NAG HAMMADI CODICES
III, 2 AND IV, 4
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS
NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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IV

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THE MANUSCRIPTS

Two versions of GEgypt have been preserved in the Coptic Gnostic library from Nag Hammadi. One is the second of the five tractates of Codex III, the other is the second of the two tractates in Codex IV. Codex III, 2 originally comprised pages 40-69, and Codex IV, 2 included pages 50-81. Both versions have suffered considerable loss. Of III, 2, pages 40-44 have lost the inside margin and part of the text, pages 45-48 are completely missing, pages 49-54 lack the inside top corner with almost all the text surviving, and the inside half of pages 57-58 has broken off and is lost. IV, 2 is much more fragmentary, although every page is represented. Only pages 50-53, 59-66 and 71-78 contain more than half of their original text. Of the original tractate more than 90 percent survives in one or the other of the two versions.

The physical dimensions of Codices III and IV have been described by Martin Krause.\(^1\) He also presents on Plate 5 of his volume a photo of III 40, which contains the end of Apocryphon and the beginning of GEgypt.\(^2\) Thus far no plates have been published of IV, 2.\(^3\)

Codex III, 2

Of the original thirty pages twenty-six have been partly or completely preserved. Their original size was 15.5 × 25.5 cm, and the average column of writing measures 11 × 20 cm. The pages were numbered above the middle of the column.\(^4\) Numbers are partly

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\(^2\) A photographic reproduction of III 40 can also be found in "Les papyrus gnostiques coptes" by Pahor Labib, La Revue du Caire, 197 (1956), 227 and in "Le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible" by Jean Doresse, Journal Asiatique 254 (1966), Plate 1. In the same article Doresse presents III 69 on Plate 2. Pages 69 and 67 can be found in Doresse's "A Gnostic Library from Upper Egypt," Archaeology III (1950), 72. This plate was also published in "The Gnostic Library of Chenoboskion" by Victor R. Gold, The Biblical Archaeologist XV (1952), 75.

\(^3\) Some pages of IV, 1 have been published by Krause in: Die drei Versionen, Plates 16-24.

\(^4\) Also the Subachmimic Codices I, X and XI (first hand) in the library have the numbers above the middle of the column. Codices IV-IX and XI (second hand) have been numbered above the outside of the writing column.
or completely visible on pages 40, 42, 44, 54-56 and 60-69. The even-numbered pages have horizontal fibers and the odd pages have vertical fibers. No fragments belonging to III, 2 have been found.

The scribe of the codex did not write any of the other Nag Hammadi codices. The codex is written in a casual, flowing uncial script, evidently by an experienced scribe. Noteworthy is the ꞌ with its long sweeping top stroke which continues over one or more of the following letters. The left margin is straight and some effort has also been made to keep a straight right margin, if necessary by means of line fillers. In some places where a word division would have been awkward, letters have been crowded at the end of a line.

The scribe regularly placed a dot above the right side of a ꞈ or ꞉ when it is the final letter of a word, and above the first ꞈ of a double gamma combination. There are also a few instances where a dot was placed on the Ꞇ in ꞏ. There are also a few instances where a dot was placed on the Ꞇ in ꞏ. Evidently this constitutes a development towards word and syllable division. In Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX the final ꞈ and ꞉ of a word or syllable are marked by means of a backstroke or "flag" instead of a dot. In Codices VII and XI (second hand) only the ꞈ has the backstroke pointing mark. Codices II and XIII have a more developed pointing system. They use a mark which looks like an apostrophe or small diagonal stroke where Codex III has a dot.

Most of the inconsistencies in pointing by the scribe of III, 2 can be readily explained. The final ꞉ of ꞏ has in most cases

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1 There are several instances where the top stroke of the ꞌ serves simultaneously as the superlinear stroke over a following ꞈ (40,13; 49,23; 51,3; 63,21).

2 Line fillers were used only on pages 41, 42, 52, 55 and 69. Apparently only a half-hearted attempt was made to regulate the right margin, perhaps after the Codex was finished. Besides Codex III only Codex XII uses line fillers.

3 In most instances (57,9; 58,8; 60,3; 61,21; 62,15; 69,12) the mark over the ꞈ is not a dot but a small circumflex. This "circumflex" is also found in other tractates in the codex and is used in Codices IV-VI, VIII and IX.

4 The instances are: ꞏ 41,4, 20; 42,17; 44,11; 49,24; 64,8; 66,25 and 68,18; Ꞟ 64,4; ꞏ 68,22. Occasionally there is also a dot on the article ꞈ when it precedes a noun beginning with the letter ꞈ or on the article ꞈ before a noun beginning with a ꞈ.

5 The reason for pointing final letters of a word or syllable is most likely an effort to facilitate reading aloud. Since the ꞈ and Ꞌ as articles are often the first letter of a word the need for word division would be especially felt with these letters. This would explain the instance in 65,7 where the dots were placed both above the Ꞌ and ꞈ in Ꞌ. At first the scribe thought the ꞈ belonged with the following word and thus placed the dot on the Ꞌ. When he noticed his mistake he placed another dot above the ꞈ.

6 The apostrophe is also used in a few instances in Codex VII after ꞉ and Ꞌ.
not been pointed. Apparently the scribe confused the ending with the prefix \textit{MNT-} which he normally does not point. He usually does not point the final \textit{π} and \textit{τ} when they fall at the end of a line.\footnote{The four remaining instances where the pointing is missing must be oversights (51,8; 57,4; 63,22; 67,1).}

This is consistent with the function of pointing as word division. Pointing cannot always be easily distinguished from punctuation. Particularly in Codices I, II and III the pointing mark is easily confused with the full stop (\textit{στγμη}). This has led to the unfortunate conclusion that punctuation in Coptic manuscripts is of little or no help to the modern editor. However, when justice is done to the pointing conventions of, for example, Codices II and III, the punctuation can be distinguished and generally makes good sense.\footnote{The published editions of Codices II and III made an attempt at reproducing pointing and punctuation but failed to distinguish between them.}

A paragraphos in the left margin has been used at the end of the tractate (69,5) and again at the end of the colophon (69,17).\footnote{The paragraphos was also used by the scribe of Codices IV-VI and VIII-IX.}

An unusual feature in III, 2 is the use of \textit{N} before \textit{π} as in 40, 16 \textit{ΝΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ}. There are twenty-three instances in the tractate where the normal assimilation to \textit{Μ} has not occurred. III, 2, in contrast to many other tractates in the library, has very few doublings of the \textit{N} before vowels.\footnote{There are only four instances: 41,20; 49,14; 55,19 and 62,14.}

Also the use of \textit{ΠΗ}, \textit{Τ} and \textit{ΝΙ} is sparse. The few occurrences may have a demonstrative force. It is worthy of note that the plural definite article form \textit{ΝΕΝ-} occurs once at 64,22.

Codex III shares with Codex II a peculiar policy for the superlinear strokes on the final two consonants of a word. Strokes appear only when the last letter is \textit{B,M,N,C} or \textit{P} such as in \textit{ZWΤB, CWΤΜ}, \textit{ΩΧΝ}, \textit{ZWΒΟ} and \textit{ZWΤΡ}. When the final two consonants of a word end in \textit{Κ,Π,Τ,Ψ,Ω,Ω} or \textit{Χ} such as in \textit{ΩΜΚ, ZWΤΠ, MOΥΧΤ, ΠΨΡΨ}, \textit{ΟΨΨΨ}, \textit{ΩΝΩ} and \textit{ΨΨΧ} there is no superlinear stroke.\footnote{When the final letter is the suffix \textit{Κ} or \textit{Ω} the combination normally does have a superlinear stroke. This is not the case in Codex II.}

This policy is so consistently followed that it must have a firm phonetic basis.\footnote{It appears that the superlinear stroke is used only when the second consonant functions as a sonant.}

The verb \textit{ΕΙ} only rarely received a “circumflex”, and \textit{ΣΙ} never.\footnote{III 49,15 and 65,18. A slightly curved stroke or circumflex on \textit{ΕΙ} or \textit{ΣΙ} is normal for Codices IV-IX and XI (second hand).} Most proper names have not been marked with the usual long super-
linear stroke. If a pattern can be observed at all it is that the more important and familiar heavenly beings are the more likely ones to have a superlinear stroke. Generally the strokes are used only in the first couple of occurrences of a name. This suggests that once the reader could be assumed to be familiar with the name the superlinear stroke was left out. Also the particle of relation linking an adjective with the following noun is often not present before proper names, e.g. III 52, 22f. 24f. 26; 62, 19.

Corrections in III, 2 are frequent. They were made by writing over the error or by crossing it out and writing above the line. The written-over readings cannot always be recovered with certainty, since they have often been erased by washing out the ink. A number of the corrections were definitely made by the scribe himself, and possibly all of them were. However, many of the corrections involve a change of meaning and cannot be explained as corrections of scribal errors. Thus either the scribe of the codex made changes in substance after copying the tractate or this was done by another scribe whose hand cannot be readily distinguished from the copyist of the codex. There are a number of apparent corrections by means of over-writing which on close examination proved to be blottings from the facing page.

The following list of references is made up of corrections which do not involve a change of meaning; details are given in the notes to the transcription: 42, 5; 43, 2.3 (bis).12.13; 44, 24; 49, 20; 51, 8; 53, 12.23; 55, 6.13.24; 56, 3.9.22; 57, 11.25; 58, 14.20; 59, 6; 60, 1.13.16; 61, 15.20; 62, 6.15.23; 63, 7.16.19.20.22.24; 64, 3; 65, 26; 66, 3.9.23. 24.26; 67, 1.15; 68, 4.7; 69, 12. Most of these are mistakes which were noticed immediately by the scribe and corrected before he finished the line. These scribal errors include omitted letters, haplography, dittography and misassociation with a word or phrase in the immediate context.

The following list of references is made up of corrections which do or may involve a change of meaning; details are given in the notes to the transcription and translation: 41, 20; 44, 17; 49, 22; 51, 1; 52, 5; 53, 11 (bis); 54, 8; 59, 9; 62, 13; 64, 23; 65, 5; 66, 2.7; 67, 14. Several of these, such as the change from "seventy-fourth" to "fourth" in 54, 8, cannot be explained as scribal errors. These may be from the hand of another scribe. In 59, 9 the scribe wrote inadvertently "the first man" instead of "the first creature". He noticed his mistake.

1 The name ΧΩΘ has a superlinear stroke only in five of its twenty-four occurrences (51,20; 54,11; 60,9; 62,4; 68,2).
immediately, crossed out \textit{pWm€}, and followed it with the correct word. Since this did not result in an extra long line, the scribe could not have followed the column of the Coptic model he was copying. This is confirmed by other corrections, and by the fact that the several extensive cases of homoiooteleuton did not result in fewer lines per column.

In spite of the many corrections, many scribal errors requiring emendation remain. In the following cases a word was misspelled due to haplography, dittography, omitted letters or scrambled letters; details are given in the notes to the transcription: 41, 19; 52, 6.13; 54, 8; 55, 3.14.21; 56, 19; 58, 5; 59, 17.22; 62, 11; 65, 4; 66, 26; 68, 13.19.

A second category of emendations involves \( \tilde{n} \)- and \( \tilde{m}n \)-. The scribe is particularly inaccurate at this point.\(^1\)

\begin{align*}
40, 18 & \tilde{\text{p}}\text{peiw}\tilde{t} & \text{for} & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{n} \text{ peiw}\tilde{t} & (\text{IV 50, 9}). \\
40, 19 & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{tmhe} & \text{for} & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{n} \text{ tmhe} & (\text{IV 50, 10}). \\
52, 12 & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{o}\text{yoein} & \text{for} & \tilde{\text{n}}\text{o}\text{yoein}. \\
53, 9 & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{megqtooy} & \text{for} & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{egqtooy}. \\
53, 23 & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{womnt} & \text{for} & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{n} \text{ womnt} & (\text{IV 65, 17}). \\
54, 5 & \tilde{\text{n}}\text{niawwn} & \text{for} & \tilde{\text{m}}\text{n} \text{ niawwn} & (\text{IV 65, 24}). \\
60, 8 & \text{t}\text{ecpopa} & \text{for} & \text{ntcpopa}. \\
60, 21 & \text{noe} \text{ nmicca} & \text{for} & \text{mn oemicca} & (\text{III 62, 20 and IV 72, 3}). \\
64, 24 & \text{pno6} & \text{for} & \text{mpno6} & (\text{IV 76, 15}).
\end{align*}

The remaining emendations are more extensive and thus more controversial; details are given in the notes to the transcription: 40, 12; 42, 5; 52, 20; 55, 15; 60, 6; 62, 24f.

Both the corrections and emendations indicate that the accuracy of the scribe of III, 2 left much to be desired. This conclusion is supported by his spelling of proper names.\(^2\)

Finally there are some unattested forms which may be due to scribal error: 43, 7 (\textit{koyyn} for \textit{koyyn}); 51, 12 (\textit{toyn} for \textit{twoyn}); 54, 15 (\textit{echte} for \textit{echt}); 56, 7.7-8 (\textit{meeye} for \textit{maay}); 60, 12.15 (\textit{goein} for \textit{goeine}); 62, 6 (\textit{mazte} for \textit{emazte}); 63, 8 (\textit{nogyim}); 41, 19 (\textit{meq-} for \textit{mez-}), cf. Kahle, Bala'izah I, p. 145.

It is questionable, however, whether this is a matter of spelling errors. These forms can also be explained as dialectical or orthogra-

\footnotesize\(^1\) See also the corrections in 51,1; 52,5 and 66,2. 
\footnotesize\(^2\) See infra, pp. 16f.
phical peculiarities. **MEEVE** for **MAAY** and **ZOEIN** for **ZOEINE** are very well possible, since an **e** can readily be attached to sonants, cf. in Sahidic **NHYE** for **NHY**, **AAAYE** for **AAAY**, and on the other hand, **MEEY** for **MEEYE**. Such an **e** also occurs with non-sonant sounds; thus **ECHTE** would be confirmed by **OYWWE**, which occurs along side of **OYWY** in this text. ¹ **MAZTE** is possible in light of the fact that the form **MAZE** is attested in Sahidic. **NOYMH-** would here be an instance of **status absolutus** being used for **status constructus**, a phenomenon that is not found elsewhere in III, 2, but that is possible in the dialectical or non-standardized form of Sahidic. The remaining forms, **TOYN-** and **KOYNI-** can also be permitted to stand without emendation when one considers that for both words the spellings vary considerably.

The few forms which depart from standardized Sahidic can be grouped as follows:

1. Orthographical peculiarities:
   a) Single instead of double vowel: **MONE** 60, 13; **MAXE** 68, 9.
   b) **MEN** for **MIN** 53, 14; reversed **PN-** for **PEN-** 60, 18.
   c) **HOY** instead of **HY; EPHOY** 49, 19 and **EOY** instead of **EY**:
      **MEOYE** 68, 19.
   d) **PWXZ** 61, 5 alongside of **PWKZ** 63, 6.

2. **AA²** vocalization in a few places:
   a) **A** for **O**: **NAMTE** 50, 22.
      **NAB** 66, 22.
   b) **E** for **A**: **EMAZTE** 54, 1; 55, 23.
      **MEEY(E)** 56, 6.7 (bis).
      **PEI, PEEI, NEEI** 49, 5; 66, 4; 67, 7.
      **PEN** 68, 7; 69, 12.
      **SEP** 63, 7.

3. Forms that correspond to **A, A²** or **B**:
   **ANHZE** 50, 22; 60, 22; 66, 19; 68, 24.
   **CZHTE** 69, 10. (It is to be noted that earlier at 68, 2.10 **CZH-** occurred. Perhaps this shows that the translators of the colophon and the tractate were not the same person.)
   **TOYBO** or **TOYBO-** 64, 18; 67, 20.
   **MHE** 40, 19; 55, 6; 64, 15; 65, 14.

4. \( \text{Xw} \) instead of \( \text{Xo} \). Cf. KAHLE, Bala'izah I, p. 82.

Variations between \( \text{Xn} \) alongside of \( \text{Xn} \) and \( \text{Zaph2} \) alongside of \( \text{Zaph2} \) occur.

Most of these forms which appear to be non-Sahidic are in reality early spellings of the pre-classical period. Thus what appear to be Subachmimic intrusions are actually forms which are regularly found in the Sahidic tractates of the Nag Hammadi library and other Sahidic manuscripts of the same period. This is confirmed by RODOLPHE KASSER's Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum.

There are almost no unusual or non-Sahidic grammatical features in the tractate. The Perfect Relative is normally \( \text{Îta} \) but twice \( \text{Îta} \) (59, 12; 63, 22) and once \( \text{Ep} \) (60, 26). \( \text{Xekaac} \) is used with III Fut. (51, 7f. 12.13f.; 59, 17; 68, 19) and II Fut. (50, 24f.; 51, 9f.; 54, 6f.). \( \text{Xe} \) is used once with II Fut. (67, 25). Only once is a Greek verb introduced by \( \text{P} \) (67, 13). A unique expression for the passive by means of an impersonal third person feminine singular instead of the usual third person plural occurs. This construction, which also is found in III, I, is in a relative clause both times (III, 2, 66, 6 and III, I, 33, 17).

Codex IV, 2

Few Nag Hammadi codices have gotten into as much disarray as Codex IV.1 Although parts of all its eighty-one inscribed pages have been preserved, the majority of them are extant only in fragmentary form and these fragments were thoroughly mixed up by the time they were put in plexiglass containers by MARTIN KRAUSE. By eliminating all the fragments which KRAUSE had identified as belonging to IV, I, the remainder could be presumed to belong to IV, 2. The main clue to the order and position of the fragments had to be found in the parallel version in Codex III. The situation was far more difficult than with IV, I, however, since the versions of Apocryphal in Codices II and IV are almost identical and the former was well preserved except for the first four pages.2 Consequently even small

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1 Only Codex X rivals it. Unfortunately the tractates in Codex X have no parallel versions, as do those in Codex IV, to bring order to the confusion.

2 An almost complete text of these first pages was available in the Codex Berolinensis 8502. WALTER C. TILL, Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis
fragments of IV, 1 could be identified with certainty. In contrast the two versions of GEgypt are independent translations from the Greek which differ widely in wording, syntax, and sometimes meaning. Compounding the problem are the lacunae in the first half of III, 2 and the lack of pages 45-48. The recurring liturgical formulae of the tractate proved to be of great help in restoring the pages of IV, 2 for which no parallel was available. Only a number of small fragments remain unidentified. Some of the text of several pages of Codex IV has flaked-off lettering. Reconstruction on the basis of traces of letters proved generally successful.

In preparing this edition an attempt has been made to do justice to even the smallest trace of a letter. When a letter is certain, independent of the context, even though it is partly in a lacuna, no dot has been used under the letter. A dot has been placed under all letters of which the traces of ink were ambiguous. With a parallel text available it proved useful to fill in as many of the lacunae as possible. The available space in the line and the linguistic characteristics of the tractate were usually sufficiently known to make the reconstruction valuable. As a result it was often possible to ascertain whether the two versions differed in the passage in question. If no parallel text had been available it would have been little more than a fatuous exercise in Coptic composition.

Martin Krause reports that IV, 2 consisted of pages 50-83 with page 84 empty. James M. Robinson, on the other hand, lists pages 50, 1-82, top. However, there is no evidence of writing beyond page 81. Only a fragment of the top of pages 81 and 82 is extant. Of page 81 the left half of the first line and the top of the second line is visible, but the top of page 82 is blank. Page 81 could readily have contained the last part of the tractate up to the colophon. This means that either page 82 was empty and IV, 2 lacked the colophon, or the colophon was written on page 82 but began at a lower point on the page. Since the colophon is clearly secondary there is no need to assume that

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1 See infra, pp. 11-15.
2 Their identification depends on a prior successful reconstruction of the place where the fragment belongs. Thus at best they only help to confirm the text. Some of the small fragments may actually belong to IV, 1 or to another codex.
3 Die drei Versionen, p. 21.
IV, 2 had the colophon. The codex has a front flyleaf and a blank protective sheet in the center, between pages 42 and 43. It is not clear whether the protective sheet extended over the full width. Whether the end papers belonged to the original quire, as they do in Codex VII, can no longer be ascertained. Not counting the end papers this adds up to a quire of twenty-three sheets. The last two folios of the second half of the quire appear to have been uninscribed. Fragments of these blank pages have been identified. Due to the fragmentary state of the codex and the inferior quality of the papyrus the extent of the rolls or strips from which the sheets of the quire were cut could not be established with certainty.

The original size of the pages was 13.2 × 23.3 cm and the average column of writing measures 9.5 × 19.5 cm. The pages were numbered above the outside edge of the writing column. Numbers are partially or completely visible on pages 71-78. The even-numbered pages have vertical fibers and the odd-numbered pages have horizontal fibers.

The hand of Codex IV is very similar to those of Codices V, VI, VIII and IX. The codex is written in a handsome, regular uncial script. Its regularity, clarity and lack of errors indicate a careful and experienced scribe. The left margin is reasonably straight; less care has been taken with the right margin. There are no line fillers and there is little crowding of letters. The superlinear strokes are remarkably precise, running from the middle of a letter to the middle of the next when two consonants form a syllable. All proper names except place names have been marked with a long superlinear stroke. The only apparent exceptions are ΑΩΟΗΕΔΩΝ and ΕΔΟΚΛΑ. Perhaps they were not considered beings but places.

The final η or τ of a word as well as the τ in ΕΤ-, ΑΤ- and ΜΝΣΤ- are consistently marked by means of a backstroke or “flag.” The purpose is clearly the same as the pointing in Codex III. The verb ΕΙ and the syllable ΗΙ have a slightly rounded superlinear stroke.

1 The same is true for the most beautiful hand in the library found in Codices VII and the second half of XI. In contrast the superlinear strokes in Codices II and XII are much less accurate. In Codex II the stroke on the final letter of a construct form does not connect the last two consonants of that form but rather the last letter of the construct with the first letter of its complement. In Codex XII the scribe placed the stroke too far to the right.

2 The exception is when the superlinear stroke runs only over the M and N rather than over all three letters (e.g. ΜΝΣΜΕ).
or circumflex. Since most of the superlinear strokes are somewhat rounded, it is difficult to say whether the scribe intended to distinguish between the stroke on €1 and $1 and the normal superlinear stroke. A diaeresis is used on the initial iota or upsilon of names. Paragraphing is accomplished by placing the first letter of the new paragraph in the margin (67, 2), and by means of a colon (78, 10; 80, 25).

There are only four corrections in the extant text (54, 26; 57, 11; 59, 20 and 77, 1; see notes in loco). Emendations are necessary only in the following places (see the transcription notes for details): 62, 2; 63, 4; 72, 2; 74, 8.17; 75, 3 and 79, 11. However, IV is not without omissions. Instances of homoioteleuton occur at 52, 17 and 67, 27, and something has also been left out before 79, 17.

The tractate conforms to standard Sahidic spelling. It generally uses one form of a word consistently even when the Sahidic has several options. There are some minor exceptions as well as some pre-classical and unattested spellings. €† is used instead of o† as in many other Nag Hammadi texts; $TW^-(B) in 64, 25 against otherwise $NT^2; KONYN^2 in 75, 9 against four times KONYN; ETBHT-63, 4 for ETBHT and $2W instead of $2W, 56, 15; 60, 17; NM- in 73, 11 against MN-; NEGOMET 64, 5; 68, 4; 77, 16 against otherwise NEGOMET. COT= 71, 1 in place of CAT= may be seen as an overly correct form. NEO= in 74, 4; 75, 10 agrees with V 46, 10 etc. The form TWNq in 76, 11 is unattested, while NYTPP in 66, 1 is also found in A2 and Bodmer VI. In 78, 6 COYN- is used as status constructus.

The articles N1, T and NI are used very frequently, although not consistently. In IV 55, 3 it is striking that, contrary to the normal usage, the plural article NI is used before the number WM, although this may be explained as an error resulting from the frequent use of the plural article in the context. Noteworthy in this tractate is the almost exclusive use of NT for the genitive. The N is generally doubled before A, € and OY, and $YW is used to connect adjectives. Wα EN€ with the exception of 65, 1 is not linked to the preceding noun with the normal adjectival N. Greek verbs are introduced by ⃗.

1 Also the Greek vocative particle € receives such a stroke but it does not occur in IV, 2.
2 The first letter of 51,1 is in the margin but it appears that this is due to the fact that the scribe had first written the € on the last line of page 50 but changed his mind after he had already written the BOA on 51,1.
3 It may or may not be accidental that these forms occur mostly in the last part of the tractate.
The prefix 61N- builds a masculine noun as in Bohairic (51, 6). The normal Perfect Relative is ETA, but also ENTA- is used (58, 5; 62, 15).\(^1\) The relative substantives are introduced by the demonstrative pronouns ΠΗ, ΘΗ, ΝΗ, as in Bohairic. There are only three definite cases where ΠΑΙ is the antecedent of the relative construction (53, 25; 55, 13 and 60, 4). Otherwise ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ and ΝΑΙ are used in ETA ΠΑΙ ΠΕ and when no relative construction is involved. ETA- functions as a Temporal after ΖΩΤΑΝ in 66, 2. Final clauses are constructed with ΖΙΝΑ and the conjunctive,\(^2\) and once with ΧΕΚΑΛΣ and the II Future (63, 8). The tractate frequently uses the verbal prefix ΕΑ- (51, 15; 52, 12.19; 59, 2.4.29; 61, 9.16; 63, 22; 64, 13; 66, 29; 78, 8; 80, 10). The parallel passages in III, 2, when extant, use the I Perfect.\(^3\) Most likely it is the use of the Perfect Circumstantial which here does not have the usual circumstantial function but rather continues a preceding I Perfect (Stern, Kopt. Gram. § 423).

The two Coptic versions of GEgypt are independent translations of basically the same Greek text, as is the case with the two versions of ApocryJn found in BG 8502 and III, I. The extent to which the numerous differences between III, 2 and IV, 2 go back to variants in the Greek Vorlagen or to the Coptic textual tradition must be investigated for each particular case and can not be established with certainty. The reader is referred to the commentary on the particular passages. That these manuscripts are copies of earlier Coptic manuscripts can be clearly demonstrated in the case of III. For instance this is seen first at III 55, 21-22 where two lines of the Vorlage have been omitted due to homoioteleuton, and secondly at III 63, 2 where ΠΝΟΥΤΕ instead of ΠΤ is found.\(^4\) In IV 52, 17 a similar case of homoioteleuton, where a complete line is apparently missing, suggests that IV too is a copy of a Coptic manuscript. If one assumes that the Coptic text of III has been frequently copied and either interpreted or even changed with more or less success, then a considerable

\(^1\) The ΝΤΑ in 51,18 and 53,1 appears to be II Perfect rather than the Perfect Relative.

\(^2\) The third person singular is spelled ΝΤΕΩΣ in 63, 2 and perhaps 63, 6, as in Bohairic. The third person singular feminine is spelled ΝΤΑΣ in 63,4 but this should be emended to ΝΤΕΣ. The other examples of the conjunctive conform to standard Sahidic.

\(^3\) The two exceptions are III 52,2 (ΨΑΣ) and III 66,6 (Conjunctive following II Future).

\(^4\) Cf. infra, p. 191.
number of the variants can be attributed to developments within the Coptic textual tradition. Similarly, unstandardized texts such as the old Syriac and old Latin textual traditions of the New Testament, as well as the Coptic translations of the book of Proverbs reflect the rather wide divergences typical for this period.

Initially the most striking difference between III, 2 and IV, 2 concerns translation policies. Although both versions are translations into the Sahidic dialect, the diction of III, 2 is strikingly different from that of IV, 2. In III the translation is rather free, whereas IV reflects a concerted effort to render the Greek as faithfully as possible; for example, ἰώβηρ ἠμέτε for συνευδοκεῖν, ἡμίτι ἄφῳρι for προαχτῶν (λιτι in III); εὐγεζίν Χίον for ἄναγεννάν (Χίον in III). In IV 75, 19 ἀγογός ἄφως is a very literal translation of ἐκφρῶσεν, “to make motionless” (cf. infra, p. 193f.). The use of Greek words is especially striking, since there are twice as many in III, 2 as in IV, 2. In this respect also the relationship of these two manuscripts corresponds to that between III, 1 and BG Apocryhn. The following table provides a list of the corresponding Greek and Coptic terms used in both versions. The Coptic or Greek equivalents have been added in parentheses if they are used elsewhere in the tractate in question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἄγεων (ἐινε)</td>
<td>ἐινε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄγενητος</td>
<td>ἐτογαλα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγιον (ἐτογαλα)</td>
<td>ἐτογαλα</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀδήπος (ἀτχαξε ἰμο-)</td>
<td>ἀτχαξε ἰμο-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αἱών (Μῃτωᾶ ἐνες)</td>
<td>εἰνε (normally αἱών)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκλητος (-ν)</td>
<td>ἄτχαξμ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλήθεια (Μῃ, Μῃ)</td>
<td>Μῃ (ἀλήθεια)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλήθες ἀληθῶς</td>
<td>ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΜΕ ΝΑΜΕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς</td>
<td>ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΜΕ ΝΑΜΕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀνάπαυσις</td>
<td>ΜΤΩΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀθρατος (-ν) (Ἀτναυ ἐρο-)</td>
<td>Ἀτναυ ἐρο-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀπάγεων (ΧΙ)</td>
<td>ΧΙ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀπερμυήτος</td>
<td>Ἀτρχιοορ ἰμο-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀρρητος (ἀτχαξε ἰμο-)</td>
<td>ἀτχαξε ἰμο-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀρσενική (ζοοΥΤ)</td>
<td>ΖΟΟΥΤ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀσήμαντος</td>
<td>ἄτρῷ ωβώρ ἐρο-, ἦμαειν ΑΝ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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αὐτογενῆς

αὐτογένος

ἀφθαρσία

ἀφθαρτος (¬v)

βάπτισμα (χωκίμ)

βιβλος (χωσμε)

gεννητός (χπο)

χοογν

δύναμις (δωμ)

δοξομελῶν

ἐπιγέννος (πιρε εβολ)

ἐπίκλητος

ἐπιστρή

ατογαμία (¬έρμηνευείν)

-ἐναγγελίζεσθαι

εὐδοκία

eὐδοκία

θέλημα (ογωφ, ογωφε)

χεκλας

ἰερά (ετογαλαβ)

καυρός (ογοειψ)

καταλύειν

κατανειδών

κεραννώναι

κόλπος (κογογντ=)

κρίνειν (γαπ)

κυροῦν (ταξρο)

λογογενῆς

λόγος (ωαξε)

λοιμός (μογ)

κογογντ=

μνήμη (μεεγε)

μορφή (εινε)

όνομαξειν, -όνομάζειν († ραν)

όπλιζειν

παραστάτης

πλανάν

χωκ (πλήρωμα)

χπο εβολ ñο= μαγαλ= (normally αὐτογενῆς)

χπο εβολ ñο= μαγαλ=

αταξωρίη, ἱνταταξωρίη

αταξωρίη

χωκίμ, ωμε

χωσμε

χπο

gνώσις (χοογν)

δωμ

ρεετ εοου

πιρε εβολ ñο= μαγαλ=

τωρίη

ογωφ, ογωφε

ώα (χεκλας)

ετογαλαβ

ογοειψ

βωλ εβολ

† μετε

† μετε

δωρό

κογν=, κογογν=

† ραν

tαξρο, oγοση=

χπο ñωαξε

χπο= ἢν oγωαξε

ωαξε

μογ

μήτρα (κογν=, κογογν=)

μεεγε

εινε (μορφη)

† (ραν), αττ ραν ερο=

ζωκ

εταζερατ=

σωρή

πλήρωμα
The list demonstrates the remarkable fact that the large number of Greek words in III did not cause an appreciable reduction in the Coptic vocabulary used in the tractate. For elsewhere in the tractate III uses the Coptic equivalent found in IV of half of its Greek vocabulary. In other words, in a large number of cases the use of Greek words in III is not due to the lack of an appropriate Coptic equivalent nor to uncertainty about the exact meaning of the Greek word. Here, as is generally the case with the Greek words in Coptic texts, it is not a matter of whether Greek words have been used in the Coptic translation, but how many.

Some reasons for the large number of Greek words in III are apparent. Greek in titles as well as words or phrases which have become or were in the process of becoming termini technici are preferred. Thus III retains the Greek words for “holy” only in the title and in “holy Spirit.” Also such words as αὐτογενῆς, αἰῶν, ἀνάπαυσις, ἀφθαρσία, δύναμις, ἔξωσια etc., fall into this category. On this point III shows more sensitivity to Gnostic religious idiom than IV. III does not have a consistent policy on the “negative” divine attributes.

There appears to be a tendency on the part of the Coptic-speaking Gnostic to appropriate for his own the Greek terminology of Gnosticism. This is especially strong in the unitled tractate from Codex
THE MANUSCRIPTS

Brucianus. It is not necessary to assume that the Coptic translators of GEgypt were not able to translate certain words. Rather, to the extent that such words were not already present in vernacular Coptic, they intended to make a creative contribution to the language by importing Greek words. This was nothing unusual, since a great many Greek words had already been taken up into the vernacular. The fact that in certain places the translator of III allowed the feminine ending of the adjective to stand need not indicate lack of skill.1 This phenomenon probably has been occasioned by the fact that the Greek expression formed a conceptual unit, for example, ἀρσενικὴ παρθένος, πνευματικὴ ἐκκλησία, ἱερὰ βίβλος, ὀλυκὴ σοφία. The last expression does not even conform to Coptic grammar. In none of these expressions is there any reason to make corrections.

The appropriation of liturgical formulae in III betrays the same tendency as the appropriation of gnostic terminology. εἰ ὁ εἰ, εἰ ὅς εἰ in III and IV were taken over untranslated. In addition III has also left εἰ ἐν and αἰών ὣς ὄν untranslated. One should recall that the Coptic liturgy retains entire Greek sentences. It is also possible that the Coptic translators did not recognize these phrases to be Greek, since they are found in conjunction with unintelligible speech.

The places in which IV has a Greek word which differs from III need mentioning. In IV ἀερόδιος is not used but instead it is replaced by the genitival attribute ἰμπαχρ. ἀλλογένος is replaced by the more frequently used word ἀλλογενὴς. In III ἀποτάσσεσθαι and ἀπόταξις occur, while IV has the synonym ἀποταγῆς. Furthermore IV has once ἐπείδη for γὰρ and οὔτε for οὐδὲ. III 54, 13 ff. has a main clause with τότε where IV 66, 2ff. has a dependent clause with ὅταν.

Scribal errors have also occured in Greek words, e.g. III has ἀναγγαγικ for ἀναγαγικ, αὐφαρτος (both an error and an unorthographic spelling) for ἀφαρτος, γενα for γενεα, and εὐτανος for εὐτανος. Further IV has both παραλημπτωρος and παραλημμανωρος is to be explained phonetically, as is ἀπορροια with a single ρ. Also παρεσταθης in III for παρασταθης need not be a mistake. πλασσα in III instead of πλαυσσε is also found in BG ApocryJn and SJC (cf. index s.v.).

It can be viewed as a change into another conjugation, especially when one considers that the form εὐχαριστά is formed from εὐχαριστεῖ. The use of itacistic spellings and the like are not uncommon in IV (e.g. εὐω), but III is also not free from them (κερος, εὐενθεῖ). Thus it is not possible to deduce the quality of the texts from the orthography of the Greek words.

The proper names should be discussed along with the Greek words. They were not part of the vernacular, and a large number of them look like artificial formulations which must not have been known to all Gnostics. This made errors possible. A number of itacistic spellings and the like occur in IV, where III, apart from obvious misspellings, reflects the Vorlage. σαμεξέξα for σαμεξέξα and the lack of βαρ in εὐενθαφάραμανθης appear to be errors in III, for example. σαμαω instead of σαμαλω could be a sound-spelling. There are also differences in endings between the two versions. The spelling βαρβανων (III, 2) corresponds to that of III, 1 over against βαρβαλω in IV, 2 and Apocryphon II, 1; IV, 1; BG 8502. The “great James” stands over against the “great Jacob.” Though in the New Testament the Greek ending is only used when naming contemporary persons, and ιακωβ is used for the patriarch, one does not expect a reference to Jacob here. Rather it should be noted that the Greek ending was not added when the name was mentioned in a ceremonial tone as is the case here. Why the attribute “the great” occurs instead of “the just” is not clear. Is James “the great” being contrasted with James “the less” (Bauer, Lexicon, s.v.) or has James, who still bears Jewish-Christian traits in the two apocalypses named after him in Codex V, become one among other great bringers of salvation? That would fit well with the advanced pluralism in Gnosticism as it is attested in the Nag Hammadi library. For Peter stands along side of James in Apocryphon, and ApocPaul is found in the same codex as I and II ApocJas.

For ιεςεγες μαξαρεγι τεςεςεκεγες, as in ApocAd V 85, 30f., the hymn in III 66, 8-22 has the vocative ιεςεγες μαξαρεγι τεςεςεκεγες while IV uses the nominative of the second declension, ιεςεγες etc. On the other hand both manuscripts have the accusative -εα in a place where the accusative may have occurred in the Vorlagen. The accusative also remains with other names:

1 Blass-Debrunner § 53,2.
2 Cf. Böhlig, Lehnwörter, pp. 117ff.
AKPAMAN (III, IV) MIKZANONHRA (IV), MIKANOPA (III, IV), MISEA (III, IV), CODOMHN (III, IV). The nominative of these words occurs in MIKZANONHRA (III), MIKSEYC (III, but IV MICEYC).\(^1\) In IV 76, 4 MNHCINOY could be MNHCINOYN (III has MNHCINOYC).

The \( n \) falls away easily, especially here at the end of the line, where it can be indicated by a stroke over the last letter which could have been combined with the stroke used over the proper name. The name Mηpανοίς is a typical Greek compound word. The forms for Sodom are especially interesting. To protect the final consonant an \( a \) had become attached as in Γεροσόλυμα: Σόδομα III 56, 10; 60, 18; IV 71, 30. This word, inflected as a plural neuter noun, has followed the pattern of Γομόρρα, while until now only the reverse phenomenon was known.\(^2\) In both instances of the accusative Σόδομη in III, the corresponding place in IV has the nominative Σόδομη. It remains a question whether this had already developed in Greek or is a construction of the Coptic translator. The occurrences of Σόδομα speak for the latter. Perhaps in IV the final \( n \) has fallen away because the next word begins with \( N \).

A peculiarity of IV lies in the attempt to translate Δοξομέδων once with \( \text{πεδα} \ ηοογ \). Although IV as a rule strives to be faithful to the Greek text, the translator was not able to avoid mistranslations completely. IV 52, 17 renders δόξα by means of \( \text{εοογ} \), although here it should certainly be translated by \( \text{εοογ} \) as in III. When IV 76, 27 speaks of the “slain souls” in contrast to III 65, 7 “souls of the elect”, the different translations of the Greek word ξαναρηθείς (Aorist passive participle of ξαναρεῖ “to slay” or ξαναρείσθαι “to elect”) could have been in the Vorlagen. Likewise III 61, 17f. and IV 73, 1 can go back to the different meanings of \( \text{αμφιβολία, just as τως} \) in IV 75, 7 may well render επίκλητος. Real misunderstanding seems to occur in III 60, 21. Furthermore, there are in III a considerable number of misinterpretations, secondary expansions as well as omissions. In light of this, III must be considered the inferior version. (See commentary for particulars).

\(^1\) MICEYC is not a misspelling but goes back to palatalization, cf. καιλία for καιλία (E. SCHWYZER, Griechische Grammatik I, p. 160). Cf. also Rev 18:13 CINAMWMON (8a) for κινάμωμον.

