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# NAG HAMMADI CODEX

III,5

## THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR

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LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL  
1984

# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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1984



## INTRODUCTION

HELMUT KOESTER AND ELAINE PAGELS

### I. TITLE, AUTHOR, AND LITERARY CHARACTER

The title *The Dialogue of the Savior* occurs in the *incipit* (120:1) and in the *explicit* (147:23). But the work begins with an address of the Savior to his disciples that does not show any trace of the dialogue scheme (*Dial. Sav.* 1–3 [120:3–124:22]).<sup>1</sup> However, the main source used by the author (first appearing in 4 [124:23]; see sec. II.A below) is characterized by dialogues between Jesus and his disciples, of whom Judas, Matthew, and Mary are frequently named explicitly. Thus, the title *Dialogue* may derive from this main source. On the other hand, the designation “Savior” is almost completely restricted to passages composed by the final author, whereas the dialogue sections use the designation “Lord.”

Nowhere does the author appear in the work, nor does the title identify any author except “the Savior,” who (as the “Savior” or “Lord” – the names Jesus or Jesus Christ never occur) is also the main speaker, teacher, and revealer in most sections of the work. Also missing is an indication of the setting in which the dialogue took place. Only the apocalyptic vision (36–40 [134:24–137:3]; see sec. II.D below) must have contained a designation of a place, probably a high mountain, though the text is defective at this point (135:1). It is, therefore, not possible to determine whether or not this work was meant to be a “dialogue of Jesus with his disciples after the resurrection.”

The several sections of the work exhibit great differences in style and content. The work is, therefore, best seen as a compilation of various sources and traditions, or as the elaboration and expansion of an older dialogue. The latter appears to us as the most plausible view, because dialogue sections with a distinct style, genre, and language

<sup>1</sup>References to *Dial. Sav.* are first to the paragraph numbers of the translation below, followed by more precise references in brackets to page and line numbers of the Coptic text; all references are to *Dial. Sav.* unless otherwise noted. Quotations from the text occasionally include material found only in the critical apparatus and footnotes to the edition and translation below.

can be identified quite easily. They are markedly different from other sections in which longer monologues prevail, although the exact delineation of the different sections is sometimes made difficult by the poor state of preservation of the text. The following is a tentative analysis, listing the original dialogue sections and their secondary additions:

<i>Incipit</i> (120:1)	Title
1-3 (120:2-124:22)	Introduction
4-14 (124:23-127:19)	Dialogue, part I
15-18 (127:19-128:23)	Creation myth
19-20 (128:23-129:16)	Dialogue, part II
21-24 (129:16-131:18)	Creation myth, continued
25-34a (131:19-133:21[?])	Dialogue, part III
34b-35 (133:21[?]-134:24)	Wisdom list
36-40 (134:24-137:3)	Apocalyptic vision
41-104a (137:3-146:20)	Dialogue, part IV
104b (146:20-147:22)	Concluding instructions
<i>Explicit</i> (147:23)	Title

## II. SOURCES AND TRADITIONS

### A. *A Dialogue between the Lord and his Disciples*

These sections constitute the major source for the present work and account for about 65% of its text. In its composition the dialogue features brief questions or statements of one of the individually named disciples (sometimes also of all the disciples) and usually brief answers of the Lord. Several units comprise only one question and one answer, thus resembling many of the "sayings" of *The Gospel of Thomas*. In other instances, several questions and answers form a coherent unit discussing a particular topic. The final answer may appear at the end in the form of a traditional saying, but sayings are also used in an initial statement of the Lord, which is then elaborated in the subsequent discussion, or in a question of a disciple. Parallels to such sayings are found in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, occasionally in John, and most frequently in *The Gospel of Thomas*.

The first of these units appears in 4-8 (124:23-126:5). Its theme is no longer evident because of the poor state of preservation of the text. The introductory question of Matthew is completely lost (4 [124:23-125:1]), though the final answer of Jesus (here, and only here in the

dialogue sections, designated both as “Lord” and as “Savior”) is clearly preserved in the form of a traditional saying: “The lamp [of the body] is the mind” (8 [125:18–19]; cf. Matt 6:22–23, Luke 11:34–36, *Gos. Thom.* 24).<sup>2</sup> Typical for the hermeneutical process is the replacement of a metaphor in the saying by its interpretive equivalent. Thus “the lamp of the body is the *eye*” becomes “the lamp of the body is the *mind*,” and the following elaboration utilizes the contrasting pairs body/heart and luminous/dark, most likely once more on the basis of traditional sayings (cf. John 11:9–10, 12:35).

A question of the disciples (9 [126:6–8]), alluding to the saying about seeking and finding (cf. Matt 7:7, *Gos. Thom.* 92, 94), opens a new unit of the dialogue (9–12 [126:5–17]) which probably uses additional sayings (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 33a). In a series of brief questions and answers the argument isolates key terms from the traditional sayings and arranges them in pairs: seek and reveal, listen and speak (cf. John 16:13), see and reveal.

The last unit of this first part of the dialogue (13–14 [126:17–127:19]) is introduced by a question of Mary which utilizes a saying about weeping and laughing (cf. Luke 6:21b, John 16:20, also *Thom. Cont.* 145:5–8). The interpretation, in this instance taking the form of a longer discourse of the Lord (14 [126:21–127:19]), resumes terms from an earlier portion of the dialogue: body and mind, light and darkness (for the latter, cf. *Gos. Thom.* 33b, John 12:35, *Thom. Cont.* 143:30–32); it concludes with a repetition of the initial topic “weeping” by quoting a phrase which appears frequently in the synoptic gospels (Matt 8:12 etc.).

A fragment of the dialogue is inserted into the discussion of the creation myth (see sec. B below). The initial question of Matthew (19 [128:23–129:3]) defies restoration, but the conclusion of the Lord’s answer (20 [129:12–16]) utilizes sayings for which there are parallels in Mark 8:34, *Gos. Thom.* 2, 92, 94 (cf. also John 16:24). It is possible that even 16 (127:22–128:11) reflects a traditional saying: the text of 128:2–5 can be restored to read, “And I say [to you, . . .] what you seek [and] inquire after, [behold it is] within you” (cf. Luke 17:21, *Gos. Thom.* 92).

Mary’s question about a “place” (25 [131:19–21]) introduces the third extant part of the older dialogue. Its core is a saying about “the

<sup>2</sup>References to *Gos. Thom.* are to the “saying” numbers which have become standard (see the translation by Thomas O. Lambdin in *NHLibEng*, pp. 118–30, from which quotations are taken).

place of life” (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 24). The composition of the questions and answers in 25–30 (131:19–132:19) closely parallels the composition of the dialogue in John 14:2–12. The conclusion (30 [132:15–19]) makes use of a saying about knowing oneself (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 3). The parable of the stone and its interpretation (31–34 [132:19–134:1]) could also be based on older traditions and certainly employs apocalyptic materials (cf. Isa 24:18–20). For 133:15–16 see *Gos. Thom.* 50; for 133:18–21 see John 1:11, 14 and *Gos. Thom.* 28. In the transition to the wisdom list (133:21–134:1; see sec. C below) the saying about light and darkness (14 [127:1–6]) is repeated.

The last and most extensive part that is preserved from the dialogue source (41–104a [137:3–146:20]) is a topically arranged sequence of sayings, discussions, and interpretations. It is, for the most part, composed of short units, consisting of one question and one answer only. If the same topic seems to be reappearing in a subsequent unit, it is probably due to catchword association of originally independent and self-contained pieces of tradition. We will simply list them in the following survey, noting parallels and adding brief comments, but without claiming to have achieved a complete analysis of the structure and content.

41–46 (137:3–138:6): About the vision of God. No traditional sayings are known which parallel the materials used here, but compare John 14:8–9.

47–48 (138:6–10): The question asked in 47 is probably, Who will rule over us? (cf. 49 [138:11–14]). Not more than a fragment of the answer is preserved.

49–50 (138:11–20): About the rule of the governors. The answer adds a saying about the bridal chamber; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 75.

51–52 (138:20–139:7): About the garments of life (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 37). The answer is expanded by a longer commentary.

53 (139:8–13): A remark by Mary points explicitly to three traditional sayings known from Matt 6:34b, 10:10b, and John 13:16, Matt 10:24. An editorial comment praises Mary “as a woman who had understood completely.” Here and elsewhere (see below, on 64 and 83) such statements by Mary seem to serve as summaries and as transitions to new topics.

54–55 (139:13–20): About the fullness (*plērōma*) and the deficiency.

56–57 (139:20–140:9): About the dead and the living. The question uses a traditional saying (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 11); the answer is introduced by the saying known from *Gos. Thom.* 17 (cf. 1 Cor 2:9).

58–59 (140:9–14): Added *ad vocem* “dead and living.” For parallels to the saying used here, cf. John 11:25, *Gospel of the Egyptians* (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 3.9.63–64).<sup>3</sup>

60–63 (140:14–23): Two brief questions and answers about the “place,” perhaps added to 59 (140:12) *ad vocem* “truth” (cf. also 62 [140:20–21]). For parallels see *Gos. Thom.* 24, and see above, on 25 (131:19–21).

64 (140:23–141:2): A praise of the Lord by Mary, marking the transition to a new topic; see above, on 53.

65–66 (141:2–6): About the “rest.” For the saying used in the answer, compare *Gos. Thom.* 90, Matt 11:28; but *Gos. Thom.* 37 may be the closest parallel.

67–68 (141:6–12): Added through catchword association; “abandon” in 68 (141:9–10) and “lay down” in 66 (141:5–6) entail the same Coptic verb.

69–70 (141:12–19): For the answer cf. James 5:3.

71–72 (141:19–142:4): Added *ad vocem* “work” (see 68 [141:10]). The saying introduced by “[Blessed] is the man . . .” is probably traditional, but the text is fragmentary.

73–74 (142:4–9): About the “way.” Cf. John 14:5.

75–76 (142:9–15): The structure of this question and its answer is analogous to *Gos. Thom.* 51.

77–78 (142:16–19): Another saying about the “place.” See above, on 25 (131:19–21) and on 60–63.

79–80 (142:19–24): Restates the conclusion of an earlier part of the dialogue; see above, on 9–12 (126:5–17).

81–82 (142:24–143:6): A request for instruction. Jesus is addressed as “Teacher.” The text is very fragmentary.

83 (143:6–10): A statement by Mary, marking the transition to a new section; see above, on 53 and 64.

84–85 (143:11–144:1): Another discussion of “garments” (cf. above, on 51–52). The answer includes a longer commentary about the transitory garments of the “governors,” but ends with a traditional saying (143:21–144:1); cf. *Gos. Thom.* 37.

86–87 (144:2–5): Only a few words are preserved.

88–89 (144:5–12): An interpretation of the parable of the mustard seed; cf. Mark 4:30–32 and parallels, *Gos. Thom.* 20.

90–95 (144:12–145:7): A question about prayer (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 6)

<sup>3</sup>Fragments *b* and *c* in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, pp. 166–67.

introduces several questions and answers about the “works of womanhood,” certainly based on traditional sayings; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 114, *Gospel of the Egyptians* (see above, on 58–59).

96 (145:7–24): A secondary intrusion into the dialogue, presenting an instruction about the “path of the revealer.”

97–98 (145:24–146:7): About the “works”; very fragmentary.

99–102 (146:7–13): Two brief parallel questions and answers about the “spirit” and the “light”; the final answer is fragmentary.

103–104a (146:13–20): Added *ad vocem* “works” (see above, on 97–98). Parallels for the answer appear in John 6:28–29, 14:10–12.

104b (146:20–147:22): This section is the author’s addition to the dialogue source, but it seems to utilize a saying about seeking, rest, and living forever which may have been the original conclusion of the source; cf. John 6:63, 8:32, *Gos. Thom.* 1 and 2.

The dialogue source as a whole is based upon a tradition of sayings of the Lord. The predominance of sayings with parallels in *Gos. Thom.* suggests that this tradition is closely related to the older sayings tradition which appears in that gospel. Individual sayings, originally isolated, form the nucleus of the dialogical structure. Analogies to this type of dialogue occur in the synoptic gospels as well as in *Gos. Thom.* In contrast to the genre of the revelation discourse found in the literary tradition of dialogical composition developed in such gnostic works as *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* and *Pistis Sophia*, this source of *Dial. Sav.* contains no elaborate theological discourses, nor is its composition based upon the development of a philosophical or theological concept. But there are analogies to the composition of the dialogues and discourses in John, which also use sayings of Jesus as well as other traditional materials. Indeed, some sections of this source of *Dial. Sav.* belong to a stage in the development of dialogues from sayings collections that is less advanced than the more elaborate analogies in the fourth gospel. Usually the interpretation is focused on not more than one or two sayings or terms derived from such sayings. Thus the dialogue seems to satisfy the demand of *Gos. Thom.* 1: “Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death.”

Examination of the sequence of topics discussed in this source reveals other analogies with traditions preserved in *Gos. Thom.* Although at the beginning the dialogue source is too fragmentary to allow us to identify the initial theme, in 8–14 and 19–20 (125:17–127:19 and 128:23–129:16) are interpreted the sayings, “The lamp [of the body] is the mind” (8 [125:18–19]) and “Seek and you will find”

(both paralleled in *Gos. Thom.* 24 and 2, 92, 94), concluding with the saying, "And [let] him who [knows] seek and find and [rejoice]" (20 [129:14–16]). When the dialogue resumes, at 25 (131:19), the disciples' request for "the place" (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 24) is interpreted. After the interruption by the apocalyptic fragment (see sec. D below), Judas introduces a new topic: Who will rule over us? (47ff. [138:6ff.]). The interpretation includes several traditional sayings (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 75, 37, 36, Matt 10:10.24, *Gos. Thom.* 51, 17). A further topic is introduced in 65 (141:2–4): "[Why] do we not rest [at once]?" Again the answer and subsequent units contain sayings, many of which have parallels in *Gos. Thom.* (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 51, 24, 62, 37, 20, 6, 114). This indicates a thematic arrangement of at least some sequences of dialogical units. If the apocalyptic fragment was an original element of the dialogue source, one finds the following sequence of topics: seeking/finding, marvelling (represented by the apocalyptic fragment), ruling/resting. This sequence coincides with the *ordo salutis* of *Gos. Thom.* 2 (according to the Greek fragment, *P.Oxy.* 654): "Let him who [seeks] not pause [until] he finds. When he finds, [he shall marvel]. When he [marvels], he shall rule. [When he has ruled, he shall find rest]."<sup>4</sup>

As a commentary on *Gos. Thom.* 2, the dialogue explains the disciples' place in the eschatological timetable: although they have sought and found and marvelled, their rule and their rest will only come in the future. At present they still bear the burden of the body and of earthly labor; Mary, who recognizes this, receives the highest praise (53 [139:11–13]).

The interpretation of another topic, dissolution of the "works of womanhood," introduced after the discussion of the *ordo salutis*, elaborates a theme which is only briefly mentioned in *Gos. Thom.* (91ff. [144:15ff.]; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 114). In the dialogue source, this topic has a prominent place. It is closely related to the theme of carrying the burden of earthly existence (65–66 [141:2–6]). The "works of womanhood" are obviously the continuation of physical existence through childbirth. Such emphasis in its final section places the dialogue

<sup>4</sup>The Coptic version: "Let him who seeks continue seeking until he finds. When he finds, he will become troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will be astonished, and he will rule over the All." Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 5.14.96: "He that seeks will not rest until he finds; and he that has found shall marvel, and he that has marvelled shall reign; and he that has reigned shall rest" (fragment 4b [cf. fragment 4a, *Stromateis* 2.9.45: "He that marvels shall reign, and he that has reigned shall rest."] of *Gospel of the Hebrews* in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, p. 164).

source in the immediate neighborhood of *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 3.9.63–64).<sup>5</sup> It must be noted that such polemic against the “works of womanhood” goes hand in hand with a very high estimate for Mary as “a woman who had understood completely” (53 [139:11–13]).

### B. *A Fragment of a Creation Myth*

Fragments of a creation myth, based upon Genesis 1–2, and its interpretation are incorporated into the present work in 15–18 and 21–24 (127:19–128:23 and 129:16–131:18). Allusions to Gen 1:1, “[the heaven and the] earth” (15 [127:21]), Gen 1:2, “darkness and water and spirit upon [water]” (16 [127:23–128:1]), Gen 1:4, “signs over [the earth]” (21 [129:18–19]), and Gen 2:5, the lack of water on earth (22 [130:3–7]), are clearly present. The myth relates how the water which was originally separated from the earth by a wall of fire made the world fruitful: the Word cast forth from itself the four streams of paradise – milk, honey, oil, and wine – which assure fruitfulness for all generations. The author interrupts the account to interpret the term “spirit” (16–20 [128:1–129:12]), explaining that the true mind prevails over the powers above and below.

### C. *A Cosmological Wisdom List*

*Dial. Sav.* 34–35 (133:23–134:24) is an expanded list (fire, water, wind, body, etc.) formulated according to the pattern, “If [one] does not [understand how] fire came into existence, he will burn in it.” In its present form, it is a Christian revision of the expected list, commonplace among Greek philosophers, of the four cosmic elements (earth, air, fire, and water). The element “earth” has been replaced by “body”: “If one does not understand how body, which he bears, came into existence, he will [perish] with it” (35 [134:11–14]). Other Christian expansions already included in the source used by the author are, “And how will someone who does [not] know [the Son] know the [Father]?” (35 [134:14–15]; cf. Matt 11:27, John 14:7–9) and “the root of wickedness” (35 [134:17–19]). The author’s further comments on the “root of wickedness,” which, even when hidden, persists internally, offer a striking parallel to a similar teaching in *The Gospel of Philip*: “So long as the root of wickedness is hidden, it is strong. But when it is recognized it is dissolved. When it is revealed it perishes. . . . As for ourselves, let each one of us dig down after the root of evil which is

<sup>5</sup>See n. 3 above.

within one, and let one pluck it out of one's heart from the root. It will be plucked out if we recognize it. But if we are ignorant of it, it takes root in us and produces its fruit in our heart. It masters us. We are its slaves. It takes us captive, to make us do what we do [not] want; and what we do want we do [not] do."<sup>6</sup> The influence of the final author is also visible in the comment about baptism (35 [134:6–8]) and in the conclusion (35 [134:19–24]; see further sec. III below). As a whole, this portion of *Dial. Sav.* is a telling example of a Christian soteriological interpretation of older wisdom material.

#### D. *A Fragment of an Apocalyptic Vision*

In spite of several layers of redactional work, some features of an apocalyptic vision are still evident in 36–40 (134:24–137:3): only one person receives the vision (note the third person singular in 36 [135:14–15] and 40 [136:17]) in a place – probably on a mountain – where the whole of heaven and earth, the “high place” and “the place of the abyss,” can be seen (36 [135:1–2.5–7]); what is witnessed in the vision (36 [135:12–15] and 40 [136:17–19]) is explained by an *angelus interpres* called “the Son of Man” (37 [135:16–17] and 40 [136:21]). Originally the term would not have referred to Jesus, since it is never used as a title of Jesus in *Dial. Sav.* The original vision seems to have spoken about the installation of someone before God; in this case the “garment” (40 [136:22]) may signify investiture (cf. Zech 3:1–6 etc.).

That three persons, Judas, Matthew, and Mary, are made the recipients of the vision by a redactor (36 [134:24–25]) connects the vision to the dialogue source in which these three disciples figure prominently. Apparently the vision was introduced into the dialogue to illustrate the theme of “marvelling” from the saying of Jesus (*Gos. Thom.* 2) which gave the dialogue its basic outline (cf. 36 [135:7–11]; see sec. A above).

The final author introduced “all the disciples” into the vision report: all give glory to the Lord (37–39 [136:1–17]; cf. 1–2 [121:2–4]); and he interpreted the term “garment” (40 [136:22–137:1]; see sec. III below).

### III. THE AUTHOR'S LANGUAGE AND METHOD OF COMPOSITION

The introductory section 1–3 (120:2–124:22) consists of a discourse on the passage of the soul through the heavenly powers (3 [122:1–

<sup>6</sup>*Gos. Phil.* 83:8–28, translated by Wesley W. Isenberg in *NHLibEng*, p. 149.

124:22)), introduced by an exhortation (1 [120:2–121:3]) and a prayer of thanksgiving (2 [121:3–122:1]). Although these three parts of the introductory section, exhortation, prayer, and instruction, are distinct in style, they reveal the language and thought of the final author. If the prayer adapts a liturgical tradition, it may represent the tradition of the author's church. Parallels to New Testament language are frequent, especially to the deutero-Pauline and catholic epistles and to Hebrews, perhaps also to the Johannine writings. Among such New Testament expressions are not only terms and phrases which could be considered generally gnostic, such as "stand at rest" (1 [120:5–7]; cf. Heb 4:11) or "power of darkness" (3 [122:4.16]; cf. Col 1:13), but other phrases characteristic of this group of New Testament writings also occur: to believe the truth (1 [121:2]; cf. 2 Thess 2:12); to save one's soul (2 [121:22–23]; cf. 1 Pet 1:9, James 1:21); through Christ's sacrifice (2 [121:20–21]; cf. Eph 5:2, Heb 10:10.14); the armor of God (2 [121:10]; cf. especially Eph 6:11–17). The title "Savior," typical of the final author, could be gnostic, but it is more generally used, particularly in Christian literature of the second century (cf. 1 Tim 4:10 and elsewhere in the pastoral epistles, 2 Pet 1:1.11 etc., 1 Clem. 59.3, 2 Clem. 20.5). "Only-begotten son" (2 [121:6–7]) represents the only relationship to John (John 1:18) in this introductory section. Familiarity with the synoptic gospels is not evident, but the phrase, "which the elect and solitary (*monachos*) will traverse" (1 [120:25–26]; cf. 2 [121:18]), suggests that the author knew *Gos. Thom.* 49.

The author connects his introduction with the beginning of the dialogue source by following the topic "soul" (or "mind," "heart"), which is central to the instruction about the disciples' passing beyond the power of darkness (2 [121:22–23], 3 [123:7–8.13.16, 124:6.14]). The following dialogue refers to "soul," "spirit," and "mind" (or "heart") repeatedly (6 [125:6.9], 8 [125:19.22], 14 [126:23, 127:1]). The creation myth, barely begun, is interrupted after "spirit upon [water]" (16 [128:1]) and this phrase from Gen 1:2 is taken as a point of departure for a discussion of "spirit," "mind" (or "heart"), and "soul" (16–20 [128:1–129:16]): the "mystery" of "the spirit" is the disposition which overcomes the powers. In this composition the author apparently adopts the style of the dialogue source. The creation account does not occasion mythical elaboration in typical gnostic fashion; instead, the author interprets only one specific word ("spirit") from the creation account. His exegetical method resembles that of Philo of Alexandria in that he uses biblical terms as metaphors for the human religious disposition.

In reproducing the cosmological list (34–35 [133:23–134:24]), the author has added an exegetical comment to the mention of water: “For what use is there for him to be baptized in it?” (35 [134:6–8]). He also added a comment at the end of the list (35 [134:19–24]) which resembles the familiar gnostic statement about baptism from Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78 (see sec. IV below).

The phrases “the Greatness remembered” and “so that the First Word might not fail” (37 [135:20–21, 135:23–136:1]) which occur in the apocalyptic vision (36–40 [134:24–137:3]) – both are paralleled in the explanation of the parable of the stone (34 [133:6.9–10]) – indicate discourses composed by the final author; cf. also the section which ends with the disciples giving glory to the Lord (39 [136:10–17]). The explanation of the command, “Give them their garment!” (40 [136:22]), appears to be a gnostic interpretation of a vestment scene: “The small one did as (*or*: became like) the big one. They were [like] those who received them” (40 [136:23–137:1]). Instead of receiving a clean garment in order to appear before the throne, the souls meet their heavenly counterparts (cf. *Acts of Thomas* 112 [ed. Lipsius-Bonnet 2.2.223]).

The conclusion of the work (104 [146:20–147:22]) also betrays the author’s hand, but is preserved only in such a fragmentary state that a coherent interpretation is not possible. It is, of course, likely that the author has added comments and expansions elsewhere in the dialogue (see especially 96 [145:7–24]).

#### IV. THE AUTHOR’S INTERPRETATION

The author’s interpretation of Jesus’ teaching, given in the introductory section and in his interpretive comments, expresses a certain degree of continuity with his major source, the dialogue between Jesus and his disciples. The introduction places the themes of that earlier dialogue into a new context: baptismal initiation. Thus, the opening instruction invites the believer to baptism, relating the ritual act to the metaphysical symbolism he finds in his dialogue source. Parallels to such a theological endeavor occur in Ephesians, Hebrews, 1 Peter, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, and *The Gospel of Philip*.

The introduction presents a paradox which is sustained throughout the work: first, an emphasis upon realized eschatology; second, and juxtaposed to this, an elaboration of a futuristic eschatology. At the opening of the work, the Savior announces, “Already the time has come, brothers, for us to abandon our labor and stand at rest” (1

[120:3–6]). This invitation is paralleled in the realized eschatology of the exhortations of Rom 13:11–12 and Heb 10:19–22. The prayer acknowledges the Savior as one who has received “rest from many [labors]” (2 [121:8–9]) and who enables the solitary to enter into rest. But the following instruction refers to the future, “when the time of dissolution arrives” (3 [122:2–3]). The Savior not only explains that “the first power of darkness will come upon you” (3 [122:4–5]), but also reveals the identity of that power, “fear” (3 [122:16]). He warns that, although the process may be terrifying, whoever undertakes it in fear will be swallowed up; whoever faces the transition without fear will pass safely through dissolution, i.e. death. In the conclusion (104 [146:20–22]), the author adds an admonition that the disciples should rid themselves of anger and jealousy, also characteristic of baptismal instruction. Similar juxtapositions of baptismal realized eschatology and instruction about the fearful passage at the hour of death characterize Ephesians (cf. Eph 2:1–8, 6:10–17; note Eph 6:12: “... the powers ... the world rulers of this present darkness ...”).

The interpretation added to the first part of the creation myth partly resolves the paradox: the true mind and the soul are established in the height (18 [128:21–22]) and thus can prevail over the powers (20 [129:10]). The third part of the dialogue source adds a discussion about seeing the “place of life” (27–30 [132:5–19]): one cannot see it as long as one wears the flesh, but one can see it if one has known oneself. Baptism mediates this knowledge. The redaction of the cosmological list adds not only a comment about the baptismal water (35 [134:6–8]), but also the statement, “Whoever will not understand how he came will not understand how he will go” (35 [134:19–22]), which parallels the famous gnostic statement from Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78: “It is not the bath alone that makes us free, but also the knowledge of who we were and what we have become; where we were, whither we have been cast; whither we are hastening, whence we are redeemed; what birth is, what rebirth.” The apocalyptic vision, finally, shows how “will the good be taken up to the light” (38 [136:9–10]). Those who believe and who have received the teachings of the Savior no longer fear the future: they know “that it is useless to regard wickedness” (37 [136:4–5]).

