:22–23, 83:3, 122:13.

For other details consult indexes and tables of attested grammatical forms.

Morpheme dividers (apostrophes).¹⁷ One of the salient characteristics of the orthography of Codex II is use of morpheme dividers or apostrophes, e.g. μ̄ν̄τρεϚ\`λο̄ν̄διπετ\`ψινεεϚ\`ψινεψαντεϚ\`σινε (32:14–16). Also noteworthy is the lack of any logical or rhetorical punctuation such as we find in most of the other Nag Hammadi codexes.

The main theoretical interest of this phenomenon lies in its direct relationship to the history of word division, of which it is an important ancestor. In addition, the system of apostrophes is intimately connected with the use of the superlinear stroke, of which the apostrophe is sometimes an allomorph; indeed the shape and placement of the two marks even shade off into one another. In such a case, an edition that includes superlineation is bound for reasons of consistency to include the apostrophe. But it

¹⁷I make use of my remarks in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 190–200.

is not the specific *shape* of the apostrophe, nor of the stroke, that is relevant to interpretation (as I have shown elsewhere), only its *position*.

The main function of apostrophe is to mark the conclusion of a form consisting of two or more phonemes. It occurs at both close and open juncture (95:4 versus 95:5). A subsidiary function (rare) is to separate, within the interior of a form, a doubled consonant: ἀγγελοϥ 93:13, ϣαββατον 38:19–20, εκκληϣια 105:22, μαθηταιϥ 34:34–35:1. In addition, there are a certain number of cases where the mark appears to be used irregularly.

The value of apostrophe for the ancient reader would have been as an aid to reading, like the superlinear stroke. It must incidentally have facilitated the copying of texts, making it easy to delimit short units that could be copied at one time—anyone who has collated one of the texts of Codex II will know how helpful the apostrophes are in this respect.

Ancient Coptic scribal practice treats superlineation of syllabic β, λ, μ, ν, ϣ as being more necessary than that of other syllabic consonants: thus we expect superlineation above μ in ϣωτμ̄, but above ϣ in κοτϣ practice will vary. It is in the latter case that apostrophe will often take the place of superlineation in Codex II, κοτϣ̣ 91:27, 92:27 but κοτϣ̄ 92:21, 92:32; νοχϣ̣ 91:4, νοχϣ̄ 95:12; ἀρηχϣ̣ 97:8, ἀρηχϣ̄ 94:4, 94:20, 95:1; etc. Occasionally we even find it usurping the non-optional role of the stroke: πεταρ̣απατα 90:31 (for πεταρ̄απατα), similarly 132:28: while in other manuscripts (e.g. Drescher's 1–2 Kings [Morgan MS M. 567, 9th century]) the stroke usurps the word-dividing function of the apostrophe. In Codex II both the stroke and the apostrophe start somewhere in the middle of the box occupied by the letter and extend beyond the right of the box; both tend to slope down at the right; but these features are much more pronounced in the apostrophe. Both marks are ornamentally elongated at the end of a line. Occasionally the stroke appears in a rounded, circumflex-like form, tending to resemble one of the shapes of apostrophe: 120:9 ἠταϣταμιοϣϣ̣. With very few exceptions (49:6, 54:31, 62:9) a letter with the stroke is never followed by apostrophe. It seems incontrovertible, then, that in certain positions the superlinear stroke and apostrophe are functionally interchangeable, while in others each mark has its own peculiar function; and that as graphic signs they are similar.

In theory, three shapes of apostrophe are distinguished;¹⁸ but in actual rendition these shapes shade off into one another, so that many distinctions among them are very subjective. These are: the *hook* or apostrophe proper ϣ' (sometimes resembling a circumflex well overlapping the

¹⁸ M. Reil, in *Byzantinistische Zeitschrift* 19 (1910) 476–529, at § 13.

interliteral space), the *straight apostrophe* $\acute{\text{q}}$, and the *raised point* $\acute{\text{q}}\cdot$. Placement of these marks varies: they can occur above the right-most part of a letter, within the following interliteral space, or even slightly overlapping the letter which follows. Compare the placement of the super-linear stroke.

These shapes occur also in Greek palaeography, from which they were probably borrowed; there they have been considered merely three ‘‘forms of the apostrophe.’’¹⁹

In the present edition, all the shapes of apostrophe are represented by one sign, the straight apostrophe $\acute{\text{q}}$.

Apostrophe is especially common after κ , λ , μ , ν , π , ρ , τ , and η ; and in tractate 7, also after σ . The unadjusted statistics for the occurrence of apostrophe (all shapes) after consonants is presented in Table 1 (on p. 17).

The relative frequency of apostrophe after a given consonant can only be determined by comparison with the total number of positions where it *might* occur. My investigation of one of the tractates (tractate 4), as presented in Table 2, showed that only κ , λ , μ , ν , π , ρ , τ , η , and (with one instance) σ were ever marked; and that all these were marked with about the same relative frequency (average 36%, including σ), except that κ , π , ρ were marked especially often, and σ virtually never. This kind of investigation could be extended to the other five tractates, on the basis of the data given in Table 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

TABLE 1
Number of Apostrophes Occurring after Consonants

	Tractate 2	Tractate 3	Tractate 4	Tractate 5	Tractate 6	Tractate 7
В	6	17	0	0	4	0
Ө	0	0	0	5	0	0
К	62	71	24	41	17	33
Л	21	39	10	25	8	11
М	19	66	30	56	21	19
Н	32	124	29	55	13	64
Э	0	6	0	1	0	0
П	33	109	22	82	26	24
Р	13	28	9	21	5	11
С	0	13	1	9	2	34
Т	98	151	45	81	59	62
Ц	2	10	0	3	0	3
Ч	130	218	78	253	25	74
Ш	0	3	0	3	0	2
Ж	7	9	0	4	1	1
Б	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 2
Interpretation of Statistics on Tractate 4

	Possible Occurrences of Apostrophe	Actual Occurrences of Apostrophe	Percentage of Total
В	12	0	0
К	40	24	60
Λ	64	10	16
М	131	30	23
Ν	183	29	16
Π	24	22	92
Ρ	20	9	45
С	131	1	0
Т	120	45	38
У	11	0	0
У	227	78	34
Ζ	51	0	0
Χ	3	0	0
Ϛ	17	0	0

SOURCE: B. Layton, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 200. The letters **ϑ** and **ϛ** are not analyzed in the source quoted.

THE BINDING OF CODEX II

LINDA K. OGDEN

I SAW the bindings of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts first in August 1975, when they were being prepared for conservation, and again in December 1976, by which time conservation was completed. The leaves of the text as well as most of the inscribed cartonnage have been removed from the bindings and have been conserved separately between sheets of Plexiglas. The bindings (also in Plexiglas containers) have been opened at the spine fold, but all flaps remain folded inside. I was thus unable to take my own measurements of the covers of Codex II. Readers are referred to measurements made by James M. Robinson and published in the introduction to the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition of Codex II* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE NAG HAMMADI BINDINGS

With the exception of Codex I, the bound volumes of this collection each are a single quire of folded papyrus sheets sewn into a binding that consists of a piece of leather turned in at the head and tail of both covers and at the fore-edge of the lower cover; the fore-edge of the upper cover extends in a flap, wraps around the book, and is fastened with a long tie attached to the edge of the flap at the center. Ties are also found at the centers of the head and tail of the upper and lower covers.

The edges of the covers were turned in and adhered to layers of papyrus cartonnage, which were used to stiffen the covers. Where the upper cover extends in a flap, an additional folded strip of leather was adhered to the inside of the cover along the fore-edge to act as a turn-in. On the inside of the cover was pasted a full sheet of papyrus (either the outer sheet of the quire or a separate sheet), which extends over the turn-ins to the edges of the cover. In some bindings, a narrow strip of leather was folded around the outside of the quire at the fold to line the spine. Most bindings have two small leather stays inside the folded quire, each with two holes through which thongs of leather were passed, attaching the quire to the cover or to the spine lining leather. These stays prevented the papyrus from tearing where it was sewn.

Within this collection, different types and colors of leather were used. It should be noted that identification of ancient leather materials is extremely difficult if one is using only a hand lens, especially when one

wishes to distinguish between sheep and goat.¹ As no microscopic study of the leathers has been made, identifications by the Austrian conservator Anton Fackelmann, which are referred to below, may be subject to revision. If access to the covers is possible in the future, a standard system of color notation (such as the Munsell Soil Color Charts used in archaeological field work) could be applied to the leather. This would be useful only for purposes of comparison, and is not an aspect of the identification of the leather. Any attempt to gain an idea of the original color of the leather could be achieved only by examining an area which has not been exposed to sunlight and handling, such as under a turn-in.

Constructional details differ among the bindings, such as the type of tacket used to fasten down the turn-ins or the method of attaching the ties. Some covers are made from a single skin of leather, others from several pieces overlapped and laced together. Based on these differences, Doresse states that "dans bien des cas, la technique employée ne saurait être considérée comme représentant un *type* précis: il s'agit, au contraire, d'une adaptation plus ou moins heureuse de l'artisan à l'emploi des pièces de cuir, souvent imparfaites, dont il disposait."² However, there exists sufficient similarity in certain details of construction—for example, the fore-edge flap and the number and placement of ties—to suggest that the binders (or binder) may well have been following a model. But Doresse is certainly correct in noting that the artisans in each case were influenced by the nature of the materials at their disposal.

THE BINDING OF CODEX II

The description which follows is entirely based on examination of the binding; as a convenience to the reader, I refer also to illustrative plates in the *Facsimile Edition* of Codex II and of Codex VI.

The binding of Codex II presents two particularly interesting features: an additional flap at the head of the upper cover, unique among the covers in this collection, and tooled and inked decoration on the outside of the binding. The cover is made from a single piece of reddish-brown leather, identified as sheep by Anton Fackelmann.³ Both Doresse and Mille. van

¹R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London/New York: Seminar Press, 1972) 287–288.

²Jean Doresse, "Les reliures des manuscrits gnostiques coptes découverts à Khénoboskion," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 13 (1961) 49.

³James M. Robinson, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices," *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (Nag Hammadi Studies 6; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 172.

Regemorter plausibly suggested that the skin was tinted, because the turn-ins and the interior of the binding retained their natural color.⁴ Considerable darkening occurs on this and other covers, primarily at the spine and fore-edge, where dirt and grease from handling are most likely to accumulate. The spine of the animal appears to run horizontally across the cover. Opinions differ as to whether the cover extending in two flaps is the upper or the lower cover, and whether the smaller flap at the head (or tail) then lay inside or outside the binding. However, if this binding follows the style of others in the collection, the fore-edge flap would extend from the upper cover and the smaller flap would thus extend from the head of the upper cover.

Where the binding does not extend in flaps, the edges of the cover have been folded to the inside and fastened with leather tackets near the spine and at the fore-edge corners (*Facsimile II*, pl. 8). In the opinion of Robinson,⁵ a turn-in for the upper cover, constructed by joining two half lengths of leather as in certain other Nag Hammadi bindings (*Facsimile VI*, pl. 4), originally must have been attached along the fore-edge where the flap extends from the cover; none is now extant. This and the corresponding turn-in on the lower cover had an additional tacket in the middle. An unattached strip was identified by Robinson as probably forming the turn-in under the small flap. This strip was laid in its hypothetical position for conservation (*Facsimile II*, pl. 8). Neither area is presently visible, owing to the manner in which the cover was folded for conservation, making further first-hand study of this problem impossible. No turn-in currently exists at the tail of the upper cover. The areas of the head and tail turn-ins at the spine of the book are cut away to accommodate the thickness of the quire.

Leather ties are attached to the small flap and to the cover opposite the small flap; remains of additional ties are visible at the tail of the upper and lower covers. The tie on the small flap is attached by means of a narrow strip of red leather which is laced through both the tie and leather of the flap. The other ties pass through the cover and the turn-in and are fastened on the inside by a short thong which passes through the tie at right angles. The tie at the head of the lower cover opposite the small flap is somewhat heavier than the others, and as it is not in a position to be tied to the flap, the tie may have wrapped around the volume vertically, with the small flap folded inside the cover.

⁴Berthe van Regemorter, "La reliure des manuscrits gnostiques découverts à Nag Hammadi [sic]," *Scriptorium* 14 (1960) 228, and Doresse, "Les reliures," 42.

⁵Robinson, "Construction," 176.

According to Robinson,⁶ "A detached thong 27.3 cm long may belong to Codex II, although there are no vestiges of stitching at the tip of the flap, but only an indistinct imprint of the thong's overlap on the inner side of the flap, and a faint indentation at the leading edge of the front cover perhaps resulting from the pressure of the encircling thong." This tie has been conserved with the binding of Codex II (*Facsimile II*, pl. 8, bottom). Because of the Plexiglas mounting, I have been unable to verify the evidence for the relationship of the thong to the flap. Even if we accept this evidence, it seems insufficient either to identify the detached tie with this codex or to prove the existence of such a thong when no means of attachment can be seen. The lack of a fore-edge tie would make this cover unique among those of the collection. If no fore-edge tie ever existed, this might help to explain the unusually heavy tie at the head of the lower cover, which would then be the sole means of securing the book.

Although most of the Nag Hammadi bindings contain a strip of leather folded around the quire at the spine (*Facsimile VI*, pl. 4) and two stays (*ibid.*, pl. 3) inside the quire to prevent the stitching from pulling through the papyrus, neither feature is extant in this binding. Neither Doresse nor van Regemorter mentions traces of sewing, but Robinson has noted notches in the folios which correspond roughly to two sets of holes in the cover⁷ (*Facsimile II*, pl. 5, 82, 83) and further noted three pieces of string associated with the codex⁸ (*Facsimile II*, pl. 159).

The binding contains no evidence of cartonnage or adhesive, or a paste-down, except for a small fragment of papyrus adhering near a turn-in of the lower cover, although Doresse⁹ wrote that at the time of his examination of the codex, the last page, inscribed on the recto, was adhered to the lower cover.

The binding of Codex II is the most extensively decorated of the Nag Hammadi codexes,¹⁰ with tooled and inked decoration on upper and lower covers and both flaps (*Facsimile II*, pl. 7). Doresse says the small flap is decorated on both sides,¹¹ but this may be only the impression from the tooling showing through the leather (because the flap has been folded over for conservation the underside of it cannot now be examined). A single tooled line outlines the covers, corresponding roughly to the folds for the turn-ins. On the inside (*Facsimile II*, pl. 8), a tooled line runs

⁶*Ibid.*, 179.

⁷*The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex II* (Leiden: Brill, 1974) xv.

⁸Robinson, "Construction," 180.

⁹Doresse, "Les reliures," 44.

¹⁰Of the other bindings, only IV, V and VIII have tooling on the covers; on cover VII the attachment of the fore-edge tie incorporates tooled lines.

¹¹Doresse, "Les reliures," 44.

parallel to and just inside the edge of the fold of the upper and lower turn-ins. On the outside, two parallel lines run the length of the spine-fold, with an inked line between them.

On the lower cover, three parallel sets of three closely spaced parallel lines run diagonally from each corner to the opposite corner, forming four diamonds where they cross in the center; the upper and lower of these have been filled in with decoration. Otherwise, the space between the sets of parallel lines is filled with inked designs consisting of a strand of overlapping hearts and band of diamonds-and-dots in one direction, and a running scroll (of spirals) and strand of quasi-guilloche in the other. The upper cover is bisected horizontally by a parallel pair of lines with an inked line between them. Each resultant rectangle is crossed diagonally by parallel pairs of lines. Two parallel lines join the intersections of these diagonals. Centered near the head and tail are *ankh*-like figures drawn in ink. A running scroll (of spirals) also in ink runs vertically along the fore-edge.

On each flap a triangle is formed by two parallel lines running from the point of the triangle to the outer edges of the fold where it joins the cover. The lines that horizontally bisect the upper cover continue to the tip of the fore-edge flap. The smaller flap is similarly divided by vertical lines. An inked *ankh* appears near the tip of the fore-edge flap. The *ankh* symbol has been thought by one scholar who has studied these manuscripts to be a means of dating the cover.¹² Although it is conceivable that the inked decoration may have been added later, inspection of the binding reveals that the inked designs are contemporary with the construction of the cover, as the slots for the ties have been cut through the inked design, and the ties themselves show no traces of ink as they presumably would if one had attempted to ink in the design after the tie was already in place.

THE NAG HAMMADI BINDINGS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CODEX

Several features of these early codexes, for example, fore-edge flaps, spine lining strips, and stays, continue to appear in the later development of the book in the Middle East and Europe. This early use of the fore-edge flap is especially interesting. I suggest three possible reasons for its occurrence in the Nag Hammadi bindings: historical influence, the requirements of the single-quire codex form, and the nature of

¹² Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte* (Paris: Plon, 1958) 162, says the symbol was not used by Christians prior to A.D. 391, although Krause, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962) 112, says it was probably in use before that date.

the material used.

Papyrus rolls in antiquity may have had their ends "strengthened by an extra thickness of papyrus" or in some cases "provided with a wrapper of parchment to protect it when not in use."¹³ It is possible that someone used to wrapping and tying up papyrus rolls might have been naturally inclined to add a similar feature to the new codex form, with the fore-edge flap corresponding to the end of the roll that protected the text and was fastened with a tie wrapping around the roll.

Moreover, thick single quires like these codexes would gape at the fore-edge unless kept weighted or secured in some way, as with a flap and tie or, less satisfactorily, simply a tie.

Finally, the skin of leather may itself have influenced the shape of the flap. While it is difficult to tell with some of the bindings, Codexes II and III seem to have been made with the spine of the animal running horizontally across the cover. The pointed flap of Codex III could have been positioned near the tail of the skin, resulting in relatively little waste. The cover of Codex II could have been cut with the fore-edge flap coming from the neck or tail, in which case the small flap could have come from the area of a leg—perhaps suggested by the shape of the skin.

The overall similarity of form among the bindings, especially the number and placement of ties, the flap, the lining strip, and the fact that, with the exception of Codex I, they are all single-quire codexes, indicates that the bindings were based on similar models. Groupings of bindings within this collection such as those proposed by Robinson¹⁴ seem to me to point to several binders. For example, the slits made in the head and tail turn-ins of some bindings, spaced according to the width of the quire, allow the covers to fold around the quire without bunching up the leather at the fold. These slits are found only in Codexes I, II, III, VI, VII, IX and X; to me they indicate a refined technique, based on knowledge of the material. But they would not necessarily be indicative of chronological development unless we could assume that the bindings were made by one and the same person.

At present the Nag Hammadi bindings seem to be unique representatives of an early period in the development of the codex form and the craft of binding. Studies of the inscribed cartonnage as well as the codicology of the manuscripts may yield information on their dates, but it is still too early to draw many conclusions about the age of the manuscripts from the bindings alone. A catalogue of all bound manuscripts and

¹³F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (2nd edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951) 61–62, and see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton: Univ. Press, 1968) 5.

¹⁴Robinson, "Construction," 184–190.

bindings from Coptic Egypt and a thorough study of their materials, structure, and decoration, as well as investigation of contemporary crafts such as leatherwork, would provide the necessary historical framework within which to place these bindings, but unfortunately it has yet to be undertaken.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For previously published descriptions and photographs of the bindings see: Berthe van Regemorter, "La reliure des manuscrits gnostiques découverts à Nag Hamadi [sic]," *Scriptorium* 14 (1960) 225–234; Jean Doresse, "Les reliures des manuscrits gnostiques coptes découverts à Khénoboskion," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 13 (1961) 43–45; M. Krause, P. Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Abhandlungen, Koptische Reihe 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962) 13–17; James M. Robinson, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (Nag Hammadi Studies 6; Leiden: Brill, 1975); *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex II* (Leiden: Brill, 1974). A photograph of the codexes with the binding of Codex II apparently still intact is published in Jean Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*. 1 (Paris: Plon, 1958); English edition, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (London: Hollis & Carter/New York: Viking, 1960).

EDITORIAL METHOD

BENTLEY LAYTON

BECAUSE editors of the Nag Hammadi texts differ so widely in their practice, it seems best to state the principles on which the present Coptic edition is based.

The character of our textual witnesses demands a cautious approach. For four tractates our sole witness is a Cairo manuscript, CG II; for the other two (tractates 2 and 5) it is joined by insignificant fragments of parallel manuscripts. The evidence is thus virtually limited to a unique codex, with the result that critical editing must proceed by conjecture.¹ Moreover, the archaic date and orthographic peculiarities of our chief witness, its hybrid dialectal character, and the unpredictable nature of its contents make the detection of errors, not to speak of their emendation, far from easy. The amount of difficulty presented by each tractate also varies with the amount of damage it has suffered (worst in the *Gospel According to Philip*) and the coherence of its literary form (least coherent in the *Gospel According to Thomas, Philip, and the Book of Thomas*). There are, in addition, special difficulties associated with the treatise *On the Origin of the World*, which appears to have been—at the level of the original Coptic translation—an *opus imperfectum*.

Because of these unusual factors, and in the hope of making this edition a standard on which future study can be based, I have aimed not only to transcribe the chief manuscript and its parallels with meticulous care, but also to correct it in such a way that its readings, even when erroneous, are always apparent to the reader. Editorial corrections in the form of letters *to be added* (e.g. to correct haplography) are enclosed by < >, *to be deleted* (e.g. to correct dittography) by { }; readings of the manuscript *to be altered* are marked † (or † . . . †), with the proposed alteration printed only in the apparatus criticus and not in the text. Orthographic abnormalities (e.g. παραδισοc for παραδισοc) have but rarely been corrected, even where correction could have been simply made by means of the signs just described. Although the text has been arranged in paragraphs, I have added no modern punctuation to it; sentences are distinguished only by extra space. The numerous morpheme dividers (apostrophes) found in

< >
{ }
†

¹ I have discussed the general principles of editing Nag Hammadi texts in "The Recovery of Gnosticism: The Philologist's Task in the Investigation of Nag Hammadi," *The Second Century: A Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1981) 85–99.

the manuscript are printed where they occur. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, there are no significant formal boundaries between the various shapes of apostrophe used in CG II: all of them are but renditions of one sign; here it is represented arbitrarily as `; cf. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 190–200. Without confusion, therefore, the reader can quickly see for himself at every point exactly what is the reading of this venerable codex.

The superlineation of the text represents the actual writings of the manuscript, except for typographic stylization. But sometimes its placement is open to more than one description. Often e.g. in MNT the stroke actually extends from about the middle of M to about the middle of T; also since no contrast of meaning is expressed by MNT versus MNT versus MNT, the ancient copyist has made no effort to distinguish these writings; consequently the modern editor is here hard pressed to choose the typographic representation closest to the manuscript. Furthermore, in some cases it is impossible to distinguish a three-letter *Bindestrich* from a broad single-letter stroke centered above its letter. My transcriptions in all such cases are necessarily subjective.

My aim as editor, however, has been not merely to edit the principal witness as such but also to critically reconstruct—within the bounds of certitude allowed by our evidence—the text to which it attests. In the present circumstances “text” is to be equated with the translation of each tractate in Coptic. Although the tractates in this volume were originally composed in Greek, in no case is there sufficient evidence to attempt a reconstruction of the lost original Greek text; a few meager fragments of the Greek original of the *Gospel According to Thomas* (tractate 2) survive, and they are edited in this edition along with the Coptic. It is abundantly clear that the Coptic of the original “text” was neither translated into standard Sahidic nor spelled consistently; to a great degree I have left the resulting abnormalities in the text and passed over them without comment. For guidance in the interpretation of unusual forms, the reader should consult pp. 6–14 above, the apparatus, and the entries and tables of grammatical forms in the indexes.

Six manuscripts have been examined for this edition.

PRINCIPAL WITNESS

1. Coptic Museum. CG II. Coptic. All tractates.

FRAGMENTARY WITNESSES

2. Coptic Museum. CG XIII. Coptic. Tractate 5. Exactly parallels CG II,5.

3. British Library. Or.4926(1). Subachmimic Coptic. Tractate 5.
4. British Library. P. Oxy. 654. Greek. Tractate 2.
5. Oxford. P. Oxy. 1. Greek. Tractate 2.
6. Harvard. P. Oxy. 655. Greek. Tractate 2.

I have collated all these witnesses, including the Greek fragments edited by Attridge. The principal manuscript I have examined repeatedly, in December 1971, October 1973, September 1974, August-September 1975, April 1976, and May 1978, using out-of-doors natural light, incandescent light, and ultraviolet light, at various degrees of magnification. Cairo CG XIII was collated in August 1975; London Or.4926(1) in June 1978 and January 1980; the three Greek fragments of tractate 2 in June-August 1980.

The decipherment of damaged letters of CG II was facilitated by the regularity of letter shapes in the copyist's alphabet. Readers should note that owing to insurmountable technical difficulties, the standard *Facsimile Edition* of CG II (Leiden, 1974), the principal manuscript, cannot in every instance be utilized as a record of the incomplete letter traces: first-hand examination of the manuscript is also indispensable. Sometimes my transcription will be seen to diverge from the impression given by the *Facsimile*. This difference is deliberate, and results from collation of the manuscript with comparison of the *Facsimile*. The more important differences have been noted in the final volume of the *Facsimile Edition*: but it may be doubted whether any photographic facsimile could adequately report the readings of the manuscript.² I have therefore included in the

²Black inklike marks in a facsimile edition of this kind of course almost always represent ink still to be seen on the papyrus. But they can represent also: (1) marks no longer extant on the papyrus, but spliced in from an early photograph—i.e., presumably ink once seen on the papyrus; (2) a dark fiber in the papyrus surface (very common but usually easy to distinguish); (3) a spot of discoloration on the surface (rare but impossible to distinguish from ink in the *Facsimile Edition*); (4) transferred ink from the opposite page (rare); (5) a hole in the papyrus, seen as black because the photograph was made against a black background (rare); (6) retouching by the editors of the *Facsimile Edition*, theoretically corresponding to what the papyrus has or is thought to have had (rare); (7) at the edge of the papyrus, the original black background where it has not been erased by retouching (very common, but usually easy to distinguish from ink, since it simply follows the contours of the papyrus edge; but sometimes it merges with an ink trace as at 68:25); (8) stray ink that has run along a horizontal fiber when the ancient copyist touched his pen to it (e.g. at 59:21, 80:23); (9) ink written on the papyrus in modern times (numbers in Arabic script); (10) a few other black marks whose origin cannot be determined (very rare; e.g., 81:29 left margin, or 91:27 above the next to last letter, a *nu*). "Blank papyrus" in the *Facsimile Edition* almost always represents papyrus surface still to be seen on the papyrus. But it can also represent: (1) surface no longer extant on the papyrus, but spliced in from an early photograph; (2) retouching by the editors of the *Facsimile Edition*, either as margins (rare and possible to distinguish) or as tiny holes (common and impossible to distinguish). "White

apparatus criticus a certain number of palaeographic notes, conscious that the reader will not be able to control my decipherments by using the *Facsimile* alone. But I have made no effort to give a complete collation of the *Facsimile Edition* against the manuscript.

A slight amount of deterioration of the principal witness has occurred since its deposit in the Coptic Museum in 1952. Fortunately a complete photographic record of the manuscript was made shortly before this deterioration took place. The photographs, taken in 1952 by Boulos Farag then photographer of the Coptic Museum and by others, were carefully collated against the manuscript in 1975 by Stephen Emmel; his collation (which is extremely accurate) has now been published in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 14 (1977) 109–121, with emendanda in 15 (1978) 205, 16 (1979) 275, and 17 (1980) 143. Using Mr. Emmel's list of passages I recollated the relevant photographic prints and negatives in the archives of the Cairo Coptic Museum in September 1975. This unique photographic evidence has been used in constructing the Coptic text; it is always identified in the apparatus criticus.

I have tried to collect and study all the conjectural emendations and restorations advanced in the printed literature, as well as unpublished ones kindly communicated to me by Hans-Gebhard Bethge, Ron Cameron, Stephen Emmel, Wolf-Peter Funk, Wesley W. Isenberg, H. J. Polotsky, W. C. Robinson, Jr., Hans-Martin Schenke, John Turner, and R. McL. Wilson. To these I have added a substantial number of my own. The published reviews, articles, and books on our tractates now amount to more than 800 items. The task of sifting this bibliography was shared by the various translators, to whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude; without their aid this edition would have been delayed by several years. But the final evaluation of these conjectures has been my own Augean labor, for which I alone must bear the responsibility.

The list of conjectures studied by me reached well over 1400. This number is so large because the principal witness is slightly damaged at the two outer corners of most leaves, with the result that almost every page has many lacunas small enough to invite conjectural restoration. In evaluating the conjectures (including restorations), I divided them into three categories:

- (a) Conjectures that are certain. These are treated as being the text,

background" ("blank paper") in the *Facsimile Edition* is (1) void, including holes, lacunas, and the margins of the *Facsimile Edition* itself (almost always that); or (2) blank papyrus that has been accidentally painted out when the black background was retouched out by the editors of the *Facsimile Edition* (rare); or (3) ink, which has been accidentally painted out in the same process (rare; e.g. 58:32).

marked with the appropriate editorial signs.

- (b) Conjectures that are possible but not certain. These are merely reported in the apparatus criticus.
- (c) Conjectures that are impossible. In the present edition these have always been passed over without mention. For typical examples, see B. Layton, in M. Krause, ed., *Essays . . . Pahor Labib* (1975) 90–109. The non-mention of a published conjecture therefore indicates that it is impossible.

“Impossibility” was always taken to entail one or more of the following faults:

- (i) Decipherment wrong, incompatible with the letter traces
- (ii) Restoration too long or too short for the lacuna
- (iii) Syntax of conjecture impossible; or morphology incorrect for the dialect or practice of the tractate
- (iv) Conjecture in itself possible, but dependent for its usefulness upon another, impossible conjecture
- (v) Sense of conjecture meaningless in context, usually because its author imagined it could mean something other than it does

Using the *Facsimile Edition* of CG II, I tested the length of every proposed restoration (cf. above, [ii]) by tracing the sequence of letters in question from typical letters on the same page as the lacuna, duly taking into consideration ligature, occurrence of morpheme dividers (apostrophes), and peculiar features of the script in the immediate neighborhood. The tracing of the restoration was then laid against the photograph of the lacuna in the *Facsimile Edition*. For lacunas at the right margin of the written area (which is a ragged margin), I took note of the shortest and longest surviving lines on the page and considered that any restoration which did not end within those limits was highly dubious. My evaluation of proposed restorations takes account of the possibility that apostrophes, which abound in the principal manuscript, might be restored in a lacuna. The study which I published on the question of apostrophes (*ZPE* 11 [1973] 190–200), while pointing out the considerable theoretical and historical interest of this topic, was motivated by a desire to establish the conditions under which an apostrophe might plausibly be included in the restoration of missing text. Virtually none of the editors of our tractates has ever given much attention to this important matter.

After the above-mentioned criteria of impossibility had been applied to the list of conjectures, the number that remained to be cited in the apparatus was somewhat more than 900.

In examining the remaining, “possible” conjectures, I have asked in each case, Is there a *compelling* reason to believe that this is what was in the manuscript before it was damaged or in the text before it was corrupted? In other words, if the original Coptic text is ever discovered is this surely what its reading will be, both in substance and in wording? The same principle has been applied to the decipherment of damaged letters.³

In principle the “certain” conjectures fall into several categories:

- (i) Those dictated by restricted lexical, morphological, syntactic, and contextual possibilities or by the literary structure of the passage

GTh 48:33 [πεχ]ε ιϛ

GTh 42:1 αϥουωνε ε[β]ολ

HypArch 95:34 πιαγγελο[ς ν̄τε το]ρη

GTh 39:34 τοτε [τετ]ναναυ

GTh 47:33 νεγαζιος γαρ πε [νεϥναχι] †π[ε] αν̄πμοϥ

HypArch 97:1 τ[οτε] . . . (cf. 97:5 τοτε . . . , 97:10 τοτε . . . ,

97:13 τοτε . . . ; the entire passage is in strophic form)

- (ii) Some historical, theological, or narrative “matters of fact,” usually very banal in character, that the author clearly accepts or would want to express in the work. Restoration of matters of fact is very delicate and usually debatable. Some very clear supportive evidence is needed to establish certainty, and most such conjectures must be relegated to the “possible but uncertain” category. The ideal instance will entail (iv) internal cross-reference (tautology), and will be supported by factors (i) and (iii).

HypArch 91:31 (cf. Gen 4:25) αςχπε [ςηθ] να δ αμ⁴

HypArch 91:34 αςχπ[ε ωρηε] (the name is supplied by the

³ Many conjectures in the secondary literature appear to be based on an entirely different editorial principle than mine, a principle enunciated by one eminent scholar with the following words: “une reconstitution n’est jamais absolument certaine, et elle est même parfois fort douteuse; son rôle est alors de tenter de coordonner les lambeaux de phrase disjoints par une lacune, et de proposer au lecteur une interprétation à laquelle, peut-être, il n’avait pas pensé: il pourra fort bien la rejeter après l’avoir examinée” (R. Kasser, *Le Muséon* 31 [1968] 408, my italics).

⁴ MacRae’s objection (*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 1977, p. 24 note 16) that this grammatical construction seems slightly awkward will not stand when we compare Sahidic Jud 11:1–2 (ed. H. Thompson, *Palimpsest*) αςχπε ιϛϥθαε̄ νραλααδ, an excellent example of biblical Sahidic.

narrative that follows)

HypArch 88:30 πωην ἄσογων πετνα[νογϷ] μῆ πεθοογ
(restoration supported by the same phraseology at 90:1, and
by a biblical passage, Gen 2:17, which is being para-
phrased)

- (iii) Quotations or paraphrases of texts that survive elsewhere

HypArch 86:24 (explicitly quoting Eph 6:12) πῆψωχε ψοοπῆ
αν ογβε σαρξ Ϸι[σνο]Ϸ

- (iv) Cross-references or repeated phraseology within the same tractate

GTh 42:35/43:2 ογβροε εν[ανο]ϷϷῆ . . . πεβρο[ε ε]τνανογϷῆ
...

In many defective passages, however, no conjecture satisfied the criteria of certainty; here lacunas have been left unrestored or letter traces undeciphered or corruptions unemended in the text, and the merely “possible” conjectures are only reported in the apparatus criticus.

Unfilled lacunas have been measured on a standard scale whose unit is one typical \aleph followed by one typical interliteral space (defined as the space normally occurring in the sequence $\aleph\aleph$). A separate scale was constructed for every page on which such measurements had to be expressed. The scale is an arbitrary standard that bears no direct relation to the number of letters that originally stood in the lacuna, since many letters of the alphabet are wider or narrower than \aleph (e.g. ω or ι), and interliteral space is often minimized by ligature (e.g. after τ). Any proposed restoration of a lacuna in this manuscript can only be tested by tracing the proposed sequence of letters in a typical way from a photograph of the page and comparing it with the length of the lacuna in the same photograph.

The apparatus criticus, then, contains the following kinds of information:

(a) A limited amount of palaeographical commentary based upon inspection of the manuscripts

(b) The correction of obelized words (\dagger) or passages ($\dagger . . . \dagger$), meant to be substituted for the reading of the text (“emend to . . .”)

(c) The name of the scholar who first publicly proposed an emendation or restoration adopted in the text, unless the conjecture is so banal as to be obvious to any reader. In cases where I have strong reason to believe that two scholars simultaneously and independently published the same conjecture, both names are given. When the author of a conjecture published it only in the form of a translation (e.g. most of Schenke’s early conjectures, in German), I have added also the name of the first scholar

who published it in an appropriate Coptic form. A great many of the conjectures in Till's edition of the *Gospel According to Philip* fall into this category, being posterior to Schenke's German translation and (I assume) tacitly based upon it.

(d) A list of "possible but not certain" or "possible but rejected" conjectures and their authors' names. It should be noted that not all opinions attributed to scholars in the apparatus are still held by them; this is obviously the case when one scholar has published a series of revised studies of a text. Nevertheless I have tried to mention all possible conjectures that are on record. All shades of uncertainty are therefore represented in the apparatus criticus, except that all the conjectures given there are at least possible. Where conjectures were published only in a modern language, e.g. German, they have been retroverted into Coptic, with the modern language version following in parentheses; the Coptic retroversion is my own work and bears no particular sanction of the author of the conjecture.

Occasionally my information on the reading of the manuscript or the rules of spelling or grammar has led me to alter slightly the form in which someone else's conjecture is cited; usually only dotted letters, square brackets, or apostrophes are at stake. In such cases I have prefixed the word "sim." ("similarly") to the attribution. In other words, all critical observations to which "sim." is attached have been improved by me.

(e) A few explanations of why particular conjectures are compelling or possible (often just "cf. . . .")

(f) Identification of passages whose reading is now best or most extensively attested in old photographs

Thus the apparatus criticus provides not only information on the diagnosis of the transmitted text and solutions to some of its problems, but also a history of plausible scholarly opinion about those problems, and credit for individual scholars who have contributed to the gradual establishment of an acceptable critical text.

In a separate register above the apparatus criticus are printed some notes on anomalous Coptic forms; these take account of only a few of the non-standard features to be read in the text, and are provided merely for the convenience of the reader. Further guidance may be found above, pp. 6–14, and in the indexes.

Some of the more important "possible but not compelling" conjectures are given in a set of English notes to the English translations. It must be emphasized that this is merely a selection and by no means exhausts all the possibilities mentioned in the Coptic apparatus criticus; and that *there is no compelling reason to think that these conjectures are actually the original text.*

EDITORIAL SIGNS

[]	lacuna in manuscript
[- - -]	lacuna of unspecified length
[. . .]	lacuna long enough to suit 3 <i>standard</i> letters (N being the standard) and 3 interliteral spaces; [. . . .], 4 letters; etc.
[³]	idem
. . .	traces of 3 unidentified letters
ⱭⱭⱭ	palaeographically ambiguous letter traces
⌈ ⌋	text deleted or cancelled by ancient copyist
v	<i>vacat</i> ; blank space for 1 standard letter (N) in the MS; "v" space for 2 letters; etc.
< >	text <i>added</i> by editor; a conjecture (see NOTE)
{ }	text deleted by editor; a conjecture
†	the following word is corrupt, see critical apparatus
† †	words enclosed by these signs are corrupt, see critical apparatus
co(N)	resolution of abbreviation in the manuscript, i.e. cō
| or ||	new line of the manuscript commences (|| every 5th line)
*	new page of the manuscript commences

NOTE: In this edition < > never indicates an editorial alteration of the reading of the manuscript; errors whose correction would entail alteration (e.g. of εβoc to εβoλ) are merely obelized († εβoc); see †

ABBREVIATIONS

cf.	<i>confer. conferens</i> ; compare, refer to; referring to
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
em.	emendation proposed by
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
pap.	(reading of) the Coptic papyrus
poss.	possibly
prob.	probably
rest.	restored by
Sah.	i.e. Sahidic
sim.	similarly; a similar conjecture was made by (for the use of this phrase, see p. 34)
superlin.	superlinear

TRACTATE 2

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

INTRODUCTION

HELMUT KOESTER

1. The *Gospel According to Thomas* (*GTh*), sayings of Jesus ostensibly collected by Didymus Judas Thomas, was written in Syria in the early post-apostolic period. Influence of Gnostic theology is present, though not that of any particular sect. The work is preserved in one complete Coptic version translated from the Greek and in fragments of three different Greek manuscripts (for the Greek fragments see below, pp. 95–128). The language of composition was Greek.

2. **GENRE.** The *GTh* represents the genre called the sayings collection. The word “gospel” occurs in the title (τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, cf. Greek testimonia, below pp. 103–109), but no biographical narrative appears in the work. In fact, the *GTh* is composed of sayings which originally circulated as oral literature under the authority of Jesus. The closest parallels to such compositions are found in Jewish wisdom literature. Several writings of this type existed in early Christianity (see below, § 12), but of these only the *GTh* has survived in its original form.

Individual sayings or groups of sayings are introduced by “Jesus said” (praesens historicum λέγει Ἰησοῦς in the Greek frgs.). The whole collection, designated “secret sayings which the living Jesus spoke,” has been canonized under the additional authority of an apostle (see below, § 7). The appeal to understanding (saying 1) characterizes this literary genre of secret wisdom tradition, but no elaborate interpretations are provided.

3. **DATE.** a. *Manuscript attestation.* The Coptic version was translated from Greek before the middle of the fourth century A.D. Fragments of three manuscripts of the Greek version were found at the site of Oxyrhynchus (Behnesa, Egypt); the oldest was copied about A.D. 200 (see below, pp. 96–99). At least one of these (P. Oxy. 655) represents a Greek text type from which the Coptic translation could have been made. Thus the *GTh* in its Greek form is known to have existed in Egypt before the beginning of the third century.

b. *External attestation.* The earliest attestations of *GTh* are found in Hippolytus, Origen, and the *Acts of Thomas*; the work was known to Mani and used by the Manichaeans. All attestations before the third century

are uncertain. The use of the *GTh* by Tatian in his *Diatessaron* is possible; Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 5.14.96=2. 389 Stählin, and 2.9.45=2. 137 Stä.) quotes saying 2, but assigns it to the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*; 2 *Clem.* 12.2, 6 cites a parallel to saying 22 (cf. saying 106) which Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 3.13.92.1=2. 238 Stä.) assigns to the *Gospel According to the Egyptians*. The free tradition of sayings apparently influenced several gospels circulating during the second century. The *Dialogue of the Savior* (CG III,5) makes use of the *GTh* or a source closely related to it; but the date of this Nag Hammadi text cannot be established with certainty.

c. *Relationship to the composition of the canonical gospels.* If the canonical gospels of the New Testament were used in the *GTh*, it could be classified as a writing of the second century which combined and harmonized sayings drawn from Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Examples of such sayings collections appear in 2 *Clement* and Justin Martyr (ca. A.D. 150). But in the *GTh* no such dependence can be demonstrated (see below, § 10), nor is any other early Christian writing used. Rather, the *GTh* is similar to the sources of the canonical gospels, in particular the synoptic sayings source (Q). This similarity, as well as the type of appeal to apostolic authority and the lack of any influence from canonical literature, suggests a date well before Justin, possibly even in the first century A.D. (see further § 7, below).

4. THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR. The name of the author is given as Didymus Judas Thomas (in the Greek fragment, Judas Thomas; see below, p. 113). Judas is the original name; Thomas is from the Aramaic *te'ōmā* (Syriac *tā[']mā*), "twin." Didymus is Greek for "twin," and corresponds to the Aramaic. Of the New Testament persons called Judas (Judas Iscariot, Matt 10:4, etc.; Judas the son of James, Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13; Judas Barsabbas, Acts 15:22, etc.; Judas "not the Iscariot," John 14:22; Judas the brother of Jesus and James, Mark 6:3; Jude 1) none is called Thomas. However, there is an apostle called Thomas or Thomas Didymus (Mark 3:18; Matt 10:3; Luke 6:15; John 11:16; 14:5, 20:24–28, 21:2) who is identified with Judas in the tradition of the Syrian church ("Judas Thomas" in the Syriac translation of John 14:22, the *Acts of Thomas*, and the Abgar legend in Eusebius *H.E.* 1.13.11=2. 1 Schwartz). Because only "Judas" is a familiar given name, the tradition of this Judas with the Aramaic surname "the twin," apostle and brother of Jesus and James, is possibly older than the references to Thomas in the Synoptic gospels and John cited above (cf. the juxtaposition of Judas and James in *GTh* sayings 12 and 13; Jude 1). In any case, the form of the name of the author of the *GTh* does not presuppose a knowledge of the New Testament, but rests upon an independent tradition.

5. **PLACE OF COMPOSITION.** The name of the apostle Thomas is well attested in the East (Syria, Persia, India). In addition to the attestations mentioned above (§4) also Origen, Eusebius, and Ephrem Syrus know him as the apostle of the East; and the Manichaeans, originating in Syria/Persia in the third century A.D., used the *GTh*. A possible place of composition is Edessa (modern Urfa, Turkey), in the kingdom of Osrohoëne in northern Mesopotamia, which was an important center of early Christianity.

6. **ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.** The Syrian origin of the *GTh* does not imply that its original language was Syriac or Aramaic. While Aramaisms indicate that Jesus' own sayings and early collections of them once existed in Aramaic, bilingual environments such as Antioch (for the synoptic sayings source [Q]) and Edessa were probably the places where the earliest Christian writings in Greek were produced. The name Thomas/Didymus points to an Aramaic substratum or a bilingual milieu. But the only surviving manuscript evidence for the *GTh* is either Greek or translated from the Greek.

7. **THE *GTh* WITHIN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY.** If the *GTh* were merely a random collection of sayings, further discussion of its date would be gratuitous. However, it is a writing claiming formal authorship and manifesting theological tendencies which govern the selection and interpretation of traditional materials. Developments in the ecclesiastical structure, theology, and cultural experience of Christianity must be expected to have left traces in such a writing.

The proclamation of Jesus' suffering, death, the resurrection as well as the christological titles Lord, Messiah/Christ, and Son of man—attested as early as the Pauline writings and the canonical gospels—do not occur in the *GTh* (even in questions of the disciples and in self-designations of Jesus). In this, the *GTh* offers a sharp contrast to other writings from the Nag Hammadi library where christological titles are frequently used and where the kerygma of cross and resurrection can at least be presupposed. Analogous to the *GTh*, however, is the earlier sayings tradition which preceded the final redaction of Q, in which the title Son of man was introduced.

With respect to the development of ecclesiastical authority, the *GTh* reflects the authority position of James, the brother of Jesus (saying 12; cf. Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12; Acts 15:13; 21:18). His authority, however, is superseded by that of Thomas, who is entrusted with the secret tradition (saying 13). At the same time, Thomas's authority is contrasted with that of Peter, which was well established in Syria (Gal 1:18; 2:7–9; Matt 16:15–19), and that of Matthew, whose name may have been associated with the sayings tradition at an early date (see below, § 12). The authority

of figures such as James and Peter (as also of Paul) would have been recognized during their lifetime in areas where they actually worked. In order to confirm these apostles' authority after their death, pseudonymous writings were produced under their names as early as the last three decades of the first century, especially when apostles were quoted on different sides of controversial issues (cf. 2 Thess 2:1–2). *GTh* 12 and 13 are intended to confirm Thomas's authority in contrast to claims made in behalf of ecclesiastical traditions under the authority of James, Peter, and Matthew—not because an apostolic name was needed to confirm the authority of Jesus, the author of the sayings, but in order to safeguard the special form of the tradition of churches which looked back to Thomas as their founder or as the guarantor of their faith.

8. ARRANGEMENT OF SAYINGS. The composition of the *GTh* shows the characteristic features of wisdom books. Sayings, rarely connected by any literary device, are recorded without narrative context or else introduced by a query of the disciples or an individual (sayings 6, 12, 18, 21, 22, 24, 43, 51–53, 61, 99, 113–114). Only sayings 13, 50 (a small catechism), 60, and 61 are more elaborate units. Interpretations of the author appear as short phrases which are appended to traditional sayings (e.g., saying 16, "and they will stand solitary"; cf. sayings 18, 19, 23) or as new sayings formulated in analogy to older sayings (compare saying 69 with 68).

The sequence of sayings seems to be dependent upon the written or oral collections which the author must have drawn upon. Sayings 3–5, 10–11, 16a–16b, and 21b–21c represent a collection of eschatological sayings also used in Luke 12:35, 39–40, 49–53. Church order materials (sayings 12–15), a collection of wisdom sayings (sayings 17–19), and parables (sayings 20–21a) are inserted. Another collection, closely related to the sources of Matthew 5–7 and Luke 6, is used in sayings 25–26, 31–36, 45a–45b, and 47a–47b; word association caused the insertion of sayings 37–44 (ad vocem "garment"). Sayings 49–61 seem to be composed in order to express the author's central theme "origin and destiny of the disciples" (cf. especially sayings 49–50 and 60–61). A saying about "mysteries" (62) introduces a collection of parables which is analogous to the collection used in Mark 4 (sayings 63–65; also sayings 57, 76, 96–98, 107, and 109 may derive from this collection). Other, older collections used in the final portion of the *GTh* cannot be identified with certainty.

Apart from the introduction (sayings 1–2), central section (sayings 49–61) and conclusion (sayings 113–114), there are no thematic arrangements. The author focuses upon each individual saying, and guidance for interpretation appears only in occasional expansions and word associations.

9. FORMS AND TYPES OF SAYINGS. Formally, the sayings incorporated in the *GTh* consist primarily of wisdom sayings (including parables) and prophetic sayings.

a. *Wisdom sayings*. Many wisdom sayings in the *GTh* are expressions of general religious truths (sayings 31–35, 45a, 47a–47d, 67, 94); some are formulated as general admonitions (sayings 26, 39b, 92–93); the exhortation to recognize oneself occurs repeatedly (sayings 3, 29, 49–50, 67, 111b). Parables often express the discovery of one's own destiny (compare saying 8 with Matt 13:47–48 and Babrius, *Aesopica* 4). Allegorical interpretation is almost completely absent (sayings 9, 57, and 64 reproduce only the original parables, but not the allegorical interpretations found in Mark 4:13–20; Matt 13:36–43 and 22:11–13).

b. *Prophetic sayings*. The predominant feature in prophetic sayings in the *GTh* is the announcement that the kingdom is present in Jesus and in one's own self (sayings 3, 18, 22, 51, 111). Apocalyptic sayings about future events are absent. Sayings formulated in the "I am . . ." style never speak about Jesus' future role, but emphasize the presence of revelation among the disciples in the person of Jesus and his words. Jesus speaks with the self-revelatory voice of Wisdom (sayings 23, 28, 90); the "I am . . ." formula answers the question "Who are you?" (sayings 61, 77).

c. *Other forms*. Legal sayings dealing with matters of the interpretation of Old Testament law, the topics of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, exhibit negative formulations and express a critical attitude towards traditional legal observation (sayings 14, 27, 53, 104). Rules for the community determine the organizational mechanism which protects the possession of secret wisdom (saying 13).

10. RELATIONSHIP TO THE CANONICAL GOSPELS AND Q. a. *General character*. Many sayings of the *GTh* have parallels in the Synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke), rarely in John. A comparison with the Synoptic parallels (see below, § 12) demonstrates that the forms of the sayings in the *GTh* are either more original than they or developed from forms which are more original. The biographical framework of Matthew, Mark, and Luke and their editorial changes are not reflected in the *GTh*. Parallels in the Synoptic gospels appear most frequently in those sections which reproduce older collections (Matthew 5–7 and Luke 6; Mark 4 and Matthew 13; Mark 4:22–25; Luke 12:35–56).

b. *Relationship to Q*. Sayings which Matthew and Luke have derived from their common source, the synoptic sayings source (Q), occur frequently in the *GTh* (cf. especially Matthew 5–7 and Luke 6). However, the sayings about the future coming of the Son of man which Q seems to have added to the older tradition of the sayings of Jesus (e.g., Luke

17:22–27) are missing (in saying 86, “son of man” means “human being”; cf. saying 106). On the other hand, sayings about the kingdom (“of the father” or “of heaven”) are very frequent in the *GTh* (sayings 3, 20, 22, 27, 46, 49, 54, 57, 82, 96–99, 109, 113–114). If the sayings of Jesus about the kingdom indeed belong to an older stage of the sayings tradition than the Son of man sayings, the sayings in the *GTh* derive from a stage of the developing sayings tradition which is more original than Q. This implies that also some of those sayings in the *GTh* which have no parallels in the Synoptic gospels could derive from the earliest stage of the tradition of sayings of Jesus.

11. THEOLOGY. The general tendency of a sayings collection which has the features of a wisdom book is, in all its stages of composition and revision, to present divine Wisdom as the truth about the human self. Such a book is fundamentally esoteric and appeals to the understanding of a chosen group (cf. the phrase “whoever has ears to hear, let him hear,” which is frequently added to the parables, sayings 8, 21, 63, 65, 96; cf. Mark 4:9). Even eschatological sayings appeal to this recognition (sayings 3a, 113) and to the moment of its presence in Jesus (saying 91). Eschatological upheaval only means insight into divine values (sayings 10, 16, 82); sayings which emphasize common human experience (sayings 32, 33b, 34–35, 45, 47, 86, 103) and which encourage appropriate human conduct (sayings 6a, 26, 39b, 62b, 81, 93, 95) can be interpreted as underscoring this eschatological message.

Sayings about separation from the world (sayings 21a, 56) and liberation of the soul from the body (sayings 29, 87, 112) introduce a spiritualizing tendency which is coupled with the concept of mystical fulfillment—the two become one (sayings 22, 30, 106). The theology of the author, closely related to such concepts, becomes more clearly visible in comments which he has added to traditional sayings: “they will become one and the same” (saying 4), “and will not experience death” (sayings 18, 19), “and find repose” (saying 90). In such editorial comments, the author goes beyond wisdom theology’s exhortation to discover one’s divine identity: the elect and the solitary know their origin—they have come from the kingdom and recognized their destiny, repose (sayings 49, 50). This agrees with the author’s theme set forth in saying 1 and is further expressed in sayings which reject the body and the world (sayings 37, 42, 56, 60, 70, 111). To be a “single one” means participation in the oneness of all who are one with their divine origin (sayings 16, 23); only the “solitary” will enter the bridal chamber (saying 75). The prototype is Jesus, the Living One, who “exists from the undivided” (saying 61) and in whom the repose and the new world are already present (saying 51).

Many of the traditional sayings fit the author's theology and are thus preserved without editorial changes. Traditional is also the rejection of ritual and theological claims of the Old Testament (sayings 6, 14, 27, 52, 104) and the criticism of the Pharisees as the guardians of this tradition (sayings 39, 102). Only a very few sayings reflect more elaborate mythical speculation connected with the interpretation of the biblical creation story: rediscovery of the heavenly images is salvation, since they are superior to the earthly Adam (sayings 83–85; cf. saying 88). Elements of Gnostic theology are present in these passages (cf. also saying 101). But the religious community in which this Gnosticizing interpretation of the tradition of Jesus' sayings is cultivated still recognizes ecclesiastical authority (cf. saying 12). Although the acknowledgment of Jesus as lawgiver and wisdom teacher (saying 13) is insufficient, the *GTh* does not separate those who possess the special lifegiving knowledge of Jesus' words from the rest of the Christian people.

12. THE *GTH* AND THE WISDOM BOOK. The closest parallels to the genre represented by the *GTh* are the Jewish wisdom books: Proverbs, Wisdom of Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and sections of books like Job and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. *Pseudo-Phocylides* (a poetic version of Jewish wisdom sayings), the *Sentences of Sextus* (philosophical and religious sayings widely used by Christians), and *'Abot* (a Mishnaic tractate consisting of "sayings of the fathers") demonstrate the popularity of such books in the Hellenistic-Roman period. Wisdom books are primarily collections in which traditional materials are selected, composed, and edited. Compositional devices are word association, alliteration, parallelism, antithesis, formation of groups of sayings according to numerical principles, analogy in form and content, and thematic order.

Christian authors composed wisdom books on the basis of traditional Jewish and general popular wisdom materials for the purposes of exhortation, church order, and theological instruction (cf. the Epistle of James, the Mandata of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Teachings of Silvanus* [CG VII,4] from Nag Hammadi). Traditional materials connected with the "two ways" appear under the authority of the apostles (cf. the *Didache*). Likewise, sayings of Jesus were remembered, collected, and written down at an early date for catechetical and liturgical instruction and in order to be used in preaching, polemics, and exhortation. Wisdom books containing sayings of Jesus such as the *GTh* and the synoptic sayings source (Q) are based on earlier collections of this kind.

But the composition of Jesus' sayings into wisdom books reveals a basic religious orientation which goes beyond the concerns of the practical usefulness of such collections. A characteristic parallel is provided by

the Wisdom of Solomon: wisdom sayings express the truth about God and thus, by implication, about the religious essence of the human self, and they reveal the future destiny of the world and the fate of the individual believer. The synoptic sayings source (Q) exhibits both these concerns. In the material which Matthew and Luke have drawn from Q, wisdom sayings and prophetic sayings predominate. Jesus is closely associated with personified Wisdom (Matt 11:29; Luke 7:35) and can utter words elsewhere ascribed to Wisdom (compare Matt 23:34 with Luke 11:49). Here, as well as in related materials, the quotation formula for a wisdom saying, i.e., a *logos* ("utterance") that has been spoken and is remembered, occurs repeatedly (Luke 24:44; cf. the conclusions of Matthew's discourses; *1 Clem.* 13.1–2; Acts 20:35). Also the parable tradition is seen as wisdom teaching: only the initiated members can understand the parables (Mark 4:10–12, 33–34; cf. Matt 13:51–52).

Evidence for continuing interest in the collection of Jesus' sayings and their interpretation comes from the five books of *Interpretations of the Sayings (Logoi) of the Lord* by the early second-century bishop Papias of Hierapolis (Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.39 = 2. 1 Schw.). Papias distrusted written gospels and relied rather on the oral transmission of Jesus' sayings. His own endeavor is more akin to "Matthew who composed the sayings (*logia*) in the Hebrew language." Since the canonical gospel of Matthew neither is a collection of sayings nor ever existed in the Hebrew (Aramaic) language, this remark of Papias could refer to an earlier written collection of sayings like the synoptic sayings source which was used by the authors of the gospels of Matthew and Luke, lending its authority to the former of these two canonical gospels.

The ascription of an early Christian wisdom book, composed of sayings of Jesus, to Matthew constitutes important evidence for the transmission of secret wisdom under apostolic authority. 1 Cor 1:11–17 attacks claims to possess special wisdom under the authority of Peter, Paul, Apollos and Jesus. This establishes an early date for the claiming of apostolic authority for secret wisdom. An "apocryphal" saying quoted by Paul in 1 Cor 2:9 is also preserved in the *GTh* (saying 17). We do not know how early the name of the apostle Thomas was associated with such traditions. But the ascription of wisdom books to the authority of an apostle is certainly an early form of pseudepigraphical literary production in the history of Christianity.

13. SYNOPTIC PARALLELS TO THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS.
 Doubtful parallels appear in parentheses.

<i>GTH</i>	<i>MATTHEW</i>	<i>MARK</i>	<i>LUKE</i>
2	(7:7-8)	.....	(11:9-10)
3	.....	.....	(17:20-21)
4a	(11:25)	.....	(10:21)
4b	19:30; 20:16	10:31	13:30
5	10:26	4:22	8:17; 12:2
6a	6:1-8, 16-18	.....	.....
6b	10:26	4:22	8:17; 12:2
8	13:47-50	.....	.....
9	13:3-9	4:3-9	8:5-8
10	.....	.....	12:49
11a	(24:35)	(13:31)	(21:33)
12a	(18:1)	(9:34)	(9:46)
13	16:13-17	8:27-30	9:18-21
14a	6:1-8, 16-18	.....	.....
14b	(10:8)	.....	10:8-9
14c	15:11, 17-18	7:15, 18, 20	.....
16a	10:34a	.....	12:51a
16b	10:34b	.....	12:51b
16c	.....	.....	12:52
16d	10:35	.....	12:53
20	13:31-32	4:20-32	13:18-19
21b	24:43-44	.....	12:39-40
21c	.....	.....	12:35
21d	.....	4:26-29	.....
21e	13:9	4:9	8:8
22a	19:13-15 (18:1-3)	10:13-16 (9:33-36)	18:15-17 (9:46-47)
24	6:22-23	.....	11:34-35
25	22:39	12:31	10:27
26	7:3-5	.....	6:41-42
30	18:20	.....	.....
31	13:57 (13:58)	6:4 (6:5)	4:24
32	5:14	.....	.....
33a	10:27	.....	12:3
33b	5:15	4:21	8:16; 11:33
34	15:14	.....	6:39
35	12:29	3:27	11:21-22
36	6:25	.....	12:22
37	(16:16)	.....	.....

38a	(13:16–17)	.....	(10:23–24)
39a	23:13	.....	11:52
39b	10:16b	.....	.....
40	15:13	.....	.....
41	13:12; 25:29	4:25	8:18; 19:26
43	(7:16a, 18; 12:33)	.....	(6:43)
44	12:31–32	3:28–29	12:10
45a	7:16b	.....	6:44
45b	12:35	.....	6:45a
45c	12:34	.....	6:45b
46a	11:11a	.....	7:28
46b	11:11b; 18:3	10:15	7:28b; 18:17
47b	6:24	.....	16:13
47c	.....	.....	5:39
47d	9:17	2:22	5:37
47e	9:16	2:21	5:36
48	21:21; 17:20	11:22–23	(17:6)
54	5:3	.....	6:20
55a	10:37	.....	14:26
55b	10:38; 16:24	8:34	14:27; 9:23
57	13:24–30	.....	.....
61a	(24:40)	.....	17:34
61b	11:27a	.....	10:22a
62a	13:11	4:11	8:10
62b	6:3	.....	.....
63	.....	.....	12:16–21
64	22:1–10	.....	14:15–24
65	21:33–39	12:1–8	20:9–15
66	21:42	12:10	20:17
67	16:26	8:36	9:25
68	5:11	.....	6:22
69a	6:8, 10	.....	.....
69b	5:6	.....	6:21
71	26:61	14:58	.....
72	.....	.....	12:13–14
73	9:37–38	.....	10:2
76a	13:44–46	.....	.....
76b	6:20	.....	12:33
78	11:7–8	.....	7:24–25
79a	.....	.....	11:27–28
79b	(24:19)	(13:17)	23:29 (21:23)
82	.....	(12:34)	.....
86	8:20	.....	9:58

89	23:25–26	.....	11:39–40
90	11:28–30	.....	.....
91	16:1–3	.....	12:56
92	7:7	.....	11:9
93	7:6	.....	.....
94	7:8	.....	11:10
95	(5:42)	.....	6:34–35
96	13:33	.....	13:20–21
99	12:47, 49	3:32, 34	8:20–21
100	22:16–21	12:14–17	20:21–25
101a	10:37	.....	14:26
102	23:13	.....	(11:52)
103	24:43	12:37–39
104	9:14–15	2:18–20	5:33–35
106	21:21	11:23
107	18:12–13	16:4–6
109	13:44
113	17:20–21

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THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 32¹⁰
80 Labib)

ΝΑΕΙ ΝΕ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΘΗΠ`ΕΝΤΑ ΙC ΕΤΟΝΖ | ΧΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΨΑΖΑΪCΟΥ Ν̄ΣΙ
ΔΙΔΥΜΟC | ΪΟΥΔΑC ΘΩΜΑC

(1) ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΠΕΪΤΑΖΕ ΕΘΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ Ν̄ΝΕΕΨΑΧΕ ΨΝΑ|ΧΙ †ΠΕ
ΑΝ Μ̄ΠΜΟΥ`

15 (2) ΠΕΧΕ ΙC Μ̄ΝΤΡΕΨ`||ΛΟ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΤ`ΨΙΝΕ ΕΨ`ΨΙΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΨ`|ΣΙ-
ΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΖΟΤΑΝ` ΕΨΨΑΝCΙΝΕ ΨΝΑ`|ΨΤΡ̄ΤΡ̄ ΑΥΩ ΕΨΨΑΝ`ΨΤΟΡΤΡ̄
ΨΝΑΡ̄ | ΨΠΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΨΝΑΡ̄ | ΡΡΟ ΕΧΜ̄ ΠΤΗΡΨ

20 (3) ΠΕΧΕ ΙC ΧΕ ΕΨΨΑ||ΧΟΟC ΝΗΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕΤ`CΩΚ ΖΗΤ` ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν | ΧΕ
ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΕΤ`Μ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ Ζ̄Ν ΤΠΕ Ε|ΕΙΕ Ν̄ΖΑΛΗΤ` ΝΑΡ̄ ΨΟΡΠ` ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΤΕ |
ΤΠΕ ΕΨΨΑΝΧΟΟC ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ CΖ̄Ν ΘΑ|ΛΑCΣΑ ΕΕΙΕ Ν̄ΤΒΤ` ΝΑΡ̄ ΨΟΡΠ`

25 ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν || ΑΛΛΑ ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ CΜ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΖΟΥΝ` ΑΥΩ | CΜ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν-

SOURCES AND GREEK VARIANTS

(Prologue) PAP. P. OXY. 654; cf. TESTIMONIUM 4. 32:11-12 ΔΙΔΥΜΟC ΪΟΥΔΑC
ΘΩΜΑC : [Ἰούδα ὁ] καὶ Θωμᾶ

(1) PAP. P. OXY 654.

(2) PAP. P. OXY 654. 17-19 ΨΤΡ̄ΤΡ̄ ΙΟ ΠΤΗΡΨ: Greek frg. different

(3) PAP. P. OXY. 654. 23 ΝΗΤ̄Ν: Greek frg. omits Ζ̄Ν ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ : ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν 24
Ν̄ΤΒΤ : Greek frg. adds τῆς θαλά[σσης] 25 ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ : ἡ βασι[λεία τοῦ θεοῦ] : cf. 38:18
with Greek saying 27

AUXILIARY NOTES

(1) 32:12-13 Sah. ΠΕΤΝΑ-

(2) 14 Sah. Μ̄ΠΡ̄ΤΡΕΨ

(3) 26 Sah. ΠΕΤ̄ΝΒΟΛ.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

(2) 32:17 Ρ̄ ^{vacat} ΨΠΗΡΕ : half a line uninscribed owing to an original imperfection in the
papyrus

(3) 22-23 Ν̄ΖΑΛΗΤ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΠΕ ΝΑΡ̄ ΨΟΡΠ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν em. Haenchen 160

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

TRANSLATED BY

THOMAS O. LAMBDIN

These are the secret sayings which the living Jesus ' spoke and which Didymus Judas Thomas wrote down. '

(1) And he said, ' "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will ' not experience death. "

(2) Jesus said, ¹⁵ "Let him who seeks continue seeking until he ' finds. When he finds, he will ' become troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will ' be astonished, and he will ' rule over the all. "

(3) Jesus said, "If ²⁰ those who lead you say to you, ' 'See, the kingdom is in the sky,' ' then the birds of the sky will precede you. ' If they say to you, 'It is in the sea,' ' then the fish will precede you. ²⁵ Rather, the kingdom is inside of you, and ' it is outside of you.

"You" as spoken by Jesus is always plural, except when explicitly marked "sg." (cf. sayings 5, 13, 25, 26, 33, 62).

VARIANTS The translation printed above is based exclusively upon the Coptic version. Variants of the Greek fragments are given in the following notes; on the extent of these fragments see below pp. 96-128.

(Prologue) Didymus Judas Thomas *Coptic* : [Judas, who is] also Thomas *Greek frg.*

(2) become troubled. When he becomes troubled . . . rule over the all *Coptic* : [be amazed. And] when he becomes [amazed], he will rule. And [once he has ruled], he will [attain rest] *Greek frg.*

(3) If they say to you *Coptic* : If they say *Greek frg.*

in the sea *Coptic* : under the earth *Greek frg.*

fish *Coptic* : *Greek frg. adds* of the sea

Rather, the kingdom *Coptic* : *Greek frg. adds* [of god]

- *p. 33¹ βαλ¹ ζοταν ετετῆσαν|σογων τηγτῆ τοτε σενασογω(ν) * τη-
 (81 L.) νε αγω τετναειμε ξε νῳτῳτῆ πε | ἄωρη μπειωτ¹ ετονζ ε-
 ωωπε δε | τετνασογων τηγτῆ αν εειε τετῆ|ωοοπ¹ ζῆ ογμῆτζη-
 5 κε αγω ἄωτῳτῆ || πε τῆμῆτζηκε
 (4) πεχε ἰσ¹ φναχναγ αν | ἄβι πρωμε ἄζλλο ζῆ νεφζοογ εχνε
 | ουκογει ἄωρη φημ εφζῆ σαψῆ | ἄζοογ ετβε πτοπος μ-
 10 πωνζ αγω | φναωνζ ξε ογῆ ζαζ ἄωορπ¹ ναῤ ζα||ε αγω ἄσε-
 ωωπε ογα ογωτ
 (5) πεχε ἰσ¹ | σογων πετῆμῆτο μπεκζο εβολ¹ | αγω πεθηπ¹ ε-
 ροκ¹ φνασωλπ¹ εβολ | νακ¹ μῆ λααγ γαρ εφζηπ¹ εφναογωνζ |
 εβολ αν
 15 (6) αχνοογ ἄβι νεφ¹ μαθητς || πεχαγ ναγ¹ χεκ¹ ογωω
 ετρῆρῆστηγε | αγω εω τε θε εναωληα ενα† ελεημο-
 σῆνη αγω εναῤ παρατηρει εογ | ἄβιογωμ¹ πεχε ἰσ¹ ξε μῆρ¹ ξε
 20 βολ αγω πετετῆμοστε μμοφ¹ μῆρ¹ λααγ ξε || σεβολ¹ τηρογ
 εβολ μπεμτο εβολ | ἄτπε μῆ λααγ γαρ εφζηπ¹ εφναογῳωνζ εβολ
 αν αγω μῆ λααγ εφζοβς¹ εγ|ναδω ογεωῆ βολπφ¹

26–27 ζοταν ετετῆσαν σογων τηγτῆ : [ὅς ἄν ἑαυτὸν] γνῶ, ταύτην εὐρή[σει, καὶ ὅτε ὑμεῖς] ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθα[ι] (i.e. γνῶσεσθε) 27–33:1 τοτε σενασογω(ν) τηνε αγω: Greek frg. omits

(4) PAP., P. OXY. 654; cf. TESTIMONIUM 1. 33:9 ναῤ ζαε : Greek frg. adds [καὶ] οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι

(5) PAP., P. OXY. 654. 14 εβολ αν : Greek frg. adds καὶ θεθαμμένον (i.e. τεθ-) ὃ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται]

(6) PAP., P. OXY. 654. 15 ναγ : Greek frg. omits εκογωω ετρῆρῆστηγε : πῶς νηστεύ[ομεν] 16 ενα† ελεημοσῆνη : πῶς [ἐλεημοσύνην ποιήσομεν] 21 ἄτπε : [τῆς ἀληθ[ε]ίας (cf. Coptic τμε) 22–23 αγω το βολπφ : Greek frg. omits

(4) 33:10 i.e. ἄογα ἄογωτ.

(6) 15 i.e. ξε εκογωω. 16 Sah. ἄαω ἄζε εναωληα. 18 i.e. ἄβιογωμ. 19 i.e. πετετῆ-. 23 i.e. ἄογεωῆ.

(6) 33:15 ξε <ἄαω ἄζε> κογωω Guillaumont et al. 5 : cf. Greek frg. 17–18 ογ | ἄβιογωμ : ουβιογωμ em. Leipoldi² 26 n. 21 τπε : poss. emend to τμε, with Greek frg. (thus Guillaumont et al., with hesitation) 22 αν added above the line

When you come to ' know yourselves, then you will become known, **33** and you will realize that it is you who are ' the sons of the living father. But if ' you will not know yourselves, you ' dwell in poverty and it is you ⁵ who are that poverty.”

(4) Jesus said, “The man old in days will not ' hesitate to ask ' a small child seven ' days old about the place of life, and ' he will live. For many who are first will become last, ¹⁰ and they will become one and the same.”

(5) Jesus said, ' “Recognize what is in your (sg.) sight, ' and that which is hidden from you (sg.) will become plain ' to you (sg.). For there is nothing hidden which will ' not become manifest.”

(6) His disciples questioned him ¹⁵ and said to him, “Do you want us to fast? ' How shall we pray? Shall we give alms? ' What diet shall we observe?” '

Jesus said, “Do not tell lies, ' and do not do what you hate, for ²⁰ all things are plain in the sight ' of heaven. For nothing hidden will not ' become manifest, and nothing covered ' will remain without being uncovered.”

