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VOLUME TWO

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, EXPOSITORY TREATISE

ON THE SOUL, BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER



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NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION

HANS-GEORG BETHGE*

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

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

*Translated from the German by Bentley Layton.

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

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

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

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

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

² Edited in volume I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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DRAMATIS PERSONAE

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

Angel of acquaintance (gnosis) in the company of God

The *savior*, prototype of Jesus Christ

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

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

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

Psyche, the first soul, a mythical figure

Eros, her beloved

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

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

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

Seven *evildoers*, agents of fate

Justice, creator of Paradise

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

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

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

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

His six sons:

Yao, and his female counterpart *Lordship*

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

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

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

Adonaios, and his female counterpart *Kingship*

Eloaios, and his female counterpart *Envy*

Oraios, and his female counterpart *Wealth*

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

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

Death's seven androgynous offspring and their offspring

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

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

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

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

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

Abel, a son of Eve by Yaldabaoth

Other children of Eve by the rulers, unnamed

Mankind, descendants of Adam:

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

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

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

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

Beasts

Creeping things, etc.

Birds

} Creatures of the rulers

Cherubin guarding the tree of life in Paradise

Symbolic creatures in Egypt:

Phoenixes

Two *bulls*

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

PLOT

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

II. COSMOGONY (Primeval Time)

A. Theogony

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

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

His arrogance:

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

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

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

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

B. Anthropogony

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

[Epiphany of Eros (§§ 49–53)

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

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

(b) reascends (§ 61)

Creation of luminous bodies and stars (§ 62)]

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

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

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

[Hymn to Eve of Life (§§ 74–75)]

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

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

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

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

Eve (§§ 87–94)

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

The three Adams (§§ 98–99)

6. The protoplasts in Paradise:

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

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

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

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

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

IV. HUMAN HISTORY (Intermediate Time)

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

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

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

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

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

Heavenly and earthly catastrophes (§§ 142–44)

Destruction of the rulers by Pistis Sophia (§ 145)

Collapse of the heavens (§§ 145–47)

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

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

SCENE

Prologue (§§ 1–3)

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

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

TIME

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

SIGLA

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- photographs Various Cairo manuscript photographs (as detailed by S. Emmel, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 14 [1977] 109–121) recording an earlier, more complete state of the papyrus; recollated by the present editor. But photographs of the British Library manuscript are *penes* Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, British Library, London, collated by the present editor
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- Quecke² Idem, in *Le Muséon* 76 (1963) 236–240
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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 97 ²⁴ b5 Labib	εΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ` Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄ΠΚΟC ΜΟC ΑΥΩ Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ CΕΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΧΕ Μ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥΕ ΨΟΟΠ` ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ Μ̄ΠΧΑΟC ΑΝΟΚ` ΔΕ †ΝΑΡ̄ΑΠΟΔΙΚΝΥΕ ΧΕ Α[Υ]Ρ̄ΠΛΑΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΝ`CΕCΟΟΥΝ ΔΑΝ̄ΝΤ[CΥCΤΑC]Ϛ Μ̄ΠΧΑΟC Μ̄Ν	§ 1
30	ΤΕΥΝΟΥΝΕ Τ̄Α[ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΕ Τ̄Α] ΠΟΔΙΖΕΙC	
*p. 98 ¹ (146 L.)	ΕΨΧΕ CΡ̄CΥΜ`[ΦΩΝΕΙ Μ̄Ν] * [Ρ̄]ΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΧ̄Α[ΟC] ΞΕ ΟΥ- ΚΑ ΚΕ ΠΕ` ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΠΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΖΑΪΒΕC ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϚ ΧΕ	§ 2
5	ΚΑΚΕ` ΘΖΑΪΒΕC ΔΕ ΟΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ ΕCΨΟΟΠ` ΧΙΝ ΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ ϚΟΥΟΝΖ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΕϚ`ΨΟΟΠ` ΕΜ`ΠΑΤΕ ΠΧΑΟC ΨΩ- ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΑϚΟΥ ΩΖ ΔΕ Ν̄CΑ ΠΨΟΡΠ` Ν̄ΕΡΓΟΝ`	

SOURCES

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

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

(§ 1) PAP., COD. XIII.

(§ 2) PAP., COD. XIII (breaks off at 98:5 ΧΙΝ ΤΕ).

AUXILIARY NOTES

98:3 i.e. ΤΖΑΪΒΕC. 4 Sah. ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ : cf. Subachmimic John 7:28 ed. Thompson, ΑΝΑΚ ΟΥΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΤΟ; ibid. 10:16; *Gospel of Truth* CG I 34:18; Middle Egyptian Matthew 21:25 ed. Schenke; poss. *ExSoul* 134:34. Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ- : i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥ-.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

97:24 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ : [ε]ΠΙΔΗ cod. XIII 26 ΛΑΑΥΕ : ΛΑΑΥ cod. XIII ΖΑ ΤΕΖΗ : Ζ[Α]
ΤΖΗ cod. XIII 27 ΔΕ : Ν̄ΔΕ cod. XIII Α[Υ] : ΑΥ cod. XIII 28 Τ[CΥCΤΑC]Ϛ
ΤCΥCΤΑCIC cod. XIII 29–30 Τ̄Α[ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΕ Τ̄Α]||ΠΟΔΙΖΕΙC : Τ̄Α ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΕ Τ̄Α ΠΟΔΙΖΙC cod.
XIII

30 CΥΜ`[ΦΩΝΕΙ Μ̄Ν] : CΥΜΦΩΝΕΙ Μ̄[Ν] cod. XIII 98:1 [Ρ̄]ΡΩΜΕ : Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ cod.
XIII ΕΤΒΕ ΠΧ̄Α[ΟC] ΞΕ : ΕΤΒΕ ΠΧ̄ΑΟC ΧΕ cod. XIII 2 Ζ̄Ν̄ : Ν̄ is definite, superlin.
stroke restored 5 ΧΙΝ ΤΕ : cod. XIII fragment ends with τε[- - -]

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

TRANSLATED BY

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

p. 9724

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

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

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

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

(§§3–21) PAP

8 ΔΑΝ: Sah. ON.

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

34 Sah. ΑΤΖΑΕΙΒΕC ON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

98:21 like : *following text probably erroneous*

98:24 outside; *error for inside*

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

Ν̄ΤΑΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΣ

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

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

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

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

31–32 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ.

12 ΧΟΛΗ: ΖΥΛΗ em. Bethge 195, with hesitation

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

26 Ν̄ΖΗΤῩ: Ν̄ΖΗΤC̄ em. Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- *p. 100¹ (148 L.) πεϋζο ζῆ πνοϋ[ν πετῆ]*πιτῆ νῆππῆϋε τη[ρο]ϋ
 5 τ[πι]ϋτις δε | τσοφια ἤταρεσοϋωψ [α]τρε πηεε | μῆτεϋ` πῆᾶ § 10
 10 χι τυπος ἠνοϋεινε | ἠϋῤαρχει εϋῆ ἠϋλη` αϋω εϋῆ νεσ|δϋναμικ
 15 τηροϋ αϋοϋωνε εβολ` ἠϋωροπ` ἠβι οϋαρϋων εβολ ζῆ ἠμο|οϋ εϋο ἠ-
 10 nine ἠμοϋει εϋζοϋτςιμε | πε εϋῆταϋ` ἠοϋνοε ἠεζοϋγια ἠζραῖ |
 20 ἠζητῆ εϋσοοϋν δε αν ϋε ἠταϋωψ||πε εβολ των τπιϋτις δε
 25 τσοφια ἠ|ταρεσναϋ εροϋ` ζῆ πωικ` ἠῆμοοϋ εϋ|κιμ` πεϋασ ναϋ` ϋε
 30 πνεανικκοε εριδιαπερα ψα νιμα` ετε πεϋβωλ πε | ἱᾶλδαβαωθ
 35 χιμ φοοϋ ετῆμαϋ αταρ|χη ἠπψαϋε οϋωνε παει ἠταζπωε | ψα ἠ-
 40 νοϋτε ἠῆ ἠαγ`γελοε ἠῆ ἠῤωμε | αϋω πεν`ταζωψε ζιτῆ πψαϋε
 45 αϋ|ϋοκϋ` εβολ` ἠβι ἠνοϋτε ἠῆ ἠαγγε|λοε ἠῆ ἠῤωμε
 50 παρϋων σε ἱᾶλταβαωθ || ϋο ἠατσοοϋν` ατδϋναμικ ἠτπιϋτις § 12
 | ἠπεϋναϋ απεϋζο αλλα αϋναϋ απει|νε ἠταζψαϋε ἠῆμαϋ`
 55 ζῆ πμοοϋ | αϋω εβολ ζῆ τεσμη ετῆμαϋ αϋμοϋ|τε εροϋ ϋε
 60 † ἱᾶλδαωθ` ἠτελειοε δε || εϋμοϋτε εροϋ` ϋε αριανη ϋε
 65 νεϋει|νε ἠμοϋει πε
 70 ἠταρε παει δε ωψπε | εϋῆταϋ ἠμαϋ ἠτεζοϋγια` ἠἠϋλη | § 13
 75 ατπιϋτις τσοφια ῤαναϋωρει εζραῖ | επεσοϋοειν`
 80 ἠταρε πιαρϋων ναϋ` || επεϋμεγεθοε αϋω ἠταϋ` οϋαατϋ` | § 14
 85 πενταϋναϋ εροϋ ἠπεϋναϋ εκεοϋα | ειμητι αμοοϋ ζι κακε τοτε
 90 αϋμεεϋε | ϋεῆ[τοϋο]ϋαατϋ` πετψοοπ` πεϋμε|[. . . . αϋ]ϋωκ`
 *p. 101¹ (149 L.) εβολ ζιτῆ πψαϋε αϋ`*οϋωνε εβ[ολ] ἠοϋπῆᾶ εϋῆνα εϋῆνηϋ | ζι-
 5 χῆ ἠμοοϋ ἠταρε πῆᾶ δε ετῆμαϋ | οϋωνε εβολ` απαρϋων
 10 πωρϋ` ἠτοϋγια | ἠμοοϋ αϋμεροε αϋω πετψοϋωϋ || αϋπορϋϋ`
 15 ακεμεροε αϋω εβολ ζῆ ἠϋλη αϋταμιο ναϋ` ἠοϋμα ἠωψπε
 20 αϋμοϋ|τε εροϋ ϋε τπε αϋω εβολ ζῆ ἠϋλη α|παρϋων ταμιο

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

100:24 Yaldaoth : *error for* Yaldabaoth

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

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

ΝΟΥΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ | ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨΕ ΠΚΑΖ

- 10 $\bar{m}[\bar{n}]\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\sigma}\omega\varsigma$ || ΑΠΑΡΧΩΝΨ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΨΨΦΥΣΙΣ ΑΨΤΑ|ΜΙΟ ΕΒΟΛΨ § 15
 ΖΙΤΨ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΝΟΥΖΟΥΤΨΖΙΜΕ ΑΨΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΕΨΤΑΠΡΟ ΑΨΧΟΥΨΟΥ
 ΕΡΟΥΨ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΨΒΑΛ ΑΨΝΑΥ | ΑΨΕΨΨΕΨΩΤΨ ΑΨΨ ΠΕΨΑΨ
 15 ΝΑΨ ΧΕ Ψ ΑΨΕΨΨΨΕΨΩΤ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ ΧΕ Ψ̄Ψ̄ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΨΨΤΑ-
 ΜΙΟ ΠΜΑΖΨΝΑΥ ΝΨΨΗΡΕ ΑΨΧΟΥΨΟΥ | ΕΡΟΥΨ ΑΨΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΨΒΑΛ
 ΑΨΧΟΟΣ Μ|ΠΕΨΕΨΩΤ ΧΕ [[Α]] ΕΨ ΑΨΕΨΕΨΩΤ ΜΟΥΤΕ | ΕΡΟΥΨ ΧΕ
 20 ΕΛΨ̄Ψ̄ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΨΤΑΜΙΟ Μ|ΠΜΑΖΨΩΜΤΨ ΝΨΨΗΡΕ ΑΨΧΟΥΨΟΥ
 ΕΡΟΥΨ ΑΨΟΥΩΝ ΝΝΕΨΒΑΛΨ ΑΨΧΟΟΣ ΜΠΕΨΕΨΩΤ ΧΕ ΑΨ ΑΨΕΨ-
 ΕΨΩΤΨ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ ΧΕ ΑΨΤΑΦΑΙΟΣ ΝΑ|ΕΙ ΝΕ ΨΨΩΜΤΨ ΝΨΨΗΡΕ Μ-
 ΠΟΥΕΨΩΤΨ
 25 Α|ΨΩΨΨ ΟΨΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΧΑΟΣ ΝΖΟΥΤΨΨΨΖΙΜΕ ΟΨΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ § 16
 ΜΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΖΟ|ΟΥΤΨ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ † ΠΡΑΝ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ † | ΠΕ ΤΠΡΟ-
 ΝΟΙΑ ΣΑΜΒΑΘΑΣ ΕΤΕ ΘΕΒΔΟ|ΜΑΣ ΤΕ ΠΕΨΨΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΕΨΜΟΥΤΕ
 30 ΕΡΟΥΨ | ΧΕ Ψ̄Ψ̄ ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΨΧΑΕΙΣ || ΣΑΒ̄Ψ̄Θ
 ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΝΟΥ|ΤΕ ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ
 ΤΜΝΤ|ΡΡΟ ΕΛΨΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΝΨΖ|Ι]ΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΚΩΖ | ΨΡΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΨΡΑΝ
 *p. 102¹ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ [ΤΜΝΤ]Ρ̄Μ|ΜΑΟ ΑΨΤΑΦΑΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΨΡΑ[Ν ΝΨΖΙΜΕ] * Ψ̄ ΤΕ
 (150 L.) ΤΨΟΦΙΑ ΝΑΨ|ΕΙ ΝΕ Τ|ΨΟ[ΨΨΕ] Ν̄ΔΥΝΑ|ΜΙΣ ΝΤΨΨΩΨΕ ΜΠΕ ΜΠ[ΧΑ]ΟΨ
 ΑΨΨΩ|ΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΤΨΖΙΜΕ ΑΠΤΨΠΟΣ ΝΑΘΑ|ΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΤΨΨΟΟΨΨ ΖΙ ΤΟΥΕ- § 17
 5 ΖΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥ|ΨΨ ΝΤΠΙΨΤΙΨ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΠΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΤΨΨΨΟΟΨ ΨΙΝΨ ΝΨΨΟΡΨΨ
 ΕΨΝΑΑΡΧΕΙ ΨΑ | ΝΑΡΗΧΨΨ

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

102:4 Sah. ΤΕΥΖΗ.

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

24 ΨΩΨ : ω altered from γ 24–25 also possible is a new sentence beginning Ν-
 ΖΟΥΤΨΨΖΙΜΕ ΟΨΝΤΑΥ 26 † . . . † : poss. emend to ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΨΡΑΝ ΝΨΖΙΜΕ or sim.
 (Layton) 28 ΕΨΜΟΥΤΕ : ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ em. Bethge 33 [ΤΜΝΤ]Ρ̄Μ : ρ read from small,
 ambiguous trace; of Μ, superlin. stroke is definite, μ restored 34 ΡΑ[Ν ΝΨΖΙΜΕ] : cf.
 101:26, 29–33 102:1 rest. Schenke ΨΟ[ΨΨΕ] Ν̄ : Ν is definite, superlin. stroke
 restored 2 rest. Schenke

a footstool, ' and he called it earth.

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

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

Sabaoth: his feminine name is Deity. '

Adoniaios: his feminine name is Kingship. '

Eloaios: his feminine name is Jealousy. '

Oraios: his feminine name is Wealth. '

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 † ΠΕ : †ZE em. Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 ἦτα|ρε μ̄πηγε δε σμ̄ν̄τοῡ μ̄ν̄ νοῡβομ̄ | μ̄ν̄ τογ̄διοικησις τηρ̄ε
τηρ̄ε ἦναγγελος αγω † ἦνογ̄|νε τηροῡ μ̄ν̄ νογ̄αγ̄ γ̄ελος ογ̄σμογ̄
| μ̄ν̄νογεοογ̄ αγ̄τααγ̄ ναγ̄ ἦτογ̄ δε αγ̄ογ̄νογ̄ γ̄μ̄ πεγ̄ζητ̄ αγω
10 αγ̄ψογ̄ψογ̄ || μ̄μογ̄ ἦναγ̄ νιμ̄ εγ̄χω̄ μ̄μοσ̄ ναγ̄ | χ̄ε †ρ̄ χ̄ρ̄ειᾱ ᾱν̄ λ̄-
λααγ̄ πεχαγ̄ χ̄ε α|νοκ̄ πε π̄νογ̄τε̄ αγω̄ μ̄ν̄ κ̄εογ̄ᾱ ψοοπ̄ |
αχ̄ντ̄

15 ἦταρε|ρεχ̄ε ναεῑ δε αγ̄ρ̄ νοβε̄ α|νατ̄μογ̄ τηροῡ ετ̄χε̄ ογ̄ω̄ αγω̄
αγ̄α|ρηγ̄ ναγ̄

ἦταρε̄ τ̄πις̄τις̄ δε̄ ναγ̄ ατ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄|ᾱσεβ̄ης̄ μ̄π̄νοβ̄ ἦαρχ̄ων̄ ᾱσβ̄ωακ̄
| νεγ̄ναγ̄ ᾱν̄ ε̄ρος̄ πεχ̄ας̄ χ̄ε κ̄ρ̄πλανᾱ | σαμαη̄λ̄ ε̄τε̄ πᾱεῑ
20 πε π̄νογ̄τε̄ β̄βαλε̄ | ογ̄ν̄ ογ̄ρω̄με̄ ἦαθαν̄ατος̄ ρ̄ρ̄μ̄ογ̄ο̄εῑ(ν̄) ||
ψοοπ̄ ζ̄ι τεκ̄ζη̄ πᾱεῑ ε̄τ̄ναογ̄ων̄ ε̄βολ̄ | ζ̄ν̄ νετ̄μ̄π̄λασμᾱ γ̄ναρ̄-
καταπᾱτεῑ μ̄|μοκ̄ ἦθε̄ ἦν̄ιομε̄ ἦκεραμεγ̄ς̄ ψαγ̄|σομογ̄ αγω̄ κ̄να-
25 β̄ωακ̄ ἦν̄ νετε̄ νογ̄κ̄ | νε̄ ᾱπιτ̄ν̄ ψᾱ τεκ̄ μ̄ααγ̄ π̄νογ̄ν̄ ζ̄ν̄ || τ̄σγ̄ν̄-
τελ̄ειᾱ γ̄αρ̄ ἦνετ̄ἦζ̄β̄ηγε̄ σε|ναρ̄καταλ̄γε̄ μ̄π̄ω̄τᾱ τηρ̄ε̄ ἦταγ̄ ογ̄|ων̄

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

(§ 24) PAP.

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

103:3–4 Sah. νεγ̄- . . . τεγ̄-. 7 Sah. νεγ̄αγγελος̄. 8 i.e. μ̄ν̄ ογ̄εοογ̄.

14 χ̄ε ογ̄ω̄: cf. Middle Egyptian Matthew ed. Schenke, where equals Sahidic ογ̄ωψ̄α.

19 i.e. ρ̄μ̄νογ̄ο̄εῑ. 21 i.e. νετ̄ἦπ̄λασμᾱ. 22 Sah. ε̄ψαγ̄ (Böhlig emends thus).

102:35–103:1 ατπε . . . τσοφια ν̄ιαλλαδ̄αβαω̄θ̄: ατσοφ̄[ᾱ ν̄ιαλλα]βαω̄θ̄: ᾱσ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ τ̄π̄[ε̄
μ̄]ἦ π̄καζ̄ Or.4926(1) 103:1 πεσκαζ̄: π̄καζ̄ Or.4926(1) 2 τ̄ετ̄μ̄πιτ̄ν̄ μ̄μοοῡ τηροῡ
absent in Or.4926(1) τ̄ετ̄μ̄πιτ̄ν̄: poss. emend to πετ̄μ̄πιτ̄ν̄

4 απαρχιγενετωρ: <τοτε> απαρχιγενετωρ em. Oeyen 133: το[τε] απα[ρχι]γε[ν]ε-
τωρ Or.4926(1) 5 χ̄ῑ ε̄οογ̄: ψογ̄ψ[ογ̄] μ̄μαγ̄ Or.4926(1), sim. rest. Oeyen 6
<τ>στρατεια: τστρατεια Or.4926(1) τηρ̄ε: absent in Or.4926(1) ἦνογ̄νε: emend
to ἦνογ̄τε̄ (thus Or.4926[1]): cf. 107:29, 109:8

14 ετ̄χε̄ ογ̄ω̄: εγ̄χε̄ ογ̄ᾱ is poss. expected, but the desired sense is not
apparent 14–15 ᾱρηγ̄ ναγ̄: i.e. ζαρεγ̄ ναγ̄: poss. corrupt

§ 23

§ 24

§ 25

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 30 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄ ΤΜΕ αγ̄ ω̄ναω̄χ̄ν̄ ἡ̄ϋ̄ρ̄ | θε̄ ἡ̄πετε̄ ἡ̄πεϋ̄ψ̄ω̄πε
 ἡ̄ταρε̄ τ̄πι|ctic̄ χε̄ ναεῑ ᾱσ̄ω̄λ̄π̄ ἔβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ἡ̄||μοοϋ̄ ἡ̄πεσε̄εινε̄ ἡ̄- § 26
 τε̄ς̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νο̄ς αγ̄|ω̄ ἡ̄τε̄εῑζε̄ ᾱς̄ρ̄ᾱνᾱ χω̄ρεῑ ε̄ζ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ε̄|πε̄σοϋ̄ο̄εῑν
 σᾱβ̄ᾱω̄θ̄ δε̄ π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ | ἡ̄ιᾱλ̄λᾱβ̄ᾱω̄θ̄ ἡ̄ταρε̄ϋ̄|σω̄τ̄μ̄ ᾱτ̄|ς̄μ̄η̄ ἡ̄τ̄πῑctic̄ § 27
 35 ᾱϋ̄ζ̄ῡμ̄νεῑ ε̄ρο̄[ς̄ ᾱϋ̄ρ̄]||κᾱτᾱγεῑνω̄σ̄κε̄ ἡ̄πεῑω̄τ̄ [. 4¹/₂·6 . .] * ε̄χ̄ἡ̄
 *p. 104¹
 (152 L.) π̄ω̄ᾱχε̄ ἡ̄τ̄πῑctic̄ [ᾱϋ̄]† ε̄οοϋ̄ νᾱς̄ | χε̄ ᾱστᾱμοοϋ̄ ᾱπ̄ρω̄με̄ ἡ̄θᾱ-
 5 νᾱτο̄ς̄ \ | μ̄ἡ̄ πε̄ϋ̄οϋ̄ο̄εῑν τ̄πῑctic̄ δε̄ τ̄σο̄φ̄ιᾱ ᾱς̄|σω̄τ̄ ἡ̄πε̄στ̄η̄ν-
 10 νε̄ † ε̄βο̄ς̄ ᾱσ̄π̄ω̄ζ̄τ̄ ᾱχ̄ω̄ϋ̄ || ἡ̄οϋ̄ο̄εῑν ἔβολ̄ ζ̄ἡ̄ πε̄σοϋ̄ο̄εῑν ᾱγ̄κᾱ|τᾱ-
 κ̄ρῑμᾱ ἡ̄πεϋ̄ϋ̄ε̄ω̄τ̄ ἡ̄ σᾱβᾱω̄θ̄ δε̄ ἡ̄τᾱ|ρε̄ϋ̄ῑ οϋ̄ο̄εῑν ᾱϋ̄χῑ οϋ̄νο̄ς̄
 ἡ̄ε̄ζ̄οϋ̄ς̄ιᾱ \ | ε̄ζ̄οϋ̄ν̄ ε̄ν̄δϋ̄νᾱμῑς̄ τ̄η̄ροϋ̄ ἡ̄π̄χᾱο̄ς̄ | χ̄ῑμ̄π̄ζ̄οοϋ̄ ε̄τ̄μ̄-
 15 μᾱγ̄ ᾱγ̄μοϋ̄τε̄ ε̄ροϋ̄ χε̄ || π̄χο̄εῑς̄ ἡ̄ἡ̄βο̄μ̄ ἡ̄
 ᾱϋ̄με̄στε̄ πεϋ̄ϋ̄ε̄ω̄τ̄ ἡ̄ κ̄ᾱ|κε̄ αγ̄ω̄ τε̄μ̄μᾱαγ̄ π̄νοϋ̄ν̄ ᾱϋ̄ς̄ῑχᾱνε̄ § 28
 ᾱ|τεϋ̄ϋ̄σ̄ω̄νε̄ π̄με̄εϋ̄ε̄ ἡ̄πᾱρ̄χῑγε̄νη̄τω̄ρ̄ \ | πε̄τ̄ἡ̄νᾱ ε̄τ̄ἡ̄νη̄ϋ̄ ζ̄ῑχ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄-
 20 μοοϋ̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ | πεϋ̄ϋ̄οϋ̄ο̄εῑν δε̄ ᾱνε̄ζ̄οϋ̄ς̄ιᾱ τ̄η̄ροϋ̄ κ̄ω̄ζ̄ || ε̄ροϋ̄ ἡ̄τε̄
 π̄χᾱο̄ς̄ αγ̄ω̄ ἡ̄τᾱροϋ̄ψ̄το̄ρ̄τ̄ρ̄ | ᾱγεῑρε̄ ἡ̄οϋ̄νο̄ς̄ ἡ̄πο̄λε̄μο̄ς̄ ζ̄ἡ̄
 τ̄σᾱω̄|ϋ̄ε̄ ἡ̄πε̄
 τ̄ο̄τε̄ τ̄πῑctic̄ τ̄σο̄φ̄ιᾱ ἡ̄τᾱρε̄ς̄|νᾱγ̄ ᾱπ̄πο̄λε̄μο̄ς̄ ᾱς̄χοοϋ̄ ἡ̄ς̄ᾱ- § 29
 20 βᾱω̄θ̄ | ε̄βολ̄ ζ̄ἡ̄ πε̄σοϋ̄ο̄εῑν ἡ̄ς̄ᾱω̄ϋ̄ ἡ̄ᾱρ̄χᾱγ̄|ἡ̄γε̄λο̄ς̄ ᾱγ̄το̄ρ̄π̄ϋ̄
 ε̄ζ̄ρᾱϊ̄ ε̄τ̄μᾱζ̄σᾱω̄ϋ̄ε̄ ἡ̄|πε̄ αγ̄ω̄ε̄ζ̄ρᾱτοϋ̄ ζ̄ῑ τεϋ̄ζη̄ ἡ̄ω̄ς̄ διᾱκο̄-
 νο̄ς̄ πᾱλῑν̄ ᾱς̄χοοϋ̄ νᾱϋ̄ ἡ̄κ̄ε̄ψ̄ο̄μ̄τ̄ \ | ἡ̄ᾱρ̄χᾱγ̄ ἡ̄γε̄λο̄ς̄ ᾱς̄ς̄μ̄ἡ̄

(§ 26) PAP., OR.4926(1)

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

(§§ 28–34) PAP.

29–30 i.e. ζἡ ἡμοοϋ.

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

12 i.e. ἀρχιγενέτωρ

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

27 ἡναωχἡ: absent in Or.4926(1)

28–29 ἡταρε τ̄πι|ctic̄ χε̄ ναεῑ: νε̄εῑ νε̄ ἡ̄τᾱς̄χοοϋ̄ ἡ̄† (sic) τ̄πῑctic̄ [ᾱ]γ̄ω̄ Or.4926(1) 29–30 ᾱσ̄ω̄λ̄π̄ ἔβολ̄ ... ἡ̄πε̄σε̄εῑνε̄: ᾱς̄θ̄ζε̄ πᾱρ̄χω̄ν̄ ᾱπε̄[ς̄]ἡ̄νε̄ Or.4926(1) 30 ἡ̄πε̄σε̄εῑνε̄ ἡ̄τε̄ς̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νο̄ς̄: ἡ̄πεῑνε̄ ἡ̄τε̄ς̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νο̄ς̄ em. Schenke: ἡ̄πε̄σε̄εῑνε̄ (without ἡ̄τε̄ς̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νο̄ς̄) Or.4926(1) 31 ἡ̄τε̄εῑζε̄: absent in Or.4926(1)

33–34 ᾱτ̄|ς̄μ̄η̄ ἡ̄τ̄πῑctic̄: ᾱτ̄πῑctic̄ Or.4926(1) 34 ε̄ρο̄[ς̄ ᾱϋ̄ρ̄] Schenke: ἀρᾱς̄ ᾱ[ϋ̄ ---] Or.4926(1): cf. 107:33 35 [μ̄ἡ̄ τε̄μ̄μᾱαγ̄] rest. Schenke (cf. *HypArch* 95:16): ε̄ιω̄τ̄[ἡ̄ ε̄ζ̄ρᾱϊ̄] Wisse 104:2 ἡ̄: ἡ̄ not definite, superlin. stroke restored 3 πεϋ̄οϋ̄ο̄εῑν: ϋ̄ added above the line 4 † ε̄βο̄ς̄: emend to ε̄βολ̄

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

24 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΟΝ (Böhlig emends thus).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*p. 106¹
(154 L.)