So far the structure of the author’s theological position is clear: invitation to enter into rest, instruction on prayer and warning about the powers which threaten the initiate during the passage into rest, exhortation to receive the teachings and to know oneself. References

to baptism and to the gnostic baptismal formula indicate that this is already experienced in baptism, a process that involves going through dissolution, i.e. through death, and entering into the place of life.

The author superimposes this interpretation upon the original dialogue. While the latter contains no allusions or references to the established Christian soteriological language as it appears in the later writings of the New Testament, the author of *Dial. Sav.* uses such language and thought, especially insofar as it is related to baptism and to its liturgy. To be sure, Paul had already understood baptism as a process of going through death, being buried with Christ through baptism into death (Rom 6:3–11). Unlike Paul, however, the author of *Dial. Sav.* understands baptism in the same way as it is interpreted in Eph 2:1–6 and Col 3:1–4: those baptized, having died, already have attained true life (2–3 [121:18–122:24]); they already dwell above (1 [120:9–10]). So Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 77.1–2, declares that “therefore baptism is called death, and an end to the old life, when we take leave of the evil principalities; but it is called life according to Christ, of which he is the sole Lord.” *On Baptism A* (NHC XI,2b) 41:23–38 and *On Baptism B* (NHC XI,2c) 42:16–19 similarly say that those who receive the second baptism “die” (see *On the Eucharist B* [NHC XI,2e] 44:32) and are brought out of the world into “the Aeon.”<sup>7</sup>

The author of *Dial. Sav.*, perhaps following his source, describes how the Lord takes the three elect disciples, Judas, Matthew, and Mary, to “the edge of heaven [and] earth” (36 [134:24–135:2]). The author may have added here, “[And] when he placed his [hand] upon them, they hoped that they might [see] it” (36 [135:2–4]), i.e. see a vision. If this statement alludes to an element of the baptismal ritual, the laying on of hands which followed baptism is understood as a prelude to receiving visions. The practice of the laying on of hands during initiation which the Marcosians understood as a prelude to prophecy may offer a parallel (see Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.13).

Yet in *Dial. Sav.* there is no attempt to dissolve the tension between the present and the future. Receiving visions in the context of baptismal initiation is not the culmination of the experience of redemption. Instead, through the interpretation of the visions and through the dialogue which follows, the disciples receive a new and more complex

<sup>7</sup>The references to NHC XI accord with the line numbers and restorations in the translation by John D. Turner in *NHLibEng*, pp. 441–42.

understanding of their own situation. They must learn to distinguish between what is merely a transient vision and an eternal vision, i.e. "the great vision" of "the Eternal Existent" (42-44 [137:9-15]). The former they have received already; the latter is reserved for the eschatological future. Contrary to what we have been led to expect of gnostic theology, we find *Dial. Sav.* dealing with the tension between what the disciples have received "already" through baptism, initiation, and visions, and what they anticipate as "not yet."

In order to explain this tension, the author, in the final section of the work, follows the thematic scheme of his dialogue source (seeking, finding, marvelling, ruling, resting; see sec. II.A above) and utilizes its materials. The disciples, having received baptism, are those who have sought, found, marvelled, and attained rest. Now they are taught that the rest is, in a sense, only provisional, that they will rest themselves only when they "lay down these burdens" (65-66 [141:2-6]), for they are still burdened by existence in the flesh (84 [143:11-15]). But the disciples have a special task to fulfill in their present existence. Mary asks the crucial question: "Tell me, Lord, why I have come to this place. For profit or for loss?" The Lord replies: "You make clear the abundance of the revealer!" (60-61 [140:14-19]). This is an extraordinary answer. The elect are not here to gain anything for themselves: what more could they gain than what they have already received, the knowledge that the living God dwells within them, and they in him (44 [137:22-138:2])? Nor are they here to suffer purification. They are not here for their own sakes, but to accomplish the tasks defined through the sayings which Mary quotes (53 [139:8-11]): that the present is tainted with evil; that the elect is a laborer who, like the Lord, anticipates future reward for his work; and that the disciples, like their Lord, share in the same task of revelation, revealing "the abundance of the revealer" in the world: "[Strive] to save him [who] can follow" (44 [137:16-17]).

In the interpretation of the tension between present and future, the older dialogue with sayings of Jesus serves as a corrective to the typically gnostic language and theology which the author of *Dial. Sav.* uses in the introduction. In the latter, the experience of baptism mediates the awareness of the in-dwelling of the living God in the disciples and of the passage through the powers into rest. But the tradition of the sayings of Jesus, preserved in the older dialogue, prevents a completely spiritualized understanding of the disciples' religious existence. It is here that the disciples' present task is defined as work on

behalf of the revelation while they are still wearing the flesh, carrying a burden just as the Lord himself (cf. 52 [139:6-7], 96 [145:23-24]). This also suggests that the Lord who is thus conversing with the disciples is not the exalted one "after his resurrection" (though this terminology does not appear in this work), but rather the "earthly" Jesus who still carries the burden of the body. Indeed, "the place of truth" is not defined in terms of otherworldly existence, but as the place where the Lord is (62-63 [140:19-23]). And the author's interpretation of the "dissolution of the works of womanhood" does not suggest a meta-physically motivated sexual asceticism, but speaks of the secret birth through the one who "is coming forth from the Father" (96 [145:10-13]). *Dial. Sav.* cannot be understood as a simple product of gnostic theology. Rather, like the gospel of John, it is a testimony of the theological reflection which took place as the tradition of the sayings of Jesus was further developed within the horizon of gnostic thought.

#### V. DATE

*Dial. Sav.* is not mentioned explicitly in any extant work from the ancient church. Whether it was used by any church father or in any other works from the Nag Hammadi collection can only be determined after further investigation. The *terminus ad quem* for the composition of *Dial. Sav.* must remain the date of the Coptic manuscript, sometime during the fourth century C.E.

Determining the *terminus a quo* for the composition of the original Greek text requires consideration of the following: (1) there are no certain quotations from any work of the New Testament, nor from any other work known to us with the possible exception of *Gos. Thom.*; (2) the gospel tradition used in the dialogue source resembles that of *Gos. Thom.* but does not show any signs of direct literary dependence upon that document; (3) the development of the dialogical elaboration of traditional sayings of Jesus in the dialogue source parallels that of the discourses and dialogues in the gospel of John, but may represent a somewhat earlier stage in that process; (4) terms and phrases used in the author's language presuppose the development of Christian language which is documented in the deutero-Pauline and catholic epistles; (5) other sources used by the author either show no traces of Christian influence (creation myth, apocalyptic vision) or display only some expansion using a saying of Jesus (wisdom list).

The absence of any evidence for the use of the canonical gospels and

the Pauline epistles, the affinity with deutero-Pauline language, and the possible use of *Gos. Thom.* suggest a date for the composition of *Dial. Sav.* in the early decades of the second century C.E. The work certainly belongs to an earlier period than the *Epistula apostolorum* (which presupposes the Pauline corpus and whose author possibly knew several gospels of the New Testament canon) and Justin Martyr (who used the gospels of Matthew and Luke). But the dialogue source used by the author of *Dial. Sav.* should be dated in the last decades of the first century C.E., and certainly not later than the gospel of John.

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## THE MANUSCRIPT

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### I. CODICOLOGY

*The Dialogue of the Savior* is preserved in a single copy, the last of five tractates in Nag Hammadi Codex III. The manuscript was discovered, together with the rest of the Nag Hammadi Codices, by Upper Egyptian farmers late in 1945. It soon became the property of Rāghib Andarāwus, a resident of Dishnā. The codex first came to scholarly attention in the summer of 1946, when Rāghib showed it to Georgy Sobhy in Cairo. Sobhy informed the Egyptian Department of Antiquities of the existence of the codex, and in October 1946 it was purchased from Rāghib for the Coptic Museum.<sup>1</sup> Given the inventory number 4851, the acquisition was registered as a "papyrus manuscript . . . with its cover. Seventy folios, most of them damaged and incomplete, some of them very small fragments."<sup>2</sup>

Togo Mina, the Director of the Coptic Museum, immediately began to consolidate fragmentary leaves of the codex with small pieces of transparent adhesive tape. In the autumn of 1947, when Mina began to collaborate with Jean Doresse on an edition of the texts, the codex was taken apart. The sheets of the single quire, if not already broken, were cut in two at the spine, and the resulting leaves and fragments were conserved between panes of glass. These glass frames, as well as a number of small fragments which had not been glassed, were then photographed.

These photographs, a complete set of which is kept by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, California, under the siglum D III, provide the oldest detailed record of the physical remains of NHC III, excluding the leather cover. The extant remains of the manuscript in Cairo are now somewhat less complete than the

<sup>1</sup>See James M. Robinson, "From the Cliff to Cairo: The Story of the Discoverers and the Middlemen of the Nag Hammadi Codices" in Bernard Barc (ed.), *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi (Québec, 22-25 août 1978)* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Études" 1; Quebec and Louvain: Université Laval and Peeters, 1981), pp. 21-58.

<sup>2</sup>*Facs.: Codex III* (1976), p. vii.

photographs show, due to the loss of a few fragments.<sup>3</sup> One small fragment not shown in the D photographs has been associated with the codex since 1970, but remains unplaced.<sup>4</sup> Further slight, and for the most part questionable, evidence for the text is provided by early transcriptions made by Doresse and Mina.<sup>5</sup>

It is clear that some of what was already missing from the manuscript, when the D photographs were made, became separated from the codex only after its discovery, but probably before its acquisition by the Coptic Museum. This is certainly true of a large fragment from the middle of pp. 145/146. This fragment became part of a miscellaneous collection of papyri which was purchased early in the 1960s, from an anonymous scholar-collector, by H. P. Kraus, the famous rare book and manuscript dealer of New York. In 1964, Kraus sold the collection to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (New Haven, Connecticut), where the fragment (Yale inv. 1784) was identified as part of NHC III in 1980.<sup>6</sup>

Six leaves (pp. 19/20, 45/46, 47/48, 79/80, 109/110, 115/116) which must have been nearly complete when the codex was discovered, but which at present are not represented by even a single fragment, were probably also removed before the acquisition of the manuscript by the Coptic Museum. But the whereabouts of these leaves remain unknown. One may conjecture a similar, or even more unhappy fate for any small fragments which may have broken loose from the extant leaves during the course of their journey from Upper Egypt to the Coptic Museum, as well as for whatever may have survived of the last three leaves (pp. D/E, F/G, H/I), which were probably not inscribed, and two missing stubs (pp. a/b, c/d).

In 1966, the Coptic Museum reconsevered the remains of NHC III in conformity with the rest of the Nag Hammadi collection. All but four leaves (pp. 93-100, which were on public display at the time) were removed from their glass frames and placed between panes of plexiglass. In the process, top and bottom margins were trimmed to

<sup>3</sup>For details, see Stephen Emmel, "Unique Photographic Evidence for Nag Hammadi Texts," *BASP* 14 (1977), 109-12, 120-21, 15 (1978), 195-98, 203-5. Also, *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pls. 143/144 fragments 1-5 are preserved only in old photographs.

<sup>4</sup>*Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pls. 143/144 fragment 8.

<sup>5</sup>See *Facs.: Introduction* (in preparation), *Addenda et Corrigenda to Codex III*, Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, pp. 64 and 68, and below, p. 38, under the abbreviation Doresse.

<sup>6</sup>See Stephen Emmel, "A Fragment of Nag Hammadi Codex III in the Beinecke Library: Yale inv. 1784," *BASP* 17 (1980), 53-60.

suit the smaller size of the plexiglass.<sup>7</sup> Beginning in 1970, an international group of scholars led by James M. Robinson undertook the physical reconstruction of the entire collection.<sup>8</sup> Numerous fragments were restored to and secured in their proper positions (of Codex III, only eight small fragments remain unplaced; these are conserved with pp. 147/C); the correct sequence of pages in each codex was determined (in the case of Codex III, with complete certainty); the papyrus was cleaned (in Codex III this entailed the removal of a number of small pieces of transparent adhesive tape, and small fragments of glass from pp. 93–100); and conjugate leaves were reunited to form the original sheets of the quires. These reconstructed sheets were then placed between plexiglass panes of a uniform size for storage in two specially designed cabinets. The leather covers were similarly conserved in shallow plexiglass boxes.<sup>9</sup> The reconstruction of Codex III thus achieved was published in the ARE-UNESCO *Facsimile Edition*<sup>10</sup> and is the basis of the following codicological description.<sup>11</sup>

The book-block of NHC III was made up in a single quire of forty sheets. These sheets were cut from six rolls of papyrus approximately 25.8 cm. tall.<sup>12</sup> In the diagrammatic presentation below, the rolls are

<sup>7</sup>For details, see Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 231 n. 2.

<sup>8</sup>This work was begun by a Technical Sub-Committee of the UNESCO International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices, aided by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. It was completed as part of the Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project of the American Research Center in Egypt.

<sup>9</sup>See Stephen Emmel, "The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project: A Final Report," The American Research Center in Egypt, Inc., *Newsletter* 104 (1978), 10–32.

<sup>10</sup>*Facs.: Codex III* (1976); see also the Addenda et Corrigenda to Codex III in *Facs.: Introduction* (in preparation).

<sup>11</sup>Cf. *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pp. xiii–xv, James M. Robinson, "The Future of Papyrus Codicology" in R. McL. Wilson (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies* (Coptic Studies 1; Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp. 43–45 and 50, and, with caution, Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 227–31. Readers unfamiliar with the terminology and presuppositions of papyrus codicology should consult Robinson, "The Future of Papyrus Codicology," esp. pp. 23–43, idem, "Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502" in Douglas M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (NHS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 9–16, and E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977). See also James M. Robinson, "The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices" in Martin Krause (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (NHS 6; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 170–90, idem, "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices" in J.-É. Ménard (ed.), *Les textes de Nag Hammadi: Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions (Strasbourg, 23–25 octobre 1974)* (NHS 7; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 15–31, and *Facs.: Introduction* (in preparation).

<sup>12</sup>This is the height of the tallest extant leaf (pp. 99/100), which occurs in Roll 5.

shown with horizontal fibers (represented by undulating lines) facing up and kolleseis stepping down from left to right; protocols, had there been any, would have joined the rolls at the left-hand ends.<sup>13</sup> No account is taken of papyrus trimmed away between sheets; the rolls may have been somewhat longer than shown here. The page numbers of the finished codex are given, in square brackets if the leaf is wholly missing, along the top edge of a roll. The orientation of these numbers indicates the top of the leaf in the finished codex. A plus sign (+) between page numbers indicates where a sheet was folded to make two leaves. Such pairs of conjugate leaves are separated by vertical lines indicating where the roll was cut into sheets. The measurements of the sheets were taken at their widest extant breadths, except where leaves have obviously suffered deterioration at the fore-edges.<sup>14</sup> In these cases, the measurements reflect what can be assumed to have been the original breadths of the sheets. A gap in a roll (along the horizontal axis) is indicated only when the missing papyrus must have, or might have, preserved a kollesis. A kollesis is represented by a vertical pair of broken and solid lines across the roll; the solid line indicates the overlapping right-hand edge of one kollema and the broken line indicates the left-hand edge of the kollema overlapped.<sup>15</sup>

The remains of Roll 1 are so fragmentary that its reconstruction is somewhat hypothetical. Probably a single kollesis is lost between pp. 4 and 2, though fiber continuity from p. 2 to p. B cannot be established with certainty. It is possible that the roll extended beyond p. H, for the relative shortness of the roll as reconstructed could suggest that further sheets cut from the right-hand end were used as cartonnage and a pastedown. But the evidence provided by the leather cover is not sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. The roll was cut from right to left into four full sheets, with a partial sheet remaining at the end. The sheets were stacked in the order in which they were cut, the final partial sheet flush with the rest at the right-hand edge.

In Roll 2, a single kollesis crosses p. 137. The roll was cut from right to left into six full sheets, with a partial sheet remaining at the end. The dimensions of the leather cover indicate that none of the rolls could have been much taller than this.

<sup>13</sup>Rolls 1, 3, and 4, in which no kolleseis are extant, are laid out in the diagram on the assumption that the manufacturer of the codex handled them in the same way as he handled Rolls 2, 5, and 6.

<sup>14</sup>Viz. pp. A/B, 1/2, 3/4, 19/20, 45/46, 47/48, 79/80, 109/110, 115/116, D/E, F/G, H/I. The missing stubs at the beginnings of Rolls 1 and 2 are shown with a standardized breadth of 3.0 cm.

<sup>15</sup>A missing kollesis is shown with a standardized breadth of 3.0 cm.

end. The first sheet cut (pp. 8 + 145) was interchanged with the last sheet cut from Roll 1 (pp. b + 143). The rest of the sheets from Roll 2 were then added to the stack in the order in which they were cut, the final partial sheet flush with the rest at the right-hand edge.

In Roll 3, a single kollesis is lost between pp. 26 and 123. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets. The first sheet cut (pp. 20 + 131) was interchanged with the last sheet cut from Roll 2 (pp. d + 129). The rest of the sheets from Roll 3 were then added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

In Roll 4, probably a single kollesis is lost on p. 109. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets, which were added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

In Roll 5, a single kollesis crosses p. 95. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets, which were added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

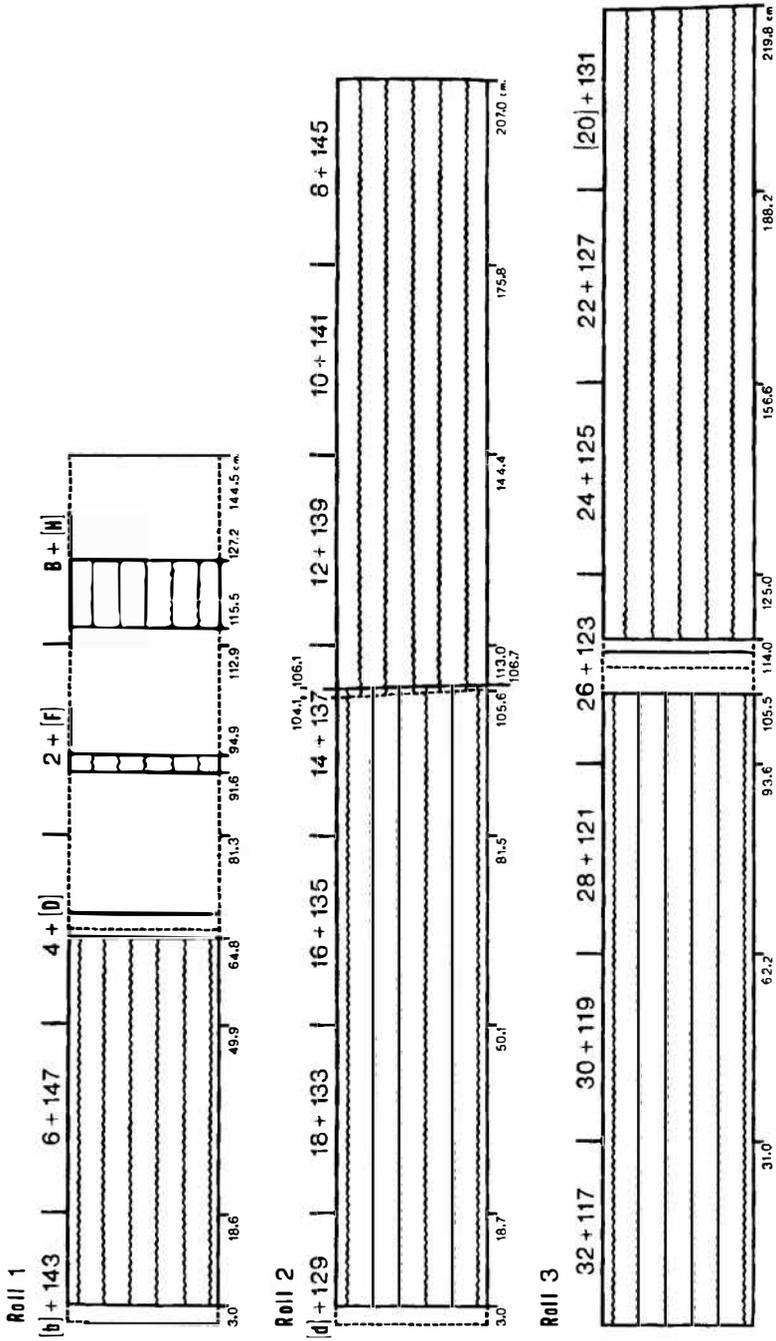
In Roll 6, a single kollesis crosses p. 66. The roll was cut from right to left into seven full sheets, which were added to the stack in the order in which they were cut.

The resulting stack of forty sheets was then folded in half, the center of the quire thus formed falling between pp. 74 and 75. Pp. a/b and c/d occurred as stubs between pp. 8 and 9 and between pp. 20 and 21 respectively.

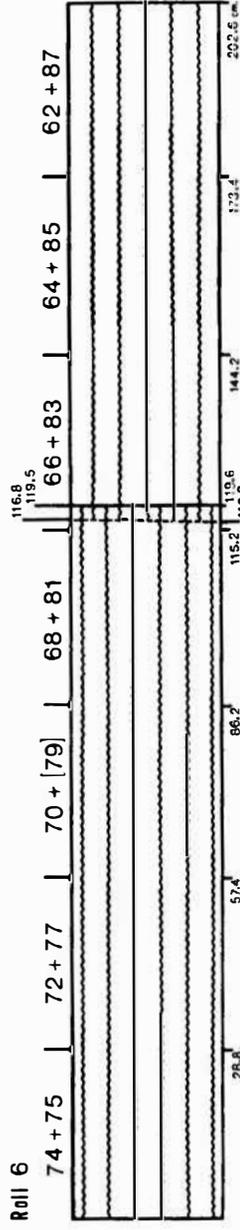
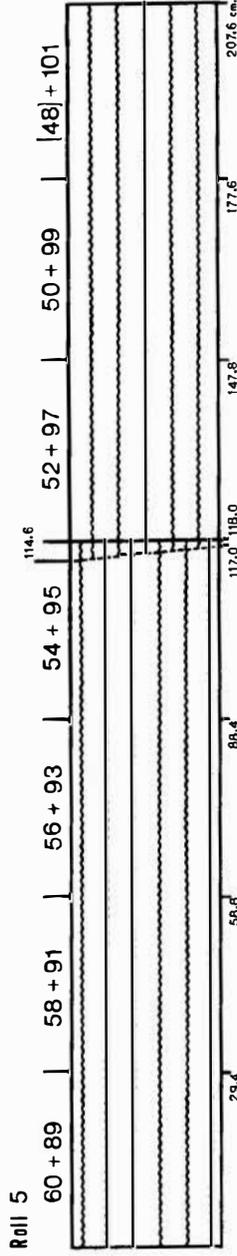
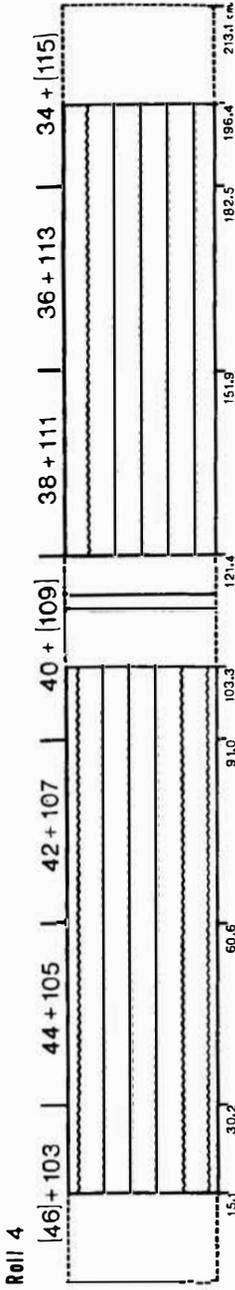
The leather cover of NHC III was made from a single piece of sheep leather without decoration. A pointed flap extending from the front cover could be wrapped around the fore-edge to overlap the back cover. A wrapping thong attached to the point of the flap served, along with ties at the head and tail, to prevent the closed book from falling open. The cover when open, excluding the flap, measures 26.2 x 35.0 cm.

The book-block was sewn with two leather thongs to an irregularly shaped piece of leather, approximately 24.6 x 9.0 cm. The thongs were knotted at the outside of the leather piece. (It may be assumed that the thongs also held protective stays at the center of the quire, but these are not extant.) This piece of leather was then used to line the spine of the cover, thus concealing the knots of the thongs between the lining and the cover. The front and back covers were then lined with layers of papyrus into which the edges of the leather spine lining were glued, thus binding the book-block to the cover.<sup>16</sup> The turn-ins (in-

<sup>16</sup>It is conceivable that it was the dampness of the glue used in the cartonnage that caused the ink on the pages near the front (pp. 1-7) and the back (pp. 128-147) to



The six rolls of the paper



cluding one added along the fore-edge of the front cover) were then glued on top of this cartonnage and the cartonnage and turn-ins were covered by a pastedown. Unfortunately, all but meager traces of the pastedown and cartonnage, some of which might have consisted of datable texts, were removed by persons unknown; apart from the blank scraps still adhering to the cover, nothing of the pastedown and cartonnage is known to survive.<sup>17</sup>

In the book-block, a front flyleaf (pp. A/B) was neither paged nor inscribed, except that the title of the first text (*The Apocryphon of John*) was written a little above center on p. B. Inscription and pagination then run continuously from p. 1 through p. 147, excluding the two stubs. P. C (the verso of p. 147) was left blank, as were, presumably, three missing back flyleaves, pp. D-I. Undecorated page numbers were placed above, and often a little left of, the center of the single column of inscription. Page numbers are fully or at least partially preserved on pp. 17, 18, 23-36, 38, 40, 42-44, 54-56, 60-76, 91-96, 99-108, 111-114, 117-120, 123-125, 127-134, 136, 139, 141, and 143.

The codex was copied by one scribe in a single, simple column.<sup>18</sup> There are no running titles and no capitals. Titles at the ends of the texts (on pp. 40, 69, 90, 119, and 147) are written in slightly larger characters and are set off by simple decorations.<sup>19</sup> Otherwise, adornments are limited to the occasional use of a paragraphos (on pp. 69, 76, and 96) and of diples to fill out short lines (*passim*). The scribe kept his margins and lines of text more or less even, without the aid of any sort of ruling. The text-block varies in width from 10.2 to 12.0 cm., averaging 11.1 cm., and in height from 20.1 to 22.6 cm., averaging 21.4 cm. The number of lines per page varies from 22 to 28, averaging between 24 and 25, the average height of a line (including interlineal space) being about 0.9 cm.<sup>20</sup>

As has already been noted, six inscribed leaves are entirely missing

run and blot.

