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## NAG HAMMADI CODEX II,2-7

TOGETHER WITH

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

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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# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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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 translation<sup>1</sup>  
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

<sup>1</sup>The 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)*,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 1952<sup>4</sup> 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-

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 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)<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>r</sup> = p. 1) ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΝ 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<sup>v</sup> = 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<sup>r</sup> = p. 51) ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ “The Gospel According to Philip” (subscript title)
4. (f. 45<sup>v</sup> = p. 86) ΤΕΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ “The Reality of the Rulers” (subscript title) or *Hypostasis of the Archons*
5. (f. 51<sup>r</sup> = 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<sup>r</sup> = 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<sup>v</sup> = 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).

<sup>5</sup>See 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.<sup>6</sup> 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;<sup>7</sup> and, by the handwriting, to the first half of the same century.<sup>8</sup>

Collation: (A)<sup>76</sup> (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.<sup>9</sup> 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;<sup>10</sup> 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;<sup>11</sup> (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

<sup>6</sup>His 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).

<sup>7</sup>For 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.

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

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

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

<sup>11</sup>For 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.  $\omega$  “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”.  $\kappa$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  at 72:34. At end of line: final letters or penultimate *omicron* on rare occasion written small; final  $\text{z}$  sometimes in a special form (8:17, 25:23, 72:32, 101:32); final vowel plus  $\text{n}$  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.  $22 \times 11$  cm ( $23 \times 12$  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.

<sup>12</sup>See 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.<sup>13</sup>

## § 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*<sup>2</sup>) 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

<sup>13</sup>The 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."<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>14</sup>The 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.*<sup>15</sup> Apart from A<sup>2</sup> 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”.<sup>16</sup>

### *Subachmimicisms*

1. Assimilations not in standard S. The following are common in A<sup>2</sup>.

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.  $z\bar{m}$  =  $z\epsilon n$  (A<sup>2</sup>  $z\bar{n}$ );  $p\bar{m}$  88:1,  $t\bar{m}$  59:28 =  $p\epsilon n$ ,  $t\epsilon n$  (A<sup>2</sup>  $p\bar{n}$ ,  $t\bar{n}$ );  $\text{pet}\bar{m}$ ,  $\text{tet}\bar{m}$  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 =  $\bar{n}\text{net}\bar{n}$  (A<sup>2</sup>  $\text{net}\bar{n}$ ) ‘you shall not’;  $\epsilon\text{mmo}\bar{y}\text{te}$  76:9 =  $\epsilon\text{nmoyte}$  (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);  $\chi\text{im}$  90:34 =  $\chi\text{in}$ .

2.  $\omega$  =  $z$  for Greek spiritus asper (before /i/).

Typical A<sup>2</sup> feature.  $\tau$ - ‘the’ +  $\omega$  is written  $\chi$ , 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  $\chi\text{ve}$ ).

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

<sup>16</sup> 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; ( $\bar{m}$ ) $\pi\sigma\alpha$   $\mu\pi\iota\tau\bar{n}$  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; ( $\bar{n}$ ) $\theta z\alpha\eta$  128:16.

4. Omission of  $\pi$ -,  $\tau$ -.

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

In every one of the features tabulated in the middle column, Codex II is following *A*<sup>2</sup> 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. . . .  $\Delta N = \bar{n}$ - . . .  $\Delta N$ .

The simple negation usurps the role of  $\bar{n}$ - . . .  $\Delta N$ , 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  $(\epsilon)\eta\tau\alpha\eta$  performs both functions.

13.  $\epsilon = \epsilon\eta\epsilon$ .

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

	CODEX	STD. SAHID.
I perfect base	$\alpha$ -, $\alpha\zeta$ -, $\alpha\zeta\zeta$	$\alpha$ -, $\alpha\zeta$
'to'	$\alpha$ -/ $\epsilon$ -	$\epsilon$ -

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 A<sup>2</sup> (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 A<sup>2</sup> 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 A<sup>2</sup> 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 A<sup>2</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> and Achmimic:  $\eta\alpha\text{-}(\alpha)\alpha\bar{\zeta}$  34:22,  $\tau\sigma\text{-}\phi\iota\alpha$  ( $\alpha$ ) $\sigma\text{p}\rho\chi\bar{\eta}$  106:11–12,  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$  ( $\alpha$ ) $z\iota\chi\text{p}\epsilon$  114:14–15,  $\alpha\text{-}(\alpha)\alpha\bar{\zeta}$  129:4,  $\chi\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon$ ) $\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\text{-}$  35:11,  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon$ ) $\eta\omicron$  37:23,  $\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon$ ) $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$  85:17,  $\tau\mu\alpha\zeta\sigma\epsilon$   $\bar{\mu}\text{p}\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon$ ) $\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\rho\eta$  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,  $\alpha$ ( $\gamma$ ) $\omicron\gamma\sigma\iota\alpha$  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  $\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-} = \bar{m}\bar{n}\text{-}$ : 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  $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-}$ ,  $\bar{t}\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-} = \bar{p}\bar{n}\text{-}$ ,  $\bar{t}\bar{n}\text{-}$ .

22.6  $\bar{t}\bar{n}\bar{n}\text{-}$  (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  $z\epsilon\bar{n}\text{-}$ ): before  $\alpha\tau\text{-}$ ,  $\epsilon\text{b}\omicron\lambda$ ,  $\epsilon\text{b}\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\text{z}\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{-}$ ,  $\omicron\gamma\text{-}$ . 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,  $\bar{n}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  '(dative) the free' 72:18.

See also §§ 3 and 8.

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

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  $\bar{n}\bar{n} = \bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}$ :  $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{n}\sigma\iota\chi = \bar{n}\text{-}\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{n}\sigma\iota\chi$  ( $A^2$   $\bar{n}\text{-}\bar{n}\bar{n}\sigma\iota\chi$ ) 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*<sup>2</sup> (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)αρεz, (z)ογze; 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; φzαε = φαε 135:3, θzαν = θαν 36:16; θzη = θη 45:29, 47:4, 47:10; θzαῖβες = θαῖβες 98:3, 99:3; θzλπε = θλπε 114:28; φ[zο]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 = †zλαστ̄ν̄.

25.3 Metathesis of *z* and an adjacent letter: πετz 123:10 = πεzτ, ρωκz 35:14 = ρωκz, ογzωμ 95:8 = ογωzμ, ωcz 52:25 = ωzc, 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. τεειze ον = ταιτεεε, or possibly ν̄τεειze.

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)*.<sup>17</sup> One of the salient characteristics of the orthography of Codex II is use of morpheme dividers or apostrophes, e.g. μ̄ν̄τρεϚ\`λο̄ν̄δ̄ιπετ\`ψ̄ινεεϚ\`ψ̄ινεψ̄αντεϚ\`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

<sup>17</sup>I 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, κοτϣ̄ 91:27, 92:27 but κοτϣ̄ 92:21, 92:32; νοχϣ̄ 91:4, νοχ̄ 95:12; ἀρηχϣ̄ 97:8, ἀρηχ̄ 94:4, 94:20, 95:1; etc. Occasionally we even find it usurping the non-optional role of the stroke: πεταρ̄απατα 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 ἠταϣταμιοϣ. 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;<sup>18</sup> 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

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

interliteral space), the *straight apostrophe*  $\varphi^{\prime}$ , and the *raised point*  $\varphi^{\cdot}$ . 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.’’<sup>19</sup>

In the present edition, all the shapes of apostrophe are represented by one sign, the straight apostrophe  $\varphi^{\prime}$ .

Apostrophe is especially common after  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ , and  $\varphi$ ; and in tractate 7, also after  $\varsigma$ . 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  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\varphi$ , and (with one instance)  $\varsigma$  were ever marked; and that all these were marked with about the same relative frequency (average 36%, including  $\varsigma$ ), except that  $\kappa$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\rho$  were marked especially often, and  $\varsigma$  virtually never. This kind of investigation could be extended to the other five tractates, on the basis of the data given in Table 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

**TABLE 1**  
**Number of Apostrophes Occurring after Consonants**

	Tractate 2	Tractate 3	Tractate 4	Tractate 5	Tractate 6	Tractate 7
<b>В</b>	6	17	0	0	4	0
<b>Ө</b>	0	0	0	5	0	0
<b>К</b>	62	71	24	41	17	33
<b>Л</b>	21	39	10	25	8	11
<b>М</b>	19	66	30	56	21	19
<b>Н</b>	32	124	29	55	13	64
<b>Э</b>	0	6	0	1	0	0
<b>П</b>	33	109	22	82	26	24
<b>Р</b>	13	28	9	21	5	11
<b>С</b>	0	13	1	9	2	34
<b>Т</b>	98	151	45	81	59	62
<b>Ц</b>	2	10	0	3	0	3
<b>Ч</b>	130	218	78	253	25	74
<b>Ш</b>	0	3	0	3	0	2
<b>Ж</b>	7	9	0	4	1	1
<b>Б</b>	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
<b>В</b>	12	0	0
<b>К</b>	40	24	60
<b>Λ</b>	64	10	16
<b>М</b>	131	30	23
<b>Ν</b>	183	29	16
<b>Π</b>	24	22	92
<b>Ρ</b>	20	9	45
<b>С</b>	131	1	0
<b>Т</b>	120	45	38
<b>У</b>	11	0	0
<b>У</b>	227	78	34
<b>Ζ</b>	51	0	0
<b>Χ</b>	3	0	0
<b>Ϛ</b>	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.<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Both Doresse and Mille. van

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

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

<sup>3</sup>James 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.<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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.

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

<sup>5</sup>Robinson, "Construction," 176.

According to Robinson,<sup>6</sup> "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 cover<sup>7</sup> (*Facsimile II*, pl. 5, 82, 83) and further noted three pieces of string associated with the codex<sup>8</sup> (*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 Doresse<sup>9</sup> 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,<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>11</sup> 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

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 179.

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

<sup>8</sup>Robinson, "Construction," 180.

<sup>9</sup>Doresse, "Les reliures," 44.

<sup>10</sup>Of 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.

<sup>11</sup>Doresse, "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.<sup>12</sup> 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

<sup>12</sup> 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."<sup>13</sup> 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 Robinson<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>13</sup>F. 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.

<sup>14</sup>Robinson, "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.<sup>1</sup> 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

< >  
{ }  
†

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> I have therefore included in the

<sup>2</sup>Black 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,

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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.<sup>3</sup>

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 αμ<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> 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 ψοοπ᾽  
αν ογβε σαρξ Ϸι[σνο]Ϸ

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

*GTh* 42:35/43:2 ογβροϷ εν[ανο]ϷϷ᾽ . . . πεβρο[ε]τνανογϷ᾽  
...

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  $\kappa$  followed by one typical interliteral space (defined as the space normally occurring in the sequence  $\kappa\kappa$ ). 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  $\kappa$  (e.g.  $\omega$  or  $\iota$ ), and interliteral space is often minimized by ligature (e.g. after  $\tau$ ). 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.
[ <sup>3</sup> ]	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 Osroëne 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. 32<sup>10</sup>  
80 Labib)

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

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

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

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

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

## SOURCES AND GREEK VARIANTS

(Prologue) PAP. P. OXY. 654; cf. TESTIMONIUM 4. 32:11-12 ΔΙΔΥΜΟC ΪΟΥΔΑC  
ΘΩΜΑC : [Ϊούδαc ό] καί Θωμάc

(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 ΘΑΛΑCCA : υπό τήν γήν 24  
Ν̄ΤΒΤ : Greek frg. adds τήc θαλά[σσηc] 25 ΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ : ή βαc[ιλεία τοῡ θεού] : cf. 38:18  
with Greek saying 27

## AUXILIARY NOTES

(1) 32:12-13 Sah. ΠΕΤΝΑ-

(2) 14 Sah. Μ̄ΠΡΤΡΕΨ

(3) 26 Sah. ΠΕΤ̄ΝΒΟΛ.

## TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

(2) 32:17 Ρ̄ <sup>vacat</sup> 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, <sup>15</sup> "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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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).

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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. 33<sup>1</sup> βαλ<sup>1</sup> ζοταν ετετῆσαν|σογῶν τηγτῆ τοτε σενασογω(ν) \* τη-  
 (81 L.) νε αγω τετναειμε ξε νῳτῶτῆ πε | ῆῳηρε ῆπειωτ<sup>1</sup> ετονζ ε-  
 ωωπε δε | τετνασογῶν τηγτῆ αν εειε τετῆ|ωοοπ<sup>1</sup> ζῆ ογμῆτζη-  
 5 κε αγω ῆτωτῆ || πε τῆμῆτζηκε  
 (4) πεχε ῆσ<sup>1</sup> φναχναγ αν | ῆβι πρωμε ῆζλλο ζῆ νεφζοογ εχνε  
 | ογκογει ῆῳηρε φημ εφζῆ σαψῆ | ῆζοογ ετβε πτοπος ῆ-  
 10 πωνζ αγω | φναωνζ ξε ογῆ ζαζ ῆῳορπ<sup>1</sup> ναῤ ζα||ε αγω ῆσε-  
 ωωπε ογα ογωτ  
 (5) πεχε ῆσ<sup>1</sup> | σογῶν πετῆπῆτο ῆπεκζο εβολ<sup>1</sup> | αγω πεθηπ<sup>1</sup> ε-  
 ροκ<sup>1</sup> φνασωλπ<sup>1</sup> εβολ | νακ<sup>1</sup> ῆῆ λααγ γαρ εφζηη<sup>1</sup> εφναογῶνζ |  
 εβολ αν  
 15 (6) αγχοογῆ ῆβι νεφ<sup>1</sup> μαθητς || πεχαγ ναγ<sup>1</sup> χεκ<sup>1</sup> ογωω  
 ετρῆρῆηστεγε | αγω εψ τε θε εναψηλη ενα† ελεημο-  
 σῶνη αγω εναῤ παρατηρει εογ | ῆβιογῶμ<sup>1</sup> πεχε ῆσ<sup>1</sup> ξε ῆπῆ ξε  
 20 βολ αγω πετετῆμμοστε ῆμμο<sup>1</sup> ῆπῆααγ ξε || σεβολπ<sup>1</sup> τηρογ  
 εβολ ῆπεμτο εβολ | ῆτπε ῆῆ λααγ γαρ εφζηη<sup>1</sup> εφναογῶνζ εβολ  
 αν αγω ῆῆ λααγ εφζοβς<sup>1</sup> εγ|ναδω ογεψῆ βολπῆ<sup>1</sup>

26–27 ζοταν ετετῆσαν σογῶν τηγτῆ : [ὅς ἄν ἑαυτὸν] γνῶ, ταύτην εὐρή[σαι, 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 ετρῆρῆηστεγε : πῶς  
 νηστεύ[σομεν] 16 ενα† ελεημοσῶνη : πῶς [ἐλεημοσύνην ποιήσομεν] 21 ῆτπε :  
 [τ]ῆς ἀληθ[ε]ίας (cf. Coptic τμε) 22–23 αγω το βολπῆ : Greek frg. omits

(4) 33:10 i.e. ῆσογῆ ῆογωτ.

(6) 15 i.e. ξε εκογωω. 16 Sah. ῆαψ ῆζε εναψηλη. 18 i.e. ῆβιογῶμ. 19 i.e.  
 πετετῆ-. 23 i.e. ῆογεψῆ.

(6) 33:15 ξε <ῆαψ ῆζε> κογωω Guillaumont et al. 5 : cf. Greek frg. 17–18 ογ |  
 ῆβιογῶμ : ογβιογῶμ em. Leipoldi<sup>2</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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, <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> and said to him, ‘‘Do you want us to fast? ' How shall we pray? Shall we give alms? ' What diet shall we observe?’’<sup>1</sup>

Jesus said, ‘‘Do not tell lies, ' and do not do what you hate, for <sup>20</sup> 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 ΑΥΩ 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 ΑϚΖΕ ΑΥΝΟС Ν̄ΤΒ̄Τ ΕΝΔ|ΝΟΥϚ`
- 35 Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΟΥΩΖΕ ΡΡΜ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ ΑϚΝΟΥ||ΧΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΚΟΥΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΒΤ` ΕΒΟΛ  
 \*p. 34<sup>1</sup> Ε[ΠΕ]\*СΗΤ` ΕΘΑΛΑССΑ ΑϚСΩΤΠ` Μ̄ΠΝΟС Ν̄|ΤΒ̄Τ ΧΩΡΙС ΖΙСΕ ΠΕΤΕ  
 (81 L.) ΟῩΝ̄ ΜΑΔΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟϚ | ΕСΩΤ̄М ΜΑΡΕϚ`СΩΤ̄М
- 5 (9) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΕΙСΖΗ|ΗΤΕ` ΑϚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΕΤ`СΙΤΕ ΑϚΜΕΖ ΤΟΟΤ̄ ||  
 ΑϚΝΟΥΧΕ ΑΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΖΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΕΖΗ| | ΑϚΕΙ Ν̄ΣΙ Ν̄ΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΑϚ-  
 ΚΑΤϚΟΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ | ΑϚΖΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΟΥΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ | Ε-  
 ΠЕСΗТ` ΕΠΚΑΖ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΟΥΤΕΥΕ Ζ̄Μ̄С ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ
- 10 ΑϚΖΕ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΨΟ(Ν)||ΤΕ ΑΥΩСΤ` Μ̄ΠΕСРОС ΑΥΩ ΑΠϚ̄Ν̄Т 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 ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ТΠΕ Μ̄ΜΟС ΝΑΡ̄-  
 ΠΑΡΑΓΕ | ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥТ СЕОНЗ ΔΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤОНЗ | СЕНАМОУ
- 20 ΔΑΝ Ν̄ΖООУ 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. ενεтет̄н̄- (Guillaumont et al. emend thus). 22 i.e. петет̄нааϚ.

(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. Quecke<sup>2</sup>, with hesitation

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

(7) Jesus said, '“Blessed is the lion which <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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), <sup>5</sup> 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; <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> what is dead, you made it what is alive. ' When you come to dwell in the light, ' what will you do? On

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(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 ἸἸC ΧΕ ΤἸ|CΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΒΚ Ἰ-  
 ΤΟΟΤἸ ΝΙΜ` ΠΕ | ΕΤΝΑἸ ΝΟC ΕΖΡΑἸ ΕΧΩΝ ΠΕΧΕ ἸCΝΑΥ | ΧΕ  
 ΠΜΑ ἸΤΑΤΕΤἸΕΙ ΜἸΜΑΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ|ΒΚ ὉΨΑ 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 ἸΟΥΑΓ`-  
 \*p. 35<sup>1</sup> ΓΕΛΟC ἸΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑϚ ἸΒΙ ΜΑΘ`\*ΘΑΙΟC ΧΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΕ Ἰ-  
 (83 L.) ΟΥἸΩΜΕ ΜΦΙΛΟCΟ|ΦΟC ἸἸΜἸΖΗΤ` ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑϚ ἸΒΙ ΘΩΜΑC | ΧΕ  
 ΠCΑΖ ΖΟΛΩC ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΑΨ<Ψ>ΑΠϚ` ΑΝ | ΕΤΡΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΕ Ἰ-  
 5 ΝΙΜ` ΠΕΧΕ ἸἸC || ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ` ΠΕΚ`CΑΖ ΑΝ ΕΠΕΙ ΑΚCΩ ΑΚἸΖΕ | Ε-  
 ΒΟΛ ΖἸ ΤΠΗΓΗ ΕΤἸἸἸΡΕ ΤΑΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ` | ἸΤΑΕΙΨΙΤἸC ΑΥΩ ΑΧΙΤἸ ΑϚΑ-  
 ΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ | ΑϚΧΩ ΝΑϚ ἸΨΟΜΤ` ἸΨΑΧΕ ἸΤΑΡΕ ΘΩ|ΜΑC ΔΕ ΕΙ ΨΑ  
 10 ΝΕϚ`ΨΒΕΕΡ` ΑΥΧΝΟΥϚ` ΧΕ || ἸΤΑ ἸC ΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΟΥ ΝΑΚ` ΠΕΧΑϚ`  
 ΝΑΥ ἸΒΙ | ΘΩΜΑC ΧΕΕΙΨΑΝ` ΧΩ ΝΗΤἸ ΟΥΑ ΖἸ ἸΨΑ|ΧΕ ἸΤΑϚΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΕΙ  
 ΤΕΤΝΑϚΙ ΩΝΕ ἸΤΕ|ΤἸΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ` 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 ΤἸΠἸΝΑ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἸ|ΨΑΝΒΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΑΖ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕΤἸ|ΜΟΟΨΕ  
 ΖἸ ἸΧΩΡΑ ΕΥΨΑἸΠΑΡΑΔΕΧΕ | ἸΜΩΤἸ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΚΑΑΑϚ ΖΑΡΩΤἸ ΟΥΟΜἸ  
 | ΝΕΤΨΩΝΕ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΡΙΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ ΜἸΜΟΙΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΒΚ ΓΑΡ` Ε-  
 25 ΖΟΥΝ ΖἸ ΤΕΤἸΤΑ||ΠΡΟ ΨΝΑΧΩΖἸ ΤΗΥΤἸ ΑΝ` ΑΛΛΑ 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. ἸΝΕΤἸΠἸΝΑ. 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 <sup>25</sup> 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, <sup>30</sup> 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, <sup>5</sup> "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, <sup>10</sup> "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." <sup>15</sup>

(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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> will not defile you, but that which ' issues from



zñ tetñtapro ñtoq peitnaxazm thytñ

(15) पेखे 15 खे zotan | etetñwannaq epete mporxpoq | ebo-  
30 zñ tczime pezr` thytñ exm || petñzo ñtetñoywqt naq` petm-  
may pe petñeiwt`

(16) पेखे 16 खे taxā | eymeeyē ñsi řwme xe ñtaiei ei noy|xe  
ñoyeirhnh exm pkosmos agh | sesooun an xe ñtaiei ei anouxe  
35 ñzñ||pwrx` exñ pkaz oyxwzt` oyxhqe` | oypolemos oyn`foy  
\*p. 36<sup>1</sup> gar naqwpje` \* zñ oynei oyn`womt naqwppe exñ | snaq agh  
(84 L.) snaq exñ womt` peiwt` | exm pwhre agh pwhre exm peiwt`

5 | agh cenawze eratoy eyo mmona||xos

(17) पेखे 17 खे fna† nhtñ mpete | mpe bal naq eroq` agh pete  
mpe ma|axe sotmeq` agh pete mpe bix` b̄m|bowmq` agh mpeq`ei e-  
zra`i zi fhnt` | řwme

10 (18) पेखे mmaethnc ñ15 खे xo||os eron xe tñzan esnaqwppe ñ-  
aq ñze पेखे 18 अततñbwalp` gar ebo | ñtarxn xekas e-  
tetnawine ñca | θazh xe zñ pma ete tarxn mmay e|θazh naqwp-  
15 pe mmay oymakarios || petna[[z]]wze eratq` zñ tarxn agh |  
qnasoywn θzān agh qnaxi †pe | an mmoq

(19) पेखे 19 खे oymakarios | pe n`taqwppe za tezn empa-  
20 teqwppe etetñwanqwppe naei mmaeth||thnc ñtetñcwtm anaqa-  
xe neeiw|ne nař diakonei nhtñ oyn`thtñ | gar` mmay ñfoq ñwhn  
zñ para`dicos esekim an ñwom mprw | agh mare noybowe ze  
25 ebo | pet`||nasoywnoy qnaxi †pe an` mmoq |

(20) पेखे mmaethnc ñ15 खे xoos | eron xe tmñtero nmphyē  
es|tñtwon enim पेखाq naq xe estñ|twon ayb̄bilē ñwā-  
30 tam <c>sovk̄ pa||ra ñbrob throy zotan de esqa(n)ze exm  
pkaz etoyr̄ zwb eroq wac|teyo ebo | ñnoynos ñtar ñqwp|pe ñske-

(18) 36:13–16 θazh... θazh... θzān : i.e. θan... θan... θan (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

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

(20) 32 i.e. ñoynos.

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

(19) 23 poss. em. to <κ> mprw

(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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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.’’’ <sup>5</sup>

(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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> all seeds. But when it ' falls on tilled soil, it ' produces a great plant and becomes ' a shelter

ΠΗ Ν̄ΖΑΛΑΤΕ Ν̄ΤΠΕ

- 35 (21) ΠΕΙΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΣΑΜ Ν̄ΙΣ̄ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΚΜΑΘΗ|ΤΗΣ ΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΝΙΜ` ΠΕΧΑΨ`  
 \*p. 37<sup>1</sup> ΧΕ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ \* Ν̄ΖΝ̄ΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ` ΕΥΒΕΛΙΤ` ΑΥΣΩΨΕ ΕΤΩ|ΟΥ ΔΝ 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 ΖΗΤ̄Σ̄ ΣΕΝΑΖΕ`  
 ΕΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΨΠΕ | Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΜΗΤΕ Ν̄ΣΙ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΕΠΙΣΤΗ|ΜΩΝ Ν̄-  
 ΤΑΡΕ ΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΩΖ ΑΨΕΙ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ|ΒΕΠΗ ΕΠΕΨΑΣΖ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΨΒΙΧ  
 20 ΑΨΖΑΣΨ ΠΕ|ΤΕ ΟῩΝ ΜΑΑΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΕΣΩΤ̄Μ ΜΑΡΕΨΩΨΤ̄Μ ||  
 (22) ΑΙΣ̄ ΝΑΥ ΑΖ̄ΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΨΧΙ ΕΡΩΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ Ν̄|ΝΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ  
 ΝΕΕΙΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΤΧΙ ΕΡΩ|ΤΕ ΕΥΤ̄Ν̄ΤΩΝ ΔΝΕΤΒΗΚ` ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΜ̄Ν̄|ΤΕΡΟ ΠΕ-  
 ΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ` ΧΕ ΕΕΙΕΝΟ Ν̄ΚΟΥΕΙ Τ̄Ν̄|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 ογ̄νος. 17 i.e. ζ̄ν ογ̄βεπ̄η.

(22) 23 i.e. εεie εno (Guillaumont et al. emend thus, with hesitation) : εει understood as Greek εἰ by Leipoldt, but unlikely. 25 i.e. ἠογ̄α. 30 i.e. ἠογ̄ωτ. 33–34 i.e. ἠογ̄-βιχ . . . ογ̄ογ̄ερ̄ητε . . . ἠογ̄ογ̄ερ̄ητε.

33 Ν̄<Ν̄>ΖΑΛΑΤΕ Guillaumont et al.

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

for birds of the sky.'''

(21) Mary said to Jesus, ''Whom are your disciples<sup>35</sup> like?''

He said, ''They are like **37** children who have settled in a field ' which is not theirs. When the owners of the field come, ' they will say, 'Let us have back our field.' ' They (will) undress in their presence <sup>5</sup> in order to let them have back their field and to give ' it back to them. Therefore I say, ' if the owner of a house knows that the thief is coming, ' he will begin his vigil before he comes and will not ' let him dig through into his house of his <sup>10</sup> domain to carry away his goods. You (pl.), ' then, be on your guard against the world. Arm ' yourselves with great strength ' lest the robbers find a way to come ' to you, for the difficulty which you expect <sup>15</sup> will (surely) materialize. Let there be ' among you a man of understanding. ' When the grain ripened, he came quickly ' with his sickle in his hand and reaped it. ' Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear.''' <sup>20</sup>

(22) Jesus saw infants being suckled. He said to ' his disciples, ''These infants being suckled ' are like those who enter the ' kingdom.'''

They said to him, ''Shall we then, as children, ' enter the kingdom?''

Jesus said to them, <sup>25</sup> ''When you make the two one, and ' when you make the inside like the outside ' and the outside like the inside, and the above ' like the below, and when ' you make the male and the female one and the same, <sup>30</sup> so that the male not be male nor ' the female female; and you fashion ' eyes in place of an eye, and a hand ' in place of a hand, and a foot in place ' of a foot, and a likeness in place of a likeness; <sup>35</sup> then will you enter [the kingdom].''

- \*p. 38<sup>l</sup>  
(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 тетназе ан`  
20 εтμ̄н̄τε|ρο εтет̄н̄т̄μ̄ειρε μ̄псаμβατον ν̄сав`||βατον н̄тетназа  
ан̄ επειωт`  
(28) πεχε | ιϭ χε δειωζε ερατ` ζн̄ тμηте μ̄пкос|μοс αγω  
δειοϥωνз εβολ ναϥ ζн̄ сарз | δειзе εροοϥ τηροϥ εϥтазе μ̄пize  
25 ελα|αϥ ν̄ζηтоϥ εϭοβε αγω αταψϥχη † ткас || εχн̄ ν̄ψηре н̄ρ̄ρ̄-  
με χε ζн̄βαλλεεϥ|ε νε з̄μ̄ ποϥζηт` αγω сенаϥ εβολ ан̄  
| χε н̄таϥει επκοсμοс εϥψοϥειт` εϥ|ψινε он̄ ετροϥει εβολ  
30 з̄μ̄ пкосμοс | εϥψοϥειт` πληн̄ теноϥ сетозе зο||тан̄ εϥ-  
ψаннез̄ ποϥηρ̄п` 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. пϥζηт. 30 Sah. пϥηρ̄п.

(27) 38:17 <πεχε ιϭ χε> Guillaumont et al., with Greek frg. ετε<т̄н>т̄μ̄ : ε̄αν̄ 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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. <sup>30</sup> When they shake off their wine, then they will ' repent.”

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

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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<sup>l</sup>  
 (87 L.) ΝΟΚ̅ ἡ̅ ψπηρε \* μ̅παει χε πωϷ α̅τ̅ρεινος μ̅μ̅ν̅τ̅ρ̅μμα|ο̅ α̅σογωζ ζ̅ν̅  
 Τ̅Ε̅Ι̅Μ̅Ν̅Τ̅Ζ̅Η̅Κ̅Ε

(30) πεχε ι̅Ϸ | χε π̅μα εγ̅ν̅ ψομτ̅ ν̅νου̅τε μ̅μαγ̅ ζ̅ν̅|νου̅τε  
 5 Ν̅Ε̅ Π̅Μ̅Α̅ Ε̅Γ̅Ν̅ Σ̅Ν̅ΑΥ̅ Η̅ ΟΥ̅Α̅ Δ̅ΝΟΚ̅ | ἡ̅ ψοοπ̅ ν̅μ̅μαγ̅

(31) πεχε ι̅Ϸ μ̅ν̅ προφη̅της̅ ψ̅η̅π̅ ζ̅μ̅ πεϷ̅τ̅με μαρε σοειν̅ ρ̅-  
 ε̅ε|ραπεγε̅ ν̅νετ̅σοογ̅ν̅ μ̅μογ̅

(32) πεχε ι̅Ϸ | χε ογπολις̅ εγ̅κωτ̅ μ̅μος̅ ζ̅ιχ̅ν̅ ογτο|ογ̅ εϷχοσε̅  
 10 Ε̅Σ̅Τ̅Α̅Χ̅Ρ̅Η̅ Μ̅Ν̅ Β̅ΟΜ̅ Ν̅Σ̅Ζ̅Ε̅ | ΟΥ̅Δ̅Ε̅ Σ̅Ν̅ΑΥ̅Ζ̅ΩΠ̅ Δ̅Ν̅

(33) πεχε ι̅Ϸ πετ̅κ̅να|σ̅ωτ̅μ̅ ερογ̅ ζ̅μ̅ πεκ̅μα̅α̅χε̅ ζ̅μ̅ π̅κεμα|  
 α̅χε̅ ταψ̅ε̅ οειψ̅ μ̅μογ̅ ζ̅ιχ̅ν̅ νετ̅ν̅χε|νεπ̅ωρ̅ μαρε λααγ̅ γ̅αρ  
 15 χ̅ερε̅ ζ̅η̅β̅ς̅ ν̅ψ̅|κααγ̅ ζ̅α̅ μααχε̅ ογδε̅ μαϷ̅κααγ̅ ζ̅μ̅ μα̅ |  
 εϷζη̅π̅ αλλα̅ εψ̅αρεϷ̅κααγ̅ ζ̅ιχ̅ν̅ τ̅λγ̅|χ̅νια̅ χ̅εκα̅α̅ς̅ ογ̅ον̅ ν̅ιμ̅  
 ε̅τ̅β̅η̅κ̅ ε̅ζ̅ογ̅ν̅ | α̅γ̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅ν̅η̅ν̅υ̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ ε̅γ̅ν̅α̅ν̅α̅γ̅ α̅πε̅Ϸ̅ογ̅|ο̅ειν̅

(34) πεχε ι̅Ϸ χε ογβ̅λλ̅ε̅ εϷψ̅αν̅σ̅ωκ̅ | ζητ̅ψ̅ ν̅νογ̅β̅λλ̅ε̅ ψ̅αγ̅ζε̅ μ̅-  
 20 Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Ν̅ΑΥ̅ | Ε̅Π̅Ε̅Σ̅Η̅Τ̅ Ε̅Υ̅Ζ̅Ι̅Ε̅Ι̅Τ̅

(35) πεχε ι̅Ϸ μ̅ν̅ β̅ομ̅ | ν̅τε̅ ογ̅α̅ β̅ωκ̅ ε̅ζ̅ογ̅ν̅ ε̅π̅η̅ει̅ μ̅π̅χ̅ω|ωρε̅  
 ν̅ψ̅χιτ̅ψ̅ ν̅χ̅ναζ̅ ει̅ μη̅τι̅ ν̅ψ̅μογ̅ρ̅ | ν̅νεϷ̅β̅ιχ̅ τ̅ο̅τε̅ Ϸ̅να̅π̅ω̅νε̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅  
 | μ̅πεϷ̅η̅ει̅

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

(30) PAP., P. OXY. 1. 3 ψ̅ομτ̅ ν̅νου̅τε̅ : Greek frg. merely [τ]ε[ίς] 4 νου̅τε̅ :  
 ἄθεοι̅ σ̅ναυ̅ η̅ ογ̅α̅ : εἰ[ίς] ἔστιν̅ μόνος, [λ]έγω̅ 5 ν̅μ̅μαγ̅ : Greek frg. adds (cf. saying  
 77b) ἔγει[ρ]ον̅ τὸν̅ λίθον̅ (v)̅ κ̅α̅κ̅εῖ̅ ε̅υ̅ρή̅σεις̅ με̅· σ̅χί̅σον̅ τὸ̅ ξ̅ύ̅λον̅ κ̅ά̅γ̅ω̅ ἐ̅κ̅εῖ̅ εἰ̅μ̅ι

(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  
 ἐν̅ ᾧ̅τί̅ον̅ σ̅ου̅

(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. ν̅ογ̅β̅λλ̅ε̅.

(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 <sup>5</sup> 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, <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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.”