\(^2\) BLASS-DEBRunner § 38 and 57.
THE TITLE

Ever since Jean Doresse’s brief description of III, 2 in “Trois livres gnóstiques inédits: Évangile des Égyptiens, Épitre d’Eugnoste, Sagesse de Jésus Christ”¹ the tractate has been known as “The Gospel of the Egyptians”. This is the name given to the tractate at the beginning of the scribal colophon in III 69, 6. The formal title of the tractate as stated at the end of the colophon III 69, 16-17 and again, with the usual decorations, directly below the colophon (III 69, 18-20) reads ΤΒΙΒΑΟϹ ΤΡΙΕΡΑ ΜΠΝΟΟ ΝΑΓΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΝΕΥΜΑ (69, 17 πνα) ΖΑΜΗΝ.² The title “The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit” should have been preferred but Dorese’s title is now too well established to change it.³

Strictly speaking, the colophon does not read “The Gospel of the Egyptians” but “The Egyptian Gospel” (ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΠΝΗΚΗΜΕ).⁴ However, the adjective in this context would be most unusual if not unprecedented. All parallel expressions, such as the Gospel of Peter, of Mary, of the Hebrews, of the Ebionites, etc., refer to persons either as the users of the gospel or as the alleged authors. Such titles as the Gospel of Truth or the Gospel of Perfection refer either to the subject matter or make a value judgement about the book. Therefore, the adjective “Egyptian” with “gospel” should be rejected as rendering a most unlikely, if not impossible, meaning. Either the scribe skipped one of the three n’s or the plural article was left out, as is done more often with the names of nations in the genitive case.⁵ The German translation “Ägypterevangelium” allows one to skirt the problem.⁶

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¹ Vigiliae Christianae II (1948), 137-143.
² The ΖΑΜΗΝ in 69,17 closes the colophon and should not be considered a part of the title. The final decorated title in 69,18-20 is a copy of the title at the end of the colophon and it consequently retained the ΖΑΜΗΝ. A jagged line is placed directly under the title decoration perhaps to prevent further writing on the page.
⁴ ΝΠΝΗΚΗΜΕ is the usual adjective of ΚΗΜΕ, see Crum, Dict. p. 110a.
⁵ See Hans Quecke, Das Markusevangelium Südisch, Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569 (Barcelona 1972), pp. 46f.
⁶ This is the title used by Alexander Böhlig in his publication of a tentative translation and short commentary of III 40,12 - 55,16 and its parallel IV 50,1 - 67,1 in “Die himmlische Welt nach dem Ägypterevangelium von Nag Hammadi,” Le Musée
The question which remains is where the two titles came from. Martin Krause believes that the formal title at the end is an abbreviation of the full title given in the colophon: \textit{περιτρειγμέναν ἑρμηνευόμενον τίμιαν ἱνογίων τιερα ἔτη} (69, 6-8).\footnote{Die drei Versionen, p. 19 n. 7.}

This is unlikely, not only because it is difficult to see 69, 16-17 and 18-20 as an abbreviation of 69, 6-8, but because the formal title is obviously taken from the incipit to the tractate (III 40,12f. = IV 50,1-3).

Many of the titles in the Nag Hammadi library prove to be secondarily developed from the incipit to the tractate. In the earliest stage no title is present but the incipit lends itself to an easy identification of the tractate. The Gospel of Truth (I, 2) is the most obvious example of this. One step removed from this is the title of VI, 7 where the first part of the incipit “This is the Prayer that they spoke” has been made into a title by means of some decorative lines and diples. In the next development a phrase or abbreviation of the incipit has been made into the formal title either at the beginning or at the end of the tractate. Indentation and decorative marks clearly separate it from the body of the tractate. Tractates in this category are: the Hypostasis of the Archons (II, 4), the Apocalypse of Adam (V, 5), the Paraphrase of Shem (VII, 1), and the Three Steles of Seth (VII, 5).\footnote{Zost (VIII, 1) probably also belongs to this category. VII, 1 has its title at the beginning, II, 4 and VII, 5 at the end, and V, 5 both at the beginning and at the end of the tractate.}

The formal title at the end of III, 2 clearly belongs with this group.

In the next group the title is formed by means of a short interpretative rephrasing of the incipit. In this category belong the Apocryphon of John (II, 1; III, 1; IV, 1), the Gospel of Thomas (II, 2), the Book of Thomas the Contender (II, 7), the Letter of Eugnostos the Blessed (III, 3; V, 1), the Apocalypse of Paul (V, 2), the Apocalypse of James (V, 3), the Apocalypse of James (V, 4), and the Letter of Peter which he sent to Philip (VIII, 2). A closer look at these titles reveals that there was more involved than the need for a short and memorable phrase. What stands out is that the canonical terms “gospel”, “letter” and “apocalypse” have been introduced even

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though these designations were not used in the tractate itself. These secondary titles betray a Christianization process.

It appears now that the title at the beginning of the colophon in III, 2 is such a Christianization of the first line of the incipit. The uncertainty is due to the unfortunate lacunae at the beginning of both versions. The general structure of the incipit is clear. After the designation “holy book” there follow two clauses. Using the evidence of both versions the following reconstruction can be considered certain:

III πουσωμεν ἔτιταρειαν ην... ἤτε πινοβ ΝΑΤΝΑΥ ἔρωτας ἜΠΝΑ-

IV [πουσωμεν ετογαλάβ ην... ην] πινοβ ΝΝΑ- [ΤΝΑΥ ἔρωτας ἜΠΝΑ-

It is immediately apparent that the title in III 69, 18-20 is taken from the incipit, combining the introductory phrase “the holy book” with the second attribute introduced by ηνε. All that remains of the word following the first ηνε is the plural article in Codex IV. Fortunately there is a close parallel to the opening lines of GEgypt. The incipit of 3StSeth (VII, 5) reads ποςς εβολ (= ἢ ἀποκάλυψις) ηνε ΔΩΣΟΕΟΣ ηνε ΤΙΩΜΜΕ ΝΕΤΜΗΝΗ ηνε ΣΗΘ. The ποςς εβολ is parallel to the “the holy book”. The first ηνε introduces the person with whom the tractate is associated, in this case the mythological author, and the second ηνε introduces the main subject matter. Thus the parallel in VII, 5 strongly suggests that the word in the lacuna refers to persons. If the ΠΕΡΙΓΕΛΙΟΝ ηνημηκημε is derived from the incipit then these persons must be the Egyptians. A careful measurement of the available space shows that ημηκημε fits very well in both cases.

The colophon has a much more Christian character than the tractate

1 Translations of some of the titles are often left partly or completely in Greek. Examples of this are:

IV, 1 κατὰ Ἱωάννην ἀποκρύφων (49,37f.)
VI, 3 ἀγεντικος λογος (35,23f.)
VII, 2 δευτερος λογος τον ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΗΘ (70,11-12)
VII, 3 ἀποκαλυψις πετρου (70,13; 84,14)
XIII, 1 πλογος ΝΤΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΑ Γ, ΠΡΩΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΤΡΙΜΟΡΦΟΣ Γ, ἀπα γραφη πατρογραφος σεν γνωσει τελεια (50, 18-21).

2 VII 118,10-12.
THE TITLE

itself, which can at best only be called marginally Christian. This is especially seen in the presence of the Christian confession Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεοῦ νεός σωτήρ followed by the ΙΧΘΥΣ monogram (69, 14f.). Therefore, just as the term ἐναγγελία in the title of the Gospel of Thomas appears to be an apologetic adaptation of "the secret words" in the incipit 1, so the word ἐναγγελία in the colophon of III, 2 can be seen as a Christianizing interpretation of "the holy book" in the incipit. Also the second line of the colophon reflects the content of the tractate. ΤΒΙΒΛΟϹ ΝϹΑΊ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΡΙΕΡΑ ἙΤΖΗΠ (69, 7f.) refers to the authorship of the book by Seth who hid it in high mountains on which the sun has not risen. 2

The mythological heavenly Seth inspired by God was the author of this writing. When one considers the fact that Seth was made the father of the seed of the primal Father, then he can also be assigned by the primal Father to write a holy book. The meaning of the phrase introduced by ΝΤΕ is difficult. Is it a subjective or objective genitive? Is it a holy book which the Egyptians possess and which is about the great invisible Spirit or which originates from the invisible Spirit? If one feels obliged to see an exact parallelism to the title of 3StSeth, then the first meaning would be fitting. If one considers the circumstance that in Greek, and correspondingly in Coptic, the genitive occurred, one should be conscious of its ambiguity. One could consider it to be a genitive of relation which is also possible in the case of 3StSeth. Such a genitive can mean "pertaining to", that is, either "belonging to" or "concerning". 3 Perhaps the ambiguity is intended for the Gnostic reader.

Why did the author of the colophon re-name the writing a gospel? One could, of course, be satisfied with seeing a mechanical process in this re-naming, since in this case "holy book" could mean "gospel", assuming the Christianizing tendency. A scribe familiar with the title of the Christian apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians would have been especially tempted to replace "holy book" with "gospel".

But one can also argue on the basis of the content and not only on the basis of the title. Then it would be well to proceed from the passages in which Jesus and Christ occur in this writing. Christ is a figure in heaven and Jesus is the embodiment of Seth on earth.

1 II 32,10f.
2 III 68,1-4.
3 Cf. in Coptic Πα-, Τα-, Να-.
The central position occupied by Seth in the work makes it not difficult to see it as a gospel of Seth, since the creation of Seth is presented in the framework of the creation of the heavenly and lower world. To be sure, a gospel for the Gnostics is not only a report about the work and words of the historical Jesus, and not a literary genre as in the ecclesiastical formation of the canon, but a view of the history of the world *sub specie aeterntatis* in which the way of those to be redeemed and the way of the redeemer is presented. For this an explanation of their origin was necessary, and therefore, a description of the light-world. The other Gnostic gospels also can only be understood on the basis of a real Gnostic-cosmic view. The Gospel of Thomas, which has only sayings, is only understandable against the background of this cosmic view. The Gospel of Philip employs mythological conceptions. In the Gospel of Truth Jesus is pictured as the redeemer in a cosmic framework. In the present document the Christianization process is completed by the writer of the colophon who explains the book as a gospel on the basis of the identification of Seth with Jesus. It is to be assumed that the colophon did not exist in IV, 2.

It remains a question why the writing was connected with the Egyptians. This could point to an origin in Egypt. One can, however, just as legitimately accept the explanation that the naming was done by non-Egyptians who wanted to see in it references to Egypt. With great caution can one infer a connection with Egypt on the basis of the name Seth alone. Perhaps in Egypt someone may have connected the Seth of the Old Testament with the Egyptian god Seth. Although Seth is often seen as an evil god, there were strong tendencies in the later period to remove this onus from him. In magical texts he is designated as the god who hates evil. It is even said of him that he did not injure his brother. A change in evaluation of a being from negative to positive is moreover very common in Gnosticism. One encounters a typical example in GEgypt, where Sodom and Gomorrah are seen not as cities of sin but as holy cities. When one considers that the Egyptian god Seth was accused of sodomy, it is a short step to see GEgypt as an attempt to change the role of the Egyptian Seth.

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2 Cf. Kees, col. 1921.


4 III 56,8-13 (IV is lost); III 60,9-18 = IV 71,18-30.
or to surpass him with Seth, the son of Adam. The Egyptian Seth who was a well-known and powerful god, and who was incarnate in the Pharaoh,¹ is then changed into the biblical Seth of the Gnostics who was revealed in Jesus. The Sethians thereby claim to have the correct theology of Seth.²

The issue remains of the strange τ of Ντιερά in III 40, 12. It should be kept in mind that the twice-stated title at the end of the tractate as well as the incipit of IV, 2 support the reading “the holy book”. Secondly, the Coptic translator of III, 2, who also translated the colophon and the title, has in the three parallel occurrences of the word (69, 6f. 16.19) translated word for word: η βιβλιος η ιερα = ΤΠΙΛΕΩΟC Τιερα. The colophon has the typical style of an interlinear version, thereby showing its origin from a Greek Vorlage. The first two words of the incipit were in the same way literally translated but the Greek η βιβλιος was substituted by ΠXουΔιεθε, η ιερα was retained, however, in spite of the difference of gender, and preceded by Ν. Can one perhaps suppose that Τιερα was seen as one word and that Ν is a connective particle indicating the adjective? Although this construction is not attested, the alternative of assuming that the title in III, 2 differed from the title in IV, 2 is more difficult. Therefore, the text has been emended.

THE CONTENT

The so-called Gospel of the Egyptians is a typical work of mythological Gnosticism. In spite of the basic work of Hans Jonas, writings of this kind still do not receive their due appreciation. They too have a situation in life (Sitz im Leben) — indeed, a situation in intellectual life. To view ourselves only as the heirs of the classical period of Greek philosophy, to devaluate other ancient ways of thought, and to discard what is different is too easy a solution. It is not the task of a historian to become a Gnostic himself, but he must make a serious effort to discern the peculiar inner logic of each text. He may not terminate the investigation with the assertion that the text is abstruse.

The question must be asked why a confusing abundance of mythological names and events are offered in a text which in the colophon is even designated as a gospel. Does this literature emerge out of theological and philosophical thought or is it the result of a partly magical, partly fanciful degeneration? Magical currents, however, are to be found in Neoplatonists worthy of serious consideration (Iamblichus), and the use of myth (Mythos) was a legitimate means of philosophical presentation since Plato. The combination of dialogue and myth he used has been retained in those Gnostic writings in which a mythological main part serves to answer a question, such as II, 5, for example, where Hesiod’s thesis of the origin of the world from chaos provides the point of departure for the discussion. Another example is found in Eugnostos, the Blessed (III, 3; V, 1) where the problems of pagan philosophers are answered with a mythological presentation. Likewise in the Exegesis on the Soul (II, 6) the opinions of “the wise” serve as the starting point of the writing. Thus the disparagement of mythological Gnosticism because of its use of myths is unfounded.

Another question is whether the mythological presentation so predominates that it becomes an end in itself and eclipses the main thought with the result that the logical structure of the work is no longer apparent. As a parallel one could cite the relationship of theology and liturgy in the liturgies of the eastern churches. According to contemporary opinion the influence of arithmology led to an uncon-

trolled overgrowth. At least concerning the Pythagoreans it has been claimed that “the oddities of symbolic explanation (Deuterei) into which they fell should not cause us to overlook that thereby the attempt was made to recognize an enduring conceptual order of things and to find their ultimate basis in mathematical relationships”. ¹ The same allowance should be made for the Gnostics, for whom numerical harmony also played an important role.

Likewise, the thought pattern of a prototype and its counterpart (Urbild-Abbild), which already in an older form came out of Pythagoreanism, required a considerable expansion of the mythology. For the cosmic world must indeed have its prototype in the heavenly world. The Gnostics wanted to have information about this heavenly world, irrespective of whether the supreme, unknowable God was assumed to be within the heavenly world or to exist above it. Furthermore, some Gnostics made another distinction within the world itself by separating cosmic prototype from an earthly counterpart. Such speculation can likewise be explained, particularly since the dualism in these Gnostic systems is a prominent factor as is also the astrological view of the world.

The discussion of man and his soul is actually the main theme of Gnosticism. The cosmogonic and cosmological constructions of Gnosticism form the logical presuppositions for its anthropology and psychology. The myth (Mythos) of Greek philosophy is combined with the view of the history of salvation as it was developed by Judaism and taken up by Christianity. Such a constructed myth (Kunstmythos) made use of individual myths circulating in the Near East. The syncretistic multiplicity and frequent parallel arrangement and combination cause the picture to appear kaleidoscopic and confusing for the non-specialist. However, when one investigates the relationship of the religious content to the form of expression, a definite structure can generally be discerned. To see mythological Gnosticism as a degeneration would be a misunderstanding of its method. For even Christocentric Gnosticism such as that of the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Gospel of Truth, and the Treatise on the Resurrection can really be understood only in terms of a mythological understanding of existence, and presents a less perplexing picture only because Jesus Christ is so much in the foreground. Some of the

Nag Hammadi writings are difficult to understand because they are compilations of various pieces of tradition. Yet the fact that such a compilation has not always been successfully carried out does not contradict that Gnosticism was able to communicate by means of mythology, as the following analysis of the content of GEgypt will attempt to make clear.

The tractate can be divided into four main sections.

II. The origin, preservation and salvation of the race of Seth: III 55, 16-66, 8 = IV 67, 2-78, 10.
III. The hymnic section: III 66, 8-67, 26 = IV 78, 10-80, 15.
IV. The concluding section dealing with the origin and transmission of the tractate: III 68, 1-69, 17 = IV 80, 15-81 end.

I. The supreme God dwells in solitary height. He is light and silence, and he is primarily described by means of negative attributes. His Pronoia still lives within him. He does not emanate a divine being in order to beget a third being with her, but rather evolves in such a way that a trinity made up of Father, Mother and Son comes forth. At the same time, the Domedon (Lord of the house) comes into being who is usually called Doxomedon (Lord of glory). He can be considered to be the aeon which envelops the world of light. Over against the alien, supreme God, he may be regarded as a kind of second God. After the main description, this evolutionary development is mentioned once more, this time from a viewpoint which takes the members of the trinity to be ogdoads. The first ogdoad, the Father, is made up of ἐννοια, λόγος, ἀφθαρσία, eternal life, θέλημα, νοῦς, πρόγνωσις and Father. The second ogdoad, the Mother, also bears the name Barbelo. Her parts are complex mythological entities which are hard to identify, partly due to the lacunae in both versions. The third ogdoad, the Son, is made up of himself together with the seven voices.

After the detailed description of the ogdoads follows a section in which the Doxomedon-aeon is pictured, now in greater detail, as a heavenly throne room. A plaque has been attached to the throne with an inscription on it made up of all the vowels of the Greek alphabet with each vowel listed twenty-two times — the total number of letters in the Semitic alphabet.

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1 III 41,7-23 = IV 50,23 - 51,15.
2 Cf. infra, pp. 171f.
Having provided a picture of the genesis of the heavenly primal powers, the text continues with their liturgical activities. Presentations of praise and accompanying requests for the sending forth of a new power are now typical for the further development of the action, particularly in the first section, although this literary device is also used in the second section.

1. The primal trinity turns to the great invisible Spirit and the Barbelo. As a consequence the thrice-male child fills the Doxomedon-aeon.

2. The thrice-male child — now shown to belong to the great Christ — in turn makes a request of the great invisible Spirit and the Barbelo. The male virgin Youel comes into being. Next the Splenditenens Esephech appears. The thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech are considered the five seals of the primal trinity and together they form its completion.¹

3. There is a presentation of praise, of which the subject has to be inferred,² on the bottom fragment of IV 57.³ In IV 59 we find a female being (probably πρόνοια) who, while passing through the aeons, establishes angelic powers which are to praise the trinity and its pleroma. The pleroma seems to be made up of the five seals and is also referred to here as the great Christ. After the great Christ comes the great Logos, the divine αὐτογέννής. The Logos functions next as the heavenly creator.

4. The Logos offers praise to the great invisible Spirit. As a result Mirothoe appears, a great cloud of light, who begets the Light-Adamas. The supreme God appears in Adamas in order to eliminate the deficiency in the lower regions. The Logos and the Light-Adamas are united.

5. The Logos and Adamas offer praise and pray together for the pleroma of the lights. Adamas, on his own, requests that he may beget his son Seth. As a fulfillment of the request, the lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth are begotten, and likewise the great Seth. The four lights, together with the perfect hebdomad, form eleven ogdoads. It is not further specified with what kind of hebdomad we are dealing here. The lights are complemented with consorts

¹ They add up to eight although this is not mentioned.
² The fragmentary state of IV 57-58 and the complete loss of the corresponding pages in Codex III leaves the total number of the presentations of praise uncertain.
³ IV 57,13ff.
(χάρις, αἰσθήσεως, σύνεσις, φρόνησις) and thus become themselves an ogdoad. Added to these is another ogdoad made up of ministers and their consorts: Gamaliel, Gabriel, Samblo and Abrasax with μνήμη, ἀγάπη, εἰρήνη and Eternal Life. These two ogdoads, together with the three ogdoads of the Father, the Mother and the Son form a quintet of ogdoads, a total of forty heavenly beings.

6. The Logos and the pleroma of the four lights give praise and request that the Father may be called the fourth in respect to the incorruptible race, and that the seed of the Father may be called the seed of the great Seth. In response to this prayer the thrice-male child appears together with the great Christ who creates a church of angelic beings which praises the trinity of Father, Mother and Son, and their pleroma. This church has the task of bringing the revelation to those who are worthy. The section ends with “amen”, indicating that the first main part has come to an end.

II. The second main section is dominated by the work of Seth. As the son of Adamas, he was one of the lower powers of the world of light. Through him, the light in the lower world is connected with the supreme God. The fact that the church of angelic beings was created in answer to the request to call the children of the Father the seed of Seth, is probably an indication that this church of angelic beings, which has been begotten by the thrice-male child and Christ and thus is the seed of the Father, now represents the heavenly prototype of the race of Seth.

Also in this section of the tractate presentations of praise with prayer and response are used twice as a stylistic device. However, this time Seth performs the action. The first prayer begins the section which deals with the creation of the seed, i.e. the race of Seth. In the second prayer Seth asks God for guards for his seed. A third segment of this section then describes how Seth himself performs the work of salvation.

In answer to the first prayer Plesithea, the virgin with the four breasts, comes into being. She is the "mother of the angels, the mother of the lights, the glorious mother". She produces the seed of Seth out of Sodom and Gomorrah, and Seth accepts it with great joy and places it in the four aeons, in the third phoster Davithe.

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1 III 55,16 = IV 67,1.
2 III 56,6ff. (IV is lost).
Following this presentation, a description of the origin of the creator of the world is inserted to clarify the background of the work of Seth and his race in the world. His origin goes back to the wish of the light Eleleth, who thinks it appropriate that after 5000 years a ruler over chaos and the underworld should come into being. Gamaliel, the minister of the light Oroiael, speaks the creative word upon which the hylic Sophia, who already has come forth, divides herself into two parts, the second of which becomes the angel Saklas. Together with the demon Nebruel, he creates twelve angelic assistants and orders them to become rulers over their worlds. Upon completion of the world he finally says in mistaken self-confidence, "I am a jealous God, and apart from me, nothing has come into being".1 This claim is refuted by a voice from heaven which rebukes him with the words, "The Man exists and the Son of Man".2 Along with the voice, an image appears which presents the occasion for the creation of the first creature (πηλάσμα). In order to help him, the μετάνοια appears. On account of God's approval (εὐδοκία) of the race of the sons of Seth, he sends the μετάνοια to eliminate the υπέρήψα. She prayed for (the repentance of) the children of the evil Archon as well as those of Adam and Seth.

After this cosmogonic section the author returns to the creation of the seed of Seth. A new mythological figure, the angel Hormos, appears. He creates the seed of Seth in a λόγογενετ ἄγενσ through the Holy Spirit, although by means of mortal maidens. The great Seth sows his seed into the created aeons. Again Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned. It is the place of the planting, or the place of origin. Still a third origin of the seed of Seth is reported. Through a word, Edokla gives birth to truth and justice, the beginning of the seed of life eternal and of all those who persevere because they know their heavenly origin, i.e. the children of Seth. Thus they are scattered over both the heavenly and the lower world. The problem lies in their existence in the world, for there they are exposed to dangers. Flood, fire, starvation and pestilence threaten them, afflictions which occur because of them. The devil is considered the originator of these afflic-

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1 III 58,25f. (IV is lost).
2 III 59,2ff. (IV is lost). As an answer to the arrogance of Ialdabaoth this voice is also mentioned in OnOrWld II 103 (151), 19f. where it refers to the immortal man of light. The reference to the existence of Man and the Son of Man also occurs in ApocryJn (II 14,14f. = III 21,17f. = BG 47,15f.), but there it is directed toward Pistis Sophia.
tions. He is characterized by his many guises and the strife within his realm. Therefore Seth raises his voice in presentation of praise and prayer for the protection of his seed. In response, 400 angels come forth under the leadership of Aerosiel and Selmelchel to guard the men of Seth. The earthly history of the children of Seth begins after the creation of ἀλήθεια and θέμιστα and continues until the end of the world, when the judgment of the present aeon and its archons will take place.

The picture would be incomplete if the saving work of Seth in the world were left unmentioned. Seth cannot leave his children alone. In accordance with the will of the great invisible Spirit, he is sent down by the heavenly world to do this task. For the sake of pacifying the cosmos, he also suffers the hostilities that are connected with earthly existence; for that precisely is the means of redeeming the race that has gone astray. He brings baptism as a rite for rebirth through the Holy Spirit. To accomplish his mission, he puts on the living Jesus as a garment. Salvation is accomplished by a reconciliation of the world with itself, by a denial of the world and the god of the thirteen aeons, and by the convocation of the saints and the heavenly beings, in particular the pre-existent Father. Seth-Jesus is established as Lord over the cosmic powers.

Upon the description of the works of Seth follows a catalog of all the powers who dispense salvation, beginning with Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekteus up to the great invisible Spirit. At the end of the enumeration the specific means of salvation are dealt with again. Yoel is listed as a pre-existent heavenly being who corresponds to John the Baptist in the world. Then a time reference is given: "from now on ...". From that time stems the gnosis of those who are to be redeemed through the incorruptible person Poimael and those that are worthy of the baptism. The section closes with the promise that the saved ones will not taste death.

III. The hymnic part appears to have two sections of hymns. The reconstruction of the meter is greatly complicated by the fact that we are dealing with a Coptic translation from the Greek. A guarded attempt has been made in the commentary to argue for two hymns made up of five strophes with four lines each. It is unclear to whom

1 III 64,9 - 65,26 = IV 75,24 - 77 end.
2 III 65,26 (IV is lost).
the first hymn is addressed. It could refer to Jesus. In the second hymn
the worshipper is addressing a trinity or a tetrad consisting of the
supreme God as the Father, the Mother, Jesus as the Son, and another
light-being. In this way he expresses the ecstatic-mystical experience
of the Gnostic believer.

IV. The final section 1 consists of several, originally independent
units. First Seth is designated as the author of the book. 2 The first
part mentions 3 that Seth had placed this book on very high mountains
so that it has remained unknown up to now. Neither the prophets
nor primitive Christianity were familiar with it.

Also in the second part 4 the authorship is attributed to Seth.
A time of 130 years is indicated for the writing. 5 This time the mountain
on which the book was placed is mentioned by name: Charaxio.
The book will reveal at the end of time the race of Seth and its
adherents who belong to the invisible Spirit, his μονογενής-son and
the Barbelo. This section ends with "amen". 6

Finally a colophon follows. 7 In it the tractate is given the name
"The Egyptian Gospel" or "The Gospel of the Egyptians". The
author — who must be one of the copyists of the tractate — asks
for himself and his fellow lights χάρις, σύνειας, αἰσθήσεως and φρονήσεως.
The prayer is addressed to Ἰησοῦς χριστός θεοῦ νεός σωτῆρ whose
monogram ίξεξε γ is added. The author himself mentions both
his spiritual name, Eugnostos, and his name in the flesh, Gongessos.

In the reconstruction of the principal ideas, the preceding sketch
of the content was based upon the version which appeared to be
correct or the one which was extant. Therefore, the details and the
differences between the versions could not be dealt with. These will
be treated in the commentary. However, again and again it becomes
obvious that an adequate interpretation without the version contained
in Codex IV is not possible since it seems to have been based on a

1 III 68,1–69,17 = IV 80,14–81 end.
2 III 68,2 = IV 80,15f.; III 68,10f. = IV 80,26–81,1.
3 III 68,1–9 = IV 80,15–25.
4 III 68,10–69,5 = IV 80,26–81 end.
5 The 130 years are identical to the time which passed, according to the Hebrew
tradition, before Adam became father of Seth (Gen 5:3).
6 III 69,5.
7 III 69,6–17 (lost or not originally present in IV).
better Greek original and also contains less errors and misunderstandings than III.

The tractate belongs to those texts which are grouped as writings of Seth in *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus dem Codex V von Nag Hammadi* by A. Böhlig - P. Labib, p. 87. Though direct access to these texts has cast doubt upon the Sethian character of some of them¹, in the present work we are dealing with a writing of Seth in the fullest sense of the word. If we accept the title “Gospel of the Egyptians”, then we have a Sethian gospel because in it Seth’s work of salvation in behalf of his children takes the central place. But it has been combined with Barbelo-Gnostic material in which the creation of Seth is mentioned. Thus the heavenly prologue could be given. For this one should compare ApocryJn, which comes from a similar tradition. Also there, the invisible, virginal Spirit, whose uniqueness is best expressed by means of negative attributes, stands at the head of the pantheon.² Barbelo, his ἀνικός, emanates from him as a feminine complement. In accordance with the trinity of Father, Mother and Son, which was current at that time in the East Mediterranean area, she also gives birth to a spark of light, a μονογενής. The great invisible Spirit anoints him and makes him χριστός. The emanation in ApocryJn is complicated by the insertion of beings such as Nous, Will, Understanding, etc., into the order of emanation. In contrast to ApocryJn, GEgypt presents the trinity of Father, Mother and Son as an evolution of the great invisible Spirit. Its description is more disciplined. The understanding of the individual beings of the trinity as ogdoads is a new element. The Doxomedon-aeon and the five seals are also not present in ApocryJn.

The λόγος, the divine αὐτογενής, plays a much greater role in GEgypt than in ApocryJn. In the latter tractate he has moved to the background in favor of Christ. Christ is the divine αὐτογενής who has created the world through the λόγος. In GEgypt, Christ has only a peripheral role. Both texts know about his anointing by the great invisible Spirit.³ Another important difference is found in the time of the creation of the four lights. In ApocryJn they come forth from the light, which is identified with Christ. In GEgypt they appear upon the request of the Logos and Adamas.⁴ Here the Logos is given a

¹ See F. Wisse, “The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library”.
² BG 22,17ff. = II 2,26ff.
considerably larger role; he practically takes the place of the Christ in ApocryJn. However, Christ precedes him. This Christ belongs to the second group of the pantheon, which is only attested in GEgypt: the thrice-male child, the virgin Youel and the Splenditenens Esephech. The mentioning of Christ appears to be secondary; it could be an interpretative gloss. The four lights in ApocryJn have not been complemented by consorts to become an ogdoad, but are surrounded by twelve (4 × 3) aeons. Yet the female consorts, as described in GEgypt, are also mentioned in ApocryJn, although rather abruptly. Also the ogdoad of their ministers is missing. The creation of Adam in ApocryJn takes place after that of the lights but also through the αὐτογενής. However, in ApocryJn he is identified as Christ, whereas in GEgypt he is identified as Logos. Furthermore, in GEgypt the work of Mirothoe has been inserted, while in ApocryJn we find the πρόννοσις and the perfect νοῦς. The difference in the characterization of Adamas is also of interest. In ApocryJn he is the perfect, true human being, while in GEgypt he originates from Man. This latter formulation thus presents the concept of the God “Anthropos”. All the more interesting in both versions is the ascription of praise to the supreme God as he through whom and to whom everything was created. In GEgypt this refers to “Man”, while in ApocryJn it is spoken by Adamas as a presentation of praise to the invisible Spirit. In both texts Seth is the son of Adamas. Although ApocryJn also speaks of the descendants of Seth and specifies their dwelling place — this occurs in GEgypt in a different context — the problematic behind the petition in III 54, 6ff. is absent. However, it is a characteristic element of the theme of GEgypt.

The problematic of the second main section of GEgypt is completely different from the section that follows in ApocryJn. Yet the story of Sophia and her son, which is treated at great length in ApocryJn, is also used in GEgypt, though in a very abbreviated form. The fall of Sophia is not mentioned here, for the creation of a ruler of the world is due to a decision of the heavenly realm. Eleleth expresses the wish that a ruler be created, perhaps due to the fact that he stands closest to the lower region, as the dwelling place of the more susceptible

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1 IV 60, 7f. The corresponding page in III is lost.
2 BG 33,6ff. = III 11,22ff. = II 8,3f.
3 BG 36,16ff. = III 14,9ff. = II 9,25ff.
4 III 56,26ff. = IV 68,9 (the rest is lost).
souls. A descending hierarchy of lights, moreover, seems to be indicated in Zost (VIII, 1) where, similar to ApocryJn, Adamas and Seth appear subsequent to the lights.\(^1\) In contrast, the hierarchy in GEgypt puts a special emphasis on Seth.

For the birth of the seed of Seth, its dwelling place, preservation and salvation as presented in the second main section of GEgypt there are parallels available in some other writings in the Nag Hammadi library. Particularly relevant are ApocAd (V, 5), Zost (VIII, 1) and TriProt (XIII, 1). The Codex Brucianus should also be mentioned at this point. In GEgypt as well as ApocryJn, Zost and Codex Brucianus, Seth belongs to the heavenly world. This is also the case in the ApocAd, yet here the double appearance of Seth and his seed in heaven and on earth is explained through a clever dialectic. Adam calls the son who takes the place of Abel, Seth. This is the name of the heavenly progenitor of the great race, who was given the knowledge (\(\gamma\nu\varepsilon\omega\sigma\iota\sigma\varsigma\)) which Adam and Eve lost.\(^2\) In GEgypt the heavenly Seth is the son of the heavenly Adamas. But his relationship to the world and his work of salvation are achieved through his descent into the world, where he appears as Jesus. For the mythological details of the creation of the children of Seth, we have, unfortunately, no parallels available up to now. Even though the mythological repertoire must have been familiar to the author of Zost, the references there are either on fragmentary pages or so short that no further conclusions can be drawn from them. The threat of the flood and the fire to the race of Seth are described in detail in ApocAd. While in ApocAd the race of Seth is removed by angels,\(^3\) in GEgypt there are only hints of this, such as the report that guardians will guard them. Some of the mythological beings who are enumerated at the end of the second main part are also mentioned in ApocAd, Zost and Codex Brucianus.

One could describe GEgypt as a work in which the Sethians portrayed their salvation history. That could have been the basis for the name "gospel" in the colophon. If one extends the term gospel somewhat beyond its use in the New Testament, this characterization is certainly legitimate. Just as the Gospels of the New Testament describe the life of Jesus from the history preceding his birth — and in the Gospel of John from his pre-existence in heaven — through his words

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\(^1\) VIII 29 and 30.

\(^2\) V 64,29ff.

\(^3\) V 69,10ff.; 76,17ff.
and works to death and resurrection, so too, in GEgypt, the life of Seth is presented: his pre-history, the origin of his seed, its preservation by the heavenly powers and the coming of Seth into the world, and his work of salvation, especially through baptism. If one takes into account that liturgical acts have an important role in the unfolding cosmic drama, then it is perfectly understandable that the experience of salvation is expressed in a hymnic section. It is Seth himself who puts the account about himself in writing. The presence of hymns brings to mind the presentations of praise in 3StSeth (VII, 5).

The mystery character of G Egy pt stems from the fact that the book has long been hidden. It also fits well with the nature of Gnostic sects. The name “Gospel of the Egyptians” leads also to a further suggestion. It is possible that this title was given to the book by non-Egyptians because they knew that the book had been transmitted by Egyptians or that it was especially liked in Egypt. But in that case there must be a special feature, which forms the basis for this popularity. Only one comes to mind: Seth, who is a central figure in the tractate. Gnosticism is fond of interpreting as good what traditionally was considered evil, e.g. the serpent in paradise. Thus it is possible that the Egyptian god Seth — or Set — was reinterpreted in terms of Seth, the son of Adam. Perhaps this was done by the Sethians for missionary purposes, for we know of attempts to rehabilitate the Egyptian god Seth from magical texts. They call him a god who hates evil, and they deny that he injured his brother. Since he is connected in this tractate with Sodom and Gomorrah, which have been reinterpreted as the home of the good seed of Seth, one is reminded that the Egyptian Seth was accused of sodomy. Furthermore, the use of the symbol of the fish may also relate to this, for the fish was a typhonian animal. At the same time ἴχθυς was a monogram for Christ (Ἰησοῦς χριστός θεοῦ νῖος σωτήρ) which is attested in Egypt in The Tutor (Παιδαγωγός) of Clement of Alexan-

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1 VII 118,10 - 127,27.
2 For the original location and the interpretation of the Nag Hammadi library it is important to know whether the place name ΥΕΝΕΧΗΣ could mean “the trees of Seth,” since this place is located near Nag Hammadi. Cf. H. Kees, “Seth” (in Pauly-Wissowa, RE), col. 1903.
3 Cf. supra, pp. 22f.
The work cannot be considered a unity, for it appears to incorporate several groups of traditions. The first part, which is related to Apocry Jn, must be considered a typical product of "Barbelo-Gnostic" speculation. Yet the grouping according to ogdoads could be evidence of Valentinian influence. Even though the redaction appears to be very skillful, it is evident that older pieces of traditional material were used. Thus the tractate gives a simple description of the trinity at first, but later it presents an expanded interpretation which uses the schema of ogdoads. This further description need not be attributed to the compiler, since it could just as well have been a piece of tradition which circulated on the subject. Indeed, such a compilation of pieces of tradition helps to explain the variation in the order of creation between GEgypt and Apocry Jn.

Even more than the first section, the second section is characterized by a compilation of disparate pieces. The birth and settlement of the seed of Seth is made up of three mythologumena designed to make different contributions to the story and to form a unified account. The first describes the birth through Plesithea. Also Zost presents her as the mother of the angels, thus indicating that the heavenly part of the race of Seth is being described. Since the children of Seth are not cosmic beings by nature, they receive a place in heaven in the third light Davithe. Consequently this first report precedes that of the creation of the world. But the same tradition teaches that the children of Seth appear in the world. In Apoc Ad this happens rather unexpectedly; nothing is said about a connection with the human form. The second mythologumenon which follows upon the creation story, seems to deal with that question. Here the angel Hormos clothes the seed of Seth in human form, and they are brought by Seth into the created aeons. In both mythologumena, the story has been connected with Sodom and Gomorrah as the dwelling place of the seed of Seth. How the opinions of the Gnostics differed becomes apparent in Codex III 60, 12ff., where competing views are placed directly next to each other.

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1 VIII 53,12f.
2 V 71,10ff.
3 IV 71,21ff. does not present these alternatives. Yet it is best to assume that they were already present in the Greek Vorlage of III.
The third mythologumenon deals with the race of Edokla. This must refer to the seed of Seth called here the seed of eternal life. Through her creation of truth and justice she establishes the beginning of a new epoch. The time span from “truth and justice” until the end is the earthly time.

If one assumes a compilation of pieces of tradition, it will also be easier to separate Christian from pre-Christian material. First of all, the colophon belongs to the Christianized parts since it speaks of Jesus Christ, while the two preceding conclusions are pieces of tradition which, in connection with the composition of the book, speak only of Seth. The teaching of the appearance of Seth as Jesus, which presupposes familiarity of the Sethians with Christianity, is extensively developed in GÉgypt. Jesus is also seated in heaven with Seth. Furthermore the hostile attitude toward the law is significant. What is in the law is crucified. This is probably due to Pauline influence. Christ is not mentioned very often. Apart from the occurrence in the colophon the “great Christ” appears six times. In all cases the context leaves no doubt that στὸν (IV) or χριστός (III) indicates χριστός and not χρηστός. It is problematic how far the thrice-male child has been identified with Christ. This is in itself further evidence for the secondary role given to Christ in the tractate.