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

TPICTIC ΔE TCOΦIAC|ΠOPX̄Q̄ EPKAKE [[C]] ACMOYTE EPQ̄ EOȲNAM | § 35
M̄MOC ΠAPXIGENETWP ΔE ACKAAC ZI CBOYR` | M̄MOC XIM ΦOY
15 ET̄M̄MAQ̄ AȲMOYTE EOȲ|NAM` XE ΔIKAIOCȲNH CBOYR ΔE AȲMOY|TE
EPOC XE TAΔIKIA ETBE ΠAEI BE AȲX̄I|THPOY † N̄OYKOCMOC N̄-
TEK`KΛHCIA N̄TΔIKAI|OCȲNH M̄N̄ TAΔIKIA AZE EPAT̄I EX̄N̄ OȲCΩNT` | TH-
POY †

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

33 i.e. κιθάρα.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 20 ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΔΕ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΝΤΑ||ΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ ΣΑΒΑΘΩ` § 36
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΘΟΥ ΕΤΥΝΖΗΤΥ` ΧΕ Υ`ΣΟΤΠ` ΔΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ | ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΔΥ-
 ΚΩΣ ΕΡΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑ|ΡΕΦΩΝΤ` ΔΥΧΠΟ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΨ-
- 25 ΜΟΥ ΔΥΚΑΘΙΣΤΑ ΜΜΟΥ` ΕΧΝ ΤΜΑΣΟΕ || ΜΠΕΑΥΤΑΡΠ` ΣΑΒΑΘΩ Μ-
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ` | ΑΥΩ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΔΥΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΙ ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ | ΝΤΣΟΕ
 ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ | ΕΦΟ ΝΖΟΥΤ`ΣΖΙΜΕ ΔΥΤΩΖ ΜΝ
- 30 ΤΕΥΦΥΣΙΣ | ΔΥΧΠΟ ΝΣΑΥΥ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΖΙΜΕ ||
 ΝΔΕΙ ΝΕ ΡΡΑΝ ΝΝΖΟΥΤ` ΠΚΩΣ ΠΩΝΤ` | ΠΡΙΜΕ ΠΑΥ ΕΖΟΜ ΠΠΕΝ- § 37
 ΘΟΣ ΠΩΥ ΛΟΥ|ΛΑΕΙ ΠΡΙΜΕ ΝΨΤΒΟ ΝΔΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΝΡΑΝ | ΝΝΣΖΙΟΜΕ
 ΤΟΡΓΗ` ΤΛΥΠΗ ΘΗΔΟΝΗ | ΠΑΥ ΕΖΟΜ` ΠΣΑΖΟΥΕ ΤΠΙΚΡΙΑ ΤΜΝ<Τ>† ΤΩ(Ν)
 35 || ΔΥΡΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΔΠΟΥΑ | Δ[Ε ΠΟ]ΥΑ ΧΠΕ ΣΑΥΨ
 *p. 107¹ ΖΩΣΤΕ ΣΕΕΙΡΕ Ν*ΖΜΕΨΙ[[Τ]]` ΝΔ ΔΙΜΩΝ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΖΙΜΕ |
 (155 L.) ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΚΝΑΖΕ | ΕΡΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ` | § 38
- 5 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ` ΝΝΔΕΙ ΖΩΗ` ΕΤ`||ΨΟΟΠ` ΜΝ ΣΑΒΑΘ ΔΣΤΑΜΙΟ § 39
 ΣΑΥΨ | ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΖΙΜΕ | ΝΡΑΝ ΝΝΖΟΥΤ ΝΕ
 ΝΔΕΙ` ΠΕΤΕ ΜΑΥΚΩΣ` ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ Π<ΕΤ>ΟΥΝΟΥ` ΠΑΛΗΘ|ΝΟΣ ΠΕΤΕ
 10 ΜΑΥΦΘΟΝΕΙ` ΠΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ || ΠΕΤΝΖΟΤ` ΝΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΩΟΥ † ΝΕ ΝΔΕΙ
 ΝΟΥΡΑΝ † †ΡΗΝΗ` ΠΟΥΡΑΤ` ΠΤΕΛΗΛ Τ<ΜΝΤ>ΜΑΚΑ|ΡΙΟΣ ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΤΑ-
 ΓΑΠΗ ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΑΥΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΔΕΙ ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΝΑ ΝΑΓΑ|ΘΟΝ ΑΥΩ Β-
 ΒΑΛΖΗΤ`

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

(§§ 37–61) PAP.

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

35 Sah. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ. 36 Sah. ΝΣΕΕΙΡΕ.

107:2 Sah. ΝΕΥ- . . . ΝΕΥ-.

5 i.e. ΤΑΜΙΕ. 10 Sah. ΝΟΥΡΑΝ.

22 ΔΥΚΩΣ : copyist first wrote ΑΥ, then cancelled Υ and added υ above the line

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ (poss. emend thus). 26–27 i.e. Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΟΥΟΕΙΝ. 29 Sah. ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC.

108:2 ΚΑC : Sah. χεκααc.

3 i.e. ΟΥΟΟΥΟΕΙΝ (Böhlig emends thus).

12 ΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑC : i.e. ΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑC.

21 ΕΙΝΕ : ι added above the line

108:1 ΟῩΝ̄ ΟΥΑ ΨΟΟΠ is expected (prob. emend thus)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21 i.e. ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ (Böhlig emends thus).

31 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥ.

109:5 i.e. ΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑϚ.

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

20 i.e. Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ.

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

28 † ΣΝΟΣ : emend to ΣΝΟΥ (thus Schenke)

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

12 ΟΥΖΗΒ̄ : η added above the line

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

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

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

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

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

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

108:23 Adamas : *or*, Adaman

- 25 ατςιμε ογαζϙ̄ ἵσα πκαζ | αγω απγαμος ουηζ ἵσα τςι- § 52
 με απ`|χο ουηζ ἵσα πγαμος απβωλ εβολ || † ογαζϙ̄ ἵσα
 πεχο
- 30 ἡμῆῆῆσα περωσ | ετῆμαυ ατβενελααλε † ογω εζραῖ | εβολ ζῆ § 53
 πισνοϙ̄ ἡταυπαζτῆ̄ εχῆ | πκαζ ετβε παῖ νετ`σω ἡμοϙ̄ ψαυ|χο
 ναυ ἡτεπιϑῆμια ἡτςυνοϙ̄ςια || ἡμῆῆῆσα τβενελοολε αυβεῆκῆ-
 τε ἡῆνουβεῆλαζμεν † ογω εζραῖ ζῆ πκαζ ἡῆ κεσεεπε ἡψην |
 κατα γενος ευῆταυ ἡμαυ ἡποϙ̄|σπερμα ζραῖ ἡζητοϙ̄ εβολ ζμ
 *p. 110^l
 (158 L.) π`*σπερμα ἡῆεζοϙ̄ςια ἡῆ νουαγγελος | § 54
- 5 τοτε τδικαιοςϙ̄νη ασταμειο ππα|ραδεισος ενεσωϙ̄ εϙ̄ῆμβολ` § 54
 ἡπκ γκλος ἡποοζ ἡῆ πκ γκλος ἡπρη ζῆ || πκαζ ἡτρϙ̄φῆ` ετ<ῆ>ῆμα
 ἡψα ζῆ τμητε | ἡῆωνε αγω τεπιϑῆμια ζῆ τμητε ἡῆψην ενε-
 σωϙ̄ ευο ἡλαζλζ αγω | ψην ἡπωνζ ἡνατμοϙ̄ ἡθε ἡταϙ̄`οϙ̄ωνζ
 10 εβολ ζῆ ποϙ̄ψ ἡπνοϙ̄τε || ζῆ πσα μζιτ` ἡππαραδεισος ατρεϙ̄ | ἡ-
 ψϙ̄χη ἡνετογααβ` ἡαθανατος ναει | ετῆνηϙ̄ εβολ` ζῆ ἡπλασμα ἡ-
 τῆῆτ|ζηκε ἡτςυν`τελεια ἡπαιων πεϙ̄αν | δε ἡψην ἡπωνζ ἡθε
 15 ἡπρη αγω || νεϙ̄καδος νεσωϙ̄ νεϙ̄σωβε ἡθε | ἡνα πϙ̄πα-
 ρισσος πεϙ̄καρπος ἡθε | ἡῆισμαζ ἡελοολε εϙ̄οϙ̄οβῶ πεϙ̄χι-
 σε βηκ ψαζραῖ ετπε
- 20 αγω ατοϙ̄ϙ̄ ψη(η) | ἡτγνωσικ ευῆταϙ̄` ἡμαυ ἡτδϙ̄ναμικ || ἡ- § 55
 πνοϙ̄τε πεϙ̄`εοοϙ̄ ο ἡθε ἡποοζ εϙ̄|πῆριωϙ̄ εματε αγω
 νεϙ̄ταρ` νεσωϙ̄ | νεϙ̄σωβε ο ἡθε ἡῆισωβε ἡκῆτε
 | πεϙ̄καρπος ο ἡθε ἡῆιβῆνε` ετῆανοϙ̄|οϙ̄ ἡλεζλζ παει δε
 25 εϙ̄ι πσα μζιτ` ἡπα||ραδικος ατρεϙ̄`τωοϙ̄ν ἡῆψϙ̄χη εβολ | ζῆ τῆϙ̄ε`
 ἡῆδαιμων σεκαας ευῆηϙ̄ | εζοϙ̄ν` επσην` ἡπωνζ ἡσεοϙ̄μ` ἡ-
 πεϙ̄καρπος αγω ἡσεῆκατακρине ἡῆεζοϙ̄ςια ἡῆ νουαγ`γελος
- 30 παποτελεσ||μα ἡππειψηη ϙ̄ςηζ ζῆ χιερα βιβλος | σε ἡτοκ πε § 56

23–24 ουηζ . . . ουηζ (infinitives) : Sah. ογαζϙ̄ . . . ογαζϙ̄ : cf. Funk³ n. 1.

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

110:5 i.e. poss. πκαζ ἡτρϙ̄φῆ. 8 i.e. ἡατμοϙ̄. 13 i.e. ζῆ τςυντελεια.

24 i.e. ππαραδικος (Böhlig emends thus). 26 Sah. σεκαας ευεει cf. *l Clem.* 48:2 Achmimic = Ps. 117:19 Sahidic : explained by Polotsky. 29 Sah. νευαγγελος.

30 i.e. τῆιερα, ἡῆιερά.

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

110:5 <ῆ> Layton 13 <ζ>ῆ τςυντελεια Böhlig πεϙ̄αν : πουαειν em. Schenke

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

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

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

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

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

*p. 111¹
(159 Böhlig)

ΠΩΗΝ ΝΤΓΝΩCIC ΠΑΕΙ | ΕΤΖΜ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC ΠΑΕΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΩΟΡΠ` | ΡΩΜΕ
ΟΥΟΜϷ` ΔΟΟΥΗΝ` ΔΠΕϷΝΟΥC | ΔϷΜΡΡΕ ΤΕϷ`ΩΒΡΕΙΝΕ ΔϷΡΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ *
<Ν>ΝΚΕΕΙΝΕ ΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ ΔϷCΙΧΑΝΕ ΕΡΟ|ΟΥ`

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

10 ΤΩΟΡΠ` ΔΕ Μ̄ΨΥΧΗ ΔCΜΡΡΕ | ΠΕΡΩC ΕΤ̄Ν̄Ν̄Μ̄Μ̄ΑC ΔCΠΩΖΤ` Μ̄ΠΕC|| § 58
<C>ΝΟΥ` ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩϷ` ΑΥΩ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΕΒΟΛ | ΔΕ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠCΝΟΥ` ΕΤ̄Μ̄-
Μ̄ΑΥ ΑΤΟΥΡΤ` † ΟῩΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ Ν̄ΩΟΡΠ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ | ΠΩΟΝΤΕ ΕΥΡΑ-
ϷΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΑΪ ΕΤ`ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΒΑΤΟC

15 Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΝCΑ || ΠΑΕΙ ΔΝ` Ν̄ΖΡΗΡΕ ΕΝΕCΩΟΥ ΕΤΟ Ν̄CΤΟΕΙ | ΕΝΑΝΟΥϷ` ΑΥ† § 59
ΟΥΩ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑ|ΤΑ ΓΕΝΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ Μ̄ΠΑΡ|ΘΕΝΟC Ν̄-
20 ΤΕ Ν̄ΩΕΕΡΕ Ν̄ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ` | ΝΑΕΙ Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΜΕΡΕ ΠΕΡΩC ΑΥΠΩΖΤ` || Μ̄-
ΠΟΥCΝΟΥ` ΕΧΩϷ` ΑΥΩ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ`

Μ̄|Μ̄Ν̄ΝCΑ ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΒΟΤΑΝΗ ΝΙΜ` † ΟΥΩ ΕΖ|ΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟC § 60
ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑΥ Μ̄|Μ̄ΑΥ Μ̄ΠΕCΠΕΡΜΑ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥ|ΑΓ`ΓΕΛΟC Μ̄Ν̄ΝCΑ
25 ΝΑΕΙ` ΑΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ || CΩΝΤ` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΜΟΥC Ν̄ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΜ | ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕ-
ΝΟC ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΧΑΤΒΕ Μ̄Ν̄ΝΖΑ`|ΛΑΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΕΝΟC ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑΥ Μ̄Μ̄ΑΥ Μ̄|ΠCΠΕΡ-
ΜΑ Ν̄ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC |

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

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

111:9 i.e. ετν̄ν̄μαc.

15 αν: Sah. on. 20 Sah. μ̄πεγcνοϷ.

23 i.e. ν̄νεζουcια (Böhlig emends thus). 23–24 Sah. νεγαγγελοc. 28 i.e. ν̄ν̄-
εζουcια (Böhlig emends thus). νογαγγελοc: Sah. νεγαγγελοc.

111:1 <ν̄> Layton (cf. 111:2 εροου)

8 <να> Quecke²

10 <c>νοϷ sim. Böhlig

23 μ̄πεcπερμα: μ̄<ποϷcπερμα zpaΐ n̄ζητου εβολ z̄m̄> πεcπερμα Quecke, with hesi-
tation

- *p. 112¹ (160 Bö.) ἀπκακε ψωπε ἀχῃ̄ πκ̄ο̄ςμο̄[ς] * τηρμ̄`
 τσοφια δε ετῆ̄ν̄ τπε̄ ῃ̄πσᾱ ῃ̄πιτῆ̄ | ῃ̄ταρεσοῦωψ̄ ἀσχῑ οὔε̄ζοῦςιᾱ § 62
 ῃ̄τοοτ̄ε̄ | ῃ̄τπιςτις̄ ἀσταμιο̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄ννο̄ς ῃ̄ρεϋ̄ῤ̄ οὔο|ειν̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄ςιοῦ̄ τη-
 5 ροῦ ἀσκαδῦ̄ ζῆ̄ τπε̄ ἀτροῦ||ῤ̄ οὔοειν̄ εχῃ̄ πκαζ̄ ἀγῶ̄ σεσχωκ̄` εβολ̄
 ῃ̄|ζῆ̄ν̄χμειον̄ ῃ̄χρονος̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄καρος̄ ῃ̄ | ζῆ̄ῤ̄ῃ̄ποοῦε̄ ἀγῶ̄ ζῆ̄νεβατε̄
 ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄ζοοῦ̄ | ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄οὔψη̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄ζῆ̄σοῦσοῦ̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄κεσεεπε̄ | τηρμ̄` ἀγῶ̄
 10 ῃ̄τεε̄ιζε̄ ἀπμᾱ τηρμ̄` ῤ̄κοσμε̄ || ζιχῆ̄ τπε̄
 ἀδὰμ̄` δε̄ οὔοειν̄` ῃ̄ταρεϋ̄`οὔωψ̄ | ἀβωκ̄` εζοῦν̄` επεϋ̄`οὔοειν̄ § 63
 ετε̄ πᾱεῑ πε̄ | ετμαζψμοῦνε̄ ῃ̄πεψωδῃ̄ δομ̄` ετβε̄ | τῃ̄ῃ̄τζηκε̄
 ῃ̄ταττω̄ς ῃ̄ πεϋ̄`οὔοειν̄ τοτε̄ | ἀϋταμειο̄ ναϋ̄` ῃ̄οὔνο̄ς ῃ̄-
 15 αῖων̄ ἀγῶ̄ ζῃ̄ || παιων̄` ετῃ̄μαῦ̄ ἀϋταμιο̄ ῃ̄σοοῦ̄ ῃ̄αιων̄ | ῃ̄ ῃ̄νοῦ-
 κοσμος̄ εϋειρε̄ ῃ̄σοοῦ̄ εῦσοτῤ̄` | ἀῃ̄ῃ̄πηγε̄ ῃ̄πχαος̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄νοῦκοσμος̄
 ῃ̄|σαψϋ̄` ῃ̄κωβ̄
 ῃ̄ε̄ιδαιων̄ δε̄ τηροῦ̄ ῃ̄ ῃ̄νοῦ|κοσμος̄ εῦψοοῤ̄` ζῃ̄ πετε̄ ῃ̄ῃ̄τεϋ̄ § 64
 20 ἀρησϋ̄` || εϋοὔτε̄ τμαζψμοῦνε̄ ῃ̄ πχαος̄ ετῃ̄π|τῆ̄ ῃ̄μο̄ς εῦηπ̄` ῃ̄
 πκοσμος̄ ετε̄ πᾱ τ`ῃ̄ῃ̄τζηκε̄ πε̄
 εψχε̄ κοῦωψ̄ ε̄ειμε̄ ῃ̄τδιδ|θε̄ςις̄ ῃ̄νᾱεῑ κναζε̄ ερος̄ εςσχη̄ς ζῃ̄ § 65
 25 πμαζ|σαψϋ̄ ῃ̄κοσμος̄ ῃ̄ψιεραλιας̄ πεπροφη̄||της̄
 ζᾱ τεζη̄ δε̄ ῃ̄πατε̄ ἀδὰμ̄ ῃ̄οὔοειν̄ ῤ̄|ἀναχωρεῑ ζῃ̄ πχαος̄ ἀνεζοῦ- § 66
 ϋ̄ςιᾱ ναῦ̄ εροϋ̄` ἀγσωβε̄ ῃ̄σᾱ παρχιγενετῤ̄ρ` χε̄ ἀϋ̄|χε̄ δολ̄ εϋχω̄

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

(§§ 63–65) PAP.

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

34 i.e. εχῃ̄.

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

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

17 ἀῃ̄ῃ̄πηγε̄ : Sah. ἀῃ̄πηγε̄

18–19 Sah. νεῦκοσμος̄.

24 Sah. ζιεραλιας̄.

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

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

darkness covered all the universe. **112**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

35 με εβολ ζῆ πκαζ κατα || τζικων` ἄπῆσωμα` αϋω κατα πεινε * ἄπῆ
 *p. 113¹
 (161 B6.) ἄψωῆψε ναν κεκαασε πη εϋψα(ν)|ναυ επεϋ`εινε ἄψμε-

5 οϋ | εβολ ζῆ ποϋοειν ἦτῆαυ ἦζμζᾶλ ναν || ζῆ πχρονος τηρῆ ἄ-
 πειαιων

παει δε | τηρϋ` ἦταϋ`ψωπε κατα τηρονοια ἦτπ|ςτις ψινα επρω- § 68

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

10 ποϋπλασμα αϋω ποϋπλασμα || αϋψωπε ἦχολαχᾶ ἄποϋοειν

τοτε ἦε|ζοϋγια αϋχι ἦτγνωσις ατροϋταμие | πρωμε ασῆ § 69

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

15 ασσω|βε ἦσα τοϋγνωμη κε ζῆβᾶλεεϋε νε ζῆ || οϋμῆτ-
 ατσοϋν αϋταμιοϋ` εροϋ οϋα|αϋ αϋω σεσοϋν αν κε οϋ πε
 ετοϋνα|αϋ`

δια τοϋτο` ασῆ ψορπ` εροϋ ασταμιο | ἦψορπ` ἄπесρωμε ψινα § 70

20 εϋναταμε | ποϋπλασμα ἦθε εϋναρ̄καταφρονει ἄ||μοϋ αϋω ἦτεει-
 ζε ψνανοϋζμ` εροϋ |

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

ресноϋχε ἦοϋτᾶ|τλε οϋοειν ασζα|ε εχῆ πμοϋ ἦτεϋ|νοϋ απρω-

25 με οϋωνζ εβολ εϋο ἦζοϋτ`|ςζιμε

τᾶ|τλε ετῆμαϋ ασῆτϋποϋ ἄ|μοϋ ψορп` ἦνοϋσωμα ἦςζιμε ἄ- § 72

μῆἦσως ασῆτϋποϋ ἄμμος ζῆ πσω|μα ἄπεινε ἦτμααϋ ἦταζοϋωνζ

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

(§§ 68–79) PAP.

113:9 Sah. πεϋ- ... πεϋ-.

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

19 i.e. πεϋπλασμα.

23 i.e. ἦοϋοειν (Böhlig emends thus).

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

29 μᾶ λααυ : ἄπ̄ σε Or.4926(1)

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

113:13 [[ε]] cancelled by the copyist

25–26 ασῆτϋποϋ ἄ|μοϋ : ασῆτϋποϋ ἄμμοϋ (i.e. ἄπμοϋ) em. Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 30 ΕΒΟΛ | ΔΣΧΟΚ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν Μ̄Ν̄ΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ Ν̄ΒΟΤ̄ || ΔΥΧΠΟ Ν̄ΟΥ-
ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΖΟΥΤ̄`ΣΖΙΜΕ ΠΑΕΙ | ΕΝΓΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ ΖΕΡΜΑΦΡΟ|ΔΙ-
ΤΗΣ ΤΕΨΜΑΔΥ Ν̄ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΥΖΑ Ν̄ΖΩΗ ΕΤΕ
ΤΡΕΨΤΑΜΟ | ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΩΝΖ
- 35 ΠΕΣΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΧΠΟ || ΕΤΟ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙΣ Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΣΩΣ` ΔΝ[Ε]ΖΟΥΣΙΑ § 73
*p. 114^f * ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ` ΧΕ ΠӨННΙОН ΔΤΡΕΨ̄Ρ̄ΠΛΑΝΑ | Ν̄ΝΟΥΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΘΕΡΜΗ-
(162 Bö.) ΝΕΙΑ Μ̄ΠӨННΙОН` | ΠΕ ΠΡΕΨ`ΤΑΜΟ ΔΥΖΕ ΓΑΡ` ΕΡΟΨ` ΕΨΟ Ν̄ΣΑΒΕ | ΠΑ-
ΡΑΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
- 5 ΕΥΖΑ ΒΕ ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠ` Μ̄||ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΤΑΕΙ ΔΧ̄Ν̄ ΖΟΥΤ̄` ΔΣΨΑΜΙΣΕ § 74
| Ν̄ΤΟΣ ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΑΖ̄Ρ̄ ΣΟΕΙΝ ΕΡΟΣ ΟΥΑΔΤ̄
ΔΙΑ | ΤΟΥΤΟ ΣΕΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΔΣΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Δ|ΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΕ-
ΡΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΜΑΔΥ ΔΥΩ ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ | ΤΜΑΔΥ` ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΖΙΜΕ Δ-
10 ΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ || ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕΤΕΕΤ` ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ Τ`ΣΟ-
ΕΙΝ ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΡΕΨ`|ΣΟΛΣ̄ Ν̄Ν̄ΝΑΚΕ ΠΑΖΑΕΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΧΠΟ-
ΕΙ ΔΥ|Ω ΔΝΟΚ` ΤΕ ΤΕΨ`ΜΑΔΥ ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΟΨ` ΠΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ` | ΔΥΩ ΠΑ-
ΧΟΕΙΣ Ν̄ΤΟΨ` ΠΕ ΤΑΒΟΜ` ΠΕΤΨ`ΟΥ|ΔΨ̄Ψ̄ ΨΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΨ` ΕΥΛΟΓ-
15 ΩΣ †ΨΩΠΕ ΑΛΛ|ΛΑΖΙΧΠΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙΣ
ΝΑΕΙ ΔΕ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥ|ΩΨ < - - - > ΔΥΒΩΛΠ` ΕΒΟΛ` Ν̄Μ̄ΨΥΧΗ Ν̄ΣΑΒΑΨӨ` § 76
| Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΕΨ̄Χ̄Σ [.] ΝΑΕΙ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΝΗΥ ΑΜ`ΠΛΑΣΜΑ | Ν̄ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ
ΝΑΕΙ` ΔΤΕΣΜΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ` | ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΨΑΕΙ ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΑΝΑΕΙ` ΕΡΙ
20 ΧΟ||ΕΙΣ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΣΩΝΤ` ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΑΕΙ ΝΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥ|Ρ̄ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ Μ̄-
ΜΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΛΗΡΟΣ Ε|ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΨΡ` ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΕΙΖΕ |
ΔΥΟΤ̄`ΠΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΨΤΕΚΨΟΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΠΛΑΣ|ΜΑ † Η Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΣΥΝ`ΤΕΛΕΙΑ Μ̄-
ΠΑΙΩΝ †
- 25 Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑ||ΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΨΡ | ΑΨ† ΟΥΓΝΩΜΗ Ν̄- § 77
ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΨ` ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΩ|ΜΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΟΥ ΧΕ | Μ̄-
ΠΕΨ`ΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΜΗΤΕ Ν̄ӨΖ̄ΛΠΕ Μ̄|ΠΚΑΖ

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

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

26 i.e. ἡνετημμαψ. 28 i.e. ἡτζλπε.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 30 ΧΙΜ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΑΠCΑΨΥ Ν̄ΑΡ`||ΧΩΝ Ρ̄ΠΛΑCCE Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΕC- § 78
 CΩΜΑ | ΜΕΝ ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥCΩΜΑ ΠΕC`ΕΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΕC`|ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΑC-
 ΟΥΩΝC ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΥ | ΠΕCΠΛΑCΜΑ ΑCΨΩΠΕ Κ[Α]ΤΑ ΜΕΡΟC Μ̄|ΠΟΥΑ
 35 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΝΟC ΔΕ ΑCΤΑΜΕΙΕ || ΠΕΓΚΕΦ̄ΑΛΟΝ Μ̄Ν ΠΑΤΚΑC
 *p. 115¹ Μ̄Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄CΩC | † ΑCΦΟΥΩΝC ΕΒΟΛ CΩC ΑΤΕC`ΕCΗ † ΑCΨΩΠΕ * Ν̄ΟΥ- § 79
 (163 Bö.) ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄ΨΥΧΙΚΟC ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΡΟΥ` ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ` ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ
 ΠΕΙΩΤ` ΚΑΤΑ | ΠΡΑΝ Μ̄ΠΕΤ`CΙ ΤΕC`ΕCΗ
 5 Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥCΩΚ ΔΕ Ν̄|ΑΔΑΜ` ΑCΚΑΑC Ν̄ΝΟΥCΚΕΥΟC ΕΑCΧΙ ΜΟΡ||ΦΗ Ν̄ΘΕ § 80
 Ν̄ΝΙCΟΥCΕ ΕΜ̄Ν ΠΝΕΥΜΑ Ν̄CΗΤC` | ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕΙCΩΒ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕ ΠΝΟC Ν̄-
 ΑΡΧΩΝ | Ρ̄ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Μ̄ΠΨΑΧΕ Ν̄ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΑCΡ̄ CΟΤΕ | ΜΗΠΩC Ν̄CΙ Ν̄CΙ ΠΡ̄Μ̄Μ-
 ΜΕ ΕCΟΥΝ` ΕΠΕC`|ΠΛΑCΜΑ Ν̄CΡ̄ ΧΟΕΙC ΕCΩC`
 10 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΑC`||ΚΩ Μ̄ΠΕCΠΛΑCΜΑ Ν̄CΜΕ Ν̄CΟΥ ΧΩΡΙC | ΨΥΧΗ ΑΥΩ § 81
 ΑC`ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΑCΚΑΑC` C̄Μ̄ Π̄Μ[ΑC]|CΜΕ ΔΕ Ν̄CΟΥ ΑΤCΟΦΙΑ Ν̄CΩΗ
 Τ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ | Μ̄ΠΕCΝΙCΕ ΕCΟΥΝ ΑΔΑΜ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΕ Μ̄Ν | ΨΥΧΗ Μ̄-
 15 ΜΟΥ` ΑCΑΡΧΕΙ Ν̄ΚΙΜ CΙCΜ̄ ΠΚΑC || ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕCΨΩC̄Μ̄ CΟΜ` ΕΤΩΟΥΝ
 ΠCΑΨΩ̄ | ΔΕ Ν̄ΑΡΧΩΝ Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΕΙ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ` ΑΥ|ΨΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ̄ ΕΜΑ- § 82
 ΤΕ ΑΥ† ΠΕΥΟΥΟΕΙ ΕCΟΥΝ ΕΙΡΟΥ` ΑΥΕΜΑCΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΠΕ-
 20 ΧΑC` Μ̄|ΠΝΙCΕ ΕΤ̄Ν̄CΗΤ̄ ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΟΚ` ΝΙΜ` ΑΥΩ Ν̄|ΤΟΚ`ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ
 ΕΝΙΜΑ ΑC`ΟΥΨΩB̄ | ΠΕCΑC` ΧΕ Ν̄ΤΑΕΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ CΙΤ̄Ν̄-ΤΔΥΝΑ|ΜΙC Μ̄-
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΤΑΚΟ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΡ|ΓΟΝ

(§80) PAP., OR.4926(1) (? begins ca. 115:4 εαcχι, ? breaks off at 115:9 ἡcρ̄ χοειc).

(§81–89) PAP.

31 Sah. μ̄πευcωμα. 34 Sah. π̄γνοc.

36 i.e. cα τεcεcη.

115:4 Sah. c̄μ̄ ουcκευοc. 8 i.e. ἡcει.

12 ἡcωη : i.e. cωη : cf. on 104:28.

19–20 Sah. ἡτακει (Bethge emends thus). 20 ενιμα : Sah. επ̄ειμα.