When you come to know yourselves *Coptic* : [Whoever] knows [himself] will discover this. [And when you] come to know yourselves *Greek frg.*

then you will become known *Coptic* : *Greek frg. omits*

(4) become last *Coptic* : *Greek frg. adds* [and] the last will be first

(5) become manifest : *Greek frg. adds* nor buried that [will not be raised]

(6) to him *Coptic* : *Greek frg. omits*

Do you want us to fast? . . . Shall we give alms? *Coptic* : How [shall we] fast? . . . How [shall we give alms]? *Greek frg.*

in the sight of heaven *Coptic* : [in the sight] of truth *Greek frg.*

and nothing covered will remain without being uncovered *Coptic* : *Greek frg. omits*

- 25 (7) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΟΥ|ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΜΟΥΕΙ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΕ || ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΑΟΥΟΜϚ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΟΥΕΙ | ΨΩΠΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΦΒΗΤ` Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΡΩ|ΜΕ
 ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΜΟΥΕΙ ΝΑΟΥΟΜϚ ΑΥ|Ω ΠΜΟΥΕΙ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ
- 30 (8) ΑΥΩ ΠΕ|ΧΑϚ ΧΕ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΝ̄ΤΩΝ ΑΥΟΥΩΖΕ || ΡΡΜ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ` ΠΑΕΙ Ν̄-
 ΤΑΖΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΤΕϚΑ|ΒΩ ΕΘΑΛΑССΑ ΑϚСΩΚ Μ̄ΜΟС ΕΖΡΑΪ | Ζ̄Ν̄ ΘΑΛΑССΑ
 ΕСΜΕΖ Ν̄ΤΒΤ` Ν̄ΚΟΥΕΙ Ν̄|ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ ΑϚΕ ΑΥΝΟС Ν̄ΤΒ̄Τ ΕΝΔ|ΝΟΥϚ`
- 35 Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΟΥΩΖΕ ΡΡΜ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ ΑϚΝΟΥ||ΧΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΚΟΥΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΒΤ` ΕΒΟΛ
 *p. 34¹ Ε[ΠΕ]*СΗΤ` ΕΘΑΛΑССΑ ΑϚСΩΤΠ` Μ̄ΠΝΟС Ν̄|ΤΒ̄Τ ΧΩΡΙС ΖΙСΕ ΠΕΤΕ
 (81 L.) ΟῩΝ̄ ΜΑΔΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟϚ | ΕСΩΤ̄М ΜΑΡΕϚ`СΩΤ̄М
- 5 (9) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΕΙСΖΗΗΤΕ` ΑϚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΤ`СΙΤΕ ΑϚΜΕΖ ΤΟΟΤ̄ ||
 ΑϚΝΟΥΧΕ ΑΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΖΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΕΖΗΗ | ΑϚΕΙ Ν̄ΣΙ Ν̄ΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΑϚ-
 ΚΑΤϚΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ | ΑϚΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΟΥΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ | Ε-
 ΠЕСΗТ` ΕΠΚΑΖ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΟΥΤΕΥΕ Ζ̄Μ̄С ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ
- 10 ΑϚΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΨΟ(Ν)||ΤΕ ΑΥΩСΤ` Μ̄ΠΕСРОС ΑΥΩ ΑΠϚ̄ΝТ ΟΥΟΜΟΥ
 | ΑΥΩ ΑΖ̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ ΖΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥϚ` | ΑΥΩ ΑϚ† ΚΑΡΠΟС
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥϚ` ΑϚ|ΕΙ Ν̄СΕ ΕСΟΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΨΕΧΟΥΩТ` ΕСΟΤΕ |
- 15 (10) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΔΕΙΝΟΥΧΕ Ν̄ΟΥΚΩΖ̄Т` ΕΧ̄Ν̄ || ΠΚОСМОС ΑΥΩ ΕΙС-
 ΖΗΗΤΕ †ΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟϚ` | ΨΑΝΤΕϚΧΕΡΟ
- (11) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΤΕΕΙΠΕ ΝΑΡ̄ΠΑ|ΡΑΓΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΤΠΕ Μ̄ΜΟС ΝΑΡ̄-
 ΠΑΡΑΓΕ | ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥТ СЕОНЗ ΔΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤОНЗ | СЕНАМОУ
- 20 ΔΑΝ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟΥ ΝΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΟΥΩМ` || Μ̄ΠΕΤΜΟΟΥТ` ΝΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΜΟϚ Μ̄ΠΕ|
 ΤОНЗ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΨΑΝΨΩΠΕ Ζ̄М̄ ΠΟΥ|ΟΕΙΝ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΑΔϚ Ζ̄М̄

(7) PAP., P. OXY. 654 (SMALL FRG.).

(8–10) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND.

(11) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND: CF. TESTIMONIUM 2.

(10) 34:15 i.e. †αρεζ.

(11) 19 i.e. ΕΝΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄- (Guillaumont et al. emend thus). 22 i.e. ΠΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΑΔϚ.

(7) 28 ΠΜΟΥΕΙ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ : ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥΕΙ em. Guillaumont et al.

(8) 29 ΠΡΩΜΕ : ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ ΟΓ ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩТ em. Nagel 523 33 Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ : Ν̄ΖΗТС em. Leipoldt

(9) 34:12–13 ΑϚ|ΕΙ Ν̄ POSS. CORRUPT : ΑϚϚΙ Ν̄ em. Guillaumont et al. (ΑϚϚϚ|ΕΙ Cameron, cf. 42:28 for the form) with hesitation : ΑϚϚΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ em. Quecke², with hesitation

(10) 14 ΔΕΙ<ΕΙ Ε>ΝΟΥΧΕ Guillaumont et al. (cf. 35:32) with hesitation

(7) Jesus said, '“Blessed is the lion which ²⁵ becomes man when consumed by ' man; and cursed is the man ' whom the lion consumes, and ' the lion becomes man.”'

(8) And he said, '“The man is like a wise fisherman ³⁰ who cast his net ' into the sea and drew it up ' from the sea full of small fish. ' Among them the wise fisherman found a fine large fish. ' He threw ³⁵ all the small fish **34** back into the sea and chose the large ' fish without difficulty. Whoever has ears ' to hear, let him hear.”'

(9) Jesus said, ‘“Now ' the sower went out, took a handful (of seeds), ⁵ and scattered them. Some fell on the road; ' the birds came and gathered them up. Others ' fell on rock, did not take root ' in the soil, and did not produce ears. ' And others fell on thorns; ¹⁰ they choked the seed(s) and worms ate them. ' And others fell on the good soil ' and it produced good fruit: ' it bore sixty per measure and a hundred and twenty per measure.” '

(10) Jesus said, ‘“I have cast fire upon ¹⁵ the world, and see, I am guarding it ' until it blazes.”'

(11) Jesus said, ‘“This heaven will ' pass away, and the one above it will pass away. ' The dead are not alive, and the living ' will not die. In the days when you consumed ²⁰ what is dead, you made it what is alive. ' When you come to dwell in the light, ' what will you do? On

(11) will not die : *or*, are not dying

- 25 ΦΟΥ ΕΤΕΤἸΟ ΝΟΥΑ ΑΤΕΤἸΕΙΡΕ ΜΠCΝΑΥ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ | ΕΤΕΤἸΨΑ-
 ΨΩΠΕ ἸCΝΑΥ ὉΥ ΠΕ ΕΤΕ|ΤἸΝΑΑΑϚ
 (12) ΠΕΧΕ ΜἸΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ἸC ΧΕ ΤἸ|CΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΒΚ Ἰ-
 ΤΟΟΤἸ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ | ΕΤΝΑἸ ΝΟC ΕΖΡΑἸ ΕΧΩΝ ΠΕΧΕ ἸC ΝΑΥ | ΧΕ
 ΠΜΑ ἸΤΑΤΕΤἸΕΙ ΜἸΜΑΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ|ΒΚ ΨΑ ἸΑΚΩΒΟC ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΠΑΕΙ ἸΤΑ
 30 || ΤΠΕ ΜἸ ΠΚΑΖ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΒΗΤἸ
 (13) ΠΕΧΕ ἸC | ἸΝΕϚΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΤἸΤΩΝΤ ἸΤΕΤἸ|ΧΟΟC ΝΑΕΙ ΧΕ
 ΕΕΙΕΝΕ ἸΝΙΜ ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑϚ | ἸΒΙ CΙΜΩΝ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΧΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΕ ἸΟΥΑΓἸ-
 *p. 35¹ ΓΕΛΟC ἸΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑϚ ἸΒΙ ΜΑΘἸ*ΘΑΙΟC ΧΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΕ Ἰ-
 (83 L.) ΟΥἸΩΜΕ ΜΦΙΛΟCΟ|ΦΟC ἸΡἸἸἸΖΗΤ ἸΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑϚ ἸΒΙ ΘΩΜΑC | ΧΕ
 ΠCΑΖ ΖΟΛΩC ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΑΨ<Ψ>ΑΠϚ ἈΝ | ΕΤΡΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΕ Ἰ-
 5 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΧΕ ἸC || ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΚἸCΑΖ ἈΝ ΕΠΕΙ ΑΚCΩ ΑΚἸΖΕ | Ε-
 ΒΟΛ ΖἸ ΤΠΗΓΗ ΕΤἸἸἸΕ ΤΑΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ | ἸΤΑΕΙΨΙΤἸ ΑΥΩ ΑΧΙΤἸ ΑϚΑ-
 ΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ | ΑϚΧΩ ΝΑϚ ἸΨΟΜΤ ἸΨΑΧΕ ἸΤΑΡΕ ΘΩ|ΜΑC ΔΕ ΕΙ ΨΑ
 10 ΝΕϚΨΒΕΕΡ ἈΥΧΝΟΥϚ ΧΕ || ἸΤΑ ἸC ΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΠΕΧΑϚ
 ΝΑΥ ἸΒΙ | ΘΩΜΑC ΧΕΕΙΨΑΝ ἸΧΩ ΝΗΤἸ ΟΥΑ ΖἸ ἸΨΑ|ΧΕ ἸΤΑϚΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΕΙ
 ΤΕΤΝΑϚΙ ΩΝΕ ἸΤΕ|ΤἸΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕ ΟΥΚΩΖΤἸ ΕΙ Ε|ΒΟΛ ΖἸ Ἰ-
 ΩΝΕ † ἸCΡΩΖΚ ἸΜΩΤἸ
 15 (14) ΠΕΧΕ || ἸC ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤἸΨΑΝἸἸΗCΤΕΥΕ ΤΕΤΝΑ|ΧΠΟ ΝΗΤἸ Ἰ-
 ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἸΨΑ(Ν)|ΨΛΗΛ CΕΝΑἸΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ ΜἸΜΩ-
 ΤἸ ΑΥΩ | ΕΤΕΤἸΨΑΝ† ΕΛΕΗΜΟCΥΝΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΕΙ|ΡΕ ἸΟΥΚΑΚΟΝ ἸΝΕ-
 20 ΤἸΠἸΝἈ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἸ|ΨΑΝΒΚ ἸΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΑΖ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕΤἸ|ΜΟΟΨΕ
 ΖἸ ἸΧΩΡΑ ΕΥΨΑἸΠΑΡΑΔΕΧΕ | ἸΜΩΤἸ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΚΑΑΑϚ ΖΑΡΩΤἸ ΟΥΟΜἸ
 | ΝΕΤΨΩΝΕ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΡΙΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ ΜἸΜΟΙΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΒΚ ΓΑΡ Ἰ Ε-
 25 ΖΟΥΝ ΖἸ ΤΕΤἸΤΑ||ΠΡΟ ΨΝΑΧΩΖἸ ΤΗΥΤἸ ἈΝ ἈΛΛΑ ΠΕΤἸ|ΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ

(12–23) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND.

24–25 i.e. ΕΤΕΤΝΑΑΑΑϚ.

(13) 32 i.e. ΕΕΙΕΝΕ (Guillaumont et al. emend sim.). 35:11 i.e. ΧΕ ΕΕΙΨΑΝ. ΟΥΑ : i.e. ΝΟΥΑ. 14 i.e. ΡΩΚΖ (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(14) 16 i.e. ἸΟΥΝΟΒΕ. 19 i.e. ἸΝΕΤἸΠἸΝἈ. 20 i.e. ἸΤΕΤἸ.

(13) 35:3 <Ψ> Layton : cf. *HypArch* 93:16 14 † ἸC : emend to ἸϚ (thus Guillaumont et al.)

the day when you ' were one you became two. But when ' you become two, what ²⁵ will you do?"

(12) The disciples said to Jesus, ' "We know that you will depart from us. Who is ' to be our leader?"

Jesus said to them, ' "Wherever you are, you are to ' go to James the righteous, ³⁰ for whose sake heaven and earth came into being."

(13) Jesus said ' to his disciples, "Compare me to someone and ' tell me whom I am like."

Simon Peter ' said to him, "You are like a ' righteous angel."

Matthew said to him, **35** "You are like a wise philosopher."

Thomas said to him, ' "Master, my mouth is wholly incapable ' of saying whom you are like."

Jesus said, ⁵ "I am not your (sg.) master. Because you (sg.) have drunk, you (sg.) have become intoxicated ' from the bubbling spring which I ' have measured out."

And he took him and withdrew ' and told him three things. ' When Thomas returned to his companions, they asked him, ¹⁰ "What did Jesus say to you?"

Thomas said to them, ' "If I tell you one of the things ' which he told me, you will pick up stones and ' throw them at me; a fire will come out of ' the stones and burn you up." ¹⁵

(14) Jesus said to them, "If you fast, you will ' give rise to sin for yourselves; and if you ' pray, you will be condemned; and ' if you give alms, you will do ' harm to your spirits. When you ²⁰ go into any land and ' walk about in the districts, if they receive ' you, eat what they will set before you, ' and heal the sick among them. ' For what goes into your mouth ²⁵ will not defile you, but that which ' issues from

ζῆ ΤΕΤῆΤΑΠΡΟ ἸΤΟϩ ΠΕΙΤΝΑΧΑΖῆ ΤΗΥΤῆ

(15) ΠΕΧΕ 15 ΧΕ ΖΟΤΑΝ | ΕΤΕΤῆΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΤΕ ἸΠΟΥΧΠΟΥ | ΕΒΟΛ
30 ζῆ ΤΣΟΙΜΕ ΠΕΖΤ` ΤΗΥΤῆ ΕΧῆ || ΠΕΤῆΖΟ ἸΤΕΤῆΝΟΥΨΥΤ ΝΑϩ` ΠΕΤῆ-
ΜΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΤῆΙΩΤ`

(16) ΠΕΧΕ 15 ΧΕ ΤΑΧΑ | ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ἸΒΙ ῬῬΩΜΕ ΧΕ ἸΤΑΕΙΕΙ ΕΝΟΥ|ΧΕ
ἸΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΧῆ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ | ΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ἸΤΑΕΙΕΙ ΑΝΟΥΧΕ
35 ἸΖῆ||ΠΩΡΧ` ΕΧῆ ΠΚΑΖ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ` ΟΥΣΗϩΕ` | ΟΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΟΥῆ ϩΟΥ
*p. 36¹ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ * Ζῆ ΟΥΗΕΙ ΟΥῆ ΨΟΜΤ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΧῆ | ΣΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ
(84 L.) ΣΝΑΥ ΕΧῆ ΨΟΜΤ` ΠΕΙΩΤ` | ΕΧῆ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΕΧῆ ΠΕΙΩΤ`

5 | ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΩΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΟ ἸΜΟΝΑ||ΧΟΣ

(17) ΠΕΧΕ 15 ΧΕ ϩΝΑϩ ΝΗΤῆ ἸΠΕΤΕ | ἸΠΕ ΒΑΛ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ
ἸΠΕ ΜΑ|ΑΧΕ ΣΟΤΜΕϩ` ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ ἸΠΕ ΒΙΧ` Βῆ|ΩΜΜϩ` ΑΥΩ ἸΠΕϩ`ΕΙ Ε-
ΖΡΑῖ ΖΙ ΦΗΤ` | ῬῬΩΜΕ

10 (18) ΠΕΧΕ ἸΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ Ἰῆ ΧΕ ΧΟ||ΟΣ ΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ ΤῆΖΑΝ ΕΣΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ἰ-
ΑΨ ἸΖΕ ΠΕΧΕ 15 ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤῆΩΛΠ` ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ | ἸΤΑΡΧΗ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ Ε-
ΤΕΤΝΑΨΙΝΕ ἸΣΑ | ΘΑΖΗ ΧΕ Ζῆ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΡΧΗ ἸΜΑΥ Ε|ΘΑΖΗ ΝΑΨΩ-
15 ΠΕ ἸΜΑΥ ΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ || ΠΕΤΝΑ[Ζ]ΩΖΕ ΕΡΑΤϩ` Ζῆ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΑΥΩ |
ϩΝΑΣΟΥΩΝ ΘΖΑΝ ΑΥΩ ϩΝΑΧΙ ϩΠΕ | ΑΝ ἸΜΟΥ

(19) ΠΕΧΕ 15 ΧΕ ΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ | ΠΕ Ν`ΤΑΖΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ ΕΜΠΑ-
20 ΤΕϩΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤῆΨΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΕΙ ἸΜΑΘΗ||ΤΗΣ ἸΤΕΤῆΣΩΤῆ ΑΝΑΨΑ-
ΧΕ ΝΕΕΙΩ|ΝΕ ΝΑῤ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΟΥῆΤΗΤῆ | ΓΑΡ` ἸΜΑΥ ἸϩΟΥ ἸΨΗΝ
Ζῆ ΠΑΡΑ`ΔΙΣΟΣ ΕΣΕΚΙΜ ΑΝ ἸΨΩΜ ἸΠῬΩ | ΑΥΩ ΜΑΡΕ ΝΟΥΨΩΒΕ ΖΕ
25 ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕΤ`||ΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΟΥ ϩΝΑΧΙ ϩΠΕ ΑΝ` ἸΜΟΥ |

(20) ΠΕΧΕ ἸΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ Ἰῆ ΧΕ ΧΟΟΣ | ΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ ΤῆῆΤΕΡΟ ΝἸΠΗΥΕ
ΕΣ|ΤῆΤΩΝ ΕΝΙΜ ΠΕΧΑϩ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΣΤῆ|ΤΩΝ ΑΥΒῆΒΙΕ ἸΨῆ-
30 ΤΑΜ <C>CΟΒῆ ΠΑ||ΡΑ ἸΒΡΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΣΨΑ(Ν)ΖΕ ΕΧῆ
ΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΟΥῤ ΖΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ ΨΑϩ|ΤΕΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΟΥΓΝΟΣ ἸΤΑΡ ἸϩΨΩΠΕ ἸΣΚΕ-

(18) 36:13-16 θαζη... θαζη... εζαν : i.e. θαη... θαη... θαη (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(19) 22 i.e. ππαραδισος (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(20) 32 i.e. Ἰουγνος.

(18) 36:15 [Ζ] cancelled by the copyist

(19) 23 poss. em. to <η> ἸπῬω

(20) 29 <c> Layton : <ec> Guillaumont et al.

your mouth—it is that which ' will defile you.'''

(15) Jesus said, ‘‘When ' you see one who was not born ' of woman, prostrate yourselves on ³⁰ your faces and worship him. That one ' is your father.’’’

(16) Jesus said, ' ‘‘Men think, perhaps, that it is peace which I have come to cast ' upon the world. ' They do not know that it is dissension which I have come to cast ³⁵ upon the earth: fire, sword, ' and war. For there will be five **36** in a house: three will be against ' two, and two against three, the father ' against the son, and the son against the father. ' And they will stand solitary.’’’ ⁵

(17) Jesus said, ‘‘I shall give you what ' no eye has seen and what no ' ear has heard and what no hand has touched ' and what has never occurred to the human ' mind.’’’

(18) The disciples said to Jesus, ‘‘Tell ¹⁰ us how our end will be.’’’

Jesus said, ‘‘Have you discovered, then, ' the beginning, that you look for ' the end? For where the beginning is, ' there will the end be. Blessed is ¹⁵ he who will take his place in the beginning; ' he will know the end and will not experience ' death.’’’

(19) Jesus said, ‘‘Blessed is ' he who came into being before he came into being. ' If you become my disciples ²⁰ and listen to my words, these stones ' will minister to you. ' For there are five trees for you in Paradise ' which remain undisturbed summer and winter ' and whose leaves do not fall. ²⁵ Whoever becomes acquainted with them will not experience death.’’’

(20) The disciples said to Jesus, ‘‘Tell ' us what the kingdom of heaven is ' like.’’’

He said to them, ‘‘It is like ' a mustard seed. It is the smallest of ³⁰ all seeds. But when it ' falls on tilled soil, it ' produces a great plant and becomes ' a shelter

ΠΗ Ν̄ΓΑΛΑΤΕ Ν̄ΤΠΕ

- 35 (21) ΠΕΙΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΣΑΜ Ν̄ΙΣ̄ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΚΜΑΘΗ||ΤΗΣ ΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΝΙΜ` ΠΕΧΑΨ`
 *p. 37¹ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ * Ν̄ΖΝΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ` ΕΥΒΕΛΙΤ` ΑΥΣΩΨΕ ΕΤΩ|ΟΥ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΖΟ-
 (85 L.) ΤΑΝ ΕΥΨΑΕΙ Ν̄ΣΙ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙΣ | Ν̄ΤΣΩΨΕ ΣΕΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΚΕ Τ̄ΝΣΩΨΕ | ΕΒΟΛ
 5 ΝΑΝ Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ ΣΕΚΑΚΑΖΗ Μ̄ΠΟΥΜ̄||ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡΟΥΚΑΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΥ Ν̄-
 ΣΕ† ΤΟΥ|ΣΩΨΕ ΝΑΥ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ †ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΨ`ΨΑΕΙΜΕ Ν̄ΣΙ
 ΠΧΕΣΖ̄ΗΝΕΙ ΧΕ ΨΗΗΨ Ν̄ΣΙ | ΠΡΕΨΧΙΟΥΕ ΨΝΑΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΜΠΑΤΕΨ`ΕΙ Ν̄ΨΤ̄Μ|
 10 ΚΑΑΨ` ΕΨΟΧΤ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΨΗΕΙ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΕΨ`||Μ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ ΕΤΡΕΨΨΙ Ν̄ΝΕΨ`-
 ΣΚΕΨΟΣ Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν | ΔΕ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ Μ̄ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΟΥΡ` Μ̄|ΜΩΤ̄Ν
 ΕΧ̄Ν ΝΕΤ̄Ν†ΠΕ Ζ̄ΝΝΟΥΝΟΣ Ν̄ΔΥ|ΝΑΜΙΣ ΨΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΝΕ ΝΛΗΣΤΗΣ ΖΕ ΕΖΙΗ
 15 ΕΕΙ | ΨΑΡΩΤ̄Ν ΕΠΕΙ ΤΕΧΡΕΙΑ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΩΨΤ` || ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤ̄Σ ΣΕΝΑΖΕ`
 ΕΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΨΠΕ | Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΗΤΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΕΠΙΣΤΗ|ΜΩΝ Ν̄-
 ΤΑΡΕ ΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΩΣ ΑΨΕΙ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΒΕΠΗ ΕΠΕΨΑΣΖ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΨΒΙΧ
 20 ΑΨΖΑΣΨ ΠΕ|ΤΕ ΟῩΝ ΜΑΑΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΕΣΩΤ̄Μ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΤ̄Μ ||
 (22) ΑΙΣ̄ ΝΑΥ ΑΖ̄ΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΨΧΙ ΕΡΩΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ Ν̄|ΝΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ
 ΝΕΕΙΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΤΧΙ ΕΡΩ|ΤΕ ΕΥΤ̄Ν̄ΤΩΝ ΑΝΕΤΒΗΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΜ̄Ν̄|ΤΕΡΟ ΠΕ-
 ΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ` ΧΕ ΕΕΙΕΝΟ Ν̄ΚΟΥΕΙ Τ̄Ν|ΝΑΒΩΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜ̄Ν̄|ΤΕΡΟ ΠΕΧΕ
 25 ΙΗ̄Σ̄ ΝΑΥ || ΧΕ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΡ̄ ΠΣΝΑΥ ΟΥΑ ΑΨΩ Ε|ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΡ̄ ΠΣΑ
 ΝΖΟΥΝ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΣΑ ΝΒΟΛ | ΑΨΩ ΠΣΑ ΝΒΟΛ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΑΨΩ
 ΠΣΑ(Ν)|ΤΠΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΣΑ Μ̄ΠΙΤ̄Ν ΑΨΩ ΨΙΝΑ ΕΤΕ|ΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΦΟ`ΟΥΤ` Μ̄Ν
 30 ΤΣΙΜΕ Μ̄ΠΙΟΥΑ || ΟΥΩΤ` ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΝΕ ΦΟΟΥΤ` Ρ̄ ΖΟΟΥΤ` Ν̄ΤΕ | ΤΣΙΜΕ Ρ̄
 ΣΖΙΜΕ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΕΙΡΕ | Ν̄Ζ̄ΝΒΑΛ ΕΠΜΑ Ν̄ΟΥΒΑΛ` ΑΨΩ ΟΥΒΙΧ` |
 ΕΠΜΑ Ν̄ΝΟΥΒΙΧ` ΑΨΩ ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΠΜΑ | Ν̄ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΟΥΖΙΚΩΝ` ΕΠΜΑ Ν̄ΟΥ-
 35 ΖΙΚΩ(Ν) || ΤΟΤΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε[Τ]Μ̄Ν̄[ΤΕΡ]Ο`

(21) 37:4–5 Sah. ἠπεῡμτο . . . τεγ̄σωψε. 12 i.e. ζ̄ν ο̄γνος. 17 i.e. ζ̄ν ο̄γβεπη.

(22) 23 i.e. εειε ενο (Guillaumont et al. emend thus, with hesitation) : εει understood as Greek εἰ by Leipoldt, but unlikely. 25 i.e. ἦογα. 30 i.e. ἦογωτ. 33–34 i.e. ἦογ-βιχ . . . ο̄γογερητε . . . ἦογογερητε.

33 Ν̄<Ν̄>ΓΑΛΑΤΕ Guillaumont et al.

(21) 37:9–10 {Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΕΨ`||Μ̄Ν̄ΤΕΡΟ} Leipoldt

- *p. 38^l
(86 L.) (23) * πεχε ιϭ χε †νασεπ τηνε ογα εβολ | ζν̄ ψο αγω συνα
εβολ ζν̄ τβα αγω | σεναωζε ερατοϋ εγο ογα οϋωτ`
- 5 (24) πε|χε νεϭμαθητс χε ματσεβον` επτο||ποс ετκ̄μαϥ επει
ταναγκη ερον τε | ετρ̄νηψινε ν̄сωϭ` πεχαϭ` ναϥ χε πετεϥ|ν̄
μααχε μ̄μοϭ μαρεϭ`сωτ̄μ̄ οϥν̄ οϥ|οειν` ψοοπ` μ̄φοϥν̄ ν̄νοϥρ̄μ̄-
10 οϥοειν | αγω ϭ̄ρ̄ οϥοειν επκοсμοс τηρϭ` εϭτ̄μ̄||ρ̄ οϥοειν` οϥ-
καϭε πε
(25) πεχε ιϭ χε μερε | πεκсоn ν̄θε ν̄τεκ`ψϥχη εριθηρει μ̄μοϭ
| ν̄θε ν̄τελοϥ μ̄πεκ`βαλ`
(26) πεχε ιϭ χε πχη | ετз̄μ̄ пβαλ μ̄пек`соn κναϥ εροϭ` πсоει
15 | δε εтз̄μ̄ пекβαλ` κναϥ αν εροϭ` зотан || екψαννοϥχε μ̄πсоει
εβολ з̄μ̄ пек`βαλ` τοτε κнаναϥ εβολ εноϥχε μ̄πχη | εβολ з̄μ̄ пβαλ
μ̄пексоn
(27) <πεχε ιϭ χε> ετε<т̄н>т̄μ̄ρ̄νη|стеϥε επκοсμοс тетнаζε ан`
20 εтμ̄н̄τε|ρο εтет̄н̄т̄μ̄ειρε μ̄псаμβατον н̄сав`||βατον н̄тетнаναϥ
ан̄ επειωт`
(28) πεχε | ιϭ χε δειωζε ερατ` ζν̄ тμηте μ̄пкос|μοс αγω
δειοϥωνз εβολ ναϥ ζн̄ саpз | δειзе εροοϥ τηροϥ εϥтазе μ̄пize
25 ελα|αϥ ν̄ζητοϥ εϭοβε αγω αταψϥχη † ткас || εχн̄ ν̄ψηρε н̄ρ̄ρω-
ме χε ζн̄βαλλεεϥ|ε νε з̄μ̄ ποϥζηт` αγω сенаϥ εβολ ан̄
| χε н̄таϥει επκοсμοс еϥψοϥειт` еϥ|ψινε он̄ ετροϥει εβολ
30 з̄μ̄ пкосμοс | еϥψοϥειт` п̄ληн̄ теноϥ сетозе зο||тан еϥ-
ψаннез ποϥηρп` τοτε сенаρ̄|μεταноει

(24) PAP., P. OXY. 655 (d) (SMALL FRG.).

(25) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND

(26) PAP., P. OXY. I (BEGINS 38:16 τοτε κнаναϥ).

(27) PAP., P. OXY. I 38:18 тμ̄н̄τερο : Greek frg. adds τοϋ θεου

(28) PAP., P. OXY. I (BREAKS OFF AT 38:26 ναϥ εβολ).

(23) 38:3 i.e. ν̄ογα ν̄οϥωт.

(24) 8 i.e. ν̄οϥρ̄μοϥοειн.

(28) 26 Sah. πεϥζηт. 30 Sah. πεϥηρп.

(27) 38:17 <πεχε ιϭ χε> Guillaumont et al., with Greek frg. ετε<т̄н>т̄μ̄ : ε̄αν μ̄η
+ subjunctive Greek frg.

(28) 24 ткас : κ written over the false start of α

(23) **38** Jesus said, “I shall choose you, one out ' of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and ' they shall stand as a single one.” ’

(24) His disciples said, “Show us the place ⁵ where you are, since it is necessary for us ' to seek it.”

He said to them, “Whoever has ' ears, let him hear. There is light ' within a man of light, ' and he lights up the whole world. If he ¹⁰ does not shine, he is darkness.”

(25) Jesus said, “Love ' your (sg.) brother like your (sg.) soul, guard him ' like the pupil of your (sg.) eye.”

(26) Jesus said, “You (sg., passim) see the mote ' in your brother's eye, ' but you do not see the beam in your own eye. When ¹⁵ you cast the beam out of your own ' eye, then you will see clearly to cast the mote ' from your brother's eye.”

(27) <Jesus said,> “If you do not fast ' as regards the world, you will not find the kingdom. ' If you do not observe the Sabbath as a Sabbath, ²⁰ you will not see the father.” ’

(28) Jesus said, “I took my place in the midst of the world, ' and I appeared to them in flesh. ' I found all of them intoxicated; I found none ' of them thirsty. And my soul became afflicted ²⁵ for the sons of men, because they are blind ' in their hearts and do not have sight; ' for empty they came into the world, ' and empty too they seek to leave the world. ' But for the moment they are intoxicated. ³⁰ When they shake off their wine, then they will ' repent.”

(27) the kingdom *Coptic* : *Greek frg. adds of God*

COPTIC TEXTUAL NOTES

(24) he lights up . . . If he does not shine, he is : *or*, it lights up . . . If it does not shine, it is

(29) πεχε ι̅Ϸ εψχε ν̅τα τσαρζ̅ | ψωπε ετβε π̅να̅ ογψπηρε
 τε εψ|χε π̅να̅ δε ετβε π̅ωμα ογψπηρε | ν̅ψπηρε πε αλλα α-
 *p. 39^l
 (87 L.) ΝΟΚ̅ ἡ̅ ψπηρε * μ̅παει χε πωϷ α̅τ̅ρει̅νος μ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅ρ̅μ̅μα̅|ο̅ α̅σογ̅ω̅ζ̅ ζ̅ν̅
 Τ̅Ε̅Ι̅Μ̅Ν̅Τ̅Ζ̅Η̅Κ̅Ε̅

(30) πεχε ι̅Ϸ | χε π̅μα̅ εγ̅ν̅ ψομτ̅ ν̅νογτε̅ μ̅μαγ̅ ζ̅ν̅|νογτε̅
 5 Ν̅Ε̅ Π̅Μ̅Α̅ Ε̅Γ̅Ν̅ Σ̅Ν̅Α̅Υ̅ Η̅ Ο̅Υ̅Α̅ Δ̅Ν̅Ο̅Κ̅ ἡ̅ | ἡ̅ ψοοπ̅ ἡ̅ Ν̅Μ̅Μ̅Α̅Ϸ̅

(31) πεχε ι̅Ϸ μ̅ν̅ προφη̅της̅ ψηπ̅ ζ̅μ̅ πεϷ̅τ̅με̅ μαρε̅ σοειν̅ ρ̅-
 ε̅ε̅|ρα̅πε̅γε̅ ν̅νετ̅ ἡ̅ σοογ̅ν̅ μ̅μοϷ̅

(32) πεχε ι̅Ϸ | χε ογπολι̅ς̅ εγ̅κωτ̅ μ̅μο̅ς̅ ζ̅ιχ̅ν̅ ογτο̅|ογ̅ εϷ̅χο̅σε̅
 10 Ε̅Σ̅Τ̅Α̅ Χ̅Ρ̅Η̅ Μ̅Ν̅ Β̅Ο̅Μ̅ Ν̅Σ̅Ζ̅Ε̅ ἡ̅ | Ο̅Υ̅Δ̅Ε̅ Σ̅Ν̅Α̅Ψ̅Ζ̅Ω̅Π̅ ἂ̅Ν̅

(33) πεχε ι̅Ϸ πετ̅ κ̅να̅|σ̅ωτ̅μ̅ εροϷ̅ ζ̅μ̅ πεκ̅ ἡ̅ μα̅α̅ χε̅ ζ̅μ̅ π̅κε̅μα̅|
 α̅ χε̅ τα̅ψε̅ ο̅ει̅ψ̅ ἡ̅ μ̅μοϷ̅ ζ̅ιχ̅ν̅ νετ̅ ἡ̅ χε̅|νε̅π̅ωρ̅ μαρε̅ λα̅α̅Ϸ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅
 15 χερε̅ ζ̅η̅β̅ς̅ ν̅Ϸ̅|κα̅α̅Ϸ̅ ζ̅α̅ μα̅α̅ χε̅ ο̅υ̅δε̅ μα̅Ϸ̅κα̅α̅Ϸ̅ ζ̅μ̅ μα̅ ἡ̅
 εϷ̅ζη̅π̅ ἡ̅ α̅λλα̅ ε̅ψ̅α̅ρε̅Ϸ̅κα̅α̅Ϸ̅ ζ̅ιχ̅ν̅ τ̅λ̅υ̅|χ̅νια̅ χε̅κα̅α̅ς̅ ο̅υ̅ον̅ ν̅ιμ̅ ἡ̅
 ε̅τ̅β̅η̅κ̅ ἡ̅ ε̅ζ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ | α̅γ̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅ν̅η̅ν̅υ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ε̅γ̅ν̅α̅ν̅α̅Ϸ̅ α̅πε̅Ϸ̅ο̅υ̅|ο̅ει̅ν̅

(34) πεχε ι̅Ϸ χε̅ ογβ̅λλε̅ εϷ̅ψ̅αν̅ ἡ̅ σ̅ωκ̅ | ζ̅η̅τ̅ ἡ̅ ν̅νογ̅β̅λλε̅ ψ̅α̅γ̅ζε̅ μ̅-
 20 Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Ν̅Α̅Υ̅ ἡ̅ | Ε̅Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Η̅Τ̅ ἡ̅ Ε̅Γ̅Ζ̅Ι̅Ε̅Ι̅Τ̅

(35) πεχε ι̅Ϸ μ̅ν̅ β̅ομ̅ | ν̅τε̅ ο̅υ̅α̅ β̅ωκ̅ ἡ̅ ε̅ζ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ ε̅π̅η̅ει̅ μ̅π̅ χ̅ω̅|ω̅ρε̅
 ν̅Ϸ̅χι̅τ̅ ἡ̅ ν̅χ̅να̅ζ̅ ε̅ι̅ μ̅η̅τ̅ι̅ ν̅Ϸ̅μ̅ο̅υ̅ρ̅ | ν̅νε̅Ϸ̅β̅ι̅χ̅ ἡ̅ τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ Ϸ̅η̅α̅π̅ω̅ν̅ε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅
 | μ̅πε̅Ϸ̅η̅ει̅

(29) PAP., P. OXY. 1 (SMALL FRG.). 39:2 ασογ̅ω̅ζ̅ : Greek frg. prob. [ἐνοικ]εῖ

(30) PAP., P. OXY. 1. 3 ψομτ̅ ν̅νογτε̅ : Greek frg. merely [τ]ε[ίς] 4 νογτε̅ :
 ἄθεοι̅ σ̅να̅υ̅ η̅ ο̅υ̅α̅ : εἰ[ίς] ἔστιν̅ μόνος, [λ]έγω̅ 5 Ν̅Μ̅Μ̅Α̅Ϸ̅ : Greek frg. adds (cf. saying
 77b) ἔγει[ρ]ον̅ τὸν̅ λίθον̅ (v)̅ κ̅α̅κ̅εῖ̅ ε̅υ̅ρή̅σει̅ς̅ με̅· σ̅χ̅ί̅σον̅ τὸ̅ ξ̅ύ̅λον̅ κ̅ά̅γ̅ω̅ ἐ̅κ̅εῖ̅ εἰ̅μ̅ι̅

(31) PAP., P. OXY. 1. 6 τ̅με̅ : π(ατ)ρί̅δι̅

(32) PAP., P. OXY. 1.

(33) PAP., P. OXY. 1 (BREAKS OFF AT 39:11 Π̅Ε̅Κ̅Μ̅Α̅Α̅Χ̅Ε̅). 11 ζ̅μ̅ Π̅Ε̅Κ̅Μ̅Α̅Α̅Χ̅Ε̅ : [ε]ίς̅ τὸ̅
 ἐ̅ν̅ ὡ̅τί̅ον̅ σο̅υ̅

(34–35) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND.

(29) 32–33 i.e. π̅π̅να̅ . . . π̅π̅να̅ (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(34) 39:19 i.e. ν̅ογ̅β̅λλε̅.

(29) 34 νε̅ : τε̅ em. Guillaumont et al.

(30) 39:3–4 εγ̅ν̅ . . . εγ̅ν̅ . . . : poss. expected is ε̅τε̅γ̅ν̅ . . . ε̅τε̅γ̅ν̅ . . .

(33) 11–12 poss. delete ζ̅μ̅ Π̅Κ̅Ε̅Μ̅Α̅|Α̅Χ̅Ε̅ (thus Wilson 62 [with hesitation], Haenchen
 152)

(29) Jesus said, “If the flesh ' came into being because of spirit, it is a wonder. ' But if spirit came into being because of the body, ' it is a wonder of wonders. Indeed, I am amazed **39** at how this great wealth ' has made its home in this poverty.”

(30) Jesus said, “Where there are three gods, ' they are gods. Where there are two or one, I ⁵ am with him.”

(31) Jesus said, “No prophet ' is accepted in his own village; no physician heals ' those who know him.”

(32) Jesus said, “A city being built on a high mountain ' and fortified cannot fall, ¹⁰ nor can it be hidden.”

(33) Jesus said, “Preach from your (pl.) housetops ' that which you (sg.) will ' hear in your (sg.) ear. ' For no one lights a lamp and ' puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a ¹⁵ hidden place, but rather he sets it on a lampstand ' so that everyone who enters ' and leaves will see its ' light.”

(34) Jesus said, “If a blind man leads ' a blind man, they will both fall ²⁰ into a pit.”

(35) Jesus said, “It is not possible ' for anyone to enter the house of a strong man ' and take it by force unless he binds ' his hands; then he will (be able to) ransack ' his house.”

(29) has made its home *Coptic* : *Greek frg. prob.* [mak]es [its home]

(30) three gods *Coptic* : [th]r[ee] *Greek frg.*

they are gods *Coptic* : they are without God *Greek frg.*

are two or one *Coptic* : is but [a single one], I say that *Greek frg.*

with him *Coptic* : *Greek frg. adds (cf. saying 77b)* Lift up the stone, and you will find me there. Split the piece of wood, and I am there.

(33) in your ear *Coptic* : in one of your ears *Greek frg.*

(33) in your ear : *the manuscript has (erroneously) in your ear in the other ear*

- 25 (36) ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ ΜἸϸΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ Χ Ι(Ν) || ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΨΑ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΑΥΨ ΧΙΝ ΖΙ-
ΡΟΥΖΕ | ΨΑ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ<Τ>ΕΤΝΑΤΑΑΨ ΖΙΩΤΨ|ΤΗΥΤἸ
(37) ΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΑΨ Ἰ|ΖΟΟΥ ΕΚΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
30 ΝΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΑΨ | Ἰ|ΖΟΟΥ ΕΝΑΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΚΨ ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΖΟ||ΤΑΝ ΕΤΕ-
ΤἸΨΑΚΕΚ ΤΗΥΤἸ ΕΖΗΥ ἸΠΕ|ΤἸΨΙΠΕ ΑΥΨ ἸΤΕΤἸϸΙ ἸΝΕΤἸΨΤΗΝ | ἸΤΕΤἸ-
ΚΑΑΨ ΖΑ ΠΕΧΤΨ ἸΝΕΤἸΟΥΕΡΗ|ΤΕ ἸΘΕ ἸΝΙΚΟΥΕΙ ἸΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜΨ ἸΤΕ|ΤἸ-
*p. 40¹ ΧΟΠἸΨ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΟΤΕ |ΤΕΤ|ΝΑΝΑΨ * ΕΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΕΤΟΝΖ ΑΥΨ
(88 L.) ΤΕΤΝΑἸ | ΖΟΤΕ ΑΝ
(38) ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΖΑΖ ἸΝΟΠΨ ΑΤΕΤἸ|ἸΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΣΩΤἸ ΔΝΕΕΙΨΑΧΕ
5 ΝΑΕΙΨ | ΕΨΧΨ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΗΤἸ ΑΥΨ ΜἸΤΗΤἸ || ΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΣΟΤΜΟΥ Ἰ-
ΤΟΟΤἸ ΟΥἸ ΖἸΖΟ|ΟΥ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ἸΤΕΤἸΨΙΝΕ ἸΝΩΕΙ ΤΕ|ΤΝΑΖΕ ΑΝΨ
ΕΡΟΕΙΨ
(39) ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ἸΦΑΡΙΣΑ|ΟC ἸἸΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC ΑΥ ΧΙ ἸΨΑΨΤΨ |
10 ἸΤΓΗΩCΙC ΑΥΖΟΠΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ἸΠΟΥΒΩΚΨ || ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΥΨ ΝΕΤΟΥΨΨ
ΕΒΩΚΨ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ἰ|ΠΟΥΚΑΑΨ ἸΤΩΤἸ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΕ ἸΦΡΟΝΙΜΟC | ἸΘΕ Ἰ-
ΝΖΟΨ ΑΥΨ ἸΑΚΕΡΑΙΟC ἸΘΕ ἸἸ|ΒΡΟΜΨΠΕ
(40) ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ ΟΥΒΕΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΑΥ|ΤΟΒC ἸΠCΑ ΝΒΟΛ Ἰ-
15 ΠΕΙΩΤΨ ΑΥΨ ΕCΤΑΨ|ΧΡΗΥ ΔΝ CΕΝΑΠΟΡΚC ΖΑ ΤΕCΝΟΥΝΕ ἸC|ΤΑΚΟ
(41) ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕΥἸΤΑΨ ΨἸ ΤΕΨ|ΒΙΧ CΕΝΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΑΥΨ ΠΕ-
ΤΕ ΜἸΤΑΨ ΠΚΕ|ΨΗΜ ΕΤΟΥἸΤΑΨ CΕΝΑΨΙΤἸ ἸΤΟΟΤἸ |

(36) PAP.. P. OXY. 655. 26 ΨΑ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ : Greek frg. adds μήτε [τἡ τροφή ὑ]μῶν τί
φά[γητε, μήτε] τἡ σ[ολῆ ὑμῶν] 27 ΤΗΥΤἸ : Greek frg. has additional text (see Greek say-
ing 36, lines 7–17)

(37) PAP.. P. OXY. 655. 29 ΠΕ ΧΕ Ιϸ : Greek frg. merely λέγει

(38) PAP.. P. OXY. 655. 40:3–4 ΝΑΕΙ ΕΨΧΨ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΗΤἸ : Greek frg. poss. τ[ούτους
τούς λό]γ[ους μου]

(39) PAP.. P. OXY. 655. 10 ΝΕΤΟΥΨΨ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ : [τούς] εισερ[χομένους]

(40–76) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND.

(36) 24 Sah. ἸΠἸϸΙ

(37) 30–31 i.e. ΕΠΕΤἸΨΙΠΕ.

(36) 26 ΖΤΟΟΥΕ < - - - > (accidental omission in copy) suggested by Kasser, with hesita-
tion : cf. Greek frg.

(41) 40:18 ΕΤΟΥἸΤΑΨ : i.e. ΕΤἸΤΑΨ ΟΥ ΕΤΕΥἸΤΑΨ, poss. emend thus (Layton)

(36) Jesus said, “Do not be concerned from ²⁵ morning until evening and from evening ¹ until morning about what you will wear.” ¹

(37) His disciples said, “When ¹ will you become revealed to us and when ¹ shall we see you?”

Jesus said, “When ³⁰ you disrobe without being ¹ ashamed and take up your garments ¹ and place them under your feet ¹ like little children and ¹ tread on them, then [will you see] ⁴⁰ the son of the living one, and you will not be ¹ afraid.”

(38) Jesus said, “Many times have you ¹ desired to hear these words ¹ which I am saying to you, and you have ⁵ no one else to hear them from. There will be days ¹ when you will look for me and ¹ will not find me.”

(39) Jesus said, “The pharisees ¹ and the scribes have taken the keys ¹ of knowledge (gnosis) and hidden them. They themselves have not entered, ¹⁰ nor have they allowed to enter those who wish to. ¹ You, however, be as wise ¹ as serpents and as innocent as ¹ doves.”

(40) Jesus said, “A grapevine has been ¹ planted outside of the father, but being ¹⁵ unsound, it will be pulled up by its roots and ¹ destroyed.”

(41) Jesus said, “Whoever has something in his ¹ hand will receive more, and whoever has nothing ¹ will be deprived of even the little he has.” ¹

(36) until morning *Coptic* : *Greek frg.* adds neither [about] your [food] and what [you will] eat, [nor] about [your clothing] and

wear *Coptic* : *Greek frg.* adds [You are far] better than the [lilies] which [neither] card nor [spin]. As for you, when you have no garment, what [will you put on]? Who might add to your stature? He it is who will give you your cloak.

(37) Jesus said *Coptic* : He said *Greek frg.*

(38) these words which I am saying to you *Coptic* : *Greek frg.* possibly [these w]or[ds of mine]

(39) those who wish to *Coptic* : [those who were about to] come in *Greek frg.*

(42) Jesus said, “Become passers-by.”²⁰

(43) His disciples said to him, “Who are you, that you should say these things to us?”

<Jesus said to them,> “You do not realize who I am ' from what I say to you, ' but you have become like ' the Jews, for they (either) love the tree and hate²⁵ its fruit (or) love the fruit ' and hate the tree.”

(44) Jesus said, “Whoever ' blasphemes against the father will be forgiven, and ' whoever blasphemes against the son will be forgiven, ' but whoever blasphemes against the holy spirit³⁰ will not be forgiven either on earth ' or in heaven.”

(45) Jesus said, “Grapes are not harvested ' from thorns, nor are figs gathered ' from thistles, for they do not produce fruit. ' A good man brings forth **41** good from his storehouse; an evil ' man brings forth evil things from ' his evil storehouse, which is in his heart, and ' says evil things. For out of⁵ the abundance of the heart he brings forth evil ' things.”

(46) Jesus said, “Among those born of women, ' from Adam until John ' the Baptist, there is no one so superior to John the Baptist ' that his eyes should not be lowered (before him).¹⁰ Yet I have said, whichever one of you ' comes to be a child will be acquainted with the kingdom ' and will become superior to John.”

(47) Jesus said, “‘It is impossible for a man to mount two horses ' or to stretch two bows. And it is impossible¹⁵ for a servant to serve two masters; ' otherwise, he will honor the one ' and treat the other contemptuously. No man drinks old wine ' and immediately desires to drink new wine. ' And new wine is not put into old wineskins,²⁰ lest they burst; nor ' is old wine put into a new wineskin, lest ' it spoil it. An old patch is not sewn onto a new garment, ' because a tear would result.”

(46) that his eyes should not be lowered (before him) : *literally*, that his eyes not be broken

- 25 (48) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϞ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑ ΣΝΑΥ Ρ̄ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ Μ̄Ν || ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΙΝΕΙ
 ΟΥΩΤ` ΣΕΝΑΧΟΟΣ | Μ̄ΠΤΑΥ ΧΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑΠΩ|ΩΝΕ
 (49) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϞ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕ Ν|ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΤСОΠ` ΧΕ
- 30 ΤΕΤΝΑ|ΖΕ ΑΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν Ζ̄ΝΕΒΟΛ || Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ϟ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ-
 ΒΩΚ` ΕΜΑΥ
 (50) ΠΕ|ΧΕ ΙϞ ΧΕ ΕΥΨΑΝΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑ|ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ
 ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΥ | ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Π̄ΜΑ | ΕΝΤΑ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΨΩΠΕ
 *p. 42¹ Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ || ΖΙΤΟΟΤϞ` ΟΥΑΔΤϞ` ΑΩΩΖ[Ε ΕΡΑΤϞ] * ΑΥΩ ΑΦΟΥΩ-
 (90 L.) ΝΖ Ε[Β]ΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΕΥ|ΨΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΠΕ ΧΟΟΣ | ΧΕ
 ΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ Ν̄ΣΩΤ̄Π` | Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΝΖ ΕΥΨΑΝΧΝΕ
 5 ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν || ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΕΙΝ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΩΤ` ΕΤΖ̄Ν | ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ
 ΟΥΚΙΜ ΠΕ Μ̄Ν | ΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙϞ
 (51) ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϞ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΕΨΜΑ|ΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙϞ
 10 Ν̄|ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ` ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ || ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Β̄Β̄ΡΡΕ
 ΝΗΥ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ | ΤΗ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΩΨΤ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤ̄Ϟ ΑΣΕΙ ΑΛΛΑ |
 Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΤΕΤ̄ΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ Μ̄ΜΟΣ
 (52) ΠΕΧΑΥ | ΝΑϞ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΧΟΥΤΑϞΤΕ | Μ̄ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΑΥ-
 15 ΨΑΧΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΣΡΑΝΛ` || ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Κ` ΠΕ`|ΧΑϞ
 ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΚΩ Μ̄ΠΕΤΟΝΖ Μ̄ΠΕ|Τ̄Ν̄ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΧΕ ΖΑ
 ΝΕΤ|ΜΟΟΥΤ`
 (53) ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϞ Ν̄ΒΙ ΝΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ | ΧΕ ΠΣ̄ΒΒΕ Ρ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ Η Μ̄-
 20 ΜΟΝ ΠΕΧΑϞ` || ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΕΨΡ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ ΝΕ ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ` ΝΑ|ΧΠΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ ΕΥΣ̄ΒΒΗΥ | ΑΛΛΑ ΠΣ̄ΒΒΕ Μ̄ΜΕ Ζ̄Μ Π̄Ν̄Α ΑϞΒ̄Ν ΖΗΥ | ΤΗΡϞ`
 (54) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϞ ΧΕ Ζ̄ΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΖΗ|ΚΕ ΧΕ ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΤΕ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ
 25 Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ` ||
 (55) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϞ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΑΜΕΣΤΕ ΠΕϞ`ΕΙΩΤ` | ΑΝ` Μ̄Ν ΤΕΨΜΑΑΥ ΦΝΑΨ̄
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΝ | ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΨΜΕΣΤΕ ΝΕϞ`ΣΝΗΥ` Μ̄Ν | ΝΕΨΩΩΝΕ Ν̄ΨΦΕΙ Μ̄-
 ΠΕΨϞΦΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΖΕ | ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΕϞΟ Ν̄ΑΖΙΟΣ ΝΑΕΙ

(48) 25 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ.

(49) 29-30 poss. i.e. ΕΝΤΕΤ̄Ν ΖΕΝΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ϟ.

(53) 42:20 i.e. ΕΝΕΨΡ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ. 20-21 Sah. ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ . . . ΤΕΨΜΑΑΥ. 22 i.e. Π̄Ν̄Α.

(55) 25 Sah. ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΣΤΕ.

(50) 33 ει εβολ : copyist first omitted iota, then added it between the two epsi-
 lons 42:2 Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΠΕ : Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΝΙΜ em. Guillaumont et al., sim. Doresse

(48) Jesus said, “If two make peace with ²⁵ each other in this one house, they will say ' to the mountain, 'Move away,' and it will move ' away.”

(49) Jesus said, “Blessed are the ' solitary and elect, for you will ' find the kingdom. For you are from it, ³⁰ and to it you will return.” '

(50) Jesus said, “If they say to you, ' ‘Where did you come from?’, say to them, ' ‘We came from the light, the place ' where the light came into being on ³⁵ its own accord and established [itself] **42** and became manifest through their image.’ ' If they say to you, ‘Is it you?’, say, ' ‘We are its children, and we are the elect ' of the living father.’ If they ask you, ⁵ ‘What is the sign of your father in ' you?’, say to them, ‘It is movement and 'repose.’”

(51) His disciples said to him, ' “When will the repose of ' the dead come about, and when ¹⁰ will the new world come?”

He said to them, ' “What you look forward to has already come, but ' you do not recognize it.” '

(52) His disciples said to him, “Twenty-four ' prophets spoke in Israel, ¹⁵ and all of them spoke in you.” '

He said to them, “You have omitted the one living in ' your presence and have spoken (only) of the ' dead.”

(53) His disciples said to him, ' “Is circumcision beneficial or not?”

He said ²⁰ to them, “If it were beneficial, their father ' would beget them already circumcised from their mother. ' Rather, the true circumcision in spirit has ' become completely profitable.”

(54) Jesus said, “Blessed are the poor, ' for yours is the kingdom of heaven.” ²⁵

(55) Jesus said, “Whoever does not hate his father ' and his mother cannot become a disciple to me. ' And whoever does not hate his brothers and ' sisters and take up his cross in my way ' will not be worthy of me.”

- 30 (56) πε||χε ι̅ς χε πεταζσοϱων πκοσμος αϱ\|ζε ευπτωμα αϱω
 ΠΕΝΤΑΖΖΕΕ ΑΠΤΩ|ΜΑ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΠΨΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΝ
 (57) πε|χε ι̅ς χε τμ̅ντερο μ̅πειωτ\ εστ̅ντω(ν)| αϱρωμε ευ̅νταϱ
 *p. 43¹ Μ̅ΜΑΥ Ν̅ΝΟΥΒΡΟΣ || ε̅ν[ΑΝΟ]Υϱ\ απεϱχαχε ει̅ ν̅τωϱμη\ * αϱϱιτε
 (91 L.) Ν̅ΟΥΖΙΖΑΝ|Ο]Ν ε̅χ̅ν̅ πεβρο[ς ε]||τ̅ΝΑΝΟΥϱ\ μ̅πε πρωμε κοου εζω-
 λε | μ̅ΠΖΙΖΑΝΙΟΝ ΠΕΧΑϱ ΝΑϱ ΧΕ ΜΗΠΩϱ | Ν̅ΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΒΩΚ\ ΧΕ ΕΝΑΖΩΛΕ
 5 Μ̅ΠΖΙΖΑΝΙΟ(Ν) || Ν̅ΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΖΩΛΕ Μ̅ΠΣΟΥΟ Ν̅Μ̅ΜΑϱ\ ζ̅Μ̅ ΦΟ|ΟΥ ΓΑΡ Μ̅-
 ΠΩΖ̅ς Ν̅ΖΙΖΑΝΙΟΝ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ\ ΣΕΖΟΛΟΥ Ν̅ΣΕΡΟΚΖΟΥ
 (58) ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅ς | ΧΕ ΟΥΜΑΚ ΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̅ΤΑΖΖΙϱΕ | Αϱϱε ΑΠΩΝΖ
 10 (59) ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅ς ΧΕ ΩΨΤ Ν̅ςΑ ΠΕ|ΤΟΝΖ ΖΩϱ ΕΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΟΝΖ ΖΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΝΕΤ̅Μ̅-
 ΜΟΥ | ΑϱΩ Ν̅ΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΑϱ ΕΡΟΥ ΑϱΩ ΤΕΤ̅ΝΑΨ|Β̅Μ̅ ΒΟΜ ΔΝ ΕΝΑϱ
 (60) <ΑΥΝΑϱ> ΑΥΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΗΣ Εϱϱι Ν̅|ΝΟΥΖΙΕΙΒ\ ΕϱΒΗΚ\ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕϱΟΥ-
 15 ΔΑΙΑ ΠΕ|ΧΑϱ\ Ν̅ΝΕϱ\ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ † ΠΗ Μ̅ΠΚΩΤΕ || Μ̅ΠΕΖΙ-
 ΕΙΒ\ † ΠΕΧΑϱ ΝΑϱ ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΕϱΝΑ|ΜΟΥΟΥΤ\ Ν̅ϱΟΥΟΜϱ\ ΠΕΧΑϱ
 ΝΑϱ ΖΩϱ Ε|ΦΟΝΖ ϱΝΑΟΥΟΜϱ\ ΔΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕϱΨΑΜΟ|ΟΥΤ\ Ν̅ϱΨΩΠΕ Ν̅-
 20 ΟΥΠΤΩΜΑ ΠΕΧΑϱ | ΧΕ Ν̅ΚΕΣΜΟΤ\ ϱΝΑΨΑΣ ΔΝ ΠΕΧΑϱ ΝΑϱ || ΧΕ
 Ν̅ΤΩΤ̅Ν̅ ΖΩΤ\ΤΗΥΤ̅Ν̅ ΨΙΝΕ Ν̅ςΑ ΟΥ|ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΗΤ̅Ν̅ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΑΝΑΠΑΥϱΙϱ |
 ΧΕΚΑΔΣ Ν̅ΝΕΤ̅Ν̅ΨΩΠΕ Μ̅ΠΤΩΜΑ Ν̅ΣΕ|ΟΥΩΜ\ ΤΗΥΤ̅Ν̅
 (61) ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅ς ΟΥ̅Ν ΣΝΑϱ ΝΑΜ̅|ΤΟΝ\ Μ̅ΜΑϱ ΖΙ ΟΥΒΛΟΣ ΠΟΥΑ
 25 ΝΑΜΟΥ ΠΟΥ|Α ΝΑΩΝΖ ΠΕΧΕ ΣΑΛΩΜΗ Ν̅ΤΑΚ\ ΝΙΜ\ | ΠΡΩΜΕ
 † ΖΩϱ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥΑ † ΑΚΤΕΛΟ ΕΧ̅Μ̅ | ΠΑΒΛΟΣ ΑϱΩ ΑΚ\ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν̅
 ΤΑ|ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅ς ΝΑϱ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ\ ΠΕ | ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ\ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Μ̅
 30 ΠΕΤ\ΨΗΨ ΑΥ† | ΝΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΝΑ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ\ < - - - > ΔΝΟΚ\
 ΤΕΚ\ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ < - - - > ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ † ΧΩ Μ̅ΜΟΣ ΧΕ | ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕϱΨΑΨΩ-

(56) 31 ζεε : i.e. ze : cf. Polotsky *Orientalia* 26 (1957) 348–49.

(57) 34 i.e. ΝΟΥΒΡΟΣ. 43:7 σεζολου : Sah. Ν̅σεζολου.

(59) 10 i.e. Ν̅ΝΕΤ̅Μ̅ΜΟΥ.

(60) 12–13 i.e. Ν̅ΟΥΖΙΕΙΒ. 19 i.e. ϱΝΑΨΑΣ.

(61) 24 Μ̅ΜΑϱ : i.e. Μ̅ΜΟΥ.

(56) 31 ΠΕΝΤΑΖΖΕΕ : second z added above line ζεε α - : ze e - em. Guillaumont et al.

(57) 35 for the restoration. cf. 43:1–2 43:4 ε<τετ>να em. Kasser, with hesitation

(60) 12 <ΑΥΝΑϱ> Guillaumont et al. : <ΑϱΝΑϱ> Schenke 14–15 ΠΗ Μ̅ΠΚΩΤΕ || Μ̅ΠΕΖΙΕΙΒ : Guillaumont et al. (cf. German edn.) read as a corruption for “Why does he carry the lamb with him?”

(61) 26 ΖΩϱ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥΑ : prob. corrupt : or else poss. Greek ὡς ξένος (thus Polotsky) mistranslated as ὡς ἐξ ἑνός; or ὡς ἐκ τίνος (thus Guillaumont, *Le Muséon* 73 [1960] 326) mis-trans. as ὡς ἐκ τινός, sim. Doriesse: ΖΩϱ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν̅ ΟΥ em. Kasser 30 <πεχε σαλωμη χε> Leipoldt, Guillaumont et al. 31 <πεχε ι̅ς ναϱ χε> Guillaumont et al., sim. Leipoldt

(56) ³⁰ Jesus said, “Whoever has come to understand the world has found (only) ' a corpse, and whoever has found a corpse ' is superior to the world.” ’

(57) Jesus said, “The kingdom of the father is like ' a man who had [good] seed. ³⁵ His enemy came by night **43** and sowed weeds among the good seed. ' The man did not allow them to pull up ' the weeds; he said to them, 'I am afraid that ' you will go intending to pull up the weeds ⁵ and pull up the wheat along with them.' ' For on the day of the harvest the weeds will be plainly visible, ' and they will be pulled up and burned.”

(58) Jesus said, ' “Blessed is the man who has suffered ' and found life.”

(59) Jesus said, “Take heed of the ¹⁰ living one while you are alive, lest you die ' and seek to see him and be unable ' to do so.”

(60) <They saw> a Samaritan carrying ' a lamb on his way to Judea. He said to his disciples, “That man is round about the ¹⁵ lamb.”

They said to him, “So that he may ' kill it and eat it.”

He said to them, “While ' it is alive, he will not eat it, but only when he has ' killed it and it has become a corpse.”

They said to him, ' “He cannot do so otherwise.”

He said to them, ²⁰ “You too, look for a ' place for yourselves within repose, ' lest you become a corpse and be ' eaten.”

(61) Jesus said, “Two will rest ' on a bed: the one will die, and the other ²⁵ will live.”

Salome said, “Who are you, ' man, that you have come up on ' my couch and eaten from my ' table?”

Jesus said to her, “I am he ' who exists from the undivided. ³⁰ I was given some of the things of my father.”

(< . . . > “I ' am your disciple.”

(< . . . > “Therefore I say, ' if he is

(60) That man is round about the lamb : *text erroneous; correct text possibly* Why does that man carry the lamb around?

(61) that you . . . have come : *the manuscript has (erroneously)* that you as from one have come

(< . . . > “I am your disciple.” (< . . . > : *some words have been erroneously omitted; correct text probably* <Salome said,> “I am your disciple.” <Jesus said to her>

πε † εϕωηϑ` ϕηαμοϑζ | οϑοειν ζοταν δε εϕωηανϕωπε εϕ|πηω
ϕηαμοϑζ ḿκακε

*p. 44¹
(92 L.)

(62) πεχε ιϑ̄ χε ει||χω ḿηαμϑστηριον ḿηε[τḿπϕα] ḿ* [να]μϑστη-
ριον πε[τ]ε τεκ`οϑηαμνααϕ | ḿḿτρε τεκζβοϑρ` ειμε χε εσρ οϑ

(63) πεχε ιϑ̄ | χε νεϑḿ οϑρωμε ḿπλοϑσιος ευḿταϕ ḿ|μαϑ ḿζαζ ḿ-

5 χρημα πεχαϕ χε †ηαḿχρω ḿ||ηαχρημα χεκαας εειναχο ḿ-

ταω[ζ]ϑζ | ḿτατωβε ḿταμοϑζ ḿηαεζωρ ḿκαρ`|ποσ ϕινα χε ηιḿ βρωζ

ḿλααϑ ηαειηειηεϕμεεϑε εροοϑ ζḿ πεϑζητ` αϑω ζḿ | τοϑϕη

10 ετḿμαϑ αϑμοϑ πετεϑḿμαχε || ḿμοϑ` μαρεϑ`σωτḿ

(64) πεχε ιϑ̄ χε οϑρω|με νεϑḿταϕ ζḿϕḿμο αϑω ḿταρεϑσβ|τε
ḿπδιπνον αϑχοοϑ ḿπεϑζḿζḿλ ϕ|ηηα εϕηατωζḿ ḿḿϕḿ-

15 μοει αϑβωκ` ḿ|πϕορπ` πεχαϕ ηαϑ` χε παχοεισ τωζḿ || ḿ-

μοκ` πεχαϑ χε οϑḿταει ζḿζοḿτ` | αζεηεḿπορος σεḿηηηϑ

ϕαροει εροϑζε | †ηαβωκ` ḿταοϑεζ σαζνε ηαϑ †ḿπαραι|τει ḿ-

πδιπνον αϑβωκ` ϕα κεοϑα πε|χαϑ ηαϑ` χε απαχοεισ τωζḿ ḿ-

20 μοκ` || πεχαϑ ηαϑ χε αειτοοϑ οϑηει αϑω σε|ḿραιτει ḿμοει ḿ-

οϑζημερα †ηασḿϕε α(η) | αϑει ϕα κεοϑα πεχαϑ ηαϑ` χε πα-

χο`|εισ τωζḿ ḿμοκ` πεχαϑ ηαϑ χε παϕβηρ` | ηαḿ ϕε-

25 λεετ αϑω αηοκ` ετḿηαḿ διπνον || †ηαϕι αν †ḿπαραιτει

ḿπδιπνον` αϑ`βωκ` ϕα κεοϑα πεχαϑ ηαϑ χε παχοεισ | τωζḿ ḿ-

μοκ` πεχαϑ ηαϑ` χε αειτοοϑ ḿ|οϑκωḿη εειβηκ` αχι ḿ-

30 ϕωḿ †ηαϕι|αν †ḿπαραιτει αϑει ḿβιπζḿζḿλ αϑχο||οσ

33 i.e. ḿοϑοειν.

(62) 44:1 i.e. ηαααϑ. 2 Sah. ḿπḿτρε.

(63) 7 Sah. ḿηαḿ.

(64) 20 poss. i.e. ḿοϑηει. 25–28 i.e. †ηαϕει... †ηαϕει.

32 † εϕωηϑ : emend to εϕωηϕ (thus Guillaumont et al., with hesitation) : εϕωηϑϑ em. Guillaumont et al. (Dutch edn.), with hesitation

(62) 34 πεχε read in photographs 35–44:1 rest. Guillaumont et al.

(63) 44:5 [ζ] : cancelled by the copyist

(64) 22 χο` written over erasure of ϕβηρ (the apostrophe, which is not erased, belonged to ϕβηρ) : cf. end of the following line παϕβηρ` 24 ḿ διπνον : ḿ διπνηει em. Kasser, with hesitation

destroyed he will be filled ' with light, but if he is ' divided, he will be filled with darkness.’

(62) Jesus said, ‘‘It ³⁵ is to those [who are worthy of **44** my] mysteries that I tell my mysteries. Do not let your (sg.) left hand know ' what your (sg.) right hand is going to do.’

(63) Jesus said, ‘ ‘‘There was a rich man who had ' much money. He said, ‘I shall put ⁵ my money to use so that I may sow, reap, ' plant, and fill my storehouse with produce, ' with the result that I shall lack nothing.’ Such were ' his intentions, but ' that same night he died. Let him who has ears ¹⁰ hear.’

(64) Jesus said, ‘ ‘‘A man ' had received visitors. And when he had prepared ' the dinner, he sent his servant to 'invite the guests. He went to ' the first one and said to him, ‘My master invites ¹⁵ you.’ He said, ‘I have claims ' against some merchants. They are coming to me this evening. ' I must go and give them my orders. I ask to be excused ' from the dinner.’ He went to another ' and said to him, ‘My master has invited you.’ ²⁰ He said to him, ‘I have just bought a house and ' am required for the day. I shall not have any spare time.’ ' He went to another and said to him, ‘My master ' invites you.’ He said to him, ‘My friend ' is going to get married, and I am to prepare the banquet. ²⁵ I shall not be able to come. I ask to be excused from the dinner.’ ' He went to another and said to him, ‘My master ' invites you.’ He said to him, ‘I have just bought ' a farm, and I am on my way to collect the rent. I shall not be able to come. ' I ask to be excused.’ The servant returned and said

- απεχοεις σε νεντακ`ταζμοϋ α|πδιπνον αυπαραιτει πεσε
 πχοεις μ|πεαζμζαλ σε βωκ`επσα νβολ ανζιο|οϋε νετκναζε ε-
 35 ροϋϋ ενιοϋ σεκαασ | εϋναρ`διπνει νρεϋτοϋϋ μν νεωο||τ[ε σε-
 p. 45¹ ναβ]ωκ αν`εζοϋν`εντοποσ μπαϊωτ`
 (93 L.) (65) πεχαϋ σε οϋρωμε νχρη[στο]ς νεϋντ[αϋ] | ννομα νελοο-
 λε αϋτα`αϋ νζ`νοϋοϋειε | ψινα εϋναρ`ζωβ`εροϋ`νϋχι μπεκαρϋ-
 5 ποσ ντοοτοϋ αϋχοϋϋ μπεαζμζαλ σε||καασ ενοϋοϋειε να†ναϋ`
 μπκαρποσ μ|πμα νελοολε αγεμαzte μπεαζμζαλ | αυζιοϋε
 εροϋ`νε κεκοϋει πε νσεμοϋτϋ` | απζμζαλ βωκ`αϋχοοσ ε-
 10 πεϋχοεις πε|σε πεϋχοεις σε μεωακ`† μπεϋ`σοϋω||-
 νοϋ αϋχοϋϋ νκεζμζαλ ανοϋοϋειε ζιοϋε επκεοϋα τοτε
 απχοεις χοϋϋ μ|πεϋψηρε πεχαϋ`σε μεωακ`σεναψιπε | ζητϋ`μ-
 παψηρε αν`οϋοϋειε ετμμαϋ επει | σεσοϋν σε ντοϋ πε πεκλη-
 15 ρονομοσ μ|πμα νελοολε αυβοϋϋ`αϋμοϋτϋ` | πετεϋμ μαα-
 σε μμοϋ`μαρεϋ`σωτμ
 (66) πε|σε ιϋ σε ματσεβοει επωνε παει νταϋ|στοϋ`εβολ`νδι
 νετ`κωτ` ντοϋ πε πωψ|νε νκωζ
 20 (67) πεσε ιϋ σε πετσοϋν μπητηϋ` || εϋρ`δρωζ οϋααϋ<ϋ>ρ`δρωζ
 μπμα τηρηϋ` |
 (68) πεσε ιϋ σε ντωτν ζμμακαριοσ ζοτα(ν) | εϋψανμεστε τηϋ-
 τν νσερ`διωκε μ|μωτν αυω σεναζε αν ετοποσ ζμ πμα | ενταϋ-
 διωκε μμωτν ζραϊ νζητϋ`

(65) 45:7 i.e. ενε κεκοϋει πε.

(66) 18 i.e. πωνε νκωζ.

34 διπνει read in photographs 35 rest. Emmel : [- - - εϋναβ]ωκ Doriesse, Guillaumont et al.

(65) 45:9 † μπεϋ`σοϋω||νοϋ : emend to μποϋσοϋωμϋ (thus Guillaumont et al., with hesitation)

(67) 20 <ϋ> Layton εϋρ`δρωζ οϋα (i.e. ννοα) αϋρ`δρωζ Emmel² 142 n. 5

(68) 23-24 Guillaumont et al. 39 read as a corruption for "you will find a place, where you will not be persecuted," cf. Haenchen² 27 : Quecke reads (with hesitation) as a corruption for "no place will be found, where you have not been persecuted"

³⁰ to his master, ‘Those whom you invited to ‘ the dinner have asked to be excused.’ The master said to ‘ his servant, ‘Go outside to the streets ‘ and bring back those whom you happen to meet, so that ‘ they may dine.’ Businessmen and merchants ³⁵ [will] not enter the places of my father.’’ 45

(65) He said, ‘‘There was a good man who owned ‘ a vineyard. He leased it to tenant farmers ‘ so that they might work it and he might collect the produce ‘ from them. He sent his servant so that ⁵ the tenants might give him the produce of ‘ the vineyard. They seized his servant ‘ and beat him, all but killing him. ‘ The servant went back and told his master. ‘ The master said, ‘Perhaps he did not recognize them.’ ¹⁰ He sent another servant. The tenants beat ‘ this one as well. Then the owner sent ‘ his son and said, ‘Perhaps they will show respect ‘ to my son.’ Because the tenants ‘ knew that it was he who was the heir ¹⁵ to the vineyard, they seized him and killed him. ‘ Let him who has ears hear.’’ ‘

(66) Jesus said, ‘‘Show me the stone which ‘ the builders have rejected. That one is the ‘ cornerstone.’’