Some allusions to the New Testament are evident. In the soteriological passage 2 Cor 5: 19 has been reinterpreted, and at the end of the passage there is a reference to John 8: 52. In the description of the angels Eph 2: 2 seems to have been reinterpreted. For the crucifixion of that which is in the law, Gal 6: 14; Eph 2: 15f. and Col 2: 14 come to mind. The interpretation of the cross as a sign of victory fully agrees with the Gnostic way of thinking and was favored by Origen as well. The formula ἀρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου can be found in Ignatius and corresponds to ὁ ἀρχων τοῦ κόσμου (τούτου) in John 12: 31; 14: 30; 16: 11 and ὁ θεός τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου in 2 Cor 4: 4. We also meet the term διάβολος. As in other Gnostic texts, baptism is mentioned, but it has not been spiritualized as in ApocAd.

\[\text{III 62,19ff. = IV 74,4ff.}\]
\[\text{2 EPHIMANIUS, Panarion 39.1,2-3 (ed. HOLL, p. 72).}\]
\[\text{3 Cf. infra, p. 196.}\]
\[\text{4 III 69,14 (not present in IV).}\]
\[\text{5 IV [55,6]; IV 55,12=III 44,22; IV [56,27]; 59,17; 60,8; IV 66,8 = III 54,20.}\]
\[\text{6 Cf. infra, p. 45.}\]
\[\text{7 Cf. infra, p. 192.}\]
\[\text{8 IGNATIUS, Eph. 17,1 et al.}\]
It functions instead as a symbol of the Spirit. Thus Christian elements are found throughout the tractate. This would indicate a composition date in the second or third century if we can assume that the tractate in its present form is a compilation. Yet some of the pieces of tradition may well be considerably older and, as in the case of other Nag Hammadi tractates, go back to a Gnosticism which preceeds the development of Christian Gnosticism.
THE PRESENTATIONS OF PRAISE

Presentations of praise and prayers play an important role in the development of the narrative in GEgypt. The same phenomenon can be observed in ApocryJn and the Manichaeand literature. In these acts of worship the whole pantheon is recounted as far as it has been developed at that point in the narrative. In order to consider these mythological figures and their characteristics in greater detail and to simplify the discussion in the commentary, the relevant material has been brought together into one chapter.

The presentations of praise in III, 2 are introduced by Ṭ ᾱΩΥϹΜΟΥ and once by Ṭ ΑΜΟΥ. IV, 2 on the other hand, uses ΕΙΝΗ ΕΡΡΑΙ ΝΟΥϹΜΟΥ. Usually the presentation of praise is followed by a petition.

The following beings are the recipients of the presentations of praise:

1. the great invisible Spirit,
2. the male virgin Barbelo,
3. the great Doxomedon-aeon,
4. the thrice-male child,
5. the male virgin Youel,
6. Esephech, the Splenditenens,
7. the ethereal earth.

1. The great invisible Spirit is the supreme deity who can only be described by means of negative attributes. Such a description has been employed in GEgypt as well as in the extensive introductory sections of ApocryJn and SJC. Instances of this are presented in the presentations of praise as well as in some other places. The tractate

1 Kephalaia II (Lfd. 11-12) ed. A. Böhlig (Stuttgart 1966), p. 271,26ff. See also A. Böhlig, "Neue Kephalaia des Mani", in Mysterion und Wahrheit (Leiden 1968), p. 257
2 III [44,25]; 49,23; 50,17ff. where it refers back to the previous instance; 53,15ff. 55,18; 61,23ff.
3 III 44,10.
4 IV 54,14ff.; 55,15ff.; 56,7ff.; 57,13; 60,22; 61,24; [62,16] where it refers back to the previous instance; 65,8ff.; 67,3ff.; 73,7ff.
5 In III, 2 it is introduced by ΑΙΤΙ: 44,13; 50,21; 51,6; 56,3; 62,12, and in IV, 2 by ΠΑΙΤΙ: 54,20; 56,8; [62,19ff. 31]; 73,25.
THE PRESENTATIONS OF PRAISE

has been named after this being “the holy book of the great invisible Spirit”. In all the presentations of praise he is called great (нолог) and invisible (αρπατόν in III,2, αταγ νεχο in IV,2). The predicate “virginal” (παρθενικόν) is missing in one instance. Four times the additional predicates “uncallable” and “unnameable” have been used. Once the predicate “incomprehensible” (αταξιώµατος) occurs. Outside of the presentations of praise the great invisible Spirit is also called “Father”.

2. After the Father comes the male virgin Barbelo. She is found in six of the seven presentations of praise. The name Barbelo in most cases has been left out in III, 2. Such differences between the versions may go back to the Greek Vorlagen. In III 44, 27 the male virgin is called ἤω[να]. Since the male virgin Yueil does not appear on the scene until IV 56, 20 — the text is uncertain due to lacunae in IV, 2 and missing pages in III, 2 — Yool was most likely mistakenly written for Barbelo. There is no reference to the male virgin in IV 60, 24f.

In one place Barbelo is called “Mother”. She is the female complement of the Father. However, we are dealing here with a higher form of existence which is difficult to grasp in terms of human concepts. She is not simply the divine consort of mythology. She is a virgin just as the great invisible Spirit is “virginal”. The predicate “male” indicates her truly divine character. For the essence of divine per-

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1 III 44,11.26; 49,23; 53,16; 55,19 (αρπατός). 61,24 αρπατός is missing; probably the scribe skipped a line. IV 54,16; 55,17; 60,23 (the parallel in III is lost); 61,25; 65,10; 67,5; 73,9.

2 III 44,26 = IV 55,17.

3 ἀληθοτόν in III 44,12; 53,17; 55,19 (ἀληθοτός); 61,24. All the parallel occurrences in IV are partly or completely in lacunae. There is a question about the way IV has translated ἀληθοτον. The ἀληθοτον in III 65,10 has for its parallel in IV 77,5 ἄταξιομεθεν (but not in a presentation of praise). Since in IV 54,16 ἄταξις is visible it is possible that the translator of IV, 2 consistently mistranslated ἀληθοτον by ἄταξιομεθεν [65,10; 67,5; 73,8].

4 III 44,11 ἄταξιομεθεν; 55,20 ἄτονοµαζε ἀκοµ στο τερα τον; IV: ἄταξιομεθεν; 54,17; 65,11 (missing in the parallel III 53, 16ff.); 67,6. It probably also occurs in IV 73,9f., but IV has a lacuna and III appears to have skipped a line.

5 III 49,24. The parallel in IV 61,25 is in a lacuna.

6 III 40,13f. = IV 50,3 etc.

7 It is spelled ἰαρπβηαον in III 42,12; 62,1; 69,3. This same spelling is found in ApoeryJn (III, 1). IV, 2 reads ἰαρπβηαο in [52,4; 54,20; 61,27] and 73,12.

8 The parallel in IV 55,17f. is in a lacuna.

9 The parallel in III is lost.

10 III 42,12 = IV 62,4.
fection is that unity in which male and female are united. Barbelo possesses precisely those characteristics which belong to the highest deity. Like the great invisible Spirit, she too is uninterpretable, ineffable and self-begotten. According to Irenaeus, as well as the Gnostic writing Apocry Jn, the so-called Barbelo-Gnostics made Barbelo their characteristic deity.

The meaning of the name Barbelo remains an open question. One wonders whether barbe' 'eloh ("in four is God") is related to the τετρακτύς of Greek philosophy. The sporadic use of the name Barbelo in Egypt may be due to the fact that the tractate has borrowed from Barbelo-Gnosticism yet does not belong to it but wants to go beyond it.

3. The position of the third being in the order of the recipients of the presentations of praise varies. Only in one of the four occurrences does the Doxomedon-aeon appear in the third place. In the other cases he is preceded by the thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech. However, since the Doxomedon-aeon appears upon the scene first and proves to be the resting place of the thrice-male child, he ought to be discussed third even if he is last in the original sequence.

The alternate name of this being is Δοξομέδων Δοξομέδων. This double designation is rare. Probably the first part is the more original one, meaning "Lord of the House", which then was reformulated to "Lord of Glory" in a light-realm theology. Except for the first two instances, where the double designation Domedon Doxomedon

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1 Cf. ApocAd V 64,6ff.; 1 ApocJas V 41,16ff.; GPh II 68,23-26; 70,9-17 (logia 71 and 78); 2 Clem. 12,2; CLEM. Strom. III 9,63 (from the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians). Furthermore it should be remembered that Philo considered the change from female to male necessary. Cf. R. A. BAER, Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female (Leiden 1970).
2 III 42,16ff. = IV 52,8-12.
5 III 53,19f. = IV 65,13f.
6 III 50,4f. = IV 62,4; III 56,1 (IV is lost); III 62,8f. = IV 73,19f.
7 III 41,13f. = IV 51,2-5.
8 III 43,15f. = IV 53,13f.
9 III 41,14f. = IV 51,2f.; III 43,9f. (the parallel in IV 53,5 reads only ΔΟΞΟ-ΜΕΔΩΝ).
10 The name Domiel found in Jewish literature must be closely related to this meaning, and was probably Judaized by means of the "-el" which gives the being its heavenly character. Cf. G. SCHOLEM, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition (New York 1960), p. 33.
is found, the title “the great Doxomedon-aeon” is used.\(^1\) Several occurrences of this title are in the plural, i.e. the great Doxomedon-aeons.\(^2\) Once IV translates Doxomedon into Coptic as \textit{peq\textsuperscript{†} eooy}.\(^3\) This being is further described as “the aeon of the aeons”.\(^4\)

The question remains who this being is and what he signifies. The fluctuation between singular and plural would indicate a collective being. Also the fact that he is described as a spacial entity points in this direction. He is pictured as a throne surrounded by powers. The relation with the trinity of Father, Mother and Son\(^5\) on the one hand, and with the thrice-male child on the other, make him a manifestation of the Father of light who rests in secrecy and suddenly appears with his light. For this he needs an aeon in which he presents himself as a second god or as a being who encompasses the heavenly realm. He is the great throne room of the god who appeared in the realm of light. This description reminds one of the Jewish concept of the מַעַשֶׁהּ רַבָּה. On the other hand, the presentation in terms of an aeon also comes into play. In Hermeticism the aeon has the position of a second god just as it does here.\(^6\) Here too he could be the totality of the revealed god. The Doxomedon-aeon would be meaningless and inconceivable if he were not filled. That is why he should not be pictured as a personal being, which is supported by the fact that he does not speak. It is also insufficient to see him as ruler surrounded by hosts of ministering angels, for he is filled by the child of light and the light beings who belong to him.

It is uncertain whether the name placed on the throne refers to Doxomedon or to the male child.\(^7\) Grammatically both are possible. The spacial description of the Doxomedon-aeon explains why he is listed once before the male child and the other times after Esephech. The male child, the male virgin and Esephech are closely connected with Doxomedon. Perhaps it stems from this trinitarian notion that the

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\(^1\) III 43,15 = IV 53,12f.; III 44,20 = IV 55,8f.; III 50,4f. = IV 62,4; III 53,19f. = IV 65,13f.; III 56,1 (IV is lost); III 62,8f. = IV 73,19f. The two exceptions are III 41,14f. = IV 51,2f. and III 43,9f. = IV 53,5. These also happen to be the two instances where III has the double name \textit{Δοξομειων Δοξομειων}.

\(^2\) IV 62,4 (III 50,5f. has the singular); IV 65,13f. (III 53,19f. has the singular but the following pronoun refers to him in the plural); III 56,1 (IV is lost).

\(^3\) IV 73,19f.

\(^4\) III 41,15 = IV 51,4; III 43,10 = IV 53,5f.

\(^5\) III 41,17ff. = IV 51,7-10.

\(^6\) This agrees with Melch (IX 6,1; 16,30) where Doxomedon is called the first born \textit{Aeon}.

\(^7\) III 43,17-20 = IV 53,15-19.
trinity of Father, Mother and Son are added to him. In that case the first three beings are the content of the Doxomedon, the fourth is the Son, the fifth the Mother and the sixth the Father.

It is tempting to identify Yeu (1€0Y) of PS and the Books of Yeu with Doxomedon. However, two difficulties arise which run counter to this suggestion. First, Yeu does not occur in any of the texts from Nag Hammadi. Secondly, the spelling 1€0Y found in PS does not correspond with 1H0Y in III, 2 and IV, 2. The second objection is not very strong, because H and € are interchangeable, e.g. ΗΛΑΗΘ along side of ΗΑΗΘ. The first argument has more weight, although to be sure, precisely the transformation of Yeu into Doxomedon could have been the basis for the lack of any other reference to his name.

Yeu is closely connected with the light, and since he himself brings forth a plurality of Yeu's, he too becomes a collective entity. In the First Book of Yeu he is designated as the god of truth who has emanated from the highest god and appears in manifold form. In the Second Book of Yeu he is described as belonging to the external treasures. He is the external form of the unapproachable God. In PS he is said to be the overseer of the light. His origin is traced back to the pure light of the first tree. His primacy comes from his function as the emissary of the light and as the primal man. He also has duties with respect to the realm of the angels and the archons. Yeu has a wide range of responsibilities. He is the second god who orders the cosmic world. His tasks exceed those of the Doxomedon while at the same time including them. It is important for the event of salvation that the souls go to their rest inside of him.

4. In response to the request of the three powers which form the trinity, the thrice-male child comes into being. The expression πωμντ ρόογτ ηλαόγ in III or πιγντ ρόογτ ηλαόγ in IV is open to two interpretations. The question is whether the ρωμντ modifies ηλαόγ or ρόογτ, i.e. “three male children” or “thrice-male child”. The first interpretation is supported by the

1 III 41,13-19 = IV 51,2-10.
2 II J 307,30 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
3 PS 15,30; 20,38 etc. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
4 PS 125,23f.; 208,25 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
5 PS 185,4; 208,25; 215,29.30 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
6 II J 307,32ff. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
7 III 44,18f. = IV 55,3ff. The passage is seriously obscured by lacunae in both versions.
occurrence of the plural \textit{n\i\w\m\t z\o\o\y\t [n\i\w\m\t r\e]n\o\c} which is an exception to the rule that in Coptic numerals take a singular article.\textsuperscript{2} III, 2 in one place has the accompanying verb in the plural.\textsuperscript{3} The second interpretation is supported by the predominant use of the singular with the verbs, and the occurrence of adjectives formed with \textit{\tau\i\(\sigma\)}- for intensification, especially in Gnostic and Hermetic literature, \textit{\emph{e.g.}} \textit{\tau\i\(\mu\)\e\i\(\z\i\)\i\(\o\)\s\o\t\o\s}, \textit{\tau\i\(\d\i\n\o\m\o\s\)}, \textit{\tau\i\(\p\i\e\i\(\n\u\m\)\i\(\o\s\)\t\o\s}. Also \textit{\tau\i\(\s\a\p\o\s\)} occurs: \textit{“But (\(\delta\e\)} the tenth Father has a thrice-male (\textit{\tau\i\(\s\a\p\o\s\)}\s\o\s) face, an Adamas face and a pure (\textit{\e\l\i\k\i\r\i\n\\i\(\s\)\s} face”}.\textsuperscript{4} In other Coptic-Gnostic tractates \textit{\tau\i\(\s\a\p\o\s\)} is found in translation. In 3StSeth (VII, 5) the \textit{r\e\p\a\l\a\m\a\c}, the father of Seth, is called thrice-male.\textsuperscript{5} In ApocryJn it is said of the Barbelo that \textit{“she became a first man, which is the virginal Spirit, the thrice-male, the one with the three powers, the three names, the three creatures, the ageless aeon”}.\textsuperscript{6} The version in Codex II also describes her as the \textit{\m\u\p\r\o\p\s\a\t\o\p\o} of everything, yet with the same characteristic description. In SJC the spirit of Sophia, who is the female complement of the perfect Man, is called \textit{“thrice-male”}.\textsuperscript{7} Although 3StSeth and SJC show that intensification is the primary meaning of the expression, yet ApocryJn offers at the same time a strong emphasis on three aspects so that trinity and unity do not exclude each other.\textsuperscript{8}

The question remains whether the occurrences in GEgypt present a sufficient basis to establish the meaning of the expression. Most of the instances in the lists of the members of the pantheon are of no further help.\textsuperscript{9} However, one instance reads \textit{\p\i\z\o\o\y\t \n\a\l\o\y} against \textit{\p\w\o\m\n\t \n\z\o\o\y\t \n\a\l\o\y}.\textsuperscript{10} This is possibly, though not

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} IV 55,3.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Cf. WALTER C. TILL, \textit{Koptische Grammatik}, § 162.
\item \textsuperscript{3} III 54,13f. The parallel in IV 66,2f. is of no help since the verbal prefix precedes the noun. In III the noun stands in extraposition, and the verbal prefix is in the plural as is the subject when the verb is a numeral. Cf. L. STERN, \textit{Koptische Grammatik}, § 486.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Cf. the Pistis Sophia (PS), the Books of Yeu (J) and the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus (U). Indices are available in the editions of SCHMIDT-TILL and C. BAYNES.
\item \textsuperscript{5} U 341,8 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
\item \textsuperscript{6} VII 120,29; 121,8.
\item \textsuperscript{7} BG 27,17 - 28,3 = III 7,23-8,4. The parallel passage in II 5,5-11 is considerably different.
\item \textsuperscript{8} BG 96,3 = III 102,12f. It is lacking in Eug (III, 3) due to homoioteleuton.
\item \textsuperscript{9} BG 27,19ff. = III 7,23ff.; cf. II 5,6ff.
\item \textsuperscript{10} III 49,26 = IV 61,28; III 53,23f. = IV 65,17f.; III 55,(21) = IV 67,8
\item \textsuperscript{11} IV 73,12f.
\item \textsuperscript{12} III 62,2.
\end{itemize}
necessarily, an error. In another place preserved only in IV παλοῦ
νά[τ]ή[ωμ] occurs.¹ In both cases the expression introduces
the name Telmael Telmachael Eli Eli Machar Machar Seth. The
thrice-male child offered praise and prayed.² He came forth because
of the first ogdoad, the one of the Father.³ He rests himself in the
Doxomedon-œon.⁴ Four times he is linked to the great Christ to
whom he apparently belongs.⁵ His appearance is related in time to
the appearance of Christ: “When the thrice-male child came from
above down to ... there came forth the great one who possesses all
greatnesses of the great Christ”.⁶ The parallel passage in III reads:
“Then the three male children came forth from above to the below ...
(and) there came forth the greatness, the whole greatness of the great
Christ”.⁷ Just before this passage the Father has been called the
fourth,⁸ perhaps by adding one to a trinity to form a tetrad. This
tetrad may also be involved in the name which is given to the thrice-
male child, ΤΕΛΜΑΗΑ ΤΕΛΜΑΧΑΗΑ ΗΑΙ ΗΑΙ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΜΑΧΑΡ
ΣΗΘ.⁹ Seth is added to the names of the thrice-male child, because
the race of God is also his race.¹⁰ The presence of the name Seth could
indicate that the trinity of the child combined with Seth has become
a divine tetrad.¹¹ That we are dealing here with a trinity, or a tetrad,
in a unity is clear from IV 59, 17f. Although the expression is in the
singular, the threefold child together with Seth must be meant since
the names follow. The same expression is found in III 56, 16f.¹² without
the names. Here Seth acknowledges the creation of his seed as a
gift granted him by “the incorruptible child”.

This seemingly confusing mythology is nonetheless meaningful
throughout. It is meant to make plausible the light-origin of the

¹ IV 59,18f.
² IV 56,6-9.
³ III 42,5ff. = IV 51,22ff.
⁵ IV [55,6]; III 44,22f. = IV 55,11f.; IV 59,16-21; III 54,13-20 = IV 66,2-8.
⁶ IV 66,2-8.
⁷ III 54,13-20.
⁸ III 54,7f. IV 65,26f. is obscured by lacunae.
⁹ IV 59,18-21 (III is lost); III 62,2ff. = IV 73,12ff.; III 65,8f. = IV 77,2ff. (See
also the commentary p. 190).
¹⁰ Cf. III 54,6ff. = IV 65,25ff.
¹¹ It is possible that the topos of the three young men in the fiery oven and their
angel (3 + 1) did play a role in the formation of this formulation.
¹² IV is lost.
seed of Seth. The thrice-male child originates from the supreme God. This explains his connection with the first ogdoad-Father. The child forms a tetract with Seth who is also a light-being. Even during the time that Seth is not yet a historical being he is customarily mentioned together with the names of the child. The passages in which the child is connected with the great Christ appear to be secondary. The tendency would be to identify Christ with the child and thus the separate mentioning of Christ appears to be evidence of a mythologumenon which was already present beforehand. The identification of Jesus with a child or youth is known from Christian-Gnostic texts. While in the Actus Vercellenses ¹ and the Acts of John ² he has a manifold appearance, in ApocPaul he is a youth ³, and in ApocryJn he states unambiguously that he is at the same time father, mother and son.⁴ Earlier in ApocryJn it was mentioned that he revealed himself as a child, an old man and a servant.⁵ Yet this connection between Jesus and the child appears to be a secondary development. Also in Manichaeism the child appears alone ⁶ and together with Jesus.⁷ The child is also known from the untitled work from Codex Brucianus.⁸ In the latter case he is an ἐπίσκοπος and presides over a place which does not belong to the true depth but forms a more accessible entity. In Zost (VIII, 1) the child possesses a special aspect of perfection and he is a transcendent being.⁹ He is also called “the perfect child who is higher than God”.¹⁰ Thus the concept of the child indicates a being which evolved from the light. He occupies a special position depending on the form of the myth and the penetration into Gnosticism of the person of Jesus or Christ with whom he was connected. His threefold character is explained by the fact that he is one being which contains three persons.

5. In response to the prayer of the thrice-male child “the male virgin Youel” appears.¹¹ She follows him in the order of the presen-

² Ibid., II, p. 225 (161).
³ V 18,7.
⁴ BG 21,19ff. = II 2,13ff.
⁵ BG 21,3ff. = II 2,2ff.
⁶ See the index to the Manichaean Psalmbook.
⁸ U 338,39; 339,12 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
⁹ VIII 2,9.
¹⁰ VIII 13,4f.
¹¹ IV 56,11-20. The text is obscured by lacunae.
tations of praise. The name Youel is already known from the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus. The meaning of the name given there, "God forever", has no philological basis. The name refers to the παμίητωρ. This leads to a difficulty which is also found in GЕgypt. For in one place the Barbelo, who is in our text the universal mother, is called Ίωνα, probably a variant of Ιογνα. Considering their characteristics, an interchange of Barbelo and Youel can easily be understood. Thus just as Valentinianism has two Sophia figures, so GЕgypt has two virgins, the second of which has not been relegated to an inferior status, however. In Zost she is also designated as virginal and as "mother of glory". At the same time she is viewed as a female δοξοκρατωρ (†ρεα[μαρτε] ἰπεοογ), "the (f.) male and virginal possessor of glories" (τα [Νιεο[ογ] ἰξοοοτ άγω η[παρθε]ηνικον) and "she who possesses all the glories" (τα Νιεο[ογ] τηρογ). That means that she has the character of the being who follows her in the presentations of praise in GЕgypt. She also possesses δοξοκρατία which in the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus is attributed to the παμίητωρ among others.

Thus in the second series of light-beings in our text there is a correspondence of the second person to the second person of the first trinity. The character of the light-virgin can also be illustrated from other Gnostic texts. Well-known is the characterization of the light-virgin in PS as a judge who resides in the intermediate region. In Manichaeism she is with Jesus in the ship of the moon and her function is that of purification. In II, 5 she forms a trinity with Sabaoth and Jesus. Jesus sits to the right of Sabaoth and she, carrying the name

1 ταρθενικη ηπαρθεεονος Ιογνα in III, ἰξοοοτ ηπαρθεεονος Ιογνα in IV. III 50,1f. = IV 61,29; III 53,24f. = IV 65,18f.; III 55,21f. = IV 67,9; III 62,5f. = IV 73,16.
2 U 339,33; 355,2f. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
3 U 355,2f. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
4 III 44,27 = IV 55,18. This variant is also found in Zost (VIII 59,13 and 64,11).
5 VIII 59,15.
6 VIII 56,16.
7 VIII 55,14; 64,11; 65,10.
8 U 354,36 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.
10 IV 73,16.
11 For his role as σοφη see SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, Ein Mani-Fund in Agypten (Berlin 1933), p. 68.
12 II 105 (153),29f.
“virgin of the holy Spirit”, to the left. We are probably already here dealing with two concepts of the trinity, that of Father - Mother - Son, and that of Father - Son - Spirit. The connection between the two is that in certain systems the Mother is thought of as both virgin and spirit. The characterization as judge, which may have come from the Iranian concept of the daēnu, is not present in GEgypt.

6. Without a further request the appearance of Youel is followed by that of ἡσιφήξ.1 He follows her in the order of the presentations of praise.2 He is identified as πετεμαζτε ἰπεοογ (III,2) or πρειμαζτε ἰπεοογ (IV,2). This expression corresponds with the Manichaean term φεγγοκάτοχος or Splenditenens. This being in Manichaean mythology functions as the first son of the living Spirit.3 The exact counterpart is δοξοκράτωρ which is found in the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus.4 The name is difficult to interpret. The designation “the child of the child” (πάλογ παλογ) has been added to the name.5

In PS “child of the child” refers to the twin-savior.6 In the second Book of Yeu it refers to a being other than the twin-savior who is mentioned immediately following it.7 In the same tractate it appears also without any reference to the twin-savior in the context.8 The connection with the twin-savior is perhaps nothing more than an interpretation of the name and would indicate that the one child belongs to the other. Otherwise these instances tell us little about the origin and meaning of this mythologumenon. GEgypt may have given us a starting point. For if it is legitimate to see a second trinity of father, mother and son in the thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech, then the child Esephech is the child of the thrice-male child.

The praise is also offered to “the crown of his glory”.9 This could

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1 IV 56,20ff. The spelling in GEgypt is consistently with an X. In Zost it differs between X (VIII 45,11) and K (VIII 45,2).
2 III 50,2ff. = IV 62,1ff.; III 53,25-54,3 = IV 65,19ff.; III 55,22ff. (IV is lost); III 62,6ff. = IV 73,17ff.
3 Cf. F. Cumont, La cosmogenie manichéenne (Bruxelles 1908), pp. 22ff., and the Coptic Manichaean texts.
4 U 355,10 transl. Schmidt-Till.
5 IV [56,2ff.] and 59,25 (III is lost); III 50,3 = IV 62,2f.; III 54,1f. (missing in IV 65,20); III 55,24 (IV is lost). In III 62,7 = IV 73,18 it is missing in both versions.
6 PS 125,3; 147,38 transl. Schmidt-Till.
7 II J 316,1 transl. Schmidt-Till.
8 II J 306,11 transl. Schmidt-Till.
9 IV 59,26 (III is lost); III 50,4 = IV 62,3; III 54,2f. = IV 65,21; III 55,23f. where it precedes “the child of the child” (IV is lost); III 62,7f. = IV 73,18ff.
be a cosmic reference to the stars. However, the more literal meaning would suffice. The Splenditenens is, of course, surrounded by light which adorns him like a crown.

7. Only once has the “ethereal earth” been added at the end (πκαρ δαφνωδιος = πκαρ ἔπαντοπ). The intention of the writer is to contrast the earth where mankind lives with a heavenly model because it is inhabited by the men of light, probably to be understood as the race of Seth. The author strongly asserts here his belief in the special nature of the Gnostics. That “ethereal earth” is a secondary addition to the presentation of praise is suggested by the fact that the pleroma is mentioned twice. The phrase “and the whole pleroma which I have mentioned before”, which really belongs at the end of the description of the Doxomedon-aeon, has been repeated with variations after the description of the ethereal earth. The question arises whether, at least at a later point, the pleroma in its own right was taken up secondarily as part of the list of the presentations of praise. Especially those places where the Doxomedon-aeon stands at the end make a reference to the pleroma in the conclusion of the presentation of praise easy to understand. Just before mention is made of the place which embraces the realm of light, and it follows the final summary in the pleroma which includes everything that has been said about the realm of light, i.e. “which I have described before” or “which I have mentioned before”. It is, of course, also possible to relate this sentence to the pleroma of the Doxomedon-aeon. In that case it would refer back to his description in the beginning of the tractate. In the presentation of praise which has the Doxomedon-aeon before the thrice-male child, the pleroma was not moved with it. We may take this as an indication that even if the pleroma is not a being in its own right, it is seen as the conclusion and summary of the presentation of praise. Perhaps after the transposition it was felt that the mentioning of the pleroma had become unconnected and therefore it was further elaborated. The fact that this time there is no reference to things which have been mentioned

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1 III 50,10.
2 IV 62,9.
3 III 50,8ff. = IV 62,7f.
4 III 50,16ff. = IV 62,14ff.
5 III 50,16f. = IV 62,14f; III 56,2f. (IV is lost); III 62,11f. = IV 73,23f.
before supports the assumption that it originally referred to the pleroma of the Doxomedon-aeon.

The discussion of the presentations of praise is not complete without a word about the form of the list in relation to the structure of the tractate as a whole. Most likely the list was originally a piece of traditional material which existed well before the composition and redaction of GEgypt. The problems discussed above which arose because of the change of the sequence and because of additions witness to this. Originally the list had another purpose than it has at present within the tractate. The sequence was most likely the following:

1. the great invisible Spirit,
2. Barbelo,
3. the thrice-male child,
4. Youel,
5. Esephech,

From this sequence the parallelism with the trinity of the so-called Barbelo-Gnostics is even more apparent. According to this list the trinity of Father, Mother and Son would correspond to the first three beings in the presentations of praise. However, this is not the case in GEgypt. There a special trinity of Father, Mother and Son comes into being from the great invisible Spirit, not through emanation but through evolution. The Father and the Son remain anonymous and only the Mother is identified, as Barbelo. The fact that the lists of beings who are praised retain the traditional form witnesses to their original character. As can be seen from the placing together of the trinity and the five seals, GEgypt has regrouped them. Here a new and second trinity is formed which consists of five persons. When they — the thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech — are described as five seals, this is to express their character as the “image” of the first trinity. The Doxomedon-aeon forms the spacial framework, which is, as the embodiment of the emanations, indeed the second God.

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1 IV 56,24f.
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

TEXT AND TRANSLATION
The Introduction: III 40,12-41,7

III 40,12 παξωμενεν τε τ[η] α[πε] ἅντε νενυκνημεν

40.12 See supra, p. 20 and 23.

41, 5 Perhaps emend to (Π)ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗϹ (IV 50,18).

The [holy (ἱερό)] book [of the Egyptians] / about the great invisible [Spirit (πνεῦμα), the] Father / whose name cannot be uttered [, he who came] / 15 forth from the heights of [the perfection, the] light / of the light of the [aeons (αἰῶν) of light], / the light of the [silence (σιγή) of the] providence (πρόνοια) / <and> the Father of the silence (σιγή), the [light] / of the word and the truth, the light [of the] // 41 [incorruptions (ἀφθαρσία), the] infinite light, / [the] radiance from the aeons (αἰῶν) of light / of the unrevealable, unmarked (ἀσήμαντος), / ageless, unproclaimable (-ἐναγγελίζεσθαι) Father, / 5 the aeon (αἰῶν) of the aeons (αἰῶν), autogenes (αὐτογενής), /
The Introduction: IV 50,1-23

IV 50

[The] holy [book] of the / [Egyptians about the] great / [invisible Spirit (πνεῦμα),] the Father whose / [name can]not [be uttered, he who] / 5 [came forth from the] heights, the light / of [the] perfection, the eternal light / of the eternities, the light / in silence (σιγή), in the providence (πρόνοια) / and silence (σιγή) of the Father, the light / 10 in word and truth, / [the] incorruptible light, the / inaccessible light, the / eternal [light] / of the eternities, which has come forth, of the / 15 ineffable and / [un]marked and / unproclaimable Father, the aeon (αἰών) / [of] the aeons (αἰῶν), he who begets / 50,8.10 "in" or "from" see commentary.
Three / powers came forth (προελθεῖν) from him; / they are the Father, the Mother (and) the Son, / 10 from the living silence (σωγή), what came forth from / the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) Father. These (ἢ ἐκ) came / [forth from] the silence (σωγή) of the unknown (ἀδηλος) Father. /
himself, and he who comes forth from himself, and the alien one (αλλογενής), the uninterpretable (-ἔρμηνεύειν) power of the ineffable Father.

The appearance of the three powers: IV 50,23 - 51,2

Three powers came forth from him; they are the Father, the Mother (and) the Son, they who came forth from themselves, from the living [silence (σιγή)] of the incorruptible Father. These came forth from the silence (σιγή) [of the] ineffable [Father.]
The composition of the realm of light: III 41,13-23

III 41

[αγω] εβο[λ] μ πμα ετμμαγ ανμρο

[ελεε εβολ η] δομεδων δοξομε

[λων παιων η] τε παιων αγω πογ

[οειν ητε τοτει τογει ηνδομ η]

[ταγ η αγω ητε] ειηζε πνημε απει

[εβολ ημ] ηςητου τμαη ημεζ

[τη πειο] ημεροογ ηνεθο

[αλλα ηναν] τε οειν

[εροη παη] ητεγαχμαντος πε ην

[νηδομ ην] πογ ηεογ ην ηια

[φθαρ] πια

41,18f. The reconstructions are 2 letters shorter than expected perhaps due to an imperfection in the papyrus.

20 Corr. ΑΛ over ΠΕ.

[And] from that place / Domedon Doxomedon came [forth] (προελθειν), / 15 [the aeon (αἰών) of] the aeons (αἰῶν) and the [light] / [of] each one of [their] powers. / [And] thus the Son came / [forth] fourth; the Mother [fifth;] / [the Father] sixth. He was / 20 [ ] but (ἀλλα) unheralded / [; it is he] who is unmarked (ἄσημαντος) among / all [the powers], the glories and the / [incorruptions (ἀφθαρσία)].
The composition of the realm of light: IV 51.2-15

51, 2 The letter before NT is \( \lambda \) or \( \lambda \).

14 No superlin. stroke is visible on N.

[ ] Doxomedon / [Domedon] / the aeon (\( \alpha \iota \omega \nu \)) [of the aeons (\( \alpha \iota \omega \nu \))], the [light] / 5 came forth from [there, i.e.] / the coming forth of [each one] / of their powers. [And thus the Son] / came forth [fourth], / and (\( \delta \epsilon \)) the Mother is [the fifth,] / 10 and (\( \delta \epsilon \)) the Father [is the sixth.] / [ but (\( \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \))] / [he is] without mark [, and (\( \delta \epsilon \)) he was] / unmarked [among] all [powers,] / incorruptible glories. /
The three ogdoads: III 41,23 - 43,8

a) Their appearance: III 41,23 - 42,4

III 41

εβολ ʔm πmα ɐtммаγ

24 [αγει ε]βολ ʔnди тwowмtе ʔnбom.

MB

twowмtе ʔн3гдααс етe [пеiwт]

2 ṣn ᵒγιγн ᵅн тeтpпонoия [ειнe]

Mмooγ εβoλ ṣn κoγoнтq · етe ʔn

4 тooγ пeιwт тпaλγ пyнpe.

From that place / the three powers [came] forth, // 42 the three ogdoads (ḏγdoás) that [the Father] / [brings] forth, in silence (σιγή) with his providence (πρόνοια), / from his bosom, i.e. / the Father, the Mother (and) the Son.

b) The first ogdoad: III 42,5-11

тшo<рп>е ʔн3гдααс етe етб[м]нт[м]

6 апωмнт ʔн300yt ʔналoγ π[ро]

ελθε εβολ · етe тeтpнoιa тe ʔнн [πλo]

8 гoc ᵅн тαфθαpсia ᵅн пw[н2 ᵅn]

ψα ενες· пeθeλиmα пнo[γc]

10 ᵅн тeтppнocиc п300yt [cзi]

мe пeιwт.

42, 5 Corr. ʔ over ṣ. The scribe wrote тшoмтe perhaps under the influence of 42,1.

/5 The <first> ogdoad (ḏγdoás), because of which / the thrice-male child came forth (προελθεῖν), / which is the thought (ἐννοια), and [the] word (λόγος), / and the incorruption (ἀφθαρσία), and the eternal / [life], the will (θέλημα), the mind (νοῦς), / and the foreknowledge (πρόγνωσις), the androgynous / Father.
The three ogdoads: IV 51,15 - 53,3

a) Their appearance: IV 51,15 - 22

There came forth from him three powers, which are three ogdoads (οὐγδοάς) which the Father brought forth from his bosom in silence (σιγή) and providence (πρόνοια), which are the Father, the Mother (and) the Son.

b) The first ogdoad: IV 51,22 - 52,2

The first ogdoad (οὐγδοάς), the one because of which the thrice-male child came forth, which is the thought (ἐννοια), and the word, and the eternal, incorruptible life, will, mind (νοῦς), // 52 and foreknowledge, [the] androgynous Father.
The second ogdoad (δύοδας-) / power, the Mother, the virginal (παρθένος) Barbelon / ἐπιτιτιώξ / / / [who] / 15 presides over the heaven, καρβ / the uninterpretable (-ἐρυθνεύων) power, / the ineffable Mother [. She originated] / from herself [ ]; / she came forth (προελθεῖν); [she] / 20 agreed (εἴδοκεῖν) with the Father [of the] silent / [silence].
c) The second ogdoad: IV 52,2-14

IV 52, 2

†δομ

[μμ]εζεγτε[τε ευο]γοος τε

4 [τμα]αγ†[παρβ]να]ω ἔπαρεενος
[νσο]ϊο[τ.] καβα· ααωνε·

6 [']πν ετκν ἕιξν τπε

[.] .[.] ἁκρωβωριαωρ

8 [.]. †δομ ἅνατρερμη

10 [pecies] μμος ται ρμ. [ 

[ ] .[cππ]ρ[ε]

12 [εβολ μμος μα]γας εας
[πρωπι νεί ε]βολ· ας† μετε

14 [μμ] πιωτ [μ]τε †ςιγν ετονApollo

52, 5 Trace appears to be H.

6 There is a faint € at the end of the line, perhaps erased.

11 There may be too little room for CΠI in the lacuna.

The / second power [which] is [an] ogdoad (γυδοας), / [the] Mother, the [male] virgin (παρθενος) [Barbelo] / 5 [ ] καβα· ααωνε· / [ ] he who presides over the heaven / [ ] ἁκρωβωριαωρ / [ ] the uninterpretable (-ερμνενω) / and in[effable] power, / 10 she ... / [ ] She originated / [from] herself, and she / [came] forth. She agreed / [with] the Father of the living silence (σιγή). /
d) The third ogdoad: III 42.21 - 43.4

III 42

τμερσψωμτε [Ǻb0μ Ǻν0]

22 ῥλαοας ρΨχρε οτς[ιγς Ǻνςιγς]

ΜΝ ΝΕΚΛΟΜ οτςιγς Άνςιγς ΝΝ

24 οεοογ ονμειωτ ΝΝ ταρε[θη ον]

43 [μρ]

[ΜΑΑΓ ᾶ] ΝΑΙ ΕΨΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΑ ΝΝ ΝΚΟΛ

2 [πος] οτςαψψε [Ǻb0μ Άπν06 Ν]

[ογο]ειν οτςαψψε ΆκμΗ ΆΨΨ ΝΨΑ

4 [χε Ν]Ε ΠΕΥΧΨΝΚ

42.23 Η and Ǻ are connected by a down-sloping diagonal stroke.
43, 2 Corr. C over Ι.
3 Corr. Μ over erasure. Ι in ΆΨΨ over Ι?