<sup>17</sup>For a more detailed description of the cover, see *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pp. xi-xiii and pls. 1-4.

<sup>18</sup>For a brief description of the handwriting, see Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 232-33.

<sup>19</sup>Apart from *Ap. John*, the title of which is written both at the end of the text and on the verso of the front flyleaf, only *Dial. Sav.* has a title written both at the end and at the beginning (120:1, without decoration) of the text.

<sup>20</sup>For *Dial. Sav.* in particular, the text-block varies in width from 10.4 to 11.9 cm., averaging 11.2 cm., and in height from 20.6 to 22.4 cm., averaging 21.25 cm., while the number of lines per page varies from 23 to 25, averaging between 23 and 24. Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 233-34.

(pp. 19/20, 45/46, 47/48, 79/80, 109/110, 115/116). Of the remaining sixty-eight inscribed leaves, twenty-nine have suffered serious deterioration, mostly along the inner margins (pp. 1–8, 21–44, 57/58, 117–132, 137/138, 143–146, 147/C). The remaining thirty-nine inscribed leaves are relatively well-preserved. Eight small inscribed fragments remain unplaced; fragments 1–5 are preserved only in old photographs.

The codex contains five texts: *The Apocryphon of John* (1:1–40:11), *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (40:12–69:20), *Eugnostos the Blessed* (70:1–90:13), *The Wisdom of Jesus* (90:14–119:18), and *The Dialogue of the Savior* (120:1–147:23).<sup>21</sup> The tabs affixed to the center of the fore-edge of pp. 39/40, 69/70, 89/90, and 119/120, apparently to mark the beginnings of the last four texts, are made of paper and so may be assumed to have been attached sometime after the manuscript was unearthed.

There is no basis on which to date and locate the manufacture of NHC III with any degree of certainty. Archeological excavations near Ḥamrah Dūm at the site of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices have failed to bring any precision to determining the exact context of the burial of the manuscripts. Any evidence that might have been provided by inscribed papyrus used to line the cover is lost. In the absence of a reliable chronological typology for Coptic paleography, it is fruitless to speculate on the date of the scribe's handwriting. We are left only the association of NHC III with the rest of the Nag Hammadi Codices, one of which (Codex VII) was certainly manufactured no earlier than 348 c.e. and several of which (Codices I, V, VII, XI) seem to have been manufactured in the Nag Hammadi region.<sup>22</sup> By this means, it is generally assumed that NHC III too was manufactured in the latter half of the fourth century c.e., possibly somewhere in the Nag Hammadi region.

## II. THE TEXT OF *The Dialogue of the Savior*

### A. Quality of the Copy

The copy of *Dial. Sav.* in NHC III contains twenty-seven correc-

<sup>21</sup>For bibliography on the first four texts, see David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948–1969* (NHS 1; Leiden: Brill, 1971), supplemented annually in the autumn issue of *Novum Testamentum*, beginning with vol. 13 (1971).

<sup>22</sup>See J. W. B. Barns, G. M. Browne, and J. C. Shelton, *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonage of the Covers* (NHS 16; Leiden: Brill, 1981), esp. p. 11.

tions.<sup>23</sup> Judging by the handwriting, all of these corrections were made by the scribe himself. They can be divided into two groups according to the manner in which they were made. It is reasonable to suppose that the corrections in the first group were made by the scribe in the course of copying the text, and that those in the second group were made after the codex was completely copied.

In the first group of corrections, the scribe either (a) erased the erroneous letters (one instance, at the end of a line: 121:9); or (b) wrote the correct letters over the erroneous letters, most often first erasing the erroneous letters more or less thoroughly (fifteen instances: 123:17, 123:22, 125:1, 127:14, 133:10, 133:24, 134:19, 135:19, 140:8, 141:9, 141:21, 142:5, 144:8, 145:19 [*bis*]). The number of erroneous letters deleted in each instance ranges from one to eight, averaging about two.

In the second group of corrections, the scribe either (a) cancelled an erroneous letter with diagonal strokes through it (one instance: 131:19, though here a superlinear stroke may also have been added at the same time, and in either case the text is still corrupt; see further below); or (b) cancelled the erroneous letters with diagonal strokes through them and wrote the correct letters above the cancellations (two instances: 132:8, 137:5); or (c) added missing letters by writing above the line, beginning an addition directly above the letter before which the addition should be inserted (eight instances: 122:7, 126:15, 127:7, 132:16, 133:14, 134:21, 139:14, 140:11 [though in the last instance the text is probably still corrupt; see further below]). The number of erroneous letters deleted in each instance is one; the number of letters added in each instance ranges from one to eight (possibly more at 127:7), averaging about three.

The error in 144:8 is the result of dittography, perhaps also in 140:8 and in 133:24, though here it seems more likely that the scribe, having completed the last line of p. 133 by severely crowding the letters of  $\text{OYOEIN AN}$ , decided to erase this and write only  $\text{OY}$  over it, beginning the next page with  $\text{OEIN AN}$ . The error in 142:5 is the result of haplography, probably also in 125:1, 127:14, and 141:9, and presumably also in all of the instances under (c) in the second group of corrections listed above. The nature of the remaining errors is difficult to determine, and the corrections of some of these errors alter the meaning of

<sup>23</sup>This is an average of one correction per page. It should be remembered, however, that about 30% of the scribe's work on this text has been lost through deterioration of the papyrus.

the text significantly: 132:8, 134:19, 137:5, 140:8 (if this is not the result of dittography), 141:21, 145:19; further instances of such significant alteration by the scribe can be added from throughout NHC III.<sup>24</sup>

Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse have suggested with regard to such alterations of meaning in NHC III,2 (*Gos. Eg.*) that the scribe, or someone with indistinguishable handwriting, made changes in the text on some basis other than the scribe's initial exemplar.<sup>25</sup> If this hypothesis is entertained for *Dial. Sav.*, the corrections by means of superlinear addition in 122:7, 127:7, 132:16, 133:14, and 140:11 would need to be added to the list at the end of the preceding paragraph. Indeed, as interesting as it is, this hypothesis would be more attractive if the corrections at issue were limited to those made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition. For as things stand, it would remain very unclear why this ancient editor chose to alter the manuscript by means of erasure and/or overwriting in some cases, and by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition in others. The hypothesis suffers from further complication if it is agreed that corrections by means of *erasure* could only have been made immediately after the mistakes were made, before the ink had dried completely. But even if consideration were to be limited to corrections made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition, it would still be very difficult to avoid subjectivity in deciding which of these should be regarded as secondary alterations of the text, and which as corrections of genuine copying errors.

An alternative solution to this problem is to conclude that at times the scribe was capable of extreme carelessness. The large number of corrections throughout NHC III already suggests this conclusion,<sup>26</sup> but it also indicates that the scribe took some pains to correct his errors (witness at least the corrections by means of erasure and/or overwriting), possibly going so far as to proofread the entire manuscript after he copied it (whence the corrections by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition).<sup>27</sup> So even if the scribe deserves criticism for

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 236.

<sup>25</sup>Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 4; twelve of the relevant corrections listed by them were made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition, three by means of erasure and overwriting.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 236: "There are far more corrections in Codex III than in any other Nag Hammadi codex."

<sup>27</sup>For the present edition, I have accepted this alternative as the less extreme means of judging the corrections in the text. Hence I have adopted all of the scribe's

being careless, the quality of the final copy must be judged not by the number of his corrections, but by the number of errors which he failed to notice and correct.

There are only two errors clearly left uncorrected by the scribe: (1) In 131:19 the scribe either first wrote [ΑΜΑΡΙ]ΖΑΜΜΗ ΨΙΝΕ ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ and later cancelled C<sup>1</sup> with diagonal strokes and added a super-  
linear stroke to N<sup>2</sup>, or first wrote [ΑΜΑΡΙ]ΖΑΜΜΗ ΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΕC-  
CΝΗΥ and later cancelled C<sup>1</sup>. In either case the text as it stands, [ΑΜΑΡΙ]-  
ΖΑΜΜΗ ΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΕC-  
CΝΗΥ, is nonsense.<sup>28</sup> The simplest solution is to  
suppose that the initial error was the haplographic omission of Ν, and  
that ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ or Ν̄ΕC-  
CΝΗΥ should have been corrected to Ν̄ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ (restoring ΧΕ- at the beginning of the following lacuna). But  
because the scribe's cancellation of C suggests that he was trying to  
alter the possessive article into the definite article, one might rather  
emend the text to Ν̄ΝΕC-  
CΝΗΥ. (2) In 139:21 the scribe wrote  
ΧΟΟCΕΡΟΕΙ, from which Ε<sup>2</sup> needs to be deleted (dittography).<sup>29</sup>

In addition, there are eight passages where corruption may be sus-  
pected. Probably in need of emendation is 140:11, where the scribe  
altered CΕΜΟΥΤ̄ to CΕΜΟΥΟΥΤ̄, but probably meant to correct  
this to CΕΜΟΥ, a conclusion recommended by the following CΕΩΝΖ  
and by the parallelism with ΜΕΥΜΟΥ... ΨΑΥΜΟΥ in 140:13-14.  
Possible emendations are suggested in the critical apparatus to the  
present edition for 121:2-3, 130:6, 137:20, 139:8, 139:11, 140:9, and  
143:11, though each of these passages is adequately comprehensible as  
transmitted. Furthermore, a number of orthographic and  
grammatical irregularities, detailed in the following section, could be  
regarded as the result of scribal error.

Of course it is hazardous to judge the quality of a unique copy of a  
text, but on the whole I am favorably impressed by the clarity of the  
copy of *Dial. Sav.* in NHC III, leaving aside the orthographic in-  
stability evidenced by the text, as well as the arcane nature of much of

corrections in my edition, relegating notice of what he wrote first in each case to the  
critical apparatus. I am of the opinion, however, that the corrections throughout NHC  
III, especially those made by means of cancellation and/or superlinear addition, deserve  
further synoptic scrutiny.

<sup>28</sup>In the critical apparatus to my edition, I have drawn attention to NHC III 96:2  
where Ν̄ stands for Ν̄Ν. If this passage is not also corrupt, one could argue that in  
131:19 Ν̄ stands legitimately for Ν̄Ν. But it is more likely that both passages are corrupt.  
(Perhaps also cf. NHC III 54:5 where Ν̄Ν stands for Μ̄Ν̄Ν; cf. Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*,  
p. 5.)

<sup>29</sup>A few errors in the superlineation and punctuation are not included here; see  
sec. B below.

its subject matter. The scribe seems to have noticed and corrected most of his copying errors himself. If a harsher judgement is warranted by the scribe's work on the other four texts in the codex,<sup>30</sup> one must at least consider the possibility that corruptions throughout the manuscript may not be due to the copyist of NHC III himself, but rather may have existed already in his exemplars.

### B. Orthography and Grammar

The surviving copy of *Dial. Sav.* is written in the Sahidic dialect.<sup>31</sup> As the following description will show, however, the text contains a number of orthographic and grammatical inconsistencies and irregularities. By and large, these non-Sahidic features are deviations in the direction of Subachmimic (and, to a lesser extent, Achmimic). In this respect, the text is reminiscent of the crypto-Subachmimic texts in NHC II,<sup>32</sup> though hardly so striking in its deviation from Sahidic. The present edition is concluded by complete word indexes to the Coptic text, together with an index of the grammatical forms in the text. These should be consulted in conjunction with the following description.

The text is punctuated in three ways.<sup>33</sup> (1) A raised point (once a colon, in 143:18) is used to mark the ends of some, though not all, clauses.<sup>34</sup> Apparently erroneous instances of this usage are 121:18 (1<sup>o</sup>), 132:11, 135:6,<sup>35</sup> 138:5, 142:10, and 142:11.

<sup>30</sup>With specific regard to NHC III,2, Böhlig and Wisse (*Gos. Eg.*, p. 5) found that there are "many scribal errors requiring emendation" (they list thirty-one instances, noting ten others which could be added), and concluded that "both the corrections and emendations indicate that the accuracy of the scribe of III, 2 left much to be desired." Wisse ("Cod. Intro.," p. 236) has passed the same judgement on the scribe's work throughout the codex.

<sup>31</sup>I have found no reason to doubt the general assumption that the text was translated into Coptic from Greek.

<sup>32</sup>See especially the discussion of NHC II,4 by Bentley Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons," *HTR* 67 (1974), 374-83.

<sup>33</sup>It should be noted that at the front and back of the codex the ink has run and blotted, and throughout the codex the scribe's pen seems to have splattered some. Both of these circumstances make it difficult at times to distinguish punctuation marks clearly.

<sup>34</sup>There are 120 (possibly 122; see 132:5*ap* and 146:3*ap*) instances of this usage preserved in the text (120:1.5.6.8, 121:7.15.18[2<sup>o</sup>], 122:1.5.7 etc.) and raised points are restored in a few places where the available space in a lacuna recommends it.

<sup>35</sup>Wisse ("Cod. Intro.," p. 234) has suggested that this point, after  $\omega\iota\kappa$ , might be classed under the third usage below. In my opinion there are too few examples of  $\kappa$  being so marked (Wisse gives only one other example) to warrant this conclusion.

(2) A raised point or hooked apostrophe<sup>36</sup> is used occasionally to separate two identical consonants within a word or bound group: 122:16  $\epsilon\mu\bar{\mu}\omicron\nu\bar{\nu}$ , 125:9  $\pi\bar{\pi}\nu\lambda$ , 128:23  $\mu\alpha\theta\bar{\theta}\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (but cf. 132:10 etc.), 129:2  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\tau}\alpha$  [ - - - ] and 132:9  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\tau}\beta\bar{\beta}\nu\omicron\gamma$  (but cf. perhaps 136:13), 133:22  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\tau}\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , 137:4  $\pi\bar{\pi}\omicron\nu\eta\rho\omicron$ [], 138:18  $\zeta\iota\omega\tau\bar{\tau}\theta\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\tau}$  (but cf. 143:20), 142:19  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\tau}\theta\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\tau}$ , 145:16  $[\alpha\gamma\bar{\gamma}]\bar{\gamma}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . Some of these instances, however, might be classed under the following usage.

(3) A point (rarely, a hooked apostrophe) is placed above the right-hand edge of the horizontal stroke of a word-final  $\pi$  or  $\tau$ .<sup>37</sup> This mark has been erroneously omitted in 126:23  $\omega\psi\chi\pi$ , 133:17  $\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$ , 133:19  $\iota\omega\tau$ , and perhaps also in 136:14  $\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$  and 146:20  $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ . In 120:26 both the  $\tau$  and the  $\pi$  in  $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\tau}\pi$  are marked; exactly the same error occurs in NHC III 65:7. It is noteworthy that in 144:10 the  $\pi$  in  $\varsigma\epsilon\chi\pi\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\alpha\alpha$ , and in 143:1  $\tau\bar{\tau}$  in  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\tau$  are marked. All the other occasional instances of the final  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  of a bound form being marked can be classed under the second usage above:  $\pi\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}$  . . . (125:9, 137:4; cf. 120:1 etc.),  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$  . . . (129:2, 132:9; cf. 122:24 etc.),  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$  . . . (133:22; cf. 132:19 etc.),  $\zeta\iota\omega\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$  . . . (138:18),  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$  . . . (142:19).<sup>38</sup>

The scribe placed superlinear strokes over single letters, groups of two letters, and, rarely, groups of three letters.<sup>39</sup> In the present edition, the two latter cases are represented with a superlinear stroke over only the second of the two (e.g.  $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ ) or three (e.g.  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ ) letters involved.<sup>40</sup> Occasionally, the extended arm of  $\sigma$  can serve as a superlinear stroke over the following letter: 121:13, 131:4, 140:16, 145:13 (these have been transcribed as though the superlinear stroke was written separately).<sup>41</sup> The Conjunctive conjugation bases  $\mu\bar{\tau}$ - and  $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$ - are marked with a superlinear stroke over both letters, but I have chosen to transcribe them as  $\bar{\mu}\tau$  and  $\bar{\mu}\eta$ . Similarly, I have always tran-

<sup>36</sup>Here, as in the third usage, there appears to be no systematic distinction between these two shapes.

<sup>37</sup>It is interesting to note that this usage never occurs in conjunction with the first usage described.

<sup>38</sup>Böhlig and Wisse (*Gos. Eg.*, p. 2 n. 4) list eight instances in NHC III,2 where the final  $\tau$  of a bound form ( $\alpha\tau$ -,  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$ -, and  $\epsilon\tau$ -) has been marked even though it is not followed by another  $\tau$  or by  $\uparrow$ . A precise rule governing the marking of such forms remains elusive.

<sup>39</sup>In 141:16 and 142:6  $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau$  has a superlinear stroke over all three letters while elsewhere the stroke covers only  $\mu\bar{\nu}$  in this word.

<sup>40</sup>The indexes to the present edition include the superlineation. For the precise placement of superlinear strokes, however, consult *Facs.: Codex III* (1976).

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," p. 232 n. 2, and Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 2 n. 1.

scribed the negative particle  $\bar{\eta}$ - though it is sometimes marked with a superlinear stroke over both it and a following  $\eta$ - or  $\zeta$ -.

The scribe's use of the superlinear stroke is restricted to  $\beta$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\sigma$ , and in some circumstances  $\eta$ :  $\sigma\bar{\beta}\tau\omega\tau$ ,  $\tau\bar{\beta}\nu\theta\omega\gamma$ ,  $\theta\bar{\beta}\beta\iota\omicron$ -,  $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\bar{\beta}$ ,  $\zeta\bar{\beta}\sigma\omega$ ,  $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\beta}$ ;<sup>42</sup>  $\beta\bar{\lambda}\beta\iota\lambda\epsilon$ ,  $\psi\bar{\lambda}\tau\alpha\mu$ ;<sup>43</sup>  $\bar{\eta}$ -,  $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$ -, etc.;  $\bar{\eta}$ -,  $\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}$ -,  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau$ -, etc. (also see further below);<sup>44</sup>  $\bar{\rho}$ -,  $\zeta\eta\bar{\beta}\bar{\sigma}$  (also see further below); on  $\eta$ , see below.

The plural definite article  $\bar{\eta}$ - is not marked with a superlinear stroke before  $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$  (121:2, 136:14) or  $\lambda\iota\omega\nu$  (131:6),<sup>45</sup> nor after a one-vowel morpheme, the only preserved instance of which is with the preposition  $\epsilon$ - (129:10). The preposition  $\bar{\eta}$ - is not marked with a superlinear stroke after  $\pi\zeta\lambda$ - (ten, possibly eleven, instances) except in 135:9-10 and 135:19.<sup>46</sup>

$\eta$  is marked with a superlinear stroke only when it occurs as a suffix pronoun (not in  $\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta\eta$ ), and then regularly only when it follows  $\tau$  (twenty-two instances). After other consonants the evidence varies:  $\beta\bar{\mu}\beta\omega\mu\eta$  (121:13),  $\sigma\gamma\omega\nu\bar{\eta}$  (132:16),  $\psi\omicron\pi\eta$  (121:7),  $\tau\eta\rho\eta$  (130:3, 136:16, 141:23, 142:10, 144:11)/ $\tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}$  (138:5, 139:13),  $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\eta$  (137:17)/ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}$  (129:6).<sup>47</sup> The evidence for  $\bar{\tau}$  as a suffix pronoun after a consonant is much less extensive:  $-\bar{\tau}$  after  $\tau$  (three instances),  $[\tau]\eta\rho\bar{\tau}$  (121:18);<sup>48</sup> the only exception is 145:22  $\chi\omicron\omicron\beta\epsilon\sigma$ , but here  $\chi\omicron\omicron\beta\epsilon\sigma$  is expected (cf. 139:7 and 145:24).<sup>49</sup> Of further relevance to this evidence are: the peculiar superlineation in 142:25  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\sigma}\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$  and 145:5  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\tau}$ [ - - - ], where  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\tau}$ [ $\zeta\iota\mu\epsilon$ ] is a likely restoration (but cf. 144:20); the tendency of  $\tau$  to join to a following syllable in such line breaks as 126:16-17  $[\pi\epsilon]|\tau\beta\omega\lambda\pi'$ , 127:15-16  $\mu\epsilon|\tau\bar{\mu}\pi$ ]  $\zeta\alpha\nu\pi\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ , 130:8-9  $[\pi\epsilon]|\tau\bar{\mu}\pi\zeta\alpha\nu\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ , 140:15-16  $\epsilon|\tau\beta\epsilon$ -,

<sup>42</sup> $\zeta\beta\eta\theta\omega\gamma\epsilon$  is only an apparent exception since  $\beta$  and  $\eta$  belong to the same syllable; note the line break in 146:2-3 (cf. 145:1-2*ab*).

<sup>43</sup> $\beta\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  in 121:24 is probably an error for  $\beta\bar{\lambda}\lambda\epsilon$ .

<sup>44</sup> $\tau\eta$  in 140:5 and in 143:22 are errors for  $\tau\bar{\eta}$ . The affirmative existential predicate is spelled both  $\omicron\gamma\eta$ - and  $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}$ -.

<sup>45</sup>The article retains syllabicity before  $\omicron\beta\zeta\epsilon$  (127:18),  $\lambda\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma$  (136:9), and  $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$  (122:14, 138:12, 142:7, 143:15, 145:5, 145:21).

<sup>46</sup>In 123:23-124:1  $\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\eta}\chi\iota\omicron\omicron\rho$   $\gamma\alpha\rho$  it is noteworthy both that  $\pi\mu\alpha\bar{\eta}\chi\iota\omicron\omicron\rho$  is a bound group (note the position of  $\gamma\alpha\rho$ ) and that  $\bar{\eta}$ - is marked with a superlinear stroke.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. 140:3  $\sigma\omicron\tau\mu\epsilon\eta$  and 131:9  $\chi\omicron\omicron\rho\epsilon\eta$ , and probably 142:3  $\zeta\omicron\tau\beta[\epsilon\eta]$ ; in the I Perfect negative paradigm the spelling  $\eta\pi\epsilon\eta$ - is attested.

<sup>48</sup>In 145:20 I have restored  $\sigma\gamma[\omega\nu\bar{\tau}]$ .

<sup>49</sup> $\kappa$  as a suffix pronoun is never marked with a superlinear stroke, even when it follows  $\tau$  (125:20, 130:12, 136:15, 140:4); but cf. the Circumstantial "not yet" conjugation base  $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa$ - (136:12).

and 146:16–17  $\epsilon\iota\tau\kappa\omega$ ; and the Present Relative forms  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ - (132:17), and  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ - (139:6)/ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ - (134:12).<sup>50</sup>

$\acute{\eta}$  ( $\eta$ ) is regularly marked with a circumflex, except perhaps in 140:21. Otherwise, the scribe seems to have used the circumflex rather erratically: 143:14  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  (but cf. 133:18 etc.), 143:12  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\epsilon$  (but cf. 141:13 etc.), 142:19  $\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon$  (but cf. 130:10 etc.).<sup>51</sup>

The assimilation of  $\bar{n}$ - is irregular.<sup>52</sup>  $\bar{n}$ - can become  $\bar{m}$ - before  $\nu$  (121:24),  $\mu$  (143:22 etc.),  $\pi$  (120:1 etc.), and  $\psi$  (147:22), but it is noteworthy how often assimilation is *not* orthographically expressed: before  $\nu$  (144:1),  $\mu$  (120:26, 143:12),  $\pi$  (127:16, 129:11 [*bis*], 131:3, 131:11, 131:14, 135:7, 135:10, 135:19, 140:8 [but cf. *ap*], 141:23, 144:1, 144:8 [but cf. *ap*], 146:20),  $\psi$  (123:16).<sup>53</sup>

$\tau$ - $2$  . . . is regularly written as  $\theta$  . . . , but  $\pi$ - $2$  . . . is *not* orthographically combined as  $\phi$  . . . (122:13, 125:18, restored thus in 130:5*ap*, 133:22*ap*).

The diphthong  $\eta\gamma$  is regularly spelled  $\eta\omicron\gamma$  ( $\epsilon\rho\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\zeta\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\nu\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\sigma\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\tau\bar{\epsilon}\beta\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\tau\eta\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\bar{\eta}$ ,  $\zeta\beta\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta\eta\omicron\gamma$ ), with but a single exception in 131:19  $\sigma\eta\eta\gamma$  (at the end of the line).

The spelling  $\epsilon\iota$  is preferred to  $\bar{\iota}$ . The latter occurs regularly only in  $\zeta\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}$ ,  $\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma$ , and as a personal suffix after the preposition  $\nu\alpha$ - (139:7, restored thus in 145:24; cf.  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\omega\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota$ : 132:21, 139:20, 139:21, 140:1–2, 140:15, 142:4). The demonstrative pronoun is spelled  $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}$ ,  $\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}$ ,  $\nu\alpha\bar{\iota}$  with but two exceptions in 141:16 (see *ap*) [ $\alpha$ ] $\bar{\epsilon}\iota$  and 145:15  $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ . The corresponding demonstrative article, however, is spelled  $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ -,  $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ -,  $\nu\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ - (except for the anomalous  $\nu\alpha\bar{\iota}$ - in 141:6).<sup>54</sup> Word-initial  $\epsilon\iota$  becomes  $\bar{\iota}$  in  $\pi$ - $\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$  (*passim*) and  $\pi$ - $\iota\omega\tau$  (121:1\*, 133:19), though in the latter case  $\pi$ - $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$  seems to be the preferred spelling (121:5, 129:20–21\*, 134:15*ap*, 144:9\*, 145:11, 146:20).<sup>55</sup> The spelling of Greek verbs in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  varies between  $-\epsilon\iota$  (two, possibly three, instances:  $\epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$  [?],  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota$ ) and  $-\bar{\iota}$  (three instances:  $\sigma\gamma\mu\phi\omega\eta\iota$ ,  $\phi\omicron\rho\bar{\iota}$ ).<sup>56</sup>

Two nouns are abbreviated as *nomina sacra*,  $\pi\eta\alpha$  (*passim*) and

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 235–36, and Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. Wisse, "Cod. Intro.," pp. 234–35, and Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> $\bar{n}$ - does not assimilate to either  $\lambda$  (e.g. 134:6) or  $\rho$  (e.g. 133:19). It is noteworthy that the words subject to assimilation include the possessive article  $\nu\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ - (147:22).

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Böhlig-Wisse, *Gos. Eg.*, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>Although this evidence suggests a preference for  $\bar{\iota}$  after  $\alpha$ , cf.  $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ ,  $\chi\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ ,  $\lambda\epsilon\iota$ -, and  $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$ -.  
<sup>55</sup>Cf. 131:5, where  $\epsilon\tau$ - $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$  is spelled  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon$ .