36 αcφουωnc : for c can also be read ψ; φ̄ read from small, ambiguous traces <c>α-
 τεc`εcη Böhlig

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

11 c̄μ̄ : μ is definite, superlin. stroke restored π̄μ[αc] sim. rest. Wisse : the word μαc
 must have extended far into the right margin and may have been written as an afterthought

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- < - - - > ἄταροϋσωτῆ ἀγῆ εἰσοϋ ναϋ` κε ἀϋτῆ ναϋ ἄτον εἰϋτε
- 25 ἄν προοϋω εἰτοϋἄ|ζητῆ` τότε ἀϋμοϋτε εἰφοοϋ εἰτῆμαϋ | κε τα-
 ναπαϋσις κε ἀϋἄτον ἄμοοϋ | εἰβολ ζῆ οϋζισε
- 30 ἄτεροϋναϋ δε εἰδαμ` | κε ἄπεϋψτωοϋν ἀϋραϋε ἀϋϋτῆ` | ἀϋ-
 κααϋ ζῆ ππαρδεισος ἀϋω ἀϋῤα||ναχωρεἰ εἰραῖ εἰνοϋἄπηϋε
- 35 ἄἄ|σα πζοοϋ ἄταναπαϋσις ἀτσοφια | χοοϋ ἄζωη τεσϋερε εϋ-
 μοϋτε | εἰρος κε εἰζα ζωσ ρεϋ`ταμο ἀτρεϋ|τοϋνος ἀδαμ` παει
 35 εἰἄ ψϋχη ἄζητῆ` || κεκ ἀσ νετεϋναϋποοϋ [ε]ϋναϋω|πε ἄαγγειον
 ἄποϋο[εἰν`
- *p. 116¹ ἄτ]ἀ[ρ]ε * εἰζα ναϋ εἰπεσϋβῤεἰνε εἰνηηχ` ἀσϋἄ | ζτησ ζα-
 (164 Bö.) ροϋ` ἀϋω πεχασ κε ἀδαμ` ωνη | τωοϋν ζιχῆ πκαζ ἄτεϋ-
 5 νοϋ ἀπεσϋα|κε ψωπε ἄοϋεργον ἄταρε ἀδαμ γαρ` || τωοϋν ἄ-
 τεϋνοϋ ἀϋοϋεν` ἄνεϋβαλ` | ἄταρεϋναϋ εἰρος πεχαϋ κε ἄτο
 εϋναμοϋ|τε εἰρο κε τμααϋ ἄνετονζ κε ἄτο πεταζ|τ ναει ἄ-
 πωνζ
- 10 τότε ἀϋταμε ἄεζοϋσια` | κε ποϋπλασμα ονη` ἀϋω ἀϋτωοϋν § 87
 ἀϋ|ψτορτῤ εματε` ἀϋχοοϋ σαϋϋ` ἄαρχαγ`|γελοσ ἀτροϋναϋ
 εἰπενταζψωπε
- 15 ἀϋει | ψα ἀδαμ ἄταροϋναϋ εἰεζα εσϋα κε ἄἄμαϋ` πεχαϋ ἄ- § 88
 νοϋερηϋ κε οϋοϋ τε τεειρῆ|οϋοειν και γαρ εσἰνε ἄπεινε ἄταζ-
 οϋ|ωνζ εἰβολ ναη ζῆ πιοϋοειν τενοϋ ἀμη|εἰτῆ μαρῆεμαζε ἄ-
 μοσ ἄτῆνοϋχε | ἄπῆσπερμα εἰρος κεκαασ εσϋα χωζῆ | ἄνεσϋσῆ
 20 σομ` ἄβωκ` εἰραῖ εἰπεσοϋοει(η) | ἀλλα νετ`σναϋποοϋ σεναῤ-
 ζϋποτασσε || ναη
- ἄπῤῤῤχοοσ δε ἄδαμ κε οϋεβολ | ἄζητῆ ἀη πε ἀλλα § 89
 μαρῆεἰνε ἄοϋβϋε | εἰραῖ εϋαϋ` ἀϋω μαρῆτσεβοϋ` ζῆ πεϋ|ζινηβ

30 Sah. εἰεϋπηϋε.

116:9 Sah. πεϋπλασμα.

13 Sah. ἄνεϋερηϋ. 13-14 i.e. ἄἄνοϋοειν. 14 i.e. εσἰνε.

23 < - - - > : some words accidentally omitted (Bethge explains thus) 24 εἰτῆζητῆ is expected (poss. emend thus) 27 ζῆ <η>οϋζισε em. Bethge, prob. rightly

34 εἰἄ ψϋχη : εἰἄ πνεϋμα em. Bethge 364, with hesitation 35 χποοϋ read in photographs 36 sim. rest. Böhlig

116:21 ἀη πε : ἀη τε em. Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 25 ζωσ εψχε ν̄τασψωπε εβολ ζ̄μ̄ | πεϋ`σπιρ χεκαασ ετεςσιμε νᾱρ̄ζγ-
 πο||τασσε` ν̄ϋ̄ϋ̄ χοεις ερος
 30 τοτε ευγα ες|ψοοπ` ν̄δ̄γ̄ναμ̄ις ασσωβε ν̄σα τογ̄νηω̄μη̄ν` ασ† § 90
 ελαστ̄νη̄ ενουβαλ ασκω̄ μ̄μαγ | μ̄πεσε̄ῑνε̄ ν̄χῑο̄γε̄ ατογ̄νη̄ ᾱδαμ`
 35 ασβωκ` | εζογ̄ν̄ επ̄ση̄νη̄ ν̄τ̄γ̄νω̄σις ασβω̄ μ̄μαγ || ν̄το̄ο̄ῡ δε § 91
 αγω̄ω̄ζ̄ ν̄σ̄ω̄ς ασογ̄ων̄ζ̄ ε̄βολ̄ ναγ̄ χε ασβωκ` εζογ̄ν̄ επ̄ση̄νη̄` ασϋ̄ |
 ψ̄νη̄ ν̄ταρογ̄ω̄πε δε [ζ]̄ν̄ ογ̄νο̄ς ν̄ζ̄ρ̄τε̄ αγ̄πω̄τ` εβολ̄ ν̄σι† † β̄ρ̄ρε
 35 μ̄μ̄νη̄σ̄ω̄ς ν̄τ[αρ]ογ̄νη̄φε̄ ζ̄ν̄ τ̄β̄ω̄ε̄ αγ̄εῑ εζογ̄(ν) || ψ[α] § 92
 *p. 117¹
 (165 Bō.) α[δαμ` α]γ̄ω̄ ν̄ταρογ̄ναγ̄ απ̄ῑνε̄ ν̄τη` * ζατο̄ο̄τ̄ϋ̄ αγ̄ψτορ̄τ̄ρ̄ εγ̄-
 μεεγε̄ χε τᾱει | τε ευγᾱ ν̄ᾱλη̄θ̄ῑνη̄ αγ̄ω̄ αγ̄ρ̄το̄λ̄μᾱ αγ̄εῑ |
 εζογ̄ν̄` ψαρο̄ς αγ̄ε̄μᾱζ̄τε̄ μ̄μο̄ς αγ̄νογ̄|χε̄ μ̄πογ̄σ̄περ̄μᾱ εζρᾱῑ ε̄χω̄ς
 5 αγᾱας̄ ζ̄ν̄ || ογ̄μ̄νη̄τ̄πᾱνογ̄ργ̄ο̄ς εγ̄χω̄ζ̄μ̄ ογ̄ μο|νον̄ φῡσ̄ικ̄ω̄ς ᾱλλα § 93
 ζ̄ν̄ ογ̄σ̄ω̄ω̄ϋ̄` εγ̄|χω̄ζ̄μ̄ ν̄τ̄σ̄φ̄ρᾱγ̄ις μ̄πεσ̄ζ̄ρο̄ογ̄ ν̄ψορ̄π` | ν̄ταζ̄ω̄ᾱχε̄ ν̄μ̄-
 10 μαγ̄ χε ογ̄ πετ̄ψοοπ` | ζ̄ῑ τετ̄νη̄ε̄ζη̄ ᾱτρογ̄χω̄ζ̄μ̄` ν̄νετ̄χω̄ μ̄||μο̄ς χε
 ζ̄ιτ̄μ̄ π̄ω̄ᾱχε̄ εγ̄χ̄πο̄ μ̄μο̄ογ̄ | ζ̄ν̄ τ̄σ̄γ̄ν̄` τε̄λε̄ιᾱ ζ̄ιτ̄νη̄ π̄ρω̄με̄ ν̄ᾱλη̄θ̄ει-
 νο̄ς
 αγ̄ω̄ αγ̄ρ̄πλᾱνᾱ εν̄σε̄σο̄ογ̄ν̄ αν̄ | χε̄ ν̄ταγ̄χᾱζ̄μ̄ πογ̄σ̄ω̄μᾱ π̄ῑνε̄ § 94
 15 πε̄ ν̄ταγ̄χᾱζ̄μ̄ϋ̄ ν̄σῑ νε̄ζ̄ογ̄σῑᾱ ζ̄ν̄σ̄μο̄τ` ν̄ῑμ̄ || μ̄νη̄ νογ̄ᾱγγ̄ε̄λο̄ς
 ασ̄ω̄ ν̄ψορ̄π` ν̄ᾱβε̄λ | εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄ ψ̄ορ̄π` ν̄ᾱρ̄χ̄ων̄. αγ̄ω̄ π̄κε̄σε̄ε̄|πε § 95
 ν̄ψ̄η̄ρε̄ ν̄τασ̄χ̄πο̄ογ̄ ζ̄ιτ̄νη̄ τ̄σᾱψ̄ε̄ | ν̄ε̄ζ̄ογ̄σῑᾱ` μ̄νη̄ νογ̄ᾱγγ̄ε̄λο̄ς

(§ 90) PAP., OR.4926(1) (begins ca. 116:26 ασσωβε).

(§ 91) PAP., OR.4926(1) (breaks off at 116:30 ασογωνζ).

(§§ 92–95) PAP.

26–27 Sah. τεγ̄νη̄ω̄μη̄ . . . ενεγ̄βαλ. 27 Sah. ασ† ζ̄λο̄στ̄νη̄.

117:4 Sah. μ̄πεγ̄σ̄περ̄μᾱ.

13–15 Sah. πεγ̄σ̄ω̄μᾱ . . . νεγ̄ᾱγγ̄ε̄λο̄ς.

18 Sah. νεγ̄ᾱγγ̄ε̄λο̄ς.

27 κω̄ μ̄μαγ̄ : κω̄ε (without μ̄μαγ̄) Or.4926(1)

29 μ̄μαγ̄ : ν̄ζη̄τ̄ϋ̄ Or.4926(1) 32 [ζ]̄ν̄ : ν̄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored 33
 † β̄ρ̄ρε : emend to β̄β̄λλ̄ε, or poss. ν̄β̄λλ̄ε (thus Böhlig)

34 ν̄τ[. .]ογ̄ read in photographs 35 ψ[α.] rest. Wisse α[δαμ` α]γ̄ω̄ sim. Böhlig

117:8 ψ̄ᾱχε̄ ν̄μ̄μαγ̄ χε <ν̄τε̄τ̄νη̄ε̄ῑμε̄ αν̄ χε> Bethge 374, with hesitation 9 <ᾱλλα
 μ̄νη̄ σο̄μ> ᾱτρογ̄χω̄ζ̄μ̄ Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 20 ΠΑΕΙ ΔΕ | ΤΗΡΨ` ΑΨΩΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΑΡ||ΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΞΕΚΑΑΣ § 96
 ΤΨΩΡΠ` ΜΜΑΔΥ | ΕΣΑΧΠΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤĪ ΝΨΕΡΜΑ ΝΙΜ | ΕΨΤΗΣ ΕΨΡΖΑΡΜΟ-
 ΣΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΕΧΙΜΑΡ|ΜΕΝΗ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΣΣΧΗΜΑ ΔΥ|Ω ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥ-
 ΝΗ`
- 25 ΑΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ || ΕΤΒΕ ΕΥΖΑ ΞΕΚΑΑΣ ΜΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ | § 97
 ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΧΟΛΧΛ ΜΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΨΝΑΡΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΙ-
 ΤΝ̄ΝΟΥ|ΠΛΑΣΜΑ
- ΠΨΩΡΠ ΔΕ ΝΑΔΑΜ` ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥ|ΘΕΙΝ ΟΥΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΕ ΑΨΟΥΩΝΖ § 98
- 30 || ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΨΩΡΠ` ΝΖΟΥ ΠΜΑΖΣΝΑΥ | ΝΑΔΑΜ` ΟΥΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ
 ΠΕ ΑΨΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ | ΜΠΜΑΖ[ΣΟ]ΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ|ΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ
- 35 Χ[Ε Α]ΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΤ | ΝΑΔΑΜ ΟΥΧΟΪΚΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ||
 ΠΡΜ̄ΝΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΑΖΟΥ[ΩΝΖ] ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΖΜ̄ | ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΟΥΝ ΝΖΟΥ [. 4-5½. .
- *p. 118¹
 (166 Bö.) ΤΑΝΑ]*ΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΝΤΜ̄ΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΤΔΕΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ | ΕΡΟΣ ΞΕ ΖΗΜΕΡΑ ΗΛΙΟΥ
 ΠΧΠΟ ΔΕ ΜΠ`|ΧΟΪΚΟΣ ΝΑΔΑΜ ΑΨΑΨΕΕΙ ΑΨΧΩΚ` ΕΒΟΛ` | ΑΨΧΠΟ § 99
 5 ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΨ` ΝΨΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΝΙΜ` Μ̄||ΨΥΧΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΔΑΜ` ΠΤΗΡΨ` ΔΕ
 ΝΕΨ`ΖΝ̄ ΟΥ|Μ̄ΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ`
- ΜΜ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΩΣ ΨΝΑΧΟΣ | ΝΤΑΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΨ` Ν̄ΣΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ Μ̄Ν̄ | ΤΕΤ̄Ν- § 100
 Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΨ` ΕΥΡ̄ΠΛΑΝΑ ΖΝ̄ ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΑΤ`|ΣΟΟΥΝ` ΝΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΤ̄Β̄ΝΗ ΔΥΡΑΨΕ Μ-
 10 ΠΨΑ` ||
- < - - - > Ν̄ΤΑΡΟΥΕΙΜΕ ΞΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΜΟΥ ΨΝΑΡ̄|ΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΑΝ` ΕΡΟΟΥ § 101
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΝΑΡ̄ΠΚΕΨ ΖΟ|ΤΕ ΖΗΤĪ ΝΤΕΝΤΑΖΡ̄ ΨΗΝ ΑΥΨΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ̄ ΠΕ|ΧΑΥ ΞΕ

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

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

(§§ 98–103) PAP.

21 i.e. ΕΣΝΑ.

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

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

8 i.e. ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΨ.

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

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

118:8 ΕΥ : poss. emend to ΑΥ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 15 ΜΗΠΩΣ ΠΑΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΛΗ`|ΘΕΙΝΟΣ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΖ† ΛΟСТН̄ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ||
 ΑΥΤΣΕΒΟΝ ΕΤΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΑΖΜΕΣ ΕΣΙΝΕ | ΜΜΟϞ` ΨΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑΧΡΟ ΕΡΟΝ
 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΧΙ | ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΜΠΣΑΨϞ` ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ` ΨΑ Α|ΔΑΜ` ΜΝ § 10^o
 ΕΥΖΑ ΖΝΝΟΥΦΟΒΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϞ` | ΧΕ ΨΗΝ ΝΙΜ` ΕΤΖΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ
 20 ΝΤΑΥΣΟΝ||ΤΟΥ ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΕΥ<ΝΑ>ΟΥΩΜ ΠΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΨΗΝ | ΔΕ ΝΤΓΝΩ-
 ΣΙΣ ΕΡΗΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄ ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ` | ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϞ` ΕΨΩΠΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΜ`
 ΤΕ|ΤΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΤΑΡΟΥ† ΝΑΥ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΦΟΒΟΣ | ΑΥΡΑΝΑ ΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΝΟΥΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ
- 25 ΤΟ||ΤΕ ΑϞΕΙ Ν̄ΣΙ ΠΣΑΒΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΠΑΕΙ ΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ Ε- § 10^o
 ΡΟΥ` ΧΕ ΠΘΗΡΙΟΝ | ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΡΕϞΝΑΥ ΕΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΟΥΜΑΔΥ | ΕΥΖΑ` ΠΕ-
 ΧΑϞ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ | ΧΟΟΥ` ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ
 30 ΖΜ ΠΨΗ(Ν) || ΝΤΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΑϞΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟ|ΝΟΝ ΧΕ
 ΜΠΡΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟ[Λ Ν̄]ΖΗΤϞ` ΑΛΛΑ | ΜΠΡ`ΧΩΖ ΕΡΟΥ` ΨΙΝΑ Χ[Ε ΝΕ]-
 ΜΟΥ ΠΕΧΑϞ | ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΜΠΡ̄ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΝΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ|Μ|ΟΥ
 *p. 119^l
 (167 Bδ.) ΑΝ` ϞΣΟΟ|ΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΜ` * ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϞ` ΠΕΤΝ̄ΝΟΥΣ ΝΑΡ̄-
 ΝΗΦΕ ΑΥΩ | ΤΕΤΝ̄ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΕΤΝ|ΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ`
 5 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ` ΟΥΤΕ Μ|ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΡΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΤΑϞ||ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙ ΓΑΡ
 ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΕϞΡ̄ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΧΕ ΝΕΤΝ̄|ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϞ`
 ΕΥΖΑ ΔΕ ΑΣΘΑΡΡΕΙ | ΑΝΨΑ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΕϞΤΑΜΟ ΑΣΩΨΤ` ΕΖΟΥΝ | ΖΜ § 10^o
 ΠΨΗΝ ΑΣΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΕΣΩϞ ΑΥΩ | ΟΥΛΕΖΛΖ ΠΕ ΑΣΜΕΡΙΤϞ` ΑΣΧΙ
 10 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ || ΠΕϞΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΑΣΟΥΩΜ` ΑΣ† ΜΠΕΣΚ[Ε]|ΖΑΪ ΑϞ`ΟΥΩΜ`
 ΖΩΩϞ` ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΟΥΝΟΥΣ | ΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΟΥΩΜ` ΓΑΡ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ |

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

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

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

27 Sah. ΝΤΕΥΜΑΔΥ. 33 i.e. ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ.

119:11 Sah. ΑΠΕΥΝΟΥΣ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 15 $\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}\gamma\bar{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma \bar{\rho} \omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu} \eta\alpha\gamma \quad \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau \zeta\omega\iota\omicron\upsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\omega\iota\pi\epsilon \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon \eta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}$
 $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta\gamma \parallel \alpha\tau\bar{\iota}\gamma\bar{\nu}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma \quad \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\eta\phi\epsilon \alpha\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma \mid \chi\epsilon \sigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta\gamma$
 $\alpha\upsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon \eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma \quad \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\mid\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma \alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\omicron \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\rho\phi\eta \mid \bar{\eta}\theta\eta\text{-}$
 $\rho\iota\omicron\bar{\nu} \alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\chi\alpha\eta\epsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma \quad \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \epsilon\mu\alpha\mid\tau\epsilon$
- 20 $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \bar{\eta}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu} \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon \alpha\gamma\pi\alpha\parallel\rho\alpha\upsilon\alpha \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\lambda\eta \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\zeta\bar{\eta}$ § 104
 $\omicron\gamma\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron \mid \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\eta}\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu} \mid \epsilon\pi\pi\alpha\mid\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma \psi\alpha \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu} \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\text{-}$
 $\eta\epsilon\gamma\alpha \epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\alpha\gamma \mid \epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\mu\alpha \bar{\eta}\tau\omega\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha \quad \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \mid \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu}$
 25 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\gamma\alpha \alpha\gamma\psi\tau\omicron\rho\tau\bar{\rho} \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \parallel \alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\pi \text{ ` } \zeta\alpha \eta\psi\eta\eta \epsilon\tau\zeta\bar{\mu} \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\text{-}$
 $\varsigma\omicron\varsigma \mid \quad \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \bar{\eta}\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu} \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon \chi\epsilon \epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\bar{\nu} \mid \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma \chi\epsilon \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu} \text{ `}$
 $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\bar{\nu} \text{ ` } \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma \chi\epsilon \text{ ` } \text{†}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \quad \epsilon\tau\upsilon\epsilon \tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\zeta\bar{\rho}\tau\epsilon \delta\epsilon \alpha\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\pi \text{ ` } \mid \bar{\eta}\text{-}$
 30 $\tau\alpha\rho\iota\psi\iota\pi\epsilon \text{ ` } \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma \delta\epsilon \eta\alpha\gamma \text{ ` } \zeta\bar{\eta} \omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\mid\alpha\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu} \chi\epsilon \eta\iota\mu \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\chi\omega$
 $\eta\alpha\kappa \text{ ` } \bar{\mu}\mid\pi\omega\iota\pi\epsilon \bar{\eta}\text{ ` } \text{†}\alpha\kappa \text{ ` } \tau\alpha\alpha\gamma \zeta\omega\eta\kappa \text{ ` } \epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\iota \chi\epsilon \mid \alpha\kappa \text{ ` } \omicron\gamma\psi\mid\mu \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\bar{\mu} \pi\iota\text{-}$
 $\psi\eta\eta \text{ ` } \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma \mid \chi\epsilon \tau\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\mid\epsilon \mid \bar{\eta}\text{ ` } \text{†}\alpha\kappa \text{ ` } \tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma \eta\alpha\epsilon\iota \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon\eta\mid\tau\alpha\varsigma\text{ ` } \text{†}$
 $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota \alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\mu} \text{ ` } \tau\omicron\tau\mid\epsilon \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\mid\gamma \bar{\eta}\mid\tau\mid\eta \text{ ` } * \chi\epsilon \omicron\gamma \pi\epsilon \pi\alpha\epsilon\iota \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\text{-}$
 $\alpha\alpha\gamma \text{ ` } \alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\beta} \pi\epsilon\mid\chi\alpha\varsigma \chi\epsilon \pi\rho\epsilon\gamma \text{ ` } \tau\alpha\mu\omicron \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\sigma\tau \text{ ` } \alpha\zeta\iota\text{-}$
 $\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\mu} \text{ ` }$
- *p. 120¹
 (168 Bö.)
- 5 $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \alpha\eta\alpha\rho\chi\omega\bar{\nu} \epsilon\iota \psi\alpha \pi\rho\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\mid\mu\omicron \quad \alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda \text{ ` } \bar{\rho} \zeta\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\bar{\eta} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\iota\text{-}$ § 104
 $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma \text{ ` } \parallel \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\beta} \beta\omicron\mu \bar{\eta}\bar{\rho} \lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma \eta\alpha\gamma \text{ ` } \alpha\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\rho\gamma \text{ ` } \mid \zeta\omega\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\omicron \bar{\eta}\text{-}$
 $\alpha\tau\beta\omicron\mu$
- 10 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\omega\varsigma \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota \psi\alpha \tau\varsigma\zeta\iota\mid\mu\epsilon \alpha\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\rho\bar{\varsigma} \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \eta\epsilon\varsigma\psi\eta\eta\epsilon \quad \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\alpha \mid$ § 104
 $\tau\varsigma\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon \text{ ` } \alpha\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\rho \text{ ` } \alpha\delta\alpha\bar{\mu} \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\zeta \epsilon\tau\upsilon\eta\tau\gamma \text{ ` } \mid \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma \quad \alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\zeta\omega\beta \eta\iota\mu \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\parallel\omicron\upsilon\gamma \alpha\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\rho\gamma$
- 10 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma \bar{\eta}\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\mid\tau\omicron\gamma \quad \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta} \beta\omicron\mu \bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\chi\pi\epsilon \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\bar{\nu} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\bar{\mu} \mid$ § 104
 $\pi\pi\omicron\eta\eta\rho\bar{\nu}$

(§§ 105–109) PAP.

16–17 Sah. $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$. . . $\alpha\eta\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$.

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

120:4 Sah. $\alpha\eta\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda$.

32 cf. Gen 3:11 ἀπὸ τοῦ ζύλου . . . ἔφαγεν 33 $\bar{\eta}\text{ ` } \text{†}\alpha\kappa$: η is definite, superlin. stroke restored 34 $\bar{\eta}$: superlin. stroke is definite, η restored $[\tau]\eta$ sim. rest. Wisse

120:8 $\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\rho$: ζ added above the line

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(§§ 112–133) PAP.

14–15 Sah. **Τ**ΕΥΖΗ... **Ν̄**ΤΕΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ.

18 Sah. **Ε**ΠΟΥΑΔΑΜ. 23–24 Sah. **Ε**ΝΕΥΚΤΙCΜΑ.

27 i.e. **Ν**ΟΥΑ (Böhlig emends thus) **Ε**ΒΟΛ **Ν̄**ΖΗΤ̄Ν. 30 i.e. **Ν̄**ΨΕΙ. 33 i.e. **Π**ΕΝΕΟΟΥ.

18 <ε>ΔΥ Böhlig

24 **Κ**ΤΙCΜΑ : [ΚΤΙCΜΑ] ΤΗΡΟΥ[Υ - - -] ?Or.4926(1) 25 **Α**ΓΩΝΙΑ : **Α**ΓΝΩCΙΑ em. Bethge, poss. rightly 29 **Μ**ΗΠΩC : used like **Μ̄**ΨΟΤΕ : [- - - Μ̄]ΠΟΤ[ε - - -] Or.4926(1) : cf. Gen 3:22 LXX **Μ̄**ΨΟΤΕ 32 sim. rest. Böhlig 33 rest. Böhlig 34 sim. rest. Böhlig **Ψ**ΝΑΡ̄ : ρ is definite, superlinear stroke restored 34–35 **Μ̄**||**Μ̄**|**Ο**Ν **Μ̄**Ν - - -] rest. Böhlig 35 [- - - **Π̄**Ν̄**Κ**Ο]CΜΟC Layton (cf. 120:33) : [- - - **Π**ΚΟ]CΜΟC Böhlig

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

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

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

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

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

10 ζ̄ΝΖΩΝ̄ ḡκωζτ̄ | εΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ ΑΥῶ ΑΥΚῶ || ḡ-
ΟΥΣΗϞΕ ḡΣΑΤΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΜΗΤΕ ΕΣΚ[ω]Τ̄Ϟ | ḡḡΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ Ζ̄ḡḡΟΥΝΟΣ ḡΖ̄ΡΤΕ
ϞΙΝΑ [χ]Ϟ | ΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΕΝΕΖ Ζ̄ḡ <ḡ>ḡḡḡΚΑΣ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ̄ | ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ
ΕΤḡḡΜΑΥ

15 ḡḡḡḡḡΣΑ ΝΑΕΙ ḡΤΑ|ḡΕ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ̄ ΚΩΖ ΑΑΔΑΜ ΑΥΟΥΩΨ ḡΣΩΧḡ || ḡ-
ΝΟΥΧΡΟΝΟΣ ḡΠΟΥΩḡḡ ḡΟΜ ΕΤΒΕ Χ|ḡΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑἸ ΧΙΝ ḡ-
ΨΟΡḡ ḡ ΑΥḡΖΟΡΙΣΕ ΓΑΡ ḡḡΝΟΥΧΡΟΝΟΣ ḡΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ | ΨΟ ḡΡΟΜΠΕ

20 ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΡΟΜΟΣ ḡḡḡḡḡ ΟΥ|ΟΕΙΝ ḡΠΟΥΩḡḡ ḡΟΜ ΔΕ ḡḡΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ̄ ||
ΔΕΙΡΕ ḡΠΑΕΙ ḡ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ Ζ̄ḡ ΝΕἴḡḡΕ ḡ|ḡΠΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΑḡΣΩΧḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ-
ΡΟΜΠΕ | ΑΥῶ ΠΕἸΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΡϞ ḡ ḡḡΨΙΤ ḡ ḡΨΕ ΜΑ|ΑΒΕ ḡΡΟΜ-
ΠΕ ΑΥῶ ΝΑΕΙ Ζ̄ḡ ΟΥΛΥΠΗ Μḡ | ΟΥḡḡḡḡḡΩΒ ΑΥῶ Ζ̄ḡ Ζ̄ḡΠΕΡΙΣΠΑΣ-
25 ΜΟΣ || ḡΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΑΥῶ ḡḡΕΕΙΖΕ ΧΙΜ ΠΖΟΥ | ΕΤḡḡΜΑΥ ΑΠΒΙΟΣ
ḡΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ ΨΑ ΤΣΥΝ̄ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡΠΑΙΩΝ

ΤΟΤΕ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΖΩΗ ḡΤΑ|ḡΕΣΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ̄ ḡΠΚΑΚΕ ΧΕ ΑΥ|ΣΖΟΥΨ
30 ΝΕΣΩΒḡḡΕΙΝΕ ΑΣḡΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ || ΑΥῶ ḡḡΑḡΕΣΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ḡ ΤΨΟΡḡ ḡḡΠΕ
Μḡ | ΔΥḡḡḡḡḡ ΝΙΜ ḡ ḡḡḡḡḡΚΕ ḡḡΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ̄ Ε|ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ḡ [ḡΟΥḡ]ΠḡḡΕ ΑΥῶ
ΑΣΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΠ|ḡḡḡ ΕΠΚΟ[ΣΜΟ]Σ ḡḡḡḡḡ ΝΟΒΕ ΨΙΝḡ ΕΥ|ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ḡḡΜΑΥ ḡ-
35 ΘΕ ḡḡḡ [Δ]ḡḡḡḡḡ || ḡΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΖΙΧḡ ΠΚΑΖ

*p. 122¹
(170 B⁶.)