The third ogdoad (άγδοας) - / [power], the Son of the [silent (σιγη)] silence (σιγη)], / and the crown of the silent (σιγη) silence (σιγη)], [and] / the glory of the Father, and the virtue (ἄρετη) [of the] // 43 [Mother. He] brings forth from the bosom (κόλπος) / the seven powers of the great / light of the seven voices, and the word / [is] their completion.

e) The summary: III 43.4-8

4

ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΤΨΩΜΤΕ Ν

[Ǻb0μ] ΤΨΩΜΤΕ ΝΨΟΓΑΟΑΣ ΝΨΑΠΕΙ

These are the three / 5 [powers], the three ogdoads (άγδοας) that the Father /
d) The third ogdoad: IV 52,15-24

IV 52  
16 [τέ] π[ϊ]ωθρε ἅπε ἄγιον ἅν

18 [τε πιω]τί ἃν οὐαρετὶ ἅπε

20 [εινε ε]βολ ἢν κογν ἀκαύφη

22 [ντε] ἄγιον ἅπε πινοδ ἅνοιχ

24 [ντε] πευπλαρώματι

52,15 There is not enough room for ἀμεγῳ in the lacuna.
16 ı has flaked off. Perhaps homoioteleuton: ἄγιον ἅν (πικλομ

ν) ογκαρῳωγ, or a whole line dropped out: ογκαρῳωγ ἅν πικλομ ἅν.

...and the third power which [is] an ogdoad (ὀγδοας), / the
Son of the silence (σιγή) and / <silence, and the crown of the>
silence, and the knowledge / [of the Father], and the virtue (ἄρετη)
of / [the] Mother, who [brought] / 20 [forth] from his bosom seven /
powers of the great light / of the seven voices from / which is the
word / [of] their completion (πληρωμα).

e) The summary: IV 52,24 - 53,3

24  
26 [ψ]ομτε ἅνδοας ἅν

These / 25 are three powers, i.e. / three ogdoads (ὀγδοας), these //
III 43,6 [ὁ/τι ἑκάστου τεβρονοῦ/α εἰς Ἔμμοογ
[ἐβολά] ἑκάστου κοινοῦτας λαμβανεῖν Ἔμμοογ
8 [ἐβολά] ἑκάστου ποιεῖν εἰς Ἠμεραν

43,6-8 DORESSE was still able to read all except the first letter of each line (JA 254, 1966, p. 340).

[through] his providence (πρόνοια) brought / [forth] from his bosom.
He brought them / [forth] at that place.

The description of the Doxomedon-aeon: III 43,8 - 44,9

8 ἀπορροέλα
[θε ε]βολά ἑκάστου δομεδών δοξόμε
10 [ἀωή] παιών ἐκοινοῦν ὑπὲρ ἐν πε
[θρόνο/ν] ἐκτενείτης ἤ ὑπὲρ Ἀγανάμικ
14 [ἐκ] ἐκ ἐκταιεῖ τεβολά δικαρῷ ὑπὲρ ὑπὲρ
[πονὸ] βασικομὲνο ὑπὲρ ὑπὲρ ἑτε
16 [ποιμὴν ἡ] ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ
[ἔμμοογ Ἔμμ]οφ ἂγω ἁγιασάρω ἐν

43,9-12 DORESSE was still able to read all except the first letter of 10 and the first
12 Corr. Ι over ?
13 Corr. Ο in ΟΥ over Е.
14f. Stop after Α is unusually high and large. Perhaps it is not a punctuation mark.
Alternate reconstr. ΠΕΕΙΝΟΘ.
17 ἜΜΜΟΟΥ preferable to ἜΜΜΟΩ to account for the available space.

Doxedon / Doxomedon came forth (προελθεῖν), / 10 the aeon (αἰών) of the aeons (αἰών), and the / [throne (θρόνος)] which is in him, and the powers (δύναμις) / [which surround] him, the glories and the / [incorruptions (ἀφθαρσία). The] Father of the great light / [who came] forth from the silence, he is / 15[the great] Doxomedon-aeon (αἰών) in which / [the thrice-] male child rests. / And the throne (θρόνος) /
53 the Father [brought forth from] his [bosom] / through silence (σιφή) [and] his providence (προνοια) / at that [place].

The description of the Doxomedon-aeon: IV 53,3 - 54,13

53.11 Perhaps οὐμ[ντρεπκάρων].
of his [glory] was established [in it,] / [this one] on which his unrevealable name / 20 [is inscribed], on the tablet (\(\pi\nu\xi\os\)) / [ ] one is the word, the [Father] / [of the light] of everything, he / [who came] forth from the silence (\(\sigma\nu\gamma\j\)), while he rests / in the silence, he whose // 44 name [is] in an [invisible (\(\alpha\delta\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\))] symbol (\(\sigma\nu\mu\beta\omicron\lon\)). [A] / hidden, [invisible] mystery (\(\mu\nu\sigma\tau\omicron\im\omicron\)) / came forth (\(\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\omicron\im\omicron\)) 111111111111111111111

44, 1 Superlin. stroke on N is not visible.
53,16 Perhaps [π]ιε文娱.
21 Perhaps αγ[ instead of αγ[.

of his glory [was established] in it, / [this one] on [which] / [his] ineffable [name was inscribed,] / on the [tablet (ποτος) ] / 20 [the aeon (aiwōn) (?) which [is the word] / [of] the Father and [the light] / [of] everything [, he who is from] / silence (συγγ') and [he who] / came forth [from silence (συγγ'),] / 25 he who rests [in] / silence (συγγ'), he [whose name] / [is in] an [in]visible / [and hidden(?) symbol (συμβολον) ] / 54 [ ... ]. There] came forth / [an] ineffable my­[stery (μυστήριον)] / [i i i i i i i i i i i i i / i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i / h h h h [ h ] h h h h h h h h h h h h h / 5 h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
III 44, 6

There is room for 2 more letters at the end of the line. Perhaps a diple was put here.

8 Doressse was still able to read all except the last two letters (JA 254, 1966, p. 344).

The presentation of praise and request of the ogdoads: III 44,9-21

And [in this] / 10 way the three powers gave praise to the [great], / invisible (ἀδώρατον), unnameable, / virginal (παρθένικόν), uncallable (ἀκλήτον) Spirit (πνεῦμα), and [his] / male (ἀρσενικόν) virgin (παρθένη). They asked (αἰτεῖν) [for a] /
The presentation of praise and request of the ogdoads: IV 54,13 - 55,11

\[\text{IV 54} \quad \text{[YYYYY]YYYYY[γ]} \]

8 \[\text{[YYYYY]}γ \quad \text{eeeee[ee]} \]

\[\text{[eeeee[ee]} \quad \text{eeeee[ee]} \]

10 \[\text{[aaaaa][aaaa]} \quad \text{[ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω]} \]

12 \[\text{[ω ω ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω ω ω]} \]

\[\text{[YYYYY]YYYYY[γ] / [YYYYY]}γ \quad \text{eeeee[e]} / \quad \text{[eeeee]} \quad \text{eeeee[e]} \]

10 \[\text{[aaaaa][aaaa]} / \quad \text{[aaaa][aaaa]} \quad \text{[ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω]} \]

\[\text{[ω ω ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω ω ω]} \quad \text{[ω ω]} \]

54,14 Imperfection in the papyrus may have caused unusual spacing.

16f. Perhaps \[\text{ατξαμες} (77,5), \text{ατξωμ} (60,11) or \text{ατξοος}. \text{Cf. also} 65,10; 67,5; 73,8f.

20 \[\text{MS. ἀρπαίτι}. \]

And in this way / [the three] powers brought / 15 praise to the great, / [invisible], and [incorruptible] / [unnnameable] one, the [virginal (\text{παρθενικόν})] / Spirit (πνεῦμα) of the [Father] / [and the male] virgin (παρθένος) / 20 [Barbelo]. <They> asked (αἰτεῖ) /
power. A silence (αγή) of living silence (σιγή) / 15 came forth (προελθε) from the aeons (αιῶν) / myriads added on the three males, [the three] / male offspring, the races (γενεά) / 20 filled the great Doxomedon-aeon (αιῶν) with the power of the word of the whole pleroma (πλήρωμα).
[for a power.] A [living], / [silent (σγη) silence (σγη)] / [appeared] in a power, / [these which] are [glories] and / 25 [incorruptions,] the aeon (αιων) which / [ of] the aeons (αιων), // 55 he who presides [over the] / [myriads of] mysteries (μυστήριων), / the three males, [the] three [offspring (γενος)], / the males [and] the male races (γενεα), / 5 the [glories of the Father,] / [the] glories of the great [Christ and] / [the] male offspring (γενος), the [races (γενεα)] / filled the great / Doxomadedon [-aeon (αιων) with powers of] / 10 a word of the [pleroma (πληρωμα)] / [of] light.
The presentation of praise of the thrice-male child: III 44,22 - ?

III 44,22  τοτε πνομντ ναογ(τ' Ναλογ ἁπνο6]
           ἡξρκ ἃταφταζεξ ἁδι π[νο6 ἁςο]

24 ρατον ἁπνα παη ἃτ[αγ† Ραξ έτεξ]
       δομ χε αινον αγ† [νο]γ[καου ή]

26 ρνο6 ἁςορατον ἁπνα [μν έτεξ]
       ἀρκενικὴ ἁπαθενος ιω[ηα ήν]

28 τείκη ἁεικὴ ἁεικη ήν τμντ[νο6]

44,21  Corr. Ν in ΠΝΑ over ΕΙ. It seems the scribe began to write ΠΕΙΩΤ.
45,1ff. are missing.

Then (τότε) the thrice-male [child of the great] / Christ (χριστὸς) whom the [great] invisible (ἀδρατον) / Spirit (πνεῦμα) had anointed -- he [whose] / 25 power [was called] Ainon — gave [praise to] / the great invisible (ἀδρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα) [and his] / male (ἀρσενικὴ) virgin (παρθένος) Yoel, [and] / the silence (σιγὴ) of silent (σιγή) silence (σιγή), and the [greatness] //
The presentation of praise of the thrice-male child: IV 55,11 - 56,11

IV 55

tote πiψ[μτ]

[π]α] εταρταγ[εψ] ἡδι πινο6 ἡ
14 [ατ]ν[αγ] ερο[γ] [μ]πινα πα] εταγ
[†] π]αν ετεφ[μ] Αινον αγεινε]
16 [ε]π[α] ἡνογ[μο] [μ]πινο6 ἡ
[ατ]ν[αγ] ερο[γ] [μ]πινα μ] τρο
18 [ογ]τ ἡπαρφ[ενο] [ι]να] τ]
[χιν] ἡ]νογ[καρ] [ωψ] Αινογ[χι]
19 [μ]πτ[ν]ο6 ετ[ν][ 
[με]γ[α]νοθ [ 
22 [ω][αγ] ἡ]νο[μο] [ψ . . . . . 
[ζο][ρ] ετ[α]γ[ογ] [εβαλ [εβολ
26 [α]ψ [ναττ]α] [ε] ε[ψ
[μ]μο[ψ [ν]α[τ . . ] βιμα

55,15 There is no room for ΧΕ before ΑΙΝΟΝ.

Then (τότε) the [thrice-] / [male] child [of the] great [Christ (χριστός)] / whom [the great] / [in]visible [Spirit (πνεῦμα)] had anointed — / 15 whose power was called [Aion — brought] / praise to [the great] / [in]visible [Spirit (πνεῦμα) and the male] / virgin (παρθένος) [Yoel, the] / [silence (σιγή) of silent (σιγή)] silence, [the] / 20 greatness that [ ] / ineffable. [ ] / [in]effable [ ] / [un]answerable and / [un]interpretable (-ἐρμηνεύω), the / 25 first one who has [come forth,] / and (who is) unproclaimable /, un[ ] //
Pages 45-48 are missing.
IV 56

The Gospel of the Egyptians IV, 2

56 [ ] which is wonderful / [ in]effable / [ ]

, he who has / all the greatnesses [of] greatness / 5 [of]
the silence (σκότος) [of] silence at / that [place]. The thrice-[male] / [child] brought / praise and asked (αἰτεῖν) [for a] / [power] from
the [great,] / 10 [invisible, virginal (παρθενικόν)] / Spirit (πνεῦμα).

The appearance of Youel: IV 56,11-20

56,13 Perhaps πιψω]c.
Pages 45-48 are missing.
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS IV, 2

IV 56,16 [ Ἰεννυγοτθπ[ιον] 
[ἐνατνα]ψ ἐροογ · ἐζε[ν] 
18 [ ἶτε ἄκιψ [ἐτε] 
[ται τε ἁρκογ[γ]τ ἁπα[θε]] 
20 [οχ ἦγη] ·


invisible] / mysteries (μυστήριον) to [ ] / [ ] of the silence (σιγή) / [who is the male] virgin (παρθένος) / 

The appearance of Esephech: IV 56,20-22

20 το]τε αρφω[οπι] 
[νογωφι ε]βολ νδι[1 πα] 
22 [ογ ἶτε πα]λογ ἡμφι[νχ] 

Then (τότε) / [the child of the] child / Esephech [appeared.] / 

The summary (?): IV 56,23 - 58,22

ἀγῳ [ντε] ἀρξωκ εβ[ολ] 
24 [ν]δι π[ιωτ τ]μαλω πς[ν] 

57 [νζ] 

Σμ τηρογ· []

And [thus] he was completed, / namely, the [Father, the] Mother, the [Son,] / 

25 the [five] seals (σφαγίς), the / unconquerable power which [is] / the great [Christ (χριστός)] of all the incorruptible // 57 ones. [ ] /
Pages 45-48 are missing.
IV 57, 2  εὐογγάλια[πα] Νπα
πιστήντας τ[ι] εν Ντ...[
4  ξωρὲμ μὲν Νο[γ] εν Ν[γενὴς ομοιογνη]
5 (μ[λ]εν γενάτωρ[ν] Ν[α]...]
6 [...] ἄγει εβολ[α]
8 [...] ἑξεβολ[ω]
[10 [...] εβολ[α]
[12 [...] ετ' Να[λ][
[π]ι[ν] ετ' Ν[ν][
16 [π]ι[κ]αλαγμ[ον]]
[18 [...] εν Ν[τ][
20 [...] ωτ[ι]
[22 (μ[λ]ο[μ] 2μ π[ι[ν] Ν[μ] επο

57, 4 Perhaps Ν[ιο]ογ[ν].
8 Trace appears to be ζ.
14 Although Ν before Π is unprecedented in IV, 2 the trace cannot be Μ.
17f. Superlin. stroke is visible above Ν indicating the beginning of a name perhaps extending to ΗΝ in line 18.

holy [ ] / the end, [the] incorruptible [ ] / and [ ] / 5 they are powers [and glories] / [and] incorrup-
tions [ ] / [ ] they came forth [ ] / (lines 8-12) / This one brought [praise] / to the unrevealed, / 15 hidden [mystery (μυστήριον)] / [the] hidden (καλυπτός) [ ] / (lines 17-20) / him in the [ ] / [and] the aeons (αἰών) [ ] / thrones (θρόνος), /
Pages 45-48 are missing
and each one / 25 myriads of [powers] / without number surround [them,] // 58 [glories] and / [in]corruptions [ ] and they / [ ] of the Father, / [and] the [Mother, and] the Son, and / 5 [the] whole [pleroma (πληρωμα)] which I [mentioned] / before, [and the] five seals (σφραγίς) / [and the mystery (μυστήριον)] of / [mysteries (μυστήριον).] They [appeared] / (lines 9-12) / [ who] presides [over] / [ ] and the aeons (αἰών) [of] / 15 [ really] /
Pages 45-48 are missing.
58,16. Perhaps ἔλεος ἐν οἴμνηστῳ [NAME].

truly[ ] and the [ ] /
eternal [ ] / (lines 19-20) / [ ] and the / [really] truly
[eternal] aeons (αἰῶν). /

The appearance of Pronoia: IV 58,23 - 59,29

τοτὲ [αἰῶν ἐκόλοου ἑβδομίῳ οἴγνου]

24 [Ν]ΟΙΑΤ ΩΝ ΟΥΣΙΓΩ ΒΝ ΟΥΣΙΚΑΡ ΩΠ [Ἐ]ΠΟΝΩ ὑΠΕΝΝ [ΜΝ]

26 [Ο]ΥΨΑΧΕ [ΝΤΕ] ΠΙΩΠΤ ΒΝ [ΟΥ]

59 [ΝΘ]

ὑπφαρίκε ΝΗ ΕΤΑΠΙΩΝΤΟΥ]

2 ΕΒΟΛ ΩΝ ΚΟΥΝΙΟ ΕΧΑΧΙΝ[Ε ΕΒΟΛ]

ΖΝ ΝΙΕΘΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΙΡΩΠΙΠΙ]

4 ΝΧΟΟΥ . ΑΓΡ ΕΑΣΤΑΧΡΕ ΖΕΝ

Then (τότε) [providence (πρόνοια) came forth] / [from silence (σιγή)], and the [living silence] / 25 [of] the Spirit (πνεῦμα), [and] / the Word [of] the Father, and [a] / light. [She truly the five] // 59 seals(σφαγής) which [the Father brought] / forth from his bosom, and she passed / through] / all the aeons (αἰῶν) which I mentioned / before. And she established /
Pages 45-48 are missing.
IV 59 ὑπονοώ ἡνεῳγ[α]ν [μὴν] ἐν[αν]
6 [τα] λαὶ ἄναγγελον [ἡνατ'] ἰ ὑπὲ
8 [μὴν ἐν] ἑοροῦ ἡ [ἐνα]τξ[ῳ]ὺ[ῳ ἱ ἔγ]
14 [μὴν] ὕπῃ ἡ [. .] [. .] [μὴν]
[νἰλα] ὑ ὑ [ἀ] ὑ [ἐ] [ἐ] ὑ [ἐ]
16 [ἐφὴ] ὑ ὑ [ε] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ]
[νοῦ ὑ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ]
18 [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ]
[ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ]
20 [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ] [ἐ]
[ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ]
22 [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ] [ὑ]

59,14 Trace after ᾨ ὑ ἤ may be Ε, the next trace may be Λ.

Pages 45-48 are missing.
IV 59,24 [ мн ἡς]Νηφηξ πηρεα[α]μαζτε
[μπεοο]γ η[αλο]γ ητε ηαλο[γ]
26 [ мн πικα]ομ η[τ]ε πηρεοογ
[ ] η[ ] ητε ἡτ[ε]
28 [Νηφρα]γις [πιπα]νρωμαι ε[ν]
[τα]ρρωπ[π]η ἡκοοη

[and] Esephech, [the] splendiditenens, / 25 the [child] of the child / [and the crown of] his glory / [ ] of the five / seals (αφραγίς), [the] pleroma (πληρωμα) [that] / [I mentioned before].

The appearance of the Logos: IV 59,29 - 60,22

eaρφω[οτπ]

60 [ ]
[Νηει εβο]λ μαγ ηβι πινοβ ν
2 [ωαε] ναγτορεμις ετονζ
[πνον]τε ηη ογομντμε ηφη
4 [κικ η]νατμις παἰ επιακω
[μ]περαν εἴχω μμος ηξ
6 [ ...]αια[. ...]εκωσε .[. ]
[e]τε παἰ π[ε] πωκρε μπι[νοβ ν]
8 ἅκ ετε [παι] πε πωκρε [ητε ἡ]
10 αρε[ι εβ]ολ ἡμ πινοβ ηατναγ
ερ[ο υ]νω νατχωζ[ι]μηνα

There // 60 the great self-begotten (αυτογενής) / living [Word came forth,] / [the] true [god], the / unborn physis (φύσις), he whose / 5 name I shall tell saying: / [ ]αια[ ]εκ[ ] / who [is the] son of the [great] / Christ, who is the son [of] / [the in]effable silence (αγη), who / 10 came forth from the great [invisible] / and incorruptible [Spirit (πνευμα).] /
Pages 45-48 are missing
The presentation of praise of the Logos: IV 60,22-30

He brought [praise] / to the great, [in]visible, / virginal (παρθενικόν) Spirit (πνεῦμα), [the silence (σιγή)] / 25 of the [Father] in a silence (σιγή) [of the] / living silence (σιγή) [of silence,] / [the] place where the man rests. /
The creation of Adamas: III 48 last line - 49,7

III 49  

[ἐβολ ὑμᾶ e]τὴν ἁγία τοῦ ἐν

2 [πε ἡπ]νοῆ ἡμοὶ θείοιν ταύτα μιν

[ἐ]πον ἵππα τὰ ἐναφθυρτος ετου

4 ἂν ᾁλ ὄνομα διάναι ἡμείς ἑτομομάζε

6 ἡμεθράν ἐεἰξω ἅμος ἁ ἐεν

[ἴ]πν ἐὰ ἐὰ ἐὰ ἐὰ ἡμοὶ ἑς ἐνοπ

// 49 [appeared at (or: from)] that [place] the cloud / [of the] great light, the living / power (δύναμις), the mother of the holy, incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) ones, / the great power (δύναμις), the Mirothoe. / And she gave birth to him whose name / I name (ὁνομάζω) saying: ἐν / ἐν ἐὰ ἐὰ ἐὰ three times. /
Then (τὸτε) there came forth [at (or: from)] // 61 that place the [great cloud] / of the light, namely, a living / [power], the mother of the holy / in[corruptible] ones, of the great powers [ ] / 5 And she gave birth to him [whose] / name I shall [tell] saying: [Thou art] / [One,] thou art One, [thou art] One [ ] / [εα εα] εα.
The origin of Adamas: III 49,8-16

III 49, 8  [να] ἐρὰ ἀδάμας ποιοεὶν ετήςογο
            [ε] ἐν πετεβολ 2μ πρωμε περογ
10  [ει]τ θρωμε πεντανκα νιμ ψω
       πε εβολ θιμτα τι νκα νιμ ερογν

12  ερογ ετε αχντα μπελλαγ ψωπε
        απροελεσ εβολ θηδι πιωτ ηατ
14  νοει θμοφ ημαπερινοντος η η
       ει εβο[λ] θιν ηπιαρε ωλ πεχτ
16  θα πιογνκ ηπσωστ

49, 9  If one reads πε <ε>τεβολ the meaning will be similar to IV 61,8f.

For (γὰρ) it is [this one], Adamas, the shining light, / who is from
the Man, the first / Ἄν Man, he through whom / and to whom everything
became, / (and) without whom nothing became. / The unknowable
(ἀνωτερον), / incomprehensible (ἄπερμωτος) Father came forth
(προελθεῖν). He / came down from above / for the annulment of
the deficiency.

The union of Adamas and the Logos: III 49,16-22

16  τοτε

18  πνοβ ηλογος παγτογενής η
    νοιτε μη παθαρτος θρωμε
    ἀδάμας αγμαυκτι μη νεγερη
20  ογ αγσωπε θηδι ογλογος ητε

49,20  Corr. ζ over θ. The singular is demanded by the subject.

Then (τοτε) / the great Logos (λόγος), the divine Autogenes (αὐτο-
γενής), / and the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) man / Adamas mingled
with each other. / Λ Λογοσ (λόγος) of man came into being. /
The origin of Adamas: IV 61,8-18

For (ἐπιδε) this one, Ad[amas,] / is [a light] which radiated [from] / [the light; he is] the eye of the [light]. / For (γὰρ) [this is] the first man, / because of whom all things [are,] / [to] whom all things [are, and without] / [whom there is nothing,] the [Father] who [came] / [forth,] (who is) inaccessible [and] / [unknowable (-νοεῖν),] and who came / [down from above] for the annulment / [of the] deficiency.

The union of Adamas and the Logos: IV 61,18-23

III 49  πρωμε δαγω πρωμε ρωωφ
22  ἔνταψωπε ριτν ὅγῳadxε

49,22  Corr.  Κ€ crossed out;  ΟΥ above the line.

However, the man / came into being through a word.

The presentation of praise of the Logos and Adamas: III 49,22 - 50,17

22  ἀμ
24  ὑνιταρτασφ ὑπαρανίκον ἔν
26  ἔν πωκάσαντ ὑγοούτ Ἱαλογ
50  [N]
2  ἤνιοolumbia ὑπνοσ ἕκαστον ἥς
4  πεκλομ ὑπεροοου ἔν πνοσ
6  ἴεφρονοε εἴναγήττη ἔν ἴ
8  ἴαφθαρσια ἔν πεγπληρ[ω]

He / gave praise to the great, invisible (ἀδόρατον), / incomprehensible, virginal (παρθενικόν) / 25 Spirit (πνεύμα), and the male (ἀρσενική) virgin (παρθένος), / and the thrice-male child, // 50 and the male (ἀρσενική) [virgin (παρθένος)] / Youel, and Esephech, the splendiditens, / the child of the child and / the crown of his glory, and the great / 5 Doxomedon-aeon (αιών), and / the thrones (θρόνος) which are in him, and the / powers which surround him, the glories and / the incorruptions (ἀφθαρσία), and their whole pleroma (πλήρωμα) /
into being through a word.

The presentation of praise of the Logos and Adamas: IV 61,23 - 62,16

24 [eine εἰ]2ραὶ ὅνυμοι [Μπινοβ]
   [Νάτη]αγ ερόος ἦν [ατταζόι]
26 [ἀγῳ ἦν]ἀρθενικο[ῶν ἦν] γινώμ[ν]
28 [ἀγῳ ἦν] ἔνθημτο τούου[τ] ἅλοογ]
   [Μν ἦτοογ]τυ ἢπα[ρθενος] οὔγολα]
62 [Χβ]
   [Μν πα]λογ ηχηθύνξ πριηθαμάρ
2 [τε ἦ]μπεοοὺ ἦν <πάλογ> ἦτε πι
   [πα]λογ] ἦν πικαλομ ἦτε πεφεοογ·
4 [Μν σ]ινοβ διεωθ [Ναοθεμεδων]
   [Μν σ]ιράνος ετηθτού ἦν
6 [Μν]ομ ἑτκ[φτε] εροογ τε[ν][ν]
   [οογ] ἦν τε[ν]τκωςμ ἦν [πράη]

62, 2 MS. reads ΠΕΟΟΥ (influence of preceding ΕΟΟΥ).

[He] / [brought] praise [to the great,] / 25 [invisible,] and [incomprehensible,] / [and] virginal (παρθενικόν) [Spirit (πνεύμα), and] / [the male] virgin (παρθένος) [Barbelo], / [and the] thrice-male [child,] / [and the] male [virgin (παρθένος) Youel,] // 62 [and the child] Esephech, the splenditenens, / and the <child> of the / [child] and the crown of his glory, / [and the] great Doxomedon-aeons (αἰῶν), / 5 [and the] thrones (θρόνος) that are in them, and / [the powers that] surround them, / [glories] and incorruptions, and [the whole] /
which I mentioned before, / and the ethereal (ἀερόδιος) earth, 
the / receiver of God, where / the holy men of the / great light receive 
shape (ἐικών), / the men of the Father / of the silent (σιγή), living 
silence (σιγή), the Father / and their whole pleroma (πλήρωμα) 
as / I mentioned before.

The request of the Logos and Adamas: III 50,17 - 51,14

The / great Logos (λόγος), / the divine Autogenes (ἀυτογενής), 
and / the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) man Adamas gave praise / (and) they asked (αἰτέω) for a power (δύναμις) and / eternal strength 
for the Autogenes (ἀυτογενής) / for the completion (πλήρωμα) of the /
IV 62, 8 [ρωμά] τη[ρῷ] ετα[ιρ环卫] [ηξοοῃ]
[Μν πκ]iterated [Μπλλρ · πιρ[ε]ηη]
10 [νογαε] εροq πιμα [ετογξι γη]
[kων η]δη i nipymi eητογξαβ ν]
12 [τε η]ογοειν ητε πιω[μ ητε ἡ]
[σηη] Μ̣ ηηηη ητοητ[2 ηηη]
14 [μιωτ] μη μηλη[ρωμα ηρηρ]
[ετνη]τ[ωη η]εη ενται[ηρ环卫 η]
16 [ξο]ος

62,11 I has flaked off.
16 ΕΤΝΤΩΥ see 64,25; or ΕΤΝΤΑΥ see 66,24.

[pleroma (πλήρωμα)] that I [mentioned] before, /[and the] earth [of the]
air (ἀζη), the [receiver] / 10 [of God,] where the [holy] men / [receive
shape (εικόν),] (those) / [of the] light of the Father [of the] / [silence
(σιγή)] and the living [silent (σιγή)] spring (πηγή), / [the] Father
and [their whole] pleroma (πλήρωμα) / 15 as I mentioned / [before.]

The request of the Logos and Adamas: IV 62,16 - 63.8

16 [λαγειν]η ερ̣αί [νογσμογ]
[νήι πινόδ ημαξε ηαηγτοη]
[ν]ρψμε ξαδαμας λων χρηαι]
20 [τι] ηογδομ μη ονξ[ψο ω η ε]
[ν]ε ημ οιμντατηξ[ωμ ημ]
22 [π]ιαγτογέης ευ[πλήρῳ]

[The] great, / [self-begotten (αὐτογενής),] divine Word / and [the
incorruptible] / man Adamas [brought praise] and [they] / 20 [asked
(αἰτεῖν)] for a power and [eternal] / [strength] and in[corruption
for] / [the] Autogenes (αὐτογενής), for [completion (πλήρωμα)] /
four aeons (αἰῶν), in order that, / through them, there may appear the glory and the power (δύναμις) of the invisible (ἄφωρος) Father of the holy men of the great light which will come to the world (κόσμος) which is the image of the night. The incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) man Adamas asked for them a son out of himself, in order that he may become father of the immovable, incorruptible (ἄφθαρτον) race (γενεά), so that, through it (i.e. the race), the silence (σινή) and the voice (φωνή) may appear, and through it, the dead aeon (αἰῶν) may raise itself, so that it may dissolve (καταλύειν).
IV 62 [mart] nte piqtooy n[enewn]n

24 [zin]a ebol zitooto[y nteq]
[oy]whn2 ebol ndi p[eouy mn]

26 [tpe]m nte piwt n. [. . . n]
[rwme e]toyab nte p[ino6 n]

28 [oyoei]n nh etnac[i epechit]
[wa piko]cmoc nei[ne noywh]

30 [tote] piatxwzm [nnob n]
[rwme adam]ac aq[piati n]

63 [37]
oywhpe naq ebol nn[as q zi][a]

2 nteqwhpe nei[wit n]n

genex natkim ayw n[ataxw]

4 zm ayw etbhtc n<e>cp[wporn]
ncywhn2 ebol ndi [c]ifm [mn]

6 [c]nh ayw etbahc n[qtw]

[onq n]6i piewn etmo[oyt]

8 [xe]a[ac eqnabwa eb[ol

62,26 The remnant after N is not T.
31 The line is about 3 letters shorter than the preceding ones. Perhaps the scribe did not want to split up OYWHPE between 2 pages.

63, 4 MS. reads N TAC.
6 N[TEQTW] is possible but rather long.

of the four [aeons (aiw)], / [in order that (iwa)], through them, / 25 there may appear the [glory and] / [the power] of the [ Father [ of the] / holy [men] of the [great] / [light] that will come [down] / [to the night-like world (kodmos). / 30 Then (tote)] the incorruptible, [great] / [man Adam] as [asked (aitev)] / 63 for himself a son out of himself, [in order that (iwa)] / he (i.e. the son) may become Father [of the] / immovable and [in] corruptible race (yeved), / and that because of it (i.e. the race) / 6 [the] silence (oyn) [and the] voice may appear, / and that because of it the / [dead] aeon (aiw) [may raise itself,] / [so that] it may dissolve.
The creation of the four lights and Seth: III 51,14-22

And thus there came forth from above the power (δύναμις) of the great light, the Manifestation (προφάνεια). She gave birth to the four great lights (ϕωτήρ): Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe, Eleleth, and the great incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) Seth, the son of the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) man Adamas.

The completion of the hebdomad: III 51,22 - 52,3

And thus the perfect (τελεία) hebdomad (ἐβδομάς) which exists in hidden mysteries (μυστήριον) became complete. When she [receives] the [glory] she becomes eleven (ένδεκάς) ogdoads (ὀγδοάς).
The creation of the four lights and Seth: IV 63.8-17

IV 63, 8

αγω]

[ντηε αρφφοριην ηεη iε[βολα ηηα]

10 [ζπαι ηηηι] ηπομ ηποβ [νηομ]

[νηε π]ηοβ νηογειη <π>ηπ[ειωογ]

12 [αγω αε]χπο ημπιητοογ η[φωη]

[θηρ ηρ]μοζηα : ο[π]οιαηα

14 [αηηειοε] ςλε[λεθ] ιπ πηοβ]

[ηαηειοε] ςλε [κη ηηιηηηζ][ε ε ηηε]

16 [πηοβ ηα]ηειοε ηειωε ηε[ααμαη]


The completion of the hebdomad: IV 63.17-24

αγω ντηη αγχωκ

18 [βολα ντη]ηεβηομαη ετηνκ

[βολα ηθ εη]ηοοπ ζη ογμη

20 [κηθηπιον] ηνε ζεηηυζηπιον

[εγηηιη] ηθ ετακι ηπεο[ογ]

22 [. . . .]α εαπωπε ηο[γηεη]

[αηεκα] ηνολοαη ζηα[νεθ]

24 [χωκ ζη ηκο ηνολοαη]

63.24 The superlin. stroke is in the lacuna.

And thus [the] / perfect hebdomad (εθδομάς) was completed / [which] exists in a mystery (μυστηριον) / 20 of [hidden] mysteries (μυστηριον), / she who received the [glory] / [ . . .] and who became [eleven (ενθεκάς)] / ogdoads (ογδόας), in order that (ίνα) [she may] / [be completed by] four ogdoads (ογδόας).
And the Father nodded approval (κατανευών); / the whole pleroma (πλήρωμα) of the / 5 lights (φωστήρ) was well pleased (συνευδοκείν). / Their consorts (σύζυγοι) came forth / for the completion of the ogdoad (δύοδὸς) of / the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενὴς) : the / Grace (χάρις) of the first light / 10 Harmozel, the Perception (αἴσθησις) of the second / light Oroiael, the Understanding (αἴτθησις) / of the third light / Davithe, the Prudence (φρόνησις) of the / fourth light Eleleth. This / 15 is the first ogdoad (δύοδὸς) of the / divine Autogenes (αὐτογενὴς).
The consorts of the lights: IV 63.24 - 64.10

IV 63.24  
[αγώ]  
[αψ† με]τε ἰνδὶ πιωτ[αγώ αψ]  
26 [ὑβηρ ἰν†] μετε ἰνδὶ πιπ[ανρωμα]  
[ντε νιφ]ωκτηρ ἀγρό[ορπ ἰ]  
28 [ουωνε] βοιλ ἰνδὶ γενευ[νυγος]  
[επιλαρ]ωμα ντε ἂογ[οα]  
64 [τα]  
[ντε πια]γτογενης ἰννουτε  
2 [πνμο]τ ἑπισωρι νιφωκτηρ  
[ἀρμο]ζηλ· τεκεντικ ἑμιμες  
4 [ἐκναγ] νιφωκτηρ· ὀροιανη·  
[πνοο]γν ἑπ[ιμ]ειςωμετ ἰ  
6 [φωκ]τηρ ἀλευιθε· τεκβ[ω]  
[ἐπιμ]ειςωου ἑφωκ[τηρ]  
8 [ναλα]τε· ετε ταὶ τε ἃ[σωρι]  
[νογαο]αν ντε πιαγ[ογενης]  
10 [ίννουτε]  

64, 2 Superlin. stroke on ἝΠΙ is in the lacuna.

[And] / 25 the Father [approved, and] / the [pleroma (πλήρωμα) of the] / lights (φωστήρ) [joined] in approval. / [Consorts (σύγγος) appeared] / [for the] completion (πλήρωμα) of the ogdoad (ὀγδοας) // 64 [of the] divine Autogenes (ἀυτογενὴς) /: [the Grace] of the first light (φωστήρ) / [Armazel, the Perception (αἴσθησις) of the / [second] light (φωστήρ) Oroiael, / 5 [the Understanding] of the third / light (φωστήρ) Davi, the Prudence / [of the] fourth light (φωστήρ) / [Elel]eth. This is the [first] / [ogdoad (ὀγδοας)] of the / [divine] / 10 Autogenes (ἀυτογενὴς).]
The ministers of the lights and their consorts: III 52.16 - 53.12

And / the Father nodded approval (κατανευέναι); the whole pleroma (πλήρωμα) / of the lights was well pleased (συνενδοκεῖν). / The <ministers (διάκονοι)> came forth (προελθεῖν): / 20 the first one, the great / Gamaliel (of) the first great / light Harmozel, and the great / Gabriel (of) the second great / light Oroiael, and the great / 25 Samlo of the great light Davithei, / and the great Abrasax of // 53 [the great light] Eleleth. And / [the] consorts (σύνγερσες) of these came forth (προελθεῖν) / by the will of the good pleasure (εἰδοκία) / of the Father: the Memory (μνήμη) of the great one, / 5 the first Gamaliel, the Love (ἀγάπη) /
The ministers of the lights and their consorts: IV 64,10 - 65,5

IV 64,10 ἀγω αφτ [μετε νδι πι]

[6τ α]γω αφρωβηρ ντ [μετε]

12 (νδι) πιπλαρμωμα τηρ [ντε]

[νιφ]φωστηρ εαγρωο [ρη νδι]

14 [εβ]ολ νδι γεναιακω[ν πι]ωο

[πη] ννοβ καμαλη[α ντε πι]

16 [ννοβ] μφωστηρ [αρμοξα]

[μ]πινοβ γαβρι[α ντε πινοβ]

18 μμεσχαναγ μφω[στηρ ὀρολανα]

πινοβ σαμβαππ ντε πινοβ]

20 μμεσγοντι μφω[στηρ]

λαγειοε · ἀβραμαζ [μπινοβ]

22 [μμ]μεσγοου μφω[στηρ]

[να]ναθω · αγω αγει εβολ νδι]

24 [γεν]ικυνζυγος ἕν ο[ντ]

[μετε] ντωου ντε πινοτ]

26 [πιμεεγιε] μπισωρ[πι ννοβ]

[καμαλη]να · ταγα[π [μπιμες]

64,16 Superlin. stroke on Μ is in the lacuna.

18 The line must have been unusually long.

21 Superlin. stroke on Μ is in the lacuna.

26 Superlin. stroke on Μ is in the lacuna.

The request of the Logos and the pleroma: III 53,12 - 54,11

12 to

πνοῆς τὸ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸγενῆς

14 εἰς ἕκες ἠπεληρωμα

16 οὐχογος ἔπνοια ἠγαθοτόπους

18 κων ἡν ταρσενικῆ ἠπαρθεε

Then (τότε) / the great Logos (λόγος), the Autogenes (αὐτογενής), / and the word of the pleroma (πληρωμα) / 15 of the four lights gave / praise to the great, invisible (ἄρατος), / uncallable (ἀκλητος), virginal (παρθενικός) Spirit (πνεῦμα), / and the male (ἄρατος) virgin (παρθένος), / and the great Doxomedon- /
IV 64,28 [Cnay] ἴνοβ ἱαβριθὰ· ἑρνήν
[mployee] ἰμεςψοντὲς καμβάω

65 [46] πωμῇ ἰνῆα ἐνεζ ὁμοίον ὀμες
2 ἡθοῦν ἀπρακατα· ᾿αιω ἰνήθες ἀγ
χωκ ἐβολὴ ἵνι ἐνεὴ ὅρναδος
4 ταγμε ἐτχηκ ἐβολὴ· ἑ[δος]


The request of the Logos and the pleroma: IV 65,5-30

6 [τ]ὲ πινοῦ ἱμαξε ἴνατ[ο]γενής]
[μ]ὲν πιπάρωμα τῆ π οὶ τε πι
8 ἡθοῦν μὑωσῆπρ· ᾿αι[ε]ίνε
[ε]ὴπα[ἴ] ἱνογιαλ ἤπιν[ο]δ ἵν[]
12 [μπ]α ὅν ἱποῦτ ἱπ[αρ]ον[ε]
[νο] [μ]ὲν ἰνοῦ ἰνεὼν ἰδ[ο]ζο

65, 6 Superlin. stroke on ἴνατ is in the lacuna.
7 Superlin. stroke on ἰ is in the lacuna.