(67) Jesus said, ‘‘If one who knows the all ²⁰ still feels a personal deficiency, he is completely deficient.’’ ‘

(68) Jesus said, ‘‘Blessed are you when ‘ you are hated and persecuted. ‘ Wherever you have been persecuted ‘ they will find no place.’’

(65) Perhaps he did not recognize them : *text erroneus: correct text* Perhaps they did not recognize him

(69) Jesus ²⁵ said, “Blessed are they who have been persecuted ' within themselves. It is they ' who have truly come to know the father. ' Blessed are the hungry, for ' the belly of him who desires will be filled.”

(70) Jesus said, ³⁰ “That which you have will save you ' if you bring it forth from yourselves. ' That which you do not have within you [will] kill you ' if you do not have it within you.” '

(71) Jesus said, “I shall [destroy this] house, ³⁵ and no one will be able to build it [. . .]” **46**

(72) [A man said] to him, “Tell my brothers ' to divide my father’s possessions ' with me.”

He said to him, “O man, who ' has made me a divider?”

He turned to ⁵ his disciples and said to them, “I am not a divider, ' am I?”

(73) Jesus said, “The harvest ' is great but the laborers are few. Beseech the lord, therefore, to send out laborers ' to the harvest.”

(74) He said, “O lord, there are ¹⁰ many around the drinking trough, but there is nothing in ' the cistern.”

(75) Jesus said, “Many are standing ' at the door, but it is the solitary who will enter ' the bridal chamber.”

(76) Jesus said, ' “The kingdom of the father is like a ¹⁵ merchant who had a consignment of merchandise ' and who discovered a pearl. That merchant ' was shrewd. He sold the merchandise ' and bought the pearl alone for himself. ' You too, seek ²⁰ his unfailing and

(76) seek his : *text erroneous; correct text seek the*

ΕΦΜΗΝ` ΕΒΟΛ | ΠΜΑ ΕΜΑΡΕ ΧΟΟΛΕC ΤΖΝΟ ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΕΜΑΥ | ΕΟΥΩΜ` ΟΥ-
ΔΕ ΜΑΡΕ ΥΨΗΤ ΤΑΚΟ

(77) ΠΕΧΕ | ΙC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΤΗ-

25 ΡΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ` ΠΕ ΠΤΗΡΥ` Ν̄ΤΑ || ΠΤΗΡΥ` ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤ` ΑΥΩ Ν̄-
ΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΥ` | ΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΟΕΙ ΠΩΖ Ν̄ΝΟΥΨΕ ΑΝΟΚ` | †Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΚΙ Μ̄-
ΠΩΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ Μ̄ΜΑΥ

(78) ΠΕΧΕ ΙC ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ | ΑΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤCΩΨΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΥΚΑΨ

30 || ΕΚΚΙΜ Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΖΙΤ̄Μ ΠΤΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΑΥ | ΕΥΡΩΜ[Ε Ε]ῩΝΨΤΗΝ ΕΥΒΗΝ
*p. 47¹ ΖΙΩΩΒ` | Ν̄[ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ] Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΩΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤ̄ΜΜΕΓΙ*CΤΑΝΟC ΝΑΕΙ ΕΝ[Ε]-
(95 L.) ΨΤ̄ΗΝ Ε[Τ]ΒΗΝ ΖΙΩΟΥ ΑΥΩ CΕΝ[Α]ΨC̄CΟΥΝ | ΤΜΕ ΑΝ

5 (79) ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜ[Ε] ΝΑΥ Ζ̄Μ | ΠΜΗΨΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΕΙΑΤC [Ν̄]ΘΖΗ Ν̄||ΤΑΖΚΙ
ΖΑΡΟΚ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΚΙ[Β]Ε ΕΝΤΑΖ|CΑ[[Ζ]]ΝΟΥΨΚ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑ[C] ΧΕ ΝΕ|ΕΙΑΤΟΥ
Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΖCΩΤ̄Μ Α`|ΠΛΟΓΟC Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΥ | Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜΕ ΟῩΝ Ζ̄Ν-
10 ΖΟΥΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ || Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΕΕΙΑΤC̄ Ν̄ΘΖΗ ΤΑ|ΕΙ ΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠCΩ
ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΚΙΒΕ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΜΠΟΥ|† ΕΡΩΤΕ

(80) ΠΕΧΕ ΙC ΧΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΖCΟΥΩΝ | ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΑΨΖΕ ΕΠCΩ-

15 ΜΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΖΕ | ΔΕ ΕΠCΩΜΑ ΠΚΟCΜΟC Μ̄ΠΨΑ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` || ΑΝ`

(77) PAP. P. OXY. I (COMBINES THIS [COPTIC 46:27–28] WITH SAYING 30, CF. GREEK SAYING 30).

(78–114) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND.

22 υψητ : i.e. υητ (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(77) 26 i.e. ηουψε.

(78) 31 i.e. ζωωυ. 47:2 i.e. σεναψσουν or σεναψσοων.

(79) 4 i.e. ηην. 10 i.e. ηην. 11 i.e. ηπσω.

(78) 32 η[θε η . . .] Emmel : also possible is η[μαυ . . .] (thus Suarez) [. . . νετ]η-
sim. Guillaumont et al. 47:2 ψc̄ : c̄ added above the line poss. corrupt

(78–79) 1–8 -cτaнoc to epou : these eight lines written in a different script

(79) 6 [[z]] cancelled by the copyist 7–8 α:πλoγoc pap. 9 original script resumes
at zη ουμε 11 εμπου : ετε ηπου is expected, poss. emend thus

(80) 13–14 επcωμα . . . επcωμα . . . : ευπτωμα . . . ευπτωμα em. Guillaumont et al.
(French and German edns.)

enduring treasure ' where no moth comes near ' to devour and no worm destroys.'''

(77) Jesus said, "It is I who am the light which is above ' them all. It is I who am the all. ²⁵ From me did the all come forth, and unto me did the all ' extend. Split a piece of wood, and I ' am there. Lift up the stone, and you will ' find me there."

(78) Jesus said, "Why ' have you come out into the desert? To see a reed ³⁰ shaken by the wind? And to see ' a man clothed in fine garments ' [like your] kings and your great **47** men? Upon them are the fine garments, ' and they are unable to discern ' the truth."

(79) A woman from the crowd said to him, ' "Blessed are the womb which ⁵ bore you and the breasts which ' nourished you."

He said to [her], ' "Blessed are those who have heard ' the word of the father and have truly kept it. ' For there will be days ¹⁰ when you (pl.) will say, 'Blessed are the womb ' which has not conceived and the breasts which have not ' given milk.'"

(80) Jesus said, "He who has recognized ' the world has found the body, but he who has found ' the body is superior to the world."

(77) Greek frg. transposes part of this saying to saying 30 (see above)

(81) πεχε ιϛ χε πενταζϛ ρ̄μμαο μα|ρεϛϛ ρρο αγω πετεϿνταϿ
 ἡουδυνα|μικ μαρεϿαρνα

(82) πεχε ιϛ χε πετζηη| εροει εϿζηη ετσατε αγω πετοϿηϿ |
 ἡμοει ϿοϿηϿ ἡτμη̄τερο

20 (83) πεχε ιϛ || χε νζικων σεοϿονζ εβολ ἡπρω|με αγω ποϿοειν
 ετ̄νηζτου ϿζηηϿ | ζ̄η οικων ἡποϿοειν ἡπειωτϿ Ͽνα|δωλπϿ
 εβολ αγω τεϿζικων ζηηϿ | εβολ ζιτ̄η πεϿϿοϿοειν

25 (84) πεχε ιϛ ἡζο||οϿ ετετ̄νηναϿ επετ̄νεινε ψαρετ̄η|ρα-
 ψε ζοταν δε ετετ̄ηψανναϿ | ανετ̄ηζικων ἡταζψωπε ζι
 τετνε|ζη ουτε μαϿμοϿ ουτε μαϿοϿωνζ | εβολ τετναϿιζα οϿηϿ

30 (85) πεχε ιϛ χε || ἡτα αδαμ ψωπε εβολ ζ̄ηνοϿνοσ | ἡδυναμικ
 ἡη οϿνοσ ἡμη̄τρ̄μμα|ο αγω ἡπεϿψωπε ε|Ͽἡ|πψα ἡμω|
 τ̄η νεϿαζιοσ γαρ πε [νεϿναχι] †π[ε] | αν ἡπμοϿ

*p. 48^l
 (96 L.) (86) πεχε ιϛ χε [νβαψορ οϿ]*[ἡτ]αϿ νοϿ[β]ηβ αγω ἡζαλατε
 οϿη̄ταϿ | ἡμαϿ ἡπεϿμαζ πψηρε δε ἡπρωμε | ἡηταϿ ἡη|οϿμα
 ερικε ἡτεϿαπε ἡϿ|ἡτον ἡη|οϿϿ

5 (87) πεχαϿ ἡβι ιϛ χε οϿταλα||πωρον πε πσωμα εταψε ἡοϿσ-
 μαϿ | αγω οϿταλαιπωροσ τε τϿψϿχηεταψε | ἡηαει ἡπσναϿ

(88) πεχε ιϛ χε ἡαγγελοσ | ηη ψαρωτ̄η ἡη ἡπροφητησ αγω
 10 σε|να† ηητ̄η ἡηετεϿη̄τη̄ησε αγωϿ || ἡτωτ̄η ζωτϿθη̄τη̄η
 τετ̄η̄ηε | ταϿ ναϿ ἡτετ̄ησοοσ ηητ̄η χε αψ ἡζοοϿ πετοϿη̄ηη
 ἡσεχι πετε πωοϿ |

(89) πεχε ιϛ χε ετβε οϿ τετ̄ηειωε ἡπσα η|βολ ἡπποτη-
 15 Ͽιον τετ̄η̄ηνοει αν χε || πενταζταμιο ἡπσα ηζοϿη̄ητοϿονϿ |
 πενταϿταμιο ἡπσα ηβολϿ

(85) 30 i.e. ζ̄η οϿνοσ. 33 i.e. ενεϿαζιοσ (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(86) 48:3 i.e. ἡοϿμα.

(88) 12 i.e. πετε πωοϿ πε : cf. Layton *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 182.

(84) 28 μαϿ- . . . μαϿ- . . . : expected is εμαϿ- . . . μαϿ- . . .

(86) 34-48:1 cf. Matt 8:20, Luke 9:58 αἱ ἀλύπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν 48:1 νοϿ :
 reading of pap. cannot be νεϿ 2 πεϿ : reading of pap. prob. cannot be ποϿ

(87) 7 σναϿ : η altered from false start of α

(88) 11 ἡτετ̄η : ἡσε em. Leipoldt, with hesitation

(81) ¹⁵ Jesus said, “Let him who has grown rich ' be king, and let him who possesses power ' renounce it.”

(82) Jesus said, “He who is near ' me is near the fire, and he who is far ' from me is far from the kingdom.”

(83) Jesus said, ²⁰ “The images are manifest to man, ' but the light in them remains concealed ' in the image of the light of the father. He will ' become manifest, but his image will remain concealed ' by his light.”

(84) Jesus said, ²⁵ “When you see your likeness, you ' rejoice. But when you see ' your images which came into being before you, ' and which neither die nor become manifest, ' how much you will have to bear!”

(85) Jesus said, ³⁰ “Adam came into being from a great ' power and a great wealth, ' but he did not become worthy of you. ' For had he been worthy, [he would] not [have experienced] ' death.”

(86) Jesus said, “[The foxes **48** have their holes] and the birds have ' their nests, but the son of man ' has no place to lay his head and ' rest.”

(87) Jesus said, “Wretched ⁵ is the body that is dependent upon a body, ' and wretched is the soul that is dependent ' on these two.”

(88) Jesus said, “The angels ' and the prophets will come to you and ' give to you those things you (already) have. And ¹⁰ you too, give them those things which you have, ' and say to yourselves, ‘When ' will they come and take what is theirs?’ ” '

(89) Jesus said, “Why do you wash the outside ' of the cup? Do you not realize that ¹⁵ he who made the inside is the same one ' who made the outside?”

- (90) πεχε ιης | χε αμνειτῆ ψαροει` χε ουχρηστος | πε πα-
 20 ναζβ` αγω ταμῆτχοεις ουρῆραψ τε αγω τετναζε † αγαναγ-
 πασις νη||τῆ
 (91) πεχαυ ναυ` χε χοος ερον χε | ῆτκ nim` ψινα εναῤπιστευε
 εροκ` πε|χαυ ναυ χε τετῆῤπιραζε ῆπζο ῆτπε | ῆῆ πκαζ αγω
 25 πετῆπετῆῆμο εβολ` | ῆπετῆσοϱωνυ` αγω πεεκαιρος τε||τῆ-
 σοοϱν αν ῆῤπιραζε ῆμοϱ`
 (92) πεχε | ις χε ψινε αγω τετναβινε αλλα νε|τατετῆ-
 χνοϱει εροϱυ ῆῆιζοϱυ εῆπι|χοϱυ νητῆ ῆφοϱυ ετῆμαϱ τενοϱ |
 30 εζναῖ εχοϱυ αγω τετῆψινε αν` ῆσω||ϱυ
 (93) <πεχε ις χε> ῆπῤ† πετοϱααβ ῆνοϱζοϱ` χεκας | νοϱνο-
 χοϱ ετκοπρια ῆπῤνοϱε ῆῆ|μαργαριτη[ς ῆ]νεψαϱ ψινα χε
 νοϱααϱ` | ῆλα[.2½]
 (94) [πεχ]ε ις πετψινε ψναβινε | [πεττωζῆ ε]ζοϱν σε-
 35 ναϱων ναϱ` ||
 *p. 49¹ (95) [πεχε ις χε] εψωπε ουῆτῆτῆ ζοῆτ` * ῆπῤ† ετῆησε αλ-
 (97 L.) λα † [ῆμοϱ] ῆπετ[ε]||τναχιτοϱ αν ῆτοοτϱ`
 (96) π[εχ]ε ις χε τῆῆ|τερο ῆπειωτ` εστῆτψ[η αυ]ςζιμε | ας-
 5 χι ῆνοϱκοϱει ῆσαειρ α[ςζ]ϱπϱ` ζῆ || ουψωτε ασααϱ ῆζῆνο[ς ῆ]νο-
 εικ` | πετεϱῆμααχε ῆμοϱ μα[ρε]ψϱωτῆ` |

(96) 49:4 i.e. εασι: cf. sayings nos. 57, 76, 97, etc. 5 i.e. ῆοεικ.

(90) 17 χρηστος : χρηστων em. Guillaumont et al. (French and German edns.) 19 †
 αγαναγπασις : emend to αγαναπαγσις (thus Guillaumont et al. [French edn.]

(91) 20 χοος^v : uninscribed space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus

(93) 31 κοπρια : ι written over the false start of α 32 ααϱ : ααϱ is expected 33
 ῆλα[- - -] : of ῆ, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored (also possible is ῆ); λ : or else
 α restoration uncertain : λα[χτε - - -] Suarez : λα[αϱ - - -] "zunichte" Leipoldt², with
 hesitation : λα[κζ - - -] or poss. λα[κῆ - - -] Layton, with hesitation (cf. Lev 2:6 ῆρ
 ῆλακζ Bohairic = εῖρε ῆλακῆ λακῆ Sahidic)

(94) 34 cf. Matt 7:8, Luke 11:10 τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοίγησεται

(95) 35 rest. Leipoldt² ζοῆτ : the following leaf was entirely uninscribed (front and
 back) and has not been counted in the pagination : poss. ζοῆτ < - - - >, cf. above p.
 5 49:1 [ῆμοϱ] Layton : also possible is [ζοῆτ`] (thus Suarez)

(96) 4 cf. Matt 13:33, Luke 13:20 (ἐν)έκρυψεν 5 rest. MacRae

(97) πεχε ι̅ς̅ χε τμ̅ν̅τερο̅ μ̅πε̅|ιωτ̅ ε|στ̅ν̅|τω̅ν̅ λ̅υ̅ς̅ζι̅με̅ ε̅ς̅ϕ̅ι̅ ζ̅α
 10 ο̅υ̅δ̅λ̅|μ̅ε̅ι̅| ε̅ϕ̅|μ̅ε̅ζ̅ ν̅ν̅ο̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ ε̅ς̅μ̅ο̅ω̅ε̅ ζ̅ι̅ τ̅ε̅|ζ̅ι̅η̅ || ε̅ς̅ο̅υ̅η̅ο̅υ̅
 απ̅μα̅α̅χ̅ε̅ μ̅π̅ε̅λ̅μ̅|ε̅|ε̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅|ω̅β̅π̅ απ̅νο̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ ω̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ ν̅ς̅ω̅ς̅ |ζ̅| τ̅ε̅-
 ζ̅ι̅η̅ ν̅ε̅ς̅ς̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ α̅ν̅ π̅ε̅ ν̅ε̅ μ̅π̅ε̅ς̅ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ | ε̅ζ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅ ν̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ς̅π̅ω̅ζ̅ ε̅-
 15 ζ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ ε̅π̅ε̅ς̅η̅ε̅ι̅ | α̅ς̅κ̅α̅ π̅ε̅λ̅μ̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ α̅π̅ε̅ς̅η̅τ̅ α̅ς̅ζ̅ε̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ϕ̅ ε̅ϕ̅||ω̅ο̅γ̅ε̅ι̅τ̅

(98) πεχε ι̅ς̅ τμ̅ν̅τερο̅ μ̅πει̅ωτ̅ | ε̅ς̅τ̅ν̅τ̅ω̅ν̅ ε̅ϕ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ ε̅ϕ̅ο̅ϕ̅ω̅ϕ̅ ε̅-
 μ̅ο̅υ̅τ̅ | ο̅υ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ μ̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅α̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ α̅ϕ̅ψ̅ω̅λ̅μ̅ ν̅|τ̅ς̅η̅ϕ̅ε̅ ζ̅μ̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅η̅ε̅ι̅
 20 α̅ϕ̅ς̅ο̅τ̅ς̅ ν̅τ̅ς̅ο̅ χ̅ε̅|κ̅α̅α̅ς̅ ε̅ϕ̅ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ χ̅ε̅ τ̅ε̅ϕ̅ε̅ι̅χ̅ ν̅α̅τ̅ω̅κ̅ || ε̅-
 ζ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ α̅ϕ̅ζ̅ω̅τ̅β̅ μ̅π̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅α̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ |

(99) πεχε μ̅μα̅θ̅η̅ς̅ ν̅α̅ϕ̅ χ̅ε̅ ν̅ε̅κ̅ ν̅ς̅ν̅η̅ | μ̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅κ̅μ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ς̅ε̅α̅ζ̅ε̅ρ̅α̅τ̅ο̅υ̅
 ζ̅ι̅ π̅ς̅α̅ ν̅|β̅ο̅λ̅ π̅ε̅χ̅α̅ϕ̅ ν̅α̅ϕ̅ χ̅ε̅ ν̅ε̅τ̅ν̅η̅ε̅ε̅ι̅μ̅α̅ | ε̅τ̅ρ̅ε̅ μ̅π̅ο̅ϕ̅ω̅ϕ̅ μ̅-
 25 π̅α̅ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ || ν̅α̅ς̅ν̅η̅ μ̅ν̅ τ̅α̅μ̅α̅α̅ ς̅τ̅ο̅ο̅ϕ̅ π̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅ν̅α̅|β̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅-
 ζ̅ο̅υ̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅μ̅ν̅τερο̅ μ̅π̅α̅ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ |

(100) α̅υ̅τ̅ς̅ε̅β̅ε̅ ι̅ς̅ α̅ϕ̅ν̅ο̅υ̅β̅ α̅ϕ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅χ̅α̅ϕ̅ ν̅α̅ϕ̅ | χ̅ε̅ ν̅ε̅τ̅η̅π̅ ακ̅α̅τ̅-
 30 ς̅α̅ρ̅ ς̅ε̅ψ̅ι̅τ̅ε̅ μ̅μ̅ο̅ν̅ ν̅|ν̅ψ̅ω̅μ̅ π̅ε̅χ̅α̅ϕ̅ ν̅α̅ϕ̅ χ̅ε̅ † ν̅α̅ κ̅α̅ι̅ς̅α̅ρ̅ || ν̅-
 κ̅α̅ι̅ς̅α̅ρ̅ † ν̅α̅ π̅ν̅ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ μ̅π̅π̅ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ | α̅ϕ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ω̅ε̅ι̅ π̅ε̅ μ̅α̅τ̅ν̅-
 ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅ϕ̅ |

(101) <πεχε ι̅ς̅> π̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ε̅ς̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅ε̅|ιωτ̅| ν̅ αν̅ μ̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅ϕ̅|μ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ν̅-
 τ̅α̅ζ̅ε̅ ϕ̅ν̅α̅ψ̅ϕ̅ μ̅[α̅θ̅η̅|η̅ς̅ ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅ λ̅(ν̅) | α̅ϕ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ϕ̅ρ̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅|ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ α̅ν̅
 35 μ̅|ν̅ τ̅ε̅ϕ̅||μ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ ν̅τ̅α̅ζ̅ε̅ ϕ̅ν̅α̅ψ̅ϕ̅ μ̅[α̅θ̅η̅ς̅ ν̅α̅|ε̅ι̅ ε̅αν̅ τ̅α̅μ̅α̅α̅ϕ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅
 p. 50^l ν̅τ̅α̅ς̅| . . . 8:9 . . .]| . . |ο̅λ̅ τ̅α̅|μ̅α̅α̅|ϕ̅ δ̅ε̅ μ̅μ̅ε̅ α̅ς̅† ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅ μ̅π̅ω̅ν̅ζ̅ |
 (98 L.)

(102) πεχε ι̅ς̅ [χε̅ ο̅]ϕ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ ν̅α̅ϕ̅ μ̅φ̅α̅ρ̅ι̅ς̅α̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅ | ε̅ϕ̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ [ν̅-
 ν̅|ο̅ϕ̅ο̅γ̅ζ̅ο̅ρ̅ ε̅ϕ̅ ν̅κ̅ο̅τ̅κ̅ ν̅ι̅χ̅ν̅ π̅ο̅υ̅|ο̅ν̅ε̅ϕ̅ ν̅ζ̅[ν̅]ν̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅ϕ̅ χ̅ε̅ ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅
 5 ϕ̅ο̅ϕ̅ω̅μ̅ α̅ν̅ || ο̅υ̅τ̅ε̅ ϕ̅κ̅[ω̅] αν̅ ν̅η̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅ϕ̅ ε̅ο̅ϕ̅ω̅μ̅

(99) 23 ν̅η̅ε̅ε̅ι̅μ̅α̅ : Sah. ζ̅μ̅ π̅ε̅ι̅μ̅α̅. 24 i.e. ε̅τ̅ε̅ι̅ρ̅ε̅.

(101) 32-34 i.e. π̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ε̅ς̅τ̅ε̅ . . . π̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ϕ̅ρ̅ε̅.

(102) 50:3 i.e. ν̅ο̅ϕ̅ο̅γ̅ζ̅ο̅ρ̅. 4 i.e. ν̅ζ̅ε̅ν̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅ϕ̅.

(97) 8 ε̅λ̅|μ̅ε̅ε̅ι̅| : ε̅ written over the false start of λ̅ 9 rest. Layton : ζ̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅|
 Suarez 13 <ε̅ι̅μ̅η̅> ε̅ζ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅ Lefort in Garitte 309

(101) 32 <πεχε ι̅ς̅> Guillaumont et al. 51 33 ζ̅ε̅ : ε̅ added above the line cf.
 Luke 14:27 ε̅ἵναί μου μαθητής 36 ν̅τ̅α̅ς̅[† ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅μ̅] Layton, with hesitation 50:1 poss.
 [π̅ε̅]ο̅λ̅ (thus Emmel)

(97) Jesus said, “The kingdom of the [father] is like ' a certain woman who was carrying a [jar] ' full of meal. While she was walking [on the] road, ¹⁰ still some distance from home, the handle of the jar broke ' and the meal emptied out behind her [on] the road. ' She did not realize it; she had noticed no ' accident. When she reached her house, ' she set the jar down and found it ¹⁵ empty.”

(98) Jesus said, “The kingdom of the father ' is like a certain man who wanted to kill ' a powerful man. In his own house he drew ' his sword and stuck it into the wall ' in order to find out whether his hand could carry through. ²⁰ Then he slew the powerful man.” '

(99) The disciples said to him, “Your brothers ' and your mother are standing outside.” '

He said to them, “Those here ' who do the will of my father are ²⁵ my brothers and my mother. It is they who will ' enter the kingdom of my father.” '

(100) They showed Jesus a gold coin and said to him, ' “Caesar’s men demand taxes from us.” '

He said to them, “Give Caesar what belongs ³⁰ to Caesar, give God what belongs to God, ' and give me what is mine.” '

(101) <Jesus said,> “Whoever does not hate his [father] and his ' mother as I do cannot become a [disciple] to me. ' And whoever does [not] love his [father and] his ³⁵ mother as I do cannot become a [disciple to] ' me. For my mother [. . .], **50** but [my] true [mother] gave me life.” '

(102) Jesus said, “Woe to the pharisees, for ' they are like a dog sleeping in the ' manger of oxen, for neither does he eat ⁵ nor does he [let] the oxen eat.”

(101) For my mother [. . .] : *possibly*, For my mother [gave me falsehood]

(103) πεχε ῑϛ | χε ουμᾱ[κα]ριος πε πρωμε παει ετσοου(ν) | χε
 10 ζ[̄ν̄ αψ]̄ μ̄μερος ενλησθης νηυ εζου(ν) | ψινᾱ [εϋ]̄νατωοῡν̄
 ν̄ιϋω[[ζ]]ουζ̄ ν̄τεϋ̄ μ̄ν̄τε̄[ρο] ν̄ιμοϋρ̄ μ̄μοϋ εχ̄ν̄ τεϋ̄ ||†πε ζ[α]̄ τεζη
 εν̄πατοϋει εζοῡν

(104) πε|χαϋ̄ ν̄[ι]̄ϛ̄ χε αμοϋ̄ ν̄τ̄ν̄ψληλ̄ μ̄ποοῡ | αϋω̄ ν̄τ̄ν̄ρ̄-
 15 ν̄ηστεϋε πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε οῡ γαρ̄ | πε πνωβε̄ ν̄ταειααϋ̄ η̄ ν̄-
 ταϋχρο̄ εροεῑ | ζ̄ν̄ οῡ̄ αλλᾱ ζοταν̄ ερω̄αν̄ π̄νυμφιος̄ εῑ || εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄
 π̄νυμφων̄ τοτε̄ μαροϋνη̄|στεϋε̄ αϋω̄ μαροϋψληλ̄

(105) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε πε|τ̄νᾱ σοϋων̄ πειωτ̄ μ̄ν̄ τ̄μααϋ̄ σεναμοϋ|τε̄
 εροϋ̄ χε̄ π̄ωηρε̄ μ̄πορη̄

(106) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε | ζοταν̄ ετετ̄ν̄ψᾱρ̄ π̄σναϋ̄ οῡᾱ τετ̄ναψω̄||πε̄ ν̄-
 20 ψηρε̄ μ̄πρωμε̄ αϋω̄ ετετ̄ν̄ψαν̄|χοος̄ χε̄ π̄τοοῡ π̄ωωνε̄ εβολ̄
 ϋνα|π̄ωωνε̄

(107) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο̄ εστ̄ν̄τω(ν) | ευρωμε̄ ν̄ψωσ̄ εϋ̄ν̄ταϋ̄ μ̄-
 25 μαϋ̄ ν̄ψε̄ ν̄εσοοῡ̄ αοῡᾱ ν̄ζητοῡ σωρμ̄ ε̄π̄νοσ̄ πε̄ || αϋκω̄ μ̄-
 π̄στεψιτ̄ αϋψινε̄ ν̄σᾱ π̄ιοϋᾱ | ψαν̄τεϋζε̄ εροϋ̄ ν̄ταρεϋζε̄ πε-
 χαϋ̄ | μ̄π̄εσο[[ϋ]]οῡ χε̄ †οῡωκ̄̄ παρᾱ π̄στεψιτ̄ |

(108) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε̄ πετασ̄ω̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ τατᾱπρο̄ | ϋναψω̄πε̄ ν̄τα-
 30 ζε̄̄ ανοκ̄ ζω̄ †ναψω̄πε̄ || εν̄τοϋ̄ πε̄ αϋω̄ νεθη̄π̄̄ νᾱ οῡων̄ζ
 εροϋ̄ |

(109) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο̄ εστ̄ν̄των̄ ευρω̄|με̄ εϋ̄ν̄ταϋ̄ μ̄μαϋ̄ ζ̄ν̄
 35 τεϋ̄σ̄ωψε̄ ν̄νοϋ|εζο̄ εϋζη̄|π̄ ε|ϋο̄̄ ν̄ατσοοῡν̄̄ εροϋ̄ αϋ|ω̄ μ̄[μ̄ν̄-
 ν̄σᾱ τ̄]ρεϋμοϋ̄ αϋκααϋ̄ μ̄πεϋ̄||[ψηρε̄̄ νε̄]̄ π̄ωηρε̄̄ σοοῡν̄

(106) 19 i.e. ν̄ουα.

(108) 28 Sah. πετ̄νασ̄ω.

(109) 32-33 i.e. ν̄ουαζο.

(103) 7 rest. Guillaumont et al., sim. Dorese 8 ν̄ϋ : just before ν̄, the false start of ϋ can be read [ζ] cancelled by the copyist 9 μ̄ν̄τε̄[ρο] Layton : letter trace before the lacuna can only be read as ε, ε, ο, c or ε

(104) 11 ν̄[ι]̄ϛ̄ : reading of pap. cannot have been ναϋ

(105) 16-17 πε|τ̄νᾱ σοϋων̄ πειωτ̄ μ̄ν̄ τ̄μααϋ̄ <αν̄> Leipoldt 18 πορη̄ : π̄ρωμε̄ em. Kasser with hesitation

(107) 27 i.e. μ̄π̄εσοοῡ : first [ϋ] cancelled by the copyist, second ϋ added above line

(109) 32 ζ̄ν̄ : copyist first wrote ν̄, then added ζ above the line before this letter σω̄ψε̄ pap. : unscripted space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus 33 cf. Matt 13:44 θη̄σοϋρ̄φ̄̄ κ̄εκρυμ̄μένϋ̄ 34 rest. Layton, sim. Guillaumont et al. 35 sim. rest. Guillaumont et al.

(103) Jesus said, ' "Fortunate is the man who knows ' where the brigands will enter, ' so that [he] may get up, muster his ' domain, and arm himself ¹⁰ before they invade." ' '

(104) They said to Jesus, "Come, let us pray today ' and let us fast."

Jesus said, "What ' is the sin that I have committed, or wherein have I been defeated? ' But when the bridegroom leaves ¹⁵ the bridal chamber, then let them ' fast and pray."

(105) Jesus said, ' "He who knows the father and the mother will be called ' the son of a harlot."

(106) Jesus said, ' "When you make the two one, you will become ²⁰ the sons of man, and when you ' say, 'Mountain, move away,' it will ' move away."

(107) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like ' a shepherd who had a hundred ' sheep. One of them, the largest, went astray. ²⁵ He left the ninety-nine and looked for that one ' until he found it. When he had gone to such trouble, he said ' to the sheep, 'I care for you more than the ninety-nine.' ' ' '

(108) Jesus said, "He who will drink from my mouth ' will become like me. I myself shall become ³⁰ he, and the things that are hidden will be revealed to him." ' '

(109) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like a man ' who had a ' [hidden] treasure in his field without knowing it. ' And [after] he died, he left it to his ³⁵ [son]. The son [did] not know (about the treasure).

- *p. 51¹
(99 L.) ΔΝ` αϥϣι` * τϥωϣε ετῆμαϥ αϥτααϥ [εβολ]λ αϥω πε[ν]ταζ-
τοοϥ αϥει εϥκκαει α[ϥζ]ε α πεζο αϥαρχει ἡ† ζομτ` ετῆμσε
ἡ[νε]τῆοϥοϥοϥ |
- 5 (110) πεχε ἰϥ ξε † πενταζβινε ἡπκοσμοϥ || ἡϥῤ ϣῆμαο † μαρεϥ-
αρνα ἡπκοσμοϥ |
(111) πεχε ἰϥ ξε ἡπῆγε ναβωλ` αϥω πκαζ | ἡπετῆῆμοτο
εβολ` αϥω πετονζ εβολ ζῆ | πετονζ ϥναναϥ αν εμοϥ οϥχ
10 ζοτι εἰϥ | χω ἡμοϥ ξε πεταζε εροϥ` οϥααϥ πκοϥ||μοϥ ἡπϥα ἡμοϥ`
αν
(112) πεχε ἰϥ ξε οϥοει | ἡτσαρϥ` ταει ετοϥε ἡτϥϥχη οϥοει |
ἡτϥϥχη ταει ετοϥε ἡτσαρϥ
(113) πεχαϥ | ναϥ ἡβι νεϥμαϥθητῆϥ ξε τῆῆτερο | εϥῆῆῆϥ ἡαϥ ἡ-
15 ζοοϥ <πεχε ἰϥ ξε> εϥῆῆῆϥ αν ζῆ οϥ||βωϥτ` εβολ` εϥνα-
χοοϥ αν ξε ειςζηῆτε ἡπῆσα η ειςζηῆτε τη αλλα τῆῆτερο | ἡ-
πειωτ` εϥποϥω` εβολ ζιϥῆ πκαζ αϥω | ῤωμε ναϥ αν εροϥ
(114) πεχε ϥιμων πετροϥ | ναϥ ξε μαρε μαριζαμ ει εβολ ἡζηῆ
20 || ξε ἡϥζιομε ἡπϥα αν` ἡπωνζ πεχε ἰϥ | ξε ειςζηῆτε ανοκ`
† ναϥωκ` ἡμοϥ ξεκααϥ εεινααϥ ἡζοοϥτ` ϥινα εϥναϥω|πε ζωϥ
25 ἡοϥπῆα εϥονζ εϥεινε ἡ|μωτῆ ἡζοοϥτ ξε ϥζιμε ἡιμ` εϥνααϥ ||
ἡζοοϥτ` ϥναβωκ` εζοϥν ετῆῆτερο | ἡῆπῆγε |

ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ | ΠΚΑΤΑ ΘΩΜΑϥ

(title) PAP.: NO GREEK FRGS. HAVE BEEN FOUND: CF. TESTIMONIUM I τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν
εὐαγγέλιον AND POSS. TESTIMONIA 3, 6–10, 12–13, 15–18.

(114) 5f:22–24 i.e. εἰναααϥ . . . εϥναααϥ.

(110) 5f:4–5 † ΠΕΝΤΑΖΒΙΝΕ . . . ἡϥῤ ϣῆμαο † : emend to ΠΕΤΝΑΒΙΝΕ . . . ἡϥῤ ϣῆμαο
OR TO ΠΕΝΤΑΖΒΙΝΕ . . . αϥῤ ϣῆμαο (Layton)

(111) 6 αϥω : ἡῆ em. Guillaumont et al. 8 οϥχ ζοτι pap. : deciphered by Böhlig in
Leipoldt² : poss. corrupt (οϥχ ζοτι . . . αλλα . . . is poss. expected)

(112) 11 ϥϥχη¹ : unscribed space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus

(113) 14 em. Leipoldt

He inherited **51** the field and sold [it]. And the one who bought it ' went plowing and [found] the treasure. ' He began to lend money at interest to whomever he wished.''

(110) Jesus said, “Whoever finds the world ⁵ and becomes rich, let him renounce the world.”'

(111) Jesus said, “The heavens and the earth will be rolled up ' in your presence. And the one who lives from ' the living one will not see death.’’ Does not Jesus ' say, “Whoever finds himself ¹⁰ is superior to the world”?’

(112) Jesus said, “Woe ' to the flesh that depends on the soul; woe ' to the soul that depends on the flesh.”'

(113) His disciples said to him, ' “When will the kingdom come?”'

<Jesus said,> “It will not come by ¹⁵ waiting for it. It will not be a matter of saying ‘Here ' it is’ or ‘There it is.’ Rather, the kingdom ' of the father is spread out upon the earth, and ' men do not see it.”'

(114) Simon Peter said ' to them, “Let Mary leave us, ²⁰ for women are not worthy of life.”'

Jesus said, ' “I myself shall lead her ' in order to make her male, so that ' she too may become a living spirit resembling ' you males. For every woman who will make herself ²⁵ male will enter the kingdom ' of heaven.”'

The Gospel '
According to Thomas

(111) Does not : *text possibly erroneous*

APPENDIX
THE GREEK FRAGMENTS

HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE

INTRODUCTION

FRAGMENTS of three different manuscripts of the Greek text of the *GTh* have survived. These fragments, consisting of P. Oxy. 1, P. Oxy. 654, and P. Oxy. 655, were among the first papyri to be published from the excavations at Oxyrhynchus, appearing in 1897 and 1904 (see below, BIBLIOGRAPHY). Publication of the Greek fragments elicited an enormous amount of scholarly discussion, in which the attempt was made to restore missing passages of text, identify the work or works to which the fragments belonged, and assess the place of the fragments in the history of early Christian literature. However, it was not possible to identify the fragments as belonging to the *GTh* until the discovery of a complete text in Coptic.

After discovery of the Coptic text, various scholars reexamined the question of the Greek text, now attempting to solve text critical problems on the basis of the new Coptic evidence. To their work the present edition is heavily indebted; nonetheless, it has been possible to make still further improvements in the critical text. The present editor has been called upon both to evaluate earlier editorial conjectures and to restudy the decipherment of doubtful readings through recollection of the papyri. Thus the text printed here should be considered an entirely new edition of the Greek witnesses to the *GTh*, based upon restudy of the manuscripts and the Coptic version of the text.

P. OXY. 1: SAYINGS 26–33, 77a

P. Oxy. 1 (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Gr.th.e.7[P]), consists of a single leaf from a papyrus codex. It measures h. 14.5 × w. 9.5 cm. That the fragment comes from a codex is confirmed by the presence of pagination (IA) at the upper right hand corner of the side on which the papyrus fibers run vertically (↓). The fact that the text was part of a codex suggests that the date of this copy was not earlier than the early second century, since it was then that papyrus codices first began to be used in place of rolls. Further specification of the date may be attempted on palaeographical grounds.

The copy is written in upright, rounded, yet rather flattened capitals of medium height. It exemplifies an informal literary hand very widely represented in papyri of the second and third centuries A.D. Close parallels to this script may be found in the late second and early third centuries

A.D.¹ Thus the date of *shortly after A.D. 200* suggested by the original editors remains very plausible.

A single column of text is preserved on each side of the fragment. Both sides now contain twenty-one lines, approximately 6.5 cm in width, but the bottom half of the page, which must have contained another sixteen lines or so, is wanting. Short lines end with filler marks in angular form, γ. The text on the side of the papyrus with fibers vertical (↓), sayings 26–28, is quite well preserved. The text on the side with fibers horizontal (→), especially that of saying 30, has suffered more damage.

The scribe made use of contractions (compendia) well known from biblical manuscripts: ΙΣ, ΘΣ, ΠΡ, ΑΝΟΣ. The letter nu at the end of a line is usually suppressed, being represented by a supralinear stroke over the preceding letter, e.g., λιθ̄ for λίθον (line 27). The text shows various unclassical spellings, typical for the period: α for ε (lines 6, 7), ει for ι (line 13, corrected by the scribe; 16, 35), ι for ει (line 22, corrected by the scribe above the line). οι is once written for ω (line 36).

P. OXY. 654: PROLOGUE, SAYINGS 1–7

P. Oxy. 654 (now in the British Library, olim British Museum, P. London 654) is a single papyrus fragment measuring h. 24.4 × w. 7.8 cm. It is part of a roll. The fragment consists of forty-two lines and is copied on the back of a survey list of various parcels of land, on the side of the papyrus where the fibers run vertically (↓). Since documentary papyri are almost invariably inscribed on the side with horizontal fibers (→), it can be assumed that the survey list was discarded and that subsequently the verso (↓) of the roll, which originally was left blank or substantially blank, was inscribed with a portion of the *GTh*. Therefore this copy of the *GTh* must not be earlier than the date of the survey list, and therefore probably dates from no earlier than the beginning of the third century.

Further palaeographic considerations also point to a third-century date. The script is a common informal literary type of the third century. It consists of upright, slightly rounded capitals of medium size. It is similar to the hand of P. Oxy. 1, although not so flattened. It is probably to be dated somewhat later than P. Oxy. 1, viz., in the *middle of the third century*. As the original editors indicated, a date after A.D. 300 is most unlikely. Dated papyri written in a similar script can be found from the late second

¹For examples of hands of the period, cf. C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton: Univ. Press, 1971). For parallels to the script of P. Oxy. 1, cf. P. Oxy. 3. (i.e., vol. 3) 410, 447, and 4. 656.

to the end of the third century A.D.²

Forty-two lines of text survive; they contain the prologue and parts of the first seven sayings of the *GTh*. Based on reconstruction, the lines originally measured approx. 9 cm in width. The right half of each line has now been lost. Also the left half of the column of text has been damaged in the last ten lines.

Paragraphus signs, in the form of a horizontal rule (———), appear after each of the first five sayings. The scribe also uses the coronis (∪) in conjunction with the *paragraphus*, although somewhat inconsistently. The only abbreviation that appears is for the name Jesus, ΙΗΣ. The scribe uses the trema over initial ι and υ (lines 13, 14, 15). There are two errors in the copy, both involving haplography (lines 25, 31), and various unclassical spellings, typical for the period: η for ει (line 8), ε for αι (lines 18, 23, 25, 37), θ for τ (line 31) and η for υ (line 10). In two places there are superlinear corrections, probably made by the original copyist (lines 19, 25).

P. OXY. 655: SAYINGS 24, 36–39

P. Oxy. 655 (now in the Houghton Library [Semitic Museum Collection], Harvard University, SM 4367) originally consisted of eight fragments (*a–h*) of a papyrus roll. Two small fragments in the original edition are now missing (*f, h*). The largest fragment, *b*, measures h. 8.2 × w. 8.3 cm; the smallest, *g*, measures h. 1.0 × w. 0.8 cm. Based upon reconstruction of the column of text preserved in fragments *a* and *b*, the height of the roll can be estimated at approximately 16 cm.

Fragments *a, b* and *c* contain parts of two columns of text with lines approximately 5 cm in width. These columns contain parts of sayings 36–39. Fragment *d* contains part of another column with a small portion of saying 24. The remaining four fragments (*e, f, g, and h*) had too little text to be identified.

The papyrus can be dated only on palaeographical grounds. The script consists of small, square, slightly sloping capitals. This informal book hand was another type common in the second and third centuries. Close parallels firmly dated to the early third century can be readily found,³ and a date *between A.D. 200 and 250* is most likely.

²E.g., P. Oxy. 3. 446; 7. 1015, 1016; 8. 1100; 9. 1174; and P. Ryl. 3. 463. Cf. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* nos. 34 and 50, and Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* nos. 20a, 20b, 20c.

³E.g., P. Oxy. 1. 26; 3. 223, 420; 27. 2458; P. Ryl. 1. 57; P. Amh. 440; and P. Flor. 2. 108. Cf. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* nos. 19a, 22d, and Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* no. 32.

Of column i the bottom half is lost. The upper part of what is preserved of this column (fragment *a*) is severely damaged; the lower part (fragment *b*) is well preserved. Of column ii only the beginnings of some lines are preserved (fragments *b* and *c*).

The text shows some unclassical spellings, typical for the period: $\epsilon\iota$ for ι (col. i. 16, 19, col. ii. 20) and $\epsilon\iota$ for η (col. i. 14). There is one instance of haplography (col. i. 13). There is no indication of division marks between sayings. No instances of the abbreviation of divine names appear in the surviving fragment, although the abbreviation $\text{I}\Sigma$ for $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omega\delta\varsigma$ must be restored in several places (col. ii. 2, 12).

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE GREEK AND COPTIC WITNESSES

Because of their fragmentary state, it is difficult to ascertain the interrelationship of the Greek witnesses and their relationship to the Coptic text. It is at least clear that the three Greek papyri are not parts of one and the same manuscript. It cannot, however, be determined whether any of them was copied from another, whether they derive independently from a single archetype, or whether they represent distinct recensions. Such determinations could be made only if they papyri overlapped in the text they contain, but they do not.

It has been suggested that the Greek papyri or their archetype was translated from a Coptic text equivalent or quite similar to that which has survived. The evidence for this hypothesis is extremely weak, and it is virtually certain that the Coptic was translated from a Greek form of the text.

There are substantial differences, listed below, between the Greek fragments and the Coptic. These differences have suggested to some scholars that the Coptic evidence and the Greek evidence represent different recensions of the *GTh*. Yet it also remains possible that the recension which the Coptic represents was based on one of the P. Oxy. texts; none of the differences between the Greek and Coptic versions necessarily precludes this possibility.

Following is a list of the differences between Greek and Coptic versions:

a. Greek combines elements distinct in the Coptic

1. Coptic sayings 30a and 77b are combined in P. Oxy. 1 (→).23–30.

b. Greek witnesses have a longer text

2. Saying 3, Coptic 32:26 does not have "[whoever] knows [himself] will discover this" ($\text{I}\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\]\ \gamma\upsilon\omega\bar{\nu},\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\bar{\rho}\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$, P. Oxy. 654.16–17).

3. Saying 4, Coptic 33:10 *does not have* “[and] the last will be first” ([καὶ] οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι, P. Oxy. 654.25–26).
4. Saying 5, Coptic 33:14 *does not have* “nor buried that [will not be raised]” (καὶ θεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται), P. Oxy. 654.31).
5. Saying 27, Coptic 38:18 *does not have* “of God” (τοῦ θεοῦ, P. Oxy. 1 (↓).8).
6. Saying 33, Coptic 39:11 *does not have* “one” (ἓν, P. Oxy. 1 (→).42).
7. Saying 36, Coptic 39:26 *does not have* “neither-[clothing]” and “[you are]-cloak.” (μήτε-στ[ολῆ] ὑμῶν] and [πολ]λῶ-ἔνδυμα ὑμῶν, P. Oxy. 655, col. i. 3–6, 7–17).
8. Saying 37, Coptic 39:27 *does not have* “to him” (αὐτῷ, P. Oxy. 655, col. i. 17–18).

c. Greek witnesses have a shorter text

9. Prologue, P. Oxy. 654.2 *cannot have had in the lacuna both* “Didymus” and “Judas” (Διδυμος Ἰουδας, Coptic 32:11–12).
10. Saying 2, P. Oxy. 654.7–8 *does not have* “he will be astonished, and” (ἠναῤῥωπηρε ἀγω, Coptic 32:17–18).
11. Saying 3, P. Oxy. 654.18 *does not have* “then you will become known” (τοτε σενασοω(ν) τηνε, Coptic 32:27–33:1).
12. Saying 6, P. Oxy. 654.40 *does not have* “and nothing covered will remain without being uncovered” (ἀγω μῆ λααυ εφζοβῆ εγναδω ογεωῆ ἑολπη, Coptic 33:22–23).
13. Saying 37, P. Oxy. 655, col. i. 21 *does not have* “Jesus” (ἰς, Coptic 39:29).

d. Greek and Coptic differ

14. Saying 2, P. Oxy. 654.8–9 *reads* “[once he has ruled], he will [attain rest]” ([βασιλεύσας ἐπαναπα]ήσεται); Coptic 32:19 *reads* “over the all” (εχῆ πτηρη).
15. Saying 3, P. Oxy. 654.13 *reads* “under the earth” (ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν); Coptic 32:23 *reads* “in the sea” (zḥ ἑαλασσα).
16. Saying 3, P. Oxy. 654.15 *reads* “and” (καί); Coptic 32:25 *reads* “rather” (αλλα).
17. Saying 6, P. Oxy. 654.33 *reads* “how [shall we] fast?” (πῶς νηστεύ[σομεν]); Coptic 33:15 *reads* “do you want us to fast?” (εκοωω ετρηῆρηστηε).
18. Saying 6, P. Oxy. 654.38 *reads* “[in the sight] of truth” ([ἐνώπιον τῆς ἀληθ[ε]ίας); Coptic 33:20–21 *reads* “in the sight of heaven” (ῆπεμτο εβολ ἡτπε).
19. Saying 26, P. Oxy. 1 (↓).1 *reads* “and then” (καὶ τότε); Coptic 38:16 *reads* “then” (τοτε). What remains of this saying in Greek is closer than the Coptic to Matt 7:5 and Luke 6:42.
20. Saying 30, P. Oxy. 1 (→).24 *reads* “Where there are [three], they

- are without God” ([ὄπ]ου ἔδν ὡσιν [τρ]ε[ίς,] ε[ἰσι]ν ἄθεοι); Coptic 39:3–4 reads “where there are three gods, they are gods” (πμα εγν̄ ψομτ̄ ν̄νουτε̄ μ̄μαγ̄ ζ̄ν̄νουτε̄ νε̄).
21. Saying 30, P. Oxy. 1 (→).26 reads “I say” ([λ]έγω); Coptic 39:4 reads “two or one” (σναγ̄ η̄ ογᾱ).
 22. Saying 31, P. Oxy. 1 (→).32 reads “country” (π(ατ)ρίδι); Coptic 39:6 reads “village” (†με̄).
 23. Saying 32, P. Oxy. 1 (→).36–37 reads “built” (οἰκοδομημένη); Coptic 39:8 reads “being built” (εγκωτ̄ μ̄μοc̄).
 24. Saying 37, P. Oxy. 655, col. i. 22–23 reads “disrobe and are not ashamed” (ἐκδύσησθε καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆτε); Coptic 39:30–31 reads “disrobe without being ashamed” (κεκ̄ τηγτ̄ν̄ εζηγ̄ μ̄πετ̄νωπε̄).
 25. Saying 39, P. Oxy. 655, col. ii. 18 reads “[who were about to] come in” ([τοὺς] εἰσερ[χομένους]); Coptic 40:10 reads “who wish to enter” (ετογωω̄ εβωκ̄ εζογν̄).

These differences are no doubt due to a variety of causes. Some are probably mere examples of loose translation (6, 10, 11, 16, 17, 22–25). Several may be due to corruptions already present in the Greek archetype of the Coptic (14, 20, 21). One is probably due to an inner-Coptic error (18). The cases where one copy lacks material found in another are more difficult to assess: some of these are apparently due to accidental omission (2, 3, 8, 12, 13); others to deliberate deletion or expansion (5, 7, 9). Finally there are variations which may be due to deliberate editorial alteration (1, 14, 19).

In any case it is methodologically unsound to construct a stemma illustrating conjectured relationships among the witnesses to the text of the *GTh*. At least one such attempt has been made, in which three independent recensions are distinguished, the Coptic, a Greek recension attested by the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and another Greek recension attested in the testimonium of Hippolytus. Such a construction simply goes beyond the available evidence.

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TESTIMONIA TO THE
GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

Direct Testimonium. There is one indubitable testimonium to the *GTh*.

1. Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 5.7.20 (ed. P. Wendland, GCS 26). Date: between A.D. 222–235.

Οὐ μόνον (δ') αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν φασι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων μυστήρια καὶ Φρυγῶν (ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων) περὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων καὶ ἐσομένων ἔτι μακαρίαν κρυβομένην ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερούμενην φύσιν, ἥνπερ φησὶ (τὴν) ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην, περὶ ἧς διαρρήδη ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδόασι λέγοντες οὕτως· ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρήσει ἐν παιδίῳ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι.

They (the Naassenes) say that not only the mysteries of the Assyrians and Phrygians, but also those of the Egyptians support their account of the blessed nature of the things which were, are, and are yet to be, a nature which is both hidden and revealed at the same time, and which he calls the sought-for kingdom of heaven which is within man. They transmit a tradition concerning this in the *Gospel* entitled *According to Thomas*, which states expressly, “*The one who seeks me will find me in children from seven years of age and onwards. For there, hiding in the fourteenth aeon, I am revealed.*”

This saying shows some similarities to saying 4 of the *GTh*, yet the differences are also apparent. Interpretation of these differences is controversial. On the one hand, they may indicate that the Naassenes' text of the *GTh* represented a very different recension from that of both the Coptic and P. Oxy. 654. However, caution is required in drawing text-critical inferences from this testimonium. For on the other hand, it may well be that the citation in Hippolytus is but a garbled form of saying 4, distorted either by Naassene exegesis or by Hippolytus or perhaps by both.

Possible Testimonia. Besides the direct testimonium in Hippolytus, discussed above, there are numerous possible testimonia, which either appear to cite from the text or else refer to a work entitled *Gospel According to Thomas*. Some of these may not be testimonia to our *GTh* but rather, to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (cf. *New Testament Apocrypha* [ed. E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher; English trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963] 1. 388–401). Others report of a document circulating among Manichaeans, seemingly composed by them, and therefore later than the date of Hippolytus, to whom our *GTh* is known: see below nos. 4, 6a, 6b, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18. However, it remains possible that the Manichaean *Gospel* was equivalent to, or based on, our *GTh*.

2. Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 5.8.32 (ed. P. Wendland. GCS 26). Date: A.D. 222–235.

λέγουσι γοῦν· εἰ νεκρὰ ἐφάγετε καὶ ζῶντα ἐποιήσατε, τί, ἂν ζῶντα φάγητε, ποιήσετε;

Thus they (the Naassenes) say, ‘‘If you eat the dead and make them living, what will you do if you eat the living?’’

This saying is presumably from the Naassenes’ *Gospel According to Thomas*, cited above (1). The saying represents a simpler and more elegant form of its counterpart, saying 11b, in the Coptic *GTh* and it may represent a more original text. But caution is required, since it is also possible that this saying was transmitted quite independently.

3. Origen. *In Luc. hom.* 1 (ed. M. Rauer, GCS 35, p.5). Date: A.D. 233.

φέρεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθίαν καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα.

For there is in circulation also the *Gospel According to Thomas* and the *Gospel According to Matthias* and many others.

4. Mani, *Epistola fundamenti*, apud Augustine, *Contra epist. fundam.* 11 (PL 42. 181) and *Contra Felicem* 1.1 (PL 42. 521). Date: mid-third century.

Haec sunt salubria verba, ex perenni ac vivo fonte; quae qui audierit, et eisdem primum crediderit, deinde quae insinuant custodierit, nunquam erit morti obnoxius, verum aeterna et gloriosa vita fruetur. Nam

profecto beatus est iudicandus, qui hac divina instructus cognitione fuerit, per quam liberatus in sempiterna vita permanebit.

These are beneficial *words* from an ever flowing and living source. Whoever hears them, believes them, and then practices what they teach, *will never experience death*, but will enjoy an eternal life of glory. For he is to be judged perfectly blessed, who is instructed in this divine wisdom, through which he will be liberated for eternity.

This is not explicitly a testimonium on the *GTh*. It is, however, extremely close to the prologue. This similarity may indicate some connection between the Manichaeen *Gospel According to Thomas* mentioned in later reports and our *GTh*.

5. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6. Date: first decades of the fourth century. A list of apocryphal works, drawn up for the following reason:

ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφερομένας ἢτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Μαθθία ἢ καὶ τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχοῦσας,

. . . in order that we might know them and the writings which are put forward by heretics under the name of the apostles containing *Gospels* such as those of Peter, and of *Thomas*, and of Matthias, and of some others besides.

6a. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 4.36 (PG 33. 500). Date: ca. A.D. 348.

ἔγραψαν καὶ Μανιχαῖοι κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ, εὐαδίᾳ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς προσωνομίας ἐπικεκρωσμένον, διαφθείρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων.

The Manichaeans also wrote a *Gospel According to Thomas*, which by using the pleasant pretext of the name "gospel" destroys the souls of simpler folk.

6b. Cyril, *Catechesis* 6.31 (PG 33. 593). Date: ca. A.D. 348.

τούτου μαθηταὶ τρεῖς γέγονασιν, Θωμᾶς, καὶ Βαδδᾶς, καὶ Ἑρμᾶς. Μηδεὶς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν

εὐαγγέλιον· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τῶν κακῶν τριῶν τοῦ Μάνη μαθητῶν.

This one (Mani) had three disciples, Thomas, Baddas, and Hermas. Let no one read the *Gospel According to Thomas*. For he is not one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three wicked disciples of Mani.

7a. Jerome, translation of Origen, *In Luc. hom.* 1 (ed. M. Rauer, GCS 35, p.5). Date: late fourth century.

Scio quoddam *evangelium*, quod appellatur *secundum Thomam*, et iuxta Mathiam.

I know of a certain *Gospel*, entitled *According to Thomas* and one according to Matthias.

7b. Jerome, *Comm. in evang. Matth.*, Prologue (PL 26. 17A). Date: late fourth century.

Et perseverantia usque ad praesens tempus monumenta declarant, quae a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum haereseon fuere principia, ut est illud *iuxta Aegyptios*, et *Thomam*, et *Matthiam*, etc.

Being extant up to the present time their remains make them (scil., early gospel writers) known, remains which were composed by various authors and served as the sources of various heresies, such as that according to the Egyptians, and *According to Thomas*, and according to Matthias, etc.

These two passages serve as the source of other Latin notices on the *GTh* (8 and 14 below).

8. Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii Lucae* 1.2 (ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32, pp.10–11). Date: late fourth century.

Fertur etiam aliud *evangelium*, quod scribitur *secundum Thoman*. novi aliud scriptum secundum *Matthian*.

There is another *Gospel*, entitled *According to Thomas*. I know another entitled *According to Matthias*.

9. Philip of Side, a fragment of his history (C. de Boor, TU 5/2 [1888] p.169, no. 4). Date: approx. A.D. 430.

πλειῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων . . . τὸ δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίους
εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ
τελείως ἀπέβαλλον αἰρετικῶν ταῦτα
συγγράμματα λέγοντες.

The majority of the ancients utterly rejected the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* and that said to be of Peter and that of *Thomas*, considering them to be compositions of heretics.

10. Ps.-Athanasius, *Synopsis* (PG 28. 432B). Date: fifth century.

τῆς Νέας πάλιν Διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα·
Περίοδοι Πέτρου, Περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, Περίοδοι
Θωμᾶ, Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶ.

These are the disputed works of the New Testament: the Journeys of Peter, the Journeys of John, the Journeys of Thomas, the *Gospel According to Thomas*.

11. *Decretum Gelasianum* (ed. E. von Dobschütz, TU 38/4 [1912], p.11). Date: fifth century. A list of heretical books.

Evangelium nomine Thomae quibus Manichei
utuntur.

A *Gospel* attributed to *Thomas*, which (among others) the Manichaeans use.

12. Ps.-Leontius of Byzantium (Theodore of Raithu), *De sectis* 3.2 (PG 86/1. 1213C). Date: late sixth century.

οὗτοι καὶ βιβλία τινὰ ἑαυτοῖς καινοτομοῦσι.
λέγουσι γὰρ εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν καὶ
Φίλιππον, ἅπερ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἴσμεν.

They (the Manichaeans) invent new books for themselves. For they speak of a *Gospel According to Thomas* and one according to Philip, which we do not know.

13. Timotheus of Constantinople, *De receptione haereticorum* (PG 86/1. 21C). Date: late sixth century.

οἱ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θεοστρυγεῖς Μανιχαῖοι καινοτομοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς δαιμονιώδη βιβλία, ἅπερ εἰσὶ τὰδε: . . . τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον.

The accursed Manichaeans who follow him (Mani) invent diabolical books for themselves. They are: . . . the *Gospel According to Thomas*.

14. Venerable Bede, *In Lucae evang. expositio* 1, Prologue (PL 92. 307C). Date: late seventh or early eighth century.

Denique nonnulli *Thomae*, alii *Bartholomaei*, quidam *Matthiae*, aliqui etiam duodecim apostolorum titulo reperiuntur falso *sua scripta* praenotasse.

Then many *Thomases*, *Bartholomews*, *Matthiases*, and others are found to have attached an apostolic pseudonym to *their own writings*.

15. *Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea* 6.5 (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 13. 293B). Date: A.D. 787.

καὶ τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν Μανιχαῖοι παρεισηγάγον εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ὡς ἀλλότριον εὐσεβῶς ἀποστρέφεται.

Manichaeans have introduced the *Gospel According to Thomas*, which the Catholic Church piously rejects as something foreign.

16. Stichometry of Nicephorus (ed. de Boor p. 135). Date: ninth century.

καὶ ὅσα τῆς Νέας ἀπόκρυφα εὐαγγέλιον
κατὰ Θωμᾶν στίχοι ,α'

New Testament Apocrypha: . the *Gospel According to Thomas*, 1300 verses.

17. Peter of Sicily, *Historia Manichaeorum* 16 (PG 104. 1265C). Date: eleventh (or ninth) century.

μαθηταὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου Μάνεντος
γεγόνασι δώδεκα· Σισίννιος ὁ τούτου διάδοχος,
καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Μανιχαϊκὸν
εὐαγγέλιον συντάξας.

The disciples of the antichrist Mani were twelve:
Sisinnios his successor and *Thomas*, who com-
posed the Manichaean *Gospel According to his*
name.

18. Ps.-Photius, *Contra Manichaeos* 1.14 (PG 102. 41B). Date: eleventh century.

μαθηταὶ μέντοι τοῦ δυσωνύμου Μάνεντος
γεγόνασι δώδεκα, Σισίννιος . . . καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ τὸ
κατ' αὐτὸν ὀνομαζόμενον συνταξάμενος εὐ-
αγγέλιον.

There were twelve disciples of that hateful Mani,
Sisinnios . . . and *Thomas*, who composed the *Gos-
pel According to his name*.

PRINCIPLES OF THIS EDITION

The transcription is based upon recollection of all three papyri. The actual reading of the papyrus always appears as text, even if corrupt; errors are discussed in the apparatus. Not all conjectures advanced by past editors (especially restorations of missing text) have been listed in the apparatus; many of these were made before the discovery of the Coptic version and can now be eliminated by comparison with the Coptic. Other restorations of past editors can also be eliminated on purely palaeographical grounds after reexamination of the papyri or remeasurement of the lacunas. Where more than one editor has proposed or adopted the same conjecture, only the name of the first to do so has been noted. Finally, since the discovery of the Coptic version several scholars have attempted to reconstruct substantial portions of the Greek text preceding or following the fragments actually preserved. These purely conjectural reconstructions have not been included in the present edition.

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PROLOGUE AND SAYING 1
P. Oxy. 654.1–5

- 1 οἴτοι οἱ (οἱ) λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοι οὗς ἐλά-]
 - 2 λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰούδα ὁ]
 - 3 καὶ Θωμᾶ. καὶ εἶπεν· [ὅς ἂν τὴν ἐρμηνεί-]
 - 4 αν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων εὖρη, θανάτου]
 - 5 οὐ μὴ γεύσεται. γ
-

SAYING 2
P. Oxy. 654.5–9

- 5 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς]·
 - 6 μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζῆ[των τοῦ ζητεῖν ἕως ἂν]
 - 7 εὖρη, καὶ ὅταν εὖρη [θαμβηθήσεται, καὶ θαμ-]
 - 8 βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει, κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἐπαναπα-]
 - 9 ῆσεται. γ
-

(Prologue, 1) Γ i.e. οὔτοι || οὔτοι οἱ {οἱ} Swete : {οἱ} τοῖοι οἱ Grenf.-Hunt || ἀπόκρυφοι Zahn² : κεκρυμμένοι Bauer : κρυπτοὶ Nations || 2 καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰούδα (Ἰούδας Fitzmyer) ὁ Fitzmyer, Marcovich : καὶ γεγραμμένοι διὰ Ἰούδα τοῦ Bauer : καὶ Κύριος Δίδυμω τῷ Wilson || 3 Θωμᾶ Marcovich : Θωμᾶ(ς) Fitzmyer : Θωμᾶ Bauer || ὅς ἂν Puech : ὅστις ἂν Fitzmyer : ὅστις Swete || τὴν ἐρμηνείαν Puech || 4 εὖρη Puech : εὐρίσκη Fitzmyer : εὐρήση Hofius : εὐρήσει Marcovich || θανάτου Grenf.-Hunt

(2) 5 Ἰῆς Grenf.-Hunt || 6 ζητῶν Grenf.-Hunt || τοῦ ζητεῖν Heinrici || ἕως ἂν Grenf.-Hunt || 7 θαμβηθήσεται, καὶ θαμβηθεὶς Grenf.-Hunt || 8 i.e. βασιλεύσει || i.e. ἐπαναπαύσεται : βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται Grenf.-Hunt : ἐπαναπαήσεται Marcovich

SAYING 3
P. Oxy. 654.9–21

- 9 λέγει Ἰ[η(σοῦ)ς· ἐάν]
 10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἶπωσιν ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ]
 11 ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ, ὑμᾶς φθήσεται]
 12 τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ· ἐάν δ' εἶπωσιν ὅ-]
 13 τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν, εἰσελεύσονται]
 14 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης προφθάσαν-]
 15 τες ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ]
 16 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐστ]ι [κάκτος· ὃς ἂν ἐαυτὸν]
 17 γνῶ, ταύτην εὐρή[σει, καὶ ὅτε ὑμεῖς]
 18 ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθα[ι, εἴσεσθε ὅτι υἱοί]
 19 ἐστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ζ[ῶντος· εἰ δὲ μὴ]
 20 γνώσ(ε)σθε ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν [τῇ πτωχείᾳ ἐστέ]
 21 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πτω[χείᾳ].

(3) 9 ἐάν Fitzmyer : εἰ Nations || 10 i.e. ὑμᾶς Swete (cf. Coptic) || εἶπωσιν ὑμῖν ἰδοὺ Grenf.-Hunt : λέγουσιν ὅτι ἰδοὺ Nations || 11 ὑμᾶς φθήσεται Fitzmyer : φθάσουσιν ὑμᾶς Hofius || 12 ἐάν δ' εἶπωσιν Fitzmyer : ἐάν λέγωσιν ὑμῖν Hofius || 13 ὑπο pap. || εἰσελεύσονται Fitzmyer : ἡ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ Hofius || 14 ἰχθυες pap. || προφθάσαντες Marcovich : φθάσαντες Fitzmyer : φθάνοντες Hofius : προάγοντες Nations || 15 ὑμας pap. || καὶ pap. : ἀλλὰ Riistow (cf. Coptic) || βασιλεία Grenf.-Hunt || 15–16 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ... κάκτος· ὃς ἂν ἐαυτὸν Fitzmyer : τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ... καὶ ὅστις ἂν (ὅταν τις Mueller) ἑαυτὸν Grenf.-Hunt, Mueller : τοῦ πατρὸς (or ἐκτός καὶ) ἐντὸς ... καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἐαυτὸν Kasser : τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ... καὶ μὴ ἐκτός· ὅς δ' ἂν ἐαυτὸν Riistow || 17 εὐρήσει Grenf.-Hunt || καὶ ὅτε ὑμεῖς Fitzmyer : ὅταν δὲ Hofius || 18 i.e. γνώσεσθε || εἴσεσθε Marcovich : καὶ εἰδήσετε Grenf.-Hunt : εἰδήσετε Fitzmyer || ὅτι υἱοί Grenf.-Hunt || 19 ὑμεῖς written above the line || ζῶντος Fitzmyer || εἰ δὲ μὴ Fitzmyer : ὅταν δὲ μὴ Hofius : εἰ δὲ οὐ Nations || 20 τῇ πτωχείᾳ ἐστε Fitzmyer : πτωχίᾳ ἐστε Hofius || 21 πτωχείᾳ Fitzmyer : πτωχία Hofius

SAYING 4
P. Oxy. 654.21-27

- 21 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς]·
 22 οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος παλαιὸς ἡμε-]
 23 ρῶν ἐπερωτῆσε πα[ιδίον ἐπτά ἡμε-]
 24 ρῶν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς ζωῆς, καὶ ζή-]
 25 σετε· ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ]
 26 οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι, καὶ [εἰς ἓν καταντήσου-]
 27 σιν.
-

SAYING 5
P. Oxy 654.27-31

- 27 λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· ὕγ[νωθι τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσ-]
 28 θεν τῆς ὄψεώς σου, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον]
 29 ἀπό σου ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αί σοι· οὐ γάρ ἐσ-]
 30 τιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται],
 31 καὶ θεθαμμένον ὃ οὐ[κ ἐγερθήσεται].
-

(4) 22 παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν Hofius : πλήρης ἡμερῶν Taylor || 23 i.e. ἐπερωτῆσαι || παιδίον ἐπτά ἡμερῶν Fitzmyer : τῶν ἐπτά ἡμερῶν Nations || 24-25 i.e. ζήσεται : ζωῆς καὶ ζήσεται Hofius : ζωῆς καὶ ζήσει. εἴσετε Fitzmyer² : καὶ αὐτὸς ζήσεται Kasser || 25 ὅτι written above the line || πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ Grenf.-Hunt || 26 εἰς ἓν καταντήσουσιν Marcovich : εἰς γενήσουσιν Hofius : μόνοι μένουσιν Kasser

(5) 27 γνώθι Fitzmyer || τὸ ὄν Fitzmyer : τὸν Puech || ἔμπροσθεν Grenf.-Hunt || 28 τὸ κεκαλυμμένον Evelyn-White : τὸ κεκρυμμένον Grenf.-Hunt || 29-30 reconstructions of Grenf.-Hunt || 31 i.e. τεθαμμένον || οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται or οὐ γνωσθήσεται Grenf.-Hunt : οὐκ ἐξορύσσεται Bartlet : οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται Hofius

SAYING 6
P. Oxy. 654.32-40

- 32 [ἐξ]ετάζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 33 [λέ]γουσιν· πῶς νηστεύ[σομεν, καὶ πῶς προσ-]
 34 [ευξό]μεθα, καὶ πῶς [ἐ]λεημοσύνην ποιήσο-]
 35 [μεν κ]αὶ τί παρατηρήσ[ομεν περὶ τῶν βρω-]
 36 [μάτω]ν; ὁ λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [μὴ ψεύδεσθε καὶ ὁ-]
 37 [τι μισ]εῖται, μὴ ποιεῖτ[ε· ὅτι πάντα ἐνώπ-]
 38 [τιον τ]ῆς ἀληθ[ε]ίας ἀν[α]φαίνεται. οὐδὲν
 39 [γὰρ ἐστ]ι | ν ἀ[π]οκεκρ[υμμένον ὃ οὐ φανερόν]
 40 [ἔσται].

SAYING 7
P. Oxy. 654.40-42

- 40 [- - - μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστίν [- - -]
 41 [- - - λέ]ων ἔστα[ι - - -]
 42 [- - -]ον[- - -]

(6) 32 οἱ-λέγουσιν Grenf.-Hunt || 33 νηστεύσομεν καὶ πῶς Grenf.-Hunt || προσευξόμεθα Bruston : προσευξώμεθα Swete || 34 ἐλεημοσύνην ποιήσομεν Evelyn-White : ἐ. ποιήσομεν Swete : ἐ. δώσομεν Taylor : δῶμεν ἐ. Nations || 35 παρατηρήσομεν Bruston : παρατηρησώμεθα Swete || περὶ τῶν βρωμάτων Hofius : ὅταν δειπνώμεν Fitzmyer : ἐσθίοντες ἄρτον Kasser || 36 μὴ Fitzmyer : οὐ Hofius || ψεύδεσθε καὶ Fitzmyer || ὅτι Fitzmyer : ἂ Hofius : ὁ Nations || 37 [ι]ται par. : μισεῖται, i.e. μισεῖτε Fitzmyer : μισεῖτε Hofius || 37-38 ὅτι πάντα ἐνώπιον τῆς Attridge : πάντα γὰρ ἐστὶ πλήρης Fitzmyer : πάντα γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Hofius : πάντα γὰρ ἐστὶ πλήρης || οἱ πάντες γὰρ εἰσι πλήρης (i.e. πλήρεις) Marcovich : πάντα γὰρ ἐστὶ φανερόν τῆς Nations || 38 ἀνακαλύπτεται Attridge : ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Fitzmyer : ἀνακαλυμμένα ἐστὶν Hofius : ἀνακαλύπτεται Kasser : (ἐν)αντι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Marcovich : ἀνὰ τὸν οὐρανόν Nations || 38-40 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστίν ... ὃ οὐ φανερόν ἐστὶ Fitzmyer : καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν ... ἐστίν· λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς Hofius : οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν ... ὃ οὐ φανερωθῆ(σε)ται Marcovich

Restoration exempli gratia:

- 40 [- - - μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστίν [ὁ λέων ὄν ἄνθρωπος]
 41 [ἐσθίει καὶ ὁ λέ]ων ἔστα[ι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀνά-]
 42 [θεμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ὄν [λέων ἐσθίει *et cetera*]

SAYING 24
 P. Oxy. 655 (d)

Fragment d:

- 1 [- - - ἐσ]τίν
 2 [- - - φω]τεινῷ
 3 [- - - κ]όσμῳ
 4 [- - -]ῆ
 5 [- - - ἐ]στίν

Restoration exempli gratia:

- 1 [- - - φῶς ἐσ]τίν
 2 [ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ φω]τεινῷ,
 3 [καὶ φωτίζει τῷ κ]όσμῳ
 4 [ὅλῳ· ἐὰν μὴ φωτίζ]ῃ,
 5 [τότε σκοτεινός ἐ]στίν.