[. . . 8:10½ . . .] * ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΤΨΟ ḡΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΖḡ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΣ |
ΕḡΝΑΑΥ ḡΠΟΥΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΟΥΖΩΝ̄ ḡḡḡḡΨΥΧΟΝ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ḡ ΧΕ ΦΟΙ-
5 ΝΙΖ ΨΑϞḡḡΟΟΥḡ ḡ ΟΥΑΑḡ ḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ || ḡΠΟΥΖΑΠ ΧΕ
ΑΥḡΑΔΙΚΕΙ ḡΑΔΑΜ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡΠΑΙΩΝ

< - - - > ΨΟΜḡ | ḡḡḡḡḡ ΝΕ ḡ ΑΥῶ ΝΕḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ-
ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ḡΠΑΙΩ(Ν) | Μḡ ΠΨΥἸΚΟΣ Μḡ ΠΧΟἸΚΟΣ

121 :10 Sah. τεḡḡḡḡḡ. 11 i.e. ζ̄ḡ οḡḡḡḡ.

17 i.e. ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

19 i.e. εḡΠΟΥΨ.

32 Sah. νεḡḡḡḡḡ.

122 :1 i.e. πḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ (Böhlig emends thus). 2 i.e. εḡḡḡḡḡḡ (Böhlig emends thus).

5 Sah. ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

8 i.e. πḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ (Böhlig emends thus). 9 i.e. ψḡḡḡḡḡḡ

121 :10 κ[ω]ḡḡ : cf. Gen 3:24 LXX στρεφομένην 11 ḡḡḡḡ [χ]Ϟ : cf. 118:22 12 <ḡ>
Bethge (cf. 103:19, 107:26) : <ḡ> Böhlig

21 αḡḡḡḡḡ <ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ> Bethge

28 ḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡ : prob. emend to ḡḡḡ ḡ 32 [- - - ḡḡḡḡḡ : for the form cf. 112:17,
115:30, 123:5, 126:29 33 sim. rest. Böhlig 34 sim. rest. Böhlig

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

122:7 his : or, its

- 10 ται τε θε ε̄||ψομτ` μφοινιζ` <μ>παραδεισος ψωρπ` | [ο § 11`
 ἡ]θάνατος πμαζснау ψαϕ̄ ψο ρ̄ρομπε πμαζωμ`τ` ϕηζ
 ζἡ χιερα βιβλος χε ψαγούομ̄
- 15 τειζε ον ογ̄ἡ | ψομτ` ἡχωκ̄μ̄ ψοοπ` ψωρπ` πε πνευ||ματι- § 118
 κον πμαζснау ογκωζτ πε πμαζ|ψομτ` ουμοου πε
 ἡθε μφοινιζ` εϕ`|ογονζ εβολ ζωσ μἡτρε ἡἡαγγελος | ται τε θε § 119
- 20 ἡἡζγδρια ἡμοου ετζἡ κἡμε ασωπε αἡμἡτρε ἡνετβἡκ` απι|τἡ
 απχωκ̄μ̄ ἡνουρωμε ἡαληεινος |
 πμασε снау ετζἡ κἡμε εἡἡταγ ἡμαγ | ἡοἡμἡστηριον πρη μἡ § 120
 ποοζ εἡψο|οπ` αἡμἡτρε ἡсаваδωθ̄ χε εзраἡ εχω|ογ ασχι ἡσι τσο-
 25 φια ἡπκοσμος χιμ || φοου ἡτασταμιο ἡπρη μἡ ποοζ ασ̄|σφρα-
 ριζε ἡτεςπε ψα ζογἡ` απαιων |
 πϕἡτ δε ἡταγ χποϕ` εβολ ζἡ φοινιζ` | οἡρωμε ανπε ϕηζ § 121
- 30 ετβἡτϕ` χε πα|ικαιος να† οἡω ἡθε ἡνοἡφοινιζ αἡω || φοινιζ`
 ψαϕ`οἡωνζ εβολ ἡψωρπ` εϕ|ονζ αἡω ψαϕμοἡ παλιν ἡϕτωοἡν |
 εἡψοοπ` ἡσἡμειον ἡπενταζοἡωνζ | εβολ ζἡ τσἡντελεια ἡ[παιων]
 35 νεει|νος ἡσἡμειον ἡτα[γἡω]ἡνζ εβολ || ζἡ κἡμ[ε] ογααϕ` ζἡ κε- § 122
 *p. 123¹ χωρα αν εϕη`*μανε χε εστἡτων εππαραδεισος ἡπνοἡ|τε
 (171 Bö.) παλιν μαρἡε| εζοἡν εναρχων ἡ|τανψαχε εροου χεκαας εναρ̄- § 123
 παρζιστα | ἡτοἡαποδιζειс

12 i.e. τψιερα, ἡ ἱερά.

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

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

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

123:4 Sah. ἡτεγαποδιζειс.

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

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

23 εзраἡ εχωοἡ: poss. corrupt 26 ψα ζογἡ` ατсἡντελεια ἡπαιων Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 Sah. νευπηυε.

16 i.e. ζν ουχι.

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

25 ψα νεειμα : Sah. επειιμα.

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

123:7 εζαζ νε is expected

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

χε αψτα ψωπε εβολ ζ̄ν τμε ζραΐ ζ̄ν να|ωϞ̄ μ̄ν πογκοσμος ετβε
παϊ ἡταρεϞ̄ οϞ̄|ωψ αοωσϞ̄ ἡἄρχων ἡπτακο ζιτν νοϞ̄|πλασμα

10 αϞ̄σοοϞ̄ ἡνετῆεινε εζραΐ επκοσ||μος ἡπτακο ετε ναει νε ἡπῆἄ ἡ-
βαλζητ̄ | ἡκοϞ̄ει ἡμακαριος σεο αν ἡψῆμο ετ̄ ἡνωσικ

τηνωσικ γαρ τηρ̄ ζ̄ννοαγ̄ ἡελοσ | † ετοϞ̄ονζ εβολ ζι τοϞ̄ε-

§ 131

ζη παει οϞ̄ατσομ̄ | αν πε ἡναζρῆ πειωτ̄ ἄψ αϞ̄>† ναϞ̄ ἡ-

15 τηνω||σικ {τηνωσικ γαρ τηρ̄ ζ̄ννοαγ̄ ἡελοσ | ετοϞ̄ονζ εβολ ἄ ζι
τοϞ̄εζη παει οϞ̄ατσομ̄ | αν πε ἡναζρῆ πειωτ̄ ἄψ α† ναϞ̄ ἡ-
τηνω|σικ}

ἡτεϞ̄ου εϞ̄αοϞ̄ωνζ εβολ ζῆ πκοσ|μος ἡπτακο σεναδωλῆ

§ 132

20 εβολ ἡψορῆ ἡ||πτυπος ἡτμῆτ̄ ατ̄ τακο αϞ̄κατακρισικ | ἡἄρχων μ̄ν
νοϞ̄δϞ̄ναμικ

ἡταρε ἡμα|καριος δε οϞ̄ωνζ εβολ ἄ ζῆ πλασμα ἡε|ζοϞ̄σικ αϞ̄κωζ

§ 133

εροοϞ̄ ανεζοϞ̄σικ δε ετβε | πκωζ αϞ̄τωζ ἡνοϞ̄σπερμα ἡῆμαϞ̄

25 ατροϞ̄||σαζμοϞ̄ ἡποϞ̄ψδῆ σομ̄

ἡμακαριος̄ | δε ἡταροϞ̄ωνζ εβολ ζῆνοϞ̄οειν κατα | διαφορα

§ 134

αϞ̄οϞ̄ωνζ εβολ αϞ̄ ποϞ̄α ποϞ̄α | ἡζητοϞ̄ εβολ ζῆ ποϞ̄καζ αϞ̄-

30 δωλῆ εβολ | ἡτοϞ̄ηνωσικ ἡτεκ̄ ἡκῆσικ ἡταζοϞ̄ωνζ || εβολ ζῆἡῆ-

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

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

21 i.e. νεϞ̄δϞ̄ναμικ.

26 i.e. ἡταροϞ̄οϞ̄ωνζ . . . ζ̄ν οϞ̄οϞ̄οειν. 28–29 Sah. πεϞ̄καζ . . . ἡτεϞ̄ηνωσικ. 30 i.e. ζ̄ν ἡῆ-

13 † ετοϞ̄ονζ : emend to εϞ̄οϞ̄ονζ (thus Böhlig) 13–14 παει οϞ̄ατσομ̄ | αν πε ἡ-
ναζρῆ πειωτ̄ ἄψ α† pap. : παει ἡναζρῆ πειωτ̄ ἄψ οϞ̄ατσομ̄ αν πε α† em. Bethge
432 14 αϞ̄> Layton 15–18 {τηνωσικ . . . ἡτηνωσικ} : erroneously repeated by
copyist

22 ζῆ <ῆ>πλασμα em. Bethge, poss. rightly ἡεζοϞ̄σικ : poss. for ἡἡεζοϞ̄σικ
(Bethge emends thus) : cf. on 111:23

28–29 εβολ ζῆ ποϞ̄καζ αϞ̄δωλῆ εβολ ἡ : <αϞ̄οϞ̄ωνζ> εβολ ζῆ ποϞ̄καζ αϞ̄δωλῆ
εβολ ἡ em. Oeyen 133 : αϞ̄οϞ̄ω[η]ζ αβαλ [ῆπκα]ζ αϞ̄δωλῆ αβαλ ἡ Or.4926(1) 29 ἡ-
τοϞ̄ηνωσικ : ἡτεϞ̄η[η]ψϞ̄[ι]Ϟ̄ Or.4926(1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

125:17 nothing : *or*, no one

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

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

(§ 140) PAP., OR.4926(1).

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

(§§ 142–150) PAP.

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

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

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

126:7 Sah. ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.

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

32 rest. Wisse, Bethge

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

126:5 ΑΡΧΕΙ ἸCΕΨΤΟΡΤῤ : poss. corrupt : ΑΡΧΕΙἸΨΤΟΡΤῤ em. Bethge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13–14 i.e. οϋ̄ν οϋ- . . . ζ̄ν οϋ-.

23–26 Sah. τεϋαδικια . . . νεϋερηϋ . . . μ̄πεϋαρχιγενετΨρ̄.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 10 ἀγω περοογ ᾠπαγεν|νητος ναογωνζ εβολ ἀγω φναμογζ | ᾠ- § 149
 ναιων τηρογ ερωα τπροφητεια μᾠ | χιστορια ᾠνετο ᾠρρο σωλπᾠ
 εβολ ἀγω | ᾠσχωκᾠ εβολ ζιτᾠ νετογμογτε εροογ || χε τελειος
 νετε ᾠπογᾠ τελειος δε | ζᾠ παγεν<νη>τος ειωτᾠ σенаχιᾠ ᾠνογ-
 ε|οογ ζᾠ νογαιων ἀγω ζᾠ ᾠμντᾠ ᾠ|νατμογ сенавωκᾠ δε αν
 ενεζ εζογν | ετμᾠτ атᾠρο
 15 ζαπᾠ γαρ ετρε ογон nimᾠ || βωκᾠ εптоπος ᾠтаχει εβολ ᾠ- § 150
 ζητᾠ поγ|а γαρ πογα εβολ ζᾠ τεφπραζис μᾠ τεφ|γνωсис наσωλπᾠ
 εβολᾠ ᾠτεφφγсис:

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

11 ἀγεν<νη>τος Böhlig

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

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

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

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

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

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

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

p. 50*^{10 up}

[ε]πιδη οyon nim n̄noyte m̄pkocmoc ay(ω) | [p̄]ρωμε σεχω m̄moc
xe m̄n λααγ ψοοπ` z[α] | τζη m̄πχαος ανοκ n̄δε †naḗapaοικnye |
xe ayḗplana τηροϋ ενσεσοϋν ^{vacat} | an n̄tcycstacis m̄πχαος m̄n
5^{up} τεφnoyne τα||ει δε τε τ`αποδιζic

εψχε cḗcymφωνει m̄[n̄] | p̄ρωμε τηροϋ ετβε πχαος xe ο[γ]κακε
πε | ογεβολ δε πε z̄n ογzaḗβ[εc ayμοϋτε εροϋ] | xe κα-
κε εzaḗbec δε ο[γει εβολ πε z̄nnoyer]γον εψοοπ` [[z] x̄in
τε[---]

50:8^{up} τζη read in photographs 7^{up} xe read in photographs 6^{up} an read in
photographs 5^{up} ει δε read in photographs

4^{up} p̄ρωμε read in photographs ult. [[z] cancelled by the copyist

APPENDIX TWO
THE BRITISH LIBRARY FRAGMENTS

BENTLEY LAYTON

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 1

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

CAIRO			
CG II	Reading	LONDON READING	DIFFERENCE
102:34	μ[ορϥ]	Ϸωνεζ μμαϥ	diction
102:34	μ[ορϥ] . . . νοϣϥ	Ϸωνεζ μμαϥ . . . [N]ΟΥϣε μμ[αϥ]	syntagm
103:2-3	ν̄ταρε μ̄π̄ηγε . . . σμ̄ν̄του	ν̄τα[ροϥ]σμ̄μ̄ν̄του . . . ν̄[σι] μ̄π̄ηγε	word order
103:3	Ϸομ	[ΔΥ]N[α]M[i]Ϸ	diction
103:4-5	απαρχιγενετωρ ϣιϷε	απα[ρ]χιγε[N]ετωρ αϥϣιϷε	syntagm
103:27-28	ν̄ϥ̄ρεε μ̄πετε μ̄πεϥ-	αϥωκαδ̄ν̄τ[ο]ϥ εϷε μ̄πεϥ-	diction
103:32	σαβ̄αω̄ε . . . ν̄ταρεϥ-	ν̄ταρε Ϸαβα[ω]ε . . . ν̄ταρε[ϥ]-	syntagm
106:16	ετβε παει	ζ̄μ̄ πεει	diction
112:3	ταμιο	τ̄αν̄ο	diction
112:3	ζ̄ν̄νοϷ	ν̄ιναϷ	syntagm
112:4	κααϥ	κϥε μ̄μ[α]ϥ	syntagm
112:4	ατροϥ-	ν̄Ϸε-	syntagm
112:5	αϥω Ϸε-	ν̄Ϸε-	syntagm
112:5-6	ϣωκ εβολ ν̄ζ̄ν̄χημ̄ειον	ειρε ν̄ζ̄ν̄χημ̄ιον	diction
112:7	αϥω ζ̄ν̄νεβατε	μ̄ν̄ ζ̄[ν̄ν]εβατ	diction
115:8	μηπως ν̄ϥ-	[αρη]οϥ ϥ-	diction
116:27-28	αϷ . . . αϷ-	αϷ . . . αϥω αϷ-	syntagm
116:28	ν̄χιοϥε ατοϥν̄ αδαμ	[ατοϥ]ν̄ αδαμ [ν̄χ]ιοϥε	word order
116:30	αϥοϥωζ ν̄ϷωϷ	[αϥο]ϥαζοϥ ν̄[ϷωϷ]	diction
117:22	ζαρμοϷε εζοϥν̄ ε-	[Ϸ]ετατϥ α-	diction
117:23	αϥω	[α]ϥω μ̄ν̄	diction
120:29	μηπως ν̄Ϸε-	[μη]ποτ[ε ν̄Ϸε-]	diction
124:28-30	αϥ . . . αϥ-	αϥ . . . [αϥω αϥ-]	syntagm
125:20	ατροϥ-	α-	syntagm
125:20	οϥωνεζ εβολ ζ̄μ̄-	(ο)ϥν̄ε . . . αβα[λ]	syntagm
125:22	τεειζε "thus"	τεει τε εε	diction

COPTIC MUSEUM CG II

§§ 22–23

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

BRIT. LIB. OR.4926(1)

Fr. i (Oeyen)

fibers ↓

1 ἀσσωνεζ ᾠμαϋ ἀς[Ν]οϋχε ᾠμ[αϋ ἀπταρτα]-
ρον ᾠμ φοου ετᾠμεϋ ατσοφι[α ᾠᾶλλα]-

βαϷθ· ἀσσᾠᾠτ̄ τη[ε ᾠ]ᾠ ᾠκαζ ᾠτα[ροϋ]-
σμᾠᾠτοϋ ᾠδε ᾠ[σι] ᾠπηγε ᾠᾠ νο[ϋδϋ]-

5 ᾠ[α]ᾠ[ι]ς ᾠᾠ τοϋδ[ιοικησις τηρς το[τε]
ἀπα[ρ]χιγε[Ν]ετωρ ἀϷιξε ᾠμαϋ ἀϋ-
Ϸ ἀϷοϷϷ[οϋ] ᾠμαϋ ζιτᾠ τστρατεια ᾠ-
ᾠᾠ[γγελοσ ἀϋ]ᾠ ᾠνοϋτε τηροϋ ᾠᾠ νοϋ-
[- - -] . [.] . [.] ᾠνεϷ[. .]

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

The lines are laid out as in the manuscript.

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

Fr. ii

fibers →. The other side of Fr. i.

- 1 [- - - ΝΕΤḂ]ΖΒΗΟΥΕ ΣΕΝ[Α]Ρ̄ΚΑΤΑΛ[ΥΕ]
 [Ḃ]ΠΩΤΑ ΤΗΡϣ ΠΕΕΙ ḂΤΑΖΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΒΑΛ
 [ΖḂ] ΤΜΗΕ ΑΥΩ ΚΑḂΝΤ[Ο]Υ ΕΣΧΕ ḂΠΕϣ-
 [ϣ]ΩΠΕ ΝΕΕΙ ΝΕ ḂΤΑΣΧΟΟΥ Ḃ† ΤΠΙΣΤΙC
 5 [Α]ΥΩ ΑΣΘΖΒΕ ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΠΕ[Σ]ἸΝΕ ΖḂ Ḃ[Ḃ]-
 ΜΟΥΕΙΔΥΕΙΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΣḂΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΑΖΡΗΕΙ
 ΑΠΕCΟΥΑΕΙΝ ḂΤΑΡΕ ΣΑΒΑ[Ω]ΘḂ ḂΔΕ ΠΩΗ-
 ΡΕ ḂἸΑΛΔΑΒΑΘΕ ḂΤΑΡΕ[ϣΣΩ]ḂḂ ΑΤΠΙΣΤΙC
 ΑϣḂΖΥΜΝΕΙ ΑΡΑC Α[ϣ - - -]... [2.3.]

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

ii 1 Ḃ : ϣ not definite, superlin. stroke restored 3 palaeographically the most obvious reading would be ḂΝΤḂΕ ΕCΧΕ: also palaeographically possible are ḂΝ ΤḂΕ ΕCΧΕ and ḂΝ Τ ΧΕCΧΕ; the reading is obscured by bits of glued-over papyrus and (poss.) offset 4 Ḃ† : expected is ḂΕΙ (poss. emend thus) 9 letter traces very indistinct

§§ 35–36

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

Fr. iia

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

- 1 [. .]ϺΥΜ[- - -]
 [.]ΔΙΟΣΥΝ[- - -]
 ζῆ̄ π̄ε̄ει Ϻ[- - -]
 ἀ ἀζε ἀρ[.]τ[- - -]
- 5 [. .] . . . [- - -]
 [. . .] Ϻ[- - -]

Restoration of Fr. iia by Dr. Oeyen:

- 1 [αζ]ϺΥΜ[ΟΥΤΕ ΔΟΥΝΕΜ ΧΕ ΤΔΙ]-
 [κ]ΔΙΟΣΥΝ[Η ΒΒΟΥΡ ΧΕ ΤΑΔΙΚΙΑ]
 ζῆ̄ π̄ε̄ει Ϻ[Ε ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ Μ̄Ν ΤΑΔΙΚΙ]-
- ἀ ἀζε ἀρ[ε]τ[ΟΥ Δ̄Χ̄Ν ΝΟΥΣΩΝΤ ΤΗ]-
- 5 [ΡΟ]Υ ΠΔΡ[ΧΙΓΕΝΕΤΩΡ ΒΕ Μ̄ΠΧΑΟΣ]
 [Ν̄ΤΑ]Ϻ[ΕΥΝΕΥ ΑΠΕΨΩΗΡΕ ΣΑΒΑΘΘ]

§ 62

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

§§ 66–67

p.112²⁷

αγσωβε ἦσα παρχιγενε-

τωρ` xe αγ`|xe βολ εφχω ἦμος xe α-

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

30 ἦταρογει ψα||ροϋ` πεχαγ xe

μη παει πε πνουτε ἦταζ|τακο ἦπῆεργον

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

χεκας νεϋ`ψῆ | βομ ἦτακο ἦπῆεργον

ἄμheitῆ μαρῆ|ταμειο ἦογρωμε εβολ ζῆ πκαζ

etc.

Fr. iv

fibers →. The other side of Fr. iii.

α [- - - παρχιγενε]-
 1 τωρ χ[ε αχχε σ]αλ εϋχϋ [ῃμας χε α]-
 νακ πε [πνοϋτε] ῃῃ σε ψο[οπ ρ]ι ταε[ζη]
 τοτε ρα[γει αρο]ϋν ψαραϋ παχεϋ [χε]
 μη η[εει πε πη]οϋτ[ε - - -]... [- - -]
 5 ρ . [.] .. [- - - τ]ετῃ[οϋω]-
 ψε [- - -]... [- - -]
 αμητῃ [ῃτῃτανο ῃοϋρωμε αβ]αλ ῃπκ[αζ]

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

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

§ 80

p.115^{4,5} εαϣχι μορ||φη ν̄θε ν̄νιζου-
 ze em̄n pneuma n̄zhtq` | etve peizwb n̄tare
 πνοσ ν̄αρχων | ῥ̄ πμεεγε ῃπψα-
 xe n̄tπictic αq̄p̄ zote | mh-
 πως ν̄φι ν̄βι πρ̄μ̄με εζογν` επεα`|πλασμα
 ν̄q̄p̄ χοεις εχωα`` etc.

Fr. iva

fibers →

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

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

1 ἀ[- - - ΝΙΖΟΥ] -
	ζε ε[ΜΝ	- - -]
	πναϛ Ν[ΑΡΧΩΝ	- - - ΜΠΩΕ] -
	χε ἀ[ϛ]̄ [ΖΑΤΕ	- - - ΑΡΗ] -
5	ογ ϛ[εΙ Ν̄ΣΙ	- - -]
	α ϛ[̄ ΧΑΕΙΣ	- - -]

§§ 90–91

p.116²⁶

ασσωβε ἦσα

τοῦγνω|μη` ας† ελαστῆ̄ ενουβαλ

ασκω ἦμαγ | ἦπεσεινε ἦχιουε ατοῦῆ̄ αδαμ`

ασβωκ` | εζοῦν επωην ἦτγνωσις ασβω

30 ἦμαγ || ἦτοοῦ δε αγωωζ ἦσως ασουωηζ

etc.

Fr. ivb

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

Fr. v

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

(a)	(b)
1 [- - -	- - -]... [- - -]
το[υγ]νω[μη - - -	- - -].. [. . . .].. [- - -]
ακωε $\bar{\mu}$ πεζ[εινε	ατογ] $\bar{\nu}$ αδαμ [ν $\bar{\nu}$ χ]!ογϛ
αγω αςβω[κ αζογν	απω]ην $\bar{\nu}$ τ[γνωσι]ς α[ςβω]
5 $\bar{\nu}$ ζητη $\bar{\nu}$ [ταχ $\bar{\nu}$ δε	αγο]γαζογ $\bar{\nu}$ [ςως] αζογ[ωνζ]
<i>bottom margin</i>	

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

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

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

Fr. vi

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

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

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

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

§ 104

p.119⁷

αϛϛωψτ` εζοϣν |

ζ̄μ πψην αϛναϣ εροϣ ϛε νεϛωϣ αϣω |

10 οϣλεζαζ πε αϛμεριτϣ` αϛϛι εβολ ζ̄μ || πεϣ-

καρπος αϛοϣωμ` αϛ† μ̄πεϛκ[ε]|ζαϊ αϣ`οϣωμ`

ζωωϣ` τοτε αποϣνοϣς | οϣων ἄταροϣοϣωμ` γαρ αποϣ-

οειν | ἄτγνωϛιϛ ρ̄ οϣοειν ναϣ ἄταροϣ† ζω|οϣ

15 μ̄πψιπε αϣειμε ϛε νεϣκακαζηϣ ||

ατγνωϛιϛ ἄταροϣῤ̄νηφε αϣναϣ εροοϣ |

ϛε σεκακαζηϣ αϣμῤ̄ρε νοϣερηϣ ἄτα|

ροϣναϣ ἀνοϣπλαϛτηϛ ειϛ.

Fr. vii

fibers →

1 [- - -]ζΟΥΝ
 [- - -]. εΙ
 [- - -]. πεϋ
 [- - -]ωΜ
 5 [- - -]. ΠΟΥ
 [- - -]. ΧΟΑ
 [- - -]ΚΑΖΗΥ
 [- - -]ΡΑΥ
 [- - -].

Fr. viii

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. vii.

1 ΤΟ[- - -]
 ζ[- - -]
 Ν[- - -]
 Α[- - -]
 5 ζ[- - -]
 .. [- - -]
 . [- - -]
 ϸ[- - -]

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

1 [- - - α]ζΟΥΝ
 [ζ̄Μ ΠΩΗΝ - - -]. εΙ
 [- - - ΑΒΑΛ ζ̄]Μ ΠΕϋ-
 [ΚΑΡΠΟΣ - - - ΑϸΟΥ]ωΜ
 5 [ζωϋ - - -]ΑΠΟΥ-
 [ΔΕΙΝ ΝΤΓΝΩΣΙC - - -]. ΧΟΑ
 [- - - ΝΕΥΚΗ]ΚΑΖΗΥ
 [ΑΤΓΝΩΣΙC - - - ΑΥΝΕΥ Α]ΡΑΥ
 [ΧΕ - - - ΝΤ]Α-
 9a [ΡΟΥΝΕΥ - - -]

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

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

viii 1 ΤΟ[τε ΝΔε ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ - - -] Oeyen, comparing Copt. Mus. CG II 119:34 ΤΟΥ[ε
 ΠΕΧΑ]Υ Ν[Τ]Η ΧΕ etc.

§§ 110–111

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

Fr. ix

fibers →

1 . ε[- - -]
 ΤΗΡΟ[- - -]
 ΑΔΑΜ[- - -]
 ΑΖΟΥΧ[- - -]
 5 αψω[- - -]
 ΤΔ[- - -]
 ΠΟΤ[- - -]
 ΜΠ[- - -]
 Μ[- - -]

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

1 . ε[- - - αϣ† ΡΕΝ ΑΝΟΥΚΤΙCΜΑ]
 ΤΗΡΟ[Υ ΑΖΟΥΨΤΑΡΤΡ ΧΕ ΑΨΡ̄ΝΗΦΕ Ν̄CΙ]
 ΑΔΑΜ [ΑΒΑΛ Ζ̄Ν ΑΓΩΝΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΑΖΟΥCΩΟΥΖ]
 ΑΖΟΥΧ[Ι CΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ ΕΙC ΑΔΑΜ]
 5 αψω[ΠΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥCΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ Μ̄ΜΑΝ ΑΤΡΕΨΜ̄ΜΕ Ν̄]-
 ΤΔ[ΙΑΦΟΡΑ Μ̄ΠΟΥΑΕΙΝ Μ̄Ν ΠΚΕΚΕ †ΝΟΥ ΜΗ]-
 ΠΟΤ[Ε Ν̄CΕΡ̄ ΖΕΛ Μ̄ΜΑϣ - - - Ν̄ΘΕ]
 ΜΠ[ΨΗΝ Ν̄ΤΓΝΩCΙC Ν̄ΨΕΙ ΔΝ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΨΗΝ]
 Μ[ΠΩΝΖ - - -]

§ 134

p.124²⁷

αὐτὸ ποῦ-

α ποῦα | ἄζητοῦ εβολ

ζῆ ποῦκαζ αὐδωλπ᾽ εβολ | ἄτοῦγνωσις

30 ἄτεκ ᾽κλησία ἄταζοῦωνζ || εβολ ζῆνῆπ-
 λασμα ἄπτακο᾽ αὐγε εἶρος εἰῆτασ
 σπερμα νιμ᾽ εἶτε ἄ[ς]περμα ἄεζοῦ-
 σία ἄταζτω[ζ ἄμμας] το[τ]ε | πσωτηρ᾽
 etc.

§§ 139–141

p.125¹⁷

MÑ ΠΕ-

ΘΗΠ` ΕΤΟΥ|ΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ

ΜΠΟΥΣΟΥΩΝΗ` | ΣΕΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΗ` ΝΔΕΙ ΔΕ

20 ΔΥΤÑΝΟΟΥΣΕ || ΔΤΡΟΥΟΥΩΝΖ` ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΠΕΘΗΠ` ΜÑ |

ΤΣΑΨΨΕ ÑΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΧΑΟΣ ΜÑ

ΤΟΥ|ΜÑΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΔΥΩ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΔΥ-

ΚΑΤΑΚΡΙ|ΝΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ Ñ-

25 ΤΑΡΕ ÑΤΕΛΕΙ|ΟΣ ΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖÑ ΜΠΛΑΣ||ΜΑ

Fr. xiii

fibers →

1] . [

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

Fr. xiv

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. xiii.

1] . . [

] . . [

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

Fr. xv

fibers →. The readings are confused by offset.

1 ἄ[- - -]

. [- - -]

ΤΑΡΟΥΝ[- - -]

α . α . . [- - -]

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

Fr. xvi

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

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

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

Fr. xvii

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

1 [- - -] ΟΝ ΣΙΝ [- - -]

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

Fr. xviii

fibers →

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

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

Fr. xix

fibers ↓. The other side of Fr. xviii.

1 [- - -] . .
 [- - -] γϕγ
 [- - -] . γ̄M
 [- - -] εcci

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

Fr. xx

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

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

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

Fr. xxi

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

1] . [
] . [

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

Fr. xxii

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

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

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

Fr. xxiii

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

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



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

Fr. xxiv

fibers ↓

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



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

Fr. xxv

fibers →. The other side of Fr. xxiv.