<sup>56</sup>Cf.  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\sigma$ ,  $\chi\rho\bar{\iota}\alpha$ .

$\overline{\text{CHP}}$  (*bis*;  $\text{C}\omega\text{THP}$  is spelled out in full in the super- and subscript title of the text, and once within the text).

The long spelling of the definite article ( $\text{ΠE-}$ ,  $\text{TE-}$ ,  $\text{NE-}$ ) is used where expected in Sahidic,<sup>57</sup> with but three exceptions: 125:9  $\overline{\text{ΠΠΝΔ}}$ , 129:7  $\overline{\text{N}}\text{ZBHOY}\epsilon$ , 130:2  $\overline{\text{ΘI}}\text{H}$ .

Further orthographic fluctuation is evidenced by variations in the spelling of individual words and grammatical forms:  $\text{AMAZTE}$  (1x)/ $\text{EMAZTE}$  (2x),  $\text{AP-}$  (1x)/ $\text{EP-}$  (1x),  $\text{ENEZ}$  (10x)/ $\text{ANHZE}$  (3x),  $\text{EPAT-}$  (13x)/ $\text{EPET-}$  (142:19  $\text{EPET-THOYT}\bar{\text{N}}$ ),  $\text{KE-}$  (1x)/ $\text{BE-}$  (if my analysis of 144:20 is correct),  $\overline{\text{MMO-}}$  (*passim*)/ $\overline{\text{MMA-}}$  (138:12–13),  $\text{MEEY}\epsilon$  (1x)/ $\text{MEOY}\epsilon$  (1x),  $\text{COY}\bar{\text{N-}}$  (2x)/ $\text{COY}\omega\text{N-}$  (3x),  $\text{THOYT}\bar{\text{N}}$  (7x)/ $\text{THNOY}$  (3x),  $\text{OY}\omega\text{Y}$  (1x)/ $\text{OY}\omega\text{Y}\epsilon$  (2x),  $\omega\text{ZE}$  (6x)/ $\alpha\text{ZE}$  (1x),  $\text{ZH}$  (1x)/ $\text{EZH}$  (1x),  $\text{MARIZAM}$  (4x)/ $\text{MARIZAMMH}$  (7x), Rel Pres  $\text{ETOY-}$  (4x)/ $\text{ETEY-}$  (1x), Fut 2 pl.  $\text{TET}\bar{\text{NNA-}}$  (4x)/ $\text{TETNA-}$  (7x),<sup>58</sup> III Fut neg  $\overline{\text{NNEQ-}}$  (2x)/ $\text{NEQ-}$  (2x),  $\text{EN}\omega\text{AN-}$  (1x)/ $\text{EN}\omega\alpha-$  (1x),  $\text{EP}\omega\text{AN-}$  (1x)/ $\text{EP}\omega\alpha-$  (1x),  $\text{EP}\omega\text{AT}\bar{\text{M-}}$  (1x)/ $\text{EP}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{TE-}$  (5x), possessive art 3 pl.  $\text{PEY-}$ ,  $\text{TEY-}$ ,  $\text{NEY-}$  (5x)/ $\text{POY-}$ ,  $\text{TOY-}$  (3x), demonstrative art  $\text{PEEI-}$ ,  $\text{TEEI-}$ ,  $\text{NEEI-}$  (*passim*)/ $\text{NAI-}$  (141:6).

In addition, there are a number of words and forms which occur in more or less unexpected spellings, without variants:  $\text{MHE}$  (12x),  $\text{NAE}$  (1x), absolute possessive pron pl.  $\text{N}\omega-$  (2x),  $\overline{\text{NNAZP}}\bar{\text{N-}}$  (1x),  $\text{CAIEI}$  (1x),  $\text{CEXP-}$  (1x),  $\text{ZIE}$  (2x),  $\text{ZOLEB}$  (1x),  $\text{X}\omega\text{BE}$  (2x),  $\text{MONOXOC}$  (2x), III Fut neg 3 pl.  $\overline{\text{NNOY-}}$  (1x), Cond 2 sing. f  $\text{EP}\omega\text{AN-}$  (1x).<sup>59</sup> Vocalic reduction is not orthographically expressed in  $\overline{\text{NT}}\omega\text{T}\bar{\text{N-}}$  (2x),  $\text{OY}\omega\text{Y-}$  (1x), and  $\omega\text{MK-}$  (1x).

The Relative Perfect forms are spelled with initial  $\bar{\text{n}}$  (as also the II Perfect forms), never with  $\text{EN}$ . But  $\text{ETATET}\bar{\text{N}}$  is the only attested spelling of the 2 pl. form (145:20), and the paradigm also contains the forms  $\text{ΠENTAZ-}$  (146:18\*),  $\text{ETAZ-}$  (132:16), and  $\text{EP-}$  (133:10).<sup>60</sup>

Special mention deserves to be made of the peculiar form of the prenominal Conditional negative  $\text{EP}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{TE-}$  (127:1, 134:1, 134:5, 134:8, 134:11),<sup>61</sup> for which I have no explanation.

Clauses of purpose introduced by  $\text{XE-}$  or  $\text{XEK}\alpha\alpha\text{C}$  are formed with the III Future in the negative, but in the affirmative they are formed

<sup>57</sup>Including with  $\text{OYNOY}$ ,  $\text{OYOEI}\omega$ ,  $\text{ZIH}$ ,  $\text{ZOY}\epsilon$ , and  $\text{ZOYO}$ .

<sup>58</sup>Cf. Rel Fut 1 pl.  $\text{ET}\bar{\text{NNA-}}$  and II Fut 1 pl.  $\text{ENA-}$ .

<sup>59</sup>Note also  $\text{EMMON}$  (if this means "truly" in 122:16),  $\text{TAXPHOYT}$  (if this is the correct restoration in 129:4), and  $\overline{\text{NTAPE-}}$  (if this is the Temporal 2 sing. f in 137:7).

<sup>60</sup>But cf. 136:24  $\overline{\text{NENTAY-}}$ , 141:24  $\text{P}\omega\text{ME } \overline{\text{NTA}}\text{Q-}$ , and probably 121:1  $\overline{\text{NNAI}}$ .

<sup>61</sup>The more standard form  $\text{EP}\omega\text{AT}\bar{\text{M-}}$  occurs once, in 133:23.

with the II Future. There is but a single instance of the III Future affirmative in the text (135:3  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon-$ ), though it is questionable because it is followed immediately by a lacuna.

Negation by  $\bar{n}$ - . . .  $\alpha n$ , where expected, predominates only slightly (ten instances) over negation by  $\alpha n$  alone (nine instances: 133:13, 134:6, 134:22-23, 141:2, 141:3-4, 143:18, 143:24, 144:20-21, 144:22-23).

Greek verbs are used with and without  $\bar{p}$ - ( $\lambda p$ -,  $\epsilon p$ -) as an auxiliary in equal measure (seven instances of each).

There are five instances of  $\bar{m}m\sigma-$  standing for  $\bar{n}\zeta\eta\tau-$  in the expression  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{m}m\sigma-$  (see also 140:23), and a few possible instances of  $\bar{n}$ - standing for  $\zeta\bar{n}$ - (see esp. 136:13). Conversely, in the expression  $\zeta\bar{n}$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon \bar{m}m\lambda-$  (138:12-13),  $\bar{n}$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$  is rather to be expected.

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

STEPHEN EMMEL

The basis of the present edition is my own study of NHC III in Cairo (including a complete collation of *Dial. Sav.* with the aid of ultra-violet light) during 1975 and 1976, and of the Yale fragment in New Haven in 1980.<sup>1</sup> I have benefitted, however, from the work of other members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project in the form of various transcriptions and notes made by Harold W. Attridge, James A. Brashler, C. J. de Catanzaro, Bentley Layton, Dieter Mueller, Douglas M. Parrott, H. J. Polotsky, James M. Robinson, John D. Turner, Francis E. Williams, and Frederik Wisse.<sup>2</sup>

The present edition is an attempt to recover the *Coptic* version of *Dial. Sav.*, and is intentionally conservative, both in leaving the orthographic and grammatical irregularities of the text unaltered, and in avoiding overly speculative restorations of the many lacunas. In the accompanying translation, I have enclosed in square brackets much which is only slightly paleographically uncertain, preferring to risk giving to non-Coptophones the impression that some portions of the text are less securely established than may actually be the case. Within the translation, three dots (... or [...]) indicate an unspecified number of untranslatable letters. The division of the translated text into paragraphs, as well as the numeration of these paragraphs for more convenient reference, is an entirely modern convention.

The sigla and abbreviations used in the text and critical apparatus are as follows:

<sup>1</sup>See Stephen Emmel, "A Fragment of Nag Hammadi Codex III in the Beinecke Library: Yale inv. 1784," *BASP* 17 (1980), 53-60. In the present edition I have improved the transcriptions of 145:7.9.22.24 and 146:8.

<sup>2</sup>A preliminary translation of *Dial. Sav.* was published by Attridge in *NHLib-Eng*, pp. 229-38. The paperback edition of this book issued in 1981 incorporates a revised translation of the end of the text based on my edition and translation of the Yale fragment. The new translation in the present volume has benefitted from comments by Hans-Martin Schenke, to whom I am grateful for his willingness to study my work carefully prior to publication.

represents a letter which cannot be identified with complete certainty. A dot placed beneath a letter indicates that the letter is but one of at least two possible identifications of the ambiguous trace of the letter. A dot placed beneath a letter with a superlinear stroke, circumflex, diaeresis, or articulation mark (e.g.  $\bar{n}$ ) indicates that the letter is paleographically uncertain but the superlinear stroke, circumflex, diaeresis, or articulation mark is clearly legible, unless a note in the critical apparatus explains otherwise (e.g. 120:19).

[ ] enclose letters completely lost through deterioration of the papyrus. Dots within square brackets (e.g. [ . . . . ]) indicate the approximate number of letters lost, measured by an average letter space (including interliteral space) of 0.5 cm. Dashes are used within square brackets (e.g. [ - - - ]) to indicate that the entire lacuna could have contained ten letters or more.

⌈ ⌋ enclose letters deleted from the text by the scribe.

{ } enclose letters deleted from the text by the modern editor.

< > enclose letters added to the text by the modern editor.

( ) enclose optional restorations.

cod. = the reading of the codex is

corr. = corrected

Doresse = uncorrected printer's proofs (January 1952) of an edition of NHC III 120-133 by Togo Mina and Jean Doresse; a photocopy of the proofs is kept at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. Although it is quite possible that portions of the text were more legible at the time this transcription was made than they are now, the proofs contain too many typographical errors to warrant giving the few unique readings preserved in them more than passing notice in the critical apparatus.

Krause = Martin Krause, "Der *Dialog des Soter* in Codex III von Nag Hammadi" in Martin Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 8th-13th 1975)* (NHS 8; Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 13-34.

poss. = possibly

prob. = probably

Schenke = Hans-Martin Schenke (by personal correspondence)



PK

\_\_ΠΑΛΛΟΓΟC ΜΠCΩΤΗΡ·  
 2 ΠCΗΡ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΝΕϞΜΑΘΗΤΗC  
 ΧΕΝΔΗ ΑΠΕΟϞΟΕΙΩ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕ  
 4 CΗΝΟΥ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΝΑΚΩ ΝCΩΝ  
 ΜΠΕΝΖΙCΕ· ΝΤΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΝ ΖΝ  
 6 ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC· ΠΕΤΝΑΩΖΕ ΓΑΡ Ε  
 ΡΑΤϞ ΖΝΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC ϞΝΑΜΤΟΝ  
 8 ΜΜΟϞ ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ † >  
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕΨΩΠΕ Ν  
 10 ΤΠΕ ΝΟϞΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ [.....]  
 ΟϞΟΕΙΩ Χ. [ — — — ]  
 12 ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤΝ [ — — — ]  
 ΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗ[Τ — — — ]  
 14 ΕΡΩΤΝ †[ — — — ]  
 ΧΕ ΤΟΡΓΗ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ Τ[Ε.....]  
 16 ΚΙΜ ΕΤΟΡΓΗ ΟΥΡ.[.....]  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩC ΑΤΕΤΝΑΝ[.....]  
 18 ΡΟΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ [ — — — ]  
 ΑΥΧΙ ΝΝΕΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟC ΖΝΟΥΖ[Ο]  
 20 ΤΕ ΜΝΟΥCΤΩΤ' ΑΥΩ ΑCΤΑΖΟ Μ  
 ΜΟΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΝΖΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ  
 22 ΧΕΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟC ΜΠΕΛΑΑΥ ΕΙ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΤΕΡΙΕΙ ΔΕΙ  
 24 ΟΥΩΝ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ ΔΕΙΤCΑΒΟΟΥ Ε  
 ΤΔΙΑΒΑCΙC ΕΤΕΥΝΑΧΩΒΕ ΜΜ[ΟC]  
 26 ΝΒΙΝCΩΤ' Π' ΜΝΝΜΟΝΟΧΟC

120: pagination lacuna over PK; Ϟ̄K Dorese

120:11 trace prob. from Γ, Ι, Κ, Μ, Ν, Π, or Τ

120:16 trace prob. from Ο or Ω; prob. restore ΠΕ or ΤΕ in the lacuna

120:19 Ϟ̄: Μ certain, superlinear stroke restored

120:20 Ϟ̄: Μ certain, superlinear stroke restored

120:23–24 A fingerprint is visible under ultra-violet light between ΔΝ (line 23) and ΕΤΕ (line 24); cf. NHC III 68:11–12.

120:25 ΕΤΕΥ: i.e. ΕΤΟΥ

120:26 CΩΤ' Π': sic (cf. NHC III 65:7)

\*p. 120

\* The Dialogue of the Savior |

(1) The Savior said to his disciples, | “Already the time has come,  
| brothers, for us to abandon 5 our labor and stand at | rest. For  
whoever stands | at rest will rest | forever. And I | say to you, [be]  
always <sup>10</sup> [above ...] | time ... [ ... ] | ... you [ ... ] | be afraid [of  
... ] | ... you ... [ ... ] <sup>15</sup> ... anger [is] fearful [ ... ] | arouse anger  
... [ ... ] | but since you have ... [ ... ] | ... [ ... ] | they accepted  
these words [concerning it] with [fear] <sup>20</sup> and trembling, and it set  
| them up with governors, | for from it nothing was forthcoming. |  
But when I came, I | opened the path and I taught them about <sup>25</sup> the

(1) 120:9 you: *Throughout the translation, “you” is plural unless it is indicated otherwise in a note or by the context (e.g. 121:6).*

120:16 *prob. ... [ ... is ... ]*

120:19,20 *it (bis): i.e. anger?*

120:21 *governors: Throughout the translation, “governor” is used to translate a word usually transliterated as “archon.”*

120:22 *it: i.e. anger?*

[PKA]

[NAI] NTAΓCΦOYH MΠIΩT' EAΓ  
 2 [Π]ICTEYE ETMH E AΓW NEOOY  
 [T]HPOY ETE TŃ† NOYEOOY ETE  
 4 TŃΨANTEO OY BE † NT EEI ZE  
 XECW TŃ EPON PEIWT' KATAΘE  
 6 NTAKCWTŃ EPEKMONOΓENHC  
 NŃWHPE AΓW AKΨOΠC EPOK'  
 8 [K]†MTON NA C EBOL ZŃZAZ N  
 [ . . . . . NT]OK PE [PA]I ETE TE CΦOM  
 10 [ — — — ]EKZOΠΛON ZEN  
 [ — — — ].OYOEIN  
 12 [ — — — ]OYECΦONZ  
 [ — — — ]EMAGBMBWM C  
 14 [ — — — ]N ZΠΛOC M >  
 [ . . . . . ]METHANOIA MΠWNZ'  
 16 [ . . . . . ]BOL MMOK NTOK PE  
 [Π]MEOYE AΓW TMŃTATPOOYŃ  
 18 [T]HPĀ' NŃMMONOXOC' PALIN CW  
 [T]M EPON KATAΘE NTAKCWTŃ E  
 20 MEKCTŃP' NA I ZŃTEKΠPOCΦO  
 [P]A E.NHOY EZOYH ZŃNEYZBHOYE  
 22 [ETNA]NOYOY NA I NTAΓCWT E  
 [NN]EYΨYXOOYE EBOL ZŃNIKW  
 24 [Λ]ON MBΛΛE XEKAZC EYNAΨWPE

121:1 N: n certain, superlinear stroke restored; CΦOYH read from very ambiguous traces obscured by ink run along a papyrus fiber; M: m virtually certain, superlinear stroke restored; ΠIΩT': for the spelling cf. 133:19; T: τ not certain, articulation mark restored

121:2-3 AΓW . . . NOYEOOY: passage poss. corrupt; poss. emend NOYEOOY to MMOOY

121:8 [AK] or [EK]

121:9 poss. [ZICE' NT]OK (cf. 120:4-6); TE erased at the end of the line

121:10 poss. [PE — — — ] or the like (cf. erasure at end of 121:9); prob. M]EK

121:11 prob. [ — — — NE — — — ]

121:13 ΘM: cod. ΘM (see above, p. 32)

121:17 [Π]: cod. [ . . ], but cf., e.g., π<sup>i</sup> in 124:23; MEOYE: i.e. MEEYE

121:21 undeciphered trace from κ, γ, or χ; prob. EYHNOY; EKHNOY Dorese

121:24 BΛΛE: sic; prob. emend to BΛE

\*p. 121

passage which they will traverse, | the elect and solitary, \* [who have known the Father, having | believed] the truth and [all] the praises | while you offered praise. |

(2) "So when you offer praise, do so like this: <sup>5</sup> Hear us, Father, just as | you heard your only-begotten | son and received him | [...]... him rest from many ... | [...]. You are the one] whose power <sup>10</sup> [... your] armor ... | [...]... light | [...]... living | [...]... touch ... | [...]... the word ... <sup>15</sup> [...] repentance ... life | [...]... you. You are | [the] thinking and the [entire] serenity | of the solitary. Again, [hear] | us just as you heard <sup>20</sup> your elect. Through your [sacrifice, | ...] will enter by means of their | [good] works. These have saved | their souls from these | blind [limbs] so

120:25–121:3 *poss.* the passage which the elect and solitary will traverse. [By having believed] the truth and [all] the praises while you offered praise (or [all] the praises <which> you offered), [these have known the Father].

121:3 *poss.* <which> you offered.

(2) 121:7–8 received him [and] gave him rest or received him, giv[ing] him rest

121:8–9 *poss.* many [labors. You

121:10 *poss.* [... is ... your] armor ...

121:11 *prob.* [... is ...]... light

121:20–22 *if the repetition of ΝΑΙ is tolerable, poss.* These, entering through your [sacrifice] by means of their [good] works, have saved

121:21 *prob.* these] will enter *but poss.* you] will enter

[PKB]

- ΨΑΝΙΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ· †ΝΑ  
 2 ΤΣΑΒΩΤῆ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΨΩΑΝΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΝΒΙΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΜΠΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ  
 4 ΤΨΟΡΠ· ΝΒΟΜ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΑ >  
 ΤΩΜῆΤ ΕΡΩΤῆ· ΜΠΡῚΡΖΟΤΕ  
 6 ΝΤΕΤῆΧΟΟΣ ΧΕΕΙΣΠΕΟΥΟ >  
 ΕΙΨ ΑΨΩΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΑΤΕΤῆΝΑΥ  
 8 ΕΥΒΕΡΩΒ ΝΟΥΩΤ· Ε.....[.]  
 ΠΕ· ΠΑΙ Ε.[....]..[.....]  
 10 ΝΕΑΝῆΝΟΥ[ — — — ]  
 ΕΡΕΤῆΝ[ — — — ]  
 12 ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ.[ — — — ]  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΖΩΒ Π[.....]  
 14 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ [.....]  
 ΤΩΜῆΤ ΕΡΩΤῆ Μ[.....]  
 16 ΕΜ·ΜΟΝ ΘΟΤΕ ΤΒΟ[.....]  
 ΤΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΒΕ ΕΤΕΤῆΝΑΡΖΟΤ[Ε]  
 18 ΖΗΤῆ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΤΩΜῆΤ ΕΡΩΤ[ῆ]  
 ΠΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΦΝΑΩΜΚΤΗΟΥΤῆ  
 20 ΕΠΕΙ ΜῆΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΦΝΑ  
 †ΣΟ ΕΡΩΤῆ ἢ ΕΦΝΑΝΑΕ Ν[Η]Τῆ  
 22 ΑΛΛΑ Ν†ΖΕ ΒΩΨΤ· ΝΣΑ.[. . ῆ]  
 ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤῆ· ΕΑΤΕΤῆΧΡΟ ΕΨΑ  
 24 ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΙΧΜΠΚΑΖ· ῆΤΟΦ

122:7 ΕΨΑΤΕΤῆ: ΨΑ added above ΤΕΤ; γ: for the shape, cf. the ends of 131:16.19

122:9 trace before first lacuna from π or τ

122:12 trace before lacuna from the bottom of a vertical stroke

122:15 lacuna over μ<sup>2</sup> (poss. read ῆ)

122:16 prob. ΒΟ[μ; poss. ΒΟ[μ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ] (cf. 122:4)

122:19 ῆ: η restored, superlinear stroke certain

122:22 trace before lacuna from π or τ

\*p. 122

that they might exist \* eternally. Amen.

(3) "I will | teach you. When | the time of dissolution arrives, | the first power of darkness will <sup>5</sup> come upon you. Do not be afraid | and say, 'Behold! The time | has come!' But seeing | a single staff ...[...]| ... this ...[...]|...[...]|<sup>10</sup> ...[...]| ...[...]| understand ...[...]| ... the work ...[...]| and the governors ...[...]|<sup>15</sup> come upon you ...[...]. | Truly, fear ...[...]| .... So if you are going to be [afraid] | of what is about to come upon [you], | it will engulf you. <sup>20</sup> For there is not one among them who will | spare you or show [you] mercy. | But in this way, look at ...[...]| in it, since you have mastered every word | on earth. It

- (3) 122:16-17 *prob.* Truly, fear is the [power ...] and *poss.* Truly, fear is the [power of darkness]  
 122:20 *them:* *i.e.* "what is about to come upon [you]" (*the first power of darkness?*) and *others like it*  
 122:22 *prob.* look at [the ...]  
 122:23 *it:* *i.e.* "what is about to come upon [you]" (*the first power of darkness?*)  
 122:23-24 *poss.* in it. Since you have mastered every word on earth, it (*or he*)  
 122:24 *It: or He*

## PKΓ

- [.....]ΧΙΤΗΟΥΤῆ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΤΟ  
 2 [.....]ΜΑ ΕΤΕΜῆΑΡΧΗ ΝΖΗΤῆ  
 [.... ΤΥ]ΡΑΝΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΤῆΨΑΝ >  
 4 [.....].ϛ[Τ]ΕΤῆΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΤΕ  
 [.....].ΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΤΕ  
 6 [ — — — Τ]ἄΜΟ ἸΜΩΤῆ ΧΕ  
 [ — — — ]. ἸΒΙΠΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ  
 8 [ — — — ]ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΦΨΟ  
 [ — — — ].ΟC ἸΤΜΗΕ  
 10 [ — — — ]ΟΥἄΝ ΑΛΛΑ CΕ  
 [ — — — ]ἸΤῆΤῆ ΔΕ  
 12 [ — — — ].ΝΤΜΗΕ ΠΑΪ  
 [ — — — ].C ΕΤΟΝΖ' ΕΤΒΕ  
 14 [ — — — ].ἸΠΕΤῆΡΑΨΕ  
 [ — — — ].Ἰ ΒΕ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ  
 16 [ — — — Ν]ΕΤῆΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ  
 [ — — — ]ΜΗΠΟΤΕ Ἰϛ  
 18 [ — — — ]ἸΒΙΠΨΑΧΕ  
 [ — — — ]ΤΑΥΤΑΛΟ Ἰ >  
 20 [.....].[.....]ΩἸΠΟΥΕΨ  
 [.....]ϛ' Ν[.....]ΕΠΕΤῆCΑΝ  
 22 [.....].ἸΠῆ[.....]ΟΛ ΔΑϛ Ἰ  
 [ — — — ]ΒΕ ΠΜΑἸ

123: pagination lacuna over PKΓ; PKΓ Dorese

123:1-23 The location of the left margin on this page is very uncertain.

123:1 prob. restore ϛ in the lacuna

123:1-2 poss. ΤΟ|[ΟΥ ΠΕΕΙ] or ΤΟ|[ΠΟC ΠΙ]

123:8-9 prob. ΨΟ|[ΟΠ' — — — Τ]ῆΡΟC

123:11 Ἰ: Ν restored, superlinear stroke certain

123:12 trace from Δ, Λ, Μ, C, or Ζ; lacuna over Ν (poss. read Ἰ)

123:13 poss. ΝΟ]ΥC

123:14 prob. ]ΜἸ

123:15 trace from Π or Τ

123:17 ϛ corr. over false start of some letter (κ?), giving false impression that Ἰϛ' is to be read

123:18 Ἰ: Ν not certain, superlinear stroke restored

123:19 prob. Ἰ]ΤΑΥ, poss. Ε]ΤΑΥ

123:20 trace from Ρ, Φ, Ψ, ϛ, or †

123:21 lacuna over ϛ (poss. read ῆ)

123:21-22 poss. CΑΝ|[ΖΟΥΝ] ΜἸΠῆ[ΤῆCΑΝΒ]ΟΛ; ΔΑϛ: Δ<sup>1</sup> corr. over erased Ο

\*p. 123

\* [... take] you up to the ... | [... place] where there is no rule  
 | [... tyrant]. When you | [... you] will see those who 5 [...].  
 and also ... | [... tell] you ... | [...]. the reasoning power  
 | [... ] reasoning power ... | [...]. truth <sup>10</sup> [...]. but ...  
 | [...]. But you | [...]. truth, this | [...]. living ... |  
 [...]. your joy <sup>15</sup> [...]. So [...]. in order that | [...] your  
 souls | [...] lest it | [...] the word [... | ...]. raise ... <sup>20</sup>  
 [...]. [...]. | [...]. your ... | [...]. [...].

123:1-2 *poss.* [... take] you up to the [mountain, that place] where there is no rule *or*

{ ... take] you up to the [place], where there is no rule

123:4 *who: or* things which *or* whom

123:9 *prob.* [... place] of truth

123:13 *poss.* [... ] living [mind] ...

123:14 *prob.* [... and] your joy

123:17 *it: or* he

123:17-18 *poss.* [... ] lest the word [...

123:21-22 *poss.* your [in]side [and your outside] ...