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(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.*

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



- 25 (36) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΜἸϸΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ ΧΙ(Ν) || ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΨΑ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝ ΖΙ-  
ΡΟΥΖΕ | ΨΑ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ<Τ>ΕΤΝΑΤΑΑΖ ΖΙΩΤ΄|ΤΗΥΤἸ  
(37) ΠΕΧΕ ΝΕΥΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΑΨ Ἰ|ΖΟΟΥ ΕΚΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
30 ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΨ | ἸΖΟΟΥ ΕΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ΄ ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΖΟ||ΤΑΝ ΕΤΕ-  
ΤἸΨΑΚΕΚ ΤΗΥΤἸ ΕΖΗΥ ἸΠΕ|ΤἸΨΙΠΕ ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕΤἸϸΙ ἸΝΕΤἸΨΤΗΝ | ἸΤΕΤἸ-  
ΚΑΑΖ ΖΑ ΠΕΧΤ΄ ἸΝΕΤἸΟΥΕΡΗ|ΤΕ ἸΘΕ ἸΝΙΚΟΥΕΙ ἸΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ΄ ἸΤΕ|ΤἸ-  
\*p. 40<sup>1</sup> ΧΟΠἸἸ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΟΤΕ | ΤΕΤ|ΝΑΝΑΥ \* ΕΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΕΤΟΝΖ ΑΥΩ  
(88 L.) ΤΕΤΝΑἸ | ΖΟΤΕ ΑΝ  
(38) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΖΑΖ ἸΝΟΠ΄ ΑΤΕΤἸ|ἸΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΣΩΤἸ ΔΝΕΕΙΨΑΧΕ  
5 ΝΑΕΙ΄ | Ε†ΧΩ ἸΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΗΤἸ ΑΥΩ ΜἸΤΗΤἸ || ΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΣΟΤΜΟΥ Ἰ-  
ΤΟΟΤἸ ΟΥἸ ΖἸΖΟ|ΟΥ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ἸΤΕΤἸΨΙΝΕ ἸΝΩΕΙ ΤΕ|ΤΝΑΖΕ ΑΝ΄  
ΕΡΟΕΙ΄  
(39) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ἸΦΑΡΙΣΑ|ΟC ΜἸ ἸΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC ΑΥΧΙ ἸΨΑΨΤ΄ |  
10 ἸΤΓΗΩCΙC ΑΥΖΟΠΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ἸΠΟΥΒΚ΄ || ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΟΥΨΩ  
ΕΒΩΚ΄ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ἰ|ΠΟΥΚΑΑΖ ἸΤΩΤἸ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΕ ἸΦΡΟΝΙΜΟC | ἸΘΕ Ἰ-  
ΝΖΟΨ΄ ΑΥΩ ἸΑΚΕΡΑΙΟC ἸΘΕ ἸἸ|ΒΡΟΜ΄ΠΕ  
(40) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΟΥΒΕΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΑΥ|ΤΟΒC ἸΠCΑ ΝΒΟΛ Ἰ-  
15 ΠΕΙΩΤ΄ ΑΥΩ ΕCΤΑ΄||ΧΡΗΥ ΔΝ CΕΝΑΠΟΡΚC ΖΑ ΤΕCΝΟΥΝΕ ἸC|ΤΑΚΟ  
(41) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕΥἸΤΑΨ΄ ΖἸ ΤΕΨ΄|ΒΙΧ CΕΝΑ†ΝΑΨ΄ ΑΥΩ ΠΕ-  
ΤΕ ΜἸΤΑΨ ΠΚΕ|ΨΗΜ ΕΤΟΥἸΤΑΨ΄ CΕΝΑΨΙΤἸ ἸΤΟΟΤΨ΄ |

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

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

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

(39) PAP.. P. OXY. 655. 10 ΝΕΤΟΥΨΩ 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 ΕΤΕΥἸΤΑΨΨ, poss. emend thus (Layton)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(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.*

- 20 (42) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤἨΡΠΑΡΑΓΕ |  
 (43) ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϚ` ΝΒΙ ΝΕϚ`ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΚ` | ΝΙΜ` ΕΚΧΩ ΝΝΑΪ  
 ΝΑΝ <ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ> ΖἨ ΝΕ†ΧΩ Μ|ΜΟΟΥ ΝΗΤἨ ΝΤΕΤἨΕΙΜΕ ΔΝ  
 ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ` | ΝΙΜ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΩΤἨ ΑΤΕΤἨΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν|ΝΙΪΟΥ-
- 25 ΔΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΣΕΜΕ ΜΨΩΗΝ ΣΕΜΟC|ΤΕ ΜΠΕϚΚΑΡΠΟC ΑΥΩ ΣΕΜΕ  
 ΜΠΚΑΡΠΟC | ΣΕΜΟCΤΕ ΜΨΩΗΝ  
 (44) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΑΧΕ | ΟΥΑ ΑΠΕΙΩΤ` ΣΕΝΑΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΑϚ` ΑΥΩ | ΠΕΤΑΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΕΠΩΗΡΕ ΣΕΝΑΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ | ΝΑϚ` ΠΕΤΑΧΕ
- 30 ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΑΠΠἨΔ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ || ΣΕΝΑΚΩ ΔΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑϚ` ΟΥΤΕ ΖἨ ΠΚΑΖ | ΟΥ-  
 ΤΕ ΖἨ ΤΠΕ  
 (45) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΜΑΥ ΧΕΛΕ ΕΛΟΟ|ΛΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἨ ΨΟΝΤΕ ΟΥΤΕ  
 ΜΑΥΚΩΤϚ` | ΚἨΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἨ CἨΒΑΜΟΥΛ` ΜΑΥ† ΚΑΡΠΟC |  
 \*p. 41<sup>1</sup> ΓΑΡ ΟΥΑΓΓΑΘΟC ἨΡΩΜΕ ΨΑϚΕΙΝΕ Ν\*ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἨ ΠΕϚΕ-  
 (89 L.) ΖΟ ΟΥΚΑϚ|ΟC| | ἨΡΩΜΕ ΨΑϚΕΙΝΕ ΝΖἨΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ | ΖἨ ΠΕϚΕΖΟ Ε-  
 5 ΘΟΟΥ ΕΤΖἨ ΠΕϚΖΗΤ` ΑΥΩ ΝϚΧΩ ΝΖἨΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΖἨ || ΦΟΥΟ  
 ΜΦΗΤ` ΨΑϚ`ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖἨΠΟ|ΝΗΡΟΝ  
 (46) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΧΕ ΧΙΝ` ΑΔΑΜ ΨΑ ΪΩΖΑ(Ν)ΝΗC ΠΒΑΠΤΙCΤΗC ΖἨ ΝΧΠΟ  
 ΝἨΖΙΟΜΕ | ΜἨ ΠΕΤΧΟCΕ ΔΪΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΠΒΑΠΤ|CΤΗC ΨΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΩCΠ`
- 10 ΝΒΙ ΝΕϚΒΑΛ || ΔΕΙΧΟΟC ΔΕ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖἨ ΤΗΥ|ΤἨ ΕϚΟ ΝΚΟΥΕΙ  
 ϚΝΑCΟΥΩΝ ΤΜἨΤΕ|ΡΟ ΑΥΩ ϚΝΑΧΙCΕ ΔΪΩΖΑΝΝΗC  
 (47) ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ | ΧΕ ΜἨ ΒΟΜ ἨΤΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΤΕΛΟ ΑΖΤΟ | CΝΑΥ ΝϚΧΩΛΚ`
- 15 ΜΠΙΤΕ CἨΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΜἨ || ΒΟΜ` ἨΤΕ ΟΥΖΜΖἨΛ ΨἨΨΕ ΧΟΕΙC CΝΑΥ  
 | Η ϚΝΑἨΤΙΜΑ ΜΠΟΥΑ` ΑΥΩ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ϚΝΑ|ἨΖΥΒΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟϚ` ΜΑ-  
 ΡΕ ΡΩΜΕ CΕ ἨΠΑC | ΑΥΩ ἨΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝϚ`ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΔCΩ ΗΡΠ` |
- 20 ΒΒἨΡΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΑΥΝΟΥΧ` ΗΡΠ` ΒΒἨΡΡΕ ΕΔC||ΚΟC ΝΔC ΧΕΚΑΔC ΝΝΟΥ-  
 ΠΩΖ ΑΥΩ ΜΑΥ|ΝΕΧ` ΗΡΠ` ΝΔC ΕΔCΚΟC ΒΒἨΡΡΕ ΨΙΝΑ ΧΕ | ΝΕϚΤΕ-  
 ΚΑϚ` ΜΑΥΧἨΒ ΤΟΕΙC ΝΔC ΑΨΤΗ(Ν) | ΝΨΑΕΙ ΕΠΕΙ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΠΩΖ  
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ |

(44) 40:26-29 Sah. ΠΕΤΝΑΧΕ . . . ΠΕΤΝΑΧΕ . . . ΠΕΤΝΑΧΕ.

(46) 41:9 Sah. ἨΝΕΥΟΥΩCΠ (Guillaumont et al. emend to ΝΟΥΟΥΩCΠ).

(47) 20 Sah. ἨΝΕΥΠΩΖ.

(43) 21 <ΠΕΧΕ ΙϚ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ> Guillaumont et al., sim. Leipoldt

(45) 41:1 εζο : ε altered from ζ

(46) 9 ΝΟΥΩCΠ : poss. corrupt

(42) Jesus said, “Become passers-by.”<sup>20</sup>

(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 hate<sup>25</sup> 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 spirit<sup>30</sup> 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 of<sup>5</sup> 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).<sup>10</sup> 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 impossible<sup>15</sup> 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,<sup>20</sup> 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.”

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

- 25 (48) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑ ΣΝΑΥ Ρ̄ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ Μ̄Ν || ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΙΝΕΙ  
 ΟΥΩΤ` ΣΕΝΑΧΟΟΣ | Μ̄ΠΤΑΥ ΧΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑΠΩ|ΩΝΕ  
 (49) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕ Ν|ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΣΟΤΠ` ΧΕ
- 30 ΤΕΤΝΑ|ΖΕ ΑΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν Ζ̄ΝΕΒΟΛ || Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Σ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ-  
 ΒΩΚ` ΕΜΑΥ  
 (50) ΠΕ|ΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΕΥΨΑΝΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑ|ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ  
 ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΥ | ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ Π̄ΜΑ | ΕΝΤΑ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΨΩΠΕ  
 \*p. 42<sup>1</sup> Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ || ΖΙΤΟΥΤΥ` ΟΥΑΔΥΤ` ΑΩΩΖ[Ε ΕΡΑΤΥ] \* ΑΥΩ ΑΦΟΥΩ-  
 (90 L.) ΝΖ Ε[Β]ΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΕΥ|ΨΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΠΕ ΧΟΟΣ | ΧΕ  
 ΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ Ν̄ΣΩΤΠ` | Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΝΖ ΕΥΨΑΝΧΝΕ  
 5 ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν || ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΕΙΝ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΩΤ` ΕΤΖ̄Ν | ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΟΥΚΙΜ ΠΕ Μ̄Ν | ΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ  
 (51) ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ` Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕΥΜΑ|ΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΟΥ ΕΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ  
 10 Ν̄|ΝΕΤΜΟΥΤ` ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΟΥ || ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Β̄Β̄ΡΡΕ  
 ΝΗΥ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ | ΤΗ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΩΨΤ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤ̄Σ ΑΣΕΙ ΑΛΛΑ |  
 Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΤΕΤ̄ΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ Μ̄ΜΟΣ  
 (52) ΠΕΧΑΥ | ΝΑΥ Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕΥΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ | Μ̄ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΑΥ-  
 15 ΨΑΧΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΣΡΑΝΛ` || ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤΚ` ΠΕ`|ΧΑΥ  
 ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΚΩ Μ̄ΠΕΤΟΝΖ Μ̄ΠΕ|Τ̄Ν̄ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΧΕ ΖΑ  
 ΝΕΤ|ΜΟΥΤ`  
 (53) ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕΥΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ | ΧΕ ΠΣ̄ΒΒΕ Ρ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ Η Μ̄-  
 20 ΜΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΥ` || ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΡ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ ΝΕ ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ` ΝΑ|ΧΠΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ ΕΥΣ̄ΒΒΗΥ | ΑΛΛΑ ΠΣ̄ΒΒΕ Μ̄ΜΕ Ζ̄Μ Π̄Ν̄Α ΑΦ̄Ν ΖΗΥ | ΤΗΡΥ`  
 (54) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ Ζ̄ΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΖΗ|ΚΕ ΧΕ ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΤΕ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ  
 25 Ν̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ` ||  
 (55) ΠΕΧΕ Ιϸ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΑΜΕΣΤΕ ΠΕΥ`ΕΙΩΤ` | ΑΝ` Μ̄Ν ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ ΦΝΑΨ̄  
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΝ | ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΥΜΕΣΤΕ ΝΕΥ`ΣΝΗΥ` Μ̄Ν | ΝΕΥΨΩΝΕ Ν̄ΥΦΕΙ Μ̄-  
 ΠΕΥΣΦΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΖΕ | ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΕΦΟ Ν̄ΑΖΙΟΣ ΝΑΕΙ

(48) 25 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ.

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

(53) 42:20 i.e. ΕΝΕΥΡ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ. 20-21 Sah. ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ . . . ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ. 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 <sup>25</sup> 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, <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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, <sup>5</sup> ‘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 <sup>10</sup> 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, <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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.” <sup>25</sup>

(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 ι̅ϛ χε πεταζσοϱων πκοσμος αϱ\|ζε ευπτωμα αυω  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΖΖΕΕ ΑΠΤΩ|ΜΑ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΠΨΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΝ  
 (57) πε|χε ι̅ϛ χε τμ̅ντερο μ̅πειωτ\ εστ̅ντω(ν)| αυρωμε ευ̅νταϱ  
 \*p. 43<sup>1</sup> Μ̅ΜΑΥ Ν̅ΝΟΥΒΡΟΣ || ε̅ν[ΑΝΟ]Υϱ\ απεϱχαχε ει̅ ν̅τωϱμ̅ν \* αυ̅ϱιτε  
 (91 L.) Ν̅ΟΥΖΙΖΑΝ|Ο]Ν ε̅χ̅ν̅ πεβρο[ε ε]||τ̅ΝΑΝΟΥϱ\ μ̅πε π̅ρωμε κοου̅ ε̅ζω-  
 λε | μ̅ΠΖΙΖΑΝΙΟΝ ΠΕΧΑϱ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΗΠΩϞ | Ν̅ΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΒΩΚ\ ΧΕ ΕΝΑΖΩΛΕ  
 5 Μ̅ΠΖΙΖΑΝΙΟ(Ν) || Ν̅ΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΖΩΛΕ Μ̅ΠϞΟΥΟ Ν̅Μ̅ΜΑϱ\ ζ̅μ̅ φο|ΟΥ ΓΑΡ Μ̅-  
 ΠΩΖ̅Ϟ Ν̅ΖΙΖΑΝΙΟΝ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ\ ΣΕΖΟΛΟΥ Ν̅ΣΕΡΟΚΖΟΥ  
 (58) ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅Ϟ | ΧΕ ΟΥΜΑΚ ΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΕ Π̅ΡΩΜΕ Ν̅ΤΑΖΖΙϞΕ | Αϱζε ΔΠΩΝΖ  
 10 (59) ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅Ϟ ΧΕ ΒΩΨΤ Ν̅ϞΑ ΠΕ|ΤΟΝΖ ΖΩϞ ΕΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΟΝΖ ΖΙΝΑ ΧΕ ΝΕΤ̅Μ̅-  
 ΜΟΥ | ΑΥΩ Ν̅ΤΕΤ̅Ν̅ΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤ̅ΝΑΨ|Β̅Μ̅ ΒΟΜ ΔΝ ΕΝΑΥ  
 (60) <ΑΥΝΑΥ> ΑΥΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΗΣ Εϱϱι̅ Ν̅|ΝΟΥΖΙΕΙΒ\ ΕϱΒΗΚ\ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε̅ϱΟΥ-  
 15 ΔΔΙΑ ΠΕ|ΧΑϱ\ Ν̅ΝΕϱ\ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ † ΠΗ Μ̅ΠΚΩΤΕ || Μ̅ΠΕΖΙ-  
 ΕΙΒ\ † ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϱ ΧΕΚΑΔΣ ΕϱΝΑ|ΜΟΥϞΤ\ Ν̅ϱΟΥΟΜϱ\ ΠΕΧΑϱ  
 ΝΑΥ ΖΩϞ Ε|ΦΟΝΖ ϱΝΑΟΥΟΜϱ\ ΔΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕϱΨΑΜΟ|ΟΥϞΤ\ Ν̅ϱΨΩΠΕ Ν̅-  
 20 ΟΥΠΤΩΜΑ ΠΕΧΑΥ | ΧΕ Ν̅ΚΕΣΜΟΤ\ ϱΝΑΨΑΣ ΔΝ ΠΕΧΑϱ ΝΑΥ || ΧΕ  
 Ν̅ΤΩΤ̅Ν̅ ΖΩΤ\ ΤΗΥΤ̅Ν̅ ΨΙΝΕ Ν̅ϞΑ ΟΥ|ΤΟΠΟϞ ΝΗΤ̅Ν̅ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΑΝΑΠΑΥϞΙϞ |  
 ΧΕΚΑΔΣ Ν̅ΝΕΤ̅Ν̅ΨΩΠΕ Μ̅ΠΤΩΜΑ Ν̅ΣΕ|ΟΥΩΜ\ ΤΗΥΤ̅Ν̅  
 (61) ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅Ϟ ΟΥ̅Ν ΣΝΑΥ ΝΑΜ̅|ΤΟΝ\ Μ̅ΜΑΥ ΖΙ ΟΥΒΛΟϞ ΠΟΥΑ  
 25 ΝΑΜΟΥ ΠΟΥ|Α ΝΑΩΝΖ ΠΕΧΕ ΣΑΛΩΜΗ Ν̅ΤΑΚ\ ΝΙΜ\ | Π̅ΡΩΜΕ  
 † ΖΩϞ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν ΟΥΑ † ΑΚΤΕΛΟ ΕΧ̅Μ̅ | ΠΑΒΛΟϞ ΑΥΩ ΑΚ\ ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν  
 ΤΑ|ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΠΕΧΕ Ι̅Ϟ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ\ ΠΕ | ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ\ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Μ̅  
 30 ΠΕΤ\ ΨΗΨ ΑΥ† | ΝΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν ΝΑ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ\ < - - - > ΔΝΟΚ\  
 ΤΕΚ\ ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ < - - - > ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ † ΧΩ Μ̅ΜΟϞ 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 μ̅μαυ : i.e. μ̅μοου.

(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 <ΑΥΝΑΥ> Guillaumont et al. : <ΑϱΝΑΥ> 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 ΖΩϞ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν 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: ΖΩϞ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν ΟΥ em. Kasser 30 <πεχε σαλωμη χε> Leipoldt, Guillaumont et al. 31 <πεχε ι̅Ϟ νας χε> Guillaumont et al., sim. Leipoldt

(56) <sup>30</sup> 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. <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> “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 <sup>25</sup> 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. <sup>30</sup> 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 † εϕωηϕ` ϕηαμοϕζ | οϕοειν ζοταν δε εϕωηαηωπε εϕ|πηω  
ϕηαμοϕζ ḡκαε

\*p. 44<sup>1</sup>  
(92 L.)

(62) πεχε ιϕ̄ χε ει||χω ḡηαμϕστηριον ḡηε[τḡπψα] ḡ<sup>\*</sup>[ηα]μϕστη-  
ριον πε[τ]ε τεκ`οϕηαμηααϕ|μηḡρε τεκζβοϕρ` ειμε χε εσρ οϕ

(63) πεχε ιϕ̄ | χε ηευḡ οϕρωμε ḡπλοϕσιος ευḡηταϕ ḡ|μαϕ ḡζαζ ḡη-

5 χρημα πεχαϕ χε †ηαḡχρω ḡ||ηαχρημα χεκααε ειηαχο ḡη-

ταω[ζ]ϕζ | ḡηατωβε ḡηαμοϕζ ḡηαεζωḡ ḡκαρ`|ποσ ψινα χε ηιḡ βρωζ

ḡλααϕ ηαειηειηεϕμεεϕε εροοϕ ζḡ πεϕζητ` αϕω ζḡ | τοϕωη

10 εḡḡμαϕ αϕμοϕ πετεϕḡμαχε || ḡμοϕ` μαρεϕ`σωτḡ

(64) πεχε ιϕ̄ χε οϕρω|με ηευḡηταϕ ζḡψḡμο αϕω ḡηαρεϕσβ|τε  
ḡḡπιδιπνον αϕχοοϕ ḡπεϕζḡḡḡḡ ψ|ηα εϕηατωζḡ ḡḡψḡ-

15 μοει αϕβωκ` ḡ|πωορḡ πεχαϕ ηαϕ` χε παχοειε τωζḡ || ḡη-

μοκ` πεχαϕ χε οϕḡηαει ζḡζοḡτ` | αζεηεḡποροσ σεḡηηηϕ

ψαροει εροϕζε | †ηαβωκ` ḡηαοϕεζ σαζηε ηαϕ †ḡπαραι|τει ḡη-

πιδιπνον αϕβωκ` ψα κεοϕα πε|χαϕ ηαϕ` χε απαχοειε τωζḡ ḡη-

20 μοκ` || πεχαϕ ηαϕ χε αειτοοϕ οϕηει αϕω σε|ḡραιτει ḡμοει ḡη-

οϕζημερα †ηαεḡϕε α(η) | αϕει ψα κεοϕα πεχαϕ ηαϕ` χε πα-

χο`|ειε τωζḡ ḡḡμοκ` πεχαϕ ηαϕ χε παψβηḡ | ηαḡ ψε-

25 λεετ αϕω αηοκ` εḡηαḡ διπνον || †ηαψι αν †ḡπαραιτει

ḡḡπιδιπνον` αϕ`βωκ` ψα κεοϕα πεχαϕ ηαϕ χε παχοειε | τωζḡ ḡη-

μοκ` πεχαϕ ηαϕ` χε αειτοοϕ ḡ|οϕκωμη ειβηκ` αχι ḡη-

30 ψωμ †ηαψι|αν †ḡπαραιτει αϕει ḡβιπζḡḡḡ αϕχο||οσ

33 i.e. ḡοϕοειν.

(62) 44:1 i.e. ηαααϕ. 2 Sah. ḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

(63) 7 Sah. ḡηαḡ.

(64) 20 poss. i.e. ḡοϕηει. 25–28 i.e. †ηαψει... †ηαψει.

32 † εϕωηϕ : emend to εϕωηϕ (thus Guillaumont et al., with hesitation) : εϕωηϕ 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 ψβηḡ (the apostrophe, which is not erased, belonged to ψβηḡ) : cf. end of the following line παψβηḡ` 24 ḡ διπνον : ḡ διπνει 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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.' <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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|πεϋζμζαλ σε βωκ`επσα νβολ ανζιο|οϋε νετκναζε ε-  
 35 ροϋϋ ενιοϋ σεκαασ | εϋναρ`διπνει νρεϋτοϋϋ μν νεϋο||τ[ε σε-  
 \*p. 45<sup>1</sup> ναβ]ωκ αν`εζοϋν`εντοποσ μπαϊωτ`\*  
 (93 L.) (65) πεχαϋ σε οϋρωμε νχρη[στο]ς νεϋν̄τ[αϋ] | ν̄οϋμα ν̄ελοο-  
 λε αϋτα`αϋ ν̄ζ̄ν̄οϋοειε | ψινα εϋναρ̄ ζωβ`εροϋ`ν̄ϋχι μ̄πεϋκαρϋ-  
 5 ποσ ν̄τοοτοϋ αϋχοϋϋ μ̄πεϋζμζαλ σε||καασ ενοϋοειε να†ναϋ`  
 μ̄πκαρποσ μ̄πμα ν̄ελοολε αγεμαστε μ̄πεϋζμζαλ | αυζιοϋε  
 εροϋ`νε κεκοϋει πε ν̄σεμοϋτϋ` | απζμζαλ βωκ`αϋχοοσ ε-  
 10 πεϋχοεισ πε|σε πεϋχοεισ σε μεϋακ`† μ̄πεϋ`σοϋω||-  
 νοϋ αϋχοϋϋ ν̄κεζμζαλ ανοϋοειε ζιοϋε επκεοϋα τοτε  
 απχοεισ χοϋϋ μ̄|πεϋψηρε πεχαϋ`σε μεϋακ`σεναψιπε | ζητϋ`μ̄-  
 παψηρε αν`οϋοειε ετ̄μμαϋ επει | σεσοϋν σε ν̄τοϋ πε πεκλη-  
 15 ρονομοσ μ̄πμα ν̄ελοολε αυβοϋϋ`αϋμοϋτϋ` | πετεϋμ̄μαα-  
 σε μ̄μοϋ`μαρεϋ`σωτ̄μ̄  
 (66) πε|σε ῑσ σε ματσεβοει επωνε παει ν̄ταϋ|στοϋ`εβολ`ν̄βι  
 νετ`κωτ` ν̄τοϋ πε πωψ|νε ν̄κωζ  
 20 (67) πεσε ῑσ σε πετσοϋν μ̄πτηρϋ` || εϋρ̄ βρωζ οϋααϋ<ϋ>ρ̄ βρωζ  
 μ̄πμα τηρϋ` |  
 (68) πεσε ῑσ σε ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ ζ̄μμακαριοσ ζοτα(ν) | εϋψανμεστε τηϋ-  
 τ̄ν̄ ν̄σερ̄διωκε μ̄|μωτ̄ν̄ αυω σεναζε αν ετοποσ ζ̄μ̄πμα | ενταϋ-  
 διωκε μ̄μωτ̄ν̄ ζραϊ̄ ν̄ζητϋ`

(65) 45:7 i.e. ενε κεκοϋει πε.

(66) 18 i.e. πωνε ν̄κοοζ.

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

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

(67) 20 <ϋ> Layton εϋρ̄ βρωζ οϋα (i.e. ν̄οϋα) αϋρ̄ βρωζ Emmel<sup>2</sup> 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. Haenchen<sup>2</sup> 27 : Quecke reads (with hesitation) as a corruption for "no place will be found, where you have not been persecuted"

<sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> [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 <sup>5</sup> 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.’ <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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.’’

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



(69) Jesus <sup>25</sup> said, “Blessed are they who have been persecuted <sup>1</sup> within themselves. It is they <sup>1</sup> who have truly come to know the father. <sup>1</sup> Blessed are the hungry, for <sup>1</sup> the belly of him who desires will be filled.”

(70) Jesus said, <sup>30</sup> “That which you have will save you <sup>1</sup> if you bring it forth from yourselves. <sup>1</sup> That which you do not have within you [will] kill you <sup>1</sup> if you do not have it within you.” <sup>1</sup>

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

(72) [A man said] to him, “Tell my brothers <sup>1</sup> to divide my father’s possessions <sup>1</sup> with me.”

He said to him, “O man, who <sup>1</sup> has made me a divider?”

He turned to <sup>5</sup> his disciples and said to them, “I am not a divider, <sup>1</sup> am I?”

(73) Jesus said, “The harvest <sup>1</sup> is great but the laborers are few. Beseech the lord, therefore, to send out laborers <sup>1</sup> to the harvest.”

(74) He said, “O lord, there are <sup>10</sup> many around the drinking trough, but there is nothing in <sup>1</sup> the cistern.”

(75) Jesus said, “Many are standing <sup>1</sup> at the door, but it is the solitary who will enter <sup>1</sup> the bridal chamber.”

(76) Jesus said, <sup>1</sup> “The kingdom of the father is like a <sup>15</sup> merchant who had a consignment of merchandise <sup>1</sup> and who discovered a pearl. That merchant <sup>1</sup> was shrewd. He sold the merchandise <sup>1</sup> and bought the pearl alone for himself. <sup>1</sup> You too, seek <sup>20</sup> his unfailing and

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(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 ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ 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 ΕΥΘΗΝ  
\*p. 47<sup>1</sup> ΖΙΩΩΒ` | Ν̄[ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ] Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΩΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤ̄ΜΜΕΓΙ\*CΤΑΝΟC ΝΑΕΙ ΕΝ[Ε]-  
(95 L.) ΨΤ̄ΗΝ Ε[Τ]ΘΗΝ 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[С] 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 ΑΥΖΕ 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. <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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."

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



(81) πεχε ιϛ χε πενταζϛ ρ̄μμαο μα|ρεϛ̄ ρρο αγω πετεϋ̄νταϛ̄  
 Ἰουδυνα|μικ μαρεϛαρνα

(82) πεχε ιϛ χε πετζηη| εροει εϛζηη ετσατε αγω πετοϋηϛ̄ |  
 ἴμοει φοϋηϛ ἴτμῆτερο

20 (83) πεχε ιϛ || χε νζικων σεοϋονζ εβολ ἴπρω|με αγω ποϋοειν  
 ετ̄νηζτου ϛζηη̄ | ζ̄η̄ οικων ἴποϋοειν ἴπειωτ̄ ϛνα|δωλπ̄  
 εβολ αγω τεϛζικων ζηη̄ | εβολ ζιτ̄η̄ πεϛ̄ ὄϋοειν

25 (84) πεχε ιϛ ἴζο||οϋ ετετ̄νηναϛ̄ επετ̄νηεινε ψαρετ̄η̄ρα-  
 ψε ζοταν δε ετετ̄νηψανναϛ̄ | ανετ̄νηζικων̄ ἴταζψωπε ζι  
 τετνε|ζη οϋτε μαϋμοϋ οϋτε μαϋοϋωνζ | εβολ τετναϛιζα οϋη̄ϛ̄

30 (85) πεχε ιϛ χε || ἴτα αδαμ ψωπε εβολ ζ̄η̄νοϋνοϛ | ἴδυναμικ  
 ἴη̄ οϋνοϛ ἴμῆτ̄ρ̄μμα|ο αγω ἴπεϛωψωπε ε|ϛῆ|π̄ψα ἴμω|  
 τ̄η̄ νεϋαζιοϛ γαρ πε [νεϛναϛι] †π[ε] | αν ἴπμοϋ

\*p. 48<sup>l</sup>  
 (96 L.) (86) πεχε ιϛ χε [νβαψορ οϋ]\*[ἴτ]αϋ νοϋ[β]ηβ αγω ἴζαλατε  
 οϋ̄η̄ταϋ | ἴμαϋ ἴπεϋμαζ πωηρε δε ἴπρωμε | ἴη̄ταϛ̄ ἴη̄|οϋμα  
 ερικε ἴτεϛ̄απε ἴϛ̄|ἴη̄τον̄ ἴη̄|οϋ̄

5 (87) πεχαϛ ἴβι ιϛ χε οϋταλα||πωρον πε πσωμα εταψε ἴοϋσω-  
 μᾱ | αγω οϋταλαιπωροϛ τε τ̄ψϋχηεταψε | ἴη̄αει ἴπ̄σναϋ

(88) πεχε ιϛ χε ἴαγγελοϛ | ηηϋ ψαρωτ̄η̄ ἴη̄ ἴπροφητηϛ αγω  
 10 σε|να† ηητ̄η̄ ἴη̄ετεϋ̄η̄τη̄η̄σε αγω̄ || ἴτωτ̄η̄ ζωτ̄η̄τη̄η̄η̄η̄η̄  
 τοτ̄η̄η̄η̄ | ταϋ ναϋ ἴτετ̄η̄σοοϛ ηητ̄η̄ χε αψ ἴζοϋ πετοϋ̄η̄η̄η̄η̄  
 ἴσεϛι πετε πωϋ |

(89) πεχε ιϛ χε ετβε οϋ τετ̄η̄ειωε ἴπσα η|βολ̄ ἴπποτη-  
 15 ριον τετ̄η̄ρ̄νοει αν χε || πενταζταμιο ἴπσα ηζοϋη̄ ἴτοϋον̄ |  
 πενταϛταμιο ἴπσα ηβολ̄

(85) 30 i.e. ζ̄η̄ οϋνοϛ. 33 i.e. ενεϋαζιοϛ (Guillaumont et al. emend thus).

(86) 48:3 i.e. ἴοϋμα.

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

(84) 28 μαϋ- . . . μαϋ- . . . : expected is εμαϋ- . . . μαϋ- . . .

(86) 34-48:1 cf. Matt 8:20, Luke 9:58 αἱ ἀλύπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν 48:1 νοϋ :  
 reading of pap. cannot be νεϋ 2 πεϋ : reading of pap. prob. cannot be ποϋ

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

(88) 11 ἴη̄τετ̄η̄ : ἴσε em. Leiboldt, with hesitation

(81) <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> “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, <sup>25</sup> “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, <sup>30</sup> “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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> he who made the inside is the same one ' who made the outside?”

- (90) πεχε ιης | χε αμνειτη ψαροει` χε ουχρηστος | πε πα-  
 20 ναζβ` αγω ταμνητχοεις ουρμηραψ τε αγω τετναζε † αγαναυ-  
 πασις νηητην  
 (91) πεχαυ ναυ` χε χοος ερον χε | νητκ nim` ψινα εναρπιστευε  
 εροκ` πε|χαυ ναυ χε τετηρπιραζε μηπονητπε | μη πκαζ αγω  
 25 πετηπετημητο εβολ` | μηπετησοωνυα` αγω πεεκαιρος τεητη-  
 σοογν αν ηρπιραζε μημοα`  
 (92) πεχε | ις χε ψινε αγω τετναβινε αλλα νεητατετη-  
 χνουει εροογ ηνιζοογ εμηπιχοογ νητην μηφοογ ετημαυ τενογ |  
 30 εζναϊ εχοογ αγω τετηψινε αν` ηςωηογ  
 (93) <πεχε ις χε> μηρη† πετογααβ ηνουζοορ` χεκας | νουνο-  
 χογ ετκοπρια μηρηνουχε ημημαργαριτη[ς η]νεψαυ ψινα χε  
 νογααυ` | ηλα[ .2½ ]  
 (94) [πεχ]ε ις πετψινε ψναβινε | [πεττωζμη]εζογν σε-  
 35 ναογων ναυ` ||  
 \*p. 49<sup>1</sup> (95) [πεχε ις χε] εψωπε ουνητητην ζομητ` \* μηρη† ετημσε αλ-  
 (97 L.) λα † [μημοα] μηρη[ε]ητηναχιτου αν ητοοτη`  
 (96) η[εχ]ε ις χε ημηητερο μηπειωτ` εστητη[ν αυ]ςζιμε | ας-  
 5 χι ηνουκουει ηςαειρ α[ςζ]ρητη` ζη || ουψωτε ασααυ ηζηνο[ς η]νο-  
 εικ` | πετεγμημααχε μημοα μα[ρη]ψαωτημη` |

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

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

(91) 20 χοος<sup>v</sup> : uninscribed space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus

(93) 31 κοπρια : ι written over the false start of α 32 ααυ : ααυ is expected 33  
 ηλα[ - - - ] : of η, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored (also possible is η̄); λ : or else  
 α restoration uncertain : λα[χτε - - - ] Suarez : λα[αυ - - - ] "zunichte" Leipoldt<sup>2</sup>, with  
 hesitation : λα[κζ - - - ] or poss. λα[κμη - - - ] Layton, with hesitation (cf. Lev 2:6 ιρη  
 ηλακζ Bohairic = ειρε ηλακμη λακμη Sahidic)

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

(95) 35 rest. Leipoldt<sup>2</sup> ζομητ : the following leaf was entirely uninscribed (front and  
 back) and has not been counted in the pagination : poss. ζομητ < - - - >, cf. above p.  
 5 49:1 [μημοα] Layton : also possible is [ζομητ`] (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 ε̅ς̅μ̅ο̅ο̅ϖ̅ε̅ ζ̅ι̅ τ̅ε̅|ζ̅ι̅η̅ || ε̅ς̅ο̅υ̅η̅ο̅υ̅  
 απ̅μα̅α̅χ̅ε̅ μ̅π̅ε̅λ̅μ̅|ε̅|ε̅ι̅ ο̅υ̅|ω̅β̅π̅ απ̅νο̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ ω̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ ν̅ς̅ω̅ς̅ |ζ̅| τ̅ε̅-  
 ζ̅ι̅η̅ ν̅ε̅ς̅ς̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ν̅ α̅ν̅ π̅ε̅ ν̅ε̅ μ̅π̅ε̅ς̅ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ | ε̅ζ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅ ν̅τ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅ς̅π̅ω̅ζ̅ ε̅-  
 15 ζ̅ο̅γ̅ν̅ ε̅π̅ε̅ς̅η̅ε̅ι̅ | α̅ς̅κ̅α̅ π̅ε̅λ̅μ̅ε̅ε̅ι̅ α̅π̅ε̅ς̅η̅τ̅ α̅ς̅ζ̅ε̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ϕ̅ ε̅ϕ̅||ω̅ο̅γ̅ε̅ι̅τ̅

(98) πεχε ι̅ς̅ τμ̅ν̅τερο̅ μ̅πει̅ωτ̅ | ε̅ς̅τ̅ν̅τ̅ω̅ν̅ ε̅ϕ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ ε̅ϕ̅ο̅γ̅ω̅ϖ̅ ε̅-  
 μ̅ο̅γ̅τ̅ | ο̅ϕ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ μ̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅α̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ α̅ϕ̅ψ̅ω̅λ̅μ̅ ν̅|τ̅ς̅η̅ϕ̅ε̅ ζ̅μ̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅η̅ε̅ι̅  
 20 α̅ϕ̅ς̅ο̅τ̅ς̅ ν̅τ̅ς̅ο̅ χ̅ε̅|κ̅α̅α̅ς̅ ε̅ϕ̅ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅μ̅ε̅ χ̅ε̅ τ̅ε̅ϕ̅ε̅ι̅χ̅ ν̅α̅τ̅ω̅κ̅ || ε̅-  
 ζ̅ο̅γ̅ν̅ τ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ α̅ϕ̅ζ̅ω̅τ̅β̅ μ̅π̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅α̅ν̅ο̅ς̅ |

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

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

(101) <πεχε ι̅ς̅> π̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ε̅ς̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅ε̅|ιωτ̅| ν̅ αν̅ μ̅ν̅ τ̅ε̅ϕ̅|μ̅α̅α̅ ς̅ν̅-  
 τ̅α̅ζ̅ε̅ ϕ̅ν̅α̅ψ̅ϕ̅ μ̅[α̅θ̅η̅|η̅ς̅ ν̅α̅ε̅ι̅ λ̅(ν̅) | α̅ϕ̅ω̅ π̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ϕ̅ρ̅ε̅ π̅ε̅ϕ̅|ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅ α̅ν̅  
 35 μ̅|ν̅ τ̅ε̅ϕ̅||μ̅α̅α̅ ς̅ν̅τ̅α̅ζ̅ε̅ ϕ̅ν̅α̅ψ̅ϕ̅ μ̅[α̅θ̅η̅ς̅ ν̅α̅||ε̅ι̅ α̅ν̅ τ̅α̅μ̅α̅α̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅  
 \*p. 50<sup>l</sup> 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|ο̅γ̅ο̅γ̅ζ̅ο̅ρ̅ ε̅ϕ̅ ν̅κ̅ο̅τ̅κ̅ ν̅ι̅χ̅ν̅ π̅ο̅υ̅|ο̅ν̅ε̅ϕ̅ ν̅ζ̅[ν̅]ν̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅ϕ̅ χ̅ε̅ ο̅ϕ̅τ̅ε̅  
 5 ϕ̅ο̅γ̅ω̅μ̅ α̅ν̅ || ο̅ϕ̅τ̅ε̅ ϕ̅κ̅[ω̅] αν̅ ν̅ν̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅ϕ̅ ε̅ο̅ϕ̅ω̅μ̅

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

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

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

(97) 8 ε̅λ̅|μ̅ε̅ι̅| : 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, <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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. <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> nor does he [let] the oxen eat.”