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

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

Fr. xxvi

fibers ↓

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

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

Fr. xxvii

fibers →. The other side of Fr. xxvi.

1] . . [

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

Fr. s.n.

Both sides of this fragment are blank.

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

TRANSLATION

Frg. i

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

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

Frg. ii

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

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

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

Frg. iia (hypothetical restoration)

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

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

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

Frg. iii

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

Frg. iv

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

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

Frg. iva (hypothetical restoration)

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

Frg. ivb

(Untranslatable.)

Frg. v

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

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

iii 1 (§ 62) who (?): *text damaged*

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

Frg. vi

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

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

Frg. vii (doubtful restoration)

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

Frg. viii

(Untranslatable.)

Frg. ix (hypothetical restoration)

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

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

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

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

Frg. x

(Untranslatable.)

Frg. xi

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

Frg. xii

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

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

141. [. . . when] . . .

Fragments xiii-xxvii

(Untranslatable.)

TRACTATE 6

THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL

INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM C. ROBINSON, JR.

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

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

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

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

¹ Also known as *Exegesis on the Soul*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Edited in volume I.

³ Edited in volume I.

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THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

p. 127¹⁸

ΤΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ |

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

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

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

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

AUXILIARY NOTES

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

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

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

THE EXPOSITORY TREATISE ON THE SOUL

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM C. ROBINSON, JR.

Expository Treatise on the Soul'

p. 127¹⁸

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

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

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

ζΜΖΑΛ̄ ΝΑΥ` | ΝΘΕ Ν̄ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΠΟΥΜΑ Ν̄ΓΚΟΤΚ` | ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΨΙ-
 ΠΕ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΜΑΣΤΟΛΜΑ | ΕΚΑΔΥ Ν̄CΩC Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΨΑΓΑΠΑΤΑ Μ̄|ΜΟC
 15 Ν̄ΝΟΥΝΟC Ν̄ΧΡΟΝΟC Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙΖΑ||ΕΙ ΕΤ̄ΝΖΟΤ Ν̄Ρ̄Μ̄ΜΜΕ ΖΩC ΕΨΧΕ ΕΥΤΙΜΑ
 | Μ̄ΜΟC ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΘΖΑΗ Ν̄ΝΑΕΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ | ΨΑΥΚΑΑC Ν̄CΩΟΥ Ν̄CΕΒΩΚ
 Ν̄ΤΟC ΔΕ ΨΑ|ΡΕCΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΧΗΡΑ Ν̄ΖΗΚΕ Ν̄ΕΡΗΜΟC` | ΕΜ̄ΝΤΑC ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ
 20 Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΨΑΥΜΑ||ΑΧΕ Μ̄ΝΤΑ||ϰ||ϰ|` ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕCΜ̄ΚΑΖ Μ̄|
 ΠΕCΘ̄Ν̄ ΖΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΛΛΑΔΥ Ν̄ΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΜΗ|ΤΙ ΑΝΧΩΖ̄Μ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΝΑC Ζ̄Μ̄
 ΠΤΡΟΥΡ̄|ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑC ΑΥΩ ΝΕΝΤΑC ΧΠΟ|ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΜΟΙΧΟC
 25 Ν̄ΚΩΦΟC ΝΕ ΑΥ||Ω Ζ̄Ν̄Β̄ΛΛΑΔΥ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ CΕΟ Ν̄Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΛΑΧ|
 ΛΕΧ` ΠΟΥΖΗΤ` ΠΟΥC̄

ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΨΑ(Ν) | ΠΕΙΩΤ` ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ C̄Μ̄ ΠΕCΨΙΝΕ Ν̄|ϰCΩΨΤ`
 30 ΕΠΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΧΩC Ν̄ϰΝΑΥ ΕΡΟC ΕCΕ|Ψ ΕΖΟΜ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΕCΠΑΘΟC Μ̄Ν̄ ΤΑCΧΗΜΟ|
 CΥΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΕCΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΤΕCΠΟΡ`|ΝΕΙΑ Ν̄ΤΑCΑΑC ΑΥΩ Ν̄CΑΡΧΕΙ Ν̄-
 Ν̄Ρ̄Ε|ΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ (Ν̄Ρ̄ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ) ΕΖΡΑ`Ι ΕΠ[ΕϰΡ]ΑΝ | ΑΤΡΕϰ̄Ρ̄ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΝΑC Ε[ϰ-
 35 Π]ΕCΙΖΗΤ` ΤΗΡϰ` ΕCΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟ[ϰ ΧΕ ΜΑ]ΤΟΥΧΟ||ΕΙ ΠΑΕΙΨΤ` ΧΕ
 *p. 129¹ ΕΙCΖΗΗΤ̄ ϰ̄ΝΑϰ̄ ΛΟΓΟC | [ΝΑΚ ΧΕ ΑΖΙΚΩ] Ν̄CΩΕΙ Μ̄ΠΑΝΕΙ ΑΥΩ` *
 ΑΖΙΠΩΤ` ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΑΠΑΡ`ΘΕΝΩΝ ΠΑΛΙ(Ν) | ΤΚΤΟΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΚ` ΖΟ-
 ΤΑΝ ΕΨΩΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟC | ΕCΨΟΟΠ` Μ̄ΠΕΕΙCΜΟΤ` ΤΟΤΕ ϰ̄ΝΑΡ̄ΚΡΙΝΕ | ΑΑC
 5 Ν̄ΑΖΙΟC ΑΤΡΕϰ̄ΝΑ ΝΑC ΧΕ ΝΑΨΕ Μ̄ΜΟΚ ΖC|| Ν̄ΤΑΖΙ ΕΧΩC ΧΕ ΑCΚΩ Μ̄-
 ΠΕCΗΕΙ Ν̄CΩC

ΕΧ̄Ν̄ | ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ CΕ Ν̄ΤΨΥΧΗ ϰ̄ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕ Ν̄|ΖΑΖ Μ̄ΜΑ Ν̄CΙ ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕΧΑϰ` | ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΧΕ

10 ΖΟΤΑ(Ν) | ΕΡΨΑ ΠΖΑΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ΤΕϰ̄ΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ Ν̄C|
 ΒΩΚ` Ν̄CΧΙ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΜΗ CΝΑΚΟΤ̄C ΕΡΟϰ ΧΙΝ | ΤΕ-

Jer 3:1→

11 Sah. πεύμα. Ν̄ΓΚΟΤΚ : i.e. Ν̄Ν̄ΚΟΤΚ. 14 i.e. Ν̄ΟΥΝΟC. 16 i.e. Ν̄ΘΑΗ.

19 i.e. ΨΑ ΟΥΜΑΑΧΕ (Crum 213a). 24 i.e. Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΩΦΟC ΝΕ. 26 Sah. ΠΕΥΖΗΤ.

31 i.e. Ν̄Ρ̄ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ. 129:4 i.e. ΑΑΑC, Sah. ΕΑΑC (Schenke emends thus). 5 Sah. Ν̄-
 ΤΑΥΕΙ.

11 Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙ is expected 20 ||ϰ|| : copyist wrote and then cancelled a false start of ϰ for
 the construction cf. Layton 72–73 22 ΑΝΧΩΖ̄Μ̄ : Ν added above the line 26
 <ε>ΠΟΥΖΗΤ Hedda Bethge ('(insofern als ihr Verstand verwirrt ist')

29 poss. emend to Τ<ΕC>ΑCΧΗΜΟC CΥΝΗ 32 Π[ΕϰΡ]ΑΝ Krause 33 Ε[ϰΕΨ ΕΖΟΜ Ζ̄Μ̄
 Π]ΕC Krause : Ε[ϰΨΛ̄ ΝΑϰ Μ̄Π]ΕC W. Robinson 34 rest. Krause 36 rest. Krause

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

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

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

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

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

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

ΠΑΛΙΝ` ϞCΗΖ ΖἼ ΩCΗΕ | ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΧΕ

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

Hos 2:4-9
(LXX)

15 i.e. Ἰ̄ΤΑΡΕ-.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΠΕΧΑΨ` Ζ̄Ν ΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΧΕ

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

Ez 16:23-9

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

ΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΡΟC ΤΟΥΒΕ ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΡΟC |

130:2 i.e. ενευ†.

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

24 Sah. ἡπειμα.

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

20 {ΝΑ} ΝΙΝΟC Nagel

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

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

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

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

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

Guard yourselves against it, purify yourselves from it '

35 εγψαχε ετπορνια ογαατς αν̄ μπσωμᾱ αλλα τα τ̄ ψυχη̄ ν̄-
 ζογο̄ ετ[βε π]αει | ναποστολος εγςζ[ᾱϊ̄ ν̄νεκκλνσια]̄ μ̄πνουτε
 *p. 131¹ αλλα πνος | [ναγων εψ]οοπ̄ ετβε τπορνιᾱ * ν̄τψυχη̄ εβολ
 ν̄ζητ̄ ψαρε τπορνιᾱ μ̄πκεσωμᾱ ψωπε̄ δια τουτο̄ παγλος εψ-
 σᾱϊ̄ ν̄γκοριθιος̄ πεχαᾱ χε̄

5 αειςσᾱϊ̄ νη|τ̄ν̄ ζ̄ν̄ τεπιστολη̄ χε̄ μ̄π̄ρτωζ̄ μ̄ν̄ I Cor 5
 πορ||νος̄ ογ̄ παντω̄ς̄ μ̄π̄ρνος̄ μ̄π̄εεικος|μος̄ η̄
 πλεονζεκτης̄ η̄ ν̄ρεψτωρπ̄ η̄ ν̄ρεψω̄μ̄ω̄ς̄ ειδω-
 λον̄ επεῑ αρᾱ τετ̄νη̄π̄ | εεῑ εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄ πκοςμος̄

ταεῑ τε̄ θε̄ εψ̄α|χε̄ πνευματικω̄ς̄

10 χε̄ επ̄ναγων̄ ψοοπ̄ ||̄ νᾱν̄ αν̄ ουβε̄ σαρ̄ζ̄ ζῑ Eph 6:4
 σνοᾱ

κατᾱ θε̄ εν|ταᾱχοος̄

αλλᾱ ουβε̄ ν̄κοςμοκρατω̄ρ̄ | μ̄π̄εεικᾱκε̄ μ̄ν̄ μ̄- ibid.
 πνευματικον̄ ν̄τπο|νηριᾱ

15 ψᾱ ζογν̄μενε̄φοογ̄ ετψυχη̄ | πητ̄ ν̄σᾱ εσᾱ εσκοινω̄νῑ μ̄ν̄
 πετςνα||τωμτ̄ εροᾱ εςχωζμ̄ εψοοπ̄ ζᾱ πας|χᾱ ν̄νετςμ̄ψᾱ
 ετρεσχιτογ̄ ζοταν̄ δε̄ | εςψᾱρᾱιςθᾱνε̄ ν̄μ̄μοκ̄ζ̄ς̄ ετςν̄ζητογ̄ |

131:3 ν̄ρ̄ : i.e. ν̄ν̄ (Krause emends thus) : for the form cf. 128:11.

15 i.e. ππασχᾱ.

31 πορνιᾱ : i altered from false start of ᾱ 32 rest. Krause : also possible is ετ[βε
 τ]αεῑ 33 σᾱ[ᾱϊ̄ ---] Krause [--- ν̄νεκκλνσια] W. Robinson² : [--- ν̄τεκκλνσια]
 Browne, Wisse : [--- χε̄ τ̄ν̄σοπ̄ε̄] Schenke 34 νε[γπορνια]ᾱ rest. W. Robinson² :
 νε[ν̄ζβηγ]ε̄ Wisse 35 ν̄ζητ[ν̄] W. Robinson², Schenke : ν̄ζητ[ς] Krause

36 rest. Browne, Wisse (sim. Krause), cf. 131:9 : [ν̄ροογψ̄ εψ]οοπ̄ Schenke (Nach-
 trag) 131:3 ο² altered from ν; copyist erroneously wrote κοριων̄ (for κορινη̄-), per-
 ceived an error and merely wrote ο̄ over ν̄ as the correction : prob. emend to κορινη̄ος̄

5 μ̄π̄ρνος̄ : μ̄π̄ρ̄τωζ̄ μ̄ν̄ μ̄π̄ορ̄νος̄ Wisse, with hesitation : μ̄πορ̄νος̄ em.
 Krause 6 ◀μ̄▶πλεονζεκτης̄ Hedda Bethge

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

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

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

here he is speaking ' spiritually—

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

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

20 ἀϋω ἡσριμε εζραϊ επεισῳτ ἡσμετανο|ει τοτε ϋνανα нас ἡσι πεισῳτ
 ἡϋκτο || ἡτεςμῳτρα εβολ ζῆνα пса нвол пали(н) | ἡϋκτος εζοϋν
 ἡτε τψϋχη χι ἡпес|μερικон † εϋσοоп гар ан ἡθε ἡνεζι-
 25 оме ἡмῳтра гар ἡпсωма εϋσοоп | ἡφοϋν ἡпсωма ἡθε нке-
 мазт тмῳ||тра ἡтоϋ ἡтψϋχη есκωте ἡпса нвол | ἡθε ἡмῳϋси-
 кон ἡφοоϋт εϋσοоп | ἡпвол
 ерϋа тмῳтра σε ἡтψϋχη | ткτος ζῆ ποϋωϋ ἡπειсῳт εпса
 30 η|ζοϋν ψαρεс|рβαпτιζε ἀϋω ἡтоϋ||ноϋ ψαстоϋβο εпсωζῆ ἡпса
 η|βο[λ] παει ενταϋαβϋ εϋωс ἡθε ἡни|ψ[τηн εϋ]ψα[λ]ωωм ἡϋατε-
 λοоϋ ε|п[мооϋ ἀϋω ἡс]εтктооϋ ψантоϋῆ тоϋ|λαам[ε εβολ] ἀϋω
 35 ἡсетоϋβο πтоϋβο || δε ἡтψϋχη пе χι тесмῳт[в]ῤ[р]е оῆ * ἡ-
 *р. 132¹ песϋϋсikon ἡψорп ἡскτος ἡке|соп παει пе псεβαптисма
 тоте сна|рархеи ἡвωлк εрос оϋаатс ἡθε ἡнет|ψаϋмисе
 5 ἡтеϋноϋ εϋψаϋпе пψнре || ψаϋкотоϋ ерооϋ оϋааϋ ζῆноϋ-
 влке | аλλα еπει оϋсzime те мῆ сом ἡтресϋпе | ψнре
 оϋаатс απειсῳт ἡῆнаϋ нас εβολ | ζῆ тπε ἡпесзооϋт ете
 10 пессон пе \ | ψωорп ἡмисе тоте апрῳψелеет еи || апитῆ ψа
 χелеет асκω мен ἡсωс ἡ|теспорνια ἡψорп астоϋвос
 ансωζῆ | ἡῆноεικ асῤ вῤре δε аϋмῆтψελεет | астоϋвос
 ζῆ <п>ма ἡψελεет асмазϋ ἡс†|ноϋϋе асzмоос ἡζοϋн ἡзнтῆ
 15 есδωψт || εβολ знтῆ ἡпрῳψελεет ἡме оϋкети | спнт зῆ та-
 гора ескоинωνει мῆ петс|оϋωϋ аλλα асδω есδωψт εβολ
 знтῆ | χε аψ ἡзооϋ еϋῆннϋ есῤ зоте знтῆ | нессооϋн гар ан
 20 ἡπεϋειне оϋке||ти сῤ пме εϋе χим ποϋοειϋ ἡтасze ε|βολ ζῆ

24 i.e. ἡῆке-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΔΥΣΑΡΖ ΟΥΩΤ`

Gen 2:24

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

- 10 ΠΧΟ||ΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΣΖΑΪ

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

ΔΣΣΟΥΩΝϞ` | ΔΕ ΨΗΜ` ΨΗΜ` ΑΥΩ ΔΣΡΑΨΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΕΣΟΠ` ΕΣΡΙ|ΜΕ
 ΖΑΤΟΟΤϞ` Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΣ̄Ρ̄ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν̄ΤΕΣΑϞ|ΧΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ Ν̄ΤΕΣΜ̄Ν̄ΤΧΗΡΑ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They will become a single flesh. '

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

For the master of the woman is her husband.

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

15 Ἰψορπᾶ | αἰω ἀσκόσμεϊ μῆμοσ ἡζογο ψινα εσ||ναρ εναϷ ἡβω ζα-
τοοτῶ

πεχαϷ δε ἡβι | πεπροφητησ ζῆἡἡψαλμοσ χε

σψ|τῆ ταψεερε ἡτεναϷ ἡτερικε ἡπεμα|αχε

ψ 44:11-1

ἡτερῆ πωψω ἡποϷλαοσ μῆ πνει | ἡ-

20 πεειωτ χε ἀπῆρο επιϷυμει επιουσα||-

ειε χε ἡτοϷ πε ποϷχοεισ

ϷῆαζιοϷ γαρ | μῆμοσ ἀτρεσκτη πεσζο εβολᾶ ἡπεσ|λαοσ μῆ πμνηϷε

ἡνεσμοιχοσ να|ει νεσζῆ τοϷμητε ἡψορπ νεσῆπρ[ο]σ|εχε ἀπεῆρο

25 οϷαατϷᾶ πεσφϷικοσ || ἡχοεισ αἰω ἡσῆ πωψω ἡπνει ἡπει|ωτᾶ ἡ-

πκαζ παει ενεσψοοπ ζατοοτϷᾶ | κακωσ ἡσῆ πμεεϷε ἡτοϷ ἡ-

πεσειωτ | ετῆἡ ἡπηϷε τεει οη τε θε ενταϷχο|οσ ἡαβραζαμ χε

30 αμοϷ εβολ ζῆ πεκᾶ||καζ μῆ τεκσϷηγεηεια

Gen 12:1

αἰω εβολ ζῆ | πη[ε]ἡ ἡπεκᾶειωτᾶ

ταει τε θε ἡταρε τψϷ|χ[η ῆκ]ο[σ]μεἡ μῆμοσ ζῆ τεσῆἡἡτσαειε | οἷ

[.] μεετε επεσμερειτᾶ | αἰω ἡ[τοϷ ζω]ωϷ αϷμε-

35 Ϸειτῶ αἰω ἡ||ταρεσῆκῶ[ι]ηωηει ηἡμαϷ [α|σχι ἡ]*πεσπερμα εβολ

*p. 134¹

ζιτοοτῆ ετε πῆἡ | πε ετᾶἡζο ψαντεσχο ἡζῆἡψηρε | εβολ ἡζητϷᾶ

ενανοϷοϷ ἡσσανοϷοϷοϷ | παει γαρᾶ πε πνοσ ἡτελειον ἡθαϷμα

5 || ἡσχο ζωστε πεειγαμοσ εϷακᾶ εβολ | ζῆ ποϷωψω ἡπειωτᾶ

ψϷε δε ατρε τψϷ|χη σποσ οϷαατῶ ἡσψωπε οἷ ἡτεσ|ζε ἡ-

ψορπᾶ τψϷχη δε ψαρεσκιμᾶ οϷα|ατῶ αἰω ασχι πθειον ἡτῆ

10 πειωτᾶ αᾶ||τρεσῆ βῆρε σεκαασ οη εϷηαχιτῶ επιμα ενεσῆμαϷ

σινᾶ ψορπᾶ ταει τε | ταναστασισ ετᾶψοοπ εβολ ζῆ νετμο|

οϷτᾶ παει πε πσωτε ἡταιχμαλωσια τα|ει τε ταναβασισ

16 Sah. ζῆ νεψαλμοσ.

22-23 i.e. ναει ενεσζῆ. 23 Sah. τεϷμητε. νεσῆ- : i.e. ἡσῆ- (Schenke emends thus).

24 οϷαατϷ : ο altered from false start of α

32 rest. Wisse, sim. Krause 33 οἷ [ασεπη ε] μεετε sim. Schenke (Nachtrag) : οἷ [παλιν ασ] μεετε sim. Wisse : οἷ[τωσ οη ασ] μεετε Browne : cf. Layton 34 rest. Krause 134:2 ετᾶᾶ pap. : uninscribed space due to an original imperfection in the papyrus

9 <ψ>ασχι Hedda Bethge 13 παει : α added above the line

And she adorned herself still more so that ¹⁵ he might be pleased to stay with her.

And the ' prophet said in the Psalms (44: 11–12 LXX = 45:10–11 MT),

Hear, ' my daughter, and see and incline your ear '
and forget your people and your father's house,
for the king has desired your beauty, ²⁰ for he is
your lord.

For he requires her ' to turn her face from her ' people and the multitude of her adulterers, ' in whose midst she once was, to devote herself ' only to her king, her real ²⁵ lord, and to forget the house of the ' earthly father, with whom things went ' badly for her, but to remember her father ' who is in heaven. Thus also it was said ' (Gen 12:1 LXX) to Abraham,

Come out from your ³⁰ country and your kinsfold
and from ' your father's house.

Thus when the soul [had adorned] ' herself again in her beauty ' [. . .] enjoyed her beloved, ' and [he also] loved her. And ³⁵ when she had intercourse with him, she got **134** from him the seed that is the life-giving ' spirit, so that by him she bears good children ' and rears them. ' For this is the great, perfect marvel ⁵ of birth. And so this marriage is made perfect ' by the will of the father.

Now it is fitting that the soul ' regenerate herself and become again as ' she formerly was. The soul then moves of her own accord. ' And she received the divine nature from the father ¹⁰ for her rejuvenation, so that she might be restored to ' the place where originally she had been. This is ' the resurrection that is from the dead. ' This is the ransom from captivity. ' This is the upward journey

15 $\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\kappa^{\prime}$ εζραϊ ετπε ταιε || τε θοδος $\bar{\nu}\beta\omega\kappa^{\prime}$ εζραϊ ψα
πειωτ^ν δια | τουτο πεχε πεπροφητης^ν χε

ταψυ|χη εριελογει $\bar{m}\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ αγω να $\bar{p}\varsigma\alpha$ ψ 102:
(\bar{n})ζογν τηρου $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon\varphi\rho\alpha\bar{n}^{\prime}$ ετογαδ^ν ταψυ|
20 χη εριελογει $\bar{m}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon^{\prime}$ πενταζκω || εβολ \bar{n} -
 $\bar{n}\epsilon[\bar{n}]$ ανομια^ν τηρου πενταζταλ|σο $\bar{n}\eta\epsilon\psi\omega\eta\epsilon$
τηρου πενταζσωτε | $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon\omega\eta\zeta$ εβολ $\zeta\bar{m}$ πμογ
πενταζ† | [κ]λομ^ν εχω $\zeta\bar{n}$ ογνα^ν πετ^ν <σ>ειο
 $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\epsilon\pi\iota[\theta]$ γμια $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ τεμντκογει
25 να || \bar{p} $\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $\bar{n}\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ ογαετος

εσψα \bar{r} $\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ | σε σναβωκ^ν εζραϊ εσσομυ επειωτ^ν | $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ πεσσον
παιε $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$ σοχ δει εβολ | ζιτοοτ \bar{q} ταιε τε θε $\bar{n}\tau\psi\chi\eta$ εσναογ|
30 χαιε ζιτ \bar{n} πεσπο $\bar{n}\kappa\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta^{\prime}$ παιε δε || εβολ $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ αν $\bar{n}\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta$ -
σις εψα ζ^{\prime} | ει ουδε εβολ αν $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$ ογ[Δ]ε $\zeta\bar{n}$ | $\bar{c}\beta\omega$ $\bar{n}\varsigma\zeta\alpha\iota^{\prime}$ αλ-
λα τχαρι[ς] $\bar{m}\pi$ [... τ]ε | αλλα τδωρεα $\bar{m}\pi\eta$ [.....]δε
35 | πεειζωβγαρ ογειει πε \bar{m} [$\bar{p}\varsigma\alpha$] $\bar{n}\tau\eta\pi\epsilon$ δια || τουτο $\psi[\alpha]$ ψκακ^ν
*p. 135¹ εβολ $\bar{n}\beta\iota$ πσωτηρ^ν * χε

$\bar{m}\bar{n}$ λααγ ναψει ψαροει ει μητι \bar{n} | τε παιωτ^ν Jo 6:44
σωκ^ν $\bar{m}\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\eta\tau\bar{q}$ ναει | αγω <α>νοκ^ν ζω
† νατογνος ζ^{\prime} $\zeta\bar{m}$ φζαε \bar{n} | ζοογ

5 ψψε σε εψαηλ^ν επειωτ $\bar{n}\tau\bar{m}\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ || τε εζραϊ ερο ζ^{\prime} $\zeta\bar{n}$ $\bar{t}\bar{m}\psi\chi\eta$ τηρ \bar{c}

134:34 ογειει πε : i.e. ογει πε (for the reduplication see Polotsky *Orientalia* 26 [1957] 348–49).

135:3 i.e. $\zeta\bar{m}$ φαε.

4 i.e. $\bar{n}\tau\bar{n}\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\tau\epsilon$.

20 [\bar{n}] cancelled by the copyist 23 <σ> W. Robinson, Nagel : τcio em. Krause : cf. Ps 102:5 τὸν ἐμπιπλῶντα $\bar{n}\tau\epsilon$: ε added above the line 24 $\zeta\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\eta$ (i.e. Sahidic $\zeta\bar{n}$ αγαθων) em. Nagel, poss. rightly (cf. Ps 102:5 ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, Sah. ed. Budge $\bar{n}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta\eta$)

31–32 $\zeta\bar{n}\varsigma\beta\omega$ (read with ultraviolet light) : poss. emend { ζ } $\bar{n}\varsigma\beta\omega$ 32 $\bar{m}\eta$ [ειωτ τ]ε W. Robinson : also possible are $\bar{m}\eta$ [π $\bar{n}\alpha$ τ]ε and $\bar{n}\eta$ [ογτε τ]ε : cf. Layton 33 e.g. $\bar{m}\pi\eta$ [ογτε τε ετη]δε ογ $\bar{m}\pi\eta$ [εγμα τε ετη]δε : cf. Layton 34 [$\bar{p}\varsigma\alpha$] Layton 35 ογ written close together

135:1 ψαροει : ψ altered from ε 3 <α>νοκ Krause

4 ε<τρην>ψαηλ Hedda Bethge

of ascent to heaven. This ¹⁵ is the way of ascent to the father. Therefore ' the prophet said (Ps 102:1–5 LXX = 103:1–5 MT),'

Praise the lord, O my soul, and, all that is ' within me, (praise) his holy name. My ' soul, praise God, who forgave ²⁰ all your sins, who healed ' all your sicknesses, who ransomed ' your life from death, who crowned ' you with mercy, who satisfies your longing ' with good things. Your youth will ²⁵ be renewed like an eagle's.

Then when she becomes young ' again she will ascend, praising the father ' and her brother, by whom she was rescued. ' Thus it is by being born again that the soul will ' be saved. And this ³⁰ is due not to rote phrases ' or to professional skills or to ' book learning. Rather it [is] the grace of the [. . . , ' it is] the gift of the [. . .]. ' For such is this heavenly thing. ³⁵ Therefore the savior cries out (John 6:44), **135**

No one can come to me unless ' my father draws him and brings him to me; ' and I myself will raise him up on the last ' day.

It is therefore fitting to pray to the father and to call ⁵ on him with all our soul—

ζῆ̄ ἡ̄σπο|τοῦ ἀν̄ ἡ̄σπα νβολ̄ ἄλλα ζῆ̄ πνεῦμα | ἐτ̄σι π̄σα νζοῦν
 πενταζι εβολ ζῆ̄ πβα|θος ἐνεψ̄ ἐζομ ἐν̄ῤετανοε̄ι εχ̄ῃ̄ | πβιος ἡ̄-
 10 τ̄αζῆ̄ναααζ̄ ἐν̄ῤεζζομολογε̄ι || ἡ̄ν<ἡ̄>νοβε̄ ἐναϊσθανε̄ ἐτ̄̄πλανη
 ἐτ̄σογ|ε̄ιτ̄̄ τ̄αε̄ι νεν̄̄σοοπ̄ ἡ̄ζητ̄̄ αἰω̄ ἀτ̄σποῦ|δη̄ ἐτ̄σογε̄ιτ̄̄ ἐν̄ῤ-
 με̄ ἡ̄ε̄ νεν̄̄σοοπ̄ | ζῆ̄ πκακε̄ ἡ̄ν̄ φοε̄ιμ̄ ἐν̄ῤπενθ̄ε̄ι ναν̄ | οὔα ἀν̄ χε-
 15 κααζ εφ̄νανα ναν̄ ἐμμοστ̄ε || ἡ̄μον ἡ̄ε̄ ἐτ̄ἡ̄ζητ̄̄ τ̄ενοῦ π̄α-
 λιν̄ | πεχαζ ἡ̄σι π̄σωτηρ̄ χε

ζῆ̄ἡ̄μακαριος̄ | νε̄ ναε̄ι ἐπ̄ενθ̄ε̄ι χε̄ ἡ̄τοοῦ
 πε̄ ἐτοῦνα|να ναγ̄ ζῆ̄ἡ̄μακαριος̄ νετ̄-
 ζκαε̄ιτ̄̄ χε̄ ἡ̄|τοοῦ πε̄ ἐτ̄νασεῑ

Matt 5:4, 6
Luke 6:21

παλιν̄ πεχαζ̄ χε̄

20 ε̄|ρ̄||τ̄ῃ̄ οὔα μεστ̄ε τεψ̄ψ̄υχη̄ φ̄ναψ̄οῦζαζ̄ | ἀν̄
 ἡ̄σ̄ωε̄ι

Luke 14:20

ταρχη̄ γαρ̄ ἡ̄ποῦχαε̄ι πε̄ τ̄̄|μετανοιᾱ διᾱ τοῦτο

25 ζᾱ τεζη̄ ἡ̄τ̄πᾱ|ροῦσιᾱ ἡ̄πεχρ̄̄ ᾱψ̄ι ἡ̄σι ἴωζαν-
 η̄ς [ε̄ψ̄]|κηρ̄υσσε̄ ἡ̄π̄βαπτισμᾱ ἡ̄τ̄μετανοιᾱ ἄ ||

Acts 13:24

τ̄μετανοιᾱ δε̄ ψ̄αε̄ψ̄ωπε̄ ζῆ̄ οὔα λ̄υπη̄ | ἡ̄ν̄ οὔἡ̄καζ̄ ἡ̄ζητ̄̄ π̄ειωτ̄
 δε̄ οὔμαε̄ι|ρωμε̄ πε̄ ἡ̄γαθ̄ος̄ αἰω̄ ε̄ψ̄ωτ̄ῃ̄ ἀτ̄̄|ψ̄υχη̄ ἐτ̄ῤεπ̄ικα-
 30 λ̄ε̄ι ε̄ζρᾱϊ̄ ε̄ροψ̄ ἡ̄ψ̄|τ̄ῆ̄ναγ̄ νας̄ ἡ̄ποῦοε̄ιν̄ ἡ̄νοῦχαε̄ι διᾱ ||
 τοῦτο πεχαζ̄ ζιτ̄ῃ̄ πεπ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄πεπροφ̄|η̄τ̄]η̄ς χε̄

χ̄οος̄ ἡ̄ν̄ψ̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄παλαος̄ | χ̄[ε̄ ε̄ρ̄]ψ̄[α] ἡ̄ε̄τ̄ἡ̄νο-
 βε̄ ψ̄ωπε̄ ε̄γ̄οῦνοῦ | χ̄[ιμ̄ π̄καζ̄ ψ̄α τ̄]πε̄ αἰω̄

1 Clem. 8:3

6 i.e. π̄πνεῦμα. 7 Sah. πενταζει. 9 i.e. ἡ̄ταζῆ̄νααζ̄. 11–12 i.e. ἐνε̄ν̄ ... ἐνε̄ν̄ (Quecke emends thus, with hesitation).