## PKΔ

- χιοορ γαρ ουζοτε πε  $\bar{m}$ π[...  $\bar{m}$ ]  
 2 το εβολ· αλλα  $\bar{n}$ τωτ $\bar{n}$   $\bar{m}$ [ $\bar{n}$ ου]  
 ζητ'  $\bar{n}$ ογωτ' παραγε  $\bar{m}$ μ[οφ·]  
 4 πεφωικ γαρ ουνοο πε[· πεφ]  
 χιε ουνοο εματ[ε πε ....]  
 6 ουζητ'  $\bar{n}$ ογωτ' χ[.....]  
 αγω πκωζτ' ε[.....]  
 8 πε $\bar{m}$ μογεκω.[ - - - ]  
 $\bar{n}$ βομ τηρ.[ - - - ]  
 10 ρωτ $\bar{n}$  σενα.[ - - - ]  
 αγω  $\bar{n}$ βο[ - - - ]  
 12  $\bar{n}$ τοογ π[ - - - ]  
 εζη· †ταμ.[ - - - ]  
 14 †ψγχη  $\bar{n}$ το[ - - - ]  
 ψωπε  $\bar{n}$ νο[ - - - ]  
 16 ζ $\bar{n}$ ογον  $\bar{n}$ ιμ[ - - - ]  
 τωτ $\bar{n}$  νε  $\bar{n}$ . [ - - - ]  
 18 αγω χε $\bar{n}$ τ[ - - - ]  
 πωβω αν[ - - - ]  
 20  $\bar{n}$ ψηρε μ[ - - - ]  
 αγω ετετ $\bar{n}$ [.....]γ $\bar{n}$ [.....]  
 22  $\bar{n}$ τωτ $\bar{n}$  .[.....]ε $\bar{m}$ π[.....]  
 πεχαφ  $\bar{n}$ [βιμαθ]θαιοζ [χε ..]  
 24 αψ  $\bar{n}$ ζε [ - - - ]

124:1-2 prob. π[ετ $\bar{n}$ μ]το, though other possessives are also possible

124:7 trace prob. from π, τ, or γ

124:9 trace prob. from ο (prob. τηρφ[γ], σ, or φ)

124:11 prob. βο[μ]

124:16-17 prob.  $\bar{n}$ |τωτ $\bar{n}$

124:17 trace from ο, σ, ω, ψ, or θ

124:21  $\bar{n}$ :  $\bar{n}$  restored, superlinear stroke certain; lacuna over  $\bar{n}^2$  (poss. read  $\bar{n}$ )

124:23 prob. [χε $\bar{n}$ ], [χεογ], or [χεζε $\bar{n}$ ]

\*p. 124

| [...].... For the crossing place \* is fearful [before...]. | But you, [with a] | single mind, pass [it] by! | For its depth is great; [its] 5 height [is] enormous [...] | a single mind ...[...] | and the fire ...[...] | ...[...] | ... power ...[...] 10 ... you, they ...[...] | and ...[...] | they ...[...] | ...[...] | ... soul ...[...] 15 ...[...] | in everyone [...] | ... are ...[...] | and ...[...] | ... forget ...[...] 20 ... son ...[...] | and you [...]...[...] | you ...[...]...[...].” |

124:1 *though other pronouns are possible, prob.* [before you].

124:9 *prob.* [all] the powers [...]

124:10 *poss.* they will ...[...]

124:11 *prob.* and the [powers ...]

124:16-17 *prob.* [... you] are the ...[...]

[PK]ϵ

- [ — — — ] πεχαϩ  $\bar{\eta}$ βιπσηρ  
 2 [χε — — — ].ωννητῆζητκ  
 [ — — — ].ναψωχπ'  $\bar{\eta}$ τοκ  
 4 [ — — — ]ιουδαϩ χεπχοειϩ  
 [ — — — ]ε ενεζβηοϵ  
 6 [ — — — ].ιψυχοοϵ ναῖ  
 [ — — — ]νικοϵι ζοταν  
 8 [ — — — ε — — — ψα(η) — — — ] γναψωπε των  
 [ — — — ].[. . ].αν χεπ'πνα  
 10 [ — — — πεχα]ϩ  $\bar{\eta}$ βιπχοειϩ  
 [χε — — — ]π' εϵγῆ >  
 12 [ — — — ]παρалаμ  
 [βανε  $\bar{\eta}$ μ]οοϵ ναῖ μεϵμοϵ >  
 14 [ . . . . . ]. μεϵτακο χεαϵσοϵων  
 [ . . . ]ς γνζϵγοϩ αϵω πετναψο  
 16 [πο]ϵ εροϵ τμηε γαρ ψαϩωινε  
 [ $\bar{\eta}$ σα]πсаβε  $\bar{\eta}$ πδικαιοϩ πε  
 18 [χαϩ  $\bar{\eta}$ β]ιπσωτηρ χεπζηβϩ  
 [ $\bar{\eta}$ πс]ωμα πε πνοϵϩ εφ οσον  
 20 [νετῆζη]τκ соϵτων ετεται τε  
 [ . . . . . ].с νετῆσωма ζενοϵ  
 22 [οειν]νε· εφ οσον πετῆζητ'  
 [οϵκα]κε πε· πετῆοϵειν ετετῆ

125:1 αϩ corr. over erased ϩ

125:3 trace from ρ, ε, ο, π, or τ

125:4 prob. [ — — — πεχαϩ (ναϩ)  $\bar{\eta}$ βι] or [ — — — πεχε]125:6 prob. ] $\bar{\eta}$ 

125:8 prob. ε]γνα

125:10 poss. [ — — — πεχαϩ να]ϩ

125:14 trace from ρ, η, ι, π, or τ (lacuna over this letter); poss. [οϵδε να] (ι not certain, diaeresis restored)

125:15 prob. ]νεϵ] or ]νοϵ], though other possessives are possible

125:20 [νετῆζη]τκ: cf. 125:2

125:21 trace prob. from η, ι, ν, ω, ψ, or ϩ

\*p. 125

(4) [Matthew] said, “[...] | ... [...] \* [...]?”

(5) The Savior said, | “[...]... the things inside you | [...]... will remain, you | [...].”

(6) Judas [said], “Lord, 5 [...]... the works | [...]... souls, these | [...] these little ones, when | [...] where will they be? | [...]... [...]... the spirit <sup>10</sup> [...].”

(7) The Lord [said], | “[...]... | [...] receive] | them. These do not die, | [...]... they are not destroyed, for they have known <sup>15</sup> [...] consort and him who would [receive | them]. For the truth seeks | [out the] wise and the righteous.” |

(8) The Savior [said], “The lamp | [of the body] is the mind. As long as <sup>20</sup> [the things inside] you are set in order, that is, | [...]... , your bodies are [luminous]. | As long as your hearts | are [dark], the

(4) 124:23–125:1 *prob.* “[How ...]?” or “[Of what sort ...]?”

(5) 125:2–3 you (*bis*): *masc. sing.*

(6) 125:6 *prob.* [...] these] souls

(7) 125:10 *poss.* The Lord [said to him]

125:14 *poss.* [nor] are they destroyed

125:15 *though other possessives are possible, prob.* [their] consorts and

(8) 125:20 you: *masc. sing.*

[PKS]

- βωψτ' εβολ ρη[τῆ — — — ]  
 2 ἀνοκ λειμογτ[ — — — ]  
 χε †ναβωκ χ[ — — — ]  
 4 ἄπαψαχε ρατ[ — — — ]  
 †τῆνοογ ψα[ — — — πεχαγ (ναγ)]  
 6 ἄβινεφμαθῆτ[ησ χεπχοεις]  
 νιμ πετψινε ἡ [.....]  
 8 βωλπ' εβολ' πεχ[ — — — πχοεις — — — ]  
 χεπετψινε [ — — — ]  
 10 βωλπ' εβολ π[ — — — πεχαγ (ναγ)]  
 ἄβιμαθ[θαιος χεπχοεις ρο]  
 12 ταν εειψ[α(ν) — — — ]  
 ἄταψαχε νιμ πετ.[.....]  
 14 πετσωτῆ' πεχαγ ἄβιη[χοεις]  
 χεπετψαχε ἄτογ ον πετς[ωτῆ]  
 16 ἀψω πετναγ εβολ ἄτογ ον [πε]  
 τβωλπ' εβολ' πεχας ἄβιμ[αρι]  
 18 ραμ χεπχοεις' εικρῆη[τε .. ]  
 φορι ἄπσωμα εβολ των [εει]  
 20 ριμε ἡ εβολ των εει[.....]  
 πεχαγ ἄβιπχοεις χε[.....]  
 22 ριμε ετβενεφρβηογε [.....]  
 ψωχπ ἀψω πνογς σωβε [].[.]

126:7 ἡ: η certain, circumflex restored; poss. [νιμ (ον) πετ] (cf. 126:13-14)

126:8 prob. πεχ[επχοεις ναγ] or πεχ[αγ ἄβιπχοεις]

126:9 poss. [ἄτογ ον πετ] (cf. 126:15-17)

126:12 poss. εειψ[α(ν)σωτῆ — — — ] (cf. 126:13-15)

126:13 trace from ω or ψ; poss. ψ[αχε ἡ νιμ] (cf. 126:15)

126:15 χεπετψαχε: πε added above τψ; σ[ωτῆ]: cf. 126:14

126:16-17 [πε]†: cf. 142:23-24

126:18 prob. ρηη[τε †], ρηη[τε εει], or ρηη[τε λει]

126:19 [εει]: cf. 126:20

126:20 poss. [σωβε:] (cf. 126:22-23 ριμε... σωβε)

126:23 ψωχπ: sic; emend to ψωχπ'; trace between lacunas from the bottom of a vertical stroke

\*p. 126

luminosity you \* anticipate [...] | I have ...[...] | ... I will go ...[...] | ... my word ...[...] <sup>5</sup> I send ...[...].” |

(9) His [disciples said, “Lord], | who is it who seeks, and [...] | reveals?”

(10) [The Lord said ...], | “He who seeks [...] <sup>10</sup> reveals ...[...].” |

(11) [Matthew said, “Lord, when] | I [...] | and [when] I speak, who is it who ...[... ] | ... who listens?”

(12) [The Lord] said, <sup>15</sup> “It is the one who speaks who also [listens], | and it is the one who can see who also | reveals.”

(13) [Mary] said, | “Lord, behold! | Whence [...]... the body [while I] <sup>20</sup> weep, and whence while I [...]?” |

(14) The Lord said, “[...] | weep on account of its works [...] |

(9) 126:6–8 *poss.* His [disciples said to him, “Lord], who is it who seeks, and [who is it (*poss. add* also) who] reveals?”

(10) 126:8 *prob.* [The Lord said to them] or just [The Lord said]

126:9–10 *poss.* “[It is] the one who seeks [who also] reveals or “[It is] that which seeks [that also] reveals

(11) 126:11–14 *poss.* [Matthew said to him, “Lord, when] I [listen ...] and [when] I speak, who is it who [speaks, and who] is it who listens?”

(12) 126:15–17 or “It is that which speaks that also [listens], and it is that which can see that also reveals.”

(13) 126:17 Mary: *In the manuscript this name is variously spelled Mariham (Greek Mariam) and Mariammē (Greek Mariammē).*

126:19 Whence [do I] bear the body or Whence [have I] borne the body

126:20 *poss.* and whence while I [laugh]?

(14) 126:22 its works: *i.e. the works of the body*

## [PK]Z

- [.....].επηα ερτμτεογα  
 2 [ — — — ]κακε ϕηαωηαγ  
 [.....]†ταμο βε μμωτη  
 4 [ — — — ]ογοειν πε πκακε  
 [ — — — ]αωζε ερατῆ ζμ >  
 6 [.....]ηαγ αν επογοειν  
 [ — — — ]πβολ [ — — — ]αγϕιτογ εβολ ζη  
 8 [ — — — ]β[...]ως τετηα†  
 [ — — — ]ειν αγω >  
 10 [ — — — ]ωροπ ψαενερ·  
 [ — — — ]ητμητ  
 12 [ — — — ]ηεηογα  
 [ — — — ]ενερ τοτε σεηα  
 14 [.....]ζε ημωτη ηβιηβομ  
 [.....]γ ετμπσαντπε· αγω ηε  
 16 [τμη]σανπιτη· ζμπμα ετμμαγ  
 [εϕηα]ψωπε ηβιπριμε μη  
 18 [π.....] ηηοβζε εχηθαη ηηαι τη  
 [ρογ· π]εχαϕ ηβιηογασ χεαχισ  
 20 [εροη πχ]οεισ χεραθη εμπατε  
 [τπε μη]ηκαρ ψωπε· ηεογ πε  
 22 [.....] πεχαϕ ηβιπχοεισ χε  
 [ογ]κακε πε μηογμοογ αγω

127:pagination Z read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:1 trace (ligatured) from ρ, ε, θ, π, σ, τ, or γ; ερτμτε: i.e. ερ(ψαν)τμ

127:2-3 poss. [ωζε ερατῆ ζμπ]κακε... | [αν επογοειν] or | [επογοειν αν]  
 (cf. 127:5-6, 133:23-134:1)

127:5 α read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:5-6 poss. [αγω ερτμτεογ]α (or [αγω ερψατῆογ]α)... | [πκακε (η)φηαψ]  
 (cf. 127:1-3, 133:23-134:1)

127:6 ηαγ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:7 πβ and [ — — — ]α read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120); πβολ  
 added above ]αγφι; undeciphered trace prob. from ρ, π, σ, τ, γ, χ, or ζ

127:8 β read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

127:14 η: η certain, superlinear stroke restored; τ corr. over η

127:15 prob. [τηρο]γ

127:17-18 [εφηα]... | [π.....]: Some spelling of χαρχρ is to be restored at the  
 beginning of line 18; cf. Matt 8:12, 13:42.50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30, Luke 13:28.

127:18 η: η certain, superlinear stroke restored

127:20 [ερον: cf. 128:12-13, though [εροει is also possible

127:21-22 poss. πε | [ετσοοπ] or πε|[τσοοπ]

\*p. 127

remain and the mind laughs [...]... [...] \* [...]... spirit. If one does not | [...] darkness, he will be able to see | [...]. So I tell you | [...] light is the darkness <sup>5</sup> [...]... stand in | [...] not see the light | [...] the lie [...]... they brought them from | [...]... [...]... You will give | [...]... and <sup>10</sup> [...] exist] forever. | [...]... | [...]... | [...] ever. Then | the powers <sup>15</sup> [...]... which are above as well as those | [below] will [...] you. In that place | [there will] be weeping and | [gnashing] of teeth over the end of [all] these things.” |

(15) Judas [said], “Tell <sup>20</sup> [us, Lord], what was [...] before | [the heaven and the] earth existed.” |

127:2-3 *poss.* [stand in the] darkness, he will [not] be able to see [the light].

127:4 *poss.* [...] is [...] light. The darkness

127:4-6 *poss.* [...] light is the darkness. [And if one does not] stand in [the darkness, he will] not [be able] to see the light.

127:7 the lie: *These words, and possibly others before them lost in the lacuna, are a superlinear addition by the scribe.*

127:14-15 *prob.* [all] the powers which are above

(15) 127:19-20 *poss.* Tell [me, Lord]

127:20 *poss.* what [there] was before

127:23 ἄ... πτε (at the beginning of the line) Doresse

## ρ[κΗ]

- ΟΥΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΦΖΙΧ̄Ν̄ΟΥΜ[ΟΟΥ· ΔΝΟΚ]  
 2 ΔΕ †ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ Ν[ΗΤ̄Ν ΧΕ . . . . ]  
 ΠΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΣΩ[ . . . . . ]  
 4 ΖΟΤΖΤ̄ Ν̄ΣΩϞ ΕΙϞ[ . . . . . ]  
 Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΗΝΟΥ ΔΥ[ . . . . . ]  
 6 Ν̄ΤΒΟΜ Μ̄ΠΜΥϞ[ΤΗΡΙΟΝ . . . ]  
 Π̄Ν̄Α ΧΕΕΒΟΛ Ν̄Ζ[ . . . . . ]  
 8 ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΙ Ε[ — — — ]  
 ΠΝΟΥϞ Μ̄.[ — — — ]  
 10 ΕΙϞΖΗΗΤΕ Ε[ — — — ]  
 ΝΕ̄ΜΠ.[ — — — ]  
 12 ΠΕ.ΧΑϞ Ν[ — — — ΧΕΠ.ΧΟ]  
 ΕΙϞ ΔΧΙϞ ΕΡΟΝ Χ[ΕΤ . . . . ΕΣΩ]  
 14 ΖΕ ΕΡΑΤ̄ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΩ Π̄Ν[ΟΥϞ Μ̄]  
 ΜΝΕ ΕΦΨΟΟΠ̄ ΤΩΝ· ΠΕ[ΧΑϞ]  
 16 Ν̄ΒΙΠ.ΧΟΕΙϞ ΧΕΠΚΩΖΤ̄ Μ̄[ΠΕ]  
 Π̄Ν̄Α Ν̄ΤΑϞΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥ[ . . . ]  
 18 Μ̄ΠΕϞΝΔΥ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΑΠ[ . . . ]  
 ΨΩΠΕ· ΑϞΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΖΡΑ[Ϊ Ν̄ΖΗ]  
 20 ΤΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙΠΝΟΥϞ Μ̄ΜΗ[Ε . . . . ]  
 ΠΕ ΕΡΨΑΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΤΑ[ΖΕΤ(Ε)ΨΥ]  
 22 ΧΗ ΕΡΑΤ̄ Ζ̄ΜΠ.ΧΙϞΕ ΤΟΤ[Ε . . . ]  
 ΧΙϞΕ· ΜΑΘ̄ΘΑΙΟϞ ΔΕ ΑϞΧ̄Ν̄Ο[ΥϞ]

128:1 Μ[ΟΟΥ: cf. Gen 1:2

128:3 prob. Ν̄ΣΩϞ; poss. Ν̄ΣΩϞ[Ϟ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν]

128:4 poss. ΕΙϞ[ΖΗΗΤΕ ΞΨΟΟΠ̄]

128:5 ΤΗΝΟΥ: i.e. ΤΗΟΥΤ̄Ν; trace from ω or ψ

128:6 ΥϞ[ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

128:7 Ν̄Ζ[ read in photographs (BASP 14 [1977] 120)

128:9 poss. Μ̄Μ[ΗΕ (cf. 128:14-15,20)

128:11 trace from ε or θ

128:12 lacuna over Ν; prob. Ν̄[ΒΙΜΑΘΘΑΙΟϞ ΧΕ or Ν[ΑϞ Ν̄ΒΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΧΕ

128:13 ΕϞ: cf. 128:14 (-Ϟ) and 128:15 (ΕϞ-); poss. Χ[ΕΤ(Ε)ΨΥΧΗ ΕϞ (cf. 128:21-22)

128:14-15 Ν[ΟΥϞ Μ̄] | ΜΝΕ: cf. 128:20

128:17 ΤΟΥ: i.e. ΤΕΥ (?); poss. [ΜΗΤΕ] or [ΒΟΜ]

128:18 poss. Π[(Ε)Π̄Ν̄Α] or Π[ΝΟΥϞ] (but against the latter, cf. 128:19-20, which would be made a bit redundant thus)

128:20-21 poss. ΜΗ[Ε ΕΨΩ] | ΠΕ

128:21 ΕΡΨΑ: i.e. ΕΡΨΑΝ

128:22 prob. ΤΟΤ[Ε ϞΝΑ]

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(16) The Lord said, | “There was darkness and water and \* spirit upon [water]. | And I say [to you, ...] | ... you seek ...[...] | inquire after ...[...] <sup>5</sup> within you ...[...] | ... the power and the [mystery ...] | spirit, for from ...[...] | wickedness [...] come ...[...] | mind ...[...] <sup>10</sup> behold ...[...] | ...[...].” |

(17) [...] said, “[Lord], | tell us | where [the ... is established] and <sup>15</sup> where [the true mind] exists.” |

(18) The Lord [said], “The fire [of the] | spirit came into existence ...[...] | both. On this account, the [...] | came into existence, and <sup>20</sup> the [true] mind came into existence [within] them [...]. | If someone [sets his soul] | up high, [then ...] | be exalted.”

(16) 128:3–4 *poss.* what you seek [and] inquire after, [behold it is]

128:9 *poss.* the [true] mind [...]

(17) 128:12 *prob.* [Matthew] said, “[Lord] *or* [Judas] said [to him, “Lord]

128:14 *poss.* where [the soul is established]

(18) 128:17–18 *poss.* came into existence [amidst] them both *or* came into existence as the [power] of them both

128:18 *poss.* the [spirit] *or* the [mind]

128:20–21 *poss.* came into existence [within] them. If someone [sets his soul]

128:22 *prob.* [then he will]

## PKΘ

- [ — — — ]βε ν̄ταϕχιτῆ ν̄βι  
 2 [ — — — ]ε ν̄τοϕ πε ετ̄τα  
 [ — — — πεχα]ϕ ν̄βιϕχοεις χε  
 4 [.....τ]αχροϕτ' επετῆ >  
 [.....].βολ ἡμωτῆ ἡ  
 6 [.....].[...]. ἡμοϕ εοϕαζῆ  
 [ἡσω]τῆ αῶ ν̄ζβηοϕε τηροϕ  
 8 [.....]πετῆζητ' ἡθε γαρ ετοϕ  
 [.....] ἡμοϕ ν̄βινετῆζητ' ετε  
 10 [....]θε ετετναχρο ενβομ ετῆ  
 [πσαντ]πε ἡννετῆπσανπιτῆ  
 12 [.....] †χω ἡμοϕ ν̄ητῆ χε  
 [πετε ...]τῆβομ μαρεϕαρνα ἡ  
 14 [.... ἡϕμε]τανοει αῶ πετσο  
 [... μα]ρεϕωινε ἡϕβινε ἡϕρα  
 16 [ϕε' πε]χαϕ ν̄βιϕοϕαϑαϑ χεεις ζη  
 [ητε .]ναϕ χεζωβ ν̄ιμ σεϕοοπ̄  
 18 [.....] ἡθε ἡνιμαειν ετζιχῆ  
 [.....] ετβεπαῖ αῶϕωπε ἡ†ζε  
 20 [πεχαϕ] ν̄βιϕχοεις χεἡτερεπει  
 [ωτ' ταζ]ϕ ερατῆ ἡπκοϑμοϑ αϕ  
 22 [.....]οϕμοοϕ εβολ ἡζητῆ  
 [.....]λοϕοϑ ει εβολ ἡμοϕ >>

129:2-3 poss. τα|[χροϕτ' πεχα]ϕ (cf. 129:4)

129:3 poss. [ — — — πεχαϕ να]ϕ

129:5 trace prob. from ν (not ε); lacuna over this letter

129:6 trace before ἡ prob. from α or μ; lacuna over this letter; poss. [παῖ  
 ετεμ]ἡ[βο]μ or [πετεοϕ]ἡ[βο]μ (ἡ: ν not certain, superlinear stroke restored;  
 cf. 137:16-18, 141:10-11)

129:9-10 poss. ετε|[τναβῆ]

129:12 prob. [τηροϕ] or [ανοκ δε]

129:13 prob. [πετε(ο)γῆ]τῆ or [πετεμῆ]τῆ

129:13-14 prob. [πετε(ο)γῆ]τῆ... ἡ|[μοϑ ἡϕρμε]τανοει (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 81b  
 [NHC II 47:16-17] πετεγῆταϕ ἡοϕαϕναιμικ μαρεϕαρνα); for the syntax, cf.  
 129:14-15

129:14-15 poss. col[οϕν μα]ρεϕ or col[τπῖ μα]ρεϕ

129:15 μα]ρεϕ; cf. 129:13

129:17 prob. †]

129:19 poss. [πκαζ]

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(19) And Matthew [asked him] \* [ . . . ] . . . took . . . | [ . . . ] . . . it is he who . . . | [ . . . ].”

(20) The Lord [said], | “[ . . . stronger] than . . . 5 [ . . . ] . . . you . . . | [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . to follow | [you] and all the works | [ . . . ] your hearts. For just as | your hearts [ . . . ], so <sup>10</sup> [ . . . ] the means to overcome the powers | [above] as well as those below | [ . . . ]. I say to you, | let him [who . . . ] power renounce | [ . . . and repent]. And <sup>15</sup> [let] him who [ . . . ] seek and find and [rejoice].” |

(21) Judas [said], “Behold! | [ . . . ] see that all things exist | [ . . . ] like signs upon | [ . . . ]. On this account did they happen thus.” <sup>20</sup>

(22) The Lord [said], “When the [Father | established] the cosmos,

(19) 129:2–3 *poss.* it is he who . . . [ . . . ].” The Lord [said to him] or it is he who [is strong].” The Lord [said]

(20) 129:3 *poss.* The Lord [said to him] (*see the previous note*)

129:6 *poss.* [that which is (*poss. add not*) able] to follow

129:10–12 *poss.* [you will find] the means to overcome [all] the powers [above] as well as those below. I say to you or [you will find] the means to overcome the powers [above] as well as those below. [And] I say to you

129:13 *poss.* let him [who does not possess] power renounce or let him [who is able] renounce or let him [who is unable] renounce; *see the next note*

129:13–14 *prob.* let him [who possesses] power renounce [it and repent].

129:15 *poss.* [let] him who [knows] seek or [let] him who [is chosen] seek

(21) 129:17 *prob.* [I] see

129:18 or like a sign upon

129:18–19 or like signs over [the earth].

129:19 happen: or come into existence

(22) 129:21 *just poss.* established] himself in the cosmos, he

129:20  $\bar{\eta}$ :  $\eta$  restored, superlinear stroke certain

129:20–21 *just poss.*  $\eta\epsilon\iota[\omega\tau' \omega\zeta]\epsilon \epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$  if  $\bar{\eta}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  be understood as  $\zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (cf. 136:13  $\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\mu\alpha = \zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\mu\alpha$  [?], 140:23  $\bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma = \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$  [?], and *passim*  $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma = \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ ; but cf. 144:9–10, 133:10–11)

129:22 *poss.* [ $\zeta\omega\sigma\upsilon\zeta \bar{\eta}$ ] (cf. 130:4)

129:23 *prob.* [ $\lambda\eta\epsilon\zeta$ ], but *poss.* [ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi$ ]



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he | [...] water from it | [...] word came forth from it \* and it inhabited many ... [...]. | It was higher than the [path ...] | ... the entire earth ... [...] | ... the [collected] water [...] <sup>5</sup> existing outside them. [...] | ... the water, a great fire [encircling] | them like a wall. ... [...] | ... time once many things had become separated [from what] | was inside. When the [...] <sup>10</sup> was established, he looked ... [...] | and said to it, 'Go, and ... [...] | from yourself in order that ... [...] | be in want from generation to [generation, and] | from age to age.' [Then it] <sup>15</sup> cast forth from itself [fountains] | of milk and [fountains of] | honey and oil and [wine] | and [good] fruits | and sweet flavor and <sup>20</sup> good roots, [in order that] | it might not be deficient from generation [to] | generation, and from age [to age]. |

129:22 *poss.* [collected] water from it (*i.e. the cosmos? or from himself*)

129:23 *prob.* [and his] Word came forth from it (*i.e. the cosmos? the water? or from him*) or [in order to have the] Word come forth from it (*as above*)

130:1.2 it (*bis*): *i.e. the Word, or he*

130:2-3 *poss.* It (or He) was higher than the [path of the stars which surround] the entire earth ... [...]