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(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[̄ν] αψ̄ |̄ μμερος ενλησθης νηυ εζου(ν) | ψινᾱ [εϋ]̄νατωοῡν  
 ν̄ιϥω[[ζ]]ουζ̄ ν̄τεϋ̄ |̄ μ̄ν̄τε̄[ρο] ν̄ιϥμουρ̄ μ̄μοϋ εχ̄ν̄ τεϋ̄ |̄ †πε ζ[α] τεζη  
 εν̄πατοϋει εζοῡν

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

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

(106) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε |̄ ζοταν̄ ε̄τετ̄ν̄ψᾱρ̄ π̄σναϋ̄ οῡᾱ τετ̄ναψω̄ ||̄ πε̄ ν̄-  
 20 ψηρε̄ μ̄πρωμε̄ αϋω̄ ε̄τετ̄ν̄ψαν̄ |̄ χ̄οος̄ χε̄ π̄τοοῡ π̄ωωνε̄ εβολ̄ |̄  
 ϋνᾱ |̄ π̄ωωνε̄

(107) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο̄ ε̄στ̄ν̄τ̄ω(ν) |̄ εϋρωμε̄ ν̄ψωσ̄ εϋ̄ν̄ταϋ̄ |̄ μ̄-  
 25 μαϋ̄ ν̄ψε̄ ν̄|ε̄σοοῡ αοϋᾱ ν̄ζητοϋ̄ σωρμ̄ |̄ επ̄νοσ̄ πε̄ ||̄ αϋκω̄ μ̄-  
 π̄στεψιτ̄ αϋψῑνε̄ ν̄σᾱ π̄ιοϋᾱ |̄ ψαν̄τεϋζε̄ εροϋ̄ ν̄ταρεϋζῑσε̄ πε-  
 χαϋ̄ |̄ |̄ μ̄πεσο[[ϋ]]οῡ χε̄ †οῡϋκ̄ |̄ παρᾱ π̄στεψιτ̄ |̄

(108) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε̄ πετασ̄ω̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ τατᾱπρο̄ |̄ ϋνᾱ ψω̄πε̄ ν̄τα-  
 30 ζε̄ αν̄οκ̄ ζω̄ †νᾱ ψω̄πε̄ ||̄ εν̄τοϋ̄ πε̄ αϋω̄ νε̄θη̄π̄ |̄ νᾱ |̄ οῡων̄ζ  
 εροϋ̄ |̄

(109) πεχε ῑϛ̄ χε̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο̄ ε̄στ̄ν̄τ̄ων̄ εϋρω̄ |̄ με̄ εϋ̄ν̄ταϋ̄ μ̄μαϋ̄ ζ̄ν̄  
 35 τεϋ̄ |̄ σω̄ψε̄ ν̄νοϋ̄|ε̄ζο̄ εϋζη̄ |̄ π̄ ε̄ |̄ ϋο̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄σοοῡν̄ εροϋ̄ αϋω̄ |̄ μ̄ |̄ μ̄ν̄-  
 ν̄σᾱ τ̄ |̄ ρεϋμοϋ̄ αϋκααϋ̄ μ̄πεϋ̄ |̄ ||̄ [ψηρε̄ νε̄] π̄ψηρε̄ σοοῡν̄

(106) 19 i.e. ν̄οϋα.

(108) 28 Sah. πετ̄νασ̄ω.

(109) 32-33 i.e. ν̄οϋαζο.

(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|ῑ]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. μ̄πεσοϋ : 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 θη̄σ̄ουρ̄φ̄ κ̄ε̄κ̄ρυμ̄μέν̄φ̄ 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> [son]. The son [did] not know (about the treasure).



- \*p. 51<sup>1</sup>  
(99 L.) ΔΝ` αϥϣι` \* τϥωϣε ετῆμαϥ αϥτααϥ [εβολ]λ αϥω πε[Ν]ταζ-  
τοοϥ αϥει εϥκκαει α[ϥζ]ε απεζο 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  
Leipoldt<sup>2</sup> : poss. corrupt (οϥχ ζοτι . . . αλλα . . . is poss. expected)

(112) 11 ϥϥχη<sup>1</sup> : 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> male will enter the kingdom ' of heaven.”'

The Gospel '  
According to Thomas

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(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.<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup>For 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.<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>3</sup> and a date *between A.D. 200 and 250* is most likely.

<sup>2</sup>E.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.

<sup>3</sup>E.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  $\iota$  (col. i. 16, 19, col. ii. 20) and  $\epsilon\iota$  for  $\eta$  (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 νε).
21. Saying 30, P. Oxy. 1 (→).26 reads “I say” ([λ]έγω); Coptic 39:4 reads “two or one” (σναγ̄ η̄ ογα).
  22. Saying 31, P. Oxy. 1 (→).32 reads “country” (π(ατ)ρίδι); Coptic 39:6 reads “village” (†με).
  23. Saying 32, P. Oxy. 1 (→).36–37 reads “built” (οἰκοδομημένη); Coptic 39:8 reads “being built” (εγκωτ̄ μ̄μοc).
  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 μ̄πετ̄νωπε).
  25. Saying 39, P. Oxy. 655, col. ii. 18 reads “[who were about to] come in” ([τοὺς] εἰσερχομένους); Coptic 40:10 reads “who wish to enter” (ετογωω̄ εβωκ̄ εζογν).

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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Discussion: J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas," *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971) 355–433, with a good survey of work on the Oxyrhynchus fragments to the end of 1969. E. Haenchen, "Literatur zum Thomasevangelium," *Theologische Rundschau* 27 (1961) 147–78, 306–38, discussing the relationship of the Greek and Coptic witnesses. R. A. Kraft, "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655 Reconsidered," *Harvard Theological Review* 54 (1961) 253–62; a survey of work on P. Oxy. 655, with important corrections. M. Marcovich, "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas," *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1969) 53–74; makes useful observations on the text of many sayings, but mistakenly concludes that the Greek fragments must attest to a single form of the text, that the Coptic translations cannot have been derived from any extant Greek witness, and that construction of a textual stemma is possible. H.-Ch. Puech, "The Gospel of Thomas," *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher; English trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 1. 278–307, particularly useful on the testimonia to the *GTh*.

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 φανερομένην 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 Ματθία 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.

πλειστοι 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.

οὔτοι 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 τάδε: . . . 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 ,ατ'

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 Zahn<sup>2</sup> : 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· ἰδοῦ]  
 11 ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ, ὑμᾶς φθήσεται]  
 12 τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανου· 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 ἰδοῦ Grenf.-Hunt : λέγουσιν ὅτι ἰδοῦ 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. εἴσατε Fitzmyer<sup>2</sup> : 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[αφαι]νεται. οὐδὲν  
 39 [γὰρ ἐστ]ι [ν ἀ]π[ο]κεκρ[υμμένον ὃ οὐ φανερόν]  
 40 [ἔσται].

SAYING 7  
P. Oxy. 654.40-42

- 40 [ - - - μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστίν [ - - - ]  
 41 [ - - - λέ]γων 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 ἀναφαινεται Attridge : ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 Fitzmyer : ἀνακαλυμμένα ἐστίν 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 ὃν ἄνθρωπος]  
 41 [ἐσθίει καὶ ὁ λέ]ων ἔστα[ι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀνά-]  
 42 [θεμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ὃν [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(θρωπος)ος Kasser || 41 καὶ<sup>1</sup> Attridge || ὁ λέων Marcovich : λέων Kasser || 41-42 ἄνθρωπος<sup>1</sup>-ὃν Attridge : ἄν(θρωπος)ος καὶ ἀνάθεμά ἐστίν Kasser : ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐπάρατός ἐστίν Marcovich || 42 λέων ἐσθίει Attridge : ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃν 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

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(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 δίᾳ 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 πτωχείαν(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· ἐγώ εἰμι μετ' αὐ-  
 27 τ[οῦ]. ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον(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. ὑπερδομημένη

## 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 [μῆτ]ε ἀφ' ἐσπ[έρας]  
 3 [ἕως π]ρωί, μῆτε [τῆ]  
 4 [τροφῆ ὑ]μῶν τί φά-  
 5 [γητε, μῆτε] τῆ στ[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]ὐ 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 : αὐξάνει Grenf.-Hunt || 10 νήθει Grenf.-Hunt || [μηδ]ὲν Zahn<sup>2</sup> : [καὶ] ἐν Taylor || 11 ἔχοντες Grenf.-Hunt : ἔχοντα Zahn<sup>2</sup> : ἐχόντων Michelsen || 12 ἐνδύεσθε Hilgenfeld : ἐνδεῖτε Grenf.-Hunt : ἐνδεῖσθε Heinrici : ἐνδεῖ 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 ἔμφα-  
 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].

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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.[ --- ]  
                  [ --- ]AN[ --- ]  
                  [ --- ] ... [ --- ]

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

**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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# THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 51<sup>29</sup> 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. 52<sup>1</sup> . . . . . ] | 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 Ν̄ΣΩΥ` 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 Χ̄ΙΜ ΠΖΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑ Π̄Χ̄Σ ΕΙ ΣΕΣΩΝΤ` Μ-

51:29 rest. Schenke ("erschafft"), sim. Till: [Μ]ΑΥ sim. Kasser 30 rest. Polotsky: [ΕΝΑ]ΕΙ sim. rest. Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 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) Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("[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] Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 52:1 [ΔΕ]: Schenke<sup>4</sup>, sim. Krause: cf. 51:32 ΜΕ(Ν) ΜΟΝΟ[Ν ΕΣ] Schenke<sup>4</sup>: first letter trace can be read Η, Γ, Η, Ι, Κ, Μ or Π; second, Ο, Ε, Θ, Ϛ, Ζ or Ϛ ΡΩΨΕ Till: for Ρ can also be read Υ

3 ΜΑΥ: reading of pap. cannot be ΨΑΥ 4 ΧΟ[ΕΙ]Σ: i.e. ΧΟ<sup>1/2</sup>Υ ΕΙΣ

## THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PHILIP

TRANSLATED BY

WESLEY W. ISENBERG

A Hebrew makes another Hebrew, <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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, <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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,

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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 ΨΩΕ | 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 Schenke<sup>4</sup> 34 ΕΒΟ[Λ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΝ] Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : ΕΒΟ[Λ̄ Μ̄ΜΗΝΕ]  
 Schenke<sup>3</sup> ('[an jedem Tage] hervor') : ΕΒΟ[Λ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΝΖΩΒ] sim. Kasser, but unlikely 35  
 [ΤΕϸ̄ΩΨΩΕ Ο]Υ sim. Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : [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 Schenke<sup>3</sup> ('nachdem  
 [έπει] sie, die . . . hinterlegt war . . . , . . . geraten . . . war')

<sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup>

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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> [ . . . ] 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 <sup>5</sup> 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. <sup>10</sup> 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.

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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` ΜῆΝΖΒΟΥΡ | ἸΝCΗΥ  
 ΝΕ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ Μῆ ΒΟΜ` ἸCΕΠΩΡΧ | ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ` ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΟΥ-  
 ΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ|ΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΘΟΟΥ CΕΖΟΥ | ΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΝΖ
- 20 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΠΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΟΥ||ΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΑΒΩΛ  
 | ΕΒΟΛ` ΑΤΕΦΑΡΧΗ ΧΙΝ ΨΟΡΠ` ΝΕΤΧΟCΕ | ΔΕ ΑΠΚΟCΜΟC Ζῆ-  
 ΝΑΤΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕ | ΖῆΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕ
- 25 ἸΡΑΝ ΕΤΟΥ† ΜῆΜΟΥ Α(Ν)|ΚΟCΜΙΚΟC ΟΥῆΤΕΥ ΜῆΜΑΥ ἸΟΥΝΟC Μ||-  
 ΠΛΑΝΗ CΕΠΩΨC ΓΑΡ ΜΠΟΥΖΗΤ` ΕΒΟΛ | Ζῆ ΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ` ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ` | ΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤCΩΤῆ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΦΝΟ|ΕΙ ΑΝ Μ-  
 ΠΕΤCΜΟΝΤ` ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦῆΝΟΕΙ Μ|ΠΕΤ`CΜΟΝΤ ΑΝ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΟΝ Μ-
- 30 ΠΕΙΩΤ` || Μῆ ΠΨΗΡΕ Μῆ ΠΠῆΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Μῆ | ΠΩΝΖ Μῆ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΑΝΑCΤΑ|CΙC Μῆ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ [Μ]ῆ ἸΚΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΕΥῆΝΟΕΙ ΑΝ Ἰ-
- 35 ΝΕΤ|CΜΟ|ΝΤ` ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥῆ|ΝΟΕΙ ἸΝΕΤ`CΜΟΝ|Τ` ΑΝ ΠΛ|ΗΝ` ΑΥCΕ||ΒΟ  
 ΑΝΕΤCΜΟΝΤ` ῆΡΑ[Ν ἸΤΑΥC]ΑΤΜΟΥ | CΕΨΟΟΠ` Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C . . . . .  
 \*p. 54<sup>1</sup> . . ] \* [ΑΠ]ΑΤΑ [Ε]Ἰ[ΕΥ]Ψ[Ο]ΟΠ` Ζῆ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΥΝΑ|ῆΡΟΝΟΜΑΖ[Ε] ΑΝ  
 (101 L.) Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ἸΛΛΑΑΥ ἸΖΟΥΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΚΑΑΥ Ζῆ ἸΖΒΗΥΕ ἸΚΟCΜΙ-
- 5 ΚΟΝ ΟΥῆΤΑΥ ΜῆΜΑΥ ἸΝΟΥΖΑΝ Ζῆ || ΠΑΙΩΝ  
 ΟΥΡΑΝ` ΟΥΩΤ` ΜΑΥΤΕΥΟΥΑΥ` | Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΠΡΑΝ` ἸΤΑ ΠΕΙΩΤ`  
 ΤΑΑΥ` | ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΧΟCΕ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ` ΕΤΕ ΠΑ|ΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΑΝ` Μ-
- 10 ΠΕΙΩΤ` ΝΕΡΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΓΑΡ` ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ` ΕΙΩΤ` CΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ ΑΥ† ΖΙ||-  
 ΩΩΥ` ΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ` ΠΕΕΙΡΑΝ ΝΕ|ΤΕΥῆΤΑΥΨ CΕῆΝΟΕΙ ΜΕΝ` Μ-  
 ΜΟΥ CΕΨΑ|ΧΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΜῆΤΑΥΨ ΔΕ CΕ|ῆΝΟΕΙ

16-17 Sah. Ἰνευερηυ . . . ανευερηυ. 22 Sah. ζενατβωλ.

25 Sah. μπευζητ. 28 αυ : Sah. ευ-. 29 τεειζε ον : i.e. ταιτε 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` : for ῆ can also be read η or γ 35 ῆΡΑ[ - - ]ΑΤ : for ῆΡΑ[ can also be read ῆΡ[; for ΑΤ can also be read ]Τ ΡΑ[Ν ἸΤΑΥC]ΑΤΜΟΥ Schenke<sup>4</sup>, sim. Ménard 36-54:1 ΠΚΟCΜΟ[<sup>8</sup>] \* [ . . ]ΑΤΑ : or else ΠΚΟCΜΟ- [<sup>8</sup>] \* [ . . ]ΝΑ ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C - - ] \* [ΑΠ]ΑΤΑ Krause, with hesitation : ΠΚΟCΜΟ[C ζωC` 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 . . . ουῆταυ : "den Dingen . . . <die> ein Ende finden" em. Schenke<sup>3</sup>

11 -ῆῆταυ : second γ added above the line

Light and darkness, <sup>15</sup> 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. <sup>20</sup> 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, <sup>25</sup> 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" <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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.

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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 ΑΥΤΑΔἢ ΑΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΝἢ | ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΖΙΤἢ ΡἘΡΑΝ ΕΥΝΑΡἢ ἄΠΑ-  
 25   ΤΑ Μ|ΜΟϞἢ ΑΥΩ ἢΣΕΜΟΡΟΥ ΕΖΟΥἢ ἢ ΑΝΕΤΝΑ||ΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΝ ΑΥΩ ΜΜἢἢ-  
 ΣΩΣ ΕΨΧΕ ΕΥ|ΕΙΡΕ ΝΑΥ ἢΟΥΖΜΟΤἢ ἢΣΕΤΡΟΥΣΕΖΩΟΥ | ΕΒΟΛ ἢΝΕΤΝΑ-  
 ΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΝ ΑΥΩ ἢΣΕ|ΚΑΔΥ Ζἢ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ   ΝΑΕΙ ΝΕΥΣΟ|ΟΥἢ Μ-  
 30   ΜΟΟΥ   ΝΕΥΟΥΨ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΟΥ||ϞΙ ΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡ|Ο|Σ ἢΣΕΚΑΔἢ ΝΑΥ ἢ-  
 ΖΜΖΑΛἢ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ

          ΟΥἢ ΖἢΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ | ΨΟΟΠἢ ΕΥ†Ζ[ . . . ] ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΣΕΟΥΨ | ΔΝἢ  
 ΑΤΡΕϞἢ ΟΥ[ΧΑΕΙ] ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩ|ΠΕ ΕΥΜ[ . . . . ] | ἢ   ΕΡΨΑ ΠΡΩΜΕ  
 35   ΓΑΡ || ΟΥϞ[ΔΕΙ ἢΝΟΥ] ΨΩΠΕ ἢΒΙ ΖἢΘΥΣΙΑ | [ . . . . . ] ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΤΑΛΕ  
 \*p. 55<sup>1</sup>  
 (103 L.)   ΘΗΡΙΟΝἢ \* ΕΖΡΑἢ ἢἢΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ   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. ἢΟΥΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ.

32–33 εσε- . . . ΔΝ: Sah. ενσε- . . . ΔΝ.

14 † ΝΑΕΙ: emend to ΤΑΕΙ (Layton): deleted by de Catanzaro 16–17 † . . . †: poss. emend to ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΗΤἢ CO ἢΖΑΖ ΕΤΣΕ|ΒΟ (Layton): ΑΥΩ CO ἢΖΑΖ ΕΤΒΗΤἢ ΕΤΣΕΒΟ 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 Wilson<sup>2</sup>) 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[ . . . . ] | ἢ : for γ can also be read Ϟ: no superlin. stroke was written above Μ: for ἢ can also be read ἄ   ΕΥΜ[ΗΝ ΕΒΟ]ἢ Schenke<sup>5</sup>: also possible is ΕΥΜ[ΗΖἢ ΕΒΟ]ἢ 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 [ἢΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ]: “[es gab Opfer (θυσία)]” rest. Schenke<sup>3</sup> <ἢ>- ΝΕΥ Kasser 55: l of ἢ. the letter ἢ is definite, superlin. stroke restored: rest. Schenke (1985) [Θ]ΗΡΙΟΝ Schenke<sup>3</sup> ΓΑΡ: deciphered by Schenke<sup>4</sup> 2 rest. Till

But truth brought names into existence ' in the world for our sakes because it is not possible <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> him up to God

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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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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) <sup>35</sup> unless [he] had had another father, ' but he would have said simply, ‘‘[My father].’’ '

- \*p. 56<sup>1</sup>  
(104 L.) ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΜΜΑΘ|ΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ <sup>1:3½</sup>. | \* {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 ΨΟΟΡ 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. 57<sup>1</sup>  
(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 Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>ΛΛ</sup> 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. Schenke<sup>4</sup> 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. <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 ΜΝ ΠΕQ`CΝΟQ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ | ΠΕΤ-  
 5 ΔΟΥΩΜ ΑΝ ΝΤΑCΑΡZ ΑΥΩ ΝΪCΩ Μ||ΠΑCΝΟQ` ΜΝΤΑQ ΩΝZ ΓΡΑΪ Ν-  
 ΖΗΤQ̄ ΑΩ | ΤΕ` ΤΕQ`CΑΡZ ΠΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΕQ`CΝΟQ` | ΠΕ  
 ΠΠΝᾹ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΧΙ ΝΑΕΙ ΟΥ(Ν)|ΤΕQ` ΤΡΟΦΗ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ-  
 10 ΤΑQ` CΩ ΖΙ ΒCΩ` | ΑΝΟΚ` †C̄Ν ΑΡΙΚΕ ΑΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC || ΧΕ  
 CΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΕΙΤΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΕC|ΝΑΥ CΕΩΟΟΠ` ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΨΤΑ` ΚΧΩ ΜΜΟC | ΧΕ ΤCΑΡZ` ΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΟΟC  
 ΕΡΟ|ΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΩ ΠΕΤΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΨΙΝΑ ΕΝΑΤΑ|ΕΙΟΚ` ΚΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ  
 15 ΠΠΝᾹ ΖΝ ΤCΑΡZ || ΑΥΩ ΠΕΕΙΚΕΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΤCΑΡZ ΟΥΛΟ|ΓΟC  
 ΠΕ ΠΕΕΙΚΕ ΕQΖΝ ΤCΑΡZ ΧΕ † ΠΕΤΚΝΑ|ΧΟΟC ΕΚ ΧΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΑΝ ΜΠΒΟΛ  
 ΝΤCΑΡZ | ΖΑΠC̄ ΠΕ ΕΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΝ ΤΕΕΙCΑΡZ` ΕΖΩΒ | ΝΙΜ` ΨΟΟΠ` Ν-  
 20 ΖΗΤC̄ ΖΜ ΠΕΕΙΚΟCΜΟC || ΝΕΤ† ΖΙΩΟΥ ΝΝΖΒCΩ CΕCΟΤΠ` ΑΝΝ|-  
 Z̄ΒCΩ ΖΝ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΝZ̄ΒCΩ | CΕCΟΤΠ` ΑΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΖΙΩΟΥ  
 ΖΙΤΝ | ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ` ΕΥΤΟΥΒΟ ΜΠΜΑ | ΤΗΡQ` ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝZ ΖΙΤΝ  
 25 ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝZ Ε||ΒΟΛ ΝΕΘΗΠ` ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΘΗΠ` ΟΥΝ ΖΟ|ΕΙΝΕ ΕΥΖΗΠ` ΖΙΤΝ  
 ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝZ ΕΒΟΛ | ΟΥΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΚΩΖΤ` | ΖΝ-  
 ΝΟΥΧΡΙCΜΑ  
 30 ΑΙC̄ QΙΤΟΥ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ | ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕQ`ΟΥΩΝZ[Ζ] ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ` ΝΘΕ ||  
 ΕΝΕQΨΟΟΠ` [ΝZ]Η[ΤC̄ Α]ΛΛΑ ΝΤ`ΑΦΟΥΩΝZ | ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΕΤ[ΟΥΝΑΩ]-  
 C̄Μ ΒΟΜ` ΝΝΑΥ | ΕΡΟQ` ΝΖΗΤC̄ Ν[ΔΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΗ]ΡΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΩΝZ ΕΒΟΛ  
 35 ΝΑΥ ΑQ[ΟΥΩΝZ] ΕΒΟΛ Ν[Ν]ΝΟC ΖΩC ΝΟC ΑΦΟΥΩ[ΝZ ΕΒΟΛ] Ν||Ν-  
 \*p. 58<sup>1</sup>  
 (106 L.) ΚΟΥΕΙ ΖΩC ΚΟΥΕΙ ΑQ[ΟΥΩΝZ ΕΒΟΛ] \* [ΝΝ]ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΖΩC ΑΓΓΕΛΟC  
 ΑΥΩ | ΝΡΡΩΜΕ ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΑΠΕQ`ΛΟΓΟC ΑQΖΟΠQ` ΕΟΥΟΝ`  
 5 ΝΙΜ` ΖΟΕΙΝΕ | ΜΕΝ` ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ` ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΝΑΥΝΑΥ || ΕΡΟΟΥ Μ-  
 ΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ` ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΡΕQ`ΟΥΩΝZ` ΕΒΟΛ` ΝΝΕQ`ΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΖΝ-  
 ΝΟΥΕΟ|ΟΥ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΕQΟ ΑΝ ΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΑQ`ΨΩΠΕ Ν-

57:4 i.e. πετε ν̄qηδουωv αν. 8 i.e. z̄bcω (Till emends thus). 20–21 αν̄nz̄bcω : Sah. εν̄nz̄bcω

28 i.e. z̄n ουχριcμα.

58:4 Sah. νεγναυ. 6 i.e. z̄n ουεοου.

57:10 ειτε : επειε m. de Catanzaro : Till reads as corruption for ε̄ιτα, with hesitation 15  
 πεεικε : copyist first omitted iota, then added it between epsilon and kappa 16 †  
 πετκνα|χοοc : emend to πετκναχοοq (Layton)

30 [nz]η[τc̄ α]λλα : cf. 57:32 : [na]m[ε α]λλα sim. Till, but unlikely ουωνz̄ read in  
 photographs 31 rest. Schenke ("wie [sie] ihn sehen konnten"), sim. Barns 32 ν[δει  
 δε τη]ρου Layton : "die [sich im] Wasser befinden" Schenke (i.e. ? ν[ετz̄m πμ]ρου)

It is that which belongs to Jesus ' and his blood. Because of this he said, ' "He who shall not eat my flesh and drink <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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, <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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] <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 ΕϞΘ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΣ  
 ΠΕΧΑϞ̄ Μ̄ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄Μ̄|ΜΑΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ ΧΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΩΤ̄Ρ̄ | Μ̄ΠΤΕ-  
 15 ΛΕΙΟΣ † ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ̄ ΕΠ̄Π̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΕΤΟΥ|ΔΑΒ̄ Ζ̄ΟΤ̄Ρ̄ Ν̄ΑΓ̄ Γ̄ΕΛΟΣ ΕΡΟΝ̄  
 ΖΩΩΝ Α Ν̄|ΖΙΚΩΝ Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕῙ Μ̄Π̄ΖΙΕΒ̄ 〰 ΔΧ̄Ν̄|ΤϞ̄ ΓΑΡ̄ Μ̄Ν̄  
 ΨΩΒΟΜ̄ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΠ̄<Ρ̄>ΡΟ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ ΛΑΔΥ | ΝΑΨ† ΠΕϞ̄ΟΥΘΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ̄ ΕΠ̄Ρ̄ΡΟ̄  
 ΕϞ̄|ΚΗΚΑΖΗϞ̄  
 ΠΡ̄Μ̄Π̄Π̄ ΝΑΨΕ ΝΕϞ̄ΨΗΡΕ | Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ̄ ΑΠ̄Ρ̄Μ̄ΚΑΣ ΕΨΧΕ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄-  
 20 Δ|ΔΑΜ̄ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΚΑΙΤΟΙΓΕ ΨΑΥΜΟΥ ΠΟ||ΣΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΤΕ-  
 ΛΕΙΟΣ Ρ̄Ρ̄Ω|ΜΕ ΝΑΕΙ ΕΜΑΥΜΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟ|ΟῩ ΟΥΘΕΙΩ  
 ΝΙΜ̄ ΠΕΙΩΤ̄ ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΨΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΨΗΡΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΒΟΜ̄ Μ̄ΜΟῩ Ν̄Ϟ̄ΤΑ|  
 25 ΜΙΕ ΨΗΡΕ ΠΕΝ̄ΤΑΥΧΠΟΥ ΓΑΡ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ ΒΟΜ̄ || Μ̄ΜΟῩ Ν̄Ϟ̄ΧΠΟ ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΕΨΨΗΡΕ ΧΠΟ̄ | ΝΑϞ̄ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΣΝΗΥ Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΔΝ̄ ΝΕΤΟΥ|ΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟῩ ΤΗ-  
 ΡΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ | ΕΥΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟῩ|Ῡ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΥ|Ω Ν̄ΚΟΟΥΕ  
 30 Ζ̄Μ̄ [ΠΑΕ] | [ΕΤ]ΟΥΧΠΟ Μ̄ΜΟῩ || ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ν̄Ζ̄ΗΤϞ̄ [ΕΥΣΟΕΙ]Ω̄ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΥ  
 | ΕΠ̄Ρ̄ΩΜΕ Χ̄| Μ̄Π̄ΣΟ|ΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Μ̄ Π̄Ρ̄|Ρ̄|ΗΤ̄ ΕΖ̄Ο̄|ΥΝ̄ ΕΠ̄ΤΟ|ΠΟΣ Μ̄Π̄ΣΑ  
 ΝΤΠΕ | [ . . . . . ] Μ̄ΜΟῩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ Τ̄ΤΑΠΡΟ | [ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕ] ΑΠΛΟΓΟΣ  
 \*p. 59<sup>1</sup>  
 (107 L.) ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΥ \* ΝΕϞ̄ΝΑΣΟΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΤΑΠΡΟ ΑΥ[Ω] | ΝΕϞ̄ΝΑΨΩ-  
 ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΓΑΡ̄ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΠΕΙ ΕΥΩ̄ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΧΠΟ ΔΙΑ  
 5 ΤΟΥΤΟ | ΑΝΟΝ̄ ΖΩΩΝ Τ̄Ν̄† ΠΙ ΕΡ̄Ν̄ Ν̄Ν̄ΝΕΡΗΥ || ΕΝΧΙ Μ̄Π̄Ω̄ 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. Schenke<sup>1</sup> : 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|ΗΤ̄ rest. Schenke ("Verheissung"), Till 32 ΕΖ̄Ο̄| : also possible are ΕΒΟ|, ΕΧ|, ΕΥ|, etc. ΕΖ̄Ο̄|ΥΝ̄ Ε - - - | Schenke<sup>1</sup> [ - - - ΤΟ]ΠΟΣ Schenke<sup>1</sup> : [ - - - 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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. <sup>30</sup> 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. <sup>5</sup> We receive conception from the grace which is in ' one another.

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58:15 the king: *the manuscript has (erroneously) the door (but in 58:16. the king)*

- 10 ΝΕ ΟΥΝ ΨΟΜΤΕ ΜΟΩΨΕ ΜΝ | ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΟΥΟΕΙΩ 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 ΠΩΗ|ΡΕ ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΝ ΝΕ ΡΡΑΝ ΠΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ | ΟΥΡΑΝ`  
 ΠΕ ΝΔΙΠΛΟΥΝ ΣΕΨΟΟΠ ΓΑΡ` Μ|ΜΑ ΝΙΜ` ΣΕΜΨΑ 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 ΕΨΩΗΠ` 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  
 [ . . . 5. . . \* ΑΥ]Ψ ΝΑΨ[Ε] ΝΕΣΨΗΡΕ  
 \*p. 60<sup>1</sup>  
 (108 L.) ΠΕΤΕΥΝΤΑΨ` | ΝΣΙ ΠΕΙΩΤ` ΝΑ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΥ ΖΩ|ΨΩΨ` ΠΩΗ-  
 ΡΕ ΕΝΖΟΣΟΝ ΦΟ ΝΚΟΥΕΙ` ΜΑΥ|ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΝΑΨ`ΑΝΕΤΕ ΝΟΥΨ` ΖΟΤΑΝ  
 5 ΕΨ`ΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΨΕΙΩΤ` † ΝΑΨ` | ΝΕΤΕΥΝΤΑΒΣΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ

7 i.e. ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ.

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. ΝΜ-. 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 εϛ :  
 ες Barns 32 rest. Barns, Till 33 ερο[ς χε πκε]ςεπει Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("{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 ]Ϟ 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.  
<sup>10</sup> 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; <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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.” <sup>30</sup> 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 [ . . . ] <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> he becomes a man his father gives him ' all that he possesses.

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<sup>59:20</sup> they are blinded: viz., *the evil powers*

ΝΕΤCORM` ΝΕ ΤΕ Π`ΠΝᾹ ΧΠΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΨΑΥCΩΡM` ΟΝ` ΕΒΟΛ | ΖΙ-  
 ΤΟΟΥΤQ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ` ΖΙΤM ΠΙΠΝᾹ | ΟΥΩΤ` QΧΕΡΟ Ν̄ΔΙ ΠΚΩΖΤ`  
 10 ΑΥΩ QΩΨM̄ ||  
 ΚΕΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΕΧΑΜΩΘ̄ ΑΥΩ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΠΕ` | ΕΧMΩΘ̄ ΕΧΑΜΩΘ̄ ΤΕ ΤCΟ-  
 ΦΙΑ ΖΑΠΛΩC | ΕΧMΩΘ̄ ΔΕ ΤΕ ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΤΑ|ΕΙ ΤΕ {ΤCΟΦΙΑ  
 15 ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ} ΕΤCΟ|ΟΥΝ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ||  
 ΤΚΟΥΕΙ Ν̄CΟΦΙΑ  
 ΟΥN̄ ΖN̄ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΨΟΟΠ` | ΕΥΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΜΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΘΕ ΜΠΜΑCΕ | ΜN̄  
 ΠΕΙΩ ΜN̄ ΖN̄ΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΤΕΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΟΥ|N̄ ΖN̄ΚΟΟΥΕ ΨΟΟΠ` ΕΥΖΥΠΟ-  
 20 ΤΑCCE ΑΝ` | ΕΥΟΥΑΤ` ΖN̄ ΝΕΡΗΜΙΑ` ΠΡΩΜΕ CΚΔΕΙ N̄|ΤCΩΨΕ ΖΙΤN̄ N̄-  
 ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE | ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖM̄ ΠΑΕΙ QCΟΕΙΨ` N̄ΤΟΥQ` ΜN̄ N̄-  
 ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤ`ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤ`ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΑΝ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ  
 25 ΘΕ ΜΠΤΕΛΙΟC | P̄ΡΩΜΕ ΖΙΤN̄ ΖN̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙC † ΕΤΖΥΠΟΤΑC`||CΕ ΕQCΚΔΕΙ  
 ΟΥΟΝ` ΝΙΜ` ΕQCΟΒΤΕ ΕΤΡΟΥ|ΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΓΑΡ` ΕΠΜΑ ΤΗΡQ`  
 ΑΖΕ|ΡΑΤQ` ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥQ` ΕΙΤΕ ΝΕΘΟΟΥ | ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ` ΜN̄ N̄-  
 30 ΒΒΟΥΡ ΠΕΠNᾹ ΕΤΟΥ|ΑΑΒ QΜΟΟΝΕ Q[ΥΟ]Ν ΝΙΜ` ΑΥΩ QP̄ΑΡΧΕΙ || N̄-  
 N̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙC Τ[ΗΡΟ]Υ [N]ΕΤ`ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE | ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ`ΖΥΠ[ΟΤΑCCE Δ]Ν ΜN̄  
 ΝΕΤ`ΟΥΑΤ` | ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ QCΩQ[ . . . ] ΨΩΠΤΠ` ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΙΖΟΥΝ` ΧΕ[ΚΑΑC  
 . . ]ΨΑΝ`ΟΥΩΨ ΝΟΥΨ||B]ΨK̄ [ΕΒΟΛ]  
 35 [ΠΕΝΤ]ΔΥΠΛΑCCE ΜΜΟΥ ΝΕ||CΩQ ΑΛΛΑ Ν|ΕΚΝΑΖΕ <ΑΝ> ΑΝΕQ-  
 \*p. 61<sup>1</sup> ΨΗΡΕ ΕΥΟ` \* ΜΠΛΑCΜΑ ΝΕΥΓΕΝΗC ΕΨΧΕ ΜΠΟΥP̄ΠΛΑCCE ΜΜΟΥQ`  
 (109 L.) ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ ΧΠΟΥQ` ΝΕΚ`ΝΑ|ΖΕ ΑΠΕQ`CΠΕΡΜΑ ΕQΟ ΝΕΥΓΕΝΗC ΤΕ|  
 5 ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΠΛΑCCE ΜΜΟΥQ` ΑQ`ΧΠΟ ΑΨ || ΝΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΠΕ  
 ΠΑΕΙ` ΨΟΡΠ` ΑΤM̄N̄T̄ΝΟΥΕΙΚ` ΨΩΠΕ ΜM̄N̄N̄CΩC ΦΩΤΒΕ ΑΥΩ

9 i.e. ΝΟΥΩΤ.

29 i.e. ΝΟΥΟΝ. 33–34 Sah. N̄NEΥΨBΩK.