(7) 40-41 ὁ λέων-ἐσθίει Marcovich : φάγεται ἄν(θρῶπ)ος Kasser || 41 καὶ¹ Attridge || ὁ λέων Marcovich : λέων Kasser || 41-42 ἄνθρωπος¹-ὄν Attridge : ἄν(θρῶπ)ος καὶ ἀνάθεμά ἐστίν Kasser : ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπάρατός ἐστίν Marcovich || 42 λέων ἐσθίει Attridge : ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὄν Marcovich

(24) 1 φῶς ἐστίν Attridge || 1-2 εἰ φῶς ἐστίν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ φωτεινῷ Kasser : φῶς ἔνεστιν ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ φωτεινῷ Kraft || 3-4 restorations of Attridge : ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ φωτίζει· εἰ δὲ μὴ Kasser : καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ φωτίζει Kraft || 5 τότε σκοτεινός ἐστίν Attridge : σκοτεινός ἐστίν Kraft

SAYING 26
P. Oxy. 1 (↓).1-4

[- - - - -]

- 1 καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις
2 ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος
3 τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ γ
4 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

SAYING 27
P. Oxy. 1 (↓).4-11

- 4 λέγει
5 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύση-
6 ται τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ
7 εὔρηται τὴν βασιλεί-
8 αν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ
9 σαββατίσητε τὸ σάβ- γ
10 βατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸ(ν)
11 π(ατέ)ρα.

SAYING 28
P. Oxy. 1 (↓).11-21

- 11 λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ἔ[σ]την
12 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου

(27) 5 i.e. νηστεύσητε || μὴ νηστεύσηται pap. : μνηστεύσητε Kipp in Zahn : μισήσητε von Gebhardt : νηκήσητε Harnack || 6 τὸν κόσμον pap. : τοῦ κόσμου Lock-Sanday : τῷ κόσμῳ Harnack : εἰς τὸν κόσμον Redpath : τοῦ κοινοῦ Quarry in Evelyn-White : τὴν νηστείαν Cersoy || 7 i.e. εὔρητε

- 13 καὶ ἐν σαρκ[ε]ῖ ὥφθη
 14 αὐτοῖς καὶ εὔρον πάν-
 15 τας μεθύοντας καὶ
 16 οὐδένα εὔρον δειψῶ(ν)-
 17 τα ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πο- γ
 18 νεῖ ἢ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ γ
 19 τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀν(θρώπων)
 20 ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρ-
 21 δία αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ [οὐ] βλέπ-
 a [ουσιν ὅτι *et cetera*]

SAYING 29

P. Oxy. I (→).22

- b [- - - ἐνοι-]
 22 [κ]εῖ [ταύτ]η[ν τ]ὴν πτωχεία(ν).

SAYING 30 + 77b

P. Oxy. I (→).23-30

- 23 [λέγ]ει [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν
 24 [τρ]εῖς, εἰσὶν ἄθεοι· καὶ
 25 [ὄ]που εἰς ἐστὶν μόνος,
 26 [λ]έγω· ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐ-
 27 τ[οῦ]. ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθο(ν)
 28 κάκει εὐρήσεις με·

(28) 13 ε deleted by the copyist || 16 i.e. διψῶντα

(29) 22 πτωχείαν : ε written above the line.

(30, 77b) 24 τρεῖς, εἰσιν ἄθεοι Attridge : β̄, οὐκ εἰσιν ἄθεοι Blass : γ̄ θεοί. εἰσιν θεοί
 Guillaumont : τρεῖς, εἰσιν θεοί Akagi || 26 λέγω Grenf.-Hunt : αὐτοῦ Grenf.-Hunt

29 σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γῶ

30 ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

SAYING 31

P. Oxy. I (→).30–35

30 λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· οὐ-

31 κ' ἔστιν δεκτὸς προ-

32 φήτης ἐν τῇ π(ατ)ρίδι αὐ-

33 τ[ο]ῦ, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ

34 θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς

35 γεινώσκοντας αὐτό(ν).

SAYING 32

P. Oxy. I (→).36–41

36 λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· πόλις οἰκοδο-

37 μημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον

38 [ὄ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ[ς] καὶ ἐσ-

39 τηριγμένη οὔτε πε-

40 [σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ-

41 [β]ῆναι.

(31) 35 i.e. γινώσκοντας

(32) 36 i.e. ὑκοδομημένη

SAYING 33

P. Oxy. 1 (→).41–42

- 41 λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· (ὁ) ἀκούεις
 42 [ε]ίς τὸ ἐν ᾧτίον σου. τῶ[υ-]
 43 [το κήρυξον *et cetera*]

SAYING 36

P. Oxy. 655, col.i. 1–17

- a* [λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· μὴ μεριμνᾶ-]
 1 [τε ἀ]πὸ πρῶι ἕ[ως ὀψέ],
 2 [μήτ]ε ἀφ' ἐσπ[έρας]
 3 [ἕως π]ρωί, μήτε [τῆ]
 4 [τροφῆ] ὑμῶν τί φά-
 5 [γητε, μήτε] τῆ σ[τ]ο-
 6 [λῆ] ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύ-
 7 [ση]σθε. [πολ]λῶ κρεί[σ-]
 8 [σον]ές ἐ[στε] τῶν [κρί-]
 9 νων, ἅτι[να ο] ὑ[ξο]ί-
 10 νει οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει. μ[ηδ]-
 11 ἐν ἔχοντ[ε]ς ἔ[νδ]υ-
 12 μα, τί ἐν[δύ]εσθε καὶ
 13 ὑμεῖς; τίς ἂν προσθ[ε]ίη
 14 ἐπὶ τὴν εἰλικίαν

(33) 41 ὁ Fitzmyer : ἂ Hofius || 42 τοῦτο Fitzmyer : ταῦτα Hofius : κε (i.e., καὶ) Marcovich

(36) *a* restoration of Fitzmyer || 1–8 restorations of Grenf.-Hunt || 9 οὐ ξαίνει Bartlet : αὐξάινει Grenf.-Hunt || 10 νήθει Grenf.-Hunt || [μηδ] ἐν Zahn² : [καὶ] ἐν Taylor || 11 ἔχοντες Grenf.-Hunt : ἔχοντα Zahn² : ἐχόντων Michelsen || 12 ἐνδύεσθε Hilgenfeld : ἐνδεῖτε Grenf.-Hunt : ἐνδεῖσθε Heinrici : ἐνδει Taylor : ἐνδεῖς Bartlet : ἐνδεῖς Michelsen || 13 προσθ[ε]ίη Grenf.-Hunt : προσθῆ Kraft || 14 i.e. ἠλικίαν

- 15 ὑμῶν; αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει
 16 ὑμεῖς τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ-
 17 μῶν.

SAYING 37

P. Oxy. 655 col. i. 17–col. ii. 1

- 17 λέγουσιν αὐ-
 18 τῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·
 19 πότε ἡμεῖν ἐμπα-
 20 νῆς ἔσει, καὶ πότε
 21 σε ὀνόμεθα; λέγει·
 22 ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ
 23 μὴ αἰσχυνθῆτε
 [*et cetera, approx. 6 lines*]
b [- - - οὐδὲ φοβη-]
 col. ii. 1 θ[ήσεσθε].

SAYING 38

P. Oxy. 655 col. ii. 2–11

- | | | |
|---|--------|---|
| 2 | λέ[γει |] |
| 3 | ο[|] |
| 4 | τ[|] |
| 5 | γ[|] |
| 6 | κα[|] |
| 7 | ν[|] |

16 i.e. ὑμῖν

(37) 19 i.e. ἡμῖν || *b* restoration of Attridge

- 8 κα[|
 9 ημ[|
 10 σε[|

Restoration exempli gratia:

- 2 λέ[γει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· πολλάκις]
 3 ο[ὕν ἐπεθυμείτε]
 4 τ[ούτους τοὺς λό-]
 5 γ[ους μου ἀκοῦσαι]
 6 κα[ὶ ἔχετε οὐδε-]
 7 ν[ὸς ἄλλου ἀκοῦσαι]
 8 κα[ὶ ἐλεύσονται]
 9 ἡμ[έραι ὅτε ζητή-]
 10 σε[τέ με καὶ οὐ μὴ]
 11 [εὐρήσετε με].

SAYING 39

P. Oxy. 655 col. ii. 11–23

- 11 [λέγει]
 12 [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· οἱ Φαρισαῖοι]
 13 [καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς]
 14 ἔλ[αβον τὰς κλειῖδας]
 15 τῆς [γνώσεως. αὐτοὶ ἔ-]
 16 κρυψ[αν αὐτάς. οὔτε]

(38) 2–7 restorations of Attridge || 8–11 restorations of Fitzmyer || 8 ἐλεύσονται αἱ Kraft || 9 ὅταν Kraft

(39) 11–13 λέγει–γραμματεῖς restorations of Fitzmyer || 13 οἱ γὰρ γραμματεῖς Michelsen || ἀπέλαβον Fitzmyer || 14 ἔλαβον Michelsen || τὰς κλειῖδας Allen : τὴν κλειῖδα Grenf.-Hunt || 15 γνώσεως Grenf.-Hunt || αὐτοὶ Kraft : καὶ Fitzmyer || ἔκρυψαν Allen : ἀπέκρυψαν Fitzmyer || 16 κρύψαντες Hofius || αὐτάς. οὔτε (οὐδέ Allen) Fitzmyer, Allen

- 17 εἰσῆλ[θον, οὔτε τοὺς]
18 εἰσερ[χομένους ἀφῆ-]
19 καν [εἰσελθεῖν. ὑμεῖς]
20 δὲ γεί[νεσθε φρόνι-]
21 μοι ὡ[ς ὄφεις καὶ ἄ-]
22 κέραι[οὶ ὡς περιστε-]
23 ρα[ί].

17–18 τοὺς εἰσερχομένους Allen : τοῖς εἰσερχομένοις Grenf.-Hunt || 18–19 ἀφῆκαν εἰσελθεῖν Allen : οὐκ ἀνεῖσαν Fitzmyer || 19–23 ὑμεῖς . . . ὄφεις (οἱ ὄφεις Allen) . . . περιστραί (αἱ περιστραί Allen) Allen, Kraft || 20 i.e. γίνεσθε

SAYING 77
(Cf. above, saying 30)

UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS OF P. OXY. 655

The text of fragments *f* and *h* (both now lost) is repeated from the transcription of B. P. Grenfell and A. Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel* (Egypt Exploration Fund; London: Frowde, 1904) 38. Fragments *e* and *g* are still conserved with the other fragments of P. Oxy. 655, and have been recollated.

Fragment *e* was carefully examined to ascertain whether it would join the fifth line of Fragment *d* in saying 24; the results are negative.

Fragment *e* [- - -].KO[- - -]

Fragment *f* [- - -] . . . [- - -]
 [- - -].A[- - -]
 [- - -] . . . [- - -]

Fragment *g* [- - -] . . . [- - -]
 [- - -]K . [- - -]
 [- - -]ΑΝ[- - -]
 [- - -] . . . [- - -]

Fragment *h* [- - -] . . . [- - -]
 [- - -]E[- - -]
 [- - -] . . . [- - -]

TRANSLATION

These are the [secret] sayings [which] the living Jesus [spoke and which Judas, who is] also Thomas, [wrote down].

(1) And he said, “[Whoever finds the interpretation] of these sayings will not experience [death].”

(2) [Jesus said], “Let him who seeks continue [seeking until] he finds. When he finds, [he will be amazed. And] when he becomes [amazed], he will rule. And [once he has ruled], he will [attain rest].”

(3) Jesus said, “[If] those who lead you [say to you, ‘See], the kingdom is in the sky,’ then the birds of the sky [will precede you. If they say that] it is under the earth, then the fish of the sea [will enter it, preceding] you. And, the [kingdom of God] is inside of you. [and it is outside of you. Whoever] knows [himself] will discover this. [And when you] come to know yourselves, [you will realize that] you are [sons] of the [living] father. [But if you] will [not] know yourselves, [you dwell] in [poverty] and it is you who are that poverty.”

(4) [Jesus said], “The [man old in days] will not hesitate to ask [a small child seven days old] about the place [of life, and] he will [live]. For many who are [first] will become [last, and] the last will be first, and [they will become one and the same].”

(5) Jesus said, “[Recognize what is in] your (sg.) sight, and [that which is hidden] from you (sg.) will become plain [to you (sg.)]. For there is nothing] hidden which [will] not [become] manifest, nor buried that [will not be raised].”

(6) [His disciples] questioned him [and said], “How [shall we] fast? [How shall we pray]? How [shall we give alms]? What [diet] shall [we] observe?”

“You” as spoken by Jesus is always plural, except when explicitly marked “sg.” (cf. sayings 5, 26, 33). In this translation, Lambdin’s version of the Coptic is adapted to the text of the Greek fragments.

Jesus said, “[Do not tell lies, and] do not do what you [hate, for all things are plain in the sight] of truth. [For nothing] hidden [will not become manifest].”

(7) [. . .] Blessed is [the lion] which becomes [man when consumed by man; and cursed is the man] whom [the lion consumes . . .]

(24) [. . . There is light within a man] of light, [and he (or: it) lights up the whole] world. [If he (or: it) does not shine, he (or: it) is [darkness].

(26) [. . .] and then you (sg.) will see clearly to cast the mote from your (sg.) brother’s eye.

(27) Jesus said, “If you do not fast as regards the world, you will not find the kingdom of God. If you do not observe the Sabbath as a Sabbath, you will not see the father.”

(28) Jesus said, “I took my place in the midst of the world, and I appeared to them in flesh. I found all of them intoxicated; I found none of them thirsty. And my soul became afflicted for the sons of men, because they are blind in their hearts and do [not] have sight [. . .]”

(29) [. . . makes its home in this] poverty.

(30 + 77b) [Jesus said], “Where there are [three], they are without God, and where there is but [a single one], I say that I am with [him]. Lift up the stone, and you will find me there. Split the piece of wood, and I am there.”

(31) Jesus said, “No prophet is accepted in his own country; no physician heals those who know him.”

(32) Jesus said, “A city built on a high mountain and fortified cannot fall, nor can it be hidden.”

(33) Jesus said, “(That which) you (sg.) hear in one of your (sg.) ears, [preach . . .]”

(36) [Jesus said, “Do not be concerned] from morning [until evening and] from evening [until] morning, neither [about] your [food] and what [you will] eat, [nor] about [your clothing] and what you [will] wear. [You are far] better than the [lilies] which [neither] card nor [spin]. As for you, when you have no garment, what [will you put on]? Who might add to your stature? He it is who will give you your cloak.”

(37) His disciples said to him, "When will you become revealed to us and when shall we see you?"

He said, "When you disrobe and are not ashamed [. . . afraid]."

(38) [Jesus] said, "[Many times have you desired to hear these words of mine], and [you have no one else to hear (them) from. There will be] days [when you will look for me and will not find me]."

(39) [Jesus] said, "The pharisees and the scribes have taken the keys] of [knowledge (gnosis) and] hidden [them. They themselves have not] entered, [nor have they allowed to enter those who were about to] come in. [You], however, [be as wise as serpents and as] innocent [as doves]."

(77) *Cf. above, saying 30.*

UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS OF
P. OXY. 655

Fragment <i>e</i>	] . . . [	(untranslatable frg.)
Fragment <i>f</i>	] . . . [	(untranslatable frg.)
Fragment <i>g</i>	] . . . [	(untranslatable frg.)
Fragment <i>h</i>	] . . . [	(untranslatable frg.)

TRACTATE 3

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

INTRODUCTION

WESLEY W. ISENBERG

1. The *Gospel According to Philip* (*GPh*) is a collection of statements concerning sacraments and ethics, named for Philip the apostle, probably written in Syria in the second half of the third century A.D., and generally Valentinian in theology. It must have been composed in Greek, though only a single, imperfectly preserved Coptic version now survives.

2. TITLE AND GENRE. *a. Title and identification.* The title of this work is not based on its incipit; rather, it appears as the last line of the text (86:18–19). Since the title is not set off as a true subscript title in the manner of other works in this codex, it is possible that the title was not originally copied in the manuscript, and was only added by the copyist as an afterthought or correction.

There is no indication in the body of the text that the Philip mentioned in the title is to be considered the author of this otherwise anonymous work. The title may derive simply from the fact that Philip is the only apostle cited in it by name (73:8). There are two Christians named Philip in the New Testament: the first, Philip the apostle, is merely listed among the disciples in the synoptic gospels and Acts, but is a participant in certain narratives in John (1:43–51; 6:1–15; 12:20–36; 14:8–9); the second, Philip the evangelist, one of the Seven, has the distinction of being the father of four virgin daughters who prophesied (Acts 6:5; 8:5–40; 21:8–9). Early Christian tradition made a composite saint of these two men (cf. Eusebius *H.E.* 3.31). The *Acts of Philip* characterize this composite saint as an ascetic apostle who preached chastity and continence in marriage and as one who conquered the dark demons of the heavens by sacramental means. It is undoubtedly this same composite figure who was accorded a particular eminence among the Gnostics: in the *Pistis Sophia* (71–72 Schw.-P.) Philip is named, along with Thomas and Matthew, as a privileged recipient and custodian of dominical revelation.

A work entitled *Gospel of Philip* was cited by the heresiologist Eriphanius (*Haer.* 26.13.2–3) as being in use among certain Gnostics in Egypt during the fourth century, but the passage he quotes from it—about the ascent of the soul past hostile planetary powers, who seek to prevent its return to the transcendent world—does not occur in the work edited

here. At a later date a *Gospel of Philip* was mentioned as being in use among the Manichaeans (cf. Timothy of Constantinople, *PG* 86. 1.21C, and Ps.-Leontius of Byzantium, *PG* 86. 1.1213C). It is possible that the gospel referred to by Epiphanius and the one used by the Manichaeans are the same, but our text cannot easily be identified with it, since its sacramental theology runs counter to Manichaean doctrine. The existence of two different texts with the same title is not unusual; there is an instance in the Nag Hammadi codexes themselves (e.g. the two *Apocalypses of James*, CG V,3 and V,4).

The title of this text, therefore, may be due to its single reference to Philip the apostle; but more probably it reflects the particular way early Christian tradition and literature revered the name of Philip. It is also possible that our text shared a common content and purpose with an earlier *Gospel of Philip* that is now lost.

b. Genre. The *GPh* is not a gospel in the usual sense; rather, it is a collection of theological statements concerning sacraments and ethics. These statements are expressed in a variety of literary types: aphorism and analogy; parable, paraenesis, and polemic; narrative dialogue, dominical sayings, biblical exegesis, and dogmatic propositions. The collection is not organized in a way that can be conveniently outlined. Aside from certain sections where some continuity is effected through an association of ideas (cf. 51:29–52:35, a series of contrasts) or catchwords (cf. 77:15–78:24, the word “love”), the line of thought is rambling and disjointed. Complete changes of subject are common. The text gives the impression of logical coherence because of the recurrence of certain themes (e.g., the meaning of the names of Jesus, 56:3–15, 62:7–17, 63:21–24; the necessity of experiencing resurrection before death, 56:15–20, 56:26–57:22, 66:16–23, 73:1–8; putting on light to keep the powers from grasping one, 70:5–9, 76:22–77:1, 86:4–10), but this coherence is probably more circumstantial than actual. The concept of the bridal chamber, perhaps the main concern of the work, is not mentioned at all until halfway through (65:11) and is increasingly emphasized as it draws to a close. In the last seven pages individual thoughts tend to be developed in larger discussions than before.

Although the *GPh* contains some sayings of Jesus, it hardly compares in this regard with the work which precedes it in the codex, the *Gospel According to Thomas*. The latter consists of one saying of Jesus after another. The *GPh* contains only fifteen sayings of Jesus: seven are citations of Jesus’ words already found in the canonical gospels (55:33–34, 57:4–5, 68:8–12, 68:26–27, 72:34–73:1, 84:7–9, 85:29–31), and eight are extracanonical sayings (56:1–3, 58:11–14, 59:26–27, 63:28–30, 64:4–5, 64:10–12, 67:31–34, and 74:25–26). All of the latter are brief (several have a riddle-like quality) and are best interpreted from a

Gnostic perspective.

The genre of the *GPh* may thus be designated a collection of excerpts, a kind of florilegium. It resembles most the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, transmitted with the works of Clement of Alexandria.

3. COMPOSITION. *a. Compilation; arrangement.* If the genre of the *GPh* is a collection of excerpts, then the person responsible is more aptly called a compiler-editor than an author.

The compiler-editor's hand may be seen in the arrangement of material. He has purposely disjoined paragraphs that had a continuity of thought and deposited the pieces in diverse places in the work. Several examples of these *disjecta membra* should suffice. If 70:5–9 is combined with 76:22–77:1 and 66:7–29, in that order, one obtains an intelligible statement about the differing destinies of those who are and are not clothed with light. The second and third segments—both clearly delimited within their present contexts—begin with ambiguous pronouns: “they” (76:22) and “he” (66:7). Both pronouns gain proper antecedents when the paragraph is reconstructed.

Another instance of disjoining may be studied when 75:13–14 is immediately prefixed to 61:36–62:5. The connection lies in the words “receive” and “give,” which are used in the same order in both segments. The first segment provides the theme developed by the second. In 63:5–11 the point is made that earthenware jugs cannot be remade if broken because “they came into being without breath.” This segment appears to be the analogy prefacing the point of 70:22–29, which begins, “The soul of Adam came into being by means of a breath.” One may assume that the recurrence of certain themes results from the technique of disjoining and distributing, rather than the systematic treatment of various topics. Though not impossible, it is certainly unnatural and unexpected for an author to dismember the continuity of thought his literary work possesses and to distribute the pieces variously, especially in such a way that an isolated segment of thought will make little or no sense in the context in which it occurs.

It is difficult to determine whether the compiler-editor of the *GPh* has added any transitional and interpretative material of his own. The many abrupt changes of thought seem to be intentional; but some transitions may have been so carefully worked out that they are now unrecognizable. Expressions such as “compare” (56:24, 60:23, 62:23, 81:1), “so also” (53:29, 65:15, 74:36), “how much more” (58:20, 82:5), “because of this” (52:28, 53:17) or “for this reason” (53:20, 56:5), are part of the language of interpretation or application. These are conceivably the work of the compiler-editor; but since there are passages where analogy or thesis and its corresponding interpretation or application are found in

different contexts (63:5–11 and 70:22–29; 75:13–14 and 61:36–62:5), as a seeming result of disjoining and distributing, it is likely that these interpretations were already a part of the sources used by the compiler-editor.

b. Sources. Because of the contents of the *GPh* and the literary types it displays, it is probable that the compiler-editor has taken his excerpts chiefly, if not entirely, from a Christian Gnostic sacramental catechesis. The work offers explanations for sacramental rites of initiation, discusses the meaning of sacred names, especially the names of Jesus, and provides paraenetic material about the ideal life of the initiated. It gives exegesis of biblical passages, makes use of typology, both historical and sacramental, and in expected catechetical fashion argues often on the basis of analogy and parable. In these and other ways the *GPh* resembles the orthodox Christian catecheses of the second to fourth centuries, as exemplified in the writings of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Ambrose, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

It is possible that a small part of the work's contents may have been excerpted from a Gnostic gospel. It pictures Jesus appearing to his disciples on a mountain in supernatural form (57:28–58:10); there is dialogue (59:23–27, 64:1–5); and certain mysteries are taught, e.g., the meaning of Echmoth and Echamoth (60:10–15). The statement ascribed to Philip in 73:9–14 may also have come originally from a Gnostic gospel. But material like this could also derive from a Gnostic catechesis; e.g., 73:9–14 concludes by reference to a sacrament.

4. AUTHOR. PLACE OF COMPOSITION, DATE. Because the compiler-editor intervenes chiefly in the selection and arrangement of material, the voice of the original author (as distinct from the later compiler) can still be heard. He speaks as a catechist to catechumens preparing for the initiation rite. He expounds for them the meaning of the scriptures, addressing them as members of a closed community. Twice (61:20–35, 78:25–79:13) he uses the second person singular to describe the experience of the individual initiate. He carries on a polemic against "some who say" things he opposes (e.g., 55:23–36, 56:15–20, 57:9–19, 73:1–8), but who are not present in his classroom to respond. These opponents are perhaps orthodox church leaders.

The original work, from which the Coptic was translated, was presumably composed in Greek. However, Syria is the probable place of composition, for various reasons, including interest shown in Syriac words (63:21–23, 56:7–9), affinities to Eastern sacramental practice and catecheses, and espousal of encratite ethics. A date in the second half of

the third century would suit the many parallels to Gnostic and Christian literature.

5. CONTENTS. Because the *GPh* is eccentrically arranged and only sporadically shows continuity of thought, its contents can be best approached by reference to summarizing statements found in the text. One such statement, at 69:1–4, treats the dominant theme of the *GPh*, the mysteries of the bridal chamber, and in this context identifies two distinct groups: (a) “animals, slaves, and defiled women,” who may not enter the bridal chamber, and (b) “free men and virgins,” who may.

a. Animals. “Animals” are always disparaged in the text. If man controls animals (60:15–23), it is by a hidden superiority (64:12–22). Until he received “bread from heaven,” man ate the same food as animals (55:6–14). “Animals” and men must remain separate (78:25–28, 75:25–26). But “there are many animals in the world which are in human form” (81:7–8), probably because Adam ate from the tree which bore animals; having become an animal, he brought forth animals (71:24–26). If one is an “animal” he belongs “outside or below” rather than “above” or “within” (79:5–11). The person kept from entering the bridal chamber feeds from the crumbs which fall from the table, like dogs (82:19–23). “Slaves” are to be contrasted with “sons” (52:2–6), with “children” (81:12–14) and with the “free” (79:13–18). A “slave” is one who commits sin (77:18), who is ignorant of the inner wickedness which enslaves him (83:18–29, 85:24). “Defiled women” are all women who participate in sexual intercourse, i.e., in “the marriage of defilement,” which is fleshly and lustful (81:34–82:10). Unclean spirits seek to defile men and women sexually (65:1–23). Eve’s adultery with the snake produced a snake-like person who murdered his brother (61:5–12).

b. Free men and virgins. “Free men and virgins” are the opposite of “animals, slaves, and defiled women.” A virgin has never been defiled by sexual intercourse (55:27–28; cf. 81:34–82:8). The “free man” does not sin (77:15–18). He neither fears the flesh nor loves it (66:4–6). He is endangered by the deceptions of the rulers (archons) who seek to enslave him (54:16–31). “Free men and virgins” possess various gifts and privileges. They know the origin and destiny of their existence (64:9–12). They may also be called “the perfect” who conceive and beget through a kiss (58:26–59:6). The perfect have put on the perfect light (76:25–28, 70:5–9), which will help them elude the heavenly powers (86:7–11). The holy spirit is the light (57:14–15), which explains why the heavenly garment of light is better than those clothed in it (57:21–22). “Free men and virgins” are those called “Christians” (74:13–16), who possess “the

resurrection" and the "cross" (74:18–21). One must have a proper understanding of resurrection (53:23–34); he must attain the resurrection, sacramentally, before he dies (56:15–20, 73:1–8), or he will surely end up in "the middle," which is death (66:7–21). He will rise in "the flesh" of Jesus (56:26–57:19), which alone is "true flesh" (68:31–37).

Animal sacrifices, according to the *GPh*, were instituted by "the rulers" in their effort to dominate men (54:31–55:5, cf. 62:35–63:4). Such sacrifices are to be replaced by that which they typified or prefigured—the sacraments. Three places of sacrifice in the temple of Jerusalem correspond to, or are types of, three stages of the initiation rite (69:14–29). The kind of "sacrifice" the *GPh* would still encourage is living a life of continence (cf. 59:27–34).

c. Bridal chamber. The author understands the existential malady of mankind to be a direct result of the differentiation of the sexes, stemming from Eve's separation from Adam (68:22–26; cf. Gen 2:18–25). The purpose of Christ's coming is to reunite "Adam" and "Eve" (70:12–17). Since husband and wife unite in the bridal chamber, the reunion effected by Christ will also take place in a bridal chamber, the sacramental one (70:17–22), where man receives a foretaste and assurance of his ultimate union with his angelic counterpart (cf. 58:10–14).

The *GPh* uses the term "bridal chamber" in a variety of ways: the primordial paradise which Eve was not privileged to inhabit (70:20–22); the place where Jesus was begotten (71:3–15); the place of intercourse in human marriage (cf. 81:34–82:14); the heavenly bridal chamber (84:14–85:21); the sacramental bridal chamber (65:11–12). It appears also that "bridal chamber" is a covering term for the whole initiation. Gifts or graces bestowed in certain stages of the initiation are also said to be given in the bridal chamber. The light in which one clothes oneself as a prophylactic against evil powers is usually associated with chrism (67:5–6, 69:12–14, 57:27–28), but is also connected with the bridal chamber (86:4–11; or, "the union," 70:5–9). In 74:12–24 the one anointed in chrism is said to possess everything—resurrection, light, the cross, the holy spirit—but then the author adds, "The father gave him this in the bridal chamber." "It is from water and fire and light that the son of the bridal chamber" came into being (67:3–5; cf. also 69:25–27). Conversely, what one expects to be associated with bridal chamber appears in reference to eucharist (58:10–14) or baptism and chrism (69:4–14). Thus the summarizing statement of 67:27–30 lists five stages of a complete initiation, rather than five separate, unrelated sacraments.

d. Sacraments. The *GPh* does not describe, step by step, the ritual of all or any of these stages. We do learn, however, that in baptism one "goes down into the water and comes up" with the gift of the name "Christian," so that he can say "I am a Christian" (64:22–31; cf. 77:9–12).

Baptism by immersion is probably referred to in the analogy of God as a dyer (61:12–20). The initiate strips off his clothes before entering the water so that he may put on the perfect man as a new garment (75:21–25). Evidently a sacramental robe was worn after the baptism. That the chrism was a warm perfumed oil is apparent from references to the chrism as fire (67:5–9, 57:27–28) and to the oil as being fragrant (77:36–78:7, 82:15–23). Perhaps a trinitarian formula was used at the moment of anointing (67:19–20). In orthodox initiation of the period a kiss of peace would be exchanged after the anointing; our text refers to such a kiss exchanged by “the perfect” (59:2–6). It also indicates that the priest consecrates the bread and the cup for the eucharist (77:2–8). The consecrated cup contains wine mixed with water (75:14–21). The consecrated bread is “bread from heaven,” fit food for the initiate (55:10–14). Partaking of the bread and cup is receiving “the flesh and the blood” of Jesus (56:26–57:22; cf. 63:21–24). The *GPh* also mentions a further ritual called ransom, or redemption, but gives no details about it. This stage of the initiation is merely compared to “the holy of the holy” in the Jerusalem temple (69:23–24). The innermost mystery of the initiation is bridal chamber, or union. Here “Adam” and “Eve” are reunited (70:12–22), the restoration accomplished (67:16–18), and rest achieved (71:13–15; cf. 72:22–24), but no description of this ritual is provided. In a work which so strongly disapproves of “the flesh” (56:20–26, 66:4–6) and so abhors adultery (61:5–12), it is unlikely that any act of actual or even “spiritual” intercourse occurred in the final stage of initiation. The liturgical kiss exchanged by the perfect (59:2–6) may have occurred here, rather than earlier in the initiation.

Though necessary, sacraments are a thin shadow of what they typify and represent (84:14–23). They are “lowly types and forms of weakness” compared with “the perfect glory” which they mirror (85:10–16).

e. Analogies and parables. The *GPh* presents an understanding of man’s predicament and its sacramental solution by frequent use of analogies and parables, e.g., sowing and reaping (52:25–35), good dyes (62:12–18), parables of a pearl cast into the mud (62:17–23, cf. 56:20–26), of glass decanters and earthenware jugs (63:5–11), of an ass at the millstone (63:11–21), of a blind man in the dark (64:5–9), of a wise householder (80:23–81:1), and an analogy of exposed intestines (82:34–83:2).

f. Biblical allusions. Although the work alludes often to the Old Testament, especially the creation account in Genesis, and to many New Testament passages, it cites specifically only a dozen New Testament verses. Matthew is cited five or six times, John three times, 1 Corinthians twice, Mark once (unless this is a reference to Matthew), and 1 Peter once. In its contentment with biblical imagery and types, the *GPh* avoids elaborate

mythological speculation. But although this work is steeped in New Testament language and terminology, the interpretative perspective is Gnostic. The system presupposed is Valentinian.

6. AFFILIATIONS WITH OTHER WORKS. The *GPh* is copied immediately after the *Gospel According to Thomas*. As a collection of excerpts, the *GPh* outwardly resembles the *Gospel According to Thomas*, which is a sayings collection; this resemblance may have suggested the sequence to the copyist of the Coptic manuscript. There are also many conceptual agreements between the two texts. The final saying (114) in the *Gospel According to Thomas*, concerning the necessity of return to the primordial androgynous state (cf. also saying 22), presents a theme developed in the *GPh*. The *Gospel According to Thomas* shares with it an ascetic outlook and often employs the same terminology. Interest in the restoration of the androgynous condition is found also in the *Expository Treatise on the Soul*, which is also copied in our manuscript (II.6).

The *GPh* makes an important contribution to our rather scant knowledge of Gnostic sacramental theology and practice. The sacraments referred to in this work were similar to those used by orthodox Christians for the initiation of candidates in the annual Paschal festival. The Gnostics who wrote and used the *GPh* had not departed radically from orthodox sacramental practice and had not (as had the Marcosians) devised new, comically magical sacramental rituals (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.2; 21.3-5).

As a literary work the *GPh* contributes to our knowledge of the dominical sayings tradition and the Christian catechetical tradition in general. Its peculiar arrangement of material makes it a literary curiosity among writings of the same genre.

The work is known from a single copy, which is for the most part free of errors. Both the beginning and the end of the text are clearly marked and no pages are missing. But every one of the thirty-six pages is damaged to some extent. The top of each page is generally intact, though usually a part of the first line is lost or illegible. The bottom outer corner of most pages, however, has been damaged. The extent of damage varies, the most severely affected passages occurring on pages 67-75, where the bottom nine lines are substantially lost. Conjectural restoration of the original text in such passages is very uncertain.

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- photographs Various 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
- Polotsky H. J. Polotsky, private communication
- Schenke H.-M. Schenke, “Das Evangelium nach Philippus,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 84 (1959) 1–26
- Schenke² Idem, in Schenke and J. Leipoldt, *Koptisch-ghnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi* [sic] (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich-Evangelischer Verlag, 1960)
- Schenke³ Idem, “Die Arbeit am Philippus-Evangelium,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 90 (1965) 321–332
- Schenke⁴ Idem, private communication October/November 1974
- Schenke⁵ Idem, December 1980

- Sevrin J.-M. Sevrin, "Les noces spirituelles dans l'Évangile de Philippe," *Le Muséon* 77 (1974) 143–193
- Till W. C. Till, *Das Evangelium nach Philippos* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963)
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- Wilson² Idem, private communication October 16, 1971

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 51²⁹ ΟΥΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ [ψ]ΑΥΤΑΜΙΕ ΖΕΒΡΑΙ||ΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ
 (99 Labib) [ΕΝΑ]ΕΙ Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ | ΧΕ ΠΡΟΧΛΥΤΟΣ ΟΥΠ[ΡΟΧΗ]ΛΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΑΥ|
 ΤΑΜΙΕ ΠΡΟΧΛΥΤΟΣ [.] . Ε ΜΕ(Ν) | ΣΕΨΟΟΠ Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΨ[. .
 *p. 52¹] | ΑΥΩ ΣΕΤΑΜΕΙΟ Ν̄ΖΝ̄ΚΟΟ[ΥΕ] * [ΔΕ] ΜΟΝΟ[Ν
 (100 L.) ΕΣ]ΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΨΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑ|ΨΩΠΕ`
 Π[ΖΜ]Ζ̄Δ̄Λ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΨΩΠΙΝΕ ΑΡ̄Ε|ΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ[Σ] ΜΑΥΨΙΝΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΣΑ
 5 ΤΟΥΣΙΑ | Μ̄ΠΕΧΟ[ΕΙ]Σ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ || ΟΟ Ν̄ΨΗ-
 ΡΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙΑ Μ̄ΠΕΙ|ΩΤ` ΨΑΥΣΑΖ̄ Ν̄ΣΩΨ` ΝΕΤ̄Ρ̄ΚΛΗ-
 ΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ | Ν̄ΝΕΤ`ΜΟΟΥΤ` Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΣΕΜΟΟΥΤ` | ΑΥΩ ΕΥΚΛΗΡΟ-
 ΝΟΜΕΙ Ν̄ΝΕΤ`ΜΟΟΥΤ` ΝΕΙΤ̄Ρ̄ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕΤΟΝΖ Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ ΣΕΟΝΖ
 10 || ΑΥΩ ΣΕ̄Ρ̄ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕΤΟΝΖ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤ`|ΜΟΟΥΤ` ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ`
 ΜΑῩΡ̄ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ | Λ̄ΛΑΔΥ Π̄ΩΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ` ΥΝΑΚΛΗΡΟΝΟ|
 ΜΕΙ ΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ` ΕΨΑΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ Μ̄|ΠΕΤΟΝΖ ΥΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΝ ΑΛ-
 15 ΛΑ ΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ` || ΕΥΝΑΩΝΖ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ
 ΟΥΖΕΘΝΙΚΟΣ Ρ̄ΡΩ|ΜΕ ΜΑΥΜΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΨΩΝΖ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΖ ΖΙΝΑ | ΕΥΝΑ-
 ΜΟΥ` ΠΕΝΤΑΖΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΜΕ ΑΥ`|ΩΝΖ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΪ ΥΒ̄ΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ
 ΕΜΟΥ ΥΟΝΖ | ΓΑΡ Χ̄ΙΜ̄ ΠΖΟΥΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑ Π̄Χ̄Σ ΕΙ ΣΕΣΩΝΤ` Μ̄-

51:29 rest. Schenke ("erschafft"), sim. Till: [Μ]ΑΥ sim. Kasser 30 rest. Polotsky: [ΕΝΑ]ΕΙ sim. rest. Isenberg² 32 [.]: letter trace after the lacuna can be read Η, Ι, Μ, Ν or Υ [ΧΕ ΖΟΕΙ]ΝΕ ΜΕ(Ν) Layton with hesitation, sim. Polotsky: [ΝΕΕΙ ΡΩ]ΜΕΜΕ(Ν) Schenke³ ("[diese Mensch]en μέν"), sim. Kasser: [Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄Μ]ΗΕ ΜΕ(Ν) sim. Ménard, but unlikely 33 Ψ[Ρ̄Π̄ΨΟΟΠ] Layton, with hesitation: Ψ[ΟΟΠ ΧΙΝ ΨΟΡΠ] sim. Ménard but unlikely 34 ΚΟΟ[ΥΕ Ν̄ ΚΟΟΥΕ] Layton, with hesitation: ΚΟΟ[ΥΕ Ν̄ΕΙΡΩΜΕ] Isenberg² 52:1 [ΔΕ]: Schenke⁴, sim. Krause: cf. 51:32 ΜΕ(Ν) ΜΟΝΟ[Ν ΕΣ] Schenke⁴: first letter trace can be read Η, Γ, Η, Ι, Κ, Μ or Π; second, Ο, Ε, Θ, Φ, Ζ or Β ΡΩΨΕ Till: for Ρ can also be read Υ

3 ΜΑΥ: reading of pap. cannot be ΨΑΥ 4 ΧΟ[ΕΙ]Σ: i.e. ΧΟ^{1/2}Υ ΕΙΣ

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

TRANSLATED BY

WESLEY W. ISENBERG

A Hebrew makes another Hebrew, ³⁰ and such a person is called ' "proselyte." But a proselyte does not ' make another proselyte. [. . .] ' exist just as they [. . .] ' and make others like themselves, **52** while [. . .] simply exist. '

The slave seeks only to be ' free, but he does not hope to acquire the estate ' of his master. But the son is not only ⁵ a son but lays claim to the inheritance of the father. ' Those who are heirs ' to the dead are themselves dead, ' and they inherit the dead. Those ' who are heirs to what is living are alive, ¹⁰ and they are heirs to both what is living and the dead. ' The dead are heirs to ' nothing. For how can he who is dead inherit? ' If he who is dead inherits ' what is living he will not die, but he who is dead ¹⁵ will live even more.

A gentile ' does not die, for he has never lived in order that ' he may die. He who has believed in the truth ' has found life, and this one is in danger of dying, for he is alive. ' Since Christ came the world has been created,

51:32-33 *possibly*, [For some] exist just as they [were in the beginning]

52:1 *possibly*, [these others]

- 20 || ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΣΕΡ̄ΚΟΣΜΕΙ Ν̄ΜΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΣΕ|ϸΙ Μ̄ΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ̄
 ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ ΝΕΝ̄ΨΟ|ΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ̄ ΝΕΝΟ̄ Ν̄ΟΡΦΑΝΟΣ ΝΕΥ|
 Ν̄ΤΑΝ Ν̄Τ̄Μ̄ΜΑΔΥ Ν̄ΤΑΡ̄Ν̄ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ν̄|ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΕΙΩΤ̄ ΖΙΜΑΔΥ
 25 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑ(Ν) ||
 ΝΕΤΣΙΤΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ Τ̄ΠΡΩ ΨΑΥΩΣΖ Ζ̄Μ̄ Π̄ΨΩΜ̄ | Τ̄ΠΡΩ ΠΕ ΠΚΟΣ-
 ΜΟΣ Π̄ΨΩΜ̄ ΠΕ ΠΚΕΔΙ|ΩΝ̄ ΜΑΡ̄Ν̄ΣΙΤΕ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΧΕΚΑ-
 ΔΣ | ΕΝΝΑΩΖΣ Ζ̄Μ̄ Π̄ΨΩΜ̄ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΨΨΕ | ΕΡΟΝ̄ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΤΡ̄Ν̄ΨΛΗΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄
 30 Τ̄ΠΡΩ ΠΙΕΒΟΛ || Ζ̄Ν̄ Τ̄ΠΡΩ̄ ΠΕ Π̄ΨΩΜ̄ ΕΡΨΑ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΩΣΖ | Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΕΠ-
 ΡΩ̄ ΕΦΝΑΩΣΖ ΑΝ̄ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΝΑΖΩ|ΛΕ ΖΩΣ ΠΑΞ|Ι Ν̄|ΤΕΕΙΜΕΙΝΕ ΕΦΝΑΤΕΥ|
 Ε ΚΑΡΠΟΣ [ΝΑϸ̄] ΔΝ̄ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΦ̄Ν̄ΗΝΗ | ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΑΛΛΑ
 35 Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΕΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ || [. Ο]ΥΑΤΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΤΕ
 *p. 53 ΑΠΕΧ̄Ρ̄Σ ΕΙ * ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΡΕϸΤΟΟΥΣ[Ε Ζ]̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ | ΔΕ ΕΤΡΕϸ-
 (101 L.) ΝΑΖΜΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΡΕϸΣΟ|ΤΟΥ ΝΕΤΟ Ν̄Ψ̄Μ̄ΜΟ Ν̄ΤΑϸΤΟΟΥΣΕ ΔϸΑ|
 5 ΔΥ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥϸ ΝΕ ΔΥΩ ΔϸΝΟΥΖ̄ || † Ν̄Ν̄ΕΤΕ ΝΟΥϸ ΝΑΕΙ Ν̄-
 ΤΑϸΚΑΔΥ Ν̄ΝΕΟΥ|Ω Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕϸ̄ΟΥΨΩ̄ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕϸ̄|ΟΥΩΝΖ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔϸΚΩ Ν̄ΤΨΥΧΗ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕϸ̄|ΟΥΨΩ̄ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΙΜ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 10 ΨΟ|ΟΠ̄ ΔϸΚΩ Ν̄ΤΨΥΧΗ Μ̄ΠΣΟΠ̄ ΕΤΕϸ̄ΟΥ||ΩΨ̄ ΤΟΤΕ ΔϸΕΙ Ν̄ΨΟΡΠ̄
 ΕΦΝΑϸΙΤ̄ ΕΠΕΙ | Ν̄ΤΑϸΚΑΔΣ Ν̄ΝΕΟΥΩ̄ ΔΣΨΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΝΛΗ-
 ΣΤΗΣ ΔΥΩ ΔΥϸΙΤ̄ Ν̄ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΣ ΔϸΝΟΖ|ΜΕΣ ΔΕ ΔΥΩ
 ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ | ΔϸΣΟΤΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΘΟΥ

AUXILIARY NOTES

52:21 i.e. ΕΝΕΝΨΟΟΠ.

53:5 i.e. ΝΟΥϸ ΝΕ : cf. Layton *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973) 182.
 5-6 i.e. Ν̄ΕΥΩ. 9 ΕΤΕϸ- : Sah. ΕΤϸ-. 11 i.e. Ν̄ΕΥΩ.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

32 ΠΑΞ : ϸ read from small, ambiguous trace rest. Till : cf. 80:3, 86:10 33 sim.
 rest. Kasser : [ΜΠΡ]ΔΝ̄ Schenke⁴ 34 ΕΒΟ[Λ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΝ] Isenberg² : ΕΒΟ[Λ̄ Μ̄ΜΗΝΕ]
 Schenke³ ('[an jedem Tage] hervor') : ΕΒΟ[Λ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΝΖΩΒ] sim. Kasser, but unlikely 35
 [ΤΕϸ̄ΩΨΩΕ Ο]Υ sim. Isenberg² : [ΤΕϸ̄ΜΕΙΝΕ Ο]Υ sim. Kasser : [ΤΕϸ̄ΣΟΜ̄ Ο]Υ sim. Ménard
 53:5 † Ν̄Ν̄ΕΤΕ : emend to Ν̄Ν̄ΕΤΕ 5-6 understood as Ν̄Ν̄ΕΟΥΩ by de Catanzaro, but
 unlikely (cf. 53:11) 10-11 ΕΠΕΙ <ΤΑΕΙ> Ν̄ΤΑϸΚΑΔΣ . . . ΔΣΨΩΠΕ Schenke³ ('nachdem
 [έπει] sie, die . . . hinterlegt war . . . , . . . geraten . . . war')

²⁰ the cities adorned, ' the dead carried out. When we were ' Hebrews we were orphans and ' had only our mother, but when we became ' Christians we had both father and mother. ²⁵

Those who sow in winter reap in summer. ' The winter is the world, the summer the other eternal realm (aeon). ' Let us sow in the world that ' we may reap in the summer. Because of this it is fitting ' for us not to pray in the winter. Summer ³⁰ follows winter. But if any man réap ' in winter he will not actually reap but only ' pluck out, since it will not provide ' a harvest for such a person. It is not only [. . .] that it ' will [. . .] come forth, but also on the Sabbath ³⁵ [. . .] is barren.

Christ came **53** to ransom some, ' to save others, to ' redeem others. He ransomed those who were strangers and ' made them his own. And he set ⁵ his own apart, those whom he gave as a pledge ' according to his plan. It was not only when he ' appeared that he voluntarily laid down his life, ' but he voluntarily laid down his life ' from the very day the world came into being. ¹⁰ Then he came first in order to take it, since ' it had been given as a pledge. It fell into the hands of ' robbers and was taken captive, but he ' saved it. He redeemed the good people ' in the world as well as the evil.

52:33–34 *possibly*, not only [now] that it will [not] come forth

52:35 *possibly*, [his field] is barren

- 15 ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ Μῆ ΠΚΑ||ΚΕ ΠΩΝΖ Μῆ ΠΜΟΥ ἸΟΥΝΑΜ Ἰ ΜῆΝΖΒΟΥΡ | ἸΝCΗΝΥ
 ΝΕ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Μῆ ΒΟΜ ἸΝCΕΠΩΡΧ | ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Ἰ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΟΥ-
 ΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ|ΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΘΟΟΥ CΕΖΟΟΥ | ΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΝΖ
- 20 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΠΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΟΥ||ΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΑΒΩΛ
 | ΕΒΟΛ Ἰ ΑΤΕΦΑΡΧΗ ΧΙΝ ΨΟΡΠ Ἰ ΝΕΤΧΟCΕ | ΔΕ ΑΠΚΟCΜΟC Ζῆ-
 ΝΑΤΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕ | ΖῆΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕ
- 25 ἸΡΑΝ ΕΤΟΥ† ΜῆΜΟΥ Α(Ν)|ΚΟCΜΙΚΟC ΟΥἸΤΕΥ ΜῆΜΑΥ ἸΟΥΝΟC Μ||-
 ΠΛΑΝΗ CΕΠΩΨC ΓΑΡ ΜΠΟΥΖΗΤ Ἰ ΕΒΟΛ | Ζῆ ΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ Ἰ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ Ἰ ΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤCΩΤῆ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΦΝΟ|ΕΙ ΑΝ Μ-
 ΠΕΤCΜΟΝΤ Ἰ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦῆΝΟΕΙ Μ|ΠΕΤῆCΜΟΝΤ ΑΝ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΟΝ Μ-
- 30 ΠΕΙΩΤ Ἰ Μῆ ΠΨΗΡΕ Μῆ ΠΠῆΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Μῆ | ΠΩΝΖ Μῆ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ
 ΤΑΝΑCΤΑ|CΙC Μῆ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙᾶ [Μ]ῆ ἸΚΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΕΥῆΝΟΕΙ ΑΝ Ἰ-
- 35 ΝΕΤ|CΜΟ|ἸΤ Ἰ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥῆ|ΝΟΕΙ ἸΝΕΤῆCΜΟΝ|Τ Ἰ ΑΝ ΠΛ|ΗΝ Ἰ ΑΥCΕ||ΒΟ
 ΑΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ Ἰ ῆΡᾶ[Ν ἸΤΑΥC]ΑΤΜΟΥ | CΕΨΟΟΠ Ἰ Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C
- *p. 54¹
 (101 L.) . .] * [ΑΠ]ΑΤΑ [Ε]Ἰ[ΕΥ]Ψ[Ο]ΟΠ Ἰ Ζῆ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΥΝΑ|ῆΟΝΟΜΑΖ[Ε] ΑΝ
 Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ἸΛΛΑΑΥ ἸΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΚΑΑΥ Ζῆ ἸΖΒΗΥΕ ἸΚΟCΜΙ-
- 5 ΚΟΝ ΟΥἸΤΑΥ ΜῆΜΑΥ ἸΝΟΥΖΑΝ Ζῆ || ΠΑΙΩΝ
 ΟΥΡΑΝ Ἰ ΟΥΩΤ Ἰ ΜΑΥΤΕΥΟΥΑΥ Ἰ Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΠΡΑΝ Ἰ ΤΑ ΠΕΙΩΤ Ἰ
 ΤΑΑΥ Ἰ ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΧΟCΕ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ Ἰ ΕΤΕ ΠΑ|ΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΑΝ Ἰ Μ-
- 10 ΠΕΙΩΤ Ἰ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΓΑΡ Ἰ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ Ἰ ΕΙΩΤ Ἰ CΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ ΑΥ† ΖΙ|
 ΩΩΥ Ἰ ΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ Ἰ ΠΕΕΙΡΑΝ ΝΕ|ΤΕΥἸΤΑΥΨ CΕῆΝΟΕΙ ΜΕΝ Ἰ Μ-
 ΜΟΥ CΕΨΑ|ΧΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΜῆΤΑΥΨ ΔΕ CΕ|ῆΝΟΕΙ

16–17 Sah. ἸΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ . . . ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ. 22 Sah. ΖΕΝΑΤΒΩΛ.

25 Sah. ΜΠΕΥΖΗΤ. 28 ΑΨ : Sah. ΕΨ. 29 ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΟΝ : i.e. ΤΑΕΙΤΕ ΘΕ. 54:4 i.e. ἸΟΥΖΑΝ.
 5 i.e. ἸΟΥΩΤ. 9 i.e. ἸΕΙΩΤ.

32 [Μ]ῆ : of ῆ superlin. stroke is definite, Ν restored 33]ἸΤ Ἰ : for ῆ can also be read ἠ
 or γ 35 ῆΡᾶ[- -]ΑΤ : for ῆΡᾶ[can also be read ῆΡ[; for]ΑΤ can also be read]Τ ῆᾶ[Ν
 ἸΤΑΥC]ΑΤΜΟΥ Schenke⁴, sim. Ménard 36–54:1 ΠΚΟCΜΟ[ῆ]*[. .]ΑΤΑ : or else ΠΚΟCΜΟ-
 [ῆ]*[. .]ἸΑ ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C - -]*[ΑΠ]ΑΤΑ Krause, with hesitation : ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C ΖΩC Ἰ
 ΡΕΥῆ]*[ΑΠ]ΑΤΑ sim. Kasser : also possible is ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C ΖΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑῆ]*[ΑΠ]ΑΤΑ 54:1
 [Ε]Ἰ[ΕΥ]Ψ[Ο]ΟΠ Schenke (‘‘wenn sie in dem Äon wären’’), sim. Ménard 2 of ῆ, Ρ not
 definite, superlin. stroke restored 3–4 ἸΖΒΗΥΕ . . . ΟΥἸΤΑΥ : ‘‘den Dingen . . . <die> ein
 Ende finden’’ em. Schenke³

11 -ΥἸΤ ΑΥΨ : second γ added above the line

Light and darkness, ¹⁵ life and death, right and left, ' are brothers of one another. They are inseparable. ' Because of this neither are the good ' good, nor the evil evil, ' nor is life life, nor death death. ²⁰ For this reason each one will dissolve ' into its earliest origin. But those who are exalted ' above the world are indissoluble, ' eternal.

Names given ' to the worldly are very deceptive, ²⁵ for they divert our thoughts ' from what is correct to what is incorrect. ' Thus one who hears the word "God" does not perceive ' what is correct, but perceives ' what is incorrect. So also with "the father" ³⁰ and "the son" and "the holy spirit" and ' "life" and "light" and "resurrection" ' and "the church" and all the rest—' people do not perceive what is correct but they ' perceive what is incorrect, [unless] they ³⁵ have come to know what is correct. The [names which are heard] ' are in the world [. . . **54** deceive. If they] were in the eternal realm (aeon), they would ' at no time be used as names in the world. ' Nor were they set among ' worldly things. They have an end in ⁵ the eternal realm.

One single name is not uttered ' in the world, the name which the father gave ' to the son; it is the name above all things: ' the name of the father. For the son ' would not become father unless he wore ¹⁰ the name of the father. ' Those who have this name know it, but they do ' not speak it. But those who do not have it ' do not know it.

53:36–54:1 possibly, [to deceive]; some letters of the word "deceive" are preserved

ΜΜΟϞ ΔΝ

15 ΑΛΛΑ ΔΤΜΕ ΧΠΕ ΖΕΝΡΑ(Ν) | ΖΜ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΤἢ † ΝΑΕΙ ΕΜἢ ΒΟΜἢ ||
 ΔΣΕΒΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΡἘΡΑΝ ΟΥΕΙ ΟΥΩΤἢ | ΤΕ ΤΜΕ † CO ἢΖΑΖ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΤΒΗΤἢ ΕΤΣΕ|ΒΟ ΕΠΑΕΙ ΟΥΑΔΑϞἢ † Ζἢ ΟΥΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΙΤἢ | ΖΑΖ ΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ
 20 ΟΥΩΨ ΑΡΑΠΑ ΤΑ Μ|ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞἢ ΕΥἢΤΑϞἢ || ΜΜΑΥ ἢ-
 ΝΟΥΣΥΓἢ ΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΨΑ ΝΕΤΝΑ|ΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΑΜΕ ΑΥϞΙ ΠΡΑΝ ἢΝΕΤΝΑἢ-
 ΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΥΤΑΑϞἢ ΑΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΝἢ | ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΖΙΤἢ ΡἘΡΑΝ ΕΥΝΑΡἢ ἄΠΑ-
 25 ΤΑ Μ|ΜΟϞἢ ΑΥΩ ἢΣΕΜΟΡΟΥ ΕΖΟΥἢ ἢ ΑΝΕΤΝΑ||ΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΝ ΑΥΩ ΜΜἢἢ-
 CΩC ΕΨΧΕ ΕΥ|ΕΙΡΕ ΝΑΥ ἢΟΥΖΜΟΤἢ ἢCΕΤΡΟΥCΕΖΩΟΥ | ΕΒΟΛ ἢΝΕΤΝΑ-
 ΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΝ ΑΥΩ ἢCΕ|ΚΑΑΥ Ζἢ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΑΕΙ ΝΕΥCΟ|ΟΥἢ Μ-
 30 ΜΟΟΥ ΝΕΥΟΥΨ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΟΥ||ϞΙ ΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡ|Ο|C ἢCΕΚΑΑϞἢ ΝΑΥ ἢ-
 ΖΜΖΑΛἢ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ

 ΟΥἢ ΖἢΔΥΝΑΜΙC | ΨΟΟΠἢ ΕΥ†Ζ[. . .] ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕCΕΟΥΨ | ΔΝἢ
 ΑΤΡΕϞἢ ΟΥ[ΧΑΕΙ] ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩ|ΠΕ ΕΥΜ[. . . .] Λἢ ΕΡΨΑ ΠΡΩΜΕ
 35 ΓΑΡ || ΟΥϞ[ΔΕΙ ἢΝΟΥ]ΨΩΠΕ ἢCΙ ΖἢΘΥCΙΑ | [.] ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΤΑΛΕ
 *p. 55¹
 (103 L.) ΘΗΡΙΟἢ * ΕΖΡΑἢ ἢἢΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝΕ [Ζ]ἢ[Θ]ΗΡΙΟΝ ΓΑΡ | ΝΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΤΕ-
 ΛΟ ΕΖΡΑἢ ΝΑ[Υ] ΝΕΥΤΕΛΟ | ΜΕΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑἢ ΕΥΟΝΖ ἢΤΑΡΟΥ-
 5 ΤΕ|ΛΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑἢ ΑΥΜΟΥ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΤΕΛΟϞ || ΕΖΡΑἢ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

15 i.e. ἢΟΥΩΤ. 20 i.e. ἢΟΥCΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ.

32–33 εCε- . . . ΔΝ: Sah. εNCε- . . . ΔΝ.

14 † ΝΑΕΙ: emend to ΤΑΕΙ (Layton): deleted by de Catanzaro 16–17 † . . . †: poss. emend to ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΗΤἢ CO ἢΖΑΖ ΕΤCΕ|ΒΟ (Layton): ΑΥΩ CO ἢΖΑΖ ΕΤΒΗΤἢ ΕΤCΕΒΟ Schenke (“und sie ist vieles unsretwegen, um zu lehren . . .”) 24 ΜΟΡΟΥ: ΜΟΡϞ em. de Catanzaro (“bind him”)

32 prob. restore † Ζ[ΗΥ Ε]: also poss. is † Ζ[ΑΖ Μ]: † Ζ[ΡΕ Μ] Schenke (“dem Menschen [Nahrung] geben”): palaeographically unlikely is † Ο[ΥΒΕ] (thus Wilson²) 33 ΟΥ[: for Ο can also be read Θ: for γ can also be read Ϟ ΟΥ[ΧΑΕΙ] rest. Ménard, sim. rest. Krause : ΟΥ[ΩΜ] rest. Schenke (“[isst]”) 34 ΕΥΜ[. . . .] Λἢ : for γ can also be read Ϟ: no superlin. stroke was written above Μ: for Λ can also be read Δ ΕΥΜ[ΗΝ ΕΒΟ]Λ Schenke⁵: also possible is ΕΥΜ[ΗΖἢ ΕΒΟ]Λ 35 ΟΥϞ[: for Ϟ can also be read γ ΟΥϞ[ΔΕΙ - - -] sim. rest. Krause [- - - ἢΝΟΥ] sim. Kasser: [- - - ΕΥΝΑ] Ménard 36 [ἢΖἢΘΗΡΙΟΝ] Ménard: also possible is [ἢΔΥΝΑΜΙC]: “[es gab Opfer (θυσία)]” rest. Schenke³ <ἢ>- ΝΕΥ Kasser 55: l of ἢ. the letter ἢ is definite, superlin. stroke restored: rest. Schenke (1985) [Θ]ΗΡΙΟΝ Schenke³ ΓΑΡ: deciphered by Schenke⁴ 2 rest. Till

But truth brought names into existence ' in the world for our sakes because it is not possible ¹⁵ to learn it without these names. Truth is one single thing; ' it is many things and for our sakes to ' teach about this one thing in love through ' many things. The rulers (archons) wanted to deceive ' man, since they saw that he had ²⁰ a kinship with those that are ' truly good. They took the name of those that are good ' and gave it to those that are not good, ' so that through the names they might deceive ' him and bind them to those that are ²⁵ not good. And afterward, what a ' favor they do for them! They make them be removed ' from those that are not good and place them ' among those that are good. These things they knew, ' for they wanted to ³⁰ take the free man and make him a ' slave to them forever.

There are powers ' which [. . .] man, not wishing ' him to be [saved], in order that they may ' [. . .]. For if man ³⁵ is [saved, there will not] be any sacrifices ' [. . .] and animals will not be offered **55** to the powers. Indeed the animals were ' the ones to whom they sacrificed. They were indeed offering ' them up alive, but when they ' offered them up they died. As for man, they offered ⁵ him up to God

54:16–17 it is many things . . . to teach: *text erroneus*

54:32 *possibly*, [benefit] man

54:34 *possibly*, may [have their fill]

54:35–36 *possibly*, be any sacrifices [to animals]

dead, and he lived. '

Before Christ came there was no bread ' in the world, just as Paradise, the place ' where Adam was, had many trees ' to nourish the animals but no wheat ¹⁰ to sustain man. Man used to feed ' like the animals, but when Christ ' came, the perfect man, he brought bread ' from heaven in order that man might be nourished ' with the food of man. The rulers ¹⁵ thought that it was by their own power and will ' that they were doing what they did, ' but the holy spirit in secret ' was accomplishing everything through them ' as it wished. Truth, ²⁰ which existed since the beginning, is sown everywhere. And ' many see it being sown, ' but few are they who see it being reaped. '

Some said, ‘‘Mary conceived by ' the holy spirit.’’ They are in error. ²⁵ They do not know what they are saying. When ' did a woman ever conceive by a woman? ' Mary is the virgin whom no ' power defiled. She is a ' great anathema to the Hebrews, who ³⁰ are the apostles and [the] apostolic men. ' This virgin whom no power ' defiled [. . .] the powers ' defile themselves. And the lord [would] not have said, ' ‘‘My [father who is in] heaven’’ (Matt 16:17) ³⁵ unless [he] had had another father, ' but he would have said simply, ‘‘[My father].’’ '

- *p. 56¹
(104 L.) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΜΜΑΘ|ΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ^{1:3½}. | * {ΕΒ|ΟΛ ΖΝ |Η|ΕΙ
ΝΙΜ| } ΕΝΙΕΖΟΥΝ` ΕΠΗΕΙ| ΜΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΡΧΙΟΥ<Ε> ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ` ΖΝ
ΠΗ|ΕΙ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΕΤΝ̄ϞΙ ΕΒΟΛ`
- 5 ΙC ΟΥΡΑ(Ν) | ΠΕ ΕΖΗΠ` ΠΕΧΡC ΟΥΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΦΟΥΟΝΖ ||
ΕΒΟΛ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΙC ΜΕΝ ΨΟΟΠ ΑΝ| ΖΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΝΑΣΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ
ΠΕΦΡΑΝ` ΠΕ Π̄ΗC | ΝΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ` ΜΜΟC ΠΕΧΡC | ΔΕ
ΠΕϞ`ΡΑΝ` {ΠΕ} ΜΜΝΤCΥΡΟC ΠΕ ΜΕC|CΙΑC ΜΜΝΤΟΥΑΕΙΑΝΙΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ
10 ΠΧC ΠΑ(Ν)|ΤΩC ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΝΤΑϞ` ΜΜΑϞ | ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑC ΠΕ Μ-
ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ` | ΠΝΑΖΑΡΗΝΟC ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ | ΜΠΠΕ-
ΘΗΠ` ΠΕΧC ΟΥΝΤΑϞ` ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ` | ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤϞ` ΕΙΤΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΙΤΕ
15 ΑΓ`ΓΕΛΟC || ΕΙΤΕ ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑϞΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ`
ΝΕΤΧΩ | ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΟΥ` ΝΨΟΡΠ` ΑϞΩ | ΑϞΤΩΟΥΝ` CΕΡ-
ΠΛΑΝΑ ΑϞΤΩΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ` | ΝΨΟΡΠ` ΑϞΩ ΑϞΜΟΥ ΕΤΜ ΟΥΑ ΧΠΕ | ΤΑ-
20 ΝΑCΤΑCΙC ΝΨΟΡΠ` ϞΝΑΜΟΥ ΑΝ ϞΟΝΖ || ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΗ
ΝΑΜ< - - - >
ΜΛ ΛΑ|ΔΥ ΝΑΖΩΠ` ΝΝΟΥΝΟC ΜΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΕϞΤΑ|ΕΙΗΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC Ν-
ΖΩΒ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ` | ΔΟΥΑ ΖΝΤΒΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΝΤΟΥ ΗΠΕ ΑϞΝΟCΧΟΥ | ΑϞ-
25 ΖΩΒ ΖΑ ΟΥΑC CΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ Ν||ΤΨΥΧΗ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕϞΤΑΕΙΗΥ
ΠΕ ΑCΨΩ|ΠΕ ΖΝΝΟΥCΩΜΑ ΕϞΨΗC
ΟΥΝ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ | Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΧΕ ΜΗΠΩC ΝCΕΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΥΚΑ|ΚΑΖΗΥ ΕΤΒΕ
30 Π|Α|ΕΙ CΕΟΥΨΩ ΕΤΩΟΥΝ | ΖΝ ΤCΑΡΖ ΑϞΩ |C|ΕCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΕΤΡ̄|
ΦΟΡΕΙ ΝΤC|ΑΡΖ ΝΤΟ|ΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΤΚΗΚΑΖΗΥ | ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΕ| | ΜΜΟΟΥ
ΕΚΑΚΟΥ | ΕΖΗ|Υ | Ν|ΤΟΥ ΕΤΚ|ΑΚΑΖΗΥ ΑΝ ΜΝ CΑΡΖ` | {ΖΙ CΝΟΥ ΝΑ}-
*p. 57¹
(105 L.) Ρ̄ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΝΤΜΝΤΕ||ΡΟ ΜΠΠΝΟ|ΥΤΕ ΝΙΜ` ΤΕ ΤΑΕΙ` ΕΤΝΑΚΛΗ*ΡΟ-
ΝΟΜΕΙ ΑΝ` ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΖΙΩΩΝ ΝΙΜ ΔΕ ΤΕ| ΤΑΕΙ ΖΩΩC ΕΤΝΑΚΛΗΡΟΝΟ-

37 i.e. ΝΜΜΑΘΗΤΗC.

56:6 i.e. ΝΑCΠΕ. 12 ΟΥΟΝΖ : i.e. ΟΥΩΝΖ (Barns emends thus, with hesitation).

21 i.e. ΝΟΥΝΟC. 26 i.e. ΖΝ ΟΥCΩΜΑ.

37 ΜΑΘ|ΗΤΗC - - -] : for Θ can also be read Ϟ 37-56:1 e.g. [- - - ΕΙ| * {ΕΒ|ΟΛ ΖΝ :
[- - - ΕΝΙ| * {ΕΒ|ΟΛ ΖΝ Isenberg² 56:1 ΟΛ : for Ο can also be read ΔΙ or ΛΙ; for Λ can also
be read χ ζ read from small, ambiguous trace Ν̄ : or else Μ̄: superlin. stroke
restored ΕΝΙ : i.e. ? ΔΝ(Ε)ΝΕ 2 em. Schenke (1985)

8 {ΠΕ} Layton

19 ΑΝ deleted by Schenke 20 ΝΑΜ^{ΛΛ} pap.: cf. above p. 5 : unincised space left for
two letters (e.g. ΟΥ); papyrus surface is perfect poss. emend to ΝΑΜΟΥ (thus Ménard?) :
ΝΑΜ<ΟΥ ΑΝ> Schenke ('[nicht] sterben')

31 ΕΤΕ|ΥΝ CΟΜ` sim. rest. Emmel 32 rest. Schenke⁴ 33-34 cf. 1 Cor 15:50 σάρξ

The lord said to the disciples, “[. . .] **56** from every house. Bring into the house ' of the father. But do not take (anything) in the house ' of the father nor carry it off.’’

“Jesus” is a hidden name, ' “Christ” is a revealed name. ⁵ For this reason “Jesus” is not particular ' to any language; rather he is always called ' by the name “Jesus.” While as for “Christ,” ' in Syriac it is “Messiah.” ' in Greek it is “Christ.” Certainly ¹⁰ all the others have it ' according to their own language. ' “The Nazarene” is he who reveals ' what is hidden. Christ has everything ' in himself, whether man or angel ¹⁵ or mystery, and the father.

Those who say ' that the lord died first and (then) ' rose up are in error, for he rose up ' first and (then) died. If one does not first attain ' the resurrection he will not die. As God ²⁰ lives, he would . . .

No one ' will hide a large valuable object ' in something large, but many a time ' one has tossed countless thousands ' into a thing worth a penny. Compare ²⁵ the soul. It is a precious thing and it came to be ' in a contemptible body.

Some ' are afraid lest they rise naked. ' Because of this they wish to rise ' in the flesh, and [they] do not know that it is those who ³⁰ wear the [flesh] who are naked. ' [It is] those who [. . .] to unclothe ' themselves who are not naked. “Flesh ' [and blood shall] not inherit the kingdom ' [of God]” (1 Cor 15:50). What is this which will **57** not inherit? This which is on us. But what ' is this, too, which will inherit?

55:37 possibly, [Come forth] from; or, [Bring out] from

56:12 or, “The Nazarene” is he who is revealed to

56:20 after he would the copyist has written a single letter and then left a short space blank, no doubt because the manuscript he copied from was damaged or illegible at this point. The words be dead or not die have been conjectured by some scholars but their meaning here would be very obscure. There is no way to be sure how much of the original text has been omitted here.