130:5.7 them (*bis*): *i.e. the stars? (see the previous note)*

130:5-8 *poss.* [And outside (or inside)] the water, a great fire [encircled] them, like a wall (or <there was> a great fire [encircling] them like a wall). The temporal periods [were measured] once many things had become separated

130:9 *poss.* When the [Father] or When the [Word]

130:11 it: *i.e. the Word; poss.* Go, and [spew] forth or Go, and [cast them] forth

130:12 *poss.* in order that [the earth might not]

130:14 it: *i.e. the Word*

130:21 it: *i.e. the earth*

[PΛ]A

- [ — — — ]εϕαζε ερατῆ ἄβι  
 2 [ — — — ].επεϕσαειε ἄ  
 [.....].... β' αγω ἄπβολ  
 4 [.....]β ἄπογοειν πε εϕβῆβομ  
 [.....]πεϕνε ἄμοϕ χεῖτοϕ  
 6 [...].εμαρτε εχῆναικων ετῆ  
 [πσαντ]πε αγω ετῆπεσнт'  
 8 [.....].ϕι εβολ ρῆπεκρωμ ἄ  
 [.....].η αχχοορεϕ εβολ ρῆπε  
 10 [.....]ωμα ετῆπσανтπε αγω  
 [ετῆπс]ανπιτῆ νερβηοϕε τη  
 12 [ροϕ ..]αϕε ἄρητοϕ ἄτοοϕ πε  
 [.....]εχῆтπε ετῆπσανтπε  
 14 [αγω εχ]ῆπκαρ ετῆπσανπi  
 [тῆ' ἄρη]αῖ ἄρητοϕ εγαϕε ἄβι  
 16 [νερβ]ηοϕε τηροϕ' ἄтереῖοϕ  
 [Δαс Δ]ε сωтῆ εναῖ αϕπαρτῆ αϕ  
 18 [.....]т' αϕτεοοϕ ἄπχοεις'  
 [αμαρι]ρῆμμη ψιηε ἄε[[с]снηϕ  
 20 [.....]ετεтῆψιηε ἄπψηρε ἄ  
 [.....]εροοϕ ετεтнаκααϕ των  
 22 [πεχεπχ]οεις ηαс χεтсωνε' >  
 [.....]ηαψψιηε ἄσαναῖ ει  
 24 [.....]..εϕῆταϕтопос ἄμαϕ

131:1-24 The location of the left margin on this page is rather uncertain.

131:2 trace from a rounded letter, prob. ω or ω

131:4 prob. [νεγνο]β; βῆ: cod. βм (see above, p. 32)

131:5 poss. [ἄρογο ε] (cf. 130:2; [εροϕε] would seem to suit the length of the lacuna better but is not attested elsewhere in the text)

131:6 trace is a non-descript blur; poss. [...].εμαρτε or [πε ε]εμαρτε

131:8 trace prob. from τ or γ; prob. [τηροϕ α]ϕϕi

131:9 poss. [πογοε]η

131:10 poss. [стере]ωμα or [πληρ]ωμα

131:12 prob. εт'αϕε (cf. 131:15-16), poss. εϕ] or сε]

131:13 what may be an articulation mark is preserved over the last letter in the lacuna; poss. [εтψοο]η'

131:14 ῆ: м not certain, superlinear stroke restored

131:15 ]: i not certain, diaeresis restored

131:16 [νερβ]ηοϕε: cf. 131:11-12

131:18 poss. [οϕωψ]т'

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(23) "And it is above ... [ ... ] \* [ ... ] standing | [ ... ]... its beauty ... | [ ... ]... and outside | [ ... ] is ... luminous, powerful 5 [ ... ]... resemble it, for it | [ ... ]... rules over the aeons | [above] and below | [ ... ]... take from the fire ... | [ ... ]... it was scattered in the <sup>10</sup> [ ... ]... above and | [below. All] the works | [ ... ] depend on them. It is they | [ ... ] over the heaven above | [and over] the earth [below]. <sup>15</sup> On them depend | all [the works]."

(24) [And] when [Judas] | heard these things, he bowed down and he | [ ... ] and he offered praise to the Lord. |

(25) [Mary] hailed her brethren <sup>20</sup> [ ... ]... you ask the son ... | [ ... ]... them, where are you going to put them?" |

(26) [The Lord said] to her, "Sister, | [ ... ] will be able to inquire

(23) 130:23, 131:2 it (bis): *i.e., prob., the Word*

131:3-14 *poss.* and outside [there was a great] light, [more] powerful [than] the one resembling it (*i.e. the sun?*), for that [is] the one [which] rules over [all] the aeons [above] and below. [The light was] taken from the fire and it (*i.e. the light*) was scattered in the [firmament (or fullness)] above and [below. All] the works [which] depend on them, it is they [that exist] over the heaven above [and over] the earth [below].

131:5 it ... it: or him ... he

131:11-12 *poss.* On them depend [all] the works. or [All] the works depend on them.

(24) 131:18 *poss.* [worshipped]

(25) 131:19 *her:* or the; *either translation represents an emended text*

131:19-21 *poss.* [Mary] hailed her brethren, [saying], "Where are you going to put [these things] about which you ask the Son of [Man]?"

(26) 131:23-132:5 *poss.* [who], *making the entire passage a question, or [no one] will be able to inquire about these things [except for someone who] has somewhere to put them in his [heart, and who is able] to come [forth from this cosmos] and enter [the place of life] so that [he] might not be held back [in] this impoverished cosmos.*

131:19 [C] cancelled by the scribe with diagonal strokes (the scribe may have written first  $\text{N}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\text{N}\eta\Upsilon$ , adding the superlinear stroke at the same time as he cancelled c); *prob.* emend to  $\text{N}\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\text{N}\eta\Upsilon$  or  $\text{N}\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\sigma\text{C}\text{N}\eta\Upsilon$  (though for  $\bar{\text{N}}$  =  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{N}$  elsewhere in NHC III, cf. 96:2  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{I}$  =  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{N}\text{I}$ ); cf. above, p. 30

131:20 *prob.* [XENAI] (cf. 131:21 -OY)

131:21 *poss.* [ΠΡΩΜΕ] (so Krause, p. 25; cf. 135:16-17, 136:21)

131:23 *prob.* [NIM PET] or [M̄LLAY]

131:23-24 *prob.* EI | [MHTI E]ΠEΓE, though the traces are most uncertain

131:24 [ ]TEYNTAQ Doresse

## PΛB

- 2       εκαλυ ρ̄μπερρη[τ' — — — ]  
 2       ἄμοϑ εει εβο[λ — — — ]  
       ἄβωκ εροϋν̄ .[.] .[.....]  
 4       κεκαλς ἄνοϋκατεχε ἄ.[.....]  
       πικοςμοϑ ἄρηκε πεχαϑ [ἄβιμαϑ]  
 6       θαιοϑ χεπχοειϑ ϑουωψ [εναϑ]  
       επμα ἄπωνη ετ̄μαϑ [.....]  
 8       ετεμ̄κακ[ε]ια ἄμαϑ ἀλλ[α ποϋο]  
       ειν πε ετ̄τ̄ββνοϋ· πεχ[αϑ ἄβι]  
 10      πχοειϑ χεπσον μαθθα[οϑ]  
       κναψναϑ ἀν̄· εροϑ εφ ο[σον εκ]  
 12      φορι ἄτσαρξ· πεχαϑ ἄβ[ιμαϑ]  
       θαιοϑ χεπχοειϑ κα[.....]  
 14      ναϑ εροϑ ἀν μαρισο[..... πε]  
       χαϑ ἄβιπχοειϑ χεοϋον ν[ιμ]  
 16      εταρσοϋωνῆ ἄμιν ἄμοϑ ἀφναϑ ερο[ϑ ..]  
       ρ̄ωβ νιμ ετ̄το ναϑ εααϑ [..]  
 18      ἄμοϑ ἀϋω ἀφωπε εϑ[.....]  
       ἄμοϑ ρ̄ητεϑμ̄ηταγαϑ[οϑ ἀι]  
 20      οϋδαϑ οϋωψβ̄ εϑχω ἄ[μοϑ]  
       χεχοοϑ εροει πχοειϑ χ[ε...]  
 22      το ετκιμ επκαρ ἄαψ ἄ[ρ̄ε ε.]  
       κιμ̄· ἀπχοειϑ χι ἄοϋω[νε αϑ]  
 24      εμαρτε ἄμοϑ ρ̄ητεϑβιχ [..]

132:1   poss. ρ̄η[τ' ἀϋω εϋἄβομ] or the like

132:2   poss. εβο[λ ρ̄ηπ(ι)κοϑμοϑ] (cf. 132:4-5)

132:3   traces virtually indecipherable; poss. εροϋν̄ ε[π]μα [ἄπωνη] (cf. 132:6-7)

132:4   ἄνοϋ: i.e. ἄνεϋ; poss. ἄμ[οϑ ρ̄η]

132:5   ἄρηκε· πεχαϑ Dorese

132:6   οϋωψ [εναϑ] (poss. οϋωψ[ναϑ]; cf. 137:13); cf. 132:11

132:7   poss. [πεειμα] or the like

132:8   [ε] cancelled by the scribe with diagonal strokes, ια added above [ε]

132:8-9   ποϋο]ειν, πε, ετ̄τ̄ββνοϋ; i.e. ποϋορειν ετ̄τ̄ββνοϋ πε

132:10   The restoration leaves the line a little short; perhaps μαθθα[οϑ >] or  
μαθθα[οϑ ἄ]

132:13   prob. κα[ν εειναϑ] or κα[ν ἄτ̄ναϑ]

132:14-15   prob. σο[ϋωνῆ· πε]ι·χαϑ (cf. 132:16)

132:16   εταρ: i.e. ἄταϑ; ἄμιν ἄμοϑ added above ἀφναϑ; prob. ερο[ϑ ρ̄η]

132:17   poss. [ἄμιν]

132:18   poss. [εεινε]

132:20   ἄ: ἄ restored, superlinear stroke certain

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about these things ... | [...]... he has somewhere \* to put them in his [heart ...] | ... to come [forth ...] | and enter ...[...]. ... [ ... ] | so that they might not hold back ... [ ... ] 5 this impoverished cosmos.”

(27) [Matthew] said, | “Lord, I want [to see] | that place of life [...] | where there is no wickedness, [but rather] | there is pure [light]!”

(28) The Lord [said], <sup>10</sup> “Brother [Matthew], | you will not be able to see it [as long as you are] | carrying flesh around.”

(29) [Matthew] said, | “Lord, ... [ ... ] | not see it, let me ... [ ... ]!” <sup>15</sup>

(30) The Lord [said], “[Everyone] | who has known himself has seen [it ...] | everything given to him to do [ ... ] | ... and has come to [ ... ] | it in his [goodness].”

(31) [Judas] <sup>20</sup> responded, saying, | “Tell me, Lord, [how it is that ...] | ... which shakes the earth | moves.”

(32) The Lord picked up a [stone and] | held it in his hand [ ... ]

(27) 132:7 *poss.* that place of life, [this place]

132:8 wickedness: *altered by the scribe from darkness*

(29) 132:13–14 *prob.* “Lord, [even if I will] not [be able] to see it, let me [know it]!”

(30) 132:16 himself: *translation guaranteed by a superlinear addition by the scribe, the text prior to which could also be translated it; prob. has seen [it in]*

132:17–19 *poss.* everything given to him [alone] to do, and has come to [resemble] it in his (or its) [goodness].

132:19 his: *or its*

(31) 132:21–22 *poss.* that this quaking] which shakes the earth

(32) 132:24–133:1 *prob.* held it in his hand, [saying, “What] am I holding *or* held it in his hand [and said (*poss. add* to him *or* to them), “What] am I holding

132:21–22 *poss.* χ[επικῆ] | το ... ἢ[ζε εϛ]

132:22 ἢ: *π* certain, superlinear stroke restored

132:24–133:1 *prob.* [εϛ] | [χω ἦμος χεοϛ] *or* [αϛ] | [χοος χεοϛ] *or* [πε] | [χαϛ ναϛ] (*or* ναϛ) χεοϛ] *or* the like

## ΡΛΓ

[..... χεοϥ] πε παϊ ε†αμαρτε ᾱ  
 2 [μοϥ] ρῆταβ[ι]χ πεχαϥ χεοϥωνε  
 [πε· π]εχαϥ ναϥ χεπετϥι ερραϊ ρα  
 4 [πκα]ρ· ἵτοϥ πετϥι ερραϊ ρατπε  
 ροταν εϥψανει εβολ ἵβιοϥλογοϥ  
 6 εβολ ρῆτμηῆτνοβ ϥναϥε εχᾱπαϊ  
 ετϥι ερραϊ ρατπε ᾱῆπκαρ· πκαρ  
 8 γαρ ἵϥκίμ αν ενεϥκίμ· νεϥνα  
 ρε πε αλλα χεκααϥ ἵνεπψαχε ἵ  
 10 ροϥειτ· οϥωϥϥ χεἵτοϥ ερταρε  
 πκοϥμοϥ ερατῆ αϥω αϥωϥπε  
 12 ἵρητῆ αϥω αϥχιϥτοει εβολ ἵρη  
 [τ]ῆ· ἵ[.]ἵμ γαρ ετκίμ αν ανοκ †  
 14 [.....]οϥ ἵητῆ ἵψηρε τηροϥ ἵῆρω  
 [με χ]εἵτωτῆρνεβολ ρῆππα  
 16 [ετᾱ]μαϥ νετψαχε εβολ ρῆππα  
 [ϥ]ε ἵητμηε ετετῆψοοπ ἵρηραϊ  
 18 [ρ]ῆποϥρητ· καν εϥψανει εβολ ρῆ  
 [πϥ]ωμα ἵπιωτ ριτῆῆρωμε >  
 20 [αϥ]ω ἵϥετᾱχιτῆ εροοϥ παλιν >  
 [..]ϥκοτῆ ερραϊ επεϥμα πετϥοοϥν  
 22 [..][..]ωβ ἵτμηῆτῆελιοϥ ἵϥϥο  
 [οϥν αν] ἵλααϥ ερψατᾱμογα ωρε  
 24 [ερα]τῆ ρῆπκακε ἵϥναϥναϥ εποϥ

133:2 ἵ: ἵ certain, superlinear stroke restored

133:4 [πκα]ρ ... τπε: cf. 133:7 (τπε ... πκαρ)

133:10 ροϥειτ·: articulation mark obscured by following corrected letter ο; οϥω  
 corr. over erased ϥρϥ; ερ: i.e. πενταϥ

133:13 trace prob. from α, ε, ρ, κ, λ, μ, ϥ, χ, or ρ, poss. from β, α, or χ: If it were  
 not for the position of γαρ, ἵ[κ]ᾱ ἵμ would be a very attractive restoration.

133:14 τηροϥ added above ἵῆρ

133:17 ψοοπ: sic; emend to ψοοπῆ

133:18 ᾱ: ᾱ not certain, superlinear stroke restored; ποϥ: i.e. πεϥ

133:19 ιωτ: sic; emend to ιωτῆ

133:21 prob. [με]ϥ or [ψα]ϥ

133:22 trace is from a superlinear stroke; prob. [αν] ᾱ[πρ]ωβ

133:23 ερψατᾱ: i.e. ερ(ψαν)τᾱ

133:24 ῆ: ῆ certain, superlinear stroke restored; ᾱ: ᾱ certain, superlinear stroke  
 restored; οϥ corr. over erased οϥοειν αν

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\* [..., "What] am I holding | [in] my [hand]?"

(33) He said, "[It is] a stone." |

(34) He [said] to them, "That which supports | [the earth] is that which supports the heaven. <sup>5</sup> When a Word comes forth | from the Greatness, it will come on what | supports the heaven and the earth. For the earth | does not move. Were it to move, it would | fall, though in order that the First Word might not <sup>10</sup> fail. For it was that which established | the cosmos and inhabited | it and inhaled fragrance from | it. For, ...[...].... which do not move I | [...].... you, all the sons of [men. <sup>15</sup> For] you are from [that] place. | [In] the hearts of those who speak out of [joy] | and truth you exist. | Even if it comes forth in | [the body] of the Father among men <sup>20</sup> and is not received, still | it [...] return to its place. Whoever knows | [...] ...[...].... perfection [knows] | nothing. If one does not stand | in the darkness, he will not be able to see the light.

(34) 133:13-14 *poss.* For, [all things] which do not move I [...] them ... you

133:14 all: *This word is a supertlinear addition by the scribe.*

133:18 or Even if he (or it) comes forth from

133:21-23 it: or he; *prob.* it (or he) [does (*poss. add not*)] return to its (or his) place.

Whoever [does not] know [the work] of perfection [knows] nothing.

## ΡΛΔ

ΟΕΙΝ ΑΝ ΕΡΤῼΤΕΟΥ[Α ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕῼ]  
 2 ΤΑΠΚΩΖΤ΄ ΩΩΠΕ ῼ[Α]Ω ῼΖ[Ε]  
 ΚΝΑΡΩΚΖ ῼΖΡΑΪ ῼΖΗΤῼ· ΕΒ[ΟΛ]  
 4 ΧΕῼΚΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ῼΤΕΚΝΟΥΝΕ  
 ΕΡΤῼΤΕΟΥΑ ΕΙΜΕ ῼΩΡΠΤ΄ ΕΠΙ  
 6 ΜΟΟΥ ΚΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ῼΛΑΑΥ ΟΥ ΓΑΡ  
 ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΕΤΡΕΚΧΙΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ  
 8 ῼΖΡΑΪ ῼΖΗΤῼ· ΕΡΤῼΤΕΟΥΑ ΕΙ  
 ΜΕ ΕΠΤΗΟΥ ΕΤΝΙΚΕ ΧΕῼΤΑΚ  
 10 ΩΩΠΕ ῼΑΩ ῼΖΕ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ΄  
 ΝῼΜΑΚ΄ ΕΡΤῼΤΕΟΥΑ ΕΙΜΕ Ε  
 12 ΠΣΩΜΑ ΕΤΕΚΡΦΦΟΡΕΙ ῼΜΟΚ  
 ΧΕΠΩΣ ΑΚΩΩΠΕ ΚΝΑΤ[Α]ΚΟ Νῼ  
 14 ΜΑΚ΄ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ Α[Ν . . . .]  
 ΡΕ ῼΑΩ ῼΖΕ ΚΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΠ.[ . . ]  
 16 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕΝΕΚΣΟΥῼΤΝΟΥΝ[Ε]  
 ῼΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ΄ ΣΕΖΗΠ΄ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΕΤΕ  
 18 ῼΝΕΚΣΟΥῼΤΝΟΥΝΕ ῼΤΚΑΚΙΑ  
 ῼΟΥΩῼΜΜΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΝ ΠΕ΄ ΠΕ  
 20 ΤΕῼΚΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΑΝ ΧΕῼΑΩ ῼΖΕ  
 ΑΚΕΙ ῼΚΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΑΝ ΧΕῼΑΩ ῼ  
 22 ΖΕ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΩῼΜΜΟ  
 ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΝ[ . . . .]  
 24 ΕΤΟΥΝΑΘῼΒΒΙΟΥ΄ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΚ.[.]ῼΟ[Υ]  
 ΔΑΣ ΜῼΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΣ ΜῼΜΑΡΙΖ[ΑΜ]

134:1 ΕΡΤῼΤΕ: i.e. ΕΡ(ΩΑΝ)Τῼ

134:1-2 ΟΥ[Α ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕῼ]|ΤΑ: cf. 134:5.8-9.11-13.20.21

134:2 ῼ<sup>1</sup>: ῼ not certain, superlinear stroke restored; ῼ<sup>2</sup>: ῼ certain, superlinear stroke restored

134:5.8.11 ΕΡΤῼΤΕ: i.e. ΕΡ(ΩΑΝ)Τῼ

134:14-15 prob. Α[Ν ῼΠΩΗ]|ΡΕ

134:15 trace from a rounded letter (ε, ο, ο, σ, φ, ω, ψ, ς, or δ): prob. ΠΕ[ΙΩΤ΄] (cf. above, on 134:14-15 ΠΩΗ)|ΡΕ)

134:16 ΝΕΚ: i.e. ῼΝΕΚ

134:19 ΩῼΜΜΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΝ ΠΕ: Ο<sup>1</sup> corr. over erased ω, σ corr. over erased ς, π poss. corr. over erased τ

134:21 ΑΚΕΙ: ι added above the line; ῼ: ῼ restored, superlinear stroke certain

134:22 ΩῼΜΜΟ read from very ambiguous traces

134:23 prob. ΕΤΝ[Α . . . .] (cf. 134:24 -ΝΑ-)

\*p. 134

(35) \* “If [one] does not [understand | how] fire came into existence, | he will burn in it, because | he does not know the root of it. 5 If one does not first understand | water, he knows nothing. For what | use is there for him to be baptized | in it? If one does not understand | how blowing wind <sup>10</sup> came into existence, he will blow away | with it. If one does not understand | how body, which he bears, | came into existence, he will [perish] with | it. And how will someone who does [not] know [ . . . ] <sup>15</sup> . . . know the . . . [ . . . ]? | And to someone who will not know the [root] | of all things, they remain hidden. Someone who | will not know the root of wickedness | is no stranger to it. Whoever <sup>20</sup> will not understand how | he came will not understand how | he will go, and he is no [stranger] | to this cosmos which . . . [ . . . ], | which will be humiliated.”

(35) 134:14–15 *prob.* And how will someone who does [not] know [the Son] know the [Father]?

134:17–19 Someone . . . it: *altered by the scribe from* To someone who will not know the root of wickedness, it (*i.e. the root, or wickedness*) is no stranger.

134:23 *prob.* which [will . . . ]

134:24 *poss.* ⲁϥⲕ[ⲓ] or ⲁϥⲕ[ⲁ], though the trace is very ambiguous; ⲓ: ⲓ not certain, diaeresis restored

134:25–135:1 *poss.* ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲛ[ⲁⲙ]ⲓ[ⲙⲙ]

[ρλε]

[ . . . ]. [ . . . ]. η ἡ π χ ω κ ἡ τ π ε  
 2 [ἡ] π κ α ρ [α γ] ω ἡ τ ε ρ ε ς κ α τ ε ς >  
 [ . . . ] ε χ ω ο υ α γ γ ε λ π ι ζ ε χ ε ε γ ε  
 4 [ . . . ] ε ρ ο ς α ἰ ο υ δ α ς ρ ι ν ε ς β α λ ε ρ ρ α ἰ  
 α ρ η ν α γ ε γ τ ο π ο ς ε ς χ ο ς ε ε μ α τ ε  
 6 α γ ω α ρ η ν α γ ε π τ ο π ο ς ἡ π ψ ι κ  
 ε τ ἡ π ς α ν π ι τ ἡ π ε χ ε ἰ ο υ δ α ς ἡ  
 8 μ α θ θ α ἰ ο ς χ ε π ς ο ν η ι μ π ε ε τ η α  
 ψ ω κ ε ρ ρ α ἰ ε π ε ε ἰ χ ἰ ς ε ἡ ε π ς α  
 10 ἡ π ι τ ἡ ἡ π ψ ι κ χ ε ο υ γ ν ο υ γ ν ο β  
 ἡ κ ω ρ τ ἡ μ α γ ἡ ἡ ο υ γ ν ο β ἡ ρ ο τ ε  
 12 ἡ τ ε γ ν ο υ ε τ ἡ μ α γ α ρ ε ἰ ε β ο λ ἡ >  
 ἡ ο ς ἡ β ἰ ο υ λ ο γ ο ς ρ ω ς ε ς α ρ ε ε  
 14 [ ρ α τ ] ῥ α ρ η ν α γ ε ρ ο ς ἡ θ ε ἡ τ α ρ ε ἰ ε  
 [ π ι τ ] ἡ τ ο τ ε π ε χ α ρ η ν α γ χ ε ε τ β ε  
 16 [ ο υ ] α κ ε ἰ ε π ι τ ἡ α γ ω α π ω η ρ ε  
 ἡ π ρ ω μ ε ψ ἡ τ ο υ π ε χ α ρ η ν α γ  
 18 χ ε ο υ β λ β ἰ λ ε ε β ο λ ρ ἡ ο υ β ο μ α ς  
 ψ τ α α γ ω α ς β ω κ ε π ς α ἡ π ι τ ἡ ε  
 20 [ π ] ψ ι κ ἡ π κ α ρ α γ ω α τ μ ἡ τ η ν ο β  
 [ ρ π ε ς ] ἡ ε ε γ ε α ρ τ ἡ ἡ ο ο υ ἡ π λ ο  
 22 [ ρ ο ς ψ α ] ρ ο ς α ρ ε ἰ η ε ἡ μ ο ς ε ρ ρ α ἰ ἡ  
 [ π ε ] ῥ ἡ [ τ ο ] ε β ο λ χ ε η ε ς ο γ ω ς ς ἡ β ἰ

135:1 first trace from α or χ; second trace from α or λ

135:3 prob. [δισ]

135:4 poss. [να]γ

135:12-13 ἡ ἡ ο ς: virtually certain

135:14 ῥ: ς certain, superlinear stroke restored

135:15 [π ι τ ] ἡ: cf. 135:16

135:19 ψ τ α: α corr. over erased ο

135:22 ψ α ] ρ ο ς: poss. ε ] ρ ο ς

135:23 ἡ: η not certain, superlinear stroke restored; η ε ς: i.e. ἡ η ε ς

\*p. 135

(36) Then he [... Judas]<sup>25</sup> and Matthew and [Mary] \* [... ]... [... ]... the edge of heaven | [and] earth. [And] when he placed his | [... ] upon them, they hoped that they might | [... ]... it. Judas raised his eyes <sup>5</sup> and saw an exceedingly high place, | and he saw the place of the abyss | below. Judas said to | Matthew, “Brother, who will | be able to climb up to such a height or down to the <sup>10</sup> bottom of the abyss? For there is a tremendous | fire there and something very fearful!” | At that moment, a Word came forth from | it. As it stood there, | he saw how it had come <sup>15</sup> [down]. Then he said to it, “[Why] | have you come down?”