13 { . . . } deleted by Schenke

24–25 † emend to ΕΥΖΥΠΟΤΑC`||CΕ (Layton) 30 rest. Schenke ('[alle] Kräfte, [die]'), sim. Till 32 QωQ[ . . . ] Ψ: for ε can also be read ϑ, ϕ, ϑ or poss. ψ; for ω can also be read q, etc. 33 rest. Layton (either [ - - - εϕ]ΨΑΝ or [ - - - εϕ]ΨΑΝ is needed): χε [ΝΑΕΙ ΕΥ]ΨΑΝ`ΟΥΩΨ Schenke<sup>2</sup> ('da[mit] sie, wenn [sie] wollen') 34 ω: or else ψ for κ can also be read η, ι, etc. [B]ΨK̄ [ΕΒΟΛ - - - ] Isenberg<sup>2</sup>: [X]ΨK̄ etc. Schenke<sup>4</sup>

34 [ - - - ΠΕΝΤ]ΔΥ sim. Kasser 34–35 ΝΕ||CΩQ - - - ] rest. Kasser: cf. *Gospel of Truth* CG I 17:19–20 35 [ - - - ΑΛΛΑ Ν|ΕΚΝΑΖΕ <ΑΝ> ΑΝΕQ- Layton: [ - - - ΑΥΩ Ν|ΕΚΝΑΖΕ ΑΝΕQ- 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. <sup>10</sup>

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 <sup>15</sup> “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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> [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 <sup>35</sup> [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 <sup>5</sup> nobility is this? First adultery ' came into being, afterward murder. And

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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*

10 ἀγ|χποϞ` εβολ` ζἡ τῆ̄ντῆ̄νοεικ`    νε πωη|ρε γαρ` ᾠφοϞ` πε    δια  
 τοῦτο ἀψωπε | ἡ̄ζατῆ̄ρωμε ἡ̄θε ᾠπεϞεεωτ`    ἀγ||ω ἀμμοϞοϞτ`  
 ᾠπεϞ`σον    κοινωνια δε | nim` ἡ̄ταζωπε εβολ ζἡ νε†νε αν` ἡ̄-  
 νοϞερηϞ οὔμῆ̄τῆ̄νοεικ` τε`  
 πνοϞτε | οϞχσιτ πε    ἡ̄θε ἡ̄ἡ̄χωδε ετῆ̄νανοϞοϞ | ψαῦμοϞτε  
 15 εροϞϞ` χε ἡ̄αληθῆ̄νον ψαῦ||μοϞ μῆ̄ νεν`ταϞ χωδε ζραἶ ἡ̄ζητοϞ  
 τα`|ει τε θε ἡ̄νεν`τα πνοϞτε χοβοϞ`    ε|πειδη ζἡἡατ`μοϞ νε  
 νεϞχωδε ψαῦ|ῤ ατμοϞ εβολ` † ζιτοοτϞ` ἡ̄νεϞ`παζρε` |    πνοϞτε  
 20 δε ῤβαπτιζε ἡ̄νετϞῤβαπτι||ζε ᾠμοϞοϞ ζἡ οὔμοϞοϞ  
 μῆ̄ [[οϞ]] σομ` | ἡ̄τε λααϞ ναϞ` ἀλααϞ ζἡ νετ`σμοτ` | εἰμητιἡ̄-  
 τε πετῆ̄μαϞ ψωπε ἡ̄θε | ἡ̄νετῆ̄μαϞ    ἡ̄θε ᾠῤρωμε αν εϞζῆ̄  
 25 πκοσμοϞ ϞναϞ εῤρη εϞο ῤρη || αν    ἀϞω ϞναϞ ετπε μῆ̄ πκαζ μῆ̄ ἡ̄-  
 κεζβηϞε τηροϞ εν`τοϞ` αν πε νετῆ̄μαϞ    ταειτε θε ζραἶ ζἡ  
 τμε    ἀλλα ακ`|ναϞ ελααϞ` ἡ̄τε πμα ετῆ̄μαϞ ακ`ψω|πε ἡ̄νετῆ̄-  
 30 μαϞ`    ακναϞ ἀπῆ̄ἡ̄α ακ`||ψωπε ᾠῤῆ̄α    ακῆ̄α[γ α]πῆ̄α ακψωπε |  
 ἡ̄χ̄    ακναϞ ἀτ[ειωτ κ]ἡ̄αψωπε ἡ̄ει|ωτ`    δια τοῦτο [ἡ̄νεεἰμα]  
 μεν κναϞ | αζωβ nim` ἀϞω Ϟ[ναϞ ερο]κ` αν οὔαακ` |    κναϞ δε  
 35 εροκ` ᾠῤ[μα ετῆ̄]μαϞ    πετῆ̄κῆ̄ναϞ γαρ` εροϞ` εκῆ̄αψωπε ᾠῤ]οϞ |  
 \*p. 62<sup>1</sup>    τῤιστις χἰ    ταγαῤῆ̄ σ†    μ[ἡ̄ λααϞ ναϞ]\*[χἰ] ἀχἡ̄  
 (110L.)    τῤιστις    [μ]ἡ̄ λααϞ ναϞ† ἀχἡ̄|αγαῤῆ̄    ετβε παει` χεκαασ  
 μεν` εἡασι | τῆ̄ῤῤιστεϞε ψἰνα δε<ε> εἡαμε ἡ̄τῆ̄†    επει | ερψα

61:11–12 Sah. νετε ἡ̄σεεἰνε αν ἡ̄νεϞερηϞ.

14 i.e. εψαῦμοϞτε. 17 i.e. ζεἡατμοϞ.

32 ἡ̄νεεἰμα : Sah. ζῆ̄ πεεἰμα.

61:18 † ζιτοοτϞ ἡ̄- : emend to ζιτοοτοϞ ἡ̄- (thus Till) 19–20 βαπτιζε : βαπτε em. Schenke 20 ζἡ οὔμοϞοϞ μῆ̄ [[οϞ]] σομ : [[οϞ]] cancelled by the copyist 20–21 ζἡ οὔμοϞοϞ μῆ̄ οὔσομ μῆ̄ λααϞ ναϞ em. de Catanzaro (“in water and power. No one sees”)

32 rest. Schenke (“hier”), Layton (cf. 86:6) 33 rest. Schenke<sup>3</sup> (“und [siehst dich] selbst nicht”), sim. Ménard 34 rest. Schenke (“d[or]t”), sim. Till 35 rest. de Catanzaro (“you will [become]”)

36 μ[ἡ̄] read in photographs 62:2–3 ετβε παει χεκαασ μεν εἡα- ... ψἰνα δε<ε> εἡαμε ἡ̄τῆ̄† sim. Helmbold : “deswegen [wollen wir uns mühen], damit wir ... damit wir wahrhaftig [i.e. δε ἡ̄αμε] geben,” Schenke but unlikely (ψἰνα is constructed with 2nd Future in this text) : cf. 61:36–62:2 3 ψἰνα δε ἡ̄αμε ἡ̄τῆ̄† <ζαπς πε ἡ̄τῆ̄με> em. Till, but unlikely (cf. on 62:2–3)

he ' was begotten in adultery, for he was the child ' of the serpent. So he became ' a murderer, just like his father, and <sup>18</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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; <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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

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61:36–62:1 will be able to . . . will be able to . . . or, can . . . can



- 5 ΟΥΑ † ΖἸ ΟΥΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΝ ΜἸΤΕϩ Ω||ΦΕΛΕΙΑ ΖἸ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΤΑΑϩ ΠΕΝ-  
 ΤΑΖ ΧΙ | ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΝ Ο ΝἸΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΕΤΙ  
 ΝΑΠΟ|ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΤΖΙ ΤἸΝΕΖΗ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΝΕΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΧΕ ΙἸΣ ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ  
 10 ΜΕΣΣΙΑΣ ΕΤΕ | ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΙἸΣ ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΧḲ̄ ΠΖΑΕ || ΡἸΡΑΝ̄ ΠΕ  
 ΠΕΧḲ̄ ΠΨΟΡΠ̄ ΠΕ ΙḲ̄ ΠΕΤΖἸ | ΤΜΗΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΝΑΖΑΡΗΝΟΣ ΜΕΣ-  
 ΣΙΑΣ̄ | ΟΥἸΝΤΑϩ̄ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ ΣἸΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧḲ̄ | ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΨΗΥ ΙḲ̄ Μ-  
 15 ΜἸΝΤΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ | ΠΣΩΤΕ ΝΑΖΑΡΑ ΤΕ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΝΑ||ΖΑΡΗΝΟΣ  
 [ΝΕ] ΒΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ † ΠΕ ΠΧḲ̄ † | ΝΤΑΨΙΤϩ̄ ΠΝΑΖΑΡΗΝΟΣ ΜἸ  
 ΙḲ̄ | ΝΕΝΤΑΨΙΤΟΥ  
 ΠΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΥΨΑ(Ν)ΝΟΧϩ̄ ΕΠΙΤἸ ΕΠΒΟΡΒΟΡΟΝ ΨΑΨΩΠΕ  
 20 {ΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ̄} ΕΨΩΗΣ ΝΖΟΥΟ || ΟΥΤΕ ΕΥΨΑΤΑΖΣϩ̄ ἸΝΑΠΟΒΑΡΣΙ-  
 ΜΟΝ | ΕΨΝΑΨΩΠΕ <ΑΝ> ΕΨΤΑΕΙΗῩ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥἸΝΤΑϩ̄ | ΜἸΜΑΥ ΜΠΤΑΕΙΟ  
 ΖΑΣΤἸ ΠΕϩ̄ ΧΟΕΙΣ̄ | ΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ̄ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝἸΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 25 ΖἸ ΝΕΤΟΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ || ΕΤΙ ΟΥἸΝΤΑΥ ΜἸΜΑΥ ΜΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΖΑΣΤἸ  
 ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ̄  
 ΕΚ̄ ΨΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ̄ ΟΥἸΟΥΔΑΪ | ΜἸ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΚΙΜ̄ ΕΚΨΑ-  
 ΧΟΟΣ̄ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ̄ ΟΥἸΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΜἸ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΡΤΑΡΑΣΣΕ ΕΚΨΑ|ΧΟΟΣ  
 30 ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ̄ ΟΥἸΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΟΥΒΑΡΒΑ||ΡΟΣ ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ [ΟΥΕΛΕΥ|ΘΕΡΟΣ ΜἸ  
 ΛΑΑΥ | ΝΑΨΤΟΡΤἸ ΕΚΨΑΧΟΟΣ] ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ̄ ΟΥΧΡΗ|ΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ Π[ . . .  
 . . ] ΝΑΝΟΕΙΝ ἸΓΕΝΟΙ|ΤΟ ΝΤΑΨ[. . . ΝΤ]ΕΕΙΜΕΙΝΕ ΠΑΕῙ Ε||Τ]Ε

62:6 ο ΝἸ- : i.e. ο Ν̄ (poss. emend thus).

7 ζι τἸΝΕΖΗ : Sah. ζα ΤΕΝΖΗ.

20 i.e. ἸΝΑΠΟΒΑΡΣΙΜΟΝ. 23 i.e. ἸΟΥΟΕΙΨ 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 ΠΧḲ̄ † : emend to ΠΧḲ̄ ΠΕ (thus de  
 Catanzaro [‘‘the Christ is . . .’’]) 16 ΨΙΤϩ̄ : ΨΙΤϩ̄ em. de Catanzaro ΝΑΖΑ : second a  
 written over erasure of η

18–19 {ΨΑΨΩΠ} ΕΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ̄ 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. : Schenke<sup>4</sup> ἸΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ : ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ em. Kasser, with  
 hesitation 33 for Ψ can also be read ϖ or poss. ϑ, ο or ϣ Ψ[ΩΠΕ ἸΤ]ΕΙ- de Catan-  
 zaro, with hesitation (‘‘[become] such a one’’) : Ψ[ΟΠϩ̄ ἸΤ]ΕΙ- Schenke<sup>4</sup>

one gives without love, he has no <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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, <sup>30</sup> 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 '

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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. 63<sup>1</sup> πνουτε ογαμρω`\*με πε δια τουτο σε[ψω]ωτ ῃπρωμ[ε] |  
 (III L.) ναϥ` ζα τετη εμπατοϥωωτ` ῃπρωμε νεϥωωτ` ῆζῆθη-  
 5 ριον νε ζῆνοϥτε γαρ αν νε ναει ετοϥωωτ` ναϥ ||  
ῆσκεϥος ῆναβαδθειν ῆσκεϥος | ββλχε ψαϥωωπε εβολ ζιτῆ  
 πκωζτ` | αλλα ῆσκεϥος ῆναβαδθειν εϥωα|οϥωπ` παλιν` ψαϥ-  
 10 ταμιοοϥ ῆταϥωωπε γαρ εβολ ζῆ οϥῆῆα ῆσκεϥος || δε ββλχε  
 εϥωαοϥωπ` ψαϥτακο | ῆταϥωωπε γαρ χωρις νιϥε  
οϥειω | εκκωτε ζα οϥωνε ῆνοϥτ αϥῆ ψε ῆμιλος | εβολ εϥ`-  
 μοοϥε ῆταροϥκααϥ` εβολ | αϥζε εροϥ ον εϥζῆ πιμα πιμα  
 15 || οϥν ζῆρωμε ψοοπ` ψαϥῆ ζαζ ῆμο|οϥε` εβολ` αϥω μαϥπρο-  
 κοπτε ε|λααϥ ῆμα ῆταρε ροϥζε ωωπε ερο|οϥ οϥτε ῆποϥναϥ  
 20 επολις οϥτε | κωμη οϥτε κτιςις οϥτε φυςις ῆ || δϥναμικ` ῆ  
αγ`ελοσ εικη ανταλα|πωροσ ζισε  
τεϥχαριςτεια πε ῆ εϥ|μοϥτε γαρ` εροϥ` ῆμντςϥροσ χε φα-  
 ρισαθα ετε παει πε πετπορω` εβολ | αις γαρ ει εϥ`σταϥροϥ ῆ-  
 25 πκοσμοσ ||  
απχοεις βωκ` εζοϥ[ῆ] επμα ῆχωδε | ῆλεγει αϥϥι ψβεςνοοϥς  
ῆχρωμα | αϥνοχοϥ ατροζε αϥῆτοϥ εζρα| | εϥοβω τη-  
 30 ροϥ αϥω πεχαϥ χε ταει | τε θε ῆταϥει ῆμοσ ῆσι πωηρ[ε ῆ]-  
πωηρ]ε ῆπρωμ[ε ε]ϥ[ο] ῆχζιτ`  
τσο|φια ετοϥμοϥτ[ε ερο]ς χε τςτιρα ῆτοσ 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. εγοϥοβω.

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 : η[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 ῆ . . . ῆ . . . : expected is οϥτε . . . οϥτε . . . ογ η . . . η . . .

22 εϥμοϥτε εροϥ : εϥμοϥτε εροσ em. Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("<sie> heisst")

29-30 [ε ῆπωηρ] cancelled by the copyist 30 sim. rest. Till

33 ῆπς[ωηρ τε μα]ρια Isenberg : ῆπς[ωτηρ μα]ρια Schenke<sup>3</sup> : cf. 59:6-11

name [ . . . ] will not be able to endure <sup>35</sup> [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. <sup>5</sup>

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 <sup>10</sup> 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. <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup>

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 <sup>30</sup> 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. '

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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. 64<sup>1</sup> ΤΗC \* . . ] . ΕΡΟ . [ . ] . [ . . ] ΜΑ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ` ΧΕ | ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΚΜΕ Μ-  
 (112 L.) ΜΟC ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ` ΤΗΡΝ ΑΥ` ΟΥΩΨΩΒ` 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. Schenke<sup>3</sup> [ - - - 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 ΑC ΠΑΖΕ 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. Schenke<sup>4</sup> 3-4 [ . . ] Schenke

30 ΕΡΨΑ read in photographs

[ . . . loved] her <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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." ' <sup>10</sup>

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 <sup>15</sup> 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. <sup>20</sup> 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." ' <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> [it happens to one] when he experiences ' a mystery.

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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. 65<sup>1</sup> . . 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|NΩΝΕΙ 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 ΝMΜΑC`  
 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[Δ]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. neυερηυ. 24–25 Sah. eneυερηυ. 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 [ΜΠΡΩ]ΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΓ]ΑΜΟC sim. rest.  
 Till: also possible is [ΠΚΟ]CΜΟ[C ΤΕ ΤCΖI]ΜΕ ΤCΥCΤΑCΙC ΔΕ [NΤ`CΖΙΜΕ 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. Schenke<sup>4</sup>

Great is ' the mystery of marriage! For [without] it the world ' would [not exist]. Now the existence of ' [the world . . . ], and the existence <sup>35</sup> [ . . . 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> the desire of the [ . . . ] and fear. ' He is master over [ . . . ]. He is superior to ' envy. If [ . . . ]

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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

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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 .<sup>3.4</sup> .] || τε πως φναωζ[ . . . ]<sup>10</sup> ! ! .  
 . . . ] κικ ουν ζοεινε ευ[χω μμοαϛ χε] | ανον ζμπιστος ζοπω[ς  
 \*p. 66<sup>1</sup> . . . . . ] \* [ . π[ν]α ν[α] [καθαρτο] η ζι δαμονιονϛ | νεϛνταγ γαρ  
 (114 L.) μμα[γ] μπνα ετογααβ | νε μν πνα νακαθαρτον ναρκολλα |  
 5 εροογ μνρ ζοτε ζητϛ ντσαρζ ουδε || μνμεριτϛ εκωαρ ζοτε  
 ζητϛ σναρ χο[εις] εροκϛ εκωανμεριτϛ σναομ<κ>κϛ νσοβ<τ>κϛ |  
 η νωωωπε ζμ πεικοσμος η ζν τανα[ς] τασις η ζν ντοπος ετν  
 10 τμητε | μη γενοιτο νσεζε εροει νζητογ πε|εικοσμος ουν  
 πετνανογ νζητηϛ | ουν πεθοογ νεϛπετνανογ μπειτνα-  
 νογ αν νε αγω νεϛπεθοογ ζμ πεθοογ αν νε ουν πε-  
 15 θοογ δε μν[η] σα πεικοσμος εζμπεθοογ ναμε νε || τετογμογτε  
 ερος χε τμεσοτης ντογϛ | πε πμογ ζωσ ενωοοπ ζμ πει-  
 κοσ[μο]σ ωωε ερον εχο ναν νταναστα[ς] κικ χεκαασ ενωακαακν  
 20 αζηγ ντσαρζ | ευναζε ερον ζν ταναπαγσις ντνητμ || μοωε ζν τμε-  
 σοτης ζαζ γαρϛ σεϛπλα | νεσθε ζν τζηη νανογς γαρ εει εβολ |  
 ζμ πκοσμος ζα τεζη εμπατε πρωμε | ϛ nove  
 ουν ζοεινε μεν ουτε σεοωω | ανϛ ουτε μν βομ μμοογ ζν-  
 25 κοογε δε || ευωανϛ οωω[ϛ] | μν ζηγ ωοοπϛ ναγ χε | μπογε ι-  
 ρε επ[<sup>2/3</sup> .] γωω γαρϛ χειρε μμο[λο]υ νρεϛρ nove | ε[γ] τμ[ο]ωω δε  
 τ[ι] κ[α]ιοσ[υ]νη ναζωπϛ εροογ μπεσναγ | αγω ποωω αν [πε]

66:2 i.e. ενευνταγ . . . μπνα. 4–5 Sah. μπρζοτε . . . μπμεριτϛ.

11 i.e. ζμπετνανογ, Sah. ζεν-. 20 i.e. πλανασθε.

29 αν [πε] : Sah. ονπε.

32 [κελαα]γ Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : [πεθοο]γ Schenke<sup>3</sup> (“[der Bös]e”) 33 ωσ[τ μμοα] Schenke (“erwürgen [ihn]”), sim. Till πω[ : or else πω[ πω[ς εϛ] rest. Schenke (“πῶ[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 - - - ] Schenke<sup>3</sup> (“[grossen . . . Kräfte]n”), Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 34–35 [ - - εταμαζ] || τε Schenke<sup>3</sup> (“[greifen]den”) : cf. 65:32 35–36 ωζ[ο]π εροογ πολλα κικ rest. Schenke (“[sich vor ihnen] ver[bergen] können”), Till with hesitation 36 ευ[ : γ read from small, ambiguous bottom trace 37–66:1 ζοπω[ς νρεϛ βολ] | | α - - - ] sim. Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : 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? <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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! <sup>10</sup> 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—<sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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, <sup>25</sup> 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,

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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

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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]μηρ zῆ [ . . . . . ] ἡκωστ εἶηηη | [2½.]-  
 ἡἡκωστ [ . . . . . ] τογ ἡμοογ zῆ | [ . . . πι]στι[ς]` ἡ[ . . . . . ] ἀγω πε-  
 35 χ ἀγ ναγ || [χε . . . . . σ]ομ` ἡμοογ ἀνογzῆ | [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 \*p. 67<sup>1</sup> ἡπογογωψ` ἀγχι | [ . . . . . . . . . . ] κολασις παει εἶογμογτε \* εἶογ  
 (115 L.) χε πκακε ετ[ . . . . . ] λ χε q. [2:3½.] |  
 εβολ zῆ ογμοογ ἡῆ ογκωστ ἡτα τψγχ[η] | ἡῆ πῆῆα ψωπε εβολ  
 5 zῆ ογμοογ ἡῆ | ογκωστ` ἡῆνογοειν ἡτα πωῆρε` ἡ||πῆγμ-  
 φων πκωστ` πε πχρισμα πογοειν πε πκωστ` εειψα-  
 χε ἀν ἀπεικωστ | ετε ἡῆταq` μορφη ἀλλα πκεογ ετε <τε>q`-  
 μορφη ογδωψ ετο ἡογοειν ενεςωq` | ἀγω ετ` ἡτῆῆῆτα  
 10 ταληθεια ἡπεσει || επκοσμος εσκακαζηγ ἀλλα ἡτασει zῆ | ἡτγ-  
 ποσ ἡῆ ἡζικων φναχιτῆ ἀν` ἡκρη|τε ογῆ ογχο ἡκεσοπ`  
 ψοοπ ἡῆνογ|ζικων ἡχο ἡκεσοπ` ψωπε ἀληθωσ | ἀτρογχοογ  
 15 ἡκεσοπ` ζιτῆ ζικων ἀγ || τε ταναστασις ἀγω θικων ζι-  
 τῆ θικων | ψωπε ετρεστωογν πῆγμφων ἡῆ θικων ζιτῆ θικων  
 ψωπε ετρογει εζογν | εταληθεια ετε ταει τε τ`ἀποκαταστασις  
 20 | ψωπε ἀνεσχο ἀν ἡματα ἡπραν` ἡ||πειωτ` ἡῆ πωῆρε ἡῆ πῆῆα  
 ετογδδβ | ἀλλα ἀ<νετα>γχοογ † νακ ζωογ ετῆ ογὰ χπο|ογ  
 ναq` πκεραν` σεναqιτq` ἡτροοτq` | ογὰ δε χι ἡμοογ zῆ

67:4 i.e. ἡῆ ογογοειν.

12 i.e. ἡῆ ογζικων. 23 ογὰ δε χι : i.e. qχι δε.

30 στολικος [ . . . ]ῆ read in photographs rest. de Catanzaro ("[in a] vision [ὄπτω-  
 σία]") 31 οτπ [ . . . ]ῆ (*sic*) read in photographs (τ is definite) sim. rest. Schen-  
 ke<sup>4</sup> 32 μηρ : μ altered from η, ρ over erasure of χ, i.e. copyist first wrote [ἡ]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 [τογπι]στι[ς]` ῆ[νογχ] sim. Schenke<sup>4</sup> : of ῆ,  
 superlin. stroke is prob. definite, η restored πεχαq ναγ em. Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : πεχαγ ναγ em.  
 Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("es wurde <im> gesagt") 35–36 "[Diese hätten ihre Seelen] retten [k]önnen,  
 [aber]" Schenke<sup>3</sup> (i.e. ? [χε πκαει νε ογῆ σ]ομ` ἡμοογ ἀνογzῆ | [ἡνογψγχη ἀλλα]) :  
 also poss. is e.g. [χε πχοεισ νε ἡῆ σ]ομ` 36 [αγογωψω χε] Isenberg<sup>2</sup> ([αφογωψω χε]  
 Kasser), but palaeographically unlikely : possible is e.g. [αγω αγωψω χε], i.e. αγω  
 αγογωψω χε 37 [ἡπειμα η] Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("[diesen Ort, der]") : [ἡπμογ ζωσ] Schenke  
 ("[den Tod als]"), Till with hesitation 67:1 ετ[zi nca nbo]λ de Catanzaro ("the  
 [outer] darkness"), Krause : cf. 68:7–8 φῆ[ηχ] <εβολ> Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : φῆ[ηγ] de Catanzaro  
 ("it [comes]") : φῆ[ηz] Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("ist [voll]"), Schenke<sup>4</sup>

not the act.

An <sup>30</sup> 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, <sup>35</sup> "[ . . . ] 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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

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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

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2 Μῆ :  $\eta$  is definite (*sic*), superl in. stroke restored 3  $\gamma$  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 (< $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ >), Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("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 < $\tau\epsilon$ > $\mu$   
 Layton

16 ΠΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ em. Wilson 21  $\alpha\langle\eta\eta\eta\rangle\gamma$  Layton †  $\eta\alpha\kappa$  : emend to  $\eta\alpha\gamma$  (thus  
 Till)

25 ΠΧΡΙCMA M̄ΠCΟ . [0:1] | N̄TΔYNAΜIC` M̄ΠCϜ|OϜ TΔ|E| NE NA-  
 ΠOCTO||ΛOC MOYTE EPOC XE | TO|YNAΜ M̄N TEBVOYF | 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|IΔ M̄NNOYCΩTE | M̄NNOYNYM`ΦΩN  
 [ . . . . ] E|I Π|E X|ΔQ` | XE ΔE|ETPAEIP̄E [N̄NA ΠCA MΠ|T̄N N̄|ΘE N̄NA  
 ΠCA N̄|TΠE AYΩ NA ΠCA N̄|BOL | N̄ΘE N̄NA ΠC|A NZOYN AY ETPAZOT|]-  
 35 POY M̄ΠMA ETM̄[. . . . !0:12. . . . NE||EIMMA ZITN̄ ZNTY|ΠOC . .  
 . . !0:12. . . ] | NETXΩ M̄MOOC XE [OYN̄ OYPM̄ΠE AYΩ] | OYN̄ OYEI M̄-  
 ΠCA NTΠE [M̄MOY CE P̄ΠA||NACΘE PETOYONEZ Γ|AP EBOL PM̄M̄]-  
 \*p. 68<sup>1</sup> \*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 ETN̄TΠE M̄|MOY` NANOCY  
 5 ΓAP N̄CEXOCOC 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 M̄ΠEY`CA  
 NZOYN ΠA|EI ΠE ETOYΩA XE EP OY` XE PETM̄ΠCA N|TΠE M̄MOOY

27–30 i.e. zñ oy- . . . mñ oy- . . . mñ oy- . . . mñ 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. Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("mit dem Balsam"). Schenke<sup>4</sup>, 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 ZN̄ZIKΩN` ] 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 [ . . . ] <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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, <sup>10</sup> “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. <sup>15</sup> Beyond it there is nothing else within it. ' This is that of which they say, “That which is ' above them.”

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67:35 *possibly*, [types and images]

- 20        ζα τεζη  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{c}$  αζοεινε | ει εβολ` εβολ των` ουκετι  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$ -  
 βωκ` εζογν    αγω αγβωκ` ετων ουκετι ||  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$  εβολ    αχει δε  
        $\bar{n}\bar{\delta}\bar{i}$  πεχ $\bar{c}$     νενη|ταζβωκ` εζογν` αϥ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$  εβολ    αγω νενη-  
       ταζβωκ` εβολ` αϥ $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$  εζογν  
        $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$ ` | νερε εγζα [z] $\bar{n}$  α[Δ]αμ` νε  $\bar{m}\bar{n}$  μογ ωσοοπ` |     $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{a}$ -  
 25    ρεσπωρ $\chi$  [ερ]οϥ` απμογ ωωπε    πα||λιν εϥωαβω[κ εz]ογν  $\bar{n}\bar{q}\bar{x}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}$ `  
       εροϥ  $\bar{m}\bar{n}$  | μογ ναωωπε  
       [π]α $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{e}$  πα $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{e}$  ε|τβε ογ π $\bar{x}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{c}$  [α]κ`καατ`  $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{k}$ `     $\bar{n}\bar{-}$   
       ταϥε | ναει ζι π $\bar{c}\bar{f}\bar{o}\bar{c}$     [νε] αϥωρ $\chi$ ` γαρ`  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  | ετ[ $\bar{m}$ ]μαϥ  
 30    [ . ] . . [ . . ]  $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{a}\bar{\gamma}\bar{x}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{q}$ ` εβολ ζ $\bar{m}$  || πετ[ ( . . . . . ε ] βολ ζιτ $\bar{m}$   
       π $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{e}$  |  
       απ[ . . . . . εβ]ολ ζ $\bar{n}$  νετμοογτ` | [ . . . . . ω]σοοπ`  
       αλλα νε[ . . . . . ] εϥο  $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$  | [ . . . . . ]  $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{z}$   
 35    αλλα τεει || [ . . . . . οϥc]αρ $\bar{z}$  τε  $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{h}$  | [ . . . . . ] ε ογα-  
       ληθεινη αντε αλ[λα . . . . . ]  $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{h}$  \*  
 \*p. 69<sup>1</sup>  
 (117 L.)    μαρε παστοc ωωπε  $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{n}$     οϥ|τε μαϥωωπε  $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{z}\bar{a}\bar{l}$  οϥτε  
        $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}$  | εϥ $\bar{x}\bar{o}\bar{z}\bar{m}$     αλλα ωαϥωωπε  $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{n}\bar{r}\bar{w}\bar{m}\bar{e}$  |  $\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{\theta}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{c}$   $\bar{m}\bar{n}$  ζ $\bar{n}$ -  
       παρ $\bar{\theta}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{c}$   
 5        εβολ || ζιτ $\bar{m}$   $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{a}$  ετογααβ σε $\bar{x}\bar{p}\bar{o}$  μεν  $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}$ ( $\bar{n}$ ) |  $\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{e}$ -  
       σοπ`    σε $\bar{x}\bar{p}\bar{o}$  δε  $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}$  ζιτ $\bar{n}$  πε| $\bar{x}\bar{c}$  ζ $\bar{m}$  π $\bar{c}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{\gamma}$     σετ $\bar{w}\bar{z}\bar{c}$   $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{n}$

18 εβολ των : i.e. εβολ ζ $\bar{m}$  πμα ετε . . . εροϥ. 19 ετων : i.e. επμα ετε . . .  $\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}$ .  
 20 i.e.  $\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$ .  
 23 i.e. ενερε.  
 69:5 i.e.  $\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ .

68:23 rest. Schenke ("[in]"), sim. Till : also possible is [m] $\bar{n}$  24 rest. Schenke ("von ihm"), Till 25 sim. rest. Till εϥωα- . . .  $\bar{n}\bar{q}\bar{x}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{c}$  em. Schenke ("wenn <sie> . . . und er <sie> . . . aufnimmt"), Till with hesitation

26-28 ε|τβε ογ [α]κκαατ  $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{\omega}\bar{k}$  π $\bar{x}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{c}$   $\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{a}\bar{\gamma}\bar{e}$  | ναει em. Schenke<sup>3</sup> 27 cf. Mark 15:34 πατ. (Ps 21:2) ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με : 28 rest. Schenke ("er hatte") : [n̄τ]αϥ Till

31 απ[ $\bar{x}\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{c}$  τωογν εβ]ολ Till : απ[ε $\bar{x}\bar{p}\bar{c}$  τωογν εβ]ολ de Catanzaro ("the [Christ arose] from") 32 [αϥωωπε  $\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{e}$  ενεϥω]σοοπ Till

69:1 <π>παστοc em. de Catanzaro, but unlikely 2-3  $\bar{c}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}$  | εϥ $\bar{x}\bar{o}\bar{z}\bar{m}$  : for the construction cf. Layton, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 14 (1977) 72-73 :  $\bar{c}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}$  εϥ $\bar{x}\bar{o}\bar{z}\bar{m}$  em. Wilson

Before Christ some ' came from a place they were no longer ' able to enter, and they went where they were no longer <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> him who [ . . . ] from God. '

The [ . . . ] from the dead. ' [ . . . ] to be, but now ' [ . . . ] perfect. ' [ . . . ] flesh, but this <sup>35</sup> [ . . . ] 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 <sup>5</sup> the holy spirit we are indeed begotten ' again, but we are begotten through ' Christ in the two. We are anointed

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68:31 *possibly*, The [Lord rose] from the dead

68:32 *possibly*, [He became as he used] to be



10 ζΙΤ̄Μ Π̄|Π̄Ν̄Α Ἰ̄Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΧ ΠΟΝ ΔΥΖΟΤΡ̄Ν Μ̄Ν ΛΑΔΥ | ΝΑΨΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϚ̄  
 ΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Μ ΜΟΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Ν || ΕΙΑΛ̄ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΝΑΨ-  
 ΝΑΥ ΔΝ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΜΟΟΥ ΖΙΑΛ | ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΨΨΕ Δ̄ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ  
 15 Ζ̄Μ ΠΣΝΑΥ | Ζ̄Μ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ̄ Μ̄Ν ΠΜΟΟΥ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΔΕ | ΠΕ ΠΧΡΙΣΜΑ  
 ΝΕῩΝ ΨΟΜΤ̄ Ἰ̄Ν̄ΗΙ Μ̄ΜΑ || Ἰ̄Ψ̄ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ Ζ̄Ν ΘΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ ΠΟΥΔ̄  
 ΕΦΟΥΕΝ ΕΠΑΜΝΤΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϚ̄ | ΧΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ  
 ΕΦΟΥΗΝ̄ ΕΠΣΑ|ΡΗΣ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϚ̄ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ.Μ̄|ΠΕ-  
 20 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΤ̄ ΕϚ̄ ΟΥΗΝ Δ|ΠΑΕΙΒΤΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϚ̄ ΧΕ ΠΕ-  
 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ | Ἰ̄Ν̄ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΜΑ ΕΨᾹΡΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥ[Ϛ] | ΒΗΚ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΜΑῩ  
 ΟΥΑ[Δ]Ϛ ΠΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ | ΠΕ ΠΝΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ [Π]ϚΨ[Τ]Ε ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ |  
 25 Μ̄ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕΤ[ΟΥΑ]ΔΒ Ἰ̄Ν̄ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ || ΠΕ ΠΝΥΜΦΩΝ Π[ΒΑΠΤΙ]-  
 ϚΜΑ ΟῩΝ̄ΤΑϚ̄ | Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ἰ̄Ν̄ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑϚ[ΙϚ Μ̄Ν Π]ϚΩΤΕ ΕΠΨΥΤΕ Ζ̄Μ  
 ΠΝΥΜ̄ΦΩΝ [ΕΠΝ]ΥΜ̄ΦΩΝ ΔΕ | Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΤΧΟΣΕ ΕΡΟ[ . . . . ]Ἰ̄[ 1½ ]ΟΟ. . |  
 30 ΚΝΑΖΕ ΔΝ̄ ΕΤΕϚ[ . . . . ]ΤΨῆ [ . . . . ] || ΝΕ ΝΕΤΨΛΗΛ [ . . . . ]!3-14.  
 . . . . || ΘΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ [ . . . . ]9-10 . . . . ΘΙΕΡΟ|ΣΟΛΥΜΑ ΕΥΨ[ . . . . .  
 ΘΙΕΡΟΣΟ|ΛΥΜΑ ΕΥΔΨ[Τ . . . . ]!1½-13 . . . . ] | ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
 35 ΧΕ ΠΕΤΟΥ]||ΑΑΒ Ἰ̄Ν̄ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ | . . . . . ΠΚΑ||ΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΠΩΖ  
 ΚΕ[ . . . 8-9 . . . ]||ΠΑΣΤΟΣ ΕΙ ΜΗ ΘΙΚΩΝ | . . 6½-8 . . . .  
 \*p. 70<sup>1</sup> ΕΤ]\*|Μ̄Π]ΣΑ ΝΤΠ[Ε] ΕΤ[Β]Ε [Π]ΔΕῙ ΔΠΕϚΚΑΤΑ|ΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ ΠΨ[Ζ]  
 (118 L.) ΧΙΜ ΠΣΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΨΑ | ΠΣΑ ΜΠΙΤ̄ ΝΕ ΨΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΘΕΙΝΕ | ΧΙΜ

11 i.e. ΖΙΕΙΑΛ.