23 i.e. ᾱζει.

29 i.e. ἡ̄οῦχαε̄ι.

18 poss. emend <νε> νετ̄ζκαε̄ιτ̄ 19 or else ε̄|ρ̄ε̄] 21 π̄ε̄ : poss. emend to τε̄ 23 rest. Krause 28–29 poss. emend to ε̄ψ̄τ̄ῆ̄ναγ̄ 33 1 Clem. 8:3 Achmimic χ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄π̄καζ̄ ψ̄α τ̄πε̄ (ed. Schmidt)

not externally with the lips ' but with the spirit, ' which is inward, which came forth from the ' depth—sighing; repenting for ' the life we lived; confessing ¹⁰ our sins; perceiving the empty deception ' we were in, and the empty zeal; ' weeping over how we were ' in darkness and in the wave; mourning for ourselves, ' that he might have pity on us; hating ¹⁵ ourselves for how we are now. Again ' the savior said (cf. Matt 5:4, 6; Luke 6:21),

Blessed ' are those who mourn, for it is they who will be pitied; ' blessed, those who are hungry, for ' it is they who will be filled.

Again he said (cf. Luke 14:26),

If ²⁰ one does not hate his soul he cannot follow ' me.

For the beginning of salvation is ' repentance. Therefore (cf. Acts 13:24),

Before ' Christ's appearance came John, ' preaching the baptism of repentance. ²⁵

And repentance takes place in distress ' and grief. But the father is good and loves ' humanity, and he hears the ' soul that calls upon him and ' sends it the light of salvation. Therefore ³⁰ he said through the spirit to the ' prophet (cf. *1 Clem.* 8:3; *Clem. Al. Paed.* 1.91.2; Ezekiel apocryphon?),

Say to the children of my people, ' '[If your] sins extend ' [from earth to] heaven, and

35
*p. 136^l

εγψαψωπε | εγτρε[ψρω]ψ̄ ἡθε ἡπκοκ`κος
 αυ || εγκην ἡζογο εγσο[ο]γ[νε αυ]ψ̄ [ἡτε]-
 *Τἠκοττηγτἡ ψαροει ζἡ τετἡψυχἡ | τηρῶ αυ
 ἡτετἡχοος εζραῖ εροει σε | παειωτ` †насω-
 τἡ ερωτἡ ἡθε ἡνογ|λαος εϵ`ογαδβ

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΕΜΑ

5 ϵψω ἡμοσ || ἡτεειζε ἡβι πχοεις πετογαδβ ἡ-
 τε πι|сranл σε ζοταν εκψακτοκ` ἡκεψ
 εζομ` | τοτε κναου χαιει αυ κναειμε σε
 νεκτω(ν) | ἡζοου εκναζε τε ανιπετ`ψογειτ`

Isa 30:19

ΠΑΛΙΝ | ΠΕΧΑϵ ἡκεμα σε

10 θειρογσαλημ` ζἡ ου||ριμε αсριμε σε να
 ναει ϵηαηα ἡτεςμη | ἡπεριμε αυ ἡ-
 ταρεϵηαγ αϵσωτἡ ερο` | αυ πχοεις να-
 † ηητἡ ἡογοεικ` ἡθλι|ψις ἡἡνογμοου
 ἡλωσζ σεнасωτε αν | χιν` тенογ
 15 ετρογτζно εζογν ερο ἡβι || † петрπλα-
 να невал ηαηαγ αν`ετρπλαηα | ἡμο

Isa 30:19

 ζωστε ψψε αρπροσευχесθαι ε|πνουτε ἡτογψη ἡἡ πεζοου εμ`-
 20 πωρψ | ἡἡβιχ εζραῖ εροϵ` ἡθε ἡнетζἡ τμηте | ἡθαλαсса етπλαε
 ψαγψληλ επνου||τε ζἡ πογζηт τηρϵ` ζἡἡνογζγποκριсис | αν σε
 неτ`προσευχесθαι ζἡἡνογζγ|ποκριсис εγαπα та ἡμοου ογα-

136:3-4 i.e. ἡογλαος.

13 i.e. ἡ ογμοου ... σεнасωт (W. Robinson emends thus): for the form сωте cf. *Gospel of Truth* CG I 38:2.

18 i.e. ἡἡἡβιχ, Sah. ἡἡεβιχ. 20 Sah. πεγζηт. ζἡἡνογ-: i.e. ζἡ ου-.

34 εγ read in photographs cf. *I Clem.* 8:3 Achmimic τρεψραψт 35 εγκην read in photographs 35-136:1 cf. *I Clem.* 8:3 Achmimic αυδαγνε [т]ετ[ἡ]ἡνογз τηне

136:4 <ἡ>кема Hedda Bethge

15 † петрπλαηα : emend to неτрπλαηα (thus Krause)

if they become ' [red] like scarlet and ³⁵ blacker than [sackcloth and if] **136** you return to me with all your ' soul and say to me, ' 'My father, ' I will heed you as a ' holy people.'''

Again another place (Isa 30:15 LXX),

Thus says ⁵ the lord, the holy one of ' Israel: "If you (sg.) return and sigh, ' then you will be saved and will know where you were ' when you trusted in what is empty.'"

Again ' he said in another place (Isa 30:19–20 LXX),

Jerusalem wept ¹⁰ much, saying, "Have pity on me." He will have pity on the sound ' of your (sg.) weeping. And when he saw he heeded you. ' And the lord will give you (pl.) bread of ' affliction and water of oppression. ' From now on, those who deceive will not approach you (sg.) again. ¹⁵ Your eyes will see those who are deceiving ' you.

Therefore it is fitting to pray to ' God night and day, spreading out ' our hands towards him as do people sailing in the middle ' of the sea: they pray to God ²⁰ with all their heart without hypocrisy. ' For those who pray ' hypocritically deceive only themselves. '

25 ΤΟΥ ΕΙΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΩΨΤ` ΝΣΑ ΝΒΛΑΤΕ ΑΥΩ` | ΕΥΜΟΥΨΤ` ΜΦΗΤ`
 ΕΤΜΠΣΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ || ΕΤΡΕΥ`ΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΑΖΙΟΣ ΝΝΟΥΧΑΕΙ ΜΝ ΛΑ|ΑΥ ΓΑΡ
 ΟΕΙ ΝΑΖΙΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΧΑΕΙ ΕΤΙ ΕΥΜΕ | ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ-
 ΤΟ ΥΣΗΖ | ΖΜ ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ

30 ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ ΝΕΥΖΜΟΟΣ | ΖΙ ΤΜΟΥΕ ΕΥΡΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ Od. 1.48
 ΕΥΛΥΠΕΙ ΕΥΚΤΟ || ΜΠΕΥΖΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΨΑ ΧΕ ΝΚΑ-
 ΛΥΨΩ | ΜΝ ΝΕΣΑΠΑΤΗ ΕΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΤΡΕΥΝΑΥ |
 ΕΠΕΥΤΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΚΑΠΝΟΣ ΕΥΝΝ[ΗΥ] Ε|ΒΟΛ`
 35 ΜΜΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΣΑΒΗ[Λ`] Χ[Ε ΑΥΧΙ ΝΝΟΥ]ΒΟ|Η-
 ΘΕΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ` ΖΝ ΤΠΕ Ν[ΕΥΝΑΨ]ΚΟ[ΤΥ] Α(Ν) || Od. 4.558
 ΕΠΕΥΤΜΕ`

ΠΑΛΙΝ` ΤΚΕΖ[ΕΛΕ]ΝΗ ΕΣΧΩ | [ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ]

*p. 137¹ ΠΑ[Ζ]ΗΤ` ΑΥΚΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ` ΠΑΛΙ(Ν) * ΕΕΙ- 4.260-61
 ΟΥΩΨ ΒΩΚ` ΕΠΑΝΕΙ

ΝΕΣΑΨ ΕΖΟΜΓΑΡ` | ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ

5 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΤΕΝΤΑΖΡΑ|ΠΑΤΑ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΔΣΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ` 4.261-64
 ΜΠΑΤΜΕ ΤΑΨΡ|ΟΥΟΟΤΕ ΑΖΙΚΑΔΣ ΝΣΩΕΙ ΑΥΩ
 ΠΑΖΑΕΙ || ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ` ΡΡΜΝΖΗΤ` ΝΣΑΕΙΕ

ΖΟΤΑΝ | ΓΑΡ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΚΩ ΝΣΩΣ ΜΠΕΣΖΑΪ | ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑ-
 ΠΑΤΗ ΝΤΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ | ΤΑΕΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ` ΖΜ ΠΕΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΕΙΜΑ ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΣΝΑΡ-

25 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota$. 28 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{i}\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$.

33 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\alpha$.

137:3-4 $\bar{\psi}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$: for the form cf. $\bar{\psi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$ Judg 11:34, Tob 3:14, ed. Maspero: explained by Polotsky.

32 rest. W. Robinson, Hedda Bethge 33 rest. Hedda Bethge, Wisse: $\chi[\epsilon \lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\tau \omicron\upsilon]$ Browne (exempli gratia): $\chi[\epsilon \bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\upsilon]$ Schenke 34 rest. Layton: cf. Homer *Od.* 4.558 οὐ δύναται ἵν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι 35 $\zeta[\epsilon\lambda\epsilon]_{\eta\eta}$ W. Robinson and independently Fischer poss. <---> $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ (main verb omitted by accident): * $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\iota$ is to be supplied from the preceding passage, or else . . . emend . . . to $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\chi\omega$ Browne $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ read in photographs

36 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ indistinct traces of ink: conjectured by W. Robinson, Browne, Wisse: cf. Homer *Od.* 4.260-61 μοι κραδίη τέτραπτο νέεσθαι ἄψ οἴκονδ' παλι(ν) read in photographs

Indeed, it is in order that he might know who is worthy of salvation ' that God examines the inward parts and ²⁵ searches the bottom of the heart. For no ' one is worthy of salvation who still loves ' the place of deception. Therefore it is written ' in the poet (Homer *Od.* 1.48–59; 4.558),

Odysseus sat ' on the island weeping and grieving and turning ³⁰ his face from the words of Calypso ' and from her tricks, longing to see ' his village and smoke coming ' forth from it. And had he not [received] ' help from heaven, [he would] not [have been able to return] ³⁵ to his village.

Again [Helen] (. . .) saying (*Od.* 4.260–61), '

[My heart] turned itself from me. **137** It is to my house that I want to return.

For she sighed, ' saying (*Od.* 4.261–64),

It is Aphrodite who ' deceived me and brought me out of my village. My only daughter ' I left behind me, and my ⁵ good. understanding, handsome husband.

For when ' the soul leaves her ' perfect husband because of the treachery of Aphrodite, ' who exists here in the act of begetting, then ' she will

- 10 βλαπτεσθαι εσψαναψ εζομ` || δε ν̄σρ̄μετανοει σενακτος
εζογν` επεσ|νει
και γαρ πικραηλ` μ̄πουδ̄ν πεψωινε | ν̄σωρπ` ετρογ̄ντ̄ε̄ εβολ ζ̄μ
πκαζ ν̄κημε | ζ̄μ̄ π̄νει ν̄τμ̄ν̄τ̄ζ̄μ̄ζ̄ᾱλ̄ ε̄ιμητι σε αψ̄ε|ψ̄ εζομ` εζρᾱϊ
15 επνουτε αφριμε μ̄πλωσζ || ν̄νεψζβηγε παλιν ψχηζ ζ̄ν̄ μ̄ψαλλμος |
σε

- λειζισε εματε ζ̄μ̄ πα αψ̄ εζομ` †να|χω
κ̄μ̄ μ̄παδλος μ̄ν̄ παπρηψ̄ κατα ο̄γ|ψη ζ̄ν̄ να-
ρ̄μ̄μ̄ειη̄ αζιρ̄ ας ζρᾱϊ ζ̄ν̄ νᾱζ̄[α]||σε τη-
20 ροῡ σαζε τηγ̄τ̄ν̄ εβολ μ̄μοει ο[γ]||ον̄νιμ̄`
ετ̄ρ̄ ζωβ` ετανομια σε εις π̄σ̄ο̄εις αψ̄-
σωτ̄μ̄ επαψ̄κακ` μ̄παριμε αγ̄|ω̄ απ̄σοεις
σωτ̄μ̄ επασοπ̄

ψ 6:7-10

- εψωπ[ε] | τ̄ναρ̄μετανοει ναμε π̄νουτε να|σωτ̄μ̄ ερον π̄ζαρψ̄-
25 ζητ` αγω̄ πα π̄νος || ν̄να † ναεῑ ετε π̄ωψ̄ πε πεσογ̄ ψᾱνιε|νεζ̄ ν̄-
ε̄νεζ̄ ζ̄αμ̄ην̄: |

ΤΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ

24–25 poss. understand as πα π̄νος ν̄αναει.

137:17 μ̄πλαδλος : μ̄ altered from false start of π

25 † ναει : emend to παει (thus Krause)

suffer harm. But if she sighs ¹⁰ and repents, she will be restored to her ' house.

Certainly Israel would not have been visited ' in the first place, to be brought out of the land of Egypt, ' out of the house of bondage, if it had not sighed ' to God and wept for the oppression ¹⁵ of its labors. Again it is written in the Psalms (6:7-10 LXX = 6:6-9 MT), '

I was greatly troubled in my groaning. I will ' bathe my bed and my cover each ' night with my tears. I have become old in the midst of all my enemies. ' Depart from me, all ²⁰ you who work at lawlessness, for behold the ' lord has heard the cry of my weeping and ' the lord has heard my prayer.

If ' we repent, truly God will ' heed us, he who is long-suffering and abundantly ²⁵ merciful, to whom is the glory for ' ever and ever. Amen. '

Expository Treatise on the Soul

INTRODUCTION

JOHN D. TURNER

1. The *Book of Thomas the Contender*¹ (*ThCont*) is a revelation dialogue, with extended peroration, between the resurrected Jesus and his twin brother Judas Thomas, ostensibly recorded by Mathaias (the apostle Matthew?) and set just before Jesus' ascension. It is a literary exponent of traditions about the apostle Thomas such as were native to the ascetic Christianity of Syrian Edessa,² traditional resting place of the bones of Thomas, and was probably composed there in the first half of the third century A.D. The present Coptic version was doubtless translated from Greek. The existence of the text is otherwise unattested in antiquity. But one of its sources was apparently a collection of sayings of Jesus attributed to Mathaias; sayings collections attributed to such a person are mentioned by Papias (ca. A.D. 130), Clement of Alexandria (late second century), and Hippolytus (early third century).

2. TITLE AND GENRE. Two titles occur: (a) the subscript title, which designates the work as a "book" (ⲭⲱⲙⲉ, i.e., βιβλίον) of "Thomas the *athlētēs* writing to the perfect"; and (b) the incipit (138:1–4), which designates it as "secret sayings" (ⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲡ, i.e., ἀπόκρυφοί λόγοι) spoken by Jesus to Judas Thomas and recorded by Mathaias as he overheard them speaking. To some extent this designation as λόγοι ("sayings"), like the isolated intrusion of Mathaias into the setting, does not correspond to the actual genre of the work. This discrepancy can best be explained by hypothetical isolation of the sources from which the work has been composed (see below § 3).

The genre of *ThCont* is the Gnostic revelation dialogue, typically occurring between the resurrected savior and a trusted apostle or apostles during the period between his resurrection and ascension. This type of dialogue is not the same as Plato's, where one discovers truth by a maieutic dialectic of statement, counterstatement, and clarification—in which knowledge is recalled or "delivered to birth." Rather it is closely related to the literature now sometimes called *erotapokriseis* ("questions and

¹ *athlētēs* here meaning "one who struggles," like a wrestler, against the fiery passions of the body.

² Now Urfa, Turkey.

answers’), for in it a would-be initiate elicits revealed truth from a revealer figure or similar spiritual authority in the form of a catechetical question (topic) and interpretive answer (commentary).

The present genre is represented both by the pagan Hermetic Corpus and by Christian Gnostic texts, including many from Nag Hammadi (*Apocryphon of John, Sophia of Jesus Christ, Dialogue of the Savior, Letter of Peter to Philip*). In its Christian variety this genre permitted the resurrected Christ, whose earthly, preresurrection teaching was regarded as hidden or obscure owing to his flesh, to appear in a true, divine, heavenly form so as to present clearly revealed teaching, unclouded by the impediment of materiality. Such teaching might be commentary (the true meaning) of his earthly sayings, or it might even be new, supplementary doctrine granted to special apostles. As the savior’s twin, Thomas (Jewish Aramaic *t’ōm(ā)*, Syriac *tā(’)mā*, “twin”) had a claim to direct insight into the nature of the savior and his teaching. Hence by “knowing himself,” Thomas would also know the “depth of the all” whence the savior came and whither he was going to return, and could therefore become a missionary possessed of the true (here, ascetic) teaching of Jesus.

3. COMPOSITION. Stylistically and in terms of its constituent material the work falls clearly into two major sections. These are approximate representations of two distinct and once independent literary works or sources that were subsequently combined—without perfect consistency—by a later author.

The first section, § A (138:4–142:21), was a revelation dialogue between Jesus and Thomas. The dialogue framework appears to have been its original principle of composition, serving to draw popular Hellenistic ascetic and Gnostic doctrine into the orbit of the teachings of Jesus, in the form of postresurrection revelation (see above, § 2). Its original title may have been “The Book of Thomas the Contender Writing to the Perfect.” As a source § A probably ends with Thomas’s declaration to Jesus that “your word”—i.e., what you have said—“is abundant” (ἄφθονος, i.e., sufficient [?]). This statement, which occurs only a bit more than half way through, is Thomas’s last appearance in the work as we have it. Thereafter begins Jesus’ concluding homily.

The material of § A consists of similes (139:13–20, 142:11–18), proverbial sayings (138:16–18, 138:28–30, 139:21, 140:1–4, 140:13–18, 140:38–40, 140:41–141:1), and a quotation of Psalm 1:3 (140:17–18).

The remaining section, § B (142:21–end), now occurs as a long monologue by the savior (it occupies two-fifths of the tractate). In it the dialogue framework is completely absent. This fact allows us to recognize its original unity as a collection of sayings (not unlike the *λόγοι* of

Matt 5:1–7:28, 11:1–12:30, 13:1–53, 18:1–19:1, 24:1–26:1). Its formal character is possibly designated by the plural *ἱερολογίαι* (οἱ λόγοι) in 142:21–22, “these words (sayings) that you speak to us.” The original incipit of §B, before it was attached to §A, may have been almost identical to the opening line of the present work: “The secret words (hidden sayings)³ which the savior spoke, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias” (138:1–2, omitting “to Judas Thomas”).

When §B is inserted in its present position, it becomes the final testamentary speech of Jesus before his departure from the world (cf. §A, 128:22–23, “tell me the things about which I ask before your ascension”); its concluding woes and blessings bear a striking structural and functional resemblance to the blessings and curses in Moses’ testamentary speech of Deut 27–28.

In its original, independent form §B would have existed as a late and decadent reflection of the literary genre of sayings of Jesus, in which original sayings have been so expanded with interpretations that whatever may have been the original saying has been obliterated by accretion of the interpretation: virtually all that remains of the content of early sayings are the stereotyped beginnings like “Amen I say to you,” “Woe to you who,” “Blessed are you who,” “Watch and pray that.” The eleventh woe contains a parable (144:21–36).

Originally §B, with its use of obvious (but nevertheless atavistic) sayings formulas, would have counted as earthly teachings of Jesus transcribed by Mathaiias (see above, §I). But by being appended to §A it has come to count as postresurrection teaching—authenticated by the figure of Thomas, the twin of the revealer, the apostle who directly received the teachings of the savior in his unambiguous, nonearthy form.

The figure of Mathaiias (only mentioned in 138:2–4) as amanuensis would have occurred only in source §B, where he would have been regarded as the recipient of Jesus’ earthly teaching, as he is in the Gospel of Matthew (note, however, the different spelling of the name). But just as the *Gospel According to Thomas* (saying 13) favors the testimony of Thomas to that of Peter, who dominates the canonical tradition, so also the subordination of source B to source A shows evidence of a preference for the testimony of Thomas (cf. the Gospel of John) over that of Mathaiias who, like the Matthew of the canonical tradition, was not singled out for a special resurrection appearance.

ThCont thus fits into a natural interpretive development of the genre of sayings of Jesus—beginning perhaps with relatively unadulterated individual sayings, which were gradually collected and expanded by means of

³Compare the same genre designation in the incipit of the *Gospel According to Thomas*, edited in volume 1.

new interpretive material (as in Q or *GTh*), and then later embedded in larger interpretive frame story (e.g. a life of Jesus concluding with passion or resurrection; a postresurrection revelation dialogue; etc.).

4. CONTENTS. The doctrine of *ThCont* is consistently ascetic. If a single theme or catchword runs throughout it is “fire”—the fire of bodily passions that weigh down the soul, and its counterpart the fire of hell (142:42–143:7): with that by which one sins shall he be punished. The prominence of this motif may constitute the literal motivation for combining not only § A and § B, but many of the individual sayings (within each of the sections) as well.

In § A occur a number of conceptual oppositions: divine light versus earthly fire (the passions of the body; cf. 139:32–34); hidden vs. visible (138:17–139:31); the wise man who understands the truth vs. the fool who is ignorant and guided by the illusion of truth, fire (140:6–31; 140:41–141:2). § A, with its stress on the bestiality of the body, displays strong dependence on motifs from Plato (visible vs. invisible, dragging down and staking the soul to the body, the wings by which the wise man flees bodily appetites). “Knowledge,” “illuminate,” and “appear/reveal” are characteristic terms of § A.

§ B shows influence of the Hellenic *nekylia* (description of the underworld; 142:30–143:8, again compare Plato) as well as solar theology (144:2–21). In this section lust is seen as resulting from the body’s domination by malevolent celestial powers.

In general § A appears to be the more Gnostic of the two: it stresses the move from ignorance to knowledge, made possible by the presence of the savior. He is the emissary of the light, who descends to illumine hidden realities for the eyes of the darkened world, where formerly only perceptually visible (hence illusory) things could be seen. The earthly light is an illusory fire; but the divine light is the savior, who makes visible hidden truth (139:12–31).

§ B is ascetic rather than Gnostic. Compared with § A its eschatology is more futuristic (142:30–143:8; 145:8–16); here the vehicle of divine enlightenment is not the savior but the sun (144:2–6, 17–36), whose rays dispel the smoky darkness of the fiery passions (143:30–37, 144:15–19).

The dualism displayed by both sections is much more anthropological (body oriented) than cosmological (world oriented). The Gnostic myth of world creation by an evil power is not mentioned and does not even seem to be presupposed. In this, *ThCont* is not typically Gnostic.

The editorial history of *ThCont* is in fact more complicated than the general account given here; for a detailed account see below, bibliography § 6.

5. **PROVENANCE AND DATE.** *ThCont* represents a tradition about the apostle Judas Thomas as Jesus' twin and the recipient of his most secret teachings, whose literary and doctrinal development can be traced for more than a century. Scholars have dated two products of this tradition with fair certainty: the *Gospel According to Thomas*,⁴ composed ca. A.D. 150, and the *Acts of Thomas*⁵ composed ca. A.D. 225. Both are usually thought to come from an ascetic, pre-Manichaean Christianity of the Osrhoëne (Eastern Syria, between Edessa and Mesene). Their similarities to *ThCont* suggest a common provenance; furthermore the *Gospel According to Thomas* and the *Acts of Thomas* seem to provide a chronological bracket for *ThCont* (see below).

All three texts have a dualistic view of man. In the *Gospel* the motif of sexual abstinence is merely present, being neither dominant nor explicit (sayings 22, 79, 101, 105, 114). While in *ThCont* and the *Acts of Thomas* asceticism is more developed, and Thomas's apostolic mission is to exhort mankind to abandon sexual passion.

Moreover § A of *ThCont* (and consequently the final redacted version of the work [see above, § 3]) occupies a median position between the *Gospel* and the *Acts* in terms of the relative dominance of the apostle Thomas. In the *Gospel* he is merely recipient and guarantor of Jesus' secret teaching, and figures as a character in only one episode (saying 13); while in the *Acts*, Thomas is always and everywhere the central character. In *ThCont*, which hesitates halfway between these two extremes, the savior still dominates—but Thomas is the interlocutor of the dialogue, comes to self-knowledge, makes crucial confessions and observations, and is to conduct a preaching mission. Correspondingly the trajectory of literary genres conveying the Judas Thomas tradition moves from sayings collection (*Gospel According to Thomas*) to dialogue (*ThCont*) to romance (*Acts of Thomas*) as the dominance of the savior diminishes and the theme of sexual asceticism increasingly predominates. Thus *ThCont*, or at least its § A, may have been composed ca. A.D. 200–225 in the ascetic milieu of East Syrian Christianity.

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THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

EDITED BY

BENTLEY LAYTON

- *p. 138¹ * $\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\theta\eta\pi\` \ \bar{\nu}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\nu}\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\iota}\ \omicron\upsilon\gamma\delta\alpha\varsigma\ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma\` \ \delta\alpha\upsilon\kappa\ \zeta\omega\omega\tau\` \ \mu\alpha|\theta\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\psi\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}|\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma$
- 5 $\bar{\pi}\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\ \eta\bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\pi}\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\` \ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\varsigma\ ||\ \epsilon\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa\` \ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$
 $\zeta\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\pi}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\ |\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\delta\omega\lambda\bar{\pi}\` \ \bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa\` \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\kappa\` \ \bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\ |\ \zeta\bar{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\pi}\epsilon\kappa\` \ \zeta\eta\tau\`$
- $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\` \ \bar{\pi}\alpha\` \ \varsigma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi\` \ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\pi}\alpha\psi\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\` \ \zeta\epsilon\` \tau-$
- 10 $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\` \ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\iota\bar{\mu}\` \ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\kappa\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\` \ \bar{\nu}\delta\alpha\psi\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\ \epsilon\kappa\bar{\nu}\alpha\psi\omega\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}-$
 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\psi\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon\ \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\ \varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa\` \ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\pi}\alpha\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ |\ \bar{\pi}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\omega\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$
 $\bar{\pi}\epsilon\` \ \epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\kappa\` \ \psi\omega\bar{\pi}\epsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \ \epsilon\` \ |\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\kappa\` \ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\` \ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\kappa\` \ \ \alpha\gamma\omega$
 $\bar{\tau}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\` \ \ \alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma|\ \omega\ \gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}\ \epsilon\kappa\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \chi\epsilon\ \delta\alpha\upsilon\kappa\ \bar{\pi}\epsilon$
- 15 $\bar{\pi}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ |\ \ \zeta\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\psi\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa\` \ \omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\`-$
 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \ ||\ \alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\kappa\ \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \ \epsilon\ \ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\kappa\` \ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon\`-$
 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\` \ \epsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\` \ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\` \ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\upsilon\` \ \ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\pi}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\mu}\` \ \varsigma\omicron\gamma|\ \omega\bar{\nu}\eta\ \gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}\` \ \bar{\mu}-$
 $\bar{\pi}\chi\omicron\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\ \lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma\` \ \ \bar{\pi}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma|\ \alpha\alpha\tau\` \ \alpha\upsilon\omicron\gamma\omega\ \omicron\bar{\nu}\` \ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\iota$
- 20 $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\` \ \alpha\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\pi}\bar{\tau}\eta\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}\ |\ \ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \bar{\pi}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\` \ \bar{\pi}\alpha\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\`$
 $\alpha\kappa\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\epsilon\theta\eta\bar{\pi}\` \ ||\ \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\omega\bar{\mu}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\pi}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \bar{\pi}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\ \chi\iota\ \chi\bar{\rho}\omicron\bar{\pi}\` \ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\`$
 $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\` \ \varsigma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\`$

AUXILIARY NOTES

138:1 Sah. $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$. 4 Sah. $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\gamma$.
4 i.e. $\bar{\pi}\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}$. 5 i.e. $\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi$
9 Sah. $\alpha\kappa\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$.