[Then (τότε)] / the great, self-[begotten (ἐὐτογενής)] Word / [and] the whole pleroma (πλύρωμα) [of the] / [four] lights (φωστήρ) [brought] / praise to the [great,] / 10 [invisible,] and in[corruptible,] / [unnameable,] virginal (παρθενικόν) / [Spirit (πνεῦμα),] and the male [virgin (παρθένος),] / and the great [Doxomedon] -/
III 53,20 ἡλιον μὴ νεορνος ετνήη
τομ μὴ νδομ ετκωτε εροογ
22 μὴ γενεοοου μὴ γενεαογηα
μὴ νδομ μὴ〈Ν〉πωομντ νδουγτ
24 ἡλου μὴ ταροεινη ἅπαρ
θεοος ιογηα μὴ ἁσθφηκ
54 ἃ
πετμαρτε ἴπε[ο][α][γ] παλογ]
2 μπαλογ μὴ πεκλομ Ῥπε[ν]ε]
οου πεπληρωμα Τηρη μὴ νι
4 εοου θυρογ είμμαγ Νιπλα
ρωμα ετε μὴ ἄρνχου μὴ〈Ν〉ηια
6 ων ἡατονομαζε ἴμοου χε
κας εγνατ̣ παν επειωτ̣ χε
8 πμαζ’ητοου’ πε μὴ ττεν〈ε〉α η
αθαρτος εγεμοντε ετεσπο
10 ρα ἴηωτ̣ χε τεσπορα ἴπνοβ
ηθε .

53,23 Corr. T in ΜΝΤ over N.
54, 8 Corr. ωκεταχ crossed out. ητοογ written above the line. TE changed to ΝΕ, but probably to be deleted.

20 aeon (αιών), and the thrones (θρόνοι) which are in / them, and the powers which surround them, / glories, authorities (ἐξουσία), / and the powers, <and> the thrice-male / child, and the male (ἄρσευκι) virgin (παρθενία) / 25 Youel, and Esepech, // 54 the splenditenens, [the child] / of the child and the crown of [his] / glory, the whole pleroma (πλήρωμα), and / all the glories which are there, the / 5 infinite pleromas (πληρωμα) <and> the / unnameable (-όνομάζειν) aeons (αιών), in / order that they may name the Father / the fourth with the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) / race (γενεά), (and) that they may call the seed (σπορά) / 10 of the Father the seed (σπορά) of the great / Seth.
aeons (αἰών), and the thrones (θρόνος) that [are] / 15 [in] them, and the powers which [surround] / [them], glories, / [powers, and] authorities (ἐξουσία), and the thrice-/[male child,] and the male / [virgin (παρθένος)] Youel, and Esephech, / 20 [the] splendt[enens,] and / [the crown of] his glory, and / [the] whole [pleroma (πλῆρωμα),] and [all] the / glories that are in the [in]accessible / pleromas (πλῆ- / ρωμα), [and the] / 25 unnameable [aeons (αἰών), in order that (ίνα)] / [they] may name [the Father] / [the fourth] with the [immovable, incorruptible] / race (γενέα) of the [Father, and] / [that they] may call [it] / 30 [the] seed (σπόρα) of the great [Seth.]
Then \( \tau \tau \tau \) everything shook, \( / \) and trembling took hold of the incorruptible \( \alpha \phi \theta \alpha \rho \rho \rho \) ones. Then \( \tau \tau \tau \) the three male \( \alpha \) children came forth \( \pi \rho \omega \ell \theta \varepsilon \iota \) / 15 from above down \( / \) into the unborn \( \alpha \gamma \varepsilon \nu \nu \nu \) ones, and the self- \( \alpha \) begotten \( \alpha \nu \tau \gamma \nu \varepsilon \nu \) \( \alpha \) ones, and those who were begotten \( / \) in what is begotten \( \alpha \gamma \varepsilon \nu \nu \nu \) \( \alpha \). The greatness came forth \( \pi \rho \omega \ell \theta \varepsilon \iota \) \( / \) the \( / \) whole greatness of the great Christ \( \chi \rho \iota \tau \tau \kappa \sigma \) \( \chi \) He \( / \) established thrones \( \theta \rho \omicron \nu \omicron \omicron \) in glory, \( / \) myriads without number, \( / \) in the four aeons \( \alpha \iota \omega \nu \) around them, \( / \) myriads without number, \( / \) \( \delta \omicron \nu \alpha \mu \iota \) and glories \( / \) \( \delta \omicron \nu \alpha \mu \iota \) and incorruptions \( \alpha \phi \theta \alpha \rho \rho \rho \). And they came \( / \) forth \( \pi \rho \omega \ell \theta \varepsilon \iota \) in this way. 

54,18 Or: in the begotten one.

66, 6 Or: into the begotten one.
The emergence of the heavenly church: III 55,2-16

And / the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτός), spiritual (πνευματική) / church (ἐκκλησία) increased in the four / 5 lights of the great, living Autogenes (αὐτογενής), / the god of truth, praising, / singing (and) giving glory / with one voice, / with one accord (ἐικών), with a mouth / which does not rest, to the Father, and / the Mother, and the Son, and / their whole / pleroma (πλήρωμα), just as I mentioned <before>. / The five seals (σφαγίς) which possess the myriads, and / they who rule (ἀρχεῖον) over the aeons (αἰών) and they who / bear (φορεῖν) the glory of the leaders (στρατηγὸς) /
The emergence of the heavenly church: IV 66,14 - 67,1

And [the] / 15 [in]corruptible, spiritual (πνευματική) / [church (ἐκκλησία) increased] in the [four] / lights (φωτισμός of the [great] / self-begotten (ἀυτοχειρισμός), [living Word, the god] / of truth, all [praising and] / 20 singing, giving [glory with one voice,) / with [one] accord (ἐκκλησία), / with a never silent voice, [to the Father,) / and the Mother, and the Son, [and] / their [pleroma, just as] / 25 [I] mentioned [before. . . . the five] / [seals (σφαγίας)] which preside [over the] / [myriads, and] they who [rule (ἀρχηγοί)] / [over the] aeons (αιών), and the leaders (στρατηγῶν) / [who bear (φορεῖν)] the glory were given /
III 55  

ἀγ’ (ναγ’) ἡτεπιτροπὴ εὐογνέ εβολ.

16  ἡμετὲρῳ χάμνν.

15 were given the command (ἐπιτροπή) to reveal / to those who are worthy. Amen (ἀμήν).

The presentation of praise of Seth and the request for his seed:

III 55,16 - 56,3

16  τοτε πνοῆ

ἡχο’ ἡψῆρε ἡμαθαρτος ἃ

18  ἰψμε αδάμας ἀγ’ ἀγγεμοῦ

ἡπνοῆ ἡμορατος ἡνακαλτος

20  ἡνατονομαξε ἠμοὶ ἡμαρε’

νικὸν ἡπνα ἢν ἀπρες ἐν ἀπροενίκη

〈ἐπαρθενος ἢν πνομή ἃ

ζοοῦτ ἦναλογ ἢν ταρσενίκη〉

22  ἐπαρθενος ἱοῦνα ἢν ἱσχυρὴ

πετεμαζτε ἡπεοοὺ ἢν πε

24  κλοὴ ἡπεθεοου παλοὶ ἡπαλογ

56  ἢς

ἐν ἡνοὸν ἡνοξομαδὼν Ἠαιω[ν]

55,21 MS. reads ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗ. The scribe skipped almost 2 lines due to homoioteleuton.

24 Corr. α over 1. The scribe began to write ΠΑΛΑΟΥ.

Then (τότε) the great / Seth, the son of the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) / man Adamas, gave praise / to the great, invisible (ἀόρατος), uncallable (ἀκλητος), / 20 unnameable (ἄονομάξεων), virginal (παρθενικον) / Spirit (πνεύμα), and the <male (ἀρενική)> <virgin (παρθένος), and the thrice-male child, and the male (ἀρενική)> / virgin (παρθένος) Youel, and Esephech, / the splendiditenens, and the / crown of his glory, the child of the child, // 56 and the great Doxomedon-aeons (αἰὼν), /
IV 66,30 [nay m]poyas ca2ne [eoynw2]
67 [32]
ebol nnn eimaps[a] 2[amhn:]
30 the command [to reveal] // 67 to those who are worthy. [Amen (dμην).] /

The presentation of praise of Seth and the request for his seed: IV 67,2 - ?

2 tote pino6 che pwhpe [nte pi]
atxwem prwme a[a]am[ac apei]
4 ne e2pa 6oyc[mo]y [mp][ino6 n]
 nathay e[po] q ayw naxa2m][-p]
6 [ay]w n[a]t+- pan epoq [mparoeni]
 [kon m]paya m[n] t2oo finish [mpar]
8 [d4eno]c mn pilm 20y[y t nalo]y
 [mn t]20y[enoc youla]
10 [.][
11 ff. are lost.

67, 5 For [xa2mp] or [xω2m] see supra 54,16f. note.

Then (τότε) the great Seth, the son [of the] / incorruptible man Adamas, brought / [praise] to the [great], / it invisible, [and incorruptible,] / [and] unnameable, [virginal (παρθενικόν)] / Spirit (πνεῦμα), and the male [virgin (παρθένος),] / and the thrice-male [child,] / [and the] male virgin (παρθένος) [Youel,] / (lines 10 - ?)
and the pleroma (πλήρωμα) which I mentioned before; and he asked (αἰτεῖν) for his seed (σπορά). /

Plesithea and her work: III 56, 4-13

Then (τότε) there came forth from that place the great power (δύναμις) of the great light Plesithea, the mother of the angels (ἀγγελός), the mother of the lights, the glorious mother, the virgin (παρθένος) with the four breasts, bringing the fruit (καρπός) from Gomorrah as spring (πηγή) and Sodom, which is the fruit (καρπός) of the spring (πηγή) of Gomorrah which is in her. She came forth through the great Seth.
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS IV, 2

Plesithea and her work: IV 67, 11-27

11-23 are lost.

IV 67,24

[ ][ ]n[ ]
[ ]te [ ]m[ ]
26 [ ]m[e ]2h[t ][ ]e[bo][ ]
[ ]t[oo][q ]m[p][n][o][b ][ ]c[h][o][ ]

67,24ff. The line numbers are based on an estimate.

(lines 11-24) / 25 [ ] the [ ] / [
through] / the great [Seth.]
Then (τότε) / the great Seth rejoiced about / 15 the gift which was granted (χαρίζεσθαι) him / by the incorruptible (αφθαρτος) / child. He took his seed (01ropa) / from her with the four breasts, the virgin (1rap0tvos), / and he placed it with / 20 him in the fourth aeon (aiwv), / in the third great / light Davithe.

The creation of the rulers of the world: III 56,22 - 58,22

After five / thousand years the great / light Eleleth spoke, “Let someone / 23 reign over the chaos (χαos) and Hades”. /
The rejoicing of Seth: IV 67,27 - 68,5

IV 67

[He] / [rejoiced] about the [gift which] / [ ] him [by] / 30 [the incorruptible [child] / [to take his seed (αὐρα)]] from [ ] the virgin (��αραντ) with / [the four which he placed with / [him in] the four aeons (αἰῶν) in the third light (φωστήρ)] / 5 [David]the.

IV 68

[ΣΗ] [†παρθενος τα]
2 [ΝΚΙΒΕ Α] εταχταζος επατε ΝΜ
[ΜΑΡ ΖΗ] πιθοου ΝΝΕΩΝ ΖΗ ΠΗ
4 [ΝΟΘ ΝΗΜΕ[Ζ]Ω[Ω]ΜΕΤ ΜΦΩΧΤΗΡ
[ΔΑΓΕΙ]ΘΕ

67,27-31 The line numbers are based on an estimate.
68, 2 See supra 61,7 note.

The creation of the rulers of the world: IV 68,5 - 70,?

[ΑΛΛΑ] ΜΝΝΟΑ ΤΟΥ Ν
6 [ψό ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΠΕΧ]ΑΗ ΝΟΙ ΠΙΝΟ[6]
[ΜΦΩΧΤΗΡ]Ρ ΝΑΛΑΘΟ ΧΕ Μ[Λ]ΡΕ[ΟΥ]
8 [ΟΝ ΠΡΟ] ΕΣΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΧΑΟ[Σ ΜΝ]
And there appeared a cloud // 57[whose name is] hylic (ὕλική) Sophia / [ She] looked out on the parts (μέρος) / [of the chaos (χάος)), her face being like / [ in] her form ... / 5 [ ] blood. And / [the great] angel (ἀγγέλος) Gamaliel spoke / [to the great Gabriel], the minister (διάκονος) of / [the great light (φωστήρ)] Oroiael; / [he said, “Let an] angel (ἀγγέλος) come forth / 10 [in order that he may] reign over the chaos (χάος) / [and Hades”]. Then (τότε) the cloud being / [agreeable came forth] in the two monads (μονάδος), / each one [of which had] light. / [ the throne (θρόνος)], which she had placed / 15 in the cloud [above.] / [Then (τότε)] Sakla, the great /
IV 68 [Alexander. ertation. aqew aqai evola ñb10[y]
10 [kloole . . . ]t[
11-25 are lost.

26 [ tō aqix.
[ cnte nτ[
28 [ ἡπικογ[`
[ ἐν πὴ [e]τα[ταφοκ ε]
30 [patri ]ei evola [e]vola [zn
[ ] ἐπι [. . . ] .[
69 [38]
ñb1 σακλα πινοβ [ναγγελοκ ε]

68.26-31 The line numbers are based on an estimate.

[Hades”]. And [a cloud] came forth / (lines 10 - 25) / [ ] she
[ ] / [ ] two [ ] / [ ] the ... [ ] / [ ] the one which [she had placed] / 30 [ ] came forth from
[ ] / [ ] the [ ] // 69 Sakla, the great [angel
(ἀγγελος), saw] /
III 57

[ναίγελος ε]πνοεῖ ναζίμων ε

18 [τούμμαρα νεβρογνα ταυ γανγωπε]
[νομιάν νογη]πιά ναξπο ντε πκα

20 [γαγνπο νζεν ναίγελος εγναρας]
[νατειν πεξα]φ Νδι σακλα ἡπνοε

22 [ναζίμων νεβρογνα ταυ γαν γανω]
[πε Νδι πμντε]νοους ναίων ἡμ

24 [π] δαίων νικοσμος Ν
[πεξαφ Νδι πνοε Νιγ]

26 [γελος σακλα] Νμ πογς Μπαγτο

58

γενες ταυ ερεπε]

2 Ντηπε νειαφγ[...

4 ταυ μαγιε νητν νιετογς πογς]

6 άει νδι πογς πογς άνεων Νπεειν]

8 ναίγελος πε άθωνο παί ζωωφ

57,25 Corr. 6 in νδι over Ν (dittography).

58, 8 Ναί ζωωφ uncertain.

[angel (ἀγγελος), saw] the great demon (δαιμων) / [who is with him, Neb]ruel. And they became / [together a] begetting spirit (πνεῦμα) of the earth. / 20 [They begot] assisting (παραστατεῖν) angels (ἀγγελος). / Sakla [said] to the great / [demon (δαιμον) Neb]ruel, “Let / [the] twelve aeons (αἰών) come into being in / [the] aeon (αἰών), worlds (κόσμος) / 25 ” the great angel (ἀγγελος) / [Sakla] said by the will of the Autogenes (αυτογενής), // 58 “There shall be the [ ...... ] of the number of seven [ ...... ]”. / And he said to the [great angels (ἀγγελος)], / “Go and [let each] / of you reign over his [world (κόσμος)].” / Each one [of these] / twelve [angels (ἀγγελος)] went [forth. The first] / angel (ἀγγελος) is Ath[oth. He is the one] /
IV 69, 2  

him who is with him, Nebruel, the great / demon (δαίμων). And [they became together] / a begetting spirit (πνεῦμα) [of the earth. The twelve] / 5 [angels (ἀγέλος)] /
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS III, 2

III 58 ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΣ ΕΡΟΨΟΝ ΝΘΙ ΝΝΟΙ ΝΝΕ]\n10 ΝΕΑ ΝΝΡΨΜΕ ΧΕ [ ΠΜΕΖ]\n12 ΠΕ ΠΜΕ΢ΨΟΜΝ[Τ ΠΕ ΓΑΛΙΑ ΠΜΕΖ]\n14 ΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΣ ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ ΣΑ\n16 ΜΟΥΣ ΕΡΟΨ ΝΘΙ ΝΝΟΙ ΝΝΕΝΑ Ν]\n18 ΠΜΕ΢ΨΗ ΑΚΙΡΕΣΣΙΝΑ ΠΜΕΨΙΣ ΙΟΨΒΗΛ]\n20 ΜΝΠΤΟΥΝΕ ΠΕ ΑΡΧ[ΕΙΡ ΑΛΨΝΗΙΝ]\n22 ΕΙ ΝΕΠΙΧΝ ΑΜΝΤ[Ε ΜΝ ΠΕΧΛΟΣ]\n
58,11 Or ΝΠΚΨΩΣ, see Apocrypha II 10,31.
14 Corr. Ω over Λ.
20 Corr. Χ over Μ.

whom [the great] generations (γενεά) / 10 of men call [ ..... The] / second is Harmas, [who] is [the eye of the fire.] / The third [is Galila. The] / fourth is Yobel. [The fifth is] / Adonaios, who is [called] / 16 Sabaoth. The sixth [is Cain, whom] / the [great generations (γενεά) of] / men call the sun. The [seventh is Abel;;] / the eighth Akiressina; the [ninth Yubel.] / The tenth is Harm[upiel. The] / 20 eleventh is Arch[ir-Adonin.] / The twelfth [is Belias. These] / [are] the ones who preside over Hades [and the chaos (χάος).] /
IV 70  
[6]

[.. πετογμ]ογτε εροq ῥβι ρε

2 [νεα τηρογ] ντε νιρωμε χε πρη·
[πνεςαωq αβελ]· πνεςωμονν

4 [ακιρεςσινα· πνες]ψειτ ιογβηλ
[πνεςωμητ 2αρμο]γνιανιαν· πνες]

6 ff. are lost.

70, 3  Part of the stroke over ΑΒΕΛ is visible.

// 70 [whom all] the generations (γενεά) / of men call the sun;
/[the seventh Abel]; the eighth / [Akiressina; the] ninth Yubel; /
5 [the tenth Harmupiael;] the / (lines 6-?)
The arrogance of Sakla: III 58,23 - 59,1

And after the founding of the world, Sakla said to his angels, "I, I am a jealous god, and apart from me nothing has come into being", since he trusted in his nature.

The rebuke of Sakla and the creation of man: III 59,1-9

Then a voice came from on high saying, "The Man exists, and the Son of the Man". Because of the descent of the image which is like its voice in the height of the image which has looked out, through the looking out of the image above, the first creature was formed.
IV 70, 6 — end is lost.
The redeeming activity of Metanoia: III 59,9 - 60,2

Because of this Metanoia came to be. She received her completion and her power by the will of the Father and his approval (εὐδοκία) with which he approved (εὐδοκέων) of the great incorruptible (ἄφθαρτον), immovable race (γενεὰ) of the great, mighty men of the great Seth, in order that he may sow it in the aeons (αἰῶν) which had been brought forth, so that, through her (i.e. Metanoia), the deficiency (νεκρά) may be filled up. For (γάρ) she had come forth from above down to the world (κόσμος) which is the image of the night. When she had come, she prayed for (the repentance of) both the seed (μορφή) of the archon (αἴμων) of this aeon (αἰῶν) and the authorities (ἐξουσία) who had come forth from him, that defiled (seed) of the demon (δαιμόνιον) begetting god which will be destroyed, and the seed (μορφή) //
71, 5 Perhaps \textit{ελαγκ[α]ακ.}
7 The line is unusually long.

(lines 70, ?-end) \textit{// 71 who sowed it in the earth-born aeons (\textit{αιων}), / so that (\textit{ινα}), because of her, the deficiencies / may be filled up. For (\textit{γαρ}) she who came down / from the height to the night-like / \textit{οδ} world (\textit{κόσμος}), [having been appointed (\textit{;) came to] / [pray] for (the repentance of) both the seed (\textit{σπορά}) [of] / [the] archon (\textit{ἀρχων}) of this aion (\textit{αιων}) and those [who] / [are from] him, [which (i.e. the seed)] is defiled and [perishable] / of the [ ] god, /}
The work of Hormos: III 60,2-8

2 τότε ἀρεί ινὴ πνοῆς ἀνεθέλετο ζορμὸς ἐσπατε ἑβολα
4 ζιτοοτόγ υμπαρθενος ἴπε
τὰ χν ἐτραχ̄μ  ἴτε πνειαίων ἐν
6 οὐκεκέος ἱλορογενὴς ἐνῴογα
ἀβ  ἐβολα ζιτοοτή ἴππεινα ἐναρ
8 οιὸν ἐντεσπορά ἴπνοῆς ἴνηθος ἰν.

Then (τότε) the great angel (ἄγγελος) Hormos came to prepare, / through the virgins (παρθένοις) of the / corrupted sowing of this aeon (αἰών), in / a Logos-begotten (λογογενῆς), holy vessel (σκεύος), / through the holy (ἀγιον) Spirit (πνεῦμα), / the seed (σπορά) of the great Seth. /

The placing of the seed of Seth: III 60,9-18

10 σπορά αὐξ αὐξο ἰμος ἐναιων
νταγχπου ετεγνηπε ν πνω ἐν
12 σοδομὴν ζοειν εγχῳ ἰμος

Then (τότε) the great Seth came and brought his / seed (σπορά). And it was sown in the aeons (αἰῶν) / which had been brought forth, their number being the amount of / Sodom. Some say /
IV 71,10  [αγω μν ϊνας] τσπορα ϊνα[αλς πρθ]
[μν χθε πιν]οθ.

10 [and] the seed (σπορά) of [Adam, the sun.] / [and Seth the] great.

The Work of Hormos: IV 71,11-18

tοτε αριθμοι εβολα] ὁ θεοι
12 [πινοβ] ναηθελοξ γορμος εε[οβτε]
[εβολα ςιτοοττουξ γνηπαρθενος]
14 [ντε τσπορα]ντε ςιρμξινε[τε πεταιων]
[γν ογκε]γοξ ναξπο νωκαξε εκ
16 [ογας εβολα ςιτοοττη民众 π[π]ναι]
[τογας ντε]πορα ντε [πινοβ]
18 [θεοι]

Then (τότε) [the great] / angel (ἄγγελος) Hormos [came forth] to prepare, / [through] the virgins (παρθένοι) / [of the] corrupt [seed (σπορά)] of this aeon (αἰων), / 15 [in a] Logos-begotten, [holy] vessel (σκεύος), / through the [holy] Spirit (πνεῦμα), / [the] seed (σπορά) of [the] great / [Seth.]

The placing of the seed of Seth: IV 71,18-30

tοτε πινοβ χθεθ αριθμοι
[αριθμοι ντε]γοσπορα [αγω αριθμοι]
20 [τε εξερα]ενεφων ναξπο ν]καξ
[ετε πεγωθ υε]γαττη [ηπε ε]πο
22 [ο ηντε]κοδομη ντε [οου δι]ε αγ

[Then (τότε)] the great Seth came / [and brought] his seed (σπορά), [and] he sowed / 20 [it in the] earth- [born] aeons (αἰων) / [of which the amount is] an uncountable (number) / [of] Sodom. [But (δὲ) they] /
that Sodom is the place of pasture / of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. / 15 But (δέ) others (say) that the great Seth took / his plant out of Gomorrah and / planted it in the second place (τόπος) / which he gave the name Sodom. /

**The race of Edokla: III 60,19 - 61,1**

that Sodom is the place of pasture / of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. / 15 But (δέ) others (say) that the great Seth took / his plant out of Gomorrah and / planted it in the second place (τόπος) / which he gave the name Sodom. /
IV 71 [moyte] eexo xe c[odom]n

24 [te pino]o ch[ep epe] [ta]i te] gomo
[2pa aqtwoy)n n6i pi[nob ch]e

26 [ebol 2n t]pihn nte [gomo2]
[pa ntpopra] ayw ap[tdcc]

28 [2n pime2ma] can 2n o[yma]
[mmoone] zwpq aym[oyn]

30 [eexo xe c]o[eya]


The race of Edokla: IV 71,30 - 72,10

30 ta[te]
[tienea nta]c[o]ynyn e[bo]

72 oC
[tiotoe] nneawkla:
2 axnapo rap 2n o[ywaxe nal(h)aea
µn themicca: epe tarxh te nte
4 oycora nte pioyn2 wµ ene2
µn oyo[n] n[im] etna2zypomin[e]

72, 1 The line is extra short due to some large cursive writing in the top right corner of the page.
2 MS. omits H. E A for IA.

This [is] / [the race (γενεά) that] appeared // 72 through Edokla. / For (γάρ) she gave birth through a word to Truth (ἀλήθεια) / and Justice (θεμόσσα), which is the origin (αρχή) of / the seed (σπορά) of the eternal life, / 5 and everyone who will persevere (ὑπομένειν) /
III 60,24 mine etbe pcooyn ñtegano
26 pthartoc epei ebol giyn wmt

III 61 ñkocosoc epkocosoc

because of the knowledge of their emanation (ἀπόρροια). / 25 This is the great, incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) / race (γενεά) which has come forth through three // 61 worlds (κόσμος) to the world (κόσμος).

The perils facing the seed of Seth: III 61,1-15

And the / flood (κατακλυσμός) came as an example (τύπος) / for the consummation (παντέλεια) of the aeon (αἰών). But (δὲ) it / will be sent into the world (κόσμος) / 5 because of this race (γενεά). A conflagration will / come upon the earth. And grace / will be with those who belong to the race (γενεά) / through the prophets (προφήτης) / and the guardians who guard the life / 10 of the race (γενεά). Because of this race (γενεά) / famines will occur and plagues (λοιμός). /
IV 72, 6 [Ε]βολά [ζ]ιτοοτήκη [υ]γνωσ[ις] [η]ν [τ][ε]
τογαθ[ο]ρο[ια] [τα] [τε] [τ]ονόδ η[ρε]
10 [Μος]

72, 9 Trace appears to be M rather than Ζ.

because of the knowledge (γνωσις) of / their emanation (απόρροια).
This is the great / and incorruptible [race (γενεά)] that [has] / [appeared]
in three / 10 [worlds (κόσμοι).]

The perils facing the seed of Seth: IV 72,10-27

κ[ατα]κλυσμος έγ[τ]υπος [ψα]
12 [τ]ονέλα [ν]τε [πιε] [ν]φε[ι]
εσπαί [επ]κομος [ε]τβε [τε]
ρωκζ [ζ]ιν [πκας]
18 [Ν]ινπρο[φ]ητης [Μ] [Ν] [ν]ιογριτ]

72,16 The first letter is Κ or ζ.
18 Or [Μ] [Ν] [ν]ιρεφαρες]

And [the] flood (κατακλυσμός) will / [come] as an [example (τύπος)
for] / [the] consummation (αποτέλεια) of the aeon (αἰών), [and it
will come] / into the world (κόσμος) [because of this] / race (γενεά).
Conflagrations will come / 15 upon the earth [ ] / [ ]
of the [ ] / grace [will come to be through] / [the] prophets
(προφήτης) [and the guardians] / of [the living] race (γενεά). [Be-
cause of] / 20 [this race (γενεά) plagues] / will [occur] and famines. /
III 61,12  κοιμήσει  εν  γήναξιμόντι  ετέμενεν  τὸ  ψάλλεσθαι
       καὶ  ἡγείμενα  ἰδαφαρτος  ετέμενεν

14  τετείερενα  ἐφεργιπαρὰς  μοι
       πε  οὕπλανή  ἅπροφήτης  ἦνογχα

61,15  Corr. Ν in ΠΛΑΝΗ over?

But (δὲ) these things will happen because of the / great, incorruptible
(ἀφθαρτος) race (γενεά). Because of / this race (γενεά) temptations
(πειρασμός) will come, / 15 a falsehood (πλάνη) of false pro-
phets (προφήτης). /

Seth recognizes the devil’s schemes: III 61,16-23

16  τοτε  πνοῦβα  νόχεο  ἀναξαγετενὴρ
       γιὰ  ἵππαςβολὸς  ἁν  πεψάτο  ἃ

18  κινοῦ  ἁν  νευκρεεγε  ετναξαμωνε
       εξν  τετείερενα  ἰδαφαρτον  ετε

20  μεσκίμ  ἁν  ναωμοκ  ἦνεφ
       δομ  ἁν  νεωτέρελος  ἁν  τεγ

22  πλανή  χε  αγτολμα  εροογ  ἅμιν
       ἤμοογ

61,20  Corr. ΝΟΘ crossed out at end of line.

Then (τότε) the great Seth saw the activity (ἐνέργεια) / of the devil
(διαβολος), and his many / guises, and his schemes which will come /
upon his incorruptible (ἀφθαρτον), immovable race (γενεά), / 20
and the persecutions (διωγμός) of his / powers and his angels (ἀγγελος),
and their / error (πλάνη), that they acted (τολμᾶν) against them/
selves.
All [these] things will happen [because of] this [great] and [incorruptible] race (γενεά). Because of this [race (γενεά)] / 25 [temptations (πειρασμός) will] come / and falsehoods (πλάνη) [of] / [the false] prophets (προφήτης).

Seth recognizes the devil's schemes: IV 72,27 - 73,6

[Then (τότε)] / [the] great Seth [saw] / [the] work (ἐνέργεια) of [the devil (διάβολος),] // 73 and his crooked tricks, and / his scheme which he will / bring upon the [im]movable race (γενεά), / and the persecution (διωγμός) [of his] / 5 [powers] and his angels (άγγελος), [and his] / error (πλάνη), that he will act (τολμᾶν) [against himself.] /
Then (τότε) the great Seth gave / praise to the great, uncallable (ἄκλητον), / as virginal (παρθενικόν) Spirit (πνεῦμα), and the male (ἀροενικὴ) // 62 virgin (παρθένος) Barbelon, / and the thrice-male child Telmael / Telmael Heli Heli Machar / Machar Seth, the power which really truly (ἀληθὲς ἀληθῶς) / 5 lives, and the male (ἀροενικὴ) virgin (παρθένος) / Youel, and Esephech, the / splenditenens, and the crown of his / glory, and the great Doxomedon-aeon (αἰών), / and the thrones (θρόνος) which are in him, and / 10 the powers which surround them, and the whole / pleroma (πλήρωμα), as I mentioned before. /
Seth requests guardians for his race: IV 73,7-26

IV 73  [to]te πινοβ χθ άρειν[e ερπαλ]  
8  [νογ]cμoυ Mπινοβ ณ[νατχα]  
[θμ] nous ηηατναυ ερο η[αττ] ραν]  
10  [ερο]q ιπα[ρ]θενικον ณ[να] ν  
[τε πιω]τ ηη ιζοογιτ ιπαρθε  
12  [νoν] ιβαρβαλω ηη πιζοογιτ  
[ν]ιαυ τελμανλ τελμαξανα  
14  [η]λι ηλι μαξαρ μαξαρ χθ  
[η]βομ ετον2 · ηη ουμν[t]με ηα  
16  [με] ιζοογιτ ιπαρθενο[ɔ] ιογ[να]  
[μν η]ςφφης πιρεφαμαζτε η  
18  [πεοο]y ηη πκλομ ητε περεο  
[ογ] ηη πινοβ ηνεων ηρεq  
20  [τ]ε]οου μη ηηρονος ετνγαι  
[νη]ηημη ηη πινοβ ετκωτε  
22  [ερ]ποου μη ζενεφ[ο]γη μη  
[θε]νατχωμ ηη [π]ηαρψω  
24  [μα] τηρμ εταρψψηη ηνξοοη  

73,8f. For [ξαξμι] or [ξωμι] see supra 54,16f. note.  
9 Superlin. stroke on ηη is in the lacuna.

[Then (τοτε)] the great Seth brought / praise to the great, [incorruptible,] / invisible, [unnamable,] / virginal (παρθενικόν) [Spirit (πνευμα)] / of the Father, and the male virgin (παρθένος) / Barbelo, and the male / child Telmael Telmachael / Eli Eli Machar Machar Seth, / the power which really truly / lives, the male / Yowel, / Esephech, the / splenditenens, / and the crown of his glory, / and the great glory-giving / aeon (αιων), and the thrones (θρόνος) that are / in him, and the great ones who surround / them, glories and / incorruptions, and [the] whole / pleroma (πλήρωμα) which I mentioned before. /
And he asked (αἰτεῖν) for guards over his seed (σπορὰ).

Then (τότε) there came forth from the great / aeons (αἰῶν) four hundred ethereal (ἀερόσως) / 15 angels (ἀγγέλοι), accompanied by the great / Aerosiel and the great Selmechel, to guard the great, incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) race (γενεά), / its fruit (καρπός), and the great men / of the great Seth, from the time and / 20 the moment (καιρός) of Truth (ἀλήθεια) and Justice (θεμίστα) / until the consummation (συντέλεια) of the aeon (αἰῶν) and its / archons (ἄρχων), those / whom the great judges (κρίτης) / have condemned (κρίνει) to / death.
IV 73 [αγώ] απέλθει ἡγορᾶς ἦζεν
26 [περ]ητεὶς ἔτει τεγηνώρα.

25 [And] he asked (αὐτὲν) for / guards of his seed (σπορά). /

The arrival of the guardians: IV 73.27 - 74.9

74 [οἶχα

Then (τότε) there came forth from the great / aeons (αἰών) four / 
undred [angels (ἀγγέλοις)] / [of the air (ἀῆρ)] accompanied by // 
hf Aerosiel and the great Selmelchel, / the guardians of the great, 
7ncorruptible / race (γενεά), and [its] fruit (καρπὸς), and the / 
/ great imen of the great Seth, / [from (?) the] time (χρόνος) and the moment 
of / [Truth (ἀλήθεια)] and Justice (θεμόσσα) until the / [consummation 
(συντελεία) of] these aeons (αἰών) and their archons (ἄρχων), / 
and those whom] the great [judges (κρίτης)] have / condemned to 
death.
The mission of Seth: III 62,24 - 63,4

III 62,24  
τοτε πνοσ ἔνοιχος ἀρτιν

63, 2  Μ. reads ΠΝΟΥΤΕ; see infra p. 191.

Then (τότε) the great Seth was sent by the four lights, by the will of the Autogenes, and the whole pleroma, through <the gift> and the good pleasure of the great invisible Spirit, and the five seals, and the whole pleroma.

The work of Seth: III 63,4 - 64,9

4  

6, 7  Corr. 2 over N.

8  ΝΟΥΣΜ normally construct form used here as if absolute.

He passed through the three parousias (παρουσία) which I mentioned before: the flood (κατακλυσμός), and the conflagration, and the judgement of the archons and the powers (δύναμις) and the authorities (ἐξουσία), to save her (i.e. the race) who went astray (πλανᾶσθαι),
Then (τότε) the [great] / 10 [Seth] was sent by / [the four] great lights (φωστήρ), [by] / the will of the Autogenes (αὐτογενής) [and] / [their] whole pleroma (πλήρωμα), [by] / a gift and good pleasure [of] / 15 the great invisible Spirit (πνεῦμα), / and the five seals (σφραγίς), and the / whole pleroma (πλήρωμα).

The work of Seth: IV 74,17 - 75,24

<He> passes through / the three parousias (παρουσία) [which I] / mentioned before, through (+ δέ) [the] / 20 flood (κατακλυσμός), and the conflagration, / and the judgement of the archons (ἀρχῶν) [and] / the authorities (ἐξουσία) and the powers, to save /
through the reconciliation of the world (κόσμος), and / 10 the baptism (βάπτισμα) through a Logos-begotten (λογογενής) body (σῶμα) which the great Seth / prepared for himself, / secretly (μυστήριον) through the virgin (παρθένος), in order that the / saints may be begotten by the holy Spirit (πνεῦμα), through / 15 invisible (ἀόρατον), secret symbols (σύμβολον), / through a reconciliation of the world (κόσμος) with the world (κόσμος), / through the renouncing (ἀφο­ τάσσεσθαι) of the world (κόσμος) / and the god of the thirteen aeons (αἰῶν), / and (through) the convocations (ἐπίκλητος) of the saints, and / 20 the ineffable ones (ἀφθαρτος), and the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) bosom (κόλπος), / and (through) the great light of the Father /
her (i.e. the race) who went astray, through / cosmic (κόσμος) reconciliation, and the [baptism] / 25 of the body (σῶμα), through [the] / Logos-begotten one, which the great / Seth secretly (μυστήριον) prepared / through the virgin (παρθένος), / to beget again the [saints] / 30 through the holy [Spirit (πνεῦμα)], // 75 and invisible / and secret symbols (σύμβολον), / through the reconciliation of world (κόσμος) / with world (κόσμος), through the / 5 renunciation (ἀποταγῇ) of the world (κόσμος) and the god / of the thirteen aeons (αἰῶν), / through convocation by the / saints, the ineffable ones / and the incorruptible bosom [of] / 10 the great light which [pre-]exists /
III 63,22 etapaφwri nwwpe mn tepro
noia aw awkypou evol qitootc

24 ηπιαμπηγια ετογαλβ · ετογατβ ·
etpe evol qitootq mpiaφθαρτοc

64 έα

nalorogenhc mn ili nptonq mn

2 pentapa† mmoq giwq nro pno6
ncho · aw awqet · nnaynamic

4 mpwntwomte nauωn aw aw
kyrop ou evol qitootq · nnetage mn

6 netapanε apsopanize mmooy
2n oγsoplouν ncoouν nteiαl

8 theia 2n oγaynamic natxpo epoc
nte taφθarpia

63,22 Corr. q in ETAP over p.
64, 3 Corr. Y in ayw over ι, M over τ.

who pre-existed with his Providence (πρόνοια) / and established (κυροῦν) through her / the holy baptism (βάπτισμα) that sur-
passes / 25 the heaven, through the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος), // 64 Logos-begotten (λογογενής) one, even Jesus the living one, even /
him whom the great Seth has / put on. And through him he nailed
the powers (δύναμις) / of the thirteen aeons (αἰῶν), and / 5 established (κυροῦν) those who are brought forth (ἀγεων) and / taken away
(ἀπάγεων). He armed (ἀπλίζεων) them / with an armor (ὁμήν) of know-
ledge of this truth (ἀλήθεια), / with an unconquerable power (δύναμις) /
of incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία).
in Providence (πρόνοια) and established / through her the holy one / and the baptism that surpasses the heavens, / through the holy one, and / the incorruptible one, even Jesus who has been begotten / by a living word, he whom / the great Seth has put on. And / through him he nailed down the powers of the / thirteen aeons (αἰῶν), and rendered them / motionless. They are brought (forth) and / taken back, and are armed / with an armor (δυναμείς) of the knowledge of the truth, / with an incorruptible, unconquerable / power.
There appeared to them / 10 the great attendant (παραστάτης) Yesseus / Mazareus Yessedekeus, the living / water, and the great leaders / (στρατηγός), / 'Iákωβος the great and Theopemptos / and Isavel, and they who preside over / 15 the spring (πηγή) of truth, Micheus and Michar / and Mnesinous, and he who presides over / the baptism of the living, and the / purifiers, and Sesengenpharanges, / and they who preside over the gates (πύλη) of the waters, / 20 Micheus and Michar, and they who / preside over the mountain Seldao and Elainos, / and the receivers (παραλήμπτωρ) of /
The list of the bringers of salvation: IV 75,24-77,2

IV 75,24  

\[\gamma\omega\ \gamma\lambda\omega\gamma\nu\phi\nu\zeta\ \eta\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\omega\alpha\] 

\[\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\varepsilon\alpha\ \iota\varepsilon\zeta\zeta\varepsilon\delta\varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\ \nu\mu\] 

\[\omega\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\eta\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\] 

26  

\[\pi\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ \mu\uomicron\eta\varepsilon\omicron\pi\iota\omicron\nu\sigma\varsigma\] 

28  

\[\iota\kappa\omega\beta\mu\nu\ \mu\uomicron\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\sigma\varsigma\] 

76  

\[\omicron\sigma\] 

\[\epsilon\omicron\mu\nu\pi\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\] 

2  

\[\epsilon\omicron\mu\nu\pi\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\] 

26  

\[\kappa\hbar\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\mu\nu\pi\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\] 

4  

\[\mu\iota\kappa\varepsilon\alpha\mu\rho\] 

\[\mu\nu\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ ] 

6  

\[\kappa\mu\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ ] 

8  

\[\mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ ] 

\[\kappa\mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ ] 

10  

\[\mu\iota\kappa\varepsilon\alpha\mu\rho\ ] 

\[\mu\nu\ \mu\nu\iota\omicron\sigma\delta\theta\upsilon\nu\phi\iota\upsilon\ ] 

12  

\[\omicron\sigma\ ] 

\[\mu\nu\ ] 

75,27  

Superlin. stroke on \(\overline{N}\) is in the lacuna.