18 ΕΡΟϚ : Ϛ written over erasure of γ οΥΑΑΒ Ἰ̄Ν̄ : Μ̄ altered from Ν 23 sim. rest.  
 Krause : cf. 69:26 24 ΠΕΤ[ΟΥΑ]ΔΒ read in photographs : for the restoration of cf.  
 69:20-21 25 cf. 69:22 26 rest. Schenke ("und die"), Barns 27 [ΕΠΝ]ΥΜΦΩΝ  
 sim. Krause : cf. 69:26-27 (ΕΠΨΩΤΕ) : [ΠΝ]ΥΜΦΩΝ sim. Till 28 ΕΡΟ[ . . . ]Ἰ̄[ 1½ ]ΟΟ . .  
 pap.; of Ἰ̄, superlin. stroke is definite, Ν restored; reading of pap. prob. was not  
 [Κ]ΟΟΥΕ 29 [ΤΨῆ] : ψ, or else ψ : π, or else ι εΤΕϚ̄|ΖΕ ΝΕΤ̄|ΤΨῆ [ΕΡΟϚ] sim. rest.  
 Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 30 [Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΠ̄Ν̄Α Μ̄Ν ΟΥΜΕ Ζ̄Ν] Schenke ("in Geist und Wahrheit"), cf. John  
 4:23 ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ 31-32 [ΟῩΝ ΖΘΕΙΝΕ Ζ̄Ν ΘΙΕΡΟ|ΣΟΛΥΜΑ sim. rest. Isen-  
 berg<sup>2</sup> 32 ΕΥΨ[ΛΗΛ ΖΡᾹΙ Ζ̄Ν ΘΙΕΡΟΣΟ] Schenke ("die [zwar in] Jerusalem") : ΕΥΨ[ΛΗΛ  
 Ἰ̄ΜΜΑΤΕ Ζ̄Ν ΘΙΕΡΟΣΟ] Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 33 ΔΨΨ[Τ ΑΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜ̄ΠΗΥΕ] Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : ΔΨΨ[Τ ΔΕ  
 ΔΑΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ] Schenke 34 rest. Schenke ("genannt werden : Das Heilige der Heili-  
 gen"), Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : cf. 69:20-21, 69:25 : ΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΕΤΟΥ]ΑΑΒ Till 36-37 ΚΕ-  
 [ 8-9 ]||ΠΑΣΤΟΣ ΕΙΜΗ : a negative construction is expected : ΚΕ[ΟΥΑ ΔΝ ΠΕ Π̄Ν]ΠΑΣΤΟΣ  
 sim. Schenke<sup>4</sup> 70 : ΕΤ[Β]Ε [Π]ΔΕῙ sim. Isenberg πεϚ : Ϛ 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> sacrifice in Jerusalem. The one ' facing west was called ' "the holy." Another facing ' south was called "the holy of ' the holy." The third facing <sup>20</sup> 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" <sup>25</sup> 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 [ . . . ] <sup>30</sup> are those who pray [ . . . ] ' Jerusalem. [ . . . ] ' Jerusalem who [ . . . ] ' Jerusalem, [ . . . ] ' those called "the holy <sup>35</sup> 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

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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 ἸCΙ 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 |  
 ΑΠΕΧῚ ΕΙ ΞΕΚΑΔC ΠΠΩΡΧ ἸΤΑΖΨΩΠΕ ΧΙΝ` ΨΟΡΠ` ΕϞΝΑCΕΖΩϞ
- 15 ΕΡΑΤϞ` || ΠΑΛΙΝ` ἸϞΖΟΤΡΟΥ ΜΠCΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΝ|ΤΑΖΜΟΥ ΖἸ ΠΠΩΡΧ`  
 ΕϞΝΑ† ΝΑΥ ἸΝΟΥ|ΩΝΖ ἸϞΖΟΤΡΟΥ ΨΑΡΕ ΤCΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ | ΖΩΤῚ ΑΠΕCΖΑΕΙ
- 20 ΖΡΑἸ ΖἸ ΠΠΑCΤΟC | ΝΕΝΤΑΖΩΤῚ ΔΕ ΖἸ ΠΠΑCΤΟC ΟΥΚΕ||ΤΙ CΕΝΑ-  
 ΠΩΡΧ` ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕΥΖΑ | ΠΩΡΧ` ΑΔΑΜ ΞΕ ἸΤΑCΖΩΤῚ ΕΡΟϞ` | ΔΝ  
 ΖἸ ΠΠΑC[ΤΟ]C
- ΤΨΥΧΗ ἸΑΔΑΜ` Ἰ|ΤΑCΨΩΠΕ Ε[Β]ΟΛ ΖἸΝΟΥΝΙϞΕ ΠΕC|ΖΩΤῚ ΠΕ
- 25 Π[Ἰ]Ν|Δ Π[Ε]Ν`ΤΑΥΤΑΑϞΝΑϞ` || 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 ἸCΙ 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 ΑΠΕΧῚ ΕΙ ἸΤΑΖ written over erasure of ΡΑΤϞ ΠΑΛΙΝ ἸϞΖΟΤΡΟΥ ΜΠCΝΑΥ (cf. 70:14-15)

24 Π[Ε]Ν`ΤΑΥΤΑΑϞ : Τ[Ε]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. Schenke<sup>3</sup> (‘‘man [nahm]’’’) 26 rest. Schenke (‘‘[Geist] an ihrer Stelle’’’) 27 rest. Schenke (‘‘[sagte er]’’’), Isenberg 29-30 poss. restore [ΑΥΠΟ]ΡΧ[Ϟ] ΕΤΕϞΖΩΤῚ ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ||[ΤΙΚΗ] (or ? ΠΕϞ- . . . ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ) : [ΑΥΠΩ]ΡΧ[Ϟ] Ἰ- Τ`ΩΙΝΖΩΤῚ ΜΠΠΝΕΥΜΑ||[ΤΙΚΗ] Schenke<sup>3</sup> (‘‘[sie] tren[n]ten diese] geist[ige Ver]einigung’’’), sim. Schenke<sup>4</sup> 30 Υ[| : or else ]Ϟ[| [ - - - ΟΥ|Α]ΑΥ - - - ] Schenke<sup>4</sup> : cf. 70:32 31 for Δ can also be read λ, μ or Ϟ

below to go upward.<sup>5</sup>

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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> [ . . . ] hidden ' [ . . . ] opportunity ' [ . . . ] for themselves alone ' [ . . . ] bridal chamber so that ' [ . . . ]

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70:29 *possibly*, [and they severed him from his female] spiritual partner

- 35 αἰϛ̄ βωλπ̄ || [εβολ . . . . . πειο]ρδανης ππλη[ρωμα ἡτμ̄ντε]ρ-  
 \*p. 71<sup>1</sup>  
 (119 L.) ο ἡμπηγε πε(ν)[ταχποϛ ζ]α τεζη ἡπτηρϛ πα\*λιν αϛ-  
 χποϛ̄ π[εντα]ϛ̄[τ[ο]ζϛ̄ ἡψορ[π] | παλιν αϛτοζϛ̄ π[εν]-  
 ταϛσοτ̄ παλιν αϛωτε
- 5 εϛωϛε ψωϛε εϛω ἡοϛ|μϛστηριον απειωτ̄ ἡπτηρϛ̄ ζωτ̄ρ̄ || ατ̄-  
 παρθενος ἡταζει απιτ̄ν̄ αϛω | αϛκωτ̄ ῑ οϛοειν̄ εροϛ̄ ἡφοοϛ  
 ετ̄μ|μαϛ αϛβωλπ̄ εβολ ἡπνοδ ἡπαστοϛ | ετβε παει πεϛω-
- 10 μα ἡταϛωπε | ἡφοοϛ ετ̄μμαϛ αϛει εβολ ζμ ππα||στοϛ ἡθε ἡ-  
 πεν̄ταϛωπε εβολ | ζἡ πνϛμφιοϛ ἡἡ τἡνϛμφη τᾱ|ει τε θε αἰϛ̄  
 τεζο ἡπτηρϛ̄ ερατϛ̄ | ζραἰ ἡζητϛ̄ εβολ ζιτ̄ν̄ ναει αϛω̄ | ψωϛε
- 15 ετρε ποϛα ποϛα ἡἡμαθηϛ || μοοϛε εζοϛν̄ ετεϛ̄ αναπαϛϛιϛ |  
 ααδαμ̄ ψωπε εβολ ζἡ παρθενος | ϛἡτε εβολ ζἡ πἡἡα αϛω  
 εβολ̄ | ζἡ πκαζ ἡπαρθενος ετβε παει | αϛϛπε πεϛϛ̄ εβολ ζἡ
- 20 οϛπαρθενος || ϛεκααϛ πεϛλοοτε ἡταϛωπε | ζἡ τεζοϛειτε  
 εϛνα[ϛ]εζωϛ ερατϛ̄ |  
 οϛἡ ψηη̄ ϛναϛ ρἡτ [ζ]ἡ ππαρδι|ϛοϛ ποϛα ϛπε ε[η-  
 25 ριον] ποϛα ϛπε | ϛωμε ααδαμ̄ ο[ϛωμ] εβολ ζἡ πψη(ν) || ἡ-  
 ταϛϛπε εἡρη̄|ον αϛψ|ωπε ἡθηριον αϛϛπε εἡριον ε|τβε παἰ  
 ϛε|ῑϛεβεϛεε ἀη[ηριον ἡϛ]ἡ ἡψηρε | ἡαδαμ̄ πψη[ν . . . 9½-11½

71:6 i.e. αϛκωστ. 14 i.e. ἡἡμαθηϛ.

35 [εβολ ζι ἡπρ ἡπειο]ρδανης Ménard 36 rest. Schenke ('das πἡ[ρωμα des] Himmelreiches'), Till 37 [ταχποϛ ζ]α rest. Isenberg (cf. 71:1-3): [ταϛωπε ζ]α rest. Schenke ('das, [was] vor . . . war'), Till

71:21 [ϛ]εζωϛ: copyist first erroneously wrote ϛεζωβ, then added ϛ above β as a correction, but neglected to cancel β rest. Schenke ('wieder in Ordnung bringe'), sim. Till

22 ρἡτ: deciphered by Schenke<sup>4</sup> [ζ]ἡ: ἡ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 23 ε[ : or else ε[ ε[ηριον]: cf. 71:25-26 24 ο[ϛωμ]: 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[ ψηρε: deciphered by Schenke<sup>3</sup> ('[Kinder]'), Schenke<sup>4</sup>: cf. 72:2-3 28-29 expected is πψη[ν --- οϛωμ --- ]καρποϛ: πψη[ν ἡτα ααδαμ̄ οϛεμ πεϛ||καρποϛ is palaeographically unlikely (too long for available space)

Jesus appeared <sup>35</sup> [ . . . ] 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> which bore animals. [He] became an animal, ' and he brought forth animals. For this reason ' the children of Adam worship [animals]. ' The tree [ . . . ] '

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70:35 *possibly*, [at the shore of the] Jordan

71:3 in turn redeemed (others): *or*, in turn was redeemed

30 . . . . . ||καρπος πε π[. . . . .<sup>11-13</sup>. . . . .] || παει αγαψ[αει. . . . .<sup>10-12</sup>. . . . .] || ουωμ<sup>13-15</sup> μπ[. . . . .] | καρπος μπ[. . . . .<sup>12-14</sup>. . . . .]

35 . . || χπο ν̄ρρωμε [ . . . . .<sup>10-12</sup>. . . . . ] || ψτ<sup>9-11</sup> μ̄πρωμε ν̄[. . . . .] ||  
 \*p.72<sup>1</sup> π̄νουτε ταμειε π̄ρω[με<sup>1-3</sup> ρ̄ρω]\* με ταμειε π[ν]ου[τ]ε ταει  
 (120 L.) τε θεε z̄m̄ π̄κος[μος ενρω[μ]ε ταμие νουτε αγω σεου[ωψτ<sup>1</sup> ν̄νου-  
 ταμιο νε ψωε ετρε ν̄νου[τε ουωψτ<sup>1</sup> ν̄ρρωμε  
 5 ν̄θε εσωοοπ<sup>1</sup> μ̄||μος ν̄βι ταληθεια ν̄ν̄zβηγε μ̄πρω[με ψαγωωπε  
 εβολ z̄n̄ τεϋ<sup>1</sup> δ̄υναμис | ετβε παει σεμουτε εροοϋ χε ν̄δ̄υ[na-  
 mic νεϋzβηγε νε νεϋ<sup>1</sup> ωηρε ν̄τα[γωωπε εβολ z̄n̄ ογαναπαϋ-  
 10 cis ετβε || παει τεϋδ̄υναμис ρ̄πολιτε γεσθε | z̄ραῖ z̄n̄ νεϋ-  
 zβηγε εταναπαϋcis δε | ογονz εβολ z̄ραῖ z̄n̄ ν̄ωηρε αϋ-  
 ω<sup>1</sup> | κναze επαει<sup>1</sup> εϋϋωτε ψαzραῖ εοικω(ν) | αγω παει πε πρωμε  
 15 ν̄zικονικος || εϋειρε ν̄νεϋzβηγε εβολ z̄n̄ τεϋβom<sup>1</sup> | εβολ δε z̄n̄ ανα-  
 παϋcis εϋχπο ν̄νεϋ<sup>1</sup> ωηρε  
 z̄m̄ π̄εικοςμος ν̄z m̄z̄al̄ ρ̄|z̄yπηρετει ν̄ελεϋθερος z̄n̄ tm̄|τερο  
 20 ν̄m̄π̄ηγε νελεϋθερος ναρ̄ || διακον[ει] ν̄n̄z m̄z̄al̄ ν̄ν̄ωηρε μ̄|-  
 π̄nym̄(φ)η η[α] ρ̄|ακονει ν̄ν̄ωηρε μ̄πγα[μος ν̄]ωηρε μ̄πnym̄<sup>1</sup>-  
 φων | ουραν ου[ωτ πε]τε ουνταϋϋ<sup>1</sup> τανα[παϋcis<sup>1</sup> ε[ϋzi ν]ουε-

72:18 i.e. ν̄νελεϋθερος. 20–21 i.e. ν̄ωηρε μ̄πnym̄φων. 23 i.e. ν̄ουωτ. 24 i.e. νεϋε-  
 ρηϋ.

29 η[ read from small, ambiguous trace 29–30 prob. [ - - - ετβε] || παει η[ωην ν̄θη-  
 ριον ετβε] || παει Schenke (“[der Tier-Baum.] Des[wegen]”), sim. Ménard, but  
 unlikely 30 ψ[ : or else ω[ 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 [ver]ehren,” rest. Schenke<sup>3</sup>, ? i.e.  
 αγαψ[αει ν̄βι ν̄νοβε ενε αϋ||ουωμ μ̄π[καρπος μ̄πκεωην η]||καρπος μ̄π[ωην<sup>1</sup> μ̄πωηz<sup>1</sup>  
 πετ]||χοπ ν̄ρρωμε [νε ν̄νουτε ναοϋω]ωτ<sup>1</sup> μ̄πρωμε 31 prob. μ̄π[καρπος - - - ] : cf.  
 71:32 32 η[ : or else η̄[ 34 ν̄ : or else η̄, η̄, ι, κ, μ, ν̄ or η̄; superlin. stroke  
 restored 72:2 ρω[ : or else ρω[

5 ν̄βι : β altered from ι {ν̄}ν̄zβηγε em. de Catanzaro, Barns (with new paragraph  
 beginning here), poss. rightly : or poss. ν̄ν̄ for ν̄ (cf. on 72:20) 16 ογαναπαϋcis 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 [ . . . ] <sup>30</sup> increased [ . . . ] ' ate the [ . . . ] ' fruit of the [ . . . ] ' bears men, [ . . . ] ' man. [ . . . ] <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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. <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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]



- 25 ρΗΥ σεϛϛρεια αν ||  $\bar{\eta}\chi\iota$   $\zeta\bar{\rho}\beta$  [  $\epsilon\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma$  ] τεεωωρεια  $\bar{m}\mu\alpha\gamma$  | [ .  $3\frac{1}{2}$  . ] -  
 φ [ .  $5\frac{1}{2}$  . . . ]  $\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron$  νε | [ . . . . . ]  $\sigma\iota\alpha$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$  νετ $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   
 π $\chi$  || . . . . . ]  $\bar{\eta}$  νεοογ  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon$  || . . . . . ]  $\epsilon$   $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\gamma$  αν  
 30 νε || [ . . . . . ] β |  $\chi\kappa$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$  επμο || ογ . . .  $8\frac{1}{2}$  . . . ] εβολ  $\epsilon\varphi\alpha$ -  
 σοτ $\varphi$  | [ . . . .  $9\frac{1}{2}$  . . . ]  $\kappa$   $\epsilon$  εβολ  $\bar{\eta}\beta\iota$   $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\zeta$  | [ . . .  $6\frac{1}{2}$  . . . ]  $\zeta\bar{m}$   
 πεφραν πεχα $\varphi$  γαρ | [  $\chi\epsilon$  ται τε  $\theta$  ]  $\epsilon$  ενα $\chi\omega\kappa$   $\epsilon$  εβολ  $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota\kappa$  (αι)-  
 \*  $\omicron\sigma\gamma\eta$   $\bar{n}\iota\bar{m}$   
 \*p. 73<sup>1</sup>  
 (121 L.)  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\chi\omega$   $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\alpha$  |  $\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\bar{\eta}$   $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\alpha$  τ $\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$  (  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$  )  $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\pi\lambda\alpha$ -  
 $\bar{\eta}\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\gamma\tau\bar{m}\chi\iota$   $\bar{\eta}\psi\omicron\rho\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\bar{\eta}\alpha$  |  $\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\bar{\eta}\zeta$   $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\alpha$   $\chi\iota$   
 5  $\lambda\alpha$  |  $\lambda\gamma$  αν ται τε  $\theta\epsilon$  ον  $\epsilon\gamma\chi\omega$   $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$   $\epsilon\gamma\chi\omega$   $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\chi\epsilon$  ογ $\eta\omicron\varsigma$  | πε  $\rho\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\iota\tau\varphi$   $\sigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\alpha$  |  $\omega\bar{\eta}\zeta$   
 $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  πε |  $\chi\alpha\varphi$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\bar{\iota}\omega\sigma\eta\phi$   $\rho\zeta\alpha\bar{m}$   $\omega\psi\epsilon$   $\alpha\varphi\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$   
 10  $\bar{\eta}$  |  $\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma$   $\rho\alpha\bar{\eta}\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$  νε $\varphi\bar{\rho}\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{\eta}$  |  $\omega\psi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varphi$  -  
 $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\varphi$   $\rho\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\alpha\bar{m}\iota\omicron$   $\bar{m}\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  εβολ  $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}$  |  $\omega\eta\eta$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varphi$   $\tau\omicron$ -  
 15  $\sigma\omicron\gamma$   $\alpha\gamma\omega$  πε $\varphi\beta\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma$  νε $\varphi$  |  $\omicron\psi\epsilon$   $\alpha\pi\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varphi\tau\omicron\sigma\varphi$   $\chi$   $\bar{\eta}$  πε $\varphi\beta\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma$  πε ||  
 $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\rho\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$   $\delta\epsilon$  πε  $\rho\epsilon\sigma\phi\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$   $\rho\psi\eta$  (  $\bar{\eta}$  ) |  $\bar{m}\rho\omega\bar{\eta}\zeta$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\tau\bar{m}\eta\tau\epsilon$   $\bar{m}$ -  
 $\rho\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\rho}\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  |  $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha$   $\rho\epsilon\chi\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$   $\psi\omega\bar{\eta}$  | πε εβολ  $\bar{\eta}$  -  
 $\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\epsilon}$  εβολ  $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\theta\tau\varphi$   $\alpha\tau\alpha$  |  $\bar{\eta}\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$   
 20  $\rho\epsilon\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  ογ $\alpha\bar{m}\kappa\omega$  |  $\omega\varsigma$  πε  $\bar{\eta}\kappa\epsilon$   $\bar{n}\iota\bar{m}$   $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{m}$   $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\gamma$  |  $\zeta\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\iota}$   
 $\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\varphi$   $\sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron$  |  $\gamma$   $\zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$  ο $\bar{\eta}$   $\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$  |  $\alpha$  ογ $\alpha\bar{m}\omega\bar{\eta}\zeta$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\bar{\beta}\epsilon$   $\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota$   
 $\bar{m}\bar{\eta}$   $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$  |  $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau$   $\sigma\omicron\bar{\eta}$   $\omega$   $\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\tau$  |  $\bar{m}\epsilon$  |  $\bar{\eta}\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha$   $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$  |  $\epsilon\iota$  εβολ  $\zeta\bar{m}$   $\rho\bar{m}\alpha$   
 25  $\epsilon$  |  $\tau\bar{m}$  |  $\bar{m}\alpha\gamma$   $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\alpha\varphi\epsilon\iota$  |  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$   $\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{\eta}$   $\tau\bar{\rho}\omicron\phi\eta$  εβολ  $\bar{m}\mu\alpha\gamma$   $\alpha\gamma\omega$   $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$   
 $\alpha\varphi\tau$   $\bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma$  |  $\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma$  |  $\omega$  |  $\bar{\eta}\zeta$  |  $\chi\epsilon$  |  $\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma$  | |  $\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma$

73:9-10 i.e.  $\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\rho}\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .

19 i.e. ογ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{m}$ - (de Catanzaro emends thus). 20 Sah.  $\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha$ .  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{m}$  : i.e.  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{m}$ .  
 22 i.e. ογ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{m}$ -. 27 Sah.  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma$ .

25  $\bar{\eta}\chi\iota$   $\zeta\bar{\rho}\beta$  deciphered by Layton :  $\bar{\eta}$ , or else  $\bar{m}$  or  $\bar{\eta}$ ;  $\chi$ , or else  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\varphi$  or  $\zeta$ ;  $\iota$ , or else  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$ ;  $\zeta$ , or else  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$  or  $\varphi$ ; or else  $\rho$  (no superlin. stroke was written above this letter) rest. Layton : also possible is  $\zeta\bar{\rho}\beta$  |  $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma$  | 26 [ .  $3\frac{1}{2}$  . ]  $\phi$  [ . .  $5\frac{1}{2}$  . . ] read in photographs :  $\phi$ , or else  $\psi$  or  $\tau$  |  $\theta$  : also possible is  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron$  or  $\varphi$  [ - - -  $\alpha\iota\varsigma$  |  $\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  sim. rest. Kasser

31 rest. Till, with hesitation 32 poss. restore | - - -  $\chi\omega\kappa$   $\epsilon$  εβολ (thus Schenke) 33 |  $\chi\iota$  |  $\rho\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$  | rest. Kasser 34 rest. Till : cf. Matt 3:15  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\bar{\iota}$   $\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon\bar{\eta}$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}$   $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}$   $\rho\bar{\rho}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\bar{\nu}$   $\eta\mu\bar{\iota}\nu$   $\rho\lambda\eta\rho\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\rho\bar{\iota}\sigma\alpha\bar{\eta}$   $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\upsilon\bar{\eta}\eta\upsilon$  72:34-73:1  $\bar{\eta}\delta\iota\kappa\iota$  |  $\omicron\sigma\gamma\eta$   $\bar{\eta}\iota\bar{m}$   $\rho\alpha\bar{\rho}$ .

73:2 [  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$  ] cancelled by the copyist

18-19 scil. εβολ  $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\theta\tau\varphi$   $\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\bar{\eta}\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$   $\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$  (de Catanzaro, Barns emend thus)

23 sim. rest. Till : also possible is  $\tau$  |  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon$  | 26 rest. Schenke ('Leben, [damit]'), sim. Till

they need take no (other) <sup>25</sup> form [because they have] contemplation, ' [ . . . ]. they are numerous ' [ . . . ] in the things ' [ . . . ] the glories ' [ . . . ]

Those <sup>30</sup> [ . . . 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. <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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. <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> food. To those who ' so desired he gave [life, that] ' they might not die.

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72:33 *possibly*, [received baptism] in his name

30 ἀπ[ο]υτε<sup>1/2</sup>] . . ε̄ ν̄ο[υ]παρ[α]||δειςος ἀπρω[με . . . 7-8 . . .  
 παρα]δειςος οὐ̄ν̄ ζ[ . . . 9-10½ . . . ψο]||οπ̄ μ̄ν̄ ζ̄μ̄π[ . . . 11½-13 . . .  
 . . . . ] | μ̄πνουτε ζ̄μ̄ [ . . . 10½-12 . . . ] με̄ νετ̄ν̄ζητ[υ . . . 9½-11 . . .  
 . . . ε]† οὐωψ̄ πιπαρ[α]δ[ειςος πε̄ πμᾱ ε]||τοϋναχοος̄ ναεῑ χε̄  
 \*p. 74<sup>1</sup> [ . . . οὐωψ̄] || μ̄παεῑ η̄ μ̄νοῶωψ̄μ̄ μ̄[παεῑ ν̄θε̄ εκ̄]\*οὐωψ̄  
 (122 L.) παεῑ πμᾱ [ε]†ναοῶωψ̄μ̄ ν̄κε̄ νιμ̄ | μ̄μαγ̄ ε̄ψο[ο]π̄ μ̄μαγ̄ ν̄δῑ  
 πωην̄ ν̄τ̄ | γ̄νωσις̄ πετ̄μ̄μαγ̄ ᾱψομ̄τ̄ ᾱδαμ̄ πε̄|ειμᾱ δε̄ πωην̄  
 5 ν̄τ̄γ̄νωσις̄ ᾱψ̄τ̄η̄ζε̄ πρω||με̄ π̄νομος̄ νε̄ πωην̄ πε̄ οὐ̄ν̄ βομ̄ | μ̄-  
 μοϋ̄ ν̄α† τ̄γ̄νωσις̄ μ̄π̄πετ̄νανοϋ̄γ̄ | μ̄ν̄ πε̄θοοϋ̄ οὐτε̄ μ̄πε̄ϋλαδε̄  
 10 εροϋ̄ ζ̄μ̄ | πε̄θοοϋ̄ οὐτε̄ μ̄πε̄ϋκααϋ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄πετ̄να|νοϋ̄γ̄ αλλᾱ  
 αψ̄ταμιο̄ ν̄οῦμοϋ̄ ν̄νε̄νταζ||οῶωψ̄μ̄ ε̄βολ̄ ν̄ζητ̄ϋ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄τρεϋ̄χοος̄  
 γαρ̄ | χε̄ οῶωψ̄μ̄ παεῑ μ̄νοῶωψ̄μ̄ παεῑ ᾱψωψ̄|πε̄ ν̄αρχ̄η̄ μ̄π̄μοϋ̄  
 π̄χρεισμᾱ ϋο̄ ν̄χο|εις̄ επ̄βαπτισμᾱ ε̄βολ̄ γαρ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄χρισμᾱ | ᾱϋ-  
 15 μοϋτε̄ ε̄ρον̄ χε̄ χριστιανος̄ ε̄τβε̄ || π̄βαπτισμᾱ αν̄ ᾱϋω̄ ν̄ταϋ-  
 μοϋτε̄ επ̄ε̄|χ̄ς̄ ε̄τβε̄ π̄χρισμᾱ απ̄ειωτ̄ γαρ̄ τ̄ωζς̄ | μ̄π̄ωη-  
 ρε̄ απ̄ωηρε̄ δε̄ τωζς̄ ν̄αποστο|λος̄ αναποστολος̄ δε̄  
 20 ταζς̄ν̄ πεν̄|ταϋτοζς̄ϋ̄ οὐ̄ν̄τεϋ̄ π̄τηρ̄ϋ̄ μ̄μαγ̄ οὐ̄ν̄||ταϋ̄ τα-  
 ναστασις̄ ποϋοεῑν̄ πες̄φο̄ς̄ | π̄π̄νᾱ ε̄τογααβ̄ απ̄ειωτ̄ † ναϋ̄ μ̄-  
 πα|εῑ ζ̄μ̄ π̄νϋ[μ]φωη̄ ᾱϋχῑ ᾱψωπε̄ ν̄δῑ | π̄ειωτ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ω|η̄|ρε̄  
 ᾱϋω̄ π̄ωηρε̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ειωτ̄ τ̄αεῑ τ[ε̄ τ̄μ̄ν̄τ]ε̄ρο̄ ν̄μ̄π̄ηϋε̄

35 Sah. μ̄π̄ροῶωψ̄μ̄. 74:1 i.e. οὐε̄μ̄ (οῶωψ̄μ̄ ṅ- em. de Catanzaro). ν̄κε̄ : Sah. ν̄κα. 3-4 i.e. μ̄πε̄ειμᾱ (de Catanzaro emends thus). 11 οῶωψ̄μ̄ . . . οῶωψ̄μ̄ : i.e. οὐε̄μ̄ . . . οὐε̄μ̄. μ̄ν̄ : Sah. μ̄π̄ρ̄-

17 i.e. τε̄ζς̄ ṅ- or τωζς̄ ṅṅ- (Till emends thus).

27 . . ε̄ : second letter trace can be read ᾱ, λ̄, γ̄, μ̄ (followed by [ι]) or poss. ϋ̄ ο[ ] : or else ϋ[ ] 28 ω[ ] : or else ψ[ ] 28-29 απ̄ρω[με̄ δε̄ ε̄ωρ̄ε̄ μ̄π̄παρ[α]δ[ειςος̄] rest. Schenke ("Der Mensch [wohnte in dem παρά]δειςος"): απ̄ρω[με̄ δε̄ ε̄ωρ̄ε̄ μ̄π̄παρ[α]δ[ειςος̄] sim. Isenberg, with hesitation 31 ζ̄μ̄ : μ̄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 31-32 e.g. [ - - - πρω]με̄ νετ̄ : also possible is [ - - - ] | με̄ν̄ ε̄τ̄ 32-33 ν̄ζητ[ῡ †ναοῶωμοϋ̄ ν̄θε̄ ε]||†οῶωψ̄ Kasser : cf. 73:34-74:1 33 rest. Schenke ("dieser παρά]δειςος̄ ist der Ort, wo"), Till 34 prob. restore [ᾱδαμ̄ οῶωψ̄μ̄] 34-35 for the restoration cf. 74:11 35 μ̄ν̄ : μ̄ written over erasure of οῶ rest. Isenberg : for the syntax cf. 55:19 : μ̄[παεῑ ν̄θε̄ εκ̄] sim. Ménard : μ̄[μοϋ̄ ν̄θε̄ εκ̄] Schenke ("iss [es] nicht, [wie du] willst!"), Schenke<sup>4</sup> 74:19 οὐ̄ν̄τεϋ̄ : ϋ̄ added above the line

God [ . . . ] a garden. ' Man [ . . . ] garden. ' There are [ . . . ] <sup>30</sup> and [ . . . ] ' of God. [ . . . ] ' The things which are in [ . . . ] ' I wish. This garden [is the place where] ' they will say to me, "[ . . . eat] <sup>35</sup> 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. <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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.

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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|  
 εγσβε αγω αγειεβολ | [ ... ]ω|.|εαγ| ... |ογα δε ουχρηστια-  
 30 νος | [ ... ]πεχ|<sup>1½</sup> | \ [ ... ]ον αγω ν̄τεγνογ` | | . . . . . βωκ  
 επ|τ̄ν̄ επμοογ αχει || [ . . . . . ]c̄ απτηρϥ` ετβε |  
 [ . . . . .<sup>10½</sup> . . . . . ουπ|αιγνιον πε αλ|λα . . . . . ρ̄καταφ|ρονει μ̄-  
 35 πεειπε|| . . . . .<sup>11½</sup> . . . . . ]ν` ετμ̄ν̄τερο ν̄μ̄||πηγε . . . . . | εψαρ̄-  
 καταφρονει || [ . . . . . α|γω ν̄ψωοcϥ` ζωc παιγν|] [ον . . . . . εβ]οα  
 \*p. 75<sup>1</sup>  
 (123 L.) εγσβε τειζει ον τε \* ζι ποεικ` μ̄ν̄ ππο|τ|ηριον μ̄ν̄ πνηζ | καν  
 οῡν̄ κεογα εγχοσε εναει  
 απ`κοcμοc ψωπε ζ̄ν̄ οῡ παραπτωμα | πενταζταμιογ γαρ`  
 5 νεϥ`ογωϥ` ατα||μιογ` εφο ν̄ατ`τακο αγω ναθανατοc | αζε  
 εβολ αγω μ̄πεϥ`μετε αβελλπic | νεcψοοπ` γαρ αν̄ ν̄βι τμ̄ν̄-  
 10 ταττεκο | μ̄πκοcμοc αγω † νεϥψοοπ` αν̄ ν̄βι | τ̄μ̄ν̄τατ`τακο μ̄-  
 πενταζταμε πκοc||μοc cψοοπ γαρ αν̄ ν̄βι τ̄μ̄ν̄τατ`τα|κο ν̄ν̄-  
 15 ζβηγε αλλα ν̄ν̄ψηρε αγω μ̄ν̄ | οῡζωβ` ναψχῑ νοϥμ̄ν̄ταττακο  
 εϥτ̄μ̄|ωψωπε ν̄ψηρε πετε μ̄ν̄ βομ δε μ̄μοϥ` | εχι ποcω μαλλον  
 20 ϥναψ† αν̄  
 πποτη||ριον` μ̄πψηλη οῡν̄ταϥ ηρπ` μ̄μαγ οῡν̄ταϥ` μοογ εϥ`κη  
 εζραϊ επτυποc` μ̄|πεcνοϥ` ετοϥρεϥχαριcτει εχωϥ αγω ϥμογζ  
 εβολ ζ̄μ̄ π̄π̄νᾱ ετογααβ αγω πα πτελειοc τηρϥ ρ̄ρωμε πε ζο-  
 25 τα(ν) || εν`ψανcω μ̄παει τναχῑ ναν̄ μ̄πτε|λειοc ρ̄ρωμε πμοογ  
 ετοζ οῡcωμα | πε ψωε ετρ̄ν̄† ζωων̄ μ̄πρωμε ετοζ | ετβε  
 30 παει εχει εϥβηκ` επιτ̄ν̄ επμοιογ ψαϥκακϥ αζηγ ψινα εϥνα† πη ||  
 ζωωϥ`  
 ψαρε οῡζτο xπε οῡζτο οῡ|ρωμε ψαρεϥ`xπε ρωμε οῡνογ-  
 35 τε | ψαρεϥxπε νογτε ται τε θε ζ̄μ̄|πα τ|ψελεετ` μ̄ν̄ ζ̄ν̄|κε-

26 i.e. ν̄μ̄πηγε. 36 τειζει ον τε : Sah. ταιε τε θε.

75:27-28 i.e. ζενπα τψελεετ μ̄ν̄ ζενκεψελεετ.

27 [εϥc]ω|β|ε sim. Schenke<sup>4</sup> : cf. 74:36 : reading of pap. cannot have been εϥριμε 28  
 x| : or else read x| 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||τογωψ εβωκ εζογ|ν rest. Kasser 34 [- - - ναμετε] Isenberg<sup>2</sup>, sim.  
 Kasser 35 [μ̄πτηρϥ α]γω Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 36 [ον ϥναει εβ]οα sim. Till : cf. 74:26-27

75:8 † νεϥψοοπ : emend to νεcψοοπ (thus Till) 11-12 μ̄ν̄ ζωβ is expected : poss.  
 emend thus

28 ζ̄ν̄[ : or else ζ̄μ̄[

<sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> [ . . . ] everything (of this world), [ . . . ] because ' [ . . . ] a trifle, but ' [ . . . full of] contempt for this ' [ . . . ] the kingdom of ' [heaven . . . ]. If he despises <sup>35</sup> [ . . . ] 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 <sup>5</sup> 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. <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup>

A horse sires a horse, a ' man begets man, a god ' brings forth a god. Compare ' [the] bridegroom and the

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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<sup>l</sup> μα| . . . 5-6½ . . . ] | π̄γενος 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  
 επ̄ζωτ̄ρ ψοοπ` ζ̄μ π̄εεικοςμος | ζοοϋτ ζι σ̄ζιμε † πμα ετδομ μ̄ν  
 τμ̄ντ̄δωβ † ζ̄μ παιων κ̄εογα πε π̄εινε μ̄π̄ζω|τ̄ρ εμ`μοϋτε δε εροοϋ  
 10 ν̄νεειραν οϋν ζ̄ν̄||κοοϋε δε ψοοπ` σεχοσε παρα ραν` | νιμ  
 ετοϋ̄ρονομαζε μ̄μοοϋ αγω σε|χοοσε επ̄χωωρε πμα γαρ  
 ετε οϋν̄βια | μ̄μαγ εϋψοοπ` μ̄μαγ ν̄βινετ`σοτπ` | ετδομ νε-  
 15 τ̄μ̄μαγ κ̄εογα αν πε αγω κε||ογα πε αλλα ν̄τοοϋ μ̄π̄εσναϋ  
 πιογα | οϋωτ` πε παει πε ετφ̄ναϋι αν εζραϊ | εχ̄ν̄ φ̄ητ` ν̄σαρ̄ς  
 οϋον` νιμ ετοϋ̄ν̄τοϋ | π̄τηρϋ` μ̄μαγ ψωε αν ετροϋειμε μ̄|μ̄μοοϋ  
 20 τηροϋ ζοεινε μεν εϋτ̄μ̄ειμε || μ̄μοοϋ σενᾱραπολαϋε αν ν̄νετε  
 | οϋ̄ν̄ταϋσε νεταζσεβο δε εροοϋ σενᾱραπολαϋε μ̄μοοϋ  
 οϋ μονον π̄ρωμε | ν̄τελειος σενᾱωεμαzte αν μ̄μοϋ` | αλλα  
 25 σενᾱωναϋ εροϋ αν εϋψαν̄ναϋ || γαρ` εροϋ` σενᾱεμαzte μ̄-  
 μοϋ` ν̄κερητε | μ̄ν̄ ογα ναψ̄χο ναϋ` ν̄τεειχαρις ει | [μη ν̄]ϋ†

76:9 i.e. ενμοϋτε. 16 i.e. νοϋωτ. ετφ̄ναϋι αν: i.e. Sah. ετε ν̄φ̄ναϋει 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, ν̄ is partly preserved and indefinite) ν̄|ϋμ̄φων] 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 ακ̄εγενος ωπε αγ||ω rest. Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("es [enstand] ein and[er]es Geschlecht; u|nd"), sim. Kasser 35 νεειμα[καριος χε] rest. Isenberg: νεειμα[εινοϋτε χε] Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("diese [Gott]lieb[en]den") 36 π̄ν̄|οϋτε ---] Schenke<sup>4</sup>: π̄ν̄|οϋτε ετον̄ζ] Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 76:4 † . . . †: poss. emend to ναεινε μ̄μα (Layton), cf. Subachmimic ν̄νεειμα "here"

6-7 ψοοπ . . . ν̄ζοοϋτ ζι σ̄ζιμε em. Schenke ("besteht . . . <aus> Mann und Weib") 7-8 † πμα ετδομ . . . δωβ † prob. corrupt: poss. emend to πμα ετε τδομ μ̄μαγ μ̄ν τμ̄ντ̄δωβ. or πμα ν̄τδομ μ̄ν τμ̄ντ̄δωβ (Layton): επ̄μα ν̄τδομ μ̄ν τμ̄ντ̄δωβ em. Schenke ("anstelle der Kraft und der Schwäche") 16 expected is ετναϋ: poss. emend thus

26 μ̄ν̄ ογα ναψ: cf. 82:24

[bride]. They have come ' from the [ . . . ]. <sup>30</sup> No Jew [ . . . ] ' from [ . . . ] ' has existed. And [ . . . ] ' from the Jews. [ . . . ] ' Christian(s) [ . . . ] <sup>35</sup> 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. . . . that <sup>5</sup> 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 are <sup>10</sup> 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, <sup>15</sup> 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 know <sup>20</sup> 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 him <sup>25</sup> they will detain him. There is no other way ' for a person to acquire this quality except ' by putting

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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 ἵνογοειν | [αγω] ἵνωωq[πε ζ]ωωq ἵτελει-  
 [ . . . . .<sup>11½</sup>. . . . . ] παει πε πτελειο(ν) | [ . . . . .<sup>12½</sup>. . . . . ]  
 ετρῆωωπε ἵ| . . . . . |ως εμ̄πατῆει ε| . . . . . ] πε-  
 35 τα[[ζ]]χι πτηρῆ | [ . . . . . ] ἀνεειμα φναωρ̄| [ . . .<sup>7½</sup>. . . ] πμα  
 \*p. 77<sup>1</sup> ετῆμαγ ἀλλα φνα| . . . . . τμε|ςοτῆς ζως ατχωκ̄ εβολ \* ΜΟΝΟΝ  
 (125 L.) ἱς σοογν μ̄πτελος μ̄παει |  
 πρωμε ετογααβ φογααβ τηρῆ ῥαζ|ραῖ επεϋ̄σωμα εωχε αϋχι  
 5 γαρ̄ μ̄πο|εικ̄ φνααϋ̄ εϋ̄ογααβ̄ ἡ πποτηριον̄ || ἡ πκεσεεπε  
 τηρῆ ετϋχι μ̄μοοϋ εϋ̄|τογβο μ̄μοοϋ αγω πως φνατογβο | ἀν  
 μ̄πκεσωμα  
 ἵθε ἵτα ἱς χωκ̄ εβολ | μ̄πμοοϋ μ̄πβαπτισμα ταει τε θε  
 10 αϋ̄|πωστ̄ εβολ μ̄πμοϋ ετβε παει τῆβηκ̄ || μεν επιτῆ  
 επμοοϋ τῆβηκ̄ δε ἀν | επιτῆ επμοϋ ψινα χε νοϋπαζτῆ | εβολ  
 ζῆ μ̄πῆα μ̄πκοσμος ζοταν | εϋψαννιϋε ψαρεϋ̄τε τπρω ψωπε  
 15 | πῆα ετογααβ ζοταν̄ εϋ̄ψαννιϋε || ψαρε τψαμη ψωπε̄  
 πετεϋῆταϋ̄ μ̄|μαγ ἵτηγωσις ἵτμε οϋελεϋθερος | πε πελεϋ-  
 θερος δε μαϋρ̄ νοβε πε|τρε γαρ̄ μ̄πνοβε πζῆζαλ μ̄πνοβε |  
 20 πε τμααϋ τε ταληθεια τηγωσις δε || πε † πτωτ̄ νε-  
 τεστο ναϋ ἀν ἀρ̄ νοβε | επκοσμος μοϋτε εροοϋ χε ελεϋθε-  
 ρος ναει ετστο ναϋ ἀν ἀρ̄ νοβε | τηγωσις ἵταληθεια χισε ἵ-  
 25 ζητ̄ ετε | παει πε σειρε μ̄μοοϋ ἵελεϋθερος || αγω στρουχιςε  
 επμα τηρῆ ταγαπη | δε κωτ̄ πεταζῆ ελεϋθερος δε ζι|τῆ  
 τηγωσις φο ἵζῆζαλ ετβε ταγα|πη ἵναει εμ̄πατοϋψι εζραῖ [ἵτε]-

28 i.e. ἵτελειον̄ἵνογοειν. 33 Sah. πετναχι. 34 ἀνεειμα : Sah. επεειμα.