TEXT CRITICAL NOTES

138:3 $\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\psi\epsilon$ < $\gamma\alpha\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma$ > Kirchner, with hesitation
7 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon$: $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ em. Turner², with hesitation 8 $\bar{\pi}\alpha\psi\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$: understood by Nagel
as mistranslation of Greek συναθλητής as though συναληθής: as Greek $\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\phi}\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta-$
θινός Kirchner 18 $\bar{\nu}\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$: $\bar{\nu}$ written over erasure of $\bar{\pi}$ 19 $\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$: prob. emend to $\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$
(but cf. 143:3)

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN D. TURNER

1 The secret words that the savior spoke to ' Judas Thomas which I, even I Mathaias, ' wrote down, while I was walking, listening to them speak with ' one another.

The savior said, "Brother Thomas, while ⁵ you (sg.) have time in the world listen to me, ' and I will reveal to you the things you have pondered ' in your mind.

"Now since it has been said that you are my ' twin and true companion, examine yourself and learn ' who you are, in what way you exist, and ¹⁰ how you will come to be. Since you will be called my brother, ' it is not fitting that you be ignorant ' of yourself. And I know that you have understood, ' because you had already understood that I am the knowledge of the truth. ' So while you accompany me, although you are uncomprehending, ¹⁵ you have (in fact) already come to know, and you will be called 'the one who ' knows himself.' For he who has not known himself ' has known nothing, but he who has known himself ' has at the same time already achieved knowledge about the depth of the all. ' So then you my brother Thomas have beheld what is obscure ²⁰ to men, that is, what they ignorantly stumble against." '

138:2 Mathaias: *not the same spelling as Matthew or Matthaïas*

138:8 true companion: *possibly an error for fellow contender*

- παχεϋ δε ν̄σι θωμας̄ μ̄πχοεις χε | ετβε παει σε †σοπ̄ μ̄μοκ
 χεκαας εκνασω ναϊ | [ν̄ν]ε†ψινε μ̄μοκ̄ εροοϋ̄ †α θη ν̄τεκ̄ ανα-
 25 λημ̄ψις | [αγ]ω ζοταν̄ εειψαν̄ σωτ̄μ̄ εβολ ζιτοοτκ̄ †α πρα ||
 ν̄νεθηπ̄ τοτε οϋν̄ δομ̄ μ̄μοει εψαχε ετβη†τ[ο]γ̄ αγω σογονζ
 εβολ ναει χε τμηε σμοκζ ᾱ|α[ς] ν̄ναζρ̄ν̄ ν̄ρωμε̄
 αϋ̄ ογωψ̄β̄ ν̄σι π̄σωρ̄ εϋχω μ̄|μ̄[ο]ς̄ χε εψπε νετογονζ εβολ νητ̄ν̄
 30 σεζηπ̄ | ν̄[ν]αζρ̄ν̄ τηνε ν̄αψ̄ ν̄ζε̄ εϋν̄ δαμ̄ μ̄μωτ̄ν̄ ασωτ̄μ̄ || ανετε
 ν̄σεογονζ εβολ αν̄ εψπε ν̄ζβηγε ν̄τμηε | ετογονζ εβολ ζ̄μ̄
 πκοσμοσ σεμοκζ ατρετ̄ν̄ᾱ|αϋ̄ εειε πως δε ετετναειρε ν̄να πμεγε-
 θεοσ ετ̄|χοσε̄ αγω να πληρωμα ετε ν̄σεογονζ εβολ | αν̄ ν̄-
 35 ναψ̄ δε ν̄ζε εϋναμοϋτε ερωτ̄ν̄ χε εργατης || ετβε παϊ ν̄τωτ̄ν̄
 ζενσβοϋει αγω μ̄πατετν̄χι μ̄|πμεγεθεοσ ν̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄τελειοσ
 αϋ̄ ογωψ̄β̄ δε ν̄σι | θωμας̄ πεχαϋ̄ μ̄π̄σωρ̄ χε χοσ νααν̄ ετβε [ν]αει |
 ετκχω μ̄μοοϋ χε σεογονζ εβολ αν̄ ᾱ|λα σε]ζηπ̄ | ερον̄
 40 παχε π̄σωρ̄ χε σμα [νι]μ̄ [.⁹] ν̄ || ν̄τβνοοϋε̄ εϋχπο
 μ̄μοοϋ . [.] [. .] ε | εϋ[οϋ]ονζ ε[β]ολ μ̄πρητε ν̄θε
 ν̄[. . .] ψ[. .] τ̄ εϋ̄ϋοϋ ||^{10½}] τ̄ε[.^{2½} .] παϊ ζωωϋ̄ νετ̄μ̄π̄σα
 *p. 139¹ ν̄τπε | [.¹⁵] . νετογονζ εβολ αλλα ε[γ]̄*ονζ
 εβολ ζ̄ν̄ τοϋνοϋνε οϋαατοϋ αγω νεγκαρ|ποσ πετ̄σααν̄ ψ̄-
 μοοϋ νεεισωμα ν̄τοοϋ ετοϋ|ονζ εβολ̄ εϋωμ̄ εβολ ζ̄ν̄ ν̄σωντ̄
 ε†νε μ̄μοοϋ | ετβε παϊ δε ν̄σωμα σεψιβε πετψιβε δε ϋνα-
 5 τε||κο ν̄ϋωσ̄ν̄ αγω μ̄ντεϋ ζελπις ν̄ωνζ χ̄μ̄ πιναϋ | χε πισωμα

26–27 i.e. ααας.

34 i.e. ν̄αψ̄.

43–139:1 prob. i.e. εϋογονζ. 139:1 Sah. τεϋνοϋνε. 3 i.e. εϋογωμ . . . ετεινε.

38 rest. Turner, Krause

39 [νι]μ̄ : rest. Krause [ν̄τε ν̄ρωμε μ]ν̄ rest. Schenke, with hesitation : [σεψοοπ̄ ν̄θε] ν̄ rest. Kirchner : [αγωψινε ν̄θε] ν̄ rest. Krause 40 ο[γωωψ̄ν̄ λορ]οϋ̄ ε[ει]ε sim. rest. Turner² 41 ν̄[. . .] : ν̄ is definite, superlin. stroke restored prob. ν̄[οϋ . .] or ν̄[νι . .] for ψ can also be read ν̄ ν̄[οϋς]ψ[ν]τ̄ sim. Turner : ν̄[οϋς]ψ[ς]τ̄ Schenke² εϋ̄ϋοϋ read in photographs : for ϋ can also be read ο, ω, ψ or ϋ 41–42 ϋοϋ||τωμ̄ - - -] rest. Kirchner 42 [10½] τ̄ : or else [10½] η [- - - εκεσων]τ̄ Kirchner : [- - - κεκωζ]τ̄ sim. Schenke² παϊ pap. ε[τβε] παϊ rest. Schenke² σα ν̄τπε^{vocal} read in photographs 43 . . : only a superlin. stroke survives [σεψοοπ̄ αν̄ μ̄πρητε] ν̄ rest. Kirchner 43–139:1 ε[γ]̄|ονζ : ε[ϋοϋ]ονζ Krause, poss. rightly : also possible is ε[γ]̄|ωνζ (thus Turner)

Now Thomas said to the lord, '“Therefore I beg you to tell me ' what I ask you before your ascension, ' and when I hear from you about ²⁵ the hidden things, then I can speak about ' them. And it is obvious to me that the truth is difficult to ' perform before men.”'

The savior answered, saying, ' “If the things that are visible to you (pl.) are obscure ' to you, how can you hear ³⁰ about the things that are not visible? If the deeds of the truth ' that are visible in the world are difficult for you (pl.) to perform, ' how indeed, then, shall you perform those that pertain to the ' exalted height and to the pleroma, which are not visible? ' And how shall you be called 'laborers'? ³⁵ In this respect you are apprentices, and have not yet received ' the height of perfection.”'

Now Thomas answered ' and said to the savior, “Tell us about these things ' that you say are not visible, [but are] hidden ' from us.”'

The savior said, “[All] bodies [. . .] ⁴⁰ the beasts are begotten [. . .] . . . ' it is evident like [. . .] . . . ' [. . .] . . . this, too, those that are above ' [. . .] things that are visible, but [they are] visible **139** in their own root, and it is their fruit ' that nourishes them. But these visible bodies ' survive by devouring creatures similar to them ' with the result that the bodies change. Now that which changes will ⁵ decay and perish, and has no hope of life from then on, ' since that body

138:43–139:1 *or*, but [they] live from their own root

ΓΑΡ ΟΥΤΒΗ ΠΕ ΝΗΘΕ ΔΕ ΝΗΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ | ΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΣΜΑ ΤΕΚΟ
 ΤΕΕΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΗΕΙΠΛΑΣΜΑ | ΣΕΝΑΤΕΚΟ ΜΗΤΙ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΖΗ
 10 ΤΣΥΝΟΥΣΙΑ Ν|ΘΕ ΜΠΑ ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΖΩ|ΩΥ ΠΕ
 ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΕΦΝΑΧΠΟ ΝΟΥΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΟΥΟ | ΕΡΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΔΕ ΝΤΩ-
 ΤΗ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΨΑΝΤΕ|ΤΗΡ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ

ΑΦΟΥΨΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΧΕ Ε|ΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΨΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ
 15 ΝΕΤΨΑΧΕ | ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΕ ΝΣΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΨΥ ΝΕΤ ΜΟΚΖ || ΝΒΟΛΟΥ
 ΕΥΤΗΤΩΝ ΔΝΕΤΧΩΛΚ ΝΗΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΑΥ|ΜΗΪΝΕ ΖΗ ΤΟΥΨΗ ΣΕΧΩΛΚ
 ΜΕΝ ΝΗΕΥΣΟΤΕ ΝΘΕ | ΝΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΧΩΛΚ ΑΠΜΑΪΝΕ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΦΟΥΟΝΖ | ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΥ|ΖΩΠ
 20 ΜΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ || ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΝ-
 ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΚΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ |

ΠΑΧΕΥ ΝΒΙ ΙΣ ΧΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΟΥ|Ο|ΪΕΙΝ

ΠΑΧΕΥ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΧΟ|ΕΙΣ | ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΠΙΟΥΟ-
 ΕΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ | ΕΤΒΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΨΑΦΡΡΙΕ ΑΥΨ ΨΑΦ-
 ΖΩΤΠ

25 ΠΑΧΕΥ || ΝΒΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΧΕ Ω ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ ρ[α]ρ |
 ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΧΕΚΑ[ΔΣ] | ΔΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΔΩ Μ-
 ΠΙΜΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΕΒ[ΟΛ] | ΝΖΗΤΥ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΕΨΑ Ν-
 30 ΣΩΤΠ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΨ [ε]ζ|ραϊ Ν†ΜΝΤΤΒΗΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΙΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΦΝΑΡΑΝΑ||ΧΩΡΕΙ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΥ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΑΥΨ ΤΕΥ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΑΨΟΠΥ | ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΖΥ-
 ΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΠΕ

ΤΟΤΕ | ΑΦΟΥΨΖ ΕΤΟΟΥΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ Ω ΤΕΤΕ | ΜΑΥΨΝ ΡΑΤΣ
 ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ω ΠΣΙΨΕ Μ|ΠΚΩΖΤ ΕΤΧΕΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΗ ΝΣΩΜΑ ΝΗ-
 35 ΡΩΜΕ ΜΗ || ΝΕΥΑΤΚΑΣ ΕΨΧΕΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΥΨΗ ΜΗ | Φ[ΟΟΥ] ΑΥΨ
 ΕΤΡΩΧΖ ΝΗΜΕΛΟΣ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΨ | Ε[ΤΤΡΕ Ν]ΕΥΖΗΤ †ΖΕ ΑΥΨ ΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ

6 ΝΗΘΕ : i.e. ΝΘΕ. 7 Sah. ΠΟΥΣΜΑ.

26 Sah. ΕΨΡ.

139:22 rest. Turner, Krause

25 ρ[α]ρ sim. Schenke² 27 rest. Turner, Krause

36 rest. Turner, Krause 37 Ε[ΤΤΡΕ Ν] Layton : for the syntax cf. 139:36 ΕΤΡΩΧΖ and

139:39 ΕΤΚΙΜ : Ε[ΣΤΡΕ Ν] Godron

is bestial. So just as the body of the beasts ' perishes, so also will these formations ' perish. Do they not derive from intercourse ' like that of the beasts? If it (the body) too derives from intercourse, ¹⁰ how will it beget anything different from ' beasts? So, therefore, you are babes until ' you become perfect.''

And Thomas answered, ' "Therefore I say to you, lord, that those who speak ' about things that are invisible and difficult ¹⁵ to explain are like those who shoot their arrows at a ' target at night. To be sure, they shoot their arrows as ' anyone would—since they shoot at the target—but it is not visible. ' Yet when the light comes forth and ' hides the darkness, then the work of each will appear. ²⁰ And you, our light, enlighten, o lord." ' '

Jesus said, "It is in light that light exists." ' '

Thomas spoke, saying, "Lord, ' why does this visible light that shines ' on behalf of men rise and set?"'

The savior ²⁵ said, "O blessed Thomas, of course this visible light ' shines on your (pl.) behalf—not in order [that] ' you (pl.) remain here, but rather that you might come forth ' —and whenever all the elect abandon ' bestiality, then this light will withdraw ³⁰ up to its essence, and its essence will welcome it, ' since it is a good servant."

Then ' the savior continued and said, "O ' unsearchable love of the light! O bitterness of ' the fire that blazes in the bodies of men and in ³⁵ their marrow, kindling in them night and ' day, and burning the limbs of men and ' [making] their minds become drunk and their souls

139:9–11 *literally*, If it too derives from it, how can it beget anything different from them?

139:15–17 *or*, are like those who extend their (signal) fires for a signal at night. To be sure, they extend their fires as anyone would— since they extend (them) for a signal—but it is not visible

become deranged ' [. . .] them within males and females ' . . . [. . .] night and moving them, [. . .] ⁴⁰ . . . secretly and visibly. ' For the males [move . . . upon the females] ' and the females upon [the males. Therefore it is] **140** said, 'Everyone who seeks the truth from ' true wisdom will make himself wings so as to ' fly, fleeing the lust that scorches the spirits ' of men.' And he will make himself wings to flee ⁵ every visible spirit."

And Thomas answered, ' saying, "Lord, this is exactly what I am asking ' you about, since I have understood that you ' are the one who is beneficial to us, as you say."

Again ' the savior answered and said, "Therefore it is necessary ¹⁰ for us to speak to you (pl.), since this is the doctrine for the perfect. ' If, now, you (pl.) desire to become perfect, you shall ' observe these things: if not, your (pl.) name is 'Ignorant,' ' since it is impossible for an intelligent man to dwell with a ' fool, for the intelligent man is perfect in all wisdom. ¹⁵ To the fool, however,

139:41–42 upon . . . upon : *or*, without . . . without

τοϥ` ππετνανοϥϥ ππεθοοϥ πιωωϥ | ἵνοϥτ` ναϥ` πε xe πσο-
 φος γαρ` ϣνασαανϥ ζῆ | τμηε αϥϥ ϣναωωπε ἵθε ἡπωην ετρητ`
 20 ζι|ζῆ πμοϥ ν`σωρμ` επιδη οϥν ζοεινε ευῆ τῆζ | ἡμοοϥ ευπωτ`
 ζιζῆ νετοϥονζ εβολ ναει ε||τοϥηϥ εβολ ζῆ τμηε` πετχι μοειτ`
 γαρ ζητοϥ` | ε[τ]ε πκωστ πε` ϣνα† ναϥ ἵνοϥφαντασια ἡμμε
 | [αϥ]ϣ ϣναῤ οϥοειν εροοϥ ζῆ οϥσαειε εϣνατε|[κο] αϥϥ
 ϣναῤαιχμαλωτιζε ἡμοοϥ` ζῆ οϥζῶ|βε ἡκακε` ἡϥτορποϥ ζῆ οϥζη-
 25 δονη εσ† στοει || αϥϥ ϣνααϥ ἡβῶλλε ζραῖ ζῆ τεπιϥμια ἡατσει
 | αϥϥ ϣναααϥ ἡνεϥψϥχοοϥε` αϥϥ ἡϥωω|[πε] ναϥ ἡθε ἡ-
 νοϥωμοϥε` εστακῶ ζῆ ποϥζητ` | ε[μ]ἡ ψβομ` ἡμοοϥ ἡναζῶ ε-
 30 νεζ αϥϥ ἡθε ἡ|οϥχαλινος ζῆ οϥταπρο εϥσσκ` ἡμοοϥ απεϥ`||-
 οϥωϥε` ἡμιν` ἡμοϥ`
 αϥϥ αϥμοροϥ ζῆ νεϥ`|αλλϥις` αϥϥ νεϥμελος τηροϥ αϥ-
 conζοϥ ἡ|ζραῖ ζῆ πσιϥε` ἡτμῤρε ἡτεπιϥμια` ἡναει | ετοϥονζ
 εβολ ετνατεκο αϥϥ ετναϥιβε | αϥϥ ετναπωνε κατα πσσκ` ἡ-
 35 ταϥσοκοϥ` || ἡτπε απιτῆ ἡοϥοειϥ νιμ` ευζωτῶ ἡμοοϥ | εϥσσκ
 ἡμοοϥ ζιζῆ ἡτῶνοοϥε` τηροϥ ἡπ|αωζῆ
 αϥ`οϥωωῶ ἡσι οωμας πα ϣ[εϥ xe] ϥ`|οϥονζ εβολ` αϥϥ αϥ-
 χοο[ς] xe ζ[αζ]` [νετ . .]` | ε[^{2½}.] ἡνετε ἡσεσοϥν α[ν] . .
 40 [^{2½}.]||[. . .]ψϥχη
 αϥοϥωωῶ δε ἡε[ι πσῶῤ] εϥαϥ | [ἡμο]ϥ ϣ[ε ναε]ῖατ[ϥ`] ἡπσαβε

25 i.e. ϣναααϥ. 27 i.e. ἡοϥωμοϥε. ποϥζητ : Sah. πεϥζητ.

15 ππετνανοϥϥ <αϥω> ππεθοοϥ Kirchner 21 rest. Turner², sim. Krause 22 rest. Turner, Krause 23 rest. Turner 26 ααϥϣῶ : first ϥ written over the false start of α 27 rest. Turner, Krause 28 rest. Turner, Krause

37–38 ϥ`οϥονζ pap. : the reading of pap. cannot have been ϥ`οϥονζ : but cf. 138:26 and 142:20 (coϥονζ) 38 ζ[. .]^[4-5]` read in photographs : ζ[αζ]` [νετ - - -] sim. rest. Turner²; for the syntax cf. 142:5 38–39 ζ[ωκ]` [ἡμωτῆ]` ε[βολ] sim. Kirchner : also poss. is ζ[αζ]` [νετωϥ]` | ε[βολ] 39 α[⁶] . . [. .]^{vocal} read in photographs (*Facsimile Edition* incorrectly retouched here) : first letter trace can be read ϣ (ligatured), η, ι, μ, ν, π, ϣ, τ (ligatured), υ or ϥ; second letter trace can be read ε, ε, ο, ϥ, ω, ψ or ϣ α[⁶] : α[ν ἡμοοϥ] Schenke 40 [ἡῆ τ]ψϥχη Schenke²

40 ἡε[ι πσῶῤ] : cf. 138:27, 140:8–9, 142:5–6, 142:9–10, 142:26 40–41 αϥ | [ἡμο]ϥ ϣ[ε - - -] : also palaeographically possible is αϥ [ἡ]||[μο]ϥ [xe - - -] 41 [- - - ναε]ῖατ[ϥ`] ἡ : sim. rest. Turner ἡ : superlin. stroke is definite, μ restored

the good and bad are ' the same—indeed the wise man will be nourished by ' the truth and (Ps 1:3) 'will be like a tree growing by ' the meandering stream'—seeing that there are some who, although having wings, ' rush upon the visible things, things that ²⁰ are far from the truth. For that which guides them, ' the fire, will give them an illusion of truth, ' and will shine on them with a [perishable] beauty, ' and it will imprison them in a dark ' sweetness and captivate them with fragrant pleasure. ²⁵ And it will blind them with insatiable lust ' and burn their souls and become ' for them like a stake stuck in their heart ' which they can never dislodge. And like ' a bit in the mouth it leads them according to its ³⁰ own desire.

“And it has fettered them with its ' chains and bound all their limbs ' with the bitterness of the bondage of lust for those ' visible things that will decay and change ' and swerve by impulse. They have ³⁵ always been attracted downwards: as they are killed, ' they are assimilated to all the beasts of ' the perishable realm.”

Thomas answered and said, ‘‘It ' is obvious and has been said, ‘[Many ' are . . .] ' . . . those who do not know [. . .] . . . ⁴⁰ soul’.”

And [the savior] answered, saying, ' ‘‘[Blessed is] the wise

man who [sought ' after the truth, and] when he found it, he rested **141** upon it forever and was unafraid of those ' who wanted to disturb him.'"

Thomas answered ' and said, "Is it beneficial for us, lord, to rest ' among our own?"

The savior said, "Yes, it is useful. ⁵ And it is good for you (pl.) since things visible ' among men will dissolve—for the vessel of ' their flesh will dissolve, and when it is brought to naught ' it will come to be among visible things, among things that are seen. ' And then the fire which they see gives them pain ¹⁰ on account of love for the faith they ' formerly possessed. They will be gathered back to that which is visible. ' Moreover, those who have sight among things that are not visible, without ' the first love they will perish in the concern for this ' life and the scorching of the fire. Only a little while longer, ¹⁵ and that which is visible will dissolve; then ' shapeless shades will emerge and ' in the midst of tombs they will forever dwell upon the corpses ' in pain and corruption of soul.'" ' "

Thomas answered and said, "What have we ²⁰ to say in the face of these things? What shall we say to ' blind men? What doctrine should we express to these miserable ' mortals who say, 'We came to [do] ' good and not to curse,' and yet [claim], 'Had we not been begotten in the flesh, we would not have known ²⁵ [iniquity]?"

παχεϋ ἄβι πσῶρ χε ζῆ οὔμη ν[αει] εἰτῆμαϋ ἄπῆκαϋ νὰκ ἄ-
 ρωμε ἀλλὰ οὔοϋ ζ[ωσ τῆ]νοοϋε ἄ ἄε γὰρ ἄἡτῆνοοϋε
 εὔοϋωμ ἄἡ[εϋε]ῤῥῆϋ ἄ τῆεε τε ἄε ζωοϋ ἄἡεεῤῥωμε ἄτῆεεῤῥῆ[ε
 30 σε]οὔωμ ἄἡεϋεῤῥῆϋ ἀλλὰ σεζοὔροεετ ἄἡτῆἡῤῥ[ρο] || εἤπιδῆ
 σεμῆεε ἄτῆζῆεε ἄπκωστ ἄ ἄϋω σεο ἄἡζῆαῶ ἄπμοϋ ἄϋω σε-
 πῆτ ἄἡζβῆϋε ἄπχῶζῆε | σεχῶκ εβολ ἄτῆεπῆϋεῤῥεῤῥ ἄἡεϋεο-
 τε σεἡἡνοχοϋ εζῆῆῆ ἄπνοϋἡ ἄἡσεῤῥμαστῆγοϋ ἄἡμοοϋ | εβολ ζῆ-
 35 τῆ τῆἡἡἡἡἡ ἄπκῆε ἄτοϋφῆεεε εβολοϋ σεἡἡφῆραγελλοϋ γὰρ ἄ
 ἄἡμοοϋ ἄτῆροϋπῶτ ἄἡσεἡἡωϋ ἄπμα ετε ἄἡσεσοϋἡ ἄἡμοϋ
 ἄἡ ἄϋω | σεἡ[ἡἡ]ο ἄἡεϋεμελοσ ἄἡ οὔζῆπομῆἡ ἄἡ ἄἡἡἡ
 [ζῆοϋ]κῆ τοοτῆ ἄεβολ ἄϋω σεραϋε εχῆ [- - -] | ρ[. . . -
 40 . . . !1½ . . .] πῆβε ἄἡπῆωῆ εϋο [ἡ - - -] || [σε]ῤῥῆτ
 ἄ[σε πῆ]ῆωῆ ἄἡἡἡ ἄἡ[σε]εἡἡε ἄ[ἡ ἡποϋ]ἡ[ἡ]ἡβε ἄϋ[μεε]ϋε χε
 ζῆσεβεεϋ ν[ε σε - - - - -] | [. .]ἄεε ἄπῆοϋεωμα ζ . [- - - - -
 *p. 142! - - - - -] * ερε ποὔἡἡτ ἄποῆε εροοϋ ἄερε ποὔμεεϋε ζῆ |
 ἡεϋπῆραεεε τσεεε δε τετῆἡἡεεε ἄἡμοοϋ ἄ
 ἄϋ[οϋωῆ] δε ἄβῆ εωμασ ἄπαχεϋ ἄε πῆοεεε ἄπῆἡἡἡἡἡἡἡ
 5 εζῆῆῆ εροοϋ εϋἡἡἡ οϋ ἡῆἡἡἡἡἡ || γὰρ ἄπῆἡἡ ἄετῆἡἡἡἡ ζῆ
 γὰρ ἄἡετῆ οὔβῆϋ
 ἄϋ[οϋ]ῆωῆ ἄβῆ πσῶρ παχεϋ ἄε εϋ ἄἡτακ ἄπετοὔοἡ | εβολ νὰκ ἄ
 παχεϋ ἄβῆ ἡοὔἡἡἡ ἄπῆἡετοὔοἡε εἡροϋ ἄε εωμασ χε ἄτοκ
 πῆοεεε ἄπετῆῆῆῆῆῆῆῆ | νὰκ ἄϋεεε ἄἡοκ δε ἄἡταεωτῆ εροκ ἄ

34 Sah. ἄτῆεϋφῆεεε. 43-142:1 Sah. ἄπῆεϋεωμα . . . πῆεἡἡἡ . . . πῆεἡεεϋε.

25 ν[. . .] *vacat* read in photographs 26 rest. Funk : ζ[ἡ ἡτῆ]νοοϋε Krause 28
 rest. Turner, Krause : for the syntax cf. 139:7 29 ἄἡἡῤῥ[ρο] : of ἡ, ἡ is definite, superlin.
 stroke restored : sim. rest. Schenke² : also poss. is ἄἡἡῤῥ[ἡε] 38 sim. rest.
 Turner εχῆ [1-3½] : prob. εχῆ [ἡ] or εχῆ [τ] or εχῆ [ἡ] or εχῆ [ἡ] 39 ρ[11½]
 pap. : ρ[οοϋω ἄπῆεεε ζῆ] rest. Turner², cf. 141:13 : ρ[ωκζ ἄϋω σεεε ἡ]
 Kirchner εϋο [1½-4] pap. : εϋο [ἡσεε] Schenke² 40 [σε]ῤῥῆτ ἄ[σε - - -] rest.
 Kirchner [- - - πῆ]ῆωῆ rest. Turner² : [- - - οϋ]ῆωῆ Schenke² ἄἡε ἄ [2-4½]
 pap. 40-41 ἄ[ἡ ἡποϋ]ἡ[ἡ]ἡβε ἄϋ[μεε]ϋε sim. rest. Turner, Krause 41 ν[9-11½] :
 ν[- - - σε - - -] Layton 42 [ἡ]ἡεεε rest. Turner : also possible is [ἡ]ἡεεε (Turner²,
 with hesitation) εωμα ζ . [12½-15] pap. 142:1 ζῆ *vacat* read in photographs

2 ἄϋ ἄ *vacat* read in photographs 3 πῆἡ *vacat* read in photographs

6-7 differently. εϋἡἡτακ ἄπετοὔοἡ εβολ νὰκ ἄ Turner

The savior said, ‘‘Truly, as for [those], do not esteem them as men, but regard them [as] beasts, for just as beasts devour one another, so also men of this sort devour one another. On the contrary, they are deprived of [the kingdom] ³⁰ since they love the sweetness of the fire and are servants of death and rush to the works of corruption. They fulfill the lust of their fathers. They will be thrown down to the abyss and be afflicted by the torment of the bitterness of their evil nature. ³⁵ For they will be scourged so as to make them rush backwards, whither they do not know, and they [will recede] from their limbs not patiently but [with] despair. And they rejoice over [...] madness and derangement . . . ⁴⁰ [They] pursue [this] derangement without realizing [their madness, thinking] that they are wise. [They . . .] . . . their body [. . .] **142** their mind is directed to their own selves, for their thought is occupied with their deeds. But it is the fire that will burn them!’’

And Thomas answered and said, ‘‘Lord, what will the one thrown down to them do? For I am most anxious ⁵ about them; many are those who fight them.’’

The savior answered and said, ‘‘What is your own opinion?’’

Judas—the one called Thomas—said, ‘‘It is you, lord, whom it befits to speak, and me to listen.’’