56:31 possibly, those who [are able] to unclothe themselves (i.e., who succeed in unclothing themselves)

ΜΕΙ ΤΑ ΙC | ΤΕ ΜN ΠΕQ`CΝΟQ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ | ΠΕΤ-
 5 ΔΟΥΩΜ ΑΝ NΤΑCΑΡΖ ΑΥΩ NQCΩ M||ΠΑCΝΟQ` ΜNΤΑQ ΩΝΖ ΓΡΑΪ N-
 ΖΗΤQ ΑΥ | ΤΕ` ΤΕQ`CΑΡΖ ΠΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΕQ`CΝΟQ` | ΠΕ
 ΠNΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΧΙ ΝΑΕΙ ΟΥ(N)ΤΕQ` ΤΡΟΦΗ ΑΥΩ ΟΥN-
 10 ΤΑQ` CΩ ΖΙ B`CΩ` | ΑΝΟΚ` †C`N ΑΡΙΚΕ ΑΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΧΩ MΜΟC || ΧΕ
 CΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΕΙΤΕ NΤΟΟΥ MΠΕC|ΝΑΥ CΕΩΟΟΠ` ZN
 ΟΥΨΤΑ` ΚΧΩ MΜΟC | ΧΕ ΤCΑΡΖ` ΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΟΟC
 ΕΡΟ|ΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΨΙΝΑ ΕΝΑΤΑ|ΕΙΟΚ` ΚΧΩ MΜΟC ΧΕ
 15 ΠNΝΑ ZN ΤCΑΡΖ || ΑΥΩ ΠΕΕΙΚΕΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΠΕ ZN ΤCΑΡΖ ΟΥΛΟ|ΓΟC
 ΠΕ ΠΕΕΙΚΕ ΕQZN ΤCΑΡΖ ΧΕ † ΠΕΤΚΝΑ|ΧΟΟC ΕΚ ΧΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΑΝ MΠΒΟΛ
 NΤCΑΡΖ | ΖΑΠC ΠΕ ΕΤΩΟΥΝ ZN ΤΕΕΙCΑΡΖ` ΕΖΩΒ | ΝΙΜ` ΨΟΟΠ` N-
 20 ΖΗΤC ZM ΠΕΕΙΚΟCΜΟC || ΝΕΤ† ΖΙΩΟΥ N`NΖΒCΩ CΕCΟΤΠ` ΑΝN|-
 ZB`CΩ ZN ΤΜNΤΕΡΟ ΝMΠΗΥΕ N`ZB`CΩ | CΕCΟΤΠ` ΑΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΖΙΩΟΥ
 ΖΙΤN | ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΜN ΟΥΚΩΖΤ` ΕΥΤΟΥΒΟ MΠΜΑ | ΤΗΡQ` ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΖΙΤN
 25 ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ Ε||ΒΟΛ ΝΕΘΗΠ` ΖΙΤN ΝΕΘΗΠ` ΟΥΝ ΖΟ|ΕΙΝΕ ΕΥΖΗΠ` ΖΙΤN
 ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ | ΟΥMΜΟΟΥ ZN ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΟΥN ΚΩΖΤ` | ZN-
 ΝΟΥΧΡΙCΜΑ
 30 ΑΙC QΙΤΟΥ NΧΙΟΥΕ | ΤΗΡΟΥ MΠΕQ`ΟΥΩN[Ζ] ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ` NΘΕ ||
 ΕΝΕQΨΟΟΠ` [NΖ]H[ΤC Α]ΛΛΑ ΝΤ`ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ NΘΕ ΕΤ[ΟΥΝΑΨ]-
 C`M BOM` NΝΑΥ | ΕΡΟQ` NΖΗΤC Ν[ΔΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΗ]ΡΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 35 ΝΑΥ ΑQ[ΟΥΩΝΖ] ΕΒΟΛ N[N]ΝΟC ΖΩC ΝΟC ΑΦΟΥΩ[ΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ] N||N-
 *p. 58¹
 (106 L.) ΚΟΥΕΙ ΖΩC ΚΟΥΕΙ ΑQ[ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ] * [N`N]ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΖΩC ΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΑΥΩ | N`P`ΡΩΜΕ ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΑΠΕQ`ΛΟΓΟC ΑQΖΟΠQ` ΕΟΥΟΝ`
 5 ΝΙΜ` ΖΟΕΙΝΕ | ΜΕΝ` ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ` ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΝΑΥΝΑΥ || ΕΡΟΟΥ M-
 ΜΙΝ MΜΟΟΥ` ΑΛΛΑ NΤΑΡΕQ`ΟΥΩΝΖ` ΕΒΟΛ` NΝΕQ`ΜΑΘΗΤΗC ZN-
 ΝΟΥΕΟ|ΟΥ ΖΙΧM ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΕQO ΑΝ NΚΟΥΕΙ ΑQ`ΨΩΠΕ N-

57:4 i.e. πετε nqnaouwn an. 8 i.e. zbcw (Till emends thus). 20–21 annzbcw : Sah. enzbcw

28 i.e. zn ouxrima.

58:4 Sah. neynay. 6 i.e. zn oueouy.

57:10 ειτε : epei em. de Catanzaro : Till reads as corruption for eita, with hesitation 15
 peike : copyist first omitted iota, then added it between epsilon and kappa 16 †
 petkna|xooc : emend to petkna.xooc (Layton)

30 [nz]h[tc a]λλα : cf. 57:32 : [na]m[ε a]λλα sim. Till, but unlikely ouwnz read in
 photographs 31 rest. Schenke ("wie [sie] ihn sehen konnten"), sim. Barns 32 n[δαι
 δε τη]ρου Layton : "die [sich im] Wasser befinden" Schenke (i.e. ? n[et]z[m]m[rou])

It is that which belongs to Jesus ' and his blood. Because of this he said, ' "He who shall not eat my flesh and drink ⁵ my blood has not life in him" ' (John 6:53). What ' is it? His flesh is the word, and his blood ' is the holy spirit. He who has received these has ' food and he has drink and clothing. ' I find fault with the others who say ¹⁰ that it will not rise. Then both of them ' are at fault. You (sg.) say ' that the flesh will not rise. But tell me ' what will rise, that we may honor you (sg.). ' You (sg.) say the spirit in the flesh,¹⁵ and it is also this light in the flesh. (But) this too is a matter ' which is in the flesh, for whatever you (sg.) shall say, ' you (sg.) say nothing outside the flesh. ' It is necessary to rise in this flesh, since ' everything exists in it. In this world ²⁰ those who put on garments are better than the ' garments. In the kingdom of heaven the garments ' are better than those who have put them on.

It is through ' water and fire that the whole place is purified—' the visible by the visible, ²⁵ the hidden by the hidden. There are some things ' hidden through those visible. ' There is water in water, there is fire ' in chrisem.

Jesus took them all by stealth, ' for he did not appear as ³⁰ he was, but ' in the manner in which [they would] be able to see ' him. He appeared to [them all. ' He appeared] to the great ' as great. He [appeared] ³⁵ to the small as small. He [appeared **58** to the] angels as an angel, and ' to men as a man. Because of this his ' word hid itself from everyone. Some ' indeed saw him, thinking that they were seeing ⁵ themselves, but when he appeared ' to his disciples in glory ' on the mount he was not small. He ' became

10 ΝΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ Ν̄ΤΑϞϞ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ | Ν̄ΝΟΣ ΧΕΚΑΔΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩΒ̄Μ̄ ΒΟΜ̄ Ν̄ΝΑΥ
 || ΕΡΟϞ̄ ΕϞΟ Ν̄ΝΟΣ
 ΠΕΧΑϞ̄ Μ̄ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄Μ̄|ΜΑΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ ΧΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΩΤ̄Ρ̄ | Μ̄ΠΤΕ-
 ΛΕΙΟΣ † ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ̄ ΕΠ̄Π̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΕΤΟΥ|ΔΑΒ̄ Ζ̄ΟΤ̄Ρ̄ Ν̄ΑΓ̄`ΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΡΟΝ̄`
 15 ΖΩΩΝ Α Ν̄|ΖΙΚΩΝ Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕῙ Μ̄Π̄ΖΙΕΒ̄` Δ̄Χ̄Ν̄|ΤϞ̄ ΓΑΡ̄ Μ̄Ν̄
 ΨΩΒΟΜ̄` ΕΝΑΥ ΕΠ̄<Ρ̄>ΡΟ` Μ̄Ν̄ ΛΑΔΥ | ΝΑΨ† ΠΕϞ̄`ΟΥΘΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ̄` ΕΠ̄Ρ̄ΡΟ
 ΕϞ̄|ΚΗΚΑΖΗϞ̄`
 Π̄Ρ̄Μ̄Π̄Π̄ ΝΑΨΕ ΝΕϞ̄`ΨΗΡΕ | Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ` ΑΠ̄Ρ̄Μ̄ΚΑΣ ΕΨΧΕ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄-
 20 Δ|ΔΑΜ̄` ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΚΑΙΤΟΙΓΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥ ΠΟ||ΣΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΤΕ-
 ΛΕΙΟΣ Ρ̄Ρ̄Ω|ΜΕ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΜΑΥΜΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟ|ΟΥ` ΟΥΘΕΙΩ
 ΝΙΜ̄` ΠΕΙΩΤ` ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΨΗΡΕ` Μ̄Ν̄ ΒΟΜ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` Ν̄Ϟ̄ΤΑ|
 25 ΜΙΕ ΨΗΡΕ ΠΕΝ`ΤΑΥ ΧΠΟΥ ΓΑΡ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ ΒΟΜ̄` || Μ̄ΜΟΥ` Ν̄Ϟ̄ΧΠΟ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΕΨΨΗΡΕ ΧΠΟ` | ΝΑϞ̄` Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΣΝΗΥ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΔΝ̄ ΝΕΤΟΥ|ΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΤΗ-
 ΡΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ | ΕΥΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟΥ|Υ| ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΥ|Ω Ν̄ΚΟΥΘΕ
 30 Ζ̄Μ̄ [ΠΑΕ] | [ΕΤ]ΟΥ ΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟΥ || ΕΒΟΛ̄` Ν̄Ζ̄ΗΤϞ̄ [ΕΥΣΟΕΙ]Ω` ΕΒΟΛ̄` Μ̄ΜΑΥ
 | ΕΠ̄Ρ̄ΩΜΕ Χ̄| Μ̄Π̄ΣΟ|ΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Μ̄ Π̄Ρ̄|Ρ̄|ΗΤ` ΕΖ̄Ο|ΥΝ̄ ΕΠ̄ΤΟ|ΠΟΣ Μ̄Π̄ΣΑ
 ΝΤΠΕ | [.] Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ Τ`ΤΑΠΡΟ | [ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕ] ΑΠΛΟΓΟΣ
 *p. 59¹
 (107 L.) ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΥ * ΝΕϞ̄ΝΑΣΟΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΤΑΠΡΟ ΑΥ[Ω] | ΝΕϞ̄ΝΑΨΩ-
 ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΓΑΡ̄ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΠΕΙ ΕΥΩ̄ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΧΠΟ ΔΙΑ
 5 ΤΟΥΤΟ | ΔΟΝΟ` ΖΩΩΝ Τ̄Ν̄† ΠΙ ΕΡ̄Ν̄ Ν̄Ν̄ΝΕΡΗΥ || ΕΝΧΙ Μ̄Π̄Ω ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄
 ΤΧΑΡΙΣ ΕΤΖ̄Ν̄ Ν̄|Ν̄ΝΕΡΗΥ

13 a : i.e. za.

22 i.e. ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ̄ . . . ΤΑΜΙΕ-. 59:4 Ν̄Ν̄ΝΕΡΗΥ : Sah. ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ. 5-6 Sah. ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.

58:12 † ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ : emend to ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ (thus de Catanzaro) 15 em. Schenke ("den König"), Till : understood as "the door" (ΠΡΟ) by de Catanzaro, Barns with hesitation

29 Ζ̄Μ̄ : or else Ζ̄Ν̄; superlin. stroke is definite [] . [: letter trace can be read Δ, Ι, Ν etc.; no superlin. stroke was written above this letter ΟΥΧΠΟ : reading of pap. cannot be ΕΥΧΠΟ rest. Schenke¹ : Ζ̄Ν̄ [ΝΑΕ] | [ΕΤ]ΟΥ sim. rest. Krause, with hesitation 30 rest. Layton (cf. 59:1) : [ΝΑΣΟΕΙ]Ω Kasser 31 for Χ̄ can also be read γ̄ or apostrophe rest. Layton 31-32 Ρ̄|Ρ̄|ΗΤ rest. Schenke ("Verheissung"), Till 32 ΕΖ̄Ο| : also possible are ΕΒΟ|, ΕΧ|, ΕΥ|, etc. ΕΖ̄Ο|ΥΝ̄ Ε - - - | Schenke¹ [- - - ΤΟ]ΠΟΣ Schenke¹ : [- - - ΣΚΟ]-ΠΟΣ Schenke 33 [- - -] a negative conjugation is expected, e.g. ΜΑΥ- 34 rest. Layton : for the Coptic construction cf. *Apophthegmata Patrum* p. 2, line 26 ed. Chaîne (Zoega p. 291) 59:1 Ζ̄Ν̄ : Ν is definite, superlin. stroke restored

great, but he made the disciples ' great, that they might be able to see ¹⁰ him in his greatness.

He said on that day ' in the thanksgiving, “You who have joined ' the perfect light with the holy spirit, ' unite the angels with us also, ' as being the images.” Do not despise the lamb, for without it ¹⁵ it is not possible to see the king. No one ' will be able to go in to the king if he is ' naked.

The heavenly man has many more sons ' than the earthly man. If the sons of Adam ' are many, although they die, ²⁰ how much more the sons of the perfect man, ' they who do not die but are ' always begotten. The father makes a son, ' and the son has not the power to make ' a son. For he who has been begotten has not the power ²⁵ to beget, but the son gets ' brothers for himself, not sons. All who ' are begotten in the world ' are begotten in a natural way, and ' the others [are nourished] from [the place] whence they have been born. ³⁰ It is from ' being promised to the heavenly place ' that man [receives] nourishment. ' [. . .] him from the mouth. ' [And had] the word gone out from that place **59** it would be nourished from the mouth and ' it would become perfect. For it is ' by a kiss that the perfect conceive and give birth. For this reason ' we also kiss one another. ⁵ We receive conception from the grace which is in ' one another.

58:15 the king: *the manuscript has (erroneously) the door (but in 58:16. the king)*

- 10 ΝΕ ΟΥΝ ΨΟΜΤΕ ΜΟΩΨΕ ΜΝ | ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ` ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΨΜΑΔΥ |
 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΨΩΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗ ΤΑ|ΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΨΚΟΙΝΩ-
 ΝΟΣ || ΜΑΡΙΑ ΓΑΡ` ΤΕ ΤΕΨΩΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΨ`ΜΑΔΥ | ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΨΩΤΡΕ
 ΤΕ
 15 ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΨΗ|ΡΕ ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ ΝΕ ΡΡΑΝ ΠΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ | ΟΥΡΑΝ`
 ΠΕ ΝΔΙΠΛΟΥΝ ΣΕΨΟΟΠ ΓΑΡ` Μ|ΜΑ ΝΙΜ` ΣΕΜΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΣΕΜ-
 ΠΣΑ ΜΠ||ΤΝ ΣΕΖΝ ΠΕΘΗΠ` ΣΕΖΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ ΠΠΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ` ΨΖΜ ΠΟΥΩΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ` ΨΖΜ ΠΣΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ ΨΖΜ ΠΕΘΗΠ`
 | ΨΖΜ ΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ
 20 ΣΕΨΜΨΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ|ΑΔΒ` ΖΙΤΝ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ` || ΣΕΟ ΓΑΡ Ν-
 ΒΛΛΕ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ` | ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΥΝΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΡΖΥΠΗΡΕ|ΤΕΙ Ν-
 ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΖΟΠΟΤΕ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕ|ΤΟΥΑΔΒ` ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΑΥ[[Μ]ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ
 25 Ρ|ΔΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ||ΖΩΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΨ
 ΝΑΨ` ΧΕ | ΕΡΙΑΙΤΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ ΑΥΩ ΣΝΑ† ΝΑΚ | ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ
 ΠΕΧΕ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟ|ΛΟΣ ΝΝΜΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΤΜΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΤΗΡΣ ΜΑ-
 30 ΡΕΣΧΠΟ [Ν]ΑΨ ΝΟΥΖΜΟΥ` || ΝΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ [ΕΤΣΟΦΙ]Δ ΧΕ
 ΖΜΟΥ ΑΧΝΤΣ | ΜΑΡΕ ΠΡΟΣΦ[ΟΡΑ Ψ]ΠΕ ΕΨΨΗΠ` ΤΣΟ|ΦΙΑ ΔΕ
 ΟΥΣΤΕΙΡ[Α ΤΕ ΑΧΝ] ΨΗΡΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ|ΤΟ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ[Σ ΧΕ ΠΚΕ]ΣΕ-
 35 ΠΕΙ Ν|ΖΜΟΥ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΨ[. . .]ΝΨ || ΝΤΟΥΖΕ ΠΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ
 *p. 60^l [. . . 5. . . * ΑΥ]Ψ ΝΑΨ[Ε] ΝΕΣΨΗΡΕ
 (108 L.) ΠΕΤΕΥΝΤΑΨ` | ΝΣΙ ΠΕΙΩΤ` ΝΑ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΥ ΖΩ|ΨΨ` ΠΨΗ-
 ΡΕ ΕΝΖΟΣΟΝ ΦΟ ΝΚΟΥΕΙ` ΜΑΥ|ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΝΑΨ`ΑΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΨ` ΖΟΤΑΝ
 5 ΕΨ`||ΨΑΨΨΠΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΨΕΙΩΤ` † ΝΑΨ` | ΝΕΤΕΥΝΤΑΒΣΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ

7 i.e. ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ.

12 i.e. ΖΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ (de Catanzaro emends thus), Sah. ΖΕΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ.

20 i.e. ΠΠΝΑ. 22 i.e. ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ. 24 i.e. ΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ.

28 ΝΝΜ- : Sah. ΝΝ-. ΤΜ- : i.e. ΤΕΝ-.

60:6 i.e. ΝΕΤΕΥΝΤΑΨΕ.

8 τες : τεΨ em. Schenke ("seine")

23 [[Μ] cancelled by the copyist 27 ΖΝ : ΖΝ <Ν>- or ΖΝ <ΖΝ>- em. Till

29 ΖΜΟΥ : ΖΜΟΤ em. Schenke 30 rest. Krause. sim. Barns : cf. 59:31-32 31 εΨ :
 ες Barns 32 rest. Barns, Till 33 εΡΟ[Σ ΧΕ ΠΚΕ]ΣΕΠΕΙ Schenke³ ("der R)est") with
 hesitation 34 ΖΜΟΥ : ΖΜΟΤ em. de Catanzaro with hesitation]ΝΨ : of Ν, superlin-
 stroke is definite, Ν restored; Ψ, or else ω 60:1]Ψ : or else]ϩ sim. rest. Kasser

There were three who always walked with ' the lord: Mary his mother ' and her sister and the Magdalene, the one ' who was called his companion.
¹⁰ His sister and his mother ' and his companion were each a Mary.

“The father” and “the son” ' are single names, “the holy spirit” ' is a double name. For they are ' everywhere: they are above, they are below; ¹⁵ they are in the concealed, they are in the revealed. ' The holy spirit is in the revealed: ' it is below. It is in the concealed: ' it is above.

The saints are served ' by evil powers, ²⁰ for they are blinded by the holy spirit ' into thinking that they are serving ' an (ordinary) man whenever they do so for the saints. ' Because of this a disciple ' asked the lord one day for something ²⁵ of this world. He said to him, ' “Ask your mother, and she will give you ' of the things which are another’s.”

The apostles said ' to the disciples, “May our entire offering ' obtain salt.” ³⁰ They called [Sophia] “salt.” Without it ' no offering [is] acceptable. But Sophia ' is barren, [without] child. For this reason ' she is called “... of ' salt.” Wherever they will [. . .] ³⁵ in their own way, the holy spirit [. . . , **60** and] her children are many.

What the father possesses ' belongs to the son, and the son ' himself, so long as he is small, is not ' entrusted with what is his. But when ⁵ he becomes a man his father gives him ' all that he possesses.

^{59:20} they are blinded: viz., *the evil powers*

ΝΕΤCORM` ΝΕ ΤΕ Π`ΠΝᾹ ΧΠΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΨΑΥCΩΡM` ΟΝ` ΕΒΟΛ | ΖΙ-
 ΤΟΟΥΤϞ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ` ΖΙΤM ΠΙΠΝᾹ | ΟΥΩΤ` Ϟ ΧΕΡΟ Ν̄ΔΙ ΠΚΩΖΤ`
 10 ΑΥΩ ϞΩΨM̄ ||
 ΚΕΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΕΧΑΜΩΘ̄ ΑΥΩ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΠΕ` | ΕΧMΩΘ̄ ΕΧΑΜΩΘ̄ ΤΕ ΤCΟ-
 ΦΙΑ ΖΑΠΛΩC | ΕΧMΩΘ̄ ΔΕ ΤΕ ΤCΟΦΙΑ M̄ΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΤΑ|ΕΙ ΤΕ {ΤCΟΦΙΑ
 15 M̄ΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ} ΕΤCΟ|ΟΥΝ M̄ΠΜΟΥ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ||
 ΤΚΟΥΕΙ N̄CΟΦΙΑ
 ΟΥN̄ ΖN̄ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΨΟΟΠ` | ΕΥΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE M̄ΠΡΩΜΕ N̄ΘΕ M̄ΠΜΑCCE | ΜN̄
 ΠΕΙΩ ΜN̄ ΖN̄ΚΟΟΥΕ N̄ΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΟΥ|N̄ ΖN̄ΚΟΟΥΕ ΨΟΟΠ` ΕΥΖΥΠΟ-
 20 ΤΑCCE ΔN̄ | ΕΥΟΥΑΤ` ΖN̄ ΝΕΡΗΜΙΑ` ΠΡΩΜΕ CΚΔΕΙ N̄|ΤCΩΨΕ ΖΙΤN̄ N̄-
 ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE | ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖM̄ ΠΑΕΙ ϞCΟΕΙΨ` N̄ΤΟΥϞ` ΜN̄ N̄-
 ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤ`ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤ`ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΔN̄ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ
 25 ΘΕ M̄ΠΤΕΛΙΟC | P̄ΡΩΜΕ ΖΙΤN̄ ΖN̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙC † ΕΤΖΥΠΟΤΑC`||CΕ ΕϞCΚΔΕΙ
 ΟΥΟΝ` ΝΙΜ` ΕϞCΟΒΤΕ ΕΤΡΟΥ|ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΓΑΡ` ΕΠΜΑ ΤΗΡϞ`
 ΑΖΕ|ΡΑΤϞ` ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥϞ` ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΘΟΟΥ | ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ` ΜN̄ N̄-
 30 ΒΒΟΥΡ ΠΕΠNᾹ ΕΤΟΥ|ΑΑΒ ϞΜΟΟΝΕ Ο|ΥΟ)Ν ΝΙΜ` ΑΥΩ ϞP̄ΑΡΧΕΙ || N̄-
 N̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙC Τ|ΗΡΟ)Υ [N̄]ΕΤ`ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE | ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ`ΖΥΠ[ΟΤΑCCE Δ]N̄ ΜN̄
 ΝΕΤ`ΟΥΑΤ` | ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ϞCΩϞ[. . .]Ψ ΩΤΠ` M̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΙΖΟΥΝ` ΧΕ[ΚΑΑC
 . .]ΨΑΝ`ΟΥΩΨ ΝΟΥΨ||Β]ΨϞ [ΕΒΟΛ]
 35 [ΠΕΝΤ]ΔΥΠΛΑCCE M̄ΜΟΥ ΝΕ||CΩϞ ΑΛΛΑ Ν|ΕΚΝΑΖΕ <ΔN̄> ΔΝΕϞ-
 *p. 61¹ ΨΗΡΕ ΕΥΟ` * M̄ΠΛΑCΜΑ N̄ΕΥΓΕΝΗC ΕΨΧΕ M̄ΠΟΥP̄ΠΛΑCCE M̄ΜΟΥϞ`
 (109 L.) ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ ΧΠΟΥϞ` ΝΕΚ`ΝΑ|ΖΕ ΑΠΕϞ`CΠΕΡΜΑ ΕϞΟ N̄ΕΥΓΕΝΗC ΤΕ|
 5 ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΠΛΑCCE M̄ΜΟΥϞ` ΑϞ`ΧΠΟ ΑΨ || N̄ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΠΕ
 ΠΑΕΙ` ΨΟΡΠ` ΑΤM̄N̄ΤΝΟ|ΕΙΚ` ΨΩΠΕ M̄M̄N̄N̄CΩC ΦΩΤΒΕ ΑΥΩ

9 i.e. N̄ΟΥΩΤ.

29 i.e. N̄ΟΥΟΝ. 33–34 Sah. N̄ΝΕΥΨΩΒΩΚ.

13 { . . . } deleted by Schenke

24–25 † emend to ΕΥΖΥΠΟΤΑC`||CΕ (Layton) 30 rest. Schenke ('[alle] Kräfte, [die]'), sim. Till 32 CΩϞ[. . .]Ψ : for Ϟ can also be read ϑ, ϟ, Ϟ or poss. ω; for ω can also be read Ϟ, etc. 33 rest. Layton (either [- - - ΕϞ]ΨΑΝ or [- - - ΕΥ]ΨΑΝ is needed) : ΧΕ [ΝΑ ΕΙ ΕΥ]ΨΑΝ`ΟΥΩΨ Schenke² ('da[mit] sie, wenn [sie] wollen') 34 ω : or else ω for Ϟ can also be read η, ι, etc. [Β]ΨϞ [ΕΒΟΛ - - -] Isenberg² : [Χ]ΨϞ etc. Schenke⁴

34 [- - - ΠΕΝΤ]ΔΥ sim. Kasser 34–35 ΝΕ||CΩϞ - - -] rest. Kasser : cf. *Gospel of Truth* CG I 17:19–20 35 [- - - ΑΛΛΑ Ν|ΕΚΝΑΖΕ <ΔN̄> ΔΝΕϞ- Layton : [- - - ΑΥΩ Ν|ΕΚΝΑΖΕ ΔΝΕϞ- Kasser

Those who have gone astray, whom ' the spirit (itself) begets, usually go astray also ' because of the spirit. Thus, by one and the same breath, ' the fire blazes and is put out. ¹⁰

Echamoth is one thing and Echmoth another. ' Echamoth is Wisdom simply, ' but Echmoth is the Wisdom of death which is ' the one which ' knows death, which is called ¹⁵ “the little Wisdom.”

There are ' domestic animals, like the bull ' and the ass and others of this kind. ' Others are wild ' and live apart in the deserts. Man ploughs ²⁰ the field by means of the domestic animals, ' and from this he is nourished, (both) he and ' the animals, whether tame or ' wild. Compare the perfect ' man. It is through powers which are submissive ²⁵ that he ploughs, preparing for everything to come into being. ' For it is because of this that the whole place stands, ' whether the good or the evil, ' the right and the left. The holy spirit ' shepherds every one and rules ³⁰ [all] the powers, the “tame” ones ' and the “wild” ones, as well as those which are unique. ' For indeed he [. . . (and)] shuts them in, ' in order that [if . . .] wish, they will not be able ' [to escape].

[He who] has been created is ³⁵ [beautiful, but] you (sg.) would <not> find his sons **61** noble creations. If he was not ' created but begotten, you (sg.) would find ' that his seed was noble. But now ' he was created, (and) he begot. What ⁵ nobility is this? First adultery ' came into being, afterward murder. And

60:11–15 Wisdom (*three times*): Sophia

60:12–13 *The copyist has erroneously repeated a phrase here; the manuscript has the Wisdom of death which is the Wisdom of death which is*

60:33 *either [if they] wish or [if he] wishes can be read*

60:35 *The word <not> seems to have been erroneously omitted in the manuscript; also possible is [beautiful, and] you (sg.) would find his sons*

he ' was begotten in adultery, for he was the child ' of the serpent. So he became ' a murderer, just like his father, and ¹⁸ he killed his brother. Indeed every act of sexual intercourse ' which has occurred between those unlike ' one another is adultery.

God ' is a dyer. As the good dyes, ' which are called “true,” dissolve ¹⁵ with the things dyed in them, so ' it is with those whom God has dyed. Since his dyes are immortal, they become ' immortal by means of his colors. ' Now God dips what he dips ²⁰ in water.

It is not possible ' for anyone to see anything of the things that actually exist ' unless he becomes like ' them. This is not the way with man ' in the world: he sees the sun without being a sun; ²⁵ and he sees the heaven and the earth and ' all other things, but he is not these things. ' This is quite in keeping with the truth. But you (sg.) saw ' something of that place, and you became ' those things. You saw the spirit, you ³⁰ became spirit. You saw Christ, you became ' Christ. You saw [the father, you] shall become father. ' So [in this place] you see ' everything and [do] not [see] yourself, ' but [in that place] you do see yourself—and what ³⁵ you see you shall [become]. '

Faith receives, love gives. [No one will be able **62** to receive] without faith. No one will be able to give without ' love. Because of this, in order that we may indeed receive, ' we believe, and in order that we may love, we give, since ' if

61:36–62:1 will be able to . . . will be able to . . . or, can . . . can

- 5 ΟΥΑ † Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΝ Μ̄ΝΤΕϩ Ω||ΦΕΛΕΙΑ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΝΤΑϩΤΑΑϩ` ΠΕΝ-
 ΤΑΖ ΧΙ | ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΝ Ο Ν̄Ν̄ΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΕΤΙ
 ΝΑΠΟ|ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΤΖΙ Τ̄Ν̄ΝΕΖΗ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΝΕΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΧΕ ῙΗ̄Σ ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ
 10 ΜΕΣΣΙΑΣ ΕΤΕ | ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ῙΗ̄Σ ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΧ̄Σ` ΠΖΑΕ || Ρ̄ΡΑΝ` ΠΕ
 ΠΕΧ̄Σ ΠΩΟΡΠ` ΠΕ ῙΣ ΠΕΤΖ̄Ν | ΤΜΗΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΝΑΖΑΡΗΝΟΣ ΜΕΣ-
 ΣΙΑΣ` | ΟῩΝ̄ΤΑϩ` ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ Σ̄Ν̄ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧ̄Ρ̄Σ | ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΩΗΥ ῙΣ Μ̄-
 15 Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ | ΠΣΩΤΕ ΝΑΖΑΡΑ ΤΕ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΝΑ||ΖΑΡΗΝΟΣ
 [[ΝΕ]] ΒΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ † ΠΕ ΠΧ̄Σ † | Ν̄ΤΑΥΨΙΤϩ` ΠΝΑΖΑΡΗΝΟΣ Μ̄
 ῙΣ | ΝΕΝΤΑΥΨΙΤΟΥ
 ΠΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΥΨΑ(Ν)|ΝΟΧϩ` ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΠΒΟΡΒΟΡΟΝ ΨΑΨΩ|ΠΕ
 20 {ΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ`} ΕΨΩΗΣ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ || ΟΥΤΕ ΕΥΨΑΤΑΖΣϩ` Ν̄ΝΑΠΟΒΑΡΣΙ-
 ΜΟΝ | ΕΨΝΑΨΩΠΕ <ΑΝ> ΕΨΤΑΕΙΗΥ` ΑΛΛΑ ΟῩΝ̄ΤΑϩ` | Μ̄ΜΑΥ Μ̄ΠΤΑΕΙΟ
 ΖΑΣΤ̄Ν ΠΕϩ`ΧΟΕΙΣ` | ΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ` ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΨΗΡΕ Μ̄|ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 25 Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΤΟΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ || ΕΤΙ ΟῩΝ̄ΤΑΥ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Μ̄ΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΖΑΣΤ̄Μ
 ΠΟΥ|ΕΙΩΤ`
 ΕΚ`ΨΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ` ΟῩ|ΟΥΔΑΪ | Μ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΚΙΜ` ΕΚΨΑ-
 ΧΟΟΣ` ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ` ΟῩ|ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΡ̄ΤΑΡΑΣΣΕ ΕΚΨΑ|ΧΟΟΣ
 30 ΧΕ ΑΝΟ|Κ Ο|ῩΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΟΥΒΑΡΒΑ||ΡΟΣ ΟῩΖΜ̄ΖΑΛ [ΟῩΕΛΕΥ|ΘΕΡΟΣ Μ̄Ν
 ΛΑΑΥ | ΝΑΨΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ̄ ΕΚ|ΨΑΧΟΟΣ| ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ` ΟῩΧΡΗ|ΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ Π[. . .
 . . | ΝΑΝΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΓΕΝΟΙ|ΤΟ Ν̄ΤΑΨ[. . . Ν̄Τ|ΕΕΙΜΕΙΝΕ ΠΑΕΙ` Ε||Τ]Ε

62:6 ο Ν̄Ν̄- : i.e. ο Ν̄ (poss. emend thus).

7 ζι Τ̄Ν̄ΝΕΖΗ : Sah. ζα ΤΕΝΖΗ.

20 i.e. Ν̄ΑΠΟΒΑΡΣΙΜΟΝ. 23 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ.

7–8 ΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΧΕ : expected is ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ, poss. emend thus 12–13 ΑΥΩ . . .
 ΑΥΩ : i.e. ? καί . . . καί, ‘‘both . . . and’’ : poss. corrupt (the construction is not proper to
 Coptic) 15 [[ΝΕ]] cancelled by the copyist † ΠΕ ΠΧ̄Σ † : emend to ΠΧ̄Σ ΠΕ (thus de
 Catanzaro [‘‘the Christ is . . .’’]) 16 ΨΙΤϩ : ΨΙΤϩ em. de Catanzaro ΝΑΖΑ : second a
 written over erasure of η

18–19 {ΨΑΨΩΠ} ΕΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ` Schenke (1985) 19 {ΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ} Layton (cf.
 62:21) 21 <ΑΝ> Layton (cf. 62:19) : for the syntax cf. 52:31

32 Π|ΚΟΣΜΟΣ| ΝΑΝΟΕΙΝ sim. : Schenke⁴ Ν̄ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ : ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ em. Kasser, with
 hesitation 33 for Ψ can also be read ϖ or poss. ϑ, ο or ϣ Ψ|ΩΠΕ Ν̄Τ|ΕΕΙ- de Catan-
 zaro, with hesitation (‘‘[become] such a one’’) : Ψ|ΟΠϩ Ν̄Τ|ΕΕΙ- Schenke⁴

one gives without love, he has no ⁵ profit from what he has given. He who ' has received something other than the lord is still a Hebrew. '

The apostles who were before us had these names for him: ' "Jesus, the Nazorean, Messiah," that ' is, "Jesus, the Nazorean, the Christ." The last ¹⁰ name is "Christ," the first is "Jesus," that in ' the middle is "the Nazarene." "Messiah" ' has two meanings, both "the Christ" ' and "the measured." "Jesus" in Hebrew is ' "the redemption." "Nazara" is "the truth." "The ¹⁵ Nazarene," then, is "the truth." "Christ" ' . . . been measured. It is "the Nazarene" and "Jesus" ' who have been measured.

When the pearl is cast ' down into the mud it becomes ' greatly despised, ²⁰ nor if it is anointed with balsam oil ' will it become more precious. But it always has ' value in the eyes of its owner. ' Compare the sons of ' God, wherever they may be. ²⁵ They still have value in the eyes of their ' father.

If you (sg.) say, "I am a Jew," ' no one will be moved. If you say, "I am a ' Roman," no one will be disturbed. If you ' say, "I am a Greek, a barbarian, ³⁰ a slave, [a] free man," no one ' will be troubled. [If] you [say], "I am a ' Christian," the [. . .] will tremble. Would ' that I might [. . .] like that—the person whose '

62:8–9 Nazorean: Ναζωραῖος

62:11, 15 Nazarene: Ναζαρηνός

62:15–16 Christ . . . : *text erroneous*

62:32 *possibly*, the [world] will tremble

62:33 *possibly*, that I [may come to be] like that

62:34 *possibly*, [the rulers] will not be able to endure

35 . [.] ναψζυπομεινε αν` ε||σωτῆ επεφραν`
 *p. 63¹ πνουτε ογαμρω`*με πε δια τουτο σε[ψω]ωτ ῆπρωμ[ε] |
 (III L.) ναϥ` ζα τεζη εμπατοϥωωτ` ῆπρωμε νεϥωωτ` ῆζῆθη-
 5 ριον νε ζῆνοϥτε γαρ αν νε ναει ετοϥωωτ` ναϥ ||
ῆσκειος ῆναβαδθειν ῆῆσκειος | ῆβλαξε ψαϥωωπε εβολ ζιτῆ
πκωζτ` | αλλα ῆσκειος ῆναβαδθειν εϥωα|οϥωδπ` παλιν` ψαϥ-
 10 ταμιοοϥ ῆταϥωωπε γαρ εβολ ζῆ οϥῆῆνα ῆσκειος || δε ῆβλαξε
εϥωαοϥωδπ` ψαϥτακο | ῆταϥωωπε γαρ χωρις νιϥε
οϥειω | εϥκωτε ζα οϥωνε ῆνοϥτ αϥῆ ψε ῆμιλος | εβολ εϥ-
μοοψε ῆταροϥκααϥ` εβολ | αϥζε εροϥ ον εϥζῆ πιμα πιμα
 15 || οϥν ζῆρωμε ψοοπ` ψαϥῆ ζαζ ῆμο|οψε` εβολ` αϥω μαϥπρο-
κοπτε ε|λααϥ ῆμα ῆταρε ροϥζε ωωπε ερο|οϥ οϥτε ῆποϥναϥ
 20 επολις οϥτε | κωμη οϥτε κτιςις οϥτε φϥςις ῆῆ || δϥναμικ` ῆῆ
αγ`ελοσ εικη ανταλα|πωροσ ζιςε
τεϥχαριςτεια πε ῆσ εϥ|μοϥτε γαρ` εροϥ` ῆμντςϥροσ ξε φα-
ρισαθα ετε παει πε πετπορω` εβολ | αῆς γαρ ει εϥ`σταϥροϥ ῆ-
 25 πκοσμοσ ||
απχοεις βωκ` εζοϥ[ῆ] επμα ῆχωδε | ῆλεγει αϥϥι ψβεςνοοϥς
ῆχρωμα | αϥνοχοϥ ατροζτε αϥῆτοϥ εζρα | εϥοβω τη-
 30 ροϥ αϥω πεχαϥ ξε ταει | τε θε ῆταϥει ῆμοσ ῆσι πψηρ[ε ῆῆ]-
πψηρ][ε ῆπρωμ[ε ε] ϥ[ο] ῆχζιτ`
τσο|φια ετοϥμοϥτ[ε ερο]ϥ ξε τςτιρα ῆ|τοσ τε τμαα[ϥ ῆῆαγ]-
γελοσ αϥω [τ] κο|ῆνωνοσ ῆπς[. . . μα] ρια τμαγ[δα] λη-

35 i.e. ογοϥαμ.

63:5-7 i.e. ῆναβαδθειν . . . ῆναβαδθειν.

15 i.e. ζῆρωμε, Sah. ζενρωμε. ψαϥῆ : i.e. εψαϥῆ.

28 i.e. εϥοϥοβω.

34 . [.] : the letter trace before the lacuna can be read β, γ, η, π or ρ; a superlin. stroke may have been written above this letter ῆ[αρχων] rest. Schenke : ῆ[κοσμοσ] sim. rest. Kasser 35 rest. Till εφραν` read in photographs
 63:1 [ψω]ωτ ῆ; of ῆ, superlin. stroke is definite, μ restored : for the restoration cf. 63:2-4

12 ῆνοϥτ added above the line 14 αϥζε : αϥζε em. de Catanzaro 19-20 ῆῆ . . . ῆῆ . . . : expected is οϥτε . . . οϥτε . . . ογ η . . . η . . .

22 εϥμοϥτε εροϥ : εϥμοϥτε εροσ em. Schenke³ ("<sie> heisst")

29-30 [ε ῆπψηρ] cancelled by the copyist 30 sim. rest. Till

33 ῆπς[ωρ τε μα] ρια Isenberg : ῆπς[ωτηρ μα] ρια Schenke³ : cf. 59:6-11

name [. . .] will not be able to endure ³⁵ [hearing].

God is a **63** man-eater. For this reason men are [sacrificed] ' to him. Before men were sacrificed ' animals were being sacrificed, since those ' to whom they were sacrificed were not gods. ⁵

Glass decanters and earthenware ' jugs are both made by means of fire. ' But if glass decanters break ' they are done over, for ' they came into being through a breath. If earthenware jugs ¹⁰ break, however, they are destroyed, ' for they came into being without breath.

An ass ' which turns a millstone did a hundred miles ' walking. When it was loosed ' it found that it was still at the same place. ¹⁵ There are men who make many journeys, ' but make no progress towards ' any destination. When evening came upon them, ' they saw neither city nor ' village, neither human artifact nor natural phenomenon, ²⁰ power nor angel. In vain have the wretches ' labored.

The eucharist is Jesus. For ' he is called in Syriac “Pharisatha,” ' which is “the one who is spread out,” ' for Jesus came to crucify the world. ²⁵

The lord went into the dye works ' of Levi. He took seventy-two different colors ' and threw them into the vat. He took them ' out all white. And he said, “Even so ' has the son ³⁰ of man come [as] a dyer.”

As for the Wisdom ' who is called “the barren,” she ' is the mother [of the] angels. And the ' companion of the [. . .] Mary Magdalene. '

63:9 breath: πνεῦμα (*but at 63:11, a different word in Coptic*)

63:31–33 *the copyist must have written either she is the mother . . . And the companion of the [savior is] Mary Magdalene or else she is the mother . . . and the companion of the [savior], Mary Magdalene*

- 35 ΝΗ ΝΕΡΕ Π. [. . . . ΜΕ] ΜΜΟ[C Ν] ΖΟΥΟ ΔΜΜΑΘΗΤ[ΗC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥ
 ΝΕΥ] ΑC ΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟC ΔΤΕC [. . . 5-6 . . . ΝΖΑΖ] | ΝCΟΠ` ΔΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ Μ[ΜΑΘΗ-
 *p. 64¹ ΤΗC * . .] . ΕΡΟ . [.] . [. .] ΜΑ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ` ΧΕ | ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΚΜΕ Μ-
 (112 L.) ΜΟC ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ` ΤΗΡΝ ΑΥ` ΟΥΩΨΒ` ΝΒΙ ΠCΩΤΗΡ` ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ { ΠΕ|ΧΑΥ
 5 ΝΑΥ } ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ † ΜΕ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΔΝ` || ΝΤΕCΖΕ ΟΥΒΛΛΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΑ
 ΕΥΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ | ΕΥΖΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ CΕΨΟΒΕ ΕΝΟΥ| ΕΡΗΥ ΔΝ ΖΟ-
 ΤΑΝ` ΕΡΨΑ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΙ` ΤΟΤΕ | ΠΕΤΝΑΒΟΛ` ΥΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΟ-
 ΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ | ΠΕΤΟ ΒΒΛΛΕ ΕΥΝΑCΩ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ
 10 ΠΕ` || ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΕ ΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΠΕ ΠΕΤ` ΨΟ| ΟΠ` ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ ΕΜ` ΠΑ-
 ΤΕΥ` ΨΩΠΕ` ΠΕΤΨΟ| ΟΠ` ΓΑΡ ΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ
 ΠΧΙ| CΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΟΥΟΝΖ ΔΝ` ΕΒΟΛ` ΑΛΛΑ` | ΨΟΟΠ` ΖΜ ΠΕ-
 15 ΘΗΠ` ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΨΟ Ν || ΧΟΕΙC ΔΝ` ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΧΟΟΡ` ΕΡΟΥ` ΕΤΝΕ| ΑΥ
 Κ` ΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ` ΜΝ ΠΕΘΗΠ` | ΑΥΩ ΠΑΕΙ † ΝΑΥ ΜΠΜΟΥΝ`
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΨΑ` | ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΠΩΡΧ` ΕΡΟΟΥ ΨΑΥΜΟΥΟΥΤ` | ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Ν-
 20 CΕΠΩΖC ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ || ΑΥΩ ΑΥΟΥΩΜ ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΖΕ | ΕΤΡΟ-
 ΦΗ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΕΒΟΛ | ΧΕ ΑΠΡΩΜΕ Ρ ΖΩΒ ΕΠΚΑΖ
 ΕΡΨΑ ΟΥΑ` | ΒΩΚ` ΕΠΕCΗΤ` ΕΠΜΟΟΥ ΝΨΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΜ` ΠΕΥΧΙ ΛΑΔΥ
 25 ΝΨΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ` ΟΥΧΡΗ| CΤΙΑΝΟC ΝΤΑΨΧΙ ΜΠΡΑΝ` ΕΤΜΗCΕ ΕΥ`-
 ΨΑΧΙ ΔΕ ΜΠΠΝΑ` ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΟΥΝΤΑΨ Μ| ΜΑΥ ΝΤΔΩΡΕΑ ΜΠΡΑΝ ΠΕΝ`-
 ΤΑΖΧΙ ΝΟΥ| ΔΩΡΕΑ ΜΑΥΨΙΤC ΝΤΟΟΥΨ` ΠΕΝΤΑΖΧΙ ΔΕ | ΕΧΩΨ` ΕΤΜΗ-
 30 CΕ ΨΑΨΑΨΑΨ` ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ || ΕΤΨΟ| Ο Π ΝΑΝ ΕΡΨΑ ΟΥΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ |
 ΟΥΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟ[Ν`]

64:6-7 Sah. ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ. 8 i.e. ΠΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ (de Catanzaro emends thus, but cf. CG VII 102:25).

15-16 i.e. ΕΤΝΑΔΥ. 19-20 Sah. ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.

34 ΠΕ[ΧC ΔΕ - - -] rest. Isenberg : ΠC[ΩΤΗΡ - - -] rest. Schenke³ [- - - ΜΕ] ΜΜΟ[C Ν] : cf. 64: 2 35 for the restoration cf. 64: 2 36 [ΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΖΑΖ] rest. Schenke (" [oft] mals auf ihrem [Mund] "), Till : poss. cf. 58: 29-59: 5 also palaeographically possible are, e.g., [ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΖΑΖ] and [ΟΥΟΟCΕ ΝΖΑΖ] and [ΤΕΖΝΕ ΝΖΑΖ] : this is not a usual construction of ΑCΠΑΖΕ 37 rest. Schenke (" die übrigen [Jünger (μούθητίς)] ") : also possible is Ν[ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗC] : Ν[ΝCΖΙΟΜΕ ΑΥ] rest. Till, with hesitation 64: 1 [. .] . ΕΡΟ . [. .] ΜΑ : first letter trace can be read α, ε, κ, λ or ζ; second, ε, θ, ο, ς or σ; third, ρ, ψ, φ, υ or †; superlin. strokes may have been inscribed over these letters [ΒΩ] Κ ΕΡΟΨ[Υ Ε] Ρ [ΔΙΤΗ] ΜΑ sim. rest. Schenke⁴ 3-4 [. .] Schenke

30 ΕΡΨΑ read in photographs

[. . . loved] her ³⁵ more than [all] the disciples [and used to] ' kiss her [often] on her [. . .]. ' The rest of [the disciples **64** . . .]. They said to him, ' "Why do you love her more than all of us?" ' The ' savior answered and said to them, ' "Why do I not love you ⁵ like her? When a blind man and one who sees ' are both together in darkness, they are no different from ' one another. When the light comes, then ' he who sees will see the light, and ' he who is blind will remain in darkness." ' ¹⁰

The lord said, "Blessed is he who ' is before he came into being. For he who ' is, has been and shall be."

The superiority ' of man is not obvious to the eye, but ' lies in what is hidden from view. Consequently he ¹⁵ has mastery over the animals which are stronger than he is and ' great in terms of the obvious and the hidden. ' This enables them to survive. But if ' man is separated from them, they slay ' one another and bite one another. ²⁰ They ate one another because they did not find ' any food. But now they have found food because ' man tilled the soil.

If one ' go down into the water and come up without ' having received anything and says, "I am a Christian." ' ²⁵ he has borrowed the name at interest. But if he ' receive the holy spirit he has ' the name as a gift. He who has received a ' gift does not have to give it back, but of him who ' has borrowed it at interest, payment is demanded. This is the way ³⁰ [it happens to one] when he experiences ' a mystery.

63:34 *possibly*, [But Christ loved] her; *or*, [The savior loved] her

63:36 *kiss: or, greet. Although kiss may be correct, the Coptic construction found here is not normally used in this sense.*

on her [. . .] : *possibly*, on her [mouth]; *or*, on her [feet]; *or*, on her [cheek]; *or*, on her [forehead]

[ΠΜ]ΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΓΑ|Μ[ΟC]` ΟΥΝΟC [ΠΕ ΑΧΝ]Τῆ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΠΚΟC-
 [ΜΟC] ΝΑΨΩ[ΠΕ ΑΝ ΤC]ΥCΤΑCΙC ΓΑΡ` Μ|[ΠΚΟ]CΜΟ[C]-
 35 ΜΕ ΤCΥCΤΑCΙC ΔΕ || [. ΠΓ]ΑΜΟC ΕΡΙΝΟΕΙ ΝΤΚΟΙ|[ΝΩΝΙΑ
 *p. 65¹ . . Χ]ΩZΜ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ | [.] ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΤΕCΖΙΚΩΝ *
 (113 L.) ΕCΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΟΥΧΩ[zM]
 [N]CΧ[HM]Α ΜΠN[Α] | ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΟΥΤ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΟΥN
 ΖΝCΖΙΟΜΕ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΕΝ ΝΕ ΕΤΡΚΟΙ|ΝΩΝΕΙ ΑΜΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΡΠΟΛΙ-
 5 ΤΕΥΕCΘΕ || ΖΝΝΟΥCΧΗΜΑ ΝCΖΙΜΕ ΝCΖΙΟΜΕ ΔΕ | ΝΕ ΝΕΤ`ΤΗZ ΜN
 ΝΕΤΖN ΟΥCΧΗΜΑ N|ΖΟΟΥΤ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤN ΟΥΑΤ`ΤΩΤ` ΑΥΩ ΜN | ΛΑΔΥ
 10 ΝΑΨΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΝΔΕΙ ΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ Μ|ΜΟC` ΕCΤΜΧΙ ΝΟΥCΟΜ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ` ΜN|
 ΝΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΝΥΜΦΙΟC ΠΕ ΜN | ΤΝΥΜΦΗ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖM
 ΠΝΥΜ`ΦΩΝ ΝΖΙΚΟΝΙΚΟC ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΨΑ ΝCΖI|ΜΕ ΝΑΤCΒΩ ΝΑΥ ΔΥ-
 15 ΖΟΟΥΤ` ΕCΖΜΟΟC | ΟΥΑΔΥ` ΨΑΥCΩCΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩC ΝCΕ||CΩΒΕ ΝMΜΑCΥ`
 ΝCΕΧΟΖΜΕC` ΤΕΕΙΖΕ | ΟΝ ΖΡΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤ`CΒΩ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΥ|CΖΙΜΕ
 ΕCΖΜΟΟC ΟΥΑΔΤC ΕΝΕCΩC | ΨΑΥΠΙΘΕ ΜΜΟC ΝCΕΡΒΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟC |
 20 ΕΥΟΥΨ` ΕΧΟΖΜΕC ΕΥΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΔΕ || ΑΠΖΟΟΥΤ` ΜN ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΕΥ-
 ΖΜΟΟC ΖΑ|ΤN ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΑΡΕ ΝΖΙΟΜΕ ΨΒΩΚ` Ε|ΖΟΥΝ ΨΑ ΠΖΟΟΥΤ ΟΥΤΕ
 25 ΜΑΡΕ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ | ΨΒΩΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΨΑ ΤCΖΙΜΕ ΤΔΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ | ΕΡΨΑ ΘI-
 ΚΩΝ` ΜN Π[Α]Γ`ΓΕΛΟC ΖΩΤΡ Ε|ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΜN [ΛΑ]ΔΥ ΝΑΨΡΤΟΛΜΑ |
 ΑΒΩΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΨΑ Φ[ΖΟ]ΟΥΤ` Η ΤCΖΙΜΕ |
 ΠΕΤNΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖM ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΝCΕ|ΤMΨΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΥ` ΕΤΙ ΧΕ ΝΕCΖM
 30 | ΠΚΟCΜΟC CΟΥΟΝ[Ζ] ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ CΧΟCΕ || ΑΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΜΠ[. .]Υ[. .] Ε
 [Μ]N ΘΡΤΕ | CΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC Α. [. .]C[.]C CΟΤΠ` Ε|ΠΚΩZ ΕΨCΕ

65:5 i.e. zñ ουcχημα. 9–10 i.e. mñ ουcziμε. 11 ουα δε χι: i.e. cχι δε. 16 i.e. zñρω-
 με, Sah. zenρωμε. 21 Sah. neυερny. 24–25 Sah. eneυερny. 26 i.e. ψα πζοουτ.

31 rest. Schenke (“[das]”), sim. Till 31–32 ΓΑ|Μ[ΟC]: cf. 64:35 32 [ΠΕ ---]
 Schenke (“[ist]”), Till with hesitation [--- ΑΧN]Τῆ sim. Bams: [--- ΕΤΒN]Τῆ or [---
 ΖΠΟΟ]Τῆ Krause 33 sim. rest. Bams]ΥCΤΑCΙC: reading of pap. cannot be]ΥCΤΑ-
 CΙC 34–35 [ΠΚΟ]CΜΟ[C ΠΕ ΠΡΩ]ΜΕ ΤCΥCΤΑCΙC ΔΕ [MΠΡΩ]ΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΓ]ΑΜΟC sim. rest.
 Till: also possible is [ΠΚΟ]CΜΟ[C ΤΕ ΤCΖI]ΜΕ ΤCΥCΤΑCΙC ΔΕ [NΤ`CΖΙ]ΜΕ ΠΕ
 ΠΓ]ΑΜΟC 35 [--- Ρ]ΑΜΟC: cf. 64:31–32 36 [--- ΝΑΤΧ]ΩZM Schenke (“die unbe-
 fleckte Gemeinschaft”), Till with hesitation: also possible is [--- MΠΧ]ΩZM 37 [N-
 ΟΥΝΟC N] Schenke (“[eine grosse]”), Till with hesitation 65:1 ΟΥΧΩ[: ω, or else ψ
 (not φ)

1]CΧ[: for C can also be read Δ, Ε, Κ or Ζ; for Χ can also be read Δ, Δ, Λ, Μ, Χ,
 etc. ΜΠN: no superlin. stroke was written above Μ; N, or else Μ (a superlin. stroke may
 have been written above this letter) rest. Krause 26 rest. Schenke⁴

Great is ' the mystery of marriage! For [without] it the world ' would [not exist]. Now the existence of ' [the world . . .], and the existence ³⁵ [. . . marriage]. Think of the ' [. . . relationship], for it possesses ' [. . .] power. Its image **65** consists of a [defilement].

The forms of evil spirit ' include male ones and ' female ones. The males are they that ' unite with the souls which inhabit ⁵ a female form, but the females ' are they which are mingled with those in a ' male form, through one who was disobedient. And none ' shall be able to escape them since they detain him ' if he does not receive a male power or a ¹⁰ female power, the bridegroom and ' the bride.—One receives them from the ' mirrored bridal chamber.—When the wanton women ' see a male sitting ' alone, they leap down on him and ¹⁵ play with him and defile him. So ' also the lecherous men, when they see a ' beautiful woman sitting alone, ' they persuade her and compel her, ' wishing to defile her. But if they see ²⁰ the man and his wife sitting ' beside one another, the female cannot come ' in to the man, nor can the male ' come in to the woman. So ' if the image and the angel are united ²⁵ with one another, neither can any venture ' to go in to the man or the woman. '

He who comes out of the world ' and (so) can no longer be detained on the grounds that he was in ' the world evidently is above ³⁰ the desire of the [. . .] and fear. ' He is master over [. . .]. He is superior to ' envy. If [. . .]

64:33–35 *possibly*, existence of [the world depends on man (*or*, woman)], and the existence [of man (*or*, woman) on marriage]

64:36 *possibly*, [undefiled relationship]; *or*, [relationship of defilement]

64:37 *possibly*, [a great] power

65:32 *possibly*, If [any one else] comes

30 ṃṇ[. . .] ḡ[. . .] ḡ[. . .] ṇ ḡṽṽṽ read in photographs; for ṃ (superlin. stroke is definite) can also be read ḡ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ, ḡ or ṇ; for ḡ can also be read ḡ, ḡ or ḡ (not ḡ); ḡ, or else ḡ; of ṇ, superlin. stroke is definite, ṇ restored; for ḡ can also be read ḡ, ḡ, ḡ or ḡ 31 ḡ . . . [. . .] ḡ[. . .] ḡ read in photographs

[. . .] γ ει σεαμ[α] ζτε | μμοαϛ σεωσ[τ μμοα] αγω πω[ς εϛ] |
 35 ναωϛ βολ ανη[ος νδην] αμ[ι] [ς .^{3.4} .] || τε πως φναωζ[. . .]¹⁰ ! ! .
 . . .] κικ ουν ζοεινε ευ[ζω μμοαϛ χε] | ανον ζμπιστος ζοπω[ς
 *p. 66¹] * [. π[ν]α ν[α] [καθαρτο] η ζι δαμονιον \ | νευ[ν]ταγ γαρ
 (114 L.) μμα[γ] μπνα ετογααβ | νε μν πνα νακαθαρτον ναρκολλα |
 5 εροογ μνρ ζοτε ζητ[ε] ντσαρζ ουδε || μνμεριτ[ε] εκωαρ ζοτε
 ζητ[ε] σναρ χο[ι]εις εροκ \ εκωανμεριτ[ε] σναομ<κ>κ \ νσοβ<τ>κ \ |
 η νωωωπε ζμ πεικοσμος η ζν τανα[ς]τας η ζν ντοπος ετ[ε]ν
 10 τμητε | μη γενοιτο νεζε εροει νζητογ πε[ι]κοσμος ουν
 πετ[ε]νανογ νζητ[ε] \ ουν πεθοογ νεπετ[ε]νανογ μπ[ε]τ[ε]να-
 νογ αν νε αγω νεπεθοογ ζμ[π]εθοογ αν νε ουν πε-
 15 θοογ δε μν[η]σα πεικοσμος εζμπεθοογ ναμε νε || τετογμογτε
 ερος χε τμεσ[ο]της ντογ \ πε πμογ ζωσ ενωοοπ ζμ πει-
 κοσ[μ]ος ωωε ερον εχο ναν ντ[ε]ναστα[ς] κικ δεκαα ενωακαακν
 20 αζη ντσαρζ | ευναζε ερον ζν ταναπαγς κικ ντ[ε]ντ[ε]μ || μοωε ζν τμε-
 σο[ς]της ζαζ γαρ \ σε[φ]παζ | νεσθε ζν τζη νανογ γαρ εει εβολ |
 ζμ πκοσμος ζα τεζη εμπ[ε]τε πρωμε | ρ nove
 ουν ζοεινε μεν ουτε σεοωω | αν \ ουτε μν βομ μμοογ ζν-
 25 κοογε δε || ευωαν \ οωω \ μν ζηγ ωοοπ \ ναγ χε | μπογε ι-
 ρε επ[^{2/3}] γωω γαρ \ χειρε μμο[ι]ογ νρεφ nove | ε[γ]τ[ε]μογωω δε
 τα[ι]κα[ι]ο[ς] νη ναζωπ \ εροογ μπ[ε]σναγ | αγω ποωω αν [πε]

66:2 i.e. ενευ[ν]ταγ . . . μπ[ε]να. 4–5 Sah. μπ[ε]ρζοτε . . . μπ[ε]μεριτ[ε].

11 i.e. ζμπετ[ε]νανογ, Sah. ζεν-. 20 i.e. πλανασθε.

29 αν [πε] : Sah. ονπε.

32 [κελαα]γ Isenberg² : [πεθοο]γ Schenke³ (“[der Bös]e”) 33 ωσ[τ μμοα] Schenke (“erwürgen [ihn]”), sim. Till πω[: or else πω[πω[ς εϛ] rest. Schenke (“π[ω]ς wird er”), sim. Ménard : πω[ς παει] Till with hesitation, but palaeographically unlikely : cf. 65:35 34 ανη[: for η can also be read ι or μ αμ[ι] : for ι can also be read η or κ η[ος νδην] αμ[ι] [ς - - -] Schenke³ (“[grossen . . . Kräfte]n”), Isenberg² 34–35 [- - εταμαζ] || τε Schenke³ (“[greifen]den”) : cf. 65:32 35–36 ωζ[ο]π εροογ πολλα κικ rest. Schenke (“[sich vor ihnen] ver[ber]gen können”), Till with hesitation 36 ευ[: γ read from small, ambiguous bottom trace 37–66:1 ζοπω[ς νεσερ βολ] | α - - -] sim. Isenberg² : cf. 65:34 66:1 ν[α] : ν and α definite, superlin. stroke restored rest. Schenke (“un[reinem] Geiste”), sim. Till; cf. 66:3 3 ν[α] : ν definite, superlin. stroke restored 6 ομ<κ> Layton (understood thus by Till) οβ<τ>κ de Catanzaró : <σ>οβκ Schenke (“dich lähmen”)

comes, they seize ' him and throttle [him]. And how will [this one] ' be able to escape the [great . . .] powers? ³⁵ How will he be able to [. . .] ' There are some [who say], ' "We are faithful," in order that [. . . 66 the unclean spirits] and the demons. ' For if they had the holy spirit, ' no unclean spirit would cleave ' to them. Fear not the flesh nor ⁵ love it. If you (sg.) fear it, it will gain mastery ' over you. If you love it, it will swallow and paralyze you. '

And so he dwells either in this world or in the ' resurrection or in the middle place. ' God forbid that I be found there! ¹⁰ In this world there is good ' and evil. Its good things ' are not good, and its evil things ' not evil. But there is evil after ' this world which is truly evil—¹⁵ what is called "the middle." It ' is death. While we are in this world ' it is fitting for us to acquire the resurrection, ' so that when we strip off the flesh ' we may be found in rest and not ²⁰ walk in the middle. For many go astray ' on the way. For it is good to come forth ' from the world before one ' has sinned.

There are some who neither will ' nor have the power to; and others who, ²⁵ if they will, do not profit: for ' they did not act since, (they believe), [. . .] makes them ' sinners. And if they do not will, justice ' will elude them in both cases: ' and [it is] always a matter of the will,

65:34 *possibly*, the [great grasping] powers

65:35 *possibly*, able to [hide from them? Often]

65:37–66:1 *possibly*, that [they may be able to escape the unclean spirits]

66:26 *possibly*, [their will] makes them

7 -ϣ : i.e. ΠΕΤῚΝΝΗΥ (65:27) ἄϣ : cf. ΖΩϢΤΕ ἄϣ- : for the syntax cf. e.g. Shenute ed. Wessely *Stud.* 9 p. 139 col. b, 1–2; Shenute ed. Chassinat *MIF* 23. 13.20–24, 58.2ff., 86.3, 86.6 ΚΟϢΜΟϢ Η : Η added above the line

26 poss. ΕΠ[ΟΥΟΥ]ΩΨ ΓΑΡ` <Ε>ϣΕΙΡΕ 29 ΔΝ : or else ΔΜ rest. Layton

ἡπειρε ἀν`

- 30 οὐαπο||στολικος [z]ῆ ο[γ]οῖτασια ἀφναγ ἀζοεινε εἶοτπ
[εζογ]ῆ εἶηει ἡκωστ` ἀγ|ω ε[γ]ῆμῆρ zῆ [.] ἡκωστ εἶηηηχ | [2½.]-
ῆἡκωστ [.] τογ ῆμοογ zῆ | [. . . π|]στ|ι[ς]` ῆ[.] ἀγω πε-
35 χ ἀγ ναγ || [χε σ]ομ` ῆμοογ ἀνογzῆ | [.]
*p. 67¹ ῆπογογωψ` ἀγχι | [.] κολασις παει εἶογμογτε * εἶογ
(115 L.) χε πκακε ετ[.] λ χε q. [2:3½.] |
εβολ zῆ ογμοογ ῆῆ ογκωστ ῆτα τψγχ[η] | ῆῆ πῆῆα ψωπε εβολ
5 zῆ ογμοογ ῆῆ | ογκωστ` ῆῆνογοειν ῆτα πωῆρε` ῆ||πῆγμ-
φων πκωστ` πε πχρισμα πογοειν πε πκωστ` εειψα-
χε ἀν ἀπεικωστ | ετε ῆῆταq` μορφη ἀλλα πκεογ ετε <τε>q`-
μορφη ογδωψ ετο ῆογοειν ενεσωq` | ἀγω ετῆ ῆτῆῆῆτα
10 ταληθεια ῆπεσει || εἶκοσμοσ εσκακαζηγ ἀλλα ῆτασει zῆ | ῆτγ-
ποσ ῆῆ ῆζικων φναχ|ιτ̄ ἀν` ῆκρη|τε ογῆ ογχο ῆκεσοῖ`
ψοοπ ῆῆνογ|ζικων ῆχο ῆκεσοῖ` ψωπε ἀληθωσ | ἀτρογχοογ
15 ῆκεσοῖ` ζιτῆ ζικων ἀγ || τε ταναστασις ἀγω θικων ζι-
τῆ θικων | ψωπε ετρεστωογν πῆγμφων ῆῆ θικων ζιτῆ θικων
ψωπε ετρογει εζογν | εταληθεια ετε ταει τε τ`ἀποκαταστασις
20 | ψωπε ἀνεσχο ἀν ῆματα ῆπραν` ῆ||πειωτ` ῆῆ πωῆρε ῆῆ πῆῆα
ετογδδβ | ἀλλα ἀ<νετα>γχοογ † νακ ζωογ ετῆ ογὰ χπο|ογ
ναq` πκεραν` σεναqιτq` ῆτροοτq` | ογὰ δε χ|ῆμοογ zῆ

67:4 i.e. ῆῆ ογογοειν.

12 i.e. ῆῆ ογζικων. 23 ογὰ δε χ|: i.e. qχ| δε.

30 στολικος [. . .] ῆ read in photographs rest. de Catanzaro ("[in a] vision [ὄπτω-
σίῳ]") 31 οτπ [. . .] ῆ (*sic*) read in photographs (τ is definite) sim. rest. Schen-
ke⁴ 32 μηρ: μ altered from η, ρ over erasure of χ, i.e. copyist first wrote [ῆῆ]ῆ[χ]: cf.
66:32–33 ηηχ [. . .] zῆ [zῆηεινε] rest. de Catanzaro ("with [bonds]"), Barns with hesi-
tation: zῆ [ογῆει] sim. Krause 33 [2½.] ῆ: superlin. stroke is prob. definite, η not definite;
reading of pap. probably cannot be ῆ 34 [τογπ|]στ|ι[ς]` ῆ[νογχ] sim. Schenke⁴: of ῆ,
superlin. stroke is prob. definite, η restored πεχαq ναγ em. Isenberg²: πεχαγ ναγ em.
Schenke³ ("es wurde <im> gesagt") 35–36 "[Diese hätten ihre Seelen] retten [k]önnen,
[aber]" Schenke³ (i.e. ? [χε πκαει νε ογῆ σ]ομ` ῆμοογ ἀνογzῆ | [ῆνογψγχη ἀλλα]):
also poss. is e.g. [χε πχοεισ νε ῆῆ σ]ομ` 36 [αγογωψω χε] Isenberg² ([αφογωψω χε]
Kasser), but palaeographically unlikely: possible is e.g. [αγω αγωψω χε], i.e. αγω
αγογωψω χε 37 [ῆππειμα η] Schenke³ ("[diesen Ort, der]"): [ῆπμογ ζωσ] Schenke
("[den Tod als]"), Till with hesitation 67:1 ετ|zι πσα ῆβο|λ de Catanzaro ("the
[outer] darkness"), Krause: cf. 68:7–8 φῆ[ηχ] <εβολ> Isenberg²: φῆ[ηγ] de Catanzaro
("it [comes]"): φῆ[ηz] Schenke³ ("ist [voll]"), Schenke⁴

not the act.

An ³⁰ apostolic man in a vision saw some people ' shut up in a house of fire and ' bound with fiery [. . .], lying ' [. . .] flaming [. . .] them in ' [. . .] faith [. . .]. And they said to them, ³⁵ "[. . .] able to be saved?" ' [. . .] "They did not desire it. They received ' [. . .] punishment, what is called **67** 'the [. . .] darkness,' because he [. . .]" '

It is from water and fire that the soul ' and the spirit came into being. It is from water and ' fire and light that the son of ⁵ the bridal chamber (came into being). The fire is the chrism, the light ' is the fire. I am not referring to that fire ' which has no form, but to the other fire whose ' form is white, which is bright and beautiful, ' and which gives beauty.

Truth did not come ¹⁰ into the world naked, but it came in ' types and images. The world will not receive truth in ' any other way. There is a rebirth and an ' image of rebirth. It is certainly necessary ' to be born again through the image. Which ¹⁵ one? Resurrection. The image must ' rise again through the image. The bridal chamber and ' the image must enter through the image into ' the truth: this is the restoration. ' Not only must those who produce the name of ²⁰ the father and the son and the holy spirit do so, ' but also (those who) have produced them for you. If one does not acquire ' them, the name ("Christian") will also be taken from him. ' But one receives them in

66:32 *possibly*, bound with fiery [chains]

66:34 *possibly an error for* he said to them *or* they said to him

67:1 *possibly*, 'the [outer] darkness'

67:16 bridal chamber: *probably an error for* bridegroom

67:21 produced them for you. If: *probably an error for* acquired them. If

2 Μῆ : η is definite (*sic*), superl in. stroke restored 3 γ written over the false start of
 M 4–5 ΝΤΑ ΠΩΠΕ ΜΠΠΝΥΜΦΩΝ scil. $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$: emended thus by de Catanzaro, sim. Krause
 182 (< $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ >), Schenke³ ("ist entstanden aus Feuer und Licht") 5 poss. corrupt (cf.
 67:3–4) : "das <Wasser ist die Taufe. Das> Feuer" em. Schenke, with hesitation 7 < $\tau\epsilon$ > μ
 Layton

16 ΠΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ em. Wilson 21 $\alpha\langle\eta\rangle\epsilon\tau\alpha\langle\gamma\rangle$ Layton † $\eta\alpha\kappa$: emend to $\eta\alpha\gamma$ (thus
 Till)

25 ΠΧΡΙCMA M̄ΠCΟ . [0:1] | N̄TΔYNAΜIC` M̄ΠCϜ|OϚ TΔ|E| NE NA-
 ΠOCTO||ΛOC MOYTE EPOC XE | TO|YNAΜ M̄N TEZBOYR | ΠAEI ΓAP`
 OYKETI OY|XPH|CT|I|ANOC ΠE AΛΛA | OYXPC̄ ΠE
 AΠXOIE|C P̄ | ZWB` NIM` ZN̄NOY|MYCTHPION OYBA|Π|TICMA M̄N
 30 OYXPH|CMA M̄NNOYEXHAP|ICT|I|Δ M̄NNOYCΩTE | M̄NNOYNYM`ΦΩN
 [. . . .] E|I Π|E X|ΔQ` | XE ΔE|ETPAEIP̄E | N̄NA ΠCA MΠ|T̄N N̄|ΘE N̄NA
 ΠCA N̄|T ΠE AYΩ NA ΠCA N̄|BOL | N̄ΘE N̄NA ΠC|A NZOYN AYΩ ETPAZOT|]-
 35 POY M̄ΠMA ETM̄[. . . . !0:12. . . . NE||EIMMA ZITN̄ ZNTY|ΠOC . .
 . . !0:12. . .] | NETXΩ M̄MOC XE | OYN̄ OYPM̄ΠE AYΩ | OYN̄ OYEI M̄-
 ΠCA NTΠE [M̄MOY CE P̄ΠA||NACΘE PETOYONEZ Γ|AP EBOL PM̄M̄]-
 *p. 68¹ *ΠE ETM̄MA Y Π|E|T O|Y|MOYTE EP OY` XE | PETM̄ΠCA NΠ|T̄N AYΩ
 (116 L.) ΠETE ΠEΘHΠ` | YOOΠ` NAQ PETM̄MA Y ΠE ETNT ΠE M̄|MOY` NANOCY
 5 ΓAP N̄CEXOC XE ΠCA N̄|ZOYN AYΩ PETM̄ΠCA NBOΛ` M̄N PETN̄|ΠCA
 NBOΛ M̄ΠCA NBOΛ` ETBE ΠA Ī AΠXOIEIC MOYTE AΠTAKO XE ΠKAKE
 ETZI ΠCA (N)|BOΛ` M̄N BE YOOΠ` M̄ΠEΦB AΛ` ΠEXAQ` | XE
 10 ΠAEIΩT` ETZM̄ ΠEΘHΠ` ΠEXAQ XE || BOK` EZOYN` EΠEK` TAMEION
 N̄ΓYCTAM` | M̄ΠEK`PO EPXK` N̄ΓYΛHΛ` AΠEK`EΩT` | ETZM̄ ΠEΘHΠ` ETE
 ΠAEI ΠE PETZI CA (N)|ZOYN` M̄MOOY THPOY PETZI CA NZOYN` | ΔE
 15 M̄MOOY THPOY ΠE ΠΠHPΩMA M̄||M̄N̄NCΩQ` M̄N BE M̄ΠE Q`CA
 NZOYN ΠA|EI ΠE ETOYΩA XE EP OY` XE PETM̄ΠCA N|TΠE M̄MOOY

27–30 i.e. zñ oy- . . . mñ oy- . . .

31 i.e. ΔEIEI. 68:8 Sah. M̄ΠEΦBOL.