77:11 Sah. ἵνεϋπαζτῆ.

13 Sah. ψαϋτρε-.

17-18 i.e. πετειρε.

20 Sah. νετε ἵς- . . . ἀν.

28 [αγω]ἵνωωq[πε ζ]ωωq read in photographs 28-29 ογο||ειν - - - | rest. Till [ - - -  
 πε|ητα[ζ̄τααϋ̄] Emmel (ἵτ read in photographs) 30 [εζογν̄ ετ̄μῆγερο] sim. rest.  
 Kasser: [εζογν̄ επογοειν̄] sim. rest. Ménard: [επμα ετῆμαγ ετε] Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("[zu  
 jenem Ort, der]") 31 [ἵνογοειν̄ αγω ψωε] sim. Ménard: [ἵνογοειν̄ παει ψωε] sim.  
 Kasser 31-32 ἵ|τελειος ῥρωμε παντ|ως rest. Isenberg<sup>2</sup>: ἵ|ζητ̄ παντῆ παντ|ως  
 similarly restored by Kasser 32-33 prob. restore ε||βολ ζῆ πκοσμος| : cf. 66:21-22,  
 86:11-12 (thus Schenke "[aus dem κόσμος,]" Till) 33 [[ζ]] cancelled by the

on the perfect light ' [and] he too becoming perfect light. ' He who has [put it] on will enter <sup>30</sup> [ . . . ]. This is the perfect ' [ . . . ] that we [ . . . ] become ' [ . . . ] before we leave ' [ . . . ]. Whoever receives everything ' [ . . . ] hither [ . . . ] be able <sup>35</sup> [ . . . ] 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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, <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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

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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*

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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 Schenke<sup>3</sup> ("[nicht an] jenem Ort [Anteil haben (μετέχειν)]") 36 [βωκ ἀτμε]ζοτης Schenke ("[zur μεσότης [gehen]]"), sim. Till: cf. 66:15–20 77:1 ἄπτελος: M 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<sup>l</sup>  
 (126 L.) Μ[ΑΤΙΚΗ] | ΟΥΗΡΠ` ΤΕ ΖΙ CΤΟΕΙ CΕΡ̄ΑΠΟ[ΛΑΥΕ Μ̄]\*ΜΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΔΙ  
 ΝΕΤΝΑΤΟZCΟΥ Μ̄ΜΟC | CΕΡ̄ΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΖΩΟΥ Ν̄ΔΙ ΝΕΤ`ΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ | Μ-  
 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 ΖΜ 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 ΕΨΑC̄Ρ̄ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ` ΠΕΤ`-  
 20 CΑΜΑCΤΥ` ΨΑCΜΑCΤΥ` ΕΨΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟ||ΕΙΚ` Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΔΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ` Μ̄Ν  
 ΠΨΗ|ΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄ΝΜ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ ΠΚΟCΜΟC` | ΑΛΛΑ Μ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ 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] ΝΟΥΨΒ̄Ρ̄ΓΕ-  
 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. πετσναμαστϋ. 21 Sah. μ̄π̄μερε. 23 i.e. ν̄νευψωπε.

28 Sah. νεψωβ̄ργενος.

29 rest. Schenke ("die γω[σις aber]") 30 εc[ : or else εo[ 31 rest. Kasser : cf. 77:33, 57:17 : [μαcχι] Schenke ("[nimmt nichts]"). Till 32 also palaeographically possible are πωε|ι - - - ] and πωo[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, π or τ rest. Schenke<sup>4</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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] <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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, <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup>

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 <sup>30</sup> consorts with thought, ' and [light] shares '

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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. 79<sup>1</sup> ριτκ᾽ εκψαψωπε | [ῆ πῆνα] πῆνα πετναζωτῖρ εροκ᾽ εκ᾽-  
 (127 L.) [ψανψ]ωπε ἦλογος πλογος πετ᾽\*να τωζ νῆμακ᾽ εκ[κ]ψανψωπε  
 5 ἦου|οειν πογοειν πετναῤκοινωνει | νῆμακ᾽ εκ᾽ψανψωπε  
 ἦνα πσα ἦζερε να πσα ἦζερε ναῤτον᾽ ῆμοογ᾽ || εζραῖ  
 εχωκ᾽ εκψανψωπε ἦζτο } ἦ ἦειω ἦ ῆμασε ἦ ἦοζοορ᾽ ἦ νε-  
 10 σοογ ἦ σε ζῆ νεθηριον ετῆπσα ἦβολ μῆ νετῆπσα μπιτῆ φναψμε|-  
 ριτκ᾽ αν ουτε πρωμε ουτε πῆνα ογ||τε πλογος ουτε  
 πογοειν ουτε να | πσα ἦππε ουτε να πσα ἦζογν σε|ναψῆτον᾽  
 ῆμοογ αν᾽ ζραῖ ἦζητκ᾽ | αυω μῆτακ᾽ μέρος ζραῖ ἦζητογ  
 15 πε|το ἦζμζαῤ εζναϥ᾽ αν φναψῖελεγ||θερος πενταζῖελεγε-  
 ρος ῆπεζ|μοτ᾽ ῆπεϥχοεις αυω αϥτααϥ᾽ εβολ | ογααϥ᾽ αυῆντζμζαῤ  
 ογκετι φναψῖελεγερος  
 20 τῆῆτογοειε ῆπκοσ|μοσ ζιτῆ ῆτοογ ἦειδος ψαγολογ || εζογν  
 αταποθηκη ζιτῆ ογμοογ | μῆνογκαζ μῆνογπῆνα μῆνογοει(ἦ)  
 | αυω τῆῆτογοειε ῆππογτε τεειζε | οἦ ζιτῆ ῆτοογ ζιτῆ ογπις τις  
 25 μῆ|νογζελπις μῆνογαγαπη μῆ ογ||ῖρωσις πῆκαζ τε τ᾽πιςτις  
 ταῖ εν᾽|χε νογνε ζραῖ ἦζητῆ πμο[ο]γ[δε] | τε θελπις εβολ ζι-  
 30 τοοτῆ ε|νοσ||ειψ πῆνα τε ταγαπη εβολ [ζιτο]οτϥ᾽ εναγζα-  
 νε πογοειν δε|ε τε || τῖρωσις εβολ[λ ζ]ιτ[οο]τῆ τῆῆ[ωζ᾽ |  
 | τχαρις σο ἦϥ[τοογ ῆ]μ|εινε σο ῖ||ρῆῆκαζ σο ῖρ[ῆῆ-  
 πε . . . 6-6½ . . . ] | τπε ἦτε πε αυ | . . . ]ζῆ [ 1½-2 ]

79:21 i.e. μῆ ογκαζ μῆ ογπῆνα μῆ ογογοειν. 22–23 Sah. αυω ταει τε θε τῆῆ-  
 τογοειε. 23–24 i.e. μῆ ογζελπις μῆ 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 μῆῆ<sup>1</sup> : 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]οτϥ: 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 σ]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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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. <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> through which we [ripen]. ' Grace exists in [four ways: it is] ' earthborn; it is [heavenly; . . . ] ' the highest heaven; [ . . . ] in [ . . . ].

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79:33 *possibly*. [and it resides] in [truth]

\*p. 80<sup>1</sup> [οὔμακα]ριος πε παει εμ̄ πεϗ̄λλ[. <sup>4.4</sup>/<sub>2</sub> . . . ῃ]\*νοῦψυχη παει πε  
 (128 L.) ιϗ̄ π̄χ̄ς αϗ̄ ρ̄απα(ν)τα ῃπμα τηρϗ̄ αγω ῃπεϗ̄ ρ̄βαρει ἄλλαϗ  
 | ετβε παει ὄμακαριος πε παει ῃ̄ττει|μινε χε οὔτελειος  
 5 ῃ̄ρωμε πε παει γαρ̄ || πλογος χ̄νοῦν ῃ̄μμον εροϗ̄ ζωϑ <C>μοκζ |  
 ασεζε παει ερατϗ̄ πως τ̄ῃ̄ναϗ̄ ρ̄κατορ|θου ῃ̄πεεινος πως  
 εϑνα† αναπαγ|ςις ῃ̄νοῦον ῃ̄νιμ ζα τεζη ῃ̄ζωβ ῃ̄νιμ ῃ̄ψϑε | αν̄ ε̄λλυ-  
 10 πει ἄλλαϗ ειτε νοϑ ειτε κογει || η̄ ἀπιστος η̄ πιστος ειτα α† ανα-  
 παγςις | ῃ̄νετ̄ῃ̄τον ῃ̄μμοϗ̄ ζ̄ῃ̄νετ̄ῃ̄ναοῦοῦ | οὔῃ̄ ζοεινε ετοῦ-  
 νοϑρε τε ε† ανα|παγςις ῃ̄πετ̄ ῃ̄σοοπ̄ καλως πε†ρε | ῃ̄πετ̄ῃ̄να-  
 15 νοϗ̄ ῃ̄ῃ̄ βομ ῃ̄μοϗ̄ ῃ̄ϗ̄† || αναπαγςις ῃ̄ναει <ϗ̄>ϗ̄ι γαρ̄ αν̄ ῃ̄πε-  
 τεζ|ναϗ̄ ῃ̄ῃ̄ βομ δε ῃ̄μοϗ̄ αλλυπει ῃ̄ εϗ̄|τ̄ῃ̄τροϗ̄ ρ̄θαλιβε ῃ̄-  
 μοϗ̄ αλλα πετ̄ϑω|πε καλως ζ̄ῃ̄σοπ̄ ῃ̄αϗ̄ ἄλλυπει ῃ̄μο-  
 20 οῦ ῃ̄σοοπ̄ αν̄ ῃ̄ττειζε αλλα τοϗ̄κα||κια τε ετ̄ ρ̄λυπει  
 ῃ̄μμοϗ̄ πετεῦῃ̄ταϗ̄ | ῃ̄μαγ̄ ῃ̄τ̄ϕ̄γςις ϗ̄† οὔνοϗ̄ ῃ̄πετ̄ῃ̄να-  
 νοϗ̄ ζοεινε δε εβολ ζ̄ῃ̄ παει σε̄|λυπει κακως  
 25 οῦ χεσζ̄ῃ̄νηει ῃ̄ αϗ̄πε | ῃ̄κα ῃ̄νιμ ειτε ψ̄ηρε ειτε ζ̄ῃ̄ζ̄αλ̄ ειτε || τ̄βνη  
 ειτε οὔζορ ῃ̄ ειτε ρ̄ιρ ῃ̄ ειτε σοϗ̄ο | [ειτε] ε̄ιωτ̄ ειτε τ̄ωζ ειτε χορ-  
 τος ειτε | [ . . . ]. ειτε αϗ̄ αγω βαλανος οὔσαβε | [δε π]ε αγω  
 αϗ̄ειμε ῃ̄τ̄ τ̄ροφη ῃ̄πογα | [πογα] ῃ̄ψ̄ηρ[ε] ῃ̄μεν ῃ̄ αϗ̄κε αρτος ζα-  
 30 ρω||οῦ . . . ] ᾱα[ . . . ῃ̄] ζ̄ῃ̄ζ̄αλ̄ δε αϗ̄κε κ̄ι|| . <sup>4</sup>/<sub>2</sub> . . . ζαρ̄ωοῦ ζι  
 ε]βε αγω ῃ̄τ̄βνοῦοῦ | [αϗ̄ ῃ̄νεχ ῃ̄ει] ω[τ̄ ζ] ᾱρωοῦ ζι τ̄ωζ ζι χορ̄-  
 [τος ῃ̄νοῦ] ζοορ ῃ̄νεχ̄ κ̄εεσ ζαρ̄ωοῦ | [αγω ῃ̄ριρ α] ϗ̄νεχ ῃ̄  
 \*p. 81<sup>1</sup> βαλανος ζαρ̄ωοῦ \* ζ̄ῃ̄ μαμοῦ ῃ̄οεικ ῃ̄ ταει τε θε ῃ̄π̄μαθ̄η-  
 (129 L.) τ̄ηϑ ῃ̄π̄νοῦτε εϑωπε οὔσαβε πε εϗ̄|αιϑ̄ανε ῃ̄τ̄ῃ̄ῃ̄τ̄μα-  
 5 ῃ̄ητ̄ηϑ ῃ̄μορ̄|ϕ̄η ῃ̄ς̄ωματ̄ικη̄ σε̄να ρ̄απατα αν̄ ῃ̄|μοϗ̄ ῃ̄ αλλα ῃ̄

80:5 χ̄νοῦν (i.e. χ̄νοῦ) ῃ̄μμον εροϗ̄ ζωϑ : cf. χ̄νοῦ ῃ̄μμοϑ̄ ε- χε- (Crutn 775a 27). 13 i.e. πετειρε. 16 i.e. ᾱ̄λυπει. 18 i.e. ῃ̄ζενσοπ̄. 19 Sah. τεϗ̄κακια. 28 Sah. εϗ̄ειμε.

33–34 [ - - - οὔμακα]ριος : cf. 80:3 34 e.g. εμ̄ πεϗ̄ λ̄|λυπει ρ̄ω ῃ̄ : cf. 80:9, 16–23 80:4–6 cf. 83:11–12 5 χ̄νοῦν : poss. emend to χ̄νοῦ <C> Layton (understood thus by Till) : <εC> Nagel § 54b 15 <ϗ̄> Layton

27 [ . . . ]. : letter trace after the lacuna can be read η̄, ῑ, μ̄, η̄ or ϗ̄ : [κ̄ικ̄] (i.e. κ̄ικ̄ι) Schenke<sup>4</sup>, but unlikely 28 cf. 81:2 29 cf. 81:6 30 ]ᾱα[ : ᾱ, prob. thus or else Ᾱ 30–31 κ̄ι|| - - - ] : cf. 80:27 32 ]ω[ : or else ]ᾱϕ[ : for the restoration cf. 80:26, 81:10 33 cf. 80:25, 81:11 34 cf. 80:25, 81:9

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 <sup>5</sup> 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, <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> [ . . . ]. 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, <sup>5</sup> but

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79:34 *possibly*, caused a soul [distress]



εϕναδωψτ̄ ἡ̄σα τ̄διαθε|ςις ἡ̄τεϕ̄ψ̄υχη ἡ̄πογα πογα ἡ̄ψα|ξε ἡ̄-  
 μαϕ̄ οὐν̄ ζαζ ἡ̄θηριον ζ̄μ̄ π̄κος|μος ε̄γο ἡ̄μορφη ἡ̄ρωμε ναε|  
 10 εϕ̄|ψασοϕωνοϕ̄ ἡ̄ριρ̄ μεν̄ ἕνανεχ̄ ἕβα|λλανος ε̄ροοϕ̄ ἡ̄τβνοοϕ̄ δε  
 ἕνανεχ̄ | ε̄ιωτ̄ ε̄ροοϕ̄ ζι τωζ ζι χορτος ἡ̄οϕ̄|ζοορ̄ ἕνανεχ̄ καᾱς  
 ε̄ροοϕ̄ ἡ̄ζ̄μ̄ζαλ̄ | ἕνα† ναϕ̄ ἡ̄ψορπ̄ ἡ̄ψηρε ἕνα† ναϕ̄ | ἡ̄τελειον  
 15 ψοορ̄ ἡ̄δ̄ι π̄ψηρε ἡ̄πρω||με̄ ᾱγω ψοορ̄ ἡ̄δ̄ι π̄ψηρε ἡ̄πψη|ρε  
 ἡ̄πρωμε̄ π̄χοεις̄ πε π̄ψηρε ἡ̄|πρωμε̄ ᾱγω π̄ψηρε ἡ̄πψηρε̄ ἡ̄|  
 πρωμε̄ πε πετ̄̄ςωντ̄ ζιτ̄μ̄ π̄ψηρε ἡ̄πρωμε̄ ᾱπψηρε ἡ̄πρωμε̄  
 20 χι || ἡ̄τοοτ̄ ἡ̄πνοϕ̄τε̄ ε̄τρεϕ̄ςωντ̄ οϕ̄(η)ταϕ̄ ἡ̄μαϕ̄  
 ε̄τρεϕ̄χο̄ πενταζχῑ ε̄|τρεϕ̄ςωντ̄ ἡ̄ οϕ̄ςωντ̄ πε̄ πενταζχῑ |  
 ε̄χο̄ οϕ̄χο̄ πε̄ πετ̄ςωντ̄ ἡ̄δ̄ομ̄ | ἡ̄ϕ̄χο̄ πετ̄̄χο̄ οϕ̄ν̄  
 25 δ̄ομ̄ ἡ̄ϕ̄ςωντ̄ ||̄ σεχω̄ δε̄ ἡ̄μος̄ χε̄ πετ̄̄ςωντ̄̄ χο̄ | ᾱλλα  
 πεϕ̄χο̄ οϕ̄ςωντ̄ πε̄ ε̄τ|βε̄<sup>2:3</sup> || ἡ̄χο̄ νεϕ̄ψηρε̄ αν̄ νε̄ ᾱλλα  
 η̄ | .<sup>3½-5</sup> ||̄ νε̄ πετ̄ςωντ̄̄ εϕ̄ρ̄ ζωβ̄ ζ̄η̄ οϕ̄|ωνζ̄ | ε̄βολ̄ ᾱγω ἡ̄-  
 30 τοϕ̄ ζωωϕ̄ ϕοϕ̄|η̄ς ε̄||βολ̄ πετ̄χο̄ εϕ̄χο̄ ζ̄η̄ οϕ̄|πεθηπ̄  
 | ᾱγω ἡ̄τοϕ̄ ϕζηπ̄ |ε|ϕ̄|ο|γα| . . .<sup>6-7½</sup> ||̄ ε̄ικων̄ πετ̄̄ςω|η̄τ̄  
 ο|η̄ εϕ̄|ωντ̄ ζ̄η̄ | οϕ̄φανερ̄ον̄ πετ̄χο̄ Δ|ε̄ εϕ̄χο̄ | ψηρε̄ ζ̄η̄ οϕ̄-  
 35 πεθηπ̄ ἡ̄η̄ |λααϕ̄ ναψ̄||σοοϕ̄ν̄ χε̄ ᾱψ̄ πε̄ ϕο|οϕ̄ ε̄τε̄ ϕοοϕ̄τ̄  
 \*p. 82<sup>1</sup> \* ἡ̄δ̄ι τ̄ςιμε̄ ἡ̄κοινη̄νεῑ ἡ̄η̄ νοϕ̄ερηϕ̄ | ε̄ι μη̄ ἡ̄τοοϕ̄ οϕ̄ααϕ̄ οϕ̄-  
 (130 L.) μϕ̄στηριον̄ γαρ̄ | πε̄ π̄γαμος̄ ἡ̄π̄κοςμο̄ς ἡ̄νη̄ενταζχῑ | ζιμε̄ ε̄ψ̄χε̄  
 5 π̄γαμος̄ ἡ̄π̄χωζμ̄ ϕζηπ̄ ||̄ πο̄σω̄ μαλλ̄ον̄ π̄γαμος̄ ἡ̄ατ̄χωζμ̄ οϕ̄-  
 μϕ̄στηριον̄ πε̄ ἡ̄αληθεῑνον̄ οϕ̄σαρ̄κ̄|κ̄ον̄ αν̄ πε̄ ᾱλλα εϕ̄̄τ̄β̄-

81:28–29 i.e. ζ̄η̄ οϕ̄ϕ̄ωνζ̄ ε̄βολ̄. 82:1 Sah. νεϕ̄ερηϕ̄.

81:6 expected is ἡ̄τ̄ψ̄υχη ἡ̄πογα πογα : poss. emend thus

26 ε̄τ|βε̄ παε̄ι| Schenke ('[des]wegen'). Ménard: ε̄τ|βε̄ χε̄| Schenke<sup>3</sup>  
 ('[w]eil') 27 η̄|: a superlin. stroke may have been written above η̄: for η̄ can also be  
 read β̄, γ̄, η̄, ῑ, κ̄, λ̄, π̄ or ρ̄ ἡ̄|ςωντ̄| Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 28 cf. 81:32–33 29 rest. Schenke ('[is]r  
 ... offenbar'). Till 30 χο̄ϕ̄: deciphered by Schenke<sup>4</sup> for the restoration cf.  
 81:34 31 |ε|ϕ̄|ο|γα|τ̄βε̄ παρᾱ| rest. Isenberg<sup>2</sup> 32 [--- ο|η̄ Schenke<sup>4</sup>: reading of pap.  
 cannot have been [--- με̄|η̄ if πετ̄ςω|η̄τ̄ ---] be restored ε̄ϕ̄ϕ̄: for ϕ̄ can also be read  
 ϕ̄, ω̄, φ̄, ψ̄, γ̄ or σ̄ εϕ̄ϕ̄|ωντ̄ ζ̄η̄| Schenke ('[schafft im]'), Till 33 rest. Layton: Δ|ε̄  
 εϕ̄χο̄ ἡ̄η̄| Till: cf. 81:30 34 rest. Till 35 rest. Schenke ('[an dem der Mann]'),  
 Layton: also possible is ϕο|οϕ̄ εν̄ζοοϕ̄τ̄

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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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. <sup>25</sup> 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. <sup>30</sup> 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] <sup>35</sup> 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, <sup>5</sup> how much more is the undefiled marriage ' a true mystery! It is not fleshly ' but pure.

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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  
 15 ΠΣΠΕΡΜΑ Ν̄ΚΕΖΟ|ΟΥΤ` ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΑΝΡ̄ ΠΒΟΛ` Μ̄ΠΕΣΚΟΙ|ΤΩΝ Ν̄ΣΕ-  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΣΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΜΟΝΟΝ || ΜΑΡΕΣΟΥΩΝΖ 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` || ΕΣΩΤ̄Μ ΕΤΕΣΣΜΗ Ν̄ΣΕΡ̄ΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ` Μ̄|ΠΕΣΣΟ-  
 Σ̄Ν ΑΥΩ ΜΑΡΟΥΣΟΝΨ ΕΒΟΛ` Ζ̄Ν Ν̄|ΛΕϥΛΙϥΕ ΕΤΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΡΑ-  
 ΠΕΖΑ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄|ΝΟΥΖΟΟΡ` ΟΥΝ Ζ̄ΝΝΥΜ`ΦΙΟΣ Μ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν|ΝΥΜΦΗ ΗΠ`  
 25 ΕΠΝΥΜΦΩΝ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΑ ΝΑΨ|| ΝΑΥΑΠΝΥΜ`ΦΙΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΤΝΥΜΦΗ ΕΙ ΜΗ |  
 [Ν̄ϥΨ]ΩΠΕ Μ̄ΠΑΕΙ

30 Ν̄ΤΕΡΕ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ` | [ . . . ] ΕΤΡΕϥΝΑΥ ΑΠΕΤ`ϥΗΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϥ` | [ΑϥΣ|Β̄ΒΕ  
 Ν̄ΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ` Ν̄ΤΑΚΡΟΥΣΤΙΑ ΕϥΤΑ|[ΜΟ] Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΧΕ ΨΨΕ ΕΤΑΚΟ Ν̄ΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ` ||  
 [ΠΕΖΟ]ΥΟ Ν̄ΤΕ [Π]ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΝΖΟΣΟΝ` ΝΟΥ|[ΣΑ ΝΖΟΥ]Ν` ΖΗ[Π]  
 [ΣΕ]ΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΣΕΟΝΖ | [ΕΥΨΑΝ]ΟΥΩΗΝ[Ζ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΑΥΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΠΠΑ|[ΡΑΔΙΓΜ]Α Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ | [ΕΝΖΟΣΟ]Ν Μ̄ΜΑΖΤ` Μ̄-  
 \*p. 83<sup>1</sup>  
 (131 L.) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΗΠ` ϥΟΝΖ \* Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΨΑΔΩΛΠ` Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΕϥΜΑΖΤ` | ΣΕΡ̄

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 ΠΕΣΣΟΣ̄Ν : εσ<sup>1</sup>  
 added above the line 24 Μ̄Ν ΟΥΑ ΝΑΨ : cf. 76:26

27 [ΡΑΨΕ] Schenke (“[sich freute]”), Ménard : cf. John 8:56 Ἄβραάμ ὁ πατὴρ 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 Ν̄ΤΕ[ : ϥ, or else ϥ (not ϥ̄, ϥ̄) : of ἦ, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored; ϥ̄, or  
 else ϥ̄ rest. Schenke<sup>3</sup> (“[die mei]sten—d.h. Dinge—[d]er Welt”), Layton 31 η read  
 from small, ambiguous trace rest. Isenberg<sup>2</sup> : cf. 82:34 : [ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙ]Α 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 <sup>10</sup> 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. <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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. <sup>30</sup>

[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

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82:26–27 *possibly*, Abraham [rejoiced]

ΠΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤϚ` ϚΝΑΜΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ | ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΟΝ Μ̄ΠΨΗΝ ΖΩΣ  
 5 ΕΤΕϚΝΟΥΝΕ | ΖΗΠ` ΨΑϚϚ ΟΥΩ Ν̄ϚΛΕΖΗΤ` ΕΡΨΑ ΤΕϚ`||ΝΟΥΝΕ ΒΩΛΠ`  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΨΗΝ ΨΟ|ΟΥΕ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΖΙ ΣΠΟ ΝΙΜ` ΕΤΖ̄Μ ΠΚΟС|ΜΟС  
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΖΙ ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ` | ΑΛΛΑ ΖΙ ΝΕΘΗΠ` ΕΦ ΖΟСΟΝ ΓΑΡ  
 10 ΤΝΟΥΝΕ | Ν̄ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΖΗΠ СΧΟΟΡ ΕΥΨΑΝСΟΥΩΝС || ΔΕ ΔСΒΩΛ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕСΨΑΝΟΥΩΝΖ ΔΕ Ε|ΒΟΛ ΔСΩΧ̄Ν̄ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΛΟГОС ΧΩ  
 Μ̄|ΜΟС ΧΕ ΗΔΗ ΤΑΖΕΙΝΗ С̄ΜΜΟΝΤ` ΑΤΝΟΥ|ΝΕ Ν̄ΝΨΗΝ ΕСΝΑΨΩΨΤ`  
 15 ΑΝ ΠΕΤΟΥ|ΝΑΨΑΑΤϚ` ΠΑΛΙΝ ΨΑϚϚ ΟΥΩ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΑ||ΡΕ ΤΑΖΕΙΝΗ  
 ΒΑΛΒ̄ ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΠЕСΗΤ` ΨΑ(Ν)|ΤЕС̄Ν̄ ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΕΙ ΑΙϚ ΔΕ ΠΩΡΚ`  
 Ν̄|ΤΝΟΥΝΕ Μ̄ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡϚ Ζ̄ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΚΑ|ΤΑ ΜΕΡΟС ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΜΑΡΕ  
 20 ΠΟΥΑ | ΠΟΥΑ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΜΑΡΕϚΒΑΛΒΛΕ Ν̄СΑ ΤΝΟΥ|ΝΕ Ν̄ΤΚΑΚΙΑ` ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄-  
 ΖΗΤϚ` Ν̄ϚΠΟΡ̄Κ̄Ϛ | ΖΑ ΤΕСΝΟΥΝΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕϚΖΗΤ` ΕСΝΑΠΩΡΚ | ΔΕ ΕΝ`ΨΑ-  
 СΟΥΩΝС̄ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ Τ̄Ν̄|ΝΟ Ν̄ΑΤ`СООУΝ ΕΡΟС СХΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΖΡ[Α]Ϊ |  
 25 Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΑΥΩ СТЕΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝЕСКАР||ΠΟС ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ Π̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ` СΟ Ν̄-  
 ΧΟΕΙС ΕΡΟ(Ν) | Τ̄Ν̄НО Ν̄ΖΜ̄ΖΑΛ̄ ΝΑС С̄ΡΑΙΧΜΑΛΨ[Τ]! ΖΕ | Μ̄ΜΟΝ  
 ΕΤΡ̄Ν̄ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΟΨ|ΟΥ ΑΝ | ΝΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΟΨΟΥ Τ̄Ν̄ΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ  
 30 [ΑΝ С]||С̄Μ̄ΒΟМ` ΧΕ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄СΟΥΩΝС̄ ΖΩС [ΕСΨΟ]||ΟΠ` ΜΕΝ С̄Ρ̄-  
 ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤϚ[ОΟΥΝ] | ΕСΨΟΟП` Μ̄ΜΑΔΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΠΕ[ΘООУ ΤΗΡΟΥ |  
 | Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤ`СООУΝ [ΕС]Ν̄ΑΨΕ ΑΠ[ΜΟΥ ΧΕ] | ΝΕΤ`ΨΟΟП` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄  
 35 Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ[ΑТСООУΝ] | ΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΥΨΟΟП` ΑΝ` ΟΥΤΕ [СΨΟΟП Α(Ν)] || ΟΥΤΕ  
 \*p. 84<sup>1</sup> СЕНΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΝ [ . . . 6.7 . . . ] \* СЕНΑΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ` ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΨΑ  
 (132 L.) ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ | ΤΗΡС` ΟΥΩΝΖ` ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΓΑΡ` ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ | Ν̄-  
 Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТ`СООУΝ` ΕСΖΗΠ` ΜΕΝ С̄Ρ̄ΑΝΑ|ΠΑΥΕ ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄С̄ ΕС-  
 5 ΨΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ || Ν̄СЕСΟΥΩΝС̄ ΨΑΥΤΝΑС ΕООУ ΖОСΟΝ | С̄Β̄Ν̄ΒΟМ`  
 ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТСООУΝ ΑΥΩ ΑТ`ΠΛΑ|ΝΗ С† Ν̄Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΥΘΕРОС ΠΕ-  
 ΧΑϚ` Ν̄ΒΙ | ΠΛΟГОС ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΨΑΝ`СΟΥΩΝ ΤΑΛΗ|ΘΕΙΑ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΝᾹΡ̄  
 10 ΤΗΝΕ Ν̄ΕΛΕΥΘΕРОС || Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑТСООУΝ` СΟ Ν̄ΖΜ̄ΖΑΛ̄ ΤΓΝΩСΙС ΟΥ|  
 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΤΕ` ΕΝΨΑСΟΥΩΝ` ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ | Τ̄Ν̄ΝΑΖΕ` ΑΝКАРПОС Ν̄-  
 ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄|ΖΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΝ`ΨΑΖΩΤ̄Ρ̄ ΕРОС СНАΧΙ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄ΠΛΗ|ΡΩΜΑ

3 teeize on : i.e. таει τε θε. 10–11 Sah. есβωλ εβολ . . . есωχ̄н. 22–23 i.e. τ̄ñο н̄-. 26 i.e. τ̄ñο н̄-.

83:14 ψαϚ : Ϛ altered from ο 17 κοουε : ε altered from ζ 28–29 cf. Rom 7:19 οὐ

come out of him, the man will die. ' So also with the tree: while its root ' is hidden it sprouts and grows. If its <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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] <sup>30</sup> 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] <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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). <sup>10</sup> 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. '

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83:4 grows: *the exact meaning of this Coptic verb is not certain*

83:35 *possibly*, [Those who are in the truth]

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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. Isenberg<sup>2</sup>, sim. Schenke<sup>4</sup>: 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 [νετῆ τμε] sim. rest. Till 84:9 ελεγερος : P altered from false start of another letter (z or o)

- 15 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΤΑΝ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ|ΟΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕ  
 ΠCΩΝΤ ΨΑΝ ΞΟΟΣ ΞΕ | ΝΤΟΥ ΝΕ Ν ΞΩΨΡΕ ΕΤ ΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΝΕ-  
 ΘΗΠ | ΔΕ ΝΕ ΝΩΒ ΕΤΨΗC ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ|ΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΑΛΗ-  
 ΘΕΙΑ ΖΝΩΒ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ | CΕΨΗC ΝΕΘΗΠ ΔΕ Ν ΞΩΨΡΕ
- 20 ΝΕ ΑΥΩ CΕΤΑ|ΕΙΗΥ CΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟ(Ν) | Ν-  
 ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΕΥΟ ΝΤΥΠΟC ΖΙ ΖΙΚΩΝ ΠΚΟ|ΙΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΟΖΗΠ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ  
 ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΜ | ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑCΜΑ ΜΕΝ | ΖΟΒC Ν-
- 25 ΨΟΡΠ ΠΩC ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ ΔΙΟΙΚΕΙ | ΝΤΚΤΙCΙC ΕΨΑΠΩΖ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕ|ΤΑC|Μ|Α ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΝΑ ΠCΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΟΥΩΝΖ | [ΕΒΟΛ] CΕΝΑΚΩ  
 ΔΕ ΜΠΕΕΙΝΕΙ ΝCΩΟΥ | [ΕΨΟ] ΝΕΡΗΜΟC ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ CΕΝΑΡΚΑΤΑ|[ΛΥΕ]
- 30 ΜΜΟϞ ΤΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΤΗΡC CΑΠΩΤ || [ΕΒΟΛ] ΝΝΕΕΙΜΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΝ  
 ΕΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ | [ΝΤΕ Ν] ΕΤ|Ο|ΥΑΑΒ CΝΑΨΤΩΖ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΜΝ ΠΟΥ|ΟΕΙΝ  
 Ν]ΑΤ ΤΩΖ ΜΝ ΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΝΑΤ |[ΨΤΑ ΑΛ]Α CΝΑΨΨΠΕ ΖΑ ΝΤΝΖ Μ-
- 35 ΠC ϜΟC | [ΑΥΩ ΖΑ Ν] ΕΨCΒΟΕΙ ΤΕΕΙΒΙΩΤΟC ΝΑΨΩ|[ΠΕ ΜΠΟ]ΥΟΥΧΑΕΙ  
 \*p. 85<sup>1</sup> ΝΤΑΡΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΚΛΥC \*ΜΟC ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΡΨΑ | ΖΝ-  
 (133 L.) ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΨΥΛΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΟΥ|ΗΝΒ ΝΑΕΙ ΝΑΨΩΒΝ CΟΜ ΝΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ
- 5 Ε|ΠCΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑCΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΑΡ|ΧΙΕΡΕΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΜΠΕ  
 ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑC|ΜΑ ΠΩΖ ΜΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΟΥΑΑΤϞ ΕΠΕΙ ΝΕΥ|ΝΑΟΥΕΝ ΝΝΑ  
 ΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΟΥΑΑΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ | ΜΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ ΟΥΑΑΤϞ ΑΝ ΝΤΑϞ-
- 10 ΠΩΖ ΕΠΕΙ|ΝΑϞΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΑ ΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ ΟΥ|ΑΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΝΤΑϞΠΩΖ ΝΤΠΕ ΕΠΙΤΝ ΑΝΑ | ΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ ΝΝΕΤΜΠCΑ  
 ΜΠ|ΙΤΝ ΞΕΚΑΑC ΕΝΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΠΕΘΗΠ | ΝΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΑΕΙ
- 15 ΑΛΗΘΩC ΠΕ ΠΕΤ ΤΑΕΙ|ΗΥ ΕΤΟ Ν ΞΩΨΡΕ ΕΝΑΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΜΑΥ ||  
 ΖΙΤΝ ΖΝΤΥΠΟC ΕΥΨΗC ΜΝ ΖΝΜΝΤΩΒ | CΕΨΗC ΜΕΝ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΠΕΟΟΥ  
 ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟ|Λ| ΟΥΝ ΕΟΟΥ ΕϞΧΟCΕΕΟΟΥ ΟΥΝ CΟΜ ΕϞΧΟ|CΕ  
 ΕCΟΜ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΑΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ ΟΥΕΝ | ΝΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΘΗΠ ΝΤΑΛΗ-

84:29 Sah. CΝΑΠΩΤ. 30 [ΕΒΟΛ] ΝΝΕΕΙΜΑ : Sah. ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΕΙΜΑ. 35 i.e. Μ-  
 ΠΕΥΟΥΧΑΕΙ. 85:2 ΖΝ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ : Sah. ΖΟΕΙΝΕ. 9 ΝΑϞΝΑ- : Sah. ΝΕϞΝΑ-. 10 ΝΤΠΕ : Sah.  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ. 17 i.e. ΧΟCΕ 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 ΕCΧΟ|CΕ ΕCΟΜ em. Till

At the present time we have the manifest things <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> [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 <sup>35</sup> [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. <sup>5</sup> 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. <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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|ϕιτ̄ς δε ν̄-  
25 τμητε μ̄πσπερμα μ̄ππ̄να | ετοϋααβ` σεο ν̄ζμ̄ζαλ ν̄τπονη-  
ρια ζο||ταν δε εϕωαδωαπ` εβολ τοτε ποϋο|ειν ν̄τελειον` να-  
ζατε εβολ` εχ̄ν̄ [ο]ϋο(ν) | νιμ` αγω νετ̄νητϋ` τηροϋ σεη[αχι  
30 χρι||σμα τοτε ν̄ζμ̄ζαλ ν̄αρελεϋθε|ροσ αγω | ν̄σεσωτε ν̄αιχμα-  
λωτος τωδε η̄|ιμ εμ||πε παειωτ` ετ̄ζν̄ μ̄πηϋε τοβϋ[` σενα||-  
πορκϋ` νετπορϋ` σεναζωτ̄ρ η̄| .<sup>4½-5½</sup> . ] | σεναμοϋζ οϋον`  
νιμ` ετ̄ναβ|ωκ εζοϋν | επκοιτων σεναχερο μ̄ποϋ|οειν <sup>2-3</sup> . ||ο  
35 γαρ ν̄θε ν̄ν̄γαμος ετ̄νηε| . . . <sup>6-7</sup> . . . ||ωωπε ν̄τοϋϋη πκωστ`  
\*p. 86<sup>1</sup> ψ|αϋ . . . <sup>5-6</sup> . . . ] \* ν̄τοϋϋη ψαϋχενε μ̄μϋστηριον δε | μ̄πιγαμος ν̄-  
(134 L.) τοϋ ψαϋϋωκ` εβολ` ζμ̄ πεζοοϋ` μ̄ν ποϋοειν μαρε φοοϋ ετ̄μ-  
5 μαϋ | η πεϋ`οϋοειν ζωτπ` ερψα οϋα ψωπε ν̄||ωηρε μ̄πνημ`φων`  
ϕναχι μ̄ποϋοειν | ετ̄μ οϋα χιτϋ` εϕν̄νεειμα ϕναψχιτϋ` | αν μ̄-  
πκεμα πεταχι ποϋοειν ετ̄μμαϋ | σεναναϋ αν` εροϋ` οϋτε  
10 σεναψεμαστε | αν` μ̄μοϋ` αγω μ̄ν λααϋ ναψ̄ρσκϋλλε μ̄||παει ν̄-  
τεειμεινε καν` εϕ̄ρπολιτεϋεσ|θαι ζμ̄ πκοσμοσ αγω ον εϕωαει

28 i.e. ναρ-. 29 i.e. ν̄ν̄αιχμαλωτος. 86:6 εϕν̄νεειμα : 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 η̄| : a superlin. stroke may have been written above η̄: reading of pap. cannot be μ̄ or μ̄ poss. restore ν̄|νοϋε-ρηϋ| 32 ναβ| : α. or else λ: β read from small, ambiguous trace rest. Schenke ('[ein-gehen] werden'), sim. Till 34 ε| : or else ϑ (not α) e.g. ετ̄νηε|θηη εψαϋ| 35 ψ| : or else ω| ψ|αϋρ οϋοειν| Schenke<sup>3</sup> ('[leuchtet]'), Schenke<sup>4</sup>

The holies <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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] <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> a person like this even while he dwells ' in the world. And again when he leaves '

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85:31 *possibly*, unite [with one another] (*i.e.*, be united)

85:35 *possibly*, That fire [burns]

15 εβολ | ζῆ̄ πκοσμοσ ηδη αϑχι ἡ̄ταληθ̄εια ζῆ̄ | ἡ̄ζικων πκοσμοσ  
 αϑωπε ἡ̄ναιω(ν) | παιων γαρ εϑωοπ᾽ ναϑ᾽ ἡ̄πληρω̄μα αγω  
 εϑωοπ᾽ ἡ̄τεειζε ϑογονε εβολ | ναϑ ογααϑ εϑζηπ᾽ αν ζῆ̄ πκακε ἡ̄  
 τοῡψη αλλα εϑζηπ᾽ ζῆ̄νοϑζοϑ ἡ̄τελειο(ν) | ἡ̄ ογοειν εϑογααβ

πεγαγγελιον | πκατα φιλιπποσ

---

13 i.e. ἡ̄αιων. 17 i.e. ζῆ̄ οϑζοϑ. 18 i.e. ογοοειν.