75,26  

Or \(\omicron\mu\nu\).  

9  

\(\mu\iota\kappa\varepsilon\alpha\mu\rho\) for \(\mu\iota\kappa\varepsilon\alpha\mu\rho\); cf. Schwzyzer, Griechische Grammatik I, p. 210.

And they revealed /\(^{25}\) the great attendants to me: Yesseus / Mazareus Yessedekues, the / living water, and the great leaders (\(\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\gamma\gamma\omicron\)\(\psi\)), / the great 'Iak\w'\beta\ and Theop[emptos] // 76 and Isavel, and he who / presides / over the grace, Mep[.\(\rho\)el, and they who / preside over the / springs (\(\pi\gamma\gamma\eta\)) of the truth, / Micheus and Michar and Mnesinous, / and he who presides over the baptism / of the living, the purifier / Sesengenbarpharanges, and / they who preside over the gates (\(\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\eta\)) / [of the] waters of life, Micheus / \(^{10}\) [and] Michar, and they who preside / over / the rising, Seldao and Elenos, / and the receivers (\(\pi\omicron\rho\alpha\omicron\lambda\nu\mu\pi\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\omega\) /
the great race (γενεά), the incorruptible (ἀθανάτον), / mighty men <of> the great Seth, the / 25 ministers (διάκονος) of the four lights, / the great Gamaliel, the great Gabriel, / the great Samblo, and the great // 65 Abrasax, and they who preside over the sun, its / rising, Olses and Hypneus and / Heurumaious, and they who preside over the / entrance into the rest (ἀνάπαυσις) of eternal / 5 life, the rulers (πρύτανις) Mixanther / and Michanor, and they who guard the / souls (ψυχῆ) of the elect, Akramas and / Strempsouchos, and the great power (δύναμις) /
of the holy race (γενεά) and the incorruptible and mighty men / of the great Seth, the ministers (διάκονοι) / of the four lights (φωστήρ), the great Gamaliel, and the great Gabriel, and the great Samblo, / and the great Abrasax, and they who / preside over the rising / of the sun, Olses and Umneos / and Eurumaious, and they who / preside over the entrance / into the rest of eternal / life, Phritanis and Mixanther / and Michanor, and the guardians of the slain souls (ψυχή), // 77 Akramas and Strempsouchos, / and the great power [Telm]achaei /
Heli Heli Machar Machar Seth, and / the great, invisible (άόρατος), uncallable (άκλητος), / unnameable (άνομοικλείων), virginal (παρθενικόν) / Spirit (ψευμα), and the silence (σιγή), and the great light / Harmozel, the place of the living Autogenes (αὐτογενής), / the God of the truth, and / he who is with / him, the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτὸς) man Adamas, / the second, Oroiael, the place of the / great / Seth, and Jesus, who possesses the life and who came / and crucified (σταυροῦν) that which is in the law (νόμος), / the third, Davithe, the place of the / sons of the great Seth, the fourth, / Eleleth, the place where the souls (ψυχή) / of the sons are resting, / the fifth, Yoel, who presides over the name / of him to whom it will be granted to baptize with / the holy baptism (βαπτισμα) that surpasses the heaven, / the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτὸς) one.
Telmachael Eli Eli Machar / Machar Seth, and the great, / 5 invisible and incorruptible, / unnameable one, who is in / spirit (πνεύμα) and silence (σιλέ), and the great / light (φωστήρ) Armozel, the [place] where / the living Autogenes (αὐτογενής) is, / 10 the God in truth, with whom is / the incorruptible man / Adamas, and Oroiael, the place [where] / the great Seth is, and [Jesus] / of the life, he who came and / 15 crucified that which is under the law (νόμος), / the third, [Davithe, the place] / where the sons of the / great Seth rest, the / fourth, Eleleth, [the] place [where] / (lines 20-?)
The certainty of salvation in the present: III 65.26 - 66.8

But (ἀλλὰ) from now on // 66 through the incorruptible (αἵθαρτος) man Poimael, / and they who are worthy of (the) invocation (ἐπίκλησις), / the renunciations (ἀποταξίας) of the five seals (σφαγίας) in / the spring (πηγῇ)-baptism (βάπτισμα), these will // 5 know their receivers (παραλημπτῷορ) as / they are instructed about them, and they will // know them (or: be known) by them. These // will by no means taste death.

Hymnic section (part I): III 66.8-22

IH IEYC

Ηῳ ὅγ ηῳ ὅγα· ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς

10 IECEYE MAZAREY IECEDEKEY

ΠΝΩΟΥ ΕΤΟΝΖ ΠΑΛΟΥ ΗΠΑΛΟΥ

66, 9 Corr. first Θ over Λ (dittography).

IH IEYC / Ηῳ ὅγ η网站地图/ / 10 O

Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus, / O living water, O child of the child, /
The certainty of salvation in the present: IV 77,?-78,10

IV 78

[...]οι εφολά ζιτοοτῆ ἡμὺν ἐτ

2 [οὐ]λαβ ἀ[γω ἡ]ταξωμὶ πιμᾶνα
[μὴ] η ἑτηπωα ἡντοκῳμ

4 [ντ]ė ταποτάμη ἡν νηκφρα
[νι]φατωλακη ἡμο[ο]γ ντε

6 [πε]γκωκμ. [ν]ατ αγκογν
[πε]γκαρλμαφρος γωκ

8 [ἀγ]τε[βοο]γ εφοογ εαγειμε
[εφο]λ ζιτοοτογ αγω ἡν[ε]γ

10 [ξι] ἡπε ἡπμογ:

78,1-10 Part of the text has become illegible due to flaking.

[ ] // 78 [ ] through him who / [is holy and incorruptible, Poimael, / [and] those who are worthy of the baptisms / [of] the renunciation (ἀποταμη) and the / 5 ineffable seals (σφαγίς) of / [their] baptism, these have known / [their] receivers (παραλήμπτωρ) as (ὁς) / they [have learned] about them, having known / [through] them, and they shall not / 10 taste death.

Hymnic section (part I): IV 78,10-79,3

10 ἱεςεος
[ο]ω ὥνω ὥνα ῥι ὁγν

12 [τ]ε ναμε ἱεςιος μακαρεος
[ἱεςει]δεκεος πιμογν ετον


III 66,12 πραν εθέοογ ἀληθως ἀληθως
Διωνυσις III ΗΗΗΗ ΕΕΕΕ ΟΟ

14 οο γγγγ γωωω δααα{α} α
ἀληθες ἀληθως ήι δααα γω

16 ωω πετυουοι ετναγ εναιων
ἀληθες ἀληθως δεε ΗΗΗ III

18 γγγγ γω ω ω ω ω ω ω
πετυουοι νωα ανηγε νενεξ

20 ἀληθες ἀληθως ηα ψω χη
φητ πετυουοι γαει ειεαει

22 ειοει ειοει

66,14 The scribe probably wrote one α too many.

O glorious name, really truly (ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς), / αἰων ὁ ὡν, III ΗΗ
ΗΗ ΕΕΕΕ ΟΟ/ΟΟ γγγγ γωωω δααα{α}, really (ἀληθῆς) / 15 truly (ἀληθῶς), ήι δααα γω/γω, O existing one who sees
the aeons (αἰων)! / Really truly (ἀληθῆς ἀληθῶς), δεε ΗΗΗ III
/ γγγγ γωωωωωωωω, / who is eternally eternal, / 20 really
truly (ἀληθῆς ἀληθῶς), ηα ψω in / the heart, who exists, γ ἀει εἰς
ἀει, ει ει, ει δς ει!

Hymnic section (part II): III 66,22 - 68,1

22 πεειναδ πραν
ετνακ γικωει πιατυωωτ

24 ηαγτογενης παι ετμπαβαλ αν
εειναγ εροκ πιαναγ εροη ρη

66,23 Corr. first ω written above crossed out Ο.
24 Corr. ε in ΕΤΜ over Ν.

This great name / of thine is upon me, O self-begotten (αὐτογενῆς) Perfect
one, who art not outside me. / 25 I see thee, O thou who art invisible /

66,24f. Or: Thou who art not outside me, I see thee.
IV 78  [nte n]ε[oo]y] τρούγ γν ούμν

16 [tm]e na[me] πετ'ωοι σα ε

[ne]γ[ ]ηη[ ]ηη οοοο

18 [yy]γ[yy] ωωωω αααα γ[ ]

[ουμντμε na]μ[ε] οη[ι αααα]

20 ff. are lost.

79  [oο]

ενεγ ετ'ωοι γν [πιητ]

2 πίσα ενεγ · γ[αι εικαει]

ε[ιο] ειει οεει[ι]' 79, 1 πιητ is too short. Τκαραία fits well but is not attested in Coptic.

15 [of] all [the glories], really / [truly], who exists eternally, / [ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗ] εεε εοοοο / [γγγγγ] ωωωω αααα, / [really truly, οηι αααα,] / (lines 20-end) // 79 eternal who is in [the heart,] / O Eternal one, γ [αι εις άει,] / ε[ι] [ο] ει, ει δς ει.

Hymnic section (part II): IV 79,3 - 80,15

πεινοθ ιραν]

4 ογ[.. o]γμερο[ε]

τμη[..] αϊογ[ πια]

6 ττταε· εγκπο ε[βολ ιμοq may]

ααφ πε εγκο[οια εβολ ιμ]

8 μοq μαγαλq πε πη ετε ινατ]

ναι ε[π]οq σαβολ ιμ[οι πη ετε]

[This great name] / [ ] a part (μέφοσ) [ ] / b the [ , O] / Perfect one who art [self-] begotten / (and) autonomous (εξονοία), / [who art in]visible / except to [me, who art] /
to everyone. For (γάρ) who will be able / to comprehend (χωρεῖν) thee in another tongue? Now // 67 that I have known thee, I have mixed / myself with the immutable. I have armed (ἀπλίξεω) / myself with an armor (ἀπλοῦ) of light; / I have become light. For (γάρ) the Mother was at / 5 that place because of / the splendid beauty of grace. Therefore / I have stretched out my hands while they were / folded. I was shaped (μορφῇ) in the circle (κύκλος) / of the riches of the light which is in / 10 my bosom, which gives shape (μορφῇ) / to the many / begotten ones in the light into which no complaint (ἐγκλημα) / reaches. I shall declare thy / glory truly (ἀληθῶς), for I / have comprehended (χωρεῖν) / thee, COY ἸΗϹ ΙΑΙϹ ΑΕΙΩ ΑΕΙΕ ΩΙϹ Ω / 67, 7 Or: spread out my hands which were folded.
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS IV, 2

IV 79,10 ἵνα τάναγ ἐρωφ ἄν[ογον νιμ·]
οὐ γὰρ πετὺς ῥ[ωνί] [ἐμοὶ ἄν οὐ]
12 ἡμὴ ἄν ὁγκοῦ [ἐκτὸς ἄμοι] ἄνοιξαν ἄνοιξαν [ἀμύρρη άν ρέκ]
14 τωβε· ἀγω [α]η[σεῖ] ἄνων ἄνων ἄνων
ἀγω ἱππικόν [ο[γς]οπαν ἄντε πι]
16 ἰτο ο[ν] πιογ[οειν] ἀγογοειν]
ἐγὼ ἐβολ ζιτο[τ] ἀπωρ[ρ] ἄν
18 η[αθ] [εβ]ολ ε[γκ]β. ἀγω ἄθι]
μορφή[·]. ν[]
20 ἄνοιγκαλλ[μμα ἄντε τμντρμ]
μαο εκκωτ[ε]
22 ἄνογμη[τρα]
ἐν ογειν[ε]
24 [ἐν ογμντ[με ἐε ἀγξωρπην]
26 μο[κ ιε] ἄντε πη ετ[]
hee ηεε οιε οιε [ω

79,11 Ms. reads ῦοοπ.
25 Superlin. stroke on ἄν is in the lacuna.

10 invisible to [everyone]. / For (γὰρ) who comprehends [thee in] / voice and praise? [Having known thee] / I now have mixed [with thy] / steadfastness, and [I have armed myself;] / 15 I have come to be in [an armor (ὁμήρων) of] / grace and the [light; I have become light.] / And because of [it I have stretched] / out my hands [while they were folded. And I was] / shaped (μορφή) [ ] / 20 a veil (κάλυμμα) [of the] richness / which surround [ ] / a [womb (μήτρα) ] / in a likeness [ ] / [ ] / 25 truly, [because I have comprehended (χωρεῖν)] / thee, Jesus of the one who [ ] / hee ηεε οιε οιε [ω] //

79,17f. Or: spread out my hands which were folded.
III 67 διών διών πνούτε ὑάκινθ †
16 ἄξιος μμωκ τηρκ ντοκ πε πα

18 ἄτκοτ ετμώοον τν νιάτκοτ

ेτμώοον εττογνοσ μπρωμε
20 ετκνατογνωςι επητη εηογν

επεκωνζ κατα πεκαν ετε μεμ
22 ωψε ετβε παι πεκτοει μπωμεν

ηπητηεεικεπα μμωο 2η ουμο
24 σοι επτυποκ ηναρχων τηρογ

ξε εεειναωνζ γαθηκ 2η †σπηη
26 ηνετογααν μετμωοον νωα εεηες

68 ξη


67,15 Cor. N over C?
68, 1 ΑΛΗΘΩC ΑΛΗΘΩC could also belong with the following paragraph.
The several possible translations are discussed in the commentary.

15 ΑΙΩΝ, ΑΙΩΝ, O God of silence (σιγή) ! I / honor (ἀξιωθ) thee completely. Thou art my / place of rest, O son ΧΕ ΧΕ Ο Ε, the / formless one who exists in the formless ones, / who exists, raising up the man / 20 in whom thou wilt purify me into / thy life, according to (κατά) thine imperishable name. / Therefore the incense of life / is in me. I mixed (κεράω) it with water / after the model (τύμπος) of all archons (ἀρχων), / 25 in order that I may live with thee in the peace (εἰρήνη) / of the saints, thou who existeth really truly (ἀληθῶς

ἀληθῶς) // 68 for ever.
80 [O] holy [ ], O God / [of silence (σιγή)] .] Thou art / [ ] of rest of [the] son / [ ] who exists in / [ ] the [mark], the place(?) / [ ] a man, thou hast / [purified me in him] in thy life, / [according to (κατὰ) thine] imperishable [name.] / [Therefore, there is] in him / [incense of life] that has mixed with / baptismal [water] of [all] the / archons (ἀρχῶν), [in order that I may] live with thee in the / [peace (εἰρήνη)] of the saints. Ol eternal one / [who exists] really / [truly].

See III 68,1 note.
The first conclusion: III 68,1-9

This is the book (βιβλος) which the great Seth wrote, and placed in high mountains on which the sun has not risen, nor is it possible. And since the days of the prophets (προφήτης), and the apostles (ἀπόστολος), and the preachers (κηρυξ), the name has not at all risen upon their hearts, nor is it possible. And their ear has not heard it.

The second conclusion: III 68,10-69,5

The great Seth wrote this book (βιβλος) with letters in one hundred and thirty years. He placed it in the mountain that is called Charaxio, in order that, at the end of the
The first conclusion: IV 80,15-25

IV 80  πείπωωμε [α]χαράγ ῆδι

16 [πινοβ χεθ ἀγω] αχααραγ ῆραϊ 21
[χν ουτοογ εξ]οοε πν ετε μα

18 [ρεπρ ωλ εραϊ εκωρ] ουτε
[ε[...]] αγω ν

20 [χιν νεοογ ννιπρ]οφηθς μ[ν]
[μν νι]αποκτολος

22 [][μνπω][

24 [][αγω πεγ]μα
[κε μνπαωτν ε]ρος

[The great Seth] wrote / [this book, and] he placed it on / [a] high
[mountain] on which / [the sun] does not [rise] nor (οὑτε) / []
And / [from the days of the] prophets (προφητης),
[and] / [and the] apostles (ἀπόστολος), / []
... / [ ] come forth / [ , and their] ear / 25 [has not heard] it. /

The second conclusion: IV 80,26 - 81,?

26 [πείπωωμε αχαράγ ῆδι πινοβ

81  [πω]

χεθ ὃν ἐγκασαί [)

2 αχααραγ .[.].[]

3 ff. are lost.

The great Seth wrote [this] / 81 [book] with letters [ ] / He
placed [it
times (χρόνος) and the eras (καλός), by the / will (θέλημα) of the divine Autogenes (αὐτογένης) / and the whole pleroma (πλήρωμα), through the gift / of the untraceable, unthinkable, / fatherly love, it may / 20 come forth (προελθεῖν) and reveal this / incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος), holy race (γενεά), and / the great, invisible (ἀόρατος), eternal / 25 Spirit (πνεῦμα), and his only begotten (μονογενής) / Son, and the eternal light, // 69 and his great, incor­ruptible (ἀφθαρτος) / consort (σύζυγος), and the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) / Sophia, and the Barbelon, and the / whole pleroma (πλήρωμα) in eternity. // 5 Amen (ἀμήν). /
IV 81, 3 — end is lost.
THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS III, 2

The colophon: III 69,6-17

III 69, 6 πεγαδελιον ἡν ἀπεργουμένον εὐβίβλος ἔντομος ὑμνοιτε τῇ ἔστε
8 ῥά ἐθνίτι τεχνικ τεχνικεικ τεχνεικεικ τεφρονικεικ ἐν πε
10 πέριντε ἐγνωστος παγανίν τικος ἐν πεννα ἐν τεράς.
12 παρεν πε γοργες ἐκ ὁν ἀλ ἔγρογοειν ἐν οὐγάφαρσία
14 ἐν πενε πνευμε ὑμνοιτε πνωτῆρ ἰχθύς θεογράφος
16 εὐβίβλος τῇ ἐρα ὑπνοῖν ἁγαζο
ρατον ἑπνα ἐξ ἀμήν.

9,6 See supra, p. 18.

The gospel (εὐαγγελιον) of <the> Egyptians. / The God-written, holy (ἱερά), secret / book (Βίβλος). Grace (χάρις), understanding (σύνεσις), / perception (αἴσθησις), prudence (φρονησις) (be) with him / 10 who has written it, Eugnostos the beloved (αὐγνοστος) / in the Spirit (πνεῦμα) — in the flesh (σάρξ) / my name is Gongessos — and my / fellow lights in incorruptibility (ἀμαχοί), / Jesus Christ (Χριστός), Son of God, / 15 Savior (σωτήρ), ἰχθύς. God-written (θεόγραφος) (is) / the holy (ἱερά) book (Βίβλος) of the great, invisible (ἀόρατον) / Spirit (πνεῦμα). Amen (ἀμήν).

The title : III 69, 18-20

18 εὐβίβλος τῇ ἐρα ὑπνοῖν ἁγαζο
ρατον ἑπνα ἐξ ἀμήν.

Only a blank top fragment of IV 82 survives. The colophon was probably absent (see pp. 8f.).
COMMENTARY

The Introduction: III 40,12 - 41,7 = IV 50,1-23.

III 40,12f.: See the chapter on the title, supra, pp. 20ff.
The holy book is linked with the Spirit, which is at first characterized in three ways expressing its nature and origin. Then follow a series of seven more appositives which describe the Spirit as light.

After these come three other appositives: the Father, the Aeon of the aeons, and the uninterpretable Power. To each of the first two of these appositives, three attributes are added. The third attribute is different in the two versions. Since some of the differences between III, 2 and IV, 2 can be explained in terms of mistranslations from the Greek, the Vorlage has been reconstructed as follows:

III 40,15f.: III mistakenly read τοῦ τελείου "perfection" (LAMPE, p. 1381a) with the preceding rather than the following noun. This led to
the merging of the first two “light clauses”. III 40,16f.: it is not clear why III translated εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰῶνων by ἀναίων ὁ οὐκοεῖν (cf. 41,2). 40,17f.: III usually supplied a definite article where the Greek must have been indefinite. The varying translations, πειθόν ἡντσιφ in III 40,18 over against ὑγιεῖν ητε πειθόν in IV 50,9, presuppose the same Greek Vorlage, συγγείς τοῦ πατρός. Since συγγεί lacked an article in Greek, III mistakenly assumed that it depended on τοῦ πατρός. Thus the intended parallel between Pronoia and the Father was lost (cf. III 42,lf.; 43,5f.; 63,21f.). The genitive constructions in III 40,17.19 correspond to the phrases with ἔν- in IV 50,8.10. It is likely that both the genitive constructions in III 40,17.19 and the phrases with ἔν- in IV 50,8.10 go back to the same text. The intention of the text is to qualify the term “light” by specifying its origin. Therefore the genitive in III can be seen as the translation of the original Greek text (genitive of origin). On the other hand, IV perhaps interpreted the Greek genitive as ἐκ plus the genitive (ἔν- often equals ἐβολ ἔν-; cf. CRUM, Dict. p. 684a). Here the genitive of origin comes very close to a partitive genitive. The striking rendering of (ἐκ) συγγείς προνοίας as ἔν ὁγιεῖ ἔν οὐγνονοια shows that IV interpreted συγγεί and προνοίας as coordinate nouns. On the other hand, ἐκ could have occurred before the first genitive as IV suggests and III has simplified it. The same applies to the subsequent expression in III 40,18f. = IV 50,9f. III 41,1: The same conflict between III and IV is found in III 41,22f. par.; 42,8 par.; 64,9 par.; IV 59,8. In III 41,2 πειρε ἐβολ “come forth” includes the concept “light” (cf. CRUM, Dict. p. 267a). III 41,3f.: Most likely both III and IV mistakenly connected this clause to the preceding with ητε, forgetting that it stands in apposition to the great invisible Spirit. IV normally connects a series of adjectives with αὐτός. The αὐτός ὑμας (αὐχαμας) may mean that the supreme God cannot be expressed in writing. Ναυτοφενς in III 41,5 as a comment in the margin, that was included in the text by a later scribe, or that Ναυτοφενς needs to be emended to Ναυτοφενς. In the latter case the translator of III, 2 did not recognize that τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς in the Greek Vorlage stands in apposition to the great invisible Spirit. Then IV translated τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς τοῦ αὐτογενίου by means of a single expression, since otherwise it would become an overly redundant construction in Coptic translation. IV turned the
attributive adjectives τοῦ ἐπιγενίου and τοῦ ἄλλογενίου into substantives parallel to τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς. The forms ending in -ως are unattested and must have been designed for stylistic effect (cf. Zost VIII 18,14 ΝΙΔΥΓΕΝΙΟΝ [ΝΝ]ΕΩΝ). The difference between αὐτογένος and ἐπιγένος may lie in that the former indicates that the Spirit had his origin in himself while the latter stresses that he appeared out of himself (cf. III 41,2 = IV 50,13). III 41,7 differs greatly from IV 50,21f. Perhaps IV is closest to the original while III restates 41,5. Ending with the ineffable Father would appropriately round off this section which spoke of the metaphysical and mysterious domain of the great invisible Spirit.

The appearance of the three powers: III 41,7-12 = IV 50,23 - 51,2.

The trinity of Father, Mother and Son does not originate through emanation, as in Apocryfn, but through evolution, a self-unfolding of the supreme God. πίπε is a typical expression for the coming forth of light (supra, p. 169). In IV ΝΙΠΕ is an appositive to Father, Mother, Son (in 50,26f.). The Vorlage may have been ἐπιγένειον ἐκ σιγῆς ζώσης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφθάρτου. III, however, saw τοῦ πατρὸς as an appositive to σιγῆς ζώσης, and thus introduced both with ΕΒΩΛ ΞΗ-. If one considers III to be correct, then ΠΙΠΕ would be either an appositive to ΣΙΓΗ or to Father, Mother, Son seen collectively as the offspring of the primal Father. In the former case, the Greek may have been ἐκ σιγῆς ζώσης τοῦ ἐπιγενίου (ἐκ) τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφθάρτου. For the latter possibility, δὲ ἐπιγένειος may have been in the Vorlage instead of τοῦ ἐπιγενίου. This last reconstruction could have led to the translations of both III and IV. The δὲ in III 41,12 is no longer postpositive, perhaps due to a transposition of the verb by the Coptic translator.


(Cf. supra, pp. 41ff.) IV cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Apparently the sentence in Greek began with ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δοξομέδων which III interpreted to refer to a place (cf. III 41,23 par., III 43,8 par.). The designation “aeon of the aeons” has also been attributed to the great invisible Spirit. However, here it appears not to refer to primacy of origin but to the all-comprehensive character of his being, in which the light, i.e. the supreme God, presents himself. Some text has dropped out in III 41,16 (cf. IV 51,4-6). “Their powers” refers to the Doxomedon as a collective entity. According to this
section he contains a trinity (41,22f.; cf. 41,1 comm.), which is supple­mented by a second trinity.

The three ogdoads: III 41,23 - 43,8 = IV 51,15 - 53,3.


The ogdoads come forth from the Doxomedon (see 41,13 comm.). This is a speculative description of the trinity. The “from him” in IV could refer both to Doxomedon and the great invisible Spirit. In IV προνοια is parallel to σινθ and a characteristic of the Father. In III προνοια appears to be a mythological figure as is suggested by 40,17f. and par., 43,6 and par. Thus III has “his Pronoia”, i.e. his female complement. This is in agreement with the origin of the ogdoads pictured as a birth. In Gnosticism “ogdoad” refers first of all to the firmament of fixed stars which stands above the hebdomad of the planets. Secondly, and probably originally, it was a numerical grouping, a unit of eight, which was, especially in Valentinianism, used as a description of the intelligible world. For the Egyptian ogdoad concept see Kurt Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Abh. Preuss. Akademie d. Wiss., Berlin 1929, No. 4). G-Egypt employs the ogdoads as a stylistic device for the arrangement of the heavenly world. Thus the heavenly lights form together with their consorts one such ogdoad (infra, p. 179f.), as do their ministers with their consorts (infra, p. 180). Together with the three ogdoads of the trinity they form five ogdoads, a total of forty heavenly beings referred to in Coptic idiom as “a forty” (III 53,11 = IV 65,3f.). The trinity and five seals also add up to eight.

b) The first ogdoad: III 42,5-11 = IV 51,22 - 52,2.

The first ogdoad belongs to the Father. Since the ogdoad contains the person which brought it into being, the ogdoad remains a part of the trinity. The Father’s unity and originality is attested by the fact that he is androgenous. See supra, pp. 43ff. on the thrice-male child. III and IV differ in the list of the parts of the first ogdoad. Surprising is the translation of αφθαρσία by ΝΑΤΧΩΞΗ in IV 50,11; 51,26; 59,8; and 75,23 (see III 41,1 comm.). Thus IV collapsed “in­corruption and eternal life” into “eternal, incorruptible life”. III is supported by ApocryJn BG 28,15 - 29,4, where έννοια, πρόνυμοις, αφθαρσία and αιώνια ζωή come forth at the request of the Barbelo, while νοῦς, θελήμα and λόγος come forth through Christ, i.e. the Son (BG 31,6-16). Since Father, Mother and Son are identified with the three ogdoads (IV 51,16ff.), the question arises whether the
naming of the androgenous Father indicates that he alone is equated with the entire ogdoead or that he, together with seven other beings, forms the ogdoead. The latter corresponds fully with gnostic thought patterns.


For Barbelo and her role in this writing, see supra, pp. 40f. The lacunae in both versions preclude the possibility of knowing the secret names used in this section. The text in the lacuna in IV 52,10f. is missing in III unless it was in the lacuna in 42,18. The \( \text{περιπε} \) in 42,17f. must here too mean “originate” (cf. supra, p. 169). The \( \epsilon\delta\delta\omicron\omicron\epsilon\omicron\omicron \) in III 42,19 par. testifies to the legitimacy of Barbelo.


The Son is described in terms of his origin. He is the offspring of the primal Power and as such he is the “Son of silence”. III 42,23 is missing in IV. He is called the \( \delta\omicron\omicron\alpha \) of the Father and \( \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\gamma \) of the Mother which recalls the use of both attributes in 2 Pet 1: 3, although here they are distributed between two divine beings. \( \text{κοιν} \) in IV 52,17 is a misinterpretation of \( \delta\omicron\omicron\alpha \). The Son completes himself. Most likely the planets are meant, and the voices would refer to the harmony of spheres which is based on Pythagorean number mysticism. For the use of the plural \( \kappa\omicron\alpha\lambda\pi\omicron\alpha \) see Lampe, p. 766a. IV 52,22f. should be preferred. The Logos is the product of the hebdomad. III has simply placed hebdomad and Logos beside each other without explaining their relationship.

e) The summary: III 43,4-8 = IV 52,24 - 53,3.

The relative particle in IV 52,24 and in other places probably corresponds to a relative construction in the Greek. (For the relationship between the Father and Pronoia cf. III 42,1 f. comm.) The section on the trinity of ogdoeads ends as it started with a reference to the place where they came into being. This is the same place where the Doxomedon-aeon originated and thus it must refer to the all-encompassing realm of light.


In IV 53,3f., in contrast to III 43,8f., the coming of the Doxomedon is closely linked to the preceding event. The reconstruction \( \pi\nu \) or \( \pi\alpha\iota \) in IV 53,3 is too short. \( \pi\alpha\iota \, \pi\epsilon \) or \( \pi\alpha\iota \, \pi \) (cleft sentence) is possible although this construction is not used elsewhere in IV. The \( \text{μ\iota\alpha} \) in IV 53,5 leaves no doubt that the \( \text{π\iota\alpha} \) in the pre-
ceeding section is meant. The transition to this section is made by means of the relative clause \((\pi \iota \mu \alpha = \varepsilon \rho \sigma \nu \omicron)\) the antecedent of which is \(\pi \iota \mu \alpha \varepsilon \theta \mu \mu \alpha \gamma\). (For the Doxomedon-aeon cf. \textit{supra}, pp. 41ff.). The plural with \(\varepsilon \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron\) in IV 53,6 is supported by the \(\varepsilon \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron\) in IV 53,8 and shows that IV consistently understood the Doxomedon-aeon to be a collective being. The singular \(\pi \varepsilon \theta \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron\) in III 43,10f. may go back to a variant in the Greek text but more likely, since all the parallel occurrences are plural, III made the change to fit the throne in 43,18 and par. \(\nu \iota \varepsilon \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \ \mu \nu \ \nu \iota \alpha \phi \varepsilon \alpha \rho \pi \zeta \iota \alpha\) (III 43,12) stands in apposition to \(\nu \alpha \gamma \nu \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \mu \omicron\) just as in IV 53,8ff., where \(\mu \nu \ldots \mu \nu = \kappa \alpha \iota \ldots \kappa \alpha \iota\), "both ... and", occurs. The alien God made his appearance in the Doxomedon-aeon. The lacuna in IV 53,11f. has no corresponding text in III. III 43,15ff. and par. gives a further description of the Doxomedon-aeon. Whether the throne belongs to the thrice-male child (\textit{supra}, p. 42) or the Doxomedon is not clear. The name of the one who possesses the throne is written on a tablet made of boxwood (cf. \textit{Liddell-Scott}, p. 1554b, and \textit{Zost} VIII 130,2) which is attached to the throne. III 43,21ff. differs from IV. The text in IV 53,22 second half and 23 is missing in III. There is also no equivalent in III for the unreconstructed text in IV 54,1. The ineffable name is made up of the Greek vowels written twenty two times each — the number of letters in the Semitic alphabet. The order is \(\iota \eta \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \epsilon \alpha \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron\) which might possibly mean \(\iota \hat{h} \nu \omicron \hat{e} (\sigma \tau \iota \nu) \omicron\ (\kappa \alpha \iota) \hat{O}\). In that case the personified Doxomedon could be identified with Yeou since he is a kind of second god (cf. \textit{supra}, p. 43).

\textit{The presentation of praise and request of the ogdoads: III 44,9-21 = IV 54,13 - 55,11.}

(For the form of the presentations of praise cf. \textit{supra}, pp. 39f.) IV 54,18 \(\bar{n} \tau \epsilon \ \pi \iota \omega \iota \tau\) (cf. IV 73,10f.) is lacking in III. Some text must be missing before the \(\bar{n} \delta \iota\) in III 44,15, the equivalent of \(\dot{2} \nu \ \omicron \gamma \omicron \omicron \omicron\) in IV 54,23 (\(\bar{n} \delta \iota\) is unusual here). The parallel to IV 54,25-55,2 must have been different and shorter. IV 55,4b-7a are missing in III due to homoioteleuton. The reconstruction \(\bar{n} \chi \bar{e}\) in 55,6 is suggested by the occurrence in III 44,23 and par. The reconstruction \(\chi \omicron \theta\) is also possible since there is a close connection between the thrice-male child and Seth (cf. \textit{supra}, p. 45), but it is very unlikely since Seth has not yet appeared. The scene describes the filling of the Doxomedon-aeon with light-beings. The three males described in IV 55,3-7 are most likely the same as the thrice-male child. The reference to the word (\(= \lambda \omicron \gamma \omicron \omicron\))
of the pleroma of light means that the powers build a realm of light through the rational ordering power of the Logos (cf. TDNT IV, pp. 84ff. [76 ff.]).

The presentation of praise of the thrice-male child: III 44,22-? = IV 55,11 - 56,11.

This section is largely missing in III and poorly preserved in IV. The first part, IV 55,11 - 56,6, contains an expanded presentation of praise. Then the presentation of praise is repeated and a request is uttered. (For the relationship between the child and Christ cf. supra, p. 46. For Ἡ υλὴ cf. supra, p. 47). The presentation of praise is addressed to the great invisible Spirit and his female counterpart. The name Ainon may be the accusative of αἰώνος which means praise — in the sense of δόξα. Also αἰώνος = δεινόνος is possible as a description of the alien God.

The appearance of Youel and Esephech: IV 56,11-22.

(For Youel cf. supra, pp. 46ff.). Since in the preceding section the appearance of the thrice-male child is reported, and the appearance of Esephech comes in IV 56,20-22, it is to be expected that in IV 56,11-20 the appearance of Youel is mentioned. Unfortunately the lacunae make an unambiguous interpretation of this section exceedingly difficult. Nevertheless, the restoration of Youel in line 20 is made certain by line 19. The difficulty with this interpretation is that the being in 56,11ff. is masculine. Perhaps we can read [πιθω]c here. This radiant figure appears to be identified with Youel in lines 19f. In Allog XI 50, 52, 55 and 59 she is called ΤΑ ΝΙΕΟΟΥ ΤΗΠΟΥ, “she who has all the glories”. For Esephech see supra, pp. 48f.

The summary (?): IV 56,23 - 58,22.

This section is so poorly preserved that it is difficult to decide whether it forms a unit. An ogdoad has now been completed made up of the Father, the Mother, the Son, and the five seals which must be the three male virgins, Youel and Esephech. (For the five seals cf. supra, p. 50). They are the seal imprint of the first trinity. These seals are not the five sacraments as one might assume from GPh (cf. H.-G. Gaffron, Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente, Bonn 1969). The references to the five seals in III 55,12 and 66,3 appear to be secondary since they are lacking in IV. In both cases the sacraments are meant,
and the number five must come from a cultic situation similar to GPh. The poor state of pages 57-58 obscure the argument until 58,23.

The appearance of Pronoia: IV 58,23 - 59,29.

IV 58,23f.: Various reconstructions are possible here: \(\text{πρόνωια}, \text{απορρωια}, \text{εμάνια},\) “emanation,” or \(\text{ένωια}\). By introducing Pronoia the author reaches back to the beginning. This fits well in light of the derivation of the Logos from the Father which follows. If this interpretation is correct, the reconstruction of Pronoia is better than \(\text{απορρωια}\), since \(\text{απορρωια}\) lacks a definite character. Pronoia and the Logos come forth directly out of the supreme God. Pronoia creates an entourage for the light-being mentioned at the end of the section. The mentioning of Christ is surprising and, perhaps, secondary. He is associated with the thrice-male child. The close connection between them is also evident in III 44,22f. = IV 55,11f. and III 54,13-20 = IV 66,2-8.

The appearance of the Logos: IV 59,29 - 60,22.

The Logos does not appear as a response to the usual presentation of praise and request. The partially preserved name in 60,6 is typical for Gnostic literature, and similar to the unintelligible secret names of magical literature. The reading \(\text{xc}\) in 60,8 is as good as certain. «The son of silence» in 60,8 and 12 refers to the Logos. The reference to him as the son of the great Christ is best understood as an interpolation. That Christ is connected with the coming of the Logos is known from other Gnostic sources, but to refer to the Logos as the Son of Christ is unprecedented. The relative clauses in 60,7 and 8 are parallel. The descent from the primal Father nicely explains the missing request. Thus the passage attests to the direct emanation of the Logos from the primal Father. 60,17-22 may be a different unit of tradition (τότε!) which presents the Logos as the creator of the heavenly world.

The presentation of praise of the Logos: IV 60,22-30.

The fact that the presentation of praise of the Logos is addressed only to the great invisible Spirit could be due to an especially close relationship between the Father and the Logos. This section does not belong to the presentations of praise addressed to the pantheon.
The creation of Adamas: III 48 end-49,7 = IV 60,30-61,8.

In contrast to the Logos, the being next in order is not an αὐτογενής. The Adamas, the heavenly prototype of the earthly man, is created. This is indicated by ἀνάστασις, the typical word for such an act (cf. III 51,17; 54,17; 60,11,20; 63,13; 67,11. IV 63,12; 66,6; 72,2; 75,15). To accomplish this a creator-deity is needed. In III 49,4 Μίρωθος plays this role. The end of the parallel line in IV 61,4 is lost. There is not enough room for the name although it could have been crowded in and have extended into the margin. The name refers to a mother deity also known from Zost VIII 6,30; 30,14 where the name is spelled Μίρωθα. The meaning would be "the goddess μοῖρα". In GEgypt the name has the Ionic feminine ending. Due to stress on the ultima the vowels of the penult and antepenult have been assimilated. The reference to μοῖρα as creator of the primal Adam appears to come from ancient mythology, since Zeus made the Μοῖραι, the goddesses of fate, especially significant for man (cf. Hes. Theog. 903ff.). Yet her mythological role can vary. The most basic is her general character as "mother of the holy, incorruptible ones". This special role as mother can also be transferred to a male deity. For that reason the Μεγαδαμάς, the primal Adam, in the 3StSeth is praised by Seth as the Μίρωθας (VII 119,12). (For Greek name ending in -άς cf. Blass-Debrunner § 125). Finally, this form is changed to Μίρωθεος (VII 119,12f.; 120,15). The name given to Adamas in III 49,6f. is made up of groups of letters, while in IV 61,6f. a meaning is given. Unfortunately the passage in IV is obscured by lacunae. It reads at first (IV 61,6f.) three times "thou art one". The same is said in Zost VIII 53,24f. of the Splenditenens and again in 54,6 where the context is lost. In the hymn to the supreme God in 3StSeth we find the phrase "thou art one" twice in a row (VII 125,23). Thus Ίην in III may be Ιην ἐν, which the author of III mistook for nonsense syllables but which in IV are correctly translated. (Cf. III 66,13 and IV 78,16f. for a similar situation). IV 61,8 has [εά εά] εά. What was at the end of the preceding line, however, remains a question. To take εά as an abbreviation for Ιην ἐν is problematic when one considers that previously Ιην was rendered by ί. If one sees in Ίην and εά the same meaning, then one must take Ίην as a Greek phrase that was not understood, and εά as a cryptogram consisting of the first letter of the written word Ιην and the alpha as the number 1. The chief problem remains, however, whether in the Greek Vorlage Ίην or Είην occurred. If Είην were not there, one could hypothesize...
that IV interpreted the text capriciously. Perhaps one could see these letters as the initial letters of the following words: \( I(\underline{\eta} \nu \omega) \) \( \epsilon(\sigma\tau\iota) \) \( \nu(\epsilon\omicron\sigma) \), \( \epsilon(\sigma\tau\iota\nu) \) \( \underline{A}(\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma) \). The meaning would then be that \( I(\eta\nu\omega) \) renews himself and appears in the Light-Adam. (Cf. \( \textit{ihoxeaw supra} \), p. 173). Of course, this remains only a purely hypothetical possibility.