23 CO . [0:1] : letter trace can be read β, γ, η, ι, κ, μ or ν; prob. followed by no more than one letter poss. restore COI : COY rest. Krause, with hesitation : COY|TE rest. Schenke³ ("mit dem Balsam"), Schenke⁴, but palaeographically unlikely

30 E|I Π[. .] ΔQ` pap. : also possible is]YΠ[. .] ΔQ` : reading of pap. cannot be]E|E| ΠEX|ΔQ η|EX|ΔQ Schenke ("sagte"), sim. Till 31 rest. Schenke ("[das Untere]"), sim. Ménard : cf. 67:32 (NA ΠCA) and 68:2 (ΠCA NΠ|T̄N) 32 rest. Schenke ("dem Oberen [und das Äussere]"): cf. 67:37 (ΠCA NTΠE) and 68:5 (ΠCA NBOΛ) 33 C|A NZOYN - - -] Schenke ("Innenen"), sim. Ménard : cf. 68:45 (CA NZOYN) 33–34 [- - - AYΩ ETPAZOT]POY Layton : [- - - ΔE|ETPAZOT]POY (i.e. ΔEIEI etc.) Schenke ("[ich bin gekommen, um] sie . . . [zu vereinigen]") 34 M̄ : m is definite, superlin. stroke restored : M̄|M̄MA Y - - -] Schenke ("jenem") 34–35 [- - - NE||EIMMA : cf. 76:34, 84:30, 86:6 35 TY|ΠOC` M̄N ZN̄IKΩN`] Schenke ("Symbole [und Bilder]"), sim. Kasser : cf. 84:21 36 rest. Layton, sim. Kasser : cf. 58:17 (PM̄ΠE) and 67:38–68:1 (PM̄M̄ΠE) : also palaeographically possible is PM̄KAZ (cf. 58:18) 37 rest. Schenke ("[von ihm], irren sich"), Kasser : cf. 68:3–4 (N̄TΠE M̄MOY) and 68:16–17 (M̄ΠCA NTΠE M̄MOOY) 38 Γ| : or else η rest. Layton : cf. 84:15 (OYONEZ EBOL) and above on 67:36

the unction of the [. . .] ' of the power of the cross. This power the apostles ²⁵ called “the right and the left.” —For this person is no longer a Christian but ' a Christ.

The lord [did] everything in a ' mystery, a baptism and a chrism ' and a eucharist and a redemption ³⁰ and a bridal chamber.

[. . .] he said, ' “I came to make [the things below] ' like the things [above, and the things] ' outside like those [inside. I came to unite] ' them in the place [. . .] ³⁵ here through [types . . .] ' Those who say, “[There is a heavenly man and] ' there is one above [him,” are wrong. ' —For it is the first of these two heavenly [men], the one who is revealed, **68** that they call ' “the one who is below”; and he to whom the hidden belongs ' is (supposed to be) that one who is above him. ' For it would be better for them to say, “The inner ⁵ and the outer, and what ' is outside the outer.” Because of this the ' lord called destruction “the outer darkness”: ' there is not another outside of it. He said, ' “My father who is in secret.” He said, ¹⁰ “Go into your (sg.) chamber and shut ' the door behind you, and pray to your father ' who is in secret” (Matt 6:6), the one who is ' within them all. But that which is within ' them all is the fullness. ¹⁵ Beyond it there is nothing else within it. ' This is that of which they say, “That which is ' above them.”

67:35 *possibly*, [types and images]

- 20 ζα τεζη $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{c}}$ αζοεινε | ει εβολ` εβολ των` ουκετι $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{w}}$ -
 βοκ` εζογν αγω αγβοκ` ετων ουκετι || $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{w}}$ εβολ αχει δε
 $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{i}}$ πεχ $\overline{\text{c}}$ νενη|ταζβοκ` εζογν` αϥ $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{y}}$ εβολ αγω νενη-
 ταζβοκ` εβολ` αϥ $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{y}}$ εζογν
 $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{y}}$ | νερε εγζα [z] $\overline{\text{n}}$ α[Δ]αμ` νε $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{n}}$ μογ ψοοπ` | $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{a}}$ -
 25 ρεσπωρ $\overline{\text{x}}$ [ερ]οϥ` απμογ ψωπε πα||λιν εϥωαβω[κ εζ]ογν $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{c}}$ `
 εροϥ $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{n}}$ | μογ ναψωπε
 [π]α $\overline{\text{n}}$ ουτε πανουτε ε|τβε ογ π $\overline{\text{x}}$ οεις [α]κ`καατ` $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{k}}$ ` $\overline{\text{n}}$ -
 ταϥε | ναει ζι π $\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{c}}$ [νε] αϥπωρ $\overline{\text{x}}$ ` γαρ` $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{m}}$ α | ετ[$\overline{\text{m}}$]μαϥ
 30 [.] . . [. .] $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{q}}$ ` εβολ ζ $\overline{\text{m}}$ || πετ[. ε]β $\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{l}}$ ζιτ $\overline{\text{m}}$
 π $\overline{\text{n}}$ ουτε |
 απ[. εβ]ο $\overline{\text{l}}$ ζ $\overline{\text{n}}$ νετμοογτ` | [. ψ]οοπ`
 αλλα νε|[.] εϥο $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}$ ελειον | [.] $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{z}}$
 35 αλλα τεει || [. οϥ $\overline{\text{c}}$]αρ $\overline{\text{z}}$ τε $\overline{\text{n}}$ αλληεινη | [.] ε ογα-
 ληεινη αντε αλ[λα] $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{k}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{n}}$ $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}$ αλληεινη *
 *p. 69¹
 (117 L.) μαρε παστο $\overline{\text{c}}$ ψωπε $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{n}}$ οϥ|τε μαϥωπε $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{l}}$ ουτε
 $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{e}}$ | εϥ $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{m}}$ αλλα ψαϥωπε $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{e}}$ | $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{e}}$ λεϥθερο $\overline{\text{c}}$ $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{n}}$ ζ $\overline{\text{n}}$ -
 παρ $\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{c}}$
 5 εβολ || ζιτ $\overline{\text{m}}$ $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}$ ετογααβ σε $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{o}}$ μεν $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{a}}$ | $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{k}}\overline{\text{e}}$ -
 σοπ` σε $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{o}}$ δε $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{c}}$ ζιτ $\overline{\text{n}}$ πε| $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{c}}$ ζ $\overline{\text{m}}$ π $\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{y}}$ σετ $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{c}}$ $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{c}}$

18 εβολ των : i.e. εβολ ζ $\overline{\text{m}}$ πμα ετε . . . εροϥ. 19 ετων : i.e. επμα ετε . . . $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{c}}$.
 20 i.e. $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{w}}$ ei.
 23 i.e. ενερε.
 69:5 i.e. $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}$.

68:23 rest. Schenke ("[in]"), sim. Till : also possible is [m] $\overline{\text{n}}$ 24 rest. Schenke ("von ihm"), Till 25 sim. rest. Till εϥωα- . . . $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{c}}$ em. Schenke ("wenn <sie> . . . und er <sie> . . . aufnimmt"), Till with hesitation

26-28 ε|τβε ογ [α]κκαατ $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{k}}$ π $\overline{\text{x}}$ οεις $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}$ αϥε | ναει em. Schenke³ 27 cf. Mark 15:34 πατ. (Ps 21:2) ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με : 28 rest. Schenke ("er hatte") : [n̄t]αϥ Till

31 απ[$\overline{\text{x}}$ οεις τωογν εβ]ο $\overline{\text{l}}$ Till : απ[ε $\overline{\text{x}}$ ρ $\overline{\text{c}}$ τωογν εβ]ο $\overline{\text{l}}$ de Catanzaro ("the [Christ arose] from") 32 [αϥωπε $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{e}}$ ενεϥω]οοπ Till

69:1 <π>παστο $\overline{\text{c}}$ em. de Catanzaro, but unlikely 2-3 $\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{e}}$ | εϥ $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{m}}$: for the construction cf. Layton, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 14 (1977) 72-73 : $\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{e}}$ εϥ $\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{m}}$ em. Wilson

Before Christ some ' came from a place they were no longer ' able to enter, and they went where they were no longer ²⁰ able to come out. Then Christ came. ' Those who went in he brought out, and ' those who went out he brought in.

When ' Eve was still in Adam death did not exist. ' When she was separated from him death came into being. ²⁵ If he enters again and attains his former self, ' death will be no more.

“My God, my God, ' why, O lord, have you forsaken me?” (Mark 15:34 and parallels). It was ' on the cross that he said these words, for he had departed from that place. '

[. . .] who has been begotten through ³⁰ him who [. . .] from God. '

The [. . .] from the dead. ' [. . .] to be, but now ' [. . .] perfect. ' [. . .] flesh, but this ³⁵ [. . .] is true flesh. ' [. . .] is not true, but ' [. . .] only an image of the true.

69 A bridal chamber is not for the animals, ' nor is it for the slaves, nor for defiled ' women; but it is for free ' men and virgins.

Through ⁵ the holy spirit we are indeed begotten ' again, but we are begotten through ' Christ in the two. We are anointed

68:31 *possibly*, The [Lord rose] from the dead

68:32 *possibly*, [He became as he used] to be

10 ζΙΤΜ ΠΨ|ΠΝΑ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΧΠΟΝ ΑΥΖΟΤΡΝ ΜΝ ΛΑΔΥ|ΝΑΨΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΨ
 ΟΥΤΕ ΖΜ ΜΟΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ || ΕΙΑΛ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΝΑΨ-
 ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΜΟΟΥ ΖΙΑΛ | ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΨΨΕ ΔΨΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ
 15 ΖΜ ΠCΝΑΥ | ΖΜ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΜΝ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΔΕ | ΠΕ ΠΧΡΙCΜΑ
 ΝΕΥΝ ΨΟΜΤΨ ΝΗΕΙ ΜΜΑ || ΝΨΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΖΝ ΘΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΑ ΠΟΥΔΨ
 ΕΨΟΥΕΝ ΕΠΑΜΝΤΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ | ΧΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ
 ΕΨΟΥΗΝ ΕΠCΑ|ΡΗC ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ.Μ|ΠΕ-
 20 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΤΨ ΕΨΨΟΥΗΝ Α|ΠΑΕΙΒΤΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ ΠΕ-
 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ | ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΜΑ ΕΨΑΨΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΨ|C| | ΒΨΚΨ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΜΑΨΨ
 ΟΥΑ|Α|Ψ ΠΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ | ΠΕ ΠΝΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ [Π|CΨ|Τ]Ε ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ |
 25 ΜΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕΤ|ΟΥΑ|ΔΨ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ || ΠΕ ΠΝΥΜΨΩΝ Π|ΒΑΠΤΙ-
 CΜΑ ΟΥΝΤΑΨ | ΜΜΑΨ ΝΤΑΝΑCΤΑC|ΙC ΜΝ Π|CΨΤΕ ΕΠCΨΤΕ ΖΜ
 ΠΝΥΜΨΩΝ [ΕΠΝ|ΥΜΨΩΝ ΔΕ | ΖΜ ΠΕΤΧΟCΕ ΕΡΟ[. . . . |Ν| 1½]ΟΟ. . . |
 30 ΚΝΑΖΕ ΑΝ Ψ ΕΤΕΨ[. . . .]ΤΨΨ[. . . .] || ΝΕ ΝΕΤΨΛΗΛ [. . . .]!3-14.
 || ΘΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΑ [. . . . 9-10 ΘΙΕΡΟ]CΟΛΥΜΑ ΕΨΨ[.
 ΘΙΕΡΟCΟ|ΛΥΜΑ ΕΨΔΨΨ|Τ !1½-13] | ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ
 35 ΧΕ ΠΕΤΟΥ]ΑΑΒ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ | ΠΚΑ||ΤΑΠΕΤΑCΜΑ ΠΨΖ
 ΚΕ[. . . 8-9 . . .]ΠΑCΤΟC ΕΙ ΜΗ ΘΙΚΩΝ | . . 6½-8
 p. 70¹ ΕΤ]|ΜΠ|CΑ ΝΤΠ|Ε] ΕΤ|Β|Ε [Π|ΔΕΙΨ ΑΠΕΨΚΑΤΑ|ΠΕΤΑCΜΑ ΠΨ|Ζ]
 (118 L.) ΧΙΜ ΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΨΑ | ΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ ΝΕ ΨΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΟΕΙΝΕ | ΧΙΜ

11 i.e. ζΙΕΙΑΛ.

18 ΕΡΟΨ: q written over erasure of γ οΥΑΑΒ Μ: Μ altered from Ν 23 sim. rest. Krause: cf. 69:26 24 ΠΕΤ|ΟΥΑ|ΔΨ read in photographs: for the restoration of cf. 69:20-21 25 cf. 69:22 26 rest. Schenke ("und die"), Barns 27 [ΕΠΝ|ΥΜΨΩΝ sim. Krause: cf. 69:26-27 (ΕΠCΨΤΕ): [ΠΝ|ΥΜΨΩΝ sim. Till 28 ΕΡΟ[. . . . |Ν| 1½]ΟΟ . . . pap.: of Ν, superlin. stroke is definite, Ν restored; reading of pap. prob. was not [Κ]ΟΟΥΕ 29 |ΤΨΨ[: ψ, or else ψ: π, or else ι εΤΕΨ|ΖΕ ΝΕΤΨ|ΤΨΨ [ΕΡΟΨ] sim. rest. Isenberg² 30 |ΖΝ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΖΝ| Schenke ("in Geist und Wahrheit"), cf. John 4:23 ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ 31-32 |ΟΥΝ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΘΙΕΡΟ]CΟΛΥΜΑ sim. rest. Isenberg² 32 ΕΨΨ|ΛΗΛ ΖΡΑΨ ΖΝ ΘΙΕΡΟCΟ| Schenke ("die [zwar in] Jerusalem"): ΕΨΨ|ΛΗΛ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΖΝ ΘΙΕΡΟCΟ| Isenberg² 33 ΔΨΨ|Τ ΑΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ| Isenberg²: ΔΨΨ|Τ ΔΕ ΔΑΜΨCΤΗΡΙΟΝ| Schenke 34 rest. Schenke ("genannt werden: Das Heilige der Heiligen"), Isenberg²: cf. 69:20-21, 69:25: ΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΕΤΟΥ]ΑΑΒ Till 36-37 ΚΕ-| 8-9 || ΠΑCΤΟC ΕΙΜΗ: a negative construction is expected: ΚΕ|ΟΥΑ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΝ||ΠΑCΤΟC sim. Schenke⁴ 70: | ΕΤ|Β|Ε [Π|ΔΕΙΨ sim. Isenberg πεΨ: q altered from false start of κ 2 ΠΨ|: or else ΠΨ| ΠΨ|Ζ Schenke ("zerriss"). Till

through ' the spirit. When we were begotten we were united. None ' can see himself either in water or in ¹⁰ a mirror without light. Nor again can you (sg.) ' see in light without water or mirror. ' For this reason it is fitting to baptize in the two, ' in the light and the water. Now the light ' is the chrism.

There were three buildings specifically for ¹⁵ sacrifice in Jerusalem. The one ' facing west was called ' "the holy." Another facing ' south was called "the holy of ' the holy." The third facing ²⁰ east was called "the holy ' of the holies," the place where only the high priest ' enters. Baptism ' is "the holy" building. Redemption is "the holy ' of the holy." "The holy of the holies" ²⁵ is the bridal chamber. Baptism includes ' the resurrection [and the] redemption; the redemption ' (takes place) in the bridal chamber. But the bridal chamber ' is in that which is superior to [. . .] ' you (sg.) will not find [. . .] ³⁰ are those who pray [. . .] ' Jerusalem. [. . .] ' Jerusalem who [. . .] ' Jerusalem, [. . .] ' those called "the holy ³⁵ of the holies" [. . . the] ' veil was rent [. . .] ' bridal chamber except the image [. . .] **70** above. Because of this its ' veil was rent from top to ' bottom. For it was fitting for some ' from

69:29 *possibly*, not find [anything like] it. [Those who are familiar with it]

69:31–33 *possibly*, [There are some in] Jerusalem who [pray in] Jerusalem, [looking towards the kingdom of heaven]

- 5 ΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤἼ ἸCΕΒΩΚ` ΕΠCΑ Ν`ΤΠΕ ||
 ΝΕΝΤΑΖ† ΖΙΩΟΥ ΜΠΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ ἸΟΥ|ΘΕΙΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ἸΒΙ ἸΔΥ-
 ΝΑ|ΜΙC ΑΥ ΜΑΥΨΕΜΑΖΤΕ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ ΟΥ|Δ ΔΕ ΝΑ† ΖΙΩΩϞ ἸΜ-
 ΠΙΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΖἸ | ΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΖἸ ΠΖΩΤῚ
- 10 ΝΕ Μ`ΠΕ Τ`||CΖΙΜΕ ΠΩΡΧ ΕΦΟΟΥΤ ΝΕCΝΑΜΟΥ | ΔΝ ΠΕ ΜἸ
 ΦΟΟΥΤ` ΠΕϞΠΩΡΧ ἸΤΑϞ`|ΨΩΠΕ ἸΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΠΜΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ |
 ΔΠΕΧῚ ΕΙ ΞΕΚΑΔC ΠΠΩΡΧ ἸΤΑΖ|ΨΩΠΕ ΧΙΝ` ΨΟΡΠ` ΕϞΝΑCΕΖΩϞ
- 15 ΕΡΑΤϞ` || ΠΑΛΙΝ` ἸϞΖΟΤΡΟΥ ΜΠCΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΝ|ΤΑΖΜΟΥ ΖἸ ΠΠΩΡΧ`
 ΕϞΝΑ† ΝΑΥ ἸΝΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ἸϞΖΟΤΡΟΥ ΨΑΡΕ ΤCΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ | ΖΩΤῚ ΔΠΕCΖΑΕΙ
- 20 ΖΡΑἸ ΖἸ ΠΠΑCΤΟC | ΝΕΝΤΑΖΩΤῚ ΔΕ ΖἸ ΠΠΑCΤΟC ΟΥΚΕ||ΤΙ CΕΝΑ-
 ΠΩΡΧ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕΥΖΑ | ΠΩΡΧ` ΑΔΔΑΜ ΞΕ ἸΤΑCΖΩΤῚ ΕΡΟϞ` | ΔΝ
 ΖἸ ΠΠΑC[ΤΟ]C
- 25 ΤΨΥΧΗ ἸΑΔΔΑΜ` Ἰ|ΤΑCΨΩΠΕ Ε[Β]ΟΛ ΖἸΝΟΥΝΙϞΕ ΠΕC|ΖΩΤῚ ΠΕ
 Π|Ἰ|Ν|Δ Π[Ε]Ἰ|Ν`ΤΑΥΤΑΑϞ ΝΑϞ` || ΤΕ ΤΕϞΜΑΑΥ ΑΥ[ϞΙ] ἸΤΕϞΨΥΧΗ
 ΑΥ† ΝΑϞ` ἸΝΟΥ[ΠἸΔ Ε]ΠΕCΜΑ ΕΠΕΙ Ἰ|ΤΑΡΕϞ`ΖΩΤῚ [ΑϞΧ]Ψ ἸΖἸ-
 ΨΑΧΕ ΕΥΧΟ|CΕ` ΑΝΔΥΝΑ[ΜΙC] ΑΥῚΒΑCΚΑΝΕ ΕΡΟϞ | [. . . .]ΡΧ
- 30 [. . . . 4½ . . .]ΩΤῚ ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ||[ΤΙΚ . .]Υ[.]Α[.]ΚΗ ΤΕΘΗΠ` ΑΥ†
 | 11½ . . .]ΔΕΙΒΕ ἸΒΙ ΠΕ||]Ϟ ΝΑΥ ΟΥΑΑΥ |
 | Π]ΑCΤΟC ΨΙΝΑ | [.] . ΟΥ

70:6 ΜΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ : Sah. μεΥΝΑΥ. 7-8 ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΑ† ΖΙΩΩϞ : i.e. CΕΝΑ† ΔΕ ΖΙΩΟΥ.

9 i.e. ΕΝΕ ΜΠΕ-. 16-17 i.e. ἸΟΥΩΝΖ. 19 i.e. ΝΕΝΤΑΖΩΤῚ.

23 i.e. ΖἸ ΟΥΝΙϞΕ. 26 i.e. ἸΟΥΠἸΔ.

6 prob. emend to ΜΑΥΝΑΥ (thus Schenke [‘‘sehen nicht’’], Till with hesitation) : also possible is ΜΑΟΥΝΑΥ (thus Nagel §41b, with hesitation) 7-8 expected is e.g. ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΑ† 9 ΖΩΤῚ ΝΕΜ` written over erasure of ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ

12 ἸΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥΤΟ written over erasure of ΧΙΝ ΨΟΡΠ ΕϞΝΑCΕΖΩϞ Ε (cf. 70:14) 13 ΔΠΕΧῚ ΕΙ ἸΤΑΖ written over erasure of ΡΑΤϞ ΠΑΛΙΝ ἸϞΖΟΤΡΟΥ ΜΠCΝΑΥ (cf. 70:14-15)

24 Π[Ε]Ἰ|Ν`ΤΑΥΤΑΑϞ : Τ[Ε]Ἰ|Ν`ΤΑCΤΑΑϞ em. Schenke 25-26 for the restorations cf. *OnOrgWild* 115:9-11 25 ΑΥ[.] read in photographs : one full letter space in lacuna (insufficient space to restore [ωζ]) : rest. Schenke³ (‘‘man [nahm]’’’) 26 rest. Schenke (‘‘[Geist] an ihrer Stelle’’’) 27 rest. Schenke (‘‘[sagte er]’’’), Isenberg 29-30 poss. restore [ΑΥΠ]ΡΧ[Ϟ] ΕΤΕϞΖΩΤῚ ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ||[ΤΙΚΗ] (or ? ΠΕϞ- . . . ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ) : [ΑΥΠ]ΡΧ[Ϟ] Ἰ- Τ`ΒΙΝΖ|ΩΤῚ ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ||[ΤΙΚΗ] Schenke³ (‘‘[sie] tren[n]ten diese] geist[ige Ver]einigung’’’), sim. Schenke⁴ 30 Υ[| : or else]Ϟ[| [- - - ΟΥ|Α]ΑΥ - - -] Schenke⁴ : cf. 70:32 31 for Δ can also be read λ, μ or υ

below to go upward.⁵

The powers do not see ' those who are clothed in the perfect light, ' and consequently are not able to detain them. ' One will clothe himself in this light ' sacramentally in the union.

If the ¹⁰ woman had not separated from the man, she would not die ' with the man. His separation became ' the beginning of death. Because of this ' Christ came to repair ' the separation which was from the beginning ¹⁵ and again unite the two, and to give life to those ' who died as a result of the separation ' and unite them. But the woman is united ' to her husband in the bridal chamber. ' Indeed those who have united in the bridal chamber will ²⁰ no longer be separated. Thus Eve ' separated from Adam because it was not in the bridal chamber ' that she united with him.

The soul of Adam ' came into being by means of a breath. The ' partner of his soul is the spirit. His mother ²⁵ is the thing that was given to him. His soul was taken from him and ' replaced by a [spirit]. When ' he was united (to the spirit), [he spoke] words incomprehensible ' to the powers. They envied him ' [. . .] spiritual partner ³⁰ [. . .] hidden ' [. . .] opportunity ' [. . .] for themselves alone ' [. . .] bridal chamber so that ' [. . .]

70:29 *possibly*, [and they severed him from his female] spiritual partner

- 35 αἰ̄ δωλπ̄ || [εβολ πειο]ρδανης ππλη[ρωμα ἡ̄τμ̄ντε]ρ-
 *p. 71¹
 (119 L.) ο ἡ̄πνηε πε(ν)[ταχποϋ ρ]α τεζη ἡ̄πτηρϋ πα*λιν αϋ-
 χποϋ π[εντα]ϋτ[ο]ρ̄ς̄ ἡ̄ψορ[π] | παλιν αϋτορ̄ς̄ π[εν]-
 ταϋσοτ̄ παλιν αϋρωτε
- 5 εϋχε ψυε εϋω ἡ̄ογ|μϋστηριον απειωτ̄ ἡ̄πτηρϋ ρ̄ ζωτ̄ρ̄ || ατ̄-
 παρθενος ἡ̄ταζει απιτ̄ν αϋω | αϋκωτ̄ ρ̄ ογοειν̄ εροϋ ἡ̄φοοϋ
 ετ̄μ|μαϋ αϋδωλπ̄ εβολ ἡ̄πνοδ ἡ̄παστοϋ | ετβε παει πεϋρω-
 10 μα ἡ̄ταϋωπε | ἡ̄φοοϋ ετ̄μ|μαϋ αϋει εβολ ρ̄μ ππα||στοϋ ἡ̄θε ἡ̄-
 πεν̄ταϋωπε εβολ | ρ̄μ πνϋμφιοϋ μ̄ν τνϋμφη τᾱ|ει τε θε αἰ̄
 τερο ἡ̄πτηρϋ ερατ̄ϋ | ρ̄ραἰ ἡ̄ζητ̄ϋ εβολ ρ̄ιτ̄ν ναει αϋω | ψυε
 15 ετρε ποϋα ποϋα ἡ̄μ̄μαθητ̄ς̄ || μοοϋε εροϋν̄ ετεϋ̄ αναπαϋσιϋ |
 ααδαμ̄ ψωπε εβολ ρ̄μ παρθενος | σ̄ντε εβολ ρ̄μ π̄π̄να αϋω
 εβολ | ρ̄μ πκαρ̄ ἡ̄παρθενος ετβε παει | αϋϋπε πεϋρ̄ς̄ εβολ ρ̄μ
 20 οϋπαρθενος || ρ̄εκααϋ περ̄λοοτε ἡ̄ταϋωπε | ρ̄μ τεροϋειτε
 εϋνα[ϋ]εϋωϋ ερατ̄ϋ |
 οϋν̄ ψην̄ ρ̄ναϋ ρ̄ητ̄ [ρ̄]μ̄ ππαρδι|σοϋ ποϋα ϋπε ε[η-
 25 ριον] ποϋα ϋπε | ρ̄ωμε ααδαμ̄ ο[ϋωμ] εβολ ρ̄μ πση(ν) || ἡ̄-
 ταϋϋπε ε̄ρη̄|ον αϋψ|ωπε ἡ̄θηριον αϋϋπε ε̄ρη̄ριον ε|τβε παἰ
 σε|ρ̄σεβεσεε αν̄ε[ρηριον ἡ̄ς̄]ἰ ἡ̄ψηρ̄ε | ἡ̄αδαμ̄ πση[ν . . . 9½-11½

71:6 i.e. αϋκωστ. 14 i.e. ἡ̄μ̄μαθητ̄ς̄.

35 [εβολ ρ̄ι μηρ ἡ̄πειο]ρδανης Ménard 36 rest. Schenke ("das πλῆ[ρωμα des] Himmelreiches"), Till 37 [ταϋχποϋ ρ]α rest. Isenberg (cf. 71:1-3): [ταϋωπε ρ]α rest. Schenke ("das, [was] vor . . . war"), Till

71:21 [ϋ]εϋωϋ: copyist first erroneously wrote ϋεϋωβ, then added ϋ above β as a correction, but neglected to cancel β rest. Schenke ("wieder in Ordnung bringe"), sim. Till

22 ρ̄ητ̄: deciphered by Schenke⁴ [ρ̄]μ̄: μ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 23 ε[: or else ε[ε[ρηριον]: cf. 71:25-26 24 ο[ϋωμ]: cf. 71:31-32 25 rest. de Catanzaro ("θήρ[ιον and] became"), Till: cf. on 71:23 26 cf. on 71:23 27 ε[: or else ε[ψηρ̄ε: deciphered by Schenke³ ("[Kinder]"), Schenke⁴: cf. 72:2-3 28-29 expected is πση[ν --- οϋωμ ---]καρποϋ: πση[ν ἡ̄τα ααδαμ̄ οϋεμ πεϋ||καρποϋ is palaeographically unlikely (too long for available space)

Jesus appeared ³⁵ [. . .] Jordan—the ' [fullness of the kingdom] of heaven. He who ' [was begotten] before everything **71** was begotten anew. He [who was] once [anointed] ' was anointed anew. He who was redeemed ' in turn redeemed (others).

Indeed, one must utter a ' mystery. The father of everything united ⁵ with the virgin who came down, and ' a fire shone for him on that day. ' He appeared in the great bridal chamber. ' Therefore, his body came into being ' on that very day. It left the bridal chamber ¹⁰ as one who came into being ' from the bridegroom and the bride. So ' Jesus established everything ' in it through these. ' It is fitting for each of the disciples ¹⁵ to enter into his rest. '

Adam came into being from two virgins, ' from the spirit and from ' the virgin earth. Christ, therefore, ' was born from a virgin ²⁰ to rectify the fall which ' occurred into the beginning. '

There are two trees growing in Paradise. ' The one bears [animals], the other bears ' men. Adam [ate] from the tree ²⁵ which bore animals. [He] became an animal, ' and he brought forth animals. For this reason ' the children of Adam worship [animals]. ' The tree [. . .] '

70:35 *possibly*, [at the shore of the] Jordan

71:3 in turn redeemed (others): *or*, in turn was redeemed

30 ||καρπος πε π[.¹¹⁻¹³.] || παει αγαψ[αει.¹⁰⁻¹².] || ογωμ̄ μ̄π[.¹³⁻¹⁵.] | καρπος μ̄η[.¹²⁻¹⁴.]

35 . . || χπο ν̄ρρωμε̄ [.¹⁰⁻¹².] || ψτ̄ μ̄πρωμε̄ ν̄[.⁹⁻¹¹.] ||

*p.72¹
(120 L.) ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΜΕΙΕ ΠΡΩ[ΜΕ¹⁻³. Ρ̄ΡΩ]* ΜΕ ΤΑΜΕΙΕ Π[Ν]ΟΥ[Τ]Ε ΤΑΕΙ
ΤΕ ΘΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΚΟΣ[ΜΟΣ ΕΝΡΩ[Μ]Ε ΤΑΜΙΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΟΥ[ΩΨΤ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΥ-
ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΕ ΨΩΕ ΕΤΡΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΤΕ ΟΥΩΨΤ̄ Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ

5 Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΣΩΟΟΠ̄ Μ̄||ΜΟΣ Ν̄ΒΙ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ Ν̄Ν̄ΖΒΗΥΕ Μ̄ΠΡΩ[ΜΕ ΨΑΥΩΨΠΕ
ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΨ̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ | ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΣΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ Ν̄ΔΥ[ΝΑ-
ΜΙΣ ΝΕΨΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΕ ΝΕΨ̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥ[ΩΨΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥ-
10 ΣΙΣ ΕΤΒΕ || ΠΑΕΙ ΤΕΨ̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ Ρ̄ΠΟΛΙΤΕ ΥΕΣΘΕ | ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΨ-
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΔΕ | ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Ν Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΑΥ-
Ω̄ | ΚΝΑΖΕ ΕΠΑΕῙ ΄ΕΨΧΩΤΕ ΨΑΖΡΑΪ ΕΘΙΚΩ(Ν) | ΑΥΩ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ
15 Ν̄ΖΙΚΟΝΙΚΟΣ || ΕΨΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΝΕΨΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΨ̄ΒΟΜ̄ | ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΑΝΑ-
ΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΕΨΧΠΟ Ν̄ΝΕΨ̄ΨΗΡΕ
Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ν̄Ζ Μ̄ΖΑΛ̄ Ρ̄|ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙ Ν̄ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ Ζ̄Ν ΤΜ̄Ν|ΤΕΡΟ
20 Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ ΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΡ̄ || ΔΙΑΚΟΝ[ΕΙ] Ν̄Ν̄Ζ Μ̄ΖΑΛ̄ Ν̄Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄|
ΠΝΥΜ[Φ]Ν̄ Ν̄[Α]Ρ̄ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ Ν̄Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΓΑ[ΜΟΣ Ν̄]ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΥΜ̄-
ΦΩΝ | ΟΥΡΑΝ ΟΥ[ΨΤ ΠΕ]ΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΥΨ̄ ΤΑΝΑ|ΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΄ Ε[ΥΖΙ Ν]ΟΥΕ-

72:18 i.e. Ν̄ΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ. 20–21 i.e. Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΥΜΦΩΝ. 23 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΨΤ. 24 i.e. ΝΕΥΕ-
ΡΗΥ.

29 η[read from small, ambiguous trace 29–30 prob. [- - - ετβε] || παει η[ψην̄ ν̄θ-
ριον̄ ετβε] || παει Schenke (“[der Tier-Baum.] Des[wegen]”), sim. Ménard, but
unlikely 30 ψ[: or else ψ[can be read rest. Schenke (“wurde . . . zahlreich”), Till,
with hesitation 30–34 “wurden [die Sünden] zahl[reich]. Hätte er] die [Frucht (καρπός)
des anderen Baumes] gegessen—[d.h. die] Frucht vom [Baum des Lebens—der] (zu)
Mensch[en] macht, [würden die Götter] den Menschen [vereh]ren,” rest. Schenke³, ? i.e.
αγαψ[αεῑ ν̄βῑ ν̄νοβε̄ ενε̄ αψ̄||ογωμ̄ μ̄η[καρπος̄ μ̄η̄κεψη̄ν η̄]||καρπος̄ μ̄η[ψην̄ μ̄πω̄νζ̄
πετ̄]||χπο̄ ν̄ρρωμε̄ [νε̄ ν̄νουτε̄ ναο̄υω]ψτ̄ μ̄πρωμε̄ 31 prob. μ̄η[καρπος̄ - - -] : cf.
71:32 32 η[: or else η[34 ν̄ : or else η, η, ι, κ, μ, ν̄ or η; superlin. stroke
restored 72:2 ρω[: or else ρω[

5 ν̄βι : ε altered from ι {ν̄}ν̄ζβηυε em. de Catanzaro, Barns (with new paragraph
beginning here), poss. rightly : or poss. ν̄ν̄ for ν̄ (cf. on 72:20) 16 ουαναπαυσις is
expected (poss. emend thus)

23 rest. Schenke (“haben ein [und denselben] Namen”) 24 rest. Layton : cf. Polot-
sky *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25 (1939) 111 n.

fruit is [. . .] ³⁰ increased [. . .] ' ate the [. . .] ' fruit of the [. . .] ' bears men, [. . .] ' man. [. . .] ³⁵ God created man. [. . . men] **72** create God. That is the way it is in the world— ' men make gods and worship ' their creation. It would be fitting for the gods ' to worship men!

Surely ⁵ what a man accomplishes ' depends on his abilities. ' For this reason we refer to one's accomplishments as ' "abilities." Among his accomplishments are his children. They ' originate in a moment of ease. ¹⁰ Thus his abilities determine ' what he may accomplish, but this ease ' is clearly evident in the children. ' You will find that this applies directly to the image. ' Here is the man made after the image ¹⁵ accomplishing things with his physical strength, ' but producing his children with ease. '

In this world the slaves ' serve the free. In the ' kingdom of heaven the free will ²⁰ minister to the slaves: the children of ' the bridal chamber will minister to the children ' of the marriage. The children of the bridal chamber ' have [just one] name: rest. ' [Altogether]

they need take no (other) ²⁵ form [because they have] contemplation, ' [. . .]. they are numerous ' [. . .] in the things ' [. . .] the glories ' [. . .]

Those ³⁰ [. . . go] down into the water. ' [. . .] out (of the water), will consecrate ' [. . .] they who have ' [. . .] in his name. For he said, ' "[Thus] we should fulfill all **73** righteousness" (Matt 3:15).

Those who say they will ' die first and then rise ' are in error. If they do not first receive the ' resurrection while they live, when they die they will receive nothing. ⁵ So also when speaking about ' baptism they say, "Bap-tism ' is a great thing," because if people receive it they will ' live.

Philip the apostle ' said, "Joseph the carpenter planted ¹⁰ a garden because he needed wood ' for his trade. It was he who ' made the cross from the ' trees which he planted. His own offspring hung ' on that which he planted. His offspring was ¹⁵ Jesus and the planting was the cross." But the tree ' of life is in the middle of the garden. ' However, it is from the olive tree ' that we get the chrism, and from the chrism, ' the resurrection.

This world is a corpse-eater. ²⁰ All the things eaten ' in it themselves die also. Truth ' is a life-eater. Therefore no one ' nourished by [truth] will die. It was ' from that place that Jesus came and brought ²⁵ food. To those who ' so desired he gave [life, that] ' they might not die.

72:33 *possibly*, [received baptism] in his name

30 ἀπ[ο]υτε^{1/2}] . . ε̄ ν̄ο[υ]παρ[α]||δειςος ἀπρω[με . . . 7-8 . . .
 παρα]δειςος οὐ̄ν̄ ζ[. . . 9-10 1/2 . . . ψο]||οπ̄ μ̄ν̄ ζ̄μ̄π[. . . 11 1/2-13 . . .
] | μ̄π̄νουτε ζ̄μ̄ [. . . 10 1/2-12 . . .] με̄ νετ̄ν̄ζητ[υ . . . 9 1/2-11 . . .
 . . . ε]† οὐ̄ω̄ω̄ π̄ιπαρ[α]δ[ειςος πε̄ π̄μα ε]||τοῦναχοος̄ ναεῑ χ̄ε̄
 *p. 74¹ [. . . οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ] || μ̄π̄αῑ η̄ μ̄ν̄οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ̄ μ̄[π̄αῑ ν̄θε̄ εκ̄]*οὐ̄ω̄ω̄
 (122 L.) παεῑ π̄μᾱ [ε]†ναοὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ̄ ν̄κε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ | μ̄μαγ̄ ε̄ψο[ο]π̄ μ̄μαγ̄ ν̄δ̄ι
 π̄ω̄η̄ν̄ ν̄τ̄ | γ̄νω̄σις̄ πετ̄μ̄μαγ̄ ᾱψομ̄τ̄ ᾱδ̄αμ̄ πε̄|εῑμᾱ δε̄ π̄ω̄η̄ν̄
 5 ν̄τ̄γ̄νω̄σις̄ ᾱψ̄τ̄η̄ζε̄ π̄ρω̄||με̄ π̄νομος̄ νε̄ π̄ω̄η̄ν̄ πε̄ οὐ̄ν̄ βο̄μ̄ | μ̄-
 μο̄ῡ ν̄ῑ† τ̄γ̄νω̄σις̄ μ̄π̄πετ̄νᾱνο̄ῡγ̄ | μ̄ν̄ πε̄θο̄ο̄ῡ οὐ̄τε̄ μ̄πε̄ϰ̄λᾱσε̄
 ε̄ρο̄ῡ ζ̄μ̄ | πε̄θε̄ο̄ο̄ῡ οὐ̄τε̄ μ̄πε̄ϰ̄κᾱᾱῡ ζ̄μ̄ π̄πετ̄νᾱ|νο̄ῡγ̄ ᾱλλᾱ
 10 ᾱψ̄τᾱμ̄ιο̄ ν̄ο̄ῡμο̄ῡ ν̄ν̄εν̄τᾱζ̄||οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄ζητ̄ῡ ζ̄μ̄ π̄τ̄ρε̄ϰ̄χοος̄
 γ̄αρ̄ | χ̄ε̄ οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ̄ παεῑ μ̄ν̄οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ̄ παεῑ ᾱψ̄ω̄ω̄|πε̄ ν̄ᾱρ̄χη̄ μ̄π̄μο̄ῡ
 π̄χ̄ρεῑσμᾱ ῡο̄ ν̄χο̄|εις̄ επ̄βᾱπτ̄ισ̄μᾱ ε̄βο̄λ̄ γ̄αρ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄χ̄ρῑσμᾱ | ᾱγ̄-
 15 μο̄ῡτε̄ ε̄ρον̄ χ̄ε̄ χ̄ρῑστῑανος̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ || π̄βᾱπτ̄ισ̄μᾱ αν̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ ν̄τᾱγ̄-
 μο̄ῡτε̄ επ̄ε̄|χ̄ς̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ π̄χ̄ρῑσμᾱ απ̄εῑω̄τ̄ γ̄αρ̄ τ̄ω̄ζ̄ς̄ | μ̄π̄ω̄η̄-
 ρ̄ε̄ απ̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ δε̄ τ̄ω̄ζ̄ς̄ ν̄ᾱπο̄στο̄|λο̄ς̄ ανᾱπο̄στο̄λο̄ς̄ δε̄
 20 τᾱζ̄ς̄ν̄ πε̄ν̄|τᾱῡτο̄ζ̄ς̄ οὐ̄ν̄τε̄ϰ̄ π̄τη̄ρ̄ῡ μ̄μαγ̄ οὐ̄ν̄||τᾱῡ τᾱ-
 νᾱστᾱσις̄ πο̄ῡο̄εῑν̄ πε̄ς̄φο̄ς̄ | π̄π̄ν̄ᾱ ε̄το̄γᾱᾱβ̄ απ̄εῑω̄τ̄ † νᾱῡ μ̄-
 πᾱ|εῑ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ν̄ῡ[μ]φ̄ω̄ν̄ ᾱψ̄χῑ ᾱψ̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ ν̄δ̄ι | πε̄ῑω̄τ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ω̄|η̄|ρε̄
 ᾱγ̄ω̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ζ̄μ̄ πε̄ῑω̄τ̄ τ̄ᾱεῑ τ[ε̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τ]ε̄ρο̄ ν̄μ̄π̄η̄γε̄

35 Sah. μ̄π̄ρω̄ω̄ω̄μ. 74:1 i.e. οὐ̄ε̄μ (οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ ν̄- em. de Catanzaro). ν̄κε̄ : Sah. ν̄κα. 3-4 i.e. μ̄πε̄εῑμα (de Catanzaro emends thus). 11 οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ . . . οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ : i.e. οὐ̄ε̄μ . . . οὐ̄ε̄μ. μ̄ν̄- : Sah. μ̄π̄-.

17 i.e. τε̄ζ̄ς̄ ν̄- or τ̄ω̄ζ̄ς̄ ν̄ν- (Till emends thus).

27 . . ε̄ : second letter trace can be read ᾱ, λ̄, γ̄, μ̄ (followed by [ι]) or poss. ς̄ ο̄[: or else ς̄| 28 ω̄[: or else ψ̄| 28-29 απ̄ρω[με̄ ψ̄ω̄πε̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄παρ[α]δ[ειςος̄ rest. Schenke ("Der Mensch [wohnte in dem πᾱρά]δ̄εισος̄"): απ̄ρω[με̄ δε̄ ε̄ω̄ρε̄ μ̄π̄παρ[α]δ[ειςος̄ sim. Isenberg, with hesitation 31 ζ̄μ̄ : μ̄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 31-32 e.g. [- - - π̄ρω]με̄ νετ̄ : also possible is [- - -] | με̄ν̄ ε̄τ̄ 32-33 ν̄ζητ[ῡ †νᾱο̄ῡμο̄ῡ ν̄θε̄ ε]||†οὐ̄ω̄ω̄ω̄ Kasser : cf. 73:34-74:1 33 rest. Schenke ("dieser πᾱρά]δ̄εισος̄ ist der Ort, wo"), Till 34 prob. restore [ᾱδ̄αμ̄ οὐ̄ω̄ω̄μ] 34-35 for the restoration cf. 74:11 35 μ̄ν̄ : μ̄ written over erasure of οὐ̄γ̄ rest. Isenberg : for the syntax cf. 55:19 : μ̄[πᾱεῑ ν̄θε̄ εκ̄] sim. Ménard : μ̄[μο̄ῡ ν̄θε̄ εκ̄] Schenke ("iss [es] nicht, [wie du] willst!"), Schenke⁴ 74:19 οὐ̄ν̄τε̄ϰ̄ : ῡ̄ added above the line

God [. . .] a garden. ' Man [. . .] garden. ' There are [. . .] ³⁰ and [. . .] ' of God. [. . .] ' The things which are in [. . .] ' I wish. This garden [is the place where] ' they will say to me, "[. . . eat] ³⁵ this or do not eat [that, just as you (sg.)] **74** wish.'" In the place where I will eat all things ' is the tree of knowledge. ' That one killed Adam, ' but here the tree of knowledge made men alive. ⁵ The law was the tree. It has power ' to give the knowledge of good ' and evil. It neither removed him from ' evil, nor did it set him in the good, ' but it created death for those who ¹⁰ ate of it. For when he said, ' "Eat this, do not eat that," it became ' the beginning of death.

The chrism is superior ' to baptism, for it is from the word "chrism" ' that we have been called "Christians," certainly not because ¹⁵ of the word "baptism." And it is because of the chrism that "the ' Christ" has his name. For the father anointed ' the son, and the son anointed the apostles, ' and the apostles anointed us. He who ' has been anointed possesses everything. He possesses ²⁰ the resurrection, the light, the cross, ' the holy spirit. The father gave him this ' in the bridal chamber; he merely accepted (the gift). The father was ' in the son and the son in the father. ' This is [the] kingdom of heaven.

73:28 *possibly*, [was put into the] garden

73:32 *possibly*, which are in [it I will eat as]

73:34 *possibly*, [O Adam, eat]

25 καλως || απχοεις χοο|c x|ε αζοεινε βωκ` ετμ̄ν|τερο ν̄μ̄πηγ|ε|
 εγςωβε αγω αγειεβολ | [...]ω|.εαγ| ... |ογα δε ουχρηστια-
 30 νος | [...]πεχ|^{1½}]\| ... |ον αγω ν̄τεγνουγ` | | βωκ
 επ|τ̄ν̄ επμοογ αχει || [... ..]c̄ απτηρϥ` ετβε |
 [... ..^{10½} ουγ|αιγνιον πε αλ|λα ρ̄καταφ|ρονει μ̄-
 35 πεειπε||^{11½}]ν` ετμ̄ν̄τερο ν̄μ̄||πηγε | εϥωᾱρ-
 καταφρονει || [... .. α|γω ν̄ϥωοϥ` ζωc παιγν|] |ον εβ|οα
 *p. 75¹ εϥωβε τειζει ον τε * ζι ποεικ` μ̄ν̄ ππο|τ|ηριον μ̄ν̄ πνηζ | καν
 (123 L.) οῡν̄ κεογα εϥχοσε εναει
 απ`κοcμοc ϥωπε ζ̄ν̄ οῡπαραπτωμα | πενταζταμιοϥ γαρ`
 5 νεϥ`ογωϥ` ατα||μιοϥ` εϥο̄ ν̄ατ`τακο αγω ναθανατοc | αϥε
 εβολ αγω μ̄πεϥ`μετε αβελλπic | νεcϥωοπ` γαρ αν̄ ν̄βι τμ̄ν̄-
 10 ταττεκο | μ̄πκοcμοc αγω † νεϥωοπ` αν̄ ν̄βι | τμ̄ν̄τατ`τακο μ̄-
 πενταζταμε πκοc||μοc cϥωοπ γαρ αν̄ ν̄βι τμ̄ν̄τατ`τα|κο ν̄ν̄-
 15 ζβηγε αλλα ν̄ν̄ϥηρε αγω μ̄ν̄ | οῡζωβ` ναϥχῑ νοϥμ̄ν̄ταττακο
 εϥτ̄μ̄|ωωπε ν̄ϥηρε πετε μ̄ν̄ βομ δε μ̄μοϥ` | εχι ποcω μαλλον
 20 ϥναϥ† αν̄
 πποτη||ριον` μ̄πϥηλη οῡν̄ταϥ ηρπ` μ̄μαγ οῡν̄ταϥ` μοοϥ εϥ`κη
 εζραϊ επτυποc` μ̄|πεcνοϥ` ετοϥρεϥχαριcτει εχωϥ αγω ϥμοϥζ
 εβολ ζ̄μ̄ π̄π̄νᾱ ετογααβ αγω πα πτελειοc τηρϥ ρ̄ρωμε πε ζο-
 25 τα(ν) || εν`ϥανcω μ̄παει τναχῑ νᾱν̄ μ̄πτε|λειοc ρ̄ρωμε πμοοϥ
 ετοζ οῡcωμα | πε ωϥε ετρ̄ν̄† ζωων μ̄πρωμε ετοζ | ετβε
 30 παει εϥει εϥβηκ` επιτ̄ν̄ επμοιοϥ ϥαϥκακϥ αζηϥ ϥινα εϥνα† πη ||
 ζωωϥ`
 ϥαρε οῡζτο x̄πε οῡζτο οῡ|ρωμε ϥαρεϥ`x̄πε ρωμε οῡνοϥ-
 35 τε | ϥαρεϥx̄πε νοϥτε τ̄αι τε θε ζ̄μ̄|πα τ|ϥελεετ` μ̄ν̄ ζ̄ν̄|κε-

26 i.e. ν̄μ̄πηγε. 36 τειζει ον τε : Sah. τ̄αι τε θε.

75:27-28 i.e. ζενπα τϥελεετ μ̄ν̄ ζενκεϥελεετ.

27 [εϥc]ω|β|ε sim. Schenke⁴ : cf. 74:36 : reading of pap. cannot have been εϥριμε 28 x| : or else read x̄| e.g. πεχ|ρ̄c ---] 29 sim. rest. Till 30 α : or else λ̄ [επca ν̄τηε εϥχοc]ε α sim. Ménard 31 cf. 74:35-36 32 cf. 74:34 32-33 πεει πε||τοϥωϥ εβωκ εζογ|ν rest. Kasser 34 [--- ναμετε] Isenberg², sim. Kasser 35 [μ̄πτηρϥ α]γω Isenberg² 36 [ον ϥναει εβ]οα sim. Till : cf. 74:26-27

75:8 † νεϥωοπ : emend to νεcϥωοπ (thus Till) 11-12 μ̄ν̄ ζωβ is expected : poss. emend thus

28 ζ̄ν̄[: or else ζ̄μ̄[

²⁵ The lord said it well: “Some have entered the kingdom ' of heaven laughing, and they have come out ' [. . .] because [. . .] a Christian, ' [. . .] And as soon as ' [. . . went down into] the water he came ³⁰ [. . .] everything (of this world), [. . .] because ' [. . .] a trifle, but ' [. . . full of] contempt for this ' [. . .] the kingdom of ' [heaven . . .]. If he despises ³⁵ [. . .] and scorns it as a trifle, ' [. . .] out laughing. So it is also **75** with the bread and the cup and the oil, ' even though there is another one superior to these.

The ' world came about through a mistake. ' For he who created it wanted to create ⁵ it imperishable and immortal. ' He fell short of attaining his desire. ' For the world never was imperishable, ' nor, for that matter, was ' he who made the world. ¹⁰ For things are not imperishable, ' but sons are. Nothing ' will be able to receive imperishability if it does not ' first become a son. But he who has not the ability ' to receive, how much more will he be unable to give?

The cup ¹⁵ of prayer contains wine and ' water, since it is appointed as the type of ' the blood for which thanks is given. And ' it is full of the holy spirit, and ' it belongs to the wholly perfect man. When ²⁰ we drink this, we shall receive for ourselves the perfect ' man. The living water is a body. ' It is necessary that we put on the living man. ' Therefore, when he is about to go down into the water, ' he unclothes himself, in order that he may put on the living man. ²⁵

A horse sires a horse, a ' man begets man, a god ' brings forth a god. Compare ' [the] bridegroom and the

74:26–27 *possibly*, have come out [laughing]

74:36 *possibly*, [he will come] out

- 30 ψε|λεετ` αγ|ψω||πε εβολ ζ̄μ π̄ν|] ν̄| . . . 4-5½ . . .] ||νε μ̄ν
 ΙΟΥΔΑΙ Ο| 10½-12] | εβολ ζ̄ν̄ ν̄ζε[. 11½-13] |
 ψοοπ` αγω αν| 10½-12] | εβολ ζ̄ν̄ ν̄ιουδ|αι 9½-11]
 35 . . .] | ν̄χριστιανος ακ[. 10-11½] ||ω αγμοϋτε ανει-
 *p. 76^l μα| . . . 5-6½ . . .] | πγενος ετσοτπ` μ̄π̄ν| . . . 5½-7 . . .] * αγω παληθεινος
 (124 L.) ρ̄ρωμε αγω π̄ωηρε | μ̄π̄ρωμε αγω π̄σπερμα μ̄π̄ωηρε μ̄π̄ρω|με πεει-
 γενος ν̄αληθεινον σε̄ρονο|μαζε μ̄μοϋ` ζ̄μ π̄κοςμος † ναεινε
 5 πμα † || ετοϋψοοπ` μ̄μαγ ν̄βι ν̄ωηρε μ̄π̄νϋμ|φων
 επζωτ̄ρ ψοοπ` ζ̄μ πεεικοςμος | ζοοϋτ ζι σζιμε † πμα ετδωμ μ̄ν
 τμν̄τ̄δωβ † ζ̄μ παιων κεογα πε πεινε μ̄π̄ζω|τ̄ρ εμ`μοϋτε δε εροοϋ
 10 ν̄νεειραν οϋν ζ̄ν̄||κοοϋε δε ψοοπ` σεχοσε παρα ραν` | νιμ
 ετοϋ̄ρ̄νομαζε μ̄μοοϋ αγω σε|χοοσε επχωωρε πμα γαρ
 ετε οϋ̄ν̄βια | μ̄μαγ εϋψοοπ` μ̄μαγ ν̄βινετ`σοτπ` | ετδωμ νε-
 15 τ̄μ̄μαγ κεογα αν πε αγω κε||ογα πε αλλα ν̄τοοϋ μ̄π̄εσναϋ
 πιογα | οϋωτ` πε παει πε ετφναϋι αν εζρᾱι | εσχ̄ν̄ φητ` ν̄σαρ̄ς
 οϋον` νιμ ετοϋ̄ν̄τοϋ | πτηρϋ` μ̄μαγ ψωε αν ετροϋειμε μ̄|μ̄μοοϋ
 20 τηροϋ ζοεινε μεν εϋτ̄μ̄ειμε || μ̄μοοϋ σενᾱραπολαϋε αν ν̄ν̄ετε
 | οϋ̄ν̄ταϋσε νεταζσεβο δε εροοϋ σενᾱραπολαϋε μ̄μοοϋ
 οϋ μονον πρωμε | ν̄τελειος σεναϋεμαzte αν μ̄μοϋ` | αλλα
 25 σεναϋναϋ εροϋ αν εϋϋανναϋ || γαρ` εροϋ` σεναεμαzte μ̄-
 μοϋ` ν̄κερητε | μ̄ν̄ ογα ναϋσπο ναϋ` ν̄τεειχαρις ει | [μη ν̄]ϋ†

76:9 i.e. ενμοϋτε. 16 i.e. νοϋωτ. ετφναϋιαν: i.e. Sah. ετε ν̄φναϋει αν.

17 i.e. ετε οϋ̄ν̄τοϋ-. 18-19 i.e. ειμε μ̄μοοϋ (poss. emend thus).

ψε|λεετ` αγ| read in photographs κεψε|λεετ` rest. Emmel 28-29 [ψω||πε rest. Schenke ("entstanden") 29 π̄ν|] ν̄| read in photographs (of ν̄, superlin. stroke is definite, ν is partly preserved and indefinite) ν|γμφων] rest. Schenke 30-34 cf. 62:26-35 and poss. 51:29-52:2, 52:15-24 30 ΙΟΥΔΑΙ: for the form cf. 62:26 ο|: or else ϋ| ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟ[ϋ ---] Kasser, but unlikely 31 ζε|λλην ---] Schenke ("Griechen"), Till: also poss. are e.g. ζε|βραιος ---], ζε|θηκος ---] (cf. 51:29, 52:15) 34-35 ακ|εγενος ωπε αγ||ω rest. Schenke³ ("es [enstand] ein and[er]es Geschlecht; u|nd"), sim. Kasser 35 νεειμα|καριος κε] rest. Isenberg: νεειμα|εινοϋτε κε] Schenke³ ("diese [Gott]lieb[en]den") 36 π̄ν̄|οϋτε ---] Schenke⁴: π̄ν̄|οϋτε ετονζ] Isenberg² 76:4 † . . . †: poss. emend to ναεινε μ̄μα (Layton), cf. Subachmimic ν̄νεειμα "here"

6-7 ψοοπ . . . ν̄ζοοϋτ ζι σζιμε em. Schenke ("besteht . . . <aus> Mann und Weib") 7-8 † πμα ετδωμ . . . δωβ † prob. corrupt: poss. emend to πμα ετε τδωμ μ̄μαγ μ̄ν τμν̄τ̄δωβ. or πμα ν̄τδωμ μ̄ν τμν̄τ̄δωβ (Layton): επμα ν̄τδωμ μ̄ν τμν̄τ̄δωβ em. Schenke ("anstelle der Kraft und der Schwäche") 16 expected is ετναϋ: poss. emend thus

26 μ̄ν̄ ογα ναϋ: cf. 82:24

[bride]. They have come ' from the [. . .].³⁰ No Jew [. . .] ' from [. . .] ' has existed. And [. . .] ' from the Jews. [. . .] ' Christian(s) [. . .]³⁵ these [. . .] are referred to as ' "the chosen people of [. . .]"⁷⁶ and "the true man" and "the son of ' man" and "the seed of the son of man." ' This true race is renowned ' in the world. . . . that⁵ the sons of the bridal chamber dwell. '

Whereas in this world the union ' is one of husband with wife—a case of strength complemented by ' weakness(?)—in the eternal realm (aeon) the form of the union ' is different, although we refer to them by the same names. There are¹⁰ other names, however; they are superior to every name ' that is named and are ' stronger than the strong. For where there is a show of strength, ' there those who excel in strength appear. ' These are not separate things,¹⁵ but both of them are this one ' single thing. This is the one which will not be able to rise ' above the heart of flesh.

Is it not necessary for all those who possess ' everything to know themselves? ' Some indeed, if they do not know²⁰ themselves, will not enjoy what they ' possess. But those who have come to know themselves will ' enjoy their possessions.

Not only ' will they be unable to detain the perfect man, ' but they will not be able to see him, for if they see him²⁵ they will detain him. There is no other way ' for a person to acquire this quality except ' by putting

75:29 *possibly*, from the [bridal chamber]

75:35 *possibly*, these [blessed ones]

76:4–6 *possibly*, It is here that the sons of the bridal chamber dwell

76:7–8 *text corrupt*

30 ζ[ι]ωωq μ̄πτελειον̄ ν̄ογοειν | [αγω] ν̄qωω[πε ζ]ωωq ν̄τελει-
 [.^{11½}] παει πε πτελειο(ν) | [.^{12½}]
 ετρ̄νωωπε ν̄ | |ωc εμ̄πατ̄νει ε |] πε-
 35 τα[[ζ]]χι πτηρ̄q̄ | [.] αν̄ειμα q̄ναωρ̄ | [.^{7½}] π̄μα
 *p. 77¹ ετ̄μαγ̄ αλλα q̄να | τμε|ςοτ̄hc ζωc ατ̄ωκ̄ εβολ̄ * ΜΟΝΟΝ
 (125 L.) ἮC COOYN μ̄πτελος μ̄παει |
 πρωμε ετογααβ q̄ογααβ τηρ̄q̄ ωαζ|ραῖ επ̄εϋ̄cωμα εωχε αq̄χι
 5 γαρ̄ μ̄πο|εικ̄ q̄νααϋ̄ εϋ̄ογααβ̄ η̄ η̄ ποτηριον̄ || η̄ η̄ κ̄κεσεεπε
 τηρ̄q̄ ετ̄q̄χι μ̄μοοϋ εϋ̄|τοϋβο μ̄μοοϋ αγω πως q̄νατοϋβο | αν̄
 μ̄πκεcωμα
 ν̄θε ν̄τα ἮC ωκ̄ εβολ̄ | μ̄πμοοϋ μ̄πβαπτιcμα ταει τε θε
 10 αϋ̄|πωστ̄ εβολ̄ μ̄πμοϋ ετ̄βε παει τ̄ν̄ηκ̄ || μεν̄ επιτ̄ν̄
 επιμοοϋ τ̄ν̄ηκ̄ δε αν̄ | επιτ̄ν̄ επιμοϋ ω̄ινα χε νοϋπαζτ̄ν̄ | εβολ̄
 z̄m̄ π̄π̄n̄a μ̄πκοcμοc ζοταν̄ | εϋ̄ωαν̄νιϋε ω̄αρεϋ̄τε τ̄πρω ω̄ωπε
 15 | π̄π̄n̄a ετογααβ ζοταν̄ εϋ̄ωαν̄νιϋε || ω̄αρε τ̄ωαμ̄η ω̄ωπε̄
 πετεϋ̄ν̄ταϋ̄ μ̄|μαγ̄ η̄τ̄γνωcic η̄τ̄με οϋελεϋ̄θεροc | πε πελεϋ̄-
 θεροc δε μαϋ̄ρ̄ νοβε πε|†ρε γαρ̄ μ̄πνοβε πz̄m̄z̄al̄ μ̄πνοβε |
 20 πε τ̄μααϋ̄ τε ταληθ̄εια τ̄γνωcic δε || πε † πτωτ̄ νε-
 τεcτο ναϋ αν̄ ᾱρ̄ νοβε | επ̄κοcμοc μοϋτε εροοϋ χε ελεϋ̄θε-
 ροc ναει ετ̄cτο ναϋ αν̄ ᾱρ̄ νοβε | τ̄γνωcic η̄ταληθ̄εια χ̄ιcε η̄-
 25 ζητ̄ ετε | παει πε cειρε μ̄μοοϋ η̄ελεϋ̄θεροc || αγω cτροϋχιcε
 επ̄μα τηρ̄q̄ ταγαπ̄η | δε κ̄ωτ̄ πεταz̄p̄ ελεϋ̄θεροc δε ζι|τ̄ν̄
 τ̄γνωcic q̄ο η̄z̄m̄z̄al̄ ετ̄βε ταγα|π̄η η̄ναει εμ̄πατοϋω̄ϋι εz̄ραῖ [η̄τε]-

28 i.e. η̄τελειον̄ν̄ογοειν. 33 Sah. πετ̄ναχι-. 34 αν̄ειμα : Sah. επ̄ειμα.

77:11 Sah. η̄νεϋ̄παζτ̄ν̄.

13 Sah. ω̄αϋ̄τ̄ρε-.

17-18 i.e. πετειρε.

20 Sah. νετε η̄c- . . . αν̄.

28 [αγω] ν̄qωω[πε ζ]ωωq read in photographs 28-29 οϋο||ειν --- | rest. Till [---
 πε|η̄τα|z̄τααϋ̄] Emmel (η̄τ̄ read in photographs) 30 [εζοϋν̄ ετ̄μ̄η̄τερο] sim. rest.
 Kasser: [εζοϋν̄ επογοειν̄] sim. rest. Ménard: [επ̄μα ετ̄μαγ̄ ετε] Schenke³ ("[zu
 jenem Ort, der]") 31 [η̄ογοειν̄ αγω ω̄ωε] sim. Ménard: [η̄ογοειν̄ παει ω̄ωε] sim.
 Kasser 31-32 η̄|τελειοc ῥ̄ρωμε παντ̄ωc rest. Isenberg²: η̄|ζητ̄ παντ̄η̄ παντ̄ωc
 similarly restored by Kasser 32-33 prob. restore ε||βολ̄ z̄m̄ κ̄κοcμοc]: cf. 66:21-22,
 86:11-12 (thus Schenke "[aus dem κόσμος,]" Till) 33 [[z]] cancelled by the

on the perfect light ' [and] he too becoming perfect light. ' He who has [put it] on will enter ³⁰ [. . .]. This is the perfect ' [. . .] that we [. . .] become ' [. . .] before we leave ' [. . .]. Whoever receives everything ' [. . .] hither [. . .] be able ³⁵ [. . .] that place, but will ' [. . . the middle] as imperfect. 77 Only Jesus knows the end of this person. '

The priest is completely holy, down ' to his very body. For if he has taken the bread, ' he will consecrate it. Or the cup ⁵ or anything else that he gets, ' he will consecrate. Then how will he not consecrate ' the body also?

By perfecting ' the water of baptism, Jesus ' emptied it of death. Thus we do go ¹⁰ down into the water, but we do not go ' down into death in order that we may not be poured ' out into the spirit of the world. When ' that spirit blows, it brings the winter. ' When the holy spirit breathes, ¹⁵ the summer comes.

He who has ' knowledge of the truth is a free man, ' but the free man does not sin, ' for "he who sins is the slave of sin" (John 8:34). ' Truth is the mother, knowledge ²⁰ the father. Those who think that sinning does not apply to them ' are called "free" by the world. ' "Knowledge" of the truth merely "makes ' such people arrogant" (1 Cor 8:1), which ' is what the words "it makes them free" mean. ²⁵ It even gives them a sense of superiority over the whole world. But "love ' builds up" (1 Cor 8:1). In fact, he who is really free through ' knowledge is a slave because of love ' for those who have not yet been able to attain to the ' freedom

76:29–30 *possibly*, enter [the kingdom]

76:30–31 *possibly*, the perfect [light, and it is necessary] that

76:31–33 *possibly*, that we [by all means] become [perfect men] before we leave [the world]

76:36 *possibly*, [go to the middle]; *several letters of the word "middle" are preserved*

copyist 34–35 [ἄρ εἰς ἄλλοις ἀν] ἀνεῖμα ἡνωῦ || [λοεῖς ἀν ἀ]μμα ἐτῆμαγ
 Schenke ("[nämllich] . . . [ohne Herr] über diese Orte [zu sein], wird [nicht über] jenen Ort [Herr] sein können"), 76:35 sim. Till 35 [μετεχε ἀν` ἀ]μμα ἐτῆμαγ Schenke³
 ("[nicht an] jenem Ort [Anteil haben (μετέχειν)]") 36 [βωκ ἀτμε]ζοτης Schenke ("[zur
 μω]ότης [gehen]"), sim. Till: cf. 66:15–20 77:1 ἄπτελος: μ is definite. superlin.
 stroke restored

20 em. to πειωτ (thus Schenke "der <Vater>," Till) νετε: second ε written over
 erasure of ο 23–26 awkward syntax is accounted for by biblical quotation, 1 Cor 8:1 ἡ
 γνώσις φουσιῶ ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ

- 30 ΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΝΤΓΝΩCIC ΤΓΝΩ[CIC ΔΕ] || CΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΝΨΙΚΑΝΟC
 ΕC[ΤΡΟΥ]||ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΛΕΥ[Θ]ΕΡ[ΟC] ΤΑΓΑΠΗ [ΜΑCΧΕ] | ΛΑΑΥ ΧΕ ΠΩC
 [ΠΕ . . .]ΟΙ[. . . 5-6½ . . .] | ΠΩC ΠΕ ΜΑCΧ[ΟΟC ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΩΕΙ ΠΕ] | Η
 35 ΠΑΕΙ ΠΩΕΙ ΠΕ Δ[ΛΛΑ Ν]ΟΥ[ΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ] || ΝΟΥΚ` ΝΕ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ Μ̄ΠΝΕΥ-
 *p. 78^l
 (126 L.) Μ[ΑΤΙΚΗ] | ΟΥΗΡΠ` ΤΕ ΖΙ CΤΟΕΙ CΕΡΑΠΟ[ΛΑΥΕ Μ̄]*ΜΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΔΙ
 ΝΕΤΝΑΤΟZCΟΥ Μ̄ΜΟC | CΕΡΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΖΩΟΥ Ν̄ΔΙ ΝΕΤ`ΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ | Μ̄-
 ΠΟΥΒΟΛ ΖΩC ΕΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ Ν̄ΔΙ ΝΕΤ`ΙΤΟZC ΝΕΤ`ΤΑZC̄ ΝCΟΒΝ ΕΥΨΑ-
 5 ΛΟ ΕΤΟΥ||ΩΟΥ Ν̄CΕΒΩΚ` ΨΑΡΕ ΝΗ ΕCΕΤΟZC ΔΝ | ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΥΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ
 Μ̄ΠΟΥΒΑΛ ΨΑΥ[CΩ ΟΝ ΖΜ̄ ΠΟΥC†ΒΩΩΝ ΠCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC | Ν̄ΤΑΥ† ΛΑΑΥ
 ΔΝ` ΔΠΕΤΨΟΟΒΕ ΕΙ ΜΗ` | ΗΡΠ` ΖΙ ΝΕΖ ΚΕΛΑΑΥ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ`
 10 Δ`||ΠCΟΒ̄Ν ΑΥΩ ΑΦΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ Ν̄Μ̄ΠΛΗΓΗ | ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΓΑΡ ΖΩΒC̄ Ν̄ΟΥ-
 ΜΗΝΨΕ Ν̄ΝΟ|ΒΕ
 ΠΕΤΕ ΤCΖΙΜΕ ΜΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΝΕΤ`CΝΑ`ΧΠΟΟΥ` ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΕΨΩ-
 15 ΠΕ ΠΕC|ΖΑΕΙ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΕCΖΑΪ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΝΟ||ΕΙΚ` ΠΕ` ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Μ̄-
 ΠΝΟΕΙΚ` ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙC | ΕΨΩΠΕ ΟῩΝ CΖΙΜΕ ΕC̄ΝΚΟΤΚ` Μ̄Ν ΠΕC|ΖΑΪ
 ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΖΤΟΡ` ΕΠΕCΖΗΤ ΔΕ ΖΙ ΠΝΟ|ΕΙΚ ΕΨΑC̄ΡΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ` ΠΕΤ`-
 20 CΑΜΑCΤΥ` ΨΑCΜΑCΤΥ` ΕΨΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟ||ΕΙΚ` Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΔΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ` Μ̄Ν
 ΠΨΗ|ΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄ΝΜ̄ΡΕ ΠΚΟCΜΟC` | ΑΛΛΑ Μ̄ΡΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΨΙΝΑ
 ΝΕΤΕΤΝΑ|ΧΠΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΚΟC|ΜΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ
 25 ΕΥΕΙΝΕ Μ̄Π||ΧΟΕΙC
 ΨΑΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΩZ Μ̄Ν ΠΡΩΜΕ | ΨΑΡΕ ΠΖΤΟ ΤΩZ Μ̄Ν ΠΖΤΟ ΨΑΡΕ
 ΠΕΙ||Ω Τ]ΩZ Μ̄Ν ΠΕΙΩ Ν̄ΓΕΝΟC ΝΕΨΑΥΤΩZ | [Μ̄Ν] ΝΟΥΨΒ̄ΡΓΕ-
 30 ΝΟC ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΨΑ||ΡΕ] Π̄Π̄Ν̄Α ΤΩZ Μ̄Ν Π̄Π̄Ν̄Α ΑΥΩ ΠΛΟ||[ΓΟC]
 ΨΑῩΡ̄Κ[Ο]ΙΝΨ[Ν]ΕΙ Μ̄Ν ΠΛΟΓΟC | [ΑΥΩ ΠΟ]ῩΟ[ΕΙΝ ΨΑ]ῩΡ̄ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ |

78:5 Sah. ενσε- . . . αν. 6 Sah. μ̄πουβολ. 10 i.e. ν̄μ̄πληγη.

18-19 Sah. πετcναμαcτc. 21 Sah. μ̄π̄μερε. 23 i.e. ν̄νευψωπε.