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.  
<sup>15</sup> 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*)<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup>For 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 codex<sup>3</sup> (*OnOrgWld*) are dependent on earlier Gnostic traditions or documents also supports this assumption. One Platonic commonplace of the author's philosophical attitude<sup>4</sup> 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-

<sup>3</sup>Edited in vol. 2.

<sup>4</sup>The 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.<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that *HypArch* is identical with the *Book(s) of Norea*, but there is no compelling evidence to support this hypothesis.<sup>6</sup>

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

<sup>5</sup> *Haer.* 26.1.3, *PG* 41.332B.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY. Commentaries: Roger A. Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons: The Coptic Text with Translation and Commentary, With a Contribution by Martin Krause* (Patristische Texte und Studien 10; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970), useful mainly for its commentary and for Krause's linguistic introduction. Bentley Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons, or, The Reality of the Rulers," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974) 351–425 and 69 (1976) 31–101, with a thorough introduction, critical text with translation, helpful notes.

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## DRAMATIS PERSONAE<sup>7</sup>

*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

<sup>7</sup>From 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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- Schenke<sup>2</sup> Privately circulated communication (originally intended for *OLZ*), as cited in the critical apparatus of Layton<sup>3</sup>

# THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

- p. 86<sup>20</sup>  
 64 Labib) εΤΒΕ ΘΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC Ν̄ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ Ζ̄Μ Π̄Π̄Ν̄Α | Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ` Ν̄ΤΜΕ ΔΥΧΟΟC  
 ΝΑΝ Ν̄Β Ι ΠΝΟC | Ν̄Α ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄ΠΚΑΚΕ | ΧΕ Π̄Ν̄ΨΩΧΕ  
 ΨΟΟΠ` ΔΝ ΟΥΒΕ CΑΡΖ ΖΙ | [CΝΟ]ϣ ΑΛΛΑ Εϣ`ΟΥΒΕ ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ  
 25 Μ̄ΠΚΟC|[ΜΟC] Μ̄Ν Μ̄ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ Ν̄ΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ | [ΔΕΙ]ΧΕΝΕ ΝΑΕΙ  
 ΕΚΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΘΥΠΟCΤΑ|[CΙC Ν̄]ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ  
 ΠΟΥΝΟC ΔΕ ΟΥΒ̄ΛΛΕ ΠΕ | [ΕΤΒΕ] ΤΕ[ϣ]ΔΟΜ Μ̄Ν ΤΕϣΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ  
 30 | [Μ̄Ν ΤΕϣΜ]Ν̄ΤΧΑCΙΖΗΤ` ΔΥΧΟΟC Ζ̄Ν ΤΕϣ`|[ΔΟΜ ΧΕ] ΔΝΟΚ` Π̄Ε Π̄ΝΟΥ-  
 ΤΕ Μ̄Ν ΛΑΔΥ | [ΔΧ̄Ν̄Τ]  
 [Ν̄Τ]ΔΡΕϣΧΕ ΠΑΕΙ Δϣ̄Ρ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ | [ΕΠΤΗΡϣ] ΔΥΩ ΑΠΕΕΨΑΧΕ  
 \*p. 87<sup>1</sup>  
 (135 L.) ΠΩΖ ΨΔΖ\*ΡΑΪ ΕΤ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ`ΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΕΙC ΟΥCΜΗ ΔΕ ΔCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ` Ζ̄Ν  
 Τ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΕC ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC Χ̄Ε | Κ̄Ρ̄ΠΛΑΝΑCΘΕ CΑΜΑΗΛ ΕΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 Π[Ε] | Ν̄Β̄ΒΛΛΕ  
 5 ΔΝΕϣΜΕΕϣΕ Ρ̄ Β̄ΛΛ Ε ΔΥΝΟΥΧΕ || ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕϣΔΟΜ ΕΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ Ν̄ΤΑϣ-

## AUXILIARY NOTES

86:27 i.e. Ν̄ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ.

87:4 Ν̄Β̄ΒΛΛΕ : i.e. Ν̄Β̄ΛΛΕ : cf. *OnOrgWtd* 103:18.

## TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

86:24 [CΝΟ]ϣ : cf. Eph 6:12 αἶμα 26 [ΔΕΙ --- ] Nagel : also possible is [ΔΖΙ --- ] (cf. 96:15) [ΔΕΙ]ΧΕΝΕ ΝΑΕΙ : [ΝΑΨΑ]ΧΕ ΝΕ ΝΑΕΙ Polotsky ΧΕΝΕ : cf. Crum 774# and Layton 175 27 [CΙC Ν̄ <Ν>]ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ Layton<sup>3</sup>, poss. rightly (cf. 87:10, 86:20)

28 rest. Schenke (“[wegen]”) : [ΚΑΤΑ] Kasser 29 for the restoration cf. 86:28 30 rest. Layton<sup>3</sup> (cf. 87:4-5) : [ΒΨΕ ΧΕ] Kasser, with hesitation : [CΜΗ ΧΕ] Krause : [ΖΥΛΗ ΧΕ] Schenke<sup>2</sup> 31-32 [ΔΧ̄Ν̄Τ] . . . [ΕΠΤΗΡϣ] : cf. 94:22-23

87:2-3 Χ̄Ε | Κ̄Ρ̄ : cf. 94:25, 95:7 : Χ[Ε] Δ̄|Κ̄Ρ̄ Krause 3 Π[Ε] : cf. 94:26

5 for the construction cf. Layton I 82 : ΠΟΥΑ <ΠΕ> 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 universe<sup>25</sup> 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 his<sup>30</sup> [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 expelled<sup>5</sup> his power—that is, the blasphemy

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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 τπιστικ | 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 μεριτῆ || 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. ζῆ μμοϕ. 16 i.e. πενταζοϕωνζ (Schenke, Krause in Bullard 14 and Nagel emend thus). ζῆνῆμμοϕ : i.e. ζῆ μμοϕ. 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. ζῆ μμοϕ.

ὁ ἀϕδιωκε em. Fischer 7–8 πνοῦν εβολ ζιτῆ τπιστικ τσοφια τεϕμααϕ em. Kasser 10 ῆ<ν>αιων MacRae, poss. rightly

26 rest. Kasser : also possible is ῆ[ασμα] : cf. Layton<sup>3</sup>, 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 Layton<sup>3</sup>, with hesitation : for the other possible restorations, cf. Layton<sup>3</sup>, 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 <sup>10</sup> 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. <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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, <sup>25</sup> 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] <sup>30</sup> from the earth and modelled their [man], ' after their body and [after the image] ' of God that had appeared [to them] ' in the waters.

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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<sup>l</sup> εφναναυ απεψωβῆει[νε . . . 5½-7 . . .] \* [ῆ]τῆνεμαζτε ῆμοϋ ζῆ πῆ-  
 (136 L.) πλάσμα εϋῆνο[|ε] | αν ῆτ δυναμικ ῆπνοϋτε εβολ ζῆ | τῶμῆτῆτῆ-  
 5 σομ αϋω αϋνιϋε εζοϋν ζῆ | πεϋζο αϋω απρωμε ψωπε ῆψυχι-  
 ετβε τῶμῆτῆτῆτῆσομ αϋ|προσκ`αρτερει ῆθε ῆνιζαθηϋ χε εϋ-  
 να|σῶρς 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 αδαν` χε | αϋζε γαρ` εροϋ` εϋκειμ` ζιζῆ  
 πκαζ αϋσμη | εἰ εβολ ζῆ τῆῆτῆτῆτακο ετβε τῆθηθια | ῆ-  
 20 αδ`αν` αϋω αναρχων` σῶοϋζ εζοϋν` || ῆῆῆ`ῆριον` τηροϋ ῆπκαζ  
 ῆῆ ῆζαλατε | τη`ροϋ ῆτπε αϋῆτοϋ εζοϋν` ψα αδαν` | εναϋ χε α-  
 δαν` ναμοϋτε εροϋ χε nim` | ετρεϋ`ραν εποϋα ποϋα ζῆ ῆζαλα-  
 τε | ῆῆ ῆτῆνοϋε τηροϋ  
 25 αϋϋει ῆαδαν` || [α]γκαζαϋ` ζῆ ππαρადεικος ετρεϋ`ρ ζω` | [εροϋ]  
 ῆϋαρεζ εροϋ` αϋω αναρχων ζων` | [ετο]οτϋ` 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. τεῆμῆτῆτῆσομ . . . τεῆμῆτῆτῆσομ. 9 i.e. ζῆ ῆμοϋ.

12 i.e. απῆῆ (Nagel emends thus).

22 i.e. χε εαδαν (Layton<sup>3</sup> emends thus).

26 i.e. ῆϋαρεζ. 28 i.e. ππαρადικος (Nagel emends thus).

33 rest. Nagel 34 rest. Schenke ("damit"), sim. Nagel 35 ψβῆ-  
 ει<sup>8½-10½</sup>] 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] <sup>35</sup> 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) <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> [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 <sup>30</sup> and evil do not eat, nor ‘[touch] it; for the day you (pl.) eat ‘[from] it, with death

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87:35 *possibly*, counterpart [and become enamored of it]; *or*, counterpart [and come to it]

ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ

- σε[.....] παϊ̄ σεσοοῦν ἀν̄̄ ξε οὔ̄̄ πεν[ταχχοῦ]ϋ  
 \*p. 89<sup>l</sup> ναϋ̄̄ ἀλλὰ ζ̄̄μ̄̄ ποῶωϋ̄̄ μ̄̄πεῑ̄\*ωτ̄̄̄ ἵ̄̄ταχ̄̄ ξε πᾱ̄εῑ̄ ἵ̄̄τε̄̄ε̄̄ιζε̄̄ δεκᾱ̄ᾱ̄ς  
 (137 L.) εϋ[ἵ]ναοῶωμ̄̄ ἵ̄̄τε̄̄ ἀδαμ̄̄ <τ̄̄μ̄̄> [[ωπ]] ναῦ̄̄ ε̄̄ροοῦ̄̄ ε̄̄φο̄̄ τη̄̄ρ[ϋ] | ἵ̄̄ζ̄̄γ̄̄λικος  
 ἀναρχων̄̄ ψο̄̄χνε̄̄ μ̄̄ν̄̄ νοῦ̄̄|ε̄̄ρηϋ̄̄ πε̄̄χαϋ̄̄ ξε̄̄ ἀμ̄̄η̄̄ιτ̄̄ν̄̄ ἵ̄̄τ̄̄ἵ̄̄εινε̄̄  
 5 ἵ̄̄||οῦ̄̄β̄̄ω̄̄ε̄̄ ε̄̄ζ̄̄ρᾱ̄ ἵ̄̄ε̄̄χ̄̄ν̄̄ ἀδαμ̄̄ ἀῶω ἀϋ̄̄ζωρ̄̄π̄̄ | τ̄̄β̄̄ω̄̄ε̄̄ δε̄̄  
 τε̄̄ τ̄̄μ̄̄ν̄̄τ̄̄ατ̄̄σοοῦ̄̄ν̄̄ τ̄̄ᾱ̄εῑ̄ ἵ̄̄ταχ̄̄|ἵ̄̄τ̄̄ε̄̄ ε̄̄ζ̄̄ρᾱ̄ ἵ̄̄ε̄̄χωϋ̄̄ ἀῶω ἀϋ̄̄-  
 ζωρ̄̄π̄̄ ἀῶωγεν̄̄ | μ̄̄πεῑ̄ε̄̄ς̄̄π̄̄ιρ̄̄ ἵ̄̄θε̄̄ ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ς̄̄ζ̄̄ιμε̄̄ ε̄̄σον̄̄ζ̄̄ | ἀῶω ἀῶω-  
 10 κωτ̄̄ μ̄̄πεῑ̄ε̄̄ς̄̄π̄̄ιρ̄̄ ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ς̄̄ᾱ̄ρ̄̄ζ̄̄ || ε̄̄πε̄̄σμᾱ̄ ἀῶω ἀδαμ̄̄ ψω̄̄πε̄̄ μ̄̄ψ̄̄γ̄̄-  
 χ̄̄|κος̄̄ τη̄̄ρϋ̄̄  
 ἀῶω τ̄̄ς̄̄ζ̄̄ιμε̄̄ μ̄̄π̄̄νεῦ̄̄μᾱ̄τικη̄̄| ἀ̄̄ς̄̄ῑ̄ ψᾱ̄ροϋ̄̄ ἀ̄̄ς̄̄ψᾱ̄ξε̄̄ μ̄̄μ̄̄ᾱ̄ϋ̄̄ πε̄̄χᾱ̄ς̄̄ |  
 ξε̄̄ τ̄̄ωοῦ̄̄ν̄̄ ἀδαμ̄̄ ἀῶω ἵ̄̄τᾱ̄ρε̄̄ϋ̄̄ναῦ̄̄ ε̄̄ρο̄̄ς̄̄ | πε̄̄χᾱ̄ϋ̄̄ ξε̄̄ ἵ̄̄το̄̄ πε̄̄ν̄̄τ̄̄ᾱ̄ζ̄̄†  
 15 νᾱ̄εῑ̄ μ̄̄π̄̄ων̄̄ζ̄̄ || σε̄̄ναμοῦ̄̄τε̄̄ ε̄̄ρο̄̄ ξε̄̄ τ̄̄μᾱ̄αῦ̄̄ ἵ̄̄νε̄̄τον̄̄ζ̄̄ | ξε̄̄ ἵ̄̄το̄̄ς̄̄  
 πε̄̄ τ̄̄ᾱ̄μᾱ̄αῦ̄̄ ἵ̄̄το̄̄ς̄̄ τε̄̄ τ̄̄σο̄̄εῑ̄ν̄̄ | ἀῶω τ̄̄ς̄̄ζ̄̄ιμε̄̄ ἀῶω τε̄̄ν̄̄τᾱ̄ζ̄̄ιμε̄̄  
 ἀνε̄̄|ζ̄̄οῦ̄̄ς̄̄ιᾱ̄ δε̄̄ ε̄̄ῑ̄ ε̄̄ζ̄̄οῦ̄̄ν̄̄ ψᾱ̄ ποῶω ἀδαμ̄̄ ἵ̄̄τᾱ̄|ροῦ̄̄ναῦ̄̄ δε̄̄ ἀ̄̄τε̄̄ϋ̄̄-  
 20 ψ̄̄β̄̄ε̄̄ῑ̄νε̄̄ ε̄̄ς̄̄ψᾱ̄ξε̄̄ μ̄̄μ̄̄||μᾱ̄ϋ̄̄ ἀῶωψτορ̄̄τ̄̄ρ̄̄ ζ̄̄ἵ̄̄ οὔ̄̄νο̄̄β̄̄ ἵ̄̄ψτορ̄̄τ̄̄ρ̄̄ | ἀῶω  
 ἀῦ̄̄με̄̄ρειτ̄̄ε̄̄ πε̄̄χᾱ̄ϋ̄̄ ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ε̄̄ρηϋ̄̄ | ξε̄̄ ἀμ̄̄η̄̄ιτ̄̄ν̄̄ ἵ̄̄τ̄̄ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ξε̄̄ μ̄̄π̄̄ἵ̄̄ς̄̄πε̄̄ρ̄̄|  
 μᾱ̄ ε̄̄ζ̄̄ρᾱ̄ ἵ̄̄ε̄̄χω̄̄ς̄̄ ἀῦ̄̄ρ̄̄διω̄̄κε̄̄ ἵ̄̄μο̄̄ς̄̄ ἀῶω | ἀ̄̄ς̄̄ω̄̄β̄̄ε̄̄ ἵ̄̄ς̄̄ωοῦ̄̄ ε̄̄βο̄̄λ̄̄ ζ̄̄ἵ̄̄  
 25 τοῦ̄̄μ̄̄ν̄̄τ̄̄ατ̄̄|ϋ̄̄η̄̄τ̄̄ ἵ̄̄μ̄̄ν̄̄ τοῦ̄̄μ̄̄ν̄̄τ̄̄β̄̄λλ̄̄ε̄̄ ἀῶω ἀ̄̄ς̄̄ρ̄̄ οὔ̄̄ψ̄̄η̄̄(ἵ̄̄) | ἵ̄̄το̄̄ο̄̄τοῦ̄̄  
 ἀ̄̄ς̄̄κω̄̄ ἵ̄̄τε̄̄ς̄̄ζ̄̄ᾱ̄ ἵ̄̄β̄̄ε̄̄ς̄̄ ε̄̄[ς̄̄]ε̄̄ῑ̄νε̄̄ | ἵ̄̄μο̄̄ς̄̄ ζ̄̄ᾱ̄το̄̄-

89:3-4 Sah. νεϋερηϋ. 7 i.e. ἀῶωω. 8-9 i.e. ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ς̄̄ζ̄̄ιμε̄̄ ... ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ς̄̄ᾱ̄ρ̄̄ζ̄̄.

12 i.e. ἀ̄̄ς̄̄ε̄̄ῑ̄.

18-25 Sah. πεῶω ἀδαμ̄̄ ... νεϋερηϋ ... τεῦ̄̄μ̄̄ν̄̄τ̄̄ατ̄̄ζ̄̄η̄̄τ̄̄.

32 σε : ε written over erasure of οὔ̄̄ 33 [χω̄̄ ναῦ̄̄ μ̄̄] Schenke<sup>2</sup> (cf. 89:1) : [ζων̄̄ μ̄̄]  
 Layton 185 : [ς̄̄ωρ̄̄μ̄̄ ζ̄̄μ̄̄] or [χ̄̄ῑ̄ σο̄̄λ̄̄ ε̄̄] Kasser 34 rest. Schenke ("was [sie] ihm [gesagt  
 haben]"), Nagel 89:2 <τ̄̄μ̄̄> Koenen in Layton<sup>3</sup> ναῦ̄̄ : copyist first wrote and then  
 cancelled ωπ, adding ναῦ̄̄ above the line τη̄̄ρ[ϋ] Layton 185 : also palaeographically pos-  
 sible is τη̄̄ρ[οῦ̄̄] ἵ̄̄τε̄̄ ἀδαμ̄̄ ωπ̄̄ ε̄̄ροοῦ̄̄ ε̄̄γο̄̄ τη̄̄ρ[οῦ̄̄] em. Bullard 73

7-10 ἀῶωγεν̄̄ μ̄̄πεῑ̄ε̄̄ς̄̄π̄̄ιρ̄̄ <ἀῶω ἀῶωκωτ̄̄ ἵ̄̄τε̄̄ϋ̄̄η̄̄τ̄̄ς̄̄π̄̄ιρ̄̄> ἵ̄̄θε̄̄ ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ς̄̄ζ̄̄ιμε̄̄ ε̄̄σον̄̄ζ̄̄ ἀῶω  
 ἀῶω<μοῦ̄̄> μ̄̄πεῑ̄ε̄̄ς̄̄π̄̄ιρ̄̄ ἵ̄̄νοῦ̄̄ς̄̄ᾱ̄ρ̄̄ζ̄̄ ε̄̄πε̄̄σμᾱ̄ em. Schenke<sup>2</sup>, sim. Fischer 10 ἀδαμ̄̄ : first a  
 added above the line

16 <ἀῶω σε̄̄νᾱ̄χω̄̄ ἵ̄̄μο̄̄ς̄̄ ε̄̄ρο̄̄> ξε̄̄ em. Bullard (83, "and it will be said of you"), with  
 hesitation ἵ̄̄το̄̄ς̄̄ πε̄̄ ... ἵ̄̄το̄̄ς̄̄ τε̄̄ : expected is ἵ̄̄το̄̄ς̄̄ τε̄̄ ... ἵ̄̄το̄̄ς̄̄ τε̄̄

26 ε̄̄[ς̄̄] sim. Nagel : ε̄̄[τ̄̄] Schenke<sup>2</sup> 26-29 ε̄̄ῑ̄νε̄̄ ... χο̄̄ζ̄̄μ̄̄[ε̄̄] ζ̄̄ἵ̄̄ ... σ̄̄φ̄̄ρᾱ̄ῑ̄[ς̄̄] ἵ̄̄  
 ... κᾱ̄τᾱ̄κ̄̄ρ̄̄η̄̄[ε̄̄] μ̄̄ 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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; <sup>15</sup> 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, <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> and their blindness; and in their clutches, she became a tree, ' and left before them her shadowy reflection resembling herself; '

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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] ζῆ̄ | οὐσῶϥ` ἀγῶ ἀχῶζμ̄ ἵτςφραγ[ι]σ̄ | ἵ-  
 τεσσμη ψίνα εὐναῤκατακριν[ε] | ἡ̄||μοοῦ οὐααῦ ζῆ̄ ποῦπλασμα μ[ἵ]  
 ποῦ||εἶνε  
 35 ἀσει δε ἵσι †πνευματικ[η] ζῆ̄ | φαϥ` πρεϥταμο` ἀγῶ  
 αϥτα[μοοῦ εϥ]||χῶ ἡ̄μοσ χε οῦ πε ἵταϥ[χοοῦ η̄η]||τῆ̄ χε εβολ  
 \*p. 90<sup>l</sup> \* ἵσοῦων πεθοοῦ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ πετνανοῦϥ` | ἡ̄π̄ροῦωμ  
 (138 L.) πεχε τςζιμε ἵσαρκικη χε | οῦ μονον` πεχαϥ χε ἡ̄νοῦωμ ἀλλα |  
 5 ἡ̄π̄ρ̄χῶς εροϥ χε ζῆ̄ πζοοῦ ετετναοῦ||ωμ` εβολ ἵζητϥ` ζῆ̄νοῦ-  
 μοῦ τετναμοῦ |  
 ἀγῶ πεχε φαϥ` πρεϥταμο χε ζῆ̄ οῦμοῦ | ετετναμοῦ ἀν ἵ-  
 ταϥχε παεἰ γαρ η̄ητῆ̄ | εϥῤφθονεἰ μάλλον ἐνετῆ̄βαλ ναοῦ|εἵ ἵ-  
 10 τετῆ̄ψῶπε ἵθε ἵἡἵνοῦτε ετε||τῆ̄σοῦν ἡ̄π̄`πεθοοῦ ἡ̄ ἡ̄ πετνα-  
 νοῦϥ` | ἀγῶ τρεϥταμο ἀϥιτ̄ ἵτοοτϥ` ἡ̄φαϥ` | ἀγῶ ἀσκῶ ἡ̄-  
 μοϥ` οὐααϥ` εϥο ἵρμῆ̄καζ |  
 ἀγῶ τςζιμε ἵσαρκικη ἀσχι εβολ ζῆ̄ ψῆ(η) | ἀσοῦωμ ἀγῶ ἀσ†  
 15 ἡ̄πεσζαῖ ἡ̄ἡμασ ἀϥ||ω ἀμψυχικος οῦωμ ἀγῶ ἀτοῦκακία |  
 οῦεν` εβολ ζῆ̄ τοῦἡ̄τῆ̄τσοῦν ἀγῶ` | ἀγεἶμε χε νεῦκηκαζη  
 ἀπνεῦμα†|τικον ἀϥι ζῆ̄δῶβε ἵκῆ̄τε ἀμοροῦ | εχῆ̄ τοῦ†πε  
 20 τότε ἀσει ἵσι πνοσ ἡ̄αρ||χῶν ἀγῶ πεχαϥ χε ἀδαμ`  
 ἐκτων νεϥ|σοῦν γαρ ἀν χε ἵτα οῦ ψῶπε

30–31 Sah. πεῦπλασμα . . . πεγεἶνε.

90:3 i.e. ἡ̄π̄ροῦωμ. 5 i.e. ζῆ̄ οῦμοῦ.

8 i.e. ναοῦωμ. 10 i.e. ἡ̄πεθοοῦ.

15–19 Sah. ἀτεῦκακία . . . τεῦἡ̄τῆ̄τσοῦν . . . τεῦ†πε.

27 sim. rest. Nagel : χῶζμ[οῦ] Schenke (“sie befleckten [sich]”), cf. 89:29–30 28–29 ἵτεσσμη : poss. emend to ἡ̄πεσσμοτ (thus Layton<sup>3</sup>) 29 <ναεἰ δε τηροῦ ἀγῶψπε ζῆ̄-ποῦωψ ἡ̄πειωτ ἡ̄π̄τηρϥ> ψίνα Schenke<sup>2</sup>, with hesitation 30 οὐααῦ ζῆ̄ ποῦπλασμα : ζῆ̄ ποῦπλασμα οὐααῦ em. Schenke<sup>2</sup>, with hesitation μ[ἵ] ποῦ Schenke (“und [ihrem]”), Bullard : μ[ἵ] πεϥ Nagel : cf. 92:24–25

31 rest. Schenke (“[in]”), Bullard 32 τα[μοοῦ] - - - ] sim. rest. Bullard : τα[μοσ - - ] sim. rest. Nagel : τα[μοϥ - - ] Schenke (“[belehrte ihn]”) : cf. 89:33 η̄ητῆ̄ 33 also possible is πε ἵταϥ, but cf. 90:3 πεχαϥ rest. Schenke (“[zu] euch [gesagt]”), Nagel 34 ψῆἡἵνιμ <ετ> Layton<sup>3</sup> 34–35 ζῆ̄ ἡ̄π̄αρα]δεἶσοϥ : cf. 88:28 35 for the restoration cf. 88:29 90:1 ἵσοῦων : of ἵ, η̄ is definite. superlin. stroke restored

16 οῦεν : i.e. οῦωνζ (prob. emend thus, with Layton<sup>3</sup>) : οῦεν<ζ> em. Kasser<sup>2</sup> (190b, 38)

and they defiled [it] ' foully.—And they defiled the stamp of ' her voice, so that <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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; <sup>20</sup> and he said, “Adam! Where are you?”—for he did not ' understand what had happened.

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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 δειωτῃ̄ ατεκ`σμη δειῖ̄ | ζοτε ξε νεει-  
 κηκαζηγ αῶω δεικωπ` |  
 25 πεξε παρχων ξε ετβε οῦ` ακκωπ ει || μητι ξε ακ`οῦωμ` εβολ  
 ζῃ̄ πωην | ἵτ[α]ειζονϋ ετοοτκ ξε ῃ̄πῖρωωμ` ε|βο[λ] ἵζητϋ`  
 οῦαατῃ̄ 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 ῃ̄μοει δειοῦωμ` | [αγ-  
 κωτο]ϋ αφοϋ αγσογζωρ` τεγζαῖβες | [. 4½. . ο]ϋατβομ πε εϋ-  
 \*p. 91<sup>1</sup>  
 (139 L.) σοοϋν αν | [ξε πο]ϋπλασμα πε χιμ φοοϋ ετῃ̄\*μαγ αφοϋ` ψω-  
 πε ζα πςαζοϋε ἵεζοϋς|[α] | ψαντεϋ`ει ἵβσι πτελειος ἵρωμε  
 πς[α]||ζοϋ ετῃ̄μαγ αχει εχἵ φαϋ`  
 5 αγκωτοϋ α|πογαδαμ` αγϋιτϋ` αγνοχϋ` εβολ ζμ ππα||ραδειςος  
 ῃ̄ν τεϋζιμε ξε ῃ̄ν λααϋ ἵς|μοϋ ἵτωοτοϋ ξε ἵτωοϋ ζωοϋ  
 σεωοοπ` | ζα πςαζοϋε  
 αγνοϋχ` ῖρωμε δε εζραῖ | αζἵνωβ ῃ̄ππερισπασμος ῃ̄ν ζἵῃ̄καζ |  
 10 ἵτε πβιος ψινα ενοῦρωμε ναψωπε || ἵβιωτικος ἵςετῃ̄ρςχολαζε  
 αρῖπρος|καρτερει εῖπἵῃ̄ ετοϋαδβ  
 ῃ̄ἵςα ναῖ | δε ασχπο ἵκαῖν ποϋψηρε καῖν δε | νεϋῖ̄ ζωβ`  
 εῖκαζ παλιν` αϋσοϋων τεϋ`|ζιμε ετι ασω ασχπο ἵ-  
 15 αβελ αβελ δε || νεϋψως πε ῃ̄μανεσοϋ 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. ῃ̄περισπασμος. 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. Layton<sup>3</sup>) 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 Schenke<sup>2</sup>: [εναει ο]ϋ Kasser 34 rest. Kasser, Krause 91:2 poss. emend to ϋ[α]ζοϋ<ε> (thus Layton<sup>3</sup>, with hesitation)

8 for the form ῃ̄π cf. Layton 187 and Quecke, *Das Markusevangelium saïdisch* 26 n., 30 n., and above 90:10: ῃ̄{π} Krause in Bullard 14

12 χπο ἵκαῖν ποϋψηρε: χπο ἵκαῖν <ῃ̄>ποϋψηρε em. Layton<sup>3</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> was a herdsman of sheep. Now Cain brought ' in

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90:33 *possibly*, [and thus it is] powerless; *or*, [which is] powerless; *or*, [and yet it is] powerless

- εζΟΥΝ ΖΝ̄ ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΕϞΩΨΕ`    α|ΒΕΛ ΔΕ` ΔϞΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ν̄ΝΟΥ-  
 ΘΥCΙΑ ΖΝ̄|ΝΕϞΖΙΕΙΒ`    ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΨΤ` ΕΧ̄Ν̄|ΔΩΡΟΝ Ν̄-  
 20 ΝΑΒΕΛ ΜΠΕϞΧΙ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΔΩ||ΡΟΝ Ν̄ΝΚΑΪΝ    ΑΥΩ ΚΑΪΝ Ν̄CΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ  
 ΑϞ|ΔΙΩΚΕ Ν̄ΑΒΕΛ` ΠΕϞCΟΝ  
     ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΝΟ[Υ]ΤΕ Ν̄ΚΑΪΝ ΧΕ ΕϞΤΩΝ` ΑΒΕΛ` ΠΕΚCΟΝ|  
     ΑϞΟΥΩΨΩ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ ΜΗ ΕΕΙΨΟΟΠ` | Μ̄ΦΥΛΑΖ Μ̄ΠΑCΟΝ  
 25 ΠΕΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄||ΚΑΪΝ ΧΕ ΕΙC ΤΕCΜΗ Μ̄ΠΕCΝΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΚ|CΟΝ  
 Ϟ<Α>ΨΚΑΚ` ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟΕΙ    ΑΚΡ̄ Ν[Ο]ΒΕ Ν̄|ΡΩΚ`    ϞΝΑΚΟΥϞ`  
 ΕΡΟΚ    ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ [ΕΤ]ΝΑ|ΜΟΥΟΥΤ` Ν̄ΚΑΕΙΝ ϞΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ [Ν̄]CΟΥ[Ϟ] |  
 30 Ν̄ΧΙ ΚΒΑ    ΚΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΕΨ ΕΖ[ΟΜ] ΔΥ||Ω ΕΚCΤΩΤ` ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΠΚΑΖ  
     <Α>ΔΔΑΜ ΔΕ [CΟΟΥ(Ν)] | ΝΤΕϞΨΩΒ̄ΕΙΝΕ ΕΥΖΑ    ΑCΩ ΑCΧΠΕ [CΗΘ]  
     | Ν̄ΑΔΑΜ    ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑC ΧΕ ΑΪΧΠΟ Ν̄[ΚΕ]ΡΩΜΕ ΖΜ̄ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΜΑ [Ν̄-  
     ΝΑΒΕΛ] |  
 35 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑCΩ Ν̄CΙ ΕΥΖΑ ΑCΧΠ[Ε ΝΩΡΕΑ] ||    ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑC ΧΕ ΑϞΧΠΟ  
 \*p. 92<sup>1</sup>  
 (140 L.) ΝΔ[ΕΙ Ν̄ΟΥΠΑΡ\*ΘΕ]ΝΟC Ν̄ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ [ΖΝ̄] Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ` | Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΩ-  
 ΜΕ    ΤΑΕΙ ΤΕ ΠΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕ (Ν̄)|ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΧΑΖΜΕC  
     ΤΟΤΕ ΔΝΡΩΜΕ Ρ̄ΑΡΧΕΙ | Ν̄ΝΡ̄ΑΥΖΑΝΕ ΑΥΩ Ν̄CΕΑΝΑΕΙ  
 5 ΔΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΨΟ||ΧΝΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΔΜΗΕΙΤ̄Ν̄ Ν̄|Τ̄ΝΤΑΜΙΟ Ν̄-  
 ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥCΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄|BΙΧ Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄ϞΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ` Ν̄CΑΡΖ` ΝΙΜ ΧΙΝ ΡΩ-  
 ΜΕ | ϞΑ Τ̄ΒΝΗ

17–19 i.e. ΝΟΥΘΥCΙΑ ... ΝΑΒΕΛ. 20 i.e. ΝΚΑΪΝ. 33 i.e. ΝΑΒΕΛ.

92:4 i.e. ΝΡ̄ΑΥΖΑΝΕ.

5 Sah. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ. 6 i.e. ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥCΜΟC. 6–7 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄BΙΧ. Sah. Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΝBΙΧ (poss. emend thus, with Layton<sup>3</sup>).