\textit{The origin of Adamas: III 49,8-16 = IV 61,8-18.}

\( \epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\epsilon \) in IV 61,8 corresponds to \( \mathfrak{r} \alpha \mathfrak{p} \) in III 49,8. For the spelling \( \epsilon\pi\iota\theta\epsilon \) see E. SCHWYZER, \textit{Griechische Grammatik II}, pp. 658f. One could also read \( \epsilon\pi\iota\theta \delta \epsilon \), see ThCont II 138,7. IV 61,8-11 and III 49,8-10 differ considerably. The shorter text in III as well as the version in IV have Adamas originate from “Man” (meaning God). The longer text in IV is obscured by lacunae, but Adamas is called “the eye”. Whose eye he is can be reconstructed from SJC (BG) 100,12ff. and 108,8-11 where Adamas is called “the eye of the light”. From IV 61,11ff. it is clear that the light is identical with the first Man, while in III 49,8 the light is connected with Adamas (cf. \( \phi\omicron\omega\sigma \) “light” and \( \phi\omicron\omega\sigma \) “man” in CLEM. \textit{Paed. I} 6). The quotation from the New Testament (Col 1:16; John 1:3) and the identification of the Father with the first man in IV make it clear that the “Man” from whom Adamas originates is God. God has come down in Adamas to remove the \( \nu \tau\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\alpha \). In Apocryphal literature the statement about the God-man is part of a presentation of praise to the invisible Spirit by Adamas after his creation (BG 35,13ff. = III 13,11ff. = II 9,5ff.).

\textit{The union of Adamas and the Logos: III 49, 16-22 = IV 61,18-23.}

In III the Greek word \( \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\sigma \) appears twice (49,17,20) and \( \varuckax \) once (49,22) in this section. This may mean that the Coptic translator attempted to make a distinction between Logos as a mythological figure and the normal meaning “word” (cf. A. BÖHLIG, \textit{Die griechischen Lehnrörter}, pp. 24ff.). IV uses only \( \varuckax \). Just as in Gnosticism the earthly man does not have life simply by virtue of his creation, so also Adamas must be joined with the Logos. The Logos and Adamas mingle with each other (III, 49,19ff.) or become a “synthesis” or “mixture” (cf. CRUM, \textit{Dict}. p. 831a σύνθεσις, κραμα) “which is man” (IV 61,21ff.). \( \kappa\rho\alpha\mu\alpha \) refers to the union of soul and body in patristic texts (cf. LAMPE, p. 774b). III 49,20-22 is somewhat more detailed than IV and points out two aspects. On the one hand man possesses a logos, on the other hand he is created by a word. It appears
that III or his Greek Vorlage added an interpretive comment at this point.


Cf. supra, p. 49 for this section. The mixing of the Logos and Adamas leads to joint action. For Esephech as “the child of the child” see Zost VIII 45,11; 58,25. For the plural with Doxomedon in IV 62,4 see supra, p. 42. For the ethereal earth see U 361,35, and ΚΑΩ ΝΗΛΗΠ in Zost VIII 8,11; 9,2ff. It forms the lowest part of the heavenly world. According to Zost it came into being through a word. As such it is the counterpart of the cosmic earth. “It reveals the created and corruptible ones in incorruptibility” (Zost VIII 9,4ff.). Thus it is a place of transformation. The description “the receiver of God” (III 50,10f. = IV 62,9f.) must mean that the deification takes place there (cf. U 361,35ff). The ΝΠΩΜΕ in III 50,14 appears to be a secondary addition. III 50,15 leaves out ΝΗΡΗ. IV has the better text as the parallelism suggests:

“[the] light of the Father [of the] silence and the living spring [of silence.] [the] Father and [their whole] pleroma”.

The request of the Logos and Adamas: III 50,17-51,14 = IV 62,16 - 63,8.

After this presentation of praise has been completed, the text resumes with a summarizing reference to it, perhaps to place the emphasis on the ones who present the praise. Once again the Greek term λόγος is used in III. The petition is divided into two parts. In the first one the Logos and Adamas together ask for the creation of the lights. In the second part Adamas requests a son, i.e. Seth, to be the father of a new race. III probably left out inadvertently the ΜΝΤΑΘΚΩΜΗ present in IV 62,21. III 50,23 = IV 62,22 indicates that the requested power (the lights) will complete the four aeons. It will shine into the cosmos which exists in the darkness of night. In IV 62,31 - 63,1 in contrast to III 51,6, Adamas asks for a son “for himself”, which shows that we are dealing with an independent tradition. This supports the reconstruction ΤΟΤΕ in IV 62,30. III has harmonized it with the preceding part by translating “for them”. III 51,7-14 = IV 63,1-8 presents the task of the race of Seth. Its appearance serves as the judgment of the dead aeon. The voice pre-
cedes the raising of the aeon and is indeed the prerequisite for the judgement (cf. 1 Cor 15:52). If IV 63,4 $\text{πντακ}$ is left unemended, it would have to be II Perfect. The gnostic reader then viewed the requested events not from the perspective of those who make the request (the Logos and Adamas), but from his own perspective since the creation of Seth and the race of Seth have already brought about the possibility of salvation. The race of Seth has the same function as the light elements or light spirits in Gnosticism (cf. BÖHLIG-LARBIB II, 5, p. 101).

The creation of the four lights and Seth: III 51,14-22 = IV 63,8-17.

In III 51,19 $\text{ετναυμω}$ meaning "great" has been added as an attribute of the four lights. $\text{νοσ}$ is missing in III 51,21 in contrast to IV 63,16. As in the case of Adamas (supra, p. 176), an auxiliary power comes into being to create the four lights, Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth, and Seth. III 51,17 takes $\text{προφάνεια}$ to be the name of this power. $\text{προφάνεια}$ is represented in IV 63,11 by $\text{ππριωο}$. Other examples of the Qualitative functioning as a noun are $\text{ακυωο}$ "hastiness", $\text{ικε} \text{"speed"},$ and $\text{μοτнт} \text{"ease"}. A detailed description of the creation of the four lights can be found in ApocryJn (BG 32,19ff. = III 11,15ff. = II 7,30ff.). For its place in the myth see supra, p. 33. The inhabitants of the four lights are mentioned in III 65,12ff. = IV 77,7ff. ApocryJn deals with this immediately following the creation of the lights. (BG 35,5ff. = III 13,3ff. = II 8,35ff.).


The omission of $\text{γωμυςκηηηεοιο}$ in III 51,24 may be due to homoiooteleuton in the Greek text. IV 63,23f. $\text{νογαος} \text{ζινα} \text{πτεκ-} \text{κωκ} \text{κον} \text{κηο}$ may also be missing in III due to homoiooteleuton. This piece of traditional material is an arithmological speculation typical for Gnostic literature. The unit of seven — its content is not specified — becomes through the addition of the four a group of eleven. These eleven are themselves ogdoads. A different arithmological scheme lies behind III 53,10ff. = IV 65,2ff. which speaks of five ogdoads.

The consorts of the lights: III 52,3-16 = IV 63,24 - 64,10.

In this section GEgypt differs from ApocryJn where each light receives three aeons: Harmozel receives $\text{χάρις}, \text{αλήθεια}$ and $\text{μορφή}$; Oroiael receives $\text{πρόνοια}, \text{αισθήσις}$ and $\text{μνήμη}$. Davithe receives
The ministers of the lights and their consorts: III 52,16 - 53,12 = IV 64,10 - 65,5.

The ogdoad formed by the four lights and their consorts is complemented by a second ogdoad which has a typical auxiliary function. Three of the ministers are also known from ApocAd V 75,22ff. where they rescue the people of Seth. The two ogdoads of the Autogenes are now added to the three of the Father, Mother and Son and so form together a total of forty beings. The designation "uninterpretable power" heightens their mysterious character. For forty as an unmixed "four" see fragment 16 of Heracleon (ORIGEN, in Jo 2:20 = ed. PREUSCHEN, pp. 214,30-215,1).


The πώληκε μ- in III 53,14 is a secondary addition under the influence of the preceding expression. IV 65,13 has Doxomedon-aeon in the plural. It should be noted that "which are in them" in III 53,20f. also assumes a plural in spite of the singular article in 53,19. The expected πάλαγι ητε πάλαγι is missing in IV 65,20. παρασάλαμα in III 54,3 stands in apposition. Perhaps the μη-μη in IV 65,21f. means "both - and". ετηνωπαίμη- in IV 65,23 should be preferred over ετημαγι in III. For the presentation of praise see supra, pp. 39f. The content of the petition presents difficulties due to the differences between III 54,6ff. and IV 65,25ff. The first request is that the Father may be called the fourth, the second that the race of the Father may be called the seed of Seth. This second request establishes the connection between the children of Seth on earth and the supreme God. Only because the great invisible Spirit is the father of the Gnostics can they be certain that they are a "divine race". That is why the Sethians as the seed of Seth need a mythological explanation for their relationship to the Father. The response to the request satisfies this need. The meaning of the first part of the petition is obscure (cf. infra, p. 181). Together with the incorruptible race the Father forms a unit of four. Four is a basic number. However, it is unclear who the three are
who, together with the Father, make a group of four. The following section, which speaks of the thrice-male child and Christ, may be involved here. One should also note III 42,5ff. = IV 51,22ff., which shows that the thrice-male child originated from the Father. In contrast with III, the version in IV mentions σπορά only once.

The response to the request: III 54,11 - 55,2 = IV 65,30 - 66,14.

The two-fold 2έντβα εμντογ ςπε in III appears to be secondary. The shaking of heaven and earth here (cf. OnOrWld, II 102 (150),26ff.) is not a sign of insurrection but the work of heavenly beings. This agrees with the general character of the tractate, for the opposition of the evil powers is only briefly mentioned and the initiative lies essentially with the heavenly beings. The incorruptible ones who make up the heavenly world consist of several groups of differing quality. Some are unborn, some self-begotten, and the third group is begotten in the created part of the heavenly world. For Χποε- with the meaning “created into” cf. CRUM, Dict. p. 779a. For Σν with the meaning “into” cf. CRUM, Dict. pp. 683a and 684b. Into this world a unit of four descends which could be the heavenly model of Seth and his children. It affects the heavenly world and consists of the thrice-male child and Christ. For this combination see supra, p. 46. The plural form of the verbal prefix (III 54,14) stresses the number three. Both the child and Christ are beings which are not created but have come into being (προελθείων). Perhaps in the second part of the tractate Seth and his children correspond to this unit of four in the sense that the threefold creation through Plesithea, Hormos and Edokla together with the earthly Seth form such a group of four. The combination of three and one reminds one of the then widely known story of the three young men in the fiery furnace and the angel who joins them (Dan 3:24-25 MT = 3:91-92 LXX). Christ surrounds himself with a court, an act which already points to the following section, but undoubtedly belongs here as can be seen from the concluding sentence (III 55,1f. = IV 66,13f.). In III the unit of four is the subject of this sentence; in IV it seems to be Christ. The founding of the four aeons was described in IV 60,19ff.

The emergence of the heavenly church: III 55,2-16 = IV 66,14 - 67,1. Λόγος or ωάκε dropped out in III 55,5. The development of the heavenly world, which has occurred as a response to the petitions of the Logos and the pleroma of the lights, finally leads to the for-
mation of a heavenly church (πνευματική ἐκκλησία), whose task it is to praise the trinity of Father, Mother and Son. The first main section ends with “Amen” (III 55,16 = IV 67,1). For the structure of the tractate as a whole see supra, pp. 26ff.

The presentation of praise of Seth and the request for his seed: III 55,16 - 56,3 = IV 67,2-?

For the presentation of praise see supra, pp. 39f.

Plesithea and her work: III 56,4-13 = IV 67,? -27.

As with the creation of Adamas, a female creation-deity must appear in order to fulfill Seth’s request. Earlier it was Moirothea (III 49,4), this time it is Πηγαθεά which means “full goddess”. She is called mother three times. The name seems to suggest extraordinary fertility such as is reported of the Ephesian goddess Artemis. But in contrast to her she does not have many breasts but only four. Perhaps this indicates her ability to give birth as a virgin (cf. Böhlig-Labib, II, 5, pp. 74ff.; Thund VI 13,19ff.). This conception is combined with a positive view of Sodom and Gomorrah (see supra, pp. 28f.). Each place is given a special function (cf. III 60,9-18 = IV 71,18-30). Gomorrah is the spring and Sodom the fruit. ἑτέρας ἐν III 56,12 could refer back to either Sodom or Plesithea. In the latter case Sodom and Gomorrah are seen as spring and fruit within the mother Plesithea.


This section forms an independent piece of traditional material along with the preceding section. This is evident from the reference to the child without mentioning its threefold nature. 2ΜΟΤ (= χάρις) in III 56,15 means “gift”. The place where the creation takes place is, as in all previous cases, the heavenly world (III 56,4 2Μ ΠΗΓΑ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ). III 56,20 presents a typical misinterpretation. According to III Seth placed the seed “in the fourth aeon in the third great light Davithe”. IV 68,3ff., on the other hand, reads correctly “in the four aeons in the third great light Davithe”. These aeons were mentioned already in IV 60,19ff. The children of Seth are in them “with him” (Seth). III pictures Seth as dwelling in Davithe. This contradicts III 65,16ff. = IV 77,12f. which states that he lives in Oroiael. For the dwelling of the children of Seth “in the third aeon in the third great light Davithe” see Apocryfn BG 36,2ff. = III 13,19ff. = II 9,14ff.
The creation of the rulers of the world: III 56,22 - 58,22 = IV 68,5-?

In GEgypt the absolute rule of the heavenly world can be seen in the creation of the world ruler, who comes into being by its expressed wish rather than through a fall as in Apocryjn and in Valentinianism. The light Eleleth is closest to Chaos and Hades. That is why he utters the command. Why he does this “after 5000 years” remains unclear. Again GEgypt employs the now familiar creation scheme. The hylic Sophia comes forth in the form of a cloud. After this the minister of Harmozel communicates the creation order to the minister of Oroiael. Next the cloud appears in two monads of light. The two monads are possibly Sophia herself and her throne. Then Ἅ[τοκ Ἄν Πορον]ος is to be read. Perhaps the throne represents the Demiurge. Apocryjn also speaks about a throne for the ruler of the world in a cloud of light (BG 38,6ff. = III 15,16ff. = II 10,14ff.). In this abbreviated form the Sophia-demiurge myth has been incorporated into the tractate. The ruler of the world is called Sakla, not Ialdabaoth. Nebruel is connected with him as in the Manichaean cosmogony, see F. Cumont. La cosmogonie manichéenne (Recherches sur le Manichéisme I) Bruxelles 1908, p. 42 n. 3. Perhaps Nebruel is derived from Νεβρῳδ, in Hebrew נבר. He is indeed a primeval ruler according to Gen 10:8-12 = 1 Chron 1:10: “And Cush begot Nimrod; he was the first mighty one on the earth”. If Nimrod in Mic 5:6 is a ruler of the Assyrians this would give the name a pejorative meaning. Names ending in -Ha are common in the tractate, e.g. Ἰωβηλ III 65,23 and ποίμαν Σ III 66,1 = IV 78,2. The archangel Sakla and the great or chief demon join together to become a creator-spirit of the earth. Their products are the twelve assisting angels and the twelve aeons. Sakla gives each angel authority over an aeon. These twelve angels, who are listed by name, are also present in Apocryjn (BG 40,5ff. = III 16,20ff. = II 10,28ff.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEgypt</th>
<th>BG</th>
<th>III, I</th>
<th>II, I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 άδο[ω]</td>
<td>ιάωθ</td>
<td>ιαώθ</td>
<td>αώθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ζαρμας</td>
<td>ζαρμας</td>
<td>ζαρμας</td>
<td>ζαρμας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [γαλιλα]</td>
<td>γαλιλα</td>
<td>γαλιλα</td>
<td>καλιλα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ἰωβηλ</td>
<td>Ἰωβηλ</td>
<td>Ἰωβηλ</td>
<td>Ταβηλ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [Λαωναιος]</td>
<td>Λαωναιος</td>
<td>Λαωναιος</td>
<td>Λαωναιος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 [Καϊν]</td>
<td>Καβαωθ</td>
<td>Καβαωθ</td>
<td>Καϊν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 [Αβελ]</td>
<td>Καναν and KAH</td>
<td>Καναν and KAH</td>
<td>Aβελ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GEgypt in agreement with ApocryJn gives several of the angels a second name or defines them with a predicate. BG and III, I call ζαρμωηαλω ζαρμωηαλω ζαρμωηαλω ζαρμωηαλω “the eye of the fire”, II, I “the eye of jealousy”. All versions call ΚΑΙΝ “the sun”. ApocryJn II calls ΚΑΙΝΑΤΩ “the sun”. ApocryJn II calls ΚΑΙΝΑΤΩ “the sun”. ApocryJn II calls ΚΑΙΝΑΤΩ also καβαυτω. GЕgypt agrees in each case with the Codex II version against BG and III, I. The Κ in ΚΑΙΡΕΣΗΑΙΣ must be a mistake for Β. Such errors, which are common in the spelling of unfamiliar names, as well as the other orthographical variants are insignificant.

The arrogance of Sakla: III 58,23-59,1. IV is lost.

GЕgypt gives the words of Sakla a somewhat different form from NatArch II 86(134),30f.; 94(142),21f.; OnOrWld II 103(151),11ff. and GrSeth VII 53,30f.,which quote Is 46:9 (LXX). With ApocryJn (BG 44,14 = II 13,8f.) and IRENAEUS, Adv. Haer. I, 29.4 it adds the adjective “jealous” probably on the basis of Ex 20:5. Further GЕgypt reads “and apart from (or: without) me nothing has come into being”. The first meaning would have gradually changed into the second. The reconstruction γυμνη is necessary because of the preceding Perfect negative. Sakla’s hybris is seen in that he relies on his nature which does not have the quality he assumes. The parallel in ApocryJn at this point (BG 43,4f. = III 18,20ff.) states that he became disobedient to the nature (υπόστασις) from which he originated. However there is not enough room to negate ηκε in III 58,26.

The rebuke of Sakla and the creation of man: III 59,1-9. IV is lost.

Sakla is rebuked by an unidentified voice from on high. In contrast to OnOrWld II 103(151), 15ff. where Pistis addresses a lengthy rebuke to the chief archon, GЕgypt and ApocryJn (BG 47,15f. = III 21,17f. = II 14,14f.) have simply the statement about the existence of Man and the Son of Man. The difference in ApocryJn is that the words are spoken to Sophia though heard by Ialdabaoth. The identity of the Man and the Son of Man is not clear. The different systems do not interpret these beings in the same way. Thus the Man can be the
supreme God (IRENÆUS, *Adv. Haer.* I, 30.6) as well as his first manifestation in his female complement (BG 27,19 = III 7,23 = II 5,7), or another secondary manifestation of the supreme God. Son of Man need not be Christ, as it appears to be in GPh where Christ plays an important role. It is used as the description of the savior in III 85,11f. (Eug), who is the consort of Pistis Sophia (III 81,23ff.; 82,7ff.). Yet above him stands not the supreme God but an emanation, “the immortal man” (III 85,10ff.). In OnOrWld II 103(151),19; 107(155),26 the “true man” could perhaps refer to the supreme God. In that case he should be distinguished from his manifestation in the world since it became contaminated by a deficiency during its stay on earth (II 111(159),29ff.). This manifestation can be compared to the primal Man of the Manichaeans. For further material on the Man and the Son of Man in Gnosticism see H.-M. SCHEKKE, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Berlin 1962). In GEgypt “Man” and “Son of Man” are part of traditional material and are not further integrated into the cosmogony of the tractate. Only in the section on the creation of Adamas can a possible reference to the god “Man” be discerned. As was mentioned before, the rebuke is followed by a voice from on high, the light-image, which, in Gnostic myths is seen by the archons and so becomes the occasion for the creation of man (cf. II 112(160),32ff. and BÖHLIG-LABIB II, 5, pp. 70f.). This is the Gnostic interpretation of the creation of man in the image of God in Gen 1: 26. Since the story of creation is only of peripheral interest to the author it is summarized in one phrase. He states that the first creature (πλάσµα) was formed on account of the looking out of the image above. 6ώµυτ (EBOA) in III 59,6,7 can not be passive since it is used only intransitively (cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 83ff.).

The redeeming activity of Metanoia: III 59,9 - 60,2 = IV 70,7 - 71,11.

Metanoia also appears quite unexpectedly. As a soteriological auxiliary being she follows upon the creation. παύ εὐθυνητή q could mean simply “therefore”. However, it is more likely that the παύ resumes πλασµα. Just as Sophia needed Metanoia to return to the realm of light after the fall, so too the earthly creature stands in need of her. As a mythological entity she appears wholly within the framework of the divine economy. In GEgypt mankind as such is not the object of the saving activity, but rather the people of Seth, the chosen race, which also needs to be rescued from ὑστερήµα, “the deficiency”, due to its stay on earth (cf. IV 71,1f. ΜΙΕΩΝ ΝΑΠΟ
It is this deficiency that Metanoia is to “fill up” (the εθολ 2ἰτοοτɛc in III 59,17 could also refer to the race of Seth). ἐστρέψαυ in III 59,18 corresponds to ἁσεω in IV 71,3. For the attribute “night-like” see III 51,5 = IV 62,29. εξουσία in III 59,22 could be an explanatory addition. For ἀρχών τοῦ αἰώνος τοῦτον see Ign. Eph. 17,1; 19,1; Magn. 1,3 etc. (see W. Bauer, Lexicon s.v.). III 59,25 “demon-begetting” is hard to fit in the lacuna in IV 71,9. The ἁν - ἁν in III 59,21 and 25 corresponds to ἀγό Μν - ἀγό Μν (= κῶλ-καὶ) in IV 71,6. [10].

As in St. Augustine’s Civitas Dei, (cf. A. Böhlig, “Zu gnostischen Grundlagen der Civitas-Dei-Vorstellung bei Augustin” ZNW 60 (1969), 291-295) the world is divided into two groups, the seed of the demon-begetting God and the seed of Adam and Seth. The pristine element in Adam has, after his fall, been transferred to Seth (cf. ApocAd V 64,24ff.). The identification of Adam with the sun (IV 71,10), since it is more concrete, appears to have greater claim to being original than the identification of the seed of Adam with the sun. The most difficult to understand is the work of Metanoia. τῷβς (III 50,21) corresponds to ἐπιτ (IV 71,5f.). In both cases the verb is linked to the object by ἁκά. It probably means that Metanoia prayed for the repentance of both groups. The concern of the heavenly world for the children of the world rulers becomes understandable when one reads in ApocAd that repentance also occurs among the seed of Ham and Japheth (V 74,10ff.; 76,11ff.).
The placing of the seed of Seth: III 60,9-18 = IV 71,18-30.

The basic difference between III and IV regarding the work of Seth is that in contrast to IV, III has divided the content of IV 71,22-30 into two alternative views each introduced by the phrase, “some say...” IV is probably based on an earlier form of the text, from which the text underlying III was derived. This follows from the lack of “source” (πηγή) in III. For πηγή as Gomorrah, cf. III 56,10-11 (IV is lost.). The view proposed by the first group in III, that Sodom is the pasture of the great Seth, can also be found in IV. However, here it is set forth in the context of the view attributed to the second group in III. The main difference between III and IV lies in the introduction to the views concerning Sodom and Gomorrah. Both manuscripts report that Seth sowed his seed in the created aeons. Concerning the aeons III says that the number of the seed is the amount of Sodom, while IV, the text of which is considerably damaged, may permit the following reconstruction: [ἔτε πενυσὶ ηὲ] οὐαττ[ ἰπεὶ ἔπο[ζ ηὲ] σοδομή [“of which the amount is] an un-[countable (amount of)] Sodom”. III has simplified the extravagant expression presented in IV. The decisive difference is found in IV 71,22f. over against III 60,12f. What is the antecedent of ητοογ and εποογ in IV 71,22f.? Grammatically it must refer to the created aeons, since they are the place in which the seed of Seth is placed; cf. IV 68,2f. = III 56,19ff. On the other hand, as a result of the identification of Sodom and Gomorrah, Sodom can also be seen as the collective of the seed of Seth. Then the plural in IV 71,22f. must be taken as a constructio ad sensum referring to the seed (σορφδ). The first meaning appears to be more probable in this case, although III 56,10f. designates the fruit as Sodom. Furthermore, this passage, which has not survived in IV, gives the impression of being textually less certain. The difference between the placing of the seed of Seth produced by Plesitheia and the placing of the seed of Seth brought forth by Hormos is that the former are placed in aeons of the light-world while the latter are put in earth-produced aeons (IV 71,20 χπο ηκας in contrast to III 60,10f. ηταγχποογ). The Greek word γηγενής may be involved here. “Earth” here perhaps expresses the incompleteness which is also mentioned in the section concerning the work of Hormos.
The race of Edokla: III 60,19 - 61,1 = IV 71,30 - 72,10.

The name Edokla is not attested elsewhere. Perhaps the ending is related to proper names ending in -ελήσ (m.) and -κλα (f.), e.g. Heracles and Thecla. If the first part of the name is related to ζή- "seat" then the meaning would be something like "goddess of origin", since ζήδωσ also means "base". Edokla gives birth to ἀλήθεια and θέμισσα through the word. The absence of the articles before ἀλήθεια and θέμισσα in IV 72,2f. could indicate that they are proper names. The usual supralinear strokes (see supra, pp. 3f.) are absent here but present in the parallel occurrence in IV 74,6. III did not understand the passage at all, as the scribal mistake indicates. The passage is of great interest for the history of religions since the expected connection between the two beings had not been attested before (cf. H. Hommel, "Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit", Antike und Abendland 15 [1969], 174). So apparently two goddesses, who are personifications of ethical concepts, form "the beginning" (ἀρχή) of the seed of eternal life. For ἀρχή "beginner" see Col 1:18 and Gen 49:3. This seed is further identified as Gnostics who know their emanation (ἀπόρροια). The εἶσαι ὑμί in III 60,23 appears to be a secondary interpretation. It must refer back to eternal life with the meaning that the Gnostics who know their origin possess eternal life. III 60,25ff. = IV 72,8ff. completes the myths about the creation of the seed of Seth. The meaning of "in" or "through three worlds" is puzzling. IV may have in mind the three "worlds" in which the children of Seth are situated, the heavenly world, the world of angels, and the earthly world. III may have changed the meaning. Keeping in mind that κόσμος can also mean "mankind" (see W. Bauer, Lexicon s.v.) III could perhaps have meant with "through three κόσμου" that the race of Seth has come into the world through three groups of beings who make up the children of Seth. This would also do some justice to the ἐπικοσμος in III 61,1.

The perils facing the seed of Seth: III 61,1-15 = IV 72,10-27.

The section consists of four parts, one dealing with the flood, the second with the conflagration, the third with famines and plagues, and the fourth with temptations by false prophets. IV projects all these events into the future. This must be the correct reading over against III which speaks of the flood in the past. Keeping in mind that Seth is the mythological author of the book and that he lived before the flood, it is apparent that III altered the text to fit the
viewpoint of the reader. To understand the flood as a type of the end of the world is similar to Celsus’ idea that the flood in the course of history is followed by burning — he means the final conflagration. (Orig. c. Cels. IV, 11). οὐσίας in III 61,3 and ε- in IV 72,11 with τύπος go back to the Greek εἰς meaning “with reference to” (cf. W. Bauer, Lexicon s.v.). This meaning is not attested in Coptic for οὐσίας. The conflagration at the end must be distinguished from the fire from which the children of Seth are protected by the prophets and guardians (cf. ApocAd V 75,9ff.). The III Fut. here stresses certainty (cf. Stern, Kopt. Gramm. § 381). λοιμός and λοιμός (III 61,11 = IV 72,21) are typical signs of the end time in the N.T. (cf. W. Bauer, Lexicon s.v.). Here they belong to the perils which especially the children of Seth must face. The same is true for the πειρασμός and πλάνη of false prophets. For ἀγαθός with the meaning λοιμός see Crum, Dict. p. 159b. It seems that something was left out after ΠΚΑΣ in III 61,6. The parallel in IV 72,15ff. is obscured by lacunae.

Seth recognizes the devil’s schemes: III 61,16-23 = IV 72,27 - 73,6.

This section supplements the preceding one. Where earlier the perils were described which threaten the children of Seth, now it is made clear that the activity of the devil stands behind all of them. ἔνεργεια means “mode of operation”; it is also found in other Gnostic texts (cf. II 107(155),2.15). ΝΕΚΟΣΤΟΣ (IV 73,1) means “his tricks” (cf. Crum, Dict. p. 127b and Eph 6:11 τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου), while ΝΕΚΑΤΟ ΝΗΜΟΣ (III 61,17ff.) translates “his many guises”. The difference may be due to divergent interpretations of ἀμφιβολία. For ΚΟΣΤΟΣ = ἀμφιβόλος see Crum, Dict. p. 127b. ΜΕΕΥΕ must be plans or schemes. III 61,20ff. = IV 73,4ff. speaks about the devil’s entourage. As in the case of the ruler of the world, the devil is an angel and a ruler of angels (see supra, p. 183; also “the devil and his angels” in Mt 25:41). It is a special trait of the demonic world, and of the devil himself, to act against itself. Again the Fut. in IV is the original reading against the Perf. in III (see supra, pp. 188f.). For internal strife as a typical characteristic of the demonic world see GTr I 29,15f. In the Kephalaia of Mani this trait is developed in terms of Mt 12:25 (Kephalaios 52). ΑΥΤΟΛΜΑ in III corresponds to ΚΑΝΑΤΟΛΜΑ in IV. In III the subject is the demonic powers; in IV the devil himself is the subject. Probably III is a simplification.
Seth requests guardians for his race: III 61,23 - 62,13 = IV 73,7-26.

For the presentation of praise see supra, pp. 39f. III has left out two attributes of the great invisible Spirit (cf. IV 73,9). τελμανα along side τελμαξανα in IV 73,13 is not a scribal error but an accepted variant of the name, as 59,19 shows. Also III 62, 2f. has τελμανα. For the absence of παλογ ηπαλογ see supra, p. 48. Only here has IV translated δοξομεδων as ρετετν εου. The “great ones” (IV 73,21) who surround the throne suggest the picture of a royal court. III 62,10 has the expected ινδομ. III has left out “and glories and incorruptions” found in IV 73,22f. These and the earlier omissions in the presentation of praise in III give the impression of imprecision. Since ταιτι ινωρπι equals προαιτειν in IV 73,25 and means “to ask beforehand”, the omission of ινωρπι in III 62,12 is easily explained as another instance of simplification in which the refinement of meaning indicated by προ- has been ignored (cf. supra, p. 12).


The number of guards is given as 400. This number is often used in the Bible for groups of people, e.g. Gen 32:7; 1 Sam 22:2; 25:13; 30:10.17; 1 Kgs 18:19; 22:6; Acts 5:36. They are called αμεσιοι; cf. U 361,39; 362,11. For the spelling of the word in III see 62,14note. U 362,13 also mentions Selmelche, who in III is called “Selmechel” and in IV “Selmelchel”. ξεροσινη may be a transformation of the evil ἀρχων τῆς ἑγενικας τοῦ άρεφ of Eph 2:2 into a good assistant. The εφαπεζε in III 62,16f. must be a free rendering of νηρεφαπεζ which in IV 74,2 stands in apposition. The guarding lasts for the duration of the stay on earth of the children of Seth. It is specified as beginning with the creation of Aletheia and Themissa, and lasts until the end of this world. The condemnation of the archons is being treated here because of their mistreatment of the race of Seth mentioned earlier.

The mission of Seth: III 62,24 - 63,4 = IV 74,9-17.

After the long segment which spoke about the creation, the abode and the guarding of the children of Seth, a specifically soteriological part follows. It deals with the sending of Seth into the world and his saving work. He is sent by the lights — in one of which he lives — according to the will of the Autogenes, i.e. the Logos, and the whole pleroma. But approval is also granted by the highest authority.
The statement is a good example of the Gnostic concept of the divine economy. The great invisible Spirit himself participates, through his approval, in this soteriological event together with his pantheon, the five seals and the pleroma. The pleroma in general and the pleroma of the lights probably should be distinguished (cf. III 52,5f. = IV 63,26f.). The ΠΝΟΥΤΕ in III 63,2 is incorrect. IV 74,14 has correctly translated ΟΥΤΙ ΝΤΑΩ, “his (gracious) giving” (cf. ΠΤ in III 68,17). Since III in contrast to IV often supplies the definite article the Coptic Vorlage of III must have read ΠΤ. The version of Apocrypha in Codex III does not mistake ΠΤ for ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, but it is found in BG 32,21 (= III 11,16); 34,12f. (= III 12,21); 34,20f. (= III 12,25). It may come from the abbreviation ΝΤ for ΝΟΥΤΕ which is used in BG while III, I and II, I use the regular ΝΟΥΤΕ (BG 31,19; 34,9; III 10,23; 12,17f.; II 7,11; 8,21; as well as in SJC in BG 112,13; cf. Eug III 87,15). The abbreviation reminds one of the BF Τ (see TILL/SCHEK, BG 8502, pp. 323ff. and 341). CRUM has found the form Τ in a fragment of the letter to the Romans (see JEA 13 [1927] 19-26).

The question raised by TILL how this Fayyumic spelling could have intruded into Sahidic MSS is hard to answer. It should be remembered that such Fayyumic forms are by no means unique in the Nag Hammadi texts (cf. ΝΕ- for ΝΑ- in Fut.). In agreement with TILL’s observation concerning Codex III this passage proves that we are not dealing with the first Coptic copy of this version of GEgypt.

The work of Seth: III 63,4 - 64,9 = IV 74,17 - 75,24.

This section appears to be grammatically linked to the preceding one. III starts with a new main verb in 63,4, but IV 74,17 is connected with the preceding section whether emended to ΕΙΚΙΝΕ or to ΕΙΚΙΝΕ. Also Seth passes through the three παρουσίαι experienced by his children; first the flood, secondly the conflagration, and thirdly the judgment of the archons. One can also interpret the structure of ApocAd in terms of this passage. The appositive to παρουσία in III 63,6f. is divided by ΜΝ ... ΜΝ ... ΜΝ = καί ... καί ... καί, while in IV 74,19f. it is introduced by repeating the ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-. For κατακλυσμός, conflagration and the judgment of the archons see III 61,1f. = IV 72,11; III 61,5 = IV 72,15; III 62,22 = IV 74,7f. In III 63,8 = IV 74,22 Seth’s task is more narrowly defined through a further infinitive ΕΝΟΥΣΜ: “to save (the race) which goes astray” (cf. H.-M. SCHEK in NTS 16 [1970] 205).