(37) And the Son | of Man greeted them and said to them, | “A seed from a power was | deficient and it went down to <sup>20</sup> [the] abyss of the earth. And the Greatness | remembered [it] and he sent the

(36) 134:24 *poss.* Then he [took Judas] or Then he [put Judas]  
135:3 *prob.* [hand]

135:4 *it.* *antecedent ambiguous, or him; poss.* [see] it (or him).

135:13 *it* (1<sup>o</sup>): *i.e. the high place?* *it* (2<sup>o</sup>): *i.e. the Word, or he (see the next note)*

135:14 *he:* *i.e. Judas?* *it:* *i.e. the Word*

(37) 135:21 *he:* *i.e. the Father = the Greatness?*

## PΛ5

πωορπ'  $\bar{\eta}$ ψαχε τ[οτε α]νε[γμα]  
 2  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ηης  $\bar{\rho}$ ωπηρε  $\bar{\eta}$ [ζω]β  $\bar{\eta}$ ιμ [ $\bar{\eta}$ ]  
 ταφχοογ  $\bar{\eta}$ αγ  $\bar{\alpha}$ γχιτογ  $\bar{\zeta}$ νογ[ $\bar{\eta}$ α]  
 4 ζτε  $\bar{\alpha}$ γω  $\bar{\alpha}$ γειμε  $\bar{\chi}$ ε $\bar{\eta}$ ς  $\bar{\rho}$ χρια  $\bar{\theta}$ ε  
 αν  $\bar{\eta}$ ναγ  $\bar{\epsilon}$ τκακια  $\bar{\tau}$ οτε  $\bar{\rho}$ ε $\bar{\chi}$ α $\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\eta}$   
 6 νεγμα $\bar{\epsilon}$ ηης  $\bar{\chi}$ εμη  $\bar{\mu}$ πιχοος  
 ηητ $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\chi}$ ε $\bar{\eta}$ θε  $\bar{\eta}$ ογςμη  $\bar{\mu}$ νογε  
 8 βρη $\bar{\theta}$ ε  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ω $\bar{\alpha}$ γ $\bar{\eta}$ αγ  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ροογ  $\bar{\tau}$ α $\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\tau}$ ε  
 $\bar{\theta}$ ε  $\bar{\epsilon}$ γ $\bar{\eta}$ α $\bar{\chi}$ ι  $\bar{\eta}$ ναγα $\bar{\theta}$ ος  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ζ $\bar{\rho}$ α $\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   
 10 πογο $\bar{\epsilon}$ ιν  $\bar{\tau}$ οτε  $\bar{\alpha}$ νεγμα $\bar{\epsilon}$ ηης  
 τηρογ  $\bar{\tau}$ εοογ  $\bar{\eta}$ α $\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\rho}$ ε $\bar{\chi}$ α $\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\chi}$ ε $\bar{\rho}$ χ $\bar{\theta}$   
 12  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ις  $\bar{\zeta}$ ατε $\bar{\zeta}$ η  $\bar{\epsilon}$ μπατεκογ $\bar{\omega}$ ν $\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ  
 $\bar{\mu}$ πιμα  $\bar{\eta}$ ε $\bar{\eta}$ ιμ  $\bar{\rho}$ ε  $\bar{\epsilon}$ τ $\bar{\tau}$ εοογ  $\bar{\eta}$ α $\bar{\zeta}$   
 14  $\bar{\chi}$ ε $\bar{\epsilon}$ ρε $\bar{\eta}$ εοογ  $\bar{\tau}$ ηρογ  $\bar{\psi}$ ο $\bar{\rho}$ π [ $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ]  
 $\bar{\zeta}$ ιτοο $\bar{\tau}$ κ  $\bar{\eta}$ ι  $\bar{\eta}$ ιμ  $\bar{\rho}$ ε  $\bar{\epsilon}$ τ $\bar{\eta}$ α $\bar{\varsigma}$ μογ [ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ροκ]  
 16  $\bar{\chi}$ ε $\bar{\epsilon}$ ρε $\bar{\rho}$ ε $\bar{\varsigma}$ μογ  $\bar{\tau}$ η $\bar{\rho}$ η  $\bar{\eta}$ ηογ  $\bar{\epsilon}$ βο[ $\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\mu}$ ]  
 $\bar{\mu}$ οκ'  $\bar{\zeta}$ ως  $\bar{\epsilon}$ γ $\bar{\alpha}$ ζε  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ρατογ  $\bar{\alpha}$ φ $\bar{\eta}$ αγ  
 18  $\bar{\epsilon}$ π $\bar{\eta}$ α  $\bar{\varsigma}$ ηαγ  $\bar{\epsilon}$ γ $\bar{\eta}$ ι  $\bar{\eta}$ ογ $\bar{\psi}$ γ $\bar{\chi}$ η  $\bar{\eta}$ ογ  
 $\bar{\omega}$ τ'  $\bar{\eta}$ μ $\bar{\eta}$ αγ  $\bar{\zeta}$ νογ $\bar{\nu}$ ο $\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\eta}$ εβρη $\bar{\theta}$ ε  
 20  $\bar{\alpha}$ γω ογ $\bar{\psi}$ α $\bar{\chi}$ ε  $\bar{\alpha}$ φ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ι  $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ  $\bar{\zeta}$ ιτοο $\bar{\tau}$ κ $\bar{\eta}$   
 $\bar{\mu}$ π $\bar{\omega}$ η $\bar{\rho}$ ε  $\bar{\mu}$ π $\bar{\rho}$ ω $\bar{\mu}$ ε  $\bar{\epsilon}$ φ $\bar{\chi}$ ω  $\bar{\mu}$   
 22  $\bar{\mu}$ ος  $\bar{\chi}$ ε $\bar{\mu}$ α $\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\eta}$ αγ  $\bar{\eta}$ τεγ $\bar{\zeta}$ β $\bar{\varsigma}$ ω [ $\bar{\alpha}$ γω]  
 $\bar{\alpha}$ πκογ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ι  $\bar{\rho}$ θε  $\bar{\mu}$ π $\bar{\eta}$ ο $\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\eta}$ εγ[.] . . [.]  
 24  $\bar{\eta}$ η $\bar{\eta}$ ε $\bar{\tau}$ αγ $\bar{\rho}$ α $\bar{\rho}$ α $\bar{\lambda}$ αμβανε  $\bar{\mu}$ μ[ο]

136:1-2 for the restoration cf. 136:10

136:3-4 for the restoration cf. 142:11-13

136:4  $\bar{\theta}$ ε: for the syntax cf. Luke 22:71

136:13  $\bar{\mu}$ πιμα: i.e.  $\bar{\zeta}$ μπιμα (though one could also understand πιμα as the dir obj of ογ $\bar{\omega}$ ν $\bar{\zeta}$ , or ογ $\bar{\omega}$ ν $\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ  $\bar{\mu}$ - to be for ογ $\bar{\omega}$ ν $\bar{\zeta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ  $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ  $\bar{\mu}$ -, i.e.  $\bar{\epsilon}$ βολ  $\bar{\zeta}$ μ-; see above, on 129:20-21)

136:14 just poss. read  $\bar{\psi}$ ο $\bar{\rho}$ η $\bar{\iota}$  (π certain, articulation mark restored)

136:20  $\bar{\eta}$ : q restored, superlinear stroke certain

136:23 poss.  $\bar{\eta}$ εγ[ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ι] $\bar{\eta}$ [ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ]

\*p. 136

[Word | to] it. It brought it up into | [his presence] so that \* the First Word might not fail.” [Then his disciples] were | amazed at [all the things] | he had said to them, and they accepted them on [faith].

| And they concluded that it is useless <sup>5</sup> to regard wickedness.

(38) Then he said to | his disciples, “Have I not told | you that like a visible voice and flash of | lightning | will the good be taken up to <sup>10</sup> the light?”

(39) Then all his disciples | offered him praise and said, “Lord, | before you appeared | here, who was it who offered you praise? | For all praises exist on your account. <sup>15</sup> Or who is it who will bless [you]? | For all blessing derives [from] | you.”

(40) As they stood there, he saw | two spirits bringing a single soul | with them in a great flash of lightning. <sup>20</sup> And a Word came forth from | the Son of Man, saying, | “Give them their garment!” [And] | the small one did as the big one. They were [...] [...] |

135:22 It brought it: *i.e. the Word brought the seed*

135:23 his: *See above, on 135:21.*

(39) 136:12–13 *poss.* before you revealed that (or this) place, who was it who offered you praise? or before you appeared out of that place, who was it who offered you praise?

(40) 136:17 he: *sic (see above, 135:14)*

136:23 did as: *or became like*

136:23–137:1 *poss.* They were [like] those who received them.

[ΡΛΖ]

ου· νε.[ — — — ]νευερηου  
 2 τοτε ανω[ — — — ]μαθητης  
 ναϊ νταϗ[ — — — ]πεχας — — — ]νβιμα  
 4 ριζαμμη [χε — — — ]ναυ επι  
 6 πονηρο[ — — — ]ερο[[ϗ]]ου χν̄ν̄  
 8 ωορπ̄ [ — — — ]ερηου· πε  
 χεπχοε[ic .....]. νταρεναυ  
 8 εροου λ[.....]ωωπε ννοβ σε  
 ναμου[....].λ. ζοταν δε ερωαν  
 10 ναυ επιτωοπ̄ ψαενεζ τετ̄ν̄μαυ  
 τε τνοβ ν̄ζορασις· τοτε πεχαυ ναυ  
 12 τηρου χεματαμον ερος πεχαϗ ναυ  
 χεζ̄νοου ετετ̄νοουωωναυ ερος  
 14 [ζ̄νο]υζορασις εснаοуωсϗ χ̄νοуζο  
 [ραc]ic ν̄ψαενεζ· παλιν πεχαϗ χε  
 16 [αρι]γ̄ωνιζε ν̄τετ̄νοуζ̄м̄ ν̄παϊ  
 [ετε]οӯν̄бom̄ м̄моϗ εοуαζϗ ν̄сω  
 18 [..] αγω ν̄τετ̄νωине ν̄сωϗ ν̄τε  
 [т̄н̄]ωαχε ν̄ζραϊ ν̄ζηт̄̄· χεκαас  
 20 [н̄к]̄а̄ nim̄ етет̄νωине ν̄сωϗ εу  
 [на̄р̄]сӯм̄φωнӣ н̄м̄ηт̄н̄· ανοκ γαρ  
 22 [.. χω] ν̄μοc н̄ηт̄н̄ χεαληωс  
 [.....].. ζ̄н̄т̄ηοут̄н̄ ν̄βιπ̄ноуτε

137:1 trace prob. from м (lacuna over this letter)

137:5 πονηρο[с or πονηρο[н; [ϗ] cancelled by the scribe with a diagonal stroke, ου added above [ϗ]

137:7 χε (and before it poss. ναc) is to be restored in the lacuna; νταρε: i.e. νтере

137:9 ερωαν: i.e. ερεωαν

137:16 αρι: cf. 146:21, but poss. [ερι]γ̄ωνιζε (cf. 144:19)

137:17-18 prob. ν̄сω| [т̄н̄] (cf. 141:10-11), poss. ν̄сω| [ει]

137:20 One might expect either ν̄сωου εу or ν̄сωϗ εϗ; poss. emend thus.

137:21 poss. [на]сӯм̄φωнӣ

137:22 [†χω] is to be expected.

137:23 poss. [εϗωο]ρη̄ (π not certain, articulation mark restored)

\*p. 137

... those who received \* them. ...[...] each other. | Then ...[...] disciples, | [whom] he had ...[...].

(41) Mary [said, | “... ] see <sup>5</sup> [evil ...]... them from the | first [...] each other.” |

(42) The [Lord] said, “[...]... when you see | them ...[...] become huge, they | will ...[...]. But when you <sup>10</sup> see the Eternal Existent, that | is the great vision.”

(43) Then they all said to him, | “Tell us about it!”

(44) He said to them, | “How do you wish to see it? | [By means of a] transient vision or an <sup>15</sup> eternal [vision]?” He went on and said, | “[Strive] to save that | [which] can follow | [...], and to seek it out, and to | speak from within it, so that, <sup>20</sup> as you seek it out, [everything] | might be in harmony with you! For | I [say] to you, truly, |

(41) 137:5 them: *altered by the scribe from him or it*

(42) 137:7 *poss.* The [Lord] said [to her, “... ]; you: *fem. sing.*  
137:9 you: *fem. sing.*

(43) 137:12 it: *i.e. the great vision*

(44) 137:13 it: *i.e. the great vision*

137:16–20 *poss.* “[Strive] to save him [who] can follow [me (or you)], and to seek him out, and to speak from within him, so that, as you seek him out, [everything]

137:18 *prob.* [you], *poss.* [me]

137:19–21 *poss. emend* to speak from within it, so that [everything] you seek out might be in harmony with you!

[ΡΛΗ]

ετονζ .[ — — — ]. ἡζη  
 2 τῷ· ἰοῦδ[ας . . . . . χελλ]ἠθως †  
 οὔωψ[ — — — πεχ]αῖ ναῖ ἡ  
 4 βιπχ[οεις χε — — — ]ετονζ εῖ  
 ψοοῖ [ — — — ]. τηρῷ·  
 6 ἡπεβρω[ζ — — — ἰο]υδας χε  
 νιμ πε ετν[ — — — ] πεχαῖ  
 8 ἡβιπχοεις [χε . . . . . ]ζβηοε  
 τηροῦ ετσο[ . . . . . ]πκεσε  
 10 επε ἡτοοῦ πε ετε[τ]ν[ . . . ].[.]χωοῦ  
 πεχαῖ ἡβιῖουδας χεειςζηητε  
 12 ειςἡαρχων ψοοῖ ζἡτπε ἡ  
 μαν ἡτοοῦ βε πε ετναῖχοεις  
 14 εχων· πεχαῖ ἡβιπχοεις χεἡ  
 τωτἡ πε ετναῖχοεις εχωοῦ  
 16 ἀλλα ζοταν ετετἡψανῖ ἡπ[ε]  
 φθονος εβολ ζἡτθοῦτἡ τοτε  
 18 τετναῖ ζιωτ'τθοῦτἡ ἡποῦο  
 ειν ἡτετἡβωκ εζοῦν επμα  
 20 ἡψελεετ' πεχεῖουδας χεἡ  
 αῦ ἡζε εῦναεινε ναν ἡνε[ν]  
 22 ζἡβω· πεχεπχοεις χεζεν  
 κοογε νετναεινε νητἡ [αῦω]  
 24 ζενκοογε νετναχι ἡμ[ . . . ]

138:2 prob. ἰοῦδ[ας πεχαῖ χελλ]ἠθως, though the word order would be unusual (only 120:2 can be compared); poss. ἰοῦδ[ας αῖχοος χελλ]ἠθως, though αῖω is not to be expected in such a phrase in this text

138:4 poss. χ[οεις χεπνοῦτε] (cf. 137:23–138:1) or χ[οεις χεπειωτ']

138:5 π': π not certain, articulation mark restored

138:6 prob. βρω[ζ πεχαῖ ἡβιῖο]υδας, though poss. βρω[ζ — πεχεῖο]υδας

138:7 lacuna over  $\eta^2$  (poss. read ἡ)

138:8 prob. [χε . . . . . νε] or [χε . . . . . ἡ]

138:10 lacuna over  $\eta^2$  (poss. read ἡ)

138:12 ζἡτπε: i.e. ἡτπε (cf. 120:9–10, 130:23)

138:12–13 ἡ|μαν: i.e. ἡ|μον

138:16–17 poss. ἡπ|φθονος

138:24 prob. ἡμ[ωτἡ] or ἡμ[οοῦ]

\*p. 138

the living God [ . . . ] . . . in you \* . . . [ . . . ] . . . in | him.”

(45) [Judas said, “Truly], I | want [ . . . ].” |

(46) The [Lord said] to him, “[ . . . ] living [ . . . ]<sup>5</sup> dwells [ . . . ] . . . entire | . . . the [deficiency . . .].”

(47) [Judas said], | “Who . . . [ . . . ]?” |

(48) The Lord said, “[ . . . ] all [the] works | which . . . [ . . . ] the remainder,<sup>10</sup> it is they [which you . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . .” |

(49) Judas said, “Behold! | The governors dwell above | us, so it is they who will rule | over us!”

(50) The Lord said,<sup>15</sup> “It is you who will rule over them! | But when you rid yourselves of | jealousy, then | you will clothe yourselves in light | and enter the bridal chamber.”<sup>20</sup>

(51) Judas said, | “How will [our] garments be brought to us?” |

(52) The Lord said, “There are | some who will provide for you,

137:23 *poss.* the living God [dwells] in you

138:2 him: *or* it

(46) 138:4 *poss.* [The] living [God] *or* [The] living [Father]

138:6 *poss.* . . . the [deficiency].” [Judas said],

ϣ[λθ]

2    ἸΤΟΟΥ ΓΑΡ Ν[ΕΤΝΑ† Ν]ΗΤῆ ἸΝΕΤῆ  
 2    ρῆσῶ· ΝΙΜ ΓΑ[Ρ ΠΕΤΝΑ]ΨΧΩΒΕ Ἰ  
 4    ΠΜΑ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ . . . [.]ἔἸΠΨΑ ΠΕ  
 4    ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ†ῆῆῆσῶ ἸΠΩΝΖ Ἰ >  
 6    ΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕῆΤΟϣ ῆσοοῦν Ἰτε  
 6    ρῆ ἔτῆῆῆῆῆῆῆῆῆ· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ  
 8    ΒΑΡΟΣ ΝΑῆ ρῶῶτ' ΟΝ ΤΕ ΕΧΟΟΒΕΣ  
 8    ΠΕΧΑΣ Ἰβῆμαρῆζαμ χερῆναῆ ἔτ  
 10    ΚΑΚΙΑ ἸΠΕρσοοῦ ΠΕρσοοῦ Αῦῶ ΠΕΡ  
 10    ΓΑΤΗΣ ἸΠΨΑ Ἰτεϣτροφῆ· Αῦῶ  
 12    ΠΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ Ἰῆεῆνε ἸΠεϣσαρ· ΠΕ  
 12    ΕΨΑΧΕ ΑΣΧΟΟϣ ρῶσ ρῆμε εασει  
 14    ΜΕ ΕΠΤΗΡῆ· ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϣ Ἰβῆῆμα  
 14    ΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ Αῦῶ  
 16    ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΨῶῶτ' ΠΕΧΑϣ ΝΑῦ ΧΕ  
 16    ἸΤῶῶῆῆῆῆῆῆῆῆ ρῆΠεΠληρω  
 18    ΜΑ Αῦῶ ΤΕῆῆῆῆῆῆῆῆ ρῆΠΜΑ Ε  
 18    ΤΕΠΨῶῶτ' Ἰμαῦ Αῦῶ ΕΙΣῆ  
 20    [ΗΤ]Ε ΕΙΣΠΕϣοῦοῆῆῆῆῆῆῆῆ Αϣῆῆῆῆ  
 20    [Ρ]ῆῆ ΕΧῆεῆ· ΠΕΧΑϣ Ἰβῆμαῆῆῆῆ  
 22    [ΟС] ΧΕΧΟΟС Ε[Ε]ρῆοῆῆ ΠΧῆοῆῆῆ ΧΕῆ  
 22    [Α]Ψ Ἰῆῆ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥ†· СΕΜΟΥ >  
 [Αῦ]ῶ Ἰῆῆῆ Ἰῆῆ ΝΕΤΟΝΖ СΕῶΝΖ >

139:1 Ἰ: Ἰ certain, superlinear stroke restored

139:3 [.] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120); ε virtually certain; prob. εῆε[Ἰ]ἔἸΠΨΑ ΠΕ, unless ἸΠΨΑ be for ΕΜΑΤΕ (in which case εῆ[.]ἔ ἸΠΨΑ ΠΕ could be read)139:4 ῶ' read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120)

139:8 ρῆῆῆῆ ε: poss. ρῆῆῆῆ is an error for ρῶ or emend to ρῆῆῆῆ &lt;ρῶ&gt; ε (cf. Matt 6:34)

139:11 Ἰῆῆ: poss. corrupt; poss. understand ἸΠΨΑ (139:10) before Ἰῆεῆνε (Schenke), or poss. emend to Ἰῆεῆνε &lt;ῆῆῆ&gt;

139:14 ΠΕ<sup>2</sup> added above ΠΛ

\*p. 139

and | there are others who will receive [...]. \* For [it is] they [who will give you] your | garments. [For] who [will] be able to reach | that place ...[...]...? | But the garments of life were given to 5 man because he knows the | path by which he will leave. And | it is difficult even for me to reach it!" |

(53) Mary said, "Thus with respect to 'the | wickedness of each day,' and 'the laborer <sup>10</sup> is worthy of his food,' and | 'the disciple resembles his teacher.'" | She uttered this as a woman who had understood | completely.

(54) The disciples said to him, | "What is the fullness and <sup>15</sup> what is the deficiency?"

(55) He said to them, | "You are from the fullness | and you dwell in the place | where the deficiency is. And lo! | His light has poured [down] <sup>20</sup> upon me!"

(56) [Matthew] said, | "Tell me, Lord, | how the dead die | [and] how the living live."

(52) 138:24 *prob.* [you] or [them]

139:3 *prob.* that place [which] is [the] reward? or *poss.* that place [which] is very [...]....

139:7 it (2°): *i.e.* the path

(53) 139:8-9 *poss. emend to* Mary said, "The (or "Thus, 'the) wickedness of each day <is sufficient>,' and 'the laborer

139:11 *tense of the verb uncertain, poss. due to corruption; or poss. understand the disciple deserves to resemble his teacher; or poss. emend to the disciple is <not> like his teacher*

139:13 *completely: or everything*

[PM]

2 πεχεπχοε[ις χε . . ]ψινε ἴμο  
 2 ει ευψαχε [ . . . πα]ῑ ετεῖπε  
 4 βαλ ναυ εροϋ [ο]υδε ἴπισοτμεϋ  
 4 ει μητι ἴτοοτκ τ̄χω δε ἴμοc  
 6 нηтн χεζοταν ευψανcωκ ἴ  
 6 παῖ ετκim επρωμε cεναμοϋ  
 8 τε εροϋ χεπετμοοϋτ' αϋω ζοταν  
 8 ερψανπετονζ κω ἴπετμοοϋτ'  
 10 cεναμοϋτε επετονζ' πεχεῖοϋ  
 10 δαc χεετβεοϋ γαρ εχἴτμη cε  
 12 μοϋοϋτ' αϋω cεωνζ' πεχεπχο  
 12 ειc χεπετεοϋεβολ ζἴτμη πε >  
 14 μεϋμοϋ πετεοϋεβολ ζἴτεc ζι  
 14 με πε ψαϋμοϋ πεχεμαριζам  
 16 μη χεχοοc εροει пχοειc χεε  
 16 твеοϋ λειει επееiма εβἴζηοϋ  
 18 ἥ ετ̄οcε πεχεпχοειc χεερεοϋ  
 18 ωнζ εβολ ἴπεζοϋο ἴпμηнϋ  
 20 тнc πεχεμαριζамμη ναϋ' χ[ε]  
 20 пχοειc οϋнтопoc γαρ εϋари.  
 22 η εϋβρωζ εβολ ζἴτμη πεχε  
 22 пχοειc χεпма ανοκ ετεῖ†  
 24 ἴμοϋ αν' πεχεμαριζамμη  
 24 χεпχοειc ἴтκοϋζοτε ζиψ[η]

140:1 prob. χεακ]

140:2 πα]ῑ: cf. 140:3 (-ϣ . . . -ϣ)

140:3 [ο]ϋ read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120)

140:5 нηтн: sic; emend to нηтἴ

140:8 π<sup>2</sup> corr. over erased κ or η

140:9 poss. corrupt: poss. μοϋτε ε<ροϋ χε>πετονζ (haplography) or μοϋτε επετονζ <χε — — >

140:11 μοϋοϋτ': γ' added above οο; prob. emend to μοϋ[οϋτ'] (cf. 140:13-14 μεϋμοϋ . . . ψαϋμοϋ)

140:16 βἴ: cod. βн (see above, p. 32)

140:20 poss. εϋари.[.]

140:21 η: If this is the Greek word ἦ, and not the last letter of the final word in 140:20, one may expect ἥ.

140:22 poss. ετεῖ†[. . .]

140:23 ἴμοϋ: i.e. ἴζηтῖ (unless something be restored at the end of 140:22)

\*p. 140

(57) \* The [Lord] said, “[ . . . ] ask | me about a saying [ . . . ] which | eye has not see, [nor] have I heard it | except from you. But I say <sup>5</sup> to you that when | what invigorates a man is removed, | he will be called ‘dead.’ And when | what is alive leaves what is dead, | what is alive will be called upon.”

(58) Judas said, <sup>10</sup> “Why else, for the sake of truth, do they | kill and live?”

(59) The Lord said, | “Whatever is born of truth | does not die. Whatever is born of woman | dies.”

(60) Mary said, <sup>15</sup> “Tell me, Lord, why | I have come to this place to profit | or to forfeit.”

(61) The Lord said, “You make clear | the abundance of the revealer!” |

(62) Mary said to him, <sup>20</sup> “Lord, is there then a place which is . . . , | or lacking truth?” |

(63) The Lord said, “The place where I | am not!”

(57) 140:1 *prob.* [You (*masc. sing.*) have] asked

140:4 you: *masc. sing.*

140:8 what is dead: *altered by the scribe, poss. from the dead (plural)*

140:9 *poss. emend to <he> will be called ‘alive.’ or what is alive will be called < . . . >.*

(58) 140:10–11 do they kill and live: *altered by the scribe from are they dead and do they live, but see the following note*

140:11 *prob. emend to <die> and live*

(60) 140:16–17 *poss. place. For profit or for loss?*

(62) 140:20–21 *or* “Lord, is there then a place which is . . . [ . . . ] . . . , lacking truth?”

(63) 140:22–23 *poss.* “The place which I do not [ . . . ]!”