20 Ν̄Ν : prob. emend to Ν̄ (thus Layton<sup>3</sup>, with hesitation)    ΚΑΪΝ Ν̄CΑΡΚΙΚΟC : expected is ΚΑΪΝ ΠCΑΡΚΙΚΟC ΟΥ ΚΑΪΝ <εϞ> Ν̄CΑΡΚΙΚΟC : but cf. *OnOrigWld* 117:2 (with Nagel<sup>2</sup> 418)

26 Ϟ<Α>Ψ Kasser 32    26–29 Ν[Ο]ΒΕ Ν̄ ... [ΕΤ]ΝΑΜΟΥΟΥΤ ... [Ν̄]CΟΥ[Ϟ] ... ΕΖ[ΟΜ] ΔΥΩ read in photographs    26 Ν̄ : Ν is definite, superlin. stroke restored

30 <Α> Nagel<sup>2</sup> 418, cf. Layton<sup>2</sup>    31 sim. rest. Krause : cf. Layton<sup>2</sup> and Gen 4:25 ἔτεκεν υἱὸν ... Σηθ    32 rest. Schenke (“[einen anderen]”), Nagel : Μ̄[ΠΕΙ] Kasser    33 rest. Schenke<sup>2</sup> : [ΝΑΒΕΛ ΑΥΩ] Nagel

34 ΧΠ[Ε --- ] Nagel : also possible is ΧΠ[Ο Ν̄ ---- ] [--- ΝΩΡΕΑ] Krause : also possible is [--- ΩΡΕΑ]. cf. Pearson, Layton<sup>3</sup> (preface, §II) : [--- ΟΥΨΕΕΡΕ] Bullard    35–92:1 ΝΔ[ΕΙ Ν̄ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕ]ΝΟC 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] Ν̄ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥCΜΟC <ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΑΝΤΑΜΙΟΥ> ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Schenke<sup>2</sup>, 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> 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]. <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> with one another and said, “Come, let ' us cause a deluge with our ' hands and obliterate all flesh, from man ' to beast.”

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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 ζ̄ννοϛϛε̄ | εμαϛ`ρ̄ χολεϛ ν̄γ-  
 ζωπ` ν̄ζοϛν̄ ν̄ζητ̄ς̄ ν̄|τοκ` μ̄ν̄νεκ`ψ̄ηρε̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄τβνοοϛε̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄|ζαλατε̄  
 ν̄τπε̄ χιν` κοϛεῑ ψᾱ νοδ̄ ν̄γσεζωϛ | ερατ̄ς̄ ζιζ̄μ̄ πτοοϛ̄ ν̄σιρ`  
 15 ασεῑ δε̄ ν̄σῑ ωρεᾱ || ψαροϛ̄ εσοϛϛω̄ ετελο̄ εζρᾱῑ ετκιβωτος̄  
 | αϛω̄ μ̄πεϛκααϛ̄ αςνιϛε̄ εζοϛν̄ εζρε̄ τκῑ|βωτος̄ αςροκζ̄ς̄ πα-  
 λιν̄ αϛταμιο̄ ν̄τκῑ|βωτος̄ μ̄πμαζσεπ`̄ ϛναϛ  
 20 αϛτωμτ`̄ εροϛ | ν̄σῑ ναρχων̄ εϛοϛϛω̄ ᾱραπατᾱ μ̄μοϛ̄ πε||ξε̄  
 ποϛνοδ̄ ετ̄ν̄ζητοϛ̄ ναϛ̄ ξε̄ τεμααϛ̄ | εϛζᾱ ασεῑ ψαρον̄  
 ανωρεᾱ δε̄ κοτ̄ς̄ ερο|οϛ̄ πεχαϛ̄ ναϛ̄ ξε̄ ν̄τωτ̄ν̄ νε̄ ναρχων̄ μ̄|πκα-  
 κε̄ τετ̄ν̄ς̄ζοϛορτ`̄ οϛτε̄ μ̄πετ̄ν̄ς̄οϛ|ων̄ ταμααϛ̄ αλλᾱ ν̄-  
 25 τατετ̄ν̄ς̄οϛων̄ τετ̄ν̄|ψ̄β̄ρεινε̄̄ ανοκ`̄ οϛεβολ̄ γαρ̄ αν`̄ ζ̄ν̄  
 τη|νε̄̄ ᾱ|λ|λᾱ ν̄ταεῑ εβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ νᾱ πσᾱ ν̄τπε̄ |  
 ᾱπ|αϛ|θαδ̄ηϛ̄ ν̄αρχων̄ κοτϛ`̄ ζ̄ν̄ τεϛβομ`̄ | ᾱϛω̄ [ᾱ]πεϛ`̄προϛω-  
 30 πον̄ ψωπε̄ ν̄θε̄ ν̄|οϛ̄. . |ζτ`̄ εϛκημ`̄ αϛτολμᾱ εζοϛν̄`̄ εροϛ̄ ||  
 [πεχ]αϛ̄ ναϛ̄ ξε̄ ζαπϛ̄ πε̄ ετρε̄ρ̄ βωκ`̄ νᾱν | [ν̄θε̄] ν̄τεκεμααϛ̄ εϛ-  
 ζᾱ αϛ†̄ναεῑ γαρ̄`̄ μ̄[ . . . . . ]`̄

9 i.e. ενοϛψοχνε̄ (Nagel emends thus), Sah. ενεϛ-. 10 i.e. ν̄νογκιβωτος̄ . . . ζ̄ν̄ οϛϛε̄.

20 Sah. πεϛνοϛ̄ . . . τοϛμααϛ̄.

26 i.e. ν̄ταεῑεῑ (emended thus by Krause in Bullard 14 and Nagel).

31 Sah. ν̄τοϛκεμααϛ̄.

11 εμαϛ̄ρ̄ : ϛ 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 [αϛ]θαδ̄ηϛ̄ . . . ᾱϛω̄ [ᾱ]read in photographs

27 κοτϛ`̄ : τοκϛ ('vertraute') em. Schenke 29 for the possible restorations cf. Layton : [οϛκω]ζτ rest. Schenke ('[Feuer]'): also possible is [οϛτα]ζτ 30 sim. rest. Bullard, Nagel 31 rest. Schenke ('[wie]'), Bullard, Nagel αϛ† : ας† em. Nagel 31–32 †̄ναεῑ γαρ̄ μ̄|[παεῑ ον̄ - - -] or †̄ναεῑ γαρ̄ μ̄|[παιων̄ - - -] rest. Kasser : †̄ναεῑ γαρ̄ μ̄|[πεο̄ οϛ̄ - - -] 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, <sup>10</sup> “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 <sup>15</sup> 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. <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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, <sup>30</sup> “You must render service to us, ' [as did] also your mother Eve; for I have been given (?) ' [ . . . ].”

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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. 93<sup>1</sup> ἄσμη | [εζραΐ ε] π̄πετογααβ π̄νουτε ᾠπ̄τηρϛ` \* χε εριβονῆει 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 εζραΐ || επ̄νουτε ετβε οὔ τεῤτολμα εζραΐ επ̄ |  
 π̄ἡ ετογααβ  
 πεχε ἡωρεα χε ντκ νιμ |  
 νε ἀναρχων ἡταδικια σεζωοϛ εβολ | ᾠμοσ πεχαϛ χε ἀνοκ`  
 10 πε ελεῆῆθ | τ̄μ̄ντ̄σаве π̄νοβ ἡαγ`γελοσ πεταζε | ρατϛ` ᾠπεμτο  
 εβολ ᾠπ̄ἡ ετογααβ` | ἡταῦτ̄ ἡνοοῦτ` ετραψαχε ἡμ̄με ἡτα |  
 ναζμε ετβιχ` ἡνιανομοσ ἀῶ ἡνατα | μο ετενοῦνε  
 15 παγ`γελοσ δε ετ̄μαγ | ἡναψαχ αν ἡτεϛβομ̄ πεϛεινε ἡῆε ||  
 ᾠπ̄νοῦβ ετ`σοπ̄` ἀῶ τεϛζβ̄σῶ ἡῆε | ᾠπ̄χιων ταταπ̄ρο γαρ  
 ναψωοπϛ` αν | ετραψα ἡτεϛβομ̄ ᾠπ̄εινε ᾠπεϛζο |  
 πεχαϛ ναει ἡβι ελεῆῆθ π̄νοβ ἡαγ`γελοσ ἀνοκ` πεχαϛ` τε  
 20 τ̄μ̄ντ̄ρ̄μ̄ζῆτ` || ἀνοκ` οὔεβολ ζῆ πεϛτοοῦ ᾠφωσῆτ̄ | ναει  
 εταζερατοῦ ᾠπ̄μ̄το εβολ ᾠπ̄νοβ | ᾠπ̄ἡ ἡαζορατον ερεμεεϛε  
 χε οὔ(ν) | βομ̄ ἡνεειαρχων εζοῦν ερο ᾠ ἡααῦ | ἡζῆτοῦ  
 25 ναψβ̄μ̄ βομ̄ εζοῦν ετ̄νοῦ || νε ἡτ̄με ετβῆτ̄σ γαρ † αφοῶωνζ εβολ |  
 ζῆ ἡζαεϛ ἡκαιροσ ἀῶ σεναῤ ῤρο ε | χῆ ἡνεειεζοῦσια ἀῶ  
 νεειεζοῦσια | ναψαζμε αν ᾠ ἡγεῆα ετ̄μαγ | τετ̄μ̄μονῆ  
 30 γαρ` εσσοοπ̄` ζῆ τ̄μ̄ντ̄ατ̄ || τακο π̄μα ετε π̄ἡἡ ᾠπαρῆενικον | ᾠμαῦ  
 πετ̄ζιχῆ ἡεζοῦσια ᾠπ̄χαοσ | ᾠ ἡποῦκοσμοσ

93:2 Sah. ενεγβιχ.

3 i.e. ζῆ ᾠπ̄ηγε. 13 Sah. ετοῦνοῦνε.

29 Sah. τετ̄ἡμονῆ. 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 [εζραΐ ε] Layton<sup>3</sup>: [πεχασ ᾠ] Schenke ('[und sagte zu]'), sim. Kasser

93:2 <νοβ ἡ> Layton<sup>3</sup>

23 εζοῦν: γ added above the line 25 † αφοῶωνζ: poss. emend to φναοῶωνζ (thus Schenke<sup>2</sup>): αῖτοῶωνζ or <π̄ἡἡ> αφοῶωνζ em. Layton<sup>3</sup>, with hesitation 26 ῤρο: of ῤ, 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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. <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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, <sup>30</sup> where the virgin spirit dwells, ' who is superior to the authorities of chaos ' and to their universe."

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93:2 (great) *erroneously omitted in the text*

93:25 he appeared: *text erroneous; correct text possibly he will appear*



35            ΑΝΟΚ` ΖΨ ΠΞΧΑΕΙ | ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΑΤCΕΒΕΕΙ ΑΤϚ[ΟΜ Ν̄Ν]Ε|ΕΙΕΙΖΟΥCΙΑ  
 \*p. 94<sup>1</sup>    ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥΨΩΠΞ [Ν̄ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΕ] || ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΥΠΟCΤ[ΑCΙC ΑΥΩ  
 (142 L.)    Ε]\*ΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΑΨ Ν̄ΖΥΛΗ    ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΤΑ|ΜΙΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΤΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC  
           ΑΥΩ ΠΞΧΑΨ ΝΑΕΙ | Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΝΟΒ Ν̄ΑΓ`ΓΕΛΟC ΕΛΕΛΗΘ ΤΜΝΤΡ̄Μ̄|Ν-  
 5    ΖΗΤ`    ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΜ̄ΝΤΑΥ ΑΡΗΧ̄Ϊ || ΕCΨΟΟΠ` Ν̄ΒΙ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΑΤΤΑ-  
           ΚΟ    ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΤΑΕΙ | ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΑCΟΥΨΨ` | ΕΤΕΝΕ  
 10    ΟΥΖΩΒ` ΟΥΑΑC ΑΧ̄Ν ΠΕCΖΩΤΡ̄    ΑΥ|Ω ΠΕCΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΨΩΨΠΞ Ν̄ΝΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΞ  
           ΟῩΝ | ΟΥΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑCΜΑ ΨΟΟΠ` ΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΠCΑ (Ν)||ΤΠΞ Μ̄Ν ΝΑΙΩΝ  
           ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤ̄Ν    ΑΥΩ ΑΥ|ΖΑΪΒΕC ΨΩΠΞ ΖΑ ΠΕCΗΤ Μ̄ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑC|  
           ΜΑ    ΑΥΩ ΘΑΔΕΙΒΕC ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΨΩΠΞ Ν̄ΖΥΛΗ    ΑΥΩ ΘΑΕΙΒΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ  
 15    ΑΥΝΟΧ̄C ΑΥCΑ | Ν̄ΟΥΜΕΡΟC    ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΜΟΥΟΥΓ` ΑΨΩΨΠΞ || Ν̄-  
           ΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ Ζ̄Ν ΘΥΛΗ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΖΟΥΞΕ |    ΑΨΧΙ ΤΥΠΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΘΑΔΕΙ-  
           ΒΕC ΑΨΩΨΠΞ | Ν̄ΟΥΘΗΡΙΟΝ Ν̄ΑΥΘΑΔΗC Ν̄ΝΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥΕΙ |    ΟΥΖΟΥΤ` CΖΙ-  
           ΜΕ ΠΞ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΤΑΖΙΨΡ̄Π̄ Ν̄ΧΟΟC | ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΘΥΛΗ  
 20    ΑΨΟΥΕΝ ΑΝΕΨ`||ΒΑΛ ΑΨΝΑΥ ΑΥΝΟΒ Ν̄ΖΥΛΗ ΕΜ̄ΝΤΕC ΑΡΗΧ̄Ϊ |    ΑΥΩ  
           ΑΨΡ̄ ΧΑCΙΖΗΤ ΕΨΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ` | ΠΞ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ    ΑΥΩ Μ̄Ν ΒΞ ΑΧ̄ΝΤ  
           Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΨ`|ΧΞ ΠΑΕΙ ΑΨΡ̄ ΝΟΒΞ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΤΗΡΨ`    ΟΥCΜΗ | ΔΞ ΑCΕΙ  
 25    ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠCΑ ΝΖΡΞ Ν̄ΤΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΑ || ΕCΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΧΕ ΚΡ̄ΠΛΑΝΑCΘΞ CΑ-  
           ΜΑ|ΗΛ ΕΤΞ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΞ ΠΝΟΥΤΞ Ν̄Β̄Β̄ΛΛΞ  
           ΑΥ|Ω ΠΞΧΑΨ ΧΞ ΕΨΧΞ ΟῩΝ ΒΞ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΙ ΤΑ|ΕΖΗ ΜΑΡΕΨ`ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 30    ΝΑΕΙ    ΑΥΩ Ν̄|ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΤCΟΦΙΑ CΩΤ` ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΕCΤΗ|ΗΒΞ ΑCΙΝΞ  
           ΕΖΟΥΝ Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ | ΕΘΥΛΗ    ΑΥΩ ΑCΠΩΤ` Ν̄CΩΨ` ΨΑ ΠΕCΗΤ` |  
           ΑΜΜΕΡΟC Μ̄ΠΧΑΟC    ΑΥΩ ΑCΡ̄ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ | ΕΖΡ[ΑΪ ΕΠΞ]C-

94:2 Sah. ΤΕΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC.

4-8 i.e. Ζ̄Ν ΑΙΩΝ . . . Ν̄ΕΙΝΞ.

14 i.e. ΠΕCΜΟΥΝΚ. 15-17 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ . . . Ν̄ΟΥΖΟΥΞΕ . . . Ν̄ΕΙΝΞ.

19 i.e. ΑΨΟΥΩΝ.

26 i.e. Ν̄Β̄Β̄ΛΛΞ.

30 i.e. ΑCΕΙΝΞ.

32 ΖΨ : ΖΨ<Ψ> ("but") Layton<sup>3</sup>, 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 <ΧΞ> ΖΡΑΪ Krause in Bullard 14

8 <Ε> ΟῩΝ Fischer 9 ΠCΑ (Ν) : ΠC̄Α pap.

21. But I said, ' "Sir, teach me about the [faculty of] ' these authorities—[how] did they come into being, <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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, <sup>25</sup> 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 <sup>30</sup> and introduced light into ' matter; and she pursued it down ' to the region of chaos. And she returned ' up [to] her

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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. 95<sup>1</sup> \* ουμεγεθος εμ[ντ]εϋ αρηx̄ αμμεϋ|ε δε αταμιοναq νζν̄ωη-  
 (143 L.) ρε αqταμιονα | ναq ν̄σαωq̄ ν̄ωηρε νζογτcziμε 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 ν̄νδυναμικ σα|-  
 25 βαωθ xε εqμ̄πσα ν`τπε ν̄νδυναμικ || μ̄πxαοc xε ατσοφια  
 καθιστα μ̄μοq |  
 zοτι δε αναει ωωπε αqταμιοναq` | νουνοβ ν̄zαρμα ν̄χερογβιν  
 εφο ν̄|qτοογ μ̄πρoσωπον μ̄ν z̄nαγγελος | εναωωογ εμ̄ντογ ηπε  
 30 ετρογ̄ρζγ||πηρετει` αγω z̄mψαλτηριον μ̄ν z̄n̄κιθαρα

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. ογωz̄m : emended thus by Krause in Bullard 14 12–13 <ετ>μ̄πσα em. Layton<sup>3</sup> 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, <sup>35</sup> 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, <sup>5</sup> ‘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 <sup>10</sup> 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, <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> 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 <sup>25</sup> 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, <sup>30</sup> and also harps and ' lyres.

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94:34 *possibly*. [became mixed with] matter

αῶ ατσοφια ρι τεσψεερε ἡ|ζων ἀστρεσζμοος ζι οὔναμ ᾠμοῦ |  
 ετρεσταμοῦ ἀνετᾠσοο [ζ]ἡ τμαζψμοῦνε αῶ παγγελο[с ἡ-  
 35 τε το]ρ||γн ασκααζ ζι ζβοῦρ ᾠμοῦ [χιμ φο]οῦ ετᾠμαῦ αῦμοῦτε  
 \*p. 96<sup>1</sup> ατ[εφοῦναμ] \* χε ζων αῶ τζβο[γ]ρ ασψωπε ἡτῦποс | ἡτα δι-  
 (144 L.) κια ἡτᾠᾠταῦθενтнс ᾠпса ἡτπε ἡταῦψωπε ζα τοῦεζη  
 5 ἡтаре ἱαλ ᾠδαβαω δε ἡαῦ εροῦ εψσοοῦ ζᾠ πεῖ||ноб ἡεοοῦ  
 ᾠᾠ πεειζισε αζκωζ εροῦ | αῶ απκωζ ψωπε ἡοуεργон εφο ἡζο-  
 οῦтсζιме αῶ απαει ψωπε ἡαρχη ᾠпκωζ αῶ απκωζ χπε  
 10 πμοῦ απμοῦ | δε χπο ἡνεψηρε αζκαѳста ᾠпоуа || ποуа ᾠ-  
 μοοῦ εχἡ τεψπε απηγε тηροῦ | ᾠпхаос μοῦζ ἡноῦηпе  
 ναει δε тηροῦ | ἡтаῦψωπε ζᾠ ποῦψᾠ ᾠпейωт ᾠпτηρῶ | κατα  
 πтῦпос ἡἡа пса ἡтπε ᾠ тηροῦ ψ||на εφнаχк ᾠεвоῦ ἡβι па-  
 15 ρиѳмос ᾠпха||ос  
 εисζηте азтсево аптῦпос ἡἡ|архων ᾠᾠ ᾠγλη ἡтаῦχпоῦ ἡ-  
 зитс ᾠᾠ | ποῦειωт ᾠᾠ ποῦκοсμοс  
 ἀнок δε α|ειχοос χε пχοеис мнτι ἀнок ζω т|ηп ᾠтоῦζγλη  
 20 ἡто ᾠᾠ ноῦψηре ере ηп || απειωт ᾠεтσοοп χин ἡψорп ἡта |  
 ноῦψγχη ει <ε>воῦ ζᾠ пса ἡтπε εвоῦ ζᾠ | ποῦοein ἡἡаτᾠте-  
 ко δια τοῦто ἡεζοῦ|сια наψтζно аη εζοῦη εροοῦ εтве | πᾠа  
 25 ἡтаληеиа εтоῦηз зраῖ ἡзηтоῦ || οῦон δε ηим ἡтазсοῦων теῖ-  
 зодос | ναει сеψσοῦ ἡаѳанатос зᾠ тмте | ἡррωме еψаῦ-  
 μοῦ αλλα песперма | εтᾠмаῦ наоῦηηз аη ᾠεвоῦ тепоῦ

31 ἡζων: i.e. ζων. 96:3 i.e. τεῦεζη.

11 Sah. ἡνεῦηпе.

17 Sah. πεῦειωтᾠᾠ πεῦκοсμοс.

19 Sah. етеῦγλη.

21 Sah. νεῦψγχη. 22 i.e. ἡаттако. 24 i.e. πᾠа (Nagel emends thus).

33 [ζ]ἡ: of ἡ, superlin. stroke is definite, η restored 34 rest. Kasser 34–96:2  
 παγγελο[с] . . . таδικια ἡтᾠᾠтаῦθενтнс: either παγγελο[с] . . . таδικια ἡ<ἡαρχων  
 ἡἡа> тᾠᾠтаῦθενтнс or {παγγελο[с] . . . таδικια} em. Schenke<sup>2</sup>, 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 <εт>ᾠпса Lay-  
 ton<sup>3</sup> 3 ζα τοῦεζη: poss. corrupt

19 <πε>ααφ ἡто Schenke (“(er sagte:) Du”): <πε>ααφ наῖ χε> Krause in Bullard 14:  
 <αοῦψωψ πε>ααφ χε> Nagel (e.g.) 21 <ε>воῦ 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 <sup>35</sup> 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 <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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. <sup>15</sup>

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 <sup>20</sup> 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; <sup>25</sup> 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 εἰσαοῶωνζ || εβολ` † εἰσαοῶχε  
 εβολ ἄμοογ ἄτμῆρε | ἄτπλανη ἄεζογσια  
       ἀνοκ` δε πεχαε | χε πχοεῖς ψα οῦηρ` ἄχρονοσ  
       πεχαε` | ναεῖ χ[ε ζο]ταν ερψα πρωμε ἄλληε||[νοσ οῶ]νη εβολ`  
 \*p. 97<sup>1</sup>     ζῆ̄νογπλασμα || [ . .<sup>5/2</sup> . . ] ἄληθεια πεντα πειωτ τῆ̄\*νοογ  
 (145 L.)     τ[οτε] πετ[ῆ̄]μαγ ναταμοογ ε|τβε ζωβ ν[ιμ]     εἰσαοῶαταζσογ  
       ζῆ̄ πχρεῖ|σμα ἄπωνζ ψα ενεζ παεῖ ἄταγτα|εχ ναε` εβολ ζῆ̄ τε-  
 5     νεα τετῆ̄μῆ̄τες || ῆ̄ρο  
       τοτε σενανοῶχε εβολ` ἄμοογ | ἄπμμεεγε βῶλλε     εἰσαοῶεναῆ-  
       καταπα|τει ἄπμογ ἄἄεζογσια     εἰσαοῶεναβωκ` | εζραῖ επογοεῖν  
 10     ετε ἄἄταχ ἀρηεχ` | παεῖ ετε πεεῖσπερμα ψοοπ` ἄμαγ ||  
       τοτε νεζογσια σενακω ἄσωογ ἄνογ|καιροσ     εἰσαοῶεναγγελοσ  
       σεναριμε | εχῆ̄ πογτακο     εἰσαοῶεναδαῖμων σενα|ῆ̄ ζηβε εχῆ̄ πογ-  
       μογ  
 15     τοτε ἄψηρε τη|ρογ ἄπογοεῖν σενασοῶων ταληθει||α ἄτογνογ-  
       νε ζῆ̄ οῶμε εἰσαοῶπειωτ` | ἄπτηρηε` ἄπῆ̄να ετογααβ     σεναχοοσ |  
       τηρογ ζῆ̄νογσμη οῶωτ` χε οῶδικαι|οσ τε ταληθεια ἄ-  
 20     πειωτ`     εἰσαοῶψηρε | ζιχῆ̄ πτηρηε`     εἰσαοῶεβολ ζιτῆ̄ οῶγον νιμ ||  
       ψα νιενεζ ἄενεζ ζαγιοσ ζαγιοσ ζα|γιοσ ζαμην : |

Τῆ̄υποστασις | ἄἄαρχων

29 Sah. εἰσαοῶωνζ. 31 i.e. ἄνεζογσια.  
 34 i.e. ζῆ̄ οῶπλασμα.  
 97:4 i.e. τετε ἄμῆ̄τες (Nagel emends thus).  
 10–13 Sah. ἄνεγκαιροσ . . . νεγαγγελοσ . . . πεγτακο . . . νεγδαῖμων . . . πεγμογ.  
 15 Sah. τεγνογνε. 16 i.e. πῆ̄να (Nagel emends thus). 17 i.e. ζῆ̄ οῶσμογ ἄογωτ. 22  
 i.e. τεγποστασις.

30 † εἰσαοῶχε : ἄνογχε em. Layton<sup>3</sup>, with hesitation : εἰσαοῶχε em. Nagel : εἰσαοῶ-  
 νογχε em. Schenke<sup>2</sup> 31 ἄκ>εζογσια em. Layton<sup>3</sup>, poss. rightly  
 33 rest. Schenke (“wenn [ὅταν]”), sim. Bullard, Nagel 34 rest. Schenke (“sich [offen-  
 bart]”), Bullard, Nagel 35 [ἄκ>ῆ̄να ἄτ] Layton<sup>3</sup> (cf. 96:24), with hesitation : [πῆ̄να  
 ἄτ] Schenke (“[der Geist (πνεῦμα), der]”), sim. Bullard, Nagel  
 97:2 rest. Schenke (“alles”), Bullard, Nagel  
 18 εἰσαοῶψηρε : ἄψηρε em. Schenke<sup>2</sup> 19 <ετ>ζιχῆ̄ Schenke<sup>2</sup>

34. “‘Instead, ' after three generations it will come to be known, <sup>30</sup> 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 (?) <sup>35</sup> [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. <sup>5</sup>

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. <sup>10</sup>

“‘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 <sup>15</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup> unto the ages of ages, ‘Holy—holy—'holy! Amen!’ ” ’

### The Reality ' Of the Rulers

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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, <sup>1</sup>-όν. <sup>1</sup>41:1.

**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, <sup>1</sup>ΑΝΑΨΑΣΙΣ (εἴπορ). 42:7,

42:8, 43:21, <sup>1</sup>48:19, 48:19*ap*.

(ἀναχωρέω), **ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ**. 35:7.

ἄξιος. 47:33.

**ΑΞΙΟΣ** **ΝΑΞ** 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.

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**Ν**-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (attrib) 34:34.

ΔΙΠΝΕΙ, see δειπνέω.

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(διώκω), **ΔΙΩΚΕ**, <sup>1</sup>**Ρ**-ΔΙΩΚΕ.

— **ΜΜΟΣ** <sup>1</sup>45:22. 45:24, 45:25.

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εἰ, <sup>1</sup>**ΕΙ**. <sup>1</sup>37:23*ap*.

see also εἰ μή, εἰ μήτι.

(εἰκών), **ΖΙΚΩΝ**. 37:34 (bis), 42:1, 47:20,

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- A. BIPARTITE SENTENCE (Future **να** 36:5, **α** 40:26)  
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Ρ-, Ο\* Ν-ΧΟΕΙC (cf. ΕΡΕ) ε-, α-, ΕΡΟZ 64:15, 65:31 (?), 66:5, 74:12. 76:34–35*ap* (bis). 83:25.

ΧΙCΕ, <sup>1</sup>ΧΟCΕ†, <sup>2</sup>ΧΟCΕ† (788*b*) vb tr.

— ε-, α-, ΕΡΟZ (?): <sup>1</sup>53:21, <sup>1</sup>54:7, <sup>1</sup>65:29, <sup>1</sup>69:28, <sup>1</sup>70:27, <sup>1</sup>74:30*ap*, <sup>1</sup>75:2, <sup>2</sup>76:12, <sup>1</sup>85:17 (bis); med 77:25.

— Ν-ΖΗΤ: no dir obj 77:23.

— ΠΑΡΑ- <sup>1</sup>76:10.

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.

ΧΙΟΥΕ (793*b*) vb intr. 56:2 (em.).

as nn m: ΝΧΙΟΥΕ 57:28.

ΧΩΖΜ, <sup>1</sup>ΧΑΖΜΕZ, <sup>2</sup>ΧΟΖΜZ, <sup>3</sup>ΧΟΖΜΕZ, ΧΟΖΜ† (797*b*) vb tr. <sup>1</sup>55:28, <sup>3</sup>55:32, <sup>2</sup>55:33, <sup>3</sup>65:15, <sup>3</sup>65:19, <sup>1</sup>69:3.

ΑΤ-ΧΩΖΜ nn: attrib 64:36*ap*, 82:5.

as nn m: 64:36*ap*, 82:4; ΖΝ-ΟΥΧΩΖΜ 65:1\*.

ΧΩCΕ, <sup>1</sup>ΧΟCZ (800*b*) vb tr. <sup>1</sup>61:16.

— ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤZ: med 61:15.

as nn m: 61:13, 61:17; attrib: ΜΑ Ν-ΧΩCΕ 63:25.

ΧCΙΤ, see ψχιτ.

CΕ (nn), see κε.

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CΩΒ (805*b* 10) nn m. 84:17, 84:18.

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CΒΟΥΡ, see ΖΒΟΥΡ.

CΩΛΠ (812*a*) vb tr. med 83:1.

— ΕΒΟΛ: med 70:34\* (?), 71:7, 83:5, 85:20, 85:25.

CΜ-, see CΙΝΕ.

CΟΜ (815*b*) nn f. 52:35*ap*, 55:15, 61:20–21*ap*, 65:9, 66:35\*, 72:15, 76:7, 76:14, 85:17, 85:18.

ΟΥΝ-, ΜΝ-(Ψ-)CΟΜ. foll. by:

ε-, α- infin 54:14, 58:15.

ΜΜΟZ 66:24\*.

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CΝ-CΟΜ (cf. CΙΝΕ): 83:29; foll. by ε-, α- 84:6.

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CΝ-, see CΙΝΕ.

CΙΝ- (819*a*) prefix forming nn m f.

see ΖΩΤΡ (1°).

(CΙΝΕ), CΝ-, <sup>1</sup>CΜ- (820*a*) vb tr.

CΝ-ΑΡΙΚΕ α- 57:9.

CΝ-CΟΜ: <sup>1</sup>83:29; foll. by ε-, α- 84:6.

Ψ-CΝ-CΟΜ Ν- infin <sup>1</sup>57:31\*, <sup>1</sup>58:9, 85:3.

CΩΡC (831*b*) vb tr “inhabit.” 73:28–29*ap*.

CΡΟC (831*b*) nn m. 73:13, 73:14.

CΩΨΤ (837*a*) vb intr. 69:33\*.

— α- 69:33*ap* (bis).

— ΝCΑ- 81:5.

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(αἰσθάνομαι), αἰCΘΑΝΕ.

— Ν- 81:3.

αἰCθηCιC. 72:26*ap*.

(αἰτέω), Ρ-ΑΙΤΕΙ, Imperat <sup>1</sup>ΕΡΙ-ΑΙΤΕΙ

— Ν-: <sup>1</sup>59:26; foll. by ΕΤΒΕ- 59:23.

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(αἰχμαλωτίζω), ρ-αἰχμαλωτίζει.

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see ἐφ' ὄσον.

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w. Cond: 60:4, 65:12, 75:19, 77:12, 77:14, 84:1; and foll. by *τοτε* 64:7, 85:24.

οὐ, οὐκ, see οὐκέτι, οὐ μόνον.

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*παντη παντως* 76:31–32*ap*.

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*παντη παντως* 76:31–32*ap*.

*παρά*, <sup>1</sup>παραροζ. <sup>1</sup>64:2, 76:10, 81:31*ap*.

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(*πλανάω*), *ρ-πλανα*, <sup>1</sup>ρ-πλανασεε, <sup>2</sup>ρ-πλανεσεε. <sup>1</sup>55:24, 56:17, <sup>2</sup>66:20, <sup>1</sup>67:37\*, <sup>1</sup>73:3.

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(*πλάσσω*), *πλασσε*, <sup>1</sup>ρ-πλασσε.

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(*πνευματικός*), -ή, <sup>1</sup>-όν.

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ΖΟΤΑΝ, see ὅταν.

ΖΟΤΙ, see ὅτε.

ΖΓΛΗ. see ἄλη.

ΖΓΛΙΚΟΣ, see ἕλικός.

ΖΥΜΝΕΙ, see ὑμένω.

ΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΕΙ, see ὑπηρετέω.

ΖΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΣ, see ὑπόστασις.

ΖΩΣΤΕ, see ὅστε.

### III. PROPER NAMES

Ἄβελ. 91:14 (bis), 91:16, 91:19, 91:21,  
91:22, 91:33\*.

Ἄδάμ. 88:16, 88:19, 88:21, 88:22, 88:24,  
89:2, 89:5, 89:10, 89:13, 89:18, 90:20,  
90:22, 90:28\*, 91:4, 91:30, 91:32.

Ἄδαμαντίνη.

ΠΚΑΣ Ν-ΔΔΑΜΑΝΤΙΝΗ (place name?)

88:14.

Ἐλεληθ. 93:8, 93:18, 94:3.

(Εῦω), ΕΓΖΑ. 91:31, 91:34, 92:21, 92:31.

Ζωή, <sup>1</sup>ΝΖΩΗ. 95:5, <sup>1</sup>95:18, 95:19, <sup>1</sup>95:31,  
96:1.

<sup>1</sup>Ἰαλδαβαωθ, <sup>1</sup>ἸΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ, <sup>2</sup>ἸΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ.  
<sup>2</sup>95:8, 95:11, <sup>1</sup>96:3.

Καίῃν, ἴκαεῖν. 91:12 (bis), 91:15, 91:20  
(bis), 91:22, 91:25, 191:28.

ΝΩΗ, see Ζωή.  
(Νῶε), Νωζε. 92:9.

Νωρεα, ἴωρεα. 91:34\*, 191:34ap, 192:14,  
92:14ap, 92:21, 92:32\*, 93:6.

Νωζε, see Νῶε.

Πίστις.

ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ 87:7, 95:6.

ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ  
ΧΕ-ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ 94:6.

Σαβαῶθ. 95:13, 95:23.

Σακλα. 95:7.

Σαμαηλ. 87:3, 94:25.

(Σειρ), ΣΙΡ.

ΠΤΟΥ Ν-ΣΙΡ (place name) 92:14.

Σήθ. 91:31\*.

ΣΙΡ, see Σειρ.

Σοφία.

ΤΣΟΦΙΑ 94:29, 95:18, 95:19, 95:25,  
95:31.

ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ  
ΧΕ-ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ 94:5.

ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ 87:8, 95:6.

(Τάρταρος), -ον (Gk accusative) (place  
name).

ΠΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΝ 95:12.

ωρεα, see Νωρεα.

#### IV. CATALOGUE OF ATTESTED GRAMMATICAL FORMS

A. BIPARTITE SENTENCE (Future NA  
93:16)

† 96:18, κ 91:29, τε 93:4, υ 91:27, τετῆ  
92:23, σε 91:6, ∅ (before definite nn)  
93:14, ουν (before non-definite nn)  
94:8; neg † ... αν 93:14, σε ... αν  
88:33, ∅ (before definite nn) ... αν  
86:23, μν (before non-definite nn)  
93:23.

Preterite νεει 90:23, νευ 91:13, νευ  
90:17; neg νευ ... αν 90:20, νευ ...  
αν 88:9.

Circumst εκ 86:26, ευ 88:17. εκ 87:2.  
εtetῆ 90:9, ευ 88:27; neg ευ ... αν  
88:1.

Relative in Fut εtetῆ 88:31, εtoy 94:6,  
εt (subject = definite antecedent)  
87:10, εte (before definite nn) 93:30.

II εει 91:23, εκ 88:28, ερε 93:22, ευ  
86:24 = αυ 96:29. εκ 93:29, ευ 88:7, ε  
(before definite nn) 91:9; neg in Fut  
εtetῆ ... αν 90:7.

#### B. TRIPARTITE CONJUGATION

(a) Sentence conjugations

Perfect: I Perf αι 91:32 = αι 90:22 = αι

96:15, ακ 90:24, αυ 86:21, αс 87:1, αυ  
87:11, α (before nn) 86:32; neg μπευ  
91:19; μπетῆ 92:23, μπου 87:15.

Preterite νε αυ 87:29, νε α (before  
nn) 93:7.

Relative ῆταει 90:26\* = ῆταει 94:18,  
ῆτακ 90:28, ῆταυ 87:5, ῆταυ 96:16,  
-(ε)ῆτα (before nn) 96:35, ῆταз (sub-  
ject = definite antecedent) 87:32 = ετα  
90:31; neg ετε ῆπε (before nn) 92:2.

II ῆταει 92:26, ῆταυ 90:7, ῆταетῆ  
92:24, ῆταυ 89:1, ῆτα (before nn)  
90:21.

Aorist: Circumst neg εμαυ 92:11.

Relative εψαυ 96:27.

(b) Clause conjugations

Conjunctv ῆτα 93:11, ῆτ 92:11, ῆυ 88:26,  
ῆтῆ 87:25, ῆтетῆ 90:9, ῆсе 92:4; neg  
ῆсе тῆ 91:10, ῆτε (before nn) ... тῆ  
89:2 (em.).

Temporal ῆταρευ 89:13, ῆταρου 89:18,  
ῆταρε (before nn) 96:3.

“until” ψαντευ 91:2.

Cond εψα (before nn) 96:33.