What follows are the means of salvation: 1) The reconciliation of
the world, i.e. the re-establishment of peace between God and man (for ژوپپ see III 63,16f. = IV 75,3). 2) The physical baptism. Both are administered by a λογογενής, which is brought forth mysteriously by a virgin. The birth of Seth in Jesus seems to be intended here (cf. III 64,1 = IV 75,15). The object of baptism is rebirth through the Holy Spirit. IV 74,29 in contrast to III 63,13 has translated literally "beget again". It is not certain whether the σύμβολα refer to esoteric rites during baptism. 3) The reconciliation of the world with the world. ژوپپ in IV 75,3 is best taken as a phonetic spelling of ژوپپ. It translates καταλλάσσειν (cf. 2 Cor 5:19; Col 1:20). This reconciliation puts an end to the state of unrest in the world. 4) The ἀποταγή. Just as 2) presented a personal happening after a cosmic happening in 1), so 4) could be a personal act following upon a cosmic one in 3). The special encratic character of the tractate becomes clear here, which is not unexpected in view of the separation of the children of Seth and their dissimilarity from the world. The renunciation is also in respect to a mythological being, the god of the thirteen aeons. For the negative character of the thirteen aeons see ApocAd V 77,27ff., where the thirteen kingdoms are valued less than the domain without a king. Over against this, in PS the thirteenth aeon is an aeon of righteousness. The difference between III 63,19 = IV 75,7 is due to varying interpretations of ἐπίκλητος τῶν ἀγίων. ΝΕΠΙΚΑΗΓΟΣ ژΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ (III 63,19) can be translated as "the called ones among the saints", or as "the convocations of the saints". IV took the genitive not as possession but as indicating the personal agent: "through a calling by the saints". Probably "calling" or "convocation" is correct. The plural suggests that III took it to be "called ones". Those who call, to be sure, are members of the heavenly world, especially the pre-existent Father — the word Father is missing in IV — and his Pronoia. As mentioned supra, p. 191 the divine economy is pictured as having its root in the great invisible Spirit. For the difference between ژΝ ΤΕΨΡΟΝΟΙΑ (III) and ژΝ ΟΥΨΡΟΝΟΙΑ (IV) see supra, p. 171. If one takes the ἀυκρογού = ἀυτάκρο, "he established", to refer to the Father, then the sentence receives its meaning sub specie aeternitatis. Then in IV, the supreme Light established "the holy one", i.e. Seth-Jesus, through Pronoia, and through him baptism. It seems something is missing in III, for only baptism is mentioned. In ژژژپپ ژژژپپ (III 63,22 = IV 75,10) the ژژژپپ has only the character of a structural element corresponding to προ-. The actual infinitive is ژژژپپ. Therefore in I Perfect
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\( \text{is used while in the Present and its satellites the qualitative } \text{occurs. This would solve the problem raised by H. Quecke in } \text{Le Muséeon 75 (1962) 291-300, and P. Nagel, } \text{Die Einwirkung des Griechischen auf die Entstehung der Koptischen Literatur} \text{sprache, Christentum am Roten Meer I, ed. Altheim/Stiehl, p. 353. III 63,25ff. } \text{reports that Seth appeared in the form of Jesus (cf. III 63,10ff. } \text{IV 74,25ff.). On this matter see Epiphanius, Pan. 39,1,2-3 (p. 72 ed. Holl) who reports of the Sethians, whom he may have come to know personally in Egypt: } \text{who reports the Gnostic trend of developing more and more separate mythological beings, which led in the course of the Coptic transmission to a growing misunderstanding of this passage. For example, III could simply have transposed the one, whom the great Seth has put on”. The Greek can be reconstructed as follows: } \text{as also through the incorruptible one (i.e. Seth), as also through the living Jesus (i.e. the bodily appearance)” Then } \text{again has the meaning “both ... and” (cf. supra, p. 180). The close connection between Seth and Jesus is also brought out by the fact that both dwell in the light Oroiael (see III 65,16ff. } \text{IV 77,12f.) If the subject of the verbs in III 64,3 (} \text{IV 75,18 (} \text{is Seth, then the } \text{refers to Jesus; if the pre-existent Father is the subject, then he works through Seth-Jesus. The question is whether this is a separate sentence or a continuation of the relative clause in III 63,22ff. } \text{The topic is the elimination of the powers of the aeons and the establishment of the firmament of fixed stars through the fastening of the thirteen aeons and the fixing in place of heavenly bodies. } \text{in IV 75,19 corresponds to} \)
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\[\text{κυρ} \text{οις in III 63,23. Here IV has a literal translation meaning “to be idle, motionless”, while III has retained the Greek word. The arming of the stars with knowledge could have been derived from astrology. They are in this case not evil powers. This may presuppose the redemption of the cosmos.}

\[\text{The list of the bringers of salvation: III 64,9 - 65,26 = IV 75,24 - 77, ?.}

The two versions differ considerably in the beginning of the section. The list of the bringers of salvation gives the impression that it is only superficially related to the preceding context. It is probably an independent piece of traditional material or a summary of several pieces. This is especially evident from the “me” in IV 75,24. Seth as author normally does not refer to himself in the first person. In IV the section begins with “And they revealed to me the great attendants, Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekheus”. The Greek Vorlage must also have had the third person plural to express the indefinite subject as is evident from the accusative forms of the names in both versions. It is not impossible that this plural was interpreted in terms of the preceding plural (the stars) which then made a revelation based on their knowledge of the truth. III, or its Greek Vorlage, made “the attendant” — here in the singular — the subject, and changed the “me” in IV to “them”. Here it is more obvious that the “them” refers to the stars. For the acc. \[\text{τεκτεοι μαζαρει τεκτεοκεκα}

see ApocAd V 85,30f. which has the nom. \[\text{τεκτεοκεκεγες \ τεκτεοκεκεης. The nom. does not occur in GEgypt except in the abbreviated form \[\text{τεγες} in III 66,8 for which IV 78,10 has τεκτεοης.}

This shift from the third to the second declension can also be observed in IV 78,12ff. where III 66,10 has the vocative ending -εγε. The threefold name is further defined by the appositive “the living water” (cf. ApocAd V 85,31). In Zost VIII 47,5f. he is one of the guardians of the immortal soul. For the title \[\text{σφανγεωι} with reference to heavenly beings see III 55,14 = IV 66,28; see also \[\text{σφανγελετης} in U 353,41.}

Three such commanders are mentioned: 1) James the great (“the great Jacob” in IV, cf. supra, p. 16). In view of the great regard the Gnostics have for James it is no surprise that he is counted among the heavenly beings. 2) Theopemptos, according to Zost VIII 47,16f., belongs to “the guardians of the glories”. 3) \[\text{σαγαης} is perhaps related to \[\text{σαγηα} in ApocAd V 79,2 who is an evil commander. The name could have been derived from \[\text{σαγηα}, the wife of Ahab, which was re-interpreted to refer to a good person. The next figure whose
name is partially in a lacuna in the text (IV 76,1f.) is missing in III. He is followed by Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous (III 64,15f. = IV 76,4). This group of three presents a tradition different from the pair Micheus and Michar in III 64,20 = IV 76,9f., although their role is the same. For the trio in the context of the spring of truth — but as unfaithful guardians who baptize with water instead of gnosis — see ApocAd V 84,5f. For the pair with apparently positive meaning see U 362,7 and Zost VIII 6,10 (in connection with baptism). The form _mixe_ in III 64,15 = IV 76,4 is acc.; _mixe_ in ApocAd V 84,5 is voc.; _mnhsinoyc_ in III 64,16 is nom. (cf. ApocAd V 84,6); _mnhsinoyc_ in IV 76,4 is perhaps acc. like the preceding _mixe_, if it is assumed that the line over the last letter to indicate a final _n_ dropped out due to the long superlinear stroke over the proper name. Sesengebarpharanges is known from other Gnostic literature and from Greek and Coptic magical texts. For the meaning see A. KROPP, _Ausgewählte koptische Zauber texte III_, § 211 and G. G. SCHOLEM, _Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition_, Appendix B, pp. 94ff. One would expect the name to be a phrase, especially since the first part is not always present. “Barpharanges” is either a hybrid meaning “son of the ravine” or, what is more likely, “the one from the Baara-ravine”. For his function as purifier see U 362,8 and Zost VIII 6,11f. The _ceceferen_ is obscure. III misunderstood this passage. He separated the function from the name and placed it in the plural with the result that they become separate beings. Furthermore a misunderstanding can be seen in III 64,12f. IV reads correctly “they who preside over the rising, Seldao and Elenos”. That these are names is confirmed by U 362,13 where Seldao and Elanos exist in the place of Pistis Sophia. They follow also in Zost VIII 6,16 upon Micheus and Michar. For _nen_ in III 64,22 see supra, p. 3. That the _paralhmitopes_, the receivers of the race of Seth, are the ministers of the four lights is also evident from ApocAd V 75,21ff., where Abrasax, Samblo and Gamaliel (Gabriel is missing) rescue the people of Seth from the fire. Gamaliel is in the list of the “guardians of the immortal soul” in Zost VIII 47,2. _oahc_ and _eypimayoc_ are found together also in Zost VIII 47,17f., where they belong to the guardians of the glories without a further description of their function. _yppneyc_ (III 65,2) or _ymnec_ (IV 76,21) is not attested elsewhere. The form of the name in III seems improbable if it is taken to be derived from _ypnos_ since these beings preside over the rising rather than the
setting of the sun. It is also a question whether ὑμνεός is related to ὑμνέω. Since three beings preside over the rising of the sun the same number is expected in connection with the setting. Therefore, it is probable that ἑπτάτοι in III 65,5 is a secondary interpretation which has changed the name to the function of the two following beings. For ἀκράμας and στρεμψύχος as guardians of souls in III 65,7f. = IV 77,1 see Zost VIII 47,3. The difference between “slain souls” (IV) and “souls of the elects” may be due to an attempt by III to improve on a difficult reading. The difference could also be explained as variant understandings of ἐξαιρεθέσαι (ψυχαί) (cf. supra, p. 17). This participle can be both the passive form of ἐξαρέω “destroy” and ἐξαρέσαν “chose”. The following being could be the thrice-male child with the names spelled out and combined with Seth. He is treated as a singular and is called “the great power” (III 65,8 = IV 77,2); see also supra, p. 45. The double τειμάκαλα has been inadvertently left out in III. The appearance of the great invisible Spirit next in the list is less surprising after one has seen a similar situation with the Father and the first ogdoad (see supra, pp. 17). With this the climax has been reached and one would expect that the list has come to an end. This is not the case, however, for with another “and” a section is added which may originally have been independent. It interprets the four lights as the abodes of certain beings and ἱωνᾶ as the divine archetype of John the Baptist. While “the first light” is added to the first name, this designation as a light is not continued, with the result that when the fifth name is reached it is no longer thought of as a light, but as a part of a general list. For Harmozel see ApocryJn BG 35,5ff. = III 13,3ff. = II 8,34ff. where it is the abode of Christ and Adamas while in GEgypt it is the place of the Logos and Adamas. In ApocryJn Christ has been identified with the Autogenes in contrast to GEgypt where the Logos has been identified with the Autogenes. In this passage only the designation “Autogenes” is used. III 65,14f. cannot be correct. IV 77,10f. has the correct reading. For Oroiael see ApocryJn BG 35,20ff. = III 13,17ff. = II 9,11ff., where it is the abode of Seth while in GEgypt it is also the dwelling place of “Jesus of the life” showing the close connection between Seth and Jesus in GEgypt (cf. supra, p. 37). For an antinomian attitude in conjunction with the idea that the world was crucified cf. Gal 6:14; Eph 2:15; Col 2:14. For Davith see ApocryJn BG 36,2ff. = III 13,19ff. = II 9,14ff. For Eleleth see ApocryJn BG 36,7ff. = III 14,1ff. = II 9,18ff., where
the inhabitants are characterized differently from GEgypt. In GEgypt a distinction is made between the sons of Seth and their souls which dwell in Eleleth; in ApocryJn the contrast is between the degrees of perfection of the inhabitants, so that Eleleth becomes the abode of the souls which have repented late.

*The certainty of salvation in the present:* III 65,26 - 66,8 = IV 77, ?-78,10.

After the description of Seth's saving work and the list of the assistants in salvation, the author of the tractate spells out the implications for the present. Now there is the possibility of salvation for the children of Seth. The mediator is called *ποιμανά*, which could be a modification or pendant of *Ποιμάνδρης* (cf. Domiel and Domedon *supra*, p. 41). This may indicate a relationship with Hermetic literature and support the idea that GEgypt originated in Egypt. If the preceding passage referred to John the Baptist, then we have here the same contrast as in Luke 16:16. There the contrast between John and the new age is expressed by *ἀπὸ τοῦ*, an expression which corresponds to the *ΧΝ ὈΝΟΥ* in III 65,26. Beside Poimael stand those who are worthy of baptism and who may be considered the core of the Gnostic congregation. In IV they are worthy of "the baptisms of the renunciation (ἀπόταγη, cf. IV 75,4) and the ineffable seals of their baptism". III combined the parallel expressions "baptisms of renunciation" and "the ineffable seals of their baptism" into a single expression in which "ineffable" was left out and the genitival connection of baptism was changed into an adverbial phrase. III added the number five to the seals perhaps due to a familiarity with five sacraments in Gnosticism (cf. H.-G. Gaffron, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium*). Likewise III further specified baptism as a baptism with running water by adding *πηγή*. The author also put the word *ἐπίκλησις* before *ἀπόταξις*. It must refer to a sacramental invocation by the believers which is part of the five sacraments, especially the spring-baptism. The subject of the sentence is "these", referring most likely to the Gnostics. We may be dealing with a separate piece of traditional material which was lifted out of its original context and thus no longer has a well-defined subject. III 66,4f. has the II Future against I Perfect in IV 78,6. Both tenses fit the context. IV views the Gnostics as having already basically received *gnosis*, while III looks upon this as an act which must continually be repeated in the future. IV says that the converted Gnostics recognize their *παραλήμπορες* as "they have
been instructed concerning them”. In III ὅς is translated “as” (Νόε). IV, where ὅς has been retained, appears to do greater justice to the context, since the causal nuance is also expressed (cf. BLASS-DEBRUNNER §453). The unusual passive construction in this subordinate clause is also found in ApocryPh III 33,17, cf. supra, p. 7. ἔγαγων (IIІ 66,6f.) and εἰσείμε (IV 78,8) can be seen as the continuation of either the main clause or the subordinate clause. IV states that the Gnostics first recognized their παραλήμπτωρες and then arrived at gnosis by means of those whom they have known. III permits the same meaning except that the παραλήμπτωρες are given as the object of the verb which no longer is used absolutely. It may be possible to see in III the introduction of a new meaning, for ἔγαγων can also have a passive meaning, “and they (the Gnostics) were known by them (the παραλήμπτωρες)”. In this case III would have a Pauline sound; cf. 1 Cor 13:12; Gal 4:9. III, then, would have first the knowing of the παραλήμπτωρες by the Gnostics and then the reverse.

The result of receiving gnosis is freedom from death, which the Gnostic obtains already in this world. This is said in biblical language (cf. Mt 16:28 par.). Already John 8:52 does not intend a definite time, such as the coming of the Son of Man, but rather the λόγος of Jesus gives eternal immortality. The step from this to the resurrection of the Gnostic is not a large one as, for example, GPh with its interpretations of the Gospel of John, shows. Whoever has gnosis will not die, as GTh 1 says: “He who finds the meaning of these words will not taste death”. It is most appropriate that the hymnic section of GEgypt, which speaks of the union of the Gnostic with the Eternity and the heavenly world, follows directly after these promises.

**Hymnic Section (Part I):** III 66,8-22 = IV 78,10 - 79,3.

Before the first strophe there are groups of letters that either represent glossolalia, as is also found elsewhere in gnostic writings, or secret symbols or abbreviations. The latter possibility is more likely, since ἱγεν in III is given in IV as ὑπετε. In III ιη which recurs in the hymn, is placed at the beginning. Nevertheless the meaning of the remaining groups of letters remains a question, especially in view of the differences between the two manuscripts.

The first part of the hymnic section can be divided into five strophes, each of which begins with “really truly” (ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς or ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς)! The arrangement within the strophes is more difficult,
especially since one cannot assume that the Coptic translation has preserved the meter of the Greek Vorlage. One expects that the strophes had the same length. Here too it must not be overlooked that each repeated vowel lengthens the line accordingly.

The First Strophe.

The first strophe begins with the invocation of Yesseus, Mazareus and Yessedekeus. III has taken over the Greek vocative form, while IV has carried over the nominative of the vocalic declension. For this change from the consonantal to the vocalic declension, cf. A. Böhlig, *Griechische Lehnvörter*, pp. 117f. Three predications follow. The question is whether each predicate respectively belongs with the name to which it corresponds in the sequences. If so, one could form a strophe of two lines. One might well see in the three figures a threefold entity which possesses both the character of unity and of plurality. For the plural cf. IV 75,25f., where III has the singular in the corresponding place. It is to be noted that in this passage as well as in this hymn the designation “the living water” is used for this trinity. Here two more designations are given so that one can correctly assume that in addition to the introductory formula there are four lines:

Really truly!
O Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus!
O living water!
O child of the child!
O name of all the glories! (III: O glorious name!)

The Second Strophe.

The strophe begins in III with a Greek phrase, while in what follows the vowels of the Greek alphabet are each given four times, though, to be sure, not in the sequence of the alphabet. This raises the question of whether the vowels have a secret meaning. In IV the introductory phrase αἰών ὁ ὄν is translated with “He who exists eternally”.

Really truly!
αἰὼν ὁ ὄν (IV: He who exists in eternity!)

The meaning is very uncertain. Perhaps it is in fact a case of glossolalia. An interpretation can only be an attempt:

Really truly!
O existing aeon!

IH! (perhaps the name of the one invoked, cf. the initial IH in III 66,8)

ε(ι or στίνυ) δυ(ιός)

ω ά (End and beginning; one could also consider δ α(ιών) however.)

The Third Strophe.

In III the strophe begins with HI; IV reads probably OH[1]. In light of the fact that the second and fifth strophes have the order of the vowels as IH, one could see in the HI of the third strophe a scrambled variant of IH. HI could then be the same name as in the second strophe. However, influence from the fourth strophe, where the normal sequence of the Greek alphabet is present, may also be involved here.

Really truly!

HI (for IH? cf. infra)

Aω

Thou existing One,
(Thou) who sees the aeons.

If the o in IV 78,19 is correct, then one can take it as the article: δ'Ιη(σούς). Here the nominative could have stood for the vocative (cf. BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 147). The interpretation might be: “O Je(sus), Α and Ω, Thou existing One who sees the aeons”.

The Fourth Strophe.

The fourth strophe survives only in III. It presents the vowels, without o and in the sequence of the Greek alphabet, in such a way that the number of occurrences of each vowel increases. α is given once, ε twice, ι three times, ι four times, γ six times, and Ω eight times. This gives a total of twenty-four, exactly the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. To be sure, this does not coincide with III 44,3-9 = IV 54,3-13 where each vowel occurs twenty-two times in agreement with the number of letters in the Aramaic alphabet. This would confirm the idea that here traditions of different origin are involved. As indicated before, IH or HI (once read in Greek letter order, once read in Semitic letter order) could mean Jesus. Then Yesseus would have been reinterpreted as Jesus in a composition which already through the use of the number of the letters in the Greek alphabet gave evidence of a Hellenistic character.
Really truly!

a ε€ HHH

III YYYYY

οωοωοωοω

He who is eternally eternal!

An attempt to make this meaningful would be as follows: a(ιων) ε(ι) Ἰη(σονς), ν(ιε) (or νις), ὦ, Thou who art eternally eternal!” or Α ε(στιν) Ἰη(σονς), ν(ις), Ω, etc.

The Fifth Strophe.

The fifth strophe is complete in III, and partly preserved in IV, so that certain conclusions are possible. It begins with the invocation of Η. The a which follows in III may have been secondarily attached because of the subsequent αιω. That αιω (III 66,20) is intended as αιων follows from the parallel text (ἐνευ 2 IV 79,1). The text of IV appears to presuppose a different Vorlage or a different understanding of the text than III.

III

Really truly!

aιω(ν) in the heart,

who existeth,

ν(ιε) ἄει εὶς ἄει,

εί ὦ εί, εί ὦ εί.

IV

[Really truly.]

η ετερων who art in [the heart],

Thou eternal one!

ν(ιε) ἄει εἰς ἄει,

εί ὦ εί, εί ὦ εί.

The difference between III and IV may perhaps be explainable on the basis of a common Vorlage. III aιων ὦ ἐν τῇ καρδιᾳ ὦν, ὦ αιωνιος “Je(sus), O aeon, Thou who art in the heart, Thou eternal one!”

As with the rest of the hymn, we are dealing with an expression of a mystical piety. For “the aeon who is in the heart” cf. ΗΕΡΜ. Μανδ. 12,4,3: ὦ ἀνθρωπος ὦ ἐχων τον κυριον ἐν τῃ καρδιᾳ αυτος. That “in the heart” and “he who is” are switched in III depends upon a very literal translation whereby also “he who exists” and “the eternal one” were combined and the latter expression was dropped. For “eternal God” cf. Ps 44(45 MT):7; 47(48 MT):15 etc. The phrases of the last line are a variation of Ex 3: 14: ἐγώ ειμι ὦν. An interpretation of the strophe would be as follows:

Jesus, O aeon who art in the heart,

Thou eternal One

Son forever,

Thou art what Thou art, Thou art who Thou art.

In these strophes an aeon-deity is glorified and his eternal existence
is the main object of praise. In mystical piety the Gnostic sees himself united with this being, who is the Son. Jesus who is clearly encountered in the second hymn, is probably the one who is invoked. Sethian reverence for Jesus is here coupled with the name of the three-fold παραστάτης (cf. III 64,10 = IV 75,25f.).

**Hymnic Section (Part II): III 66,22 - 68,1 = IV 79,3 - 80,15.**

The beginning of the second hymn points with "this great name" back to the end of the preceding section. This hymnic section may once again consist of five strophes of four lines each. Each of the first three lines has two stress-points and offers two phrases. In the fourth line the conclusion is drawn. The content of this prayer concerns the experience of salvation which has been granted to the one offering the prayer, and which will again and again be granted to him. He knows that the distant God is no longer distant from him and has even revealed his name to him. God — Father, Mother, Son — is praised here, as earlier in the tractate. Strophes two and three concern the transformation of the Gnostic, while the fifth strophe treats his union with God in the heavenly world. Unfortunately the text of IV is badly damaged. Nevertheless what remains shows that III and IV differ at many points and that one must reckon with changes based on reinterpretations. Perhaps the last copyist of III no longer considered the text rhythmic.

The following reconstruction of the strophes is based on a combination of III and IV. The third strophe is so badly damaged that the wording of IV could not be established. That is all the more regrettable since here the differences appear to be considerable. In most cases IV has been preferred when extant.

**The First Strophe.**

a) This great name of yours is upon me
[............................]

b) O Perfect one who art self-begotten,
who art autonomous,

c) O Thou who art invisible except to me,
who art invisible to everyone!

d) For who can comprehend Thee
with voice and praise?

The beginning of the strophe is badly damaged in IV. The second part of each of the first two lines appears to have been left out in III.
In the last line of III “and praise” has dropped out.

The Second Strophe.

a) Having known Thee I now have merged myself with Thy steadfastness and armed myself.
b) I was armed with grace and light (and) became light (or: enlightened).
c) For the Mother was there because of the splendid beauty of grace.
d) Therefore I stretched out my hands while they were folded.

The Greek participle γνωσίς probably began the strophe in the Greek Vorlage, where it occupied considerably less room than its translation as a subordinate clause in Coptic. For τωθε (IV 79,14) cf. CRUM, Dict. p. 464. It may be a form of τωκ “be firm” seeing that τωκ “throw” in BG 38,15 is spelled τωθε. The qualitative θό of from τωκ “be firm” is attested, cf. WESTENDORF, Kopt. Handwörterbuch s.v. Such an interpretation of the word would correspond with the πετειεμψώβε in III. The end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 seems to have been combined in III. III 67,4-6 are missing in IV. The prayer rite makes good sense when it is referred to a person like the Mother. Having been concerned in the first strophe with the primal God from whom the Mother god came, the one who prays turns to the Mother in the second strophe.

The Third Strophe.

a) I was shaped all around with the wealth of light that is in my bosom,
b) That which gives shape to the many begotten ones in the light into which no complaint reaches.
c) I will declare Thy splendor truly, for I have comprehended Thee, Jesus of […]
d) Behold, δει δο(ν) δει Ἐσσος! (?)

In IV the first words may correspond to III, but then the order appears to be completely different. IV 79,20 speaks of a “cover of riches” after which comes εκώτε, that may be the translation of κόκλω, Coptic .getIn the strophe, the third strophe progresses to the next person, here Jesus, in the third line. In IV ἰς is qualified by a genitival attribute. He is the Son, who forms a trinity together
with the Autogenes and the Mother. The fourth line gives the content of the prayer spoken by him who has received Jesus. It is a confession of which the meaning is uncertain, if IV 79,27 has the correct order of letters $\text{HEE AIEE} (I$ and $\varepsilon$ could be reversed in the second group.).

The Fourth Strophe.

a) O great(?) aeon,
   O holy aeon!

b) O God of silence!
   I honor Thee completely.

c) Thou art the resting place of the Son
   $\text{Es(ephech), Es(ephech), the fifth!}$

d) Thou formless one,
   who existeth in the formless ones.

This strophe is likewise badly damaged in IV, and therefore the text is dependent primarily upon III. Still a significant difference can be seen. In III the deity invoked is designated as "my resting place, the (or "O") Son", while in IV the "resting place of the Son" is mentioned. Again in the third line a new deity may have been named, although by means of a code: $\text{HC HC O E} \ (\text{lost in IV}).$ Can one risk seeing $\text{HC}$ as an abbreviation of $\text{HCHPHX}?$ Then $\text{O}$ could be $\omicron,$ and $\varepsilon$ is the fifth letter of the alphabet and the sign for 5. Is $\varepsilon$ to be interpreted as $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\varsigma \ (\text{Esephech is fifth in the sequence of the thrice-male child, Youel, and then Esephech. Within the framework of the light-world he corresponds to the Son. IV 59,17 reports the relationship between the great Christ and these five beings. Thus the light-world with special emphasis upon Esephech can be invoked. At the same time the formless character of the light-aeon is stressed.}$

The Fifth strophe.

a) Since he exists, raising a man,
   Thou hast purified me through him

b) Into Thy Life (and)
   according to Thy imperishable name.

c) Therefore the incense of life is in him
   mixed in the baptismal water of all the archons.

d) So that I live with Thee in the peace of the saints,
   Thou eternal one who really truly exists.

Also in this strophe, which can largely be reconstructed in IV, there are differences between III and IV. Perhaps III 67,19 can be seen as a causative clause if IV 80,6 is correct in making $\text{TBBO}$ the main
verb. The use of the third person could refer back to the person in the preceding strophe. III 67,20f. $\textit{e\delta\gamma\nu\nu}$ $\epsilon$- and IV 80,7 $\textit{zd}$- probably both go back to $\epsilon\zeta\zeta$. IV 80,9 $\textit{\nu\textit{a\textit{m}tq}$ probably refers to "your name". III has the one who prays designate himself as the possessor of this incense which he himself mixed in the water; IV mentions here the "baptismal water of all the archons" over against III where there is a reference to the "water according to the type of all archons". The mentioning of the archons remains obscure. Perhaps the intention is to say that also false baptisms are undertaken. The meaning of the strophe as a whole is to express the certainty of salvation of which the faithful, who return to the really existing primal Father, are assured.

*The first conclusion:* III 68,1-9 = IV 80,15-25.

This section is very poorly preserved in IV. However, the end is still present and it suggests that we are dealing with a separate piece of tradition since there is a blank space after the colon in IV 80,25. The fact that the mountain in which the book was placed is in the plural in III 68,3 but in the singular in IV 80,17 suggests the meaning "mountain range". Prophets, apostles and preachers can readily refer to the distant past; cf. the prophets and apostles in Luke 11:49 and the title $\textit{\kappa\eta\nu\zeta}$ for Noah in 2 Pet 2: 5 ($\textit{\kappa\eta\nu\zeta}$ $\delta\kappa\alpha\omega\sigma\omega\varsigma\nu\varsigma$). The reference to these groups of people means something like "from time immemorial". $\textit{\epsilon\mu\nu\delta\omicron\omicron}$ in III 68,4f. is an elliptic expression which expects a verb to follow. The $\textit{\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\zeta}$ (fem.) in IV 80,25 could be a mistake due to the gender of the Greek $\beta\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Two facts are reported, the second of which is the natural consequence of the first: the placing of the book in the unreachable height, and the fact that the tractate has been hidden since time immemorial.

*The second conclusion:* III 68,10 - 69,5 = IV 80,26-?.

This ending, which gives the impression of being independent from the first ending, also emphasizes the authorship of Seth. This is done by giving the exact time which he needed for the composition of the work. For the 130 years see *supra*, p. 31. Also the mountain is this time specifically named. The purpose of placing it in the mountain is eschatological, for the second conclusion is specifically eschatologically orientated. It appears that Seth will come "at the end of time according to the will of the Logos, through the gift (see *supra*, p. 191) of the fatherly love". However, it makes far better sense if $\beta\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$,
in spite of the gender, is the antecedent of $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\pi\rho\omicron\omicron\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon$ in III 68,19f, since $\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ is masculine. Seth appears to function as a savior here (III 68,22). For "those who dwell with him", cf. ApocAd V 74,23. The beings added on in III 68,23ff. by means of $\tilde{\text{M}}$ continue the list begun with the race of the great savior. In 68,20-69,5 an abbreviated table of contents is given. It is difficult to assess the precise meaning of $\tilde{\text{M}}$ in this list. The possibility must be taken into account that the beings should be separated from their appositives, which are connected with $\tilde{\text{M}}$, to form an even larger number. One can group them more or less in the following way: 1) the great invisible Spirit; 2) his only begotten Son, the eternal light; 3) his great consort the incorruptible Sophia, the Barbelo; 4) the pleroma. Listed this way the trinity and the pleroma are the initiators of redemption. The unity of the heavenly world, also in its unified divine economy, is thus clearly visible. The concluding phrase "in eternity. Amen" is liturgical and an appropriate ending for the tractate.

The colophon: III 69,6-17.

See supra, pp. 8f. on the absence of the colophon in IV. There is no question that we are dealing with a colophon since it mentions the names of the scribe and his asking for $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ etc. for himself and his fellow Gnostics. The name Eugnostos is interesting in that there is a tractate by that name in Codex III and V, "The Letter of Eugnostos". It is noteworthy that in addition to the spiritual name, Eugnostos, the "fleshy" name Gongessos is given. For the title $\pi\nu\epsilon\alpha\\alpha\rho\epsilon\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\omicron\kappa\eta\kappa\iota\omicron\omicron\mu\nu$ see supra, pp. 18ff. The style of the colophon is that of an interlinear translation. $\tilde{\text{N}}\varsigma\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ in 69,7 corresponds to $\theta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron$ in 69,15. The benediction "Grace ... (be) with the ..." reflects the Greek since Coptic would normally require a verb. Jesus Christ is called upon to assure the fulfilment of the prayer. The definite article is used in Coptic to indicate the vocative, except for proper names, cf. Stern, Kopt. Gramm. § 488. The use of the complete title 'Ιησους Χριστος θεος νικος σωτηρ (νικος translated by $\pi\nu\upsilon\hbar\rho\epsilon$) is remarkable. The added monogram $\iota \chi \omicron \omicron \nu\varsigma$ refers to the Greek text. The symbol of the fish was known at that time in Egyptian Christianity (cf. Clement of Alexandria, Paid. III 11,59.2 = p. 270,8 ed. Stählin). $\theta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron$ at the end of 69,15 can be a reference to the holy character of the monogram or a predicate of $\tau\iota\beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron$, since it is an adjective of two endings. If it is the latter then the character of the book given in 69,7 has been repeated once more at the end. It would
also mean that the title following the colophon is not a mere repetition of the one at the end of the colophon, but that the latter is part of a sentence which has been translated word for word from the Greek.


Kittel, G. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament IV (= TDNT). Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1968. (References to the German edition are added in brackets.)


Schenke, H.-M. Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis: Ein religiongeschichtlicher Beitrag


Sethe, K. Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermonopolis. (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften No. 4) Berlin, 1929.


INDICES

COPTIC WORDS

ἈΛΟΥ m. child III 42,6; 43,16; [44,22]; 49,26; 50,3 (bis); 53, 24; 54,1. 2.14; 55,24 (bis); 56,17; 62,2; 66,11 (bis). IV 51,23; 53,15; 55,12; 56,7.[21.22]; 59,18.[25.25]; [61,28]; 62[1]. <2>. [3]; [65,18]; [66,3]; [67,8,30]; 73,13; 78,[14].14.

ἈΜΩΤΕ m. Hades III 56,25; [57,11]; 58,22. IV [68,9].

ἈΜΩΤΕ ἐΜΩΤΕ possess III [50,2]; 54,1; 55,23.

ΜΩΤΕ III 62,6.

ῬΙΧΙΑΤΕ m. IV 59,24; 62,1; [65,20]; 73,17.


ἈΡΗΧ= end III 41,1; 54,5. IV 57,3.

ἈΤΟ many III 61,17; 67,10.

ἈΧΩ and III 41,[13].16.[17]; 43,3.17; 44,9; 49,5.21; 51,12.14.22; 52,3.16.22.24.26; 53,1; 54,12; 55,1,2; 56,26; 57,5,18; 58,3.23.26; 60,10.16; 61,1,6; 62,12; 63,23; 64,3,4; 68,5,9. IV 50,15.16.19.20; [51,7]; 52,9; 53,[15.21]. 23; 54,13.16.[19]; 55,23.26; 56,8.[23]; 57,23; 58,2; 59, 4.9; 60,11.19; 61,5. [13.15]. 22.25. [26]; [62,19]; 63, 3.4.6. [8.12].17.[24.25]; 64,10.11.23; 65,2.10.[28]; 66,[1]. 8. [10.13]. 14. [19]; [67,5.6]; 68,9; 69,3; 71,6,7,8. [10.19]. 27; 72,8.10,23; 73,1.[25]; 75,2.11.17.19.20.21.24; 76,14; 77,5. 14; 78,[2].9; 79,14.17.[18]; 80,[16].19.[24].

ἈΝΩΛΙ : ἈΝΩΛΙ multiply III 55,2.

ἈΣΟ : pl. ἈΣΩΡ treasures IV [56,15]; 60,17.

ἈΧΝ- : ἈΧΝ- without III 49,12; 58,26. IV [61,13].

ΒΑΛ m. eye III [58,11]. IV 61,10.

ΒΟΛ : ΒΟΛ ἙΒΟΛ dissolve IV 63,8.

ΒΟΛ : ἙΒΟΛ N- out of, from IV 52,23; 63,1; [71,7].

ΜΤΒΟΛ prep. outside III 66,24.

ϹΑΒΟΛ N- except IV 79,9.

ΕΚΙΒΕ : ΚΙΒΕ f. breast III 56,9,18. IV [68,2].

ΕΝΕΩ m. eternity IV 50,7,14.

ἘΛ ἘΝΕΩ eternal III 42,9; 63,8; 65,5; 67,26; 68,26. IV 50,7.13; 51,26; 58,18.[22]; [62,20]; 65,1; 72,4; 76,25; 78,16; 79,1,2; 80,13.

ἘΛ ἘΝΗΣΕΙ III 50,22; 60,22; 68,24.

ἘΛ ἘΝΗΣΕΙ ΝΕΝΕΩ III 66,19.

ΜΝΤΨΑ ἘΝΕΩ f. eternity III 69,4.

ἘΦΗΤ pray IV [71,5].

ΕΦΗΥ : ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΦΗΟΥ with each other III 49,19.

1 For practical reasons the word order of Chum's *Coptic Dictionary* has been followed, although we find it unsatisfactory, since it is in places incorrect.
WA PECHT III 49,15.
WA PECHTE III 54,15.
ETBNIHT- III 42,5; 59,9; IV 51,24; 61,12; 63,6; 71,2.
ETBNIH- IV 63,4.
ETBE NAV therefore III 67,22. IV[80,9]. ETBE NEI III 67,6.
EOOY m. glory III 41,22; 42,24; 43,12.[18]; [44,15]; 50,3.4.7; 51,1; [52,1]; 53,22; 54,[1]. 2.4.21.25; 55,14.23.24; 62,7(bis); 67,13. IV 51,14; 53,[8].17; [54,24]; 55,[5].6; [56,14];[57,5];[58,1]; 59,5.8.[25].26;[60,17]; 62,2(bis).3.[6.25] 63,[21]; 65,16.20.21.22; 66,9,[13].29; [73,[18].18.22; [78,15].
EOA eooy glorious III 56,8; 66,12.↑ EEOY give glory III 55,7. IV 59,9; 66,20.
PEQ↑ EEOY IV 73,20. See DOXMEDOWN.

ei come III 56,12; 59,21; 60,2.9.19.26; 65,18. IV 71,[15].18.
ei EBOA III [40,14]; 41,11.17.[24]; [43,14.23]; 49,15; 51,15; 52,6; 57,9,[12]; 62,13; 65,2. IV 50,23; 51,8.24;[53,10]; 57,7; [58,23]; 60,10.30; 61,[14].16;[64,23]; 66,3.6.14; 68,9.30; [71,11]; 73,27; 76,20; 80,23.
PYOPP NEI EBOA IV 50,4,13.29; 51,5,15; [52,13]; 53,24; 54,1; [60,1]; 63,9; [64,13].
ENNEI EBOA m. IV 56,1.
ei EPECHT IV [62,28]; 71,3.
ei ESOYN IV 76,23.
ei ESPAY IV [72,12].
2I- III 59,2. ei EBOA 2I- III 59,19.
EIME know IV 78,8.
EINE bring II [42,2]; 43,1.6.7; 56,9; 60,9. IV [71,19].
NT- IV 51,18; [53,1]; [59,1]; 75,20.
PYOPP NEINE IV [52,19].
eINE ESPAY IV 54,14; [55,15]; 56,7; 57,13; 60,22; [61,24]; [62,16]; [65,8]; 67,4; 73,7.
NT- ESPAY IV 73,3.
EINE be like IV [62,29]; 71,5. INE III 59,5; 60,1. m. likeness IV 79,23. INE III 51,5; 59,20.
EIOOP : AXIOOP MMO- inaccessible IV 50,12; 65,24.
ATXIOOP MMO- IV 61,15.
eipe : P- make III 52,2; see : PPO; OYOEIN; ALE.
O↑ be III 41,19; 51,5; 57,3; 59,20. E↑ IV 51,9,[10].13; [53, 27]; [79,8.9].
eIWT m. father III 40,13.18; 41,3.9.11.12. [19]; 42,[1]. 4.11.20.24; 43,6.13.[21]; 50,15; 51,2.8; 62,17; 53,4; 54,7; 55,9; 59,12; 63,21; 68,10. IV 63,2.
IWT III 49,13; 50,14; 54,10. IV 50,3.9.14.22.25.28; 51,[1]. 10.18.21; 52,[2].14.[18]; 53,1,[9].21; [54,18]; [55,5]; [56,24]; 58,3.26; [59,1.13]; [60,9.25]; [61,14]; 62,12. [14].26; [63,25]; [64,10.25]; [65,26.28]; [66,22]; [73,11].
eIWE crucify IV 77,15.
KE- other III 66,27.
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KW place III 68,2.12.
KAA+ IV 81,2.
KAA NERP 7IAX- IV 80,16.
KHT 7IAX- IV 52,6.
KNT ERP EXN- preside over IV 55,1; 58,13; 66,26; 76,1.3.5.8.10.20.23.
KWB : KHB+ fold III 67,8. IV [79,18].
KAOOLE f. cloud IV [61,1]; [68,10].
KALOM m. crown III 42,23; 50,4; 54,2; 55,24; 62,7. IV 59,26; 62,3; [65,21]; 73,18.
KIM move III 51,9; 54,11; 59,14; 61,20. IV [65,31].
ATKIM IV 63,3; [65,27]; 73,4.
KHEME : PMNKHME see Proper Names.
KOYNT bosom IV 51,19; 52,20; [53,1]; 59,2.
KOYOUN- III 43,7; 67,10, IV 75,9. KOYUN- III 43,7.
KUTE surround III 43,12; 50,7; 53,21; 62,10. IV 53,8; 57,25; 59,7; 62,6; [65,15]; [66,11]; 73,21; [79,21].
MITKUTE prep. around III 54,24.
KOTC f. crooked trick IV 73,1.
KAQ m. earth III 50,10; 57,19; 61,6. IV 62,9; [69,4]; 71,2.20; 72,15.
KWZ : PEQKWZ jealous III [58,25].
KWZT m. fire III [58,11].

ΛΑΑΥ anything III 49,12; 58,26. IV 61,14.

MA m. place III 41,13,23; 43,8; [49,1]; 50,11; 56,4; 60,13; 65,13.16.19.21; 67,5.17.
IV [53,3]; 66,6,12; 60,27; 61,1; 62,10; [71,28 (bis)]; 77,8,12,16,19; 80,5.
ME f. truth III 41,7. IV 75,72; 76,3. MHE III 40,19; 55,6; 64,15; 65,14.
MNTHE f. IV 50,10; 58,15,22; 59,21; 60,3; 66,19; 73,15; 77,10; 78,11.15,[19]; 79,25; 80,14.
NAME truly IV 58,[16,22]; 59,22; 73,15; 78,12.[16,19]; 80,14.
MOY m. death, plague III 62,24; 66,8. IV [72,21]; 74,9; 78,10.
MOYNT+ III 51,13. IV 63,7.
MABB thirty III 68,11.
MNN- : MN- it is not III 41,1; 54,5; 67,11; 68,4.8. IV 61,14.
MNT- not to have III 54,22.24.
MINN MMO- self III 61,22.
MN- and, with III 40,.18>.19> : 41,22; 42,2.7.8(bis).10.20.23.[23].24; 43,10.11,12; 44,12.15.[26.27].28; 49,18.19.25.26; 50,1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.10.16.19,21; 51,1.11,20; 53,18.
22,23; 56,1.2.3.10.25.[57,11]; [58,22]; 59,3.11.12.21.22,25; 60,1.<21>.23; 61,7,9.
11,17,18,20.21(bis).25; 62,2.5.6.7.8.9(bis).10.16.18.19.20.21; 63,1.2.3.4.6(bis).7(bis).
65,1,2(bis).3(bis).7.8.9.12(bis).14,17(bis); 66,2; 68,6(bis).15.17.22.23,25,26; 69,1.2.
3(bis).9,12. IV 50,9.10,20; 51,[19].25.[25]; 52,[1,14].16.17,18; [53,2.6.7.8.9.]; 54,24;
24.26]; 60,12,[17]; [61,20.26.28.29]; 62,[1,2.3.4.5,5.7(bis).[9].13.14,18.20.21,[25];
23(bis).[23.27].28; 67,7,8,[9]; 78,8; 71,6,[10,11]; 72,3.5.[18],[21],[26]; 73,1(bis).4.5.[5].
12,[17].18,19.20.21.22(bis).23; 74,1,3(bis).5.6.7.[8,12].14.16(bis),20[21],22.24; 75,1.
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