28 Sah. νευψβ̄ργενοc.

29 rest. Schenke ("die γω[σις aber]") 30 εc[: or else εο[31 rest. Kasser : cf. 77:33, 57:17 : [μαcχι] Schenke ("[nimmt nichts]"). Till 32 also palaeographically possible are πωε|ι - - -] and πωο|γ - - -] prob. restore πωc [πε κα|τ]οι|ρε παει (sim. Kasser) 33 χ[: or else Δ[rest. Schenke ("sagt nicht: [Jenes ist meins]"), Ménard : χ[οοc χε παει πωκ πε] Till 34]ογ[: for ο can also be read θ, c or ε; for γ can also be read ρ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, η or τ rest. Schenke⁴ 35 of μ̄, μ is definite, superlin. stroke restored rest. Krause

78:16 cζιμε : c added above the line

27 εψαυτωz is expected 31 rest. Schenke ("[und das Licht] vereinigt sich"), sim. Till

of knowledge. Knowledge ³⁰ makes them capable of becoming ' free. Love [never calls] ' something its own, [. . .] it [. . .] possess [. . .]. ' It never [says "This is yours"] ' or "This is mine." [but "All these] ³⁵ are yours." Spiritual love ' is wine and fragrance. **78** All those who anoint themselves with it take pleasure in it. ' While those who are anointed are present, ' those nearby also profit (from the fragrance). ' If those anointed with ointment withdraw from them ⁵ and leave, then those not anointed, ' who merely stand nearby, still ' remain in their bad odor. The Samaritan ' gave nothing but ' wine and oil to the wounded man. It is nothing other than ¹⁰ the ointment. It healed the wounds, ' for "love covers a multitude of sins" (1 Pet 4:8). '

The children a woman bears ' resemble the man who loves her. If her ' husband loves her, then they resemble her husband. If it is an adulterer, ¹⁵ then they resemble the adulterer. Frequently, ' if a woman sleeps with her ' husband out of necessity, while her heart is with the adulterer ' with whom she usually has intercourse, the child ' she will bear is born resembling ²⁰ the adulterer. Now you who live together with the son ' of God, love not the world, ' but love the lord, in order that those you will ' bring forth may not resemble the world, ' but may resemble the lord. ²⁵

The human being has intercourse with the human being. ' The horse has intercourse with the horse, the ass ' with the ass. Members of a race usually have associated ' [with] those of like race. So spirit ' mingles with spirit, and thought ³⁰ consorts with thought, ' and [light] shares '

77:32 *probably*, [and yet] it [may actually] possess [that very thing]; *literally*, [and yet] it [may actually] be its own

35 [Μῆ πογοειν᾽ εκ]ψαψωπε ῥωμε | [πρωμ]ε πε[τρνα]με-
 *p. 79¹ ριτκ᾽ εκψαψωπε | [ῆ πῆνα] πῆνα πετναζωτῆ ροκ᾽ εκ᾽-
 (127 L.) [ψανψ]ωπε ἡλογος πλογος πετ᾽*να τωζ ἡμῆμακ᾽ εκ[κ]ψανψωπε
 5 ἡου|οειν πογοειν πετναῤκοινωνει | ἡμῆμακ᾽ εκ᾽ψανψωπε
 ἡνα ψα ηζρε να ψα ηζρε να ἡτον᾽ ἡμοογ᾽ || εζραῖ
 εχωκ᾽ εκψανψωπε ἡζτο } η ἡειω η ἡμασε η ἡοζοορ᾽ η ηε-
 10 σοογ η σε ζῆ νεθηριον ετῆψα ηβολ ἡνετῆψα μπιτῆ ψναψμε|
 ριτκ᾽ αν ουτε πρωμε ουτε πῆνα ογ||τε πλογος ουτε
 πογοειν ουτε να | ψα ητπε ουτε να ψα ηζογν σε|ναψῆτον᾽
 ἡμοογ αν᾽ ζραῖ ἡζητκ᾽ | αυω ἡῆτακ᾽ μέρος ζραῖ ἡζητογ
 15 πε|το ἡζμζαλ εζναψ᾽ αν ψναψῆελεγ||θερος πενταζῆελεγε-
 ρος ἡπεζ|μοτ᾽ ἡπεψχοεις αυω αψτααψ᾽ εβολ | ογααψ᾽ αυῆτῆζμζαλ
 ογκετι ψναψῆελεγερος
 20 τῆῆτογοειε ἡπκοε|μοε ζιτῆ ψτοογ ἡειδος ψαγολογ || εζογν
 αταποθηκη ζιτῆ ογμοογ | ἡῆνογκαε ἡῆνογπῆα ἡῆνογοει(η)
 | αυω τῆῆτογοειε ἡπνογτε τεειζε | οη ζιτῆ ψτοογ ζιτῆ ογπιε τιε
 25 ἡῆ|νογζελπιε ἡῆνογαγαπη ἡῆ ογ||ῆνωειε πῆκαε τε τ᾽πιε τιε
 ταῖ εν᾽|χε νογνε ζραῖ ἡζητῆ πμο[ο]γ [δε] | τε θελπιε εβολ ζι-
 30 τοοτῆ ε|νωε|ειψ πῆνα τε ταγαπη εβολ [ζιτο]οτψ᾽ εναγζα-
 νε πογοειν δε|ε τε || τῆνωειε εβολ [λ ζ]ιτ[οο]τῆ τῆῆ[ωζ᾽ |
 | τχαριε σο ἡψ[τοογ ἡ]μ|εινε σο ῆ||ῆῆκαε σο ῆῆ[ῆῆ-
 πε . . . 6-6½ . . .] | τπε ἡτε πε αυ | . . . ζῆ [1½-2]

79:21 i.e. ἡ ογκαε ἡ ογπῆα ἡ ογογοειν. 22–23 Sah. αυω ταει τε θε τῆῆ-
 τογοειε. 23–24 i.e. ἡ ογζελπιε ἡ ογαγαπη.

33 for the restoration cf. 78:34, 78:35–79:1 34 for the restoration cf. 78:32–33,
 78:35–79:1

79:21 ἡῆῆ¹ : second η added above the line 26 [δε] : 79:29 27 rest. Schenke
 (“uns . . . ernähren”), Till, with hesitation : for the form σοειψ cf. 55:10–11 etc. 28–29
 [ζιτο]οτψ : cf. 79:27 : ζιτοοτς em. Schenke (“durch <sie>”) 30 rest. Schenke (“rei-
 fen!”), sim. Till with hesitation 31 sim. rest. Kasser : cf. 79:19, 79:32 32 sim. rest.
 Kasser 33 ζῆ : superlin. stroke restored; also possible are ζη, ζη, ζην, etc. αυ[ω ε]ζῆ
 [τμε - - -] sim. Kasser : also possible is αυ[ω ῆ]ζη[τς - - -]

[with light. If you (sg.)] are born a human being, ' it is [the human being] who will love you. If you become ' [a spirit], it is the spirit which will be joined to you. If you become ³⁵ thought, it is thought which will mingle **79** with you. If you become light, ' it is the light which will share ' with you. If you become one of those who belong above, ' it is those who belong above who will rest ⁵ upon you. If you become horse ' or ass or bull or dog or sheep ' or another of the animals which are outside ' or below, then ' neither human being nor spirit ¹⁰ nor thought nor light will be able to love you. Neither ' those who belong above nor those who belong within ' will be able to rest in you, ' and you have no part in them.

He ' who is a slave against his will will be able to become free. ¹⁵ He who has become free by the favor ' of his master and has sold ' himself into slavery will no longer be able ' to be free.

Farming in the ' world requires the cooperation of four essential elements. A harvest is gathered ²⁰ into the barn only as a result of the natural action of water, ' earth, wind, and light. ' God's farming likewise ' has four elements—faith, ' hope, love, and ²⁵ knowledge. Faith is our earth, that in which we ' take root. [And] hope ' is the water through which we are ' nourished. Love is the wind through ' which we grow. Knowledge then is the light ³⁰ through which we [ripen]. ' Grace exists in [four ways: it is] ' earthborn; it is [heavenly; . . .] ' the highest heaven; [. . .] in [. . .].

79:33 *possibly*. [and it resides] in [truth]

Blessed ' is the one who on no occasion caused a soul [. . .]. **80** That person is Jesus Christ. He came to ' the whole place and did not burden anyone. ' Therefore, blessed is the one who is like ' this, because he is a perfect man. For ⁵ the word tells us that this kind is difficult ' to define. How shall we be able to accomplish ' such a great thing? How will he give everyone comfort? ' Above all, it is not proper ' to cause anyone distress—whether the person is great or small, ¹⁰ unbeliever or believer—and then give comfort ' only to those who take satisfaction in good deeds. ' Some find it advantageous to give ' comfort to the one who has fared well. He who does ' good deeds cannot give comfort ¹⁵ to such people; for he does not seize whatever he likes. ' He is unable to cause distress, ' however, since he does not afflict them. To be sure, the one who ' fares well sometimes causes people distress—' not that he intends to do so; rather it is their own wickedness ²⁰ which is responsible for their distress. He who possesses ' the qualities (of the perfect man) bestows joy upon the good. ' Some, however, are terribly distressed by all this. '

There was a householder who had ' every conceivable thing, be it son or slave or ²⁵ cattle or dog or pig or corn ' [or] barley or chaff or grass or ' [. . .] or meat and acorn. [Now he was] a sensible fellow, ' and he knew what the food of each ' one was. He served the children bread ³⁰ [. . .]. He served the slaves ' [. . . and] meal. And ' [he threw barley] and chaff and grass to the cattle. ' He threw bones to [the] dogs, ' and to the pigs he threw acorns **81** and slop. Compare the disciple ' of God: if he is a sensible fellow he ' understands what discipleship is all about. The ' bodily forms will not deceive him, ⁵ but

79:34 *possibly*, caused a soul [distress]

εϕναδωψτ̄ ἡ̄σα τ̄ διαθε̄|ς̄ις̄ ἡ̄ τεϕ̄ψ̄ γ̄ χ̄η̄ ἡ̄ πο̄γᾱ πο̄γᾱ ἡ̄ ψ̄ᾱ|ξε̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄-
 μαϕ̄ οὐ̄ν̄ ζαζ̄ ἡ̄ θ̄η̄ριον̄ ζ̄ ἡ̄ π̄κο̄ς̄|μο̄ς̄ ε̄ γ̄ο̄ ἡ̄ μο̄ρ̄φ̄η̄ ἡ̄ ῥ̄ω̄με̄ ἡ̄ νᾱε̄|
 10 εϕ̄|ψ̄ᾱ σο̄ῡ ω̄νο̄ῡ ῥ̄ ῥ̄ιρ̄ με̄ν̄ ἡ̄ φ̄νᾱνε̄χ̄ ἡ̄ βᾱ|λᾱνο̄ς̄ ε̄ ρ̄ο̄ο̄ῡ ἡ̄ τ̄β̄νο̄ο̄ῡ δε̄
 φ̄νᾱνε̄χ̄ | ε̄ιω̄τ̄ ε̄ ρ̄ο̄ο̄ῡ ζ̄ῑ τ̄ω̄ζ̄ ζ̄ῑ χο̄ρ̄το̄ς̄ ἡ̄ ο̄ῡ|ζ̄ο̄ο̄ρ̄ φ̄νᾱνε̄χ̄ κᾱᾱς̄
 ε̄ ρ̄ο̄ο̄ῡ ἡ̄ ζ̄ῆ̄ζ̄ᾱλ̄ | φ̄νᾱ†̄ νᾱγ̄ ἡ̄ ψ̄ο̄ρ̄π̄ ἡ̄ ψ̄η̄ρε̄ φ̄νᾱ†̄ νᾱγ̄ | ἡ̄ τε̄λε̄ῑο̄ν̄
 15 ψ̄ο̄ο̄ρ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ β̄ῑ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ π̄ρ̄ω̄||με̄ ᾱ γ̄ω̄ ψ̄ο̄ο̄ρ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ β̄ῑ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ π̄ω̄η̄|ρε̄
 ἡ̄ π̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ π̄ χ̄ο̄ε̄ις̄ π̄ε̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ | π̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ ᾱ γ̄ω̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ | ἡ̄-
 π̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ π̄ε̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄᾽ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ᾽ ζ̄ῑ τ̄ῆ̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ π̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ ᾱ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ π̄ρ̄ω̄με̄
 20 χ̄ῑ || ἡ̄ τ̄ο̄ο̄τ̄ ᾽ ἡ̄ π̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ε̄ τ̄ρε̄ϕ̄ω̄ν̄τ̄ οὐ̄(ἡ̄)ταϕ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ μᾱγ̄
 ε̄ τ̄ρε̄ϕ̄χ̄πο̄ π̄ε̄ν̄τᾱζ̄χῑ ε̄ | τ̄ρε̄ϕ̄᾽ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ᾽ οὐ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ᾽ π̄ε̄ π̄ε̄ν̄τᾱζ̄χῑ |
 ε̄ χ̄πο̄ οὐ̄ χ̄πο̄ π̄ε̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ β̄ο̄μ̄ | ἡ̄ ᾽ ᾽ χ̄πο̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ χ̄πο̄ οὐ̄ ἡ̄
 25 β̄ο̄μ̄ ἡ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ || σε̄χ̄ω̄ δε̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ μο̄ς̄ χ̄ε̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ᾽ χ̄πο̄ | ᾱ λ̄λᾱ
 π̄ε̄ ϕ̄χ̄πο̄ οὐ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ᾽ π̄ε̄ ε̄ τ̄ | β̄ε̄ ^{2:3} . || ἡ̄ ᾽ ᾽ χ̄πο̄ ἡ̄ νε̄ϕ̄ ᾽ ᾽ η̄ρε̄ ᾱ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ νε̄ ᾱ λ̄λᾱ
 ἡ̄ | . ^{3½-5} . || ἡ̄ νε̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ ᾽ ε̄ ϕ̄ ῥ̄ ζ̄ω̄β̄ ζ̄ῆ̄ οὐ̄ | ω̄ν̄ζ̄ | ε̄ β̄ο̄λ̄ ᾱ γ̄ω̄ ἡ̄-
 30 τ̄ο̄ῡ ζ̄ω̄ω̄ ϕ̄ο̄γ̄ο̄ | ἡ̄ ζ̄ε̄ || β̄ο̄λ̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ χ̄πο̄ ᾽ ε̄ ϕ̄ χ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ο̄ ζ̄ῆ̄ οὐ̄ | π̄ε̄ θ̄η̄π̄
 | ᾱ γ̄ω̄ ἡ̄ τ̄ο̄ῡ ϕ̄ ζ̄η̄ ᾽ | ε̄ | ϕ̄ | ο̄ | γ̄ᾱ | . . . ^{6-7½} . . . | ε̄ ἡ̄ κ̄ω̄ν̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄
 ο̄ | ἡ̄ ε̄ ϕ̄ | ω̄ν̄τ̄ ζ̄ῆ̄ | οὐ̄ φ̄ᾱνε̄ρο̄ν̄ π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ χ̄πο̄ Δ̄ | ε̄ ε̄ ϕ̄ χ̄ π̄ε̄ | ᾽ ᾽ η̄ρε̄ ζ̄ῆ̄ οὐ̄-
 35 π̄ε̄ θ̄η̄π̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ | λ̄ᾱᾱγ̄ νᾱψ̄ || σο̄ο̄ῡν̄ χ̄ε̄ ᾱ ψ̄ π̄ε̄ φ̄ο̄ | ο̄ῡ ε̄ τε̄ φ̄ο̄ο̄ῡτ̄
 * ρ. 82¹ * ἡ̄ ἡ̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ζ̄ῑ με̄ ῥ̄ κ̄ο̄ῑω̄ν̄ε̄ῑ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ νο̄ῡε̄ρ̄η̄ | ε̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ τ̄ο̄ο̄ῡ οὐ̄ γ̄ᾱᾱγ̄ οὐ̄-
 (130 L.) μ̄ϕ̄σ̄τ̄η̄ριον̄ γ̄ᾱρ̄ | π̄ε̄ π̄ γ̄ᾱμο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ π̄ κ̄ο̄ς̄μο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ νε̄ν̄τᾱζ̄χῑ | ζ̄ῑ με̄ ε̄ ψ̄ χ̄ε̄
 5 π̄ γ̄ᾱμο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ π̄ χ̄ω̄ζ̄μ̄ ᾽ ϕ̄ ζ̄η̄ ᾽ || π̄ο̄ς̄ω̄ μ̄ᾱλλ̄ο̄ν̄ π̄ γ̄ᾱμο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ τ̄ᾱτ̄ω̄ζ̄μ̄ ᾽ οὐ̄-
 μ̄ϕ̄σ̄τ̄η̄ριον̄ π̄ε̄ ἡ̄ ᾱ λ̄η̄θ̄ε̄ῑο̄ν̄ οὐ̄ ϕ̄ᾱρ̄κ̄η̄|κ̄ο̄ν̄ ᾱ ἡ̄ π̄ε̄ ᾱ λ̄λᾱ ε̄ ϕ̄ ᾽ ᾽ τ̄β̄-

81:28–29 i.e. ζῆ οὐ ὄψωνε βολ. 82:1 Sah. νεϕερηϋ.

81:6 expected is ἡ̄ τ̄ ψ̄ γ̄ χ̄ η̄ ἡ̄ πο̄ γ̄ᾱ : poss. emend thus

26 ε̄ τ̄ | β̄ε̄ π̄ ᾱ ε̄ | Schenke ("[des]wegen"). Ménard: ε̄ τ̄ | β̄ε̄ χ̄ε̄ | Schenke³ ("w[eil]") 27 ἡ̄ | : a superlin. stroke may have been written above ἡ̄; for ἡ̄ can also be read β̄, γ̄, η̄, ῑ, κ̄, λ̄, π̄ or ρ̄ ἡ̄ | ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ | Isenberg² 28 cf. 81:32–33 29 rest. Schenke ("ist ... offenbar"). Till 30 χ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ο̄ : deciphered by Schenke⁴ for the restoration cf. 81:34 31 | ε̄ | ϕ̄ | ο̄ | γ̄ᾱ | τ̄ β̄ε̄ π̄ ᾱ ρ̄ᾱ | rest. Isenberg² 32 | - - - ο̄ | ἡ̄ Schenke⁴ : reading of pap. cannot have been [- - - με̄ | ἡ̄ if π̄ε̄ τ̄ ᾽ ᾽ ω̄ν̄τ̄ - - -] be restored ε̄ ϕ̄ | : for ϕ̄ can also be read ϕ̄, ω̄, φ̄, ψ̄, γ̄ or ϕ̄ ε̄ ϕ̄ | ω̄ν̄τ̄ ζ̄ῆ̄ | Schenke ("[schafft im]"), Till 33 rest. Layton: Δ̄ | ε̄ ε̄ ϕ̄ χ̄ πο̄ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ | Till : cf. 81:30 34 rest. Till 35 rest. Schenke ("[an dem der Mann]"), Layton: also possible is φ̄ο̄ | ο̄ῡ ε̄ν̄ζ̄ο̄ο̄ῡτ̄ ᾽

he will look at the condition ' of the soul of each one and speak ' with him. There are many animals in the world ' which are in human form. When ' he identifies them, to the swine he will throw ¹⁰ acorns, to the cattle he will throw ' barley and chaff and grass, to the ' dogs he will throw bones. To the slaves ' he will give only the elementary lessons, to the children he will give ' the complete instruction.

There is the son of man ¹⁵ and there is the son of the son of man. ' The lord is the son of man, ' and the son of the son of ' man is he who creates through the son ' of man. The son of man received ²⁰ from God the capacity to create. He also has the ability ' to beget. He who has received ' the ability to create is a creature. He who has received ' the ability to beget is an offspring. He who creates cannot ' beget. He who begets also has power to create. ²⁵ Now they say, "He who creates begets." ' But his so-called "offspring" is merely a creature. Because of [. . .] ' of birth, they are not his offspring but [. . .]. ' He who creates works openly, ' and he himself is visible. ³⁰ He who begets begets in [private], ' and he himself is hidden, since [. . .] ' image. Also, he who creates [creates] ' openly. But one who begets [begets] ' children in private. No [one can] ³⁵ know when [the husband] **82** and the wife have intercourse with one another ' except the two of them. Indeed marriage in the ' world is a mystery for those who have taken ' a wife. If there is a hidden quality to the marriage of defilement, ⁵ how much more is the undefiled marriage ' a true mystery! It is not fleshly ' but pure.

81:31–32 *possibly*, since [he is superior to every] image

- 10 βΗΥ εϥΗΠ` ΑΝ ΑΤΕ|ΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΟΥΩΨ εϥΗΠ` ΑΝ` ΕΠΚΑ|ΚΕ
 Η ΤΟΥΩΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΕϥΗΠ` ΕΠΕΖΟΥ Μ̄Ν || ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΟΥΓΑΜΟΣ ΕϥΨΑ-
 ΚΩΚΑΖΗ | ΑϥΩΨΠΕ Μ̄ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΤΨΕΛΕΕΤ` | ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΨΑΞΙ
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 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΣΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΜΟΝΟΝ || ΜΑΡΕΨΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΕΣΕΙΩΤ` Μ̄Ν
 ΤΕΣ|ΜΑΔΥ Μ̄Ν ΠΩΒΗΡ` Μ̄ΠΝΥΜ`ΦΙΟΣ Μ̄Ν Ν̄|Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΥΜ`ΦΙΟΣ ΝΑΕΙ
 ΕΣΤΟΕΙ ΝΑΥ | ΕΤΡΟΥΒΩΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ Μ̄ΜΗΝΕ ΕΠΝΥΜΦΩ(Ν) | Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ
 20 ΜΑΡΟΥΡ̄ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΚΑΝ` || ΕΨΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΕΤΕΨΣΜΗ Ν̄ΣΕΡ̄ΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ` Μ̄|ΠΕΨΣΟ-
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 25 ΕΠΝΥΜΦΩΝ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΑ ΝΑΨ|| ΝΑΥΑΠΝΥΜ`ΦΙΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΤΝΥΜΦΗ ΕΙ ΜΗ |
 [Ν̄ϥΨ]ΩΠΕ Μ̄ΠΑΕΙ
 Ν̄ΤΕΡΕ ΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ` | [. . .] ΕΤΡΕϥΝΑΥ ΑΠΕΤ`ϥΗΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϥ` | [ΑϥΣ|Β̄ΒΕ
 30 Ν̄ΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ` Ν̄ΤΑΚΡΟΥΨΤΙΑ ΕϥΤΑ|[ΜΟ] Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΨΕ ΨΨΕ ΕΤΑΚΟ Ν̄ΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ` ||
 [ΠΕΖΟ]ΥΟ Ν̄Τ̄ϥ [Π]ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΝΖΟΣΟΝ` ΝΟΥ|[ΣΑ ΝΖΟΥ]Ν` ΖΗ[Π]
 [ΣΕ]Δ̄ΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΣΕΟΝΖ | [ΕΥΨΑΝ]ΟΥΩΗΝ[Ζ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΑΥΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΠΑ|[ΡΑΔΙΓΜ]Α Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ | [ΕΝΖΟΣΟ]Ν Μ̄ΜΑΖΤ` Μ̄-
 *ρ. 83¹
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΗΠ` ϥΟΝΖ * Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΨΑΔΩΛΠ` Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕϥΜΑΖΤ` | ΣΕΡ̄
 (131 L.)

16–17 Ν̄Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ : i.e. Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ. 22 i.e. ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ.

30–31 Sah. ΝΕΥΣΑ. 32 Sah. ΕΥΜΟΥ. 83:2 Sah. Ν̄ΣΕΡ̄ ΠΒΟΛ.

82:16–17 Ν̄Ν̄ΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΥΜΦΩΝ em. de Catanzaro, with hesitation 21 ΠΕΨΣΟΣ̄Ν : εϥ¹
 added above the line 24 Μ̄Ν ΟΥΑ ΝΑΨ : cf. 76:26

27 [ΡΑΨΕ] Schenke (“[sich freute]”), Ménard : cf. John 8:56 Ἄβραάμ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν
 ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν 28 ϥ̄ : superlin. stroke is definite, β
 restored 28–29 rest. Schenke (“beschnitt [er] . . . zeigt”), sim. Till 29 Μ̄ : superlin.
 stroke is definite, μ restored

30]ΥΟ Ν̄Τ̄ϥ : ϥ, or else ϥ (not ϥ. ϥ) : of ἦ, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored; ϥ, or
 else ϥ rest. Schenke³ (“[die mei]sten—d.h. Dinge—[d]er Welt”), Layton 31 η read
 from small, ambiguous trace rest. Isenberg² : cf. 82:34 : [εΠΙΘΥΜΙ]Δ̄ sim. rest.
 Schenke 32 cf. 83:1 32–33 ΠΑ|[ΡΑΔΙΓΜ]Α sim. rest. Schenke : ΠΑ|[ΡΑΠΤΩΜ]Α
 Krause 34 cf. 82:30

It belongs not to desire ' but to the will. It belongs not to the darkness ' or the night but to the day and ¹⁰ the light. If a marriage is open to the public, ' it has become prostitution, and the bride ' plays the harlot not only when she is impregnated by another man ' but even if she slips out of her bedroom ' and is seen. ¹⁵ Let her show herself only to her father and her ' mother and to the friend of the bridegroom and ' the sons of the bridegroom. These are permitted ' to enter every day into the bridal chamber. ' But let the others yearn just ²⁰ to listen to her voice and to enjoy ' her ointment, and let them feed from the ' crumbs that fall from the table, like the ' dogs. Bridegrooms and ' brides belong to the bridal chamber. No one shall be able ²⁵ to see the bridegroom with the bride unless ' [he become] such a one.

When Abraham ' [. . .] that he was to see what he was to see, ' [he circumcised] the flesh of the foreskin, teaching ' us that it is proper to destroy the flesh. ³⁰

[Most things] in the world, as long as their ' [inner parts] are hidden, stand upright and live. ' [If they are revealed] they die, as ' is illustrated by the visible man: ' [as long as] the intestines of the man are hidden, the man is alive; **83** when his intestines are exposed ' and

82:26–27 *possibly*, Abraham [rejoiced]

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 25 ΝΖΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΑΥΩ СТЕΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝЕСКАР||ΠΟС ΖΡΑΪ̄ Ζ̄Μ Π̄ΝΖΗΤ` СΟ Ν-
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 30 [ΑΝ С]||С̄Μ̄ΒΟМ` ΧΕ Μ̄Π̄ΝСΟΥΩΝС̄ ΖΩС [ΕСΨΟ]||ΟΠ` ΜΕΝ С̄Ρ-
 ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТϚ[ОΟΥΝ] | ΕСΨΟΟП` Μ̄ΜΑΔΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΠΕ[ΘООУ ТΗΡΟΥ
 | Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТ`СООУΝ [ΕС]Ν̄ΑΨΕ ΑΠ[ΜΟΥ ΧΕ] | ΝΕΤ`ΨΟΟП` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄
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 *p. 84¹ СЕНΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ [. . . 6.7 . . .] * СЕНΑΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ` ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΨΑ
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 Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТ`СООУΝ` ΕСΖΗΠ` ΜΕΝ С̄ΡΑΝΑ|ΠΑΥΕ ΖΡΑΪ̄ ΝΖΗΤ̄С̄ ΕС-
 5 ΨΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ || ΝСЕСΟΥΩΝС̄ ΨΑΥΤΝΑС ΕООУ ΖΟСΟΝ | С̄Β̄Ν̄ΒΟМ`
 ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТСООУΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΤ`ΠΛΑ|ΝΗ С† Ν̄Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΥΘΕРОС ΠΕ-
 ΧΑϚ` Ν̄ΒΙ | ΠΛΟГОС ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΨΑΝ`СΟΥΩΝ ΤΑΛΗ|ΘΕΙΑ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΝᾹΡ̄
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 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΤΕ` ΕΝΨΑСΟΥΩΝ` ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ | Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΖΕ` ΑΝКАРПОС Ν-
 ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΖΡΑΪ̄ Ν|ΖΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΝ`ΨΑΖΩΤ̄Ρ̄ ΕРОС СНАΧΙ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄ΠΛΗ|ΡΩΜΑ

3 teeize on : i.e. таει τε θε. 10–11 Sah. εсβωλ εβολ . . . εсωχ̄н̄. 22–23 i.e. τ̄н̄ο н̄-. 26 i.e. τ̄н̄ο н̄-.

83:14 ψαϚ : Ϛ altered from ο 17 κοουε : ε altered from ζ 28–29 cf. Rom 7:19 οῡ

come out of him, the man will die. ' So also with the tree: while its root ' is hidden it sprouts and grows. If its ⁵ root is exposed, the tree dries up. ' So it is with every birth that is in the world, ' not only with the revealed ' but with the hidden. For so long as the root ' of wickedness is hidden, it is strong. But when it is recognized ¹⁰ it is dissolved. When it is revealed ' it perishes. That is why the word says, ' "Already the ax is laid at the root ' of the trees" (Matt 3:10). It will not merely cut—what ' is cut sprouts again—but the ax ¹⁵ penetrates deeply until it ' brings up the root. Jesus pulled out ' the root of the whole place, while others did it only ' partially. As for ourselves, let each ' one of us dig down after the root ²⁰ of evil which is within one, and let one pluck it ' out of one's heart from the root. It will be plucked out ' if we recognize it. But if we ' are ignorant of it, it takes root in ' us and produces its fruit ²⁵ in our heart. It masters us. ' We are its slaves. It takes us captive, ' to make us do what we do [not] want; ' and what we do want we do [not] do. It ' is powerful because we have not recognized it. While [it exists] ³⁰ it is active. Ignorance ' is the mother of [all evil]. ' Ignorance will result in [death, because] ' those that come from [ignorance] ' neither were nor [are] ³⁵ nor shall be. [. . .] **84** will be perfect when all the truth ' is revealed. For truth is like ' ignorance: while it is hidden it rests ' in itself, but when it is revealed ⁵ and is recognized, it is praised inasmuch as ' it is stronger than ignorance and error. ' It gives freedom. The word said, ' "If you (pl.) know the truth, ' the truth will make you free" (John 8:32). ¹⁰ Ignorance is a slave. Knowledge is ' freedom. If we know the truth, ' we shall find the fruits of the truth within ' us. If we are joined to it, it will bring our fulfillment. '

83:4 grows: *the exact meaning of this Coptic verb is not certain*

83:35 *possibly*, [Those who are in the truth]

γάρ ὁ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ ὁ οὐ θέλω κακὸν τοῦτο πράσσω 29 rest. Schenke ("als ob [sie] existierte"), Till 30 rest. Schenke ("die Un[wissen]heit"), Ménard: τμῆτ ἄτῆ[οει ρα] sim. Kasser 31 sim. rest. Kasser 32 rest. Isenberg², sim. Schenke⁴: cf. 83:2 33 zñ: ñ is definite, superlin. stroke restored for the restoration cf. 83:32 34 rest. Schenke ("ούτ[ε] existiert es"), Layton 35 [νετζῆ τμε] sim. rest. Till 84:9 ελεγερος: P altered from false start of another letter (z or o)

- 15 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΤΑΝ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥ|ΟΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΠΣΩΝΤ ΨΑΝ ΞΟΟΣ ΞΕ | Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΝΕ Ν ΞΩΨΡΕ ΕΤ ΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΝΕ-
 ΘΗΠ | ΔΕ ΝΕ ΝΩΒ ΕΤΨΗΣ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥ|ΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΑΛΗ-
 ΘΕΙΑ Ζ̄ΝΩΒ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ | ΣΕΨΗΣ ΝΕΘΗΠ ΔΕ Ν ΞΩΨΡΕ
- 20 ΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΤΑ|ΕΙΗΥ ΣΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΒΙ Μ̄ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟ(Ν) | Ν̄-
 ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΕΥΟ Ν̄ΤΥΠΟΣ ΖΙ ΖΙΚΩΝ ΠΚΟ|ΙΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΟΖΗΠ Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΠΕ
 ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ζ̄Μ | ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΜΕΝ | ΖΟΒ̄ Ν̄-
- 25 ΨΟΡΠ ΠΩΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ̄ΔΙΟΙΚΕΙ | Ν̄ΤΚΤΙΣΙΣ ΕΨΑΠΩΖ ΔΕ Ν̄ΒΙ
 ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕ|ΤΑϸ|Μ]Δ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΑ ΠΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ | [ΕΒΟΛ] ΣΕΝΑΚΩ
 ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΕΙΝΕΙ Ν̄ΣΩΟΥ | [ΕϸΟ] Ν̄ΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΣΕΝΑΡ̄ΚΑΤΑ|[ΛΥΕ]
- 30 Μ̄ΜΟϸ Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΤΗΡ̄Σ ΣΑΠΩΤ || [ΕΒΟΛ] Ν̄ΝΕΕΙΜΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΝ
 ΕΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ | [Ν̄ΤΕ Ν] ΕΤ|Ο]ΥΑΑΒ ΣΝΑΨΤΩΖ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ Μ̄Ν ΠΟΥ|[ΟΕΙΝ
 Ν]ΑΤ ΤΩΖ Μ̄Ν ΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ Ν̄ΑΤ|[ΨΤΑ ΑΛ]ΔΑ ΣΝΑΨΨΠΕ ΖΑ Ν̄ΤΝΖ Μ̄-
- 35 ΠΣϸΟΣ | [ΑΥΩ ΖΑ Ν] ΕϸΩΒΟΕΙ ΤΕΕΙΒΙΩΤΟΣ ΝΑΨΩ|[ΠΕ Μ̄ΠΟ]ΥΟΥΧΑΕΙ
 *p. 85¹ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣ *ΜΟΣ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΖΡᾹΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΡΨΑ | Ζ̄Ν-
 (133 L.) ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΨΩΠΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΦΥΛΗ Ν̄Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΟΥ|ΗΝΒ ΝΑΕΙ ΝΑΨΩΒ̄ ΣΟΜ Ν̄ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ
- 5 Ε|ΠΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ Μ̄ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ Μ̄Ν ΠΑΡ|ΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕ
 ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣ|ΜΑ ΠΩΖ Μ̄ΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΟΥΑΑΤϸ ΕΠΕΙ ΝΕΥ|ΝΑΟΥΕΝ Ν̄ΝΑ
 ΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΟΥΑΑΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ | Μ̄ΠΣΑ ΜΠΙΤ̄Ν ΟΥΑΑΤϸ ΑΝ Ν̄ΤΑϸ-
- 10 ΠΩΖ ΕΠΕΙ|ΝΑϸΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΑ ΠΣΑ ΜΠΙΤ̄Ν ΟΥ|ΔΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ
 Ν̄ΤΑϸΠΩΖ Ν̄ΤΠΕ ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν ΑΝΑ | ΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Μ̄ΠΣΑ
 ΜΠ|Τ̄Ν ΞΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΠΕΘΗΠ | Ν̄ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΑΕΙ
- 15 ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΤ ΤΑΕΙ|ΗΥ ΕΤΟ Ν ΞΩΨΡΕ ΕΝΑΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΜΑΥ ||
 ΖΙΤ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΥΠΟΣ ΕΥΨΗΣ Μ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΩΒ | ΣΕΨΗΣ ΜΕΝ Ν̄ΝΑΖΡ̄Ν ΠΕΟΟΥ
 ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟ{Λ} | ΟῩΝ ΕΟΟΥ ΕϸΧΟΣΕΕΟΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΣΟΜ ΕϸΧΟ|ΣΕ
 ΕΣΟΜ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΑΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ ΟΥΕΝ | ΝΑΝ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΘΗΠ Ν̄ΤΑΛΗ-

84:29 Sah. ΣΝΑΠΩΤ. 30 [ΕΒΟΛ] Ν̄ΝΕΕΙΜΑ : Sah. ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΕΙΜΑ. 35 i.e. Μ̄-
 ΠΕΥΟΥΧΑΕΙ. 85:2 Ζ̄Ν ΖΟΕΙΝΕ : Sah. ΖΟΕΙΝΕ. 9 ΝΑϸΝΑ- : Sah. ΝΕϸΝΑ-. 10 Ν̄ΤΠΕ : Sah.
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ. 17 i.e. ΧΟΣΕ ΕΕΟΟΥ.

17 ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ <ΑΝ> em. Sevrin (better ΤΑΕΙ <ΑΝ> ΤΕ ΘΕ), with hesitation 28 rest.
 Schenke ("einsam zurücklassen"), Till 29 ΝΟΥΤΕ : τ written over erasure of Δ 31
 cf. 85:19-20 32 rest. Schenke ("[mangel]losen"), sim. Till 34 rest. Schenke ("[und]
 seine Arme"): cf. 84:33 35 for the restoration cf. 84:33 85:14 ΞΩΨΡΕ : second ω
 added above the line 17-18 ΕϸΧΟ|ΣΕ ΕΣΟΜ em. Till

At the present time we have the manifest things ¹⁵ of creation. We say, ' 'The strong who are held in high regard are great people. ' And the weak who are despised are the obscure.' ' Contrast the manifest things ' of truth: they are weak and ' despised, while the hidden things are strong and ²⁰ held in high regard. The mysteries of truth are ' revealed, though in type and image. The bridal chamber, ' however, remains hidden. It is the holy in ' the holy. The veil at first ' concealed how God controlled ²⁵ the creation, but when the veil is rent ' and the things inside are revealed, ' this house will be left ' desolate, or rather will be ' [destroyed]. And the whole (inferior) godhead will flee ³⁰ [from] here but not into the holies ' [of the] holies, for it will not be able to mix with the ' unmixed [light] and the ' [flawless] fullness, but will be under the wings of the cross ' [and under] its arms. This ark will be ³⁵ [their] salvation when the flood **85** of water surges over them. If ' some belong to the order of the priesthood ' they will be able to go ' within the veil with the high priest. ⁵ For this reason the veil was not ' rent at the top only, since it ' would have been open only to those above; nor ' was it rent at the bottom only, since ' it would have been revealed only to those below. ¹⁰ But it was rent from top to bottom. Those ' above opened to us the things below, ' in order that we may go in to the secret ' of the truth. This truly is what is ' held in high regard, (and) what is strong! But we shall go in there ¹⁵ by means of lowly types and forms of weakness. ' They are lowly indeed when compared with the perfect glory. ' There is glory which surpasses glory. There is power which surpasses ' power. Therefore the perfect things have opened ' to us, together with the hidden things of truth.

- 20 θεια αγω νετοϋ||ααβ ν̄νετοϋααβ αγωαπ` εβολ` αγω α|πκοι-
των τωζμ` μ̄μον εζοϋν`
ενζοσο(ν) | μεν` ρζηπ` τκακια οϋσοϋ` μεν μ̄ποϋ|ϋιτ̄ δε ν̄-
25 τμητε μ̄πσπερμα μ̄ππ̄να | ετοϋααβ` σεο ν̄ζμ̄ζ̄αλ ν̄τπονη-
ρια ζο||ταν δε εϋψαδωαπ` εβολ τοτε ποϋο|ειν ν̄τελειον` να-
ζατε εβολ` εχ̄ν̄ [ο]ϋο(ν) | νιμ` αγω νετ̄νητϋ` τηροϋ σεη[αχι
30 χρι||σμα τοτε ν̄ζμ̄ζ̄αλ ν̄αρελεϋθε|ροσ αγω | ν̄σεσωτε ν̄αιχμα-
λωτοσ τωδε ν̄|ιμ εμ||πε παειωτ` ετ̄ζν̄ μ̄πηϋε τοβϋ[` σενα||-
πορκϋ` νετπορϋ` σεναζωτ̄ρ̄ ν̄[.^{4½-5½} .] | σεναμοϋζ οϋον`
νιμ` ετ̄ναβ|ωκ εζοϋν | επκοιτων σεναχερο μ̄ποϋ|οειν ²⁻³ ||ο
35 γαρ ν̄θε ν̄ν̄γαμοσ ετ̄νηε| . . . ⁶⁻⁷ . . . ||ψωπε ν̄τοϋψη πκωστ`
*p. 86¹ ψ|αϋ . . . ⁵⁻⁶ . . .] * ν̄τοϋψη ψαϋχενε μ̄μϋστηριον δε | μ̄πιγαμοσ ν̄-
(134 L.) τοϋ ψαϋϋωκ` εβολ` ζμ̄ πεζοοϋ` μ̄ν̄ ποϋοειν μαρε φοοϋ ετ̄μ-
5 μαϋ | η πεϋ`οϋοειν ζωτπ` ερψα οϋα ψωπε ν̄||ψηρε μ̄πνημ`φων`
ϋναχι μ̄ποϋοειν | ετ̄μ οϋα χιτϋ` εϋν̄νεειμα ϋναψχιτϋ` | αν̄ μ̄-
πκεμα πεταχι ποϋοειν ετ̄μμαϋ | σεναναϋ αν̄` εροϋ` οϋτε
10 σεναψεμαστε | αν̄` μ̄μοϋ` αγω μ̄ν̄ λααϋ ναψ̄ρσκϋλλε μ̄||παειν̄-
τεειμεινε καν` εϋρ̄πολιτεϋεσ|θαι ζμ̄ πκοσμοσ αγω ον̄ εϋψαει

28 i.e. ναρ̄-. 29 i.e. ν̄ν̄αιχμαλωτοσ. 86:6 εϋν̄νεειμα : Sah. εϋζμ̄ πεειμα. 7 Sah. πετ̄ναχι.

21 τωζμ` μ̄ : μ̄` added above the line

27 rest. Layton; sim. Schenke ('[die] Salbung [empfangen]'), Till 28 rest. Schenke ('frei sein und'), Till 29 cf. Matt 15:13 π̄σα φυτεία ἢν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται 30 for the restoration cf. 85:31 31 ν̄| : a superlin. stroke may have been written above ν̄: reading of pap. cannot be μ̄ or μ̄ poss. restore ν̄|νοϋε-ρηϋ| 32 ναβ| : ᾱ. or else λ̄: β̄ read from small, ambiguous trace rest. Schenke ('[ein-gehen] werden'), sim. Till 34 ε| : or else ϑ̄ (not ᾱ) e.g. ετ̄νηε|θηπ εψαϋ| 35 ψ| : or else ω| ψ|αϋρ̄ οϋοειν| Schenke³ ('[leuchtet]'), Schenke⁴

The holies ²⁰ of the holies were revealed, and ' the bridal chamber invited us in.

As long ' as it is hidden, wickedness is indeed ineffectual, but ' it has not been removed from the midst of the seed of the holy spirit. ' They are slaves of evil. But when ²⁵ it is revealed, then the ' perfect light will flow out on every ' one. And all those who are in it will [receive the chrism]. ' Then the slaves will be free [and] ' the captives ransomed. “[Every] plant [which] ³⁰ my father who is in heaven [has not] planted [will be] ' plucked out” (Matt 15:13). Those who are separated will unite [. . .] and ' will be filled. Every one who will [enter] ' the bridal chamber will kindle the [light], for [. . .] ' just as in the marriages which are [. . .] happen ³⁵ at night. That fire [. . .] only **86** at night and is put out. But the mysteries ' of this marriage are perfected rather in ' the day and the light. Neither that day ' nor its light ever sets. If anyone becomes a son ⁵ of the bridal chamber, he will receive the light. ' If anyone does not receive it while he is here, he will not be able to receive it ' in the other place. He who will receive that light ' will not be seen, nor can he be detained. ' And none shall be able to torment ¹⁰ a person like this even while he dwells ' in the world. And again when he leaves '

85:31 *possibly*, unite [with one another] (*i.e.*, be united)

85:35 *possibly*, That fire [burns]

15 εβολ | ζ̄μ̄ πκοσμοc ηδη αϑχῑ ἡ̄ταληθ̄εια ζ̄ἡ̄ | ἡ̄ζικων πκοσμοc
 αϑωπε̄ ἡ̄ναιω(ν) | παιων γαρ εϑωοπ̄` ναϑ` ἡ̄πληρω̄μα αγω
 εϑωοπ̄` ἡ̄τεειζε ϑογονz εβολ | ναϑ ογααϑ εϑζηπ̄` αν ζ̄μ̄ πκακε̄ μ̄ἡ̄
 τοῡψη̄ αλλα εϑζηπ̄` ζ̄ἡ̄νογζοογ̄ ἡ̄τελειο(ν) | μ̄ἡ̄ ογοειν εϑογααβ

πεγαγγελιον | πκατα φιλιπποc

13 i.e. ἡ̄αιων. 17 i.e. ζ̄ἡ̄ ογζοογ̄. 18 i.e. ογογοειν.

the world he has already received the truth in ' the images. The world has become the eternal realm (aeon), ' for the eternal realm is fullness for him. ¹⁵ This is the way it is: it is revealed ' to him alone, not hidden in the darkness and the ' night, but hidden in a perfect day ' and a holy light.

The Gospel '
According to Philip

APPENDIX
SCHENKE'S "SAYING" NUMBERS

NOTE: While not recommended by the present editor, Schenke's numbering of the text is tabulated here because it has been followed (more or less) by several commentators, including Till, Wilson, and Ménard. Authority: H.-M. Schenke, "Das Evangelium nach Philippus," in J. Leipoldt, H.-M. Schenke, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi* [sic] (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich-Evangelischer Verlag, 1960) 38-65.

"Saying"	begins at	"Saying"	begins at
1	51:29	29	58:22
2	52:2	30	58:26
3	52:6	31	58:33
4	52:15	32	59:6
5	52:19	33	59:11
6	52:21	34	59:18
7	52:25	35	59:27
8	52:32	36	59:31
9	52:35	37	60:1
10	53:14	38	60:6
11	53:23	39	60:10
12	54:5	40	60:15
13	54:18	41	60:34
14	54:31	42	61:5
15	55:6	43	61:12
16	55:14	44	61:20
17	55:23	45	61:36
18	55:37	46	62:5
19	56:3	47	62:6
20	56:13	48	62:17
21	56:15	49	62:26
22	56:20	50	62:35
23	56:26	51	63:5
24	57:20	52	63:11
25	57:24	53	63:21
26	57:28	54	63:25
27	58:14	55	63:30
28	58:17	56	64:5

"Saying"	begins at	"Saying"	begins at
57	64:9	93	73:19
58	64:12	94	73:27
59	64:22	95	74:12
60	64:30	96	74:22
61	65:1	97	74:24
62	66:4	98	74:36
63	66:7	99	75:2
64	66:23	100	75:14
65	66:29	101	75:21
66	67:2	102	75:25
67	67:9	103	76:4
68	67:27	104	76:11
69	67:30	105	76:17
70	68:17	106	76:22
71	68:22	107	76:31
72	68:26	108	77:2
73	69:1	109	77:7
74	69:5	110	77:15
75	69:8	111	77:35
76	69:14	112	78:12
77	70:5	113	78:25
78	70:9	114	79:13
79	70:17	115	79:18
80	70:22	116	79:31
81	70:34	117	80:5
82	71:3	118	80:7
83	71:16	119	80:23
84	71:22	120	81:14
85	72:1	121	81:21
86	72:6	122	81:34
87	72:17	123	82:26
88	72:25	124	84:14
89	72:30	125	84:21
90	73:1	126	85:29
91	73:8	127	86:4
92	73:15		

TRACTATE 4

THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

INTRODUCTION

ROGER A. BULLARD

1. The *Hypostasis of the Archons* (*HypArch*)¹ is an anonymous treatise setting forth a Gnostic interpretation of Genesis 1–6, partly in the form of a revelation discourse between an angel and an interlocutor. It exemplifies a wide-ranging Hellenistic syncretism whose most evident components are Jewish. But in its final form *HypArch* shows clear Christian features and can be considered a Christian work. Its theological perspective is a robust Gnosticism, of still undetermined sectarian affiliation. It was originally composed in the Greek language, probably in Egypt. The date of composition cannot be determined, but some evidence points to the third century A.D.

2. **GENRE AND TITLE.** *HypArch* is essentially narrative. Clear and typical Gnostic anthropology and eschatology are expounded in the form of a primeval myth rather than abstract speculation. Recitation of this myth takes place in two different manners. While material taken from Genesis is in focus, the narrative progresses straightforwardly in the third person. But in connection with an apocryphal story of the deluge (92:3 and following) two interlocutors, the angel Eleleth and a female character named Norea, are introduced: although the narrative mode continues to be used, the remainder of the work is simultaneously a Gnostic catechesis, put in the mouth of one of the characters. The use of these two quite different manners of exposition, viz., straightforward narrative and revelatory dialogue between a heavenly instructor and an earthly questioner, does not cause any patent contradictions in the overall logic of the treatise nor reduce its effectiveness.

The author's purpose is to account for the existence of the Gnostics as a distinct group by discussing the origin of "spiritual" (Gnostic) humanity against the backdrop of creation and by passing on divine instruction regarding the destiny of the Gnostic community. For the author, the violent scene that takes place around the ark, where the revealing angel appears and the revelation discourse begins, marks the commencement of

¹ Also known as the *Nature of the Rulers* and *Nature of the Archons*, and sometimes abbreviated *NatArch*.

the present age. The preceding story provides the theological background for this present age, and an apocalyptic conclusion directs the Gnostic reader's hopes towards the future.

HypArch is not mentioned in any ancient sources. Its title is copied, in the usual manner, at the end of the text. Almost identical words also occur at the beginning (Greek retroversion: *περὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τῶν ἔξουσίων*), but here the phrase should be considered a part of the opening sentence rather than a prescript title. It is an effective opening, in that it anticipates the title while also alluding to the main subject matter of the treatise.

The exact meaning of the title in English (Greek retroversion: *ἡ ὑπόστασις τῶν ἀρχόντων*) is not entirely clear. Although *hypostasis* can mean "nature" or "essence," the present work does not discuss such a topic, and so translations like "The Nature of the Archons" should be ruled out. The word can also mean "origin," in the sense of "coming-into-being": but while the genesis of the archons (i.e., heavenly rulers) is briefly discussed, the subject matter as a whole ranges far beyond this question. The most suitable translation is "reality" (i.e., as opposed to fictitiousness). It fits well the train of thought in the opening paragraph, as well as laying out the key question to which the author's myth addresses itself. The archontic rulers exist: this was a dire reality for the Christian Gnostic, who defined his own nature over against theirs, and for whom this document could raise the apocalyptic hope that his own spiritual nature would be more lasting than the rulers' and his own destiny more glorious than theirs.

3. **PROVENANCE AND DATE.** It is generally assumed by scholarship that *HypArch*, like all the Nag Hammadi texts, was translated from Greek; linguistic and historical considerations make any other hypothesis unlikely. However, Coptic-speaking circles also may have played a part in the formation of some elements of the myth.² If so, this would indicate an Egyptian provenance. So too the remark at 87:29 that the rulers have the heads of animals, a well-known attribute of Egyptian deities. The hypothesis of an Egyptian provenance, however, is no more than tentative because of the sparsity of supporting evidence.

²For example at 86:30 and 94:22 Samael, the "blind" leader of the rulers (Aramaic *samē* "blind," cf. 87:4, 94:26), uses the words of Isa 46:9, "There is no other God beside me." In the Sahidic Coptic version of Isa 46:9 (ed. Wessely) "beside me" is rendered by the prepositional phrase *blai*, which is phonetically close to the Coptic word for "blind," *blle*, so that a Coptic pun may be intended.

The assignment of *HypArch* to the third century A.D. is also tentative. The work cannot, of course, be later than the fourth-century manuscript collection to which it belongs. But the author's treatment of his material seems to presuppose an extended Gnostic background of developing tradition and "midrashic" handling of the relevant scriptural material; this goes against an early dating. The probability that both *HypArch* and tractate 5 of the same codex³ (*OnOrgWld*) are dependent on earlier Gnostic traditions or documents also supports this assumption. One Platonic commonplace of the author's philosophical attitude⁴ has been identified as characteristic of the third, rather than second, century A.D.

4. COMPOSITION, AUDIENCE. The questions of date and provenance are complicated by the possibility that the present form of the work is a result of editorial compilation. Most scholars have supposed that a Christian editor combined a narrative source interpreting certain parts of Genesis, with a distinct revelation discourse of more soteriological and eschatological concern, and encompassed them in a Christian frame. If accepted, this theory raises problems (not yet solved) of the date and provenance of each individual source.

While the anonymous author of the present *HypArch* may have used previous material, it is clear from his tone that he writes from a position of authority, presenting his own word to the audience, even in the angelic revelation where a character of the drama is ostensibly speaking. Throughout the work, a Gnostic teacher is giving instruction to his audience.

This audience is a Christian Gnostic community or group. Thus *HypArch* is clearly an esoteric work, intended for readers who need not have everything explained. They know wide-ranging material from both the Old and New Testaments and accept the authority of Paul (cf. 86:21–25). They are aware of linguistic and literary traditions from Jewish (even Aramaic-speaking) circles, although the time, place, and vehicle by which these traditions were transmitted is no longer clear. The audience is at home with apocalyptic thought, which is esoteric by its very nature. One of the traditional functions of apocalyptic—that of providing hope and reassurance for an insecure or persecuted community—seems to be operative in this work. A self-conscious community read this, probably while feeling considerable pressure from a branch of Christianity that defined itself as orthodox, and those who were different as heretics. For this audience, apocalyptic may have encoded an affirmation of self-

³Edited in vol. 2.

⁴The Neoplatonic *plenum formarum* that necessarily results from God's "lack of envy" (*aphthonia*), cf. 96:11–14.

identity and hope, even though in the eschatological future.

There is obviously some literary relationship between *HypArch* and the fifth tractate of Codex II. The two works appear to have drawn from common sources. The fifth tractate mentions a *Book* or *Books of Norea* (102:11, 24–25, edited in vol. 2), also mentioned by Epiphanius.⁵ It has been suggested that *HypArch* is identical with the *Book(s) of Norea*, but there is no compelling evidence to support this hypothesis.⁶

5. CONTENTS. *a. Summary.* After a brief introduction quoting Eph 6:12, comes a compressed section (86:26–87:11) of mythical narrative: this is actually a summary of material presented more fully at 94:4–96:17. Here the chief ruler (Samael) utters a blasphemy and is upbraided by a divine being called incorruptibility. He begets offspring that are installed in the lower world by his mother Pistis Sophia (Faith-Wisdom). The powers of darkness (rulers, authorities) fall in love with an image of incorruptibility they have seen reflected in the waters of chaos, and in that image they model a man out of dust. They cannot make him arise from the ground, since they cannot bestow life-giving spirit upon him; but for its own reasons, the spirit appears and settles within him. The man, Adam, gives names to the animals and is placed in a garden (Paradise), where he is ordered not to eat from the tree of knowledge (gnosis). While he sleeps the rulers open his side and make a woman, described as “spiritual,” who awakens him. He addresses her with credal sounding words reminiscent of the Isis aretologies.

The rulers determine to rape the woman, but she outwits them by giving them merely her “shadow” (physical body). The snake (“the instructor”) appears, and tempts the pair to taste the fruit of the forbidden tree. They do so and consequently realize that they are denuded of the spiritual element. The chief ruler expels them from the garden.

The story of Cain and Abel is told with little variation from the Genesis account. Eve later bears a son (Seth) to replace the slain Abel, and then a daughter called Norea, “the virgin whom the forces did not defile.”

The rulers then determine to destroy humanity with a flood; in response Noah is instructed to build an ark. Norea attempts to gain entry, is refused, and burns the ark with her fiery breath. The rulers now wish to violate Norea, claiming that her mother Eve before her had also submitted to them. She refuses, recognizing them as the powers of darkness, and calls for help. Here (93:1) a transition is made between the two principal sections of the narrative (*see above* § 2). The rulers withdraw, and the

⁵ *Haer.* 26.1.3, *PG* 41.332B.

⁶ See the introduction to *CG II 5* (in vol. 2) for a further discussion of this problem.

angel Eleleth appears in order to give Norea an account of the origin and destiny of the archontic powers.

The narrative is now taken over by Eleleth, who proceeds to recount a more detailed form of the primeval myth already summarized in the opening paragraphs of the treatise. According to this account, Pistis Sophia (Faith-Wisdom) wishes to procreate without the participation of a partner. Gradually out of shapeless shadow, an androgynous, leonine being appears, uttering the blasphemy that he alone is God. A voice addresses him as "Samael" and reproves him. He then creates seven androgynous offspring and tells them that he alone is God. Zoe (Life), the daughter of Pistis Sophia, reproves him, calling him "Saklas" (Aramaic for "fool") and "Yaldabaoth." She breathes forth an angel, who binds Yaldabaoth (i.e., Samael) and throws him into the depths of Tartaros. But one of his offspring, Sabaoth, sees this banishment and disowns him. When he praises Wisdom (Faith-Wisdom) and Life, they install him over the seventh heaven, where Life sits at his right hand, instructing him. Seeing this, Yaldabaoth (Samael) becomes envious; his envy brings death into being.

Norea then asks the angel about her own place in all this. Eleleth assures her that she and her children belong to the eternal father, and that later the "true man" (divine savior) will come to teach all things, and to bestow the anointing of eternal life. Then the rulers will perish and the sons of light (Gnostics) will come to know the father and praise him, singing the trisagion.

b. Character. All of this narrative shows clear Gnostic features: dramatic characters familiar from other Gnostic literature (incorruptibility, Pistis Sophia, Yaldabaoth, the rulers, etc.); emphasis on the spiritual element as the real, immortal essence of Gnostic humanity; the great importance of knowledge, especially in the startling interpretation of the Paradise story, whereby the snake becomes the hero for instructing the human pair in the ways of knowledge (gnosis). The work cannot be definitely ascribed to any particular Gnostic sect. Affinities with Sethian, Barbelognostic, and Ophite doctrines have been noted, but any such identification must be accompanied by a healthy skepticism about the usefulness of these sectarian names as employed by the orthodox heresiologists.

The most interesting dramatic character of the work is Norea, the daughter of Eve. At least two traditional Norea figures have been discovered in traditions underlying this part of the myth: Norea as sister and wife of Seth, and Norea as Noah's wife. In *HypArch* she is not Noah's wife, although aspects of that tradition are nevertheless present. It has been shown that the name "Norea" (Νωρηα) and its variants go back to Naamah of Gen 4:22, and that the development of this figure in

the tradition goes back to Jewish haggadah. In *HypArch* Norea is a heavenly force who fights the evil rulers on behalf of Gnostic humanity. At the same time, as the recipient of instruction from Eleleth, she symbolizes the Gnostic quest for individual redemption through esoteric knowledge.

In this work the rulers (ἄρχοντες) are sometimes called authorities (ἐξουσίαι) or forces (δυνάμεις). It is generally assumed that at least in *HypArch* these terms are synonymous and refer to the same cadre of superhuman, but subdivine, heavenly powers.

HypArch is among the best-presented and best-transmitted tractates from Nag Hammadi. It is a significant work because of the clarity and authority with which it portrays the sweep of Gnostic belief. Cosmogony, anthropology, soteriology, and eschatology have an impressive coherence here, setting forth a Gnostic understanding of some of the main themes of biblical tradition.

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DRAMATIS PERSONAE⁷

Father of truth or father of the entirety: God

Holy *spirit* of the father of truth: a virgin female element or principle that operates occasionally in the world below, animating, instructing, and inspiring; capable of possessing (and abandoning) persons, trees, lower animals, etc.; consubstantial with the *spirit of truth* that is present in the children of light, hence both 'root' and 'seed'

The *all-powerful* or *true man*, the *son* of God who will come at the end of time to manifest the spirit

The entirety, probably the totality of divine stuff, whether below or above, dispersed or united; to it belong the children of light

Incorruptibility, a divine being that dwells above the veil of the eighth heaven

Pistis Sophia (*Faith Wisdom*), or simply *Wisdom*, another divine being above the veil of the eighth heaven, creator of Yaldabaoth

Her daughter *Zoe* (Life)

Fiery *angel of wrath* sent by Life to banish Yaldabaoth

The great angel *Eleleth*, one of the four light-givers that stand in the presence of the spirit

Adam, the first man on earth, created by the rulers as a male counterpart both to themselves and to the image of incorruptibility

His wife and female counterpart *Eve*

Snake

Birds and *beasts* of all kinds

Eve's children

Cain, an evil son begotten by the rulers

Abel, his half-brother, a son by Adam

Seth, a son by God, begotten to replace the slain Abel

Norea or *Orea*, a daughter, also of divine parentage

⁷From B. Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974) 389–393. By permission.

Noah and his family

Norea's offspring the Gnostics (beings that possess a spirit), the *children of the light*

Other mankind (descendants of Cain)

Rulers (archons) of the present darkness and chaos, also called *authorities*: libidinous, animal-faced beings of dual sexuality, viz.

Their arrogant chief *Samael*, also called *Sakla* or *Yaldabaoth*, the creation of Pistis Sophia; face of a lion; thinks he is god

His seven offspring, the *forces of chaos*, among them being *Sabaoth*

A second, infernal progeny, who are later-born (*Envy, Death, etc.*)

Infinite numbers of ministering *angels*

Demons

PLOT

PROLOGUE: Topic and occasion; author, addressee (§ 1)

THE RULERS

Ignorance and blasphemy of the chief ruler (§ 2)

His fall; establishment of his offspring as a lower spiritual hierarchy (§ 3)

THE PROTOPLASTS AND THE RULERS

Apparition of a divine image (§ 4)

Creation of man as a snare for the image (§ 5)

Vivification, naming, and gift of voice to man by the spirit;
man names the living creatures (§ 6)

Man's appointed career in Paradise (§ 7)

Creation of woman; the rulers pursue her (§ 8)

[*Spirit* passes (a) from Adam into woman,
(b) from woman into a tree (cf. § 9, 90:2
σαρκική),
(c) and then into a snake (§ 9)]

The snake instructs the woman: the protoplasts discover
they are naked of spirit (§ 9)

[*Spirit* (d) leaves the snake]

The Rulers curse the protoplasts, snake, and mankind
(§ 10)

CAIN AND ABEL (§ 11)

SETH AND NOEA: Foundation of the spiritual generation (§ 12)

Sabaoth saves mankind (Noah) from the rulers' deluge
(§ 13)

Orea (Noea) burns the ark (§ 14)

Noea's struggle with the rulers (§ 15)

APPARITION OF THE ANGEL ELELETH

Noea's invocation (§ 16)

Angel's rebuke (§ 17)

GNOSTIC DIALOGUE (Norea, Eleleth)

First question: Angel's identity (§ 18)

Response: Self-identification and promise of instruction

Description of the angel by Norea, speaking as narrator (§ 19)

Speech of consolation by the angel (§ 20)

Second question: Origin and genesis of the rulers (§ 21)

Response: The veil dividing two realms; creation of Yaldabaoth (§ 22)

His first blasphemy rebuked (§ 23)

Descent of Wisdom and light into the region of chaos (§ 24)

Yaldabaoth creates a lower spiritual hierarchy (§ 25)

His second blasphemy rebuked; banishment to Tartaros (§ 26)

Elevation of Sabaoth: repentance, installation in seventh heaven, chariot and retinue (§§ 27–29)

The envy of Yaldabaoth yields another spiritual hierarchy in Tartaros (§ 30)

Summary of second response (§ 31)

Third question: Do Norea and the rulers share a common origin? (§ 32)

Response:

Heavenly origin of Norea and her offspring means they cannot be harmed by the rulers because of an indwelling spirit of truth (§ 33)

Manifestation of the spirit of truth will occur after three generations or ages (§ 34)

Fourth question: When will the three generations have been accomplished? (§ 35)

Response: At the incarnation of the true man, who will reveal(?) the existence of the spirit of truth (§ 36)

ESCHATOLOGICAL POEM: Deeds of the final generation

Instruction and anointment of the saved; their ascent into the light (§ 37)

Destruction of the lower spiritual world (§ 38)

Gnosis of the saved; praise of the father and son by the children of the light (§ 39)

SCENE

- i. Almost the whole depth of darkness (the visible universe):
from the veil of the eighth heaven down through all seven heavens,
as far as the waters of chaos and the abyss (2-3)
- ii. Earth:
 - a. Near the waters (4-6)
 - b. Paradise (7-10)
 - c. Outside Paradise (11-12)
 - c. Mt. Sir (13- . . .)
- iii. *Like the opening* (22-27)
- iv. Seventh heaven (28-29)
- v. Hell (30)
- vi. Along the way ascending from darkness into the light (37-39)

TIME

- i-v. From primæval time until just before the deluge
- vi. At the consummation of ages

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THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

- p. 86²⁰
64 Labib) εΤΒΕ ΘΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC N̄N̄EZOYCIΑ Z̄M̄ ΠΠN̄A | M̄ΠEΙΩT` N̄TME AYXOOC
NAN N̄B I ΠNOC | N̄AΠOCTOΛOC εΤΒΕ NEZOYCIΑ M̄PKAK E | XE ΠN̄ΩX E
ψOOP` AN OYBE CAPZ ZI | [CNO]Y AλλA εY`OYBE NEZOYCIΑ
25 M̄PKOC|[MOC] M̄N̄ M̄ΠNEYMATIKON N̄TΠONHPIA | [AEI]XENE NAEI
EKΩINE εΤΒΕ ΘΥΠOCTA|[CIC N̄]EZOYCIΑ
ΠOYNOB ΔE OYB̄ΛΛE ΠE | [εΤΒE] T̄E[Y]BOM M̄N̄ TEY M̄N̄TATCOOYH
30 | [M̄N̄ TEY M̄]N̄T XACIZHT` AYXOOC Z̄N̄ TEY`|[BOM XE] ANOK` PE ΠNOY-
TE M̄N̄ ΛAAY | [A X N̄T]
[N̄T]APEYXE ΠAEI AYΦ̄ NOBE EZPAI | [EΠTHP Y] AYΩ AΠEEIYAXE
*p. 87¹
(135 L.) ΠWZ ψAZ*PAI ET M̄N̄T`ATTAKO EIC OYCMH ΔE ACEI EBOL` Z̄N̄
T̄M̄N̄TATTAKO EC XΩ M̄MOC X̄E | K̄P̄PLANACE CE CAMAHA ETE ΠNOYTE
Π[E] | N̄B̄BΛΛE
5 ANEYMEEY E P̄ B̄ΛΛ E AYNOYXE || EBOL N̄TEYBOM ETE ΠOY A N̄TA Y-

AUXILIARY NOTES

86:27 i.e. N̄NEZOYCIΑ.

87:4 N̄B̄BΛΛE : i.e. N̄B̄ΛΛE : cf. *OnOrgWtd* 103:18.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

86:24 [CNO]Y : cf. Eph 6:12 αἴμα 26 [AEI ---] Nagel : also possible is [AZI ---] (cf. 96:15) [AEI]XENE NAEI : [NAΨA]XE NE NAEI Polotsky XENE : cf. Crum 774# and Layton 175 27 [CIC N̄ <N>]EZOYCIΑ Layton³, poss. rightly (cf. 87:10, 86:20)

28 rest. Schenke (“[wegen]”) : [KATA] Kasser 29 for the restoration cf. 86:28 30 rest. Layton³ (cf. 87:4-5) : [B̄ΩE XE] Kasser, with hesitation : [CMH XE] Krause : [Z̄YΛH XE] Schenke² 31-32 [A X N̄T] . . . [EΠTHP Y] : cf. 94:22-23

87:2-3 X̄E | K̄P̄ : cf. 94:25, 95:7 : X̄[E] Ā|K̄P̄ Krause 3 Π[E] : cf. 94:26

5 for the construction cf. Layton I 82 : ΠOY A <ΠE> Krause in Bullard 14, Nagel

THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

TRANSLATED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

1. On account of the reality (*hypostasis*) of the authorities (*eksousiai*), (inspired) by the spirit ' of the father of truth, the great ' apostle—referring to the “authorities of the darkness” (Col 1:13)—told us ' that “our contest is not against flesh and ' [blood]; rather, the authorities of the universe²⁵ and the spirits of wickedness” (Eph 6:12). ' [I have] sent (you) this because you (sg.) inquire about the reality ' [of the] authorities.

2. Their chief is blind; ' [because of his] power and his ignorance ' [and his] arrogance he said, with his³⁰ [power], “It is I who am God; there is none ' [apart from me].”

When he said this, he sinned against ' [the entirety]. And this speech got up **87** to incorruptibility; then there was a voice that came ' forth from incorruptibility, saying, ' “You are mistaken, Samael”—which is, “god ' of the blind.”

3. His thoughts became blind. And, having expelled⁵ his power—that is, the blasphemy

87:3-4 god of the blind: *possibly an error for blind god (cf. 94:26)*

- χοοϕ` | αϕδιωκε μμοϕ` ψα πιτῆ ἀρχαος μῆ | πνοῦν τεϕ`μααϕ
 εβολ ζιτῆ τπιστις | τσοφια ἀϕω δσκαθιστα ῆνεϕ`ψηρε | πογα
 10 πογα κατα τεϕβομ` κατα πτυπος || ῆαιων` ετῆμσα ντπε χε
 εβολ ζῆ νε|θηπ` ἀγζε ανετοϕονζ` εβολ`
 ατῆμῆτ`|αττεκο δωψτ` ἀπιτῆ ἀμμεροσ νῆμμοϕ ἀπεσινε οϕωνζ
 15 εβολ ζῆνῆμμοϕ ἀϕω ανεζοϕσια μπκακε μεριτς || ῆποϕψδῆ
 βομ δε ῆτεζε πινε ετῆμμαϕ | πενταζοϕων εβολ ναϕ ζῆνῆμμοϕ |
 ετβε τοϕμῆτδωβ χε ῆψυχικος ναϕ|τεζε ῆπνεϕματικος
 20 αν χε ζῆναβολ νε ῆπσα μπιτν ῆτοϕ δε οϕεβολ || πε ῆπσα
 ν`τπε
 ετβε παῖ ατῆμῆτατ|τακο δωψτ` εβολ επιτῆ ἀμμεροσ | ψινα ζῆ
 ποϕωψ ῆπειωτ` εсназа|τῆ πτηρϕ` μῆ ποϕοειν ἀναρχων χι ῆ-
 25 οϕςϕμβοϕλιον πεχαϕ χε ἀμνειτῆ || ῆτῆταμιο ῆοϕρωμε ῆνοϕχοϕς
 ε[βολ ζῆ πκαζ ἀϕῆπλασσε ῆποϕτῆ[μιο] | εϕρμῆκαζ τηρ<ϕ> πε
 νιαρχων Δ[ε . . . σω]μα πετεϕῆταϕ` ῆσζιμε οϕζ[. 3½-5 .] | πε ῆζο
 30 ῆθηριον νε ἀϕι ῆνοϕ[ϕχοϕς] | εβολ ζῆ πκαζ ἀϕῆπλασσε ῆπ[οϕ-
 ϕω]με κατα ποϕςωμα ἀϕω κ[ατ]ῆ [πινε] | ῆπνοϕτε ῆταζοϕωνζ
 ε[βολ ναϕ] | ζῆνῆμμοϕ

10 i.e. ῆαιων.

13–14 i.e. ζῆμμοϕ. 16 i.e. πενταζοϕωνζ (Schenke, Krause in Bullard 14 and Nagel emend thus). ζῆνῆμμοϕ : i.e. ζῆμμοϕ. 17 Sah. τεϕμῆτδωβ. 18 Sah. ζενεβολ.

25 i.e. ῆοϕχοϕς. 26 Sah. ῆπεϕταμιο.

29 i.e. ῆοϕχοϕς. 30–31 Sah. ῆπεϕ . . . πεϕ-. 33 i.e. ζῆμμοϕ.

ὁ ἀϕδιωκε em. Fischer 7–8 πνοῦν εβολ ζιτῆ τπιστις τσοφια τεϕμααϕ em. Kasser 10 ῆ<ν>αιων MacRae, poss. rightly

26 rest. Kasser : also possible is ῆ[ασμα] : cf. Layton³, pt. 2, p. 33 27 τηρ<ϕ> Bullard, Nagel

27 Δ[ε . . . σω] : room for 1–2 standard letters between ε and σ 27–29 νιαρχων Δ[ε οϕςω]μα . . . ῆσζιμε οϕζ[ο δε] πε ῆζο ῆθηριον νε ἀϕι Krause : νιαρχων Δ[ε πω]μα . . . ῆσζιμε οϕζ[- -] πε ῆζο (i.e. ζεζο) ῆθηριον νε ἀϕι Layton 182 : νιαρχων Δ[ε οϕςω]μα . . . ῆσζιμε οϕζ[οϕζε] πε ῆζο ῆθηριον νε ἀϕι Layton³, with hesitation : for the other possible restorations, cf. Layton³, pt. 2, pp. 33–36 29 ϕ[ϕχοϕς] : cf. 87:25 : ϕ[ϕομε] sim. Kasser 30–31 rest. Schenke (“ihren Menschen”), Bullard, Nagel : cf. 89:18, 91:4 : π[ειρω]με Kasser (29 n. 3) 31 rest. Schenke (“[nach (κατά) dem Bilde]”), sim. Bullard, Nagel : also possible is κ[ατ]ῆ [πεινε] 32 for the restoration cf. 88:9

he had spoken—' he pursued it down to chaos and ' the abyss, his mother, at the instigation of Pistis ' Sophia (Faith Wisdom). And she established each of his offspring ' in conformity with its power—after the pattern ¹⁰ of the realms that are above, for by starting from the ' invisible world the visible world was invented.

4. As incorruptibility ' looked down into the region of the waters, ' her image appeared in the waters; ' and the authorities of the darkness became enamored of her. ¹⁵ But they could not lay hold of that image, ' which had appeared to them in the waters, ' because of their weakness—since beings that merely possess a soul ' cannot lay hold of those that possess a spirit—for ' they were from below, while it was from ²⁰ above.

5. This is the reason why “incorruptibility ' looked down into the region (etc.)”: ' so that, by the father's will, she ' might bring the entirety into union with the light. The rulers (*arkhontes*) laid ' plans and said, “Come, ²⁵ let us create a man that will be soil from ' the earth.” They modelled their creature ' as one wholly of the earth.

Now the rulers . . . ' body . . . they have . . . female . . . is . . . ' with the face of a beast. They had taken [some soil] ³⁰ from the earth and modelled their [man], ' after their body and [after the image] ' of God that had appeared [to them] ' in the waters.