- 10 αϑ`ουγ`||ωψβ̄ ν̄βῑ π̄σω̄ρ̄ χε̄ σω̄τ̄μ̄ ᾱπε̄†νᾱχο̄υϑ` νᾱκ` | ν̄κ̄ρ̄πισ̄τε̄ῡε̄
 ζ̄ν̄ τ̄μη̄ε̄ πε̄τ`χο̄ μ̄ν̄ πε̄το̄ῡχο̄ μ̄μο̄ῡ | σε̄νᾱβω̄λ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ζ̄μ̄ πο̄υ-
 κω̄ζτ` ν̄ζρᾱῑ ζ̄μ̄ π̄κω̄ζτ` | μ̄ν̄ π̄μο̄ο̄ῡ [α]γ̄ω̄ ν̄σε̄ζω̄π` ζ̄ν̄ ν̄τᾱφο̄ς` μ̄-
 15 π̄κᾱκε̄ | ᾱγ̄ω̄ μ̄ν̄ν̄σᾱ ζᾱζ̄ ν̄ο̄ῡο̄εῑω̄ σε̄νᾱο̄ῡων̄ζ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄||ν̄κᾱρ̄πο̄ς̄ ν̄-
 ν̄ψ̄η̄ν̄ ε̄βο̄ο̄ῡ ε̄γ̄ρ̄κο̄λᾱζε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ε̄γ̄ζω̄τ̄βε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ζ̄ν̄ τ`τᾱπ̄ρο̄` ν̄ν̄-
 τ̄β̄νο̄ο̄ῡε̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄ρ̄ω̄|μ̄ε` ζ̄ν̄ τᾱφο̄ρ̄μη̄ ν̄ν̄ζο̄ο̄ῡ μ̄ν̄ ν̄τ̄η̄γ̄ μ̄ν̄ πᾱη̄ρ` | μ̄ν̄
 πο̄ῡο̄εῑν` ε̄τ̄ρ̄ ο̄ῡο̄εῑν` μ̄π̄σᾱ ν̄ζ̄ρε̄
 ᾱφο̄γ̄ω̄ψ̄β̄ | δε̄ ν̄βῑ θ̄ω̄μᾱς` χε̄ ακ̄ρ̄πῑθε̄ με̄ν` μ̄μ̄ον̄` π̄χο̄εῑς`
 20 || αν̄ρ̄νο̄εῑ ζ̄μ̄ π̄ν̄ζ̄η̄τ` ᾱγ̄ω̄ σο̄ῡον̄ζ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ χε̄ τᾱεῑ | [τε̄
 θ̄]ε̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ πε̄κ̄ω̄ᾱχε̄ ο̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄φ̄θ̄ον̄ο̄ς̄ ᾱλλ̄ᾱ ν̄ῑω̄ᾱ|[χε̄ ε̄]τ̄κ̄χ̄ω̄ μ̄-
 μο̄ο̄ῡ νᾱν̄` ζ̄εν̄ς̄ω̄βε̄ νε̄ μ̄π̄κο̄ς̄|[μο̄]ς` ᾱγ̄ω̄ ζ̄ν̄λ̄κ̄ ψ̄ᾱεῑ ν̄ς̄ω̄ο̄ῡ
 νε` ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ σε̄σο̄|[ο̄ῡ]νε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ αν̄` ν̄ᾱψ̄ σε̄ ν̄ρ̄η̄τε̄
 25 εν̄νᾱψ̄β̄ω̄κ` α`||[τᾱ]ψ̄ε̄ ο̄εῑω̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ χε̄ σε̄ω̄π` μ̄μ̄ον̄` | [αν̄`
 ζ̄]μ̄ π̄κο̄ς̄μο̄ς`
 ᾱφο̄γ̄ω̄ψ̄β̄ ν̄βῑ π̄σω̄ρ̄ πᾱχε̄ϑ̄ χε̄ | [ζᾱμ]η̄ν̄` †χ̄ω̄ μ̄μο̄ς̄ ν̄η̄τ̄ν̄ χε̄
 πε̄τ̄νᾱσω̄τ̄μ̄ ᾱπε̄|[τ̄ν̄ω̄]ᾱχε̄` ᾱγ̄ω̄ ν̄ϑ̄κ̄το̄ μ̄πε̄ϑ̄ζο̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄` η̄ ν̄ϑ̄κ̄λ̄κ̄ ψ̄ε̄|[ε̄]
 30 ν̄ς̄ω̄ᾱ` [[ν̄]] η̄ ν̄ϑ̄ς̄ω̄τ̄ρ̄ ν̄νε̄ϑ̄`ς̄πο̄το̄ῡ ζ̄ῑ νᾱε̄[ῑ] ζᾱ||μ̄η̄ν̄` †χ̄ω̄ μ̄μο̄ς̄ ν̄η̄τ̄ν̄
 χε̄ σε̄νᾱτᾱᾱϑ̄` ᾱτο̄ο̄τ̄ϑ̄` | μ̄πᾱρ̄χ̄ων̄ ε̄τ̄μ̄π̄σᾱ ν̄`τ̄πε̄` πᾱῑ ε̄τᾱρ̄χεῑ
 ε̄ζ̄ρᾱῑ ε̄|χ̄ν̄ ν̄ε̄ζο̄ῡς̄ιᾱ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄ϑο̄ ν̄ρ̄ρο̄ ε̄χ̄ω̄ο̄ῡ ν̄ϑ̄κ̄το̄ | μ̄πᾱεῑ ε̄τ̄μ̄μᾱγ̄
 ν̄ϑ̄νο̄χ̄ϑ̄ χ̄ν̄ ν̄τ̄πε̄` ψ̄ᾱ πῑτ̄ν̄ ᾱ|π̄νο̄ῡν̄` ν̄ς̄ε̄ω̄ρε̄χ̄` ᾱρ̄ω̄ϑ̄` ζ̄ν̄ ο̄ῡμᾱ
 35 ε̄ϑ̄ση̄ ε̄ϑο̄ || ν̄κᾱκε̄` μᾱϑ̄ψ̄β̄ν̄ β̄ο̄μ̄ σε̄ μ̄πο̄νε̄ϑ̄` η̄ ακ̄ῑμ̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ | π̄ι-
 νο̄ς̄ ν̄βᾱθε̄ο̄ς̄` ν̄τε̄ π̄τᾱρ̄τᾱρο̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ πῑς̄[ῑω̄]ε̄ [[ε̄]] | [ε̄τ̄ζ̄]ο̄ρ̄ω̄ ν̄τε̄ ᾱμ̄ν̄τε̄

142:12 Sah. πεγκωζτ. 17 i.e. ζωου.

17 poss. emend to ζωου

20 π̄ν̄ζ̄η̄τ` <ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ χε̄ σε̄ω̄π̄ μ̄μ̄ον̄ αν̄ ζ̄μ̄ π̄κο̄ς̄μο̄ς̄> (transposing from 142:25–26) Kirchner 21 rest. Turner : [τε̄ τ̄μ]ε̄ Krause, but unlikely (text uses μ̄μη̄, not με̄) ψ̄α-
 χε̄ ο̄ ν̄: ο̄ added above the line 22 rest. Turner, Krause 24 rest. Turner, Krause 25–26 {ε̄πῑδ̄η̄ . . . κο̄ς̄μο̄ς̄} (and transposing to 142:20) Kirchner 26 sim. rest. Turner

27–28 rest. Turner : πε̄|[ε̄ῑω̄]ᾱχε̄ Krause 28–29 ψ̄ε̄[ε̄] : also poss. is ψ̄ε̄[ε̄ῑ] 29 [[ν̄]] : cancelled by the copyist 36 πῑς̄[ῑω̄]ε̄ : for ϑ̄ can also be read ε̄, θ̄, ο̄ or ϑ̄ rest. Schenke² : also palaeographically possible is πῑο̄[ο̄ρ̄]ε̄ (but cf. Turner² 208) [[ε̄]] : cancelled by the copyist 37 [ε̄τ̄ζ̄]ο̄ρ̄ω̄ sim. Krause

¹⁰ The savior replied, “Listen to what I am going to tell you (sg.) ¹ and believe in the truth. That which sows and that which is sown ¹ will dissolve in their fire—within the fire ¹ and the water—and they will hide in tombs of darkness. ¹ And after a long time they shall show forth ¹⁵ the fruit of the evil trees, being punished, ¹ being slain in the mouth of beasts and men ¹ at the instigation of the rains and winds and air ¹ and the light that shines above.”

Thomas ¹ replied, “You have certainly persuaded us, lord. ²⁰ We realize in our heart, and it is obvious, that this ¹ [is so], and that your word is sufficient. But these words ¹ that you speak to us are ridiculous and contemptible to the world ¹ since they are misunderstood. ¹ So how can we go ²⁵ preach them, since we are [not] esteemed ¹ [in] the world?”

The savior answered and said, ¹ “Truly I tell you (pl.) that he who will listen to ¹ [your] word and turn away his face or sneer ¹ at it or smirk at these things, truly ³⁰ I tell you that he will be handed over to ¹ the ruler above who rules over ¹ all the powers as their king, and he will turn ¹ that one around and cast him from heaven down to ¹ the abyss, and he will be imprisoned in a narrow ³⁵ dark place. Moreover, he can neither turn nor move on account of ¹ the great depth of Tartaros and the [heavy bitterness] ¹ of Hades

142:15 punished: *or*, pruned

- 15 ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤῆΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΕΙΒΙΟΣ || ΕΤΕΤῆΝΤΑΚΟ ἸΝΕΤῆ-
 ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ`
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΖΡΑΪ | Ζῆ ΠΚΩΖΤ` ΕΤΡΩΚΖ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ΤΗΝΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΤΣΙ
 ΠΕ |
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΚΑΤ` ΕΤΚΩΤΕ Ζῆ | ΝΕΤῆΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΟΥΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ἸΤΟΟΤῆ ΜΠΜΟΥΖ | ΕΤΖ[ῆ] ΤΗΝΕ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΥΩΜ` Ἰ-
 20 ΝΕΤῆΣΑΡΖ` Ζῆ ΟΥΩΝΖ || ΕΒΟΛ` ΑΥΩ ΨΝΑΠΩΖ ἸΝΕΤῆΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ` Ζῆ
 ΟΥ|ΖΩΠ ἸΨΣΒΤΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ΝΕΤῆΡΗΥ`
 ΟΥΟΪ [Ν]Η|Τῆ ἸΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΤῆΜΗΡ` Ζῆ ἸΣΠΗΛ[ΑΙ]-
 ΟΝ` ΤΕΤῆΣΩΒΕ ΕΤΕΤῆΡΑΨΕ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ἸΣΩΒ[Ε] | ἸΛΙΒΕ ΤΕΤῆ-
 25 ἸΝΟΕΙ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΤῆΝΤΑΚΟ ΟΥΤΕ Τ[Ε]||ΤῆἸΝΟΕΙ ΑΝ` Ζῆ ΝΕΤΕΤῆΚῆ>ΖΗ-
 ΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠ[ΕΤ]Ἰ|ἸΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΤῆΨΟΟΠ` Ζῆ ΠΚΑΚΕ` Μῆ ΠΜΟ[Υ]
 | ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΕΤῆΝΤΑΖΕ Ζῆ ΠΚΩΖΤ` ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤῆ[ΜΕΖ] | ἸΣΨΕ` ΕΡΕ
 ΠΕΤῆΖΗΤ` ΠΩΣῆ ΕΡΩΤῆ ΕΤΒΕ Π[Μ]ΟΥΖ | ΕΤ[Ζ]ῆ ΤΗΝΕ` ΑΥΩ ΨΟΛΣ
 30 ΝΗΤῆ ἸΒΙ ΠΚΛΟ Μῆ || ΤΠΛΗΓΗ ἸΝΕΤῆΧ ΑΣΕ` ΑΥΩ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΨΩΔΕ
 ΝΗ|Τῆ ἸΘΕ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ` ΤΕΤῆΜῆΝΤΡῆΖΕ ΓΑΡ` ΑΤΕΤῆ|ΤΑΑΣ ἸΤΜῆΝΤ-
 ΖΜΖΑΛ ΑΤΕΤῆΕΙΡΕ ἸΝΕΤῆΖΗΤ` ἸΖΗΤ` ἸΚΑΚΕ` ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤῆΜΕ-
 35 ΕΥΕ` ΑΤΕΤῆΝΤΑΑΥ | ἸΤΜῆΝΤΣΕΔΕ` ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤῆΜΟΥΖ ἸΝΕΤῆΜΕ||Ε[Υ]Ε
 Ζῆ ΠΚΑΠΝΟΣ` ΜΠΚΩΖΤ` ΕΤΖῆ ΤΗΝΕ ΑΥ|Ψ [ΑΨΖ]ΨΠ` ἸΒΙ ΠΕΤῆΟΥΟ-
 ΕΙΝΕ` Ζῆ ΤΚΛΟΟΛΕ | [ῆ Α]ΥΨ ΤΖΒΩΣ ΕΤ`ΤΟ ΖΙ ΤΗΝΕ
 ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[1 1/2-4] | [.] ΡΟΥ` ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΚΑΤΕ ΧΕ ΜῆΜΩ[Τῆ
 40 ΖΙ][Τῆ] ΘΕΛ[ΠΙΣ ΕΤ]ΨΟΟΠ` ΑΝ ΑΥΨ Ἰ[Ι]Μ ΠΕΝΤ[ΑΤΕ]||[Τῆ]-
 ΠΙΣΤ[ΕΥΕ] ΕΡΟΥ` ΤΕΤῆΣΟΥ[ΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΤΕΤῆ]||[Ψ]ΟΟΠ ΤΗΡΤῆ Ζῆ

19-20 i.e. Ζῆ ΟΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ.

21 possibly corrupt: ΣΒΤΕ <ΤΗΝΕ ΕΜΕΣΤΕ> ΤΗΝΕ ΟΥ ΣΒΤΕ <ΤΗΝΕ ΕΤΡΕΤῆΜΕΣΤΕ>
 ΤΗΝΕ Kirchner (exempli gratia)

25 Ζῆ: ῆ em. Schenke, poss. rightly <ῆ>ΖΗΤΟΥ Turner rest. Turner, sim.
 Krause 26 ΜΟ[1-2] pap.: rest. Turner. Krause 27 rest. Turner, Krause 28 rest.
 Turner, sim. Krause 29 ΕΤ[.]ῆ read in photographs ΠΚΛΟ Μῆ: also poss. is ΠΚΛΟΜ ῆ
 (thus Turner) 32-33 {Ἰ|ΖΗΤ} Schenke 33 ΖΗΤ` read in photographs 34 ΤΜῆΝΤ read
 in photographs 35 Ε [.]Ε Ζῆ read in photographs 36 rest. Turner, Krause 37 prob.
 [ἸΚΑΚΕ Α]ΥΨ (thus Turner) ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[1 1/2-4] pap.: for ῆ can also be read β, γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν
 or ρ ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[ΟΖΕ] Turner² 37-38 ΑΤΕΤῆΠ[ΩΤ] | [ἸΣΩΨ Ζῆ ΟΥΚ]ΡΟΥ` rest.
 Turner³ 38 [- - - ΣΣ]ΟΥΟΥ` rest. Schenke² 38-39 ἸΜΜΩ[Τῆ ΖΙ][Τῆ] ΘΕΛ[ΠΙΣ ΕΤ]ΨΟΟΠ`
 ΑΝ rest. Turner² 39 ΠΕΝΤ[ΑΤΕ]||[Τῆ] Turner² 40-41 rest. Turner, Krause: sim. rest.
 Kirchner, but ΣΟΥ[ΥΝ ΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤῆ]

the world, and your god is this life! ¹⁵ You are corrupting your souls!

“Woe to you (pl.) within ' the fire that burns in you; for it is insatiable! '

“Woe to you because of the wheel that turns in ' your minds!

“Woe to you within the grip of the burning ' that is in you, for it will devour your flesh openly ²⁰ and rend your souls secretly, ' and prepare you for your companions!

“Woe to ' you, captives, for you are bound in caverns! ' You laugh! In mad laughter you rejoice! ' You neither realize your perdition, nor ²⁵ do you reflect on your circumstances, nor have [you] ' understood that you dwell in darkness and [death]! ' On the contrary, you are drunk with the fire and [full] ' of bitterness. Your mind is deranged on account of the burning ' that is in you, and sweet to you are the poison and ³⁰ the blows of your enemies! And the darkness rose for ' you like the light, for you surrendered your freedom ' for servitude! You darkened your hearts ' and surrendered your thoughts ' to folly, and you filled your thoughts ³⁵ with the smoke of the fire that is in you! And ' your light [has hidden] in the cloud ' [of . . .] and the garment that is put upon you, you [. . .] ' [. . .]. And [you] were seized [by] ' the hope that does not exist. And who is it [you ⁴⁰ have] believed? Do you [not know that you] ' all dwell among

^{143:29-30} or (*dividing the letters differently*), and sweet to you is the crown of your enemies' blows

- *p. 144¹ ΝΕΤ[.^{14½-17}] [^{1½}] ΟΥ ΜΜΩΤῆ ΖΩC ΕΤ[ΕΤῆ-
] * ΑΤΕΤῆΩΜC ἸΝΕΤῆΨΥΧΗῆ Ζῆ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΚ[Ε] | Α-
 ΤΕΤῆΠΩΤῆ Ζῆ ΝΕΤῆΟΥΩΨΕ ΜΜΙΝῆ ΜΜΩΤῆ
 ΟΥ|ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆ ΝΕΤῆΨΟΟΠῆ Ζῆ ΠCΩΡῆ ΕΤΕΤῆCΩΨΤῆ | ΑΝ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Μ-
 5 ΠΡΗῆ ΠΕΤΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΠΤΗΡῆ ΕΤῆ|CΩΨΤῆ ΑΧῆ ΠΤΗΡῆ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΚΩΤΕ ΑΧῆ Ἰ-
 ΖΒΗΥΕ | ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΤΡΕ ἸΧΑ ΧΕ Ρ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΤΕΤῆΡῆΝΟΕΙ | ΑΝ Μ-
 ΠΟΟΖ ΧΕ ἸΑΨ ἸΖΕ ἸΤΟΥΨΗ Μῆ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΥῆ|CΩΨΤῆ ΕΖΡΑῆ ΕΨΝΑΥ ΑΝCΩΜΑ
 ἸΝΕΤ[Ἰ]ΖΕΤΒΕ
 10 ΟΥΟῆ | ΝΗΤῆ ΝΕΤΜΑΕΙΕ ἸΤCΥΝΗΘΕΙΑῆ ἸΤῆΜῆΤCΖΙΜΕ || Μῆ ΠΕCΨΩΠΕ
 ΝῆΜΜΑC ΕΤCΟΟΥῆ
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΕῆ | ΝΗΤῆ ἸΤΟΟΤΟΥ ἸἸΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΕΤῆCΩΜΑ ΧΕ |
 ΝΕΤῆΜΜΟ ΓΑΡῆ CΕΝΑΘῆΚΕ ΤΗΝΕῆ
 ΟΥΟῆ ΝΗΤῆ ἸΤΟ|ΟΤΟΥ ἸἸΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ἸἸΔΑΙΜΩΝῆ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝῆ |
 15 ΟΥΟῆ ΝΗΤῆ ΝΕΤῆCΩΚῆ ἸἸΝΕΥΜΕΛΟCῆ Ζῆ ΠΚΩΖΤῆ || ΝΙΜῆ ΠΕΤΝΑ-
 ΖΩΟΥ ΝΗΤῆ ἸΟΥΕΙΩΤΕῆ ΝῆΜΤΟΝ | ΧΕΚΑΔC ΕCΝΑΖΩΤῆ ἸΖΑΖ ἸΚΩΖΤῆ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΗΝΕ | Μῆ ΠΕΤῆΡΩΚΖῆ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΗΤῆ ΜΠΡΗ ΑΠῆΡῆΙΕ ΑΧῆ
 ΤΗΝΕῆ ΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΑΚΕῆ ΕΤΖῆ ΤΗΝΕ | ΑΥΩ ΑΖΩΠῆ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ Μῆ
 ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΤCΟΟΥῆ
 20 ΠΡΗ || Μῆ ΠΟΖ ΝΑ† C†ΝΟΥΨΕ ΝΗΤῆ Μῆ ΠΑΗΡ Μῆ | ΠΠῆΔ Μῆ ΠΚΑΖ Μῆ
 ΠΜΟΟΥ ΠΡΗ ΓΑΡῆ ΕΥΤῆ|ΠῆΡῆΙΕ ΑΧῆ ΝΙCΩΜΑῆ CΕΝΑΛΟΨΕΥῆ ἸCΕ-
 [Τ]ΑΚΟ | [Μ]ΠΡΗΤΕ ΖΩΩΨῆ ἸΟΥἸΤΗC Η ΟΥΧΟΡΤΟCῆ ΕΨΩΠΕ | [Μ]ΕΝ
 25 ΕΠΡΗ ΠῆΡῆΙΕ ΑΧΩΨῆ ΨΑΨῆ ἸCΑΜῆ ἸΨΩCΤῆ || [Ἰ]ΤῆΒ ἸΕΛΟΟΛΕῆ ΕΨΩ-
 ΠΕ ΔΕ ΕCΨΑΝCῆ CΟΜ | [Ἰ]CῆΙ ΤῆΒ ἸΕΛΟΟΛΕῆ ἸCῆ ΖΑῆΒΕC ΑΧῆ ΝΙἸΤΗCῆ |
 [Μ]ῆ ΝΙΚΕΨΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΗΤῆ ΕΖΡΑῆ ἸἸΜΜΑCῆ Ἰ[C]|[ΠΩΡ]Ψῆ ΕΒΟΛῆ ΑΥΩ
 ἸCΟΥCΤῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑCῆΚΗ|[ΡΟ]Ἰ[Ο]ΜΕῆΙ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΟΥΑΔΤC ΠΑῆ ΕΤCΡΗΤῆ

144:5 i.e. εχῆ . . . εχῆ.

12 Sah. νετῆμαγ.

16 ζωτῆ: for the word cf. P. Bodmer 6 (Prov. 10:7, 13:9). 18 i.e. εχῆ.

22 i.e. εχῆ. 26 i.e. εχῆ.

41 νετ[ἸῆΜῆΡε ---] rest. Kirchner 41-42 [--- αυω τετῆψουγ]||ψουγ sim. rest. Kirchner 42 ζωc ετ[14-16½] pap.: ζωc ετ[ετῆο Ἰελεγεθεροc αυω] rest. Kirchner 144:1 κα κ[---] read in photographs

2-3 ουοει read in photographs 3 cωψτῆ vacat read in photographs 4 τηρῆ ετῆ vacat read in photographs

27 rest. Turner, sim. Krause 28 rest. Turner, Krause

those that [. . .] ' [. . .] you as though [you . . .]. **144** You baptized your souls in the water of darkness! ' You walked by your own whims!

“Woe ' to you (pl.) who dwell in error, heedless ' that the light of the sun which judges and ⁵ looks down upon the all will circle around all things ' so as to enslave the enemies. You do not even notice ' the moon, how by night and day it ' looks down, looking at the bodies of your slaughters!

“Woe ' to you (pl.) who love intimacy with womankind ¹⁰ and polluted intercourse with them!

“And woe ' to you (pl.) in the grip of the powers of your body, ' for they will afflict you!

“Woe to you (pl.) in the grip of ' the forces of the evil demons!

“Woe to you (pl.) who beguile your limbs with fire! ¹⁵ Who is it that will rain a refreshing dew on you ' to extinguish the mass of fire from you ' along with your burning? Who is it that will cause the sun to ' shine upon you to disperse the darkness in you ' and hide the darkness and polluted water?

“The sun ²⁰ and the moon will give a fragrance to you (pl.), together with the air and ' the spirit and the earth and the water. For if the sun does not ' shine upon these bodies, they will wither and perish ' just like weeds or grass. If ' the sun shines on them, they prevail and choke ²⁵ the grapevine; but if the grapevine ' prevails and shades those weeds ' and all that other brush growing alongside and ' [spreads] and flourishes, it alone ' inherits the land in which it grows;

- 30 zpa'i n̄zhtq̄ || ayw acp̄ nap` ama nim` etacp̄ zaiv̄ec` axwq`
 | τοτε δε εσψαν` αυζανε` ψασp̄ nep` apkaz thpq | ayw ψασp̄
zenouqe` m̄pescxoeic n̄cp̄ anaq` | n̄zoyo xe nepqawwp` gar` n̄-
 35 zennos n̄zice | pe` etve niñthc ψantq̄porqoy alla tww || n̄-
eloolo oγaatc̄ acq̄toy m̄mag ayw acwct̄ m̄mmooy ay moy ay-
wp̄pe n̄ee m̄pkaz
τοτε [a]q̄`oywz etootq` n̄ci t̄c̄ paxeq̄nay xe oγo[ei n]h-
[tñ] xe m̄petñxi n̄tcbw` ayw nepo [: 4-5½ . .] || . . .] cenaz-
 40 ce eytaqe oeiw` [. 8-10 . . .] || [. . .] ayw tet̄[n]p̄ht` azoy n
a . [. .] . w̄n [1½-4 . . .] ||] . n̄at̄nnooyc[ε ap] t̄ñ n̄na ||
 *p. 145¹] t̄ñmooytoy m̄mñ[ε] * xekazc̄ ey natwoy n z̄m̄ p̄moy
naei at` thne | net̄wp̄r̄p̄n̄m̄me` an skan dalon` ayw etpwt` | t̄ z-
t̄q̄ n̄na allotrion`
naei at` thne netoy nos | ne b̄ m̄mooy ayw eywp` m̄mooy an` etve
 5 p̄maie || eteyñtaq` ezoy n erooy n̄ci poy xoeic
naei at` thne netrim̄e ayw etoy r̄balibe m̄mooy zit̄ñ | net̄em̄[ñ-
te]y zelpic xe cenabwla thne zit̄ñ m̄p̄re nim

30 Sah. ecp̄.

30 acp̄ : <ψ>acp̄ Turner, Krause 31 kaz thpq read in photographs 34 tww read in photographs 35 acq̄toy : c added above the line acwct̄ read in photographs

37 oγo[ei n] : cf. 144:10 38–39 nepo [n̄atco]||oy n` rest. Turner² : nepo[ywqe n̄]||[x̄itc] sim. Kirchner 39–40 taqe oeiw` [xe tet̄naxop]||[soy] rest. Kirchner 40 a . [. .] . w̄ : first letter trace can be read β, γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π, ρ or τ; second letter trace is indistinct, but perhaps η, ι, μ, ν, γ, ρ or apostrophe 40–41 an[et]n̄w̄n[h̄y m̄]||[min m̄-mwt̄ñ - - -] rest. Kirchner, Schenke² : a t̄[mn]t̄w̄n[a - - -] sim. rest. Turner², but palaeographically unlikely 41 [- - - tet̄]n̄na Schenke² : also possible is [- - - e]y n̄a it̄ñ n̄na [- - -] read in photographs possibly restore n̄na[izp̄ - - -] 42 [- - - n̄te]t̄ñ Schenke² 145 : 1 xekazc̄ read in photographs

2 net̄wp̄r̄p̄n̄ read in photographs 3 t̄ zhtq̄ n̄ñ read in photographs : emend to zhtoy n̄ñ (Layton)

4 ne b̄ m̄mooy read in photographs 5 eteyñtaq` ezoy n read in photographs

6 thne netrim̄e ayw read in photographs 7 net̄em̄[. . .]y zelpic read in photographs rest. Turner, Krause 8 pe nim read in photographs

10 ροῖς ετετῆσοπ̄χε ετετῆσῳπ̄ε αν | ζῆ τσαρζ` αλλα χε
 ετετῆσαι εβολ ζῆ τμ̄ρρε μ̄π̄σι||ψε ἵτε πβιος αγω ετετῆσοπ̄
 τετῆσῳβινε | ἵογῳτον χε ατετῆκῳ ἵσῳτῆ ἵπ̄σισε μῆ πβος|
 νεβ ἵζητ` ετετῆσῳανει γαρ εβολ ζῆ ἵσισε μῆ | ἵπαθος ἵτε
 15 πσῳμα` τετῆσῳι [ἵο]γῳναπαγσις | ἵτοοτῳ ἵπαγαθος αγω
 τετῆσῳρ̄ ρρο` μῆ π̄ρρο ε||τετῆτῆτ` ἵμ̄μαϷ` εϷτῆτ` ἵμ̄μῆτῆ σῳν
 τενου ψα | εῆ[ε]ζ ἵανεζ ζαμῆν: |

20

πσῳμε ἵθῳμας |
 παθλητῆς εϷςζαῖ |
 ἵἵτελειος ||

following text within a simple ornamental frame

ἀριπαμεεγε ζω νασῆνῳ |
 ζ[ἵ]νετῆπροσεϷη` |
 ε[ῆ]ρῆνη τοῖς ἀγιοῖς |
 μῆ ἵπῆνεϷματικος

8 ροῖς ετετῆσοπ̄χε read in photographs 9 ζῆ τσαρζ` αλλα χε ετετῆσαι read in
 photographs 10 ψε ἵτε πβιος read in photographs 11 ἵογῳτον χε ατετῆκῳ read
 in photographs 12 νεβ ἵζητ` ετετῆσῳανει read in photographs 13 ἵπαθος ἵτε
 πσῳμα` read in photographs 14 ἵτοοτῳ ἵπαγαθος read in photographs 15
 τετῆτῆτῆτ` ἵμ̄μαϷ` read in photographs 16 εῆ[ε]ζ ἵανεζ ζαμῆν read in photographs

17 πσῳμε read in photographs 18 παθλητῆς read in photographs 19 ἵἵτελειος
 read in photographs (of ἵ, π is definite, superlin. stroke restored)

20–23 the colophon prob. belongs to the codex as such rather than this tractate
 alone 20 ἀριπαμεεγε read in photographs 22 ε[ῆ]ρῆνη read in photographs 23
 μῆ ἵ read in photographs

“Watch and pray that you (pl.) not come to be ' in the flesh, but rather that you come forth from the bondage of the bitterness ¹⁰ of this life. And as you pray, ' you will find rest, for you have left behind the suffering and the disgrace. ' For when you come forth from the sufferings and ' passions of the body, you will receive rest ' from the good one, and you will reign with the king, ¹⁵ you joined with him and he with you, from now on, ' for ever and ever. Amen.” ’

The Book of Thomas '
The Contender Writing '
To the Perfect (pl.) ²⁰

* * * * *

Remember me also, my brethren, '
[in] your prayers: '
Peace to the saints '
and those who are spiritual.

143:23 those who are spiritual: *literally*, the pneumatics

145:20–23 *the concluding colophon probably belongs to the manuscript as such rather than this tractate alone*