PM[α]

ρε αγω ου.[.....]ωτε ε >  
 2 βολ ἡνετσοοϋν ἡμ[ο.] ἄν' πε  
 χεμαθααιος χεετ[β]εου τῆμ  
 4 τον ἡμον αν ριογ[ς]οπ' πεχε  
 πχοεις χεετετῆψανκω επι  
 6 τῆ ἡναίετπω' πε.χεμαθααι  
 ος χεῆαψ ἡζε ψαρεπκογει  
 8 κολλα ἡμοϋ επνοβ πεχεπχο  
 εις χεροταν ετετῆψανκω ἡ  
 10 νερβνογε ἡσωτῆ ετεῆσenaψ  
 ογαροϋ ἡσωτῆ αν τοτε τετῆναῆ  
 12 τον ἡμωτῆ πεχεμαριζαμμῆ  
 χετοϋωψε εειμε ερωβ ηιμ ἡ  
 14 [θε] ετοϋψοοπ' ἡμος πεχεπχο  
 [εις] χεπετναψιηε ἡσαπωνζ'  
 16 [α]ει γαρ τε τοϋμῆτρῆμαο' τα  
 [...]αγςις γαρ ἡπεεικοσμοσ ου  
 18 [.. τ]ε αγω πεφνοϋβ μῆπεφζατ'  
 [ους]ωρῆ πε' πε.χαγ ναϋ ἡβιηεϋ  
 20 [μα]θητης χεου πετῆνααϋ χε  
 [καα]ς ερεπενζωβ ναχωκ εβολ'  
 22 [πε.χ]επχοεις ναϋ χεψωπε ετε  
 [τῆς]ῆτωτ' ἡναρῆπτηρϋ' ου >  
 24 [μα]καριος πε πρωμε ἡταϋβιηε

141:1 prob. κ]ωτε or ρ]ωτε

141:2 ἡ: μ certain, superlinear stroke restored; prob. ἡμ[οκ]

141:6 νατ: i.e. ηεετ

141:9 τ<sup>1</sup> corr. over erased η (incomplete) or poss. λ

141:16 prob. [τα]ει, poss. [πα]ει (for the spelling, cf. 145:15); τοϋ: i.e. τεϋ

141:16-17 poss. α|[πολ]αγςις or α|[ναπ]αγςις

141:18 ...: space for 2½ letters; poss. [βολ τ]ε

141:21 ωβ corr. over erased ητ' (articulation mark not erased)

141:23 ῆ: β certain, superlinear stroke restored (cf. 145:7)

\*p. 141

(64) Mary said, | “Lord, you are fearful and [wonderful], \* and ...[...]. | ... those who do not know [...]” |

(65) Matthew said, “[Why] do we | not rest [at once]?” 5

(66) The Lord said, “When you lay down | these burdens!”

(67) Matthew said, | “How does the small | join itself to the big?”

(68) The Lord said, | “When you abandon <sup>10</sup> the works which will not be able | to follow you, then you will rest.” |

(69) Mary said, | “I want to understand all things, | [just as] they are.”

(70) The [Lord] said, <sup>15</sup> “He who will seek out life! | For [this] is their wealth. | For the ...[...]. of this cosmos | is [...], and its gold and its silver | are [misleading].”

(71) His [disciples] said to him, <sup>20</sup> “What should we do to ensure that | our work will be perfect?” |

(72) The Lord [said] to them, “Be | [prepared] in face of every-

(64) 141:1-2 *prob.* and ...[... turn] away (*poss. add* from) those *or* and ...[... obliterate] those

141:2 *prob.* those who do not know [you].

(70) 141:17 *poss.* the [rest] of this cosmos *or* the [pleasure] of this cosmos

141:18 *poss.* is [false]

(71) 141:21 *work: altered by the scribe from minds*

[PMB]

Ἰπ.ολ.[.....].υεπαγων ἡ  
 2 νεφβαλ' [...]. Ἰπερζωτῆ οὐδε Ἰ  
 πουζοτῆ[εφ] ἀλλὰ ἀφει εβολ εφχα  
 4 ειτ' πεχει[ο]υδασ χεχοοσ εροει πχο  
 εις χεαψ τε ταρχη ἡτεζηη πεχαφ  
 6 χεταγαπη ἡἡτῆἡταγαθοσ ενε  
 οὔἡοὔει γαρ ἡἡαἡ ψοοπ' ζατῆἡ  
 8 αρχων νεμῆκ ακια ναψωπε α  
 ηηζε' πεχεμαθθαιοσ χεπχοεισ  
 10 ακψαχε ετβεθαη ἡπτηρφ' αχῆἡ  
 σε πεχεπχοεισ χεζωβ ηιμ' ἡτα  
 12 ειχοοὔ ερωτῆ ατετῆειμε ἡμο  
 οὔ αὔω ατετῆχιτοὔ ζῆοὔηαζτε  
 14 εψχεατετῆσοὔωηοὔ ζιε ηωτῆἡ  
 ηε εψχεἡπε ζιε ηωτῆ ἡη ηε  
 16 πεχαγ ηαφ χεαψ πε πτοποσ [ε]  
 τῆἡηαβωκ εροφ' πεχεπχοει[σ]  
 18 χεπμα ετετῆἡαψπωζ ψ[....]  
 ὦζε ερετῆηοὔτῆ ἡμαὔ' π[ε]  
 20 χεμαριζαμμη χεζωβ ηιμ [ε.]  
 σμοητ' ἡτεειζε σεηαὔ εροφ [πε]  
 22 χεπχοεισ χεαειχοοσ ηητῆ [χε]  
 πετῆαὔ εβολ ἡτοφ πετῆωλ[π']  
 24 εβολ' αὔχηοὔφ ἡβιηεφμαθη[τησ]  
 εὔμαζῆἡτῆἡοὔοὔσ χεπσαζ [... ]

142:1 first trace very obscure, second trace from ε or θ, third trace prob. from α, ε, θ, or λ: poss. πολε[μοσ] (Schenke)

142:2 [...]: space for 2½ letters in the lacuna, trace very ambiguous; prob. [οὔΔ]ε; ἡ: η certain, superlinear stroke restored

142:5 αρχ corr. over erased εζι

142:6 ἡ: η restored, superlinear stroke certain

142:7 ἡ: η certain, superlinear stroke restored

142:14 ηωτῆἡ: i.e. ηοὔτῆἡ; ἡ: η restored, superlinear stroke certain

142:15 ηωτῆἡ: i.e. ηοὔτῆἡ

142:18 prob. ψ[αροφ], poss. ψ[ατετῆἡ]

142:20 prob. [ετ], poss. [εφ]

142:23 ῆωλ[π']: cf. 126:16-17

142:25 ἡἡτῆἡοὔοὔσ: sic

\*p. 142

thing. | [Blessed] is the man who has found \* ... [ ... ] ... the contest ... | his eyes. [ ... ] ... he did not kill, nor | was [he] killed, but he came forth victorious." |

(73) [Judas] said, "Tell me, Lord, <sup>5</sup> what the beginning of the path is."

(74) He said, | "Love and goodness. For if | one of these existed among the | governors, wickedness would never have come into existence." |

(75) Matthew said, "Lord, <sup>10</sup> you have spoken about the end of everything without concern." |

(76) The Lord said, "You have understood all the things | I have said to you | and you have accepted them on faith. | If you have known them, then they are [yours]. <sup>15</sup> If not, then they are not yours." |

(77) They said to him, "What is the place | to which we are going?"

(78) The [Lord] said, | "The place you can reach ... [ ... ], | stand there!" <sup>20</sup>

(79) Mary said, "Everything [ ... ] | established thus is seen." |

(80) The Lord [said], "I have told you [that] | it is the one who can see who [reveals]." |

(81) His [disciples], numbering twelve, asked him, <sup>25</sup> "Teacher,

(72) 142:1 *poss.* the [battle ... ] ...

142:2 *prob.* [Neither] did he kill, nor

(78) 142:18-19 *prob.* "Stand in the place you can reach!" *poss.* "[You will] stand in the place you can reach."

(79) 142:20-21 *prob.* "Everything established thus is seen." or "Is everything thus established seen?" *but poss.* "Thus [is] everything established. It is seen." or "[Is] everything thus established? Is it seen?" or *the like*

(80) 142:23 or it is that which can see that [reveals].

ρ[μγ]

- [τ]μῆτ' ατροο[γψ — — — ]μα  
 2 τσαβον χ[ — — — ]πεχε  
 πχοεις χε.[.....].ε εζωβ  
 4 ΝΙΜ ΝΤΑΕΙΧ[.....]ΤΕΤΝΑΡΑ  
 [. . .].Υ.ΕΤΕΤΝ[.....].εζωβ  
 6 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΧΕΜΑΡΙ[ΖΑΜ Χ]ΕΟΥΨΑ  
 ΧΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ' ΠΕΤΝΑ[ΧΟ]ΟϞ ΜΠΧΟ  
 8 ΕΙΣ ΕΤΒΕΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤΜΗΕ >  
 ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΝΩΖΕ ΕΡΑΤῆ ΝΖΗΤῆ· ΑΥΩ  
 10 ΕΝΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ >  
 ΠΕΧΕΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΜΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΣ ΧΕΤῆ  
 12 [Ο]ΥΨΥ ΕΒΙΜΕ ΧΕΖΕΝΑΨ ΝΜΙΝΕ  
 [Ν]Ε ΝΖΒ̄CΩ ΕΤΟΥΝΑ[Τ]ΑΛΥ ΖΙΩΩΝ  
 14 [Ε]ΝΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΤΑΚΟ ΝΤ  
 [CΑΡ]Ξ· ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ  
 16 [Μῆ]ΝΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ ΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ  
 [ΝΖ]ΕΝΖΒ̄CΩ ΕΥ† ΜΜΟΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΟΥ  
 18 [ΟΕΙ]Ψ ΕΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ: ΝΤΩΤῆ  
 [ΔΕ] ΖΩC ΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΜΗΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΑ†  
 20 [ΖΙ]ΩΤΤΗΟΥΤῆ ΑΝ ΝΝΙΖΒ̄CΩ ΕΨΩ  
 [ΟΠ'] ΠΡΟΣΟΥΟΕΙΨ· ΑΛΛΑ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
 22 [Ν]ΗΤΝ ΧΕΤΕΤῆΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΑΚΑ  
 [ΡΙ]ΟC· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤῆΨΑΝΒΕΨΤΗ  
 24 [ΝΟ]Υ· ΟΥΝΟΒ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΠΕ

143:3 χοεις χε.[.....] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120, 15 [1978] 205); first trace prob. from ε, second trace prob. from α, Δ, κ, λ, μ, or ρ; poss. ε[τετῆψανει]με or ε[τετῆτῆει]με (cf. 142:11–13)

143:4 ῆταειχ[.....] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120); poss. χ[οογ ερωτῆ] (cf. 142:11–13)

143:4–5 poss. Ϙα|τ[ιμ]ογ χε; if the line break (for which cf. above, p. 33–34) is acceptable, poss. Ϙα|τ[μ]ογ χε (Schenke)

143:5 first undeciphered trace from π or τ, second undeciphered trace poss. from ο; γ read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120); third undeciphered trace prob. from χ, poss. from κ; lacuna over τμ (poss. read τῆ); fourth undeciphered trace poss. from ε

143:6 μ' read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 120)

143:9 ῆ: η certain, superlinear stroke restored

143:11 ῆ: emended, with hesitation, by Krause (p. 17 n. 33) to μῆ

143:22 [η]ητν: sic; emend to [η]ητῆ

143:23–24 τη|[νο]υ: cf. 128:5; i.e. τηουτῆ

\*p. 143

[...] \* [... serenity ...] teach | us ... [...].” |

(82) The Lord said, “... [...]. ... everything | which I have  
... [...] you will ... 5 ... [...] ... you [...] ... everything.” |

(83) [Mary] said, “There is but one saying | I will [speak] to the  
Lord | concerning the mystery of truth: | In this have we taken our  
stand, and <sup>10</sup> to the cosmic are we transparent.” |

(84) Judas said to Matthew, “We | [want] to understand the sort  
| of garments we are to be [clothed] with | [when] we depart the  
decay of the <sup>15</sup> [flesh].”

(85) The Lord said, “The governors | [and] the administrators  
possess | garments granted [only for a time], | which do not last.  
[But] you, | as children of truth, <sup>20</sup> not with these transitory gar-  
ments are you to clothe yourselves. | Rather, I say | [to] you that  
you will become [blessed] | when you strip [yourselves]! | For it is

(82) 143:3-5 *poss.* “[If you have (*poss. add not*) understood] everything which I have  
[told you], you will [be unworthy (*or become immortal*), for] you [...] ... every-  
thing.”

(84) 143:11 *poss. emend to* Judas <and> Matthew said, “We

(85) 143:17 *granted: or which they grant*

[PMΔ]

ε[ — — — ] Ἰῆπσανβολ  
 2 πεχ[ — — — χε — — — ] †ψαχε †  
 ψωπ[.....]. πεχεπχο  
 4 εις χε.[.....] ἀρῆπετῆει  
 ωτ' ἄμ[.....] ὄρ' πεχ[εμα]  
 6 ριζαμ' χ[εογα]ψ ἦρε τε †βλῆ[ι]λε  
 ἦψλτα[μ] ὄγεβολ ῥῆτπε τε ἦ οὐ  
 8 εβολ ῥῆπκαρ τε· πεχεπχοεῖς  
 χεῆντερεπεῖωτ' ταρο ερατῆ ἴπ  
 10 κοσμος ναφ' ἀφσεχπ' ραρ ριτῆ  
 τμααγ ἴπτηρφ' ετβεπαῖ φχω αγ  
 12 ω φειρε πεχεῖογδασ χεῆτὰκ  
 χω ἴπαῖ ἦαν εβολ ῥῆπνογς ἦ  
 14 τμηε ροτ[α]ἠ ενψαψληλ ενα  
 ψληλ ἦαψ ἦρε· πεχεπχοεῖς [χε]  
 16 ψληλ ῥῆπμα ετεμῆςριμε ἴ[μαγ]  
 πεχεμαθθαῖος χεεφχω ἴμ[οc]  
 18 ἦαν χεψληλ ῥῆπμα ετῆμ[ῆςρι]  
 με ἴμαγ χεερικαταλλε ἦἠ[ε]  
 20 ῥβηογε ἠτμηῆτςριμε χεβεχ[πο]  
 αν πε αλλα χεσεναογω ἠςε[χπο]  
 22 πεχεμαριζαμ χεσεναφοτοῦ ε[βολ]  
 αν ψαενεζ' πεχεπχοεῖς χε[ἠιμ]  
 24 πε ετσοογν χεσεναβωλ εβολ [αν]

144:2 Some form of πεχε- is to be restored at the beginning of the line.

144:3 lacuna over π' (poss. read ῆ'); [.....]. πεχε read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121); trace from ο or β

144:4 undeciphered trace from π or τ; [.....] ἀρῆπε read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121)

144:6 ῶ: λ not certain, superlinear stroke restored (cf. 135:18); ῆ[ι] read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121)

144:7 εἶ read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121)

144:8 ῥῆπκαρ τε: αρτ corr. over erased ετε· (raised point not erased; prob. πκαρτ corr. over erased τπε τε·)

144:10 σεχπ': i.e. ψεχπ'

144:12 ἠτὰκ: poss. read ἠτοκ

144:14 ενψα: i.e. ενψαν

144:16 ἴ[μαγ]: cf. 144:18-19

144:18-19 ετῆμ[ῆςρι] με: cf. 144:16

144:19-20 lacuna over η² (poss. read ἠῆ | ῥβηογε)

144:20 βε: i.e. κε

\*p. 144

no great thing \* ... [ ... ] outside." |

(86) [ ... said ... ] ... speak, I | ... [ ... ] ..."

(87) The Lord said, | "... [ ... ] ... your Father <sup>5</sup> ... [ ... ] ..."

(88) [Mary said, | "Of what] sort is that [mustard seed]? | Is it something from heaven or | is it something from earth?"

(89) The Lord said, | "When the Father established the <sup>10</sup> cosmos for himself, he left much over from | the Mother of the All. Therefore, he speaks and | he acts."

(90) Judas said, "You have | told us this out of the mind of | truth. When we pray, <sup>15</sup> how should we pray?"

(91) The Lord said, | "Pray in the place where there is no woman." |

(92) Matthew said, | "Pray in the place where there is [no woman],<sup>1</sup> he tells us, | meaning, 'Destroy the <sup>20</sup> works of womanhood,' not because there is any other [manner of birth], | but because they will cease [giving birth]." |

(93) Mary said, "They will never be obliterated." |

(94) The Lord said, "[Who] | knows that they will [not] dissolve

(93) 144:22 *poss.* "Will they never be obliterated?"

## [ΡΜΕ]

- [α]γω  $\bar{\eta}$ σεκ[ — — — ].  
 2 [.]ε  $\bar{\eta}$ τμ $\bar{\eta}$ τ[.....]..  $\bar{\eta}$ ος  
 πεχειουδαζ [μμαθθ]αιος χε  
 4 [c]εναβωλ εβ[ολ .... ρβ]ηογε  $\bar{\eta}$   
 [τ]μ $\bar{\eta}$ τ $\bar{c}$ [ — — — ] $\bar{\eta}$ αρχων  
 6 [..]ναρεπι....[....].α εναψω  
 [π]ε  $\bar{\eta}$ †ζε ενсβτωτ' [ε]ροογ πε  
 8 [χεπ]χοεις χεμη γαρ сенаγ еρω  
 [τ $\bar{\eta}$  μη сен]αγ ενетπαρалаμβανε  
 10 [μμω]τ $\bar{\eta}$ · ειςζηητε δε ογψαχε  
 [πατ]πε ηηογ εβολ ριτ $\bar{\eta}$ πειωτ'  
 12 [επ]ψικ ρ $\bar{\eta}$ ογκαρωμ μ $\bar{\eta}$ ογεβρη  
 [βε] εϋχπο сенаγ еροϋ η сεб $\bar{\eta}$   
 14 [βομ] еροϋ· αλλα  $\bar{\eta}$ τψτ $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}$ ρογο  
 [ψατε]τ $\bar{\eta}$ σογων[τερι]η таει ем  
 16 [πατεαг][ге]λοϋ ογΔ[ε ε]χογсια >  
 [..... α]λλα τ $\bar{\alpha}$ π[ει]ωτ' μ $\bar{\eta}$ πωη  
 18 [ρε τ]ε χε[ $\bar{\eta}$ τοο]γ  $\bar{\eta}$ π[ε]снаγ ογα  $\bar{\eta}$   
 [...]νε· α[γω] τετ $\bar{\eta}$ [α]μοοψε ρ $\bar{\eta}$   
 20 [τερι]η етатет $\bar{\eta}$ соγ[ων $\bar{c}$ ] кан ε  
 [ψ]ωπε  $\bar{\eta}$ αρχων ε[γωα]η $\bar{\eta}$ νοб  
 22 [се]ηαψχοοβс αν αλ[λα ει]ϋ†  
 [χ]ψ  $\bar{\eta}$ μοс ηητ $\bar{\eta}$  χ[εογ]βαροс  
 24 [νατ] ρωωτ' οη τε ε[χοο]βес πε

145:1-2 poss. κ[ατα]λλε οη  $\bar{\eta}$ νερβ]ηι[ο]γε (cf. 144:19-20)

145:2 poss. μ $\bar{\eta}$ τ[сρι]με ρ $\bar{\eta}$ πεει]τρηος (cf. 144:19-20)

145:3 π read from ink blotted onto 144:3; for the restoration cf. 135:7-8, 143:11

145:4 prob. εβ[ολ  $\bar{\eta}$ βινερβ]ηογε

145:5 prob. μ $\bar{\eta}$ τ $\bar{c}$ [ρι]με — — — ] (for the superlineation cf. 142:25 μ $\bar{\eta}$ τ $\bar{c}$ μοογс)

145:6 prob. [се]ηα; first undeciphered trace prob. from κ, poss. from η; second undeciphered trace prob. from λ, poss. from γ, κ, μ, π, or τ; third undeciphered trace from α, ε, θ, ο, с, ρ, or β; fourth undeciphered trace prob. from η; poss.  $\bar{\eta}$ επικ[α]λε[ι]η [.....].α (lacuna over η; poss. read  $\bar{\eta}$ ), though α would be a bit crowded

145:7 τ' : τ not certain, articulation mark restored

145:10  $\bar{\eta}$  : η certain, superlinear stroke restored

145:12 traces of ικ rather ambiguous, but cf. 135:8-136:1

145:13 б $\bar{\eta}$  : cod. б $\bar{\eta}$  (see above, p. 32)

145:15 [τερι]η: cf. 120:23-26, 139:2-6, 142:5-9

145:15-17 See *BASP* 17 (1980) 57-58 *ad loc.*

145:17 poss. [..... с α]λλα, α]λλα: virtually certain

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\* and ...[...].... | [...]....[...]....?" |

(95) Judas said [to Matthew], | “[They] will dissolve [... works] of 5 [...]....[...]. the governors | [...]. will ...[...]..... Thus will we [become] | prepared [for] them.” |

(96) [The] Lord [said], “Right. For do they see | [you? Do they see] those who receive <sup>10</sup> [you]? Now behold, a Word! | [The one belonging to] heaven is coming forth from the Father | [to the abyss], in silence with a [flash of lightning], | giving birth. Do they see it or [overpower] | it? But you are even more <sup>15</sup> aware of [the path], this one, [before] | either [angel or authority has | .... Rather it belongs to the Father] and the [Son | because they] are both a single | [.... And] you [will] go via <sup>20</sup> [the path] which you have [known]. Even [if] | the governors become huge | [they will] not be able to reach it. [But listen!] I | [tell] you [that] it is difficult | even [for] me [to reach] it!”

(94) 145:1-2 *poss.* and [the works] of [womanhood here] be [destroyed as well]?

(95) 145:4-6 *poss.* “[The works] of [womanhood] will dissolve [...] the governors will [call upon ...]. ....

(96) 145:13-14 *it (bis): i.e. the Word*

145:17 *poss.* ... it (*i.e. the path*). Rather; *it: i.e. the path*

145:19 *via: altered by the scribe from to*

145:22.24 *it (bis): i.e. the path*

145:18 [ε]ϛ read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121)

145:19 first lacuna too short for ογωτ';  $\mathfrak{N}^1$  corr. over erased π; [α]μοο read in photographs (*BASP* 14 [1977] 121);  $\mathfrak{Z}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}$  corr. over erased ωα

145:20 [τερι]η: see above, on 145:15; ετατετη: *i.e. ητατετη*

145:22 χοοβс: sic (χοοβес is expected); ε]ϛ: cf. 122:6

145:23-24 for the restoration cf. 139:6-7



\*p. 146

- (97) \* [Mary] said [to the Lord], "When | the works [...]... | ...[... which] dissolves | a ...[...]."
- (98) [The Lord said, "Right. For] you 5 know [...]... if I | dissolve [...]... will go to | his [place]."
- (99) Judas said, "How | is the [spirit] apparent?" |
- (100) The Lord said, "How [is] <sup>10</sup> the sword [apparent]?"
- (101) [Judas] said, | "How is the [light] apparent?" |
- (102) The Lord said, "...[... ] | in it forever."
- (103) [Judas] said, | "Who forgives the [works] <sup>15</sup> of whom? [The works] which ...[... ] | the cosmos [...]...[... | who] forgives the [works]."
- (104) The Lord [said], "[Who ...]...? | It behooves whomever has understood [the works] <sup>20</sup> to do the [will] of the Father. | And as for [you, strive] to rid [yourselves] of [anger] | and [jealousy], | and [to strip] yourselves | of your [...]... s, and not to ...[...]

- (97) 146:1-3 *poss.* When the works [dissolve] ...[... which] dissolves  
146:3 *which: or who; dissolves: or dissolve*  
146:3-4 *poss.* ...[... which] dissolves a [work]." The Lord said *or* ...[... which] dissolves." [Privately, the Lord said
- (98) 146:4 *poss.* [Privately, the Lord said (*see the previous note*); you: *fem. sing.*  
146:7 *his: or its*
- (99) 146:7 *How: or In what*
- (100) 146:9 *How: or In what*
- 146:10 *sword: or reed*
- (101) 146:11 *How: or In what*
- (102) 146:13 *in it: or by means of it*
- (103) 146:15 *poss.* [The works] which you (*masc. sing.*) [...] ]
- 146:17 *poss.* who] does [not] forgive the [works] *or* who] do [not] forgive the [works] *or* who] forgive the [works]
- (104) 146:18-19 *or* "[Who ...]... the one who has understood [the works]? It behooves him

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146:21-22 for the restoration cf. 138:16-17

146:22 ΤΗΝΘ[Υ]: cf. 128:5; i.e. ΤΗΟΥΤῆ

146:24 first trace from π or τ, or *poss.* from γ; second trace from ω or υ

[PMZ]

[Approximately 7 lines are missing.]

- 8 [ — — — ].  
 [ — — — ]NE  
 10 [ — — — ]ωΔΕ  
 [ — — — ]ϛ.. †ΠΕ  
 12 [ — — — ].MḆTPEϜ >  
 [ — — — ].ANOBNEB  
 14 [ — — — ]†XW ΓAP M̄  
 [ — — — ]ϜTḆX̄I N̄ZEN  
 16 [ — — — ]THTḆZAZOY  
 [ — — — ]TACWINE EAC  
 18 [ — — — ].EPAI NAM >  
 [ — — — ]QNAWAZ WA  
 20 [.....].E†XW M̄MOC NH  
 [TḆ .....].EXEḆNETḆCWPḆ >  
 22 [ḆNETḆ]ḆNA MḆNETḆΨYXOOC  
 [ΠΔΙΔΛΟ]ΓOC M̄ΠCΩTHP·

147:8-23 The location of the left margin on this page is very uncertain.

147:14-15 prob. M̄|[MOC — — — XE — — — ], poss. M̄|[MOC NH TḆ  
 XE — — — ] (similarly Krause [p. 26 n. 102])

147:17 prob. N̄|TAC, poss. E|TAC

147:18-19 poss. M̄|[TON M̄MO — — — ]

147:20 prob. [ENEZ (or ANHZE) ANOK] ΔE †

147:21 prob. XE is to be restored in the lacuna; trace prob. from Γ, Η, Ι, Ν, Π, or Τ,  
 poss. from Λ, Μ, or Υ

147:23 For the decoration above and below this line, see *Facs.: Codex III* (1976), pl.  
 141; for the restoration cf. 120:1.

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\* [...]... | [...] ... <sup>10</sup> [...]... | [...]... | [...]... | [...]...  
 reproach | [...]. For I say ... <sup>15</sup> [...]... you take ... | [...]...  
 you ... | [...] who has sought, having | [...]... this, will ...  
 | [...] he will live ... <sup>20</sup> [...]... I say to | [you ...]... so that you  
 will not lead | [your] spirits and your souls into error.” |

[The Dialogue] of the Savior

147:14–15 *poss.* For I say [to you, ...]... you take ...

147:18 *poss.* ... ]... this one will ...

147:18–19 *poss.* ... ]... this, will [rest ... ] he will live ... or ... ]... this one will  
 [rest ... ] he will live ...

147:19–20 *prob.* [...] he will live [forever. And] I say