87:17–18 beings that merely possess a soul . . . those that possess a spirit *here renders Greek psychikos . . . pneumatikos*

87:27–29 *possibly*, Now as for the rulers, it is [a] female body that they have, [and] a [visage] with the face of a beast. They had taken [some soil]; *or*, Now as for the rulers, it is [a] female body that they have; it is (as it were) an [aborted fetus] with the face of a beast. They had taken [some soil]; *or*, Now as for [the] rulers, the body, which they have as a female element, is (also) [male], with the face of a beast. They had taken [some soil]

- 35 πεχαυ χε α[μνειτῆ μα]ρῆτεροϋ` ζῆ πῆπλάσμα χ[εκαας] ||
 *p. 88^l εφναναυ απεψωβῆει[νε . . . 5½-7 . . .] * [ῆ]τῆνεμαζτε ῆμοϋ ζῆ πῆ-
 (136 L.) πλάσμα εϋῆνο[|ε] | αν ῆτ δυναμικ ῆπνοϋτε εβολ ζῆ | τῶμῆτῆτ`-
 5 σομ αϋω αϋνιϋε εζοϋν ζῆ | πεϋζο αϋω απρωμε ψωπε ῆψυχι-
 ετβε τῶμῆτῆτ`σομ αϋ|προσκ`αρτερει ῆθε ῆνιζαθηϋ χε εϋ-
 να|σρωε απεινε ετῆμμαϋ παει ῆταζοϋωνζ | εβολ` ναϋ ζῆῆνῆ-
 10 μοϋ νεϋσοϋν` δε αν` || ῆτεϋσομ χε nim πε
 ναει δε τηροϋ αϋψω|πε ζῆ ποϋψ` ῆπειωτ` ῆπτηρηϋ` ῆῆῆ|ῆσα
 ναει` απῆῆ ναϋ απρωμε ῆψυχικος | ζιζῆ πκαζ αϋω απῆῆ εἰ
 15 εβολ ζῆ πκαζ | ῆαδαμαν`τινη` αϋει επιτῆ αϋοϋωζ ῆ|ζητηϋ`
 απρωμε ετῆμμαϋ ψωπε αϋψυχη` | εσονζ
 αϋμοϋτε επεϋ`ραν χε αδαμ` χε | αϋζε γαρ` εροϋ` εϋκειμ` ζιζῆ
 πκαζ αϋσμη | εἰ εβολ ζῆ τῆῆτῆττακο ετβε τβονθια | ῆ-
 20 αδ`αμ` αϋω αναρχων` σωοϋζ εζοϋν` || ῆῆῆ`ῆριον` τηροϋ ῆπκαζ
 ῆῆ ῆζαλατε | τη`ροϋ ῆτπε αϋῆτοϋ εζοϋν` ψα αδαμ` | εναϋ χε α-
 δαμ` ναμοϋτε εροϋ χε nim` | ετρεϋτ` ραν εποϋα ποϋα ζῆ ῆζαλα-
 τε | ῆῆ ῆτῆνοϋε τηροϋ
 25 αϋϋει ῆαδαμ` || [α]γκαζαϋ` ζῆ ππαραδεικος ετρεϋτ` ζωβ` | [εροϋ]`
 ῆϋαρεζ εροϋ` αϋω αναρχων ζων` | [ετο]ϋτϋ` εϋχω ῆμοσ χε
 εβολ ζῆ ψη(η) | [nim] ετζῆ παραδικος εκναοϋωμ` | [εβολ] δε ζῆ
 30 πσηη ῆσοϋων πετνα`||[νοϋϋ] ῆῆ πεθοϋ ῆπρωωμ` οϋδε | [ῆπρ`χωζ
 ε]ροϋ` χε φοϋε ετετναοϋωμ` | [εβολ ῆζητ]ϋ` ζῆ οϋμοϋ

88:3-6 Sah. τεῆμῆτατσομ . . . τεῆμῆτατσομ. 9 i.e. ζῆ ῆμοϋ.

12 i.e. απῆῆ (Nagel emends thus).

22 i.e. χε εαδαμ (Layton³ emends thus).

26 i.e. ῆϋαρεζ. 28 i.e. ππαραδικος (Nagel emends thus).

33 rest. Nagel 34 rest. Schenke (‘‘[damit]’’), sim. Nagel 35 ψβῆ-
 εἰ^{8½-10½}] pap. for the restoration cf. 89:19 87:35-88:1 ψβῆει[νε ῆϋμεριτϋ ῆ]τῆ sim.
 Nagel : ψβῆει[νε ῆϋει ψαροϋ ῆ]τῆ Schenke (‘‘[zu ihm kommt]’’), Krause 88:1 [ῆ]τῆ :
 cf. 87:25 etc. πῆ added above the line 3 poss. emend to αϋνιϋε : cf. 88:6-7 10
 expected is nim τε

22 for the syntax cf. 90:8 and 91:9

24 αϋϋει : γ written over erasure of ϋ 25 [α]γκαζαϋ : cf. Gen 2:15 ἔθετο αὐτόν 26
 [εροϋ] : cf. Gen 2:15 Sahidic εῆ ζωβ εροϋ 28 [nim] : cf. 89:34 and Gen 2:16
 παντός 29 [εβολ] : cf. 89:35 and Gen 2:17 ἀπό 29-30 να[νοϋϋ] : cf. 90:1 and Gen
 2:17 κολόν 31 sim. rest. Bullard. cf. 90:4 and Gen 3:3 μῆ ἔψηθε αὐτοῦ : [ῆῆχωζ ε]ροϋ
 sim. rest. Nagel 32 [εβολ ῆζητ]ϋ : cf. 90:5 and Gen 2:17 ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ

They said, “[Come, let] us ‘lay hold of it by means of the form that we have modelled, [so that] ³⁵ it may see its male counterpart [. . .], **88** and we may seize it with the form that we have modelled” —not ‘understanding the force of God, because of ‘their powerlessness. And he breathed into ‘his face; and the man came to have a soul (and remained) ⁵ upon the ground many days. But they could not ‘make him arise because of their powerlessness. ‘Like storm winds they persisted (in blowing), that they might ‘try to capture that image, which had appeared ‘to them in the waters. And they did not know ¹⁰ the identity of its power.

6. Now all these events came ‘to pass by the will of the father of the entirety. Afterwards, ‘the spirit saw the soul-endowed (*psykhikos*) man ‘upon the ground. And the spirit came forth from ‘the Adamantine Land; it descended and came to dwell within ¹⁵ him, and that man became a living soul. ‘

It called his name Adam since he ‘was found moving upon the ground. A voice ‘came forth from incorruptibility for the assistance of Adam; ‘and the rulers gathered together ²⁰ all the animals of the earth and all the ‘birds of heaven and brought them in to Adam ‘to see what Adam would call them, ‘that he might give a name to each of the birds ‘and all the beasts.

7. They took Adam ²⁵ [and] put him in the garden, that he might cultivate ‘[it] and keep watch over it. And the rulers issued a command ‘to him, saying, “From [every] tree ‘in the garden shall you (sg.) eat; ‘yet— [from] the tree of recognizing good ³⁰ and evil do not eat, nor ‘[touch] it; for the day you (pl.) eat ‘[from] it, with death

87:35 *possibly*, counterpart [and become enamored of it]; *or*, counterpart [and come to it]

ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ

- 32 ce[. . . .] παῖ σεσοοῦν ἀν` χε οὔ πεν[ταχχοῦ]ϋ
 *p. 89¹ ναϋ` ἀλλὰ ζῆ ποῶωϋ ᾠπει`*ωτ` ἵταχχε παει ἵττειζε δεκαας
 (137 L.) εϋ[ναοῶωμ] ἵτε ἀδαμ` <τῆ> [[ωπ]] ναῦ εροοῦ εϋο τηρ[ϋ] | ἵζγλικος
 ἀναρχων ψοχνε μῆ νοῦ|ερηϋ πεχαϋ χε ἀμheitῆ ἵτῆεινε
 5 ἵ||οῦβωε εζραῖ εχῆ ἀδαμ αῦω αϋζωρπ` | τῆωε δε
 τε τ`μῆτᾶτσοοῦν` ταει ἵταχ|ἵτῆ εζραῖ εχωϋ` αῦω αϋ-
 ζωρπ` αῦογεν | ᾠπειϋσπιρ` ἵθε ἵνοῦςζιμε εσονζ | αῦω αῦ-
 10 κωτ` ᾠπειϋ`σπιρ` ἵνοῦςαρζ || επεσμα αῦω ἀδαμ` ψωπε ᾠψγ-
 χικος τηρϋ`
 αῦω τςζιμε ᾠπνεῦματικη | ἀσι ψαροϋ` ἀσψαχε ἵμμαϋ` πεχασ |
 χε τωοῦν ἀδαμ αῦω ἵταρεϋναῦ ερος | πεχαϋ χε ἵτο πεν`ταζϋ
 15 ναει ᾠπωνζ || σεναμοῦτε ερο χε τμααῦ ἵνετονζ | χε ἵτος
 πε ταμααῦ ἵτος τε τσοειν` | αῦω τςζιμε αῦω τεπταζμιζε
 ἀνε|ζοῦςια δε ει εζοῦν ψα ποῶαδαμ` ἵτα|ροῦναῦ δε ἀτεϋ`-
 20 ψβῆεινε εσψαχε ἵμῆ||μαϋ` αῦψτορτῆ ζῆ οῦνοβ ἵψτορτῆ | αῦω
 αῦμερειτῆ πεχαϋ ἵνοῦερηϋ | χε ἀμheitῆ ἵτῆἵνοῦχε ᾠπῆσπερ`-
 μα εζραῖ εχως` αῦῤδιωκε ἵμοσ αῦω | ἀσσωβε ἵσωοῦ εβολ ζῆ
 25 τοῦμῆτᾶτ`||εῆτ` μῆ τοῦμῆτῆβᾶλε αῦω ἀσῤ οῦψη(ἵ) | ἵτοοτοῦ
 ἀσκω ἵτεσζαῖβες ε[ς]εινε | ᾠμοσ ζατοο-

89:3-4 Sah. νεϋερηϋ. 7 i.e. αῦοῶωμ. 8-9 i.e. ἵνοῦςζιμε . . . ἵνοῦςαρζ.

12 i.e. ἀσει.

18-25 Sah. πεῶαδαμ . . . νεϋερηϋ . . . τεῦμῆτᾶτζητ.

32 ce : e written over erasure of οῦ 33 [χω ναϋ ᾠ] Schenke² (cf. 89:1) : [ζων ᾠ] Layton 185 : [σωρῆ ζῆ] or [χι σολ ε] Kasser 34 rest. Schenke ("was [sie] ihm [gesagt haben]"), Nagel 89:2 <τῆ> Koenen in Layton³ ναῦ : copyist first wrote and then cancelled ωπ, adding ναῦ above the line τηρ[ϋ] Layton 185 : also palaeographically possible is τηρ[οῦ] ἵτε ἀδαμ ωπ εροοῦ εϋο τηρ[οῦ] em. Bullard 73

7-10 αῦογεν ᾠπειϋσπιρ <αῦω αῦκωτ ἵτεϋβητςπιρ> ἵθε ἵνοῦςζιμε εσονζ αῦω αῦ<μοῦς> ᾠπειϋσπιρ ἵνοῦςαρζ επεσμα em. Schenke², sim. Fischer 10 ἀδαμ : first a added above the line

16 <αῦω σεναχω ἵμοσ ερο> χε em. Bullard (83, "and it will be said of you"), with hesitation ἵτος πε . . . ἵτος τε : expected is ἵτος τε . . . ἵτος τε

26 ε[ς] sim. Nagel : ε[τ] Schenke² 26-29 εινε . . . χοσμ[ε]ς ζῆ . . . σφραγ[ς] ἵ . . . κατακριν[ς] εῖ ᾠ read in photographs

you (pl.) are going to die.’’

They ' [. . .] this. They do not understand what ' [they have said] to him; rather, by the father's will, **89** they said this in such a way that he ' might (in fact) eat, and that Adam might (not) regard them as would a man of an exclusively ' material nature.

8. The rulers took counsel ' with one another and said, ‘‘Come, let us cause ⁵ a deep sleep to fall upon Adam.’’ And he slept. '—Now the deep sleep that they ' ‘‘caused to fall upon him and he slept’’ is ignorance.—They opened ' his side like a living woman. ' And they built up his side with some flesh ¹⁰ in place of her, and Adam came to be endowed ' only with soul.

And the spirit-endowed woman ' came to him and spoke with him, saying, ' ‘‘Arise, Adam.’’ And when he saw her, ' he said, ‘‘It is you who have given me life; ¹⁵ you will be called ‘mother of the living.’ ’ —For it is she who is my mother. It is she who is the physician, ' and the woman, and she who has given birth.’’

9. Then the ' authorities came up to their Adam. ' And when they saw his female counterpart speaking with him, ²⁰ they became agitated with great agitation; ' and they became enamored of her. They said to one another, ' ‘‘Come, let us sow our seed ' in her,’’ and they pursued her. And ' she laughed at them for their witlessness ²⁵ and their blindness; and in their clutches, she became a tree, ' and left before them her shadowy reflection resembling herself; '

88:33 *possibly*, [tell him] this; *or*, [command to him] this: *or*, [are wrong in] this

89:2 (not) *erroneously omitted in the text*

89:16 physician: *or*, midwife

30 τοῦ ἀγῶ ἀχῶζμ[εσ] ζῆν | οὐσῶϛ ἀγῶ ἀχῶζμ̄ ν̄τςφραγ[ι]c | ν̄-
 τεσσμνη ψινα εὐναῤκατακριν[ε] | μ̄||μοοῦ οὐααῦ ζῆ ποῦπλασμα μ[ν̄]
 ποῦ||εἶνε
 35 ἀσει δε ν̄σι †πνευματικ[η] ζῆν | φαϛ ᾗ πρεϛταμο ᾗ ἀγῶ
 αϛτα[μοοῦ εϛ]||χῶ μ̄μοσ χε οὔ πε ν̄ταϛ[χοοῦ νη]||τῆ χε εβολ
 ζῆ ψηνη νιμ ζ[ῆ] ππαρα || Δεισοσ εκναοῦμ ᾗ εβολ Δ[ε ζῆ ψηνη ᾗ]
 *p. 90^l * Ἰσοῦων πεθοοῦ μ̄ν̄ πετναοῦϛ | μ̄π̄ροῦμ
 (138 L.) πεχε τςζιμε Ἰσαρκικη χε | οὔ μονον ᾗ πεχαϛ χε μ̄νοῦμ ἀλλα |
 5 μ̄π̄ρ̄χῶζ εροϛ χε ζῆ πζοοῦ ετετναοῦ||ωμ ᾗ εβολ Ἰζητϛ ζῆνοῦ-
 μοῦ τετναμοῦ |
 ἀγῶ πεχε φαϛ ᾗ πρεϛταμο χε ζῆ οῦμοῦ | ετετναμοῦ ἀν ν̄-
 ταϛχε παει γαρ νητῆ | εϛῤφθονει μαλλον ενετῆβαλ ναοῦ|εν ν̄-
 10 τετῆψωπε Ἰθε Ἰνινοῦτε ετε||τῆσοῦν μ̄π̄ ᾗ πεθοοῦ μ̄ν̄ πετνα-
 νοῦϛ | ἀγῶ τρεϛταμο ἀγῆιτ̄ς ν̄τοοτϛ ᾗ μ̄φαϛ | ἀγῶ ἀσκῶ μ̄-
 μοϛ ᾗ οὐααϛ ᾗ εϛο Ἰρμῆκαζ |
 ἀγῶ τςζιμε Ἰσαρκικη ἀσχι εβολ ζῆ ψη(ν) | ἀσοῦμ ἀγῶ ἀσ†
 15 μ̄πεσζαῖ Ἰμ̄μασ ἀγ||ω ἀμψυχικος οῦμ ἀγῶ ἀτοῦκακια |
 οὔεν ᾗ εβολ ζῆ τοῦμ̄ν̄τατσοῦν ἀγῶ | ἀγεἶμε χε νεῦκηκαζη
 ἀπνεῦμα|τικον ἀγῆι ζῆσῶβε Ἰκῆτε ἀμοροῦ | εζῆ τοῦ†πε
 20 τότε ἀσει ν̄σι πνοσ Ἰαρ||χων ἀγῶ πεχαϛ χε ἀδαμ ᾗ
 εκτων νεϛ|σοῦν γαρ ἀν χε Ἰτα οὔ ψωπε

30–31 Sah. πεῦπλασμα . . . πεγεἶνε.

90:3 i.e. μ̄π̄ροῦμ. 5 i.e. ζῆ οῦμοῦ.

8 i.e. ναοῦων. 10 i.e. μ̄πεθοοῦ.

15–19 Sah. ἀτεῦκακια . . . τεῦμ̄ν̄τατσοῦν . . . τεῦ†πε.

27 sim. rest. Nagel : χῶζμ[οῦ] Schenke (“sie befleckten [sich]”), cf. 89:29–30 28–29
 ν̄τεσσμνη : poss. emend to μ̄πεσσμοτ (thus Layton³) 29 <ναει δε τηροῦ ἀγῶωπε ζῆ-
 ποῦωψ μ̄πειωτ μ̄πτηρϛ> ψινα Schenke², with hesitation 30 οὐααῦ ζῆ ποῦπλασμα :
 ζῆ ποῦπλασμα οὐααῦ em. Schenke², with hesitation μ[ν̄] ποῦ] Schenke (“und
 [ihrem]”), Bullard : μ[ν̄] πεϛ] Nagel : cf. 92:24–25

31 rest. Schenke (“[in]”), Bullard 32 τα[μοοῦ - - -] sim. rest. Bullard : τα[μοσ - -
 -] sim. rest. Nagel : τα[μοϛ - - -] Schenke (“[belehrte ihn]”) : cf. 89:33 νητῆ 33 also
 possible is πε Ἰταϛ, but cf. 90:3 πεχαϛ rest. Schenke (“[zu] euch [gesagt]”),
 Nagel 34 ψηνη νιμ <ετ> Layton³ 34–35 ζ[ῆ] ππαρα]δεισοσ : cf. 88:28 35 for the
 restoration cf. 88:29 90:1 Ἰσοῦων : of Ἰ, ν is definite. superlin. stroke restored

16 οὔεν : i.e. οῦωνζ (prob. emend thus, with Layton³) : οὔεν<ζ> em. Kasser² (190b,
 38)

and they defiled [it] ' foully.—And they defiled the stamp of ' her voice, so that ³⁰ by the form they had modelled, together with [their] (own) image, they made themselves liable to condemnation. '

Then the female spiritual principle came [in] ' the snake, the instructor; and it taught [them], ' saying, “What did he [say to] ' you (pl.)? Was it, 'From every tree in the garden ³⁵ shall you (sg.) eat; yet—from [the tree] **90** of recognizing evil and good ' do not eat?’”

The carnal woman said, ' “Not only did he say ‘Do not eat,’ but even ' ‘Do not touch it; for the day you (pl.) eat ⁵ from it, with death you (pl.) are going to die.’ ” ' '

And the snake, the instructor, said, “With death ' you (pl.) shall not die; for it was out of jealousy ' that he said this to you (pl.). Rather your (pl.) eyes ' shall open and you (pl.) shall come to be like gods, recognizing ¹⁰ evil and good.” ' And the female instructing principle was taken away from the snake, ' and she left it behind merely a thing of the earth. '

And the carnal woman took from the tree ' and ate; and she gave to her husband as well as herself; and ¹⁵ these beings that possessed only a soul, ate. And their imperfection ' became apparent in their lack of acquaintance; and ' they recognized that they were naked of the spiritual element, ' and took fig leaves and bound them ' upon their loins.

10. Then the chief ruler came; ²⁰ and he said, “Adam! Where are you?”—for he did not ' understand what had happened.

89:27 *or*, defiled [themselves]

89:28–29 the stamp of her voice: *text probably erroneous; correct text possibly* the form that she had stamped in her likeness

- αῶω πε|ξε αδαμ ξε δεισωτῆ̄ ατεκ`σμη δειρ̄ | ζοτε ξε νεει-
 κηκαζηγ αῶω δεικωπ` |
 25 πεξε παρχων ξε ετβε οῦ` ακκωπ ει || μητι ξε ακ`οῦωμ` εβολ
 ζῆ̄ πωην | ἵτ[α]ειζονϋ ετοοτκ ξε ῆ̄πρωωμ` ε|βο[λ] ἵζητϋ`
 οῦαατῆ̄ αῶω ακοῦωμ
 πε|χ[ε α]δαμ ξε τςζιμε ἵτακ`ταας ναει | [αϋ†] ναει
 30 δειοῦωμ` αῶω απαῦθαδης || [ἵαρ]χων εζοογορ τςζιμε
 πεξε τςζιμε | [ξε φ]οϋ πεταρ`απατα ῆ̄μοει δειοῦωμ` | [αγ-
 κωτο]ϋ αφοϋ αγσογζωρ` τεγζαῖβες | [. 4½. . ο]γατβομ πε εϋ-
 *p. 91¹
 (139 L.) σοοϋν αν | [ξε πο]ϋπλασμα πε χιμ φοοϋ ετῆ̄*μαγ αφοϋ` ψω-
 πε ζα πςαζοϋε ἵεζοϋς|[α] | ψαντεϋ`ει ἵβσι πτελειος ἵρωμε
 πς[α]||ζοϋ ετῆ̄μαγ αχει εχἵ φαϋ`
 5 αγκωτοϋ α|πογαδαμ` αγϋιτϋ` αγνοχϋ` εβολ ζμ ππα||ραδειςος
 ῆ̄ν τεϋζιμε ξε ῆ̄ν λααϋ ἵς|μοϋ ἵτωοτοϋ ξε ἵτωοϋ ζωοϋ
 σεωοοπ` | ζα πςαζοϋε
 αγνοϋχ` ῆ̄ρωμε δε εζραῖ | αζἵνωβ ῆ̄ππερισπασμος ῆ̄ν ζἵῆ̄καζ |
 10 ἵτε πβιος ψινα ενοῦρωμε ναψωπε || ἵβιωτικος ἵςετῆ̄ρςχολαζε
 αρ̄προς|καρτερει επἵῆ̄α ετογαδβ
 ῆ̄νἵσα ναῖ | δε ασχπο ἵκαῖν ποϋψηρε καῖν δε | νεϋρ̄ ζωβ`
 επκαζ παλιν` αϋσοϋων τεϋ`|ζιμε ετι ασω ασχπο ἵ-
 15 αβελ αβελ δε || νεϋψως πε ῆ̄μανεσοϋ καῖν δε αχει|νε

31 i.e. πεταζ (Nagel emends sim.). 34 Sah. πεϋπλασμα. 91:1 i.e. ἵνεζοϋςια (emended thus by Krause in Bullard 14, sim. Nagel).

8 i.e. ῆ̄περισπασμος. 9 Sah. ενεϋρωμε.

12 Sah. πεϋψηρε.

26–28 ἵτ[α]ει... ε|βο[λ]... πε|χ[ε α]δαμ read in photographs

27–28 πε|χ[ε - - -] : trace of χ deformed (cf. Layton³) 29 [αϋ†] : cf. 90:14 and Gen 3:12 εἶδωκεν 30 [ἵαρ]χων : cf. 92:27

31 for the restoration cf. 90:32 : reading of pap. cannot be [- - - φ]αϋ 32 rest. Schenke ('[sie wandten sich]'), sim. Nagel : cf. 91:3, 92:21, 27, 32 33 [ζωττε ο]ϋ Schenke ('[so dass (ώστε)]') : [ταῖ ετε ο]ϋ Nagel : [καίτοι ο]ϋ Schenke² : [εναει ο]ϋ Kasser 34 rest. Kasser, Krause 91:2 poss. emend to ϋ[α]ζοϋ<ε> (thus Layton³, with hesitation)

8 for the form ῆ̄π cf. Layton 187 and Quecke, *Das Markusevangelium saïdisch* 26 n., 30 n., and above 90:10 : ῆ̄{π} Krause in Bullard 14

12 χπο ἵκαῖν ποϋψηρε : χπο ἵκαῖν <ῆ̄>ποϋψηρε em. Layton³ with hesitation ποϋ : πες em. Krause in Bullard 14 14 ασχπο : c written over erasure of e

And Adam ' said, "I heard your voice and was ' afraid because I was naked; and I hid." '

The ruler said, "Why did you (sg.) hide, unless it is ²⁵ because you (sg.) have eaten from the tree ' from which alone I commanded you (sg.) not to eat? ' And you (sg.) have eaten!" '

Adam said, "The woman that you gave me, ' [she gave] to me and I ate." And the arrogant ³⁰ ruler cursed the woman.

The woman ' said, "It was the snake that led me astray and I ate." ' [They turned] to the snake and cursed its shadowy reflection, ' [. . .] powerless, not comprehending ' [that] it was a form they themselves had modelled. From that day, **91** the snake came to be under the curse of the authorities; ' until the all-powerful man was to come, ' that curse fell upon the snake.

They turned ' to their Adam and took him and expelled him from the garden ⁵ along with his wife; for they have no ' blessing, since they too are ' beneath the curse.

Moreover they threw mankind ' into great distraction and into a life ' of toil, so that their mankind might be ¹⁰ occupied by worldly affairs, and might not have the opportunity ' of being devoted to the holy spirit.

11. Now afterwards, ' she bore Cain, their son; and Cain ' cultivated the land. Thereupon he knew his ' wife; again becoming pregnant, she bore Abel; and Abel ¹⁵ was a herdsman of sheep. Now Cain brought ' in

90:33 *possibly*, [and thus it is] powerless; *or*, [which is] powerless; *or*, [and yet it is] powerless

- ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ̄ ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΕΨΩΨΕ` ΑΒΕΛ ΔΕ` ΑΨΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ν̄ΝΟΥ-
 ΘΥΣΙΑ ΖΝ̄ | ΝΕΨΖΙΕΙΒ` ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΨΤ` ΕΧ̄Ν̄|ΔΩΡΟΝ Ν̄-
 20 ΝΑΒΕΛ ΜΠΕΨΧΙ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΔΩ||ΡΟΝ Ν̄ΝΚΑΪΝ ΑΨΩ ΚΑΪΝ Ν̄ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ
 ΑΨΔΙΩΚΕ Ν̄ΑΒΕΛ` ΠΕΨΣΟΝ
 ΑΨΩ ΠΕΨΕ ΠΝΟ[Υ]ΤΕ Ν̄ΚΑΪΝ ΨΕ ΕΨΤΩΝ` ΑΒΕΛ` ΠΕΚΣΟΝ |
 ΑΨΟΥΨΩΨ ΠΕΨΑΨ ΨΕ ΜΗ ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ` | Μ̄ΦΥΛΑΖ Μ̄ΠΑΣΟΝ
 25 ΠΕΨΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄||ΚΑΪΝ ΨΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΣΜΗ Μ̄ΠΕΣΝΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΚ|ΣΟΝ
 Ψ<Α>ΨΚΑΚ` ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΑΚΡ̄ Ν[Ο]ΒΕ Ν̄|ΡΩΚ` ΨΝΑΚΟΥΨ`
 ΕΡΟΚ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ [ΕΤ]ΝΑ|ΜΟΥΟΥΤ` Ν̄ΚΑΕΙΝ ΨΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ [Ν̄]ΣΟΥ[Ψ] |
 30 Ν̄ΧΙ ΚΒΑ ΚΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΕΨ ΕΖ[ΟΜ] ΔΨ||Ω ΕΚΣΤΩΤ` ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΠΚΑΖ
 <Α>ΔΔΑΜ ΔΕ [ΣΟΥ(Ν)] | ΝΤΕΨΩΨΒ̄ΕΙΝΕ ΕΨΖΑ ΑΨΩ ΑΨΧΠΕ [ΣΗΘ]
 | Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ ΑΨΩ ΠΕΨΑΣ ΨΕ ΑΪΧΠΟ Ν̄[ΚΕ]ΡΩΜΕ ΖΜ̄ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΜΑ [Ν̄-
 ΝΑΒΕΛ] |
 35 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΨΩ Ν̄ΣΙ ΕΨΖΑ ΑΨΧΠ[Ε ΝΩΡΕΑ] || ΑΨΩ ΠΕΨΑΣ ΨΕ ΑΨΧΠΟ
 *p. 92¹ ΝΔ[ΕΙ Ν̄ΟΥΠΑΡ*ΘΕ]ΝΟΣ Ν̄ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ [ΖΝ̄] Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ` | Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΩ-
 (140 L.) ΜΕ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΠΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕ (Ν̄)|ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΨΑΖΜΕΣ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΔΝΡΩΜΕ Ρ̄ΑΡΧΕΙ | Ν̄ΝΡ̄ΑΥΖΑΝΕ ΑΨΩ Ν̄ΣΕΑΝΑΕΙ
 5 ΔΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΨΟ||ΧΝΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΟΥΕΡΗΨ ΠΕΨΑΨ ΨΕ ΔΜΗΕΙΤ̄Ν̄ Ν̄|Τ̄ΝΤΑΜΙΟ Ν̄-
 ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄|ΒΙΧ Ν̄Τ̄ΝΨΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ` Ν̄ΣΑΡΖ` ΝΙΜ ΨΙΝ Ρ̄Ω-
 ΜΕ | ΨΑ Τ̄ΒΝΗ

17–19 i.e. ΝΟΥΘΥΣΙΑ . . . ΝΑΒΕΛ. 20 i.e. ΝΚΑΪΝ. 33 i.e. ΝΑΒΕΛ.

92:4 i.e. ΝΡ̄ΑΥΖΑΝΕ.

5 Sah. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΨ. 6 i.e. ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ. 6–7 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΒΙΧ. Sah. Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΝΒΙΧ (poss. emend thus, with Layton³).

20 Ν̄Ν : prob. emend to Ν̄ (thus Layton³, with hesitation) ΚΑΪΝ Ν̄ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ : expected is ΚΑΪΝ ΠΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΪΝ <εφο> Ν̄ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ : but cf. *OnOrigWld* 117:2 (with Nagel² 418)

26 Ψ<Α>Ψ Kasser 32 26–29 Ν[Ο]ΒΕ Ν̄ . . . [ΕΤ]ΝΑΜΟΥΟΥΤ . . . [Ν̄]ΣΟΥ[Ψ] . . . ΕΖ[ΟΜ] ΑΨΩ read in photographs 26 Ν̄ : Ν is definite, superlin. stroke restored

30 <Α> Nagel² 418, cf. Layton² 31 sim. rest. Krause : cf. Layton² and Gen 4:25 ἔτεκεν υἱὸν . . . Σηθ 32 rest. Schenke (“[einen anderen]”), Nagel : Μ̄[ΠΕΙ] Kasser 33 rest. Schenke² : [ΝΑΒΕΛ ΑΨΩ] Nagel

34 ΨΠ[Ε ---] Nagel : also possible is ΨΠ[Ο Ν̄ ----] [--- ΝΩΡΕΑ] Krause : also possible is [--- ΩΡΕΑ]. cf. Pearson, Layton³ (preface, §II) : [--- ΟΥΨΕΕΡΕ] Bullard 35–92:1 ΝΔ[ΕΙ Ν̄ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕ]ΝΟΣ Schenke (“[mir [eine] . . . [Jungfrau (παρθένος)]”), sim. Bullard, Nagel : cf. 92:2 92:1 [Ζ̄Ν̄] Ν̄ : of Ν̄, Ν not definite, superlin. stroke restored 2 Μ̄ΠΕ (Ν̄) : Μ̄ΠΕ pap.

5–6 ΔΜΗΕΙΤ̄Ν̄ Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄|ΤΑΜΙΟ Ν̄ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ <ΕΨΜ̄ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΑΝΤΑΜΙΟΥ> ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Schenke², with hesitation

from the crops of his field, but ' Abel brought in an offering (from) among ' his lambs. God looked upon the ' votive offering of Abel; but he did not accept the votive offerings ²⁰ of Cain. And carnal Cain ' pursued Abel his brother.

And God ' said to Cain, “Where is Abel your brother?” '

He answered, saying, “Am I, then, ' my brother's keeper?”

God said to ²⁵ Cain, “Listen! The voice of your brother's blood ' is crying up to me! You have sinned with ' your mouth. It will return to you: anyone who ' kills Cain will let loose seven ' vengeance, and you will exist groaning and ³⁰ trembling upon the earth.”

12. And Adam [knew] ' his female counterpart Eve, and she became pregnant, and bore [Seth] ' to Adam. And she said, “I have borne [another] ' man through God, in place [of Abel].” '

Again Eve became pregnant, and she bore [Norea]. ³⁵ And she said, “He has begotten on [me a] virgin **92** as an assistance [for] many generations ' of mankind.” She is the virgin whom the ' forces did not defile.

Then mankind began ' to multiply and improve.

13. The rulers took counsel ⁵ with one another and said, “Come, let ' us cause a deluge with our ' hands and obliterate all flesh, from man ' to beast.”

91:34 or, she bore [Orea]. *The forms Norea and Orea are interchangeable in this text.*

- 10 παρχων δε ν̄νδυναμικ̄ ν̄τα|ρεϛ`ειμε̄ ν̄ουψοχνε̄ πεχαϛ ν̄νωζε
 ξε || ταμιο̄ νακ` ν̄νογκιβωτος̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ννοϙϙε | εμαϛ`ρ̄ χολεϛ ν̄γ-
 ζωπ` ν̄ζοϙν̄ ν̄ζητ̄ϛ ν̄|τοκ` μ̄ν̄νεκ`ψ̄ηρε̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄τβνοοϙε̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄|ζαλατε̄
 ν̄τπε̄ χιν` κοϙεῑ ψᾱ νοδ̄ ν̄γσεζωϛ | ερατ̄ϛ ζιζ̄μ̄ πτοοϙ̄ ν̄σιρ`
 15 ασεῑ δε̄ ν̄βῑ ωρεᾱ || ψαροϙ̄ εσοϙωψ̄ ετελο̄ εζραϊ̄ ετκιβωτος̄
 | αϙω̄ μ̄πεϙκααϛ̄ αςνιϙε̄ εζοϙν̄ εζρε̄ τκῑ|βωτος̄ αςροκζ̄ϛ̄ πα-
 λιν̄ αϙταμιο̄ ν̄τκῑ|βωτος̄ μ̄πμαζσεπ`̄ ϛναϙ̄
 20 αϙτωμτ`̄ εροϛ | ν̄βῑ ναρχων̄ εϙοϙωψ̄ ᾱραπατᾱ μ̄μοϛ̄ πε||ξε̄
 ποϙνοδ̄ ετ̄ν̄ζητοϙ̄ ναϛ̄ ξε̄ τεμααϙ̄ | εϙζᾱ ασεῑ ψαρον̄
 ανωρεᾱ δε̄ κοτ̄ϛ̄ ερο|οϙ̄ πεχαϛ̄ ναϙ̄ ξε̄ ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ νε̄ ναρχων̄ μ̄|πκα-
 κε̄ τετ̄ν̄ϛ̄ζοϙορτ`̄ οϙτε̄ μ̄πετ̄ν̄ϛ̄οϙ|ων̄ ταμααϙ̄ αλλᾱ ν̄-
 25 τατετ̄ν̄ϛ̄οϙων̄ τετ̄ν̄|ψ̄β̄ρεινε̄̄ ανοκ`̄ οϙεβολ̄ γαρ̄ αν`̄ ζ̄ν̄
 τη|νε̄̄ ᾱ|λ̄|λᾱ ν̄ταεῑ εβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ νᾱ πσᾱ ν̄τπε̄ |
 ᾱπ[αϙ]θαδ̄ηϛ̄ ν̄αρχων̄ κοτϙ`̄ ζ̄ν̄ τεϙβομ`̄ | ᾱϙω̄ [α]πεϙ`̄προϛω-
 30 πον̄ ωψπε̄ ν̄θε̄ ν̄|οϙ̄. . |ζτ`̄ εϙκ̄ημ`̄ αϙτολμᾱ εζοϙν`̄ εροϛ̄ ||
 [πεχ]αϙ̄ ναϛ̄ ξε̄ ζαπϛ̄ πε̄ ετρε̄ρ̄ βωκ`̄ ναν̄ | [ν̄θε̄] ν̄τεκεμααϙ̄ εϙ-
 ζᾱ αϙ†̄ναεῑ γαρ̄̄ μ̄[.]`̄

9 i.e. ενοϙωχνε̄ (Nagel emends thus), Sah. ενεϙ-. 10 i.e. ν̄νογκιβωτος̄ . . . ζ̄ν̄ οϙϙε.

20 Sah. πεϙνοϛ̄ . . . τοϙμααϙ̄.

26 i.e. ν̄ταεῑεῑ (emended thus by Krause in Bullard 14 and Nagel).

31 Sah. ν̄τοϙκεμααϙ̄.

11 εμαϛ̄ρ̄ : ϙ written over erasure of ρ

14 ωρεᾱ : i.e. Ὠραία, Heb. Na'amah : <N>ωρεᾱ em. Schenke ('(N)orea'): cf. on 91:34 25–28 τη|νε̄ . . . ᾱπ [αϙ]θαδ̄ηϛ̄ . . . ᾱϙω̄ [α]read in photographs

27 κοτϙ : τοκϙ ('vertraute') em. Schenke 29 for the possible restorations cf. Layton : [οϙκω]ζτ̄ rest. Schenke ('[Feuer]'): also possible is [οϙτα]ζτ̄ 30 sim. rest. Bullard, Nagel 31 rest. Schenke ('[wie]'), Bullard, Nagel αϙ† : ας† em. Nagel 31–32 †̄ναεῑ γαρ̄ μ̄[π̄αεῑ ον̄ - - -] or †̄ναεῑ γαρ̄ μ̄[π̄αιων̄ - - -] rest. Kasser : †̄ναεῑ γαρ̄ μ̄[π̄εοοϙ̄ - - -] Schenke ('gaben mir [die Ehre]'), Nagel : for the construction †̄ναε̄ cf. Emmel

But when the ruler of the forces ' came to know of their decision, he said to Noah, ¹⁰ “Make yourself an ark from some wood ' that does not rot and hide in it—you ' and your children and the beasts and ' the birds of heaven from small to large—and set it ' upon Mount Sir.”

14. Then Orea came ¹⁵ to him wanting to board the ark. ' And when he would not let her, she blew upon the ' ark and caused it to be consumed by fire. Again he ' made the ark, for a second time.

15. The rulers went to meet her ' intending to lead her astray. ²⁰ Their supreme chief said to her, “Your mother ' Eve came to us.”

But Norea turned to ' them and said to them, “It is you who are the rulers of ' the darkness; you are accursed. And you did not know ' my mother; instead it was your female ²⁵ counterpart that you knew. For I am not your descendant; ' rather it is from the world above that I am come.” '

The arrogant ruler turned, with all his might, ' [and] his countenance came to be like (a) black ' [. . .]; he said to her presumptuously, ³⁰ “You must render service to us, ' [as did] also your mother Eve; for I have been given (?) ' [. . .].”

92:27 with all his might: *or*, with his power

92:28–29 like black (*or*, intense) [. . .]: *two letters of the missing word survive; possibly, like black [lead] (the metal); or, like intense [fire]*

92:31–32 *or*. for these have been given [. . .]

- [α]ἠωρεα δε κοτ̄ς ζῆ τ̄βομ̄ ᾠπ̄ | . . . ασα | ψκακ` εβολ ζῆ οὔνοβ
 *p. 93¹ ἄσμη | [εζραῖ ε] π̄πετογααβ π̄νουτε ᾠπ̄τηρϛ` * χε εριβονθ̄ει ναει
 (141 L.) ἀναρχων ἡταδικει | α ἡγναζμετ` ἀνουβιχ ἡτεῦνοϛ
 ἀπ<νοβ ἡ>αγ`γελοσ ει εβολ ζῆ ἡπ̄ηγε επεσῆτ` | πεχαϛ ἡαβ χε
 5 ετβε οὔ τεωψ εζραῖ || επ̄νουτε ετβε οὔ τεῤτολμα εζραῖ επ̄ |
 π̄ἡ ετογααβ
 πεχε ἡωρεα χε ντκ νιμ |
 νε ἀναρχων ἡταδικια σεζωοϛ εβολ | ᾠμοσ πεχαϛ χε ἀνοκ`
 10 πε ελεῆῆθ̄ | τ̄μ̄ντ̄σаве π̄νοβ ἡαγ`γελοσ πεταζε | ρατϛ` ᾠπεμτο
 εβολ ᾠπ̄ἡ ετογααβ` | ἡταῦτ̄ ἡνοοῦτ` ετραψαχε ἡμ̄με ἡτα |
 ναζμε ετβιχ` ἡνιανομοσ ἀῶψ † νατα | μο ετενοῦνε
 15 παγ`γελοσ δε ετ̄μ̄μαγ | † ναψαχ αν ἡτεϛβομ̄ πεϛεινε ἡθε ||
 ᾠπ̄νοῦβ ετ`σοπ̄` ἀῶψ τεϛζβ̄σῶ ἡθε | ᾠπ̄χιων ταταπ̄ρο γαρ
 ναψωοπϛ` αν | ετραψα ἡτεϛβομ̄ ᾠπ̄εινε ᾠπεϛζο |
 πεχαϛ ναει ἡβι ελεῆῆθ̄ π̄νοβ ἡαγ`γελοσ ἀνοκ` πεχαϛ` τε
 20 τ̄μ̄ντ̄ρ̄μ̄ζῆτ` || ἀνοκ` οὔεβολ ζῆ πεϛτοοῦ ᾠφωστηρ` | ναει
 εταζερατοῦ ᾠπ̄μ̄το εβολ ᾠπ̄νοβ | ᾠπ̄ἡ ἡαζορατον ερεμεεϛε
 χε οὔ(ν) | βομ̄ ἡνεειαρχων εζοῦν ερο ᾠ ἡααγ | ἡζητοῦ
 25 ναψβ̄μ̄ βομ̄ εζοῦν ετ̄νοϛ || νε ἡτ̄με ετβῆτς γαρ † αφοῶωνζ εβολ |
 ζῆ ἡζαεϛ ἡκαιροσ ἀῶψ σεναῤ ῤ̄ρο ε | χῆ ἡνεειεζοῦσια ἀῶψ
 νεειεζοῦσια | ναψαζμε αν ᾠ ἡτ̄νεα ετ̄μ̄μαγ | τετ̄μ̄μονη
 30 γαρ` εσσοοπ̄` ζῆ τ̄μ̄ντ̄ατ` || τακο π̄μα ετε π̄ἡἡ ᾠπαρθενικον | ᾠμαγ
 πετ̄ζιχῆ ἡεζοῦσια ᾠπ̄χαοσ | ᾠ ἡποῦκοσμοσ

93:2 Sah. ενεγβιχ.

3 i.e. ζῆ ᾠπ̄ηγε. 13 Sah. ετοῦνοῦνε.

29 Sah. τετ̄ἡμονη. 32 i.e. πεῦκοσμοσ.

32 κοτ̄ς: τοκ̄ς Schenke ('vertraute') 32-33 π̄[νοῦτε ας ---] Schenke ('[Gottes. Sie]'): π̄[οῦοειν ας ---] Bullard: π̄[ἡἡ ας ---] Kasser 34 [εζραῖ ε] Layton³: [πεχασ ᾠ] Schenke ('[und sagte zu]'), sim. Kasser

93:2 <νοβ ἡ> Layton³

23 εζοῦν: γ added above the line 25 † αφοῶωνζ: poss. emend to φναοῶωνζ (thus Schenke²): αῖτοῶωνζ or <π̄ἡἡ> αφοῶωνζ em. Layton³, with hesitation 26 ῤ̄ρο: of ῤ̄, p is definite, superlin. stroke restored

16. But Norea turned, with the might of ' [. . .]; and in a loud voice [she] cried out ' [up to] the holy one, the God of the entirety, 93 “Rescue me from the rulers of unrighteousness ' and save me from their clutches—forthwith!”

17. The (great) angel ' came down from the heavens ' and said to her, “Why are you crying up ⁵ to God? Why do you act so boldly towards the ' holy spirit?”

18. Norea said, “Who are you?” '

The rulers of unrighteousness had withdrawn from ' her. He said, “It is I who am Eleleth, ' sagacity, the great angel, who stands ¹⁰ in the presence of the holy spirit. ' I have been sent to speak with you and ' save you from the grasp of the lawless. And I ' shall teach you about your root.”

19. —Now as for that angel, ' I cannot speak of his power: his appearance is like ¹⁵ fine gold and his raiment is like snow. ' No, truly, my mouth cannot bear ' to speak of his power and the appearance of his face! '

20. Eleleth, the great angel, spoke to me. ' “It is I,” he said, “who am understanding. ²⁰ I am one of the four light-givers, ' who stand in the presence of the great ' invisible spirit. Do you think ' these rulers have any power over you (sg.)? None ' of them can prevail against the root ²⁵ of truth; for on its account he appeared ' in the final ages; and ' these authorities will be restrained. And these authorities ' cannot defile you and that generation; ' for your (pl.) abode is in incorruptibility, ³⁰ where the virgin spirit dwells, ' who is superior to the authorities of chaos ' and to their universe.”

93:2 (great) *erroneously omitted in the text*

93:25 he appeared: *text erroneous; correct text possibly he will appear*

35 ἀνοκ` ζω π̄εχαει | χε πχοεις ματσεβееι атϛ[ом н̄н]ε|ειεζογσια
 *p. 94¹ χε н̄тауψωπε [N̄αψ N̄ze] || αγω εβολ з̄н̄ аψ N̄зγποστ[ασις αγω
 (142 L.) ε]*βολ з̄н̄ аψ N̄зγλη αγω NIM ΠΕΝΤΑΓΤΑ|ΜΙΟΟΥ Μ̄Н̄ ΤΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC
 αγω πεχαϛ ναει | н̄βι πноб N̄аг`гелос ελεληθε τμντρ̄μ̄|н̄-
 5 знт` зр̄аї з̄н̄наиων ем̄н̄тау арн̄х̄ϛ̄ || εсψοοп` н̄βι τ̄м̄н̄таττα-
 κο тσοφια таει | ετογμογτε ερος χε тпистис асоγψω` | εтене
 10 ογзωβ` ογαас ах̄н̄ песзωт̄р̄ αγ|ω песергон аψωπε н̄нине м̄πε
 ογн̄ | ογκαταπεταςма ψοοп` ογτε на пса (N)||тπε м̄н̄ наиων
 εт̄м̄пса м̄пит̄н̄ αγω αγ|заїβес ψωπε за песнт̄ м̄пκαταπετας|
 ма αγω θαδειβес εт̄м̄маγ ψωπε н̄зγλη αγω θαειβε εт̄м̄маγ
 15 αγνοх̄с̄ аγса | н̄ογμερος αγω песмоγογг` аψωπε || н̄-
 ноγερгон з̄н̄ ογλη н̄θε н̄ноγзоγзе | аχ̄и тγпос εβολ з̄н̄ θαει-
 βес аψωπε | н̄ογθ̄н̄ριон н̄αγθαа̄н̄с̄ н̄нине м̄моγει | ογзоγт` с̄зи-
 ме пе н̄θε н̄тазиψ̄р̄п̄ н̄χοос | χε н̄таφει εβολ з̄н̄ ογλη
 20 аφογєн̄ аνεϛ`||βαλ аφнаγ агноб н̄зγλη ем̄н̄тес арн̄х̄ϛ̄ | αγω
 аφ̄р̄ хаσιзнт̄ еϛχω м̄мос χε анок` | пе πноγτε αγω м̄н̄ βε ах̄н̄т̄
 н̄таρεϛ`|χε παει аφ̄р̄ нове езр̄аї επ̄т̄ηρϛ` ογс̄м̄н̄ | δε аσει
 25 εβολ м̄пса н̄зρε н̄таγθ̄єн̄т̄εια || εсхω м̄мос χε к̄р̄п̄ланас̄θ̄є са-
 ма|ηλ̄ ετε παει пе πноγτε н̄β̄β̄λλ̄ε
 αγ|ω πεχαϛ χε εψχε ογн̄ βε ψοοп̄ зи та|єз̄н̄ маρεϛ`ογωνз εβολ
 30 наει αγω н̄|теγ̄ноγ атсоφια с̄ωт` εβολ м̄пест̄н̄|ηβε ас̄ӣне
 εзоγн̄ м̄поγοє̄ӣн̄ εзоγн̄ | εογλη αγω аспωт` н̄с̄ωϛ` ψа песнт̄` |
 ам̄μερος м̄п̄хаос αγω ас̄р̄анах̄ωρει | езр̄[а̄ї επ̄ε]с-

94:2 Sah. τεγδYNAMIC.

4-8 i.e. з̄н̄ αιων . . . н̄εινε.

14 i.e. песмоγнк. 15-17 i.e. н̄ογερгон . . . н̄ογзоγзе . . . н̄εινε.

19 i.e. аφογων.

26 i.e. н̄β̄β̄λλ̄ε.

30 i.e. ас̄εινε.

32 ζω : ζω<ϛ> ("but") Layton³, with hesitation 33 rest. Schenke ("[die Kraft] dieser Mächte"), sim. Bullard 34 rest. Schenke ("[wie]"), Bullard, Nagel : also possible is [εβολ των] 35 rest. Nagel

94:4 <χε>зр̄аї Krause in Bullard 14

8 <ε>ογн̄ Fischer 9 пса (N) : пс̄а pap.

21. But I said, ' "Sir, teach me about the [faculty of] ' these authorities—[how] did they come into being, ³⁵ and by what kind of genesis, [and] of 94 what material, and who ' created them and their force?"'

22. And the ' great angel Eleleth, understanding, spoke to me: ' "Within limitless realms ⁵ dwells incorruptibility. Sophia, ' who is called Pistis, wanted to ' create something, alone without her consort; and ' her product was a celestial thing. '

"A veil exists between the world above ¹⁰ and the realms that are below; and ' shadow came into being beneath the veil; ' and that shadow became matter; ' and that shadow was projected ' apart. And what she had created became ¹⁵ a product in the matter, like an aborted fetus. ' And it assumed a plastic form molded out of shadow, and became ' an arrogant beast resembling a lion." ' It was androgynous, as I have already said, ' because it was from matter that it derived.

23. "Opening his ²⁰ eyes he saw a vast quantity of matter without limit; ' and he became arrogant, saying, 'It is I who am God, and there ' is none other apart from me.'

"When he said ' this, he sinned against the entirety. ' And a voice came forth from above the realm of absolute power, ²⁵ saying, 'You are mistaken, Samael'—' which is, 'god of the blind.'

24. "And he ' said, 'If any other thing exists before ' me, let it become visible to me!' And ' immediately Sophia stretched forth her finger ³⁰ and introduced light into ' matter; and she pursued it down ' to the region of chaos. And she returned ' up [to] her

93:34 [how]; *or*, [whence]

94:26 god of the blind: *possibly an error for blind god (cf. 87:3–4)*

94:31 *it: or, him*

- ογοειν` παλιν απκακε | [.]νηϋλη
 35 παρχων εφο νζοογτ`||[cziμε αq]ταμιοναq` νουνοβ ναιων
 *p. 95¹ * ουμεγεθος εμ[ντ]εϋ αρηx̄ αμμεϋ|ε δε αταμιοναq νζν̄ωη-
 (143 L.) ρε αqταμιονα | ναq ν̄σαωq̄ ν̄ωηρε ν̄ζογτcziμε μ̄ν | ποϋειωτ`
 5 αγω πεχαq ν̄νεq`ωηρε xε || ανοκ` πε πνουτε μ̄πτηρ̄q̄
 αγω ζωη` | τωεερε ν̄τπιστις τσοφια ασαωκακ` ε|βολ πεχας ναq`
 xε κ̄ρπλανα σακλα ε|τε πεq`ογζωμ πε ἴαλταβαωθ` ασν|ιγε
 10 εζογν z̄m πεqzo αγω απεσνιγε ωω||πε ναc ν̄ογαγγελος εφο ν̄-
 κωzτ` αγω | απαγ`γελος ετ̄μμαγ μογρ` ν̄ιαλλαβα|ωθ` αqνοx̄q̄
 επιτ̄ν επταρταρον μ̄π`|σα μπιτ̄ν μ̄πνογν
 15 πεqωηρε δε σα|βαωθ` ν̄ταρεqναγ ατδυναμικ μ̄παγ`||γελος ετ̄m-
 μαγ αqμετανοει αq̄ρκα|ταγεινωσκε μ̄πεqειωτ` μ̄ν τεqμααγ | οϋλη
 αqσιxανε ερος αq̄ρζυμνει δε | εzραἰ ετσοφια αγω τεσωεερε ν̄-
 20 ζωη | αγω ατσοφια μ̄ν ζωη τορπq` εzραἰ αγ||καθιστα μ̄μοq` εx̄ν
 τμεzσαωqε μ̄πε | πσα μπιτ̄ν μ̄πκαταπεταcμα ουτε | πσα ντπε μ̄ν
 πσα μπιτ̄ν αγω αγμογ|τε εροq` xε πνουτε ν̄ν̄δυναμικ σα|-
 25 βαωθ xε εqμ̄πσα ν`τπε ν̄ν̄δυναμικ || μ̄πxαοc xε ατσοφια
 καθιστα μ̄μοq |
 zοτι δε αναει ωωπε αqταμιοναq` | νουνοβ ν̄zαρμα ν̄χερογβιν
 εφο ν̄|qτοογ μ̄πρoσωπον μ̄ν z̄n̄αγγελος | εναωωογ εμ̄ντογ ηπε
 30 ετρογ̄ρζγ||πηρετει` αγω z̄m̄ψαλτηριον μ̄ν z̄n̄|κιθαρα

95:4 Sah. πεϋειωτ.

18 ν̄zωη : i.e. ζωη. 21 i.e. μ̄πσα.

26 i.e. zοτε, ὄτε.

34 [μογxκ μ]ν̄ rest. Schenke (“[verband sich] mit”), Nagel : [ωωπε z]ν̄ Kasser : also possible is [μογxκ] ν̄

34–35 zοογτ|[cziμε ---] : cf. 34:18 35 [--- αq] rest. Schenke (“schuf [er]”) 95:1 also possible is εμ[ντ]αq

8 ογζωμ : i.e. ογωz̄m̄ : emended thus by Krause in Bullard 14 12–13 <ετ>μ̄πσα em. Layton³ with hesitation 13 μπιτ̄ν : μ altered from π

26 <---> zοτι (i.e. accidental omission in copy) Krause in Bullard 14

light; once again darkness ' [. . .] matter.

25. “This ruler, by being androgynous, ³⁵ made himself a vast realm, **95** an extent without limit. And he contemplated ' creating offspring for himself, and created ' for himself seven offspring, androgynous just like ' their parent.

26. “And he said to his offspring, ⁵ ‘It is I who am the god of the entirety.’

“And Zoe (Life), ' the daughter of Pistis Sophia, cried ' out and said to him, ‘You are mistaken, Sakla!’—' for which the alternate name is Yalta-baoth. She ' breathed into his face, and her breath became ¹⁰ a fiery angel for her; and ' that angel bound Yaldabaoth ' and cast him down into Tartaros ' below the abyss.

27. “Now when his offspring ' Sabaoth saw the force of that angel, ¹⁵ he repented and ' condemned his father and his ' mother matter.

28. “He loathed her, and he ' sang songs of praise up to Sophia and her daughter Zoe. ' And Sophia and Zoe caught him up ²⁰ and gave him charge of the seventh heaven, ' below the veil between ' above and below. And he is ' called ‘God of the forces, Sabaoth,’ ' since he is up above the forces ²⁵ of chaos, for Sophia established ' him.

29. “Now when these (events) had come to pass, he made ' himself a huge four-faced chariot of cherubim, ' and infinitely many angels ' to act as ministers, ³⁰ and also harps and ' lyres.

94:34 *possibly*. [became mixed with] matter

αῶ ατσοφια ρι τεσψεερε ἡ|ζων ἀστρεσζμοος ζι οὔναμ ἡμοῦ |
 ετρεσταμοῦ ἀνετῶσορ [ζ]ἡ τμαζψμοῦνε αῶ παγγελο[с ἡ-
 35 τε το]ρ||γн ασκααζ ζι ζβοῦρ ἡμοῦ [χιμ φο]οῦ ετἡμαῦ αῦμοῦτε
 *p. 96¹ ατ[εφοῦναμ] * χε ζων αῶ τζβο[γ]ρ ασψωπε ἡτυπος | ἡτα δι-
 (144 L.) κια ἡτἡἡταῦθεντης ἡπса ἡτπε ἡταῦψωπε ζα τοῦεζη
 5 ἡταρε ἡαλ ἡδαβαω δε ἡαῦ εροῦ εψωσοῦ ἡμ πεἡἡνοσ ἡεοοῦ
 ἡἡ πεειχισε αζκωζ εροῦ | αῶ απκωζ ψωπε ἡοуεργон εφο ἡζο-
 οῦтсζιμε αῶ απαει ψωπε ἡαρχη ἡπκωζ αῶ απκωζ χπε
 10 πμοῦ απμοῦ | δε χπο ἡνεψῆρε αζκαῖста ἡποῦα || ποῦα ἡ-
 μοοῦ εχἡ τεψπε απἡἡε τηροῦ | ἡπхаос μοῦζ ἡἡοῦἡπε
 ἡαει δε τηροῦ | ἡταῦψωπε ἡμ ποῦψῶ ἡπειωτ ἡπτηρῶ | κατα
 πτυπος ἡἡα пса ἡτπε ἡτηροῦ ψ|ἡа εῖна χωκ ἡβολ ἡἡι па-
 15 ρиөмос ἡπха||ос
 εисζηте азтсево аптүпос ἡἡ|αρχων ἡἡ ἡγἡη ἡтаῦχποῦ ἡ-
 зитс ἡἡ | ποῦειωτ ἡἡ ποῦкосмос
 ἀνοκ ἡ α|ειχοос χε пχοеис мἡти ἀνοκ ἡω ἡἡἡ ἡτοῦζγἡη
 20 ἡто ἡἡ ἡοῦψῆρε ερε ἡἡ || απειωτ ἡεψωορ χιἡ ἡψорп ἡта |
 ἡοῦψγῆη ει <ε>βολ ἡμ пса ἡτπε εβολ ἡμ | ποῦοειἡ ἡἡατῡτε-
 ко δια τοῦто ἡεζοῦ[с]ια ἡαψтζно аη εζοῦη εροοῦ εтве | ἡἡа
 25 ἡтaἡἡεиa ετοῦηζ ζραἡ ἡζηтоῦ || οῦон δε ἡιἡ ἡтазсoῦων теἡ-
 зодос | ἡаει сеψωοῦ ἡἡаἡаηатос зἡ тἡηте | ἡἡἡωме εψаῦ-
 μοῦ αἡα псἡерма | εтἡмаῦ ἡаоῦωνз аη ἡβολ тепоῦ

31 ἡζων: i.e. ζων. 96:3 i.e. τεῦεζη.

11 Sah. ἡἡεῦἡπε.

17 Sah. πεῦειωτἡἡ πεῦкосмос.

19 Sah. ετεῦζγἡη.

21 Sah. νεψγῆη. 22 i.e. ἡаттако. 24 i.e. πἡἡ (Nagel emends thus).

33 [ζ]ἡ: of ἡ, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored 34 rest. Kasser 34–96:2
 παγγελο[с] . . . таδικια ἡтἡἡтаῦθεντης: either παγγελο[с] . . . таδικια ἡ<ἡαρχων
 ἡἡа> тἡἡтаῦθεντης or {παγγελο[с] . . . таδικια} em. Schenke², with hesitation 35
 rest. Schenke (“[seit] jenem [Tage]”), Bullard: [χιμ πο]οῦ Nagel 36 τ[εφοῦναμ]
 Schenke (“[seine Rechte]”): τ[οῦναμ] sim. rest. Krause 96:2 <ετ>ἡпса Lay-
 ton³ 3 ζα τοῦεζη: poss. corrupt

19 <πε>χαῦ ἡто Schenke (“(er sagte:) Du”): <πε>χαῦἡаἡ χε> Krause in Bullard 14:
 <αῦοῦψω πε>χαῦ χε> Nagel (e.g.) 21 <ε>βολ Bullard, Nagel

“And Sophia took her daughter ' Zoe and had her sit upon his right ' to teach him about the things that exist ' in the eighth (heaven); and the angel [of] wrath ³⁵ she placed upon his left. [Since] that day, ' [his right] has been called **96** life; and the left has come to represent ' the unrighteousness of the realm of absolute power ' above. It was before your (sg.) time that they came into being (text corrupt?).

30. “Now when ' Yaldabaoth saw him in this ⁵ great splendor and at this height, he envied him; ' and the envy became an androgynous product; ' and this was the origin of ' envy. And envy engendered death; and death ' engendered his offspring and gave each ¹⁰ of them charge of its heaven; and all the heavens ' of chaos became full of their multitudes.

“But it was ' by the will of the father of the entirety that they all came into being—' after the pattern of all the things above—' so that the sum of chaos might be attained. ¹⁵

31. “There, I have taught you (sg.) about the pattern ' of the rulers; and the matter in which it was expressed; ' and their parent; and their universe.”

32. But I ' said, “Sir, am I also ' from their matter?”

33. —“You, together with your offspring, are from ²⁰ the primeval father; ' from above, out of the imperishable light, ' their souls are come. Thus the authorities ' cannot approach them because of ' the spirit of truth present within them; ²⁵ and all who have become acquainted with this way ' exist deathless in the midst ' of dying mankind. Still that sown element (*sperma*) ' will not become known now.

- 30 αλ|λα μῆ̄ν̄σα ψομτε ἄγενα εφναούωνζ || εβολ` † εφνούχε
 εβολ ῃμοού ἄτμῆρε | ἄτπλανη ἄεζούσια
 ανοκ` δε πεχαει | χε πχοεις ψα ογνῆ` ἄχροнос
 πεχαϛ` | ναει χ[ε ζο]ταν ερψα πρωμε ἄλληει|[нос ούω]νζ εβολ`
 *p. 97¹ ζῆ̄νοϋπλασμα || [. .^{5/2} . .] ἄληθεια πεντα πειωτ τῆ̄*νοούϛ
 (145 L.) τ[οτε] πετ[ῆ̄]μαϛ ναταμοού ε|τβε ζωβ ν[ιμ] αϛω φναταζσοϛ
 ζῆ̄ πχρει|σμα ῃπωνζ ψα ενεζ παει ἄταγτα|αϛ ναϛ` εβολ ζῆ̄ τγε-
 5 νεα τετῆ̄μῆ̄τες || ῆ̄ρο
 τοτε σενανούχε εβολ` ῃμοού | ῃπμееεε βῆ̄λλε αϛω σεναῆ̄-
 καταπα|τει ῃπμοϛ ἄνεζούσια αϛω σεναβωκ` | εзраῖ επογοειν
 10 ετε ῃῆ̄ταϛ αρηϛϛ` | παει ετε πεειςπερμα ψοοπ` ῃμαϛ ||
 τοτε νεζούσια σενακω ἄσωϛ ἄνοϛ|καιρος αϛω νογαγγελος
 σεναριμε | εχῆ̄ ποϛτακο αϛω νοϛδαϊμων σενα|ῆ̄ ζηβε εχῆ̄ ποϛ-
 μοϛ
 15 τοτε ἄψηρε τη|ροϛ ῃπογοειν σενασοϛων ταληθει||α ῃῆ̄ τοϛνοϛ-
 νε ζῆ̄ οϛμε αϛω πειωτ` | ῃπτηρϛ` ῃῆ̄ πῆ̄α ετογααβ σεναχοος |
 τηροϛ ζῆ̄νοϛσμη οϛωτ` χε οϛδικαι|ος τε ταληθεια ῃ-
 20 πειωτ` αϛω πψηρε | ζιχῆ̄ πτηρϛ` αϛω εβολ ζιτῆ̄ οϛον νιμ ||
 ψα νιενεζ ἄενεζ ζαγιος ζαγιος ζα|γιος ζαμην : |

Τῆ̄ϛποστασις | ἄῆ̄αρχων

-
- 29 Sah. εφναούωνζ. 31 i.e. ἄνεζούσια.
 34 i.e. ζῆ̄ οϛπλασμα.
 97:4 i.e. τετε ῃῆ̄μῆ̄τες (Nagel emends thus).
 10–13 Sah. ἄνεγκαιρος . . . νεγαγγελος . . . πεϛτακο . . . νεϛδαϊμων . . . πεϛμοϛ.
 15 Sah. τεϛνοϛνε. 16 i.e. πῆ̄ῆ̄ (Nagel emends thus). 17 i.e. ζῆ̄ οϛσμοϛ ἄοϛωτ. 22
 i.e. τζῆ̄ποστασις.

-
- 30 † εφνούχε : ἄφνούχε em. Layton³, with hesitation : εφνούχε em. Nagel : εφ<να>-
 νούχε em. Schenke² 31 ἄ<ν>εζούσια em. Layton³, poss. rightly
 33 rest. Schenke (“wenn [ὅταν]”), sim. Bullard, Nagel 34 rest. Schenke (“sich [offen-
 bart]”), Bullard, Nagel 35 [ῃ<π>ῆ̄ῆ̄ ἄτ] Layton³ (cf. 96:24), with hesitation : [πῆ̄ῆ̄
 ἄτ] Schenke (“[der Geist (πνεῦμα), der]”), sim. Bullard, Nagel
 97:2 rest. Schenke (“alles”), Bullard, Nagel
 18 αϛω πψηρε : ῃῆ̄ πψηρε em. Schenke² 19 <ετ>ζιχῆ̄ Schenke²

34. “‘Instead, ' after three generations it will come to be known, ³⁰ and it has freed them from the bondage of the ' authorities' error.’”

35. Then I said, ' “‘Sir, how much longer?’”

36. He said ' to me, “‘Until the moment when the true man, ' within a modelled form, reveals the existence of (?) ³⁵ [the spirit of] truth, which the father has sent. **97**

37. “‘THEN he will teach them about ' every thing: And he will anoint them with the ' unction of life eternal, ' given him from the undominated generation. ⁵

38. “‘THEN they will be freed of ' blind thought: And they will trample under foot ' death, which is of the authorities: And they will ascend ' into the limitless light, ' where this sown element belongs. ¹⁰

“‘THEN the authorities will relinquish their ' ages: And their angels will weep ' over their destruction: And their demons ' will lament their death.

39. “‘THEN all the children ' of the light will be truly acquainted with the truth ¹⁵ and their root, and the father ' of the entirety and the holy spirit: They will all say ' with a single voice, ' ‘The father’s truth is just, and the son ' presides over the entirety’: And from everyone ²⁰ unto the ages of ages, ‘Holy—holy—'holy! Amen!’ ” ’

The Reality ' Of the Rulers

96:30 *text erroneous; correct text possibly* and it will free them from the bondage

96:33–35 the true man, within a modelled form, reveals the existence of (?) [the spirit of] truth: *or*, the true man appears within a modelled form—[the spirit of] truth—

σωψτ (837*a*) vb inpr.

— **ΝΣΑ**-43:9.

— **ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΞ** 37:14, 42:11.

as nn m: **ΖΝ-ΟΥΣΩΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ** 51:15.

ΣΙΧ (839*b*) nn f. 36:7, 37:18, 37:32,

37:33, 39:23. 40:17, 49:19.

II. WORDS BORROWED FROM GREEK

ἄγαθος, ¹-όν. ¹41:1.

ΑΓΑΘΟΣ **Ν**- (attrib) 40:34*.

ἄγγελος. 34:33*. 48:7.

(αἰτέω), **Ρ**-ΑΙΤΕΙ.

— **ΜΜΟΣ** 44:21.

ἄκέραιος.

Ν-ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΣ (attrib) 40:12.

ἄλλά. 32:25, 35:25, 38:34, 39:15, 40:23,

42:11, 42:22, 43:17, 46:12, 48:26, 49:1,

50:14, 51:8*ap*, 51:16.

ἀνάγκη.

ΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΕΡΟΣ . . . **ΤΕ Ε**- infin 38:5.

ἀνάπανσις, ¹ΑΝΑΨΑΣΙΣ (εἴπτο). 42:7,

42:8, 43:21, ¹48:19, 48:19*ap*.

(ἀναχωρέω), **ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ**. 35:7.

ἄξιος. 47:33.

ΑΞΙΟΣ **ΝΑΣ** 42:29.

(ἀρνέομαι), **ΑΡΝΑ**. 47:17.

— **Ν**- 51:5.

ἄρχει, see ἄρχω.

ἀρχή. 36:12, 36:13, 36:15.

(ἄρχω), **ΑΡΧΕΙ**.

— **Ν**- infin 51:3.

ἄσκός. 41:19, 41:21.

βαπτιστής.

ΥΓΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΗΣ 41:7, 41:8.

γάρ. 33:13, 33:21, 35:24, 35:36, 36:11,

36:22, 39:13, 40:34*, 41:4, 43:6, 47:9,

47:33, 49:36, 50:12.

γνώσις. 40:9.

γραμματεύς. 40:8.

δέ. 33:2, 34:23, 35:9, 36:30, 37:11, 38:14,

38:33, 40:11, 40:29, 41:10, 43:33,

46:8, 46:10, 47:14, 47:26, 48:2, 50:1.

contrasting a preceding **ΜΕΝ** clause
46:7.

(δειπνέω), **Ρ**-ΔΙΠΝΕΙ. 44:24*ap*, 44:34.

(δεῖπνον), **ΔΙΠΝΟΝ**. 44:12, 44:18, 44:25,
44:31.

Ρ-ΔΙΠΝΟΝ (cf. **ΕΙΡΕ**) 44:24.

διά, see διὰ τοῦτο.

(διακονέω), **Ρ**-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ.

— **ΝΑΣ** 36:21.

διὰ τοῦτο. 37:6.

δίκαιος.

ΥΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ 34:29.

Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (attrib) 34:34.

ΔΙΠΝΕΙ, see δειπνέω.

ΔΙΠΝΟΝ, see δεῖπνον.

(διώκω), **ΔΙΩΚΕ**, ¹**Ρ**-ΔΙΩΚΕ.

— **ΜΜΟΣ** ¹45:22. 45:24, 45:25.

δύναμις. 37:12, 47:16, 47:31.

εἰ, ¹**ΕΙ**. ¹37:23*ap*.

see also εἰ μή, εἰ μήτι.

(εἰκών), **ΖΙΚΩΝ**. 37:34 (bis), 42:1, 47:20,

47:22, 47:23, 47:27.

εἰ μή.

ΕΙ ΜΗ Ε- infin 49:13*ap*.

εἰ μήτι.

w. Conjunction 39:22.

εἰρήνη. 35:33.

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¹65:29, ¹69:28, ¹70:27, ¹74:30*ap*,
¹75:2, ²76:12, ¹85:17 (bis); med
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— ΠΑΡΑ- ¹76:10.

as nn m 64:12.

ΧΙΤZ, see χι.

ΧΟΕΙΤ (790*b*) nn m.

attrib: ΒΕ-Ν-ΧΟΕΙΤ (cf. ΒΩ) 73:17.

ΧΩΤΕ (791*b*) vb tr.

— ΨΑ-ΖΡΑΪ Ε-: no dir obj 72:13.

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ΧΩΖΜ, ¹ΧΑΖΜΕZ, ²ΧΟΖΜZ, ³ΧΟΖΜΕZ, ΧΟΖΜ†
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³65:15, ³65:19, ¹69:3.

ΑΤ-ΧΩΖΜ nn: attrib 64:36*ap*, 82:5.

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CΟΜ (815*b*) nn f. 52:35*ap*, 55:15, 61:20–
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ΜΜΟZ 66:24*.

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CΝ-, see CΙΝΕ.

CΙΝ- (819*a*) prefix forming nn m f.

see ΖΩΤΡ (1°).

(CΙΝΕ), CΝ-, ¹CΜ- (820*a*) vb tr.

CΝ-ΑΡΙΚΕ Α- 57:9.

CΝ-CΟΜ: ¹83:29; foll. by Ε-, Α- 84:6.

Ψ-CΝ-CΟΜ Ν- infin ¹57:31*, ¹58:9,
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— Ν-: ¹59:26; foll. by ΕΤΒΕ- 59:23.

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Preterite νε αυ 87:29, νε α (before
nn) 93:7.

Relative ἦταει 90:26* = ἦταει 94:18,
ἦτακ 90:28, ἦταυ 87:5, ἦταυ 96:16,
-(ε)ἦτα (before nn) 96:35, ἦταз (sub-
ject = definite antecedent) 87:32 = ετα
90:31; neg ετε ἦπε (before nn) 92:2.

II ἦταει 92:26, ἦταυ 90:7, ἦταετῆ
92:24, ἦταυ 89:1, ἦτα (before nn)
90:21.

Aorist: Circumst neg εμαυ 92:11.

Relative εψαυ 96:27.

(b) Clause conjugations

Conjunctv ἦτα 93:11, ἦτ 92:11, ἦυ 88:26,
ἦτῆ 87:25, ἦτετῆ 90:9, ἦσε 92:4; neg
ἦσε τῆ 91:10, ἦτε (before nn) ... τῆ
89:2 (em.).

Temporal ἦταρευ 89:13, ἦταρου 89:18,
ἦταρε (before nn) 96:3.

“until” ψαντευ 91:2.

Cond ερωα (before nn) 96:33.

